Menander
Rhetor

A COMMENTARY

Edited with translation
and commentary by

D. A. Russell
and N. G. Wilson

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PREFACE

Our primary aim in this edition has been to establish and translate the text of the two treatises ascribed to Menander, identifying so far as we can the places where interpretation is in doubt. We have added an Introduction dealing with the text and the general issues raised by the content of the treatises. Our commentary, which is designedly brief (as our apparatus is designedly selective), is meant to present reasons for our more important choices of reading, and also to offer some parallels and some guidance to readers new to rhetorical texts. In all this we have had in mind the fact that 'Menander' is of interest both to specialists in Greek rhetoric and to literary scholars concerned not only with the classical languages but with other European literatures. We have therefore tried to present translations, indexes, and analyses in such a way that they can be used without much reference to the Greek.

Our debts to friends are large, but not easy to define. We should like especially to acknowledge the help of Dr D. C. Innes and of Prof. R. Kassel, and the constant attentive care and acumen of the press reader.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

(This list excludes some standard abbreviations, which we hope will be readily intelligible. Of authors often quoted, Dionysius is cited usually by the page and line of H. Usener–L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula*, Teubner, 1899–1904 (reprint 1965), and Libanius by the volume, page, and line of R. Foerster's edition, Teubner, 1903–23.)

(i) EDITIONS OF MENANDER

Ald., Aldus   *Rhetores Graeci*, Venice, 1508, pp. 594–641.

Heeren   L. Heeren, *Menander Rhetor*, 1785 (Treatise I only).

Walz (W)   *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. C. Walz; vol. ix (1836) contains Menander, and also C. E. Finckh's important *epistola critica* (pp. 739–71).

Spengel (Sp.)   *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. L. Spengel, 1856 (reprint 1966); vol. iii. 331–446 contains Menander.

Bursian   C. Bursian, *Der Rhetor Menandros und seine Schriften,* Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 16. 3 (1882), 1–152.

Soffel   J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede,* Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 57, Meisenheim am Glan, 1974.

(ii) OTHER WORKS

AS   *see* Radermacher.

Buchheit   V. Buchheit, *Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos Epideiktikon*, Munich, 1960.

Burgess   T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago Studies in Classical Philology, 3, 1902.

Cairns   F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1972.

Caplan   H. Caplan, [*Cicero*] *ad Herennium*, Loeb Classical Library, 1954.

Corp. Herm.   *Corpus Hermeticum*, ed. A. D. Nock–A. J. Festugière, Paris, 1945–54.

Ernesti   J. C. T. Ernesti, *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, 1795 (reprint 1962).

Graeven   *Cornuti artis rhetoricae epitome*, ed. J. Graeven, 1891 (reprint 1973).

Heitsch	E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*[2], Göttingen, 1963–4.
Kroll	W. Kroll, 'Randbemerkungen 19', *Rh. Mus.* 66 (1911), 169–74.
Lampe	*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, Oxford, 1961.
Martin	J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik*, Munich, 1974.
Nitsche	W. Nitsche, *Der Rhetor Menandros und die Scholien zu Demosthenes*, Berlin, 1883.
PLF	E. Lobel–D. L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford, 1955.
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford, 1962.
Radermacher	L. Radermacher, *Artium Scriptores*, Vienna, 1951 (Sitzungsberichte der Oesterreichischen Ak. der Wiss., ph.-hist. Kl., 227. 3).
—— *NTGr.*	Id., *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*[2], Tübingen, 1925.
Schmid	W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern*, 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1887–96 (reprint 1966).
Sp.–H.	L. Spengel–C. Hammer, *Rhetores Graeci* 1.2, Leipzig, 1894.
Thesleff	H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period*, Åbo, 1965 (Acta Acad. Aboensis, Ser. A., 30. 1).
Volkmann	R. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*[2], 1885 (reprint 1963).
Wehrli	F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*[2], Basel, 1967–9.

INTRODUCTION

EPIDEICTIC PRACTICE AND THEORY

I

WE are concerned here with two treatises, both of which are traditionally ascribed to 'Menander'.[1] This means the 'sophist'— i.e. orator and teacher of rhetoric—Menander of Laodicea-on-Lycus, a flourishing city of south-west Asia Minor.[2] The brief life of this person preserved in the Byzantine encyclopedia *Suda*[3] makes no mention of these particular books; but there is no doubt that he was known in Byzantine times as the best authority on the topics with which they deal.[4] But there is indeed difficulty about the attribution. We shall see that the two treatises are not parts of a single whole, and that there are strong reasons for assigning them to different authors. We shall see also that the dating of both is to some extent uncertain.[5] These doubts, however, need not seriously affect our appreciation of the historical circumstances in which they were written. Both belong to the late third or early fourth century AD. This was of course an age of great political and social upheavals; but it is wrong to imagine that the disturbances, however devastating locally, altogether prevented the continuance, in many cities of the Hellenized world, of the tradition of civic life that had bloomed under the Antonines and was to revive in the fourth and fifth centuries. In this life, the rhetorical celebration of public and private events played a very great part. Menander met a need; he formulates much of the practice of the great age of the Second Sophistic, and his precepts find many an illustration in the oratory, both pagan and Christian, of the fourth and fifth centuries. Victor's letter to Theognostus, from fifth- or sixth-century Egypt,[6] is testimony to this: he asks for the 'encomia'

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[1] See below, p. xxxvi, and commentary on 331.

[2] Now Eski Hisar; on the borders of ancient Caria and Lycia. 'Menandros' is a common Greek name (all the commoner because of the fame of the classical comic poet), but it is worth noting that it occurs at Laodicea in the imperial period: J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphée* (1969), 208, 302, 327.

[3] Below, p. xxxiv.   [4] Below, p. xxxvi.

[5] Below, p. xxxix.   [6] Below, p. xxxiv.

and 'methods' to be sent to him 'urgently', and we imagine him—like many local worthies all over the Greek world—waiting with anxiety, daunted by some impending oratorical duty.

It is unfortunately not clear which of the two extant treatises—if either—Victor wanted. The first would have given him some general theory of 'epideictic' oratory, in the strict sense of the oratory of praise and blame; some hints about various kinds of 'hymns' to the gods; and much detailed advice on encomia of cities and countries. In its original form, it probably gave much more: precepts for encomia of individuals, and of inanimate or even abstract objects.[7] The second treatise might have been of much more practical use, for it consists of detailed rules for the composition of speeches for many different occasions, both public and private. If Victor had been appointed to a delegation to a governor or emperor, if he had had to receive such a personage in his own town, if he had had to speak at a wedding or deliver a laudation at a funeral, he would have found his work mapped out for him in a helpful and interesting way. No doubt there were other books he could have used instead. In fact, we possess one, a collection of prescriptions of very much the same kind, addressed to a certain Echecrates, and wrongly attributed to the Augustan critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It seems a necessary complement to Menander for the modern reader; and we offer a translation of it in an appendix.

All these handbooks are replete with commonplace and convention, pedantry and priggishness. None the less they have a considerable value for readers of Greek and Latin literature. This is largely because these public orators of the late empire sought to demonstrate in all their works their grasp of classical literature, the canonized *biblia*[8] which formed the staple of education. They and their teachers therefore hunted assiduously in the classics. If they needed a lofty, religious tone for a great ceremonial, Plato was the obvious model. For a marriage, one turned first to Sappho. Homer, traditionally the first inventor of rhetoric,[9] offered motifs (ἀφορμαί) for all sorts of occasions. Most valuable of all was the ornamental and en-

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[7] Below, p. xxxvii.

[8] e.g. [Dionysius], *Ars rhetorica* 298. 1 Usener–Radermacher.

[9] L. Radermacher, *Artium Scriptores*, 9–10, conveniently collects the evidence. See Menander 430. 13 and 434. 11, with notes.

comiastic oratory of the fourth century BC, the age when prose first began to rival poetry in some of poetry's traditional functions. Hence to understand these treatises, and see what the writers made of, or added to, their inheritance, it is necessary to go back to the early development of epideictic oratory.[10]

II

There were several strands in this development. By the late fifth century, the great festivals ($\pi\alpha\nu\eta\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) attracted orators as well as poets. Gorgias' *Olympic Speech*[11] was the model of later speeches, some delivered on real occasions, others published as pamphlets. It is still echoed, it would seem, in the 'exhortation to athletes' outlined by pseudo-Dionysius.[12] Secondly, the Athenian custom of praising the war-dead in a prose oration produced a combination of themes. The orator on this occasion had both to give an encomium of the heroes' deeds, and to lament their fall. Thucydides' version of Pericles' *epitaphios*[13] fulfilled the demands with exemplary brilliance. Later rhetors studied in particular the fourth-century examples: Plato's *Menexenus*, the parodic qualities of which were forgotten or not understood, the *epitaphios* of Hyperides, and those attributed to Lysias and Demosthenes.[14] The funeral speech, with its dazzling history, was always something very special. We can see from Menander's chapter on the *epitaphios* how the Thucydidean model, however remote and archaic its purpose, remained an inescapable basis for any kind of memorial address. And thirdly: the sophists and philosophers of this period concerned themselves with the question of the nature and purpose of praise and blame.[15] It became a popular exercise to see how one might 'make an encomium' of quite unlikely objects and persons. Such encomia then became the vehicle of literary controversies, often obscure to the modern reader. Thus Polycrates was famous for his paradoxical praise of the Egyptian tyrant Busiris, of Clytemnestra, of mice, and of salt. Alcidamas was known for his *Nais*—a hetaera

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[10] In general, see T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, Chicago Studies in Classical Philology, 3 (1902): J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik* (1974), 177–210; V. Buchheit, *Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos Epideiktikon* (1960).

[11] Martin, 178.

[12] [Dion. Hal.] 283 ff. = Appendix, p. 377.   [13] Thuc. 2. 34 ff.

[14] Hyperides, *Or.* 6, Lysias, *Or.* 2, Demosthenes, *Or.* 60.

[15] See e.g. Aristot. *EE* 1219^{b}8 ff.

—and for his *Death*.[16] Isocrates in *Helen* attacks an unknown predecessor—perhaps Gorgias himself—who 'claimed to write an encomium' of Helen, 'but in fact wrote a defence'.[17] In *Busiris*, he is clearly competing with Polycrates. Finally, Plato's parodic speeches, especially the encomia of Eros in the *Symposium*, use the form to make both literary and, on occasion, philosophical points.

Indeed, the speech of Agathon in *Symposium* 194 E–197 E (written some time after 385 BC) shows, more clearly than any other text, the extent to which this school of sophistic rhetoric had systematized the encomium form. The caricature has many points. It ridicules the self-conscious methodology of the orator who declares 'First I will explain how I must speak, secondly I will speak'; but at the same time it makes what is really a logical point, by asserting that the only right method of praise is to say what the subject is like, and of what sort of things he is the cause. So we have first the nature of Eros: he is κάλλιστος and ἄριστος—'most beautiful', because of his youth, tenderness, and good looks; 'best', because he possesses in the highest degree the four cardinal virtues of justice, temperance, courage, and wisdom. The development of this occupies the main part of the speech; the account of the god's benefits to mankind (197 C ff.) is relatively short, because they consist in conveying the qualities which he himself possesses. Agathon represents himself as redressing a balance here, because previous encomiasts have dwelt exclusively on what men receive from the gods, not on the gods' own nature. This is a theological point, central to Plato's thinking; it is a reminder that serious matter may be conveyed in parodic form. It is worth noting both a similarity and a difference between this exercise and the later forms of hymn and encomium, as we see them in Menander. The similarity, a striking one, is the scheme of the Four Virtues. This is evidently part of a traditional way of praising great men: Aeschylus' Amphiaraus (*Septem* 610) was 'temperate, just, brave, and pious'; Demosthenes (*De corona* 215) speaks of the three 'noblest encomia' of courage, justice, and temperance. The difference is that in Plato the scheme is used to analyse the nature of Eros; in Menander,[18] and in some other later

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[16] Polycrates: Radermacher, op. cit. 128 ff. Alcidamas: ibid. 132 ff.
[17] Isocr. *Helen* (= *Or.* 10) 14.　　　　　　[18] See 373. 5 ff.

rhetors, it gives a classification of actions. This is presumably its traditional use; it is Plato who, for his own purpose, has redeployed it.

It is perhaps curious that all this activity in fantasy and mythology should have preceded any serious attempt to write prose encomia of contemporary princes or other great persons. But it seems to have been so. It was not till shortly after 374 BC that Isocrates took a decisive step, in writing an encomium on the recently deceased ruler of Cypriot Salamis, Evagoras, for the pleasure and instruction of the ruler's son, Nicocles. Only speech, he claimed, could immortalize Evagoras' *aretē*; and a prose encomium, though a novelty, was as effective as poetry. It was only malice (φθόνος)[19] that had hitherto prevented such celebration of contemporaries. Isocrates proceeds to give an account of Evagoras which owes much to the *epitaphios* tradition, something also to the *epinicia* of Pindar and Bacchylides. There is no straight chronological narrative, though the qualities shown by Evagoras as a boy—beauty, strength, and chastity—are demonstrated before those which appeared more appropriately in the grown man, namely courage, wisdom, and justice. There is much in all this which we find echoed in the prescriptions Menander gives for the *basilikos logos*,[20] the formal encomium of an emperor; and it is obvious that *Evagoras* was a much studied model. So was a rather later fourth-century classic, Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, written about 357.[21] Here we have a different pattern: a narrative of actions comes first, enumeration of virtues later, with illustrative examples. Though this is formally different both from *Evagoras* and from the stereotyped patterns of encomium which were established in later elementary teaching,[22] there are again many clear echoes in Menander, especially echoes of Xenophon's preface,[23] so that it is obvious that *Agesilaus* too was an influential classical prototype even at this late date. This accords with the fact that Xenophon was a particularly important Attic classic in Roman times.

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[19] *Evagoras* (= *Or.* 9) 5.

[20] 368 ff., esp. 372. 7 ff.

[21] F. Leo, *Die gr.-röm. Biographie*, 90 ff.; D. Krömer, *Xenophons Agesilaos*, diss. Berlin, 1971.

[22] See below, pp. xxv, ff. on *progymnasmata*.

[23] See 368. 9; 370. 10; 369. 18, and also Theon, *Progymnasmata* 68. 27 Spengel (*Rhet. Gr.* ii).

III

In 362, when Xenophon's own son Gryllus died in battle, a number of his contemporaries contributed commemorative pieces.[24] But of these we know little. It is clear, however, that, even in the free *poleis* of the fourth century, the taste for personal encomium was growing. This taste was naturally much strengthened by the increasing monarchical tendencies of political life. When Mausolus, the ruler of Caria, died in 353 BC, Theopompus, Theodectes, and Naucrates, all writers of the school of Isocrates, competed with funeral speeches in his honour.[25] Theopompus too wrote on Philip and Alexander.[26] In the Hellenistic period, activity became more intense. We know of a memorial speech by one Xenocrates on Arsinoe (probably Arsinoe II, who died in 270 BC).[27] Hegesias of Magnesia seems to have composed encomia of cities[28]—a genre attempted earlier by Gorgias, and elaborately defined in Menander— while Matris of Thebes[29] wrote an encomium of Heracles, and 'hymns' to gods. These two writers were, as it happens, particularly despised by the classical revival which began in the second half of the first century BC; and it is no doubt for this reason, not because they were insignificant in the development of these genres, that our 'Treatise I' makes no mention of either in the course of its treatment of the subjects in which they had been innovators. Hermesianax of Colophon,[30] better known as a poet, is said to have 'made an encomium' of Athena in particularly 'frigid' terms: 'born out of the head of Zeus, she naturally holds the chief of happiness.' At the Boeotian city of Oropus,[31] and no doubt in many other places, prose epideictic speeches were delivered for prizes at festivals throughout the Hellenistic period: we hear of a sophist who wins the prize in the fourth century, an ἐγκωμιογράφος in the second. Speeches of welcome, of thanks, or of pleading, addressed to Roman or other rulers,

[24] Diogenes Laertius 2. 55, 5. 22; Aristotle's commemorative dialogue Γρύλλος (frs. 68–9 Rose) was about rhetorical theory.

[25] A. Gellius 10. 18.

[26] Theon, *Progymn.* 2, 8 (2. 68, 2. 110 Spengel). Cf. *FGrHist* 115 F 255–6.

[27] Diogenes Laertius 4. 15: P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii. 939.

[28] Susemihl, *Gesch. alex. Lit.*, 2. 405 n. 44.

[29] *FGrHist* 39. Cf. [Longin.] *De subl.* 3.2.

[30] *FGrHist* 691 T 2.

[31] *IG* vii. 414–15; A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide*, 34.

were commonplace throughout the Greek world.[32] That is to say, the public events envisaged in 'Treatise II'—arrivals and departures of governors, embassies, presentations of crowns, official invitations[33]—occasioned essentially the same oratorical responses in the days when Roman republican governors and magistrates controlled the Greek world as in Menander's own time. The orator whom the city appointed—the 'voice of the city' as Menander puts it[34]—was thus already an important person. Hence the tendency for men of substance and political influence to appear in this role, and to use a common interest in rhetorical technique as a bond of connection between themselves and the culture-hungry Roman aristocracy. Men like Hybreas of Mylasa or Potamon of Mytilene[35] are examples of a class, already large in the last years of the Republic, of men who combined the practice of ceremonial oratory with political action.

Broadly speaking, the subjects of such oratory in the Hellenistic period seem to have been those connected with public events, if we exclude for the moment the hymns and sophistic encomia of people like Matris and Hegesias. There is no evidence, at this date, for the kinds of subjects which occupy those chapters of our Treatise II which are concerned with private weddings, funerals, arrivals, or departures.[36] Classical and Hellenistic funeral speeches concern the war-dead or very important individuals, kings, or princes, not, it would seem, ordinary people. In the literature of the first two centuries of the empire, on the other hand, the range is less limited. Of course, our evidence is greater, and the contrast we observe may therefore be illusory. We have, in particular, the voluminous remains of Dio Chrysostom and Lucian;[37] Plutarch too has something to contribute.[38]

[32] See notes on 414. 31 ff.

[33] i.e. chaps. III, V, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV of Treatise II, in our (and the conventional) order. [34] 423. 28, with note.

[35] G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 5 and 11.

[36] i.e. chaps. IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, XI, XV, XVI (V and XV involve both public and private subjects).

[37] e.g. Lucian's *Dionysus, De calumnia, Dipsades, De domo, Harmonides, Herodotus, Muscae encomium, Patriae encomium*; Bompaire *Lucien écrivain*, 269 ff. on 'éléments rhétoriques épidictiques' in Lucian. The *lalia* (see below) is especially a Lucianic form. Many of Dio's speeches have deliberative themes or philosophical lessons; but both formal epideictic elements and the conscious informality of the *lalia* (cf. H. von Arnim, *Dio von Prusa*, 438 ff.) are ubiquitous.

[38] e.g. *De fortuna Romanorum, De Alexandri virtute, De gloria Atheniensium, De esu carnium, De vitando aere alieno*.

With these in view, if we ask ourselves in what ways the range of epideictic writing was extended in this period, the answer is to be found in two areas: what Menander calls *laliai*, that is to say informal talks, where spontaneity and variety are admired qualities; and highly emotional funeral or disaster speeches, like Dio Chrysostom's *Melankomas*, or the monody of Aristides on the Smyrna earthquake.[39] These too—at least the personal *monōdiai*—are envisaged by Menander. But it remains true that private wedding speeches, and the kinds of speeches of valediction and greeting that arise not out of public occasions but out of the private circumstances of scholastic life, are not attested in actual literature till the period after Menander. The references in our commentary to writers of the fourth century and later—Himerius, Choricius of Gaza—are mostly there because of the lack of earlier material. It may of course be accidental that this is so. It is prudent to take warning from the undoubtedly accidental fact that in the field of formal, public panegyric also we have to rely heavily for parallel material on texts later than Menander himself: on Julian, Themistius, Libanius, and Procopius of Gaza. We should note also, in evaluating Menander's place in this whole development, that Latin *panegyrici*, beginning with Pliny, often adopt different procedures from those we find regularly in Menander and in pseudo-Dionysius.[40] A safe conclusion is that the writers we are concerned with represent a systematization of practice, together with a certain degree of innovation, which proved very influential in the widespread revival of literary skills which accompanied the revival of prosperity and stability in the fourth century.

IV

It is important also to try to see the characteristics of these treatises in the light of the history of rhetorical theory and teaching. Even in this very banal and conventionalized branch of litera-

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[39] See commentary at 419 ff., 422 ff. Lucian's Περὶ πένθους parodies emotional funeral speeches, and so testifies to their frequency and banality.

[40] Pliny's purpose in the *Panegyricus* required him to emphasize the bad features of the Domitianic era (Menander might have found this ἄτεχνον, cf. 377. 1), the circumstances of Trajan's adoption (but not his early life), and the particular qualities which made him acceptable to the senate. The result is something very different from Menander's βασιλικός.

ture, the relation between teaching and practice is less close than is sometimes thought, and the history of the two is therefore best kept apart. Menander's partial 'fair copies' are of course meant as hints, not as models to be copied out, though doubtless the indifferent student will have treated them as just that. And if we look at any respectable epideictic piece— say the *Panathenaicus* or a monody or hymns of Aristides— it is clear that the writer's sophistication and sensitivity to the particular circumstances (καιρός) is of far greater importance in the successful execution of the commission than the application of rules and formulas. Every ancient rhetor knew this, even if some of his pupils never grasped it. Moreover, the close, if often hostile, connection between rhetorical and philosophical education[41] had led, since early times, to attempts to make rhetoric something like a scientific system; and this could not be done without further widening the gap between what was taught and what was practically useful. We have here to consider two distinct kinds of rhetorical textbooks: the general surveys, from Aristotle to Quintilian, in which epideictic is discussed in the context of the whole subject; and the practical books of preliminary exercises (*progymnasmata*) in which encomium is as regularly treated. We begin with the general surveys. Two survive from the fourth century BC, that is to say from a period very close to the beginnings of epideictic oratory, when, as we saw, Plato, Isocrates, and the sophists concerned themselves with the purposes and rationale of praise and blame, not just with effective practice. The more important is Aristotle's. In *Rhetoric* 1. 3 (1358ᵇ ff.), Aristotle distinguishes the three classes (εἴδη) of rhetoric[42] on the basis of 'hearers' (ἀκροαταί), rather than on that of types of speaker or subject-matter. The 'end' (τέλος) is determined by the 'hearer'. Now 'hearers' must be either judges, concerned with past facts or future prospects, or spectators (θεωροί); the judges are the audience of forensic and deliberative oratory, the 'spectators' of epideictic. Aristotle does not pursue the implications of the word θεωροί, or spell out the fact that the 'spectator' at a festival or ceremony is there with no interest of his own except curiosity and the search for pleasure. He does, however, add two other

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[41] See especially the survey in H. von Arnim, *Dio von Prusa*, chap. i.
[42] See commentary on 331. A. Hellwig (cited in commentary), 120.

ways in which epideictic may be contrasted with the other two:
it deals with the present, not primarily with the past and the
future, though these may enter into it incidentally;[43] and it
deals with the fair and noble (τὸ καλόν), not with expediency
or justice. 'We praise Achilles for going to help his friend
Patroclus, knowing that he would have to die, though it was
open to him to live.' Further discussion follows in 1. 9 (1366ᵃ23–
1368ᵃ37). Here Aristotle recognizes the practice of the age in
praising, 'both seriously and unseriously', 'not only a human
being or a god, but inanimate things and any animal whatso-
ever'.[44] The subject of praise, once again, is τὸ καλόν; and the
pre-eminent example of this is *aretē*, the power to provide and
protect good things, and to confer great benefits. There follows
a brief enumeration of virtues, and a discussion (1366ᵇ24 ff.)
of their causes and consequences, especially the actions (ἔργα)
which demonstrate their presence. All this is important and
influential in later theory.[45] Particularly significant is the identi-
fication, implied throughout Aristotle's discussion, of the oratory
of 'praise and blame' with everything that is not actual forensic
or deliberative speech. Though the theoretical grounds for
this are clear and logical, it looks as if Aristotle was influenced
by the fact that 'praise and blame' were, in actual practice,
the main subject of sophistic *epideixeis*. But of course there is no
reason why all 'non-practical' oratory should fit this definition;
and in fact feigned advice and pleading were common enough
from the time of Gorgias onwards. It is from this confusing
situation that one of the most obvious features of Menander
must come: while excluding mimic deliberative speeches (331)
and using the techniques of encomium consistently throughout
the treatises, our author is none the less legislating in effect for
a wider range of ornamental speech, such as his contemporaries
practised: the *lalia* chapter (Treatise II, 388 ff.) in effect
acknowledges this.

The third book of the *Rhetoric*, which is largely devoted to
style, supplements this account by some further observations.[46]
Since the object of 'epideictic' is to be read, not merely heard—

[43] Hellwig, 126.

[44] Cf. the plan of our Treatise I, and also Quintilian 3. 7. 6 (below, p. xxiii).

[45] See O. Angermann, *De Aristotele rhetorum auctore* (diss. Leipzig, 1904), 38 ff.
(= *Rhetorica*, ed. P. Steinmetz (1968), 248 ff.), for Caecilius and Quintilian.

[46] See Buchheit, op. cit. 169 ff.

an interesting distinction, and one widely accepted later[47]—
it should have the precision of style which writing demands.
In particular, we are told, its prooemia can be long and remote
from the subject, like those of dithyramb, rather than infor-
mative and to the point like those of epic and tragedy. Aristotle
thus draws a parallel between the kinds of poetry which have
plots and the kinds of oratory which relate events or give advice,
and again between a discursive kind of lyric poetry and the
oratory of praise and blame.

The second fourth-century discussion of these problems is that
contained in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*.[48] Whether or not this
book is older than Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, it represents a different
type of theory. We should therefore reject the passages in it
(especially 1421ᵇ6 ff.) where references to the ἐπιδεικτικὸν
γένος have been inserted to make the doctrine accord with
Aristotle's;[49] there remain two important passages which are
genuine. In one (c. 3 = 1425ᵇ13 ff.), we are told that encomium
involves the exaggeration of intentions, actions, and words
and the attribution to the subject of creditable features of this
kind which do not really belong to him. The methods of 'exag-
geration' (*auxēsis*) are then discussed. In the other (c. 35),
encomium and its opposite (*psogos*) are considered in more
detail. The prologue must contain, in addition to the topics
one would expect in deliberative speeches, a statement of the
'wonderful' and 'outstanding' achievements of the subject
(1440ᵇ10). After the prologue, the speaker should deal with the
good qualities of the subject, both those which count as *aretē*—
wisdom, justice, courage, and accomplishments which convey
prestige[50]—and those which fall outside this range—strength,
beauty, wealth, good birth—and are strictly speaking subjects
not for praise but for congratulation. This done, the speaker
proceeds to the family and ancestry of his subject, and then to
his achievements as a boy or young man; finally come the
actions of the adult, grouped by the cardinal virtues of justice,

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[47] Cf. Cic. *De oratore* 2. 341 : 'magis legendi et delectationis aut hominis alicuius
ornandi quam utilitatis huius forensis causa . . .'.

[48] See esp. the recent text of M. Fuhrmann (Teubner, 1966) and his *Unter-
suchungen zur Textgeschichte* . . . (Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. Mainz, Geistes- u. soz. wiss.
Kl., 1964, 7).

[49] Fuhrmann, ed., xl ff. See also Buchheit, 208–31.

[50] 1440ᵇ12 ; note the absence of the fourth cardinal virtue.

wisdom, and courage. Much more than Aristotle, this unoriginal but revealing writer makes us think back to the practices of the sophists and forward to the rules of the later rhetors, whom we shall shortly have to consider.

v

Variations on the Aristotelian pattern, and on that represented by the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, are to be found in the Latin handbooks we possess from the age of Cicero. These clearly reproduce Hellenistic theory. *Ad Herennium*[51] is indeed obscure in many details. Epideictic (*genus demonstrativum*) is, as in Aristotle, confined to 'praise and blame' and then further narrowed to the praise or blame of definite individuals.[52] This reflects the almost exclusively forensic concerns of the book, which it shares with most Hellenistic rhetoric.[53] We find however, naturally enough, that the bases of praise are fundamental notions of ethics which derive from the early sophists and philosophers: the division of 'goods' into those of mind, body, and circumstances; the notion that dominance of the others by the mind is of special significance; and the classification of good qualities of character and actions under the four cardinal virtues of wisdom, justice, courage, and temperance.[54]

Cicero himself was of course well acquainted with this branch of rhetoric. We see him practising it in *De imperio Cn. Pompeii* and in *Pro Marcello*, or again in the invective passages of *In Pisonem* and the *Philippics*. He discusses it not only in the youthful *De inventione* (1. 7), but in *De oratore* (2. 340 ff.) and in *Partitiones oratoriae* (70–82). In *De oratore*, Cicero draws attention to the Roman dimension, as one might say, of the *laudatio funebris*, pointing out that this native custom was not conducive to rhetorical display. Extant remains support this. The *epitaphios*, with its consolatory and threnodic elements, was essentially

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[51] 1. 2. 1; 3. 15 ff. See the notes of H. Caplan (Loeb edn.), and D. A. G. Hinks, 'Tria genera causarum', *CQ* 30 (1936), 170 ff.

[52] Cf. Theon, *Progymn*. 109. 20 Spengel.

[53] The theory of 'types of issue' (στάσεις, *status*) elaborated by Hermagoras (*Hermagorae Fragmenta*, ed. D. Matthes, 1962) is clearly the main achievement of Hellenistic rhetoric, and it is narrowly forensic in its scope.

[54] e.g. Pl. *Gorg*. 477 c, Aristot. *EN* 1098ᵇ, *Rhet. Alex*. 1422ᵃ; Caplan, op. cit. 174. The familiarity of the idea of 'control by the mind' may be further illustrated from the preface to Sallust's *Jugurtha* ('dux atque imperator vitae animus est').

a Greek thing, which, if it had a place in Roman life, existed side by side with the native *laudatio*. Cicero's advice, as one might expect, has once again a philosophical tinge: only virtue really merits praise, though external goods can be used as supporting themes. *Res gestae* should be grouped under the headings of the four virtues. *Partitiones oratoriae* is more technical.[55] *Laus* and *vituperatio* involve narrative and amplification, but no argumentation, since they raise no doubtful questions, but deal solely with what is acknowledged and agreed (i.e. ὁμολογούμενα ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά). Since the object is the hearer's pleasure, the appropriate style will be that which gives most mere *suavitas*, and this involves generous use of archaic, metaphorical, or coined words, and of figures of sentence-structure. The content too must be such as to move wonder, and to show the intervention of god or fate in the subject's career.[56] The triple classification of 'goods' is again in evidence; one should begin with *externa*, i.e. origin and fortune, and proceed to *facta*, which may be disposed either chronologically (or in reverse chronological order) or else under virtues and vices.[57] The last grouping is evidently the one normally to be preferred (§ 82); the actual course of the subject's life—education, character, deeds, and words—is to be made clear *in toto quasi contextu orationis*, presumably by the organization of the examples adduced under each heading of virtue or vice.[58]

VI

Quintilian's chapter (3. 7) 'de laude ac vituperatione' is largely dependent on Cicero: he intends no doubt to show that the classic authority of Cicero is to be preferred to much later innovation. But his modifications are interesting. For the first time, we find the subject extended to include praise of gods and heroes, as in our Treatise I. *Laudes Capitolini Iovis* (3. 7. 4) are *perpetua sacri certaminis materia*, the essential theme for orators

[55] But not without ethical emphases: § 70 'laudandi vituperandique rationes ... etiam ad honeste vivendum valent.' It would be unnatural for Cicero to treat any rhetorical topic without reference to its moral bearing.

[56] Cf. Menander 371. 5.

[57] § 74 (on genus) may be compared with Menander 370. 18–371. 3.

[58] This interpretation seems natural in the context; but Cicero himself, in *Philippic* 2. 44–119, follows a roughly chronological order.

competing in the most prestige-conferring festival of Quintilian's day. Hence an actual scheme for 'praise of a god': general praise of the *maiestas* of divinity is followed by the special *vis* (δύναμις) of the particular god concerned, then his *inventa, acta*, parentage, age, and descendants. This has obvious connections not only with early sophistic practice, but with our Treatise I. Similarly, it is Quintilian, among extant sources, who first prescribes for praise of cities, buildings, and places, also a major topic in Treatise I. It is worth quoting his discussion (3. 7. 26 ff.):

Cities are praised in a similar way to men. The founder takes the place of the parent, and age lends authority, for example to those who are said to be 'sprung from the earth'; virtues and vices in actions are the same as they are in individuals. What is special to this subject derives from the position and fortification of the site. Citizens do honour to cities as children to parents. Praise is given also to buildings; and herein honour, utility, beauty, and originator are considered (honour as in temples, utility as in walls, beauty and originator in both). There is praise too for countries, like the encomium of Sicily in Cicero. Hence we examine beauty and utility—beauty in places by the sea, level, or pleasant; utility in places that are healthy or fertile.

VII

The last general account of encomium which we have briefly to consider is a Greek one: that of 'Alexander, son of Numenius', which is preserved in some of our Menander manuscripts, accidentally combined with the main text.[59] This comprises three chapters. The first gives a general division of the three kinds of rhetorical subjects—encomium, advice, and court-case—and represents them as distinguished by (i) time (i.e. whether they deal with present, future, or past), (ii) subject (also present, future, or past), (iii) purpose (praise and blame; suasion and dissuasion; defence and accusation), (iv) audience (mere audience, agents, or judges). This is clearly traditional. The

[59] This fragment was printed twice over in Spengel's *Rhetores*, at the end of vol. ii and at the beginning of vol. iii. The author flourished under Hadrian, and wrote a lament on the death of Antinous, as well as an extant treatise on figures (see T. Schwab, *Alex. Numeniu περὶ σχημάτων*, Würzburg, 1916) and a τέχνη much used by 'Anonymus Seguieranus' (= Spengel 1. 427 ff.: edited as *Cornuti artis rhetoricae epitome* by J. Graeven, 1891 (reprint 1973)).

second chapter surveys opinions on the difference between
ἔπαινος (praise) and 'encomium', and concludes in favour of the
view that ἔπαινος is sincere and 'encomium' not; thus we have
Polycrates' 'encomia' of pots and pebbles, but we do not sincerely 'praise' such things. Alexander does however also add
other definitions: ἔπαινος 'expresses greatness of virtue', encomium 'noble deeds'; we 'praise' gods, but 'make encomia'
of men. There is nothing original here either.[60] The third
chapter takes up a point we have seen in Quintilian and shall
see in Menander: rules for praising a god. Topics include his
origin and age, his identity with others (Apollo and the sun
are the same),[61] the universality of his worship, his power,
his favourite haunts, skills, inventions, sacred plants or trees, the
places he visits, and the other gods with whom he is associated.
The whole is prefaced (4. 16–26 Sp.) by a suggested 'philosophical' prologue, indicating that even Plato (in *Timaeus*)
was willing to accept the view that gods 'came from the first
god' and so are not all timeless and without history: both this
piece of philosophy and the choice of topics bring Alexander
near in attitude both to Treatise I and to the 'Sminthiakos'
chapter of Treatise II.

VIII

None of these general treatments of 'encomium' offers in its
entirety the basic pattern which we see constantly in the human
encomia in Menander: the more or less set sequence of origin,
family, birth, upbringing, accomplishments, and actions according to virtues.[62] Nearest to this is the scheme of *Rhetorica ad
Alexandrum*;[63] and there is no doubt that theorists like Cicero
and Quintilian were aware of this pattern as a possible one to
use. Variations on it are also to be found in the elementary
treatises called *progymnasmata*, of which we possess a number
of Greek and Latin examples dating from imperial times.[64] To
these we must now turn. The origins of this type of textbook,
in which exercises are graded in order of difficulty, appear to be

[60] Cf. Aristot. *EE* 1219ᵇ8, *Rhet.* 1. 9. 1367ᵇ35 (interpolation).
[61] Cf. 438. 12 with notes.
[62] Cf. (e.g.) 369–77, 419 ff.; adaptation of the scheme for cities, 353 ff.
[63] 1440ᵇ24: 'genealogy'–childhood–youth–actions grouped by cardinal virtues.
[64] See in general Kroll, *RE* Suppl. VII. 1118 f.; D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Greek
and Roman Education*, 177 ff.

Hellenistic;[65] the list naturally varies from author to author, and we must remember that we possess only a small fraction of what must have been a vast pedagogic literature. Standard items are: fable, anecdote, narrative, refutation and confirmation, commonplace, encomium and invective, comparison, description, imaginary speech in character, general thesis.[66] Let us look briefly at four extant texts.

(i) The earliest is by Aelius Theon, a famous teacher, perhaps a contemporary of Quintilian.[67] Theon admits encomium, despite its comparative irrelevance to forensic needs, as a recognized and usual exercise. Its models are to be sought in the classical *epitaphioi*, in Xenophon, and in Theopompus' encomia of Philip and Alexander. It is defined as 'expression of the greatness of virtuous actions and other good things in a defined individual'—but this may be a dead man or a god. The derivation from κῶμος ('revel') is then given—not the rival derivation from κώμη 'village'[68]—and the basic tripartite scheme—externals, body, mind—is clearly stated. Theon proceeds then to give a list of further topics on which praise may be based: posthumous admiration, unbiased by flattery or envy; disinterested or altruistic actions; success depending on effort rather than on fortune; being first in the field; receiving the praises of notable men; conjecture about achievements which death cut short; comparisons with others; even play on names[69] —Demosthenes is 'the strength of the people' (δήμου σθένος). Many of these topics can be found also in earlier texts; but the emphasis on comparison is an interesting addition. The list is followed by instruction for the use of the ideas which have been thus gathered. Birth (*eugeneia*) comes first; then an exposition of other advantages of circumstance or body, showing how the subject used his strengths well, or compensated for his deficiencies. 'Simon the shoemaker and Leontion the prostitute were philosophers: virtue shines brightest in misfortune.' After this, the

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[65] K. Barwick, *Hermes* 63 (1928), 283.

[66] μῦθος, χρεία, διήγησις, ἀνασκευή, κατασκευή, τόπος, ἐγκώμιον καὶ ψόγος, σύγκρισις, ἔκφρασις, προσωποποιΐα, θέσις. These elementary exercises were succeeded by more elaborate ones, involving perhaps several of these items at once, as in the *suasoriae* and *controversiae* familiar from the Roman rhetorical schools (Seneca, 'Quintilian').

[67] H. Gärtner in *Kleine Pauly*, s.v.   [68] See note on 331. 8.

[69] Cf. [Longin.] *De subl.* 4. 3.

encomiast proceeds to the acts (πράξεις) of his subject—and so arranges them as to demonstrate his possession of the cardinal virtues.

(ii) A further variation of this teaching is to be seen in 'Hermogenes'.[70] A brief summary may be useful.

14. 16–15. 2	Encomium—the exposition of the good qualities of a general or individual subject—may be extended to 'things' like justice, animals, plants, mountains, or rivers.
15. 3–5	It is so called because they used to sing hymns to gods in κῶμαι (village streets).
15. 6–17	It differs from ἔπαινος ('praise') by being necessarily longer, and from κοινὸς τόπος ('commonplace', the subject of the previous exercise [11. 21 ff.]) by being disinterested—its object is simply to bear witness to virtue, not to win favour.
15. 18–17. 1	Its topics are: race and city, family, events at birth (dreams, portents), upbringing, education, bodily and mental qualities; accomplishments (ἐπιτηδεύματα), actions, external blessings, length of life and manner of death, posthumous fame, and fame of children.
17. 2–4	Comparisons (συγκρίσεις) are a very important ingredient.
17. 5–12	With animals, the relevant topics are: place of birth, connection with gods, food, qualities of mind and body, activities, usefulness, and length of life; again, comparisons are desirable.
17. 13–20	'Things'—e.g. hunting—are praised 'from their inventors' and 'from their users'.
17. 20–2	Encomia of gods—which are called 'hymns'—can be formed on the same principles.
17. 23–18. 7	Plants are praised on similar grounds: place, god to whom they are sacred, nurture, growth,

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[70] Authorship uncertain, but not Hermogenes himself (Rabe, *Praef.* pp. iv–vi). The book may therefore not be earlier than our two treatises, though it certainly antedates the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonius. Our references are to the page and line of Rabe's edition (Teubner).

beauty, physical appearance, usefulness, with comparisons at all points.

18. 8–14   Cities: origin, nurture ('they were fed by the gods'), culture, character, lay-out, accomplishments, actions.

(iii) Aphthonius, not dissimilar in doctrine, is of the late fourth or early fifth century:[71]

You will compose a preface related to the subject in hand. Next you will put origin (γένος) divided into nation, city, ancestors, and parents; then upbringing, divided into accomplishments, skill, laws. Next you will introduce the most important chapter in encomia, viz. actions, divided into mind, body, and fortune. Under mind come, e.g., courage, wisdom; under body, e.g., beauty, speed, strength; under fortune, e.g., power, wealthy friends. After this, you should add a comparison, introducing a greater example to set beside the subject of your encomium. Finally, an epilogue, with features appropriate to a prayer.

Again, this is obviously close to the Menandrean system, but not quite the same. The heading of 'action' is arranged not simply by the cardinal virtues, but by a scheme based on the 'three kinds of good things', in which 'qualities of mind' alone admit the classification by virtue.

(iv) It is thus only in Nicolaus,[72] who is clearly later than Menander,[73] that the scheme we are seeking can be paralleled precisely. Nicolaus (50. 10 ff. Felten) explicitly rejects as oldfashioned the tripartite division of good things, in favour of what he calls the 'prevailing' (κρατούσῃ) division into prooemium, origin, birth, education, accomplishments, and actions, these last divided according to the virtues, and not narrated chronologically.

No doubt the differences between these writers are trivial and pedantic; but each of them has his own way of teaching 'encomium', and expounds it with confidence. It is interesting to see that Menander does not fit precisely into any plan attested

[71] p. 22 Rabe. Aphthonius was a pupil of Libanius. The accentual clausulae in his 'fair copies' suggest a date not earlier than the late fourth century.

[72] Nicolaus of Myra, a pupil of the Neoplatonists Plutarch and Proclus, came to Athens before 430. Ed. J. Felten (1913).

[73] Note 49. 13 ff.: he knows about some of the specific forms handled in Treatise II. viz. *epibatērioi, prosphōnētikoi, epithalamioi, epitaphioi.*

before his date, though the elements in his scheme can almost all be traced back to the age of Aristotle or earlier.

IX

We may now briefly review the two Menandrean treatises in the light of this long tradition of epideictic practice and theory.

It is clear in the first place that the latter part of Treatise I, on encomia of cities and countries, is an expansion of very traditional material. The principle of applying the formula 'origin–accomplishments–actions' to a city is implicit in Quintilian: 'pro parente est conditor . . . virtutes ac vitia circa res gestas eadem quae in singulis . . . cives illis ut hominibus liberi sunt decori.'[74] On the other hand, classical prose models of *laudes urbium*[75] are hard to find, and the chief exemplification of the topics prescribed by Menander is to be sought in more recent masterpieces, notably Aristides' *Panathenaicus*. The general division of epideictic also, as set out at the beginning of the treatise, shows no surprising features; we observe that the author keeps strictly to the Aristotelian identification of epideictic with encomium, and makes no distinction between encomium and *epainos*. There are, however, two things in Treatise I which, on our evidence, do not belong to the rhetorical tradition, strictly so called, at all. The first of these may be illusory: it is the classification of 'hymns' according to the gods to whom they are addressed in 331. 20–332. 7. This passage is omitted in one branch of the tradition, and is quite distinct from the classification that the author then proceeds to follow. Almost certainly it should be deleted. It is no doubt derived from the same sort of scholarship which supplies the list of kinds of lyrics in Proclus' *Chrestomathy*;[76] in other words it is the product of Hellenistic *grammatikē*, not of the normal interests of the rhetorical school. Whether this distinction is very significant in historical terms may well be doubted. These two branches of scholarship and education could not fail to interact almost continuously: the doctrines of figures and of *mimēsis* (in the sense of the imitation of ancient classics) are other areas where one cannot tell the grammaticus and the rhetor apart. But for what it is worth, the interpolated passage which

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[74] 3. 7. 26.   [75] See on 344. 15 ff.
[76] Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 239, 319ᵇ ff.: see notes on 331. 20 ff.

is before us represents an intrusion of material alien to the whole tradition of the teaching of epideictic rhetoric. More important, because more closely connected with the general argument, is the scheme of eight types of hymn which actually forms the basis of the main discussion (333–44). This again, on the author's own showing (338. 2 ff.), is not wholly original; it is in fact a conflation of (a) two opposing pairs—hymns summoning and saying farewell, praying for good and seeking to avert evil— with (b) a group of four types based on the degree of reality involved: science, myth, genealogy, and fiction. This suggests other known distinctions between truth and fiction of various kinds,[77] but the whole is doubtless an *ad hoc* construction, designed to cover the sorts of subject which Menander believes— on the evidence of classical literature and later imitations of it— to be appropriate in prose works on divine themes. The orator might well be expected to take part in a ceremonial invocation or valediction, a prayer or an apotropaic rite; or he might have to treat the powers of a god either philosophically, drawing on the grand cosmic themes, or in terms of traditional myth; or finally he might, like Plato in the *Symposium* or Fronto in his fable on Sleep,[78] invent a moral allegory with no base in tradition. This is perhaps the most mysterious part of these two treatises; but it can be viewed as an attempt to provide a theoretical basis for a variety of themes popular in the Second Sophistic, and especially influenced by Plato. And we have seen at least a partial parallel in Alexander (above, § VII).

Treatise II and the Dionysian *Ars* which so closely resembles it present a somewhat different picture. Here the basis of almost all the individual chapters[79] is, as we have seen, a form of encomium scheme approximately like that of Theon, 'Hermogenes', and Aphthonius, but in fact only clearly paralleled in the later Nicolaus of Myra. No doubt it was, as Nicolaus says, the 'prevailing' scheme in the fourth and fifth centuries; but there is nothing to show whether it was Menander or some earlier rhetor who popularized it.[80] The choice of subjects, on

[77] Sex. Emp. *Adv. math.* 1. 263 f.: notes on 333. 2 ff.

[78] *De feriis Alsiensibus* 3 (Naber 224 ff.).

[79] Cf. 369–77; 379–80; 384. 14–25; 385–6; 397–8; 402–4; 413. 10; 419–20; 428–44. [Dion. Hal.] assumes the same plan: see 265, 268, 274, 278 (App. pp. 367 ff.).

[80] Possibly Minucianus, on whose *Progymnasmata* Menander commented.

the other hand, derives not from theoretical considerations but from practical need. Poetical forms are often the models, especially for subjects (like weddings) which have only recently been thought of as themes for oratory. Novel, so far as we know, is the theory of the *lalia*, or informal talk, the practice of which may not go back beyond the age of Dio and Plutarch, even if it has affinities with the popular philosophical sermons of the Hellenistic age. In a word, the whole scheme of these books is closely bound up with the rhetorical practice of the late empire, and it is rash to assume that its particular combinations of poetical and progymnasmatic themes are to be found much before that period.

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These historical considerations need to be borne in mind when we consider the more general issue of the relevance of texts of this kind to our understanding of classical poetry. They have indeed often been exploited for this purpose, for example in Eduard Norden's commentary on *Aeneid* VI, and more recently and systematically in Francis Cairns's *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*. Readers of Menander are bound to ask themselves how far these prescriptions can help us to recover the purposes and attitudes of classical poets.

  Some points are clear. Like other rhetors, Menander makes great use of the poets. Homer shows the way to monody (434. 11 f.) and to the *suntaktikos* (430. 12 f.), Sappho is a source for all matters connected with weddings (402. 17). In Treatise I, poets as well as prose-writers are models for hymns; but it is noticeable that the differences between what is permitted to them and what is permitted to orators are repeatedly emphasized (332. 2 f., 334. 1 f., 340. 27 f.). The background to all this is the use made of poetical texts in all rhetorical schools.[81] Not only did they illustrate figures (the most obvious common ground between *grammaticus* and *rhetor*) but they could be exploited even for examples of forms of argument.[82] Naturally, they were especially useful in epideictic oratory. There was a

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[81] H. North, *Traditio* 8 (1952), 1 ff.

[82] See especially [Dion. Hal.] περὶ ἐσχηματισμένων, 293–358 U.–R. Homer is this author's favourite quarry—naturally, in view of the dominant position he held in school education.

historical reason for this, in the fact that praise and blame, as we have seen, were originally functions of poetry which prose oratory took over, and that occasions like death or marriage had poetical forms of commemoration associated with them long before the development of anything that could be called literature. There was also a theoretical consideration, even if it is never made explicit in our texts. In forensic and deliberative oratory, speech does a real job in a real situation; poetical versions of such discourses, except perhaps in very early times (as with Solon) or in very special circumstances, are merely mimetic; they reproduce the situation in an idealized or generalized form, and are intended not for immediate effect but as permanent literary possessions. In epideictic, on the other hand, the poet and the orator are much more on a level: both may be summoned to commemorate an occasion, both hope to leave behind them something which will endure. (Of course, a deliberative or forensic orator may have the same hope, but, if he has, it is in virtue of some qualities other than those displayed in his immediate effort.) In any case, a closer link must always subsist between poetry and epideictic than between poetry and the other branches of oratory.

In Menander, as we have seen, there is a basic mixture to be found in all the recipes; it is a particular formulation of the standard encomium-scheme. To this are added, according to circumstances, various flavours, as it were, appropriate to weddings, funerals, welcomes, or leave-taking. Arguments and expansion are developed by means taught not only in connection with epideictic rhetoric but with the other kinds as well: examples (*paradeigmata*), 'circumstantial points' (*peristatika*), 'heads of purpose' (*telika kephalaia*),[83] and so on. Now both the elements of the encomium scheme (though not its precise form) and much of the mechanism are of proved antiquity; the presence of the Scheme of Four Virtues in Plato, and perhaps earlier, is significant. It is not surprising that we should find poems which combine this essentially rhetorical or sophistic planning with the traditional purposes of poetic encomium. Hence Theocritus 17 displays the correspondences with Menander which Cairns expounds (100 ff.), and which he says indicate 'the general reliability of Menander as a witness for the state of

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[83] See notes on 366. 5; 357. 17.

the generic patterns many centuries before he lived'. We may well have doubts about this hypostasizing of 'generic patterns'. There is of course a considerable degree of coincidence between the headings Theocritus uses and those in Menander's scheme. But this coincidence can be explained as a consequence of early rhetorical teaching, as we see it in the fourth-century encomia. A similar situation is revealed by Menander's 'Sminthiakos' in its coincidence with Callimachus' hymns.[84]

Any subject could be treated in this rhetorical, carefully planned way. But, for a long time, only public occasions were thought to warrant it. Hence the history behind the *basilikos*, *prosphōnētikos*, and *klētikos* in Treatise II is rather different from that which we may suppose for the private speeches. Only a royal wedding, we may conjecture, rated a formal, rhetorically articulated epithalamios in classical or Hellenistic times, though wedding-songs—sometimes, like those of Sappho, works of high literary art—are of course far older. Theocritus again illustrates the point. His epithalamium for Helen (*Idyll* 18) rises above the level of popular song and its counterpart in early lyric to the extent that Helen is praised (19–37) on the basis of family, beauty, and accomplishments—the scheme of Agathon's encomium on Eros in Plato, in fact a standard rhetorical or sophistic ordering of the natural topics of praise. This is justified in Theocritus because Menelaus' wedding is a royal occasion. The extension to private occasions of this element in the epithalamium—as opposed to the customary ribaldry and wishes for children—seems to be late; it is worth noting that in Catullus 61, though there is indeed thesis material on marriage in it (61–75), the praise of the girl (17–25; 86–93) is not articulated in this encomiastic fashion. Now Menander and pseudo-Dionysius are concerned only with subjects which they choose to treat in a fully rhetorical way; even the *lalia*, which has a sort of formal informality, is developed by means of the encomiastic headings and the other mechanisms of argument. Of course, popular songs and expected forms of greetings go to the making of the cake, and these may be derived, wholly or in part, from poetical precedents. The ingenuity of the rhetor is shown by his extending his sphere, bit by bit, to involve more and more occasions. It follows that to regard his prescriptions

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[84] See notes on 441. 14; 442. 11.

as a standard form by which poems on similar subjects may be judged, and their sophisticated allusions and subtle omissions detected—which is Cairns's procedure—involves the risk of treating what are really common encomiastic features or direct imitations of early poetry as original traits of the assumed 'genre'. The general development that we should suppose is more complicated. If we take the epithalamium (and its related speeches) as an example, we should think of two separate lines of development, which then coalesce. The first leads from actual wedding-songs and rituals to poetical versions of these, like those in Sappho or in Euripides' *Phaethon*. The second begins with traditional customs of praising the returning victor or warrior, and leads through Pindaric *epinicia* to the rhetorical formulation of rules and methods of praise which was due to the fifth-century sophists or their fourth-century successors. These two lines first coalesce in what we may call rhetoricized wedding-poems: Theocritus 18 is a good example. Rhetorical prescriptions, like those of Menander, depend on both these lines of development: they draw both on the poems, 'rhetoricized' and not, and on the sophistic encomium tradition. Finally, we have a group of speeches and poems—some later than Menander, like the works of Choricius and Sidonius, some earlier, like Statius' *Silvae*[85]—which obviously depend on epideictic precept—but not of course on this alone, for even a Sidonius, let alone a Statius, will have direct knowledge of the earlier stages of the development also. It is unnecessary and dangerous to reconstruct a 'generic pattern' of the epithalamium existing in its own right apart from these stages.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

I. TESTIMONIA

1. *Suda* s.v. Μένανδρος (*M* 590): Μένανδρος Λαοδικεὺς τῆς παρὰ τῷ Λύκῳ τῷ ποταμῷ, σοφιστής· ἔγραψεν ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν Ἑρμογένους τέχνην καὶ Μινουκιανοῦ προγυμνάσματα καὶ ἄλλα.

2. P. Berol. 21849 of the fifth or sixth century AD (see H. Maehler, *Gr. R. Byz. St.* 15 (1974), 305–11) is a request from one Victor

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[85] See especially *Silvae* 2. 6, 3. 3 (*Consolatio*), 2. 7 (*Genethliacon*), 3. 2 (*Propempticon*), 5. 1, 3, 5 (*Epikēdeion*).

to one Theognostos for the return of books which Theognostos has borrowed. These include 'Claudius Alexander on the orator Demosthenes' and Μενάνδρου τέχνην. On the verso, at the top left-hand corner, are the words:

καὶ μεθόδους
καὶ ἐγκώμια
ἐν τάχ[ι

This appears to imply that the τέχνη, μέθοδοι, and ἐγκώμια are separate works. Maehler identifies the μέθοδοι with our Treatise II; Treatise I (332. 11) however refers to a promised discussion of different kinds of encomia to be given ἐν ταῖς τεχνικαῖς μεθόδοις, and this turns out to be Treatise I, 344–67. The term μέθοδος has a variety of meanings in rhetorical litera-ture, and it is very hard to say what the difference between it and τέχνη may be. In the pseudo-Dionysian treatise on epideictic speeches—the closest parallel to Treatise II in all extant writing—five of the seven chapters have μέθοδος as part of their title. They do not differ at all in scope from the other two—one of which is called τέχνη περὶ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν—but they do in fact correspond in content with subjects handled in Treatise II. It is safer to say that we cannot identify Victor's books precisely with what we have, though they must surely belong to the same corpus.

3. Johannes Doxapatres, *Homiliae in Aphthonium*, Walz ii. 415 (s. xi): Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐγκώμιον γενικόν ἐστιν ὄνομα· διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἴς τε ἐπιβατηρίους λόγους καὶ προσφωνηματικοὺς καὶ ἐπιθαλα-μίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπιταφίους, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰς πάντας τοὺς εὐφημίαν περιέχοντας λόγους· περὶ τούτων δὲ πάντων ἐντελέστερον εἴσῃ τῷ περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν ἐντυχὼν τοῦ Μενάνδρου βιβλίῳ· πάλιν δὲ ὁ ὕμνος διαιρεῖται εἰς παιᾶνας, εἰς διθυράμβους, εἰς ἐρωτικούς· καὶ παιᾶνα μὲν ἐκάλουν τοὺς εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ ὑπορχηματικοὺς καὶ Σμινθιακοὺς ἐκάλουν· διθυράμβους δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐρωτικοὺς δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· The first part of this seems to allude to Treatise II (though note προσφωνηματικούς for Menander's προσφωνητικούς), the second to Treatise II (Σμινθιακός) and to the (spurious?) passage in Treatise I, 331. 22 ff. Though Doxapatres is not quite explicit, it would seem that he regards both parts of his statement here as derived from Menander. Joannes Sardianus (cf. comm. on

331. 22 ff.), who does not mention Menander by name, does however show a very similar knowledge of the subject.

4. Ibid., Walz ii. 449. 32 ff.: ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγομεν ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐγκωμιάζουσι μείζονα τοῦ οἰκείου λόγου ἀεὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν· καὶ τοῦτο εὕροις μὲν Μένανδρον ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐνδεικτικῶν [leg. ἐπι-] αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ διδάσκοντα. Cf., presumably, 368. 9 ff.

5. Anon. περὶ τῶν τεσσαρῶν μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου (Walz iii. 572. 22 ff.): περὶ λαλιᾶς δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μάθῃς πλατύτερον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μενάνδρου, ἃ ἐπιγράφονται Μενάνδρου ῥήτορος περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς.

6. Nicolaus, *Progymnasmata* 49. 13 ff. Felten: Διῄρηται δὲ ἕκαστον μὲν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸ [sc. τὸ ἐγκώμιον] εἰδῶν, οἷον λέγω ἐπιθαλάμιος ἢ προσφωνητικὸς ἢ Σμινθιακὸς ἢ ἄλλος ὅλως ἐπὶ ἑορταῖς λεγόμενος λόγος ἢ ὕμνος θεῶν—διῄρηται δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν εἰδῶν ἰδίᾳ τινὶ διαιρέσει, ἥτις οὐκ ἔστι τῆς κατ' εἰσαγωγὴν ἐξετάσεως. δεῖ δέ, ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν βραχέσιν, ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἐκείνων τῶν ὑποθέσεων τὸ ἰδιάζον πλεονάζειν κεφάλαιον, οἷον ⟨ἐν⟩ ἐπιθαλαμίοις τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ ὃ καὶ θετικὸν καλεῖται, ἐν Παναθηναϊκῷ ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν τοιούτων τὸ περὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς, καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν, ὅπερ ἔφην, τὸ παρέχον τῇ ὑποθέσει τὴν πρόφασιν.

This recalls Menander's doctrine in various ways: the mention of the Σμινθιακός, the term ἰδιάζον . . . κεφάλαιον (385. 7), the types of speech generally. For the importance of θέσις in the epithalamium, cf. 400. 29 ff., 404. 29 ff. But we have no prescription from Menander for a *Panathenaicus*. Nicolaus may simply be thinking of Isocrates and Aristides.

7. There are other references to Menander as a commentator of Demosthenes. These have been collected by Nitsche and by Bursian (15–16). They do not have any bearing on the περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν.

II. TREATISE I AND TREATISE II

It is evident from these testimonia that the 'authority' on epideictic in Byzantine times was known to be Menander, and it looks as if both the treatises we possess were attributed to him. It is thus curious that the corrector of Parisinus graecus 1741,

a great rhetorical manuscript which is one of our principal sources (P), should record the alternative attribution of Treatise I to Genethlius of Petra (see notes on 331). The names of these rhetors do not perhaps matter very much; but it is natural to ask whether the two books are by the same author, and whether their date can be determined at all closely.

(i) It is clear that neither book is complete. Treatise I ends abruptly, and contains no discussion either of the basic principles of the encomia of individual men or of encomia of animals, birds, and plants. Further, at 365. 8 the author undertakes to show ἐν ἄλλοις how the topic of public or communal actions (πράξεις) should be arranged; but the reference is unclear, for it may be to another treatise rather than to missing parts of the one we have. Treatise II consists of a collection of prescriptions for various occasions which could obviously be extended indefinitely. Evidence of incompleteness may be found in the varying order of the chapters in the manuscripts, the differences of scale, and the omission of certain topics which one might expect. There is no πανηγυρικός; no *Panathenaicus* (cf. Nicolaus, Testim. 6); no προτρεπτικός, like the 'Exhortation to Athletes' in [Dion. Hal.] 283 ff.; no χαριστήριος or *gratiarum actio*, the staple form of Latin imperial panegyric; no monody on a ruined city.

(ii) Nor can the two treatises form parts of the same whole. It is very unlikely that Treatise I. 335. 23 ff. refers to the Σμιν-θιακός of the other treatise. Since Treatise I envisages a grand over-all scheme, and Treatise II does not relate its subjects to this, one might conclude that, if both are by the same author, Treatise II is the earlier work.

(iii) Many differences have been observed, especially by Bursian and Nitsche, and the cumulative effect of them is impressive:

(a) A comparison of 344. 16 and 347. 2 on the one hand with 383. 10 ff. and 383. 30 ff. on the other seems to yield some difference of doctrine. Despite difficulties of text and interpretation (see notes) it appears that in Treatise II the topics of φύσις and θέσις applied to χῶραι (not πόλεις) amount to the same thing; in Treatise I, on the other hand, the difference between them forms the basis of the teaching given.

(b) The word for 'accomplishments' or 'pursuits', in the

context of the basic encomium-formula, varies between the two treatises: Treatise I has ἐπιτηδεύσεις (332. 21 is an exception); Treatise II has ἐπιτηδεύματα, the normal term.

(c) Certain stock phrases are common in Treatise II, absent from Treatise I: note καιρὸν ἔχεις and the like (374. 6; 398. 23; 411. 2; 414. 6; 416. 20; 442. 25); τὰ ἐξαίρετα, 'special features' (382. 17, 19; 394. 11, 24; 411. 1; 424. 8, 24); οἱ κρείττονες or τὸ κρεῖττον, 'the gods' (369. 6; 370. 22; 427. 19; 437. 14); ἀθρόως etc. (377. 7; 381. 33; 417. 6); σύντονος λόγος (369. 4; 399. 17; 400. 1, 6; 414. 29).

(d) Reference to Alexandria Troas and the vicinity is confined to Treatise II, where it is conspicuous not only in the Σμινθιακός but in the ἐπιβατήριος (387. 5) and κλητικός (426–9).

(e) Nitsche observed that the praise of dry and desert areas was conspicuous in the ἐγκώμια χώρας of Treatise I, and that there was evidence of special interest in Egypt and Syria (346. 9 ff.). He connected this with Genethlius, who came from the desert city of Petra.

(f) Treatise I mentions Aristides, Pausanias, and (?)Proteus among sophists, but a wide range of classical literature, sometimes recondite (Empedocles, Parmenides); Treatise II on the other hand is richer in references to the moderns (Adrianos, Aristides, Callinicus, Nicostratus, Philostratus, Polemon), less wide-ranging in the classical period.

(g) In particular, Plato is often used as a model in Treatise I, whereas in Treatise II he appears once only (411. 31), as an example of λέξις . . . κεκαλλωπισμένη, coupled with Xenophon. Again, Plato's *Menexenus* is apparently not used in the *epitaphios* chapters of Treatise II, and the way in which philosophical themes are handled in the Σμινθιακός (e.g. 438. 14 and 25) suggests a much more detached attitude to the σοφῶν παῖδες than that of Treatise I or, for that matter, of Alexander (3. 1–6 Spengel).

These arguments do not amount to formal proof of different authorship, and are strictly compatible with the hypothesis of the same author writing at different times. Nevertheless, one may well feel that a prima-facie case for two writers has been made out. If so, we may emphasize two details:

(i) that the author of Treatise II is writing in Athens, for a pupil from Alexandria Troas (cf. 445. 1 and notes);

(ii) that a case for Genethlius as the author of Treatise I can be advanced on the ground of the interest shown in deserts, and on the hypothesis that P's attribution to Genethlius is based on tradition, and is not a mere guess.

Whoever the author or authors may be, there are certain references to historical events which have been thought to determine the date and provenance a little more closely.

(a) The first is the reference to the settlement of the Carpi in Roman territory, 358. 28, an example of the foundation of a city for necessary causes: τὰς πόλεις τὰς κατ᾿ Ἴστρον ποταμὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατοικισθείσας, τὰς καλουμένας Καρπίας, ὡς μὴ διαβαίνοντες οἱ βάρβαροι κακουργοῖεν. If we could be certain that this referred to the settlement of the Carpi after their defeat by Galerius in 294, this would date Treatise I after that date. But there is also evidence (see notes ad loc.) of settlement under Aurelian, who likewise defeated this formidable and persistent people, and the archaeological evidence seems to be incomplete and has been variously interpreted. From our point of view, the probability of there being at least two stages of settlement on the right bank of the river is sufficiently strong to prevent us saying with confidence that 295 is a *terminus post quem* for Treatise I.

(b) The second is the reference to Egyptians, Blemmyes, and Eremboi as 'our' allies, 387. 17–28. We argue in the notes ad loc. that this is not a direct allusion either to Diocletian's settlement and subsidizing of the Nobatai and Blemmyes on the Nile in 298 (Procop. *B. Pers.* 1. 19. 28–36) or to the association of Blemmyes and Saraceni with Firmus, who may have usurped power in Egypt in 273, and with Zenobia. We suggest rather that Menander is talking here about the Trojan War and the Ethiopians under Memnon, but that he enriches his material with traditional names which also have some contemporary significance. So a firm *terminus post quem* for Treatise II is also lacking.

(c) However, there are a number of places in which Menander (according to some at least of his manuscripts) refers to βασιλεῖς in the plural, and in two at least the reference seems clearly to be to joint rulers. These are in Treatise II.

378. 31–379. 2 : we owe debts τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν for what they do on our behalf, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἂν μείζους ὁμολογήσαιμεν [sc. χάριτας], ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν κατέπεμψαν.

Even the first part of this sentence could be general, the statement that 'they' have sent us this particular governor surely implies joint rule.

415. 14–15 (a very similar passage): τοῦτον τὸν γεννάδαν κατέπεμψαν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους.

In the period in question, this would apply best either to Carus and his sons Carinus and Numerian (283–5) or more probably to Diocletian and his colleagues from 285 onwards.

The coincidence between this and the suggested, but uncertain, *termini* discussed above is impressive. We may conclude, though with a degree of probability that may be very variously assessed, that both treatises are likely to date from the reign of Diocletian. This makes a reference to Claudius II (see note on 387. 17–28) improbable.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The following survey falls short of completeness in one respect. We have not thought it necessary to investigate manuscripts written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, since it is probable that all derive directly or indirectly from Parisinus graecus 1741 and will contribute at most some trivial corrections to the text. There is also one copy from the end of the fourteenth century which we have not examined fully. The text of an author like Menander was rewritten by teachers of rhetoric to make tolerable sense of difficult passages, and generally speaking the later a manuscript the more its text has been altered. The chances of finding an important witness to the text written after the middle of the fourteenth century seem very slight. We believe, but cannot guarantee, that we have brought to light and utilized all the significant witnesses to the text.

I

The first of the three branches of the tradition consists of two manuscripts. One is the famous Parisinus graecus 1741, well P known as an important source for the text of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* and a number of other texts. It is traditionally known by the symbol P, which we have not altered. The manuscript can be dated to the middle of the tenth century and contains both treatises. Between the two it interpolates, as a

result of damage in an earlier manuscript, part of a rhetorical treatise by a certain Alexander (Walz ix. 331 ff., Spengel ii. 555 ff., iii. 1 ff.; cf. above, p. xxiv). In the second treatise it omits chapters 7 and 10, pp. 405. 14–412. 2 and 414. 31–418. 4, and it breaks off incomplete at p. 441. 6. We have made a fresh collation of the text from microfilm, and have found that there are some places where it appears to have been misread by previous editors; e.g. at 343. 22 it has the correct διοικήσεις, conjectured by Finckh (and now found in Z as well). A full description is given by D. Harlfinger and D. Reinsch, *Philologus* 114 (1970), 28–50.

The other manuscript in this group is Parisinus graecus 2423, z to which we give the symbol Z. It is an incomplete copy on paper, which has never been examined properly. The hand may be assigned to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The text runs from 338. 16 to 390. 30 and includes the same interpolation as P. It shares a large number of errors with P, but also preserves the full text in a number of places where P has an omission (373. 30, 374. 1, 375. 14, 378. 1 and 15, 379. 20 and 21). There can be little doubt that it is a twin of P; a much less likely alternative is that it is a copy which has incorporated excellent readings from another source by horizontal transmission. It will be seen from our apparatus criticus that Z makes a substantial contribution to the improvement of the text, sometimes anticipating the conjectures of modern critics. The scribe's tendency to rewrite passages is shown at 348. 13–14 and 349. 14–16.

II

The second branch of the tradition is more complicated. In the second treatise it presents the chapters in a different order. Bursian knew the family from two manuscripts, both in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and as far as can be judged from his remarks he relied on collations made by Walz; we have found that his reports are very inaccurate.

The first member of the group is Laur. 56. 1, which he called M M and assigned to the fourteenth century. The hand ought probably to be dated to the second half of the twelfth century. To judge from the microfilm in our possession the book is in a very poor state of preservation, and we have not been able to

verify by any means all its readings. It contains 445. 16–446; 413. 5–17; 344. 15–367; the Alexander interpolation; 331–2; 412. 3–413. 4.

The second book in this group is Laur. 81. 8, known as m. m It probably belongs to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. (In P. Moraux *et al.*, *Aristoteles graecus* i, Berlin, 1976, pp. 264–5, it is dated to the second half of the century, without regard to the character of the script, because in folios 106–16 the watermark is similar to a design found in the period 1398–1410 according to C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, Geneva, 1907, revised reprint Amsterdam, 1968. Examination of the development of this type of watermark, which is in any case not as richly attested as many others, even in the more recent repertoire of V. A. Mošin and S. M. Traljić, *Vodeni znakovi*, Zagreb, 1957, shows that there are similar patterns found as early as 1322. Arguments based on watermarks need to be handled with care.) The contents of m are as follows: 368–399. 10; 418. 5–422. 4; 434. 10–437. 4; 413. 5–17; 414. 32–418. 4; 430. 10–434. 9; 422. 5–430. 8; 399. 11–412. 2; 437. 5–446. 13; 344. 15–367; the Alexander interpolation; 412. 4–413. 4. It does not seem to be very valuable as a witness, but we have verified its readings in a large number of passages and found that occasionally it seems to provide the right answer to a problem.

Next comes a manuscript that has not been used by previous scholars, Vaticanus graecus 306, to which we give the symbol W W. It was written *c*.1300. It contains 368–94; 414–418. 4; 430. 10–434. 9; 395–399. 10; 418. 5–422. 4; 434. 10–437. 4; 422. 5–430. 8; 399. 11–412. 2; 437. 5–446; 344. 15–367; the Alexander interpolation; 331–2; 412. 3–431. 4. As will be seen from our apparatus, it preserves the truth in about ten passages.

Another manuscript, closely related to W and little used hitherto, is Vaticanus graecus 108, also written *c*.1300, to Y which we assign the symbol Y. Its contents are: 368–94; 414–418. 4; 430. 10–434. 9; 395–396. 20. It tends to share the readings of W but does not offer any important good reading of its own; Walz (ix, p. xxi) dismissed it by saying 'nihil bonae frugis obtulit', and we concur in this judgement.

X is our symbol for Vaticanus graecus 165, written about X 1350 and containing only 368–379. 8. It offers very little for the text.

Two other books require brief mention at this point. Vaticanus V graecus 899, dated 1393, has not been collated for this edition. The plate shown in A. Turyn, *Codices Vaticani graeci saeculis xiii et xiv scripti annorumque notis instructi*, Rome, 1964, produces one fact of modest interest: in the passage 369. 8–370. 28 this copy offers σπουδάζει at 369. 29, where the reading of the other manuscripts ἔχει is not above suspicion. For what may be a more important fact about this witness, see our comments on Rhakendytes below.

Finally, Parisinus graecus 2996 contains 418. 5–422. 4 only and is a copy made in the thirteenth century. It has enjoyed a specious fame hitherto because editors have claimed that at 418. 9 it alone has the correct reading σήματι instead of σώματι. We have looked at the book and can state that the claim is false. The other readings cited from it prove perfectly clearly, *pace* Soffel, that it is an ordinary member of the second family and has no close relationship to P. We have therefore felt entitled to disregard it.

<div align="center">III</div>

The third branch of the tradition is represented by two witnesses. The important one is Parisinus graecus 1874. Some of its read- p ings were published by Séguier de Saint-Brisson, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi* 14 (2) (1843), 153–222, and it was more systematically exploited by Bursian, who gave it the symbol p and assigned it to the thirteenth century. His dating is certainly wrong; the hand should be attributed to the twelfth century, and may well belong to the very early years of the century. This copy contains the second treatise only, with the chapters arranged in yet a third sequence. The text diverges frequently from that of the other families, and in many passages it is evidently superior. We have verified a large number of readings.

We have also collated Barocci 131 in the Bodleian Library, B which has escaped the attention of previous editors. It contains a selection of chapters from the second treatise in the same order as p, and agrees with p so regularly that it must be reckoned a copy. The hand can be dated in the middle of the thirteenth century. Since p is damaged at a number of important points we record B's reading from time to time, and there are a few

places where it seems that the scribe of B or one of his immediate
predecessors made a minor emendation to the text. B is described
in full by N. G. Wilson in *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzan-
tinistik* 27 (1978), 157–79.

IV

Previous editors have referred to quotations made by a late
Byzantine author, Joseph Rhakendytes. The position about this
man is as follows. Although we use for convenience the symbol
Rhak. in the apparatus criticus, the word ῥακενδύτης is not a
name but an epithet applicable to a monk. Joseph was recog-
nized by his contemporaries as a man of great learning. He
compiled a kind of encyclopedia, one section of which was
devoted to rhetoric and contained part of Menander. It is not
clear that he was more than a compiler and one cannot quite
take it for granted that he is actually the person responsible for the
good readings found in his text of Menander. Walz consulted
this in MS. Marc. gr. app. cl. VIII. 18, and he notes (iii. 547)
that the same chapter is found in Marc. gr. 444, where it is
anonymous. According to M. Treu, whose substantial article we
rely on (*BZ* 8 (1899), 1 ff., see especially pp. 45–6), the best
source for Joseph's encyclopedia is another manuscript, Ric-
cardianus 31. We decided, however, that the time and effort
required to test this claim would be unreasonably large in
relation to the likely gain for the text. From the published
information about Joseph's text it seems that he used a copy
belonging to the second family (cf. 369. 7, 375. 5). It may also
be worth noting that at 369. 29–32 and 370. 8–9 his text agrees
in five readings with that of Vaticanus graecus 899.

THE ORDER OF CHAPTERS IN TREATISE II

In this edition we adopt the 'traditional' order, i.e. that found
in editions down to Spengel's. See Walz ix. xvi ff., Bursian,
27–8, Soffel, 95–6. The Table shows the various orders of the
main manuscripts and the *editio princeps*, and the orders pro-
posed by Bursian and Nitsche. Bursian's, as will be seen, is
based largely on p, corrected by the observed cross-references.
Nitsche's is more subjective. He sets up three groups of speeches:
(a) concerned with the emperors and the city's gods; (b) con-
cerned with the governor; (c) for private occasions.

TABLE

Title	Walz, Spengel, this edn.	P	p	m†	W	Ald.	Bursian	Nitsche
Βασιλικός/Πράξεις	1–2	1–2	14–15	1–2	1–2	1–2	5–6	1–2
Ἐπιβατήριος	3	3	1	3‡	3		2	8
Λαλιά	4	4	16	4	4	3	3	10
Προπεμπτική	5	5	17	5	7	4	4	11
Ἐπιθαλάμιος	6	6	2	13	11	5	14	12
Κατευναστικός	7		8	14			15	13
Γενεθλιακός	8	7	3	17	13	6	16	14
Παραμυθητικός	9	8	4	8§		7	12	16
Προσφωνητικός	10		9	9	5		1	7
Ἐπιτάφιος	11	9	5	6	8	8	13	17
Στεφανωτικός	12	10	7	10	10	9	7	3
Πρεσβευτικός	13	11	6	11		10	8	4
Κλητικός	14	12	10	12			9	6
Συντακτικός	15	13	11	15	6	11	10	9
Μονῳδία	16	14	12	7	9		11	15
Σμινθιακός	17	15*	13	16¶	12	12‖	17	5

* To 441. 6.
† Lacks some headings.
‡ Headed διαίρεσις βασιλικοῦ.
§ 413. 5–17 only.
¶ After this (which is entitled περὶ προοιμίου) m inserts πῶς χρὴ χώραν ἐπαινεῖν (i.e. Treatise I, 344. 15–346. 25).
‖ Title as in m.

Internal evidence provides some links between the chapters, and some priorities. The priorities are these:

(a) It is clear from 413. 8–14 and 435. 16 that μονῳδία (16) precedes παραμυθητικός (9).

(b) 412. 15 ff. (ὡς ἤδη φθάσαντες πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν) presupposes some or all of the following: 372. 21; 416. 2; 417. 5; 421. 1. If it presupposes all, then γενεθλιακός (8) comes after βασιλικός (1), προσφωνητικός (10), ἐπιτάφιος (11), as in Bursian's order (but not in Nitsche's).

(c) 423. 8 (ἃ προείρηται) shows (if we needed to be told) that στεφανωτικός (12) precedes πρεσβευτικός (13).

(d) It follows from 382. 1 ff. that ἐπιβατήριος (3) follows προσφωνητικός (10).

(e) A comparison of 434. 11 with 430. 13 (καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος) suggests that συντακτικός (15) followed μονῳδία (16).

Other links may also be observed:

(a) βασιλικός (1) and προσφωνητικός (10) are unusually full. The traditional order (P m W) places βασιλικός at the head of the corpus.

(b) ἐπιβατήριος (3), κλητικός (14), and Σμινθιακός (17) are linked by the mention of Alexandria Troas.

(c) The two wedding-speeches (6, 7) go together, and the γενεθλιακός (8) naturally belongs with them.

(d) κλητικός (14) coheres in general purpose with 12 and 13 (στεφανωτικός, πρεσβευτικός), though it is much longer and fuller.

(e) The noticeable introductory formula of the type of 430. 10 ὁ συνταττόμενος δῆλός ἐστιν ἀνιώμενος provides a link between συντακτικός (15) and ἐπιβατήριος (3).

(f) A lack of coherence is shown by the relation between the chapter on λαλιά (4) and those on the ἐπιβατήριος (3) and on συντακτικός (15), since both these subjects are suggested in the λαλιά chapter as possible uses of the form, and there are considerable overlaps.

The inferences that can be made from these facts are met by Bursian's order, but it cannot be shown to be the only possibility. It is the lack of system in the whole book and its apparent incompleteness that have led us to revert to the earlier arrangement. To change this inevitably involves an inconvenient change in the method of referring to the book, and brings (we think) no substantial gain in understanding.

SIGLA

P   Paris. gr. 1741
p   Paris. gr. 1874
Z   Paris. gr. 2423
M   Laur. 56. 1
m   Laur. 81. 8
Y   Vat. gr. 108
X   Vat. gr. 165
W   Vat. gr. 306

Rarius citantur
   B   Baroccianus 131
   Ricc. 1   Riccardianus 68
   Ricc. 2   Riccardianus 15
   Vind.   Vindobonensis phil. gr. 60
   Laur. 59. 11
   Gudianus (gr. 14)
   V   Vat. gr. 899
   Rhak.   Joseph vulgo dictus Rhakendytes

Note: for readings cited from the recentiores we rely mainly on the reports in Walz and Spengel. 'vulg.' means that we are not certain who first introduced the reading in question into the text; we have sometimes resorted to this symbol when Walz's apparatus is unclear.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΡΗΤΟΡΟΣ

†ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΩΝ† ΔΙΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΩΝ

331　Τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἁπάσης τριχῶς διαιρουμένης ὡς μέ-
5　ρεσιν ἢ εἴδεσιν, ἢ ὅπως δεῖ καλεῖν, εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς
ἐν δικαστηρίοις ὑπὲρ κοινῶν [ἤτοι δημοσίων] ἢ ἰδίων, καὶ
οὓς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἢ ἐν βουλαῖς διατίθενται, καὶ εἰς τρί-
τους τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικούς, οὓς δὴ ἐγκωμιαστικοὺς ἢ
ψεκτικοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι συμβαίνει ⟨τοῖς⟩ ὑπὲρ
10　τούτων τῶν τὴν τρίτην τάξιν εἰληφότων διδάσκουσιν
†ὀρθῶς†. μὴ τοίνυν περὶ ῥητορικῆς προσδόκα ὅλης
ἀκροᾶσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κἂν ἄνωθεν ὑπὲρ παντὸς μέρους
διεξιέναι σοι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ προαιρήσωμαι. σκεψώμεθα
τοίνυν τὴν μέθοδον, εἰ καθ' ὁδὸν χωρήσει.

15　Τῶν δὴ ἐπιδεικτικῶν τὸ μὲν ψόγος, τὸ δὲ ἔπαινος·
ἃς γὰρ ἐπιδείξεις λόγων πολιτικῶν οἱ σοφισταὶ καλού-
μενοι ποιοῦνται, μελέτην ἀγώνων εἶναί φαμεν, οὐκ
ἐπίδειξιν. τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ ψόγου μέρος ἄτμητον. ἔπαινος
δέ τις γίνεται, ὀτὲ μὲν εἰς ⟨θεούς, ὀτὲ δὲ εἰς τὰ θνητά·
20　καὶ ὅτε μὲν εἰς⟩ θεούς, ὕμνους καλοῦμεν, καὶ τούτους
αὖ διαιροῦμεν κατὰ θεὸν ἕκαστον· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰς
Ἀπόλλωνα παιᾶνας καὶ ὑπορχήματα ὀνομάζομεν, τοὺς
δὲ εἰς Διόνυσον διθυράμβους καὶ ἰοβάκχους, καὶ ὅσα
τοιαῦτα [εἴρηται Διονύσου], τοὺς δὲ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην

331– PMW　　Tit. ἡ Γενεθλίου διαίρεσις P corr.: γενεθλίων διαί-
ρεσις PMW: πρὸς Γενέθλιον διαίρεσις Valesius　5 εἰς MW: om.
P　　6 ἐν+τοῖς W　　[ἤτοι δημοσίων] hic MW, post ἰδίων P:
del. Heeren　　7 ἐν² P: om. MW　　βουλαῖς Walz e Ricc. 2:
συμβουλαῖς PMW　　9 ⟨τοῖς⟩ nos: ⟨ἡμῖν⟩ Bursian　　10 τὴν
τρίτην Heeren: τριῶν codd.　　11 ὀρθῶς MW: ὡρμῆσθαι P:
fortasse delendum　　περὶ vulg.: πρὸς MW: πρὸ P　　ὅλης Walz:
μόνον codd.: καθόλου Bursian　　12 παντὸς μέρους MW: πάντων
μέρος P (μερῶν Kroll)　　12–13 parum intellecta　　15 δὴ P:
om. MW　　18 τοίνυν MW: om. P　　19–20 suppl. Heeren
20 ante ὕμνους add. οὓς MW　　20 sqq. καλοῦμεν+ὀτὲ δὲ εἰς
τὰ θνητά· ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἄτμητος MW, deinde om. καὶ τούτους
. . . ἐργασόμεθα (332. 7). Sane nulla harum sententiarum ratio
haberi videtur in iis quae postea (332. 9 sq.) de divisione hymnorum

MENANDER THE RHETOR:

DIVISION OF EPIDEICTIC
SPEECHES*

BOOK I

Rhetoric as a whole is divided into three parts, as it
were, or kinds, or whatever one should call them:
speeches in law courts concerning common [i.e.
public] or private matters, those delivered in assem-
blies or councils, and thirdly 'epideictic' speeches,
namely those which people call encomiastic or in-
vective. If one is teaching about those which occupy
the third class, it falls to one to make an apology . . .
Do not therefore expect to hear about rhetoric as a
whole from the beginning, even if I proposed above
to give you an explanation about every department
in the briefest form (?). Let us therefore consider the
technique ⟨of epideictic⟩, and how it may be success-
fully conducted.

Epideictic speeches, then, fall under the two head-
ings of blame and praise. (The demonstrations
(*epideixeis*) of public speeches composed by the people
known as sophists I regard as practice for real cases,
not as true epideictic.)

The division of 'blame' has no subdivision. 'Praise'
of some kind, on the other hand, occurs sometimes
in relation to gods, sometimes in relation to mortal
objects. When it relates to gods, we speak of 'hymns',
and we divide these in turn according to the god
concerned. Thus hymns to Apollo are called *paeans*
and *huporchēmata*, hymns to Dionysus *dithyrambs*, and
iobacchi and the like, those to Aphrodite 'erotic

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* Throughout the translation, the sign (?) indicates doubt about
the meaning of the immediately preceding word (or sentence); it is
meant as a warning to the reader to consult the Commentary.

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dicuntur   22 ὀνομάζομεν Finckh: νομίζομεν P   23 ἰοβάκ
χους Heeren: ὁ βάκχος P   24 seclusimus

332 ἐρωτικούς, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἢ τῷ [λόγῳ] | γένει
ὕμνους καλοῦμεν ⟨ἢ⟩ μερικώτερον ⟨οἷον⟩ πρὸς Δία. ὅπως
δὲ χρὴ μετιέναι τούτων τῶν εἰδῶν ἕκαστον, καὶ εἰ ἁρ-
μόττει ὅλως τοῖς καταλογάδην συγγράφουσιν, ἢ πόσα
5 μὲν ἁρμόττει, πόσα δ' οὔ, ἢ πόσαι μέθοδοι καθ' ἕκα-
στον, ἢ τίνες οἱ τρόποι, ἐπειδὰν τὸ ὅλον διελώμεθα,
τηνικαῦτα καθ' ἕκαστα ἐργασόμεθα.

Τῶν δ' αὖ περὶ θνητῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ πόλεις γίνονται
ἔπαινοι, οἱ δὲ περὶ ζώων. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὰς πόλεις
10 καὶ χώρας ἄτμητον, διὸ τὰς διαφορὰς ἐν ταῖς τεχνικαῖς
μεθόδοις ἐπιδειξόμεθα. [οἱ μὲν περὶ ἀθανάτων,] οἱ δὲ
περὶ ζώων [θνητῶν] οἱ μὲν περὶ λογικόν, ἄνθρωπον,
οἱ δὲ περὶ ἀλόγων γίνονται ἔπαινοι. καὶ τὸν μὲν περὶ
τὸν ἄνθρωπον μεθῶμεν, τῶν δ' αὖ περὶ τὰ ἄλογα οἱ
15 μὲν περὶ χερσαῖα, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἔνυδρα ἔπαινοι γίνονται.
καὶ τὸ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐνύδρων πάλιν ἀποτιθέμεθα, τῶν
δ' αὖ ἄλλων [ἐν γῇ] μέρος διττόν, ἢ πτηνὸν ἢ πεζόν.
ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις ἑξῆς [ἀνθέων καὶ φυτῶν] μέτιμεν
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμψύχων ἐπὶ τὰ ἄψυχα.

20 Αἱ μὲν ⟨οὖν⟩ διαιρέσεις τοῦ ἐπιδεικτικοῦ μέρους
παντὸς πᾶσαι αὗται, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι ἐπιτηδευμάτων
καὶ τεχνῶν ἤδη τινὲς ἐγκώμια γεγράφασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ'
οὗπερ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος γίνεται περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πάντα
ταῦτα †δείξει†, ὥστε λελήθασιν αὑτοὺς οἱ συγγράφοντες
25 μέρος τι τοῦ παντὸς ἐγκωμίου ὡς ὅλον ἐγκώμιον συν-
θέντες. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἁλῶν
καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἤδη τινὲς τῶν πάλαι σοφιστῶν ἐπαί-
νους συνεγράψαντο, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗπερ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμψύ-
χων ἐπὶ τὰ ἄψυχα μεταβέβηκεν ἡ διαίρεσις, ἤδη περιεί-

332. 1–2 [λόγῳ] seclusimus: τῷ τῶν λόγων γένει Bursian: τῷ ὅλῳ
γένει Ioh. Sardianus p. 120. 1 sqq.   2 ⟨ἢ⟩ Heeren   μερικώτερον
nos, Rabe ad Sardianum: γενικώτερον P et Sardianus: ἰδικώτερον
Heeren   ⟨οἷον⟩ nos: ⟨ὡς⟩ Heeren   πρὸς Δία P: προσόδια Finckh
(cf. Procl. ap. Phot. Bibl. cod. 239, 320a)   4 ὅλως Walz e recc.:
ὅλοις P   4–5 πόσα . . . πόσαι Heeren: πᾶσα . . . πᾶσα . . . πόσοι P
6 διελώμεθα Spengel: -οίμεθα P   8 θνητῶν] θνητὸν Bursian
11 οἱ . . . ἀθανάτων hic P, post 12 ζώων MW: secl. Heeren
12 ζώων] ζῷον Bursian   θνητῶν P: οἱ δὲ περὶ θνητῶν MW:
secl. Heeren   λογικόν P: -ῶν M (?), W   ἄνθρωπον PM: om. W
13 περὶ ante ἀλόγων suspectum   ἀλόγων MW: ἄλογον P   τὸν μὲν
Finckh: τῶν μὲν MW: τὸ μὲν P   14 μεθῶμεν MW: μάθωμεν P
16 περὶ codd.: del. Bursian   alterum τῶν PM: τὸ W, fort. recte

hymns', while those appropriate to other gods are either called by the generic title 'hymns' or, more specifically, e.g. 'To Zeus' (?).

When we have constructed the division of the whole subject, we shall proceed to discuss in detail how each of these kinds should be handled, whether they are in general suitable for writers of prose, or only a certain number of them, and how many methods and what modes are appropriate to each.

Praise of mortal objects comprises (i) praise of cities and countries, (ii) praise of living creatures. The heading of cities and countries is not divisible further, and we shall therefore demonstrate its varieties in our account of the technical methods. Praise of living creatures deals either with the rational (man) or with the non-rational. Let us pass over praise of 'man'. The non-rational then includes (a) land-animals, (b) water-animals. Again, we set aside the subject of water-animals; the other category, land-animals, falls into two classes, the flying and the walking. At the conclusion of all this, we shall proceed from the animate to the inanimate.

These then are all the divisions of the epideictic part of rhetoric taken as a whole. I am aware that some writers have composed encomia of accomplishments and arts; but since our account includes 'man', it will embrace (?) all these; so that these writers have not realized that they have composed a part of an encomium as though it had been a whole encomium. I am aware also that some of the ancient sophists wrote praises of salt and such things; but, since our division proceeds from the animate to the inanimate, it embraces this category as well.

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17 ἄλλων ἐν γῇ P: [ἐν γῇ] seclusimus: τῶν ἐγγείων MW: ἄλλων ⟨τῶν⟩ ἐν γῇ Spengel πτηνὸν ἢ πεζόν MW: -ῶν ἢ -ῶν P 18 secl. Spengel μέτιμεν ⟨γὰρ⟩ Heeren: lacunam ante μέτιμεν statuit Bursian 20 ⟨οὖν⟩ suppl. Walz e Ricc. 2 21 παντὸς MW: πάντως P 22–4 γεγράφασιν . . . δείξει MW: ἄλλοις ἀφίημι περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὰ δείξειν P 24 †δείξει†: fortasse περιέξει 25 ὡς ὅλον ἐγκώμιον Finckh: ὡς λόγον ἐγκώμιον P: om. MW 26 ἀλῶν Heeren et Laur. 59. 11: ἄλλων PMW 28 ἀφ' οὖπερ ἡμῖν MW: ἄπειμι P: ἀρκεῖ μοι Bursian 29 μεταβέβηκεν . . . περιείληφεν Walz: καταβεβληκέναι τὴν διαίρεσιν ὥστε περιειληφέναι codd.

30 ληφεν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος. ὅπως δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον τμη-
τέον, καὶ ὅπῃ τὰ αὐτὰ κεφάλαια πᾶσιν ὕπεστιν, καὶ ὅπῃ
ἑκάστῳ ἁρμόττει χρήσασθαι, ἐφεξῆς [καὶ δὴ] δείκνυμεν.

333   *ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΜΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ*

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διειλόμεθα, περὶ
τῶν ὕμνων ἐπισκεψώμεθα τῶν εἰς θεούς. αὐτῶν | γὰρ
δὴ τῶν ὕμνων οἱ μὲν κλητικοί, οἱ δὲ ἀποπεμπτικοί,
5 καὶ οἱ μὲν φυσικοί, οἱ δὲ μυθικοί, καὶ οἱ μὲν γενεαλογι-
κοί, οἱ δὲ πεπλασμένοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐκτικοί, οἱ δὲ ἀπευ-
κτικοί, οἱ δὲ μικτοὶ ἢ δύο τούτων ἢ τριῶν ἢ πάντων
ὁμοῦ. κλητικοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁποῖοί εἰσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τε
παρὰ τῇ Σαπφοῖ ἢ Ἀνακρέοντι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις μελικοῖς,
10 κλῆσιν ἔχοντες πολλῶν θεῶν. ἀποπεμπτικοὶ δὲ ὁποῖοι
καὶ παρὰ τῷ Βακχυλίδῃ ἔνιοι εὕρηνται, ἀποπομπὴν ὡς
ἀποδημίας τινὸς γινομένης ἔχοντες. φυσικοὶ δὲ οἴους οἱ
περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἐποίησαν, τίς ἡ τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος φύσις, τίς ἡ τοῦ Διός, παρατιθέμενοι. καὶ
15 οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ὀρφέως τούτου τοῦ τρόπου. μυθικοὶ δὲ
οἱ τοὺς μύθους ἔχοντες, κατ' ἀλληγορίαν προϊόντες ψι-
λήν, οἷον Ἀπόλλων ἀνῳκοδόμησε τεῖχος, ἢ ἐθήτευσεν
Ἀδμήτῳ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα. γενεαλογικοὶ δὲ οἱ
ταῖς τῶν ποιητῶν θεογονίαις ἀκολουθοῦντες, ὅταν Λη-
20 τοῦς μὲν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Μνημοσύνης δὲ τὰς Μούσας
καλῶμεν. πεπλασμένοι δὲ ὅταν αὐτοὶ σωματοποιῶμεν
καὶ θεὸν καὶ γονὰς θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, ὥσπερ Σιμωνί-
δης ⟨τὴν⟩ Αὔριον δαίμονα κέκληκε, καὶ ἕτεροι Ὄκνον, καὶ
ἕτεροι ἕτερόν τινα. εὐκτικοὶ δὲ οἱ ψιλὴν εὐχὴν ἔχοντες
25 ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ὧν εἴπομεν, καὶ ἀπευκτικοὶ οἱ
τὰ ἐναντία ἀπευχόμενοι ψιλῶς. καὶ παρὰ τούτους τοὺς
τρόπους οὐκ ἂν ὕμνοι γίγνοιντο εἰς θεούς. τῷ δὲ μυ-
θικῷ γένει καὶ γενεαλογικῷ τὰ πολλὰ εἰώθασι χρῆ-
σθαι ἅπαντες γενέσεις διεξιόντες, καὶ ὅσων ἀγαθῶν

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30 τοῦτο nos: αὐτὸ codd.   31 τὰ αὐτὰ nos: ταῦτα τὰ codd.
32 καὶ δὴ P: om. MW: del. Spengel
333– P   8 ὁποῖοί Heeren: ὁπόσοι P   9 μελικοῖς Fabricius:
μετρικοῖς P   12 ἀποδημίας P, ἐπὶ supra lineam addito γινομένης
nos (cf. 336. 9): γεν- P   οἴους οἱ Bursian: τοι ὅσοι P   13 περὶ
Παρμενίδην Heeren: παρὰ πᾶν μέρος P   ἐποίησαν Bernhardy:
ἐτίμησαν P   17 οἷον ⟨ὅτι⟩ Nitsche   23 suppl. Heeren
29 ὅσων Spengel: ὅσοι P

I proceed in what now follows to explain how each of these is to be divided, in what way the same headings underlie them all, and in what way each is appropriately used.

HYMNS TO THE GODS

Following our original division, let us first consider hymns to the gods. These hymns themselves are either (1–2) cletic or apopemptic, or (3–4) scientific (*phusikoi*) or mythical, or (5–6) genealogical or fictitious, or (7–8) precatory or deprecatory, or else combinations of two, three, or indeed all of these.

(1) Cletic hymns are such as most of those to be found in Sappho, Anacreon, and the other lyric poets, containing invocations of many gods.

(2) Apopemptic hymns are like some that are found in Bacchylides, containing a valediction (*apopompē*) as though on the occasion of a departure abroad.

(3) Scientific hymns are such as were composed by Parmenides and Empedocles, expounding the nature of Apollo or of Zeus. Most of the hymns of Orpheus are of this kind.

(4) Mythical hymns are those which contain myths and proceed by bare allegory: e.g. Apollo built the wall, Apollo was a serf under Admetus, and the like.

(5) Genealogical hymns are those which follow the theogonies of the poets: e.g. when we say that Apollo is the child of Leto, and the Muses of Memory.

(6) Fictitious hymns are when we ourselves personify a god or the births of gods or daemons, as when Simonides speaks of the daemon To-morrow, and others of Hesitation (*Oknos*), and so on.

(7) Precatory hymns are those which consist of bare prayer, with none of the other parts we have mentioned; while

(8) deprecatory hymns are those which simply pray that something shall be averted.

No hymns to the gods can be composed outside these patterns.

The mythical and genealogical types are habitually employed by all writers when they narrate origins and derive from myths statements of the blessings to

30 ἀνθρώποις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν, ἀπὸ μύθων λαμβάνον-
τες. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ὡς ἐγώ φημι καὶ ζητῆσαι ἄξιον, πό-
τερον ἑνὶ τούτων ἀεὶ χρηστέον ἢ πᾶσιν ἔξεστιν, ἢ τοῖς

334 μὲν ποιηταῖς ἐξεῖναι χρὴ νομίζειν, τοῖς δὲ συγγραφεῦ-
σιν ἢ λογοποιοῖς τοῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἕνα ⟨εἶναι⟩ καὶ ἁπλοῦν
ὅρον, ὅτι πλείονα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ποιήσει
μὲν ⟨παρέχει⟩ ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον μερίς, ἀφορμὴ ⟨δὲ⟩ πλείστη
5 ὑπόκειται | τῇ συγγραφῇ ἡ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. χρηστέον γε
μὴν | καὶ τῷ συγγραφεῖ καὶ τῷ λογογράφῳ καὶ τούτων ἑκά-
στῳ εἴδει καὶ ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν, ὅπη καὶ Πλάτωνα περὶ τὴν
γραφὴν ἄκρον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι πεπιστεύκαμεν, ὁρῶ-
μεν δὲ σχεδὸν τοῦτον πᾶσι τοῖς εἴδεσι κεχρημένον, ἄλλῳ
10 ἄλλοτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ βιβλίῳ τοῖς πλείστοις [ταῦτα
ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ]. ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Φαῖδρος περὶ τοῦ Ἔρω-
τος ⟨λέγει⟩, γενεαλογικοῦ τύπου ἂν εἴη, ἃ δὲ Ἀρι-
στοφάνης κομψεύεται διὰ μύθου, τοῦ μυθολογικοῦ, ἃ
δὲ Ἀγάθων, ὡσαύτως τοῦ μυθικοῦ, ἃ δ' αὖ Σωκράτης,
15 αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατὰ πλάσιν (πλάττει γὰρ Πόρους καὶ Πε-
νίας), ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ φυσιολογικοῦ. καὶ μὴν ἐν οἷς μὲν
καλεῖ τὰς Μούσας ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ, τὸν κλητικὸν τύπον
δείκνυσιν, ἐν οἷς δ' αὖ εὔχεται τῷ Πανί, τὸν εὐκτικόν.
καὶ ζητῶν ἂν εὕροις πανταχοῦ κεχρημένον, εἰ δὲ μὴ
20 πρὸς κόρον μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκριβείας, λογιστέον ὡς ἐξ ἐλάτ-
τονος ἐξουσίας μέτεστι τῇ συγγραφῇ. πῶς δὲ ἕκαστον
τούτων τῶν εἰδῶν μετιτέον τε καὶ μέχρι τίνος προσ-
ακτέον, καὶ τίς ἑρμηνεία πρέπουσα, ἑξῆς λέγειν πειρά-
σομαι.

25 *ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ*

. . . μέτρον μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὕμνων ἐν μὲν
ποιήσει ἐπιμηκέστερον. ἀναμιμνήσκειν γὰρ πολλῶν τόπων
ἐκείνοις ἔξεστιν, ὡς παρὰ τῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι
πολλαχοῦ εὑρίσκομεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν ἐκ μυρίων
30 ὀρέων, μυρίων δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ,

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334. 2–4 ⟨εἶναι⟩ . . . ⟨παρέχει⟩ . . . ⟨δὲ⟩ addidimus, Walzium secuti.
locum ita refingit Bursian : λογοποιοῖς ⟨οὔ⟩. τοῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἕνα καὶ
ἁπλοῦν ⟨τιθέμεθα⟩ ὅρον ὅτι πλείονα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ⟨ποιηταῖς
δίδομεν ἐπειδὴ τῇ⟩ ποιήσει κτλ.   3 ταῦτα Heeren : ταύτην P
7 ὁμοῦ Jacobs : ὁ μὲν P   8 ⟨συγ⟩γραφὴν Nitsche   9 ἄλλῳ
Spengel : ἀλλὰ P   10–11 secl. Bursian   12 suppl. Heeren
14 ἃ δ' αὖ Heeren : ὁ δ' αὖ P   18 τὸν vulg. : τὸ P   21 πῶς
Finckh : τέως P   22 τίνος Finckh : τινὸς P   προσακτέον P :

mankind for which the gods are responsible. But it is also worth considering in my opinion, whether we must always employ a single type, or can use them all, or again whether poets are to be thought of as having this licence, but that as regards historians and prose-writers, the one simple definition of the point beyond which they must not go is given by the fact that poetry is allowed a greater licence in this respect in virtue of its concern with the divine, whereas prose writing is concerned with man.

In fact, the prose-writer and the orator must employ each of these forms, both separately and all together, seeing that we believe Plato to be supreme as a writer, and we also see him using practically all these forms at one time or another, and indeed most of them in a single book [the *Symposium*]. For what Phaedrus says about Eros surely belongs to the genealogical type, and Aristophanes' fabulous ingenuity to the mythological, as also does Agathon's speech. Socrates' speech, on the other hand, approaches the scientific kind—though by means of fiction, since he invents the figures of Abundance and Poverty. Again, the invocation of the Muses in the *Phaedrus* exemplifies the cletic type, and the prayer to Pan the precatory. If you look round, you will find Plato using these forms everywhere. If he does not do so to the point of satiety, or in exact reproduction of the type, we have to remember that prose enjoys the licence to a lesser degree.

I shall next try to explain how each of these forms is to be attempted, to what length it is to be taken, and what style is appropriate.

CLETIC HYMNS

. . . The scale of cletic hymns is larger in poetry, because poets are allowed to mention many places, as we often find in Sappho and Alcman. Alcman (?) summons Artemis from countless mountains and countless cities and rivers, while Sappho (?) summons

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'fortasse προακτέον' Bursian   25 tit. correxit Aldus: ΠΡΟΣ-
ΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ P   26 multa deesse vidit Spengel   27 ἀναμι-
μνήσκειν Nitsche: ἅμα μὲν P   29–31 ὁ μὲν . . . ἡ δὲ Nitsche:
τὴν μὲν . . . τὴν δὲ P

ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ⟨ἐκ⟩ Κύπρου, Κνίδου, Συρίας, πολλα-
χόθεν ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ. οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
335 τόπους αὐτοὺς ἔξεστι διαγράφειν, οἷον εἰ ἀπὸ ποτα-
μῶν καλοίη, ὕδωρ ἢ ὄχθας καὶ τοὺς ὑποπεφυκότας λει-
μῶνας καὶ χοροὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς γινομένους καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα προσαναγράφουσι. καὶ εἰ ἀπὸ ἱερῶν, ὡσαύτως,
5 ὥστε ἀνάγκη μακροὺς αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι τοὺς κλητικοὺς
ὕμνους. τοῖς δὲ συγγραφεῦσι βραχυτέραν τὴν περὶ
ταῦτα διατριβὴν ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ πολ-
λῶν τόπων καὶ χωρίων ἀνακαλέσουσιν, οὔτε ἐφ' ἑκά-
στου μετὰ διαγραφῆς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πλάτων ὥσπερ
10 ἐξηγούμενος τῷ εἴδει κέχρηται, ἄγετε δὴ Μοῦσαι
λίγειαι, εἴτε δι' ᾠδῆς εἶδος εἴτε διὰ γένος
μουσικὸν τὸ Λιγύων ταύτην ἔσχετε τὴν
13 ἐπωνυμίαν.

13   Ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐν κλητικῷ χρῆται τῷ
εἴδει μετὰ τῆς ἰσοσυλλαβίας, ἐν οἷς ὁ Χρύσης εὔχεται
15 τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις,

        ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας
    Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις.

ἐν οὖν τόδε γίνωσκε, ὡς ποιητῇ μὲν ἐξουσία πλείων, | τῷ
20 δὲ συγγραφεῖ ἐλάττων. | ἑρμηνεία δὲ πρέπουσα, †οἷα καὶ†
τοῖς κλητικοῖς, ἡ [τε] | δι' ὥρας προϊοῦσα καὶ κόσμου,
διόπερ τὰς διατριβὰς | προσλαμβάνουσιν οἱ ποιηταί.
σχήματα δὲ τὰ ἀνακλη|τικὰ ἁρμόττοντα.

23   Οὐ χεῖρον δ' ἴσως καὶ τὴν μέθοδον,
ᾗ κεχρήμεθα ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ κλητικῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
25 ὕμνῳ †βιβλίῳ πως θέσθαι. ὥσπερ ἂν ἡ ὥρα ἐνίη πλείω†,
ἅμα τε μήτε ὑπερβαίνοιμεν τὸ μέτρον τὸ τῷ συγγραφεῖ
πρέπον, μήτε ἡ περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἁβρότης ὑπερ-
φθέγγοιτο τὴν συγγραφήν· αὐτοῖς γὰρ τοῖς ποιηταῖς τὸ
πλεῖον προσεθείκαμεν, καλοῦσιν ἐκ †τῶνδε† τῶν τόπων,
30 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἂν καλέσαιμι. καὶ πολλὰ ἂν εὕροις πεποι-

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31 suppl. Finckh   Κνίδου Heeren : Κνίδης P
335. 1 αὐτοὺς Heeren : -ῶν P   2 καλοίη P : καλοῖεν Finckh,
fort. recte   4 ἱερῶν P : ὀρέων Bursian   8 οὔτε Heeren :
οὔτως P   ἐφ' Ricc. 1 : ἀφ' P   9 ὁ μὲν nos : ὅπερ P   10 ἄγετε
Heeren ex Platone : ἄτε P   11–12 μουσικὸν post εἶδος P :
Platonem secuti transposuimus   12 ἔσχετε Nitsche ex Platone :
ἐπέσχετε P   13–23 haec post 343. 26 transponenda esse coniecit
Finckh, fort. recte   13 ἐν κλητικῷ Finckh : ἐγκλητικῷ P : se▪

Aphrodite from Cyprus, Cnidus, Syria, and many
other places. And not only this: poets are also
allowed to describe the places themselves. For
example, if the god is summoned from rivers, they
add a description of the water, the banks, the adjacent
(?) meadows, the bands of dancers by the rivers, and
the like. The same applies if the summons is from
holy places. The poets' cletic hymns are therefore
inevitably long. Prose-writers, on the other hand,
must necessarily abridge the time spent on these
topics; they will not summon divinities from many
places and countries, nor give a description of each
place. Rather they will follow Plato, who sets the
pace in his use of the form: 'Come ye clear-voiced
(*ligeiai*) Muses, whether it be for your song or for
your musical Ligurian kin that you earned that name.'

Homer also uses the form in a cletic passage (?) with
equal numbers of syllables, in the prayer of Chryses
at the beginning of the *Iliad*:

> thou who dost stand over Chryse
> and Cilla the holy, and rulest in might over Tenedos.

Note then one point: the poet has a greater licence
than the prose-writer.

The style appropriate to (?) cletic hymns is that
which moves with elegance and splendour. This is
why the poets insert their additional passages. The
appropriate figures are those of invocation.

It may perhaps be as well to set down in this book
(?) the method which I myself employed in my
cletic hymn to Apollo, in order to (?) increase the
elegance of the piece without at the same time either
going beyond the limit appropriate to the prose-
writer or letting the delicacy of the ornamentation
strike too high a note for prose. I attributed most of
the topic to the poets themselves, who summon
Apollo from this place and that (?). 'I myself would
fain not call him.' You will find many elaborations
suggested by the method.

cludendum videtur nisi totum locum transposueris   18 μὲν ἐξ-
ουσία Walz: μετεξουσία P   20 οἷα καὶ P: εἴη ἂν Heeren   τε
seclusimus   26 ὑπερβαίνοιμεν Finckh: ὑποβαίνωμεν P   τὸ²
Bursian: ἤ P   29 τῶνδε P: τῶν καὶ Jacobs   30 καλέσαιμι
Jacobs: καλέοιμι P

κιλμένα τῇ μεθόδῳ. γίνωσκε δὲ τόδε τὸ θεώρημα οὐκ
ἄχρηστον, ὅτι εἰ μὲν εὐχὴ ἐπακολουθεῖ τῇ κλήσει, ἔτι
336 ἐλάττων ἡ διατριβὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ τοῖς συγγρα-
φεῦσιν· εἰ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἴη ψιλὴ κλῆσις, πλείων ἐστί,
καὶ ζητῶν ἂν εὕροις παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς τὴν συνήθειαν
ταύτην πεφυλαγμένην.

5   *ΠΕΡΙ ΑΠΟΠΕΜΠΤΙΚΩΝ*

Οἱ τοίνυν ἀποπεμπτικοί εἰσιν, ὡς καὶ τοὔνομα δη-
λοῖ, τοῖς κλητικοῖς ὑπεναντίοι, ἐλάχιστον δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον
εἶδος, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μόνον εὑρίσκεται. ἐπιλέ-
γονται δὲ ἀποδημίαις θεῶν νομιζομέναις ἢ γινομέναις,
10 οἷον Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποδημίαι τινὲς ὀνομάζονται παρὰ Δη-
λίοις καὶ Μιλησίοις, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος παρὰ Ἀργείοις. εἰσὶ
τοίνυν καὶ τῷ Βακχυλίδῃ ὕμνοι ἀποπεμπτικοί. ἀφορμὴ
δ᾽ ὑποβέβληται τοῖς τοιούτοις ὕμνοις ἡ χώρα ἣν κατα-
λείπει, καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, καὶ πρὸς ἣν ἄπεισι πόλιν
15 ὁμοίως ἢ χώραν, καὶ διαγραφαὶ τόπων, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.
γινέσθω δὲ δι᾽ ἡδονῆς προϊὼν ὁ λόγος· δεῖ γὰρ μετὰ
ἀνειμένης τινὸς ἁρμονίας καὶ εὐμενεστέρας προπέμπε-
σθαι. διατριβὴν δὲ ἐνδέχεται πλείονα, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ
κλητικοὶ ἐλάττονα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὅτι τάχιστα ἡμῖν
20 συνεῖναι τοὺς θεοὺς βουλόμεθα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅτι βραδύ-
τατα ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἀνάγκη δὲ εἶναι καὶ εὐ|χὴν ἐπὶ
ἐπανόδῳ καὶ ἐπιδημίᾳ δευτέρᾳ. ταῦτά σοι [καὶ] | περὶ
ἀποπεμπτικῶν ὕμνων εἰρήσθω.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΣΙΚΩΝ

25 Περὶ τοίνυν τῶν φυσικῶν ἐφεξῆς ἂν εἴη, ὥσπερ
προεθέμεθα, λέγειν. πρῶτον τοίνυν τόδε περὶ αὐτῶν
ῥητέον, ὅτι ἐλάχιστα μὲν τοῖς· ἀφελεστέροις τὸ εἶδος
ἁρμόττει, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐμψυχοτέροις καὶ μεγαλονου-
στέροις, ἔπειτα ὅτι ποιηταῖς μᾶλλον ἢ συγγραφεῦσιν ἢ
337 λογογράφοις ἢ πολιτικοῖς ἁρμόττουσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ τοιοῦ-
τοι, ὅταν Ἀπόλλωνος ὕμνον λέγοντες ἥλιον αὐτὸν εἶναι

32 fort. ἄχρηστον ⟨ὄν⟩   εἰ Heeren: ἡ P   ἐπακολουθεῖ P: -οῖ
Bursian   τῇ κλήσει Bursian: ἐπικλήσει P
    336. 7 τὸ τοιοῦτον P: τοῦτο τὸ vulg.   9, 10 ἀποδημίαις et -αι
Ricc. 1, Heeren: ἐπι- P   10 ὀνομάζονται P: νομίζονται Heeren
15 καὶ διαγραφαὶ Nitsche: αἱ δὲ γραφαὶ P: αἱ διαγραφαὶ Kroll: αἵ τε
γραφαὶ Heeren   17 εὐμενεστέρας P: ἐμμελεστέρας Nitsche,
Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, 330)   19 ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Spengel: ἐν μὲν

Note also this useful proposition: if prayer follows the invocation, poets and prose-writers alike have still less opportunity for extensive treatment of the topic; whereas if it is an invocation by itself, the opportunity is greater. Investigation will confirm that this practice is maintained in the poets.

APOPEMPTIC HYMNS

Apopemptic hymns, as the name indicates, are the converse of cletic. This is a very rare form, and is only found in the poets. Such hymns are delivered over actual or supposed departures of gods, like what are called the departures of Apollo at Delos or Miletus and of Artemis at Argos.

There are apopemptic hymns also in Bacchylides. The basic theme of such hymns is the country, cities, or nations which the god is leaving, and likewise the city or country to which he is going, together with topographical descriptions and the like. The speech should proceed with charm, since a valedictory situation demands a certain relaxation and geniality of style. It admits more extensive treatment of topics, not less, as the cletic hymn does, since in the latter we desire the god to be with us as soon as possible, whereas in the apopemptic we wish his departure to be postponed. There must also be a prayer for return and a second visit.

So much for apopemptic hymns.

SCIENTIFIC HYMNS

According to our plan, we have next to speak of scientific hymns. The first point to be made is that this form does not suit the simpler writers, but does suit very well those with vigour and grandeur of conception. Secondly it suits poets rather than historians, prose-writers, or orators.

