

A NEW SOURCE ON BYZANTINE-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

THE INAUGURAL LECTURE OF MICHAEL Ο ΤΟΥ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΟΥ
ΩΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ

Michael ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου, Patriarch of Constantinople from January 1170 to March 1178, is known as an inflexible opponent of compromise with Latins or Armenians, and several of his dogmatic writings are preserved¹. Before his elevation to the Patriarchal throne he was ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων. The inaugural lecture which he delivered in the presence of the emperor Manuel Comnenus has occasionally been referred to and quoted, but never published in full². It is interesting not only as a good example of the formal rhetoric of the twelfth century, but also for the information which it provides on the teaching and study of philosophy in the middle of the century and on Byzantine-Hungarian relations in the second half of Manuel's reign. Until relatively recently the abundant panegyrical literature of the twelfth century has been neglected as a historical source³, and many texts of interest remain unpublished.

1. Bibliography in H.G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, 627. The main source of knowledge of his life is Michael Choniates' Λόγος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην καὶ Μιχαὴλ (Sp. Lampros Μιχαὴλ Ἀχομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, I. 72 - 92).

2. Cf. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Byzantinisches Archiv 8), Leipzig, 1926, 50 - 51. Many frequently consulted reference books, e.g. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 10 (1927/30), 1674, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 7 (1935), 164 erroneously state that the text is published in fasc. 2 of W. Regel's *Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum*, Petrograd, 1917. As Regel's work is unobtainable outside a few large libraries, scholars may have been discouraged from editing Michael's speech by the belief that it was already published. Curiously, the speech is not included among the published and unpublished rhetorical sources for Byzantine-Hungarian relations in the twelfth century listed by Gy. Moravcsik, *A magyar történet bizánci forrásai*, 1934, 206 - 208, nor by I. Rácz, *Bizánci költemények Mánuel császár magyar hadjáratairól* (Magyar-görög tanulmányok 16) 1941, 11.

3. Cf. M. Bachmann, *Die Rede des Johannes Syropoulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Kaisers aus zeitgenössischen rhetorischen Quellen*, Munich, 1935, 5; Gy. Moravcsik, *op. cit.* 206; M. Bachmann-F. Dölger, *die Rede des megas droungarios Gregorios Antiochos auf den Sebastokrator Konstantinos Angelos*, *BZ* 40 (1940) 353 - 354; P. Lamma, *Manuele Comneno nel pane-*

The present speech is preserved in two manuscripts, both well-known Byzantine rhetorical miscellanies. They are cod. Escorialensis Y-II-10 (E), where it occurs on fol. 132-139, and cod. Bodl. Baroccianus 131 (O), where it is found on fol. 186^v-190¹.

It may well also lie concealed in a manuscript of one of the less thoroughly catalogued collections. Certain common errors, e.g. θαύματος for θύματος 1.89, and a common punctuation which is not infrequently wrong, show that both the E and O texts descend from a common archetype, perhaps a collection of the speeches and letters of Michael. E omits a long passage (l. 197-214) while two short passages can no longer be read in O because of damage to the lower margin of fol. 189.

The speech of Michael ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου was delivered in the presence of Manuel Comnenus, shortly after the appointment of Michael to the post of ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, on the occasion of an ecclesiastical ἐορτή which cannot be further determined. The place of its delivery is not mentioned. But if it is the normal lecture-room of the professor of philosophy, then it must have been somewhere in the Great Palace, perhaps in the Magnaura itself. The date of the speech lies between January 1170, when Michael was consecrated as Patriarch², and the date of the victory over and treaty with the Hungarians described at length in the concluding section. As will be seen, a much more precise dating can be established with some probability.

The chronology of Manuel Comnenus' Hungarian campaigns is complex and to some extent disputed³. However, in the present connection we can neglect the earlier campaigns of 1152, 1155, 1156 and probably 1161, because of reference in the speech to Manuel's victory over the Cilician Armenians in 1158 (τὰ κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Κιλικίων σεμνολογήματα 1.377), to the treaty with Sultan Kilidj Arslan of Iconium in autumn

girico di Michele Italico (codice 2412 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna) *SBN* 7 (1953) 406-408.

1. A full description of E is given by E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Paris, 1848, 200-218, and further details will be found in M. Bachmann - F. Dölger, *op. cit.* The description of O given by H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codd. MSS. Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, I, Oxford, 1853, 211-230 though detailed is neither complete nor entirely accurate.

2. Cf. V. Grumel, *REB* 1 1943, 258.

3. Cf. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'occidente nel secolo XII*, II, 1957, 123; M. M. Freidenberg, *Trud Ioanna Kinnama kak istoričeskij istočnik*, *VV* 16 (1959) 28-53.

1161, confirmed during his visit to Constantinople later in the same year.¹ (καὶ σοι δουλεύειν καὶ Ἰσμαὶλ ὁ βάρβαρος κατεπείγεται καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀειδουλίαν ἐπεψηφίσατο a.s.o. ll. 146-155), and to the guaranteeing of the truce by King Vladislav II of Bohemia (τῷ τῆς Βοημίας ἀρχηγῷ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις δυναστείας ἀνεξωσμένοις, ὅσους ὁ Παιονάρχης εἰς ἐχέγγυον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας παρεστήσατο καὶ παρέδωκε, ll. 539 ff.), who was an uneasy ally of the Hungarians from 1163-4)². This leaves the campaign against Stephen III of Hungary, from 1164 to 1167, for consideration.

In attempting to identify the campaign described in the speech, we should be guided less by Michael's description of the military operations than by his account of the general political frame of reference. The future patriarch was no soldier, and the conventions of panegyric made for vagueness and inaccuracy. Indeed it is impossible to discover from the speech whether a battle actually took place between the Byzantine and Hungarian armies or not. The suggestion—and it is in accordance with the traditions of panegyric³—is that the mere appearance of the Emperor's forces utterly discomfited the enemy. Briefly, what Michael Anchialos says is this. The King of Hungary, unmindful of his treaty obligations (αἱ συνθήκαι οὐχ ἐσθώσαν, l. 427), incited the Serbs⁴ to revolt, and then invaded Srem (the Fruška Gora, or Φραγγοχώριον, between the Danube and the Sava), which had recently been added to Byzantine dominions (ὅποσα τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐκλεεστάτοις κληροδοτήμασιν ὁ... αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸ μικροῦ συνῆψε καὶ συναπένειμε), Manuel dealt quickly with the Serbs, reduced them to subjection, appointed a new ἀρχηγός (l. 496), and then took his army to the Danube, where they were victorious over the Hungarians, and a treaty was concluded, the terms of which are given in some detail (ll. 555-583).

Now until 1165 Fruška Gora was a Hungarian possession⁵. The campaign of 1164, in which Manuel crossed the Danube and succeeded in obtaining the capitulation of the Hungarians without a battle, was followed

1. Not 1162 as generally stated. Cf. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, I, 32, n. 1, who bases his dating on a panegyric by Euthymios Malakes.

2. Cl. Vinc Prag. s.a. 1164, *MGH*, SS. xvii, 681.

3. Cf. poem published by I. Rácz, *op. cit.* 25-42, l. 59 for the same motif in connection with a victory over the Hungarians.

4. This is the only possible identification of the wild Dacians of the mountains, who extend from the Danube to the Adriatic and Ionian seas (ll. 439-442).

5. The line of the Sava and the Danube as the 'normal' southern frontier of Hungary in the twelfth century is frequently mentioned in contemporary sources. Cf. the passages cited or mentioned by M. Gyóni, *Magyarország és a magyarság a bizánci források tükrében* (Magyar-görög tanulmányok 7), 1938, 25-29.

by a treaty ceding Croatia and Dalmatia to Béla, the younger brother of King Stephen III (F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, 1455). As Béla was a Byzantine protégé, and was soon to be betrothed to Manuel's daughter Maria and recognised as joint heir to the throne¹, this in effect made Croatia and Dalmatia Byzantine provinces², and in fact in 1166 we find a Byzantine *dux Dalmatiae et Diocleae*³. But Srem still remained in Hungarian hands. In 1165 Manuel first raised the question of Srem, which he claimed belonged to the appanage of Béla, sent troops to occupy Zemun, where they were promptly besieged by a Hungarian army. He then prepared for a major war and entered into negotiations with Russian princes, with Frederick Barbarossa, with Henry II of Austria, and with Venice. In the meantime the Hungarians captured Zemun. Manuel hastened to the Danube and retook the city, whereupon the Hungarians signed a treaty acknowledging Byzantine claims to Srem⁴. Only from late summer 1165 onwards could a Hungarian invasion of Srem be spoken of as a violation of a treaty. The Hungarians were unwilling to accept this situation, and began negotiations to form an anti-Byzantine alliance. In spring 1166 they attacked the Byzantine garrison in Srem, and went on to occupy parts of Croatia and Dalmatia. In 1167 Manuel gathered a large army in Sofia and sent it to Srem under the command of Andronikos Kontostephanos, while the imperial fleet sailed up the Danube. On St. Procopius day (18th July) 1167 a battle was fought near Zemun in which the Hungarians were routed⁵. This defeat ended the long series of Byzantine-Hungarian wars which filled the middle years of Manuel's reign.

The campaign described in the speech must be either that of 1165 or that of 1167. It is not easy to choose between the two dates. In favour of the former the following arguments suggest themselves:

- i) There was no actual battle in 1165.
- ii) The presence of King Vladislav of Bohemia in Hungary is not recorded for 1167, though the argument from silence is always dangerous.

1. Nik. Ak. p. 179.

2. Cf. F. Šišić, *Poviest Hrvata za kraljeva iz doma Arpadovića* (1102 - 1301), Zagreb, 1944, 87.

3. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. II, 1904, 102; further instances in F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène II*; Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène, 1912, 490, n. 2.

4. F. Šišić, *op. cit.*, 88, where the sources are cited. The chronology of these events is not entirely certain, but Šišić's reconstruction seems the most plausible.

5. F. Šišić, *op. cit.*, 89 - 91.

iii) King William I of Sicily, who died on 7 May 1166, may be referred to as still alive in the speech (ll. 132 ff. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀτρεμεῖ φωλεοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καταδύσεως, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἀπεκδεχόμενος ὅσον ἤδη καὶ τὴν πλὴγὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον).

iv) The apparent presence of the emperor with the army. In 1167 Manuel seems to have established his headquarters at Sofia.

In favour of the later date the following arguments are worthy of consideration:

i) The claim that Srem had been occupied by the Hungarians in contravention of a treaty with Byzantium would be strictly true only after 1165. But it must be admitted that the Byzantines themselves seem to have claimed some kind of rights in Srem even in 1165 (Kinnam. p. 231).

ii) There was a Serbian contingent among the Byzantine forces in 1167 (Kinnam. p. 271), but there is no mention of one in connection with the campaign of 1165.

At the end of the speech (ll. 758 ff.) Manuel is described as 'setting out for the holy Jordan'. Now he did not go to Palestine either in 1165 or 1167. But in the latter year he may well have intended to do so. On 29th August his grand-niece Maria Comnena was married in Tyre to Amaury, King of Jerusalem. She was escorted to Palestine by George Palaiologos the μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης and the Sebastos Manuel Comnenus¹, and the Basileus would clearly never have demeaned himself by going to Tyre to give away the bride. But it may well have been his intention, now that a durable settlement with Hungary had been reached, to go to Palestine himself a little later. For more was at stake than merely strengthening the bonds between the empire and the Kingdom of Jerusalem without making any concessions regarding the status of the Principality of Antioch. It was probably at the time of the marriage of King Amaury and Manuel's grand-niece that the first negotiations took place concerning intervention in Egypt, which bore fruit later in the ill-fated joint Egyptian expedition of 1169². The weakness of the Fatimite monarchy was clearly recognised at the time, and the plans of Manuel and Amaury were not obviously foredoomed to failure. A riconquista of Egypt under Byzantine auspices would entirely change the balance of forces in the Mediterranean, and greatly strengthen the empire not only vis-à-vis the Moslem powers, but, what was perhaps more important, vis-à-vis the Latins. It was an enter-

1. Will. Tyr. 20. 1; on the date cf P. Lamma, *op. cit.* 161 n. 1.

2. Cf. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène II : Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène*, 1912, 536.

prise which could count on support from the maritime cities of Italy¹. In Manuel's dreams of a Justinianic restoration of the empire it would be the counterpart in the South of the success just achieved in Hungary. We do not know why Manuel did not in the end go to Palestine; but one possible reason is his discovery that things were not so settled on the north-western frontier as he had supposed. In the following spring the new Grand Župan of Serbia, Stephen Nemanja, tried to establish his power in Croatia and the Kotor region. After a force under the command of Theodoros Padiates had failed to bring him to book, Manuel had to take the field himself in order to reduce his troublesome vassal². No doubt he had wind of what was brewing long before hostilities actually broke out.

If our argument has been correct, it follows that the speech was delivered either in late summer 1165 or some time after 18th July 1167, shortly after the return of Manuel to Constantinople. One difficulty which arises on either supposition is that the speech makes Manuel 'shrink from a triumphal procession' (ἀναδύη τὸν ἐπιδίφρονον θρίαμβον l. 303), whereas Niketas Akominatos describes in some detail his triumphal entry into the city³. However the remark in the speech does not refer to Manuel's Hungarian victory, but is quite general in its reference. Furthermore, our speaker makes Manuel attribute his success to the Theotokos (τῇ δὲ ὑπερμάχῳ καὶ νικοποιῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἄρματηλασίαν τῆς σῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀναιιδέμενος, ll. 309 - 310), which, according to Niketas Akominatos is precisely what he did in his triumph in 1167 (ἔδρευτο δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀπροσμάχου συμμάχου καὶ ἀκαταγωνίστου συστρατήγου τῷ βασιλεῖ θεομήτορος (p. 205. 22ff)⁴ (Both writers, incidentally, echo the words of the Patriarch Sergius' Prologue to the Ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος). And in any case, Manuel celebrated a triumph in 1165 also⁵, so this difficulty is not surmounted by assuming the earlier date.

The speech gives two new pieces of information about the campaign, the role of the Serbs, and the terms of the treaty. In the former connection, it should be remembered that Serbia was the weak link in Byzantine control of the Balkan peninsula in the middle of the twelfth century, and that there was a powerful pro-Hungarian element among the Serbian nobility⁶.

1. Nik. Ak. 206 - 20 Cf. P. Lamma, *op. cit.* 162.

2. Nik. Ak. 206 - 207; Will. Tyr. 20. 4.

3. Nik. Ak. 205 - 206.

4. For the custom of placing the Ikon of the Theotokos on the triumphal chariot, while the emperor walked on foot, cf. Leo Diac. p. 158.10 ff., *Synopsis Sathae*, M.B. VII. 195. 20 ff.

5. Kinn. p. 249.

6. Cf. the Serbian revolts fomented by Hungary in 1153 and 1155 mentioned

Niketas Akominatos' complacent remarks on the ease with which the Serbians were reduced to submission every time they made common cause with Germany or Hungary¹, is a testimony to the frequency of their disaffection. And a canonical response of Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges (1157 - 1169/70) points in the same direction. It declares that the thirteenth Canon of St. Basil, enjoining penance on those who kill in war, must be applied without distinction, be the enemy Turk, Hungarian or Serb². It is the necessity of securing the routes through Serbia that explains Manuel's delayed response to the Hungarian occupation of Srem in spring 1166. And his success is borne out by the presence of a Serbian contingent among the Byzantine forces in 1167³. The Grand Župan who led the revolt may well have been Desa, who in earlier years looked to Hungarian support in his fight for independence from Constantinople⁴. As for the new Grand Župan, it is tempting to identify him with Stephen Nemanja, who is expressly stated by Niketas to have been in power in Serbia—and to have revolted—in 1168⁵. But the whole problem of the identity and antecedents of Stephen Nemanja is so complex and disputed that no inference can be made with confidence⁶.

More interesting is the information furnished regarding the Byzantine-Hungarian treaty. Though it was evident that there must have been such a treaty, scholars have often remarked that there is no trace of it in our sources⁷. We can now fill this lacuna in the record. Before discussing what the future patriarch says of the treaty, it would be well to summarise what we know of the other Byzantine-Hungarian treaties of the mid-twelfth century. They are:

1. Treaty with King Géza II, 1153⁸. Arrangements for the return of Hungarian prisoners in Byzantine hands (Kinnam. p. 120).

by Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης in W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum* 142-143, 163.

1. Nik. Ak. 207.

2. V. Grumel, *Les régestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, No. 1107. 11.

3. Kinn. p. 271.

4. Kinn p. 212 - 213.

5. Nik. Ak. 206 - 207.

6. Cf. *Historija naroda Jugoslavije* I, 1953, 268, the authors of which believe that Desa remained Grand Župan until 1168.

7. Cf. F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* 490 'Nous ne savons pas si un traité de paix fut alors conclu'; F. Šišić, *op. cit.* 91 'Izvori ne kažu ništa o skopljenom miru i nje-govim uslovima'.

8. The most probable date. But the chronology of these Hungarian wars is uncertain, and some scholars, e.g. F. Dölger, prefer the date 1152.

2. Treaty with Géza II; 1155; συμβιβασθέντες μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς δὲ καιρὸς τότε ἔδωκεν (Nik. Ak. 134). Probably a mere local agreement.

3. Treaty with Géza II; 1156; τοὺς τε δορυκλήτους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδώσειν αὐτίκα ἀπήγγελλε, καὶ εἰσέπειτα δὲ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑπηρετήσιν, ὅσαπερ ἂν βουλομένῳ ἔσται. (Kinnam. p. 134). This treaty, which was clearly of wider scope than the preceding two, seems to have recognised the Danube-Sava line as the frontier¹. Any claims to Byzantine supremacy in Hungary which it may have embodied were soon rendered ineffective by the rout of the imperial forces in Italy and the consequent weakening of the Byzantine position in the west.

4. Treaty with King Ladislaus II, 1161/2, Sudendorf, *Registrum oder merkwürdige Urkunden für die deutsche Geschichte* II, 138. Soon rendered nugatory by the death of the pro-Byzantine Ladislaus, who in any case never succeeded in establishing his position in Hungary.

5. Treaty with Stephen III, 1164, Croatia and Dalmatia given up by the Hungarians in return for recognition of Stephen by the Byzantines as King of Hungary (Kinnam. p. 224, Vinc. Prag. s.a. 1164).

The treaty described in Michael's speech provides for:

i) Sirmium recognised as Byzantine territory τὸ Σίρμιον ἐρρέτω...τῆς σῆς ἔστω ἐξουσίας τοῦτο καὶ κυριότητος, ll. 555 - 557).

ii) Croatia and Dalmatia recognised as Byzantine territory, without apparently any mention of Béla-Alexios (ἔστω τὰ ἐντεῦθεν...ὁ Χορβάτης καὶ ὁ Βοσναῖος τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγγραφήτωσαν ἄξουσιν, ll. 560 - 569).

iii) The Hungarian archbishopric of Esztergom to be subject to the Byzantine government (συγκαταλεγέσθωσαν...τῇ σῇ συνέχοιτο κραταιότητι, ll. 569 - 571). What precisely this meant I leave to students of Hungarian ecclesiastical history. It clearly does not imply the subjection of the Hungarian church to the Patriarch of Constantinople. This would not be a subject of negotiation between the two governments, and in any case, though it must have been a long-term objective in the mind of Manuel, it was not one immediately attainable in 1167. But however the expression is to be interpreted, it certainly implies some kind of Byzantine supremacy in Hungary².

1. F. Šišić, *op. cit.* 70.

2. On the implications of the sending of a crown to Géza I by Michael VII cf. F. Dölger, Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik, *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 8 (1949) 315 - 342, especially 329 - 332; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*², 1956, 203 - 204. This clause in the 1167 treaty must be intended to reassert the claim to supremacy originally implied by the gift of the crown.

iv) Some form of tribute to be payed by Hungary to the Byzantine empire (ὑποφορά σοι ἔστω τὰ ὅλα...βέβαιοι κατεγγυηταί, ll. 571 - 576).

v) A number of Hungarian notables to be handed over as hostages (οὐκ ὀλίγους...τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον, ll. 579 - 583).

Not only are the terms of this treaty preserved in greater detail than those of the preceding treaties, but the relation between the two states which it embodies is radically different from that in the earlier years of Manuel's reign. And this treaty or one very like it, since the agreement of 1167 must have been similar to that of 1165, apparently remained in force until Manuel's death in 1180, in spite of the dropping after the birth of Alexius II of the plan to unite the empire and Hungary under a single monarch, and the catastrophe of the Byzantine army at Myriokephalon in 1176. Historians have sometimes remarked that our sources often seem to speak of Hungary in the latter half of Manuel's reign as if it were a vassal state of the empire¹. It now appears that this attitude corresponds with the *de jure* position, if not always with the political realities. Manuel had attained the goal of his far-reaching foreign policy in this quarter if in no other.

