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THEODORE METOCHITES:
BYZANTIOS OR *ABOUT THE IMPERIAL MEGALOPOLIS*

INTRODUCTION, TEXT, AND COMMENTARY

by

IRINI POUGOUNIA
(LINCOLN COLLEGE)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Literae Humaniores
of Oxford University
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Sub-faculty of Classical Languages and Literature
Faculty of Literae Humaniores
Oxford University
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ABSTRACT

THEODORE METOCHITES:
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D.PHIL CANDIDATE
TRINITY 2003 (i.e 2004)

As the title suggests, *Byzantios* or *About the Imperial Megalopolis* is the eulogy of Constantinople, one of Theodore Metochites' many works that still remain unpublished due to the writer's obscure style. My primary aim in this edition has been to establish the text, an oration written by one of the most prominent figures of the Palaeologan Renaissance. In fact, the text constitutes the eulogy of the Capital of the Byzantine Empire and it could provide useful information to historians, archaeologists and various scholars. However, I must ask for the reader's understanding regarding the matters of punctuation. The artificial style and rhetorical presentation in many passages make no wonder if a satisfactory rendering of the Greek can be achieved.

I have added an Introduction where I deal with Metochites' life and works, the genre of *Byzantios* and a few more issues raised by the oration (missing folios, dating of the oration, etc.).

The text needs to be elucidated from a wide variety of sources, historical and literary, and this is the main aim of the commentary. In addition, I wished to present reasons for my interventions in the Greek text, to offer some parallels from other - mainly rhetorical - works and to give the quotations of the classical authors to which Metochites refers. Obviously the commentary does not provide exhaustive discussion of the many different topics raised in *Byzantios*, but I hope to have provided a minimum bibliography for further study.

The appendix at the end shows how much Metochites followed Menander's precepts. I believe that the indexes will also prove useful to the reader.

And therefore I have sailed the seas and come

To the holy city of Byzantium.

W. B. Yeats

«Sailing to Byzantium» (1928)

Acknowledgements

The journey in search of knowledge can be long-lasting and tiring; but the most difficult part in the journey is that you strive to reach the end alone.

I must admit that I have been very fortunate. From the very beginning I have been surrounded by people who encouraged me and offered me substantial support. First of all I would like to thank my supervisor, Mr. Nigel Wilson, not only for being the supervisor of my work but also for standing by me during some difficult moments in these years.

Secondly, I am grateful to the following people: Maria Kouroumali, Christopher Deliso, Dr. Dimitris Skouteris, who devoted their precious time to proof-read my work; to the rest of my Greek friends who made Oxford feel like home and who were always there when I needed them, especially my «brothers» Pananos Sophoulis, Zisis Fotakis and Dr. Georgios Karamanolis; to my uncle, Ioannes Pougounias, for selflessly devoting many hours discussing the problems of the punctuation of the Greek text; to my sister, Katerina Pougounia, not only for all her support and encouragement to feel confident about myself, but also for being my cheerful companion in Vienna during my trip to inspect the MS. Vind. Phil. Gr. 95. I really do not know how I would have spent my time there without her when the library was closed; to Dr. Ernst Gamillscheg, director of the department of manuscripts in the National Library of Vienna, and all the staff of the department for their help, co-operation and kindness and to Dr. George Xenis, for teaching me to be more tolerant and patient and for all his precious advice and suggestions.

Finally, but by no means least, I would like to thank my parents, Ilias and Dionysia Pougounia, not only for unstinting financial support throughout these years, but especially for their moral support and their prayers. For all that they

have offered and continue to offer me I dedicate the present thesis to them as a small *ἀντίδωρον.*

I would also like to dedicate my thesis to the memory of my grandfather Michael and my grandmother Katerina for their proud and brave attitude in life, despite the hardships they experienced, which has always been an example to me.

Oxford, 22-08-03

Τῷ πατρὶ Ἠλίᾳ,

τῇ μητρὶ Διονυσίᾳ,

τῇ ἀδελφῇ Αἰκατερίνῃ.

In memoriam
avi Michaelis
aviaeque Katerinae.

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ABBREVIATIONS

I. Some of Metochites' other works

Ethikos *Ἠθικὸς ἢ περὶ παιδείας*, ed. I. D. Polemēs (Athens, 1995).

Logos 14 *Ἔλεγχος δεύτερος πρὸς τοὺς αὐτούς*, ed. I. Ševčenko, in his, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962), 218-265.

Logos 15 *Πρὸς τοὺς μοναχοὺς τῆς Χώρας ἐπὶ τῇι τελευτῇι τοῦ πρώτου καθηγουμένου αὐτῶν Λουκᾶ· μονωιδία τε ἐπ' αὐτῶι καὶ προτροπὴ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ καλοῦ*, ed. I. Ševčenko, in P. Underwood (ed.) *The Kariye Djami*, IV (London, 1975), 57-84.

Miscellanea *Ὑπομνηματισμοὶ καὶ σημειώσεις γνωμικαὶ*, edd. C. Müller/ T. Kiessling, *Theodori Metochitae Miscellanea* (Leipzig, 1821: repr. Amsterdam, 1966).

Nicaeus *Νικαεὺς*, ed. C. Foss, "Θεοδώρου Μετοχίτου Νικαεὺς", in his, *Nicaea: A byzantine capital and its praises* (Brookline Mass., 1996), 164-203.

Poem 1, 2 *A. Δοξολογία εἰς Θεὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν καθαυτὸν καὶ τῆς μονῆς τῆς Χώρας, B. Εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον καὶ περὶ τῆς μονῆς ἔτι τῆς χώρας*, ed. M. Treu, *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites* (Potsdam, 1895).

Poem 15 *Εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔτι καὶ περὶ τῆς δυσχερείας τοῦ βίου*, ed. J. Featherstone, *Thoedore Metochites's poems "to Himself"* (Wien, 2000).

Presbeutikos *Πρεσβευτικὸς*, ed. K. Σάθας, *MB*, I (Athens, 1902), 154-193.

Saggio critico *Ἐπιστασία καὶ κρίσις τῆς τῶν δύο ῥητόρων εὐδοκιμήσεως τοῦ τε Δημοσθένους καὶ Ἀριστείδου*, ed. M. Gigante, *Saggio critico su Demostene e Aristide* (Milan, 1969).

Stoicheiosis *Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μετοχίτου Ἀστρονομικῆς κατ' ἐπιτομὴν στοιχειώσεως, βιβλίον πρῶτον*, ed. B. Bydén, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the study of natural philosophy and mathematics in early Palaiologan Byzantium* (Gothenburg, 2003).

II. Journals - Other works

AnatSt	*Anatolian Studies*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BullBude	*Bulletin de l' Association Guillaume Budé*
Byz	*Byzantion*
ByzAus	*Byzantina Australiensia*
ByzF	*Byzantische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CMH	*Cambridge Medieval History*
ΔΙΕΕΕ	*Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
GorthR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HukSt	*Harvard Ukrainian Studies*

JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
MB	*Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
PG	*Patrologia cursus completus series graeca,* ed. J.-P. Migne
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
Script	*Scriptorium*
TAPS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
ZRVI	*Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

INTRODUCTION

A. The author

Theodore Metochites was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished figures of his time. Being a statesman and diplomat and at the same time a scholar, a philosopher, a teacher, an antiquarian and a bibliophile, he has attracted the attention not only of his contemporaries but also of modern scholars. Information regarding his life and his works comes from three kinds of sources: Metochites' own testimony,[1] his contemporaries' testimony,[2] and the writings of modern scholars.[3]

Theodore Metochites (illustration 1) was born in Constantinople in 1270.[4] He was the son of George Metochites, archdeacon in the Great Church (1276-1282), pro-unionist, supporter of the patriarch John XI Bekkos, ambassador of Michael

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[1] *Presbeutikos*, *Ethikos*, *Logos 15*, *Logos 19* and especially the two autobiographical poems, *Poems 1, 2.*

[2] See N. Gregoras' history, edd. L. Schopen/ I. Bekker, I-III (Bonn, 1829-1830,1855) and correspondence, ed. R. Guilland (Paris, 1927) and I. Cantacuzenos' history, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1828).

[3] I quote just a few works; for more titles see the bibliography. See E. Trapp/ H. V. Beyer, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* I/7, no.17982; A. Kazhdan, *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, 1357-1358; I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the intellectual trends of his time", in P. Underwood (ed.) *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 19-91; eiusdem, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels, 1962); N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 256-264; D. Nicol, *A biographical dictionary of the Byzantine empire*, 86; H. G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des Byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14 Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952).

[4] For the year of his birth see I. Ševčenko, "Intellectual trends", 25, n.36.

VIII to the papal curia during 1275-1278. According to his own testimony, his education commenced when he was still very young.[5]

In December of 1282 the pro-unionist Michael VIII died and power passed to the opposite party, the anti-unionists, who banished the supporters of Michael's policy. Inevitably, little Theodore followed his parents into exile, to Nicaea, where from the age of thirteen he went through the Trivium and the Quadrivium.[6] After finishing school, he continued to study the classical authors and especially the ancient rhetoricians on his own.[7] However, his anxious mind was not content with a simple acquisition of knowledge; at the same time, he attempted to compose exercises on Greek history and eulogies of the saints.[8] He read ancient philosophers, the holy scriptures and he studied theology.[9]

The year 1290 proved to be decisive for the rest of Metochites' life.[10] The emperor Andronicus II visited Nicaea, heard of the remarkable erudition of the

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[5] *Poem 1*, vv.343-4, 347-9 ὥς τε γὰρ εἴλαχον ἐλθέμεν εἰν φάει βιότοιο,/ ἐξαῦτις σχεδὸν οἵ με φύσαντες λούγοις δῶκαν/ σπουδῇ μάλ' ἀνύσαντες ἐμεῦ οὐκ ἀχνυμένοιο·/.../ πὰρ γονέων μάν, ὥς κε προσθέμαν εἰν λόγοισιν, εὖ φερόμαν.

[6] *Poem 1*, v.360 γραμματικὰν ἂν καλέομες, τῆς ἀρχῆς χρειώ, vv.364-6 ἑξείης δέ τέ μοι δρόμος ἀσκέατ' αὖθις γλώττης,/ ἂν κατὰ ῥήτρας ἂρ ὁπλίζει τεχνάματα πάλη/ λούγων εὐστροφαλιγαδὸν ἐξ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, vv.372-4 ἀτὰρ ἔθ' ἑξείης ἐχόμαν θειωρίας ὄντων,/ ἂν φιλοσουφία ποιεῖτ' ἐν τῷ βίῳ σπουδήν/ καὶ λογικὰ πολύστροφ' Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνητά, vv.378-80 ἀριθμῶν τ' ἰδμοσύνας μαθαμάτων τ' ἄλλων/ πισσύρεων, οἷς ἁ φιλοσουφία τετμήαται/ κατὰ μόνας, ὥς κεν νόμιμ' εὑράματ' ἐπιστήμας. For education in Byzantium see G. Buckler, "Byzantine education," in N. Baynes/ H. Moss (edd.) *Byzantium. An introduction to east Roman civilization*, 200-220; R. Guilland, "La vie scolaire à Byzance", *BullBudé* 1(1953),63-83; P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme Byzantin*, 11, 101-102; C. N. Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries* (Nicosia, 1982).

[7] *Poem 1*, vv.388-401 τοὐνθεῦτ' ἐξαποέρσας ἐμαυτὸν ἀκροάσιος,/ ὅσσε τε νοῦν τ' ἐδόμαν ἁπάση σχολᾶ τὰ πρότερ' ἀνδρῶν/ κείνων πανσούφων πονέειν συντάγματ' ἐπιὼν/.../ λέξιος καὶ δρουμήμασι φωνᾶς ἀσκήσει τε ἠδὲ διοικέεν ἔνθεν τὰν ἑρμηνείαν εὖ/.../ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἂρ πλέον εἰνθάδ' ἔην ὁ πόνος ῥατορικαῖς γλωττεπιμεμβοσύνῃσί τε ἠδ' ἄρ' εὐεπίη τε.

[8] *Poem 1*, vv.403-410 ἐκδόσιας τ' ἐπιτυχέος φωνᾶς ἔνεικά τινας/ κρέσσονα δόξαν ἐμοὶ τῆς ἡλικίης φεροίσας,/ χ' ὡς δράματι προτέροις θ' Ἑλλήνων πρήγμασί τισιν/ ἱστοριῶν ἀνὰ κεῖθεν ἄτ' εἴθιστ' ἐκ παλαιῶν/ ἀέθλευσ' ἀπολέξας, ὥς κεν ἔην ξὺν μόχθῳ/ πὺξ ἄρ' ἀπὸ γλώττηφιν ἑκόντα νύ τοι μάρνασθαι,/ καί τισιν εὐφαμίαις σέβας ἐμπιπλὰς θεοῖο/ προσπούλοισιν, ἄων κέ μέ τις κινέεσκε χρειώ.

[9] *Poem 1*, vv.412-3 σὺν δ' ἄρα καὶ φιλοσουφίας οὓς ἔχομες θησαυρούς,/ ὡς ἄρ' ἔην, ἀνόρυττων, vv.415-420 πᾶσα δ' ἔην ἀτὰρ ἀνάγκα καὶ ἱρῶν βίβλων/ ἁπτόμενον πονέειν...ἰδμοσύναν τ' ἐκτώμαν ἄφυκτον θειοσεβίης· / καί με νόον ἄγαλον, κατὰ δὲ φρὴν δὴν ταρπάατο/ θεοῖο δουγμάτεσιν ὀρθοῖς τε νόμοις πίστιος/ καί τε βίου παιδεΐ', ὡς ἄρα βιῶεν χρειώ.

[10] *Poem 1*, v. 421 αὐτὰρ ἐείκοσιν εἴτεα γενάμενος κἄτι γε πρός, v.423 βίοτον ἀλλαξάμενος.

young man[11] and appreciating his genius after having heard the eulogy of Nicaea which was very likely performed in his presence,[12] took him into his service.

From that time Theodore's advancement was rapid. In 1291 he was granted the title of Logothete of the Herds and became a member of the senate.[13] He won the emperor's trust and therefore was sent out on various embassies.[14]

In 1295 he took part in a delegation to Cyprus and to Cilician Armenia.[15] The delegation was instructed to find a wife for Andronicus' son and co-emperor, Michael IX.[16] The delegation accomplished its mission: Michael was married to the eldest sister of the Armenian king Het' um II, Rita, in 1296.[17] For this success, Metochites received the title of Logothete of the Private Estates.[18]

In order to accomplish a very important diplomatic mission he had to travel to Serbia five times (1298-1299).[19] Apart from arranging the marriage between Andronicus' II youngest daughter, Simonis, and the Serbian king

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[11] *Poem 1*, vv.437-442 οὑμὸς γὰρ ὅδ' ἄναξ πάντ' ἀγαθὸς ἐσθλά τε μέμβλων/ αἰὲν ἅπαντ' ἀγάθ' ἀμφαγαπάζων ἠδὲ σοφίην/ ἔξοχα διὰ ῥὰ πάντεσιν ἀζόμενος καλοῖσι/ καλέεταί μ' ἐς ἑωυτοῦ φιλοκαλία κινηθεὶς/ ὥς κεν ἀεὶ περὶ πάντα τιμήεντα πράγματα/ κατ' ἄρ κλεῖος ἐμοὶ σοφίης.

[12] I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Metochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, 137; E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, 183-4.

[13] *Poem 1*, vv.453-465 ...μήπω/ ἀνύσας ἔν γ' ἔτος οὐνόματι δή με κληΐζει,/ οἷα νομίζετ' ἄναξι γεραίρειν οὕς κεν ἕλωνται,/ ἠὲ χάριν μόνον μή τι μογήσασι μὴ δὲ φθάσι,/ πρίν τι ἐνεῖκαι πραττόμενόν γ' ἄλλαγμ' ὤνιον,/ ἠὲ γένους τύχαν ἐγγὺς ἰόντος τοι κρατέουσιν,/ ἠὲ κἀμοιβὰν ἀέθλων, ἣ ἄρα του δοκιμασίης/ κἀπ' ὀνόματος ἐπίκλην φάσκουσι τιμῶντες,/ ἄτ' ἔασι βασίλεια θέσπι' ἀριθμὸς ὀλίγος./ ἀτὰρ ἔθ', ὡς φάμαν, εἰνὶ νέον γ' ἐμὲ τῶν κληΐζει/ κρείων αὐτομέδων μετουσία συγκλήτου τε/ γήραρεν. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' εἰν πράγμασι πολιτικοῖσι/ καὶ βασιλείοις πεῖραν ἐμεῦ τινα λαβέμεν ἔγνω.

[14] *Poem 1*, vv.468-470 καί τ' εἰν πρεσβείησιν, ἄων μάλα μέμβλετ' ἄνακτι,/ ἐκλόγιμον πολέων ἄπο πεμψάμενός με βασιλεὺς/ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτέμεν οὐκ ἂρ ἔδοξε, τάων ἔην χρειώ.

[15] *Poem 1*, vv.475 ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼν τότ' ἔτη γεγαὼς πέντ' ἀμφ' εἴκοσσι.

[16] *Poem 1*, vv.485-6 Κύπροσε γὰρ στειλάμεθα ἔς θ' ἅμα Κιλικίην,/ νήεσι δ' ἀναγόμεσθ' εὐσέλμοισι νύ θ' ἑπτὰ, vv.500-508 πρεσβεία γὰρ ἔην, ἂν στειλάμεθ' ἔς τε Κύπρον/ ἔς τε Κιλικίαν ἀμφοτεράων δεσπότῃσι/ χωρῶν, κεῖθεν ἄγεσθαι ἄλοχον υἱέι φίλαν/ κουριδίην, ὁμευνέτιν ἄνακτος γ' ἄνακτι/ αὐτομέδοντος φίλῳ, ἄο τὰν ἀρχὰν κλῆρον/ βούλεθ' ὁ φύσας ἔμμεν πουλλοῖς ὁρκίοισι/ πάνθ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα πεδήσας.

[17] *Poem 1*, vv.511-513 ἀλλ' ἀγόμεσθ' κεῖθεν Κιλικίης βασίλειαν/ υἱέι νύμφαν, ἃ καὶ προτίμητο καί οἵ γ' αὐτῷ/ ἄνδανε κατὰ θυμόν· τερπάζετο δ', ὡς ἄρα γέντο.

[18] *Poem 1*, vv.515-521 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα διὰ πάντεσσιν ἀεὶ προυχώρευν/ δόξη τ' ἐργασίῃσι πολυτιμάτοις ὄλβῳ τε/ οὐνόμασί τ' ἐκ βασιλέως. ἀπ' ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ/ μείζον' ἀεὶ 'πικλήδην νούμιμα βασιλήια,/ ὡς πρότερον φάμαν, εἰν συγκλήτου βαθμίδεσσι/ παγγέρεα τιμόενθ', ἃ τεταχάται βασιλῆες/ πάνθ' ἱλαδὸν σουφοὶ μέτρῳ τε λόγῳ θ' ἕκαστα.

Stephen Milutin, the negotiations involved the rectification of the frontiers and the exchange of refugees and hostages.[20] In fact, this was Metochites' last great foreign diplomatic mission. Thereafter, the missions assigned to him by the emperor were within the empire.[21]

He spent two years (1303-1305) in Thessalonike offering his services as prime minister to Andronicus' II wife, Yolanda-Irene of Montferrat.[22] As soon as he came back to the capital, the emperor appointed him Mesazon, prime minister

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[19] *Poem 1*, vv.578-580 πεντάκι κεῖσε γὰρ οὕνεκα τῶνδ' ἐγὼν πρεσβεύω,/ ὄφρα τέλεσσα τοὔργον, ἄτ' ἤνδανε βασιλῆι/ κἀσφαλέως ἔχεν, ὥς κεν ἔδειξε πολὺς χρόνος ἐξῆς.

[20] *Poem 1*, vv.560-576 φίλαν μέν κε θύγατρα νύμφαν αὐτὸς ἄγαγον/ Τριβαλλῶν κρατέοντι, περὶ ὧν χρὴν συνθέσθαι/ πουλλέων μεταξύ γε πρηγμάτων παρεόντων/ ἀμφοτέροις γένεσι, Ῥωμαίοις Τριβαλλοῖς τε, προυτέρας οὕνεκα δηιοτῆτος ἀν' εἶτεα μακρὰ/ πολλὸν μάλα μογήσας, ὄφρ' ἀολλέα συνθείμην/ ἀμφί τε χωρῶν ἀμφί τε οὔρων μέσφ' ἀμφί τε/ πουλιχνίων ἀμφί τε ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἔην χρειὼ/ τοὺς μὲν ἀμοιβαδὸν ἀφ' ἑκάτερθεν ἀλλάττεσθαι,/ τοὺς δ' ἂρ ὅμηρ' ἔμμεν δὴ κούρης οὕνεκα φίλης/ παρθενικῆς βασιλῆος ἔθ' ἡλικίην μετ' ὀλίγην/ κεῖσε βεβώσης· τῶ καὶ δείδιεν ἀμφί γ' αὐτῆ/ πατήρ, πουλύ γέ οἱ μέλον, ὥς κεν μή τι πάθησι/ κακὸν ἄελπτον ἀπ' ἂρ πολυείτεος ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ./ κἀνθάδ' ἐγὼν μάλ' ἐπούνεον ἀσφαλέως μέγ' ἔργον/ τοῦτ' ἀνύτειν, μή τι λάθομ' ἀμπλακὼν μέγ' ἀεικές,/ ἀμφί θ' ὁμήρων ἐκλογὰν ἀμφί τ' ἀλλάγματα; also see *Presbeutikos*, 154-193.

[21] *Poem 1*, vv.708-717 εὖτε γὰρ ἀποπέπαυμαι, ὡς ἄρα πεντάκις αὐτός, ἦ φάμαν, ἐς Τριβαλοὺς συνεχῶς πρέσβευσ', ἔπειτα/ τήλοθ' ἀτάρ με χώρας ἐεῖο βασιλεὺς πέμπειν/ αἱρέετ' οὐκέτι, ἐν δ' ἄρα οἴκοθι πολλὸν χρῆτο/ πόρρω τ' ἐν σφετέροις, ἃ μάλα μέμβλοιτ', ἐργάοις/ πέμπετ' ἐφετμὰς ἑκάστοτ' ἔμοιγε διδοὺς δοκέων εὖ, ἄττ' ἂν ἔλοιτ' ἐπιτέλλων δρᾶν, κἄδραον ἀνύτων,/ ὥς κεν ἴσως ἄρ' ἤνδανέ οἱ κατὰ τ' αὐτὸς ἄνωγε./ μάλιστα δέ μ' ἐβούλετο ἄγχι παρ' αὐτῷ πουνεῦν, ἄττ' ἐπέοικε.

[22] *Poem 1*, vv.722-744 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτά γ' ἔπειγέ τις ἀναγκαίη χρειὼ/ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἄκοιτιν ἄνακτος κυδαλίμοιο,/ ἱκέμεν ἐς τὰ κατὰ δύσιν ἀρχῆς τῆς βασιλῆος/ πραγματέων ἕνεκ' ἐς τὰ 'πὶ Θετταλίαν βελτίστων,/ τῷ τότ' ἀδέσποτον οὖσαν, ἔς τε τἀπὶ Τριβαλλοὺς/ ἀμφί τε κηδεστῇ τῶνδ' ἄρχοντι ἀμφί τε φίλῃ/ θυγατρὶ ποθέουσαν ἰδεῖν ἠδ' ἂρ χατέουσαν/.../...καί τ' ἐπέοικε ξὺν τ' ἂρ σπέσθαι/ καὶ πρός γ' ἄλλοις ἄνδρα νύ τοι βουληφόρον ἅμα, ἢ πρό γε μᾶλλον ἐρεῖν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικεῦν/ γράμμασί τε προσέχειν, ἅπερ ἐν χρεΐ ἔμμεν' ἀνάγκη,/ θέσπια βασιλικὰ ὥς κεν βασιλέες νούμισαν,/ μάλα τ' ἐπίχρεον ἂρ τόδε κοὔποτ' ἂν ἄλλως ἔην,/ τηνικάδ' ἂρ ἐμὲ σύν τε βασιλεὺς λέξατο καὐτὴ/ δέσποινα βασίλει' ἐπὶ ἔργον, ὃ κάρτα δόκεέ σφιν/ πρός τε πεφυκότος ἀνδρὸς εἰν μεγάλοις πρήγμασι/ πρός τ' ἀγαθὴν εὐνοίης πεῖραν ἑωυτοῦ δόντος,/ καί σφιν ἐώκειν δή τί ποτ' ἄρα νύ τ' αὐτὸς ἔμμεν./ αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τόδε διὰ μάλ' εὖ γέγον' ὑπορέζων/ εἰς ἔτεσι δυσὶν ἄγχι μάλ' οὐλίγοιο δέοντος,/ πεῖρά τις ἦν τόδ' ἐκεῖθεν.

of the whole empire.[23] During the same period, one of his children, Eirene, was married to the emperor's nephew, John Palaiologos.[24]

In 1313 he took up astronomy under the supervision of Manuel Bryennios.[25]

In 1316 the emperor entrusted the restoration of the Chora Monastery (illustration 2) to Metochites.[26] The restoration was completed in 1321.[27] The same year he was granted the highest dignity of the court, the title of the Megas Logothetes,[28] which he kept until Andronicus' II dethronement by his grandson, Andronicus III, in 1328.

As soon as the rule passed to the new emperor, Metochites' palace was looted, all his possessions were confiscated and he was banished to Didymoteichon in Thrace until 1330.[29] In 1330 he was allowed to return to the

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[23] *Poem 1*, v.757 κεῖθεν ὅμως πάλιν ἥκω Θεσσαλονίκης ἄπο, vv.764-765 αὐτίκα μέν γ' ἐμὲ τιμᾷ βασιλεὺς ἔξοχ' ἄλλῳ/ οὐνόματι μάλ' ὑπειρόχῳ, πάρος ἠέπερ ἦεν, Gregor. *Hist.* VII.2.271 ἦν γε μὴν τηνικαῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδυναστεύων καὶ πᾶσαν κατάστασιν ὅλοις μεσιτεύων τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁ Μετοχίτης Θεόδωρος, λογοθέτης ὢν τηνικαῦτα τοῦ γενικοῦ. τοσοῦτον δ' αὐτῷ προσετετήκει καὶ οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ γε ἐξήρτητο, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μικρὸν ἢ μέγα τῶν πάντων ἀπόῤῥητον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλ' πάντ' ἐποίει βουλομένου καὶ τούτου, καὶ αὖθις οὐδέν, ὃ μὴ τούτῳ πρὸς βουλήσεως ἦν.

[24] *Poem 1*, vv.766-775 καί τε θύγατρα φίλην ἐμὰν ἄλοχον ἀδελφιδῶ/ ζεύγνυσιν, ὃν πρό τε πάντων τίμα ἐόντων πολλῶν,/ πρώτου γ' υἱέα τῶν νύ θ' ὁμαίμων ἔκ τ' ὀνόματος, πρώτου, τῶν νομίμων τῆς συγκλήτοι' ὃς κλῆτο/ ἐξέτι παιδὸς ἁλικίας, ἀτὰρ τ' ὦκα νέος δὴν/ πρόσθ' ὑπεραείρας γεραρώτερον ἢ κατὰ πάντας/ τῶν γε καθ' αἷμ' οἰκείων, πλήν γ' ἄτερ υἱέων αὐτοῦ. καὶ τό γ' ἐμοὶ μάλα κῦδος ἄειρε, κήδεος οὕτω/ ξυλλελαχεῖν βασιληίεω κλῆσίν τ' ἀπ' ἂρ αὐχεῖν/ παρούνυμον ἄτ' εἴθιστ' ἐνθεῦτέν γ' ἀρίτιμον.

[25] *Poem 1*, vv.630-632 Βρυένιος ἔην τις τῆδ' ἂρ ἐπίκλην/ μή 'π' ὀλίγον χρόνον αὐτὸς ἔχων φάμαν ἀστρονομίης ἠδὲ μαθηματικῆς ἄλλης σοφίης νύ τ' ἔχειν εὖ.

[26] *Poem 1*, vv.994-996 ἀτὰρ μ' ἵκετο νοῦον,/ οἷον ἄρ' αὐτὸς καὶ τόδε μ' ἔργον ἀνά τ' ἤγειρεν ἀρίτιμον φίλον εὖ μάλ' ἄνακτι Χριστῷ θεῖον, vv.1002-1007 πρίν ποτ' ἔην μονὰ μάλα τ' ἀγακλεὴς περίφαντος,/ οὔνομα Χώρα, μετὰ πάντεσσιν ἀγαθοῖς χώρα./ ταύταν ὁ πάντ' ἀγάθ' εἰν ῥοᾶ παρασύρων χροῦνος/ πάρ τ' ὀλίγον φθορᾷ πέμπετο· ἀεὶ δ' ἤρα βασιλεὺς/ τήνδε μάλ' ἀνστῆσαι πρό τ' ἀγαγεῖν, ἣ πάρος ἦεν, καὶ μ' ἵφι ἀνὰ τόδ' ἔργον ἀείρει καὐτὸν ἐρῶντα.

[27] Gregor. *Hist.* VIII.5.303 ὁ μέντοι λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ ἄρτι τοῦ νεουργεῖν ἐπέπαυτο τὴν τῆς Χώρας μονήν, ὁπόσος ὁ ἔνδον ἐτύγχανε κόσμος.

[28] Gregor. *Hist.* VIII.6.314 ὁ βασιλεὺς διεμηνύσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν μέγαν λογοθέτην, Cantac. *Hist.* I.2.54,21 καὶ Μετοχίτης λογοθέτης ὁ μέγας, ὃς μεσιτεύων μὲν τότε τῇ διοικήσει τῶν βασιλικῶν πραγμάτων ἦν.

[29] Gregor. *Hist.* IX.7.428 τὸν δὲ μέγα λογοθέτην τὸν Μετοχίτην ὑπερόριον πέμψαι ἐς Διδυμότειχον.

capital and to retreat to the Chora Monastery.[30] However, the pain caused by the imprisonment of his sons, the grief for the death of his dear emperor Andronicus II[31] and his chronic illness[32] led to his death on the 13th March 1332. Before his death he became a monk under the name of Theoleptos.[33]

B. Writings

Despite the fact that Metochites' occupation with public affairs absorbed most of his day, this did not prevent him from studying and composing during the night.[34] Metochites' greatest love was for books; they formed his very being.[35] This is evident from his concern for the restoration of the library of the Chora

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[30] Gregor. *Hist.* IX.13.458.23-9.4 Ὁ μέντοι μέγας λογοθέτης ὁ Μετοχίτης ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας οὐ παρὰ τῇ οἰκίᾳ κατέλυσε· πάλαι γάρ, ὡς εἰρήκειμεν, εἰσελθόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Βυζαντίῳ αὕτη διέφθαρται καὶ τελέως ἠρήμωται πρὸς τῶν δημοτῶν· κατέλυσε δ' ἀπέναντι καὶ πλησίον παρὰ τῇ ἱερᾷ δηλαδὴ μονῇ τῆς Χώρας, ἣν πολλοῖς αὐτὸς ἀναλώμασιν ἀνεκαίνισε πρότερον.

[31] Gregor. *Hist.* X.2.474 κρατηθέντων δ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν υἱέων εἰς δεσμωτήριον κραταιότερον εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐντεῦθεν λύπη τὸ τοῦ πάθους δριμύ, ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπελθὼν θάνατος καὶ βεβαίαν ἤδη κομίσας αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀπόγνωσιν.

[32] *Logos 19*, IV.7ff. τοῦ σώματος τήνδ' ἐπήρειαν καὶ βαρυτάτην νόσον, πάντων ἀπασχολοῦσαν ἄλλων τὸν νοῦν βίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔχειν καθάπαξ στρέφουσαν, Gregor. *Hist.*. X.2.474 ἐπιέζετο μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῷ τῆς στραγγουρίας νοσήματι...ἀνίσχυρον ἐς τέλος τὴν φύσιν πεποίηκε, χαλάσας τοὺς τόνους τῶν καιριωτέρων ὀργάνων καὶ τὰς ζωτικὰς παραλύσας δυνάμεις. My father, Dr. Ilias Pougounias, has informed me that strangury is a symptom of many diseases. In Metochites' case, strangury was probably a symptom of the hypertrophy of the prostate which provokes frequent uro-infections. These caused pyelonefritis which in turn led to deficiency of the kidneys. The deficiency damaged the rest of his vital organs(χαλάσας τοὺς τόνους τῶν καιριωτέρων ὀργάνων καὶ τὰς ζωτικὰς παραλύσας δυνάμεις) and death inevitably followed the uremic coma.

[33] See MS. Marc.Gr. 79, f. 1^{v}, in: I. Ševčenko, *Études*, 8, n.2 τὴν ιγ' τοῦ μαρτίου μηνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος (:ιε') τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ($\varsigma^{ου}\omega^{ου}\mu^{ου}$: 1332) ἐκοιμήθη ὁ μέγας λογοθέτης Θεόδωρος ὁ Μετοχίτης ὁ σοφώτατος, μετονομασθεὶς Θεόληπτος μοναχός.

[34] Gregor. *Hist.* VII.2.272-273 ὃ δὲ πάντων μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἔχοι τις ἂν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὅτι τοσούτου πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων θορύβου καὶ κλύδωνος ἐπικειμένου καὶ φροντίδων ἄλλοτε ἄλλων ἐπικλυζόντων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ γράφειν ἀπησχόλησε πώποτε· ἀλλ' οὕτως εἶχε πρὸς ἄμφω δεξιῶς, ὥστ' ἐκ πρωΐας μὲν ἐς ἑσπέραν ἐν βασιλείοις τὰ κοινὰ διοικῶν ἦν οὕτως ὁλοσχερῶς καὶ ξύν γε πολλῇ καὶ ζεούσῃ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τῶν λόγων ἔξω παντάπασιν ἐτύγχανεν· ὀψὲ δ' αὖθις ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαττόμενος οὕτως ὅλως τῶν λόγων ἐγίγνετο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ σχολαστικός τις ἦν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων παντάπασιν ἐκτός.

[35] *Ethikos*, 32.19-22 ὡς οὐδὲν τίποτ' ἄλλο γένοιτ' ἂν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἴδιον, ὅταν τις ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος ὅλος καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις καὶ σοφίας νεύσεως καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ συνουσίας.

Monastery.[36] In one of his letters to the monks of the Chora Monastery, Metochites stressed that it was their duty towards him to protect the books of the library. He would be miserable if he heard that the books were neglected and damaged.[37]

Metochites' erudition is well-known from the testimony of his contemporaries[38] and especially the testimony of his pupil, Nicephoros Gregoras. According to Gregoras, the souls of Homer, Plato, Ptolemy and Plutarch were united in Metochites.[39] He was the metropolis of wisdom, the citadel of letters,[40] the Academy, the Peripatos and the Stoa together, the living Museum, the arsenal of dogma,[41] the Helikon of the Muses, the Olympus of wisdom,[42] a living library.[43]

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[36] *Poem 1*, vv.1166-1177 ἀτὰρ ἄδ' αὖ νῦν ἐκκέεται χρῆσις πάγκοινος/ ἐξ ἄρ' ἐμεῖο παρασκευῆς ἱερῶν τε βίβλων/ ἠδέ τε ἀλλοτρίων αὖ σοφίης Ἑλλάδος,/ ἧς κεν ἀεὶ μερόπεσσι βροτοῖς ἐντὶ χρειώ,/ κοὐδὲν ἔλαττον ὅσοι Χριστοῦ κέκλεντ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ/ ἀμφί τέ τιν' ἕτερ', ὄφρα τε μάλα τά τ' ἀλλότρι' ὁρῷεν, ὅσω τε κρείσσονα πολλὸν/ κείνων ἡμέτερα τάδε, καί τ' ἄντα σφιν ἔχοιεν/ ἵστασθαι κρατεροί, δαήμονες εὖ πολέμοιο/ ὁπλίσεων ἐξ ἄρ' αὐτῶν κατ' ἄρα σφῶν αὐτῶν/ τὰς μὲν ἐγὼν οὕτω κ' ἐνσκευασάμην παντοίας/ βίβλους κοινὸν ἀν' ἅπασιν ἀγαθὸν, vv.1206-1211 ἤτοι τὰ μὲν ἐγὼν πὰρ τόνδε νόον ταμίευσα/ τῇ μονᾷ θησαυρίσματ' ὀνήσιμα βίβλων ἐσθλά,/ τὰ μὲν κέν νύ τ' ἐπίχρεα πουλλαπλάσι' ἢ 'χρῆν/ ἀτὰρ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ὑμνοπόλοισι θεοῖ· τἆλλα δ' ὃν εἴρηται τρόπον ἄλλοις τ' αὐδῇ τ' ἐκτός,/ καί τε μονασταῖς αὐτοῖς βέλτιστ' ἦ μάλ' ἔχοντα.

[37] *Logos 15*, 24.5-12 ὡς ἐμοί γ' ἂν ἀλγεινότατον εἴη, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τινος ἧττον ἄλλου τῶν ἐμοὶ δυσχερῶν καὶ μέσης ἁπτόμενον δριμύτατα γένοιτ' ἄν, οἶμαι, τῆς καρδίας, εἰ ἄρα πυθοίμην ἄλλως περὶ τούτων, ἢ ὡς ἐπιτέλλω καὶ βούλομαι, καί τιν' αὐτῶν ἀμέλει σεσυλημένα πυθοίμην καὶ τὴν μονὴν ἐρημωθεῖσαν αὐτῶν καὶ χηρεύουσάν, τινα δὲ καὶ ἀτημελήτως ἔχοντα, θριπηδέστατα καὶ εὐρωτιῶντα καὶ φθορᾶς ἐγγύς· ὡς οὐκ ὄφελον μὴ τί ποτε τούτων εἴη, μήτε πυθοίμην τοῦτ' αὐτός, καὶ ὑμῶν πολὺ τῆς φροντίδος καὶ φυλακῆς ἐν τούτοις διδόντων κατ' ἔφεσιν ἐμὴν καὶ μάλισθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀφειλήν, ἣν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀποφευκτέα ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ἐν δευτέρῳ θεμένοις.

[38] Cantacuz. *Hist.* I.2.55 ἀγχίνους, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἔξω σοφίας εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακὼς...διά τε τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν, καὶ τὴν ἣν εἶχεν ἐπιτηδειότητα πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν πραγμάτων πολλῆς ἀπολαύων παρὰ βασιλέως οἰκειότητος καὶ εὐμενείας.

[39] Gregor. *Ep.* 14.65 Ὅμηρον δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Πλούταρχον καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ὅσοι μεγάλης θιασῶται σοφίας ὑπῆρξαν ἀναστάντας ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ σῷ ξυνεληλυθέναι σώματι νῦν καὶ διατρίβειν αὖθις ἐν βίῳ, *Hist.* X.2.479-480 ὧ πῶς μετεμψύχωσίν τινα δοξάζειν καὶ αὐτὸς κεκινδύνευκα ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τὰς ψυχάς, Ὁμήρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ὅσοι ῥητορεύουσαν πεπλουτήκασι γλῶσσαν, ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ τούτου σώματι συνδραμεῖν καὶ διατρίβειν αὖθις ἐν βίῳ.

[40] Greg. *Hist.* X.2.475 τῆς σοφίας μητρόπολιν...τῶν λόγων...ἀκρόπολιν.

[41] Greg. *Hist.* X.2.476 τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καὶ τὸν Περίπατον καὶ τὴν Στοὰν...τὸ ζῶν καὶ κινούμενον μουσεῖον...τὴν δογματικὴν πανοπλίαν.

[42] Greg. *Hist.* X.2.477 τῶν Μουσῶν...Ἑλικῶνα,...τῆς σοφίας...Ὄλυμπον.

[43] Greg. *Hist.* VII.2.271-2 φύσεως δ' εὐμοιρίᾳ πρὸς λόγους καὶ καρτερίᾳ πρὸς πόνους καὶ μνήμης ὑγιείᾳ καὶ καθαρότητι σοφίας ἁπάσης ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἤλασεν. οὕτω δ' εὔπορος ἦν ἅπαντα

His literary output amounts to 1881 folios[44] and covers a wide spectrum: rhetoric (eighteen orations on various subjects preserved in the MS. Vindob.phil.gr.95), poetry (twenty poems in dactylic hexameters on various subjects preserved in the MS.Paris.gr.1776), philosophy (commentaries and paraphrases of various Aristotelian treatises preserved in the MS.Paris.gr.1866 and the MS.Paris.gr.1935), essay-writing (*Ὑπομνηματισμοὶ καὶ σημειώσεις γνωμικαὶ*, preserved in the MS.Paris.gr.2003) and astronomy (*Στοιχείωσις ἀστρονομική*, an introduction to astronomy preserved in the MS.Vat.gr.1365). Unfortunately, we lack his correspondence, since the two manuscripts containing his letters perished during the fire of 1671 in the Escurial Library.[45]

Most of his works are still unpublished due to his notoriously obscure style which was puzzling even for his contemporaries and was criticized as being "disturbing and irritating to the ear, just as the thorn on a rose sticks into the hand as one picks it".[46] The person who exercised the greatest criticism of Metochites' style was Nicephoros Choumnos. In three pamphlets he accused him indirectly of being a repetitious and obscure writer. However, despite his obscure style, we cannot deny Metochites' erudition. His writings are abundant in quotations and allusions to at least eighty-five classical authors, many of whom

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τοῖς ζητοῦσι παλαιά τε καὶ νέα προφέρειν ὡς ἐκ βιβλίου τῆς γλώττης, ὥστε μικρὰ ἢ οὐδὲν ἔδει βιβλίων τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσι. βιβλιοθήκη γὰρ ἦν ἔμψυχος οὗτος καὶ τῶν ζητουμένων πρόχειρος εὐπορία.

[44] I. Ševčenko, *Intellectual trends*, 37, n.147.

[45] G. de Andrés, *Catálogo des los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, 58, 210.

[46] Gregor. *Hist.* VII.2.272 ἕν τι μόνον ἴσως αὐτοῦ καταμέμψαιτό τις, ὅτι πρὸς οὐδένα τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων ἀναφέρειν βεβούληται τοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ γραφῆς χαρακτῆρος τὴν μίμησιν, οὐδ' ἱλαρᾷ τινι καὶ μειδιώσῃ γλώσσῃ τὸ τῆς διανοίας παραμυθεῖσθαι ἐμβριθές, οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς φύσεως πάνυ τοι γόνιμον χαλινῷ τινι κατέχειν προτεθύμηται· ἀλλ' ἰδιοτροπίᾳ τινὶ καὶ αὐτονομίᾳ φύσεως κατακολουθήσας χειμῶνά τινα καὶ θάλατταν γλώττης προΐσχεται· κἀντεῦθεν ἀμύσσει καὶ κνίζει τῶν ἐπιόντων τὴν ἀκοήν, καθάπερ τὴν τῶν τρυγώντων παλάμην ἡ περὶ τὸ ῥόδον ἄκανθα.

he had read. Besides these, there are a number of quotations and allusions whose sources have not yet been traced.[47]

In his writings Metochites complains that he has nothing original to offer since all has been said in advance by the ancient authors.[48] Apart from the numerous quotations or allusions to other authors, which in some cases are the only testimony we have about them, the number and the variety of his works display Metochites' wide-ranging literary interests and remarkable erudition. Thus he can be considered one of the most important representatives of the Palaiologan Revival.

C. *Byzantios*

Byzantios Or *About The Imperial Megalopolis* is one of Theodore Metochites' orations, the eleventh in the series, found in the fourteenth century MS.Vindobonensis Philologicus Graecus 95 (illustration 3), the only codex that preserves all the orations written by Theodore Metochites.

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[47] I. Ševčenko, *Intellectual trends*, 23; N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 257.

[48] *Miscellanea* 14-16 πάντα γάρ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, φθάσαντ' ἄλλοις εἴληπται, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ,τι λείπεται μεθύστερον νῦν ἡμῖν μοιρίδιον εἰς χρῆσιν τῇ φωνῇ, οὔθ' ὅσαγε περὶ τῶν θείων, καὶ οἷς μάλιστα κατ' ὀφειλὴν ἀξιώσειέ τις ἂν προσέχειν, οὔθ' ὅσαγε τῆς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔξωθεν σοφίας. καὶ ἱερὰ γὰρ ἅπαντα γράμματα καὶ ὅσα νενομισμένα θεσπέσια δέδοται παλαιά τε καὶ νέα. Πλεῖστον δὴ καὶ θαυμαστοὶ πάνυ τοι καὶ βίον καὶ λόγον ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διὰ πλείστων πόνων ἐν λόγοις ἠρευνήσαντο, καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς σοφίας εἰς μεγίστην ὄνησιν ἀνθρώποις εὖ μάλ' ἐχρήσαντο...Πάντα δ' οὖν παρ' ἑκάστων εἰς τὸν βίον ἐνεσκεύασται καὶ συντέτακται...καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ,τι σχεδὸν λέλειπταί γε ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ χώρα τις ὅλως εἰς κοινωφελῆ τινὰ φορὰν ἴσως, ὅστις ἂν οἷός τ' εἴη, οὔτε καιρὸς εἰς ἀνεμέσητον ὅμως ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ προκοπῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἄμιλλαν...ὅπου γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ νικῆσαι τὸν νοῦν νέον οὐκ ἂν ἐρεῖν ἔχοι, ἀλλ' ὃ πρότερον ἤδη φθάσαν ἤνυσται τινί, καὶ τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις προείληπται, *Ethikos* 18.16-18,110 εἰσὶ γὰρ ὄντως, εἰσὶ πάλαι λόγοι περὶ πάντων ἐσκευασμένοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡμῶν ἕνεκεν εἰς ἕτοιμον χρῆσιν, 18.21,112-18.3,114 ἢ περὶ τίνος ἄρα καὶ ζητήσας οὐχ εὑρήσεις αὐτίκα αὐτόθεν πάλαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐσκευασμένα δόγματα καὶ λόγους ἠσφαλισμένους καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἔχοντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ πάντων ἀκριβέστατα προεῖπον καὶ προὔθεντο νόμους καὶ κλήρους αὐτάρκεις ἀπολαύειν

The codex has been described in full by H. Hunger;[49] therefore, a repetition of what has already been discussed is not necessary. The edition does not present any particular difficulties, since the manuscript is excellent and the text is preserved with a remarkable accuracy; in addition, all corrections and additions have been made by the scribe, Michael Klostomalles, himself who was in the chancery of Andronicus II. We may also notice that the scribe has an expert and confident hand; he writes in a rapid and spontaneous way and possesses a variety of forms for many letters (e.g. bēta, zēta, xi). His hand is extremely legible and tidy and his letters and words are well separate. Moreover, there is a remarkable analogy of wide and narrow letters as well as a few elements of *Fettaungen*, a few abbreviations and elongations.

However, it is necessary to note that the manuscript does not preserve the whole text of *Byzantios.* In his description Hunger had already indicated that the oration was incomplete, for the last page of the oration, f. 302^{v}, ends with the prepositional phrase ἐξ ὧν. I would like to stress that the problem is not so simple: it seems that the last six pages have been placed in the wrong order and they definitely require re-arrangement. I believe that the order which E. Fenster[50] has proposed is quite reasonable and satisfactorily restores the meaning of the text. I have followed his suggestion by arranging the last pages in the following order: 299^{v}, 302^{r}, 302^{v}, 300^{r}, 300^{v}, 301^{r}, 301^{v}.

With this new order the end of f. 299^{v} (*ταῦτα πάνθ'* ὅσα γε...<u>πρὸ μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις</u>) perfectly matches with the beginning of f. 302^{r} (<u>παραβάλλειν</u>

ἀπόνως τοῖς ἑξῆς ἡμῖν καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀνεπίγνωστον οὔτ' ἄῤῥητον παρεῖται, ἀλλ' ἅπασιν εἴαται, πᾶσιν ἀνεπληρώθη.

[49] H. Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 1, 202-204.

[50] E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, 196.

ἕκασθ') and the prepositional phrase ἐξ ὧν of f. 302^{v} (περαίνειν ἐξ ὧν) with the beginning of f. 300^{r} (ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν λειψάνων). The re-arrangement of the last pages (or, at least, the transposition of f. 302^{v} to a part of the oration other than the end) is imperative for one more reason: on the last page (f. 302^{v}), line eighteen, the author mentions two cities (τῶν εἰρημένων ἀμφοτέρων πόλεων). Yet, following the order in which the pages have been preserved, the author has already (before f. 302^{v}) referred to three cities. These cities are Alexandria (f. 299^{r}, l. 21-22 Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου), Antioch (f. 299^{r}, l. 28-29 Σελεύκου μεγίστη πόλις,...Ἀντιόχεια) and Rome (f. 301^{r}, l. 7 Ῥώμη). Therefore, I believe that the word ἀμφοτέρων refers to the first two cities, Alexandria and Antioch (see f. 301^{r}, l. 5-6 καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων μακεδονικῶν μεγίστων πόλεων ἐν τούτοις ἐχέτω μετρίως). Thus, the author treated Alexandria and Antioch first and then moved on to a comparison of the Second Rome with its predecessor, Rome, in order to demonstrate the superiority of the former.

This re-arrangement of the last pages does not solve all the problems; even f. 301^{v} cannot be the last page of the oration for two reasons. First, there is the absence of a mark of punctuation (i.e. two dots, **:**) which would indicate the end of the speech, according to the practice followed by the scribe in similar cases in this manuscript. Secondly, if we consider the phrase (διαδοχὴ τῇ πόλει) as the end of the speech, it seems rather abrupt as an epilogue of such a long oration. Accordingly, I believe that there must have been at least one more folio in which the author expressed his last thoughts.

In addition, two more folios are certainly missing.[51] I firmly believe that a folio between f. 250^{v} and 251^{r} was lost, for, on the one hand, there is a gap in the author's narrative and, on the other, the last word of f. 250^{v}, the pronoun ἅπαντα, does not correspond to any other word of the following page. The other missing folio is between f. 251^{v} and 252^{r}. Both the last word of f. 251^{v} and the first of f. 252^{r} is καὶ. However, the strongest argument in favour of a missing folio is that at the end of f. 251^{v} the author talks about the impossible (κατὰ τῶν ἀδυνάτων) and at the beginning of f. 252^{r} about those things accomplished in the quickest way (ταῦτα πάντα τάχιστα); once more there is a gap in Metochites' exposition.

I have placed the composition of *Byzantios* during the period 1307-1320. I consider 1307 as a terminus post quem, since *Ethikos*, the treatise that precedes *Byzantios* in MS. Vind. Phil. Gr. 95 must have been written in 1305 or a little later.[52] This is apparent from what the author says in *Ethikos*, that his offspring are still very young,[53] and agrees with Ševčenko's belief that the works contained in the codex were copied in the chronological order they were produced. Besides, I do not think that there is any inconsistency in this supposition and in what Metochites states in *Poem 12*, which is preserved in the MS. Parisinus Graecus 1776.[54] In *Poem 12*, vv. 198-224 Metochites mentions three of his works (*Ethikos*, *Byzantios*, *Logos on Gregory the Theologian*) in accordance to their value and significance for himself and not in accordance to the chronological order in which these works were produced. I believe that this is evident in vv. 198-201 ἠμὲν ὁτουοῦν ἄμμιν ἐπάξιοι δοκέοντες/τάχα λόγου κεν, ἠέ τε καὶ οὔ. τῶνδ' ἄρ

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[51] One folio consists of two pages; therefore, two pages are missing in each place and four pages in total.
[52] I. Ševčenko, *Études*, 141, n. 2.
[53] *Ethikos* 47, 204 τὰ γὰρ δὴ θήλεα καὶ ὁ νεογνής μοι παῖς οὗτος ἄρρην.

ἔμοιγε,/ τοὶ καθάπαξ οὐ μαψιδίως ἀπάδοντα σκουποῦ/ ἀνυτέμεν δοκέουσιν, v. 211 δεύτερος αὖ ἐπὶ τῷδε δοκῶ μοι Βυζάντιος, v. 220 καὶ τὸν ἄρα τεκόμην μετὰ τοῖσιν ἔπειτά γ' ἐξείης.[55]

As the terminus ante quem I have determined 1320, almost a full year before the conclusion of the works for the restoration of the Chora Monastery. If the oration were composed after 1321 - and certainly before 1325, when Choumnos, beaten in politics, embarks upon his literary attack against Metochites and the latter replies with his *Logos 14* and *Logos 15* - I find it unlikely for Metochites not to have given the slightest hint regarding the Chora Monastery, "θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, the wonder to look at" (*Poem 1*, v. 1034) in the part of *Byzantios* which is devoted to the praise of the churches and the monasteries of Constantinople. As it is evident from *Poem 1* and especially from *Poem 2*, Metochites is not modest enough to avoid mentioning and praising the monastery which was restored at his expense and under his supervision.[56]

One last point about the dating of *Byzantios*: a quotation from Demosthenes in f. 298^{v} of *Byzantios* (ὡς ἄρα καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ὁποῖά ποτ' ἂν ᾖ, φησί, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πράγματα, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ φρονήματα γίγνεται) is repeated in a much later speech of Metochites, in *Logos 17*, f. 359^{v} written in 1330. However, this is certainly not the instance to which

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[54] Ševčenko believes that an inconsistency does exist; for this see "The Logos on Gregory of Nazianzus by Theodore Metochites", in W. Seibt (ed.) *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, 223.

[55] For the text and a very good translation of *Poem 12*, see M. Cunningham/ J. Featherstone/ S. Georgiopoulou, "Theodore Metochites's Poem to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos", *HUkSt* 7(1983), 100-116.

[56] *Poem 1*, vv. 1039-1041 ἀτὰρ ὑπερχρύσε' οὔροφον ἀμπαχθέντα τμητὰ/ ψηφίδων ἱμερόεντα κάλλεα διασταδὸν/ κατακεκόσματ' ἐπαστράπτοντ' ὄμματ', vv. 1055-1056 ἱρὰ δὲ κειμήλια μάλ' ἀρίτιμ' ἀργύρεά τε/ χρύσεά τε πλεῖστα, ὅσα παρθέμαν ἀολλήσας, vv. 1067-1069 ἔπιπλα πάνυ τοι πλεῖστα/ παρθέμαν ἀνὰ τάδ' ἠδὲ τὰ πουλλαπλάσι' ἀνύσας/ ἀγλαά τε, χρυσόπαστα, πολύχροα, *Poem* 2, vv. 16-17 σοί τε φέρων τέμενος μονὰν ἀνθέμαν αὐτὸς τήνδε,/ Χώραν ἐπὶ σέο κικλήσκων, esp. vv. 254-280 ἐγὼν περικαλλέα τήνδ' ἄρα μουνὰν/ πολλὸν ἀμείνω πολλῶν στῆσ'

Metochites refers to when he says "ὡς ἄρα καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν εἴρηται: like we previously mentioned at other points." The quotation appears for the first time - though divergent in form - in f. 254[r] of *Byzantios* (ὁποῖα γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τὰ φρονήματα, φησὶ Δημοσθένης, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ πράγματα γίνεται). Thus, after pointing this out, we can date *Byzantios* with certainty to before 1330.[57]

Finally, a few words about the edition of *Byzantios*: The treatment of accents, breathings and apostrophes is a compromise between the wish to provide a readable text and the desire to give an idea of Metochites' orthographic practice. Therefore, I have accentuated the enclitics in the conventional way, supplied the subscript iotas, written ἀνόνητον for ἀνώνητον, εὔγαιος for εὔγαιως, standardized forms such as ἱδρύσθαι into ἱδρῦσθαι, ἀνῦσαι into ἀνύσαι, changed the punctuation of the manuscript into syntactic style; but I have kept syntactical deviations such as ἦν δέοι ἄν, ὡς ἂν δοκιμάζῃ, εἰ καὶ ἀπογινομέναις, compound words such as ἕτεράττα, ἐφῷ, οὐχήκιστα, κατακαιρὸν, elided words such as χορηγί' αὖθις, παντοῖ' ἐν, διαπόντι' ὀχήματα and cases of aphaeresis such as τὰ 'ναντία, τὰ 'νδρείκελα, τὰ 'γάλματα.

D. The genre of *Byzantios*: *Laudes urbium*

As the title, *Byzantios* or *about the imperial megalopolis*, suggests, the oration is devoted to the encomium of the City, of Constantinople. Therefore, we

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ἐπὶ τῆσδε πόλιος...θησαύρισμα μέγ' ἔξοχον...ἐγὼν ἐνάριθμον ἱδρυσάμην τήνδε τὴν μονὰν, vv. 304-309 τήνδε συνανέστασα μονὴν σέο δὴ περίφαντον/ ἀγλαίῃσί τε κατ' ἂρ ἐκόσμησα πάσῃσι.

[57] For the difficulty Ševčenko encountered in dating *Byzantios* due to this quotation, see *Intellectual trends*, 28, n.68.

are dealing with a panegyric and more specifically, a panegyric of a city, one of the *laudes urbium*.

Even though descriptions of cities occur in all literary genres in both ancient and Byzantine literature (historiography, poetry, epistolography, hagiography, epigrams, orations), *laudes urbium* are a rare occurrence at least as far as ancient literature is concerned. Classical prose models of *laudes urbium* are hard to find,[58] while in the hellenistic period Hegesias of Magnesia seems to have composed encomia of cities.[59]

Quintilian was the first to define this particular category of panegyric and allows us to believe that his precepts were based on earlier material. In his *Institutio Oratoria* (III.7.26-27) he defined the encomium of a city: laudantur autem urbes similiter atque homines. Nam pro parente est conditor, et multum auctoritatis adfert vetustas, ut iis, qui terra dicuntur orti, et virtutes ac vitia circa res gestas eadem quae in singulis: illa propria quae ex loci positione ac munitione sunt. Cives illis ut hominibus liberi sunt decori. Est laus et operum in quibus honor utilitas pulchritudo auctor spectari solet: honor ut in templis, utilitas ut in muris, pulchritudo vel auctor utrubique.[60]

However, more systematic treatment and elaboration on the topic are offered by Menander. In his treatise, *How one should praise the land and the cities*, he distinguishes two parts in the encomium of a city: 1) the praise of the natural setting (site of the city, neighbouring cities, climate, geographical

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[58] D. A. Russell/ N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor*, xxix.
[59] F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 2.405, n. 44.
[60] (trans. D. A. Russell) Cities are praised on similar lines to men. The founder stands for the father, age gives authority (as with peoples said to be autochthonous), and the virtues and vices seen in actions are the same, as with individuals, the only special features being those which come from the site and the fortifications. Citizens are a credit to cities as children are to parents. Public

features), 2) the praise of the accomplishments of the citizens (political system, schools of letters, science, arts, rhetoric).[61]

Likewise, Hermogenes in his *Progymnasmata* briefly gives the dual nature of the encomium: 1) praise of the citizens' achievements, 2) praise of the physical position.[62]

The most famous examples of these recommendations are the *Panathenaikos* of Aelius Aristides and the *Antiochikos* of Libanios. Both follow all the traditional elements of the encomium of the city. The former describes the land, the sea, the climate, the people and the monuments and gives an account of the city's past and of the citizens' accomplishments. The latter praises the site, the sea, the climate, the surrounding nature of the city, its history, the citizens' accomplishments, the buildings of the city, the suburbs, the river and the harbour. We must note that, apart from the traditional praise of the natural setting of the city and the achievements of its citizens, a significant part of these encomia is devoted to the architectural appearance of the city.

After the sixth century there is a remarkable absence of descriptions (and praises) of cities, possibly because of the decline of the Late Antique urban model. A revived interest in the praise of cities once again emerges in the late Byzantine period.[63] There is a considerable number of encomia of cities from this period. The eulogists follow all the traditional rhetorical topoi we have mentioned before and they also introduce two elements in the praise of the late Byzantine

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works also can be praised; here magnificence, use, beauty and the builder are usually considered; magnificence, for example, in temples, use in walls, beauty or the builder in both.

[61] *Menand.* 344.16 - 367.8.

[62] Hermog. 7.42 καὶ μὴν καὶ πόλεως ἐγκώμιον ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἂν χαλεπῶς μεταχειρίσαιο· ἐρεῖς γὰρ καὶ περὶ γένους, ὅτι αὐτόχθονες, καὶ περὶ τροφῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐτράφησαν, καὶ περὶ παιδείας ὡς ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐπαιδεύθησαν. Ἐξετάσεις δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου, ποδαπὴ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις, ποδαπὴ τὴν κατασκευήν, τίσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐχρήσατο, τίνα κατέπραξε.

[63] H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 170ff.

city: the praise of churches and the praise of fortifications for their beauty and the security they provide.[64]

Doxapatres in his homilies on Apthonius describes the three parts of the encomium of a city: 1) site, size and beauty, 2) historical account, and 3) description of the city.[65]

It is worth mentioning two late Byzantine examples of *laudes urbium.* Manuel Chrysoloras in his letter to the emperor John Palaeologos praises Rome for its location, its walls, buildings, monuments, natural beauties. Next, he remarks that the New Rome surpasses the old one in beauty and size. He wonders at Constantinople's site, harbour, walls, buildings; and he ends his encomium with the praise of St. Sophia. Theodore Metochites in *Nicaeus* refers to the glorious past of Nicaea, describes the natural setting of the city, the sea, the rivers, the lakes, the plains, the plants, all the delights, the buildings. He stresses the beauty, the size and the power of the fortifications and also the *kallos* of its churches.

As we will see, Metochites follows the same practice in *Byzantios* - the first encomium exclusively dedicated to Constantinople - as in *Nicaeus.*[66]

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[64] See John Phocas' ekphrasis of the cities of the Holy Land (*PG* 133, col. 928B), Bessarion's encomium of Trebizond (*Neos Hellenomnemon* 13(1916), 147-194), John Eugenikos' encomium of Trebizond (*Archeion Pontou* 20(1955), 26-27), of Corinth and Komi (*Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακὰ* 1(1912-1923), 48-54), of Imbros (*Anecdota Nova*, 129-131).

[65] Doxap. II.514 ἔστι γὰρ ὅτι καὶ διῃρημένως φαίνεται, καὶ φανερώτερον τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ἥ τε θέσις καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος παραλαμβάνεται. Καὶ αὖ πάλιν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαιότερον ἀνατρέχοντες τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῆς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὴν περιγραφὴν καὶ τὸν χρόνον παραλαμβάνομεν. See also H. G. Beck, "Antike Beredsamkeit und byzantinische Kallilogia", *Antike und Abendland* 15(1969), 91-101; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 65ff; eiusdem, "Aspekte der griechischen Rhetorik von Gorgias bis zum untergang von Byzanz", *Österreichishe Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.Hist.Kl.Sitzungsberichte* 277.3, 1-27.

[66] Themistios is Constantinople's first systematic panegyrist. He set up the pattern of "topoi" for the subsequent laudations of Constantinople (: favourable geographical position on the confines of Europe and Asia, propitious climate, magnificent architecture, hearth of arts and letters, coequality with Rome, the city's close connection with the imperial power). However, he and almost every other author combine a praise of the city with one praise of the emperor. Only

Following Menander's precepts and all the previous examples of praises of cities, he praises the site of the city (9-20), the seas (21-26), the plains, the mountains and their produce (27-31), the walls, the buildings, all the monuments (52-59) and the Great Church, St. Sophia (70-72). He refers to its long history and to its glorious founder, Constantine the Great (32-51) and praises the city for being the centre of letters (73-75) and the source of true faith (85-95). However, he devotes the last paragraphs of his encomium to some other great cities of the past (Babylon, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome) and succeeds in proving that Constantinople is the Unrivalled and Eternal city, *The City*.[67]

E. Structure and contents of *Byzantios*

In the introduction (1-8) the rhetor believes that it is his duty to praise the city.[68] His encomium will be the result of all the wonderful things he is surrounded by; it will be his repayment to all he has received from the city and from its emperors. What is more, despite the fact that he is conscious of his

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Metochites and Karbones, who is a contemporary of Gregoras and imitates Metochites, wrote an encomium exclusively of the city. Karbones's encomium is fragmentary, preserved in the Vaticanus Graecus 444, 1^{v}-4^{v} and 290^{r}-293^{v}. For its edition, see E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, 341-354.

[67] In the commentary I refer to other rhetorical works which Metochites was acquainted with and followed even in the wording (e.g. Aelius Aristides, Libanius, and especially Gregory of Cyprus). In the appendix I show how close Metochites' encomium is to Menander's precepts.

For specific aspects of rhetorical descriptions of cities see E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* (Munich, 1968), C. J. Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes Urbium* (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 1986); see also H. Saradi, "The Kallos of the Byzantine city: the development of a rhetorical topos and historical reality", *Gesta* 34(1995), 37-56.

[68] The structural divisions are not in the original manuscript nor have they been made by any previous editor. The punctuation, the chapter divisions and the numbering present in the edition all belong to the current editor.

difficulty in treating the subject, his extreme love towards the city incites him to attempt the praise.

Thus, the eulogist commences with the presentation of the favourable geographical position of the city (9-20). He would prefer to present its beauties to foreigners rather than to the locals, because he knows that, in this case, his inability to praise the city as it is due may be revealed. In comparison to all the other cities, Constantinople combines land and sea; thus, it gives rise to everybody's admiration. It is the most beautiful place, a form of natural bridge between Europe and Asia. Its convenient location has captivated many writers, who have dealt with it. Its main features are: 1. its perfection, 2. its position in the centre of the world, 3. its possession of a great range of goods, which are distributed throughout the world with great facility.

Where the two greatest continents meet, some of the greatest seas meet (21-26). As the sea gets into the city through a very narrow strait, it calms down and it creates little gulfs and harbours for the city. To the south, Propontis is like a garden with countless beauties and with islets which welcome visitors and prepare them for all the amazing things they might come across in the city. On this side, the sea is like a mirror, reflecting the beauty of the sky. On the other side, to the north, the Euxine provides so wild a spectacle that it attracts the visitor's attention towards the land. As there are awesome things around the city, the rhetor rightfully regards it as the copy of the whole world.

At this place the land and the sea, the plains and the hills and all the winds become one (27-31). Its soil is equally fertile at its flat and mountainous parts, while the winds contribute to the easy production of all kinds of fruit. There is

such abundance in goods that they are exported worldwide; while the city caters for all tastes and needs.

In the succeeding paragraphs (32-50) there follows an essential part of the encomium of a city: the praise to the founder of the city, Constantine the Great. It is the rhetor's obligation to praise the man who is famous for having offered the world such a city; for the establishment of Christianity throughout the world, for his faith; for being God's chosen one, His right hand; for executing all the plans he had in mind. Such a city could have had no other founder but only Constantine the Great. Constantine the Great's encomium constitutes the encomium of the city and vice-versa. The city constitutes an inheritance worthy of its founder's glory and genius. It is the biggest, the strongest and the most beautiful one; it is the citadel, the heart of the empire, since everything is directly associated with and dependent on it. Besides, he is the wise, the ingenious man, who could have been famous for the selection of such a strategic point and for the creation of such a city and only. According to the eulogist, the strategic significance of the place is proved by the fact that, in the past, many people aspired to conquer it in order to control the surrounding area. So the city was built on a tested site, with the sole concern of governing the universe. Its foundation is interwoven with the free expression and the establishment of Christianity. Its founder and first king is also the first Christian king, who is regarded as a saint and equal to the Apostles; while the city is the source of piety.

At this point, Constantine the Great's encomium is concluded and the rhetor turns his attention to the city walls and to all the works they encompass (51-59). High and unique walls preserve, like treasuries, countless public and private buildings, which are characteristic of their amazing beauty, power and

magnitude. Even the ruins provoke one's admiration for their power and beauty. Furthermore, it is difficult for one to enumerate and comment on the buildings that stand intact as is their due. There are numerous churches and monasteries, where people find consolation; colonnades, streets, schools, theatres, reservoirs, fountains, baths, hospitals, works of art, columns, statues. All these are so beautiful that noone can consider oneself capable of treating them as they deserve.

The city is so big that has buildings and works of art at every point (60-66). These are characteristic of their artistic detail and by the abundance of construction materials, which come from all over the world. Noone else but the city has full possession of everything. However, it is not content with them, it constantly makes new additions. The goods are so plentiful that they are open-handedly offered in great numbers. According to the rhetor, even some of the existing possessions of the city would be enough to supply many of the most famous cities with.

The next part of the speech (67-69) is dedicated to the patroness of the city, to the Mother of God. The Mother of God is the queen of the city, where She rules the whole world from. As the city is Her exclusive possession, countless are the beautiful churches and convents dedicated to Her Grace. On its land all the holy rites are performed, while the treasures of the Christian faith are well-preserved.

The greatest wonder of the whole world, a work exclusively created by God, is the church of Haghia Sophia (70-72), which is considered a miracle, a work not made by human hands, since it defies the rules of nature and art and cannot possibly be compared not even with any of the seven wonders of the world. This

church is the representation of heaven on earth. As the city is the heart and the eye for the whole world, so the church is for the city.

Everything in the city is beautiful, useful and wonderful (73-75). Everything constitutes a treasury of knowledge, helps everyone to be aware of the history of the city and offers food for thought. It is the only city which remains the seat of science, of wisdom and rhetoric, the hearth of education for the whole world.

The city is the common harbour for all things, not exclusively for the goods of wisdom (76-81). It is the common treasury of the earth; it all ends in this city and is offered to everybody by this city. For this reason, the city harbours are always full of ships, people and goods. It is thought to be the common homeland of all nations, where they gather, exchange their products and fulfil any wish whatsoever. Only here can one learn everything about each nation. The most wealthy and fortunate people in this life are the citizens of Constantinople, since they relish on goods in great abundance and can associate with people from the whole world. The citizens of Constantinople have achieved a life full of experiences which is of prime importance: namely, living a wholesome, yet short, life rather than a long and empty one.

The fame of the city is such that it is imparted to its citizens (82-84). Even if the citizens have nothing significant to show, they become distinguished thanks to the fine reputation and the glorious past of their homeland.

The city stands out not only because of its secular but also its religious splendour (85-95). It is closely connected with the Christian faith and it preserves all its heirlooms as well as its rules. Apostle Andrew has been its mentor, while Constantine the Great has been its founder and first emperor. The city remained attached to the Christian faith and immediately disposed with Julian, the only

impious emperor. All the well-known cities renounced their faith and failed; however, only this city remained loyal to divine and human affairs; thus, it was a metropolis and the source of piety. Its predominance in religious affairs is also proved by the fact that almost half the oecumenical councils took place on its grounds. During these councils, the dogmas of the Christian religion were resolved and the most excellent men were active members; those enjoyed honour both on earth and after death. Furthermore, its land is adorned by many beautiful and big churches, embellished by works of sculpture and painting and by precious votives; services and rites take place, marvels are accomplished in fulfilment of some prayers.

In the next five paragraphs (96-100) the rhetor brings back the praise of the unique and ideal convenient conditions in the city: its mild climate, the fertility of the land, the beautiful seas. He revisits the discussion about the harbours, the walls, the buildings and the various artifacts; he mentions the presence and the friendly relations of the foreigners who come to the city with the locals as well as the cultivation of the Christian faith.

In the epilogue (101-110), the eulogist compares Constantinople to some other significant and much-celebrated cities as regards its convenient location, its goods, its association with the rest of the world; and he proves, once again, the superiority of the City. First, he mentions Babylon, the city which, despite its high walls and fertile land, was inaccessible due to the absence of sea. Moreover, Alexandria was renowned because of its founder, its size and prosperity. On the other hand, Antioch was a very beautiful city; the Macedonians had founded both the last two; yet nothing could be compared to Constantinople and their splendour and glory soon vanished. Even Rome is much inferior to

Constantinople in all aspects. Only Constantinople is the spiritual home and the magnet for all, because of its many goods and its illustrious paternal inheritance. Thanks to this inheritance the inhabitants of Constantinople remain infinitely celebrated.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

TEXTUS

< >	verba vel litterae a me suppletae
[ ]	verba quae delenda censeo

APPARATUS

V	Cod. Vindobonensis Philologicus Graecus 95
V^{ac}	codex V ante correctionem
V^{pc}	codex V post correctionem
V^{mg}	codex V in margine
V^{sl}	codex V supra lineam
γϱ.	γϱάφεται
in ras.	in rasura
iter.	iteravit
l. n.	legi nequit
n. l.	non liquet
ras.	rasura

TEXT

(f.233^{v}) Βυζάντιος ἢ περὶ τῆς βασιλίδος μεγαλοπόλεως

1. Πλεῖσται μὲν ἀφορμαὶ πᾶσι πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν, κἀμοὶ δ' οὐχήκιστα, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ ἐμοί, καὶ μεθ' ὅ,τι μεγίστης τῶν δικαίων ἀνάγκης παρακαλοῦσαι πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων φορὰν τῇ πόλει. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅμως πᾶσαι παντάπασιν ἐργώδεις καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιαι περαίνειν οὔθ' ὅπως ἄρα δίκαιον οὔθ' ὅπως ἄρα βούλησις ἂν ὅστις ἅψαιτο. Πρῶτον μέν, ὃ φύσει τοῖς μεγίστοις πράγμασι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερηρμένοις ἔπεσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἐξίστησιν εἰς ἑαυτὰ πάντα καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπόπτην καὶ νοῦν καὶ χειροῦται· καὶ ἅμα τέ τις κατεῖδε καὶ ὁπηοῦν πεπείραται καὶ ἅμα λοιπὸν αὐτίκα συνέσχηται προσέχειν εὖ μάλα σφίσιν ἀνάγκην ἔχων ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ὅλως ἔπειτα ἔχειν ἠρέμα καὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὐκ ἀφροντίστως οὐδ' ἄσειστον ἀναχωρεῖν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τ' ἄηθες ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι λόγους θαύματος. Πῶς ἂν εἴπῃ τις εὐψύχως τῶν ὁρωμένων <τὸ>[69] πραττόμενον; Τίς ἂν οὕτως εἴη φρενῶν ἔξω καὶ τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ μεγίστων ὑπὸ μικρογνωμοσύνης, οὐκ οἶδ' ἥστινος, παντάπασιν ἀσύνετος καὶ ἀμαθὴς καὶ ἀνέραστος καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἂν φαίην, ἀναίσθητος (f.234^{r})προσορᾶν, ὃς οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα τουτὶ μάλιστα δοκοίη καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ ταύτῃ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτὴν κάλλεσί τε καὶ θαύμασι τοὺς λογισμοὺς τούσδε καὶ τὴν κρίσιν μάλιστ' ἂν ἀξιοίη, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ ποτε ἄλλοτ'[70], οἶμαι, ἄλλῳ τῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παντός τις αἰῶνος ἢ νῦν μάλιστα τῶν ἁπάντων ἄλλῳ τῳ.

2. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω πρῶτον ὡς εὐθὺς ἰδεῖν ὅσα παρέχεται θαυμάζειν ἡ πόλις αὐτίκα σφόδρ' οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς φύσεως ἔθος εἰς τοὺς λόγους ἕλκοντα, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω πᾶσι κοινόν· ἕτερον αὖθις ὅτι μοι καὶ

[69] τὸ addidi

πατρὶς ἡ πόλις, ἕτερον αὖθις ὅτι μοι καὶ λόγων τροφὸς καὶ τούτους πάντως ἀντεισφέρειν αὐτῇ πολὺ δίκαιον ὥσπερ τινὸς ἐράνου πάνυ τοι δοκοῦσαν εὔλογον ἀντίδοσιν, ὧν ἀμέλει παμπλείστων, φθάσας αὐτῆς ἔχω λαβὼν καὶ κομιδῇ παθὼν εὖ ἀπομετρεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' ἡντιναοῦν ἀναγκαστὴν ὀφειλήν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτό γ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι σαφὲς καὶ παντὶ ξυνιδεῖν ὡς, εἰ μὲν χρημάτων βοήθεια προὔκειτο καὶ δωρεὰ τῇ πατρίδι ἢ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἢ κατ' ἄρα καὶ κόσμον ὁντιναδή, ὅστις ἄν, οἶμαι, μὴ πρόθυμος ἁπήντα τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν ἐνόντων ῥᾷστά τε καὶ ἥδιστα ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ εἰσφερόμενος, φαῦλος ἂν ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις ἄλλως ἐρεῖ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο νόμιμον ἀσάλευτον κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατὰ παντὸς ἀληθῶς τοῦ χρόνου· τοὺς δὲ μένοντας ἀεὶ λόγους καὶ ἀσυλήτους ἐπίπαν καὶ ἀζημίους μὴ καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων συνεισφέρειν φεύγων τις εἰσαεὶ καὶ παραιτούμενος οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀνεμέσητος εἴη.

3. Καὶ μήν, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ πολιστῇ βασιλεῖ ταύτης τῆς μεγίστης καὶ βασιλίδος ὀφείλεται χάρις τοῦ τοσούτου πράγματος καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης ὑπερφυοῦς, (f.234^{v})ἔμβραχύ γ' ἐρεῖν, φορᾶς εἰς τὸν βίον, πάντως [δ'][71] ὀφείλεται καὶ δικαίως εὖ μάλα καὶ παντὶ πολιστῇ πολίταις αὐτοῦ καὶ παντὶ μεγίστων τινῶν καὶ καλλίστων δημιουργῷ πᾶσιν εὐγνώμοσι καὶ σοφοῖς θεαταῖς καὶ κριταῖς. Τί τις ἂν ἐνταῦθα λέγειν ἔχοι περὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θείου, ᾧ καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς αὐτῆς εὐετηρίας καὶ παῤῥησίας καὶ προκοπῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος καὶ τοῦ κράτους εὐγνωμοσύνη πᾶσα χριστιανοῖς γε πᾶσιν ἀμέλει προσοφείλεται καὶ μνήμη μετ' εὐφημίας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ δόξα παμμήκης καὶ πολὺ

[70] ἄλλο τ' V
[71] δ' seclusi

προήκουσα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ κρότοι λόγων καὶ πάντων πραγμάτων; Καὶ τό γε μὴν ἄρα ποσόν[72], οἶμαι, πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λόγον ἕλκει καὶ προβάλλεται πρόφασιν, ὅσην εὔλογον ἐνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι.

4. Τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν τουτωνὶ μεγίστων τε καὶ πάντ᾽ ἀρίστων βασιλέων καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀπογόνων τε καὶ κληρονόμων τῆς ἐκείνου πίστεως καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα μεγαλοδοξίας, ὅσον ἄρα, πρὸς τὸν παρόντα συμπείθει καὶ καταναγκάζει λόγον. Οἳ κρατοῦσι μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖθεν σφίσιν προσηκούσης, κοσμοῦνται δὲ ταύτῃ, τῷ καλλίστῳ πάντων καὶ μεγίστῳ κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀπαραμίλλῳ κτήματι, κοσμοῦσι δὲ ταύτην, ὡς ἂν αὐτῆς γε ταύτης ἀμέλει πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐγενὴς ἐπίδειξις, καὶ αὐτῆς ἄξιοι καὶ τοῖς οἴκοθεν αὐτῶν κάλλεσι προσθήκη[73] δόξης αὐτῇ καὶ κάλλους γίγνονται· καὶ οἷς μὲν ἄρα τῆς μεγίστης[74] ἁπασῶν ἐκ παντὸς αἰῶνος εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες, τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀριθμοῦνται σὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, καὶ πάντων ἐν τοῖς νῦν μέγιστοι· οἷς δὲ ξυμπεφύκασι ταύτῃ πάντα τρόπον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, (f.235[r])καὶ πολὺ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὴν εὔλογον ἔχουσι καὶ ἡρμοσμένον ἄρχειν τε καὶ ξυνεῖναι καὶ κοινωνεῖν οὕτως ἄρα καταθεῖον ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις τὰ προσήκοντα, αὐτοί τε τὰ κατ᾽αὐτοὺς[75] καὶ ἡ πόλις τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτήν[76], καὶ χωροῦντες καὶ ἱκανούμενοι τὴν ἀλλήλων εὐδαιμονίαν τε καὶ μεγαλοφυίαν, ὅσον τοῦτ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις εἰς δόξαν καὶ κόσμον κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων συνακουόμενον· οἷς δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν οὕτω τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον κατεπείγονται καὶ σπουδάζουσι πάσαις ἐπιμελείαις καὶ παντὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ καὶ πᾶσι πράγμασι· καὶ ἀεὶ κάλλιον καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον πράττειν

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[72] πόσον V
[73] καὶ in ras. post προσθήκη V
[74] μεγίστης V[ac]: μεγίστοις V[pc]
[75] αὐτοὺς V[pc] : αὐτὴν V[ac]
[76] αὐτὴν V[pc] : αὐτοὺς V[ac]

εὖ μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἡγοῖντό[77] τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ταῖς αὐτῆς εὐφημίαις· καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν οὕτω σφίσιν ἥδιστον ὡς τοῦτ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἁπάντων καθάπερ ἐραστῇ βελτίστου πράγματος βελτίστῳ παιδικῶν ἔπαινος ἅμα τε προσμαρτυρῶν τῇ σπουδῇ τἀνδρὸς καὶ ἅμα θερμαίνων ἔτι τὸν πόθον αὐτῷ καὶ προσεξάπτων. Ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν λόγων κἀμὲ καὶ πλείστους εἰκότως ἂν ἄλλους συνέλκῃ καὶ βιάζηται, καθόλου γε ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῶν πλείστων ἐκλεξάμενον, τὰ καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἄλλων δοκοῦντα κατισχύειν εἰς ταυτηνὶ τὴν σπουδὴν ταῦτά ἐστιν.

5. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅμως τούτων ἕκαστον, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πάντα μάλισθ᾽ ὁμοῦ καθάπαξ ἀνέφικτα, ὥστε πρὸς λόγον ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν ἁπαντᾶν ἐξεῖναι καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως γίγνεσθαι. Ἢ πῶς γὰρ οὔ; Ἢ πόσης ἕκαστον τῆς ἱκανώσεως καὶ διαρκείας δεῖται κατεπιχειρεῖν εἰς τόδε τοὔργον καὶ[78] ὀντιναοῦν ἔπειτα συμμετρούμενον καὶ τῶν πλείστην ἐχόντων περὶ τοὺς λόγους σχολὴν καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δυναμένων τε καὶ δοκίμων, οὐχ ὅσοι καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς οὕτω πάνυτοι καὶ τοῦ κράτους τῶν λόγων πόῤῥω (f.235[v])καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα σπουδῆς καὶ σχολῆς πόλλ᾽ ἔτι πω καὶ νῦν ἔτη προωστρακισμένοι. Κἄν, εἴ τις ἀμέλει πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπειν ἀξιοῖ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῦ δίκαιον εὖ μάλα πραττόμενος, πλείστη μὲν ἡ ἄνοια, πλείστη δὲ ἡ αἰσχύνη καὶ πλατὺς δὲ ὁ γέλως εἰς νοῦν ὅλως τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ταύτην βαλέσθαι καὶ προσάπτεσθαι ὥσπερ ἂν τῶν ἐπ᾽οὐρανοῦ σωμάτων ἅπτεσθαι πειρᾶσθαι καὶ τῷ χεῖρε κινεῖν εἰς τοῦτο ἢ καὶ πεζεύειν καὶ φέρειν[79] εἰς ἀτλαντικὰ πελάγη νηχόμενον ὑποβρύχιον ἢ καὶ παραπλήσιον ἄρα τόλμημα τῷ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον τῶν Θετταλικῶν μειρακίων, ὡς ἄρα ἐτόλμησαν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς πορείαν διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἐπ᾽ ἄλληλα.

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[77] ἡγοῖντό ego : ἥδοιντό V
[78] καὶ V[sl]

6. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν, οἶμαι, καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων οὕτω καὶ συγγνώμην ἀξιοῦν ἐνταῦθα καὶ νέμειν οὐκ ἔξω παντάπασι λόγου κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα σκοπούμενον. Ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἐμὸν τουτονὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄσχετον ἔρωτα καὶ ἀκάματον πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐπιχείρησιν ὑπολογίσασθαι χρή, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔξεστι παντὸς ὁτουοῦν ἐρῶντα πράγματος ἔπειτα σωφρονεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, καθόλου γε εἰπεῖν, καὶ[80] τῶν προσηκόντων λογισμῶν εἶναι ἀλλ᾽ ἐξάγειν παντάπασι τῶν δικαίων ἔξω καὶ ξυμμέτρων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἔσω φλογὸς ἄτρεπτον ἐξιστάμενον, καὶ πάθος τοῦθ᾽, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἴ τι πάντων τῶν ἄλλων συγγνωστὸν τοῖς καλῶς ἐφορῶσι καὶ κρίνουσι μετὰ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως· καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχουσι συγγνώμην οἱ περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον σπουδάζοντες καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες ὅλον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν[81] ἀεὶ λόγοις τρίβοντες καὶ πᾶσαν κόπτοντες ἀκοὴν ἀφειδῶς ἐν τούτοις. Ἢ τό γε δεύτερον ἔοικα μάλιστα, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καλλιερήματα καὶ τὴν νομιζομένην (f.236[r])ἀπαραίτητον ἡντιναοῦν φοράν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα τῇ πόλει τὸ γιγνόμενον προθυμεῖσθαι ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης τῶν εἰρημένων ἄνω καὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων ἑλκόντων καὶ νόμων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀφύκτων (καὶ παρελθεῖν ὅλως οὐκ ἔξεστι νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζοντα τῶν δικαίων) καὶ ὀφείλων μὲν φέρειν· ἂν δ᾽ οὐχ ἱκανὸν οὐδ᾽ ἐπάξιον, οὐκ ἀσύγγνωστον· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ νόμιμον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀκίνητον κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ παντὸς πράγματος. Οἷς ὀφείλει τις πάντως εὐγνωμονῶν, οἷς ἔχει πάντως φέρειν καὶ χρῆσθαι. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μεγίστοις οἴκοθεν ὑπό τινος ἴσως φιλοτιμίας ἐπιβάλλων πράγμασι, μὴ πρὸς ἀνάγκην τινὰ παραβαλλόμενος, τυγχάνων μὲν θαυμάζειν ἄξιος, τῶν καλλίστων ἐραστὴς ἐπιγνώμων καὶ συνετὸς καὶ θαυμαστὴς ἀξιόχρεως. Ἂν δὲ τοὐναντίον

[79] φέρειν ἑαυτὸν aut φέρεσθαι potius
[80] καὶ V^{sl}

ξυμβαίνοι, πάντων ἀβελτερώτατος, οἶμαι, καὶ πάντων ἐγκλημάτων καὶ πάσης εὐθύνης ὑπόχρεως τῆς τοσαύτης ἄρα τόλμης καὶ τοῦ θράσους ἐκών γε εἶναι γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνων καὶ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων ἀφειδῶς ἑαυτοῦ παντάπασιν ἀντιποιούμενος. Ὁ δ' ἀνάγκην ὀφειλῆς ἀπαραλόγιστον προσάγειν ἔχων ἐκλείπων μὲν ἀμέλει τὴν ἀπαραίτητον λειτουργίαν ἀσύγγνωστος ἐπὶ πᾶσι κριταῖς, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὄφλησιν ἀπαντῶν ἀμηγέπη συγγνωστὸς μὲν οὐ τυγχάνων· ἂν δ' ἐφικνοῖτο προθυμούμενος, οὐκ εὐγνώμων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴσως εὐδαίμων, μὴ καθάπαξ ὑστερίζων ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἢ γνώμης ἢ τύχης ἢ δυνάμεως.

7. Καίτοι τί λέγω; Μάλιστα μὲν ἔγωγ' οἶμαι τῷ παντὶ βέλτιον εἶναί μοι πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν χρείαν οἵῳ τ' εἶναι καθάπαξ ἱκανῶς ἔχειν καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐπιχειρήσεως καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως ἅπτεσθαι κἀμαυτοῦ (f.236^{v})πειρᾶσθαί τε καὶ πεῖραν οὕτω διδόναι· καὶ τοῦτο κέρδος ἂν οὐ τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ ἔμοιγ' αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνενδεῶς ἐσκευᾶσθαι καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν καλῶν καὶ θαυμάτων ἐξεῖναί μοι τὸν λόγον εὖ μάλα προσάγειν ἐραστὴν οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον οὐδ', ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπάδοντα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀνέφικτον περαίνειν, οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν ὁτῳοῦν τῶν ἁπάντων, ὅσοι περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἔχουσι, οὐδὲν ἧττον τοῦθ' οὕτως, καὶ πάντες ἂν οὑτωσὶ συμφαῖεν, εἰ μὴ μαίνοιντο· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ λοιπὸν πρὸς ἐμοῦ κρίνω μετὰ τῶν ἄνω τοσούτων δικαίων, ἃ προσαναγκάζει κομιδῇ τὸν παρόντα λόγον, οὐκ αἰσχυνόμενος αὐτὸς ἅπτεσθαι πόῤῥω φέρων, ὅτι δὴ καὶ πάντες οὕτως ἂν [ἂν πάντες][82] ἅπτοιντο διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως αὐτῆς οἷον ἄληπτον καὶ καθάπαξ ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἀδύνατον τυχεῖν καὶ περισωθῆναι[83]. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν ὧντινων ἄρα τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἅμα τε τὸ τῆς

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[81] αὐτῶν V^{pc} : αὐτὰ V^{ac}
[82] ἂν πάντες seclusi
[83] παρισωθῆναι V

παρούσης ὑποθέσεως τῶν λόγων, ᾠήθην, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἅμα τὸ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀσύγγνωστον, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, συνελόντι σχεδὸν εἴρηταί μοι.

8. Ἤδη δέ μοι καθισταμένῳ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ταύτης ἀρχὴν πολλὴ ἀπορία λοιπὸν ὅθεν ἄρξομαι τῶν λόγων καὶ τίσιν ἐμαυτὸν δώσω τὴν πρώτην ἐπιβάλλων τοσούτων ἄρα καὶ τηλικούτων καὶ πάντων ἐφαμίλλων τε καὶ προσάγειν ἀναγκαίων ἐπίσης ἐμὲ κυκλούντων καὶ πάντοθεν ἰσχυρῶς ἕλκοντος ἑκάστου πρὸς ἑαυτό· καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τί χρήσομαι καίτοι γε πεπεισμένος μάλιστα καὶ προειδὼς ὡς ἄρα μένει τοῦτο καὶ προείληπται πᾶσι καὶ οὐχ ἧττον ἐμοί· καὶ ἴσως, ὥς γ' ἔφην, καὶ πρόφασις τοῦτο πρὸς παραμυθίαν τε καὶ χρηστήν, ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, (f.237[r])τὴν ἐλπίδα ὡς ἄρα ὅθεν ἂν ἄρξωμαι κοινὸν ἔπειτα τὸ τέλος πάντοθεν ἐπιχειροῦντι, τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν οὗ ποθῶ καὶ σπουδάζω καὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπολειφθῆναι πάνυ τοι πόῤῥω· καὶ τί λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη πρᾶγμα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀνόνητα, ὅπως ἂν δέοι καθίστασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν; Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀπορῶ λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐκ ἔχω χρῆσθαι ῥᾷστα περὶ μὲν τῶν τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῦ δικαίων οὐκέθ' ὅλως ἀλλ', ὡς ἂν ἀμέλει γ' ἐμαυτῷ προσήκειν τὴν ἀρχήν, οἶμαι πειρᾶσθαι τούτου μόνον φροντίζων, ὡς δ' οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκῶ, μὴ παντάπασιν ἔξω λόγου τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως κατάρξασθαι πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τέως ἀνύτων ὅπως ἄρα.

9. Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ἄγαλμά τι τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν τὸ κάλλιστον, τὴν πόλιν ἀποσκοποῦντες θεωρήσωμεν[84] εἴ πῃ μάλιστα τῆς γῆς ἄλλῃ καιρὸν εἶχε βέλτιον ἱδρῦσθαι ἢ ὅπῃ νῦν γε εἶναι· καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ θεμελίων τῶν ἀρίστων τοῖς λόγοις αὐτὴν ἀνιστῶντες ἐν τῷ περιόπτῳ καὶ διηρμένῳ καὶ ὅλως ἀξιολογωτάτῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ θεάτρου τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης κατίδωμεν

[84] θεορήσομεν V

ἀπολεξάμενοι τὴν χώραν, ἐφ᾽ ἧς αὐτήν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἱστῶμεν καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καθόλου μὲν οὖν, ὅσῳ λείπονται καὶ χῶραι καὶ πόλεις, αἳ μόνης ἢ γῆς εἰσί, θαλάττης καθάπαξ ἀπῳκισμέναι, ἢ περικλύζονται μόνῃ θαλάττῃ καὶ περικλείονται καὶ τέτμηνται τῆς κατὰ γῆν συνεχείας ἁπάσης ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας ὀρφανικαὶ καθάπερ ταῖς νήσοις. Ἡ φύσις ἔχοι τῶν κατ᾽ ἄμφω ταῦτα χρωμένων καὶ πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν καὶ κεκραμένων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, εὖ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῆς ὅλης οὕτω τοῦ παντὸς κοινωνίας καὶ συναφείας εἰς τελείαν ὄντως τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὡς μὴ μόνον εἶναι μέρους τοῦ κόσμου τμῆμα καὶ ὁ,τιοῦν ἀλλ᾽ ὅλου μέρος τοῦ κόσμου (f.237^{v})τῷ παντὶ σύμπνουν καὶ συμπεφυκός, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, καθάπερ ἐφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀμέλει τοῦ σώματος. Ῥᾴδιον τοῦτο καὶ παντὶ ξυνιδεῖν καὶ βεβαιῶσαι μὴν καὶ τρανῶσαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἔτι μάλιστα χρώμενον ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα ἐν τῷ μέρει, ὡς οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀνελλιπῶς ἔχειν πάντως καὶ ἀλύπως, οἶμαι, ταῖς καθ᾽ ἕτερον τοῖν δυοῖν ὁ,τιοῦν ἀφῃρημέναις κοινωνεῖν ἀμηγέπη οὔτ᾽ εὐετηρίαν εἶναι πραγμάτων καὶ τύχης οὕτω χρωμέναις[85] οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε πρὸς χρείαν μάλιστα. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσιν οὔτ᾽ εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅπῃ ἄρα καὶ βούλοιντο καὶ δύναιντ᾽ ἴσως, καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀξίως δείκνυσθαι καὶ πλουτεῖν ὄντως καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι καθ᾽ αἵρεσιν, οὔτ᾽ εὖ πάσχειν ἄλλων καὶ ἱκανῶς ἢ πρὸς χάριν ἢ πρὸς χρείαν, ὧν ἂν δέοι καὶ ὧν ἂν βούλοιντο καὶ δύναιντ᾽ ἂν ἴσως. Ἀλλ᾽ ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ οἱ μιᾷ χειρὶ δυστυχοῦντες ζημιοῦνται τὴν ζωὴν ἀτελῆ καὶ τῆς χρήσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐλλείπουσαν πενόμενοι, πλουτοῦντες ἴσως, διὰ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν αὐτοῖς μόνοις καὶ πλουτοῦντες καὶ ζῶντες οὐκ ἄλλοις εἰς δόξαν ἡντιναοῦν εὐδαιμονοῦντες, ὥσπερ οἱ καθ᾽ ὕπνους αὐτοὶ πράττειν εὖ δοκοῦντες οὐκ ἄλλοις ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁρῶμενοι, καὶ πενόμενοι ταῖς ἀληθείαις αὐτίκα θνήσκοντες, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ,τι χρήσονται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ δυσχερεῖ τύχῃ καὶ

[85] χρωμένοις V

μόνοι νοσοῦντες σχεδὸν πάντ᾽ ἀνίατα καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλως, ὡς ἔστιν ἐπ᾽ ἐνίων φύσις τἀῤῥώστημα[86] ξὺν νῷ διοικεῖσθαι καὶ ἰᾶσθαι φαρμάκοις ἔξωθεν, οἵστισιν ἄρα χρωμένοις (τοῖσδ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως, ἔοικε, ζῆν ἢ πάντα διὰ πάντων ὑγιαίνουσι, ὃ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀνθρώποις οὖσιν ἀδύνατον), οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν εὖ θέσθαι καὶ μεταθέσθαι τύχης βάρος καὶ νόσων ἐπιβουλήν τε καὶ κακουργίαν εἰωθυῖαν ἑκάστοτε κατὰ τῆς (f.238[r])φύσεως καὶ συμφορᾶς αὐτοματισμόν.

10. Ἀλλ᾽οὐχ οὕτω γε τῇ πόλει καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν χώρᾳ ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν ὅπως κατ᾽ ἄμφω καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ὡς βέλτιστα πασῶν ἔχει καὶ ὡς ἂν μόνης εἴη τὸ κάλλιστον ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξαίρετον καὶ ὡς ἂν κατ᾽ ἔφεσιν αὐτῇ καὶ νοός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, εὕρημα μόνου καὶ ἄμιλλαν ἄριστ᾽ εἶναι παντάπασι· καὶ ὄντως εὐχῆς ἔργον ἦν οὕτως ἄρα ξυλλαχεῖν καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὄψει χρῆσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν μνήμῃ ῥᾴδιον ἐνταῦθα. Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τούτοιν [ἑτέρῳ][87] ῥᾴδιον οὐδετέρῳ χρῆσθαι, οὔτ᾽ ὄψει καθάπαξ ἱκανῶς τυχεῖν τοσούτου πράγματος ἀλλ᾽ ἢ μόνον θαυμάζειν, οὔτε ταῖς παλαιαῖς πρότερον ἐκεῖθεν παμμήκεσι φήμαις καὶ δόξαις ἑαυτόν τινα δόντα καὶ προσχρησάμενον ἔπειτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάττειν. Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι τὰ παρόνθ᾽, ὡς ἔφην, θαυμάζοντα καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἀξίως οὔθ᾽ ὅσον δίκαιον τοῦ πράγματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ἁπτόμενον ἔτι προσθήκην ἔχειν τὴν μεγίστην ἐπὶ τῷ θαυμάζειν εἰς τοὺς παλαιοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς ἱστορίας ἀνατρέχοντα καὶ τὴν ἀπαράμιλλον ἐκεῖθεν πομπὴν καὶ τὸ κλέος ἀνέφικτον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἧκον συνεχὲς οὕτω κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπόν φησιν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν αὐτοῖς παροῦσιν αἴροντα λόγοις τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτούς· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ καὶ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἥδιστον μόνον, μᾶλλον δ᾽, ὡς

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[86] τἀρώστημα V
[87] ἑτέρῳ seclusi

ἀληθῶς, ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ ῥᾴδιον αὐτόν τινα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα πείθειν· καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν πάνυ τοι πιθανὸν καὶ κράτιστον ἐν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

11. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ τῆς βασιλικῆς ταύτης καὶ μεγίστης ἔνοικοι πόλεως, οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ τί ποτ' ἄλλο, δυσχερέστατον περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τούτων καὶ τῆς πόλεως (f.238^{v})πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι. Ἀμείνους μέν τ' ἂν εἴημεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλοτρίοις μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων καὶ μήπω πεπειραμένοις ὅλως ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς λόγους ποιούμενοι καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις ἢ Κελτοῖς ἢ Ἄφροις ἢ Βορυσθενίταις βιβλία πέμποντες περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν πίναξι τοῖς γράμμασι ὁπηοῦν καταδημιουργοῦντες καὶ προτιθέντες τὰ μεγέθη ταύτης καὶ κάλλη ἢ πάντα πράγματα καὶ τὰ πάντων κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα πείθειν ἀξιοῦντες περὶ αὐτῆς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ κατατεινόμενοι σφόδρα καὶ σπουδάζοντες αὐτίκα τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ὁρωμένων καὶ συνεξεταζομένων σφίσι καὶ λειπομένων ἂν πάντως παμπληθὲς εὖ μάλα· κἄν, εἴ τις ἄρα πολὺς ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ πάντ' ἄριστα καὶ βούλοιτό τε καὶ δύναιτο, ἐκείνως μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἴσως ὁ,τιοῦν ἀξιόλογον δοκεῖν λέγειν, ἔστι[88] καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ συνέλκειν τοὺς ἀκροωμένους εἰς θαῦμα διδάσκοντα καὶ βούλοιντ' ἂν εὖ μάλ' ἕπεσθαι καὶ ξυγχωρεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τί τις ἂν ἐρεῖ καὶ τῶν πάνυ καὶ πάνθ' ὑπερβαλλόντων καὶ λόγους ἀμέλει καὶ πράγματα μὴ παντάπασι γέλωτα ὄφλων, μὴ πᾶσαν ἀποκναίων ἀκοὴν ἀηδίᾳ διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως τῶν πραγμάτων ἀδύνατον οἷον ξυμμετρεῖσθαι; Καὶ τοῦτο λοιπὸν εὐσύνοπτον νῦν εἶναι τοῖς ἑκάστοτ' ἀκούουσι σπουδάζων ὅλως ἀνόνητα καὶ τοὐναντίον ἅπαν ἢ βούλεται κομιδῇ κατασμικρύνων ἃ μάλιστ' ἐξαίρειν βούλεται, εἰ μή τις ἑκάστοτε λέγων προτίθησι τοῦθ', ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρα λέγει, καὶ συγγνώμης αἴτησιν ἐφ' ἑκάστοις, οἷς λέγει, προστίθησι, δεικνύων, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐν τούτοις

αἰσθανόμενος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπακροωμένων γε αὐτῶν· καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴη προὔργου πρὸς τὸν ὅλον, οἶμαι, σκοπὸν καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς (f.239[r])τὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ ἅμα ἥδιστον, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡς εἴ τι ἄλλο, τῷ λέγοντι πάντοθεν ἀποτυγχάνοντι πάντων[89] καὶ κατελεγχομένῳ προδήλως οὕτως ἀδύνατα ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ προκηρύττοντι μᾶλλον ἐκ τούτων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, καὶ προδεικνύντι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀνέφικτον παραβάλλεσθαι[90] καὶ σφόδρα ἐρῶντι καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ πειρωμένῳ· εἶναι γάρ, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι μὴ ἐρᾶν αὐτίκα προσβλέψαντα καὶ πεπειραμένον ὅλως καὶ κινεῖσθαι πρὸς λόγους θαύματος, καὶ εἶναί γε, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως ἐρεῖν καὶ οὐ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δ᾽ οὔ, οὐδὲ τὰ μὲν μᾶλλον, ἔνια δ᾽ ἴσως ἧττον· καὶ τόπον ὅμως εἶναί τινα περὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιχειρεῖν οἷον εὐθὺς περὶ οὗ νῦν προὔκειτο.

12. Τί τις ἂν ἔχοι λέγειν πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην τῆς θέσεως εὐκαιρίαν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ θαυμασίως αὐτῇ πεφυκός, ἅμα μὲν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν εὖ εἶναι καί, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, κάλλιστα καὶ τελεώτατα, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλη ποι τοῦτ᾽ ἐξῆν ἄν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὅλον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐξαρχῆς σκοπὸν ὡσαύτως· καὶ πρόκειται διὰ πλειόνων περὶ τούτων ἐρεῖν μικρὸν ὕστερον, νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον, ὅτι ξυμβέβηκεν αὐτῇ κατὰ θεῖον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, τῆς τε ὅλης οἰκουμένης ὑπερφυῶς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι καὶ πᾶσαν χάριν διαρκεστάτῳ καὶ πᾶσαν χρῆσιν ἀνθρωπίνης εὐπραγίας καὶ ἅμα τῆς ὅλης τοῦ γένους ἀρχῆς ἐπικαιρότατα, καθάπερ αἱ ἀκροπόλεις ἔχουσι ταῖς κατ᾽ αὐτὰς πόλεσι πρός τε κόσμον καὶ κράτος, καί, καθόλου γε εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἁπάσης ταύτης ἡγεμονίας ἀναδήσασθαι τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν πάνυ τοι κατὰ λόγον ἐμπρέπουσαν καὶ κάλλισθ᾽

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[88] ἔστι fortasse secludendum
[89] πάντων V[pc] : πάντως V[ac]
[90] παραβάλλεσθαι V[pc]: παραβαλέσθαι V[ac]

ὁμολογοῦσαν· καὶ τοῦτ', ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, πολὺ[91] πάνυ λαμπρῶς τὸ εὔλογον ἔχειν· ταὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τῆς ὅλης[92] (f.239[v])οἰκουμένης τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀρχῆς εἶναι καθ' ἡμᾶς ταυτησί, ὅτι δὴ καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἦν οἰκουμένης αὕτη κατ' ἴσον σχεδὸν συμπεφυκυῖα, ὡς εἶναί γε λοιπόν, ὅπερ ἔφην, καὶ ξυμβαίνειν ἐξανάγκης ἀμφοῖν ἓν ὁ,τιοῦν, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τελεώτατον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλεταί τις οὕτω, τιθείη τις ἂν ἄλλον τρόπον ταὐτὸ τοῦτο, παραπλήσιον, ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὅλης οἰκουμένης τὸ μεσαίτατον ἀναμφηρίστως καὶ κάλλιστον. Ὅπερ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐξῄρηται τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχή, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ πεφυκότι βέλτιστα πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ πόλις· καὶ ὃν ἡ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας λόγον ἀρχὰς ἔχει, τοῦτον ἡ πόλις, οὐ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἁπανταχοῦ μόνον πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ἔχει καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ πόλις καὶ τοὔμπαλιν ἡ ἀρχὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν μικρὸν ὕστερον ἴσως ἁρμόττει λέγειν καί, καθὼς ἂν ἐξείη, κατακαιρὸν ἐροῦμεν βραχὺ τοῦθ', ὅσον εἴρηται, προλαβόντες εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν χρῆσιν καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς περὶ τὴν θέσιν, ἣ ξυνέλαχεν, εὐκαιρίας τῇ πόλει.

13. Ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἐλέγομεν, καὶ γῆς ἐπειλημμένης καὶ θαλάττης αὐτῆς πρὸς ἐντελῆ τὴν εὐεξίαν ἀμφοῖν μέν ἐστι ταῖν καλλίσταιν ἠπείροιν, Εὐρώπης τε, φημί, καὶ Ἀσίας, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῶν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἁπάντων μεταλαγχάνουσα καὶ κοινωνοῦσα τὸ γιγνόμενον, λυσιτελούντως μὲν αὐτῇ σφόδρα, λυσιτελούντως δ' αὐταῖς ἅτε μηδετέρας ἀφῃρημένη τῶν καλλίστων καὶ οἷς πλουτοῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς αὖται μάλιστα, πολλῷ βέλτιον ἢ κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν τρίτην εἰς κόσμον καὶ κράτος καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀστειότητα καὶ μηδετέραν ἔρημον αὖθις ἀπολείπουσα τοῦ τοσούτου πλεονεκτήματος τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν εὐπραγίας ἀλλ' ἑαυτῆς

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[91] πολὺ V[mg]
[92] ras. post ὅλης

ἀμφοτέρας ποιουμένη (f.240[r])καὶ οἰκειουμένη καὶ ἀντιδιδοῦσα κόσμιον τὸν μέγιστον, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν αὐτήν[93], καὶ δεσμὸς γιγνομένη ταύταις ὁμολογεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν εὖ ἐντελέστατα καὶ μεταδιδόναι καὶ μεταλαγχάνειν ἀλλήλων δι' αὐτῆς ὡς κοινή τις γέφυρα καὶ δίοδος ἐν προθύροις ἑκατέρας καὶ κοινόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ταμεῖον τῆς κατ' αὐτὰς περιουσίας ἔχειν τε μάλιστ' ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ τῆς χρείας ἀνενδεῶς καὶ περιφανέστατα καὶ ἀλλήλων ἀντιλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀντιδιδόναι· οἷς μὲν ἀμφότεραι πλουτοῦσιν, αὕτη πλουτοῦσα καί, οἷς ἑκατέρα πλουτεῖ, δι' ἑαυτῆς τὸν πλοῦτον ἑκατέρας καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας ποιουμένη μετέχειν τε καὶ ὡς οἰκεῖον αὐτῆς ἔχειν ῥᾷστα καὶ πάνυ τοι καθ' αἵρεσιν ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου, ὥσθ', ὧν ἂν ἐξ ἀλλήλων δέοι, μετεῖναι καὶ κάλλιστ' ἐξεῖναι χρῆσθαι καὶ λανθάνειν ἀτεχνῶς ὡς ἄρ' ἐπ' οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν· καί, οἷς ἀμφότεραι κοσμοῦνται, ταῦθ' ὁμοῦ πάντα κόσμος τῇ πόλει μάλιστα· καί, οἷς οὕτως αὕτη περιφανῶς ἔχει καὶ παντελείως, αὗται κοσμοῦνται καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τἀλλότρια δι' αὐτῆς· καὶ τῆς μέν ἐστιν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὸ πλέον καὶ δι' ἀμφοῖν ὁμοῦ τὸ πᾶν, ταῖς δὲ δι' αὐτῆς πλέον ἑκάστοτε γίγνεται τῆς οἴκοι περιουσίας· καί, ὧν γὰρ ἀλλήλων ἔλαττον ἔχουσιν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, τούτων μετέχουσι δι' αὐτῆς ἀλλήλων ὡς ἂν λοιπὸν ἔχειν διαρκῶς. Δοκεῖ δ' ἐπιδήλως καὶ μάλισθ' οὕτω νομίζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἄνθρωποι ταύτας ἀναμφηρίστως εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνθρώποις οἰκεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν εὐγένειαν κατὰ τῆς λοιπῆς καὶ τρίτης Λιβύης αὐτῆς ἐξαρχῆς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον φέρεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν νίκην ξυμβαίνει τῆς πόλεως ἐξανάγκης εἶναι· καί, οἷς ἀλλήλας νικῶσι, ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρας νικᾷ· καί, οἷς ἀλλήλων (f.240[v])αὖθις ἡττῶνται, κἀνταῦθα πάλιν ἡ πόλις διὰ τὴν ἑτέραν νικᾷ καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας περιγίνεται καὶ πανταχόθεν πειρωμένῳ καὶ ξυνορῶντι καὶ νικώντων καὶ ἡττωμένων αὕτη

[93] ἑαυτὴν V

λοιπὸν ἐν μέσοις ὡσπερεὶ τρόπαιον νίκης ἁπάσης καὶ περιφανείας καὶ λαμπρότητος καὶ δόξης ἵσταται περίοπτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἁπάσης.

14. Ἐπειδ' ἡ πρόθεσις ἦν, ὡς ἄρ' ἔφην, ὅρον ἀμφοῖν εἶναι ταῖν ἠπείροιν τὴν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ μέσῃ θαλάττῃ διείργεσθον, τίς ἡ μηχανὴ καὶ τί τὸ κάλλιστον ἀμέλει χρῆμα καὶ ξυγκύρημα νῦν ἐνταῦθα; Φεύγει μὲν καὶ οὕτως ἡ πόλις τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς παντελεῖς εἱρκτάς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς αὐτῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι μόνης, καὶ τοῦτο δέδεικται πρότερον ἤδη. Ἥδ' ὥσπερ ἐκ παντὸς ζητοῦσα καὶ περαίνουσα πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἡ πόλις εὑρίσκει μὲν αὐτὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἁπάσης τὸ στενώτατον καὶ διατέμνον μονονοὺ καθάπερ ἐν ζωστῆρί τινι γραμμικῷ τὰς ἠπείρους γε ταύτας παραπλησίως κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ζωγράφων πίνακας, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης ἀπολαβοῦσα κάλλιστόν τε καὶ χαριέστατον καὶ διαρκέστατον εἰς ἐντελῆ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ σφόδρα πεφυκὸς εἰς ἅπασαν ῥᾳστώνην ζωῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ πολιτείας. Ἀμφότερα μὲν κατέχει τὰ τῆς γῆς, ὡς ἔφην, προδήλως αὖτη μέρη καὶ παροικεῖν ἔχει μηδὲν μᾶλλον Εὐρώπην ἢ τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτήν· ἐξαιρεῖται δ' ὅμως κἀνταῦθα τὸ βέλτιον ὁπηοῦν, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τῷ συνεχεῖ καὶ συνημμένῳ τῆς γῆς τὸν ἐπιτήδειον μᾶλλον ἦν ἑλέσθαι τόπον ἐκ τοῦδέ τινος καὶ τοσοῦδε καθίστασθαι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῦδε τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ξυμβαίνει δὴ λοιπὸν ἐν τούτοις βραχὺ μὲν εἶναι κομιδῇ κατὰ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἠπείρων διάστασιν τοὐνμέσῳ καὶ δοκεῖν μηδὲν (f.241^{r})εἶναι καὶ λανθάνειν ὡσπερεὶ κλέπτον τοὺς ὁρῶντας· καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔφην, τῇδε ἢ τῇδε σχεδὸν τὴν πόλιν συνάπτειν δόξαις ἂν κατασκοπούμενος καὶ μετρῶν καὶ τὸ διάφορον οὐκ ἐπίδηλον ἀτεχνῶς οὕτωσί. Ξυλλαγχάνει δὲ τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν κἀνταῦθα τῇ πόλει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν, ὅπῃ γε μὴν ἵσταται, καὶ τοσοῦτο προέχειν ἐκτόπως τῆς ἀντιπέραν γῆς ἐξ ὑπογυίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεων, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ᾤκουν καὐτοῖς ποῤῥωτάτω διΐσταντο τόποις

καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ,τιοῦν κοινὸν ἦν ἀλλήλαις ἀλλ᾽ ἅπλωτα πελάγη καὶ γῆς, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ θαλάττης μέσα καὶ ὄρη δυσάντητα καὶ τῶν ἐπικεχυμένων ἀέρων ἑτερότητες.

15. Δηλοῖ δὲ τά τε ὁρώμενα, καὶ ῥᾴδιον πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ παλαιοὶ λόγοι καὶ σοφῶν ἐκ μακροῦ κρίσεις καὶ δόγματα· μυρία μέν γε ἡ περὶ τούτων μετ᾽ εὐφημίας ἁπάσης καὶ θαύματος μνήμη τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ξυγγραφή. Ὅσοι τε γῆς ἀναζωγραφοῦσιν ἱστορίαν καὶ περιήγησιν οἰκουμένης, ὅσοι τε πράξεις ἑλληνικὰς ἐπέρχονται καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην συμπίπτουσι τῇδε μεμνῆσθαί τε καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τρίβειν οὐκ ἀηδῶς καὶ ὅσοι ῥωμαϊκάς τε καὶ βαρβαρικὰς ἔστιν ἃς καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνταῦθα γίγνονται κᾆτα χρεία σφίσιν ἀπαραίτητος μένειν ἀμηγέπη καὶ κατασημαίνεσθαι λοιπὸν ὅπως ἄρα καὶ τάχιστ᾽ ἐπιοῦσι καὶ πλεῖστα πονοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ἄλλων προτεθειμένοι καὶ σπουδάζοντες καὶ τυχὸν ἐπελθὸν ἔπειθ᾽ οὕτω παρόδῳ τῆς προθέσεως καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς ξυνέλαχον ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐ παρέδραμον οὑτωσί, πῶς ἂν ἐρεῖ τις ὡς ἂν τῶν καλῶν ἀναίσθητοι καὶ ἀνέραστοι; Ἀλλ᾽ ἑάλωσαν αὐτίκα κατωλιγω(f.241^{v})ρηκότες τοῦ πρώτου σκοποῦ καὶ τοῦ δρόμου τῶν λόγων, ὡς κάλλιστον ὂν τῇδε προσχεῖν[94] καὶ κατοπτεῦσαι καὶ διεξιέναι λαμπρῶς καὶ μεθ᾽ ὅσης τῆς ῥᾳστώνης τὸ μέγιστον θέαμα καὶ τερπνότατον τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ πάντων· καὶ συχνοῦ χρόνου καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ σχολῆς ἔργον ἂν εἴη πάντως εἰ καὶ δοίημεν ὅλως οἷόν τ᾽ εἶναι τὰ πάντων ἅπαντ᾽ ἐπιλεξάμενον ἔπειτα ἐρεῖν καὶ καταλογίσασθαι, καὶ παντάπασι τοῦ καιροῦ γίγνοιτ᾽ ἂν ἔξω καὶ τοῦ μέτρου πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀμέλει ταυτηνί.

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[94] προσσχεῖν V

16. Ἀλλά μοι δοκῶ μόνῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ συγγραφέων Ἡροδότῳ χρησάμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐτοῦ Μουσῶν ἐξηγήσεως ἀποτεμόμενος ἐκεῖνο κἀνταῦθα προθεὶς ὃ περὶ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηται τἀνδρὶ καὶ τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν εὐκαιρίας, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ὃ κάλλιστα πάλαι καὶ ἀστειότατα παρ᾽ ἄλλων εἰρημένον μνήμης ἀξιοῖ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ θάῤῥει τῶν ὁρωμένων αὐτῶν καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς ὄψεως, ἧς οὐδὲν πιστότερον, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ γε μὴν Ἡροδότῳ τουτὶ ξυνδοκεῖ, τἆλλα[95] πάντα τῶν ἄλλων μεθεὶς ἁπάντων καθάπαξ ὡς περίεργον ὂν τὰ ἑκάστων ἕκαστα προφέρειν ἐν μέρει καὶ διατιθέναι καθάπερ μαρτυρίας πλείστης, ὡς ἐν διαδικασίᾳ τινὶ πολιτικῇ καὶ κριταῖς δυσκόλοις λοιπὸν αὐτῇ δοῦναι τὸν λόγον τῇ τοῦ πράγματος ἐποπτείᾳ καὶ καθιστορεῖν, ὡς ἂν οἷόν τ᾽ εἴη· τοῦτο δὴ πρότερον ἐφάπαξ ἤδη τὴν ἀρχὴν κείμενον καὶ προειρημένον τε καὶ προειλημμένον ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρα πρᾶγμα, οὐδ᾽ ἡτισοῦν αἰσχύνη καὶ ἀωρία παντάπασι τῶν εἰκότων ἀποτυγχάνειν διὰ τὸ παντάπασι τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ὁτῳοῦν τῶν πειρωμένων ἀξύμμετρον τυχεῖν. Ἑπτὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ δέκα ἑξῆς ἔτη τυφλοὺς εἶναι φησὶν ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνος Ἡρόδοτος παλαιόν τινα τοῦτον ἄνωθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἥκοντα (f.242ʳ)λόγον[96] ἐκδεξάμενος, ἀξιώσας ἱστορίας καὶ λόγου ὡς καλῶς εἰρημένον καὶ πιστὸν ἄρα νομίζων εὖ μάλα τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἷς ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν· καὶ εἶναι γὰρ τοσαῦτα ἔτη, καθ᾽ ἃ πρότερον ἄνδρες ᾤκησαν Χαλκηδόνα τὴν πόλιν πρὸ Βυζαντίου, μὴ ξυνιέντες, ἔοικεν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον οἰκεῖν αὐτὸ ῥᾷστα Βυζάντιον ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου ὡς παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστον καὶ οὐκ ἀξίαν οὖσαν ταύτην τὴν πλάνην ἀνδρῶν ὁρώντων, ἐκείνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇδε οἰκεῖν ἑλέσθαι μάλιστ᾽ ἐξὸν ἐκ παραλλήλου χρωμένους ἔγγιστα ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας τοσούτῳ κτήματι· καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐθαύμασα ἔγωγε τῶν ἀνδρῶν

[95] τε in ras. post τἆλλα V
[96] ras. post λόγον V

ἐκείνων τὸ καθάπαξ ἀπρονόητον οὕτω καὶ ἀσύνετον καὶ ἀμαθὲς τοῦ βελτίστου σφίσι καὶ ἀγροικικὸν τοσοῦτο καὶ σκαιὸν καὶ ἀβέλτερον καὶ τὴν εὐκολίαν αὐτὴν τῆς γνώμης οὕτως ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ ἀνεπίστροφον τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν ὅπως ἀτημελήτως ἑαυτῶν ἔσχον, εὖ ἔχειν καὶ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστον εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ πλουτεῖν ῥᾴδιον ὄν. Οἱ δὲ πενίαν εἵλοντο χειροποίητον καὶ τύχῃ δυσχερεῖ παλαίειν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον καί, ἀντὶ τοῦ σφόδρα ἐῤῥῶσθαι, νοσεῖν καὶ πράττειν ἀηδέστατα.

17. Ἀνέχει μὲν γὰρ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς πόλεως οὐτοσὶ χῶρος ἐλεύθερος καθάπαξ, ἐξηρμένος μετεωρότερον, καὶ πρόεισιν ἐπιπολὺ τῆς θαλάττης φαιδρότατος κύκλῳ καὶ πάντων ἀπρόσκοπος εἰς μετάληψιν τῆς ἀέρος καὶ οὐρανοῦ χάριτος ἁπάσης καὶ συντελείας πρὸς ἐῤῥαστωνευμένην βιοτὴν καὶ ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀπόνως προσαντᾷ καὶ συνυφαίνεται κοινωνίαις, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπιπλεῖστον τῆς θαλάττης προεξάγων τε καὶ πεζεύων ἥδιστα καθορᾶν, τοῦτο δ' ἐπιπλεῖστον καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνατρέχων εἰς ὕψος μεγαλόφρων τε καὶ ἀδέσποτος καὶ πάσης τυραννίδος (f.242^{v})καὶ δεσμῶν ἄσυλος, ἀσπαζόμενος ῥᾷστα καὶ ὑποδεχόμενος κάλλιστα τὰς ἐκεῖθεν ὠφελείας καὶ λαμπρότητας. Καὶ οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἐνταῦθα προσίσταται, οὐ θέσεως κατὰ φύσιν ἱξάνουσα κοιλότης ἠτισοῦν καὶ βυθὸς τῆς ἐπιπέδου συνεχείας ὑφεδρεύων καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενος καὶ στενούμενος καὶ δραπετεύων τὸ τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τῆς καταλάμψεως ἀνύσιμον, οὐκ ἀντίθεσις καὶ εἱρκτή τις ὀρῶν οὔτ' ἐπιτειχιζόντων κατὰ πρόσωπον[97] ἢ ἐγγὺς ἢ καὶ ὅ,τι μάλιστα πόῤῥω οὔτε κατὰ πᾶν ἄλλο μέρος ἐγκλειόντων[98] ὁπηοῦν κύκλῳ τὴν ἀφ' ἡλίου καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀέρος εὐετηρίαν. Ἀλλὰ πολλὴ σκοπουμένῳ πάντοθεν ἡ τῆς ἀδείας εὐγένεια καὶ ἀστειότης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας

[97] προσώπου V
[98] ἐγκλειόντων V^{mg}

ἀπηλλαγμένης τυραννικῆς βίας καὶ δυναστείας, καὶ βασιλικῷ μάλιστα κάλλει πρέπουσα· καὶ ἁπάντων, ὧν ἂν δέοι καὶ βούλοιτ' ἄν, ἀτεχνῶς ἀζήμιος μετουσία καὶ παντάπασιν ἀκώλυτος καὶ ἀλώβητος καὶ εἰλικρινὴς καὶ πάντων ἀνόθευτος τῶν χρησίμων, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐκ θαλάττης, ἧς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα μέρη ἐφ' ἑκάτερα, τοῦτο μὲν ἄνω τὸ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πέλαγος, τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα κάτω Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ αὐτὸν Αἰγαῖον, διελομένη.

18. Τὰ μέσα λοιπόν, εἰ δή τις ἄλλη, μάλισθ' αὕτη κατέχει γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἁπάντων ἔχει· καὶ πᾶσαις πνοαῖς πορίζεται, πᾶσιν ἀνέμοις, ὡς ἀληθῶς, εὐπλοοῦσα, μᾶλλον δ', εὐδαιμονοῦσα καὶ χρωμένη, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὴ καὶ τῇ παροιμίᾳ τὰς ἀρχὰς δοῦσα τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν θαύματι τούτῳ δὴ καὶ τῷ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπαραμίλλῳ καὶ καλλίστῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ παροιμίας ὑπερβολὴν εἰς τοὺς καθόλου λόγους χορηγήσασα· καὶ ὁρῶμεν ἑκάστοτε καὶ χρώμεθα, πολῖται τῆσδ', ἡμεῖς, εὐδαίμονες, καθ' αἵρεσιν, (f.243^{r})ὡς ἂν ἐν πομπῇ θεατρικῇ, ῥᾳστώνης ἔργα πράττοντες, τὰ μὲν ἀποφερόμενοι πάντα πάντων, τὰ δὲ πέμποντες ἅπασι πάντα καὶ ἀμφότερα τἀντίθετα τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ πάσης ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, νυκτὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε μὴ οὐδ' οἵστισιν οὔ. Ἀλλ' ἔστι κατὰ ταὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ καιρὸν τοῦτο, ἀνάγεσθαί τε τῆς χώρας καθ' ὁπότερα βούλει κἀπὶ θάτερα τῶν αὐτῆς, ὧν ἂν δέοι, καὶ ἄττα δὴ πάντως ὑποδέχεσθαι· καὶ πᾶς ἄνεμος αὐτῇ πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ πᾶς ἄνεμος τῇ πόλει φορώτατος καὶ ἐργατικώτατος καὶ ὄντως, καθάπερ ἄλλαις τισὶν ἄρα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, ὁστισοῦν ἐκλόγιμος τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεργὸς καὶ πλουτοποιὸς καὶ βίου δοτὴρ καὶ ζωῆς εὐμαρείας καὶ χρήσεως ἀνυσίμου· καὶ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὔ, οὐδ' ἔστιν ἥτινι τῶν ἁπασῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πόλει, οὐδ' ὅστις μᾶλλον, οὐδ' ὅστις ἧττον, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ πάντες ταὐτὸν δύνανται παρ'

ἡμῖν καὶ πάντῃ χρωμένοις ἀγαθόν· καὶ μόνοις ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ οὐ τὰ ᾽ναντία τῶν ἐναντίων φέρεσθαι, εὖ τε πράττειν καὶ ἐῤῥῶσθαί τε καὶ μὴ[99] νοσεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ὅμως καὶ τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὺς βέλτιστ᾽ ἔχειν καὶ [ὡς ἂν][100] ῥᾳστώνῃ χρῆσθαι καὶ ὡς ἂν εὖξαιντ᾽ ἄλλοι· καὶ τοὺς κοινούς, ὡς δοκεῖ, τῆς φύσεως λόγους, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἡμῖν ἀντεστράφθαι μόνοις καὶ ὅλως ζῆν ἐν θαύματι πάσης ἐργώδους τύχης ἀπηλλαγμένους καὶ ἀπορίας, οἷα δὴ τἀνθρώπεια πράγματα· καὶ πάντες ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα πειρῶνται καὶ κατὰ φύσιν οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ὂν ξυλλογιζόμενοι φέρουσι τὴν λαχοῦσαν μοῖραν τοῦ τε καλοῦ καὶ μὴ τοιούτου ἡμῖν παραχωροῦντες μόνοις ἄκρατον εὐπραγίαν καὶ στάσιμον ἀεὶ καὶ ἄτροπον ἐν παντὶ τῷ προστυχόντι καὶ μακαρίζοντες ἐπιεικῶς ὡς ἔξεστι βιοῦν διὰ πάντων ἀπραγμόνως καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς, καθάπερ ἐν εὐπλοίᾳ πάσῃ τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ οὐ γεωργοῦμεν ἀνέμους, (f.243^{v})ὡς ἡ παροιμία τοῖς εἰς κενὸν φησὶ κάμνουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἡμῖν ἄνεμοι γεωργοῦσιν.

19. Ὥστε, εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐστίν, οἶμαι, τινὶ τἀγαθόν, τὸ μέσῳ εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ δίκαιον ὄντως λογίζεσθαι, τὸ καλλίστῳ εἶναι πάντοθεν καὶ πάσης ἀπὸ πάντων ἀηδίας κύκλῳ καὶ λύπης ἐκτὸς καὶ πάσης ἕξεως ὑπερβαλλούσης τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ κράτους καὶ δυνάμεως ἀθώῳ καθάπαξ καὶ πάσης ἀζημίῳ τῆς χρείας ἐπίσης. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῦτο μόνον καὶ οὐκ ἄλλῃ νικᾷ καθάπερ ἐπὶ κυκλικοῦ μέσου τινὸς ὄντος ξυμβαίνει πάσας τὰς εἰς αὐτὸ περαινούσας ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου καὶ τὰς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντῃ πρὸς τὸν κύκλον ἀγούσας πάσας εὐθείας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι καὶ τὸν λόγον ἴσον ἔχειν πάντοθεν ὁρῶντι καὶ παραπλήσιον καὶ οὐ τῇδε μᾶλλον ἢ τῇδε οὐδ᾽ ἐκπίπτειν ὁπῃοῦν τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ

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[99] verbum μὴ ante ἐῤῥῶσθαι scriptum huc transposui
[100] ὡς ἂν seclusi

τῆς ἰσότητος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ κἀνταῦθα δὴ τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν ἄνωθέν ἐστιν ἥκειν αὐτῇ ῥᾷστα, τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἥκειν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ἀντίθετον κάτω ῥᾷστα, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ γ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μηδὲν μᾶλλον κατὰ ταὐτόν[101], ὡς εἴρηται, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς ὁρᾶται, παραπλησίως ἔχει καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερά γε μὴν ἔτι τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς θέσεως κατὰ ταὐτὸν αὖθις παραπλησίως, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον τἀπὸ γῆς ἢ τἀπὸ θαλάττης ἅπαντα τὸν αὐτὸν πάντοθεν τρόπον εἰς αὐτὴν περαίνει καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ μέσου τινὸς ἐπιδήλου καὶ πάντῃ δικαίου καὶ λόγον ἔχοντος, κατ' εὐθυωρίαν ἔξεισι· ταῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις τι καὶ[102] τοιοῦτον φιλοτιμεῖσθαι περὶ θέσεως εὐκαιρίας, πρόσεστι· ταῖς μὲν ἴσως οὕτως ἄρ' ἔχειν ἐν μεσογαίῳ ξυμβαίνει, θαλάττης ἀκοινωνήτοις, ταῖς δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττης μόνης, καὶ ταύτῃ δῆθ' ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐξεῖναι μετεῖναι, τῶν δὲ μή. Ἀλλ' ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ σχεδὸν ἁπασῶν ὡς τὰ μὲν εἰσὶν αὐταῖς ἀγωγὰ τῶν πνευμάτων, τὰ δ' (f.244[r])ἀποκέκλεισται παντάπασιν ὡς ἄρα μαχιμώτατα καὶ οὐ πρὸς αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀμέλει πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔχει, ὡς μᾶλλον τἀναντιώτατα πράττειν καὶ ὡσπερεὶ πολιορκεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν εὐπραγίαν αὐταῖς ἀποτειχίζειν· καὶ μὴν αὖθις, ὅσα καὶ φέρει καὶ καταπνέει τισὶν ἀγαθῶν τινα μετουσίαν, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξῆς ἀηδία καὶ παντάπασιν οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ τῶν οἴκοι καὶ ὧν περίεστιν ἐκφέρειν ὅπῃ ἄρα καὶ πομπεύειν τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ δείκνυσθαι τῶν ὄντων ἀξίως, τὰ μὲν ἀποφερομένους, τὰ δὲ πέμποντας μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ῥᾳστώνης, ὡς ἄρα τοῦθ' ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου δικαίως καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταυτησὶ πάντα θαυμαστῆς καὶ μεγίστης δείκνυσι πόλεως μόνης ὡς καὶ μόνης ἀληθῶς ἐχούσης τὰ μέσα τῆς ὅλης καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον.

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[101] κατὰ ταὐτὸν V[pc] : καταυτὸν V[ac]
[102] καὶ iter. V

20. Καίτοι τί λέγω; Μάλιστα μὲν ἐκ τούτων τῆς πόλεως ἂν οὕτω ταύτης τιθείη τις τὰ μέσα. Ἢ τί γάρ; Οὐ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει νικᾷ καὶ τῇ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀστειότητι καὶ εὐκληρίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὐχμηρίας καὶ ἰσχνότητος ἢ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς πετρῶν; Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθορᾶν ἔξεστιν ὡς ἅπαντα περὶ αὐτὴν ὅσα τῆς οἰκουμένης κάλλιστα καὶ μυρίας ταῦτα τῆς φήμης καὶ λόγων ἄξια καὶ πάντων ὀνομαστότερα· καὶ τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτίκα καθάπερ ἀπό τινος ἀμέλει κοινοῦ σημείου πρὸς ἕω φέρειν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δυσμάς· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς αὐτίκα ἑξῆς, ὡς ἄρα ἀπό τινος κορυφῆς, χωρεῖ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν ἐπώνυμα· καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστέλλεται τῶν καθ᾽ ἕω παραχρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ἀντίπρωρα ταύτης ἐξ ὑπογυίου καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν τῇδε πορθμῶν (f.244^{v})στενοτάτων εἴργεσθαι, μὴ συνάπτειν μὲν ἀλλ᾽, ὡς εἰπεῖν, αὐτῆς ὅμως ἔγγιστα καὶ τάχιστα ἠρτῆσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν θαλαττίων διαλέπτων αὐλῶν καὶ ὡσπερεὶ κοινῶν συνδέσμων τῆς ἁπάσης ἁπανταχοῦ θαλάττης καταῤῥέοντα μέχρι πρὸς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην αὐτῇ πρόσοικον, καὶ μὴν πρὸς ἑκάτερα τεμνόμενα λοιπὸν ἔνθεν εἰς ἑῶά τε πέρατα Κιλίκων τε κόλπους καὶ Φοινίκων λιμένας καὶ αὖθις Γαδείρων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὅρους ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ τὰς ὠκεανοῦ διεξόδους τε καὶ πηγάς, καὶ τά γε μὴν ἔτ᾽ αὖθις ἄνωθεν ἐκ θατέρου προσορᾶν εἰς αὐτὴν ἥκοντα τῶν ἐκ Μαιώτιδος ἀρχῶν καὶ πελαγῶν Εὐξείνου στενούμενά τε καὶ περαίνοντα προδήλως αὐτῇ τῆς τοσαύτης πολυῤῥοίας ἁπλέτου τε καὶ παμμήκους εἰρηνικὰ προσιούσης καὶ κλειομένης ἔπειτ᾽ ἐνθάδε καθάπερ ἐν σωλῆνι τῷ Βοσπόρῳ καὶ δεσμουμένης μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ταπεινῷ μεταβαλλούσης φρονήματι καὶ σχήματι τῇ πόλει συνάπτειν ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ὑπὸ χεῖρα γιγνομένης δεσπότῃ[103], κἀνταῦθεν λοιπὸν ἑξῆς ἔπειτα

[103] expectes δεσπότου

τὸν ἀδυνάστευτον δρόμον καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν[104] ἀπολαμβανούσης αὖθις, τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἥδιστον θέαμα καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς, θαῦμα παντὶ τῷ προσορῶντι.

21. Καὶ μόνης αἰσθήσεως ἀλλ' οὐ λόγου καθιστορεῖν ὅστις ἄρα δυστυχεῖ μὴ προστυχὼν τοσαύτῃ καινότητι πράγματος σὺν ὥρᾳ τοσαύτῃ καὶ φύσεως ἀήθει παντάπασιν ἔργῳ, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἄνθρωποι χειροποίητα καλλιτεχνήματα πρὸς ἡντιναοῦν δραματουργοῦνται χάριν ἐνίοτε τυραννοῦντες κατὰ τῆς φύσεως καὶ μετατιθέντες αὐτῆς ὅρια, ἢ νοῦς ἀναπλάττει μόνος ἐξουσίᾳ τινὶ καὶ κράτει καθάπαξ ἀνευθύνῳ δημιουργῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατὰ χώραν ῥᾷστα τὸ προστυχόν, ἢ (f.245[r])ζωγράφος ἀλαζὼν ἴσως καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὄντων ὑβριστής, ἕτοιμος κατ' αὐτῶν τὴν χεῖρα κινῶν καὶ καινοποιῶν ἔκτοπος καὶ ὡσπερεί τις αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ δυνάστης τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἤ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, αὐτοκράτωρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χειρῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χρωμάτων καὶ ὅλως τῆς τέχνης ἐν γράμμασι ποιεῖν καὶ μεταποιεῖν ταχὺς ἀξιῶν ἃ βούλοιτ' ἄν· καὶ ἃ μὴ πέφυκε οὕτω τεράστια μὲν ἐνταῦθα φύσεως ἔργα, νικᾷ δ' οὐ τῇ καινότητι μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἢ τῇ μετ' αὐτῆς ἥδεσθαι καλλονῇ τοσαύτῃ· καὶ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ φοβερώτατα τῆς πόλεως ἑκατέρωθεν πελάγη ὥσπερ ὀμφαλῷ τινι ταύτῃ ξυνάπτει. Εἰ δὲ μή, καθάπερ τις κλεὶς ἡ πόλις ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ κοινὸς γίγνεται καὶ καθείργνυσι καὶ ξυνδεῖ τὰς τοσαύτας εὐρύτητας ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπικλυζούσας στενουμένη τὰς ἀορίστους, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πεδιάδας τοσαύτας τῶν ἐκχύσεων καὶ ἀδοκήτους ἐλεῖν μετ' εἰρήνης ἐς τὸ κομιδῇ βραχύτατον. Εἰκάσαις ἂν ὁρῶν γραμμικὸν αὐχένα λοιπὸν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα Βοσπόρου καὶ ζυγοῦ τινος μιμεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν δεσμόν, ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ μέρους τὸν Εὔξεινον ἐξαρτῶσαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, θατέρου δὲ τὸν Αἰγαῖον αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πελάγη τῶν Ἑλλησποντίων στενῶν καὶ νέμειν οὕτω δῆτ' αὐτὴν ἔχουσαν ἅπασαν ἰσότητα

[104] εὐλευθερίαν V

καὶ γαλήνην καὶ σταθμὸν αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι δικαιοπραγίας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κατάστασιν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς ὅλης φύσεως τῶν ὄντων διάκοσμον.

22. Καὶ τοσοῦτος ὁ πόντος ἄνωθεν ἐπιβρέμων καὶ χαλεπὸς ἐπικρεμάμενος καὶ κατιέναι δοκῶν πάντων πραγμάτων ἀήττητός τε καὶ ἄσχετος, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα θαυμαστῶς ὅπως ξυνέχεται καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττει καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τῶν στενοτάτων ὅ,τι μάλισθ' ὑποκύπτων πρόσεισιν ἐκ τοσαύτης τῆς δυναστείας καὶ τοῦ θράσους· ὁ μαλῷ καὶ (f.245^{v})ἀλύπῳ ῥεύματι χειροήθης πᾶσαν τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφεὶς ἀσπάζεταί τε ξὺν ὥρᾳ καὶ περιχεῖται τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν, σχεδὸν κύκλῳ κάλλιστα περίῤῥυτον, καὶ ξυμπλέκεται μέχρι καὶ εἰς πόδας ὑποπίπτων, οὐ κατὰ πάροδον, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι, ἀμηγέπη συνάπτων καὶ κοινωνῶν οἷ παρήκοον, τῶν αὐτῆς ἐρώτων ἀνεπίστροφος· τέως μέν γε κομιδῇ καταῤῥέων ὁ Βόσπορος ὀλίγος καὶ παραπλήσιος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν ἔπειτά γε δοκεῖ τι πλέον καὶ κολποῦται μεθ' ὅ,τι πλείστης τῇ πόλει τῆς χάριτος χωρῶν καὶ συμπαρατείνων εἴσω καὶ ὅλον αὐτῇ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν λιμένας ταῖς ἀγκάλαις εἰσφέρων τῇ φιλτάτῃ καὶ δημιουργῶν, τοσοῦτος ἐκκλίνων ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν πρότερον αὐτῇ δίαυλον παριεὶς καὶ προσάγων ἡδὺς εἴσω ὅσον ξύμμετρος εἶναι τῷ τῆς πόλεως μόνῳ μεγέθει καὶ παρισοῦσθαι περαιτέρω καταμηδὲν ὁτιοῦν καὶ τοὐλάχιστον προχωρεῖν ἀξιῶν. Ἀλλ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἔοικεν εὖ μάλα καὶ δῆλός ἐστι τῇ πόλει μεθαρμοζόμενος καὶ προσέχων αὐτῇ τὸν νοῦν καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐπιμένων καὶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς σχολάζων (κάλλιστον, οἶμαι, χρῆμα προσορᾶν καὶ ἥδιστον καί, οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἄλλῃ πῃ θαυμαστῶν καὶ κοσμίων, αὐτὸ τερπνότατον παντάπασι), κατ' ἀμφότερα βραχὺς εὖρός τε καὶ

μῆκος, κολπούμενος μόνῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ ὠθούμενος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ[105] τοσούτου καὶ συνίσχων ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἂν εἴπῃς, ἑκών γε εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἔρωτας, ὡς ἄρα κέρδος τιθέμενος καί, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, μέγιστον, πάντα τρόπον, ὡς οἷόν τέ ἐστι, συμπλέκειν αὐτῇ. Τοὐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη πομπεύει χρώμενος λοιπὸν ἑαυτῷ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ κράτει τῆς φύσεως καὶ μέγας μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀνοίγων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῇ φιλτάτῃ πόλει θέατρον καὶ κατευρύνων ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἂν μάλιστα καθ' ἡδονὴν εὐσύνοπτα (f.246[r])καὶ πελαγίζων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ καὶ πάντα στρεφόμενος καὶ πᾶς γιγνόμενος καὶ μυρίαν καθιστορῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ τινι καὶ δράματι, μορφὴν τοῖς προθύροις αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως.

23. Νησίδια μέν γε μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτῃ[106] συχνὰ καὶ προσάλληλα καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ κάλλος θαυμάσιον οἷον. Δοκεῖ μέν πως φιλανθρωπίας ἐρωτικῆς προσεστάναι τῇ πόλει σύμβολα καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ καταστόλοις ἔγγιστα χρήσιμα καὶ χάριτες καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ παραμυθίας ἐχέγγυα καὶ πάντων ἀνιαρῶν ἀλεξίκακα καὶ τῆς χρείας λιμένες, ἵνα δὴ μὴ κατὰ γῆν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν πᾶσα προαυλίων ἡδονή τε καὶ ἀστειότης εἴη τῇ πάντα μεγίστῃ καὶ θαυμαστῇ πόλει καὶ πάντων πάντοθεν ἐπιδημούντων ἢ πανταχοῦ παριόντων ὑποδοχαί τε καὶ καταγώγια μὴ πρὸς χρείαν μόνην ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ἁβρότητα καὶ καλλονῆς ἐπίδειξιν. Δοκεῖ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τρόπον γέ τινα λίαν ἐρωτικῶς ἀποτετμῆσθαι καὶ διεσπᾶσθαι τῆς φίλης γῆς καί πως ἐγκόλπια συνοικεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τεθησαυρίσθαι καθάπερ ἐρωτικά τινα δήγματα[107] ἢ τῆς φιλίας ὑπομνήματα δεδομένα τῶν παιδικῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ ποθοῦντες εἰώθασι διιστάμενοι φέρεσθαί τινας ἀλλήλων οὐ μᾶλλον μνήμης ἢ ψυχαγωγίας ἀφορμάς, ἅττ' ἂν ξυλλάχοι σφίσιν, ἐξ ὧν συνίσασι χρωμένοις

[105] ras. post ἀπὸ V
[106] ταῦτα V

ὁπωσοῦν τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐν καιρῷ τῆς χρείας καὶ σπούδασμα ἐπέραστον κομιδῇ, ζώνη τις ἢ δακτύλιος ἢ καὶ τριχῶν τομὴ (καὶ ζημία τῆς κεφαλῆς, κέρδος μέγιστον τῷ λαμβάνοντι), ἢ χρῆμα ὁ,τιοῦν καὶ τῶν τέως φαυλοτάτων δοκούντων.

24. Θαυμάζω δ᾽ ἔγωγε νῦν τῶν τὰς Πλαγκτὰς καὶ Κυανέας πέτρας ἐπικτυπούντων τε[108] καὶ προσαρασσόντων[109] καὶ καταμυθευομένων τῆς πόλεως. Ποῦ γῆς ἢ (f.246ᵛ)θαλάττης ἐξῳκισμένοι; Τοσαῦτα κατὰ τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων καὶ πᾶσι δήλων καὶ μάλιστα περιόπτων διὰ τὸ κλέος ἀναιδεῖς εἰσι καὶ καταψεύδονται καὶ καθάπερ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τινος τραγικῆς ἀντανιστῶσι τῇ πόλει τοιαῦτά τινα φάσματά τε καὶ δράματα καὶ τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ὡσπερεὶ δεδίττονται κακοὶ κακῶς τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς παραληροῦντες οὕτω παντάπασιν, οὐ μόνον ἔκτοπα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως. Ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄνω χαλεπῶς πόῤῥωθεν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, ἵν᾽ οὕτως εἴποιμι, καὶ τῶν σκυθικῶν χειμώνων καὶ Μαιώτιδος κατιὼν Εὔξεινος δυσάντητος καὶ αὐθάδης καὶ δυσχερὴς χρῆσθαι καθάπαξ, ἔπειτ᾽ ἐνταῦθα τοῖς τοῦ Βοσπόρου στενοῖς εἴργεται καὶ δουλεύει θαυμάσιον οἷον τῇ πόλει ξυνάπτων οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, θαλάσσης προσηνέστατος καὶ πᾶν ἀμείλικτον καὶ ἀγριωπὸν ἀποθέμενος· ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Προποντὶς κατολίγον εὐρυνομένη κάλλιστόν ἐστι καὶ ἡμερώτατον ἁπάντων θέαμα καὶ φιλανθρωπότατον ὁρᾶν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι τά τε ἄλλα καί, οἷς ἀναδίδωσιν, ἄλλοις ἄλλῃ συχνοῖς ἑκάστοτε νησιδίοις· καὶ καταποικίλλεται τερπνότατα, καθάπερ ταῖς στικταῖς ἐλάφοις ἢ ταῖς παρδάλεσιν ἡδονὴν φέρει καὶ καλλονὴν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἡ κατὰ τῆς δορᾶς αὐταῖς

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[107] δήγματα V[pc]: δείγματα V[ac]
[108] τε V[sl]
[109] προσαῤῥασσόντων V

σκηνὴ καὶ ὁ κόσμος τῶν βαφῶν ὥσπερ ἐν λειμῶσι τὰ ἄνθη· καὶ τοίνυν ἔξεστιν ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα μάλιστα πειρᾶσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν.

25. Ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς αὐτὴν ὁρᾷς τὴν Προποντίδα ὥσπερ αὐλῆς τινος ἠσκημένης εὖ κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτίκα κεχυμένης ὁρᾶν δόξαις ἂν ἔρκος ἢ λειμῶνός τινος χάριν εὐσύνοπτα πάντῃ κύκλῳ περαίνουσαν ἡδονάς τε πάσας καὶ δρόμους καὶ περιόδους καὶ καταπαύσεις ἁπάσης ῥαστώνης καὶ λιμένας ταῖς ὄψεσι προσχεῖν (f.247^{r})καὶ ἀνακλίσεις ὑφαπλοῦσαν, ἔστιν ἃς ἐκ νήσων, ἔστιν ἃς ἐξ ἀντιθέτων ἠπείρων, ἄντικρυς ἀλλήλαισι, ἑκὰς τοῖς σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει, καὶ κάλλη κατὰ γῆς οὐράνια· καὶ καθάπερ ἀμέλει κάτοπτρον αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῇδε τὴν θάλατταν οὐρανοῦ κάτωθεν ἀποματτομένην ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου μορφὴν καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἐκεῖθεν αἴγλης ἀστράπτειν τε ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἀνατείνειν καὶ καθιστορεῖν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἀναδεικνύναι κατ᾽ ἀντανάκλασιν τὴν ἄνω πανήγυριν τῆς ἁπάσης λαμπρότητος καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἕδρας καὶ διαστάσεις καὶ πάντα φαιδρὸν[110] μίμημα γιγνομένην ἀτεχνῶς αὐτῆς τῆς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν εὐγενείας καὶ ὥρας καὶ θέαμα γαληνὸν μὲν καὶ ἄλυπον κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ κεκραμένον ὄγκῳ καὶ ἥδιστον μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ τερπνότατον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ θάμβος ἐμποιοῦν, ὡς τὸν ἐπόπτην νοῦν εὖ μάλα συνάγειν αὐτῷ προσέχειν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἑορτῆς, καὶ ὅλως τὸ χαρίεν οὐκ ἔξω θαύματος ἢ μᾶλλον ἀξιώματος πλείστου, τὸν μέν γε στίχον τῶν ἄστρων καὶ τὸν χορὸν καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῶν σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν εὐρυθμίαν. Ἃ δὴ ταῦτα τὴν ἄνω περιοῦσαν[111] ὄψιν ξενίζει προσηνῶς ὡς ἥδιστα δόξαις ἂν ἀντανισοῦν διὰ πάντων ἴσως εἰκάζων ταῖς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν δὴ

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[110] φαιδρὰ V
[111] περιιοῦσαν V^{pc} : περιοῦσαν V^{ac}

νήσοις, ἃς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ κατὰ διαστάσεις ἀνίσχει καὶ σκηνοποιεῖ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς περιουσίᾳ χάριτος· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω.

26. Ἀτάρ, εἰ μικρόν γ' ἐπὶ θάτερα, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως αὖθις αὐτῆς, ἔξω τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλισμάτων, τῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, λέγω, προέλθοις, στενῶν καὶ πυλῶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ τοῖς Εὐξείνου θαύμασι δοίης σαυτὸν ἀναγόμενος, θάμβος τὸ πᾶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ δέος· καὶ χρῆμά τι τοῦτ' ἐνταῦθα ἀμίμητον ἤ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἀμύθητον (f.247^{v})καὶ ἀπέραντον ὡς ὅρῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τελευτᾶν ὁπηοῦν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ λιμένος ἱστᾶν· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι περιιόντα διὰ τῆς ἐποπτείας εἰρήνην ἄγειν καὶ καταπαύειν ἀμηγέπῃ καὶ τυγχάνειν φιλανθρωπίας πάντῃ χρώμενον καὶ στρεφόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξύμπαν ἄγριον καὶ κατάπληξιν εἶναι καὶ σεισμὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἁπαντᾶν· καὶ τὸν νοῦν οὐκ ἔστι λοιπόν, οἶμαι, ῥᾷστα χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολὺς ἴλιγγος καὶ πάντοθεν ζάλη καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ βουλῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας ἀνάγκη καὶ πόθος ἀναχωρεῖν. Καὶ τίς ἂν λόγος ἐφίκοιτο ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οὐδέσιν ἀκίνδυνα τἀνθάδε τοῖς χρωμένοις πᾶσιν οὐδ' ὥστε καὶ περιγενέσθαι καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ καθάπαξ ἀδεῶς τυχεῖν, οὐ τοῖς πλέουσιν, οὐ τοῖς ἐφορῶσιν, οὐ τοῖς καθιστοροῦσιν ἐν λόγοις; Πλήν γε τοσοῦτο νῦν ἐνταῦθα λέγειν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν πρόθεσιν ὡς πάντα περὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ χάριτες καὶ θάμβη καὶ φοβερὰ καὶ ἥδιστα καὶ πάντα χρήματα, εἰ δὲ βούλει, θαύματα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ,τι οὐ τῶν πλέον τοῦ προχείρου ξυνιδεῖν καὶ ὅλως τῶν ὄντων ἐν κόσμῳ, ὃ μὴ κατ' αὐτήν τε καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐξ ἄρα πάντων εἰδῶν αὕτη, κάλλιστον ἓν ὁ,τιοῦν χρῆμα, κέκραται, ἠπίων τε καὶ μὴ βριαρῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν ἐναντίων[112], εὖ μάλα ξυνιόντων αὐτῇ πρὸς ἑνὸς τοῦ τελεωτάτου κατασκευήν, ἀτεχνῶς μίμημα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου.

27. Καὶ φθάνω πρότερον λέγων ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸς ἐκ πάντων ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμοῦ παμπλῆρες ἔργον ἵσταται καὶ δημιούργημα τέλειον καὶ αὕτη παραπλησίως ἐκ θαλάττης οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα τεραστίων τε καὶ χαρίτων, ἐκ γῆς αὖθις καὶ τῶν τῆς γῆς ἐφαμίλλων ἁπάντων ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης. Οὔτε γὰρ ἅπασα χάρις ἐνταῦθα οὔθ' ἅπασα (f.248[r])χρεία, καθόλου γε εἰπεῖν, ἄπεστιν ἢ τοὔλαττον ἢ καὶ ὁπηοῦν ἔχει τῇ πόλει· πεδία τε γὰρ πλεῖστα καὶ ὄρη πλεῖστα καὶ ἀμφότερα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὀνησιμώτατα αὐτά τε ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν σκοπουμένῳ καὶ ὡς ἄρα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμέμικται καὶ κέκραται· καὶ τοίνυν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ τρόπου κατ' ἀνάγκην ξυμβαίνει εὖ τε κάλλους καὶ παντοίων κόσμων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, εὖ τε φορᾶς ἁπάσης καὶ βίου χρήσεως, ὧν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώποις οὖσι δεῖ, εὖ τε μάλιστ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀέρων κράσεως, οὗ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ζωῆς εὐμάρειαν δεῖ καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, παντὸς εὖ τοῦ τελεσφόρου πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐχ ὅτου τινός, ἂν εἴποι τις, οὐ τῶν ἁπάντων χρησίμων. Τῆς γάρ τοι Θρᾴκης ἡ χώρ' αὕτη καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἧς τὸ καιριώτατον ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν πόλει προσήκουσαν ἀποτέτμηται τῇδε τῇ πόλει, πεδίοις μέν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ τις ἄλλη, πάνυ τοι πλείστοις εὐρύνεταί τε καὶ πελαγίζει καὶ κατακέχυται· ὄρεσι δ' αὖθις ὅλη συχνοῖς τε καὶ συνεχέσι κατατέτμηται, μᾶλλον δ' εἰπεῖν, συνέστραπται διὰ πάντων καὶ συνδέδεται καὶ καθάπερ σῶμά τι βριαρὸν ὀστέοις ἠρρένωται καὶ κραταιῶς ἑστάναι φύσιν ἔχει καὶ οὐ μαλακῶς οὐδ' εὐλύτως· καὶ τὸ σαρκῶδες αὐτῇ καὶ πῖον τῆς διασκευῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοὺς μερισμοὺς ἐῤῥαστωνευμένην ἔχεσθαί τε καὶ πυκνοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τοῖς τῶν ὀρῶν ὀστώδεσι δεσμοῖς καὶ τοῖς στερῤῥοτέροις αὐτοῖς τῆς ὅλης συνεχείας καὶ πλάσεως, ὡς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὥραν μὲν ἐκ τῶν πεδίων ἡδίστην οἵαν ἐκτόπως καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν δὲ οὐχήκιστα, εἶναι δὲ καθάπερ

[112] καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν ἐναντίων V[mg]

ταῖς καταφράκτοις τάξεσι καὶ στρατιαῖς πάντοθεν καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς ὁπλίζουσιν ὄρεσι καὶ βέβαιον καὶ οὐκ εὐρίπιστον ῥᾳδίως, οὐδὲ κοῦφον, οὐδ' εὐκίνητον· καὶ πολὺς μὲν ὁ κόσμος, πολὺ δὲ τὸ κράτος, καὶ (f.248^{v})πολλὴ μὲν ἡ χάρις, πολὺ δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον. Οὐ γὰρ ἔρρωται μὲν ἐκ τῶν πεδίων εἰς ἅπασαν γονὴν καὶ φορὰν καὶ φύσει καὶ πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τῶν οἰκούντων ἐπιμελείᾳ τε καὶ ἀσκήσει (οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ τις ἄλλη παραπλησίως ἐν τούτοις τῶν δοκίμων καὶ ὀνομαστῶν πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν), οὐκ ἔρρωται δ' ἀμέλει καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀρῶν συμπλοκῆς, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν φυσικῶν συνδέσμων εἰς τὸ καρτερὸν αὐτὸ καὶ ἀκμαστικόν, ἀλλ' ἄνετος ἥπλωται καὶ ῥᾷστ' εὐεπιχείρητος ἐπιβουλῇ τινι τύχης καὶ κακουργίᾳ διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄτονον καὶ θηλυπρεπές τε καὶ ὕπτιον.

28. Ἢ μάλιστ' ἔξεστιν, οἶμαι, νῦν ἐρεῖν ὡς ἄρα, ἐρρωμένη κομιδῇ πρὸς ἅπασαν εὐφορίαν τῶν ὀνησίμων καρπῶν καὶ πάσης γονῆς ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτὴν πεδίοις εὖ μάλα βρύουσα, οὐδὲν ἧττον κἀν τοῖς αὐτῆς ὄρεσιν ἁπάσης γονῆς εὖ μάλα βρύει καὶ χρήσιμός ἐστι καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστ' ἔρρωται· καὶ ἃ φέρουσιν ἄλλοις μόνα κατὰ φύσιν τὰ πεδία, μόνοις ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα πορίζεται καὶ δημιουργεῖ καὶ δαψιλῶς φέρει· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖται τῇ πόλει καὶ ἃ μάλιστ' αὐτῆς ἔγγιστα τῆς ἁπάσης χώρας πρὸς τὴν τῆς ὕλης ἀδάπανον μετουσίαν καὶ χορηγίαν, ἣν τῶν ὀρῶν ἐστι καρποῦσθαι (νόμος φύσεως ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώποις οὕτω πάνυ τοι πλεῖστα καὶ μήκιστα σχεδὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αὐτίκα πόλεως ἵσταται[113]), ῥᾴδιον μὲν καὶ ἀπραγμάτευτον ἀλλὰ καὶ παμπλῆρες ταμιεῖον τῆς χρείας, ἧς ἐξ αὐτῶν δεῖ τῇ πόλει. Τὰ δὲ γυμνὰ λείπεται τοῖς ἀροῦσι καὶ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ἁπάντων σπερμάτων κεῖται χρήσιμα καὶ καθάπαξ ἀνύσιμά τε καὶ ἀζήμια τοῖς καταβάλλουσι καὶ χρωμένοις· καὶ τοίνυν ὁρᾶν ἐστι διὰ πάντων

ἰόντα τῆς χώρας ὑπτίων τε καὶ τῶν ἀνεχόντων ἠρμένων καὶ ὀρεινῶν (καὶ τὰ πολλά γε (f.249[r])τοιαύτῃ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ καὶ εἴρηται), διὰ πάντων τοίνυν ὁρᾶν ἐστιν αὐτὴν εὐτοκοῦσάν τε καὶ γονίμην καὶ οὐ τὰ μὲν οὕτω φιλάνθρωπον καὶ χρησίμην, τὰ δ' οὔ, ἀλλ' ἀκαρποῦσαν καθάπαξ καὶ στειρεύουσαν, οὐδὲ τὰ μὲν ἐργατικὴν εὖ μάλα καὶ συντελῆ, τὰ δὲ παντάπασιν ἀργήν τε καὶ νοσοῦσαν καὶ δυσξύμβλητον χρῆσθαι, ὡς ἄρα τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς παρέλκειν ἔνια δυστυχῆ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμβλωμάτων, ἃ παντελεῖ[114] κατέκρινεν ἡ φύσις ἀχρηστίᾳ[115], οὐδὲ τοῖς μὲν τῶν οἰκούντων εὐετηρίας ἀφορμὴν ἀεί, τοῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἅπαν, ἄδικόν τινα καὶ τὴν νομὴν ἄνισον καὶ τὴν χρείαν, ὡς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον σφᾶς συγκεκληρῶσθαι πονηρᾷ καὶ δυσέργῳ τύχῃ καὶ οὐχ' οἷόν τ' εἶναι πράττειν εὖ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐποίκοις εὐεκτοῦσαν καὶ χορηγὸν εὐδαιμονίας καὶ εὐζωίας καὶ βίου ῥᾳστώνης, ὡς ἐξεῖναι μὲν αὐτῇ φέρειν τὰ πεδία, ἐξεῖναι δὲ τὰ ὄρη φέρειν παραπλησίως, ἐξεῖναι δ' αὐτὴν πάντως δι' ὠντινωνοῦν φέρειν ἀεὶ καὶ μήποτ' ἀπολείπειν μὴ δ' ἀτευκτεῖν μὴ δ' ἐπ' ἐνίων μὲν τῶν ξυντυχόντων χρόνων εὐγενῆ δείκνυσθαι καὶ κάλλιστα, ἐπ' ἐνίων δ' ἀμελεῖ συμφορᾷ χρῆσθαι καὶ κάμνειν· οὐδ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν μόνοις τῇ μὲν εὐκαιρεῖν, τῇ δὲ μή· ἀλλὰ νοσεῖν ὅλως ἡμῖν γε οὐκ ἔξεστι τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς φορὰν οὐδὲ παλαίειν ἠτινιοῦν ἀωρίᾳ καὶ ἀηδεῖ καὶ ἀήθει τύχῃ, τὸν ἅπαντα δὲ χρόνον, κἄν, ὅστις ἦν, νῦν γε εἶναι, κἂν ἑκάστοτε παντοῖος, ἡμῖν ἐστιν εὖ χρῆσθαι καὶ πράττειν ἀνεκτῶς. Καὶ γεωργοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν ὑετοὶ κλύζοντες καὶ χειμῶνες καταλιμνάζοντες τῶν πεδίων ἀπὸ θατέρου μέρους, λέγω, τῶν ὀρῶν, γεωργοῦσι δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀπὸ τῶν πεδίων ἔπειτ' αὖθις ἀνομβρίαι τε κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ αὐχμοὶ ἢ βοηθοῦντες ὀλίγον (f.249[v])ὑετοὶ διὰ τὸ φύσει πρόχειρον τῆς γῆς καὶ ῥέον εἰς εὐτοκίαν,

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[113] πόλεως ἵσταται αὐτίκα primum scripsit deinde litteris β γ α suprascriptis ordinem invertit V
[114] ἃ παντελεῖ V[pc] : οἷς παντελῆ V[ac]
[115] ἀχρηστίᾳ V[pc] : ἀχρηστίαν V[ac]

πάντως δὲ γεωργοῦσι πάντες καιροί· καὶ οὔποτε κάμνομεν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ ποθοῦντες ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλοτρίαν συντέλειαν ὡς ἀποθέσθαι καὶ διοικήσασθαι τὴν ξυλλαχοῦσαν ἴσως ἐπήρειαν καὶ ζημίαν ἐνίοτε τοῦ καιροῦ.

29. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν, ἔοικεν, ἡ γείτων αὕτη καὶ συστοιχοῦσα κατὰ θεῖον θάλαττα τοῦτο μόνον λυσιτελὴς καὶ τοῦτο βοηθεῖ καὶ ὄχημα τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας γίγνεται ῥᾷστα διακονεῖσθαι καὶ φέρειν ἀδάπανον ἅπασιν ἑκάστοτε τῆς ἐνθένδε παγκαρπίας φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ νομὴν βίου καὶ ζωῆς ἀφορμὴν καὶ χρῆσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀμφότερα δυναμένη καὶ δυσίν, ὡς ὁ[116] λόγος, χερσὶ ξυμμαχοῦσα κατάγειν τε καὶ ἀνάγειν τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐράνῳ, συντέλειαν καὶ παραμέρος ἀντίδοσιν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Εἰς τοῦτο μόνον εὐγενείᾳ καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ πονεῖ τε[117] καὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐπιπαντὸς ἔτους φέρει ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις ὧν ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν εὔγαιος[118] ἀγαθῶν ἀεὶ βρύει· καὶ διαπαντὸς τοῖς ἐπιχρείοις αὕτη πηγάζει καὶ πάνυ τοι πλείστοις ἔστιν ὅτε τεμνομένη καὶ μεριζομένη κατὰ ταὐτὸν διαῤῥεῖ καὶ πηγάζει καὶ ἀεὶ πάντῃ, νῦν μὲν τῇδε, νῦν δ' ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ βιώσεως εὐφορίαν, ἀκάματος ἀκαμάτου χορηγίας ἔπειτα καὶ ἀηττήτου μεγαλοφυίας ὑπηρέτις καὶ συνεργὸς καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀγαθῶν θάλασσα πᾶσι διαρκὴς καὶ ποριζουσα ἑκάστοθ' ὧν ἄρα δέοι ἂν οἱστισινοῦν καὶ ἄττα βούλοιντ' ἄν, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαστὴν καὶ ἄφυκτον χρείαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ[119] ἡδονῆς περιουσίαν, ἐκ τῆς ἐνθένδε λοιπὸν ἀστειότητος εἰς τὴν φορὰν καὶ γονῆς εὐγενοῦς.

30. Καὶ τῷ ὄντι γ', ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, αἱ παρ' ἡμῶν αὖραι ζωοφόροι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπαντλοῦσι καὶ ἀναχέουσι βίοτον καὶ φύσεως ἱκάνωσιν καὶ ἀγωγὴν

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[116] ὁ V^{sl}
[117] πονεῖ τε V^{pc} : πονεῖται V^{ac}
[118] εὔγαιως V
[119] εἰς fortasse addendum

(f.250^{r})εὐφόρητον καὶ ἄπονον καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοῖς κάμνουσι πνεῦμα γίγνονται τελεσφόρον οὐσίας τε καὶ μονῆς εὖ ἔχειν καὶ ἵστασθαι καὶ θαῤῥεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, ὡς ἄρα πολὺ τὸ κράτος ἐνταῦθα· καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τῇδε ἢ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης, οἶμαι, καρδία καὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς καὶ κοινὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ταμεῖον βιοῦν ἐν ῥᾳστώνῃ, μάλ' ἐπαρκοῦν ἑκάστοις ἑκάστοτε καὶ μάλ' ἐπαρκέσον, ἔστ' ἂν Θεὸς μένειν τὸ πᾶν βούληται, ὡς ἐνταῦθά γε οὖσαν ἅπασι, μᾶλλον δ' ἐντεῦθεν, τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀμέλει καὶ τὰς χρηστὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ βίου καί, ὅπερ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τὰ πρυτανεῖα δύνανται, τοῦτο τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλιν μεγίστην ταύτην καὶ χώραν αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δυναμένην καὶ πάσαις πόλεσι, νέμειν ἑκάστοις τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ μὴ διαλείπειν εὖ ποιοῦσαν μὴ δ' ἀμελεῖν τῆς χορηγίας μὴ δὲ τῆς χρείας ἅπασιν ἀλλὰ καὶ βούλεσθαί τε καὶ δύνασθαι τὰς εὐεργεσίας πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ νόμιμον ἀσάλευτον τοῦτ' ἔχειν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου καὶ προστασίαν πολυαρκεστάτην τῆς ἁπάσης οἰκουμένης, ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν θείας προνοίας λαβοῦσαν ἄτρεπτον τὴν ψῆφον· καὶ τοίνυν μυρία μὲν ἡ τῆς μεγίστης ταύτης καὶ πάντα θαυμαστῆς πόλεως πανταχοῦ δόξα καὶ τὰ κλέα πομπεύει κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ τρόπου.

31. Τίς δ' ἂν ταῦτα πάντα κατὰ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων μυθήσαιτο; Ἢ τίνες ἂν ἢ πόσαι γλῶτται τοσοῦτο πρᾶγμα πάντοθεν ἀνέφικτον πειρᾶσθαι; Πλείστη δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ παρὰ πλείστοις καὶ σφόδρα κρατοῦσα τῆς μεγαλοδοξίας ἀφορμὴ καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπιστρέφουσα τῇ πόλει νοῦν ἔχειν ὡς ἄλλο τί ποτ' ὂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ κατ' ἄλλ' ἅπαντα πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῆς σιτοπομπίας αὕτη χορηγία διὰ πάντων ἐθνῶν καὶ χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ τὸ μέγα τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα ξυμπαραπέμπουσα μετ' (f.250^{v})εὐφημίας, ὅσα εἰκὸς τοῖς τε πραττομένοις ἑκάστοτε τὴν χρείαν καὶ τῇ προτιθείσῃ πᾶσι τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἑτοίμῃ τῆς χρείας

καὶ ἀεννάους ἑκάστοις πλεῖν ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν, οἶμαι. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι πάντως ἀγνοεῖν ὅθεν ἡ παρέχουσα πηγὴ καὶ τὰ νάματα τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, οὐχ ἧττον ἢ νήπια τὴν μητέρα τε καὶ τροφόν, ὧν ἑκάστοτε ποθεῖ πρὸς τὸ τῆς διαδόσεως ἔθος, οὐδ' ἔστι μὴ ἀγνοοῦντα μὴ λοιπὸν ἔπειτα κομιδῇ θαυμάζειν τοῦ τοσούτου πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἀφθονίας. Ἀλλ' ἡ χρῆσις ἕλκει πρὸς τὴν χορηγίαν αὐτίκα, ἀλλ' ἡ χορηγί' αὖθις πρὸς τὸ θαῦμα τῆς ἀδαπάνου καὶ προχείρου νομῆς· καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, πάντες εἰδότες, πάντες, ὅσοι δίκαιοι καὶ σωφρονοῦντες, μάλιστα τιμῶσι προνοοῦντες καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἴσως ὡς ταύτῃ γε συνοῖσον, ἢν καὶ αὖθις δέοι ἄν. Εἰ δὲ μή, κλάοιεν ἂν κακοὶ κακῶς, ἀμαθεῖς τοῦ βελτίστου σφίσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰᾶσθαι τὴν νόσον ἔπειθ' ἑξῆς, ἢν ἄρα κάμνοιεν παραπλήσια οὕτως, οὔτ' ἀγνοεῖν οὔτε μὴ θαυμάζειν οὔτε μὴ ποθεῖν οἷόν τέ ἐστι τὴν τοσαῦτα δυναμένην καὶ τοσαῦτα ἀρκοῦσαν μεγαλοψύχως· καὶ ὁρῶμεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅσοι δυστυχεῖς ἐπ' οἴκου πρὸς τὴν ἀπαραίτητον ἑκάστοτε μετουσίαν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῆς ζωῆς καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ χώραν σφίσι χρῆσθαι, τάχιστ' ἔπειτα καὶ ῥᾷστα τῇδε προστρέχοντας εὖ μάλ', ἡμῖν ὡς ἄρα γε δοκοῦν ἑκάστοις, τὴν πικρὰν ὑπαλλάξαι τύχην ἐξεῖναι τῆς ἐντεῦθεν εὐφορίας ἀεὶ μόνης καὶ τὴν ἐπήρειαν τῶν καιρῶν εὖ θέσθαι· καὶ οὐ δοκοῦν μόνον οὕτως ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυμβαῖνον ἔπειτα τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτίκα, ὅστις τῆς ἐνταῦθα εὐγαίου[120] πειρῷτο σαφῶς· καὶ στενοῦται μὲν ἡ θάλαττα σχεδόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τοῖς τοσούτοις φορταγωγοῖς καταστόλοις ἰταλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν. Οἳ τὸν ἅπαντα[121] <....>[122] (f.251[r])οἷς ὅ,τι περὶ τῶν ἅπασι δήλων, προὔργου δ' οὐδέν, οἷς ὅ,τι κἂν πάνυ τοι πλεῖστα λέγοιντο, πάνυ τοι πλεῖον τοῦ τῷ πράγματι προσήκοντος λείποιντο ἄν, καὶ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων, ἔοικε, τρίβεσθαι.

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[120] εὔγαιω V
[121] αἰῶνα fortasse addendum
[122] hic deest unum folium (circa 520 verba desunt) V

Ξυμβαίνει μὲν μηδὲν εἶναι πρᾶγμα πείθειν μὴ δ' ἐργῶδες, ξυμβαίνει δ' εἶναι διὰ τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν ἐξεῖναι τῶν δικαίων κομιδῇ σπουδάζοντα πάντων ἐργωδέστατον, ὥσθ' ἅμα μὲν ἄκαιρον, ἥπερ ἔφην, καὶ ἅμα ἀδύνατον καὶ ἅμα μάλιστ' ἀνόνητον[123]· καὶ ὅστις σωφρόνως ἐνθάδ', οἶμαι, δρῴη ἄν, ἐῴη ἄν, καὶ ὅστις μετὰ λογισμῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν παντὶ βούλοιτ' ἄν, φεύγειν τὸ μῆκος αἱροῖτο ἄν· εἰ δὲ μή, μάταια πονεῖν ἐλέγχοιτ' ἄν.

32. Καὶ τοίνυν εὖ μάλα κἀγώ γε ξυνιεὶς ἐνταῦθα καὶ παριεὶς ἐκεῖνο φημί· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἡ πρόθεσις ὡς, εἰ τὰ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως καὶ τιμᾶται καὶ θαυμάζεται, καὐτὸς ἐγώ φημι μάλισθ' ὡς ἄρα δικαίως καὶ τιμᾶται καὶ θαυμάζεται[124] καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος δίκαιον καὶ δι' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' αὖθις ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν πόλιν τυγχάνει καὶ δικαίως κἀνταῦθα, φήμ' ἔγωγε, τοσούτου πράγματος εἰς τὸν βίον γενόμενος ἐπιτυχὴς ἐννοῆσαί τε κατὰ σκοπὸν καὶ ἀνύσαι, τί ἄν τις ἐνταῦθα λέγειν ἔχει περὶ Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ πάνυ καὶ βασιλέων ἐκείνου θειοτάτου, τοῦ πολιστοῦ καὶ προστάτου καὶ πάντων ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνος τῶν καλλίστων; Καὶ ἅμα μὲν τί ἄν τις περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ταύτην βασιλικὴν ὄντως ἐπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν πόλιν καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἐκείνου καθάπερ ἐν μεγάλῳ τινὶ θεάτρῳ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ θαυμαστὴν ταύτην φορὰν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ μεγαλουργίας ἐπίδειξιν; Ἅμα δὲ τί ἄν τις περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος δίκαιον καὶ δι' αὐτὸν Κωνσταντῖνον, τὸν πάντα μέγιστον καὶ περὶ οὗ πάντα τις καὶ τὰ πάντων μέγιστα λέγων (f.251^{v})οὐδὲν ἂν ὅλως ἐρεῖ οὔκουν γε προσῆκον καὶ τυγχάνον αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μάλισθ' ἅπασιν ὄφλειν γέλωτα καθάπερ σώματι γενναίῳ τινὶ

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[123] ἀνόνητον V^{pc} : ἀνόητον V^{ac} ras. post ἀνόνητον V
[124] καὐτὸς ἐγὼ...θαυμάζεται V^{mg}

καὶ ἡρωικῷ μικράν τινα καὶ νηπιώδη πανοπλίαν ἐπιτιθείς, ὡς ὄντως γε ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἄξιοι, ἡ πόλις τε τοῦ[125] τοσούτου καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης αὐτὸς πόλεως (καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξίως ὁτῳοῦν λέγειν) καὶ χωροῦντες αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγαλοφυΐαν τε καὶ μεγαλοδοξίαν καὶ ἀλλήλων ταύτην ἀντιλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἀντιτιμώμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλων ἔκπλεω καὶ ἱκανοὶ γιγνόμενοι· καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κοινὸν καὶ[126] ἀλλήλων ἔχουσιν ἄξιον πᾶσιν, ἀόριστοι παντάπασίν εἰσι συλλαβεῖν τε νῷ τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς μεγέθη καὶ θαύματα καὶ λόγῳ διεξιέναι καὶ ἀνύτειν ὁ,τιοῦν. Ἀλλὰ τοίνυν ὅμως, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως διεξιόντα μὴ κἀκείνου μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐντεῦθεν μεγίστας τῶν ἐγκωμίων συνεισφέρειν ἀφορμάς, ὥσπερ εὐγενέσιν ἀπογόνοις πατέρων ἀνδραγαθήματα, παντάπασιν ἠλίθιον ἂν εἴη καὶ μὴ πάνυ τοι ξυνιέντος τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ ἃ μάλιστα καιρὸν ἔχει περὶ ὧν σπουδάζει, φέρε δὴ τὰς ἀρχάς, ὡς ἔφην, καθάπερ ἐν θεμελίοις ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ὑποτιθέμενοι λέγωμεν[127] περὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τοῦτο προειπόντες, ὅτι τὸ μὲν παραδραμεῖν οὐκ ἀμαθίας μόνης τῆς ἐσχάτης, ὡς ἔλεγον[128], καὶ πάντων ἀβελτερώτατον ἀλλ᾽, ἔμβραχύ γ᾽ ἐρεῖν, καὶ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀδύνατον, τὸ δὲ μεμνῆσθαι καθάπαξ ἀναγκαῖον - οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡς εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο -, ὅτε δὴ τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἐνεστησάμεθα, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ μάλιστ᾽ ὂν τὴν συγγνώμην ἔχειν[129] λαμπρὰν αὐτίκα, εἴ τις περὶ τὰ δίκαια μέν, ἀδύνατα δὲ τυχεῖν, ἀδύνατα δ᾽ ὅμως παρελθεῖν ἔπειθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν δίδωσι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ τυχεῖν ἐξεῖναι λέγοντά τε καὶ παντὸς[130] δὴ μᾶλλον πράττοντα πάλαι πρότερον εἴρηταί τε καὶ προείληπται· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα θρασὺς κατὰ τῶν ἀδυνάτων αἰτιᾶσθαι

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[125] τοῦ V^{sl}
[126] καὶ V^{sl}
[127] λέγομεν V
[128] ras. post ἔλεγον V
[129] ἔχει V
[130] πάντα V

καὶ <....>[131] (f.252[r]) καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τάχιστα κατὰ Θεὸν περαίνοντα καὶ μεθ' ὅ,τι πλείστης τῆς ῥαστώνης καὶ ὅσης οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν ὑπολογίσασθαι πρίν.

33. Τίνος τὰ τοσαῦτα τρόπαια καὶ οὕτω περιφανῆ πλεῖν ἢ πρότερον ἀεὶ τῶν μεγαλοδόξων ὁτῳοῦν ἐκείνων ἐξαρχῆς πάλαι κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἁπάντων οὐκ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐκίνει τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν καλλίστων αὐτῷ ζῆλος τὴν καρδίαν ἔφλεγε; Τίνος αἱ θεοσημίαι καὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν θαύματα καὶ ὁ φοβερὸς ἐκεῖθεν ὁπλισμὸς καὶ ἡ ἀήττητος ἄνωθεν παρασκευὴ καὶ πομπεύουσα συμμαχία καὶ προπέμπουσα, ἤ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τὰ περιφανῆ καὶ κάλλιστα προγράμματα τῆς νίκης ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μάλιστα τοῦ μεγίστου θεάτρου τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἄνω κατ' οὐρανὸν λάμποντα καὶ κηρύγματα, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὑψηλὰ καὶ μέγιστα τῆς νίκης ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους βροντῶντα; Ὢ τοῦ θαύματος καὶ πρὸ τῆς νίκης αὐτῆς! Ὢ τοῦ θαύματος καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτῶν! Ὢ κάλλιστος μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἡγουμένῃ τοιαύτῃ στρατηγίᾳ θαῤῥῶν ἑπόμενος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα διδοὺς ὑπηρέτιν, σοφώτατος δὲ περὶ τῶν βελτίστων καὶ συνοισόντων, θαυμαστὸς δὲ καὶ τίμιος ὑπερβαλλόντως ἢ κινούμενος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ στρατηγούμενος ἀπραγμόνως ἢ Θεῷ πειθόμενος εὖ μάλα ταχὺς καὶ ῥᾷστα καὶ σφόδρα εὔελπις περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, δυσελπίστων καὶ ἀλογίστων τέως ἀνύσαι! Ὢ θαυμαστῆς μάλιστα καὶ φιλανθρώπου καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀγούσης προνοίας οὕτω τιμώσης μόνον ἐκεῖνον, ἐκλόγιμον τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν[132] ὁμοῦ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ πρότερόν τε καὶ ὕστερον μόνον τῶν ἁπάντων ἐκεῖνον λειτουργῆσαι τῇ παῤῥησίᾳ τῆς πίστεως, τὸν μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἱκανὸν εἰς τοὔργον καὶ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν

[131] hic deest unum folium (circa 520 verba desunt) V
[132] παντὸς fortasse potius

προθυμίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πλάτους (f.252^{v})καὶ κράτους διαρκῶς καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἀξίως μέλλοντα δοῦναι καὶ τῷ δόγματι τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτοκρατορικὴν τηνικαῦτα μάλιστα δοῦναι κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν πῆξιν καὶ σοφὸν μὲν τὸν λογισμὸν τοῦτον προστησάμενον καί, ὡς δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνύσιμον, ἐπικινδυνώτατον δὲ μάλιστα, ὅστις τοσοῦτον ἤλπισε πρᾶγμα, μεταθέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων προλήψεις εἰς τὸ δοκοῦν καὶ σαλεῦσαι δόγμαθ' ἑστῶτα καὶ νόμιμα χρόνια βέβαια καὶ πίστιν ἡλικιῶτιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, καὶ τοσοῦτ' ἔργον ἐλπίσας οὐκ ἄπρακτον ἀλλ' ἀνύσιμον!

