

EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN IAKOVOS ARGEIOS'S ORATION ADDRESSED TO CONSTANTINE BASSARABA (1708)

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ABSTRACT

Iakovos Argeios (ca 1660-1736), dean of the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople, authored in 1708 a lengthy encomiastic oration in honor of John Constantine Bassaraba Brancoveanu, the prince of Wallachia. This oration remained almost totally unknown to researchers. The main purpose of the present article is to edit this interesting text, in order to give the opportunity to study not only its content but also its connection with the political situation and the educational program of the Patriarchal Academy. It is delivered by three manuscripts, but only one is accessible: cod. Beinecke ms 295 (XVIII ce.), which was cautiously and diligently copied by the Phanariot Scholar Nikolaos Karatzas (1705-1787). Iakovos Argeios taught rhetoric theory and practice, a course that was introductory to the upper course of philosophical studies. As it emerged through the text analysis, the speech is written in the context of the rhetorical lecture and therefore had to implement all the principles of the literary genre of encomium, as mentioned in the handbooks of ancient and contemporary rhetoricians (Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Korydalleus). Yet, there is a basic difference: the present oration is a royal oration, which means that Iakovos had to use additional sources (Menander the Rhetor and Synesius). Furthermore, the existence and the content of the speech allows us to draw conclusions about Bassaraba's involvement in the administration and financial support of the Patriarchal Academy and Iakovos's political ideas on the ideal ruler, the skills and qualities he must possess in order to exercise effective administration. This oration is not a slavish praise, full of flattery; it is an excellent example of the rhetorical eloquence of the famous Aristotelian professor. Iakovos gives us an ideal picture of Wallachia, as seen through the eyes of Constantinopolitan Greeks: the country of Constantine Bassaraba was the refuge for all the Orthodox.

Keywords: encomium; rhetoric theory and practice; royal oration; Patriarchal Academy; ideal ruler; Iakovos Argeios; Constantine Bassaraba; Wallachia; Targoviste; education;

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1708, Iakovos Argeios (ca 1660-1736), dean of the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople and a close associate of Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1641-1709), the chief security councilor of the Sublime Porte, authored a lengthy encomiastic oration in honor of

John Constantine Bassaraba Brancoveanu (1654-1714), the Prince of Wallachia.¹ This oration was composed at a time when the relations between prince Bassarava and the Phanariotic elite, of which Mavrokordatos and Iakovos Argeios were distinguished members, seem to have been excellent. It is known that this relation was later worsening, when Mavrokordatos tried to impose the eldest of his sons as ruler to one of the Romanian Principalities. The encomiastic oration was not abundantly transmitted by the manuscripts, as only three copies of it survive. This fact may indicate that the Phanariots probably wanted to forget this incident of praise of their opponent, especially after the Greeks had undertaken the hegemony in Romanian lands by the year 1716. The oration remained almost totally unknown to researchers, as were many other aspects of Iakovos Argeios's life and teaching activity at the Patriarchal Academy. It is not mentioned at all by the older biographers of Iakovos, such as Demetrios Prokopiou.² In the eighteenth century Kaisarios Dapontes (1713/4-1784) was the first historian to mention this encomium, emphasizing that it had not been printed yet.³ Manuel Gedeon (1851-1943) and Konstantinos Sathas (1842-1914), the main Greek historians of the history of Ideas during the Ottoman era, are unaware of its existence.⁴

Among modern scholars, Tasos Gritsopoulos and Athanasios Karathanasis knew the existence of the speech and mentioned the manuscripts that deliver it.⁵ More important is the research of Georgios Papazoglou, who located in the Beinecke library at Yale University another manuscript of the same work, copied by the famous Phanariot scholar and bibliophile of the 18th century, Nikolaos Karatzas (1705-1787).⁶ None of these scholars,

¹ For his life and reign see Ion I. Croitoru, *Ορθοδοξία και Δύση στην πνευματική παράδοση των Ρουμάνων. Η ενότητα της ορθοδοξίας και η υπεράσπιση της ορθόδοξης πίστωσης έναντι της προτεσταντικής προπαγάνδας κατά τον ΙΖ' αιώνα*, vol. I, Athens, 2011, pp. 561-576 (= Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*), and Athanasios Karathanasis, *Οι Έλληνες λόγιοι στη Βλαχία (1670-1714). Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ελληνικής πνευματικής κίνησης στις παραδουνάβιες ηγεμονίες κατά την προφαναριωτική περίοδο*, Institute of Balkan Studies 194, Thessaloniki, 1982, pp. 69-81 (= Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*).

² Demetrios Prokopiou, a disciple of Iakovos at the Patriarchal Academy, authored in 1721 under the guidance of Prince Nikolaos Mavrokordatos and for the sake of the German philologist Johannes Albertus Fabricius a biographical catalogue of Greek scholars of his time (*De eruditiss Graecis*), in: Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, vol. XI, Hamburg, 1722 (Greek text with Latin translation); The Greek text *Ἐπιτετυμημένη ἐπαρίθμηση τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα λογίων Γραικῶν, καὶ περὶ τινῶν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθούτων*, in: Konstantinos Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη ἢ Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων μνημείων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, vol. III, Venice, 1872, (= Sathas, *Bibliotheke*).

³ In his *Historical catalogue of the noble Romans of modern era (Κατάλογος ἱστορικὸς ἀξιόλογος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρηματισάντων ἐπισήμων Ρωμαίων καὶ τινῶν μεγάλων συμβεβηκότων καὶ ὑποθέσεων, ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ χιλιοστοῦ ἑπτακοσιοστοῦ ἔτους, ἕως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ὀγδοηκοστοῦ τετάρτου)*, in: Sathas, *Bibliotheke*, p. 190: καὶ ἕτερον λόγον εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Μπραγκοβάνον· τοῦτος δὲν ἐτυπώθη.

⁴ Manuel Gedeon, *Χρονικά τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ακαδημίας. Ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ τῆς Μεγάλῃς τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς 1455-1830*, Constantinople, 1883, pp. 136-139 (= Gedeon, *Chronicles*), K. N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία. Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αυτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς ἐθνεγερσίας (1453-1821)*, Athens, 1868, pp. 430-431 (= Sathas, *Philologia*).

⁵ T. Gritsopoulos, *Πατριαρχικὴ Μεγάλῃ τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆ*, vol. I, Βιβλιοθήκη Φιλεκαπαιδευτικῆς Ἐταιρείας, Athens, 1966, p. 297, note 3 (= Gritsopoulos, *Patriarchal School*); Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 77, note 7.

⁶ G. Papazoglou, "Κωνσταντῖνος Ραφαήλ Βυζάντιος, ἀγνωστος γραφέας κωδίκων, καὶ ὁ Φαναριώτης λόγιος Νικόλαος Καρατζάς", in: *Απὸ Φωνῆς*, No. 2 (2002/2004), pp. 9-32 (= Papazoglou, *Raphael*); idem

however, have read the text of the oration, but they are content with external information, either from the catalogs of the manuscripts or from the manuscripts themselves. In other words, they did not know the exact content of the oration. In my study that will be published in the coming months (in Greek), I had the opportunity to examine and reconstruct all the existing testimonies and evidence that I found on the life and work of Iakovos Argeios, “the supreme of the philosophers of the Great Church”.⁷ The present article is part of my wider research and its aim is to edit this interesting text, in order to give the opportunity to study not only its content but also its connection with the political situation and the educational program of the Patriarchal Academy. On the other hand, the very existence of the speech allows us to draw conclusions about a) the relationship that Iakovos Argeios had with the Romanian countries and their rulers, especially Wallachia and Constantine Bassarava, before the rise of the Phanariots, b) Bassarava’s involvement in the administration and financial support of the Patriarchal Academy, c) Iakovos’s political ideas on the ideal ruler, the characteristics, skills and qualities he must possess in order to exercise effective administration.

II. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The oration bears in the manuscripts an extensive title, which provides information on the type of speech, its composition time and its cultural context: “*Encomium addressed to the excellent and most pious ruler and prince of all Wallachia Joannes Constantine Bassaraba voevod, written by the most honorable and erudite teacher Iakovos Manas Argeios (originated from Argos/Peloponnese) for his students at the Constantinople’s Patriarchal Academy in 1708*”. It is delivered by three manuscripts:

1. *cod. Athous gr 6288, Monastery of S. Panteleimon 781 (XVIII ce.), 20,5x15,5, f. 17r:* Title: *Ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὸν ἐκλαμπρότατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον αὐθέντην καὶ ἡγεμόνα πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κύριον κύριον Ἰωάννην Κωνσταντῖνον Βασσαράβαν βοεβόδαν ἐγκώμιον, ἐκδοθὲν ἐν λόγῳ προγυμνάσματος παρὰ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου ἡμῶν καθηγουμένου κυρίου Ἰακώβου Μάννα τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγῳ προγυμνάσματος ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν Πατριαρχικῇ Σχολῇ κατὰ τὸ ,αψη’ ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον.*⁸
2. *cod. University of Yale, Beinecke ms 295 (XVIII ce.), 14,9x10,9, f. 5r-41r:* It contains only this oration under the title: *Πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλότατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον αὐθέντην καὶ ἡγεμόνα πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κύριον κύριον Ἰωάννην Κωνσταντῖνον Βασσαράβαν βοεβόδαν ἐγκώμιον προσφωνητικὸν ἐκδοθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἐντιμοτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κῦρ Ἰακουμῆ Μάννα τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγῳ*

“Χειρόγραφοι κώδικες του Νικολάου Καρατζά στην Beinecke Library του Πανεπιστημίου του Yale”, in: *Από Φωνής 2* (2002/2004), pp. 33-74 (= Papazoglou, *Codices Beinecke*).

⁷ Vasileios Tsiotras, “Ο Ιάκωβος Αργεῖος (ca 1660-1736) στην Πατριαρχική Σχολή: Νέα στοιχεία και απαντήσεις για έναν παλιό γρίφο”, in: the journal of the Greek Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (OMED), *Ho Eranistes/The Gleaner*, No. 30 (2021), where I examine all the new evidence and manuscript testimonies on Iakovos’s teaching activity at the Patriarchal Academy.

⁸ Spyridon Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, edited for the syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, 1900, vol. II, p. 432: the manuscript is written by various scribes; Gritsopoulos, *Patriarchal School*, p. 297, note 3; Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 77, note 7.

προγυμνάσματος ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν Πατριαρχικῇ Σχολῇ κατὰ τὸ , αψη' ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον.⁹

3. *cod. Odessa, Hellenic School* (XIX ce.).¹⁰

Of these three codices, only the Yale University codex is accessible and it has been studied and described thoroughly by Barbara Shailor and Georgios Papazoglou. The latter, in searching for manuscripts constructed by Nikolaos Karatzas, located some of them in the Library of Yale University and managed, by examining the graphic character and the way of organizing manuscript content, to attribute it to the scholar Phanariot.¹¹ Karatzas's manuscript, after the dissolution of his library, passed into the possession of Lord Guilford at the Ionian Academy in Corfu and afterwards it was sold by his heirs.¹² On the first folia of the manuscript, Karatzas wrote some text excerpts with biographical information about Iakovos Argeios. The excerpts come from the work of Demetrios Prokopios, *De eruditiss Graecis*, from the *Epitaph* of Iakovos about Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1716), and from a Sapphic poem written in his honor by one of his disciples Konstantinos Raphael. In other words, the manuscript contains all the information that Karatzas was able to collect (in the middle of the 18th century) about the former dean of the Patriarchal Academy, in which he himself had studied. This is a cautiously and diligently written manuscript, without spelling errors, with a length of 46 sheets in small format, on which the present edition is based.¹³

III. CONTENT AND SOURCES OF THE ORATION: RHETORICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

At the Patriarchal Academy Iakovos Argeios was the scholarch, the senior philosophy professor in the higher course of philosophy and science. His philosophical perspective was on the one hand Aristotelian and classicistic and on the other Christian, orthodox and patristic. He taught the philosophy of Aristotle (*Physics, On Generation and Corruption, Logic, On the Soul*) by the commentaries of Theophilos Korydalleus (1570-1646), the leader of New-Aristotelianism in South-East Europe.¹⁴ He also taught rhetoric

⁹ See Barbara Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library - Yale University*, vol II: MSS 251-500, Binghamton-New York, 1987, pp. 73-75 (= Shailor, *Catalogue*).

¹⁰ Sp. Papageorgiou, "Κατάλογος μετὰ περιγραφικῶν σημειώσεων τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Σχολῆς Ὀδησσού", in: *Ἐπετηρίς Παρνασσού*, No. 8 (1904), p. 153; Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 77, note 7.

¹¹ According to Papazoglou, *Raphael*, pp. 9-29, idem, *codices Beinecke*, pp. 52-54, Constantine Raphael, the finance secretary of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, was not the scribe of that manuscript, but only the author of the Sapphic poem in honor of Iakovos Argeios in 1729, ff. 3r-4v: *Εἰς ὀφειλομένης εὐεργεσίας τεκμήριον ὁ λογοθέτης γενικοῦ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐλάχιστος τῶν μαθητῶν, Κωνσταντῖνος Ραφαὴλ Βυζάντιος, αψηκθ'*; Shailor, *Catalogue*, p. 74, misread the dedicatory note of Raphael.

¹² See Vasiliki Mpomprou Stamati, "Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ λόρδου Guilford" in: *Ὁ Ἐραμιστής/The Gleaner*, No. 20 (1995), pp. 97-162.

¹³ Thanks are due to Prof. Dr Vasileios Foukas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) and to the staff of Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, and especially Ms. Yasmin Ramadan, who overcame the coronavirus lockdown problems and willingly provided me with excellent digital photos of Beinecke ms 295.

¹⁴ See Cleobule Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans. La vie et l'oeuvre de Théophile Corydalée*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, ²1967; Vasileios

theory and practice, a course that was introductory to the upper course of philosophical studies. Rhetoric was taught on the basis of the treatises of the major ancient Greek rhetoricians, Aristotle (*Rhetoric*), Hermogenes (*Art*) and Aphthonius (*Progymnasmata*). Nevertheless, Iakovos used books of contemporary authors, especially Theophilus Korydalleus's *Art of Rhetoric* (*Ρητορική τέχνη*) and Alexandros Mavrokordatos's *Concise Art of Rhetoric in Question and Response form* (*Σύνοψις τέχνης ῥητορικῆς κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν*). Those two handbooks epitomized all the existing knowledge on rhetoric, which could be in use for the future, mainly, church orators or preachers. The information about Iakovos's teaching books comes from Antonios Byzantios, one of his diligent disciples, who copied the two rhetorical treatises in *cod. Theological School of Chalki 187* in November 1702.¹⁵ Furthermore, according to the Curriculum of the Academy (1691) the students had the obligation to produce and perform speeches in public, under the guidance of their teachers, as proof of their skills and of the knowledge they had acquired through the study of rhetoric.¹⁶ In this context, Iakovos Argeios authored two addresses to Ecumenical Patriarchs Kallinikos (1698) and Gabriel (1703) on the occasion of the Easter celebration.¹⁷

The encomiastic oration of Prince Constantine Bassarava was written in 1708, when Iakovos was at the peak of his teaching career; a few months later he received the highly honorary title and the office of “the supreme philosopher of the Great Church” (*ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*) as a sign of recognition of his prestige by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox community. The oration falls into the category of praise/*encomium*, for which Iakovos had much to say to his students based not only on the theoretical treatises he taught, but also based on the encomiastic tradition of the Byzantine orators.¹⁸ In the title of the speech there is a mention to *Progymnasmata*

Tsiotras, *Η εξηγητική παράδοση της Γεωγραφικής Υψηλότητας του Κλαύδιου Πτολεμαίου. Οι επώνυμοι σχολιαστές*, Cultural Foundation of National Bank of Greece (MIET), Athens, 2006.

¹⁵ See Matthaios Paranikas, “Περὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Πατριαρχικῆς Σχολῆς”, in: *Περιοδικόν Ἑλληνικὸ Φιλολογικὸν Συλλόγου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, No. 27 (1900), pp. 313-314; Gritsopoulos, *Patriarchal School*, p. 307.

¹⁶ The text of that very important Patriarchal decree is published by Athanasios Komnenos Ypselantes, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ Πολιτικὸν τῶν εἰς δώδεκα βιβλίον Η' Θ' καὶ Ι' ἦτοι Τα Μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν (1453-1789)*, (*Ἐκ χειρογράφου ἀνεκδότου τῆς ἱεράς μονῆς τοῦ Σινά*), ἐκδιδόντος ἀρχιμ. Γερμανοῦ Αφθονίδου Σιναιΐτου, Constantinople, 1870, pp. 204-208 (= Komnenos Ypselantes, *Τα μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν*); in p. 207: *ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀφείλουσιν ἀποφέρεσθαι καρπὸν τινὰ τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν, συγγράφειν δηλαδὴ λόγους τινὰς καὶ ἐγκώμια εἰς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ μνημόσυνον τῶν συστησάντων καὶ τῶν ἀμφιπονούτων καὶ διακυβερνώντων τὴν σχολήν, δὸς δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν προκοπῆς*; see Gedeon, *Chronicles*, pp. 123-124.