We may now discuss briefly Michael's appointment as ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων. The last traceable holder of this appointment was Theodoros of Smyrna, the successor of John Italus². He must have survived until after 1112, if he engaged in anti-Latin polemic prompted by the mission to Constantinople of Petrus Chrysolanus in that year³, and so far as we know he remained in office until his death. It is only an assumption, though not an unlikely one, that he was the last ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων until the appointment of Michael ὁ τοῦ Ἀρχιῆλου in 1165 or 1167. Be that as it may, the sources agree that for a long time before this time the official teaching of philosophy had lapsed. Michael Akominatos' well-known words πολὺς γὰρ ἔρρηγῃ καιρὸς ἔξ οὗ, λιποῦσα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὥς ἡ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ Δίκη παρθένος, εἰς τὸν ἀθάνατον χῶρον ἀνέπτατο a.s.o.⁴ are amply borne out by the text of the present speech. Cf. in particular ll. 52ff., 237ff. The speaker goes on to say that philosophy has now had the doors of the palace opened to her and been allowed to approach the

1. Cf. the passages cited by M. Gyóni, *op. cit.* 55 - 57.

2. Cf. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, 50.

3. Cf. Krumbacher, *G.B.L.* 2 85; H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, 617. His philosophical and theological writings would be worth study and publication.

4. Sp. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα* I, 81.

throne, as she did before (ll. 55ff.), has been restored, and that he himself receives a salary from the emperor in virtue of his office (ll. 99ff.). His appointment, however, is not a mere restoration of the status quo ante; philosophy is now to be the handmaiden of religion; it is to be purged of false and corrupting doctrines (ll. 71ff.) and to be used as a weapon against heresy (ll. 74ff.); its purposes are to be the comprehension of the unseen through the study of that which can be seen, the praise of the creator, and the winning of divine goodwill (ll. 91ff.). This tamed philosophy is to consist mainly of the study of Aristotle (ll. 105ff.) and above all of his meteorological works, which would especially reveal the wisdom of the creator (ll. 249ff.). With this bowdlerised Aristotelianism must be connected the curious passage, omitted in E, in which Michael attacks μυθοπλαστοι and φρενόληπτοι, followers of pagan theology, who believe matter to be uncreated, (ll. 197ff.). Now this last point forms the burden of one of the charges against John Italus¹ in 1082, who was also accused of reviving other errors of the ancient philosophers on the soul and other questions, and of regarding profane literature as a fountain of truth. Italus had his heirs two generations later. Indeed, as Uspenskij and others remark, a long argument between realists and nominalists goes on throughout the twelfth century in Constantinople, parallel to and not unconnected with the similar argument in the Latin west². Throughout this argument there is a correlation between Nominalism, inclination towards Neoplatonism, and the asking of theologically awkward questions. Among the pupils of Italus, the monk Neilos was condemned in 1087 for views tending towards Monophysitism³, Leo of Chalkedon in 1092 for a false doctrine of images⁴, and Eustratios of Nicaea, himself well known as a commentator on Aristotle, in 1117 for christological errors traceable to a Plotinian doctrine of hypostases⁵. In 1156 Soterichus Panteugenēs, Patriarch-elect of Antioch, together with a number of followers, among whom were two of the leading men of letters and theological teachers of the Patriarchal School, Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης and Nikephoros Basilakes, was con-

1. F. Uspenskij, *Deloproizvodstvo po obvineniju Ioanna Itala v eresī, IRAIK* 2 (1897).

2. F. Uspenskij, *Očerki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti*, 1891 (1892), 146 - 245; B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* [E. Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie*, fasc. supplémentaire II], 1949, 210 - 222.

3. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 341.

4. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 339 - 340.

5. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 340 - 341, 618 - 619; B. Tatakis, *op. cit.* 216 - 218.

demned for heretical interpretation of the liturgy of the eucharist¹. It was no less a person than Nikolaos of Methone, the leading theologian of the age, who connected the heresy of Soterichus and his friends expressly with the Platonic doctrine of ideas, which, he declared, had been refuted by Aristotle². The same Nikolaos of Methone saw fit to refute Neo-Platonic theology at some length in his Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Προκλου³. A modern scholar speaks of 'die Proklos-Schwärmerei, die damals manche literarische Kreise erfasst zu haben scheint und die wohl auf die psellianische Renaissance zurückgeht'⁴. It was during the reign of Manuel Comnenus that the heretical doctrines on questions of christology and the eucharist of Myron or Michael Sikidites, alias Michael Glykas the chronicler, first attracted attention⁵, though his synodal condemnation did not occur until many years later. Sikidites was an astrologer and thaumaturge. It has been plausibly suggested that he and his colleagues were putting forward a whole systematic cosmology of Neo-Platonist character⁶.

This is the background against which Michael's polemic against the Hellenisers and his claims for his own philosophical teaching must be seen. In the middle sixties of the twelfth century the argument over the interpretation of the text ὁ πατήρ μου μέζων μου ἐστίν was at its height, and the years 1166 and 1167 saw a series of synodal decisions and condemnations arising out of this question⁷. Among those condemned were Joannes Pantechnes, Chartophylax⁸, George, Metropolitan of Nicaea⁹, Samuel, deacon and canstrisios of St. Sophia¹⁰, and Basil τοῦ Ἀγιοπάντων, alias Basil Pediadites, teacher of grammar in the Patriarchal school and many years later Bishop of Corcyra¹¹. The trouble was not confined to Constan-

1. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 623 - 624; B. Tatakis, *op. cit.* 219 - 220.

2. Cf. F. Uspenskij, *Očerki* 221 - 222.

3. Ed. J. Th. Vömel, Frankfurt, 1825, as the fourth volume of F. Creuzer's edition of Olympiodorus and Proclus. Cf. in particular p. 2, Θανμάσειν ἄν τις μᾶλλον εἰκότως, ὅπως καὶ τινες τῆς ἔνδον ταύτης καὶ ἡμετέρας γεγονότες αὐλῆς καὶ τὴν χριστῶνυμον κλῆσιν πλουτήσαντες καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀπολαύσαντες καὶ μυστηρίων θείων γευσάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῆς ἔξω παιδείας μετέσχον ἥ που καὶ ἀκροθιγῶς ἤψαντο, ἐπίπροσθεν τῶν οἰκειῶν τίθενται τὰ ἀλλότρια, κτλ.

4. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 624.

5. Nik. Ak. 192.

6. F. Uspenskij, *Očerki* 243 - 245.

7. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 58, where the references to the texts will be found.

8. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 660; V. Grumel, *Les régestes* No. 1063.

9. V. Grumel, *Les régestes* Nos 1066, 1070, 1073.

10. V. Grumel, *Les régestes* No. 1067.

11. V. Grumel, *Les régestes* Nos 1076, 1077.

tinople, since in the summer of 1167 we find Nikolaos, Metropolitan of Ephesus, obliging the Bishops of his province to sign an orthodox interpretation of the passage in question¹. If we are right in dating our speech to the summer of 1167, or even if it belongs to 1165, the Hellenisers against whom the speaker inveighs with such force are likely to be those Nominalists whose interpretation of the celebrated text led them to take up an almost Arian position in theology. Indeed, we may go further and suppose that it was the flourishing of this fresh crop of heresies upon the fertile soil of Neo-Platonising philosophy which led Manuel to reinstitute the office of ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων and to appoint to it an eminent and learned churchman—he had been πρωτέκδικος and ῥητορικῶς φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ῥητορεύειν ἐμφιλοσόφως ἐσκέψατο² with the express charge of teaching a limited and innocuous philosophical curriculum as a buttress for orthodoxy. Manuel had always to be ready for discussions and negotiations with Latin church in the course of his policy of expansions and consolidation;³ and he was anxious that his own church should speak with one voice. Needless to say, the Emperor's purpose was not achieved. Michael's tenure of the ὑπατεία τῶν φιλοσόφων cannot have lasted much more than four years, but even had he remained in office longer, the enterprise was foredoomed to failure. Unlike bad money, bad philosophy does not drive out good; and application of the philosophical methods and doctrines of antiquity to problems of theology was part of a great movement in European thought which could not be stemmed by courses of lectures. It is interesting, however, that one of the successors of Michael, perhaps his immediate successor, was an interpreter and 'populariser' of Aristotle. In cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 74, a miscellany in the hand of Leo Alatiarius, there appears on fol. 40 the following poem:—

Εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν ὑπατον τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἄδηλον:

Ἀριστοτέλης ἐγγράφως ἐσπαρμένην
τὴν φιλόσοφον προλαβὼν γνῶσιν πάλαι
τοῖς πᾶσιν αὐτὴν δυσθεώρητον γράφει,
τὸν νοῦν δὲ βλάβας δεινότητι τῶν λόγων.

1. L. Petit, Documents inédits sur le concile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 11 (1906) 477 - 478.

2. Sp. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀχομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, I, 80. The somewhat left-handed compliment was no doubt meant in all sincerity.

3. Cf. F. Uspenskij, *Istorija Vizantijskoj imperii*, III, 1948, 247.

δ Κωνσταντῖνος δ' ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων
 τὸν νοῦν ἐκείνης τῆς γραφῆς ὑπεισδύνας
 ὡς ἄλλος οὐδείς τοῦτον ἀναχωννύει,
 καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν εὖ σαφηνίζει λόγους.

1. 7 ἄλλως cod.

This Constantine is probably to be identified with Constantine of Nicaea the philosopher, author of two speeches in Cod. Escur. Y-II-10, fol. 301v - 303 and 303 - 306v, the latter of which is addressed to Johannes Dukas, Megas Hetaireiarches, a prominent figure throughout the reign of Manuel Comnenus, and friend of Eustathios, who was still alive in 1177¹.

In publishing the text of the speech, I have recorded in the critical apparatus all variant readings other than those showing merely phonetic confusion or misplaced accents. In the provisional commentary I have tried to explain such of the allusions as I can, and to indicate some of the sources of Michael's language and thought. No doubt much more remains to be done; Michael was a very learned man², and at the same time capable of vigorous and original imagery. And there are passages where I am not at all sure that the text as it stands is correct; these I have indicated. Rather than translate the text in extenso, I have thought it more helpful to provide a summary of its argument.

Postscript. P. Wirth, Das bislang erste literarische Zeugnis für die Stephanskronen aus der Zeit zwischen dem X und XIII Jahrhundert, *BZ* 53 (1960) 79-82 appeared after the present article had gone to press. Dr. Wirth's observations supplement what I have written on p. 180. His dating of the speech, I am glad to see, agrees with my own.

SUMMARY

As the eagle seeks the eagle-stone before building his nest and raising his family, so I turn to him who is the corner-stone of the church before beginning my speech, so that my humility may be adequate to describe the grandeur of your achievements, Sire. You are not only a paragon of all the military virtues, but a friend of the Muses and a patron of philosophy. You have recalled her from her

1. F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* 551.

2. Cf. Sp. Lambros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀχομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, I, 78.

former neglect and restored her to her place in the Palace. Now all that is false in the teachings of the philosophers will be rejected, and she will herself furnish weapons for the confutation of her former errors. It is your plan that the study of the visible world should lead to knowledge of the invisible, and to that praise of the Creator which wins divine favour. For this purpose I have been appointed and given a salary from imperial funds. To this end I shall interpret the works of Aristotle, selecting from them what is good and rejecting what is bad. We thank God that he has inspired you to take this measure, and for all else that you have done under his guidance. You have routed the dragon from the west and driven him back to his lair. You have defeated two other foes from the west. The kingdoms of the earth revere you. Ishmael has become your humble ally. Your have won victory upon victory on land and sea. All this you have done in your own person, like Alexander the Great and the old Roman emperors, whom indeed you surpass. What have the followers of false Hellenic theology to say to this, those who believe the world to be uncreated? I abhor their errors; I believe you to have been sent by God to protect us, and to be an ideal monarch, beloved by all your subjects. Among your other deeds of virtue you have now restored philosophy to her rightful place. Her students will now investigate astronomy, optics, meteorology, and study all the wondrous works of the Creator, all to the glory and adornment of your reign. You are a true father of your people, without the faults of Alexander. All the victories which you have won you ascribe, with typical modesty, to divine favour. Long may you reign, so that we may enjoy lasting peace! Lawyers tell of your amendments to the law; citizens tell of your fortification of the city, your chain across the sea, your repair of the walls, your adornment of the palace; churchmen speak of your reduction of taxation on ecclesiastical property in the capital and throughout the empire; soldiers tell of your skill in the arts of war; your courage, your endurance, your campaigns against Hungarians, Turks, Cilicians, the raiders on the Danube, and Serbians. Your courage enables you to face and kill leopards single-handed, though the very sight of their dead bodies terrifies most men. I come now to your latest exploit. When the Hungarians, with their usual duplicity, broke their oath, sought a secret alliance with the Serbians, and made war against us, trying to conquer Sirmium and the territory beyond the Danubian plains, you dealt first of all with their Serbian allies, easily reducing them to submission. They repented of their error, accepted the ruler whom you appointed over them, and so destroyed the hopes of the Hungarians. Then you mustered a great army and led it to the Danube, accompanied by a naval force. Dismayed by this display of invincible force, the Hungarians repented of their folly and approached you as suppliants; humbly surrendering and giving up all their grandiose pretensions. Their ruler offered as guarantee of his good behaviour the King of Bohemia and other dignitaries. Then the Hungarian notables gathered to ratify the peace. Admitting their utter defeat, they accepted the following terms: Sirmium, Croatia and Bosnia are to be Byzantine possessions henceforth. The Church of the Holy Crown of Hungary and its metropolis are to be subject to Byzantium. The country is to be tributary to the Emperor. Prince, bishops, clergy, nobility, officers, soldiers and common people are to take a solemn oath of loyalty. Eleven Hungarian nobles are to be hostages. So the Hungarians were overcome and rued their reckless folly. For this we praise you as you return to Constantinople and set out for the Jordan. We join the common throng in acclaiming your victory.

THE TEXT

Λόγος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ *E fol 132*
τοῦ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου εἰς τὸν ἄγιον αὐτοκράτορα κυρὸν Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνη- *O fol 186v*
νόν, γραφεὶς καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἦν ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων.

Εἶτα ὁ μὲν ὄρνις ὁ ἀετὸς οὐκ ἂν πρότερον πῆξαιτο καλιάν, εἰ μὴ τὸν
ἀετίτην λίθον προὔποβαλεῖ καὶ προεναρμόσεται—ἡγνόησε γὰρ οὐδ' οὗτος τῆς 5
φύσεως τούτου τὴν ιδιότητα—ἵνα καὶ ἀπλῶς ὠδινήσῃ, καὶ ἀρίστως ἐκτέκῃ,
καὶ τελεσφορηθεῖ τὸ κυισκόμενον, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταύτης ὠδίνος
τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀχειρότμητον λίθον προὔποθώμεθα, τὸν πολυτελεῖ, τὸν ἀκρο-
γωνιαῖον, τὸν ἔντιμον, τὸν καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα συνάπτοντα καὶ εἰς ἓνα κοινὸν
ἀλληλοῦχον ὅρον ἐπισυνδέοντα, τὸν εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας καὶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια 10
Σιῶν ἐμβαλλόμενον, ἀκακίην τὴν ξενότροπον ἰσχὺν εἰς εὐτοκίαν ἐναποθέ-
μενον; καὶ πῶς ἀπὸ λίθου σπέρμα ἀνεγερθήσεται καὶ συλληψόμεθα κατὰ
νοῦν καὶ ὠδινήσομεν λογικῶς καὶ ἐκτέκωμεν πνεῦμα συνέσεως, ἵνα μὴ
τοσοῦτον κατόπιν τῶν σῶν ἐλάσωμεν ἀριστουργιῶν, βασιλέων θεοειδέστερε;
ἢ πῶς τὰ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστηκότα ἐγγυτέρω συνέλθῃ καὶ μικρόν τι 15
θάτερον θατέρου παράψεται ὁ τῶν σῶν ἀρετῶν οὐρανὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου
λόγου χαμαιριφές καὶ τὸ τῆς διανοίας χαμαίζηλον, εἰ μὴ μέσος παρεμπε-
σὼν ὁ συνδέτης λίθος, ὁ συνοχεύς, τῇ τοῦ λόγου ταπεινότητι μεσιτεύσει
καὶ τῇ τῶν πράξεων ὑψηλότητι, σοφία τῷ ἀσόφῳ καὶ καρδία τῷ ἀκαρδίῳ
καὶ τῷ ἀλόγῳ λόγος γενόμενος; ἢ πῶς ἡ ἄκαρπος καὶ χερσομανὴς διὰ τὸ 20
κρاناὸν καὶ ἀπόκροτον ὡς εὐπρεμνότατος καὶ εὐξύλος διὰ τὸ ἔγκαρπον
ἐνευλογηθήσεται, εἰ μὴ ἡ πνευματικὴ πέτρα βλύσει καὶ ἡ ἀνικμος ποτισθή-
σεται ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἔπινε χανδὸν εἰς ζωὴν καὶ ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ
ἐξῆς τὸ ἐγκατάλειμμα σωθησόμενον; ἐπὶ ταύτῃ | διὰ ταῦτα τῇ πέτρᾳ αἱ *E 132v*
τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἡμῖν ὠδῖνες λυθήσονται· καὶ τὰ πείσματα τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν 25
ἐντεῦθεν ἀνάψομεν· καὶ ὥς οὐ ματαίως ἐλπιοῦμεν, καὶ οἱ λίθοι αὐτοὶ κεκρά-
ξονται, οὐστίνως ἄρα καὶ ἐρεῖ τις τούτους τοὺς λίθους, εἴπερ τινὲς εἶεν καὶ
ἐπὶ τοῖς προδήλοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιμύοντες, καὶ τὴν δυσαισθησίαν νοσοῦντες καὶ
ἐπὶ τὰ προχειρότατα. καὶ πάντως οὐχ ἡμιτελὲς οὐδ' ἀτελεσφόρητον ἀλλὰ
δυσέκτρωπον καὶ ὀλομελὲς ἔσεται τὸ ἀποκύημα. 30

1 ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ : om. E πατριάρχου : πατριάρχου Κωνσταν-
τινουπόλεως E τοῦ τοῦ : τοῦ O 2-3 εἰς τὸν...γραφεὶς : om. E καθ' ὃν και-
ρὸν ἦν : ὀπηνίκα ἐγένετο E 9 καὶ : om. O 10 τὸ θεμέλιον O 11 κά-
κεινφ O 14 ἐλάσωμεν O ἀγαθουργιῶν O 15 συνέλθοι O 17 λόγου :
om. O 21 τὸν O

- προστησάμενοι τοίνυν τοῦ λόγου τὸν καὶ τάχος ἐπιτάττοντα τοῖς βρα-
 δέσι καὶ θέρος χειμῶνι καὶ γαλήνῃ τῷ κλυδῶνι, μεθ' οὗ καὶ εἰς χιλίους
 διώζεται καὶ μυριάδας δύο μετακινήσουσι, παρ' ᾧ καὶ οἱ ἀτόκρυφοι θησαυροὶ
 τῆς σοφίας ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πάσης ἐπιστήμης ἐξεύρεσις ἀποτα-
 35 μεύονται, ἐπιβαλοῦμεν τῷ ἐγχειρήματι. καὶ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τῷ θεμελίῳ τὰς
 πρώτας ὑποβάθρας καταπηξάμενοι, ὑπὸ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀρχιτεκτονίᾳ κατὰ
 τὴν τοῦ παρακλήτου λαμπρὰν καὶ οὐρανοκρότητον σάλπιγγα τὰ κατὰ τὸ
 ἔργον κατατάξαι καὶ διασκευάσασθαι πειρασόμεθα, ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐγγω-
 ροῦν ὅποι παρῆκοι παραβύοντές τε καὶ παρενείροντες.
- 40 οὐκ ἄρα μόνον δημαγωγίας πέρι καὶ πυκνωμάτων λόγου καὶ κενω-
 μάτων στρατοῦ καὶ στομάτων καὶ μετώπων στρατοπέδου καὶ παρατάξεως
 ἑμέλλες θεόθεν δεξιὸς παιδοτρίβης καὶ γνωματάρχης ἄκρος τοῖς τῶν Ῥω-
 μαίων σκήπτροις ἐπιφιλοτιμηθῆναι, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, ἀθιγεῖς καὶ ἀχράντους
 45 τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας ἢ στρατηγίας διασωζόμενος γνωμόνας, καὶ τοὺς τῆς
 τακτικῆς εὐβουλίας χαρακτῆρας ἀκιβδήλους διατηρῶν, ἐν βουλαῖς παννυχί-
 ζων καὶ περὶ τὰ ἔργα διατροχάζων ὑπὸ ἡλίους ὅλους ἀνένδοτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 Μούσας ἐναγκαλίσσασθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν ὁμοσκήνους, καὶ φιλοσοφίαν συνα-
 γαγεῖν τὴν εὖζωνον καὶ αὐτόσκευον, ἐπεὶ τῆς σοφίας ὁ ἔρως καὶ θεióτερος
 50 ἅμα καὶ συγγενέστερος ἢ ὁ τοῦ σιδήρου τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ὁ λόγος
 μέγας δυνάστης, κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα σοφόν, ἐν εὐπεριόριστῳ καὶ εὐσυνόπτῳ
 τῷ σώματι τὰ τελειοποιᾷ δυνάμενος καὶ θεióτατα.
- ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἀπωσμένην ἀνεκαλέσω καὶ συσταλεῖσαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν εἰς
 κευθμῶνας καὶ ταπεινὰς καταδύσεις, καὶ περὶ ἑαυτὴν στρεφομένην καὶ θεω-
 ροῦσαν τὰ ἑαυτῆς, εὐρύωτος μὲν ἀπόζουσαν, τῆς δὲ σεσηπυίας ἐξεχομένην
 55 ἀναβολῆς, ἀκεῖθεν ἀνελάβου καὶ ἐπανάγαγες καὶ τὰς περιλάμπρους κιγ-
 κλίδας τῶν κατηγαλαῖσμένων καὶ βασιλείων καταγωγῶν τοῖς αὐτὴν ἀμφέ-
 πουσιν ἀνεπέτασας, τοῦ καθορᾶν τὴν στιλπνότητα τούτων καὶ ὥς ἄλλον
 Ἑλικῶνα περιχορεύειν. καὶ περιλαλεῖν τὰ ἀνάκτορα καὶ τὸν σὸν περιστρέ-
 φεσθαι δέδωκας θρόνον, τὸν ἐπηρμένον, τὸν ὑψηλόν, καὶ περὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς
 60 καὶ προτέρας ἔννας παλινδρομεῖν καὶ αὖθις ἀφῆκας, ὁ σοφὸς βασιλεὺς, καὶ
 εἰς τὴν τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐετηρίας εὐκλειαν ἀνεκόμεσας, καὶ στρατογραφηθῆναι
 E 133 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταύτην | ἀνῆκας εἰς τὸ σὸν στρατογράφιον· ὅτι περ αἰ-
 σαὶ στρατοπεδεῖται σοφίας οὐκ ἀμέθεκτοι οὐδ' ἀμέτοχοι, οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς εὐαν-
 δρίας ταύτης φέρεται ὑπερόρια, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ καιρίου καὶ συνεκτικῶς στερη-
 65 θέντα μείνῃ κατηγορούμενα. ἔχεις δὲ μᾶλλον, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, μὴ μόνον

34 τῆς: om. E 35 τῷ: om. O 37 λαμπρὰν: om. O κα τὸ O
 38 κατατάξασθαι O 38 ἐγγωρεῖν O 42 ἄκρως O 44 βασιλείας ἢ:
 om. E 50 εὐπορίστῳ E 52 ὑφ' O 54 ἀπόζουσα O 60 ὁ σοφὸς βα-
 σιλεὺς ἀφῆκας E 64 στερηθέντος O 65 ἔχεις E

Codex Escorialensis Y-II-10 fol. 132 (l. 1-24).