34. Ὦ θαυμαστοῦ τοῦ φρονήματος! Αὐτίκα μάλ' ἐπιβαλόμενος[133] ἔπειτ' ἤνυσεν εὖ ῥᾷστα τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἐν πράξεσι καρτερίαν, τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ τόλμαν ἐν τοῖς φοβεροῖς πολέμοις τε καὶ κινδύνοις, τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντ' ἐκεῖνα θαυμαστὰ τρόπαια καὶ ἀριστείας, τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ἐκείνους Μαξεντίους τε καὶ Μαξιμίνους καὶ Λικινίους, ἁλιτηρίους τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως, περιφανῶς τε καὶ κατακράτος πίπτοντας. Οὓς ἀπόνοια μὲν καὶ ἀσέβεια καὶ ὕβρις καὶ θράσος ἀλόγιστον μετὰ δαιμόνων ἐκίνει καὶ ἡ κατὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἡμῶν θεοσεβείας ὥπλιζεν ἀναίδεια καὶ ἀνίστη τὰς ὁρμὰς ἀσχέτους καὶ ἀηττήτους τέως δοκούσας[134], ἡ δ' ἐκείνου περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁλοσχερὴς νεῦσις καὶ πίστις ἄσειστος, μεθ' ἧς τὸ πᾶν ἐτόλμα καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐκείνοις κινδύνοις ἑαυτὸν ἑκὼν ἐδίδου πρόθυμος καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ κράτος κακοὺς κακῶς ἐκείνους, ἐξώλεις τε καὶ προώλεις, κατερῥήγνυε καὶ παρεδίδου ταῖς ἐσχάταις καταφθοραῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτ' ἦν, ἔοικεν, ὃ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ μεγαλοψύχως συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀποδύεσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦν εὖ μάλα καθίστη καὶ περαίνειν

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[133] ἐπιβαλόμενος V^{pc} : ἐπιβαλλόμενος V^{ac}
[134] δοκοῦντας V

ἅπαντα ῥᾷστα καὶ ὡς ἄρα καθ' αἵρεσιν ἢ κατ' εὐχὴν μάλιστα[135] (f.253^{r})προὐτίθετο. Εἰ δὲ μή, τίνος ἄλλου τῶν ἁπάντων τοσαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια ἢ τούτων ἔγγιστα μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς ἁπάσης καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ κατὰ γνώμην; Καὶ τὴν καινότητα πάντως ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι δέον[136] εἶναι, τὰ μὲν τῶν περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων λογισμῶν καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως, μεθ' ἧς ἑτόλμα τὰς πράξεις, τὰ δὲ τῶν τοσούτων ἀριστευμάτων καὶ τῆς περιφανείας τῶν ἔργων, ὡς ἄρα ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς[137] τὰ λαμπρὰ τέλη καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τέως καὶ ἀήθη τῶν κατὰ γνώμην ἐγχειρημάτων τῶν οὕτως ἀήθων τε καὶ μεγίστων αὐτῶν ἀποτελευτήσεων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ἅμα τοσούτων αἰτιᾶσθαι δίκαιον ἂν εἴη καὶ τἀνύσιμον οὕτω ῥαδίως ἐκεῖθεν ἀσφαλῶς τεκμηριοῦσθαι ὡς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀμέλει τὰς ἀποβάσεις ἀξίας οὔσας καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ταῦτ' ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὄν, εἴ τις προσέχων εὖ μάλα τὸν νοῦν λογίζοιτο: "καὶ ταῦτα πράγματ' ἐκείνων ὤνια καὶ τῶν πόνων οἱ καρποὶ καὶ τῶν καταβληθέντων σπερμάτων ἀμητοί"· καὶ ἡ παροιμία γὰρ πιστή· ἃ τίθης, φησί, φέρεις· καὶ αὖ, οἷς ἀνέμοις θαῤῥεῖ τις, πλέειν διδόασιν[138] ὡς ἄρ' ἐκ τῶν φορῶν ἀνέμων τὴν εὔπλοιαν ἑπομένην καὶ τοὺς ἀκινδύνους λιμένας· καὶ δὴ κἀνταῦθα λογίζεσθαί τις οὕτω δικαίως ἂν ἀξιοίη καὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἐκείνων περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν εὐσεβείας θέσεων εἴτ' οὖν ὑποθέσεων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι τὰς καλλίστας ἐκείνας ἔπειθ' ὕστερον φορὰς καὶ τῶν δραστικῶν ἀνέμων ἐκείνων καὶ ὄντως ἐργατικῶν, μεθ' ὧν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, μεγάλων ἐκεῖνος πελαγῶν κατετόλμα, τῶν ὑπερφυῶν ἐκείνων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πράξεων, καὶ θερμὸν ἔπνει κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἑαυτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ, τὸ κάλλιστ' εὐπλοῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν τοῦ παντὸς σκοποῦ καὶ τέλους τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων, πάντων ἀπαθῆ χειμώνων καὶ παντὸς

[135] μάλιστα ἢ κατ' εὐχὴν primum scripsit deinde letteris β α suprascriptis ordinem invertit V
[136] δεῖν V
[137] αὐτοῖς V^{pc} : αὐτῆς V^{ac}

(f.253^{v})ἄσειστον κλύδωνος, τῶν ἀσφαλεστάτων λιμένων λαβόμενον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ πάντων ἔξω πραγμάτων ἑστῶτα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν πηγνύμενον κάλλιστα μὲν τῇ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ προθέσει, κάλλιστα δ' αὐτῷ καὶ κοσμίως, κάλλιστα δὲ καὶ κοσμίως τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

35. Καίτοι τί λέγω; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνου μόνης χειρὸς καὶ τῆς μεγαλονοίας καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ἀξιοίη τις τοσοῦτον ἀμέλει βάρος πραγμάτων ῥᾷστα λογισμοῖς ἄρασθαι καὶ τολμῆσαι καρτερώτατα καὶ καθάπαξ ἀτρέπτως ἐλπίσαι καὶ λοιπὸν ἔπειτ' ἀνύσαι τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιβαλόμενον αὐτίκα μάλα μεγαλουργικῶς οὕτω καὶ θαυμασίως καὶ κρεῖττον ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδας εὖ θέσθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσαι καὶ καταπράξασθαι καὶ χειρώσασθαι μὲν τοσούτους τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κραταιότατα[139] δοκοῦντας ἑστάναι καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ κλήρῳ καὶ ψήφοις ἁπάσαις καὶ πᾶσι τρόποις καὶ τῇ δικαιώσει πάσῃ τῆς τύχης καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ[140] οἴκοθεν παρασκευαῖς ἀξίως τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης καὶ ὅλως τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν πάντοθεν συγκατασκευάσαι καὶ χρόνοις παμπόλλοις[141] ἄσειστον κρατύνασθαι καὶ παραπέμψαι πρὸς ἀπογόνους ὡς ἄρα τι τῶν εὐώνων κτημάτων καὶ ῥᾳδίων καὶ μηδὲν ὁ,τιοῦν ἐργῶδες ἐχόντων καὶ κατὰ βούλησιν ἅπασαν διαθέσθαι, πάντων κατεπτηχότων καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπραγμοσύνην εἰς ταῦτα σφίσιν ἀξιούντων προσήκειν, οὐ τῶν ἔξωθεν μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ τῶν ἔσωθεν δυσνοϊκῶν καὶ κακούργων ἐφέδρων ἑκάστοτε καὶ τῶν χρόνων ἀεὶ θηρευτῶν καὶ τῆς ἀπίστου τύχης, οἷα[142] δὴ φιλεῖ τούτοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ γίγνεσθαι, πῶς οὐ πάντων ἕνεκα θαυμάζειν ἐκεῖνος ἄξιος καὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς γνώμης καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς χειρὸς ἢ τῆς τύχης καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς

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[138] δίδωσιν V
[139] κραταιώτατα V
[140] αὐτοῦ V^{pc} : αὐτῶν V^{ac}
[141] παμπόλοις V
[142] οἷα V

γνώμης ἢ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς εὐστόχου ψήφου καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὥρμητο, τἀσφαλέστατον, (f.254[r])ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸ δόγμα καὶ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας ἀνυσιμώτατον ὡς παντί που δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἔργων [τοῦ τέλους καὶ τῶν ἔργων][143] ἀξίως προστησάμενος, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τι σύνθημα καιριώτατον τῆς παρασκευῆς· Ὁποῖα γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τὰ φρονήματα, φησὶ Δημοσθένης, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ πράγματα γίνεται· καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἃς ἐκεῖνος ὑπέθετο, καὶ τοὺς γεννικοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπήντησαν αἱ τελευτήσεις τῶν πράξεων.

36. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῆς καλλίστης ἐκείνης δοκιμασίας περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ψηφίζοιτό τις καὶ τιθείη λογισμῷ σώφρονι μετ' ἀληθείας ἁπάσης, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ πάνυ τοι προσέχων εὐφυῶς τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι, τὸν δρόμον ἐκεῖνον τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων καὶ τὴν εὐκολίαν καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἐκείνην εὐπραγίαν, τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἅμα τε καὶ παμμήκη, καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἑτεράττα παραπλήσια χρόνῳ πάλαι πρότερον καὶ μεθύστερον οὔπω καὶ νῦν, πῶς οὐ πάντα διὰ πάντων ἔτι θαυμαστὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ σοφός - οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος - τὰ δέοντ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ὄντως ὑπερφυής τε καὶ ἀπαράμιλλος καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἔνθους τε ὅλος καὶ θεῖος καὶ τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ τἀνθρώπινα πράγματα πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ἐπόπτης παντέλειος καὶ μάλισθ' ὃ πλέον ἔτι θαυμάζειν ἄξιος, ὅτι καὶ ἄμφω ταῦθ' ὁμοῦ καὶ γνώμων ἔπειτα δραστικώτατος ἦ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἄρα τι σκεῦος Θεῷ προσῆκον καὶ θεῖον ὄργανον, ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πάντα κινούμενος καὶ διοικούμενος καὶ ὄντως ἐκ τούτων ζηλωτὸς ὑπὲρ πάντας καὶ τίμιος; Καὶ ὃ Πύθων ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἔφη τὸν Θρᾷκα τύραννον κατεργασάμενος, ὡς ἄρα Θεὸς τὸ πᾶν ἔδρασε τὴν ἐκείνου χεῖρα δανεισάμενος,

[143] τοῦ τέλους καὶ τῶν ἔργων seclusi

τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πάντα Θεῷ ταπεινούμενος· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν περὶ αὐτὸν λέγειν ἔχοιμεν, ὡς ἄρα τὰ πάντ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεγαλουρ(f.254^{v})γήματα Θεὸς μὲν ἀληθῶς αὐτουργὸς ἦν, αὐτὸς δὲ Θεῷ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἔχρησεν ἤ, μᾶλλον ἐρεῖν, Θεοῦ χεὶρ αὐτὸς διάκονος γίγνεται πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τηνικαῦτα δὴ τῆς προνοίας ἔργων. Ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μὴ πλεῖον ἔτι τρίβων μηκύνω καὶ ἴσως μὲν ἄκαιρα, ἴσως δ᾽ οὐ παντάπασιν, οὐδ᾽ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς χρείας, ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν ὁ τοσοῦτος μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, τοσοῦτος δὲ τὴν μεγίστην ἐκείνην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, τοιοῦτος δὲ μάλιστα τὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ γνώμην καὶ πάνθ᾽, ὡς εἰπεῖν, θαυμάζειν ἄξιος καὶ κάλλιστός τε καὶ μέγιστος καὶ πάντα μεγίστοις πρέπων, ἔργον ὅ,τι μάλισθ᾽, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἄρα τοσούτων εἰρημένων ἁπάντων καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ λαμπρότητος καὶ ὅλως ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν ἔπειθ᾽ ὕστερον ἑλόμενος καὶ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστον ἐν τούτῳ σπουδάσας ὡς ἂν ἱκανὸν ἐσόμενον τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοφυΐας, οὕτωσί πως εἰπεῖν, ἀνδριάντα τὴν πόλιν ἀνίστησι ταύτην τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ τῶν ὅλων κατ᾽ αὐτὸν πραγμάτων.

37. Ἔξεστι δ᾽, οἶμαι, σκοπεῖν διελόμενον κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα· ἢ γὰρ μόνης ἐπιδείξεως ἔργον τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἶναί τις ἀξιοίη καὶ βασιλικῆς λαμπρότητος ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς ἄρα καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοτίμων καὶ περιφανῶν βασιλέων, (καὶ δὴ συλλογίσαιτ᾽ ἄν τις ὅση τις ἂν τῷ τοσούτῳ προσήκοι καὶ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κλήσεως ἥτις ἀξία, κἀκ τούτου μόνον λογισμοῖς ὄψεται τοὔργον) ἢ χρείας ἠστινοσοῦν πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ γνώμης τοῦ βελτίστου πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς πράγμασι πάντοθεν ἀποδιδούσης καὶ διοικουμένης, ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερ᾽ ἴσως ὁμοῦ καὶ χάριτος πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἅμα τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ χρείας ἀμέλει δι᾽ ἐπιδείξεως τοσαύτης καὶ λαμπρότητος πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν περαινούσης, ᾧ, καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἔγωγε τίθεμαι (f.255^{r})καὶ οἶμαι, πᾶς ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν προσέχει

τὸν νοῦν εὖ μάλ' ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἔχοιμεν ἂν τὰ φαινόμενα συμβαλεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον οἷον, πάσης ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἄλλων ἁπάντων διαφερόντως ἀνώτερον, ὅσοι τε πρότερον καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτὴν ὕστερον προὔθεντο φιλοτιμίας τινὸς σπουδάσματα. Οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν οὔτ' αὐτὸ πρέπον ἄλλης τινὸς φιλοκαλίας τε καὶ μεγαλουργίας ἢ τῆς ἐκείνου οὐδ' ἄλλου τυχεῖν ἢ κείνου δημιουργοῦ, οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος ἀλλοῖόν τι καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ δίκαιος ἂν εἰς τὸν βίον προενεγκεῖν φορὰν ἀξιόλογον· καὶ τοίνυν ξυμβαίνει καὶ κάλλισθ' ἁρμόζειν ἀλλήλοις ὁ χρόνος ἔπραξεν. Ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔλεγον, τὸ μὲν ἔργον τοσοῦτον μέγιστόν τε καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ κάλλους, ὡς εὐθὺς μόνον ἰδεῖν, μηδὲν ἔτι, πολυπραγμονοῦντα περαιτέρω τοῦ μόνον ἰδεῖν· ἀλλ' ἔχει γέ τοι τοσοῦτο μάλιστ' ἐπικαίρως εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὃ δὴ καὶ πρότερον φθάσαν εἴρηται, καὶ τοσοῦτό γε τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς μόνης γε τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλορρίας εἶναι καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ λογίσασθαι τοὖργον καὶ καταπράξασθαι καὶ μεγάλου καὶ νοῦ καὶ γλώττης δεῖν ἅμα μὲν συνιδεῖν ὡς ἔχει καθάπαξ καὶ κατοπτεῦσαι, ἅμα δὲ διεξελθεῖν καὶ τρανῶσαι τὸ πᾶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντα μὴ παντάπασιν ἔξω λόγου μὴ δ' ἀναξίως.

38. Φέρε δ' εἴπωμεν, ὡς οἷόν τε, καὶ ὅσα γε πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐξαρχῆς ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἄρ' οὐχ ἡμῶν μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' οὐδένων τυχεῖν τῆς ἀξίας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ἄρα τῆς θέσεως ἐπεβάλομεν φέροντες ἄττα δὴ ταῦτα. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάττης ὁ πολὺς ἐκεῖνος καὶ πάντα σοφὸς ἐκλέξας τὴν πόλιν ἵστησιν, ὀφθαλμοῖς τε δῆλα καὶ πεῖρα διδάσκει σαφῶς, ἤδη τε πρότερον εἴρηται καὶ πλείω λέγειν (f.255^{v})οὔτ' ἔχοιμεν ἂν ἴσως οὔτ', εἰ πάνυ πλείω καὶ λέγειν[144] ἔχοιμεν ἂν ἴσως, τῶν εἰκότων τύχοιμεν ἂν καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίων. Μάλιστα

δ' ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν καὶ λογίζεσθαι ὅτι, καθάπερ ταῖς πόλεσιν αἱ ἀκροπόλεις ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ πάνυ τοι χρησίμῳ θαῤῥεῖν παρέχουσαι καὶ πίστιν ἀσφαλείας, τοῦθ' ἥδε λαμπρῶς ἡ πόλις τῇ πάσῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαρχῆς ἡγεμονίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτ' ἦν ὁ σκοπός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῷ δημιουργοῦντι, τῷ παντὶ καθόλου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕδραν τιν' ἢ καὶ κορυφὴν ἀσφαλείας ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τῆς τύχης καταστήσασθαι ἅμα τε τὸ καιριώτατον ἐπισκεψαμένῳ τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἅμα πάσῃ σπουδῇ προσχρησαμένῳ ἐπιμελείᾳ τε καὶ συντονίᾳ, πᾶν ἄρα τὸ δίκαιον περὶ τουτονὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἀποδόντι, πάντα τρόπον πάντοθεν εὖ ἔχειν τοὔργον καὶ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἀνυσίμως· καὶ πάρεστι τοιγαροῦν ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἡ πόλις ἀμέλει πρὸς ἅπαντ' ἔχει τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀρχῆς καθ' ἕω τε καὶ δυσμὰς τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τἆλλ' ἑκατέρωθεν κατὰ δὴ ταυτηνὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἱκανῶς καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς παραπλησίως ἔχειν οὐδ' ἄλλου τινὸς εἶναι μεγέθους οὐδ' ἄλλης ἐπιτεχνήσεως καὶ κατασκευῆς πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἐκεῖνον πεφυκέναι τε καὶ λόγον ἔχειν ἢ τοῦ τοσούτου κατὰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν μεγέθους καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως καὶ φιλοτεχνίας εἰς τὸ καρτερὸν καὶ μάλα ἐῤῥωμένον.

39. Διαλαβὼν γὰρ τῆς γῆς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκεῖνος τειχίζει τε κομιδῇ κραταιῶς, ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, ἀσκήσας καὶ φροντίδα πᾶσαν τέχνης προστιθεὶς καὶ[145] καθίστησι τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ταύτην ἀδαμαντίνην, ὡς εἰπεῖν οὕτω, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀσάλευτον ἕρμα μεγάλης νεὼς τῇ ἀρχῇ[146] ὑποτίθησι βεβαίως δι' αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ πάντα δεξιῶς, ἧ πέφυκεν, ἁρμόσας καὶ ὡς ἐνῆν κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ ῥωμαλέον αὐτῇ μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ κοσμίως ὅπως διαπρέπει. Ὥστε θαυμάζειν μὲν αὐτὴν τοῦ μεγαλοφυοῦς, (f.256^{r})θαυμάζειν δὲ τὸν κατανενοηκότα καὶ σοφισάμενον, εἴ τις καλῶς προσέχει τὸν νοῦν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως

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[144] ras. post λέγειν V
[145] καὶ V^{sl}

στρατοπέδου τὸ καιριώτατον προλαβόντα ἢ μᾶλλον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως στρατοπέδου[147] ταύτην δὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐν μέσῳ τὸ κράτιστον καὶ εὐοπλότατον ἀποδείξαντα καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀσφαλείας, ἔοικε, πῆξιν τῇ πάσῃ παρασκευῇ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔχει νομίμων· καὶ καρδίαν γε εἴ τις ἐρεῖ ταύτην, ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ζῴου, τῆς ὅλης τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, ἧς ἅπαντ᾽ ἔχεται μέρη καὶ ἧς ἅπαντ᾽ ἤρτηται καὶ πέφυκεν εἶναι καὶ ζῆν, οὐκ ἄν, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ χρήσαιτ᾽ ἂν εἰκονίζων[148], ὡς ἐντεῦθέν γε ὂν τῷ τε παντὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄριστ᾽ ἔχειν καὶ ὅλως ἵστασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν τὴν μεγίστην καὶ πρώτην ἀφορμὴν καὶ τὸν θεμέλιον αὐτῇ τῆς οὐσίας τε καὶ μονῆς εἰς τὸν βίον· καὶ τοίνυν θαυμάσαι μὲν ἄν τις τὴν πόλιν, τό τε μέγεθος οἷον, ὡς ἄρα τοσοῦτο παμμηκέστατόν ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁπάσας ἄλλας, ἔμβραχύ γ᾽ ἐρεῖν, πάλαι καὶ νῦν καὶ ὄντως ἀξιόλογόν τε καὶ ξύμμετρον πρὸς τὸν ὅλον σκοπὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καί, καθάπερ ἑκάστης χώρας τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἔχει λοιπὸν καὶ πρὸ[149] αὐτῆς ἄστυ ὡς ἂν δὴ[150] ξυμμετρεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἰσοῦσθαι καὶ οὕτω διδόναι θαῤῥεῖν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα μὲν πρὸς χάριν, ὥστε καλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ κοσμεῖσθαι δι᾽ αὐτό, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν νόμιμον ἐν τούτοις ἅπασαν χρείαν, ὥστε κοινὸν αὐτὸ σύνδεσμον εἶναι τῆς χώρας καὶ βιώσεως εὐκολίαν καὶ καρτερίας καὶ θάῤῥους ἀφορμὴν ἐν παντὶ τῷ παραστάντι τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκόλῳ καὶ οὐδενός, ὅτου δεῆσαν, οὐκ ἀτευκτῆσαι, τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἰσομέτρητον ὥσπερ χώρας ἄστυ μέγιστον μεγίστης καὶ καλλίστης κάλλιστον καὶ πάντα πεφυκὸς ἁρμόσθαι· καὶ οὐ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν μόνην ἐστὶν ἐρεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἀλλ᾽, ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ὅλην αὐτὴν οἰκουμένην (f.256^{v})ὡς ἀμέλει ξύμμετρος ἡ

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[146] τῆς ἀρχῆς V
[147] τὸ καιριώτατον...στρατοπέδου V^{mg}
[148] εἰκόνι fortasse potius
[149] πρὸ V^{pc} : πρὸς V^{ac}
[150] δὴ V^{pc} : δεῖ V^{ac}

πόλις αὐτῇ, ὡς ἂν ἑκάσταις χώραις τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὰς πολίσματα· καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ πόλις· καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς αὕτη γε ἠτισοῦν[151] χώρα, περὶ ταύτην γε πόλιν ἠντιναοῦν ἡ πᾶσά γε[152] οἰκουμένη· καὶ ξυμβέβηκε γὰρ τηνικαῦτα σχεδὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραμετρεῖσθαι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην καὶ τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἔξω παντάπασι τἀληθοῦς φέρειν ἡμῖν ὡς τὸν τῆς πόλεως δημιουργὸν ἐκεῖνον μεγαλοπρεπῶς τότε δὴ πρὸς τοῦθ᾽ ὁρῶντα καὶ μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ σκοποῦ ταύτην ἱστῶντα.

40. Καὶ τοίνυν, ὅπερ ἔλεγον, θαυμάσαι μὲν ἄν τις τὴν πόλιν, οὐ τὸ μέγεθος μόνον τοσοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἀνάλογον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν, οἵαν τῷ παντὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέχεται κομιδῇ μεθ᾽ ὅ,τι καλλίστης τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ μουσικῆς ἀναλογίας, εἰ δὲ βούλεταί τις, γεωμετρικῆς, πᾶν τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποδιδούσης· μακαρίσαι δ᾽ ἄν τις αὐτὴν τοιούτῳ ξυλλαχοῦσαν οἰκιστῇ τε καὶ γνώμονι, γνώμονι μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἀρίστων εὐγενῶς κατασκοποῦντί τε καὶ ψηφιζομένῳ, οὗ καὶ μόνον τὸ κλέος καὶ ἡ παμμήκης εὐδοξία τὸ μέγιστον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, εἰς κλέος καὶ δόξαν αὐτῇ· μακαρίσαι δ᾽ ἄν τις καὶ αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τὸν οἰκιστήν τε καὶ γνώμονα τῆς ψήφου ταύτης καὶ τῆς δημιουργίας ὡς ἄρα τοσούτου πράγματος ἐπιτυχῇ καὶ κοινωφελεστάτην τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τὴν φορὰν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἔρανον ὥσπερ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι πρὸς τὸν βίον εἰσενεγκόντα· καὶ θαυμάσαι μὲν οὖν τις τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ὡς οὕτως ἐρεῖν, κἀκ τούτου μόνον κατίδοι τις ἂν ἴσως τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διάφορον καὶ ὑπερφυὲς ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τέλειον· κἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μᾶλλον δὲ κἂν εἰ μὴ τοσαῦτα μεγαλουργήματα, γνώριμον αὐτὸν ἐποίει καὶ πᾶσι μεγαλώνυμον τοσοῦτο

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[151] ἠτισοῦν V[sl]
[152] γε V[sl]

πρᾶγμα καὶ βαλόμενον εἰς νοῦν καὶ καταστοχήσαντα τῆς γνώμης ἄριστα καὶ τελεώτατα καὶ κατα(f.257^{r})πραξάμενον ῥᾷστα.

41. Φασί γέ τοι πλείστας μὲν ὅσας τῶν πόλεων εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν προβληθῆναι τἀνδρὶ καὶ τὰς ψήφους ἅτε περὶ τοσούτου τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν πρόθεσιν εἰς ἁπάσας γε δὴ τὰς ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστας αὐτὸν κινῆσαι, τὸν περὶ μεγίστων τὴν σκέψιν προθέμενον, τῆσδ' ἐκλογῆς τὴν ψῆφον καὶ τῆς κατὰ πασῶν ἐκείνων νίκης ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος· ταύτην δὴ[153] λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ μόνην αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνον ἐξαίρετον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνειπεῖν τε καὶ προβαλέσθαι[154] πρὸς τὴν ἄρα τοσαύτην τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τῶν φροντίδων ὑπόθεσιν· καὶ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὕτωσί, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης μεγαλονοίας τε καὶ σοφίας τὸ πᾶν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν ταύτην, οὐδ' ὅσον ἐκ μόνων σκεμμάτων καὶ κρίσεων τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος ἐκείνου ἀλλ' ὅσον καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν προσεπιψηφίζεσθαι καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν κυροῦν, φασί, κινοῦντα σημείοις, οἵστισιν ἄρα παντάπασιν ἐκφανέσι τε καὶ δήλοις, τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα κινούμενον καὶ πάντα κάλλιστα καὶ τῶν προτεθειμένων σπουδασμάτων ἀξίως· καὶ τοῖς φθάσασιν ἤδη καὶ προλαβοῦσι τὸ πιστὸν τῇδε νῦν ἀναμφήριστον εἵπετο καὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας θείας καὶ Θεοῦ βουλὴν καὶ Θεοῦ τεράστια τοὺς θεμελίους ὑποθεῖναι τῇ πόλει εἰσὶν οἵ φασιν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξω, φασί, τῶν εἰκότων οὐδ' ἀλλότριον τῆς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων πραγμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας οὐδὲ μὴν τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου προνοίας καὶ τιμῆς, ἧς ἐξαρχῆς ἐτίμα τε καὶ προὐνοεῖτο μεγαλύνων αὐτὸν Θεός, εἰς ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, θαύμασιν. Ἦν μέν γε τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῷ τηνικαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ἡ σκέψις, τὸ προκείμενον, ἦν μέν γε οὐ περί τινος

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[153] δὴ V^{pc} : δεῖ V^{ac}
[154] προβαλέσθαι V^{pc} : προβαλλέσθαι V^{ac}

ὀλίγου οὐδ' ἀπ' ὀλίγων τινῶν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ ἡ κρίσις, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ Βρεττανίας ἐκεῖθεν τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης νήσου τὸ πᾶν τῆς Εὐρώπης, κἀκεῖθεν αὖθις κἀκ τῶν (f.257^{v})στενῶν Γαδείρων ὅσον τῆς Λιβύης τὸ πᾶν καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς καὶ τρίτης τῶν ἠπείρων Ἀσίας αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν Ἀράβων[155].

42. Τοῦτό γ' ἦν τῆς ἀρχῆς τότε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῆς σκέψεως ἦν τότε τὸ μέγεθος οἵαν προσήκει νικᾶν καὶ ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δέοι τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζειν τῶν ἐπὶ τοσούτου τοσούτων καὶ ὅποι ποτ' ἂν εἴη τὸ καιριώτατον τῆς ἀρχῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς γῆς ἀνύτειν λοιπὸν πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἐκείνην καὶ θαυμαστὴν καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτην πρόθεσιν καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου μήκους τὴν πόλιν ἀνιστᾶν ἐξ ἀπόπτου πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους· καὶ τοσοῦτο παμμήκης ἦν ὁ δρόμος πρὸς τὸν δίαυλον ἐκείνων τῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ σκοπός· ἀπὸ τοσούτου λοιπὸν ἐπέραινεν ἡ πόλις, ἢ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μεγίστου τοῦδε τοῦ θεάτρου προκειμένων τῶν ἄθλων ἀπὸ πολλῶν τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, αὕτη περιφανῶς ἐνίκα καὶ ἀνηγορεύετο τῶν πρωτείων τὰς ψήφους· καὶ Βυζάντιον μὲν ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς περιφανὴς[156] ἡ πόλις καὶ πολλοῦ τινος ὀνόματος καὶ παλαιοῦ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ μεγίστου, μείζονος δὲ τηνικαῦτα τῆς τύχης ἀξία κρίνεται λανθάνουσα τέως, ἡνίκα τῶν καιρῶν ἔτυχε· μᾶλλον δ', ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πάντων ἔχει τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν φυτῶν ἐκ μικροῦ τινος τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μέτρου καὶ τοῦ μήκους εἰς αὐτὸ τελευτᾶν, τὸ σφίσιν ἑκάστοις δίκαιον, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἔοικεν αὕτη προελθεῖν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὴν προχώρησιν τῆς φύσεως ἐκ μικροῦ τινος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸ μέγιστον κἀκ τοῦ προσήκοντος τῇ ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸ προσῆκον τῷ τέλει καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς τύχης,

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[155] Ἀῤῥάβων V

[156] περιφανὴς V^{pc} : περιφανῶς V^{ac}

ὡς εἰπεῖν· καί, ὥσπερ τἆλλα ὅσον ἑκάστῳ καθ' αὐτὸ τῶν ὄντων, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη λοιπὸν τὴν δικαίωσιν τῆς οὐσίας ἀπολαμβάνει μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν νομίμων χρόνων· καὶ οὐ μένει κάτω τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις καὶ ὑπεράνω πάντων προσήκουσα καθ' ὁδὸν (f.258[r])ἰοῦσα καὶ μετασκευαζομένη πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον καί, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἑορτῆς τινος, τῷ παντὶ βίῳ χρωμένη καὶ φαιδρυνομένη καὶ πανηγυρίζουσα τῶν προσόντων καὶ τῇ φορᾷ διδοῦσα τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἐπιδεικνυμένη, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, μέχρις οὗ τυχοῦσα τοῦ τέλους. Ἔπειτα καλλίστη τε καὶ μεγίστη καταπαύει λοιπὸν πρὸς ἄκραν, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία, κορυφήν, ἅτ' οὐκέτ' ὂν περαιτέρω.

43. Παλαιὸν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἡ πόλις ὄνομα καὶ πόῤῥω τῶν χρόνων ἄνωθεν ἦκον, εἰ δή τις καὶ ἄλλη, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε μὴ πολλοῦ τινος λόγου καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξιούμενον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν Βυζάντιοι, τἀρχαῖα Δωριεῖς, γένος τοῦ παντὸς ἑλληνικοῦ τὸ ἀρεϊκώτερον. Ἄλλου μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἐθνῶν, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐδόκουν τὸ ἐξαρχῆς ἠῤῥενῶσθαι παρ' οὐστινασοῦν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Δωριέων ὁπλιτικὸν τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων τὸ ἀκμαιότερον, τοῦτο δὲ μόνῃ τὸν δώρειον τρόπον αὐστηρά τε καὶ σεμνότητος ἁπάσης μεστά, τοῦτο δ', ἔμβραχύ γ' ἐρεῖν, ἀνδρῶν ἔργα, τὰ πάντα Δωριέων ἔργα· καὶ Πελοποννήσου μὲν τὸ κράτιστόν τε καὶ πλεῖστον Δωριεῖς κατέσχον περιφανῶς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀκούοντες ταύτῃ πάντας, καθ' Ἑλλήσποντόν τε οὐχήκιστα καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, ὅποι ποτ' ᾤκουν, καὶ πόλεών γε μὴν Ἑλληνίδων τὰ κράτιστα τοῦ δωρικοῦ καὶ αὗται· τὰ μὲν κατὰ γῆν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Σπάρτη τῶν ἁπάντων ἡγεμόνες καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ διάσημοι τῶν ὁποιωνοῦν ξυντυχόντων ἐκλόγιμοι, ὡς ταὐτὸν δύνασθαι Σπαρτιάτην ἄνδρα Δωριέα ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ἕνα ξυλλαχόντα παρασκευαῖς ἑλληνικαῖς ὅσον καὶ στρατηγόν, καὶ τοῦτο παλαιὸς λόγος, τὰ δὲ καὶ μάλ' αὖθις κατὰ θάλατταν

Βυζάντιοί τε καὶ Ῥόδιοι πλεῖστον κρατοῦντες ἐν θαλάττῃ τῶν πλείστων Ἑλλήνων· εἶχον μέν γε ἐν προβόλων ἀεὶ μοίρᾳ καὶ σκοπῶν τάξιν ἐν προμάχοις τοῦ παντὸς ἑλληνικοῦ Βυζάντιοι.

44. Καὶ μέγα ἦν ὅστις ἄρα φθάσοι κατασχὼν (f.258^{v})εἰς τὰς καθ' Ἑλλήνων ἐπιχειρήσεις τουτὶ τὸ πόλισμα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐῶ, τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦθ' ἓν μέγιστον· καὶ Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ κατεπαναστάντες πάσαις παρασκευαῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κινήσει μεγίστῃ ἢ καθ' ἃς ἁπάσας ἴσμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχονται· καὶ στρατήγημα μέγιστον σφίσι[157] καὶ σπούδασμα πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἀνυσιμώτατον φθάσαι προλαβόντας Βυζάντιον ἔπειτα καθίστασθαι τοιγαροῦν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ περαίνειν ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν ἐξαρχῆς πρόθεσιν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν εὐεπιχειρητότερα ἐσόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ πάντοθεν ἄλλοθεν· καὶ μὴν ἀμέλει κακῶς πράξαντες τελευτῶντες τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀτευκτήσαντες καὶ ἀποκρουσθέντες καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπαλλάξαντες οἵδ' ἄρα καὶ οὕτω δὴ τῆς μεγίστης ἀξιοῦσι φροντίδος σφίσι Βυζάντιον αὐτοῖς ἔχεσθαι καὶ κρατύνασθαί γε μὴν μάλιστ', ἐφ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, ὡς πολὺ φέρον τοῦτ' εἰς τὰς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔπειτ' αὖθις ἐλπίδας καὶ κράτιστον ἐχέγγυον τῶν πρώτων ὁρμῶν καὶ τοῦ πόθου τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μεγίστην ἀφορμὴν ἐσόμενον, ἣν οἷοί τε γένοιντο καὶ δέοι ἂν αὖθις πειρᾶσθαι καὶ κατεπιχειρεῖν τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἐντεῦθεν· καὶ οὐχ οἱ μὲν οὕτω, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις ἄλλως ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' Ἕλληνες καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἔοικε, λογισμῶν τοῦ παντὸς ἀγώνισμα μέγιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τίθενται, Πέρσας ἐξῶσαι Βυζαντίου καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄστυ τόδ' ἐπανασώσασθαι. Φίλιππος δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐν ἔρωτι σφοδρῷ γενόμενος καὶ πάντα κινήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πράγματα τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον σφόδρα πονῶν εἶχε περὶ Βυζάντιον τὴν πόλιν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ θέσθαι παντὶ

τῷ δυνατῷ τρόπῳ καὶ πάσαις μηχαναῖς ὡς τὸ καιριώτατόν γε τοῦτό οἱ μάλιστ' ὂν εἰς τὸν ἐκκάοντα πόθον ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν ἄτρεπτον[158] λογισμόν. Κἀν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑξῆς ἡγεμονίαις καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὠντινωνοῦν πλεῖστος ἦν ὁ (f.259[r])λόγος ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν σφίσι καὶ ἔχεσθαι Βυζαντίου[159]. Ἔδειξε δ' ἡ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Σευῆρον[160] ἀπόστασις τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀντίστασις τοσαύτη καὶ πάλη μέχρι πολλοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ κράτος τῆς ὅλης τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀναμφήριστον ἔχοντ' ἤδη· καὶ πάντες γὰρ ὑποπεπτώκεσαν καὶ ἠξίουν πείθεσθαι παρορῶντες εἴ τι καὶ δίκαιον ἄλλο[161] πρότερον, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ γιγνόμενοι καὶ οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὔ. Οἵδ' οὐκ ἠξίουν οὐδ'[162] ἀδικεῖν, οὐδ' ἀνομεῖν τὰ δόξαντα, οὐδ' ἀποχωρεῖν τῆς προτέρας γνώμης, οὐδ' ἀλογεῖν τῶν ὀφειλομένων πίστεων ἑκόντες ὄντες, οὐδὲ προδιδόναι τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ῥᾷστα, ἀλλ' ἀντίσχειν γεννικῶς καὶ διακαρτερεῖν ἐπιπλεῖστον, ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, μᾶλλον δέ, καὶ ἐφόσον οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν, τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς τέλος ἐχόμενοι λογισμῶν, οὐ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐγενείᾳ πεποιθότες καὶ φρονήματι τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ[163] καιρίῳ τῆς χώρας, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως συμμαχίᾳ τοῦ τόπου πρὸς τοσαύτην τόλμαν ἀτρέπτως· καὶ τί ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἔτι μηκύνειν ἐν τούτοις καὶ καταριθμεῖσθαι παραπλήσια συγγραφῆς μᾶλλον ἔργα; Μέγιστα μὲν ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἀδύνατα συνελεῖν ἐνταῦθα καὶ προσθεῖναι πάνθ' ἑξῆς καὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν ἴσως ἔξω.

45. Ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐξαρχῆς ἐβουλόμην, ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς καλλίστης ἐπιλέξας, οὐκ ἐπ' ἐρήμης ἀλλὰ τῆς πάλαι πρότερον δοκιμασθείσης καὶ

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157 σφίσι V[sl]
158 ἄτερπτον V
159 Βυζάντιον V
160 Σεβῆρον V
161 ἄλλο V[pc] : ἄλλῳ V[ac]
162 οὐκ V
163 καὶ τῷ V[sl]

συνεξετασθείσης τοῖς πράγμασι, τὴν μεγίστην ἀνίστησι ταύτην καὶ βασιλίδα πόλιν ὁ πολὺς ἐκεῖνος καὶ πάντα σοφὸς καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἁπάντων τεχνίτης καὶ πάντα Θεῷ κινούμενος· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ φασὶ πάντες λόγοι καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦτ᾽ ἄριστ᾽ ἔχειν καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πάνυ τοι κατὰ λόγον εἶναι καὶ λυσιτελεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τοὺς ἐν ἥττοσι βελτίστους τε καὶ διαπρεπεῖς καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἐπιδεδειγμένους καὶ τετυχηκότας (f.259^{v})ὧν ἂν δέοι τοῖς μείζοσι προσήκειν, καὶ προήκειν εὖ μάλα δικαίως ἐξ ἐκείνων εἰς ταῦτα, ἐξ ἀριστεύσαντος λοχαγοῦ ταξιαρχεῖν κἀκ τούτου βελτίστου στρατηγὸν[164] δείκνυσθαι τὴν τάξιν βελτίστην εἶναι καὶ πολὺ τὸ δίκαιον ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοῖς τε πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς προσήκειν τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ σφίσιν αὖθις προσήκειν τὰ πράγματ᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις καὶ τὸ πεφυκὸς τῆς ἁρμονίας ἑκατέρωθεν ἁπαντᾶν οὕτω καὶ συμβαίνειν εὖ. Εἰ δὲ μή, ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησίν, ἄλλο μὲν ἡ λύρα ἀπήτει, ἄλλο δ᾽ ὁ τεχνίτης ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ὑπήχει, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἀπήχει καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα παγγέλοιον εἶναι. Νυνὶ δ᾽ ἐν τούτοις πολλὴ μέν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἡ αἰσχύνη, ἀτὰρ πολὺ πλείων μάλισθ᾽ ἡ ζημία καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν· τούτων μέν γε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τῆς εὐθύνης ἢ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἢ τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ζημίας ἀνώτερος καὶ ὁ πολιστὴς καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐνταῦθα, ἡ μὲν τῇ μεγάλῃ πρέπουσα ταύτῃ ψήφῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ κατὰ φύσιν λαμβάνουσα, μᾶλλον δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, ἀπολαμβάνουσα, καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς ἅπαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀκριβὴς καὶ τέλειος ἐπιγνώμων, καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δοκιμάζων ἄριστα καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἦν βέλτιον, ἅμα δὲ καθιστῶν καὶ περαίνων εὖ μάλα ταχὺς τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἐντελὴς αὐτουργὸς ἅπαν τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ οὐκ ἀτευκτῶν ἔπειτα γέλωτα ὄφλων μὴ τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἄρα καὶ μὴ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀμαθῶς ἐπιβαλλόμενος. Τοιγαροῦν ἀνιστᾷ μὲν οὕτω γνώμῃ κάλλιστ᾽ ἐπιτυχεῖ καὶ

[164] στρατηγὸς V

προθυμίᾳ τάχιστα καὶ χειρὶ πάσῃ ῥᾷστα τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ βουλόμενος καὶ δυνάμενος τὴν πάντα καὶ μεγίστην τε καὶ καλλίστην ταύτην πόλιν, οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν οὖν σκοπούμενος ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ βασιλεύειν καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς αὐτὴν προΐστασθαι.

46. Καὶ ἡ πόλις λοιπὸν ἀλλάττει μὲν τὴν πρώτην ταπεινὴν τύχην καὶ πρόεισιν[165] καὶ μεταλαμβάνει οὐκ ἐξ ἀτίμων τέως ἐπίπαν (f.260^{r})ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν βελτίστων τὴν ἀμείνω πολλῷ καὶ βελτίω μὴ μόνον ἑαυτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ πασῶν ἄλλων ὁμοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ γεννᾶται νέα· καὶ πρόεισι θαυμαστή τε καὶ ὑπερφυὴς σχεδόν, τελευτήσασα μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ παλαιὰ μετὰ τῶν εἰκότων, ὡς ἔοικε, χρόνων, γενομένη δὲ τὰ νέα καὶ μέγιστα μετὰ τῶν εἰκότων αὖθις χρόνων περιφανὴς αὐτίκα καὶ τελεία· καὶ προοίμια μὲν καὶ γένεσις οὕτω δὴ θαυμαστὴ καὶ βασιλικὴ τῇ πόλει καὶ σεμνὴ σεμνῶς ἐκ βασιλέως οὕτω μεγίστου καὶ πάντων ὀνομαστοτάτου καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ τιμίων ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ γνωρίμου· γενέθλια δ' αὐτῇ καὶ κηρύγματα λαμπρὰ καὶ κάλλιστ' ἐξ αὐτῆς παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀτεχνῶς ἁπάσης βασιλεύειν ἀντὶ πασῶν αὐτῇ τῶν πρώτων ἄλλων, τῶν τέως ὠνομασμένων καὶ περιβλέπτων καὶ τοῦ κράτους ἀξιουμένων ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος καὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἰσχυόντων δικαίων, πρὶν αὐτὴν ὅμως γενέσθαι· τοῦ λοιποῦ γὰρ τῶν κρειττόνων αἰδὼς καὶ τὰ δεύτερα μεταλαγχάνειν φύσεως νόμος ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δὴ μεταλαγχάνειν ἐκείναις ταύταις ἐξῆς αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦτο κομιδῇ ποθεινὸν καὶ σπουδῆς ἔργον. Τῇ γε μὴν πόλει ὁμοῦ μὲν ἡ γένεσις, ὁμοῦ δὲ τὸ βασιλεύειν, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡ γένεσις. Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως, ἔφην, ἢ βασιλεύειν δημιουργεῖται καὶ τὰς ψήφους τῆς ἀρχῆς, πρὶν γενέσθαι, λαβοῦσα, γενομένη λοιπὸν ἔπειτα δείκνυται τῶν ψήφων ἀξίως. Οὐ γὰρ ταπεινῶς πρότερον πράττουσα κατὰ πολλὰς ἑτέρας ἢ τύχης

ἠστινοσοῦν ἢ πόνων πολλῶν ἔπειτα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο, ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν εἰς αὐτοκρατορίαν ἀλλάξασα κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἢ δικαίως μὲν ἴσως, ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικλήρων, ἢ καὶ τύχης ἄλλως ἀκαιρίᾳ καὶ φορᾷ, ξυμβαῖνον οὕτωσὶ πολλάκις· οὐδὲ κλῆρον αὖθις οὕτω μέγιστον λαβοῦσα καὶ μεγίστοις πρέποντα ἔπειτ' αἴσχιστ' ἀπήντησεν εἰς αὐτὸν οὔθ', ὥστε μὴ πρέπειν δοκεῖν, ἐχρήσατο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τύχης ὤφθη καὶ τῶν κλήρων ἀξία καί, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν κληροῦται κατ' ἀξίαν ἔχειν (f.260^{v})καὶ βασιλεύει γεννηθεῖσα δικαίως αὐτίκα καὶ ἀπραγμόνως αἱρέσει τε τοῦ βελτίστου [πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι][166] καὶ ψήφῳ θείᾳ μάλιστ', ἔοικε.

47. Δηλοῖ γὰρ ὅτι τῇ παῤῥησίᾳ καὶ τῷ κράτει Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ[167] βασιλείᾳ τῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ δυναστείᾳ συμπροῆλθε καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐ πρὶν ἄλλως εἰς γένεσιν ἧκει καὶ βασιλεύει, πρὶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύειν μετὰ Χριστοῦ· καὶ πρῶτος αὐτῆς καὶ πολιστὴς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ πρῶτος αὐτοκράτωρ μετὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ πίστεως καὶ πρῶτος ἀπὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ κλήσεως τῶν βασιλέων τιμώμενος καὶ ὁ μόνος αὐτὸς ἐκ βασιλέων ἀριθμούμενος ἐν ἁγίοις τοῦ πάντων βασιλέως Χριστοῦ Σωτῆρος καί, τὸ μεῖζον ἔτι, τοῖς αὐτοῦ κήρυξιν ἀποστόλοις συναριθμούμενός τε καὶ συντιμώμενος. Ὦ τῆς τοσαύτης εὐκλείας! Ὦ τῆς τοσαύτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεγάλης ἐπωνυμίας καὶ λαμπρότητος, οἰκιστὴς αὐτῇ καὶ δομήτωρ· καὶ μὴν ἐκείνου μὲν ἡ κλῆσις καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνου ἡ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, φημί, κλῆσις καὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς ὄνομα καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ἐπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸ μέγιστον ὄνομα· αὐτοῦ γὰρ αὕτη Κωνσταντίνου περιφανῶς ἀκούει καὶ αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ Κωνσταντῖνον· καὶ γεννᾶται μὲν ἐκεῖνος διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ καλεῖται περιδόξως

[165] verba καὶ πρόεισιν post μεταλαμβάνει scripta huc transposui
[166] πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι seclusi

δι' αὐτοῦ, γίγνεται δ' ἡ πόλις διὰ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ πρόεισιν εἰς τὸν βίον λαμπρὰ λαμπρῶς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ θεῖα μεγαλωνύμου καλεῖταί τε καὶ κλεΐζεται πλεῖν ἢ κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἀπ' ἄλλας ἄλλων. Ὢ θαυμαστῶν αὐτῇ τῶν ὀνομαστηρίων τε καὶ γενεθλίων! Ὢ τῶν καλλίστων αὐτῇ τειχῶν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὑπ'[168] αὐτῶν χειρῶν ἐζωγραφημένων τῶν θείων! Ὢ τοῦ κρατίστου θεμελίου σφίσι, παρ' ὃν οὐκ ἔστι βαλεῖν ἕτερον, αὐτὸν δή, φημί, μετὰ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Παύλου φωνῆς, τὸν μόνον κραταιὸν καὶ μόνον δυνάστην νῦν! Ὢ τῶν περιφανῶν προοιμίων τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν βίον προόδου καὶ (f.261[r])φανερώσεως μετὰ τῆς πρώτης εἰς τὸν βίον προόδου καὶ φανερώσεως τῆς πίστεως!

48. Ὢ πάντ' ἐκεῖνα ταύτῃ θαυμαστὰ καὶ κάλλιστα· ἅμα γεννᾶται καὶ βασιλεύει, μᾶλλον δ', ἐφῷ βασιλεύειν, γεννᾶται· καὶ βασιλεύειν αὐτίκ' ἄρχεται μετὰ τοῦ κράτους τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ τὸν κόσμον νικήσαντος καὶ ἡλικιῶτίς ἐστιν ἡ πόλις τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς πίστεως· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἡ πρώτη πῆξις τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἅμα δ' ἡ πῆξις αὐτῇ καὶ γένεσις παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως παῤῥησιασαμένου τὴν πίστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς οὐκ ἄλλως ἀξιοῦντος ἄρχειν καὶ ὅλως εἶναι καὶ ζῆν· καὶ ὁμοῦ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἱδρύετο δι' αὐτοῦ, ὁμοῦ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς αὐτίκα νεὼ καὶ ἱερὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυστήρια θεῖα καὶ σπονδαὶ τῆς ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας· τοῦτο τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτης εὐπραγίας ἀφορμὴ τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο μέγιστον τῶν καλλίστων αὐτῇ καὶ[169] τῆς ἄκρας εὐδαιμονίας αἴσιον σύμβολον, τοῦθ' ὅλον αὐτὴν κτῆμα θεοσεβείας δείκνυσι, τοῦθ' ἱερὸν ὥσπερ ἄσυλον Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως, τοῦθ' ὅλον ἀνειμένον ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτίκα τῆς γενέσεως τῇ θείᾳ δεσποτείᾳ μόνῃ· καί, εἰ μέγα καὶ πάντων, ὡς

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[167] τῇ V[sl]
[168] ἐπ' V

ἀληθῶς, εἰς δόξαν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον, ἢ πῶς γὰρ οὐ τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἀνθῆσαι καὶ προελθεῖν εἰς τὸν βίον τὴν ἀκμὴν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ὅλης τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας καί, ἡνίκα τῶν χρόνων μάλιστ᾽ ἐκράτει ἢ πρότερον ἀεὶ πολλῷ δὴ μεῖζον ὄντως καὶ μεγαλοδοξότερον, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἄρα τῆς ἀναδείξεως καὶ προόδου καὶ δυναστείας τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταύτην συμπροελθεῖν καὶ καταστῆναι, οὐ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, βασίλεια τῆς ἀρχῆς καινὰ καινιζομένης ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας αὐτῆς ἐντελῆ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν καὶ κατὰ λόγον εὖ μάλ᾽ ἡρμοσμένα, τῆς σπουδῆς ἄξια;

49. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καθόλου γε[170] δοκεῖ καὶ ὁρῶμεν ἑκάστοτ᾽ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πάντων πραγμάτων ἱκανῶς καὶ πρὸς (f.261^{v})λόγον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς τύχαις ἅπαντας παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ λαμπρότερον ἐσκευάσθαι καὶ μετασκευάζειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ χρῆσθαι βέλτιον ἢ τέως κατ᾽ ἔθος πρὸς τὴν ἐπιπεσοῦσαν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ τῇ τύχῃ λοιπὸν εὐγενῶς ἁπαντᾶν· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἰκίας ἀνιστάνειν ἐκ νέου πρὸς ὑποδοχήν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἀγαθῆς ταυτησὶ τύχης καὶ ὄντως ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ταύτης ἀξίας, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶσι κόσμοις ἐναλλάττειν, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶσι τρόποις ἁβρότερον, καὶ δείκνυσθαι τῶν ὄντων διαρκῶς ἅμα μὲν ἡδομένους, ἅμα δ᾽ εὐγνωμονοῦντας τῇ νομῇ τῆς προνοίας· καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα δὴ τηνικαῦτα παραπλησίως ἔχειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἐκείνην τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας εὐετηρίαν τῷ πάντ᾽ ἐκείνῳ θαυμαστῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαί οἱ πλεῖν ἢ κατὰ πᾶν ἔθος πρότερον καὶ καταπάντας ἄλλων ἄλλους κόσμους ἀμιλλωμένους, ὡς οἷόν τ᾽ ἦν, πρὸς τὴν ἑκάστοτε τῆς τύχης φοράν· καὶ δεινὸν γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς φθάσασι παραπλησίως χρῆσθαι καὶ πολλῆς ἀμαθίας τῶν ὁμοίων ἔχεσθαι βέλτιον

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[169] καὶ iter. V
[170] δοκεῖ γε καθόλου primum scripsit deinde litteris β α suprascriptis ordinem invertit V

πράττοντας καὶ ἀποχρῆναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦν. Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς ἄρα καὶ ξένοις τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πάνθ' ἑξῆς ἔπεσθαι θαυμαστὰ καὶ νέα καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀεὶ μέγιστα συμμεγεθύνεσθαι καί, ὥσπερ ἑνὸς ἀτόπου, φασί, δοθέντος, πλεῖστα παρέπεσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς φορᾶς καὶ τῶν καλλίστων, οἶμαι, καὶ μεγαλοφυῶν ἑξῆς αὐτίκα παρακολουθεῖν πολλὰ παραπλήσια θαύματα καὶ ἡδονῆς ἄξια· καὶ τοῦτό γε εἶναι καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης εἰς τὸν βίον εὕρεσιν τηνικαῦτα καὶ πάροδον ὑπερφυῆ καὶ καθάπαξ ἀπαράμιλλον ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας καὶ ἀδόκητον ὡς ὑπερφυῆ βασίλεια καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ νέας ἀρχῆς τότε μέγιστα καὶ νέα καὶ προσήκοντα· καὶ τὴν χρείαν ἱστορῆσαι τοὔργον καὶ προενεγκεῖν (f.262[r])εὔλογον αὐτόθεν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ γιγνομένου.

50. Καὶ ὁ μὲν σκοπὸς ἅπας δημιουργημένῃ τῇ πόλει τοιοῦτος καὶ ἡ κινοῦσα πρόνοια περὶ μεγάλων οὕτω· καὶ τοσοῦτος ὁ χρόνος[171] δείκνυσι δ' ἑξῆς ὡς ἄρ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ μάλ' ἐν καιρῷ ἐξ ἐκείνου προὔστη συνεχῶς αὕτη τῆς μεγίστης ταύτης ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης λάχους· καὶ τῆς πίστεώς γε μὴν αὕτη προὔστη καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεῖται δογμάτων τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ γίγνεται· καὶ θεμιστεύει λοιπὸν αὕτη καὶ νομίζει περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων πάσαις πόλεσιν ἄλλαις καὶ πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις ἄλλαις ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι· καὶ ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀλήθειαν πηγάζουσαν ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν ἐν παντὶ τῷ παραστάντι τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπαρκοῦσαν ἑκάστοις, ὧν ἄρα δέοι ἂν περὶ τῆς πίστεως συνθημάτων καὶ νομίμων εὖ βιοῦν τὰ θεῖα· καὶ παντάπασιν ἀζημίως τῶν ὀρθῶν ἐπίπαν ἐχομένη[172] καὶ τῆς τῶν καλῶν ἀσφαλίσεως, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅροις καὶ ταῖς

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[171] verba καὶ τοσοῦτος ὁ χρόνος post καιρῷ scripta huc transposui
[172] ἐχομένους V

ἁπάσαις δόξαις, αἷς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχεται λόγος, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις τῆς χριστιανικῆς συντάξεως, ὡς κοσμιώτατα συναρμόζεται, μηδὲν ὑπηχοῦσα κίβδηλον, μηδὲν νοσοῦν φέρουσα πρὸς τὴν ὅλην ἑαυτῆς συντέλειαν καὶ συνέχειαν. Κἀνταῦθά ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ἑστία καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὃ βούλεταί τις λαμβάνει· καὶ ᾧ προσήκει δίδοται τοὐπιβάλλον τῆς νομῆς, οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ πλέον, οὐδὲν ἧττον οὐδενί· καὶ οὐδὲν ἄρα δεῖ πονεῖν, οὐδὲ κάμνειν ἀσύνοπτα καὶ ἀόριστα καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁτουοῦν δεῆσαν ὁτῳοῦν, οὐδὲ περιιέναι δολιχὸν κατά τινα ζήτησιν περὶ τῶν θείων νομίμων καὶ τῆς πίστεως. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο παντὸς μᾶλλον ῥᾴδιον καὶ παντὶ πρόχειρον ἔξεστι μάλ' ἐνταῦθ' ὁρᾶν ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ἑκάστης αὐτίκα· καί, μόνος ἅλιος ἐν οὐρανῷ, φησὶ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ ἴσως ἡ πόλις τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτυχῆσαι ταύτην, (f.262^{v})ὥσπερ ἑνὸς σκοποῦ μόνου τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδηλοτάτου προκειμένου, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅστις οὕτω δυστυχής, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ἀμαθέστατος ἐνταῦθα τὰ κοινὰ πᾶσι καὶ πάνυ τοι ῥᾷστα· καὶ τοῦτό γε ἔστιν, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται, ταύτην ἄρα δὴ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτης ἡγούμενον τὰ θεῖα τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν ἔχειν ἐπιστασίαν, ὥσπερ τινὰ χοροῦ κορυφαῖον τοῦ μέλους καὶ ταμίαν ἐναρχόμενον τῆς συμφωνίας τῷ συστήματι καὶ νομέα τῆς ἰσότητος ἢ καθάπερ τινὰ κυβερνήτην τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦδε σκάφους τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰακοστροφοῦντα πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν βέλτιον ἑκάστοτε πάντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνεχόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πλοῦ, ἤ, μᾶλλον ἐρεῖν, ὥσπερ αὐτοκράτορα τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπίλεκτον τοῖς μὲν τά, τοῖς δὲ τά, πᾶσι δ' οὖν τὰ καθήκοντα καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἅπαν ἐπιτέλλοντα· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως σωφρόνως βιοῦν ἢ ὅστις γ' εὖ μάλα πείθεται προσέχων τὸν νοῦν.

51. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως προέδραμεν ὁ λόγος νῦν εἶναι πόῤῥω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ παρήσομεν λοιπόν. Ὅπερ δὲ ἐλέγομεν, ὡς ὁ μὲν ὅλος σκοπός, ὃν

ἔφην, δημιουργουμένη τῇ πόλει μέγιστος οὕτω, ἐπειδὴ[173] τῆς γῆς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀποτέτμηται, καὶ ἴσως μετὰ τῶν εἰκότων λογισμῶν εἰς τὴν πρόθεσιν· καὶ ἀποτέτμηταί γε τῆς γῆς ἐπικαιρότατα καὶ τῆς θαλάττης αὐτῆς, ὡς ἄρ' οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄλλῃ πῃ βέλτιον· καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὡς ἐξῆν, εἰρηκότες φθάνομεν. Συνοικίζεται μὲν εὐθὺς Ἕλλησί τε[174] τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων εὐγενείᾳ τηνικαῦτα πάντων κρατούσῃ καὶ δυοῖν οὕτω τῶν ἀρίστων ἐθνῶν γνώμῃ τε καὶ χειρὶ καὶ πάντων ἐπιτηδεύσει τῶν καλλίστων, τὰ μὲν κατ' ἔθος, τὰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν. Ἐκ δὴ τούτων ἄρα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ πρώτη σύμπηξις αὐτὴ γεννικὴ καὶ μεγαλοφυὴς δημιουργεῖται καὶ συντίθεται, καθάπερ οἱ φυσικοὶ φασὶν ὡς ἂν ἐξ εἴδους τινὸς καὶ ὕλης τὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα, τῆς μὲν ῥωμαϊκῆς αὐτῆς τύχης τὴν εἰδοποιὸν ὑποβαλλούσης ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πάντων γενέσει τῶν ἀῤῥένων ἔχει τὰ σπέρ(f.263r)ματα, τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος αὐτόθεν χώρας μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδοχὴν πάντα παρεχομένης τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὕλης τὰ ῥεύματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄφθονα, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄφθορά τε καὶ καθαρὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐγενῆ ταύτην τοῦ παντὸς κράσιν καὶ οἷα τῆς πρώτης εἶναι τῶν ὄντων συνθέσεως, εὖ δὴ μάλιστα πεφυκότα πρὸς ἄλληλά τε καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀπόδοσιν ἐντελῆ[175] καὶ κατασκευὴν ἔμμουσον πάνυ τοι καὶ ἡρμοσμένην. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ συσκευάζεται πάντα πάντοθεν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ περισπουδάστῳ τῷδ' ἐξῆς ἔργῳ κατὰ χρείαν τε καὶ πάντα κόσμον καὶ - τί ἂν εἴπῃ τις; - ὅσῃ τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ πάνυ τοι ῥᾷστα, καθάπερ τινὰ τῶν εὐπορίστων ἐξ ὑπογυίου, τὰ μήκιστα καὶ δυσποριστότατα καὶ φέρειν ἐργωδέστατα, ὥσπερ ἀγώγιμα ἄττα τῶν ἔγγιστα Κυζίκου τε καὶ Προικονήσου λατομιῶν· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ,τι μὴ μετασκευάζεται τῇδε λοιπὸν παντὶ πόνῳ καὶ τρόπῳ, κἂν ὅ,τι μάλιστ' ἐκ γειτόνων, κἂν ὅ,τι μάλιστα πόῤῥωθεν τῆς

[173] ἐπεὶ δὲ V
[174] τε V^{sl}
[175] εὐγενῆ] γρ. ἐντελῆ V^{mg}

μεγάλης περὶ τοσούτου σκοποῦ καὶ πράγματος φιλοτιμίας, πᾶν ἄρα δὴ καὶ τὸ τέως ἀλόγιστον παντάπασι καὶ ἀδόκητον πραττούσης ἀνύσιμον εὖ μάλα, μᾶλλον δὲ πραττομένης ἀτρέπτως ἀπαραίτητόν τινα φορᾶς ὀφειλήν.

52. Καὶ περίβολος μὲν ἀνίσταται τοσοῦτος, ἔργον οὐ μόνον ἀνέλπιστον καταπράξασθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδὸν ἰδεῖν μόνον ὡς ἐπίπαν καί, πρὶν ἰδεῖν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, μὴ πιστεῦσαι μὴ δὲ λογίσασθαι χώραν ἔχον. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἔγγιστα παραβάλλειν ὁτῳοῦν τῶν φθασάντων οὐδ' ἐκ παραδείγματος συλλογίσασθαι τέως καὶ θαῤῥῆσαι - ἢ πῶς γὰρ οὔ; - πρᾶγμα καὶ γεγονὸς ἔπειτ' αὖθις ἀμίμητον τοῦ λοιποῦ, κάλλη δὲ καὶ κόσμον τῆς ὅλης κατασκευῆς καὶ τέχνης ὥραν καὶ κράτους ἀκμὴν καὶ πάντα πορισμὸν ἐρυμνότητος διὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας συνιόντα καὶ κιρνάμενον· κἀπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι δεύτερα [κἀπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι][176] τάφρους καὶ διωρυγὰς οὐκ ἀγχιβαθεῖς, (f.263^{v})κἀπὶ τούτοις τέχνας αὖθις καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ δημιουργήματα τί τις ἂν ἔχοι λέγειν, ἃ μόνης ἱστορίας ἔργον προθέμενός τις οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτα ῥᾳδίως ἀπαλλάττοιτο; Καὶ συχνοῦ δέοι ἂν ἡμῖν λόγου τρίβειν ἐνταῦθα, πλὴν ὅτι τὰ πάντων τῇδε κράτιστα, συνελόντ' εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὰ πάντων κάλλιστα καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔστι παραβάλλειν ἕτεράττα τῶν πάντῃ θαυμαζομένων οὐ καθ' ἕτερον τῶν εἰρημένων ἢ κράτος ἢ κάλλος οὐδὲ μὴν μάλιστα κατ' ἀμφότερα συνιόντα· καὶ ὅστις ἄρ' ἐκμανθάνειν βούλεται, χρηστέον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς. Εἰ καὶ τοῦτο δοίημεν, πλήν γε ὅτι τοσοῦτο λέγειν ἔχομεν, ὡς ἃ μὴ πέφυκεν ὅλως ἱκανώσασθαι διὰ πάντων, ὡς εἶναι τοσοῦτο μέγεθος ἅμα τοσούτῳ κάλλει[177] καὶ τοσοῦτο κράτος ἢ μᾶλλον καὶ ἄμφω λοιπὸν καὶ μέγεθος καὶ κράτος ἅμα τοσούτῳ τῷ κάλλει· καὶ ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ἀδύνατα ξυνελθεῖν ὁμοῦ πάντα, καὶ πεῖρα καὶ χρόνος ἀεὶ πρότερον τοῦτ' ἐλέγχει,

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[176] κἀπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι seclusi
[177] κράτει V

μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πιστὸν ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ δίδωσι· ταύτῃ δὴ ταῦθ' ὁμοῦ πάντα καλῶς γε ποιῶν δίδωσιν ὁ χρόνος εἰς ἀνείκαστον θαῦμα καὶ ὃς ἄρα πάντα πεπαίνει, φασί, καὶ παραῤῥεῖν βιάζεται καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπανθεῖν καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον [ἀλάττειν][178], πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι, τὴν φύσιν ἐνταῦθα μόνον ἀλλάττει· καὶ καινοποιὸς ὢν ἀεὶ μέγιστον ἐνταῦθα τοῦτο δείκνυσι καὶ ἄηθες καθάπαξ αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἀνθοῦν τε καὶ διαπαντὸς ἀκμάζον, αὐτὸς ἔπειτα παριὼν οὑτωσί· καὶ μὴν ἔτι προστίθεται μάλιστ' ἀεὶ τῶν κόσμων καὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε μὴ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ ὃ μὴ πρότερον ἦν, ἀστεία νῦν γε εἶναι καὶ πρόδηλος ἡ προσθήκη, καὶ χθὲς ἤδη καὶ πρὸ τρίτης ἐπὶ τοῖς φθάσασιν ἀνίσταται· καὶ ὃ μήπω καὶ νῦν πρότερον εὕρηται, μὴ δ' εἰς νοῦν ἦκε, μὴ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔδωκε χάριν, θέαμα ἐπιτερπές, σοφὸς ὁ χρόνος ἀεὶ καίν' ἀναδείκνυται καὶ χαρίζεται τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ τῇ πόλει· καὶ λαμπρύνεται μὲν αὕτη τὰ παλαιά, λαμπρύνεται δ' ἑκάστοτε τὰ νέα.

53. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν (f.264^{r})ὁ τοσοῦτος αὐτῇ περίβολος οὕτως ἔρχεται πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα, τοῦτο δ' ὅσα καὶ οἷα περιέχει φέρων ἐντὸς θαύματα καὶ κάλλη, ταμεῖον ὥσπερ ἄσυλον, ἐγκλείων καὶ πολυωρῶν οὕτω μέγιστον ἀσφαλὴς θησαυρόν· ἤ, κατὰ τὰ περιφανῆ θέατρα πάσης ἐντὸς εὐγενείας εἰς ἄκρον ἠσκημένα, πάνυ τοι πλείστοις, πάνυ τοι καλλίστοις θεάμασιν ἀστράπτων διόλου τοῖς ἐπόπταις καὶ ἁπάντων ἡδὺς σὺν θάμβει· ἤ, κατὰ τὰς πληθούσας ἀγορὰς μιμούμενος, αἳ πάντων μεμέστωνται κειμηλίων καὶ πάντων τῶν χρησίμων εὖ μάλ' εἰσὶ πλέα[179] διαπαντός, καὶ οὐ δέος ἔπειτ' οὐδὲν μή ποτ' ἐπιλείψει τὰ πολυζήτητ' ὤνια τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς προκείμενα, μὴ δ' ὁ χρόνος φθάσει τὰ πάντ' ἀποδόμενος καὶ δαπανήσας διαῤῥέειν κατὰ φύσιν ἀεὶ πείθων,

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[178] ἀλάττειν seclusi
[179] πλέῳ V

ἀλλ᾽ αὖθις φέρει καὶ προΐησιν[180] αὖθις καὶ μάλ᾽ αὖθις καὶ ἀεὶ νέα καὶ βελτίω καὶ παραπλήσια καὶ παλαιῶν ἀεί ποτ᾽ ἐστὶ λοιπὰ καὶ νέων ἐπιδείξεις καὶ χάριτες· καί, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀειφόρων φυτῶν καὶ ἐπιφορωτάτων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὰ μὲν ὁρῶμεν νέον ἀνθοῦντα καὶ προήκοντα καὶ καθιστάμενα τὴν γιγνομένην ἀρετήν, τὰ δ᾽ ἰόντα καθ᾽ ὁδὸν εἰς τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ πέρας τῆς φύσεως ὡς αὐτῇ νόμιμα ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, ἀτελῆ δ᾽ οὖν ἔτι, τὰ δ᾽ ἀρτιουργὰ προσῳωρημένα, τὰ δὲ πεπαίνοντα τῷ χρόνῳ[181], τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς πάντα θαυμαστῆς τῆσδε πόλεως καὶ πολυφόρου καὶ ἀειθαλοῦς ἀεὶ πληθούσης ταῖς λαμπρότησιν ἁπάσαις καὶ τῶν κατασκευῶν ταῖς φοραῖς παλαιαῖς τε καὶ νέαις ἱσταμέναις πόῤῥωθεν τῶν χρόνων καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ γιγνόμενον χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπογινομέναις ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ οὖ, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὡς ἔπειτ᾽ ἄρα βελτίον᾽ [182] εἶναι τοῖς ἀνιοῦσιν ἀεὶ νέοις καὶ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ χαλεπὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐργώδη παρεπομένην τῇ τοσαύτῃ τῶν ἀεὶ βελτίστων ἐπιφορᾷ νῦν ἑκάστοτε καινῶν τε καὶ ἀκμαζόντων, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποβαλλομένων ὀρνέων τὰ πτίλα (f.264[v])τακτοῖς ὅροις τῆς φύσεως καὶ καιροῖς, τὰ μέν γε λείπεται τῶν προτέρων, τὰ δὲ φύεται, τὰ δὲ ἐπιφύεται, καὶ[183] ἔστιν ἄρα τοῦθ᾽ ὕστερον σφίσι βέλτιον ἢ πρότερον καὶ κάλλους καὶ ἀρετῆς προσθήκη τῇ ἐπαινετῇ χρείᾳ[184]· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀλλάξαιτό τις τῶν μὴ τοιούτων τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· καὶ τοίνυν τὰ μὲν τῇ πόλει τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀζήμια χρόνων καὶ οὐδεμία παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀδικία σφίσι, τὰ δ᾽ ἀνέστη καινά, τὰ δ᾽ ἀνίσταται καὶ προστίθησιν ἀεὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ προστίθησι[185] τῆς ἀκμῆς, χωρὶς ἄρα καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐρειπίων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν λειψάνων αἴγλης, ἵν᾽ οὕτως εἴποιμι,

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[180] προΐεισιν V
[181] τὸν χρόνον V
[182] βέλτιον V
[183] ras. post καὶ
[184] τὴν ἐπαινετὴν χρείαν V

καὶ λαμπρότητος ἀμυθήτου καὶ καλλονῆς εὖ μάλα τῷ παντὶ πρεπούσης. Οἷον γὰρ εἰς κόσμου περιουσίαν κοινωνεῖ καὶ συνυφαίνεται τῇ νέᾳ φορᾷ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν νεουργοῖς τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐλλείμματα μεγαλουργημάτων, μνημεῖα τῆς ἐκ μακροῦ δόξης λοιπὸν ἑστῶτα, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τάφοις αἱ στῆλαι καὶ τἀπιγράμματα μάρτυρες εὐκλείας λείπονται τοῖς κειμένοις! Οὐκοῦν πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρκεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ μεγάλης ἐπιδείξεως ἀφορμῇ καὶ οὐκ ἄπο λόγου καθάπαξ οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἄν, οἶμαι, δικαίως νεμεσήσαι τις ἢ καταγνοίη. Ἢ τίς γὰρ οὕτω δυστυχὴς καὶ περὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀμαθὴς ἢ κομιδῇ βάσκανος, ὃς οὐκ ἂν ἀξιοίη περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων βέλτισθ᾽ αἱρούμενος καὶ κρίνων[186]; Εἴ τις τὰ παρόντα μὴ πράττων εὖ ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καταφεύγει καὶ τῇ μακρᾷ τοῦ χρόνου μνήμῃ φέρων ἔπειθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν δίδωσι καί τινά οἱ παλαιοδοξίαν ἐξ ἄρα τοιούτων τινῶν καὶ ἀρχαιοπλουτίαν κειμένην, ὥσπερ ἐκ σκευῶν τινων χρυσέων καὶ κειμηλίων τῷ χρόνῳ κατεσκαμμένων τε καὶ καταθραυσθέντων εἰς ἀχρηστίαν ἴσως, πρόθυμος ἐπιμαρτύρεται καὶ ἀντισταθμίζει τοῖς νεοπλούτοις (f.265[r])καὶ ἀντανισοῖ τὴν ἤδη φθάσασαν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ παραῤῥεύσασαν, εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρτιπαγέσι καὶ νεαροῖς ἑστῶσιν εὐπραγήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν οὕτω τὴν τεθνηκυῖαν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι καὶ φέρειν ἀμηγέπῃ πρὸς κλεισμὸν εὐζωίαν τε καὶ εὐγένειαν οὐδὲν καινόν, οὐδ᾽ ἀσύγγνωστον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ὡς ἔφην, πραγμάτων.

54. Ἡμῖν δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ θησαυρὸς ἔχει, οὐδ᾽ ἄνθρακες αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἄλλον τρόπον ἐρεῖν λαμπροὶ μὲν πρότερον ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως γε νῦν ἐσβεσμένοι· οὐδ᾽ ἀναχωροῦμεν, οὐδ᾽ ἀνατρέχομεν ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ μόνα καὶ

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[185] ἐκ δὴ in ras. post προστίθησι V
[186] expectes αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ κρίνειν

πρῶτα καὶ φέρομεν ἐκεῖθεν ἑαυτοῖς, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ μακρόθεν τινὰ καὶ γηράσασαν ἢ καὶ τεθνηκυῖαν, ὡς ἔφην, εὐγένειαν καὶ ἱστορίας μόνον καὶ λόγους καὶ χρόνιά τινα μακάρια διηγήματα καὶ δι' ἀδήλων τὰ 'πίδηλα κακῶς πράττοντες, ὡς ἂν οἷοί τ' εἶεν, παραμυθοῦνται καὶ σοφίζονται μὴ ἔχοντες, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄλλως ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι χρῆσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γε οὐχ οὕτως, ἔφην, ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη τὰ παρόντα μόνον καὶ φαινόμενα κάλλιστα ἐπὶ καλλίστοις κἀπὶ μεγίστοις μέγιστα καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ μεῖζω τε καὶ καλλίω, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τις ἐρεῖ σωφρονῶν καὶ φεύγων αὐτόθεν αὐτίκα μελαγχολίας ἔλεγχον. Οἷς γὰρ οὕτω λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανῆ χρῆσθαι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ κομιδῇ γε τῆς παρούσης εὐεξίας καὶ ἀστειότητος ἐπιδείξαιντ' ἂν χειρούμενοι τοὺς ὁρῶντας παραχρῆμα, πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲν ἴσως οὐδ' ἠτισοῦν ἀνάγκη φέρειν εἰς τὰ πάλαι πρότερον καὶ κατάγειν ἐξ ἀρχαιογονίας τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. Ἀλλ' ἔξεστί γε ὅμως καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ πόῤῥω τῶν χρόνων, πῶς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι πλεῖν ἢ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλοις, κἂν ὅ,τι πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα δύναιντο καὶ μὴν ὅπου γε καὶ εἰ ταῦτα δεικνύναι καὶ λέγειν εἶχον καὶ φέρειν εἰς μέσους παράλληλα. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦθ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἁπαντᾷ (f.265^{v})καὶ κοινωνεῖ σφόδρα λαμπρῶς, καὶ ὡς θαυμάζειν μάλιστα τὴν ξυντυχίαν καὶ πιστοῦσθαι μὲν τοῖς νέοις καὶ περιδόξοις τὰ παλαιὰ κλέα, τιμᾶσθαι δὲ τὰ νέα τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ ἀντιτιμᾶσθαι τοῖς νέοις τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ ἀλλήλων ἀπολαύειν εἰς καλλονὴν πάντοθεν τελείαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιδιδόναι τὸν εἰκότ' ἔρανον· καὶ ὄντως ἡμῖν ἡ παροιμία δοκεῖ φέρειν τὰς μακρὰς οὐσίας καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον βαθύν· καὶ πάρεστιν ἀκούειν καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρῆσθαι σώμασι καὶ πάρεστιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀμέλει χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ κατιοῦσαν ἡμῖν μεγαλοδοξίαν καὶ τοῖς καταλειφθεῖσι ἀναλώτοις ἐπίπαν τοῦ χρόνου καλλίστοις θεάμασι· καὶ τροπαίων δίκην ἵσταται ταυτὶ καὶ μένει ταῖς πρώταις

ἐκείναις μεγαλουργίαις καὶ κηρύγματα πομπεύονθ', ὡς εἰπεῖν, κατὰ παντὸς ἄτρεπτα τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἄσειστα τὴν θαυμαστὴν εὔκλειαν ἐκείνην καὶ τοῦ βίου περιφάνειαν ἡμῖν ἐξαρχῆς.

55. Οὐκοῦν ὁράτω τις δημοσίας κατασκευὰς τοσαύτας καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς οὕτω καὶ ἰδιωτικὰς ἐφαμίλλους· καὶ ἃ μὲν ἐπίπαν ἄσυλα τῆς πανωλείας τῶν τοσούτων ἑστῶτα χρόνων καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀκλονήτου, καθάπερ εἰ χθὲς ἀνίστατ' ἂν καὶ πρὸ τρίτης, πάσης ἐπηρείας ἀθῷα, θαῦμα τοσούτῳ μέγιστον, ὅσῳ μέγιστα καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὁ,τιοῦν εἴκει τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα καὶ ῥεῖ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ διὰ μέγεθος ἢ δι' ὕψος ἐκτεταμένα τοσοῦτον, ἔπειτα δι' αὐτὰ ταῦθ', ἃ καὶ θαυμάζεται, λοιπὸν ἀτονήσαντα ἢ διὰ ποικίλματα ἄττα καὶ στροφὰς καὶ τέχνας πανσόφους μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐξανάγκης οὐκ ἀντεχούσας παντάπασι τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῶν χρόνων καὶ ἀντιτεχνήσει ἔστι δ' ἃ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τραπέντα τε καὶ ὑπερῤῥυηκότα κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπὸ τοῦ μακροῦ γήρως καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τῶν χρόνων, ἀτὰρ λειψάνοις οἱστισινοῦν θαυμαζόμενα, ὥσπερ κἀκ τῶν ὀνύχων τοὺς λέοντας ἡ παροιμία θαυμάζειν δίδωσι καὶ κρασπέδοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι θοἰμάτιον καὶ καλλονὴν ὑφασμάτων καὶ ὅλως διὰ τεμμάχη τὸ πᾶν ἔξεστι λογίζεσθαι καὶ συμμετρεῖσθαι· (f.266[r])καὶ μὴν ἔστιν αὖθις παρὰ τοσοῦτο κἀνταῦθα καταπλήττεσθαι τὸ κρατερὸν αὐτὸ τῶν ἐλλειμμάτων καὶ τῶν μερῶν, ὥστ' ἀπορεῖν πάνυ τοι καὶ θαυμάζειν ὅπως ἄρα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ παρελθόντ' οἴχεται. Ὥστε κατ' ἀμφότερα τοιγαροῦν θαυμάζειν ἐξεῖναι, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μενόντων τὸ κράτος τῆς δημιουργίας καὶ τῆς τέχνης ὅπως εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀκμάζει καὶ πᾶσιν ἀντέχει πράγμασι, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μάλιστ' ἀσφαλὲς καὶ ἄνοσον τῶν λειφθέντων, ἐκ πολλῆς[187] τῆς συνεχείας ἀταπείνωτον οἷον καὶ οὐχ οἷον φύσιν ἔχειν ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ ὀπηοῦν καὶ καταδαπανᾶσθαι καὶ φθίνειν,

ὅπως ἀμέλει ξυνεχώρησε τὰ ναυαγήσαντα τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τῷ κλύδωνι καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας προὔδωκεν ἢ τίνι καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ φύσεως ὀφλήματι καὶ κράτει τῆς τοῦ χρόνου τυραννίδος τὸ εἰκὸς ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἀφῄρηται, εἰ μὴ ἄρ', ἔοικεν, οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ' ἐπίτηδες ἐχθρῶν ἴσως καὶ κακίστων ἀσκήσει κατεσπουδασμένη καὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ βασκανίᾳ τινῶν ἐπιβούλων καὶ ἀποστατῶν τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν καλλίστων τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, καθάπερ ἔνια τῶν ζῴων ὁρῶμεν φθοροποιὰ καὶ φύσιν ἔχει μόνον ὀλλύναι καὶ μάχην ἄσπονδον ἀνῄρηται δι' ὅλου κατὰ τῆς οὐσίας δι' οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν, δι' οὐδὲν ἴσως κέρδος ἢ τροφὴν ἢ χρῆσιν αὐτοῖς.

56. Ἔστι γὰρ ἀποβλέπονθ', ὡς ἔφην, πρὸς τὰ λειφθέντα τοιαῦτα τοιαῦτα δὴ λογίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπορεῖν καὶ θαυμάζειν. Οὕτω γὰρ ὀχυρῶς ἔχει καὶ ῥωμαλέως τῆς φύσεως καὶ συνέστραπται καὶ καθήδρασται, ὡς ἂν ἔργον μέγ' εἶναι καὶ φιλονεικίας ὑπερβαλλούσης σπούδασμα καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, θαῦμα, ὅστις ἂν ἐπιμελῶς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπαναστὰς καὶ χεῖρα πᾶσαν ἀντάρας ἔπειτα περιγένοιτο· καὶ πολλοὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἠντιναοῦν καὶ χρείαν καὶ συνοῖσον ἢ κοινὸν ἢ καὶ ἴσως ἴδιον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἐν δέοντι χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἀνονήτοις καὶ κατηργημένοις τούτοις, πολλὰ λοιπὸν ἀεθλεύσαντες (f.266^{v})κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπικενῆς εἰς οὐδὲν ἱκνούμενον ὡς οὐδὲν ἰσχύοντες καὶ τἀκίνητα κινεῖν ἔπειτ' ἔγνωσαν. Ἔπειθ' ἑκόντες γε ὄντες ἐδραπέτευσαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν καὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀπεχώρησαν τῆς ἀνονήτου καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως πέρας ἐχούσης σπουδῆς· καὶ τὰ μέν γε οὕτως. Καὶ θησαυρίζει τοιγαροῦν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις προσθήκην οὕτω δὴ κάλλους καὶ θαύματος ἀφορμήν, καὶ πολλοὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων, εἰ οἷόν τ' ἦν, πρίαιντ' ἂν σφίσι προσεῖναι καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐρείπια ταῦτα καὶ νεκρὰ τῶν σωμάτων. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑστώτων, τοῦτο μὲν παλαιῶν,

[187] πολῆς V

τοῦτο δὲ νεαρῶν τούτων, ὡσπερεὶ προβόλων ἀκλονήτων τε καὶ ἀτρέπτων κατὰ τοῦ[188] χρόνου, εἰ δὲ βούλεταί τις, κἀνταῦθα κατ' αὐτοῦ τροπαίων ὡσανεὶ τῆς τέχνης οὐ τῆς εὐκλείας μόνον τῆς ἀηττήτου τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὸν ἄνω λόγον, τί τις ἂν ἐροῖ[189] πρῶτον ἢ τί μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ θεῖτο περὶ πραγμάτων οὕτω πάντοθεν θαυμαστῶν τε καὶ παραλλήλων καὶ ἃ μή ποτ' ἐστὶ λόγων ἀξίων τυχεῖν οὐδ' ἂν ὅστις ἐπιχειροίη οὐδ' ἂν ὅσον μάλιστ' ἐπείγοιτο; Καίτοι τί λέγω; Ὅπου γε καὶ εἰ περὶ ἓν ὁ,τιοῦν ἔλοιτ' ἄν τις ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις χρήσασθαι, σχολῇ γ' ἂν τοῦ πράγματος ἱκανῶς διαγένοιτο καὶ ὡς ἂν ἀξιώσειεν ἀποχρῆναι· ἤ, καὶ εἰ μόνον ἔλοιτ' ἂν ἅπαντ' ἀριθμεῖσθαι ψιλῷ τῷ λόγῳ προβαίνων οὑτωσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς[190] ἐπ' ὀνομάτων μόνον, οὐκ ἂν τύχοι [οὔκουν γε ὡς ἂν][191] καὶ μηδενὸς ὁτουοῦν ἐλλείπειν, ἃ καὶ μόνον ἐποπτεῦσαί τις καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπελθεῖν ἅπαντα παγχάλεπον ἔργον, οὔκουν γε ὡς ἂν φαίη τις εὖ μάλ' ἐξεῖναι. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰς λαβυρίνθους τινὰς ἐμπεσὼν ἰλιγγιῴη ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἔχοι χρῆσθαι, ὅταν γε δὴ καὶ δοκοίη καὶ δῆτ' ἀνύσιμά οἱ λοιπὸν εἶναι καὶ τελευτᾶν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ διεκπίπτειν ἤδη ἐν προθύροις αὖθις αἰσθανόμενος ξυλλαγχάνων καὶ κόπτων εἰκῇ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξαρχῆς πειρώμενος καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦτο καὶ περαίνων οὐδέν.

57. Οἷα γὰρ πάντοθεν, ἀμύθητος (f.267[r])ἀριθμός, ἁπαντᾷ θεάματα καὶ συνέλκει καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἑκάστοτε νῦν γε εἶναι, σεμνὰ σεμνῶς ἕκαστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα καὶ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστα, οἷον αὐτίκα δὴ νεῴ τε διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἀστράπτοντες παντὶ κάλλει καὶ πάσαις χάρισιν, οἷον ἀστέρες ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ τῇ πόλει διαφανεῖς τῷ παντὶ σώματι, ἅμα μὲν κόσμων ὁ μέγιστος καὶ πρῶτος καὶ ἅμα πάσης ἀσφαλείας κοινοὶ σύνδεσμοι καὶ

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[188] τοῦ V[sl]
[189] ἐρεῖ V
[190] τιθεὶς V[pc] : τυθεὶς V[ac]
[191] οὔκουν γε ὡς ἂν seclusi

ὡς ἂν φαίη τις ἐφ' ἱερῶν ἀγκυρῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τούτων, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἡδράσθαι καὶ θαῤῥεῖν ἄσειστα βιοῦσαν τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. Τοῦτο μέν, ὅσοι τὴν κοινὴν ἡμῖν τοῦ λαοῦ συνάγουσιν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν θείων καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ ἀπαραλόγιστα καὶ ζωοφόρα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τῆς εὐαγοῦς θρησκείας ἡμῶν ὀφλήματα καὶ πρυτανεύουσι καὶ ταμιουχοῦσι τὴν πίστιν, κοινοὶ θεοσεβείας ἡμῖν θησαυροὶ καὶ ἀπραγμάτευτος ἀπόλαυσις εὐζωίας καὶ μετουσία, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαία καὶ ἀπαραίτητος καθάπαξ, ὥσπερ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ὅσα τῆς σωματικῆς χρείας, εἰ δὲ βούλεταί τις, ἀπαραιτήτου φορᾶς ἐράνου καὶ συντελείας τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως δοχεῖα ἢ λιμένες ἅπασιν ἑστῶτες κοινότατοι εὐπλοίας τε καί, τοὐναντίον, σάλου παντὸς καὶ κλύδωνος. Ἔνθ' ἄρα δέοι περαίνειν καὶ ὀντιναοῦν θαλαττεύοντα τῷ βίῳ ἑτοιμότατα καὶ ῥᾷστα κἂν ὅπως ποτ' ἄρα εἴτ' εὐδρομοῦντ' ἴσως τοῦ πλοῦ εἴτε καὶ[192] ναυαγοῦντα καὶ θεῖα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνθρώπινα. Τοῦτο δ', ὅσοι γε καὶ ἀνεῖνται τοῖς ἐξηρημένοις ἑαυτοὺς καὶ βιοῦντας τοῦ βίου καὶ ζῶντας αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δραπετεύσασι τὰ πράγματα μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἀνεῖνταί γε σφίσι τοῦ σάλου τοῦ παρόντος τοῦδε καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου περιφανοῦς καὶ προδήλου ταύτης φυγῆς καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας καταπαύσεις τε καὶ καταφυγαὶ καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἱερῶν ἀσυλία πάσης ἐπηρείας τοῦ βίου καὶ τυρα(f.267^{v})ννίδος καὶ ὥσπερ ἀκροπόλεις τῆς ἐνθένδε μάχης ἀνεπιχείρητοι καὶ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ μεγάλου δεσπότου πάσης ἄψαυστα κακονοίας καὶ θράσους καὶ κακουργίας, ᾧ φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν.

58. Ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔλεγον, τὸ μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἄρα τουτὶ χρῆμα οἷον. Αἱ δ' ἄλλαι κατασκευαὶ καὶ δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ, τί τις ἂν ἐρεῖ, στοαὶ παμμήκεις[193]

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[192] καὶ V^{sl}
[193] παμμήκεις V^{pc}: παμμήκης V^{ac}

καὶ τοσαῦται πᾶσι μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως, οὐ δυστυχούντων μόνον ἀπραγμάτευτος παραμυθία ἀλλὰ καὶ καμινόντων ἄλλων ὁπηοῦν ἐν ὁδοῖς ἢ θέρους ὑπερβολὰς ἢ ψύχους ναυάγια καὶ χειμῶνας, καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ δρόμοι καὶ θέατρα καὶ ὑδάτων ταμεῖα καὶ κρῆναι καὶ θησαυροὶ μέγιστοι καὶ παντοῖοι καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτόθεν τε ναόντων ἀφθόνων καὶ ἡδίστων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ πη ἄλλη, κἀκ μακροῦ φερόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ὀλίγη δυναστείᾳ καὶ βίᾳ τῆς φύσεως, ἀνάγκη δ' ὅμως ἄτρεπτος δουλεύειν ὅπως ἄρα τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει πᾶσι τρόποις καὶ μηχαναῖς πάσαις, τὰ μὲν ἀδήλοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἂν εἶναι προὔπτον. Οἷ' ὁρῶμεν καὶ θαυμάζομεν μετὰ ῥαστώνης ὅσης καὶ χάριτος μετάρσια πομπεύοντα κατὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ῥεύματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀεροδρομοῦντας, ἔτι γε μὴν βαλανείων ἀπολαύσεις πλεῖσται καὶ καλλίστων τε καὶ μεγίστων καὶ παντοῖ' ἐν τούτοις σοφίσματα καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐρεῖν ἢ μόνον χρῆσθαι προτρέπειν ἢ ὅλως γε ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς αὐτὰ χρῆσθαι. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τῶν ἁπάσαις νόσοις πονήρως ἐχόντων καὶ μακρὰ καὶ ποικίλα καμνόντων τῇ πολυειδεῖ τοῦ σώματος τοῦδε κακοδαιμονίᾳ καταπαύσεων οἰκοδομήματα πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα κατ' ὀλίγα διαστήματα τῆς πόλεως καὶ καταφυγαὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ταμεῖα ζωῆς καὶ τῆς φιλανθρώπου τέχνης καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἁπάσης χρείας ἑτοιμότης καὶ καθάπαξ εὐπόριστος παρασκευὴ καὶ παραμυθία τῆς δυστυχίας ἐξ ὑπογυίου προσδραμεῖν καὶ τὸν τοῦ σώματος (f.268^{r})ἐλλιμενίσαι κλύδωνα καὶ τεχνιτεῦσαι τοὺς χειμῶνας καὶ τὴν ναυαγίαν καὶ διοικῆσαι τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἴκοθεν ἐπανάστασιν ἢ στάσιν τῶν ἀφορμῶν τῆς φύσεως εὖ θέσθαι.