¹⁷ These addresses were published *To Patriarch Gabriel* by Manuel Gedeon, “Ἰακώβου Μάνου τοῦ Ἀργεῖου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην Γαβριὴλ τὸν ἀπὸ Χαλκηδόνας”, in: idem, *Ἀρχεῖον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας*, vol. 1, Constantinople, 1911, pp. 193-206; *To Patriarch Kallinikos* by Vasileios Mpakouros, “Ἡ ῥητορική παιδεία στὴν Πατριαρχικὴ Σχολή. Το Προσφώνημα τῶν σπουδαστῶν τοῦ 1698 στὸν Πατριάρχη Καλλίνικο Β' τὸν Ἀκαρνάνα”, in: *Ἡ Μελέτη*, No. 4 (2008), pp. 207-259.

¹⁸ In one of his letters to the students of the School of Patmos, who composed an encomium as *progymnasma* in his honor, Iakovos epitomized the main characteristics of this genre: *εὐμεθόδως καὶ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ἐγκωμίου ἡ τάξις προχωρεῖ τῶν κεφαλαίων, γένος μὲν πρῶτον ἄψυχόν τε καὶ ἔμψυχον προτάττοντες, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀνατροφήν καὶ παιδείαν καὶ τὰς πράξεις εὐφημίζετε, ὅπερ νόμος ἐστὶν ἐγκωμίου. [...] ἐγκώμιον πρὸς ὄντων μὲν ἔστι ἀγαθῶν αὐξήσεις, μὴ πρὸς ὄντων δὲ οἰκείωσις, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ οὕτω μεμετρημένως ὥστε μὴ τὰ μέτρα τῆς πειθοῦς ὑπερβάλλειν τῇ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀμετρία, ἵνα μὴ ὁ λόγος εἰς ψυχρολογίαν ἐμπεσῶν ἀφαιρεθεῖ τὸ*

“preliminary rhetorical exercises”), which refers directly to the well-known book of Aphthonius of Antioch and also to the *Art of Rhetoric* of Theophilus Korydalleus, which introduce students to basic rhetorical concepts and strategies.¹⁹ The speech is written in the context of the rhetorical lecture and therefore had to implement all the principles of the literary genre of encomium, as mentioned in the handbooks of Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Korydalleus. Yet, there is a basic difference: the present oration is a royal oration, addressed to an acting ruler, which means that Iakovos had to use other texts in addition to the above mentioned.

According to Hermogenes (2nd/3rd century AD) an encomium is the exposition of the good qualities of a person and its main topics are: race and city, family, events at birth, upbringing, education, physical and mental qualities, accomplishments, actions, length of life and manner of death, posthumous fame and children.²⁰ The subject was treated more analytically by Aphthonius (late 4th/early 5th century AD), who points out that an encomium contains origin, divided into nation, city, ancestors and parents, upbringing divided into accomplishments and skills, actions, physical and mental virtues.²¹ Iakovos is very well aware of these basic topics, but it is clear that the broader structural plan of his speech is different due to the subject, which required the use of more specialized textbooks. Indeed, for the writing of this oration the scholar relied mainly on two additional sources, Menander the Rhetor’s theoretical book *On the Panegyrics* (*Περὶ τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν*), which deals with the characteristics of the royal or imperial oration (*Basilikos Logos*) and secondly the oration of Synesius from Cyrene *On kingship* (*Peri Basileias*) to the emperor Arcadius (395–408).²²

πειθήνιον. [...] οὕτω γὰρ ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς πραγματείαις μεμαθήκετε, τὸ τοῦ Πορφυρίου συνταγμάτιον τῶν Κατηγοριῶν προηγούμενον, ὃ ἐν γένει συλλογισμὸς τῆς ἀποδείξεως καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀφθονίου Προγυμνάσματα, τῶν κατὰ ῥητορικὴν τελείων λόγων; see Naukratios Tsoulkanakis, “Ἰακώβου Μάνα του Ἀργείου ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τον διδάσκαλον της Πάτμου Μακάριον Καλογεράν”, in: *Μνήμη Μητροπολίτου Ἰκονίου Ἰακώβου*, vol. I, 1984, pp. 133-155 (= *epistle* 13).

¹⁹ See George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994, pp. 202-208 (Kennedy, *A New History*): Exercises in composition that were “progymnastic” or “preparatory” to the writing and delivery of declamation; Aphthonius describes the following fourteen preparatory exercises: *fable, narrative, anecdote, maxim, refutation, confirmation, commonplace, praise, invective, comparison, personification, description, argument, introduction of a law. Praise or encomium* is the eighth *progymnasma*. Theophilus Korydalleus authored an extensive *Art of Rhetoric* based on ancient rhetoricians (Aphthonius, Hermogenes), which contains five parts: I. *Εἰς τὴν ῥητορικὴν τέχνην προοίμιον*, II. *Περὶ προγυμνασμάτων καὶ πόσα εἰσὶ*, III. *Βιβλίον Α΄. Περὶ στάσεων*, IV. *Βιβλίον Β΄. Περὶ διαθέσεως, ἤτοι περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν*, V. *Βιβλίον Γ΄. Περὶ ἐρμηνείας*. In Korydalleus’s treatise (part II) *encomium* is the thirteenth *progymnasma*: *Τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου περιοχὴν κέκτηται*.

²⁰ See D. A. Russel – N. G. Wilson, *Menander the Rhetor. A commentary, Edited with translation and commentary*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981, pp. xxvii-xviii (= Russel – Wilson, *Menander*). The standard Greek text is Hugo Rabe, *Hermogenis Opera*, Teubner, Leipzig 1913; English translation of the Hermogenic treatise by Charles Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) Interpreted from Representative Works*, Macmillan, New York, 1928, pp. 23–38.

²¹ See Russel – Wilson, *Menander*, pp. xxviii; Kennedy, *A New History*, p. 205.

²² The standard Greek text is Russel – Wilson, *Menander*, pp. 77-95: Treatise II. *The imperial oration (Basilikos logos)*; L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, 1856, (reprint 1966), vol. III, pp. 368-377. For Synesius’s *De regno*: Jacques Lamoureux - Aujoulat Noël, *Synésios de Cyrène, Opuscules*, 3 vols. Belles Lettres, Paris, 2008; Nicola Terzaghi, *Synesii Cyrenensis opuscula*, Rome, 1944. Chapter numbers are based on Terzaghi’s edition, line numbers are drawn from the current TLG enumeration.

Undoubtedly, Menander gives detailed instructions on what the orator should write in each part of his speech, as the purpose of the royal encomium is to exalt all the good things pertaining to the ruler in a manner appropriate to the majesty of the person.²³

Iakovos accurately applies this structural plan to the speech for Bassarava: in the *preface/prooemium* (§§1-5) the orator emphasizes the extreme splendor of the person and the necessity to praise him worthily and properly. He also points out that this task is very difficult, “it is hard to match”, and exceeds his own rhetorical abilities.²⁴ However, he believes that the mere fact that he praises such a person offers fame to him, but also provides other people with a role model. In the *narration* he praises Prince’s *hometown, native country* (§§6-8: Constantinople, Targoviste), his *origin* (§§9-11: his *ancestors*, the Wallachian prince Mattheus Bassaraba [1632-1654] and the Byzantine emperor Joannes VI Cantacuzenus [1292-1383], and his *parents*).²⁵ After *country* and *family* the third heading is *birth, upbringing and education* (§§12-13). Then the orator speaks of the Prince’s “nature” and appearance, as well as of his temperate character in his *youth* (§§14-15). Next to accomplishments comes the topic of the Prince’s *deeds and actions in adulthood* (§§16-40), which are praised on the basis of the fourfold *virtues: courage, justice, wisdom, temperance*. The deeds of his reign are examined in comparison with others, in order to prove and illustrate the importance and superiority of the praised person.²⁶ The praise of *deeds and actions* is divided into two parts: a) *actions before assuming the hegemony* (§§16-22: marriage, noble wife, legitimate offspring, deeds and state offices) and b) *actions after the ascension to the throne of Wallachia* (§§23-40: election to the throne, virtues, deeds, moral character, comparison to his predecessor Serban Cantacuzenus [†1688]). Finally, in the first part of the *epilogue* (§§41-42) the rhetor speaks of the prosperity of Wallachia during Bassaraba’s reign and of the good fortune of the cities, of the markets that are full of goods, the cities of feasts and festivals and of the piety towards God which is increased.²⁷ Prince Constantine Bassaraba is presented as the protector of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. In the *conclusive part* of the speech (§§43-45) he utters a prayer, beseeching God that prince Constantine Bassaraba’s reign may endure long, and the throne be handed down to his children and his descendants till the end of time.²⁸

On the other hand, the oration *On the kingship* (*De regno*, chapters 7-11) of Synesius gave Iakovos the opportunity to draw topics and motifs for the presentation of the achievements and deeds, and also the virtues of the Prince (§§32-38), since Menander the

²³ Russel – Wilson, *Menander*, p. 77 (= Menander, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 368, 3-6): “The imperial oration is an encomium of the emperor. It will thus embrace a generally agreed amplification of the good things attaching to the emperor, but allows no ambivalent or disputed features, because of the extreme splendor of the person concerned”.

²⁴ For citation in the edition of the oration (*Laus Bass.*), I use paragraph (§) and line numbers.

²⁵ See Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, p. 561, note 243, 244, 245; his father Papa Brancoveanu was murdered in 1655 by rebel soldiers; Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 69; Joannes Abramios (1709), in his book *Απανθίσματα ποιητικά*, also glorified the royal ancestors of Constantine Bassaraba: ἀπὸ τὸ Μητρῶν γένος ἀριθμοὶ πέντε σεβαστοῦς αὐτοκράτορας (τοὺς Καντακουζηνούς) καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ Πατρικὸν τόσους Αἰθέντας καὶ Ηγεμόνας.

²⁶ Russel – Wilson, *Menander*, p. 92-93 (= Menander, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 376,31-377,10).

²⁷ Russel – Wilson, *Menander*, p. 92-93 (= Menander, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 377,10-14).

²⁸ Russel – Wilson, *Menander*, p. 94-95 (= Menander, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 377,28-30).

Rhetor's handbook did not provide sufficient details in some cases. The encomiastic description of Prince Constantine Bassaraba's virtues follows the model of Synesius, where the first and foremost virtue is considered piety and faith in God (§§32-33),²⁹ which is closely associated with the love (*eros*) of philosophy and the enthusiasm for education (§34).³⁰ So in Bassaraba's case we could speak of a "philosopher king" according to Plato (*Politeia, Respublica*): the Prince is characterized by his love of philosophy, he constantly takes care of philosophical education and spares no money for the progress of the Academy of Bucharest.³¹

Πάλαι μὲν Ἀθῆναι κλεινὸν ὄνομα καὶ μέγα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἤραντο κλέος διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μουσεῖα, [...], νῦν δὲ τὸ Λύκειον καὶ ἡ ποικίλη Στοὰ καὶ Ἀκαδημία τῇ αὐτῆς σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ χρημάτων κατὰ τὸ Βουκορέστιον ἔδονται συνεστηκότα.³²

"In the old days Athens had gained fame and great glory for its institutions, [...] but now the Lyceum, the Stoa and the Academy thanks to Prince's care, zeal and generosity are celebrated as having been established in Bucharest."

Then, his actions and deeds are praised according to the model of the four virtues of Menander, according to which the first and most important is wisdom, while the other three follow, namely courage, temperance and justice (§§35-38). The texts (*Letters, Speeches*) of Synesius were taught consistently at the Patriarchal Academy in the course of rhetoric and epistolography since the 17th century, by erudite professors such as Sevastos Kyminetes. He himself, as a professor later at the Academy of Bucharest, included the oration *On the Kingship* in his teaching repertoire by translating it into the spoken, Modern Greek of his time at the request of Bassarava. It is obvious that the Prince was influenced by the Greek literature and education and sought to renew the hegemonic tradition of Wallachia by using Greek political texts that can assist the ruler in the exercise of power by providing useful guidelines and paradigms.³³

IV. PRAISING THE PRINCE: POLITICAL EXPEDIENCIES AT THE PATRIARCHAL ACADEMY

The patriarchal decree (*sigilium*) of 1691 stipulated that the income collected from the churches of Constantinople would be used to finance the needs of the Patriarchal Academy and to pay its professors.³⁴ Yet, because the collected amount was almost never

²⁹ *Laus Bass.* § 32, 334-335, see Synesius *De regno* 10,1-2: *Εὐσέβεια δὲ πρῶτον ὑποβεβλήσθω κρητὶς ἀσφαλῆς.*

³⁰ Synesius's *De regno* is a mirror for princes, based on Plato's *Politeia* and its model of philosopher king. Synesius compares the current political reality with the ideal of the philosopher-kingship, see Michael Schramm, "Neuplatonische politische Philosophie in der Rede Περὶ βασιλείας des Synesios von Kyrene", in: *Elenchos* 38,1-2 (2017), pp. 151-177 (= Schramm, *Neuplatonische Philosophie*), <https://doi.org/10.1515/elen-2017-0008>.

³¹ See Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 73-74; Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 565-566.

³² *Laus Bass.* § 34, 364-368.

³³ Constantine Bassarava is one of the rulers who ponders and reflects on the character of monarchy, under the influence of the professor of the Academy Sevastos Kyminetes, see Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Institut for Balkan Studies, Thessalonique, 1974, pp. 164-166 (=Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies*); Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 86-87; Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 563-565.

³⁴ Komnenos Ypselantes, *Τα μετὰ την Ἀλωσιν*, p. 206.

enough, money was sought from other sources: those who could afford it were the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, but also the major hierarchs of the Ecumenical Throne.³⁵ In this sense, the Prince of Wallachia was directly involved in the financing of the higher educational institution of the Patriarchate, which was a model institution for the whole Orthodox East as it trained executives, who later held high positions and undertook senior offices in the Orthodox Church and in the elite of the Greek Orthodox community. Therefore, it was logical for the senior professors or the dean of the Academy to compose encomiastic orations not only for the Patriarchs but also for the rulers of the Danubian Principalities, who were the major financial supporters of their Foundation. It is also known that Bassarava himself sought to create a Greek-speaking intellectual circle in the capital of the Ottoman State. A circle of Greek scholars, who praised him in various occasions, such as Antonios Spandonis, Iakovos Argeios, Antonios Byzantios³⁶ and his brother Chourmouzios.³⁷ Those professors of the Patriarchal Academy dedicated epigrams in Homeric dialect to him and his son Stefanos, praising their contribution to Orthodoxy and Greek education.³⁸ Furthermore, Bassarava encouraged Greek scholars in his court in Bucharest to compose orations to praise him and his sons or to dedicate books written or printed in Wallachia to him.³⁹ All this activity, of course, took place within the framework of the so-called “enlightened despotism”, which was initially represented by Prince Constantine Bassarava. The composition of these speeches was known to Iakovos, as it is deduced from the comparison of his speech with the older rhetorical production: these speeches, according to Iakovos, were oral praises, written by famous philosophers of his time, who failed to express the greatness of the grandeur of the Wallachian ruler.

Καίπερ εἰδὼς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφία ὄνομα ἐσχηκότων πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς εὐφημίαις τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑψηλότητα διὰ γλώττης μόνης κοσμήσαντας, ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδεὶς ἐς δεῦρο καὶ γραφῇ παρατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους ταύτης ἐπικεχείρηκε πρὸς τὸ ὕψος, οἶμαι, τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι δεδιὼς καὶ τὸ ἐργᾶδες ταύτης ἐκκλίνων, ἐτόλμησ’ αὐτὸς πρὸς τουτοὶ ἐπαποδύεσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα.⁴⁰

“Yet, I know that many of the famous contemporary philosophers have decorated Your Highness with many beautiful oral eulogies; since none of them has tried up to now to put those praises in writing, due to their fear to deal straightforward, as I

³⁵ Komnenos Ypselantes, *Ta μετά την Αλωσιν*, p. 209; Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 76, note 2, argues that Bassarava together with the Moldavian Prince Antiochus Cantemir helped financially the reorganization of the Patriarchal Academy, perhaps mainly the operation of the higher course.

³⁶ See Perikles Zerlenti, “Προσθήκαι εις τα περι Αντωνίου του Βυζαντίου”, in: *Δελτίον Ιστορικής Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας* No. 8,28 (1918), pp. 478-479; Nadia Miladinova, *The Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos, A study on the first edition published in Greek in 1710*, Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity 4, Brill, Leiden, 2014, p. 84.

³⁷ In cod. Metochiou St. Sepulchri 82, see Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 77, note 4.

³⁸ See Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 76-77; Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, p. 564, note 257. Iakovos Argeios wrote an epigram for Constantine Bassaraba, which has been copied in cod. Beinecke ms 295, f. 42r by Nikolaos Karatzas: *Πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν γαληνότατον ἀθθέντην Οὐγκροβλαχίας καὶ ὑψηλότατον ἡγεμόνα ἐπίγραμμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, see Papazoglou, *Codices Beinecke*, p. 52-53, note 54.

³⁹ See Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 73-74; Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, p. 564, note 257; Mihail Caratasu, “Scieri si encomioane inchinate voievodului Constantin Brancoveanu”, in: *BOR* No. 107/7-10 (1989), pp. 170-174.

⁴⁰ *Laus Bass.* § 3, 26-30.

presume, with the height of the project and by avoiding the difficulty of it, I had the courage myself to enter into this contest.”