Codex Baroccianus Gr. 137, fol. 186^v (l. 1-72)

όπλοφορεῖν διαρκῶς καὶ όπλιτεύειν έπικαιρότατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοφυῶς ταῖς ένσόφοις ένεδοκιμεῖν έπιδείξεισι, καὶ φαίνη βασιλικώτερος έαυτοῦ κυδαζόμενος έντεῦθεν καὶ τήν ἀπό τῶν Μουσῶν έπικόσμησιν μὴ άποποιούμενος.

καὶ ἄγε μοι θύε τῷ κραταιῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ χαριστήρια ό Περίπατος· έπικαινώνει καὶ ἡ Ἀκαδημία τούτῳ τοῦ θύματος· άνανεούσθω τό Λύκειον, καὶ ἡ τῆς 70
πρεσβυτέρας Στοᾶς σεμνοπρέπεια. όσον ύπόσαθρον καὶ σαπρόν έν ύμῖν άπερρίφθω καὶ έκκρουέσθω ὡς ἄχρηστον· όσον έντεχνον καὶ κομψόν καὶ συνεργόν
| εἰς ἀλήθειαν άπανθιζέσθω καὶ έκλεγέσθω εἰς έλεγχον τοῦ ψεύδους καὶ τῆς 0 187
ύθλολογίας άνατροπήν. τῷ σφυροκόπῳ τήν σφύραν άπαρτιζέτω ό σίδηρος,
ἵνα ύπ' αὐτοῦ μετάγῃται σφυροκοπούμενος εἰς τό εὐχρηστον· ό όρνις έπι- 75
χορηγείτω τό πτερόν τῷ τοξεύοντι, ἵνα καθ' έαυτοῦ διά τούτου τό βέλος
έχῃ περιβολούμενον. ἡ όφίς δανειζέτω τοῖς Ἀσκηπιάδαις τὰς σάρκας, ἵνα
τοῖς οἰκείοις βέλεσι βαλλομένη άσθενῇ καὶ άπρακτῇ. τό καινότατον τοῦτο
τοῦ βασιλέως τό έπινόημα, τοῦτο τούτου τό θεσμοθέτημα εἰς τόν άρχαῖον
φέρων θεσμόν, εἰς τό παλαιόν όροθέτημα, κατὰ τήν έν τοῖς ιεροῖς εὐαγγε- 80
λίοις σαγήνην τήν έν τῇ κοσμικῇ καθιεμένην θαλάσση καὶ έξ άπαντος γένους
συνάγουσαν, ἵνα καὶ έξ αὐτῶν τῶν άκαθάρτων καὶ άνιέρων όσον εἰκός
καὶ ἄξιον ὡς άγνόν παραλαμβάνηται καὶ άκίβδηλον, τό δ' ἄλλως έχον ὡς
άπηχές καὶ ρυπαρόν διαπτύηται καὶ απόβλητον.

διά ταῦτα καὶ τό τῆς σοφίας άνίστησι παιδευτήριον, καὶ έγκαινίζει 85
τήν Πιερίαν τήν τῶν Μουσῶν βρεφοκόμον καὶ τιτηνόν, καὶ τῷ Θησεῖ τόν
μῖτον έπέκλωσε, τοῦ διεξοδεύειν άκινδύνως τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τήν δυσδιάφυκτον
έλικα, τὰς πολυελίκτους διαπλοκάς τῶν λογικῶν άποδείξεων καὶ τὰς
πολυστρόφους άντιστροφάς, καὶ τῆς πειθανάγκης τό έντεχνον, όσα τε περί
τῶν ύπό χθόνα καὶ κατὰ χθόνα καὶ τῶν έπέκεινα φύσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 90
τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν τοῖς πάλαι πεφιλοσόφηται, δυεῖν ένεκα τούτων, τοῦ
τε τὰ νοητά καὶ άόρατα διά τῆς τῶν όρωμένων έπεξεργασίας καὶ καταλήψεως
κατὰ τόν θεῖον κατανοεῖσθαι άπόστολον, καὶ έξ άπάντων τόν τοῦ κτίσαντος
ύμνον λαμβάνεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ γινόμενον οὕτω τοῦτον ἡμέτερον
άναφέρεσθαι, καὶ μέτροις εὐγνωμοσύνης τήν άνωθεν εὐμένειαν έπισπᾶσθαι 95
καὶ άντισταθμαῖν έαυτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ τὰ νόθα βάλλειν καὶ έκφυλα ὡς νοσερά
καὶ θανάσιμα, καὶ τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας ιερᾶς αὐλῆς σκηνωμάτων έκπλέοντά τε
καὶ άποτρέχοντα.

έπὶ τούτοις ἄρτι τήν άστιβῇ | βαδίζειν ἡμεῖς έλάχομεν· έπὶ τούτοις ἡ E 133v
πολύδωρος δεξιά, ἡ εὐδωρος, ἡ βασιλική, έκ τῶν έαυτῆς πρυτανείων έπι- 100

68 άποκόσμησιν O 70 τούτου O θαίματος codd. 71 σαπρόν: σα-
θρόν E 74 άπαρτιζεσθαι O 83 άκίνδυνον E 87 δυσδιάφυκτον O
88 - 89 τὰς τούτων πολυστροφούς O 89 τε: δέ O 91 δυοῖν O 96 τὰ τοῦ
νόθου E 97 τῆς: om. O τε: om. E

- σιτισμόν ἡμῖν ἐξαπέστειλε, καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὑπανῆκε τοῦ σωτηρίου, καὶ πρὸ
 προσώπου ἡμῶν διώρυχα διώρυξεν ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσίτιδος τοῦ μεταλλεύειν
 ἡμᾶς καὶ χρυσοφορεῖν καὶ ἐνιαύσιον δρέπεσθαι θέρος χρυσοῦ ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνή-
 105 ροτον· ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς περιίσταται προμηθείας, καὶ οὗτος ὁ
 θεσμός καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πέρας τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφιστείας καὶ ὑπατείας· ἐπὶ
 τούτοις τῇ Σταγειρόθεν κελαινῇ Σφιγγὶ τοὺς τῶν ὄντων λόγους συνδιασκέ-
 πτομαι, καὶ τοὺς γρίφους περισκοπῶ καὶ ἀναζητῶ τὰ αἰνίγματα. μετεωρο-
 πολῶ μετὰ ταύτης, περιχορεύω τὸν οὐρανόν· περιγίγειος ὦν οὐράνιος γίνομαι.
 φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν ἀνιχνεύειν καὶ διεῖναι διὰ τῶν ταύτης ἀδύτων,
 110 καὶ ἀνιστορεῖν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα. περισύρω τὸ χλωρὸν κατὰ τὸν ἀπλαστον Ἰακῶβ
 τῆς ἀσαφίας τὸ ἐπικάλυμμα, καὶ ἐκλεπίζω τὸ ἐπισκίασμα, καὶ εὐκάτοπτος
 οὕτω καὶ κομιδῇ λελευκασμένος ὁ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐναποκείμενος λόγος μοι ἀνα-
 φαίνεται, ὡς εὐχεστάτη καὶ διατόρῳ διαβοᾶν τῇ φωνῇ, «ὦ βάθος σοφίας
 115 θεοῦ καὶ γνώσεως». ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ποτιστηρίων τὴν τῆς
 δυνάμεως ῥάβδον ἐνέημι καὶ αὐτός, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς εἰς Χριστὸν αἰχμα-
 λωτίζων ἅπαν ἐννόημα, ὅσον γλυκάζον καὶ πότιμον ἐντεῦθεν καὶ προσίεμαι
 καὶ ἀρύομαι, ὅσον δ' ἔμπικρον καὶ μεστὸν ἰλύος καὶ τεναγῶδες ἀποπεμπό-
 μενος ἀποστρέφομαι, καὶ τὸ πικρὸν οὐ λέγω γλυκύ, τὴν ἀράν τῆς προφη-
 120 τείας ἀποποιούμενος.
- δόξα γοῦν καὶ χάρις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χάριν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ τῶν ὅλων τῷ
 βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ σέ, βασιλέων ἀγακλεῶν ἐγκαλλώ-
 125 πισμα. τίς ἂν ἀξίως ἀγάσαιτο καὶ ὑμνήσαι τὴν μεγαλωσύνην αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ
 παρεῖδε τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔδωκε σέ ὑπερασπισμόν σωτηρίας καὶ
 πύργον ἰσχύος ἀπὸ προσώπου ἐχθρῶν. καὶ ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἔτι ἡ πάλαι τα-
 πεινωθεῖσα καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτῆς ἐνεδύσατο· ἤλθες γὰρ μετὰ
 130 ἰσχύος καὶ ὁ βραχίων σου μετὰ κυρείας, καὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν σου ἐποίμανας, καὶ
 τοὺς ἄρνας σου συνῆξας καὶ ἐνεσῆκασας.
- ἀπεστάλης ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν τὸν ἀπὸ ζεφύρου τυφῶνα, καὶ ἐπὶ
 τὸ ὕψος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ, τὸν εἰπόντα «ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ποιήσω καὶ τῷ
 130 περιττῷ τῆς συνέσεως τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπόστασιν προνομεύσω, καὶ ἀφελῶ
 ἀλλότρια ὄρια». καὶ ἐν τῇ σῇ ῥομφαίᾳ αὐτὸν συνέκλεισας, καὶ παλίσσυρτος
 ὁ μέγας δράκων ὁ βριαρὸς συνεστάλη καὶ ὑπεστάλη· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου
 ἀτρεμεῖ φωλεοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καταδύσεως, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἀπεκ-
 δεχόμενος ὅσον ἤδη καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον. καὶ τάχιον οὕτως
 135 αὐτῷ ἀπαντήσαι καὶ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξολοθρευθήσεται. οὐκ
 ἡσθένησεν ἡ ψυχὴ σου οὐδὲ ἐφοβήθη ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ξύλων, τῶν δαλῶν τῶν

106 μελαίνῃ E ὄντων : ὅλων O 114 καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ E γὰρ ταῖς
 ληνοῖς O 117 ἀποπεμπόμενος : om. E 120 τῶν ὅλων τῷ : om. E 123 καὶ :
 om. O ὑμνήσαι O 124 ἐχθροῦ E 128 ἀπεστάλει O μέγα O 136 ἐφοβήθης O

καπνίζόντων ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνέλαμψας ὁ μέγας γίγας ὁ λάμπων ἀπὸ
 περάτων εἰς πέρατα, καὶ ἐσκόρπισας τὸν ζόφον καὶ τὸν καπνὸν διεσκέδασας,
 καὶ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὀμμάτων | ἐκείνων ἤμβλυσας· καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἀντωπῆ- E 134
 σαί σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄρεος πνέοντες καὶ πόλεμον καὶ μάχην ἀπερυγάνοντες 140
 ἕως ἐσχάτων ἐταπεινώθησαν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει τῆς
 γῆς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπερτύφους αὐχένας καὶ τὴν ἐξαλλομένην μικροῦ τῶν μετώπων
 ὀφρῦν πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὠραίων ποδῶν ὑπέκλιναν. προσεκίνησάν σε πᾶσαι αἱ
 βασιλεῖαι τῆς γῆς· Ἰουδαίας κατάρχεις· Αἰθιοπία προφθάνει· καὶ ἐκ Δαμᾶ
 λίβανός σοι κομίζεται, καὶ χρυσίον ἐκ γῆς μακρόθεν. καὶ ἐνευλογήθη τὸ 145
 ὄνομά σου ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὡς φῶς αἱ ὁδοὶ σου ἔλαμψαν. καὶ σοι
 δουλεύειν καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ ὁ βάρβαρος κατεπείγεται καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀειδουλίαν ἐπε-
 ψηφίσατο, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ζωῇ συγκαταλῦσαι τὴν ὑπουργίαν βεβαιωσάμενος, καὶ
 ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου κυριευόμενος, μηδ' ἄλλου ζεύγλην ἐπαυχενίσασθαι ἀνε-
 χόμενος, τὰ τῆς σῆς καὶ ἄκων ἡνιοχείας καταδέχεται φίμωτρα. καὶ οὐκ 150
 ἀποσκιρτᾷ οὐδ' ἀφηνιάζει οὐδ' ἀποπτύει τὸν χαλινόν, οὐ τὴν φορβειὰν ἀπο-
 σείεται, ἔνθα φέρεις ἀγόμενος καὶ ὅποι νεύσεις μετακλινόμενος, ταξιάρχου-
 μενος, ἱπποκρατούμενος, χαλιναγωγούμενος, δορυφόρος, ὑπασπιστής, σκευο-
 φόρος, λοχίτης, οὐραγός, δεξιὸς ὀπλοφόρος, εὐώνυμος ἀσπιδοφόρος, προμε-
 τωπίδιος ἀκοντίστης, πᾶν ὅπερ θέλεις γινόμενος. καὶ αὐχεῖ τὰ Ῥωμαίων 155
 ὅποια μακροὶ χρόνοι ἰδοὺ παρίππευσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐκαυχήσαντο. τοὺς μὲν καὶ
 μόναις ἀκοαῖς | ἐξεφόβησας, οἱ δὲ ἐάλωσάν σου τῷ δόρατι. τὸν βορρὰν καὶ O 187v
 τὸν νότον, τὴν ἐνδότερον ἄρκτον, τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Μερόης καὶ
 τῆς Σύνης τὰ τελευταῖα ὁ σὸς περιγράφει κύκλος, καὶ ἔθου ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν
 τῆς μελίας σου. τὰ σὰ νάματα πίνει καὶ ὁ Αἰθίοψ καὶ ὁ Ἰνδός· τὰς σὰς 160
 βόσκεται πεδιάδας καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν φύλα, τάχα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄτλας
 ὁ Ὠκεάνιος· θεῖα γάρ τι ἐπινεύσει ἐπιταχύνονται σοι αἱ νίκαι, καὶ ἐπὶ
 θριάμβοις ἀπαντῶσιν ἕτεροι θρίαμβοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τροπαίοις ἕτερα τρόπαια ἐπα-
 νίστανται. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἶμα τῶν ὀπλων ἔτι θερμὸν τῷ δευτέρῳ κατα-
 λαμβανόμενον ἀποκλύζεται· καὶ ἀνηγορεύθης τρισαριστεύς, οὐ χερσαῖος 165
 μόνον ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ Λάκωνες, οὐδὲ ἐνάλιος αὖθις ὡς οἱ κατὰ τοῦ τῶν
 Περσῶν μυριάνδρου τὸ θρυλλούμενον ἐκεῖνο στήσαντες τρόπαιον, οὐδὲ ὅψε
 κινηθεῖς ὡς ὁ τῶν στοιχείων καινοτόμος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχηγός,
 οὐδὲ ταχὺ παυσάμενος ὡς ἄλλοι σμικρολόγοι καὶ μὴ διώκοντες τὴν μεγα-
 λοπρέπειαν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς βαλβίδος καὶ ἄνωθεν διαμετρεῖται σοι αἰεὶ ἐν 170
 πόνοις ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ παραμένεις βέβαιος καὶ ἀκμαῖος ὡς ἦδη τῆς ἀπαρχῆς
 καταρξάμενος.