59. Καὶ πῶς ἄν τις περὶ τῶν οὕτως ἐρεῖ θαυμασίων τρέχων οὐτωσὶ τοῦ λόγου; Οἷαι δὲ καὶ στηλῶν καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναδρομαὶ καὶ κίονες δόξης τῶν περιδόξων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τῆσδε πόλεως καὶ κηρύγμαθ', ὥσπερ ἐξ

ὑπερτέρων, ἄνω πολὺ τοῦ ἀέρος, βοῶντα τῶν πάλαι θαυμαζομένων εὐκλείας καὶ τύχης ὕψωσιν· καὶ τοίνυν ἀγαλματοποιοῖς πρὸς γραφικοὺς ἅμιλλα καὶ χαλκοτύποις πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ πάντων σοφίσματα καὶ συμμετρίαι καὶ τέχναι πολυστρόφου τομῆς μετὰ ῥαστώνης κατὰ τῶν ἐρυμνοτάτων καὶ χαλκῶν καὶ λίθων, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τῶν εὐτήκτων καὶ μαλθακωτάτων ὁ,τιοῦν ὡς ἂν βούλοιτο καὶ καθ' αἵρεσιν δημιουργοίη καὶ πλάττοι τε καὶ μεταποιοίη παντοῖα σχήματα καὶ μέτρα καὶ τέχνας εὐδρομώτατα καὶ ῥᾷστα· καὶ πάντα ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλῃ πῃ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς μάλιστα αἰῶνος τὰ τῇδε καὶ πλείω καὶ βελτίω πλέον ἢ πλείω· καὶ παλαιὸς μὲν λόγος ἀγαλματοποιοῖς καὶ γραφεῦσι καὶ χαλκοτύποις φησὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅλως, ὅσοις περὶ τὰ 'νδρείκελα καὶ τὰς μιμήσεις ἡ σοφία, τὰς ἐργασίας ἀθῴους ἀνεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς τέχνας ἀνεῖσθαι σφίσι μόνοις ἀνευθύνους ὡς ἄρα νέμεσιν οὐδ' ἡντιναοῦν ἑπομένην ἂν δικαίως, κἂν εἰ παντάπασιν ἀφειδῶς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκτείνωσι τοὺς μιμητικοὺς κόσμους καὶ χαρίζοινθ' ὅσα βούλοιντο τοῖς ὠνουμένοις τὴν τέχνην. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ τοῦτό τε καὶ πάντων ἴσως δικαιότερον, χαρίζεσθαι τῇ πάντα καλλίστῃ τε καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ ταύτῃ πόλει καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖ' αὐτῶν κάλλιστ' αὐτοὶ πάντες οὗτοι δημιουργοὶ καὶ τοὺς καταφύσιν ὅρους, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ὑπερβαίνειν (f.268^{v})χρώμενοι τῇ τῆς τέχνης ἀδείᾳ· καὶ ἅμα τὴν τῆς ἐργασίας ἀκρίβειαν σφίσιν ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν τοῦ ἄκρου τυγχάνουσαν καὶ καθάπαξ ἀκαταιτίατον καταμηδὲν ἐλλείπουσαν τοῦ γιγνομένου μὴ δ' ἔχουσαν μὴ δ' ἐῶσαν ὁ,τιοῦν καὶ προσθεῖναι καὶ πλέον εὑρεῖν εἰς τὴν τῆς τέχνης συντέλειαν οὐδ' οἵαν ἀμέλει καὶ παράλληλά τινα τιθέναι τοῖς ἁπάντων ἄλλοις πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν ἔργοις, ὧν ἴσως καὶ ὁ,τιοῦν ἐστι μέμφεσθαι· καὶ τί ἄν τις ἀπέραντα περὶ τούτων ἐνταῦθα σπουδάζοι μηδὲν ἀνύτων πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον, ὅ,τι μὴ τρίβων ἀνόνητα; Καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅμως τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν πολλῷ δεύτερα, κἂν εἰ πάνυ τοι πλεῖστα φέροι καὶ

πλεῖστα δύναιτο· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄνω νῦν εἰρημένοις περὶ τὰς μιμήσεις τεχνίταις ἐλευθέραν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν φαμὲν τὸν τρόπον, ὃν εἴρηται, κἂν εἰ πλεῖστον τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῶν ὄντων ὀλιγωρῶσιν ἔξω τῆς φύσεως δραματοποιοῦντες. Ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἅπασιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκαταιτίατον ἐνταῦθα τὴν σπουδὴν εἶναι, κἂν εἰ πλεῖστα πράγματ' ἔχοιεν καὶ κατεπείγοιντο φιλονεικοῦντες καὶ πάνθ', ὡς οἷόν τε, περιεργάζοιντο συνεξετάζοντες εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ἀεὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀτευκτοῦντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων ἐλλείποντες καὶ τῇ μὲν τοῦ πράγματος δικαιώσει μέμψεως ἂν ἄξιοι πάντως ὑστεροῦντες ὧν ἐχρῆν. Ἂν δ' ἄρα συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς οὕτως ἀγωνιζομένοις ἔπειτα πρῶτοι τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκφέρωσι καὶ κηρύττωσι ψήφους τῆς ἥττης, συγγνώμης ἴσως οὐκ ἀλλότριοι· ἢ τί γὰρ ἂν[194] ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀδύνατον ὅλως κατὰ φύσιν τυχεῖν;

60. Ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔλεγον, χορηγία μὲν οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς ἄφθονος τῇ πόλει καὶ πάνυ τοι πλείστη τε καὶ βελτίστη κατὰ πᾶν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἁπάσης ἐπιτηδεύσεως καὶ τέχνης καὶ σπουδὴ πᾶσα πάντων καὶ (f.269[r])ἅμιλλα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅστις ὑπερβάλλοιτ' ἂν καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πεντάθλοις, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιταττόντων μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ὅσοι τῶν διακονουμένων ταῖς φιλοτίμοις αὐτῶν κινήσεσι καὶ γνώμαις καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀμέλει τῆς ῥᾳστώνης, ὁπόσης ἀτεχνῶς ἐπὶ τῶν λογισμῶν ἑτοιμότατ' ἔστιν ὁ,τιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐργωδεστάτων πραγματεύεσθαι[195] καὶ μεταχειρίζειν. Ὕλη δὲ πᾶσα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν οὕτω σφίσιν ἀπήντα καὶ ἀμφοτέροις εὖ μάλα δαψιλὴς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν, ἡ τέως ἐπὶ τῶν λογισμῶν δυσπόριστος ὑπερβαλλόντως δοκοῦσα καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀνεπιχείρητος καὶ λογισμῶν οὔκουν γε σωφρόνων οὐδὲ μετρίων, ἀπὸ

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[194] ἂν V[sl]

[195] πραγματεύεσθαι V[pc] : πραγματεύσσθαι V[ac]

πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ πάντων αὐτῆς μερῶν ἐπίσης τῶν τ᾽ ἔγγιστα καὶ τῶν πορρωτάτω, ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἑκάστων ἕκαστα χώραν ἔχει καὶ φύεται οὐδὲν ἧττον· καὶ τοῦτο παραπλησίως ἐρεῖν ἢ λογίσασθαι ῥᾷστα· κἀνταῦθα ἡ τῆς πόλεως πλεονεξία σφοδρὰ[196] ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας καὶ ἡ τῆς θαλάττης εὐκαιρία καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν ἔνδειαν ἢ τὴν βούλησιν ἐντεῦθεν χρήσιμον, ἡ τῶν ἀγωγίμων εὐκολία καὶ πεζῇ καὶ θαλαττίοις ὀχήμασι, ὁπότερον ἄν τις βούλοιτο ἢ καθὼς ἂν ἀπαιτοίη τὸ τῆς φορᾶς ἀναγκάζον. Ὥσθ᾽, ὅταν τις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τοσούτους ἀπίδοι τῆς φιλοκαλίας καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας ὄγκους καὶ φόρους, μάλιστ᾽ εἶναι θαυμάζειν οὐ τὴν περιουσίαν μόνον καὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἑκάστων τῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ τὴν τέχνην οὕτω δὴ προσλιπαρῆ καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυγχάνουσαν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τι τῶν οἴκοι καὶ ῥᾴστων, ὡς βούλοιτό τις, διοικοίη καὶ χρῷτο καθάπαξ ἀνυσίμως ὡς οὐδὲν ὂν πρᾶγμα τῇδε φέρειν καὶ μεταφέρειν οὕτω δὴ καὶ μεταποιεῖν τόδε τι, τὸ νῦν ἄλλο τί ποτ᾽ ὂν ἀπὸ τοῦδέ τινος ἄλλου ποτ᾽ ὄντος, πρὶν καὶ μετατιθέναι καὶ ὅλως ἀπολαύειν τῆς χρείας καθ᾽ αἵρεσιν ἡντιναοῦν (f.269^{v})ἐπιοῦσαν.

61. Αἴγυπτος ἐνθάδ᾽ ἡμῶν τῇ πόλει φέρει καὶ σικελικαὶ καὶ ἰταλικαὶ λατομίαι· καὶ Λιβύης ἀεὶ καινὰ καὶ τεράστια καὶ Ἰνδικῆς ἐκφύσεις καὶ γεωρυχίαι[197] καὶ μεταλλεύματα καὶ Ἀῤῥαβίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας[198] καὶ Βαβυλωνίας καλλοποιοὶ λαμπρότητες καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἐπίχρειος ἡτισοῦν γῆς φορὰ[199] τῇ πόλει· καὶ πᾶσα συντελὴς ἡ οἰκουμένη πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον τόνδε καὶ κάλλιστον τῆς πόλεως ἔρανον ὁ,τιοῦν χρήσιμον ἢ τοῖς κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην αὐτῇ ἢ τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐπίδειξιν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνόνητον[200], οὐδ᾽ ἀνεννόητον[201], οὐδ᾽ ἀζήτητον αὐτῇ,

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[196] σφόδρα V
[197] γαιωρυχίαι V
[198] Ἀσσυρίας V^{pc} : Ἀσυρίας V^{ac}
[199] φορὰ iter. V
[200] ἀνόνητον V^{pc} : ἀνόητον V^{ac}

οὔκουν γε οὐδὲ δυσφόρητον ἢ πάντα τρόπον δυσάγκαλον μεταχειρίσαι καὶ ὑποποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα πάντοθεν ἥκει καὶ πληροῖ ταύτην δὴ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν, ὥσπερ ἂν οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀμητοὶ τοῖς ἑκάστοις προσοίκοις καὶ ἡγεμονικοῖς πολίσμασι· καὶ θαυμάζειν μέν ἐστιν ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τὴν ἑκάστων γένεσιν ἴσως σπανιωτάτην καὶ μονοειδῆ καὶ πρόοδον τῆς φύσεως, ταύτην μὲν ἐκείνῃ, τὴν δὲ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ ἴσως γ' ἔστιν ἐφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς ἢ βελτίω γε μὴν ἢ ἥττω, θαυμάζειν δὲ τὴν τῇδε φορὰν ἑκάστου καταμέρος καὶ μάλισθ' ὁμοῦ κοινὴν σύνοδον ἁπάντων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πάντα καὶ λογισαμένης καὶ ζητησάσης καὶ ποιησαμένης οἰκεῖα τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις <κατὰ>[202] τὸ μέρος οἰκεῖα καὶ πάντων παμπλήρους γενομένης ἐξ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλων καὶ πάντων ἀνενδεοῦς ὡς ἄρα καταμηδὲν ὁ,τιοῦν ἐλλείπειν· ἀλλ' οὐδέ γε μὴν ἐλλείπειν, οὐδὲ στενοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν τοσούτων ὑποδοχὴν ἀλλ' εὐμεγέθη χώραν ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ ἱκανὴν παντελείως, εὖ μάλα χωρητικὴν ἐπίπαν τῆς ἑκάστων εὐδαιμονίας· καὶ ἔγωγε λοιπὸν ἀπορῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, καί μοι λογισμὸς οὗτος ἄληπτος εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὅπως μόνον αὕτη τῶν τοσούτων ἅλις ἔχει καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἢ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν εἰς ὅ,τι πλείστην τὴν ἐπίδειξιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἅλις αὕτη πρὸς αὐτὰ τοσαῦτ' ἔχει καὶ πέφυκε διαρκῶς καὶ οἷα τέ ἐστιν ἔχειν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς (f.270^{r})καὶ φέρειν καὶ οὐχ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἔπειτ' ἐπαχθίζεσθαι καὶ κάμνειν τοσοῦτον ἐπωμαδὸν οὐκ εὐάγκαλον, οὐδ' εὐκίνητον ἀλλ' ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ ὑπερφυῆ τὸν φόρτον ἀτεχνῶς ἀναθεμένη.

62. Καὶ τοσαύτη μέν ἐστιν, οἵα πάνυ τοι θαυμάζειν τὸ μέγεθος, τοσαῦτα δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀνέχει κάλλη καὶ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ σοφίσματα καὶ τέχνας καὶ ποικίλματα καὶ θεαμάτων παντοίων ἄχθη καὶ θαυμάτων καὶ τεραστίων, ὡς ἔτι

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[201] ἀνεννοήτον V^{pc} : ἀνενόητον V^{ac}
[202] κατὰ addidi

μάλιστα θαυμάζειν ὅπως ἄρα τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀρκεῖ· καὶ γῆ μέν, ὅσην ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς εἵργει περίβολος, οὐκ ὀλίγον οὐδ' εὐόριστον τοῦτο τῆς ὅλης γῆς τέμενος ἀληθῶς καὶ οἷον οὐκ ἄλλης εἴρηται πόλεως τοσοῦτο παράλληλα θεῖναι ἢ ὅ,τι ἔγγιστα· τοσαύτη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ δημιουργία τῶν ἐπιθέτων καὶ ἡ συνέχεια καὶ ἡ πυκνότης, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἐπιλαμβάνουσα τὸ πᾶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἄνω πάνυ τοι πλεῖστον καὶ πρὸς βάθος ἐξ ἐναντίας, κάτω δὴ παραπλησίως πάνυ τοι πλεῖστον χωροῦσα, οὐ τῆς χρείας ἕνεκα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐπανθούσης ὥρας καὶ τῶν ἀνεχόντων κόσμων τε καὶ καλλωπισμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ παγκάλου σώματος ὁρῶμεν ἐνίοτε κάλλη πλεῖστα ἄττα λιπαρῶς ἐπικείμενα, κορυφαῖα, προμετωπίδια, ἐνώτια, περιδέραια[203], ὁρμίσκους, προστερνίδια, δακτυλίους, περιζώματα, περὶ τὰς χείρας ἄττα, περὶ τοὺς πόδας ἄττα, μᾶλλον δ', ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βριαροῦ καὶ γεννικοῦ τοῦ σώματος παντοίους ὁπλισμοὺς καὶ καταφράγματ', οὐ μόνον ἐπίχρεια τὸν εἰωθότα τρόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἁβρότητα παντοίαν καὶ καλλονὴν ἠσκημένα. Τοσαύτη δ' οὖν ἡ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πανήγυρις σκηνοποιεῖται τῶν ἀναγκαίων τε καὶ τῶν εἰς χάριν ἅπασαν, ὥστ' ἐξαπορεῖσθαί τινα δικαίως ὁρῶντα πῶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοσαύτης καίτοι γε τοσαύτης οὔσης τὰ τοσαῦτα δράματα καταρτίζεται καὶ χωρεῖ καὶ εἰσοικίζεται· καὶ φέρει μὲν αὕτη ταῦτ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἱκανά τε καὶ ἀζήμια, μένει δ' αὖθις αὕτη κάλλιστ' ἀνεπαχθὴς καὶ ἀζήμιος (f.270^{v})ὑπ' αὐτά, οὔτ' οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντ' αὐτὰ[204] οὔτ' οὐδὲν ἐλλείπουσ' αὐτή, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν κοσμιώτατα καὶ σῶα καὶ ἀμφότερ' εἶναι καὶ ὡς ἂν παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφοτέροις ἔχειν κοσμιώτατα καὶ πρέπειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ προσήκειν ἐντελέστατα καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι ἀηδὲς[205] μὴ δ' ἀνοίκειον μὴ δ' ἀνάρμοστον οὐθετέροις καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνωθεν νῦν εἰρημένων ὑποδειγμάτων.

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[203] περιδέῤῥαια V
[204] οὔτ' οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντα αὐτὰ V^{mg}
[205] τἀηδὲς V

Μεγίστη μὲν ἡ ἀπειροκαλία, πλείστη δὲ ἡ ἀηδία, ἦν ἄρα τις τῶν ἱκανῶν καὶ ξυμμέτρων ἐπιφορτίζοιτο πλείω ἢ τῶν εἰς κάλλος ἢ τῶν εἰς φυλακήν, ὥς γε κατ' ἀμφότερ' εἴρηται· καὶ πολλὴ μὲν ἡ ζημία, πολλὴ δ' ἡ ἀκαιρία καὶ τὸ αἶσχος εἰς προὔπτον, καθόλου δ' ἐρεῖν ἂν ἔχοιμεν, ὡς οὔτ' οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων, ὅσοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, οὔτ' ὄψεσιν εἶδεν οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἐφαντάσθη πώποτ' ἔτι οὔτ' ἐλογίσατο οὔτε φύσιν ἔχει λογίσασθαι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν, οὔτε τοσαῦτ' ἄρα μέγιστ' ἔργα καὶ θαύματα οὔθ' ὕλης τοσούτους πορισμοὺς καὶ περιουσίαν οὔθ' ἁπάσης τέχνης ἀκρίβειαν, ἐπίδειξιν περίεργον[206] εἰς τὰ κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἕκαστ' ἔργα ταῦθ', ὁμοῦ γενόμενα πάντα, καὶ μίαν σύνοδον ἐφ' οὑτινοσοῦν χώρου, κἂν ὁ μέγιστος, ὡς ὅδ' ὁ μέγιστός ἐστιν, ἐφ' ἑνὸς δ' οὖν ὅμως οὐδενός, μᾶλλον δέ, (τί λέγω;) οὐδ' ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀληθῶς καὶ πάνυ τοι πλείστων οὐδ' ἔχει φύσιν, ὅποι ποτ' οὖν, ἢ τῇδε μόνον ἐδείχθη τουτὶ προνοίας, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅλον ἔργον καὶ μόνον ἄνωθεν ἐκ Θεοῦ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν κράτους παντουργοῦ καὶ πανσόφου τῶν βελτίστων· καὶ μονοειδὲς ἓν ἐπὶ γῆς τόδε δημιούργημα, ὡς ὁ ξύμπας οὑτοσὶ κόσμος αὐτὸς μόνος καὶ Θεοῦ μόνου καὶ οὐρανὸς αὐτὸς μόνος καὶ Θεοῦ μόνου καὶ γῆ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμέλει τρόπον καὶ ἡλίου κάλλος καὶ κράτος ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐρανόν· καὶ πολλῶν οὐκ ἔχει φύσιν ὁμοῦ τὰ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι ὡς ἔστιν, ἔκ θ' ὧν ὁρῶμεν, ἔκ θ' ὧν λογιζόμεθα, σωφρονοῦντας, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἡμᾶς συλλογίσασθαι ξυμμετρησαμένους τά τε ὄντα καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς φύσεως· καὶ μὴν τοσοῦτ' ἄρα δὴ τὸ θαῦμα τῆς παμπληθοῦς καὶ παγκάλου (f.271[r])τῶν[207] εἰρημένων συνόδου τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀδοκήτου τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς ὡς ἄλις ἂν εἶναι ταύτῃ καὶ ὅ,τι μάλιστα καὶ ὡς ἂν αὖθις τὰ πρῶθ' ὅμως ἁπασῶν ἀναμφηρίστως φέρεσθαι.

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[206] περιεργίαν V
[207] τῶν iter. V

63. Κἂν εἴ τινα τῶν ταύτῃ προσόντων ἀπῆν καὶ πλείστων, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῶν νῦν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐνέδει καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἐρημία τῇ πόλει, καὶ πολλαῖς ἂν ἀρκεῖν τὰ λειφθέντα καὶ πολλαῖς ἂν ἀρκεῖν εἰς τὰς πρώτας φιλοτιμίας καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔριδας ἀεὶ τῶν πρωτείων καὶ πολλαῖς ἂν ἀρκεῖν τὰ προσόντα ταύτῃ κατ᾽ ὀλίγα μερισαμέναις ἔπειτ᾽ ἀγάλλεσθαι καὶ δείκνυσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἁβρότατ᾽ εἶναι παμπληθὲς αὖται καὶ σεμναὶ σεμνῶς καὶ κάλλιστ᾽ ἔχειν ὅ,τι μάλιστα· καὶ πολλαὶ πρίαιντ᾽ ἄν, εἰ οἷόν τ᾽ ἦν, καί τινα τῶν αὐτῆς ἀφορμὴν αὐταῖς ἐπιδείξεως πλείστης καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἀλλάξαιντ᾽ ἂν ἡδέως εὖ μάλα, καὶ οὐ λέγω τῶν ἁπλῶς οὑτωσὶ πόλεων ἀλλὰ τῶν πάνυ καὶ ὧν ὀλίγα λογίζεσθαι μὲν ἀλλὰ μεγάλα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ πάνυ τοι κατ᾽ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς εὐαρίθμητα· καὶ μήν, οἶμαί γε, ἂν ἀποχρώντως εἶχεν ἀπολαβούσαις[208] ταῦτα δὴ κατ᾽ ὀλίγα ἔπειτ᾽ αἴρεσθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν, καὶ οὐ λέγω τὰ πάντων ὅσα βέλτιστα οὐδ᾽ ὅσα πλεῖστα, πολλοστὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσα καταλογίσαιτ᾽ ἄν τις ῥᾳδίως· καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὁμοῦ κοινῇ μόνη κάλλιστ᾽ ἐπιλεξαμένη πάνθ᾽ ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἔπειτ᾽ οὐκ ἀρκεῖσθαι δοκεῖ οὐδ᾽ ἔχειν ἠρέμα λοιπὸν οὔτ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀπραγμόνως ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καὶ περαιτέρω διαπαντὸς ἐπείγεται καὶ πειρᾶται καὶ προστίθησι τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον οἷόν τέ ἐστι, τῶν μεγίστων [καὶ προστίθησιν τῶν][209] καλλωπισμάτων· καὶ μόνης ἐστὶν τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῆς οἷαν τ᾽ εἶναι προστιθέναι καὶ μόνοις τοῖς αὐτῆς χρῆσθαι ἄτ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐξὸν ἔτ᾽ ἀλλοτρίοις ἔξωθεν οὔτ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀπολειφθέν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, αὐτῆς ἔξω ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μόνον λοιπὸν ἀμέλει, τοῖς αὐτῆς χρῆσθαι λειψάνοις καὶ μεταποιεῖν ὁπηοῦν ἄρα βέλτιον καὶ ἀντανιστᾶν (f.271^{v})τοῖς ἤδη καταγηράσασιν ἢ μάλιστα τοῖς ἤδη νεκροῖς καὶ κειμένοις νεανθῆ καὶ κάλλιστα· καὶ ἀεὶ κατεπείγεται ταῖς δημιουργίαις καὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς καὶ προσπονεῖ νέα καὶ φιλοτιμεῖται· καὶ

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[208] ἀπολαβούσαις V^{pc} : ἀπολαυούσαις V^{ac}
[209] καὶ προστίθησιν τῶν seclusi

οὐκ ἀπέκαμεν ἔτι πω καὶ νῦν τοσαῦτα ἤδη τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἔτη, οὐδ' ὑφήκατο τῆς φιλοτιμίας οὔτε μὴν τῆς χορηγίας οἴκοθεν καὶ φθίνουσα κατὰ φύσιν ὡς τἆλλ' ἅπαντα. Ἡ δέ, καινότερον ἢ κατὰ τἆλλ' ἅπαντα καὶ σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν, οὐχ ἡττᾶται λοιπὸν ἔπειτα καὶ ὀψὲ τῶν χρόνων οὐδὲ δίδωσιν <ἑαυτὴν>[210] ὅλως τῇ φύσει ἀλλ' ἀνθεῖ διόλου ταῖς φοραῖς καὶ ταῖς νεουργίαις· καὶ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ παντὸς τοῦδε τοῖς φυσικοῖς λόγος, ὡς ἡ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοῦ φθορὰ συνεχὴς[211] καὶ[212] καθ' ἕκαστον[213], κατὰ μέρη δηλαδή, τοῦ παντός ἐστιν ἀεὶ καὶ συνεχὴς οὐσία καὶ γένεσις καὶ ἄπαυστος φυλακὴ καὶ μονή, κατὰ μέρη δηλαδὴ καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ τὰ μέρη φθίνοντα τὰ δ' ἕκαστ' ἐπάλληλα τὰ μέρη λοιπὸν προΐησιν αὖθις εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ παρασκευάζει καὶ γεννᾷ νέα, τὰ δ' ἕκαστ' ἐπάλληλα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπάλληλα· τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κατὰ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα φθίνουσαν ἑκάστοτε καὶ νέαν ἀεὶ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παλαιουμένην, ἀργοῦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ οὕτως ἐνεργῇ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῆς τῶν θνησκόντων ὕλης καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν θησαυρῶν κατὰ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα ἀεὶ καινὰ ζωοφοροῦσαν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἑκάστοτε δράματα νεοπαγῆ προφαίνουσαν ἀτεχνῶς κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ παντός, ὡς ἄρ' ἔφην, εἴκασμα ἦ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἀτεχνῶς μεγίστης ἰδέας μεγίστην γιγνομένην εἰκόνα, εἰ δὲ βούλεταί τις, κατὰ Πλάτωνα μεγίστης ἰδέας μέγιστον ἔργον τόδε καὶ ποίημα καὶ καλλίστης κάλλιστον, εὖ μάλα ξυμβαῖνον, εὖ μάλ' ἀναλογοῦν· καὶ οὔποτε παύει κατασκευαζομένη, οὔτ' ἐλλείπει τῆς ὕλης, οὔτ' ἐνδίδωσι τοῦ φιλοτίμου καὶ ὑποχωρεῖ τοιγαροῦν ἀμηγέπη, οὔτ' ἀποχωρεῖν οὔτ' ἀποχρῆναι καὶ ὁπηοῦν ἀμέλει τῆς ἐργασίας ἀξιοῖ καὶ χρῆναι (f.272[r])πεπαῦσθαι, ἡ δὲ διόλου σπουδάζει τῶν τοσούτων ἐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ νέον καὶ χθὲς ἤδη καὶ προτρίτης ἠργμένη.

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[210] ἑαυτὴν addidi
[211] συνεχὴς V[pc] : συνεχῶς V[ac]
[212] καὶ V[sl]

64. Καὶ τό γε δὴ κάλλιστον καὶ ὃ μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις θαυμάσαι τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας, ὡς αὕτη γε οὐδ᾽ ἀρκεῖται τοῖς ἐντὸς καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν μόνοις δημιουργήμασί τε καὶ θαύμασιν, ἐπὶ τοσούτου καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεάτρου κατ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους, ἀλλ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἥδε καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου πρόεισιν ἔξω καὶ ἁπαντᾷ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις προαστράπτουσα καὶ προδεικνῦσα τὰ τῆς ἔσω λαμπρότητος· καὶ οὐκ ἐν προθύροις μόνον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, εὐτυχέσι τῷ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀγαθῷ θαλάμῳ χρυσέας προΐσταται κίονας οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου τὰ πρόσωπα τίθεται τηλαυγῆ καὶ φαιδρύνεται συνεχῶς ἔγγισθ᾽ οὑτωσί, προήκει δὲ λοιπὸν ἔτι καὶ περαιτέρω πλεῖστον, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς ἠπείρου μόνον τῆς τε συνεχοῦς ἑξῆς καὶ τῆς ἀντιπέραν ἐξ ὑπογυίου καθ᾽ ἕω ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα καὶ τῆς συνημμένης καὶ γείτονος θαλάττης αὐτῆς καί, ὧν ἄνω πρότερον εἴρηται, νησιδίων ἐγκατεσπαρμένων προΐσχεται τῇ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἔγγιστα θαλάττῃ, καθάπερ ἐν προαυλίοις, αὐτὴ κόσμον οἷον[214] σὺν ὥρᾳ πλείστῃ· καὶ πρός γε μὴν ἔτι πῶς ἄν τις ἐροῖ[215] καὶ προσθείη νῦν εἶναι καὶ ὅσα πλεῖσθ᾽ ὁ στενὸς οὑτοσὶ καὶ ὀλίγος ἀνάπλους, τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ἥδιστον κόσμου θαῦμα, δείκνυσιν ἀνεστῶτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κατῳκοδομημένα καλλωπίσματα, νεώς τε καὶ μοναστῶν συνοικίας καὶ περιβόλους καὶ παντοίας ἄλλας [κατα][216]κατασκευὰς δημοσίας τε καὶ ἰδιωτικὰς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων ἐποίκων τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ἠιόνων ἥδιστα ἐπικρεμάμενα τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἑστῶτα καὶ ἡδρασμένα, πῶς ἂν εἴποι τις, τοὺς παραπλέοντας ἑκάστοτ᾽ ἀεὶ τερπνότατα παραπέμποντα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἠιόνων μικρὸν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ, κύκλῳ πάντῃ, ἀτεχνῶς σχῆμα χοροῦ, τρυφὴ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως προσορᾶν, καὶ

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[213] ἕκαστον V[pc] : ἑκάστην V[ac]
[214] κόσμον οἷον V[pc] : κόσμων οἵων V[ac]
[215] ἐρεῖ V
[216] κατα seclusi

(f.272^{v})παράδεισος πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀναφύων ταῦτα δὴ καὶ προανίσχων τὰ πολυφορώτατα φυτὰ καὶ καρποὺς εὐανθεῖς καὶ θάλλοντας ἀεὶ καὶ τερπνοτάτους καὶ ἡδίστους προσβλέπειν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῦθ' ἅπαντα πολλῆ τε γλυκυθυμίᾳ· καὶ σφόδρα πάρεστι θαυμάζειν τοῖς θεωμένοις, ταῦτα μὲν ὡς μεγέθει μέγιστα, ταῦτα δὲ ὡς κάλλει κάλλιστα, ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀμφότερα· καὶ μήν, εἴ τις δῆτ' ἐρεῖ κἀνταῦθα τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκεῖνα ἥδιστά τε καὶ κάλλιστ' εἰρημένα, ὡς ἀστέρες ταῦτα καθάπερ σελήνην τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐγκλείοντες μὴν ἀλλ' ἔξωθεν κόσμῳ κυκλοῦντες καὶ καλλονὴν ἀμύθητον τοῖς ὁρῶσι προπέμποντες, ὡς ἀκτῖνες (αὖ τοῦθ' ἕτερον) προανίσχουσαι τῆς πόλεως, αἷς ταύτην ὥσπερ τὸν ἥλιον ἔξεστι τεκμαίρεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι παραπλήσιον, μάλιστ' ἄν μοι δοκῇ κατακαιρὸν ἐρεῖν ἐνταῦθα πλεῖν ἢ κατ' ἄλλην ἡντιναοῦν χρείαν ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ὡς ἂν αὐτοὺς δὴ τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἐπιμαρτύραιτο· καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοῖς φιλοτίμοις τῶν ἀβρῶν καὶ πλουσίων οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνοις ἐστὶν ὁ πλοῦτος κόσμος οὐδ' ἀγάλλονται μόνοι καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι τῇ περιουσίᾳ καὶ ταῖς μακραῖς οὐσίαις ἀλλ' ἥκει σφίσιν ἄρα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους εὐγενῶς τὸ τῆς οὐσίας κράτος καὶ μεγίστην ἐπίδειξιν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀξιοῦσιν, ἤ, μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἀπόδειξιν, ἣν ὅ,τι πλείστους εὖ ποιεῖν τῶν προσόντων δύναιντ' ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἕλοιντ' ἂν πλουτεῖν οὐδ' ὡς ἀρκεῖν μόνοις σφίσιν οὐδέν, τοῦθ' ἥγηνται μέγα, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμέλει τρόπον ὁρᾶν ἔξεστι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν χρωμένην· καὶ τὰ μέγιστα γὰρ δυναμένη καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κοσμηθεῖσα ταῖς παντοίαις ἐπιτηδεύσεσι καὶ κατασκευαῖς, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄν τις λογίσαιτο οὐδ' ἔστι ὅλως[217] φύσις τοσοῦτο πρᾶγμα λογίσασθαι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς ἔστιν εὖ μάλα θαυμάζειν ἰδόντα καὶ ἀπορεῖν καὶ περὶ τῆς τέχνης ἁπάσης καὶ περὶ τῆς παντοίας ὕλης τοσαύτης, οἵας ἀμυθήτου, ὅθεν ἐπορίσθη τῇδε καὶ

[217] ὅλως V^{mg}

(f.273^{r})ἀμφότερα καὶ εἰ δύναται τὰ τοιαῦτα τέχνη μὲν ἀσκεῖσθαι καὶ καταδημιουργεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι τῇ σοφίᾳ, ἡ δ' οἰκουμένη πᾶσα δοῦναι τὴν τοσαύτην τῆς ὕλης φορὰν καὶ χορηγίαν, καὶ μὴν αὖθις ὁ χρόνος ὅπως ἀμφότερα καὶ ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ ἥρκεσεν ἐνεγκεῖν ὅλως καὶ ὁμοῦ ταῦτα, οὕτω δ' οὖν ἡ πόλις ἔχουσα κράτους, οὕτω κάλλους, οὕτω δὴ καθόλου τῶν προσόντων, οὕτω πάντοθεν ὁρωμένη μεγίστας ἀφορμὰς πράττουσα θαυμάζειν, καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν δύναιτό τις ἀξίως, ἡ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις ἔξω τὴν χρείαν μεταδίδωσιν ἀφθονώτατα καὶ ῥᾷστ' οἴκοθεν τῶν προσόντων καὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ πλουτεῖν σφίσι μεταδίδωσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν μόνον χρῆσιν ἀλλ' ὅστις καὶ περαιτέρω πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἐπιμελὴς καὶ χρῆσθαι πάνυ τοι μετὰ ῥᾳστώνης καὶ δαψιλείας, ἧς ἂν ὁστισοῦν αἱροῖτ' ἀποχρώντως, τοῖς αὐτῆς ἐλλείμμασι καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς τῷ χρόνῳ κατηργημένοις καὶ γηράσασι καλλίστοις, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁθενοῦν ἄλλοθεν νεαροῖς οὔθ', ὅλως εἰπεῖν, ἐστὶν ἄλλοθεν.

65. Μεταδίδωσι μέν γε λαμπρὰ λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως καὶ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων εἴρηται καὶ τέχνης ἁπάσης καὶ ὕλης παντοίας καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅτου δεῖ καί, ὥσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ὑπηκόου τοὺς φόρους, καὶ αὕτη πάντων τὰ προσήκονθ' ἑκάστοις ἀρχικῶς πραττομένη καὶ πάντα πάντοθεν ἐπιμελῶς κομισαμένη καὶ εἰς ἓν ἐνθάδ' ἀγαγοῦσα· καὶ τοῦτο φθάσαντες εἴπομεν. Ἔπειτα λοιπὸν καὶ πλουτίζει καὶ νέμει καὶ μεταδίδωσι τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδαίμονος βίου, καὶ τοῦτο βασιλικῶς, ὡς ἄρ' εἰώθασιν οἱ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐλευθερίως τε καὶ γεννικῶς χρώμενοι καὶ παρέχοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρας πάσης ἀφορμὰς εὐπραγίας. Τοιγαροῦν ἥκει πάντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ φιλόκαλοι πάντα πράγματα καὶ πάσας δημιουργίας περὶ πάντας χώρους καὶ πόλεις ἐν(f.273^{v})τεῦθεν θαῤῥοῦντες πειρῶνται τῶν κατὰ σκοπὸν ὁτουοῦν καὶ φέρονται πᾶσαν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν χρείαν ἢ τέχνην ἢ ὕλην ἢ καὶ ἄμφω μάλιστα· καὶ λατομίαι πᾶσαι

μὲν ἐπέλιπον, αἱ πανταχοῦ κενωθεῖσαι, τῇ πόλει· καὶ πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἄνθρωποι πορισταί· καὶ χῶροι τῆς παντοίας χρήσεως τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπέλιπον τρόπον καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τῆς πόλεως. Ἡ πόλις δ' ἐπαρκεῖ πᾶσιν οἷς ἄρα δεῖ, ὧν ἄρα δεῖ, ὧν ἁπάντων πάντοθεν ἐκομίσατο· καὶ πάντα πάντων μεταλαβοῦσα καὶ θησαυρίσασα πάντα πᾶσι μεταλαμβάνειν αὐτῆς δίδωσι καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ καλῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς οἴκοι θησαυρῶν δίδωσιν ἀπολαύειν. Οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν ἐνδεῖν ὁτῳοῦν ὁτὲ τῶν χρόνων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἀεί, τῆς ἐντεῦθεν χορηγίας τῇ πόλει οὐδὲ τῶν πόθων ἐλλείπειν ὠντινωνοῦν καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς προθέσεως οὐδ' αὐτῇ γε τῇ πόλει πρὸς ἅπασαν ἐνδεῖν ἁπάντων αἴτησιν τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς χορηγίας, ἀλλ' ἄφθονα πᾶσιν ἐντεῦθεν ῥέει τῆς χρείας· καὶ ἡ πόλις πλήρης ἀεί, καθάπερ ἡ θάλασσα τοῖς ἀεὶ χορηγοῦσιν αὐτῇ ποταμοῖς καὶ παντοίαις ἐπιῤῥοίαις καὶ ἐπαντλήσεσιν, οὔτ' οὐδὲν αὔξει τῶν προσηκόντων ὁρισμάτων ἐπιτυχοῦσα οὔτ' οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει πάντοθεν πάντων ἐξαντλουμένων καὶ καταβιαζομένη τοὺς ἀπαραιτήτους τῆς φύσεως δασμοὺς ἄνωθεν καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἄφθονος ἀποδιδοῦσα.

66. Ἐνεθυμήθην δὲ ἔγωγ' ἐνταῦθα νῦν εἶναι ὃ πρότερον εἴρηται περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως ὑπόδειγμα· καὶ γὰρ δή, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς κυκλικῆς τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς περιφορᾶς ἔχει καὶ κινήσεως, ὡς ἄπαυστον ἡ φύσις κάματον αὐτουργίας ἔχει πᾶσαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν ἀνέλκειν ὑγρότητα καὶ πλεῖστα τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον περὶ τοῦτο πονοῦσα καὶ τυραννουμένη, μᾶλλον δὲ τυραννοῦσα καὶ βιαζομένη, καὶ φέρουσα πάλιν αὖθις ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς κάτω τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίαν φορὰν καὶ (f.274^{r})ἀντιδίδωσι τὰ ῥεύματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν τούτων πέμπει· καὶ ἃ πράττεται μετ' ἰσχύος ἀπολαμβάνουσα, πραττομένη λοιπὸν ἑκοῦσα καὶ ἄκουσα νόμοις ἀλύτοις ἀποδίδωσι καὶ κυκλοῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα καὶ περίεισι καὶ χορεύει τὴν ἄληκτον ταύτην καὶ ἄλυτον

καὶ ἀπαίτησιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποποίησιν καὶ ἀπόῤῥοιαν καὶ ἀπόδοσιν καὶ τὰς περιστροφὰς ταύτας ἢ καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς τῶν ἐράνων τυραννοῦσα τὸ μέρος, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ τυραννουμένη καὶ νομίζουσα φόρους λαμβάνειν τῆς φύσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ διδόναι καὶ χάριτας ἑτοιμότατα καὶ γεννικῶς ὑποδεχομένη καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἀντιδιδοῦσα καὶ ἀντιπέμπουσα, καθάπερ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ κάτω γιγνόμενον ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν. Ἕλκει μὲν εἰς βάθος ἡ γῆ τὰς πάντοθεν ἔγγιστ' ἰκμάδας καὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας τὰς ἀφορμάς, ὅπῃ ἂν ἄρα δόξῃ τῶν αὐτῆς ἐπικαίρων εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τόπων καὶ ἀποῤῥήτων ταμείων κάτω. Λαβοῦσα δὲ καὶ ὑποδεξαμένη καὶ ταμειουχήσασα τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν ῥευμάτων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις τῶν ἀγγείων τε καὶ τῶν χώρων ἥδ' ἀτεχνῶς αὐτίκα παραχρῆμα δείκνυσι, ὡς ὁ λόγος, αὐτῇ ῥέοντα τὰ πράγματα· καὶ τὸν πολὺν πόνον τοῦτον καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ κατασχεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ περιγενέσθαι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἀλλὰ διαῤῥήγνυται πολλαχῇ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἀνασχισαμένη τοὺς τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκθέοντας ἀκαμάτους δρόμους ἀπωθεῖται τῶν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπαντλεῖται κατὰ τὸ μυθῶδες, εἰπεῖν, τῶν τετρυπημένων πίθων ὑπόδειγμα ταῦτα δὴ ταῦτα κατὰ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως ἀσαλεύτους ὅρους καὶ πόνους καὶ δρόμους καὶ τὴν λυσιτελῆ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς αὐτουργίαν καὶ διοίκησιν καὶ λειτουργίαν ἄπαυστον ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκμάζουσαν ἀεί. Καὶ ἡ πόλις, ἔοικε, μιμησαμένη τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν δείκνυσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀρχετύπου τε καλλίστου καὶ μεγίστου κάλλιστον (f.274^{v})αὐτὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἐκτύπωμα καὶ κάτοπτρον τῆς ἀριστουργίας τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῆς τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου δεσπότου καὶ δημιουργοῦ ποικιλίας καὶ σοφίας περὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων γένεσιν καὶ ἀγωγὴν ἀεὶ καὶ μονήν, ὡς ἄρα οἱ ἔδοξεν ἄρισθ' ἡρμόσθαι καὶ κάλλιστ' ἔχειν καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ πράττειν εὖ, λαμβάνουσα μὲν αὐτὴ πάντα πάντων, ῥέουσα δ' αὐτὴ πᾶσι πάνθ', ὧν ἂν χρὴ καὶ βούλοιντ' ἄν, ἀδαπάνητος καὶ ἀεὶ φέρουσα πάνθ', ὅμως πάντ' ἀεὶ διδοῦσα,

καὶ ἀεὶ διδοῦσά τε καὶ κενοῦσα, ἀτὰρ πάντων ὅμως ἀεὶ πλήρης οὖσα τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶν καὶ θαυμάζειν ἀξίων· καὶ οὐκ ἐπίπαν ἀπορεῖ οὐδ' ἐκλείπει διόλου χορηγοῦσα· καὶ μὴν οὔθ' ὅλως ἐπιλείπει, οὔτ' ἔλαττον ἔχει τῶν αὐτῆς ἢ πρότερον, οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ τῶν νέων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε προτέροις ἀκμάζει συνεχῶς αἰεὶ καὶ τὰ νέα προστίθεται αἰεί. Καὶ κόσμοι μὲν κόσμους ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ οἷς ἐκδέχονται καὶ φθειρομένοις ἐπεγείρονται νέοι, τῇ δὲ τὸ κλέος τε καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἄσειστον καὶ ἀνθεῖ διαπαντὸς ἄφθαρτον, οἷον ἀλώβητον· καὶ μένει μὲν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἄσυλος, κρατύνεται δὲ τοῖς ἀεὶ νεοδμήτοις ἥκουσι, καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἱεροῖς μάλιστα καὶ Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς θείοις προσήκουσιν εὖ ἡδράσθαι μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραδραμεῖν μοι δοκῶ· ἢ τί γὰρ ἄν τις χρήσαιτο πρὸς τοσαῦτα;

67. Ἀλλ' ὅλη τί[218] ἐστιν ἡ πόλις ἀποτεμένισμα θεῖον ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἱερά τις ἀπαρχὴ καὶ ἀνάθημα τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ διὰ πάντων μερῶν ἥγνισται καὶ Θεῷ προσανέχει. Νεώ τε γὰρ αὐτὴν πανταχοῦ διειλήφασι καὶ ἱερῶν οἴκων ἀριθμοὶ τόσοι καὶ τόσοι καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιοι λογίσασθαι· καὶ ὃν τρόπον οἱ φρουροὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἔχουσι πόλεσιν ἐγκατεσπαρμένοι, τοῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἀτεχνῶς προΐσχει τοὺς νεὼς τούσδε καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀντ' ἀριθμοῦ φρουρούντων κατ' ἄλλους ἄλλα μέρη κατεσπαρμένους, ὡς ἂν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς ἀποχρώντως· (f.275[r])καὶ μὴν ἔστι φρούραρχος ἄνωθεν ἐξαρχῆς, ἔνθ' ἄρα προσήρτηται τῆς πόλεως ἡ πᾶσ' ἐπισκοπὴ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον συνεχὴς εὖ μάλα συνέχουσα τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν καί, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστ' ἀσφαλέστατα, κρατύνουσα· καὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ φρουράρχου διάδοχός τις οὔτε γέγονεν ἐξεκείνου οὔτε μήποτε γένοιτο. Φρούραρχος δ' οὖν οὗτος καὶ πολιοῦχος αὐτῆς ἀκάμας καὶ ἀήττητος καὶ πάσης προνοίας τῶν βελτίστων ἐπιμελητὴς προσέχων ἀνεπίστροφος

παντάπασι καὶ διὰ πάντων τῷ λάχει τῷδε, τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιστασίᾳ, καὶ ᾧ διὰ πάντων πραγμάτων ἡ πόλις, ὧν εὖ τε καὶ ὡς ἑτέρως πειρᾶται, προσέχει τε καὶ προσήκει καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὴν ἄγειν ἀπραγμόνως, ὡς ἂν δοκιμάζῃ βέλτιστα. Οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν ἀφεκτέον οὔτε[219] τοῦ φρουράρχου τῇ πόλει οὔτε δὴ τῷ κρατίστῳ φρουράρχῳ τῆς πόλεως. Τίς γε μὴν οὗτος; Αὐτή γε δῆτα ἡ δεσπότις πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἅτε δὴ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ δημιουργοῦ τοῦ παντὸς τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου καὶ αὐτῆς γε μὴν ἀμέλει τὸ ἀνθρώπινον μήτηρ, ἡ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἐπίλεκτος ἀπὸ πασῶν καὶ πάντων προελθοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν προνοίας θείας, ἐφῷ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης προΐστασθαι φύσεως καὶ τὰ εἰς Θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐφῷ χώραν ἔχειν καὶ τάξιν μεσίτου Θεῷ καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ διαλλάττειν ἀνθρώπους Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων νόμων ἀποπίπτοντας καὶ κακοὺς κακῶς ἀλλοτριοπραγοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ἄγουσα δούλους αὐτῇ καὶ μερίτας τῆς φύσεως, τῷ δὲ προσάγουσα πιστεύειν ἔχουσ' αὐτὴ καὶ θαῤῥεῖν υἱεῖ καὶ δεσπότῃ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ οὓς ἀναξίους οὐκ αὐτοῦ μόνου ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀξίους ἐλέου κατ' οὐδέν' ἄλλον τρόπον ἢ διὰ μόνον τὸ φίλοικτον ἑτοιμότατον κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ αὐτῆς, ἐφῷ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντα διαφέρειν καὶ προνοεῖν ἐν παντὶ τῷ προσπεσόντι καιρῷ διὰ τὴν κοινὴν συμπαθοῦσα φύσιν καὶ καμπτομένη τῇ κοινωνίᾳ.

68. Αὕτη τῆς πόλεως ἡ προστάτις, (f.275^{v})ἡ κοινὴ προστάτις τῆς ὅλης φύσεως. Αὕτη πᾶσαν αὐτῇ δυσχέρειαν καὶ πάντα πράγματα σωτηρία καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον ἀλεξίκακος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὗ τῶν δεινῶν δεῆσαν, οὐδ' οὗ τῆς ἁπάσης δυσκολίας καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιφορᾶς οὐ τοῦτο· καὶ δείκνυσι τοῦτο τὰ τοσαῦτα τεράστια καὶ θαύματ' ἐξαρχῆς πάντας τοὺς τῆς χρείας καιρούς, πάλαι

[218] τίς V
[219] ὁτὲ V

τε καὶ μέχρι νῦν δείκνυσι καὶ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς χρόνους· καὶ δείκνυσιν ἡ πάντων ἀναμφήριστος ταύτῃ ῥοπὴ καὶ νεῦσις περὶ ὁτουοῦν χαλεποῦ καμνόντων τε καὶ φροντίδ' ἐχόντων, καὶ οὐ ῥοπὴ μόνον τῆδε κατεσπουδασμένη καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ παντὸς κινδύνου ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστ' ἐπίτευξις τῶν χρησίμων ὅ,τι τάχιστα καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως· καὶ δεικνύουσιν αἱ τοσαῦται τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστορίαι θαυμασίων, πάνυ τοι πλεῖσται πάνυ τοι πλείστων, ἄλλαι κατ' ἄλλα πονοῦσαι καὶ οὐχ ὁμοῦ πᾶσαι (οὐδ' οἷόν τέ ἐστι) καὶ πᾶσαι τῶν πραγμάτων ὅμως καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἥττους πολλῷ καὶ κομιδῇ λειπόμεναι· καὶ δεικνύουσιν οὐ συντάξεις μόνον οὐκ εὐαρίθμητοι τοσαῦται θεοσεβούντων, ὡς ἔφην, οὕτω τῶν πολλῶν τὴν τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἔργων καὶ μεγίστων εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ τῶν μὲν τά, τῶν δὲ τὰ καταριθμούντων, ὡς ἕκαστος γνώμης ἔχει, καὶ ἴσως ἀρκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἑκάστοτε πεῖραι πάντων πᾶσαι περὶ τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἑκάστων σφᾶς κοιναί τε καὶ ἴδιαι, καὶ ὡς ἅμα τέ τι τῶν ἐμπιπτόντων ἐργῶδες καὶ ἅμα πρὸς τὸ παραστὰν αὐτίκα τοῦ καιροῦ ταχὺς ὁ δρόμος καὶ παντὶ πρόχειρος ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ παντὸς τοῦ κλύδωνος κυβερνήτην καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὄντως ἀγκύρας τὴν ἀντίληψιν· καὶ ἅμα τἀνιῶντα πάντα φροῦδα καὶ πάσης ὀχλήσεως ἄδεια καθάπαξ καὶ ῥᾳστώνη καὶ ἀσυλία καὶ πάντων δὴ τῶν κατανισταμένων καὶ κατεπιχειρούντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα πανώλεια. (f.276[r])Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντ', εἰ οἷόν τ' ἦν, σπουδῇ πάσῃ προφέρειν καὶ προστιθέναι ἔστι μὲν ὡς ἂν εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς ἔργον ὄντως[220] ἀναγκαιότατον καὶ δικαιότατον καὶ πρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ μάλα τίμιον αὐτῇ καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτῇ προσῆκον καὶ μάλιστα τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ τι ἄλλο καί, οἶμαί γε, πάντων τοῦθ' ἓν ἀλλάξαιτ' ἄν. Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔστιν ὡς ἂν καὶ

[220] ὄντως V[sl]

μαινομένου τινὸς ἔργον δόξαι περὶ τοσούτου πράγματος ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνεφίκτων ἅπτεσθαι καὶ τἀκίχητα κατὰ τὸν λόγον διώκειν καὶ μεταλλᾶν ἄμμους καὶ ἀστέρας ἀριθμεῖσθαι καὶ πρόπαντ'[221] ἀνόνητ' ἐπιβάλλειν πράγματα καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίπαν τυχεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον σαφῆ γέλωτ' ὀφλισκάνειν ἔπειτα καὶ μόνον ἀρχόμενον ἐνταῦθα καὶ προτιθέμενον· καὶ δοκῶ μοι περὶ τούτων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν αὐτόθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ τούτων φιλοθέους συγγραφὰς παραπέμπων τι βουλόμενον ἐκμανθάνειν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἰ καὶ τούτου καθάπαξ τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον διὰ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀδύνατον. Ἐδόκουν δ' ἂν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀβελτερώτατός τις εἶναι καὶ ἠλιθιώτατος καὶ ἀμαθέστατος τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ προσηκόντων ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς παρούσης προθέσεως περὶ τῶν τοσούτων τε καὶ τηλικούτων ἐπιτρέχειν πειρώμενος, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως ἱκανῶς ἅπτεσθαι, κἂν ὅ,τι δύναιτό τις μέγιστα, περὶ τούτων ἰδίαν μόνην σπουδὴν προθεὶς καὶ μεταχειρίζων.

69. Ἀλλ' ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ὥρμητο, ὡς πάσας ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μήτηρ τῇ πόλει τὰς προσηγορίας ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς χαρίζεται καὶ πάντων ἔστι τῶν καλλίστων ἐπώνυμος αὐτῇ, βασιλὶς αὐτὴ καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ κυβερνήτης καὶ πρὸς πᾶν, καθόλου γ' ἐρεῖν, ἐπιστάτις ὅ,τι βέλτιστον καὶ χορηγὸς καὶ ὡς ἂν κατ' ἄλλο μέρος αὖθις ἅπαν τ' ἀντίπαλον καὶ χαλεπὸν χρήσασθαι καὶ δυσνοϊκὸν αὐτὴ[222] διοικήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ συνοῖσον εὖ τε θέσθαι καὶ ὅλως, καθ' ὅσον ἂν εἴη φύσις, ἀνύσιμον εἶναι. Ἔγωγέ τοι δοκῶ μοι, καθάπερ ἀκρόπολίν τινα τῶν ὅλων, ἡ βασιλὶς προκαταλαβοῦσα τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ (f.276^{v})παντάπασιν ἰδιοποιησαμένη τε καὶ κρατύνασα καὶ τάξιν ὡσανεὶ βασιλείων αὐτῆς ἀποδεδειγμένη ταύτην καλλίστων τε καὶ τιμίων καὶ περιβλέπτων κατὰ παντὸς

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[221] πρὸς πάντ' V
[222] αὐτὴ fortasse transponendum post χορηγὸς

ἄρα τοῦ κόσμου ἐντεῦθεν ἔπειτα λοιπὸν τὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην ἄγειν καὶ προνοεῖν καὶ διοικεῖσθαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐντεῦθεν ἀναπηγάζειν εὐπραγίαν καὶ βίοτον ἡρμοσμένον ἅπαν τὸ σφίσιν ἑκάστοις ἱκνούμενον· οὕτω πάντα διὰ πάντων ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς ἐστι καὶ ὅλως αὐτῆς ἔχεται καὶ καθάπαξ αὐτῇ συνέφυ· καὶ οὐκ ἀποχωρεῖ πρὸς βραχὺ ταύτης καὶ ὁπηοῦν πᾶσι καιροῖς, πᾶσι πράγμασι· καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῆς ἐστι κτῆμα καὶ θρόνος αὐτῇ βασίλειος, ἥπερ ἔφην, καὶ ὄχημα τίμιον πρὸ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἄλλων τιμώμενον καὶ οἶκος αὐτῇ καταπαύσεως καὶ πρυτανεῖον εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τῶν μεγάλων εἰς τὸν βίον αὐτῆς θησαυρῶν, ὅθεν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εὐζωίαν χορηγεῖ καὶ καθάπερ τινὸς θεωρικοῦ διάδοσιν ἑκάστῳ τὰ καθήκοντα νέμει, καὶ θέατρον ἐπιδείξεως αὐτῇ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀποχρώντως ἔχον καὶ <ἀπὸ>[223] μόνης αὐτῆς εὖ ἠσκημένον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἠσφαλισμένον αὐτῇ παντὶ τρόπῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀστράπτον κάλλεσι· καὶ ὅλως ταύτης ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνεῖται ταύτῃ καὶ προσήκει ταύτῃ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ πάσης καὶ διὰ πάσης ἑαυτῆς αὐτῇ κατατεμμαχίζεται καὶ κατατεμενίζεται καὶ ἱεροποιεῖται· καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ,τιοῦν μέρος, ὃ μὴ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ μητρὶ παρθενικοὺς ἔχει θαλάμους καὶ νεὼς πανσέμνους κοσμίους τε καὶ ἀσύλους καὶ πάσης αἰδοῦς ἀξίους· καὶ τὰ μὲν μέγιστα κάλλη τῇ πόλει πλεῖν ἢ κατὰ τἄλλ' ἅπαντα κατ' αὐτήν, προσθείην δέ, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄττα δή, καθάπερ τινὸς εὐδαιμονίας αὐτῇ στῆλαι, διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς ἀνέχουσιν οἱ νεὼ καὶ οἱ τῆς θεοσεβείας οἶκοι καὶ τὰ καθηγνισμένα σεμνεῖα, ὧν οὐκ ἄρα δὴ μόνον οὐδ' ἐφ' ἡστινοσοῦν ἄλλης τῶν πόλεων πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως εὑρεῖν παραπλήσια (καὶ τὸ παραβάλλειν ὅλως μανία σαφὴς καὶ μέγιστος ἀμαθίας ἔλεγχος) ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐφ' ὅλης αὐτῆς (f.277[r])τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐφ' ἧς τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμᾶται, ἔστιν ὅλως εὑρεῖν τοιαῦτα καὶ

[223] ἀπὸ addidi

παραπλήσι' ἄττα καί, ἔτι γε μὴν τὸ μεῖζον, οὐδ' ἔστι τοσαῦτα δή· καὶ ὅστις πολυπραγμονεῖν βούλεται, οὐ πολὺς ὁ πόνος ἀλλὰ ῥᾷστα γνώσεται καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς ξυγχωροῦμεν χρῆσθαι. Τούτων γε μὴν αὐτῶν τὰ πλεῖσθ' ἡ πόλις ἀνατίθησι φέρουσα τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ προδείκνυσιν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς τόνδε τὸν βίον τὴν καλλίστην ἐπίδειξιν καὶ λειτουργίαν ἐξαίρετον ἀπὸ πασῶν αὐτῇ σεμνὰ σεμνῶς τε καὶ καθάπαξ εὐαγέστατα. Ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ἄρα λοιπὸν ἱερά τίς ἐστιν ὅλη, καθὰ μικρῷ πρότερον εἴρηται, καὶ προσήκουσα τοῖς θείοις ἐπίπαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱεροπομπός, ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ προΐσχεται τὰ πάντων κάλλιστα καὶ θειότατα καὶ πομπεύει πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐντεῦθεν ἐξ ὑπερτέρων καὶ τελεῖται τὰ θεῖα δι' ὅλης αὐτῆς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον· καὶ πάσης τελετῆς ἔστι πλέως καὶ πάσης τελετῆς κάτοχος καὶ τελεταρχεῖ τὰ θεῖα κάλλιστ' ἐπὶ πάσης γῆς καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν μυστηρίων καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ[224] ἀποῤῥήτων ἑστία δείκνυται· καί, ὥσπερ τῶν νεὼν ἕκαστοι[225] τἀγάλματα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἱερὰν σύνταξιν οἶκοι φέρουσι καὶ θησαυροφυλακοῦσιν ἔξω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἐντυχίας αὐτοῖς ἀποκλείοντες, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ πάσης αὕτη τῆς γῆς τοῖς ναοῖς μεμέστωται καὶ παμπλήρης τῶν γε τοιούτων ἐστὶν οἶκοι διὰ πάσης ἑαυτῆς, ἱερὸς καθόλου περίβολος τῶν κειμηλίων τῶνδε καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τῶνδε καὶ τῆς πίστεως.

70. Ἠβουλόμην ἱκανῶς περὶ τούτων ἔγωγ' ἔχειν καὶ διεξιέναι περὶ τούτων ὡς ἂν ἐντελέστατα καὶ οἷόν τ' εἶναι, ὡς ἂν ἠβουλόμην, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἀμέλει τόδε συγχωρεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀδύνατον καὶ παντὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὑτοσὶ προῆλθεν ἀφειδὴς παντάπασι καὶ ἀφύλακτος καὶ πολλὴ πάντως ἡ ἄνοια τἀδύνατα τῇ φύσει ποθεῖν, καὶ οὐ λέγω βούλεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ

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[224] καὶ V^{sl}
[225] ἕκαστος V

καὶ ὅλως εὔχεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα κομιδῇ τοῦ καιροῦ γίγνοιτ' ἂν (f.277^{v})ἔξω κατὰ μέρος ἐπεξιέναι καὶ μεμνῆσθαι πάντων γε τῶν ἄρα τοιούτων, εἴπερ οἷόν τ' ἦν, τίς ἂν γενοίμην τοιγαροῦν ἐνταῦθα ἢ τί χρήσομαι; Ἢ πῶς ἂν καὶ παρέλθοιμι, καὶ εἰ πάντα τἆλλα παρέλθοιμι παντελεῖ σιγῇ τε καὶ ἀμνηστίᾳ, τὸ τοσοῦτο χρῆμα καὶ μέγιστον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, τοῦ βίου θαῦμα καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆσδε μόνον τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἄλλης πόλεως καὶ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης καὶ ὅλως ἀλόγιστον τέως καὶ ἀνυπονόητον, πρὶν ἢ καὶ γενέσθαι, τὸν ἀνέχοντα διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας τουτονὶ νεών, ὃ καὶ μόνης τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας καὶ προνοίας καὶ παντουργοῦ χειρὸς ἔργον καὶ οὐκ ἄλλης ὄντως σοφίας ἢ τέχνης ἢ φύσεως ἡστινοσοῦν οὔτ' ἐννοῆσαι τοσοῦτο πρᾶγμα οὔτε μὴν ὅλως διαπράξασθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐσχάτῃ δὴ σιγῇ περὶ τούτου χρήσασθαι ἔστι μὲν ὡς ἀδικώτατον ἐπιδηλότατα καὶ παντὶ ξυνιδεῖν καὶ ἀμαθέστατον τῶν τιμιωτέρων καὶ βελτίστων τῇ πόλει, ἔστι δ' ὡς ἄμεινον διὰ τὸ παντάπασιν ἀνέφικτον καὶ ὁ,τιοῦν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐρεῖν· καὶ ἅμα, εἴ τις καταλογίζοιτ' ἂν τὸ μῆκος τῶν λόγων, ὧν εἴρηταί τε καὶ ὧν εἰρήσεται, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τίς ἄν, ὡς ἔφην, γενοίμην ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος· βέλτιον δ' ἂν ἴσως εἴη τὴν μέσην ἑλέσθαι. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ὅλην τοῦ τοσούτου πράγματος εὕρεσιν καὶ κατασκευὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς τέχνης σοφίαν καὶ τοὺς πορισμοὺς καὶ τὴν περίνοιαν καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάστοις ἀκρίβειαν ἀμήχανον οἵαν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν τῆς ὕλης τοσαύτης εὐπορίαν τε καὶ περιουσίαν ἀσυλλόγιστον ἐλπίσαι τέως, τίς ἂν οἷός τ' εἴη ταῦτα διεξιέναι καὶ τῶν πάντα δὴ καὶ πάντων τὰ μέγιστα σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥᾳδίως περαινόντων; Ἀλλ' ἴσως γε μὴν ἀκαιρία τις ἂν εἴη περὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρεῖν καταμέρος καὶ τρίβειν, ἃ μόνης ἱστορίας καὶ περὶ τούτων ἰδίας μόνης οὐ τῆς παρούσης σπουδῆς ὑπόθεσις οἰκεία τις ἂν ἦν. Μάλιστα δ' ἂν

καὶ μελαγχολᾶν προδήλως ἂν[226] εἴη καὶ ὅλως ἐνταῦθα πειρᾶσθαι (f.278[r])καὶ κατεπιχειρεῖν ἔργου φύσιν ὅλως οὐκ ἔχοντος τυχεῖν καὶ κατὰ σκοπὸν ὁπηοῦν εὖ θέσθαι.

71. Καίτοι τί λέγω; Ἦν μέν γε μανία τις[227], ὡς ἀληθῶς, πρὶν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, γενέσθαι δόξαι. Ἦν μέν γε καὶ ὅλως εἰς νοῦν θέσθαι καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἔξω λογισμῶν τοσοῦτο λογίσασθαι κἄπειτα συσκευάζεσθαι λοιπὸν εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἅπτεσθαι. Εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀμφότερα κατὰ θεῖον, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ Θεοῦ πρόνοια καὶ Θεοῦ χεὶρ τὸ πᾶν ἐκίνησέ τε καὶ τὸ πέρας ἐξίκετο τέρας, οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ φύσεως ἔξω καὶ τέχνης, καὶ ὃ μὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν ἐστὶν ἀξίως μὴ δ' ὁρᾶν γε ἐστὶν ἀξίως, μετ' ἀληθείας ἐρεῖν, οὕτω μέγιστον, οὕτως ὕψιστον, οὕτως εὐρύτατον, οὕτω δὴ ποικιλωτάτης καὶ πολυειδοῦς καὶ πολυστρόφου τῆς διοικήσεως, φαίης ἄν· καὶ δῆτ' ἔγωγε πολλάκις ἔδοξ' οὑτωσί πως οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσεως, οὐδ' ἀσκήσεως ἡστινοσοῦν, οὔθ' ὅλως τεχνικῶν λογισμῶν τοὔργον ἀλλ' ἄρα κατὰ φύσιν ἀνεπιτήδευτον καὶ ἀτεχνούργητον οὑτωσὶ προελθεῖν ὡς εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν αὐτῆς θαυμάτων, οἷα δῆτ' αὐτὴ νεανιεύεται καὶ παλαμᾶται καὶ ῥᾳστωνεῖται[228] καὶ τελεσιουργεῖ μεγάλα μεγαλωστί, καί, ὡσπερεί τινα ὄρους ἀποσπάδα τοσαύτην ἀνέχειν ταύτην ἀμέλει κατὰ μέσην τὴν πόλιν, συνεχῆ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ παντί. Ἦ πόθεν ἄρ' ἦν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τῆς τέχνης, τοσαύτης ὅμως τυχεῖν τῆς ὕλης καὶ παντοίας καλλονῆς, ἧς μόνης ἀναπλάττει νοῦς; Ἦ πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἐνεγκεῖν ὁμοῦ τὴν τοσαύτην παρασκευὴν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τῆς τέχνης, ἧς οὐδὲ τὴν ὅλην γῆν ᾠήθη τις ἂν ἴσως ἱκανὸν εἶναι ποριστήν; Ποῖαι λατομίαι τῆς τοσαύτης λίθου μαρμάρου χορηγοὶ καὶ τῶν τοσούτων καὶ οὕτω παντοίων ἀνθῶν τε καὶ βαφῶν

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[226] ἂν fortasse secludendum
[227] n.l. πρὶν post τις V[sl]

αὐτῆς λειμῶνες; Ποῦ γῆς νῦν ὁρώμεναι κενωθεῖσαι τῆς οὐσίας, ποῦ γῆς ὅλως ὁρώμεναι; Ποῖαι σοφίαι, χεῖρες ὅσαι, ποία γῆς εὐφορία καὶ χρήμαθ' ὅσα, ὅσοι πλοῦτοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἔπραξαν; Ποῖος ἁπάσης περινοίας σοφιστὴς χρόνος ἢ πρότερον ἢ μετέπειθ' ὕστερον ἀνέδειξε τέχνης παραπλήσιον ἔργον καὶ κράτος ἢ ὅ,τι ἔγγιστα, ποῖον τῶν πάλαι θεαμάτων καὶ θαυμάτων (f.278^{v})ὠνομασμένων[229] δίδωσιν ἐνταῦθα παραβάλλειν ἐξεῖναι καὶ ὁπῃοῦν μὴ οὐ σὺν γέλωτι καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας καὶ ἀβελτερίας ἐλέγχῳ; Ποῖα βαβυλώνια τείχη[230], ποίας πυραμίδας αἰγυπτίας, ποίους Μαυσώλου καρικοὺς τάφους, νεκρά τιν', ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἔργα καὶ πολλὴν[231] ἀηδίαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀκαιρίαν καὶ λῆρον πολύν; Ποίους μετεώρους λειμῶνας, ἀερίους, ἀνυποστάτους, ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ εὐρίπιστον καὶ ματαίαν καὶ ἀνόνητον[232] σπουδὴν εὐκίνητόν τε δὴ ῥᾷστα καὶ εὔσειστον καὶ συμπεσοῦσαν οὐχὶ τῶν χρόνων ὀψέ; Καὶ τὰ πλείω παραλείπειν εἰκός, ὡς ἂν μὴ ταὐτὰ δὴ μάταια[233] πονεῖν ἑλέσθαι δοκῶμεν καὶ μάλιστ' ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ τοσούτου πράγματος καὶ ἡμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, μοναδικὸν τοσοῦτο μέγιστον ἔργον καὶ κάλλιστον οἷον ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καταριθμοῦντες ὅλως καὶ οἰστισινοῦν.

72. Τοσοῦτο δ' ἐρεῖν ἔχομεν ἐνταῦθα νῦν εἶναι καθόλου καὶ συλλογίσασθαι, ὡς ἄρα ἐφ' ὅλην μὲν αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τὸ πάντων μόνον ἐξαίρετόν τε καὶ κράτιστον καὶ μεγέθει καὶ ὥρᾳ καὶ χρείᾳ τοῦ βελτίστου πρὸς τὸν βίον καὶ τἀνθρώπινα πράγματα προέχον παντί που δῆλον ἡ πόλις κἀπὶ ταύτης τοσαῦτα κάλλη καὶ θαύματα παντοίων ἔργων ὁμοῦ, ὁποῖα καὶ οἷα μὴ δ' ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁμοῦ. Τούτων δ' ἁπάντων αὖθις ὁμοῦ

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[228] ῥαστωνεύεται V
[229] ὠνοσμασμένων V
[230] τείχη V^{pc} : τύχη V^{ac}
[231] πολλὴν V^{pc} : πολὺν V^{ac}
[232] ἀνώνητον V

κορυφὴ καὶ τὸ διὰ πάντων μόνον ἐπίλεκτον τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι καὶ τἆλλ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐῶν κάτω τῆς αὐτοῦ λαμπρότητος καὶ κράτους καὶ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους καὶ πάντων, ὅσ' ἄξια θαυμάζειν, αὐτὸς ὁ νεὼς οὑτοσί, οὐράνιον ἐπὶ γῆς κάλλος μυρίαν χάριν ἀστράπτον, οὐράνιον ἐπὶ γῆς εἴκασμα καὶ Θεοῦ σκηνὴ καὶ φωτὸς οἶκος καὶ δόξης ὄχημα Θεοῦ καὶ μεγίστου τοῦδε καὶ καλλίστου σώματος τῆς πόλεως, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὥσπερ τις καρδία, τὸ καιριώτατον αὐτοῦ μέρος καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ζωῆς ἀφορμὴ καὶ πρώτη πηγὴ τῷ τε παντὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι μέρεσιν εὖ πεφυκυῖα καὶ προσήκουσα λαμπρῶς, (f.279[r])μᾶλλον δέ, ψυχὴ ζωῆς συμπεφυκυῖα τῇ πόλει καὶ πνεύματος χορηγὸς καὶ οὐσίας καὶ ζωῆς τελειωτής[234]. Ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις τῇ πάσῃ γῇ· καὶ ἅπερ ἡ πόλις τῇ πάσῃ γῇ, ταῦθ' ὁ ναὸς τῇ πόλει, ψυχὴ ψυχῆς εἴτ' οὖν νοῦς, τὸ θειότερον καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ τιμιώτερον· καὶ παραβάλλειν τἆλλ' οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ξυμμετρεῖσθαι λοιπὸν ἔγγιστα· καὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὸς ὅδε, κόρης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐν τύπῳ καί, καθόλου γε εἰπεῖν, ἅπανθ', ὧν ἡ ἐρημία τοῦ παντός ἐστιν ἡ μεγίστη ζημία καὶ τῆς ὅλης καλλονῆς καὶ φύσεως λύσις, ᾗ καλῶς ἔχεται καὶ πέφυκε μένειν· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ μὴ τῶν καλλίστων, ὃ μὴ τῶν τιμιωτάτων, ὃ μὴ τῶν ἰσχυόντων μάλιστα καὶ χρησιμωτάτων ἐπὶ πάνυ τοι πλείστοις ἄλλοις τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις καὶ συγγενέσιν.

73. Ἄττα δῆτα καὶ αὐτὰ μάλιστα πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχει καὶ τῷ παντὶ καὶ ἀλλήλοις[235] ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῷ καθάπαξ γνήσια καί, ὥσπερ ἐν λύρᾳ, πάντοθεν ἠχεῖ σύμφωνον καὶ κομιδῇ τέρπει τοὺς ὁρῶντας καὶ χρωμένους· οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν οὐδὲν ὁ,τιοῦν, ὃ μὴ σφόδρα τῇδε καιρὸν ἔχει ἢ κάλλος ἢ μέγεθος ἢ πᾶσαν ἀκρίβειαν ἢ χρείαν ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντα ἢ τούτων γε ἄττα· καὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἥδεσθαι

[233] μάταια V[pc] : μάταιαν V[ac]
[234] τελειότης V

πάνυ τοι καὶ πάντων θαυμάζειν ὡσαύτως· καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν παρίδοι τις οὐδὲ παραδράμοι νοῦν ἐπιστάτην ἔχων οὑτωσί πως ῥᾷστα καὶ ὡς εἴ τι τῶν εἰωθότων, ἀλλ' ἢ μεθ' ἡδονῆς τινος ἐφιστάνων[236], οἵας ἀμυθήτου, ἀλλ' ἢ μετὰ θαύματος ὅσου δή· καὶ μὴν ἔστιν ἅπαντ' ἐπιόντα καὶ τὸν νοῦν εὖ μάλα προσέχονθ' ἑκάστοτε, νεώς, στοάς, γυμνάσια, δρόμους ὑπαίθρους καὶ καταστέγους, στήλας ἐκ μαρμάρου καὶ λίθου πάσης, ἀνδριάντας, γραφάς, ἀγάλματα, ἑρμογλυφικὰς λατομίας ὧντινωνοῦν ἑστώτων ἀσκητῶν σωμάτων ἢ μονοφυῶν ἢ συνθέτων, πάνθ' ἁπλῶς καὶ ὅσα δημόσια δημιουργήματα καὶ ὅσα καθ' ἕκαστα, πάντα δ' οὗν ἔξεστιν ἐπιόνθ', ὡς ἔφην, ὁ,τιοῦν συλλογίζεσθαι (f.279^{v})καὶ κέρδος ἔχειν εἰς γνώμην καὶ σύνεσίν τινα καὶ μνήμην τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ φέρειν νοῦν ἐντεῦθεν· καὶ πάντα σοι πορίζει συντέλειαν λογισμῶν καὶ σοφίαν, τὰ μὲν καὶ[237] δι' ἐπιγραμμάτων χειραγωγίας ἐπιδήλου καὶ προόδου σαφοῦς, τὰ δὲ καὶ νύττοντα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτόθεν αὐτίκα τῶν μὴ μόνον αἰσθήσει καὶ τοῖς φαινομένοις ζώντων καὶ γυμνάζοντα καὶ κινοῦντα χρῆσθαι καὶ πλέον ἔτι καὶ περαίνειν ὁ,τιοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἔπειθ' ὕστερον· καὶ πολλή σοι πάντοθεν αὐτῶν ἡ διδασκαλία τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, εὖ μάλα προσέχοντι· καὶ θησαυροὶ γνώσεως οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἐκκείμενοι μετὰ ῥᾳστώνης ὀνίνασθαι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτοις συντηροῦντες κειμήλια σοφίας, ὅσοι διαβαίνειν ἄρα καὶ χωρεῖν ἰσχύουσιν εἴσω καὶ περαιτέρω χρῆσθαι λοιπὸν ἢ καὶ ὁρῶσι καὶ πονεῖν ἐπὶ κέρδει. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν τὰς πρώτας τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τῆς ὅλης σοφίας ζητῶν ἀρχὰς τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἡμῖν διδάσκαλον καὶ χορηγόν τε καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τούτων, τὸν οὐρανόν, εὑρίσκει καὶ δείκνυσιν· εἴ τις δύναιτο καταλογίζεσθαι τὰς κατ' αὐτὸν ἁρμονίας καὶ ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὴν ὅλην αὐτοῦ τῆς

[235] ἀλλήλοις V^{pc} : ἄλλοις V^{ac}
[236] ἐφιστάνων V^{mg}
[237] καὶ V^{sl}

διοικήσεως, ἄπαυστον μέν, εὔτακτον δὲ καὶ καθάπαξ ἄλυτον χορείαν καὶ μουσικήν, ἀτὰρ καλῶς ἀμέλει τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος, οἷα δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλονοίας καὶ περινοίας, καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ.

74. Ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἄρα περὶ οὐρανοῦ καινότερον εὕρηται τουτὶ τἀνδρὶ καὶ εἴρηται, τοῦτο δὴ κἀπὶ τῆς πόλεως ὁρῶμεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, παραπλησίως τοῖς κατ' αὐτὴν ἔργοις καὶ μέρεσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ μέτροις, καὶ οἷς ὅλως ὑποδείκνυσι τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιμελεῖ καὶ ἐργατικῇ καὶ ἀνυσίμῳ καὶ διὰ νοῦ καὶ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐποπτείᾳ χορηγοῦσαν σοφίας[238] ἀφορμὰς καὶ παρασκευὴν λογισμῶν εὖ μάλα χρῆσθαι καὶ νοῦ περιουσίαν καὶ θέατρον ὑφαπλοῦσάν τε καὶ ὑπανοίγουσαν πάσης ἐπιστήμης καὶ χώραν μνήμης· καὶ γεωργεῖν ἐστιν ἐντεῦθεν εὐφορώτατα πάντα καιρὸν καὶ πάντα τρόπον, ὅστις ἂν βούλοιτό τε καὶ δύναιτο, νοῦ καὶ γνώμης καρποὺς καὶ τροφὰς (f.280[r])καὶ κομίζειν ἐντὸς οἴκοι καὶ πράττειν εὖ ἐν ἀφθόνοις. Καὶ τοῦτο μέν γε νῦν ἐπελθὸν οὕτω, δοκεῖν ἔμοιγ', οὐ παντὸς ἔξω καιροῦ καὶ λόγου εἴρηται, καθόλου γε μὴν ἐρεῖν. Ποῦ γῆς ἄλλη νῦν ἢ τῇδε μόνον αἱ τῆς σοφίας ἁπάσης ἀναχεόμεναι πολύῤῥυτοι πηγαὶ καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐνταῦθα πάντοθεν ἕλκουσαι; Ποῦ παραπλησίως πρὸς μετουσίαν ἄφθονοι; Ποῦ καθαραί τε καὶ πότιμοι; Ποῦ παντοίας ἡδονῆς, ποῦ παντοίας ἀρετῆς παμπλήρεις ῥέουσαι; Ποῦ τοσαῦτα φιλοσοφίας σεμνεῖα καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυστήρια καὶ θεωρίας τῶν ὄντων καὶ δογμάτων παντοίων μετουσία τε καὶ βακχεῖα καὶ θειασμός; Ποῦ ῥητορείας χάριτες καὶ λειμῶνες τοσοῦτοι καὶ λαμπρότητες καὶ ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα καὶ πανήγυρις καὶ ὥρα λόγων τοσαύτη καὶ οὕτως εὔωνος; Ποῦ θέατρα καὶ κρότοι πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ γυμνάσια[239] καὶ ἅμιλλαι κράτους καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀσκήσεις καὶ δίαυλοι καὶ δρόμοι διαρκεῖς

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[238] post σοφίας l.n. ..τὴν V[sl]
[239] γνυμνάσια V

εὐστομίας καὶ γλώττης θηγάνη[240] σφόδρα τομὴ[241] καὶ παρασκευὴ φωνῆς τοσαύτη καὶ πνεῦμα λεῖον καὶ δαψιλὲς χορηγοῦν εἰς εὐφωνίαν παντοίαν; Ποῦ πάντες Μουσῶν χοροί; Πάντ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρότερον ἔσβεσται κἀκείνη λαμπρότης ἐπὶ τούτοις οἴχεται· καὶ τὸ μέγα πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὄνομα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀπήνθησε τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ γηράσαν ἤδη καὶ διερρυηκὸς παρῆλθε· καὶ τὰ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἄνθη τῆς γλώττης καὶ κάλλη καὶ ἡ πᾶσα τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τῆς εὐφωνίας ἐτράπη καὶ ἡ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγαλόπολις βαρβάροις δέδοται· καὶ οὐδ' εἴ ποτε περὶ ταῦτ' εἶχον, ὅλως ἐστὶ λογίζεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ὁρωμένων, εἰ μή τινες ἄρα παλαιάν τινα μνήμην καὶ συγγραφὰς καὶ συντάξεις καὶ βίβλους λοιπὸν ἕλοιντ' ἂν τούτοις ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι.

75. Μόνη δ' ἡ πόλις, ἔοικεν, ἀπὸ πασῶν αὕτη μουσεῖον τῶν λόγων ἁπάντων λείπεται καὶ παιδείας ἑστία καὶ ταμεῖον σοφίας ἁπάσης, εἰ καὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπαρκοῦν καὶ πρυτανεῦον, ὅσοι βούλοιντ' ἂν τὸ γιγνόμενον· (f.280^{v})καὶ χώρ' αὕτη σφόδρα τις εὔγαιος[242] τῆς ἁπάσης παιδείας καὶ κάλλιστ' ἀροσίμη πάντα φέρειν καὶ πᾶσι φέρειν καὶ ὡς μάλιστα διαρκής. Οὔκουν γ' ἐπιλείψειεν ἂν ὁτῳοῦν τῶν ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄρα οὐ μήποτ' ἀτευκτήσαι κάμινων τῆδε καρποῦσθαι καὶ πορισθεὶς[243] εὖ γε ἀπαλλάττειν φορᾶς τῆσδε καὶ πόλεως τῆσδε παντοίους ἀμητοὺς τῶν λόγων ὠνούμενος. Ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πάσης εὐφορώτατα τῆς σοφίας εὐτοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πᾶσιν αὐτόχθοσί τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς πάνυ τοι πλείστοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν καὶ πάντοθεν ἐπιδήμοις πάνυ τοι πλείστοις ἀρκεῖ καὶ ἀνθεῖ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν λόγων ἔαρος ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκμάζει τὸν ἅπαντα

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[240] θιγάνη V
[241] τομὸς V
[242] εὔγαιως V
[243] πορισθεὶς ego : πορισθῆς V

χρόνον, ἐξοῦ καὶ γέγονε· καὶ οὐ πώποτε πέπαυται κατὰ φύσιν οὔτε μὴν πεπαύσεται χορηγοῦσα· καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὁ πολὺς παρήκων χρόνος ἀσφαλίζεται καὶ μάρτυς πάνυ τοι πιστὸς ἐγγυᾶται τῆς ἄνωθεν οἰκονομίας περὶ τ᾽ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ τὴν τῶν βελτίστων πρόνοιαν, ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἀνθρώπους γῆ τρέφει καὶ σοφία τρέφει μάλιστα, τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ τὴν δόξαν ταύτην ἑστῶτα εἶναι καὶ μένειν ἀσάλευτα πειθούσης καὶ τὴν πόλιν γέ τοι παραπλησίως ἀσάλευτον ἐπὶ ταῖς θείαις ἀεὶ χερσὶν ἑστήξειν καὶ μένειν πειθούσης τὸ κοινὸν ὄφελος καὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἁπάσης ζωῆς καὶ χρείας λιμένα καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ᾗ δὴ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, πάσης καρδίαν· καὶ ψυχήν γε μὴν εἴρηται, καὶ καλῶς γ᾽ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐχ᾽ ὡς ἄν τις εὖ φρονῶν νεμεσήσαι, καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς σοφίας ἔγωγέ φημι μόνον, περὶ ἧς νῦν ὁ λόγος, καλλίστου τοῦδε τοῦ κτήματος τελεσιουργόν τε καὶ ἀρχηγέτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ πάσης ἁπλῶς τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς οὐσίας εὖ τε εἶναι καὶ μένειν κατὰ χώραν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ἡδράσθαι.

76. Ἤ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐνταῦθα ἢ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις πηγάζει, τὰ μέν γε οἴκοθεν αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ πλείω μάλιστα; Εἰ δέ τι καὶ ὁ,τιοῦν ἄλλη φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῇδε φέρει, καὶ πάντοθεν ἥκει (f.281[r])σπουδῇ τῇ πόλει, καθάπερ εἴς τινα κοινὸν ὅλῃ ῥύμῃ κατὰ φύσιν τόπον, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ὁρῶμεν ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἔχειν εὖ μάλ᾽ ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ χώραν καὶ τόπον τὸν κατὰ φύσιν. Ἀχρεῖον μὲν τ᾽ ἂν εἴη καὶ ὁποιονοῦν τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ τιμίων κατὰ χώραν οἴκοι μένον, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀλλ᾽ ἢ καθάπερ ὁρῶμεν ἀτεχνῶς αὐτὰ τὰ πάρεργα τῆς φύσεως καὶ τἀμβλώματά γε τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὰς ἀνονήτους[244] παντάπασιν ἀτυχίας, ἂν μὴ τῇδε κάλλισθ᾽ ἥκοι σπουδῇ πάσῃ καὶ δρόμῳ παντὶ καὶ τρόπῳ

[244] ἀνονήτους V[pc] : ἀνοήτους V[ac]

παντὶ καὶ <ὅπως>[245] τῆς κοινῆς ἁπάντων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κατὰ φύσιν χώρας ἐπιτυχῶς ταυτησὶ λάβηται, ἐφ' ἧς εὖ τ' εἶναι μόνης καὶ μένειν ἔχει καὶ[246] δείκνυσθαι καὶ ὁπηοῦν εἶναι χρήσιμον[247]. Οὐκοῦν ἅπαντ' ἐρανίζεται καὶ συλλέγεται τῇ πόλει καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ῥᾷστα πάντοθεν, ὅσάττα πάντων ἐστὶν ἀπόλεκτά τε καὶ ἴδια, ταῦτα μὲν τούτων, ταῦτα δ' ἐκείνων, πάντα δ' οὖν γίγνεται τελευτῶντα κοινὰ τῇ πόλει καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις. Οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν ὁτουοῦν τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀμηγέπη καὶ σπανιωτάτων ἀτευκτεῖν οὔτε τῇ πόλει οὔτε μὴν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἅπασιν ἐπιχρείοις ἀνθρώποις. Ἀλλ' αὕτη τὸ κοινὸν ταμεῖον ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ὧν ἡ γῆ καθόλου πάντων δίδωσι καθάπερ ἀμέλει τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἴδια καὶ οἶκοι τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις ἰδίων καρπῶν καὶ φόρων[248]. Κἀνταῦθα λοιπὸν κοινὴ κομιδὴ πάντων ἐξ ἄρα πάντων, κἀντεῦθεν ἡ κοινὴ φορὰ τῶν ἁπάντων ἅπασιν, οἷς ἄρα δεῖ καὶ ὧν ἄρα δεῖ· κἀντεῦθεν πᾶν ὁ,τιοῦν, ὃ ποθεῖ τις καὶ προσδοκᾷ, ταχὺς αὐτίκα καὶ ζητεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ,τι οὐ τῶν ὄντων οὐδ' ὅστις οὔ, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων τε καὶ μεγάλῃ συζώντων τύχῃ καὶ ὅσοι τοὐναντίον· κἂν εἴ τις ἁπάντων ἀμαθέστατος, ἡ χρεία γε τὸν νοῦν τῆς εὑρέσεως τῇδε πορίζει καὶ τὸ μέγα τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα.

77. Καὶ λιμένες οὗτοι τοιγαροῦν, οὓς ἄρα πάνυ τοι πλείστους (f.281[v])ἡ πόλις κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἔχει, μᾶλλον δ' εἰπεῖν, αὕτη κύκλῳ συνέχει καὶ μάλιστ' ἔσω κατ' αὐτὴν εἰσοικίζεται καὶ οὓς ἄρα τοσούτους ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, οἶμαι, τοῖς καταίρουσι προΐσχεται καθάπερ ἐκ χειρῶν ἀντιλαμβανομένη πλείστων, λιμένες γοῦν οὗτοι πάντων ἀσφαλέστατοι καὶ πάντων μάλιστ' ἄσειστοι καὶ ἀζήμιοι. Οἱ δὲ τοσούτοις ἀμέλει κατάπλοις, ὡς εἰπεῖν, στενοῦνται καὶ ἀεὶ πλέω

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[245] ὅπως addidi
[246] ras. post καὶ V
[247] χρήσιμα V
[248] φόρων V[pc] : φορῶν V[ac]

πάσης ναυτιλίας καὶ θαλαττουργούντων ἐπὶ κομιδῇ καὶ φορᾷ πάσης χρείας δείκνυνται καὶ οὐ κάμνουσιν ὥσπερ ἐπαχθιζόμενοι τοσαῦτα δὴ πλεῖστα, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπωθεῖται τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς τῶν αὐτῆς ἡ μεγαλοψυχία τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἀφθόνως ἔχουσ' ἐπαρκεῖν ἐλευθερίως τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἅπασι νέμει· καί, καθὼς αἱ φιλόστοργοι μητέρες τοῖς τέκνοις, ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις πάντοθεν ἐπιδήμοις κατὰ δή τινα τὴν χρείαν τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτῆς ὑπανοίγουσα τῶν λιμένων, ὧν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν σπλάχνοις εἴσω φορεῖ, χορηγεῖ πᾶσι καὶ διοικεῖται τὴν χρῆσιν ἅπασαν ἑκάστοις οὔτε φιλανθρωπίας οὔτε νομῆς ἐλλείπουσα πώποτε οὔθ' ὑποδοχῆς καὶ χώρας ἅπασιν, ὥστε προσδοκᾶν ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς [ὥστε][249] ῥᾷστα χρῆσθαι καὶ πιστεύοντας ἥκειν τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεγαλοψυχίᾳ κατ' ἀμφότερα, καὶ χώραν ὑποδοχῆς ἄλυπον καὶ τύχην τῆς χρείας ἑτοίμην, καὶ πάνυ τοι μετὰ ῥᾳστώνης λοιπὸν ἥκοντας πράττειν κατ' ἐλπίδας καὶ ἀνύτειν, ὡς ἂν γνώμη σφίσι καὶ βούλησις προὔκειτο. Ὡς ἄρα γε καὶ λιμὴν ἡ πόλις ὄντως, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, κοινὸς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὁρᾶται πάσης ἀπορίας εὖ καταστῆναι καὶ ὁρμίσασθαι τόν τινα τοῦ βίου κλύδωνα καὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ φάρμακα τῆς πόλεως λαβεῖν ἁπάσης κακοπραγίας καὶ τὴν ἐνοχλοῦσαν ἑκάστοτε συμφορὰν ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταθέσθαι· καὶ λιμένες μὲν ἄλλοι τινὲς ἄλλῃ χορηγίας ἔρημοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τῶν καταιρόντων ἔρημοι κομίζειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἄττα δή, καὶ καλόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀνόνητον καὶ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία βιούντων τε (f.282[r])καὶ χρωμένων ἀνθρώπων ἀπουσίᾳ δι' ἄλλην τιν', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀχρηστίαν ἢ φύσεως ἢ τύχης.

78. Χῶραι δ' ἄλλαι καὶ πόλεις ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς εὐφοροῦσαι καὶ καλῶς πράττουσαι τὰ οἴκοι καὶ καλῶς πράττειν ἐς κοινωνίαν ἀνθρώπων οἷαί τ' ἂν οὖσαι δυστυχοῦσι τὴν ἀκαιρίαν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοινώνητον καὶ ἄμουσον καὶ ἀγριωπὸν καὶ διὰ λιμένων στείρωσιν ἀποτειχισθεῖσαι πρὸς

[249] ὥστε seclusi

πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πάντων ἀπέλαστοι κατάπλων ὀρφανισθεῖσαι κατάκλειστοί τε καὶ ἄμικτοι καὶ ἀσυντυχεῖς κἀντεῦθεν ἄρα καὶ ἀσυντελεῖς τῇ κοινῇ φύσει καὶ ἀφιλάνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὔθ' ἑαυταῖς ὅ,τι χρήσαιντο λοιπὸν οὔτ' ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ἀηδῆ καὶ ἀνόνητον καρποῦνται τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἣν ἄρα δὴ καὶ παραπλησίως τοῖς ὄναρ πλουτοῦσιν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμφανῶς ἔχουσι[250] εὐπραγεῖν καὶ δείκνυσθαι τῆς τύχης διαρκῶς. Ἀλλ' ἡ πόλις ἁπάντων ἐπιτυχὴς ὁμοῦ καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὁ,τιοῦν ἧττον ἔχει καὶ χηρεύει τῶν βελτίστων ἑαυτῇ τε καὶ παντὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ οἴκοι μάλιστ' εὐδαιμονοῦσα κατὰ πάντας τρόπους εὐζωίας. Ἡ δὲ καὶ κοινόν ἐστιν ἀμέλει πάντων ἀγαθὸν καὶ σύνδεσμος βίου καὶ πολιτείας κοινῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐνομίας ὑπόθεσις καὶ ἀφορμὴ καὶ συνεχείας ἑνὸς κόσμου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου μονῆς ἀφορμή, δι' ὧν ἔλαχε καὶ ἰσχύει πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Θεοῦ προνοίας ἐνέχυρον, μέχρις ὅτου περίεστι καὶ βιοῖ καὶ δείκνυται, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀσφαλῶς καθόλου γ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, μένειν καὶ θαῤῥούντως ἵστασθαι· καὶ κοινὸν γὰρ χρήσιμον ἁπάντων καὶ πάντες τἀνύσιμον τοῦ βίου καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ τῆς ζωῆς ἐντεῦθεν πορίζονται. Κἀνταῦθα τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πράγματα κἀντεῦθεν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχει καὶ ἀεὶ κοινὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους αὐτῇ· καὶ ἀεὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐνταῦθα ἀγορὰ καὶ τὰ καθήκοντα σφίσιν ἑκάστοις τῇδ' ἀλλάγματα καὶ προφάσεις ἐπιμιξίας ἀλλήλοις ἐνταῦθ' ἅπασι (f.282^{v})καὶ πάντες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων τῇδ' ἔχουσι μάλιστα χρῆσθαι· καὶ τοίνυν, ὅπερ δὴ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν πόλεων ἐνίαις εἶχε πάλαι καὶ τόπος τις αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦθ' ὥριστο, τοῦθ' ἡ πόλις δοκεῖ μοι νῦν ἀτεχνῶς τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ τις οἶκος εἶναι

[250] ἔχουσι V^{pc} : ἔχοντες V^{ac}

καὶ[251] τόπος κοινὸς συσσιτίων καί, ὥσπερ παντοίας ἀγέλης θρεμμάτων, τῶν τῆς γῆς ἁπάντων ἀνθρωπίνων θρεμμάτων εὐφυέστατα καὶ ἐπικαιρότατα κοινὰ συννόμια· καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐθνῶν φύσεις καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γλώττης ἰδιότης καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλ' ἔθη παντοῖα κοινωνεῖν πως ἐνταῦθα ἔχει τῇ πόλει τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἕκαστα καὶ πολιτεύειν καὶ ἀνύτειν ὁ,τιοῦν χρήσιμον οἴκοι· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὡντινωνοῦν ἀνθρώπων οὐδ' ὁτὲ τῶν καιρῶν τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἔρημον ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ πάντων ἔποικον καὶ πάντων παμπλήρη.