Such hymns are found, for example, when, in delivering a hymn to Apollo, we identify him with

τοῖς γὰρ P   21 εἶναι Bursian: ἐστι P   22 secl. Spengel
23 ἀποπεμπτικῶν Finckh: προ- P   27 ἀφελεστέροις Walz: ἀσφα-
λεστέροις P (cf. 342. 15)   28 ἐμψυχοτέροις Ernesti: ψυχροτέροις
P
      337. 1 τοιοῦτοι: ita edd.: de P non liquet

φάσκωμεν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς φύσεως διαλεγώ-
μεθα, καὶ περὶ Ἥρας ὅτι ἀήρ, καὶ Ζεὺς τὸ θερμόν·
5 οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ὕμνοι φυσιολογικοί. καὶ χρῶνται δὲ
τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ Παρμενίδης τε καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀκρι-
βῶς, κέχρηται δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων· ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ γὰρ
φυσιολογῶν ὅτι πάθος ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ Ἔρως, ἀνα-
πτεροποιεῖ αὐτόν. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξη-
10 γητικοί, οἱ δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ προαγόμενοι· πλεῖστον γὰρ
διαφέρει, ὡς εἰδότα ἀναμιμνήσκειν συμμέτρως, ἢ ὅλως
ἀγνοοῦντα διδάσκειν. Παρμενίδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἐμπε-
δοκλῆς ἐξηγοῦνται, Πλάτων δὲ ἐν βραχυτάτοις ἀνυμνεῖ.
ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν κατ᾽ αἰνίγματα, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ
15 προάγονται· κατ᾽ αἰνίγματα μέν, ὁποῖοί εἰσιν οἱ Πυ-
θαγόρειοι φερόμενοι, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ δὲ ὁποίους μικρῷ
πρόσθεν ἐφάσκομεν. ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν φυσιο-
λογικῶν διαφορὰς ἐδείκνυμεν ταύτας οὔσας, οὕτω καὶ
τῆς συμμετρίας διαφορὰς ὁριούμεθα. οἱ γὰρ κατ᾽ αἰ-
20 νίγματα προϊόντες βραχύτητα ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ἔτι δὲ οἱ καὶ
μὴ διδασκαλικοὶ ἄλλως κεφαλαιωδέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι
πλείστην καὶ μεγίστην διατριβὴν ἐνδέχονται. ὁ γοῦν Πλά-
των ὕμνον τοῦ Παντὸς τὸν Τίμαιον καλεῖ ἐν τῷ Κρι-
τίᾳ, καὶ οἱ φυσικώτεροι ποιηταί, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθημεν,
25 πραγματείας ὅλας κατέθεντο. εὐχῆς δὲ οὐδέν τι πάνυ
χρὴ ἐπὶ τούτων. ἐπιτηρεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν πολὺν
ὄχλον καὶ δῆμον ἐκφέρειν τοὺς τοιούτους ὕμνους· ἀπι-
θανώτεροι γὰρ καὶ καταγελαστικώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς
φαίνονται.
30 Ἑρμηνείαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν διθύραμβον ἀνελθεῖν
μικρὸν διαφέρει· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὧν σεμνοτέρων
⟨ἂν⟩ ἄνθρωπος φθέγξαιτο.

338   ΠΕΡΙ ΜΥΘΙΚΩΝ

Ἑξῆς ἂν εἴη περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν εἰπεῖν, οὓς ἔνιοι
μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι νομίζουσι τοῖς γενεαλογικοῖς,
ἔνιοι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως [εἶναι νομίζουσι τοῖς γενεαλογικοῖς].
5 οἱ μέν γε νομίζοντες οὐδὲν διαφέρειν καὶ τὰς γενεαλο-

3 διαλεγώμεθα Heeren: -όμεθα P   8–9 ἀναπτεροποιεῖ varie
temptatum: ἀνάπτερον ποιεῖ Walz: ἀναπτεροῖ (Heeren) ⟨καὶ Πτέ-
ρωτα⟩ ποιεῖ Bursian: ἀναπτεροῦντα ποιεῖ Spengel   11 ὅλως
Ricc. 1: ὀλίγως P   13 ἀνυμνεῖ P: ἀναμιμνήσκει Bursian
17 καὶ αὐτῶν P: κατὰ Jacobs   20 βραχύτητα Ricc. 1 et 2:

the sun, and discuss the nature of the sun, or when we identify Hera with air or Zeus with heat. Such hymns are 'scientific'. Parmenides and Empedocles make use of this form exactly, but Plato also uses it: thus, in the *Phaedrus*, when he gives a scientific account of Love as a 'passion of the soul', he equips him with wings.

Some scientific hymns are fully explanatory, others are abbreviated; it makes a great difference whether one is concisely reminding a reader who is assumed to know, or giving instruction to one who is completely ignorant. Parmenides and Empedocles give full explanations, while Plato gives brief reminders.

Again, some are written enigmatically, others in an overt manner. The hymns which circulate as Pythagorean are enigmatic, while those we have just mentioned are overt.

We shall also define differences in the proportions of these scientific hymns, corresponding to the differences we have indicated in their actual scientific content. The enigmatic variety demands brevity, and those which do not convey instruction are in any case (?) more summary; the others admit ample developments. Thus Plato in the *Critias* calls the *Timaeus* a 'hymn of the universe', and the more scientific poets, whom we have mentioned, have constructed whole treatises. In these hymns there is no need of a prayer at all. Such hymns should be carefully preserved and not published to the multitude or the people, because they look too unconvincing and ridiculous to the masses.

As to the style, it is quite acceptable for it to approach the heights of dithyramb, for there is no more solemn theme than these on which a human tongue may give utterance.

MYTHICAL HYMNS

Our next topic is that of mythical hymns. Some regard these as the same as the genealogical, others as not. Those who think that there is no difference say

γίας μύθους εἶναί φασιν, οἷον εἰ βούλει, ὅσα γε Ἀκου-
σίλεως καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐν ⟨ταῖς⟩ θεογονίαις εἰ-
ρήκασιν· εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ [γενεαλογικαί] αἵδε οὐδὲν ἧττον
μυθικαί. τάδε δὲ αὖ φασιν οἱ διαφέρειν νομίζοντες, ὅτι | καὶ
10 χωρὶς τῶν γενεαλογικῶν εἴησαν ⟨ἂν⟩ τινες μυθικοὶ ὕμνοι,
οἷον ὅτι Διόνυσος Ἰκαρίῳ ἐπεξενώθη, ἢ ὅτι ἐν Ζωστῆρι
τὴν ζώνην ἐλύσατο ἡ Λητώ, ἢ ὅτι ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ
Κελεῷ ἐπεξενώθη, ἢ ὅσα ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. ταῦτα γὰρ
[καὶ] γενεαλογίαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἴληφε, μυθικὴν δέ τινα
15 ἄλλην ἱστορίαν. ἃ μέντοι ἀμφότεροι λέγοντες τὰ σφῶν
αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι νικᾶν ἀξιοῦσι, σχεδὸν ἀκήκοας, ἐμοὶ
δὲ δοκεῖ κάλλιον ἐν ὅρῳ εἶναι ἀκριβῶς διελέσθαι. πά-
σας μὲν γὰρ γενεαλογίας καὶ πάντας ὕμνους τοὺς διὰ
γενεαλογικῶν διὰ μυθικῶν περιστάσεων προάγεσθαι
20 νομίζω, οὐ μὴν πάντας γε τοὺς μυθικοὺς διὰ γενεαλο-
γίας, ὥστε τὸ μὲν τῶν μυθικῶν ὕμνων [τὸ] μέρος γενι-
κώτερον ἂν εἴη, τὸ δὲ τῶν γενεαλογικῶν εἰδικώτερον.
ταῦτά σοι περὶ διαφορᾶς εἴρηται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μυθι-
κῶν χωρὶς ἀποτεμόμενον χρὴ λέγειν. φημὶ δὴ τὸ πρῶ-
25 τον μὲν μηδαμῶς μετέχειν αὐτοὺς φυσιολογίας, λέγω
φανερᾶς· εἰ γάρ τις ἐγκεκρυμμένη καθ᾽ ὑπόνοιαν, ὥς
γε πολλὰ ἔχει τῶν θείων, οὐδὲν τοῦτό γε διαφέρει.
ἔπειτα εἶναι τῷ ποιητῇ μᾶλλον προσφόρους· ἡ γὰρ
ἐξουσία καὶ τοῦ κατὰ σχολὴν λέγειν καὶ τοῦ περιστέλ-
30 λειν τοῖς ποιητικοῖς κόσμοις καὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς οὔτε
κόρον οὔτε ἀηδίαν παρίστησι· καίτοι οὐκ ἀγνοῶ ὡς αὐ-
τῶν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν προσφέρουσι τὰς ἀκαίρους
339 διατριβάς· συγγραφεῦσι δὲ ἢ λογοποιοῖς ἐλαχίστη
ἐξουσία. γυμνοὶ δὲ οἱ μῦθοι τιθέμενοι σφόδρα λυποῦσι
καὶ ἐνοχλοῦσι τὰς ἀκοάς. δεῖ τοίνυν ὅτι βραχυτάτοις
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. παραμυθίας οὖν προσακτέον καὶ πρὸς

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6 γε Walz: τε P   7 ταῖς vulg.: om. P   8 seclusimus
οὐδὲν ⟨δ᾽⟩ Heeren   10 suppl. Bursian   14 secl. Bursian
338. 16– PZ (inde ab]δὸν ἀκήκοας)   17 δὲ P: μὲν Z   δοκεῖ
Heeren: δοκοῦσι PZ   19 μυθικῶν περιστάσεων P: -ῆς -εως Z
21 τὸ μὲν τῶν P: τῶν μὲν Z   [τὸ] secl. Finckh   21–2 τὸ μέρος
post γενικώτερον Z   22 εἰδικώτερον Z: ἰδ- P   24 ἀποτεμό-
μενον Finckh (cf. 340. 15): ἀποτεμόντα μὲν Z: ἀποτέμνειν μὲν P   χρὴ
P: δεῖ Z   25 αὐτοὺς Aldus: αὐτοῦ P: αὐτῆς Z   26 ante
καθ᾽ add. ἢ Z: num ἢ καθ᾽ ?   26–7 ὥς γε πολλὰ ἔχει Heeren:
ὥστε πολλὰ ἔχειν P: ὥστε πολλοὺς ... Z   27 τοῦτό γε P:
τούτων Z   διαφέρει Heeren: διαφέρειν PZ   28 τῷ Z: om. P

that genealogies too are myths, for example the stories told by Acusilaus, Hesiod, and Orpheus in their theogonies. These are indeed no less mythical. Those who believe in a difference, however, point out that there would seem to be some mythical hymns apart from the genealogical, e.g. Icarius' hospitality to Dionysus, Leto's loosing of her girdle at Zoster, or Celeus' hospitality to Demeter, and other things of the kind. These contain no genealogy, but some mythical story of another sort.

You have now heard, more or less, the arguments which the champions of these two views put forward. Both parties claim the victory. In my opinion, however, it would be better to make an accurate distinction in one's definition. I hold that all genealogies and all hymns involving genealogical elements proceed by means of mythical circumstances, whereas it is not true that all mythical hymns proceed by means of genealogies. Consequently, the class of mythical hymns will be the more generic, and that of genealogical hymns the more specific.

So much for the differences. We must now proceed to discuss mythical hymns as a separate section. First, they must have no element of science—overt science, I mean; it does not matter if there is some scientific doctrine concealed by allegory, as indeed occurs in most stories concerning the divine. Secondly, they are appropriate in a higher degree to the poet, since in his case the licence to speak at leisure and wrap up the subject in poetical ornament and elaboration produces no satiety or disgust—though I am not unaware that some of the poets themselves introduce untimely expansions of their themes—whereas prose-writers and orators have very little licence. Myths, nakedly set out, pain and distress the hearer very much; they should therefore be dispatched as briefly as possible. Antidotes need to be applied, for the sake of brevity and of charm; e.g.

ποιητῇ P : -ὰς Z   μᾶλλον Bursian : μὲν ἄλλα PZ   29 alterum
τοῦ Z : τὸ P   30 κόσμοις Heeren : κοινοῖς P : κοινῶς Z
31 ὡς αὐτῶν nos : ὡσαύτως P : Z non legitur   32 ⟨ὅτι⟩ ἔνιοι Heeren
τὰς suspectum
    339. 1 διατριβάς Heeren : διαφοράς PZ   ἢ P : καὶ Z   ἐλαχί-
στη + ἡ Z

5 συντομίαν καὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ ἀπ' εὐ-
θείας πάντα εἰσάγειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παραλείπειν λέγοντα,
τὰ δὲ συγχωρεῖν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ συμπλοκὴν εἰσάγειν, τὰ
δὲ προσποιεῖσθαι ἐξηγεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύειν μηδὲ
ἀπιστεῖν. καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἀπορήσεις μεθόδων, ἔν γε τοῦτο
10 θεώρημα σώζων, ὡς διατριβὴ ἀπρόσφορος.

    Ἡ δὲ ἑρμηνεία, ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς διατριβῆς ἔφα-
μεν, ἐπὶ ἐλάττονος ἐξουσίας γινέσθω, σώζουσα μὲν
τὸν ἐπιδεικτικὸν κόσμον, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ διθυράμβου
ἀποβεβηκυῖα. γίγνοιτο δ' ⟨ἂν⟩ τοιαύτη, εἰ τῷ Ἰσοκράτους
15 θεωρήματι χρησόμεθα, καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν σεμνό-
τητα μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον [ἢ] τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἢ
τοῦ μεγέθους θηρώμεθα, ⟨ἀλλ'⟩ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ
τῶν σχημάτων, ἐπεὶ αὐτό γε τοῦτο, ὃ πάντες θρυλοῦσι,
Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν
20 ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὀνόμα-
σιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καθήκει, τῇ δὲ συνθέσει καὶ
τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι †ὀλίγα καὶ λείπει ἔνια† σε-
μνότερα εἶναι δοκεῖ; καὶ τὸ Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην
τὴν Πανδίονος καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ τύπου, εἰ
25 καὶ περὶ ἀνθρωπίνων εἴρηται. καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι, φήμη
τις καὶ λόγος διαρρεῖ, ὡς ἄρα ὁ θεὸς οὗτος
ὑπὸ μητρυιᾶς οὔσης τῆς Ἥρας ἐκινήθη, καὶ
πολλὰ παραδείγματα ⟨παρὰ⟩ τῷ Πλάτωνι, ὥστε εἰ σώζοις
τὸ θεώρημα, φυλακτήριον ἔσται πρὸς ἀρετὴν λόγου.
30 ὅλως δὲ περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν τούτων ὕμνων περί τε ἔν-
νοιαν καὶ ἑρμηνείαν ἐκεῖνο ἰστέον, ὅτι τῷ ἀξιώματι
κατ' ἄμφω τὸ μυθικὸν [λεῖπον].

340   ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ

    Περὶ δὲ τῶν γενεαλογικῶν ἓν μὲν ἤδη τοσοῦτον
εἴρηται, ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ᾠήθησαν ἔνιοι τοῖς μυθικοῖς,
ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν προσετίθεμεν· ἕτερον δὲ τοσοῦ-
5 τον εἰρήσεται, ὡς σπανίως ἔστιν ὕμνον εὑρεῖν θεῶν ⟨ἐν
ᾧ⟩ τὸ γενεαλογικὸν μόνον φέρεται, πλὴν εἰ ⟨μή⟩ τις ὑπο-

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11 ὅπερ P: ἦν Z   12 γινέσθω Z ut videtur: γεγενήσθω P
13 τὸν P: om. Z   14 ⟨ἂν⟩ suppl. Bursian   τοιαύτη Heeren: τοσ-
PZ   εἰ Heeren: εἴ γε Z: om. P   16 seclusimus   17 θηρώ-
μεθα Heeren: θεωρώμεθα PZ   ⟨ἀλλ'⟩ add. Ricc. 2 (Z non legitur)
20 ἡμῶν edd. ex Isocrate (Paneg. 28): Ἰώνων PZ   22 fortasse
ὀλίγου δεῖν [λείπει ἔνια], i.e. indicatur lacuna, cf. 32 infra

not introducing every detail in a direct form, but omitting some points, conceding some, introducing some by combination (*sumplokē*), sometimes claiming to give explanations, or not committing oneself to belief or disbelief. All in all, you will find no lack of methods, if you hold firmly to the one basic proposition that lengthy expansion is inappropriate.

The same observation applies to style as to scale of expansion: style must be allowed less licence, retaining epideictic ornament but far removed from the manner of the dithyramb. This style may be achieved by following Isocrates' rule and pursuing beauty and dignity not so much by means of archaism or grandeur of words as by arrangement and figures. In the example that everybody keeps quoting, beginning 'When first Demeter came to our country . . .', who does not know that the vocabulary is virtually that of practical oratory, but it is through the word-arrangement and the figure that it seems to be . . . more dignified?

Again, 'Tereus ⟨who married⟩ Pandion's daughter Procne' is a passage of the same type, although the subject is human. In Plato, we have: 'Rumour and report slips round, that the god was roused by his step-mother Hera.' Plato indeed provides many examples.

To keep this rule will therefore ensure good writing. In general, with regard to these mythical hymns, it is to be noted that, both in style and in thought, the mythical is, in terms of dignity . . . [*rest of chapter missing*].

GENEALOGICAL HYMNS

It has already been said of genealogical hymns that some have considered them the same as the mythical. We stated the difference in that connection. A further point to be made, however, is that one can scarcely discover a hymn to the gods in which there is *only* a genealogical element, unless theogonies are to be

23 Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Finckh: τίς εἶδε τὴν PZ   26 ὁ Z: om. P   28 suppl. Heeren   32 seclusimus, cf. supra 22

340. 3 ἔνιοι τοῖς μυθικοῖς Heeren: εἶναι τοῖς μυθικοῖς Z: ἐπὶ τῶν μυθικῶν P   4 διαφορὰν προσετίθεμεν P: ἀναφορὰν προετίθεμεν Z
5 ἔστι ante σπανίως vulg.   5–6 ἐν ᾧ Heeren: ὡς Z: om. P
6 suppl. Spengel

λαμβάνοι τὰς θεογονίας ὕμνους εἶναι τῶν θεῶν, [ἐν ᾧ
τὸ γενεαλογικὸν μόνον φέρεται] ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἢ τοῖς
μυθικοῖς παρεμπλέκονται ἢ ἄλλοις γε τῶν ὕμνων ⟨εἴδεσιν⟩
10 ἢ ἑνὶ ἢ καὶ πλείοσι. γραῶδες γὰρ καὶ δεινῶς μειρακιῶ-
δες, ὕμνον Διὸς προελόμενον πραγματείαν, μόνον ⟨γο-
νὰς⟩ ἐκλέξασθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ εὕρηται καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος
τῶν ὕμνων παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, καὶ ἤδη τινὲς καὶ Διο-
νύσου γονὰς ὕμνησαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἕτεροι, καὶ
15 Ἀλκαῖος Ἡφαίστου καὶ πάλιν Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπο-
τετμήμεθα τὸ μέρος. χρὴ τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν παρεμπεπλεγ-
μένον εἴη τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴδεσιν, εἰδέναι, ὅτι καὶ μῆκος
προσίεται, εἰ δὲ καθ' αὑτὸ εἴη τὸ μέρος, ὅτι βραχείας
δεῖται διατριβῆς· ἔτι δὲ ὡς ποιητῇ μὲν καθ' αὑτὸ μό-
20 νον τὸ εἶδος χρήσιμον, συγγραφεῖ δὲ οὐδέποτε. ὁ μὲν
γὰρ καὶ Χάριτας μαιουμένας καὶ Ὥρας ὑποδεχομέ-
νας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πραγματεύεται, ὁ δ' ἐπάναγκες
ὅτι βραχύτατα ἐρεῖ.

Ἀρετὴ δ' ἑρμηνείας ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καθαρότης
25 καὶ τὸ ἀπροσκορές· γένοιτο ⟨δ'⟩ ἂν ἐν ποιήσει ἐκ συμμετρίας
τῶν περιφράσεων, ἐν δὲ τῇ συγγραφῇ ἐκ τῆς ποικιλίας
τῶν κώλων. παρέσχετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐν ποιήσει ἀρετὴν
Ἡσίοδος, καὶ γνοίη τις ἂν μᾶλλον, εἰ τοῖς Ὀρφέως παρα-
θείη· τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ πολλαχοῦ μὲν Πλάτων,
30 πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΕΠΛΑΣΜΕΝΩΝ

Περὶ δὲ τῶν πεπλασμένων ταῦτα ἰστέον, πρῶτον
341 μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο περὶ τοὺς περιφανεῖς τῶν θεῶν
ῥᾳδίως, καὶ ὧν αἱ γενέσεις καὶ δυνάμεις πρόδηλοι, ἀλλὰ
περὶ τοὺς ἀφανεστέρους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ θεοὺς καὶ δαί-
μονας, οἷον καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα ὁ Πλάτων ποτὲ μὲν
5 ὡς πρὸ γῆς ἐγένετο, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ παῖς,
πάλιν δὲ πεπλασμένος ὕστερον Πόρου καὶ Πενίας, καὶ
πάλιν [ὁ Παυσανίας], ὅτι τῇ τέχνῃ τῇ ἰατρικῇ ἐφέστηκεν

7–8 secl. Heeren   8 ἢ τοῖς Spengel: οἱ τοῖς P: οἷον τοῖς Z
9 παρεμπλέκονται Kroll: παρεμπλέκοντές γε P: παραπλέκονται Z
ἄλλοις vulg.: -ως PZ   suppl. Heeren   10 ἢ ἑνὶ ἢ καὶ Bursian:
ἠδιενειη καὶ P: ἢ ἑνὸς ἢ Z   11–12 suppl. manus recentior in
Ricc. 1   12 ἐκλέξασθαι Spengel: ἐκδ- PZ   τὸ Ricc. 2: om. PZ
14 Ἀπόλλωνος+γονὰς P   16 παρεμπεπλεγμένον Finckh: παραπε-
πλεγμένος P, (?) Z   18 τὸ μέρος suspectum   19 ἔτι Finckh:

regarded as hymns to gods. Generally speaking, the
genealogical element is combined either with mythical
features or with some other hymn form or forms.
It is futile and puerile in the extreme to profess a
hymn to Zeus as one's subject, and then select only
his birth. Nevertheless, since this form of hymn
is in fact found in ancient writers, and some have
sung the birth of Dionysus and others the birth of
Apollo, and Alcaeus that of Hephaestus and again
Hermes, I have made this also into a separate
section. It should therefore be observed that, if it is
combined with other forms, this type welcomes length;
if it is by itself, it needs only brief expansion. By
itself, it is of use to poets, never to prose-writers.
The poet deals in Graces as midwives, Hours who
pick up the child, and so on. The prose-writer
must be as brief as possible.

Stylistic excellence in such composition resides in
purity and freedom from wearisome excess. This may
be achieved in poetry by moderation in the use of
periphrases, and in prose by variety of cola. Hesiod
illustrates the excellence in poetry, as one may see
better by comparing him with the poems of Orpheus.
Plato often exemplifies the excellence in prose, and
so also does Herodotus in his account of Egypt.

FICTITIOUS HYMNS

On fictitious hymns, the points to note are the
following. First, they cannot easily be constructed
around the more celebrated of the gods, whose births
and powers are well known, but rather, as a rule,
around the obscurer gods and daemons. For example,
Plato in one place treats Eros as born before the
earth, in another as the son of Aphrodite, and yet
again, later, by invention, as the offspring of Abun-
dance and Poverty: again he [Pausanias] states that

ἔστι PZ   21 μαιουμένας Finckh: μιου- P: μυου- Z   25 suppl.
Finckh   26 τῇ Z: om. P   29 τὴν . . . συγγραφῇ vulg.:
ἐν δὲ τῇ συγγραφῇ Z: τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν P

    341. 1 γένοιντο Ricc. 1 et 2: γένοιτο PZ   3 περὶ Z: παρὰ P
4 Πλάτων P: πλαστής Z   6 πεπλασμένος codd.: -ως Bursian
ὕστερον P: om. Z   Πόρου Heeren: Πόρος PZ   Πενίας P: -ία Z
7 secl. Nitsche

ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Ἔρωτος, καὶ [Ἀριστοφάνης] ὅτι συνάγει
τὰ ἡμίτομα τῶν σωμάτων, τούτους [γὰρ] τοὺς ὕμνους
10 ποικίλως σφόδρα πλάσας, τοὺς μὲν περὶ φύσιν, τοὺς
δὲ περὶ δύναμιν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ γένος. ἥκει καὶ αὕτη
ἡ ἐξουσία παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν [παρὰ] τοῖς συγγραφεῦ-
σιν. Ἄρεως μὲν γὰρ θεράποντας Δεῖμον καὶ Φόβον
ἀναπλάττουσι, τοῦ δὲ Φόβου τὴν Φυγὴν φίλην, καὶ
15 τοῦ Θανάτου τὸν Ὕπνον ἀδελφόν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς
τὸν Λόγον Διὸς ἀδελφὸν ἀνεπλάσαμεν, ὡς ἐν ἠθικῇ
συνόψει.

Ἃ τοίνυν χρὴ ἐν τοῖς πεπλασμένοις τῶν ὕμνων διο-
ρᾶν, ἔχοιτο ἂν λέγειν. φυλακτέον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν μὴ
20 ἀπηρτημένως ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς πλάττειν, εἴη δ᾽ ἂν τὸ | τοιοῦτο
σωζόμενον, εἰ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ⟨τῶν πραγμάτων⟩ λαμβάνοιτο ἡ
πλάσις, | καὶ μὴ ἀνακεχωρηκυῖα εἴη. ἔπειτα μὴ ἀηδῶς, ἀλλὰ
στωμύλως καὶ γλαφυρῶς ἀναπλάττειν, οἷον Μούσας
Μνημοσύνης παῖδας, ἢ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ἔνιαι γὰρ καὶ
25 ἀκοῦσαι ἀηδεῖς, οἷον ⟨ὅτι⟩ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέ-
δραμεν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο, εἰ καθ᾽ ὑπόνοιαν εἴ-
ρηται καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο τι, ἔχει ὀρθῶς, ἄλλως δ᾽ ἀηδῶς
πέπλασται. ἔπειτα δὲ πίστεις λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλη-
θῶν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ψευδώμεθα, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς πεποιήκαμεν,
30 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεπλασμέ-
νους ὕμνους ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι συμφώνους, καὶ μὴ ἐναν-
τιούμενα ἢ μαχόμενα ἐφέλκεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ
342 μύθῳ, ὅτι Ζεὺς πρὸ πάντων ἐγένετο καὶ θεῶν ἁπάντων
ἐστὶ πατήρ, καὶ τὴν Θέμιν οὖσαν τοῦ Κρόνου τὸ πα-
λαιὸν γυναῖκα ἠγάγετο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν πρὸ πάντων καὶ
⟨πρὸ⟩ Θέμιδος· εἰ δ᾽ ἦν πρὸ Διὸς Θέμις, οὐ πρὸ πάντων.
5 ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ φυλακτέον ἐν τοῖς πεπλασμένοις ὕμνοις
τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὴν περιεργίαν. ἤδη γάρ τινες τῶν νεω-
τέρων, ἀναπλάσαντες δαίμονά τινα νέον Ζηλοτυπίαν,

8 secl. Nitsche   9 secl. Spengel   10 τοὺς . . . τοὺς
Z: τῆς . . . τῆς P   11 γένος Ricc. 1 : γένους PZ   12 [παρὰ]
om. Ricc. 2   13 Δεῖμον Z: δῆμον P   15 Ὕπνον Heeren:
ὕγινον P: ὑγιεινὸν Z (sequens verbum non legitur)   16 τὸν
Λόγον Διὸς P: τῷ λόγῳ Δία Z   17 συνόψει PZ: συνάψει Jacobs
19 ἔχοιτο Bursian: ἔχοιτε P   ἔχοιτο . . . λέγειν] ταῦτα Z   20 ἀπ-
ηρτημένως P: -ους vulg.: ἀπηρτισμένους Z   συνεχῶς PZ: συνεχεῖς
Ricc. 2   21 ⟨τῶν πραγμάτων⟩ addidimus: ἀπὸ ⟨τῶν⟩ αὐτῶν
Heeren   24 num καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ?   ἔνιαι P: ἔνιοι Z   καὶ

the power of Eros controls the art of medicine, and
[Aristophanes] that he brings together the severed
halves of our bodies. He invents these hymns with
great variety, whether they relate to the nature
of Eros or to his power or to his origin. This
licence also comes to prose-writers from the poets.
Poets invent Terror and Fear to be the attendants
of Ares, Flight as the friend of Fear, and Sleep
as the brother of Death. I myself have invented
Logos as a brother of Zeus as in Summary of
Ethics (?).

We should next try to explain what should be kept
in view in fictitious hymns. First, we should take care
to invent hymns that are continuous and not un-
connected. This rule will be maintained if the fiction
is taken from ⟨the situation⟩ itself and is not recondite.
Secondly, fictions should be elegant and pretty, not
unpleasing: the Muses as daughters of Memory, or
something like that. Some fictions are in fact dis-
agreeable to hear, e.g. that Athena sprang from the
head of Zeus. This may be all right if it is said allegori-
cally and with reference to something else; otherwise
the fiction is a disagreeable one. Thirdly: in all our
fictions we must derive corroboration from true
facts, as I have done myself, and as Homer often
does. Fourthly: fictitious hymns must be internally
consistent and not introduce contradictory or con-
flicting statements, as in the well-known myth in
which Zeus existed before all things and is the father
of all the gods, and yet married Themis who had
been Kronos' wife of old. For if he was before all
things, then he was before Themis also; if Themis
was before Zeus, then Zeus was not before all
things.

Length and elaboration must also be carefully
watched in fictitious hymns. Some recent writers,
having fabricated a new divine being called Jealousy,

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nos: τοῦ P: τὸ Z: τοι Bursian   25 ⟨ὅτι⟩ Ricc. 2: om. PZ
27 sic interpunxit Bursian   ἄλλως δ' nos: ἀλλ' ὅτε P: ἀλλ' ὅτι Z:
ἄλλοτε ⟨δ'⟩ Bursian   31 εἶναι συμφώνους Ricc. 2: ἐπισυμφώνους
P: ἐπισυμφωνεῖ Z

    342. 3 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν nos: ἦν μὲν γὰρ PZ   4 ⟨πρὸ⟩ Bursian
Θέμιδος P: -ιδι Z   5 τούτῳ Z: τοῦτο P   7 νέον Jacobs:
θεὸν PZ

κρήδεμνον μὲν αὐτῇ Φθόνον προσέθεσαν, ζώνην δ' αὖ
Ἔριν. καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Παυσανίας ἐπιφορὰς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν
κατὰ μέρος ταύτην περιεργίαν. ἔστι δὲ †εντ . . . ουσαν†
ἀρ|χαῖον καὶ νέον ἐν ποιήσει μέν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν συγ-
γραφῇ.

· Τὴν ἑρμηνείαν δὲ προσάξεις τοῖς τοιούτοις ὕμνοις
πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὁρῶν, εἰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἀνα-
15 πλάττοις, ἀφελεστέραν καὶ κομψοτέραν, λέγω δὲ ἀν-
θρώπινα ὅσα οὐ παντάπασιν φρικώδη καὶ θεῖα, οἷον
Πενίαν καὶ Ἀγρυπνίαν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. εἰ δὲ ἀνα-
πλάττοις θεῖα, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν σεμνοτέραν
προσάξεις. χρὴ δὲ εἰδέναι, ὅτι γονιμώτατος καὶ ἐπι-
20 νοίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον ὁ τοιοῦτος ὕμνος.

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΠΕΥΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΚΤΙΚΩΝ

Οἱ δὲ ἀπευκτικοὶ καὶ προσευκτικοὶ ὕμνοι σχεδὸν
μέν, ὥσπερ ἐφάσκομεν, πᾶσι τοῖς προειρημένοις εἰσὶν
ἀναπεπλεγμένοι, ἢ τοῖς γε πλείστοις αὐτῶν. ἅπαντες
25 γὰρ ἀνυμνοῦντες τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς εὐχὰς ἐγκλείουσι τοὺς
λόγους. ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ ἀποτόμως καθ' αὑτοὺς γε-
γόνασιν, ἀπευκτικὸς μὲν ὁ τοιοῦτος·

Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων,
μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἠέλιον δῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἐλθεῖν·

30 προσευκτικοὶ δέ·

343   κλῦθί μευ αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἥτε μοι αἰεὶ
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρίστασαι.

καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι, ὦ φ ί λ ε Π ὰ ν καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ Φαί-
δρῳ εὔχεται. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους ὕμνους μὴ κατακο-
5 ρεῖς εἶναι. τὰς μὲν γὰρ εὐχὰς δικαίας εἶναι χρή, καὶ
[ἀπευχὰς] δικαίας οὔσας καὶ ἁπλᾶς εἶναι δεῖ, τὸ δεῖνα
γενέσθαι, εἶναι δὲ [ἁπλᾶς] καὶ βραχείας, ἔτι δὲ οὐ δι-
δάσκειν τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλ' αἰτεῖν ἅπερ ἀκριβῶς ἴσασιν.
ἔτι δὲ καὶ πάσας εὐχὰς καὶ συγγραφέων ἐπιὼν τὰς

9–11 μάλιστα...μάλιστα P: κάλλιστα...κάλλιστα Z   10 μέρος
ταύτην PZ: τὸ μέρος τοῦτο Nitsche   εντ . . . ουσαν P: τοῦτο Z:
καὶ ἐνῶσαι Jacobs   ἀρχαῖον PZ: ἀχρεῖον Kroll   17 Ἀγρυπνίαν P:
ἀγροικίαν Z: οἶμαι ἀγρυκίαν P in marg.   17–18 ἀναπλάττοις
vulg.: -οι P: Z non legitur   18 θεῖα Z: τι θείαν P: τι θεῖον Heeren
οὕτω Z: ὅπως P: ὁμοίως Bursian   19 προσάξεις Heeren: -ει PZ

have given her Envy as a headband and Strife as a girdle. Pausanias has a special tendency to elaboration of this kind. It is also possible ⟨(?) to combine⟩ old and new in poetry, and particularly in prose (?).

As to style, you should suit this to hymns of this nature by keeping an eye on the subject. If your fiction is human, the style should incline to the simple and elegant. (By 'human' I mean subjects not altogether terrifying or supernatural, but, e.g., Poverty or Insomnia.) If the fiction is divine, the style also should be grander.

Note that this kind of hymn is very powerful and a sign of inventiveness.

DEPRECATORY AND PRECATORY HYMNS

Deprecatory and precatory hymns are commonly, as I have said, combined with all the preceding types, or with most of them, since all who hymn the gods conclude their words with a prayer. Some completely unmixed examples do, however, exist. Thus the following is a deprecatory hymn:

> Zeus, greatest and best, thou of the black cloud,
>   who dwellest in heaven,
> Let not the sun go down or the darkness come until . . .

And the following is precatory:

> Hear me, O daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, who
>   always
> Standest by me in all troubles . . .

In Plato we have 'Beloved Pan' and all the prayer in the *Phaedrus*. Such hymns must not be wearisome. Prayers must be just, and therefore simple—'that a certain thing should happen'—and also short. They should not give information to the gods, but ask for something which the gods understand perfectly. Moreover, if you examine all the prayers

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26 ἀποτόμως PZ: -ους Heeren   καθ' αὐτοὺς Heeren: κατὰ αὐτὰ P: κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Z, edd.   30 προσευκτικοὶ Z: -ὸς P

343. 1 τέκος+Ἀτρυτώνη Z (cf. E 115)   4 κατακορεῖς Z: κατ' ἄκρους P   6 secl. Bursian   δεῖ Ricc. 2: δὴ P: δοκεῖ Z: μὴ Walz   τὸ Heeren: τὸν PZ   7 [ἀπλᾶς] secl. Walz: ἀπλᾶς οὔσας Bursian   9 εὐχὰς P: αἰτίας Z

ὸ αἰτήσεις [εἰς τοὺς πολίτας] βραχείας οὔσας εὑρήσεις.
ἤδη δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολιτικοὺς τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τῶν
ὕμνων κατῆλθε, πλήν γε ὡς ἐπιμαρτυρίαι· τὸ γὰρ
πρῶτον μὲν ὦ [ἄνδρες] Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς
εὔχομαι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, καὶ τὸ καλῶ δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλ-
5 λω τὸν Πύθιον, τῶν εὐκτικῶν καὶ ἀπευκτικῶν
ὕμνων μετείληφεν ἴχνη.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι ἀπορητικούς τινες τεθείκασι καὶ
διαπορητικοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν, οἷον διηπόρη-
σαν περὶ γενεαλογίας [περὶ] Ἔρωτος εὐθύς, εἴτε ἐκ
10 χάους ἐγένετο, εἴτε ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα.
καὶ πάλιν περὶ δύναμιν, εἴτε ἀνθρώπιναι πράξεις καὶ
διοικήσεις, εἴτε θεῖαι. καὶ συνορᾷς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος
ὅ φημι πᾶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον ὕμνον τῷ μὲν σχήματι
διαφέρειν φημί, τῇ δὲ φύσει τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐκείνων
25 ἑκάστῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Τύχην Σοφοκλῆς ὕμνησε δια-
πορῶν [ὑμνεῖ].

Ἔφην δὲ γενέσθαι τινὰς ὕμνους καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίου τού-
των ἁπάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων συντεθέντων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ
καὶ τελειότατοι ἔπαινοι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι
30 πρέπουντες· τῷ μὲν ⟨γὰρ⟩ ποιητῇ ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ μέρος τι
ἀπολαβόντι καὶ κατακοσμήσαντι τῇ ποιητικῇ κατασκευῇ
πεπαῦσθαι, ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς πειράσεται διὰ πάντων
44 ἐλθεῖν. χαριέστατον δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον μέρος παρέσχη-
ται ἐν τοῖς Μαντευτοῖς Ἀριστείδης. οὗτος γὰρ τὸν
Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν συγγέγραφεν †οὐκέτι μοι ὡς†
ἐπαίνων ἀνθρωπίνην περιέργειαν ἔχουτας.

5 Τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς βιβλίον τέλος
εἴληφεν ἡμῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἡγούμεθα καὶ ποιητὰς καὶ συγ-
γραφέας καὶ ῥήτορας πάντας ἀνυμνεῖν θεοὺς ἐντέχνως,

and all the appeals [to citizens] made by prose-writers, you will find that they are short. This type of hymn has in fact penetrated to the orators, but in the form of attestations. The passages 'First, men of Athens, I pray to the gods . . .' and 'I call upon Pythian Apollo' contain traces of precatory and deprecatory hymns.

I am aware that some have postulated hymns of puzzlement and questioning in each category; for example, writers have raised questions concerning genealogy—e.g. that of Eros, whether he was the child of Chaos or of Aphrodite, and so on. Or again, they question the subject's power, whether his acts and his sphere of control are human or divine. You see the sort of thing I mean; I maintain, however, that this type of hymn differs in scheme, but is essentially the same as the corresponding basic type. Thus Sophocles' hymn to Fortune involves a 'question' . . . (?).

I have said that some hymns are composed of a combination of all of these forms or most of them in like proportions (?). These are also the most complete laudations, and the most appropriate for prose-writers. For a poet, it suffices to take a section and dress it up with poetical elaboration, and then have done; but the prose-writer must attempt to cover all the ground. Aristides provides the most elegant example of this kind of thing in his *Speeches Commanded by Prophecy*, for he has written of Asclepius and Health . . . [*next clause unintelligible*].

This concludes our book on hymns to the gods. It explains (?) the principles on which I think poets, prose-writers, and orators may hymn the gods in

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13–23)   27 ἔφην . . . ὁμοίου P: ἔφη . . . τινὰ ὕμνον ὁμοίων Z
27–8 ἢ ἐξ ὁμοίου ⟨ἐκ⟩ τούτων . . . συντεθέντας (Walz) coni. Bursian,
fortasse recte   28 συντεθέντων Z: συντι- P   29 τελειότατοι
Heeren: πλειότατοι P: πλείονες Z   30 suppl. Heeren   31 κατα-
κοσμήσαντι Z: -τα P   32–344. 1 διὰ πάντων ἐλθεῖν P: διελθεῖν
Z

344. 1 τὸ τοιοῦτον Z (Bursian): τῶν τοιούτων P   παρέσχηται
vulg.: παρά- P: παρέχεται Z   2 ἐν P: om. Z   3 Ὑγίειαν
Ricc. 2: ὑγησίαν PZ   οὐκέτι μοι ὡς PZ: οὐκέτι ὁμοίως Bursian:
οἵους ἐτύμως Jacobs: locum ita refingit Nitsche ⟨ὥστ'⟩ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως
ἐπαίνων ἀνθρωπίνων περιεργίας δέονται

καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἐν ὁποίοις καιροῖς. ἐφεξῆς δ' ἂν εἴη περὶ
χώρας ⟨καὶ⟩ πόλεως ἐπαίνων εἰπεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ εἰς
τοὺς τόμους ἀναγωγὴ γεγένηται. καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν
τῆς χώρας ἐγκωμίων, οὐχ ὡς ἀποτόμως [περί] τινὸς
ἐγκωμιάσαντος χώραν ἄνευ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν
πόλεων ἐγκωμίοις καὶ τῶν περὶ χώρας ἐπαίνων παρα-
λαμβανομένων.

ΠΩΣ ΧΡΗ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ

Ἔπαινος μὲν χώρας, ὡς ἀνωτάτω διελέσθαι, διτ-
τός, ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ θέσιν. ἢ γὰρ πῶς κεῖται ἐξε-
τάσαντες ἀξίαν αὐτὴν ἐπαίνου ἀποφαίνομεν, ἢ ὅπως
πέφυκε. θέσιν τοίνυν χώρας δοκιμάζομέν τε καὶ κρί-
νομεν ὅπως κεῖται πρὸς γῆν ἢ ⟨πρὸς⟩ θάλατταν ἢ πρὸς
οὐρανόν· πρὸς μὲν γῆν, εἰ μεσόγειος εἴη καὶ πλέον ἢ
ἔλαττον θαλάττης ἀπέχουσα, ἢ ἐπιθαλαττίδιος καὶ ἐπ'
αἰγιαλοῖς· πρὸς δὲ θάλατταν, εἰ νῆσος ἢ νήσῳ ἐοι-
κυῖα· πρὸς δὲ οὐρανόν, εἰ ἐν δυσμαῖς, ἢ ἐν ἀνατολαῖς,
ἢ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ, ἢ ἐν ἄρκτῳ, ἢ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τούτων.
ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀστέρας τὴν θέσιν
ὡρίσαντο, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταί, ὑπὸ Πλειάδας ἢ Ὑάδας,
ἢ ὑπὸ Ἀρκτοῦρον ἀνίσχοντα, ἢ ὑπὸ Ἕσπερον. κατὰ
γὰρ τοὺς τρεῖς κανόνας θέσιν χώρας δοκιμάζομεν· ἐν
γὰρ τῷ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὸ τῶν ὡρῶν συνείληπται.
τὴν δὲ φύσιν τῆς χώρας δοκιμάζομεν ἁπάσης ἐκ τῶν ἓξ
τόπων τούτων, ἢ γὰρ ὀρεινή τίς ἐστιν ἢ πεδινή, ἢ
ξηρὰ καὶ ἄνυδρος ἢ λιπαρὰ καὶ εὔυδρος, καὶ ἢ εὔφο-
ρος καὶ πολυφόρος ἢ ἄφορος καὶ δύσφορος. ἀπὸ γὰρ
τούτων χώρας ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν διαγινώσκομεν. ἵνα
δέ σοι τῶν θεωρημάτων τούτων ἁπάντων παραδείγματα
ὑπάρχῃ, ἑκάστου ἐκθήσομαι, δύο εἰπὼν πρότερον | πρὸς
ἃ [τὰ κεφάλαια] ἀνάγοντας ἐπαινεῖν δεῖ, πρὸς ἡδο-
νὴν ἢ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν· πρὸς γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ κεφάλαια

8 καὶ ὅπως ... καιροῖς PZ: secl. Bursian   9 suppl. Ricc. 1
ἐπαίνων vulg.: -οις PZ   καὶ²] an ἤ?   10 ἀναγωγὴ Bursian:
ἀνάγκη P et (post οὕτως γὰρ) Z   11 ἀποτόμως Docen: ἀτόμως
PZ   [περί] P: secl. Heeren: παρά Z: πώ Walz   13 τῶν
Heeren: τοῖς P: om. Z
344. 15- PZMmW   16 διττός PZ: δεῖ MmW   17 prius
κατὰ ... γὰρ PZ: om. MmW   19 θέσιν mW (Heeren) (M
non legitur): φύσιν PZ   20 suppl. Aldus   22-3 ἐπ'

accordance with the rules of art. Our next subject is the praise of countries and cities, this being our division (?) into volumes. We begin with the encomia of countries, not because anyone has praised a country just by itself without a city, but because the praises of a country are included in encomia of cities.

BOOK II
HOW TO PRAISE A COUNTRY

To make the most general classification, praise of a country may be divided into two: nature and position. For we demonstrate that it deserves praise by examining either how it is placed or how it is naturally endowed.

We estimate and judge the *position* of a country by its relation to land, sea, or sky. Relation to land: is it an inland country, more or less remote from the sea, or by the sea and on the coast? Relation to the sea: is it an island or a peninsula? Relation to the sky: is it in the west, east, south, or north, or in the centre? Some writers have actually defined position in terms of the stars, as the poets say 'under the Pleiades or Hyades' or 'under Arcturus rising' or 'under Hesperus'. We thus estimate the position of a country by these three rules, since the topic of 'seasons' is included in that of 'the sky'.

The *nature* of a country as a whole, however, we estimate in terms of six topics. It is either (1) mountainous or (2) level, (3) dry and waterless or (4) rich and well-watered, (5) fertile and abundant or (6) barren and less fertile. We judge the superiority or inferiority of a country on these grounds.

To give you examples of all these propositions, I will set out some of each kind. First, however, I must explain the two heads under which the praise must be arranged, viz. pleasure and utility. These

αἰγιαλοῖς nos (cf. 348. 31) : πρὸς αἰγιαλούς codd.: παραιγίαλος Bursian : πρὸς αἰγιαλοῖς Nitsche   29 γὰρ suspectum   num ⟨τούτους⟩ τοὺς?   31 ἁπάσης mW: ἀπὸ πάσης P: om. Z

345. 1–3 ἤ et καί, εὔφορος et ἄφορος mire confunduntur in codd.: pleraque recte restituit Finckh   2 εὔυδρος Spengel: ἔνυ- codd. (Z obscurus)   5 ἁπάντων MmW: om. PZ   7 seclusimus

ὁρῶντα δεῖ τοὺς περὶ χώρας ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι. οἶον
εἰ μεσόγειον ἐπαινοίης, πρὸς μὲν ἡδονήν, ὅτι τῶν ἀπὸ
τῆς ἠπείρου ἀγαθῶν βεβαίως ἀπόλαυσις καὶ τέρψις γί-
νεται, ὁρῶν πεδία περιλαμβανόντων καὶ τῶν πεδίων
ληΐοις κατεστεμμένων· πρὸς δὲ ὠφέλειαν, διότι οἱ καρ-
ποὶ [τε] γνησιώτεροι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἅτ᾽ οὐ κλυζομένης καὶ
τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ταραχῶν ἀπεχούσης. εἰ δὲ ἐπι-
θαλάττιον ἐπαινοίης, ὅτι ὅσα καὶ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ
ἡδέα καὶ ὠφέλιμα, συνείληφεν ἡ χώρα. εἰ δὲ νῆσον
ἐπαινοίης, καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν, ὥσπερ
Ἀριστείδης ἐν τῷ Νησιωτικῷ. εἰ δὲ νήσῳ ἐοικυῖαν,
ἅ τε περὶ Τύρου Ἀριστόβουλος ἱστόρησε καὶ περὶ Κυ-
ζίκου Ἀριστείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Κυζικηνούς, καὶ Ξενοφῶν
ἐν τοῖς Πόροις [τοῖς] περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν
ἀνατολικὴ εἴη, ὅτι πρώτη αὕτη ἡλίῳ ἐντυγχάνει, καὶ
ἡγεμών ἐστι φωτὸς ἄλλαις, εἰ δὲ δυτικὴ εἴη, ὅτι ὥσπερ
κορωνὶς ἐπίκειται, παραπέμπουσα τὸν θεόν· εἰ δὲ με-
σημβρινή, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ
μέσον κατείληφεν· εἰ δὲ ἀρκτική, ὅτι τὸ ὑψηλότατον
τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑπόβορρον ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις κατέχει· εἰ δὲ
τὸ μεσαίτατον, ὃ δὴ περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
λέγουσιν, ὅτι περὶ αὐτὴν ἡ πᾶσα γῆ κυκλεῖται, καὶ
ὥραις ἐστὶν εὔκρατος. ἔτι τοίνυν εἰ μὲν ὀρεινὴ εἴη, ὅτι
ἀνδρὶ ἐρρωμένῳ ἔοικε νεύροις διειλημμένῳ· εἰ δὲ πε-
δινή, ὅτι εὔτακτός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀνώμαλος οὐδ᾽ ὀστώδης.
καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ξηρὰ καὶ ἄνυδρος, ὅτι διάπυρός ἐστι
κατὰ τὸν περὶ τοῦ αἰθέρος λόγον καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· πυ-
ρώδης γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἐπίξηρος· εἰ δὲ λιπαρὰ καὶ
εὔυδρος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὠφέλειαν
εὐφυής. καὶ εἰ μὲν πάμφορος, ὅτι γυναικὶ εὐπαιδι ἔοι-
κεν· εἰ δὲ ἄφορός τε καὶ δύσφορος, ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖν τε
καὶ καρτερεῖν διδάσκουσα.

Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν ἰστέον, ὅτι τῶν ἐγκωμίων τὰ μέν

are indeed the heads to be kept in view when composing praises of a country. Thus, if you were praising
an inland area, you would say, under the head of
pleasure, that it has the use and enjoyment with
security of the advantages that come from the
continent, mountains encircling plains, and plains
decked with standing corn; and, under the heading
of utility, you would say that the crops that come
from the land are truer to their kind, because it is
not wave-washed but lies far away from the disturbances of the sea. On the other hand if you were
praising a coastal area, you would say that it combines all the pleasures and benefits of land and of
sea. If you were praising an island, the heads of
pleasure and utility again apply: compare Aristides
in the *Island Speech*. Should it be a peninsula, compare
Aristobulus' account of Tyre, Aristides' of Cyzicus
in his speech to the Cyzicenes, and Xenophon's of
Attica in *The Resources*.

It is in the east, it is the first land that greets
the sun and is a leader of light for the others. If it
is in the west, it is a kind of final flourish that sends
the god on his way. If it is in the south, it has been
assigned, as it were, the middle of the sky. If it is in
the north, it holds the highest part of the earth,
exposed to the north wind, like a citadel. If it is
central—which is what they say of Attica and of
Greece—then 'the whole earth revolves around it,
and it is temperate in climate'.

Again, if it is mountainous, it is like a strong man,
showing prominent muscles; if it is flat, it is orderly,
even, and not bony. If it is dry and waterless, it is
'fiery after the fashion of the aether and the heavens'
since the heavens are fiery and dry. If it is rich and
well watered, it is 'well endowed both for pleasure
and for use'. If it bears all crops, it is 'like a fertile
woman'; if it is barren and less fertile, it 'teaches
philosophy and endurance'.

It is also to be noted that some encomia are 'of good

346. 1 εὔτακτος PMmW: εὔκρατος Z: fortasse εὔσαρκος   2 μὲν
m: καὶ cett.   ὅτι MmW: οὐ PZ   διάπυρος PZ: πυρὸς Mm: πῦρ W
5 εὔυδρος MmW: ἐνυ- P et fortasse Z   6 εὔπαιδι MmW: παιδίον
P: πολύπαιδι Z

10 ἐστιν ἔνδοξα, [τὰ δὲ ἄδοξα,] τὰ δὲ ἀμφίδοξα, τὰ δὲ πα-
ράδοξα. ἔνδοξα μὲν τὰ περὶ ἀγαθῶν ὁμολογουμένων,
οἷον θεοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ φανεροῦ· [ἄδοξα δὲ τὰ
περὶ δαιμόνων καὶ κακοῦ φανεροῦ·] ἀμφίδοξα δὲ ὅσα
πῆ μὲν ἔνδοξά ἐστι, πῆ δὲ ἄδοξα, ὃ ἐν τοῖς Παναθη-
15 ναϊκοῖς εὑρίσκεται καὶ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστείδου·
τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐπαινετά, τὰ δὲ ψεκτά, ὑπὲρ ὧν
ἀπολογοῦνται· παράδοξα δὲ οἷον Ἀλκιδάμαντος τὸ
τοῦ | Θανάτου ἐγκώμιον, ἢ τὸ τῆς Πενίας Πρωτέως
τοῦ κυνός. ἐνέταξα δὲ τὸ θεώρημα, ἐπειδὴ ἀφόρους
20 καὶ δυσφόρους χώρας, καὶ τὰς ἀνύδρους καὶ ψαμμώ-
δεις, ὅπως ἐπαινεῖν χρὴ ὑπέδειξα. ὅτι γὰρ τῶν τοι-
ούτων [καὶ] παραδόξων καὶ ἀπολογίαν ἐξευρίσκειν ἔστιν,
εἰς ἐγκώμιον ἐξαρκεῖ. χώρας μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐγκω-
μιαστέον, πόλεις δὲ ἐξ ὧν δεῖ ἐπαινεῖν μετὰ ταῦτα | ὑπο-
25 δεικτέον, ἵνα ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν τομὴν προΐῃ τὸ σύνταγμα.

ΠΩΣ ΧΡΗ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ

Οἱ τοίνυν περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔπαινοι μικτοί εἰσιν ἀπὸ
κεφαλαίων τῶν περὶ χώρας εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν περὶ
ἀνθρώπους. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν περὶ χώρας τὴν θέσιν
10 ληπτέον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ ἀνθρώπους τὸ γένος, τὰς
πράξεις, τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τὰς πόλεις ἐγ-
17 κωμιάζομεν. ὅπως δὲ τῶν κεφαλαίων τούτων ἕκαστον
ἐργαζόμεθα, ἐγὼ διδάξω καὶ φράσω. θέσιν πόλεως
δοκιμάζομεν κατὰ τοὺς ἄνω τρόπους τοὺς εἰρημένους
καὶ καθ' ἑτέρους πλείονας, ἢ πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ ὥρας,
5 ἢ πρὸς ἤπειρον, ἢ πρὸς θάλατταν, ἢ πρὸς τὴν χώραν
ἐν ᾗ κεῖται, ἢ πρὸς τὰς περιοίκους χώρας καὶ πόλεις,
ἢ πρὸς ὄρη, ἢ πρὸς πεδία. τὸ γὰρ εὔυδρον εἶναι τὴν
πόλιν ἢ ποταμοῖς περιειλῆφθαι ἔφην τῶν περὶ χώραν
εἶναι. αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ
10 ὠφέλειαν κατὰ τὴν ἄνω γεγονυῖαν διαίρεσιν. χρὴ δὲ

10 τὰ δὲ ἄδοξα PMmW: om. Z: secl. Heeren   12–13 ἄδοξα
... φανεροῦ mW: om. PZ: a Christiano quodam interpolata esse
putat Bursian   18 Πενίας+ἢ τοῦ MmW   22 secl. Bursian:
fortasse etiam secludendum illud παραδόξων   24 δεῖ ἐπαινεῖν
MmW: ἐπαινεῖν P: om. Z: ἐπαινετέον Bursian   25 τὴν τομὴν
Finckh: τομὴν MW: ἐπιτομὴν m: ὁρμὴν PZ   26 titulus deest
in m   ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ Z (Walz): om. PW   29–30 ἀνθρώπους
... περὶ PMmW: om. Z   31 prius τὰς Z (Bursian): om. cett.

repute' [some 'of no repute'], some ambivalent and some paradoxical. 'Of good repute' are those of acknowledged goods, e.g. a god or some other manifestly good subject. ['Of no repute' are those relating to daemons and manifest evil.] 'Ambivalent' are those that are in some sense 'of good repute' and in some sense 'of no repute', such as what we find in the Panathenaic speeches of Isocrates and Aristides; some points attract praise, others blame, and for those they offer a defence. 'Paradoxical' are, e.g. Alcidamas' encomium of Death or the Cynic Proteus' encomium of Poverty. I have inserted this proposition here, because I have indicated how barren, sterile, waterless, or sandy countries should be praised. It is sufficient for the purposes of encomium that it is possible to discover a defence for such 'paradoxical' subjects.

Such are the topics on the basis of which countries should be made the subject of encomia. We must next indicate the corresponding topics relating to cities, so that our treatise may proceed in accordance with our division of the subject.

HOW TO PRAISE A CITY

Praises of cities, then, are combinations of the headings discussed in connection with countries and those which relate to individuals. Thus we should select 'position' from the topics relating to countries, and 'origins, actions, accomplishments' from those relating to individuals. These form the basis of encomia of cities.

I am going now to give instruction and explanation on the way in which we work up each of these headings.

We form our appreciation of the *position* of a city according to the topics above mentioned and to a number of others: viz. relation to sky and seasons, to the mainland, to the sea, to the country in which the city lies, to adjacent countries and cities, to mountains or plains. (That a city is well-watered or surrounded by rivers is what I have called a 'country' topic.) Each of these should be considered with reference both to pleasure and to utility, according to the

347. 3 τρόπους codd.: τόπους Bursian   4 ἑτέρους πλείονας PMmW: ἕτερα πλείονα Z   7 εὔυδρον Z: ἔνυ- cett.   10 ⟨πρὸς⟩ ὠφέλειαν Bursian

καὶ καθ' ἔκαστον τούτων ... τὸ εὐμαθέστερον καὶ σαφέ-
στερον | γενέσθαι τὸ σύνταγμα. τὴν γὰρ θέσιν πρῶτον
ἔφην | κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὥρας δεῖν θεωρεῖν.
θεωρεῖται δὲ ἢ κατὰ ψύξιν ἢ κατὰ θάλψιν ἢ κατ' ἀχλὺν
15 ἢ κατὰ καθαρότητα ἢ κατὰ εὐαρμοστίαν πασῶν τῶν
ὡρῶν. εἰ γάρ τις ⟨κατὰ⟩ τὸν οὐρανὸν δοκιμάσει, γίγνεται
θέσις πόλεως ἢ κατὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἢ κατὰ τούτων τὰ
πλεῖστα ἢ ἔνια. ἂν μὲν οὖν περιῇ δεικνύειν τὴν πόλιν,
ἣν ἐγκωμιάζομεν, κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα εὔθετον οὖσαν,
20 θαυμαστὸν γίνεται τὸ χρῆμα καὶ πλείους αἱ ἀφορμαί.
εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ προσόντα
αὐτῇ ἀποδεικνύναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ τὰ πλεῖστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἰσχυ-
ρότατα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα. εἰ δὲ παντάπασιν ἄμοιρος εἴη
ἡ πόλις ἐγκωμίων κατὰ τὴν θέσιν (ὅπερ σπανιώτατόν
25 ἐστιν· εὑρήσομεν γὰρ ἢ ἐν ψυχροῖς τόποις οὖσαν ἢ ἐν
θερμοῖς ἢ ἐν εὐαρμοστοῖς παρὰ τὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν ὡρῶν),
εἰ δέ τινες τὴν Ἄσκρην οἰκοῖεν, ἐχρῆν αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰς
ἐγκώμιον λαμβάνειν [εἰ δ' αὖ ἄφορός τε καὶ δύσφορος,
ἐχρῆν αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰς ἐγκώμιον λαμβάνειν], ὅτι φιλοσο-
30 φεῖν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ καρτερικοὺς εἶναι.
κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ὅρον, εἰ μὲν θερμότερος εἴη ὁ τόπος,
τὰ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς κακὰ λεκτέον· εἰ δὲ ψυχρότερος, τὰ
48 ἐν τοῖς θερμοτέροις. ἄριστα δὲ κεκραμένας χρὴ νομί-
ζειν τὰς ἱκανὸν χρόνον μέρει ἑκάστῳ παραμενούσας.
αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ὡρῶν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον θεωροῦνται,
αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον. χειμὼν μὲν γὰρ καὶ θέρος ἐπὶ τὸ
5 ἔλαττον· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐλάττους καὶ ἀσθενεστέρας ἐπαι-
νετέον. ἔαρ δὲ καὶ μετόπωρον ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον· μᾶλ-
λον γὰρ ἰσχύειν τὰς ὥρας ταύτας ἐπαίνου ἄξιον. ἐν δὲ
⟨τῷ⟩ περὶ τῶν ὡρῶν καὶ ἃ ἑκάστη φέρει τακτέον, αὐτὰ
ταῦτα δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ κατὰ τὰ τρία ταῦτα θεωρητέον,

11 lacunam statuit Heeren, quam ita suppl. Bursian ⟨παραδείγματα
ἐκθέσθαι πρὸς⟩ τὸ PZ: om. MmW   16 suppl. Finckh
22 ἀλλὰ+γε Z   23 παντάπασιν MmW: πᾶσιν P: πάντων Z
26 εὐαρμοστοῖς Zm (Finckh): ἀναρμ- PMW   27–8 εἰ δέ τινες
... λαμβάνειν MmW: om. PZ   28–9 εἰ δ' αὖ ... λαμβάνειν
PZ: om. MmW   32 κακὰ Heeren: κατα- codd.

348. 2 μέρει ἑκάστῳ vulg.: μέρη ἑκάστην P ante corr. ut videtur:
om. Z, verbis leviter mutatis (ἐφ' ἑκ. παραμεν. χρόνον): περὶ ἑκάστην
mW   4 prius ἐπὶ Z: εἰς cett.   6 ἔαρ (οἱ P) ... μετόπωρον
PmW: μετόπωρον δὲ Z   8 suppl. vulg.   8–9 αὐτὰ

division made above. We must ⟨exemplify⟩ each of these ⟨in order to⟩ make our discussion clearer and easier to grasp.

I said that 'position' should first be considered in relation to the sky and the seasons. The consideration is made in terms of cold, heat, mistiness, clearness of atmosphere, or the balance of all seasons. Estimated in relation to the sky, a city's position may be viewed in relation to all or to most of these factors, or to some of them. If we can show that the city which is the subject of our encomium is well situated in all these respects, this is a wonderful state of affairs, and there are many possible starting-points. Failing this, we should try to show that most of these advantages are present, or, if not most, then the most powerful and important ones. If the city is totally without grounds for encomium from the point of view of position—and this is very rare, since we shall find it to be either in a cold region or in a hot one or in one of temperate climate—but if people lived in Ascra, one would have to make this a cause of praise [if it is barren and less fertile, one would have to make this a cause of praise] because the inhabitants must perforce be philosophical and enduring. On the same principle, if the place is hot, one should enumerate the evils of cold places, and if it is cold, the evils of hot places. We should regard those cities as having the best climate which enjoy each type of seasonal conditions for a considerable time. Of the seasons themselves, some are judged by their length, others by their shortness. With winter and summer, it is shortness; the shorter and less intense they are, the more there is to praise. With spring and autumn, the opposite is true, since it is a praiseworthy feature that these seasons should be predominant.

Under 'seasons' we should also place the topic of the products of each city, and this in turn is to be considered under three aspects, namely time,

... τὰ τρία PmW: ἔστι δὲ τὰ τρία Z   9 κατὰ Heeren: καὶ PmW
θεωρητέον mW: θεωρεῖται P: om. Z

10 χρόνον ποιότητα ποσότητα· χρόνον μὲν εἰ ὅλον μένει
ἀκήρατα, εἰ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔτους· | ποιότητα δὲ [εἰ] πρὸς
ἡδονὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν, ὠφέλειαν | μὲν εἰ ἀβλαβῆ ἐστιν,
ἡδονὴν δὲ εἰ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι | τερπνὰ †γεύσεσιν ὄψεσι καὶ
ταῖς ἄλλαις†· ποσότητα δὲ | εἰ πολλὰ ταῦτα εἴη.

15 Περὶ μὲν τῆς θέσεως τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ ὥρας
ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις ἐγκωμιάζοι πόλιν, ἐφεξῆς δὲ καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῆς θέσεως στοιχείων ἐπισκεψώ-
μεθα. ἦν δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον στοιχεῖον, ὅπως κεῖ-
ται πρὸς ἤπειρον, ὅπως πρὸς θάλασσαν. ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν
20 ἠπειρωτικὴ ᾖ καὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέχῃ ⟨ἀπὸ⟩ τῆς θαλάσσης,
τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως ἀσφάλειαν ἐγκωμιάσεις, καὶ
σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν παραθήσεις γνώμας, αἳ τοὺς κατ'
ἤπειρον οἰκισμοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀπὸ θα-
λάττης ἀπέχοντας, καὶ πάντα ἐρεῖς ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ
25 κακά. ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις θαλαττία ᾖ ἢ νῆσος, τάς τε
ἠπείρους ἐρεῖς κακῶς καὶ τοὺς ἠπειρωτικοὺς οἰκισμούς,
καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀριθμήσῃ. ἰδίως δὲ καὶ
περιεργάσῃ τὴν ἑκάστης νήσου ἢ τὴν ἑκάστης πόλεως
θέσιν. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον μέρος ἀδύνατον περιστοιχίζε-
30 σθαι διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον. ἐὰν δὲ παραθαλάττιος ᾖ καὶ ἐπ'
αἰγιαλοῖς, ὅτι ἀμφότερα ὑπάρχει τὰ ἀγαθά. ἐὰν δὲ
ὀλίγον ἀπέχῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἑκατέρω-
349 θεν ἐκπέφευγε λυπηρά, τὰ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀγαθὰ
ἀνείληφεν.

Ἑξῆς ἦν στοιχεῖα θέσεως, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν
περιοικίδα χώραν, καὶ ὅπως πρὸς τὰς ἀστυγείτονας
5 χώρας. πρὸς μὲν τοίνυν τὴν περιοικίδα χώραν θεω-
ρητέον, εἰ ἐπ' ἀρχῆς κεῖται, ἢ ἐν μέσῳ, ἢ πρὸς τῷ

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10 χρόνον ποιότητα ποσότητα Heeren: χρόνος ποιότης ποσότης Z,
tum εἰ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν παραμένουσα θεωροῖτο, omisso ὅλον . . . ἔτους   χρό-
νον μὲν εἰ nos: ἢ χρόνῳ μὲν P: εἰ χρόνον MmW: κατὰ χρόνον μὲν εἰ
Walz   ὅλον μένει MmW: om. P   ἀκήρατα MW: -ατος m: ἀκρίβεια
P: ἀκέραια Bursian: ἀκριβῶς Walz   alterum εἰ MW: ἢ m: καὶ P:
κατὰ Bursian   ἔτους+χρόνον παραμένοντα P, probat Bursian   11 εἰ
mW: εἰ τὰ Z: om. P   alterum ὠφέλειαν Heeren: ὠφελεῖ P: ἡδονὴν
MmW: φέρει Z   12 ἀβλαβῆ ἐστιν Finckh: ἀβλαβέστατον codd.
ἡδονὴν Heeren: ὠφέλειαν codd.   13 τερπνὰ Heeren (cf. Z):
τερπνῇ codd.   13–14 locum ita refingit Z: τὰ δὲ τερπνὰ ταῖς
ὄψεσι καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς αἰσθήσεσι προσάγειν· ποσότης δὲ εἰ πολλὰ εἴη τὰ
τοιαῦτα   γεύσεσιν . . . ἄλλαις fortasse secludenda: vel γεύσει
ὄψει κτλ. legendum   ⟨κατὰ⟩ ποσότητα Bursian   15 ὥρας
Heeren: χώρας codd.   17 περὶ . . . στοιχείων PMmW: τὰ

quality, and quantity: (i) time: whether they remain intact for the whole, or the greater part, of the year; (ii) quality, viz. pleasure and utility, i.e. whether they are harmless ('utility') and whether they are pleasant to the senses, taste, sight, etc. ('pleasure'); (iii) quantity, i.e. whether they are numerous.

So much for the topics of position with respect to climate and seasons which may serve as themes for encomia on cities. Let us next consider the other elements of position. The second and third of these were relationships with the mainland and the sea.

If the city is continental and very remote from the sea, you will praise the security afforded by its remoteness and adduce those opinions of philosophers which commend continental settlements and those most distant from the sea. You will also enumerate the evils of the contrary situation.

If on the other hand the city is by the sea, or is an island, you will speak ill of continental areas and continental settlements, and enumerate all the good things that come from the sea. You will elaborate specially the position of each individual island or city; it is impossible to compass the whole of this topic because of its infinite variety.

If the city is near the sea or in a coastal area, 'it possesses both sets of advantages'. If it is set back a little from the coast, 'it has escaped the disadvantages of both situations, and acquired the advantages of both'.

Next among the elements of 'position' was relationship with surrounding territory and with neighbouring countries. The point with regard to surrounding territory is whether the city is at the beginning of it,

λοιπὰ τῆς θέσεως στοιχεῖα Z   20 ἠπειρωτικὴ MmW: -ὸν PZ ⟨ἀπὸ⟩ vulg.   τῆς θαλάσσης Z: om. cett.   24 τῷ ἑτέρῳ PMmW: ἑτέροις ψέγων Z   28 prius τὴν MmW: τοὺς P: τὰ Z   alterum τὴν ZMW: τῆς Pm   29 περιστοιχίζεσθαι Spengel: περιεστοιχί-σθαι m: περιστοιχεῖσθαι MW: περὶ στοιχείων PZ: περιστοιχειοῦν Bursian   32 ἀπέχῃ et ὅτι MmW: om. PZ   ἑκατέρωθεν PZMm: ἑκατέρων W

349. 1 ἀμφοτέρων PZ: -ωθεν MmW   2 ἀνείληφεν codd.: συνείληφεν Finckh   3-4 πρὸς . . . πρὸς Ricc. 1 et 2: περὶ . . . περὶ codd.   5 θεωρητέον Finckh: θεωρεῖται codd.

τέλει. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀρχῆς κεῖται, ὥσπερ προσώπῳ
ἀπεικαστέον, καὶ ὅτι ἐντὸς τὴν αὑτῆς χώραν φυλάττει,
ὥσπερ μιᾶς οἰκίας προπύλαια. ἐὰν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ, ὅτι
10 ὥσπερ βασίλεια ἢ ἀρχεῖα ἢ ὀμφαλὸς ἀσπίδος, ὥσπερ
Ἀριστείδης εἶπε, [κατείληφεν] ἢ ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ μέσον
σημεῖον. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τέλει, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐραστὰς ἀποφυ-
γοῦσα τοὺς προσιόντας.

    Ἔτι δὲ ὀψόμεθα καὶ ζητήσομεν, πότερον τὰ σκληρὰ
15 προβαλλομένη ἐν πεδινοῖς ἐστιν, ἢ ἐν τοῖς σκληροτά-
τοις τόποις κατῴκισται τὰ πεδία προβαλλομένη· καὶ ἐὰν
ἐν πεδινοῖς ἱδρυμένη, ὅτι ἀποπειρᾶται τῶν ἀφικνου-
μένων, ὥσπερ ἀγῶνα προτιθεῖσα, ἢ ὅτι εὐερκής ἐστιν,
ὥσπερ τείχους ἀνεστηκότος. ἐὰν δὲ τὰ πεδία προβαλ-
20 λομένη ἐν τοῖς σκληροῖς φαίνηται ἱδρυμένη, ὅτι ἥμερός
ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις
[αὕτη κατείληφεν] ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ πυρσεύουσα. ἐὰν δὲ
ἀναμὶξ ᾖ ταῦτα καὶ συγκεχυμένως φαίνηται διακείμενα,
τὴν ποικιλίαν ἐπαινετέον, ὥσπερ Ἀριστείδης πεποίη-
25 κεν. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ θεατέον. ὑδά-
των δὲ φύσεις τριχῇ δεῖ διαιρεῖν, ἢ ὡς πηγῶν, ἢ ὡς
ποταμῶν, ἢ ὡς λιμνῶν. κριτέον δ᾽ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα, πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ὠφέλειαν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς
ταύτῃ τῇ διαιρέσει πρὸς πλῆθος καὶ αὐτοφυΐαν· ἐνιαχοῦ
30 γὰρ καὶ θερμαὶ πηγαὶ εὑρίσκονται.

    Πρὸς τοίνυν τὰς ἐν γειτόνων θεωρητέον ἢ [ὡς πρὸς]
πόλεις ἢ [ὡς πρὸς] χώρας, [ἢ] πότερον ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐστιν
350 αὕτη, ἢ πρὸς τῷ τέλει, ἢ πανταχόθεν μέση· καὶ χῶραι
καὶ πόλεις εἰ μικραὶ καὶ ἀφανεῖς ⟨ἢ μεγάλαι καὶ ἐπιφα-
νεῖς,⟩ καὶ εἰ ἀρχαῖαι ἢ νέαι. πρὸς μὲν τοίνυν χώρας,
οἷον εἰ λέγοι τις, ὅτι [ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Ἀσία] παρῴκι-

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8 αὑτῆς Heeren: αὐτὴν codd.   11 κατείληφεν MmW: -ηφώς
P: om. Z (secl. Bursian)   12 ἐραστὰς Heeren: ἐραστῶν PMW:
ἐρατὸν Z   14–16 ita reficit Z: ποιήσωμεν δὲ τὴν σύγκρισιν οὕτως·
εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐν σκληροτάτοις ὀρεινοῖς οὖσαν τόποις τῇ   14 ἔτι
MmW: ὅτι P   πότερον MmW: πρότερον P   15 προβαλλομένη
ἐν πεδινοῖς ἐστιν Walz: προβαλλομένη ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν MW: προβαλλο-
μένη m: προβάλλομεν αὐτοῖς P   16 πεδία codd.: πεδινὰ Heeren,
cf. 19   καὶ ἐὰν mW: ἢ καὶ P   17 ὅτι PmW: παραβάλλοιμεν,
φήσωμεν ὅτι ὥσπερ Z   18 ἢ Z: om. cett.   εὐερκής mW: -κος
PZ   19 τείχους + τοῦ ὄρους Z   πεδία codd.: -ινὰ Docen, cf. 16
19–20 ἐὰν ... ἱδρυμένη PmW: om. Z   20–2 ὅτι ... πυρσεύουσα]
locum ita refingit Z: ἢ ὅτι ἀκροπόλει ἔοικεν ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ τὰ ἀφικνού-

or in the middle, or at the far end. If it is at the beginning it is to be compared to a façade; one says that it protects its own territory within, like the gate to a single house. If it is in the middle, it is like a royal palace or government residence, or the boss of a shield—as Aristides said—or like the centre of a circle. If it is at the end, 'it shrinks shyly from newcomers as a girl from her lovers'.

We shall next consider whether the city is built in the plain and has rough country in front of it, or has level plain in front of it and is built in the roughest area. If built in the plain, 'it sets new arrivals a test, as it were, and makes trial of them', or 'it is well fenced about, as though a wall were raised around it'. If built in rough country, with the plain in front of it, 'it is kindly to new arrivals' and 'is like a citadel whose beacon blazes on high'. If these features are mixed up and give a confused impression, one should praise 'variety', as Aristides has done.

We have further to consider the water-supply in the country. Resources of water should be divided into three: springs, rivers, lakes. Like everything else, these are to be judged on grounds of pleasure and utility; a further division may be made in terms of abundance and natural occurrence. In some places hot springs are also found.

With regard to relationships with neighbouring cities or countries, we ask whether our city is at the beginning, at the end, or right in the centre, whether the other cities or countries are small and obscure or great and famous and whether they are old or new. As regards countries, one might describe it for example [what is now called Asia] as adjacent to

μενα πυρσεύουσα   21–2 ἀκρόπολις αὕτη P: ἀκρόπολιν αὐτὴν MmW
22 secl. Bursian   24 ὥσπερ P: οὕτω γὰρ Z: ὅπερ MmW
25 ἔτι . . . θεατέον PMmW: om. Z qui pergit διαιρήσεις δὲ κατὰ τὴν
χώραν ὕδατα τριχῇ   alterum τὰ mW: om. P   30 πηγαὶ post
εὑρίσκονται Z, tum add. κἀκ τούτου ὁ ἔπαινος   31 πρὸς
τοίνυν PMmW: καὶ προσθήσεις ἐκ παραλλήλου πρὸς τούτοις Z   ἐν
MmW: ἐκ PZ   31–2 [ὡς πρὸς] bis seclusimus   32 secl.
Spengel   πότερον Heeren: πότερα PZMW: πρότερον m
   350. 1 αὕτη PMmW: om. Z: num αὐτή?   τῷ MmW: om. PZ
1–2 καὶ . . . ἀφανεῖς PMmW: ἀλλ' ὡς δεχούσας εἰ μέν εἰσι καὶ
ἀφανεῖς Z   2 suppl. Heeren   3 καὶ εἰ Heeren: ἐκεῖ codd.
πρὸς . . . χώρας PMmW: τελοῦσιν αἱ χῶραι Z   4 seclusimus

σται μεγάλῳ ἔθνει, καὶ ὅμως ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ κρύπτε-
ται· πόλεις δ', ὥσπερ λέγουσι περὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν
Ἀσιανῶν, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων οὖσαι οὐκ ἀφαιροῦνται
ἀλλήλας τὸν κόσμον. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀρχῆς τῶν ἄλλων
ἐθνῶν, ὅτι προβέβληται ἀντ' ἄλλου φυλακτηρίου,
10 ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀριστείδης· τοῦτο γάρ φησι περὶ τῶν Ἀθη-
νῶν. εἰ δὲ μέση κέοιτο ἡ πόλις πολλῶν χωρῶν καὶ πό-
λεων μεγάλων, ὅτι πανταχόθεν περιβέβληται καὶ ἀντὶ
κόσμου προπύλαια καὶ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν περιβόλους. εἰ δὲ
πρὸς τέλει, ὅτι ἀντὶ κεφαλῆς ἐπίκειται ταῖς ἄλλαις [χώ-
15 ραις] καὶ κορυφῆς. εἰ δ' ἔνδοξοι εἶεν αἱ πόλεις καὶ
ἐπιφανεῖς, ὅτι ἐνδόξων ἐνδοξοτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιφανῶν | ἐπι-
φανεστέρα, ἢ ἐπιφανῶν οὐκ ἀφανεστέρα ἢ οὐ πολύ· εἰ δὲ
ἄδοξοι καὶ ⟨οὐκ⟩ ἐπιφανεῖς, ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν ἀλλ' οὖν ὀνό-
ματος καὶ φήμης τυγχάνουσιν. εἰ μὲν ἀρχαῖαι χῶραι
20 εἴησαν, ὅτι ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὴν ἀρχαίαν εἶναι τὴν
πρόσοικον [χώραν]· εἰ δὲ πόλεις, ὅτι αἱ μὲν κεκμήκασι
χρόνῳ, ἡ δ' ἀνθεῖ· εἰ δ' αὖ νέα, ὅτι πρὸς φυλακὴν
προβέβληται νεωστὶ γεγενημένη.

Σκεψώμεθα τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τοπικὴν καλουμένην
25 θέσιν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ὑπόλοιπος. καλοῦσι δὲ τοπικὴν τὴν
τοῦ τόπου φύσιν, ἐν ᾧ ἡ πόλις ἵδρυται. πᾶσα πόλις,
ὡς ἀνωτάτω συλλαβεῖν, αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην
σχήματα ἀδύνατον περιλαβεῖν, ἢ πᾶσα ἐν ὄρει καὶ γη-
29 λόφῳ ⟨ἔστηκεν⟩ ἢ πᾶσα ἐν πεδίῳ ⟨ἢ πῆ μὲν ἐν ὄρει
πῆ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ⟩. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν πᾶσα ἐν ὄρει,
30 καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπαινετέον ἐκ τού-
του, κατὰ μὲν εἰρήνην διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ ὑποκει-
μένου καθαρότητα, κατὰ δὲ πόλεμον ὅτι αὐτοφυὲς
51 τεῖχος καὶ ἀπρόσβατον κέκτηται. ἐλαττώματα δὲ τῶν
ἐν γηλόφῳ κειμένων ψύχους ὑπερβολαί, ὁμίχλη, στε-
νοχωρίαι. δεῖ οὖν ἀποφαίνειν οὐ προσόντα ταῦτα ἢ

5 ὅμως Heeren: ὅπως codd.   10 Ἀθηνῶν Ricc. 2: Ἀθηναίων
codd.   τοῦτο . . . Ἀθηναίων secl. Bursian   12 περιβέβληται
Heeren: προ- PMmW: om. Z   καὶ PMm: om. ZW   13 εἰς
ἀσφάλειαν PMmW: ἀσφαλείας κέκτηται Z   14 seclusimus
15–17 κορυφῆς . . . ἀφανεστέρα] locum ita refingit Z: κεφαλὴ δι' ἣν
κἀκεῖνοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ ἔνδοξοι· ἐπιφανῶν γάρ ἐστιν ἐπιφανε-
στέρα καὶ ἐνδόξων ἐνδοξοτέρα   17–18 ἢ οὐ πολύ· εἰ δὲ ἄδοξοι nos
post Finckhium: εἰ δὲ πολὺ ἄδοξοι mW: εἰ δὲ ἄδοξοι M: ἢ δὲ πολὺ
ἄδοξοι P: εἰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἔνδοξος Z   18 suppl. vulg.   ἐπιφανεῖς
PZ: ἀφ- MmW   19–20 ἀρχαῖαι χῶραι εἴησαν PMmW: ἡ χώρα

a great nation and yet not put in the shade by its
greatness: as regards cities, as they say of the cities
of Asia, 'though they are near to one another, they
do not rob one another of their splendour'.

If the city is at the beginning of other nations'
territory, one says it is set before them in place of
a watch-tower, as Aristides says. (For he says this of
Athens.) If the city lies at the centre of many countries
and great cities, one says that it is fenced about
on all sides by gates for its adornment and ring-
walls for its security. If it is at the end, it is as it were
the head and summit of the others. If the cities are
famous and distinguished, it is 'more famous than
the famous, more distinguished than the distinguished'
—or 'not less distinguished' or 'not much less'. If
they are not famous or distinguished, 'yet they earn
name and fame through the city'. If there are ancient
countries, their neighbour must be ancient too. If
there are ancient cities, 'they are weary with age,
but she is in her bloom'; if the city itself is new, 'it
has been lately set before them to guard them'.

Let us now consider the remaining topic of what is
called 'local situation'. ('Local' refers to the nature
of the locality in which the city is built.) In the most
general terms—for it is impossible to cover all the
individual patterns—every city lies either entirely
on a mountain or a hill, or entirely on the plain,
⟨or partly on a mountain and partly⟩ in the plain.
If it is entirely on a mountain, it should be praised
for this reason on grounds of security and on grounds
of pleasure(?)—in peace for the pureness of the air
above it, in war because it possesses a natural, im-
pregnable fortress. Disadvantages of hill-sites are
extremes of cold, mist, and confined space. One
must therefore prove that these features are either

ἀρχαία εἴη Z   21 seclusimus   26 φύσιν: num secludendum,
ut intelligatur θέσιν?   27 αὐτὰ Heeren: αὕτη P: αὐτῆς MmW:
αὐταῖς Z   29 ἢ πᾶσα ἐν πεδίῳ MmW: om. P: ἢ ἐν πεδίῳ
ἐνίδρυται Z   ex. gr. restituimus, Heerenium et Bursianum secuti
30 ἀσφάλειαν codd.: ὠφέλειαν Heeren   καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν fortasse
secludenda   31 εἰρήνην codd.: ἡδονὴν Heeren   τοῦ ὑποκειμένου
PZ: om. MmW: τοῦ ὑπερ- Heeren   32 πόλεμον codd.: ὠφέλειαν
Heeren
   351. 1 καὶ+ὅτι Z   ἀπρόσβατον MmW: τὸ πρὸς ἄβατον PZ
2 γηλόφῳ codd.: -οις Aldus

οὐ μάλιστα. ἐὰν δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, δεῖ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι ἐν
5 ὀφθαλμῷ ἡ πόλις φαίνεται, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνώμαλος
τοῖς ἄρθροις, ὥσπερ σῶμα εὔρυθμον, ὅτι γεωργική τίς
ἐστιν ἡ φύσις τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνδρείας οὐ πέφευ-
γεν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις, εἰς ὄρη. [τὰ ἐλαττώματα
τῶν ἐν ὑψηλῷ πόλεων ἱδρυμένων ὀνειδιεῖς, τὰ δὲ τῶν
10 ἐν πεδίῳ φεύξῃ.] ἔστι δὲ ἐλαττώματα αὐχμοὶ καὶ πνιγ-
μοὶ καὶ ῥαστώνη ἐπιθέσεως καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ταῦτα
οὖν ἢ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεικνύναι χρὴ
προσόντα. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ πῆ μὲν πεδινὴ εἴη ἡ πόλις, πῆ δὲ
ἐν ὄρεσιν, τό τε πλῆθος ἐπαινέσεις καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν,
15 ὅτι ἅπερ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστι, ταῦτα ἀμ-
φότερα μόνη κέκτηται, ⟨καὶ⟩ ὅτι τὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐλαττώ-
ματα ἐκπέφευγε· πειράσῃ δὲ ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ ὅτι πολ-
λαῖς ἔοικε πόλεσιν. ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἡ μέθ-
οδος.

20   [ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΛΙΜΕΝΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΖΕΙΝ]

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ μέρει καὶ τὸ περὶ λιμένων ἔγκειται.
λιμένες δὲ ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ φήσεις ὥσπερ
κόλπῳ δέχεσθαι τοὺς καταπλέοντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀγκάλας·
ἢ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς θέσεως, καὶ φήσεις ὥσπερ ποσὶν ἐπι-
25 στηρίζεσθαι τῷ λιμένι. καὶ ἢ αὐτοφυεῖς εἰσιν ἢ χειροποίη-
τοι. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν χειροποίητοι ὦσιν, ἐρεῖς ⟨ὅτι⟩ οὐχ
ἡ πόλις δι' αὐτούς, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν γεγόνα-
σιν· εἰ δ' αὐτοφυεῖς, ὅτι ἀπρόχωστοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ αὐ-
τοφυεῖς εἶναι, ὅσοι δὲ χειροποίητοι, προχοῦνται. καὶ
30 ἢ εἷς ἐστιν ἢ πολλοί. ἂν μὲν εἷς, ὅτι ὥσπερ σώματος
εἷς κόλπος ἐστίν· ἐὰν δὲ πολλοί, ὅτι ὑπὸ φιλανθρω-
352 πίας πολλὰς χεῖρας προτείνει τοῖς καταίρουσι. λιμένας
δὲ ἐπαινέσεις ἢ ὡς ἀκλύστους, ἢ ὡς νηνέμους καὶ ὡς
ἐπισκεπεῖς, ἢ ὡς πολύπλους, ἢ ὡς κατὰ πάντα ἄνεμον

4 οὐ μάλιστα: fortasse ἐλάχιστα (cf. 351. 12)   alt. ἐν Z: ἐνὶ cett.
5–6 ὅτι . . . ἄρθροις PMmW: om. Z   8–10 seclusimus (9–10 τὰ
δὲ . . . φεύξῃ iam secl. Bursian)   8 sqq. ita leguntur in Z: τὰ τῶν
ἄλλων πόλεων ἐλαττώματα προβάλλων δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐν ὑψήλῳ ἱδρυμένας
ὀνειδιεῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταλείψεις ἐλαττώματα ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀχμὴ
[sic] καὶ πνιγμὴ ἐπὶ θέσεως ῥαστώνη   13 πῆ μὲν MmW: om.
PZ   16 ⟨καὶ⟩ Heeren: ἢ Z: om. cett.   17 δὲ MmW:
om. PZ   20 titulum secl. Heeren, cf. 352. 6 et 10   24 τῆς
θέσεως: aut delendum aut τῆς πόλεως legendum censuit Nitsche
25 καὶ ἢ Z (Bursian): ἢ cett.   26 suppl. Heeren   28 ἀπρό-

absent or not present to any great degree. If it is in the plain, the city should be praised because it lies open to view, and has no irregularity in its limbs, but is like a well-proportioned body; the natural condition of the city is, as it were, agricultural, and it is too courageous to take refuge in the mountains, as other cities do. [You will criticize the failings of cities on lofty sites, while avoiding those of cities in the plain.] Disadvantages are drought, heat, exposure to attack, and the like. One must therefore prove that these features are either not present or present only in the smallest possible degree. If the city is built partly in the plain and partly on hills, you will praise its size and variety, saying that it alone has the two sets of advantages that attach to the two different cities, and that it has avoided the disadvantages of both. You will try also to show that it is like many cities in one.

Such are the arguments on which the method is based, and the subjects with which it is concerned.

[HOW TO PRAISE HARBOURS]

The subject of harbours also falls under this section. Harbours are either in the centre of the city—in which case you will say that it 'takes to its bosom those who sail in under its arms'—or at the entrance to the site—in which case you will say that it 'stands, as it were, on the feet of its harbour'.

Harbours are either natural or artificial. If artificial, you will say that they came into existence because of the city, not the city because of them. If they are natural, 'they do not silt up because they are natural, whereas artificial harbours do silt up'.

There is either a single harbour or a number. If a single 'it is as it were the single bosom of the city'; if many, 'the city extends many hands in friendly welcome to those arriving from the sea'.

You will praise harbours as free from waves, free from wind and sheltered, having many entrance channels, able to dispatch ships in any wind, lying

χωστοι Finckh: ἀπόχρωτοι P: ἀποχρῶντες cett.   29 ὅσοι . . .
προχοῦνται MmW: om. PZ: secl. Bursian   31 ὅτι+ὥσπερ Z
    352. 2 ἢ ὡς νηνέμους καὶ ὡς PMmW: καὶ νηνέμους καὶ Z

ἐκπέμποντας, ἢ ὡς πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων πελαγῶν προκει-
5 μένους, ἢ ὡς ἀγχιβαθεῖς.

[ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΚΟΛΠΟΥΣ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ]

Ἐν τούτῳ ⟨δὲ⟩ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν κόλπων. κόλπους
ἐπαινέσεις εἰς μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος καὶ εὐρυθμίαν καὶ εἰς
εὐλιμενότητα καὶ πολυλιμενότητα.

10 [ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΖΕΙΝ]

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀκροπόλεων· αἱ μὲν
ἐν μέσῳ πόλεών εἰσιν, αἱ δ' ἐν πλαγίῳ. καὶ | αἱ μὲν
ὑψηλαί, στεναὶ δὲ τὸ ἄνω δάπεδον, αἱ δὲ βραχεῖαι
μέν, εὐρύχωροι δέ· καὶ αἱ μὲν εὔυδροι, αἱ δὲ ἄν-
15 υδροι· καὶ αἱ μὲν ἀνώμαλοι τὰς κορυφάς, αἱ δὲ πεδινώ-
τεραι. ἥτις μὲν οὖν τὰς μὲν ἀρετὰς εἴληφεν τὰς δὲ
κακίας ἐκπέφευγεν, αὕτη καλλίστη, ὅμως δ' ἐξ ὧν
ἐπαινετέον τούτων ἑκάστην λεκτέον. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν
ἐν πλαγίῳ τῆς πόλεως ᾖ, ὅτι ἀκριβῶς κέλητι ἔοικε·
20 †μετὰ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κεῖται†. εἰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ, ὅτι περὶ
αὐτὴν ἡ πόλις ἵδρυται, ὥσπερ βασιλικαὶ περὶ ἱερὸν
περιβολαί. ἂν δ' ὑψηλὴ μέν, στενὴ δὲ τὸ ἄνω ἔδαφος,
ὅτι ὥσπερ ἱερὸν τῷ ὄντι ἅπαν ἀοίκητόν ἐστι πλὴν ὅσα
τοῖς κατέχουσι θεοῖς. εἰ δὲ βραχεῖα μέν, εὐρύχωρος δέ,
25 ὅτι πόλει ἔοικεν ἡ ἀκρόπολις ὑπ' εὐρυχωρίας. καὶ εἰ
μὲν ἄνυδρος, ὅτι ὑπὸ ὕψους τοῦτο πέπονθεν, εἰ δὲ
εὔυδρος, ὅτι καὶ ὑψηλὴ οὖσα καὶ πρὸς χρείαν ἐστὶν αὐτάρ-
κης. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀνώμαλος, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἄλλας ἀκροπό-
λεις ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχει· εἰ δὲ πεδινή, ὅτι θέσεως ἕνεκα καὶ
30 ῥᾳστώνης καὶ πόλις . . . ᾠκίσθη. κράτιστον δὲ ὅπερ ἔφη

at the entrance to great seas, or having deep water up to the shore.

[HOW TO PRAISE BAYS]

The subject of bays also falls under this section. You should praise them for size, beauty, good proportions, and possession of good harbours and of many harbours.

[HOW TO PRAISE A CITADEL]

The subject of citadels also falls under this section. Some are in the centres of cities, some at the side. Some are high, but the areas at the top narrow; some are low, but spacious; some have water, some not; some have irregular summits, others are more like plateaux. The best is the one that possesses the advantages and has escaped the weaknesses. We must, however, give some indication of the ways in which each may be praised.

If the citadel is at the side of the city, it is exactly like a dinghy (?), for it comes after (?) the vessel (?). If it is in the centre, the city surrounds it as royal enclosures surround a temple. If it is high, but the area at the top confined, it is like a true holy place, unoccupied save by the gods who hold it. If it is low but spacious, 'the citadel is spacious enough to seem a city.' If it is waterless, this is due to its height; if it is well supplied with water, it is self-sufficient for practical purposes *despite* its height. If it is irregular, it contains as it were other citadels within itself. If it is level, the city could have (?) been built there so far as good position and convenience are concerned. The best thing, as I said, is to demonstrate

25 ὑπ' Ricc. 2: ὑπὲρ PMmW (διὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν Z)   26 τοῦτο mW: οὕτω PZM   27 εὕυδρος Mm: ἔν- PW: τοὐναντίον ἔνυδρος Z   alterum καὶ PZ: om. MmW   29 ⟨ἐπι⟩θέσεως Nitsche
30 καὶ πόλις MmW: καὶ πόλει P: τῇ πόλει (post οἰκίσθη [sic]) Z: ὡς πόλις Gudianus   lacunam indicavimus: fortasse supplendum ⟨ἂν⟩ ὅπερ PmW: ὥσπερ Z

353 τὰς ἀρετὰς παρούσας τὰς δὲ κακίας ἀπούσας ἁπάσας
δεικνύναι, ἢ πλείονας ἀρετὰς κακιῶν. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ
ἀκροπόλεων θέσεως ἡμῖν ἀποδεδείχθω.

ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΖΕΙΝ

5   Δεύτερος δ' ἂν εἴη τόπος ὁ τοῦ γένους καλούμενος,
διαιρεῖται δὲ εἰς οἰκιστάς, εἰς τοὺς οἰκήσαντας, εἰς τὸν
χρόνον, εἰς τὰς μεταβολάς, εἰς τὰς αἰτίας ἀφ' ὧν αἱ
πόλεις οἰκοῦνται. τούτων δ' αὖ ἕκαστον πολλαχῆ διαι-
ρετέον, οἷον εὐθὺς εἴ τίς οἰκιστής ζητοῖμεν, εἰ θεός,
10   εἰ ἥρως, εἰ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τύχας στρατη-
γὸς ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ ἰδιώτης. ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν θεὸς ᾖ, μέγιστον
τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἐνίων λέγεται, ὡς περὶ Ἑρμου-
πόλεως καὶ Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ τῶν τοιούτων. ἐὰν δὲ
ἡμιθέων καὶ ἡρώων ᾖ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θεὸς γενόμενος,
15   ἔλαττον μὲν τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ἔνδοξον δὲ καὶ οὕτως, ὥσπερ
ἐφ' Ἡρακλείας [τῆς πόλεως], καὶ ὅσας ἢ Σαρπηδὼν
ἢ Μίνως ᾤκισεν ἢ ἄλλοι ἥρωες. ἐὰν δὲ ἄνθρωπος,
ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ στρατηγὸς ἢ βασιλεύς, ἔνδοξον, ἐὰν δὲ
ἰδιώτης, ἄδοξον καὶ οὐκ ἐπιφανές. χρὴ οὖν, ὅτε τὸ
20   περὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἡμῖν διήρηται, ἐκεῖνο τὸ θεώρημα
[καὶ τὸ στοιχεῖον] κατὰ πάσης τῆς διαιρέσεως εἰδέναι,
ὡς εἰ μὲν ἔνδοξος εἴη ὁ κατοικίσας, τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ
ἐγκωμιαστέον ἐν βραχυτάτοις, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ᾤκισεν
ἣν ἂν ἐπαινῶμεν, ἐὰν δὲ ἄδοξος καὶ ἡ διαδοχὴ ἄδοξος,
25   γίνεται ἢ τῷ αἰσχρὰν ἔχειν δόξαν, ἢ τῷ μηδ' ὅλως
ἔχειν. ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν μηδ' ὅλως ἔχῃ, φατέον μόνον,
ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ ἐξαρκοῦν,
ἠξίωσε γνωρίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ φαύλην δόξαν εἰληφώς, ὅτι
ἀπολογίαν ἱκανὴν ταύτην ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξεῦρεν. ἀπὸ
30   μὲν τῆς τομῆς ταύτης τὸν οἰκιστὴν γνωριοῦμεν.
    Τοὺς δὲ οἰκήσαντας διαιρήσομεν μιᾷ μὲν τομῇ

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353. 1 τὰς δὲ mW: τὰς PZ: καὶ τὰς vulg.   2 πλείονας Ricc.
1: πλείστας codd. (num πλείστας ⟨ἢ πλείονας⟩?)   9 εἴ τίς
Bursian: εἴ τις codd.   ζητοῖμεν codd.: -οῦμεν vulg.   10 ⟨εἰ⟩
στρατηγὸς Nitsche   11 μὲν τοίνυν P: μέντοι Z: τοίνυν MmW
14 ⟨τῶν⟩ ἡμιθέων Bursian: ἡμιθέων τις Heeren   16 seclusimus
17 ᾤκισεν MmW: ᾤκησεν P: ᾤκησαν Z   21 καὶ τὸ στοιχεῖον
P, post διαιρέσεως Z: om. MmW   24 vulgo post ἐπαινῶμεν
puncto pleno, post ἄδοξος ᾖ commate interpungunt   prius
ἄδοξος Z: -ον cett.   καὶ Z: εἴη P: ᾖ MmW   25 lacu-

the presence of all advantages, and the absence of all disadvantages, or at least to show that the advantages outnumber the disadvantages.

So much for the position of citadels.

HOW TO PRAISE A CITY UNDER THE HEAD OF ORIGIN

The second main head is that which is called 'origin'. It is divided into: founders, settlers, date, changes, causes of foundation. Each of these in turn has many subdivisions: e.g. if we inquire who the founder was, we say whether he was a god, hero, or man, and then, according to status, whether he was a general, a king, or a private individual. If a god, the encomium is the grandest: this is indeed related of some cities, such as Hermopolis, Heliopolis, and the like. If a demigod or hero who subsequently became a god, the encomium is less grand, but still reputable: this is the case with Heraclea and the cities founded by Sarpedon, Minos, or other heroes. If a man, it is reputable enough if he was a general or a king, but there is no repute or distinction if he was a private citizen.

Thus, given the division relating to the founders, we must now grasp the basic proposition, which refers to the entire division, that if the founder is of good repute, there should be a brief encomium both of his other actions and of his foundation of the city we are praising, whereas if he is of no repute and his descendants likewise, this happens either because he has a bad reputation or because he has none at all, and we must therefore *either*, if he has no reputation, allege that he expected to be known from his founding of the city, as though this was an adequate cause, *or*, if he has acquired a bad reputation, that he found herein a sufficient defence for his other deeds.

This is the division we shall use to characterize the founder.

We shall divide the settlers into Hellenes and bar-

nam post γίνεται indicavit Bursian, e.g. ⟨τὸ δὲ ἄδοξον εἶναι λέγω⟩
27 κτίσεως + δῆθεν Z   28 φαύλην . . . εἰληφώς PMmW: αὖ
φαῦλον Z   29 ἱκανὴν post ταύτην MmW

354 Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, δευτέρα δὲ βαρβάρων μὲν ⟨ἢ⟩
τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων, ὥσπερ Φρυγῶν, ἢ βασιλικωτάτων,
ὥσπερ Λυδῶν ἢ Μήδων ἢ Περσῶν ἢ Αἰθιόπων ἢ Σκυ-
θῶν. καὶ ὅλως δήλη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῷ προϊόντι κατὰ τὸ
5 ἀποδοθὲν θεώρημα. δεῖ γὰρ ἀποφαίνειν τὰ οἰκήσαντα
γένη τὴν βάρβαρον πόλιν, ἣν ἂν ἐπαινέσῃς, ἢ πρεσβύ-
τατα ἢ σοφώτατα ἢ ἀρχικώτατα ἢ ὅλως ἀρετήν τινα
σχόντα, ἢ μίαν, ἢ πολλάς, ἢ πάσας, †ἢ† μάλιστα. Ἑλλή-
νων δ' αὖ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων νομιζομένων γενῶν· γένη δὲ
10 τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ γνωριμώτατα τρία, τὸ Δωριέων,
Αἰολέων, Ἰώνων. τὸ μὲν τοίνυν Αἰολέων πολὺ ἰσχυ-
ρότατον, τὸ δὲ Δωριέων ἀνδρικώτατον, τὸ δὲ Ἰώνων
ἐλλογιμώτατον. χρὴ οὖν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν Ἑλληνίδα
πόλιν ἐκ τούτων οὖσαν τῶν γενῶν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν
15 τὰ γένη τῶν ἐνοικούντων διαγνωσόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαί-
νους, οὓς ἂν περὶ τῶν γενῶν εἴπωμεν, νομιοῦμεν
προσήκειν τοῖς οἰκήσασιν, ὥσπερ εἰ λέγοιμεν, ὅτι ἡ
Σμύρνα ἢ Ἔφεσος τοῦ ἐλλογιμωτάτου μέρους ἐστίν,
ἢ τῶν ἐν Κρήτῃ πόλεων πολλαὶ καὶ Ῥόδος τοῦ ἀν-
20 δρικωτάτου (Δωρικαὶ γάρ εἰσι) καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ὡσαύτως.

Τρίτον ἔφαμεν τοῦ γένους εἶναι τὸν χρόνον, τρισὶ διαιρού-
μενον | ὅροις· ἢ τῶν παλαιοτάτων, ὅταν ἢ πρὸ ἄστρων ἢ μετὰ
τῶν ἄστρων φάσκωμεν, ἢ πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ ἢ μετὰ κατα-
25 κλυσμὸν φάσκωμεν οἰκισθῆναι ἢ πόλιν ἢ χώραν, ὥσπερ
Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἡλίου γενέσθαι φασίν, Ἀρκάδες δὲ πρὸ
σελήνης, Δελφοὶ δὲ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὐθύς (δια-
στήματα γὰρ καὶ ὥσπερ ἀρχαὶ αὖται ⟨τοῦ⟩ αἰῶνος)· ἢ μέσῳ
ὅρῳ λογιούμεθα, οἷον ὅτ' ἤνθησεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἢ ἡ Περσῶν
30 δύναμις ἢ Ἀσσυρίων ἢ Μήδων, ὥσπερ Συρακοῦσαι καὶ
ἔνιαι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων καὶ πλεῖσται τῆς Ἑλλάδος
καὶ τῆς βαρβάρου· τῶν δὲ ἐσχάτων καὶ νεωτάτων αἱ
355 ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων· ὅσαι γὰρ νεώταται πόλεις, παρὰ τού-

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354. 1 suppl. Aldus   2 ἀρχαιοτάτων Heeren: ἀρχαίων codd.
3 Λυδῶν Mm: Φρυγῶν W: Γυρῶν PZ: Σύρων Heeren   4 προ-
ϊόντι Ricc. 2: προσ- codd.   5 ἀποδοθὲν PZ: παραδοθὲν MmW
7 ἢ σοφώτατα PZ: om. MmW   8 ἢ PZMm: καὶ W: ἢ Jacobs: an
delendum?   9 δ' αὖ τῶν P: δὲ τῶν Z: om. MmW   γένη δὲ MmW:
γενῶν δὲ PZ   10 τὰ MmW: τῶν PZ   καὶ MmW: om. PZ   γνωρι-
μώτατα MmW: γνωρίσματα PZ   11 ἰσχυρότατον W: -ότερον cett.
12 ἀνδρικώτατον Spengel: -ώτερον codd.   13 ἐλλογιμώτατον PMW:

barians. If barbarians, we divide them into the most ancient (e.g. Phrygians) or most royal (e.g. Lydians, Medes, Persians, Ethiopians, Scythians). The procedure is clear if one goes according to the proposition just stated: it is necessary to demonstrate that the races which settled the barbarian city you are praising are either the oldest or the wisest or the most imperial or, in general, possess one excellence or more, or all to the highest degree(?). With Hellenes, they should belong to the races believed to be the noblest. The three races which are the primary ones and also the best known are those of the Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians. The Aeolian race is much the strongest, the Dorian the most courageous, the Ionian the most distinguished. A Hellenic city should therefore be shown to come from one of these stocks. By these means we shall form a judgement of the race of the inhabitants; we shall assume that the praises we give of the races will apply also to the settlers: e.g. Smyrna and Ephesus belong to the most distinguished group, and Rhodes and many of the cities in Crete to the most courageous, and similarly with the others.

The third division of origin, we said, was 'date'. This is divided into three periods. (i) The oldest— when we may say that a city or country originated before the stars or with the stars or before the flood or after the flood, as the Athenians say they originated with the sun, the Arcadians before the moon, and the Delphians immediately after the flood. (These are landmarks and as it were beginnings in time.) (ii) The middle period—e.g. the flowering time of Hellas or of the power of Persia, Assyria, or Media; Syracuse and some Ionian cities, and most of those of Hellas and of barbarian lands, are of this date. (iii) To the last and latest class belong cities founded under the Romans; all the most recent cities were founded by them.

-ώτερον Zm   16 νομοῦμεν codd.: νομοῦσι Nitsche   18 ἐλλο-
γιμωτάτου Finckh: ἐλληνικωτάτου codd.   μέρους PZ: γένους MmW
19 πολλαὶ καὶ 'Ρόδος MmW: πόλεως καὶ 'Ρόδου P: τὴν 'Ρόδον ἀπὸ
ῥόδου Z   20 Δωρικαὶ γάρ εἰσι secl. Bursian   22 διαιρούμενον
Z (Kroll): om. cett.   24 φάσκωμεν secl. Heeren, fortasse recte
(25 φάσκωμεν om. Z)   25 χώραν + καὶ PZ   28 suppl. vulg.
    355. 1 γὰρ ... τούτων] ὑπὸ γενναιοτάτων Z   γὰρ νεώτατι MmW:
γεννεώταται P   παρὰ Mm: περὶ PW

των ἐκτίσθησαν. ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν ἀρχαιοτάτη ἡ πό·
λις ᾖ, φήσεις τὸ πρεσβύτατον τιμιώτατον εἶναι καὶ
ὅτι αἰώνιός ἐστιν ἡ πόλις, ὥσπερ οἱ θεοί. ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ
5 μέσου ὅρου, ὅτι οὔθ᾽ ὑπορρεῖ καὶ γεγήρακεν ὥστε
πεπονηκέναι, οὔτε νεωστὶ ἀνέστηκεν. ἐὰν δὲ νεωτέρα
ᾖ, ὅτι ἀνθεῖ καθάπερ κόρη ἀκμάζουσα, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ
πλειόνων καὶ βελτιόνων ἐλπίδων οἰκεῖται. χρὴ δὲ τὰς
νεωτέρας μηδὲν ἐλαττουμένας σεμνότητι τῶν παλαιοτέ-
10 ρων δεικνύειν, τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου ὅρου πρὸς ἀμφο-
τέρας αὐτάρκεις. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ χρόνου τῶν πόλεων
δεδόσθω.

Τέταρτος τόπος ὁ τῶν μεταβολῶν, διαιρεῖται δὲ
κατὰ τάδε· ἢ γὰρ ἀπῳκίσθη, ⟨ἢ συνῳκίσθη, ἢ μετῳ-
15 κίσθη,⟩ ἢ ἐπηυξήθη, ἢ ὅλως οὐκ οὖσα πρότερον ᾠ-
κίσθη. ἀπῳκίσθη μέν, ὥσπερ αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν Ἑλ-
ληνίδων, αἱ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, αἱ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, αἱ νῆσοι·
συνῳκίσθη δέ, ⟨ὥσπερ⟩ Μεγάλη πόλις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ· μετ-
ῳκίσθη δέ, ὥσπερ περὶ Σμύρνης Ἀριστείδης, φησὶ
20 γὰρ αὐτὴν τρὶς ἀλλάξαι τὸν τόπον· ἐπηυξήθη δέ, ὥσπερ
ὅσας πρότερον κώμας οὔσας [ὅλως] πόλεις πεποιήκασι
βασιλεῖς· ᾠκίσθησαν δέ, ὅσας πρότερον οὐδ᾽ οὔσας
[κώμας] ὅλως πόλεις τινὲς ἀπέφηναν.

Μεταβολὴ δὲ παρὰ ταύτας ἁπάσας γίνεται ἐπ᾽
25 ἐνίων πολλάκις περὶ τὸ ὄνομα· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν πόλιν ἢ
χώραν ποτὲ μὲν Κραναάν, ποτὲ δὲ Κεκροπίαν, ποτὲ
δὲ Ἀκτήν, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀττικήν, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀθήνας κεκλή-
κασι· καὶ Πελοπόννησον ποτὲ μὲν Πελασγίαν, ποτὲ δὲ
Ἀπίαν, ποτὲ δὲ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς
30 μεταβολῆς εἶδος οὐκ ἔχει πρόφασιν ἐπαίνου, πλὴν εἴ
τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπαινοίη ἢ θεούς, ἀφ᾽ ὧν αἱ πόλεις
ὀνομάζονται. ὅπως δὲ τῶν μεταβολῶν ἕκαστον εἶδος
356 ἐπαινεσόμεθα, διδάξω. ἐὰν μὲν ἀποικίαν, ὅτι ἀπὸ
μεγίστης πόλεως ἀπῴκησαν καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτης, ὅτι ἀπῴ-
κισται ἐνδόξως, ὅτι δυνάμει κατέσχε τὸν τόπον, ὅτι
κατὰ φιλίαν ἀπῳκίσθησαν, οὐχὶ στάσει καὶ πολέμοις
5 ἐκπεσόντες, καὶ ὅλως ὑποδέδεικταί σοι πρὸς ἃ χρὴ βλέ-

9 νεωτέρας Heeren: βελτίονας codd.   παλαιοτέρων MmW:
παλαιοτάτων P: παλαιῶν Z   14 suppl. Ricc. 1   15–16 ᾠκίσθη
Oikonomides: ἐπῳκίσθη codd.   18 ⟨ὥσπερ⟩ Heeren: ὡς ἡ Z: om.
cett.   21 ὅλως PMW: om. Zm: del. Finckh   23 secl. Finckh

Thus if the city is very ancient, you will say that oldest means most honourable, and the city is eternal like the gods. If it is of the middle period, 'it is not declining or growing old and enfeebled, nor yet is it newly set up'. If it is new, 'it is in its bloom like a girl in her prime' and 'its civic life is full of more and greater promise'. The more recent cities must be shown not to be inferior in dignity to the oldest, and those of the middle period to be able to stand on their own in comparison with both.

Let this suffice for the date of cities.

The fourth topic is that of changes. This is divided as follows. A city is the result either of a colonization or of a union or of a transference, or of growth or of settlement where there was none previously. Colonization is the origin of most Hellenic cities in Ionia and the Hellespont and the islands. Union is exemplified by Megalopolis in Arcadia. Transference is illustrated by what Aristides tells us of Smyrna: it changed its site, he says, three times. 'Growth' applies to former villages turned into cities by kings. First settlements are cities which some have brought into being which did not previously exist at all.

In addition to all these, there is often a change affecting the name. People call the same city or country, at various times, Cranaa or Cecropia or Acte or Attica or Athens. Similarly, they call the Peloponnese sometimes Pelasgia, sometimes Apia, sometimes by some other name. This type of change affords no occasion for praise, unless one is praising the men or gods after whom the cities are named.

I shall now explain how we are to praise each type of change.

If it is a colony: 'they were settlers from a very great and famous city', 'the settlement was founded in a famous manner', 'it seized its site by force', 'they left home in a spirit of friendship, not as refugees from revolution or war'. These are general indications of

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24 παρὰ Finckh: περὶ codd.   26 Κραναάν Bursian (-ήν iam Meursius): Καδμείαν ZMmW: Καρθμίαν P   Κεκροπίαν Heeren: Κεκρόπιον vel -ειον codd.   31 τοὺς ἄνδρας MmW: τῆς ἀνδρείας PZ   32 δὲ Z: δὲ τό cett.
356. 2 ἀπῴκησαν Walz: -ισαν codd.