140 - 142 ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . τῆς γῆς: **om.** E

143 προσεκίνησάν σοι O

ὑπο

153 ἱπποκρατούμενος E 157 σου **om.** E 158 τῆς **om.** O 163 ἀπαντῶσιν O166 οὐδ' E 167 μυριανδρίου O 168 τῶν ante Περσῶν **om.** E 171 ἀρχῆς E

- καὶ τὸ δὴ καινὸν ὅτι τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πάντα διαπονεῖς αὐτοσώματος·
καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ πρόποντος· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἱατρῶν ἐκείνους θαυ-
μάζομεν, ὅσοι τῆς ἀμπεχόνης † γινόμενοι καὶ τὸν χιτωνίσκον διαδησάμενοι
175 αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν τομὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ μεταχειρίζονται τὸ σιδή-
ριον, καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἰχῶρος ῥανίδας ἀνέχονται ὑποδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δρῶσι
καὶ πάσχουσι. καὶ βασιλέων ἐκείνους εὐφημεῖν καὶ μεγαλύνειν εἰώθαμεν
E 134v τοὺς προκινδυνεύειν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐθέλοντας, καὶ στρατιωτικὴν περιβαλλο-
180 μένους σκευὴν καὶ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἀριστεύοντας, | οὐ τοὺς τοῖς βασι-
λείοις ἐνθαλαμεύοντας καὶ χλιδῆς παντοίας ἐπαπολαύοντας. οὕτω βάλλων
Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ βαλλόμενος καὶ πετρῶν ἀτοξεύτων κατατολμῶν καὶ πρὸς
ἀμάχους δυνάμεις εὐτολμῶν καὶ ἀντιπαλαμώμενος ἔδοξεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀριστουργός, καὶ τὴν δόξαν πλείστην περιεβάλετο, ὅτε τὴν κεφαλὴν μαχαίρᾳ
185 διεκόπη βαρβαρικῇ, ὅτε κατηλοήθη λίθῳ τὸν τράχηλον, καὶ διέβη Βάκτρα
καὶ Σοῦσα αὐχμῶ καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ διαίταις ἀγρίαις πολιορκούμενος. οὕτω
Σέβηροι καὶ Καίσαρες, Σεβαστοὶ τε καὶ Ἀντωνῖνοι, Τιβέριοί τε καὶ Γαίιοι
ἀνέπτυσαν ταῖς φήμαις μετέωροι, καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ συμφοιτῶσι τοῖς ὀψιγόνους
διαδιδόμενοι. οὕτω καὶ σύ, πολὺκλυτε αὐτοκράτορ, τοὺς πῶποτε δυνάστας
190 καὶ βασιλεῖς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ὑπερῆκόντισας, καὶ ὡς ἥλιος ἄλλος
δοκεῖς πρὸς τρίτου καὶ τετάρτου μεγέθους ἀστέρας παραβαλλόμενος, ὅτε τὸ
σφυρὸν ἐτοξεύθης, ὅτε τὴν πτέρναν διεκόπης, καὶ κρημνοῖς καὶ πετρῶν ἐνέφυς
τραχύτησιν· ὅτι διαφυλάττεις καὶ τὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐρημότερα, καὶ βουλὰς
ἐξαρτύεις παννύχιος, ὅτι σοι τὸ δόρυ θάμα ταῖς βολαῖς ἀμβλύνεται, καὶ λῆμα
195 φέρεις βεβηκὸς καὶ βασιλικόν, ἀλλ' οὐ πτοιαλέον καὶ εὐθορύβητον, καὶ νίκας
ἐξανύεις ἐκπύστους καὶ ἀνασκευάζεις μαινομένων ἐθνῶν ὁρμάς καὶ φρυάγματα.
πρὸς ταῦτα τί φατέον; καὶ τί σκιαγραφεῖτε, οἱ μυθοπλάσται καὶ οἱ
φρενόληπτοι, οἱ τὸ ψεῦδος πυργοῦντες πιθάνοις λόγοις καὶ δυσφόρητον
τὸν ἔλεγχον ἔχουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἐν λέξει σεμνότησι τὴν παρ' Ἑλληνσι θεολογίαν,
200 μᾶλλον δὲ θεομαχίαν, ἀποσεμνύνοντες, καὶ τῷ παντὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον ἐπιμαρ-
τυροῦντες καὶ τὴν αἰδιότητα παρεισφθεύοντες, καὶ μήτε χρονικὴν τοῖς ἐν
γενέσει διδόντες τὴν γένεσιν, μήτε τὴν ὁρωμένην κτίσιν τῇ ἀοράτῳ μετα-
χρονίζοντες καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἄρρητον ἀγαθότητος δι' ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
γεγονέναι καταδεχόμενοι αἰσθησιν, καὶ οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ
205 τοῦτο τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγαλεῖον ἀνακηρύττοντες διαπρύσιον. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς
ἀμωμότητος καὶ καθαρᾶς ἐκκλησίας προσκυνῶ τὸν δημιουργόν, καὶ δοξάζω
τὸν κτίστην, καὶ ἀνυψῶ τὸν εὐχαριστήριον ὅτι με καθ' οὓς ἔδει καιροὺς καὶ

175 fortasse γεγυμνωμένοι 180 τοῖς: τῆς O 184 περιεβάλλετο O
187 καὶ ante Καίσαρες om. O 188 ὀψιτόκοις O 191 πρὸ O 194 ἐξα-
τύοις εἰς O λῆμμα O 197 - 214 πρὸς ταῦτα τί φατέον...ἐπισκιάζων με πτέ-
ρυξιν om. E 207 οὓς: ἄς O

ἐπλασε καὶ παρήγαγε καὶ κατεσκόσμησε λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπείρων
 καὶ ἀμυθῆτων ἐνέπλησεν ἐπὶ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ, † καὶ ὕμνω, τὰ τῆς κτίσεως καὶ
 τὴν κτίσιν τεκτηνάμενος καὶ προσυφαπλώσας μοι ἀρρήτοις προνοίας ἡνιο- 210
 χείαις, κάμει καὶ ταύτην διακυβερνῶν καὶ διεξάγων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον, συνέχων
 δεσμοῖς ἀρρήτοις καὶ συντηρῶν τὰ τῆς στάσεως, ἐπέχων ἔνθα με μὴ δεῖ
 παροιστρούμενον, ἐπισυνάγων καὶ συγκρατῶν ἀλλοκότοις με ταῖς ῥύμαις
 ἐκβακχεύμενον, περιέπων ἐπιμόνως καὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπισικιάζων με πτέρυξιν.
 οὕτω τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς προμηθεύμενος καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐν βασιλεῦσι 215
 τὸ κράτος ἀναδησάμενον ἀπαράμιλλον τῇ κληρονομίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ περιου-
 σίῳ λαῷ οἰακονόμον δεξιὸν ἐχαρίσατο, θάλασσαν χαρίτων, ἀγαθῶν ἀκένωτον
 πέλαγος, ἀνδρείας ὑπόδειγμα, στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας, φύσεως φιλοτίμημα, ἀκα-
 τάπληκτον ὄμμα, ὄπλον ἀήττητον, καθαιρέτην ἐχθρῶν, ἀναιρέτην κακίας,
 ἀκλόνητον πύργον, κοινὸν εὐεργέτην, Ῥωμαίων ἔρρισμα. χρῆμα γὰρ παντο- 220
 δαπὸν αὐτὸς ἐδόθης οὐρανόθεν ἡμῖν. ὦ τιθῆνμα πορφύρας, ὦ θεοῦ καὶ φύ-
 σεως φιλοτίμημα. τοιοῦτον οὐτε πρότερον ἦλθεν εἰς γῆν οὐτε μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἐλεύσεται, ὥς οὐδὲν ἤττον πλάττων ἡλήθευσεν ἄν, εἰ περὶ σοῦ ταῦτα καὶ
 μὴ περὶ ἐτέρου προαπεφάνετο, τὸν τύπον ἀκριβῆ τῆς μορφῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ
 διαμορφώσας ἄριστα καὶ ὑπογραψάμενος, ὥς βεβαιότερον τοῦ πράγματος 225
 καταστοχαζόμενος ἐκείνων τῶν θρυλουμένων τῇ παλαιᾷ ἱστορίᾳ Ἀμφιλύτου
 καὶ Βάκιδος· ἔσχε μὲν οὖν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίος εὐδαιμονέστατον ὅτι καὶ σώφρων
 καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, μεγαλοπρεπὴς τε καὶ εὐμαθὴς τὴν ἡμῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἀναζων-
 νύει, βασιλέων ἀγλαίσμα. καὶ ἐπευφημεῖ σοι πάσα γῆ τε καὶ θάλαττα· ὁ δὲ
 ὕμνος ἐμπύπλησιν ἀρμονίας καὶ τὰ ἑῷα φύλα καὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια, καὶ συνανα- 230
 σχοῦσαι αἱ νίκαι σου τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ συνδραμοῦσαι λαμπρῶς τὸ περίγειον
 ἅπαν περιχορεύουσι, καὶ ἄχρι τῶν ἐπιζεφυρίων λήξουν συγκαταίρουσι· καὶ
 ὁ τῷ χορῷ τὰ ἄσματα χορηγῶν ἐπὶ λαμπροῖς ἐξάρχει καὶ τοῦ | τον λαμπρό- O 188
 τερον διατίθουσιν ἢ Δαίδαλος ἐκεῖνον, ὃν ἐν Κνωσῷ τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ καὶ τῇ
 Ὀμήρου δέλτῳ θαῦμα ἐξήσκησε. διὸ καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐξέχεται σοι ὥσπερ 235
 τῆς μαγνήτιδος τὰ σιδήρια, συνὸν μεθ' ἡδόνης ἐνδημοῦντι καὶ συναπαῖρον
 ἀπαίροντι, ὅτι τῷ σωρῷ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν
 σπουδὴν ἐπεστοίβασας. καὶ ἥδη τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἀπολιμπάνουσας, καθάπερ
 οἱ ποιεῖται τὴν Δίκην φασίν, ἐπανήγαγες καὶ ζηλωτὴν | ἐποίησας καὶ περί- E 135
 βλεπτον. καὶ κομίζῃ παρὰ ταύτης τοὺς λόγους φόρον ἐπέτειον· καὶ θύει σοι 240
 καὶ φιλοσοφία καὶ ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς ἐθέλει χαρίζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀντιχαρίζῃ ταύτῃ τῶν ἐπαίνων χάριν ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται μηδὲ γράφεται τις
 αὐτὴν εἰρωνείας ὥς πλασματίας τοὺς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξυφαί-

213 ἀλλοκόταις O 220 γὰρ om. O ποδαπὸν E 221 αὐτὸς...οὐρανό-
 θεν : οὐρανόθεν αὐτὸς ἐδόθη E 229 σε O πᾶσα : om. O θάλασσα O
 234 Δαίδαλον O 243 αὐτὴν om. O

- νουσιν. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀναπλάττεται σοι καὶ τρέφεται καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀκμὴν
 245 ἀναβλαστάνει καὶ ἀνατρέχει, καὶ κυίσκει καὶ τίκει παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὴν
 ἀπ' αὐτῆς περικειμένους εὐγένειαν. καὶ περικέχυται ταύτην ἕμερος καὶ κε-
 στός, οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκλυτός τε καὶ εὐδιάρρυντος, ἀλλ' ὃν ἐξασκοῦσιν ἀρεταὶ λο-
 γικαί, καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀκηράτων λειμώνων ἄνθη καὶ ἡ τῶν θείων ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν
 ἀνθρωπίνων γνῶσις τε καὶ ἀνάληψις. ἔχουσιν οἱ παῖδες οὗτοι φιλοσοφεῖν
 250 οὐρανοῦ περιόδους καὶ φάσεις καὶ συμφάσεις ἀστέρων, καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα σώ-
 ζειν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη, καὶ συνόδους
 καὶ ἀποστάσεις διασωζούσας τὸ ἀμετάπτωτον, καὶ πλάτη καὶ μήκη τούτων
 διασαφεῖν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποικιλίαν ὁπόσης τὰ ἀνώτερα μεμέστωται, τὰ περὶ
 τὸν ἀέρα τῆς ὀψεως πάθη καὶ τὰ κατὰ φαντασίαν καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑπαρξιν, δια-
 255 φορὰς καὶ θέσεις πνευμάτων, καὶ ὅπως καὶ διὰ τί τὸ μὲν τούτων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 τὰς νεφώδεις ἔλκει συστάσεις καὶ ἀντιμεθιστᾷ, τὸ δ' ἀνέλκει τὸν χοῦν καὶ
 ἀνυψοῖ κατὰ κῶνον καὶ ἀνάγει καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αἰθέριον, ταῦτά τε
 καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας φύσεις ἐναποτεθεῖσαν σοφίαν τοῦ κτίσαντος
 καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑπερφυῇ καὶ ἄσχετον ἰσχύν τε καὶ ἀγαθότητα. τοιαῦτα, μέ-
 260 γιστε αὐτοκράτορ, τὰ ἑαυτῆς γεννήματα φιλοσοφία σοι παριστᾷ, τοιαῦτά σοι
 καρποφορεῖ τὰ γεώργια. ἐντεῦθεν σοι τὰ τῆς πολιτείας διακοσμεῖται καὶ
 ἀπὸ ταύτης καὶ ὠραίζεται, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἔχοι τὸ ἀνενδεές καὶ τὸ ἀνεπί-
 ληπτον. οὕτω σοι τῆς καρδίας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δορυφορουμένης χειρὶ τὸ κάλλος
 τῆς ψυχῆς συμπαρομαρτεῖ τῇ ἀγλαίᾳ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ συζεύγνυται δικαιο-
 265 σύνη τῇ κρίσει καὶ πατρικὴν τὴν σὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναδεί-
 κνυσι, δι' ἣν καὶ Πέρσαι Κῦρον πατέρα καλῶς ὠνόμαζον, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσπότην
 ὡς τὸν Καμβύσην διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἄμυναν· ὃν οὕτως αὐτὸς ἡγνόησας,
 ὡς καὶ πολλῶν ἀμαρτήματα ὕλην ἐποιήσω φιλάνθρωπίας, καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων
 ἀπηνές καὶ ἀμείλικτον κατεμάλαξας. πέφυκας γὰρ θεοειδὴς καὶ βασιλεύεις
 270 εὖνοϊαν ἐπισπώμενος. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐταιρίας τὴν παροι-
 νίαν ἤνεγκε πράως καὶ ὁμαλῶς, οὐδὲ τὸ τραχὺ τοῦ ζέοντος κατελέανεν· ἡμύ-
 νατο δὲ καὶ Κλεῖτον καὶ τὸν Φιλώταν ἀπέκτεινε. σωφρόνως γὰρ καὶ μετρίως
 τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διέθου, καὶ καλοῦ παντὸς ἀρχέτυπον ἐχρημάτισας,
 ἐν ἀκμῇ νεότητος βεβηκῶς ἀναδεικνύμενος καὶ πραότατος, ἵνα τῆς σῆς σπου-
 275 δῆς καὶ μὴ τῆς ἡλικίας τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων λογίζοιτο. οὐ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς
 συστοιχίας ἐν μέσαις ἡλικίαις Ἀλέξανδρος σωφρονῶν καὶ Μέτελλος διὰ τὸ
 γῆρας οἰκουρῶν καὶ ἀπόμαχος. διὸ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀφορμὰς παρέδωκας λόγων,
 καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις πάντων ἐγγέγραψαι καὶ ἐνεστήλωσαι ταύταις καὶ ἔστη-
 κας οὐ χρυσοῦς, οὐ χαλκοῦς, οὐχ ὁμώνυμος, ἀλλ' ἐνοπτριζόμενος ὅλος ἐμ-

253 μεμέστωσαι O 254 διαφορὰν O 255 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ om. E 256 ἀνέλ-
 κει : ἀνέχει O 262 πάντοθεν O 271 κατελέανε E 271 - 272 ἡμύνατο...
 ἀπέκτεινε om. E 275 τῆς ἡλικίας : τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας codd. τὰ om. E 279 in mar-
 gine ἀνθρωπος δηλονότι ἐξωγραφημένος E

πνους καὶ ζῶν καὶ διομιλῶν καὶ ἀνιστορούμενος. φροῦδα πρὸς τὰ σὰ τὰ τοῦ 280
 Μακεδόνοσ παραβαλλόμενα. ναὶ γὰρ Βάκτρα διέβη, Ἰνδοῖς ἐπεκώμασε, παρε-
 στήσατο πόλεις καὶ λαοὺς | ἐπεσπάσατο. ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ρυθμὸν καὶ τὴν E 135v
 ὁμαλότητα τοῦ ἥθουσ οὐ διεσώσατο. τὸ γὰρ διαπρεπὲς τῶν ἔργων ὁ μεταρ-
 ριπισμὸς τοῦ τρόπου ὕστερον ἐπεσκίασεν. ἀνδρεῖος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάροι-
 νος, τροπαιοῦχος καὶ νικητῆς, ἀλλὰ κατεπόθη τῷ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀνοιδήματι 285
 καὶ ἡττήθη, καὶ ἐνύβρισεν εἰς τὸ φίλιον, καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνοσ διεγελάτο ὡς
 βάρβαρος, καὶ ἀπεγύμνου τὰ ξίφη κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τοὺς συν-
 εργάτας τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν τροπαίων συγκαινωνοὺς μαιφονίαισ ἡμεῖψατο,
 καὶ πρὸς φορυτὸν ἐτέρων ἀπρεπῶν ἐξώκειλε πράξεων. σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν τῇ τε-
 τρακτύϊ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θέσεων διεμέρισας· νῦν μὲν διεπεπονήκεισ ἀρκτώος· 290
 αὐθις τῷ τῆς μεσημβρίας ἐβλήθησ καύσωνι· ἐσπέριος παμπληθεῖσ τροπαιου-
 χίας ἀνήγειρας, ἕωσ σινανέντειλασ τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ Θαιμᾶν ἀστήρ ἐπαν-
 ῆλθεσ ἀρίζηλος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν λῆξιν ταύτην ἀριστείων ὑπερφύων ἀνε-
 πλήρωσας, καὶ ὡς πῦρ ἀφανιστικὸν κατὰ φρυγάνων τῶν Περσῶν ὥρμησας·
 καὶ τὰ τούτων κατενεμήθησ ὥραϊα, καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐνετάκη τὰσ καρδίαισ 295
 αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔτι ἔγκειται καὶ ἀτρεμοῦσιν ἐντεῦθεν, καὶ γαλήνη βαθεῖα συνέ-
 χει καὶ κατέχει τὰ ἡμέτερα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἥθουσ εὐρυθμία καὶ ἔτι ἀκ-
 μαιότερον χωρεῖ καὶ ἀναλάμπει φαιδρότερον, καὶ προχωρῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν νι-
 κᾶς, φιλανθρωπίας ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίαισ, δικαιοσύνας ἐπὶ δικαιοσύναισ, ἐπ’
 εὐεργεσίαισ εὐεργεσίας αὖξαν καὶ μεγεθύνων, καὶ ἀγαθύνων τὴν κληρουχίαν, 300
 καὶ βελτίων ἑαυτοῦ ἀεὶ εὐρισκόμενος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοσούτοισ εὐπραγήμασιν μετριοπα-
 θῶν, νικῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλεισ τῷ νικητικῷ ὑπέχειν στεφάνῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀλλ’
 ἀναδύη τὸν ἐπιδίφριον θρίαμβον, ἀποπέμπη τὴν δημοτικὴν ὑψηγορίαν καὶ
 ἀνακῆρυξιν. ἐθέλεισ ὡς εἰσ τῶν μηδὲν εἰσενεγκαμένων συμμετριάζειν τῷ
 πλήθει, καὶ τῇ ἄνωθεν ἰσχύϊ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιγράφεσθαι, καὶ μάλα καλῶσ ποιῶν, 305
 καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐποίησεν ἂν μεγαλουργεῖν ἐφίεμενοσ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ μετριοπα-
 θεῖα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀμετεωρίστοισ εὐδοκοῦντα καὶ ἐπινεύοντα. διὸ καὶ αἰχμὴν πα-
 ραιτῇ καὶ χαλκὸν ἀστράπτοντα ἀποστρέφη καὶ βαρεῖασ ἔππου πλήθοσ ἀπο-
 ποιῇ, τῇ δὲ ὑπερμάχῳ καὶ νικοποῖῳ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἀρματῆλασίαν τῆσ σῆσ
 ἡγεμονίας ἀνατιθέμενοσ, ἀσματογραφεῖσ τοὺσ ὑμνητηριοὺσ καὶ προπορεύη 310
 φιλοτίμωσ ἐξάδων τὰ χαριστήρια. | μὴ γένοιτό σοι γῆρας μηδὲ θάνοισ, εἰ O 188v
 δυνατόν. ἀλλάττοιτό σοι κατὰ τὸν θεῖον προφήτην ἡ ἰσχύσ καὶ ἀνακαίνιζοιτο,
 καὶ πτεροφυήσεισ ὡς ἀετός, ὡς ἂν εὐδαιμονῇ τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὑπορρεῖ δὲ ἅπαν
 τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ διαμένη εὐπτόητον, καὶ ὠμόῦπνον ἀνεγείροιτο ἐκ τῆσ ἄγαν

281 μάκτρα O 289 ἐγκωμίων O 292 θοιμάν O 296 - 297 κατέχει καὶ
 συνέχει O 379 ἀκμαιοτέρα E 299 φιλανθρωπίας O 302 ὑπέχειν τῷ νικη-
 τικῷ E 307 παραιτεῖ O 311 φιλοτιμῶν E νικητήρια O 313 an legen-
 dum πτεροφυήσεαις ?

315 πτοίας καὶ τῷ παρατυχόντι ἐκδειματούμενον. δοίη σοι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῷ
 ἐν καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀδελφοῖς υἱῷ ἐκλέκτῳ ὁ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλεὺς, καὶ
 οὕτω τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀργήσοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ αἱ ζιβύναι τούτοις εἰς δρέπανα
 μεταποιηθήσονται. εἰρήνης ἐξάρχεις, ὅτι τοῦτο βασιλικόν· καταλύεις πολέ-
 320 τευμα· τὴν εὐνομίαν διατηρεῖς· δικαιοσύνην διώκεις καὶ ἐπικαταλαμβάνεις
 τὸ δίκαιον.