79. Καὶ μὴν ἕκαστοι μὲν ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς σφετέροις οἴκοι πατρίδα τινὰ καὶ τροφὸν καὶ νόμους οὕστινας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινοὺς καὶ κοινὰ δόγματα καὶ βουλεύματα καὶ πολιτεύματα ἄττα καὶ ἀλλάγματα καὶ διαφορὰς ἐθῶν προσηκούσας ἄλλοις ἄλλας κατὰ βίοτον ὁντιναοῦν πάλαι τῶν χρόνων ἡρμοσμένον. Ἔχουσι δ' ἕκαστοι καὶ κοινὴν ὥσπερ ὁμοῦ πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν τὴν πόλιν τήνδε· καὶ πράττειν ἐπὶ ταύτης ἄττα καθ' αἵρεσιν καὶ νόμιμον ὡσανεὶ ξυντυχίαν ἔχουσι, καὶ πράττειν ἅμα μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τὰ εἰωθότα, ἅμα δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅπαντας ἕκαστοι κάλλιστ' ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως· καὶ τοῦτ' αὖθις κατ' ἔθος καὶ νόμιμον ἀκίνητον τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἐκ μακρῶν τῶν χρόνων. Καί τις ἔοικεν εἶναι, τρόπον τινὰ τοῦτον καινότερον, ἐνταῦθα κοινοπολιτεία πάντων ἀνθρώπων τελεσφόρος εἰρήνης εἰς τὸν κοινὸν βίον ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι· καὶ πάντ' ἀλλήλων οἴκοι τε καὶ ἄλλη πη κατὰ φύσιν ἄμικτα καθάπαξ ἄττα ἔθνη τῇδε κοινωνεῖ τῇ πόλει (f.283[r])καὶ μέσῃ διαλλάττεται· καὶ ξυμβαίνει πως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐμπρόθεσμα ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τακτοῖς ὅροις ἀνάγκην ἀσάλευτον ἔχει πείθεσθαι καὶ βιοῦν ἔνσπονδα καὶ βιοῦν ἀνθρωπίνως μετ' ἀλλήλων, μᾶλλον δὲ μετὰ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως, οὐ κατὰ τὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ἔνια δηλαδὴ ζῴων καὶ θηρίων, τὰ μάχην ἄπαυστον ἀνῃρημένα πρὸς

[251] καὶ V[sl]

ἅπαντα καὶ ἀκατάλλακτον τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα· καὶ συναγελάζεται τά γε τέως ἀλλήλοις ἰταμῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἀτίθασα[252], τῆς πόλεως ἐγγυωμένης, ἢ μᾶλλον τὰς ἐγγύας αὐτὰ τῆς καταπαύσεως τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμου καταθέμενα καὶ σαφῶς ἀποδόντα τῇ πόλει, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὶ κοινῷ μόνον καθ' αἵρεσιν διαλλακτῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥσπερ ἄρα κοινῷ τινι κατὰ φύσιν δεσπότῃ καὶ κρατεῖν ἔχοντι καὶ προστησαμένῳ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώποις φίλιον. Οὐκοῦν, ὅστις ἂν βούλοιτο τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰδέναι καὶ μορφὰς φύσεως ἑτεροίας ὡς ἄλλοις ἄλλα παντοῖα ἰδεῶν χαράττει κόμματα καὶ τρόπους καὶ θεσμοὺς καὶ τροφὰς καὶ ὅλως πολιτείας ἑκάστοις ἀγωγὴν καὶ βίου χρῆσιν, ἢ πάντῃ περιοδεύειν ἀνάγκην ἂν ἔχοι τῆς ἐκμαθήσεως ταύτης ἕνεκα καὶ γνώμης καὶ πείρας καὶ πονεῖν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀπέραντα καὶ ἀνήνυτα· ἢ μᾶλλον, οὐδεμίαν εἰς τοῦτο τὴν ἀνάγκην τῶν πόνων ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ μόνῃ τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι περὶ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον καὶ μίαν εἶναί οἱ τὴν ἀνάγκην ταύτην μόνην πρὸς τὴν πᾶσαν εὖ μάλ' ἀνύτειν ἔχουσαν τἀνδρὶ βούλησιν, ἐνταῦθα τῇ πόλει γίγνεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ τινὶ καὶ περιόπτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἑνὶ χώρῳ καὶ ξυμφανεῖ πάντοθεν καὶ διδασκαλείῳ κοινῷ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ῥᾷσθ' οὕτω δὴ περὶ πάντων ἐφορᾶσθαι καὶ ῥᾷστ' ἐκμανθάνειν ἅπαντα δὴ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλις εἶναί οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῦ πόθου καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ πράγματ' οὐκ ἔχειν, ἣν ἄρα σωφρονεῖν βούλοιτο πολυμαθέστατος ὢν ἐρᾷ τῆς πόλεως (f.283^{v})αὐτίκα γενόμενος· καὶ βέλτιον ἴσως ἢ καὶ εἰ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἔθνεσιν ἐπόνει καὶ πλάνον ἐφορεῖτο παμμήκη τινὰ καὶ πολύστροφον.

80. Καὶ μὴν ἐνίων ἤκουσα λεγόντων καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγ' ἔδοξα πολλάκις ἄμεινον εἶναι πολλῷ κατ' ὀλίγα πάνυ τοι βιοῦν ἔτη πλείστοις, ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἂν εἴη, ξυνόντα καὶ συνανακοινούμενον ἀνθρώποις καὶ πράγμασιν ἢ κατὰ πλείω

[252] ἀτίθασσα V

μάλιστα μετ᾽ ὀλίγων αὐτὸν[253] συνεξεταζόμενον καὶ τὸν τρόπον δὴ τοῦτον ἀπαντλοῦντα βίοτον μακραίωνα· καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴη κέρδος μάλιστα τοῦ βίου καὶ πολὺ κέρδιον, τὸ[254] ἐπὶ μείοσι τοῖς χρόνοις τὸν βίον οὕτως ἄρ᾽ ἀνύτοντ᾽ ἐκμετρῆσαι καὶ ξυμπεράναι τάχιον πολλοῖς ξυντετυχηκότα πράγμασι, πολλὰ[255] μάλ᾽ ἰδόντα, πολλῶν ἀμέλει πεπειραμένον καὶ κοινωνήσαντα ἢ μακρά τις ζωῆς ἐρημία καὶ πολὺς ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς μετ᾽ ὀλίγης ἔργων τε καὶ πραγμάτων τῆς τύχης ἐκτήκων καὶ δαπανώμενος καὶ τῶν καλλίστων, οἶμαι, θεαμάτων χηρεύων, ὥσπερ ἀηδεῖ σκότῳ τινὶ καὶ νυκτὶ πολυμήκει ξυλλαχόντα τινὰ καὶ κατατεινόμενον τὴν ζωὴν ἢ κατάκλειστον ὑπὸ γῆς[256] καταστενούμενον καὶ κατάκριτον, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἐρεῖν, ἀβίωτον καί, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἄχαριν τὸν βίον ἕλκοντα καὶ πονήρως ἔχοντα καὶ τυφλώττοντα τῶν βελτίστων τῆς ἐποπτείας καὶ ξυντυχίας καὶ πάσης εὐκολίας βιωτικῆς[257] καὶ χρήσεως ἐῤῥαστωνευμένης δυστυχοῦντα καὶ ὀλιγοπνοοῦντα μακρὸν δρόμον καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν νεκροῖς βιοῦντα καὶ πολιτευόμενον. Ἀλλ᾽, εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἄρα καὶ πᾶς ἂν οὕτως, οἶμαι, συνετῶς ἐπιστατῶν τε καὶ κρίνων δόξαι, μακροβιώτατοι τῶν ἄλλων ἂν εἶεν οἱ τῇδε συζῶντες τῇ πόλει τόν γε τρόπον τοῦτον ὄντως καὶ πολυολβώτατοι τῆς ζωῆς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστους ἑκάστης καὶ χώρας καὶ πόλεως· καὶ παραβάλλειν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄττα δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τῇ περιουσίᾳ τῇδε καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ τῷδε τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ ξένοις ἐπιδήμοις τῇ πόλει (f.284^{r})πράγμασι καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῇ πάντοθεν ἐνταῦθα εὐπορίστῳ ξυμβιώσει καὶ παμπληθεῖ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ξυντυχίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ πραγμάτων ἐνθάδ᾽ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ὡς εἴρηται, οὐ νῦν μὲν ἴσως, νῦν δὲ οὔ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπίσης

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[253] αὐτὸν V^{pc} : αὐτῶν V^{ac}
[254] τὸ V^{pc} : τοῦτ᾽ V^{ac}
[255] πολὰ V
[256] γῆς V^{pc} : γῆν V^{ac}
[257] βιωτικῆς V^{pc} : βιοτικῆς V^{ac}

ἀεί. Καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστ᾽ ἂν εἴη τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν κέρδος, ὡς πλεῖσθ᾽ οὕτω λοιπὸν βιῶσαι καὶ ὡς κάλλιστα μὲν οὖν καὶ ὡς ἄν τις εὔξαιτο· καὶ λόγος οὐδεὶς πρὸς τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν μακαρίαν καὶ οἱστισινοῦν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμόνων εὖ μάλα δοκοῦσι τιμίοις πράγμασι, καὶ πολλῷ βελτίους ἂν εἶεν οἱ τῇδε ζῶντες ἀνύτοντες εὐαριθμήτους περιόδους ἐτῶν ἢ καὶ ἄλλῃ πῃ διπλασίας ἢ καὶ πολλαπλασίας[258]· καὶ κομιδῇ τις ἡδέως ἀλλάξαιτ᾽ ἂν καὶ ὀλίγον ἐνταῦθα βίον τῶν παρ᾽ ἄλλοις μακρῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς πρὸς τὴν τῆς εὐζωίας αὐτὴν ἕξιν καὶ περιουσίαν ἀληθεύουσαν ὄντως καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐπώνυμον ὡς εἰκὸς καταμετρούμενος.

81. Καὶ εἰ τὸ ζῆν αἰσχρῶς αἰσχρὸν ὡς ὁ λόγος, καὶ τοῦδ᾽ ἄμεινον τὸ θανεῖν· ἦ που πολλῷ γε ἄμεινον, ὥστε καὶ παραβάλλειν ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀτίμων ἐτῶν ὀλιγόχρονος μὲν ἀλλὰ πλήθουσα εὐδαιμονία καὶ τύχης ἀκμὴ[259] καὶ εὐετηρίας. Καὶ τὸ μὲν κατθανεῖν, φησίν, ὀφείλεται, κἂν εἰ πλεῖστά τις βιώσαι καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ἐλάχιστα· καὶ τὴν τῆς ζωῆς μοῖραν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεκφυγεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου πᾶσιν ἴσον μένει καὶ ἴσον γε δοκεῖ πρὸς τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς ζωῆς ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἔδοξαν ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ ὅσοι τοὐναντίον· τὸ δ᾽ ἐνευπραγῆσαι τῇ ζωῇ καὶ ὁποσονοῦν τῶν χρόνων καὶ κάλλιστα τυχεῖν ταύτην ἐκμετρήσαντα βέλτιστα χρησάμενον οἷς ξυνέλαχεν ἔτεσι, τοῦτο τοῦ βίου τὸ κέρδος καὶ πᾶσι μᾶλλον εὐκταῖόν τε καὶ πολυέραστον, ἢ πολλὰ ἔτη πονήρως οὐδενὸς ἀπολαύοντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ ποθεινῶν καὶ (f.284^{v})χρησίμων. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδικον τὸν ἐκ Σηλυβρίας αἰτιᾶται πονηρῷ ξυλλαχόντα σώματι τῶν πολλῶν ἐκείνων καμάτων καὶ γυμνασμάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἄρα μακρὸν ἑαυτῷ τὸν θάνατον παντὶ τρόπῳ

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[258] πολλαπλασίας V^{pc} : πολαπλασίας V^{ac}
[259] expectes ὀλιγόχρονον μὲν ἀλλὰ πλήθουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τύχης ἀκμὴν

πράξαντα καὶ πολλὴν εἰς τοῦτο πρόνοιαν φροντίσαντα καὶ παρασκευὴν κακῶς πάνυ τοι καὶ ἀμαθῶς, ἐξὸν πάλαι μετὰ τοῦ ζῆν πολλῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων καὶ πόνων. Ὅτε δὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔδοξε, ἦ[260] που δῆλον καὶ παντὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος κάλλιστον ἂν ᾤετο καὶ ἀσπαστὸν καί, οἶμαί γε, τοῦ παντὸς τιμώμενον ὀλίγα 'ττα ἔτη μετ' εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ζῆν εὐκολίας· καὶ ὄντως τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν πολυζωίαν ἐν ἕξει καὶ περιουσίᾳ βιοῦν τῶν βελτίστων· εἰ δὲ μή, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἂν εἴη, σπουδῇ πάσῃ φεύγειν αὐτὸν ἑκόντα τινὰ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀχρηστίαν ἑαυτοῦ, ἅτε μηδὲν ὂν[261] μήθ' ἑαυτοῦ μήτε τοῦ βίου τό[262] γε τοιοῦτον ὄφελος καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν λίχνον μικρογνωμοσύνης μεγάλην ἀπόδειξιν οὖσαν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ βέλτιον εἶναι τῷ παντὶ τὴν τύχην ἐνταῦθα αἰτιᾶσθαι ἢ γνώμης ἑαυτῷ καταδίκην καὶ ψῆφον οὐδενίας καὶ φαυλότητος καθ' ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευάζειν αὐτόν τινα καὶ κελεύειν οὕτω τοὺς πολλοὺς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖν.

82. Ὁ γε μὴν Σερίφιος[263] πολίτης παραίτησιν ἱκανήν τε καὶ ἀξιόλογον πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα τῆς ἀπραξίας καὶ ἀτιμίας ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῆς πατρίδος ἀπέφαινε καὶ προὔφερε παῤῥησίᾳ καὶ τὴν μικρὰν τύχην ὡς ἀμέλει μὴ παρέχουσαν ἀφορμὰς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ περιφανείας εἰς τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸν βίον· καὶ οἱ τόπων περιόπτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῆς ζωῆς ταυτησὶ λαχόντες χώρας ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν, εἰ καλῶς ἔχουσιν, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν δείκνυσθαι καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ λόγους εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἕλκειν καὶ μέγιστον εἰς τιμὴν συνεκλάμπειν τοῖς ἔχουσι τόποις καὶ ταῖς πατρίσι. (f.285[r])Καὶ τοίνυν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν τῆσδε τῆς πάνθ' ὑπερφυοῦς καὶ μεγίστης πλεῖσταί δῆθ' ὅσαι πρὸς

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[260] ἦ V[pc] : εἰ V[ac]
[261] ὄντα V
[262] τόν V
[263] Σίφνιος V

εὐδοξίαν ἀφορμαὶ καὶ οἷαι μή τινος ἄλλης ἄλλοις· καὶ ὁρώμεθα πάντῃ περιιόντες περιφανεῖς καὶ κομιδῇ λαμπροὶ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀκούομεν πᾶσι τοιοῦτοι διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν τύχην, οἷς ἡμᾶς ᾠκείωσεν ἡ φύσις, ὅσοι καὶ γεγόναμεν τοῦ τοσούτου πράγματος ἐπιτυχεῖς καὶ τὸ πολίτην εἶναι τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως. Τὸ μέγιστον αὐτίκα κλέος ἔρχεται καὶ περιφανέστατον κἀκ μόνης αὐτῆς ἀκοῆς καὶ τῶν τοσούτων πλεονεκτημάτων τῆς πατρίδος, συμπομπεύει γε ἡμῖν πάντῃ καὶ ὁρωμένοις τε καὶ ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκουομένοις γε μὴν ὁ κάλλιστος αὐτόθεν θρίαμβος· καί, ὥσπερ οἱ μακρὰς κληρονομοῦντες οὐσίας καὶ πατέρων διαδοχὰς ἐπισήμους, κἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἔχοιμεν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἴκοθεν αὐτουργικὸν χρήσιμον, ἀπολαύειν ἔχομεν τῆς πάλαι προτέρας περιλάμπρου παρασκευῆς καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς μακάριοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ ζηλωτοὶ τῆς ξυντυχίας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος· καὶ νομίζεται θεία τις ἡμῖν μοῖρα τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ ἡ λαμπρότης τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ· καὶ τὴν τύχην γὰρ ταύτην παλαιαὶ πρότερον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνδραγαθίαι παρεσκεύασαν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ προήγαγον καὶ μέγισται καὶ πολυώνυμοι τῶν ἁπασῶν ἄλλων ὁμοῦ πράξεις καὶ συντέλειαι τῶν οἰκησάντων εἰς τοσοῦτο δὴ διεδέξαντο πάντοθεν καὶ συνεσκεύασαν καὶ κατεστήσαντο· καὶ μακρὸς ἐκεῖθεν ὁ πορισθὴς τοῦ κλέους τῇ πόλει χρόνος καὶ συνεχὴς περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα.

83. Καὶ ἔγωγ' ἐσκοπούμην καὶ οἷός τ' ἦν τῶν λόγων ἀρχόμενος εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγάλων (f.285^{v})καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων πράξεων, ἃς οἱ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἐξαρχῆς οἰκήσαντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες εἰς τὸν βίον ἐπεδείξαντο λαμπροὶ λαμπρῶς τε καὶ γεννικῶς καὶ τῆς πάντα μεγίστης τῆσδε πόλεως ἀξίως μάλισθ', ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, προσέχων εὖ μάλα τὸν νοῦν διαλαβεῖν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τουτὶ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐνθάδε τῇ πόλει

πρὸς τὸν ὅλον σκοπὸν ἐξαρχῆς τῶν λόγων ἐφορῶντι καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως ἁπάντων [καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως ἁπάντων][264], ὡς ἄν τῳ δόξαι, τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀντίῤῥοπον καὶ ἀντιτιμώμενον δικαίως ἄν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὖργον τόδε παντὸς ἄλλου μᾶλλον δυσχερέστατον καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐπίπαν ἀνέφικτον πειρᾶσθαι καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνισμα καὶ πρόθεσις ἂν εἴη κατεσπουδασμένη συντάξεων καὶ ἱστοριῶν καὶ βίβλων, ὡς ἄρα δὴ καὶ πολλοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐπονήθη συγγράμματα, τοῖς μὲν τά, τοῖς δὲ τά, πάντως δὲ ἄλλοις ἄλλα τὸ μέρος καὶ οὐ πᾶσιν ἅπαντα, ὅτι μὴ δ' οἷόν τε, καὶ ἅμα τοσοῦτο μῆκος ἤδη τῶν παρόντων ἐξήκει λόγων, καὶ δέοι ἂν ἴσως τοῦ λοιποῦ φείδεσθαι πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀμέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τρίβειν καὶ τῶν χρόνων ἐξαρχῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἔξω λόγου παντάπασιν ἀφέμενος. Τοσοῦτό μοι δοκῶ νῦν γε εἶναι περὶ τούτων ἐνταῦθα προσθεῖναι καί, καθ' ὅσον ἔξεστιν, ἔμβραχύ γ' ἐρεῖν ὅτι δῆτ' ἄρα τὴν πόλιν ταύτην συνῴκησαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἰς δεῦρο νῦν ἐκεῖνοι Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες, ὡς ἔφην, οἱ καταστησάμενοι σφίσιν ὑπὸ χεῖρα πᾶσαν ὅσην οἰκεῖν ἔλαχον ἀτεχνῶς ἄνθρωποι· καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἐπώνυμοι καὶ πολῖται τῆς πόλεως, οἱ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπώνυμοί τε καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ κτῆμα κύκλῳ πᾶσαν παραστησάμενοι τὴν γῆν, ὡς ἄλλοις ἄλλων ὠντινωνοῦν πόλεων τροφίμοις ἔχει τὰ περίοικα σφίσιν ἔγγιστα ἄστη τε καὶ χῶραι[265].

84. Καὶ μὴν ὅστις ἂν οὐ ξυλλογίζοιτο λοιπὸν (f.286[r])ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοσοῦτον ὅπως ἄρ' ἐκεῖνοι κατεπράξαντ' ἔργον, οὐ πώποτ' ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν πρότερον γεγονὸς τοσοῦτο δὴ μὴ δ' ἔχον ὅλως παράδειγμα καὶ μεθ' ὅσων τῶν ἀγώνων τε καὶ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτίμου προθέσεως καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ τῶν γε κινδύνων ἑκάστοθ' ὅσων συνεσκευάσθη πρᾶγμα

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[264] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως ἁπάντων seclusi
[265] χώρα V

τοσοῦτο καὶ τοσαύτη τις ὑπόθεσις εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ πραγματεία καὶ δι' ὅσων ἤρθη τῶν ἀπὸ πάντων ἐθνῶν καὶ πάσης καθόλου τῆς γῆς τροπαίων τοσοῦτο φρόνημα τῇ πόλει καὶ μέγεθος ἀρχῆς καὶ ὄγκος, ὅστις ἂν οὖν ἄρα ταῦτα μὴ καλῶς ἔπειτα συλλογίζοιθ', ὡς ἔφην, καὶ κατὰ νοῦν περαίνοι βλέπων εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀπορῶ σαφῶς ἔγωγε λοιπὸν καὶ κομιδῇ θαυμάσαιμ' ἂν τίς οὕτω δυστυχὴς ἂν εἴη. Καὶ πόῤῥω τῶν εἰκότων αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως καὶ πόῤῥω τῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖνοι τὴν πόλιν ᾤκησαν ταύτην καὶ συνῴκισαν ἐκ μικρᾶς μεγίστην καὶ προῆγον ἑξῆς ἀεί, εἰς ὅσον ἔτ' ἦν μῆκος πλέον, οὐ χωροῦσαν, ἔοικε, τοσοῦτο μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας, οἱ τῇ μεγάλῃ χρησάμενοι τύχῃ καὶ τῷ ταύτης κράτει κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς γῆς ἁπάσης ὑπερσχεῖν τε καὶ ὑποποιήσασθαι· ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὥσπερ ἓν θέατρον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑποθέμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους κατ' ἔθνη τε καὶ γένη πάντα καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ καθ' ὁμοῦ πλείστους ἔστιν οὗ, καθαπερεί τινας συνάθλους καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ θεάτρου σφίσιν ἀνεστηκότας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄθλους ἀποδυομένους, καὶ τὴν κατὰ[266] πάντων αὐτοὶ νίκην ἀράμενοι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ[267] πάντων κηρύγματα. Καὶ θεσμοθέτης ὁ τοσοῦτος χρόνος ἀεὶ τὰς αὐτὰς φέρων ψήφους καὶ τῶν ἄθλων αὐτοῖς νομεὺς καὶ τῶν συμβόλων τῆς νίκης ἑλλανοδίκης συμπεραίνων καὶ συγκαταδημιουργῶν σφίσιν ἔργ' ἀμίμητα· καὶ οὐδὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐνταῦθα οὐ Κελτῶν (f.286^{v})καὶ Κελτιβήρων καὶ Γαλατῶν ὁπλισμοὶ καὶ φρονήματα μέγιστα καὶ πολλῆς ἰταμότητος καὶ ἀγερωχίας, οὐ Σκυθῶν τάχος, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίων σοφία, οὐχ Ἑλλήνων χρόνοις μακροῖς ἔθιμος ἐλευθερία, οὐ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἐφορώμενον. Ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἀρχῆς περίβολος καὶ τὸ μέγα

[266] ἀπὸ V
[267] κατὰ V

στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑποσημαῖνον[268] τὰ τῶν πρακτέων συνθήματα, ἐκείνων αἱ Βρεττανικαὶ νῆσοι, τὰ πρῶτα τῆς Εὐρώπης αὐτίκα καὶ πᾶσα λοιπὸν ἑξῆς Εὐρώπη συνεχὴς εἰς αὐτὸν Εὔξεινον καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν πόντον θαύματα καὶ Μαιῶτις καὶ Τάναϊς ἄνω πρὸς βορρὰν καὶ Καυκάσου περίοδοι καὶ Βακτρίων ὅροι καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ἄραβες[269] εἰς νότον καὶ κλέος ἀρχαῖον Αἰγύπτου καὶ γῆς ἀρετὴ καὶ πολυφορία ἴσα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἱ πρόσοικοι ἀγροὶ τῇδε προσήκουσα τῇ πόλει, καὶ Λιβύης ἔπειθ' ἑξῆς ὅσον ἥμερον ἀνθρώποις καὶ χρήσιμον εἰς αὐτοὺς Γαδείρων πορθμούς, καὶ θάλασσα λοιπὸν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ὅλης καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλος τις ποταμὸς διὰ μέσου ῥέων χώρας ἡστινοσοῦν κἀκείνῃ προσήκων[270]· καὶ τί ἂν ἔτι πράγματ' ἔχοιμι κάμνων ἀπέρανθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἃ φυγεῖν προὐθέμην καὶ παρελθεῖν ἑκὼν ἔπειθ' αὖθις ἢ καὶ ἄκων ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ὡς ἔοικε, τινὸς τρίβων περὶ ταῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύτων[271], οὔκουν γε καὶ ὁ,τιοῦν πρὸς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων δίκαιον; Καί μοι δοκῶ καταπαύειν τοιγαροῦν περὶ τούτων, ἐκεῖνο δὲ καθόλου λέγειν ἔχομεν, ὡς ἄρα τὰ μὲν τῆς κοσμικῆς τῇ πόλει λαμπρότητος τοιαῦτα. Οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν ἐρεῖν οὔθ' ὅσα ταῦτα δὴ πάντα οὔθ' ὅλως οἷα παντάπασιν, οἶμαι μὲν οὖν, οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν ἀξίως λόγου, πλὴν ὅτι τὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων μέγιστα καὶ πολλῷ γε προφέροντα καὶ παραβάλλειν ἀμηγέπῃ (f.287[r])τἄλλ' οὐ λείπεται προδήλως, εἰ μή τις μαίνοιτο.

85. Ἃ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἀμέλει μοίρας, ὅσα θειότερα, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κατ' Αὐτὸν εὐσεβείας αὐτῇ φέρει δόξαν, οἷα δὴ κάλλιστ' αὐτῇ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πρῶτα καὶ πολλῷ γε μὴν εἰς λαμπρότητα ταῦτα μείζω τῶν εἰρημένων. Δοκεῖ

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[268] ὑποσημαίνων V
[269] Ἀῤῥαβες V
[270] προσήκων V[pc] : προσῆκον V[ac]
[271] ἀνύττων V

γὰρ δὴ συγκεκληρῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἡ πόλις εὐσεβείᾳ τὸ ἐξαρχῆς εἰς νῦν πάντα διὰ πάντων καὶ ὅλως αὕτη γ' ἐκεῖθεν ἤρτηται καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οὐσίωται· καὶ φθάνει πρότερον εἰρηκὼς ὁ λόγος ὡς ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὕτη νῦν γε πηγάζει νόμιμα πίστεως καὶ δογμάτων θεοσεβείας συνθήματα καὶ πρόγραμμα τῆς πίστεως ἐξ ὑψηλῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπέρκειται πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὡς ἂν ταύτῃ γε ὁρᾶν καὶ προσέχειν εὖ μάλα καὶ τυποῦσθαι λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν· καὶ τὸ παρεγγράφειν καὶ παραχαράττειν ὁ,τιοῦν ἢ χαράττεσθαι ὁπηοῦν ἔξω τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ὅρων καὶ μέτρων κάκιστ' ἄνισόν τε καὶ νοσῶδες καὶ ὁ μέγιστος αὐτίκα κίνδυνος, χρῆναι δ' ἀκλινῶς παντάπασιν ἕπεσθαι καὶ προσομοιοῦσθαι, καθάπερ αἱ σκιαὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ἔχουσι καὶ ταῖς ἀνεχούσαις ἐπὶ γῆς στήλαις· καὶ μόνη γὰρ τοὺς τῶν πάντων καλῶν ἔχει κατὰ φύσιν ἄνωθεν ἀεὶ κανόνας ἑστῶτας καὶ μένοντας καὶ ἀτρέπτους καὶ ἀποιήτους ἀεί· καὶ μόνη τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἐξαρχῆς αὐτὴ σπόρους ἀνοθεύτους τε καὶ καθαροὺς καὶ ὑγιαίνοντας δεξαμένη καὶ παμφόρους μὲν οὖν καὶ πολυφόρους γεωργεῖ πᾶσι τροφὴν ἑτοίμην[272] τε καὶ χρησίμην· καὶ μόνη τὰ κειμήλια τῆς θεοσεβείας παρακαταθήκην τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν ὑποδεξαμένη καὶ ταμιεύουσα[273] πιστὴ ταῦτ' ἀζήμια κομιδῇ συντηρεῖ. Καὶ οὐ συντηρεῖ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταδιδοῦσα (f.287^{v})ῥᾷστα καὶ φιλανθρώπως τε καὶ μεγαλοψύχως τοῖς ἑκάστοτ' ἐν χρείᾳ ἡ δὲ πᾶσι πάντοτ' ἀρκεῖ καὶ μάλ' ἀδάπανος καὶ μάλ' ἐκφέρουσα καὶ προτιθεῖσα πᾶσι τοὺς θησαυρούς[274]· καὶ ὅλως ἀκένωτός ἐστιν εἰς τοῦτο χάρις αὕτη παντὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπία τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον βρύουσα κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα

[272] ἑτοίμην V^{pc} : ἕτοιμόν V^{ac}
[273] ταμειεύουσα V
[274] ras. post θησαυροὺς V

καλλίστη καὶ εἰλικρινὴς[275] καὶ ἀμείωτος τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὐσίωται τοῦθ', ὡς ἔφην, καὶ συγκεκλήρωται τὸ ἐξαρχῆς τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν πίστει. Καὶ ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι διδάσκαλος μὲν καὶ ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῇ τῶν προτέρων δογμάτων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστεως ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν τε καὶ ἀποστόλων ἀκροατὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πρῶτος κληθεὶς ἐπόπτης τε καὶ ἐπιγνώμων τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος, Ἀνδρέας ἐκεῖνος, οὗ τὰ μέγιστα θαύματα καὶ διδάγματα καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης περίοδοι τῆς πόλεως ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμεναι καὶ οὐ κατὰ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς μόνον εὐγενείας ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ κατὰ <τῆς>[276] βαρβαρικῆς ἀλογίας τε καὶ θηριώδους ἐθίμου πρότερον ἀεὶ βιοτῆς πλείστων ἰταμωτάτων ἐθνῶν χορηγήσασαι τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ καταβαλοῦσαι τὰ θεῖα τῆς πίστεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ σπέρματα καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῷ πανσπερμίαν ἀνθρώπων εὐφορώτατα γεωργήσασαι.

86. Καὶ διδάσκαλος μὲν οὗτος ἐνταῦθα καὶ πρῶτος τῆς εὐσεβείας νομεύς, δημιουργὸς δὲ πάλιν καὶ γεννήτωρ τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς πόλεως τοῦδε σώματος καὶ ὀνόματος καὶ πράγματος ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρῶτος εὑρετής τε καὶ πολιστὴς καὶ οἰκονόμος καὶ χορηγὸς τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν μεγαλοδοξίας τε καὶ ἀξίας, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ βασιλέων χριστιανὸς καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τρόφιμος καὶ ταύτῃ συναυξηθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν σπουδῇ πάσῃ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ γε πάσῃ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φέρων αὐτὸς ἑκών γε εἶναι καθυποτάξας καὶ ὑποθέμενος τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ δουλώσας ἐν πράγμασι πᾶσι καὶ προγράμμασι πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κλήρῳ πάσῃ γνώμῃ καὶ μηχανῇ (f.288[r])καὶ χειρὶ μὲν οὖν παρασχὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε καὶ διὰ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης καὶ τὴν μεγίστην καὶ πρώτην παῤῥησίαν καὶ τὸ κράτος

[275] καλλίστη καὶ εἰλικρινὴς V[pc] : κάλλιστα καὶ εἰλικρινῶς V[ac]
[276] τῆς addidi

παντὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ πράξας εὖ μάλα μεγαλοψύχως καὶ ἀνδρικῶς τῷδε τῷ συστήματι· καὶ μὴν μόνος αὐτὸς ἅγιος ἐκρίθη τῶν πάντων βασιλέων καὶ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ὄντως μεγίστης ἔλαχεν ἀξίας ταυτησί, οὗ πόλις ἥδ' ἐπώνυμος· καὶ μόνος εἷς οὐκ ἐκ βασιλέων μόνον - ἐνταῦθα προσθεῖναι λοιπὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν - ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἁγίων <ἐν>[277] ἀποστόλοις ἀριθμεῖται αὐτὸς οὗτοσὶ καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἅγιος καὶ <ἐν>[278] τοῖς πρώτοις τοῖσδε καταλόγοις, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιλέκτοις ὀλίγοις, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀνηρημένοις καί, ὡς ἂν οὕτωσί γ' ἐρεῖν, τοῖς ἐν τέλει τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ πάντων δεσπότου κατατάττεται Χριστοῦ· καὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτ' εὐδαιμονεῖ μόνος καὶ κηρύττεται καὶ ὄνομα καὶ πρᾶγμα· καὶ τἆλλα πρὸς ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀξίαν παραβάλλειν ὁμοῦ τὰ μέγιστα πάντα παντάπασι φαῦλα καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια· κἀκεῖθεν ἄρ' ἄτρεπτα τὰ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα κρατεῖ καὶ τιμᾶται τῇ βασιλικῇ ταύτῃ πόλει καὶ τὴν πόλιν τιμᾷ μάλιστ', ἐξ οὗ καὶ γέγονεν.

87. Οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ θρησκείαν τιν' ἑτέραν ἀντὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ σέβας ἀλλότριον ἠλλάξατο οὐδ' ἄλλην ἀντίτεχνον ἠμείψατο πίστιν ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ τῷδε κόσμῳ μεγίστων τε καὶ ὠνομασμένων[279] γε μὴν ἐξαρχῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Χριστοῦ πίστει. Ἀλλ' ἵσταταί οἱ καὶ μένει βέβαια τὰ θεμέλια τῆς πρώτης αὐτῇ πήξεως μετὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ συστάσεως καὶ ἤδρασται καλῶς γε ἄσειστα καὶ ἀζήμια τὸν αἰῶνα πάντα, πάσης τῶν ἄλλων δυσσεβείας ἐπικρατούσης. Καὶ μόνος Ἰουλιανός, ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκεῖνος βασιλεὺς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἁλιτήριος, τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείας (f.288^{v})ἀποστάτης, αὐτίκα κακὸς κακῶς ἀπαλλάττει τάχισθ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πρότερόν τε καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτόν, ὠστρακισμένος ἐπιμήκιστον ἐν

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[277] ἐν addidi
[278] ἐν addidi

Πέρσαις δοῦναι τὴν δίκην τῆς τόλμης καὶ τοῦ θράσους κατὰ τῆς πίστεως ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀθλίαν καὶ ἄτιμον ἀποδοῦναι τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, περιφανὴς τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν κακίαν μόνος ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ περιφανὴς μόνος ἐκ βασιλέων τὴν αἰσχίστην ταυτηνὶ καὶ ἀσχήμονα τῆς ζωῆς κατάλυσιν καὶ κάκιστα συμπεράνας τὸ δρᾶμα τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγου τοῦ χρόνου σκηνήν. Οὐ γὰρ ἠνέσχεθ᾽ ἡ πόλις ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς χρόνιον τὸν αὐτῆς ἀλλότριον καὶ ἀνάξιον· καὶ ἔοικεν ἀτεχνῶς μέγιστον ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦτο θεοσεβείας αὐτῇ σύμβολον καὶ ὧν ἐρᾷ μάλιστα καὶ οἷς ἐρᾷ ξυνεῖναι καὶ τρίβειν ἐπιπλεῖστον καὶ ὧν εἶναί τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ πόλις ἀξιοῖ καὶ οἷς οὐ πέφυκε κοινωνεῖν τε καὶ ξυλλαγχάνειν οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν αὐτῇ κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον καὶ ὁ,τιοῦν συγγενές· ἡ κακίστη τυραννὶς αὕτη καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν εὐσεβείας ταχίστη λυομένη καὶ πρὶν ἢ καὶ σημῆναι σχεδὸν καὶ ὅ,τι ποῤῥωτάτω γε αὐτῆς καὶ κάκιστ᾽ ἀπαλλάττουσα καὶ πάντων αἴσχιστα. Οὕτω δὴ τά τε πρῶτα καὶ τὰ ᾽ξ αὐτῆς ἀμέλει πλεῖσθ᾽ ὅσα δὴ λοιπὸν ἔτη συνεχῆ ἡ πόλις ἀκμάζει καὶ σύνεστι καὶ συμπέφυκε τῇ πίστει Χριστοῦ.

88. Αἱ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐκεῖναι πλεῖσται περιφανεῖς ἄλλαι καὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ᾽νθρώπινα πράγματα ἠλλάξαντό γε μὴν αὗται τῆς τύχης οὐ μόνον τὸ κράτος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καί τινι μεταξὺ συνεκληρώθησαν δαίμονι πονηρῷ, αἱ μὲν ὅσον καὶ τραπῆναί γε τὰ βελτίω χρόνοις ὕστερον αὖθις καὶ τέως ἀμείψασαι τὴν εὐπραγίαν τῆς πίστεως εἶτ᾽ ἐπανελθεῖν ὅμως μετὰ τὴν δυστυχίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτῇ, αἱ δὲ καὶ διόλου τοῖς κακίστοις νοσοῦσαι καὶ προσταλαιπωροῦσαι (f.289[r])καὶ κατακεχωσμέναι καὶ χρώμεναι κάκιστα σὺν αἰσχύνῃ μεγίστῃ καὶ ἀηδίᾳ καὶ ὕβρει μεγίστῃ· καὶ αὖθις αἱ μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἢ τὰ Χριστοῦ κατὰ γῆς ἀναλάμψαι κράτη τοῖς φαύλοις ἀνθοῦσαι καὶ πόῤῥω τοι

[279] καὶ ὠνομασμένων iter. V

τῶν χρόνων προανθήσασαι, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡ πόλις τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐθὺς παῤῥησίᾳ συμπροελθοῦσα καὶ συνεκλάμψασα· αἱ δέ, κἂν μὴ πρότερον τοῦθ' ὅσον εἴρηται, μετὰ τὴν τέως εὐγένειαν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστιν καὶ πρόοδον καὶ πολιτείας ἀκμὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἔπειτα πονηρᾷ χρησάμεναι ξυντυχίᾳ καὶ τροπῇ τῶν βελτίστων, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡ πόλις διαπαντὸς θριαμβεύουσα μετὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεοσεβείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαμπρὰ λαμπρῶς καὶ περιφανέστατα κατὰ παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ κατὰ παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ χρόνου. Οὔκουν γε μετέλαβεν ὅλως βωμοὺς δαιμόνων ἀντὶ τῶν θυσιαστηρίων Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς πανάγνου θυσίας καὶ τοῦ παντίμου καλλιερήματος, οὐδ' ἐναγεῖς τραπέζας καὶ θηριωδίαν εἰς αἱμάτων ἑτοιμότητα καὶ σφαγῶν καὶ κατὰ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐπανάστασιν ἀνῄρηται καὶ μάχην ἀντὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ φιλανθρώπου τραπέζης καὶ τρυφῆς ἀῤῥήτου καὶ πολυεράστου τοῖς γε πεπειραμένοις κάλλιστ' ἐν συναισθήσει· οὐδὲ πῦρ ἀνήμερον ἔσβεσε τὴν πάνσεμνον αὐτῇ καὶ γαληνὴν δαδουχίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα, οὐδὲ νέα καὶ μυσαρὰ καὶ ἀλλόκοτα θρησκεύματα καὶ περιτομαὶ νέαι [πάλαι καλῶς][280] ἐπὶ καιρῶν καὶ κατηργημέναι πάλαι καλῶς κατέτεμον τὴν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ καθωπλισμένην καὶ κατάφρακτον πάντοθεν ἀπόρθητον αὐτῇ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἕξιν καὶ τῆς ἀσείστου καὶ ἀκλονήτου κατεκράτησαν αὐτῆς πίστεως, ἀλλ' ἀντέχει κάλλιστα γεννικῶς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἀντέχει μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ζῶσα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν.

89. Πέντε μέν γε καθ' ἁπάσης ἄρα τῆς οἰκουμένης πόλεις (f.289^{v})ἡγεμονικαὶ τῆς πάσης τοῦ Χριστοῦ συντάξεως καὶ τοῦ παγκοσμίου κράτους τἀρχαῖον τετάχαται, ἃς οἱ πάλαι πρότερον ἐνόμισαν ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ Χριστοῦ θεσμοθέται τοῦ κηρύγματος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου καὶ προεστήσαντο, οἱ

[280] πάλαι καλῶς seclusi

μεγάλοι καὶ πάντ' ἄριστοι τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῦ θεοσεβείας καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς αὐτοῦ συμπήξεως δημιουργοί, μᾶλλον δ' ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξαίρετοι τῶν ἁπάντων καὶ βουλευταὶ κορυφαῖοι τηνικαῦτα δὴ καὶ νομοθετήσαντες καθ' ἕκαστα τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ ταύτης εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους πολιτεύματα· καὶ δοκοῦσί γε μὴν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πάνυ τοι σοφῶς τουτὶ προνοῆσαί τε καὶ πορίσαι καὶ κατιδεῖν τὸ καθεστὼς πάντῃ καὶ βεβηκὸς καὶ τεταγμένον εἰς τὸ καθάπαξ ἀόριστον οὑτωσὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς συντάγματος ἀνάγοντες ἁρμονίαν καὶ καλλίστην καὶ μουσικὴν ἀλληλουχίαν καὶ διοικησάμενοι πάντα τρόπον τακτοῖς ὅροις τὴν νομὴν σὺν ἄρα παντὶ τῷ δυνατῷ τῆς ἀσφαλείας καί, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀρκούσης τοσούτῳ σώματι μιᾶς τινος ῥίζης ἢ κορυφῆς, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείους σὺν λόγῳ τῷ παντὶ ταύτας εὑράμενοι καὶ ἀποδόμενοι καὶ ταύτας γε μὴν εἰς ὀλίγον, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν, ἀνατεμόντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάνθ', ὡς ἔφην, τρόπον τἀσφαλὲς προνοοῦντες καὶ τεταγμένον· καὶ ἦσάν γε λοιπὸν αὗται πόλεις ἐξ ἐκείνου ταξιαρχοῦσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἅπασαν τῆς πίστεως ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι καὶ ταῖς καταμέρος ἑκάσταις ἑκάστων ἐκκλησίαις καὶ δεσμός τις αὖθις εἷς οὗτος πάντοθεν ἄῤῥηκτός τε καὶ ἄσειστος ἐπίπαν καὶ ἀπόρθητος πάσης ἐπιθέσεως καὶ κακουργίας καὶ προσβολῆς καὶ κάλλισθ' οὕτω δὴ ταυτὶ νόμιμα καὶ θεσμὸς οὗτος τῆς ἀγωγῆς. Καὶ ἦσάν γε μὴν ἐκεῖναι λοιπὸν τὸν ἀεὶ πρότερον χρόνον, εἰ μὲν βούλεταί τις, μητροπόλεις τῆς ὅλης πίστεως καὶ βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ διανειμάμεναι τὴν διοίκησιν τακτοῖς ὅροις, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ μέτροις, αὕτη μὲν ἐκεῖνα μέρη τῆς (f.290^{r})ἐπιστασίας, αὕτη δ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἄλλ' ἄλλη, τὰ δὲ πάνθ' αἱ πᾶσαι κλείουσαι, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ὅρων ἑκάστων ἐκτὸς ἐλείφθη· εἰ δὲ βούλεταί τις, ἀκροπόλεις ὡσανεὶ τῆς πάσης εὐσεβείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς πάσης ἡγεμονίας τὰ ξυλλαχόντα μέρη κατακοσμοῦσαί τε καὶ κατασφαλιζόμεναι πρὸς τὸ καλοῦν ἑκάστοτε τοῦ

καιροῦ καὶ τὴν χρείαν ἢ πρυτανεῖα τῆς πίστεως, τῆς νομῆς καὶ τῆς χορηγίας καταλογιζομένης ἐντεῦθεν, ὡς κατὰ φύσιν ἑκάστοις ἦν διαφέρον τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα· ἢ τῶν θησαυρῶν ταμεῖα καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τῆς ἀληθείας φυλακὴ καὶ χειμώνων πρόβολοι πάντων, μᾶλλον δὲ πλοῦ παντός, τοῖς κατ᾽ αὐτὰς σκάφεσιν ἐκ πρυμνῶν ἐντεῦθεν οἰάκων ἐπιστασία, ὡς ἄρα δέοι κατιθύνειν τὴν εὔπλοιαν καὶ ἅμα μὲν διοικεῖν οὖρον, ἅμα δ᾽ ἀντίπνοιαν καὶ ναυαγίαν ἔστιν οὗ καὶ ὅτε δή.

90. Αὗται μέν γε πόλεις, αἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοὺς οἴακας ἀνηρημέναι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐπίλεκτοι καὶ πρωτεύουσαι πασῶν ἐπὶ καιρῶν δή τινων, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς εὐπλοήσασαι, μέσῳ λοιπὸν ἔπειτ᾽ αὐτῷ πλῷ κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν καὶ κατεναυάγησαν οὐ τὴν τύχην μόνον καὶ τὸ τοσοῦτο κράτος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτήν· καὶ κατέστρεψαν ἐλεεινῶς κομιδῇ καὶ ὡς ἂν δακρύων ἀξίως οὐ τὰ θεῖα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τἀνθρώπινα πράγματα σχεδὸν αἱ πᾶσαι, αἱ μὲν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς ἀσεβείας τοσοῦτο μόνον διαρκοῦσαι, ὅσον[281] καὶ τὸ ζῆν αὐτό, δυστυχεῖν καὶ λειφθῆναι πράττειν ἀθλίως, καὶ τυραννεῖα τῆς ἀσεβείας ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων κόσμων καὶ τῆς περιλάμπρου θεοσεβείας ἀλλάξασαι καὶ μυσαρῶν καὶ ἀλλοκότων δογμάτων τρόπαιον ἐφ᾽ ἑαυταῖς καὶ νίκης κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας πομπήν, αἱ δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκλιποῦσαι αὐταῖς ἡγεμονικαῖς ἀξίαις τῆς πίστεως, αὐταῖς κοσμικαῖς, αἷς ξυνέλαχον, λαμπρότησιν ἐρειπίοις μόνοις καὶ σαθροῖς ἐφο(f.290ᵛ)ρωμένοις λειψάνοις καὶ παλαιᾷ μνήμῃ καὶ βίβλοις τὴν παλαιὰν εὐετηρίαν τοὺς πολλοὺς πείθουσαι. Ἀλλ᾽ ἡ γε καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς αὕτη δὴ μεγαλόπολις - σὺν Θεῷ δ᾽ ὁ λόγος, καὶ φθόνος ἐῤῥέτω, πᾶς τῶν καλῶν ἀλιτήριος καὶ παλαμναῖος δαίμων - αὕτη γε μὴν ἐπαρκεῖ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τῷ παντὶ βίῳ λαμπρὰ λαμπρῶς καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν

ἐπήρειαν καὶ μηχανὴν καὶ κακόνοιαν καὶ κατεπιχείρησιν τοῦ κράτους αὐτῆς κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ θεῖα μάλιστα πράγματα κρατίστη καὶ πάντων ἀθῷός τε καὶ ἄνοσος ἀρκεῖ τε καὶ ἀνθεῖ καὶ ἀκμάζει καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης νῦν μόνη τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτὴ μητρόπολις λείπεται. Καὶ πάντες εἴκουσιν εὖ μάλ᾽ ἑκόντες καὶ προσέχουσιν ὅσοις τοι. Καὶ νοῦς ὑγιὴς καὶ πηγὴ μόνη πᾶσιν αὕτη λοιπὸν ῥέει καὶ ῥίζα μόνη πᾶσιν αὕτη τροφὴν καὶ μονὴν θεοσεβείας καί, καθόλου γ᾽ ἐρεῖν, ζωὴν διαδίδωσι· χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ πρῶτ᾽ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τὴν τέως ἄνοσον τότε τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀγωγῆς εὐεξίαν προτέραν αὐτὴν μάλιστ᾽ ἔχειν τὰ πρωτεῖ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀφθαλμὸν εἶναι καὶ καλλιστεῖον ἀπὸ πάντων ἐξαίρετον καὶ τῷ παντὶ διαλάμπον καὶ προέχον ἀναμφηρίστως συστήματι οὕτω δὴ τά τε παλαιὰ πρότερον ἐκεῖνα τῆς εὐσεβείας τῇ πόλει, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰ νέα ἔτι.

91. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἑπτὰ μὲν γενικαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι συντάξεις καὶ ὁπλισμοὶ καὶ συνασπισμοὶ τῆς πίστεως καὶ παρατάξεις, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μυριάριθμοι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ πάσης συνῆλθον ἐν ἄλλοτ᾽ ἄλλοις τοῖς καιροῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας καὶ θεοσεβείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ προὔστησαν ταύτης εὖ μάλα στερρῶς καὶ τὸν κοινὸν αὐτῆς θεσμὸν περιεποιήσαντο καὶ ἥμυναν ἀπόρθητον παντάπασι καὶ ἄνοσον τηρήσαντες καὶ κατεκρατύναντο καὶ τἀντίπαλον ἅπαν καὶ δυσνοϊκὸν κακοὺς κακῶς εἰργάσαντο προώλεις τε (f.291[r])καὶ πανώλεις ἐκ μέσου ποιησάμενοι καὶ ῥᾷστα δὴ καθάπαξ συγκαταφθείραντες τοὺς ἀλάστορας τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἀλιτηρίους ἐκείνους καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ πλὴν ἢ ὅσοις τοι καὶ περιεποιήσαντο νοῦν σωφρονικόν τε καὶ μεταμέλειαν καὶ μετάνοιαν ἔπειθ᾽ ὕστερον τῶν βελτίστων ἐπιμηθείᾳ τυχοῦσιν ὧν ἐχρῆν καὶ προϊδέσθαι καὶ καθάπαξ ἀτρέπτως ἔχεσθαι, κἄθ᾽ οὕτω

[281] ὅσῳ V

λοιπὸν περιεποιήσαντο σφᾶς ταπεινοὺς εὐγνώμονάς τε καὶ τῶν συνοισόντων ἐπιγνώμονας προσχωρήσαντας κάλλισθ' ὑπὸ χεῖρας τῷ κοινῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀριθμήσαντες καὶ συντάξαντες τοῖς αὐτῆς πληρώμασιν ἀνόσους τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ ἴσους καὶ συμφυεῖς. Τούτων μέν γε τῶν εἰρημένων ἑπτὰ παρατάξεων καὶ καθόλου γεννικῶν συνόδων καὶ τῆς κοινῆς πανστρατιᾶς τῆς πίστεως ἄλλοτε μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις ἔνιαι τῶν μεγίστων καταμέρος διενείμαντο τοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀγῶνας ὡσπερεὶ στρατόπεδα τῆς ἐνστάσεως καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν τῶνδ' ἀξιόλογά τε καὶ διαρκῆ καταστᾶσαι καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδ' ἐπικαίρως ἀξιόμαχα καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ· καὶ τὴν ὅλην τῆς μάχης ἀκμὴν καὶ τῶν τροπαίων αὖται τὴν λαμπρότητ' ἔπειθ' ὕστερον ἐδέξαντο κατ' ἐπιλογὴν πολλῶν ἀπὸ πασῶν τἀξίωμα τοῦτο κάλλιστ' ἀνῃρημέναι.

92. Ἡ δ' ἄρα μεγαλόπολις αὕτη καὶ μεγαλουργὸς ἀεὶ καὶ πολυαρκεστάτη καὶ διὰ πάντων γε δὴ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ διὰ πάντων γε τῶν καλλίστων πρέπουσ' ἐπιτυχής, ὥσπερ ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις, πλεονεκτεῖ καὶ περιουσιάζει καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ κράτιστα μόνη φέρεται πασῶν· κἀνταῦθα δείκνυσι τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ παρὰ πάντων ξυγκεχωρηκὸς καὶ τὸ διαρκὲς ὑπερφυὲς οἷον ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἐν πᾶσι πράγμασι, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς τῶν ἑπτὰ μόνη δῆτ' αὐτὴ κληροῦται πάντα δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς δεσποτικῆς καὶ θεϊκῆς τριάδος χωρίον ἐξαίρετον ἀποδεδειγμένη (f.291^{v})καὶ κτῆμα τιμώμενον πᾶσι τρόποις καὶ τιμᾶσθαι σπουδάζον ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀμέλει τῆς δεσποτικῆς φιλανθρωπίας. Οὔκουν γε ἄλλη τις καὶ ἡτισοῦν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀμέλει τοῖς χρόνοις ταῖς μεγίσταις ταύταις ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ νομαῖς τοσούτων λαγχάνει τῶν ψήφων οὐδὲ τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦται. Ἀλλ' αὕτη δὴ μόνη τῶν εἰρημένων τοσούτων τὰς τρεῖς ἀπολαβοῦσα, τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ σχεδὸν ἥμισυ παραβραχύ, τὰς λοιπὰς ἔπειτ' ἀπολείπει καὶ

ξυγχωρεῖ ταῖς ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης συμψήφοις καὶ συνεπιλέκτοις, πάντως καλλίσταις τε καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου πράγματος ἱκαναῖς· καὶ μὴν ἔξεστί γε ἐρεῖν ἐνταῦθα μετ᾽ ἀληθείας ἁπάσης καὶ προσθεῖναι ὡς ἄρα καὶ ταύτης[282] τῆς πόλεως ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν κράτους καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐν πᾶσι πράγμασι θείοις τε καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἀνθρώπινα τῆς ἐπιλογῆς ταύτης καὶ δοκιμασίας ἡ προηγορία, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ[283] κῦρος αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῆς αἱρέσεως δόγμα, τῆς ἀξίας ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας τυχεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δέξασθαι τὰς περιφανεῖς ἐκείνας συνελεύσεις τῶν λογάδων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ συναυλίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν νομίμων τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστεως καὶ ὥστε καταβαλεῖν τἀλλότριον ἅπαν αὐτὰς καὶ νόθον καὶ κακουργικὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καθάπερ ἀντὶ τροπαίου τῆς νίκης καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων, ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ πάσης ἀνακηρυττομένας τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ σφόδρ᾽ ἐπιφανῶς, ὡς εἰπεῖν, δεικνυμένας ἢ προδεικνύσας αὐτάς, ὥσπερ τινὰς ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ ἀπόπτους καὶ περιόπτους στήλας κατὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χρόνου παντός, ἀνάγραπτα πᾶσι τὰ συνθήματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ οἷς δέοι ἂν ἕπεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν ἅπαντας καὶ χρῆσθαι τοὺς τῆς χριστιανικῆς γνώμης καὶ πίστεως τροφίμους προγράμμασιν εὐνομίας παντελείοις τοῦ καλοῦ.

93. Καὶ μὴν ἔτι γε (f.292^{r})προσθεῖναι τούτοις ἔξεστιν ὡς καὶ ταύτας ἄρα τὰς πόλεις εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξῄρηται κράτος καὶ ἡ νομίζουσα τὰ πάντ᾽ ἐξουσία προϊδομένη σαφῶς καὶ προνοήσασα τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην τὰς ἔγγιστ᾽ αὐτῆς, ὡς οἷόν τ᾽ ἦν, ὡς ἂν δὴ καὶ ταύταις ἐμπνέοι λοιπὸν ἐξ ὑπογυίου τελεσφόρον τε τῶν βελτίστων καὶ συνεκτικὸν κράτος καὶ χεῖρα διδοίη προχειροτάτην, ὡς εἰπεῖν,

[282] ταύταις V
[283] τὸ V^{sl}

καὶ ταχίστην καὶ χειραγωγοίη[284] μέν, ἐνισχύοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν εὕρεσιν καὶ κατάστασιν ἄσειστον τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν δογμάτων τῆς πίστεως. Τοιγαροῦν αὕτη τῶν χρησίμων ἁπάντων τῆς τ᾽ Ἐκκλησίας καθόλου καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰς ἀφορμὰς φέρει, νῦν τε δὴ καὶ ἀεὶ πάλαι πρότερον ταύτης τὰ πάντ᾽ ἤρτηται καὶ ταύτης ἔστι τε καὶ εἶναί γε σαφῶς πᾶσι δοκεῖ καὶ σύνοδοί γε δοκοῦσιν ἐκεῖναι καὶ τὰ μεγάλ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔργα καὶ δόγματα καὶ ψηφίσματα καὶ συνόδων οἱ πρῶτοι συντελεῖς καὶ τὰ τέλη γ᾽, ὡς ἐρεῖν, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τοῦ συστήματος· καὶ πάντων αὕτη χορηγός ἐστι καὶ αὕτη γ᾽ ἐπιστάτις καὶ ταμίας διαρκὴς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκάστοτε χρείας καλούσης καὶ βραβευτὴς πᾶσιν αὕτη τὰς σιτομετρίας καὶ τὰ τρόφιμα τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἑτοίμην αὐτόθεν καὶ ἄφθονον μετουσίαν τε καὶ χρῆσιν· καὶ τὴν φιλοπονίαν τῶν καλλίστων αὕτη τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀνῄρηται καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν αὐτουργίαν τελεσιουργὸν ἑκάστων καὶ ἀρτιόχρειον καὶ καθόλου τὴν ὅλην τῆς φορᾶς διοίκησιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ κορυφαῖος αὕτη τῆς τῶν ὅλων μουσικῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ μέλους ἀνακρουόμενος καὶ θεσπιωδῶν ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὑπερτέρων καὶ προκηρύττων καὶ συμπεραίνων ἔπειτ᾽ αὖθις αὐτός· καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐστὶ πράγματα κάλλιστα καὶ κάλλιστ᾽ ὀνόματα πάντα καὶ καλλίστων ἁπάντων φερώνυμός ἐστιν αὕτη· καὶ ὅσοι τῶν αὐτῆς οἰάκων (f.292^{v})ἐπιστάται καὶ ταύτης ἐξαρχῆς ἐπώνυμοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστασίαν, τὰ θεῖα νῦν ἔγωγε λέγω, καὶ τὴν χριστιανικὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

94. Τί τις ἂν ἐρεῖ, πῶς ἂν ἀξίως τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐγενείας; Ποῦ δῆτ᾽ ἄλλη πλείους ἄλλοι; Ποῦ δὴ τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι, ποῦ; Καὶ ποῦ παραπλησίως πάντ᾽ ἄριστοι; Ἐκείνων αἱ μεγάλαι σοφίαι καὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ᾽νθρώπινα, ἐκείνων οἱ θαυμαστοὶ λόγοι καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἡ τελειότης καὶ τῶν διδαγμάτων

[284] χειραγωγοίη V^{pc} : χειραγωγοῖ V^{ac}

οἱ ποταμοὶ τοσοῦτοι πολύκρουνοι καὶ ἀέννaοι τῷ χρόνῳ παντὶ καὶ πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην ἀρδεύοντες ἀεί. Ἐκείνων οἱ περιφανεῖς βίοι καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ζωή, θαῦμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι, καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ τελείας καὶ τελειοποιοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκ τῶν ἔργων κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς βιοτῆς αἱ πίστεις· ἐκείνων τὰ μεγάλα καὶ περίδοξα κλέα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὀνόματα, οἱ Θεολόγοι, φημί, καὶ Χρυσορρήμονες καὶ ἀμφοῖν ἄρα τῶν κλήσεων τὰς ἐργασίας τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἑκάτεροι φερώνυμοι δεικνύντες καὶ ἀμφοῖν ἄρ᾽ ἄξιοι τῶν κλήσεων ἐπώνυμοι δικαίως ἂν ἑκάτεροι· καὶ φθόνος οὐδεὶς ἐν σφίσι τοῖς παραπλησίοις τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπικλήσεως. Ἐκείνους καὶ ζῶντας ἐτίμα καὶ προΐσταθ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἡ πόλις καὶ τελευτῶντας ὡσαύτως· καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῶν σωμάτων ἐγκόλπιον κόσμον φέρει καὶ θησαυροὺς τοὺς τάφους καὶ κειμηλίων ἐντὸς δοχεῖα καὶ χρῆμα μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον οἷον.

95. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν γνησίαν ἄρα ταυτηνὶ φορὰν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε θησαυρίζει τηροῦσα ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐπιδήμους τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων εἰς μέγιστον ὄντως κόσμον καὶ πλοῦτον ἐκ παντὸς ἐπίσπαστον τρόπου καί, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πλεονεκτεῖ πᾶσιν, οὕτω δὴ (f.293^{r})κἀν τούτοις καὶ τῇ περὶ ταῦτα θεοσεβείᾳ τε καὶ φιλοκαλίᾳ· καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνίστησιν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς νεὼς θαυμαστούς τε καὶ μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους, τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τισί, τοὺς δὲ καὶ κοινῇ τισιν ἢ πλείοσι, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνίστησιν ἀγάλματα καὶ γραφικῆς ἔργα· καὶ τὰ ᾽ναθήματα πλεῖστα ξὺν ὥρᾳ μάλιστα καὶ κόσμοις ἅπασι καὶ κάλλεσι καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων ἐνταῦθα χρῆσις ὄντως τιμία καὶ κειμηλίων λαμπρότητες καὶ πρόσεστιν ἡ τέχνη καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐργασίας ἑκάστης ἀρετή· καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνοίγει θέατρα παρὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεωροὺς ἑκάστων καὶ ἱεροπομπίας ἕλκεται πανσέμνους,

οἴκοθέν τε καὶ πάντοθεν ἕλκεται· καὶ βρύει μὲν πάντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ζωῆς ἀνθρώποις αἰτίων, βρύει δὲ νεκρῶν τῶνδε ζωηφόρων αὐτῇ τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις, ὅσοις συναίσθησις· καὶ πηγάζει θαύματα τοῖς τε οἴκοι καὶ πέμπουσ' ἄλλοις ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅσους ἡ κατεπείγουσα χρεί' ἑκάστους δι' εὐχῆς ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἐμπεσούσης αὐτοῖς[285] ἐπηρείας ἐνταῦθα φέρει καὶ ἡ ῥᾴστη μετουσία τῆδε τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ καθάπαξ ἑτοίμη κατὰ πάντων λοιπὸν πομπεύουσα καὶ κροτοῦσα. Οὔκουν γ' ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς οὕτω δυστυχής, ὅστις ἀνήκοος τοσούτου πράγματος καὶ ἀμαθής, οὔτ' ἀδύνατος ἐς τοσοῦτο καὶ ἀνίκανος πειρᾶσθαι ὡς ἂν μὴ δι' εὐχῆς καὶ νοῦ προσδραμεῖν, καὶ τὰ μὲν εὐκταίοις τισὶν ἀναθήμασι, τὰ δὲ καὶ προσλιπαρήσει λογισμῶν μόνον τυχεῖν ὧν σπουδάζει καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτῆς αὐτίκα[286] καὶ ἀπαλλάξασθαι[287] κάλλιστα τοῦ πάθους ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ τἀλέξημα τῆς ἀπάσης συμφορᾶς τάχιστ' ἐπιγνῶναι καὶ τὸ καίριον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν, πῶς ἂν εἴπῃς, καὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας φθάνουσαν.

96. Καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἡ πόλις ἄβυσσος καὶ πάντων φιλανθρώπων πηγὴ καὶ πάντων οἰκονόμος τῶν χρησίμων τῶν εἰς τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον· καὶ οὐχ ὁ,τιοῦν (f.293^{v})ἔπειτ' ἐλλείπει, οὔτ' οὐδὲν τῶν βελτίστων ἄπεστιν ἐνταῦθα[288] καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀφῄρηται ἄνωθεν εὐθὺς ἐξαρχῆς ἐφορῶντι, φημί, πάνθ' ἑξῆς καὶ ὅσα παλαιὰ καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὅσα νέα καὶ προσθῆκαι δεύτεραι τύχης εὐνοίᾳ καὶ χρόνου σοφίσματα συνεχῆ· καὶ τοσαῦτ' ἄρα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα καὶ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ μάλιστα οὔτε πώποτε καὶ νῦν ἡ φύσις ἔδειξεν οὔτε μήποτε δείξει[289], οἷον δὴ λέγω θέσεως εὐκαιρίαν καὶ τόπου κατ' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς

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[285] αὐτοῖς V^{pc} : αὐτῆς V^{ac}
[286] verba καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτῆς αὐτίκα post ἀκμῇ scripta huc transposui
[287] ἀπαλλάξαι V
[288] ἐνταῦθα V^{sl}
[289] δείξῃ V

ἅμια καὶ θαλάττης ἅμια, οἵαν ὑπὲρ ἄλλας ἁπανταχοῦ πάσας καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁπάσας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος παντέλειον τῶν καλῶν καὶ διαρκεστάτην ἐπιτυχῇ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πρώτην καὶ μόνην εὑρημένην αὐτήν· καὶ δευτέραν ἄλλην οἵαν δὴ παραπλησίαν οὔκουν γε δίδωσιν ἡ φύσις πρός τε ὥραν ὑπερβαλλόντως καὶ χρείαν ἅπασαν καὶ πρόνοιαν τοῦ συνοίσοντος, ὅση τε πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν τὴν μεγίστην, ἧς ἡ πόλις σκοπός, καὶ τὸ κοινόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅση πρὸς τὴν εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀγωγῆς τῶν αὐτῆς ἐποίκων· καὶ τὸ καθεστὼς τοῦ βίου πάντοθεν εὐδιοίκητον τῇ φύσει· καὶ ἀέρων ἐνταῦθα φιλανθρωπία καὶ ὡρῶν ξυμβάσεις καὶ χορεῖαι καθάπαξ ἄλυποι καὶ μουσικαὶ καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἐναρμόνιον καὶ περίοδοι κάλλιστα μετ' εἰρήνης ἁπάσης ἁπαντῶσαι καὶ[290] τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιοι καὶ τῶν οἰκούντων καὶ μάχης ἀπηλλαγμέναι πάσης ὡς ἄρα δὴ μὴ δ' ἀκολουθεῖν ἐντεῦθεν, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐνίων ὁρῶμεν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὰς καταπολιορκεῖσθαι καὶ χώραν καὶ πόλιν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἡμερῶν ἐν τῷ μέρει κατ' ἔτος καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον τῆς φύσεως τεταγμένον ἄφυκτόν τε καὶ ἄλυτον τόνδ' ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ὁπλίζεσθαι χρῆναι καί, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἐστίν, ἁπαντᾶν πεφραγμένως καὶ διαφέρειν τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ τὴν ὡραίαν ἀπαραίτητον, ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, συμφορὰν καὶ δυσπραγίαν ἀναγκαίαν.

97. Καὶ μὴν ἑξῆς λέγωμεν[291] γῆς εὐγένειαν καὶ (f.294[r])κράτος εἰσφορὰν πᾶσαν καὶ πλείστην ὅσην εὐτονίαν καὶ ἀκμὴν εἰς εὐτοκίαν πᾶσαν καὶ θάλατταν τῇδε φιλανθρωποτάτην τήνδε ἢ κατὰ πάνθ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, αὐτῆς μέρη· καὶ ἄφθονα τὰ 'ξ αὐτῆς ἀγαθὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ ἄπονα μὲν οὖν παντάπασιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἑκόντων τε καὶ ἀκόντων τῶν δεχομένων ἀπραγματεύτως τε καὶ

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[290] καὶ V[sl]
[291] λέγομεν V

ἀποιήτως τέχνης ἁπάσης ῥᾷστα πορίζειν καὶ πλουτεῖν τροφὴν αὐτόματον μὲν ὅμως ἀλλ'[292] ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἄπαυστον ἥκουσαν καὶ ἀνυπονόητον μὲν οἵαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τεταγμένην ἄλυτον ἐπιλογὴν καὶ πρόσοδον χρήσεως καθάπαξ καὶ καρποὺς αἰφνιδίους θαλαττίους ῥέοντας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καιροῦ βρύοντας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἔαρος ἔχει τὰ ἄνθη, καὶ τεράστιον ἔθιμον φορᾶς καὶ γονὴν ἀθρόαν ἄπονον, ἀδύνατον δ' ἄλλως ἢ οὕτω παρελθεῖν, καὶ δασμοὺς ἐπετείους τῆς θαλάττης ἀπαραλογίστους τε καὶ ἀφύκτους τῇ πόλει καὶ νόμιμα συντελείας κατὰ παντὸς ἑστῶτ' ἀσάλευτα τοῦ χρόνου καὶ βοσκήμαθ' ὑπὸ χεῖρας θαλάττια κατ' ἀγέλας καὶ πομπὴν τῇ πόλει καὶ στόλον κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπιόντα καὶ κυβερνήτου δίχα ναυτιλλόμενον καὶ ἀγορὰν ὠνίων ἀτελῶν καὶ κομιδὴν παμπληθῆ θαλαττίαν[293] τῆς χρείας φορταγωγῶν ἄνευ καὶ θαύματ' αὐτῆς τῆς θαλάττης καὶ θαύματ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βίου καὶ δρᾶμα κάλλιστον, οἷον ἐπαληθεῦον, ὅμως τοῖς ἔργοις ἀψευδέστατον, καὶ ἄττα μὴ παρ' ἄλλοις ὁρῶμεν ἁπανταχοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης. Καὶ μὴν ἔτι πελάγη θαυμάσι' ἑκατέρωθεν καὶ τὰ πάντων ἄλλων ἀξιολογώτερα καὶ ὀνόματος μεγίστου καὶ φήμης περιφόβου καὶ μόνον ἀκούειν εὐστομοῦντα μάλιστα τῇ πόλει· καὶ σύνδεσμος αὐτοῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ γαλήνης ἐνταῦθα χώρα καὶ λιμὴν ὥσπερ καὶ κοινὰ καὶ διαλλαγαὶ καὶ κατ' αὐχένα τινὰ τόνδε τῆς πόλεως ταύτης περιπλοκαὶ καὶ φιλίαι πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλ' ὡς ὁρᾶν κάλλιστα, χωρὶς δὲ (f.294^{v})τούτων, πορισταὶ ἐντεῦθεν τῇ πόλει βίον τῶν βελτίστων ἁπάντων καὶ ὧν ἂν δέοι καὶ χεῖρας αὐτῆς εὐποιίας παντοίας πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εὖ μάλ' ἱκνουμένας ἐντεῦθεν καὶ χεῖρας πάντων ἄλλων εὖ μάλ' αὐτῇ πάντοθεν καὶ χορηγίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὡς ἔχουσι τοῖς δεσπόταις αἱ λειτουργίαι τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ τῆς ἑκάστης χώρας αἱ πόλεων ταμειουχίαι τῆς ἀφ' ἑκάστης χώρας ἀμέλει φορᾶς· τὸ πλῆθος δὲ τῶν λιμένων

[292] ἀλλ' V^{sl}

πάντοθεν τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως μερῶν, τὸ δ' ἄσειστον πάσης ἐπηρείας, τὸ διαρκὲς δὲ πρὸς τοσαύτην πάντοθεν ὑποδοχήν· οἱ ναυτικοὶ δὲ καὶ θαλαττουργοὶ θεσμοὶ πάντες καὶ παλαιοὶ νόμιμοι καὶ νέ' εὑρήμαθ' ἑκάστοτε.

98. Καὶ τἆλλα παρεὶς ἔγωγε τῶν ἔξω, τίς τοσοῦτ' ἄρα, φημί, μέγεθος εἶδε πόλεως ἤ, πρὶν ἰδεῖν, ἐλογίσατ' ἰδεῖν ἢ νῦν ἢ πρότερον ὁτέ ποτ' ἄρα; Τίς τοσαύτης περιτειχισμὸν χώρας καὶ περίοδον οἰκοδομίας οὕτως ἀσφαλεστάτην ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, οὕτω καλλίστην ὡσαύτως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου; Τίς οὐ μόνον μῆκος πόλεως εὐσωματοῦν οὕτως ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρῷ' ἀγαθὰ πρός γ' ἔτι φθάνοντ' αὐτῇ καὶ κλῆρον δόξης τοσοῦτον ἥκοντα πατρόθεν τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου πολιστοῦ τύχης καὶ παντοίας ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀξιώσεως καὶ μεγάλην ταύτην τἀνδρὸς εἰς τὸν κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν φορὰν εὖ μάλ' ἐπιτυχῆ τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τῶν μεγάλων λογισμῶν, ὡς ἔργοις ἔδειξεν ὕστερον; Τίς ὁμοῦ τοσαῦτ' ἐν ταὐτῷ κάλλη καὶ θαύματ' ἔσω συνιόντα καὶ φύσεως συντέλειαν τῆς ὕλης τοσαύτης πάντοθεν τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τέχνης ἅμιλλαν εἰς φιλοκαλίαν καὶ τοσαύτας κατασκευὰς οἰκοδομημάτων δημοσίων τε καὶ ὅσα καθ' ἑκάστους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν; Τίς ἀνυπονόητα τέως νεῶν μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη, πανταχῇ μὲν ἐκ φήμης περικροτοῦντ' ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας καὶ θαύματ' ἀκούοντα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἔργων, παντάπασι δ' ἀπιστούμενα, (f.295[r])πρὶν ὅμως ἐντυχεῖν; Τίς γραφάς; Τίς ἀγάλματα; Τίς ἀνδριάντας, τοσαῦτα μεγέθη καὶ τεχνικῆς σοφίας ἐν τούτοις ἐπίδειξιν; Τίς τέχνης εὕρεσιν τοσαύτην; Τίς ἀκρίβειαν καὶ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ ταῦτα κατὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως σύμφωνα καὶ πολὺ τὸ κατὰ λόγον ἴσον καὶ πολλὴν ἐπανθοῦσαν τὴν ὥραν, καὶ οὐδὲν τῇδε μᾶλλον ἢ τῇδε, ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἑνὸς ὁτουοῦν εὐγενοῦς σώματος τὰ μέρη ξυμπέφυκεν εὖ πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ τὸ πᾶν, καὶ δὴ κἀνταῦθ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἓν σῶμα τὴν ἅπασαν πόλιν οὖσαν χώραν ἀμέλει

[293] θαλαττίαν V^{pc} : θαλάττιον V^{ac}

τοσαύτην πάντοθεν συμφυές τε καὶ ὅμοιον ἐφορῶντι καὶ κατ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀλλοτριούμενα τὰ μέλη μήθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλήλων μήτε τοῦ κοινοῦ κάλλους;

99. Καὶ ἔτι γε μὴν πρὸς τούτοις τὰς τῶν ξένων ἐπιδημίας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ συναυλίας τί τις ἂν ἐρεῖ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐνταῦθα πολίτευμα καὶ τὴν καθόλου διοίκησιν τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐν βίῳ; Καὶ θησαυρὸν τῇδε πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ πάντων ἄρα τῶν μερῶν καὶ πεῖραν ἀλλήλων καὶ χρῆσιν καὶ τῶν κατὰ πάντας ἐκμάθησιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦ παντὸς μέρει, ἐν ὀλίγῳ κομιδῇ καὶ τοῦ διδάσκοντος χρόνου μέρει, καὶ τὰ μεῖζω δὴ καὶ τελεώτερα καὶ θειότερα, τὴν συντέλειαν ἅπασαν ἐνθένδε τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς πίστεως πάνδημον περὶ πάντας ἔχουσαν ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς ἐξαρχῆς ἐπιστασίας ἐνθένδε τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας δογμάτων ὡς μόνην οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἁπάσης καὶ τὰς ἐνταῦθα χρηστὰς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς πίστεως ἐξὸν μάλιστ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν ἅπαν φέρειν καὶ τοιοῦτον λοιπὸν ἐκμανθάνειν καὶ μὴ[294] δραπετεύειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι; Καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄμυναν καὶ τοὺς γεννικοὺς ὁπλισμοὺς καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ πρότερον ἐκεῖνα μέγιστα κλέα καὶ τὴν τέχνην (f.295^{v})καθεστῶσαν ἅπασαν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὰ νέ᾽ ὡσαύτως; Καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐν τούτοις[295] ἄτρεπτον τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου μόνης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς ἐνταῦθα καλλίστας τε καὶ βεβαίας ἁπάντων ἐλπίδας ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τήνδε μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν αὐχμηρίαν καὶ τὴν νῦν στένωσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιλείπουσαν πίστιν, καὶ τὴν ἀρδείαν τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἣν μὴ μόνα τὰ τῇσδε τῆς πόλεως, καθόλου γ᾽ ἐρεῖν, ἐλείπετο, καὶ τὰ τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν προστασίας πηγάζοντ᾽ ἄκλειστα πάντα τὸν

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[294] verbum μὴ ante τοιοῦτον scriptum huc transposui
[295] ἐν τούτοις V^{mg}

αἰῶνα συνεχῆ καὶ πλείστοις, ἢ μᾶλλον πᾶσιν, ἀρκοῦντα καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆδε μόνον τὸ ξυγκεχωρηκὸς ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀσάλευτον; Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας ἡ πᾶσα τιμὴ καὶ σπουδὴ παντοία καὶ περιουσία καὶ χύσις μετ᾽ ἀγλαΐας ἀμυθήτου καὶ ὥρας καὶ κάλλη νόμιμα πρότερον ἐξαρχῆς καὶ ἀεὶ καινίζοντα καὶ κόσμοι πάσης ἱεροτελεστίας καὶ θειασμοῦ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀργίων.

100. Καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα δὴ πάντ᾽ ἐρεῖ συνελὼν ὡς ἂν ἄρα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐπιτυχῶς ἀξιοῦν; Καὶ μὴν ταῖς μὲν τῶν πόλεων ἐν βίβλοις ἡ εὐδαιμονία καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ πρότερον ἄττα δὴ διὰ μνήμης φέρουσιν ἐν τῷ νῦν εἶναι κοσμεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγουσι τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὴν νῦν[296] ἐρημίαν ἐγκαλύπτονται, ταῖς δὲ παλαιᾶς μὲν εὐγενείας ὀρφανίᾳ καὶ χθὲς ἤρξαντο καὶ πρὸ τρίτης τῷ βίῳ δείκνυσθαι· αἷς δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων μέτεστιν ὀλίγον τὸ χρῆμα παραβάλλειν ἐξεῖναι τῇ πόλει. Τῇ δὲ πάνθ᾽ ὁμοῦ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν εἶναι, καὶ οἷα μηδέσιν ἄλλοις οὐδέτερα καὶ οἷ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἄξια καὶ προσήκειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ὧν ἔνια ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀρκεῖ καὶ προεχούσαις τῶν ἄλλων, ἱκανὴ φιλοτιμία καὶ μεγίστης ἀφορμὴ δόξης· καὶ τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν μερισαμέναις πάνυ τοι πλείσταις πάνυ τοι πλείστους ἔχειν ἂν ἦν ἐπιδείξεως καὶ τρόπους καὶ πορισμούς. Καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ ταύτῃ τοῖς νέοις ἐφάμιλλα καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὡσαύτως τὰ (f.296[r])νέ᾽ ἐφάμιλλα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐρεῖν οὐδὲ διελέσθαι ποῖ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἡ πόλις ἑαυτῆς προέχει, πῇ δ᾽ ἥττηται· τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων ἁπασῶν καὶ παλαιῶν καὶ νέων καὶ παλαιοῖς τοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ νέοις προέχει, καὶ οὐ λέγω τῇ κοινωνίᾳ γε ἀμφοῖν ὁμοῦ καὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ ταύτῃ περιουσίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοιν θατέρῳ γε τῷ[297] μέρει. Τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὠντινωνοῦν παραπλήσια δοκοῦντα τῇ

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[296] νῦν V[sl]
[297] ras. post τῷ

παλαιᾷ, φημί, μεγαλοδοξίᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρόθεν ἐκ μακροῦ κλήρῳ, τὰ[298] τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις πάντων φρονούντων καὶ τὰς παλαιὰς καὶ ἤδη νεκρωθείσας εὐετηρίας προβαλλομένων εἰς μέσους, ὥστε καὶ παραβάλλειν καὶ τῇ νέᾳ διαπαντὸς φορᾷ καὶ περιφανείᾳ τοῦ ζῶντος βίου, τὰ τῶν ἀμέλει νῦν ἀκμαζόντων καὶ νεαρῶν τῆς τύχης καὶ λαμπρυνομένων, τὰ παρόντα μόνα καὶ φαινόμενα καί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ πάντων κάλλιστα τοῖς κατ' αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἀπαραμίλλοις παρέρχεται καὶ πολλῷ τινι λείπεται[299] δεύτερα βασιλικοῖς ὄντως ξυμμετρούμενα τοῖς πήχεσι· καὶ τὸ παραβάλλειν ὅλως ἴσως μὲν ἂν εἴη μαινομένου τινός, πειθοίμεθα δ' ἂν καὶ τοῖς ὅμως περὶ τούτων, οἶμαι, νόμοις οὐκ ἀπεικότως οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἴσως.

101. Φέρε γάρ, ἐξεταστέον τὰς πρώτας, ὡς[300] εἰπεῖν, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος πόλεων προελομένους καὶ θεωρητέον ὅσα κατ' αὐτὰς πρὸς τὰ τῆσδ', ὡς οἷόν τε καὶ ξυγχωρεῖ νῦν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ τὸ μέτρον τῶν εἰρημένων. Καθόλου μὲν οὖν οὑτοσὶ κανὼν εἷς ἔστω σοι τῇ πόλει καὶ γνώμων κοινὸς τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπασῶν ἐπιδηλοτάτης ὑπεροχῆς, λέγω δ' ὧν ὁ πλεῖστος λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ μεγάλ' ὀνόματα καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐκεῖναι λαμπρότητες, περιφανεῖς μὲν πάλαι πρότερον πλὴν ἐσβεσμέναι πολλά γε λοιπὸν ἔτη, καὶ νεκρὰ καὶ παραῤῥεύσαντ' ὅμως διηγήματα, τῆς θέσεως ταύτη ἡ εὐκαιρία καὶ γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάττης κατ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν εὔχρηστον αὐτῇ τε (f.296^{v})καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἔπειτ' ἄρα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοσοῦτο δὴ πρᾶγμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, πᾶς τις ἀληθῶς ἂν ἐρεῖ, τὸ καιριώτερον καὶ πρῶτον κατ' ἀνάγκην τε καὶ ἅμα χάριν θαυμαστὴν καὶ ἄῤῥητον οἵαν καὶ οὗ πάντα τις ἄλλα[301] νοῦν ἔχων καὶ καλῶς ἐπιστατῶν

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[298] τὰ V^{sl}
[299] λείπει V
[300] ὡς V^{sl}
[301] ἄλλα V^{sl}

τοῖς οὖσιν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἀλλάξαιτ' ἂν ἐφορώμενος ἀμέλει πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον τῆς τῶν πόλεων ἀρετῆς εὖ μάλα καὶ διαρκὲς καὶ τέλειον τῆς εὐεξίας. Πλὴν γὰρ αὐτῆς δὴ ταύτης τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπίλεκτον μόνον αὐτὸ μόνης εὑρούσης τε καὶ προελομένης ἑαυτῇ καὶ κατεχούσης τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον μετὰ ῥᾳστώνης καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλυπότατα, πᾶσαι λοιπόν, ὅπου ποτ' ἄρα, τῆς βελτίστης ἐξεκρούσθησαν μοίρας καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν κατὰ σφᾶς, ὅση συνέλαχον, ἐξετοπίσαντο δυστυχήσασαι μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν χρῆσθαι καί, καθάπερ ἐπὶ μεγάλου τινὸς καὶ καλλίστου τοῦδε θεάτρου τῆς γῆς ἁπάσης, ἁμαρτοῦσαι τῶν εὐγενῶν μάλιστα καὶ χρησίμων τόπων τῆς ἐποπτείας, ὥστε δὴ κάλλισθ' ὁρᾶν ἔχειν καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι· καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ ἴσως γε λαμπροτέραν καὶ τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁπηοῦν οὐκ εὐφυῶς ἀνύσιμον πρὸς τὴν χρείαν πηξάμεναι, αἴδ' οὐκ ἀγαθῶς ἐπίπαν ἔπειτ' ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ φαύλως ἔπειτ' ἀπήλλαξαν ἀνόνητοι τῶν βελτίστων ἴσως καὶ ὧν ἄρ' ἦν ἡ πρόθεσις. Καί, ὥσπερ ἑνός τινος ἐν μέσῳ κατ' ἀνάγκην τοῦ σκοποῦ κειμένου πᾶσιν ἐφῷ κατευστοχῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν ἀμέλει, φθάνει μὲν τοῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἥδε μόνη καὶ τῶν ξυμμέτρων οὐκ ἐκπίπτει καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ λοιπὸν τύχης. Αἵ γε μὴν ἄλλαι πᾶσαι βάλλουσιν ἔξω τῶν εἰκότων τε καὶ τῶν μέτρων οὐκ εὐστοχήσασαι· καὶ μακαρισταί τινες οὖσαι καὶ θαυμασταὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἴσως ἕξιν θαυμάζονται πολλῷ δὴ μάλιστα τῆς ἀκαιρίας ταύτης καὶ δυστυχίας καὶ δυσχρηστίας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις οἰκία περιφανὴς τ' ἄλλα καὶ πολλῇ ξυλλαχοῦσ' ἁβρότητι καὶ κόσμοις (f.297[r])παντοίοις καὶ πλούτῳ τύχης ἔπειθ' ὁρῷτο χώρας ἀμοιροῦσα καὶ προνοίας εἰς τὴν ἀταλαίπωρον διοίκησιν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἵν' οὕτως εἴποιμι, δυσάντητός τις καὶ δυσπρόσοδος τῶν χρησίμων καὶ τὴν εὐπραγίαν οὐκ εὔκρατον ἐντεῦθεν ἀμέλει διαφέρουσα. Καὶ μὴν ἔοικε λοιπόν, οὐδὲ διαρκῆ[302] τὰ

[302] διαρκεῖ V

τοιαῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν οὐδ᾽ ἄνοσα τῷ χρόνῳ, <οὐδὲ>[303] διαπαντὸς ἀντέχει, καὶ οἷς ἡ φύσις ἄρα τῆς εὐεξίας οὐκ ἴση πάντοθεν ἔρχεται, οὐδ᾽ ἅπαντα κατ᾽ αὐτὴν εὖ μάλ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀπαντᾷ καὶ κίρναται ξύμμετρα. Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι μὲν ἃ μετὰ ῥᾳστώνης φέρει καὶ συμπληροῖ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῆς οὐσίαν, εἰπεῖν, καὶ κατάστασιν, ἔστι δ᾽ ἃ καματηράν τινα καὶ λίαν ἐργώδη καὶ πονηρὰν συνερανίζεται καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τῷ παντὶ συντέλειαν. Τοῖς γε δὴ τοιούτοις ἐπίνοσα κατὰ φύσιν ἐξανάγκης ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνισότητος καὶ ἀνωμαλίας τὰ πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ πραγματειώδους ἀεὶ χρήζοντα τῆς διοικήσεως εὖ δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἔχει φύσιν ἀντέχειν ἄρα τῷ χρόνῳ, τρέπεταί γε μὴν καὶ ἡττᾶται· καὶ εἰ μόγις μὲν ἴσως, τρέπεται δ᾽ οὖν ὁτὲ τῶν χρόνων· καὶ τά τ᾽ ἄλλα δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὰς καὶ πλεῖστα δὲ τούτων ἔχομεν παραδείγματα.

102. Τῇ γε μὴν βασιλικῇ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ πόλει τόδε δὴ μάλιστα κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει, τῶν τόπων ἡ εὐκαιρία, μόνη πασῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὅλης ἐπίδηλος καὶ τῆς ὅλης εὐδαιμονίας ἀξία καὶ σύμμετρος κιρναμένη καὶ διαρκής, ὡς ἀληθῶς, εἰς τὴν πᾶσαν χρῆσιν τοῦ βίου, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἅμα μὲν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν εὖ εἶναι καὶ πράττειν ἀλύπως τε καὶ ἀνόσως, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων κοινωνίαν καὶ χρῆσιν· καὶ πρόδηλος, ἔφην, εἷς οὑτοσὶ γνώμων καὶ κανὼν τῆς κατὰ πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὑπερβολῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας τῶν καλλίστων, τὸ μόνης ἐξαίρετον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναμφήριστον αὐτῇ λάχος, ἁπλοῦν ὂν αὐτὸ καὶ μόνον, τῆς ἐπικαίρου θέσεως. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ μέγεθος οὕτω κάλλιστον (f.297ᵛ)καὶ καλλίστων ἁπάντων παμπλῆρες οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης τοσοῦτο παραβάλλειν ἔξεστι κατὰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, καταμέρος δ᾽, ὡς ἐρεῖν, ἔπειτα καὶ προχειρίσασθαι νῦν εἶναι τὰς τῶν ἄλλων πρώτας ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος πόλεων. Βαβυλὼν μὲν ἐκείνη πρότερον ἤνθησεν ἐπὶ καιρῶν· καὶ τειχῶν αὐτῇ περίβολος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐπ᾽

[303] οὐδὲ addidi

ἀληθείας τὸ χρῆμα καὶ τὸ μῆκος μέγιστον ὧν ἄλλων ἴσμεν ἁπάντων· πλὴν ὅμως τῆς τἆλλα πάντα τε καὶ τόδε μὴν ἔτι θαυμαστῆς τῆσδε πόλεως, καὶ ἅμα τῆς τέχνης αὐτῷ μεγίστη καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιμέλεια κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα, πολὺ μὲν τἀσφαλές, πολὺ δὲ τὸ κάλλος· καὶ ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐκείνη πόλις οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγου γε ἀξίαν τῆς ἁπάσης Ἀσσυρίων, ἀρχὴν δὲ καί τινων ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, ὅσων ἄρα δή τινων καὶ οἵων προσπεριβάλλεται· καὶ χώρας καὶ γῆς εὐγένεια πρὸς τὴν φορὰν αὐτῇ καὶ τεχνῶν σοφία παντοία καὶ τἆλλα ὡς ἂν εὐδαίμονος πόλεως. Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάντα τῆς πόλεως καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ταύτης νῦν, τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔξωθεν δὴ πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὰ τῆς οἴκοι λαμπρότητος πρὸς τὰ καταχώραν τῇδε θαύματα; Ἀβρότης μέν γ᾽ ἐκείνη βαρβαρικὴ καὶ δαπάνη καὶ τρυφὴ καὶ βλακεία πομπεύουσα τῇ τύχῃ[304] καὶ τῶν ὄντων σπαθῶσα καὶ καθόλου γε περιουσία καὶ πολυτέλεια.