πειν κἂν τοῖς τῶν ἀπῳκισμένων πόλεων ἐπαίνοις. εἰ
δὲ συνῳκισμένην πόλιν ἐπαινοίης, καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτὰ
καθ' ἑαυτὰ μέγιστα ἀποφανεῖς· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν μειζόνως
ἐπαινοίης, μειζόνως τὴν συνῳκισμένην πόλιν | ἐγ-
10 κωμιάσεις, τὴν ⟨δὲ⟩ πρόφασιν τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ ἐξετά-
σεις ⟨καὶ⟩ τοὺς συνοικήσαντας, οἵτινες ἦσαν· καὶ πάλιν
ἡ τούτων ἰδέα σοι ἐπιδέδεικται· εἰ δὲ μετῳκισμένη
εἴη ἡ πόλις, δεῖ σε δεικνύναι ὅτι οὐ κατὰ συμ-
φορὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς κάλλος μεταβαλοῦσα τὸν τόπον,
15 ὅτι μετοικιζομένη μείζων καὶ καλλίων ἐγένετο, καὶ
περιεργάσῃ εἴτε ἅπαξ εἴτε πολλάκις· κἂν μὲν ἅπαξ
ἢ δίς, ἔκτυπα αὐτῆς πρότερον καταθέσθαι· εἰ δὲ
πολλάκις, ὅτι κινουμένῃ καὶ βαδιζούσῃ ἔοικεν ἡ πό-
λις. καὶ τῶν μετοικισμῶν τὰς αἰτίας, εἰ μὲν εἴησαν
20 φαῦλαι, συγκρύψεις ὡς δυνατόν, οἷον σεισμοὺς ἢ
πορθήσεις ἢ λοιμοὺς ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἰ δ' εἴησαν ἀγα-
θαί, ἐγκωμιάσεις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων. τοιαῦτά σοι περὶ τού-
των ἀποδέδεικται. εἰ δ' ἐπηυξημένη ἡ πόλις εἴη, οὐ
χαλεπὸν συνιδεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ἄν τις ἐγκωμιάζοι. ὥσπερ
25 γὰρ σῶμα αὐξανόμενον, τῷ χρόνῳ φήσεις προεληλυθέ-
ναι αὐτὴν εἰς μέγεθος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσδοκᾶν αὐτὴν
καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον προελεύσεσθαι. εἰ δ' ἡ πόλις ἦν
ἐπαινεῖς ἅμα οἰκοδομηθεῖσα καὶ πόλις ἦν γενομένη, τὸ
ἐκ διαφορᾶς πρὸς τὰς ἐκ κωμῶν μεταβαλούσας πολλὰς
30 ἄν σοι παράσχοι προφάσεις ἐπαίνων, ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι
ἅμα τῷ τεχθῆναι ἐν ἀξιώματί εἰσι καὶ οὐ πρότερον
δοῦλοι εἶτα ἐλεύθεροι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἰδιῶται εἶτα
357 ἄρχοντες, οὕτως αἱ τοιαῦται πόλεις. καὶ αὕτη ἡ περὶ
ταῦτα μέθοδος. εἰ δ' ἐκ κώμης εἴη μεταβεβληκυῖα,
ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ οὗτος ἄριστος στρατηγός,
ὅστις χιλίαρχος πρότερον ἐγένετο, καὶ χιλίαρχος ὅστις
5 λοχαγός, καὶ λοχαγὸς ὅστις στρατιώτης, οὕτω καὶ πόλις

7 δὲ W: om. PZ   8 ἂν MmW: om. PZ   post μειζόνως
add. αὐτὰ Heeren   10 suppl. Heeren (⟨τε⟩ Bursian)   τοῦ συν-
οικισμοῦ Finckh: τοὺς ἀνοικισμοὺς vel -μένους codd.   11 suppl.
Jacobs   12 ἐπιδέδεικται PZm: ἀπο- W   14 τόπον Heeren:
τρόπον Z: τύπον cett.   17 ἔκτυπα W: ἐκ τύπου PZm   αὐτῆς
Finckh: αὐτῆς codd.   19 εἴησαν PmW: ἦσαν Z   21 εἴη-
σαν mW: ἦσαν P: om. Z   22 τοιαῦτα σοι Finckh: οἷον αὐτῆς
οἱ P: οἷον ἃ δέ γε Z: οἷά σοι MmW   22–3 τοιαῦτά ... ἀπο-
δέδεικται] τοιαύτη ἡ περὶ τούτων μέθοδος ἀποδεδείχθω Bursian
23 ἀποδέδεικται mW: ᾅδουσιν ἀποδεδείχθω PZ   24 ἀφ'

what you ought to look for in the praise of colonized cities.

If you praise a city which results from a union, you will show that its parts are very important, for the more highly you praise them, the higher your encomium of the unified city. You will consider the cause of the union and who the people were who joined together. Again, you have an indication of the type of thing.

If the city is a 'transference', you need to show that it changed its site not because of disaster, but for the sake of beauty; and that it became bigger and more beautiful as a result of the change. You will make a point of discovering whether it has moved once or many times: if once or twice, 'it first set out a rough model of itself'; if many times, 'it is like a city that moves and walks'. The causes of the moves should be concealed so far as possible if they are bad, e.g. earthquakes, sacks, plagues, and the like. On the other hand, if they are good, you may use them also as bases of the encomium. So much for this.

If the city is the result of growth, there is no difficulty in seeing what topics of encomium one might employ. You can say that it has come to its great size in the course of time, like a growing body, and that therefore you expect it to advance still further.

If the city you are praising became a city as soon as it was founded, the topic of the differences between this and cities which have developed out of villages will afford many opportunities for praise. Cities of the present type are 'like men who are of note from their birth, and were not slaves before becoming free or private citizens before becoming rulers'. So much for this method.

If the city has developed from a village: 'As in an army the best general is the former colonel, the best colonel the former captain, and the best captain the former common soldier, so the best city is that which

MmW: ἐφ' PZ   28 ἐπαινεῖς Aldus: -οῖς P: -οίης cett.
29 μεταβαλούσας Vindob. 60: μεταβολὰς Z: μεταβαλλούσας cett.
30 παράσχοι m: -ει vel -ῃ cett.   ὅτι MmW: om. PZ   ἔνιοι PZ: οἱ MmW
  357. 1 καὶ αὐτη ἡ Walz: αὐτη καὶ ἡ Z: καὶ ἡ MmW: ἡ P   1–2 τοι-
αύτη ἡ μέθοδος Bursian, cf. 351. 18   3 ὅτι MmW: om. P: εἴποι ἔν τι Z

ἀρίστη, ἥτις ἐν πείραις ἐξητάσθη. καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἀπο-
ρήσεις, κατὰ τοῦτο ἰὼν τὸ ἴχνος, ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐπαινοίης.
τοσαῦτά σοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν
9 τῆς μεταβολῆς ⟨εἰρήσθω· τὴν γὰρ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα
μεταβολήν⟩ φημι οὐδὲν μέγα πρὸς ἐγκώμιον | ἔχειν
10 ἢ βραχύ, ἐπαινούντων ἡμῶν ἢ θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον
τὸν ἐπώνυμον.

῏Ην δὲ μετὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς τόπος ὁ τῶν αἰτιῶν,
πενταχῆ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διαιρεῖται, καὶ πῶς τὴν διαίρε-
σιν ποιησάμενοι τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἂν προσαγάγοιμεν
15 ἑξῆς ἂν εἴη ἀποδεῖξαι. αἰτίαι τοίνυν οἰκισμῶν πό-
λεων ἢ θεῖαι ἢ ἡρωϊκαὶ ἢ ἀνθρώπιναι. καὶ πάλιν
ἢ ἐπ᾽ εὐφροσύνῃ ἢ πένθει· καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὰ τελικὰ
18 καλούμενα κεφάλαια, ⟨ἢ ὡς διὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ ὡς
διὰ τὸ καλὸν⟩ ἢ ὡς διὰ τὸ συμφέρον, ἢ ὡς | διὰ
19 τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. χρὴ δὲ τούτων τὰ παραδείγματα
20 ἐκθέσθαι. θεία μὲν τοίνυν αἰτία ἐστίν, ὁποία περὶ
'Ρόδου ἢ Δήλου· περὶ μὲν 'Ρόδου ὅτι διαλαχόντες
ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἄιδης τὰ πάντα Ἡλίῳ
μοῖραν οὐ κατέλιπον, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ ἔμελλον ἀνα-
κληροῦσθαι, ὁ δ᾽ Ἥλιος ἀρκεῖν αὑτῷ ἔφη εἰ φανερὰν
25 ποιήσειαν τὴν 'Ρόδον· περὶ δὲ Δήλου, ὅτι διὰ τὴν
Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος γένεσιν ἀνέδρα|μεν
ἐκ θαλάττης. ἡρωϊκαὶ δ᾽ αἰτίαι ⟨αἱ⟩ περὶ Σαλαμῖ-
νος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἢ Ἄργους τοῦ Ἀμφιλοχικοῦ·
τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Τεῦκρος ᾤκισεν ἐκπεσών, τὴν δὲ
30 Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω, καὶ πολλαὶ πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλη-
νίδων τοιαύτας ἔχουσιν αἰτίας ἡρωϊκάς. ἀνθρώπιναι
δέ, ὁποῖαι ⟨αἱ⟩ περὶ Βαβυλῶνος λεγόμεναι, †οἷον νυινουν†
358 Σεμίραμις ᾠκοδόμησεν [βασίλειαν εἶναί φησι]. καὶ
'Ρωμαϊκαὶ δὲ πᾶσαι πόλεις, ἃς 'Ρωμαίων ᾤκισαν βασι-
λεῖς, τοιαύτας ἔχουσι τὰς αἰτίας. αὕτη μὲν δὴ πρώτη
διαίρεσις.

5 ῾Η δὲ δευτέρα, ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἐπ᾽ εὐφροσύνῃ, αἱ δὲ
ἐπὶ πένθει. εὐφροσύνῃ μέν, οἷον γάμῳ γενέσει νίκῃ

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8 τῶν ⟨πέντε⟩ εἰδῶν Finckh   9 lacunam statuit Heeren:
deesse videtur mutati nominis mentio: suppl. Finckh (sed δὲ pro γὰρ)
15 ἀποδεῖξαι MmW: ὑπο- PZ   18 suppl. Finckh, cf. 358. 20 sqq.
20 θεία μὲν τοίνυν MmW: οἷον ἂν μὲν PZ   23 κατέλιπον MmW:
ἐγκατ- PZ   25 διὰ τὴν Z: διὰ τὴν ἐκ Διὸς MmW: δι᾽ αὐτὴν P,
tum lacuna c. 13 litterarum, tum δος Ἀπόλλωνος κτλ.: δι᾽ αὐτὴν

has been tested in trials.' By following this track, you will have no lack of topics for praise. ⟨Let⟩ this much ⟨be said⟩ concerning changes and types of change; ⟨change of name⟩ in my view has nothing much to offer for encomium—or perhaps just a little, if we praise the god or man who has given his name.

The next topic to 'change' was to be 'cause'. This is divided into five parts, and I must next explain how we may make this division and develop our praises.

The causes of the foundations of cities are either divine, heroic, or human. Again, they are occasioned by joy or by grief. Yet again, they are classified according to what are called 'heads of purpose', viz. ⟨justice, honour,⟩ expediency, and necessity. A 'divine cause' exists in respect, e.g., of Rhodes or Delos: Rhodes because Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, having divided the world among themselves, left no share for Helios, and, when they became aware of this, were about to draw lots afresh, but Helios said that he would be satisfied if they brought Rhodes to light; Delos, because it rose from the sea for the birth of Apollo and Artemis. 'Heroic' causes exist for Salamis in Cyprus or Amphilochian Argos: Salamis was founded by Teucer in exile, Argos by Amphilochus the son of Amphiaraus. Many cities have 'heroic causes' of this kind. 'Human causes' may be illustrated by those related of Babylon, which Ninus' wife (?) Semiramis built [he means 'queen']. All the Roman cities founded by Roman emperors have causes of this type.

This is the first division.

The second is that some cities were founded for joy, and some for grief: for joy, at a marriage or birth or

⟨τὴν⟩ Ἀπόλλωνος Bursian   27 αἰτίαι Heeren: ἀρεταὶ codd.
⟨αἱ⟩ suppl. Bursian   30 Ἀμφίλοχος PZ: Ἀμφίαλος MmW
32 suppl. Bursian   οἷον νυινουν P: καὶ ναὸν ὃν Z: οἷον Νῖνον MmW:
⟨ἢ⟩ οἷον Νῖνον ⟨Νῖνος καὶ⟩ Σεμίραμις ᾠκοδόμησαν βασίλεια εἶναι σφίσι
Bursian post Spengelium, Cumanudem. fortasse aut legendum ὅτι ἡ
Νίνου (sc. uxor) Σεμίραμις aut nihil aliud scripsit Men. quam ⟨ἦν⟩
Σεμίραμις ᾠκοδόμησεν

358. 1 ᾠκοδόμησεν + ὡς W   seclusimus   3 δὴ πρώτη mW:
δὴ ἡ P: ἡ μία Z   6 οἷον Z: om. cett.: ὡς edd.   γάμῳ γενέσει
Z: γάμων γένεσιν PMm: γάμον γένεσιν W   νίκη m (Bursian): νίκην
MW: ἢ ἀεὶ P: om. Z

καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τούτων παραδείγματα
γράψαι. γάμων μὲν τοίνυν, ⟨ὡς⟩ φασι τὴν Μέμφιν
ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. νί-
10 κης δέ, οἷόν φασι τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ
τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἰκισθῆναι ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων· καὶ
τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ Νικόπολιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ
τῇ κατὰ Κλεοπάτρας. ἐπὶ πένθει δὲ καὶ οἴκτῳ, ⟨ὡς⟩
ἱστοροῦσι Βουκέφαλον τὴν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ
15 ἵππῳ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ Βουκεφάλῳ ἀνοικισθῆναι·
τὴν Ἀντινόου δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ⟨ἐπὶ τῷ⟩ Ἀντινόου θανάτῳ
ὑπὸ | Ἀδριανοῦ. καὶ δῆλον ἡγοῦμαί σοι γεγενῆσθαι καὶ
τὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης θεώρημα.

Ἦν δὲ ἡ τρίτη διαίρεσις κατὰ τὰ τελικὰ κεφά-
20 λαια καλούμενα. τοῦ μὲν τοίνυν δικαίου τὸ κατὰ
Ῥήνειαν, ὅτι οἰκίσας αὐτὴν ὁ Μίνως ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλ-
λωνι εὐσεβείᾳ, τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς δίκαιον. τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ,
ὡς τὸ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅτι εὐδοξίας ἕνεκα καὶ
κλέους ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μεγίστην τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πόλεων
25 ἠβουλήθη κατοικίσαι. τοῦ δὲ συμφέροντος, ὡς τὸ
καθ' Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Πόντῳ, ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἀναστέλλων Ἡρακλῆς τὸν ἐκεῖ τόπον κατῴκισε. τοῦ
δ' ἀναγκαίου, ὡς τὸ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις τὰς κατ' Ἴστρον
ποταμὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατοικισθείσας, τὰς καλου-
30 μένας Καρπίας, ὡς μὴ διαβαίνοντες οἱ βάρβαροι
κακουργοῖεν. οὐσῶν δὲ τούτων τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ τοιου-
τοτρόπων εἰδέναι σε χρὴ ὅτι ἐνδοξόταται μὲν αἱ
359 θεῖαι, δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ ἡρωϊκαί, τρίται δὲ αἱ ἀνθρωπικαί· καὶ
πάλιν | πρῶται μὲν αἱ ἐπ' εὐφροσύνῃ, δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ ἐπὶ
πένθει· καὶ πάλιν ἐνδοξότεραι μὲν αἱ ἐκ περιουσίας
τῶν τελικῶν κεφαλαίων, χρησιμώτεραι δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν
5 ἀναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐνδοξο-
τέραις ἐπὶ πλέον διατριπτέον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀδόξοις ἐπ'

7 τοῖς τοιούτοις mW (Spengel): τοιούτοις Z: τοῖς P   8 suppl.
Heeren (⟨οἷον⟩ Bursian)   9 νίκης Heeren: νίκη vel νίκην
codd.   13 Κλεοπάτρας Z (Finckh): -αν MmW: -ον P   Κλεο-
πάτρας+καὶ ταῦτα ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη Z   ⟨ὡς⟩ suppl. Heeren   15 ἀν-
οικισθῆναι PMW: ἐν- Z   16 δὲ ἐν Heeren: δὲ τὴν ἐν Z: δι'
ἣν cett.   suppl. Finckh   Ἀντινόου θανάτῳ MmW: om. PZ
20 post δικαίου fortasse addendum ⟨ὡς⟩, cf. infra 23, 25, 28
20–1 κατὰ Ῥήνειαν Bursian (Ῥηναίαν iam Valesius): καταρήνην
MmW: κατ' ἀκρίβειαν PZ   21 ὁ Μίνως Valesius: νομίμως
codd.   ante ἀνέθηκε iterant αὐτὴν οἰκίσας PMW (recte Zm)

victory or the like. I must give examples of these
also. Marriage: they say that Memphis was founded
to commemorate the marriage of Aphrodite and
Hephaestus ⟨. . .⟩ Victory: Thessalonica was settled by
the Macedonians after the victory over the Thessalians,
Nicopolis at Actium by the Romans after the victory
over Cleopatra. Grief and sorrow: it is related that
Bucephalus in India was founded in memory of
Alexander's horse Bucephalus, and Antinoopolis
in Egypt by Hadrian in memory of the death of
Antinous.

The principle of this division also is, I imagine, now
clear to you.

The third division was to be the one that proceeds
according to the 'heads of purpose'. 'Justice':
Rheneia, because Minos, in founding it, dedicated it
to Apollo, and piety is justice. 'Honour': Alexandria,
because Alexander wanted to found the greatest
of all cities under the sun for honour and glory.
'Expediency'; Heraclea Pontica, because Heracles
founded the place in the course of pushing back the
barbarians. 'Necessity': the cities founded on the
river Ister by the Romans, called Carpian towns,
which were meant to prevent the barbarians crossing
and doing damage.

Such being the 'causes', it is to be observed that
divine ones give the greatest prestige, heroic ones
come second, and human ones third. Again, 'causes'
based on joy come first, those based on 'grief' second;
'causes' derived from those of the 'heads of purpose'
which arise from abundance confer greater prestige,
though causes which derive from necessity or ex-
pediency are more useful. One should dwell at greater
length on the more glorious, less on the others. The

22 εὐσεβείᾳ MmW: εὐσεβὲς PZ   τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς Walz: γὰρ τὸ δυσσεβὲς
codd.   25 τὸ MmW: om. PZ   28 κατ' Ἴστρον Jacobs:
κατὰ τὸν P: κατὰ ZW: κατὰ τῶν (ποταμῶν) Mm   30 Καρπίας
PMW: Κραπίας Z: om. m   31 τούτων τῶν Spengel: τοιούτων codd.
   359. 1 δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ Z: ἢ cett.   3–4 τῶν τελικῶν κεφαλαίων
suspectum: fortasse αἱ ἐκ ⟨τῶν ἐκ⟩ vel αἱ ⟨ἀπὸ τῶν⟩ ἐκ   4 ἀπὸ
PMmW: περὶ Z   6 πλέον PMmW: πλεῖστον Z

ἔλαττον· ὁ μέντοι τόπος ἀναγκαιότατος πρὸς ἔπαινον
πόλεων ῥήτορι πανταχοῦ. αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τῶν αἰτιῶν
μυθώδεις μὲν αἱ θεῖαι καὶ ἡρωϊκαί, πιθανώτεραι δὲ αἱ
10 ἀνθρωπικαί. τὰς μὲν τοίνυν ἀνθρωπικὰς αὐξητέον,
τὰς δὲ ἡρωϊκὰς καὶ θείας καὶ πιστωτέον καὶ αὐξητέον.
τοσαῦτά σοι καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ γένους ἐπιχειρήσεως ἔχο-
μεν συμβαλέσθαι. τρίτον τοίνυν ἡμῖν βιβλίον γρα-
φέσθω τόδε περὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεων καὶ πράξεων· καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ
15 τούτων δεῖν ἔφαμεν τὰς πόλεις ἐγκωμιάζειν.

ΠΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥΣΕΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ
ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΖΕΙΝ

Τῶν τοίνυν ἐπιτηδεύσεων αἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν τῆς πο-
λιτείας κατάστασιν θεωροῦνται, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστή-
20 μας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις.
αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τῶν μερῶν ἢ εἰδῶν ὅ τι χρὴ διαιρεῖ-
σθαι, πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι καταφανές. πολιτεῖαι μέν
εἰσι τρεῖς, βασιλεία, ἀριστοκρατία, δημοκρατία, ταύ-
ταις δὲ παρακείμεναί εἰσι κακίαι, βασιλείᾳ μὲν τυραν-
25 νίς, ἀριστοκρατίᾳ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ πλουτοκρατία λεγο-
μένη, δημοκρατίᾳ δὲ λαοκρατία. παρὰ πάσας δὲ ταύ-
τας ἡ μικτὴ ἐκ πάντων τούτων, ὁποία ἥ τε Ῥωμαϊκὴ
καὶ ἡ Λακωνικὴ τὸ παλαιόν. εἰ τοίνυν ἐπαινοίης πόλιν,
εἰ μὲν τυραννουμένην, ὡς βασιλευομένην ἐπαινεῖν δεῖ,
30 ὡς ἐν τοῖς Νικοκλείοις ὁ Ἰσοκράτης πεποίηκεν, εἰ δὲ
λαοκρατουμένην, ὡς δημοκρατουμένην, ὡς ἐν τῷ Παν-
360 αθηναϊκῷ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ·
εἰ δὲ πλουτοκρατουμένην, ὡς ἀριστοκρατουμένην· εἰ
δὲ μικτήν, ὅτι ἐξ ἁπασῶν εἴληφε τὰ κάλλιστα. τοῦτο
δὲ ὁ Πλάτων περὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας ἐν τοῖς Νό-
5 μοις εἴρηκεν καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ [νόμῳ].
εἴησαν δ' ⟨ἂν⟩ ἐπαίνων ἀφορμαὶ παρὰ ταύτας ἁπάσας δεῖ-
ξαι | πόλιν μὴ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἁπάσαις κεχρημέ-

8 πόλεων ῥήτορι Heeren : ῥήτορι πόλεων P : ῥήτορι Z : ῥητορικοῖς
(-ῆς m) πόλεων MmW : ῥήτορι ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ πόλεων Bursian   πανταχοῦ
PMmW : ἀπανταχῇ Z : πανταχῇ vulg.   10 τὰς μὲν τοίνυν MmW :
καὶ τοίνυν τὰς μὲν Z : καὶ τὰς τοίνυν P   13 βιβλίον ante ἡμῖν
transp. Z, vulg.   14 τόδε περὶ Z : om. cett.   16 ante ΠΩΣ
add. βιβλίον τρίτον Z   21 ὅ τι χρὴ διαιρεῖσθαι PmW : ἢ ὅτι χρὴ λέγειν
Z (cf. 331. 5)   22 ποιῆσαι καταφανές mW : τὴν διαίρεσιν καταφανῆ
ποιῆσαι PZ   25 καὶ πλουτοκρατία PZ : ἢ καὶ ὀχλοπλουτοκρατία
MmW : fortasse ⟨ἢ⟩ καὶ πλουτοκρατία   27 τούτων mW : τύπων P :

topic is absolutely essential to the praise of a city for an orator in any circumstances.

Of these causes themselves, the divine and heroic are of a mythical nature, the human are more convincing. Human causes should therefore be amplified, heroic and divine ones both amplified and confirmed.

This is the sum of what I am able to contribute on the handling of the topic of 'origin'. Book III will be concerned with accomplishments and actions. You will recall that we said that encomia of cities should be based on these heads also.

BOOK III

HOW TO PRAISE CITIES FOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Some accomplishments are to be seen in the political system, others in sciences or arts, others in abilities. I shall try to make clear what divisions ought to be made within these sections or branches themselves.

There are three political systems: kingship, aristocracy, and democracy. Corresponding to these are three defective systems: tyranny, oligarchy or plutocracy, and laocracy. Besides all these, there is the system which is a mixture of them all, such as that of Rome and Sparta in ancient times.

Thus if you are praising a city and it is a tyranny, you must represent it as a kingdom, as Isocrates did in *Nicocles*; if it is a laocracy, represent it as a democracy, as Isocrates did in the *Panathenaicus* and Plato in his *Funeral Speech*; if it is a plutocracy, treat it as an aristocracy; if it is mixed, 'it has the best features of all'. (Plato says this in the *Laws* of the Spartan constitution, and Aristides says it in his *Roman Oration*.) In addition to all these, motives for praise may be found in demonstrating that a city did not use all these types at the same time, but one at one period

τῶν τόπων Z   29 δεῖ MmW: om. PZ   30 Νικοκλείοις Z (Heeren post Meursium): κοκλείοις P: ἐγκυκλίοις MmW   'Ισοκράτης Z (Jacobs): Κράτης cett.   31–360. 2 δημοκρατουμένην . . . ὡς PW: om. ZMm

360. 3 δὲ Z (Heeren): δ' ὡς cett.   5 secl. Bursian   5–9 'Ρω-μαϊκῷ . . . ἐν τῷ PZMW: om. m   6 supplevimus (εἴη δ' ἂν . . . ἀφορμὴ Nitsche)

νην ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ, ὅπερ Ἰσοκράτης περὶ τῆς τῶν
Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἴρηκε καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἐν τῷ Παναθη-
10 ναϊκῷ. δεῖ δὲ νομίζειν περὶ πολιτείας ἄριστον εἶναι [καὶ]
τὸ ἑκοῦσαν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄκουσαν ἄρχεσθαι τὴν πόλιν,
καὶ τὸ ἀκριβῶς φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους, ἥκιστα δὲ νό-
μων δεῖσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τῶν ἐπαίνων κινδυ-
νεύει σχεδὸν ἀργὸν εἶναι· ὑπὸ γὰρ μιᾶς αἱ Ῥωμαϊκαὶ
15 ἅπασαι νῦν διοικοῦνται πόλεις, τελειότητος δὲ ἕνεκεν
ἐχρῆν περὶ αὐτοῦ μνησθῆναι.

Αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἐπιτηδεύσεις, εἰ κατὰ
πόλιν εἴησαν εὐδόκιμοι, ἀστρολογία καὶ γεωμετρία
ἢ μουσικὴ ἢ γραμματικὴ ἢ φιλοσοφία· αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦ-
20 ταί εἰσιν αἱ κατ' ἐπιστήμην ἐπιτηδεύσεις. φασὶ γὰρ
τοὺς Μυτιληναίους ἐπὶ κιθαρῳδίᾳ μέγιστον φρονῆσαι,
Θηβαίους δὲ ἐπὶ αὐλητικῇ, [Δηλίους ἐπὶ χοροστατικῇ,]
ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας ἐπὶ γραμματικῇ καὶ γεω-
μετρίᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ.

25 Αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἐπιτηδεύσεις αἱ μέν εἰσι
βάναυσοι, αἱ δὲ ἐλευθέριοι. βάναυσοι μὲν χρυσοχοϊκὴ
καὶ χαλκευτικὴ καὶ τεκτονικὴ καὶ ὅσαι τοιαῦται.
. . . ἔστιν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπαινέσαι πόλιν ἢ εἰς
πλῆθος ἢ εἰς ἀκρίβειαν. φασὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίους μὲν
30 ἐπὶ ἀγαλματοποιίᾳ καὶ ζωγραφίᾳ, καὶ Κροτωνιάτας ἐπὶ
ἰατρικῇ μέγιστον φρονῆσαι, καὶ ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλαις
τέχναις.

361 Αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιτηδεύσεις ῥητορικὴ καὶ
ἀθλητικὴ καὶ ὅσαι τοιαῦται. Αἰγινῆται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ
ἀθλητικῇ καὶ Ἑρμουπολῖται . . . μεγαλοφρονοῦσι.

Παρὰ πάσας δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις καὶ τὰ
5 ἐνεργήματα σκοπούμεθα, εἰ κοσμίως διοικεῖται ἡ πόλις·
ἀνήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν

9–10 Παναθηναϊκῷ + ἑκάτερος P, ἑκατέρας Z (ἐν . . . ἑκάτερος
secl. Bursian)   10 secl. Heeren   12–13 ἥκιστα δὲ νόμων
δεῖσθαι PMmW: καὶ ἥκιστα δεῖσθαι νόμων Z   14 μιᾶς+
πόλεως Z: μι . . . αἱ P, lacuna 5–6 litt.; num μι⟨ᾶς ἀρχῆς⟩?
cf. 363. 12   15 τελειότητος δ' ἕνεκεν Heeren: τελεώτα-
τος δὲ ἕνεκεν PW: τελεώτατος δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ Mm: τελεώτερον Z
18 πόλιν codd.: ταύτας Cumanudes, bene   καὶ codd.: ἢ Bursian
18–19 fortasse ἀστρολογία . . . -ίᾳ κτλ. . . . , ut sint cives his artibus
εὐδόκιμοι   20–1 γὰρ τοὺς nos: γὰρ οὖν codd. (sed γὰρ m): γὰρ
οὐ Aldus   22 Δηλίους ἐπὶ χοροστατικῇ MmW: om. PZ: secl.
Bursian   23 alterum καὶ MmW (Bursian): om. PZ   27 τοι-

and one at another; this is what Isocrates and Aristides say of Athens in their Panathenaic speeches.

A further point about the political system is that it is best for the city to be ruled in accordance with its own will, not against its will, and for it to observe the laws with exactness, but not to need laws. This last section of praise, however, is virtually useless today, since all Roman cities are governed by one (?). It was necessary however to mention it for the sake of completeness.

As for accomplishments in branches of knowledge, ⟨these are subjects for praise⟩ if they—viz. astrology, geometry, music, grammar, philosophy, such things being accomplishments in branches of knowledge— are notable in a given city (?). For example, it is said that the Mytilenaeans are very proud of their lyre-playing, the Thebans of their flute-playing, [the Delians of their dancing,] and the Alexandrians even nowadays of their grammar, geometry, and philosophy.

Accomplishments in arts are either 'vulgar' or 'liberal'. 'Vulgar' are the arts of the goldsmith and bronzesmith, carpentry and the like. . . . One may praise a city on these grounds either with reference to the quantity of work or to the exactness of the craftsmanship. They say that the Athenians were very proud of their sculpture and painting, the Crotoniates of their medicine, and other peoples of various other arts.

Accomplishments in the field of abilities are rhetoric, athletics, and the like. The Aeginetans are proud of their athletics, and the Hermopolitans ⟨of rhetoric (?)⟩.

In addition to these accomplishments, we also consider activities, to judge if the city is governed with good order. This relates to the daily lives of men and women

αὗται + εἰσιν P   28 lacunam indicavit Spengel (post 29 ἀκρίβειαν Heeren) : deest liberalium artium enumeratio : ⟨ἐλευθέριοι δὲ ἀγαλματο-ποιία καὶ ζωγραφία καὶ ἰατρικὴ καὶ ὅσαι τοιαῦται⟩ Heeren

361. 1 ῥητορικὴ codd.: γυμναστικὴ Heeren: θηρευτικὴ Jacobs 2 ὅσαι τοιαῦται nos: -α -α codd.   3 lacunam indicavimus, quae forsitan alio loco ponenda sit   5 σκοπούμεθα Finckh: κοσμού-μεθα codd.   6–7 locum ita reficit Z : δεῖ δὲ (sic etiam P) τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν δίαιταν σὺν τῇ τῶν παίδων ἐκτίθεσθαι διαγωγῇ

δίαιταν καὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἀγωγήν. δεῖ γὰρ †τὸ
αὐτὸ† ἀποφαίνειν προσῆκον καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ
παισὶν ἐπὶ διαίτῃ ἀπονενεμημένον, ὅπερ ὁ Δίων ἐν τῷ
10 Ταρσικῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ πεποίηκεν.

Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτων | τὰς τῶν πόλεων ἐπιτηδεύσεις δοκι-
μαστέον, | τὰς δὲ πράξεις κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς [αὐτῶν] καὶ τὰ
μέρη αὐτῶν. | χρὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων σοι διελέσθαι. οὐκοῦν
ἀρεταὶ | μέν, ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν, τέσσαρες· ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη,
15 σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις. πράξεις δὲ πᾶσαι, ὅσας ἢ ἰδιῶ-
ται ἢ πόλεις ἀποδείκνυνται, κατὰ ταύτας δοκιμάζον-
ται, καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτῶν. ἔστι δὲ δικαιοσύνης
μὲν μέρη εὐσέβεια, δικαιοπραγία καὶ ὁσιότης. εὐ-
σέβεια μὲν περὶ τοὺς θεούς, δικαιοπραγία δὲ περὶ τοὺς
20 ἀνθρώπους, ὁσιότης δὲ περὶ τοὺς κατοιχομένους. τῆς
δ' αὖ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας τὸ μέν τί ἐστι θεοφι-
λότης, τὸ δὲ φιλοθεότης. θεοφιλότης μὲν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν
θεῶν φιλεῖσθαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πολλῶν τυγχάνειν,
φιλοθεότης δὲ τὸ φιλεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλίαν ἔχειν
25 περὶ αὐτούς. τῆς δ' αὖ φιλοθεότητος τὸ μέν τί ἐστιν
ἐν λόγοις, τὸ δέ τι [ἐστιν] ἐν ἔργοις. ἔργα δ' ἢ ἴδια ἢ δημό-
σια, ⟨δημόσια δ'⟩ ἢ κατ' εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ
ἂν | εὐσέβεια φανείη πόλεως. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τούτων παραδείγ-
ματα ἑκάστων ἐκθέσθαι. τῆς μὲν θεοφιλότητος ἐκεῖνα
30 [ἐγκώμια] ἃ περὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κορινθίων
⟨καὶ Δελφῶν⟩ λέγεται. περὶ Ἀθηναίων μέν, ὅτι Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ
362 Ποσει|δῶν ἤρισαν περὶ γῆς αὐτῶν, περὶ δὲ Ῥοδίων, ὅτι
ὗσεν | ὁ Ζεὺς χρυσῷ, περὶ δὲ Κορινθίων καὶ Ἰσθμοῦ, ὅτι
Ἥλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἤρισαν, περὶ δὲ Δελφῶν Ἀπόλλων
καὶ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Θέμις καὶ Νύξ. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μέρει
5 ἢ τοὺς πλείστους ἢ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν θεῶν ταῖς μεγί-
σταις τῶν τιμῶν ἢ ταῖς πρώταις ἢ ταῖς πλείσταις ἢ
ταῖς | ἀναγκαιοτάταις ἀποφαίνειν χρὴ τετιμηκότας·
πλείστους μέν, ὡς περὶ Ἀθηναίων λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ
Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν

7 ἀγωγήν Nitsche, cf. 363. 30: διαγωγήν codd.   7–8 δεῖ γὰρ τὸ
αὐτὸ MmW: δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸ P: αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ Z, qui pergit προσῆκον . . .
ἀπονενοημένον [sic] φαίνειν χρή   8 ἀποφαίνειν Heeren: φαίνειν
codd.   10 Ταρσικῷ Valesius: παροίκῳ codd.: Ῥοδιακῷ Bursian
12 αὐτῶν codd.: secl. edd.: αὐτὰς Bursian, fortasse recte   14 ὥσ-
περ ἔφαμεν secl. Bursian   16 πόλεις Nitsche: πολῖται codd.:
πολιτεῖαι Kroll   17 αὐτὰς nos: αὐταὶ codd.   18–20 καὶ

and the education of children, since one has to demon-
strate that the appropriate part(?) has been assigned to
This is women, men, and children in their daily lives.
what Dion did in his speech entitled *Oration for Tarsus*.

Such then are the principles on which the accom-
plishments of cities may be assessed. Their actions
are to be assessed in terms of the virtues and their
parts. These too I must categorize for you. The
virtues, as we said, number four: courage, justice,
temperance, and prudence. All actions performed
either by individuals or by cities are judged in terms
of these virtues themselves and their parts.

The parts of justice are piety, fair dealing, and
reverence: piety towards the gods, fair dealing towards
men, reverence towards the departed. Piety to the
gods consists of two elements: being god-loved and
god-loving. The former means being loved by the
gods and receiving many blessings from them, the
latter consists of loving the gods and having a relation-
ship of friendship with them. This second quality
again has an element of words and an element of
deeds; deeds may be private or public, ⟨public⟩
deeds may be in peace or in war. There is no other
way in which piety of a city may be displayed.

We must give examples of each of these also.

Instances of being 'god-loved' may be found in
what is said of the Athenians, Rhodians, Corin-
thians, and Delphians. Of the Athenians, it is said
that Athena and Poseidon competed for their land;
of the Rhodians, that Zeus rained gold on them;
of the Corinthians and the Isthmus, that Helios and
Poseidon competed; and of the Delphians, that Apollo,
Poseidon, Themis, and Night did the same. In this
section, we have to show that the greatest number
or the best of the gods have honoured the city with
the greatest or the first or the most numerous honours.
'Most numerous gods' applies to the Athenians:
it is said that Dionysus, Apollo, Poseidon, Athena,

ὁσιότης ... ἀνθρώπους MmW: om. Z: δικαιοπραγία δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπους
P   25 τῆς δ' αὖ φιλοθεότητος MmW: τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ θεότητος P:
τὰ δ' αὖ περὶ φιλοθεότητος Z   ἐστιν+θεοφιλότης MmW   26 secl.
edd.   27 supplevimus   ἢ¹ nos: καὶ codd.   28 εὐσέβεια
PZ: om. MmW   30 seclusimus   31 suppl. Spengel
    362. 2 χρυσῷ P: -όν cett.   7 χρὴ+τὴν πόλιν Heeren

10 καὶ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Ἄρην ἢ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς
πλείστους τετιμηκέναι λέγουσι· τοὺς ἀρίστους δέ,
ὥσπερ Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν Δία καὶ Νεμέαν· ταῖς δὲ μεγί-
σταις, ὡς περὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι σῖτον αὐτοῖς | ἐδω-
ρήσαντο· πλείσταις δέ, ὡς περὶ Ἀθηναίων· σχε|δὸν
15 γὰρ ἅπασαν τοῦ βίου τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦσι
παρὰ τῶν θεῶν γεγενῆσθαι· ταῖς δὲ ἀναγκαιοτάταις,
ὡς τὸ περὶ Αἰγυπτίων· ἀστρολογίαν ⟨γὰρ⟩ καὶ γεωμε-
τρίαν ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ †μάλιστα† ὡς
τὸ περὶ λόγων καὶ φιλοσοφίας· Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ μάλιστα
20 ταῦτα ὑπάρξαι δοκεῖ. οὕτως μὲν οὖν †ἡ θεοφιλότης
ὠνομάσθη, ἣν τῆς τεχνικῆς ἕνεκα χρείας | ἐπισκε-
πτέον†. τὴν δ' αὖ φιλοθεότητα, ὥσπερ ἔφην, | κριτέον
ἰδίᾳ μέν, εἰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἕκαστος τῆς περὶ τοὺς
θεοὺς θεραπείας ἐπιμελεῖται, δημοσίᾳ δὲ κατὰ πολ-
25 λοὺς τρόπους, εἰ τελετὰς κατεστήσαντο, εἰ πολλὰς ἑορ-
τὰς ἐνόμισαν, εἰ πλείστας θυσίας ἢ ἀκριβεστάτας, εἰ
πλεῖστα ἱερὰ ᾠκοδόμησαν ἢ πάντων θεῶν ἢ πολλὰ
ἑκάστου, εἰ τὰς ἱερωσύνας ἀκριβῶς ποιοῦνται· ἀπὸ
γὰρ τούτων αἱ τῶν πόλεων φιλοθεότητες σκοποῦνται.
30 τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν καθ' ἕνα σπάνιον ἐν τοῖς ⟨νῦν⟩ χρόνοις
εὑρεῖν, τῆς δὲ κοινῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
σπουδῆς πολλαὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται πόλεις, ὥστ', εἰ τούτων
363 μίαν ἀποφαίνοις τὴν ἐγκωμιαζομένην, ἱκανὴν εὐφη-
μίαν ἔσῃ πεπορισμένος. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
εὐσεβείας ταῦτα.

Ἡ δ' αὖ δικαιοπραγία διαιρεῖται εἴς τε τοὺς ἀφι-
5 κνουμένους ξένους καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους, μέρος δ' αὐτῆς
καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἴσοις καὶ φιλανθρώποις καὶ τὸ νό-

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10 prius ἢ Finckh: καὶ codd.   12 Ὀλυμπίαν vulg.: -α
PMmW: -ον Z   ταῖς δὲ μεγίσταις Heeren: τὰς δὲ μεγίστας
codd.   13 ὡς περὶ Heeren: ὥσπερ codd.   σῖτον+καὶ οἶνον
MmW   14 πλείσταις ... Ἀθηναίων PMmW: om. Z   Ἀθηναίων
⟨πάλιν⟩ Bursian   16–18 ταῖς . . . γεγενῆσθαι PZ: om.
MmW   17 Αἰγυπτίων Heeren: Αἴγυπτον P: Αἰγύπτιοι Z   suppl.
Vindob. 60   18 παρ' αὐτῶν codd.: παρὰ θεῶν αὐτοῖς Heeren
18–20 locum ita refingit Z: καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλοσοφίαν εἰ καὶ
τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπάρξαι τοῦτο δοκεῖ   20 ἡ θεοφιλότης
Z: ἡ θεοφιλωτάτη P: τὴν θεοφιλωτάτην MmW: τὴν θεοφιλότητα
ἐγκωμιάσεις Finckh   21 ὠνομάσθη Walz: ὠνόμακε PZMm:
ὠνόμασε W ut videtur: ὡρίκαμεν Bursian, accepto τὴν θεοφιλότητα
22 τὴν δ' αὖ MmW: δ' αὖ καὶ περὶ PZ   φιλοθεότητα MmW:
θεότητα P: φιλοθεότητος Z   25 ἑορτὰς MmW: ἀρετὰς PZ

Hephaestus, and Ares—all of these or most of them—
have honoured Athens. 'Best gods' applies to Zeus
at Olympia and Nemea. 'Greatest honours' is
applicable to the Athenians, because the gods gave
them corn; 'most honours' also to the Athenians,
because they claim that every provision of their life
comes from the gods. 'Most necessary honours' are
to be found in the case of the Egyptians, who claim
that astronomy and geometry came from the gods.
'Most . . . (?)' applies to eloquence and philosophy;
these are considered especially the prerogative of the
Athenians.

This is how we should consider what we have called
'being loved by the gods' for the purpose of our
technical need (?). 'Love of the gods', as I said, is to be
assessed (a) in private terms, by inquiring whether
each individual citizen devotes himself to the service
of the gods, (b) in public terms, in many ways: by
inquiring whether they have instituted rites of initia-
tion or established many festivals or sacrifices which
are either very numerous or most punctiliously per-
formed, or have built very many temples to all the
gods or many to each god, or perform the duties of
priesthoods very scrupulously. These are the points
under which love of the gods shown by cities is assessed.

Nowadays, it is difficult to find piety in individuals,
though many cities lay claim to common piety and
zeal for the gods. If therefore you can show that the
city of which you are giving an encomium is one of
these, you will have provided it with fame enough.

So much for piety towards the gods.

'Fair dealing' is divided into relations with visiting
foreigners and relations among the citizens them-
selves. A part of it also lies in having fair and humane

27 ᾠκοδόμησαν PZ: -αντο MmW   28 ἀκριβῶς vulg.: -εῖς codd.
28–9 ἀπὸ . . . -νται PZ: om. MmW   29 σκοποῦνται Bursian:
ποιοῦνται P: φαίνονται Z: ἐπαινοῦνται Jacobs: κρίνονται Finckh:
δηλοῦνται Heeren   30 suppl. Heeren   32 ἀντιποιοῦνται
Z: μεταποιοῦνται P: ἂν μεταποιοῖντο MmW

363. 4 διαιρεῖται codd.: θεωρεῖται Bursian   5 αὐτῆς Heeren:
-οῖς PZ: -ῶν MmW   6–9 alterum καὶ . . . ἴσοις PZMm: om. W

μοις ἀκριβέσι καὶ δικαίοις χρῆσθαι. εἰ γὰρ μήτε ξένους
ἀδικοῖεν μήτε ἀλλήλους κακουργοῖεν, τοῖς δ' ἔθεσιν
ἴσοις καὶ κοινοῖς καὶ τοῖς νόμοις χρῶντο δικαίοις, οἱ
10 πολῖται ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα τὰς πόλεις οἰκήσονται.
ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν νόμων ἐν τοῖς νῦν χρόνοις ἄχρηστον· κατὰ
γὰρ τοὺς κοινοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμους πολιτευόμεθα,
ἔθεσι δ' ἄλλη πόλις ἄλλοις χρῆται, ἐξ ὧν προσῆκεν
ἐγκωμιάζειν.

15   Τῆς τοίνυν ὁσιότητος διττὸς τρόπος· ἢ γὰρ περὶ
τὴν ἐκφορὰν τῶν τετελευτηκότων αἱ τιμαὶ γίνονται ἢ
περὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα κατὰ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τοὺς τάφους.
περὶ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐκφοράν, ὡς τὸ Ἀθήνησι πρὸ ἡλίου
ἀνίσχοντος, ἢ ἐν Θουρίοις νύκτωρ ἡ πρόθεσις, ἢ προ-
20 θέσεως ἡμέρα τακτή, ὡς τὸ Ἀθήνησι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
τοιαῦτα. περὶ δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια, τίνος ἀπάγουσι χοάς, πόσας
τινάς, μέχρι τίνος, ἐν ποίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ, τίνες αἱ ἀποφράδες
ἡμέραι· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ὁσιότητός εἰσιν. αὕτη τῆς
δικαιοσύνης ἡ διαίρεσις αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν μερῶν, πρὸς ἣν
25 τὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντα εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἡντινοῦν τῶν
πόλεων δεῖ βλέπειν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην [καὶ] τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ
τὴν φρόνησιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα. σωφροσύνης μὲν οὖν
διττὸς ἔλεγχος, ἔν τε τῇ κοινῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις
30 οἴκοις. ἐν πολιτείᾳ μὲν κοινῇ περί τε παίδων ἀγωγῆς
καὶ παρθένων καὶ γάμων καὶ συνοικήσεων καὶ τῶν νο-
μίμων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν τοῖς ἀκόσμοις. καὶ
364 γὰρ γυναικονόμους πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων εἰσὶν αἳ χειρο-
τονοῦσιν. ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ τῶν πόλεων οὔτε πρὸ πληθού-
σης ἀγορᾶς νέον φαίνεσθαι οὔτε μετὰ δείλην ὀψίαν
καλόν, οὐδὲ γυναῖκα καπηλεύειν ἢ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖν τῶν
5 κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. ἐν ἐνίαις δὲ πανηγύρεσιν οὐδὲ γυ-

7–8 μήτε ... μήτε Bursian : μὴ ... μὴ PZ : μὴ ... μήτε m : μὴ ...
μηδὲ vulg.   8 ἀδικοῖεν ... ἀλλήλους m : ἀδικοῖντο τοὺς ἄλλους PZ
9 χρῶντο P : -ται cett.   δικαίοις vulg. : -ως codd.   13 χρῆται
PMmW : κέχρηται Z   17 κατὰ τὰ Finckh : καὶ τὰ codd.   20 τὸ
Ἀθήνησι codd. : τρίτῃ Ἀθήνησι Kroll   21 ἐτήσια MmW : ὅσια PZ :
⟨κατὰ τὰ μνήματα⟩ ὅσια Bursian   ἀπάγουσι nos : ἀπάγειν codd. : ἀπ-
άγειν ⟨χρή⟩ Heeren   25 τὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντα Heeren : τῷ -τι codd.
ἡντινοῦν Finckh : καὶ τὸν (τῶν P) νοῦν codd.   27 μετὰ ... καὶ
MmW : om. PZ : lacunam indicavit Bursian et coniecit μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ
vel βλέπειν (26)· τὴν δ' αὖ σωφροσύνην   καὶ secl. Spengel   30 ἀγω-
γῆς Z (Bursian) : -ὴν cett.   31 συνοικήσεων MmW : -εσιῶν PZ

customs and precise and just laws. If the citizens neither wrong foreigners nor do harm to one another and have customs that are equal and fair and laws that are just, they will manage their city with the highest degree of excellence and justice. (Nowadays, however, the topic of laws is of no use, since we conduct public affairs by the common laws of the Romans. Customs however vary from city to city, and form an appropriate basis of encomium.)

'Reverence' falls into two classes, since honours are given in connection either with the funeral of the deceased or with the customary observances at memorials and tombs. As regards the funeral, note that at Athens the display of the body must be before sunrise, or in Thurii at night, or there is a day fixed for this, as at Athens, and so on. As regards annual ceremonies, we should note what the libations consist of, how many there are, how long the proceedings continue, what age-groups participate, what days are banned. All this falls under 'reverence'.

Such is the division of justice and its parts which should be borne in mind by an orator composing an encomium of any city whatever on grounds of justice.

After justice, let us consider temperance and prudence.

There are two tests of temperance, in public life and in private domesticity. In public life, it is involved with the education of boys and girls and with marriage and cohabitation and the regulations concerning offences against good order. Many cities elect officials to control women, in others it is thought wrong for a young person to be seen abroad before mid-morning or after late evening, or for a woman to keep a shop or do any other market business. At some festivals, as at

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32 ἀκόσμοις PZ: κόσμοις MW: τοῦ κόσμου m ⟨καὶ⟩ τοῖς ἀκόσμοις Kroll
364. 1–2 αἱ χειροτονοῦσιν vulg.: αἱ χειροτονοῦσαι codd. 2 ἄλλαις Jacobs: αὐταῖς PMmW: αἷς Z, qui πόλεσιν pro δὲ τῶν πόλεων praebet
3 ἀγορᾶς PZ: om. MmW

ναῖκες φαίνονται, ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. χρὴ τοίνυν καὶ
ταῦτα ⟨ἐν⟩ τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις παρατηρεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις
βίοις ἤδη καὶ εἰ ἐλάχιστα μοιχεία καὶ ἄλλα ἁμαρτήματα
ἐν τῇ πόλει φαίνεται.

10   Φρονήσεως δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἐν μὲν τοῖς
κοινοῖς εἰ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ περὶ ὧν οἱ νόμοι τίθεται ἀκρι-
βῶς ἡ πόλις, κλῆρον ἐπικλήρων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη νό-
μων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος διὰ τὸ τοῖς κοινοῖς χρῆσθαι
τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμοις ἄχρηστον. ἰδίως δέ, εἰ πολλοὶ
15   ἐλλόγιμοι γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ῥήτορες, σοφισταί,
γεωμέτραι, καὶ ὅσαι ἐπιστῆμαι φρονήσεως ἤρτηνται.

Ἡ δ' ἀνδρεία κατ' εἰρήνην καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον
δοκιμάζεται· κατὰ μὲν εἰρήνην πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τοῦ
δαιμονίου συντυχίας, σεισμούς, λιμούς, λοιμούς, αὐχ-
20   μούς, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. κατὰ δὲ πόλεμον πρὸς τὰς ἐν
τοῖς ὅπλοις πράξεις. †πρὸς τὰ τέλη γὰρ νίκην ἢ ἧτταν
ἀναγκαῖον γενέσθαι. χρὴ τοίνυν ἧτταν μὲν ἐρρωμένως,
νίκην δὲ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀποφαίνειν ἐνηνοχυῖαν τὴν πόλιν.
τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις πράξεων† αἱ μὲν πρὸς Ἕλληνας,
25   αἱ δὲ πρὸς βαρβάρους· ἔτι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐκ περιουσίας, αἱ
δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης. ἐνδοξότεραι μὲν τοίνυν αἱ ἐκ περιουσίας,
δικαιότεραι δὲ αἱ ἐξ ἀνάγκης. τῶν δὲ πράξεων αἱ μὲν
ἔνδοξοι, αἱ δὲ ἀμφίδοξοι, αἱ δὲ ἄδοξοι. ἔνδοξοι μέν,
ὧν καὶ ἡ πρόφασις καλὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος, ὡς ἡ ἐν Μαρα-
30   θῶνι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ [τοῦ τέλους] πρόφασις τῆς
βελτίστης μοίρας. ἀμφίδοξοι δέ, ὧν τὸ μὲν τέλος
φαῦλον, ἡ δ' αἰτία καλή, ὡς τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις Λακε-
365   δαιμονίων ἔργον· ἢ τὸ μὲν τέλος ἀγαθόν, ἡ δ' αἰτία
φαύλη, ὡς τὸ περὶ Μηλίους Ἀθηναίων ἔργον. ἄδοξοι
δέ, ὧν καὶ ἡ αἰτία καὶ τὸ τέλος φαῦλον, ὡς τὸ Λακε-
δαιμονίων περὶ Καδμείαν ἔργον. αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν πράξεων
5   αἱ μὲν κοιναί, αἱ δὲ ἴδιαι· ἴδιαι μέν, ὡς τὸ περὶ
Θυρέαν Λακεδαιμονίου ἔργον, κοιναὶ δέ, ὡς τὸ ἐν

7 suppl. Spengel   8 μοιχεία Heeren: ἐν μοιχείᾳ codd.
10 τρόπον ἐν μὲν Heeren: χρόνον ἐν δὲ codd.   11 εἰ Heeren: εἰς
codd.   τίθεται Walz: τίθενται codd.   12 ἐπικλήρων Heeren:
ἐπὶ κλήρον (vel -ῳ) codd.   13 τοῖς MmW: om. PZ   16 ἐπι-
στῆμαι PMmW: τῶν ἐπιστημῶν Z   18 δοκιμάζεται+καὶ codd.
praeter Z   μὲν hic PMm: post εἰρήνην Z: om. W   20–4 omnia
fere incerta. ⟨καὶ⟩ πρὸς τὰ τέλη· ⟨πρὸς τῷ τέλει⟩ γὰρ Bursian, haud
inepte. fortasse locus ita reficiendus: κατὰ δὲ πόλεμον πρὸς ⟨τὰ τέλη
καὶ τὰς προφάσεις καὶ⟩ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις πράξεις· πρὸς τὰ τέλη· νίκην

Olympia, women do not appear at all. These points should therefore be observed in encomia. In private lives, ⟨we consider⟩ whether there is very little adultery or other bad behaviour in the city.

Similarly with prudence. In public affairs, we consider whether the city accurately lays down customs and the subjects of laws—inheritances by heirs and other legal topics. (This theme, however, is also pointless, because we use the common laws of the Romans.) On the private side, the question is whether there are many famous rhetors, sophists, geometers, and representatives of other sciences which depend on wisdom.

Courage is assessed in peace and war. In peace, we see it in relation to accidents of fate—earthquakes, famines, plagues, droughts, and so on. In war, we see it in relation to ⟨results, causes, and⟩ actions under arms. Results (?) : there must be either a victory or a defeat, and therefore we need to show that the city bore its defeats with fortitude and its victories with humanity(?). Causes (?) are (a) either against Greeks or against barbarians, (b) either unnecessary or necessary: the unnecessary have the greater glory, the necessary have the greater justification. Actions are of good repute, ambivalent repute, or no repute. They are of good repute if both the cause and the result are good, like the action at Marathon, where both the result and the cause are of the best class. They are of ambivalent repute if the result is bad but the cause good, like the Lacedaemonian action at Thermopylae, or the result good but the cause bad, like the action of Athens at Melos. Of no repute are actions in which both the cause and the result are bad, like the Lacedaemonian action at the Cadmea.

Of the actions themselves, some are public, others private: a private one is the action of the Lacedaemo-

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. . . γενέσθαι· χρὴ τοίνυν . . . πόλιν (23)· τῶν δὲ προφάσεων αἱ μὲν κτλ.
i.e. tractantur eventus, praetextus, res gestae; harum autem qualitas
(27 sqq.) ex illis pendet. ita fere interpretamur   21 πράξεις
PMmW: τάξεις Z   τὰ τέλη PZMW: τῷ τέλει m   νίκην ἢ ἧτταν
PZ: ἧτταν ἢ νίκην MmW   22 ἀναγκαῖον PZm: -ως MW
23 νίκην ZMmW: νίκαν P: νίκας vulg.   30 secl. Bursian
   365. 1–7 ἢ τὸ μὲν . . . ἔργον P (sed cf. ad 6–7) MmW: om. Z
2 Μηλίους MmW: Μηλισίους P   4 πράξεων nos: ὑποθέσεων
codd.   6–7 Λακεδαιμονίου . . . Θερμοπύλαις MmW: om. P

Θερμοπύλαις Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον. ἐνδοξότεραι τοί-
νυν αἱ κοιναί. ὡς δὲ χρὴ ταύτας τάττειν, ἐν ἄλλοις
δείξομεν.

10 Δοκεῖ δὲ ἴδιος τόπος εἶναι παρὰ τούτους ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν
τιμῶν, ὧν τετυχήκασιν αἱ πόλεις παρὰ βασιλέων ἢ ἀρ-
χόντων ἢ γνωρίμων ἀνδρῶν, οἷον ὅτι αὐτονόμους
ἀφῆκαν ἐνίας πόλεις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐλευθέρας.
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπιχείρημα ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ τόπος γενικός·
15 ἔστι γὰρ [ὁ] ἀπὸ κρίσεως ἐνδόξου, ἡμῖν δὲ νῦν οὐκ
ἐπιχειρημάτων †συγγράμματος ἔσται σοι ἡ περὶ ταῦτα
ἔφοδος, γνωριμωτέρα δὲ† ἡ περὶ τῶν γενικῶν καὶ ἀνω-
τάτω τόπων, ἀφ' ὧν πόλεις ἔστιν ἐπαινεῖν. χρὴ δέ σε
μηδ' ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ μέρει τούτων ὅλαι
20 ὑποθέσεις γίνονται. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ λουτροῦ μόνου κατα-
σκευῇ καὶ ἐπὶ λιμένος καὶ ἐπὶ μέρει τινὶ τῆς πόλεως
ἀνοικοδομηθέντι ἔστι προσφωνεῖν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τούτων
διαμέμνησο μὴ τελέως τέμνειν, †ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ προσ-
ταχθὲν ἀναγκαίως βραχύτατα ἐπιδραμεῖν.†

25 Ἔτι τοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἐγκωμίοις κἀκεῖνο χρὴ ἐπιση|μή-
νασθαι, ὅτι τὰ ἐγκώμια γίγνεται τὰ μὲν κοινὰ παν|τὸς τοῦ
χρόνου, τὰ δ' ἴδια καιρῶν, ⟨ἴδια μὲν καιρῶν⟩ ὅταν ἐν ἑορταῖς
ἢ πανηγύρεσιν οἱ λόγοι γίγνωνται, ⟨ἢ⟩ ἐν ἀγῶνι, ἢ ἐν
μονομαχίαις· κοινὰ δέ, ὅταν μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην πρό-
30 φασιν ἔχῃ. χρὴ τοίνυν τῶν πανηγυρικῶν πλείστην
διατριβὴν περὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἕκαστον ποιεῖσθαι, οἷον εἰ
ἑορτὴ εἴη ἢ πανήγυρις ἢ σύνοδος ἐν ἀγῶνι ἢ ἐνοπλίῳ
366 ἢ γυμνικῷ ἢ μουσικῷ. ὅπως δὲ χρὴ τούτων ἕκαστον
ἐπαινεῖν, νῦν ἤδη ἄκουε. ἐπαινεῖν χρὴ τὰς συνόδους
καὶ πανηγύρεις ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν· κοι-
νῶν μὲν τῶν θετικῶν, ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐκ συνόδων γίνεται
5 ἀνθρώποις· ἰδίων δέ, [τὰ περιστατικὰ καλούμενα μό-
ρια,] ἀπὸ προσώπου τριχῶς, θεῶν εἰ ἑορταὶ ἢ ἡρώων

8 κοιναί Heeren: κοινότεραι codd.   τάττειν PZ: πράττειν MmW
13 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Heeren: καὶ Ῥωμαίας codd.: secl. Spengel   15 secl.
Heeren   15 sqq. locus desperatus   16 ἔσται PMmW:
ἔστω Z   18 σε MmW: σοι PZ   20 ⟨τῇ⟩ κατασκευῇ Bursian
22 ἀνοικοδομηθέντι Z (Walz): -τος cett.   ἔστι προσφωνεῖν
PMmW: χρήσιμον τὸ παρὸν μέλημα Z   23 ἀλλὰ+περὶ αὐτὸ PZ
23–4 locus perdifficilis   24 ἀναγκαίως βραχύτατα MmW:
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν (ᾧ P) βραχυτάτοις PZ   25 ἔτι codd.: ἐπὶ Spengel
27 suppl. Heeren   28 γίγνωνται Z: γίνονται P: λέγονται MmW

nian survivor at Thyrea, a public one is the action of the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae. Public subjects are thus of better repute. I shall explain how to arrange these elsewhere.

It is generally held that a separate topic, distinct from these, is made up of the honours conferred on cities by kings, rulers, or notable men: e.g. the Romans have made some cities independent and free. This, however, is a mode of argument (*epicheirēma*), not a general topic, for it is an argument from authority. You may learn more about this technique from the treatise on *epicheirēmata*; the present work is concerned not with these but with the general topics on the basis of which cities may be praised (?).

You must also bear in mind that whole subjects may be found in a single part of a city: an address may be delivered on the occasion of the construction of a bath or a harbour or the restoration of a quarter of the city. In these cases, remember not to formulate a complete division, but only as regards the subject which has been set, handling everything else with the greatest possible brevity (?).

A further observation to be made about encomia of cities is that some are common to all times, some to special occasions. ⟨They are special to occasions⟩ when the speeches are made at feasts or festivals or at a competition or a gladiatorial show. They are common when they have no such pretext. In festival speeches, most time should be spent on the particular occasion, e.g. if it is a feast or a festival or a gathering for competitions of feats of arms, athletics, or music.

Let me explain now how to praise each of these.

Assemblies and festivals can be praised either on particular or on common grounds. The common grounds are the thesis-topics of the blessings of festivals for mankind. The particular are [the so-called circumstantial parts]: (i) person, in three aspects: whether the festival is in honour of gods,

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⟨ὖ⟩ suppl. Heeren   30 ἔχῃ Mm (Walz): ἔχει P: -οι W: -ειν Z πλείστην Z: τε τὴν πλείστην cett.

366. 5 ἰδίων codd.: ἴδια Spengel   5–6 seclusimus   ⟨κατὰ⟩ τὰ περιστατικὰ Finckh   6 εἰ ἑορταὶ ἢ Heeren, Spengel: ἀρεταὶ ἢ MmW: ἀρεταὶ PZ

ἢ βασιλέων, τίνες οἱ συνάγοντές εἰσι, τίνες οἱ συνιόν-
τες· ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, εἰ ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ κεῖται ὁ τόπος,
ἔνθα ἡ σύνοδος, ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ τόπων πλεῖστον ἀπεχόντων
10 συνέρχονται· τὰ γὰρ περισπούδαστα τίμια· ἀπὸ δὲ
χρόνου, εἰ τοῦ ἔτους ἐν τῷ ὑγιεινοτάτῳ καὶ ἡδίστῳ
καιρῷ· ἀπὸ δὲ αἰτίας, εἰ οἴονται ἡδίους καὶ βελτίους
ἔσεσθαι· ἀπὸ ὕλης δέ, ἂν πολυτελεῖς καὶ σεμναί.

Δεῖ δ' ἴσως καὶ παραδείγματα τούτων εἰπεῖν, ἵν'
15 ὑπάρχῃ ῥᾴδιον παρακολουθῆσαι. τῶν μὲν τοίνυν κοι-
νῶν ἐστιν, οἷον τὸ Ἰσοκράτους, τῶν τοίνυν τὰς
πανηγύρεις καταστησάντων δικαίως ἐπαί|νου-
μένων. . . . ἡ μὲν πανήγυρις ἄγεται θεῷ, ὡς Ὀλύμ-
πια τῷ Διΐ· ἥρωϊ δὲ τὰ Ἴσθμια Παλαίμονι, καὶ Νέμεα
20 Ἀρχεμόρῳ· βασιλεῖ δέ, ὡς τὰ Σεβάστεια πολλαχοῦ. τῶν
δὲ συναγόντων, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ Ῥωμαίων· συμ-
βάλλεται γὰρ ἐπὶ δόξαν τῇ πανηγύρει καὶ τὸ ἐνδόξους
εἶναι τοὺς ἐπαγγέλλοντας τὴν σύνοδον. τῶν δὲ συνιόν-
των ὡς πλείστων ἢ ὡς ἐνδοξοτάτων, ἐνδοξοτάτων μέν,
25 ὡς οἱ Ὀλυμπίαζε· οἱ γὰρ γνωριμώτεροι συνέρχονται·
πλείστων δέ, ὡς τὸ περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τῶν Ἑβραίων
ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην· ἐξ ἐθνῶν γὰρ πλεί-
στων συλλέγονται. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τόπον, ἔνθα μὲν ἡ
πανήγυρις, ὡς τὸ περὶ Δελφῶν, ὅτι ἐν ὀμφαλῷ τῆς γῆς
30 κεῖται· ὅθεν δὲ ὁρμῶνται οἱ συνιόντες, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ
Πυθικοῦ ἀγῶνος· ἐκ περάτων γὰρ τῆς γῆς συνίασι· δι' οὗ
δὲ τόπου συνέρχονται, ὡς τὸ περὶ Ὀλυμπίων· χαλε-
367 πωτάτη γὰρ ἡ ἄνοδος, ὅμως δὲ παραβάλλονται οἱ ἄν-
θρωποι. ἀπὸ δὲ χρόνου κατὰ μὲν τὴν περίοδον, ἐὰν
μὲν ᾖ ἐνιαύσιος, ὅτι οὐ σπανιότητί ἐστι περισπούδαστος,
ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι, καὶ συνεχῶς γινομένη οὐδὲν ἐκείνων

8 ἀπὸ (ἀπὸ δὲ W) τοῦ τόπου MmW: ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων PZ   11 τοῦ
ἔτους Jacobs: τούτους codd.   12 οἴονται P: οἷόν τε cett.   13 ἂν
Walz: παν αἱ P: ἂν αἱ Mm: ἂν εἶεν m: ὅτι πάντα αἱ Z: εἰ αἱ ⟨δαπαναὶ⟩
Bursian   14 δ' Z (Heeren): σε P: σοι MmW   15 ὑπάρχῃ
PZ: -ξῃ MmW   18 lac. ind. Heeren: alii aliter suppleverunt,
sensus autem minime dubius est, e.g. ⟨ἰδίων δέ, ἀπὸ προσώπου μέν⟩
ἡ πανήγυρις   20 Σεβάστεια Ricc. 1: -άστια codd.   21 συν-
αγόντων . . . Ἀθηναίων Walz: Ἀθηναίων PZ: Ἀθηναίων ὡς τὸ (τῶν m)
συναγόντων Ἀθηναίων MmW   23 ἐπαγγέλλοντας m (Finckh):
ἀπ- cett.   26 τὸ . . . Ἑβραίων PZ: om. Mm (26–7 τὴν . . .
prius τὴν om. W)   27 ἐπὶ PMm: περὶ Z   Συρίαν PMmW:
Ἀσσυρίαν Z   τὴν Παλαιστίνην PZ: τῶν -ων MmW   πλείστων

heroes, or kings; who summons it; who goes to it; (ii) place: whether the location of the meeting is convenient, and whether people come from widely separated areas (for what is much sought after has value); (iii) time: whether it is at the healthiest and pleasantest time of the year; (iv) cause: whether people expect to be happier and better; (v) material: whether the celebrations are costly and magnificent.

Perhaps I should give you examples of these, to make it easier to follow.

For 'common' topics, compare the passage of Isocrates beginning: 'Those who have established festivals have justly been praised . . .' ⟨For 'particular' grounds, compare the following: (i) Person:⟩ the festival is held in honour of a god—the Olympian festival, in honour of Zeus; of a hero—the Isthmian for Palaemon and the Nemean for Archemorus; or of a monarch—the Sebasteia in many places. Who summons it? Perhaps Athenians or Romans, since it contributes to the repute of the festival that those who proclaim it should be of high repute. Who goes to it? Are they very numerous or of very high repute—the latter as at Olympia, where the most notable gather together; the former as at the Hebrews' festival in Palestine, where they gather in great numbers from many nations? (ii) Place: where the festival is held, e.g. at Delphi at the navel of the earth; where people come from, e.g. from the ends of the world to the Pythian festival; what places they pass through—e.g. at Olympia the ascent is very difficult, but people do risk it. (iii) Time: if it is an annual occasion, 'it is not sought after for rarity, like other festivals; yet, though it happens often, it is in

vulg.: πλεῖστοι codd.: ⟨πλείστων⟩ πλεῖστοι Bursian   30 ὁρμῶνται Jacobs: ὁρῶντες PMmW: ὁρῶσιν Z   31 γὰρ Z (Bursian): om. cett.

367. 1 γὰρ ἡ MmW: ἡ P: om. Z   3 ἐνιαύσιος Valesius: ὀνιλύσιος PMmW: om. Z

5 ἀπολείπεται σεμνότητι, ὡς τὰ Λήναια, ὡς Ἐλευσίνια . . .
καὶ Νέμεα καὶ ῎Ισθμια· ἐν δὲ πενταετηρικῇ ἢ τετραε-
τηρικῇ ἢ ⟨διὰ⟩ πλειόνων, ὡς τὰ Πύθια καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ
Δαίδαλα ἐν Πλαταιαῖς· δι' ἑξήκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἄγεται.

5 ὡς τὰ . . . Ἐλευσίνια Heeren : ὡς Ἐλευσίνια Z : ὡς ἥ τε λέγει ἢ
ὡς ῎Ελευσιν vel sim. PMmW   post Ἐλευσίνια aliquid excidisse
videtur : Eleusinia enim quotannis, Nemea et Isthmia tertio quoque
anno fiunt   7 suppl. Bursian : πλειόνων ⟨ἐτῶν⟩ Nitsche
8 Δαίδαλα Valesius : Δαιδάλεια vel sim. codd.   δι' ἑξήκοντα
Valesius : διεκόντα vel διίκοντα codd.   post ἄγεται sequitur in codd.
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρός φησι κτλ., i.e. excerptum ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου quod in-
venies ap. Spengelium, *Rhet. graec.* ii. 555–60, iii. 1–6; nulla inter-
punctio, nullus titulus

no way behind the others in splendour' : examples are the Lenaea, the Eleusinian mysteries . . . the Nemean and Isthmian games. If it is every three or four years or at a longer interval, like the Pythian and Olympian games, or the Daidala at Plataea, which happens every sixty years.

ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΡΗΤΟΡΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΩΝ

368 Ὁ βασιλικὸς λόγος ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι βασιλέως· οὐκ-
οῦν αὔξησιν ὁμολογουμένην περιέξει τῶν προσόντων
5 ἀγαθῶν βασιλεῖ, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφίβολον καὶ ἀμφισβη-
τούμενον ἐπιδέχεται διὰ τὸ ἄγαν ἔνδοξον τὸ πρόσωπον
εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐφ᾽ ὁμολογουμένοις ἀγαθοῖς τὴν ἐργα-
σίαν ποιήσῃ. λήψῃ τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τὰ προοίμια δη-
λονότι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐξήσεως, μέγεθος περιτιθεὶς τῇ
10 ὑποθέσει, ὅτι δυσέφικτος, καὶ ὅτι καθῆκας ἑαυτὸν
εἰς ἀγῶνα οὐ ῥᾴδιον κατορθωθῆναι λόγῳ, ἢ τοὺς
ἑαυτοῦ λόγους μακαριεῖς, ὅτι καθῆκαν εἰς πεῖραν
πραγμάτων, μετ᾽ ἀγαθῆς καὶ λαμπρᾶς τῆς τύχης,
ἧς | εἰ τύχοιεν, μεγίστην ἄρασθαι δυνήσονται
15 δόξαν· ἢ ὅτι ἄτοπόν ἐστι τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν παρὰ
βασιλέων πειρωμένους μὴ τὸν πρέποντα καὶ ὀφει-
λόμενον αὐτοῖς ἔρανον ἀποδιδόναι· ἢ ὅτι δύο τὰ μέ-
γιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐστὶν εὐσέβεια περὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τιμὴ περὶ βασι-
20 λέας, ἃ προσήκει καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ ὑμνεῖν κατὰ δύνα-
μιν. δέχεται δὲ τὰ προοίμια τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐκ
παρα|δειγμάτων ἀορίστων αὐξήσεις, οἷον ὡς ἂν εἰ
λέγοιμεν, ὥσπερ δὲ πελάγους ἀπείρου τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
369 μέτρον οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν, οὕτω καὶ βασιλέως εὐφη-
μίαν λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ
τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τοῦτο εὕροις ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης
ἐπιδεικτικῆς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς συν-
5 τόνοις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ κρεῖττον
ὕμνοις καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἱλασκόμεθα, οὕτω καὶ βασιλέα

368. 1– PZ mWXY p   3 sqq. totum caput a Iosepho
Rhakendyte (Rhak.) excerptum repetitur ap. Walz, *Rhet. graec.*
iii. 547 sqq.   4 περιέξει PmWXY: περιέχει Zp   5 ἀμφίβολον
Zp: ὡς ἀμφίβολον X: ὡς ἀμφίδοξον P: πρὸς ἀμφίδοξον mWY   καὶ+
ὡς mW   10 καθῆκας pZ: καθῆκα P: καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς mWXY   ἑαυτὸν
Zp: om. PmWXY   11 κατορθωθῆναι+τῷ pWY   12 μακαριεῖς
PmWXY: -ίσεις Zp   13 τῆς Pp: om. cett.   14 τύχοιεν
PZp: λόγοι ἐπιτύχοιεν cett.   17 αὐτοῖς hic Pp, post ἔρανον cett.

I–II THE IMPERIAL ORATION
(*BASILIKOS LOGOS*)

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 splendour of the person concerned. You
should therefore elaborate it on the assumption that
it relates to things universally acknowledged to be
good. It clearly follows that you should derive the
prooemia from the amplification, investing the subject
with grandeur on the ground that 'it is hard to match'
and you 'have entered into a contest in which it is
difficult to succeed in words(?)', or else you may con-
gratulate your own words because 'they have come
to a trial of actions, attended by good and brilliant
fortune; if they enjoy this, they will be able to win
great glory'. Alternatively: 'Having, as we do, so
many blessings from the emperors, it is absurd not to
return them our due and proper offering.' Or again:
'The two greatest things in human life are piety
towards the divine and honour to emperors; these,
therefore, we should honour and hymn to the best of
our ability.' The prooemia of this speech also admit
amplifications based on indefinite examples: e.g.
as if we were to say, 'And as it is impossible to take
the measure of the infinite sea with our eyes (?),
so it is difficult to take in the fame of the emperor in
words.' This idea may be found not only in the im-
perial oration but in all epideictic subjects, especially
those which are in a higher stylistic tone. 'We thus
propitiate the emperor with words as we do the divine
power with hymns and praises.' You may obtain

19 τιμὴ Rhak.: τόλμα (vel -η) codd.   βασιλέας pX: βασιλέως
PZmY: de W non liquet: τὸν βασιλέα Rhak. B   20 post κατὰ
δύναμιν transp. Nitsche 369. 5–7 ὥσπερ . . . λόγοις   21 τοῦ
λόγου PZp: om. cett.   22 ἀορίστων + ἀπίστως p   εἰ Zp: om.
cett.   23 ὥσπερ δὲ codd. praeter Z, qui ὅτι ὥσπερ praebet,
tum ἀπείρου πελάγους μέτρον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς   τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
suspectum
    369. 3 ἄν mWXY: om. cett.   5 v. ad 368. 20

λόγοις. λήψει δὲ δευτέρων προοιμίων ἐννοίας, ὅταν
αὐξήσεως ἕνεκα παραλαμβάνηται, ἢ ἀπὸ Ὁμήρου τῆς
μεγαλοφωνίας, ὅτι ταύτης μόνης ἐδεῖτο ἡ ὑπόθεσις,
10 ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Καλλιόπης ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν
αὐτῶν, ὅτι μόλις ἂν καὶ αὗται πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ὑπο-
θέσεως εἰπεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲν κωλύει
καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρῆσαι πρὸς δύναμιν. ἡ τρίτη δὲ τοῦ
προοιμίου ἔννοια (καθόλου δὲ τούτου μέμνησο τοῦ
15 παραγγέλματος) προκαταρκτικὴ γενέσθω τῶν κεφα-
λαίων, οἷον ὡς διαποροῦντος τοῦ λέγοντος ὅθεν
χρὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκωμίων ποιήσασθαι.

Μετὰ τὰ προοίμια ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἥξεις. ἐν-
ταῦθα δὲ διασκέψῃ κατὰ σαυτόν, πότερον ἔνδοξός
20 ἐστιν ἢ οὔ [καὶ πότερον πατρίδος περιβλέπτου καὶ
λαμπρᾶς ἢ οὔ]. κἂν μὲν ἔνδοξος ἡ πατρὶς τυγχάνῃ, προ-
θήσεις τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γένους
ἐρεῖς, οὐκ ἐνδιατρίβων μὲν εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ
προχέων ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς τοὺς λόγους· οὐ γὰρ ἴδιον
25 τοῦτο μόνου βασιλέως τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ κοι-
νὸν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν πόλιν· διόπερ
τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα λυσιτελεῖ παρατρέχειν. ἂν δὲ μὴ ἡ
πόλις ἔνδοξος ᾖ, ζητήσεις τὸ ἔθνος ἅπαν, εἰ ἀνδρεῖον
ὑπείληπται καὶ ἄλκιμον, εἰ περὶ λόγους ἔχει ἢ κτῆσιν
30 ἀρετῶν, ὡς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, εἴτε νόμιμον, ὡς τὸ Ἰτα-
λικόν, ἢ ἀνδρεῖον, ὡς τὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Παιό-
νων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους λήψῃ
370 βραχέα, προσοικειῶν κἀνταῦθα τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἔπαι-
νον καὶ κατασκευάζων, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον τὸν ἐκ [τῆς τοιαύ-
της πόλεως ἢ] τοῦ τοιούτου ἔθνους τοιοῦτον εἶναι, καὶ
ὅτι τῶν ὁμοφύλων πάντων ἐπαινετῶν ὄντων αὐτὸς μό-
5 νος διήνεγκεν· οὗτος γοῦν καὶ μόνος ἠξιώθη τῆς βασι-
λείας· εἶτα ἐξ ἱστορίας παραδείγματα, ὅτι πάντων
ὄντων ἀνδρείων Θετταλῶν ὁ Πηλέως ἠξιώθη τῆς ἡγε-

7 λήψει XRhak.: λήψεται cett.   δευτέρων προοιμίων pmWXY:
-ον -ον PZ, Bursian   7–8 ὅταν ... παραλαμβάνηται hic nos: post
λόγοις codd.: post προοίμιον Bursian   10 Ὀρφέως τοῦ Καλλιόπης
codd.: τινὸς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς μεγίστων VRhak.   11 τῆς ὑποθέσεως
mXY: om. PZp: τοῦ βασιλέως W   15 γενέσθω ZmW: γιν- PXp
16 οἷον nos: λοιπὸν ZWXYp (post διαποροῦντος VRhak.): om. Pm
20–1 καὶ ... οὔ Zp: om. cett.: secl. Bursian   21 μὲν ...
τυγχάνῃ Zp: om. cett. προθήσεις p: προσ- W: παρα- Z: προθῇς XY:

ideas for the second prooemium (when this is added
for amplification) either from the grandeur of Homer
—'this alone is what the subject needed'—or from
Orpheus the son of Calliope, or from the Muses them-
selves—'scarcely would even they have been able
to speak worthily of the subject; yet there is nothing
to prevent *us* making an attempt as best we can'.
The third idea for the prooemium—remember this
precept generally!—should be one that is introductory
to the main heading, e.g. in the form of the speaker's
uncertainty about the point with which to begin the
encomium.

After the prooemia, you will come to the topic of his
native country. Here you must ask yourself whether it
is a distinguished country or not [and whether he comes
from a celebrated and splendid place or not]. If his
native country is famous, you should place your
account of it first, and mention it before his family,
not, however, dwelling on it, nor spending many words
on the subject. This encomium is not peculiar to the
emperor, but applies generally to the inhabitants of
the city. It is therefore wise to pass over the inessential
parts quickly. If the city has no distinction, you
must inquire whether his nation as a whole is con-
sidered brave and valiant, or is devoted to literature
or the possession of virtues, like the Greek race, or
again is distinguished for law, like the Italian, or is
courageous, like the Gauls or Paeonians. You must
then take a few features from the nation, instead of
from the native city, associating the emperor's praise
with this also, and arguing that it is inevitable that
a man from such a [city or] nation should have such
characteristics, and that he stands out among all his
praiseworthy compatriots, since he alone was thought
worthy of the throne. Examples from history may
be added: all the Thessalians were brave, but only
the son of Peleus was thought to deserve the leader-

προσθῆς mV: προθεὶς P   25 μόνου mWX: μόνον cett.   μόνου+
τοῦ Rhak.   τὸ Pmp: om. cett.   27 alterum μὴ XYp: μηδὲ cett.
29 καὶ ἄλκιμον codd.: om. VRhak.   ἔχει codd.: σπουδάζει VRhak.
30–1 ὡς τὸ . . . Παιόνων codd.: om. VRhak.   31 Γαλατῶν καὶ
Παιόνων PZp: Παιόνων καὶ Γαλατῶν cett.
    370. 2–3 seclusimus   5 γοῦν P: γὰρ mWXYVp: καὶ γὰρ Z

μονίας τοῦ γένους, δηλονότι τῷ πάντων διαφέρειν.
ἐὰν δὲ μήτε ἡ πατρὶς μήτε τὸ ἔθνος τυγχάνῃ περίβλε-
10 πτον, ἀφήσεις μὲν τοῦτο, θεωρήσεις δὲ πάλιν, πότε-
ρον ἔνδοξον αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἢ οὔ. κἂν μὲν ἔνδοξον ᾖ,
ἐξεργάσῃ τὰ περὶ τούτου, ἐὰν δὲ ἄδοξον ᾖ ἢ εὐτελές,
μεθεὶς καὶ τοῦτο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἀρχὴν
ποιήσῃ, ὡς Καλλίνικος ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ βασι|λικῷ·
15 ἢ ἄλλως τοιαῦτα ἄττα περὶ τοῦ γένους ἐρεῖς, ὅτι εἴχο-
μεν εἰπεῖν τι περὶ τοῦ γένους, ἐπεὶ δὲ νικᾷ τὰ τοῦ βα-
σιλέως, σπεύδωμεν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι
γένη κοσμείτωσαν καὶ λεγόντων περὶ αὐτῶν ἃ βούλονται,
ἐγὼ δὲ μόνον ἐπαινέσω τοῦτον ἄνευ τοῦ γένους· ἀρκεῖ
20 γὰρ αὐτὸς χωρὶς ἐπεισάκτου τινὸς εὐφημίας ἔξωθεν.
ἢ οὕτως· πολλοὶ τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰσί, τῇ
δ' ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καταπέμπονται καί εἰσιν ἀπόρ-
ροιαι ὄντως τοῦ κρείττονος· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς ἐνομί-
ζετο μὲν Ἀμφιτρύωνος, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἦν Διός· οὕτω
25 καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἡμέτερος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τῇ
δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὴν καταβολὴν οὐρανόθεν ἔχει. οὐ γὰρ ἂν
τοσούτου κτήματος καὶ τοσαύτης ἀξίας ἔτυχε, μὴ οὐχὶ
ὡς κρείττων γεγονὼς τῶν τῇδε. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
περὶ τοῦ γένους ἀφοσιωσάμενος πάλιν ζήτει τὰ περὶ
30 γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ τοῦτο
ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν ἔχωμεν μεθόδῳ τινὶ κρύψαι τὸ
ἄδοξον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ γένους εἰρήκαμεν ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ
371 ὑπάρχῃ τοῦτο ἔνδοξον, ἐρεῖς αὐτὸν ἐκ θεῶν γενέ-
σθαι, καὶ δὴ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, παρελευσό-
μεθα. οὐκοῦν ἔστω σοι μετὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μετὰ τὸ
γένος τρίτον κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς ἔφα-
5 μεν, ⟨καὶ⟩ εἴ τι σύμβολον γέγονε περὶ τὸν τόκον ἢ κατὰ
γῆν ἢ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, [καὶ] ἀντεξέτασον
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον καὶ Κῦρον καὶ τοιούτοις τισί.
[τὰ] κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν [καὶ] γὰρ κἀκείνοις συνέβη τινὰ θαυ-
μάσια, τῷ μὲν Κύρῳ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὀνείρατα, τῷ δὲ
10 τὰ περὶ τὴν λύκαιναν· κἂν μὲν ᾖ τι τοιοῦτον περὶ

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8 δηλονότι codd.: om. VRhak.   9 τυγχάνῃ codd.: ὑπάρχῃ
VRhak.   15 ἄττα p: ἄτινα Z: om. cett.   εἴχομεν p:
εἶχον μὲν cett.   16 τι Zp: om. cett.   18 καὶ PZmWXYV:
om. p   20 αὐτὸς p: αὐτῷ cett.   22 καταπέμπονται ZmWXY:
παρα- P: πέμπονται p   25 τῷ ... δοκεῖν PZmWXY: τῇ ... δόξῃ p
26 ἂν PZp: δὴ cett.   27–8 μὴ οὐχὶ ὡς codd.: μὴ ὄντως Nitsche

ship of the race, plainly because of his superiority
to all others.

If neither his city nor his nation is conspicuously
famous, you should omit this topic, and consider
whether his family has prestige or not. If it has,
work this up. If it is humble or without prestige,
omit it likewise, and start with the emperor himself,
as Callinicus did in his great Imperial Oration.
Alternatively, you can say something about the family
on these lines: 'I should have spoken of his family,
but since the emperor's own achievements prevail
over everything, let us make haste to speak of him.
Let others flatter families and say what they will of
them; I shall praise the emperor by himself, without
his family. He suffices by himself, without any glory
taken from elsewhere.' Or again: 'Many seem to
be of human stock, but in truth are sent down from
God, and are verily an emanation of the higher
power. Heracles was believed to be the son of Am-
phitryon, but in reality he was the son of Zeus. So
our emperor is by repute of human origin, but in
reality he has his begetting from heaven; for he would
not have won such a prize and such honour, except in
virtue of being superior to those of this world.'

After disposing thus of the topic of his origin,
inquire next about the birth of the emperor himself.
It must be carefully noted that, if we find ourselves
able to conceal lack of repute by some technical
device (compare what we said in connection with the
topic of family, viz. that, if this is not of high repute,
you could say that he is divinely born), we must do
just this; if there is no such technical resource,
we must omit the topic.

After country and family, then, let the third head-
ing, as we have just said, be 'birth', and if any divine
sign occurred at the time of his birth, either on land
or in the heavens or on the sea, compare the circum-
stances with those of Romulus, Cyrus, and similar
stories, since in these cases also there were miraculous
happenings connected with their birth—the dream
of Cyrus' mother, the suckling of Romulus by the

371. 5 addidimus   6, 8 [καὶ] seclusimus   8 τὰ om. m: habent
cett.   vulgo post 8 γένεσιν interpungunt

τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξέργασαι, ἐὰν δὲ οἷόν τε ᾖ καὶ πλάσαι καὶ
ποιεῖν τοῦτο πιθανῶς, μὴ κατόκνει· δίδωσι γὰρ ἡ
ὑπόθεσις διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀνάγκην ἔχειν ἀβασα-
νίστως δέχεσθαι τὰ ἐγκώμια. μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἐρεῖς
15 τι καὶ περὶ φύσεως, οἷον ὅτι ἐξέλαμψεν ἐξ ὠδίνων
εὐειδὴς   τῷ   κάλλει   καταλάμπων   τὸ   φαινόμενον
ἀστέρι καλλίστῳ τῶν κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἐφάμιλλος. ἑξῆς δὲ
κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀνατροφή, εἰ ἐν βασιλείοις ἀνετρά-
φη, εἰ ἁλουργίδες τὰ σπάργανα, εἰ ἐκ πρώτης βλάστης
20 ἐν βασιλικοῖς ἀνετράφη κόλποις· ἢ οὐχ οὕτως μέν,
ἀνελήφθη δὲ εἰς βασιλείαν νέος ὢν ὑπό τινος μοίρας
εὐτυχοῦς. κἀνταῦθα   θήσεις   παραδείγματα   ζητήσας
ὅμοια, ἐὰν ᾖ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τὴν ἀνατροφὴν ἔνδοξον ἔχῃ,
ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς παρὰ Χείρωνι, ζητήσεις τὴν παιδείαν καὶ
25 ἐνταῦθα προσεπισημαίνων, ὅτι βούλομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς
εἰρημένοις καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν,
ἐν ᾧ ἐρεῖς τὴν φιλομάθειαν, τὴν ὀξύτητα, τὴν περὶ τὰ
μαθήματα σπουδήν, τὴν ῥᾳδίαν κατάληψιν τῶν διδα-
σκομένων. κἂν μὲν ἐν λόγοις ᾖ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ λό-
30 γων γνώσει, τοῦτο ἐπαινέσεις· ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐν μελέτῃ πολέ-
μων καὶ ὅπλων, τοῦτο θαυμάσεις, ὡς ἀγαθῇ μοίρᾳ | γενό-
μενον προμνηστευσαμένης αὐτῷ τῆς τύχης τὰ μέλλοντα·
372 καὶ | ὅτι ἐν οἷς ἐπαιδεύετο διαφέρων τῶν ἡλίκων ἐφαίνετο,
ὡς Ἀχιλλεύς, ὡς Ἡρακλῆς, ὡς οἱ Διόσκουροι. τὰ δὲ
ἐπιτηδεύματα χώραν ἐξετάσεως ἕξει, ἐπιτηδεύματα δ᾽
ἐστὶν ἄνευ ἀγωνιστικῶν πράξεων ἤθη· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτη-
5 δεύματα ἤθους ἔμφασιν περιέχει, οἷον ὅτι δίκαιος
ἐγένετο ἢ σώφρων ἐν τῇ νεότητι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἰσοκρά-
της ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγόρᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ μικρὸν προελ-
θὼν εἶπεν, ἀνδρὶ δὲ γενομένῳ ταῦτά τε πάντα
συνηυξήθη   καὶ   ἄλλα   προσεγένετο,   ὡς   καὶ
10 Ἀριστείδης ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ, ὅτι φιλάνθρωπος ἡ
πόλις (ὡς ἐπιτήδευμα γὰρ τοῦτο ἐξήτασεν) ὑποδε-

11 prius καὶ codd.: om. vulg.   16 κάλλει + καὶ PZX   17 τῶν
mWXY: om. cett.   ἐφάμιλλος p: -ον Z: ἐφαμιλλώμενος cett.   δὲ
m: om. cett.   22 ζητήσας codd. (sed ζητήσεις p): secl. Spengel
25 προσεπισημαίνων mp: -νουσι Z: -νου PWXY   βούλομαι nos:
βούλει codd.   δὲ PWXY: δεῖ δὲ Z: εἰ δὲ m   29–30 fortasse
aut excidit post λόγοις e.g. προέχων aut legendum ἐλλόγιμος ᾖ
30 γνώσει ZmWXYp: γνώσεις P, unde γνώσεις τούτου 'scientias eius'
Bursian   32 τὰ μέλλοντα PmWXY: om. Zp

she-wolf. If there is anything like this in connection with the emperor, work it up; if it is possible to invent, and to do this convincingly, do not hesitate; the subject permits this, because the audience has no choice but to accept the encomium without examination.

After 'birth', you must say something about 'nature', e.g.: 'Straight from the labour of his mother's womb, he shone forth radiant in beauty, dazzling the visible universe, rivalling the fairest star in the sky.'

Next comes 'nurture'. Was he reared in the palace? Were his swaddling-clothes robes of purple? Was he from his first growth brought up in the lap of royalty? Or, instead, was he raised up to be emperor as a young man by some felicitous chance? (Look out similar examples, if any, and insert them at this point.) If he does not have a distinguished nurture (as Achilles had with Chiron), discuss his education, observing here: 'In addition to what has been said, I wish to describe the quality of his mind.' Then you must speak of his love of learning, his quickness, his enthusiasm for study, his easy grasp of what is taught him. If he excels in (?) literature, philosophy, and knowledge of letters, you must praise this. If it was in the practice of war and arms, you must admire him for having been born luckily, with Fortune to woo the future for him. Again: 'In his education, he stood out among his contemporaries, like Achilles, like Heracles, like the Dioscuri.'

'Accomplishments' also will give scope for discussion (?) ('accomplishments' are qualities of character not involved with real competitive actions) because they display character. For example: 'He was just (or temperate) in his youth.' Isocrates used this idea in *Evagoras*, in the passage where he shortly goes on to say: 'And when he became a man, all this was increased, and many other qualities were added.' Similarly, Aristides in the *Panathenaicus* shows that Athens was humane (he treats this quality as an 'accomplishment') in harbouring the refugees.

372. 4 ἀγωνιστικῶν πράξεων Spengel, cf. 384. 20 sq.: ἀγώνων πράξεις codd.   τὰ γὰρ PZmWXY: καὶ γὰρ τὰ p   6 ἢ p: ὅτι cett.   11 ἐπιτήδευμα mXY: -ματα PW: -μάτων Z   γὰρ codd: secl. Spengel

χομένη τοὺς καταφεύγοντας. ἀκολουθεῖ τοίνυν τοῖς
ἐπιτηδεύμασι λοιπὸν ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος.

Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν καὶ φυλάττειν τὸ παράγγελμα
15 ὅτι, ὅταν μέλλῃς ἀπὸ κεφαλαίου μεταβαίνειν εἰς κεφά-
λαιον, δεῖ προοιμιάζεσθαι περὶ οὗ μέλλεις ἐγχειρεῖν,
ἵνα προσεκτικὸν τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐργάσῃ καὶ μὴ ἐᾷς λαν-
θάνειν μηδὲ κλέπτεσθαι τῶν κεφαλαίων τὴν ζήτησιν·
αὐξήσεως γὰρ οἰκεῖον τὸ προσεκτικὸν ποιεῖν τὸν ἀκροα-
20 τὴν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ὡς περὶ μεγίστων ἀκούειν μέλλοντα.
τίθει δὲ καὶ σύγκρισιν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ · τῶν κεφαλαίων τού-
των, ἀεὶ συγκρίνων φύσιν φύσει καὶ ἀνατροφὴν ἀνα-
τροφῇ καὶ παιδείαν παιδείᾳ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀνευρῶν καὶ
παραδείγματα, οἷον Ῥωμαίων βασιλέων καὶ στρα-
25 τηγῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐνδοξοτάτων. τὰς τοιαύτας τοί-
νυν πράξεις διαιρήσεις δίχα εἴς τε τὰ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην καὶ
τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον. καὶ προθήσεις τὰς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον,
ἐὰν ἐν ταύταις λαμπρὸς ὁ ἐπαινούμενος φαίνηται· δεῖ
γὰρ τὰς τῆς ἀνδρείας πράξεις πρώτας παραλαμβάνειν ἐπὶ
30 τῶν τοιούτων ὑποθέσεων εἰς ἐξέτασιν· γνωρίζει γὰρ
βασιλέα πλέον ἡ ἀνδρεία. ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ εἷς πόλεμος
αὐτῷ πεπραγμένος τύχῃ, ὅπερ σπάνιον, ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὰ
373 τῆς εἰρήνης ἀναγκαίως. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλε-
μον ἐγκωμιάζεις, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας | ἐρεῖς μόνον, οὐκ
ἀφ᾽ ἑτέρων τινῶν· εἰ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν | εἰρήνην, τῆς μὲν
5 ἀνδρείας οὐκέτι, ἑτέρων δέ τινων· | διαίρει γὰρ ἁπαντα-
χοῦ τὰς πράξεις ὧν ἂν μέλλῃς ἐγκω|μιάζειν εἰς τὰς
ἀρετάς | (ἀρεταὶ δὲ τέσσαρές εἰσιν, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη,
σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις) καὶ ὅρα τίνων ἀρετῶν εἰσιν
αἱ πράξεις, καὶ εἰ κοιναί τινές εἰσι τῶν πράξεων τῶν
10 τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήνην ἀρετῆς μιᾶς,
ὥσπερ [ἐπὶ] τῆς φρονήσεως· φρονήσεως γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ
στρατηγεῖν καλῶς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, φρονήσεως δὲ καὶ
τὸ καλῶς νομοθετεῖν καὶ τὸ συμφερόντως διατιθέναι
καὶ διοικεῖν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους. οὐκοῦν ἐν ταῖς
15 πράξεσι τοῦ πολέμου τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐρεῖς καὶ

12 τοίνυν Zp: om. cett.   14 novi capitis initium ind. codd., edd.
ante Spengelium   16 δεῖ+σε PZ   18 ζήτησιν p: αὔξησιν cett.
20 ὡς περὶ PZmWXY: ὥσπερ p   μεγίστων PZmWXY: μέγιστον p,
Bursian   μέλλοντα+λόγον p, probat Bursian   23 ἀνευρὼν p:
ἀνερώτα vel sim. cett.   24 οἷον ZmWXY: ἐὰν Pp   Ῥωμαίων+
καὶ mX, ἢ p, ἢ ἢ vulg.   βασιλέων+τις p   25 ⟨ἢ⟩ καὶ Ἑλλήνων

Next to 'accomplishments' now comes the topic of 'actions'. You must grasp and observe the rule that, when you are about to pass from one heading to another, there ought to be a prooemium about the subject you are now going to treat, so as to make the hearer attentive and not allow the intended scheme of the main headings to pass unobserved or concealed. It is a feature of amplification to make the hearer attentive and win his concern, making him think he is about to hear something very important. (Add also a comparison to each of the main heads, comparing nature with nature, upbringing with upbringing, education with education, and so on, looking out (?) also examples of Roman emperors or generals or the most famous of the Greeks.)

You should then divide such 'actions' into times of peace and times of war, and put war first, if the subject of your praise has distinction in this. Actions of courage should come into consideration first in such subjects: courage reveals an emperor more than do other virtues. If, however, he has never fought a war (a rare circumstance), you have no choice but to proceed to peaceful topics. If your encomium is of warlike actions, you should speak of them under the head of courage, not under any other virtue; if it is of actions of peace, you should not put it under courage, but under other virtues. Always divide the actions of those you are going to praise into the virtues (there are four virtues: courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom) and see to what virtues the actions belong and whether some of them, whether in war or in peace, are common to a single virtue: e.g. wisdom, for it belongs to wisdom both to command armies well in war and to legislate well and dispose and arrange the affairs of subjects to advantage. Thus under 'actions of war' should be mentioned deeds of courage and deeds of wisdom, in so far as the actions

Bursian   τοιαύτας p: om. cett.   26-7 num τὰς κατ' εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς ?   29 τῆς ἀνδρείας PZp: κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν mWXY παραλαμβάνειν PmY: -λαβεῖν Z: -λαμβάνεσθαι X: λαμβάνειν Wp 32 αὐτῷ post πεπραγμένος transp. Zp
    373. 2 ἐγκωμιάζεις+ ἐπιστατέον ὅτι m   3 τὴν Pm: om. cett. 5 γὰρ codd.: num δὲ?   11 secl. Nitsche

τὰ τῆς φρονήσεως, ὅσα τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον οἰκεῖα
ταύτῃ. διαγράψεις δὲ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ φύσεις καὶ θέσεις χωρίων ἐν οἷς οἱ πόλεμοι, καὶ
ποταμῶν δὲ καὶ λιμένων καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ πεδίων, καὶ εἰ
20 ψιλοὶ ἢ δασεῖς οἱ χῶροι, καὶ εἰ ⟨λεῖοι ἢ⟩ κρημνώδεις. ἐκφρά-
σεις δὲ καὶ λόχους καὶ ἐνέδρας καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ
τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως·
εἶτα ἐρεῖς, ὅτι σὺ μὲν τοὺς ἐκείνων λόχους καὶ τὰς ἐνέ-
δρας διὰ φρόνησιν ἐγίνωσκες, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ
25 πραττομένων οὐδὲν συνίεσαν. καὶ μὴν καὶ πεζομαχίας
ἐκφράσεις καὶ ἱππέων διασκευὰς εἰς ἱππομαχίαν καὶ ὅλου
στρατοπέδου πρὸς ὅλον στρατόπεδον μάχην, ἤδη δέ
που καὶ ναυμαχίαν, εἰ γένοιτο· οἷα πολλὰ παρὰ τοῖς
συγγραφεῦσιν, ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ, παρὰ
30 Θουκυδίδῃ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς, καὶ παρὰ Θεο-
πόμπῳ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς καὶ Ξενοφῶντι ἐν τῇ Ἀναβά-
σει καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς βιβλίοις. καὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
374 βασιλέως ἐκφράσεις μάχας καὶ περιθήσεις ἅπασαν ἰδέαν
καὶ ἐπιστήμην, ὡς Ἀχιλλεῖ, ὡς Ἕκτορι, ὡς Αἴαντι
περιτίθησιν ὁ ποιητής. διαγράψεις δὲ καὶ πανοπλίαν
βασιλέως καὶ ἐπιστρατείας, ἐπιτείνας μὲν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς
5 ἀριστείας καὶ τῆς συμπλοκῆς, ὅταν βασιλέως ἀριστείαν
ἐκφράζῃς. ἐνταῦθα καιρὸν ἕξεις καὶ ἀνεῖναι κατὰ μέσον
τὸν λόγον (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο παρειλήφαμεν παρὰ τῶν νεω-
τέρων καινοτομηθέν) καὶ φωνὴν καθάπερ ἐν δράματι ἢ
χώρᾳ ἢ ποταμῷ περιτιθέναι· ποταμῷ μέν, ὡς ὁ ποιητής,

10 ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, πέρι μὲν κρατέεις, πέρι δ' αἴσυλα ῥέζεις,

χώρᾳ δὲ ὁμοίως, ὅταν εἴπωμεν ἐκείνην καταμέμφεσθαι
τὴν θρασύτητα τὴν τῶν τολμησάντων ἀντιστῆναι, καὶ
ὅτι ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τοῖς τῶν πεσόντων σώμασιν· οἷον
κἀμοὶ δοκεῖν, εἰ ποιητικὸς ἦν ὁ Ἴστρος, ὥσπερ ὁ ποτα-
15 μὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ποιητικὸς Σκάμανδρος, εἶπεν ἄν,

ἐξ ἐμέθεν γ' ἐλάσας πεδίον κάτα μέρμερα ῥέζε·
πλήθει γὰρ δή μοι νεκύων ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα,
οὐδέ τι πῇ δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον

16 τὰ p: τι PmW: om. cett.   τῶν PmXY: om. ZW: τὰ p
20 supplevimus ex. gr.   26 διασκευὰς εἰς WY: διασκευάσεις
cett.   30–1 καὶ ... Φιλιππικοῖς ZmWXYp: om. P

374. 4–5 ἐπιστρατείας ... συμπλοκῆς] locum ita refingit Z:
ἐκστρατείας καί τινας τῶν καιρῶν τῆς τε ἀριστείας καὶ συμπλοκῆς

of war are connected with this. In the treatment of
actions of war, you should describe the natures and
situations of the places where the wars took place,
rivers, harbours, mountains, plains, and whether the
country was bare or wooded, ⟨level or⟩ rocky. You
should also describe traps and ambushes laid by the
emperor for the enemy and by the enemy for the
emperor. Then add: 'Through your wisdom, you
discovered their traps and ambushes, but they under-
stood nothing of what you were doing.' You will also
describe infantry battles, the equipment of cavalry
for battle, and the engagement of a whole army
against a whole army. Also sea-battles, if any. There
are many such things in the historians, in the Persian
wars in Herodotus, in the Peloponnesian war in
Thucydides, in Theopompus' *Philippica*, and in
Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*. You should also
describe the emperor's own battles, and invest him
with all impressiveness (?) and knowledge, as Homer
does for Achilles, Hector, and Ajax. You should also
describe his armour and his campaigns, dwelling on
(?) the moment of prowess and engagement, when
you describe the prowess of the emperor. You will
also have an opportunity here to relax in the middle
of the speech—this is an innovation we have learned
from recent writers—and let a country or a river
speak, as if in a play. Thus Homer makes a river say:

> Truly, you are the victor, Achilles, but your deeds
> Are very wicked.

Similarly with a country: we can say that it blames the
audacity of those who have dared to resist, and was
crowded with the bodies of the fallen. 'If the Ister
had been poetical, like the poetical Scamander, it
might have said, I fancy:

> Away from me! Do deeds of horror on the plain.
> My lovely streams are full of corpses,
> And nowhere can I roll my waters down . . .'

and so forth.

4 ἐπιτείνας codd.: ἐπιμείνας Kroll (bene, si omiseris μὲν)   5 ἀρι-
στείας PmWXY: -είαν p: om. Z   6 ἕξεις Z: ἂν ἕξεις PWYp:
ἀνέξεις m: ἔχει X   13 ἐστενοχωρεῖτο WYRhak.: -οῦντο PZmXp
οἷον PZmWXY: ὃ p   14 δοκεῖν mX: δοκεῖ cett.   18 ῥόον+
εἰς ἅλα δῖαν Zp

καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄνεσιν ἐπάξεις πάλιν καὶ
20 ἄλλα κατορθώματα, καὶ τρόπαια τροπαίοις συνάψεις,
καὶ νίκας νίκαις, ἱππέων φυγάς, πεζῶν φόνους. ἐν-
ταῦθα δὲ καιρὸν ἔξεις καὶ ἐπισυνάψαι περὶ φρονήσεως,
ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ διαταττόμενος, αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγῶν, αὐ-
τὸς ὁ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς συμβολῆς εὑρίσκων, σύμβουλος
25 θαυμαστός, ἀριστεύς, στρατηγός, δημηγόρος. μετὰ
τὸ τέλος τῶν πράξεων ἢ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων
ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ τρίτης ἀρετῆς, λέγω δὴ τῆς φιλαν-
θρωπίας. μόριον δὲ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἡ δικαιοσύνη,
ὅτι νικήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἠμύνατο τοὺς
30 ἄρξαντας ἀδίκων ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἐμέρισε κατὰ τὸ δί-
καιον τὰς πράξεις τιμωρίᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ ὅσα
ἡγεῖτο πρὸς σωφρονισμὸν ἀρκεῖν ἐργασάμενος, ἐν-
375 ταῦθα στήσας φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πράξεις ἀνῆκε συγχω-
ρήσας τὸ λείψανον τοῦ γένους σώζεσθαι, ἅμα μὲν ἵνα
μνημεῖον τοῦ πάθους τοῦ γεγονότος σώζηται τὸ λειπό-
μενον, ἅμα δὲ ἵνα καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνδείξηται.
5 τέλος δ' ἐπιθεὶς ταῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πράξεσι μετα-
βήσῃ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. τοῦ-
τον δὲ διαιρήσεις εἰς σωφροσύνην, εἰς δικαιοσύνην καὶ
εἰς φρόνησιν. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸ ἥμερον τὸ
πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπαινέσεις, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δεο-
10 μένους φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ εὐπρόσοδον. οὕτως οὐ μόνον
ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔργοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν θαυ-
μάσιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' εἰρήνην θαυμασιώτερος·
τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἔργων; καὶ προσθήσεις
ὅτι καθάπερ οἱ Ἀσκληπιάδαι σώζουσι τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας,
15 ἢ καθάπερ | τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰ ἄσυλα τεμένη τοῦ
κρείτ|τονος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ῥᾳστώνης τυγχάνοντας (οὐ γὰρ ἀπο-
σπᾶν ἐπιχειροῦμεν οὐδένα) οὕτως ὁ βασιλέως ὄψεσιν
ἐντυχὼν τῶν δεινῶν ἀπήλλακται. καὶ ἐρεῖς ὅτι δικαίους
ἄρχοντας κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ γένη καὶ πόλεις ἐκπέμπει φύ-
20 λακας τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δικαιοσύνης

24 συμβολῆς ZXp: ἐμβολῆς PWY: συμβουλῆς m   25 θαυμα-
στός Zp: ἄριστος cett.   26 ἢ . . . πράξεων PZp: om. cett.
28 μόριον . . . φιλανθρωπίας PWXYp: ἧς μόριον Z: om. m   τῆς
φιλανθρωπίας ἡ δικαιοσύνη PWXYp: ἡ φιλανθρωπία τῆς δικαιοσύνης
Nitsche   30 ἄρξαντας PWXY: προ- p: ἐξ- m: (ἀδικον) πράξαντας
(ἔργον) Z   32-375. 1 ἐνταθα nos: κἂν- codd.
375. 1 στήσας Wp: συστήσας PXY: συστῆσαι m: συστείλας Z

After this moment of relaxation, you should intro-
duce other successes, and link trophy with trophy,
victory with victory, routs of cavalry, massacres of
infantry. You will also have an opportunity here to
link up a passage on wisdom, saying that he was him-
self the planner, the commander, the discoverer of
the moment for battle, a marvellous counsellor,
champion, general, and orator. At or near the end of
the section on actions, you should say something
about a third virtue, viz. humanity: 'Justice is a
portion of his humanity: for when victorious, the
emperor did not repay the aggressors in kind, but
divided his actions in just proportion between
punishment and humanity; having done what he
thought enough to chastise, and having stopped at this
point out of humane feeling, he conceded that the
relics of the race should be saved, partly in order that
the remnant might remain as a memorial of what had
befallen them, but partly also to demonstrate his
humanity.'

When you have finished with actions of war, you
should proceed to a passage on peace. This you
should divide under the headings of temperance,
justice, and wisdom. Under 'justice' you should com-
mend mildness towards subjects, humanity towards
petitioners, and accessibility. 'Thus not only is the
emperor to be admired for his deeds in war, but
even more so for his acts in peace. Who would not
revere him for his deeds?' You can add that 'just
as the sons of Asclepius rescue the sick, just as fugitives
obtain security in the inviolate precincts of divine
power—for we make no attempt to drag anyone
away—so also he who comes into the sight of the
emperor is freed from his perils'. You should say
also that he sends just governors around the nations,
peoples, and cities, guardians of the laws and worthy

5 ἐπιθεὶς mWY: ἐντιθεὶς p: ἐπιτιθεὶς PX: ἐπιτεθεὶς Z   5–6 μετα-
βήσῃ mXRhak.: -θήσει(ς) cett.   9–10 τὴν . . . φιλανθρωπίαν p:
τῆς . . . -ας cett.   11 ὁ WY: om. cett., cf. 376. 5, 8   βασιλεὺς
PZmWXY: om. p   13 τίς p: τί Z: πῶς cett.   ἂν + τις
PZmW, τις αὐτὸν XY   14 τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας ZWXY: τὸν -α p
manu recentiore: om. Pm   καθάπερ + ἐπὶ Z   19 ἐκπέμπει
φύλακας Zp: ἐπὶ φυλακὰς PWX: ἐπὶ φυλακαῖς Y: φύλακας m
20 νόμων PmWXY: ἐθνῶν Zp

ἀξίους, ⟨οὐ⟩ συλλογέας πλούτου. ἐρεῖς ἔτι καὶ περὶ τῶν
φόρων οὓς ἐπιτάττει καὶ τοῦ σιτηρεσίου τῶν στρα-
τευμάτων ὅτι στοχάζεται καὶ τοῦ κούφως καὶ ῥᾳδίως δύνα-
σθαι φέρειν τοὺς ὑπηκόους. ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ νομο-
25 θεσίας, ὅτι νομοθετεῖ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀδίκους
τῶν νόμων διαγράφει, δικαίους δὲ αὐτὸς θεσπίζει·
τοιγάρτοι νομιμώτεροι μὲν οἱ νόμοι, δικαιότερα δὲ τὰ
συμβόλαια τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἂν δέ τις
ὑπολάβῃ τὴν νομοθεσίαν φρονήσεως εἶναι μόνης, γινω-
30 σκέτω ὅτι τὸ μὲν νομοθετῆσαι μόνης φρονήσεως, τὸ δὲ
προστάττειν πράττειν τὰ δέοντα δικαιοσύνης, οἷον ὁ
μὲν τύραννος πολλάκις συνίησι διὰ φρόνησιν ἃ συμ-
376 φέρει αὐτῷ νομοθετεῖν ἢ μή, νομοθετεῖ δὲ τὰ ἄδικα, ὁ δὲ
βασιλεὺς τὰ δίκαια. μετὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπαινέσεις
αὐτοῦ τὴν σωφροσύνην· ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ μάλιστα τῇ δι-
καιοσύνῃ ἡ σωφροσύνη. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖς; ὅτι διὰ
5 βασιλέα σώφρονες μὲν οἱ γάμοι, γνήσιοι δὲ τοῖς πατρά-
σιν οἱ παῖδες, θέαι δὲ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ ἀγῶνες μετὰ
τοῦ προσήκοντος κόσμου καὶ τῆς πρεπούσης σωφροσύ-
νης γίνονται· οἷον γὰρ ὁρῶσι τὸν βασιλέως βίον, τοι-
οῦτον ἐπανῄρηνται. εἰ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀξίας εἴη καὶ τιμῆς με-
10 γίστης ἡ βασιλίς, ἐρεῖς τι καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐνθάδε·
ἣν θαυμάσας ἠγάπησε, ταύτην κοινωνὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
βασιλείας πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδ᾽ εἰ ἔστιν ἄλλο οἶδε γυναι-
κεῖον φῦλον. ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὴν φρόνησιν μετὰ ταῦτα. ἀεὶ
δὲ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ἑκάστης τῶν ἀρετῶν χρῶ προοι-
15 μιακαῖς ἐννοίαις, ὡς ἔφαμεν. ἐρεῖς τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῇ
φρονήσει, ὅτι σύμπαντα ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν ἤρκεσε πρᾶξαι
βασιλεύς, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τοσούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον διήνεγ-
κεν, εἰ μὴ φρονήσει καὶ συνέσει τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπερέφερε,
δι᾽ ἣν καὶ νομοθεσίαι καὶ σωφροσύναι καὶ αἱ λοι-
20 παὶ κατορθοῦσθαι πεφύκασιν ἀρεταί· εἶτα ὀξὺς ἰδεῖν,
ἐνθυμηθῆναι δεινός, προϊδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον κρείττων

21 ⟨οὐ⟩ Rhak.: om. codd. (sed ἀξιοῦσι pro ἀξίους Z)   23 ὅτι
hic nos: ante 22 τοῦ σιτηρεσίου codd.   26 νόμων Rhak.: πόλεων
codd.   27 νομιμώτεροι PWp: νομικώτεροι ZmXY   νόμοι
PZp: γάμοι cett.   30 νομοθετῆσαι PmWXY: νομοθετεῖν Zp
376. 1 αὐτῷ codd.: del. Nitsche   νομοθετεῖν ἢ μή p: om. cett.
δὲ PW: om. cett.   3 γὰρ ZWXYp: δὲ P   5 βασιλέα PZ:
-είας WY: -έως X: τοὺς βασιλέας p   10 βασιλίς ZmWXYp:
βασιλεία P   11 ταύτην+μόνην PZp   12–13 καὶ . . . φῦλον

of the emperor's justice, not gatherers of wealth.
Mention also the tributes he imposes and the supply
of his forces, pointing out that he is concerned also
for his subjects' ability to bear those burdens lightly
and easily.