καὶ κατάλεγέ μοι, δικορρητόρων ἢ φάλαγξ, τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ νεαρὰ
 διατάγματα, τὴν διόρθωσιν τοῦ χωλεούντος, τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐνδέον-
 325 τος. διηγοῦ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος βαθεῖαν φρένα καὶ εὐεπτήβολον· πῶς καὶ
 ὑμῶν τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ φῶς καὶ λύχνος οὗτος ἐγένετο, καὶ εὐρέθη ὡς ὀρθρὸς
 ἔτοιμος τὸ προφητικόν, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν σκοτεινῶν διελεύκανεν.
 ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνιστόρει τὸν πολιοῦχον, τὸν πολυμήχανον, τὸν εὐμήχανον, τὰ
 E 136 τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρύματα, τὰ τῆς γῆς ὀχυρώματα, | τὸν παράκτιον κολωνόν,
 τὸν ἐνάλιον σκόπελον, ὅπως ἦλοις τὰ ξύλα συνέβαλεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ βάθος διή-
 330 κουσι, καὶ τὸ κύτος ὕλης ἐπλήρωσεν εἰς θεμελίου χρεῖαν ἀρκούσης τοῖς ἐρ-
 ματίζουσιν, καὶ ἤδρασεν ἐν τούτοις τὸ πελάγιον τεῖχος, λίθον προσκόμματος.
 φράξε μοι τὸν ζωστήρα τῆς ὑγρᾶς τὸν σιδήρεον, τὸ χαλκήλατον σχοίνιον,
 τὸ τρίπλοκον, τὸ παρὰ τῇ γραφῇ ἀρραγές. τῶν βαρβαρικῶν δρομώνων τὸ ἀπο-
 335 τείχισμα, τῆς πειρατικῆς τριήρους τὸ κατασόφισμα, τῆς ἐσπέρας καὶ τῆς
 ἔω τὸν σύνδεσμον. κοσμεῖτω σου τὸν λόγον ἢ ἀγλαία τῆς πόλεως, ὃ ἐπι-
 σκευασμὸς τῶν τειχέων, αἱ τούτων ἐπιβολαί, αἱ τῶν ἐπάλξεων στεφάναι αἱ
 νεοποίητοι, ὁ τοσοῦτος ἄπας περίβολος ἀρθείς ἐπὶ τὸ μετεωρότερον. ὦ πό-
 340 σης εὐδαιμονίας, ἥ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀγαθουργίας, τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐνέ-
 πλησε καὶ περὶ ταῦτα διεπονήθη φιλοτιμότερον· καὶ δεῦρο ἢ τῆς θείας ἱεραρ-
 χίας ἀκρότης, οἱ τελετάρχαι τῆς μυστικῆς ἀγιστείας, οἱ παναγεῖς οἰκονόμοι
 τῆς χάριτος, ὑψώσατε φωνήν, ὡς ἐν σάλπιγγι τὰς αὐτοκρατορικὰς μεγαλο-
 πρεπείας ἀνακηρύξατε, τὸν θεῖον ζῆλον, τῶν ἔργων τὴν περιφάνειαν, τὰ
 χρυσῷ περίλαμπρα τρίγλυφα, τῶν ἱερῶν ὀρόφων (τὰ) τορευτὰ ὑποστρώματα,
 345 τὰς προσφυῶς τὰς ἄκρας τῶν χρωμάτων αὐγὰς ἀλλήλαις καταμιγνυούσας,
 τῶν ψηφίδων συνθέσεις εἰς ἄκραν ἐμφέρειαν τοῦ διαγραφομένου θεοῦ μορ-
 φώματος, τὰς ἐκ τούτων χρυσοφόρους στοὰς καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν λάινον ταῖς
 μαρμαρυγαῖς τῶν πολυχρῶν λίθων περιαστράπτοντα, ὃν τὰ τῶν ἀγλαοφα-
 νῶν ἱερῶν σηκῶν ἐνέδυσαν ἀναστήματα, ἅμα πληγέντα καὶ πεσόντα δεινῶς,
 ἅμα δ' ἀναστάντα καὶ διασκευασθέντα λαμπρότερον, τὰς ἐπετείους ἀπαρχάς,

324 διηγοῦ om. E 325 καὶ ante φῶς om. E 326 ἡμῖν O 329 συν-
 ἔλαβε O 330 ἐρματίζουσι O 333 δρομώνων O 335 σου om. O
 336 οἱ...στέφανοι O 338 ἢ om. O ἐνέπλησεν O 344 καταμιγνυούσαις E
 345 θείους O

τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸν ὄγκον, τὴν αἴγλην τῆς γραφῆς τὴν πάντας ὀφθαλμούς 350
 καὶ εὐωχοῦσαν καὶ ἐπιστρέφουσιν, τοὺς κουφισμοὺς τῆς ἀχθιδόνος καὶ τῶν
 φόρων τὴν ἄνεσιν τοῖς μέν, τοῖς θειοτάτοις λέγω τεμένεσιν, ἐπιφιλοτιμη-
 θεῖσαν ἰδίως ἐφ' ὅσοις νεωκοροῦσιν οἱ τῆς μυστικῆς τελεταρχίας ἐξάρχοντες,
 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κοινῶς διαβᾶσαν, ὅσοι κατὰ πᾶσαν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκη-
 πτουχίας τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τὴν φωτοποιὸν καὶ θειότερον ἐτελέσθησαν μύησιν. 355
 οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἰωσήφ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν τῆς Αἰγύ-
 πτου βεβήλων μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ φιλότιμον, καὶ κατὰ λόγους ἄλλους οἰκο-
 νομίας τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις τὰ τοῦ ἔργου συγκαταλέγεται. μετὰ τούτους καὶ
 σύ, ὁ στρατιώτης, διατόροις κατακελάδει φωναῖς τὰ ὑπερφῶν τοῦ βασιλέως
 πλεονεκτήματα,—ἰδοὺ καὶ τῇ σῇ παρόδῳ τὰς βαλβίδας ὑπανῆκε τὸ Πανελ- 360
 λήνιον,—τὴν τῆς φύσεως δεξιότητα, τῆς πολεμικῆς ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἔνδειξιν,
 τὰς ἀγχιστροφούς περιδινήσεις καὶ τὸ περιὸν τῆς ῥωμαλεότητος· ὅπως μιᾷ
 πληγῇ τρεῖς κελλητίζοντας ἐξεσφαίρισε, θαῦμα καὶ ἰδέσθαι καὶ ἐνώτισα-
 σθαι· καὶ ὅπως κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς Ἀκαρνᾶνας σιδηροφορῶν μονονουχί 365
 συμπέφυκε τῇ σκευῇ. λέγε πῶς ὁ ἀρκτῶος κρυμὸς καὶ ὁ τοῦ θέρους καύσων
 εὐκρασίας ἀέρων ἡδίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, καὶ Πλειὰς δύνουσα καὶ ἐπιτέλλων
 Ὠρίων τοῦτον θαμὰ τοῖς πολέμοις ἔχουσιν ἐπιπίπτοντα, καὶ τὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις
 τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀκόρεστον ἔρωτα πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν εἰρήνης τρέποντά τε καὶ
 μεταβάλλοντα. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐδ' εἰς πεῖραν χειρῶν ἔλθειν ὅλως ὑπέμειναν,
 ἀλλ' ἤρκεσεν ὁ φόβος τὰ τῆς πείρας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰς μὲν εἰς δορα- 370
 τίων ἄφεσιν οὐκ ἀπέτειναν, εἰς δὲ σπονδὰς καὶ συνθήκας καὶ λίαν εὐθύ-
 μως ἤπλωσαν. | καταριθμεῖ τὰ ἐν ὑπερορίοις δαπέδοις καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἱππη-
 λάσια, τὰς ἀγρονόμους διαίτας, τοὺς ἐξαγριουμένους ἀέρας, τοὺς φρουράρ-
 χας καὶ τοὺς φρουρούς, οὓς κατὰτάττειν οἶδεν ἐπιστημόνως τῷ ὑπὲρκῶ τὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν κατακτώμενος, καὶ ἅπαν μὲν ἐξοριάζων τὸ λυμαινόμενον, ἀντει- 375
 σάγων δὲ ἀπανταχῇ τὸ σωτήριον, καὶ μεθιστῶν τὰ δυσχερῆ πρὸς εὐπάθειαν,
 τὰ κατὰ Παιόνων στρατολογήματα, τὰ κατὰ Περσῶν καὶ Κιλικίων σεμνολο-
 γήματα, τῶν παριστρίων πειρατῶν τὴν πανωλεθρίαν, τὰ Παννονίων εἵτου
 Γηπαίδων ἄλλεπάλληλα πτώματα, δι' ἃ καὶ Σκύθης ὑπέκυψε καὶ Σαυρομά-
 της ἐδούλευσε, καὶ συνεστάλη πᾶν τὸ ἀλλόφυλον, τὴν εὐοχωτάτην ἱππείαν, 380
 τὴν εὐστοχωτάτην τοξείαν, τὴν διαρκεστάτην ὀπλοφορίαν, τῶν ἀρίστων ἔρ-
 γων τὴν αὐτουργίαν. πῶς καὶ Περσῶν πολλάκις παρατάξεις φρακτὸς ἀκον-
 τίστης ἐξορμήσας διέλυσε, τοὺς μὲν διατεμών, τοὺς δὲ ζωγρήσας, ἄλλους
 ἀκρωτηριάσας, ἐνίους δὲ λωβησάμενος. καὶ ὅπως καὶ Δακῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους
 ἀνέϊλε μόνος τοῦ πλήθους ὑπεκδραμὼν καὶ παμπληθεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ προσε- 385

358 ἐπαινουμέναις E συγκαταλέγεται O 360 τὰς om. O 364 σιδηροφο-
 ρεῖν codd. 366 ἰδίῳ O 368 πρέποντά O 375 ἅπας O μὲν om. E
 379 Γηπιδῶν E 382 παρατάσεις O

νεχθείς, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους ἀνταίρειν φιλονεικοῦντας ταῖς πυκναῖς ἐφόδοις ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ βάλλων αὐτόχειρ καὶ προχωρῶν αὐτόπους καὶ ἐφιστάμενος καὶ πλήττων αὐτοσώματος χανεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν ἐπεύχεσθαι κατηνάγκασε,
 O 189 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπειρηκότας ναυάγιον, | καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπικείμενον κίνδυνον
 390 μὴδὲ καιρὸν ἀνιεμένους λαβεῖν προσελεύσεώς τε καὶ ὑποπτώσεως. προστί-
 θει τοῖς εἰρημένους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς εὐτολμίας ὑποτυπώματα, καὶ σοι δια-
 τρανούσθω τὸ ἐν δεινοῖς ἀκατάπληκτον· παρδάλεις οἰστρουμένας καὶ ἄρκτους
 ὠρουμένας ὑποδείκνυε τῷ φιλοθεάμονι.

ἡ πάρδαλις τὸ ζῶον ἵταμον τὸ θηρίον καὶ βλοσυρόν· πῦρ ἐμβλέπει,
 395 φρίττει τὴν λοφίαν, τὴν δειρὴν ὀρθιάζει ὀξύ τι καὶ μανικὸν ἐναλλόμενον ἀν
 τοῖς στέρνοις περιφέρων σφοδρὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐναυλιζόμενον τοῦ θυμοῦ. ἐπισυνάγει
 δὲ κατὰ γραμμὴν εὐθεῖαν καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς, δεινὸν τι καὶ φρικαλέον ἐπιχαλᾷ
 καὶ τὸ ἐπισκύνιον, καὶ τὴν χαίτην ἐλευθέραν ἐπαῖρον, ὑπὸ μυκτῆρσιν ὀρθοῖς
 μακρὸν καὶ κοῦφον ἀνασκιρτᾷ, τὰς ἀκωκὰς τῶν ὀνύχων ὀξυπαγεῖς ὑπὸ
 400 πλατείαις ταῖς βάσεσι προισχύμενον, στέρνων καὶ γαστέρα καὶ τὸ εἰς ὄνυχα
 ἦκον τὰ πάντα λάσιον, στικτὸν καὶ ἀμφιλαφές, ἐκ βοροῦ τοῦ γενείου τοὺς
 ὀδόντας ὑποφαίνων καρχάρους τε καὶ βορούς. ὥς δεινὰ ταυτὶ τὰ θήρια καὶ
 πτοιαλέον τίθησι καὶ τὸν θρασυκάρδιον. σὺ δε φράζε πῶς ἐπετόλμησε καὶ
 τούτοις ὁ γενναϊότατος βασιλεύς, καὶ κύνας Λάκαινας καὶ τὴν τούτων ῥινη-
 405 λασίαν παραιτησάμενος, καὶ δορυφόρων πληθὺν καὶ συμμορίαν ἐπακτῆρων
 ἀποπεμψάμενος, ἀνεμοτρεφὲς καὶ στερρὸν ἐπαντείνατο τὸ προβόλιον. ἀνε-
 σείσθη τὸ ἔλος· ἐξέθορε τῆς λόχμης ὁ θῆρ· οὐ μόνος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλος
 ὁμοῦ, ζευγὸς ἐρινυῶδες σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἀτίθασσον καὶ λανθάνειν οὐκ ἀνεχό-
 μενον. καὶ βάλλεται μὲν ὁ μείων ὑπὸ θαρροῦντος πρότερον τοῦ ἱππότου ὄλη
 410 χειρὶ βαρεῖα καὶ σθεναρᾷ, μήπω μὴδὲ φθάσας ἀνασκιρτῆσαι, μὴδὲ τῷ ἀντι-
 μάχῳ ἐπιπεσεῖν, καὶ παραχρῆμα νεκροῦται τὴν πληγὴν καιρίαν μάλα ἀπε-
 νεγκάμενος· ὁ δέ, ὁ μείζων καὶ ταραχὴν ἐμποιῆσαι δεινὸς καὶ συγχέαι
 καὶ τὸν ἄγαν ἀκαταπτότητον, καὶ ἀνασκιρτᾷ καὶ ὄρμᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔτι με-
 E 137 τέωρος φέρεσθαι ἔνθα τὸ συνάπτον τὴν πλάτην τῇ δέρῃ διελάσαν τὸ ἀκόν-
 415 τιον | ὑποδέχεται, ἅμα δ' ἐγγίσας καὶ τὴν ἄνω γένυν τῷ ξίφει πλήττεται,
 καὶ συνεκκόπτεται καὶ τὰς γνάθους καὶ διαδονεῖται καὶ κατασπᾶται ὁ δεινὸς
 ἐκεῖνος καὶ φρικαλέος εἰς γῆν, οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν τῶν ἀπολέκτων καὶ τῷ
 σπαίρειν ἐκδειματῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ νεκρούμενος. ὦ οἷον τοῦτον εἶδον
 ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκτάδην κείμενον.

420 ἔχει μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα. καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἥρωος πρᾶξις αἰεὶ νικᾷ, καὶ χαίρει
 καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡττώμενος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι λιχνεύεται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ τῆς παροιμίας

388 χανεῖν αὐτοῖς om. O 394 βλοσυρόν E ἐμβέπει O 398 ἐλεύθε-
 ρον O 401 τὰ om. O 403 τίθησιν E ἐπετόλμησας O 407 ἄλλο O
 411 μάλα καιρίαν O 417 καὶ E

Σκύθης, ὃ φασι, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ὁ λίθος αὖθις ἀδιάντος καὶ
 σκληρὸς καὶ ἐψόμενος διέμεινεν εἰς μακρόν, ὅτι περ ὁ Παίων τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ
 πάλιν ἀρρώστημα, κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀμαρτημάτων δε-
 σμούς, ἐδέσμευσε, καὶ ἐνετάκη τῷ ψεύδει, καὶ τὴν ὁσιότητα ἐβδελύξατο. 425
 εἶπεν 'σὺν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ποιήσω καὶ τὰ ὄρκια ἐξορχήσομαι· ἐνδύσομαι τὴν δύναμιν
 τοῦ βραχίονός μου καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι οἰχέσθωσαν. οὐκ ἐλογίσατο ὅτι τὸ πρό-
 σωπον κυρίου ὁρᾷ εὐθύτητας καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ
 τὴν γραφὴν· καὶ ῥήματα ἀνδρὸς ἀληθίνου κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἰὼβ ἀγαθὰ οὐχ
 ἡγήσατο· ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων ἀλγημάτων ἴαμα οὐκ ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς 430
 ἀλγημασιν ἀλγημα οὐ προσέθετο. δειλαινόμενος δὲ καθάπερ ὁ πολὺπους διὰ
 τὸ πάθος ἀπὸ χροᾶς εἰς χροᾶν μεταμορφάζεται. οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πῇ μὲν ἀπε-
 ποιεῖτο τὸ ἄστοργον, πῇ δὲ μετενεδύετο τὴν ἀλωπεκὴν καὶ τὸν ἄπουν καὶ
 τὸν ἀκίνητον ὑπεκρίνετο, πῦρ ὑπὸ σποδιᾷ κρύπτων, γνῶμην πονηράν ὑπ' εὐ-
 νοίας προσχήματι· καὶ διετίθει τὸν δόλον καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὠμήρευσεν, συνα- 435
 σπισμούς εἰς ἀντιστάσιαν καὶ ἀντιπαράταξιν μηχανώμενος, ὅπως λαθὼν
 ἐπιχάνοι τινὲς τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ φίλιον καὶ τι τούτου παρασυλήσεται. ὅθεν καὶ
 συνέλαβεν ἀνομίαν καὶ πόνον ὠδίνησεν τὸν ἀτίθασσον, φθόνον ἑαυτοῦ προ-
 στησάμενος καὶ εἰς θυμοὺς ἀκαίρους ἀποταυρούμενος. καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀγρονόμον
 Δάκα τὸν ὀριτρόφον μετέλθεν ὅλον καὶ ὑπεσπείσατο, ἔθνος πολυσπερὲς καὶ 440
 εὐπερίοριστον οὐμενοῦν, προχοαῖς Ἰστρίασι περικλυζόμενον, καὶ Βουμελίων
 καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος ἄχρι παρεκτεινόμενον, παραπτόμενον ἡόνων Ἀδρίου, καὶ
 περιοικοῦν τὸν Ἰόνιον, περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀγνωμονέστατον, μήτε φιλίας
 χάριν εἰδὸς μήτε τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ ἐπιμελείας καὶ προμηθείας τὴν δουλικὴν
 ὑπηρεσίαν μέχρι πέρατος ἀντιχαρίζόμενον, πετρῶν ῥωγάδας καὶ γῆς ὅπας 445
 ἀποκρύφους ὑποδύμενον, περὶ τὴν παρακειμένην διερπύζων ὕλην ἐν καιρῷ
 καὶ κρυπτόμενον, εἰς λήθην παραγγέλματος προχειρότατον, καὶ κρημνοῖς
 ἀμφιρρόποις καὶ ὄρεσι τραχέσιν ἐνδιαττώμενον. τὸ πολυάριθμον οὖν τοῦτο
 καὶ εὐμετάγωγον ὁ Παίων ὑπαγαγόμενος στράτευμα, ὅτι ταῖς συχναῖς ἐξ
 ἀφροσύνης κακώσεις ἐξελύττησεν, ἀνέσχε τὴν δειρὴν καὶ εἰς κενταυρικὸν 450
 καὶ ἀγέρωχον καὶ πάλιν ἦθος ἐξώλισθε, καὶ τῶν ταλάντων τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
 ἄρτι πειράσασθαι ἀπεμάχετο, μήποτε ὑπενδῶσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπεραρθῇσεται.
 τοιοῦτους ὑπὸ κόλπων θάλπων τοὺς λογισμούς, καὶ τῶν ὀρκίων παραχαράξας
 τοὺς γνῶμονας, ἐν βουλαῖς ἀδοκίμοις κατεπαννύχιζε, καὶ ῥύμαις ἀλλοκότοις
 κατεβακχεύετο. τὸ γὰρ ἀκουσίως ὑποτεταγμένον τοιοῦτον καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· 455

422 φασιν E 423 καὶ O διέμεινε O 424 παλαι O 426 εἰ-
 πόντα O 427 τὸ om. E 436 ἀντιπαράτασιν O 437 παραπληγήσεται O
 438 ἑαυτῷ O 439 ἀποσταυρούμενος O 443 τὸ Ἰόνιον O εὐγνωμονέστατον O
 445 ῥωγάδας O 446 ἀποδύμενον O διερπύζων O 449 συχναῖς: σαῖς O
 450 κενταυρισμόν E 451 καὶ ante πάλιν om. E 452 μήτε... ὑπεραρθῇσονται O
 455 ὑποτεταμένον O οὗτος O