103. Τί ταῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴη λοιπόν, ὥστε καὶ παραβάλλειν πρὸς τὴν ἐνθάδ᾽ ἑλληνικὴν τῆς πόλεως σωφροσύνην, ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἅμα τῷ μέτρῳ καὶ θεσμοὺς καὶ νόμιμα τῆς φύσεως καθεστῶτα καὶ κοσμίαν καὶ μουσικὴν πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀγωγὴν καὶ ὄντως κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους προσήκουσαν εὐρυθμίαν τε καὶ συμμετρίαν πολιτευμάτων καὶ πάνθ᾽ ἡρμοσμένον καθόλου βίοτον· χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ καὶ ταῦθ᾽, ἅπερ ἐκείνοις εἴρηται, πάντων ἂν μᾶλλον ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν τήνδ᾽ οἵαν τ᾽ εἶναι κατορχεῖσθαι τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐνθάδε περιουσίας τε καὶ πολυτελείας τἀκείνης πολλῷ λείπεσθαι καὶ ὥστε νηπίων ἐκεῖνα παίγνια δοκεῖν εἶναι (f.298[r])καὶ παίδων τιν᾽ ἀσχολίας ἀθύρματα πρὸς τὸ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως μεθ᾽ ὑπερβολῆς κράτος, ὃ καὶ καταλογίσασθαι καὶ παράλληλα θέντα ἀποδεικνύναι πόσῳ δή τινι καὶ προφέρει, τίς ἂν οἷός τ᾽ εἴη; Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μαίνεσθαι τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴη καὶ μελαγχολᾶν λαμπρῶς· καὶ λόγος

[304] τῇ τύχῃ V[pc] : τῆς τύχης V[ac]

οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔστι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τῇ πόλεως ἐκείνης ἀβελτερίᾳ[305] καὶ ὕβρει καὶ ἀπειροκαλίᾳ κατὰ τῶν προσόντων μάτην, οὑτωσί πως ἐρεῖν, ὥστε καὶ παραμετρεῖσθαι πρὸς τἀνθάδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπαράμιλλα καὶ ὥστε πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτὸ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς κτήσεως καὶ ὥστε πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτὴν ἔγκαιρον· καὶ τὰ μὲν πλείω παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ. Ἀλλ' ἴσμεν γε ὡς ἐκείνοις στενὰ κατὰ φύσιν, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, τὰ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐν τούτοις καὶ τῆς εὐφορίας καὶ τῷ τοῦ παντός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἡμίσει σαφῶς ἐνέλειπε· καὶ τὰ 'κ τῆς θαλάσσης γὰρ ἀπῆν ἀγαθά, πρᾶγμα τοσοῦτο τῇδε τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας εὐπραγίας κομιδῇ πάντοθεν ἀνύσιμος εὐαγωγία καὶ κομιδὴ καὶ ῥαστώνη φορᾶς τῶν τοσούτων κατάπλων τῆς οἰκουμένης εὖ περαινόντων εἰς λιμένα τόνδε τῇ πόλει κοινὸν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων. Ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις ἄρα τοσαύτης δὴ τῆς προσθήκης, ὅσα γε πρὸς τὴν ἀφθονίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῶν ὄντων, ἐνέδει καὶ ἦν ἐρημία· καὶ ὀλίγοις ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν τε δὴ καὶ τῆς κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονίας πεῖρα καὶ συναίσθησις καὶ χρῆσις διὰ τὴν ἄμικτον, ὡς ἄν τις εἴπῃ, τῶν[306] πλείστων ἀνθρώπων ἀποχώρησιν κατὰ φύσιν τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ 'κ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκοινώνητα. Καὶ ποταμὸς ἦν Εὐφράτης ἐν μέσοις ῥέων, τὸ πέρας τῆς εὐξείας, καὶ Τίγρης δεύτερος ἐκεῖνος αὖ παραῤῥέων ἔγγιστα. Θάλαττα δ', ὡς εἰκάσαι, τοσαύτη τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀπόμοιρα, ἠγνοεῖτο σφίσιν ἂν εἴ τί γε τῶν ὄντων ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἢ διήγημά τι τῶν ἀπίστων ἴσως ἂν ἦν καὶ τεραστίων, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ἧς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, αἱ πλείους τῶν τεχνῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἐπορίσθησαν καὶ ἡ πλείων τῆς ζωῆς χρῆσις (f.298^{v})καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτῆς, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κοινοπολιτεία.

[305] ἀβελτηρίᾳ V
[306] τῶν V^{sl}

104. Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐρεῖν ἔτ' ἐστὶ καὶ προσθεῖναι, ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄρ' αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον τὸ μέγεθος πολὺ προήκει[307] τῇ βασιλικῇ τῇδε πόλει καθ' ἡμᾶς ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἐκείνην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τῷ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀριθμῷ τοσούτῳ παμπληθὲς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων κράτη προφέρει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐπῆρξεν αὐτῶν, εὐγενείᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ φήμῃ μεγίστῃ· καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἔστι παραβαλεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἐκείνης ἀβελτερίας[308] τε καὶ βλακείας ἑλληνικὴν σοφίαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δουλοπρεπείας καὶ μικρογνωμοσύνης ἐθίμου τὴν αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ λεῖμμα περιττὸν ἐν μνήμῃ παλαιᾷ καὶ πείρ' ἀεὶ συνεχῶς τῶν χρόνων καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκείνων μανίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ φλυαρίας τὴν αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐνθάδ' εὐαρμοστίαν καὶ πολιτικὴν ὄντως καὶ μουσικὴν εὐχρηστίαν. Καὶ τί ἄν τις προσθείη φέρων ἑξῆς; Ἃ δὴ πάντ' ἐπαύξει παντὶ τρόπῳ λοιπὸν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐνταῦθα τῇ πόλει πᾶσαν καὶ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς καρπούς, πλοῦτον, δόξαν, ἁβρότητα πᾶσαν, ἔργ' ἐπιδείξεως, ὡς δὴ καὶ προὐλέγομεν, φρόνημα μάλιστα πᾶν ἄλλ' ὁ,τιοῦν ἑπόμενον, ἵνα μὴ λέγω καθ' ἕκαστα. Καὶ μὴν ὁ μὲν τραγικὸς φησὶν Εὐριπίδης ὡς ἄρα πρὸς τὰς τύχας τὰς φρένας κεκτήμεθα, καὶ ὁρῶμεν ἀληθῶς δὲ[309] τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐρεῖ τις ἄλλως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημοσθένης αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' ὕστερον χρόνοις παραπλησίως, ὡς ἄρα καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν εἴρηται, ὁποῖά ποτ' ἂν ᾖ, φησί, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πράγματα, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ φρονήματα γίγνεται· καὶ πάντα κάλλισθ' ἡμῖν ἃ 'κείνου καὶ πολὺ τὸ καίριον τοῖς λόγοις. Ἔξεστι δ', οἶμαι, νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων μεγάλης ἡγεμονίας ταυτησὶ καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου πραγμάτων ὄγκου τῆς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν (f.299[r])πόλιν ἀρχῆς, ἧς

[307] προήκει V^{pc} : προῆκον V^{ac}
[308] ἀβελτηρίας V

ξυνέλαχε τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐ μόνον λοιπὸν τἀξίωμα ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ φρονήματος αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τε καὶ μεγαλονοίας καὶ περινοίας ἔπειτ' ἀκολουθοῦν ξυλλογίζεσθαι παμμέγεθες, ὡς εἰκός, οἷον κατὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν λόγους, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς ἄρα κἀπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔδειξαν καὶ βοᾷ τὰ ἔργα σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦτ' ἔξεστι μάλιστα λογίζεσθαι, ὡς ἄρ' ὁποία[310] δὴ προπαρασκευὴ φρονήματος καὶ γνώμης ἅμιλλα καὶ ὁπλισμὸς τοσοῦτον δὴ καὶ τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἐπῆρε καὶ κατεπράξατο γεννικῶς οὑτωσὶ καὶ συγκατεσκεύασε καὶ κατεστήσατο καλλίσταις ἀγωγαῖς τε καὶ τέχναις εὐμαθέστατα καὶ νομιμώτατα καὶ εὐαγέστατα καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερα παραπλήσι' ἄττα ἢ ὡς ἂν ἔγγιστά πως παρατιθέναι ταῖς ἐνταῦθα τῆς πόλεως ὑπερβολαῖς· καὶ οὐ λέγω νῦν ἔγωγε βαβυλωνίαν ἐπικράτειαν ἥντιν' ἄρα δὴ καὶ βάρβαρον ἐκείνην ἀκολασίαν καὶ ἀμετρίαν καὶ φθορὰν καὶ νόσον ἑπομένην, ὡς τὰ πολλά, ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τύχαις.

105. Ἀλλὰ φέρε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεγίστων ἐνίας, πάντως δὲ τὰς μείζους, ἐνταῦθα προχειρισόμεθα καὶ ὀψόμεθα τὰ τῆς πόλεως παράλληλα θέντες εἴ πῃ παρείκοι, μᾶλλον δ' ὅσον γε ἥδε προήκει πολλῷ δεύτερα τὰ 'κείνων λείπουσ' ὀψόμεθα. Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον ὄνομα καὶ κλέος ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ διὰ τὴν τύχην τοῦ πολιστοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος κατ' αὐτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὕστερον ἀκμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας καινίζον καὶ ξενοπρεπὲς καὶ θαυμάσιον οἷον ἀξιόλογον. Αἰγύπτιοί τε γὰρ καὶ Νεῖλος πολὺ κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους θαῦμα καὶ πολλοὶ τῶνδ' ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ πολλοὶ τὰς ἱστορίας κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐπόνησαν[311]. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκου μεγίστη πόλις, μητρόπολις ἁπάσης, Ἀντιόχεια, Συρίας, ἐκείνη, πολυδόξου πολυδοξοτάτη τε

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[309] δὲ V^{sl}

[310] ὁποία V^{pc} : ὁποίου V^{ac}

καὶ καλλίστη, πλεῖστον ἤκμασεν ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων (f.299^{v})χρόνων οὐ μόνον ἀρετῇ πάσῃ καὶ χώρας καὶ πόλεως καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ κατ᾽ ἄσκησιν ἀμέλει πᾶσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκούντων ἀστειότητα καὶ φιλοκαλίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχης εὐφορίᾳ καὶ περιβολῇ δυναστείας ἀξίᾳ μνήμης τὸν αἰῶνα πάντα καὶ λόγου· καὶ παντοίοις γε μὴν οἰκοδομήμασι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἐλαμπρύναντο τὴν πόλιν Ἀντιοχεῖς ἐκεῖνοι, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡς εἴ τινες ἄλλοι πλεῖον πλὴν ἄρα τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως· καὶ κατεκοσμήσατο πόλις ἐκείνη περιττῶς καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας τὴν οἵκοι κατὰ χώραν τῆς φύσεως εὐκαιρίαν τῇ τῆς τύχης εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς[312] δώροις καὶ ταῖς συναλλαγαῖς καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ σφετέρ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτὴν ἐποικησάντων, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ μέχρι νῦν ἐκείνη πόλις ἀκούει. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτ᾽ εὐθὺς αὐτίκ᾽ ἀκούει μόνον, ὁρᾶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πω καὶ νῦν, ἀλλ᾽ οἴχεται τὰ κλέα καθάπαξ, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ μὴ γέγονεν ὅλως. Ἀλλὰ μήπω τοῦτο, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι γε τέως ἤνθησε πάσης εὐπραγίας καὶ καλλονῆς πάσης. Ἕλληνές τε ἀμφοῖν τῶν πόλεων πολισταὶ καὶ οἰκήτορες Ἕλληνες τὰ πρῶτα· καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀκμὴ τηνικαῦτα τῶν χρόνων καὶ τύχης πομπὴ καὶ κράτος ἐπὶ τῆς[313] γῆς θριαμβεῦον, ἀρχαὶ πατρῷαι καὶ θεμέλια τῶν πόλεων τῶνδ᾽ ἀμφοῖν ταῦτα, καὶ ταὐτὰ δὴ καὶ παραπλήσια κοινὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης προοίμια καὶ προγονικῆς εὐκληρίας δόξα[314]. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἔτ᾽ ἔχομεν περὶ τῶνδε τῶν πόλεων λέγειν ὡς κἀπὶ τῶν καιρῶν πρότερον ἐκείνων μέγα ταῖς πόλεσιν ὄνομα ταύταις κἀν τοῖς χριστιανικοῖς ἔπειτ᾽ αὐτοῖς τουτοισὶ χρόνοις μάλιστα· καὶ τἆλλ᾽ ἅπαντα καθόλου πράγματα καὶ χριστιανικὰ μὲν οὖν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, αὐτὰ πράγματα σεμνύνει καὶ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὀλίγῳ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης πόλεων ἀριθμῷ, ὥστ᾽ ἀμέλει τὰ πρῶτα καὶ αὐτὰς εἶναί τε καὶ ἀκούειν. Ἀτὰρ δὴ

[311] ἐπόθησαν] γρ. ἐπόνησαν V
[312] αὐτοῖς V
[313] τῆς V^{sl}

ταῦτα πάνθ', ὅσα γε καὶ εἴρηται, τῶν πόλεων τῶνδ' ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις (f.302[r]) παραβάλλειν ἕκασθ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὰς εἶναί τι καὶ νῦν εἶναι καὶ πρότερον δοκούσας καιρὸν ἔχει καὶ μάλ' ἔχει, φήμ' ἔγωγε, καὶ μέγεθος πρὸς μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος πρὸς κάλλος καὶ χάριν ἅπασαν πρὸς ἐκείνων ὠντινωνοῦν ἠντιναοῦν ἅπασαν καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ δημιουργίας πρὸς πᾶσαν πάντων ἄλλων ἐπίδειξιν καὶ ἄλλάττα πρὸς ἄλλων ἐκείνων ἕτερ' ὁμοίως ἔχοντα ἄττα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ,τι μὴ τῇδέ γε πόλει καθ' ἡμᾶς ταῦτα χώρα προσάγειν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς ἂν ἀμηγέπῃ καὶ τολμᾶν ἁμιλλᾶσθαι οὐ κατὰ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ τοῖς αὐτῆς ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν, εἰ δὲ βούλεταί τις, ἴσως καὶ τῶν πολλῶν προσόντων ἐνίοις οὐ καθ' ἓν ὁ,τιοῦν ἕκαστον, ὃ μάλιστα ἂν δόξαιεν κράτιστον αὖται πόλεις ἐν τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προέχειν αὐτῷ γε δή τινι.

106. Οὔκουν γε οὐ κάλλος ὁ,τιοῦν, οὐ χρήσιμον ὁ,τιοῦν, οὐ φυσικὴν ἀρετὴν ἅπασαν, οὐ πάντα πράγματα καὶ παλαιὰ πρότερον διηγήματα καὶ μνήμην θαυμάτων τινῶν καὶ νέα καὶ φαινόμενα νῦν εἶναι χρῆσθαι, μέγεθος δὲ καὶ θέσεως εὐκαιρίαν καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων λαμπρότητας μανία τις ἂν εἴη, φημί, καὶ μεμνῆσθαι νῦν γε εἶναι τῇ πάντα θαυμαστῇ τῇδε πόλει καὶ κατὰ κόσμον ἔτ' εὐπραγίαν τῇδε τῷ βίῳ καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα, φημί, τῇ χριστιανικῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαπρέπει πίστει καὶ μεγίστην ὄντως φέρει τὴν εὐδοξίαν. Ἃ πολλῷ δὴ τῶν ἐνθάδε καθ' ἡμᾶς λείπεται καὶ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐκείνων λείπεται παραθεῖναι ταῦτα δή, καὶ ὅσα συγγραφαὶ φέρουσι καὶ θησαυρίζουσιν αὐταῖν ἀμφοῖν, οἷς καὶ θαῤῥεῖν μάλιστ' ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅσα δὲ τοῖς νῦν τουτοισὶ χρόνοις δυσκλεῆ[315] καὶ τλήμονα καὶ μοχθηρὸν αὐταῖς βίοτον ἐπαντλεῖ καὶ μακραίωνα ταύτην τύχης ἀλλοτριότητα καὶ δυσμένειαν καὶ περιφανῆ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν εὐκληρίαν

[314] δόξα V[pc] : δόξης V[ac]
[315] δυσκλεᾶ V

ἐκείνην καὶ οὐ λανθάνουσαν τοῖς νῦν τούτοις καιροῖς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐτῶν κακοπραγίαν καὶ ἀνθ' ἧς ἠλλάξαντο θεοσεβείας τυραννίδα καὶ ὕβριν δυσσεβείας καὶ (f.302^{v})θρησκευμάτων ἀτίμων βδελυρίαν[316] καὶ βαρβαρικῆς δυναστείας χρόνιον ἀκμήν, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ πλείστων ἤδη τῶν καιρῶν παρέρχονται διαθλεύουσαι[317] καὶ ταλαιπωρούμεναι καὶ καταπολιορκούμεναι διόλου πονήρως τὴν ζωὴν καὶ βίον αὗταί γ', ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀβίωτον ἕλκουσαι καὶ νοσοῦσαι μὲν τὰ θεῖα καὶ χριστιανικὰ πράγματα μακρῶν ἤδη τῶν χρόνων, νεκρωθεῖσαι δὲ πάλαι τὴν ἅπασαν ἀγαθὴν τοῦ παρόντος βίου τύχην, κατισχυούσης ἀεὶ τῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ παλαμναίας κατ' αὐτῶν χειρὶ πάσῃ καὶ ῥώμῃ πάσῃ καὶ ῥύμῃ καὶ φορᾷ τοσαύτῃ πολλῶν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐτῶν ἀσχέτῳ, καὶ τραπεῖσαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑλληνικήν τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκὴν εὐγένειαν.

107. Καὶ τί ἂν ἐν τοῖς κακίστοις τοῖσδε καὶ χρῆσθαι καὶ μνημονεύειν ἔτι τρίβοιμεν ἐπαντλοῦντες φιλανθρώποις ἀκοαῖς δυστυχίαν λόγων τοσαύτην καὶ προσεπιφοροῦντες καὶ κόπτοντες ἐπεργαζόμενοι τῶν αἰσχίστων, ὡς μὴ ὄφελον, τῶνδε καὶ ἀνιαρωτάτων καὶ ἀηδεστάτων διηγημάτων; Ἀλλ' ἐπαναλάβωμεν ἔτι, μέγεθος μέν γε τῶν εἰρημένων, φαμέν, ἀμφοτέρων πόλεων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων λαμπρότητας τί χρὴ καὶ παρατιθέναι καὶ μεμνῆσθαι; Καὶ τοῦτ' εὔδηλον, ὡς οὐ ταῦτ' ἔγωγε νῦν εἶναι τὰ παρόντα καὶ φαινόμενα λέγω ἀλλ' ὅσα καὶ παλαιὰ πρότερον διηγήματα καὶ μνήμη θαυμάτων τινῶν ἐκείνων ἐκ νῦν ἐρειπίων λειφθέντων τῶνδε καὶ συγγραφικῶν ταμείων, οἶμαι, συλλογιζόμενα καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ συγκροτούμενα μᾶλλον παρὰ τῆσδ', ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ἐπιλείψεως καὶ δυστυχίας, ὥστε καὶ ἴσως καταψεύδεσθαι λοιπὸν ἄττα δὴ μετ' ἀδείας ἐντεῦθεν ἀνεξελέγκτου τῶν ὄντων

[316] βδελλυρίαν V
[317] διαεθλεύουσαι V

καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης ἱστορίας τῶν ἐπιδείξεων· καὶ ταῦθ' ὅστις ἂν μὴ τῷ λόγῳ πείθοιτο, τῇ παροιμίᾳ νέμομεν χώραν· καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς γάρ, φησί, δῆλα, καὶ ξυγχωροῦμεν πειρᾶσθαι καὶ περαίνειν ἐξ ὧν (f.300^{r})ἐστιν ὁρᾶν λειψάνων τὰ πρώην ἐκεῖνα παντελῆ κάλλη καὶ δῶρα τύχης καὶ φιλοπονίας ἐπιδεικτικῆς ἔργα βέλτισθ', οἷς αἵδε πόλεις ξυνέλαχον· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτ' ἐχέτω νῦν.

108. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰς τῶν πόλεων τουτωνί γ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκείνας, ἃς προέφημεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀμέλει χρόνων ἀρχὰς ἐνταῦθα δὴ νῦν εἶναι προστιθέναι τε καὶ προφέρειν παραβάλλοντας τοῖς τῆς βασιλίδος τοῖσδε πράγμασι, μὴ καὶ λῆρος αἴσχιστος εἴη καὶ πολλὴ ἀηδία καὶ ἀωρία καὶ γέλωτα μακρὸν ὀφλισκάνειν μεταξὺ προϊόντα τῶν λόγων· χωρὶς γὰρ τιθεμένῳ[318] τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ὡς αἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἑνὸς μόνου τῶν τριῶν ἁπάσης οἰκουμένης μερῶν καὶ τούτου γ' ἐπὶ μέρους ὁτουοῦν τοῦ ξυλλαχόντος καὶ ἀμφότεραι πόλεις αἵδε προσέσχον τὸν νοῦν καθάπαξ καὶ Ἀσία μόνη, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτῆς μέρος καὶ τοῦτό γε οὐ μέγιστον, θέατρον αὐταῖς ἤνοιξεν ἀγώνων διαρκές, ἐφ' οὗ γε καὶ ἠθλοθέτησε ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς πόνους τῶν ἐπιδείξεων, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ παρεσκευάσανθ' αὗται καὶ ἀπεδύσαντ' εὖ μάλα, καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν καὶ καθ' ὅσον εἶχον φρονήματος, καὶ συνετάξαντο τὴν ὅλην σπουδὴν καὶ κατεπράξαντο καὶ κατήνυσαν ἄττα δή· χωρὶς γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, τιθεμένῳ[319] ταῦτα πρὸς τὰ τόσα καὶ τόσα μεγέθη καὶ πλάτη τῆς κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν πόλιν ἡγεμονίας ἐκείνης, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίας, τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δυοῖν, αὐτῆς Εὐρώπης ἄρα καὶ τῆς Λιβύης, ὅ,τι ποῤῥωτάτω, ὧν δὴ καὶ πάντα συνέσχε καὶ ὑπεποιήσατο τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαρχῆς ἀξιολογώτερα καὶ τῷ παντὶ βιωφελέστερα· χωρὶς γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην,

[318] expectes τιθεμένου
[319] expectes τιθεμένου

τιθεμένῳ[320] ταῦτα δὴ τί τις ἂν ἐρεῖ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀλιγόβιον ἐκείναις καὶ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀνθήσασαι τῇ τύχῃ ταύτῃ πόλεις ἐκεῖναι - οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἤτινι καὶ ὅσῃ - καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς πράγμασιν - (f.300^{v})οὐκ οἶδ᾽ οἵστισι καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐδ᾽ ὅσοις - τάχιστ᾽ ἔπειτα κατεπαύθησαν[321] αὐτίκα πρίν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἢ καὶ γνωσθῆναι τῷ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ δειχθῆναί πως ἐξ ὑπερτέρων καὶ ὅ,τι γ᾽ ἐν προσθήκης μέρει τῇ τῆς μεγάλης τῆσδε πόλεως καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἡγεμονίᾳ· καὶ ἀμφότεραι λοιπὸν τῶν πόλεων ἀρχαὶ γενόμεναι τοῦτο μὲν κάλλιστ᾽ ἀπήλλαξαν ὡς ἀληθῶς, πλήν γε ὅτι μεγάλη τις οὐκ ἦν οὐδ᾽ ἐπίδηλος ἡ προσθήκη λοιπὸν αὕτη πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἄν, οἶμαι, τὶς ἐφορῴη παραμετρῶν καὶ λογιζόμενος· καὶ ἔγωγε πολλάκις ἐπισκοπούμενος ἕκαστα, καθάπερ ἐν δράματί τινι καὶ σκηνῇ τραγικῇ, τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας ᾠήθην τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ μόνον ὑποκρίνασθαι, τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἃς εἶπον, καὶ ξυλλαχεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπίτηδες ξυμβαίνει, προσωπείοις τοῦ δράματος σεμνοτέροις καὶ χρησαμένας κατακαιρὸν ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπαλλάξαι τὴν ἐπίδειξιν καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ταύτην ὅροις δὴ τακτοῖς κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῆς διοικούσης προνοίας καὶ σοφίας καὶ τέχνης καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιγνῶναι τῶν πραγμάτων μεθ᾽ ὕστερον ἔπειτα καὶ στέργειν ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰσι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ κατὰ τύχην. Εἰ δέ τις ἄρ᾽ εὐλαβεῖται πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ὑποδείγματος καὶ τοῦ δράματος ἀφειδὲς τόδε, νικάτω βέλτιον ἄλλως, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, εἰκάζειν καὶ νομίζων ὥσπερ προάγωνάς τινας εἶναι καὶ προεκδρόμους παρασκευὰς καὶ προπέμπτους ὑποστρατήγων τινῶν τῶν γε πόλεων τουτωνὶ τὰς ἐπιδείξεις τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκείνων καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν πρὸς τὴν ἔπειτα βασιλικὴν τῇδε καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τῆς πόλεως τοῦ κράτους ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸ κῦρος τῆς δυναστείας καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνα πάντα τῇδέ τε

[320] expectes τιθεμένου

ἠρτῆσθαι καὶ περαίνειν ἔχειν κατὰ φύσιν, ἴσως ἂν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρεῖ, καὐτὸς ἔγωγε τίθεμαι κἀνταῦθα τὸ τῆς πόλεως (f.301^{r})ἀξίωμα τῆσδ' εὐλαβούμενος καὶ σέβων ὥσπερ ἐκ παντὸς ἄλλου τρόπου κἀντεῦθεν ὡς ἄρα καὶ προσήκει τῆδε τὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐρεῖ τις ἄλλως προσέχων εὖ μάλα τὸν νοῦν καὶ συνετῶς ἐν τούτοις σχολάζων· καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων μακεδονικῶν μεγίστων πόλεων ἐν τούτοις ἐχέτω μετρίως ὡς ἂν ἐκλεξαμένους ὀλίγα τῶν πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα προσθεῖναι.

109. Ῥώμη δ' ἐκείνη προτέρα καὶ μεγαλώνυμος ἥττηται μὲν καὶ αὕτη τοῦ τῆσδε μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως ὡς καὶ πᾶσαι. Ἥττηται δὲ τῆς κατὰ θέσιν εὐκαιρίας τοῦ τόπου κατ' οὐρανοῦ, κατὰ γῆς, κατὰ θαλάττης καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς αἱ πᾶσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτο πλεῖν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἐνίας ἥττηται. Ποῦ δ' ἐκείνη τοσαῦτα λιμένων κάλλη, ὥστε καὶ παραβάλλειν τῇ τοσαύτῃ τῆδε φιλανθρωπίᾳ; Ποῦ θαλάττης ἐκείνη καὶ γῆς πάντοθεν ὡς νῦν ἐνθάδε κοινοὶ σύνδεσμοι; Ποῦ κοινότης ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαπόντι' ὀχήματα καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συναυλίας πρόνοια καὶ διοίκησις καὶ τέχνη τοσαύτη καὶ χρῆσις; Ποῦ θαλαττίων δρόμων πάντων πάντοθεν, ὡς ἐνθάδε, δίαυλος[322]; Καὶ σκοπὸς εἷς περαίνων ἥδ' ἡ πόλις καὶ ξενὼν ἀνθρώπων τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης πολυχωρητότατος, καὶ τοσοῦτοι καθόλου τῆς φύσεως ἐνθάδ' ἵμεροι πάντας πάντοθεν ἕλκοντες· καὶ μαγνῆτις ἡ πόλις λίθος ἀνθρώπων ἀῤῥήκτοις τε καὶ ἀῤῥήτοις προσπαθείαις καὶ δεσμοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα φέρουσα καὶ κρατοῦσα τῆς κοινῆς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως. Ποῦ παραφέρειν νῦν ἔστι τὰ 'κείνης ἐνταῦθα; Καὶ παρατίθησι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων μεθ' ὅσης ἄρα τῆς ῥᾳστώνης τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης θέατρον, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου πολίτευμα, πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ

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[321] κατέπαυσαν V
[322] δίαυλον V

βίου πανήγυριν καὶ ἀγοράν, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης χρείας ἀμέλει ταμεῖον, πρὸς τὸν ἄσυλον θησαυρὸν ἐνταῦθα τῶν ὄντων, οὗ δέοι ἂν μετεῖναι πᾶσι καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἑκάστοις δέοι· πολλὴ (f.301^{v})ἀφθονία καὶ πηγὴ καὶ χρῆσις τοῦδε τοῦ θησαυροῦ καὶ φυλακὴ τοῦδ' ἀσφαλής τε καὶ καθάπαξ οὐκ ἔχουσα παῦλαν, καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπαρκείας καὶ συντελείας καὶ παμφορίας πορισταὶ οὗτοσὶ χῶρος μόνος. Ποῦ δὲ τοσαύτη πάντων ἀνθρώπων σπουδὴ καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἅμιλλα καὶ κοιναὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἁπάσης σύνοδοι καὶ χρήσεις ἀλλήλων καὶ τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἑκάστους ἑκάστων;

110. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τάς γ' ἐντὸς κατ' αὐτὴν ἢ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐκτὸς κατασκευὰς καὶ λαμπρότητας οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ δημοσίας τοσαύτας καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστους ἰδιωτικὰς τοσαύτας ὥσπερ ἑνὸς οἴκου συνέχειαν καὶ χάριν ἀμύθητον οἵαν τί τις ἂν ἐρεῖ, πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' ἀλόγιστον καὶ ἀνυπονόητον οἷον πρὶν ἐντυχεῖν; Τίς[323] δ', ὥστε καὶ παραβάλλειν ὅλως τὰ 'κείνης ἐνθάδε, μαίνοιτ' ἂν οὕτω, καὶ ὥστε τοσαύτης ἀνοίας γέλωτ' ὀφλεῖν; Τίς ἄρα, ἑκών γε εἶναι, δύσερως οὕτω καὶ δυστυχὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ βουλευτὴς καὶ δικαστὴς ἀγνώμων καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἄτοπος χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀμαθέστατος καὶ καθάπαξ αἰσθήσεως ἔκτοπος καὶ τῶν ἀξυμμέτρων ἑλλανοδίκης καὶ βραβευτὴς παντάπασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπότερον, ἀβελτερώτατος, εἴποιμ' ἄν, ἢ βδελυρώτατος[324]. Ποῦ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τις ἂν ἔχοι λέγειν τε καὶ δεικνύναι νεὼς τοσούτους, μεγέθει μεγίστους καὶ κάλλει καλλίστους καὶ πάσης ὥρας ἀστράπτοντας, στοῶν δὲ τόσων καὶ τόσων ἀλληλουχίαν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως, τίς; Τίς δ' οἴκους φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχάς; Τίς γυμνάσια, θέατρα, βαλανεῖα, πᾶσαν ἁβρότητα, πάντ' ἄλλα

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[323] τίς V^{pc} : τί V^{ac}
[324] βδελυρώτατος V^{pc} : βδελλυρώτατος V^{ac}

πράγμαθ' ὁμοῦ, τίς; Ὁπότε καὶ ἄττ' ἐκείνη τοιαῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια πρόσεστιν, ἀναμφηρίστως προσήκει τῇ πόλει καθ' ἡμᾶς τῇδε καθάπερ εὐγενεῖς τινες πατρικοὶ κλῆροι φιλτάτοις· καὶ τὰ πατρῷα γὰρ ἔνδοξα καὶ πᾶσ' ἐκεῖθεν λαμπρότης προσθήκη τοῖς ἐκγόνοις γίγνεται, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσι κάλλιστ' οἴκοθεν δείκνυσθαι· καὶ γνησία τις ἐκεῖθεν ἥκει τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῶν ὄντων διαδοχὴ τῇ πόλει.

COMMENTARY

1. Many reasons for the composition of the present encomium

1.1.31 Βυζάντιος. Byzantine authors as late as the fifteenth century used the name of the old colony to refer to the capital despite its actual name of Constantinople.[325]

1.1.31 βασιλίδος μεγαλοπόλεως. Βασιλὶς πόλις, the substitute phrase for Constantinople, inherited from the first Rome on the Tiber,[326] is almost invariably found in the praises of Constantinople throughout the centuries.[327] In his praise Metochites combines this notion with the epithet μεγαλόπολις (great city), a common adjective used for great cities.[328]

1.5.31 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅμως. The most common clause involving negatives ("τὸ ἐξ ἀναιρέσεως συμπλεκτικὸν") οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ (notwithstanding, nevertheless, cp. Lat. verum etiam) is oddly followed by its synonym καὶ ὅμως. This repetition either stresses the difficulty of the attempt, or the semantic weight of each form has possibly been lessened and inevitably requires reinforcement.

1.5.31 ἐργώδεις. For the difficulty the eulogist encounters to praise the city, see Aristid. *Panathen.* 151D.3 οὐδ' ἐμὲ λέληθεν ὡς ἐργώδης ὁ λόγος καὶ χαλεπὸς διενεγκεῖν καὶ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ὁπόσας ἔχει.

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[325] Georg. Schol. *Contr.les Juifs* 252 Ἐγὼ γὰρ Βυζάντιος, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκ Θετταλίας ἐνταῦθα μετῳκηκότος, καὶ οὐ φημὶ Θετταλὸς εἶναι, ὡς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γεγενημένος.
[326] Eus. 1.26 and 39.2 τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν.
[327] Theoph. Cont. *De basilio Macedone* V.7D.13, V.8A.23 τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν, Niceph. Call. Xanth. *Eccles.Hist.* II.8.4 βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων, Georg. Cod. *Exc. de antiq. Const.* 165 βασιλὶς πασῶν τῶν πόλεων, Greg. Cypr. *Laudatio Mich. Palaeol.* I.319 τῆς πόλεως βασιλὶς καὶ ἔστι καὶ ὀνομάζεται, N. Kabasilas *Ep.* 3.32-33 τὴν δὲ πασῶν μεγίστην βασιλίδα. See also G. Dagron, *Naissance d' une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, 53.
[328] Pind. *P.* 7.1 αἱ μεγαλοπόλιες Ἀθᾶναι, Eur. *Tro.* 1291 ἁ μεγαλόπολις Τροία; see also Const. Manass. *Brev.Hist.Metr.* 2350 πόλιν τὴν μεγαλόπολιν, *Vita Petri Ep. Argivorum* IX.3. 2-3 περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου μεγαλοπόλεως...ἅτε δὴ βασιλίδος.

1.6.31 δίκαιον-βούλησις. In the prologue the orator advises the reader that he cannot provide a eulogy of the city equivalent to her excellence, despite his strong desire (βούλησις) to praise the city as she deserves (δίκαιον).[329] We should also mention the striking resemblance in the syntactical order and in the wording of the introductory section of *Byzantios* and the introduction of *Miscellanea* 97: Πλεῖστα μὲν δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν οἶμαι εἰς τὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας ἄπιστον καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀβέβαιον εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις οὐχ ἥκιστα νῦν μέτρι' εἰρήσεται περὶ τούτου.

1.6.31-1.8.31 πρῶτον μὲν...χειροῦται. Metochites wishes to say that all the most important and elevated subjects attract and captivate the attention of all; in other words, the city with all her charms will surely enchant the beholder, who will wish to express his admiration for what he sees in front of his eyes (πρὸς τἄηθες ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι λόγους θαύματος).

1.13.31 τὸ πραττόμενον. The addition of the definite article is imperative, for otherwise both participles are not related as far as syntax and meaning are concerned: *how could one confidently describe the effect of what is seen?*

2. The encomium is a kind of gift to the City

2.21.31 ὅσα παρέχεται θαυμάζειν, 2.1.32 πατρὶς-τροφὸς, 3.14-15.32 καὶ μήν...τῷ βασιλεῖ...ὀφείλεται χάρις, 4.4-7.33 τὸ τῶν ἐμῶν... βασιλέων καταναγκάζει λόγον. The incentives for the composition of the speech are as follows: 1.) The city is so remarkable that it attracts praise, 2.) The oration is a gift to the city, in gratitude to her for nourishment and education of the speaker,

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[329] See *Nicaeus* 1.4 ἐργῶδες ἐπιεικῶς εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν αὐτῇ προσόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι

3.) The speech is an act of gratitude to the founder of the city, 4.) The speech is an act of gratitude to the present rulers, the inheritors and preservers of the past glory.

2.1.32 ὅτι μοι καὶ πατρὶς ἡ πόλις. Evidence of Metochites' birthplace. See *Nicaeus* 2.17 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πατρίς μοι ἡ καλλίστη πόλις αὕτη. The similarity in phrasing cannot be considered an inconsistency; in *Byzantios* the author states the place where he was born as being Constantinople, whereas in *Nicaeus* he refers to Nicaea as the place where he grew up.

2.1.32 καὶ λόγων τροφὸς. According to Metochites' *Poem I* 343-344, 347-349 his education started quite early under his parents' supervision: εὖτε γὰρ ἔλαχον ἐλθέμεν εἰν φάει βιότοιο, ἐξαῦτις σχεδὸν οἵ με φύσαντες λούγοις δῶκαν...πὰρ γονέων μάν, ὥς κε προσθέμαν εἰν λόγοισιν, εὖ φερόμαν. For Metochites' erudition see Gregor. *Hist.* 7.11.1 βιβλιοθήκη γὰρ ἦν ἔμψυχος οὗτος καὶ τῶν ζητουμένων πρόχειρος εὐπορία.

2.3.32-2.4.32 It seems that the author has lost track of the syntax, for what we normally expect is the participles and the pronoun αὐτὸς to be in the accusative.

2.11.32 ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων συνεισφέρειν. The one who spares his knowledge and eloquence from praising the city is always criticized for his indifference. For the same wording see *Nicaeus* 2.19 ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τι πάντως εἰσφέρειν.

3. Encomium for the founder of the city

3.14.32 πολιστῆ βασιλεῖ. The encomium of a city consists of the laudation of its origin and position, see Menand. 353.6.

μὴ ἀγεννῶς.

3.14.32 - 3.19.32 The speaker often refers to the theme of the city's glorious past and its founder; see *Nicaeus* 3.1-4 ἔθος δὲ ὂν τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῦτα καθισταμένοις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς παροῦσι χρῆσθαι καὶ φαινομένοις, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἀνατρέχειν καὶ πόῤῥω τῶν προτέρων χρόνων ἐπιχειρεῖν, τὰ ἀρχαῖα σεμνύνοντας τοῖς εὐφημουμένοις; also see *Vita Episcopi Argivorum* 3.2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἐπαίνους ἐπιχειρούντων...πολὺν ἀναλίσκουσι χρόνον μακρὸν ἀποτείνοντες λόγον περί τε πατρίδος καὶ γένους εὐκλείας, καὶ ὄλβου καὶ περιφανείας τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἐκ τούτων δοκοῦντες ἐξαίρειν αὐτοὺς.

3.16.32 πάντως δ'. I have excised the particle δ' for it seems superfluous, as the sentence opens with the particle μὴν.

3.20.32 - 3.21.32 χριστιανικῆς εὐετηρίας, ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ κράτους τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος. According to Eusebius, Constantine was not simply the founder and the first emperor of Constantinople; he was principally the defender and the establisher of the Christian faith, the founder of a political-religious empire: Eus. *Triakont.* III.201 ἀκμάζουσαν αὐτῷ καὶ νεαρὰν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν...καθίστησιν...νικητὴν αὐτὸν καθιστὰς ἐχθρῶν ἁπάντων καὶ πολεμίων εὐσεβείας τε ἀληθοῦς ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἅπασιν ἀποφαίνων.[330]

3.1.33 κρότοι λόγων. I am not quite sure what the rhetor wishes to say. However, I think that "to extol by word" can stand in the sentence regarding the whole meaning.

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[330] Greg. Cypr. *Laud.Andr.Palaeol.* 409 ὅ γε Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Μέγας...τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναμίξας τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, μάλιστα δὲ ὑποτάξας καὶ μέγας...ἀναδειχθεὶς.

3.3.33 πρόφασιν εὔλογον. see Thuc. *Hist.* 3.82.5.1 ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὔλογος, Dem. *Cor.* 152.1 προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν.

4. Encomium for the present rulers

4.4.33 τῶν ἐμῶν τουτωνὶ βασιλέων. An encomium of Metochites' contemporary rulers; he quite successfully relates the present to the glorious past. For him it is a duty (3.22.32 εὐγνωμοσύνη πᾶσα προσοφείλεται) to exalt (3.2.33 πρὸς τὸν παρόντα λόγον ἕλκει) not only the founder but also the present emperors, since they are descendants and heirs of Constantine's political-religious system. The same idea is expressed by Gregory of Cyprus in his praise of Andronicus Palaeologus, 409...οὗ καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς καὶ διάδοχος ἀληθὴς κατ' ἴχνος τῆς αὐτοῦ βεβηκὼς προαιρέσεως τὸ μετὰ Χριστοῦ ζῆν. We could suggest that a very popular belief of those times is reflected, in the need of all Byzantines to regain their prestige and hope with this flashback to their illustrious past. We should note that when Michael VIII Palaeologus returned from exile into Constantinople, the people acclaimed him as the "New Constantine".[331] The same is implied by Gregoras when he refers to Andronicus Palaeologus: X.1.469 ὦ πολλῶν πόλεων οἰκιστά, κατά τε Ἀσίαν φημὶ καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐκ ὀκνήσω δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων, ἣν πάλαι μὲν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος καὶ σοί γε ὁμότροπος ἔστησε σὺ δ' ἐπὶ γόνυ κλιθεῖσαν ἀνώρθωσας.[332]

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[331] Pachym. I.128.

[332] For the ideology of the "New Constantine" see R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople - 1261?", *BMGS* 6(1980), 13-41; eiusdem, "From the Komnenos to the Palaiologoi: imperial models in decline", in P. Magdalino(ed.) *New Constantines. The rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium*, 269-282.

4.9.33 ἀπαραμίλλῳ. For the Byzantines their city is second to none: see Zosim. *Hist.* I.2.36,1 ὡς μηδεμίαν ἄλλην εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μέγεθος αὐτῇ παραβάλλεσθαι. The idea of the city's supreme excellence survived even after the Fall and came to be legend: see *Thrēnos tēs Konstantinopoleos* 51-53 Πόλη μου, ἐτριγύρισα γῆς τὸν τροχὸν καὶ τόπον· δὲν ηὗρα εὐμορφότερον νὰ σὲ παρομοιάσω, νά 'χῃ τὴν καλωσύνην σου, νά 'χῃ τὰς ἡδονάς σου.

4.9.33 κοσμοῦσι. The rulers adorn the city with their presence, they are part of the beauty of the city; see Him. *Or.* XLI.*8* οὔπω τὸν μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον τῆς πόλεως κόσμον εἴρηκα...βασιλέα λέγω τὸν ἔνθεον and XLI.10 τῇ πόλει δὲ τίς ἄλλος ἀμείνων κόσμος, ἢ βασιλεὺς τοσοῦτος πατρίδι τῇ πόλει καλλωπιζόμενος;

4.11.33 - 4.19.33 καὶ οἷς μὲν ἄρα...συνακουόμενον. The rulers of the city derive dignity from the excellent city and vice versa, the city enhances her perfection with her noble emperors.

4.20.33 σπουδάζουσι πάσαις ἐπιμελείαις. Possibly a hint of the building activity after the recovery of Constantinople in 1261.[333]

4.21.33 - 4.4.34 καὶ ἀεὶ κάλλιον...προσεξάπτων. Metochites believes that nothing can give the emperors greater contentment than the praises and the good repute of the city. For this praise is not only a kind of recognition for their services to the city but also an incentive for them to provide more such services.

4.4.34 - 4.8.34 The word order is the following: *Ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἄλλων δοκοῦντα κατισχύειν εἰς ταυτηνὶ τὴν σπουδήν, ἃ μὲν οὖν*

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[333] Gregor. XIV.694-696, Pachym. I.364; see also A. Paspates, *The great palace of Constantinople*, 24; B. Aran, *JÖB* 32/4(1982), 416-417; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 103; M. A. Talbot, "The restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII", *DOP* 47(1993), 253-258.

πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν κἀμὲ τῶν πλείστων ἐκλεξάμενον καὶ πλείστους εἰκότως ἂν ἄλλους συνέλκῃ καὶ βιάζηται, καθόλου γε ὡς εἰπεῖν.

5. Insufficiency of the rhetor to praise the city as it deserves

5.10.34 - 5.11.34 καθάπαξ ἀνέφικτα-τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως γίγνεσθαι. Repetition of the theme "excellence of the subject - inadequacy of the speaker".

5.11.34 - 5.12.34 πόσης τῆς ἱκανώσεως καὶ διαρκείας. Even the most formidable speaker is unable to praise the city sufficiently and as it deserves.

5.11.34 ἱκανώσεως. Also see 30.22.61, "sufficiency, fitness"; see *Miscellanea* 685 οὐκ ἀστοχοῦν τοῦ δικαίου μέτρου καὶ τῆς ἱκανώσεως τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων, *Logos 15* 1.12 δοκιμῆς καὶ ἱκανώσεως, 5.16 πάσης ἱκανώσεως καὶ ἀκριβείας.

5.16.34 προωστρακισμένοι. One might consider this as a possible hint of Metochites' two periods of exile, either in Nicaea from 1283-1290, or in Didymoteichon from 1328 until 1330, and as such might be a clue to dating the oration, since Metochites states: *...banished for many years and up to the present.* However, a dating to the years 1283-1290 or 1328-1330 is either too early or too late, if we suppose that the orations preserved in the MS.Vind.Ph.Gr.95 were copied in chronological order and that the preceding oration (*Logos 10*) is dated after 1305.[334] We know that from 1305 onwards Metochites held the office of *Mesazon* (Prime Minister); this means that his duties would have inevitably increased and would not have permitted his full devotion to letters. In other words, we should take the participle metaphorically. Besides, in *Ethikos* 47.14-22,

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[334] I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, 141, n.2.

Metochites complains that the care of his children has taken him away from his habits.[335]

5.18.34 πλατὺς ὁ γέλως. See Thom. Mag. *Ecl.nom.et verb.Att.* 293.4 πλατὺς γέλως ἐρεῖς, οὐχὶ πολύς.

5.20-21.34 πεζεύειν...εἰς Ἀτλαντικὰ πελάγη. *Stoicheiosis* 1:1 29.546-548 παντάπασιν ἀδυνάτων...ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κατεπιχειρεῖν καὶ ὥσπερ Ἀτλαντικά τινα πελάγη πεζῇ διαδραμεῖν ἐπιβάλλειν.

5.22.34 κατὰ τὸν μῦθον τῶν Θετταλικῶν μειρακίων. According to myth, the giants Otos and Ephialtes threatened to raise war against the immortals on Olympus. To this end, they planned to pile Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion on Ossa, in order to reach the sky: see *Odyssey* 11.305-320.

6. Rhetor's apologies for being unable to say what is right for the City

6.1-2.35 συγγνώμην ἀξιοῦν. Lib. XI.6.3-7 Κοινὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐγκωμιαζόντων ἔθος λείπεσθαι φάσκειν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἔργων οἷς προσάγουσι τὸν λόγον, καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἀκουόντων, εἰ βουλόμενοι τῆς ἀξίας ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν ἄκοντες ἐλάττους γίγνοιντο.

6.3.35 - 6.16.35 The rhetor begs forgiveness of his audience in case he says something inappropriate to his subject, a result, on the one hand, of his extreme love and passion for the city, which does not allow him to think wisely (6.3.35 ἄσχετον ἔρωτα καὶ ἀκάματον, 6.5.35 οὐκ ἔξεστι παντὸς ὁτουοῦν ἐρῶντα

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[335] Τὰ γὰρ θήλεα καὶ ὁ νεογνής μοι παῖς οὗτος ἄῤῥην παντάπασί με κατέσχεν ἤδη καὶ πάντων ἀπέστησε ἄρα καὶ ἀπήγαγε βίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων κατασκοπούμενον ἀεὶ καὶ μελετῶντα καὶ σφόδρα κατεργαζόμενον διὰ παντός, ὅ,τι ποτ᾽ ἂν αὐτοῖς εἴην χρήσιμος. Ταῦτά με δὴ νυκτός τε καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἀεί πως γρηγορεῖν ἀναγκάζει τε καὶ καταπείθει, πάντ᾽, οἶμαι, τρόπον βίοτον σφίσι ποριζόμενον, ὅντινα ἔξεστιν, οὐ νῦν δὴ μόνον ἀλλ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ μεθύστερον, ἐμοῦ τελευτῶντος.

πράγματος ἔπειτα σωφρονεῖν) and, on the other, of the mandatory obligation to praise the city (6.15-16.35 ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τρόπων ἑλκόντων καὶ νόμων ἀφύκτων).

6.16.35 τρόπων ἑλκόντων. Liban. XI. 8.19 ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἑλκομένῳ δικαίων.

6.18.35 - 6.19.35 καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ νόμιμον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀκίνητον κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. See 2.9.32 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο νόμιμον ἀσάλευτον κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων; repetition of the same thoughts and even of the same wording. Also see Thuc. 1.71 ἀκίνητα νόμιμα.

7. It would be for the rhetor's own benefit to praise the City as it is right

7.12.36 πεῖραν διδόναι. See Thuc. 1.138.6 πεῖραν διδοὺς, Dem. *Cor.* 107.5 πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι.

7.19.36 πόρρω φέρων. *Odys.* 9.542 τὴν δὲ πρόσω φέρε κῦμα, *Odys.* 21.369 πρόσω φέρε τόξα.

8. Question from where to start

8.4.37 - 8.7.37 πολλὴ ἀπορία...πρὸς ἑαυτὸ. The rhetor wonders where to begin even though he is aware that, whatever he might treat first, in the end he will fall completely short of what the subject deserves. For the wonder of the speaker from where to start, see Arist. *Panath.* 154D.7 εἰρημένον δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πολλάκις ὡς ἄρα οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὑρεῖν ὅθεν ἄρξεταί τις, Greg. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Palaeol.* 389 ...ἀμηχανίας ἐνέκυρσα πελάγει, καὶ νῦν ἐξαπορούμενος ἵσταμαι ποῖ

ποτε τὴν πρώτην ὁρμήσας, καὶ τίνος ἐπειλημμένης ἀρχῆς, γενοίμην εὐθυδρομήσας καὶ ἀκινδύνως περάνας τὴν πρόθεσιν.[336]

8.18.37 ὅπως ἄρα. The phrase does not introduce a fresh sentence but it is an indefinite adverb of manner, synonym to ἀμωσγέπως: "somehow". See also 15.12.45 and 58.7.98.

9. Praise of the convenient situation in relation to other cities

9.19.37 ὥσπερ ἄγαλμά τι τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν. Lib. XI.132.7 ὥσπερ ἄγαλμά τι τῶν ὀνομαστῶν, XI.16.4 τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανῷ καλλίστης τὸ κάλλιστον ἥδε ἐστίν.

9.23.37 - 9.2.38 κατίδωμεν ἀπολεξάμενοι τὴν χώραν...καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν. Menand. 344.19-21 θέσιν τοίνυν χώρας δοκιμάζομέν τε καὶ κρίνομεν ὅπως κεῖται πρὸς γῆν ἢ πρὸς θάλατταν ἢ πρὸς οὐρανόν. Following Menander's precept, the encomiast will first treat the physical position of the city.

9.2.38 - 9.5.38 The speaker devotes a whole paragraph to the mention of those places that are situated either by the sea or on the mainland. In this way he will successfully prove that Constantinople was founded on the most convenient site (10.2.39 onwards).

9.19.38 - 9.6.39 Ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς...συμφορᾶς αὐτοματισμὸν. Admittedly an obscure passage. The speaker compares those places which are situated either by the sea or on the mainland with one-armed people. The argument is the following: "all the handicapped, due to their disability, cannot enjoy life in all its aspects, even if they have plenty of possessions. Despite the fact that they are alive and

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[336] See also N. Choumnos *Laud. Andr. Palaeol.* 3 καὶ οὐκ εἶχον ὅ,τι χρήσομαι, μέσος κατειλημμένος πόθου καὶ φόβου ἀντιστατούντων ἀλλήλοις, καί με βιαίως ἑκατέρου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἕλκοντος.

wealthy, they cannot prosper in any other sense. Like those who sleep, who seem to be happy since they are not seen in any other situation, they die without having savoured their possessions and their fortune. They suffer from a chronic disease, unable to treat it with medication as happens in other cases. They are unable to change their fate and their misfortune. They are condemned to continually experience this unpleasant situation." To sum up: as the handicapped cannot cure their disability even with all the riches and the medicines of the world, similarly there is nothing to be done for those places which are situated either by the sea or on the mainland.

9.5.39 τύχης βάρος. Metochites is much concerned with the treatment of Tyche, probably as a result of personal experience. In the corpus of his philosophical essays a certain series (nos.27-29, 116) is devoted to Tyche and the unfortunate changes in human life.[337]

10. The city has the best location on land and sea

10.8.39 κατ' ἄμφω καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν. The position of the city is remarkable, for not only does she lie close to the sea, but she also expands to the mainland. According to a fourth - century example of literary "praises of Constantinople", Constantinople is no ordinary city but almost a continent transformed into a city: Him. XLI.4.170 σὲ δὲ οὐδὲ νῆσον, οὐδέ τινα πόλιν, ἃς οὕτω καλοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ἤπειρον ὅλην ὀλίγου δεῖν πόλιν ποιήσασαν, τίς ποιητὴς ἢ λόγων συνθέτης οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὑμνήσειε, XLI.6 ἀρξαμένη γὰρ ἐκ μέσων μικροῦ τῶν τοῦ πορθμοῦ κυμάτων ποτίζεσθαι, πολύν τινα δρόμον τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐξέδραμε, μεγάλην ποιοῦσα πόλιν τὸ τῆς ἠπείρου δεχόμενον·

κενὸν δὲ ἀφῆκε πόλεως οὐδ' ὅσον εἰς λαγόνας καὶ τὴν κύκλῳ περιπτύσσουσαν νῆσον ἅπασαν μερίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεθεῖσα μὲν πᾶσιν αἰγιαλοῖς καὶ πᾶσι πεδίοις, ἠπειρώσασα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν θάλατταν καὶ βιασαμένη μερίδα γενέσθαι πόλεως, σαλεύουσαν φύσιν καὶ ἄστατον πεπηγέναι πεποίηκεν.[338]

10.13.39 τούτοιν ῥᾴδιον οὐδετέρῳ χρῆσθαι. Metochites thinks that beholding and admiring the city with the parallel study of all the past eulogies of the city is not enough for such a city.

10.21.39 - 10.22.39 οὐ χαλεπὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν. Plat. *Menex.* 236a.6 οἷός τ' εἴη Ἀθηναίους γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν.

10.22.39 αἴροντα λόγοις. αἴρω λόγῳ: raise by words, praise, extol. See Eur. *Heracl.* 322 πολλῷ σ' ἐπαίνῳ Θησέως, ὦ τᾶν, πέλας/ ὑψηλὸν ἀρῶ καὶ λέγων τάδ' εὐφρανῶ.

10.1.40 ὅτι. ὅτι is often used pleonastically with the infinitive and the accusative; see Pl. *Leg.* 892d. εἶπον ὅτι πρῶτον ἐμὲ χρῆναι πειραθῆναι.

11. It is easier for one to convince people who have not seen the City than its own citizens

11.3.40 ὦ ἄνδρες. As with the *Logos on Gregory of Nazianzus,*[339] *Byzantios* was a piece for private reading. It would probably have demanded seven hours to be delivered if we take under consideration that Metochites'

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[337] For Metochites' perception of Tyche, see H. G. Beck, *Theodorus Metochites, die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14.Jahrhundert,* 111-112.
[338] See also Polyb. IV.38.1 Βυζάντιοι κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν εὐκαιρότατον οἰκοῦσι τόπον καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πάντῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένῃ, κατὰ δὲ γῆν πρὸς ἀμφότερα πάντων ἀφυέστατον.
[339] Vind.Ph.Gr.95, ff.97^{r}-145^{v}.

shorter oration on Gregory of Nazianzus (50 folios long) would have taken about five hours to perform, according to Ševčenko's calculations.[340]

11.4.40 - 11.7.40 δυσχερέστατον...λόγους ποιούμενοι. The difficulty for a eulogist to praise the city and her wonders as they deserve before an informed audience is also expressed in the prologue to *Nicaeus* 1.5-1.15 ἐργῶδες ἐπιεικῶς εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν αὐτῇ προσόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι μὴ ἀγεννῶς...καὶ πρὸς παρόντας καὶ ὁρῶντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας γίγνοιντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι καὶ τοῖς φαινομένοις, εἰ μή τι πλέον, ἔστι προσμαρτυρεῖν, καὶ πολλὴ πάντως ἡ αἰσχύνη μὴ μόνον ὑπερσχεῖν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις, ἢ τό γε δεύτερον παραθεῖναι τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πολὺ τῶν ὄντων ἀπολειφθῆναι ἐν εἰδόσι τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις σπουδάζοντα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοῶν τάχ' ἂν ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν οἰηθείη τὴν ἀγωνίαν καὶ ἀγαπήσοι τῷ προστυχόντι, πῶς δ' ἄν τις καὶ διαγένοιτο περὶ μεγάλων καθιστάμενος καὶ συνιεὶς ἧττον ἔχων, ὁπόταν ὁ κριτὴς εὐθὺς μεταφέρῃ καὶ προσαρμόζῃ τοὺς λόγους τῷ συνεῖναι τοῖς πράγμασιν;

11.7.40 λόγους ποιούμενοι. Thucydides often uses the phrase in his *History*; for example, see 5.84.3 λόγους πρῶτον ποιησομένους.

11.7.40 Βαβυλωνίοις. It is always hard for us to know what nations Byzantine authors have in mind with these classicizing names. If one tried to identify the contemporary tribes with those races whose names could be found in the ancient historians, it would emerge that three, four or even more archaizing names are attached to every contemporary race by different Byzantine authors.[341]

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[340] "The Logos on Gregory of Nazianzus by Theodore Metochites", in W. Seibt (ed.) *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit,* 224.
[341] H. Hunger, "On the imitation (μίμησις) of antiquity in byzantine literature", *DOP* 23/4(1969-70), 31.

In the 13th century, the Mongols had conquered the territory of the former Sassanian realm and in 1258 Hülegü seized Baghdad and founded the state of the Ilkhans. However, Metochites here is probably referring to the Turks rather than to the Mongols: Byzantines always presented themselves similarly to the Jews of the Old Testament,[342] as the "God-chosen nation", and therefore their major enemy, the Turks, took on the name of the traditional enemies of the Jews, the Babylonians.

11.8.40 Βορυσθενίταις. Those dwelling on the banks of the Dnieper (Δάναπρις/Βορυσθένης). Byzantine references to the Dnieper usually suggest its lower section, which curves in an eastward loop through the steppes.[343] From the mid 13th through to the 14th century, the lower Dnieper was controlled by the Mongols.

11.8.40 βιβλία περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν. Short or somewhat longer accounts of Constantinople are given throughout the Byzantine period by rhetors and historians. However, at this point it is very likely that Metochites is alluding to himself and his Byzantios, for all participles (πέμποντες, καταδημιουργοῦντες, προτιθέντες, etc.) and the verb of the main clause (εἴημεν ἂν) are in the present tense. It is remarkable that Metochites speaks about these nations as if they knew Greek and could understand the eulogies of the city written in Greek!

11.19.40 ἀποκναίων ἀηδίᾳ. Demosth. *Or.21* 153.7 ἀποκναίει ἀηδίᾳ.

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[342] For this quite popular idea see Th. Syncellus: Constantinople is identified with Jerusalem (p.298), or with the land of Israel (p.316) and her emperor is compared to King David in piety (p.320). For M. Holobolos, Constantinople is identified with the land of Israel (3, 79.17-18) or with the New Sion (3, 82.10), and her emperor, Michael VIII, is the New Moses (2, 57.4-10 and 3, 83.19-21), the New David, the New Solomon, the New Zorobabel, who delivered his people from the Babylonians, the Italians(2, 57.4-10). See also A. Florov "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", *Revue de l' histoire des religions* 77(1944), 86 and P. J. Alexander, "The strength of empire and capital as seen through byzantine eyes", *Speculum* 37(1962), 346.

12. Praise of the most convenient situation of the City, at the centre of the whole world

12.17.41 - 12.18.41 ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ κεῖσθαι. The motive of the best, most convenient and favourable situation of the city is found in all eulogists without exception; see e.g. *Nicaeus* 4 ὅτι δὲ θέσεως ἡ πόλις ἔλαχεν εὐφυῶς καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπικαίρως ἵδρυται.

12.19.41 - 12.20.41 καθάπερ αἱ ἀκροπόλεις ἔχουσι. Menand. 245.28 ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις κατέχει, 349.21 ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις (αὕτη κατείληφεν) ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ πυρσεύουσα. For Constantinople as the citadel of Europe, see Proc. *De aedif.* IV.8 τῇ μὲν Εὐρώπῃ ὥσπερ τις ἀκρόπολις ἐπεμβαίνουσα, Greg. Cypr. *De laud. Andr. Pal.* 494 ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀκρόπολις ἥδε καὶ μεγαλόπολις.

12.7.42 τὸ μεσαίτατον. A rather formulaic expression found in many authors.[344] Libanius notes this practice but does not follow it: XI.14.10 καὶ οὐ ταὐτόν γε πείσομαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἳ πᾶν ὅ,τι ἂν ἐπαινῶσι χωρίον μέσον τῆς οἰκουμένης βιάζονται δεικνύειν.

13. The City is bridge of Europe and Asia

13.17.42 ἀμφοῖν μὲν ἐστὶν ταῖν καλλίσταιν ἠπείροιν. Constantinople is a unique city for not only does she lay hold of land and sea, but is also the meeting point of two continents, Europe and Asia; see Him. *Or.* XLI.4-5 Σὺ μὲν γὰρ Εὐρώπης ἀρχή. σὺ δὲ καὶ πέρας καθέστηκας. σὺ δὲ Ἀσίας τὴν ἴσην μοῖραν κεκλήρωσας, Greg. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 389 Σοῦ δ' ἡ πατρὶς...καὶ Ἀσίας

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[343] Theophanes 357.28, Skylitzes 455.38.

[344] J. Koder, "Anmerkungen zur neuen Mitte", 185-192; see also Bonizo, 233 Z.9-22 Solum nove Rome imperium, Constantinopolitanum scilicet, in meditullio positum, de quo apostolus dicit: "Qui tenet nunc, teneat donec de medio fiat.", Greg. Cypr. *Laudat. Mich. Palaeol.* 317 μέση μὲν γὰρ κεῖται τῆς γῆς, ἔσχατα μὲν ἔχουσα τῆς Εὐρώπης, Ἀσίαν δὲ λέγεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀποδέουσα, ἥ,

ἐπειλημμένη καὶ Εὐρώπης, Const. Manas. *Brev. Hist. Metr.* 2354-2355 ἠπίως ἀγκαλίζονται παλάμαι τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀντιφιλεῖ δ' ἑτέρωθεν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας στόμα.

13.21.42 τὴν λοιπὴν τρίτην. The continent of Africa is less favoured than the other two; see Greg. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 389 *Λιβύη μὲν περὶ ἐλαχίστου τοῖς σοφοῖς γέγονε λόγου, οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου προΐσχουσα.*

13.23.42 - 13.2.43 ἑαυτῆς ἀμφοτέρας...αὐτὴν. An exchange is constantly occurring between Constantinople and the two continents: she enjoys the advantages of Europe and Asia, and in return through her they receive great honour.

13.4.43 - 13.5.43 κοινὴ γέφυρα, δίοδος, κοινὸν ταμεῖον. The city is the bond of the two continents where all goods arrive, and again, where these are distributed to both east and west. See Greg. Theol. *Or.* XLII.10 πόλιν...ἑῴας τε καὶ ἑσπερίου λήξεως οἷον σύνδεσμον, εἰς ἣν τὰ πανταχόθεν ἄκρα συντρέχει καὶ ὅθεν ἄρχεται ὡς ἀπὸ ἐμπορίου κοινοῦ τῆς πίστεως. Metochites calls Constantinople *bridge*, Ibn Baṭṭuta in his travel accounts talks about a real bridge which united the European and the Asiatic shore: II.431,506 *In former times there was a bridge over it (the Golden Horn), built of stone, but the bridge has fallen into ruin and nowadays it is crossed in boats.*[345]

13.20.43 τὸ πρωτεῖον φέρεσθαι. Europe and Asia surpass Africa in every aspect; see Greg. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 389 Ἀσία δὲ καὶ Εὐρώπη περὶ πρωτείων ἄνωθεν ἀλλήλαις ἐρίζουσαι.

μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης, καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον τμῆμα γῆς, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχὴ, M. Psell. *Ep.* 193.219f. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐστί τις μεσαίτατος τόπος τῆς γῆς.

[345] For the existence or not of a bridge see R. Janin, "Le ponts byzantins de la Corne d' Or", *Annuaire de l' Institut de philologie et d' histoire orientales et slaves* 9(1949), 247ff.

13.22.43 ἀμφοτέρας νικᾷ. For the supremacy of the city, see Aristid. *Panath.* 268D.247 οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς νίκας οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν φέρεται καὶ νικᾷ τὰς πόλεις.

13.23.43 διὰ τὴν ἑτέραν νικᾷ. Aristid. *Panath.* 304D.348 οὕτω καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ δι' ἑκάστου πολλαχῶς νικᾷ.

13.1.44 τρόπαιον νίκης. Soph. *Tr.* 751 νίκης ἄγων τροπαῖα.

14. The sea passage between the two continents

14.8.44 - 14.9.44 τῆς θαλάττης ἁπάσης τὸ στενώτατον. This part is indeed so narrow, that it can be called either river or channel: Ibn Baṭṭuta II.431,506 *It is...divided into two parts, between which there is a great river,* Proc. *De Aed.* I.5.2-13 δόξαις ἂν ποταμὸν τεθεᾶσθαι and IV.9.1-3 ἐν πορθμῷ ἵεται, Him. XLI.170 πορθμὸς πάσης μὲν ποιήσεως and LXII.225 πορθμὸς θλιβόμενος ποταμοῦ φύσιν ἀλλάττεται, ὥσπερ στενούμενος.

14.10.44 κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ζωγράφων πίνακας. What Metochites probably wishes to say is that the Golden Horn separates the two continents with such perfection and harmony that it can be compared to a piece of art, a painting.

14.21.44 διάφορον. Her. 2.7 σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὕροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων.

14.23.44 προέχειν. Religious-political rhetoric stressed Constantinople's superiority in comparison to all other cities with regard, on the one hand, to her location on the sea route from the Aegean to the Black Sea and the land route from Europe to Asia and, on the other, to her prosperity and riches.[346]

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[346] For this matter, see P. J. Alexander, "The strength of empire", 345.

15. Many have devoted part of their writings to the City

15ff. According to the rhetor, the superiority of the city is implied by the fact that many historians have either devoted treatises exclusively to the city, or have even deviated from their subject in order to describe the excellence of the city. Besides, he believes that, owing to the nature of the city, a full report of the city, in all her aspects, demands much time and great effort.

15.7.45 περιήγησιν οἰκουμένης. Metochites probably refers to the geographical poem composed by Dionysius of Alexandria, *Τῆς οἰκουμένης περιήγησις.*

15.20.45 σχολῆς ἔργον. Eur. *Andr.* 552 σχολῆς τόδ' ἔργον.

16. Herodotus' testimony on the colonization of Chalcedon and Byzantion

16.1.46 δοκῶ. The verb is followed by participles rather than infinitives.

16.5.46 - 16.6.46 διδασκαλία τῆς ὄψεως. Herodotus was the first historian who applied personal inquiry and his own experience to the composition of history, 2.99.1 μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι.

16.14.46 - 16.15.46 ἑπτὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ δέκα ἐξῆς ἔτη τυφλοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπους. Her. *Hist.* 4.144.1-6 γενόμενος γὰρ (ὁ Μεγάβαζος) ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἐόντας τυφλούς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρεόντος κτίζειν χῶρον τὸν αἰσχίονα ἑλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί.

16.19.46 Χαλκηδόνα. Chalcedon was always overshadowed by Constantinople because of the natural advantages of the latter. Herodotus

preserves a popular belief that the colonists of Chalcedon had been blind for choosing the site of Chalcedon instead of Byzantion in founding their colony. Hence Chalcedon was always called "the land of the blind".[347]

17. The place is the meeting point of land, sea, air and light

17.9.47 ἐπιπολὺ τῆς θαλάττης. Thuc. 1.50.2.2. ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν.

17.11.47 ἐῤῥαστωνευμένην. "free of cares"; see *Logos 15* 2.9 ἐῤῥαστωνευμένην ἀγωγὴν.

17.12.47 ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς...κοινωνίαις. *The city easily meets and intermingles with the solar energy*, in other words, *she is always sunny.* This becomes more clear at 17.17.47 - 17.22.47 οὐ θέσεως κατὰ φύσιν ἰζάνουσα κοιλότης ἡτισοῦν καὶ βυθὸς τῆς ἐπιπέδου συνεχείας ὑφεδρεύων καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενος καὶ στενούμενος καὶ δραπετεύων τὸ τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τῆς καταλάμψεως ἀνύσιμον, οὐκ ἀντίθεσις καὶ εἱρκτή τις ὀρῶν...ἐγκλειόντων ὁπηοῦν κύκλῳ τὴν ἀφ' ἡλίου καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀέρος εὐετηρίαν.

17.12.47 - 17.14.47 τοῦτο μὲν ἐπιπλεῖστον τῆς θαλάττης προεξάγων τε καὶ πεζεύων, τοῦτο δ' ἐπιπλεῖστον καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνατρέχων εἰς ὕψος. The land of Constantinople expands into the sea, see Him. XLI.171 ἠπειρώσασα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν θάλασσαν; while, when Metochites says that the land expands upwards, he may refer to the hills of the city. The same idea is expressed by Gregory of Cyprus in the encomium of the emperor, in which Constantinople is called ἀερόπολις: 392 ἄλλα δὲ τῶν μέσων ἐπάνω φερόμενα πείθει...τολμᾷν καλέσαι καὶ ἀερόπολιν.

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[347] Strab. VII.6.320, Tacit. *Ann.* XII.63, Const. Manass. *Brev. Hist. Metr.* 2338, *Patria Constant.* I.

17.17.47 - 17.20.47 κοιλότης-εἰρκτή τις ὀρῶν. The city is neither mountainous nor low lying; see Aristid. *Panath.* 162D.22 τὸ μήτε ὑπτίαν εἶναι διὰ πάσης μήτε ὄρειον παντελῶς, ἀλλ' ἐσχηματίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑκατέρου χρείαν ἐν μέρει καὶ πεποικίλθαι.

17.20.47 κατὰ πρόσωπον. *facing* and not κατὰ προσώπου: *towards the front.* Κατὰ πρόσωπον is a standard phrase; probably the scribe confused it with its opposite κατὰ νώτου (in rear) which is governed by the genitive.

17.5.48 - 17.7.48 Εὐξείνου πέλαγος, Προποντίδα, Ἑλλήσποντον, Αἰγαῖον. The city is the only place in the world which joins two seas, the Black Sea and the Aegean (see Proc. *De aedif.* I.5.2-13 πελάγη γὰρ δύο ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ὄντα, ὅ τε δὴ Αἰγαῖος καὶ ὁ Εὔξεινος καλούμενος Πόντος ξυνίασιν ἀλλήλοις, Greg. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 392 ἐπικείμενα πελάγη...τὸν Αἰγαῖον...τὸν Εὔξεινον), the place where "the Black Sea ceases to swell, the Aegean begins and Bosporus is its neighbour" (Him. XLI.170 ἐν σοὶ μὲν πόντος κυμαίνων ἵσταται, ἐκ σοῦ δὲ Αἰγαῖος γεννᾶται. σὸς δὲ καὶ γείτων ὁ μέγας Βόσπορος).

18. All winds are favourable

18.10.48 εὐπλοοῦσα. The comparison of a city to a ship is rather common; Alc.6 τόδ' αὖτε...παρέξει δ' ἄμμι πόνον πόλυν ἄντλην, ἐπεί κε νᾶος ἔμβᾳ, Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 22-25 πόλις γὰρ... ἄγαν ἤδη σαλεύει κἀνακουφίσαι κάρα βυθῶν ἔτ' οὐχ οἵα τε φοινίου σάλου.

18.10.48 - 18.11.48 κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν. It has not been possible for me to trace the proverb that Metochites quotes.

18.15.48 πομπῇ θεατρικῇ. Metochites uses theatrical terminology several times in his speech, a not uncommon practice in Byzantine literature: the Fathers of the Church and the rhetors adopted theatrical terms in order to make their speech or their writings more lively, more "theatrical":[348] see Greg. Theol. *Apol.* 35.489 θέατρον καινὸν, I. Chrys. *De Laz.* 48.87.1 ζωῆς ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον ἀπέθετο, Psell. *Chron.* 6.104.7 οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς οἷον δραματουργῶν ἢ πλαττόμενος. In fact, this practice goes back to the classical authors: see Plat. *Leg.* 817b-c ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τραγῳδίας αὐτοὶ ποιηταὶ...πᾶσα οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία συνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου, ὃ...εἶναι τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην. ποιηταὶ μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς...τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος...σκηνάς τε πήξαντας...καὶ καλλιφώνους ὑποκριτὰς εἰσαγομένους, Epictet. *Ench.* 17 ὑποκριτὴς εἶ δράματος, οἵου ἂν θέλῃ ὁ διδάσκαλος...σὸν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὸ δοθὲν ὑποκρίνασθαι πρόσωπον καλῶς.

18.21.48 πᾶς ἄνεμος τῇ πόλει φορώτατος. This is an hyperbole. The winds that blow in this region are not quite as favourable as Metochites claims. Constantinople has prevailing winds from north to north-east which cause the temperature to drop and also make sailing hard: see Proc. *De Aed.* I.5.2-13 and Polyb. *Hist.* IV.44.9-10.

18.2.49 - 18.3.49 εὖ τε...νοσεῖν. I have transposed the negative particle μὴ, as I believe that at this point there is a series of synonyms linked by τε-καὶ-τε καὶ: εὖ τε πράττειν καὶ ἐῤῥῶσθαί τε καὶ μὴ νοσεῖν (prosper, thrive and get on well). If we keep the particle before ἐῤῥῶσθαι, the meaning (prosper and not thrive and suffer) contradicts what has been suggested in the previous lines (18.21.48 - 18.24.48, 18.1.49 - 18.2.49 πᾶς ἄνεμος τῇ πόλει φορώτατος καὶ

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[348] M. Plōritēs, *Τὸ θέατρο στὸ Βυζάντιο*, 67.

ἐργατικώτατος...ἐνεργὸς καὶ πλουτοποιὸς καὶ βίου δοτὴρ καὶ ζωῆς εὐμαρείας καὶ χρήσεως ἀνυσίμου...μόνοις ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ οὐ τἀναντία τῶν ἐναντίων φέρεσθαι) and with what follows (18.4.49 βέλτιστ' ἔχειν, ῥᾳστώνῃ χρῆσθαι).

18.13.49 γεωργοῦμεν ἀνέμους. "plough the winds". Ἀνέμους γεωργεῖν: ἐπὶ τῶν πονούντων καὶ μηδενὸς μεταλαμβανόντων Diogen. Vindob. I.51, Diogen. I.88, Greg. Cypr. M I.49, Apost. III.3; Ἀνέμους γεωργεῖν: ἐπὶ τῶν πονούντων καὶ μηδενὸς μετεχόντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνεμος πάντα μὲν φύει καὶ αὔξει, οὐδὲν δὲ ἕτερον ἢ μόνον ἄχνην ἀποφέρεται ὥστε μηδενὸς μεταλαμβάνει Mant. Prov. I.16, Macar. II.14; Ἀνέμους γεωργεῖς: πρὸς τοὺς πονοῦντας καὶ μηδενὸς μεταλαγχάνοντας. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἄνεμος πάντα μὲν φύει καὶ αὔξει, οὐδενὸς δὲ τυγχάνει, ἢ μόνην ἄχνην ἀποφέρεται Zen. I.99, Diogen. I.88, Greg. Cypr. I.52, Apost. III.47, Arsen. 56.

19. Goods from all places easily reach the City as it were the middle of a circle

19.16.49 καλλίστῳ. It would be more normal if the adjective followed the preposition ἐν. It seems that the author wanted it to be in accordance with the previous μέσῳ.

19.20.49 κυκλικοῦ μέσου. The city is compared to the centre of a circle, to the centre of the whole world. For the formulaic comparison of a city to the centre of a circle, see Menand. 349.1 ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ μέσον σημεῖον.

19.20.49 - 19.1.50 πάσας...ἰσότητος. For a similar comparison, see Ioan. Scyl. *Synops. Hist.* 494 πᾶσα ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺς ὥσπερ ἐκ κύκλου γραμμαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς εἴ τι σημεῖον νενεύκασιν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ἀπαραλλάκτῳ βουλήματι.

20. Streams from the City reach every point of the compass

20.2.51 τὰ μέσα. The city is situated in the centre of the world; see Aristid. *Panath.* 159D.16 ἡ δ' αὐτὴ θέσις τῆς τε χώρας ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, μέση γὰρ ἐν μέση κεῖται.

20.3,4.51 Ἀττικῆς - Δελφοῖς. Constantinople is known for her advantages as Attica is known for its poor soil[349] and Delphi for its omphalos of Apollo's temple.[350]

20.7.51 ἕω-δυσμὰς. The city is the meeting point of east and west; see Aristid. *Panath.* 161D.19 ἀνατολάς τε καὶ δύσεις ὅσον τὸ ἄνω καὶ κάτω, αὐτὴν δ' εἶναι πάντων ὡσπερεὶ μεθόριον, κοινόν τινα χῶρον, οὗ πάντα τὰ τμήματα συγκεράννυται.

20.9,10.51 Ἑλλήνων - Ἑλλάδα. It is quite striking that Hellenes and Hellas are distinguished from all other nations (τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν). We can suggest that the word *Hellene* ceases to carry the derogatory sense of *pagan* and acquires a cultural meaning. Thus the mention of Hellas is a conception of national identity. In his second Imperial oration (Nicaea 1290/1) Metochites turned to the emperor Andronicus, *the man who had given himself for the salvation of the Hellenes* (*ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν σῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας*, Cod.Vind.Phil.Gr.95, f.150^{v}). The Byzantines start to perceive their national identity a few years earlier, during the period of the Latin conquest. The resistance against the Latins and all other enemies - Bulgars, Serbs, Turks - led them to seek refuge in their past[351] and to affirm their cultural differences with

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[349] Plut. *De rect.rat.aud.* 47.D.7.
[350] Aesch. *Eum.* 40ff, Hesych. *T* 1134.

[351] N. Chon. *Chron.* 9,767-768.

all these enemies.[352] We should add that a very important factor in the process of cultural awareness is the gradual restriction of the empire to a region which had always been occupied by the Greeks, and the subsequent homogeneity of the population.[353]

20.13.51 - 20.20.51 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν θαλαττίων διαλέπτων αὐλῶν...Εὐξείνου. From Constantinople the streams flow south (Αἴγυπτον, Λιβύην), east (Κιλίκων, Φοινίκων), west (Γαδείρων) and north (Μαιώτιδος, Εὐξείνου); see Proc. *De Aed.* IV.9.1-3 and Him. LXII.225.

20.18.51 - 20.1.52 A very accurate description of how the sea flows from the north heavy and ungovernable (πολυῤῥοίας ἀπλέτου),[354] how it is restricted (δεσμουμένης) as if the Bosphorus were a kind of tube (σωλῆνι τῷ Βοσπόρῳ) or restrained as if it were under the dynastic rule of a master (ὑπὸ χεῖρα γιγνομένης δεσπότου), and how it receives back its ungovernable nature (ἔπειτα τὸν ἀδυνάστευτον δρόμον καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολαμβανούσης).[355]

21. The City is bond of all seas

21.16.52 - 21.24.52 A quite accurate literary description of the area: the city of Constantinople through the Golden Horn and the current of Bosphorus joins (ξυνδεῖ) the Black Sea (Εὔξεινον) with the Sea of Marmara, while, through

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[352] Th. Laskaris *Ep.* 165-176.

[353] S. Runciman, *The last Byzantine renaissance*, 19-23; eiusdem, "Byzantine and Hellene in the 14th century", *Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενόπουλου ἐπὶ τῇ ἑξακοσιετηρίδι τῆς ἐξαβίβλου αὐτοῦ*, 29; D. M. Nicol, «The Byzantine church and hellenic learning in the 14th century", *Studies in Church History* 5(1969), 23-57; A. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the greek nation*, 30-42; K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner*, 64-72; A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 78.

[354] See Hom. *Iliad* 12.30 παρ' ἀγάῤῥοον Ἑλλήσποντον.

[355] For a description of Bosphorus, see Dion. Byz. *Anapl.Bosp.* 3 τοῦτο πορθμός ἐστι ῥοώδης, μῆκος μὲν ρκ' σταδίων, εὖρος δέ, ᾗ στενότατος αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τεττάρων...συνέχεσι καὶ παραλλήλοις ὑπεροχαῖς ἀκρωτηρίων ἀγνύμενος, παρ' ὃ καὶ δῖναι συνεχεῖς καὶ ἀνακοπαὶ τῆς θαλάττης κυκώμενον γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τῶν ἠπείρων θλιβόμενος σπασμῷ καὶ ταράχῳ κάτεισιν.

the straits of Hellespont (Ἑλλησποντίων στενῶν) it joins with the Aegean Sea (Αἰγαῖον αὐτὸν) and the remaining seas of the Mediterranean basin (καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πελάγη). It is remarkable how many terms the rhetor uses in order to show that the city controls and at the same time unites all the seas: 21.16.52 ὀμφαλῷ, 21.17.52 κλεὶς, 21.21.52 γραμμικὸν αὐχένα, 21.21 - 22.52 δεσμὸν ζυγοῦ τινος.[356]

22. The rough Bosporus gets calm as it reaches the City

22.4.53 ὁ πόντος ἄνωθεν ἐπιβρέμων καὶ χαλεπὸς-22.15-16.53 λιμένας εἰσφέρων. The Black Sea coast is inhospitable having no natural harbours except for Sozopolis. On the other hand, the south coast of the city is more agreeable, with five harbours constructed in the following chronological order: the harbour of Eleutherios or Theodosios, the harbour of the emperor Julian or the New Harbour or the harbour of St. Sophia, the harbour of Kaisarius, the harbour of the Bucoleon, the Kontoskalion. Metochites says that "the sea offers harbours to the city" (εἰσφέρων καὶ δημιουργῶν); on the contrary, the coast presents no bay where ships could moor. Therefore, all harbours of this side of the city were artificial extensions of some indentation of the coast.[357]

22.9.53 ὀργὴν ἀφεὶς. Aesch. *Pr.* 315 ὀργὰς ἄφες.

22.2.54 τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἔρωτας. Aristoph. *Av.* 1316 κατέχουσι δ' ἔρωτες ἐμᾶς πόλεως.

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[356] Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Mich. Palael.* 318 Μαιῶτίς τε θάλαττα καὶ ὁ Εὔξεινος διὰ στενοῦ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποθλίβονται καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὡς εἰς δεσπότιν τὴν πόλιν χρεωστικῶς παραπέμπουσιν. Ἑλλήσποντος δέ, τὸν Αἰγαῖον καὶ πάντα κόλπον θαλάττης πληρῶν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀπάρχεται.
[357] W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur topographie Istanbuls*, 57-63; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 268.

22.6.54 θέατρον. See the same comparison of Bosphorus in Dion. Byz. *Anapl. Bosp.* 32 θέατρον δέ τις εἰκάσειεν ὁρᾶν, ἀπρονόητον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς φύσεως.

23. The islands before the City

23.10.54 νησίδια. The Princes islands, nine islands in the Sea of Marmara.[358]

23.10.54 νησίδια συχνὰ. Her. 3.39.15 συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων.

23.10.54 ταύτῃ. A mistake of assimilation seems to be very probable here, since the following words have the same ending (συχνά, προσάλληλα).

23.11.54 κάλλος, 23.13.54 χρήσιμα. The islets at the entrance of the city are full of natural beauties and provide security to those who sail in and out of the city.

23.20-21.54 ἐρωτικὰ δήγματα. See Soph. *Fr.* 841 *ὅτῳ δ' ἔρωτος δῆγμα παιδικὸν προσῇ.* The Princes islands seem to Metochites to have been separated from the mainland due to their proximity to Constantinople and their close resemblance to the city in beauty. For the author, their graces are compared to the tokens that lovers retain when separated.

24. Bosporus and Propontis offer the most pleasant spectacle

24.5.55 Πλαγκτὰς, Κυανέας. Dark Rocks, two small islands at the entrance of the Euxine.[359] According to myth, they were said to entrap all those who sailed between them.[360]

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[358] Prote, Antigone, Chalke, Prinkipos, Plate, Oreia, Pita, Niadros, Terebinthos.
[359] Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 25, Erat. *Sch. E. Med.* 2.

24.5.55 - 24.7.55 θαυμάζω...ἐξῳκισμένοι. See Apost. XIV.57 ποῦ γῆς ἡ θαλάττης ὑπῆρχες; ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων; see also Aristid. *Panath.* 286D.302 Θαυμάζω τοίνυν τῶν τὰ Μηλίων καὶ Σκιωναίων τολμώντων προφέρειν τῇ πόλει. Ποῦ γῆς ἢ θαλάττης ὄντες ταῦτα κατηγοροῦσιν;, 287D.306 ἀλλά μοι δοκοῦσιν ὅλως ἠγνοηκέναι τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξοικεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης οἱ τοὺς τοιούτους παραφέροντες λόγους.

24.6.55 ἐπικτυπούντων-προσαρασσόντων. The participles describe the noise provoked by the clashing and conceal sarcasm: *I wonder at those that clash and dash against the Dark Rocks and slander the city.*

24.13.55 Ὑπερβορέων. The Hyperboreans were a people said to inhabit the far north.[361]

24.14.55 Μαιώτιδος. For a description of Euxine, see Polyb. *Hist.* IV.39.

24.21.55 - 24.22.55 καθάπερ ταῖς στικταῖς ἐλάφοις ἢ ταῖς παρδάλεσιν. Aristid. *Aeg.Pel.* 250.20 ὥσπερ αἱ στικταί τε ἔλαφοι καὶ τῶν παρδάλεων δοραὶ τὰς χρόας καὶ τοὺς κύκλους ἀναμὶξ ἔχουσιν...οὕτω καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αἰγαίου πέλαγος ταῖς νήσοις κεκόσμηται.

25. The beauties of Propontis

25.9.56 - 25.21.56 καθάπερ ἀμέλει κάτοπτρον...τὴν εὐρυθμίαν. One of the most lively and telling literary accounts of how clear and bright the waters are: the sea is the reflection of the sky on earth.

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[360] Str. 1.2.10, 3.2.12, 7.6.1 αἱ δὲ Κυανέαι πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ πόντου εἰσὶ δύο νησίδια, τὸ μὲν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ προσεχές, τὸ δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, πορθμῷ διειργόμενα ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίων...ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὸ στενώτατον; Dion. Byz. 3 ὑποτροχάζουσι δ' ἀλλήλαις αἱ τῶν ἠπείρων ἄκραι καὶ τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐξαπατῶσιν ὡς εἴργουσαι τοῦ πρόσω τοὺς πλέοντας· ἔνθεν μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ Συμπληγάδας ὀνομάσαι τὰς πέτρας, ἐπειδὴ προσπλεόντων τε διίστανται καὶ ἀναχωρούντων συνίασι, ψευδομένης τῆς προσόψεως τὴν δόξαν.
[361] Hom. 7.29, Pi. *P.* 10.30, Str. 15.I.57.

25.14.56 φαιδρὰ. A mistake of assimilation, since the previous and the following word have the same ending: -α (πάντα, μίμημα).

25.20.56 χορὸν ἄστρων. Soph. *Antig.* 1147 χοράγ' ἄστρων, νυχίων.

26. The marvels of the Black Sea

26.8.57 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἱστᾶν. Pl. *Phaed.* 118.a.13 ὄμματα ἔστησεν.

26.23-24.57 μίμημα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου. The city imitates the whole world; see Aristid. *Panath.* 162D.22 ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς εἴποι τις εἶναι ταῦτα χώρας τελέας καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης οἱονεὶ μίμημα σῳζούσης;

27. The city lacks nothing beautiful or useful

27.6-7.58 πεδία-ὄρη. Metochites adds one more aspect to his argument for the excellence of the city: the city has many plains and mountains which can satisfy any material and aesthetic need. See Gr.Cypr. *Laud.Andr.Pal.* 389 πεδία κάρπιμά τε καὶ κάλλιστα...καὶ μεῖζω ἢ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐξικνεῖται...τοῦτο δ' οἷς ὄρη μήκιστα.

27.6.58 - 27.8.58 πεδία-ὄρη...ἐπιμέμικται. The city beautifully combines mountains and plains which provide her with all the goods; see Aristid. *Panath.* 162D.23 τῶν δ' αὖ πεδίων καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἡ σὺν ὥρᾳ μίξις καὶ χάρις οὐ τῶν ὅπου τις ἂν εἴποι συμβεβηκότων οἶμαι...πηγὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ καρπῶν ἁπάντων φορὰν.

27.17.58 πελαγίζει. Her. 1.185.1 πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν, 3.117.13 πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρέων πέλαγος γίνεται; Str. 11.14.13.7 καὶ πελαγίζειν ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πεδίοις.

27.19.58 ὀστέοις. See Choerilus *fr.* 2 γῆς ὀστοῖσιν ἐγχριμφθεὶς πόδα, Menand. 346.1 εἰ δὲ πεδινή...οὐδ' ὀστώδης. A common comparison of the stones to "bones", of the stony land to "a bony, full of bones" land.[362]

27.5.59 φύσει καὶ πάσῃ τέχνῃ. Pl. *Ph.* 1999.14 φύσει ἀλλὰ καὶ τέχνῃ.

27.9-10.59 ῥᾷστ' εὐεπιχείρητος. The mountain ranges run east-west: Yildiz/ Istranca dağlari (prolongation of Rhodope along the Black Sea coast), Ganos dağ (the backbone of Gallipoli peninsula which terminates near Rodosto). In other words, Constantinople had no natural defence against a possible attack from the west. This was evident since the Gothic invasion during the second half of the fourth century[363] and remained a problem for the Byzantines.

27.4.59, 28.12.59 οὐ γὰρ ἔῤῥωται-ἐῤῥωμένη. At first, these two statements seem to be contradictory. However, the author expresses two different ideas by the same wording. In the first case, he wants to indicate that the land is not heavily cultivated (this is probably suggested with ἄνετος at 27.9.59). Nevertheless, the land is so fertile that it yields every fruit and seed (28.13.59 εὐφορίαν τῶν ὀνησίμων καρπῶν καὶ πάσης γονῆς) in quantities quite sufficient (28.17.59 δαψιλῶς) to satisfy the needs of the city (28.17-18.59 ἀνεῖται τῇ πόλει...πρὸς τὴν τῆς ὕλης ἀδάπανον μετουσίαν). The land of Constantinople could probably provide up to 500.000 people with fresh vegetables;[364] as far as we know, apart from an area of at least 10-12 km^2 along the Theodosian walls

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[362] For the kennings in pre-christian Greek poetry and especially for those kennings derived from the human body, see I. Waern, *Γῆς ὀστέα*, pp. 96, 111, 136.

[363] *Chr. Min.* 5.21 Gothi per neglectos limites eruperunt et vastata Thracia et Maesia praedas agere coeperunt.