Of his legislative activity, you should say that his
laws are just, and that he strikes out unjust laws and
himself promulgates just ones. 'Therefore, laws are
more legal, contracts between men are more just.'
Anyone who thinks that legislation is solely a matter
of wisdom should consider that, though the actual
framing of laws belongs to wisdom alone, the com-
mand to do what is right is a function of justice.
A tyrant, for example, understands by wisdom what
is expedient or inexpedient for him to lay down as
law, but his legislation is unjust, while that of the
king is just.

After justice, you should extol the emperor's
temperance, which goes closely with it. What is to
be said here? 'Because of the emperor, marriages are
chaste, fathers have legitimate offspring, spectacles,
festivals, and competitions are conducted with proper
splendour and due moderation.' 'People choose a
style of life like that which they observe in the
emperor.' If the empress is of great worth and honour,
you can conveniently mention her also here: 'The
lady he admired and loved, he has also made the
only sharer of his throne. For the rest of womankind,
he does not so much as know they exist.'

After this comes 'wisdom'. At the beginning of your
treatment of each virtue, you must employ prefatory
ideas, as we said. In regard to wisdom, you should
say that the emperor would not have been capable
of carrying out all these deeds, nor would he have
borne the weight of such mighty matters, if he had
not surpassed all men on earth in wisdom and under-
standing, which enables lawgiving and temperance
and all other virtues to come to successful fruition.
Then you can add that he is 'quick to see, clever in
understanding, better than a prophet at foreseeing

mWXYp: καὶ οὐ σύνεστιν ἄλλῃ· μετὰ τὸ γυναικεῖον (+ δὲ Z) φῦλον PZ
14–15 προοιμιακαῖς PZmXY: -αστικαῖς p   15 ὡς ἔφαμεν codd.:
καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς κώλοις ἁπλοῖς Rhak.   20 εἶτα + ὅτι p (recte?)

μάντεως, ἄριστος γνώμων κρῖναι τὴν ἑτέρων εὐβου-
λίαν, ἱκανὸς τὰ δυσχερῆ καὶ ῥάδια γνῶναι.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν καταπαύσεις τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ
25 τούτων, μνημονεύσεις δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς τύχης, λέγων
ὅτι συμπαρομαρτεῖν δὲ ἔοικεν ἐφ' ἅπασι καὶ πράξεσι
καὶ λόγοις τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ τύχη λαμπρά· κατορ-
θοῖ γὰρ ἕκαστον κρεῖττον εὐχῆς, καὶ ὅτι παίδων γένε-
σις αὐτῷ δεδώρηται, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ φίλοι πάντες
30 εὖνοι καὶ δορυφόροι κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρόθυ-
μοι. ἥξεις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην σύγκρισιν, ἀντεξετά-
ζων τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν πρὸς τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας,
377 οὐ καθαιρῶν ἐκείνας (ἄτεχνον γάρ) ἀλλὰ θαυμάζων
μὲν ἐκείνας, τὸ δὲ τέλειον ἀποδιδοὺς τῇ παρούσῃ. οὐκ
ἐπιλήσῃ δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου θεωρήματος, ὅτι ἐν
ἑκάστῳ τῶν κεφαλαίων ποιήσεις συγκρίσεις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ-
5 ναι μὲν ἔσονται μερικαί, οἷον παιδείας πρὸς παιδείαν
ἢ σωφροσύνης πρὸς σωφροσύνην, αὗται δὲ περὶ ὅλης
ἔσονται τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὡσανεὶ βασιλείαν ὅλην ἀθρόως
καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ πρὸς ὅλην βασιλείαν συγκρίνομεν,
οἷον τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν. μετὰ τὴν
10 σύγκρισιν οἱ ἐπίλογοι. ἐν τούτοις ἐρεῖς τὰς εὐετηρίας,
τὰς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν πόλεων, ὅτι πλήρεις μὲν ὠνίων
αἱ ἀγοραί, πλήρεις δὲ ἑορτῶν καὶ πανηγύρεων αἱ πό-
λεις, γεωργεῖται μετ' εἰρήνης ἡ γῆ, πλεῖται ἡ θάλασσα
ἀκινδύνως, εὐσέβεια δὲ ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ηὔξηται, τιμαὶ
15 δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἑκάστοις νέμονται, οὐ δεδοίκαμεν
βαρβάρους, οὐ πολεμίους, ὀχυρώτερον τοῖς βασιλέως
ὅπλοις τετειχίσμεθα ἢ τοῖς τείχεσιν αἱ πόλεις, αἰχμαλώ-
τους οἰκέτας κεκτήμεθα αὐτοὶ μὴ πολεμοῦντες, παρὰ
δὲ τῆς βασιλέως χειρὸς νικώσης δεχόμενοι. τίνας οὖν
20 εὐχὰς εὔχεσθαι δεῖ τῷ κρείττονι τὰς πόλεις ἢ ὑπὲρ
βασιλέως ἀεί; τί δὲ μεῖζον αἰτεῖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἢ
βασιλέα σώζεσθαι; ὄμβροι γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ θαλάσ-
σης φοραὶ καὶ καρπῶν εὐφορίαι διὰ τὴν βασιλέως
δικαιοσύνην ἡμῖν εὐτυχοῦνται· τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἀμει-
25 βόμεναι αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ γένη καὶ φυλαὶ

22 γνώμων PWXYp: γνώμην Zm   30 κινδυνεύειν mWXYp:
-εύουσι PZ   κινδυνεύειν + ἅπαντες mWXY

377. 3 ἐν PZmWXY: ἐφ' p   4 ποιήσεις mWXY: -σει cett.
13 alterum ἡ PXYp: δὲ mW: om. Z   23 τὴν + τοῦ Zm
24 ἡμῖν PZp: om. cett.

the future, the best judge of the good counsel of others, and well able to tell the difficult from the easy'.

You should end the discussion of these topics here, and next mention Fortune. 'And brilliant fortune, it seems, accompanies our mighty emperor in all things, both actions and words. He succeeds in all things beyond expectation. He has been vouchsafed the gift of children'—if this is so—'and all his friends wish him well, all his household troops are eager to run risks for him.'

You should then proceed to the most complete comparison, examining his reign in comparison with preceding reigns, not disparaging them (that is bad craftsmanship) but admiring them while granting perfection to the present. You must not forget our previous proposition, namely that comparisons should be made under each head; these comparisons, however, will be partial (e.g. education with education, temperance with temperance), whereas the complete one will concern the whole subject, as when we compare a reign as a whole and in sum with another reign, e.g. the reign of Alexander with the present one.

After the comparison comes the epilogue. In this, you will speak of the prosperity and good fortune of the cities: the markets are full of goods, the cities of feasts and festivals, the earth is tilled in peace, the sea sailed without danger, piety towards God is increased, honours are given to all in due fashion. 'We fear neither barbarians nor enemies. The emperor's arms are a safer fortress for us than our cities' walls. We acquire prisoners as slaves, not by going to war ourselves, but by receiving them from the emperor's victorious hand. What prayers ought cities to make to the power above, save always for the emperor? What greater blessing must one ask from the gods than the emperor's safety? Rains in season, abundance from the sea, unstinting harvests come happily to us because of the emperor's justice. In return, cities, nations, races, and tribes, all of us,

στεφανοῦμεν, ὑμνοῦμεν, γράφομεν, πλήρεις εἰκόνων
αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν πινάκων γραπτῶν, αἱ δέ που καὶ
τιμιωτέρας ὕλης. ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχὴν ἐρεῖς αὐτῶν παρὰ
θεοῦ εἰς μήκιστον χρόνον προελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, δια-
30 δοθῆναι εἰς παῖδας, παραδοθῆναι τῷ γένει.

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΙΒΑΤΗΡΙΟΥ

Ἐπιβατήριον ὁ βουλόμενος λέγειν δῆλός ἐστι βου-
378 λόμενος προσφωνῆσαι ἢ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐξ ἀποδη-
μίας ἥκων, ἢ πόλιν ἑτέραν, εἰς ἢν ἂν ἀφίκηται, ἢ καὶ
ἄρχοντα ἐπιστάντα τῇ πόλει. οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτοις ἅπασι
τὸ προοίμιον ἐκ περιχαρείας εὐθύς· δεῖ γὰρ συνηδό-
5 μενον φαίνεσθαι ἢ ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅτι θαυμάσιόν τινα
καὶ ἐπαινούμενον ἄρχοντα δέχονται, ἢ τῷ ἄρχοντι, ὅτι
ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ μοίρᾳ ἥκει, ἢ καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ τὸν λέ-
γοντα ὅτι τεθέαται ἢ πόλιν ἢ ἄρχοντα, ὃν πάλαι τε καὶ
ἐκ πλείονος ἰδεῖν ἐπεπόθει· κἂν μὲν ἄρχοντα, εὐθὺς
10 ἐρεῖς· ἀλλ' ἥκεις μὲν ἐπ' αἰσίοις συμβόλοις ἐκ βασιλέως
λαμπρός, ὥσπερ ἡλίου φαιδρά τις ἀκτὶς ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν
ὀφθεῖσα· οὕτω πάλαι μὲν ἀγαθὴ φήμη διήγγειλε τὴν
ἐπ' αἰσίοις ἄφιξιν καὶ εὐκταιοτάτην μοῖραν τῶν ὑπη-
κόων· εἶτα κατασκευάσεις ὅτι βεβαιοῖς ἐν ἔργῳ τὴν
15 φήμην, ἢ ὅτι ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν φήμην, ἢ ὡς ἂν ὁ
καιρὸς διδῷ. εἶτα μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον τοῦτο ἥξεις εἰς
τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων λόγον. διπλοῦς δ' οὗτος· ἢ
γὰρ κακῶς πεπονθότων αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ μικρῷ πρόσθεν
ἄρχοντος διατυπώσεις καὶ αὐξήσεις τὰ δυσχερῆ, μη-
20 δὲν βλασφημῶν τὸν παυσάμενον, ἀλλὰ ἁπλῶς τὴν
δυστυχίαν τῶν ὑπηκόων λέγων, εἶτα ἐπάξεις ὅτι ὥσπερ
νυκτὸς καὶ ζόφου τὰ πάντα κατειληφότος αὐτὸς καθά-
περ ἥλιος ὀφθεὶς πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ δυσχερῆ διέλυσας,
καὶ ἐργάσῃ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ παραδραμεῖς, ὅτι τοίνυν ἀν-

28 τιμιωτέρας + τῆς PZmWY   παρὰ + τοῦ WYp   29 προ-
ελθεῖν ZXY et fort. p: παρ- PW: περι- m
378. 1–2 ἐξ . . . ἑτέραν ZmWXYp: om. P   2 καὶ PmWXY:
om. Zp   4 fortasse ante εὐθὺς interpungendum   7 ἀγαθῇ +
τινι Zp   8–9 πάλαι τε καὶ PZmXp: om. WY: πάλαι . . .
πλείονος secl. Spengel   10 ἐκ βασιλέως Bursian: ἄνωθεν codd.
11 ἄνωθεν p: ἐκ βασιλέως cett.   14 ἐν ἔργῳ mWYp: ἔργῳ
X: δι' ἔργων PZ   15 ἢ ὅτι . . . φήμην ZmWXYp: om. P
21 εἶτα p: καὶ Z: om. cett.

garland him, sing of him, write of him. Full of his images are the cities, some of painted tablets, some maybe of more precious material.' After this, you must utter a prayer, beseeching God that the emperor's reign may endure long, and the throne be handed down to his children and his descendants.

III THE SPEECH OF ARRIVAL (*EPIBATĒRIOS*)

A speaker who proposes to deliver a 'speech of arrival' clearly proposes either (1) to address his native city on his return from travel or (2) to address some city which he visits or (3) to address a governor who has come to stay in a city.

In all these circumstances, the prooemium is based on joy from the start, since the speaker must give the impression of sharing either the pleasure of the cities at receiving an admired and praised governor, or that of the governor in coming at a moment of good fortune; or else express his own private pleasure at seeing a city or a governor whom he has long desired to behold. If it is the arrival of a governor, you should say at once: 'With fortunate omens have you come from the emperor, brilliant as a ray of the sun that appears to us on high. Thus a happy report long ago brought word of your fortunate arrival and the enviable lot of the subject peoples . . .'—then you make the point that 'now you confirm the report in action' or 'surpass' it, or whatever the situation allows.

After this prooemium, you come to the passage about the subjects. This takes two forms. (i) In one, you should give a vivid portrayal of the situation in which they were badly treated by the previous governor, and amplify their hardships, not, however, speaking ill of the predecessor, but simply reporting the subjects' misfortune. Then go on: 'When night and darkness covered the world, you were seen like the sun, and at once dissolved all the difficulties.' You must elaborate this and not pass it over quickly:

25 ἔπνευσαν ἅπαντες ὥσπερ νέφους τινὸς τῶν δεινῶν πα-
ρελθόντων· ἢ οὐδὲν πεπονθότων ἐρεῖς· αὐτίκα μὲν
ἐπαυσάμεθα μεγίστας εὐεργεσίας ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ ἄρ-
χοντι, ἄρτι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀγαθῶν ἀγγελίαν καὶ μέλ|λοντες
ἀφ᾽ ἱερῶν ἐφ᾽ ἱερά, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν | ⟨καλῶν ἐμ-
30 πεσεῖν εἰς⟩ καλλίονα φαιδροὶ καὶ γεγηθότες προαπηντήκα-
μεν. εἶτα | μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐρεῖς ὅτι τάς τε ἄλλας χάριτας
με|γίστας τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὀφείλοντες, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
379 ἀθλοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἂν δικαίως μείζους ὁμολογήσαιμεν,
ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν κατέπεμψαν. πειρῶ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς τοιού-
τοις λόγοις ἀεὶ συντέμνειν τὰ βασιλέως ἐγκώμια, καὶ
μηδὲν διατρίβειν, ἵνα μὴ διπλῆν ποιήσῃς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.
5 ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἔχῃς πράξεις εἰπεῖν τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἐρεῖς·
εἰ δὲ μή, περιέργως ἢ πατρίδα ἢ ἔθνος ἐκφράσεις καὶ
χωρογραφήσεις τῷ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων καὶ
θρυλουμένων περὶ τῆς χώρας ἢ τῆς πατρίδος, ⟨οἷον⟩ ὅτι Ἰτα-
λιώτης, ἐκ ποίας δὲ [χώρας ἢ] πόλεως περιωνύμου, οἷον
10 τῆς Ῥώμης. ζητήσεις δὲ καὶ τοῦ γένους πράξεις. εἰ δὲ
ἀποροίης πράξεων τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου, ἐκ τούτων θη-
ράσεις τὸν ἔπαινον, ὥστε μὴ αὐχμηρὰν καὶ ἄγονον
παρασχέσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔπειτα λέγε· πείθομαι δὲ
τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονότα πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πατέρας
15 ἁμιλλώμενον ἀγαθὸν περὶ ἡμᾶς γενήσεσθαι καὶ δίκαιον·
καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δίκαιοι· οὐκοῦν δικάσει μὲν ἡμῖν
ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἰακόν, ὑπὲρ τὸν Μίνωα, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥαδά-
μανθυν· καὶ τούτου ἄμεινον ἤδη προμαντεύομαι, ὦ Ἕλ-
ληνες. καὶ εἰπὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πλείω περὶ δικαιοσύ-
20 νης, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀδίκως οἰκήσει τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἢ δίκην
δώσει τῷ νόμῳ, οὐ προκριθήσεται πλούσιος, οὐ χαμαὶ
πεσεῖται λόγος τοῦ πένητος δίκαιος, πεπαύσθωσαν
ἡμῖν οἱ πλούσιοι ταῖς περιουσίαις κομπούμενοι, πε-

'All men breathed again, when the dangers passed over like a cloud.' (ii) Alternatively, you may assume that they have not endured hardships, and proceed: 'We have only just ceased confessing to our governor the great benefits he has conferred, and now we have heard tidings of good things. On the point of passing, as it were, from festival to festival, from beauty to greater beauty, we have come forth to meet you, bright-faced and rejoicing.' And again after this: 'We owe very great thanks to the emperors for their other labours on our behalf, but we should be right to admit yet greater gratitude to them for sending down to us such a man as this . . .'

In this type of speech, try always to abridge the encomium of the emperor, and not dwell on it, so as to avoid doubling your subject. If you have actions of the governor to relate, you should do so. If not, you should compose an elaborate description of his native city or nation, and give a geographical account of it, noting the most celebrated and commonly mentioned features of the country or city. ⟨For example, say⟩ that he is an Italian, and from what famous [country or] city, e.g. Rome, he comes. Consider also the actions of his family. If you are short of actions by the man you are praising, pursue the encomium on these lines, so as not to make the subject dry and barren. Then say: 'I am sure that the son of such parents, competing with his ancestors, will be good and just to us; for they were just men. He will therefore judge for us better than Aeacus, than Minos, than Rhadamanthus—nay, men of Hellas, I prophesy yet better than this . . .' These and similar remarks may be made on the theme of justice: 'No one will dwell in prison unjustly, or be unjustly punished; the rich will not be preferred nor the poor man's just cause fall to the ground. So let our rich men cease to boast of their resources

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Ἀθηνῶν WY   11 ἀποροίης nos: εὐποροίης P corr. (μὴ εὐπ. ante corr.) mWp: μὴ εὐ- Y: μὴ ἀ- Z   πράξεων ⟨τοῦ γένους⟩ Bursian
12 ὥστε p: καὶ PZm: τοῦ WY   13 παρασχέσθαι Zp: παρέχεσθαι cett.   15 γενήσεσθαι Nitsche: γενέσθαι codd.   16 alterum καὶ PZ: om. cett.   18 ὦ PZmWY: om. p   Ἕλληνες PZmp: παρόντες WY   19 τὰ p: om. cett.   20 οἰκήσει τὸ δεσμωτήριον Zp: om. cett.   21 οὐ προκριθήσεται πλούσιος Zp: om. cett.

παύσθωσαν οἱ πένητες ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἥξεις

25 ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀνδρείας ἔπαινον, ὅτι πρεσβεύσει πρὸς
βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῖς γράμμασι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πατέρες
ἀεὶ ἐπρέσβευσαν αὐτοῦ, εἰ πολλάκις ἄρχοντας ἔχοις
λέγειν. ἀντιστήσεται τοῖς δεινοῖς, ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς κυ-
βερνήτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ σκάφους ὑπερέχοντος τοῦ κλύδωνος.

30 καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας οὕτως ἐκ μεθόδου προάξεις,
προλέγων ὅτι τοιόσδε δὲ ἔσται καὶ τοιόσδε, οἷον ὅτι
σώφρων τυγχάνων ἔσται κρείττων κέρδους, κρείττων

380 ἡδονῶν· καὶ ἐπάξεις μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν περὶ τῆς φρονή-
σεως λόγον, ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὰ προειρημένα, ὅτι
πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσει διὰ φρόνησιν καὶ σύνεσιν· ὃς
γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τῶν προσηκόντων οὐδέν, περὶ πάντων δὲ

5 ἀκριβῶς ἐπισκέπτεται, πῶς οὐ δῆλός ἐστιν ὁμολογου-
μένως μέλλων ἄρχειν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν ὑπηκόων καλῶς;
τάξεις δ' ἀεὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ἁπάσῃ ὑποθέσει, ὡς ἄν σοι
συμφέρειν ὁρᾷς, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἴδῃς ἐπιδεχομένην τὴν ἀκο-
λουθίαν τοῦ λόγου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συγκρίσεις οὐ δυνάμεθα

10 τάττειν πρὸς τὰς πράξεις διὰ τὸ μηδέπω πεφηνέναι τοῦ
ἄρχοντος πράξεις, συγκρίνομεν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος γένει
ἐνδόξῳ ἢ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἢ τῶν Αἰακιδῶν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς
ἀρεταῖς οὐ συγκρίνομεν· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ συγκρίναιμεν
μηδέπω μηδενὸς γεγονότος; ἐκ μεθόδου δὲ εἰσάξομεν,

15 ἐν μὲν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ οὕτως· οὐ γὰρ δὴ Φωκίων μὲν
καὶ Ἀριστείδης καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος ἕτερος τῆς ἐκ τῶν
ἔργων εὐδοξίας ἐπεθύμησαν, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος παρόψεται
τὴν ἐκ τούτων εὔκλειαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι δι' ἀρε-
τὴν ἀείμνηστοι γεγόνασιν, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμή-

20 σει μνήμην καλλίστων ἔργων ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις ταῖς ἡμε-
τέραις καταλιπεῖν, ζηλώσει τὸν Μίνωα, μιμήσεται τὸν
Ῥαδάμανθυν, ἁμιλληθήσεται πρὸς τὸν Αἰακόν· καὶ
καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἀρετῶν οὕτως ποιήσεις, ἀπὸ τοῦ
μέλλοντος κατ' εἰκασμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τὸν

25 ἔπαινον ἐργαζόμενος. τὰς δὲ συγκρίσεις τὰς πρὸς ὅλην

and our poor men cease to complain of their weakness.'
Having said this, you should proceed to the praise of
his courage. 'He will represent our cause to the em-
peror in writing—his ancestors always acted as
ambassadors'—this if you can find that they were
often holding office—'he will face up to danger like
a good helmsman, to save the ship as the waves rise
high.' You can go through the other virtues then
by the following method, explaining how he has
this and the other quality—e.g. that being tem-
perate, he will be above gain and above pleasure.
Finally, to put the seal on all that has been said, you
should introduce the section on wisdom, saying that
he will do all these things out of wisdom and under-
standing: 'For if a man understands everything that
is right, and examines everything with care, how
can he not be seen and confessed by all men to be one
who will rule for the benefit of those under him?'
In any subject, you should arrange the virtues as you
see it to be expedient for your case, and as you find
the sequence of the argument admits. Since we cannot
adduce comparisons for the actions, because no
actions by the governor have yet been seen, we com-
pare his family to some lineage of great repute, the
Heraclids or the Aeacids. In the section on virtues,
however, we make no comparisons: how can we,
when nothing has yet happened? We shall however
adduce parallels by a device of technique; e.g. under
justice: 'If Phocion and Aristides and men like that
desired fame from their deeds, our hero will surely
not pass over the repute that comes from such
things, but just as they have earned eternal renown
through virtue, so he will desire to leave the memory
of noble deeds in our minds. He will rival Minos,
imitate Rhadamanthus, compete with Aeacus.' You
should proceed on similar lines with each virtue, con-
structing your praises on the basis of future expecta-
tion, using conjecture and natural consequence.

The following is the manner of constructing the
comparisons relating to the subject as a whole.

13 τί . . . συγκρίναιμεν PZp: om. m̄WY   14 ἐκ μεθόδου
PZmWY: ἐν μεθόδῳ p   19 ἀείμνηστοι PmWYp: ἀοίδιμοι Z
22 ἀμιλληθήσεται Zp: ἀμιλλήσεται PmWY   25 ἐργαζόμενος
PZp: ὁριζ- Y: ποριζ- mW

τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐργασόμεθα οὕτως· ὅσοι μὲν οὖν γεγό-
νασιν ἄρχοντες καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις, ἢ τῷ
γένει μόνῳ σεμνύνεσθαι ἔδοξαν, ἢ φρόνησιν προὐ-
βάλλοντο ἢ τῶν ἄλλων μίαν ἀρετῶν· οὗτος δὲ ὅτι τῷ
30 γένει πάντων κρείττων ἐστί, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ⟨ἥλιος⟩ τῶν
ἀστέρων δέδεικται, μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς
θαυμασθήσεται, κρείττων μὲν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τῶν ἐπὶ | δικαιο-
381 σύνῃ φρονούντων ὀφθείς, κρείττων δὲ ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ, | καὶ [κρείτ-
των δὲ] ἐν φρονήσει ⟨καὶ⟩ σωφροσύνῃ, ἢ οὐκ ἐλάττων τῶν
ἐπὶ | τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐκ τούτων δοξάντων μέγα φρονεῖν.
ἐξέσται δέ σοι καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ στρατηγῶν μνημονεῦσαι | ἐν
5 τῇ συγκρίσει πάσας ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀθρόως συγκρίνοντι.
τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλόγους ἐργάσῃ, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς ὑπο-
θέσεως †δεξιούμενος† τοὺς ὑπηκόους, οἷον ὅτι προαπην-
τήκαμεν δέ σοι ἅπαντες ὁλοκλήροις τοῖς γένεσι, παῖδες,
πρεσβῦται, ἄνδρες, ἱερέων γένη, πολιτευομένων
10 συστήματα, δῆμος περιχαρῶς δεξιούμενοι, πάντες φι-
λοφρονούμενοι ταῖς εὐφημίαις, σωτῆρα καὶ τεῖχος,
ἀστέρα φανότατον ὀνομάζοντες, οἱ δὲ παῖδες τροφέα
μὲν ἑαυτῶν, σωτῆρα δὲ τῶν πατέρων· εἰ δὲ δυνατὸν
ἦν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀφεῖναι φωνὴν καὶ σχήματα λαβεῖν
15 γυναικῶν ὥσπερ ἐν δράμασι, εἶπον ἄν· ὦ μεγίστης
ἀρχῆς, ἡδίστης δὲ ἡμέρας, καθ' ἢν ἐπέστης· νῦν ἡλίου
φῶς φαιδρότερον· νῦν ὥσπερ ἔκ τινος ζόφου προσβλέ-
πειν δοκοῦμεν λευκὴν ἡμέραν· μετὰ μικρὸν ἀναθήσο-
μεν εἰκόνας, μετὰ μικρὸν ποιηταὶ καὶ λογοποιοὶ καὶ
20 ῥήτορες ᾄσουσι τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ διαδώσουσιν εἰς γένη
πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἀνοιγέσθω θέατρα, πανηγύρεις
ἄγωμεν· ὁμολογῶμεν χάριτας καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ κρείτ-
τοσι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἄρχοντος ἄρτι τοῖς ὑπη-
κόοις ἐπιστάντος εἰρήκαμεν, ἐὰν δέ τινος λέγωμεν ἐπι-
25 βατήριον ἄρχοντος μὲν πάλαι τοῦ ἔθνους, ἄρτι δὲ
ἐπιστάντος τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, τὰ μὲν αὐτά, οἷα καὶ ἐκ περι-

28–9 προὐβάλλοντο codd.: num προὐβάλοντο? 29 μίαν+
τῶν codd. praeter Z 30 suppl. Finckh (cf. 422. 27)
381. 1–2 seclusimus 2 ἐν φρονήσει ⟨καὶ⟩ σωφροσύνῃ nos: ἐν
φρονήσει PmWY: ἐν σωφροσύνῃ Zp ἐλάττων Spengel: ἔλαττον
codd. τῶν p: om. cett. 5 ἀθρόως PZmWY: om. p: post
ἐνταῦθα transp. Bursian 6 ὡς] οἷς mWY 7 δεξιούμενος
non intellectum προαπηντήκαμεν ZmWYp: προσ- P 10 περι-
χαρῶς p: -ὴς cett. 12 φανότατον PZp: φαεινότατον mWY
ὀνομάζοντες Zp: νομίζοντες cett. 15 γυναικῶν p: om. cett.;

'Previous rulers, here as elsewhere, either had the
reputation of being proud solely of their family,
or else made a display of wisdom or some other single
virtue. This man, however, has been shown to be as
far superior to all others in family as the sun is to the
stars, and will soon be admired for his virtues also,
being seen to be superior in justice to those for whom
justice is a source of pride, superior in courage, in
wisdom, and in temperance—or at least not inferior—
to any who have had the reputation of priding them-
selves on the actions that spring from these virtues.'
You will then be able to mention demigods and
generals in the comparison, seeing that you are here
comparing all the virtues together.

The epilogue should be elaborated by having regard
to the scope of the subject, representing (?) the
inhabitants greeting the governor: 'We have come to
meet you, all of us, in whole families, children, old
men, adults, priestly clans, associations of public
men, the common people, greeting you with joy,
all welcoming you with cries of praise, calling you
our saviour and fortress, our bright star: the children
call you their foster-father and their fathers' saviour.
If the cities could speak and take the form of women,
as in a play, they would have said: "O greatest of
governors, O sweetest day, the day of your coming!
Now the sun shines brighter, now we seem to behold
a happy day dawn out of darkness. Soon we shall put
up statues. Soon poets and writers and orators will sing
your virtues and spread their fame throughout man-
kind. Let theatres be opened, let us hold festivals,
let us avow our gratitude to the emperors and to
the gods."'

What has been said applies to a governor who has
but lately come to his subjects. If we are making an
arrival speech for a governor who has ruled the nation
for a long time but has only lately visited our own
city, we must adopt the same (?) topics of joy, as

cf. 418. 2   δράμασι Zp: -ατι PmW   16 ἐπέστης ZWYp: -η
m: -ησεν P   20 num τὰς ⟨σὰς⟩ ἀρετὰς?   22 ἄγωμεν m:
-ομεν cett.   ὁμολογῶμεν m: -ούμεν cett.   23 ἄρτι PZmWY:
ἀρτίως p   24 fortasse aut εἰρήκαμεν delendum est aut τὰ pro
ταῦτα (23) legendum   26–7 τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ οἷα suspectum (ταῦτα
μὲν οἷα P): num τὰ μὲν προοίμια . . . ⟨ὡς⟩ εἰρήκαμεν?

χαρείας εἰρήκαμεν, δεῖ λαμβάνειν· ἐρεῖς δὲ τὰς πράξεις
καθ' ἑκάστην μὲν τῶν ἀρετῶν, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐκ περι-
χαρείας. οὕτω δὲ διαιρήσεις τὸν λόγον· βασιλέως δι'
30 ὀλίγων ἐρεῖς ἐγκώμιον, γένος ἐὰν ἔχῃ λαμπρόν, διὰ
βραχέων ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦτο, εἶτα τὰς πράξεις καθ' ἑκά-
στην τῶν ἀρετῶν ἰδίᾳ συγκρινεῖς, εἶτα ἀθρόαν σύγκρι-
382 σιν, εἶτα τοὺς ἐπιλόγους. δοκεῖ δὲ περιττὸν ἔχειν ὁ
ἐπιβατήριος λόγος κατὰ τοῦ προσφωνητικοῦ τὸ ἐκ περι-
χαρείας κεφάλαιον μετὰ τὰ προοίμια, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ
περιχαρείας λαμβανόμενα· ὅμως οὐδὲν κωλύει μετὰ
5 τὰ προοίμια τελείαν ἐργασίαν τῶν κεφαλαίων δίδοσθαι.
χρήσῃ δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑποθέσεσι ταῖς τῶν προσ-
φωνητικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατηρίων ἢ ἑνὶ προοιμίῳ ἢ καὶ
δευτέρῳ πολλάκις, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τρισὶ χρήσῃ, ὅταν
ἀπαιτῇ καὶ τοῦτο ἡ ὑπόθεσις.

10 Ἐὰν δέ τις τῷ εἴδει τούτῳ [τῷ ἐπιβατηρίῳ] καὶ πρὸς
πόλιν θέλῃ χρήσασθαι, ἴστω ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς διαθέσεως καὶ
τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἔχει, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
ὄψεως τῆς φανερᾶς τῆς πόλεως λήψεται τὴν χορηγίαν
τοῦ λόγου ἐκ μεθόδου καὶ τῶν πατρίων μεμνημένος·
15 οἷον ἐπόθουν μὲν πάλαι καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ θέατρα ταῦτα
καὶ ἱερῶν κάλλη καὶ λιμένων τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως· τίς γὰρ
οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐξαιρέτων τὰς ὑπερ-
βολάς; εἶδον δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀσμένως καὶ γέγηθα τῇ ψυχῇ
[τὰ ἐξαίρετα]· ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις χαίρουσιν, οἱ μὲν
20 ἵπποις, οἱ δὲ ὅπλοις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγαπῶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πα-
τρίδα καὶ νομίζω μηδὲν διαφέρειν τὴν περὶ ταύτην ἐπι-
θυμίαν τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα, ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ
ἐκτείνει φανείς· τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο μεῖζον πόλεως, ἣν ὁ
δεῖνα ἔκτισεν; εἶτα ἔπαινον ἐρεῖς διὰ βραχέων τοῦ κτί-
25 σαντος, κἂν μὲν βασιλέως ἔργον ἡ πόλις τυγχάνῃ,
συνῳδοὶ δ' ὦσιν οἱ νῦν βασιλεύοντες τῷ τότε, ἐρεῖς
ὅτι ὁ τούτων πρόγονος ἔκτισεν· ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία καὶ τὸ
ἀξίωμα συνάπτει τὰ γένη· ἐὰν δὲ ὡς τύραννον μισῶ-

27 λαμβάνειν p: λαβεῖν cett.   30 post ἐγκώμιον fortasse
addendum, e.g. ⟨εἶτα τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγκώμιον⟩   γένος ZYp:
γένους PmW (fortasse recte, si velis βασιλέως (29) delere)
    382. 2 κατὰ et τὸ PZp: om. mWY   3 μετὰ codd.: μεθ' ὁ
Bursian   4 ὅμως+δὲ m   10 τῷ εἴδει post ἐπ. transp. Z
τῷ ἐπιβατηρίῳ PmWYp: τοῦ -ου Z: seclusimus   11 ὅτι PZmY:
om. W: ὡς p   12 ἣν nos: ὡς codd.   14 ἐκ

described; but one should also describe his actions, under the heads of the several virtues, *after* the expressions of joy. Divide the speech thus: brief encomium of the emperor; then a similarly brief encomium of the governor's ancestry (if distinguished); then his actions, with a separate comparison for each virtue; then a general comparison; and finally the epilogue.

The feature which the arrival speech is held to possess over and above the speech of address (*prosphōnētikos*) is the section of joy, following the prooemia, which are themselves based on joy. There is, however, no objection to giving a complete elaboration of the headings after the prooemia. In this kind of subject —viz. addresses and arrival speeches—you may use either a single prooemium, or (often) two, and sometimes indeed three when the subject demands this.

If it is desired to use this form [the arrival speech] in addressing a city, it should be noted that the speaker will draw the material for his speech from his own attitude and goodwill towards the city, and from its visible appearance, making mention also of its traditions in accordance with regular method: e.g. 'I had long yearned for these gymnasia and theatres, the beautiful temples and harbours of this city. Who would not admire the superlative splendours of our special treasures? And now I have gladly beheld [the special treasures], and rejoice in my heart. Some take pleasure in one thing, some in another: some in horses, some in arms. But I love my country, and I believe there is no difference between my desire for it and my desire for the rays that the sun spreads abroad as he appears out of the Ocean. For what could be greater than the city founded by . . .?' At this point, you should launch into a brief encomium of the founder. If the city is an imperial foundation and the present emperors are in accord with the emperor of that time, you can say that their ancestor founded it, 'for the throne and the dignity unite the families'. If, on the other hand, they detest

μεθόδου mWY (Finckh) : ἐκ μεθόδων PZp   17 ἀγάσαιτο WYp :
ἄγαιτο Zm : ἄγοιτο P   ἡμῖν Zm : ὑμῖν cett.   18 ἀσμένως
PZmWY : -ος p   19 secl. Nitsche   19–383. 7 γάρ . . . ἀλλ'
om. Y   26 τῷ ZmW : τῶν P : om. p

σιν, ὅτι πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ πόλις, καὶ ὅτι τινὰς
30 μὲν τῶν πόλεων ἀνὴρ εἷς ἢ βασιλεὺς εἷς ἔκτισε, ταύ-
την δὲ ἡ οἰκουμένη σύμπασα. οὐκοῦν μετὰ τὰ προοί-
μια ὄντα ἐκ περιχαρείας κεφάλαιον ἐργάσῃ ἔχον ἐναν-
383 τίου αὔξησιν οὕτως· ὅτι ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ ὡς ἔοικε τὸν
παρελθόντα χρόνον καὶ ἠνιώμην ἀθεάμων ὑπάρχων
κάλλεων τοσούτων καὶ πόλεως, ἣν μόνην καλλίστην
πόλεων ὁ ἥλιος ἐφορᾷ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδον, ἐπαυσάμην
5 τῆς λύπης, ἀπεσεισάμην δὲ τὴν ἀνίαν, ὁρῶ δὲ ἅπαντα
ὧν ἐπόθουν τὴν θέαν, οὐκ ὀνειράτων εἰκόνας οὐδὲ
ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ σκιάς, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ τεμένη, αὐτὴν
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς νεὼς καὶ λιμένας καὶ
στοάς. δεύτερον δὲ κεφάλαιον ἐρεῖς μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ
10 τοῦ κτίσαντος ἔπαινον σύμμετρον. τρίτον κεφάλαιον,
ἐν ᾧ τὴν φύσιν τῆς χώρας ἐκφράσεις, ὅπως μὲν ἔχει
πρὸς θάλασσαν, ὅπως δὲ πρὸς ἤπειρον, ὅπως δὲ πρὸς
ἀέρας· διεξεργάσῃ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον συμμέτρως, καὶ
ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ' ἤπειρον ἐκφράσεις πεδίων κάλλη, πο-
15 ταμῶν, λιμένων, ὀρῶν· ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅπως
ἐπιτηδείως ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς καταίροντας καὶ τίσι πελά-
γεσι περικλύζεται, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἔκφρασις πελάγους· ἐν δὲ
τῷ κατὰ τοὺς ἀέρας, ὅτι ὑγιεινῶς ἔχει. καὶ συγκρινεῖς
τούτων ἕκαστον, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ, οἷον ὅτι
20 ἐν καλῷ μὲν κεῖται, καθάπερ ἡ Ἰταλία, διαφέρει δὲ
τῷ ἐκείνην μὲν ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης πλησίον
βαρβάρων κεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς οἰκουμένης,
ταύτην δὲ ἢ πλησίον Ἑλλάδος εἶναι ἢ κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῆς
οἰκουμένης, καὶ εὐφυέστερον ἔχειν πρὸς ἤπειρον καὶ
25 πρὸς θάλασσαν· τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀέρας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς
Ἀθηναίων ἀέρας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰώνων. εἶτα μετὰ τὰς
συγκρίσεις ταύτας καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων
συνάψεις τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως ἔχει καὶ αὐτὴ
θέσεως ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ· ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ
30 φύσεως τῆς χώρας καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τῆς θέσεως τῆς
πόλεως, ἐν ᾧ ἐρεῖς, πότερον ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται τῆς χώρας,

29 ⟨κτίσμα⟩ ἡ πόλις Kroll   30–2 τῶν πόλεων . . . περιχαρείας
PmWp: om. Z   32 ἐναντίου PmWp: -ίαν Z: num ἐξ ἐναντίου?
383. 4 εἶδον mW: om. cett.: ἐθεασάμην Bursian   ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδον]
ἐπιδὼν δὲ Wilamowitz   10 τρίτον+δὲ m: ⟨εἶτα⟩ τρίτον Bursian
11 φύσιν: num θέσιν (cf. 344. 19 sq.)?   17 περικλύζεται Z:
περικλείεται Pp: περικέκλεισται mY: κατακέκλειται W   21–2 πλη-

him as a tyrant, you can say that the city belongs to the whole world and there are some cities which individuals founded, but this was founded by the whole world.

Immediately after the prooemia, which are based on joy, you should elaborate a section containing an amplification of the opposite sentiment: 'I was naturally distressed and grieved in the past, because I could not behold such beauties, or the loveliest city on which the sun looks down. But when I beheld her, I ceased from grief, I shook off distress; I see the vision of all I longed for, not as images in dreams or reflections in a glass, but the shrines themselves, the acropolis itself, the temples, harbours, and colonnades.'

After this you should add, as a second section, a modest encomium of the founder himself. In a third section, you should describe the nature (?) of the country; how it lies with regard to sea, mainland, and climate. You should elaborate each of these in reasonable proportions. In the passage concerned with relation to mainland, you should describe beauties of plains, rivers, harbours, mountains; in regard to the sea, say how convenient it is for visitors and by what seas it is washed—here there should be a description of the sea; in the section on climate, you should show that it is healthy. Under each of these heads, you should adduce a comparison. This may be of country against country: e.g., 'it is well situated, like Italy, but is superior because Italy lies in a part of the world near to barbarians, or at the end of the world, whereas this land is near Hellas or in the centre of the world, and is better endowed in relation both to the continent and to the sea.' In regard to climate, the comparison should be with Athens or Ionia.

Following these comparisons and the elaboration of the particular arguments, you should add a discussion of the city's situation within the country, since discussion of the nature of the country is naturally followed by discussion of the situation of the city. In the course of this, you should say whether it

οἷον . . οἰκουμένης PZmp: om. WY   23 Ἑλλάδος PmWYp: ἐν Λυδίᾳ Z   26 Ἰώνων Z: Ἴωνας cett.: Ἰωνίας Bursian 29 θέσεως PZmWY: φύσεως p   30 θέσεως W: κτίσεως Y: φύσεως cett.

ἢ πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον, ἢ πρὸς τοῖς ὄρεσιν. ἰδίαν
384 μέντοι ἐργασίαν ὁ περὶ τῆς θέσεως τῆς πόλεως ἕξει,
ἄμφω δὲ εἰς ἓν κεφάλαιον ἀνάγειν τό τε κατὰ τὴν φύσιν
τῆς χώρας καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν κω-
λύει, λέγω δὲ εἰς τὸ τῆς φύσεως κεφάλαιον· ταὐτὸν
5 γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ φύσις καὶ θέσις, πλὴν ὅτι
ἡ μὲν θέσις τὸ κεῖσθαι σημαίνει, ἡ δὲ φύσις τὰ ἐν τῇ
θέσει, ὥσπερ βλαστήματα καὶ ὄρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποτα-
μοὺς καὶ φυτά, ὥστε ἡ μὲν θέσις ἔσται καὶ φύσις, οὐ
πάντως δὲ ἡ φύσις θέσις· φυτὰ γὰρ καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ
10 ὀρῶν ὑπεροχὰς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁ τῆς φύσεως περιέχει
λόγος· ἵνα δὲ συντόμως εἴπω, ὁ περὶ τῆς φύσεως
τῆς χώρας λόγος διττός ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστι τῆς
θέσεως, ὡς ἔχει πρὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν στοιχείων, ὁ δὲ
τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ βλαστημάτων. μετὰ δὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς
15 φύσεως λόγον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀνατροφῆς θήσεις, ἐὰν
ἔχῃς ἐν πατρίοις, ὡς ὁ Ἀριστείδης εὐπόρησεν εἰπὼν
ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τοὺς καρποὺς ἔλαβον καὶ
λαβόντες τοῖς ἄλλοις μετέδοσαν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς, ἐπαί-
νεσον τὰ ἔθη, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων·
20 ἐπιτηδεύματα γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδειξις τοῦ ἤθους καὶ τῆς
προαιρέσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄνευ πράξεων ἀγωνιστικῶν.
ἐρεῖς οὖν ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς ξένους φιλάνθρωποι, ὅτι πρὸς
τὰ συμβόλαια νόμιμοι, ὅτι μεθ' ὁμονοίας συνοικοῦσιν
ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὅτι ὁποῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοιοῦτοι καὶ
25 πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν. ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις τοῖς κεφα-
λαίοις, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπιβατήριον ὑπεθέμεθα, προσθήσεις
ἐκεῖνα συχνότερον, ἵνα μὴ ἀπάδῃ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὁ
λόγος· ταῦτά με ἦν τὰ ἐφελκόμενα, ταῦτα ἐπόθουν,
διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε νύκτωρ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐδόκουν ἡσυχάζειν
30 φλεγόμενος τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἔρωσι· καὶ οὐ ταῦτά με
μόνον πρὸς τὸν πόθον διήγειρεν, ἀλλὰ τούτων πλείω
καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, οἷς συνάψεις τὰ ἑξῆς ἐγκώμια.

385 Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβατήριος ὁ λόγος ᾖ, ἄλλως δὲ πά-
τριος, περὶ μὲν ἐρώτων καὶ περιχαρείας ἐρεῖς οὐδέν,

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384. 2 ἀνάγειν Zp: ἄγειν cett.   3 θέσιν PW: φύσιν Zmp:
κτίσιν Y   10 περιέχει Nitsche: παρέχει codd.   13 ὡς
Finckh: ὃς PZp: om. mWY   19 ἔθη codd.: ἤθη Spengel,
Nitsche (cf. 372. 4)   22, 23 φιλάνθρωποι, νόμιμοι Bursian: -ος,
-ος codd.   28 με Yp: μὲν PZW: μετὰ (om. ἦν) m   30 prius
ταῦτα PZp: τὰ τοιαῦτα mWY   με Zmp: om. PWY

lies in the centre of the country or rather towards the sea or near the mountains. Discussion of the city's situation will indeed have a special treatment, but there is nothing to prevent one putting the nature of the country and the situation of the city together under one head, viz. that of nature: for in the case of a country, nature and situation are the same, except that situation denotes where the place lies, and nature the things in the situation, e.g. crops, mountains, plains, rivers, vegetation; situation will therefore include nature, but nature will not necessarily include situation, since vegetation, rivers, high mountains, and so on come under the heading of nature. To put it briefly, consideration of the nature of a country has two aspects: one involves its position in relation to each of the elements, the other involves what grows in the country.

After the section on nature, you should place the section on nurture, if you have material for it in the tradition, as Aristides was able to do, when he said that the Athenians were given their crops by Demeter and then passed them on to others. If you do not have the possibility of this, praise the customs, as falling under the heading of accomplishments. (Accomplishments are an indication of the character and policy of the population, independently of competitive actions.) You should say therefore that they are hospitable to strangers, law-abiding in regard to contracts, dwell together in harmony, and behave to strangers as they do to one another.

Since it is an arrival speech that we have set ourselves, the following idea must be repeated in all these sections, so as not to let the speech get out of harmony with its main intention: 'This is what attracted me, this is what I longed for, because of this I felt no peace by night or by day, burning as I was with love for this: nor was it only this that roused me to desire. There were yet greater and more marvellous things . . .' Here you should lead into the next topics of encomium.

If the speech is not one of arrival, but merely a patriotic one, say nothing about love and joy:

ἁπλῶς δὲ ἄνευ τῆς τοιαύτης προσθήκης ἐργάσῃ τὸ ἐγ-
κώμιον [πατρίοις] χρώμενος τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐφεξῆς, ὡς
5 προείρηται καὶ ῥηθήσεται. ἔστι δὲ κεφάλαια ἐκεῖνα
περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν, φύσις, ἀνατροφή, ἐπιτηδεύματα,
ἰδιάζον δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἐπιβατηρίου τὸ ἐκ περιχαρείας,
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κοινά. μετὰ τοίνυν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα διαιρήσεις
τὰς πράξεις εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρετάς. δικαιοσύνην· ἐν ᾗ
10 μαρτυρίαν λήψῃ τῶν περιοίκων, ὅτι ταύτην ἡγού-
μενοι τὴν πόλιν ὅρον εἶναι δικαιοσύνης ἥκουσι παρ'
ἡμᾶς δικασόμενοι· καθάπερ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἄρειον | πά-
γον δικαιοσύνης ἀγωνιστήριον παρειλήφασιν, οὕτω | καὶ τὴν
πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν οἱ ἀστυγείτονες, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐνεκάλεσεν
15 οὔτε ξένος οὔτε ἰδιώτης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὔτε ἀστυγει-
τόνων πόλις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ οὔτε περιοίκων, οὔτε περὶ
ὅρων, οὔτε περὶ ὧν εἰώθασιν ἀμφισβητεῖν αἱ πόλεις·
εἶτα ἀπὸ τῶν καταπλεόντων ἐμπόρων, ὅτι αἱροῦνται
τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καταλιπόντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταί-
20 ρειν πεπειραμένοι τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλανθρωπίας· εἶτα
κατασκευάσεις ὅτι μὴ τὸ τέλος φορτικὸν εἰσπραττόμεθα,
ὅτι μηδὲ ζημιοῦνται παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. τὴν δὲ σω-
φροσύνην ἀπὸ ἐγκρατείας ἐρεῖς, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν νέων
ἀγωγῆς, καὶ κατασκευάσεις ὅτι οἱ μὲν περὶ λόγους
25 καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τέχνας καὶ ἄλλας
ἐπιστήμας. ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα ἔχοντας Ἀφρο-
δίτης μὲν ἀτόπων νόμων ὑπερορᾶν, παρασκευάζειν δὲ
τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ βελτίω περιεργάζεσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῆς φρο-
νήσεως οὕτως ἐρεῖς, ὅτι θαυμάζοντες οἱ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος
30 καὶ γένος εἰλήχασι παρ' ἡμᾶς ἥκουσι συσκεψόμενοι περὶ
τῶν κοινῶν, ὥσπερ τὸ παλαιὸν παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ
Ἕλληνες, καὶ κοινόν ἐστι συνέδριον καὶ βουλευτήριον
386 τοῦ [κοινοῦ] γένους ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις· καὶ ὅτι εἰ ἔδει νῦν
νομοθετεῖν, ἐνομοθέτησεν ἂν τῷ κοινῷ γένει τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων, ὥσπερ τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθη-

385. 4 πατρίοις PmWYp: om. Z: πατρίδος Bursian: num πᾶσι?
5–8 ἔστι . . . κοινά fortasse interpolata   8 διαιρήσεις Bursian:
θήσεις codd.   10 λήψῃ PZmWY: περιλήψῃ p: μετα- Spengel:
παρα- Bursian (recte?)   12 ἡμᾶς mWYp: ἡμῖν P: ἡμῶν Z
13 ἀγωνιστήριον PZmWY: δικαστήριον p   14 πόλιν τὴν
PZWY: om. p   16 πόλις ZWY: πόλει Pmp   17 ὅρων
οὔτε περὶ PZmWY: om. p   num περὶ ὧν ⟨ἄλλων⟩?   21 τὸ
τέλος φορτικὸν parum intellectum   22–4 ὅτι μηδὲ . . . κατα-

merely elaborate the encomium without any such
addition, using all the headings enumerated (or soon
to be enumerated) here. The headings of which we
have spoken are these: nature, nurture, accomplish-
ments. (Peculiar to the arrival speech is the element
of joy; everything else is common.)

Following 'accomplishments', then, you should
divide 'actions' under the four virtues. (1) Justice:
here you should take the evidence of the neighbouring
peoples, who 'regard the city as a standard of justice
and come to conduct their legal affairs with us;
as the Athenians received from their ancestors the
Areopagus as a court for the contests of justice, so our
neighbours treat our city, and no foreigner, no
private citizen of our own, no one of our neighbours
or of the surrounding population has had cause to
bring complaints against our city either over boun-
daries or over any of the matters about which cities
are habitually in dispute.' Take up next the subject
of the merchants who come here by sea: 'They leave
other cities and choose to put in here, because they
have experience of our humane ways.' Then make the
point that we do not levy the duty on cargoes (?),
and they are not penalized illegally. (2) Temperance
should be discussed in terms of self-control and educa-
tion of the young. You should argue that some are
engaged in literature and philosophy, some in arts
and other kinds of knowledge; those so concerned
must despise strange ways of love, and prepare their
minds to busy themselves with better things. (3) As
to wisdom, you should say that 'those whose lot has
fallen within the same nation and race come to us in
admiration, to deliberate together on matters of
common concern, as the Greeks of old came to
Athens, and our city is a common assembly and
place of deliberation for the nation. If there had
still been need of lawgiving, it would have legislated
for mankind universally, as Sparta and Athens did

σκευάσεις Zp: om. cett.   23 ἀπό ⟨τε⟩ τῆς Bursian   28 τὰ
βελτίω mWYp: τὸ βέλτιστον PZ   περιεργάζεσθαι PZmp: ἐργάζε-
σθαι WY   31 Ἀθηναίους vulg.: -οις codd. (sed -ας m)
     386. 1 seclusimus   3–4 ἡ . . . Ἀθηναίων PWY: οἱ . . . Ἀθηναίων
Zm: Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι p

ναίων τοῖς Ἕλλησι· ποῦ μὲν γὰρ Σόλωνες πλείους τῶν
5 παρ' ἡμῖν; ποῦ δὲ Λυκοῦργοι βελτίους; ποῦ δὲ Μί-
νως καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυες [οἱ τῶν Κρητῶν νομοθέται]· περὶ
δ' ἀνδρείας ἐρεῖς ὅτι πολλῶν πολλάκις πρεσβειῶν πρὸς
βασιλέα καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν γενομένων οὐδένες
μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας καὶ σεμνότητος διελέχθησαν
10 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας. εἶτα ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀρετῶν
συγκρίσεις ἐργάσῃ, ἰδίαν μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην, μετὰ δὲ
ταύτην ἐφ' ἁπάσαις αὐταῖς ἀθρόαν σύγκρισιν ἐργάσῃ
πόλεως πρὸς πόλιν, συλλαμβάνων ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ πρὸ
τούτων ὁμοίως, φύσιν, ἀνατροφήν, ἐπιτηδεύματα,
15 πράξεις· καὶ ἐν οἷς μὲν ἂν τούτων εὕρῃς σῳζομένην
τὴν ἰσότητα ἢ καὶ πλεονεξίαν παρὰ τῇ πόλει ἣν ἐπαινεῖς,
ταῦτα ἀντεξετάσεις ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει, ἐν οἷς δ' ἂν εὑ-
ρίσκῃς αὐτὴν ἐλαττουμένην, ταῦτα παραδραμεῖς· καὶ
γὰρ Ἰσοκράτης συγκρίνων Θησέα Ἡρακλεῖ, ἐν οἷς μὲν
20 εὗρεν αὐτὸν πλεονεκτοῦντα, ἀντεξήτασεν, ἐν οἷς δὲ
τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ταῦτα ἐσίγησε. μετὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν ἥξεις
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιλόγους, ἐν οἷς διαγράψεις αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα
τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐρεῖς στοάς, ἱερά, λιμένας, εὐετηρίας,
ἀφθονίαν, τὰ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεισαγόμενα ἀγαθά,
25 ἵππων δρόμους, ἂν ἔχῃ, ἀγώνων διαθέσεις, λουτρῶν
ἀπολαύσεις, ὑδάτων ἐπιρροάς, ἄλση ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει,
τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, οἷον ἂν ἱερὸν πλησίον πολυτελὲς
ᾖ, ἂν μαντεῖον, ἂν τέμενος θεοῖς ἀνακείμενον· καὶ γὰρ
ταῦτα συντελεῖ πρὸς κόσμον τῇ πόλει· ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ
30 τούτοις τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν ἐντεύξει Καλλινίκου λόγοις
καὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ Πολέμωνος καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ, καὶ μι-
μήσῃ τὰς ἐργασίας ἐν μὲν τῷ τῆς φύσεως τόπῳ, ἐν δὲ
387 τοῖς λοιποῖς ὡσαύτως· οὐχ ἧττον δὲ κἂν τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις
τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον ζηλώσεις.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰρημένα καθολικῶς εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ
πατρίου καὶ ἐπιβατηρίου· καὶ διακέκριται τὸ ἴδιον ἑκά|στου
5 ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει, ἐὰν δέ ποτε βουληθῇς εἰπεῖν, ὦ | γλυκύτατε
τῶν ἑταίρων, καὶ Τρωϊκόν, ⟨ἐρεῖς⟩ μὲν ἐγκώμιον τῆς
χώρας πρῶτον, οὐδὲ δ' ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ λόγος περιέχων ἔκ-

5–6 Μίνως καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυες mWY: -ως καὶ -υς PZp   6 secl.
Bursian   8 γενομένων PZmWY: γεγενημένων p   11–12 ἰδίαν
... ἐργάσῃ PWp: om. ZmY   12 αὐταῖς ἀθρόαν ⟨ἰδίαν p⟩ σύγ-
κρισιν Pp: ταῖς ἀθρόαις συγκρίσεις W   18 παραδραμεῖς Walz:

once for the Greeks. For where are there more Solons
than with us? Where are there better Lycurguses,
Minoses, or Rhadamanthuses [the lawgivers of the
Cretans]?' (4) As to courage, you should say that,
though many embassies have often been sent to the
emperor from many nations, no ambassadors have
spoken with greater frankness or dignity than those
coming from our city.

You should work up individual comparisons for
each of the virtues, followed by an over-all com-
parison of city with city, taking in everything, in-
cluding the preceding sections (nature, nurture,
accomplishments, actions). Wherever you find the city
which is your subject to be on equal or superior
terms, you should set out the contrast in your com-
parison; where it is inferior, however, this is some-
thing you ought to pass over quickly. When Isocrates
compared Theseus with Heracles, he set out the points
in which he found Theseus superior, but said nothing
of those in which he found Heracles superior.

After the comparison should come the epilogue.
In this you must describe the actual form of the city,
and talk of its colonnades, temples, harbours, pros-
perity, wealth, imports by sea, race-courses (if any),
festivals, luxurious baths, aqueducts, groves in the
city itself, the surroundings—e.g. any wealthy temple,
oracle, or precinct of the gods, since these also con-
tribute to the city's glories.

To supplement all these precepts read the speeches of
Callinicus, Aristides, Polemo, and Hadrianus, and imi-
tate their treatment, not only in the topic of 'nature',
but elsewhere also, and especially in the epilogue.

These remarks apply universally to the 'patriotic'
and 'arrival' speeches. The peculiarities of each in the
division of material have been distinguished. But
if, my dearest friend, you should wish to deliver a
Trojan oration you should first ⟨give⟩ an encomium
of the country. (This is simply a speech comprising a

-οις Pp: -ης cett.   19-20 Ἡρακλεῖ . . . αὐτὸν mWY: om. cett.
αὐτόν] τὸν Θησέα Bursian   21 ante μετὰ add. εἶτα mWY
26 ἐπιρροάς codd.: -οίας Bursian e Vind.   28 ῇ p: om. cett.
ἀνακείμενον Zp: ἀνειμένον cett.   32 τόπῳ PmWY: τὸ πᾶν Zp
    387. 3 τοῦ PZp: om. mWY   6 suppl. Bursian   7 δ' p:
om. cett.

φρασιν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς θέσεως αὐτῆς ὅπως ἔχει
πρὸς τὴν παρακειμένην ἤπειρον, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν γειτνιῶ-
10 σαν θάλασσαν, ὅπως ἀέρων ἔχει εὐκρασίας, εἶτα ἐπὶ τού-
τοις λαμπρῶς καὶ διειργασμένως ἐκφράσεις, ἐρεῖς δὲ
καὶ περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν [καὶ ἵππων] καὶ πεδίων καὶ
σπερμάτων καὶ δένδρων, ὅπως ἐπιτηδείως ἔχει πρὸς ταῦτα
σύμπαντα, καὶ ὅτι τούτων οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐνδεής. καὶ
15 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κεφάλαιον περὶ τῆς θέσεως, πρὸς δὲ ἀπό-
δειξιν τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου λήψῃ ἀρχαῖα διηγήματα
πρὸς πίστιν λέγων οὕτως· τοιγάρτοι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κα-
τὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους βασιλείας μεγίστας καὶ περι-
βοήτους †εὐτυχήσαντας Δαρδάνου τοῦ Τρωὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν
20 τοῦ Λαομέδοντος† καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἦρξαν οὐ μικρῶν
θαλάσσης μέτρων, οὐδὲ νήσων τινῶν [ἄρχουσιν], οὐδὲ
περιγεγραμμένων τόπων, καθάπερ ἡ Πελοπόννησος,
ἀλλ' ἦρξαν μὲν Λυδίας, ἐπῆρξαν δὲ Καρίας, καὶ προῆλθον
τὴν ἑῴαν ἅπασαν καταστρεφόμενοι, καὶ ὡμολόγησαν
25 ἡμῖν δουλεύειν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Βλέμμυες καὶ Ἐρεμβῶν
γένη, εἴπερ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις χρόνοις φαί-
νονται ὑπακούοντες ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ κλήσε-
σιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπόδειξις τοῦ κεφαλαίου τοιαύτη, ὥστε
συμπεπλήρωται τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τὸ περὶ τῆς φύσεως
30 καὶ θέσεως τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας. μετὰ ταῦτα
ἐμβαλεῖς τὸν περὶ τῆς πόλεως λόγον οὕτω πως· τὸ μὲν
οὖν παλαιὸν ἐρασθέντες τῆς χώρας θεοὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν
388 καὶ Ἀπόλλων μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω θαλάττης τὸ Ἴλιον τει-
χίζουσιν, ὥσπερ τῆς ὅλης χώρας ἀκρόπολιν. εἴπερ οὖν
περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐρίζοις, εἶτα τὴν ἐκ κοινῆς γνώμης
κατασκευήν, οὐ δι' ἀπεχθείας ἀλλήλοις ἥκοντες, ὥσπερ
5 ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντες ἀμφό-
τεροι ὥσπερ οὐδὲν κάλλιον νομίζοντες. Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὁ μηδὲ Ἡρακλέους λειπόμενος μηδὲ Διο-
νύσου νομισθεὶς εἶναι χείρων, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ μέ-

9 ἔχει PWYp: om. Zm   12 καὶ ἵππων PZp: om. mWY:
secl. Spengel: καὶ λιμένων Bursian   15 ⟨τὸ⟩ κεφάλαιον Bursian
16 λήψῃ+τὰ p   18 μεγίστας mWYp: -ης PZ   περιβοήτους
PmWYp:-ου Z   19 εὐτυχήσαντας PmWYp:-ος Z   18–20 in-
certa: e.g. . . . περιβοήτους εὐτυχήσαμεν (Bursian), Δαρδάνου καὶ
Τρωὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ⟨λαβόντος⟩ τοῦ Λαομέδοντος, i.e. 'feliciter regna
maxima et praeclara adepti sumus, cum imperium Dardani atque
Trois accepisset Laomedon'   20 καὶ PZmWY: καθ' ἁ p: καθ'
ἃς Bursian (sc. βασιλείας)   21 seclusimus   23 ἦρξαν . . .

description of its nature and position in relation to the adjacent mainland, neighbouring sea, and climate.) You should then describe it elaborately and splendidly. You should speak of rivers, mountains, [horses,] plains, crops, and trees, and say how conveniently it is placed with respect to these and not deficient in any.

To demonstrate what is said in this section (on 'position'), you should take up some ancient traditions by way of confirmation. E.g. 'it was because of this, therefore, that when Laomedon obtained the empire of Dardanus and Tros (?), we were the fortunate possessors of great and famous kingdoms, and our fathers did not rule over a small area of sea or a few islands, or some limited regions like the Peloponnese, but reigned over Lydia and extended their rule over Caria; they advanced to subdue all the East, and Egyptians, Blemmyes, and the tribes of the Erembi confessed they were our subjects—they who in the last days are seen to have been obedient to us, in the alliances and gatherings of allies.'

Such is the demonstration of this section. The section on the nature and position of the country is thus filled out with historical material.

Next, you must insert the passage on the city. Thus: 'Of old, the gods fell in love with the land, and Poseidon and Apollo fortified Ilium a little above the sea, as the citadel, as it were, of the whole land.' If you are in competition with Athens, you must employ (?) the argument from their decision by consent: 'not coming to one another in enmity, as they did at Athens, but both of them in agreement, as though they thought nothing more fair'. 'And, later, Alexander, who was no way inferior to Heracles and is thought as good as Dionysus—Alexander who,

ἐπῆρξαν ZY: -εν ... -εν cett.   προῆλθον Y: -εν cett.   24 ἐῴαν
PZp: ἔω mWY   καταστρεφόμενοι ZY: -ος cett.   26 εἴπερ
codd. (ἤπερ Z): οἵπερ Bursian   αὐτοὶ p: Λυδοὶ cett.   καὶ ἐν τοῖς
Zp: om. PmWY

    388. 1 τὸ Ἴλιον Finckh: τὸ ἴδιον Pmp: τῇ Ἴδῃ Z: τι ἴδιον WY
ante τειχίζουσιν add. με P, μὲν ZmWp   2 ὥσπερ ... ἀκρόπολιν
hic Bursian, post κατασκευήν (4) codd.   3 περὶ τῶν codd.: πρὸς
τὴν Spengel, non male   εἶτα suspectum: num ἐρεῖς?   6 ὥσπερ
... νομίζοντες hic nos, post τειχίζουσιν (2) codd.   7 ταῦτα+
Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ συγγραφεὺς m

γιστον καὶ πλεῖστον μέρος μιᾷ χειρὶ Διὸς παῖς ὄντως
10 χειρωσάμενος, ἐπιτηδειότατον τοῦτον χῶρον ὑπολαβών,
μεγίστην πόλιν καὶ ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσας, εἰς
ταύτην τὴν ἡμετέραν ἤγειρε. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς καὶ περὶ
τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κεῖται ἢ
μικρὸν ἐπικλίνει πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, εἶθ' ἑξῆς ὥσπερ
15 ἔχει σύμπασα ἡ διαίρεσις.

ΠΕΡΙ ΛΑΛΙΑΣ

Τὸ τῆς λαλιᾶς εἶδος χρησιμώτατόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ σοφι-
στῇ, καὶ ἔοικε δύο εἴδεσι τῆς ῥητορικῆς ὑποπίπτειν τῷ
τε συμβουλευτικῷ καὶ τῷ ἐπιδεικτικῷ· πληροῖ γὰρ ἑκα-
20 τέρου τὴν χρείαν· καὶ γὰρ ἄρχοντα ἐὰν ἐγκωμιάσαι
βουλώμεθα, πολλῶν ἐγκωμίων παρέχει τὴν ἀφθονίαν·
καὶ γὰρ δικαιοσύνην αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς
ἀρετὰς διὰ τῆς λαλιᾶς καταμηνύειν δυνάμεθα. καὶ μὴν
καὶ συμβουλεῦσαι διὰ λαλιᾶς ὅλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀκροαταῖς
25 πᾶσι καὶ ἄρχοντι, εἰ βουλοίμεθα, προσδραμόντι πρὸς
τὴν ἀκρόασιν ῥᾴδιον. καὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτοῦ καταμηνῦσαί
τινα ὀργὴν ἢ λύπην ἢ ἡδονὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς διὰ
λαλιᾶς οὐ κεκώλυται, ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ σχηματίσαι διάνοιαν
ὅλην ἢ ἀποσκώπτοντα ἢ κωμῳδεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντα ἦθός
30 τινος [προαιρούμενον], ἢ ψέγοντα βίον, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν
τοιούτων. εἰπόντες δὲ τούτων παραδείγματα πειρα-
389 σόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τοῦ γένους διεξελ-
θεῖν.

Ἄρχοντός τινος ἔθνους διὰ λαλιᾶς πρόκειται ἡμῖν
ἐγκώμιον. οὐκοῦν ζητήσομεν ὁποῖός ἐστι περὶ βασι-
5 λέας, ὁποῖός ἐστι περὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν πόλεων καὶ
τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων, περὶ τὰς κρίσεις
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὁποῖος δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν τρόπον,
ὁμιλητικὸς καὶ πρᾷος ἢ τοὐναντίον αὐστηρὸς καὶ κατε-
στυμμένος. οὐκοῦν ληψόμεθα πρὸς τοῦτο [τὸ] παρά-
10 δειγμα ἱστορίαν ἀρχαίαν ἢ πλάσαντες αὐτοί, ἵνα μὴ

being truly the son of Zeus, subdued the greatest and most extensive part of the world by his own sole hand—took this to be the most suitable site, and, having planned a great city to bear his name, raised it up to be this city of ours.'

After this, you should speak about the city, how it lies in the centre of its territory, or inclines a little towards the sea, and so on, according to the general division of the subject.

[IV]   THE TALK (*LALIA*)

The 'talk' form is extremely useful to a sophist. It seems to fall under two kinds of rhetoric, the deliberative and the epideictic, for it fulfils the needs of both. If we wish to praise a ruler, it yields abundant store of encomia: we can indicate his justice, wisdom, and other virtues in the form of a talk. We can also easily give advice in this form to the whole city and all our audience and (if we wish) to a governor who attends the delivery of the speech. Nor is there anything to prevent one revealing to the audience in a 'talk' some anger or pain or pleasure of one's own. It is possible also to give the whole thought a special slant by making a jest of it or trying to satirize (?) someone's character or finding fault with his way of life, or something like that.

We shall give examples of this and then endeavour to explain the other features of this kind of composition.

Let us assume we are to deliver an encomium of a provincial governor in 'talk' form. We shall investigate his attitude to the emperors, to the construction of cities and public buildings, to the trials of private individuals, and also what he is like in himself—whether affable and gentle, or severe and reserved. We shall find an· example to illustrate this, an old story or one of our own invention, so as not to

389. 1 τοῦ γένους PmWYp: om. Z   3 τινος ἔθνους p: ἐὰν cett. διὰ λαλιᾶς hic p, post ἡμῖν PZmWY (διὰ om. m)   4 ante ἐγκώμιον add. εἰπεῖν codd. praeter p   6 οἰκοδομημάτων+καὶ vulg. 8 prius καὶ p: om. cett.   9 secl. Bursian   10 αὐτοί PmWYp: om. Z

δοκῶμεν αὐτοῖς γυμνοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγχειρεῖν· οὐ
γὰρ ἔχει τοῦτο ἡδονήν· χαίρει γὰρ τὸ τῆς λαλιᾶς εἶδος
τῇ γλυκύτητι καὶ τῇ τῶν διηγημάτων ἁβρότητι. παρα-
γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἡ γλυκύτης τῷ λόγῳ, εἰ παραδείγματα
15 λέγοιμεν δι' ὧν ἐμφανιοῦμεν ὃ προαιρούμεθα, ἱστο-
ρίας ἡδίστας τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς μαθεῖν ἐκλεγόμενοι, οἷον
περὶ θεῶν, ὅτι καὶ θεοὶ πεφύκασιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, οἷον εἰ Ἡρακλέους μνημονεύοιμεν ὡς πειθο-
μένου μὲν ἀεὶ τῷ Διὶ προστάττοντι, ἀθλοῦντος δὲ ὑπὲρ
20 τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀδίκους ἐξαι-
ροῦντος, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς δὲ ἐγκαθιστάντος πρὸς ἐπι-
μέλειαν τῶν πόλεων, ⟨ἢ⟩ εἰ Ἀγησίλαον λέγοιμεν, ὡς
πειθόμενον Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἄρξαντα
δὲ τῆς Ἰωνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου λαμπρῶς καὶ θαυ-
25 μασθέντα οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ταινίαις ἀναδεθῆναι παρὰ
τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ ἄνθεσι βάλλεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπι-
δημοῦντα. μεστὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἱστορία Ἡροδότου γλυκέων
διηγημάτων· ἐν οἷς ἡδονὴ παντοδαπὴς παραγίνεται τῷ
λόγῳ, οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης τῶν διηγημάτων ἀκοῆς,
30 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ποιᾶς συνθέσεως, ὅταν μὴ τραχείᾳ
χρώμεθα τῇ ἐξαγγελίᾳ, μηδὲ περιόδους ἐχούσῃ καὶ
ἐνθυμήματα, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἁπλουστέρα τυγχάνῃ καὶ ἀφε-
390 λεστέρα, οἵα ἡ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ Νικοστράτου καὶ Δίωνος
τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τοῦ τὸν Ἡρωι-
κὸν | καὶ τὰς Εἰκόνας γράψαντος ἐρριμμένη καὶ
ἀκατασκεύαστος. χρὴ δὲ καὶ ὀνείρατα πλάττειν καὶ
5 ἀκοήν τινα προσποιεῖσθαι ἀκηκοέναι, καὶ ταύτην βού-
λεσθαι ἐξαγγέλλειν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ὀνείρατα μέν, ὡς εἰ
λέγοιμεν ὅτι παραστὰς νύκτωρ ὁ Ἑρμῆς προσέταττε κη-
ρύττειν τὸν ἄριστον τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ πειθόμενος
τοῖς ἐκείνου προστάγμασιν ἐρῶ κατὰ μέσον θέατρον
10 ἅπερ ἐκείνου λέγοντος ἤκουσα· ἀκοὴν δέ, ὡς εἰ λέ-
γοιμεν οὕτως, ὅτι ἀπήγγειλέ τις ἐμοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ ἀστυγεί-
τονος πόλεως πολλὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ θαυμαστάς, ἃς ἐν ὑμῖν,
εἰ σχολὴν ἀκούειν ἄγοιτε, φράσαι προαιροῦμαι.

Συμβουλεύσεις δὲ διὰ λαλιᾶς περὶ ὁμονοίας πό-

11 αὐτοῖς post γυμνοῖς transp. P   14 τῷ λόγῳ Finckh : τῶν λόγων
codd.   15 ante ἱστορίας add. μετὰ codd. praeter p   16 ἐκ-
λεγόμενοι p : εἰ λέγοιμεν cett.   οἷον p : οἰονεὶ cett.   17 θεῶν+καὶ
ἡρώων codd. praeter p   18 εἰ Pp : om. cett.   μνημονεύοιμεν p :
-ομεν cett.   22 suppl. Bursian   23 προστάγμασιν p : πράγμασιν

appear to be dealing in bare facts, in which there is no
charm. The 'talk' indeed likes sweetness and the
delicacy attained by narratives. A speech may be lent
'sweetness' by the insertion of examples making the
speaker's intentions clear, and by the choice of stories
which are very agreeable to the audience to learn,
e.g. stories about the gods, showing how their nature
is to take thought for mankind, or a reference to
Heracles and how he always obeyed the commands
of Zeus and laboured for the life of men, extirpating
the unjust and setting up the good to care for cities;
or again, how Agesilaus obeyed the Lacedaemonians'
orders, ruled Ionia and the Hellespont brilliantly,
and was so much admired that he was garlanded and
pelted with flowers by his subjects when he visited the
cities. Herodotus' history is full of pleasant narratives.
In these, every kind of charm is added to the writing,
not only by the novelty of the stories, but also as a
result of a certain type of word-arrangement, when
the style employed is not rough or periodic or argu-
mentative, but simpler and plainer, like the casual
and unelaborate manner of Xenophon, Nicostratus,
Dio Chrysostom, and the Philostratus who wrote the
Heroicus and the *Pictures*. One may also invent dreams
or claim to have heard some report and want to pass
it on to the audience; e.g. (i) dreams: suppose I were
to say: 'Hermes appeared to me by night and bade
me proclaim the best of governors; it is in obedience
to his commands that I shall proclaim in the midst
of the theatre what I heard him say'; (ii) hearing a
report: one might say: 'someone from a neighbouring
city told me of many wonderful qualities, which I should
like to tell you about, if you have the time to listen.'
    You can give advice in 'talk' form about concord

cett.   24 τοῦ ZWYp: τῆς Pm   28 παντοδαπὴς P: -ἡ
ZmWY: -ῶς p (cf. 392. 29)   παραγίνεται Pp: περι- ZmY: γίνεται W
ante τῷ add. ἐν codd. praeter p   30 ποιᾶς ZWp: ποίας cett.
    390. 2 τὸν Ἡρωικὸν mWY: τῶν -ῶν Zp: τὸν -ῶς P   post
Ἡρωικῶν add. τὴν ἐξήγησιν p   3 ἐρριμμένη Zmp (similia WY):
εἰρημένη P: εἰρομένη Bursian   5 προσποιεῖσθαι PZmWY: προσ-
τίθεσθαι p   7 ὁ ZmWYp: om. P   προσέταττε PZmWY:
προστάττει p   9 θέατρον ZmWY: θεάτρων Pp   12 πόλεως+
οὗ ZmWY: num τούτου?   ἃς Zp: om. cett.   14 διὰ λαλιᾶς p:
ὡς ἐν λαλιαῖς P: ἐν λαλιαῖς ZmY: om. W

15 λει, ἀκροαταῖς, φίλοις, ἀντιπολιτευομένοις καὶ ταράτ-
τουσι συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς εὔνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους· συμβουλεύσεις δέ ποτε καὶ ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν λό-
γων, εἰ μισολόγους γινώσκεις καὶ δυσχερῶς συνιόντας.
ἐξαγγελεῖς δὲ σαυτοῦ πάθος, οἷον ὡς ἐν ὑποδείγματι,

20 εἰ λέγοις ὅτι οὐκ ἀπαιτοῦσιν συνεχῶς αἱ ἀκροάσεις
οὐδὲ ἀναγκάζουσι λέγειν, πλάσας τοιοῦτον λόγον, ὅτι
Ἀπόλλων πολὺς ἦν θεσπίζων περὶ τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ
καταλαβὼν Κασταλίαν καὶ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ἐπλήρου τὴν
προφῆτιν μαντικοῦ [τοῦ] πνεύματος, τῶν δὲ Μουσῶν

25 ἠμέλει· χαλεπαίνουσαι οὖν αἱ Μοῦσαι ἀξιοῦσι μαθεῖν
τὴν αἰτίαν, διότι οὐ μετέχει χορείας τῆς ἐν Ἑλικῶνι
μετὰ Μουσῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ φοιβάζει [Μουσῶν] ἐν τοῖς ἀδύ-
τοις καὶ ποθεῖ μᾶλλον τοὺς τρίποδας. σχηματίζων δὲ
πρός τε σαυτὸν ἐρεῖς ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροατάς,

30 ὅτι Ζεὺς ᾐτιᾶτο τὰς Μούσας, ὅτι οὐ προτρέπουσι τὸν
Ἀπόλλωνα συγχορεύειν αὐταῖς καὶ πλήττειν τὴν λύ-
ραν· ἐμφανιεῖς δὲ καὶ ἡδονὴν σεαυτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκού-

391 οντας οὕτως, ὅταν ἀποδέχῃ τὴν ἀκοὴν αὐτῶν ὡς κριτι-
κῶς ἀκρωμένων, ὅτι ἥσθης ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ διαθέσει
τῶν ἀκροατῶν, ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτης ἥσθη τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
ἀναγνοὺς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸν πανηγυρικὸν λόγον, αἰσθανό-

5 μενος ὅτι κατεῖδον ἀκριβῶς τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ λόγου.
ἀποσκώψεις δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ψέξεις ἀνωνύμως ὑπο-
γράφων τὸ πρόσωπον, εἰ βούλοιο, καὶ τὸ ἦθος διαβάλ-
λων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἐπαινεῖν ἐξῆν ἐκ πάσης ἀρετῆς
λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐγκώμια, οὕτως ἔξεστί σοι ἀπὸ πάσης

10 κακίας διαβάλλειν καὶ ψέγειν, ὅταν ἐθελήσῃς. ἔστι
δέ ποτε καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διαθεῖναι τὸν ἀκροα-
τὴν ἐπὶ παρόδου, ἣν μέλλει ποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις μὲν
ἠθικῶς μετριάζοντα, ὅτι τέττιξ μιμεῖται τοὺς ᾠδι-
κοὺς τῶν ὀρνίθων, πολλάκις δὲ αἰτήσεις συγγνώμην

15 φάσκων ἐξ ὑπογύου σοι γεγενῆσθαι τὸ σπούδασμα, ἢ
ὅτι τῶν λόγων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀνατίθης τῇ πατρίδι καὶ

15–16 ταράττουσι Bursian: πλάττουσι m: πλάττου WY: πάττου Z:
πλάτ p: πράττουσι P: ἀντιπράττουσι B. P. Hillyard   16 αὐτοὺς
Bursian: αὐτοὺς codd.   19 σαυτοῦ p: ἑαυτοῦ P: αὖ τὸ cett.
20 αἱ codd.: τὰς Kroll   24 προφῆτιν p: -τείαν cett.   τοῦ seclusimus
26 μετέχει P: μετέσχε cett.   27 ἰδίᾳ ... Μουσῶν p: om. ZmWY:
ἰδια δελφοι βαδιζει Μουσῶν P   Μουσῶν² seclusimus   30 ὅτι¹ + ὁ
codd. praeter p   Μούσας: in hoc verbo desinit Z   προτρέπουσι

to a city, to your audience, to friends, or to persons en-
gaged in political opposition and disturbance, urging
them to bring themselves together in mutual goodwill.
You should sometimes advise them to be willing to
listen to speeches, if you know them to have a distaste
for literature and to be reluctant to meet. You may
express your feelings, saying for example that audi-
ences do not often invite you or make you speak; you
can invent some such fable as this: 'Apollo was
for ever prophesying at the tripods; he had seized
Castalia and Delphi and was filling the prophets
with the spirit of divination. But he was neglecting
the Muses. The Muses were therefore distressed, and
asked why he did not share in the dances on Helicon
with them, but prophesied in his shrine apart [from
the Muses] and longed rather for his tripods.' You
can say also, with figurative reference to yourself and
to your audience: 'Zeus blamed the Muses for not
encouraging Apollo to dance with them and strike
his lyre.' You should also make your pleasure ob-
vious to the audience, when you accept their at-
tention as critical hearers, by saying that you are
pleased to see such an attitude, just as Isocrates was
pleased when he read his *Panegyric* to the Greeks at
Olympia and saw that they evidently appreciated
the grandeur of the speech. You should often ridicule
or find fault, but without mentioning names, sketching
the personality, if you so wish, and criticizing the
character. Just as in praising it proved possible to
ground encomia on any virtue, so it is possible here
to criticize and find fault on the ground of any vice,
as desired. It is sometimes possible also to take a
defensive line and make the hearer favourably disposed
towards the public appearance one is about to make,
often by speaking with disarming moderation—'the
cicada mimics the singing birds'—but often also by
asking pardon, alleging that one's work is extem-
porized, or that one is offering one's country and
fellow citizens the first-fruits of a literary career,

mWY: προτρέπονται Pp   32 ἐμφανεῖς mWYp: -ίσεις P
   391. 1 ὡς κριτικῶς mWYp: συγκριτικῶς P   3 ἀκροατῶν
Finckh: ἀκροαμάτων codd.   12 num μέλλεις?   13 τέττιξ P:
τέττιγας cett.   15 ἢ Pp: om. mWY

τοῖς πολίταις, ὥσπερ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ
γεωργοὶ τὰ θαλύσια.

Ἁπλῶς δὲ χρὴ γινώσκειν, ὅτι λαλιὰ τάξιν μὲν οὐ-
20 δεμίαν θέλει σώζειν καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν λόγων,
ἀλλὰ ἄτακτον ἐπιδέχεται τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν λεγομένων·
ἃ γὰρ βούλει τάξεις πρῶτα καὶ δεύτερα, καὶ ἔστιν
ἀρίστη τάξις τῆς λαλιᾶς τὸ μὴ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν βα-
δίζειν συνεχῶς, ἀλλ' ἀτακτεῖν ἀεί· ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους
25 ποτὲ ἐγκωμιάσεις, ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως ἐγκω-
μιάσεις, ἄλλοτε ἀπὸ τῶν χθὲς καὶ πρώην συμβεβηκό-
των περὶ αὐτόν. καὶ ἀπὸ τύχης ἐγκωμιάσεις ἄλλοτε καὶ
ἀπὸ πράξεως μιᾶς ἄλλοτε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων,
λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ ἕτερα. ἐρεῖς τι καὶ εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ
30 πατρίδα ὡς χρονίως μὲν ἐπανελθὼν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἀσμε-
νέστατα δὲ αὐτὴν θεασάμενος, καὶ τὸ Ὁμηρικὸν
392 ἐπιφωνήσεις | "κύσε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν", | "χαίρων ᾗ
γαίῃ πατρῴῃ", καὶ ἀσπάσῃ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἀκρο|ατῶν
τὸ θέατρον, ⟨καὶ⟩ κοινῇ πάντας καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον,
ἀνωνύμως | μέντοι, ὡς μὴ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ὄνομα
5 λέγειν ἀλλὰ συγχαίρειν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι πρεσβύτας εἶδες
οὓς κατέλιπες ἀκμάζοντας, καὶ εἰς ἄνδρας τελοῦντας
οὓς ἐν ἐφήβοις εἴασας, καὶ νεανίσκους εἶδες τελοῦντας
εἰς παῖδας, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος οὐδὲ το-
κήων γίνεται. ἀπλῶς δὲ χρὴ γιγνώσκειν περὶ λαλιᾶς,
10 ὅτι πάντα ὅσα βουληθῶμεν ἐμφανίσαι δι' αὐτῆς,
ταῦτα ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν λέγειν τάξιν μηδεμίαν ἐκ τέχνης
φυλάττουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν προσπίπτῃ, στοχάζεσθαι
μέντοι δεῖ ἑκάστου καιροῦ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ συνιέναι
ποῖον χρήσιμον εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ποῖον δὲ δεύτερον. χρὴ
15 δὲ καὶ μνημονεύειν αὐτῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ πάροδος,
καὶ ἱεροφαντῶν καὶ δαδούχων καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ
λόγων ἀγώνων καὶ μουσείων καὶ παιδευτῶν καὶ νεο-

17 ὥσπερ τῇ PmWY: ᾗπερ p   23 κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Pp: κατ' αὐτὸν
mW: κατὰ ταὐτὸν Y: διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Nitsche   24 συνεχῶς Pp:
om. mWY   ἀλλ' ἀτακτεῖν ἀεί mWYp: ἀλλὰ τάττειν ἢ P   25 prius
ἐγκωμιάσεις mWYp: ἐγκώμια ὅσα P   25–6 πάλιν ... ἄλλοτε
Pp: om. mWY   27 ἄλλοτε nos: μόνον ποτε PmWY: ποτε p
28 μιᾶς PmWY: om. p   τούτων p: τῶν πρώτων cett.   29 λεχθή-
σεται p: λεχθήτω cett.   30 χρονίως codd.: num χρόνιος?   ἐπ'
Pp: εἰς mWY

as farmers offer their harvest festival to Demeter and Dionysus.

It is also to be noted, as a general principle, that a 'talk' does not aim to preserve a regular order as other speeches do, but allows the treatment of the subject to be disorderly. You can put anything you please in first or second place. The best arrangement in a 'talk' is to avoid proceeding always on the same track, but to display continuous disorder. One moment, you may praise the subject on the basis of origin, the next on intention, the next on recent events that have affected him; sometimes again on the basis of fortune, sometimes on a single action. But enough of this; other points also may be made.(?)

You may also address your native city on returning after a long absence, and beholding it with great joy. In these circumstances, you should quote the lines of Homer—'he kissed the fertile ground', 'rejoicing in his native land'—and greet the audience in your speech both collectively and individually, though without mentioning names, and in such a way as not to give a name openly, but to express pleasure at seeing as old men those whom you left in the prime of life, as grown men those you left as students, and as youths those you left as children. Again: 'Nothing is sweeter than one's fatherland and parents.'

(We should note as a general rule about the 'talk' that we are able to express any subject we choose in this medium, without observing any technical rules of order, but taking things as they occur, so long as we aim to make each point at the proper time and understand what it is expedient to put in first or second place.)

You should also mention Athens itself, the place you are coming from: the hierophants and torch-bearers, the Panathenaea, the contests of literature, the Museums, the teachers, and the young people. These

392. 2 ᾗ Bursian: ἤ p: om. cett.   3 ⟨καὶ⟩ supplevimus   κοινῇ πάντας hic Bursian: post μέντοι (4) habent codd.   4 ὡς PmWY: om. p   5 ἑαυτῷ p: σεαυτῷ cett.   7 ἐν ἐφήβοις PmWY: ἐφήβους p   εἶδες + τοὺς Pm   ⟨οὓς⟩ εἶδες Bursian   10 αὐτῆς PmWY: ταύτης p   11 ἔξεστιν PmWY: ἐξέσται p, fort. recte, cf. 393. 18   12 στοχάζεσθαι mWYp: -άσασθαι P   14 χρήσιμον Pp: χρὴ mWY   15 αὐτῶν codd.: αὖ τῶν Bursian   17 λόγων codd. (+ καὶ Y): λογικῶν Bursian   μουσείων nos: μουσικῶν codd.   παιδευτῶν Pp: παιδευμάτων mWY

λαίας· φέρει γὰρ ταῦτα πολλὴν γλυκύτητα. χρὴ δέ σε
καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν ὀνόματα διαφόρων εἰδέναι, Ὀρφέως,

20 Ἀρίονος, Ἀμφίονος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὔλησιν εὐδοκίμων
καὶ μάντεων, καὶ ὅλως ἐνδόξων τεχνιτῶν πλεονεκτή-
ματα ἐρεῖς· ἔτι δὲ περὶ ὀρῶν ἐπισήμων, Ὀλύμπου,
Πιερίας, Ἴδης, Ἑλικῶνος, Παρνασοῦ· πλείστην γὰρ
ἡδονὴν ταῦτα παρέξει τῷ εἴδει τῆς λαλιᾶς. πολὺς δὲ

25 καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ἔστω καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ Σειληνοὶ καὶ
Σάτυροι, καὶ Ὠκεανὸς ποταμὸς καὶ Νεῖλος καὶ Ἴστρος
καὶ Ἀχελῷος καὶ Εὐρυμέδων καὶ Θύμβρις, καὶ εἴ τις
ἄλλος ἐπίσημος. χρησιμώτατοι δὲ πρὸς λαλιὰν καὶ οἱ
Πλουτάρχειοι βίοι, ὥσπερ εἰς ἄλλην πολλὴν καὶ παν-

30 τοδαπὴ παίδευσιν· καὶ γὰρ πλήρεις εἰσὶν ἱστοριῶν
καὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων καὶ παροιμιῶν καὶ χρειῶν· ταῦτα
γὰρ πάντα καταμιγνύναι ταῖς λαλιαῖς χρήσιμον, ἵνα

393 πανταχόθεν τὴν ἡδονὴν θηρεύσωμεν. δεῖ δὲ ζητεῖν
καὶ μεταμορφώσεις φυτῶν καὶ ὀρνέων [καὶ δένδρων].
γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Νέστορι ποιητῇ καὶ σοφισταῖς μετα-
μορφώσεις φυτῶν καὶ ὀρνέων· τούτοις δὲ τοῖς συγγράμ-

5 μασιν ἐντυγχάνειν πάνυ λυσιτελεῖ. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ σε
μνήμην καὶ ποιητῶν ἐπισήμων Ὁμήρου, Ἡσιόδου, τῶν
λυρικῶν. αὐτοί τε γὰρ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἄξιοι μνήμης, καὶ
πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνεκωμίασαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔψεξαν, παρ᾽
ὧν δυνήσῃ λαβεῖν παραδείγματα. (καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου δὲ

10 οὐκ ἀμελήσεις, ἱκανῶς κολάσαντος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῇ
ποιήσει, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ὅταν ἐθέλῃς ψέγειν τινάς, ἔχῃς
ἀποχρήσασθαι τἀνδρί.) καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυ-
τούς, ἀεὶ συνόντες βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις συμβου-
λεύοντες τὰ ἄριστα, καλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων

15 αὐτῶν ἐπιφώνησις καὶ μνήμη· γλυκεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες
καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐμποιῆσαι λόγῳ μάλιστα προσφορώτατοι.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ ψέγειν καὶ ⟨προτρέπειν
καὶ⟩ ἀποτρέπειν | διὰ λαλιᾶς ἔξεστι, καὶ ὅτι διαθέσεις τῆς
ψυχῆς κα|ταμηνύειν δέδοται διὰ τῆς λαλιᾶς, οἷον λύπην

20 ἡδονὴν | ὀργὴν ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν προείρηται·

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19 εἰδέναι codd. (sed δὲ εἶναι P) : διιέναι Bursian   21 καὶ
μάντεων Pp : om. mWY   22 ὀρῶν Pp : ὀρέων mWY   Ὀλύμπου+
τε καὶ mWY   24 ἡδονὴν post λαλιᾶς mWY   παρέξει
Pp : παρέχει mWY   25 Χορεῖαι ut Maenadum nomen inter-
pretatur Bursian   29 Πλουτάρχειοι P : Πλουτάρχου mWYp
29–30 παντοδαπῇ pY : -ὴν cett.   32 γὰρ p : om. cett.

themes afford much 'sweetness'. You should also list
outstanding lyre-players—Orpheus, Arion, Amphion
—and notable flute-players and prophets, and indeed
the successes of famous artists generally. You can
mention famous mountains also—Olympus, Pieria,
Ida, Helicon, Parnassus; these give much charm to
the 'talk' form. There should also be a good deal
about Dionysus and the Dances, Silenuses and
Satyrs, the river of Ocean, the Nile, Ister, Achelous,
Eurymedon, and Tiber, and other famous rivers.
Very useful for the 'talk', as for many other and varied
educational uses, are Plutarch's *Lives*. They are full
of stories, apophthegms, and proverbs; it is useful to
use these as ingredients of talks, so that we can get
pleasure from them all. We should also look for meta-
morphoses of plants, birds[, and trees]. The poet Nestor
and some sophists have written metamorphoses of
plants and birds, and it is extremely profitable to read
these writings. You must also remember the famous
poets, Homer, Hesiod, and the lyricists. They deserve
to be recalled for their own sake; but they have also
praised and blamed many persons, from whom you
will be able to draw examples. (Nor should you ne-
glect Archilochus; he punished his enemies very ade-
quately in his poetry, so that you will be able to make
good use of him when you want to criticize people.)
These poets are excellent as people—they always asso-
ciated with kings and tyrants and gave very good ad-
vice; and quotations and reminiscences of their poetry
are also excellent, because they have 'sweetness' and
are very suitable for lending your writing charm.

I have now explained sufficiently how it is possible
to praise, blame, ⟨encourage, and⟩ dissuade in the
medium of the 'talk', and how this may also be used
to express mental attitudes of one's own, such as

393. 1–2 locus nondum sanatus: δεῖ . . . δένδρων secl. Bursian, καὶ
δένδρων secl. Spengel   3 σοφισταῖς PWp: -ῇ mY   5 ἐν-
τυγχάνειν post λυσιτελεῖ mWY   5–6 ἔχειν δὲ . . . μνήμην Pp: δεῖ
(εἰ m) δέ σε μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι mWY   8 ἔψεξαν PmWY: ἐλεγξαν p
9–12 καὶ . . . τἀνδρί in parenthesi esse videntur   12 γὰρ p:
om. cett.   14 τὰ ἄριστα PmWY: ἄριστοι p   ποιημάτων Pp:
ποιητῶν mWY   15 αὐτῶν Pp: om. mWY   16 ἡδονὴν p:
-ὰς cett.   λόγῳ Finckh: λόγων Pp: om. mWY   17 supplevimus
18 ἔξεστι PmWY: ἐξέσται p (cf. 392. 11)   19–20 λύπην ἡδονὴν
ὀργὴν P: -η -ὴ -ὴ p: -ην καὶ -ὴν καὶ -ὴν mWY

ὁποῖον δὲ δεῖ τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο
προστέθειται, ὅτι ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀφελὲς καὶ ἀκατάσκευον·
καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμίαν τάξιν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης νενομοθετημέ-
νην ἐπιδέχεται, καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκαμεν. προσκείσθω
25 δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲ μακρὰς τὰς λαλιὰς εἶναι δεῖ, πλὴν εἰ μή τις
δι' | αὐτῶν ἐθέλοι μόνων τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι·
καλὸν | γὰρ ἡ συμμετρία, καθάπερ τὸ ἀδολεσχεῖν
καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναλίσκειν λόγους, ἱστορίας ἱστορίαις
συνάπτοντα καὶ μύθους μύθοις καὶ διηγήματα διηγή-
30 μασιν, ἀπειρόκαλον εἶναι πεπίστευται.

   Ἔστι δὲ καὶ συντακτικὴ λαλιά, ὡς ἐὰν μέλλοντες ἀνά-
γεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν ἢ αὖ
394 πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεγκούσης ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐμφανίζω-
μεν ὅτι δυσχεραίνομεν τὴν ἀπόλειψιν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι
†τοὺς ἀνιωμένους†· εἶτα ἐκ μεθόδου ἥξομεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγκώ-
μια τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἂν ἀπολιπεῖν μέλλωμεν, οἷον τίς
5 ἂν ἕλοιτο ἀδακρυτὶ παραλιπεῖν—ὡς εἰ ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν
λέγοις—μυστήρια, κηρύγματα ἱερὰ Ἐλευσινάδε προσ-
τάττοντα βαδίζειν, καὶ ἄστυδε πάλιν ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος·
τίς δ' ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο ἀκροπόλεως τοιαύτης κάλλος κατα-
λιπεῖν, ἱερά, Διονύσια, Παναθήναια, ἄνδρας λογάδας
10 σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς τροφίμους; καὶ ὅλως ἐφαρμόσομεν τὰ
τῆς πόλεως | ἐξαίρετα, τὰ κάλλη τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ
πανηγύρεων | πολυτελείας.

   Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιβατήριον εἰπεῖν λαλιὰν εὐθὺς ἐπι-
στάντα τῇ πατρίδι, ὡς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν,
15 ἐν οἷς περὶ τῶν ἐπιφωνήσεων τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν ἐλέγομεν,
ἐν ᾗ πάντως τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδείξεται
ὁ λέγων ἀπὸ τοῦ παρεστῶτος χρόνου λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν,
ὡς γεγηθώς, ὡς ἄσμενος προσέπλευσεν τοῖς λιμέσιν,
ὡς εἶδε κάλλη πεδίων, ὡς προσέβαλεν ἀκροπόλει, ὡς
20 περιεπτύξατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἅπαντας καὶ ἕκαστον καὶ ἔργῳ
καὶ λόγῳ, | ὡς πάντας ἐνόμισεν ἀδελφοὺς εἶναι αὑτοῦ τοὺς
ἡλικιώ|τας καὶ πατραδέλφους τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ γένος ἓν πᾶ-

25 οὐδὲ Pp: οὐ mWY   μή τις PmWY: om. p   26 ἐθέλοι
PWY: -ει m: -οιμεν p   μόνων m (Kroll): μόνον PYp: om. W
27 καθάπερ +οὐ καλόν p   τὸ Pp: om. mWY   28–9 καὶ . . .
διηγήματα codd.: secl. Spengel   29–30 διηγήμασι+καὶ γὰρ p
30 εἶναι+τοῦτο p   31 δὲ Pp: om. mWY   32 τῶν Pp: om. mWY
   394. 1 ἐμφανίζωμεν Y: -ομεν PmW: -οιμεν p   2 ante τὴν
add. ἐπὶ p, unde ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπολείψει Bursian   3 τοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς Nitsche

pain, pleasure, anger, etc. The point has also been made that the type of style should be simple, plain, and unadorned. We have learned that the form allows no order laid down by rule. Let us add now that 'talks' must not be long, unless one intends that they should form the entirety of the performance. Proportion is a good thing, while the garrulous waste of words involved in piling historical instance on historical instance, myth on myth, and narrative on narrative, is acknowledged to be in bad taste.

There is also the 'valedictory talk' (*suntaktikē lalia*); e.g. if, being about to sail from Athens to our home city, or again from our home city to Athens, we express our distress at departure, indicating our (?) grief; we must then proceed to formal encomia of the city we are about to leave. For example, with reference to Athens: 'Who would choose to leave without a tear the mysteries, the sacred proclamations enjoining the march to Eleusis and back from Eleusis to the city? Who could endure to leave behind the beauty of that acropolis, the festivals of Dionysus, the Panathenaea, the chosen men, fosterlings of wisdom and virtue?' And so we can fit in all the glories of the city, the beauty of the buildings, the magnificence of the festivals.

It is also possible to deliver a talk on arrival, at the moment of landing in one's native city, as mentioned above in connection with the Homeric quotations. In such a talk, the speaker must at all costs display his love for the city, starting from the present moment, and saying how joyful and happy he is to have sailed into the harbour, how he has seen the beauty of the countryside, how he has gone up to the acropolis, how he has embraced his fellow citizens, one and all, in deed and in word, how he thinks all his contemporaries his brothers, and the rest his father's

ἥξομεν PmWp: ἴομεν Y   4 ἂν ἀπολιπεῖν μέλλωμεν PmWY:
ἀπολιπεῖν μέλλοιμεν p   6 ἱερὰ suspectum, cf. 9   Ἐλευσῖνάδε
Finckh: Ἐλευσῖνι δὲ mWp: -ῖνος δὲ Y: -ίνια δὲ P   6–7 προσ-
τάττοντα p: πράττοντα PWY   8 ἀνάσχοιτο PmWY: ἀνέχοιτο p
9 Παναθήναια PmWY: om. p   10 τροφίμους PmWY: om. p
16 ἐν ᾗ Bursian: ἐν ᾧ p: ᾗ cett.   20 ἅπαντας καὶ p: om. cett.
καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ PmWY: λόγον ut videtur p, sed vix legitur
21–7 ἐνόμισεν . . . ὅτι addidit in p manus recentior   21–2 εἶναι
. . . πατραδέλφους mWYp: om. P   21 αὐτοῦ nos: αὐτοῦ codd.

σαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπελέληστο τῆς πατρίδος
ἀποδημῶν †προσθήσεις· ἀλλ' ἄγε διηγοῦ† τὰ ἐξαίρετα
25 καὶ πάτρια, οἷα ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐ πρόσεστι πόλεσιν.
εἶτα ἥξεις εἰς ἐγκώμιον ἄρχοντος, ἐὰν ὁ ἄρχων παρῇ,
ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας, ὅτι τίς οὐκ
ἂν ἐρασθείη τοιαύτης πολιτείας, ἐν ᾗ ὁμόνοια καὶ
φιλία καὶ πάντες ἀρετῇ σύντροφοι, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. καὶ
30 ἁπλῶς πολυσχιδὴς ἡ τῆς λαλιᾶς χρεία. οἶδε γὰρ καὶ
πᾶσαν ὑπόθεσιν πρέπουσαν ἀνδρὶ πολιτικῷ περιεργάζεσθαι.

395   ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΠΕΜΠΤΙΚΗΣ

Ἡ προπεμπτικὴ λαλιὰ λόγος ἐστὶ μετ' εὐφημίας
τινὸς προπέμπων τὸν ἀπαίροντα. χαίρει δὲ ἁβρότητι
καὶ διηγημάτων ἀρχαίων χάρισι. πολλοὶ δὲ τῆς προ-
5 πεμπτικῆς τρόποι. εἷς μὲν ὁ δυνάμενος συμβουλὴν
κατὰ μέρος δέξασθαι, τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν δεχομέ-
νων καὶ ἐγκώμια καὶ λόγους ἐρωτικούς, εἰ βούλεται
προστιθέναι καὶ ταῦτα ὁ λέγων· δύναται δὲ συμβου-
λὴν ἐπιδέξασθαι, ὅταν ὁ πολλῷ κρείττων προπέμπῃ τὸν
10 ἥττονα, ὡς ὅταν ὁ παιδευτὴς προπέμπῃ τὸν ἀκροατήν·
δίδωσι γὰρ αὐτῷ συμβουλευτικὸν ἦθος τὸ οἰκεῖον
ἀξίωμα. ἕτερος δὲ τρόπος ἂν γένοιτο, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεταί
τις ἐνδείξασθαι ἦθος ἐρωτικὸν καὶ διάπυρον περὶ τὸν
προπεμπόμενον, συμβουλὴν μὴ καταμιγνύς, τῆς ἀξίας
15 ὑπαρχούσης ἐφαμίλλου καὶ τῆς δόξης ἴσης τῷ προπέμ-
ποντι καὶ τῷ προπεμπομένῳ, ὡς ὅταν ἑταῖρος ἑταῖρον
προπέμπῃ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ βελτίων εἴη ὁ προπέμπων ἐν-
ταῦθα τοῦ ἀπαίροντος, ἀλλ' οὖν ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ὀνό-
ματος καὶ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι φίλους ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ
20 ἀξίωμα τῆς συμβουλῆς τὸν λέγοντα. γένοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ
ἄλλος τρόπος πλείονα διατριβὴν ἔχων περὶ τὰ ἐγκώμια
μᾶλλον, σχεδὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν μικροῦ σύμπασαν, ὅταν
ἐθέλῃ προΐστασθαι τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν προπεμπτικὸν λόγον,
τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἐγκώμιον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μέλλοιμεν προ-
25 πέμπειν ἄρχοντα ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς πεπαυμένον ἢ ἀφ' ἑτέρας

23 ἐπελέληστο mWY: -ησο Pp   24 ⟨καὶ⟩ προσθήσεις Bursian,
bene   ἄγε Pp: om. mWY   διηγοῦ codd.: fortasse διηγήσομαι
27 τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Pp: τῆς πατρίδος mWY: ἐπὶ... πατρὸς fort. del.
alterum τὸ Pp: om. mWY   28 ἐρασθείη p: -θῇ mWY: -θεὶς P
395. 3 ἀπαίροντα p: ἀπιόντα cett.   3–4 χαίρει... χάρισι p:
χαίρει δὲ ἁβρότητι καταποικίλλεσθαι, χαίρει διηγημάτων ἡδέων χάρισι

brothers, and the whole city one family, and how he never forgot his native city on his travels. Add also 'Let me now (?) describe its special glories, those which do not belong to other cities', and then proceed to an encomium of the governor if he is present, and to one of your father (?) or the political life of the city: 'Who would not long for a political life in which there is concord and friendship, and all men are joined in virtue . . .?' and so on.

The usefulness of the talk is indeed manifold: it can elaborate every subject appropriate to an orator.

[V] THE PROPEMPTIC TALK

A propemptic talk is a speech which speeds its subject on his journey with commendation. It likes delicacy and the charms of old-world narratives. There are many varieties of 'propemptic'. One is that which admits advice in some part, the other parts admitting encomiastic and amatory passages, if the speaker wishes to add these. It can admit advice when a superior is sending off an inferior, e.g. a teacher his pupil, because his own position gives him a character which makes advice appropriate. A second type is also possible: in this, the speaker will be able to express a passionate and ardent attitude to the departing person without the addition of advice; this is when the reputation and position of the two parties are equal, e.g. when a friend sees off a friend. Even if the speaker in these circumstances is superior to the person who is going away, nevertheless the common title, the fact that both are friends, deprives him of his advisory status. A third type again allows greater expansion in the encomia, indeed it consists almost wholly of these: this is when one wishes to present as a 'propemptic' what is really an encomium, for example if we are bidding farewell to a governor at the end of his term of office or because he is moving

cett. (recte?) (pro καταποικίλλεσθαι χαίρει proposuit Bursian καὶ τῷ ποικίλλεσθαι)   5 συμβουλὴν PmWY : συμβουλεύειν p
10 ἥττονα p : χείρονα cett.   11 αὐτῷ PmYp : αὐτὸ τὸ W
12 ἂν Pp : om. mWY   15 ὑπαρχούσης Pp : οὔσης mWY
19 ἀφαιρεῖται Pp : ἀφαιρεῖ mWY   22 σύμπασαν PmYp : σύμπαν W

εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν μέλλοντα ἀπιέναι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ
ἀποστερῶν οὐδένα τῶν προειρημένων τρόπων τῆς προ-
πεμπτικῆς τῶν ἐρωτικῶν παθῶν—χαίρει γὰρ ἡ προ-
πεμπτικὴ πανταχοῦ τούτοις—ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι
30 ὅπου μὲν μᾶλλόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καταχρῆσθαι, ὅπου δὲ ἐπ'
ἔλαττον. παραλήψῃ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ πόθον
πόλεων ὁλοκλήρων περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἔρωτας.

396   Διαιρήσεις δὲ τὴν προπεμπτικὴν οὑτωσί πως·
ὑποκείσθω δὲ ἡμῖν νέος συνήθης προπέμπων φίλον.
οὐκοῦν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐνταῦθα ὥσπερ τι πεπονθὼς τῶν
ἀτόπων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων σχετλιάσει πρὸς τὴν τύχην
5 ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας, ὅτι μὴ συγχωροῦσι θεσμὸν φιλίας
διαμένειν βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλους πόθους ἐμβάλ-
λοντες παρασκευάζουσι τὸν πάλαι συνθέμενον καὶ
ὁμολογήσαντα φιλίαν ἄλυτον διαφυλάξειν πάλιν ἐρᾶν
πατρίδος, πάλιν γονέων ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐπιλανθα-
10 νόμενον τῶν πρὸς τὸν φίλον αὐτῷ περὶ φιλίας συνθη-
κῶν· ἢ εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ὥσπερ πρός
τινας δικαστὰς γραφὴν ἀποφέρων κατὰ τοῦ φίλου,
προσποιούμενος δῆθεν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἑταῖρον
συνθήκην. καὶ ἐπάξεις πάλιν παρακαλῶν τοὺς ἀκροα-
15 τὰς μὴ περιορᾶν παραβαίνοντα. ἐν οἷς καὶ ἱστορίας ἐρεῖς
καὶ παραδείγματα· ἱστορίας μέν, ὅτι Θησεὺς καὶ Ἡρα-
κλῆς ἑταῖροι γενόμενοι καὶ Διομήδης καὶ Σθένελος
καὶ Εὐρύαλος δυσαπαλλάκτως ἀλλήλων εἶχον· ἐξ ἀλό-
γων δὲ παραδείγματα, ὅτι κἂν ταῖς ἀγέλαις καὶ ἵπποι
20 καὶ μόσχοι συναφθέντες ἀλλήλοις συνηθείᾳ καὶ ὄρνιθες
δυσχερῶς ἀλλήλων χωρίζονται. προϊὼν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ
ὑπομνησθήσῃ, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἀσκήσεως κοινῆς καὶ
παλαίστρας καὶ γυμνασίων τῶν αὐτῶν. μετὰ τὸν πρὸς
τοὺς ἀκροατὰς λόγον, οὓς ὥσπερ δικαστὰς ὑπεθέμεθα,
25 τρίτον ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰσάξεις πρὸς ἐποχὴν δῆθεν καὶ
τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκώμια· οὐδ' οὕτως ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
αἱρεῖ σε πόθος, οὐδὲ μυστηρίων καὶ τελετῶν, οὐδὲ
μουσεῖα καὶ θέατρα λόγων, οὐδὲ παιδευτῶν φιλοτι-

to another city. In saying this, I do not mean to
deprive any of the varieties I have mentioned of the
emotions of love. The propemptic talk always rejoices
in these. What I am trying to show is that there are
times for making greater use of these emotions and
times for making less. In the case of the governor,
one can include the desire and love that whole cities
feel for him.

You should divide the propemptic talk somewhat as
follows. Let us suppose a young man seeing off a
friend. He will complain to Fortune or to the Loves,
as though he had suffered some extraordinary and
unexpected blow, because they do not allow the bond
of friendship to hold firm, but keep injecting new
desires to make the man who agreed and consented
to maintain indissoluble friendship again feel love
for his country and want to see his parents, forgetting
as it were the treaty of friendship he made with his
friend. Alternatively, the speaker can approach the
audience as though they were a jury, bringing a
charge against his friend, pretending he is making
a claim in accordance with his agreement with him;
then you will proceed by urging your hearers not to
allow him to transgress, and support the argument
by historical instances and examples. As historical
instances you will have the comradeship of Theseus
and Heracles, the inseparable friendship of Diomedes,
Sthenelus, and Euryalus. Examples may come from
animals; one can show how horses and cattle that
habitually associate in flocks, and birds also, find
separation painful. At a later point in the speech,
you may perhaps recall the exercises, the wrestling,
the gymnastics you shared with him. After this
address to the audience as jury, you may introduce,
as a third point, an encomium of the city—a plea, as it
were, to suspend the decision to go. 'Does not love
of Athens, her mysteries and initiations, hold you
fast even so—or her libraries and lecture-halls, the

καὶ⟩ Εὐρύαλος Spengel   20 prius καὶ: in hoc verbo desinit Y
22 ὑπομνησθήσῃ mWp: ὑπομνήσῃ P   24 ὑπεθέμεθα mWp:
-οθώμεθα P   25 ἐπὶ Pp: πρὸς mW   26–397. 7 in p lectu
difficillima: omisisse videtur οὐδὲ . . . τελετῶν (27), quae verba in
B omittuntur   26 οὕτως Pp: om. mW

μίαι περὶ τοὺς λόγους; . . . Ἄρειος δὲ πάγος καὶ Λύκειον
30 καὶ Ἀκαδημία καὶ ἀκροπόλεως κάλλος, ἃ διείργασται
φιλοπόνως ἅμα καὶ χαριέντως . . . ἀνέραστος ἄρα ὡς ἔοι-
κεν ἦσθα·

397   πῇ δὴ συνθεσίαι τε καὶ ὅρκια βήσεται ἡμῖν;

οἷος γὰρ ἦν ἄρα μεγαλοφρονῶν ἐπὶ φίλοις ἐγώ, οἷον δὲ
τεῖχος ἐδόκουν περιβεβλῆσθαι τὸν φίλον· νῦν δὲ γεγύμ-
νωμαι καὶ περιήρημαι καθάπερ Αἴας τῆς ἀσπίδος, οἰκήσω
5 τόπους | ἐρήμους [καὶ ἐρημίας] μισάνθρωπος ἐπικληθείς,
ὥσπερ τὸν Τίμωνά φασι· τί γάρ μοι συντίθεσθαι
φιλίαν, ἵνα πάλιν καὶ παραβαίνοντος ἀνιαθῶ; μακαρί-
ζω τῶν θηρίων ἐκεῖνα ὅσα τὸν μονήρη βίον ἔοικεν
ἀγαπᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸ πρῶτον
10 μέρος τῆς προπεμπτικῆς ἕξει, καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦθος ἐνδείξῃ
πρὸς συνήθη καὶ φίλον τὰ ἐρωτικὰ εἰπὼν ἐν τούτοις
τῆς προπεμπτικῆς κατὰ ⟨τὴν⟩ διαίρεσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ
λειπόμενον μέρος ἔλθῃς τῆς λαλιᾶς, σχετλιάσεις πάλιν
ὡς βουληθεὶς πεῖσαι εἶτα ἀποτυχών, καὶ ἐπάξεις
15 λέγων· οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ δέδοκται καὶ νενίκημαι, φέρε
δὴ καὶ τῇ βουλήσει συνδράμωμεν. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν
ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγκώμια ἐκ μεθόδου, ὡς εὐτυχεῖς μὲν οἱ
γονεῖς τῆς βλάστης, εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ σοί·
τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐφρανεῖς ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, τῆς δὲ προστήσῃ
20 ἐν δικανικαῖς ἀγοραῖς, ἐν ῥητόρων ἀγῶσιν, ἐν πρε-
σβείαις καὶ λόγων φιλοτιμίαις. ἵνα δὲ σύστασιν λάβῃ
ταῦτα, ἐρεῖς ὅτι σύνοιδας αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνην καὶ σω-
φροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐκ
λόγων, καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παιδευταὶ καὶ
25 ὅσοι συνήθεις γεγόνασιν. ἐν οἷς καὶ πράξεις ἐρεῖς πρὸς
ἀπόδειξιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἂν εὐπορῇς καὶ πράξεων· καὶ
ὅτι βασιλεῦσι χρήσιμος ἔσται γνωσθεὶς διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν,
καὶ ὅτι παιδευτηρίων προστήσεται ἴσως, οὐ μέντοι
Ἰσοκράτης ἢ Ἰσαῖος ἢ Λυσίας ἤ τις τοιοῦτος ὅμοιος ἔσται·

29 sqq. Ἄρειος κτλ.: sententia parum expedita   30 κάλλος
mWp: ἔργον P   διείργασται+τις P, τισι mW   31 χαριέντως+
τίς ἄρα ῥᾳδίως καταφρονήσειεν pB

397. 2 οἷος γὰρ codd.: ἠλίθιος Nitsche   μεγαλοφρονῶν p: μεγάλα
φρονῶν PmW   3 τὸν φίλον codd.: τῶν φίλων Bursian   4 καὶ
περιήρημαι PmW: om. p   5 καὶ ἐρημίας seclusimus   μισάνθρωπος
m: ἀπάνθρωπος p: ἄνθρωπος PW   ἐπικληθείς PW: -κληθήσομαι p:
-κληθείην m   6 γὰρ+ἔδει p: τί γὰρ δεῖ Spengel   μοι ante γὰρ

literary rivalries of her teachers? The Areopagus, the Lyceum, the Academy, the beauty of the Acropolis, all so laboriously and so delightfully fashioned . . . I fear you had no love after all: "What shall become of our treaties and oaths?" How proud I was of my friends! What a safe stronghold I thought I had in my friend! And now I am stripped and robbed like Ajax without his shield, I shall dwell in desert places, I shall be called a misanthrope, as they say Timon was. Why form a friendship, only to be hurt when he breaks the bond? I envy the wild beasts that love a solitary life.'