The reason for the composition of Iakovos’s encomium in honor of the ruler of Wallachia is not known. However, it raises reasonable questions, because Iakovos is not only a professor at the Patriarchal Academy, but he is primarily a man of the Mavrokordatos’ family. For many years he was a home teacher for the children of Alexandros Mavrokordatos, he frequented his mansion, and often discussed various topics with him. He was his trusted secretary, as there are letters of Mavrokordatos written by the hand of Iakovos in the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher in Constantinople.⁴¹ On the other hand, since the end of the 17th century there was coldness and rivalry between the noble families of Bassarava and Mavrokordatos for sovereignty over the Romanian countries.⁴² It seems, therefore, that the speech for the Prince, that presents him as a model of good and efficient administration, and also a man of a virtuous character, and above all the prayer for his longevity on the throne, was plainly an indication of courtesy of the dean of the Patriarchal Academy to the main financial supporter of his Institution. It is practically a sign of diplomatic recognition of the significant role of the Wallachian ruler in the Orthodox East,⁴³ but it doesn’t involve the scholar in political controversies and conflicts. In such a complicated political situation, Iakovos could distinguish the interest of the Academy from the interest of the Mavrokordatos family, thus risking receiving critical comments from the latter.

Following the instructions of Menander, Iakovos argues in his *proemium* that it is difficult to present accurately the greatness of the person being praised. The oration is addressed personally to the Prince as a royal *eulogy*, but we do not know whether it was ever sent to Bassarava or performed before him by Iakovos himself during a visit to Wallachia before the rise of the Phanariots. From a letter (dated in 1702) of Iakovos to Andreas Likinios, doctor and physician of Dimitrios Cantemir, Agamemnon Tselikas conjects, due to its warm and friendly style, that the two men had met in Bucharest in previous years.⁴⁴ However, this conjecture needs to be adequately substantiated, given that Likinios had previously been in Constantinople in the early 1690s, when Iakovos had already taken on the role of Mavrokordatos’s sons’ private tutor.⁴⁵ Of course, in the encomiastic oration there are

⁴¹ See Gritsopoulos, *Patriarchal School*, pp. 294-297.

⁴² Bassarava owed Alexander Mavrokordatos his retention to the throne of Wallachia in 1691, but after the treaty of Karlowitz (1699) Mavrokordatos showed his ambitions, although apparently he continued to cooperate with the Wallachian ruler. After the death of the mighty Phanariot (1709), Bassarava was relieved that he had been freed “from such a man who was the guide and the light of the Pagans and the traitor of Christianity,” as he wrote to Russian officials, see Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 78, note 3.

⁴³ Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, p. 74, 77; Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 564-568.

⁴⁴ Agamemnon Tselikas, “Νέα στοιχεία για την προσωπικότητα του διδασκάλου Ιακώβου του Αργείου, σύμφωνα με άγνωστες επιστολές του”, in: *Πρακτικά Β΄ Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Αργολικών Σπουδών (Argos 30 May-1 June 1986)*, Athens, 1989, pp. 390, 396-397 (*epistle 7: Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ σοφωτάτῳ ἐμοὶ δὲ προσφιλεστάτῳ κυρίῳ Ἀνδρέᾳ Λικινίῳ τῷ ἐξοχοτάτῳ ἀκέστορι εὖ πράττειν*). The noble Andreas Likinios studied at the University of Padua and exercised medicine in Moldavia and in the Ottoman capital, see Sathas, *Philologia*, pp. 443-444.

⁴⁵ Likinios in the late seventeenth century corresponded with Joannes Karyofylles, the Great Logothete of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, see Manuel Gedeon, “Ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιστολαὶ ἀρχαίων διδασκάλων τοῦ Γένους”, in:

indications that allow us to support the speculation about a previous visit to Wallachia, insofar as Iakovos seems to know many details about the life and accomplishments of the Wallachian ruler. Much information, of course, could have come from the oral testimonies of people who knew him, that is, the Greeks of the milieu of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.⁴⁶ However, some passages and quotes in the speech could support a previous visit of Iakovos to Wallachia, such as the detailed reference to Targoviste (§ 7), the metropolis of Upper Mysia. For the city and its area, Iakovos reports that it is in an excellent location, the land has fertile soil, which produces many fruits of best quality. Its climate is temperate; the atmosphere is healthy, without excessive cold or heat. It's an excellent place for people to live. He even makes a paretymological correlation of the Hellenized name *Trygoviston* (*Τρυγόβιστον*) with the Greek word *trygos* (*τρύγος*, vintage, grape harvest), stating that the word Trygoviston/Targoviste means the city that has many and rich in grape production vines.

Προσεχῶς δὲ ἡ τῆς ἄνω Μυσίας γνωρίζεται μητρόπολις τὸ Τρυγόβιστον, ἐν καλῶ κειμένη τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος. Ἡ τε γὰρ πέριξ ἅπασα χώρα ὀργὰς πέφυκε καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἄνετος καὶ ἐξηλωμένη πρὸς ῥαδίαν αὔλακος σχίσιν καὶ μηδέποτε τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἀχαριστοῦσα, ἀλλὰ πολύχουν καὶ εὐσταχυν ἀποφέρουσα καρπὸν· καὶ τέρπει γε τοὺς γεηπονήσαντας πολλαπλάσιον ἀεὶ τοῦ καταβληθέντος παρεχομένη τὸ ἐκφύεν. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὀνοματοθέταις εὐφυῶς τεθὲν ὄνομα τὴν εὐκληματοῦσαν σημαῖνον πόλιν. Ὁ τε ἀῆρ τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἀπηλλαγμένος τοῦ ψύχους καὶ τῆς θερμότητος καὶ τούτων ἔχων τὸ εὐκρατον εὐσθενεῖν παρέχει τοῖς σώμασι καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀλίσκεσθαι νοσήμασι· ὅθεν κουροτρόφον ἂν τις ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν ἀληθέστερον εἴποι μᾶλλον ἢ μηλοτρόφον.⁴⁷

“His homeland is the well-known metropolis of Upper Mysia, Targoviste, which is located in a beautiful part of the country and of the environment. Its land is by nature fertile, comfortable for farmers, spread out for easy plowing; it is never ungrateful to those who cultivate it, but produces many fruits and good quality grain. It also delights those who work hard to provide products far beyond their toil. The name given to it intelligently from the beginning by its namers indicates the city that has rich vineyards. Its atmosphere is free from excessive cold and heat, its climate is temperate and ensures physical well-being and resistance to diseases. That is why one could say that it really is a country that feeds people and not sheep.”

V. REFLECTIONS ON POLITICS AND THE IDEAL LEADER

Reading the speech of Iakovos Argeios about the ruler of Wallachia, one realizes that it does not only describe the characteristics and skills of a specific person, but it also elaborates on the qualities required in the paradigmatic ruler and the relations between the

Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια No. 3 (1882-1883), pp. 423-425; he also signed the Synodic Letter for the re-establishment of the Patriarchal Academy (1691) as a high-ranking patriarchal official, see Komnenos Yspelantes, *Τα μετά την Αλωσιν*, p. 208: *Λικίνιος ἀκέστωρ*.

⁴⁶ For the Constantinopolitan Greeks in the Court of the Prince, see Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 564-565; Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 28-39, 69-81.

⁴⁷ *Laus Bass.* § 7, 51-64.

sovereign and his subjects.⁴⁸ Of great importance is the noble origin (*τὸ βασιλικὸν αἷμα*, 104) of the ruler and of his ancestors, on which the nobles and the subjects must widely agree.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the ideal ruler should have exceptional and praiseworthy abilities, in order to gain the confidence of his people. The ideal leader is expected to summarize superior leadership virtues, such as courage (*ἀνδρία*), wisdom (*φρόνησις*), temperance (*σωφροσύνη*), and justice (*δικαιοσύνη*).⁵⁰ Furthermore, he must give the impression that he is driven only by his desire to promote the public welfare and the common good.⁵¹ Thus, in order to depict more clearly how the sovereign must deal with his subjects, Iakovos employs the well-known metaphor of the sun, which, even when it is far away, illuminates the universe with its rays.⁵² Thus, the ruler with his abilities and exceptional character stands out from afar, being the model for his subjects.⁵³ The pious ruler is chosen by God (“by divine will”, *θεία βουλήσει*, 112-113; “he accepted the scepter of power from the King of kings”, *παρὰ τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων βασιλεύοντος τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς ἀρχῆς*, 269-270), and for this reason he rules according to the law of God, and no one is justified in resisting his authority.⁵⁴ Of course, in order to cultivate bonds of trust with his subjects, he must avoid arrogant behavior, show modesty (*μετριοφροσύνην*, 278) and treat everyone with meekness (*ἡπίως καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς*, 280-281) and grant them favors (*δωρεαῖς*, 281), showing by deeds that he is a benefactor (*εὐεργέτης*, 281) and lord (*δεσπότης*, 282), a savior (*σωτήρ*, 291) and a guardian (*φύλαξ*, 291) for his subjects, and not a tyrant.⁵⁵ The ruler adopts a just system of collecting taxes taking into account his subjects’ ability to bear those burdens lightly, so that they have a relaxed life without poverty.⁵⁶ Using modern terms of leadership and political power, the ideal ruler should employ less of his “hard” power, that is, the methods of coercion and violence that he

⁴⁸ The issue of the ideal ruler is a key-point in the political theory of the eighteenth century, see Vasileios Syros, “An early modern South Asian thinker on the rise and decline of empires: Shah Wali Allah of Dehli, the Mughals and the Byzantines”, in: *Journal of World History*, No. 23,4 (2013), pp. 802-805.

⁴⁹ *Laus Bass.* § 15, 142-146: *ἀπάντων αἰ γινῶμαι εἰς ταῦτὸν ἔφερον καὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῇ προσυνηψίσαντο καὶ ἡγεμονεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς εὐκταῖον ἐτίθεντο καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὴν ἀπολαύειν κηδεμονίας ἐν μοίρᾳ εὐχῆς ἐποιοῦντο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς σχοίη καλῶς, εἰ μὴ παρ’ αὐτῆς ἡγεμονεύόμενα.*

⁵⁰ *Laus Bass.* § 15, 140-141: *τοῖς δ’ ἔξω πᾶσι θαυματοζομένη τῆς τε φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς πρώτης τούτων δικαιοσύνης.*

⁵¹ *Laus Bass.* § 25, 273: *Οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτῆς εἵνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ὠφελείας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐδέξατο; § 38, 417-419: οὐχ ὅπως ὅτι πλείστον αὐτῇ χρημάτων ἐγκρατῆς γένηται, ἵν’ ἔχη τὸ ἠδόμενον τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπεύειν ἐντεῦθεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἐν εὐπορίαις καὶ ἀνέσει διαβίῃ τὸ ὑπήκοον καὶ μὴ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία πιέζεται. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι οὓς ἴσμεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον κέρδος.*

⁵² The “Sun-King” metaphor glorifies the superior virtues of the ruler, *Laus Bass.* § 18, 178-179; § 24, 258-259; § 39, 435; § 40, 441-442.

⁵³ *Laus Bass.* § 5, 46-47: *Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἐπαινουμένης μέγα γίνεται κέρδος, οὕτω σιγωμένης αὐτῆς ζημία παρομαρτεῖν ἔοικεν οὐχ ἢ τυχοῦσα μηδενὸς εἰς μίμησιν ἐρεθιζομένου.*

⁵⁴ *Laus Bass.* § 24, 263-265: *ὄν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ἄρχοντα λαοῦ προχειρίζεται καὶ ἡγεμόνα ψηφίζει κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐρίσκων καρδίαν ὡς ἄλλον Δαβίδ, τοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἀποψηφίζειν ἰσχύει.* Monotheistic religions have influenced the concept of a ruler chosen by God in medieval Eurasia; see Aziz Al-Azmeh - Janos M. Bak, eds., *Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants*, Budapest, 2004, pp. 9-29.

⁵⁵ *Laus Bass.* § 36, 395; § 27, 292-293: *φίλους μὲν ταυτὸν εἶπειν ἀγαθοὺς τέρπουσα, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ βασκάνους καταπλήττουσα.*

⁵⁶ *Laus Bass.* § 38, 418-419: *ὅπως ἐν εὐπορίαις καὶ ἀνέσει διαβίῃ τὸ ὑπήκοον καὶ μὴ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία πιέζεται [...], ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι τὸν βίον ἀνευδεῶς ἐν ἀνέσει διάγωσιν; § 41, 455-458.*

has at his disposal, and more of the “soft” power.⁵⁷ Soft power is based on his ability to charm others, to inspire them and influence their choices. In other words, he is a charismatic personality who can charm and inspire loyalty to his subjects.⁵⁸ A leader is a person with self-confidence and enthusiasm, and this power comes from an inner source of energy, which is faith in God (ή μετ’ εύσεβοῦς συνειδήσεως πίστις, 334-335) and his mission. That is why a Christian leader supports the church, its representatives and especially the supreme authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch.⁵⁹ A key part of Iakovos’s exposition of the principles of effective leadership is devoted to the criteria for selection of friends by the ruler.⁶⁰ Undoubtedly the ruler needs dedicated people to assist him in the fulfillment of his tasks but also in the administering of public affairs. These are people who can be capable and trustworthy administrators and will protect the public interest and the interest of the ruler at the same time. The ruler must have the ability to distinguish those who are able and suitable for his friendship, those who are genuinely willing to support him. The ruler acts like the wise bee (σοφή μέλιττα).⁶¹ To substantiate this point, Iakovos uses the metaphor of doctors (οί τής υγείας λόγον ὅτι πλεῖστον ποιούμενοι, 301-302), who urge people to eat healthy instead of pleasant food, to consume products that help maintain good health, instead of more delicious but potentially harmful and unhealthy alternatives. The ruler does not need adulators but genuine friends, who support as state officials his rule with their diligence and love. Devoting special attention to the ruler’s relationship with his friends, Iakovos points out that friends are the eyes of the sovereign, an extensive network of informers, who effectively protect him ensuring domestic stability and order.⁶²

VI. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the sources and the finding of the texts that Iakovos employed to compose the oration for the Prince of Wallachia allow us to enter the rooms of the Patriarchal Academy at the time of writing the text. Handbooks and treatises of rhetoric theory on the one hand, rhetorical texts of late antiquity and the Byzantine era on the other, - which are all recorded in detail in the *apparatus fontium* of my edition-, but also rich oral

⁵⁷ According to Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Powers to Lead*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008, p. 29 (= Nye, *Powers to Lead*), who introduced the distinction “hard” and “soft” power: police power and financial power are examples of hard power that can be used to get others to change their position. But sometimes one can get the outcomes one wants by attracting others without threat or payment. This is soft power: It co-opts people rather than coerces them. For the implementation of this model in the medieval Islamic political thought see Vasileios Syros, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought and Modern Leadership* (in Greek), Papazisis, Athens, 2020, pp. 28-35.

⁵⁸ *Laus Bass.* § 16, 160-164: τοῖς τότε τήν ἀρχήν τής ἡγεμονίας διέπουσιν ὑπεραγαπᾶτο [...] καί ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἀεὶ τῶν συναρχαιρεσιαζόντων προετιμᾶτο; on charismatic leadership in modern terms see Nye, *Powers to Lead*, pp. 54-61.

⁵⁹ *Laus Bass.* § 33, 346-348.

⁶⁰ *Laus Bass.* § 28, 299-301: οὐ γὰρ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀλλὰ διὰ χρόνου καὶ πολλὰ δοκιμάσασα τὰς διαθέσεις τήν αὐτῶν ἔταιρίαν ἠπάσατο, καὶ τούτων αὐ τοῖς δοκιμωτέροις καὶ χρησιμωτέροις ἤδεται μᾶλλον συνοῦσι;

⁶¹ *Laus Bass.* § 29, 305-306: καὶ οἷα σοφὴ μέλιττα πανταχόθεν σπεύδεν συλλέγειν τὰ τε πρὸς ἔπαινον αὐτῆς καὶ ὄνησιν συντείνοντα.

⁶² *Laus Bass.* § 29, 309-310: Ὡτα γὰρ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰπόν τις τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς γνησίους τῶν φίλων οὐκ ἂν πόρρω βάλοι τής ἀληθείας.

testimonies about the Prince Constantine and his country have formed a speech, which in no case can be considered a slavish praise, full of flattery and exaggeration. It is an excellent example of the rhetorical eloquence of the famous Aristotelian professor of Constantinople, who has influenced decisively the course of the Patriarchal Academy with his long lasting and constant teaching activity. The authentic biographical material, contained in this speech, has a special value, as it comes from a contemporary author of the ruler and is generally aligned with what we know today from modern Romanian historians.⁶³ During the reign of Bassarava, Wallachia is presented as a prosperous, ideal state, where ruler and subjects progress in social peace and cooperation. The ruler does not impose unbearable taxes on his subjects, but favors the development of their economic activities. Compared to his predecessors, Bassarava does not seek his personal gain but the welfare of his subjects: prosperity and tranquility prevail in towns and villages, households have plenty of goods, markets are full of produce, locals and foreigners easily obtain the necessities of life.⁶⁴ Despite the obvious exaggerations of his description, Iakovos gives us today a visionary picture of Wallachia, as seen through the eyes of Constantinopolitan Greeks in the early 18th century, who were oppressed by the authoritarian rule of the Ottomans: the country of Constantine Bassaraba was the refuge and shelter for all the Orthodox who suffered mistreatment and abuse in other countries.

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⁶³ Croitoru, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 561-570, who summarizes the Romanian historiography on Bassaraba; Those historians have also examined Bassaraba's work and actions mainly through the perspective of his martyrdom: he is a martyr of the Faith, a national hero. On the other hand, Karathanasis, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 69-81, emphasizes the political and cultural aspects of his work as a sign of the rising of "enlightened despotism" in South-Eastern Europe.