- E 137^v στασιάζει καιροῦ λαβόμενον καὶ ἀντεξανίσταται· | τὸ δὲ τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῆς
 εὐνοίας κρατούμενον βεβαίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν τὴν εὐπίθειαν. τῷ τοίνυν
 τῆς ἀνευσταθοῦς φρενὸς εὐρίπῳ φερόμενος τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπι-
 βούλους χεῖρας ἐπέβαλε, καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς χαρακτῆρας ταύτης ἐνόθευσε,
 460 τοὺς τιθέντας ὄρους μετέπηξε, κατέλυσε αὐτοὺς ὡς ὁδοὺς, παρὰ τὰς αὐλακάς
 τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου πεπλάνητο. τὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνο πιότατον καὶ ἔμβιον ὡς
 εἶπεῖν, τὸ Σίρμιον, ἐμελέτησεν ὑποσπασσάσθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν παριστρίων πεδίων
 ἐπέκεινα, ἐν φυλέταις ἀλλογλώσσοις καὶ ἔνθεσιν ἀλλοθρόοις καὶ πόλεσι με-
 γίσταις καὶ χώραις ἐπιγραφαῖς γεωγραφούμενα, ὅποσα τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων
 465 εὐκλεσεστάτοις κληροδοτήμασιν ὁ τῶν πώποτε σκηπτούχων ἐξοχώτατος τρο-
 παιοῦχος καὶ νικητῆς αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸ μικροῦ συνῆψε καὶ συναπένειμε. τί
 O 189^v γοῦν οὗτος | αὐτὸς τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περιλάλητον ὄνομά τε καὶ ἄκουσμα ;
 ὁ τῆς ὕλικῆς δυάδος ἐπέκεινα νοῦς, ὁ πεπυκνωμένος καὶ ἀπὸ πείρας καὶ
 ἀπὸ φύσεως, ἐπίσης φεύγων ἐκάτερα καὶ τάχος ἀπερίσκεπτον καὶ μέλλῃσιν
 470 ἄπρακτον, λέων, ὃ φασι, μετὰ ξίφους, ἐπέρχεται πρότερον τῷ τὴν ἀποστα-
 σίαν προαλεστάτην ποιησαμένῳ λασιοκώφῳ Δακί, πάνυ βραχεῖαν καὶ ὅση
 παρευρέθη καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ τὴν ἔπτον ἐπισυρόμενος, καὶ ἐμβριμᾶται
 μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ μετὰ κυρείας βραχίονος. καὶ ἐθρύβη τὰ ὄρη ἀπὸ προσώπου
 αὐτοῦ ἐρχομένου συναγαγεῖν κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς
 475 τοῦ ἀποστατήσαντος, τοῦ πᾶσαν διεξεληλυθότος πληγὴν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρε-
 πτικῶν μαστίγων καταφρονήσαντος. ὁ δὲ νυκτὶ ὁμοιώθη ὅτι ξέναις ἀμαρ-
 τίαις καὶ παραβάσεσιν ἐκοινώνησε, καὶ εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου ἅμα τῷ Παίονι
 συνελοῦσατο, καὶ ἐμολύνθη, τὸ παροιμιῶδες, πίσης ἀψάμενος, καὶ ἀνθρακος
 γυμῶ ποδὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπιψαύειν, τὸ Σολομώντειον, δειμαινόμενος ἐξε-
 480 πλάγῃ· ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπεστάλῃ· ὑποσταλεὶς ὑπετάγῃ· ὑποταγείς ἐπέδωκεν εἰς
 ἀνετασμούς ἐαυτόν, εἰς δουλείαν ἐσχάτην, εἰς ὑπουργίαν καὶ αὐτουργίαν
 αὐτοπροαίρετον τῷ βασιλικῷ στρατοπέδῳ συνέκδημον, εἰς οὐραγὸν ὀπισθό-
 πουν, εἰς προμετωπιδίους φαλαγγαρχίας ὑπηρετούμενον. πνεῦμα γάρ, φησι,
 κεκραγὸς ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ ἀκηδιώσῃ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἤκουσε τὸ προ-
 485 φητικόν, συνάχθητι καὶ συνδέθητι ἔθνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι
 ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνθος παραπορευόμενον. διὰ τί γὰρ ὅλως γεγόνατε ἀλλοτρίων
 ἐμέτων παράσιτοι, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνησθε τοῖς ἐκείνων βορβόροις τὰς ἐαυτῶν
 καρδίας καταμαίινοντες. ἀνομία γὰρ ἀνόμου οὐ μὴ κακώσῃ τὸν ἄνομον ἐν
 ᾧ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦ.
 490 οὐκοῦν τῷ Παίονι διασκεδάσθῃ τὸ διαβούλιον καὶ ἀπέπτῃ καὶ ἡ με-
 γάλῃ ἐλπίς, καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην συνέσχεν ὁ πίθος ἀλλὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὀχυρώμασι

460 παρὰ: περὶ codd 461-467 τὸ τῆς γῆς...τί γοῦν οὗτος in O legi
 non potest 470 φασιν E τὸ O 471 προβουλεστάτην E 475 διεληλυθό-
 τος O τῶν: τοῦ O 479 δειλαινόμενος O 482 βασιλικῷ O 484 κεκρα-
 γὸς O 486 γὰρ om. E 488 τὸ O 490 αὐτὴν O 491 ὀχυρώμασιν E

συνεξέπεσε, καὶ εἰς μοῖραν ἀντιμάχου ἀντικατέστη ὁ σύμμαχος καὶ τῆς φθο-
 ρᾶς τοὺς μίτους αὐτῆς ἐπέκλωθεν. ὥς γοῦν οὕτως ὁ Δᾶξ ἐν ἀποτόμοις ἀκρω-
 ρείαις κινδύνου γέγονε καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ καρδίας ἐξιλάσατο τὸν εὐμείλικτον,
 καὶ τῇ τῆς ἐσχάτης δουλώσεως ζεύγλῃ τὸ τοῦ τραχήλου νεῦρον ὑπέθετο, καὶ 495
 τὸν δοθέντα ὑπεδέξατο ἀρχηγόν, ᾧ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ κατηγ-
 γυήσατο, τὰ μὲν τῆς κατὰ τῶν Παιόνων παρατάξεως ἤδη προπύλαια ἡτοι-
 μάζετο, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τελεσιουργὸν πρᾶξιν πάντα προκατεβάλλετο. κατὰ
 τακτικὰς διαιρέσεις ἡ πληθὺς κατετάττετο· ἐν κόσμῳ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ συγ-
 κεκροτημένη ἐνώσει προκεχώρηκε τὰ στρατεύματα· κατεπήγνυντο αἱ σκηναί· 500
 ἐπληροῦτο τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὰ προαύλια ἅμα καὶ τὸ προσκήνιον· καὶ ἕκαστος
 ἑώρα δεινὸν καὶ τὸν εὐκλεᾶ μετεπορεύετο θάνατον. ἀνέφριττε τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ πρὸς ἀνάρρουν τῷ | ἐναντίῳ ὑπανακοπτόμενον πνεύματι, καὶ ὑπε- 138
 φαίνεται μέλαν τῷ οἰδαινομένῳ ὑποπίπτον καὶ σκιαζόμενον. ἔφριττον καὶ τὰ
 περὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ Ἰστρου τῇ ἀνατάσει τῶν πυκνῶν μελιῶν, καὶ ὥς ἐν 505
 παροχθίαις ὕλαις ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν τούτοις κατεσκιάζετο. τὰ δὲ πυρὰ πολλὰ καὶ
 ταῦτα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὑπανεκαίετο. αἱ δὲ σκηναὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ταύταις ἐξε-
 τείνετο τὰ σχοινίσματα. ἤρθησαν αἱ σημαῖαι· ἀνήπτοντο οἱ φρυκτοί· τὸ
 ἐνυάλιον ἐξηχεῖτο ὀρθιόν τε καὶ Δώριον. πλήρη καὶ τῶν μονήρων καὶ τῶν
 διήρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλως χρησίμων ἦσαν καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ οἱ ναυλόχοι. συνε- 510
 κόπτετο τοῖς φαινομένοις ὁ Παῖων, καὶ ὥς διακοπῇ φραγμοῦ συνεστῶτα
 οὐκ εἶχε τὰ φαῦλα ἔργα αὐτοῦ. ἐνωτίζετο γὰρ «ἐπεὶ ἐστράφης καὶ ἐποίησας
 πονηρά, οὐ μὴ ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ ἐλάλησας». καὶ καθεστὼς
 ὥς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ διὰ τὸ μετὰμελον, ἐν οἷς διενοεῖτο συνέτρεχε τοῖς τοῦ
 Ἀσματος, «ἐξεδυσάμην τὸν χιτῶνά μου, πῶς ἐνδύσομαι αὐτόν;» ἐνεπίμπρα 515
 γὰρ αὐτὸν καταθεωμένη ἡ καταπύρφυρος κλισιάς. καὶ ὥς ἐν ἐσχάτοις κακοῖς
 ἐνεμερίμνα τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν συμβουλαῖς ἐπιλυχνίους κατέτεινε τῷ
 τοῦ πράγματος μεγέθει ἐναποπληττόμενος τὴν διάνοιαν. ἅπαν ὅπλον ῥίπτειν
 πολεμιστήριον ἤθελε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀποτόμου ἀθρόον εἰς τὸ ἐνδύσιμον κατε-
 κλίνετο· κατασχεῖν ἠντιβόλει τὸν βασιλέα τὴν χεῖρα ἅμα θώρακι καὶ τῇ 520
 καθηκούσῃ σκευῇ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην καταρτυόμενον. ἀντίπορθμος τῷ χεῖλει
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρεκάθητο, καὶ θαλερὸν οἰμώζων ἐλιτάζετο θερμῷ τῷ ῥεύματι
 τῶν δακρύων καταβρέχων τὸν ἱούλον. ἐχρηματίζετο διὰ πρέσβεων, ὅσα καὶ
 γλώττῃ τούτοις ἐχρῆτο, ὅλοις ἰστίοις τοῦ λογισμοῦ τῷ στέμματι τοῦ τρο-
 παιοῦχου κοσμήτορος τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας καὶ προσριπτούμενος 525
 καὶ ὑποφερόμενος. καταδειμαινόμενος γὰρ καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ σύσκειος ἰκέτης

492 ἀντεκατέστη O 493 ἀπέκλωθεν O γὰρ O ὁ Δᾶξ om. O 494 ἐν
 om. E 497 τῶν om. O 498 κατὰ : καὶ O 508 φρακτοὶ O 512 ἐπὶ E
 514 τὸν E 512 ἐνεπίπρα E ἀνεπίμπρα O 515 ἐνεδυσάμην O 516 ἀναθεω-
 μένη O 517 ἀνεμερίμνα E κατέτεινε O 520 θώραξι O 521 κατοικοῦσῃ O

- προσήρχετο· τὴν Ἡράκλειον παρηγεῖτο διασκευὴν· ἀπετίναττε τὴν λεοντὴν·
τὸ ῥόπαλον ἀπεπέμπετο. πυγμαῖος χαμαίζηλος ὑπάκουος τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ
ἐγγραφῆναι ἤντιβόλει, καὶ προμηθεύεσθαι ἐταπεινοῦτο. τὴν ταινίαν, τοὺς
530 στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀρμούς, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τοὺς μαργαρίτιδας λίθους ἀπέρ-
ριπτεν ὑπόσπονδος αὐτόμολος, καὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ἀπερίττω στολῇ ἑαυτὸν
διασκευαζόμενος ὅλον ὑπεδίδου τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ περὶ τοῦτον οἰκιδίῳ
συνέταττεν, ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ πολὺς ἀρχηγός, καὶ τὰ τῶν Καισάρων ἐκείνων καὶ
τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἰουλίων καὶ περιποιούμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ διεξιδιούμενος. οἱ τῆς
535 Παιονίας πρέσβεις προσελιπάρουν τὴν ἀνοχὴν ὡς εἶδον καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπετα-
σθεῖσαν τὴν φοινικίδα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως κνήμας καὶ τὰ περικαλλῆ
σφύρα σιδηρένδυτα. πᾶν ὅτι καταθύμιον τῇ τούτου θεοστεφεῖ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐκεῖθεν
μετεκομίζετο. ὠμηρεύετο τὰ τῆς καταθέσεως, καὶ ἄλλοις μὲν ἄλλα τε καὶ
τῷ τῆς Βοεμίας ἀρχηγῷ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπισήμους δυναστείας ἀνεζωσμένοις
540 ὅσους ὁ Παιονάρχης εἰς ἐχέγγυον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας παρεστήσατο καὶ
παρέδωκεν, τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίας παραθεμένους, ἀλλὰ γε δὴ καὶ τὰς κεφα-
λὰς, εἰ περιτρώσει τὰς συνθεσίας ὑφ' αἷς ἰδοῦ τοῦτον ὁ θεοειδὴς σκηπτοῦχος
παρκαληθεὶς ἐπένευσε παραδέξασθαι.
- E 138v τίνα τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ; ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ τῆς Παιονίας συνήχθησαν ἄρχον-
545 τες, οὐχί, τὸ | τοῦ εἰπόντος σοφοῦ, εἷς οἰκοδομῶν καὶ εἷς καθαιρῶν ἐγένετο,
O 190 καὶ ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ συνεχεῖντο αἱ γλῶσσαι καὶ ἐμερίζοντο. ἐκ συμφωνίας δὲ
καὶ ἄκρας ἐνώσεως ἤδη καὶ τῶν τῆς τοῦ | πολέμου συρρήξεως ἀνεγερθέντων
σημείων καὶ καταστάσης τῆς συμβουλῆς εἰς ἀρχὰς τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης διε-
πρεσβεύοντο, καὶ «δὸς ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην· πάντα γὰρ ἀπέδωκας» ἀνε-
550 κραύγαζον, «οὐκέτι γὰρ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον κινεῖν τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν
ἀγαπήσομεν· ἐξελίπομεν, ἐμαράνθημεν, οὐκέτι ἄφοβοι ἐσμεν, οὐδὲ ἐν πύλαις
αὐλισησόμεθα, τῶν ἀγαθῶν διδασκαλίων καθεστηκότες ἀνήκοοι, οὐ βαθύ-
χειλοι, οὐ βαρύγλωσσοι, οὐκ ἀλλόφωνοι, οὐδὲ στιβαροὶ τὴν φωνήν. ὥσει
καπνὸς ἐλεπτύνθημεν, καὶ ὥσει κόνις ἐξελικνώθημεν. ὥς χωνευτήριον πῦρ
555 εἰσπεπόρευσαι κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, καὶ ὥς πόα πλυνόντων, καὶ ἐχώνευσας
καὶ ἐδοκιμάσας ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐκπυρώσας ἐκαθάρισας καὶ ἐπαίδευσας. τὸ Σίρμιον
ἐρρέτω τὸ τῆς Παιονίας πιότατον, τὸ ἱππάσιμον καὶ κατάρρυτον· τῆς σῆς
ἔστω ἐξουσίας τοῦτο καὶ κυριότητος. ἄστρα μὲν δὴ προβέβηκε, παρῶχηκε
δὲ πλείω νύξ, τριτάτῃ δέ τε μοῖρα λέλειπται. ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῖν·
560 τὰ τῆς προθεσμίας μικρὸν ἤδη καὶ συμπεραίνεται. ἔστω τὰ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ
μέχρι τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν Δαρδάνων τῶν σῶν ὁρίων καὶ
- 527 ἀπετίνασσε O 530 ἀπέκρυπτεν O 531 ἑαυτῷ O 534 ἐξιδιοί-
μενος O 536 τὰ φοινικίδια O 538 τε : γε O 539 - 547 βοεμίας ἀρχηγῷ...
ἤδη καὶ τῶν τῆς in O vix legi potest 550 τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν κινεῖν O
βαθυ
553 βραδυγλωσσοι O 556 ἐκαθαίρισας O 558 τοῦτο ἐξουσίας E 559 τε :
τοι O 560 τῷ ἐντεῦθεν O

σχοινισμάτων, ἀπεσπάσθω τῶν ἡμετέρων, προσενούσθω τοῖς σοῖς. ἐφ' ὅσον
 τοῦ σοῦ δόρατος ἐφθασεν ἡ σκιά ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν σῶν πτερύγων πι-
 πτέτω, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐπέκεινα μόνον ἄνεις ἡμῖν. καὶ μὴ οὕτω φοβερὸς καὶ
 οἷα κατακαίων πρηστήρ ἐπίκεισο· μήκετι πλήξεις ἡμᾶς. πνεῦμα ἐξουσιάζοντος 565
 ἀνέβη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τόπον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀφήκαμεν, ὅτι καταπαύσει ἁμαρτίας με-
 γάλας ἱάμα. ἀπάλειψον ὡς νεφέλην τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς γνόφον τὰς ἁμαρ-
 τίας ἡμῶν. καὶ ὁ Χορβάτης καὶ ὁ Βοσναῖος τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγγραφήτωσαν
 ἄξουσιν. συγκαταλεγέσθωσαν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν σκηπτουχίαν καὶ ὁ ταινιούχος
 τῆς Παιονίας ναὸς καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦτον μητρόπολις, ἵνα ὁ τῶν Παιοναρχῶν 570
 βασιλείος στέφανος τῇ σῇ συνέχοιτο κραταιότητι. ὑπόφορά σοι ἔστω τὰ ὅλα
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνατιτλούσθωσαν κύρβεσι. γαιοδεσίας ἐκτίθεσο.
 δασμοφορεῖτω τὸ πᾶν ἐν τίτλοις· μηδὲν ἀσυντελὲς ἔστω, ὁ ἀρχηγός, οἱ ἱεραὶ
 ἀγελάρχαι, ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἱερομυστῶν, οἱ λογάδες τοῦ πλήθους, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ
 οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι, οἱ λογχοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν λοιπῶν παρατάξεων, οἱ τοῦ κοινο- 575
 τέρου καὶ σύγκλυδος λαοῦ ὅμιλοι, ἔνορκοι, εὐορκοι, ἀσφαλεῖς ὁμῶται, βέβαιοι
 κατεγγυηταί. ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀχράντοις λογίοις, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ θειοτέροις συμ-
 βόλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοις σεσώσμεθα ἀσφαλεστάτας μοι τὰς πίστεις δι-
 δόασιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχνος ἐνδοιασμοῦ ὑπολείποιτο. οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ἐκκρίτων ὁμηρεῦειν ἐπὶ ἀσφαλεῖ τῇ βεβαιώσει ἐμπαρεχόμενοι, σφρα- 580
 γῖσιν ἀδιαπτῶτοις τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν περικλείοντες τοῖς ἑνδεκα τούτων ἀγ-
 χιθύροις ἀρχηγοῖς ἐπιφανέσι καὶ περιόπτοις εἰς ἐχέγγυον ἐντελὲς καὶ ὀχύ-
 ρωμα ἀνεκμόχλευτον ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκόσι καὶ τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον.

τοιαύτης τῆς σῆς χειρὸς ἀπρωρημένης ἢ μᾶλλον ἐπικειμένης τοῖς Παί-
 οσι, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς ἐσχάτη ταπεινώσις. ἐταλάνισαν ἑαυ- 585
 τοὺς ὅτι σοι ὅλως ἀντικατέστησαν· ἐμακάρισαν ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι συνῆκαν καὶ ἐπε-
 στράφησαν, καὶ τοῖς κόλποις τοῖς σοῖς ἐνεθάλφθησαν, καὶ ζωογόνου αὔρας
 ἀπῆλαυσαν. περιεδύθησαν τὸ τῆς μελαίνης χιτῶνιον τῆς κατασχούσης κατη-
 φείας αὐτοῦς, καὶ σωτηρίου ἱμάτιον ἐνεδύσαντο. ἐθλίβησαν ὅτι περ ὀπίσω τῆς
 πονηρᾶς διανοίας αὐτῶν ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ τῆς καθεστηκυίας φρενὸς ἐξέπλευ- 590
 σαν. ἠὺφράνθησαν ὅτι μετεκυλίσθησαν, | καὶ ἐγένοντο ὡς κάλαμος ὑποκε-
 κυφῶς καὶ ἐμβολαῖς ἀνέμων ὑποκλινόμενος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐμεγαλύνθη σφόδρα,
 κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοί σου ἐνεβαθύνθησαν. καὶ προσελάβου
 καὶ τὰ ἀνέλπιστα, ὑψώσας τὸ κέρας ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην περιεδίνησας.
 τοιούτοις σε τοῖς ἄσμασι πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν Ἰορδάνην καταίροντα παραπέμπο- 595
 μεν. τοῖς εἰσιτηρίοις τοιούτοις σε δεξιούμεθα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἰδοὺ καὶ
 κοινότερον ἀνακράζομεν τὰς φῃδὰς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν τὴν ἐπινίκιον.

562 ὅσα 564 ἡμᾶς 567 νεφέλη O ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς γνόφον τὰς om. O
 569 συγκαταλεγέσθω O 570 τούτων O 573 τούτοις O 576 ἔνορκοι: ἄνορ-
 κοι O 578 συμβούλοις codd 580 αὐτῷ E 564 τοιαύτης codd χειρὸς om. E
 591 ἐξεκυλίσθησαν E 593 καὶ ante προσελάβου om. O

NOTES

4. *εἶτα* 'indignantis' is much affected as opening word of a speech or letter by Byzantine rhetoricians of the eleventh and twelfth century. Cf. Michael Psellus *ep.* 40 (Sathas, *M.B.* 5, 273), *Monodia in Georgium Vestiarium* (*Orbis Romanus* 5, 1936, 211), *In mercatorem factum advocatum* (*ibid.* 69), Eustathius *ep.* 50, Michael Akominatos *Paneg. in Isaac Angelum* (Lambros, 1, 208), *In sanctum Leonidem* (*ibid.* 1. 150), Theodore Prodromus *ep.* 2, *ep.* 3, *ep. ad Euthymium* (Papadimitriou, *Feodor Prodromi*, 305). Tzetzes ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 79 (ed. Massa Positano) says of such an example 'περισσῶς Ἀττικῶς κεῖται'.

5. *τὸν ἀετίτην λίθον*: Source is Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 2. 144 ἀετοὶ μὲν καὶ πελαργοὶ καλιὰς οὐκ ἂν πῆξαιτο μὴ πρότερον αὐταῖς ἐναρμόσαντες ὁ μὲν τὸν ἀετίτην λίθον ὁ δὲ τὸν λυχνίτην.