This kind of material will occupy the first part of your propemptic talk. You should display this kind of character in relation to a close friend by speaking in affectionate terms in this section of the propemptic, as the division suggests. When you come to the rest, you should again complain of having failed to persuade him as you wished, and you can then conclude: 'Since the decision has been taken, and I have lost, let us concur with his wishes.' Thus you will come to the regular encomiastic topics. 'Happy parents of such offspring! Happy city for your sake! You will gladden your parents by your success, you will be your city's champion in courts of law, in rhetorical competitions, on embassies, in literary rivalries.' To give confirmation to this, you can say you have personal experience of his uprightness and self-control, wisdom and courage, excellence as a speaker, and so also have all his teachers and friends. You should relate actions here to demonstrate good qualities, if you in fact have actions available. You can also say that he will be useful to emperors when they recognize him for his outstanding qualities, and may one day be head of a school—but not an Iso-crates or Isaeus or Lysias or a man like that. These

transp. P   συντίθεσθαι P: προστίθεσθαι mW: p vix legitur: μητρὸς τίθεσθαι B   7 καὶ suspectum   10–11 ἐνδείξῃ πρὸς Bursian: ἐνδείξεται καὶ codd. (καὶ om. p)   11–12 ἐν τούτοις . . . διαίρεσιν suspecta   12 suppl. Bursian   22 αὐτῷ codd.: ἑαυτῷ Spengel   26 καὶ πράξεων ante ἂν εὐπορῇς codd.: transposuimus, cf. 379. 11   ἂν εὐπορῇς p: εὐπορήσεις PmW   27 γνωσθείς PmW: καὶ ὅτι γνωσθείη p: καὶ ὅτι γνωσθήσεται Bursian   28 ὅτι+ καὶ P   οὐ codd.: del. Kroll   μέντοι+ ὡς m   29 num 'Ισοκράτει . . . 'Ισαίῳ . . . Λυσίᾳ . . . ἤ τινι τοιούτῳ;

30 ἐρεῖς δὲ ταῦτα, ἐὰν πάνυ πεπαιδευμένον ὄντα λόγων
προπέμπῃς τινά· τούτῳ γὰρ ἁρμόσει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐγ-
κώμιον, ὅτι προστήσεται τυχὸν καὶ λόγων καὶ παιδεύσει
398 νέους· ἐὰν γὰρ τῶν μὴ προσόντων αὐτῷ μνησθῇς,
ἃ πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ | πρόσεστιν,
καὶ ἀπίθανον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
λόγων ὕποπτον καταστήσεις σεαυτὸν ἐκ τούτου καὶ
5 προσάντη τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῷ λόγῳ. δεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ὁμολο-
γουμένοις πανταχοῦ συντρέχειν. ἐρεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
τοιούτων ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἅμιλλαι λόγων ἐπὶ τῶν μουσείων
ἦσαν, ἐπῃνεῖτο παρὰ τῶν καθηγεμόνων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν
μᾶλλον. καὶ ὥσπερ Ἔφορος ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ Θεό-
10 πομπος, οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰσοκράτους, ὡς διαφέροντες τῶν
ἄλλων (καὶ γὰρ Ἰσοκράτης ἀρετῆς προὔτίθει ἀγῶνα
τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀκροατῶν κατὰ μῆνα στέφανον),
οὕτω καὶ οὗτος διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐπαίνων ἠξιοῦτο
οὐκ ἐλαττουμένων στεφάνων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ [καὶ] εἰς εὐδαιμο-
15 νίαν συντελεῖ καὶ σώματος κάλλος, γράψον καὶ τὸν
νεανίαν, οἷος μὲν ἰδεῖν, οἷος δ' ὀφθῆναι. ἐν ᾧ δια-
γράψεις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἴουλον καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ κόμην καὶ
τὰ λοιπά. ἵνα δὲ τὸν λόγον σεμνὸν ποιῇς τὸν περὶ τῆς
γραφῆς καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐκφύγῃς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κάλλους,
20 ἀπέργασαι τὸ ἦθος σεμνότερον, λέγων ὅτι κοσμεῖ δὲ τὸ
εἶδος τῇ τῶν ἠθῶν ἐγκρατείᾳ, καὶ τῷ μὴ πολλοῖς ῥᾳδίως
ἑαυτὸν ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλὰ μόνοις συνεῖναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν
τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ λόγοις καὶ βιβλίοις. καιρὸν ἔχεις μετὰ
ταῦτα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἐκείνου, ὅτι λαμ-
25 πρὰ καὶ ἔνδοξος καὶ οὐ μείων τῶν πολυθρυλήτων, ἐν
ᾗ λαμπρὸς ὀφθήσεται ἐν λαμπρᾷ καὶ εὐδαίμονι. εἶτα
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν ἀξιώσεις αὐτὸν μεμνῆσθαι τῆς πάλαι
συνηθείας, τῆς εὐνοίας, τῆς φιλίας, καὶ παραμυθεῖσθαι
τὴν ἀπόστασιν μνήμαις καὶ λόγοις, κἂν μὲν πεζεύειν

32 prius καὶ mWp: om. P

398. 1 νέους Pp: ἑτέρους mW   τῶν post μὴ transp. mW   2 ἃ
πάντες Bursian: ἅπαντες codd.   τούτων mWp: τούτοις P   τούτων
+συνίασιν W, σύνεστιν m   3 πρόσεστιν Pp: προσέτι δὲ mW
ἀπίθανον p: -ος PmW   δοκεῖ p: δόξεις PmW   4 σεαυτὸν P:
ἑαυτὸν mW: om. p   5–6 ὁμολογουμένοις PmW: ὡμολογη-
μένοις p (recte?)   7 ἐπὶ τῶν μουσείων p: ἐν μουσείοις PmW
8 καθηγεμόνων Pp: ἡγεμόνων mW   ἡλικιωτῶν mW: ἡλίκων ἢ P:
ἡλίκων p   12 στέφανον codd.: secl. Bursian   14 secl.
Walz   15 γράψον p: γράψαι PmW: διάγραψον Nitsche   16 ἰδεῖν

remarks are appropriate if the man you are seeing off is a highly educated person; it will be proper to praise him by suggesting that he will perhaps be a teacher of rhetoric and educate the young. If you mention anything which does not apply to him and which everybody knows does not apply to him, it not only seems unconvincing, but you will make yourself suspect for other occasions and you will have an uphill job with your audience. One must always concur with what is commonly admitted. In the case of such a person, you can also say that when there were literary competitions at the Mouseia, he was praised by his teachers above all his contemporaries. As Ephorus and Theopompus, Isocrates' pupils, won garlands for being better than the others—Isocrates used to offer a garland every month as a prize for the best of his pupils—so your friend was seen to be the best, and was thought worthy of praises no less valuable than any garland.

Since physical beauty contributes to happiness, describe (?) also the young man—how wonderful his glance, how wonderful to behold him! Describe his beard, eyes, hair, and so on. To raise the tone of your description and to avoid the scandal which might come from admiring his beauty, work up his personality with considerable dignity, saying that he adds to his beauty by the self-restraint of his morals (?); he does not lightly give himself to many, but consorts only with the best men, the best speeches, and the best books. After this, you have an opportunity to praise his native city: it is splendid and glorious, no less than the most famous cities, and he will be seen there in his splendour in a splendid and prosperous setting.

Finally, bid him remember old acquaintance, kindness, and friendship. Ask him to ease the pain of separation by remembrance and by literature. If he is going by land, describe the journey and the

PmW: εἰπεῖν p   18 σεμνὸν ποιῇς Pp: σεμνοποιήσῃς m: σεμνὸν γραφήσῃς W   18–19 περὶ τῆς γραφῆς PmW: τῆς περιγραφῆς p   20 τὸ ἦθος PmW: τὸ εἶδος p   21 τῇ Pp: om. mW   ἠθῶν codd.: num ἡδονῶν?   τῷ p: τὸ PmW   22 ἐνδιδόναι PmW: ἐκ- p   ἀλλὰ μόνοις p: ἀλλὰ μόνον P: καὶ μόνον mW   23 expectes καὶ λόγων καὶ βιβλίων   25 οὐ μείων Pp: οὐδεμία mW   27 πάλαι Pp: παλαιᾶς mW

30 μέλλῃ, διάγραφε τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν δι᾽ ἧς πορεύεται,
οἷος μὲν ἔσται, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης διιών,
ἐπαινούμενος καὶ προπεμπόμενος, ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις θαυ-
399 μαζόμενος, οἷος δὲ διὰ Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας· ἐὰν δὲ διὰ
θαλάττης ἀνάγηται, ἐκεῖ σοι μνήμη θαλαττίων ἔσται
δαιμόνων, Αἰγυπτίου Πρωτέως, Ἀνθηδονίου Γλαύ-
κου, Νηρέως, προπεμπόντων τε καὶ συνθεόντων τῇ
5 νηί, καὶ συνηδομένων δελφίνων τε ἅμα καὶ κητῶν,
τῶν μὲν σαινόντων, τῶν δὲ ὑποφευγόντων, ὡς Ποσει-
δῶνος αὐτοῦ τὴν ναῦν προπέμποντος· ἡ δὲ ναῦς θείτω
θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον ἄνδρα φέρουσα, ἕως ἂν προσαγάγῃς
αὐτὸν τοῖς λιμέσι τῷ λόγῳ, καταστρέψεις δὲ εἰς εὐχὴν
10 τὸν λόγον αἰτῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὰ κάλλιστα.

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΙΘΑΛΑΜΙΟΥ

Ὁ ἐπιθαλάμιος λέγεται ὑπό τινων καὶ γαμήλιος,
λόγος δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὑμνῶν θαλάμους τε καὶ παστάδας καὶ
νυμφίους καὶ γένος, καὶ πρό γε πάντων αὐτὸν τὸν
15 θεὸν τῶν γάμων· χαίρει δὲ διηγήμασιν ἐπαφροδίτοις
τε καὶ ἐρωτικοῖς· ταῦτα γὰρ οἰκεῖα τῇ ὑποθέσει. μετε-
χειρίσαντο δὲ τὸ εἶδος οἱ μὲν συντόνως, οἱ δὲ συγ-
γραφικώτερον, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μὲν σύντονος συνέ-
στραπται λόγος ἅτε πολιτικῶς προϊών, καὶ ἕξει τὰς
20 ἀρετὰς τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου προοίμιά τε ἐγκατεσκευα-
σμένα, ⟨ἐν οἷς⟩ ἢ μέγεθος περιθήσεις τῇ ὑποθέσει αὔξων
αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν προσώπων τῶν ζευγνυμένων, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ
νυμφίοι τῶν ἐνδόξων, ἢ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐρεῖς, δι᾽
ἣν παρελήλυθας ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν, ὅτι συγγενὴς τῶν
25 γαμούντων, ὅτι παρακληθεὶς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον,
ὅτι ἔρανον ἀποδιδοὺς αὐτῷ προειληφὼς πρότερον
χάριτας, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅτι φιλίᾳ χαριζόμενος, ἢ ὅτι
περ ἂν παραπέσῃ τοιοῦτον, ἢ ὅτι ἀρχόντων καὶ πόλεων
καὶ ἐθνῶν συνελθόντων καὶ συνεορτάζειν αἱρουμένων
30 ἄτοπον ἦν αὐτὸν σιγᾶν καὶ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τοσαύτῃ
συνόδῳ καὶ συνεορτάζειν ἐθέλειν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἅπασιν.

30 καὶ τὴν γῆν m: καὶ τὴν πόλιν PWp: secl. Bursian   πορεύεται
codd.: πορεύσεται Nitsche   31 οὕτω PWp: om. m
399. 1 οἷος Finckh: οἱ P: om. mWp   2 θαλαττίων Pp: τῶν
θαλάσσης mW   5 κητῶν PmW: p vix legitur: νηκτῶν B   7 τὴν
ναῦν Pp: om. mW   θείτω Pp: ἤτω (i.e. ἴτω) mW   15 τῶν
γάμων codd.: τὸν Γάμον Finckh   19 ἕξει P: -εις mWp
21 ⟨ἐν οἷς⟩ nos   ἢ Pp: ἃ mW   περιθήσεις Pp: προσθήσει mW

country through which he travels—how he will pass, perhaps, through Thrace, praised and helped on his way, honoured for his eloquence—how he will appear in Lydia and Phrygia. If he is going by sea, you should call to mind the deities of the sea, Egyptian Proteus, Glaucus of Anthedon, Nereus, who will escort him and race beside the ship; the dolphins and whales will rejoice, fawning or fleeing as Poseidon guides his ship. And let the ship haste on her way, 'bearing the god-like hero', until in your speech you bring him into port. Then conclude with a prayer, asking the gods for every blessing on him.

[VI]   THE EPITHALAMIUM

The epithalamium is called by some the 'wedding speech' (*gamēlios*). It is a speech which hymns bridal chambers and alcoves, bride and bridegroom, family, and above all the god of marriage himself. It delights in stories of charm and love, for these are germane to the subject. This type of composition has been attempted by some in a more formal style and by others in one closer to non-oratorical prose. The formal type will obviously have a concentrated character due to its oratorical procedures; it will possess features of real oratory, including elaborate prooemia, by means of which you may either invest the subject with grandeur by amplification based on the personalities of the couple, if bride and bridegroom are people of distinction, or else explain the reason why you have come forward to speak: 'I am a relative of the parties to the marriage, I was invited to speak, I am returning a service for benefits received before'; or again: 'I am indulging friendship', or whatever of the kind comes to mind; or again: 'When rulers and cities and peoples gathered together and chose to join the feast, it was absurd to stay silent and not gratify such a gathering or be willing to join the company at the feast.' Do not let

23 ἢ p : εἶτα PmW   24–5 τὸ λέγειν ... ἦλθον p (similia Pm) : om. W sed ὅτι συγγενὴς ... λόγον post 27 prius ἢ transposuit   24 τὸ λέγειν p : τὸν λόγον Pm   25 ἦλθον p : om. Pm   λόγον+ἢ PmW   28 ὅτι p : ὅτιπερ mW : ὅτι περὶ P   29 καὶ ἐθνῶν Pp : om. mW   30 σιγᾶν p : σιωπᾶν mWp

400 μὴ ἀμοιρείτω μέντοι τὰ προοίμια χάριτος, κἂν σύντονα
τυγχάνῃ, ἀλλ' ἐχέτω μὲν ἐννοίας ἡδίστας ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα
πρεπούσας τῇ ὑποθέσει· εἰ δὲ μή, ὀνόματα γοῦν ἐπα-
φρόδιτα καὶ κεχαρισμένα παστάδων, ὑμεναίων, γάμων,
5 Ἀφροδίτης, ἐρώτων, ἵνα καὶ οἰκεῖα γένηται τῇ ὑποθέ-
σει καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἥδιστα.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν προοίμια τοῦ συντόνου ταῦτα καὶ τού-
τοις παραπλήσια, τοῦ δὲ ἀνέτου καὶ συγγραφικοῦ λόγου
ἧττον μὲν ἐγκατάσκευα, οὐκ ἐμπερίβολα δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς
10 ἐν συγγραφῇ ἡπλωμένα μᾶλλον ἐννοίας ἔχοντα τὰς αὐ-
τάς. ἔστι δέ ποτε ἐν ἀνέτῳ λόγῳ καὶ ἀπὸ διηγήματος
ἄρξασθαι ἀνύοντά τι διὰ τοῦ διηγήματος τῶν προειρη-
μένων ἐννοιῶν, οἷον εἰ λέγοις ὅτι γαμοῦν|τος Διονύσου
τὴν Ἀριάδνην παρῆν ὁ Ἀπόλλων νέος ὢν καὶ τὴν
15 λύραν ἔπληττεν· ἢ ὅτι Πηλέως γαμοῦντος παρῆσαν
μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ θεοί, προσῆσαν δὲ Μοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ
ἠμέλει τῶν παρόντων ἕκαστος πρέπουσαν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν
χαρίζεσθαι τῷ γάμῳ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐδίδου δῶρα, ὁ δὲ
ἔπληττε λύραν, αἱ δὲ ηὔλουν, αἱ δὲ ᾖδον, Ἑρμῆς δὲ
20 ἐκήρυττε τὸν ὑμέναιον· ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν
ὅμοια. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν σκιρτῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνευάζουσιν,
ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω καὶ ᾄδω τοὺς γάμους. ἢ ἄλλως· ὅτε ὁ Με-
γακλῆς ἐγάμει τὴν Ἀγαρίστην καὶ συνῆλθον τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων οἱ ἄριστοι, τότε οὐδεὶς μὲν ποιητής, οὐδεὶς δὲ
25 λογοποιὸς ὑστέρει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ῥήτωρ ἔλεγεν, ὁ δὲ συγ-
γραφεὺς βίβλους ἐν μέσοις ἀνεγίνωσκε, ἅπαντες δὲ
ἀνύμνουν τὸν γάμον· τῆς δὲ [τῆς] Σικυωνίας οὐ χείρων
ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὥστε καὶ ταὐτὰ δεύτερα γίνεσθαι.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν προοιμίων τοσαῦτα· δώσει γὰρ ἡμῖν
30 ἡ ὑπόθεσις πρὸς τὰ τότε παρόντα πρόσφορα ἀληθεστέ-
ρας ἐννοίας καὶ μᾶλλον ἴσως οἰκείας· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὰ
προοίμια ἔστω περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ γάμου λόγος ὥσπερ
401 θετικὸς καθόλου τὴν ἐξέτασιν περιέχων ὅτι καλὸν ὁ γά-
μος, ἄρξῃ δὲ ἄνωθεν, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν λύσιν τοῦ χάους
εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐδημιουργήθη ὁ γάμος, εἰ δὲ

400. 1 μέντοι Pp : μᾶλλον mW   προοίμια+τῆς mWp   9 ὡς
Pp : ὅσα mW   12 διὰ p : ἀπὸ PmW   14 prius τὴν p :
om. PmW   νέος ὢν hic nos, post 13 λέγοις codd. : secl. Bursian
16 num παρῆσαν?   17 αὐτῷ nos : αὐτᾡ codd.   19 αἱ δὲ
ηὔλουν Pp : αἱ ἡδοναὶ δὲ ηὔλουν m : om. W   26 ἐν μέσοις Pp :

your prooemia lack grace, however, even if they are
in the formal style. Let them have (so far as possible)
pleasing thoughts appropriate to the subject; if not,
at least pretty and charming words—alcoves, hymen,
marriage, Aphrodite, Cupids—so that they may be
both suitable to the subject and highly pleasing to
the audience.

Such are the prooemia of the formal speech. In the
relaxed or non-oratorical style, they have less artifice
but are without expansive ornament; the presenta-
tion is more explicit, as in a treatise, though with
the same ideas. In this more relaxed manner, one
may begin with a narrative, using it to express one
of the ideas we have mentioned: e.g. 'When Dionysus
married Ariadne, the young Apollo was there and
played his lyre', or: 'At the marriage of Peleus, all
the gods were present, and the Muses too, and each
of them was concerned to give a wedding present
appropriate to himself; so one gave gifts, another
played the lyre, some of the Muses played the flute,
some sang, and Hermes made the announcement
of the marriage. And I see the same kind of thing
here with us now: some are leaping around, some
shouting for joy, and I am speaking and singing of the
marriage.' Or alternatively: 'When Megacles married
Agariste, and the noblest of the Greeks met together,
no poet, no prose-writer was late; the orator spoke,
the historian read his books aloud to the company,
and everyone sang the praises of the marriage. Our
lady here is no whit inferior to her of Sicyon, so that
the same thing has happened a second time (?).'

So much for the prooemia. The subject will give us
truer ideas, perhaps more relevant ones, for the needs
of any particular occasion. After the prooemia there
should follow a sort of thematic passage on the god
of marriage, including the general consideration of
the proposition that marriage is a good thing. You
should begin far back, telling how Marriage was
created by Nature immediately after the dispersal of

ἐνθέους m: ἐν θεοῖς W   27 τῆς¹ mp: om. PW   27–8 δὲ
... ἡ p: om. PmW   secl. Kroll   28 ταὐτὰ Spengel: ταῦτα mp:
τοιαῦτα PW   δεύτερα codd.: -ον Kroll, fort. recte   30 παρόντα
+τὰ m   32 ὥσπερ PmW: ὑπερ- p

βούλει, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φησι, καὶ ⟨ὁ⟩ ἔρως. γενόμενος δὲ
5 ὁ θεὸς οὗτος συνάπτει μὲν οὐρανὸν τῇ γῇ, συνάπτει δὲ
Κρόνον τῇ Ῥέᾳ, συνεργοῦντος αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ
ἔρωτος· εἶτα ἐφεξῆς ἐρεῖς ὅτι ἡ τῶν ὅλων διακόσμη-
σις διὰ τὸν γάμον γέγονεν, ἀέρος, ἀστέρων, θαλάσ-
σης· τοῦ γὰρ θεοῦ τούτου τὴν στάσιν παύσαντος καὶ
10 συνάψαντος ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ τελετῇ γαμηλίῳ τὸν οὐρανὸν
πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ἅπαντα διεκρίθη καὶ στάσιν οἰκείαν ἔλα-
βεν. ὑποβαίνων δὲ πάλιν ἐρεῖς ἐξ ἀκολουθίας ὅτι καὶ
αὐτὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν ὅλων τὸν Δία δημιουργήσας
ἐπέστησε, καὶ οὐκ ἄχρι τῶν θεῶν ἔστη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
15 τοὺς ἡμιθέους αὐτὸς παρήγαγεν πείσας θεοὺς συνελ-
θεῖν τοὺς μὲν γυναιξί, τοὺς δὲ νύμφαις. μετὰ ταῦτα
πάλιν ἐρεῖς ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁμοίως φῦσαι παρε-
σκεύασε καὶ σχεδὸν ἀθάνατον ἐφιλοτέχνησε, συμπαρα-
πέμπων ἀεὶ τὰς διαδοχὰς τοῦ γένους τῷ μήκει τοῦ
20 χρόνου, καὶ ὅτι βελτίων Προμηθέως ἡμῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
τὸ πῦρ μόνον κλέψας ἔδωκεν, ὁ δὲ γάμος ἀθανασίαν
ἡμῖν πορίζεται. ἐμπλεονάσεις δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μέρει δει-
κνὺς ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν θάλαττα πλεῖται, δι' αὐτὸν γεωρ-
γεῖται γῆ, ὅτι φιλοσοφία καὶ γνῶσις τῶν οὐρανίων δι'
25 ἐκεῖνόν ἐστι καὶ νόμοι καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς
τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· εἶτα οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων στήσῃ, ἀλλ'
ὅτι καὶ μέχρι πηγῶν καὶ ποταμῶν διικνεῖται ὁ θεὸς καὶ
νηκτῶν καὶ χερσαίων καὶ ἀερίων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἅπασι
διηγήματα θήσεις· ποταμῶν μέν, ὅτι Ἀλφειὸς ὁ Πι-
30 σαῖος ἐρᾷ πηγῆς Σικελικῆς Ἀρεθούσης, καὶ βιάζεται
τὴν φύσιν, καὶ καθάπερ νυμφίος ἐρωτικὸς κελαρύζων
διὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἔπεισι ζέων εἰς τὴν νῆσον τῆς Σικελίας,
402 καὶ εἰς κόλπους ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐρωμένης Ἀρεθούσης καὶ
μίγνυται· νηκτῶν δέ· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ | τὰ
ζῷα τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν τελετὴν οἶδε γάμου, καὶ
τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πάντα, καὶ τὸν ἀνήμερον
5 λέοντα καὶ φοβερὰ βρυχώμενον ἤγαγεν εἰς τὴν τελετὴν

401. 4 suppl. Bursian   5 μὲν+τὸν W   7 ὅτι Pp: om. mW
8 τὸν γάμον Pp: τοῦ γάμου mW   ἀστέρων ante ἀέρος mW (ἀέρων
m)   9 θεοῦ mWp: Ἑρμοῦ P   τούτου p: om. PmW   17 φῦσαι
Bursian: φησὶ codd.   21 μόνον Pmp: om. W   ἔδωκεν+
ἡμῖν mW   22 πορίζεται nos: ὁρίζεται PWp: χαρίζεται m
25 ἁπλῶς+εἰπεῖν mW   26 εἶτα Pp: καὶ mW   27 διικνεῖται
mWp: διήκει P   28 ἀερίων p: θηρίων PmW   30–402. 1 καὶ

Chaos, and perhaps also how Love too was created then, as Empedocles says. Once born, Marriage unites Heaven with Earth and Cronos with Rhea, Love assisting him in these operations. You should go on to say that the ordering of the universe— air, stars, sea—took place because of Marriage: this god put an end to dispute and joined heaven with earth in concord and the rite of wedlock; whereupon all things were separated and took up their proper stations. Continuing, you should tell, as a natural sequel, how Marriage also created Zeus and set him over the kingdom of the universe; nor did he stop at the gods, but brought into being the demigods, by persuading the gods to unite with women or nymphs. You should then proceed to tell how he also made ready to create man, and contrived to make him virtually immortal, furnishing successive genera- tions to accompany the passage of time. He is better to us than Prometheus, for Prometheus merely stole fire and gave it to us, while Marriage gives us im- mortality. You should develop this section by showing how it is due to Marriage that the sea is sailed, the land is farmed, philosophy and knowledge of heavenly things exist, as well as laws and civil governments— in brief, all human things. Nor should you stop here: you must show how the god touches even streams and rivers, creatures that swim and those of the land and of the air.

You should incorporate narratives in all this: stories of rivers—e.g. how Alpheus the Pisan loves the Sicilian spring Arethusa and goes against his own nature, and, like a passionate bridegroom, goes bubbling through the sea, seething, to the island of Sicily, and falls into the lap of his beloved Arethusa and unites with her—and stories of creatures that swim, for it is plain that the beasts of the sea know the rites of marriage, like those of the land and all that fly. Marriage subdues to his rite even the savage and horribly roaring lion, and yokes him to the law

καὶ ὑπέζευξεν Ἀφροδίτης νόμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἀγριωτάτας
παρδάλεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. περὶ δὲ δένδρων ἐρεῖς, ὅτι
κἀκεῖνα οὐκ ἄμοιρα γάμων· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς κόμαις σύν-
δεσμοι φιλοτεχνήματα γαμούντων δένδρων εἰσί, καὶ
10 τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτά ἐστιν εὑρήματα. ἔτι δὲ τούτου ἀνωτέρω
ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν θεῶν ἐρεῖς διηγήματα ἐν ᾗ καὶ δεύ-
τερον, ἢ περὶ Ποσειδῶνος γαμοῦντος τὴν Τυρὼ ἐν
ταῖς προχοαῖς Ἐνιπέως, [ποταμὸς δὲ Θετταλίας ὁ Ἐνι-
πεύς,] ἢ περὶ Διὸς γήμαντος τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἰὼ
15 καὶ ὅσα παραπλήσια τούτοις. πολλὴ δὲ ἱστορία τοιαύτη
παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι, παρ' ὧν καὶ λήψῃ
τὴν χορηγίαν, ἐπιφωνήσεις δὲ καὶ τῶν Σαπφοῦς ἐρω-
τικῶν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου· πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῷ
ἐν τοῖς Καταλόγοις τῶν γυναικῶν εἴρηται περὶ θεῶν
20 συνουσίας καὶ γάμου.

   Μετὰ τὸν περὶ τοῦ γάμου λόγον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν θεὸν
ὕμνησας, ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν γαμούντων ἐγκώμια. κοινὰ
δὲ τὰ προειρημένα πάντα καὶ ⟨τὰ⟩ ῥηθησόμενα τοῦ τε συν-
τόνου καὶ τοῦ ἀνέτου λόγου, διοίσουσι δὲ τῷ χαρακτῆρι
25 μόνῳ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας· τὰ ⟨δὲ⟩ τοιαῦτα ἐγκώμια διττὴν [δ']
ἔχει τὴν μέθοδον· ἢ γὰρ γένος γένει συνάψεις οὐ συγκρί-
νων, ἵνα μὴ δοκῇς τὸ μὲν ἐλαττοῦν, τὸ δὲ αὔξειν,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀντεξέτασιν προάγων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι ὅμοιον
ὁμοίῳ συνάπτεται· παρακολουθεῖ δὲ τῷ εἴδει τούτῳ
30 ἀσάφειά τις καὶ αὐχμηρότης διὰ τὴν μῖξιν, ἣν ὡς δυνα-
τὸν φυλαττομένους χρὴ προάγειν σαφηνείας φροντί-
ζοντας. ἢ οὐ συνάψεις μὲν οὐδ' ἀντεξετάσεις, ἰδίᾳ δὲ
403 ἐπαινέσεις πρότερον μὲν τὸ τοῦ νυμφίου, ἂν οὕτω
τύχῃ, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ τῆς κόρης. δεῖ δὲ ζητεῖν τὸ ἐν-
δοξότερον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῦτο προτάττειν,
οὐκ ἐνδιατρίψεις δὲ σφόδρα τῷ περὶ τοῦ γένους λόγῳ
5 τὴν τοῦ μήκους ἀηδίαν προφυλαττόμενος καὶ τῷ μηδὲ
ἐπάγγελμα τοῦτο ἔχειν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γά-
μους μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν παστάδα. πρέπει δέ τί σοι ὀλίγα

9 δένδρων codd.: del. Nitsche   13–14 secl. Spengel
14 περὶ ... Εὐρώπην Pp: om. mW   18 αὐτῷ Walz: αὐτοῖς mW:
-ῶν Pp   21 μετὰ ... γάμου Pp: om. mW   23 suppl. Bursian
25 vulgo post ἐγκώμια interpungunt; ⟨δὲ⟩ addidimus, [δ'] seclusimus
26 ἢ nos: καὶ codd.   οὐ συγκρίνων mW: συγκρίνων P: κρίνων·p
27 τὸ ... τὸ W: τὸν ... τὸν Pmp   30 αὐχμηρότης codd.: ἀμαυ-
ρότης J. F. Lockwood   31 προάγειν mW: προσ- P: προλέγειν p

of Aphrodite; he does the same to wild leopards and all such beasts. As to trees, you should point out that they too are not without their part in marriage, for the tendrils on leaves are devices of trees for mating, and these too are inventions of the god. On a higher level still, when you refer to the gods, you can tell a story or two, either about Poseidon marrying Tyro in the estuary of Enipeus [Enipeus is a river of Thessaly], or about Zeus marrying Europa and Io, or the like. There is much information of this kind in poets and in prose-writers, from whom you can draw supplies. You should also quote from Sappho's love poems, from Homer, and from Hesiod, who also has said a great deal about unions and marriages of gods in his *Catalogues of Women.*

After the passage on marriage, in which you have hymned the god, you will come to the encomium on those contracting the marriage. (What has been said and what is now to be said applies equally, in its entirety, both to the formal and to the relaxed speech, which should differ from each other only in the style.) Such encomia have two methods. You may link family with family, not making a comparative evaluation, so as not to appear to disparage one family or overvalue the other, but none the less proceeding by a method of comparison, since like is being linked with like. A certain obscurity and dryness attends this mode of treatment, because of the interlacing, and you must guard against this as far as possible, and constantly bear in mind the necessity for clarity. Alternatively, you may avoid both linking and the comparative method, but praise separately first the bridegroom's family, as it may be, and secondly the girl's. In these circumstances, one must look for the more celebrated and put this first. You should not dwell long on the topic of the family, for fear of being tediously long-winded, and also because the subject does not have this professed intention, but weddings and bridal alcoves. I must however give

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403. 3 προτάττειν Finckh: πράττειν codd.   5 μηδὲ Bursian: μήτε codd.   6 τοῦτο nos: ταύτην codd.   6–7 γάμους mWp: γαμοῦντας P   7 δέ τι codd.: δ' ἔτι Spengel

τεχνολογῆσαι περὶ τοῦ γένους. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἔνδοξα
σφόδρα τυγχάνῃ τὰ γένη, αὔξειν δεῖ ταῦτα συλλαμβά-
10 νοντα ἀθρόως τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον δι' ὀλίγων, εἶτα
ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πάλιν αὔξειν ἀεὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν λέγοντα
καὶ φιλοτιμίας. ἐὰν δὲ τῶν μετρίων καὶ μὴ περιβλέ-
πτων τυγχάνῃ, δεῖ ζητεῖν τοὺς ἐγγὺς πατέρας, εἰ λαμ-
προὶ εἶεν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἢ εὐδόκιμοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων
15 μᾶλλον ἐπιχειρεῖν. εἰ δὲ οἱ ἐγγὺς μὲν πατέρες ἀφανεῖς,
τὸ δὲ γένος ἐπισημότερον, μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους πει-
ρᾶσθαι χρὴ τὰ ἐγκώμια παραλαμβάνειν· θηρευέτω γὰρ
ὁ λόγος τὰ ἐνδοξότερα. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔνδοξον τῶν
γενῶν τυγχάνῃ, τὸ δὲ μὴ πάνυ, ἀντίθες τῷ ἐν-
20 δόξῳ τὰς ἀρετάς, σωφροσύνην, ἐπι|είκειαν τοῦ
ἑτέρου γένους· οὐ γὰρ ἀπορήσεις ἀφορμῶν. | εἰ δὲ
μηδέτερον τῶν γενῶν ἔχοι μηδεμίαν λαμπρότητα,
χρὴ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐπαινέ-
σαντα διὰ βραχέων καὶ παρακλέψαντα τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν
25 λόγον ἀναδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς νυμφίους.

Τρίτος τόπος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νυμφίων, χαριέστα-
τος δ' ἂν οὗτος γένοιτο εἰ κατὰ συμπλοκὴν ἀντεξετα-
στικῶς προέλθοι, ὅτι θαυμάσιος μὲν ὁ νεανίας, θαυ-
μασία δὲ ἡ κόρη, ἐν παιδείᾳ σοφὸς οὗτος, ἐν λύρᾳ, καὶ
30 ἐν μούσαις οὗτος ἀρίζηλος, ἐκείνη δὲ ἐν σεμνότητι· εἰ
δ' οὐκ ἔχοις τοῦτο, λέγε, ὅτι οὗτος μὲν ἐν λόγοις,
ἐκείνη δὲ ἐν ἱστουργίαις καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Χαρίτων ἔρ-
404 γοις. καὶ ἄνευ μὲν ἀντεξετάσεως, κατὰ συμπλοκὴν δὲ
ἄλλως· ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπαινέσειε,
καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν σωφροσύνην, καὶ τὴν ἐνυπάρχου-
σαν ἐπιείκειαν; δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστου
5 διελόμενον τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπαινεῖν, κάλλος δὲ παρ' ἀμ-
φοῖν κατὰ ἀντεξέτασιν πάντως· οὐχ ἡ μὲν φυτῶν καλ-
λίστῳ ἐλαίᾳ, ὁ δὲ φοίνικι παραπλήσιος; καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν

9–10 συλλαμβάνοντα mWp: συλλαβόντα P   15 μᾶλλον
PmW: πάλιν p   ἐπιχειρεῖν Pmp: εὐδοκιμεῖν W   μὲν p: om. PmW
16 γένος p: ἔθνος PmW   18 μᾶλλον+δε p   ἔνδοξον p: -a mW:
-ότερον P   τῶν γενῶν ante τὸ μὲν transp. B   19 μὴ πάνυ,
ἀντίθες P: μὴ πάνυ, ἀντιθήσεις mW: οὔ, δεῖ ζητεῖν τοὺς ἐγγὺς
πατέρας p   20 τῷ ἐνδόξῳ Finckh: τῶν -ων codd. (ἐνδόξων
+καὶ p)   20–1 σωφροσύνην ἐπιείκειαν fortasse post γένους
transponenda   24 παρακλέψαντα p: παρακαλέσαντα PmW
29–30 ἐν λύρᾳ καὶ ἐν μούσαις p: ἐν μούσαις καὶ ἐν λύραις PmW: num
ἐν παιδείᾳ σοφὸς οὗτος, ⟨ἐκείνη δ'⟩ ἐν λύρᾳ?   30 οὗτος Pp: om.

you a little technical advice about the topic of 'family'. If the families are very celebrated, you should magnify them, taking the whole of the material together briefly, and then proceed to do the same from various separate points of view, always bringing in their public actions and benefactions. If the families are of a moderate and inconspicuous kind, one should consider the immediate parents, to discover whether they were distinguished or well known in the city, and use them for preference as a basis for your argument. If, on the other hand, the immediate parents are obscure but the family as a whole more distinguished, one should try to base the encomia rather on the family. Let your speech pursue the greater distinction. If one of the families is distinguished and the other not, set against the distinction the other family's virtues (temperance, moderation). You will find there is no shortage of starting-points. If neither of the families possesses any splendour, one must briefly praise their character and manners and their moderation and so have done with the discussion of this without anyone detecting it, and pass quickly on to the bride and bridegroom.

The third general topic is that of the bridal pair. This is most elegantly handled if it proceeds by complex counter-examination: e.g. 'marvellous is the youth, marvellous too the maiden; skilled is he in educational accomplishments and (?) with the lyre; famous is he for the arts of the Muses, she for the dignity of her character'. If you are not in a position to say this, you can say that he is outstanding in letters, she in weaving and in the works of Athena and the Graces. Alternatively, in complex form but without counter-examination: 'Who would not praise the virtues of both, the temperance in them, the moderation inherent in them?' One can also praise the couple by separating the praises of the two and keeping them distinct, though beauty must always be treated as regards both of them, in the form of a comparison: 'Is not she like the olive, most beautiful of plants, and he like the palm?'

mW   δ' ἐν σεμνότητι p: om. PmW   31 δ' οὐκ p: om. PmW
    404. 2 ἄλλως p: -ων PmW   3–4 ἐνυπάρχουσαν p: ὑπ- PmW
6–7 καλλίστῳ Walz: -ων PmW: om. p

ῥόδῳ προσέοικεν, ἡ δὲ μήλῳ. διαγράψεις δὲ καὶ τὸν
νεανίαν οἷος ἰδεῖν, οἷος ὀφθῆναι, ὡς χαρίεις καὶ εὐ-
10 πρόσωπος, ὡς ἰούλοις κατάκομος, ὡς ἄρτι ἡβάσκων·
τῆς παρθένου δὲ φυλάξῃ διὰ τὰς ἀντιπιπτούσας δια-
βολὰς κάλλος ἐκφράζειν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ συγγενὴς εἴης
καὶ ὡς εἰδὼς ἀναγκαίως ⟨λέγοις, ἢ⟩ λύοις τὸ ἀντίπιπτον
τῷ λέγειν | 'ἀκηκόαμεν ταῦτα'.

15 Τέταρτος τόπος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ⟨τὰ⟩ περὶ τὸν θάλαμον
καὶ παστάδας καὶ θεοὺς γαμηλίους ἐρεῖν, ὡς ὅταν λέγωμεν,
συνελήλυθε μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις, συνεορτάζει δὲ ἅπασα, πε-
πήγασι δὲ παστάδες οἷαι οὐχ ἑτέρῳ ποτέ, θάλαμος δὲ
πεποίκιλται ἄνθεσι καὶ γραφαῖς παντοίαις, πολλὴν δὲ
20 τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἔχει· πείθομαι δὲ καὶ ἔρωτας παρεῖναι
τόξα μὲν ἐντειναμένους, βέλη δὲ ἐφαρμόττοντας, φαρμά-
κοις πόθων τὰς ἀκίδας χρίσαντας, δι' ὧν τὰς ψυχὰς
†συγκυρώσουσιν ἀναπνεῖν† ἀλλήλαις, ὑμέναιος δὲ ἀνά-
ψει λαμπάδας ἡμῖν καὶ δᾷδας γαμηλίῳ πυρί· χαρί-
25 των τε μνημονεύσεις καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν
λοχείας Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅτι ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον διαδέξεται λοχεία
Ἄρτεμις καὶ μαιεύσεται, καὶ τέξετε παῖδας ὑμῖν τε
ὁμοίους καὶ ἐν ἀρετῇ λαμπρούς. εἶτα εἰς εὐχὴν κατα-
στρέψεις τὸν λόγον. ἐξέσται δέ σοί ποτε καὶ φιλοτιμου-
30 μένῳ τὸν θεὸν τῶν γάμων ἐκφράσαι, οἷός ἐστι, κατ' ἀρ-
χὰς τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ θέσει, ὅτι νέος ἐστὶν ἀειθαλὴς ὁ
Γάμος, λαμπάδα φέρων ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, ῥαδινός, ἐρυ-
405 θήματι τὸ πρόσωπον καταλαμπόμενος, ἵμερον ἀποστά-
ζων ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων καὶ τῶν ὀφρύων. ἐξέσται δέ σοί ποτε
καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Γάμου τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐκφράσαι ἢ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου
ἢ πρὸς τῷ τέλει· ἂν μὲν γὰρ τὸν Γάμον ὑποστήσῃ κατ'
5 ἀρχάς, τὸν Γάμον ἐκφράσεις δηλονότι· ἐὰν δὲ τὸν
Ἔρωτα, τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ἐκφράσεις. ἐκφράσεις δὲ ἀκο-

11 τῆς παρθένου p: παρθένος PmW   δὲ p: γὰρ mW: om. P
12–14 κάλλος ... ταῦτα mWp: om. P   13 suppl. Bursian
14 ante ἀκηκόαμεν add. τὸ m: expectes ὅτι   15 suppl. Bursian
16 ἐρεῖν mWp: om. P: secl. Nitsche   17 ἅπασα nqs: ἅπας
codd.   21 αἷ codd.: om. vulg.   ἐντειναμένους p: -ομένους
PmW   23 συγκυρώσουσιν ἀναπνεῖν: fortasse ἀναγκάσουσι
συμπνεῖν   24 γαμηλίῳ πυρί PmW: καὶ γαμήλιον πῦρ p
27 μαιεύσεται Finckh: μαντεύσεται codd.   28 εὐχὴν mWp:
-ὰς P   28–9 καταστρέψεις mWp: ἀπο- P   30 τὸν θεὸν τῶν
γάμων Bursian, cf. 399. 14–15: τῶν θεον τῶν γάμων P: τὸν γάμον τὸν
θεὸν p: ὡς θεὸν τὸν γάμον mW   32 ῥαδινός PmW: ῥοδινὸς ἐν p

'He is like a rose, and she is like an apple.' You
should also describe what the young man's glance is
like and what he is like to see, how graceful and fair
of face, how shaded with youthful beard, how newly
come to manhood. As for the girl, be cautious in
describing her beauty because of the scandal that may
be caused, unless you are a relation and can speak
as one who cannot help knowing, or unless you can
remove the objection by saying 'I have heard . . .'

The fourth general topic is derived from the descrip-
tion of the bridal chamber and alcoves, and the
gods of marriage. For example, we may say: 'The
city has assembled, it all joins the feast. The alcoves
are prepared, such as no one had before. The chamber
is adorned with flowers and paintings of all kinds;
it is full of the charms of love. I am convinced the
Cupids are there, their bows drawn, stringing their
arrows, the tips ready smeared with the ointment of
desire, whereby they will ensure that the two hearts
breathe together (?). Hymen shall kindle the lamps
and torches for us with the wedding fire.' You must
mention the Graces, Aphrodite, and, shortly after,
Artemis the goddess of childbirth, saying that she will
soon take charge and play the midwife: 'you will
bear children like yourselves and of superlative ex-
cellence.' You should conclude the speech with a
prayer.

It will also be possible sometimes to give an am-
bitious description of the god of marriage in the early
part of the speech, in the general thesis. You could
say: 'He is young and ever flourishing, carrying a
torch in his hands, slender, his face lit with a blush,
dripping desire from his eyes and brows.' You may
also be able sometimes to describe Eros instead,
either at the beginning of the speech or at the end.
If you personify Marriage at the beginning, then it
is obviously Marriage whom you will describe. If
Eros, then you will describe Eros, and consequently

405. 1 καταλαμπόμενος PmW: -ον p   2 ὀμμάτων . . . τῶν
P: om. mWp   καὶ vulg.: ἐκ P   ἐξέσται PmW: -ω p   σοι p:
om. PmW   3 τὸν PmW: om. p   4 τὸν γάμον mWp: om. P
4–5 ὑποστήσῃ . . . ἀρχάς p: om. PmW   5 τὸν Γάμον P: τὸν
θάλαμον p: om. mW   6 θεὸν+ἀκολούθως p   6–7 ἐκφράσεις
δὲ ἀκολούθως p: ἀκολούθως δὲ PmW

λούθως ποτὲ χοροὺς παρθένων καὶ χοροὺς | ἠϊθέων
καὶ κυβιστῶντας, οἷα παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι·
πρέποι δ' ἂν ταῦτα λέγειν πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ λόγου,
10 ὅταν ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν θάλαμον καταντήσῃ· τοιούτων γὰρ
ἐνταῦθα ὁ καιρός, ἐν δὲ τῷ θετικῷ λόγῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς
καιρὸν ἔχεις μᾶλλον ἐκφράζειν τὸν θεὸν τῶν γάμων ἢ
τὸν Ἔρωτα, ὁπότερον ἂν τούτων ὑποστήσῃ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΤΕΥΝΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ

15 Ὁ κατευναστικὸς λόγος ἐστὶ συντομώτατος διὰ τῶν
καιρίων βαδίζων, καίρια δέ ἐστι τὰ πρόσφορα, πρόσ-
φορα δέ ἐστιν ὅσα τῷ θαλάμῳ ἁρμόζει καὶ τῇ τοῦ νυμ-
φίου συζυγίᾳ καὶ ταῖς παστάσι καὶ ἔρωσί τε καὶ ὑμε-
ναίοις καὶ τελετῇ γάμου. οἱ μὲν οὖν ποιηταὶ διὰ τοῦ
20 παρορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον καὶ προτρέπειν προάγουσι
τὰ κατευναστικὰ ποιήματα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ πόρρω
τούτων στησόμεθα, ἀλλὰ παροξυνοῦμεν καὶ προτρέψο-
μεν· ἔστι γὰρ ὁ κατευναστικὸς προτροπὴ πρὸς τὴν
συμπλοκήν. ἐν τούτοις τοίνυν τὸν Ἡρακλέα παραλαμ-
25 βάνωμεν καὶ ἕτερον εἴ τις ἀνδρεῖος περὶ γάμους γέγο-
νεν, οὐ τῇ πάσῃ ἐπεξιόντες τοῦ Ἡρακλέος ἀλκῇ, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς περὶ γάμων αὐτῷ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ νυμφῶν πε-
πραγμένοις, ἵνα καὶ χάριτας ὁ λόγος ἔχειν δοκῇ. ἐροῦ-
μεν δὲ ἐγκώμιον τῆς νύμφης διὰ βραχέων, οὐ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς
30 σωφροσύνης οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς φρονήσεως οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν
ἀρε|τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους
406 —τοῦτο γὰρ οἰκεῖον καὶ πρόσφορον μόνον—τοῦ δὲ νεανίσκου
τὴν ἀλκὴν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην, παραινοῦντες μὴ καταισχῦναι
ταῦτα τοσούτων μαρτύρων γενησομένων τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
τῆς τελετῆς. φυλακτέον δ' ἐν τούτῳ, μή τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν
5 μηδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν ἢ φαύλων λέγειν δόξωμεν, καθιέν-
τες εἰς τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ μικρά, λέγειν γὰρ δεῖ ὅσα ἔνδοξά
ἐστι καὶ ὅσα σεμνότητα φέρει καί ἐστιν εὐχαρῆ.

choirs of maidens and young men and acrobats (as in the Shield in Homer). However, it may be most appropriate to say these things at the end of the speech, when it comes to the bridal chamber. This is the right time for such passages, whereas in the general thesis at the beginning it is more in place to describe either the god of marriage or Eros, whichever of the two you have chosen to personify.

[VII]   THE BEDROOM SPEECH
(*KATEUNASTIKOS*)

The bedroom speech is a very brief one, confining itself to the essential points; the essential points are the relevant ones, and the relevant ones are those appropriate to the bridal chamber, the union of the couple, the alcoves, Cupids, hymeneal songs, and the rite of marriage. Poets make up their bedroom poems out of exhortations and encouragements to enter the bridal chamber. We should not depart much from this model, for the bedroom speech is an exhortation to intercourse. So let us take up Heracles or some other figure who has shown courage in marriage, not indeed treating all Heracles' heroic deeds, but only his achievements in his unions with women or nymphs, so that the speech may give an impression of charm. We shall pronounce the encomium of the bride with brevity, not an encomium of her temperance or wisdom or the other virtues of the soul, but of her youth and beauty, these being the only germane and relevant topic. In the young man, similarly, we praise prowess and strength, urging him not to disgrace all these things, when there will be so many witnesses on hand the morning after the initiation. In this, one must be careful not to seem to say anything scandalous, cheap, or vulgar, by lowering oneself to scandalous or trivial things. One must say what is honourable, dignified, and pleasing. You should

27 νυμφῶν p : νυμφίων mW   30 οὐδὲ . . . φρονήσεως Wp : om. m
31 τὸ p : om. mW
   406. 1 ante τοῦτο add. καὶ mW   δὲ mW : om. p   2 παραινοῦν-
τες + καὶ mW   4 τῆς + φυλακῆς mW   6 τὰ Wp : τὸ m
καὶ μικρά p : λέγειν καὶ μακρά m : καὶ μακρὰ λέγειν W   λέγειν γὰρ
δεῖ p : παρ' mW   7 καὶ ὅσα p : δικαίως ἃ mW

ἄρξῃ δ' οὕτω πως· τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν τοῦ γάμου καὶ
τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν
10 τὴν σύνοδον οὐδενὸς ἕνεκα, ὦ νεανία, πεποιήμεθα,
ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς ἀλκῆς ἧς ἔχεις καὶ ῥώμης ἐπίδειξιν βουλό-
μενοί σε ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ἐπί σοι σεμνυνώμεθα αὐτοί
τε οἱ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἡλικιῶται· σὺ δὲ μὴ ἐν φαύ-
λῳ τὰ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως ποιήσῃ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀθληταὶ ἦμεν,
15 καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι Ὀλυμπίασιν ἔδει ἢ Πυθοῖ πρὸς ἄνδρας
ἀθλητάς, ἐχρῆν καὶ βραβεῖον προκεῖσθαι καὶ κήρυκα παρεῖ-
ναι καὶ κριτήν τινα τῆς νίκης καὶ στάδιον ὑπάρχειν
δημόσιον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τελετὴ γάμου τὰ δρώμενα, βραβευ-
τὴς δὲ Ἔρως, κῆρυξ δὲ Ὑμέναιος, καὶ στάδιον ὑμῖν ὁ
20 θάλαμος, φέρε μὴ τὰ τῶν φευγόντων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
πάθῃς δεδοικὼς καὶ πρὸ τῆς συμβολῆς τὴν τροπήν,
ἀλλὰ νόμισον ἔνθεν μὲν παρεστάναι σοι Πόθον, ἔνθεν
δὲ Γάμον, Ἔρωτα δὲ συμβραβεύειν, Ὑμέναιον δ' ἐπιφω-
νεῖν, Ἴθι, τῶν πατέρων ἀξίως ἀγωνιούμενος. καιρὸς
25 δὲ τελετῆς ὃς καὶ φίλος ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ τῶν γάμων· ἕσπερος
μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὕπαιθρος καὶ λαμπρός, ἅμαξα δὲ διαφα-
νὴς ἤδη, καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστὴρ καταυγάζει τὸ
φαινόμενον, οὐρανὸς δὲ πεποίκιλται τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν
ἄστρων. καί τινα τοιαῦτα διεξελθὼν ἁβρῶς περὶ τοῦ
30 καιροῦ πάλιν ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἑστιωμένων, ἀπὸ
τῶν παρόντων, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐπικροτοῦσιν, οἱ δέ σε νῦν
ἐπὶ στόματος καὶ γλώσσης ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν κόρην, ὁπό-
407 τερος ἄρ' ἰσχυρότερος πρὸς τὴν τελετὴν φανήσεται·
διηγεῖται δὲ ἴσως ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον οἰ-
κεῖα νεανιεύματα· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ εὔχονται σφίσιν αὐ-
τοῖς γενέσθαι παραπλησίαν πανήγυριν. προτρέψῃ δ'
5 αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ θαλάμου, ὃν αἱ Χάριτες
κατεποίκιλαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας τῆς κόρης καὶ ὁποῖοι
περὶ ἐκείνην θεοὶ γαμήλιοι· Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἵμερος προ-
δώσουσί σοι ταύτην καὶ ἐγχειρίσουσιν, ἵνα δημιουργή-
σητε παῖδας ὁμοίους μὲν σοί, ὁμοίους δὲ ἐκείνῃ· ἐὰν
10 δέ σε καὶ ἀπατᾶν ἐπιχειρήσῃ αἱμύλα κωτίλλουσα, φύ-

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8 οὕτω πως p: πως ἠθικῶς οὕτως mW   11 ἀλλ' ἢ mW: καλοῦ
ἢ p   ἧς p: ἦ mW   13 μὴ p: οὐκ mW   16 alterum καὶ W: om.
mp   17 νίκης p: δίκης p manu secunda, mW   18 δρώμενα
Bursian, cf. 424. 10, 425. 11: ὁρώμενα codd.   22 νόμισον Bur-
sian: νομίσας codd.   25 τῷ ... γάμων p: om. mW   26 γάρ
ἐστιν p: ἐστιν W: om. m   ὕπαιθρος: num δίαιθρος?   29 ἄστρων

begin with something like this: 'Young man, we have made the preparations for this marriage, the enormous expenditure, the assembly of the best people, simply because we want you to make a demonstration of the prowess and strength you possess, so that your family and we who are your contemporaries can feel proud of you. Do not take this demonstration lightly. If we were athletes and had to compete at Olympia or Pytho against other athletes, there would necessarily have been a prize offered, a herald present, a judge of the victory, and a public race-course. But since the performance is the rite of marriage, Eros the umpire, Hymen the herald, and the bedroom the race-course, beware of behaving like a coward in battle and fearing the rout before the engagement: imagine rather that Desire stands by you on one side, and Marriage on the other, while Love judges the contest and Hymen cries out "Go, fight in a manner worthy of your fathers". The moment of the rite is one dear to the god of marriage: it is evening, clear and brilliant, the Wain is already visible and Aphrodite's star illumines the heavens; the sky is adorned with the choirs of stars.' After some delicate description of this nature concerning the time, you should proceed to argue from the banqueters and from the company present: 'Some applaud, some have both you and the girl on their lips and tongue, and wonder which of you will be found the stronger for the ceremony; perhaps every man is telling his neighbour of his own youthful exploits, while some are praying that they have a like festival themselves.'

You may also exhort him by a reference to the beauty of the chamber, which the Graces have adorned, to the beauty of the girl, and to the marriage gods who attend her: 'Aphrodite and Desire will hand her to you, and put her in your hands, that you may produce children like you and like her. If she tries to deceive you "with guileful chatter",

p: ἀστέρων mW   30 πάλιν p: πάντα mW   31 ἐπικροτοῦσιν
p: κροτοῦσιν mW
    407. 3 οἳ . . . εὔχονται Bursian: οἱ . . . εὐχόμενοι codd.

λαξαι τὴν ἀπάτην· περίκειται γὰρ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης κε-
στόν, ἐν ᾧ διὰ λόγων ἐστὶν ἀπάτη. [προτρέψῃ δ' αὐ-
τὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας τῆς κόρης καὶ τῆς ἰδέας καὶ τοῦ
κάλλους] καὶ ἐπάξεις ὅτι ὀνειράτων ὄψεις ἡδίστας
15 ὄψεσθε μαντευομένας ὑμῖν ἐπ' αἰσίοις τὰ μέλλοντα,
παίδων γενέσεις, βίου παντὸς ὁμόνοιαν, οὐσίας αὔξη-
σιν, οἰκονομίαν τῶν ὄντων ἐπαινετήν. χρὴ δὲ παραγ-
γέλλειν τῷ νυμφίῳ μέλλοντι ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν
εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῷ Ἔρωτι, τῇ Ἑστίᾳ, τοῖς γενεθλίοις,
20 ἵνα συλλαμβάνωνται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ἐγχείρημα. εἶτα
εὐχὴν ἐπάξεις αἰτῶν παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων αὐτοῖς εὐμέ-
νειάν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, συμπλοκῆς †ἑστίαν†, κρᾶσιν ψυ-
χῶν ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν σωμάτων, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες ἀμφο-
τέροις ὅμοιοι γένωνται. οὕτω μὲν οὖν πως προάγειν
25 τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους διὰ συντόμων δυνήσῃ· κἂν μὲν
ἀδελφὸς ἢ συγγενὴς ᾖ ὁ συναπτόμενος, λέγε τὰ πρόσ-
φορα πρὸς συγγενεῖς, ὅτι ὁ προτρεπόμενός σοι οὐκ ἀλλό-
τριος, ἀλλὰ φίλος καὶ εὔνους, τῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ μάλιστά
σοι συνηδομένων, καὶ πείθεσθαί σε δεῖ. ἂν δὲ προειλη-
30 φὼς ᾖς τῷ γεγαμηκέναι αὐτός, λέγε ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμ-
πειρός εἰμι τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων, καὶ οὐχ ἡρέθην
οὐδ' ἡττήθην, ἀλλ' εἰ προὔκειτο στέφανος, ἐγὼ ἂν
408 ἀπηνεγκάμην, ἄριστα διαθλήσας τότε. ἂν δὲ ἀλλότριος
τυγχάνῃ, πάλιν καὶ τοῦτο διαιρήσεις· ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ νέος
πρὸς νέον, ἐρεῖς τὸ Ὁμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο

ἄλκιμος ἔσσ' ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἐὺ εἴπῃ·

5 ἐὰν δὲ προεληλυθὼς τὴν ἡλικίαν, μὴ δοῦναι ὑπόνοιαν
τοῖς παροῦσι περὶ σαυτοῦ ὡς ἀσθενοῦς. προσθήσεις δ'
ὡς ἵνα καὶ παῖδας φυτεύσητε τῇ πατρίδι λόγοις ἐνακμάσον-
τας, | φιλοτιμίαις, ἐπιδόσεσι. προσθήσεις δέ που καὶ ἀπὸ
τοῦ καιροῦ τι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴη ἔαρ, ὅτι ἀηδόνες καὶ
10 χελιδόνες ὑμᾶς καταμουσίζουσαι καὶ κατακηλοῦσαι νῦν
μὲν εἰς ὕπνον καθέλκουσι, νῦν δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐ-
γὴν τερετίζουσαι ἀναστήσουσι μεμυημένους, καὶ ὅτι
νῦν ἡ γῆ ἄνθεσι καλλωπίζεται καὶ ὡραΐζεται τοῖς βλα-

11 γὰρ p: δὲ mW   12–14 secl. Bursian   15 ὄψεσθε:
num εἶδον?   17 ἐπαινετήν p: om. mW   22 †ἑστίαν† p:
ἀστασίαν mW: εὐαρεστίαν Bursian: possis etiam εὐεστώ vel εὐστάθειαν
temptare   24 προάγειν p: πράττειν mW   28–9 τῶν ...
συνηδομένων p: τῷ ... -ῳ mW   29 σε m: om. Wp   δεῖ

beware of the deceit; she wears Aphrodite's cestus, wherein is deceit through words.' [You will exhort him also by reference to the girl's youth and figure and beauty.] You should add: 'You will see (?) delightful dream visions that prophesy the future to you with happy augury, children, lifelong harmony, increase of property, praiseworthy management of your wealth.' You should also advise the bridegroom, as he enters into the business, to pray to Eros, Hestia, and the gods of birth to help him in his enterprise. Then you should add a prayer, asking the gods to grant them goodwill and harmony, happiness (?) in their union, a mingling of souls as of bodies, so that the children may be like both parents. In this way, you will be able to treat such topics concisely. And if the bridegroom is a brother or a relation, say what is apt to relations: viz. that 'the friend who encourages you is no stranger, but a friend and well-wisher, one of those who most share your pleasure; you must obey'. If you have the advantage by being married yourself, say: 'I have experience in such contests myself, and I was not overcome or defeated; if there had been a prize, I should have won it for my splendid performance.' If the bridegroom is a stranger, you should make a further division of the theme: if he is young and so are you (?), you will say with Homer 'Be brave, that men of the future may speak well of you'; if he is older, say 'do not give the company grounds to suspect your weakness'. And you may add: 'so that you can provide children for the city, who will flourish in letters, in generosity, in charitable benefactions'. You should also add material based on the season. If it is spring: 'Nightingales and swallows sing to you and charm you; now they lull you to sleep, soon they will wake you at dawn with their chatterings—initiated.' Or again: 'Now the earth is adorned with flowers and made

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p: ἔδει mW   30 prius αὐτός hic p: αὐτοὺς, post ἧς, mW
32 εἰ et ἂν p: om. mW

408. 3 an delendum πρὸς νέον?   6 σαυτοῦ codd.: ἑαυτοῦ
Bursian   7 ὡς p: ὅτι mW: ἔτι Bursian   λόγοις p: διλόγοις
W: om. m   ἐνακμάσοντας p: ἀκμάσαντες mW   9–10 καὶ
χελιδόνες mW: om. p   10 καταμουσίζουσαι p: -μουσοῦσαι mW
13 ὡραΐζεται p: om. mW

στήμασιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ὥρᾳ καὶ ἀκμῇ τοῦ κάλ-
15 λους τυγχάνετε, καὶ δένδρα δένδρεσιν ἐπιμίγνυται, ἵνα
τοῦτο γένηται τελετὴ καὶ γάμος. ἐὰν δὲ μετόπωρον,
ὅτι καὶ νῦν οὐρανὸς γαμεῖ τὴν γῆν ὄμβροις ἐπάρδων,
ἵνα μετὰ μικρὸν ἐκφύσῃ καὶ κοσμήσῃ αὐτὴν δένδροις τε
καὶ | βλαστήμασι. ἂν δὲ χειμών, ὅτι συνάγει ἡμᾶς εἰς θα-
20 λάμους καὶ οἰκουρεῖν ἀναγκάζει, καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις τοὺς
νυμφίους συμπλέκεσθαι, καὶ πάντα ἐν θαλάμοις εἶναι
πείθει, τὰς ἀνάγκας ἡμῖν καὶ φόβους ἐκ τῆς σφοδρό-
τητος τῶν ἀέρων ἐπάγων καὶ ὥσπερ ἀναγκάζων | γαμεῖν.
ἐὰν δὲ θέρος, ὅτι νῦν μὲν τὰ λήϊα κομᾷ τοῖς | ἀστάχυσι
25 καὶ ἡμερίδες τοῖς βότρυσι καὶ ⟨ἀκρόδρυα⟩ τοῖς ὡραίοις,
καὶ κατάκομα τῶν δένδρων ἄλση καὶ γεωργία πᾶσα.
εἶτα προσθήσεις, οἵας μὲν εὐχὰς εὔξονται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
οἱ πατέρες, οἷα δὲ ηὔξαντο ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν·
πληροῦτε οὖν αὐτῶν τὸν πόθον, πληροῦτε τοῦ γένους
30 τὰς ἐλπίδας. προσθήσεις δέ τι καὶ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας περὶ
γάμου καὶ συμπλοκῆς, εἰ ἔχοις τινὰς †νεανίας† εἰπεῖν ἢ
καὶ δένδρων ἔρωτας. ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ Διονύσου, ὅτι
409 καλὸς πρὸς γάμους ὁ θεός, ἀλκῆς ἐμπιπλῶν, θάρσους
πληρῶν, εὐτολμίαν διδούς· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς οὐκ ὀκνη-
ρός, ἀλλ' εὔτολμος περὶ γάμους ὁ θεός. "οὕτω καὶ
Αἰακὸς Αἴγιναν τὴν Ἀσώπου κατενύμφευσεν, οὕτω καὶ
5 Πηλεὺς τὴν Θέτιν, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Λήδαν, οὕτω καὶ
Τηλέμαχος Πολυκάστην τὴν Νέστορος, οὕτω καὶ τὴν
Ἀφροδίτην Ἀγχίσης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς περὶ τὸ Ἴλιον χώ-
ρας." ἐρεῖς τι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ὅτι ἕως αὐτοὶ
τελοῦσι τὰ ὄργια τοῦ γάμου καὶ τελοῦνται, ἡμεῖς ῥόδοις
10 καὶ ἴοις στεφανωσάμενοι καὶ λαμπάδας ἀνάψαντες περὶ
τὸν θάλαμον παίξωμεν καὶ χορείαν στησώμεθα, καὶ τὸν
ὑμέναιον ἐπιβοώμεθα, τὸ δάπεδον πλήττοντες τοῖς πο-
σίν, ἐπικροτοῦντες τὼ χεῖρε, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες·
καὶ ὅσα προσέοικε τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὕλῃ προσάψεις.
15 εἴρηνται | δ' ἀφορμαὶ πλείους ἢ πρὸς ἓν σύνταγμα, ἵνα ᾖ

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14 καὶ et καὶ ἀκμῇ p: om. mW   18 κοσμήσῃ codd.: -ηθῇ
Bursian   αὐτὴν nos: αὐτὴν mW: om. p   21 πάντα codd.:
πάντας Kroll   22 πείθει Kroll: ἐπεὶ καὶ p: ἐπεὶ mW: ἐπείγει
Bursian   τὰς codd.: secl. Kroll   23 ἀέρων + ἐστὶν m   24 ὅτι
p: om. mW   25 ἀστάχυσι codd.: στάχυσι Bursian   ⟨αἱ⟩
ἡμερίδες Bursian   ⟨ἀκρόδρυα⟩ nos, ex. gr.   26 κατάκομα p: -οις
mW   ἄλση καὶ γεωργία πᾶσα p: ἄλσει καὶ γεωργίᾳ πάσῃ mW

beautiful with plants, as you are now in the bloom
and height of beauty; trees mingle with trees, so that
this becomes their initiation and marriage.' If it is
autumn: 'The sky marries the earth, watering her
with showers, that she may soon make things grow
and adorn herself with trees and plants.' If it is
winter: 'It brings us to our bedrooms and makes us
stay at home, it makes bridegrooms be with their
brides and persuades everyone to stay in his chamber,
bringing compulsions and apprehensions on us from
the severity of the weather, and as it were compelling
us to marry'. If it is summer: 'The fields are covered
with corn, the vines with clusters, ⟨the fruit trees
(?)⟩ with their produce; the groves of trees are leafy
and all the cultivated land . . .' Then you can add:
'How your parents will pray for you! How they have
prayed to live to see this day! Fulfil their desire,
fulfil the hopes of the family.' You should also add
points from tradition relating to marriage and inter-
course: possibly love stories of nymphs (?) or trees.
You should say something also about Dionysus—
how 'he is a fine god for weddings, filling the heart
with courage, filling it with confidence, giving bold-
ness; for he was no laggard himself, but a brave per-
former in wedlock. Thus also Aeacus made Aegina
the daughter of Asopus his bride, Peleus Thetis,
Zeus Leda, and Telemachus Polycaste the daughter
of Nestor. Thus Anchises, king of the country around
Troy, wedded Aphrodite.'

Address yourself also to the audience, and say:
'While the couple themselves are celebrating the rites
of marriage and being initiated, let us put on gar-
lands of roses and violets, let us light torches and
have sport around the chamber, let us start a dance
and cry "Hymen!", beating the ground with our feet,
clapping hands, all of us wearing garlands'—and then
you can add any detail appropriate to such material.

I have given you more starting-points than are
needed for a single composition, so that you can make

31 νεανίας codd.: num νυμφῶν?

409. 3 οὕτω p: ὅτι mW   4 οὕτω p: αὐτῷ mW   6 prius τὴν
W (Spengel): τοῦ m: om. p   7 τὸ p: τὴν mW   14 τοιαύτῃ
p: αὐτῇ mW

σοι δια|φόρως χρήσασθαι ἐν πλείοσιν ὑποθέσεσιν· οὐ γὰρ
ἅμα | πάντα ἐρεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει σοι ἓν καὶ δεύτερον τῶν εἰ-
ρημένων. ὁδοποιήσει δέ σοι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἡ θεωρία
καὶ ἀναστρέψεις τὰ πολλάκις ῥηθέντα, οἷον τὰ πρῶτα
20 τελευταῖα ποιήσεις, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρῶτα, καὶ ὅλως | ἡ
ἐξαλλαγὴ καὶ ἡ καινοτομία δόξαν παρέξει σοι τοῦ μὴ ταὐτὰ
λέγειν· ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἀποδεδειγμένη διαίρεσις περὶ τοῦ
τοιούτου εἴδους τοῦ λόγου, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν εἰρημένην
ἐπινοήκαμεν, ἣν οὐ πάντως φυλάττειν ἀναγκαῖον, διὰ
25 τὸ μηδένα ὁμότεχνον τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁρίζειν· ὡς ἐμὲ γοῦν
εἰδέναι οὐδέπω μέχρι καὶ τήμερον διαίρεσις ἐπεδείχθη
τοιούτου λόγου. εἴ τι δὲ δεῖ στοχασάμενον τοῦ πρέ-
ποντος καὶ ἐγγὺς γενόμενον τοῦ δοκοῦντος εὖ ἔχειν
εἰπεῖν, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι προοιμιάζεσθαι μὲν οὐ μακρῷ
30 προοιμίῳ, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἐπέχοιεν
ἔτι τὸν νεανίαν, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
ῥᾳθυμοῦντος τῆς ἀγωνίας, ἢ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λέγοντος,
410 ὅτι συμβουλήν τινα ἥκω φέρων τῷ νεανίᾳ εἰς μέσον
πεφροντικὼς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ σπουδάζων αὐτὸν καλὸν
ἐν ὑμῖν ὀφθῆναι. ἔσται δ' οὐκ ἐγκατάσκευον τὸ προοί-
μιον, ἀλλ' ἀφελὲς καὶ ἁπλοῦν. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἀπ' αὐ-
5 τοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ληφθήσεται ἡ ἔννοια· τίνος ἕνεκεν
ἡμῖν ἡ σύνοδος γέγονεν αὕτη; γάμου τοῦ νεανίου δη-
λονότι καὶ τελετῆς ἐρωτικῆς· τί οὖν οὐκ ἤδη τὸ πρᾶγμα
τελεῖται, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ συνεληλύθαμεν, συνησθησό-
μενοι τοῖς γινομένοις; εἶτα μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον ἥξεις ἐπὶ
10 τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου προτροπήν· ᾔδειν σε ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου
χρόνῳ οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, ᾔδειν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν κυνηγεσίοις,
ἐν παλαίστραις· ταύτην ἐπίδειξαί μοι τὴν ῥώμην καὶ
τὴν ἀλκὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, μηδένα τῶν παρόντων ὡς
ὀνειδίζειν μέλλοντα φυλασσόμενος· γάμου γὰρ παῖδες
15 ἅπαντες, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐτελέσθησαν, οἱ δὲ μέλλουσιν, οἱ δὲ
εὔχονται. εἶτα παρακαλέσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς συμ-
προτρέψασθαι καὶ ἑκόντα καὶ ἄκοντα παραπέμπειν ἐπὶ

21 δόξαν p: om. mW   τοῦ pW: τὸ m   23 εἰρημένην: num
ῥηθησομένην?   25 μηδένα ὁμότεχνον Bursian: μηδὲν ὁμοιοτεχνὲς
p: μηδὲν (μὴ m) ὁμοτεχνεῖς mW   γοῦν p: γὰρ mW   26 ἐπε-
δείχθη p: ἀπ- W: ὑπ- m   29 προοιμιάζεσθαι . . . μακρῷ mW:
προοιμιά . . . μακρῷ p (spatium lectioni vulgari accommodatum)
30 num οὐ καλῶς ⟨ἂν⟩ ἐπέχοιεν?   32 ῥᾳθυμοῦντος p: -ες mW
410. 1 τῷ νεανίᾳ post εἰς μέσον transp. mW, fortasse recte

different use of them for a number of occasions. You
should not say everything on any one occasion.
One or two of the above points will suffice. The
theory, however, will systematize the rest for you also.
You will reverse the order of points often made, e.g. by
making the first points last and the last first. (As a
general rule, variation and innovation will enable you
to give the impression of not saying the same things.)

The division in this type of speech has not been
demonstrated, but I have devised the division given
here (?)—not necessarily to be followed in all circum-
stances—because no fellow practitioner has defined
these things, so far as I am aware, and no division
of such a speech has been set out up to the present.
However, if I must make a suggestion with an eye
to what is appropriate, and with some approxima-
tion to what seems to be right, it would, I think, be
advisable to compose a brief prooemium, based
either on the persons present—'they do wrong to
restrain the young man any longer'—or on the youth
himself—'he does wrong to relax in the stress of the
battle'—or on the speaker—'I come with advice to
put forward and give the young man, having taken
thought for him, and being anxious for him to make a
good impression among you.' The prooemium should
not be elaborate, but plain and simple. The thought
will sometimes be taken from the situation itself: 'What
is the purpose of this gathering? A young man's mar-
riage and initiation in love. Then why is the deed not
done, for which we have met together to share pleasure
in the event?' After the prooemium, you will come
to the exhortation to the young man: 'I knew you as
second to none in times past, I knew your prowess, in
hunting and wrestling. Show me this strength and
prowess in the present juncture. Do not fear that
any of the present company will reproach you. We are
all children of marriage, and some of us have been initi-
ated, some are about to be, and some pray to be.' You
should then call on the audience to join in the ex-
hortation, and escort him, willy-nilly, to the bedroom.

2–3 αὐτὸν . . . ὑμῖν p: καλὸν ἡμῖν αὐτὸν mW   3 δ' p: om. mW
7 τί . . . πρᾶγμα p: τί δὴ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ mW   10 νεανίσκου
p: νέου mW   11 ᾔδειν hic nos: post χρόνῳ p: om. mW   τὰς
ἀρετὰς p: ταῖς -αῖς mW   14–15 παῖδες hic p: post ἅπαντες mW

τὸν θάλαμον. μετὰ ταῦτα ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν
ἑσπέραν, ἐν ᾧ διασκευάσεις καὶ διαγράψεις τὰ κάλλη τῆς
20 νυκτός, τοὺς ἀστέρας, τὰ φέγγη τούτων, τὸν Ὠρίωνα,
καὶ προσθήσεις ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἑκάστη τελετὴ καιρὸν οἰκεῖον
καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ γάμος γέρας εἴληφε
τὴν νύκτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. Πύθια μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὀλύμ-
πια καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τελεῖται, ⟨τὰ⟩ Βάκχου δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης
25 νυκτός· ἔρωτι γὰρ καὶ γάμῳ καὶ ὑμεναίῳ καθιέρωται νύξ.
εἶτα ἀπὸ τοῦ παρελθόντος προτρέψῃ χρόνου λέγων·
ἀναμνήσθητι τῆς μνηστείας, ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ γέγονεν, ἐν
ὅσοις ἔτεσι μόλις ὑμῖν κατωρθώθη, καὶ ὅτι ἐπένευσαν
[ἡμῖν] οἱ πατέρες τῆς κόρης ὀψέ ποτε· εἶτα ταύτην ἔχων
30 παρὰ σαυτῷ ῥαθυμεῖς, ὥσπερ ἐπιλελησμένος; μετὰ
ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους ἐπιχειρήσεις [ἔαρος,
μετοπώρου, χειμῶνος, θέρους] ὡς ἤδη προείρηται [ἀπὸ
411 τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον καιρὸν ἐξαιρέτων, ὡς ὑποδέδεικται
ἤδη]. καιρὸν ἔχεις μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἱστοριῶν μεμνῆσθαι,
ἐν αἷς ἕτεροι φαίνονται συναφθέντες γάμοις θεοὶ καὶ
ἡμίθεοι καὶ στρατηγῶν οἱ ἄριστοι καὶ ἀριστέων οἱ ἐπι-
5 φανέστατοι. ἐπὶ τούτοις μνημονεύσεις καὶ τοῦ κάλλους
τῆς κόρης καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τῶν παστά-
δων. καὶ τῶν θεῶν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀμελήσεις τῶν περὶ τὸν θάλα-
μον ὡς συνεργούντων καὶ συλλαμβανομένων τῷ μέλ-
λοντι νυμφεύειν· καὶ καθ᾽ ἡδονὴν δὲ θεοῖς ὁ γάμος. ἐν
10 ᾧ καὶ θέσιν βραχεῖαν ἐρεῖς, ὅτι βουληθέντες αὐξάνεσθαι
τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος γάμον ἐπενόησαν καὶ μίξεις
σώφρονας, καὶ εἰκὸς παρεῖναι τοὺς αὐτὰ νομοθετή-
σαντας, Ἀφροδίτην, ἔρωτας, ὑμεναίους, γάμους. εἶτα
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως ἐπιχειρήσεις· τί οὖν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ
15 γάμου κέρδος; ὁμόνοια οἴκου καὶ περιουσίας σω-
τηρία καὶ αὔξησις, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον παίδων γένεσις δια-
δόχων τοῦ γένους, φιλοτιμησομένων πατρίδι, δια-
θησόντων ἀγῶνας. εἶτα εὐχὴν ἐπιθήσεις τοῖς εἰρημέ-

20 φέγγη mW: κάλλη p   21 προσθήσεις p: πρόσθες mW
24 τελεῖται Wp: τιμᾶται m   ⟨τὰ⟩ addidimus   Βάκχου . . . Ἀφρο-
δίτης p: -ῳ . . . -ῃ Spengel: βραχὺ δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ (-ην W) mW
25 νυκτός codd.: secl. Spengel   γὰρ p: om. mW   27 alterum
ἐν p: om. mW   28 ὑμῖν nos: ἡμῖν codd.   29 ἡμῖν seclu-
simus   εἶτα p: εἰ mW   31 ἀπὸ p: τὸ mW   31-2 ἔαρος
. . . θέρους et 32-411. 2 ἀπὸ . . . ἤδη seclusit Nitsche
   411. 2 ἤδη codd.: εἰ δὲ Bursian   μετὰ ταῦτα hic p, ante καιρὸν
mW   3 φαίνονται p: om. mW   8 συνεργούντων W (Kroll):

You will come next to the season and the evening. Here you should elaborate and delineate the beauties of the night, the stars, their brilliance, Orion. You should add that just as every rite has its due and proper season, so Marriage has been granted Night by the gods as its privilege. The Pythian and Olympian festivals are performed by day, those of Bacchus and Aphrodite by night, for Night is sacred to Eros and to Hymen and to Marriage.

You should continue with an exhortation based on the past. 'Remember your courtship, how long it took, how many years it was before you just managed to succeed, how the girl's parents gave consent only very late—and now that you have her, do you take things easy, as if you'd forgotten?'

After this, you should argue from the season of the year, [spring, autumn, winter, summer,] as has been said [taking the special features of each season as I have indicated]. If you have occasion, you may go on to mention traditions in which others have been seen to be joined in wedlock, gods, demigods, the noblest generals, and the most celebrated champions. Next, mention the beauty of the girl and the beauty of the chamber and alcove; and do not neglect the gods of the bedchamber, who are active and helpful to the bridegroom to be. 'Marriage delights the gods.' This point will lead you to a brief general thesis on how the gods, desiring the increase of mankind, devised marriage and chaste intercourse; it is natural therefore that those who made these laws— Aphrodite, Cupids, Hymenaei, Marriage—should be present.

You should then argue from the outcome, that the advantage of marriage lies in concord in the household and preservation and increase of wealth, and, most important, in the procreation of children to follow on in the family, to be benefactors of their country, to organize festivals.

Finally, you should add a prayer, asking the gods,

ἐν- mp   συλλαμβανομένων mW: συναντιλαμβ- p   12 τοὺς
αὐτὰ mW: αὐτοὺς ταῦτα p: αὐτοὺς ⟨τοὺς⟩ ταῦτα Bursian   14 τί
οὖν mW: ὅτι p   15 ὁμόνοια+καὶ mp   17 πατρίδι Finckh,
cf. 413. 2: πατρίδα mW: πατράσι p

νοις, αὐτὸς αἰτῶν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων συζυ-
20 γίαν ἡδίστην, εὐδαιμονίαν, βίον ἐπέραστον, παίδων
γενέσεις καὶ ὅσα προείρηται. πειράσεις δὲ καὶ συντό-
μως ἅπαντα προαγαγεῖν ταῦτα πανταχοῦ τῆς χάριτος
μόνον καὶ τῆς ὥρας φροντίζων. παραγίνεται δὲ χάρις
καὶ ὥρα τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν μόνον καὶ ἐκ
25 τοῦ διηγήματος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἀφελείας καὶ ἁπλότητος
τοῦ ἤθους τοῦ λέγοντος. ἀκατάσκευον γὰρ τὸν λόγον
εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἀσύνδετον, οὐ κώλοις οὐδὲ
περιόδοις συγκείμενον, ἀλλὰ συγγραφικώτερον, οἷόν
ἐστι καὶ τὸ τῆς λαλιᾶς εἶδος. γένοιτο δ᾽ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ
30 λέξεως ἐπιτετηδευμένης καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένης χάρις ἐν
λόγῳ, οἷα ἐστὶν ἡ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ
τῶν νεωτέρων, Δίωνος καὶ Φιλοστράτου καὶ τῶν σοφι-
412 στῶν ὅσοι καὶ συντιθέναι τὸ συγγραφικὸν εἶδος ἔδοξαν
χαριέντως.

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑΚΟΥ

Ὁ γενεθλιακὸς λόγος διαιρεῖται οὕτως. πρῶτον μὲν
5 ἐρεῖς προοίμια, μετὰ τὰ προοίμια τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαινέ-
σεις καθ᾽ ἣν ἐτέχθη ὁ ἐπαινούμενος, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν
ἱε|ρομηνίᾳ ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ πανηγύρει, ἐρεῖς | ἐγκώ-
μιον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅτι ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ ἐτέχθη,
ὅτι ἐν πανηγύρει· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον,
10 ἐπαινέσεις τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ καιροῦ, ὅτι θέρους ὄντος
ἐτέχθη, ὅτι ἔαρος ἢ χειμῶνος ἢ μετοπώρου, εἰ οὕτω
τύχοι, καὶ ἐρεῖς τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ ἐξαίρετα. μετὰ τὸν
τῆς ἡμέρας ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον ἥξεις αὐτοῦ τοῦ
γένους, εἶτα τῆς γενέσεως, εἶτα τῆς ἀνατροφῆς, εἶτα
15 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, εἶτα τῶν πράξεων. ἐρεῖς δὲ καθ᾽
ἕκαστον τῶν κεφαλαίων, ὡς ἤδη φθάσαντες πολλάκις
εἰρήκαμεν, σύγκρισιν, εἶτα μετὰ τὸ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον τῶν
κεφαλαίων ἰδίαν σύγκρισιν ἐργάσασθαι ἐρεῖς τελευ-
ταῖον σύγκρισιν πρὸς ὅλην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. μετὰ ταῦτα
20 πάλιν ἐπαίνει τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως· ὦ πανευδαίμονος

on the couple's behalf, for a happy union, felicity, a
lovely life, the birth of children, and the other bless-
ings we have mentioned. You should try to treat all
these themes concisely, with care only for grace and
charm. Grace and charm come not only from
traditional stories and narrative, but from plain-
ness and simplicity in the speaker's personality.
The speech should be unadorned and largely asyn-
detic, not composed of cola and periods, but more in
the manner of non-oratorical prose, like the 'talk'.
Grace of style may also be derived from studied and
ornate language, as with Plato and Xenophon and
(among the moderns) Dion, Philostratus, and such of
the sophists as have won the reputation of com-
posing in the 'non-oratorical' manner with grace.

[VIII]   THE BIRTHDAY SPEECH
              (*GENETHLIAKOS*)

The birthday speech is divided as follows.

First, you should speak the prooemia. After these,
praise the day on which your subject was born. If
he was born during a holy month or at some other
festival, base the encomium on the circumstances of
the day, viz. that he was born in a holy month or at a
festival. If you have nothing of this kind to say, you
should praise the day on the ground of the season:
he was born in the summer, spring, winter, or autumn,
as the case may be, and you can then give the special
features of the season.

After the praise of the day, you will come to the
encomium of the family, then the birth, then the
nurture, then the accomplishments, then the actions.
With each of these headings, as I have often said,
you should include a comparison; and finally, after
the individual comparisons that accompany the
separate headings, there should come a comparison
applying to the whole subject.

After this, praise the day again. Thus: 'O happy day,

ὅτι . . . πανηγύρει)   9 ἔχοις Mmp: -εις PW   εἰπεῖν post τοιοῦτον
transp. P   10 suppl. Bursian, cf. 408. 8 sq.   18 ἰδίαν . . .
ἐργάσασθαι post 16 κεφαλαίων transp. p   20 ἐπαίνει MmW: -εῖν
Pp: -έσεις Bursian

ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καθ' ἣν ἐτίκτετο, ὦ μητρὸς ὠδῖνες εὐ-
τυχῶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο λυθεῖσαι. †πρότερον† ταῦτα καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα ἐρεῖς. ἐὰν δὲ κομιδῇ τινος νέου γενεθλιακὸν
μέλλῃς λέγειν, ἐρεῖς ὅτι τοῦτο αὐτὸ τοῦ νέου τὸ μέγι-
25 στον, ὅτι τοὺς λόγους ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἤδη κεκίνηκεν, εἶτα
μετὰ τὰ προοίμια τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγκωμιάσεις, καθ' ἣν
ἐτέχθη, τῇ μεταχειρίσει τῇ προειρημένῃ χρώμενος.
μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ γένος ἐρεῖς, εἶτα τὴν γένεσιν, εἶτα τὴν
φύσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχεις ἕτερον παρὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν
30 [τοῦ νέου] (νέος γὰρ ὢν οὐδέπω πράξεις ἐπεδείξατο),
ἐρεῖς ἐκ μεθόδου ἐγκωμιάζων οὕτω· τοῦτο δὴ τεκμαιρό-
413 μενος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων μαντεύομαι, ὅτι παιδείας
εἰς ἄκρον ἥξει καὶ ἀρετῆς, ὅτι φιλοτιμήσεται πόλε-
σιν, ἀγῶνας διαθήσει, κοσμήσει πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα.

5   ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΥ

Παραμυθητικὸν δὲ ὁ λέγων ὀδύρεται μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς
τὸν πεπτωκότα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγεθος ἐγείρει τὴν συμφοράν,
αὔξων ὡς οἷόν τέ ἐστι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ πάθος ἐκ τῶν ἀφορ-
μῶν ὧν εἴπομεν περὶ μονῳδίας· χρὴ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι
10 συνίσταται ἡ μονῳδία ἐκ τῶν ἐγκωμιαστικῶν [γένους,
φύσεως, ἀνατροφῆς, παιδείας, ἐπιτηδευμάτων, πράξεων].
οὐ μὴν φυλάξει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐγκωμίων διὰ τὸ
μηδ' ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν λέγοντα, ἀλλ' ἐξεστηκέναι
ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. τὰ δὲ ἐγκώμια διαιρήσεις κατὰ τοὺς
15 τρεῖς χρόνους, ὡς προείρηται· ὁ μέντοι γε παραμυθούμενος
ἐπιχειρήσας ἐκ τούτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μέρει τοῦ λόγου,
οἷον ὅτι νέος ὢν (ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ) παρ' ἡλικίαν πέπτω-
κεν, οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔξαιτό τις, καὶ γένος ἐστέρησεν τῆς
ἐλπίδος καὶ γονέας καὶ πατρίδα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ τυχών,
20 ἀλλὰ τοῖος καὶ τοῖος· διὸ οὐδὲ μέμφομαι ποθοῦντας

21 ἐκείνης hic P, ante ἡμέρας MmW: om. p   21–2 εὐτυχῶς
Pp: -οῦς MmW   22 τοῦτο Pm: τούτῳ MWp: num τοῦτον?
πρότερον codd.: περὶ πρεσβυτέρου οὖν Bursian: fortasse delenda πρό-
τερον . . . ἐρεῖς   24 αὐτὸ MmWp: om. P   27 χρώμενος
p: χρόνος P: χρώμεθα MmW   28 τὸ γένος ἐρεῖς MmWp: ἐρεῖς
γένος P   29 οὐδὲν ἔχεις p: οὐκ ἔχεις οὐδὲν P: πραχθὲν οὐδὲν MmW
εἰπεῖν Pp: ἔχεις MmW   30 seclusimus   31 τοῦτο δὴ p: δὴ
τοῦτο cett.

413. 5–414. 30 hoc caput habent Pp: 413. 5–17 praebent etiam Mm
6 Παραμυθητικὸν . . . λέγων Pp: ὁ παραμυθητικὸς δὲ λόγος Mm
9 ὧν εἴπομεν Mmp: τῶν P   10–11 seclusimus: χρὴ δὲ (9) . . .

on which he was born; O mother's pangs so happily ended in him!' You should say this sort of thing first (?).

If he is a very young person whose birthday speech you are to make, you should say that the greatest thing about the young man is that he has already provoked speeches about himself. After the prooemia, you should praise the day he was born, using the method given above. Next, you should treat family, birth, nature; and, since there is nothing beyond this to say [in the case of a young man]—for he has not yet displayed any actions because he is young—you should construct your encomium on the following method: 'On this evidence, I forecast the future; he will scale the summits of education and virtue, he will give generous benefactions to cities, he will organize competitions, provide for feasts', and so on.

[IX]   THE CONSOLATORY SPEECH
              (*PARAMUTHĒTIKOS*)

The speaker of a consolatory speech himself also laments the fallen and raises the misfortune to great significance, amplifying the emotion as best he can in his speech by means of the topics we have explained in connection with the monody. (Note that the monody consists of the encomiastic headings [origin, nature, nurture, education, accomplishments, actions]. It will not however preserve the sequence of the encomia, because the speaker gives the impression of being out of his mind and distracted by emotion. You should divide the encomia, as has been said, into the three chronological sections.) The speaker of a consolatory speech, for his part, should argue on these lines in the first part of the speech. For example, he might say, if the circumstances are such: 'He was young and died prematurely, not as one would pray, and has deprived his family, his parents and his native city of hope, for he was no ordinary man, but ... Therefore I do not blame those who long for and

πράξεων secl. Bursian   12 φυλάξει vulg.: -εις vel -ειν codd.
13 μηδ' Spengel: μηθὲν P: μήτε Mmp   15 προείρηται codd.
praeter p ante corr. διῄρηται   16 ἐκ τούτων codd.: fortasse ἐκ
τῶν αὐτῶν, i.e. ab iisdem locis quibus utitur monodia   17 νέος
Pp: νόσος Mm qui in hoc verbo desinunt   οὕτω P: τοῦτο p
20 ποθοῦντας P: πενθοῦντας p

καὶ ζητοῦντας τοιοῦτον. καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ θρῆνον αὐξή-
σας, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, ἐπὶ δεύτερον ἥξει μέρος τοῦ λόγου
τὸ παραμυθητικόν, ἄρξεται δὲ οὕτω πως· θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ
μὴ ἐπελήλυθεν ὑμῖν, ὦ παρόντες γονεῖς, ἐννοεῖν, ἃ
25 φησιν ἄριστος ποιητὴς Εὐριπίδης, ἄξιος ὡς ἀληθῶς
Μουσῶν νομίζεσθαι τρόφιμος· χρὴ γὰρ τὸν μὲν

φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά·
τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον
χαίροντας, εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

30 οὐ θήσεις δὲ ἐξ ἅπαντος τὰ ἰαμβεῖα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὰ
συνήθη τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ γνώριμα, ἀλλὰ παρῳδήσεις
414 μᾶλλον· καὶ ὅσα Ἡροδότῳ περὶ Κλεόβιδος καὶ Βίτωνος
εἴρηται. καὶ φιλοσοφῆσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἀπειρό-
καλον καθόλου περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον
κατέκρινε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ὅτι πέρας
5 ἐστὶν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ βίου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὅτι
ἥρωες καὶ θεῶν παῖδες οὐ διέφυγον. ἐν ᾧ καὶ καιρὸν
ἔχεις | θεῖναι καὶ διηγήματα, καὶ ὅτι πόλεις ἀπόλλυνται,
καὶ ἔθνη ἐστὶν ἃ παντάπασιν ἐξέλιπεν, καὶ ὅτι βελτίων
ἐστὶ τάχα ἡ μετάστασις τοῦ τῇδε βίου, ἀπαλλάττουσα
10 πραγμάτων [ἀδίκων], πλεονεξίας, ἀδίκου τύχης· οἷον
γὰρ τὸ πλεῖον τὸ πράγμασιν ἀνθρωπίνοις συμπλέκε-
σθαι, νόσοις, φροντίσι. ἐρεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι εἰ μὲν
κέρδος τὸ βιοῦν, ἱκανῶς ἀπολέλαυκε, καὶ λέξεις ἃ σύνοι-
δας περὶ αὐτοῦ· ὤφθη μὲν ἐν λόγοις (εἰ οὕτω τύχοι), ἐν
15 πολιτείαις· εἰ δὲ ἀτύχημα, τύχης τὸ πίπτειν ἐνθάδε, ἐξέ-
φυγεν ἀνιαρὰ τοῦ βίου· εἶτα ὅτι πείθομαι τὸν μετα-
στάντα τὸ Ἡλύσιον πεδίον οἰκεῖν, ὅπου Ῥαδάμανθυς,
ὅπου Μενέλεως, ὅπου παῖς ὁ Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος, ὅπου
Μέμνων· καὶ τάχα που μᾶλλον μετὰ τῶν θεῶν διαιτᾶ-
20 ται νῦν, περιπολεῖ τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖ τὰ τῇδε·
καὶ τάχα που καὶ μέμφεται τοῖς θρηνοῦσι· συγγενὴς
γὰρ οὖσα τοῦ θείου ἡ ψυχὴ κἀκεῖθεν κατιοῦσα σπεύδει

22 ἥξει Bursian: -εις codd.   23 ἄρξεται P: ἄρξαι p: ἄρξῃ
Spengel   24 ἐπελήλυθεν P: ἐπιλέληθεν p   25 ἄξιος
Finckh: ἄριστος p: ἄρρητος P: Εὐριπίδης ἄριστος del. Wilamowitz
26 Μουσῶν P: om. p   νομίζεσθαι P: -εται p   τρόφιμος+ἄξιος p
30 αὐτὰ p: om. P   31 παρῳδήσεις P: παραδώσεις p
  414. 4 ἀνθρώπων P: -ίνων p   5 ὅτι+καὶ p   6 alterum
καὶ Pp: om. Vind., edd.   9 ἐστὶ τάχα p: om. P   10 ἀδίκων

look for such a man.' Then, having amplified the lamentation as far as possible, the speaker should approach the second part of his speech, which is the consolatory part. This will begin in some such fashion as the following: 'Let me say to those of you who are parents that I am surprised it has not occurred to you to think of the words of that excellent poet Euripides, worthy indeed to be thought a fosterling of the Muses:

> It is the new-born child we ought to mourn, for all
> The woes he's coming to; the dead, from trouble
> Relieved, we should with joy and praises hence
> Escort from home.'

You should not, however, quote the whole passage, since it is generally familiar and well known, but adapt it. Similarly with Herodotus' story of Cleobis and Biton.

It is not in bad taste to philosophize in this context on human nature generally, how the divine power has condemned men to death, how death is the end of life for all men, and even heroes and the children of gods have not escaped it. This also gives you an opportunity to include narratives: how cities are destroyed and nations have ceased to exist, how the change from this life is perhaps to be preferred, since it rids us of troubles, greed, unjust fate. 'For what a dreadful thing it generally is to be involved in human cares, diseases, anxieties!' You should add next that if life is a gain, he has enjoyed it enough, and you should say what you know of him: he has been conspicuous in literature (if that is the case) or in public life; on the other hand, if life is a misfortune, then 'to fall here is a gift of fortune', he has escaped the pains of life. Then again: 'I feel convinced that he who has gone dwells in the Elysian Fields, where dwell Rhadamanthus and Menelaus, and the son of Peleus and Thetis, and Memnon. Or rather perhaps he is living now with the gods, travelling round the sky and looking down on this world. Perhaps indeed he is finding fault with those who lament him. For the soul, being kin to the divine

seclusimus   οἶον codd.: num τοιοῦτον?   16 ἀνιαρὰ P: μιαρὰ p
17 οἰκεῖν p: οἰκήσειν P   22 θείου p: θεοῦ P

πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸ συγγενές· οὕτω καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην,
οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα λέγουσιν
25 συμπολιτεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν· ὑμνῶμεν οὖν αὐτὸν
ὡς ἥρωα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μακαρίσωμεν, εἰ-
κόνας γράψωμεν, ἱλασκώμεθα ὡς δαίμονα. ἔστω δὲ
σύμμετρον καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τὸ μῆκος. γνωστέον
δὲ ὅτι καὶ συντόνῳ λόγῳ παραμυθεῖσθαι δυνατὸν καὶ
30 συγγραφικῷ πάλιν, ὡς ἄν τις βούληται.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΤΙΚΟΥ

Ὁ προσφωνητικὸς λόγος ἐστὶν εὔφημος εἰς ἄρχοντας
415 λεγόμενος ὑπό τινος, τῇ δὲ ἐργασίᾳ ἐγκώμιον, οὐ μὴν
τέλειον· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἐγκωμίου, ἀλλὰ
κυρίως ὁ προσφωνητικὸς γίνεται, ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
πραττομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πράξεων ὁ λόγος τὴν αὔξησιν
5 λαμβάνῃ. διαιρεῖται δὲ οὕτως. μετὰ τὰ προοίμια ἥξεις
ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν βασιλέων ἔπαινον, καὶ τοῦτον ἐρεῖς διὰ
πάνυ βραχέων διαιρῶν αὐτὸν δίχα εἰς τὰ κατὰ πόλεμόν
τε καὶ εἰρήνην, οὐκ ἐνδιατρίψεις δὲ διότι οὐ τέλειόν
ἐστι βασιλέων ἐγκώμιον· αὐξήσεως γὰρ ἕνεκα παρα-
10 λαμβάνεται ἐν τῷ προσφωνητικῷ τῶν ἐπαίνων τοῦ ἄρ-
χοντος. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἥξεις
ἀκολούθως ἐπὶ τοῦ προσφωνουμένου ἔπαινον, λέγων
ὅτι τά τε ἄλλα θαυμάσιοι οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν
ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεσιν· οἷον γὰρ ἡμῖν νῦν τοῦτον τὸν
15 γεννάδαν κατέπεμψαν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους. καὶ εὐ-
θέως ἐπαινέσεις μάλιστα μέν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῶν πρά-
ξεων, οὕτω γὰρ ἄμεινον, εἰ δ' ἄρα φιλότιμον καὶ σφό-
δρα ἔνδοξον εἴη τὸ γένος, μνημονεύσεις διὰ βραχέων
καὶ γένους, εἶθ' οὕτω τῶν πράξεων, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν
20 ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος χρόνου καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀρχῆς
τῶν ἐν χερσί· μνημονεύσεις δὲ καί, ἂν τύχῃ ἄρξας
ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐνδόξους ἔχῃ τὰς πράξεις, τῶν τότε

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23 Ἑλένην p : Σελήνην P   25 ὑμνῶμεν Walz: -οῦμεν Pp
414. 31 sqq. hoc caput habent mWY p
  415. 1–2 οὐ μὴν τέλειον p: om. mWY   2 γὰρ ἔχει p: ἔχει δὲ
mWY   3 προσφωνητικὸς WYp: -ηματικὸς m   9 βασιλέων
Wp: -έως mY: cf. 416. 24, 417. 28   14 ἡμῖν mWY: ὑμῖν p
15 καὶ nos, dubitanter: ὂν codd.   16 μάλιστα hic p: post 17
πράξεων mWY   17–18 φιλότιμον ... ἔνδοξον p: -ος ... -ος

and coming down from on high to earth, makes haste back again to its kindred. Thus they say Helen and the Dioscuri and Heracles share the community of the gods. Let us therefore sing his praises as a hero, or rather bless him as a god, make paintings of him, placate him as a superhuman being.'

The length of this speech should be moderate. It should also be observed that it is possible to compose a consolation both in the 'intense' mode and in the 'non-oratorical' mode.

[X] THE ADDRESS (*PROSPHŌNĒTIKOS*)

An 'address' is a speech of praise to a governor spoken by an individual. In treatment it is an encomium, but not a complete one, since it does not include all the elements of the encomium. Strictly speaking, the 'address' is produced when the speech draws its amplification from the actual deeds performed by its subject.

It is divided as follows. After the prooemia, you should pass to the praise of the emperors. This should be given briefly, divided under the heads of war and peace, but without lengthy expansion, since this is not a complete encomium of the emperors. The topic is adopted in the address in order to increase the praise given to the governor. After the section on the emperors, you come naturally to the praise of the person addressed. Here you should say that the emperors are to be admired also for their choice of governors. 'What a splendid man they have sent down to us, to save our people!' You should then proceed immediately to praise the governor, if possible (as I said) on the ground of his actions—this indeed is best—but if his family is very honourable and celebrated you should make a brief reference to this, and then go on to his actions, especially those in hand, based on the present occasion and his present command. You should also make a reference to any notable actions he has performed in the course of any

mWY 18 μνημονεύσεις + ἔνδοξα mWY 20 ἀπὸ . . . ἀρχῆς
codd.: del. Bursian, fortasse recte 21-2 ἂν τύχῃ . . . ἔχῃ
mWY: εἰ τύχοι . . . ἔχει p

πράξεων. | ὑπομεριεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαινον
25 εἰς | τέσσαρας ἀρετάς, φρόνησιν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύ-
νην, ἀνδρείαν· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ φρονήσει τὴν ἐμπειρίαν
τῶν νόμων, τὴν παίδευσιν ἐπαινέσεις, τὸ προορᾶσθαι
τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀκριβῶς βουλεύε-
σθαι δύνασθαι, τὸ βασιλεῦσιν ἀντιγράφειν περὶ ὧν
30 ἂν ἐπιστέλλωσιν οὕτως ὥστε ἐκείνους ἐπαινεῖν καὶ
θαυμάζειν, τὸ διελέγχειν τοὺς ῥήτορας, τὸ γινώσκειν ἐκ
προοιμίων τὴν ὅλην διάνοιαν τῆς ὑποθέσεως. ἐν ᾧ καὶ
416 καιρὸν ἕξεις Δημοσθένους μνήμην καὶ Νέστορος καὶ νομο-
θετῶν | ἀρίστων ποιεῖσθαι· τεχνικὸν γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον
μέρος ἀρετῆς καὶ συγκρίσεις οἰκείας παραλαμβάνειν,
ἵνα ὁ λόγος δι' αὐτῶν πλείους τὰς αὐξήσεις λαμβάνῃ.
5 ἐν δὲ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ πάλιν ἐρεῖς τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπη-
κόους φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ ἥμερον τοῦ τρόπου, τὸ ὁμι-
λητικὸν πρὸς τοὺς προσιόντας, τὸ καθαρὸν ἐν ταῖς
δίκαις καὶ ἀδωροδόκητον, τὸ μὴ πρὸς χάριν μηδὲ πρὸς
ἀπέχθειαν κρίνειν τὰς δίκας, τὸ μὴ προτιμᾶν τοὺς
10 εὐπόρους τῶν ἀδυνάτων, τὸ πόλεις ἐγείρειν· ἐν ᾧ
μέρει καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἔστω καὶ Φωκίων καὶ εἴ τις Ῥω-
μαίων ἐξ ἱστορίας λαμπρὸς ἐκ δικαιοσύνης. οὐχ ἁπλῶς
δὲ ἐρεῖς τὰς ἀρετάς, ὅτι δίκαιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου
ἐπιχειρήσεις πάλιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄδικος, οὐκ ὀργίλος, οὐ
15 δυσπρόσοδος, οὐ χάριτι κρίνων, οὐ δωροδέκτης· πέφυκε
γὰρ ὁ λόγος αὔξησιν λαμβάνειν ὅταν καὶ τὰς κακίας
ἐξαιρῇς καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς αὔξειν ἐθέλῃς. μετὰ ταύτην
ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ πάλιν ἐρεῖς
τὴν περὶ τὰς ἡδονάς, τὴν περὶ γέλωτα ἐγκράτειαν.
20 ἐνταῦθα Διομήδης ἔχει καιρὸν πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν ὁ
τιτρώσκων τὴν Ἀφροδίτην διὰ σωφροσύνην· μόνος
γὰρ ἀνάλωτος τῶν Ἀφροδίτης παθῶν. καὶ Ἱππόλυτος
δ' ἔστω· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος σώφρων ὑπείληπται. τὴν
δὲ ἀνδρείαν θαυμάσεις ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας παρρη-
25 σίας, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων πρὸς τὰ λυποῦντα μά-
χης, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὀκλάζειν μηδὲ ἐνδιδόναι πρὸς φόβους,

27 νόμων p : λόγων καὶ mWY   31 διελέγχειν p : ἐλέγχειν
mWY   γινώσκειν p : προγινώσκειν mWY
416. 1 μνήμην hic mW (μνήμης Y), post 2 ἀρίστων p   3 οἰκείας
p : ἰδίας mWY   4 ἵνα ... λαμβάνῃ p : om. mWY   7 προσ-
ιόντας p : ἰόντας mWY   8 μηδὲ mWY : μὴ p·   12 δὲ

earlier command. Subdivide the praise of actions into the four virtues; wisdom, justice, temperance, courage. Under wisdom, you should praise his legal experience, education, foresight, capacity for clear decisions about present needs, capacity for replying to emperors' letters so as to earn their praise and admiration, critical understanding of orators, ability to judge the whole sense of the subject from the prooemium. At this point you will have a chance of mentioning Demosthenes, Nestor, and the best lawgivers; for it is good craftsmanship to add appropriate comparisons to each division of virtue, so that the speech acquires thereby a greater number of amplifications.

Under justice, you should include humanity to subjects, gentleness of character and approachability, integrity and incorruptibility in matters of justice, freedom from partiality and from prejudice in giving judicial decisions, equal treatment of rich and poor, encouragement of city development. In this division Aristides, Phocion, and those Roman heroes who are celebrated in history for justice, should all have a place.

Do not simply state virtues—e.g. 'he is just'—but treat the topic also by considering the opposite: he is not unjust, not irascible, not inaccessible, not judging by favouritism, not a taker of bribes. The speech naturally gains amplification when you *both* remove the vices *and* seek to amplify the virtues.

Proceed next to temperance. Here you should speak of his self-restraint in pleasures and laughter. Diomedes may be introduced by way of comparison, because he wounded Aphrodite because of his temperance; for he alone was immune to the emotions of Aphrodite. Let him also be a second Hippolytus, for he likewise is taken to have been temperate.

Courage should be admired on the grounds of the governor's frankness to the emperors, his struggle against unpleasant circumstances for his subjects' sake, and his not bowing the knee or giving way in

p: om. mWY   15 δυσπρόσοδος mWY: δυσπρόσωπος p   δωρο-
δέκτης p: δωροδόκος mWY (magis Atticum)   20 ὁ mWY: ὅτι p
21 διὰ + τὴν mWY   24 θαυμάσεις p: θαυμάσιος mWY   τοὺς
βασιλέας p: βασιλέα mWY (cf. 415. 9, 417. 28)

ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ Αἴαντες καὶ Περικλῆς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ
εἴ τις τοιοῦτος. οὐκ ἐνδιατρίψεις δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ ἐπεξε-
λεύσῃ ἀκριβῶς ἅπασι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγκωμίου τελείου), ἀλλὰ
30 γέγραπται μὲν ἐνθάδε ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ εἴρηται, ἵνα μηδὲν
παραλιπεῖν δοκῶμεν ἀλλ᾽ ἔχῃς εὐπορίαν πανταχόθεν·
χρήσῃ δὲ τοῖς κατεπείγουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ ὁ προσφωνητι-
417 κὸς ἐγκωμίου εἰκών, ἀκροθιγῶς τῶν ἐγκωμιαστικῶν
τόπων ἐφαπτόμενος, οὐκ ἐνδιατρίβων δ᾽ ὡς ⟨ἐν⟩ ἐγκωμίῳ
τελείῳ, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι διὰ φιλοτιμίαν ὥσπερ τελείαν
ὑπόθεσιν τὸν προσφωνητικὸν ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

5 Ἥξεις μετὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπὶ σύγκρισιν· ἄλλο γάρ
ἐστι τὸ συγκρίνειν ἀθρόως, καὶ ἄλλο τὸ κατὰ μέρος.
κατὰ | μέρος μὲν γάρ ἐστι συγκρίνειν, οἷον ὅταν
δικαιοσύνην συγκρίνωμεν δικαιοσύνῃ, φρόνησιν φρο-
νήσει, ἀθρόως δέ, ὅταν ἀρχὴν ὅλην πρὸς ὅλην ἀρχήν.
10 ἐρεῖς δ᾽ ὡς Ὅμηρος

πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δίωκε δέ μιν μέγ᾽ ἀμείνων.

13 οἷον πολλοὶ πολλάκις γεγόνασιν ἄρχοντες καλοὶ κἀγα-
θοί, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης,
15 ἐπαινετοὶ μὲν κἀκεῖνοι καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν
ἐνδεεῖς, ἀλλὰ σοῦ βελτίων οὐδείς· ὑπερβέβηκας γὰρ
ἀθρόως ἅπαντας. εἶτα ἐπίλογον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐργάσῃ.
(πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐπιλόγου ἐὰν τὴν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ λόγος,
βουληθῇς ἐπαινέσαι—οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιήσεις, πλὴν
20 εἰ βούλοιο—ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς ὧδέ πως, ὅτι λαμ-
πρὰ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἄνωθεν λιμένων κατασκευαῖς καὶ
οἰκοδομημάτων κάλλεσι καὶ ἀέρων εὐκρασίαις καὶ τεί-
χεσι, σὺ δ᾽ αὐτὴν περιβλεπτοτέραν ἀπειργάσω.) οἱ δὲ
ἐπίλογοι ἕξουσιν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· ἀναθῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ
25 ξίφος μὴ Ἄρεϊ μηδὲ Δειμῷ μηδὲ Φόβῳ, τοῖς Ἄρεος
παισίν, ἀλλὰ Δίκῃ καὶ Θέμιδι ἀνάθημα καθαρὸν φό-
νων, καὶ εὐαγεῖς χοροὺς ἱστάτωσαν αἱ πόλεις, ᾀδέτω-

27 καὶ οἱ p : ὡς καὶ mWY   28 εἴ τις τοιοῦτος WYp : om. m
417. 2 δὲ mW : om. Yp   ἐν addidimus   3 εἰ Yp :
πλὴν εἰ mW   ὥσπερ mWY : ὡς πρὸς p   4 τὸν p : om. mWY
6 κατὰ μέρος mWY : μερικῶς p   7 γὰρ mWY : οὖν p   ἐστι +
πολλάκις τὸ p   8 δικαιοσύνην . . . δικαιοσύνῃ mp : -ῃ . . . -ην
WY   18 καὶ ante τὴν transp. Nitsche   19 βουληθῇς Finckh :
-θεὶς codd.   23 ἀπειργάσω p : αὐτοῖς ἀπειργάσω W : εἰργάσω mY
27-8 αἱ πόλεις . . . εὐφημείτωσαν p : om. mWY

the face of fears. Here come the Ajaxes, Pericles, Alcibiades, and the like. You should not, however, dwell on these or go into them in detail. This belongs to the full encomium. I have, however, set these points down here and explained them, so as not to give the impression of leaving anything out, but to ensure that you have plenty of material of every kind. You should, however, make use of the essentials only; the 'address' is a copy of an encomium, touching lightly on encomiastic topics, but not dwelling on them as in a full encomium, unless indeed one has the aim of working up the 'address' as a complete subject in itself.

After the virtues, proceed to the comparison. Over-all comparisons and separate comparisons are distinct. An instance of a separate comparison is when we compare justice with justice, wisdom with wisdom. An over-all comparison is made when we compare one whole tenure of office with another. You may say with Homer,

> Ahead ran an excellent man, but a much better man
>   was behind him.

For example: 'There have often been good and excellent governors, some in Asia, some in Europe; they are to be praised and lack nothing that constitutes virtue. But none is better than you. You have surpassed them all.'

After all this, you will come to construct the epilogue. (However if you wish first to praise the city where you are speaking—this is not always to be done, but only if you wish—you may speak of it here thus: 'Long has our city been resplendent with its harbour works and beautiful buildings, its temperate climate, its fortifications; but you have made it more distinguished still.') The epilogues themselves will contain other material of like nature. 'Let us dedicate this sword, not to Ares or to Terror or Fear, the children of Ares, but to Justice and Themis, a gift pure of bloodshed. Let the cities establish holy choruses,

σαν, εὐφημείτωσαν, ψηφίσματα γράφωμεν πρὸς βασιλέας,
ἐπαινοῦντες | θαυμάζοντες αἰτοῦντες χρόνους εἰς ἀρχὴν πλεί-
30 ονας, | πέμπωμεν εἰκόνας εἰς Δελφούς, εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, Ἀθή-
ναζε, πρῶτον πληρώσαντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἡμετέρας·
γραφέσθω δὲ νῦν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων κύκλῳ τὸ γένος τῶν
418 ὑπηκόων, εὐφημοῦντας ἅπαντας, ἐπικροτοῦντας, προη-
γείσθωσαν ⟨ἐν⟩ τῷ πίνακι καὶ πόλεις ἐν γυναικῶν σχή-
ματι, | φαιδραὶ καὶ γεγηθυῖαι. καὶ ὅσα ἐνδέχεται ἀπὸ τῶν
πραγμάτων τούτοις προσθήσεις.