[364] J. Koder, "Fresh vegetables for the capital", in C. Mango (ed.) *Constantinople and its hinterland*, 53; eiusdem, *Ο κηπουρός και η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, 42-43.

(approximately 6km long), outside the city, there were fields of 2-3 km^2 for agricultural use within the Theodosian walls.[365]

28. The fertile land

28.13.59 καρπῶν-γονῆς. Apart from grain provision from the Thracian hinterland,[366] *Geoponica* 12.1 (*Notice of what is sown and what is planted each month in the region of Constantinople*) mentions a great variety of vegetables produced in Constantinople. This contradicts Metochites' report (28.13-14.59 ἅπασαν-πάσης-ἁπάσης), by stating that not everything was produced in Constantinople; the city lacked legumes and some Mediterranean vegetables (egg-plants, artichokes, olives).[367]

28.19.59 νόμος. According to the author, it is a law of nature that the mountains provide the city with their crops. See Hes. *Op.* 388-393 οὗτός τοι πεδίων πέλεται νόμος...γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν, εἴ χ' ὥρια πάντ' ἐθέλῃσθα/ ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος.

28.23.59 πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ἁπάντων σπερμάτων κεῖται χρήσιμα. See M. Holob. 2, 57.29-31 γῆ πολλή τε καὶ ἄφθονος, πίων ἐς αὔξην φυτῶν, ἀγαθὴ πρὸς σπερμάτων ὑποδοχήν.

28.20.60 ὑετοὶ-χειμῶνες. Constantinople's climate is affected by the Black Sea: it has prevailing winds from north to north-east which drop the temperature to $5C^{o}$ in January/February and bring snow or frost lasting at least eight days,[368]

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[365] Theoph. 423; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem,* 64. For the cultivation of the land within the walls see Pachym. III.9 τῶν ἐντὸς λέγω τῆς πόλεως, αὐτοὺς γεωργεῖν ἔχειν, νεοῦντας καὶ σπείροντας καὶ θερίζοντας, ὡς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αὐτάρκη τροφὴν, while for the cultivation of the land outside the walls and even of the opposite side of Bosporus see I. Tzetz. *Ep.*57,80.

[366] J. C. Teall, "The grain supply of the byzantine empire", *DOP* 13(1959), 87-139.

[367] J. Koder, "Fresh vegetables", 50.

[368] J. Koder, "Fresh vegetables", 50.

while the annual rain-fall reaches 677mm. Its climate is much more rainy and humid than that of Thrace and certainly colder than that of the Aegean; we could say that it is continental and not Mediterranean.

29. The sea: sea of goods

29.5.61 ὄχημα. For the convenient situation of Constantinople and the role of the sea in its prosperity, see Polyb. IV.38.1ff. Βυζάντιοι κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν εὐκαιρότατον οἰκοῦσι τόπον καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πάντῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένῃ.

29.8-9.61 δυσὶν...χερσὶ ξυμμαχοῦσα. The sea is compared to a generous man who gives lavishly, "with both hands", from his riches. The proverb has several variations; see ἄμφω τὼ χεῖρε: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀφθόνως καὶ δαψιλῶς μεταδιδόντων τοῖς πᾶσιν Mant. Prov. I.14 (Suid. Macar.I.98), ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀφειδεὶ προσκειμένων Diogen. II.77b (Macar. 54: scholia ad Aristid. *Panath.* 136.29: παροιμία ἐστὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σφοδρῶς καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας πραττομένων λεγομένη· ὁ γὰρ ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ πράττων μετὰ ἐπιτάσεως πράττει· ἔστι δὲ ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ ἐκ δυοῖν: Suid. s. ἄμφω, s. ἀμφοῖν).

29.13.61 διὰ παντὸς <τοῦ χρόνου>. throughout the year; see Her. 9.13.

29.13.61 πηγάζει. See Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 389 ἄφθονον τὸ τῆς ζωῆς χρήσιμον ἔκ τε τούτων (sc. τῶν πεδίων καὶ τῶν ὀρέων) καὶ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ θαλάσσης χορηγοῦσα τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις and 392 θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταύτῃ γονιμωτάτῃ καὶ ὅσα παρὰ θαλάσσης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χορηγεῖν ἀφθονωτάτῃ.

29.17.61 ἀγαθῶν θάλασσα. A common proverb which indicates abundance; Ἀγαθῶν θάλασσα: ἐπὶ πλήθους ἀγαθῶν εἴρηται Zen. I.9. Ἀγαθῶν

θάλασσα: αὕτη ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ πλήθους ἀγαθῶν λέγεται, ὡς τὸ ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὸς καὶ ἀγαθῶν μυρμηκιὰ Diogen. I.8.

For the eulogist the city is a θάλασσα ἀγαθῶν, a sea of goods, she is always abundant and continuously provides all people with her innumerable riches.

30. Common treasury for all

30.6.62 ἔστ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς μένειν τὸ πᾶν βούληται. A very popular phrase (as long as God wants to...), which originates in antiquity.[369] It both expresses the humility of the speaker and attempts to forestall God's wrath and punishment.

30.14.62 ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν θείας προνοίας λαβοῦσαν ἄτρεπτον τὴν ψῆφον. It was a common belief among Byzantines that their capital had been designed by Providence to fulfil the divine plan: Socr. Sch. *HE* 1.9.51 κατὰ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἡμῖν πόλιν, τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος Θεοῦ συναιρομένης προνοίας.

31. The City is famous for offering its riches to the whole world

31.19.62 γλῶτται. A variation on a famous *topos* found as early as Homer: *Il.* 2.489 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν, Aesch. *Epist.* 10.1.7 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δυναίμην ἂν ἀρκέσαι λέγων.

31.22.62 - 31.23.62 σιτοπομπίας αὕτη χορηγία. A hyperbole. The grain supply was chronically insufficient for the city and great amounts had to be imported. At no point in its history was Constantinople a centre of exports. Being rather a consumer city, it was always dependent on other countries or areas of the empire. Up to Heraclius' reign, Egypt was the source of grain supply.

After the fall of Egypt to the Arabs, the capital took its grain from the Thracian hinterland, Asia Minor, the lands around the Aegean, as well as from the Macedonian and Thessalian fields: Hence, "*...are not the grain-bearing fields of Macedonia and Thrace and Thessaly farmed for your benefit?*"[370]

31.1.63 - 31.3.63 οὐ γάρ ἐστι πάντων ἀγνοεῖν...νήπια τὴν μητέρα. See Aristid. *Panath.* 151D.1-2 νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν παλαιός, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς πλείστοις, τροφεῦσιν χάριν ἐκτίνειν ἅπασαν, ὅση δυνατὴ...τίς οὕτως ἔξω τούτων ἐστὶν ὥστ' ἀγνοεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν οὖσαν ἅπασι τὴν ἀρχήν;

31.4.63 - 31.5.63 τοσούτου πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἀφθονίας. The city invited the admiration of all foreign travelers for her riches.[371] She was the *mult rika terra* (:a very rich land) for Venetians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, [372] she was the meeting point of all the people in need (31.13.63 - 31.14.63 ὅσοι δυστυχεῖς ἐπ' οἴκου πρὸς τὴν ἀπαραίτητον ἑκάστοτε μετουσίαν); for the same idea, see Aristid. *Panath.* 173D.50 μεγίστη δὲ καὶ κοινοτάτη τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἡ τῶν πανταχόθεν δυστυχούντων ὑποδοχὴ καὶ παραμυθία, 181D.80 καὶ γάρ τοι πάντες ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς τῆς χρείας καιροῖς μίαν ταύτην ὁδὸν εἶδον τὴν δεῦρο φέρουσαν.

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[369] Pl. *Phd.* 80d ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, Xen. *De equit. magistr.* 9.8 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα θεῶν συνεθελόντων γένοιτ' ἄν, Men. *Mon.* 671 θεοῦ θέλοντος.

[370] Mich. Chon. 83, Them. XXVII 336c ὄψει τοὺς σιταγωγοῦντας, ὅτι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον πλέουσι καὶ Θρᾴκην καὶ Βόσπορον καὶ Χερρόνησον. See also J. C. Teall, "The grain supply", 87-139 and P. Magdalino, "The grain supply of Constantinople", in C. Mango (ed.) *Constantinople and its hinterland*, 35-47.

[371] Benj. of Tud. 135, *like it there is none in all the world except for Bagdad, the great city*, Gunth. Paris. *Hist. Const.*, in *Exuv. sacr. Const.* XV.94 ipsa non solum innumera civium multitudine, sed et bonis omnibus abundabat; Villeh. *La conq. de Const.* 128 or vous pouvez savoir que ceux-là regardément beaucoup Constantinople qui ne l' avaient jamais vue; car ils ne pouvaient pas penser qu' il pût être en tout le monde aussi puissante ville, and 192 or vous pouvez savoir que beaucoup de ceux de l' armée allèrent pour vois Constantinople, et les riches palais, et les hautes églises dont il y avait tant, et les grandes richesses, telles qu' il n' y en ent jamais autant en nulle ville.

[372] G. Cracco, "Un altro mondo", *Venezia nel medioevo dal secolo XI al secolo XIV*, 56,64.

31.8.63 προνοοῦντες καὶ τὸ μέλλον. Arist. *Cael.* 291a.24 ὥσπερ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προνοούσης τῆς φύσεως.

31.15.63 προστρέχοντας. See Maurop. 137ff., esp. 140-141 πάντες οὗτοι συντρέχουσι ποσὶν αὐτομάτοις ἐπὶ τὴν Σιὼν τὴν ἁγίαν...τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν νέαν...θαῦμα μὲν τοῖς ὁρῶσι, Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Mich. Palaeol.* 319 ἡ πόλις πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔχει δεικνύναι ἐξ ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ γένους Ἑλλήνων, βαρβάρων, ὁτωνδήποτ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ ἧττον κατὰ χρείαν ἢ πρὸς θέαν ἀφικνουμένων τῆς πόλεως, Benj. of Tud. *All kinds of merchants come from Babylon and Shin'ar, from Persia and Medea, from all the kingdoms of Egypt, from the land of Canaan, from the kingdom of Russia, from Hungary, from the land of the Petchenegs, from Khazaria, from Lombardy and from Spain. It is a tumultuous city; men come to trade there from all countries by land and by sea.* At the same time, the population of the capital was increased considerably by the influx of refugees from Anatolia and Thrace; they abandoned everything in order to save their lives and flowed into Constantinople where they believed they could solve their problems (τὴν πικρὰν ὑπαλλάξαι τύχην-τὴν ἐπηρείαν τῶν καιρῶν εὖ θέσθαι).[373]

31.20.63 ἰταλικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν. During the Palaeologan period, Western merchants, primarily Italians, controlled trade in the eastern Mediterranean. Constantinople continued to function as an important centre of the transit and the import trade of Italian products. Genoa had colonies in Pera (settlement on the north side of the Golden Horn facing Constantinople), while Venice, after an unstable period in its relations with Byzantium, allied with Byzantium in 1328 and along with Genoa came to be a big trading republic with quarters in the capital. As far as Pisa is concerned, although surpassed by Venice

[373] Pachym. II.482-484, 529, 552, 590; A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 122, 190-193.

and Genoa, it continued to play its role in the eastern Mediterranean trade and to enjoy its privileges in Constantinople until these were transferred to Florence in 1439.[374] However, a considerable number of Byzantines owned their own ships for imports and exports: provincial monasteries such as Patmos, Cosmosoteira, Great Lavra,[375] communities such as Monemvasia and the Jews of Strobilos in Asia Minor.[376] For the influx of numerous ships in the harbours of Constantinople, see Him. LXII.224-227 σοὶ πανταχόθεν ὁλκάδες καὶ ἐκ πάντων λιμένων ἀνάγονται, Ibn Baṭṭ. 433.509 *I saw in it about a hundred galleys, such as merchant vessels and other large ships and as for the small ships they were too numerous to be counted.*

31.1.64 - 31.6.64 Repetition of the theme: difficulty in demonstrating and proving the excellence of the city.

32. The obligation to praise the founder of the City

32.9.64 τιμᾶται καὶ θαυμάζεται. One might believe that Metochites speaks about Alexandria as if it still existed as part of the Greek world. However, what the speaker wishes to say is that the greatness of ancient Alexandria was such that it took on legendary dimensions and invited admiration and honour up to his own time.

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[374] C. Otten- Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance*, 153-195; A. E. Laiou - Thomadakis, "The Byzantine economy in the Mediterranean Trade System, Thirteenth- Fifteenth Centuries", *DOP* 34-35 (1980-81), 177-222; C. Manfroni, "La relazione fra Genova, l' impero bizantino ei Turchi", *Atti della società ligure di storia patria* 28.3 (1902), 575-860; S. Origone, *Bisanzio e Genova*, 117-142;
[375] A. Harvey, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire*, 233, 238-241.
[376] H. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia,* 65-70; C. Foss, "Strobilos and related sites", *AnatSt* 38(1988), 164-168. For the commercial activity in Constantinople, see C. A. Maltezou, "Venetian habitatores, burgenses and merchants in Constantinople", in C. Mango (ed.) *Constantinople and its hinterland,* 233-242; M. Mundell-Mango, "The commercial map of Constantinople", *DOP* 54(2000), 189-207.

32.11.64 Ἀλέξανδρος. Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.), the first Greek-speaking ruler of a vast empire. Since his empire was the Greek predecessor of the Byzantine, he was regarded as the model of the ideal emperor. This model recurs in numerous instances, in chronicles, orations and eschatological texts, from the time of Constantine the Great up to (or even after) the Fall of Constantinople.[377] At paragraph 4 the rulers contemporary with Metochites are compared to Constantine the Great. Here Constantine is compared to Alexander (see Eus. A.8.1-4); we can therefore suggest an indirect comparison of Metochites' rulers to Alexander and a reference to three glorious men: Alexander, Constantine, Andronicus.

32.16.64 - 32.22.64 The author wonders whether there is anyone competent enough to speak, on the one hand, about the city in a manner worthy of her nature and, on the other, about her founder.

32.20.65 παντὸς. I think that what we have here is a mistake of assimilation, as the word stands between two words with the same ending -ντα.

33. Constantine the Great's achievements

33.3.66 τρόπαια. See Eus. *Vita Const.* A.6 εἰσαεὶ νικῶντα τροπαίοις τε τοῖς κατ' ἐχθρῶν, A.46 πανταχοῦ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἐγείρειν. An allusion to Constantine's victorious battles against Maxentius and Licinius. Eusebius' testimony agrees with Metochites': both his opponents were ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πίστεως for the persecutions during their reign; see Eus. *Triakont.* VI.212 κατὰ πάντων ἀθέων πολεμίων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν δαιμόνων, ἄλλων τουτωνὶ βαρβάρων, ἤρατο νίκας.

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[377] H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1961); J. A. Boyle, *The Alexander*

33.7.66 θεοσημίαι-κατ' οὐρανὸν θαύματα. According to tradition, before the end of the decisive battle at the Milvian bridge in 312 between Constantine and Maxentius, Constantine saw the symbol of the cross in the sky and an inscription which guaranteed victory against his enemies: Eus. *Vita Const.* 28-29 ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφήν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι λέγουσαν· τούτῳ νίκα.

33.8.66 ἡ ἄνωθεν...πομπεύουσα συμμαχία. Constantine achieved all these remarkable deeds and victories against all enemies owing to God's will: see Eus. Vita Const.A.6 θεὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἐγγύθεν ἀμειβόμενος κύριον καθίστη καὶ δεσπότην νικητήν τε μόνον τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος αὐτοκρατόρων ἄμαχον καὶ ἀήττητον, A.46 θεὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἀμειβόμενος πάντα γένη βαρβάρων τοῖς αὐτοῦ καθυπετάττει ποσίν, ὡς πάντη καὶ πανταχοῦ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἐγείρει, νικητήν τ' αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνεκήρυττεν, B.4.2 πυθόμενος Κωνσταντίνῳ τὰς κατ' ἐχθρῶν νίκας μηδ' ἄλλως ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ συμπράττοντος ποριζεσθαι, Δ.6 οὕτω δὴ θεὸς αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ πάντων ἐθνῶν ἐδωρεῖτο νίκας, Eus. *Triakont.* III.201 θεὸς αὐτὸς...νικητὴν αὐτὸν καθιστὰς ἐχθρῶν ἁπάντων καὶ πολεμίων, VII.213 ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς οὐρανόθεν ἐνήργει, ὁπλίτην ἄμαχον τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα προστησάμενος...ὃν δὴ νικητὴν παντὸς τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέφηνε γένους, X.223 θεὸς δ' αὐτὸς...ἁπάντων ἐχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων νικητὴν αὐτὸν καθίστησιν.

33.16.66 κινούμενος ὑπὸ θεοῦ. See Eus. *Vita Const.* B.55.1 ταῖς σαῖς γὰρ ὑφηγήσεσιν ἐνεστησάμην σωτηριώδη πράγματα καὶ διήνυσα; see also *Chron. Pasch.* 520, Nic. Call. Xanth. *Eccles. Hist.* 8.3 and *The oracle of Baalbek* 85-89.

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romance in the east and west (Manchester, 1977).

33.20.66 ἐκλόγιμον. "highly esteemed/ respected, of high standing"; also see 18.22.48, 43.23.78 and *Miscellanea* 668 βελτίστων ἀνδρῶν, κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐκλογίμων.

Constantine was chosen by God[378] to bring all peoples under Christ's rule and as the new Moses[379] to fight the enemies, the persecutors of Christian faith. His mission was to establish not only a new empire (Eus. *Vita Const.* A.8.1-4 τριπλάσιον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς βασιλείας τὸ μῆκος) but also a new religion (Nic. Call. Xanth. *Eccles. Hist.* 8.4 ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν πίστις ἁπανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς διεσπείρετο).[380]

33.21.66 κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ καιροῦ. The preposition followed by accusative refers to an individual part, while the genitive refers to the whole: "for ever".

33.23.66 ἀποστολικὴν. Constantine was not only regarded as a saint, but also as ἰσαπόστολος, "equal to the Apostles",[381] the "thirteenth apostle" (one should bear in mind that the sarcophagus in his mausoleum was flanked by memorial stelae of the Twelve Apostles).

33.6.67 σαλεῦσαι δόγμαθ' ἑστῶτα. See *The oracle of Baalbek* 85-89 λύσει πάντας τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν, Eus. *Vita Const.* Γ.48 καθαρεύειν εἰδωλολατρίας ἁπάσης ἐδικαίου, Δ.74-75 μόνου τε πᾶσαν πολύθεον πλάνην καθελόντος, πάντα τε τρόπον

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[378] Eus. *Vita Const.* A.24 ἄρχοντα καὶ καθηγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων θεὸς...προεχειρίζετο.

[379] Eus. *Vita Const.* A.12.1-2 παλαιὰ κατέχει φήμη...θεὸν παραφανέντα Μωϋσέα προφήτην...Ἑβραίους μὲν τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἠλεύθερου δουλείας...νυνὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡμῖν θεὸς δεδώρηται. τύραννοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν πολεμεῖν...μέσος δὲ τούτων Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ μετ' ὀλίγον τυραννοκτόνος.

[380] A. Kazhdan, "Constantin imaginaire: Byzantine legends on the 9th century about Constantine the Great", *Byz* 57(1987), 196-250, esp. 196-197.

[381] Nic. Call. Xanth. *Eccles. Hist.* 8.1 ὅσα μὲν δὴ τῷ ἰσαποστόλῳ γεγένηται Κωνσταντίνῳ, 8.2 ἐπιτομὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἰσαπόστολον Κωνσταντῖνον γεγενημένων.

εἰδωλολατρίας ἀπελέγξαντος, Cedr.-Scyl. *Hist.comp.* I.498 τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰδωλικοὺς ναοὺς προσέταξε καταλύεσθαι.

34. Continuation of Constantine the Great's achievements

34.17.67 ἀνίστη τὰς ὁρμὰς ἀσχέτους καὶ ἀηττήτους. Allusion to the persecutions of the Christians. See Eus. *Triakont.* VII.213 πόλεμόν τε ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀθέους αἵρεσθαι χεῖρας, *Vita Const.* A.4-5.1 παντὸς τυραννικοῦ γένους θεομάχων τ' ὀλετῆρα γιγάντων, οἳ ψυχῆς ἀπονοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤραντο τὸν παμβασιλέα τῶν ὅλων δυσσεβείας ὅπλα.

34.13-14.68 οἱ καρποὶ καὶ τῶν καταβληθέντων σπερμάτων ἀμητοὶ. Gr.Nys. *De or.dom.* 26.26 ἡ γῆ κατὰ τὰ γένη τῶν καταβληθέντων σπερμάτων καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἀντιδίδωσιν.

34.14.68 - 34.15.68 ἃ τίθης, φέρεις. A variation of the apostolic saying: Gal. 6.7 ὃ γὰρ ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει.

34.15.68 - 34.16.68 οἷς ἀνέμοις...λιμένας. It has not been possible for me to trace what Metochites quotes. However, it resembles the following proverb: ἐξ οὐρίας πλεῖ τις: καί, ἐξ οὐρίας τῷ δεῖνι τὰ πράγματα φέρεται: ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτυχούντων Apost. VII.56.

35. The establishment of the empire by Constantine the Great

35.7.69 τολμῆσαι καρτερώτατα. Eur. *Med.* 393 τόλμης δ' εἶμι πρὸς τὸ καρτερὸν.

35.15.69 παραπέμψαι πρὸς ἀπογόνους. Metochites wishes to stress the legitimacy of the rule of his contemporary emperors: they received the rule from Constantine, who was appointed by God; see Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 409 οὗ

καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς καὶ διάδοχος ἀληθὴς κατ' ἴχνος τῆς αὐτοῦ βεβηκὼς προαιρέσεως τὸ μετὰ Χριστοῦ ζῆν.

35.19.69 δυσνοϊκῶν . See also at 69.18.115 and 91.19.145; "malevolent, ill-disposed". For more examples in other of Metochites' works, see *Miscellanea* 385 φαῦλον ἢ καὶ δυσνοϊκὸν, 603 πᾶν ὀχλῶδες ἀμέλει καὶ δυσνοϊκὸν, *Logos 15* 20.18 τρόπῳ δυσνοϊκῷ καὶ κακοσχόλῳ, *Presbeutikos* 182 κακοῦργόν τι καὶ δυσνοϊκὸν.

35.5,6.70 ὁποῖα γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τὰ φρονήματα, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ πράγματα γίνεται. Metochites misquotes Demosthenes' idea; see Demosth. *Ol.* 1.28.8 ὡς ὁποῖ' ἄττ' ἂν ὑμᾶς περιστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τοιοῦτοι κριταὶ καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε. However, he is unlikely to be ignorant of this phrase, for at 104.20-21.161 it is quoted correctly. He has probably done it deliberately, in order to make the saying fit his argument.

The author has devoted almost two paragraphs to the argument that everything Constantine achieved was based on firm foundations, that is, his intellect and his faith in God.

36. Constantine the Great: the servant of God

36.21.70 σκεῦος Θεῷ προσῆκον καὶ θεῖον ὄργανον. Cyr.Th. *Comm.in Joan.* 2.439.15 ὄργανον οὖν ἄρα καὶ ὥσπερ τι σκεῦός ἐστιν εἰς δόξαν κατηρτισμένον.

36.23.70 Θρᾷκα τύραννον. Cotys, the tyrant of Odryssae of Thrace, assassinated by Python and his brother Heracleides; see Arist. *Polit.* 1311b.20 Πύθων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης οἱ Αἴνιοι Κότυν διέφθειραν τῷ πατρὶ τιμωροῦντες; also see Diog. Laert. IX.65, Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* VII.2, Plut. *Mor.* 1126c.

36.24.70 Θεὸς τὸ πᾶν ἔδρασε τὴν ἐκείνου χεῖρα δανεισάμενος. See Plut. *Mor.* 816e καὶ Πύθων ἐπὶ τῷ Κότυν ἀποκτεῖναι θαυμαζόμενος καὶ τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων "ὁ θεός", ἔφη, "ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τὴν χεῖρα παρ' ἐμοῦ χρησάμενος" and 542e-f ἄριστα δὲ Πύθων ὁ Αἴνιος, ἐπειδὴ Κότυν ἀποκτείνας ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν διαμιλλωμένων τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἤσθετο βασκαίνοντας ἐνίους καὶ βαρυνομένους, παρελθών, "ταῦτα", εἶπεν, "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεός τις ἔπραξεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐχρήσαμεν."

36.4.71 χεὶρ διάκονος. Constantine, the servant of God. See Eus. *Vita Const.* I.6.20-26 καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα πιστὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς θεράπων τοῦτ' ἔπραττε καὶ ἐκήρυττε, δοῦλον ἄντικρυς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ θεράποντα τοῦ παμβασιλέως ὁμολογῶν ἑαυτόν. In this paragraph Metochites applies several epithets in order to stress that Constantine realized God's plan and was guided by God in all his achievements: σκεῦος θεῷ προσῆκον, θεῖον ὄργανον, ὑπὸ θεοῦ κινούμενος καὶ διοικούμενος, θεῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχρησεν, χεὶρ διάκονος.

36.14.71 ἀνδριάντα. Constantinople is proof and crown of Constantine's intellect and ambitious plans, his most remarkable achievement which elevates it above all others as if it were a tall statue. The word ἀνδριάντα brings to mind Constantine's statue which was erected in Constantinople: See Nic. Call. Xanth. *Eccl. Hist.* 8.4 καὶ τὸν μέγιστον πορφυροῦν κίονα, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἴδιον ἀνδριάντα ἐπῆγεν, ἐπὶ πόλῳ σταυρὸν ἐμπεπηγότα διακατέχοντα, *Chron. Pasch.* 528-529 καὶ ὑπεράνω τοῦ αὐτοῦ κίονος ἔστησεν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντα μέγαν, ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ ἀκτῖνας.

37. The foundation of the City is the greatest achievement

37.4.72 - 37.8.72 οὔκουν γέ ἐστιν...ἔπραξεν. Such an amazing city could be founded only by a great man like Constantine and vice versa, only Constantine could achieve this great thing, the foundation of Constantinople. The same idea is expressed at paragraph 32.1,2.65 ὡς ὄντως γε ἀλλήλων εἰσὶν ἄξιοι, ἡ πόλις τε τοῦ τοσούτου καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης αὐτὸς πόλεως.

37.7.72 ἁρμόζειν ἀλλήλοις. *Odys.* 5.247 ἥρμοσεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

37.13-14.72 λογίσασθαι καὶ καταπράξασθαι. Greg.Naz. *Or.*43. 41.6-7 ἢ ἐννοῆσαι ἢ καταπράξασθαι δυναμένων.

38. The City is founded on the best place on earth

38.9,10.73 πρὸς ἅπαντα μέρη. See Menand. 344.24 πρὸς δὲ οὐρανόν, εἰ ἐν δυσμαῖς ἢ ἐν ἀνατολαῖς, ἢ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ, ἢ ἐν ἄρκτῳ, ἢ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τούτων; unlike other cities, Constantinople faces all directions; see also Him. LXII.225 σὲ καὶ κορυφὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅλης προσειπὼν ἄν τις οὐ ψεύσαιτο, Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 392 τὸ μεσαίτατον λαχοῦσα τῆς γῆς κέντρον...θέσεως μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν καλλίστης καὶ τῆς μεσαιτάτης, καὶ ἣ μάλιστα ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι πρέπει τετύχηκε. For the position of Constantinople on all directions of the horizon, see Proc. *De aedif.* Δ,Θ.1-3 and A,E.2-13.

38.12.73 μεγέθους. The size of the city is one of the standard elements in laudatory speeches such as this. For the remarkable size of the city see Zos. *Hist.* B.35.1 (Κωνσταντῖνος) ηὔξησε τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν εἰς μέγεθος πόλεως σφόδρα μεγίστης, B.36.1 καί μοι πολλάκις ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι πῶς εἰς τοσοῦτο τῆς Βυζαντίων πόλεως ηὐξημένης ὡς μηδεμίαν ἄλλην εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μέγεθος αὐτῇ παραβάλλεσθαι, Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 392 τί περὶ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ θαυμασίας ἐρεῖ πόλεως;...μέγεθος δὲ τῆς σῆς πόλεως ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλης πόλεων,

Him. XLI.171 τὸ δὲ σὸν μέγεθος ἢ κάλλος τίς ἂν ἢ μεγέθει λόγων ἢ κάλλει κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ὑμνήσειεν;, Ibn Baṭṭ. II.431.506 *It is enormous in magnitude and divided into two parts*, Gunth. Paris. *Hist. Const.* X.83 civitas illa, que, pro sua magnitudine atque potentia iam multo tempore, romane sedi rebellis fuerat. According to the only extant statistical account of the city, the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, the city consisted of fourteen regions with a population reaching up to 250.000 people at the time of the fourth crusade in 1204.[382]

38.15.73 ἐπιτηδεύσεως-φιλοτεχνίας. Constantine's aspiration was to found a city which would be the New Rome. For this reason, he adorned the streets and squares with statues brought from all over the empire,[383] erected churches, palaces, houses, baths, harbours, the forum and senate and extended the city walls.[384] All these marvels invited the admiration of natives and foreigners throughout the centuries: see Him. XLI.172 ἔνθεν ὁ χρυσὸς μερίζει τὴν ὄψιν, ἐντεῦθεν τέχναι τοὺς θεωμένους ἀνθέλκουσαι θαύμασιν· ἐντεῦθεν τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκλάμπει συνέδριον, θέλγει τὰ λουτρά, προσδημαγωγεῖ τὰ θέατρα, κεστὸς ἀτεχνῶς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὰ σύμπαντα, *Vita Petr. Ep. Arg.* γ.2-3 πλούτῳ καὶ δόξης κομώσης καὶ συγκλήτῳ περιφανεῖ...ἐν ᾗ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη ναῶν καὶ ἀναθημάτων πολυτέλειαι, καὶ θεραπεία τοῦ θείου τὸ ταύτης ἐξαίρετον, M. Chrys. *Epist.* I.41 στοάς, καὶ στηλῶν βάσεις, καὶ πυραμίδας...πλῆθός τε καὶ μέγεθος, καὶ κάλλος, καὶ θέατρα, καὶ στρατηγία, καὶ ἀγωνιστήρια, καὶ

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[382] *Not. urb. Const.* 230ff.

[383] *Chr. Min. Or. Const.* 6.30 Constantinus autem ex se Byzantium Constantinopolim nuncupavit ob insignis victoriae memoriam, quam velut patriam cultu decoranti ingenti et Romae desideravit aequari: deinde quaesitis ei undique civibus divitias multas largitus est, ut prope in ea omnes regias facultates exhauriret, *Patr. Const.* I.62 πάντα δὲ τὰ χαλκουργεύματα καὶ τὰ ξόανα ἐκ διαφόρων ναῶν καὶ πόλεων ἀθροίσας ἔστησεν αὐτὰ εἰς διακόσμησιν τῆς πόλεως, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κίονας τῶν περιπάτων.

[384] For all the attractions of the city, see G. Cod. *Exc.de antiq.Const.* 4-193; see Gunth. Paris. *Hist. Const.* XVI.97 Iussit eam et ampliari loco, et muris ac turribus emuniri, ecclesiis ceterisque

γυμνάσια, καὶ ἱπποδρόμους, Gunth. Paris. *Hist. Const.* XV.94-95 structuram autem edificiorum in corpore civitatis, in ecclesiis videlicet, et turribus, et domibus magnatum, vix alius vel describere potest, vel credere describendi, nisi ea oculata fide cognoverit.

39. The City is the heart of the empire and of the whole world

39.19.73 τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑποτίθησι. Constantinople was designed to control and rule over the whole empire; see Nic. Call. Xanth. *Eccl. Hist.* 8.4 φιλοκάλως δ' ἅπαντα τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν διαθέμενος, Νέαν Ῥώμην Κωνσταντινούπολιν κατωνόμασε, ἴσα τ' ἐκείνῃ κρατεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν καὶ θεμιστεύειν ἐδίδου, *Vita Petr. Ep. Arg.* γ.2-3 τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἁπασῶν προκαθημένης ἅ τε δὴ βασιλίδος ὅσας ἥλιος ἐφορᾷ.

39.4.74 καρδίαν. Constantinople is the centre of the empire upon which all parts depend, similarly to the most vital part of the body, the heart. The comparison of the capital to the heart is unusual, as in most cases it would be compared to the eye (Greg. Theol. *Or.* XLII.10 πόλιν τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὸν, M. Psell. *Ep.* 193 ὀφθαλμὸς ἄρα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, M. Holob. *Or.* 3,81.33-34 τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁ περίοπτος ὀφθαλμὸς). I might suggest that the comparison to the heart is a late Byzantine invention for all the examples I have found are late Byzantine: Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Mich. Palaeol.* 318 ὡς αἱ ἀπὸ καρδίας τοῦ ζώου δυνάμεις μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων προήκουσαι, M. Holobol. *Or.* 3,61.34-62.1 οὕτω τῆς Κωνσταντίνου...δεξαμένης πῶς ἂν εἴποι τις καρδίας ἐς τὸ μεσαίτατον, M. Camar. *De Constant. capt. narr. lament.* 1064 ἣν ὀφθαλμόν τις προσειπὼν τῆς γῆς ἢ καρδίαν τοῦ προσήκοντος.

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edificiis exornari, donec in eam quam nunc habet pulchritudinis elegantiam invenescens, Rome

39.19.74 ἰσομέτρητον. A quite successful metaphor of the three circles (country – empire - universe) with a common centre (Constantinople). For the same metaphor, see Aristid. *Panath.* 159D.16 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδος κύκλων εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐμβεβηκότων πέμπτον εἰς ὀμφαλὸν πληροῖ διὰ πάντων ὁ κάλλιστος, εἴπερ ἡ μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πάσης γῆς, ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ πόλις, τῆς δ᾽ αὖ πόλεως ἡ ὁμώνυμος.

39.4,5.75 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραμετρεῖσθαι καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην. During Constantine's reign the empire extended to the four points of the compass, to a considerable part of the then known world. Therefore, we cannot suggest that Metochites exaggerates at this point. For the extent of the Byzantine empire during Constantine's reign, see Zos. *Hist.* B.33.1-33.2; also see Nic. Call. Xanth. *Eccl. Hist.* 8.4 καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἀνηγόρευε, τῶν, ὅσοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον γινώσκουσι, πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ νότον καὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἡλίου, καὶ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ πελάγη, ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεων, καὶ Ἐπιδάμνου τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ μέχρι Κυρήνης, καὶ τῶν τῇδε Λιβύων παρὰ τὸ βόρειον καλούμενον κλίμα. We should note that Metochites uses the present tense in his praise of the city during the reign of Constantine the Great. On the one hand we could say that the eulogist uses the historic present in order to make the narration more lively. On the other, this recourse to the glorious past as if it existed, comes as a kind of consolation to the citizens of a city which by the 14th century preserved little of its past splendour.

40. The City is praiseworthy for its founder and the founder for founding such a city

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similis, ut aiunt, redderetur; also see Malal. *Chron.* 319D-320E, 321B-C.

40.12.76 - 40.22.76 μακαρίσαι δ' ἂν...τέλειον. Constantine is praiseworthy for his decision to found the city, for the choice of the most convenient situation, for the creation, foundation and inauguration of such a city. Metochites thinks that Constantine could have been praiseworthy merely for the creation of such a remarkable city.

41. Byzantion was chosen among many following God's will

41.14.76 σημείοις. According to tradition, Constantine originally intended to found his capital at the site of Chalcedon, but eagles moved the stones from there to the site of ancient Byzantion.[385] We should mention that the above tradition is a variation of a much earlier belief about the foundation of Byzantion.[386]

41.2.77 - 41.4.77 Βρεττανίας, Γαδείρων, Λιβύης, ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην. For the extent of the Byzantine empire under Constantine, see Eus. *Vita Const.* A.8.1-4 and *Miscellanea* 232-3; for the idea that Constantine followed God's plan for the creation of such a vast empire, see Zos. *Hist.* B.33.1-2.

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[385] Cedr. Scyl. *Hist. comp.* I.495-496 ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους προστάγματος, ὅπερ ἦν λέγοντος οἰκοδομῆσαι τῇ Θεοτόκῳ πόλιν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ αὐτὸς ὑποδείξω σοι...ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνῶν Χαλκηδόνα ἔρχεται, ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξηδαφισμένην εὑρὼν ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἤρξατο. καὶ εὐθέως ἀετοὶ τοὺς τῶν τεχνιτῶν λίθους ἁρπάζοντες τῷ Βυζαντίῳ προσέῤῥιπτον. τούτου δὲ πολλάκις γενομένου ὑπὸ πάντων διαπορουμένου, εἷς τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων τῷ βασιλεῖ Εὐφρατᾶς λεγόμενος διεσάφησεν ὡς ἐκεῖ φίλον ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ κτισθῆναι πόλιν; see also Manas. *Br. Hist. Metr.* 2337-2349 πόλεως δὲ βουλόμενος δομήτωρ χρηματίσαι/ τὴν τῶν τυφλῶν κατέλαβε Χαλκηδονίων πόλιν./ καὶ κτίζειν ἀπαρξάμενος πρᾶγμα κατεῖδε ξένον·/ καὶ γὰρ μεγαλοπτέρυγες ὄρνιθες ἐπιπτάντες/ τοὺς λίθους ἀφαρπάσαντες μετήνεγκαν ἐκεῖθε/ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Βύζαντος τὴν περικαλλεστάτην/ ὁ τοίνυν θεοφρούρητος αὐτάναξ Κωνσταντῖνος/ οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης ἐγνωκώς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκ ταυτομάτου/ συμβῆναι τὸ γενόμενον τοῦτο περὶ τοὺς λίθους,/ ἐκεῖθεν μεταθέμενος στρέφει τὴν γνώμην ὅλην/ ἐπὶ τὴν πανευδαίμονα πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων,/ καὶ πόλιν ὀλβιόπολιν αὐτῇ προσαναγείρει.

[386] Dion. Byz. 12 Σημύστρα γε μὴν ἐκινδύνευσε παρ' ὀλίγου πόλις εἶναι· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ κατέθεντο τῆς πόλεως τὴν κτήσιν οἱ τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνες. λαμπομένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν κόραξ ἁρπάσας ἐκ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς ἔνια τῶν μηρίων καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἀρθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Βοσπόριον ἄκραν ἐφέρετο· τοῦτο πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνος εἴκασαν τὸ τέρας οἱ λόγιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

42. The development of Byzantion into a great city

42.18.77 σωμάτων. For the comparison of a developing city to a growing body, see Menand. 56.25 ὥσπερ γὰρ σῶμα αὐξανόμενον, τῷ χρόνῳ φήσεις προεληλυθέναι αὐτὴν εἰς μέγεθος.

42.8,9.78 πρὸς ἄκραν κορυφὴν. See Hom. *Il.* I.499 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο. Metochites repeats the proverb followed by a short explanation in his encomium of St. Demetrius 895: παρ' ἄκρην κορυφὴν ἔστη, φησίν, οὐδ' ἔξεστιν ἐκτείνειν ἡ φιλόσοφος παροιμία.

43. The Dorian colonists of the city

43.10.78 πόλις. The city was founded on the site of ancient Byzantion. Byzantion owes its name to its founder, Byzas: see *Patr. Const.* 3.2 ἕτεροι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἱστόρησαν ἀπὸ Νίσου τὸ γένος κατάγοντας εἴσπλουν ἐν αὐτῷ ποιησαμένους τῷ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι Βύζαντι, οὗπερ τὴν προσηγορίαν μυθεύουσι τῇ πόλει προστεθῆναι.[387] Its main founder was certainly Megara, a Dorian city (Δωριεῖς), although groups from the Peloponnese and central Greece probably participated in its foundation:[388] Steph.Byz. s.v.Βυζάντιον (Eustath. ad Dion. Per. 803) χρησμὸς δ' ἐδόθη ἐρωτησάντων εἰς Δελφοὺς Μεγαρέων τοιοῦτος· Ὄλβιοι, οἳ κείνην πόλιν ἀνέρες οἰκήσουσιν/ ἀκτῆς Θρηικίης ὑγρὸν παρ' ἄκρον στόμα Πόντου,/ ἔνθ' ἰχθὺς ἔλαφός τε νομὸν βόσκουσι τὸν αὐτόν·/ στέλλειν δ' ὡς ὤκιστα καὶ εἰς φρένα πάντα λαβόντα.[389]

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[387] Dion. Byz. 24,12.6, Steph. Byz. s.v. Βυζάντιον, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Βύζαντες.
[388] Const. Porphyr. *De themat.* 43-45 Βυζάντιον Μεγαρέων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἐστιν ἀποικία τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων Ἑλλήνων, Genes. I.22.17 Βυζαντίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων κτισθέντι καὶ Βύζαντος, κατ' Εὐρώπην συνελθόντων ἐν τῇ τούτου πολίσει Καρυστίων, Μυκηναίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἄλλων τε πολλῶν.
[389] Dion. Byz. 23-25; *Patr. Const.* 3.2.

43.12.78 ἐπὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν Βυζάντιοι, τἀρχαῖα Δωριεῖς. It is remarkable how Metochites distinguishes the present from the past and how the present comes in uninterrupted succession to the past; he remarks: "the inhabitants of this city are called Byzantioi in "modern" Greek and Dorians in ancient Greek". This statement seems as if it were pronounced by a Greek of the 21st century and not by a Byzantine of the 14th century. This phrase comes to reinforce our belief that the Byzantines (at least of Metochites' times) were aware of their national identity, of their past and of the uninterrupted continuity of their history.

43.13.78 ἀρεϊκώτερον. Dorians were known for being brave and fearless in the war and, furthermore, they were confident of their superiority. See Thuc. V.91 Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, ἀπὸ μὲν οἵας χώρας ἥκομεν ὅτι αἰεὶ διὰ τὸ εὔψυχον ἐλευθέρας;[390]

43.1.79 Βυζάντιοί τε καὶ Ῥόδιοι. The Byzantines always took advantage of their convenient location and were engaged in maritime affairs.[391] The same applied to Rhodes due to its nature (island) and position (southeast Aegean).

44. Persians', Macedonians' and Romans' aspirations to capture the city

44.6.79 Πέρσαι. The author refers to the Persian occupation of the city from Darius I's Scythian expedition lasting until 478. According to Metochites,

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[390] Thuc. VI.77.1, VIII.8.25. Also see Menand. 354.5-6, 354.12 δεῖ γὰρ ἀποφαίνειν τὰ οἰκήσαντα γένη τὴν βάρβαρον πόλιν, ἣν ἂν ἐπαινέσῃς...τὸ δὲ Δωριέων ἀνδρικώτατον. Metochites repeats this thought in *Miscellanea* 662: λόγος δὴ οὗτος παλαιὸς ἐν Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι Λάκων ἀνὴρ στρατιώτης, ὁστισοῦν ξυντυχὼν ὅπῃ ἂν ἱκανὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ δύναιτο χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ.
[391] Polyb. 38.2-4.

the Persians moved to conquer Byzantion, for it would be easier for them to attack Greece from there.[392]

44.9.79 προλαβόντας Βυζάντιον. With a historical flashback Metochites attempts to prove that the convenient situation of the city had always been an attraction for all and sufficient reason for them to conquer and control the region. Therefore, we can say that even this flashback is an indirect praise of the city and of her advantages.

44.22.79 Φίλιππος. Reference to the siege of Byzantion by Philip in 340-339.[393]

44.23.79 πάντα κινήσας...πράγματα. A variation of the phrase κινῶ πᾶν χρῆμα: "to turn every stone", "to try every way"; see Hdt. 5.96 πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε.

44.3.80 Ῥωμαίων. Despite Byzantium's privileged status under the Roman empire owing to its strategic position, it experienced the depredations of passing armies and rapacious officials. All its privileges were lost when it supported Pescennius Niger against Septimius Severus. Severus reduced Byzantium to village-status and caused much destruction to the city which fell after a two-year siege (193-5 A.D.).[394]

45. The great king founded a great city

45.7.81 λοχαγοῦ. See Menand. 357.2-6 εἰ δ' ἐκ κώμης εἴη μεταβεβληκυῖα ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ οὗτος ἄριστος στρατηγός, ὅστις χιλίαρχος πρότερον

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[392] For the short occupation of Byzantion by the Persians, see Thuc. I.94.2.

[393] *Patr. Const.* 26 Φίλιππος πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν διώρυξί τε καὶ παντοίοις πολεμικοῖς μηχανήμασι τοῖς τείχεσιν προσπελάζων.

[394] For the two-year siege of the city, see Dio Cassius 75.10.1-75.14.3. Dio praises not only the high spirit (12.4 τῶν ἔξω πάντων ἀποκεκλεισμένοι, ὅμως ἀντεῖχον) of the people but also the fortifications which permitted the city to withstand for so long. Metochites follows the same practice: 1) ἀντισχεῖν γεννικῶς καὶ διακαρτερεῖν, οὐ μόνον εὐγενείᾳ πεποιθότες καὶ φρονήματι τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς ἀλλὰ, 2) καὶ τῷ καιρίῳ τῆς χώρας...καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως συμμαχίᾳ τοῦ τόπου.

ἐγένετο, καὶ χιλίαρχος ὅστις λοχαγός, καὶ λοχαγὸς ὅστις στρατιώτης, οὕτω καὶ πόλις ἀρίστη.

45.12,13.81 ἄλλο μὲν ἡ λύρα ἀπῄτει, ἄλλο δ' ὁ τεχνίτης ἐφθέγγετο. It has not been possible for me to trace the proverb. The author may refer to what is attested in Athenaeus' *Deipnosofistaí*: 8.41.59 Κλέων τις ἦν κιθαρῳδός, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Βοῦς, δεινῶς ἀπάδων τῇ λύρᾳ τ' οὐ χρώμενος. τούτου διακούσας ὁ Στρατόνικος εἶφ' ὅτι "ὄνος λύρας ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ βοῦς λύρας."

45.14.81 - 45.17.81 νυνὶ...ἐνταῦθα. Possibly a hint of the situation of the city in Metochites' times. However, he passes over very quickly all these depressing topics since he believes that the city itself and its founder are superior to all of them. Therefore, we can infer from this that *Byzantios* is an encomium of the city, of its founder and consequently an indirect praise of the rulers contemporary with Metochites.

46. The City was founded to rule

46.8.83 [πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι]. The phrase contradicts the participle γεννηθεῖσα and, to my thinking, it is a repetition of the idea expressed two lines before with the same wording.

47. The founder and first king of the city is the first Christian emperor

47.15.83 μόνος. Constantine is the only emperor who is not only counted among the saints but also among the Apostles for establishing the Christian faith and preaching it to other nations too; for this see Eus. *Vita Const.* A.4-5.1 μόνον γοῦν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀκοῇ βοηθέντων αὐτοκρατόρων οἷόν τινα μέγιστον φωστῆρα καὶ κήρυκα μεγαλοφωνότατον τῆς ἁπλανοῦς θεοσεβείας

προστησάμενος, μόνῳ τὰ ἐχέγγυα τῆς αὐτοῦ θεοσεβείας διὰ παντοίων τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν κεχορηγημένων ἀγαθῶν ἐνεδείξατο.

47.17.83 κήρυξιν ἀποστόλοις. See I Ep. Ti. 2.7, II Ep. Ti 1.11 κῆρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος.

47.22,23.83 αὐτοῦ γὰρ αὕτη Κωνσταντίνου περιφανῶς ἀκούει, καὶ αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ Κωνσταντῖνον. A very successful syllogism: 1.) Constantine owes his name to Christ, 2.) The city was named after Constantine. Therefore, the city bears a divine name.

47.4.84 ὀνομαστηρίων - γενεθλίων. See Greg.Naz. *Or.40* 1.5 γενέθλια καὶ ὀνομαστήρια. Reference to the dedication of the city on 11th May 330 and to the anniversary celebrations for this.[395]

47.5.84 τειχῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐζωγραφημένων τῶν θείων. According to tradition, Constantine determined the limits of the city under an angel's guidance; see Philost. 97 ὅτι Κωνσταντῖνόν φησιν ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰς Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν μετασκευάσαι, καὶ τὸν περίβολον ὁριζόμενον, βάδην τε περιιέναι, τὸ δόρυ τῇ χειρὶ φέροντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐδόκει μεῖζον ἢ προσῆκε τὸ μέτρον ἐκτείνειν, προσελθεῖν τε αὐτῷ τινα καὶ διαπυνθάνεσθαι: "Ἕως ποῦ, δέσποτα;" τὸν δὲ ἀποκρινάμενον διαῤῥῆδην φάναι: "Ἕως ἂν ὁ ἔμπροσθέν μου στῇ" ἐπίδηλον ποιοῦντα ὡς δύναμις αὐτοῦ τις οὐρανία προηγεῖτο τοῦ πραττομένου διδάσκαλος.[396]

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[395] *Patr. Const.* I.42 πάντα δὲ κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον πληρώσας ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἡμέραν κατὰ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην τοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς ἐπιτελέσας...διέταξεν οὕτω τὴν αὐτοῦ στήλην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς χρόνους τῇ τῶν γενεθλίων ἡμέρᾳ ὁρᾶσθαι μετὰ τῆς εἰθισμένης τιμῆς; *Chron. Pasch.* 529 καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑορτὴν μεγάλην κελεύσας...τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὸ γενέθλιον τῆς πόλεως.

[396] See also Nic. Call. Xanth. *Eccl. Hist.* 8.4 and *Patr. Const.* III.10.

47.6.84 τοῦ κρατίστου θεμελίου σφίσι, παρ' ὃν οὐκ ἔστι βαλεῖν ἕτερον. 1Corinthians 3.11 θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς.

47.8.84 δυνάστην. 1Timothy 15 καὶ μόνος δυνάστης, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων.

We should note that the mention of the name of Paul is not accidental: it seems that Metochites follows Eusebius who presented Constantine as the "second Paul".[397]

48. The foundation of the City is contemporaneous to the establishment of Christian faith

48.13.84 τὸν κόσμον νικήσαντος. *John* 16.33 ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον.

48.14.84 ἡλικιῶτις. Metochites wishes to say that the city appeared at the same time with the establishment, the official recognition of the Christian faith (edict of Milan, 313 - inauguration of Constantinople, 330).

48.18.84 νεὼ-ἱερὰ. According to Eusebius (*Vita Const.* III.48-49 τὴν δέ γ' ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἐξόχῳ τιμῇ γεραίρων εὐκτηρίοις πλείοσιν ἐφαίδρυνέ τε μαρτυρίοις τε μεγίστοις καὶ περιφανεστάτοις οἴκοις), Constantine adorned the city and its suburbs with many churches, the most prominent of them being the church of St. Irene[398] and the church of the Apostles.[399]

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[397] H. Montgomery, «Konstantin, Paulus und das Lichtkrenz», *Symbolae Osloenses* 43(1968), 84-109.

[398] Socr. II.16 ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἔκτισεν, ἥτις Σοφία μὲν προσαγορεύεται, συνῆπται δὲ τῇ ἐπωνύμῳ Εἰρήνῃ, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως μικρὰν οὖσαν τὸ πρότερον εἰς κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ηὔξησε.

[399] Eus. *Vita Const.* IV.58-60 αὐτὸς δὲ νεὼν ἅπαντα εἰς ὕψος ἄφατον ἐπάρας, λίθων ποικιλίαις παντοίων ἐξαστράπτοντα ἐποίει. For all the churches and the martyria built during Constantine's reign, see G. Cod. *Exc. de antiq.Const.* 16-17,72-74,76,85,98-99,102-104,114,118-120,125-126 and *Patr. Const.* I.59-60,II.1-5,9,13,15-16,18,86,88,115,143-144,178,182,209-210, IV.32.

48.22.84 ὅλον ἀνειμένον. One of the favourite motifs of the *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* is that Constantinople and the empire are under the protection of God, Christ and the Saints. The idea received a classic formulation already in the sixth century, when Corippus made the Byzantine emperor Justin II reply to a haughty speech by an Avar envoy: "The Roman state belongs to God".[400]

49. The progress of the city

49.3,4.86 ἑνὸς ἀτόπου...δοθέντος πλεῖστα παρέπεσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς φορᾶς. Arist. *Phys.* I.2.185[a] 12 and 186[a] 11-12 ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἀτόπου δοθέντος τὰ ἄλλα συμβαίνει.

49.6.86 τοῦτο. The pronoun οὗτος is sometimes synonym of τοιοῦτος; see Demosth. 18.282 σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὑρέθης.

50. The hearth of Christian religion

50.12.86 - 50.15.86 καὶ ὁ μὲν σκοπὸς...λάχους. The scribe offers a very peculiar reading: καὶ ἡ κινοῦσα πρόνοια περὶ μεγάλων οὕτω δείκνυσι δ' ἑξῆς ὡς ἄρ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ μάλ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ τοσοῦτος ὁ χρόνος ἐξ ἐκείνου προύστη συνεχῶς αὕτη τῆς μεγίστης ταύτης ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης λάχους. Therefore, I believe that the transposition of καὶ τοσοῦτος ὁ χρόνος after περὶ μεγάλων οὕτω is requisite.

50.17.86 θεμιστεύει. Constantinople is the source of christian faith (πηγάζουσαν) for the whole world (πάσαις πόλεσιν, πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις). The above idea was an important issue for Byzantine political ideology in regard to

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[400] "Res Romana Dei est", Corippus, *In laudem Justini* III.333; see also P. J. Alexander, "The

the relations of the empire with the Latins (we should bear in mind the claims of the Roman bishops to primacy in the Church, based on the fact that they were successors of St. Peter, to whom Christ had entrusted the care of his Church). Therefore, Metochites stresses the fact that Constantinople is the seat of both the political and religious administration with a series of expressions (προῦστη τῆς μεγίστης ταύτης ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης λάχους καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡγεῖται δογμάτων, θεμιστεύει πάσαις πόλεσιν ἄλλαις καὶ πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις, τὴν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀλήθειαν πηγάζουσαν, πόλιν ἐπαρκοῦσαν περὶ τῆς πίστεως συνθημάτων, ἀληθείας ἑστία, πρυτανεῖον τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἰκουμενικὴν ἔχειν ἐπιστασίαν, αὐτοκράτορα τῆς εὐσεβείας).[401]

50.1.86 ἐχομένη. There seems to be a problem here with the participle in the masculine. On the one hand, all the subjects in this context are in the feminine and, on the other, even if we consider that the ἐχομένους is correct as it stands and refers to ἑκάστοις, it does not make any sense with the main verb συναρμόζεται and the participles ὑπηχοῦσα, φέρουσα that follow.

50.10-11.87 μόνος ἅλιος ἐν οὐρανῷ. Simonides *Lyr. Fragm.* 605; also see *Miscellanea* 90 καὶ μόνος ἅλιος ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

50.16.87 οἰκουμενικὴν ἐπιστασίαν. Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople (381) declared that the bishop of Constantinople should have the primacy of honour after the bishop of Rome because it was the "New Rome".[402] However, since the 6th century, due to the political situation in Italy

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strength of empire", 345.

[401] Nic. Chon. 763 ἐκκλησιῶν γαλουχός, πίστεως ἀρχηγός, ὀρθοδοξίας ποδηγός, λόγων μέλημα, παντὸς ἐνδιαίτημα; F. Dvornik, *The idea of apostolicity in Byzantium and the legend of the Apostle Andrew*, 3.

(subordination to the Ostrogothic kings which was followed by the Byzantine conquest), Constantinople gained the ecclesiastic supremacy. This new status was reflected in the acceptance by the bishop of Constantinople of the title "*of the New Rome*" and especially that of the *oecumenical patriarch*; see a novel issued by the emperor Heraclius and addressed to the patriarch Sergius: τοῦ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν ταύτης διέποντος θρόνον οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου.[403]

51. The City: a Graeco-Roman establishment

51.4.88 συνοικίζεται. I do not think that Metochites wishes to say that the city was colonized by the Greeks and the Romans at the same time. He implies the colonists from Megara who founded the ancient city of Byzantion when he refers to the Greeks, while when he refers to the Romans he implies Constantine, emperor of the Romans, under whose reign the city of Byzantion became the centre for the Byzantine Empire and for the whole world. He uses the verb συνοικίζεται in order to show that in this city two different cultures meet to create a new civilization. This becomes clear a few lines further: κράσιν, συνθέσεως, κατασκευὴν ἔμμουσον καὶ ἡρμοσμένην, συσκευάζεται τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ περισπουδάστῳ ἔργῳ.[404]

51.9-10.88 ἐξ εἴδους τινὸς καὶ ὕλης τὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα. In the first book of Metaphysics, Aristotle reports that many of the earliest philosophers

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[402] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*,3, col.560: τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.
[403] J. Zepos, P. Zepos, *Novellae et aureae bullae imperatorum post Justinianum*, Nov.24.
[404] H. Hunger, *Graeculus perfidus - Ἰταλὸς ἰταμὸς*, 45.

based their speculations about nature on the idea that the physical world is reducible to one or more basic starting points or principles.[405]

51.10.88 εἰδοποιὸν. An Aristotelian term for the species: *Topica* 143[b]8-10 πᾶσα γὰρ εἰδοποιὸς διαφορὰ μετὰ τοῦ γένους εἶδος ποιεῖ.

51.21.88 Κυζίκου. A city on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara. Cyzicus was always overshadowed by Prokonnesos as far as marble production is concerned. We know that the marble production of its neighbouring Prokonnesos was transferred there. According to Strabo,[406] the Cyziceni used the white marble of Prokonnesos for building. However, there were quarries on the hills about the city and near Aidinjik on the mainland that provided the city with fine marble.[407] See Con. Manas. *Ἔκφρ. Ἁγ. Ἀποστ.* 32-65 καὶ Κύζικος βάθυγγος εὐζώνους πλάκας/ ἤνεγκεν ἄλλας ποικίλας πολυχρόους.

51.22.88 Προικονήσου. Prokonnesos, the largest island in the sea of Marmara, close to the city of Cyzicus and particularly celebrated for its rich marble quarries which supplied most of the neighbouring towns and especially Cyzicus with the materials for their public buildings;[408] see Str. VII.55 ἡ Προκόννησος...τὸ μέταλλον ἔχουσα τῆς λευκῆς μαρμάρου πολύ τε καὶ

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[405] Metaphys. I-IX: I.III.3 τῶν δὴ πρώτων φιλοσοφησάντων οἱ πλεῖστοι τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἴδει μόνας ᾠήθησαν ἀρχὰς εἶναι πάντων, I.III.5 τὸ εἶδος τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὕδωρ φησὶν εἶναι, I.III.8 Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ἀέρα....Ἵππασος δὲ πῦρ ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τὰ τέτταρα, πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις γῆν προστιθεὶς τέταρτον, I.III.9 Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος...ἀπείρους εἶναί φησι τὰς ἀρχὰς.

[406] XIII.16 τὰ γοῦν κάλλιστα τῶν ταύτη πόλεως ἔργα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρῶτα τὰ ἐν Κυζίκῳ, ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς λίθου.

[407] W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman geography*, I, 739-740.

[408] Due to the celebrity of its marble quarries the ancient name of Prokonnesos was changed into Marmara; whence the whole of the Propontis is now called Sea of Marmara.

σπουδαῖον, XIII.16 Προκόννησος, πόλις ἔχουσα καὶ μέταλλον μέγα λευκοῦ λίθου σφόδρα ἐπαινούμενον.[409]

Προκόνησος/Προκόννησος are the most common forms. According to the scholiasts,[410] the etymology of the word is προκῶν νῆσος (:the island of deer). However, the forms Προικόνησος/Προικόννησος are also attested in many authors as early as the 2nd c. A.D..[411] It derives its origin from a folk etymology: Προικόννησος, ἐκ τοῦ προῖξ προικὸς καὶ τοῦ νῆσος, ἡ πάσαις ταῖς νήσοις προῖκα τῶν μαρμάρων μεταδοῦσα.[412]

52. The city walls

52.4.89 περίβολος. As early as Constantine's reign, it was manifest that the city lacked a natural barrier on its landward side. Therefore, Constantine fortified this part of the city (Zos. B.30-31, *Patr. Const.* I.53). The walls, built of bonded masonry with bands of brick and cut-stone, comprised an inner wall 11m. high with towers at intervals of 70-75m. and a lower outer wall with towers and a moat. They were pierced by six main gates, including the Golden Gate, and a number of secondary posterns. On the other, the sea walls, along the Propontis and the Golden Horn, consist of a single line of fortifications.[413]

52.1.90 τὸ πιστὸν ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ δίδωσι (ὁ χρόνος). *Ethikos* 7.24 τὸ πιστὸν ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖθεν πολὺς δίδωσι.

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[409] Prokonnesos is mentioned frequently by the Byzantine authors when they refer to Constantine's building activity or to the description of S.Sophia: see Zosim. 2.30.4, Theoph. Cont. 141.17-18, 145.22, P. Silent. *Descr. S.Soph.* 576,606,664, G. Cod. 144.

[410] Apoll. Rh. 2.279.

[411] Herod. *Epimer.* 117.

[412] *Etym. Gudian.* col.624-5.

[413] For the formidable fortifications of Constantinople see Gunther. Paris. *Hist.Const.* XV et tanto munita studio, ut paucorum manu posset ab in numeris hostibus defensari...muro firmissimo tripliciter clausa; turrens habens per circuitum sui excelsas et fortes; *Bildlexikon*, 286-323.

52.2.90 πάντα πεπαίνει. Plut. *Mor.* 2.1029 χρόνος ὁ πάντα πεπαίνειν εἰωθὼς.

52.13.90 τὰ νέα. Under the Palaeologi the walls demanded extensive restoration (this is suggested by the παραῤῥεῖν, ἀπανθεῖν, ἀλλάττει at 52.3-4.90). On the recovery of Constantinople, Michael VIII restored the land walls and improved the bulwarks guarding the shores of the city.[414] In 1317 Andronicus Palaeologus also repaired the walls (Gregor. XIV.694-696), the only indication of those repairs are now found beyond the Theodosian lines.[415]

53. The treasures inside the walls

53.14.90 - 53.16.90 περίβολος-ἄσυλον. Since antiquity Byzantion was known for owing its security to its walls: see Herodian III.1.6 περιτετείχιστό τε γενναίῳ τε καὶ μεγίστῳ ἡ πόλις τείχει, πεποιημένῳ μυλίτου λίθου ἐς τετράγωνον εἰργασμένου, τοσαύτῃ τε συναφείᾳ καὶ κολλήσει ὡς μηδένα οἴεσθαι τὸ ἔργον σύνθετον.

53.4.91 - 53.7.91 τὰ μὲν...τῷ χρόνῳ. For the circle of life, see Arist. *Metaph.* 984a.31-984b.1 καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὅλην οὐ μόνον κατὰ γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν...ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην μεταβολὴν πᾶσαν; see also *Logos 4* 970-977.

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[414] Pachym. I.364 οἰκοδόμους δ' ἐπιστήσας πλείονας καὶ ἐπιστάτας ἐδιδύμου τὸ τεῖχος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν γῆν δεδίπλωτο πάντως, III.9 ἐδόκει γοῦν πρὸς τὰ παραστάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνυψοῦν τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἃ δὴ χθαμαλὰ ἦσαν εἰκότως, θαλασσοκρατοῦντος τότε τοῦ πρώτως ἀνεγείραντος Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ οὐχ ἧττον τὸ σέβας ἢ τὰς πράξεις μεγίστου. For an account of the city walls during the Palaeologan period, see Ibn Baṭṭuta II.432 *This hill is surrounded by the city wall, which is formidable one and cannot be taken by assault on the side of the sea,* and Man. Chrys. *Epist.* I.37 ὁ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν στέφανος ἀληθῶς καὶ κύκλος οὐκ οἶδα ἐν τίνι δυναμένων λείπεσθαι τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πύργων πυκνότης καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ὕψος, ὥστε ἕκαστον, εἰ καὶ μόνος ἦν δήπου, καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀντ' ἄλλης τινὸς ὅλης οἰκοδομῆς δύνασθαι θαῦμα παρέχειν τοῖς θεωμένοις.

[415] A. Paspates, *The great palace of Constantinople*, 24; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 103; B. Aran, "The idea of wall", 415-418; *Bildlexikon*, 286-296, 301-319.

53.6.91 ἀρτιουργὰ. "perfect", "accomplished"; for other instances the author uses the word, see *Stoicheiosis* 1:1 19.334 βασιλεὺς ἀρτιουργὸς, *Ethikos* 41 παντάπασιν ἀρτιουργοὶ καὶ ἀλώβητοι, *Miscellanea* 220 ἀρτιουργοῖς παντὸς τοῦ καλοῦ.[416]

53.7.91 - 53.14.91 τοῦτό ἐστιν...ἀκμαζόντων. What is hard for me to understand is the existence of the hypothetical εἰ καὶ close to the participle ἀπογινομέναις and of the βέλτιον εἶναι. Therefore, I suggest the reading βελτίον' εἶναι instead of βέλτιον εἶναι as I believe that it refers to the city (τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς πάντα θαυμαστῆς τῆσδε πόλεως...βελτίον' εἶναι) and to consider the existence of εἰ καὶ close to ἀπογινομέναις as a metochitian peculiarity.

53.9.91 νέαις. According to Gregoras' testimony,[417] Constantinople was a vast desert of ruins during the reign of Baldwin II (1228-1261). Many houses, civic and ecclesiastical constructions were destroyed or badly neglected. Therefore, after the recovery of the city Michael VIII undertook an extensive programme of beautification of the city with the erection of new and the restoration of the old buildings.[418] The building activity continued during Andronicus Palaeologus' reign.[419] We could suggest that the author indirectly praises the present emperor for his effort to beautify the city (προστίθησιν τοῦ κάλλους, τῆς ἀκμῆς).

53.14.91 πτίλα. The emergence of new buildings as substitutes of the old ones is something normal and in accordance with the rules of nature; it is similar to what happens with the birds when they lose their feathers and new feathers are grown. See Aelian *NA* 17.23.10 ἀφιᾶσι τῶν πτερῶν τὰ ἤδη γηρῶντα...καὶ

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[416] For more examples, see *Miscellanea* 228-229, 490, 535, 575, 619.
[417] Gregor. IV.2.87-88.
[418] Gregor. 81; Pachym. 1.161; M. Holob. *Or.*58.

ἀναφύουσι πτίλα νεαρὰ καὶ ὡραῖα. The comparison is repeated in the *Miscellanea* 572 ὥσπερ τὰ πτίλα ταῖς ὄρνισιν ἀποῤῥίπτεται τῇ φύσει, καὶ φυλοῤῥοεῖ τὸ χρῆμα τῶν τριχῶν.

It is not absolutely manifest but I think that Metochites somehow tries to console his fellows and himself for what they have in front of their eyes: a city which differs greatly from other earlier descriptions of the city. Constantinopolitans can see many monuments destroyed (53.10.91 ἀπογινομέναις). However, according to Metochites this is not a great loss (53.12.91 ζημίαν οὐ χαλεπὴν οὐδ' ἐργώδη): new constructions come to substitute what is lost or now in ruins.

53.22.91 λειψάνων. A very common topic for the late Byzantine authors is the lament for the lost glory of the city, since what they basically saw in their city is ruins (ἐρείπια) and remnants (λείψανα).[420] However, we should mention that Metochites does not deplore the present situation. He may indicate the presence of ruins but this does not make him a pessimist or fatalist. He believes that even these ruins contribute to the incomparable beauty of the city.

53.13-14.92 σκευῶν...καταθραυσθέντων. See *Logos 14* 12.4-6 καὶ παροραθήσονται ὡς ἂν ἀμέλει σκεύη τινὰ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν ἀνόνητα καὶ καταγηράσαντα καὶ κατατεθραυσμένα τῷ χρόνῳ, οἱ παλαιοὶ διδάσκαλοι καὶ νομοθέτες.

54. Everything, old and new, is beautiful

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[419] Gregor. VII.12 (ὅσα τε ἐκαινούργησε καὶ ὅσα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνήγειρε).

[420] Man. Chrys. *Ep.* I.52 νῦν δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐν ἰσότητι, πάντα δὲ ἐν κόνει...καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνδριάντων...ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν βορβόρῳ καὶ πηλῷ καλινδουμένους καὶ ἐῤῥιμένους· ἄλλους δὲ ἠκρωτηριασμένους καὶ διεσπαρμένους· οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ τίτανον ἢ κονίαν ἢ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν ἄλλως λίθους γενομένους. For the formulaic expression of λείψανα, see M. Apostol. *Λόγος περὶ*

54.21.92 ἄνθρακες. The proverb is quoted when plans fail to come true. See Apost. II.86 ἄνθρακες ὁ θησαυρὸς. ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλπιζόντων μὲν ἀγαθά, κακουμένων δὲ ἀφ' ὧν ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπὶς ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφ'οἷς ἤλπισαν διαψευσθέντων, ὡς Λουκιανὸς "Ἄνθρακάς μοι τὸν θησαυρὸν ἀπέφηνας", Zen. II.1, Diogen. I.90, Greg. Cypr. I.64, Apost. III.22, Arsen. 57 ἄνθρακες ὁ θησαυρὸς πέφηνεν: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἤλπισαν διαψευσθέντων. Μέμνηται αὐτῆς Λουκιανός· "Τὸ γοῦν τοῦ λόγου ἐκεῖνο, ἄνθρακες ἡμῖν ὁ θησαυρὸς πέφυκε." Καὶ πάλιν "Ἄνθρακάς μου τὸν θησαυρὸν ἀπέφηνας".

54.23.92 ἀνατρέχομεν. Late Byzantine texts abound in nostalgic references to the past glories of the empire. They usually recall the time when the empire ruled over the peoples of the whole world, the periods of prosperity when St. Sophia was erected and repeatedly restored.[421]

Metochites disapproves of this practice, for he believes that even his contemporaries display noteworthy works. These (νέα) together with the previous achievements (παλαιὰ) result in this excellence of the city (καλλονὴν τελείαν).

54.21.93 μακρὰς οὐσίας. μακρὰ οὐσία Arist. *Pol.* 1290[b]16, 1321[a]11.

54.22.93 πλοῦτον βαθὺν. An expression for copious riches; see Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3.18 ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε διάγειν καὶ πλούτῳ βαθεῖ.

55. The beauty of the standing public and private constructions and of the ruins

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Ἑλλάδος καὶ Εὐρώπης I.25-27 λείψανα τῶν Ἑλλήνων; Man. Chrys. I.26 λειψάνων τούτων τῶν ἀνδριάντων, λείψανα ὁρᾶται.

[421] I. Cantac. *Hist.* I.18.9-13, 344.21-345.4, II.244.18-245.2, 251.12-18; see also I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his dialogue between the rich and the poor," *ZRVI* 6(1960), 187-228.

55.4.94 κατασκευὰς τοσαύτας. Constantinople was always praised for the great number of houses and other public buildings, both by its natives and by travellers who visited the city.[422]

55.15-16.94 κἀκ τῶν ὀνύχων τοὺς λέοντας θαυμάζειν-κρασπέδοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι θοἰμάτιον καὶ καλλονὴν ὑφασμάτων. "to judge by the claws", that is by a slight but characteristic mark. See ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα: ἐπὶ τῶν δεικνυόντων ἀπὸ μικρᾶς πράξεως τὸ ἦθος ὁμοία, ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ πᾶν ὕφασμα Apost. VII.99.100, IX.74, Arsen. 224, Macar. 274. ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα δείκνυται: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ μέρους καταλαμβανόντων τὸ ὅλον Apost. VI.91, Arsen. XXII.82.

The ruins are sufficient to prove the splendour of the whole construction; see Herodian III.1.5 τὰ μένοντα αὐτοῦ ἐρείπια καὶ λείψανα ἰδόντι θαυμάζειν ἔστι καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασκευασάντων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ὕστερον καθῃρηκότων, I. Chrys. *Ep.* I.26 φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐρειπίοις καὶ κολωνοῖς, οἷα ἐξ ἀρχῆς γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος...τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν πολυχειρίαν, καὶ τὴν τέχνην, εἰ δὲ βούλει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἔτι δὲ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν φιλοκαλίαν καὶ ἁβρότητα καὶ πολυτέλειαν τῆς πόλεως, ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν λειψάνων τούτων τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ κιόνων καὶ τάφων καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ἰδεῖν.

55.16.94 τεμμάχη. I have not "corrected" the word respecting the writer's wish to write κατατεμμαχίζεται (see 69.15.116) and τεμμάχη (see *Ethikos* 20 ἐν ἀορίστοις τισὶ τεμμαχίοις, 30 μόρι' ἄττα καὶ τεμμάχια).

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[422] Lib. *Ep.* 114.5 ἐμὲ τοίνυν, πολλαῖς μὲν οἰκίαις ὥσπερ ὅρμοις ἐκόσμησας, πολλοῖς δὲ λουτροῖς; Benj. of Tud. *Itin.* 135 *In fact, she has countless buildings*; Gunther. Paris. *Hist. Const.* XV.94-95 structuram autem edificiorum in corpore civitatis, in ecclesiis videlicet, et turribus, et domibus magnatum, vix alius vel describere potest, vel credere describendi, nisi qui ea occulata fide cognoverit; Villeh. *Conq. de Const.* 128 ces hautes murailles et ces puissantes tours, dont elle était

55.1.95 τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τῷ κλύδωνι. Soph. *O.T.* 1527 εἰς ὅσον κλύδωνα δεινῆς συμφορᾶς ἐλήλυθεν; see also *Ethikos* 54.17.20-22 χειμῶνα καὶ ζάλην πᾶσαν καὶ κλύδωνα.

55.6.95 ἀποστατῶν. Allusion to the three-day plunder of Constantinople by the Latins in April 1204 and to the long-lasting occupation of the city after which one could only see ruins in the city: see Gregor. IV.2.87-88 ἦν μὲν οὖν ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν τῶν πόλεων πεδίον ἀφανισμοῦ, μεστὴν ἐρειπίων καὶ κολωνῶν, οἰκίας τὰς μὲν κατεσκαμμένας, τὰς δὲ πυρκαϊᾶς μεγάλης μικρὰ λείψανα.

56. The strength of the ruins and of the standing constructions

56.18.95 ἐπικενῆς. A variation of a very common expression especially in comedy, see Aristoph. *Vesp.* 929, Alex. *Athen.* IV.170B, Greg. Theol. *Ep.*29; διὰ κενῆς: λείπει κώπης, οἱ δὲ νευρᾶς τόξου M.III.34. διὰ κενῆς: ματαίως Zonar. 535.

56.18.95 τἀκίνητα κινεῖν. See Herod. VI.134.14 εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων and Plat. *Tht.* 181a φευξόμεθα παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀπ' αὖ τῶν τὰ ἀκίνητα κινούντων. A common proverb for sacred and inviolate things; see Suid. 888 ἀκίνητα κινεῖν: ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὅτι μὴ δεῖ μηδὲ βωμοὺς κινεῖν ἢ τάφους, Zen. I.55 ἀκίνητα κινεῖν: καθ' ὑπερβολήν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖ κινεῖν μήτε βωμούς, μήτε τάφους ἢ ἡρῷα, Apost. II.3 ἀκίνητα κινεῖς: ἐπὶ τῶν λίαν παράνομα πραττόντων. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ κινεῖν τύμβους, μὴ τάφους, μὴ ὀροφήν.

56.22.95 - 56.23.95 πολλοὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων, εἰ οἷόν τ' ἦν, πρίαιντ' ἂν σφίσι προσεῖναι. See Aristid. *Panath.* 194D.90 καὶ πολλοὶ πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων, εἰ δύναιντο, πρίαιντο αὑτοῖς εἶναι, *Miscellanea* 21 καὶ πολλοῦ γ'

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close tout autour à la ronde, et ces superbes palais, et ces hautes églises, dont il y avait tant que

οἶμαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἀξιώσειεν ἂν καὶ πολλοῦ πρίαιτ' ἄν τις, εἴπερ οἷόν τ' ἦν, πεφυκέναι πρὸς μνήμην εὐγενῶς.

56.9.96 ψιλῷ τῷ λόγῳ. A usual term for prose: "bare language", that is without metre, see Plat. *Menex.* 239c. However, it may also mean a speech unsupported by evidence, without any proofs, see Plat. *Phaedr.* 262c ψιλῶς πως λέγομεν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱκανὰ παραδείγματα.

56.13.96 εἰς λαβυρίνθους τινὰς ἐμπεσὼν. A proverb of tortuous questions or arguments: Pl. *Euthd.* 291b ὥσπερ εἰς λαβυρίνθους ἐμπεσόντες, οἰόμενοι ἤδη ἐπὶ τέλει εἶναι περικάμψαντες πάλιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ...ἀνεφάνημεν ὄντες.

57. Churches

57.20.96 νεῳ. The churches in Constantinople were indeed so many that no one could ever believe it unless he had personally experienced it.[423] She was the city of the "thousand churches and the thousand monasteries": ὁποῦ 'χες χίλιες ἐκκλησιὲς καὶ χίλια μοναστήρια,/ ὅλα τετραπεντάτουρλα, μὲ θόλους ἐκτισμένα.[424]

It seems that Metochites refers to churches (τοῦτο μὲν ὅσοι τὴν κοινὴν τοῦ λαοῦ συνάγουσιν ἐπιμέλεια) where most people congregate in order to glorify God for their prosperity (λιμένες εὐπλοίας) or to ask for help in critical times (λιμένες σάλου παντὸς καὶ κλύδωνος), and to monasteries (τοῦτο δ' ὅσοι καὶ ἀνεῖνται τοῖς ἐξῃρημένοις...καὶ δραπετεύσασι τὰ πράγματα), the place where all these who have abandoned the present material world may find refuge.

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nul ne l' eût pu croire s' il ne l' eût vu de ses yeux.

[423] Villeh. *Conq.de Const.* 128 hautes églises, dont il y avait tant que nul ne l' eût pu croire s' il ne l' eût vu de ses yeux.

In one of his poems Metochites expresses the belief that the capital had more and better monasteries than any other city in the whole world.[425]

57.20.96 ἀστράπτοντες παντὶ κάλλει καὶ πάσαις χάρισιν. Hom. *Od.* 6.237 κάλλει καὶ χάρισιν στίλβων.

57.21.96 ἀστέρες. Churches shine like the stars on the sky and adorn the city; see Him. LXI.11 εἰ γὰρ ἀστέρες οὐρανοῦ κόσμος, καὶ πόλεως κλέος οἰκήτορες.

58. Public and private constructions

58.23.97 κατασκευαὶ. Metochites mentions the diversity of public and private constructions which contribute to the incomparable splendour of the city: colonnades, streets, theatres, cisterns, fountains, baths.[426]

58.23.97 στοαὶ. Colonnaded streets, that is, the Mese which ran from the arch of the Milion near the Hippodrome to the Capitolium and then as far as the Constantinian Golden Gate, and the emboloi of Domninou which crossed the Mese at the right angles with a tetrapylon at the intersection.[427]

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[424] *Thrēnos tēs Konstant.* 39-40.

[425] *Poem 2*, vv.256-264 ἃ ταμιεῖον ἀριτίμων πέλεθ' ἁπάντων δή,/ θησαύρισμα μέγ' ἔξοχον ὅττι κεν ἔνδοθί γ' ἐσθλὸν/ ἄμυδις ἅπαν ἔχον καὶ πρός γ' ἅπασιν ἑτέροισι/ μουνὰς ἀριθμῷ πλείονας, ἢ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἄλλοις/ ἀνθρώποισιν ὁμοῦ πολίεσσί τε πάσαις, τάων/ οὔνομα πουλὺ μέγα κρατέει, κάλλει τε φερίστας/ ἁπασάων ἄλλων, ἔνθ' ἂρ ἔασι περίφαντοι/ πρήγμασιν εἰν ἄρα πᾶσιν, ἃ θώυμα ἠδέ τε κόσμον,/ πάντα φέρει, περικαλλέες ἂν πᾶσιν ἀκούουσαι; see also Aristid. *Panath.* 306D.354 νεώ τε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα οἱ αὐτοὶ μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι τῶν πανταχοῦ; *Bildlexikon*, 72-215.

[426] On the wealth and splendour of the buildings see Him. XLI.37 ἐντεῦθεν τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκλάμπει συνέδριον, θέλγει τὰ λουτρά, προσδημαγωγεῖ τὰ θέατρα, κεστὸς ἀτεχνῶς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὰ σύμπαντα; Man. Chrys. *Ep.* 1.41 ἐῶ δὲ σκεπαστοὺς καὶ φρακτοὺς δρόμους διὰ πάσης ποτὲ τῆς πόλεως δεικνυμένους...ἀφίημι δὲ βασιλείων ἄλλων κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς πόλεως πλῆθός τε καὶ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος καὶ θέατρα καὶ στρατηγία καὶ ἀγωνιστήρια καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ ἱπποδρόμους...Τί δὲ περὶ λουτρῶν ἂν λέγοιμι, ὧν τὸ ἱστορούμενον ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι πλῆθος ἀπιστεῖται καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ κρηνῶν ὑδάτων, ἃ κατ' οἰκίαν τε καὶ διὰ πόλεως ἐχεῖτο; See also *Patr. Const.* III, G. Cod. 71-128 and R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 87-105, 198-225, 154-182.

[427] *Bildlexikon*, 268-270; A. Berger, "Streets and public spaces in Constantinople", *DOP* 54(2000), 162-172.

58.1.98 δυστυχούντων. We have only scanty information about the number of the poor in the Byzantine empire and in Constantinople in particular. Following R. Jenkins' estimates the number of the destitute in a population of 800.000 in Constantinople between the eighth century and the fourth crusade was at least 30.000.[428] John Cantacuzenos wrote of the existence of four social categories among whom were the *aporoi* and *ptochoi* who constituted the *demos*, the poor masses, and the *aporotatoi* or *penetes* (:the destitute) and beggars.[429]

Metochites refers to the homeless beggars that found shelter under the arcades.[430] His contemporary Gregoras describes poor people in the streets who were stretching out their hands to the crowd, pleading for a small coin to buy some bread.[431]

58.4.98 ταμεῖα. Since the city has no rivers and only a few springs, the water from the forests west of the city was introduced into open cisterns with a total capacity of approximately 900.000 cubic metres, and more than eighty covered cisterns with a capacity of approximately 160.000 cubic metres.[432]

58.10-11.98 ποταμοὺς ἀεροδρομοῦντας. Metochites refers to the aqueducts which provided the baths, the nymphaea and other public constructions of the city with water. These aqueducts often reached far into the countryside (κἀκ μακροῦ φερόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν) and consisted of underground

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[428] R. J. H. Jenkins, «Social life in the Byzantine empire", *CMH* 4.2, 79; D. Jacoby, "La population de Constantinople à l' époque byzantine: un problème de démographie urbaine", *Byz* 31(1961), 81-109.
[429] *Hist.* 1.301, 2.177-180.
[430] See also Th. Contin. 909.5-6 ἀνέφραξέ τε θυρίσι καὶ σανιδώμασι τὰς τῶν ἐμβόλων στοάς, ὡς μὴ τὴν χιόνα καὶ τὸ ψῦχος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεισιέναι τοῖς πένησι, and Justin.I, nov.80, ch.5.1 that prohibited beggars from finding shelter there.
[431] Gregor. 3.225.14-16 οἳ δὲ καὶ πήραν ἐναψάμενοι τὰς ἀγυιὰς περιίασι κατὰ πλῆθος χεῖρας ὀρέγοντες, εἴ τις κέρμα καὶ ὀβολὸν ἐμβάλοιτο πρὸς ἄρτον πορισμόν.
[432] *Bildlexikon*, 278-285; R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 201-215.

pipes (ἀδήλοις) or open cuttings (προῦπτον). When valleys or swamps had to be crossed they were supported on masonry arches (ἀεροδρομοῦντας).[433]

58.11.98 βαλανείων. Baths were indeed numerous. An early source, the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, enumerates eight public and one hundred and fifty-three private baths.[434]

58.16-17.98 καταφυγαὶ σωτηρίας. Idom. *Or.* 724 καταφυγὴ σωτηρίας, Eur. *Or.* 724 οὗτος γὰρ ἦν μοι καταφυγὴ σωτηρίας.

58.17.98 ταμεῖα ζωῆς. Our knowledge about the existence of hospitals after 1204 is very limited. Gregory of Cyprus praises the emperor Michael VIII for establishing several medical centres for the sick but he does not provide more specific information on the number and the location of these hospitals.[435]

The typikon of the monastery of Lips (last quarter of the 13th century) provides some information about the monastery's small hospital: the monastery was built in the 10th century but the hospital was rebuilt in 1282 by the empress Theodora, wife of Michael VIII, and it could accommodate up to twelve female patients.[436]

Medical services were also provided in the xenones which must have been many before 1204.[437] Nevertheless, after 1204 xenones were still functioning and new ones were being constructed. Michael Glabas established a xenon near the

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[433] C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople*, 20, 40-42; *Bildlexikon*, 271-277.
[434] *Notit. urb. Const.* 229-243, esp. 242-243; *Bildlexikon*, 48-52.
[435] *PG* 142.377 νοσούντων ἐπιμέλειαι, ἀσθενῶν ἰατρεῖαι, κἀπὶ τῇ σφῶν θεραπείᾳ πρόσοδοι ἀφοσιούμεναι.
[436] H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l' epoque des Paleologues* (Brussels, 1921).
[437] G. Cod. 99,102,104,128; *Patr. Const.* 85,94. For a description of such a xenon-hospital see the 7th century miracles of St.Artemios (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.) *Varia graeca sacra*, 1-79); for all these institutions see D. J. Konstantelos, *Poverty, society and philanthropy in the late mediaeval Greek world*, 119-123; T. S. Miller, *The birth of the hospital in the byzantine empire*, 190-206.

Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos[438] while the Serbian king Uroš II Milutin built one of the wealthiest hospitals in the Petra district of Constantinople.[439]

59. Monuments

59.24.98 στηλῶν-ἀνδριάντων. This paragraph is devoted to the discussion of the monuments and the statues which adorned the city. Several statues of pagan gods, mythological figures, philosophers, etc. were imported from other cities, chiefly by Constantine the Great, but also by his successors, and were placed in public baths, forums, etc.: *Patr. Const.* I.62 πάντα δὲ τὰ χαλκουργεύματα καὶ τὰ ξόανα ἐκ διαφόρων ναῶν καὶ πόλεων ἀθροίσας ἔστησεν αὐτὰ εἰς διακόσμησιν τῆς πόλεως, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κίονας τῶν περιπάτων. However, we do not know what had survived up to Metochites' times, since one of his contemporaries, I. Chrysoloras, says that what he could see was just the bases of these statues and columns.[440]

59.24.98 κίονες. Columns that still survive are those of Constantine I, Marcian, Theodosios I and of Arcadios. Although the practice of erecting

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[438] See Manuelis Philae carmina, poem 98 *Εἰς τὸν ξενῶνα πρωτοστράτορος τοῦ Γλαβᾶ*, vv.1-4 Τὴν καταγωγὴν τῶν ἐπινόσων, ξένε,/ ἣν ὡς ἀλεξίκακον ἐνθάδε βλέπεις,/ πάλαι μὲν ὑπέθηκεν ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ/ εὐσπλαχνίας πένησιν ἑδράσας βάσεις.

[439] Danilo II: Stefan Uroš II Milutin, trans. S. Hafner, in *Serbisches Mittelalter: Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*, 2, 174-178; M. Živojinović, "L' hôpital du roi Milutin à Constantinople", *ZRVI* 16(1975), 105-117.

[440] I. Chrysol. *Ep.* 1.45 ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τοιοῦτοι ἀνδριάντες ἦσαν, δείκνυται ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων βάσεων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιγραμμάτων· ὧν ἄλλαι μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ, πλεῖσται δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Ἱπποδρόμῳ...καὶ ἄλλας καὶ πλείστας εἶδον αὐτὸς πρότερον, ἃς νῦν οἶδα ἀφαιρεθείσας. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ λέγουσι...βάσεις σφυρηλάτων ἀργυρῶν ἀνδριάντων γεγενῆσθαι...οὓς πόσον ἐχρῆν γενέσθαι μεγάλους καὶ τιμίους καὶ καλοὺς φαίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ ὕψους καὶ τῆς λαμπρότητος καὶ τῆς πολυτελείας τῶν κρηπίδων...καὶ τῶν γλυπτῶν τούτων ἔργων...οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν περιγλύφων ἐκείνων κιόνων ἀκριβῶς εἰς μίμησιν τῶν τῇδε πεποιημένων. For all these works of art see G. Codin. 18-22, 27-70, 166-193.

honorific columns ceased after the 6th century, it was revived in the Palaeologan period.[441]

59.9.99 παλαιὸς λόγος. It has not been possible for me to trace the proverb, even though it brings us to mind Plato's Res Publica 601a-602c.

59.15.99 - 59.18.99 The writer has lost the track of the syntax and uses nominative instead of accusative (αὐτοὶ πάντες οὗτοι δημιουργοὶ...χρώμενοι).

59.3.100 δραματοποιοῦντες. Arist. *Poet.* 1448b.37 πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας.

60. Abundance of material resources

60.4.101 πλεονεξία. Owing to Constantinople's location at the meeting place of two continents, her inhabitants could derive many advantages from the communications by the sea (ἡ τῆς θαλάττης εὐκαιρία) and enjoy a plethora of goods.[442] At this point Metochites refers to the capacity of the city to import from all parts of the world all kinds of material for the creation of statues, columns and other monuments. According to the author one can wonder at the abundance of raw material and at how easily and brilliantly they are transformed into a piece of art (περιουσίαν-τέχνην).

60.6.101 πεζῇ καὶ θαλαττίοις ὀχήμασι. Pl. *Hp.Ma.* 295D.2 τὰ ὀχήματα τά τε πεζὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ.

61. Goods from the whole world reach the city

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[441] Pachym. III.15 ὁ ἐκεῖσε χαλκοῦς ἀνδριὰς τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου, ὁ ἐπὶ κιονώδους μὲν ἐρηρεισμένος τοῦ ἀναστήματος, ἐς πόδας δ' ἔχων τὸν ἄνακτα Μιχαὴλ τὴν πόλιν φέροντα; *Bildlexikon*, 52-56; R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 73-86.

[442] A. Makremb., ff.91r-92r τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφθονίαν, ὁπόση τις ἦν τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἀκμαζούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως, Benj. of Tud. 135 *men come to trade from all*

61.18.101 γεωρυχίαι. Byzantines usually used multicoloured marble, most impressive being that of St. Sophia (see P. Silent. *Descr. St.Soph.*). Production and widespread use of the marble declined after the sixth century, but never disappeared; we should mention the widespread practice in and after the eleventh century of using fresco to emulate marble revetments (:thin slabs covering the rough masonry of walls and piers and were usually carried up to the springing point of major arches and vaults, where the painted or mosaic decorations begins).[443] Although Metochites speaks in the present tense, I do not think that he refers to the present day but to the period when these monuments were created or brought into Constantinople. He mentions a few places which were known for their quarry production and their provision of marble to Constantinople.[444]

61.19.101 ἐπίχρειος. See also 62.13.103 and 76.8.126; "necessary, useful". For more examples, see *Miscellanea* 21 μάλιστ' ἐπίχρειον καὶ βιωφελέστατον, 93 ἄλλα τινὰ μάλιστ' ἐπίχρεια.

61.4.102 προσοίκοις. See *Miscellanea* 419 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ πρόσοικά τισι πολίσμασι χωρία καὶ ἀγροὶ φρονοῦσιν οὐδὲν ὁ,τιοῦν ἄλλο ἢ τὰ κυριεύοντ' ἄστη καὶ οἷς προσήκουσι.

62. The great number of constructions

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countries by land and sea...castles are filled with garments of silk, purple and gold...such riches can be seen nowhere else in Greece.

[443] Painted marble revetments were used in the inner narthex and naos at the Chora Monastery. See illustration no. 4: a part of the painted marble revetment is still preserved; for the marble production of the quarries of the then known world, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Marble in antiquity*, 15-16, 154-159; A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Roman provinces*, 15, 26, 99; P. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*, 10-25, 35-54, 81-94.