⁶⁴ *Laus Bass.* § 42: κῶμαι καὶ πόλεις εὐθηνίαις καλύπτονται, οἰκίαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἀφθόνους περιρρέονται καὶ τούτων αἱ πράται πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς κομῶσι πολυκτῆμονες οὖσαι καὶ εὐκτῆμονες. Αἱ ἀγοραὶ πλήρεις ὀνίων καὶ πάντες ἄλλοδαποί τε καὶ αὐτόχθονες ῥάδιον καὶ ἱκανὸν τὸν πόρον τῆς ζωῆς εὐρίσκουσι καὶ ἐν εὐθυμίαις διάγουσιν· ἑορταὶ τε καὶ πανηγύρεις μετὰ πολλῆς συγκροτοῦνται θυμηδίας.

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Appendix 1:

IACOBI MANNAE ARGEI

RECTORIS ACADEMIAE PATRIARCHALIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE

LAUS IOANNIS CONSTANTINI BASSARABAE

PRINCIPIS WALLACHIAE

Editio critica

cum apparatu fontium

IACOBI ARGEI LAUS CONSTANTINI BASSARABAE

Πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλότατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον αὐθέντην καὶ ἡγεμόνα
πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κύριον κύριον Ἰωάννην Κωνσταντῖνον
5 Βασσαράβαν βοεβόδαν ἐγκώμιον προσφωνηματικὸν ἐκδοθὲν
παρὰ τοῦ ἐντιμοτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κὺρ Ἰακουμῆ
Μάννα τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγῳ
προγυμνάσματος ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν
Πατριαρχικῇ Σχολῇ κατὰ τὸ ,αψη' ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον

10 1 Καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ γλώττης γεραίρειν ἀρετὴν θ' ἐκάστην ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθόλου, καὶ
τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένους, ἡγεμῶν κράτιστε, πολλῶ δὲ κρεῖττον καὶ λυσιτελέστερον τὰς
τούτων εὐφημίας γραφῆ παραδιδόναι. Ὁ μὲν γάρ τοι προφορικὸς λόγος ἅμα τε λέγεται καὶ
πέπαυται καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ῥημάτων ἀνεπαισθήτως τῶν φιληκόνων τὰς ἀκοὰς διατρέχει, μὴ
15 δυναμένης οὕτως ἐν βραχεῖ τὸ ὕψος συνάσαι καὶ διασῶσαι τῶν λεγομένων εἰς μίαν ἐντελῆ
διάνοιαν διὰ τὸ ῥευστὸν καὶ ἀτύπωτον τῆς τοῦ διηχοῦς φύσεως, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ταῖς ἀκοαῖς
τὰς φωνὰς διαπορθμεύοντος, ἐφ' ὅσον παρὰ τοῦ λαλοῦντος λαμβάνει τὸ ἐνδόσιμον· καὶ
διακονεῖ μὲν τῇ κινήσει τῆς γλώττης τῇ φωνῇ τῇ ἐνάρθρῳ συσχηματιζόμενος, μετὰ δὲ τὴν
20 φωνὴν οὐδὲν παρ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦ λόγου σύμβολον δείκνυσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπέοικεν ὁ λαληθεὶς
λόγος τῷ μηδέπω λαληθέντι, μνήμην οὐδεμίαν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐγκαταλείπων. 2 Οἱ δὲ γ'
ἐν δέλτοις ἐγγραφέντες λόγοι καθαπερὶ στήλαις ἐγχαραχθέντες καὶ ὑπόστασιν εἰληφότες τῇ
παρατάσει τοῦ κόσμου συμπαρεκτείνονται καὶ δολιχεύειν τὴν μνήμην καὶ συνδιαιωνίζειν τῷ
παρόντι ποιῶσιν αἰῶνι διαπρύσιοι κήρυκες ἀλαλήτῳ φωνῇ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἐς αἰεὶ
25 καθιστάμενοι καὶ παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ παρέχοντες ὡς ἐν πίνακι θεᾶσθαι τῶν κατορθωμάτων
τὴν ποικιλίαν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ, μόνον εἰ μὴ τις ἀφιλόκαλος εἴη, νωθρός τε καὶ
φθονερός καὶ παντάπασιν ἀβέλτερος.

3 Διὰ τοι τοῦτο καίπερ εἰδὼς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ ὄνομα ἐσχηκότων πολλαῖς
καὶ καλαῖς εὐφημίαις τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑψηλότητα διὰ γλώττης μόνης κοσμήσαντας, ἐπεὶ δὲ
μηδεὶς ἐς δεῦρο καὶ γραφῆ παρατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους ταύτης ἐπικεχείρηκε πρὸς τὸ ὕψος,
οἶμαι, τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀντοφθαλμησαι δεδιὼς καὶ τὸ ἐργῶδες ταύτης ἐκκλίνων, ἐτόλμησ'
30 αὐτὸς πρὸς τουτοῖς ἐπαποδύεσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὃν πάλαι μὲν ὄδιον, καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους
ἐφήδρευον («κωφὸς γάρ, φησιν, ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ παραβάλοι», τοὺς μὴ τὰ καλὰ
θαυμάζοντας ἀναισθήτους τοῦ λόγου ἀποφαίνοντος), ἀνεδυόμην δὲ καὶ ἀνεβαλλόμεν ὡσπερ
ἐχῖνος τὸν τοκετὸν καὶ ὠκνοῦν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τηλικούτῳ πράγματι ἀφορῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀνέφικτον
τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος, οὐχ ὅπως ἔμοιγε ἀλλὰ καὶ οἵτινες ἐς ἄκρον ῥητορείαν ἐξήσκηνται καί¹

¹ Hunc titulum praebet cod. Beinecke ms 295: Ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὸν ἐκλαμπρότατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον αὐθέντην καὶ ἡγεμόνα πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κύριον κύριον Ἰωάννην Κωνσταντῖνον Βασσαράβαν βοεβόδαν ἐγκώμιον, ἐκδοθὲν ἐν λόγῳ προγυμνάσματος παρὰ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου ἡμῶν καθηγουμένου κυρίου Ἰακώβου Μάννα τοῦ Ἀργείου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν λόγῳ προγυμνάσματος ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν Πατριαρχικῇ Σχολῇ κατὰ τὸ ,αψη' ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον habet cod. Athous gr 6288

31 Pindarus *Pythia* 9, 87: κωφὸς ἀνὴρ τις, ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ περιβάλλει; Synesius *Epistulae* 150, 4: Κωφὸς ἀνὴρ ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ περιβάλλει || 33-34 τὸ ἀνέφικτον τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος] Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 368, 8-11: λήψη τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τὰ προοίμια δηλονότι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐξήσεως, μέγεθος περιτιθεῖς τῇ ὑποθέσει, ὅτι δυσέφικτος, καὶ ὅτι καθῆκας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀγῶνα οὐ ῥάδιον κατορθοθῆναι λόγῳ

35 μελέτην τοῦ βίου τὸν λόγον ἐπεποιήκεσαν, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἔλεγον· τίς σὺ ὁ
τηλικοῦτον ἄθλον ὑποδυσόμενος, ὃν πάντες οἱ μέχρι τοῦδε διαθλήσαντες τῇ ἡττῇ γ'
ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐσυρίχθησαν τοῖς θεαταῖς; **4** Καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα πελάγη τῶν
λαμπρῶν ἔργων ὀλκάδι μικρᾷ τοῦ λόγου περάσαι διανοούμενος καὶ λόγῳ περιβαλεῖν
40 φιλονεικῶν τὰ πάντα λόγον καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι ὑπερπαίοντα προτερήματα, ὧν
ἢ θ' Ὀμήρου φιλοσοφία πολλῶ κατόπιν λείπεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἰλιγγιᾶ δῆπουθεν
εὐγλωττία καὶ τὸ στωμύλον αὐτοῦ πάντως ἂν ἀφωνίαν ἐνταῦθα κατεδικάσθη. **5** Οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ λόγου πατὴρ κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ προκειμένου εἰς ἔπαινον
ἐξισῶσαι τοὺς λόγους οὐ δύναται. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ λογισμοὶ τῆς γραφῆς με διωθοῦντο καὶ
45 ἀπῆγον οὐ μάλ' ἐκόντα, τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς σιωπῆς βλάβος ἐπὶ πλεῖον μ' ἐπώτρυνε πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα
καὶ γράφειν τὴν εὐφημίαν καὶ πλέκειν τὸν στέφανον καὶ ταινιοῦν τῷ τοῦ λόγου διαδήματι
τὴν θεόστεπτον καὶ θεοφροῦρητον κορυφὴν ὑπερεθέρμαινεν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀρετῆς
ἐπαινουμένης μέγα γίνεται κέρδος, οὕτω σιγωμένης αὐτῆς ζημία παρομαρτεῖν ἔοικεν οὐχ ἡ
τυχοῦσα μηδενὸς εἰς μίμησιν ἐρεθιζομένου. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ δευτέρου γενόμενος ἀπέσεισα μὲν
50 πρῶτον ἐπευξάμενος προστήσασθαι μοι τῆς ἐν γράμμασιν εὐφημίας.

6 Τοιγαροῦν πατρίδα τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοφιλεστάτης ὑψηλότητος ἐπιζητοῦντες ἄνωθεν
μὲν τὴν πασῶν τῶν πόλεων εὐρίσκομεν βασιλίδα τὴν προκαθημένην ἀνατολῆς τε καὶ
δύσεως, ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας, ἣν καὶ μικρὰν τις εἰπὼν οἰκουμένην οὐκ ἂν πόρρω βάλοι
τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐκ τοῦ κυριωτέρου μέρους τὸ πᾶν ὀνομάζων· ὃν γὰρ ἔχει λόγον ὀφθαλμὸς
55 πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ νοῦς πρὸς ψυχὴν, τὸν αὐτὸν ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ οἰκούμενον. **7**
Προσεχῶς δὲ ἡ τῆς ἄνω Μυσίας γνωρίζεται μητρόπολις τὸ Τρυγόβιστον, ἐν καλῷ κειμένη
τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος. Ἡ τε γὰρ περίξ ἅπασα χώρα ὀργὰς πέφυκε καὶ τοῖς
γεωργοῖς ἄνετος καὶ ἐξηπλωμένη πρὸς ῥαδίαν αὐλακος σχίσιν καὶ μηδέποτε τοῖς
ἐργαζομένοις ἀχαριστοῦσα, ἀλλὰ πολὺχουν καὶ εὐσταχυν ἀποφέρουσα καρπὸν· καὶ τέρπει
60 γε τοὺς γεηπονήσαντας πολλαπλάσιον ἀεὶ τοῦ καταβληθέντος παρεχομένη τὸ ἐκφυέν. Δηλοῖ
δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς ὀνοματοθέταις εὐφυῶς τεθὲν ὄνομα τὴν εὐκληματοῦσαν σημαῖνον
πόλιν. Ὁ τε ἀῆρ τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἀπηλλαγμένος τοῦ ψύχους καὶ τῆς θερμότητος καὶ τούτων
ἔχων τὸ εὐκρατον εὐσθενεῖν παρέχει τοῖς σώμασι καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀλίσκεσθαι νοσήμασι· ὅθεν
κουροτρόφον ἂν τις ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν ἀληθέστερον εἴποι μᾶλλον ἢ μηλοτρόφον. **8** Ἀλλὰ
65 ταῦτά γ' οἷον ἐπεισόδιον εἰρήσθω τῷ λόγῳ. Τούτοις μὲν γὰρ κοσμεῖν φιλοῦσιν οἱ τεχνῖται
τῶν λόγων, οὓς μὴ ἔχουσιν ἂν ἰδίους σεμνῶναι κατορθώμασιν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐν τούτοις διατρίβειν
παρέλκον ἐστίν, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ ἔργου προτιθέναί φανῶμεν τὸ πάρεργον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔξωθεν
καλλωπισμοῖς προκαταναλώσαντες τοῦ λόγου τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλεσιν
ἀπαυδήσωμεν.²

² 39-41 Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 369,7-9: λήπει δὲ δευτέρων προοιμίων ἐννοίας, ὅταν αὐξήσεως ἕνεκα παραλαμβάνηται, ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀμήρου τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας, ὅτι ταύτης μόνης ἐδεῖτο ἡ ὑπόθεσις || 51 cf. Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 369,18: μετὰ τὰ προοίμια ἐπὶ πατρίδα ἤξεις || 52-55 Pseudo-Martyrius *Oratio funebris in laudem Joannis Chrysostomi* 23,4: πόλεως τοσαύτης ἐπιστατῶν, ἦν οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις προσειπὼν καὶ μικρὰν οἰκουμένην || 64 Synesius *Epistulae* 5,278-279: τὴν Ἄμμωνος γῆν οὐ μᾶλλον εἶναι μηλοτρόφον ἢ κουροτρόφον ἀγαθὴν

70 **9** Τοσαῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τοιαῦτα τῇ πόλει παρεχομένη αὐχήματα ἢ ὑμετέρα σύνεσις ἐξ
ἀγαθῶν τ' ἔφυ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους οὐ μόνον τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔσχε
γεννήτορας, κάκεινους τοσοῦτον τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει παρήλασεν, ὅσῳπερ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς
λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερηκόντισαν. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν ἀξιάγαστον ἐκεῖνον καὶ
75 χριστιανικώτατον ἡγεμόνα Ματθαῖον βοεβόδαν τὸν Βασσαράβαν τὴν χρυσοῦν τοῦ γένους
ἀνάπτει σειράν, οὗ τὸ μὲν γενναῖον καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν φρόνημα τοὺς κατ' ἐκεῖνον καιρὸν
πάντας ἐξέπληξε, τό τε εὐνοϊκὸν καὶ περὶ τοὺς φίλους μεγαλόδωρον καὶ τῆς γνώμης τὸ
εὐπρόσιτον ἐν θαύματι τοῖς τότε ἦν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τρόπαια καὶ ἀνδραγαθήματα
καὶ τῶν νῦν καταυλεῖ τὰ ὄψα καὶ θάμβος ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἀναπολοῦσι ταῦτα καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ
συμπεριφέρουσιν. Ὡν οὐδεὶς τυγχάνει πάντως ἀνήκοος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτὸς
80 ἀθέατος ὁ μὴ πηρὸς τὰς ὄψεις. Τῆς δ' εὐσεβοῦς αὐτοῦ πίστεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδῆς
μνημεῖα κάλλιστα καὶ μάρτυρες ἀληθέστατοι τυγχάνουσιν αἱ πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας τῶν ἱερῶν
σηκῶν οἰκοδομαίαι καὶ τὰ σεμνεῖα τῶν μοναζόντων καὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτὰ μεγαλοπρεπῆ ἀναθήματα.

10 Ἐκ δὲ μητρὸς βασιλικῆς ἐστὶν ἄρματος καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐχεῖ τοὺς προγόνους·
Ἰωάννης γὰρ ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ σου μητρὶ τὴν
85 διαδοχὴν τοῦ γένους διέδωκεν, οὗ τὰς κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων νίκας καὶ ὅσα κατ' αὐτῶν
ἐστήσατο τρόπαια, τὴν τε βασιλεῖ πρέπουσαν ὀρθοδόξῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοίκησιν, τὰ τε πρὸ τῆς
ἀναρρήσεως καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας περιζώσιν εὐσεβῆ κατορθώματα οὔτε τοῦ
παρόντος καιροῦ οὔτε τῆς νῦν ἐστὶν ὑποθέσεως. Ἄλλως τε καὶ βίβλων πολυστίχων ταῦτα
διατόρως κηρυττουσῶν, τοῦτο μόνον ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς γόνυ τότε
90 γ' ὀκλάσαντα καὶ μείζονος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐπικουρίας δεόμενα μόνος οὗτος ὁ ἀοίδιμος ἐν
βασιλεῦσι τῇ πίστει καὶ τῇ ἄνωθεν συμμαχίᾳ τεθωρακισμένος χεῖρά τε τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ᾤρεξε πράγμασι καὶ ἀνῶρθωσε μονονοῦκ εἰς παντελῆ ἀφανισμόν κεκλικότα, καὶ ἔργῳ τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἐδίδαξε μὴ καταφρονεῖν Ῥωμαίων μηδ' εἰσβάλλειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν χώραν
ἀνέδην, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν τῇ ἑαυτῶν μηδὲ στέλλεσθαι ἐκστρατείας ὑπερορίου, ἀλλ' ἀτρέμας
95 ἔχειν τῶν οἰκείων ἐντὸς ὄρων. **11** Ἐκ τοιούτων ἄρα τὸ γένος ἔλκουσιν ὃ τε πατὴρ καὶ ἡ
μήτηρ – ἡ μὲν ἐκ βασιλέων ἄνωθεν, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων. Καὶ ἦν ὁ μὲν μηδὲν
παραχωρῶν τῶν πρωτείων ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, ἡ δὲ τῶν πάποτ' ἐπὶ τε
σωφροσύνῃ καὶ σεμνότητι καὶ τῇ τῶν ἡθῶν εὐκοσμίᾳ περιβοήτων γυναικῶν πολλῶ τῷ
μέτρῳ διενεγκοῦσα. Νόμῳ δὲ γάμου συναφθέντες τὴν ἀρίστην ὄντως ἀπετέλεσαν ζυωρίδα
100 καὶ καθάπερ Ἰσαὰκ ὁ θαυμάσιος καὶ ἡ σωφρονεστάτη Ῥεβέκκα τοῦ Θεοῦ προμνηστευσα-
μένου συνοικήσαντες ἐν Χριστῷ μᾶλλον διεγένοντο βιοῦντες ἢ τῇ ματαίᾳ δόξῃ
προσέχοντες, καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τῇ τῶν σωμάτων ἐτέρποντο κοινωνία ὡς τῇ κατὰ ψυχὴν
ὁμογνωμοσύνην διέχαιρον. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλει καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡθους σταθερότητι
καὶ τῷ τοῦ προσώπου εὐγενεῖ καταστήματι τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐνεδείκνυεν αἷμα, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τὸ
105 ἡγεμονικὸν ἔτρεφε φρόνημα μεγαλοουργὸς ὢν ἀνὴρ καὶ μεγαλόνομος, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ
πεπρωμένον τοῦ βίου τοῦτον ἀπῆγεν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐπιστάσης.³

³ 100-101 τοῦ Θεοῦ προμνηστευσαμένου] *Genesis* 50-51: Παρὰ κυρίου ἐξῆλθεν τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦτο· οὐ δυνα-
σόμεθα οὖν σοὶ ἀντειπεῖν κακὸν καλῶ. ἰδοὺ Ρεβέκκα ἐνώπιόν σου· λαβὼν ἀπότρεχε, καὶ ἔστω γυνὴ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ
κυρίου σου, καθὰ ἐλάλησεν κύριος

οἷς κρίμασιν οἶδεν ἢ θεία πρόνοια, ἧς ἄτερ οὐδὲ θριξ ἡμῶν πεσεῖται τῆς κεφαλῆς, εἰ δὲ δεῖ
καὶ τῶν θείων ἄψασθαι κριμάτων, ὅτι μακροὺς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πεπλήρωκε χρόνους καὶ ἀρεστῆ
αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ Κυρίῳ, πολλὰς ἂν ἡμῖν ἱστορίας πολλῶν κάγαθῶν
κατορθωμά<των> ἀπέλιπεν ἂν.