5   ΠΕΡΙ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ

Λέγεται μὲν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτάφιος ὁ καθ' ἕκα-
στον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λε-
γόμενος λόγος, εἴληφε δὲ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐδαμόθεν
ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ σήματι, οἷοί
10 εἰσιν οἱ τρεῖς Ἀριστείδου λόγοι· οἵους γὰρ ἂν εἶπεν ὁ πολέ-
μαρχος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτῳ τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἀποδέ-
δοται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, τοιούτους ὁ σοφιστὴς συνέταξεν.
ἐκνενίκηκε δὲ διὰ τὸ χρόνον πολὺν παρεληλυθέναι | ἐγ-
κώμιον γενέσθαι· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἔτι θρηνήσειε παρ' Ἀθη|ναίοις
15 τοὺς πρὸ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν πεπτωκότας; Θουκυ|δίδης δὲ
λέγων ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥειτοῖς κατ'
ἀρχὰς | τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἐγκώμιον
μόνον εἶπε τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεσημήνατο ὅτι πεσεῖν
ἐδύναντο· ἀλλὰ καὶ ⟨τὸν⟩ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρήνου τόπον ἐφυλάξατο
20 διὰ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν χρείαν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ῥήτορος ⟨ποιεῖν⟩
δακρύειν | οὓς προετρέπετο πολεμεῖν· ἔθηκε δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
παρα|μυθίας τόπον. οὕτω καὶ Ἀριστείδης, εἴ ποτε ἔλεγε
τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἐπὶ τοῖς προσφάτως πεσοῦσιν,
ἐχρήσατο ἂν τοῖς τοῦ ἐπιταφίου κεφαλαίοις, ὅσα ἐστὶν
25 αὐτῷ οἰκεῖα· νῦν δὲ χρόνος πολὺς παρεληλυθὼς οὐκέτι
δίδωσι χώραν οὔτε θρήνοις οὔτε παραμυθίαις· λήθη

28 γράφωμεν p: -ομεν mWY   βασιλέας p: -έα mWY (cf. 415. 9,
416. 24)   29 θαυμάζοντες p: -ομεν mWY   30 πέμπωμεν
p: -ομεν mWY   31 πρῶτον p: πρὸς ἕτερον τοῦτον m: πρὸς
ἕτερον τούτων Y: πρὸς ἤπειρον τούτων W: πρότερον τούτων Kroll
τὰς ... ἡμετέρας p: τὰς πόλεις WY: om. m   32 ἔχων Spengel:
ἔχον p: ἐκ τῶν mY: om. W
    418. 1 ὑπηκόων+τοὺς mY, +καὶ W   2 suppl. Nitsche   σχή-
ματι mWY: -ασι p   3 ἀπὸ p: om. mWY   418. 5 sqq. hoc caput
habent PmWp   6 μὲν p: om. PmW   9 σήματι Westermann:
σώματι codd.   10 γὰρ ἂν PW: γὰρ m: om. p   16 ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥειτοῖς

let them sing, let them glorify him. Let us compose decrees to send to the emperors in praise and admiration, and in prayer for many years of his rule. Let us send statues to Delphi, to Olympia, to Athens—first, however, filling our own cities with them. Let him be depicted with his subject people all around him, all giving thanks and applauding. Let cities lead the procession in the picture, represented as women, bright-faced and rejoicing.'

You should add to this whatever the circumstances allow.

[XI]   THE FUNERAL SPEECH
                  (*EPITAPHIOS*)

At Athens, *epitaphios*—funeral speech—is the name of the speech delivered each year over those who fell in the wars. It is so called simply because of its being spoken over the actual grave. Aristides' three speeches are an example; the sophist composed orations such as would have been delivered by the polemarch, to whom this privilege is assigned at Athens. But because of the passage of time, it has come to be predominantly an encomium. Who could lament before the Athenians for those who fell 500 years before? Thucydides, however, writing a funeral speech for those who fell at Rheitoi at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, did not simply pronounce an encomium on the men, but made the point that they were capable of meeting death; he was cautious, however, of the topic of lamentation because of the needs of the war—it was not the orator's business ⟨to cause⟩ to weep those whom he was exhorting to fight. He also added the consolatory topic. So Aristides, if he had spoken these speeches over the recently fallen, would have used the headings of the funeral speech which belong especially to it. As it is, however, the long passage of time removes the occasion for lamentations or consolations. Forgetfulness of sorrow has

Westermann: ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥητοῖς PW : om. mp : secl. Bursian   18 ⟨τὸ⟩ πεσεῖν Bursian   19 ἐδύναντο Wp : ἐδύνατο Pm, probat Bursian ⟨τὸν⟩ et τόπον Finckh : τὸ ποσὸν PWp : τὸν ποσὸν m   20 οὐ γὰρ Spengel : ὅπερ codd.   ⟨ποιεῖν⟩ dubitanter addidimus: ⟨εἰς⟩ δάκρυ⟨α συγχ⟩εῖν Nitsche

τε γὰρ ἐγγέγονε τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὃν παρα-
μυθησόμεθα οὐκ ἔχομεν· οὔτε γὰρ πατέρες ἐκείνων
οὔτε τὸ γένος γνώριμον. ἄτοπον δὲ ὅλως εἰ καὶ γνώ-
30 ριμον τυγχάνοι, καὶ προσέτι ἄκαιρον τὸ μετὰ πολὺν
χρόνον ἐγείρειν εἰς θρῆνον ἐθέλειν κεκοιμισμένης ἤδη
419 τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λύπης. οὐκοῦν ὁ μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν
λεγόμενος ἐπιτάφιος καθαρόν ἐστιν ἐγκώμιον, ὡς Ἰσο-
κράτους ὁ Εὐαγόρας. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάνυ μετὰ πολὺν λέγοιτο,
ἀλλ' ἑπτά που μηνῶν ἢ ὀκτὼ παρελθόντων, ἐγκώμιον
5 μὲν λέγειν δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει χρῆσθαι τῷ παραμυ-
θητικῷ κεφαλαίῳ οὐδὲν κωλύσει, πλὴν ἐὰν μὴ συγγε-
νὴς ἐγγυτάτω τυγχάνῃ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος ὁ λέγων. τούτῳ
γὰρ οὐδὲ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν δίδωσιν ἀνάπαυλαν τοῦ πάθους
ἡ μνήμη· διόπερ οὗτος σώσει καὶ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ
10 παθητικοῦ λόγου τὸν χαρακτῆρα.

Διαιρεθήσεται δὲ ὁ ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, ὁ παθητικός,
ὁ ἐπὶ προσφάτῳ τῷ τεθνεῶτι λεγόμενος, τοῖς ἐγκωμια-
στικοῖς κεφαλαίοις, πανταχοῦ ἐφεξῆς ἑκάστῳ τῶν
κεφαλαίων παραμιγνυμένου τοῦ πάθους ἐκ μεταχει-
15 ρίσεως οὕτως· ὦ πῶς συνοδύρωμαι τῷ γένει τὸ πάθος,
ὦ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τοῦ θρήνου πόθεν ποιήσομαι; ἀπὸ
τοῦ γένους εἰ βούλεσθε πρῶτον· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸ κρη-
πὶς τῶν ὅλων. οὐκοῦν ὅτι λαμπρὸν τοῦτο ἐρεῖς, καὶ
τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἐνδοξότατον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ λαμ-
20 πάδα ἡμμένην ἐν τῷ γένει τὸν πεπτωκότα τοῦτον
δαίμων ἀπέσβεσε. χρὴ γὰρ τὰ κεφάλαια μὴ καθαρεύειν
τῶν θρήνων, ἀλλὰ κἂν γένος λέγῃς, θρηνεῖν κατ'
ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους τὸν πεπτωκότα καὶ μεσοῦντος τοῦ
γένους καὶ τελευτῶντος, κἂν ἕτερόν τι κεφάλαιον. εἶτα
25 μετὰ τὸ γένος τὰ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐρεῖς· ὦ
ματαίων μὲν ἐκείνων συμβόλων, ματαίων δὲ ὀνειράτων
ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ φανέντων ὅτε ἐτίκτετο, ὦ δυστυχοῦς μὲν
τῆς ἐνεγκούσης, ὠδῖνος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις δυστυχεστέρας·
†ὤδινε† γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ σύμβολα· ὁ δεῖνα δὲ προεφήτευσεν

27 ἐγγέγονε Pp : γέγονε mW   τῷ χρόνῳ m : τοῦ χρόνου W : τῷ θρήνῳ
Pp   29–30 ἄτοπον . . . γνώριμον Pp : om. mW   30 τυγχάνοι
+τὸ γένος p   ἄκαιρον τὸ mW : ἀκούοιτο P : ἀκροῷτο p
419. 2 ὡς +ὁ P   2–3 Ἰσοκράτους ὁ Εὐαγόρας Pp : Ἰσοκράτης
ἐν (ἐν om. W) Εὐαγόρᾳ mW   3 πολὺν Wp : πολὺ Pm   λέγοιτο +
χρόνον W   9 διόπερ οὗτος σώσει p : διόπερ οὗτως ὡσεὶ P : διὸ
παρατηρήσει mW   10 χαρακτῆρα + καὶ W   15 οὕτως· ὦ

come with time, and we have no one to comfort, since neither their fathers nor their families are known. And even if the family were known, it would be absurd and quite out of place to aim to rouse them to lamentation at this distance of time, when their grief has long been assuaged.

The funeral speech delivered long after the event is therefore a pure encomium, like Isocrates' *Evagoras.*

If such a speech is delivered not after a long interval, but say after seven or eight months have passed, it is right to make it an encomium, but there is nothing to prevent the use of the consolatory heading at the end. An exception is if the speaker is very close kin to the deceased; memory then does not give him relief from sorrow even after a year. Such a speaker should therefore preserve the tone of an emotional speech even a year after the event.

The emotional funeral speech, spoken over one recently dead, should be divided according to the headings of encomia, the emotion being combined with each heading in turn methodically as follows: 'Oh, how shall I share the family's grief at what has befallen? Oh, where shall I begin my lamentations? With the family first, if you will let me, for this is the foundation of everything.' You should then say that the family is a brilliant one, more splendidly glorious than any in the city: 'The dead man was, as it were, a shining torch lit in that family, and Fate has put it out.' None of the various sections of the speech should be without an element of lamentation. Whether you are handling 'family' or any other heading, you must begin, continue, and end with a lament for the departed.

After 'family' proceed to 'birth'. 'O futile portents, O futile dreams that appeared when he was born, O unhappy mother, unhappier pangs of childbirth! His mother saw (?) portents, and they told her (?)

πῶς mW : οὕτως ὅπως P : οὕτω πως p   συνοδύρωμαι nos : -ομαι codd.
16 ὢ PmWB : p non legitur   17 αὐτὸ codd. : αὐτῷ Kroll
17–18 κρηπὶς τῶν p : πιστῶν P : χρὴ πιστῶν mW   18 λαμπρὸν
Westermann : -ὸς codd.   ἐρεῖς ante ὅτι transp. W   19 ἐνδοξό-
τατον Westermann : -ος Pp : -ων mW   22 λέγῃς Westermann :
λέγῃ vel λέγοι Pmp : om. W   28 τούτοις codd. : τούτῳ Bursian
29 ὤδινε codd. : fortasse εἶδε   ὁ δεῖνα δὲ Vind., edd. : ὠδῖνα δὲ
P : δεινὰ δὲ mWp : ὠδῖνος δὲ Soffel   προεφήτευσε + δὲ m

30 †αὐτὰ† κάλλιστα, τῶν δὲ οἰκείων καὶ τῶν φίλων εὔελπις
ἦν ἕκαστος, ἔθυον δὲ θεοῖς γενεθλίοις, βωμοὶ δὲ ἡμάτ-
τοντο, ἦγε δὲ πανήγυριν ὁ σύμπας οἶκος· δαίμων δέ,
420 ὡς ἔοικε, ἐπετώθασε τοῖς γινομένοις. παρεδίδοτο δὲ
τροφεῦσιν ὁ παῖς· κρείττους εἶχον ἐν τούτῳ τὰς ἐλπί-
δας οἱ τρέφοντες. ἀλλ᾽ οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν, καὶ γάρ τοι νῦν
οὗτος ἀνήρπασται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπεξε-
5 λεύσῃ κεφαλαίοις τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς, αὔξων δὲ καὶ
τὸν θρῆνον. δεῖ δήπου καὶ ἡπλωμένην ⟨εἶναι τὴν⟩ ἀπαγ-
γελίαν | τῶν θρήνων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ λαμπρότης τῶν προσώπων
φαίνηται, ἐπιστρέφῃς δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν
θρῆνον. καὶ ὕλη σοι γινέσθω τὰ ἐγκώμια τῶν θρήνων.
10 ἐγκωμιάσεις δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐγκωμια-
στικῶν, γένους, γενέσεως, φύσεως, ἀνατροφῆς, παι-
δείας, ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τεμεῖς δὲ τὴν φύσιν δίχα, εἴς
τε τὸ τοῦ σώματος κάλλος, ὅπερ πρῶτον ἐρεῖς, εἴς τε
τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐφυΐαν. πιστώσῃ δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τριῶν
15 κεφαλαίων τῶν ἑξῆς, λέγω δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνατροφῆς καὶ
τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ἐργαζόμενος γὰρ
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐγκώμιον διὰ τούτων ἑκάστου ἐρεῖς μὲν τὴν
ἀνατροφήν, ὅτι ἐνέφηνε διὰ τούτων τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν
εὐφυΐαν εὐθὺς τρεφόμενος καὶ ὀξύτητα—δευτέραν τιθεὶς
20 ταύτην, ⟨πρώτην⟩ δὲ τὴν εὐφυΐαν—ἐρεῖς δὲ τὴν παιδείαν,
ὅτι | ἐδείκνυε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσχεῖν τῶν ἡλίκων. διὰ δὲ
τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων πιστώσῃ τὸ κεφάλαιον οὕτως, ὅτι
δίκαιον παρεῖχεν ἑαυτόν, φιλάνθρωπον, ὁμιλητικόν,
ἥμερον. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐγκωμιαστικῶν
25 εἰσιν αἱ πράξεις, ἅστινας θήσεις μετὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύ-
ματα· οὐκ ἀφέξῃ δὲ τοῦ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πράξει θρῆνον
ἐπεμβαλεῖν. θήσεις δὲ μετὰ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ
τῆς τύχης τόπον, λέγων ὅτι παρωμάρτησεν αὐτῷ καὶ

of the fairest destiny; every relative and friend was full of hope; they sacrificed to the gods of birth, altars ran with blood, the whole household held holiday. But, it seems, Fate mocked it all. The child was entrusted to foster parents; they had the greatest hopes of him. But alas, alas! Now he has been snatched away.' You should develop the other encomiastic headings in a similar way, though at the same time amplifying the lamentation.

The expression of the lamentations must be developed in full so that the distinction of the persons concerned can be seen, while you (?) move the listener again to lamentation. Let the encomia be your raw material for the lamentation.

You should base your encomium on all the encomiastic topics: family, birth, nature, nurture, education, accomplishments. You should divide 'nature' into two—physical beauty (to be mentioned first) and mental endowment. You should then confirm this by means of the three succeeding headings nurture, education, and accomplishments. In working up the encomium under each of these heads, you should say (i) as regards nurture, that 'he displayed the endowment of his mind in this way, as soon as he began to grow, and his quickness also' (placing this second, and endowment first); (ii) as regards education, he showed here also that he was ahead of his contemporaries; (iii) as regards accomplishments, you should confirm the heading by saying that he showed himself just, humane, approachable, and gentle. The most important section of an encomium, however, is that of actions, which should be placed after accomplishments. Do not refrain from inserting a lamentation under each 'action'.

After 'actions' you should put in the topic of Fortune, saying that 'favourable Fortune accom-

Bursian   20 ⟨πρώτην⟩ nos   vulgo ante καὶ ὀξύτητα (19) interpun-
gunt   τὴν + τῆς ψυχῆς PmW   21 ἐδείκνυε codd.: ἐδόκει
Kroll, bene   locum ita refingit Bursian: ὅτι ἐδείκνυε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ
τὴν εὐφυΐαν καὶ ἐπιστοῦτο προσχεῖν κτλ.   προσχεῖν mWp: προέχειν
P: num προσχών?   25 εἰσιν Westermann: οἷον codd. (p legi
nequit)   27 ἐπεμβαλεῖν mWp: -βάλλειν P   28 τύχης
mWp: ψυχῆς P

δεξιά τις τύχη ζῶντι ἐφ' ἅπασι, πλοῦτος, παίδων
30 εὐτυχία, φίλων περὶ αὐτὸν ἔρωτες, τιμὴ παρὰ βασι-
λέων, τιμὴ παρὰ πόλεων. εἶτα τὰς συγκρίσεις μετὰ
ταῦτα θήσεις πρὸς ὅλην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὡς κεφάλαιον
421 ἴδιον, οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος μὲν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ κεφαλαίῳ
συγκρίσεως ⟨ἦν⟩ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ κεφάλαιον ὃ λέγεις παρα-
λαμβάνειν δεῖ. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὲ προδήλως πρὸς ὅλην
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν παραλήψῃ τὴν σύγκρισιν, οἷον ἄνωθεν
5 ἐπιδραμὼν τὰ κεφάλαια ἐρεῖς ὅτι ἐὰν τοίνυν ἐξετάσωμεν
ταῦτα σύμπαντα περί τινος τῶν ἡμιθέων ἢ τῶν νῦν
ἐναρέτων, οὐδενὸς δευτέρῳ τῷδε ταῦτα †ἄμεινον†
ὑπῆρξεν· δεῖ γὰρ καλοῦ καλλίονα ἀποδεικνύναι ἢ
ὁτῳοῦν ἐνδόξῳ ἐφάμιλλον, οἷον ἢ τῷ Ἡρακλέους βίῳ τὸν
10 βίον αὐτοῦ ἢ τῷ Θησέως παραβάλλοντα. ἐπὶ τούτοις
πάλιν κεφάλαιον θήσεις τὸν θρῆνον, ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα
τοῦτον ὀδύρομαι, ἐργασίαν δοὺς ἰδιάζουσαν, καθα-
ρεύουσαν λοιπὸν ἐγκωμίων, οἶκτον κινῶν, εἰς δάκρυα
συγχέων τοὺς ἀκούοντας. μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον
15 θήσεις κεφάλαιον ἕτερον τὸ παραμυθητικὸν πρὸς ἅπαν
τὸ γένος, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ θρηνεῖν· πολιτεύεται γὰρ μετὰ
τῶν θεῶν, ἢ τὸ Ἠλύσιον ἔχει πεδίον. ἰδίᾳ δ' αὖ πάλιν
τὰ νοήματα μεριεῖς τῶν κεφαλαίων οὕτως· ἰδίᾳ μὲν
πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐξάρας
20 πρότερον τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γυναικός, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς
φαῦλον καὶ εὐτελὲς διαλέγεσθαι δοκῇς πρόσωπον· ἐπὶ
γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ φέρει ψόγον ὁ λόγος ἄνευ τινὸς
προκατασκευῆς λεγόμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀναγκαίως
προκαταλήψῃ τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῇ ἀρετῇ τῆς γυναικός.
25 ἐὰν δὲ νέαν ἄγωσι πάνυ τὴν ἡλικίαν οἱ παῖδες, συμβου-
λευτικὸν μᾶλλον θήσεις τὸν τόπον, οὐ παραμυθητικόν·
οὐ γὰρ αἰσθάνονται τοῦ πάθους· μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτω
προσθήσεις τινὰ τῷ παραμυθητικῷ συμβουλὴν καὶ
ὑποθήκην πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, εἰ
30 ἄγαν νέοι τυγχάνοιεν ὄντες, τὴν μὲν ζηλοῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας

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31 πόλεων mWp: -ως P   32 πρὸς ... ὑπόθεσιν post 421. 1
ἴδιον transp. W
    421. 1 οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος p: οὐ κατ- PW: οὐκ ἀντ- m   μὲν codd.:
secl. Séguier de St. Brisson   ἐφ' p: ἐν P: om. mW   2 συγκρί-
σεως p: συγκρίνεις vel -ινεῖς PmW   ⟨ἦν⟩ suppl. Bursian   5 ὅτι
ἐὰν m: ὅτι ἂν PW: ὅταν p   7 δευτέρῳ τῷδε p: δεύτερος τοῦδε
PmW: δεύτερος· τῷ δὲ Bursian   ἄμεινον codd.: ἀμείνω Bursian

panied him in his life in every way; wealth, happiness of children, love of friends, honour from emperors, honour from cities'. Following all this, you should put in comparisons relating to the whole subject, treating them as a separate head, but not abstaining from any comparison relating to an individual heading which it is necessary to add for the purposes of that heading. At this point you should openly take up a comparison relating to the whole subject. For example, having first gone over the headings briefly, you can say: 'When we consider all these points with reference to some demigod, or man of note of the present age, he of whom we are speaking is second to none and indeed has these qualities to a higher degree (?).' For one must show him to be nobler than the noble or fit to rival any man of distinction—for example by comparing his life with that of Heracles or Theseus.

After this, insert the lamentation again as a separate section; 'This is why I grieve for him.' Give it a special treatment, free now of encomiastic elements, exciting pity and making the hearers dissolve in tears.

Following this section, insert the section of consolation to the whole family. 'No need to lament; he is sharing the community of the gods, or dwells in the Elysian Fields.' Divide the thoughts of these sections as follows: a separate address to the children, a separate address to the wife, first giving greater dignity to her personality, to avoid giving the impression of addressing a humble or mean person. With a man, no blame is conveyed by an address made without preliminary preparation, but with a woman it is necessary to win the audience over in advance by demonstrating her excellence.

If the children are very young, you should deliver a speech of advice rather than of consolation, for they do not feel what has happened. Or rather, you should add to the consolation a measure of advice and counsel to the wife and children, if the children are very

9 ὅτῳοῦν Bursian: ὅταν codd.   10 παραβάλλοντα nos, dubitanter: παραβαλεῖν vel παραβάλλειν codd.   13 λοιπὸν Bursian: λοιπῶν mWp: om. P   15 ante πρὸς add. κοινῇ B et fortasse p 18 μεριεῖς post κεφαλαίων transp. p   19 ante ἐξάρας add. καὶ PmW   24 τῇ ἀρετῇ Kroll: τῆς -ῆς codd.: num ⟨διὰ⟩ τῆς ἀρετῆς? 26 τόπον PmW: λόγον p

καὶ ἀρίστας τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ἡρώνας, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας
ζηλοῦν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετάς. εἶτα ἐπαινέσεις τὸ
422 γένος, ὅτι οὐκ ἠμέλησαν τῆς κηδεύσεως οὐδὲ τῆς
κατασκευῆς τοῦ μνήματος. εἶτα εὐχὴν πρὸς τῷ τέλει
τοῦ λόγου θήσεις εὐχόμενος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν
ὑπάρξαι τὰ κάλλιστα.

5   ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΤΙΚΟΥ

Ἐν τῷ στεφανωτικῷ προοιμιάσῃ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ
στεφάνου καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὅτι φθάνει
μὲν τὸ κρεῖττον αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ στεφάνῳ τιμῶν, καὶ
ἡ σύμπασα οἰκουμένη τῷ μεγίστῳ στεφανοῦσα στεφάνῳ,
10 ταῖς εὐφημίαις· ἥκει δὲ παρά σε καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ ἡμε-
τέρα, οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν [σῶν] ὑπηκόων οὔτε δόξαις οὔτε
μεγέθεσιν οὔτε κάλλεσιν ἡττωμένη, λόγοις τε ἅμα
στεφανοῦσα καὶ χρυσῷ τῷ στέμματι. ἐὰν μὲν σχῇ γένος
εὐδόκιμον, μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον ποιήσῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ
15 ἐγκώμιον ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους· εἰ δὲ μή γε, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
τύχης ἀντὶ τοῦ γένους, ὅτι θεὸς κατοικτείρας ἄνωθεν
τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος καὶ βουληθεὶς ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις
παραμυθήσασθαι τὴν σὴν παρήγαγε γένεσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ
μοίρᾳ τῆς οἰκουμένης. εἶτα ἐρεῖς ἐὰν ἔχῃς παιδείαν καὶ
20 ἀνατροφὴν ἔνδοξον. εἶτα ἐφάψῃ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπὶ τού-
τοις, τῆς ἀνδρείας πρώτης· ὅτι ⟨καὶ⟩ γάρ τοι διατελεῖς ἐν
δουρὶ καὶ ἵππῳ καὶ ἀσπίδι ἄθλους μεγίστους ἀγωνιζό-
μενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑφ' ἥλιον, καθάπερ Ἡρακλέα φασὶ τὸν
Διός· ἐν ᾧ μνημονεύσεις ὅτι βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν τελέως
25 ἀπολώλασιν, οἱ δὲ δυστυχοῦσιν, οἱ δ' αἰχμάλωτοι παρ'
ἡμᾶς ἤχθησαν, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀντέχειν δύνανται, ὥσπερ
οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου βολὰς ἀτενίζειν τολμῶντες. μετὰ
τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμόν ἐστιν, ἐρεῖς
λοιπὸν περὶ τῶν κατὰ εἰρήνην, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπάξεις
30 ὅτι τοιγάρτοι διὰ τοῦτο στεφανοῖ σε ἡ πόλις, ἅμα μὲν
χάριτας ἐκτιννῦσα ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁσημέραι εὐεργετούμεθα,

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31 ἡρώνας Westermann : ἥρωας codd.   τοὺς δὲ παῖδας p : τοῖς
δὲ παισὶ PmW   32 τὰς . . . ἀρετάς p : τὰ τοῦ πατρός PmW
422. 6 προοιμιάσῃ p : -άσεις PmW   7 ante ὅτι add. τοῦ PmW
8 τὸ κρεῖττον Bursian : ὁ κρεῖττον P : ὁ κρεῖττων mWp (post βασιλείᾳ
transp. W)   αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ PWp : -ῆς τῆς -ας Spengel : -ὴν τὴν
-αν m   10 ἥκει Pm : ἡμεῖς Wp   11 seclusimus   21 num
τῆς ⟨δ'⟩?   ⟨καὶ⟩ γάρ τοι nos : ⟨τοι⟩γάρτοι Nitsche   22 καὶ

young: to the wife, to copy the good women of old and heroines; to the children to copy their father's virtues.

Next praise the family for not having neglected the funeral or the preparation of the memorial.

Finally, round off the speech with a prayer, asking the gods for the greatest blessings for them.

[XII]   THE CROWN SPEECH
                (*STEPHANŌTIKOS*)

In the Crown Speech, you should base your prooemium on the crown and the emperor's glory, and the thought that 'the divine power first honoured you with the crown of the empire, and the whole world crowns you with the greatest crown, fair fame; now our city comes before you, not inferior in glory or extent or beauty to any of those of your subjects, and crowns you with words and with the circlet of gold'.

If he has a distinguished family, you should pronounce the encomium of the emperor on the ground of family immediately after the prooemium. If not, take the ground of 'fortune' instead. 'God from on high took pity on the human race, and wishing to comfort it with prosperity, contrived that you should be born, for the good destiny of the world.' You may then speak (if you have cause) of the prestige of his education and nurture; next, touch on his virtues, and first on courage: 'You continue to fight the greatest fights, with spear, horse (?), and shield, on behalf of the whole world that lies under the sun, as they say did Heracles the son of Zeus.' Here you should mention that 'some of the barbarians have been wholly destroyed, some are in misery, some have been brought to us as slaves, some cannot resist, not daring, as it were, to raise their eyes to the rays of the sun'.

After 'courage'—under which head come deeds in war—you should speak of deeds of peace. After this again add: 'Therefore the city crowns you, paying its debt of gratitude for the benefits we receive every

ἵππῳ mW: om. Pp (cf. 387. 12)   ἄθλους + τοὺς PmW   23 ἥλιον mp: ἡλίῳ PW   27 ἡλίου P: σὰς mp: om. W   28 ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ nos: τὰ Pm: ἐν ᾗ τῆς ut videtur p: om. W   τὸν Pmp: om. W ἐστιν p: om. PmW   ἐρεῖς + καὶ PmW   31 ἐκτιννῦσα p: -τείνουσα P: -τίνουσα mW: cf. 425. 28

423 ἅμα δὲ καὶ δεομένη καὶ ἱκετεύουσα καὶ θαρροῦσα τῇ
σῇ περὶ πάντα φιλανθρωπίᾳ, ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἀποτεύξεται.
εἶτα ἀξιώσεις ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα. ἔστω δέ σοι
ὁ λόγος μὴ πλειόνων ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἢ καὶ δια-
5 κοσίων ἐπῶν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΙΚΟΥ

Ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὲρ πόλεως καμνούσης δέῃ πρεσβεῦσαι,
ἐρεῖς μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἃ προείρηται ἐν τῷ στεφανωτικῷ,
πανταχοῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ βασιλέως αὐξή-
10 σεις, καὶ ὅτι φιλοικτίρμων καὶ ἐλεῶν τοὺς δεομένους,
καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν κατέπεμψεν, ὅτι ᾔδει
αὐτὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ εὖ ποιοῦντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ
ὅταν εἴπῃς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ
τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθά, ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὴν μνήμην τῆς
15 πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἧς πρεσβεύεις. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ δύο τόπους
ἐργάσῃ, ἕνα μὲν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐναντίου αὐξήσεως,
οἷον· ἦν ποτε τὸ Ἴλιον πόλις λαμπρὰ καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη
τῶν ὑφ' ἥλιον πασῶν, καὶ ἀντέσχεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
Εὐρώπης πολέμους τὸ παλαιόν· εἶτα τὸν ἐκ διατυπώ-
20 σεως, ἐν ᾧ καὶ διασκευάσεις τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην, ὅτι
πέπτωκεν εἰς ἔδαφος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκείνων μνημονεύ-
σεις ἃ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν συμβάλλεσθαι
πέφυκε, καὶ ὧν εἰώθασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς προνοεῖσθαι,
οἷον ὅτι λουτρὰ συμπέπτωκεν, ὑδάτων ὀχετοὶ διεφθά-
25 ρησαν, κόσμος ὁ τῆς πόλεως συγκέχυται· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
ἐλεεινολογησάμενος ἐπάξεις ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ἱκετεύομεν,
δεόμεθα, πρὸ τῶν γονάτων πίπτομεν, τὰς ἱκετηρίας
προτείνομεν· νόμιζε γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ φωνὴν
εἶναι πάσης τῆς πόλεως, δι' ἧς [νόμιζε] καὶ παῖδας καὶ
30 γυναῖκας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ πρεσβύτας δάκρυα προχέειν,
424 παρακαλεῖν σε πρὸς ἔλεον. εἶτα ἀξιώσεις ἐπινεῦσαι
αὐτὸν δεχθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα.

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423. 4 πλειόνων p: πλείων mW: πλεῖον P   18 ἥλιον p: ἡλίῳ
PmW   20 διασκευάσεις Pp: διατυπώσεις mW   22 συμ-
βάλλεσθαι PmW: ἐκλαμβάνεσθαι p   24 post λουτρὰ ins. 432. 5–21
ὅτι ἀκούω . . . ἐπείγει m   27 τὰς mWp: om. P   29 seclusi-
mus   · 30 πρεσβύτας + καὶ πρεσβευτὰς p, unde coni. Bursian
καὶ πρεσβύτας καὶ πρεσβυτίδας

day, and at the same time begging and pleading with you, made confident by your humanity to the whole world that she will not fail in anything she seeks.' Then ask for the decree to be read.

This speech should not exceed 150–200 lines in length.

[XIII] THE AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH
(*PRESBEUTIKOS*)

If you have to act as ambassador on behalf of a city in trouble, you should say what has been prescribed for the Crown Speech, but amplify at every point the topic of the emperor's humanity, saying that he is merciful and pities those who plead with him, and that God sent him down to earth because he knew that he was merciful and a benefactor of mankind. When you have spoken both of his courage in war and of the blessings of peace, you should proceed to mention the city on whose behalf you are serving as ambassador. In this context, you should work up two topics. One is based on amplification of the contrary: e.g. 'Once upon a time Ilium was a splendid city, the most famous under the sun, and it stood its ground in olden days against wars coming from Europe.' Pass next to the topic of vivid description (*diatupōsis*), in which you should elaborate the present misfortune, how the city has fallen to the ground. You should mention in particular the things that contribute to utility and to life, for which emperors are used to taking thought, e.g. that the baths have fallen down, the aqueducts have been destroyed, the glory of the city is ruined. After such appeals to pity, you can add: 'This is why we come as your suppliants, plead with you, fall at your feet, stretch out our olive-branches of supplication. Believe that the ambassador's voice is the voice of the whole city, through which the children and the women, the adult men and the aged, pour forth their tears and plead with you to be compassionate.'

Then ask him to deign to receive the decree.

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΥ

Ἐὰν ἄρχοντα καλῆς εἰς πανήγυριν, ὡς ἔθος,
5 ἐρεῖς μὲν ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀφίξεως καὶ
τῆς κλήσεως, ὅτι πέπομφεν ἡ πόλις πάλαι μὲν καὶ ἄνευ
προφάσεως ποθοῦσα καὶ βουλομένη τῶν σοι προσόντων
ἐξαιρέτων μετέχειν ὁσημέραι· πολὺ δὲ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ
παρόντος, ὅτι καὶ πανήγυριν ἄγει καὶ δεῖται μείζονος
10 θεατοῦ πρὸς τὰ δρώμενα. εἶτα ἐρεῖς ἐγκώμιον τῆς
πανηγύρεως, ἐφ’ ἣν ἡ κλῆσις, εἰπὼν ὧδέ πως· ἵνα δὲ
γνῷς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐφ’ ἣν ἡ κλῆσις,
μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ἄρξομαι. καὶ ἐρεῖς [τῆς πανηγύρεως
ἐγκώμιον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐπαινῶν καὶ λέγων]
15 ὅτι τίθεται θεῶν τινι ἢ ἡρώων. μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς πανηγύ-
ρεως ἔπαινον ἐρεῖς ἐγκώμιον τῆς πόλεως, εἴ τι ἀρχαῖον
ἔχεις, εἶτα τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀναγκαίως. δεῖ γὰρ πρότερον | ἐγ-
κωμιάσαι τὴν πανήγυριν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸ | προηγού-
μενον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προηγουμένων ἄρχεσθαι μάλιστα δεῖ),
20 εἶτα τὴν | πόλιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἄρχοντα. προσθήσεις δὲ
πανταχοῦ τὸ τῆς πανηγύρεως· πλέον γάρ τι ἐχέτω καὶ
οὗτος ὁ λόγος τὸ τῆς πανηγύρεως, διότι οὐχ ἁπλῶς κλῆ-
σίς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πανήγυριν. ἔφαμεν δὲ δεῖν
πανταχοῦ τὸ ἐξαίρετον τῆς ὑποθέσεως πλεονάζειν. λέγε
25 δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν μετὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα οὕτως,
ὅτι σεμνὴ καὶ ὅτι θαύματος ἀξία πολλοῦ, καὶ ὅτι θεάσῃ
δήμους, πόλεις συνεληλυθυίας, ἀθλητὰς πανταχόθεν
τοὺς ἀρίστους, κιθαριστάς, αὐλητάς, οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν
τὴν μουσικὴν μετιόντων ἀνδρῶν· οἵ σε περιμένουσι
30 καὶ οὐδὲ τούτων οὐδεμίαν ἀπόλαυσιν ἕξειν ἡγούμενοι
χωρὶς τῆς σῆς ἐπιδημίας καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν
425 νῦν, ἵνα ὑπὸ σοὶ θεατῇ ταύτην τελέσωσι. τίς δὲ οὐ

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424. 8 ἐξαιρέτων Pp: om. mW   11 ἐφ’ ἣν Finckh: ἐφ’ ἧς Wp
ἀφ’ ἧς P: ἐφ’ ἥν ... πανήγυριν om. m   11–12 εἰπὼν ... κλῆσις
om. W   13–14 ἄρξομαι ... ἐπαινῶν Pp: ἀρξάμενος μετὰ τὰ
ἐγκώμια ἐπαινῶν τὴν πανήγυριν mW   [τῆς ... λέγων] seclusimus:
14 μετὰ δὲ . . . καὶ secl. Bursian, μετὰ δὲ iam secl. Finckh
15 δὲ p: om. PmW   19 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προηγουμένων codd.: del.
Spengel   προηγουμένων + ὅθεν Pp, tuetur Spengel   21 καὶ
codd.: ἀεὶ Nitsche   22 τὸ nos: ὁ Pp: ὁ περὶ mW   22–3 κλῆσις p:
κληθείς PmW   23 ἔφαμεν δὲ mW: διόπερ ἔφαμεν Pp   24 τὸ
ἐξαίρετον Pp: τοῖς -οις mW   28 τοὺς ἀρίστους Pp: om. mW
αὐλητὰς + καὶ PW   30 οὐδὲ p: ὅτι PmW

[XIV] THE SPEECH OF INVITATION
(*KLĒTIKOS*)

If you are inviting a governor to a festival, as is
customary, you should first state in the prooemia the
cause of your arrival and of the invitation. 'The city
sent me, having long desired and wished, even without
excuse, to partake of your great qualities every day;
even more does it desire this at the moment, because
it is holding a festival and needs a greater spectator
for the performances.' Next, deliver an encomium of
the festival, the invitation to which is being offered,
in some such terms as these. 'So that you may under-
stand the situation and the festival to which you are
invited, I will start a little way back . . .' You should
say [an encomium on the festival, and after the festival
praising and saying] that it was instituted by one of
the gods or heroes. After the praise of the festival,
you should give an encomium of the city, if you have
some ancient tradition to relate, and then, without
fail, an encomium of the governor. The encomium
of the festival must come first—this is the primary
subject in this case, and it is most essential to start
with the primary subject—and then the city, and
then again the governor. You should introduce the
idea of the festival at every point, because this
speech also ought to have the festival element present
in a larger degree, because it is not simply an in-
vitation, but an invitation to a festival, and we said
that the special features of any given subject should
always have the dominant place.

After you have praised the governor, introduce the
festival: 'It is solemn and worthy of much admiration,
you will see townships and cities congregated, the
best athletes from everywhere, lyre-players, flute-
players, professional musicians not a few; all these
await you and summon you now to their festival,
hoping to hold it in your presence, because they
realize that they will have no enjoyment of their
skills without a visit from you. Who will not marvel

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425. 1 ἵνα et σοὶ p: om. mW   ἵνα . . . θεατῇ p: ἂν ποσο θεαταὶ
καὶ P   τελέσωσι p; τελοῦσι P; -έσουσι mW

θαυμάσει πεισθέντα σε; τίς δ' οὐ θέαμα τῆς πανηγυ-
ρεως αὐτῆς τάχα σεμνότερον ἴδοι σέ; εἶτα ἐρεῖς· αἰδεῖ-
σθαι δέ σε δεῖ καὶ τὸν θεόν, ᾧ τελεῖται τὰ τῆς πανη-
5 γύρεως, καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τούτῳ· καὶ γὰρ εὐσεβὴς ὁμοῦ
καὶ πείθεσθαι δόξεις. εἶτα ἐρεῖς· καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς πα-
νηγύρεως ἅπαντα παρεσκεύασται, μόνος δὲ σὺ ταύτῃ
λείπεις, ὥστε ἥκοις ἄν. εἶτα συγκρινεῖς τὴν πανήγυριν
ἑτέρᾳ πανηγύρει, δεικνὺς οὐκ εἰς μικράν τινα καὶ εὐ-
10 τελῆ καλῶν ἑορτήν. προσθήσεις δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὲν πεισθείης,
ἐνδοξότερος ἐγὼ πείσας, ἐνδοξότερα δὲ τὰ δρώμενα,
σεμνοτέρα δὲ ἡ πόλις, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡσθήσεται· εἰ δὲ
ἀποτύχοιμι, ὅπερ οὐκ οἴομαι μηδὲ εἴη, ἄλλην μὲν
ὁδὸν ἐγὼ τραπήσομαι—τίς γάρ μοι τῆς πατρίδος ἔτι
15 πόθος ἀποτυχόντι τῆς τοσαύτης πρεσβείας;—ἡ δὲ πόλις
ἀντὶ πανηγύρεως ἕξει συμφοράν, ὅπερ οὐδὲ λέγειν
ἄξιον· οὐκοῦν σπεῦδε θᾶττον ἐπ' αἰσίοις συμβόλοις
πεισθεὶς τῇ πόλει παρακαλούσῃ, σπεῦδε εἰς τὴν πανή-
γυριν—ὁ γὰρ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ λόγος φωνὴ τῆς πόλεως—
20 ἵνα σου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων καὶ τοῦτο κατα-
λέγωμεν.

Ἐὰν δὲ μήτε πανήγυρις μήτε ἱερομηνία τυγχάνῃ,
δι' ἣν ἡ κλῆσις, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ἐπὶ πόλιν καλῇς, εὐθέως
ἐν προοιμίοις ἐρεῖς· φθάνεις μὲν ἴσως καὶ πρὸ τῶν
25 ἡμετέρων λόγων εὖ διακείμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν
ἡμετέραν καὶ πόθον ἔχων τῆς θέας· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο
τεθρύληται· ὅμως δὲ κέρδος μέλλοντες κερδαίνειν
οὐχὶ σμικρὸν ἥκομεν τῆς προαιρέσεως χάριν ἐκτιν-
νύντες διὰ τῆς εὐφημίας, καλοῦντες δὲ οὐδὲν ἧτ-
30 τον καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐφ' ἣν σπεύδεις ἐλθεῖν. εἶτα
ἐὰν ἀξίωμα ὁ καλῶν ἔχῃ λαμπρόν, ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ
τούτου ἐν προοιμίῳ δευτέρῳ· πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν
426 χειροτονίαν ταύτην ἐμνήστευον καὶ πρέσβεις αἱρε-
θῆναι παρὰ τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἔσπευδον,
ἡ πόλις δὲ εἵλετο τάχα που τῶν μνηστευ|σάν-
των οὐ τὸν χείρω, πάντως δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μαθεῖν
5 τῶν Ἀθηναίων λόγων τὸν τρόφιμον. ἀτύφως δὲ

that *you* have answered the call? Who would not see
in you a spectacle perhaps more awe-inspiring than
the festival itself?' Then you should say: 'You must
also respect the god in whose honour the festival is
held, and do him a favour; for so you will be thought
both pious and obedient.' And then: 'The preparations
for the festival are all made, and only you are wanting:
so please come.'

Next, compare the festival with another, showing
that you are not inviting him to a small or mean
celebration. Add: 'If you consent, I shall gain repute
for persuading you, the events will gain repute,
the city will be more respected, the god will be
pleased. If I fail—as I am sure I shall not, and pray
that I may not!—I shall turn my ways elsewhere—
for what desire can I have for my country if I fail
in an embassy like this?—and the city will have no
festival, but a calamity not even to be talked about.
Therefore make haste, with good omens, to answer the
city's summons, make haste to the festival. The words
of the envoy are the voice of the city. Let us be able
to tell this of you when we tell of your other deeds.'

If there is no festival or holy month to occasion
the invitation, but you are simply inviting him to the
city, you should say right at the start in the prooemia:
'Perhaps even before I speak you are well disposed
to our city and have a longing to see it, for that is what
all men say. Nevertheless, it is no small gain that we are
set to win in coming here, returning thanks for your
intention in praise, but calling and summoning you
none the less to the city you are anxious to visit.' Then,
if the issuer of the invitation has great prestige, you may
say something about this also in a second prooemium.
'Many sought this appointment and were anxious to be
chosen as ambassadors to Your Magnificence, and the
city has selected one of the candidates who is perhaps
not the worst; at least you recognize the product
of an Athenian education.' You must deliver this

fortasse secludenda   23 δι' ἦν codd.: fortasse ἐφ' ἦν, cf. 424. 11
εὐθέως Pp: εὐθὺς mW   24 ἐν + τοῖς PmW   26 πόθον
Pp: ποθεινῶς mW   28 οὐχὶ σμικρὸν ἥκομεν Pp: om. mW
28–9 ἐκτιννύντες p: -τείνοντες PmW   32 δευτέρῳ Pp: om. mW
    426. 2 μεγαλοπρέπειαν mWp: μεγαλόνοιαν P   ἔσπευδον mWp:
ἐσπούδαζον P   5 Ἀθηναίων p: Ἀθηνῶν PmW

ἐρεῖς τὸ προοίμιον ἐμφαίνων μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα, μὴ παρε-
χόμενος δὲ φορτικὸν τὸν λόγον. μετὰ δὲ τὰ προοίμια
ἥξεις ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγκώμια τῆς πόλεως, οὐ θέσιν μὲν ἐν-
ταῦθα ἐκφράζων, οὐδὲ ἀέρων φύσεις, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς πρά-
10 ξεις καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν μᾶλλον τρέψεις τὸν λόγον οὕτω
πως· πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἐσεμνύνετο παλαιοῖς διηγήμασιν
ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τοῖς κάλλεσι τῶν οἰκοδο-
μημάτων, νυνὶ δὲ ἁπάντων ἀμελήσασα τῶν τοιούτων
ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ σεμνύνεται. εἶτα εὐθὺς ἐρεῖς, εἴ τι λέγειν
15 ἀρχαῖον ἔχοις τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν
τοῦ ἄρ|χοντος ἔπαινον· τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἄνδρα ταῖς
ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβάλλοντα θαυμάσειεν; εἶτα ἐρεῖς περὶ τῶν
ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος οἷός ἐστι· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν πρώ-
τως ἐπιδημεῖν μέλλῃ, μετὰ τὰ ἐγκώμια τοῦ ἄρχοντος
20 ἐρεῖς ἔκφρασιν διὰ βραχέων τῆς χώρας, εἶτα τῆς πό-
λεως, ὥσπερ προείρηται, λοιπὸν παρακαλέσεις ἐπὶ
ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν· ἴθι τοιγαροῦν ταῦτα ἐποψόμενος, ἴθι
προσθήσων τοῖς κάλλεσιν, ἄλλος Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμῖν
γενόμενος· †εὐτυχήσας† πρὸς ὑποδοχὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων
25 †οὐ|δέποτ'†, οὐκ ἀέρων χάριν, οὐκ ἦθος ἀνδρῶν, οὔτε
μετριότητα τρόπων, οὔτ' ἄλλην σεμνότητα· ἔστι γὰρ
ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις ὥσπερ τέμενος ἀρετῶν. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν
οὖν ἐπὶ παλαιοῖς σεμνύνονται διηγήμασι καὶ μουσείοις
καὶ λόγοις, ἡμῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἠρανίσαντο,
30 μουσεῖον δὲ οὐδὲν ἧττον τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν παρ' ἐκεί-
νοις· καὶ γὰρ ἀρίστους ἐκπέμπομεν καὶ τελείαν
τὴν ἀρετὴν κτησαμένους παρ' ἐκείνων δεχόμεθα· οὗτοί
427 σε δορυφορήσουσιν, οὗτοί σε δεξιώσονται. εἶτα συγ-
κρινεῖς τὴν πόλιν ἢ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἢ ἄλλῃ
τινὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων πόλεων· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὖν, ὅτι οὐ-
δεμᾶς τῶν μεγίστων λείπεται, προσήκει σοι ταύτην
5 ἰδεῖν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πλούτῳ κομῶν καὶ περιουσίαν | ἔχων
τοῖς ἐξαιρέτοις τῶν κτημάτων ὡραΐζεται, οὕτω προσήκει

9 φύσεις Pp : φύσιν mW   12 Ἀλεξάνδρου p : -ῳ PmW   13 νυνὶ
mWp : νῦν P   τῶν τοιούτων mWp : om. P   16 δὲ Pp : γὰρ mW
ἂν ἄνδρα nos : ἄνδρα P : ἂν ἄρα mW : ἄρα τὸν p   17 ὑπερβάλλοντα
P : -ας mW : ὑπερβαίνοντα p   18-19 πρώτως ἐπιδημεῖν p : πρῶτον
ἐπιδημεῖν P : πρὸ τῶν ἐπιδημιῶν mW   24 εὐτυχήσας P :
εὐτυχής p : om. mW : εὑρήσεις Kroll   24-5 οὐδέποτ' PWp :
οὐδὲν λεῖπον m   26 ἄλλην σεμνότητα nos : (τῆς mW) ἄλλης
σεμνότητος codd.   28 σεμνύνονται mW : ἐσεμνύνοντο Pp

prooemium without vanity, so as to lay stress on your status without making your speech tasteless.

After the prooemia, you come to the encomia of the city. You should not here describe its situation or climate, but go straight to its actions and worth, in this manner: 'Our city of Alexander had long prided itself on ancient stories and on its beautiful buildings, but now it pays no heed to all such things, and takes pride only in you.' Then you should at once proceed to any ancient tradition of the city you have to mention, and then to the praise of the governor. 'Who would not admire a man so outstanding in virtues?' And you will then talk about the governor's virtues.

If this is to be his first visit, you should follow the personal encomium by a brief description of the country, and then of the city, as has been said. Finally, you should invite him to come to all this: 'Come then and behold these things, come to add to our glories, to be our second Alexander. You will find nothing lacking for a governor's welcome: not pleasant climate, nor well-mannered people, nor moderate behaviour, nor dignity in general. Our city is a shrine of virtues. The Athenians pride themselves on ancient stories, haunts of the Muses, literature; but many of us have drawn on the resources of Athens, and our Muses' haunts are no whit inferior to theirs. We send out our best men, and receive them home from Athens when they have perfected their qualities. These will be your escort, these will welcome you.' Then you should compare the city with Athens or Rome or some other famous city: 'For this reason then, that it is not inferior to the greatest, it is right for you to see it; for just as the man who glories in wealth and abounds in possessions takes delight in his most outstanding properties, so the governor should be

29 ἡμῶν ... τὰ Pp: τὰ ἡμῶν δὲ πολλοὶ μετὰ mW   Ἀθηνῶν mp: -αίων PW   ἠρανίσαντο Nitsche: ἠρήσαντο codd. (ἠρί- p): cf. 433. 1, 433. 32   30 τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν Pp: om. mW   31 καὶ+οὐ mW 32 δεχόμεθα Pp: δεχόμενοι mW

427. 1 δεξιώσονται Pp: ἀξιοῦσιν mW   3–4 οὐδεμιᾶς Pp: οὐδε- νὸς mW   4 μεγίστων PmW: ἐνδόξων p   5 ὁ ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ Nitsche, cf. 435. 31   6 τοῖς ... ὡραΐζεται P: τῶν κτημάτων om. p: ἐξαιρέτως τῶν κτημάτων ὀρέγεται mW

καὶ | τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύταις ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν πόλεων
σεμνύ|νεσθαι καὶ παρὰ ταύτας σπεύδειν, ὅσαι τὸ μεῖζον
ἔχουσι πλεονέκτημα, τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς
10 ἀρετὴν ἥκοντα. εἶτα διαγράψεις τῷ λόγῳ τὸν ὅλον
τόπον †ὡς ἐπιλογικόν†, ὃν δὴ διιὼν ὄψεται, καὶ ὅλην
παραπέμψεις αὐτὸν τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκφράζων
ἠπείρους, ὄρη, πελάγη. εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστήσας
αὐτὸν τῇ πόλει ἐρεῖς οἷα κάλλη διαδέξεται αὐτόν, καὶ
15 οἷα προαπαντήσει αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως θεάματα, ἄλση
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. προσθήσεις δὲ τοῖς
ἐπιλόγοις καὶ ὅτι ἔστηκεν ἡ πόλις ἤδη πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν
σὺν ὁλοκλήροις τοῖς γένεσι προαπαντῶσα, δεξιουμένη,
εὐχομένη τῷ κρείττονι οὐκ εἰς μακράν σε θεάσασθαι·
20 μὴ τοίνυν διαψεύσῃς αὐτὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος μηδὲ εἰς
ἀηδίαν τὴν προσδοκίαν αὐτῆς μεταβάλῃς. ὥσπερ γὰρ
τὸν Ἀπόλλω πολλάκις ἐδέχετο τοῖς Σμινθίοις, ἡνίκα
ἐξῆν θεοὺς προφανῶς ἐπιδημεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, οὕτω
καὶ σὲ ἡ πόλις προσδέχεται, καὶ ποιηταὶ μὲν εὐτρε-
25 πεῖς ἔχοντες ἤδη Μουσῶν ἔργα πεποιημένα, καὶ συγ-
γραφεῖς καὶ πάντες πρὸς ὕμνον σὸν καὶ εὐφημίαν
εὐτρεπεῖς· καὶ νόμιζε τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν παρεστῶσαν
παρακαλεῖν καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς ἀρχαίων ὑπομιμνή-
σκειν, ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ὑπηκόων λείπεται, τάχα που
30 καὶ πολλῶν κρείττων· δίδου τι καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι τῷ
πρεσβεύσαντι, καὶ γὰρ ἀκήκοας ὡς οὐ φαῦλος ἐν
πρώτοις

428   τῶν μὴ σύ γε μῦθον ἐλέγξῃς
μηδὲ πόδας,

καθάπερ τις ἥρως πρεσβεύων παρ' Ὁμήρῳ φησί. πεί-
θομαι δὲ σὺν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω παρεῖναι τὸν
5 Σμίνθιον· τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἀνδρὶ μουσικῷ καὶ λογίῳ
σοὶ προσεῖναι;
    Ἐὰν δὲ τύχῃ φθάσας τὴν θέαν τῆς πόλεως πρὸς ἣν
ἡ κλῆσις αὐτῷ, αὐτὰ πάλιν ταῦτα τὰ τῆς πόλεως ὡς
πρὸς εἰδότα ὑπομιμνήσκων λέγε, τὴν μὲν αὐτὴν ἀκο-
10 λουθίαν τῶν κεφαλαίων σώζων ὡς διῃρήκαμεν, με-

7 τῶν πόλεων mWp: πόλεσι P   11 ἐπιλογικόν PmW: ἐπὶ
λογικῶν p   ὃν δὴ διιὼν mW: λοιπὸν δι' ὧν p: δι' ὧν διιὼν P
13 ἐπιστήσας PmW: ἐπιστρέφων p, manu posteriore   15 προ-

proud of these the greatest of his cities, and make haste
to visit those that have the greatest advantage, literary
culture, and everything else that tends to virtue.'

You must next describe in your speech as a topic of
the epilogue (?) all the country he will presumably
see on his journey, and escort him all along his way
in your speech, describing continents, mountains,
and seas. After this, bring him to the city and show
him what beauties will receive him, what sights of the
city will meet his eyes—groves, rivers, etc. You should
add to the epilogue: 'The city already stands before
her gates, with whole families, meeting you, greeting
you, praying to the powers above to behold you soon.
Do not disappoint her hopes, nor change her expecta-
tion into distress. As she often used to welcome Apollo
at the Sminthia, in the days when gods could visit
men openly, so now she awaits you. Poets are ready
with works of the Muses fashioned for the occasion,
prose-writers too, all ready to hymn and praise you.
Imagine that the city herself stands at your side and
summons you, and reminds you of her ancient splen-
dours, how she is inferior to no subject city, and is
perhaps superior to many. Grant also that her am-
bassador may take some pride; for you have heard
that he is no mean figure among the leading men,
". . . whose words and haste, I pray you, do not
shame"—as a hero says on an embassy in Homer.
I feel sure too that with me here is Apollo Sminthius:
how could he fail to attend on a man of culture and
eloquence such as yourself?'

If the governor has in fact already seen the city to
which he is invited, make the same allusions to its
attractions but assume his knowledge of them, pre-
serving the same succession of sections in the way
that we have divided them, but treating the encomia

απαντήσει mp: προσ- PW   18 προαπαντῶσα Pmp: προσ- W
20 διαψεύσῃς P: -σῃ mWp   21 ἀηδίαν PmW: ἀκηδίαν p
28 τῶν + παρ' Pp (παρ' αὐτῇ Nitsche)   30 σεμνύνεσθαι PmW:
-ασθαι p   31 φαῦλος Walz: φαύλως Pp: φαῦλον m: de W non
liquet

428. 3 τις ἥρως πρεσβεύων Pp: τις W: om. m   4 δὲ Pp: γὰρ
mW   σὺν ἐμαυτῷ Pp: om. mW   6 προσεῖναι Pp: παρεῖναι mW
7 θέαν Pp: θέσιν mW   8 αὐτῷ mWp: om. P   τὰ mWp: om. P
8-9 ὡς πρὸς εἰδότα Pp: προϊδόντα mW   10 διῃρήκαμεν Pp: ἤδη
εἰρήκαμεν mW

θοδεύων δὲ ἄλλως τὰ ἐγκώμια, οἷον τυγχάνεις μὲν
θεασάμενος τὸ κάλλος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν θέσιν, εἰ δέ σε
ᾕρηκεν ὁ πόθος, ἴθι καὶ δεύτερον καὶ πολλάκις· οἱ
γὰρ ἐρασταὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων εἰώθασιν ἐμπίπλασθαι μὲν

15 πολλάκις, ἀποσχισθέντες δὲ καὶ †εὐθὺς† ἐρᾶν. καὶ τοι-
ούτοις χρήσῃ νοήμασιν ἐν τοῖς κεφαλαίοις. εἰ δὲ βού-
λει καὶ ἀπὸ προοιμίων ἀκούειν, λεγέσθω πάλιν διὰ
βραχέων. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τῷ προοιμίῳ εὐθὺς ἐρεῖς·
ᾕρηκας τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τῷ πόθῳ, ὦ πάντων

20 ἀρχόντων ἄριστε, καὶ τοῦτό σοι τῶν ἐρώτων σημεῖον
ἔσται, πέπομφε πάλιν καλοῦσα καὶ δεύτερον, οὐδεμίαν
ἡμέραν ἐνεγκεῖν δυνηθεῖσα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ μανικῶν
τόξοις πληγέντες ἐρώτων οὐκ ἀνέχονται μὴ τοὺς ἐρω-
μένους ὁρᾶν, οὕτως ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐκχυθεῖσα ἡ πόλις μικροῦ

25 μὲν ἄπασα ἐκινδύνευεν εἰσδραμεῖν· πέπομφε δὲ ὃν
ᾤετο μάλιστα πείσειν σε τὸ δεύτερον· ηὔχετο μὲν οὖν
τῷ θεῷ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολιπεῖν, μηδὲ ἄλλην προτι-
μοτέραν ἑαυτῆς ἡγήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ νικᾷς ἐν πᾶσι καὶ
ἔδει παραχωρεῖν ἕως ἐξῆν, συγχωρήσασα πάλιν ἱκε-

30 τεύει παρ' αὐτὴν ἐλθεῖν σε καὶ δεύτερον. εἶτα ἐπιβα-
λεῖς τὰ ἐγκώμια τῆς πόλεως ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως λέγων·
εἰ μὲν οὖν ἠγνόεις παρ' ἣν σπεύδεις, ἔδει καὶ διδάσκειν

429 τυχόν· εἰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ
ἀγνοεῖς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων [οὐδὲ] τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν
ἴσως ἀγνοοῦντι ⟨τί⟩ σοι ἐρῶ; καὶ ἕξεις λοιπὸν τῆς μνήμης
καιρὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων· διὰ γὰρ τούτων σε ἐλθεῖν | παρ'

5 ἑαυτὴν ἔπεισε καὶ πρότερον, νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῦσα πάλιν
ὀφθῆναι μᾶλλον ταύτην πεποίηται τὴν κλῆσιν, ἀλλὰ
τοὐναντίον ἀξιοῦσα σὲ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἰδεῖν· οὐ γὰρ
ἀγνοεῖ τὴν σὴν δικαιοσύνην· οἷς καὶ συνάψεις αὐτοῦ
τὰ ἐγκώμια πανταχοῦ προστιθεὶς ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν

10 ἐπιχειρημάτων τὸ ὅτι διὰ ταῦτά σε καλεῖ. δεῖ γὰρ ἐν

12 τὴν p: om. PmW   15 εὐθὺς Pp: om. mW: del. Nitsche:
num αὖθις?   20–1 σημεῖον post ἔσται transp. P   22 μανικῶν
p: -οῖ P: μακροῖς mW   23 πληγέντες mWp: πλήσσοντες P
24 ἐκχυθεῖσα mW: συγχ- Pp   25 εἰσδραμεῖν vulg.: ἐκδραμεῖν
mW, probat Nitsche: συνδραμεῖν Pp   26 πείσειν mW: πείθειν
Pp   27 μηδέ ⟨σε⟩ Nitsche   30 αὐτὴν nos: αὐτὴν codd.
30–1 ἐπιβαλεῖς mWp: ἐπεισβαλεῖς P

429. 2 οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ codd.: alterum οὐδὲ del. Nitsche: οὔτε . . .
οὔτε Spengel   οὐδὲν P: οὐδ' p: οὔτ' mW   3 suppl. Bursian
5 ἔπεισε mW: ἔσπευσε hic P, post 4 ἐλθεῖν p   5–6 πάλιν ὀφθῆναι

by different methods: e.g. 'You have seen the beauty
and the position of the city, and if desire for it has
seized you, go a second time, and often. Lovers often
sate themselves with the beloved, and fall in love
again (?) when they are parted.' These are the kinds
of thoughts you should use in the main sections.

But if you want to hear the whole method from the
prooemia onwards, let me repeat briefly. In the
prooemium, right at the beginning, you will say:
'You have captured our city with desire, O best of all
governors, and this is the sign you have of her love,
that she has sent again to summon you a second time,
unable to endure a single day; like those who are
"struck by the arrows of the frenzied loves" and
cannot bear not to see their beloved, the whole city
has poured out and come near to bursting in upon you.
She has sent the person whom she thought best able to
persuade you to come a second time. She prayed to
God indeed that you might not leave her at all, nor
think another city to be set before her in honour; but
since you are always victorious and she was forced
to give place until it was possible to see you again (?),
she yielded, and again beseeches you to come to her
a second time.'

You should then insert encomia of the city on the
following plan; 'If you did not know the city which
you are eager to visit, perhaps I should have needed
to inform you; but since you know full well the city
of Alexander, son of Zeus, you are not, I am sure,
ignorant of our past history, and ⟨why⟩ should I tell
you?' You will now have an opportunity to refer to
the history. 'For this reason, the city was anxious
that you should come to her before, but now she has
invited you not so much because she thinks she ought
to be seen by you again, as because she thinks she
ought to see you, on account of your virtues. She is
well aware of your justice . . .' At this point, you
should fit in the praises of the governor, always
adding, in connection with each separate argument,
'This is why she is inviting you.' In invitation speeches,

nos: παροφθῆναι codd.: παρὰ σοῦ ὀφθῆναι Bursian   6 μᾶλλον
Pp: om. mW   ταύτην post 5 ἀξιοῦσα transp. mW   8 καὶ
Pp: om. mW

τοῖς κλητικοῖς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς κλήσεως προστιθέναι,
ἵνα τὸ ἴδιον ἔχῃ τοῦ κλητικοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις
ὑποθέσεσι τὰ ἑκάστῃ οἰκεῖα. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐγκώμια τοῦ
ἄρχοντος ἐκ μεθόδου πάλιν ἐρεῖς πρότερον μὲν τὴν
15 θέσιν τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως, εἶτα τὸ κάλλος τῆς
πόλεως· ὡραΐζεται μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις κάλλεσιν ἱερῶν καὶ
στοῶν καὶ λουτρῶν μεγέθεσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἑώρακας,
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σύμπαντα μικρὰ πρὸς τὴν σὴν θέαν ὑπο-
λαμβάνει· τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐξαίρετον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν; τί δ'
20 οὐ κάλλιστον; οὐχ ἵππων ἅμιλλαι; οὐ θεάτρων τέρψεις
καὶ πανηγύρεων; καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα προείρηται ἡμῖν ἐπὶ
τοῦ ⟨μὴ⟩ φθάσαντος [κλητικοῦ] ἐρεῖς.

Εἰ δὲ παρὰ πόλιν καλοίης ἄρχοντα μὴ πάνυ τι
σεμνὸν μηδὲ ἀρχαῖον ἔχουσαν, ὅπερ οὐκ οἶμαι, τὴν
25 θέσιν ἐρεῖς μετὰ τὰ προοίμια τῆς χώρας, εἶτα τῆς
πόλεως, εἶτα τοῖς ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς χρήσῃ κεφαλαίοις· ἀνα-
πληρώσει γάρ σοι ἡ θέσις τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἔπαινον.
ἔνιοι δὲ διαιροῦσι τὸν κλητικὸν μετὰ τὰ προοίμια
ἑτέρως, κατὰ ἕνωσιν ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις τὸ τῆς πόλεως
30 ἐγκώμιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος προάγοντες, τοῖς δὲ
ἄλλοις οὕτως, ὡς ἤδη φθάσαντες εἴπομεν, χρώμενοι·
κατὰ ἕνωσιν δὲ ἔφην οὕτως, οἷον θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἡμεῖς
430 αὐχοῦμεν οἰκιστήν, οὗτος δὲ γένος· φιλάνθρωπος ἡ
πόλις· καὶ τούτου τὸ πλεονέκτημα. ἢ τοὐναντίον τὰ
τοῦ ἄρχοντος προτάττουσιν, ὅπερ ἄμεινον, τὰ δὲ τῆς
πόλεως τοῖς ἐκείνου ὑποβάλλουσιν, οἷον γένος σοι
5 λαμπρὸν καὶ ἡμῖν οἰκιστὴς θαυμαστός· δίκαιος ⟨εἶ⟩, οὐδὲ
ἡ πόλις ἀμοιρεῖ τοῦ πλεονεκτήματος· φιλανθρωπίαν
τιμᾷς, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ καλοῦσα φιλάνθρωπος. προάξεις
δὲ καὶ τὸν κλητικόν, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔχειν δοκιμάσῃς.

13 ἑκάστῃ Pp: -ης mW   15 τῆς χώρας PmW: τοῦ τόπου p
15–16 τῆς πόλεως Pp: om. mW   17 ὡς + καὶ PmW   22 τοῦ
⟨μὴ⟩ nos: τοῦ ⟨τοῦ⟩ Bursian   κλητικοῦ seclusimus   28 διαιροῦσι
τὸν κλητικὸν PmW: ἐπαινοῦσι τὸ κλῆμα p   29 ἑτέρως PmW:
ἕτεροι δὲ p   32–430. 2 δὲ ἔφην . . . ἢ Pmp: om. W
   430. 1 οὗτος Pp: οὕτω m   δὲ Pp: om. m   φιλάνθρωπος Pp:
-ον m   2 καὶ . . . πλεονέκτημα PWp: om. m   4 τοῖς W
(Finckh): τῆς mp: τὸν P   5 suppl. Bursian   8 ⟨καλῶς⟩
ἔχειν Bursian, fortasse recte

the reasons for the invitation must also be added, so that the speech may have the special qualities of an invitation, just as in the other subjects one must add the features peculiar to each.

After the encomium of the governor, you should proceed to speak—following the regular method—(i) of the situation of the country and the city, (ii) of the beauty of the city. 'The city takes delight in its beautiful temples and colonnades and great baths, as you have seen yourself, but it reckons little of these compared with the sight of you. What is there in our city that is not outstanding? What that is not of supreme beauty? Are there not chariot races, the delights of theatres and festivals?' You should make use of all such points as we have made in connection with the [invitation of the] governor who has ⟨not⟩ (?) been there before.

If you are inviting a governor to a city which has no very grand or historic features—an unlikely eventuality—you should describe the situation of the country immediately after the prooemia, and then that of the city, and then use all the succeeding headings. 'Position' will supply the place of praise of the city.

Some people divide the invitation speech, after the prooemia, differently. They handle the encomium of the city and of the governor as a unity, as one might say, but treating the rest of the material in the way I have described. By 'as a unity' I mean, e.g.: 'We boast of a marvellous founder; but marvellous too in his family. Humanity is a mark of our city; this great quality is his also.' Or they reverse the order, and place the encomium of the governor first (this is better) and subordinate that of the city to it. For example: 'Your family is brilliant, and we have a marvellous founder; you are just, and the city is not without this great quality. You honour humanity; the city that invites you is humane.'

However, you should handle the speech of invitation as you judge right for yourself.

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΥ

10 Ὁ συνταττόμενος δῆλός ἐστιν ἀνιώμενος ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὄντως ἀνιῷτο, προσποιήσεται πε|πον-θέναι πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐρωτικὸν οἷς συντάττεται. προὔλαβε μὲν | οὖν ὁ θεῖος "Ομηρος καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος· κινῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς | Φαιακίας Ὀδυσσέα ποιεῖ συντατόμενον αὐτὸν Ἀλκι-
15 νόῳ καὶ Φαίαξι καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον Ἀρήτῃ τῇ Ἀλκι-νόου, καὶ περιτέθεικεν αὐτῷ συντατομένῳ τῇ γυναικὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη·

χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ βασίλεια, διαμπερὲς εἰσόκε γῆρας
ἔλθοι καὶ θάνατος, τά τ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται,
20 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ νέομαι, σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῷδ᾽ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
παισί τε καὶ λαοῖσι καὶ Ἀλκινόῳ βασιλῆι.

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Φαίακας καὶ Ἀλκίνοον ἡνίκα συνετάττετο
φησὶν αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι ἐν τῇ ῥαψῳδίᾳ ταῦτα·

Ἀλκίνοε κρεῖον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,
25 πέμπετέ με σπείσαντες ἀπήμονα, χαίρετε δ᾽ αὐτοί·
ἤδη γὰρ τετέλεσται ἅ μοι φίλος ἤθελε θυμός,
πομπὴ καὶ φίλα δῶρα,

καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ δεῖ τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ περιεργό-
τερον χρῆσθαι τῷ εἴδει καὶ ἐξεργασίᾳ πλείονι, φέρε
30 μὴ ἀφιστάμενοι τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ ἔθους διέλωμεν. χάριν
ὁμολογήσει τῇ πόλει, ἐξ ἧς ἡ ἐπάνοδος, ἐπαινέσει δὲ
431 αὐτήν, ὁπόθεν ἂν ὁ καιρὸς αὐτῷ διδῷ τὰ ἐγκώμια,
οἷον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἴ τι σεμνὸν ἔχοι, ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀέρων, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους τοῦ κάλλους, οἷον ἀπὸ στοῶν
καὶ λιμένων καὶ ἀκροπόλεως καὶ ἱερῶν πολυτελῶν καὶ
5 ἀγαλμάτων. ἐπαινέσει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ
πανηγύρεις καὶ ἱερομηνίας καὶ μουσεῖα καὶ θέατρα καὶ
ἀγώνων διαθέσεις, πανταχοῦ παραπλέκων, ἵνα μὴ

430. 9 sqq. hoc caput habent P mWY p   12 ἐρωτικὸν PWY:
ἐρῶν τι m: om. p   13 οὖν mWYp: om. P   κινῶν p:
κινοῦντα vel -ῶντα cett.   14 Φαιακίας Pp: Φαιάκων mWY
22 Ἀλκίνοον W: -νουν cett.   22–8 aut incondite scripta aut
corrupta   24 λαῶν PmWY: ἀνδρῶν p   28 ἐπειδὴ Yp:
ἐπεὶ PmW   29 ἐξεργασίᾳ Pp: ἐργασίᾳ mY: ἐπεξεργασίᾳ W
31 ἐπαινέσει PmWY: -εις p
   431. 1 αὐτῷ PmW: -ῇ p: om. Y   2 ἔχοι Bursian: ἔχοις Pp:
ἔχεις mW: ἔχει Y   4 ἀκροπόλεως PYp: -ων W: ἀπὸ ἀκροπόλεων

[XV]   THE LEAVETAKING
                (*SUNTAKTIKOS*)

A person who is taking leave of another is clearly distressed at the separation. If he is not really distressed, he will claim to have some amorous feelings towards the persons of whom he is taking leave. The divine Homer anticipated this form also. When he moves Odysseus on from Phaeacia, he represents him as taking leave of Alcinous and the Phaeacians, and, shortly afterwards, of Arete, the wife of Alcinous. He puts the following lines into the mouth of Odysseus as he takes leave of the queen:

> Fare you well, O Queen, for ever, till old age
> Comes, and death with it, as they do come to mankind.
> For my part, I am going. Do you take pleasure in the palace
> With your children and your people and Alcinous your king.

When he takes leave of the Phaeacians and Alcinous, Homer represents him, in the episode (?), as saying:

> Alcinous, lord, most honoured among all the people;
> Make your libations and send me away unharmed. Farewell.
> What my heart desired is now granted,
> Escort and gifts . . .

and so on. However, since the orator must use this form with greater care and elaboration, let us set out a division of the theme, not departing from the Homeric usage.

The orator should acknowledge his gratitude to the city from which he is returning, and praise it on whatever grounds the occasion permits, e.g. from its history if there is anything grand in it, from the climate, from the beauty of its appearance—e.g. colonnades, harbours, acropolis, lavish temples, and statues. He should then praise the festivals and holidays, shrines of the Muses, theatres, and competitions. He should avoid making his speech a

m   5 ἐπαινέσει nos: -έσεται WYp: -έσετε P: -έσεις m: cf. infra 10,
15, 18, 20: sed certe in secundam personam lapsus est, συνεύξῃ (23)
6 μουσεῖα καὶ Bursian: μουσικὰ codd.   7 διαθέσεις + καὶ mWY

ἁπλοῦν γένηται ἐγκώμιον, τὸ ὅτι ἀνιᾶται μέλλων τού-
των χωρίζεσθαι ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν νοημά-
10 των, ἵνα συντακτικὸν εἶδος ὁ λόγος λάβῃ. ἐπαινέσει
δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἷον ἱερέας, εἰ τύχοι, δᾳδούχους
τε καὶ ἱεροφάντας, καὶ τὰ ἤθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι ἥμεροι
καὶ φιλόξενοι· καὶ ἑταίροις δὲ ὁμοίως συντάξεται,
κἀνταῦθα ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ ἀλγεῖν καὶ δακρύειν
15 ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον μέρος ἥξει πάλιν
ἐφ' ἕτερον μέρος, ἐν ᾧ μνησθήσεται καὶ τῶν τόπων
εἰς οὓς ἐπελεύσεται. καὶ εἰ μὲν εἶεν ἄγνωστοι οἱ
ἄνδρες παρ' οὓς καὶ σπεύδειν ἔκρινεν, ἐρεῖ· πῶς ἄρα
ἡμᾶς ὑποδέξονται, τίνες ἄρα πάλιν συνήθεις; εἰ δὲ
20 παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ πατρίδα σπεύδει, ἐρεῖ· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν
ποθήσειε τὴν οἰκείαν; ἴσως γὰρ ἀκούετε καὶ ὑμεῖς· ἔν-
δοξος γὰρ καὶ λαμπρὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις. εἶτα
συνεύξῃ που τούτοις παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐξελὼν τὰ
κάλλιστα, καὶ ὅτι πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων προτιμήσειας
25 πυνθάνεσθαι δὴ περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ βελτίω, καὶ ὅτι ἐπι-
λήσῃ αὐτῶν οὐδέποτε, καὶ ὅτι διαδώσεις λόγον ἁπαν-
ταχοῦ θαυμάζων αὐτῶν τὰ ἐξαίρετα. συνεύξῃ δὲ ἑαυτῷ
καὶ πλοῦν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐπάνοδον χρηστήν, καὶ ὅτι, ἂν
οὕτω τύχῃ καὶ εἰ παῖδας ποιήσειας, ἀποστελεῖς αὐτοὺς
30 ὀψομένους αὐτῶν πόλιν.

Ἐὰν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι συντάττεσθαι μέλλῃς, ἔστω μέν
σοι ὁμοίως τὰ πρῶτα ἐρωτικά, καὶ ἐχέτω ἔνδει-
432 ξιν τῆς λύπης ὁ λόγος, ἣν ἔχεις τῶν τοσούτων καλῶν
κἀγαθῶν χωριζόμενος, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα τοῦ λόγου ἐχέτω
ἔπαινον τῆς πόλεως ἐφ' ἣν σπεύδεις, οἷον τῆς δόξης,
τῆς εὐκλείας, ὅτι πυνθάνομαι τὴν πόλιν εἶναι μεγάλην
5 καὶ θαυμαστήν, ὅτι ἀκούω λόγων αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ
Μουσῶν ἐργαστήριον. ἐνδιατρίψεις δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ
περὶ τῆς χρείας καὶ τῆς αἰτίας δι' ἣν ἐπείγῃ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ
πυνθάνομαι Πιερίαν ὄντως, ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα· καὶ

8-9 τούτων mp: -ου PWY   10 ἐπαινέσει B (Bursian): -έσεις
cett.   11 τοὺς ἄνδρας οἷον Pp: om. mWY   δᾳδούχους Pp: καὶ
δᾳδούχους καὶ mWY   13 ἑταίροις m: ἑτέροις cett.   14 ἀλγεῖν
WYp: ἄγειν P: καὶ ἀλγεῖν m   15 δὲ + τοῦτο p   ἥξει mWYp:
-εις P   17 ἐπελεύσεται mWY: ἐπανελεύσεται Pp   18 ἐρεῖ
PmWY: -εῖς p   19 συνήθεις mWYp: συνήθει P   20 ἐρεῖ
Pm WY: -εῖς p   20-1 οὐκ ἂν ποθήσειε Bursian: οὐ ποθήσει
mWY: οὐκ ἂν ποθήσει (-η p) Pp   23 που mYp: πῶς P: πᾶν W
25 δὴ mWp, suspectum: δὲ Y: δεῖ P   βελτίω codd.: βέλτιστα vulg.

mere encomium by weaving in at all points the
thought that he is distressed at being parted from all
this; he must weave this in with almost every idea,
so that the speech acquires the character of a vale-
diction. He should also praise the inhabitants, e.g.
priests, torchbearers (*dādouchoi*), hierophants, and also
the character of the people—their civilized manners
and hospitality. He should likewise take leave of his
friends, and here also show grief and tears at the
parting. After this first section, he should come on to
the second, in which he recalls the places to which he
will come. If the people whom he has resolved to
visit are unknown, he should say: 'How then will they
receive us? Who will be our familiar friends now?' If
he is going to his own country, he should say: 'Who
would not long for his own land? Perhaps you have
heard tell of it. Our city is famous and brilliant
among all men.'

You should next pray for those you are leaving,
choosing the best prayers out of the poets, and say
you would give much wealth to have good news of
them, and will never forget them, but will spread
the word everywhere, expressing admiration for their
outstanding qualities. Pray also for yourself, for a
good voyage and a happy return, and say that, if it so
turns out and you have sons, you will send them to
behold their city.

If it is your own native city of which you are about
to take leave, let the first part, once again, contain
expressions of love and an indication of the grief
which you feel at being separated from such blessings;
then let the second part of the speech contain a
praise of the city which is your destination, e.g. its
reputation and glory: 'I understand the city is great
and marvellous.' 'I hear it is a workshop of literature
and of the Muses.' You should expand this point about
your need, the reason which makes you anxious to go.
'I understand that there indeed is Pieria, there
indeed is Helicon.'

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30 αὐτῶν WY: αὐτὴν Pmp   32 πρῶτα Wilamowitz: πάτρια
codd. (τὰ om. Pp): fortasse προοίμια   ἐχέτω + μὲν P
    432. 1 ἢν ἔχεις Pp: om. mWY   6 sqq. haec non bene co-
haerere videntur   8 Πιερίαν Pp: Πειραιᾶ mWY

ὅταν αὐξήσῃς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, καὶ τὴν χρείαν ἐρεῖς δι᾽
10 ἣν σπεύδεις· δεῖ γὰρ ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τοῦτο θεραπεύειν·
ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ παντὸς πειθομένην ταῖς
τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις καὶ οἷς ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων ἐνο-
μοθέτησε. διὸ καὶ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι
τῆς πατρίδος. τοῦτο δέ σοι ἁρμόσει λέγειν οὐχ ὅταν
15 ἀπὸ τῆς αὑτοῦ πατρίδος ἐφ᾽ ἑτέραν σπεύδῃς γῆν, ἀλλ᾽
ὅταν ἀπ᾽ ἄλλης εἰς τὴν σαυτοῦ πατρίδα καλῇ. ἐρεῖς δὲ
ἐν τούτῳ ὅτι λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλη ἡ πατρὶς καὶ ἀξία
ποθεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ποθεινότεροι· καλὸν
μὲν καὶ τὸ περιπτύξασθαι γονέας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ
20 γένος, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὐ μείονας ἔχω καὶ περὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς
ἔρωτας· ἀλλὰ τί γὰρ δεῖ ποιεῖν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐπείγει.
ταῦτα δὲ ἐρεῖς, ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, ὡς ἔφα-
μεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀπαίρειν μέλλῃς. ἐρεῖς δὲ
ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δευτέρου μέρους τῆς συντακτικῆς ταῦτα
25 εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ ἐρωτικά, εἶτα δὲ ἄλλα τάξεις ἐφεξῆς,
ὡς ἔφαμεν.

Ἐπανέλθωμεν δὴ πάλιν εἰς τὸν προκείμενον λόγον,
ὅταν τις ἀπαίρειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος εἰς ἄλλην
πόλιν βούληται. οὐκοῦν ἐφεξῆς μετὰ τὰ προειρημένα
30 περὶ τούτου, λέγω δὴ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν ὅτι πυνθάνομαι | τὴν
Πιερίαν ὄντως ἐκεῖ τυγχάνειν καὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, ⟨ἐρεῖς⟩
ὡς ἐνδέχεται ἔτι τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας λόγους πονεῖν. εἶτα ἐπά-
433 ξεις πάλιν ὅτι ἐρανιοῦμαι καὶ λόγους καὶ φιλοσοφίαν,
μαθήσομαι δι᾽ ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ὅταν
αἴσθωμαι τελέως οἷός τε ὢν τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν ὠφελεῖν,
τότε πάλιν ποθήσω τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ γένος. τίς γὰρ
5 Σειρῆσι παρατυχὼν ἢ παρὰ Λωτοφάγους ἀφικόμενος οὐκ
ἂν ὑμᾶς προτιμήσειεν;

ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκήων,

ὡς Ὅμηρός πού φησι,

ἧς γαίης καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι.

10 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνεύξῃ τῇ τε πόλει τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ

When you have amplified this section, you should
state the need which makes you so eager. 'One must
concede this to necessity; we see that the universe
obeys the necessities of nature and the laws that the
father of all things laid down. Therefore it is absolutely
necessary to obey the law of one's country.' (It will
be appropriate to say this not when you are going
from your own city to another but when you are
summoned from another city back home to your
own. You should say: 'Splendid and great is my
country and worthy to be desired, but you are to me
much more desirable. It is a fine thing to embrace
parents and brothers and family, but I have no
lesser loves among you. But what am I to do? Neces-
sity presses.' You should say this (as we said) when
about to leave a foreign city for home. You should
say it at the beginning of the second part of the leave-
taking, immediately after the expressions of love, and
you should place the other points after it, as we said.)

But let us return to the speech we are considering,
i.e. the situation in which a speaker wishes to leave
his native city for another. Immediately following the
points I have mentioned—viz. 'I understand that
Pieria and Helicon are indeed there'—⟨you should
say⟩ (?) that your age still (?) allows you to be a
student of literature. Then you should add: 'I shall
draw my ration of literature and philosophy, I shall
learn for your sakes and the sake of our common
country, and, when I feel perfectly capable of helping
the land that gave me birth, then once again I shall
long for the city and my family. For who, encounter-
ing the Sirens or arriving in the land of the Lotus-
eaters, would not give you the preference?

Nothing is sweeter than one's native land and parents,

as Homer says,

and to see the smoke rising from one's own country.'

After this, you should pray for the greatest blessings

433. 5 Σειρῆσι Wilamowitz: Ἴβηροι mWY: ἰβηρισι P: ἂν ἤρησι p:
ἂν Νηρηΐσι B   9 καὶ mWY: om. Pp   ἧς γαίης fortasse post
νοῆσαι transponendum

σαυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τυχεῖν τούτων ὧνπερ
σπουδάζεις σὺν ἀγαθῇ καὶ λαμπρᾷ τύχῃ, καὶ περὶ τῆς
ἐπανόδου πάλιν· καλλωπίσεις δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ εἰκόσι
καὶ ἱστορίαις καὶ παραβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις γλυκύτησι
15 καὶ ἐκφράσεσί τισιν ἐν τῷ ἐπαίνῳ τῆς πόλεως, στοῶν
καὶ λιμένων καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ πηγῶν καὶ ἀλσέων, καὶ
ἦθος δὲ περιθήσεις τῷ λόγῳ μέτριον καὶ ἁπλοῦν καὶ
δεξιόν, τὴν ἐπιείκειαν πανταχοῦ ἐμφανίζων μετὰ τοῦ
μὴ καθαιρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα μηδὲ ὑποπεπτωκέναι. μεμνῆ-
20 σθαι δέ σε χρὴ τοῦ θεωρήματος ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ
πρώτην ἐπαινεῖν καὶ πρώτην θαυμάζειν τὴν πόλιν
πρὸς ἣν ἂν ὁ λόγος σοι γίγνηται, ἀφορᾶν δὲ χρὴ καὶ
πρὸς τὰς πόλεις εἰς ἃς σπεύδει τις, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐφά-
μιλλοί εἰσιν αἱ πόλεις ἢ ὀλίγῳ βελτίους ἢ καὶ πολλῷ
25 τῆς πόλεως πρὸς ἣν ἂν συντάττηταί τις, ἐρεῖς ὅτι
οὐ μείων ἐκείνης αὕτη· δεῖ γὰρ μηδαμῶς καθαιρεῖν
τὴν πόλιν ἣν ἐπαινεῖν προειλόμεθα καὶ πρὸς ἣν συν-
ταττόμεθα. εἰ δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάττους εἶεν αἱ πόλεις παρ᾽
ἃς ἂν σπεύδῃ τις, τότε τὴν χρείαν μᾶλλον αὐξήσεις δι᾽ ἣν
30 σπεύδεις, ὅτι κρείττων μὲν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις πρὸς ἣν
συντάττομαι, ἡ δὲ ἀναγκαία χρεία τοῦ κτήματος, ὃ
βούλομαι ἐρανίσασθαι, μόλις ἂν δι᾽ ἐκείνης γένοιτο.
434 ἔστω δέ σοι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ λόγου ἡ χρεία. καὶ εἰ μὲν
ὡς ἐν λαλιᾷ, βραχὺς δὲ ὁ τῆς λαλιᾶς λόγος, διὰ συν-
τόμων ἐρεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν πρὸς τῇ λαλιᾷ ταύτῃ
μέλλῃς ἕτερον εὐθὺς παρέχεσθαι λόγον· εἰ δὲ συν-
5 τάξασθαι μόνον προθυμηθείης, καὶ ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν
μόνην κατ᾽ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιήσασθαι, προάξεις
τὴν συντακτικὴν συγγραφικῶς καὶ ἄχρι διακοσίων στί-
χων ἢ τριακοσίων, εἰ βουληθείης, καὶ οὐδείς σοι
μέμψεται εὖ φρονῶν.

10 *ΠΕΡΙ ΜΟΝΩΙΔΙΑΣ*

Ὅμηρος ὁ θεῖος ποιητὴς τά τε ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσε
καὶ τὸ τῆς μονῳδίας εἶδος οὐ παραλέλοιπε· καὶ γὰρ
Ἀνδρομάχῃ καὶ Πριάμῳ καὶ τῇ Ἑκάβῃ λόγους μονῳ-

11 ὧνπερ PmWY: ὧν p   16 ἀλσέων p: δασῶν P: δασέων
mWY   25 ἐρεῖς PYp: ἐρεῖ mW   26 οὐ p: om. cett.
29 μᾶλλον PWYp: om. m   αὐξήσεις Yp: αὐξήσει mW: αὔξειν P
30 σπεύδεις P: -ει cett.   ὑμετέρα p: ἡμετέρα PmY: ἡμέρα W
32 βούλομαι PmWY: βουλόμεθα p   ἐκείνης Pp: -νου mY: -νο W:
num ⟨εἰ μὴ⟩ δι᾽ ἐκείνης;

to fall upon the city and yourself, for your journey and for the successful and fortunate attainment of your aims, and also for your return. You should adorn the speech with images and historical examples, comparisons, and other features of 'sweetness', and some descriptions in the praise of the city—colonnades, harbours, rivers, springs, groves. You should also give the speech a moderate, simple, and kindly tone, everywhere giving an impression of reasonableness, but without abjectness or loss of dignity. You must remember, however, that there is a compelling necessity to praise first and admire first the city which you are addressing, though you must also look towards the cities which are your destination. If these are comparable or superior to the city of which you are taking leave, whether by much or by little, you should say that 'she is not inferior to that other city': for we must in no circumstances denigrate the city we have undertaken to praise, namely that which we are leaving. But if the cities you are going to are much inferior, then what you should amplify is the cause of your intended journey: 'Your city, of which I now take leave, is far greater; but my urgent need for the object with which I want to supply myself can hardly be fulfilled ⟨except⟩ through that other city(?).' Let your need determine the scale of the speech. If it is in 'talk' form—which demands brevity—you should speak concisely, and especially if you are going to deliver another speech at once in addition to the 'talk'. If you propose only to make your valediction, and make this your sole performance for the day, you should treat the valedictory speech in non-oratorical prose, up to 200–300 lines if you so desire, and no reasonable critic will find fault with you.

[XVI]   THE MONODY (*MONŌDIA*)

Among the things in which the divine poet Homer has been our teacher, he has not omitted the form of the monody. He has attributed monodic speeches to Andromache, Priam, and Hecuba, appropriate to

434. 1 σοι PmWY: σου p   2 δὲ PWYp: om. m: num γὰρ?
5 ⟨τὴν⟩ ἐπίδειξιν Spengel   6 μόνην mWY (Walz): μόνον Pp
434. 10 hoc caput habent PmWp   13 τῇ suspectum

δικοὺς περιτέθεικεν οἰκείους ἑκάστῳ προσώπῳ, ὥσπερ
15 ἐκδιδάξαι βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς μηδὲ τούτων ἀπείρως ἔχειν.
χρὴ τοίνυν λαβόντας παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰς ἀφορμὰς
ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι ταύτας γνόντας τὸ θεώρημα ἐξ ὧν
ὁ ποιητὴς παρέδωκεν. τί τοίνυν ἡ μονῳδία βούλεται;
θρηνεῖν καὶ κατοικτίζεσθαι, κἂν μὲν μὴ προσήκων ᾖ
20 ὁ τεθνεώς, αὐτὸν μόνον θρηνεῖν τὸν ἀπελθόντα, παρα-
μιγνύντα τὰ ἐγκώμια τοῖς θρήνοις, καὶ συνεχῶς τὸν
θρῆνον ἐμφανίζειν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολύτως ἐγκώμιον ᾖ, ἀλλ᾽
ἵνα πρόφασις τοῦ θρήνου ᾖ τὸ ἐγκώμιον· ἂν δὲ προσή-
κων ᾖ, οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λέγων οἰκτίσεται ἢ ὅτι
25 ὀρφανὸς καταλέλειπται ἢ ὅτι ἀρίστου πατρὸς ἐστέρη-
ται καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ὀδύρεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐτός. ἐὰν δὲ
καὶ πόλεως τύχῃ προεστὼς ὁ μεταστάς, ἐρεῖς τι καὶ
περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, μεταχειριζόμενος καὶ ταύτης
τὰ ἐγκώμια πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι λαμπρὰ μὲν ἡ
30 πόλις, ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας αὐτὴν ὁ πεπτωκώς ἐστιν. ἢ οὕτω·
τίς ἐπιμελήσεται, τίς διασώσει, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος; ἐὰν
435 δὲ νέος τύχῃ ὁ τελευτήσας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸν
θρῆνον κινήσεις, ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὅτι εὐφυής, ὅτι
μεγάλας παρέσχεν τὰς ἐλπίδας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμβάν-
των, ὅτι †ἀνύοντι† αὐτῷ ἔμελλε μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ θάλαμος,
5 ἔμελλον αἱ παστάδες· ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι
ἡ πόλις ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἕξειν τὸν προστησόμενον, τὸν
δημηγορήσοντα, τὸν ἀγῶνας διαθήσοντα. πανταχοῦ
δὲ ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀφορμὰς ποιεῖσθαι
τῶν θρήνων δεῖ. χρὴ τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις
10 εὐθὺς μὲν σχετλιάζειν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς δαίμονας καὶ
πρὸς μοῖραν ἄδικον, πρὸς πεπρωμένην νόμον ὁρίσα-
σαν ἄδικον, εἶτα ἀπὸ τοῦ κατεπείγοντος εὐθὺς λαμ-
βάνειν· οἷον ἐξήρπασαν, οἷα κατὰ τοῦ πεσόντος
ἐκώμασαν. ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ταὐτὰ λέγωμεν, ἁπλῶς

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14 οἰκείους PmW: om. p   17 ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι PW: -άσασθαι mp
γνόντας Pp: συγγνόντας mW   ἐξ ὧν PmW: ὁποῖον p   18 παρ-
έδωκεν mWp: παραδέδωκεν P   22–3 ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα . . . ἐγκώμιον
PWp: om. m   24 οἰκτίσεται PmW: -ιεῖται p   26 ὀδύρεται
codd.: ὀδυρεῖται Bursian, vix recte   ἑαυτοῦ αὐτός codd.: fortasse
αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ   31 διασώσει Pmp: δυνήσεται διασῶσαι W

435. 3 καί suspectum, cum cetera sint asyndeta (ἀπὸ . . . ἀπὸ . . .)
4 συμβάντων ⟨ἂν⟩ Bursian   ὅτι †ἀνύοντι† αὐτῷ: locus nondum
expeditus: ἀνύων ὅτι αὐτῷ P: ἀνύων τι αὐτῷ p: ἀνύοντι μὲν W: ἀνύοντι
μὲν ῶ m: ὅτι ἀνύειν τι Spengel: οἷον ὅτι αὐτῷ Bursian: ὅτι αὐτῷ

their several characters, as though he wished to prove to us that he was not ignorant of these matters. We must therefore take our starting-points from Homer and elaborate them, grasping the general principle as the poet has transmitted it to us. What then is the purpose of the monody? To lament and express pity. If the deceased is not a relative, it is simply to lament the departed, mixing encomia with the lament, and to stress the element of lamentation continually, so that the piece is not just an encomium, but the encomium is the occasion for the lament. If, however, the deceased is a relative, the speaker should lament no less, either because he has been left an orphan or because he is deprived of an excellent father and is mourning his own desolation. If the deceased is a leader of the city, you should say something about the city itself, handling the encomia of this in accordance with the subject—'the city is splendid, but he who raised it up is he who has fallen'. Or again: 'Who will take care of it, who will preserve it, as he did?' If the deceased is young, you must base the lament on his age, on his nature (he was gifted, the hopes he raised were great) and on the calamity that has happened—e.g. the bridal chamber, the alcove, were soon to be made ready for him (?). You should base it also on the city: 'It expected to have in him a champion, an orator, an organizer of games.' The procedure must always be to make these considerations the starting-points of the lamentation. Thus, in these speeches, you should begin with a complaint against the divine powers and unjust fate, and the destiny that laid down an unjust law, and then proceed at once to take your cue from the immediate situation: 'What a man they have snatched away, how they have exulted over the fallen!' But— to save us saying the same things many times over—

Soffel: num ἀνύεσθαι vel ἀνοίγεσθαι?   ἔμελλε codd. (post θάλαμος W): del. Walz, Finckh   5 ἔμελλον p: -εν Pm: om. W: ἔμενεν Finckh   6 ἦν ἕξειν Pp: τίνα ἕξει mW   7 ἀγῶνας Finckh, cf. 411. 18, 413. 3: ἀγῶνα codd.   11 πρὸς μοῖραν ἄδικον del. Nitsche ἄδικον . . . ὁρίσασαν PmW: om. p   13 ante οἷον add. οἷον γάρ PmW   14 πολλάκις ταὐτὰ Bursian: πολλὰ τοιαῦτα codd.

15 χρήσῃ ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ, καὶ διαιρήσεις πρὸς τὰς τοι-
αύτας ὑποθέσεις τὸν λόγον. διαιρήσεις δὲ τὴν μονῳ-
δίαν εἰς χρόνους τρεῖς, τὸν παρόντα εὐθὺς καὶ
πρῶτον· μᾶλλον γὰρ ὁ λόγος κινητικώτερος εἰ ἀπὸ
τῶν ἐπ' ὄψιν καὶ τῶν νῦν συμβάντων οἰκτίζοι τις,
20 εἰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ θανάτου λέγοι τις,
εἰ μακρᾷ νόσῳ περιπεπτωκὼς εἴη, εἰ ὀξὺς ὁ θάνατος·
⟨ἢ⟩ ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου τῶν παρόντων, ὅτι συνεληλύθασιν
οὐκ εἰς θέατρον εὔδαιμον, οὐκ εἰς θέαν εὐκταίαν.
εἶτα ἀπὸ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, οἷος ἦν ἐν
25 νέοις ὅτε ἦν νέος, οἷος ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνὴρ τυγχάνων,
ὅπως ὁμιλητικός, ὅπως ἤπιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ λόγοις δια-
πρέπων, ὅπως ἐν νεανίσκοις καὶ ἡλικιώταις γαῦρος,
οἷος ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, οἷος ἐν γυμνασίοις· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ
μέλλοντος, οἵας εἶχεν ἐλπίδας ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ γένος,
30 εἶτα ἀποστροφῇ χρήσῃ. ὦ γένος λαμπρὸν καὶ εὐδόκι-
μον ἄχρι τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας, ἐκόμας μὲν ἐπὶ χρυσῷ
καὶ ὄλβῳ καὶ εὐγενείᾳ τῇ θρυλουμένῃ, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα
436 συνέχεεν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασεν ὁ πεσών. τί τοιοῦτον κειμή-
λιον κέκτησαι οἷον ἀποβέβληκας; συνοδύρου οὖν
καὶ πατρὶ καὶ μητρί, καὶ αὐξήσεις τὸν οἶκτον· οἵων
ἐλπίδων ἐστέρηνται. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιχειρή-
5 σεις λέγων πάλιν, οἷος ἂν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐγένετο, οἷον
ἂν παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν, καὶ οἷον παρεῖ-
χεν. κἂν μὲν τῶν πολιτευομένων ᾖ, ἐρεῖς τούτων τὰ
πολλὰ ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ· εἰ δὲ τῶν μελλόν-
των προστατεῖν, ταῦτα ἐρεῖς ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, καὶ ὅλως
10 ἐφαρμόσεις τοῖς χρόνοις ἀεὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν προσώπων.
εἶτα μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους διαγράψεις τὴν ἐκφοράν,
τὴν σύνοδον τῆς πόλεως· εἴθε μὲν οὖν προεπέμπετο
εἰς θάλαμον, εἴθε μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀποδημίαν ἐξ ἧς
ἔμελλεν ἐπανιέναι, εἴθε ἀκροασόμενοι λόγων αὐτοῦ
15 συνεληλύθειμεν. εἶτα διατυπώσεις τὸ εἶδος τοῦ σώ|ματος·
οἷος ἦν, οἷον ἀποβέβληκε τὸ κάλλος, τὸ τῶν παρειῶν
ἐρύθημα, οἷα γλῶττα συνέσταλται, οἷος ἴουλος φαί-

18 εἰ Walz: εἴη mWp: ἢ P   19 οἰκτίζοι τις Bursian: οἰκτίζον-
ται P: οἰκτίζων τε Wp: οἰκτίζοντες m: οἰκτίζοις Nitsche   22 ⟨ἢ⟩
Bursian: ⟨εἰ⟩ Soffel   23 οὐκ εἰς θέαν εὐκταίαν mWp: om. P
31 ἡμέρας mWp: ὥρας P   ἐκόμας mW: κομᾷς Pp
436. 1 ἀνεσκεύασεν p: συνε- P: συνεσκέδασεν m: διεσκέδασεν W

you should simply use this technique and divide your speech with a view to these subjects.

The monody should be divided into three periods: (i) the present, since the speech is more effective if pity is induced by reference to visible events and present happenings—i.e. if reference is made to his age or manner of death—whether he endured a long illness or died suddenly—or to the present gathering, people who have come 'not to a happy theatre or a sight they hoped to see'; (ii) the past: e.g. what he was like when he was young among the young, what he was like among men when he became a man (if so), how accessible, how gentle, how distinguished in speaking, how proud among the lads and his contemporaries, how he shaped at hunting, at athletics; (iii) the future: what hopes the family placed in him. You should then use 'apostrophe': 'O splendid and distinguished family—till this day! You gloried in gold and riches and your much talked-of nobility, but he who has fallen has confounded and overthrown it all. What treasure do you possess like that you have lost?' Share the grief of the father and mother, and amplify the pathos by showing what hopes they have been robbed of. You should also argue from the point of view of the city, saying what kind of man he would have been to it, how he would have shown himself as a benefactor, how indeed he did. If he is a public figure, you can say most of this under the head of the past; if he is one of those destined to be leaders one day, under that of the future. In general, adapt the personal facts to the time-scheme.

After the 'three periods', you should describe the funeral, the gathering of the city. 'Would that he were being led to his wedding, or on a journey whence he was to return, would that we had come together to hear *him* speak!' Then describe his personal appearance in life: 'What beauty he has lost—the bloom of his cheeks—the tongue now silent! The soft beard

νεται μαρανθείς, οἷοι βόστρυχοι κόμης οὐκέτι λοιπὸν
περίβλεπτοι, ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ βολαὶ καὶ γλῆναι κατακοι-
20 μηθεῖσαι, βλεφάρων δὲ ἕλικες οὐκέτι ἕλικες, ἀλλὰ
συμπεπτωκότα πάντα. εὔδηλον δὲ ὡς αἱ μονῳδίαι
εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ νεωτέροις λέγεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ γεγη-
ρακόσι· τοὺς γὰρ πρεσβύτας ὡς νέους ἐν μονῳδίᾳ
θρηνεῖν πῶς οὐ περιττὸν ὄντως καὶ μάταιον; ῥηθείη
25 δ' ἂν μονῳδία καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ αὑτοῦ γυναικὶ λέ-
γοντος· ἐχέτω δὲ μνήμην καὶ ζώων ἀλόγων, οἷον
οὐδὲ ἄλογα ζῷα, οἷον βοῦς ἢ ἵππος ἢ κύκνος ἢ χελι-
δών, ἀνέχεται χωριζόμενα ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἐπισημαίνει
τῇ φωνῇ ὀδυρόμενα, οἷον ὁ κύκνος ἀνεὶς τὸ πτερὸν
30 τῷ ζεφύρῳ δακρύει τὸν σύννομον καὶ ὀδύρε|ται, καὶ
⟨ἡ⟩ χελιδὼν τὴν μουσικὴν εἰς θρῆνον μεταβάλλει πολλάκις
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πετάλων τῶν δένδρων ἱζάνουσα κατο-
437 δύρεται. ἔστω δὲ μὴ πέρα τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα
ἐπῶν ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τοὺς πενθοῦντας
μακρᾶς σχολῆς μηδὲ λόγων μήκους ἐν συμφοραῖς καὶ
ἀκαιρίαις. ἡ μονῳδία δὲ ἀεὶ ἄνετος.

5   ΠΕΡΙ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΑΚΟΥ

Δεῖ μὲν ὁμολογεῖν σε εὐθὺς ἐν προοιμίῳ τῷ πρώ-
τῳ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν λόγους κτησάμενον ἀποδοῦναι λογίῳ
θεῷ τὰς χάριτας διὰ τῶν λόγων οὓς δι' αὐτὸν τὸν μου-
σηγέτην κεκτήμεθα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι προστάτης καὶ
10 συνεργὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, οὐ μόνον νῦν ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἀνέκαθεν, ὥστε διπλῆν τὴν χάριν ὀφείλεσθαι,
ὑπέρ τε τῶν λόγων ὑπέρ τε τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τρί-
τον ὅτι καὶ ἄλλως ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι δεῖν ἀνυμνεῖν
τοὺς κρείττονας καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐφημίας μηδέ-
15 ποτε ῥᾳθυμεῖν. τὸ δεύτερον ἐργάσῃ λαβὼν τοιαύτην
ἔννοιαν· Ὅμηρος μὲν οὖν πάλαι ⟨καὶ ἐν⟩ ὕμνοις καὶ τῇ με-
γάλῃ ποιήσει τοὺς πρὸς ἀξίαν ὕμνους εἴρηκε τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ παρέλιπε τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ὑπερβολὴν οὐδεμίαν· καὶ
ὅτι αἱ Μοῦσαι καθ' Ἡσίοδον πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ὑμνοῦσιν
20 ἀεὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα· προὔλαβε δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ὕμνους

21 συμπεπτωκότα πάντα PWp: -ότες πάντῃ m   23 ὡς νέους
mWp: om. P, del. Bursian   30 τὸν codd.: τὴν Bursian
31 ⟨ἡ⟩ suppl. et χελιδὼν huc transp. Nitsche, Soffel: χελιδὼν ante
ὀδύρεται codd.
        437. 4 ἀκαιρίαις p: -ίᾳ PmW   437. 5 sqq. hoc caput habent

wilted! The locks of hair no longer to be gazed at!
The glances of the eye, the eyeballs at rest! The tendrils
of the eyelids, tendrils no more! All fallen in ruin!'

It is obvious that monodies are commonly delivered
over young people, not over the old. Would it not be
futile and superfluous to lament for the old in a
monody as for the young? A monody may, however,
be spoken by a husband over his wife. It should then
contain a mention of the animals: e.g. 'The brute
beasts—ox, horse, swan, swallow—cannot bear to be
parted from each other, but show their grief in their
cries. The swan droops his wing to the West Wind
and weeps for his companion and mourns; the
swallow often turns her song to lament, and grieves as
she sits on the sprays of the trees.'

This speech should not exceed 150 lines in length.
Mourners do not tolerate long delays or lengthy
speeches at times of misfortune and unhappiness.
The monody is always relaxed in style.

[XVII] THE SMINTHIAC ORATION
(SMINTHIAKOS)

You must admit at once in the first prooemium that
the possessor of speech should show gratitude to the
god of speech, in the medium of the speech that we
possess through the Leader of the Muses, especially as
he is the champion and helper of our city, not only now
but of old, so that a double debt of gratitude is due, for
the speech and for the benefactions; and, thirdly, it is
anyway an admitted duty to sing the praises of the
powers above and never to be neglectful in their praise.

You should work up the second prooemium by
taking some idea like this: 'Homer, both in his hymns
and in his major poems, has long since given us hymns
equal to the worth of the god, and has left his successors
no means of surpassing him. According to Hesiod, the
Muses are always hymning Apollo in accordance with
his worth; Pindar too has anticipated us, writing

PmWp   5 titulus περὶ Σμινθιακοῦ pW: -ῶν P: περὶ προοιμίου m
9 καὶ ὅτι p: διὰ τῆς καὶ ὅτι P: δι' αὐτοῦ ὅτι m: διὰ τῆς(?) ὅτι W:
ἄλλας τε δι' αἰτίας καὶ ὅτι temptat Bursian   16 οὖν mp: om.
PW   ⟨καὶ ἐν⟩ Bursian   ὕμνοις m: -ους PWp   18–20 καὶ ὅτι
. . . Ἀπόλλωνα del. Nitsche   20 ἀεὶ + πρὸς Pp, unde ὕμνους ᾄδου-
σιν πρὸς temptat Bursian

γράφων εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀξίους τῆς ἐκείνου λύρας· ὅμως
δ’ ἐπειδήπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ κρείττους καὶ τὰς σμικρο-
τάτας τῶν θυσιῶν ἀποδέχεσθαι, ὅταν γίγνωνται εὐα-
γῶς, οὐκ ἀφέξομαι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν ὕμνον
25 ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. εὔχομαι δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Σμινθίῳ
Ἀπόλλωνι δύναμιν ἐμποιῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ ἀρκοῦσαν πρὸς
τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν. τρίτον· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡρώων
τινὸς ἔμελλον λέγειν ἐγκώμιον, οὐκ ἂν διηπόρησα
περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐδ’ ὅθεν δεῖ πρῶτον τὴν ἀρχὴν
30 τοῦ λόγου ποιήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δέ μοι καὶ ὁ λόγος τετόλ-
μηκεν †εἰς† τὸν μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν, ἐδεήθην μὲν
438 χρησμῳδῆσαί μοι τὴν Πυθίαν σεισθέντων τῶν τριπό-
δων, ὅθεν δεῖ κατατολμῆσαι τοῦ πράγματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ
κρύπτει τέως ἡμῖν τὰ μαντεύματα, τοῦτο δόξαν ἴσως
τοῖς κρείττοσιν, αἰτήσω παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν μανθά-
5 νειν, καθάπερ Πίνδαρος τῶν ὕμνων πυνθάνεται,
ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι, πόθεν με χρὴ τὴν
ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι; δοκεῖ δ’ οὖν μοι πρῶτον ἀφε-
μένῳ τέως τοῦ γένους ὕμνον εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφθέγ-
ξασθαι.

10 Μετὰ τὰς ἐννοίας ταύτας τὰς προοιμιακὰς ἐρεῖς
εἰς αὐτὸν ὕμνον τὸν θεόν, ὅτι, ὦ Σμίνθιε Ἄπολλον,
τίνα σε χρὴ προσειπεῖν; πότερον ἥλιον τὸν τοῦ | φωτὸς
ταμίαν καὶ πηγὴν τῆς οὐρανίου ταύτης αἴγλης, ἢ νοῦν,
ὡς ὁ τῶν θεολογούντων λόγος, διήκοντα μὲν διὰ τῶν
15 οὐρανίων, ἰόντα δὲ δι’ αἰθέρος ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε; ἢ πό-
τερον αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν, ἢ [πότερον]
δευτερεύουσαν δύναμιν; δι’ ὃν σελήνη μὲν κέκτηται
σέλας, γῆ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους ἠγάπησεν ὅρους, θάλαττα
δὲ οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει τοὺς ἰδίους μυχούς. φασὶ γὰρ τοῦ
20 χάους κατειληφότος τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ πάντων συγκε-
χυμένων καὶ φερομένων τὴν ἄτακτον ἐκείνην καὶ
†ἀμειγῆ† φοράν, σὲ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανίων ἀψίδων ἐκλάμ-
ψαντα σκεδάσαι μὲν τὸ χάος ἐκεῖνο, ἀπολέσαι δὲ τὸν
ζόφον, τάξιν δ’ ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα

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25 prius τῷ p: om. PmW   δὲ + καὶ m   26 Ἀπόλλωνι fortasse
secludendum   28 οὐκ Spengel: οὔτ’ codd.   29 τῆς ἀρχῆς
codd.: αὐτῆς Nitsche   30 τοῦ λόγου p: τῶν λόγων PmW   καὶ
mp: om. PW   31 fortasse ⟨εἰσιέναι⟩ εἰς aut προσειπεῖν
   438. 2 ὅθεν codd.: ὁπόθεν Bursian   3 μαντεύματα mWp:
μαντευόμενα P   ἴσως Pp: οὕτως W: om. m   12 πότερον mW

hymns to the god worthy of the god's own lyre. Nevertheless, since the powers above regularly accept even the smallest sacrifices, when they are made with piety, I shall not refrain from dedicating a hymn to Apollo as well as I can, and I pray to Apollo Sminthius himself to implant in my words power sufficient for the subject in hand.'

Thirdly: 'If I were about to pronounce an encomium of a hero, I should not have been uncertain about the beginning, or where I should make the beginning of my speech. But since my speech has made bold ⟨to approach⟩ (?) the greatest of the gods, I have asked the Pythia to prophesy to me from her quaking tripods and tell me from what point I should make an assault on the business. But, since as yet she hides her prophecies from me—such being, no doubt, the will of the gods—I shall ask for understanding from the Muses, just as Pindar asks his hymns—"Ye hymns that lord the lyre"—where shall I make my beginning? Well, then: I shall say nothing of the god's ancestry for the moment, but deliver a hymn to the god himself.'