[444] Con. Rhod. *Ἔκφρ. Ἁγ. Ἀποστ.* 32-65 ταῖς ἐκ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων φρυκτωρίαις,/ τῶν ἐξ ὅλης σχεδόν γε τῆς οἰκουμένης/ καὶ μέχρις Ἰνδῶν, Λιβύης τε κ' Εὐρώπης/ τῶν Ἀσίας τε πανταχοῦ θρυλλουμένων/ ἐκ μὲν Φρυγίας συνάγων μακροὺς στόλους/.../ ἐκ δ' αὖ Λιβύης τερμάτων θηροτρόφων/ καὶ Καρχηδόνος τῆς πάλαι θρυλλομένης/.../ Αἴγυπτος δὲ πορφύρας ἁλιτρόφος/ πλάκας πέπομφε Νεῖλος ἠγλαϊσμένας/ καὶ σαρδονύχας ἰνδικὰς πολυχρόους/ κἀκ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς ζάμβακας λευκοχρόους.

62.1-2.103 ὅσην...ἐντὸς εἴργει. *Il.* 22.121 κτῆσιν ὅσην πτολίεθρον ἐπήρατον ἐντὸς ἐέργει.

62.3.103 τέμενος. See Aristid. *Panath.* 163D.25 χῶρός τις ἀνθρώπων ἴδιος ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἐξηρημένος, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν τεμενῶν ὅροι, Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Mich. Palaeol.* 345 βασιλέως οὖσαν ἑστίαν, ἢ μᾶλλον Θεοῦ τε χωρίον ἐξαίρετον καὶ τέμενος.

62.4-5.103 ἡ συνέχεια καὶ ἡ πυκνότης. Herm. *Id.* 2.10 πυκνότης καὶ συνέχεια.

62.5.103 ἐπιλαμβάνουσα. The city occupies not only the surface (ἐπιφανείας) but she also extends downwards, below the ground (πρὸς βάθος) and upwards, up to the sky (πρὸς ὕψος). When Metochites says that the city extends to the underground he probably refers to the cisterns, while when he says that the city extends to the sky he refers to the multi-story tenement houses.[445]

63. The City is constantly adorned with more

63.5.105 μερισαμέναις. See Aristid. *Panath.* 302D.340 ἆρ' οὐ πολλαῖς πόλεσιν μεριζόμενα ἐξαρκεῖ τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ἑκάστῃ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὡς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κάλλιστον;

63.6.105 αὗται καὶ σεμναὶ. Nominative instead of dative; the author has probably lost track of the syntax.

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[445] See *Cod. Just.* VIII.10.12 that limited the height of the houses to 100ft.; also see Gr. Cypr. *Laud. Andr. Pal.* 392 καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα δὲ μεγέθει αὐτῆ ἑαυτῆς τριπλασία τοῦ ἀκριβῶς σκοποῦσιν εὑρίσκεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς κατάγαιός ἐστιν οἴκησις, τὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν πληροῖ, ἄλλα δὲ τῶν μέσων ἐπάνω φερόμενα πείθει.

63.20.105 μεταποιεῖν. An allusion to Andronicus' Palaeologus restoration programme.[446]

63.6.106 τοῖς φυσικοῖς λόγος. For the circle of birth and decay, see Arist. *Metaph.* 933b 7-14 τῶν δὴ πρώτων φιλοσοφησάντων οἱ πλεῖστοι τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἴδει μόνας ὠήθησαν ἀρχὰς εἶναι πάντων· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται πρώτου καὶ εἰς ὃ φθείρεται τελευταῖον, τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ὑπομενούσης, τοῖς δὲ πάθεσι μεταβαλλούσης, τοῦτο στοιχεῖον καὶ ταύτην ἀρχήν φασιν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε γίγνεσθαι οὐθὲν οἴονται οὔτε ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὡς τῆς τοσαύτης φύσεως ἀεὶ σωζομένης; *GC* 318a.25 διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦδε φθορὰν ἄλλου εἶναι γένεσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦδε γένεσιν ἄλλου εἶναι φθορὰν ἄπαυστον, *GC* 318a.10, *GC* 336b.25; also see *Encom. of St.Demetr.* 970-972 εἰς ἑαυτὸ δρᾷ καὶ γεννᾷ καὶ γεννᾶται καὶ μένον καὶ ὂν ἀεὶ γίγνεται, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ γιγνόμενον ἔστιν ἀεὶ and *Miscellanea* 756-757 τὰς κατὰ μέρος γενέσεις καὶ φθορὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ τῶν δέ τινων φθάσαντων ἄρα τῷ εἶναι τὴν φθορὰν ἄλλων ἀμέλει κατὰ μέρος αὖθις παρέχεσθαι γένεσιν.

For the eulogist, the city of Constantinople substitutes past and perished things with new and thriving ones without interruption and in this way it manages to preserve its incomparable splendour.

63.18.106 ἰδέας. The city is the finest representation of the finest idea; see Plat. *Resp.* 596b ὁ δημιουργὸς ἑκατέρου τοῦ σκεύους πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν βλέπων οὕτω ποιεῖ.

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[446] Gregor. VII.12Γ. Διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν τῶν πάλαι ναῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεμέλετο συνιστάς τε καὶ ὑπερείδων, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῷ μείζονος τῆς τῶν χρημάτων δαπάνης αὐτῶν δεομένων ἢ εἰ νέους ἐγείρειν ἐβούλετο...ὅσα τε ἐκαινούργησε...ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει...ἔστιν ὁ περὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ Εὐγενίου μέγιστος νεὼς τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου· καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τῶν δώδεκα τῶν Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν

64. The beauties expand outside the city walls

64.7.107 χρυσέας κίονας. An allusion to the Golden Gate, a monumental gate situated at the south end of the Constantinian land walls used for imperial triumphs and other state occasions. It was built of marble blocks and consisted of three arched openings flanked by square towers. A Latin inscription in metal letters on the central arch refers to the gilding of the gate: "haec porta Theodosius decorat post fata tyranni, aurea saecla gerit qui portam construit auro". It was decorated with various statues and protected by an outer wall;[447] see Man. Chrys. *Ep.* 1.45 ἐῶ γὰρ τοὺς πρὸ χρυσῆς πύλης. Ἦν καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ μαρμαρίνους πύργους τίς ἂν ἀξίως δύναιτο θαυμάσαι, ἄθλους Ἡρακλείους ἀρίστης καὶ θαυμασιωτάτης τέχνης, καὶ Προμηθέως βάσανον, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα ἀπὸ μαρμάρου.

64.8.107 πρόσωπα τηλαυγῆ. πρόσωπον: the front, the façade; see Pind. *Ol.* 6.3-4 πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές. We could say that this is the favourite expression of many writers; see Cic. *De orat.* 2.320 sed oportet ut aedibus ac templis vestibula et aditus, sic causis principia pro portione rerum praeponere, Menand. 349.7-9 ὥσπερ προσώπῳ ἀπεικαστέον καὶ ὅτι ἐντὸς τὴν αὐτῆς χώραν φυλάττει, ὥσπερ μιᾶς οἰκίας προπύλαια.

64.8.107 προήκει. See Him. XLI.171-172 ἐπισχεθεῖσα μὲν πᾶσιν αἰγιαλοῖς καὶ πᾶσι πεδίοις, ἠπειρώσασα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ βιασαμένη μερίδα γενέσθαι πόλεως.

καὶ ἀποστόλων ὁμοῦ· καὶ τὰ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τείχη ὅσα ἐκαινούργησε, X.1 τείχεσι δὲ καὶ ναοῖς καὶ οἰκίαις ἐς τὸ πρὶν ἀνήνεγκας κάλλος αὐτὴν.

[447] *Bildlexikon*, 297-300.

64.19.107 ἐπικρεμάμενα τοῦ πορθμοῦ. Apart from the private buildings, we know that Justinian had built the monastery of Metanoia as well as a church, and also restored a house for the poor which provided medical services.[448]

64.23.107 σχῆμα χοροῦ. For the comparison of the choral dance, see Arist. *Panath.* 156D.11 (Κυκλάδες καὶ Σποράδες) χοροῦ σχῆμα σῴζουσαι...δύνανται γὰρ ὅπερ τοῖς βασιλείοις τὰ προπύλαια, Proc. De *aedif.* I.i.35 κατὰ σχῆμα τὸ ἡμίκυκλον ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ.

64.1.108 παράδεισος. See Liban. *Ep.* 114.5 ἐμὲ τοίνυν...καὶ κήπους ἐφυτεύσω...θεράπαιναι δὲ αὗταί με πανταχόθεν περιεστᾶσιν, οἱ ἀγροὶ κάλλους καὶ οὗτοι μετέχοντες, Dion. Byz. 8 ὁ καλούμενος κῆπος, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς - κηπεύεσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγοις ἀγαθὴ, *Thrēnos* 42-43 εἶχες νερὰ τρεχάμενα, εἶχες πανώριες βρύσες/ καὶ περιβόλια εὔμορφα μὲ τὰ καρπίσια δένδρα, Man. Holob. 2.58.11-14 παράλιοι καλλοναί, περιβόλων κόσμοι, κατ᾽ ἴσον καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ λαμπροί, χῶροι νάμασι πηγιμαίοις διαῤῥαινόμενοι πάντες ἔνδροσοι καὶ εὐλείμονες παντοδαπαῖς φυτῶν ἰδέαις δορυφορούμενοι, ἄνθεσι ποικίλοις καὶ μαλακῇ τῇ πόᾳ βρύοντες. The term *paradeisos* usually appears in rhetorical texts and especially in late Byzantine romances. When it is used in a literal sense, it means a garden with flowers and trees together.

The greatest amount of information we have for the gardens in Byzantium comes from the late Byzantine period. Michael VIII had probably taken great care

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[448] Proc. *De aedif.* I.9.7-10 παρὰ ταύτην δὲ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὴν ἀκτήν, ἥ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὔξεινον καλούμενον Πόντον, βασίλεια πρότερον ὄντα μοναστήριον μεγαλοπρεπὲς κατεστήσαντο...καὶ Μετάνοιαν τοῦτο δὴ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ διαιτητήριον ὁμωνύμως τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπονομάζουσι, 9.11-13 ἐς δὲ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον ἐνθένδε ἰόντι ἄκρα τις ἀποῤῥὼξ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ προβέβληται ἠϊόνα, ἐφ᾽ ἧς μαρτύριον Παντελεήμονος ἁγίου εἵστήκει...ὅπερ ἐνθένδε περιελὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τοῦτόν τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὰ μάλιστα οἰκοδομησάμενος τὸν ἐκείνῃ νῦν ὄντα νεὼν...τούτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν χώρῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀργυρωνίῳ πτωχῶν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταγώγιον, οἷσπερ ἡ νόσος τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐλωβήσατο ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ διεῤῥωγὸς ἤδη τὰ ἔσχατα προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνενεώσατο, γενησόμενον τοῖς οὕτω ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνάπαυλαν.

for the gardens of the capital. Metochites proudly refers in one of his poems to his mansion, its courtyard, its gardens and fountains.[449]

64.7.108 ὡς ἀστέρες ταῦτα καθάπερ σελήνην. For the comparison of the beauties-"stars"- which encompass the city-"moon", see Aristid. *Panath.* 156D.11 σελήνην ἀστέρες ἐγκλείουσιν, ποιητὴς ἂν εἴποι τις, μεῖζον φέρουσαι κέρδος ἢ ὅσον παρέχουσιν, and Man. Holob. 3,82.28-30 ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν πόλεων καὶ νῦν ὡς καὶ πρότερον βασιλίς, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης αἱ πόλεις κύκλῳ ταύτην περιγυροῦσιν ὅσα καὶ ἀστέρες ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάναν φησί που Σαπφὼ (Sapho *Fragm.*34).

64.2.109 καταδημιουργεῖν. "to invent, to construct, to form"; for the same type, see 11.9.40 and *Miscellanea* 182 χοῦς... πρὸς σκέπην ἄλλων καὶ χρείαν ἡντιναοῦν συμπλαττόμενος καὶ καταδημιουργούμενος.

65. The City offers freely its riches to all

66. The city treasures and pours forth everything to all

66.11.111 ῥέοντα τὰ πράγματα. For the idea of change as a flow, see Plat. *Crat.* 411c τὰ πράγματα...ῥεῖν καὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ μεστὰ εἶναι πάσης φορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως ἀεὶ, 439c ὡς ἰόντων ἁπάντων ἀεὶ καὶ ῥεόντων.

66.15.111 τετρυπημένων πίθων. The task of the Danaids, that is, to labour in vain; see εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν Xen. *Oec.* 7.40, Philet. 18.5, Luc. *Herm.* 61, εἰς τετρυπημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν: ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς κενὸν ποιούντων Mant.prov. I.48 (Schol. in Eur. *Hecub.* 869: φασὶ δὲ οἱ ποιηταὶ ταύτας (Danaides)

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[449] For an extensive discussion and bibliography , see all the articles in A. Littlewood/ H. Maguire/ J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (edd.) *Byzantine garden culture*, and especially the one by C. N.

ἐν ᾅδου κολάζεσθαι διὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν ἰδίων ἀνδρῶν, ὑδροφορεῖν καταδικασθείσας ἐν τετρυπημένῳ πίθῳ, ὅθεν καὶ παροιμίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνήνυτα μοχθούντων εἰς τετρυπημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν λέγομεν), εἰς πίθον ἀντλεῖς Plut. Boiss. 4, Apost. VII.84, Arsen. 222, Suid. Thom. Magistr. 348.

67. The Mother of God: the patroness of the City

67.13.112 ἀνάθημα τῆς οἰκουμένης. Aelian *VH* 3.26.16 οἱονεὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάθημα ἐῶντας εἶναι.

67.15.112 οὐ ῥᾴδιοι λογίσασθαι. An estimate of the churches, the shrines and the monasteries of Constantinople revealed no less than 485 such religious edifices, a number that shows the piety of the citizens of the capital;[450] see Egeria's account 23.9 *And in all the churches at Constantinople, in the tombs of the apostles and at many martyria, I never ceased to give thanks to Jesus our God for his grace in showing me such grace.*[451]

67.19.112 φρούραρχος ἄνωθεν. The following three paragraphs are devoted to the Mother of God who was believed to be the protectress of Constantinople. It was the Byzantines' conviction that their city was God-guarded and under the special charge and protection of the Virgin, a belief that became stronger during the seventh century, in the critical years of the Persian War.[452] Also worthy of mention is that, according to Andronicus II Palaeologus'

Constantinides, "Byzantine gardens and horticulture in the late Byzantine period, 1204-1453: The secular sources", 87-103.

[450] G. Gharib, *Οἱ εἰκόνες τῆς Παναγίας*, 36. For the churches and the monasteries that still exist in Constantinople, see *Bildlexikon*, 79-81, 84-96, 98-101, 103, 117-125, 136-138, 140, 168-183, 186-187, 190-193, 196-199, 206-215; R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 157-160, 176-180.

[451] See also *Poem* 3, vv.279-282 ἀρίτιμον μετὰ πάντεσσιν ἑτέροισι νηοῖς,/ τοί κεν ἀνὰ μεγαλόπτολιν ἦ μάλ' ἔασι τήνδε/ πουλλοὶ παλαιοί τε νέοι περικαλλέες ἰδεῖν,/ πάσῃσι χαρίτεσσιν ἀγανοί, θώυμα λεύσειν.

[452] On the emergence of the Virgin Mary as protectress of Constantinople see A. Florov, «La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", *Revue de l' histoire des religions*

decree, August had been the month dedicated to the Mother of God: see N. Choumnos *Θέσπισμα* 127-128 οὐ πάνυ τοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποδέχομαι, μίαν μόνην ἀποκεκληρῶσθαι τῇ πανηγύρει πρὸς τὰς παννύχους ὑμνῳδίας ἡμέραν. Ἀλλά τοι μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐφ' ὅλης μεριζομένην τὰς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ μηνὸς μέχρι τῆς νῦν διαφερόντως γε τιμωμένης, καὶ δὴ τῆς τελευταίας, τοῦτο δεῖν οἶμαι, κἀν τῷ παρόντι βούλομαι νομοθετῆσαι.

67.19.112 ἐξαρχῆς. It was believed that God ordered Constantine to found a city for the Virgin Mary: see Cedr.-Scyl. *Hist. comp.* I.495 ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις εἰς μνήμην ἔρχεται τοῦ γενομένου πλησίον Ῥώμης ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους προστάγματος, ὅπερ ἦν λέγοντος οἰκοδομῆσαι τῇ Θεοτόκῳ πόλιν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ αὐτὸς ὑποδείξω σοι. In one of the mosaics of St. Sophia, the Mother of God is depicted seated on Her throne and on each side Constantine and Justinian are standing: the former presents her with Constantinople, the latter with the church of St. Sophia.

67.20.112 ἐπισκοπὴ. See *Thrēnos* 63-67 ἐμὲν ἀφόντις μ' ἔκτισεν ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος,/ ἔκαμεν ἐπιτρόπισσαν κυρὰν τὴν Ὁδηγήτριαν,/ νὰ μὲ τηρᾷ εἰς τὰ πονῶ, νὰ μὲ θωρῇ στὰ πάσχω·/ μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν καλὴν πάντα ἐφύλαγέ με/ καὶ τὰ φουσᾶτα τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐτζάκισά τα.

67.23.112 πολιοῦχος. The epithet for the guardian deity of a city: see Pind. *O.* 5.10 Παλλὰς πολιάοχος, Plat. *Leg.* 921c Δία δὲ πολιοῦχον. In Byzantium, the first time that the epithet πολιοῦχος is attributed to the Mother of God is in the history of Scylitzes-Cedrenus; in the account of the emperor John Tzimisces' victorious return from Bulgaria, they mention that the emperor

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77(1944), 61-127; also see P. J. Alexander, "The strength of empire", 345-346 and N. H. Baynes, "The supernatural defenders of Constantinople", in his *Byzantine Studies and other essays*, 249-258.

considered the Virgin as the protectress of the city: Scyl.-Cedr. *Hist. comp.* II.413 εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος ὡς πολιούχου.[453]

68. The guardian in danger

68.20.113 σωτηρία. See Modest. Jerus. 3277f. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ πελάγει τοῦδε τοῦ βίου χειμαζομένη ἡ ἀνθρωπότης σέσωσται ἐν σοὶ καὶ διὰ σοῦ ἀνεκτήσατο χαρίσματα καὶ αἰώνια ἀγαθὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θαυμάσαντός σε ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ καὶ ὑπερδοξάσαντός σε εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος.

68.6.114 ἐπικλήσεως. Christians feel that the Mother of God is closer to them, more familiar, due to her human nature (67.18-19.113 τὴν κοινὴν συμπαθοῦσα φύσιν) and therefore they do not hesitate to appeal to her assistance in periods of need and danger.[454]

For the protection of Constantinople the constant pledge, the unfailing guarantee was the succour and mediation of the Mother of God. The appeal through the centuries is always the same: "as in the past, so now, defend Thy city".[455]

68.6.114 ἱστορίαι. There are a considerable number of stories which record the repulsion of the Avars, the Persians and the Slavs in 626, the defeat of

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[453] For the same story, see Leo Diaconus *Hist.* IX.12.3-20 and J. Cinnamus *Hist.* I.5; see also A. Florov, "La dédicace", 105.

[454] Ioan. Damasc. 2.740-753 ἐγὼ πόλις φυγαδευτηρίου τοῖς προσφεύγουσι πέφυκα, Germ. Const. 3.321 ἁμαρτωλῶν ἁπάντων ἡ ὄντως ἀγαθὴ μεσιτεία. Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, θύρα θλιβομένων καὶ προστασία φοβερὰ τῶν εἰλικρινεῖ καρδίᾳ Θεοτόκον ὁμολογούντων σε..., Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, χριστιανῶν ἁπάντων θαυμαστὸν καὶ εὐσυμπάθητον καταφύγιον καὶ πάσης μεγαλουργοῦ καλλονῆς ὑψηλότερον θέαμα, Georg. Nicom. 1437-1440 Σύ, Θεοτόκε, καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ αἰτουμένων μὴ παρόψει τὴν δέησιν· ὄρεξον χεῖρα τοῖς κάμνουσι· ἐπιλαβοῦ τῶν κλυδονιζομένων· στῆσον εἰς γαλήνην τὰ τῶν πολέμων κύματα. Διάλυσον εἰς αὖραν τὰ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων πνεύματα· δὸς κατάλληλον τῇ δεήσει, ὡς δυναμένη, τὴν ἔκβασιν. Ἔχεις ὡς Μήτηρ πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ἀπαραίτητον τὴν παῤῥησίαν.

[455] See the Acathist Hymn, *PG* 92, cols.1335-1348; L. Sternbach(ed.), "Analecta Avarica", in *Acta Antiqua et Archaelogica*, 302-341: XIII.13-14 δέσποινα παντοδύναμε σοὶ καὶ πόλιν τὴν σὴν καὶ τοὺς σοὺς οἰκέτας ἡμᾶς νηπίους...ῥῦσαι τοίνυν ἡμᾶς τε καὶ πόλιν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας, XVI.19-22

the Arab attacks - year by year for seven years - in the seventh century and the victory over the Arabs by Leo III thanks to the mediation of the Virgin.[456]

68.16.114 ἱερᾶς ἀγκύρας. See ἱερὰ ἄγκυρα: δήλη ἡ παροιμία Greg. Cypr. II.69, Apost. X.44, Arsen. 302.

68.19.114 πανώλεια. George of Pisidia and his contemporaries represent God, Christ and the Virgin as fighting on the Byzantine side during the Persian War, in the seventh century. In the thick of the battle, the Virgin fights invisibly, hits, inflicts wounds, deflects the sword of a Persian, overturns the enemy's ships.[457]

68.2.115 τἀκίχητα διώκειν. See Hom. *Il.* 17.75 ἀκίχητα διώκων, Eusth. 1096.7 ὅτι παροιμιῶδες τό, ἀκίχητα διώκων, Eusth. *Opusc.* 226.8 ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἀκίχητα διώκων εἰς μάτην πονῇς, Greg. Cypr. in Boiss. Anecd. I.357 γνώσεται διώκων τὰ φεύγοντα.

68.3.115 μεταλλᾶν ἄμμους. See ἄμμον μετρεῖν: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων καὶ ἀνεφίκτων Zen. I.80, Diog. II.27, Apost. III.5, πάντα μὲν οὖν ἀριθμεῖν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἂν εἴη, τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄμμον ἔχοντος εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἄγειν Suid. Liban. *Ep.* 258, μετρεῖν ψάμμον Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 2.179 (178a), ἄμμον μετρεῖς Diog. Vind. 1.15, τὸ γὰρ ἕκαστα τούτων διδόναι γραφῇ παρόμοιον εἴ τις καὶ θαλάττης ψάμμον καὶ ἀστέρων πλῆθος ἀριθμεῖν βούλοιτο Sym. Metaphr. *Vita St.Nicol.*, *PG* 116.329B, ποῖος γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο μετρεῖν ἀστέρας ἢ ψάμμον Man.

ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐβόα πρὸς τὴν παρθένον δακρύουσα...σῶσον, ὦ δέσποινα, σῶσον· ἀπόλλυμαι· μὴ σιγήσῃς μηδὲ καταπραΰνῃς· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι δύνασαι.

[456] "Analecta Avarica", 298-341.

[457] G. Pisid. *Bel. Avar.* 451-456 μόνην γὰρ οἶμαι τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἀσπόρως/ τὰ τόξα τεῖναι καὶ βαλεῖν τὴν ἀσπίδα,/ καὶ ταῖς ἀδήλοις συμπλοκαῖς μεμιγμένην/ βάλλειν, τιτρώσκειν, ἀντιπέμπειν τὸ ξίφος,/ ἀνατρέπειν τε καὶ καλύπτειν τὰ σκάφη/ δοῦναί τε πᾶσι τὸν βυθὸν κατοικίαν; "Analecta Avarica", XIX.38-40 τούτους χερσὶ στρατιωτῶν χριστιανῶν κατασφάξασα εἰς τὴν γῆν κατήγαγεν τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ ἅπαν αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐξενεύρισε...καὶ πανταχοῦ παρῆν ἡ παρθένος νικῶσα νίκην ἀνανταγώνιστον, καὶ δεῖμα μὲν καὶ φόβον τοῖς

Philes *Carm.* 10.56. We should note that Metochites quotes a variation of the proverb which is not attested in any other text, as far as I know.

68.3.115 ἀστέρας ἀριθμεῖσθαι. See ἀστέρας ἀριθμεῖς: αἰθέρα νήνεμον αἰρήσεις: ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην πονούντων ἐπ᾽ ἀνηνύτοις, ὡς καί· Ἄμμον μετρεῖς· καί· Ἀστέρας ἀριθμεῖς Diogen. I.38, Macar. I.51, Apost. I.58.

68.6.115 πεπαῦσθαι. It was Metochites' principle not to raise theological matters deliberately and not to go into detail; see *Poem 1*, vv.55-63 τῶ μὲν καὶ σαόφρονες, οἳ πάντ᾽ εὖ μάλ᾽ ὁρῶσι,/ θωϋμάζουσί τ᾽ ἐπιπείθονταί τ᾽ αὐτοί κεν/ ἀν σφετέρω ἄνακτι σέβας εὔνοι διδοῦντες,/ τὰ μυστήρι᾽ ἔχει σοφά, μὴ διζεύμενοί πως·/ νήπιοι δ᾽, οἳ βουλέαται σφετέρῃσι γνώμης/ ἀτασθαλίῃσί τε ὕβρεΐ τε θράσει τε/ ἠὲ τὰ πάνθ᾽ ὁράαν, ἢ μηκέτ᾽ ἔπειτα τίθεσθαι/ πεπνυμέν᾽ ἀγέμεν ἄνακτι, πάρος ἄττα γ᾽ αὐτὸς/ δράσεν.

69. The City is possession and seat of the Mother of God

69.15.115 προσηγορίας. Up to the present, the Mother of God is the succour of all Christians and especially of Greeks. Numerous are the appellations of her as an indication of gratitude. I would like to quote here just the epithets that our eulogist uses when he refers to the Mother of God : 67. φρούραρχος, ἐπισκοπή, συνεχὴς πολιοῦχος ἀκάμας καὶ ἀήττητος, ἀνεπίστροφος ἐπιμελητὴς πάσης προνοίας τῶν βελτίστων, δεσπότις πάντων, μήτηρ, ἐπίλεκτος, 68. προστάτις, σωτηρία, ἀλεξίκακος, ῥαστώνη, ἀσυλία, πανώλεια, 69. βασιλίς, στρατηγός, κυβερνήτης, ἐπιστάτις, χορηγός: 19 epithets!

πολεμίοις ἐμβάλλουσα, ἰσχὺν δὲ δούλοις παρέχουσα καὶ ἀπαθὲς φυλάττουσα τὸ ὑπήκοον, ἀναιροῦσα δὲ πλῆθος πολέμιον.

69.16.115 στρατηγὸς. See the Kontakion of the Acathist Hymn: Τῇ Ὑπερμάχῳ Στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια, ὡς λυτρωθεῖσα τῶν δεινῶν εὐχαριστήρια, ἀναγράφω σοι ἡ Πόλις σου, Θεοτόκε.

69.21.115 - 69.24.115 The author has lost track of the syntax and uses nominative instead of accusative (ἡ βασιλὶς προκαταλαβοῦσα...ἀποδεδειγμένη). One other thing is that I am not quite sure whether the genitive refers to the ἀκρόπολίν τινα (citadel of all) or to the ἡ βασιλὶς (the queen of all). However, I prefer the former, for the writer usually puts the genitive after the word it defines.

69.5.116 οὐκ ἀποχωρεῖ. Constantinople belongs to the Mother of God (ἰδιοποιησαμένη), it is Her city; see *Anal. Avar.* XIII.10-12 τὴν πόλιν τὴν σὴν, XIX.38-40 ὑπὲρ πόλεως τῆς ἰδίας.[458] According to this idea, the Mother of God dwells with her subjects in Constantinople.[459]

69.11.116 μόνης αὐτῆς. I am not sure whether the words refer to ἐπιδείξεως in the previous line or to the Mother of God and go together with the participle εὖ ἠσκημένον which would mean that the addition of the preposition ἀπὸ is required.

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[458] See also the Synaxarion of the 11th May: Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιτελεῖται ἡ ἀνάμνησις τῶν γενεθλίων, ἤτοι ἐγκαινίων, τῆς θεοφυλάκτου καὶ θεομεγαλύντου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐξαιρέτης ἀνακειμένης τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς Παναχράντου Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ Ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ παρ᾽ Αὐτῆς διασωζομένης, Apolytikion of the same day: Τῆς Θεοτόκου ἡ πόλις, τῇ Θεοτόκῳ προσφόρως, τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀνατίθεται σύστασιν· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἐστήρικται διαμένειν, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς περισῴζεται καὶ κραταιοῦται, Kontakion: Ὡς περιούσιος κλῆρος ἡ Πόλις σου, προσανατίθεται Κόρῃ τῇ σκέπῃ σου· ἣν σκέποις ἀμάχῳ ἰσχύι σου, σοὶ ἀφορῶσαν Παρθένε καὶ κράζουσαν· Σὺ εἶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἀσφάλεια, Megalynarion: Πόλις ἡ περίοπτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Κεχαριτωμένη, παντευλόγητε Μαριάμ, ἥνπερ ἔσχες πόλιν, ὡς σχοίνισμα καὶ κλῆρον, φυλάττοις τε καὶ σῴζοις, τῇ προμηθείᾳ σου.

[459] For this see the miracle of the Virgin who delivered a girl from the demons. She appears in a vision and says: «I am in Constantinople and I wanted to bring you there and heal you...", Papadopoulos-Kerameus(ed.), *Varia graeca sacra*, 151.7-11, 152.29-33.

69.15.116 κατατεμμαχίζεται. I have respected the writer's wish to write the verb in this way, with double m; see *Miscellanea* 812 μερίζεσθαι καὶ κατατεμμιαχίζεσθαι, *Ethikos* 1 κακῶς ὀλλύντων καὶ κατατεμμιαχιζόντων.

69.17.116 νεὼς. Indeed the churches dedicated to the Mother of God in Constantinople outnumbered any other dedication. "You would not find any public place or imperial dwelling, no reputable inn or private house of those in authority where there is not a church or an oratory of the Mother of God".[460] It is no exaggeration to say that they were countless, having as their head and metropolis the Church of the Blachernae at the north-west extremity of the landward walls.[461]

69.13.117 ἑστία. A very common praise of Constantinople is that it is the home of faith for the whole world; see *Anal. Avar.* 15 τῆς χριστιανῶν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπάρχουσαν πίστεως.

70. The church of St.Sophia

70.8.118 Θεοῦ Σοφίας. St.Sophia was dedicated to the Wisdom (Σοφία) of God; see Proc. *De aed.* I.i.21 Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι τὸν νεὼν ἐπικαιριώτατα τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπεργασάμενοι.

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[460] Th. Syncel. in Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana*, IV, 55. Following a rough estimate, twenty-seven churches were dedicated to Christ and more than two hundred were dedicated to His Mother (G. Gharib, *Οἱ εἰκόνες τῆς Παναγίας*, 36-37). For the churches and the monasteries of the Mother of God that still exist in Constantinople, see *Bildlexikon*, 76-78, 102, 126-135, 188-189, 200-201, 204-205.

[461] "Analecta Avarica", XXIV.11-13 φύλακα ἡ πόλις ἀκαταμάχητον κέκτηται τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἅγιον οἶκον τῆς Θεομήτορος, τῷ κόλπῳ μετὰ τοῦ Κέρατος πλησιάζοντα, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς οἰκοῦντας φυλάττοντα. For the churches dedicated to the Mother of God, see *Patr. Const.* III and G. Codinus 77, 80-83, 85, 90-92, 96, 103, 107, 110, 113, 116, 119-120, 125; see also *Poem 2*, vv.295-303 τοῖος ἄρα σφιν ἅμα φύλαρχος φρούραρχός τε/ κράτιστ᾽ ἐπιμέλων ἀκάματος ἄυπνος ἀεὶ/ ἀμφὶ πόλιι σὺ τῆδε, πάναγνε· τοὶ δέ τε νηοὶ/ σεῖο διαδεδομήαθ᾽ ἑκασταχοῦ ἐπίκουροι/ κάρτ᾽ ἀῤῥαγέες ἀκράδαντ᾽ ἀνὰ πάντ᾽ ἀνιηρά,/ σύν τ᾽ ἔτι λιμένες ἀνά σφιν δραμέειν χειμῶνι/ παντί γ᾽ ἑκάστοτ᾽ ἐπιπίπτοντι μάλα κεν ῥάγδην,/ κίνδυνον ἐμφανέα ταχὺν ἠδέ τ᾽ ὄπισθεν ἰόντα/ κρυπτόμενον διδόοντες ἀλεύασθ᾽ ἀθρόον αὐτοί.

70.8.118 μόνης τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας. St.Sophia is such an amazing construction, a real marvel, that is believed to be God's creation; see Proc. *De aed.* I.i.61 οὐκ ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει ἢ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ ῥοπῇ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετόρνευται, I.i.71 ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτῳ μέν ποτε ἠγμένος οὐκ οἶδα, θεῷ δέ, οἶμαι.

70.14-15.118 μῆκος τῶν λόγων. Aesch. *Eum.* 201 τοσούτο μῆκος ἔκτεινον λόγου, Soph. *O.K.* 1139 οὔτ' εἴ τι μῆκος τῶν λόγων ἔθου πλέον.

70.15-16.118 οὐκ ἔχω τίς ἂν γενοίμην. Aesch. *Pr.* 905 οὐδ' ἔχω τίς ἂν γενοίμαν.

70.16.118 τὴν μέσην (ὁδὸν). See Theogn. 220 μέσην δ' ἔρχευ τὴν ὁδὸν, 331 μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔρχεο ποσσὶν/ μηδετέροισι διδούς, Κύρνε, τὰ τῶν ἑτέρων. Metochites is wondering what he should do; should he pass over the praise of such a marvel or talk in length? And he chooses the most prudent solution, the middle way (τὴν μέσην ὁδὸν), in other words to devote a small part of his speech to the praise of St.Sophia.

71. The Church is a marvel

71.8.119 τέρας. See Proc. *De aed.* I.i.27 θέαμα τοίνυν ἡ ἐκκλησία κεκαλλιστευμένον γεγένηται, τοῖς μὲν ὁρῶσιν ὑπερφυές, τοῖς δὲ ἀκούουσι παντελῶς ἄπιστον, Man. Chrys. *Ep.* 1.48 οἶμαι γὰρ μήτε γενέσθαι, μήτε μὴν γενήσεσθαί ποτε ὅμοιόν τι κατ' ἀνθρώπους.

71.11.119 μέγιστον-ποικιλωτάτης. The church is praised for its remarkable size and beauty; see I. Cantac. 3.1 τὸν νεὼν τῆς σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγέθει μέγιστον ὄντα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἁπάντων, 4.4 ὁ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφίας κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει τοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ νικῶν, M. Holob. 3,58.17-20 ὧν

ἁπάντων μεγέθει μέγιστος καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστος, ὃν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μὲν Σοφία τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὀνόματι περιβόητον ὠκοδόμησε, Guill. de Balden. *Itiner.* Credo quod sub caelo, postquam mundus creatus est, non fuit tale aedificium completum, quod huic poterit in nobilitate et magnitudine ceteris comparari.

71.19.119 ὕλης. For the precious material that was used for the embellishment of the church, see Proc. *De aed.* I.i.54 χρυσῷ μὲν ἀκιβδήλῳ καταλήλειπται ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, κεραννῦσα τὸν κόμπον τῷ κάλλει, νικᾷ μέντοι ἡ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγὴ ἀνταστράπτουσα τῷ χρυσῷ, *Parast. synt. chron.* 26 θαῦμα δὲ ἦν ἰδέσθαι ἐν τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τοῦ ναοῦ· ὅτι πάντοθεν ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου ἐξέστραπτεν. καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος θαῦμα ἦν τοῖς εἰσιοῦσι ἐν τῇ πολυποικιλίᾳ τῶν μαρμάρων...τὴν δὲ ὡραιότητα καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ κεχρυσωμένου καὶ διηργυρωμένου ναοῦ ἀπὸ ὀρόφου ἕως ἐδάφους τίς διηγήσεται;

71.21-22.119 τὴν ὅλην γῆν...πορισ̣τὴν. For the construction of the church the whole empire was indeed a supplier of materials; see Codinus 131 συναγαγόντες αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ὕλην) ἀπό τε ναῶν εἰδωλικῶν καὶ παλατίων λουτρῶν τε καὶ οἴκων ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θεμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης.

71.23.119 ἀνθῶν-βαφῶν. The Byzantines had a preference for multi-coloured marble; see P. Silent. *Descr. S.Soph.* 662-663 μάρμαρα δ' ὀμφαλόεντα περιστέφει εἶκε κλαδίσκοις πορφυρέοις, *Parast. synt. chron.* 2 τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ πρασίνους κίονας τοὺς ἀξιοθαυμάστους. Everyone who visits the church might reasonably suppose that he has come upon a meadow with its flowers in full bloom. It is worthwhile to quote Procopius' testimony, *De aed.* I.i.60 λειμῶνί τις ἂν ἐντετυχηκέναι δόξειεν ὡραίῳ τὸ ἄνθος. θαυμάσειε γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως τῶν μὲν τὸ ἀλουργόν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χλοάζον, καὶ οἷς τὸ φοινικοῦν ἐπανθεῖ καὶ ὧν τὸ

λευκὸν ἀπαστράπτει, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οὖς ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις ποικίλλει χροιαῖς.[462]

71.8.120 καρικοὺς τάφους. Apost. IX.53 καρικὸς τάφος: ἐπὶ τῶν πολυτελῶν; see also Strab. XIV.2.656 τοῦ Μαυσώλου τάφος, τῶν ἑπτὰ θαυμάτων, ἔργον, Ioann. Sicel. VI.265 τί μοι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον αἱ ἑπτάπυλοι Θῆβαι καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Μαυσώλου καρικὸς τάφος καὶ πυραμίδες;

72. The Church is the heart of the City

72.5.121 φωτὸς οἶκος. Metochites refers to the spiritual light. The church is the house of this Light. However, this may also well suggest that the church is literally very bright, since it is filled with sunlight and its marble interior reflects the sun; see Proc. *De aed.* I.i.30-31 φωτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡλίου μαρμαρυγαῖς ὑπερφυῶς πλήθει φαίης ἂν οὐκ ἔξωθεν καταλάμπεσθαι ἡλίῳ τὸν χῶρον, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἴγλην ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι, τοσαύτη τις φωτὸς περιουσία ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν περικέχυται.

72.6.121 καρδία. At 39.4.73 the City was compared to the heart of the whole world; in this paragraph, St. Sophia is compared to the heart of the city. Therefore, from these two thoughts we can say that St. Sophia is the heart not only of Constantinople but also of the whole world; it is the heart of Orthodoxy that beats and transmits Life to the whole world.

72.10.121 τελειωτὴς. What the scribe offers does not provide a satisfying meaning: "the church is perfection of essence and life". I thought of two solutions, to write either τελειότητος which goes together with χορηγὸς: "the church is supplier of perfection of..." or τελειωτὴς: "the church is accomplisher of essence

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[462] G. P. Majeska, «Notes on the archaeology of St.Sophia at Constantinople: The green marble

and life". I think the latter fits better with the previous terms as regards meaning and it is morphologically closer to the word provided; see *Ep.Hebr. 12.2* τελειωτὴς τῆς πίστεως.

73. Every construction may provide occasion for knowledge

73.11.122 πάντα σοι πορίζει. All statues and monuments not only stand for the beautification of the city but also for the memory of the glorious past. They teach history to the following generations either with the inscriptions they may bear or simply with the representation of famous people, historical or mythological scenes.

73.12.122 ἐπιγραμμάτων. Inscriptions incised or carved in relief on stone or marble. Until the seventh century they played the same role as they did under the pagan empire, that is, they were relevant to city life. Thereafter we cannot say that they cease to exist but their presence becomes more restricted.[463]

73.20-22.122 τῆς ὅλης σοφίας...ἀρχηγὸν. *Stoicheiosis* 1:5 4.45-47 ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι πάσης σοφίας καὶ διδάσκαλον, 1:5 24.267-268 τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μόνου δημιουργοῦ καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων.

73.22.122 οὐρανὸν. See Plat. *Tim.* 92c.7 μέγιστος καὶ ἄριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελεώτατος γέγονεν εἷς οὐρανὸς ὅδε μονογενὴς ὤν and *Epin.* 977a.4-6 οὐρανὸν...αἴτιον ἀγαθῶν πάντων. For a similar quotation, see *Miscellanea* 266 τὸν θαυμαστὸν Πλάτωνα, διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν

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bands on the floor», *DOP* 32(1978), 299-308.

[463] *Corpus inscriptiorum graecarum* 4 (Berlin, 1877); C. Mango, "The Byzantine inscriptions of Constantinople: A bibliographical survey", *American Journal of Archaeology* 55(1951), 52-66; C. Mango/ I. Ševčenko, "Some recently acquired Byzantine inscriptions at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum", *DOP* 32(1978), 1-27.

ὁρώμενα, καὶ πάσης αὐτουργὸν σοφίας ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ φιλοπραγμοσύνης ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν κάλλιστ᾽ εἰρηκότα.[464]

73.23.122 ἁρμονίας καὶ ἀριθμοὺς. Plat. *Epin.* 991e.2 πᾶν διάγραμμα ἀριθμοῦ τε σύστημα καὶ ἁρμονίας σύστασιν ἅπασαν τῆς τε τῶν ἄστρων περιφορᾶς; *Stoicheiosis* 1:5 6.72-77 ἀριθμὸν δὲ δίδωσιν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων, ἡ γεννᾷ οὐρανὸς καὶ αἱ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν στροφαὶ καὶ περίοδοι καὶ ἡ συνέχεια τῆς αὐτοῦ κινήσεως.[465]

73.1.123 χορείαν. *Stoicheiosis* 1:5 24.273-274 τὴν καλλίστην καὶ ἐναρμόνιον καὶ παντάπασι σύμφωνον χορείαν τῶν ὡρῶν.

74. The City is a source of wisdom to all

74.8.123 σοφίας ἀφορμὰς. Constantinople was always praised for being the home of philosophy and literature; see Him. 2.10-12 πάλιν Ἀτθίδες παρ᾽ ὑμῖν Μοῦσαι· πάλιν Ἀθῆναι τὰς αὐτῶν ὠδῖνας προσφθέγγονται. καί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες μὲν λόγοι φίλοι τῆς πόλεως, 12.125 τοιγαροῦν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν φιλοσοφία ἡ μὲν ὀθνεῖος, ἡ δὲ ἐγχώριος πάσῃ τῇ φιληκοΐα τῆς πόλεως ὥσπερ τις ἀγαθὴ μέλιττα ἐξ ἀκηράτων λειμώνων κηρία πλάττουσα πᾶσαν ἐπιβόσκεται αὐτήν, νῦν μὲν ἐμβομβοῦσα θεάτροις καὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀρίστωνος δι᾽ ἑαυτῆς ὑμῖν συνάπτουσα· νῦν δὲ ψυχὰς νεῶν ἀρετῆς πάσης γεμίζουσα, ὥσπερ που καὶ Πυθαγόραν λόγος, ὅτε Λυκείῳ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀντεπετείχιζε, *Vita Episc. Argiv.* 2-3 σοφῶν πληθούσης ἀνδρῶν ἐν ᾗ λόγων ἅμιλλαι καὶ ἀρετῶν ἰδέαι παντοίων. Apart from this we should bear in mind that Metochites lived in a period in which classical scholarship flourished, education was regarded as essential for

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[464] See also *Stoicheiosis* 1:5 5.54-57 διδάσκαλος πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώποις αἴτιος οὐρανὸς...ἀποδείκνυσι Πλάτων καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἀριθμὸν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν δίδωσιν.
[465] See also Pl. *Epin.* 977a-b, 978b-979a, *Tim.* 47a.

governmental and ecclesiastical positions and emperors showed a preference for having scholars at Constantinople who were interested in theology, philosophy and literature.

74.22.123 θέατρα. Metochites probably refers to the *theatra*, where speeches (ρητορείας χάριτες, ὥρα λόγων), essays, letters and poems were presented to the public. The audience took notes and used occasional gems for their writings. Applause (κρότοι πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν) was the rhetor's compensation for his work.

The *theatra* could be found throughout the Byzantine history and rather frequently in the Palaiologan period. Andronikos II occasionally visited the *theatra* in order to listen to recitations.[466]

74.4.124 τὸ μέγα πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὄνομα. Thuc. 7.64 τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν.

75. Hearth of wisdom

75.12.124 μουσεῖον τῶν λόγων. Pl. *Phaedr.* 267b.10 μουσεῖα λόγων, 278b.9 Νυμφῶν νᾶμά τε καὶ μουσεῖον ἠκούσαμεν λόγων.

75.13.124 παιδείας ἑστία. Aristid. *Smyr.Pol.* 232.26 φαίης ἂν ἑστίαν εἶναι τῆς ἠπείρου παιδείας ἕνεκα.

75.13.124 ταμεῖον σοφίας. Const. Acrop. *Διαθήκη* 48 ὅθεν καὶ αὐτόχρημα ταμιεῖον κατέστη κοινὸν φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ Μουσῶν ἅπαντι τῷ εἰς χρείαν ἥκοντι ἑτοίμως παρέχων καὶ ἀφθόνως μεταδιδοὺς.

75.2.125 παρήκων χρόνος. The past in opposition to the future; see Arist. *Phys.* 223a.6 τοῦ παρήκοντος καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος.

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[466] H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 75-91.

75.4.125 ἔστ' ἂν ἀνθρώπους γῆ τρέφει. See *Miscellanea* 792 καὶ οὐ λήξει γιγνόμενα, ἔστ' ἂν ἀνθρώπους γῆ τρέφῃ.

76. Common treasury of all and for all

76.23.125 - 76.2.126 ἥκοι-λάβηται. At first sight it seems that the author has lost the track of the syntax. However, I think the verb in the subjunctive is simply the main verb of a final clause.

77. The city harbours welcome all

77.19-20.126 ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας τοῖς καταίρουσι προΐσχεται καθάπερ ἐκ χειρῶν ἀντιλαμβανομένη πλείστων. A usual metaphor for the numerous harbours; see Aristid. *Panath.* 10 τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ὡσπερεὶ χεῖρα προτείνουσα εἰς ὑποδοχήν, παντοδαποὺς δὲ ὅρμους καὶ λιμένας παρεχομένη κύκλῳ περὶ πᾶσαν ἑαυτὴν, Menand. 351.31-352.1 ἐὰν δὲ πολλοί, ὅτι ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας πολλὰς χεῖρας προτείνει τοῖς καταίρουσι.[467]

77.6.127 ἀγκάλας. Another usual metaphor for the harbours situated in the centre of the city; see Menand. 351.22-23 λιμένες δὲ ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ φήσεις ὥσπερ κόλπῳ δέχεσθαι τοὺς καταπλέοντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀγκάλας.

78. All get here what they want

78.5.128 τοῖς ὄναρ πλουτοῦσιν. "build castles in the air", Pl. *Ly.* 218c ὄναρ πεπλουτηκέναι, *Tht.* 208b ὄναρ...ἐπλουτήσαμεν.

78.18.128 πάντων ἀνθρώπων. Constantinople is the meeting point for all nations of various languages and customs. For this "international" city, see *The*

[467] For the harbours of the city, see *Bildlexikon*, 57-63.

Oracle of Baalbek 91-94 καὶ ἐνοικήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο γλωσσῶν, I. Tzetzes *Hist.* XIII.361-366 Ἀλλὰ γλῶσσα μέμικται, πολύκλεπτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες,/ οἱ πόλιν γὰρ τὴν ἄνασσαν ναίοντες Κωνσταντίνου,/ οὐχὶ μιᾶς φωνῆς εἰσὶ καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς μόνου,/ μίξεις γλωσσῶν δὲ περισσῶν, ἄνδρες τῶν πολυκλέπτων,/ Κρῆτες καὶ Τοῦρκοι, Ἀλανοί, Ῥόδιοί τε καὶ Χῖοι,/ ἁπλῶς ἔθνους τοῦ σύμπαντος, τῶν ἁπασῶν χωροῦντες.[468] The city is a commonwealth (κοινοπολιτεία) for all. Despite the fact that people of different cultures and languages gather in this city, they manage to live together in peace and harmony. We can say that this is another of the wonders of the city. For this reason, Metochites suggests that there is no need for someone to travel all over the world in order to meet various nations, their ideas, customs, rules, food and way of living; the only thing he has to do is to visit Constantinople.

79. The city is a kind of homeland for all

79.12.129 κοινὴν...πατρίδα. The city is the common homeland of all imperial subjects.[469] It is the place where "outsiders become insiders".[470]

80. It is better for one to live in this city few, yet blissful, years

80.2.131 ἀπαντλοῦντα βίοτον. *AG* 9.127.3 οὕτω ἀπαντλήσας τὸν ὅλον βίον.

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[468] Greg. Cypr. *Laud. Mich. Palaeol.* 319 ἡ πόλις πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔχει δεικνύναι ἐξ ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ γένους Ἑλλήνων, βαρβάρων, ὁτωνδήποτ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ ἧττον κατὰ χρείαν ἢ πρὸς θέαν ἀφικνουμένων τῆς πόλεως; Jordanes *Getica* 28.95 Lo, now I see what I have often heard of with unbelieving ears, meaning the great and famous city...he marvelled as he beheld the situation of the city, the coming and going of the ships, the splendid walls, and the people of diverse nations gathered like a flood of waters streaming from different regions into one basin.

[469] Heraclius, Novel 2, 74.

[470] P. Magdalino, "Constantinople and the outside world", in D. C. Smythe (ed.) *Strangers to themselves*, 149-162; A. E. Laiou, "Institutional mechanisms of integration", in H. Ahrweiler/ A. E. Laiou (eds.) *Studies on the internal diaspora of the Byzantine empire*, 171 ff.

80.22.131 οὐ νῦν μὲν-νῦν δὲ οὔ. A variation of the expression οὐχ ὁ μέν, ὃς δ' οὐ. See Phoc. I. Λέριοι κακοί, οὐχ ὁ μέν, ὃς δ' οὔ.

81. A short but happy life is preferable to a long miserable one

81.10.132 ζῆν αἰσχρῶς αἰσχρὸν. Soph. *Electr.* 989 ζῆν αἰσχρῶς αἰσχρὸν τοῖς καλῶς πεφυκόσι; also see Apost. VIII.34f., Arsen. XXVII.46, Stob. Flor. 17.1.

81.13.132 τὸ μὲν κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται. Eur. *Alc.* 419 πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται, 482-484 βροτοῖς ἅπασι κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται,/ κοὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται/ τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται.

81.17.132 ἐνευπραγῆσαι. "to be happy, fortunate, prosperous"; see *Miscellanea* 290 κατὰ χώραν ἐνευπραγοῦντες.

81.21.132 Ἡρόδικον. Plat. *Resp.* 406a.7-b.8 Ἡρόδικος δὲ παιδοτρίβης ὢν καὶ νοσώδης γενόμενος, μείξας γυμναστικὴν ἰατρικῇ, ἀπέκναισε πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα ἑαυτὸν...μακρόν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ ποιήσας. παρακολουθῶν γὰρ τῷ νοσήματι θανασίμῳ ὄντι οὔτε ἰάσασθαι οἷμαι οἷός τ' ἦν ἑαυτόν, ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τε πάντων ἰατρευόμενος διὰ βίου ἔζη, ἀποκναιόμενος εἴ τι τῆς εἰωθυίας διαίτης ἐκβαίη, δυσθανατῶν δὲ ὑπὸ σοφίας εἰς γῆρας ἀφίκετο, c.6-8 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πλουσίων τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων δοκούντων εἶναι οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα. Following Plato, Metochites believes that a short, yet happy, life is preferable to a long but miserable one.[471]

82. The citizens of the City are famous because of their city

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[471] *Miscellanea* 344 οἱ μὲν νόσοις πιέζονται καὶ προσταλαιπωροῦσι τὸν ἀεὶ τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον, πονήρως ἔχοντι ξυντυχόντες τῷ σώματι καὶ πολυπαθεῖ πάντοθεν, 350 πάντες σχεδὸν ἄνθρωποι τῆς ζωῆς ἐφίενται καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἔχονται κἀν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις ὄντες, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δεινὰ πάσχοντες καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενοι πάντα τρόπον τῷ σώματι καὶ καθάπαξ ἀηδῶς τῇ τύχῃ φερόμενοι.

82.14.133 Σερίφιος πολίτης. The scribe has made a slight mistake due to the acoustical similarity of these two words or perhaps because of a misunderstanding (since the islands Siphnos and Seriphos lie next to each other). This misunderstanding seems to have existed as early as Herodotus, VIII.125.[472] For the Seriphian of the anecdote, see Plat. *Resp.* IV.330 Ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εὖ ἔχει, ὃς τῷ Σεριφίῳ λοιδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι, ὅτι οὐ δι' αὑτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμοῖ, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὢν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος Ἀθηναῖος.

83. The Graeco-Roman foundations of the City

83.16.135 ἐπώνυμοι. I think that the word here has the Modern Greek meaning rather than the classical Greek usage: "famous, renowned".

84. The City was founded to transcend all others

84.3.136 μέγεθος ἀρχῆς καὶ ὄγκος. Plut. *Fab. Max.* 4.3.2 ἐνδείξασθαι θέλων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον.

84.7.136 ἐκ μικρᾶς μεγίστην. See *Miscellanea* 702 καὶ θαυμάζειν ὄντως, ὡς ἔφην, ἄξιον, ὅπως ἐκ μικρῶν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ παντάπασιν ὡς γε δόξαι ταπεινῆς καὶ εὐπεριφρονήτου κινήσεως καὶ ὁρμῆς οὕτω δὴ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα πάντα τρόπον ἑξῆς ἁπήντα καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ τύχης συμπεράσματα.

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[472] *Hist.* 125 ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους ἐών, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ὁ δέ, ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σύ, ὦνθρεπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.

84.18.136 ἑλλανοδίκης. See *Miscellanea* 468 ὥσπερ ἑλλανοδίκης τις καὶ κριτὴς ἐπόπτης ἄνωθεν ἥκων τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀγώνων καὶ ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἀγωνιστῶν, 752 ὥσπερ...τοῦ κοσμικοῦ τοῦδε θεάτρου νομεὺς...καὶ τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἑλλανοδίκης.

84.4.137 ἄνω πρὸς βοῤῥᾶν. Hdt. I.72 ἄνω πρὸς βορέην.

85. Centre of the true faith

85.10.138 ἔπεσθαι. See *Miscellanea* 68 ὥσπερ αἱ σκιαὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἕποιντ' ἂν, 637 ξυνέπεσθαι παντάπασιν ἀκλινῶς ὥσπερ τοῖς σώμασιν αἱ σκιαὶ.

85.6.139 Ἀνδρέας. St. Andrew was believed to have taught (διδάσκαλος) the christian religion in Byzantium and to have ordained its first bishop, Stachys. This belief was certainly strengthened by the fact that the relics of St. Andrew reposed in the church of the Holy Apostles. The Byzantines invented the tradition of the apostolic foundation of the see of Constantinople by St.Andrew as an answer to the claims of the Roman papacy for primacy in the Church.[473]

86. The founder of the City is the Christian king counted among the apostles and the saints

87. The City stands firm to the Christian faith

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[473] We must trace the origin of this tradition back to the period of the Acacian schism (485-519); see F. Dvornik, *The idea of apostolicity in Byzantium*, 3, 138-140, 156-160; see G. Codin. 119 πρῶτον εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐλθὼν ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας πρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον, καὶ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα Ἀρματίου ἐποίησε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκάθητο διδάσκων. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταυρὸν ἰδιοχείρως, λατομήσας αὐτὸν καὶ γλύψας, ὃν ἔστησεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Εἰρήνην τὴν παλαιάν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ νεώριον, εἰς τὸ καλούμενον κερατέμβολον, καὶ ἐδίδασκε κἀκεῖσε, Nic. Const. 13-19 Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν λόγον κηρύξας εὐκτήριον οἶκον πέραν ἐν Ἀργυροπόλει δειμάμενος χειροτονεῖ ἐπίσκοπον τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Στάχυν; see also Nic. Call. Xanth. *Διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Βυζαντίου* 449 and *Hist. Eccl.* 8.6.

87.22.140 ἀποστάτης. Owing to his notoriety, Julian remained in history as the apostate, the enemy of Christianity, the impious king *par excellence*.[474] Metochites attributes Julian's short life to the fact that the city which is the house of faith could not tolerate such an impious ruler for long.

88. The City did not adopt any other religion unlike other cities

88.9-10.142 ἐναγεῖς τραπέζας. See Ioan. Chrys. *Enc. of St.Lucian* 8-9,46 καὶ τράπεζαν ὁρῶν μιαρὰν καὶ ἐναγῆ, τραπέζης ἐμνήσθη ἑτέρας τῆς φρικώδους καὶ πνεύματος γεμούσης.

89. The five cities-metropoleis of the Christian faith

89.21.142 πέντε. The five patriarchates. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) the number of the patriarchates was restricted to five and a precise order of precedence was established: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.

89.5.144 ἐκ πρυμνῶν οἰάκων ἐπιστασία. See Aesch. *Theb.* 3 ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως οἴακα νωμῶν.

90. With the exception of the City, all the rest abandoned Christian faith

90.11.144 κατεναυάγησαν. "to suffer shipwreck, to be lost". See *Miscellanea* 422 ὥσπερ αὐτάνδρῳ τῷ σκάφει τῆς ἀρχῆς χαλεπωτάτῳ κλύδωνι κατεναυάγησαν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας παντάπασι διαφθορὰς.

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[474] Malal. *Chron.* 326D Μετὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Κωνσταντίου ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης...ἐκλήθη παραβάτης, διότι ἀρνησάμενος τὸ δόγμα τῶν αὐτοῦ προγόνων, τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, γέγονεν Ἕλλην; see also G. Codin. 150, Evagr. I.1, *Chron. Pasch.* 546 and Cedr.-Scyl. *Hist. comp.* I.525.

90.22.144 σὺν Θεῷ ὁ λόγος. Her. I.86.15 σὺν Θεῷ εἰρημένον, Aristoph. *Pl.* 114 ξὺν Θεῷ δ'εἰρήσεται, Pl. *Tht.* 151b.4 σὺν Θεῷ εἰπεῖν.

90.9.145 πρωτεῖ'. A possible hint of the superiority of the bishopric of Constantinople to that of Rome. For Metochites this city holds the primacy since all the remaining bishoprics are occupied by the infidel.

For the precedence of the praised city over all the rest, see Aristid. *Panath.* 297D.331 οὐ γὰρ μόνον εὐθενούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠξιοῦτο τῶν πρωτείων, ἀλλὰ κἀν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἥτις ἐξ ἴσου ταύτῃ γεγένηται and 299D-300D.335 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πάντα ἀρίστης καὶ μεγίστης τῆς νυνὶ καθεστηκυίας τὰ πρεσβεῖα παντὸς ἔχει τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ, καὶ πέπραγεν οὕτως ὥστε μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἄν τινα αὐτῇ τἀρχαῖα ἀντὶ τῶν παρόντων συνεύξασθαι.

91. The seven oecumenical synods

91.13.145 ἑπτὰ...συντάξεις. The seven oecumenical councils (Nicaea I, Constantinople I, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople II, Constantinople III, Nicaea II). Almost half of them took place in Constantinople; for Metochites this is one more proof of the superiority of the city over all the rest (92.14-15.146 πλεονεκτεῖ καὶ περιουσιάζει).

92. Three synods took place in the City: another proof of the superiority of the City

93. The City is the commander of faith

93.12.148 ἀρτιόχρειον. "very useful, advantageous, beneficial"; see *Miscellanea* 527 πρὸς πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρτιόχρειος, 663 κατὰ πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον εἰς τοῦτ' ἀγόμενον καὶ ἀρτιόχρειον.[475]

94. The great theologians

94.6.149 χρυσορρήμονες. An epithet given to St. John Chrysostom by St. John Damascenus: *Or.de his qui in fide dorm.* 6.1 ὁ χρυσορρήμων ὄντως.

94.11.149 νεκροὺς τῶν σωμάτων. Most of the holy relics were gathered in Constantinople (95.15.149 οἴκοθεν - πάντοθεν ἄλλοθεν) from all over the world.[476] In fact, all emperors endeavoured to enrich the imperial city - καταπλουτίσαι τὴν βασιλεύουσαν (*Synax. Eccl. Const.* col.899.27) - so as to increase the wealth of this treasure house.[477] In order to understand the great number of holy relics preserved in the city, one can consult the accounts of the relics which the crusaders carried back to the west after the Fourth Crusade.[478]

95. Churches-votives-ceremonies

95.22.149 χρυσοῦ-λίθων-κειμηλίων. The adornment of the churches with precious metals and stones was indeed remarkable.[479]

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[475] For more examples, see *Miscellanea* 735, 821 and *Saggio critico* 19.6.

[476] *Menologium* 284 (B. Latysev, fasc.2) ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων εἰς ἣν τὰ πανταχόθεν ἄκρα συντρέχει καὶ ἧ πάντα τὰ καλὰ τεθησαύρισται, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔδει καὶ ταῦτα τὰ θεῖα προσεῖναι; *Synax. Eccl. CP.* col.899.21 (16th August) for the commemoration of the bringing to Costantinople of the image of Christ from Edessa: ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν τῶν πόλεων τὰ πανταχόθεν συνεῤῥύη κάλλιστα.

[477] Man. Chrysol. I.49 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ πόλει λειψάνων ἁγίων καὶ ἁγιασμάτων, ἃ πλεῖστα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γέγονε, σπουδῇ πανταχόθεν τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς ἀοιδίμων βασιλέων ταῦτα συλλεξαμένων, πλείστων δὲ αὖθις ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κοινῆς πηγῆς τινος, πανταχόσε διαδοθέντων, πολλὰ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μεμένηκεν.

[478] P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneve,1877).

[479] Eus. *Vita Const.* IV.58-60 (Holy Apostles) νεὼν ἅπαντα...λίθον ποικιλίαις παντοίων ἐξαστράπτοντα ἐποίει, εἰς αὐτὸν ὄροφον ἐξ ἐδάφους πλακώσας, διαλαβὼν δὲ λεπτοῖς φατνώμασι τὴν στέγην χρυσῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκάλυπτεν...καὶ τοῦτον δὲ πολὺς περιέλαμπε χρυσὸς...δικτυωτὰ δὲ πέριξ ἐκύκλου τὸ δωμάτιον ἀνάγλυφα χαλκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ κατειργασμένα,

95.3.150 θαύματα. The holy dead are thought to work a broad range of miracles for all faithful supplicants, due to their freedom of speech (παῤῥησία) in the Court of Heaven.[480]

96. The City is second to none

96ff. Since the speech is reaching its end, Metochites briefly recounts in the following paragraphs all that he has praised up to this point.

96.15.150 πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἄβυσσος. This phrase seems to be a combination of two proverbs: ἄβυσσος πλοῦτος Aesch. *Theb.* 948 and ἀγαθῶν θάλασσα Zen. I.9, Diog. I.10. Nevertheless, the meaning remains the same and denotes abundance.

96.9.151 φιλανθρωπία-ξυμβάσεις. A hyperbole. As we have mentioned before, the climate of Constantinople is not Mediterranean at all, but is influenced by the Black Sea. North winds decrease temperature considerably while the frequent rainfalls lead to extreme humidity.[481]

96.12.151 ὡς ἄρα...ἀνάγκη. I am not quite sure of the subject of the result clause. The pronoun ταύτην, which refers to the preceding μάχης πάσης, seems to me most likely.

Proc. *De aed.* I.i.54 (St.Sophia) χρυσῷ μὲν ἀκιβδήλῳ καταλήλειπται ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, κεραννῦσα τὸν κόμπον τῷ κάλλει, νικᾷ μέντοι ἡ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγὴ ἀνταστράπτουσα τῷ χρυσῷ, Gunth. Paris. XXV.125 (a Holy Table) tabulam quandam inestimabilis fere pretii, auro et gemmis pretiosis operosissime exornatam et plurima sanctarum reliquiarum genera, longe auro et gemmis pretiosiora.

[480] N. H. Baynes, "The supernatural defenders", 249-250; J. Moorhead, "Thoughts on some early medieval miracles", *ByzAus* 1(1981), 1-11.

[481] Pachym. III.3-4.

96.13.151 καταπολιορκεῖσθαι. A Metochitian verb: "to be assaulted, attacked"; see also 106.5.165 and *Miscellanea* 345 νόσοις...καταπολιορκούσας τὴν ψυχὴν, 787 τὰς δὲ πόλεις κατεπολιόρκει καὶ κατεστρέφετο.[482]

97. The plentiful goods from the sea

97.22.151 ἄφθονα ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἄπονα. The Bosphorus was known for its abundance in fish as early as Homer: *Il.* 9.360 Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα, Herod. IV.88 Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα. The current from the Black Sea brings shoals of fish, especially bonito, a kind of tuna fish; the Golden Horn is so packed with fish that they can be caught by hand; see Archestr. *Hedepatheia* XXXVII.1-2 καὶ θύννης οὐραῖον ἔχειν, τὴν θυννίδα φωνῶ/ τὴν μεγάλην, ἧς μητρόπολις Βυζάντιόν ἐστιν, Strab. 7.6.2 ἐμπίπτουσα ἡ πηλαμὺς ἁλίσκεται ῥᾳδίως διά τε τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν βίαν τοῦ συνελαύνοντος ῥοῦ καὶ τὴν στενότητα τῶν κόλπων, ὥστε καὶ χερσὶν ἁλίσκεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν, Dion. Byz. 4 θήρας ἰχθύων ἀγωγὸν. However, the region is rich not only in fish but also in sea-shells without ever falling short (ἀδύνατον παρελθεῖν), Dion. Byz. 15 βύθιόν τε γὰρ ἔστρωται κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἕρμα πλήθει τῶν ὀστρέων ἐπιλευκαινόμενον, τρέφει δ' ὁ τόπος τὸ ἀεὶ δαπανώμενον καὶ ἔστιν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἄσωτος ἡ χρῆσις διαμιλλωμένης τῇ θήρᾳ τῆς γενέσεως.

97.1.152 τροφὴν αὐτόματον. Dion Chr. *Or.* 6.28.6 μήτε ἄλλης τροφῆς ἢ τῆς αὐτομάτου;

97.4-5.152 ἐν ἔαρος. The preposition ἐν is governed by the dative and not by the genitive. Here it seems that the author simplifies his expression, ἐν ἔαρος: during spring, instead of ἐν ἔαρος ὥρᾳ: during the season of spring.

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[482] For some more examples, see *Miscellanea* 375, 691, 802.

97.18.152 αὐχένα. Her. 1.72.11 ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἁπάσης, 4.85.12 μῆκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχήν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος.

97.24.152 ταμειουχίαι. "stewardship, trust". The word is also found in *Miscellanea* 543 βασιλεῖ μὴ παμπλήρους ταμειουχίας ἀναδιδούσης ἱκανῶς ἑκάστοις τὰ...πρόσφορα and in *Logos 15* 23.13 τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ καὶ ταμειουχίᾳ.

98. All beauties gather here

98.17.153 περικροτοῦντα. I am not quite sure of the meaning of the participle here: "surprise/ excite all men?/ excite the applause of all men?"

99. This is the only city which still preserves the true faith

99.21.154 νῦν στένωσιν. It is rather common for the Byzantines of the fourteenth century to complain about their contemporary situation and the general decay and to attribute it either to the instability of human affairs or to their sins.[483] However, Metochites to some extent departs from this fashion by saying that, despite the current decline, the City resists and remains the centre of faith and righteousness.

100. The old are equivalent to the new in splendour

100.11-12.155 αἷς...τῇ πόλει. In other words: "All other cities have very little to compare with ours".

100.20.155 παλαιοῖς καὶ νέοις προέχει. See Aristid. *Panath.* 307D.356 ἀλλὰ μόνη δὴ πόλεων τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς νικᾷ, τὰ δὲ καινὰ τοῖς

[483] I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites", 187-228.

καινοῖς, εἰ δὲ βούλει, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τοῖς καινοῖς, τὰ δὲ καινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, τοῖς ἑαυτῆς λέγω τὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

100.7-8.156 βασιλικοῖς ὄντως ξυμμετρούμενα τοῖς πήχεσι. *Poem 15* 254.20-21 παραβαλλόμενοι πρὸς τὴν πάντας βασιλικοῖς ὄντως τοῖς μέτροις.

101. The city occupies the best location in comparison to other great cities of the past

101.10-11.157 σκηνὴν...πηξάμεναι. Hdt. 6.12.21 σκηνὰς πηξάμενοι, Pl. *Lg.* 817c.2 σκηνὰς πήξαντας.

102. Babylon

102ff. The author compares the city with some of the greatest cities in history (Babylon, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome) and displays her superiority (101.15.156 ἐπιδηλοτάτης ὑπεροχῆς): all other great cities have vanished (101.17-18.156 ἐσβεσμέναι-νεκρὰ καὶ παραῤῥεύσαντα διηγήματα) and it is only this megalopolis that stands and invites admiration; see 74.14.123 - 74.11.124; also see Bryenn. *Διάλεξις,* f.149^{v} καὶ ἥδε φυλὴ ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγκαυχομένη ἠφάνισται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς...καὶ ἡ πολυάνθρωπος πόλις καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον ἔθνος...ποῦ Κύρος, ποῦ Δαρεῖος, ποῦ Ἀλέξανδρος, ποῦ Καίσαρ...ποῦ Νινευί...Βαβυλών, Ἀντιόχεια...ποῦ Μασαγέται καὶ Μῆδοι.[484]

103. It is useless to compare the City with Babylon

104. The excellence of the City applies to every aspect

104.17.161 πρὸς τὰς τύχας τὰς φρένας κεκτήμεθα. See Eur. *Hip.* 701 πρὸς τὰς τύχας γὰρ τὰς φρένας κεκτήμεθα.

104.19.161 ὡς καὶ πρότερον...εἴρηται. See 35.5,6.70.

105. Alexandria-Antioch

105.8.163 φύσεως εὐκαιρίαν τῇ τῆς τύχης εὐνοίᾳ. Antioch derived its wealth, apart from the production of wine and olive oil, from being a centre of civil, military and, later, ecclesiastical administration of much of the Near East and from its position on the commercial road from Asia to the Mediterranean.

105.12.163 ἀλλὰ μήπω τοῦτο. Read ἀλλὰ μήπω τοῦτο σκοπεῖτε, see Demosth. 21.90.

106. Even these cities bear a bad fortune and cannot be compared to the City

107. Why should one tire out his audience with boring things?

107.2.166 ὀφθαλμοῖς δῆλα. It has not been possible for me to trace this proverb.

108. The inferiority of Alexandria and Antioch to Constantinople

108.6.167 ἐν προσθήκης μέρει. Demosth. *Περὶ συντάξεων* 31.6 ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει.

108.10.167 ἐν δράματί τινι καὶ σκηνῇ τραγικῇ. Xen. *Cyr.* 6.1.54.6 ὥσπερ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς.

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[484] I. Ševčenko, "The decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of the intellectuals", *DOP*

109. Even that Rome cannot be compared to the City in anything

109.8.168 ἥττηται. See Him. LXII.5 σὺ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμύλου πόλιν μόνη παρῆλθες τῷ θαύματι, τοσούτου κάλλους τῷ μεγέθει μίξασα.

109.17.168 ξενὼν...πολυχωρητότατος. The city is open to all the people who come to visit her from all over the world, she can accommodate all, she enjoys the reputation of being ξενοδόχισσα (*Thrēnos*, 36), a resting house for travellers. Indeed up to the fourteenth century, when Bertrandon de la Brocquiere visited Constantinople, there were many xenones for the travellers who found shelter free of charge.[485] Although our information about them is scanty, at least we know for sure that the xenon of Sampson survived until the fifteenth century.[486]

109.18.168 μαγνῆτις. μαγνῆτις λίθος: ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισπωμένων τινὰς Mac. V.79, οὐχ ὥσπερ τὴν μαγνῆτιν λίθον ἕλκειν φασὶ πρὸς αὑτὴν τὸν σίδηρον Dio Chrys. *Or.* IV.170.

109.6.169 παμφορίας. For one more example of the word, see *Miscellanea* 738 πορισμοὶ γίγνονται καὶ παμφορία πρὸς τὰ ξυμπίπτονθ' ἑκάστοτε.

110. Conclusion of the encomium of Constantinople

110.22.169 οἴκους φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχὰς. *Poem* 15 267.12 ὦ φιλανθρωπίαι καὶ ξένων καὶ νοσούντων ὑποδοχαὶ.

15(1961), 167-186.

[485] *Le voyage d' outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquiere*, 153-157.

[486] D. J. Constantelos, *Poverty*, 117-120; M. Izeddin, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa et la topographie byzantine", *Actes du VI Congrès internationale des Ètudes byzantines*, 195; Ibn Baṭṭ. 438.

Apart from the xenones, those charitable institutions that received strangers, pilgrims, travellers and sick, there were also orphanages and old age homes.[487]

110.3.170 - 110.6.170 πατρικοὶ κλῆροι-διαδοχὴ τῇ πόλει. See Menand. 377.29-30 τὴν βασιλείαν διαδοθῆναι εἰς παῖδας, παραδοθῆναι τῷ γένει. The word διαδοχὴ suggests the continuity and the durability of this city: all these wonders were handed down to the present by the past generations and, likewise, they will be passed on to the following generations by the present.

[487] D. J. Constantelos, *Poverty*, 129-130. For such institutions, see G. Codinos 89, 93-95, 102, 104, 106-107, 116, *Patr. Const.* III.116, 246, 249, 252, 267.

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APPENDIX

M: Menander, *B: Byzantios*

M 344.19-30, 347.2-7 *B* 9-10, 12, 96, 101	position of country/ city
M 344.31 ff. B 12 ff., 101	nature of country/ city
M 345.10-15, 348.19-25 *B* 27-28	advantages of inland area: mountains encircle plains and crops from the land are truer to their kind
M 345.15-17, 348.30-31 *B* 10, 17, 27, 29, 96-97	advantages of coastal area: combines all pleasures and benefits of land and of sea
M 345.29-31 *B* 12-14, 18-21	central position of the city: the whole earth revolves around it and it is temperate in climate
M 345.31-32 *B* 28	mountainous: like a strong man with prominent muscles
M 345.32-346.1 *B* 17, 27	flat: even and not bony
M 346.4-6, 349.25-30 *B* 58, 66	water supply of the city: springs, rivers, lakes for pleasure and utility
M 346.6 B 28	bears all crops like a fertile woman
M 349.7-9 *B* 64	position at the beginning of the surrounding territory: it is a façade, it protects as the gate a house
M 349.9-12 *B* 19	position in the middle: it is as the boss of a shield or like the centre of a circle
M 351.13-17	city built partly in the plains and partly on hills: two

B 27-28	sets of advantages that attach to two different cities and avoid the disadvantages of the two
M 351.21-22 *B* 22, 77	harbours in the middle of the city: it takes to its bosom those who sail in under its arms
M 351.31-352.1 *B* 77	many harbours: extends many hands to welcome those who arrive from the sea
M 353.5 ff. *B* 16, 32 ff.	origin: founders, settlers, date, changes, causes of foundation
M 353.9-30 B 3, 32 ff., 83-84	founders
M 353.22-24 *B* 3, 32-41, 45-49, 86	if the founder is of good repute: there should be a brief encomium of his other actions and of his foundation of the city we are praising
M 353.31-354.1 *B* 43, 51, 83	settlers: divide into Hellenes and barbarians
M 354.8-21 *B* 43	if they are Hellenes, they should belong to the noblest races – Aeolian, Dorian, Ionian: the Dorian race is the most courageous
M 354.22-355.12 *B* 16, 42-43, 83	date (oldest, middle or Roman period)
M 355.13-23 *B* 42	changes: e.g. the city is result of colonization, growth (former villages turned into cities) or settlement (where there was none previously)
M 355.24-32 *B* 42-43, 47	change of the name at various times
M 356.1-6 *B* 43	if the city is a colony: the settlers were from a very great and famous city
M 356.23-27 *B* 42, 84	if the city is result of growth: it came to great size in the course of time like a growing body
M 357.2-6 *B* 45	if it has developed from a village: as in an army the best general is the former colonel, the best colonel the former captain and the best captain the former common soldier
M 357.12-358.3 *B* 31 ff.	causes of foundations (divine, heroic, human)

M 358.19-25 *B* 31, 37-39, 46, 48	according to the "heads of purpose": "Honour", e.g. Alexandria, because Alexander wanted to found the greatest of all cities under the sun for honour and glory
M 360.17-24 *B* 74-75	accomplishments in branches of knowledge
M 360.25-32 *B* 59-60, 62, 73	accomplishments in arts
M 361.1-3 *B* 74	accomplishments in the field of ability: rhetoric, athletics, etc.
M 361.4-10 *B* 18, 78	activities, daily lives of men and women, education of children
M 361.11-18 *B* 44, 47-50	virtues: courage, justice, temperance, prudence
M 361.18-363.3 *B* 47-50, 57, 67-70, 85-88, 90, 92-93, 95, 99	justice: piety (god-loved and god-loving: institution of rites, many festivals, foundation of many temples), fair dealing, reverence
M 363. 4-14 *B* 77-80	fair dealing: relations with visiting foreigners and relations among the citizens themselves
M 364.16-365.3 *B* 44	courage in peace and war

WORD INDEX

This list includes: (1) words, word forms and meanings not attested in dictionaries by Liddell-Scott-Jones-Mckenzie, Demetrakos, Lampe, Sophocles, Stephanus, Kriaras; (2) words attested, in the same meaning, only in other writings by Metochites.

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1. πᾶσαις πνοαῖς πορίζεται, πᾶσιν ἀνέμοις, ὡς ἀληθῶς, εὐπλοοῦσα, μᾶλλον δ' εὐδαιμονοῦσα καὶ χρωμένη 18.9-10.48
2. γεωργοῦμεν ἀνέμους 18.13.49
3. δυσὶν χερσὶ ξυμμαχοῦσα 29.8-9.61
4. ἀγαθῶν θάλασσα 29.17.61
5. ἃ τίθης, φέρεις 34.14-15.68
6. οἷς ἀνέμοις θαῤῥεῖ τις, πλέειν δίδωσιν, ὡς ἄρ' ἐκ τῶν φορῶν ἀνέμων τὴν εὐπλοίαν ἑπομένην καὶ τοὺς ἀκινδύνους λιμένας 34.15-16.68
7. πρὸς ἄκραν κορυφὴν 42.8-9.78
8. ἄλλο μὲν ἡ λύρα ἀπήτει, ἄλλο δ' ὁ τεχνίτης ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ὑπήχει, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπήχει καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα παγγέλοιον εἶναι 45.12-14.81
9. ἑνὸς ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πλεῖστα παρέπεσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς φορᾶς 49.3-4.86
10. χρόνος πάντα πεπαίνει καὶ παραῤῥεῖν βιάζεται 52.2-3.90
11. ἄνθρακες ὁ θησαυρὸς 54.21.92
12. μακρὰς οὐσίας 54.21.93
13. πλοῦτον βαθὺν 54.22.93
14. ἐκ τῶν ὀνύχων τοὺς λέοντας θαυμάζειν 55.15.94
15. κρασπέδοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι θοἰμάτιον καὶ καλλονὴν ὑφασμάτων 55.15-16.94
16. τἀκίνητα κινεῖν 56.18.95
17. ἀγαλματοποιοῖς καὶ γραφεῦσι καὶ χαλκοτύποις καὶ πᾶσιν ὅλως, ὅσοις περὶ τὰ 'νδρείκελα καὶ τὰς μιμήσεις ἡ σοφία, τὰς ἐργασίας ἀθῴους ἀνεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς τέχνας ἀνεῖσθαι σφίσιν μόνοις ἀνευθύνους ὡς ἄρα νέμεσιν οὐδ' ἡντιναοῦν ἑπομένην ἂν δικαίως, κἂν εἰ παντάπασιν ἀφειδῶς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκτείνωσι τοὺς μιμητικοὺς κόσμους καὶ χαρίζοινθ' ὅσα βούλοιντο τοῖς ὠνουμένοις τὴν τέχνην 59.9-14.99
18. ῥέοντα τὰ πράγματα 66.11.111
19. τἀκίχητα διώκειν 68.2.115
20. μεταλλᾶν ἄμμους 68.3.115
21. ἀστέρας ἀριθμεῖσθαι 68.3.115
22. τὸ κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται, κἂν εἰ πλεῖστά τις βιῶσαι καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ἐλάχιστα 81.13-14.132
23. τὴν τῆς ζωῆς μοῖραν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεκφυγεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου πᾶσιν ἴσον μένει 81.14-15.132
24. πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἄβυσσος 96.15.150
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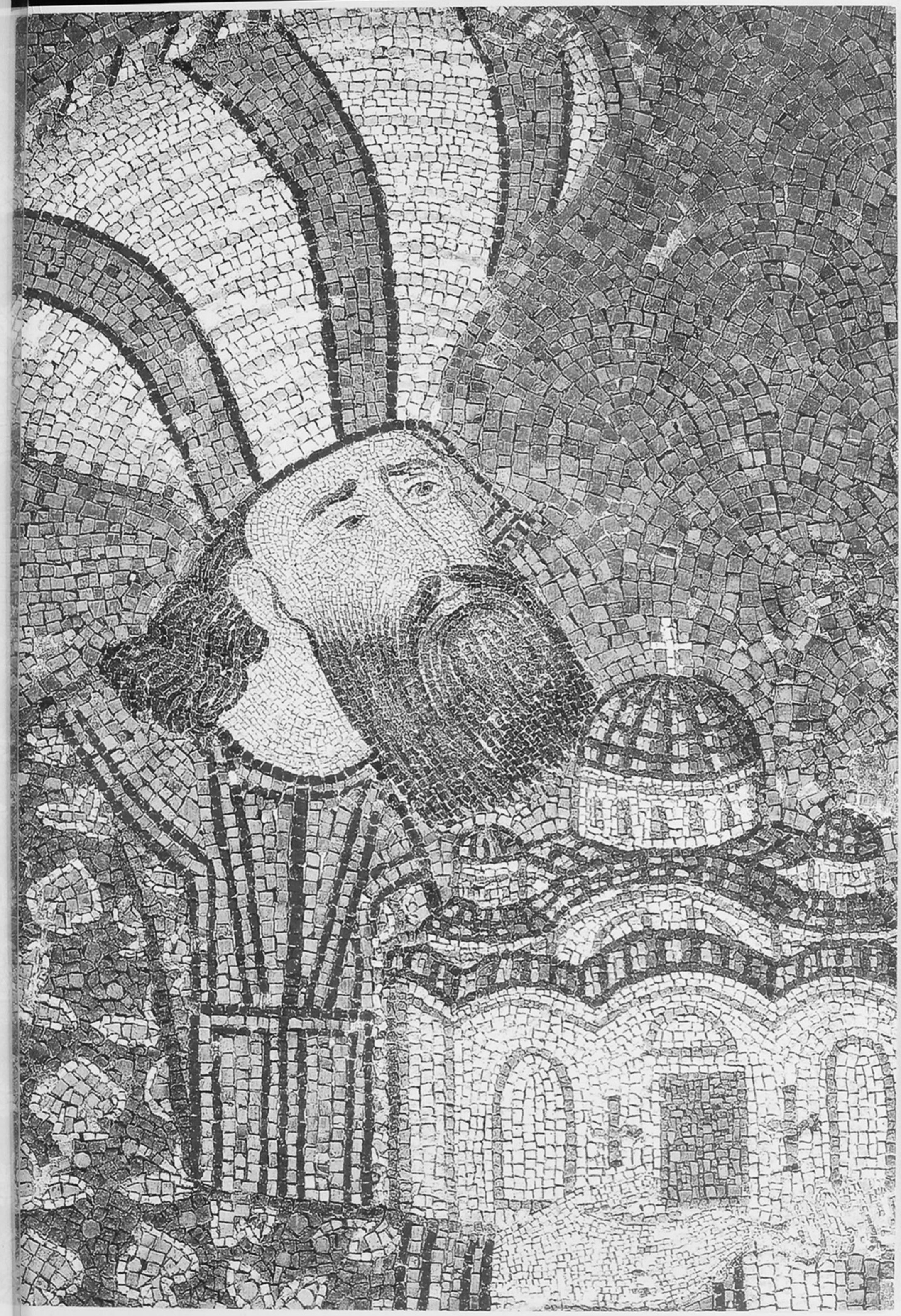
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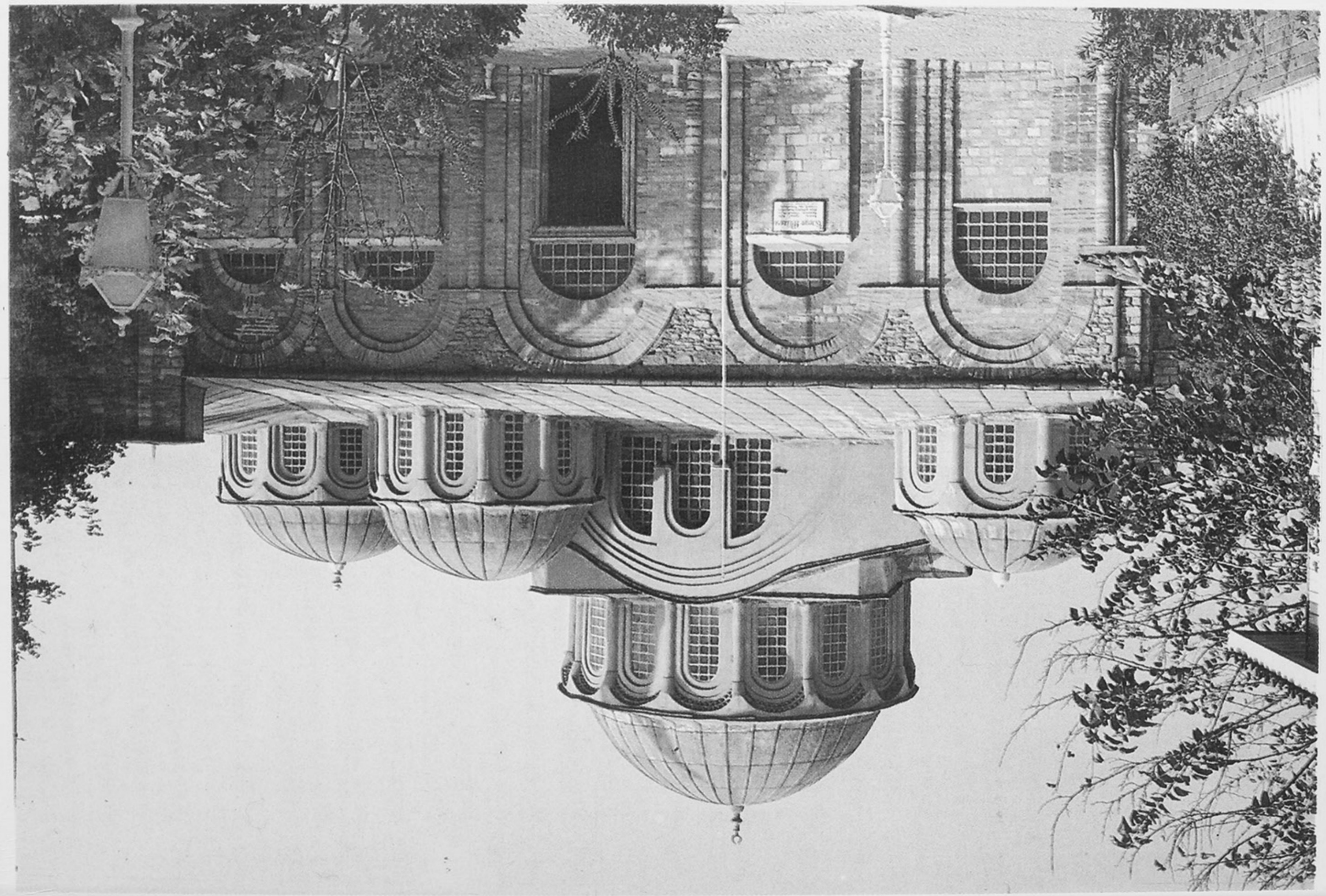
1. Theodore Metochites. Mosaic. Chora Monastery (1316-1321)

2. Church of the Chora Monastery (1316-1321)

3. Vindobonensis Philologicus Graecus 95, f. 236^{v}

4. Chora Monastery. Inner narthex, first bay, northern dome





πιεσαθαι τε καὶ πιεσνοῦτω δι δόμαι. καὶ τοῦτο κἀ
δοσδῦ, οὐτὴ πόλει μᾶλλον, ἢ ἐμοὶ παῦτῳ, προσαὐτὴν
δὲ μεδεωστίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν μὲ κόλων
καὶ θαμιτῶν, δξεῖναι μοι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ μεῖζον μάλθ πρό
σόπειμ, ἐφ. ᾧ μὲ οὐ καλῶς ἐμοῦ, οὐδ ὧς εἰ πεῖν ἀπα
δομεν τί ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο πολλοσὸ μᾶλλον ἀμέφικτον, πε
ραίνειν, οὐκ ἀνπίεσιμότω ν τῶν μα πάντων, ὅσοι
περὶ τοῦ σὸλόπους ἐχουσιν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἤπλοῦν τοῦθ οὕτως.
καὶ πολὺ πόλλῶν, οὕτω σὶ συμφαίεν, εἰ μὲν καί μοι μῆ ος
καὶ τοῦτο δῆλοι πολ πεοσὸ ἐμοῦ κεί μῶ. μετὰ τῶν μ
λῶ τοσοῦτῳ μὲν καίῳ, ἀ πεοσδὲ ναπαλζειχο μεν δὴ
τομὲν πεοὐ τὸλόπον, οὐ καὶ σχῳ ὸλεμος αὐτοσὰ πᾶσ
πόρρῳ φίεαν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ πολὺ τιεσοῦτως ἂν, ἀν πολὺ τ
ἄ πτοι μτοσιὰ τὸ τηὸ ὑποθίστεωσαὐτηῦ, οἷον μᾶλλ ἦπτον.
καὶ καθάπαξ ὑπὸ μεὶ πίθουσα δῆλωσαι τ μ, τυχεῖν, καὶ
πεθεῖσωθῆναι. ἐκ μὲν οὖν ὧν τὴν ὧν μᾶ ἔατῶν λογισμῶν
καὶ τῶν δικαίων μᾶλλα τὸ τηὸ πεθούσης ὑποθίσεως.
τῶν λόγων ὠὴθην δὲ ναπαίον. καὶ ἄλλα τὸ μὴ πολὺ τὸ
πασι μὰ σύμφορον, καθ ὅσον μοὶ οὐ τὴν, σωμελομ τὶ
σχεδὸν μὲ ἐμπαίμοι. ἢ δὲ δὲ μοι καθιστᾶλλεί μῶ, πεὸς
τὴν τῆσῶν ἐχιεν ἐστεως ταύτης δὲ ρχὴν. πολλὰ δὲ ἀπο εἶν
λοιπον, ὅθεν μᾶλλ ἐξομαι τῶν λόγων. καὶ τί σὴν μεῖ μαι τὸν
δώσωτὴν πεῶ τὴν μῶν ἐλλων. τοσοῦτων δὲ ἐ α καὶ
τηλικοῦτων καὶ πολὺ τῶν μεί φαλλίλλων τε καὶ πεοσὰ"
δὲ να καὶ σῶν μῶν ὅσοι μὲ μὲ χυκλο νίτων. καὶ πολὺ τοδὲν
ἰσχυεῶς ἐ λαμ τοσ ἐ καὶ τοῦ. πεοσὲ ἐαυτο. καὶ οὐ ε ἄσπον
τί χεῖ σοῦμαι. καὶ τοῖς πεπι σμέ νοσμεδὲ λῖσα καὶ
πεοεἰδωσ, ὡ σδ ἐ α μεῖ μεῖ τοῦτο καὶ πεοεἰλη πλαι πᾶσι.
ἐξ ἧπτον μεῖ μοι καὶ ἰ σωσ ὡς τ ἐφ ην, καὶ πεό φασι σ τχτο
πεοσ πεφαλευθίλλε, καὶ χε η σὴν ἰ μοῦτως εἰ ποι μι.