12 Νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ συνεχωρήθη περιεῖναι τῷ βίῳ, ἐφ' ὅσον πατέρα γεγονέναι
τῆς ὑμετέρας πραότητος, ἧτις θεία βουλήσει προώριστο ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς αἰῶσι φανῆναι τῷ
βίῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ τῶν πραγμάτων φορὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πάντως ἔχρηξε
κηδεμονίας, ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἄλλως τό γε νῦν εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν συμφερόντως διευθετεῖσθαι ἢ
ταύτης τὴν ἀρχὴν διαπρεπούσης. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοιοῦτος καὶ τηλικοῦτος ὑπάρξειν ἤμελλεν ὁ
τεχθησόμενος καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔδει προκαταβληθῆναι μεγάλας, ἴν' ὅσι γε μεγάλα μεγίστου
πράγματος καὶ τὰ αἷτια, καὶ τοῦτό σοι προφικνόμεται παρὰ τῆς πάντα σοφῶς διοικουμένης
προνοίας, ὃ Θάλληστρις ἢ τῶν ἀμαζόνων βασίλισσα τῇ ἑαυτῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν
Μακεδόνα συμπλοκῇ γενέσθαι νουνεχῶς ἐστοχάσατο καὶ τῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου δεδήλωκεν.
«Εἰκὸς γὰρ φησι τὸν ἐκ δυοῖν γονέων πρωτεύοντων γεννώμενον ὑπερέξειν ἀρετῆ τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνθρώπων». **13** Τοιούτοις οὖν χρησαμένη γεννήτορσιν ἢ ὑμετέρα θεοσέβεια ἐκ πρώτης (ὁ
φασί) τριχὸς ἦθεσι χρηστοῖς ἀνετρέφετο καὶ ἐν ἀπαλῷ τῷ σώματι ἀγκάλαις μητρικαῖς
ἐποχουμένη εὐγενικοῖς ἀνεσκίρτα σκιρτήμασι καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀνεπλάττετο τοὺς λαμπροὺς
χαρακτῆρας τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ ὡς κηρὸς εὐμάλακτος τοὺς τύπους ἐνετυποῦτο τοῦ κάλλους
τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ιδέαν κοσμιότητος ἐρρυθμίζετο καὶ σεμνότητος. Καὶ ἦν
«παιδίον (ὃ περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως φησὶν ἢ γραφῇ) ἀστεῖον καὶ χαρίεν», ἐν ἄνθει τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐν
ἀκμῇ τῆς ὥρας γλυκὺ θέαμα τοῖς γεννησαμένοις, εἰς ὥραν ἐπιδιδούν, εἰς ἀκμὴν προϊόν, τὰς
τῆς ψυχῆς ὠραιότητας συναῦξον τῷ κάλλει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοὺς φύντας ταῖς χρῆσταις
ἐπιτέρπον ἐλπίσιν.

14 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλοις παρείσθω τὰ διηγήματα, ἡμῖν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς
μεταβατέον τοῦ λόγου βιάζοντος. Τὴν γοῦν πρώτην ἡλικίαν παραλλάξασα καὶ εἰς τὸν
μείρακα παραγγείλασα, ἠνίκα συμβαίνει τοὺς νεωτέρους ἀκαθεκτοτέρους ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθαι
καὶ ὑπὸ σφριγώσης τῆς νεότητος εἰς τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα συνωθεῖσθαι, οὐ καθὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς
αὐτῆ τῶν νέων (οἴτινες, ἐπειδὴν τοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης εὐροοῦντες τύχῳσι, πόνου μὲν οὐδενὸς
ἐπὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις ἀνέχονται, πᾶσαν δ' ἡδυπάθειαν ἀσπάζονται) εἰς ῥαστώνας ἐξέκλινεν,
οὐδὲ τρυφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παιδιαῖς ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις ἅπασιν οἷς οἱ πολλοὶ
σεμνύονται κακῶς κρίνοντες, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσασα τῶν σεμνῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀντίχετο
καὶ τοῖς περὶ εὐσεβείας ἐσχόλαζε λόγοις καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ σεμνότητος ἐπετηδεύετο
ἔργα καὶ ἡγεμονίας θεοφιλοῦς ἄξια πράττουσα διετέλει. **15** Καὶ ἦν τοῖς μὲν γειναμένοις διὰ
ταῦτα τὸ φίλτρον πλεονάζουσα, τοῖς δ' ἔξω πᾶσι θαυμαζομένη τῆς τε φρονήσεως καὶ
ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς πρώτης τούτων δικαιοσύνης, ἀνθ' ὧν τῶν ὁρώντων
ἀπάντων αἰ γινῶμαι εἰς ταῦτόν ἔφερον καὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῇ προσυνε-⁴

⁴ 110 κατορθωμά<των> supplevi

112-113 θεία βουλήσει] Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 370,21-23 τῇ δ' ἀληθεία παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καταπέμπονται
καὶ εἰσιν ἀπόρροια ὄντως τοῦ κρείττονος 118-121 Θάλληστρις] Diodorus Siceliotus *Bibliotheca* 17,77,1-4 ||
121-125 ἐκ πρώτης (ὁ φασί) τριχὸς] Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 371,15-16: ἐξέλαμπεν ἐξ ὠδίνων εὐειδῆς τῷ
κάλλει || 126 *Epist. Ad Hebraeos* 11,23 || 140-141 Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 373,5-8: διαίρει γὰρ ἅπαντα τοῦ
τὰς πράξεις ὧν ἂν μέλλῃς ἐγκωμιάζειν εἰς τὰς ἀρετάς (ἀρεταὶ δὲ τέσσαρες εἰσιν, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη,
σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις)

ψηφίσαντο και ήγεμονεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς εὐκταῖον ἐτίθεντο και τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀπολαύειν κηδεμονίας ἐν μοίρα εὐχῆς ἐποιοῦντο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς σχοίη καλῶς, εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτῆς ήγεμονευόμενα, τοῖς ἔξωθεν πλεονεκτήμασι πρὸς τὴν ἔνδοθεν ἀγλαΐαν και σταθερότητα τεκμηρίοις χρωμένων και διὰ τοῦ σωματικοῦ κάλλους ὡς δι' ἐσόπτρου διειδεστάτου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνοπριζομένων τὸ κάλλος. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ σώματος εἰς μέγεθος περίβλεπτον ἀναδρομὴ και ἡ τῶν μελῶν μετ' εὐχροίας ἀρμονία και σύμπηξις και τὸ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρχῆς ἄξιον εἶδος τὴν ἔνδοθεν τῆς ψυχῆς παρίστησιν εὐγένειαν, και τῶντι καλλίστη ψυχῇ κάλλιστον ὁ Θεὸς παρέσχε τὸ ὄργανον, ἴν' εὐμαρῶς δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ συζεύξαντι διαπράττηται.

16 Τίς γὰρ τῇ ρώμῃ τοῦ σώματος οὕτω πρὸς ἀγαθὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἐχρήσατο, ὡς ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης; Πολλοῖς μὲν ἡ τοῦ σώματος εὐεξία κακίας μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρετῆς παραίτιος γίνεταί τοῖς τῆς φύσεως δωρήμασιν οὐ καλῶς κεχρημένοις, αὐτὴ δὲ τῇ τε ρώμῃ και τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ σώματος πλεονεκτήμασι πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς μεγαλουργίαν και πρὸς ἀγαθοεργίας ἀεὶ φαίνεται κεχρημένη, «τὸν νοῦν ὥσπερ τινὰ κυβερνήτην ἄνω καθήμενον τῶν παθῶν ἔχουσα και οἰονεὶ πλοίου τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιβάντα ἐμπείρως τοὺς λογισμοὺς οἷον οἶακας περιστρέφειν και καταπατεῖν μὲν γενναίως τὰ κύματα, ὑψηλὸν δ' ἀεὶ διαμένειν και ἀνένδοτον εἶναι τοῖς πάθεσι», και δυσχερέστερον ἂν τις αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν παρατρέψοι ῥοπῆς ἢ τῆς συνήθους πορείας τὸν ἥλιον. Ἄνθ' ὧν και τοῖς τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ήγεμονίας διέπουσιν ὑπεραγαπᾶτο (τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς εἰ και μὴ πάντες ἀντιποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ και κακίας μετέχοντες, οὐδεὶς μὲντοι ταύτης ἀνέραςτος και τοὺς ταύτην μετιόντας ἐν μομφῇ τιθέμενος) και ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἀεὶ τῶν συναρχαιρεσιαζόντων προειμᾶτο και ἀξίαις ἐκοσμοῦτο ταῖς ὑπερεχούσαις. Ἐν αἷς ἀπάσαις εὐδοκίμει και ἐνέπρεπε πρὸς εὐποίας μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῆς κέρδος τὴν ἀρχὴν κληρουμένη και φίλτρον τοῖς πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ δέος ἐνέσταζε φιλανθρωπία ὅτι πλείστη και συμπαθεῖα χρωμένη. **17** Διὸ θέαμα ἦν τοῖς ὀρθῶσιν εὐκταῖον και κάλλιστον, και χρηστὰς εἶχον ἅπαντες ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν ἀρίστην αὐτῆς ήγεμονίαν ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν δευτέρων ἀρχῶν διοικήσεως τεκμαιρόμενοι. Τῆς γὰρ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς αἱ ἐλάττους δοκίμια τυγχάνουσι, και ὁ ταῖς δυνάμει τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστήσας μονάρχη τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν τῶν παθῶν καταλύοντα και τὰς ἀλόγους τῆς ψυχῆς μοίρας τιθασσοὺς και τῷ λόγῳ παρασχῶν κατηκόους, οὗτος και οἰκίας μεγάλης λυσιτελῶς προστήσεται πάντως. Ὁ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν κάλλιστ' οἰκονομήσας και δούλων δεσπότης ἐπιεικῆς γενόμενος, οὗτος και πόλεως ἀρχῶν ἀγαθὸς γενήσεται· ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξας ἐννόμως, οὗτος και ἔθνοὺς παντὸς ήγεμονεύσειεν εὐνομώτατα, ὥστε τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχῇ τῆς ήγεμονίας ἀριστα χρησάμενον ἀφ' ἐστίας τὸ ήγεμονεύειν κεκτηῖσθαι.

18 Τοιαῦτα ἐνορῶντές σοι τῆς ήγεμονίας προοίμια και οἷον προκαταβλήσεις τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἐξουσίας εὐέλπιδες ἦσαν, ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τοῦ ποθουμένου τευζόμενοι. «Καθάπερ γὰρ ἥλιος και μηδέπω τὰς ἀκτίνας δείξας πόρρωθεν τῷ φωτὶ καταυγάζει τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ πλεόν», οὕτω και ἡ σὴ γαληνότης και πρὸ τῆς ήγεμονίας τὰς⁵

⁵ 156-159 τὸν νοῦν-πάθεσι] S. Basilius *Homilia in principium Proverbiorum* 15, PG 31,420 || 169-172 Synesius *De regno* 10,15-21: ἦν νοῦν καλοῦμεν, ὃν ἀξίῳ βασιλεύειν ἐν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχῇ τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν τε και δημοκρατίαν τῶν παθῶν καταλύσαντα. ἀφ' ἐστίας γὰρ ἂν οὗτος βασιλεύσειε τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχῇ τῆς ήγεμονίας χρησάμενος· ὡς ὅστις γε τὰς ἀλόγους τῆς ψυχῆς μοίρας τιθασσοὺς και χειροῦθεις ποιήσας κατηκόους τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχετο || 178-179 Johannes Chrysostomus *Homilia in Matthaicum* IV, 4, PG 57,44.

180 μαρμαρυγὰς τῶν οἰκείων ἀρετῶν ἐνιεῖσα ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ὁρώντων πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἴλκε τὰς
αὐτῶν διανοίας· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀφανεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάματι κοινῇ τὴν προβολὴν αὐτῆς
σπουδάζοντες καὶ πρὸ τῆς προθεσμίας γενέσθαι παρὰ τῆς θείας προνοίας ἠτοῦντο λιπαρῶς
(οὐκ οἶδε γὰρ καιροὺς ἀναμένειν ἢ φιλοῦσα ψυχὴ καὶ πάντες φύσει μὴ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν χῆτει
185 τῶν ὠφελούντων φιλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ προεντυχεῖν ὀρεγόμεθα κερδαίνειν τὸν χρόνον τῆς
προαπολαύσεως νομίζοντες, ἣν δὲ βραδύνωσι παραγενέσθαι ζημίαν ἠγούμεθα τὸν τῆς
στερήσεως χρόνον), τῷ δὲ φαινομένῳ τὸν τότε κρατοῦντα θεραπεύοντες τὴν ἄνωθεν
προσεδέχοντο ψῆφον μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐφέσεως.

19 Ἀλλὰ ταύτης μὲν περὶ κατωτέρῳ γ' εἰρήσεται, νῦν δ', ἴν' ὁ λόγος καθ' ὁδὸν
προῖη, τὰ περὶ τῆς συναφείας γάμου ῥητέον. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ γάμου ταύτη κατὰ γε τὸν
190 φυσικὸν καὶ θεῖον ἐμέλησε θεσμόν, ἢ τὰ πάντα καλῶς πρυτανεύουσα καὶ πρὸ γενέσεως
ἡμῶν τὰς τε γνώμας καὶ διαθέσεις προορωμένη ἀλήστοις ὄμμασι θεῖα προνοία κατάλληλον
αὐτῇ τῇ τ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τοῖς τρόποις συνώκισε τὴν σύνευνον κατὰ γε τὸ
«Κύριος κατοικίξει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ», ἥτις λαμπρὰ μὲν ἦν καὶ περιφανῆς ἐκ τοῦ γένους
ἠγεμονικοῦ τ' ὄντος καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέροντος, λαμπροτέρα δὲ καὶ περιφανεστέρα γέγονεν ἐκ
195 τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν συνοικήσεως. Καὶ ἐγένετό σοι βοηθὸς οὐ μᾶλλον πρὸς παίδων γνησίων
γονὰς ἢ πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπίδοσιν, σύμφρων οὕσα καὶ τῶν καλῶν συνέριθος καὶ ισότιμος τὴν
ἀρετὴν, πρὸς εὐποιίας ἐνάμιλλος, πρὸς εὐεργεσίας σύμψηφος, πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ὁμόψυχος, ἐν
οὐδενὶ τῶν πρὸς δόξαν φερόντων καὶ ψυχῆς ὄφελος προσισταμένη, ἀλλ' ὅλη σου τῶν
νευμάτων ἐξηρητημένη καὶ σοι μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἑαυτῇ ζῆν προθυμουμένη· καὶ οὐχ ὡς πολλαὶ
200 τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ ἔξωθεν κόσμῳ καλλωπιζομένη καὶ τοῖς ἐντρίμμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς
ἀγλαΐᾳ σεμνυνομένη, τοιαύτη τις οὕσα, οἷας Σολομῶν ὁ σοφώτατος τὸ ἐγκώμιον πλέκει καὶ
τὸν στέφανον. Εἰ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῆς ἀρετῶν ἄψασθαι βουληθείημεν, πολλὰς ἂν ἐγκωμίων ὑπο-
θέσεις ἀπαρτίσαιμεν.