After these introductory thoughts, you should deliver a hymn to the god himself: 'Sminthian Apollo, how should we address thee? As the sun that is the dispenser of light and source of the brilliance of heaven? Or as Mind, as the theologians say, penetrating all heavenly things and passing through the aether to this world of ours? As the creator of the universe, or as the Second Power? Through you the moon has her light, the earth is content with its own bounds, and the sea does not pass beyond its own depths. They say that, when Chaos filled the world and all things were in confusion and moving with that disordered and disharmonious (?) motion, you shone forth from the vaults of heaven, and scattered Chaos, and destroyed the darkness, and

(Finckh): πρότερον Pp   13 φωτός Pmp: παντός W   ταύτης PmW: om. p   16 πότερον PmW: πρότερον p: secl. Finckh 22 ἀμειγῆ P: ἀμειδῆ mWp, defendit Finckh: πλημμελῆ Bursian: ἀνέδην Wilamowitz: fortasse παμμιγῆ   post φοράν add. σὲ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανίων ἀναφορῶν mW

25 μὲν σοφῶν παισὶ φιλοσοφεῖν παραλείπω, ἣν δὲ ἀκήκοα
μυθολογούντων γένεσιν, ταύτην καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι
λέγειν· πάντως δὲ οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τρόπου σοι ὁ λόγος,
ὃς κεκρυμμένην εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀληθεστέραν γνῶ-
σιν. εἶτα ἐρεῖς κεφάλαιον μετὰ τὸν ὕμνον δεύτερον
30 τὸ γένος, ἄρξῃ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν· Ζεὺς ἐπειδὴ κατέλυσε
τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἀρχὴν ἄνομον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἄρχοντας,
μᾶλλον δὲ ὥσπερ βίαιον τυραννίδα διέποντας, καὶ
439 Ταρτάρου μυχοῖς παραδέδωκεν, τότε γένεσιν παίδων
δημιουργεῖν ἐνενόησεν, μεθ' ὧν τὰ πάντα ἄριστα
καταστήσειν ἔμελλεν, καὶ μίαν τῶν Τιτανίδων νύμ-
φην ἐξελόμενος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πρὸς Ἥραν θεσμοὺς
5 †ἑτέροις τόκοις† ἐφύλαττεν, ἐδημιούργει μετ' ἐκείνης
τὸν τόκον· κάλλει μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὥρᾳ σώματος διέφερεν,
ἔπρεπε δὲ γενέσθαι μητέρα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος.
καταλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν Δῆλον μέλλουσα τίκτειν ἡδέως,
οἱ δέ φασι τὴν Λυκίαν. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν οἱ τὴν Δῆλον
10 εὐτυχῆσαι φάσκοντες τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἀνασχεῖν μὲν ἐκ
θαλάττης πρὸ τοῦ κρυπτομένην καὶ οὖσαν ὕφαλον, ὑπο-
δέξασθαι ⟨δὲ⟩ πλανωμένην τὴν θεὸν ἐκ Σουνίου τῆς Ἀττι-
κῆς ἐπιβᾶσαν τῇ νήσῳ· Ὅμηρος δὲ οἶδε μὲν ἐν Λυ-
κίᾳ γεννώμενον——λέγει γάρ που

15   Λυκηγενέϊ κλυτοτόξῳ——

καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον εὐτυχήσαντα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν
γένεσιν. φασὶ δ' οὖν ἐκφανέντα τῶν ὠδίνων τὸν θεὸν
λάμψαι μὲν τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ἐπισχεῖν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν
καὶ οὐράνιον κύκλον, Χάριτας δὲ καὶ Ὥρας περιχορεῦ-
20 σαι τὸν τόπον, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐ σύμβολον αἴσιον ἐκ γῆς
καὶ θαλάττης καὶ οὐρανοῦ δειχθῆναι. ἐκ δὲ Λυκίας
παρ' ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσι τὸν θεὸν καὶ καταλαμβά-
νοντα τὸ Σμίνθιον μαντεῖον ἐγκαταστῆσαι τῷ τόπῳ
καὶ κινῆσαι τρίποδας.

25   Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ
θεοῦ ζητεῖται, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι ἐν Δήλῳ, τῶν
δὲ ὅτι ἐν Λυκίᾳ, κατασκευάσεις ὅτι ἀξιόπιστος μάρτυς ὁ

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26 μυθολογούντων nos: τῶν λεγόντων codd.   28 ὃς p: om.
PmW   29 μετὰ PmW: μὲν p (μὲν τοῦ ὕμνου Bursian)
439. 1 Ταρτάρου mW: -οις P: -ων p   4 ἐξελόμενος Pp:
ἐκλεξάμενος mW   5 ἑτέροις τόκοις PmW: ἑτέροις τόποις p:
ἑτερότροπος Bursian: ἑτέρωσε τραπεὶς ⟨οὐκ⟩ Kroll   μετ' ἐκείνης

set order on all things. But this I leave to the children of the wise to study in their philosophy. I will try, however, to relate the birth, as I have heard it from those who tell the myth (?). Nor will this story be inappropriate for you, for it holds concealed in itself a truer knowledge.' Then you should deliver the second section of your hymn, viz. 'birth', and begin thus:

'When Zeus suppressed the lawless and uncontrolled rule, or rather violent tyranny, which the Titans exercised, and committed them to the depths of Tartarus, he then bethought him of creating children with whose help he could dispose everything for the best. He chose a nymph, one of the daughters of the Titans, since he was keeping his union with Hera for other births (?), and contrived the birth with her. She excelled in fairness and the beauty of her body, and was fit to be the mother of Apollo and Artemis. When she was about to give birth, the goddess luckily reached Delos—or, as some say, Lycia. Now those who say that Delos was blessed with the privilege of receiving her allege that it was formerly hidden and submerged, but rose from the sea and welcomed the goddess when she set foot on the island in her wanderings from Sunium in Attica. Homer however knows that it was in Lycia that he was born—for he speaks of "the Lycian-born, famed for his bow"—and that this was the place that had the good fortune of Apollo's birth. Anyway, they say that when the god appeared from the womb, he shone forth so as to fill earth and sea and heaven, and the Graces and Hours danced around the spot. What omen of good was not displayed from earth and sea and heaven? They say the god came to us from Lycia, and occupied the Smintheum, and established an oracle in the place and set his tripods astir.'

Since there is a question about the god's birthplace, some saying Delos and others Lycia, you should argue

mWp: τὸν τῆς ἐκείνης P   8–9 ἡδέως, οἱ δέ mWp: ἡδὲ ὡς οἶδεν P
10 ἀνασχεῖν μὲν Pp: ἀνασχὼν mW: ἀνασχοῦσαν Bursian   12 ⟨δὲ⟩
supplevimus   πλανωμένην p: om. PmW   13 τῇ νήσῳ p: τῶν
-ων PmW   οἶδε μὲν+που m, +τὸν W   17 τὸν mW: om. Pp
22 θεὸν mWp: δαίμονα P   22–3 καταλαμβάνοντα codd.: fortasse
καταλαβόντα   25 τόπον p: τόκον PmW   25–6 τοῦ θεοῦ
mWp: αὐτοῦ P   27 prius ὅτι Pp: om. mW

ποιητὴς πρὸς τὸ σαυτῷ συμφέρον, ὅτι Λυκηγενῆ αὐτὸν
εἴωθεν καλεῖν [ὁ ποιητής]. ἐπάξεις ἀκολούθως ὅτι
30 εἰκὸς ἐν Λυκίᾳ γεννηθέντα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πρῶτον
ὀφθῆναι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μέλλων διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους
καὶ Κασταλίαν καὶ Δελφοὺς τῶν μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμέ-
440 λησεν, παρὰ δὲ ἐκείνους ἔδραμεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι
τιμῶν τοὺς ἡμετέρους πατέρας καὶ ῥυόμενος κινδύνων
φαίνεται· οὐκ ἂν δὲ τοῦτο ἐποίησε μὴ πάλαι καὶ
πρότερον εὐμενῶς πρὸς τὴν χώραν διακείμενος.
5 Δελ|φοὶ μὲν οὖν μεγαλαυχούμενοι τὴν Πυθίαν
προβάλλονται καὶ Παρνασσὸν καὶ Κασταλίαν, | καὶ
τὸν θεὸν μόνοι τῶν ἁπάντων αὐχοῦσιν ἔχειν, ἐγὼ
δὲ εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν συνήδομαι μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς
χάριτος, οὐ μὴν κρίνω γε πράττειν αὐτοὺς τῶν παρ'
10 ἡμῖν εὐχερέστερον· καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς μετέσχομεν τούτων
πρῶτοι τῶν μαντείων, καὶ δεξάμενοι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς
ἄλλοις περιεπέμψαμεν, καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπορροὴν
ἐκεῖνοι ἀφ' ἡμῶν κέκτηνται· ἐπίσης τε χαίρει ταῖς
προσωνυμίαις τῶν τόπων ὁ θεός, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Πύθιος,
15 οὕτω καὶ ὁ Σμίνθιος. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς ἐγκώμιον
τῆς χώρας, ὅτι εἰκότως δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἠγά-
πησεν ὁ θεός, ἰδὼν αὐτὴν κάλλει διαφέρουσαν· ἐν
ᾧ καὶ ἐκφράσεις τὴν χώραν οἷα ἐστί, οὐκ ἀκριβῶς
μέν, ἐπεξιὼν [τῇ χώρᾳ, γράφε] δὲ τῆς χώρας ἃ δυνατὸν
20 κινῆσαι τὸν ἀκροατήν, τὰ μᾶλλον ἐξαίρετα λέγων. εἶτα
μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπάξεις ἀκολούθως, ὅτι τοιγάρτοι καὶ
τιμῶν καὶ συμμαχῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις διετέλεσεν, ἐν πολέ-
μοις, ἐν χρησμῳδίαις διαφθείρων παντοδαπῶς τοὺς πο-
λεμίους. εἶτα μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον πάλιν διαιρήσεις
25 εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐρεῖς οὕτως·
ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἡ μνήμη τῆς χώρας παρήνεγκεν
ἡμᾶς τῆς συνεχοῦς μνήμης τοῦ θεοῦ, διόπερ ἐπανα-
κτέον πάλιν. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν εὐθὺς
ἐμνημονεύσαμεν τῆς χώρας, ἵνα μήτε ἀπόλυτος ὕμνος
30 γένηται [ὕμνους γὰρ καλοῦσι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐγκώμια],

that Homer is a reliable witness for your cause
because he commonly calls him Lycian-born. You
should argue, as a consequence, that it is probable
that, if born in Lycia, he would first be seen among us:
'For if he was intending to cross over to the islands and
to Castalia and Delphi he would not have neglected
us and run straight to them, especially as it is evident
that he honoured our ancestors and saved them from
peril. He would not have done this if he had not been
well disposed to the country long before. The Del-
phians, in their pride, put forward the Pythia and
Parnassus and Castalia, and boast that they alone of
mankind possess the god. For my part, if I must tell
the truth, I share their pleasure in these favours, but
yet judge that they fare no better than we do. We
were the first to enjoy these oracles. Having received
the god, we sent him on to the others in turn. It is
by our consent that they have received the influence
that comes from us. The god takes equal pleasure
also in the titles he acquires from the several places:
he is Sminthius as well as Pythius.'

After this, you should give an encomium of the
country: 'And it was natural that the god should
favour our land, for he saw how it excels in beauty.'
At this point, you may describe what the country
is like, not in detail, but going through those features
of the country which may stir the audience, mention-
ing the most remarkable things it possesses.

After dealing with the country, you should add, as a
consequence: 'He therefore continued to honour and
support our people in wars, in prophecies, destroying
our enemies in every way.' After this section, again,
you should divide the power of the god into four
parts, saying: 'I know not how, but the commemo-
ration of our country has carried us away from
unbroken commemoration of the god; we must there-
fore return.' (We mentioned the country immediately
after the birth, so that it should not be simply a
hymn [which is what encomia of the gods are called]

11 τῶν p: om. PmW   μαντείων nos: μάντεων codd.   θεὸν mWp:
δαίμονα P   15 οὕτω . . . Σμίνθιος p: om. PmW   19 τῇ χώρᾳ
γράφε codd.: seclusimus   ⟨διά⟩γραφε Nitsche   ἃ mW: ὡς Pp:
ὅσα Bursian   27 τοῦ θεοῦ mWp: αὐτοῦ P   29 ἀπόλυτος
p: αὐτὸς mW: αὐτὸς ὁ P   30 secl. Bursian

μήτε κοινὸς ἁπλῶς πρὸς πᾶσαν θεῶν ὑπόθεσιν, ἀλλ᾽
ἵνα ἔχῃ τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ Σμινθιακοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου. τίνες
441 γοῦν εἰσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ θεοῦ; τοξική, μαντική,
ἰατρική, μουσική.

Μέλλων οὖν ἄρχεσθαι μιᾶς δυνάμεως προοιμιάσῃ
πρῶτον (καλῶς δ᾽ ἂν ἔχοι τῆς τοξικῆς πρώτης,
5 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτης πρώτης ἅψασθαι λέγεται μετὰ τὴν
γένεσιν)· βούλομαι δὲ τὰς ἀρετὰς μὴ πάσας ἅμα,
μηδὲ συναθροίσας τῷ λόγῳ δοκεῖν συγχεῖν, ἀλλὰ διε-
λόμενος χωρὶς καθ᾽ ἑκάστην περὶ αὐτῶν διελθεῖν ὅσον
οἷόν τε μνησθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ῥᾴδιον.
10 λέγεται τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἀγωνισμάτων εἴχετο τὰ
τόξα μεταχειρισάμενος καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν λαβών, τού-
τοις γὰρ αὐτὸν ὥπλισεν ὁ πατήρ, ἀμύνεσθαι τῆς
τόλμης τὸν Τιτυόν, ἀνθ᾽ ὧν εἰς τὴν μητέρα ἠσέβησε
Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν, Πύθωνά τε κατειληφότα
15 Δελφοὺς κτεῖναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βέλεσιν. ἵνα δὲ Πύθων
ὅστις ἦν εἴπω, μικρὸν ἀναλήψομαι. ἤνεγκεν ἡ γῆ
δράκοντος φύσιν οὔτε λόγῳ ῥητὴν οὔτε ἀκοῇ πιστευ-
θῆναι ῥᾳδίαν· οὗτος πᾶσαν λυμαινόμενος γῆν, ὅση
πρόσοικος Δελφοῖς καὶ Φωκίδι, καταλαμβάνει τὴν Παρ-
20 νασσόν, ὄρος τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ μέγιστον, οὐκ
Ὀλύμπου χεῖρον οὐδ᾽ Ἴδης τῆς ἡμετέρας λειπόμενον.
τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐκάλυπτε μὲν ταῖς σπείραις καὶ τοῖς ἐλιγ-
μοῖς, καὶ ἦν τοῦ ὄρους γυμνὸν οὐδέν, τὴν κεφαλὴν
ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ἔχων, ἄνω μετεωρίζων
25 πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αἰθέρα. καὶ ἡνίκα μὲν πίνειν ἔδει,
ποταμοὺς ὁλοκλήρους ἐδέχετο, ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἐσθίειν, πάσας
ἀγέλας ἠφάνιζεν· οὗτος ἀβάτους μὲν ἐποίει Δελφοὺς
τοῖς ἅπασιν, ᾤκει δὲ τὸν τόπον οὐδείς, ἦν δὲ τὸ Θέ-
μιδος μαντεῖον ἔρημον. ἄτοπα δὲ καὶ ἀμήχανα ὁ θεὸς
30 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πάσχειν ὑπολαβὼν καὶ βουλόμενος
πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς θεσπίζειν τὰ συμφέροντα δι᾽ ὧν
ὁ βίος εὐδαιμονεῖν ἔμελλε, κτείνει καὶ τοῦτον μιᾷ

31 κοινὸς Walz: -οὺς P: -ῶς mWp
441. 1 γοῦν p: δὲ mW: om. P: οὖν Nitsche   4 ἔχοι Spengel:
-οις Pm: -ων p: -ῃς W: -οιο Bursian   5 ἐπειδὴ ... λέγεται Pmp:
om. W   πρώτης hic p, post λέγεται m: πρῶτον, post λέγεται P
6 τὰς ἀρετὰς nos: τῶν ἀρετῶν mWp: τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀρχόμενος αὐτοῦ P,
in quo verbo desinit   8 χωρὶς ... διελθεῖν p: om. mW   ὅσον
p: ὡς mW   9 μνησθῆναι m: μεμνῆσθαι W: μνησθέντα p

nor be common to all subjects connected with the gods (?), but possess the special characteristics of the Sminthiac Oration, which come from the place.) What then (?) are the powers of the god? Archery, prophecy, medicine, and music.

When you are about to begin discussing one of these powers, you should first deliver a prooemium. It would be a good plan to begin with archery, because this is the first skill they say Apollo put his hand to after his birth. 'I do not wish to put all the virtues together, and give the impression of confusing them, but to discuss each separately and so go through them all, so far as it is possible to make mention of them; for to tell of everything is no easy matter. It is said, then, that when he was first engaged in contest, he made ready his bow, and took his quiver—for his father had armed him with these—and requited Tityos for his audacity, for his impiety towards "Zeus' noble bedfellow", Apollo's own mother; and that then he slew with his darts Pytho, who had seized Delphi. To explain who Pytho was, I need to go back a little. The earth bore a dragon creature, indescribable in words and not easy to believe in from tales that are told; this dragon ravaged all the country adjoining Delphi and Phocis, and seized Parnassus, the greatest mountain under heaven, not inferior to Olympus or less than our own Ida. This it covered with its spirals and coils, and nothing of the mountain remained bare. It held its head over the very crest, rearing up towards the heaven itself. When it needed to drink, it consumed whole rivers; when it needed to eat, it annihilated whole flocks. It made Delphi inaccessible to all men, no one inhabited the site, the oracle of Themis was abandoned. Realizing that what was happening to the people was strange and without remedy and wanting also to prophesy to men in every way such useful things as would enable their lives to be happy, Apollo slew Pytho too, in a single shooting,

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10 πρῶτον Bursian: -ων p: πρὸ τῶν mW   εἴχετο Bursian: εἴχε codd.
14–15 τε... Δελφοὺς p: τε καὶ Τηλεφῶντα ἀδελφοὺς mW   15 ἑαυ-
τοῦ p: om. mW   21 οὐδ' Ἴδης Bursian: οὐδὲ δὴ τῆς vel οὐδὲ τῆς
codd.   24 ἔχων + καὶ mW   26 ὁλοκλήρους p: ὅλους mW

442 τοξεία ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀκίσι καὶ βέλεσι. τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν
ἀγωνίσματα τίς ἂν εἴποι τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν, τὰ
κατὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀσεβούντων εἰς τοὺς θεούς, τὰ κατὰ
τοῦ Πηλέως μήνιδι τῶν περὶ Ἕκτορα | τολμηθέντων
5-6 παρανόμων· καὶ ὅτι κυνηγέτης ὁ | θεὸς καὶ τοῖς τόξοις
6-7 αἱρεῖν εἴωθε τὰ θηρία, καὶ | ὅτι τοξικὴν αὐτὸς εὗρε πρῶτος
ἅμα τῇ ἀδελφῇ τῇ | Ἀρτέμιδι.

Μέλλων δὲ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς ἕτερον κεφάλαιον ὁμοίως
10 ἐρεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ ἐξαίρετον, ὅτι μάντις.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ θέσιν διὰ βραχέων περανεῖς, ὅτι ἀγα-
θὸν ἡ μαντική, καὶ διὰ ταύτης τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀν-
θρωπίνων κατορθοῦσθαι πέφυκε, ταύτην δὲ μάλιστα
Ἀπόλλων ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐθαύμασε· καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν τρι-
15 πόδων θεσπίζων ᾤκισε τὴν ἤπειρον, ᾤκισε δὲ τὴν
θάλασσαν, νῦν μὲν εἰς Λιβύην ἐκπέμπων, νῦν δὲ οἰκί-
ζων τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, τὴν Ἀσίαν, τὴν ἑῴαν πᾶσαν.
τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος αὐξήσεις τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐγκωμίων
ἐπεργαζόμενος, ὅτι ἐκινδύνευσε μὲν ἀοίκητος εἶναι γῆ
20 πᾶσα, εἰ μὴ τὰ μαντεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ πανταχοῦ δὴ γῆς
ἐπεφοίτησε παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐκ Μιλήτου· ἐν
ᾧ μέρει, ἐάν τι μάθῃς ἐκ πατρίων ἐνεργήσαντα τὸν
θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν μαντευμάτων, πρόσθες.

Μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον †ἄλλο τῶν πράξεων†, ὅτι
25 μουσικὸς ὁ θεός. ἐνταῦθα καιρὸν ἕξεις, ὅπως μὲν
κατ' οὐρανὸν μέσος ἐν μέσοις θεοῖς πλήττει τὴν λύραν,
ὅπως δὲ μετὰ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
Πιερίας. καὶ φιλοσοφήσεις μετρίως ἐνταῦθα· εἰ δὲ
δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἀπορρητότερον λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὃν φιλοσόφων
30 παῖδες πρεσβεύουσι, λέγουσιν αὐτὸν [μὲν] ὄντα τὸν ἥλιον
μουσικῇ μὲν αὐτὸν κινεῖσθαι, κατὰ μουσικὴν δὲ περι-
δινεῖν περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πόλον, καὶ δι' ἁρμονίας ἅπαντα
443 τὸν κόσμον διοικεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα τοῖς
θεολόγοις παρεῖναι δεῖ, λέγωμεν μᾶλλον τὰ γνωριμώ-
τατα· ὁ γὰρ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ δι' αὐτὸν εὐδόκιμος εἰς

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442. 1 αὐταῖς Wp: -οῦ m   ἀκίσι mp: ἀκτῖσι W   4 τοῦ
Finckh: τὸν p: τῇ W: om. m   Ἕκτορα Finckh: Ἕκτορα καὶ
Κάστορα p: Κάστορι W: Κάστορα m   5 παρανόμων Finckh:
καὶ παρανόμων mW: παρανομιῶν p   17 τὴν ἑῴαν huc transp.
Bursian: ante τὴν Ἀσίαν codd.   19 ἐπεργαζόμενος mp: ἐπεξ- W
24 ἄλλο mW: ἄλλο τὸ p: ἄλλο τι Bursian   τῶν πράξεων codd.:
fortasse, e.g. ⟨ἐπ'⟩ ἄλλο ⟨ἥξεις⟩   26 μέσος ἐν p: om. mW

with the same arrows and darts. As for his struggles here, who could relate them worthily of the god— his action against the Achaeans when they were impious towards the gods, his action towards the son of Peleus in anger over the wrongs he dared to commit on Hector?' Note also that the god is a hunter, and is used to destroying wild beasts with his bow. With his sister Artemis, he was the first discoverer of archery.

Similarly, when you are about to embark on the second section, you should state the greatest special accomplishment of the god, namely that he is a prophet. Here you should briefly discuss the general thesis that prophecy is a good thing and has been the medium by which the greatest human successes have been achieved. Apollo in particular honoured and admired it. Prophesying from the tripods, he colonized the mainland and the sea, now sending settlers to Libya, now colonizing the Hellespont, Asia, all the East. You should amplify this by elaborating it with the grandeur of your encomium: 'The whole earth would have remained uninhabited, had not the oracles of the god gone forth over all the earth, from us, from Delphi, and from Miletus.' In this part, add any traditional details of what the god effected as a result of prophecies.

After this section ⟨you will move on to⟩ (?) another, viz. that of the god as musician. Here you will have the chance ⟨to say⟩ how he strikes his lyre in heaven in the midst of all the gods, and with the Muses on Helicon and in Pieria. Here you should philosophize a little: 'If I may utter the more secret doctrine, which the children of the philosophers hold in esteem, they say that he is the sun, and that it is by music that he moves, by music that he makes the heavens revolve about him and by harmony that he controls the whole universe. But we must leave this to the theologians; let us speak rather of what is most familiar. Orpheus, who owed his fame to Apollo, reached such perfection

τοσοῦτον εὐμουσίας προῆλθεν, ὥστε καὶ θηρία συλ-
λέγειν, εἰ πλήττοι τὴν λύραν, καὶ λίθους κινεῖν
5 καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν καταθέλγειν πιπτούσης εἰς αἴσθησιν
αὐτῶν τῆς ἁρμονίας. Ἀμφίονος μνημονεύσεις, Ἀρίο-
νος, ὅτι ὁ μὲν τὰς Θήβας ἐτείχισε τῇ λύρᾳ τὰς
πέτρας μετάγων, ὁ δὲ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ
10 δελφῖνος ὀχούμενος. ἀνοίσεις δὲ τὰ ἐγκώμια ἐπὶ
τὸν μουσηγέτην, ὡς παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβανόντων τὴν
μουσικήν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην τοῦ θεοῦ ἥξεις ἐπὶ
τὴν τετάρτην, ὅτι καὶ ἰατρός, ἀεὶ δὲ προοιμιάσῃ καθ'
15 ἑκάστην τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν μικρὰ μηδὲ φαῦλα
τὰ ῥηθησόμενα· αἱ γὰρ διὰ μέσων τῶν λόγων ἔννοιαι | προ-
οιμιακαί, προπαρασκευάζουσαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ προσεχέ-
στερον διατιθεῖσαι, ταῖς ὑποθέσεσιν αὐξήσεις ἐργάζον-
ται. οὐκοῦν ἐρεῖς ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ταύτην ὁ
20 θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐξεῦρεν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ θέσιν ἐρεῖς ὅτι διαφθει-
ρομένου τοῦ γένους ταῖς νόσοις καὶ τοῖς πόνοις κατοι-
κτείρας ἡμᾶς τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐξεῦρεν, ἧς τί ἂν γένοιτο
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χρησιμώτερον; τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν εἰργά-
σατο γῆν, τίς ἂν ἔπλευσε θάλασσαν, τίς δ' ἂν πόλεις
25 ἔκτισε, τίς δ' ἂν νόμους ἡμῖν ἔθηκε μὴ τῆς ἰατρικῆς
παρελθούσης; ὅθεν καὶ παιᾶνα αὐτὸν καὶ πέπονα καὶ
ἀλαλκέα ὀδυνῶν καὶ σωτῆρα καλεῖν εἰώθασι καὶ ποιηταὶ
καὶ ⟨συγγραφεῖς⟩ σύμπαντες. θήσεις δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὴν
Ἀσκλη|πιοῦ γένεσιν· βουλόμενος δὲ αὐξῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ὁ
30 θεὸς καὶ μεταδοῦναι ταύτην τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει
τὴν Ἀσκληπιοῦ γένεσιν ἐδημιούργησεν, ἧς πῶς ἄν
τις κατ' ἀξίαν μνησθείη; ζητήσεις δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν
444 κεφαλαίων τῶν πατρίων τινὰ καὶ τῶν μυθευομένων
καὶ προσθήσεις, ἵνα μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον γένηται. μετὰ
ταῦτα κεφάλαιον θήσεις τοιοῦτον περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι
τοιγαροῦν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν Εὐρώπην χειρωσάμενος καὶ
5 διαβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤδη, ἐπειδὴ προσέβαλε τῷ

6 καταθέλγειν Finckh: κατὰ θέαν codd.   7 ⟨καὶ⟩ Ἀμφίονος . . .
⟨καὶ⟩ Ἀρίονος Bursian   8 ante ὅτι add. καὶ m   9 Τυρρηνικὸν
mW: τυραννικὸν p   ἔπλευσεν mW: διῆλθε p   17 προπαρασκευ-
άζουσαι nos: προδιαιτηθεῖσαι p: προδιατιθεῖσαι m: διατιθεῖσαι W
17–18 τὸν ἀκροατὴν . . . δια(τι)θεῖσαι mW: om. p   18 διατιθεῖσαι
W: διαθεῖσαι m   αὐξήσεις p: αὔξησιν mW   22 ἧς p: om.
mW   τί + ἔτι W   26 πέπονα mW, suspectum: πέπωνα p

of skill in music that he gathered together the wild
beasts whenever he played his lyre, and moved stones
and charmed all things on whose senses his music
fell.' You should mention also Amphion and Arion,
how the one fortified Thebes by moving stones with
his lyre, and the other crossed the Tyrrhenian sea
riding on a dolphin. You should bring the encomia
back always to the Leader of the Muses, on the ground
that it was from him that all these acquired their
music.

When you have dealt with this quality of the god,
you should proceed to the fourth, viz. that he is a
healer. You should always prefix a prooemium to the
treatment of each of the virtues, so that what is to be
said does not appear trivial or weak. For introductory
ideas introduced in the course of a speech, since they
prepare the reader and make him more attentive,
effect an amplification of the subject. You should
therefore state that the god discovered this art of
medicine for us; and at this point you should add a
general thesis, viz. that he discovered medicine out of
pity for us, when the race was being destroyed by
disease and hardship; and what could be more useful
to man? 'Who would have tilled the earth, sailed the
sea, founded cities, made laws, without the ap-
pearance of medicine in life? This is why all poets and
⟨prose writers⟩ commonly call him "the gentle one"
(?), "protector from pain", and "saviour".' You
should note here the birth of Asclepius. 'Wishing to
increase his art and pass it on to the human race,
the god contrived the birth of Asclepius; how can
one speak worthily of this?'

You should look for some traditional or mytho-
logical details to support each heading, and add them,
to give the material more relevance.

Following this, you should insert a section on the
city, on the following lines: 'And thus Alexander,
after subduing Europe and crossing to Asia came to

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27 ἀλαλκέα ὀδυνῶν W: ἀλκέα ὀδυνῶν m: ἀκεσώδυνον p   28 sup-
plevimus   30 ταύτην Wp: -ης m   τῶν ἀνθρώπων p: ἀνθρω-
πείῳ mW
    444. 2 ἵνα μᾶλλον p: μᾶλλον ὅπερ mW   3 πόλεως + τοῦ θεοῦ
ταῦτα κατὰ W, cf. 444. 7

ἱερῷ καὶ τοῖς τόποις, σύμβολα †μὲν ἐκίνησεν† ἐπὶ τὴν
κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως, τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα καταπέμπον-
τος, καὶ κατασκευάζει τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην πόλιν,
καθιερώσας αὐτὴν Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Σμινθίῳ, δίκαιον
10 αὐτοῦ προφαίνοντος κρίνας αὐτοῦ δεῖν κατοικίζειν
πόλιν, καὶ τὸν τόπον ⟨τὸν⟩ πάλαι τῷ θεῷ καθιερωμένον μὴ
περιϊδεῖν ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον τὴν χώραν. τοιγάρτοι
καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρώμενοι ἀεὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τε
καὶ εὐμενείας οὐ ῥᾳθυμοῦμεν τῆς περὶ | αὐτὸν εὐ-
15 σεβείας, καὶ ὁ μὲν διατελεῖ καρπῶν ἀφθόνων | δι-
δοὺς φορὰν καὶ ῥυόμενος κινδύνων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὕμνοις
ἱλασκόμεθα· τοιγάρτοι κρείττονα ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν
τοῦτον διὰ ταῦτα τίθεμεν καὶ πανηγύρεις συγκροτοῦ-
μεν καὶ θύομεν, χάριτας ἐκτιννύντες ἀνθ’ ὧν εὖ
20 πάσχομεν. καὶ διαγράψεις τὴν πανήγυριν, ὁποία καὶ
ὅπως πλήθουσα ἀνθρώπων συνιόντων, καὶ ὅτι οἱ
μὲν ἐπιδείκνυνται τὰς αὐτῶν ἀρετὰς ἢ διὰ λόγων ἢ
διὰ σώματος εὐεξίας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἱ δὲ θεαταί,
οἱ δὲ ἀκροαταί· καὶ διὰ βραχέων ἐργάσῃ θέσιν, ὡς
25 Ἰσοκράτης ἐν τῷ Πανηγυρικῷ, λέγων ὅσα ἐκ τῶν πανη-
γύρεων καὶ τούτων τῶν συνόδων εἴωθεν ⟨ἀγαθὰ γίγνεσθαι⟩.
καθόλου δέ | σοι ἔστω τὸ τοιοῦτο θεώρημα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις,
λέγω | δὴ τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις ἀγαθοῖς ἤτοι ἐνδόξοις προ-
τάτ|τειν μὲν τὴν θέσιν, οἷον ὅτι καλὸν ἡ μουσική, καλὸν
30 ἡ τοξική, καλὸν ἡ πανήγυρις, ἐπάγειν δὲ τὰ καθ’
ἕκαστον· οὐ μὴν ἐνδιατρίψεις ταῖς θέσεσι ταύταις, ἐπει-
δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ὑποθέσει ταύτῃ πλείους εὑρίσκεσθαι.
445 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔκφρασιν τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐκφράσεις τὸν
νεών· εἰ μὲν ὑψηλὸς εἴη οἷον ἀκροπόλει ἐξει-
καστέος, ὡς μεγέθει μὲν †τοὺς τοιούτους† καὶ ὑπερμε-
γέθεις ὑπερφέρων, ὕψει δὲ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρῶν·
5 εἰ δὲ ἐναρμόνιος εἴη ἢ ἐκ λίθου τοῦ [τῶν ὀρῶν] καλ-
λίστου, ἔτι τοίνυν τὴν τοῦ νεὼ στιλπνότητα καὶ τὴν

6 ἐκίνησεν ⟨αὐτὸν⟩ Bursian : num e.g. ἐνόησεν?   9–11 καθιερώσας
... πόλιν mW : om. p   10 προφαίνοντος W : προπέμποντος m
δεῖν mW : secl. Nitsche   11 suppl. Bursian   14 οὐ ῥᾳθυ-
μοῦμεν p : ἀπολαύειν εὔνοιαν ποιούμεθα mW   16–17 ὕμνοις ἱλα-
σκόμεθα nos : ὅμοια διδασκόμεθα codd. : εὐνοίᾳ ἱλασκόμεθα Bursian
17 κρείττονα codd. : τῷ κρείττονι Bursian   18 τίθεμεν p : δὴ
θεσμὸν mW   19 ἐκτιννύντες p : ἐκτίνοντες mW   21 πλήθουσα
p : πλήθους W : ἔχει πλήθους m   26 supplevimus ex. gr., cf.
Isocr. Panegyr. 44   27 τὸ τοιοῦτο p : τοῦτο mW : τοῦτο ⟨τὸ⟩

the temple and to the site—whereupon he observed
(?) the signs for establishing the city, for the god
revealed (?) them; and he established this blessed
town, consecrating it to Apollo Sminthius, and think-
ing it right that, as *he* was guiding him, it was right
to found *his* city, and not leave desolate a site long
made sacred to the god, nor the country round un-
inhabited. Therefore we also, who have always ex-
perienced the god's providence and kindness, are not
laggard in his worship. He continues to give us
abundant harvests and to rescue us from dangers,
and we propitiate him with hymns (?). We therefore
institute this great sacred contest, and arrange
festivals and sacrifices, returning thanks for the bene-
fits we receive.' You should describe the festival—what
it is like, how crowded with visitors, how some display
their excellence in literature or physical prowess, and
so on, while some are spectators or listeners. You
should briefly elaborate the general thesis (like Iso-
crates in the *Panegyricus*), explaining what ⟨benefits⟩
come from these festivals and assemblies.

The general rule to be observed in this sort of
subject (i.e. in regard to acknowledged good things
or things of good repute) is to place the general
thesis first (e.g. that music is a good thing, or medicine
a good thing, or archery, or festivals), and then
adduce the details. But do not expand these general
theses, because there seem to be several of them to be
found in this subject.

After the description of the festival, describe the
temple. If it is high, it should be compared to a
citadel, as surpassing the very greatest precincts (?)
in size, and in height the loftiest mountains. If it is
well constructed or of very beautiful stone: 'Again,
who would not be amazed at the brilliance and

Nitsche   27–8 τοιούτοις . . . τοῖς p: om. mW   29 ἡ
Bursian: μὲν p: om. mW   30 δὲ p: τε mW   31–2 ἐπειδὴ
. . . ταύτῃ p: om. mW   32 εὑρίσκεσθαι + δεῖ mW
    445. 2 εἴη + τὸ ὕψος Wp   2–3 ἐξεικαστέος nos: -ον codd.
3 τοὺς τοιούτους codd.: fortasse τοὺς περιβόλους   5 ἐκ λίθου
nos (λίθου iam Bursian): λίθος ἐκ codd.   τῶν ὁρῶν secl. Bursian
5–6 καλλίστου m: om. Wp

αὐγὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγείη; καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ
λίθου εἴποις ἂν τῇ λύρᾳ τοῦ Ἀμφίονος συντεθεῖσθαι.
ποῖα μὲν οὕτω τείχη Βαβυλώνια κατεσκευάσθη [καὶ λέ-
10 γεται]; ποῖα δὲ τείχη Θηβαῖα; ποῖος νεὼς τῶν παρ'
Ἀθηναίοις; τάχα που καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ λύρᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
τῇ μουσικῇ συνετέθη· τὰ μὲν γὰρ Λαομέδοντος τείχη
Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ποσειδῶν κατασκευάσαι λέγονται, τὸν δὲ
παρ' ἡμῖν νεὼν Ἀπόλλων σὺν Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ
15 μᾶλλον δεδημιούργηκεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκφράσεις τὸ
ἄγαλμα τοῦ θεοῦ παραβάλλων τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διΐ, καὶ
Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἶτα ἐπάξεις,
ποῖος Φειδίας, τίς Δαίδαλος τοσοῦτον ἐδημιούργησε
ξόανον; τάχα που ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτ' ἐρρύη.
20 καὶ ὅτι ἐστεφάνωται δάφναις, φυτῷ προσήκοντι τῷ
θεῷ κατὰ Δελφούς. καὶ τὸ ἄλσος ἐκφράσεις καὶ ποτα-
μοὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς καὶ τὰς πηγάς· καὶ ὅτι οὐ πολὺ τὸ
διάστημα, καὶ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ ἄνοδος ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἱερὰ
καὶ ἀνακειμένη Ἀπόλλωνι.

25   Μέλλων δὲ πληροῦν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν χρήσῃ ἀνακλη-
τικοῖς ὀνόμασι τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως· ἀλλ' ὦ Σμίνθιε καὶ
Πύθιε, ἀπὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀρξάμενος ὁ λόγος εἰς σὲ καὶ
τελευτήσει, ποίαις σὲ προσηγορίαις προσφθέγξομαι; οἱ
μὲν σὲ Λύκειον λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Δήλιον, οἱ δὲ Ἀσκραῖον,
30 ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄκτιον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ἀμυκλαῖον, Ἀθη-
ναῖοι πατρῷον, Βραγχιάτην Μιλήσιοι· πᾶσαν πόλιν
καὶ πᾶσαν χώραν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος διέπεις καὶ καθάπερ
446 τὸν οὐρανὸν περιχορεύεις ἔχων περὶ σεαυτὸν τοὺς
χοροὺς τῶν ἀστέρων, οὕτω καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν
διέπεις· Μίθραν σε Πέρσαι λέγουσιν, Ὧρον Αἰγύπτιοι
(σὺ γὰρ εἰς κύκλον τὰς ὥρας ἄγεις), Διόνυσον Θηβαῖοι,
5 Δελφοὶ δὲ διπλῇ προσηγορίᾳ τιμῶσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ
Διόνυσον λέγοντες· περὶ σὲ †θοῦραι†, περὶ σὲ Θυάδες,
παρὰ σοῦ καὶ σελήνη τὴν ἀκτῖνα λαμβάνει, Χαλδαῖοι

9 οὕτω nos, dubitanter: αὐτῷ codd.   κατεσκευάσθη Wp: -άσθησαν
m: -ασθῆναι λέγεται Bursian   9-10 καὶ λέγεται p: om. mW
11 αὐτῇ Wp: αὐτός m   13 λέγονται p: λέγεται mW   14 σὺν
Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ mW: καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν p   15 δεδημιούργηκεν nos, dubi-
tanter: δὲ ἐδημιούργησεν codd.: lacunam ante hoc verbum ind.
Bursian, suppl. ex. gr. ⟨αὐτὸς ὁ θεός⟩   16 hic incipit rursus M in
verbis τοῦ θεοῦ   23 alterum ἡ MmW: om. p   24 ἀνακειμένη
+ τῷ W   28 τελευτήσει MmW: καταντήσει p   29 Λύκειον
Mm: Λύκιον Wp   alterum οἱ δὲ MmW: ἄλλοι δὲ p   30 ἄλλοι...

gleam of the temple, and the craftsmanship of the masonry?' 'You might say it was put together by Amphion's lyre! What walls were built like this at Babylon? What walls at Thebes? What temple at Athens? Perchance it was put together by the very lyre and music of the god.' 'Apollo and Poseidon are said to have built Laomedon's walls, but it is rather Apollo with Athena and Hephaestus who has built our temple.'

After this, you should describe the statue of the god, comparing it with Zeus at Olympia and Athena on the acropolis at Athens. Then add: 'What Phidias, what Daedalus fashioned such an image? Perhaps this statue fell from heaven.' Again: 'It is garlanded with bay, a plant belonging to the god, as the Delphians say.' You should also describe the grove, the rivers near by and the springs, and say that the distance is not great, and all the road up to the temple is sacred and dedicated to Apollo.

As you come to complete the subject, you should make use of the invocatory titles of the god. Thus: 'O Sminthian and Pythian, from you my speech began, to you it shall return. By what names shall I address you? Some call you Lycian, some Delian, some Ascraean, some Actian. The Spartans call you Amyclaean, the Athenians Patroos, the Milesians Branchiate. You control every city and land and nation. You control the whole inhabited earth, even as you dance on your course through the heaven with the choirs of stars about you. The Persians call you Mithras, the Egyptians Horus—for you bring round the seasons (*hōrai*)—the Thebans Dionysus, the Delphians honour you by the double name of Apollo and Dionysus. Around you dance the Muses (?) and the Thyiades. From you the moon acquires her ray. The Chaldaeans call you the leader of the stars.

Ἀμυκλαῖον mWp: om. M

446. 2 ἀστέρων p: ἄστρων MmW   4 σὺ . . . ἄγεις fortasse secludenda esse censuit Bursian   εἰς κύκλον post τὰς ὥρας p
5 ante Ἀπόλλωνα add. τὸν p, unde τὸν ⟨αὐτὸν⟩ Ἀπόλλωνα Bursian
6 †θοῦραι† p: θυραῖα MmW: Μοῦσαι Spengel: Ὧραι Bursian: Θρίαί Wilamowitz: Χορεῖαι Nitsche

δὲ ἄστρων ἡγεμόνα λέγουσιν· εἴτε οὖν ταύταις χαίρεις
ταῖς προσηγορίαις, εἴτε τούτων ἀμείνοσι, σὺ μὲν ἀκμά-
10 ζειν ἀεὶ ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις τὴν πόλιν τήνδε δίδου, ἐσαεὶ
δὲ τήνδε συγκροτεῖσθαί σοι τὴν πανήγυριν· νεῦσον
δὲ καὶ χάριν τοῖς λόγοις· παρὰ σοῦ γὰρ καὶ οἱ λόγοι
καὶ ἡ πόλις.

8–9 εἴτε . . . προσηγορίαις mWp : om. M   8 χαίρεις Wp : -οις m
9 σὺ Wp : σὲ m   10 ἀεὶ post πόλιν mW   10–11 ἐσαεὶ
δὲ τήνδε p : καὶ σοὶ mW   11 σοι om. mW   12 σοῦ MmW :
σοὶ p   alterum καὶ Mm : om. Wp

Thus, whether these are the titles you take pleasure in or some better than these, grant that this city may ever flourish in prosperity, and that this festival may for ever be organized in your honour. And grant grace to these words; for both words and city are your gift.'

COMMENTARY

TREATISE I

Title. We obelize †*ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΩΝ*, which appears to be the paradosis, but must be corrupt. P's supralinear variant ἢ *Γενεθλίου* offers an alternative attribution to Genethlius of Petra, a distinguished third-century rhetor, pupil of Minucianus and rival of Callinicus (see on 370. 14), who died at the age of twenty-eight (*Suda* s.v.). Although the list of his writings given in the *Suda* does not contain anything like this work, P's reading is not likely to be due to conjecture: Genethlius was not well enough known for a Byzantine scribe to think of supplying his name. The attribution may therefore have some early authority. Nitsche argued that Genethlius was in fact the author of Treatise I, and this was accepted by Wilamowitz, Volkmann, and others; if different names are wanted for the authors of the two treatises, this is a reasonable guess (see Introd., pp. xxxvi ff.). Valesius's πρὸς *Γενέθλιον* introduces the same person as addressee.

ΔΙΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ here means, apparently, the 'division' of the whole epideictic branch of rhetoric into its subdivisions, as found in Treatise I, not the division of material within a single speech, though this usage is, naturally enough, found in the treatises (cf. esp. 409. 22 ff.). Similarly, Sopater's *Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων* (Walz 8. 1 ff.) is a classification of declamation subjects according to the type of issue involved.

331. 4–332. 32. *Preface*
   331. 4–14. Our subject is the epideictic branch of rhetoric, not the whole of rhetoric.
   331. 14–332. 7. This is divided into praise and blame, and praise is divided into hymns to gods and encomia of mortal subjects. Hymns are of various kinds; we are to consider these, and how far they are suitable for prose.
   332. 8–19. 'Mortal subjects' comprise towns and countries (to be discussed elsewhere) and animals, whether rational (i.e. man) or irrational; these may be further subdivided, and are to be distinguished also from 'inanimate' subjects.
   332. 20–32. This division is exhaustive: encomia of arts and pursuits are in fact partial encomia of human subjects, and others fall under the 'inanimate' class.

331. 4. τριχῶς. This classic doctrine first appears in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1. 3); cf. D. A. G. Hinks, *CQ* 30 (1936), 170 ff., and Introd., p. xix.

ὡς μέρεσιν ἢ εἴδεσιν. ὡς may be defended by 349. 26; for the whole phrase, cf. Nicolaus, *Progymn.* 47. 13 Felten, μερῶν ἢ εἰδῶν ἢ ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι καλεῖν; Damasc. *Vita Isidori* 22, τριῶν δὲ ὄντων μερῶν ἢ εἰδῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ὅπως ἄν τις ἐθέλοι καλεῖν.

331. 8. ἐπιδεικτικούς . . . ἐγκωμιαστικούς. On the various names for the third main division of rhetoric, see W. Kroll, *RE* Suppl. VII. 1129; A. Hellwig, *Untersuchungen zur Theorie der Rhetorik bei Platon und Aristoteles* (= *Hypomnemata*, 38), 111, 120 ff. M. uses the term 'epideictic' in general strictly in the sense of 'praise and blame' (see Introd., p. xx), excluding mock forensic or mock deliberative exercises. He also makes no distinction between ἐγκώμιον and ἔπαινος (cf. 331. 15). In both respects his doctrine is opposed to that of Alexander (3. 1–2 Spengel).

Two derivations of ἐγκώμιον were current in antiquity, one from κωμή 'village', one from κῶμος 'band of revellers'. Theon (*Progymn.* 2. 109 Spengel) and Nicolaus (49. 10 Felten) favour the latter, Hermogenes (15. 3 Rabe) and Aphthonius (*Progymn.* 21. 6 Rabe) the former. Since Nicolaus in other respects resembles M., it seems likely that their views on this were the same. The same alternative derivations were given of κωμῳδία: Kaibel, *CGF* 1. 6–7; schol. Dion. Thr. 450. 29–30 Hilgard; Koster, *Prolegomena de comoedia*, 120. The debate goes back to Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448ᵃ35 ff.).

331. 11–13. The sense appears to be that the reader is not to expect an account of rhetoric as a whole, even though the writer has begun with the very general statement about the three parts, and with a brief definition of them. But it is very odd that this brief allusion should be described in the words κἂν ἄνωθεν . . . προαιρήσωμαι, which would more naturally apply to an earlier statement of intention. ὅλης or καθόλου is needed in 11, but this does not wholly solve the problem.

331. 16–18. M. thus excludes declamations (μελέται), a common part of Greek as of Latin rhetorical training (G. A. Kennedy, in *Approaches to the Second Sophistic*, ed. G. W. Bowersock, American Philological Association, 1974, 17–22), and draws a distinction between himself and his pupils on the one hand and σοφισταί on the other. Contrast Treatise II, 388. 16 χρησιμώτατον . . . ἀνδρὶ σοφιστῇ.

331. 20–332. 7. καὶ τούτους . . . ἐργασόμεθα. This passage is omitted in one branch of the tradition (MW), being replaced by something much simpler: '. . . and sometimes about mortal objects. Praise relating to divine objects has no subdivisions.' This makes coherent

sense: note ἄτμητον also 331. 18 and 332. 10. We should con-
clude that the passage in P is an addition, whether by the author
or another, to the original argument. The classification of hymns
which it contains is quite different from that given and followed up
in 333. 2 ff. The promise of 332. 3 ff. is never fulfilled.

The doctrine of the 'additional' passage resembles, but is not iden-
tical with, that of Proclus' *Chrestomathy* (Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 239, 319 b ff.).
Here, lyric poems addressed to gods are classified under the heads of
ὕμνος, προσόδιον, παιάν, διθύραμβος, νόμος, ἀδωνίδια, ἰόβακχος, ὑπορ-
χήματα. It is also stated (320 a) that ὕμνος was regarded as the
generic term of which προσόδιον and the rest were species; hence
locutions like ὕμνος προσοδίου. Poems addressed to human beings also
appear to have a generic name ἐγκώμιον with species ἐπίνικον,
σκόλια, ἐρωτικά, ἐπιθαλάμια, ὑμέναιοι, σίλλοι, θρῆνοι, ἐπικήδεια. On
these and similar terms, see especially A. E. Harvey, 'The Classifica-
tion of Greek Lyric Poetry', *CQ* 5 (1955), 157 ff. The tradition which
M. (or his interpolator) reproduces is obviously very like that which
Alexandrian scholars used for classifying lyric poetry: e.g. Pindar's
poems to gods were arranged in books of ὕμνοι, παιᾶνες, διθύραμβοι,
προσόδια, παρθένια, ὑπορχήματα.

331. 22–3. [Plu.], *De musica* 9. 1134 D does not help us to dis-
tinguish between paean and *huporchema*; perhaps it was the dance
accompaniment of *huporchema* that made the difference. For the
(conflicting) ancient evidence, see A. M. Dale, *Eranos* 48 (1950),
14–20 (*Collected Papers*, 34–40). Again, whether a particular poem
was a paean or a dithyramb seems sometimes to have been doubtful
(*De musica* 10. 1134 E, on Xenocritus), and we clearly have no
certain knowledge about this. The dithyramb itself, though tradi-
tionally Dionysiac (Archilochus fr. 120 West), is sometimes thought
of as addressed to Apollo (F. Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 553; Cramer,
Anecd. Oxon. 4. 314: πρὸς Διόνυσον . . . ἢ πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα).

331. 24. εἴρηται· reads strangely. ὅσα τοιαῦτα by itself—'etc.'—is
normal from Aristotle onwards, and common in M. (e.g. 336. 15;
342. 17).

332. 1–2. Johannes Sardianus (*Comm. in Aphthon.* 120. 2 Rabe),
who clearly uses this passage, though without naming the author, has:
τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῷ ὅλῳ γένει ὕμνους ἐκάλουν, γενικώτερον
(μερικώτερον coni. Rabe) δὲ ⟨τοὺς⟩ πρὸς Δία. It is possible that
ὅλῳ should be accepted for λόγῳ in our passage, but Sardianus'
text clearly contains other errors, and, on balance, we have preferred
the deletion. Finckh's προσόδια receives some support from Proclus,
l.c., and perhaps also from Philo, *De vita contemplativa* 80, προσοδίων
ὕμνων παρασπονδείων παραβωμίων, where προσοδίων is probably an

adjective qualifying ὕμνων (so F. H. Colson in the Loeb translation); the passage is, however, of doubtful relevance to the history of Greek poetic genres, as it is a list of types of religious poems sung by the Therapeutae.

332. 4. τοῖς καταλογάδην συγγράφουσιν. The best-known examples of prose hymns are those of Aristides (*Or.* 37 (Athena); 42 (Asclepius); 40 (Heracles); 43 (Zeus); 45 (Sarapis)). On these see in general A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide*, 300 ff.; J. Amann, *Die Zeus-rede des Ailios Aristides* (1931); W. Uerschels, *Der Dionysoshymnos des A.A.* (diss. Bonn, 1962). Cf. also Apuleius, *Florida* 18. Later examples include Julian's hymns to the Sun and to the Mother of the Gods (*Or.* 11, 8) and Libanius' to Artemis (*Or.* 5). It is not clear whether the ὑμνογράφος Matris of Thebes (saec. iii BC, *FGrHist* 39 T 1) is a predecessor of these prose hymn-writers. Rules for 'praises of a god' are given in Alexander Numeniu 3. 4–6 Spengel (cf. Introd., p. xxiv). Prose hymns had a distinct part in cult in the Roman period: see E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, vol. 2, pp. 204 f. for the performance of such speeches in temples or theatres and the excitement and intensification of religious feeling that they seem to have caused. They may be compared with emotional sermons.

332. 10. ἐν ταῖς τεχνικαῖς μεθόδοις. The reference intended by this title is evidently to 344. 8–367. 8 (i.e. the second 'book' of this treatise).

332. 11 ff. περὶ ἀθανάτων cannot be right, since the whole section is περὶ θνητῶν (8). There remain doubts about the details of the text, but we suggest (i) that ζώων in 12 may be retained as *variatio* for θνητῶν; (ii) that ἀλόγων in 13 may depend on ἔπαινοι, with περὶ deleted.

332. 17 ff. MW's ἐγγείων may well be right: ἔγγειος usually describes plants or trees rather than land animals, but cf. Theophr. *HP* 4. 6. 1, τὰ μὲν ἔγγεια τὰ δὲ ἔνυδρα τυγχάνει καθάπερ τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν φυτῶν.

332. 18. [ἀνθέων καὶ φυτῶν]. Perhaps a misplaced gloss on ἐμψύχων (19).

332. 21. 'Encomia' of arts naturally comprise the same material as 'protreptics' to their exercise: Xen. *Cynegeticus* 1 is a classic example. We may also think of comic adaptations, e.g. the praises of the parasite's profession (F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, 148, n. 2) or the ψόγος of the money-lender (E. Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini in Plauto*, 177).

332. 22 ff. The repeated ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὕπερ ἡμῖν rouses suspicions, especially as ἀφ' οὗ (περ), 'since', is usually temporal not causal. But, apart from this, coherent sense is obtained if we replace δείξει (24) by a verb meaning 'will include', e.g. περιέξει.

332. 26 ff. For encomia of salt and the like, cf. Pl. *Symp.* 177 B, Isocr. *Helena* 12, Plu. *Mor.* 44 F, Alex. Num. 3. 3. 10 Spengel; Radermacher, *AS* 130 f. There are many later examples: e.g. Lucian's

Fly (1. 26 ff. Macleod), Synesius' Baldness (190 ff. Terzaghi), itself
an answer to a lost encomium on Hair by Dio Chrysostom, and the
pieces by Favorinus (fr. 1 Barigazzi) and Libanius (8. 243 ff.) on
Thersites. See in general, A. S. Pease, 'Things without honour',
CP 21 (1926), 27–42. M. deals again with the subject, 346. 17 f.

332. 30 ff. It is clear from this (see also Introd.) that a large part
of the treatise is missing, since we have no sections on animals or on
ἄψυχα.

333. 2–26. *Classification of hymns*

(i)	cletic	(8–10)
(ii)	apopemptic	(10–12)
(iii)	scientific	(12–15)
(iv)	mythical	(15–18)
(v)	genealogical	(18–21)
(vi)	fictitious	(21–4)
(vii)	precatory	(24–5)
(viii)	deprecatory	(25–6)

This classification may well be in large part original, though 338. 2 ff.
implies predecessors. It recalls Neoplatonic theories of myth (Sallus-
tius, *De diis et mundo* 4, with A. D. Nock's Introduction, pp. xlv ff.)
in which μῦθοι are classed as θεολογικοί, φυσικοί, ψυχικοί, ὑλικοί, μικτοί.

333. 7. δύο. Indeclinable, as often, even at high levels of literacy:
e.g. Dion. Hal. *Dinarchus*, p. 320. 11 Usener; Aristaenetus 1. 23.
For its use at a rather less formal level, see, e.g. Olympiodorus,
In Gorgiam 47. 14, 138. 6, 177. 30, 184. 3, 245. 7–8 Westerink.

333. 10. κλῆσιν ἔχοντες πολλῶν θεῶν. Since the beginning of the
section on κλητικοί (334. 25 ff.) is missing, we cannot be certain whether
M. is saying simply that there are lyric hymns to various gods, or that
there are hymns each of which contains appeals to several gods.
R. J. Tarrant on Seneca, *Agamemnon* 310 ff. (p. 232) assumes the
second, i.e. that M. means *Reihengebet*; this is by no means necessary.
Examples of κλήσεις may be found in Sappho's hymn to Aphrodite
(fr. 1) or Anacreon's to Artemis (fr. 3 *PMG*).

333. 11. Bacchylides fr. 1a Snell: cf. below, 336. 12.

333. 12–15. Kern, *Orphica*, 306; Parmenides A 20, Empedocles
A 23 D.–K.

333. 13. Empedocles: προοίμιον to Apollo (A 1 D.–K. = Diog.
Laert. 8. 57); see also B 134. The allusion to Zeus may be to B 6.
2 (see D.–K.).

οἱ περὶ . . . For the ambiguities in phrases of this kind, see Rhys
Roberts on Dion. Hal. *CV* 19 (p. 195). Here M. clearly means 'Par-
menides and Empedocles'.

333. 15. Ὀρφέως. The extant hymns (ed. W. Quandt (1955)) are invocations meant to accompany offerings of incense. They enumerate the functions and titles of many gods, but are not φυσικοί. They are not intended here; the reference is a more general one to the mass of 'Orphic' literature, esp. ἱεροὶ λόγοι.

333. 16. ἀλληγορίαν ψιλήν. The narrative has a hidden meaning, but no explanation of it is given: cf. ψιλήν (24), ψιλῶς (26), ψιλὴ κλῆσις (336. 2). Similar is Quintilian's *tota allegoria*, opposed to the *mixta allegoria* in which the application is made explicit (8. 6. 47–8); but M.'s expression is noteworthy, and seems to imply that all μῦθοι concerning gods have an allegorical meaning. But the two stories which he instances (Apollo and the walls of Troy from *Il.* 7. 452 ff., Apollo and Admetus from Euripides' *Alcestis*) are not known to be subjects which were interpreted allegorically.

333. 21. σωματοποιῶμεν. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 782 σωματοποιεῖ τὴν εὐλάβειαν; similar usage, schol. Eur. *Alc.* 24, Ar. *Aves* 1536.

333. 23. ⟨τὴν⟩ Αὔριον. Heeren's addition is accepted by Page, *PMG* 615. In Callimachus, *Epigr.* 16 (= *Anth. Pal.* 7. 519): δαίμονα τίς δ' εὖ οἶδε τὸν αὔριον . . .; ('who knows tomorrow's fate?') there is no personification (cf. Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, vol. 2, p. 198).

Ὄκνον. The traditional story of Oknos in Hades (he plaits a rope which a donkey eats as fast as he makes it: Polygnotus' painting, Pausan. 10. 29. 2; variant in Apul. *Met.* 6. 18, Diod. 1. 97; moralization, Plu. *Tranq. an.* 473 c) exemplifies futility rather than hesitation or timidity. But cf. the picture described by Pliny, *NH* 35. 137 ('piger qui appellatur Ocnus, spartum torquens quod asellus adrodit') for a slightly different turn; and it is hard to think that M. has not got the very familiar Hades story in mind as well as the personification of hesitation.

333. 27–334. 24. Use of these forms: the moderate use of them in prose may be justified by the example of Plato.

333. 29. Cf. Julian, *Or.* 11 (εἰς τὸν βασιλέα "Ἥλιον) 4, and esp. 37: ὑμνήσαντα πρότερον ὅσα ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις "Ἥλιος ἀγαθά.

334. 1 ff. Bursian amended the text to give the sense: '. . . whether poets are to be thought of as having this licence, but prose-writers not. We postulate as the one simple limiting factor of their inability the fact that we grant greater licence to poets in these matters because the main source of material for poetry is the divine, whereas for prose it is the human.'

334. 1–2. συγγραφεῦσιν ἢ λογοποιοῖς. συγγραφεύς and συγγραφή are M.'s general words for 'prose-writer' and 'prose' (hence Nitsches' συγγραφήν below, 334. 8): cf. 334. 21; 336. 1; 342. 11. But he

sometimes uses συγγραφεύς in what seems a more restricted sense—
'historian' or 'writer of non-oratorical prose'—and the first of these
meanings is probably the likeliest here. At 336. 29 συγγραφεῦσιν
ἢ λογογράφοις ἢ πολιτικοῖς make up prose literature; at 339. 1 it is
συγγραφεῦσιν ἢ λογοποιοῖς. See also on 411. 28, and (for the meaning
of the related adjective συγγραφικός) 400. 8.

334. 7. ὅπη. 'Seeing that', like ὅπου (γε) in, e.g. [Longin.] 4. 4,
LSJ s.v. ὅπου II. 2.

334. 11. Pl. *Symp.* 178 A, 189 C, 194 E, 203 B.

334. 16–18. Pl. *Phaedr.* 237 A, 279 B; Hermias *in Phaedrum* 48.
13 ff. Couvreur: ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ εὐχῆς . . . τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεκαλέσατο;
ibid. 265. 14, καὶ νῦν τελευτῶν εἰς εὐχὴν καταλήγει τὸν παρόντα λόγον.

334. 19. ζητῶν ἂν εὕροις. A classical expression: cf. Ar. *Ran.* 96–7,
οὐχ εὕροις ἔτι ζητῶν ἄν. M. uses the phrase again, 336. 3; note also
Greg. Thaum. *Prosphon. Origen.* 6, οὐκ ἀλλαχόθι ἄν που ζητῶν εὕροις.

334. 21–4. The proposed treatment of each of the kinds involves
(i) general procedure; (ii) length and proportion; (iii) appropriate
style. Not to speak of lacunae (as in the 'cletic' section), there are
places where it is difficult to see how this scheme has been followed.

334. 22. Though προάγειν is common in this sort of use (e.g. 338.
19; 379. 30; 430. 7), προσακτέον ('apply') is also possible here: cf.
339. 4. Thus it is not at all certain that Bursian is right to read
προακτέον.

334. 25–336. 4. (i) *Cletic hymns*

This section lacks its beginning; surviving parts deal with ap-
propriate length (334. 26–335. 19) and tone (335. 23–336. 4).

334. 27 ff. Nitsche's views on this passage seem largely correct.
(i) His ἀναμιμνήσκειν for ἅμα μὲν is excellent, and renders unnecessary
both the insertion of ἐκ before πολλῶν and the separate insertion in
28 of a phrase meaning 'summon the gods' (so Heeren). (ii) The
known lyric passages which come into consideration appear to be:
Sappho 35 L.-P. ἤ σε Κύπρος ἢ Πάφος ἢ Πάνορμος and Alcman 55
PMG Κύπρον ἱμερτὰν λιποῖσα καὶ Πάφον περιρρύταν, both referring to
Aphrodite. The likeliest invocation of Artemis however is Anacreon 3:

> γουνοῦμαί σ' ἐλαφηβόλε . . . | ἤ κου νῦν ἐπὶ Ληθαίου
> δίνῃσι θρασυκαρδίων | ἀνδρῶν ἐσκατορᾷς πόλιν

and we note that Anacreon, not Alcman, was mentioned at 333. 9.
(iii) The sentence-structure τὴν μὲν . . . ἀνακαλεῖ τὴν δὲ . . . ἀνακαλεῖ
is quite unidiomatic, and we should not be ready to condone it even
in M. Of the various alternatives we should particularly consider:
(a) ὁ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἡ δὲ . . . , one of Nitsche's suggestions: the poets are

Alcman and Sappho; (b) delete the first ἀνακαλεῖ (30), and suppose that one of the poets is meant. (a) seems much the better of these. The question then arises whether Ἀλκμᾶνι should be replaced by Ἀνακρέοντι. A slip on M.'s part seems probable, and this further change should therefore be rejected.

335. 2. ὑποπεφυκότας. ὑπο- is difficult. This compound is characteristically used of things like second teeth or renewed nails; since the meadows might be 'under' the ὄχθαι, it is not quite impossible here, but it is certainly odd as an expression of the relationship between meadow and river.

335. 4. Bursian's ὀρέων takes up 334. 30.

335. 9 ff. The text presents some problems. If ἐξηγούμενος means (as it appears to) 'showing how it should be done' (cf. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 335. 4 U.-R.: ταύτην τὴν τέχνην τίς ἐμιμήσατο καὶ τίς ἐξηγήσατο; Πλάτων, but contrast below 337. 9, 13, where the word denotes 'full explanation') the qualificatory ὥσπερ is welcome. In the passage of Plato (*Phaedr.* 237 A), only one proper name occurs, so that there is an adequate contrast with the poets' practice described above (cf. 7–8). The passage from Homer on the other hand (*Il.* 1. 36–7) has Chryse, Killa, and Tenedos; it is obviously not suitable for prose imitation. We suggest reading ὁ μὲν Πλάτων in 9, to be answered by ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος in 13.

335. 10 ff. ἄγετε . . . ἐπωνυμίαν. To establish M.'s text, P's ἄτε must be changed to ἄγετε, and we also think it preferable (i) to replace ἐπέσχετε (not attested in the direct or the indirect tradition of Plato, and wrong in sense) by ἔσχετε; (ii) to transpose μουσικὸν to follow γένος, not εἶδος; it makes very poor sense in the latter position, and is not so placed in the other witnesses. P's other deviations from the direct or indirect tradition of Plato may be retained as the text of M., viz. (i) λέγειαι immediately after Μοῦσαι not after εἶδος. Hermog. *De ideis* 338. 21 Rabe agrees with M. in this; the word-order has presumably been simplified; (ii) no ὦ before Μοῦσαι: here M. agrees with Stob. *Flor.* 4. 475 W.-H., Dion. Hal. *Demosth.* 7, p. 140 U.-R., ps.-Heraclitus, *Quaest. Hom.* 77; (iii) τὴν before ἐπωνυμίαν is found in Dion. Hal. l.c. and ps.-Heraclit. l.c., but is absent from Stob. l.c. and from the direct tradition of Plato.

335. 13. Since the εἶδος is τὸ κλητικόν no sense is given by ἐγκλητικῷ, whether read as one word or as two, and if the passage is not to be moved elsewhere, deletion is the best course. Finckh (ap. Walz, p. 741), however, argued that the whole passage ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος (13) . . . ἁρμόττοντα (23) was misplaced here. His evidence, besides ἐν κλητικῷ, was οἷα καὶ (20), which implies again that cletic hymns are not here the main subject, and the fact that 335. 18–19 repeats 335. 6–7.

Observing that the section περὶ εὐκτικῶν καὶ ἀπευκτικῶν is incomplete, he proposed transferring this passage to that chapter, but without saying precisely where he would place it (presumably 343. 16 or 343. 26). This is ingenious, but not convincing: (i) 335. 12 ff. may, as we have argued on 335. 9 ff., express a contrast between Plato and Homer which forms a link in the train of thought; (ii) repetitions, like that in 335. 18–19, are not unusual in M.'s pedagogic style; (iii) in an ill-preserved context, corruption of οἷα καὶ (20) is not a serious additional obstacle. It remains possible, as Finckh suggests, that the stylistic recommendations appropriate to the 'cletic' and to the 'precatory and deprecatory' hymns are so similar that a precept applying to one could be transferred *en bloc* to the other. Something like this may well have been done, either by the author's act or in the course of the transmission; but the sequence of events is too obscure for us to reconstruct it with confidence.

335. 14. μετὰ τῆς ἰσοσυλλαβίας. This would naturally refer to clauses of equal numbers of syllables: thus in Plu. *Q. C.* 9. 3 (739 A), a grammarian observes that the first line of the *Iliad* and the first of the *Odyssey* are ἰσοσύλλαβοι, as are the last lines: cf. also Hermog. *De ideis* 1. 12 (309. 13 Rabe), where ἰσοσύλλαβα are contrasted with clauses 'of more or fewer syllables'. However, the cola in these lines of Homer, though roughly in balance, do not correspond precisely. The two complete lines (*Il.* 1. 37 and 38 κλῦθί μευ ἀργυρότοξ' ὃς Χρύσην κτλ.) could perhaps be both counted as sixteen syllables, but we should then expect M. to quote them complete. Presumably he is using his terms a little loosely.

335. 20. ἡ [τε]. We suggest that τε was added subsequently to the corruption οἷα καὶ, in order to complete the construction.

335. 22. σχήματα ἀνακλητικά. Exclamations like ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί are so styled by rhetoricians: Martin, 162 (Apsines). This sense is not recorded in LSJ.

335. 25. We obelize. Bursian's τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ προσθέσθαι may be on the right lines. M. refers to his own cletic hymn to Apollo (cf. 341. 16 for such self-allusion). This is very unlikely to be the 'Sminthiac' of Treatise II (437 ff.), since that is not a complete work but a sketch of suggestions, and is not primarily a κλητικὸς ὕμνος. There is only a rough correspondence between the ideas of 335. 25 ff. and the προοιμιακαὶ ἔννοιαι of 437. 15 ff., and these are in any case commonplace. It is possible that 25–30 is an extensive quotation, in which the speaker proclaims his intention of keeping within the limits of prose. In 29, τῶνδε is unintelligible and we translate Jacobs's τῶν καὶ τῶν. In 30, ἐγώ . . . καλέσαιμι is certainly direct quotation from the hymn.

336. 5–23. (*ii*) *Apopemptic hymns*

The model for these is Bacchylides; their subject is the place the god is leaving and also his destination. They may be longer than simple cletic hymns.

336. 8 ff. Apollo winters in Lycia and summers in Delos: see in general Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4. 143 ff. Practices at Miletus (i.e. Branchidae) and Argos are unknown. Telesilla 717 *PMG* was taken by Wilamowitz (*Pindaros*, 330) as suggesting that Artemis periodically left Elis for Argos. There is no other evidence about this, and Wilamowitz's optimistic view of M.'s *gelehrte Kenntnis* does not commend itself in view of the various historical inaccuracies in these treatises (see on 366. 26; 366. 32; 409. 4). See also M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* 2. 57 n. 3.

This passage is cited by Snell, Bacchylides fr. 1a. How much of the content comes from Bacchylides is not known. The scholiast on Call. *Hymn.* 4. 28 (εἰ δὲ λίην πόλεές σε περιτροχόωσιν ἀοιδαί) refers to Pindar and Bacchylides as writing in honour of Delos.

336. 17. εὐμενεστέρας. This may just mean 'pleasant' or 'genial' (though it does not seem to be used elsewhere of literary effects). ἐμμελεστέρας ('harmonious' or 'tasteful') and εὐμελεστέρας ('melodious') are both possible corrections; these two words are themselves so often confused (e.g. Dion. Hal. *CV* 18 (p. 77. 2 U.–R.)) that it is impossible to choose between them.

336. 24–337. 32. (*iii*) *Scientific hymns*

These require a grander style: models are to be found in Parmenides, Empedocles, and Plato. They have various subspecies: extensive and allusive, plain and enigmatic. The scale varies also; the appropriate style is the most elevated. M. suggests that the genre is not suitable for writers of modest abilities; cf. the advice of Horace *Ars poetica* 39–40: 'versate diu quid ferre recusent, / quid valeant umeri.'

336. 27–8. Ernesti's ἐμψυχοτέροις is necessary; for support for Walz's ἀφελεστέροις see 342. 15. However, a case may be made for ἀσφαλεστέροις 'unventuresome': (a) ἔμψυχος, here used of a speaker, is regularly used of style (e.g. Lucian, *Dem. Enc.* 14) and a similar transfer of ἀσφαλής is not unnatural: (b) ἀσφαλής is used of ἡ Λυσίου λέξις (Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 13 (p. 23, 12)), and indeed of a convincing orator (Xen. *Mem.* 4. 6. 15). But on balance ἀφελεστέροις seems more apt.

337. 2. ἥλιον . . . φάσκωμεν. On the identification of Apollo and the sun, see on 438. 8.

337. 4. The opinion that Empedocles identified Hera with ἀήρ (rather than with earth) and Zeus with fire, whether true or not, was very generally held in antiquity: cf. A 33, B 6, B 31, with Kirk–Raven, *Presocratics*, 324–5. Both equivalences were common later, especially with Stoics.

337. 8. In Plato (i) the lover πτεροῦται and ἀναπτεροῦται (cf. *Phaedr.* 249 D) by the excitement of beauty; (ii) the wings grow 'under the surface of the soul' which was itself once πᾶσα ... πτερωτή (251 B7); (iii) the whole experience is due to what men call 'winged love', ἀθάνατοι δὲ πτέρωτα διὰ πτεροφύτορ' ἀνάγκην (252 C). The suggestions which have been made for M.'s text rest on these passages. Walz's ἀνάπτερον ποιεῖ—'represents him as with feathers erect'—employs an adj. not otherwise attested, but implied by the verb ἀναπτερόω.

337. 13. Bursian's ἀναμιμνήσκει is recommended by ἀναμιμνήσκειν above (11). At 342. 25 and 344. 7 ἀνυμνεῖν has the object (θεούς) expressed.

337. 15. οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι φερόμενοι. Proclus, *in Tim.* 3. 107 Diehl refers to a Pythagorean hymn on numbers. See Thesleff, 173–4 for this and for a 'monotheistic' hymn known from Justin Martyr. This at least is not 'enigmatic'. Neither is the hymn εἰς τὴν φύσιν attributed to Pythagoras (J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 197). In this context, we cannot say whether M. means poetry or prose, and must therefore remain uncertain of what he intends: just possibly he means the σύμβολα, with their hidden meanings (note the connection of brevity with the enigmatic, 337. 19).

337. 23. No passage of *Critias* refers to *Timaeus* in precisely these terms. M. may be thinking of *Tim.* 27 C and 92 B (Timaeus' initial invocation and closing praise of the 'visible god') or of *Crit.* 106 A (where Timaeus makes an appropriate prayer on the conclusion of his task), but more probably he has misremembered a (perfectly proper) description of *Timaeus* as something Plato actually said.

337. 26 ff. In this warning, M. speaks not as a rhetorician but as a follower of the Platonic and Pythagorean tradition of philosophical and mystical secrecy; he perhaps has in mind Pl. *Rep.* 378 A.

337. 28. καταγελαστικώτεροι. Cf. Pollux 5. 128, where the adv. (-ως) is used; but the text there is doubtful, so that M. and Pollux do not offer each other much support. καταγελαστότεροι should perhaps be read here.

337. 30. We take the construction as acc. and inf.: cf. Pl. *Rep.* 495 E: δοκεῖς οὖν τι ... διαφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖν ἀργύριον ...;

πρὸς τὸν διθύραμβον. Cf. Pl. *Phaedr.* 238 D with the comment of Dion. Hal. *Ad Pomp.* 2 (229. 18); [Plato] ᾔσθετο ... τῆς ἰδίας ἀπειρο-

καλίας καὶ ὄνομ' ἔθετ' αὐτῇ τὸ διθύραμβον. See also Dion. Hal. *Din.*
8 (307. 24); *Demosth.* 29 (192. 6), 7 (140. 12). The usual connotation
is of elaborate compounds (Demetrius 116) and 'noisy nonsense'.
Here M. is thinking of the positive qualities of grandeur shown, e.g.
in the *Phaedrus* myth. Cf. also E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 109 ff.

338. 1–339. 32. *(iv) Mythical hymns*

These are to be distinguished from genealogical hymns, since they
do not necessarily involve genealogies. They have no overt scientific
doctrine. They are more appropriate in poetry than in prose; but the
difficulty they present can be mitigated by attention to brevity and
variety of treatment. The style should be splendid, but not on the
'dithyrambic' level. Isocrates, Thucydides, and Plato afford examples.
(We might add Aristid. *Or.* 46. 32 ff., on Ino and Leucothea, as a
good later instance of the 'genre'.)

338. 2 μυθικῶν. The expression μυθικὸς ὕμνος is in Plato: *Phaedr.*
265 c, κεράσαντες οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπίθανον λόγον μυθικόν τιν' ὕμνον
προσεπαίσαμεν. This passage may well have been influential in
encouraging the growth of classifications like M.'s.

338. 6. Ἀκουσίλεως. *FGrHist* 2 T 4. Source again is Plato, who
couples Acusilaus with Parmenides and Hesiod as dealing with
γενέσεις θεῶν (*Sympos.* 178 B).

338. 7. Ὀρφεύς. Cf. (e.g.) Kern, *Orphica*, test. 246 (= schol.
Lycophr. 399), fr. 173 (= Fulgentius, *Mitol.* 3. 9), fr. 128 (= Proclus,
Theol. Plat. 4. 5), for 'theogonies'.

338. 11. Διόνυσος . . . ἐπεξενώθη. Icarius entertained Dionysus,
received the gift of wine, and was killed by shepherds who thought he
was poisoning them. Eratosthenes' *Erigone* was the best-known literary
treatment of the story (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 64; [Longin.]
33. 5).

338. 11–12. ἐν Ζωστῆρι . . . ἡ Λητώ. Zoster in Attica (= Cap Lom-
barda) was the site of a sixth-century temple of Apollo, Artemis, and
Leto, rebuilt under the empire. For the story, cf. Paus. 1. 31 and
especially Aristid. *Panath.* 13, Λητὼ . . . λυσαμένη τὴν ζώνην ἐν Ζωστῆρι
τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ λιποῦσα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ τόπῳ. Hyperides' *Deliacus*,
a model epideictic speech familiar to the rhetors, was no doubt a
source for the story (cf. [Longin.] 34. 2).

338. 12–13. ἡ Δημήτηρ . . . ἐπεξενώθη. The story of Demeter and
Celeos was best known from the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*; in some
versions (to judge from Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 507 ff.) Celeos was an old
peasant, not a king. It is odd that παρὰ is used with ἐπεξενώθη here,

but not in 11: both usages are possible, but the dative without παρά is apparently the normal one in literary texts (LSJ).

338. 26. καθ' ὑπόνοιαν. Platonic (*Rep.* 378 D) and conventionally archaic (Plu. *Aud. poet.* 19 E) equivalent of κατ' ἀλληγορίαν.

338. 28. προσφόρους: sc. τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς μυθικούς. These are then declared unsuitable for the orator (339. 1), as are genealogical hymns below (340. 19).

338. 32. ἀκαίρους. Criticism of Pindar on these lines is found in the scholia: note schol. *Pyth.* 11. 23b Drachmann: ἄριστα . . . τὸ ἐγκώμιον εἰργάσατο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς σφόδρα ἀκαίρῳ παρεκβάσει ἐχρήσατο. Pindar's own concern for καιρός and brevity is well known: *Pyth.* 1. 81, 8. 29, *Nem.* 10. 20.

339. 4 ff. The doctrine here is largely that of elementary (progymnasmatic) teaching on μῦθος and διήγημα: see esp. Theon 2. 72 ff. Spengel. (i) συντομία is of course a basic virtue of narrative: Theon 83. 14 ff. (ii) The procedure described as μὴ ἀπ' εὐθείας πάντα εἰσάγειν is what Theon (74. 21 ff.) calls κλίσις ('declension') and consists essentially in turning direct speech into indirect. (iii) For παραλείπειν as a means of brevity, cf. Theon 83. 20: παραλείπωμέν τε ὅσα συνυπακούεσθαι δοκεῖ. (iv) κατὰ συμπλοκήν is discussed in several places in Theon: see 75. 9, 83. 3, 92. 24. The procedure consists in combining two stories. Theon points out how Isocrates (*Paneg.* 54) contrives to introduce both the Heraclidae and Adrastus, and again (*Paneg.* 68) both Eumolpus and the Amazons. (v) συγχωρεῖν (7) is less easily explained: it usually means the forensic device of granting an opponent a point. Perhaps we should think of the narrator as 'admitting' the fabulous or bizarre nature of his story, but proceeding to assert the authority for it or its inner truth (cf. Theon 76. 6 ff.). (vi) προσποιεῖσθαι ἐξηγεῖσθαι presumably indicates a break in the narrative in order to explain the background, so producing variety. (vii) With μὴ πιστεύειν μηδὲ ἀπιστεῖν (8), compare Hdt. 4. 96, οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὧν πιστεύω τι λίην.

339. 16. μᾶλλον [ἢ] τῆς ἀρχαιότητος. The point is that Isocrates seeks κάλλος and σεμνότης from σύνθεσις, not from grandeur or archaism of vocabulary. The ἀρχαιότης and μέγεθος are qualities of the words. Hence ἢ must be deleted; whether ἀλλ' (the vulgate supplement in 17) is a correct conjecture may also be questioned, for ἢ would be natural here. For the doctrine, cf. Isocr. *Evag.* 10 (τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, cf. below, 21), and the many statements in rhetors about his σύνθεσις (e.g. Radermacher, *AS* B XXIV. 22, with notes).

339. 20. ἡμῶν. We accept this common correction for Ἰώνων, though it is not certain that it is the right reading in the passage referred to, Isocr. *Paneg.* 28. M. (as he tells us) has the whole passage

in mind: Δ. γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης
ἁρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης . . .

339. 21. ἐγγὺς . . . καθήκει. Cf. [Longin.] 31. 2, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγγὺς
παραξύει τὸν ἰδιώτην. For the combination of σεμνότης and simple
words cf. [Longin.] 40.

339. 23. Thuc. 2. 29. Hermogenes, *De ideis* 410. 16 ff. Rabe discusses
the unusual γλυκύτης of this passage.

339. 27. ἐκινήθη. In Plato (*Laws* 672 B), and in Athenaeus 440 D,
the passage reads: διεφορήθη τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν γνώμην.

339. 32. Again (cf. 22) an indication of a lacuna. The sense is
presumably that μυθικοὶ ὕμνοι are in both respects (content and style)
on a lower level than φυσικοὶ ὕμνοι (contrast 339. 13 with 337. 30).

340. 1–30. (*v*) *Genealogical hymns*

These themes are only suitable for prose if combined with others.
Purity and variety of style are needed; Hesiod, Plato, and Herodotus
are models.

Though M. makes a point of the distinction between this and the pre-
ceding type, he hardly justifies himself, as he admits that 'genealogies'
hardly ever occur in isolation.

340. 10. γραῶδες. Literally 'like an old woman'; the word is
usually used of garrulity and silly stories, and so makes an odd com-
bination with μειρακιῶδες (for which see [Longin.] 3, 4). M.'s point
is that γοναί are only the first part of any encomium, which then
proceeds to ἀνατροφή, actions, and so on.

340. 13. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. Who? Presumably poets rather than ora-
tors: Dionysus' birth is first treated in Hes. *Theog.* 940 ff., Apollo's
in the Homeric hymn.

340. 15. Ἀλκαῖος. For Hermes, see 308 *PLF*, the hymn χαῖρε
Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, 'imitated' by Horace, *Odes* 1. 10. Nothing is known
of Alcaeus' treatment of Hephaestus.

340. 21. Alcaeus may have introduced the Horai in his hymn to
Hermes (D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 256), and there is late
evidence for their part: Philostr. *VA* 5. 15, *Imagines* 1. 26.

340. 24. καθαρότης. Here not grammatical purity (as, e.g. Dion.
Hal. *De Lys.* 9. 11), but clarity: so Hermog. *De ideis* 226 ff. Rabe (with
D. Hagedorn's comments, *Zur Ideenlehre des H.* (1964), p. 24), Julian,
Or. 2. 77 a, σεμνὸς καὶ καθαρός, Procl. *in Tim.* 1. 64 Diehl, ἀβιάστως
καὶ καθαρῶς, etc. No doubt this quality is also necessary in other
hymns with a large narrative element, but it is emphasized here for
lack of any more specific character.

340. 25. τὸ ἀπροσκορές. Cf. Heliod. 6. 1, τὸ ἀπροσκορὲς μῆκος
τῶν διηγημάτων.

340. 25. Finckh's proposal, adopted here, makes τὸ ἀπροσκορές an ἀρετή. However, it is clearly not so in the same sense as καθαρότης. The alternative—to punctuate after καθαρότης—produces an awkward and abrupt sentence, but nevertheless has a chance of being right.

340. 26–7. Periphrasis is a characteristic of poetry: Alexander, περὶ σχημάτων (3. 32. 6 Sp.) calls it ἴδιον . . . σχῆμα . . . τῆς ποιήσεως. But even poets have to be sparing in their use of it, and this is probably what συμμετρία here implies: cf. [Longin.] 29. 1, ἐπίκηρον . . . ἡ περίφρασις . . . εἰ μὴ σὺν μέτρῳ τινὶ λαμβάνοιτο. It is not easy to see how this feature has an effect corresponding to that of 'varied' cola in prose; what is true, however, is that variation of cola is not available to most poets (Dion. Hal. *CV* 19 (pp. 84 ff. U.–R.)).

340. 26. τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν κώλων. Dion. Hal. *CV* 19 (p. 86. 10 U.–R.): καὶ ἔστι λέξις κρατίστη πασῶν ἥτις ἂν ἔχῃ πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τε καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐναρμονίους, ὅταν τουτὶ μὲν ἐν περιόδῳ λέγηται, τουτὶ δ' ἔξω περιόδου, καὶ ἥδε μὲν ἡ περίοδος ἐκ πλειόνων πλέκηται κώλων, ἥδε δ' ἐξ ἐλαττόνων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν κώλων τὸ μὲν βραχύτερον ᾖ, τὸ δὲ μακρότερον κτλ. Note that Herodotus and Plato are two of Dionysius' examples of successful μεταβολή (87. 4).

340. 28. Ὀρφέως. This passage is not in Kern's *Orphica*. For a reference to an unfavourable literary view of Orphic poems, cf. Claudian, *Carm. min.* 23. 11 (= test. 226 Kern): 'Orpheos alii libros impune lacessunt, / nec tua securum te, Maro, fama vehit': also Pausan. 9. 30. 12, κόσμῳ . . . τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροιντο ἂν μετά γε Ὁμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους.

340. 30. ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς. Hdt. II was naturally studied as a model of geographical description and mythical narrative. J. Bompaire (*Lucien écrivain*, 649) lists a large number of features of this book used in *De dea Syria*.

340. 31–342. 20. (vi) *Fictitious hymns*

These are concerned with lesser divinities; we find examples in Plato and Homer. The fiction should be coherent, clear, and elegant, and may be supported by actual facts. The stylistic level depends on the nature of the subject.

341. 4 ff. *Sympos.* 203, 186, 189. In 186 A it is Eryximachus, not Pausanias who is speaking; so ὁ Παυσανίας is factually wrong. In any case, the subject throughout is Plato, not the characters in his dialogue; Nitsche was therefore right to propose his two deletions. With them goes Spengel's deletion of γάρ in 9.

341. 10. M. refers to various parts of the Symposium: φύσις is dealt with in Agathon's speech, δύναμις in those of Eryximachus and Aristophanes, γένος in Socrates' story of Poros and Penia.

341. 13. Δεῖμον καὶ Φόβον. Often (as below 417. 25) represented as the children of Ares (so *Il.* 11. 37, 13. 299, 15. 119, Hes. *Theog.* 934; relationship vague in *Il.* 4. 440). But the relationship is a matter of indifference; Cornutus (21 (40. 17 Lang)) rightly observes in a similar case that it does not matter whether Enyo is mother, daughter, or nurse of Ares.

341. 14. Φυγὴν. We have not found a precise parallel (Roscher s.v. *Phygē* cites only this passage), but M. doubtless has in mind *Il.* 9. 2 φύζα φόβου κρυόεντος ἑταίρη.

341. 15. Sleep and Death as brothers: *Il.* 14. 231, 16. 672; Hes. *Theog.* 212, etc.

341. 16 f. ὡς ἐν ἠθικῇ συνόψει. Obscure: Jacobs's συνάψει ('connection'?) is more obscure still. 'As in Ethical Summary' reads like an addition to the text rather than the author's words; if he is simply referring to a work of his own, we do not at all expect ὡς. The force of the allegorical fantasy also is uncertain. In Stoic thought, the divine Logos may be called Zeus; human reason too may be thought of as a part of him, as e.g. in Aristides εἰς Δία (= *Or.* 43) 21 (p. 344. 17 Keil): καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων (viz. laws, arts, and the like) λογισμὸς Διός ἐστι μέρος. But we can do little more than raise the question what the allegory means and what the ἠθικὴ σύνοψις may be.

341. 20 ff. The paradosis has the adverbs ἀπηρτημένως and συνεχῶς, and this is satisfactory. Both are logical terms. We suggest that the desired 'coherence' may be obtained by basing the fantasy on πράγματα; ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν (Heeren), 'from the same subjects', is hard to understand. Moreover ἀνακεχωρηκυῖα 'recondite, out of the way' perhaps implies a contrast with reality and normality.

341. 23. στωμύλως καὶ γλαφυρῶς. στωμύλως is normally pejorative in classical Greek, and denotes idle loquacity, as it does also, e.g. in Demetrius 151; but it may also (at least in later Greek) be wholly favourable: *Anth. Pal.* 9. 187, the Charites give Menander (the poet) στωμύλον εὐτυχίην. γλαφυρῶς, 'elegantly', is a standard term of stylistic description: Dion. Hal. *Isocr.* 2, *Demosth.* 40, and frequently in *CV*; [Longin.] 10. 6, 33. 5. It is usually associated with a smooth or elegant style, not with bald simplicity. Here both words are used of subject-matter, not style, but the transference is easy.

341. 24 ff. Muses daughters of Memory: Hes. *Theog.* 54, and many later poets. Birth of Athena: Hes. *Theog.* 924, Pind. *Ol.* 7. 35; but see especially Aristid. *Or.* 37. We note that these stories are traditional and not inventions; presumably their point is to show the sort of thing one should or should not invent.

341. 27. ἄλλως δ', 'but otherwise', gives adequate sense. The point is that the πλάσις is disagreeable in itself, though it may be

justified by allegorical interpretation (see [Heraclit.] *Quaest. Hom.* 19, F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homère*, 284 f.).

341. 28–30. M. again refers (29) to his own work, probably the piece he alluded to above (16). The reference to Homer recalls the fact that it is of Homer that Aristotle says just this (*Poet.* 1460ᵃ18 ff.).

342. 3. Zeus and Themis: Hes. *Theog.* 901 ff., Pind. fr. 30. εἰ for ἦν seems necessary, but since ἦν occurs in the εἰ δ' clause below, one expects it also in the first half of the sentence, and we therefore supply it after γάρ. If Zeus was before all things, he was before Themis; if Themis (having been Cronos' wife) was before Zeus, then Zeus was not before all things. Heeren and Walz read: ἦν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ πάντων καὶ Θέμις, i.e. 'for in that case Themis also was before all things; but if Themis was before Zeus, Zeus was not before all things'.

342. 6. τινες τῶν νεωτέρων. Not identifiable. This kind of personification, in which the accoutrements of a figure are identified with qualities or virtues or vices, hardly seems to occur in pagan literature. In *Cebetis Tabula* 5, Ἀπάτη (Deceit) offers a cup of Πλάνος (Error) and Ἄγνοια (Ignorance) and this is something of the same kind. But the nearest parallels by far seem to be the Pauline passages about the whole armour of God (Eph. 6 : 11 ff., 1 Thess. 5 : 8).

342. 9. Παυσανίας. Pausanias of Caesarea, teacher of Aelian and Aspasius: details of his career in Philostratus (*VS* 2. 13, 2. 31. 3). He was a Cappadocian, ridiculed for his incorrect pronunciation. He died at Rome in extreme old age, somewhere around the end of the second century. See H. Diller in *TAPA* 86 (1955), 268–79. Pausanias is clearly treated here as an example of faults to be avoided.

342. 10. κατὰ μέρος. If right, this means 'partial'; the implication might be that Pausanias was not talented in a wider field. But Nitsche's ⟨τὸ⟩ μέρος τοῦτο is attractive.

342. 10–12. Corruption may extend back to ἔστι, since at 341. 30 and again at 342. 5 new precepts begin with ἔτι, and this may have been so here also. Jacobs's conjecture would give the sense: 'it is also possible to unite ancient and new . . .', i.e. to combine traditional with newly invented divinities. Kroll felt sure that ἀχρεῖον 'useless' should be read for ἀρχαῖον but he gave no complete explanation of the passage. If we combined ἀχρεῖον with Z's τοῦτο, we should have the sense 'This is useless even in poetry . . .' This would suit the general sense rather better, but the passage remains baffling.

342. 15. κομψοτέραν. 'Ingenious', 'elegant': not a very obvious concomitant of ἀφελεστέραν, though the two notions together indicate the quality opposed to σεμνοτέραν and appropriate to human subjects.

342. 17. Πενίαν. Cf. Plato, *Symp.* 203 B ff., Bion F 17 Kindstrand, Alciphron 1. 23. 2 (= 3. 40 Benner–Fobes), Lucian, *Timon* 31 ff.

Ἀγρυπνίαν. There seems no literary evidence for Ἀ. or Ἀγροικίαν (Z) as a personification.

342. 19. γονιμώτατος. At [Longin.] 8. 1 (πηγαὶ ὑψηγορίας γονιμώταται) and perhaps also ibid. 31. 2, Ar. *Ran.* 96, the word seems to mean 'productive'; elsewhere (e.g. Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 23) it seems to mean 'noble'. It is difficult to say which sense predominates here. Both are covered by the basic sense of 'virile, full of reproductive power'.

ἐπινοίας. Cf. ἐπινοητικός [Longin.] 4. 1 (of Timaeus).

342. 21–343. 16 *(vii) and (viii)*: *Deprecatory and precatory hymns*

These are generally included in other types, but there are examples of them being used by themselves in Homer and Plato, and traces also in the orators.

342. 28 f. *Il.* 2. 412–13: μὴ πρὶν ἠέλιον δῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἐλθεῖν.

343. 1. *Il.* 5. 115: κλῦθί μευ αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη, whence Z adds Ἀτρυτώνη. But M. is quoting from *Il.* 10. 278–9.

343. 3. ὦ φίλε Πάν. The famous prayer at the end of the *Phaedrus*, 279 B.

343. 5 ff. Cf. M. Aur. 5. 7 on the prayer of the Athenians: ὅσον ὅσον ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ . . . ἤτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι ἢ οὕτως ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως. Similarly Diod. Sic. 10. 98 of Pythagoras (δεῖν ἁπλῶς εὔχεσθαι τἀγαθά) and Xen. *Mem.* 1. 3. 2 of Socrates (ηὔχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἁπλῶς τἀγαθὰ διδόναι).

343. 8. ἅπερ ἀκριβῶς ἴσασιν. So Xen. l.c.: ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὁποῖα ἀγαθά ἐστιν, Val. Max. 7. 2 ext. 1: 'Socrates . . . ut bona tribuerent, quia ii demum scirent quid unicuique esset utile.'

343. 9. ἐπιών. A regular term for 'going through' a text: cf. e.g. Porph. *De antro nymph.* 7, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλὰ εὑρήσει τις ἐπιὼν τὰ τῶν θεολόγων, Plu. *De curiositate* 10. 520 A, εἴ τις ἐπιὼν τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκλαμβάνοι τὰ κάκιστα.

343. 10. Heeren's αἰτήσεις gives the required sense. Kroll rightly saw that εἰς τοὺς πολίτας was wrongly inserted, arising perhaps from εἰς τοὺς πολιτικούς in 11. συγγραφέων probably includes all prose-writers. The πολιτικοί of 11 are then orators, a subdivision of prose-writers.

343. 12. The passages quoted (*De corona* 1 and 141) are in fact real prayers, rather than ἐπιμαρτυρίαι.

343. 17–26. An additional note: 'aporetic' hymns are not really a separate class. The text in 18–19 is doubtful; we accept Bursian's

οἷον (confirmed by Z) and suppose that the hymn-writers, not the theorists, are the assumed subject of διηπόρησαν.

343. 19. Ἔρωτος depends on γενεαλογίας (Z), and περὶ spoils the phrase. According to Hes. *Theog.* 120, Earth and Eros were the first creatures after Chaos. This kind of diaporesis is a variant on the common hymnic feature of addressing the god in such a way as to be sure not to offend by omission—'whoever you may be, whatever name you wish', etc.: see esp. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 145 ff. There is a good example from the Roman period in the *Hymn to Attis* (Heitsch xliv. 2):

εἴτε Κρόνου γένος εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ εἴτε 'Ρέας μεγάλας,
χαῖρε . . .

It is tempting to quote Milton, *L'Allegro* 11 ff.

> But come thou Goddess fair and free,
> In heaven yclept Euphrosyne,
> And by men heart-easing Mirth;
> Whom lovely Venus, at a birth,
> With two sister Graces more,
> To ivy-crownèd Bacchus bore:
> Or whether (as some sager sing)
> The frolic wind that breathes the spring . . .

343. 25. Soph. fr. 740 Nauck (809 Pearson); nothing more is known of this passage, and the text here remains doubtful.

343. 27–344. 4. A further note: combinations of these types of hymn are suitable for prose, because they form complete laudatory speeches, and the orator (unlike the poet) is obliged to handle his subject exhaustively. Aristides' *Manteutoi* are exemplary.

Aristides' *Sarapis* (*Or.* 45) offers a close parallel to M.'s argument. The prooemium (1) makes the point that poets are 'tyrants over the thought' and can leave out anything they like. See A. Höfler, *Der Sarapishymnus des Ailios Aristides*, Tübinger Beiträge 27, 1935.

343. 27–8. ἐξ ὁμοίου is puzzling, even with Bursian's ⟨ἐκ⟩ τούτων . . . συντεθέντας. As an alternative, we should consider ἐκ τούτων ἁπάντων ὁμοῦ ('together').

344. 2. ἐν τοῖς Μαντευτοῖς. The title occurs in manuscripts of Aristid. *Or.* 37 (*Athena*), and was evidently the title of a collection of speeches suggested by dreams or prophecy: 38 (*Asclepiades*), 41 (*Dionysus*), 42 (*Asclepius*) were probably parts of this. In *Or.* 50 (= *Hieroi Logoi* 4) 25, Aristides relates the circumstances in which he believed himself to have received literary guidance in dreams (cf. also *Or.* 42. 11); ibid. 30, he alludes to a third speech to Asclepius;

and in 42. 2 he speaks of τὰς προσρήσεις τὰς ἐφ᾽ ἡμέραν ταύτας. He thus wrote more in this 'genre' than we have; of the two pieces that M. appears to mention, the *Asclepius* may be *Or.* 42, the *Hygieia* is not to be identified with any extant speech.

344. 3–4. This corrupt sentence must contain a laudatory account of Aristides' achievement in these hymns; it is his 'workmanship' which is 'superhuman'. Nitsche's suggestion (see app. crit.) does not meet this point, and restoration of the text remains baffling.

344. 5–14. *Conclusion of the book*: we pass from praise of gods to praise of lands and cities.

344. 6–8. ἐξ ὧν . . . καιροῖς. These clauses give the content of the βιβλίον now completed, and are loosely attached to the main sentence.

344. 10. ἀναγωγή. The conjecture is based on a quite common use of ἀνάγειν εἰς, 'refer to' a chapter or heading: cf. 345. 7, 384. 2. But it is not quite certain: ἀναγραφή is as close to ἀνάγκη and also gives adequate sense ('the writing-up of the subject in . . .'). The τόμοι seem to be the same as the βιβλία of 5 above; neither term necessarily means a complete roll, both may simply refer to divisions of the subject-matter (C. Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung*, 48, 56). We should note however that 'Books' I and II are approximately the same length: 'Book' III (359 ff.) which is shorter, is obviously incomplete. In γεγένηται, M. writes as if the plan of division into books has already been stated; thus we expect ἡ εἰς τοὺς τόμους . . .

344. 15–359. 15. Book II of this treatise deals with the encomia of countries and cities (a) in general, with reference to geographical features (344. 15–353. 3), (b) ἀπὸ γένους (353. 4–359. 15). Further development is reserved for Book III (359. 16 ff.).

Apart from early poetry (see E. Kienzle, *Der Lobpreis von Städten und Ländern in der älteren griechischen Dichtung*, Basel, 1936), the rhetors had at their disposal a good deal of material in classical prose that was relevant to this subject: not only Isocrates' *Panathenaicus*, but Xenophon's Πόροι (1. 2–8) and Plato's *Critias*, and geographical descriptions in historians. The most influential work of the kind, however, was Aristides' *Panathenaicus*; M. refers also to his speeches on Cyzicus. Of later speeches, Libanius' *Antiochicus* (*Or.* 11) shows a particularly close relationship to the advice given by M. On the need for truth (or at least for avoiding falsehood) in such speeches, see Liban. *Ep.* 19. 8: 'if you were praising Cythera, you would not make much of its corn crops.' Brief precepts are given in [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 257. 6–19 U.-R., Quintil. 3. 8.

344. 16–345. 9. A country is praised either for its position or for its

nature; each of these may be considered under definite heads, viz.
(i) 'position' in relation to land, sea, or sky; (ii) 'nature' in relation
to mountainousness, supply of water, and fertility.

344. 16. ἀνωτάτω 'most generally', cf. 350. 27, Aristid. *Panath.* 383,
τριῶν γὰρ οὐσῶν ὡς ἀνωτάτω διελέσθαι τῶν πολιτειῶν. An Aristotelian
usage: 'ἄνω dicuntur [notiones] quae sunt magis universales' (Bonitz,
Ind. Ar. 68ᵇ50), e.g. τὸ ἀνωτάτω τῶν γενῶν, *Met. Δ* 6, 1016ᵃ30.

344. 17–18. κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ θέσιν. The detailed subdivision of
these heads which follows is itself fairly clear, but Treatise II (383.
10 ff.) appears to be saying something different (Introd., p. xxxvii).
The air of philosophical thought which this antithesis possesses (cf.
φύσις and θέσις in debates on origins of language e.g. in Plato's
Cratylus) obviously recommended it to the rhetors and their audiences,
even though it does not suit the needs of geographical description
very well. Note that M. treats θέσις first: so, e.g. Aristides in his self-
conscious (but charming) adaptation of the scheme to the subject of
the Aegean Sea (*Or.* 44. 2; 7).

344. 26–8. ἤδη ... Ἕσπερον. Nitsche wondered whether this pas-
sage should simply be deleted. Position cannot be indicated by
reference to the risings of stars like this, though Hesperus is of course
associated with evening, and so with the West, and the Pleiades and
Hyades with cold or storm, so that they might be used to suggest
a northern and inclement climate. It is perhaps worth adding that
biblical texts sometimes confuse Arcturus and Arctos: *TLL* 2. 473.
31 ff. quotes Job 37: 9: 'ab interioribus egredietur tempestas et ab
arcturo frigus.'

344. 28–9. κατὰ ... δοκιμάζομεν. Further difficulties arise here.
The reference of γὰρ is not clear (and is not made clearer if we accept
Nitsche's deletion in 26–8), and we expect ⟨τούτους⟩ τοὺς ...

344. 29–30. For ὧραι see below, 345. 31.

**345. 6. ἑκάστου ἐκθήσομαι, δύο εἰπὼν πρότερον πρὸς ἃ [τὰ κεφάλαια]
ἀνάγοντας ἐπαινεῖν δεῖ.** δύο cannot go with what precedes since the
following discussion simply gives a number of suggested elaborations
of all the topics which have been mentioned. It may be corrupt or to
be deleted; but logic would be satisfied if it were taken with εἰπὼν.
We tentatively punctuate after ἑκάστου [sc. παραδείγματα] ἐκθήσομαι.
M. is first going to mention the two κεφάλαια which must always be
employed, viz. those of pleasure and utility. These are called κεφάλαια
in 8; the earlier occurrence of the word we think may be an
interpolation. Alternative restorations are not out of the question:
e.g. ... πρότερον κεφάλαια πρὸς ἃ ἀνάγοντας κτλ. The essential point,
however, is to separate δύο from παραδείγματα.

345. 7–8. πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἢ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν. From the early days of rhetorical teaching, the use of concepts like these in deliberative speeches was regularly taught: *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1. 4 lists συμφέρον and ἡδύ with δίκαιον, νόμιμον, καλόν, and ῥᾴδιον. From Hermogenes on, such concepts are known as 'headings of purpose', τελικὰ κεφάλαια, and various lists are found, most of which do not in fact include these two as separate items: but see Syrianus (4. 701 Walz) for an example of their inclusion. Cf. Volkmann, 301 f., Martin, 169 ff.

345. 9 ff. The treatment of the various possibilities now begins: 10–15 inland area, 15–17 coast, 17–19 island, 19–22 peninsula. M. then proceeds to θέσις πρὸς οὐρανόν: east 22–4, west 24–5, south 25–7, north 27–8, central area 28–31. This completes θέσις.

345. 12–13. The vulgate correction of δύο to τῶν makes adequate sense but does not explain the corruption. We neither need nor expect the article. It is perhaps worth considering whether β′ (i.e. 'two') was not a misunderstanding of βαθέσι 'deep', written with compendia: βαθύς is a natural epithet of cornfields, cf. *Il.* 2. 147 βαθὺ λήϊον. M.'s ληΐοις κατεστεμμένων is grandiose; but cf. 408. 25 for λήϊα (also Themist. *Or.* 15. 189 B) and Method. *Sympos.* 2. 7 (λείμων) κατεστεμμένος ἄνθεσιν.

345. 13–15. Crops apparently run truer to kind if not affected by the 'disturbances' of the sea; this is a curious idea, for which we know no parallel (but cf. e.g. Plu. *Quaest. Nat.* 1 for the inability of plants to draw nourishment from sea-water).

345. 19. ἐν τῷ Νησιωτικῷ. A lost speech; it is not known what 'island' is meant.

345. 20. Ἀριστόβουλος. *FGrHist* 139 F 12. Nonnus 40. 338–52 has an elaborate description of Tyre which illustrates some of the points that could be made: νῆσον ἐν ἠπείρῳ . . . τύπος χθονός, αἰθέρος εἰκών.

περὶ Κυζίκου. See *Or.* 27. 5 ff. (pp. 126–7 Keil). Aristides makes the points that Cyzicus (i) is situated 'in front' of Asia, (ii) is served by three seas, (iii) has a fertile hinterland, (iv) is at once island, peninsula, and mainland, (v) is the ὀμφαλός of the world between Phasis and Gades. He compares it with Corinth, Crete, and Tyre; but he does not use the ἡδύ / ὠφέλιμον arrangement that M. recommends.

345. 21 ff. Xenophon, *Πόροι* 1. 2 ff. This famous passage contains many of the topics that later rhetors embellished: the mild climate of Attica, the fertile land and rich seas, the mines, the central position, the combination of mainland and island advantages, the remoteness from barbarian neighbours.

345. 25. κορωνίς. The ornamental flourish that marks the end of a text; hence 'end' (Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 12. 257; Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.*

26). See E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 14, with illustrations.

345. 28. ὑπόβορρον. The word is not attested elsewhere, whereas πρόσβορρος is common (Eur., Aristot., Theophr., Strabo). For the combination of positive and superlative adjectives, see on 419. 18.

345. 31. ὥραις . . . εὔκρατος. This gives the required sense: cf. Pl. *Tim.* 24 c, εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὡρῶν, Hippocr. *De aere aquis locis* 12, ἡ κρῆσις τῶν ὡρέων.

345. 31–346. 8. M. next elaborates φύσις, following the pattern of 344. 31 ff.: mountainous country, 345. 31–2; level, 345. 32–346. 1; dry and waterless, 2–4; rich and well-watered, 4–6; fertile, 6–7; infertile, 7–8.

345. 32. διειλημμένῳ. Pl. *Phaedo* 110 b, γῆ . . . χρώμασι διειλημμένη; Lucian, *Patr. Encom.* 10, λειμῶσι φυτοῖς διειλημμένοις; Liban. *Or.* 11. 33, (ὁδοὶ) πηγαῖς σκιεραῖς . . . διειλημμέναι.

346. 1. ὀστώδης. Cf. γῆς ὀστέα 'bones of earth', for stones: Choerilus fr. 2 Nauck, γῆς ὀστεοῖσιν ἐγχριμφθεὶς πόδα.

346. 7. φιλοσοφεῖν. Probably (as often in Christian texts, rarely in pagan) of living a simple and well-regulated life: cf. Lampe s.v. φιλοσοφέω B. 3. b. Cf. also 347. 29 φιλοσοφεῖν . . . καρτερικοὺς εἶναι. We might expect here quotation from *Od.* 9. 27, τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος, used by Lucian, *Patr. Encom.* 10, τὴν ἱπποτρόφον ὑπερορῶντες τὴν κουροτρόφον ἐπαινοῦσι.

346. 9–15. The topic of barren and desert countries reminds M. of the doctrine of 'paradoxical' encomia, e.g. on Death or Poverty. We pass next to encomia of cities.

346. 10 ff. [τὰ δὲ ἄδοξα]. We follow Z in omitting this phrase together with the corresponding sentence ἄδοξα . . . φανεροῦ (12–13; om. PZ); as Bursian saw, this could well be a Christian interpolation. (At 364. 27 ff. M. divides πράξεις into ἔνδοξοι, ἀμφίδοξοι, and ἄδοξοι. Both these lists are adaptations to the purposes of epideictic rhetoric of the theory of *genera causarum* which applies to forensic subjects: for this, see esp. *Ad Herenn.* 1. 3. 5 (*honestum, turpe, dubium, humile*; some add also *obscurum*), with Caplan's note.) The field of encomium subjects is completely covered by the three terms M. gives here, excluding ἄδοξα; but note that A. Gell. *Noctes Atticae* 17. 12. 1 speaks of ἄδοξοι ὑποθέσεις (e.g. Thersites, quartan fever), where he means what M. here seems to call παράδοξα.

346. 17. For Alcidamas, see Radermacher, *AS* B XXII. 12 (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 48. 116), with P. Mich. 2754, edited in *HSCP* 75 (1971) by Koniaris and Renehan. A pupil of Gorgias and opponent of

Isocrates, A. is best known for his attack on 'those who write written speeches' and for the (lost) Μουσεῖον which included much biographical and anecdotal material about poets. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3. 3) found fault with some features of his style. A later teacher of rhetoric (Anon. *Probl. Rhet.* 28 = Walz 8. 407) states the case of an orator whose ἐγκώμιον θανάτου was so effective that many people committed suicide; the orator is imagined as charged with offences against the public. It is perhaps worthy of note that M. does not mention Polycrates, the most famous exponent of this kind of thing (Radermacher, *AS* 128–32). See on 332. 26 ff.

346. 18. Πρωτέως. Peregrinus Proteus, the Cynic philosopher from Parium, burnt himself alive at Olympia in AD 167: Lucian, *De morte Peregrini* (ed. D. Plooij–J. C. Koopman, Utrecht, 1915), Philostr. *VS* 2. 1. 13. There is no evidence for written works, but A. Gell. 12. 11 speaks of his lessons; and πενίας ἔπαινος is no uncommon theme (Stob. 3. 780 W.–H. for an anthology on the subject; see also W. Meyer, *Laudes Inopiae*, diss. Göttingen, 1915). However, *Suda* s.v. *Philostratus*, reports a work by the elder Philostratus called Πρωτεὺς κύων ἢ σοφιστής, and the allusion may possibly be to this. MmW's addition of ἢ τοῦ is clearly wrong; see R. Kassel, *Konsolationsliteratur*, 15 n. 3.

346. 20. ψαμμώδεις. An addition to 345. 2 and 346. 1: the attention to sandy deserts is used by Nitsche to support his view that Genethlius of Petra is the author of Treatise I (Introd., pp. xxxvi ff.).

346. 26–353. 3 *Encomia of cities: situation*

346. 27–347. 2. *Introduction.* The praise of cities is a combination of the praise of countries (which gives the topics relating to situation) and that of individual men (which gives the other encomium headings of origin, actions, and accomplishments).

347. 2–10. Situation is considered in relation to: (i) climate and seasons, (ii) mainland, (iii) sea, (iv) territory, (v) neighbouring territories and cities, (vi) mountains, (vii) plains. (Water-supply and rivers fall under 'territory'.) In each section, 'pleasure' and 'utility' are to be considered.

347. 12–348. 14. (i) Climate and seasons.

348. 18–349. 2. (ii) and (iii) Mainland and sea.

349. 3–13. (iv) Surrounding territory.

349. 14–30. (? vi and vii) Mountains, plains, and rivers.

349. 31–350. 23. (v) Neighbouring territories and cities.

350. 24–351. 19. Geographical situation of the city itself, how far it is built on hills or in the plain; advantages of each.

351. 21–352. 5. Harbours.

352. 6–9. Bays.
352. 10–353. 3. Acropolis.

It will be seen that the execution of the proposed plan is not very clear. The passage 349. 14–30 might be regarded as a part of the account of 'surrounding territory'; in that case, 350. 24 ff. takes up the original promise to discuss 'mountains and plains' ((vi) and (vii)). However, 349. 14–30 interrupts the natural sequence of argument made up by 349. 5–13 and 349. 31 ff. (πρὸς μὲν τοίνυν τὴν περιοικίδα . . . πρὸς τοίνυν τὰς ἐν γειτόνων). Nitsche considered transferring the doubtful passage to follow 351. 19; this is attractive, but in a text of this kind, additions and inconsistencies are to be expected.

Praise of cities is dealt with in slightly different terms in Treatise II, 383 ff. In [Dion. Hal.] *Rhet.* 257. 6 ff. U.–R. the headings are: θέσις, γένεσις, κτίστης, πράξεις, μέγεθος, buildings, river, mythical traditions. Cf. ibid. 275. 19 ff. A concise account in Quintilian 3. 8. 26: 'laudantur autem urbes . . . pro parente est conditor . . . et virtutes ac vitia circa res gestas eadem quae in singulis; illa propria quae ex loci positione ac munitione sunt.' It appears from Aristid. *Or.* 17. 23 and Liban. *Or.* 11. 150 that a section on the character of the δῆμος was normally expected; there is nothing of this in M. Naturally enough, similar topics are to be found in geographical writings. Note the following from Strabo: 12. 2. 9, Mazaca is unfortified, and thus more suitable as a base for brigands, and is the central point of a well-wooded territory; 12. 3. 11, Sinope is φύσει καὶ (v.l. φυσικῇ) προνοίᾳ κατεσκευασμένη καλῶς in a good defensive situation; 12. 3. 39, Amisos likewise is well provided by nature to be the garrison town of a wide and fertile territory.

347. 3. ἄνω. 'above', pleonastic with τοὺς εἰρημένους; but the other meaning 'general' (cf. 344. 16) is not appropriate.

347. 5–7. ἢ πρὸς τὴν χώραν . . . πεδία. These are the extra τρόποι.

347. 11. Lacuna: the right sense 'give examples in order to . . .' is given by Bursian's supplement. Cf. 345. 5 f.

347. 27–30. PZ omit εἰ δέ τινες . . . λαμβάνειν, W omits εἰ δ' αὖ . . . λαμβάνειν. These clauses cannot both stand, and the Ascra version is to be preferred: Ascra is a 'city' not a χώρα, and the εἰ δ' αὖ clause almost exactly repeats 346. 7–8. The reference is to Hes. *WD* 640: ὀϊζυρῇ ἐνὶ κώμῃ, | Ἄσκρῃ χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ. (Ἄσκρη, as in Hesiod, is also the form in later prose: Pausan. 9. 29. 1, [Plu.] *Vita Homeri* 1. 2.) Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto* 4. 14 ingeniously uses the same stock of examples (Ascra, Ithaca) to praise the inhabitants of Tomi while abusing the place.

347. 31. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ὅρον. M. has in fact given several distinct principles: 21 ff. praise advantages; 23 ff. turn disadvantages to account; 31 ff. explain disadvantages of the qualities opposite to those present.

348. 1. κεκραμένας. sc. πόλεις, presumably. But the wording of Liban. *Or.* 11. 29 seems more natural: the seasons ἐκάστη τε ἐν ὅροις μένει καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἴσον ἀποτέμνεται μέτρον. So we should consider understanding ὥρας instead of πόλεις, and reading τὰς . . . ⟨ἐν⟩ μέρει ἐκάστην (codd.) παραμενούσας. Liban., l.c., develops the topic at some length.