προεναρμόσεται: Not in lexica.

8. *τὸν πολυτελῆ κτλ.*: cf. LXX *Is.* 28. 16 Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελῆ, ἐκλεκτον, ἀκρογωνιαίον, ἐντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς.

10. *εἰ κεφαλὴν γωνίας*: cf. LXX *Ps.* 118 (117). 22 λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

20. *χερσομανής*: not in lexica: *χερσομανῶ* is cited from Gregory of Nazianzus. The phrase is probably a reminiscence of LXX *Is.* 41. 19 θήσω εἰς τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν κέδρον καὶ πύξον, μυρσίην καὶ κυπάρισσον καὶ λεύκην.

26. *καὶ οἱ λίθοι κτλ.* Cf. NT *Luc.* 19. 40 εἰάν οὕτω σιωπήσουσιν, οἱ λίθοι κρᾶξουσιν (v.l. κεκράξονται).

27. *εἴπερ τινὲς εἶεν κτλ.* The evident contemporary allusion escapes me.

δυσέκτρωτον: not in lexica.

30. *ἐσεῖται*: A Byzantine 'Atticism', cf. G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner*, 13.

32. *εἰς χιλίους κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Deut.* 32. 30 πῶς διώξεται εἰς χιλίους, καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας;

37. *οὐρανοκρότητον*: Not in lexica.

40. *δημαγωγίας*: 'generalship'. Cf. Hesych. *δημαγωγεῖ* στρατηγεῖ.

κενωμάτων: If the reading is right, the word must be used in some unattested technical military sense. It would be easy, but unwise, to conjecture *κινημάτων*.

42. *γνωματάρχης*: Not in lexica.

45. *ἐν βουλαῖς παννυχίῳ*: For the history of the theme of the nocturnal counsels of the monarch cf. the interesting excursus in B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, I, 1960, 388-389. The theme recurs in the present text, e.g. I. 454, 517.

49. *ὁ λόγος μέγας δυνάστης*: Cf. Gorgias, 'Ἐλένης ἐγκώμιον 8 [Diels-Kranz II, 290, 17-18], λόγος δυνάστης μέγας ἐστίν, ὃς σμικροτάτῳ σώματι καὶ ἀφανεστάτῳ θειότατα ἔργα ἀποτελεῖ.

55. *τὰς περιλάμπρους κιγκλίδας κτλ.* This passage seems to indicate that the lecture-room of the ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων was in the Great Palace. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, 52, is inclined to suppose that the school in the Church of the Apostles described by Nikolaos Mesarites about 1200 is the scene of activity of the ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων. But it is clearly a part of the Patriarchal School. In the eleventh century the ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων

taught, according to various scholars, in a church of St. Peter, a church of St. George, or a portico opposite the Senate House (cf. Fuchs, *op. cit.* 28 - 29). None of the arguments is conclusive. In view of the present passage, it may well be that the official lecture-room of the ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων continues to be in the Magnaura, as it had been in the time of Leo the Mathematician (Cf. Genesios p. 98, Theoph. Cont. 4. 26 p. 185).

60. *ἔννας* must be corrupt, though some geographical name parallel to 'Ἑλικῶνα' might be expected. The accentuation of the MSS is against the conjecture *εὐνάς*, with a possible reference to the chrysotriclinos in the Great Palace.

61, 62. *στρατογραφεῖν, στρατογράφιον*: Not in lexica.

74. *ὕθλολογία*: Not in lexica.

77. *ἡ ὄφης δανειζέτω κτλ.*: On the use of snakes' flesh in ancient *materia medica* cf. Cossen-Steier, *R.E.* IIA, 506. The image of snake's flesh as an antidote is common in the writings of Gregorios Palamas; cf. *Défense des Saints hésychastes* (ed. J. Meyendorff) I. 1. 11, I. 1. 20, II. 1. 15, etc. I have not identified the patristic text from which the image is no doubt drawn.

80. *ὀρθόετημα*: Not in lexica.

τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις σαγήνην: Cf. N.T. *Matth.* 13. 47 ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν σαγήνη βληθείσῃ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους συναγαγούσῃ.

86. *βρεφοκόμον*: Not in lexica.

87. *δυσδιάφικτον*: Not in lexica; Suidas has *δυσδιάφικτον*· *δυσχερῶς λανθάνον*, which is quite another meaning.

89. *τῆς πειθανάγκης τὸ ἐντεχρον*: 'The skill with which one is forced to a conclusion'. *πειθανάγκη* is glossed and supported by citations in Suidas.

91. *δυσεῖν*: On this form in Byzantine texts cf. Böhlig, *op. cit.* 69.

τοῦ τε is answered by *καὶ τοῦ* 1. 122.

92. *τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ἀόρατα κτλ.*: Cf. N.T. *Rom.* 1. 20 τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται.

106. *τῇ Σταγειρόθεν κελαίνῃ Σφιγγί*: I cannot find any parallel for this curious expression. The point presumably is that Aristotle's utterances require interpretation to be of any use.

110. *περισύρω τὸ χλωρὸν κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Gen.* 30. 37 καὶ περισύρων τὸ χλωρὸν ἐφαίνετο ἐπὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις τὸ λευκόν, ὃ ἐλέπισε, ποικίλον.

114. *ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Gen.* 30. 38 καὶ παρέθηκε τὰς ῥάβδους ἃς ἐλέπισεν ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς τῶν ποτιστηρίων τοῦ ὕδατος.

115. *εἰς Χριστὸν αἰχμαλωτίζων κτλ.*: Cf. N.T. II *Cor.* 10. 5 αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

118. *τὸ πικρὸν οὐ λέγω γλυκὺ κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 5. 20 οὐαὶ οἱ λέγοντες τὸ πονηρὸν καλόν, καὶ τὸ καλὸν πονηρὸν, οἱ τιθέντες τὸ σκότος φῶς καὶ τὸ φῶς σκότος, οἱ τιθέντες τὸ πικρὸν γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ πικρὸν.

123. *ἔδωκε σὲ ὑπερασπισμὸν σωτηρίας κτλ.*: Cf. Menander, π. ἐπιδεικτικῶν Spengel. θεὸς κατοικτεῖρας ἄνωθεν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος καὶ βουλευθεὶς ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις παραμυθήσασθαι τὴν σὴν παρήγαγε γένεσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ μοίρᾳ τῆς οἰκουμένης.

124. *πύργον ἰσχύος κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Pss.* 60 (61) 4 ὠδήγησάς με, ὅτι ἐγενήθης ἐλπίς μου, πύργος ἰσχύος ἀπὸ προσώπου ἐχθροῦ.

125. ἤλθες γὰρ μετὰ ἰσχύος κτλ. : Cf. LXX Is. 40. 10 ἰδοὺ κύριος μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται καὶ ὁ βραχίων μετὰ κυρείας.

128. ἀπεστάλης ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν κτλ. : Cf. LXX Is. 10. 12 ἐπισκέψομαι ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος τῆς δόξης τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ. (13) εἶπε γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ποιήσω, καὶ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τῆς συνέσεως ἀφελῶ ὄρια ἐθνῶν, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν προνομεύσω. Who is this τυφῶν from the west who is compared to the King of Assyria? The most obvious interpretation would be to take it of Roger II of Sicily. The difficulty is that this potentate is said to be still alive (l. 167 - 170), whereas Roger II died in 1154. His son, King William I of Sicily, in fact inflicted a severe defeat on the Byzantine forces in Italy and drove them from the peninsula in 1156. By the following year his fleet was operating in the Aegean and had even risked approaching Constantinople. In the meantime, however, a small Byzantine force and much Byzantine money had been sent to Ancona, and soon a considerable army was in the field there. A series of minor victories over the Sicilian forces in the autumn of 1157 was crowned by the defeat of a Sicilian army near San Germano on 6 January 1158. This partial success, which did not change the real relation of forces in Italy, enabled Manuel to conclude a peace treaty with William II without loss of face, and to withdraw his troops from Ancona (on these events cf. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes II: Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène*, 367 - 381, where the sources are cited. Seen in the distorting mirror of panegyric rhetoric, this could well be described in the words used in the text. I am therefore inclined to suppose that William I is the τυφῶν from the west; he died on 7 May 1166, which would point to the earlier rather than the later of the suggested dates for the present text.

131. ἐν τῇ σῇ ῥομφαίᾳ κτλ. : Cf. LXX Ps. 77 (78). 62 συνέκλεισεν εἰς ῥομφαίαν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

135. ἀπαντήσαι : Byzantine literary usage favours the 'Aeolic' forms of the aorist optative; cf. Böhlig, *op. cit.* 77 - 78.

136. οὐκ ἠσθένησεν ἡ ψυχὴ σου κτλ. : Cf. LXX Is. 7. 4 μὴ φοβοῦ, μηδὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἀσθενεῖτω ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ξύλων τῶν δαλῶν τῶν καπνίζομένων τούτων. The image of the two burning brands is used by Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης in Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum* 174. 15ff. οὐκ ἐπτολήθης ἀπὸ τῶν δύο δαλῶν τῶν καιομένων, ὥς φησιν ὁ εἰπών, apparently with reference to the Serbs and Bosnians in 1149. The identification of the two brands from the west in the present passage is not easy. They may be merely the Hungarians and Serbs who are spoken of later. They may be Roger II and William I, successive Kings of Sicily. They can hardly be the Emperor Conrad and Louis VII of France, in view of the terms in which they are spoken of here.

141. ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν κτλ. : Cf. LXX Ps. 118 (119). 25 ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

144. Ἰουδαίας κατὰρχεις : Byzantine circles were inclined to interpret the treaty between Baldwin III of Jerusalem and Manuel, and subsequent triumphal entry of the Emperor into Antioch in April 1154 followed by Baldwin, as an acknowledgement of Byzantine suzerainty over the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 427, where the relevant literature is cited.

Αἰθιοπία προφθάνει κτλ. : Cf. LXX Ps. 67 (68). 31. ἤξουσιν πρέσβεις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, Αἰθιοπία προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ.

ἐκ Δαμᾶ λίβανος: Cf. LXX Jer. 6. 20 ἵνα τί μοι λίβανον ἐκ Σαβᾶ φέρετε καὶ κιννάμωμον ἐκ γῆς μακρόθεν (v. I. Δαμᾶ).

146. ὥς φῶς αἱ ὁδοὶ σου κτλ.: Cf. LXX Prov. 4. 18 αἱ δὲ ὁδοὶ τῶν δικαίων ὁμοίως φωτὶ λάμπουσι.

καὶ σοι δουλεύειν καὶ Ἰσμαῆλ κτλ.: The reference in this long passage seems to be to the treaty with Sultan Kilidj Arslan of late 1161, confirmed during his visit to Constantinople in winter 1161-2, in which the Sultan undertook to provide troops to the Byzantine empire. Cf. Kinn. p. 201.

158. τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Μερόης κτλ.: Meroe and Syene are merely conventional expressions for the extreme south. But in the 60's of the twelfth century many in Constantinople were dreaming of conquests in Egypt. Cf. Nik. Ak. 208 ἀλλὰ τίνα τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἐρᾷ καὶ στρατείας ὑπερορίου, καὶ τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνωτιζάμενος πάμπορον, καὶ ὅσα γεωργεῖ Νεῖλος ὁ καρποδότης καὶ εὐσταχὺς, τοῖς πήχεσι μετρῶν τὸ εὐδαιμον, κτλ.; K. Horna, Eine unedierte Rede des Konstantin Manasses, W. St. 28 (1906) 178 ἔφριξαν τούτου τὴν σπάθην ὅπόσοι Νειλῶν πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐσχατίας οἰκοῦσι τῆς γῆς.

166. οἱ κατὰ τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν κτλ.: The Greek victors at Salamis.

168. ὁ τῶν στοιχείων καινοτόμος κτλ.: Xerxes.

173. αὐτοσώματος: Not in lexica. The word recurs in l. 388.

134. ὅτε τὴν κεφαλὴν μαχαίρα κτλ.: No such mishap to Alexander is recorded in the Greek tradition. He received a sword wound in the thigh at Issus (Arrian Anab. 2. 12. 1). All his other wounds were apparently caused by missiles.

185. ὅτε κατηλόγη λίθω κτλ.: Cf. Arrian Anab. 4. 33 βάλλεται λίθω αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος βιαίως τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα at Cyropolis.

187. Σέβηροι καὶ Καίσαρες κτλ.: This hexad does not seem to occur elsewhere.

197. τί σκιαγραφεῖτε κτλ.: On this whole passage cf. p. 182 ff.

200. τῷ παντὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον: Cf. Nikolaos of Methone, op. cit. p. 77, ἡ τῶν αἰωνίων αἰδιότης ἀτελεύτητος μέν, οὐκ ἀναρχος δέ· μόνον γὰρ ἀναρχον τὸ θεῖον, ὃ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀρχή· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐν χρόνῳ οὐδ' ἂν αἰδιότης εὐλόγως λέγοιτο, μήτε ἀναρχος μήτε ἀτελεύτητος οὐσα, ἣ εἴπερ ἄρα μετὰ διαστιξεώς τῆς, ἐστ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος ὑφρεστήκοι.

201. παρεισφθεύοντες: The active use of the compounds of φθείρω in an imprecatory sense is not recorded in the lexica.

202. μεταχρονίζοντες: Not in lexica.

209. καὶ θμῶν seems corrupt.

213. ἄλλοκότοις με ταῖς θύμαις κτλ.: Cf. l. 578 θύμαις ἄλλοκότοις κατεβακχεύετο. This is probably a citation, but I have not found the source.

226. Ἀμφιλύτου καὶ Βακίδος: Cf. Ael. Arist. 29 (D). 22 οὐκ ἐκ τῶν Βακίδος χρησμῶν οὐδ' Ἀμφιλύτου μαθεῖν δεῖ με.

227. σώφρων καὶ ἀνδρεῖος κτλ.: A variation on the theme of the four royal virtues ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, and φρονήσις. Cf. Menander, Περί ἐπιδεικτικῶν 2 (Spengel, Rh. Gr. 3. 373). Significantly μεγαλοπρέπεια has replaced δικαιοσύνη.

234. Δαίδαλος ἐκείνον κτλ.: Cf. Il. 18. 590ff. ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ποίκιλλε περίκλυτος ἀμφιγυήεις / τῷ ἵκελον, οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ / Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.

238. καθάπερ οἱ ποιῆται κτλ.: Cf. Hes. Op. 220-224. The same image is used by Michael Akominatos in connection with the restoration of the ὑπάτεια τῶν φιλοσόφων (Lampros, l. 81).

247. οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἔκλυτός τε κτλ. : The reference is to Aphrodite's girdle, described in Il. 14. 214 etc., but probably not to any specific passage.

250. οὐρανοῦ περιόδους κτλ. : In so far as there is any reference to a particular work of Aristotle, it is to Book I of the *Meteorologica*. According to Bonitz' Index σύμφοσις occurs only in *Meteor.* I 342 b 28.

251. ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη : Here again the reference is probably to *Meteor.* I, in which the size of the sun is discussed at 345 b 1ff. Apparently Aristotle does not discuss the size of the moon anywhere. τῶν πλανητῶν σύνοδοι are dealt with in 343 b 30 ff.

253. τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα κτλ. : Probably *Meteor.* I 345 b ff., where the cause of haloes and the like appearing on heavenly bodies is treated, though the reference could be to *Optics* 419 a.

254. τὰ κατὰ φαντασίαν καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑπαρξιν : The distinction is not an Aristotelian one. Alexander of Aphrodisias in his commentary on *Meteor.* p. 131.23 ff, commenting on *Meteor.* II 379 a 5, has εἶναι δὲ τινὰς φασί, οἳ τὴν ἀστράπην φαντασίαν τινὰ φασιν εἶναι, οὐχ ὑπαρξιν οὐδὲ πράγμα τι. The distinction ὑπαρξιν : φαντασία also occurs in Philoponus' commentary on the *Meteorologica* p. 67. 32 ff, commenting on *Meteor.* I 342 a 34, but it does not seem to occur elsewhere among the published commentaries on Aristotle. This strengthens our supposition that Michael is thinking primarily of the *Meteorologica*.

διαφορὰς καὶ θέσεις πνευμάτων : Cf. *Meteor.* II 363 a 21 - 365 a 13.

ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ τὰς νεφώδεις ἔλκει συστάσεις : Cf. Aristot. *Probl.* 26. 240 a 18 διὰ τί ὁ καικίας μόνος τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄγει τὰ νέφη ;

256. ἀνέλκει τὸν χοῦν κτλ. : Neither the subject-matter nor the phraseology of this passage seems to be Aristotelian.

266. δι' ἣν καὶ Πέρσαι Κῦρον κτλ. : Cf. Herod. 3. 89. 3.

276. Μέτελλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας οἰκουρῶν : The reference is probably to Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, cos. 143, died 115, his four sons and two sons-in-law all being at that time consulars. But the immediate source escapes me.

279. ὁμώνυμος : According to Aristotle ὁμώνυμα λέγεται ὃν ὄνομα μόνον κοινὸν ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοῦνομα λόγος τῆς οὐσίας ἕτερος (Cat. 1 a 1). Aristotle cites many examples of such words, e.g. κλείς. Presumably some such play upon words is meant here. Perhaps the reference is more particularly to the passages in the zoological works in which organs which are not part of a living organism are said to be called by their names ὁμωνύμως, e.g. Περὶ ζώων γενέσεως II b 24 οὐ γάρ ἐστι πρόσωπον μὴ ἔχον ψυχὴν, οὐδὲ σᾶρξ, ἀλλὰ φθαρέντα ὁμονύμως λεχθήσεται τὸ μὲν εἶναι πρόσωπον τὸ δὲ σᾶρξ, ὥσπερ κἂν ἐγίγνετο λίθινα ἢ ξύλινα.

294. τῶν Περσῶν : Probably the campaigns of 1160 and 1161 against the Sultanate of Iconium.

303. ἀναδύη τὸν ἐπιδίφριον θρίαμβον κτλ. : Cf. p. 178 for discussion of this passage. Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης uses a very similar phrase of Mannel in 1153: σὺ δ' ἐμετριάσας καὶ τὸν ἡμῖν προσδοκώμενον ἀνεβάλου καὶ οὐ κατήγαγες θρίαμβον. (Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum* 150. 13).

309. τῇ δὲ ὑπέρμαχῳ κτλ. : Cf. Patriarch Sergius' prelude to the Akathistos Hymnos τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια.

312. ἀλλάττοίτο σοι κτλ. : Cf. LXX Is. 40. 31 οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες τὸν θεὸν ἀλλάξουσιν ἰσχύν, πτεροφυήσουσιν ὥς ἀετοί.

317. αἱ ζιβύναι τούτοις κτλ.: Cf. LXX Is. 2. 4 καὶ συγκόψουσι τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα, καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα.

319. ἀνάγκης νῖδος ὁ πόλεμος: This looks like a quotation, but I have been unable to trace it. In view of Michael's vigorous imagery it may therefore be original and not derivative.

322. τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ νεαρὰ διατάγματα: The surviving Novels of Manuel are to be found in Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco-Romanum* III. Cf. also id., *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 36-37.

325. τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ φῶς καὶ λύχνος: Cf. LXX Ps. 118 (119) 105 λύχνος τοῖς ποσίν μου ὁ λόγος σου καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις μου (v.l. νόμος which Michael evidently had in mind here).

εὐρέθη ὡς ὀρθρὸς κτλ.: Cf. LXX Hos. 6. 4 ὡς ὀρθρὸν ἔτοιμον εὐρήσομεν αὐτόν.

328. τὸν παράκτιον κολωνόν: Cf. Nik. Ak. 268. This is probably the Mangana tower, between which and another tower in Chrysopolis the chain mentioned in the next passage was stretched. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 277-278.

332. τὸν ζωστήρα τῆς ὕψρας: Not the old chain across the Golden Horn, which had been in existence since 823 if not earlier, but a new chain across the Bosphorus from Üsküdar to Mangana. For a description of it cf. Nik. Ak. 268. Its construction was no doubt prompted by the operations of the Norman fleet from Sicily under Roger II and William I.

336. ὁ ἐπισκευασμὸς τῶν τειχέων: Cf. Kinn. 274 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε τειχέων τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἐπιμεμέλητο μέρεσι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου καμνόντων. There seems to be no mention of the new stretch of wall built by Manuel at the northern end of the land walls, stretching from the Kerkopoporta to the neighbourhood of the Tower of Anemas. and probably connecting up with the southern extremity of Heraclius' wall; cf. R. Janin, *op. cit.* 248-249, 265-266. This construction must therefore be later than the present speech.

337. ὃ πόσης εὐδαιμονίας κτλ.: The reference is quite general. Manuel carried out repairs and decorations both in the Great Palace and in the Palace of Blachernae. There seems to be no particular reference to the celebrated series of mosaics in the Blachernae palace depicting his own victories; cf. Nik. Ak. 269; Odo of Deuil, *MPL* 185. 1221 B-C; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M.N. Adler, 13.