20 Ἐκ ταύτης τοιγαροῦν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ τῇ ὑμετέρα πραότητι ἄρρενά τε καὶ θήλια
205 γεγένηται τέκνα, εὐγενεῖς καὶ λαμπροὶ κλάδοι ἐκ ρίζης λαμπροτάτης καὶ μεγαλοφουεστάτης
ἐν ἧθεσι σεμνοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν σπαργάνων ἀνατραφέντες καὶ ἐκ βρέφους τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα
καλῶς διδαχθέντες εὐλάβειαν, τὴν τε πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας εὐπείθειαν καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ πρὸς τοὺς
τῶν προσηκόντων τῷ γένει πρεσβυτέρους. Διδασκάλοις τε φρονήσει καὶ παιδείᾳ εὐ ἤκουσι
210 παραδοθέντες ἐπὶ συντάξεσιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτοις τάχει τε φύσεως καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ ἀτρύτῳ
χρησάμενοι τὰς τε λογικὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος χρόνου μὴ
πολλοῦ δεηθέντες ἐξέμαθον. Οὕτω τοίνυν ἐκ πρώτης εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσόδου καλῶς καὶ
ἐναρμονίως ἠχθησαν, ὥστε πρὸς τῇ οἴκοθεν ἐπιτηδειότητι καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ
παιδείας προσλαβόντας ἰσχύν, οἷς μὲν τὸ νέον ἡδεται, τούτων ἔχειν ὀλιγώρως καὶ μηδὲνα
λόγον ποιεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' ἅ καὶ γηράσκουσι φέρει κόσμον ἐνόητα καὶ αὔξειν πέφυκε τὴν
215 σύνεσιν, ἐνθύμως ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ σπεύδειν γενέσθαι τοῖς τρόποις πραπλησίους τοῖς
γεννήσασιν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς καρποὺς ἀποφέρειν στείχοντας ἀεὶ κατ' ἴχνος ὑμῶν
καὶ πρὸς τὸ πατρικὸν ἐξομοιουμένους παράδειγμα, καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς οἷα καρποῖς
ἀπαλοῖς τὰς πατρώας ἀρετὰς ἐναπομάττοντες καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ διδάσκοντος
220 διδασκαλίας ἐναποτυποῦντες τῇ μνήμῃ μονιμώτατα.⁶

⁶ 193 *Psalmi* 67,7 : ὁ Θεὸς κατοικίξει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ || 195-197 cf. Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 376,10-12: ἢ βασιλῆς, [...] ἦν θαυμάσας ἠγάπησε, ταύτην κοινωνὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας πεποιήται

21 Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἡδὺν τοῖς πατράσι θέαμα καὶ γλυκὸν καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα, τὸ
 τοὺς υἱεῖς ὄραν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συνεπιδιδόντας πῆχσει τὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος ἀρετῆς καὶ
 μαθήσεως, καὶ εἴ γε δυνατὸν μὴ ὅτι γε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτῶν κρείττους
 225 ἰδεῖν τοὺς παῖδας ἐν εὐχῆς μέρει τέτακται· ὅπερ Ἔκτωρ περὶ τοῦ υἱέως Ἀστύνακτος ἠῤῥατο
 πατρὸς ἀμείνω γενέσθαι –πατέρες γὰρ μόνοι κρείττους τῶν ὀδόντων τοῦ φθόνου. Καὶ πᾶς
 τις ὢν αὐτὸς ἀγαθῶν ἠτύχησε, τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς τοὺς υἱοὺς γενέσθαι περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖται
 καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν βελτίωσιν οἰκείαν εἶναι νομίζει, καθάπερ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῶν ὁμιλητῶν τὰς
 ἐπιδόσεις δείγματα τυγχανούσας τῆς αὐτῶν περὶ τούτους ἐπιμελείας, καὶ μάλα γ' εἰκότως.
22 Ἐπεὶ τῶν θύραθεν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ καὶ ὀργανικὰ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει καλεῖται καὶ Πλάτωνι, τὴν
 230 πρῶτην εἴληχεν τάξιν ἢ εὐτεκνία καὶ ταύτη τὰ πρεσβεῖα παρέχουσιν ἅπαντες, αὐτῇ μᾶλλον ἢ
 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ θησαυροῖς ὁ Κροῖσος σεμννόμενοι, ὡς οὐδὲν κέρδος τοῦ πολυταλά<v>του
 πλοῦτου κατὰ τὸν δημῶδη λόγον παίδων αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπόντων σωφροσύνη καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ
 παιδείᾳ κεκοσμημένων. Τοιγαροῦν τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολὺπαιδας καὶ εὐπαιδας μῦθοι μὲν ἴσως
 πλάττοντες παραδιδόασιν οὐ τάληθές, ἀλλὰ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ λόγου διώκοντες καὶ
 235 θαυμαστά γ', ἀλλ' οὐ πιστὰ φθεγγόμενοι, ἐπ' αὐτῆς δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦτο
 μεμαθήκαμεν· καὶ ὁράται γε τοὺς υἱεῖς καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων υἱωνοὺς ὡς
 νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν ἔχουσα κύκλω τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τραπέζης πάντας σεμνοὺς, πάντας συνέσει εὖ
 ἦκοντας καὶ τὸ εὐγενὲς τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην ἀγωγὴν τῇ εὐρυθμίᾳ τοῦ ἦθους
 ποιοῦντας κατάδηλον, τῇ πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας αἰδοῖ καὶ στοργῇ καὶ εὐπειθείᾳ τοὺς Ἰακῶβ
 240 παῖδας ἀποκρύπτοντας καὶ τὸν μακαρισμὸν ὑμῖν ἀληθῆ παρεχομένους. Οὐκ ἔλαττον δὲ εἰς
 μακαρισμὸν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας εὐκληρία κατὰ τὸ «μακάριος, ὅστις εὐτύχησεν εἰς τέκνα»
 καὶ Σολομῶν ὁ θαυμάσιος στέφανον πατρὸς ἀποκαλεῖ τούτους ἐν Παροιμίαις. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐν μέρει εὐδαιμονίας οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν παίδων παραλαμβάνονται καὶ ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ καὶ
 σεμνότης εἰς τοὺς θρέψαντας καὶ τὰ ἦθη τούτων ρυθμίσαντας ἀναφερομένη δικαίως πολλῶν
 245 αὐτοῖς ἐπαίνων γίνεσθαι πρόξενος, καθὰ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἢ ἐπίδοσις δίδωσι τοῖς διδα-
 σκάλοις ἀπολαύειν ἐπαίνων.

23 Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἂν τις φαίη τῶν λίαν ἐφιεμένων τὰ ἐξῆς ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ λόγου; Τί τὸν
 λόγον ἐκτὸς διατρίβεις τοῦ προκειμένου καὶ περὶ τὴν παίδων εὐφημίαν ἐμφιλοχωρεῖς τῷ
 250 λόγῳ παρέλκων τῶν φιληκῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς γλιχομένας ἀκοῦσαι τῶν εὐφημιῶν τοῦ ταύτης
 αἰτίου; Πρὸς ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς εἴποιμι, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ μάλ' αὐτίκα ποιήσω μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων
 ἀφήγησιν. Τὰ γὰρ περὶ ἐκείνων λεχθέντα τῆς τοῦ αἰτίου σεμνότητος καὶ ἀρίστης οἰκονομίας
 ἐστὶν ἐγκώμια καὶ ἐπαινετῆς ἡγεμονίας προοίμια κάλλιστα καὶ ἀκριβέστατα δείγματα ὡς ἐξ
 ὄνυχος δεικνύντα τὸν ἐσόμενον λέοντα, ὅτι τὸν ἄλλους σοφίζοντα πολὺ πρότερον τοῦτον
 εἶναι δεῖ σοφὸν καὶ σωφρονεῖν μᾶλλον τὸν μέλλοντα σωφρονίζειν ἑτέρους καὶ κόσμιον
 255 εἶναι τὸν ἐθέλοντα ποιεῖν κοσμίους· ὅθεν τῶν παίδων τὸ πεπαιδευμένον καὶ κόσμιον,⁷

⁷231 πολυταλά<v>του scripsi: πολυταλάτου cod.

223-225 Homerus *Ilias* VI 479: καὶ ποτέ τις εἶποι “πατρός γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων” || 229 τῶν θύραθεν
 ἀγαθῶν] Synesius *De regno* 8,9-11: τὰ γὰρ θύραθα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἅπερ ὀργανικὰ καλεῖν ἔθος Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ
 Πλάτωνι || 231-232 Gregorius Nyssenus *De vita Mosis* 1,19 τοῦ πολυταλάντου πλοῦτου τιμιωτέραν ||
 236-237 ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν] *Psalmi* 127,3 ἡ γυνὴ σου ὡς ἄμπελος εὐθηνούσα ἐν τοῖς κλίτεσι τῆς οἰκίας σου·
 οἱ υἱοὶ σου ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν κύκλω τῆς τραπέζης σου || 241 μακάριος-τέκνα] Menander *Sententiae* 489;
 cf. Euripides *Orestes* 542: ζηλωτὸς ὅστις εὐτύχησεν ἐς τέκνα || 242 *Proverbia* 1,8-9 ἄκουε, υἱέ, παιδείαν
 πατρός σου καὶ μὴ ἀπόση θεσμοὺς μητρός σου· στέφανον γὰρ χαρίτων δέξη σὴ κορυφῇ || 252-253 ἐξ
 ὄνυχος-λέοντα] Macarius Chrysocephalus *Paroemiae* 3,95.

καθὰ καὶ τάναντία, πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας οἱ πλείους ἀνατιθέασι. **24** Τούτων δὲ προληφθέντων τῷ λόγῳ ἀφ' ἑστίας αὐτῆ φανείη τὸ ἡγεμονεῦειν ἀρχόμενον καὶ ὕλης πρὸς ἕκτασιν δεόμενον μείζονος, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως καθάπερ ἀκτῖνες ἡλίου ἐν σταθερᾷ μεσημβρίᾳ μὴ ἐπιπροσθουμένου νέφεσι διαλάμπωσιν. Ὅποταν τοίνυν ἡ τῆ θεία βουλήσει προορισθεῖσα τοῦ κράτους ἐνέστηκε προθεσμία (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν μητρικῶν ᾠδίνων αὐτὴν ὁ Θεός, καθὰ καὶ Παῦλον τὸν μακάριον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός, πρὸς διοίκησιν τῆς πατρίδος ἐξελέξατο καὶ ἡγεμόνα προανείπε τοῦ ἔθνους), τότε δὴ, τότε ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν καταφανῆς γέγονε βούλησις καὶ ἔγνωσαν ἅπαντες ὡς ὃν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ἄρχοντα λαοῦ προχειρίζεται καὶ ἡγεμόνα ψηφίζει κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐρίσκων καρδίαν ὡς ἄλλον Δαβίδ, τοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἀποψηφίζεν ἰσχύει, μηδ' ἀντίστασθαι τῆ θεία δύναται ψήφῳ, ἀλλὰ πάντες γίνονται τῆς ἀναρρήσεως σύμψηφοι καὶ ἀνακηρύττουσι καὶ πειθηνίως κλίνουσι τὸν ἀχχένα μηδενὸς προσισταμένου.

25 Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω ῥαδίως καὶ κατὰ ῥοὺν τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῆ προὐχώρησε καὶ προῦβη, ὥστε καταφανὲς γεγονέναι τοῖς πάσι παρὰ τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων βασιλεύοντος τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς ἀρχῆς λαβεῖν τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοργὸν σύνεσιν καὶ ἄλλον ἀρετῆς τὴν ἀξίαν διαζώσασθαι, μᾶλλον δ' εἰπεῖν ὄργανον ἐγχειρισθῆναι πρὸς μείζονας ἀγαθοεργίας καὶ μέσον τῆς πρὸς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἀπλήστου προθυμίας, ἵν' ὅτι πλείστους ἔχη τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῆς εὖ παθόντας. Οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτῆς εἵνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ὠφελείας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐδέξατο· οὕτως οὖν τὸ θεῖον μεγάλοις τοὺς μεγάλα διαπραξαμένους κατὰ τὸ αὐτῷ δοκοῦν οἶδεν ἀμείβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς τιμῶντας. **26** Ἐπειλημμένη δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ θεοβραβεύτου ἐπιβεβηκυῖα θρόνου μῶν τῆς προτέρας τι καθυφεῖκεν ἀρετῆς καὶ μετριότητος ἢ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀπέκλινε τῆ τύχη καὶ τὸ ἦθος συμμεταβαλοῦσα; Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ τῆ ἀξία καὶ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν συνηύξησε καὶ τὴν μετριοφροσύνην συνεπέτεινε, οὐδ' ἐπήρθη μετέωρος ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας, οὐδ' ἀνασπᾶν τὰς ὀφρῦς ἠθέλησεν ἀπειροκάλως καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων καταθρασύνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς δεῦρο διατελεῖ φερομένη πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡπίως καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὴν συνέχουσα καὶ εὐεργέτης αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότης αἰρουμένη καλεῖσθαι καὶ μονουχὶ ταῦτά Τίτῳ τῷ Καίσαρι φάσκουσα «σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασίλευσα, ἐπεὶ οὐδένα εὐηργέτησα». **27** Καὶ ὅπερ ἡ Λιβία τῷ Αὐγούστῳ μετὰ πολλὰ ἔτη τῆς μοναρχίας ὑποτίθεται νουνεχῶς πρὸς τὸ ἀπηνέστερον τῆ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων βουλομένῳ χρῆσασθαι, τοῦθ' ἡ ὑμέτερα μεγαλόνοια τῆ χρηστῆ προαιρέσει διδασκάλῳ χρωμένη διεπράξατο. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν μόλις πεισθεὶς τῆ Λιβία λεγούσῃ «φιλεῖν τινὰ τὸ ξίφος πεῖσαι ἢ ἀναγκάσαι μὴ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν κολαζόμενον ἀπολλύναι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς⁸ ἄλλοτριῶν τοῦ κολάζοντος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ φιλοῦσιν, ὅτι ἐδικαιώθησαν ἕτεροι, ἀλλ' ἀπεχθάνονται μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἤρτηται δέος»,

⁸ 261 *Epistula Pauli ad Galatas* 1,15-16: ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ || 263-265 *Acta apostolorum* 13,22: καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν ἠγειρεν τὸν Δαυὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας, Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου || 282-283 Τίτῳ τῷ Καίσαρι] Joannes Zonaras *Epitome Historiarum* 3,57, 4-5: Τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αἰοίδιμος ἐκείνη φωνὴ εἰπόντος “σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασίλευσα, ἐπεὶ οὐδένα εὐηργέτησα” || 283-290 ἡ Λιβία τῷ Αὐγούστῳ] Joannes Zonaras *Epitome Historiarum* 2, 450,8-15: “οὐ γὰρ πείθειν ἢ ἀναγκάζειν” ἔφη φιλεῖν τινὰ τὸ ξίφος δεδύνηται, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν κολαζόμενον ἀπολλύσει, τὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἄλλοτριῶν τοῦ κολάζοντος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ φιλοῦσιν ὅτι ἐδικαιώθησαν ἕτεροι, ἀλλ' ἀπεχθάνονται μᾶλλον ὅτι φόβος καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἐπήρτηται.” τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τῆς Λιβίας εἰπούσης ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐπέισθη αὐτῆ

290 πρὸς τὸ ἡπιώτερον τὸ αὐστηρὸν μετέβαλεν, αὐτὴ δὲ φύσει κεκτημένη τὸ πρᾶον τοῖς
 ἀρχομένοις σωτῆρ καὶ φύλαξ καθίσταται περιπόθητος γαλήνην ἔνθεον καὶ μέχρι τοῦ
 προσώπου παρεμφαίνουσα, φίλους μὲν ταυτὸν εἰπεῖν ἀγαθοὺς τέρπουσα, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς
 καὶ βασκάνους καταπλήττουσα. **28** Καλῶς γὰρ οἶδεν ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἂν ἀδεέστερον ἡγεμο-
 295 νέοι καὶ ἀνεπιβουλευτότερον, οὐχ ὄν δεδίασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ οὗ δεδοίκασι τὸ ὑπήκοον· περὶ δὲ
 τῆς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀκριβοῦς διαγνώσεως καὶ εὐεπηβόλου κρίσεως αὐτῆς τί χρῆ καὶ
 λέγειν; Τοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀρετῆ καὶ φρονήσει καὶ πίστει πρὸς τὸν φιλοῦντα
 διαφέροντας τῇ ἑαυτῆς εὐνοίᾳ τιμήσασα, τούτοις ὅσαι ὄραι συνδιατρίβειν καὶ ὁμιλεῖν
 εἶωθεν, ὥστε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν τὸν Μακεδόνα τῇ κτήσει τῇ τῆς φιλίας νενικηκέναι καὶ
 300 θαρροῦντως λέγειν τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐν τοῖς φίλοις κεκρύφθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀλλὰ διὰ
 χρόνου καὶ πολλὰ δοκιμάσασα τὰς διαθέσεις τὴν αὐτῶν ἑταιρίαν ἡσπάσατο, καὶ τούτων αὖ
 τοῖς δοκιμωτέροις καὶ χρησιμωτέροις ἤδεται μᾶλλον συνοῦσι, καθάπερ οἱ τῆς ὑγείας λόγον
 ὅτι πλεῖστον ποιούμενοι τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἡδίστοις χαίρουσι τῶν σιτιῶν. **29**
 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ πού τινα τῶν ἄριστα συμβουλευέειν τῶν ἱκανῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐτο-
 κράτορσι δυναμένων αἴσθοιτο καὶ πρὸς φιλίαν ἐπιτηδείων, τοῦτον προσεταιρίσασθαι καὶ
 305 οἰκειώσασθαι καὶ ἀπόντα γε πάντα κάλων κινεῖ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ οἷα σοφῆ μέλιττα
 πανταχόθεν σπεύδειν συλλέγειν τὰ τε πρὸς ἐπαινον αὐτῆς καὶ ὄνησιν συντείνοντα
 γινώσκουσα καλῶς ὅτι πλέον ἄνθρωποι τῆς ἀλλήλων ἐπικουρίας δεόμεθα, ἢ ὅσον ἀτέρα
 ταῖν χεροῖν τῆς ἐτέρας, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὅσπερ καὶ ἀξίας τετύχηκε μείζονος καὶ πλεόνων
 ἔλαχεν ἄρχειν. Ὡτα γὰρ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰπὼν τις τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς γνησίους τῶν φίλων
 310 οὐκ ἂν πόρρω βάλοι τῆς ἀληθείας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄθλους ἐκεῖνους
 δίχα τῆς φίλου συμμαχίας ἠγωνίατο, ἀλλ' ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ Ἰόλεω· καὶ
 Πυλάδης τῷ Ὀρέστη μέγα γέγονε βοήθημα. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν Σολομῶντα ἀδελφὸς ὑπ'
 ἀδελφοῦ βοηθούμενος ὡς πόλις ὠχυρωμένη.

30 Ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν τοῦδ' ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν εὐδρομος καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα προὔβαλλετο
 315 διανύσαι τε τὸν δίαυλον οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βραβεῖον, τούντεῦθεν δὲ ναρκᾶν καὶ
 ὀκλάζειν ἤρξατο τοῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐγχειρῶν ἠσθημένος καὶ ὠκεανὸν ὅλον κυάθῳ μετρεῖν
 ἐπιβαλλόμενος καὶ ὅθεν τῶν ἐξῆς ἄρξατο τοῖς ὅλοις ἀμηχανῶν καὶ τὴν ἦτταν
 ἀνερυθριάστως ὁμολογῶν, ἦν πάντα λόγον ἀνάγκη παθεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων. Ὡσπερ
 γὰρ ὄψις πολυανθεῖ προσβαλοῦσα λειμῶνι τὴν θεάν οὐκ ἔχει γ' ἐφ' ὅτου μονιμωτέραν
 320 ταύτην ἐπαφίεναι τῆδε κἀκεῖσε μεθελκομένη καὶ παρ' ἐκάστου πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστίασιν
 προκαλουμένη καὶ τέρψιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸς πρὸς τὸν πολυανθέστατον τῶν ἀρετῶν τῆς εὐαγοῦς
 σου ψυχῆς λειμῶνα τὴν νοερὰν ἐπαφείς ὄψιν ἐν ἀπόρῳ γέγονα καὶ ὅλως ἀμηχανῶ τίνος μὲν
 πρῶτον τίνος δ' ἐξῆς καὶ τίνος ὕστατον ἄψωμαι, οἷά τισι νιφάσι χειμερήσις ἢ ἐπαλλήλοισ
 ἀστραπαῖς ἀθρόως ταῖς τῶν εὐφημιῶν αὐτῆς ἀγλαΐαις καταλαμφθεῖς. **31** Εἰ μὲν οὖν⁹

⁹308 χεροῖν scripsi: χαιροῖν cod.

298 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον] cf. Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 377,7-9: βασιλείαν ὅλην ἀθρόως καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ πρὸς ὅλην βασιλείαν συγκρίνομεν, οἷον τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν || 298-299 Gregorius Nyssenius *Epistulae* 8,1-4: Ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων θαυμάζεται—θαυμάζεται γὰρ οὐ τοσοῦτον τοῖς Μηδικοῖς τροπαίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς τε καὶ περὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν διηγήμασιν, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ εἰπεῖν τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἔχειν || 309-310 Synesius *De regno* 11,23-27: συνουσιούται τοῖς φίλοις τὴν δύναμιν ἑαυτῷ πολυπλασιάζων. οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς ἀπάντων μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄψεται, ταῖς ἀπάντων δὲ ἀκοαῖς ἀκούσεται καὶ ταῖς ἀπάντων γνώμαις εἰς ἓν ἰούσαις βουλευσεται || 323 Homerus *Illias* 3,222-223: καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν εὐκότα χειμερήσις, οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος

325 τὸ σῶφρον προτάξασθαι βουλευθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ ταῖς τοῦ δικαίου ἀκτῖσιν ὑπεραστράπτομαι, ἢν
δ' αὐτῇ ταύτῃ τὴν πρώτην χώραν ἀποδοῦναι θελήσω ταῖς τῆς ἀνδρίας μαρμαρυγαῖς
προκαταλάμπομαι, εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον πρότερον ἐν ἐπαίνοις τιθέναι προθυμηθεῖν, ἢ πάσας
330 κοσμοῦσα καὶ σώζουσα φρόνησις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει με μηδεμιᾶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
πρεσβείων παραχωροῦσα. Τούτων γὰρ μίαν ἐκάστην καὶ ἄλλους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τῶν εὐσεβῶν
ἐπιτηδεύοντας, ὃν μὲν τήνδε, ὃν δὲ τήνδε, πάσας δ' ὁμοῦ τῇ ὑμετέρα μεγαλοφουεστάτῃ ψυχῇ
καθορῶμεν ἐγχωρούσας τὴν θεοτερπὴ χορείαν, καὶ οὕτω πάσας ἐς ἄκρον διαλάμπουσας, ὡς
οὐδεμίαν τούτων τινὶ τῶν ἀπάντων.

32 Πρὸ πασῶν δ' ἢ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν κρηπὶς καὶ βάσις, μεθ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλα τῶν
ἀγαθῶν τὸ σεμνὸν ἔχει, καὶ χωρὶς ταύτης οὐδ' ἐν μοίρᾳ τάγαθοῦ, τακτέα τυγχάνει ἢ μετ'
335 εὐσεβοῦς συνειδήσεως πίστις τὴν πρώτην ἔδραν, οἷα θεμέλιος ἐπ' οἰκοδομίας
μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ χρυσορόφου οἰκίας λαβεῖν τὸν λόγον ἐκβιάζεται· ταύτης τοίνυν ἐκ
γενέσεως τῇ εὐσεβεῖ σου ψυχῇ προκαταβληθείσης παγίως, συνανατραφείσης τε
συναυξηθείσης ὀρθότατα, διὰ σπουδῆς ἐπιγενόμεναι καὶ προθυμίας, ἃς τὸ πρὸς Χριστὸν
σέβας ἀπαιτεῖ πράξεις, οἷόν τι χρυσοῦν ἀγαλμα καὶ διάλιθον ἀνδριάντα καὶ ἐκμαγεῖον τῶν
340 καλῶν ἀπάντων ταύτην ἀπειργάσαντο καὶ κανόν' ἀρετῆς καὶ στάθμην χριστιανικῆς
πολιτείας καὶ αὐθεντίας ἀπερήναντο. Καὶ δὴ μέγας μὲν Ἀβραάμ ἐκ πίστεως, οὐχ ἦττον δὲ
καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα θεοσέβεια ἐκ ταύτης θαυμάζεται· δι' ἣν καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ παρὰ
Θεοῦ κεκλήρωται. 33 Καὶ δηλοῦσί γε αὐτὴν οἱ ταύτην ἐκφύσαντες καὶ ἀεὶ βλαστάνοντες
καρποί, προσευχαὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προσοχῆς καὶ ἐν κατανύξει καρδίας, στάσεις μεθ' ὅσης
345 πλείστης εὐλαβείας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀγιστείαις καὶ τελεταῖς, ἢ περὶ τὰ θεῖα θεοπρεπῆς εὐλάβεια
καὶ ἢ περὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς λειτουργοὺς τιμὴ καὶ αἰδῶς, ἢ μεθ' ὅσης πλείστης ἀποδοχῆς πρὸς
τοὺς παραγενομένους αὐτῇ σεβασμιωτάτους Πατριάρχας μεγαλοπρεπῆς περιποιήσις καὶ ἦν
περὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας δείκνυσι δεξίωσιν, καὶ ὁ περὶ τοὺς σεβασμίους
καὶ θεοβαδίστους τόπους ἔνθεος ζῆλος καὶ ἢ περὶ τοὺς θεῖους νεῶς καὶ εὐκτηρίους οἴκους
350 σπουδὴ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, ὧν οἱ πλείστοι ἀναλώμασιν αὐτῆς καὶ προθυμίαις ἀνεπηγευμένοι τὸν
αὐτῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἔρωτα κηρύττουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς κρηπιδος ἀνεσταμένοι, οἱ δὲ μέχρι
βάθρων διὰ σαθρότητα διαλυθέντες καὶ ἀνακαινισθέντες φιλοτιμότερον, οἱ δὲ
μετασκευασθέντες εἰς τὸ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον, εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ εἰς μέγεθος ἀρθέντες μείζον καὶ
355 ποικιλίαν ἀπειληφότες, ἀφειδησάσης χρημάτων περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας δαπάνας. Ἄπερ
ἀποτελέσματα πάντως ἐστίν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ θερμοτάτη πίστις αὐτῆς ἀντικρυς δείκνυται. Καὶ ταῦτα
μὲν αὐτῆς τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐπιστήμην φιλοσοφήματα.

34 Πῶς δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν θύραθεν ἔσχηκε φιλοσοφίαν; Ἡ δὴλον ὡς οὐκ ἀνέραστος
οὐδὲ ταύτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ διάπυρον τρέφει τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ ὅσον αὐτῆς ἀνήκε τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ
360 μάλα κατάρθωται. Φιλοσοφητέον γὰρ ἢ τιμητέον τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ δεύτερον¹⁰

¹⁰358 Ἡ scripsi: "H cod.

333-335 Synesius *De regno* 10,1-2: Εὐσέβεια δὲ πρῶτον ὑποβελήσθω κρηπὶς ἀσφαλῆς || 341-343 *Epistula Pauli ad Galatas* 3,6-11: οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοί εἰσιν υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ || 360 Plato *Respublica* D1-3: Ἐὰν μὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς τε νῦν λεγόμενοι καὶ δυνάσται φιλοσοφήσωσι γνησίως τε καὶ ἱκανῶς, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ταῦτόν συμπέση, δυνάμις τε πολιτικὴ καὶ φιλοσοφία | cf. Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 371,29-30: κἄν μὲν ἐν λόγοις ἢ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ λόγων γνώσει, τοῦτο ἐπαινέσεις

φιλοσοφίας τις γνωρίζεται τρόφιμος, καίπερ τὸ πρῶτον παρὰ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀφηρημένος. Τίς γὰρ οὕτω φιλοσοφίαν ἐτίμησεν ὡς ἡ ὑμετέρα φύσεις; Τίς οὕτω πρὸς αὐξήσιν αὐτῆς καὶ πολλοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἐσπούδακε καὶ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἔσχεν ὡς ἡ ὑμετέρα πραότης; Πάλαι μὲν Ἀθηναί κλεινὸν ὄνομα καὶ μέγα παρὰ
365 πᾶσιν ἦσαντο κλέος διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μουσεῖα, καὶ μυρίοι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἐφέσει τῆς Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς ἕκ τε τῶν ὑπερβορείων, ἕκ τε μεσημβρίας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς μεγίστης Ἀσίας συνέρρον, νῦν δὲ τὸ Λύκειον καὶ ἡ ποικίλη Στοὰ καὶ Ἀκαδημία τῇ αὐτῆς σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ χρημάτων κατὰ τὸ Βουκορέστιον ἄδονται συνεστηκότα.
370 35 Τοῦτου δὲ τί ἂν φιλοσοφικώτερον ἢ μυρίων ἐπαίνων ἄξιον; Τοῦτο φρονήσεως ὀρθῶς κρινούσης ὡς ἀληθῶς δεῖγμα σαφέστατον καὶ ψυχῆς φιλοσόφου τεκμήριον, τὴν φρόνησιν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τε λεγομένοις τοῖς τεπρατομένοις ἐσχηκυίας προηγουμένην καὶ τίνα μὲν ἡγεμόσι πιστοῖς πρακτέα, τίνα δὲ μὴ πρακτέα διατάττουσαν, ὡς εἶναι πάντα κατὰ λόγον τὰ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑψηλότητος γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως ἔπεσθαι τὴν τριτὴν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Ταύτης γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ μέσου τυγχάνειν ἀδύνατον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἔδραν ἔσχηκεν ἡ ἀρετὴ,
375 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς καὶ ἐλλείψεις οἱ πλείους ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ μὴ τὴν φρόνησιν πρόεδρον ἐσχηκότες καὶ πολλάκις ἀντὶ τοῦ σώφρονος τὸ ἀκόλαστον, ἀντὶ τοῦ δικαίου τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὸ δειλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνδρείου προείλοντο καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι κακῶς κέχρηται· ἰσχὺς γὰρ φρονήσεως ἔρημος ἔμπληκτος φέρεται, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν τὰ μάλιστα βλάπτουσα, καθάπερ καὶ φρόνησις ὑπὸ δυνάμεως μὴ ὑπηρετουμένη καθέστηκεν ἄπρακτος. Ἀτελὲς γὰρ
380 εἰς ὠφέλειαν πολλῶν θάτερον παρὰ θάτερον· καὶ τοῦτό γ' οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων αἰνιττόμενοι διπλὴν ποιοῦσι τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τὴν ἰδέαν νέον ἰδρύοντες παρὰ πρεσβύτη – ἄλκιμον τε εἶναι δεῖ καὶ εὖνουν τὸν καλῶς ἐφορεύσειν μέλλοντα. Ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἔνεστιν ἰδεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον σωζούσας ἐν μεσότητι μὲν καθεστηκέναι, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἀπηλλάχθαι, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν κατὰ λόγον αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς εὐποιίας κινουμένην, ἅτε τῆς
385 φρονήσεως αὐτῇ παρεχούσης τῶν πρακτέων τὰ συνθήματα.

36 Καὶ δὴ τὸ μὲν σώφρον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, τοῖς πᾶσιν ὄντα κατάδηλα καὶ ἡλίου φαιδρότερα τοῖς σχολῆν ἄγουσι τῶν ῥητόρων, ἐπαινεῖν παρήμι, τοσοῦτον μόνον ἐπειπῶν ὡς κὰν τούτοις οὐδὲ εἰς δευτερεῖον τοῖς τε πρὸ αὐτῆς ἡγεμονεύσασιν καὶ τοῖς νῦν ὅσοι σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀντέχεσθαι μνημονεύονται, μεθ' ἑαυτὴν εἴασε τόπον. Τῇ μὲν
390 γὰρ σωφροσύνη τῷ Ἰωσήφ τῷ διὰ ταύτην τῆς Αἰγύπτου προστατεύσαντι παρεξετάζεται, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις τοὺς πάλαι διαθρυλλουμένους ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη Μίνων ἐκεῖνον καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν καθάπερ ἀστέρας ἥλιος ἀπέκρυπεν ἀδεκάστους ποιοῦσα τὰς κρίσεις καὶ κρείττων οὐσα λημμάτων μηδὲ προσώποις χαριζομένη, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψήφους δικαιοτέρας σταχάνης ἐπιφέρουσα τοῖς πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτῆς ἀπαντῶσι, τὴν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνδρίαν καίτοι καὶ αὐτὴν¹¹

¹¹ 372-374 Synesius *De regno* 7,24-26: κόσμος μὲν οὖν βασιλέως ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι· φρόνησις δὲ ἀπασῶν βασιλικώτερα. ταύτην μοι ποιήσαι πάρεδρον· ἔνεται γὰρ ἡ τριττὴ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν || 379-382 Synesius *De regno* 7,12-18: διαληφθεῖσαι δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ῥώμη τε ἀμαθῆς καὶ φρόνησις ἀσθενῆς, εὐχείρωτοι γίνονται. καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦτο τῶν σοφῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐθαύμασα· τὸν Ἑρμῆν Αἰγύπτιοι διπλὴν ποιοῦσι τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ δαίμονος, νέον ἰστάντες παρὰ πρεσβύτη, ἀξιοῦντες, εἴπερ τις αὐτῶν μέλλοι καλῶς ἐφορεύσειν, ἔνουν τε εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, ὡς ἀτελὲς εἰς ὠφέλειαν θάτερον παρὰ θάτερον; *ibid.* 7,21-23: ἰσχὺς τε γὰρ, ἔρημος ἡγεμονίας ἔμφορος, ἔμπληκτος φέρεται, πάντα μιγνύσα καὶ ταράττουσα πράγματα || 393 δικαιοτέρας σταχάνης] cf. Libanius *Epistulae* 1363,2-3: ἦκει γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν δικαιοτέρος, φασί, σταχάνης