342. τῶν ἔργων τὴν περιφάνειαν κτλ.: The reference is to Manuel's rebuilding of the Church of St. Irene τοῦ Περάματος, which had recently been destroyed by fire. Cf. Nik. Ak. 269-270, R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I. 111, *Les églises et les monastères*, 111-113.

345. τῶν ψηφίδων συνθέσεις: The church was decorated with mosaics.

348. τῶν ἱερῶν σηκῶν: What tombs were in the Church of St. Irene? Is this a reference to another work of Manuel's?

351. τὸς κομφισμοὺς τῆς ἀχθηδόνης κτλ.: Two enactments reducing taxation on ecclesiastical property are described. One seems to have been of limited geographical extent, the other to have extended to the whole territory of the empire. It is not easy to identify either enactment with confidence. The first may be the χρυσόβουλλος λόγος of August 1153 restoring all landed property confiscated from St. Sophia and freeing it from tax (*J.G.R.* III 446-449), or the χρυσόβουλλος λόγος of March 1158 guaranteeing possession of their existing lands to all monasteries in Constantinople and nearby regions and granting them certain fiscal advantages, but at

the same time forbidding them to extend their holdings (Kinn. 276). The second may possibly refer to the series of enactments of 1144 granting immunity from taxation to δημοσιακοὶ ἱερεῖς—apparently priests enrolled in the cadasters of landed estates—throughout the empire; cf. Balsamon on second synod of Nicaea, ch. 4 (*MPG* 707-708). But one would scarcely expect a measure dating back more than twenty years to be given such prominence. I am more inclined to suppose that between 1158 and the date of the speech the provision regarding security of tenure of monastic estates and their partial immunity was extended to cover the whole empire. There appears to be no other trace of such an enactment. Manuel's generosity to the church, whatever its actual form, was long remembered: cf. anonymous chronicle in cod. Oxon. Laud. gr. 27 fol. 129v Μανουὴλ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πορφυρογέννητος χρόνους λβ', ὁρθόδοξος, ταξειδάριος· ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐχαρίσατο τὴν ἀτέλειαν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν Ῥωμανίας.

360. τῇ σῇ παρόδῳ κτλ.: I do not know what this means.

363. μιᾷ πληγῇ τρεῖς κελλητίζοντας ἐξεσφαίρισε: Many such stories were told of Manuel. Cf. F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* 207.

364. κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς Ἀκαρνᾶνας: Cf. Thuc. 1. 5.

366. Πλειὰς δόνουσα καὶ ἐπιτέλλων Ὠρίων; Cf. Hesiod *Op.* 619ff. The acronychal setting of the Pleiads occurs in November.

377. Κιλικίων: The reference is presumably to the campaign of 1158 against the Cilician Armenian Kingdom of Thoros.

378. τῶν παριστρίων πειράτων: Probably a reference to the campaign against the Cumans of 1148.

τὰ Παννονίων εἴτουν Γηπαίδων: On the names given to the Hungarians of J. Darkó, Die auf die Ungarn bezügliche Volksnamen bei den Byzantinern, *BZ.* 21 (1912) 472-487; Gy. Moravcsik, Die archaisierenden Namen der Ungarn in Byzanz, *B.Z.* 30 (1929/30) 247-253. All four terms here refer to the Hungarians.

384. Δακῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους κτλ.: The reference might be to any occasion when Manuel personally took the field against the Serbians. It cannot be to the single combat between Manuel and the Serbian (or Hungarian) Župan Bakchinos in 1150 (Cf. Nik. Ak. 127, Kinn. 111-112, I. Rácz, *Bizánci költmények Mánuel császár magyar hadjáratairól* 1941, 23-24), since the emperor here fights παμπληθεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

388. χανεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν: Cf. Il. 4. 182 τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών.

394. ἡ πάρδαλις τὸ ζῷον κτλ.: This passage seems to bear little similarity to any description of a leopard in earlier literature, and is original in general form though derivative in detail. The leopard is still indigenous in Asia Minor, where the hunt must have taken place. In the literature of Byzantium and the Near East the leopard is more often a hunting animal than a quarry. Cf. Digenis Akritas, ed. Mavrogordato, 3565 οὐκ εἶχε κύνας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἢ πάρδους πολυδρόμος. Luxorius, A.L. 1. 360, De pardis mansuetis, qui cum canibus venationem faciebant', Other examples from mediaeval literature are cited by J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines*, 389 n. 2. The animal referred to in these passages is no doubt rather the cheetah than the leopard.

395. φρίττει τὴν λοφίαν: Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 822 φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμου λοφιᾶς λασιαύχενα χαίταν.

396. ἐπισυνάγει κτλ.: Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 823 δεινὸν ἐπισκύνιον ξυνάγων.

400. *στέγρον καὶ γαστέρα κτλ.* : Cf. Agathias, *A.P.* 7.578 τὸν λασιωστέγων κέντορα παρδαλίων.

411. *τὴν πληγὴν καιρίαν* : Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1292, 1343.

421. *ὁ τῆς παροιμίας Σκύθης* : Cf. Leutsch - Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I, 452. 4ff. Σκύθης τὸν ὄνον : ἐπὶ τῶν λόγῳ μὲν ἀκκιζόμενον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐφιερμένων. Ἰδὼν γάρ τις νεκρὸν ὄνον, ἐφη (πρὸς Σκύθην παρόντα) Δεῖπνόν τοι, ὦ Σκύθια. Ὁ δὲ ἐβδελύξατο πρῶτον· αὐθις δὲ πολυπραγμονήσας περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπονείτο.

422. *ὁ λίθος αὐθις ἀδιάντος* : Cf. Leutsch - Schneidewin, *op. cit.* I, 430. 1ff. Λίθον ἔφεις : ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδύνατόν τι κατεργάζεσθαι ἐπιχειρούντων Cf. *ibid.* II 185. 11, 505. 4ff.

424. *τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀμαρτημάτων δεσμούς κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Sirac.* 12. 12 μὴ δεσμεύσης δις ἁμαρτίαν, ἐν γάρ μιᾷ ἀθωωθήσῃ, added in certain manuscripts.

426. *εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Is.* 10. 12 εἶπε γάρ, ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ποιήσω.

428. *τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Ps.* 10 (11) εὐθύτητα εἶδε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.

ἰσχυρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν κτλ. : Cf. LXX *Is.* 28. 2 ἰσχυρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν ὁ θυμὸς κυρίου.

429. *ῥήματα ἀνδρὸς ἀληθίνου κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Job* 6. 25 ἀλλ' ὥς ἔοικε φραῦλα ἀληθίνου ῥήματα.

433. *μετενεδύετο τὴν ἄλωπεκὴν* : Cf. *Plut. Lys.* 7 ὅπου γὰρ ἡ λεοντῇ μὴ ἐφικνεῖται, προσραπτέον ἐκεῖ τὴν ἄλωπεκὴν. On the theme of Hungarian untrustworthiness cf. passages cited by M. Gyni, *Magyarország és a Magyarság a bizánci források tükrében*, 42 - 43.

434. *πῦρ ὑπὸ σποδιᾷ κτλ.* : Cf. *Callim. ep.* 44. 1 - 2 ἔστι τι ταῦτῃ ναὶ μὲν Διώνυσον πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδίῃ.

438. *συνέλαβεν ἀνομίαν κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Ps.* 7. 14 ἰδοὺ ὠδίνησεν ἀδικίαν, συνέλαβε πόνον, καὶ ἔτεκεν ἀνομίαν.

439. *ἀποταυρούμενος* : Cf. *Eur. Med.* 187 - 8 τοκάδος δέργμα λεαίνης ἀποταυροῦται δμωσίν, and explanations of Scholiast.

440. *Δάκα* : For Δάξ = Serbian cf. *Regel, Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum* 142 - 3, 163.

441. *Βουμελίων* : A variant of the name Βουλιμεῖς (*Ptol. Geog.* 2. 16, *Dionys. Per.* 387, *Eustath. ad loc.*), Βουλινοί (*Ps. - Scymn.* 404, *Scylax* 22, *Steph. Byz. s.v.* Βουλινοί), etc. Cf. *Tomaschek, R.E.* 3. 1046. 23 - 53. The form is no doubt a learned etymologising construction; βουμελία = ash-tree, and the third race of men according to *Hesiod Op.* 145 sprang ἐκ μελιᾶν. The people lived in antiquity along the southern part of the Dalmatian coast, in the twelfth century part of the Serbian principality of Dioclea.

447. *κηρυνοῖς ἀμφιρρόποις* : The same phrase occurs in *Malchus* p. 415 *Dindorf*, but there is probably no connection.

452. *ἀρετὴ* with future or future equivalent is common κοινῇ but condemned by the Atticists, e.g. *Phrynichus*.

558. *φρενὸς εὐρίπω* : Cf. *Eustath., Opusc.*, ed. *Tafel*, p. 217. 4 βίου εὐρίπος.

462. *Σίριμιον* : Clearly the region of Srem, and not, as sometimes, the town of Mitrovica or even Zemun.

463. *ἐν φυλέταις ἀλλογλώσσοις κτλ.* : The Hungarian ethnic element seems to have been negligible south of the Drava, though Hungarian sovereignty extended to the Sava in the first half of the twelfth century.

464. *ἐπιγραφαῖς*: ἀπογραφή is the commoner word for 'tax-assessment', 'tax-roll', but *ἐπιγραφή* occurs in this sense; cf. L.-S.⁹ s.v. But we really need an adjective or adjectival phrase, which neither *ἐπιγραφαῖς* nor *ἀπογραφαῖς* can be. Perhaps we should read *ἐπιγράφοις*, assuming a sense of 'entered in tax-roll'.

γεωγραφούμενα: 'surveyed for taxation purposes'. Cf. Ioannes Diogenes ap. Regel; *Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum* 311. 4 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὕτω τὸν Ἰστρον περαιωθεῖς πᾶσαν ἐκεῖνῃ τὴν χώραν ἐγεωγράφησας.

468. *ἡ ὕλική δυάς*: Cf. Cyrilli lexicon, ed. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Parisiensia* III, 1841, 200.33 ὕλικήν δυάδα ὁ Θεόλογος ἐκάλεσε τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. I have not traced the passage in Gregory of Nazianzus.

470. *λέων μετὰ ξίφους*: Cf. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *C.P.G.* I. 429. 11 λέων ξίφος ἔχων: ἐπὶ τῶν φύσει μὲν ἀνδρείων, ἐτέρων δὲ προσλαμβανόντων ἔξωθεν βοήθειαν.

471. *λαστοκόφω*: v.l. of Clarkianus in Plato, *Phaedr.* 253e, and in Synesios' citation of the passage; cited as a lemma by Hesychius, Photios, and Suidas.

473. *μετὰ ἰσχύος κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 40. 10 κύριος μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται καὶ ὁ βραχίων μετὰ κυρείας.

474. *ἐρχομένου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 66. 18 κἀγὼ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν ἐπίσταμαι· ἔρχομαι συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς γλώσσας.

477. *εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου*: Cf. N.T. *Ep. Petr.* 2. 22 ὅς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου (v.l. κύλισμα).

478. *ἐμολύνθη κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Sirac.* 13. 1 ὁ ἀπτόμενος πίσεως μολυνθήσεται. *ἄνθρακος γυνῶν ποδὶ κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Prov.* 6. 28 περιπατήσει τις ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρός, τοὺς δὲ πόδας οὐ κατακαύσει;

481. *ἀνετασμός*: Not in lexica.

483. *πνεῦμα γάρ φησι*: Cf. LXX *Baruch* 3. 1 ψυχὴ ἐν στενοῖς καὶ πνεῦμα ἀκηδιδῶν κέκραγεν πρὸς σέ. The variant *στερνοῖς* is not recorded in Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint.

485. *συνάχθητι κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Soph.* 2. 1 συνάχθητε καὶ συνδέθητε τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον, πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνθος παραπορευόμενον.

488. *ἀνομία γὰρ ἀνόμου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Ezech.* 33. 12 ἀνομία ἀσεβοῦς οὐ μὴ κακώσῃ αὐτὸν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρα ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦ.

491. *οὐδὲ ταύτην συνέσχεν ὁ πίθος*: Cf. Hesiod. *Op.* 96.

492. *εἰς μοῖραν ἀντιμάχου κτλ.*: Cf. Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης ap. Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum* 144. 6 τὴν συναιχμίαν τοῖν ἐθνοῖν τούτοις εἰς ἀνταίχμίαν ἐκαινοτόμησας.

493. *ἀκρωρεῖαις κινδύνου*; I have not found another example of this figurative use of *ακρώρεια*.

494. *ἐν συνοχῇ καρδίας*: Cf. N.T. *II Cor.* 2. 4.

496. *τὸν δοθέντα ὑπεδέξατο ἀρχηγόν*: Cf. p. 179.

501. *τὰ προαύλια κτλ.*: These are presumably open spaces and parade grounds in the camp. But *προαύλιον* in Byzantine Greek usually means the forecourt or vestibule of a church.

502. *ἀνέφριτε τὸ ῥεῦμα κτλ.*: For the same image, albeit used somewhat differently, cf. poem (of Theodorē Prodromos?) edited by I. Rácz, *Bizánci költemények Mánuel császár magyar hadjáratairól* (Magyar-görög tanulmányok 16) 1941, 25-42, ll. 149-150 καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀνέστρεφεν ὀπίσω μὴ φέρων τὴν ἐπίβασιν τῶν φοβερῶν ἰχθῶν σου.

508. *σχοινίσματα* : 'measures of land', i.e. the tents occupied a large area. But the expression is clumsy, and the text may be corrupt.

511. *ὡς διακοπή φραγμοῦ* : The simile of the bursting dyke or dam seems original.

515. *ἔξεδυσάμην κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Cant.* 5.3 *ἔξεδυσάμην τὸν χιτῶνά μου, πῶς ἐνδύσομαι αὐτόν* ;

ἐνεπίμπρα κτλ. : The imagery is very confused here. *αὐτόν* presumably refers to the King of Hungary and not to his *χιτῶν*. What the 'purple gate' (*κλισιάς*=*κλεισιᾶς*) is I am not at all clear, except that it is some attribute of the emperor.

532. *οἰκίδιον* : Apparently 'domestic establishment, household', for which I cannot find another example. But *οἰκίδιος*=*οἰκεῖος* is well attested.

536. *ἀπετασθεῖσαν* : *ἀπετάζω* not in lexica.

538. *ὠμηρένετο κτλ.* : The sentence is very awkward. I take it to mean : 'The truce was guaranteed in particular by the King of Bohemia and other potentates offered as sureties for himself by the King of Hungary; they risked their kingdoms and indeed their lives if he countervened the terms of agreement on which the emperor had deigned to receive him'.

539. *τῷ τῆς Βοεμίας ἀρχηγῷ* : Cf. p. 176.

540. *Παιονάρχης* : On the titles given to the ruler of Hungary in Byzantine sources cf. M. Gyóni, *op. cit.* 62 - 64, F. Dölger, Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik, *Archivum Europae Centro - Orientalis*, 8 (1944) 328, n. 31.

544. *οἱ τῆς Παιονίας ἄρχοντες* : Does this refer to Stephen III and his heir apparent, the Byzantine protégé Béla - Alexios? Or to the Hungarian notables in general? Byzantine diplomatic relations with Hungary sometimes involved direct dealings with the notables over the head of the King. Cf. Nik. Ak. 166.

545. *εἰς οἰκοδομῶν κτλ.* : Cf. LXX, *Sirac.* 34. 23 *εἰς οἰκοδομῶν καὶ εἰς καθαιρῶν*.

550. *κινεῖν τοὺς πόδας κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Jer.* 14. 10 *ἠγάπησαν κινεῖν τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν*.

552. *οὐ βαθύχειλοι κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Ezech.* 3. 5 *οὐ πρὸς λαὸν βαθύχειλον καὶ βαρύγλωσσον σὺ ἐξαποστέλλῃ πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. (6) οὐδὲ πρὸς λαοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλοφώνους ἢ ἀλλογλώσσους, οὐδὲ στιβαροὺς τῇ γλώσσῃ ὄντας (V.I. βαθύγλωσσον)*.

553. *ὥσει καπνὸς κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Sap.* 5. 12 *ὥς καπνὸς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου διεχύθη. 5. 23 ὥς λαῖλαψ ἐκλικμήσει αὐτοίς*.

554. *ὥς χωνευτήριον πῦρ κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Mal.* 3. 2 *εἰσπορεύεται ὥς πῦρ χωνευτηρίου καὶ ὥς πόα πλυνόντων. Sap.* 3. 6 *ὥς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτούς*.

558. *ἄστρα μὲν δὴ προβέβηκε κτλ.* : Cf. Il. 10. 252 - 3.

ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρώχηκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ

τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, τριτάτῃ δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λείπεται.

561. *τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Δαρδάνων* : To distinguish them from those of Mysia in Asia. On *Δαρδανία*, corresponding approximately to Yugoslav Macedonia, cf. Ptol. *Geog.* 3. 9. 6. The *ἐπαρχία Δαρδανίας* is recorded in Hierocles *Synecd.* 655 with three cities. *Σκουμπομητρόπολις*, *Μηρίων* and *Οὐλπιᾶνα*. This information is repeated in Const. Porph. *De Them.* 56.

565. *πνεῦμα ἐξουσιάζοντος κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Eccl.* 10. 4 *ἐὰν πνεῦμα ἐξουσιάζοντος ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ σέ, τόπον σου μὴ ἀφῇς, ὅτι ἴσθα καταπαύσει ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας*.

567. *ἀπάλειπον ὥς νεφέλην* : Cf. LXX *Is.* 44. 22 *ἀπήλειψα ὥς νεφέλην τὰς ἀνομίας σου, καὶ ὥς γνόφον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν σου*.

568. *ὁ Βοσναῖος* : Bosnia appears as a Hungarian dependency in the titulature

of the King of Hungary in 1103 (Fejer, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungaricus* II, 39), 1135 (*ibid.* 82) and 1138 (*ibid.* 109). In 1137 King Béla appoints his son László Duke of Bosnia (*ibid.* 88). In 1155 and 1163 Boritz, Ban of Bosnia, appears as a Hungarian vassal (Kinn. 131, Fejer, *op. cit.* II, 166). The river Drina formed the boundary between Bosnia and Serbia (Kinn. 104).

569. ὁ ταινιοῦχος τῆς Παιονίας ναός : The Metropolitan Church of Esztergom (Gran), in which was kept the Holy Crown of Hungary.

571. τῇ σῇ συνέχοιτο κραταιότητι : On the implications of the gift of a crown by the Byzantine emperor to a foreign monarch cf. F. Dölger, Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik, *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 8 (1942) 329-332. On the political significance of the Hungarian crown in the Middle Ages of P. S. Kelleher, *The Holy Crown of Hungary*, 1951, 19-31.

572. ἀνατιλούσθωσαν : Not in lexica. τιτλώ is used by Malalas 245. 11 = 'confiscate'.

573. δασμοφορεῖτω τὸ πᾶν : Manuel's policy towards Hungary as early as 1161 was directed partly towards the extraction of tribute. Cf. Nik. Ak. 166 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς...κατὰ νοὺν ἀναπολήσας ὡς...σχοίη ἂν τὰ πρῶτα κλέος αὐτός, ἔπειτα ἡ βασιλεία Ῥωμαίων μέρος ἴσως ἐκεῖθεν δασμοῦ. The whole passage is interesting in the light of subsequent events.

581. τοῖς ἑνδεκα...ἀρχηγοῖς : Apparently eleven Hungarian notables surrendered as hostages. The syntax of this passage is confused, and the text may be corrupt. is ἀρχηγοῖς...ἐκδεδωκόσι a second instrumental dative parallel to σφραγίσιν ἀδιαπτώτοις, or is it a dative absolute, a not infrequent construction in Byzantine Greek (cf. G. Böhlig, *op. cit.* 123).

583. ἀνεκμύχλεντον : Not in lexica

590. φρενὸς ἐξέπλευσαν : Cf. Herod. frg. 3. 155, Suidas s.v. ἐκπλείσαντες = Aelian frg. 240.

291. ὡς κάλαμος ὑποκεκνυφώς : Cf. LXX II Mac. 2. 21. κραδάνας αὐτὸν ὡς κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου.

593. οἱ διαλογισμοὶ σου ἐνεβαθύνθησαν : Cf. LXX Ps. 91 (92), 5 σφόδρα ἐβαθύνθησαν οἱ διαλογισμοὶ σου. The variant ἐνεβαθύνθησαν is introduced, no doubt unconsciously, in order to ensure an even number of syllables between the last two accented syllables of the sentence. Michael observes this Byzantine practice with great strictness.

595. πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν Ἰορδάνην καταίροντα : Cf. p. 177-178.