395 τούς μὲν φίλους ἐκπλήττουσαν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς καταπλήττουσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 περιγράφομαι λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ μόνον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων οἱ
 ἀναγινώσκοντες ἔχωσι θαυμάζειν τὸ ταύτης μεγαλόψυχον καὶ μεγαλόφρον. **37** Ἐν γὰρ
 400 τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ περιστάσεσι καὶ ἀνωμαλίαις, καὶ ταῖς τῶν
 κρατούντων ἀνυποίστοις ἐπιρραϊαῖς καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλοις ἀπαιτήσεσιν οὐδὲν καθυφεῖκε τοῦ
 φρονήματος, οὐδὲ δειλὸν τι καὶ ἄνανδρον ὑπεδείξατο, μήτε μὴν τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς τι
 διαθέσεως ἠλάττωσεν ἢ τῆς μεγαλοψύχου γνώμης ἐπελάθετο, ἀλλ' ἴσταται μεγαλοφρονοῦσα
 405 διὰ παντός, εὐθαρσῆς, μεγαλοπρεπῆς τε καὶ τὸ εὐψυχον ἀεὶ δεικνυμένη. Τοῖς τ'
 ἀντιπνέουσιν ἀνέμοις ἀνευδότης ἀντιπνέουσα σφοδρότερον καὶ τούτους πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς
 συγγέουσά τε καὶ ῥᾶστα διασκεδάζουσα καὶ γαλήνην ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς
 410 προμνηστεύουσα. Τῷ γὰρ θείῳ φόβῳ παγίως εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐστοιχίεται καὶ
 τῇ θεῖᾳ συνάρσει πάντοθεν περιπέφρακται, καὶ τῷ περὶ τὸ ὄντως ἐφετὸν ἔρωτι καλῶς καὶ
 ἐδραίως ἐρήριστα καὶ τούτοις καθωπλισμένη τοῖς ὄπλοις, καθάπερ ὁ προφητάναξ Δαβὶδ τῷ
 ἀλλοφύλῳ Γολιάθ, φοβερὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔστι καὶ τούτους, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος τὸν γίγαντα
 εὐμαρῶς καταπαλαίει, καὶ πάντων τῶν χαλεπῶν περιγίγνεται καὶ ῥᾶστα κατακρατεῖ τῶν
 415 ὀπωσοῦν αὐτῇ θελόντων ἀνταίρειν, καὶ καθάπερ σκοπέλῳ θαλάττης προβεβλημένῳ
 προσβαλλόντα τὰ κύματα λυμήνασθαι μὲν ἢ ὄλως διασεῖσαι τοῦτον οὐκ ἴσχυσε, πρὸς ἑαυτὰ
 δὲ στραφέντα εἰς ἀφρὸν διαλέλυται καὶ μάτην ἐφάνη φρίσσοντα, οὕτως ἡ ὑμετέρα στερότης
 τῷ θεοφρουρήτῳ θώκῳ μονιμώτατα καὶ ἀστεμφῶς ἐγκαθιδρυμένη δέχεται μὲν πολλὰς
 420 τοιαύτας κυμάτων βολὰς, πασῶν δ' ὑπερνῆχεται καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὰς συρραγῆναι καταναγκάζει
 425 τὴν ἄλλως ἀποφαίνουσα καὶ εἰκῆ κατ' αὐτῆς κινήσειας. **38** Τούτων τοιγαροῦν ὑπερκειμένη
 καὶ κρείττων ἀεὶ οὖσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ οἴκτῳ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα
 διατελεῖ διέπουσα, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ καὶ πάσχει, οὐχ ὅπως ὅτι πλείστων αὐτῇ χρημάτων
 ἐγκρατῆς γένηται, ἴν' ἔχη τὸ ἠδόμενον τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπεύειν ἐντεῦθεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐν
 430 εὐπορίαις καὶ ἀνέσει διαβίῳ τὸ ὑπήκοον καὶ μὴ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία πιέζεται. Οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ ἄλλοι οὐς ἴσμεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον κέρδος καὶ οἰκείαν
 ἀσφάλειαν κέχρηται σμικρὰ τῆς ἐκείνων εὐπορίας φροντίζοντες, ἢ δὲ τὰ οἰκεία προῖεται,
 ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι τὸν βίον ἀνευδῶς ἐν ἀνέσει διάγωσιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργεσίαις αὐτοῦς
 435 κατακλύζειν οὐ διαλείπει καὶ πάσιν ἀφθόνους ἐπιρρεῖ τὰς εὐποιίας καὶ καταρδεύει τὰς
 ἐξηραμένας καρδίας τοῦ ἐλέου<ς> τοῖς χεύμασι, καθάπερ ὁ Νεῖλος τῇ πλημμύρᾳ τὴν γῆν
 τὴν Αἰγύπτου. Τὴν ἡγεμονίαν σωτήρα καὶ φύλακα καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ εὐημερίαν τοῖς
 ἀρχομένοις ἔχουσα καὶ πᾶσι φιλανθρώπως ἐκ τῶν πλησίων πηγῶν τὰ τῆς εὐποιίας
 μετοχετεύει χρυσόρριθρα νάματα.

39 Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ταύτην ἤρξαν παρὰ Μυσοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 430 παρ' ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν οἱ μὲν τῷ γένει μόνον ἐφάνησαν ἐνδοξοί, οἱ δὲ φρόνησιν μόνην
 προῦβάλλοντο, ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ δ' ἐθαυμάσθησαν ἕτεροι, ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦ δικαίου μᾶλλον
 ἐπεμελήθησαν κἀντούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἔσχον τι πλεόν, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρία φρονοῦντες ὠφθησαν
 μεῖζον· καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλου πρὸς μίαν τῶν ἀρετῶν διενήνοχεν, ἢ δὲ σὴ γαληνότης συλλήβδην
 εἰπεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὰ πρωτεῖα πάντων φέρει τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν νῦν, οἷμαι
 435 δέ, καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀπάντων, εἴ τι στοχαστῆς ἐγὼ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῷ μὲν γένει κρείττων
 πάντων ὀφθεῖσα καὶ λαμπροτέρα καθάπερ ἀστέρων ἥλιος, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς¹²

¹² 424 ἐλέου<ς> scripsi: ἐλέου cod.

395 Synesius *De regno* 10,28-29: φίλους μὲν, ταυτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἀγαθοὺς ἐκπλήττων, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς τε καὶ
 πονηροὺς καταπλήττων || 433-434 ἐν πᾶσι-ἀπάντων] cf. Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 376,31-377,2

καὶ ταῖς ἡγεμόσι προσηκούσαις πράξεις πάντας πρὸς αὐτὴν παρεξεταζομένους παῖδας τρώντι ἀποφίνασα. **40** Εἰ γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους παραλιπὼν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ λόγου πρὸς ὃν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διεδέξατο, Σεμπάνον λέγω τὸν πάνυ, παρεξετάσαιμι τὴν ὑμετέραν θεοφρούρητον καὶ θεόστεπτον ὑψηλότητα, οὗ παρὰ πᾶσι μέγα πεφοίτηκεν ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονεύειν ἐκπληξίς ἦν τοῖς εἰδόσι, τοσοῦτον αὐτόν φημι παρηῆλθεν, ἐν οἷς ἡγεμόνας θαυμάζοντας καὶ αὐχοῦσιν, ὅσπερ ἀργύρου χρυσὸς ὑπερέχει ἢ νυκτὸς ἡμέρα διαφέρει ἢ τῆς σεληνιακῆς λαμπηδόνας ὑπεραυγάζει τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου· καὶ ἴσασι ὃ λέγω οἱ κακεῖνον εἰδότες καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀπολαύσαντες προστασίας, εἴ τινες εἶεν, καὶ ἐν μνήμη τάκεινον περιφέροντες, εἴ γε μὴ καθάπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ μείζονος τὸ ἔλαττον φῶς ἡμαυρώθησαν τέλεον, καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν μνήμης ἐξίτηλα γέγονεν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὀφθαλμός, ἐπειδὴν τὴν ὄψιν ὑπερβάλλοντι προσβάλλῃ φωτί, τοῦ ἐλάττονος οὐκ ἔτι γ' ἀντιλαμβάνεται καὶ ἀκοὴ μείζοσι ὑπερηχομένη ψόφοις τῶν ἡττόνων οὐκ αἰσθάνεται, οὕτω τοι καὶ μνήμη τῶν θαυμαστοτέρων, ὧν τε παρὰ τῆς ὀράσεως, ὧν τε παρὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐδέξατο τοὺς τύπους ἐμπι<μ>πλαμένη, τῶν ἐλαττόνων μνημονεύειν οὐκ οἶδε.

41 Μακάριοι τοίνυν οἱ ταῖς ὑπουργίαις τῆς ὑμετέρας γαληνότητος ἐνασχολούμενοι καὶ πρὸς πᾶν αὐτῇ πρόσταγμα προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντες. Μακάριοι οἱ τὸν θεόδοτον καὶ θεοφρούρητον αὐτῆς θρόνον περιστάμενοι μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ μετ' εὐπειθείας δουλεύοντες καὶ τοῖς νεύμασιν αὐτῆς προσέχοντες τὸ νοῦν· καὶ ἵνα συνελὼν εἶπω, μακάριοι πάντες οἱ τῆς ἐπωφελοῦς αὐτῆς προστασίας ἀξιοθέντες καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς οὐχ ἦττον δὲ φιλανθρώπου καὶ σπλαγχνικωτάτης ἐπαπολαύοντες ὁσημέραι κηδεμονίας. Δι' ἦν τὰ μὲν δυσχερῆ καὶ χαλεπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν αὐτῆς χεῖρα πάντων ἀπελήλαται, ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ βίαιοι τῶν φόρων ἀπαιτήσεις ἐκ μέσου γεγένηται, κατήφεια πᾶσα καὶ δέος ἀνήρηται, φυγαδεύσεις καὶ δημεύσεις ἄδικοι παντάπασιν ἐκωλύθησαν· οὐκέτι τινὲς δι' ἐπήρειαν καὶ τελῶν βάρος δυσβάστακτον ἀστατοῦσι καὶ τόπους ἐκ τόπων ἀμείβουσι, οὐδ' ἀλλαχόσε μεταβαίνουσι, ἀλλ' ἀλλαχόθεν μύριοι πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπικράτειαν μετοικίζονται πολλὴν ἐνταῦθα ἄνεσιν καὶ δεινῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν εὕρισκόμενοι καὶ κρησφύγετόν ἐστι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπηρεαζομένοις τῶν ὀρθοδόξων τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος, ἀντεισῆκται δὲ τὰ χρηστότερα καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τό γε νῦν ἔχον ἐμφιλοχωρεῖ τὰ ἡδύτερα. **42** Τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν, Θεοῦ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀρετὴν τιμῶντος καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῆς ἀγαμένου, εὐετηρίαὶ κατέχουσι, κῶμαι καὶ πόλεις εὐθηνίαις καλύπτονται, οἰκίαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἀφθόνοις περιρρέονται καὶ τούτων αἱ πρῶται πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς κομῶσι πολυκτῆμονες οὖσαι καὶ εὐκτῆμονες. Αἱ ἀγοραὶ πλήρεις ὀνίων καὶ πάντες ἀλλοδαποὶ τε καὶ αὐτόχθονες ῥάδιον καὶ ἱκανὸν τὸν πόρον τῆς ζωῆς εὕρισκousι καὶ ἐν εὐθυμίαις διάγουσιν· ἑορταί τε καὶ πανηγύρεις μετὰ πολλῆς συγκροτοῦνται θυμηδίας καὶ τέρψεως, ἢ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβεια προσεπέδωκεν, ἢ εὐσέβεια διὰ τῶν ἀναλώμασιν αὐτῆς ἐκτετυπωμένων βιβλίων τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων ἐστήρικται. Ζήλον γὰρ ἐφάμιλλον ἔσχε τῷ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Χριστιανῶν βασιλέως καὶ ἰσαποστόλου Κωνσταντίνου φημι τοῦ μεγάλου περὶ τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας πῆξιν τε καὶ ἔκτασιν. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Θεὸς ὁ τὸ θέλημα ποιῶν ἀεὶ τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν χορηγεῖ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὴν ἀμειβόμενος· τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὑπερβάλλουσαν κἀνταῦθα Θεὸς ἀγέραστον οὐ παρήσιν.¹³

¹³449 ἐμπι<μ>πλαμένη scripsi

437-445 ἐν πᾶσι-ἀπάντων] cf. Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 376,31-377,2: ἤξεις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην σύγκρισιν, ἀντεξετάζων τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν πρὸς τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, οὐ καθαιρῶν ἐκεῖνας (ἄτεχρον γάρ) ἀλλὰ θαυμάζων μὲν ἐκεῖνας, τὸ δὲ τέλειον ἀποδιδούς τῇ παρουσίῃ || 463-469 Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 377,10-14: ἐν τούτοις ἐρεῖς τὰς εὐετηρίας, τὰς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν πόλεων, ὅτι πλήρεις μὲν ὀνίων αἱ ἀγοραὶ, πλήρεις δὲ ἑορτῶν καὶ πανηγύρεων αἱ πόλεις, γεωργεῖται μετ' εἰρήνης ἢ γῆ, πλεῖται ἢ θάλασσα ἀκινδύνως, εὐσέβεια δὲ ἢ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἠΰζηται

475 **43** Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἔμοις λόγους μακαρισμοῦ τούντεϋθεν οὐκ ἔκτος ἡγοῦμαι, τῶν
αὐτῆς εὐφημιῶν καὶ ὕμνων ὅσον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐφικτὸν ἀψαμένους καὶ τιμηθέντας ἐντεῦθεν. Τὸ
γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνέφικτον τοῖς τοῦ ῥήτορος, μὴ ὅτι γε τοῖς ἔμοις, ἀλλ' οὐδ'
ἀποδοχῆς καὶ συγγνώμης ἀποτυχεῖν αὐτοὺς δέδοικα παρὰ τῆ θεοκοσμῆτῳ σου πραότητι
480 **44** Ἦν ὁ τῶν βασιλευόντων βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν κυριευόντων κύριος καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ
ἐξουσίας πρύτανις, ἡ μόνη πηγὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ παναίτια καὶ πανσθενεστάτη τριάς, ἡ ἐν
τρισὶν ιδιότησι καὶ οὐσίᾳ μιᾷ γνωριζομένη θεότης, Πατὴρ ὁ ἀναίτιος, κύριος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ
Πατρὸς ἀπαθῶς γεννηθεὶς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πατρὸς ἀχρόνως καὶ ὑπὲρ
αἰτίαν ἐκπορευόμενον τελεταρχικὸν πνεῦμα, ὁ εἰς Θεὸς καὶ πάσης ἀγαθωσύνης πάροχος εἶη
485 διαφρουρῶν ἀπείροις ἐτῶν εἰρηνικαῖς περιόδοις, εὐφραινομένην λαμπρῶς ἐκ ἀδιακόποις
εὐδαιμονίαις καὶ λαμπρυνομένην ἐν ἀκλονήτοις εὐθυμίαις, κατευμεγεθοῦσαν τῶν ἐναντίων
ἀπάντων, καὶ διατηροῖη ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐρρωμένην ἐς γῆρας λιπαρὸν καὶ βαθύτατον,
ἀρετῆ πάση κεκοσμημένην καὶ λαμπροτέρους καὶ μείζουσιν εὐσεβείας ἐμπρέπουσαν ἀεὶ
κατορθώμασι, καὶ τὴν συνήθη τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιδεικνυμένην φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπειλημμένους
490 ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δεξιᾶς, ἔτι τε κρατύνων εἶη καὶ συντηρῶν αὐτῆ, ὃν αὐτὸς αὐτῆ λαμπρότατον
δεδώρηται θρόνον ἀνεπιβούλευτον, τοῖς ἐποφθαλμιῶσιν ἀνεπίβατον, ἀτάραχον, ἀστεμφῆ,
ἀμετακίνητον, εἰρηνικόν, ἐν ἀκυμάντῳ γαλήνῃ καὶ εἰς ἄπειρα κύκλα αἰῶνων ἀδιάδοχον καὶ
χαριζόμενος αὐτὴν τοῖς τε περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν, τοῖς τε φιλάτοις καὶ χριστιανοῖς
ἅπασι καύχημα παναίσιον, πάντα κατὰ ῥοῦν αὐτῆ φέρων καὶ διεξάγων τὰ πράγματα καὶ
495 χορηγῶν τὰ θυμῆρι δι' αἰῶνος αὐτὴν τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ σύνευνον, καὶ γένος ἅπαν θάλλειν
διδούς τῆς αὐτῆς ἀεὶ λαμπρότητος ἐπειλημμένους καὶ δόξης καὶ εὐδαιμονίας. **45** Μετὰ δὲ
χρόνον ἐπιμήκιστον καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατον αὐτῆς γῆρας ἐν τῷ θεοφρουρήτῳ θρόνῳ καὶ
βαθύτατον ἀπειρία σχεδὸν συνεξεταζόμενον δῶη ὁ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡγεμονίας βραβευτῆς
καὶ πρύτανις σπέρμα τὸ σόν, ἡγεμῶν κράτιστε καὶ φιλοχριστότατε καὶ σπλαγχνικότατε,
500 παῖδα παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν παραπέμπειν τῆ τοῦ κόσμου συστάσει μέχρις
αἰῶνων τερμάτων, μηδέποτε ἄλλοτρίῳ γένει διαλαμβανομένης τῆς κατὰ διαδοχὴν
συνεχείας.¹⁴ Ἀμήν.

¹⁴499 ἡγεμῶν scripsi: ἡγεμῶν cod.

480-502 Menander *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 377,28-30: τιμωτέρας ὕλης. ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχὴν ἐρεῖς αἰτῶν παρὰ θεοῦ εἰς μήκιστον χρόνον προελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, διαδοθῆναι εἰς παῖδας, παραδοθῆναι τῷ γένει