348. 13. The plurals γεύσεσιν and ὄψεσι are unintelligible; we translate γεύσει ὄψει. Cf. Hermog. *De ideis* 331. 11 Rabe: ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἡδέα, λέγω δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἢ ἀφῇ ἢ γεύσει ἤ τινι ἄλλῃ ἀπολαύσει, ταῦτα καὶ λεγόμενα ἡδονὴν ποιεῖ. But the phrase may be a gloss on ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, and we therefore prefer to obelize it in the text. The reference is presumably to crops and fruit, perhaps also to water-supply: Aristid. *Panath.* 23, ἀενάων ποταμῶν ῥεύματα ἄλυπα καὶ πηγὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ καρπῶν ἁπάντων φοράν.

348. 19 ff. πρὸς θάλασσαν. For the social dangers of a coastal situation, cf. Pl. *Laws* 3. 704 D, Cic. *De rep.* 2. 7–9; it is this philosophical tradition to which M.'s σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν (22) draws attention. It was no doubt a commonplace in speeches of the kind M. envisages: cf. Liban. *Or.* 11. 35 ff., and esp. 38: πόλιν . . . ἐπιθαλαττίδιον ναυτικῆς ἀπειροκαλίας ἀνάγκη γέμειν . . . ἃ λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ διαφθείρειν ἤδη πόλεων ἰσχύει. Antioch, like Rome and the ideal city of the *Laws*, was a reasonable distance (in fact 120 stades) from its harbour. Libanius again (*Or.* 18. 187) drily reports rival speeches made before Julian on behalf of inland Apamea and coastal Laodicea: Julian 'chose the city with the best men'. Procop. Gaz. *Anastas.* 2 (p. 491 *CSHB*) gives a conventional *laudatio* of Epidamnus on these lines.

348. 29. περιστοιχίζεσθαι. 'Compass', 'encircle', 'delimit': an odd use of the word, which commonly means 'encircle' in a hostile sense (Dem. 4. 9). But LSJ are too credulous in accepting περιστοιχεῖσθαι (from MW), for which they adduce no parallel.

349. 5 ff. Position relating to περιοικίς. Some of M.'s metaphors can be found in Aristides, *Panath.* 11, the islands are to Athens as προπύλαια (cf. below, 350. 13) to a palace; *Panath.* 9, Athens πρόκειται . . . ἀντ' ἄλλου φυλακτηρίου (cf. below, 350. 9) τῆς Ἑλλάδος; *Panath.* 16, acropolis as ὀμφαλός of shield (cf. 349. 10).

349. 7. προσώπῳ. 'Front' or 'façade': cf. e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 4 τηλαυγὲς . . . πρόσωπον, a favourite passage with later writers (cf. Cic. *Orator* 15. 50, *De oratore* 2. 320; Plu. *Praec. ger. r. p.* 804 D, Lucian, *Hippias* 7, [Dion. Hal.], *Ars* 256. 18 U.–R.).

349. 10. βασίλεια ἢ ἀρχεῖα. Aristid. *Or.* 46. 20 of Corinth: καὶ ἀρχεῖα Ποσειδῶνος καλῶ καὶ βασίλεια καὶ αὐλήν.

349. 18. εὐερκής. Pl. *Laws* 760 E, ὅπως εὐερκὴς ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι μάλιστα ἔσται.

349. 24. Ἀριστείδης. *Panath.* 22–3, Attica is a μίμημα of the whole world, ἡ σὺν ὥρᾳ μίξις καὶ χάρις of plains and mountains.

349. 31. ἐν γειτόνων. A classical idiom, e.g. [Dem.] 53. 10, τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἐν γειτόνων. Since πόλεις and χώρας are the nouns to which the article τὰς belongs, we delete the repeated [ὡς πρὸς].

350. 4. [ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Ἀσία]. This is puzzling: the passage is about πόλεις in relation to χῶραι and other πόλεις; it is not about provinces. The phrase might naturally be thought to apply to the Roman province of Asia as distinct from the continent. It should be noted, however, that the whole passage seems to have been interfered with in such a way as to make it apply to χῶραι; hence the interpolated [χώραις] in 14 and [χώραν] in 21. The phrase we propose to delete may have been added as part of this process, or it may be a gloss on μεγάλῳ ἔθνει (Nitsche [8] identifies the ἔθνος as the Galatians, and uses the passage to date the book under Aurelian).

350. 10. τοῦτο . . . Ἀθηνῶν. A peculiarly superfluous sentence which Bursian may well be right to remove.

350. 18. ἀλλ' οὖν. 'At least'. Late position has classical precedent: e.g. Aeschin. 3. 86, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιοῦνθ' ὑμῖν εἶναι φίλοι, 'at first they at least claimed to be your friends'. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, 445.

350. 25. τοπικήν. sc. θέσιν. 'They mean by "local situation" the nature of the place . . .' Or should φύσιν be deleted?

350. 29. The supplement and corrections here are uncertain in detail, but the general sense is clear.

350. 30 ff. Heeren's systematic changes are not necessary. He forces the passage into the ὠφέλεια/ἡδονή scheme. However, security in war and in peace—including the security from disease offered by a healthy climate—makes an equally likely theme; the intrusive element then is καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν in 30, and this should probably be deleted; it is an addition meant to point out that clear air is not only healthy but pleasant.

350. 31. τοῦ ὑποκειμένου. 'Adjacent', 'surrounding'; LSJ s.v. I. 2 suggest that the vulgate ὑπερ- is an unnecessary change.

350. 32–351. 1. αὐτοφυὲς τεῖχος. Cf. Heliod. 2. 26. 2 (on Delphi): οἷον γὰρ φρούριον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος ἀκρόπολις ὁ Παρνασσὸς ἀπαιωρεῖται.

351. 4. οὐ μάλιστα. 351. 12 makes ἐλάχιστα worth consideration here. But οὐ μάλιστα, 'not to a very high degree', may be adequate.

ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ. So Z. We take this to mean 'within sight': cf. Aristid. *Or.* 17. 19 (of Smyrna): τὸ δὲ πέλαγος ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ, τοῖς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐσχάτοις οὐχ ἧττον σύνοπτον ἢ τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν. There seems no justification for interpreting the other MS. reading ἑνὶ ὀφθαλμῷ as 'at a single glance'; its natural meaning is 'with one eye', which makes no sense here. We therefore prefer ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ, but deeper corruption cannot be ruled out.

351. 8–10. τὰ ἐλαττώματα . . . φεύξῃ. The whole of this sentence should be regarded as a later accretion. It interrupts the argument and has no connecting particle. ἔστι δὲ ἐλαττώματα (10) does not require (as Bursian seems to have thought) τὰ ἐλαττώματα in 8; M. is simply following the pattern he used for cities on hills, 351. 1.

351. 20 ff. Harbours are naturally a regular subject: much of the traditional material is in Liban. *Descr.* 7 (8. 483), e.g. 7. 2 on artificial and natural harbours.

352. 1. πολλὰς χεῖρας προτείνει. Aristid. *Panath.* 10, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ὡσπερεὶ χεῖρα προτείνουσα εἰς ὑποδοχήν.

352. 3. πολύπλους. 'For many voyages', acc. to LSJ; but perhaps rather 'having many entrance channels'.

352. 5. ἀγχιβαθεῖς. *Od.* 5. 413, Pl. *Critias*, 111 A.

352. 6 ff. Cf. Aristid. *Or.* 17. 22 on the gulf of Smyrna with its many inlets and harbours.

352. 19–20. κέλητι. Heeren's κεφαλῇ gets no support from 350. 14–15, since the point here is the position ἐν πλαγίῳ, viz. at the side of the city. Various senses of κέλης come into view: (i) a small boat; in Synes. *Ep.* 4 (p. 643 Hercher) the pilot comes alongside in a κελήτιον δίσκαλμον, which he ties up to the merchantman; (ii) a riding-horse, as distinct from one harnessed to a vehicle, and so possibly an escorting rider; (iii) Eustath. p. 1038, κέλης κυρίως οὐχ ὁ ἐπιβάτης ἀλλὰ ἵππος implies the use of κέλης as a horseman. We favour (i). In any case μετὰ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κεῖται is hard to explain; if σῶμα means literally 'body', Heeren's approach is of course attractive, but the more general sense 'main mass' is also possible. μετὰ γὰρ ⟨αὐτὴν⟩ and παρὰ γὰρ suggest themselves; but this part of the problem is not soluble unless we can be sure about κέλητι.

352. 21. ὥσπερ βασιλικαὶ περὶ ἱερὸν περιβολαί. 'Like royal enclosures around a temple'. Bursian's emendation makes βασιλικαί, sc. στοαί, 'basilicas' surrounding the agora; and then precincts surround a temple. But the analogy between agora and acropolis does not seem very apt, and we expect a single simile. There remains some uncertainty: note the manuscript variations and the fact that περίβολος, not περιβολή, is the normal word for 'precinct'.

352. 30. Nitsche cannot be right here; no one builds a citadel so as to make it easy to attack. M.'s point is not quite clear; it seems very similar to 352. 25 (πόλει ἔοικεν . . . ὑπ' εὐρυχωρίας), but the feature to be praised here is a flat top or plateau. The paradosis is καὶ πόλις or καὶ πόλει. One expects e.g. 'the whole city could have been put here', and this is how we (provisionally) translate. The minimum change which might be thought to yield this sense is καὶ πόλις ⟨ἂν⟩; but it may well be that more is missing. We mark a lacuna.

353. 4–359. 15. *Encomium of cities: origins*

   353. 8–30. (i) Founders (god or hero or man).

   353. 31–354. 21. (ii) Settlers (Greek or barbarian, and of what race).

   354. 22–355. 12. (iii) Date (ancient, 'middle', or modern).

   355. 13–357. 11. (iv) Changes (colony, transfer of site, increase of size, change of name).

   357. 12–359. 13. (v) Causes of foundation (divine, heroic, or human; advantage or necessity; joy or sorrow, justice or expediency). This is a regularly planned section on a standard theme; we may compare [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 257. 7 ff., 275. 19 ff. U.–R.

   353. 10. κατὰ τύχας. i.e. by status: LSJ s.v. IV. 3. Cf. Horace, *Ars poetica* 108 (*fortunarum*), 112 (*fortunis*); [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 377. 17 U.–R.

   353. 12 ff. Hermoupolis in Egypt founded by Hermes: cf. P. Argent. 481 (= XXIV Heitsch = Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, n. 136) esp. verso 10 ff.: Ἑρμῆς . . . χῶρον [εὔκρη]τον διζήμενος, ἔνθα πολίσσῃ, / ἄστυ . . . Heliopolis in Egypt was traditionally the foundation of Aktis, son of Helios and Rhode (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v.: T. Hopfner, *Fontes Religionis Aegyptiacae*, 300); it was a celebrated centre in classical Greek times, in decay in the Roman period.

   353. 16. The word-order suggests that τῆς πόλεως should be deleted; but we cannot say which of the many places called Heraclea is meant (H. Pontica—see below 358. 26—was the most important; others in Lucania, Syria, Macedonia, Caria, Lydia, etc.).

   353. 16–17. Sarpedon is said to have colonized Miletus with people from Miletus in Crete (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 127). But the centre of his cult was his native Xanthus, other Lycian cities honoured him, and he had an oracle in the Troad (Tertull. *De anima* 46) and was worshipped in Thrace (Zwicker in *RE* II A. 35 ff.). Minos was known from classical times as a great colonizer: Thuc. 1. 4. The widespread

place-name Minoa perpetuated the memory of his activities. M. probably has no particular places in mind (he mentions Rheneia below, 358. 21).

353. 19 ff. This sentence contains some difficulties. (i) καὶ τὸ στοιχεῖον looks like a variant of θεώρημα. (ii) If we accept Z's καὶ in 24, and punctuate as in our text, coherent sense results: γίνεται is then grammatically the apodosis of the ἐὰν . . . ἄδοξος clause (24), though the precept which is to follow does not come till φατέον (26). Bursian made ἡ διαδοχὴ ἄδοξος the apodosis (but what would be the point?), and then supplied 'by ἄδοξον I mean . . .'

354. 1 ff. μὲν is answered by δ' αὖ (9). For the antiquity of the Phrygians, see the story in Hdt. 2. 2. There is no objection to M.'s Λυδῶν (3); they are quite royal enough. M. is thinking of the 'royal Scyths' (Hdt. 4. 10 etc.), and of the Ethiopian kings descended from gods and heroes (e.g. Heliod. 4. 8).

354. 8. †ἣ† μάλιστα. πρεσβύτατα, σοφώτατα, and ἀρχικώτατα are true superlatives, so that ἣ μάλιστα is not logically satisfactory, because the possession of the other ἀρεταί also must be 'in the highest degree': i.e. the races are e.g. ἀνδρειότατα or εὐσεβέστατα. This sense is best obtained by deleting ἣ; Jacobs's ᾗ μάλιστα, 'as much as possible', gives an inappropriate limitation, though it might be taken strictly with ἣ πάσας, as a self-corrective, because one cannot possess all virtues in a degree superior to everyone else. However, the illogicality of which we complain is perhaps tolerable in a writer like M., and we obelize rather than adopting any other solution.

354. 9. We retain γενῶν· γένη δὲ of MmW. The train of thought begins at 353. 31, and μὲν in 354. 1 is answered by δὲ in 354. 9.

354. 10 ff. Hdt. 1. 142 ff. is the *locus classicus* for the three races, but does not explain why the Aeolian should here be called 'strongest'.

354. 22 ff. διαιρούμενον. Kroll conjectured this, now known from Z, and Nitsche conjectured λογιζόμενον. M.'s division of periods is interesting; he treats the middle epoch as coming down to Roman times, so that foundations by Alexander and the diadochi would fit in here. The examples are traditional: the autochthonous Athenians (e.g. Pl. *Menex.* 237 B ff.), the Arcadians as προσέληνοι (e.g. Ap. Rhod. 4. 264, with the learned scholia referring to Eudoxus, Theoros, and Ariston of Chios), and the Delphians created after the flood by the stone-throwing of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

354. 24. Heeren's deletion of φάσκωμεν makes the sentence much smoother.

355. 5. ὑπορρεῖ. Cf. Aristid. *Or.* 2. 396: φθειρομένου δὲ οὕτω τοῦ γένους καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέοντος.

355. 18. The synoecism of Megalopolis took place in 368/7: Pausan. 8. 27, Diod. Sic. 15. 94. The city revived in the second century AD and minted coins under the Severi.

355. 19. Aristid. *Smyrn.* (*Or.* 17) 2: ἔστι γὰρ οὐ νεωστὶ ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις εὐτυχής, ἀλλ' ἐκ προγόνων, καὶ καθέστηκεν αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐν ἀποίκου σχήματι καὶ μητροπόλεως· τρίτη γάρ ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας ... 4: τρίτῳ δὲ ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν βήματι κινηθεῖσα ἡ πόλις εἰς ἓν τόδε κατέστη τὸ σχῆμα. (M. refers to the whole context in Aristides.)

355. 26. Various names of Attica and Peloponnese, known from early poetry (thus Cranaa from Ar. *Ach.* 75, *Aves* 123, Apia from Aesch. *Ag.* 256 or Soph. *OC* 1303, Acte perhaps from Eur. *Helena* 1673) and hence common grammarians' knowledge. As M. observes, this sort of thing does not give much scope for encomium except by using e.g. the mythical personalities of Cecrops or Pelasgus. Virgil, however, finds a use for the topic, *Aen.* 8. 329: 'saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus.'

356. 5-6. Cf. 356. 11-12, 22-3; 357. 1-6. Note the repeated, pedagogic reminders of what has just been said. We keep what seems to be the paradosis in each place: ὑποδέδεικται in 356. 5; ἐπι- in 12; ἀπο- in 23. But there seems no reason in this variation.

356. 12 ff. Change of site: Hermogenes, *De inv.* 2. 2 (109 ff. Rabe) gives rather similar advice when discussing a deliberative speech concerning a migration. Thus people move either (i) because they have lost an advantage, or (ii) because unexpected trouble has come.

356. 17. ἔκτυπα αὐτῆς. Marcell. *Vit. Thuc.* 44 reports the view that Thuc. VIII was δι' ἐκτύπων γεγραμμένη, 'written in rough outline', i.e. it was an unfinished first sketch. M.'s meaning at any rate is clear: the earlier settlements were preliminary models for the later. J. J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art*, 272 ff. discusses τύπος and related words at length, though without adducing this passage. Whatever the arguments about the sense of τύπος and ἔκτυπα in other contexts may be, M. and Marcellinus seem to be using ἔκτυπα in a metaphorical sense akin to Aristotle's ὑποτυπῶσαι (*EN* 1098ᵃ22) and τύπῳ (*EN* 1107ᵇ14).

356. 24 ff. So Antioch (Liban. *Or.* 11. 69) remained small 'while it was better to be small', but grew in later days.

357. 4-5. χιλίαρχος. A classical term for an officer in various armies (Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 1. 22 f., Arrian, *Anab.* 5. 23. 7), but later also the standard equivalent of *tribunus militum*. λοχαγός has a similar history: commander of a small company in Persian and Spartan armies, later occasionally equivalent of *centurio*.

357. 9. The contents of the lacuna may be inferred from 355. 24-32.

357. 12. Ἦν δὲ .... Cf. 353. 7.

357. 17. κατὰ τὰ τελικὰ καλούμενα κεφάλαια. See on 345. 7–8, and below, 358. 19 ff.

357. 21 ff. (i) Rhodes: Pind. *Ol.* 7. 54 ff. knows this story as ἀνθρώπων παλαιαὶ ῥήσιες. In his version, Helios was absent at the drawing of lots, and when Zeus offered a new allocation (ἄμπαλον μέλλεν θέμεν 61, compare M.'s ἔμελλον ἀνακληροῦσθαι), Helios declined on condition that Rhodes, which he could see rising from the sea, should be his; so M. varies the tale somewhat (24). (ii) Delos: legend familiar from (e.g.) the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, Hyperides' *Deliacus*.

357. 27. Salamis in Cyprus: see Horace, *Odes* 1. 7, with Nisbet–Hubbard's notes. Since it was destroyed as a result of a Jewish revolt in Trajan's time and an earthquake, and not restored until the time of Constantine, the city can hardly have been a flourishing place when M. was writing; but this is irrelevant, since he is simply choosing examples out of history or myth.

357. 28. Amphilochian Argos: Thuc. 3. 105.

357. 32 ff. †οἶον νυινουν†. Semiramis, after the death of her husband Ninus (the founder of 'Ninus' or Nineveh), founded Babylon and reigned there. Her son Ninyas conspired against her, but was forgiven; and when Semiramis miraculously disappeared, she commanded her subjects to obey Ninyas (Diod. 2. 4–20, from Ctesias; Semiramis was known to Herodotus (1. 184, 3. 154) and her legend (which took various forms and is the subject of the Greek 'romance' known from Pap. Berol. 6926, PSI 1305; see e.g. B. E. Perry, *Ancient Romances*, 155 ff.) is based on the historical figure of Sammuramat, a ninth-century Babylonian princess who was wife of an Assyrian king).

Various attempts have been made to restore M.'s text, and others are possible. (i) The reading given in Walz and Spengel, οἶον Νῖνον Σ. ᾠ., cannot be right: Semiramis is never regarded as the founder of Nineveh, and the relation between Babylon and Nineveh becomes obscure. (ii) Hence Heeren and Bursian favoured solutions in which both cities were mentioned. Heeren read ὁποῖαι αἱ ⟨περὶ Νίνου καὶ⟩ περὶ Βαβυλῶνος λεγόμεναι, ὧν τὴν μὲν Νῖνος ⟨τὴν δὲ⟩ Σεμίραμις ᾠκοδόμησεν, 'as those related of Nineveh and Babylon, the former of which Ninus built, the latter Semiramis'. Bursian's version of this idea (see app. crit.) is less free: 'Or as Ninus and Semiramis built Nineveh . . .' This associates Semiramis with her husband's foundation. (iii) We have entertained the possibility that the son Ninyas is concealed here, e.g. ὅτι Νινύᾳ Σεμίραμις ᾠκοδόμησεν, 'she built it for Ninyas' but the letters of the corruption νυινουν do not encourage this, and it is in any case somewhat recondite. (iv) We tentatively propose ὅτι ἡ

Νίνου Σεμίραμις ᾠκοδόμησεν 'that Ninus' wife S. built it'; cf. 430. 15, Ἀρήτῃ τῇ Ἀλκινόου, 'Arete wife of Alcinous', for this ellipse. This leads us also to a view of the problem at 358. 1, where Bursian and others have favoured βασίλεια εἶναί σφισι, 'to be their royal residence'. (M. does not have σφισι elsewhere, but he does have σφῶν αὐτῶν 338. 15.) We delete [βασίλειαν εἶναί φησι] on the ground that it is a false explanation of the ellipse with the genitive Νίνου, taken wrongly as the city and not the husband: 'he means she was queen of it'.

358. 6 ff. No example of foundation ἐπὶ γενέσει is given in what follows; if there was one, it will have fallen out after Ἡφαίστου (9).

358. 8. Μέμφιν. Hephaestus (= Ptah) is the patron deity of Memphis; but its founder is usually said to be Epaphus or Apries or King Menes, and Aphrodite (= Hathor) is not, in Egyptian terms, the consort of Hephaestus (= Ptah), who is rather Sechmet (= Artemis). But of course in Greek terms Aphrodite and Hephaestus are a pair; it is therefore a not unnatural fantasy to identify Ptah's consort with Hephaestus' Homeric wife. According to Strabo also (607 c) Aphrodite/Selene, as well as Hephaestus, was worshipped at Memphis.

358. 10 ff. There are two ancient explanations of the name of Thessalonica: according to Strabo 7 epit. 21, it was named after Cassander's wife; according to Steph. Byz. s.v. it was named for Philip's victory over the Thessalians. The first account is the true one, but the lady, a daughter of Philip II, was herself presumably named for her father's victories. M. follows a wrong tradition.

358. 12. Nicopolis 'by Actium' (so called to distinguish it from others, e.g. the suburb of Alexandria also founded by Augustus) was an important city in imperial times, capital of Epirus from Nero's reign, and significant still in the fourth century (*Pan. Lat.* 11. 9, Mamertinus' address to Julian).

358. 14. Bucephalus (Bucephala, n. pl. or f. s., is also found) was founded in 326 on the upper Hydaspes: Diod. 17. 95, Curtius 9. 3. 23, Arrian, *Anab.* 5. 19 and 29.

358. 16. Antinoopolis was founded to commemorate the death by drowning in the Nile of Hadrian's favourite Antinous, in 130. SHA *Hadr.* 14, Pausan. 8. 9. 7, Dio Cassius 69. 11, Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 14. 7–9.

358. 21. Rheneia: Thuc. 1. 4, Minos as οἰκιστής of Cyclades.

358. 23. Alexander's motive was probably at least as much commercial prosperity as honour and renown (P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3) but M.'s account is conventional (cf. Plu. *Alex.* 26. 2, ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν).

358. 26. Heraclea, a sixth-century Megarian colony, developed a lively intellectual life and much local history and mythology; the association of the area with Heracles' adventures (Amazons, Argonauts) was well established by the fifth century (Herodorus, *FGrHist* 31, with Jacoby's notes). It is a natural exaggeration that he should be regarded as the founder of a settlement here.

358. 27. ἀναστέλλων. 'Repulsing', cf. Xen. *Anab.* 5. 4. 23: τούτους ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ πελτασταί.

358. 28 ff. The Carpi, a Dacian people, were active raiders in Dacia, Moesia, and Thrace in the third century. The record of their defeat and settlement is confused. According to SHA *Aurel.* 30, they were decisively defeated by Aurelian, and Aur. Victor, *Caes.* 39. 43, appears to state that some of them were settled in Roman territory by that emperor. The decisive defeat however came under Galerius in 294, after which they were settled in Pannonia (Amm. Marc. 28. 1. 5 for settlement by Diocletian around Sopianae [Pécs]). At least two areas of settlement seem in question: one in the Dobrudja (around Carsium [Hirşova]) and one or more in Pannonia. We cannot say for certain to which stage of the settlements M. refers, so that the value of the passage for dating the treatise is not great. Introd., p. xxxix; Bursian, pp. 16–17; C. Danoff, *Kl. P.* s.v. Carpi; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, 272.

359. 3. The point is that δίκαιον and καλόν (for example) are to be preferred as bases of αἰτίαι to συμφέρον or ἀναγκαῖον: cf. 364. 21 ff. It would seem to follow that we should read αἱ ⟨ἀπὸ τῶν⟩ ἐκ περιουσίας, i.e. 'derived from those of the heads of purpose which go beyond bare necessity'. The phrase τὰ ἐκ περιουσίας κεφάλαια is found in [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 371. 13 U.-R.

359. 10–11. Human causes are anyway probable, and so do not need πίστωσις.

359. 16–361. 10. *Book III: praise of cities on the ground of their accomplishments*

359. 18–22. 'Accomplishments' are classified as constitutions, sciences, arts, and capacities.

359. 22–360. 16. (i) Constitutions: monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, their perversions and their combinations.

360. 17–24. (ii) Sciences: astronomy, geometry, music, grammar, philosophy.

360. 25–32. (iii) Arts, liberal and otherwise ('banausic').

361. 1–3. (iv) Capacities: (?) rhetoric, athletics.

361. 4–10. An additional heading is added here: 'activities'. This covers good order in the city.

All this (except the last subsection) corresponds in the city to ἀνατροφή 'education', in the individual: cf. Aphthon. *Progymn.* 22. 3 ff. Rabe: εἶτα ἀνατροφήν, ἣν διαιρήσεις εἰς ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τέχνην καὶ νόμους. (Cf. Pl. *Menex.* 238 c, πολιτεία γὰρ τροφὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν.) Doxopatres' comment on Aphthon. l.c. (= 2. 431 Walz) seems therefore misleading: he thinks that τόπος corresponds, in the encomium of a city or a harbour, to human ἀνατροφή. But M.'s subdivision would seem to have no close parallel and is presumably an ingenious *ad hoc* construction. It is to be noted that he uses the form ἐπιτήδευσις for the commoner ἐπιτήδευμα which prevails in Treatise II (Introd., pp. xxxvii f.). (The term also occurs in [Dion. Hal.] περὶ λόγων ἐξετάσεως 377. 16 U.-R. and the author distinguishes it from ἐπιτήδευμα [380. 22].)

359. 22–6. M. here repeats, broadly speaking, a standard political theory of three πολιτεῖαι and their perversions. This goes back to the sophistic period (the Persian debate in Hdt. 3. 80 ff. is evidence of this) and is the basis of most subsequent discussion (e.g. Pl. *Rep.* VIII–IX, Aristot. *Pol.* III, Polybius 6. 3 ff.). Aristid. *Or.* 26. 90 (cited by M., 360. 3 ff.) has tyranny and oligarchy as bad forms, βασιλεία and aristocracy as good, and democracy εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον ἀγομένη. There are, however, peculiar features in M.'s terminology. (i) πλουτοκρατία (25; cf. 360. 2) is attested elsewhere only in Xen. *Mem.* 4. 6. 12, where it is contrasted both with ἀριστοκρατία and with δημοκρατία; the verb πλουτοκρατεῖν is cited only from M. (ii) λαοκρατία and λαοκρατεῖσθαι (26, cf. 31) appear to be unique:. the usual term for the perversion of democracy is ὀχλοκρατία (Polyb. 6. 4 and 57, and later writers including even Sardianus, *Comm. in Aphthon.* 145. 18 Rabe).

359. 24. παρακείμεναι . . . κακίαι. M.'s terminology is loose, as though the correct πολιτεῖαι were ἀρεταί. He slips into the terminology of ethics or style-criticism: παρακείμεναι, though not an Aristotelian term, is appropriate to the 'proximity' of a fault to a virtue which it superficially resembles: e.g. Demetrius 114: παράκειται φαῦλά τινα ἀστείοις τισίν, οἷον θάρρει μὲν τὸ θράσος . . . τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν παράκεινται διημαρτημένοι τινές. Cf. J. Adamietz on Quintil. 3. 7. 25.

359. 25. ὀλιγαρχία is here identified with πλουτοκρατία, and in the rest of the sentence M. gives only one name for each deviation (τυραννίς, λαοκρατία). We are therefore inclined to suggest ⟨ἡ⟩ καὶ πλουτοκρατία λεγομένη.

359. 26–8. Mixed constitutions: Plato (*Laws* 712 c ff.) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1265ᵇ35) discuss the 'mixture' in the Spartan constitution; Dicaearchus (fr. 67 ff. Wehrli) and the Stoics (see esp. Polybius 6.

3, 6. 10. 6–11, 6. 18. 1–8 on Rome) are also interested in this way of analysing institutions. Aristid. *Or.* 26 (εἰς 'Ρώμην) 90 (p. 118 Keil) discusses the κρᾶσις in Rome, and it is no doubt this discussion that M. has most in mind. See in general K. von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity* (1954).

359. 30. ἐν τοῖς Νικοκλείοις. In *Or.* 2 (πρὸς Νικοκλέα) and *Or.* 3 (Νικοκλῆς) Isocrates addressed the son and successor of Evagoras in Cyprus, and his subjects. He concerned himself with the duties of prince and people to each other, and rejected the sharp antithesis of βασιλεύς and τύραννος which we find in Plato and Xenophon. M. is in general right about the tendency of these speeches: they adduce the advantages of μοναρχία (e.g. *Or.* 3. 25 ff.) and give Nicocles, though admittedly a τύραννος, the qualities of a βασιλεύς.

360. 1. Isocr. *Panath.* 114–50. In this long passage Isocrates praises the Athenian constitution as it originally was, and excuses its degeneration as a deliberate choice made because of the need for maritime supremacy. He thus blurs the distinction between good and bad forms of rule by the many, in somewhat the same way as he handled monarchy in the Nicocles speeches.

ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ. Pl. *Menex.* 238 c, the Athenian constitution is really μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους ἀριστοκρατία.

360. 3 ff. Plato, *Laws* 4. 712 c ff.; Aristid. *Or.* 26. 90: κρᾶσις ἁπασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἄνευ γε τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ χείρονος.

360. 8 ff. Aristid. *Panath.* 383–6, Isocr. *Panath.* 114 ff.

360. 13–16. M. makes the same point again, 363. 11 ff. Text uncertain: (i) to say that a single πόλις controls all the Roman πόλεις is not very apt; (ii) P's gap after μι is of about six letters, so that μιᾶς alone does not fill it.

360. 17–20. This repetitive and scrappy sentence can hardly be what M. wrote. The tradition offers no help. Excision of εἰ . . . εὐδόκιμοι (17–18) and αἱ . . . ἐπιτηδεύσεις (19–20) would produce a simple structure, very like that of 361. 1 ff. In any case, it should be the citizens not the ἐπιτηδεύσεις who are εὐδόκιμοι. Should we perhaps change πόλιν to ταύτας (so Cumanudes) and bear with the rest, however repetitive?

360. 20 ff. The reference is presumably to Lesbian lyric and to the traditional Theban skill with the aulos (cf. Plu. *Alc.* 2. 5). The omission in PZ of Δηλίους ἐπὶ χοροστατικῇ, and the lack of a connecting particle, suggest that this is a later addition: Delian dancing will have been famous, e.g. from the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 149 ff.; cf. Lucian, *De saltatione* 16, ἐν Δήλῳ δέ γε οὐδὲ αἱ θυσίαι ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως.

Alexandria in M.'s time (ἔτι καὶ νῦν)—if we allow that he includes the preceding generation or two—had its mathematicians

(Diophantus), philosophers (Ammonius Saccas), and scholars (Apollonius Dyscolus and Nicanor are of the second century; but the tradition clearly continued down to the time of Claudian and Palladas at the end of the fourth).

360. 25 ff. M. has defined as κατ' ἐπιστήμην ἐπιτηδεύσεις the branches of knowledge which are usually reckoned as τέχναι ἐλευθέριοι, *artes liberales*, viz. music, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics: see in general, H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 244 ff.; id., *St. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, 187 ff.; A. Stückelberger, *Senecas 88. Brief*, Heidelberg, 1965, 39 ff. He is therefore left with a division of τέχναι in which the common manual arts are (as is traditional: Aristot. *Pol.* 8. 1337ᵇ ff.) βάναυσοι, while painting and sculpture are ἐλευθέριοι. These last often form a separate group, even when M.'s ἐπιστῆμαι are reckoned as τέχναι (*artes*); cf. Philo, *Spec. leg.* 1. 335 f., *Gig.* 59; Philostr. *VA* 8. 7. 3 (ὑποσόφους [τέχνας] . . . ζωγραφίαν, πλαστικήν, ἀγαλματοποιούς).

360. 28–9. The lost mention of ἐλευθέριοι τέχναι probably comes in 28, as Spengel thought. ἔστιν οὖν . . . ἀκρίβειαν may perfectly well apply to both groups of arts, even if the examples that follow all come from those regarded as ἐλευθέριοι. The content of the lacuna may be (in part at least) inferred from the examples. For the pair πλῆθος/ἀκρίβεια cf. 362. 26.

360. 30. Croton: Hdt. 3. 125 ff. mentions the physician Democedes; M. may also be thinking of Alcmaeon.

361. 1 ff. ῥητορική was often defined as some kind of δύναμις, *vis*: Aristot. *Rhet.* A 2, 1355ᵇ26: ἔστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν, cf. Quint. 2. 15, 13; there are many reports of this definition in later rhetors. M. does not think of his classes of ἐπιτηδεύσεις as given in order of merit or importance, and we should therefore not take him as representing rhetoric as of lower status than ἐπιστῆμαι and τέχναι. Editors have strained at this: hence 'gymnastics' and 'hunting' have been proposed.

361. 3. As the text stands, Hermoupolis (like Aegina in Pindar's time) is famous for athletics, and no example of rhetoric is given. It is likely that there is either (i) a lacuna after μεγ., naming some other city as famous (probably) for rhetoric, or (ii) a lacuna after Ἑρμουπολῖται e.g. ⟨ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ⟩. (For μέν followed only by καί cf. above, 360. 29–30.) (ii) is to be preferred; it is a reasonable expansion of the legend that Hermes founded Hermoupolis that the city should be famed for an art that he invented. It is curious that in P. Berol. 21849 (*Introd.*, pp. xxxiv f.) the town at which Victor asks his brother Theognostus to hand over some rhetorical books (including M.'s τέχνη etc.) is in fact Hermoupolis!

361. 10. Dio, *Or.* 33 (*Tarsica*) 48: εὐταξία and σωφροσύνη are shown in the dress of the women. They are well covered up, and do not look to right and left. They have veiled faces, but open hearts. This seems close enough to M.'s point. Bursian, however, considered *Or.* 31 (*Rhodiaca*) 162 more relevant; here, Dio praises Rhodes for its dignified manners displayed in walking, hair-styles, dress-regulations and quiet and orderly funerals.

361. 10–365. 9. *Encomium of city based on its actions*

This material is to be grouped under the heads of the four cardinal virtues:

361. 17–363. 26. Justice, with its subdivisions, viz. piety (**361. 20–363. 3**), fair dealing (**363. 4–14**), and due respect for the dead (**363. 15–26**).

363. 27–364. 9. Temperance.

364. 10–16. Wisdom.

364. 17–365. 9. Courage, especially in war.

This classification goes back to the early days of rhetoric: we find something very like it in Agathon's speech in Plato's *Symposium* and in Xenophon's *Agesilaus* (cf. Introd., pp. xiv f.). Demosth. *De corona* 215 alludes to it: καίτοι τρί' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. It is worth noting (see 361. 20 ff.) that εὐσέβεια is here simply a subdivision of δικαιοσύνη; M. thus follows a 'philosophical' (and particularly Platonic) scheme rather than the kind of division of morality into relations with man and with god which A. Dihle discusses in *Der Kanon der zwei Tugenden* (1967). Here again, the rhetor agrees with the inherited ideas of literary and philosophical classicism: see on 362. 30 ff.

361. 16. Nitsche and Kroll are essentially right here: M. means the public actions of communities. Nitsche's πόλεις is to be preferred.

361. 17. καὶ αὐτάς. The virtues, as we are about to be told, have μέρη, not the actions; so M. wrote αὐτάς.

361. 17–18. For this division of δικαιοσύνη see Diog. Laert. 3. 83, where it is attributed to Plato: δικαιοσύνη relates (a) to the gods (οἱ θύοντες . . . εὐσεβοῦσιν), (b) to men (οἱ δάνεια ἀποδιδόντες . . . δικαιοπραγοῦσι), (c) to the dead (οἱ . . . τῶν μνημείων ἐπιμελούμενοι). Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 656 attributes the same division to Aristotle. See H. G. Ingenkamp on Plato, *Def.* 412 E 14, A. Dihle, *RAC* s.v. *Gerechtigkeit*, 271. In any case, we here find M. using an Academic-Aristotelian classification. Cf. also [Aristot.] *VV* 1250ᵇ19 ff., where δικαιοσύνη is owed to gods, δαίμονες, country, parents, and the dead,

and εὐσέβεια, ὁσιότης, ἀλήθεια, πίστις, and μισοπονηρία 'accompany' justice.

361. 20. ὁσιότης . . . περὶ τοὺς κατοιχομένους. The choice of ὁσιότης to cover this field is interesting: note the late usage of ἡ ὁσία 'funeral', as in Iambl. *VP* 30. 184, and also the etymology of Osiris suggested by Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 61, 375 D: ἐκ τοῦ ὁσίου ⟨καὶ⟩ ἱεροῦ τοὔνομα μεμιγμένον ἔσχηκε· κοινὸς γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου λόγος, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ δ' ὅσια τοῖς πάλαι ⟨ἔθος⟩ ἦν προσαγορεύειν.

On ὅσιος in general, see J. C. Bolkestein, "Οσιος en εὐσεβής (Utrecht, 1936).

361. 20 ff. M.'s vocabulary is again slightly idiosyncratic. (i) φιλόθεος 'loving god' is normal (e.g. Aristot. *Rhet.* 1391^b2): φιλοθεότης, not approved by Pollux (1. 21), is sometimes used by patristic writers (Lampe s.v.). (ii) θεοφιλής may mean either 'loved by god' (as first in Herodotus) or 'loving god'; the corresponding noun is θεοφιλία and lexica give no evidence except M. for θεοφιλότης. The form θεόφιλος is commoner as a proper name than as an adjective, but where it occurs it means 'loved by god'.

For M.'s distinction between φιλόθεος ('loving . . .') and θεοφιλής ('loved by . . .'), cf. (e.g.) Philo, *De Abrahamo* 50, καὶ πάντας φιλοθέους ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, ἀγαπήσαντας τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν καὶ ἀνταγαπηθέντας πρὸς αὐτοῦ.

361. 27. M. proceeds by διαίρεσις, rejecting one alternative at each stage: he does not discuss piety in words, nor private piety (cf. 361. 30 ff.). So we need ⟨δημόσια δ'⟩ and ἢ for καὶ.

361. 30. ἐκεῖνα refers to παραδείγματα and we think therefore that ἐγκώμια (though it can mean 'encomiastic topics') should be deleted.

361. 30 ff. Athens: Hdt. 8. 55; Aristid. *Panath.* 40 ff.; Apollodorus 3. 14. 1 with Frazer's note. Rhodes: Pind. *Ol.* 6. 64; Strabo 16. 450. Corinth: Pausan. 2. 1. 6; [Dio] *Or.* 20 (*Corinthiaca*) 11 with Barigazzi's note (*Favorino di Arelate*, p. 321) on sources. Delphi: Aesch. *Eum.* 1 ff.; schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, hypothesis, p. 2. 5 Drachmann; Eur. *IT* 1247 ff., etc.

362. 4–20. As the text stands, the proposed scheme is not completely worked out. 'Most gods' (8–11), 'best gods' (11–12), 'greatest honours' (12–14), 'most honours' (14–16), and 'most necessary honours' (16–18) are all present—but not 'first honours' as promised in 6.

362. 10. αὐτούς. Sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

362. 13. Athens and corn: e.g. Aristid. *Panath.* 36 ff.

362. 17 ff. Egyptian claims to the invention of astrology date from Hellenistic times: Diod. 1. 9. 6, 1. 50. 1, 1. 81. 6, 5. 57. 2–4; Pease on

Cic. *div.* 1. 2. Invention of geometry: Hdt. 2. 109; Diod. 1. 69; Proclus *in Eucl.* 1. 64, etc. These arts are justified here on grounds of utility (i.e. land-surveying, calendar, seafaring).

362. 18 ff. Obscure. As we observed above (on 4–20), πρώταις . . . τιμαῖς is not illustrated. On the other hand, there is here an illustration apparently not forecast in 4–7, viz. the Athenians' gift of eloquence and philosophy. But it will hardly do simply to replace μάλιστα (18) by πρώταις; the problem is more complex. We obelize μάλιστα. There are two available solutions, neither wholly satisfactory. (i) Z's rewriting of the sentence, giving the sense: '. . . and philosophy, even if this is supposed to have belonged especially to the Athenians'. We should have to read εἰ καὶ [τὰ] μάλιστα. The effect is to make the Egyptians claim philosophy as well as astronomy and geometry: cf. Diog. Laert. 1. 1. (ii) The interpretation of the rest of the paradosis adopted by previous editors. This treats philosophy and eloquence as further examples of 'necessary' gifts. 'This is especially true of eloquence and philosophy . . .'

362. 20–2. The general sense of this transitional passage is clear, but the paradosis does not allow easy or convincing emendation. Perhaps M. wrote something like: οὕτως μὲν οὖν τὴν θεοφιλότητα ὠνομασμένην τῆς τεχνικῆς ἕνεκα χρείας ἐπισκεπτέον, 'This is how one must consider what is called θεοφιλότης for the purposes of our craft.'

362. 22. ὥσπερ ἔφην. At 361. 25.

362. 30 ff. M.'s complaint about lack of personal piety accords with his attachment to traditional cult. He sees that the cult of the Olympians is confined now to public ceremonial; of the new cults, and all the varieties of individual religious experience that characterized Hellenistic and Roman times, he has not a word to say.

363. 15 ff. There are considerable obscurities here, perhaps because M.'s account is very brief. A 'Solonian' law (Dem. 43. 62) required that the ἐκφορά should be before sunrise. The πρόθεσις— 'laying-out' or 'wake'—normally lasted until the early morning of the third day (counting inclusively from the day of death). Cf. M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, 207 (n. 30): D. C. Kurtz–J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 144 ff. Reports of Charondas' laws for Thurii (Diod. 12. 11–18) do not include this point. We should presumably take it that M. (i) refers to Solon's law about the ἐκφορά; (ii) states that the wake at Thurii was confined to the night; (iii) adds that there was a 'fixed day' for the wake at Athens. What does this last point mean? We may recall the great interest of the rhetors in the ἐπιτάφιοι of the Athenian war-dead (cf. 418. 5 ff.); in this case, a date was indeed fixed for the πρόθεσις of the bones (Thuc. 2. 34), and it could well be this to which M. alludes. Kroll's τρίτη for τὸ

(20) can hardly be right: it is the ἐκφορά that takes place on the third day.

363. 21. Of the transmitted readings, ὅσια is impossible because the whole topic of which this is a part is ὁσιότης. ἐτήσια, 'annual ceremonies', is a possibility (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40. 1 (*PG* 36. 360 B)) and we retain it: annual remembrance ceremonies are known from many places and under many names (Wyse on Isaeus 2. 46, note esp. ἐνιαύσια (Bekker, *An. Gr.*, vol. 1, p. 187. 17)). Cf. also Ammon. *Diff. voc.* 178 Nickau: τὸν θρῆνον ᾄδεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῇ τῇ συμφορᾷ πρὸ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον τῆς κηδείας. But μνήματα (Kroll) or (e.g.) τὰ ⟨περὶ τοὺς τάφους⟩ ὅσια are also worth considering.

363. 22. ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι. i.e. the days when offerings were made to the dead were unlucky (cf. Pl. *Laws* 800 D and scholia ad loc.).

363. 32. τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν τοῖς ἀκόσμοις. An odd phrase: perhaps 'offences against good order', as opposed, e.g., to fraud or violence.

364. 1. γυναικονόμους. See in general C. Wehrli, *Mus. Helv.* 19 (1962), 33–8. Characteristic of aristocracies (Aristot. *Pol.* 1300ᵃ4), this magistracy was found elsewhere; at Athens it appears to have been introduced by Demetrius of Phalerum. Plu. *Solon* 21 discusses various restrictions on women's mourning, and adds that in his own city (ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις νόμοις) such things were subject to the γυναικονόμοι.

364. 2–4. Restrictions on public appearances of women: cf. Phintys ap. Stob. 4. 23. 61 a (= Thesleff 151 f.), esp. p. 593. 1 ff. Hense: ἔπειτα μήτε ὄρφνας ἀνισταμένας μήτε ἑσπέρας ἀλλὰ πλαθυούσας ἀγορᾶς καταφανέα γινομέναν τὰν ἔξοδον ποιεῖσθαι θεωρίας ἕνεκά τινος ἢ ἀγορασμῶ οἰκήω μετὰ θεραπαίνας μιᾶς ἢ καττὸ πλεῖστον δύο.

364. 6. Olympia: married women were forbidden as spectators, and if caught were rolled down a steep hill, Paus. 5. 6. 7. A good rhetorical subject: [Aeschin.] *Ep.* 4. 5 relates the story of the elderly lady banned by the Hellanodicai though three of her sons were Olympic victors.

364. 12. κλῆρον ἐπικλήρων. M. may be thinking primarily of Attic testamentary law, with its complicated rules for the disposal of widows and orphans.

364. 15. ῥήτορες teach rhetoric; **σοφισταί** practise it in public. See on 388. 17.

364. 20–4. Considerable corruption appears to have taken place here. Three aspects of war are considered: result, cause or pretext, feats of arms. It is clear from the examples of Marathon, Thermopylae. etc. (29 ff.) that the classification ἔνδοξοι/ἀμφίδοξοι/ἄδοξοι

applies to πράξεις. The basic errors in the transmission then appear to be (i) omission after κατὰ πόλεμον (20) of ⟨πρὸς τὰ τέλη καὶ τὰς προφάσεις καὶ⟩, and (ii) displacement of τῶν δὲ προφάσεων by τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις πράξεων in 24. If this is accepted, the general sense is clear. Courage in war has to be related to result, cause, and actions. 'Result' means attitude to victory and defeat; 'causes' relates to wars with Greeks or barbarians, for more or less reputable reasons; the quality of 'action' depends on a combination of 'result' and 'cause'. It may be said that this is not all strictly a matter of courage; but the heading of courage is the only place that the scheme provides for all matters relating to wars.

364. 21. πρὸς τὰ τέλη. We take this as a heading, repeating πρὸς τὰ τέλη of the previous clause (the phrase we supply in 20), and νίκην . . . γενέσθαι as explaining it. γὰρ is intrusive.

364. 26. Cf. 359. 3.

365. 2. M. makes no moral judgement on the destruction of Melos: the τέλος is 'good' simply because it was an Athenian victory (cf. 364. 21). Aristides, *Panath.* 302, attempts to rebut charges concerning Melos and Scione on the ground that these acts tended to the maintenance of Athenian power and the general security of Hellas. But he also (ibid. 310) mentions the Athenians' repentance over Mytilene, and then again the Scione affair. It is at least worth considering whether Μυτιληναίους should be read in our passage, and Μυτιληναίων in Aristid. *Panath.* 302. P's Μηλισίους, however, does not support this; it is much more likely to be a slip for Μηλίους. And Proc. Gaz. *Anastasius* 10 (p. 501. 8) shows that Melos and Scione were the traditional pair of examples: καὶ σιωπῶ τοὺς σοφωτάτους Ἀθηναίους ὅπως Μηλίους καὶ Σκιωναίους διέθηκαν.

365. 3 f. Recovery of the Cadmea: Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2, Plu. *Pelopidas* and *De genio Socratis*. A romantic episode of adventure, without doubts or shadows.

365. 4. We expect πράξεις, not ὑποθέσεις to be classed as private or public: but see 365. 20.

365. 6. Thyrea: Hdt. 1. 82–3. The surviving Spartan (Othryades) stripped the Argive corpses and remained on the field to claim the victory. A common rhetorical theme: Sen. *Suas.* 2. 16, Val. Max. 3. 2. ext. 4, Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 18, Hermog. *De inv.* 3. 15 (170. 10 Rabe); see Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain*, 336 n. 2.

365. 8. This promise is not fulfilled in the extant parts of the book. Cf. Introd., p. xxxvii.

365. 10–30. Further notes: (a) 'honours' conferred on cities are not really a separate topic (10–18); (b) a part of the city (e.g. baths or

harbour) may form a complete subject (18–24); (c) encomia of cities may be concerned wholly with particular occasions, e.g. festivals (25–30).

This last point leads on to an important subject—the true πανηγυρικὸς λόγος which is separately treated in [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 225 ff. and with which Treatise II deals incidentally in the special cases of κλητικός and Σμινθιακός.

365. 14. ἐπιχείρημα. Strictly, the 'epicheireme' is a rhetorical argument comprising four premisses and a conclusion: Cic. *De inventione* 1. 57 ff., *Ad Herennium* 2. 28 (with Caplan's note), Solmsen, *AJP* 62 (1941), 39 ff., 169 ff. Here, however, the term is used in a broader sense, including various logical forms. The extant treatise περὶ ἐπιχειρημάτων (1. 417 ff. Spengel = 1. 343 ff. Spengel–Hammer) is attributed to Nicagoras or Minucianus; the latter is probably the younger rhetor of that name, the teacher of Genethlius and of Porphyry (O. Schissel, *Klio* 21 (1927), 301 ff.). It lists a very large number of τόποι in two groups, 'paradigmatic' and 'enthymematic', i.e. those based on similarity to past (or other remote) events (*exempla* and similes) and those based on 'rhetorical syllogisms'. Among the latter (which number thirty-three) is the τόπος ἀπὸ κρίσεως (423. 9 Sp. = 349. 11 Sp.–H.): δεῖ δὲ τὰς κρίσεις λαμβάνειν ἢ ἀπὸ ἐνδόξων προσώπων ἢ ἀπὸ πλήθους κεκρικότος. Cf. also Hermog. *Progymn.* p. 8, 7 Rabe, 'Cornutus' 1. 450 Sp. (= p. 35. 1 Graeven), Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 3. 8 (this last on *epicheirēmata* as bases of similes), Quint. 5. 11. 36 (κρίσις = *auctoritas*).

365. 15. ἀπὸ κρίσεως ἐνδόξου. For κρίσις ἔνδοξος cf. (e.g.) [Dion. Hal. *Ars* 271. 16, ἐνδόξῳ κρίσει χρώμενον.

365. 16–17. Wording quite uncertain. ἔφοδος is quasi-technical for 'method of reasoning' (see Ernesti s.v.) so that ἡ περὶ ταῦτα ἔφοδος probably means 'argument based on these things' viz. ἐπιχειρήματα. If this is so, γνωριμωτέρα is probably the predicate with ἔσται. In other words, M. should be saying: 'You may learn about this sort of argument from the treatise on *epicheirēmata*; we are at present concerned with the general topics of encomia of cities.' To obtain this requires extensive changes, and perhaps transpositions: e.g. ἔσται δέ σοι ἡ περὶ ταῦτα ἔφοδος γνωριμωτέρα ⟨ἐκ τοῦ περὶ⟩ ἐπιχειρημάτων συγγράμματος· ἡμῖν δὲ νῦν οὐ ⟨περὶ τούτων ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ⟩ περὶ τῶν γενικῶν καὶ ἀνωτάτω τόπων . . . We translate on these lines. The reference is to something like the treatise of Minucianus.

365. 20 ff. Aristid. *Or.* 27 (temple at Cyzicus), *Or.* 39 (well in precinct of Asclepius), *Or.* 53 (water at Pergamum) are relevant examples.

365. 22. προσφωνεῖν. Here 'make an address' in general; not in the sense of an address to a public man, as in [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 272 ff., and below in Treatise II, 414. 31 ff.

365. 22–4. Reading uncertain; we translate PZ's περὶ αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ προσταχθὲν and then τὰ ⟨δ'⟩ ἄλλα ὡς βραχυτάτοις ἐπιδραμεῖν. This has weaknesses, but the general sense is clear.

365. 30–366. 13. Principles of encomia concerned with festivals; these may be praised either on general grounds, or on special ones related to circumstances.

366. 4. τῶν θετικῶν. Cf. 405. 11.

366. 5. [τὰ περιστατικὰ καλούμενα μόρια]. The phrase does not fit the syntax of the sentence. It is, however, a correct explanation of what M. means: cf. Volkmann, 36 f., Augustin. *Rhet.* 141 Halm, for these 'circumstantial points' (*quis, quid, quando, ubi, cur, quemadmodum, quibus adminiculis*), which go back at least to Hermagoras (fr. 7 Matthes). The presence of περιστάσεις marks the difference between a particular subject (ὑπόθεσις) and a general θέσις, such as that just mentioned ('the advantages of festivals').

366. 8. ἀπὸ τόπου. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 257. 23, μὴ ἁπλῶς παρέλθῃς τὸν τόπον.

366. 10. ἀπὸ χρόνου. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 258. 2 ff., εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἔαρ ἄγοιτο, ὅτι ἐν τῷ συμμετροτάτῳ πρὸς ἑκάτερα· εἰ δὲ ἐν χειμῶνι, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐρρωμενεστάτῳ καὶ ἀνδρειοτάτῳ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καιρῷ (and similarly summer means that the endurance of spectators is taxed, and autumn that the festival spells relaxation after harvest). Cf. below, 408. 6 ff.

366. 14 ff. The last extant section deals in more detail with κοινά (366. 15–18) and then with the first three of the περιστατικὰ μόρια, viz. (i) 'persons' (366. 18–28) under the three advertised heads: (a) god, hero, or king in whose honour the festival is held; (b) those who hold it; (c) those who attend it—and then (ii) place (366. 28–367. 2) and (iii) time (367. 2–8).

366. 16. Isocr. *Paneg.* 43.

366. 19 f. Palaemon: Paus. 1. 44. 7, Apollod. 3. 4. 3. Archemorus (or Opheltes): Eur. *Hypsipyle*, Paus. 2. 15. 3.

366. 20. Σεβάστεια. Greek cities often rededicated existing festivals in honour of Augustus; see e.g. *SIG* 802, *IG* iv. 795. The Roman Augustalia (from AD 14) commemorated the return of Augustus from the East, 12 Oct. 19 BC.

366. 26 ff. J. Juster (*Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, ii. 173) observes that M. is wrong to speak in the present tense of Jews meeting annually

at Jerusalem for the Passover. (i) Philo (*De spec. leg.* 1. 6. 9) and Josephus (*BJ* 6. 425) do indeed speak of vast numbers at Jerusalem, and Josephus specifies the Passover. This of course applies to the period before the destruction of the Temple. (ii) Visits to Jerusalem were evidently allowed from Vespasian's time, but forbidden by Hadrian (Juster, i. 357 f., ii. 173 f.). Evidence of pilgrimage in the third century exists (ibid. ii. 173 n. 2) but Constantine renewed Hadrian's edict; and the only official respite was under Julian, who contemplated rebuilding the Temple. (iii) Philo, l.c., speaks of the multitudes flocking from all points of the compass to enjoy ἱλαρὰ εὐθυμία. We should consider whether the Feast of Tabernacles is not meant here; and we should certainly retain the possibility that M. is not clear what festival of the Jews is in question. What he says is derived from statements like those of Josephus and Philo, and is probably not true of his own day; he is very liable to historical inaccuracy. Cf. 336. 8; 366. 32; 409. 4.

366. 29 ff. The Pythia collects people from the ends of the earth; this is a traditional *topos*, well used by Plutarch, *De defectu* 409 E ff., where Demetrius the grammarian, *en route* from Britain to his native Tarsus, meets the Spartan Cleombrotus who has travelled from the Red Sea 'as eagles and swans are said to meet at Pytho, at the Navel'.

366. 32 ff. We can find no explanation why M. should say that the road to Olympia was so difficult. The place was fortified in the third century—evidence of some danger or disturbance—but the games continued till 393. The journey from the sea, even if not quite easy (cf. Paus. 5. 6. 7), has no special physical problems. If M. confuses it with Mt. Olympus, we have once again a disconcerting view of the level of his culture.

367. 6. We mark a lacuna before καὶ Νεμέα, since the Nemean and Isthmian games were not annual but 'in the third year'.

367. 8. Δαίδαλα. This festival was the subject of a treatise by Plutarch (frs. 157–8 Sandbach), largely concerned no doubt with philosophical and allegorical interpretations. Paus. 9. 3. 3 ff. gives some details. The ordinary Δαίδαλα were held quite often, at intervals not exceeding six years, but there was also a major festival of the same name, in which all Boeotians took part δι' ἑξηκοστοῦ ἔτους. This is said to commemorate the long interval between a celebration before the destruction of Plataea in 429 and a fresh celebration after the restoration of the city; Plataea was restored *c.*380, but again destroyed in 374; Philip (in 338) and later Alexander again restored it. See Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 50 ff.

TREATISE II

368. 1–377. 30. I–II. *Basilikos Logos* (Imperial Oration)

Analysis

368. 1–8. Definition: the *Basilikos* is entirely concerned with a subject of universally acknowledged excellence.

368. 9–369. 17. Prooemia.
  (a) Difficulty of the task: 9–15.
  (b) Necessity of the task: 15–17.
  (c) 'Fear God and honour the king': 17–21.
  (d) Expansion by examples: 21–369. 7.
  (e) Second prooemium: Homer and Orpheus would be needed: 369. 7–13.
  (f) Third prooemium, leading into main speech: diaporesis: 369. 13–17.

369. 17–370. 8. Origin: native city and nation.

370. 8–371. 3. Origin: family. How to cover up when subject is unfavourable.

371. 3–17. Birth.

371. 17–372. 2. Education, qualities shown in youth.

372. 2–13. Accomplishments (ἐπιτηδεύματα) to be followed by actions (πράξεις).

372. 14–25. Importance of separate prooemia and comparisons (συγκρίσεις) to enhance the importance of the subject (cf. 377. 2 ff.).

372. 25–373. 6. Πράξεις. War comes before peace, and we should divide material according to the cardinal virtues.

373. 6–375. 6. Courage in war (374. 6–19: recipe for an interlude to relieve the serious tension).

375. 6–376. 2. Justice.

376. 2–13. Temperance.

376. 13–23. Wisdom (this concludes the section based on the virtues).

376. 24–31. The emperor's Fortune.

376. 31–377. 10. Final comparison.

377. 10–30. Epilogue, closing with prayer.

This whole chapter was transcribed *c.* AD 1300 by Joseph 'Rhakendytes' (cf. Introd., p. xliv), and was clearly popular and well known in Byzantine times. See in general L. Previale, 'Teoria e prassi del panegirico bizantino', *Emerita* 17 (1949), 72–105.

The Latin *panegyrici* are less close to M.'s scheme than their Greek contemporaries, though naturally they use many of the same topics.

Illustration may often be found in the following: Aristid. *Or.* 35 (commonly thought spurious and dated in the third century, but see C. P. Jones *JRS* 62 (1972), 134 ff.); Julian, *Or.* 1; Liban. *Or.* 59; Themist. *Or.* 2, 3, 4; Procop. Gaz. *Anastasius*, *CSHB* i. 489 ff. There are interesting parallels also in Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 143–51, and *Corpus Hermeticum* 18 (Nock–Festugière 2. 247). We have confined ourselves to a brief selection of this material.

The chapter is unusually full and explicit: note also 369. 3–4 and 369. 14, where M. draws a wider lesson from the point he is making. The natural inference is that this is in fact the first of the series, as both P and MmW have it (Introd., p. xlvi).

368. 4–5. ὁμολογουμένην . . . οὐδὲν δ' ἀμφίβολον. It is characteristic of an encomium that it admits no debate, but is based on what is commonly acknowledged. See Aristot. *Rhet.* 1362ᵇ29, Nic. *Progymn.* 48. 20 Felten; Isocr. *Helena* 12, with V. Buchheit, *Genos Epideiktikon*, 79; J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain*, 269. Cf. Introd., pp. xix f.

368. 10 ff. Commonplace: Thuc. 2. 35 makes Pericles admit the difficulty, but without this sort of modesty. Cf. Liban. *Or.* 11. 6, κοινὸν . . . τῶν ἐγκωμιαζόντων ἔθος λείπεσθαι φάσκειν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἔργων οἷς προσάγουσι τὸν λόγον. Aristid. *Or.* 35. 2, τἆλλα πάντα ἀφείς, ἃ τοῖς προοιμιαζομένοις λέγειν ἔθος ἐστὶν καὶ προφασίζεσθαι, τοῖς μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πεπραγμένων, τοῖς δὲ τὸν χρόνον ὀλίγον ὄντα τῶν λόγων. ibid. 3, οὔτε χρόνου πλῆθος ἱκανὸν οὔτε λόγον οὐδένα ὁρῶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄξιον . . . Xen. *Ages.* 1. 1, οὐ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι εἰ ὅτι τελέως ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μειόνων ἂν τυγχάνοι ἐπαίνων.

368. 10. δυσέφικτος. Plu. *Mor.* 65 ε, τὰ ὑψηλὰ δυσπρόσοδα καὶ δυσέφικτα.

368. 11. λόγῳ appears to weaken the force of the clause, and has perhaps been wrongly inserted, a scribe's eye having been caught by the following λόγους.

368. 15. Liban. *Or.* 59. 1, πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν ἦν εἰ βασιλεῖς μὲν . . . οὐκ ἀποκνοῦσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἡμῖν κατακτώμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδ' ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐργαζόμεθα λόγων τὸ μέρος ἐκείνοις ἀναθείημεν. Cf. also *Corp. Herm.* 18. 15–16, esp. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τούτοις ἀποδιδόναι τὰς ἀμοιβάς, τοσαύτης ἡμῖν εἰρήνης εὐετηρίαν ἁπλώσασι.

368. 19. τιμή. The corruption into τόλμα (-μη), common to all the manuscripts is very difficult to explain.

περὶ βασιλέας. This is the reading of pX, the other manuscripts having βασιλέως. Cf. *Corp. Herm.* 18. 16, ἡ γυμνασία τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς εὐφημία. It seems rash to infer from these passages that they were written under a plural

reign (e.g. Diocletian and his colleagues), since the plural may simply generalize the statement. Contrast 378. 32 with note. For the thought cf. 1 Peter 2: 17, τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε, Proverbs 24: 21, φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν, υἱέ, καὶ βασιλέα. Cf. also *Menandri Sententiae* p. 132 Jaekel.

368. 22. ἀορίστων. The opposite of ὡρισμένα. M. means examples which do not involve specific names or circumstances. p's ἀπίστως is probably dittography of ἀορίστων.

368. 23 f. Liban. *Or.* 59. 6, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῦ μετρίου τοσοῦτον ὑστερεῖν ὅσονπερ ἂν εἰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἐνεχειροῦμεν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μετρεῖν. There is something inept about τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς especially if we recall the proverbial τῆς θαλάττης χόες (Pl. *Tht.* 173 D, Themist. *Or.* 7. 97 C, etc.), where the point concerns measuring the volume of the sea. Deletion should be seriously considered.

369. 4. τοῖς συντόνοις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν. i.e. epideictic speeches of a formal oratorical kind, sharply distinguished from λαλιαί and distinguished by consistently periodic sentence-structure: see Soffel, 195–6. M. distinguishes two types of epithalamium as σύντονος and ἄνετος καὶ συγγραφικός (400. 7 ff.), with special reference to the prooemia. Cf. also 399. 17, 414. 29.

369. 5. τὸ κρεῖττον. As Bursian points out, this is a favourite expression in Treatise II (370. 23; 375. 15; 377. 20; 381. 22; 407. 21; 411. 19; 422. 8; 427. 19; 437. 14, 22; 438. 4). Its absence from Treatise I, given the pious tone of that work, is noteworthy, and reinforces the hypothesis of separate authorship (Introd., pp. xxxvii f.).

369. 6. ὕμνοις καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἱλασκόμεθα. Cf. 444. 16 (as emended). ἀρεταῖς (if the reading is right) means 'recitals of wonderful deeds'; it is characteristic of the praise of a god to relate his actions (cf. Ter. *Ad.* 535, 'facio te apud illum deum: virtutes narro') and these were often miracles—hence the often pejorative associations of ἀρεταλογία (R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 9 ff.). M.'s usage here seems odd, an account of the *emperor's* ἀρεταί is essential to the encomium, and the analogy with τὸ κρεῖττον is weakened by the addition of the word here. If ἀρεταῖς is to be suspected, we should consider either deletion or perhaps corruption from λιταῖς 'prayers'.

369. 7. Bursian's transposition, which we adapt, makes the sense clear and enables us to retain δέ.

369. 8. τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας. Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 6, *Hist. conscr.* 8, of poetical grandiloquence.

369. 9–11. Aristid. *Or.* 35. 10, οὐ προσδεηθεὶς δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν Μουσῶν. These hackneyed moves are often made in a form of *praeteritio*.

369. 15. προκαταρκτικὴ. Cf. e.g. Hermog. *De ideis* 2. 9 (p. 369. 6 Rabe). Here the πρ. ἔννοια serves to explain what is to come.

369. 16. οἷον. The paradosis offers λοιπόν. This word has both an inferential ('therefore') and progressive ('and') use (J. Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose*, Lund, 1969, 100 ff.), as well as a temporal one ('now': see below on 372. 13). None of these fits well in this participial clause, and we expect an example of the function of 'introducing': οἷον meets the case.

διαπορῦντος. This conventional move is based on *Od.* 9. 14, τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω; See Theocr. 17. 11 with Gow's note; also e.g. Liban. *Or.* 59. 10, πόθεν οὖν ἄρξασθαι καλόν;

369. 21. τυγχάνῃ. See K–G ii. 67 for the use without a participle: it is quite common in M., at least in Treatise II: 379. 32; 400. 1; 403. 8; 403. 13; 408. 2; 419. 7; 425. 22. It seems to be a poetical and Hellenistic usage, and is said by Phrynichus (242 Fischer, 244 Rutherford) to be incorrect Attic.

369. 29. εἰ περὶ λόγους ἔχει. Cf. 385. 26; Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 28, οἱ Ἀρκάδες . . . περὶ τοὺς Ἠλείους εἶχον 'turned their attention to the Eleans', Ael. *VH* 3. 42, αἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς ἱστοὺς εἶχον.

369. 29 ff. The contrast between Greek and Italian (i.e. Roman) qualities is traditional: Virg. *Aen.* 6. 847 ff. ('excudent alii . . .') with Norden's note, Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 1–6, Aristid. *Or.* 26. 51. No disparagement of either party is meant here, though the comparison is often made tendentiously (H. Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom*, 50 ff.; Liban. *Or.* 4. 18, 43. 5; *Ep.* 951—a complaint that students are learning Latin and Roman law; cf. A. F. Norman on *Or.* 1. 154). M. shows no sign of anti-Roman sentiment, unless the passages in Treatise I (360. 13; 363. 11) about the universality of Roman law may be so regarded; indeed, he appears at least once to identify with the Roman ruler (ἡμῖν 387. 27: see notes).

369. 31. Γαλατῶν. Gauls rather than Galatians.

Παιόνων. i.e. Pannonians. Greek writers liked to use ancient names for new peoples, a habit which persisted through the Byzantine period: E. L. Bowie, *Past and Present* 46 (Feb. 1970), 33 cites Iberia, Eridanos, Keltike, Hipponion and Musoi for Moesi. The Παίονες (a Macedonian tribe) are identical with the Pannonii, e.g. in Arrian, *Indica* 4. 16, Herodian 6. 7. 6; they later become the Hungarians (Nicander Nucius, Ἀποδημίαι 1. 8. 3 (p. 46 Foucault) [?1546]).

Traditionally warlike ('Pannoniusque ferox', Stat. *Silv.* 1. 4. 78), the Pannonians produced warrior emperors in the third and fourth centuries (Decius, Probus, Maximian, Jovian).

The connection between country and character may also be exploited in reverse, for ψόγος: cf. Tertull. *Adv. Marcionem* 1. 1, 'nihil

tam barbarum ac triste apud Pontum quam quod illic Marcion natus est, Scytha tetrior, Hamaxobio instabilior, Massageta inhumanior, Amazone audacior, nubilo obscurior, hieme frigidior, gelu fragilior, Istro fallacior, Caucaso abruptior.'

370. 2–3. M. is here discussing ἔθνη and has dismissed πόλεις (369. 26). Hence we favour deletion of τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως ἤ, although the type of argument in itself could be applied to cities as well as to nations.

370. 14. Callinicus of Petra (*FGrHist* 281) practised at Athens as a sophist and wrote various rhetorical, historical, and encomiastic works, including a *Prosphonētikos* to Gallienus (*Suda*). He was murdered at a place on the Euphrates known later to Libanius (*Ep.* 21. 5), who clearly did not approve of him. *Suda* s.v. Genethlius tells us that C. was a rival of Genethlius (himself a pupil of Minucianus) at Athens. The only fragment of C. (F 1) shows a subservient attitude to Rome. Whether the Μέγας Βασιλικός is the same as the address to Gallienus has been needlessly disputed. Nitsche's argument that it cannot have been, because Gallienus was of distinguished birth and the speech is adduced here as an instance of how to handle the problem of humble origin, is decisive, though whether Nitsche is right in claiming also that Callinicus' Βασιλικός was addressed to Aurelian is more doubtful.

370. 22. ἀπόρροιαι ὄντως τοῦ κρείττονος. Pl. *Phaedr*. 251 B, ἀπορροὴ τοῦ κάλλους. So the church on earth is said by some to be ἐκκλησίας τινὸς ἐπουρανίου καὶ κρείττονος αἰῶνος ἀπόρροιαν (Origen, *Cels*. 6. 35, p. 104. 19 ff. Koetschau).

370. 26. καταβολήν. Heliod. 3. 15, εἰ μή τινος θείας καὶ δαιμονίας ὡς ἀληθῶς μετέσχε καταβολῆς. The word means (1) 'deposition' of seed; (2) foundation, of a building and so of the universe; (3) 'descent' from above. The predominant sense here is (1), though (3) may also be present.

370. 27. μὴ οὐχὶ ὡς κρείττων. The use of μὴ οὐχὶ following a negative main clause is in accord with Attic usage (K–G 2. 1. 214), but the force of ὡς is unclear, and it is this which gives Nitsche's μὴ ὄντως its plausibility. But perhaps 'except in virtue of being . . .' conveys the nuance in ὡς.

371. 2. καὶ δή. 'Well, we shall do just this . . .'

371. 5–8. We have made, with some hesitation, a number of small changes in text and punctuation to improve the logic and articulation of the sentence. See app. crit. for details. Doubt about the traditional readings and punctuation arises because (a) the treatment of γένεσις is not solely a matter of σύμβολα; (b) κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν (8) is exceedingly awkward and repetitive if it is taken closely with τοιούτοις τισί.

371. 7. Romulus (e.g. Plu. *Romulus* 2), Cyrus (Hdt. 1. 108), Pericles, Alexander are among the stock examples: cf. Liban. *Or.* 59. 23 for a modification of the *topos*—'the birth of our emperor needed no such signs'.

371. 16. καταλάμπων τὸ φαινόμενον. Cf. 406. 27, καταυγάζει τὸ φαινόμενον. In τὸ φαινόμενον we may have an extension of the technical sense 'celestial phenomenon' (e.g. Geminus 12. 11) to the meaning 'heaven', ὁ φαινόμενος κόσμος.

371. 19. ἀλουργίδες τὰ σπάργανα. Themist. *Or.* 9. 121 a, ἐσπαργανώθης ἐν ἀλουργίδι, Procop. Gaz. *Anastas.* 495. 19, ἀλουργίδες καὶ σπάργανα.

371. 24. Chiron's food for Achilles was lions' marrow: Hermog. *Progymn.* 16. 2 Rabe, Nicolaus, *Progymn.* 52. 8 Felten. Earlier versions of the tradition: Stat. *Ach.* 2. 383 ff., Philostr. *Heroicus* 20. 2; see Frazer on Apollodorus 3. 13, 6.

371. 25. ὅτι βούλομαι δὲ . . . ὅτι βούλει would be wholly unhelpful advice. The orator is to say why παιδεία is relevant; it is because it displays the subject's intellectual qualities. In the preceding phrase, προεπι- would be more apt, since βούλομαι δὲ κτλ. is introductory to the statements which are to be made.

371. 29. Presumably 'noted for literature and philosophy': an adjective (e.g. προέχων, ἐπαινετός, ἔνδοξος) would be natural in the first half of the sentence. There is a further difficulty in the repetition involved in ἐν λόγοις and λόγων γνώσει. Both little problems would be solved by reading ἐλλόγιμος for ἐν λόγοις.

371. 32. προμνηστευσαμένης. An uncommon verb; but metaphorical use of the noun προμνήστρια is classical (Eur. *Hipp.* 589).

372. 2. For Heracles' education see Theocr. 24. 104 ff., Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 4. 9. M. may also be thinking of his infant exploit in killing the snakes. There seems to be no special tradition about Castor and Pollux, though both excelled in fighting (and Pollux especially in boxing) in their early youth.

372. 2–4. There are considerable uncertainties here. (i) χώραν ἐξετάσεως ἕξει. Does this mean (a) 'will give scope for discussion' or (b) 'will take the place of discussion'? If (a), παρέξει would be more suitable, if (b), we ask what it is that is to be discussed. (ii) Spengel's ἀγωνιστικῶν πράξεων is strongly recommended by 384. 20 ff. But it leaves us with ἐπιτηδεύματα as identified with ἤθη, which can hardly be right: it would be truer to say that they result in character-qualities ('abeunt studia in mores') or, as M. goes on to say, 'give an indication' of character. Interpolation (probably of the whole sentence τὰ δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα . . . ἤθη) must be strongly suspected.

372. 5. ἤθους ἔμφασιν. Plutarch's *Lives* offer the most obvious

illustrations of this: see D. A. Russell, *PCPS* 1966, 37 ff., on Alcibiades' education and its relation to his character; and, in general, F. Leo, *Die gr.-röm. Biographie*, 185 f.

372. 7 ff. Isocr. *Evagoras* 22–3: παῖς μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἔσχεν κάλλος καὶ ῥώμην καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἅπερ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρεπωδέστατα τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐστίν . . . τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐκρατίστευσεν (cf. 372. 1) . . . ἀνδρὶ δὲ γενομένῳ ταῦτά τε πάντα συνηυξήθη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀνδρεία προσεγένετο καὶ σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη.

372. 10. Aristides (*Panath.* 49 ff.) proceeds from γένος, τροφή, and gifts from the gods to the φιλανθρωπία of the Athenians, and in particular (50 ff.) to ἡ τῶν πανταχόθεν δυστυχούντων ὑποδοχὴ καὶ παραμυθία. M.'s καταφεύγοντας (12) picks up Aristides' πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη . . . εἰς αὐτὴν . . . καταπέφευγεν (50). Aristides naturally goes on to the story of the Heraclidae.

373. 13. λοιπόν. 'Now': cf. 385. 6. A good example of this sense is Sopater, διαίρεσις ζητημάτων (8. 81. 14 Walz): ὡς γὰρ ἦν λοιπὸν (= ἤδη) νεανίας ὁ παῖς.

372. 14 ff. The section on πράξεις forms a separate chapter in manuscripts and editions before Spengel. This is inconsistent with the practice (which seems natural for Treatise II) of making each speech the subject of a single separate chapter.

372. 17 ff. M. recommends a prefatory section at the beginning of each κεφάλαιον (i.e. race, education, etc.) and also (372. 21) a σύγκρισις. What he says about the 'prefaces' is in accordance with the standard doctrine that their aim should be to make the hearer well disposed, attentive, and ready to learn (Quint. 4. 1. 5; cf. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 29. 1, Aristot. *Rhet.* 1415ᵃ35). Less traditional is his remark that making the hearer attentive and expectant also leads to αὔξησις, but this is natural in the context of an elaborate and lengthy speech.

372. 18. ζήτησιν. 'Intended scheme', cf. ζητήσεις, 371. 24. The point is that the hearer should be clear about the articulation of the chapters which the writer has sought.

372. 23. καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα naturally goes with what precedes. The corruption is then localized to ανερωτα, p's ἀνευρὼν (which we print) being a possible but not wholly convincing emendation.

372. 26–7. In view of the way in which the sentence proceeds (προθήσεις τὰς . . . ἐν ταύταις), it is tempting to read εἴς τε τὰς κατ' εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον, but the *variatio* given by the reading of the manuscripts remains possible.

373. 7–8. Bursian deleted ἀρεταὶ . . . φρόνησις, comparing 415. 24 ff., and believing that the interpolation here was due to a re-arrangement of chapters as a result of which basic information once given in *Prosphonētikos* now had to be included in *Basilikos*. This is

implausible; the work is not composed with this degree of course-planning, and reminders of things like the four cardinal virtues are in place anywhere. Deletion here is too great a compliment to the writer.

373. 9. Aristid. *Or.* 35. 10: καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον πραότητός ἐστιν ἐπίδειγμα . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ καταπεπλῆχθαι ὑπὸ φόβων τὴν ἀρχήν . . .

373. 20. An adjective to pair with κρημνώδεις is needed: λεῖοι and πεδινοί (cf. 345. 1) are possible. Perhaps εἰ ⟨λεῖοι ἢ⟩ κρημνώδεις is to be preferred (a) on palaeographical grounds, (b) because the order of the pair ψιλοί/δασεῖς suggests that 'smooth' might be expected to precede its opposite in the subsequent clause.

373. 26. The tradition is divided between διασκευάσεις and διασκευὰς εἰς, palaeographically virtually identical. It is unanimous for ἱππομαχίαν, not the plural. ἐκφράσεις is certainly the verb (cf. 20). We have then to choose between (i) διασκευάσεις, 'you will elaborate', which requires the plural ἱππομαχίας to balance πεζομαχίας, and (ii) διασκευὰς εἰς ἱππομαχίαν, '(you will describe) the equipment of cavalry for a cavalry battle'. (ii) is to be preferred: it gives ἱππέων a distinct function in the sentence, and avoids the further slight change of ἱππομαχίαν. M. perhaps has in mind descriptions of cavalry armour and armament.

373. 30. M. refers to Theopompus again, 398. 9. He was often discussed by rhetors and critics: note *FGrHist* 115 T 20 (Dion. Hal. *Ad Pomp.* 6), F 263 ([Longin.] 43), T 23 (Hermog. *De ideis* 412 Rabe), T 30 (Theon, *Progymn.* 4) etc. F 5 (Marcellinus, *Vit. Thuc.* 5) suggests that his narrative of the 'second battle of Cynossema' was remembered; in any case, his *Hellenica*, which continued Thucydides, must have abounded in battle-descriptions.

374. 1. ἅπασαν ἰδέαν. The heroic examples suggest that what is intended should be the emperor's skill and warlike presence. But the meaning of ἰδέα remains uncertain. If it means 'beauty', the addition of ἅπασαν seems odd. We have entertained the possibility that M. wrongly interpreted Thuc. 2. 19 πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πειράσαντες as 'trying every expedient', though in fact the acc. there is adverbial.

374. 6. ἀνεῖναι. See on 400. 8; 411. 28 ff.

374. 7. παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων. M. indicates by this that no example of a digression of this kind was found in the classical models.

374. 8 ff. καθάπερ ἐν δράματι. M.'s example is in fact from Homer, *Il.* 21. 214 ff.

374. 14–15. ποιητικὸς in the first occurrence clearly means 'able to compose poetry'. It is tempting to consider whether in the second occurrence it means rather 'described in poetry', like Latin *poeticus* (e.g. Cic. *ND* 3. 31. 77). Against this (i) there seems to be no evidence

for the Greek word so used, though the Latin usage may be held to imply it; (ii) more seriously, the shift in meaning would be forced and out of keeping. We should therefore retain the same meaning in both occurrences. It is possible that ποιητικός before Σκάμανδρος is an accidental repetition and to be deleted, or that Σκάμανδρος is itself an interpretative interpolation.

This passage of Homer had attractions for panegyrists, especially when concerned with campaigns on the Danube, an essential theme from Flavian and Trajanic times onwards (cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 12, 16, 82), and especially during the wars of the late second and third centuries. Close parallels, however, are later. Themistius, *Or.* 10. 133 b, contrasts Danube and Scamander: Scamander showed anger, Danube calmed himself to bear the ships that offered peace (Valens' peace with the Goths, 369). Cf. also Symmachus, *Laud. in Val.* 26: 'eat nunc Troiani carminis auctor inlustris et pro clade popularium Xanthum fingat iratum, artatas cadaveribus undas scriptor decorus educat: nescivit flumina posse frenari.'

374. 27 ff. This 'third' virtue follows courage and wisdom in conduct of war. It consists in sparing the vanquished, the 'parcere subiectis' of *Aen.* 6. 853 (see Norden ad loc.), the familiar slogan and apologia of imperial Rome. In the emperor, φιλανθρωπία may be said to embrace all other virtues (Themist. *Or.* 1); it is his highest virtue (see A. Dihle, *RAC*, s.v. *Gerechtigkeit* p. 274). However, μόριον ... δικαιοσύνη —'justice is a part of *philanthrōpia*'—remains a strange proposition. δικαιοσύνη is a traditional cardinal virtue, and, traditionally again, embraces all others (Theognis 147, Aristot. *EN* 1129ᵇ29). We have three choices: (i) to follow m's omission of the clause, which could well be a Byzantine conjecture rather than an accidental slip; (ii) to adopt Nitsche's reading, '*philanthrōpia* is a part of justice'; (iii) to retain the text of the paradosis, interpreting the clause as a rather paradoxical statement about the emperor—'his humanity includes justice—justice is only a part of that great imperial virtue—because, in victory, he mingled vengeance and mercy in just measure.' With this interpretation ὅτι (29) means 'because' and does not introduce a quotation: the 'fair copy' now begins at μόριον δὲ (cf. 375. 10 for absence of introductory particle). Though (ii) has attractions— especially in view of 385. 20, where φιλανθρωπία appears in an account of actions grouped under δικαιοσύνη—we adopt (iii), since it is the paradosis and the objections do not seem insuperable. Cf. also Plu. *Cato Maior* 5, for χρηστότης ('kindness') as wider in range than δικαιοσύνη—because we feel it towards animals as well as men. 'Kindness' and 'humanity' are essentially virtues of the superior towards the inferior.

374. 32. We take the structure of the sentence to be as follows: ὁ βασιλεὺς (a) οὐ . . . ἠμύνατο . . . ἀλλ' ἐμέρισε, (b) καὶ ὅσα . . . ἐργασάμενος, ἐνταῦθα στήσας . . . ἀνῆκε. Hence καὶ before ἐνταῦθα cannot stand.

375. 3. M. recalls Pl. *Symp.* 191 A3–5: ὀλίγας δὲ κατέλιπε (sc. ῥυτίδας) . . . μνημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ παλαιοῦ πάθους.

375. 21. συλλογέας. Tax-collectors: cf. Polyaen. *Strateg.* 2. 34, συλλογέας τῶν δεκατευομένων καρπῶν.

375. 22–4. καὶ τοῦ σιτηρεσίου τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὅτι . . . We transpose ὅτι from before τοῦ σιτηρεσίου to follow στρατευμάτων. The decisive objection to the traditional order is that it should go without saying (and anyway is not relevant to δικαιοσύνη) that the emperor cares for the army's commissariat. What is relevant, and needs to be said, is that he cares for his subjects, and wishes to ease the burdens they must bear.

376. 1. Nitsche's deletion of αὐτῷ yields the sense that the tyrant knows what is, in general terms, 'expedient', not necessarily what is expedient 'for him'.

376. 5. Cf. Hor. *Odes* 4. 5. 21–3: 'nullis polluitur casta domus stupris / . . . / laudantur simili prole puerperae.'

376. 6. Cf. Aristid. *Or.* 35. 37: νῦν καὶ πανηγύρεις φαιδρότεραι καὶ ἑορταὶ θεοφιλέστεραι; [Dion. Hal.] *Rhet.* 259. 17 U.-R.: τῷ ὄντι ἀγωνοθέτης πάντων ἀγώνων ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην πρυτανεύων; Procop. Gaz. *Anastasius* 515. 1: αἱ πόλεις εὐδαίμονες, χοροῖς μεμελημέναι καὶ πανηγύρεσιν.

376. 9–13. The empress. Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 83. 4, 'tibi uxor in decus et gloriam cedit' (with the context).

376. 22. M. has in mind Thuc. 1. 138. 3 (on Themistocles): τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων . . . ἄριστος εἰκαστής.

377. 1. ἄτεχνον. Here 'unworkmanlike': cf. Pl. *Politicus* 274 C, *Soph.* 219 A, etc.

377. 4. ποιήσεις. The second person is necessary (as in 376. 31), and it should be active.

377. 9. For comparison with Alexander, cf. e.g. Themist. *Or.* 1. 26 a, *Or.* 2. 39 c, *Or.* 4. 57 c; *Pan. Lat.* 10. 10 (to Maximian); *Pan. Lat.* 12. 5 (to Constantine).

377. 10. Aristid. *Or.* 35. 37 on security by land and sea.

377. 11–12. πλήρεις μὲν . . . πλήρεις δὲ . . . A traditional anaphora: πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα (Hes. *WD* 101).

377. 13. πλεῖται ἡ θάλασσα. Cf. Musonius XVIII B p. 104. 1 Hense: πλεῖται δ' ἡ θάλασσα μέχρι περάτων; Procop. Gaz. *Anastasius* p. 51.5 4 *CSHB*; and below, 401. 23.

377. 17–18. An interesting light on the blessings of Roman rule. In the second century, recruitment of slaves had become difficult, and prices rose. The renewed frontier wars of the following period appear to have led to an increase in supply, to which this passage testifies. Similarly, in Gaul, the settlement of conquered barbarians provided needed agricultural labour: *Pan. Lat.* 8. 9 (to Constantius): 'arat ergo nunc mihi Chamavus et Frisius . . . cultor barbarus laxat annonam.'

377. 24. εὐτυχοῦνται. 'Are happily vouchsafed to us'. See on 439. 10 for the transitive use of εὐτυχεῖν—'obtain'—of which this seems to be the passive.

377. 28. Aristid. *Or.* 35. 39: σὲ δέ, ὧ παῖ γενναῖε γενναίων, κατ' ἴχνος εἴη βαίνειν τοῦ πατρός.

377. 31–388. 16. III: *Epibatērios Logos* (Speech on Arrival)

Analysis

377. 32–378. 4. Introduction. The *epibatērios* is either (i) an address to one's native city on return, or (ii) an address to a city one visits, or (iii) an address to a visiting governor. (Without saying so, M. treats the last case first, and does not go on to the address to a city till 382. 10.)

378. 4–16. Prooemia expressive of joy. The speaker shares the pleasure of the city at receiving so good a governor, or of the governor at his arrival; or else he feels pleasure himself at setting eyes either on the city or on the governor. M. gives an example of what might be said in the last-named situation.

378. 16–379. 2. The subject population: the topic is to be treated differently according to the previous circumstances: if these were bad, 'day comes after night'; if good, previous prosperity will now be surpassed. Thanks are due to the emperors.

379. 2–4. Praise of emperors: this should be brief, so as not to compromise the unity of the speech.

379. 5. Beginning of the praises of the governor; if he has done great deeds, praise these.

379. 6–13. If not, discuss his native city or nation, or his family. (It is this possibility which is now discussed at length.)

379. 13–380. 9. On this basis, forecast his virtues: justice (379. 13–24), courage (24–9), temperance and wisdom (379. 30–380. 9).

380. 9–381. 5. No comparison of actions being possible in this case, comparisons with the families of the Heraclidae or Aeacidae are in order.

381. 6–22. Epilogue: greeting of the governor as a saviour by the whole population.

381. 23–9. Modification of the scheme to suit a governor who has visited the city before: in this case, his 'actions' are arranged under the heads of virtues.

382. 1–9. Differences between *epibatērios* and *prosphōnētikos*.

382. 10–14. We turn to the address to one's own city on return. Material is derived from your love for it and its beauty and history.

382. 15–24. Example of introductory passage of joyful greeting.

382. 24–31. This leads into an encomium of the city and of its founder; if he was an emperor admired by the present regime, make much of this; if he was a 'tyrant', conceal the fact.

382. 31–383. 9. Amplification by contrast of present joy with previous distress. (This is intended to follow straight after the joyful greeting, 382. 24.)

383. 9–10. Praise of founder.

383. 10–384. 14. Praise of the position of the city; relation between these two last themes.

384. 14–25. Other encomium topics relating to the city; 'nurture' and 'accomplishments'.

384. 25–32. The speaker should repeat expressions of his desire and enthusiasm. 'This is what brought me here . . .'

385. 1–8. A note inserted to show the difference between the *epibatērios* and a *patrios logos* which has no special occasion for personal joy, but which otherwise has the same content.

385. 8–386. 10. To resume: we proceed to the 'actions' of the city, grouped under the cardinal virtues (385. 9: justice and humanity; 22: temperance; 28: wisdom; 386. 7: courage, shown especially in outspoken representations to the emperor).

386. 10–21. Comparisons, particular and general.

386. 21–9. Epilogue: description of the city.

386. 29–387. 2. Useful reading: Callinicus, Aristides, Polemon, Adrianus.

387. 3–388. 15. Scheme for a *Trōikos Logos*.

387. 7–15. Encomium of the country.

387. 15–30. Its history.

387. 30–388. 14. Encomium of the city and its situation.

388. 14–15. This is to be followed by the rest of the general scheme (i.e. as from 384. 14).

The combination in this chapter of speeches for essentially different occasions makes it confusing. It evidently presupposes knowledge of the *prosphōnētikos* (382. 1 ff.); the chapter devoted to this (414. 32 ff.) goes into more detail about the virtues, but there remains a good deal of overlap between the two, and M.'s account of the difference is unclear. It is also noteworthy that he fails to distinguish, in his

detailed treatment, between 'homecoming' and 'visiting a foreign city', though in the introductory sentence he represents these as distinct. We should not make too much of these difficulties. The rhetor has no comprehensive system or classification of these speeches; what he is doing here is perhaps to meet a number of requests from a pupil—for a speech to demonstrate his skill on returning home, for a suitably polished speech of welcome to the provincial governor, and for a historical and patriotic oration, not necessarily confined to occasions of arrival; particular attention is given to a speech for Alexandria Troas. Cairns (19 ff.) says that the difference between *prosphōnētikos* and *epibatērios* is one of 'amount of treatment of subject-matter rather than the presence or absence of subject-matter'. It is rather one of emotional tone, as M. makes clear by his stress on joy (382. 1–6; 385. 7), and desire (384. 25–32); we may compare the relationship between the various funeral speeches, of which the *epitaphios* emphasizes the encomiastic element, the *monōdia* the lament, and the *paramuthētikos* the consolation.

For the term ἐπιβατήριος, cf. Him. *Or.* 12. 38 Colonna: οἱ δέ μου λόγοι . . . τοῖς ἐκβατηρίοις μέλεσι τὴν ᾠδὴν τὴν ἐπιβατήριον συνάψαι σπεύδουσιν.

377. 32. Ἐπιβατήριον ὁ βουλόμενος λέγειν. For the form of words cf. 413. 6, παραμυθητικὸν δὲ ὁ λέγων.

377. 32. δηλός ἐστι. Cf. 430. 15.

378. 4. εὐθύς. Probably to be taken with the preceding clause, rather than with δεῖ γάρ, though the latter cannot be ruled out.

378. 9. κἂν μὲν ἄρχοντα picks up ἄρχοντα in 3, not ἄρχοντα in 8. The μέν is not answered till 382. 10. 378. 4–9 δεῖ γάρ . . . ἐπεπόθει is virtually a parenthesis.

378. 10 ff. Cf. 378. 22 ff. A reminder that this sort of expression was already conventional in classical Athens is given by Aristoph. *Eq.* 1319–34:

> ὦ ταῖς ἱεραῖς φέγγος Ἀθήναις καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπίκουρε,
> τίν' ἔχων φήμην ἀγαθὴν ἥκεις . . . ;

(H. Kleinknecht, *Hermes* 74 (1939), 58–65).

378. 10–11. The paradosis is evidently συμβόλοις ἄνωθεν . . . ἀκτὶς ἐκ βασιλέως, which is clearly unsatisfactory. There are two alternatives: (i) Bursian's συμβόλοις ἐκ βασιλέως . . . ἀκτὶς ἄνωθεν (this supported by pB); (ii) deletion of ἐκ βασιλέως, which could then be regarded as an intrusive gloss on the preceding ἄνωθεν. We follow Bursian, with slight hesitation; the transposition is not a drastic one.

Such light imagery for fortunate arrivals is traditional and common:

Od. 16. 23, ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος is used by Libanius as the opening of his πρεσβευτικός to Julian (*Or.* 15); but cf. also *Il.* 17. 615, Aesch. *Ag.* 22 ff. and 901, Anacreon 380 *PMG* (= Himerius, *Or.* 47, p. 189 Colonna): LSJ s.v. φῶς, II. 1. Cf. 381. 16–18 and note.

378. 19. διατυπώσεις. Cf. on 423. 19. A technical term for a vivid description with high emotive content: Volkmann, 267, Martin, 289.

378. 24. τοίνυν as first word is characteristic of non-Atticist prose; J. Blomqvist, op. cit. (on 369. 16), 130 ff.

378. 25. παραδραμόντων (codd.) is an unhappy repetition of παραδραμεῖς just above. Our correction is suggested by Dem. 18. 188, παρῆλθεν ὁ κίνδυνος ὥσπερ νέφος, a famous passage (cf. Longin. 39. 4) which M. doubtless had in mind.

378. 29. ἀφ' ἱερῶν ἐφ' ἱερά. Cf. Hegesias ap. Dion. Hal. *CV* 4. 28 (p. 19 U.–R.): ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ἑορτῆς ἀγαθὴν ἄγομεν ἄλλην. This seems to be a proverbial expression for unbroken happiness and relaxation: Herodas 5. 85 exploits it with an added point.

378. 29–30. A supplement on the lines of Bursian's and Nitsche's seems essential: an infinitive is needed after μέλλοντες and ἐκ τῶν καλλιόνων cannot be right, since the future event has to be as good as or better than the past.

378. 32 ff. τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. In view of κατέπεμψαν (379. 2) we must agree with Nitsche that the plural here (as in 415. 13 ff.) is adequate evidence of a reference to joint emperors. See Introd., p. xxxix. Note, however, that there is no variant βασιλέων for βασιλέως at 379. 3.

379. 4. For Nitsche's μὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν, cf. 415. 8, 417. 2. The point is that if the encomium of the emperor were given in full, the speech would effectively have two subjects. Cf. the *protheōria* to Liban. *Or.* 59: the encomium on Constantius and Constans, after a section in which the actions are treated separately, πάλιν συνάπτεται κοινὸν ἐπάγων τὸ τέλος, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα εἷς ὢν φαίνοιτο καὶ μὴ διπλοῦς.

379. 8–9. οἷον in 9 presupposes ⟨οἷον⟩ in 8. The reason for deleting χώρας ἢ is that χώρα ought not to be mentioned twice, and the example (Rome) is a city.

379. 11. ἀποροίης. Cf. 380. 9 for the situation here intended. τούτων in 11 refers to the πράξεις τοῦ γένους. Nothing in this section assumes that the governor already has πράξεις to his credit; this is first envisaged at 381. 24 ff. Hence εὐποροίης cannot be right; it is interesting that P before correction (and also Y) gives μὴ εὐποροίης, correct in sense though less likely than ἀποροίης. Bursian makes the alternative suggestion of adding ⟨τοῦ γένους⟩: 'if you have available actions by ⟨the family of⟩ the person you are praising . . .' In this,

τοῦ ἐπαινουμένου seems very redundant; but the general sense is right.

379. 12. αὐχμηρὰν καὶ ἄγονον. 'Dry and sterile'. The metaphor is still alive: M. thinks of the ὑπόθεσις as infertile soil. Thus the related but distinct sense of αὐχμηρός, 'squalid', is not prominent here, and the parallel with Hermog. *Progymn.* 23. 14 Rabe is not close: ἂν αὐχμηρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἔστω καὶ ἡ λέξις παραπλησία (opp. ἀνθηρόν, and referring to the subject of an ἔκφρασις). See also on 402. 30.

379. 15. Nitsche's γενήσεσθαι is necessary, since it is the governor's future conduct of which the speaker is persuaded.

379. 21–2. οὐ χαμαὶ . . . δίκαιος. The phrase is modelled on Pl. *Euthyphro* 14 D: οὐ χαμαὶ πεσεῖται ὅτι ἂν εἴπῃς. Radermacher (*RE* s.v. Menandros, n. 16 col. 764) observed that the sentence had an almost oriental ring; in view of the Plato reminiscence, this is hardly so, despite the slightly odd word-order, λόγος . . . δίκαιος.

379. 24. The additions in pZ are due to failure to recognize the construction: εἰπὼν (19) . . . ἥξεις . . .

379. 26. τοῖς γράμμασι. i.e. the governor's correspondence with the central authority will be as good as an embassy sent on the city's behalf.

380. 2. ἐπισφραγιζόμενος. 'Ratifying': the verb is so used in a general sense from Plato onwards (*Phaedo* 75 D 2); but cf. schol. Hermog. *Stat.* (7. 425. 24 Walz): ἐπισφραγισμὸς καὶ βεβαίωσις τῶν εἰρημένων, for use in a rhetorical context like this.

380. 8. συμφέρειν. The infinitive after ὁρᾷς is not impossible: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11. 16. 5, ὁρῶντες . . . ἐλεύσεσθαι, and Jos. *BJ* 3. 7. 15, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνθέξειν ὁρῶν are relevant. Other verbs which normally take a participle (πυνθάνομαι, ὑπονοεῖν, οἶδα) are also sometimes found with infinitives in Atticist prose (Schmid iii. 80, iv. 83 on Aelian and Philostratus). But the proximity of ὡς ἂν ἴδῃς ἐπιδεχομένην makes the irregularity seem harder: m's συμφέρῃ would remove it.

380. 15 ff. A good example of the periodic style: the negatived μὲν . . . δέ sentence is characteristic of Demosthenes (e.g. *Or.* 9. 27, the type case: οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ). M.'s ingenuity is also noteworthy: while denying the possibility of a σύγκρισις, he proposes a motif which effectively introduces one.

380. 26. Cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 4. 5–6, esp. 'at principi nostro quanta concordia quantusque concentus omnium laudum omnisque gloriae contigit!'

381. 2. Text uncertain in minor details. All four cardinal virtues were presumably mentioned, and manuscripts preserve various portions of the text.

381. 6–7. mWY have οἷς for ὡς; otherwise there are no variants. There are serious objections to δεξιούμενος: (i) it is implausible to think of the speaker as 'greeting' his fellow subjects; (ii) δεξιούμενοι below (10) refers to the subjects greeting the governor, and the same situation should be intended here. Possibilities include: (a) τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις . . . δεξιουμένους 'in the epilogue you should work up (the theme of) the population greeting him . . .'; (b) δεξιουμένων τῶν ὑπηκόων, 'on the supposition of the population greeting him'; (c) replacement of δεξιούμενος by e.g. δείξας or δειξάμενος, 'showing . . .' (b) and (c) seem to us the most likely.

381. 10. συστήματα. 'Societies', 'parties', or 'guilds'. The word is used to render 'collegia': H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974), 90, with literary and inscriptional examples.

381. 10. δῆμος περιχαρῶς δεξιούμενοι. It is perfectly likely that M. regarded this *constructio ad sensum* as an ornament; it has models in Thucydides (J. P. Ros, *Μεταβολή*, 197 f.) and is recommended by Moeris (p. 2 Pierson): ἀνέστησαν πᾶς ὁ δῆμος Ἀττικῶς· ἀνέστη πᾶς ὁ δῆμος Ἑλληνικῶς. But note that it disappears on repunctuation and the acceptance of περιχαρής, which is undoubtedly the paradosis: δῆμος περιχαρής, δεξιούμενοι πάντες, φιλοφρονούμενοι κτλ.

381. 11. σωτῆρα καὶ τεῖχος, ἀστέρα φανότατον. The antiquity of this style of address is shown by the Egyptian hymn to Sesostris III —'a bulwark which protects the faithful'—cited by Wilamowitz (*Hermes* 62 (1927), 257) and Fraenkel (on Aesch. *Ag.* 876–901, Clytemnestra's welcome to Agamemnon). But while σωτήρ and ἀστήρ (Eur. *Hipp.* 1122) are common in such contexts, τεῖχος is less so. The Latin examples, Ovid, *Met.* 13. 280 ('Graium murus Achilles'), fr. trag. incert. 35 Klotz = Quintil. 8. 6. 10 ('ferron an fato murus Argivom occidit?') perhaps presuppose a Greek τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν for Achilles; the Homeric metaphor is πύργος (of Ajax, *Od.* 11. 556, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 311). In Plu. *De Alex. fort.* 344 D Alexander's companions are a τεῖχος ἀρετῆς to protect him in battle. Amid much banal metaphor this word perhaps retains some freshness.

381. 12. τροφέα. Cf. Plin. *Paneg.* 26–7 on Trajan's *alimenta*.

381. 14. M. is probably thinking of Eupolis' Πόλεις. γυναικῶν, though only in p, should be accepted. It is not clear how far the cities' words extend: they could well go down to κρείττοσι (22). Cf. 418. 2 for cities represented as women (but there it is in a painting).

381. 16–18. Again very conventional imagery: Aesch. *Persae* 300 f., φάος μέγα καὶ λευκὸν ἧμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου; *Agam.* 522, ἥκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνη φέρων. See also on 378. 10 ff.

381. 19. Literary competitions at festivals were common in late Hellenistic and in Roman times, and often included epideictic and

protreptic speeches and prose encomia as well as poetry : A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide*, 33 ff., gives some evidence, which is abundant from the first century BC onwards. The precise difference between ῥήτορες and λογοποιοί is not clear; perhaps λογοποιοί compose historical or philosophical pieces. Cf. Artemid. 1. 56, ποιητὰς δὲ καὶ ἐγκωμιογράφους καὶ πάντας λογοποιούς (with reference to competitions).

381. 20. ᾄσουσι. For this active future, cf. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus*, 377 ff.

381. 22. ὁμολογῶμεν. In view of the preceding imperatives, the correction of indicative to subjunctive is desirable.

381. 23–6. There are some uncertainties about the text here, though we translate the paradosis. The repetition of εἰρήκαμεν (in 24 and 27) raises suspicions, especially as ταῦτα μὲν . . . εἰρήκαμεν does not seem natural. More serious is the difficulty of τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ οἷα (26). 378. 3—to which M. refers here—suggests that προοίμια should be mentioned (cf. also 382. 3): τὰ μὲν προοίμια . . . ⟨ὡς⟩ εἰρήκαμεν is a possible way of effecting this.

381. 29. We punctuate after λόγον, not after βασιλέως. There is then a sudden transition from the emperor to the γένος of the governor : cf. 415. 5 ff. for a similar train of thought. It remains possible that something has fallen out after ἐγκώμιον, e.g. ⟨εἶτα τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγκώμιον⟩. Alternatively, γένους (PmW) may be accepted, and βασιλέως deleted. This seems less likely. The procedure we expect includes a brief encomium of the emperor (cf. 379. 2).

382. 2. κατά. 'Over', 'in comparison with' : this shade of meaning is not known to LSJ. παρὰ + acc. is the usual way of expressing this relationship.

382. 3 ff. At 378. 16 ff. τὰ περὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων follows the prooemia. Since this section is concerned mainly with the joy of the subject population, there is no contradiction with the present passage. Cf. esp. 378. 29–30. M. goes on to say that, although it is generally held (δοκεῖ) that expressions of joy subsequent to the prooemia are the essential difference between *epibatērios* and *prosphōnētikos*, there is no reason why you should not proceed immediately from the prooemia to the regular encomiastic topics about emperor and governor. In this, he comes near to destroying the formal identity of the *epibatērios* altogether; but his concern is presumably to advocate flexibility of approach. Cairns, 19–20, rightly sees problems in this passage, but does not explain it.

382. 6–10. The note on the number of prooemia interrupts the argument. We suspect it of being a later addition or amplification, but it may be none the less the author's own. Its presence, we suggest, made τῷ εἴδει τούτῳ (10) obscure, and so prompted the gloss [τῷ ἐπιβατηρίῳ].

382. 12. It is the speaker's goodwill towards the city that is meant: ἦν expresses this much more clearly than ὡς.

382. 14. ἐκ μεθόδου may go either with what precedes or (as we take it) with what follows. The phrase normally relates to ἐγκώμια (394. 3; 412. 31; 429. 14), which have a regular scheme; it is perhaps slightly more likely that πάτρια, 'historical traditions', should be thought of as having such a recognized pattern than that this should be said of the speaker's goodwill and the beauty of the city.

382. 17. ἡμῖν. The paradosis is evidently ὑμῖν, which Nitsche preferred. But it is clear from 20 ff. that this model speech refers to the speaker's own city, and that he identifies himself with it.

382. 19. [τὰ ἐξαίρετα]. Acceptable as object of εἶδον, this is meaningless after γέγηθα τῇ ψυχῇ, and unnecessarily repeats τῶν ἐξαιρέτων (17).

382. 19–20. This 'priamel' recalls Sappho, fr. 16 (*PLF*):

> οἱ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἱ δὲ πέσδων
> οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν
> ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
> τω τις ἔραται.

See Horace, *Odes* 1. 1. 1, 1. 7. 1, with Nisbet–Hubbard's notes.

382. 22–3. ἦν . . . φανείς. Elaborate language, with an unusual use of ἐκτείνει, 'extend' (but τείνειν is used of light: e.g. Pl. *Rep.* 616 B, τεταμένον φῶς εὐθύ), and the hyperbaton ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ . . . φανείς.

382. 29. The city 'belongs to' the whole world: Kroll's ⟨κτίσμα⟩ is less effective and duplicates ἔκτισε . . . ἡ οἰκουμένη below.

383. 1. ἐναντίου αὔξησιν. 'An amplification of the opposite circumstances'. This is satisfactory sense. It is also true that the procedure amounts to an amplification of the original situation 'by means of the opposite', ἐξ ἐναντίου, but there is no compelling reason to make M. say this.

383. 2. ἀθεάμων. Pollux knows ἀθεαμόνως, ἀθεαμοσύνη; no literary example in LSJ, but cf. Synes. *Insomn.* 12 (170. 14 Terzaghi), ὀνείρων ἀθεάμονας.

383. 7. ἐν κατόπτρῳ σκιᾶς. 'Dim shapes in a mirror'. Ach. Tat. 1. 15. 6 explains: τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν ἀνθέων ἦν κάτοπτρον, ὡς δοκεῖν τὸ ἄλσος εἶναι διπλοῦν, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ δὲ τῆς σκιᾶς. For the imagery, see commentators on Aesch. *Ag.* 839, 1 Cor. 13: 12.

383. 10. σύμμετρον. Cf. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 289, 5 U.–R.: σύμμετρος δὲ γινέσθω ὁ ἔπαινος (and cf. below, 414. 28).

383. 11 ff. φύσιν τῆς χώρας. Confusion between φύσις and θέσις is common in the manuscripts. θέσεως is clearly necessary at 383. 29 and 30, where the manuscripts vary, and θέσιν at 384. 3 where pZ

have φύσιν. However, it appears from 384. 2 ff. that, in the case of χώρα, φύσις and θέσις are identical: θέσις indicates τὸ κεῖσθαι, while φύσις includes crops and mountains etc., and so includes θέσις. The paradosis may therefore be retained, and we retain it, though with hesitation. On the relation between the doctrine here and 344 ff. (Treatise I) see Introd., p. xxxvii.

383. 12. πρὸς ἀέρας. Plural again below, 25; 387. 10; 417. 22; 426. 9 and 25; 431. 3. In the title of the Hippocratic treatise περὶ ἀέρων τόπων ὑδάτων the plural means 'climates', and in Pl. *Phaedo* 98 CD it means 'things like ἀήρ' (cf. αἰθέρας in same context). The usage here is different, and to be noted. Something very like it is found in Strabo 4. 5. 2 (200 B).

383. 17. περικλύζεται. Thuc. 6. 3. 2 (νήσῳ) οὐκέτι περικλυζομένη.

ἔκφρασις πελάγους. Aristid. *Or.* 44 (εἰς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος) is a storehouse of the relevant topics, and a very effective piece of writing.

384. 10. We accept περιέχει, 'includes', rather than the inept παρέχει 'offers'.

384. 14 ff. Cf. 359. 16 ff. Treatise I passes straight from 'origins' to ἐπιτηδεύσεις, these being probably considered as corresponding to ἀνατροφή (see notes ad loc.). The present passage is somewhat different: ἀνατροφή is something special, e.g. the divine provision of food by Demeter to the Athenians, and we pass straight to ἐπιτη-δεύματα (18 ff.) only if we have nothing to say under this head.

384. 16. Aristid. *Panath.* 31 ff. In fact, he does not mention Demeter till 36, and then only as foster-mother of Triptolemus.

384. 20 ff. Cf. 372. 2–5 and notes.

384. 28–30. ταῦτά με . . . ταῦτά με. M. (like some other late authors) writes here in accordance with Wackernagel's observation about the position of enclitics (*Indogerm. Forschungen*, 1 (1892), 333–446).

385. 1–387. 2. The question should be asked whether this section on the πάτριος λόγος (or rather the elements which it has in common with the ἐπιβατήριος) envisages some specific city, as Alexandria Troas is envisaged at 378. 3 ff. The clues—the tax situation, the presence of courts and a provincial assembly, and the excellence of the local lawyers—leave a wide field of choice among the administrative centres of Asia Minor and Syria; in Asia alone, Laodicea, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum suggest themselves (cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*[2], 64 ff., for discussion of the *conventus* and possible centres under the early principate; later reorganizations only increase the field of possibilities).

385. 4 ff. Z is probably right to omit πατρίοις. In 5–8, M. repeats himself a good deal, but perhaps not more than a teacher might do.

385. 7–8. Cf. 382. 1–3.

385. 8. Bursian's correction, though not certain, gives the required sense. One could also retain θήσεις and add ⟨καὶ διαιρήσεις⟩ before εἰς.

385. 9 ff. For the cardinal virtues, cf. 361. 10 ff.; 373. 7 ff.

385. 11–12. The language here would suit the conditions of the Athenian empire, but is also appropriate enough to a provincial capital of Menander's own time; cf. below, 30–1.

385. 13. ἀγωνιστήριον. Aristid. *Panath.* 47, ὥσπερ ἀγωνιστήριον τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνεῖται.

385. 21. τὸ τέλος φορτικόν. Puzzling. (i) φορτικόν, despite its position, may be an attributive adjective; if so, M. presumably means a tax on cargoes (φορτία), but no corroborative evidence is known to us. (ii) If the word-order is thought objectionable, but the sense just suggested right, τέλος could be deleted as a gloss. (iii) We should consider reading φορτικῶς, 'crudely, oppressively, without any decent consideration'; cf. Zosimus 2. 34. 1, Constantine exacted φόροι and spent the money on unworthy recipients, τοῖς μὲν εἰσφέρουσι γινόμενος φορτικός ('burdensome'), τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν δυναμένους πλουτίζων.

385. 24–6. ἔχουσιν . . . ἔχοντας. Cf. 369. 29 and note.

385. 30–1. Cf. 11–12; here, however, the parallel between classical and contemporary conditions is made explicit.

386. 1. [κοινοῦ] repeats κοινόν of the previous line and anticipates κοινῷ γένει (i.e. the whole human race) in the following line; we delete it, but it remains possible that the interpolation extends to the whole phrase τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους. The technical use of τὸ κοινόν—'the federal assembly'—seems out of keeping in this highly literary and archaizing passage.

386. 4–6. This passage implies that the city M. has in mind is celebrated for its lawyers. By the fifth century, Berytus was the most noted law-school; later again, it was Constantinople. There were famous jurists of Greek origin (Callistratus, Hermogenianus) and the combination of the professions of lawyer and sophist was known (Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 56 f.). This is the most promising clue to the identity of the city, but our scanty knowledge of the legal profession at this time is an obstacle to conjecture.

386. 19. Isocrates, *Helena* 23 ff.

386. 30. (i) Callinicus: see on 370. 14. (ii) Aristides: clearly the most potent influence among the νεώτεροι, mentioned here primarily for *Or.* 13 (*Panathenaicus*), 17 and 21 (on Smyrna), 24 (Rhodes), 27 (Cyzicus), 44 (Aegean Sea), and 46 (Isthmus of Corinth). (iii)

Antonius Polemon (= Polemon 10, *RE* 21. 1320 ff; *PIR*² A 862),
c. 90–145, an eloquent advocate of the needs of his native Laodicea
under Hadrian, and the author of a famous oration (not extant) for
the opening of the Olympieion at Athens in 131/2. Life in Philostratus,
VS 1. 24; see also Bowersock, *Greek Sophists*, 17–18, 44 ff. Extant
are declamations (ed. M. Hinck, 1873) and *Physiognomica* (ed. G.
Hoffmann, 1893; see E. C. Evans, *TAPA* 99. 5 (1969), 11–15).
Polemon's reputation among later rhetors was equivocal. The
Byzantine Johannes Sikeliotes (*Comm. on Hermogenes*, Walz 6. 94)
groups him with Aspasius and Procopius of Gaza (a close follower,
it would seem, of M.'s precepts) as persons who were insufficiently
critical of their own work (this is a stock form of literary disapproval,
cf. Sen. *Controv.* 2. 2. 12 on Ovid, Quintil. 10. 1. 130 on the younger
Seneca). Anna Comnena (*Alexiad* 10. 2. 1) speaks of ῥοῖζος Πολέμωνος;
she will have derived this not from reading Polemon but perhaps
from Michael Psellus, who speaks of τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ Πολέμωνος (*On
the Rhetorical Style of Gregory of Nazianzus*, ed. A. Mayer, *BZ* 20 (1911),
48. 16). (iv) Hadrianus of Tyre (*PIR*² H 4) was a pupil of Herodes
Atticus, and served as *ab epistulis graecis* under Commodus. Life in
Philostratus, *VS* 2. 10. A short declamation attributed to him sur-
vives, Walz 1. 526 ff., and he is also credited with 'Metamorphoses',
so that it is possible that M. is thinking of him at 393. 3.

387. 3–388. 15. This appendix on the *Trōikos*, like the final chapter
on the *Sminthiakos*, clearly envisages a speaker from Alexandria
Troas. It is unfortunately badly preserved.

387. 4–5. τὸ ἴδιον . . . ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει should be taken together:
385. 1–3 explains how the διαίρεσις of the πάτριος λόγος differs from
that of the ἐπιβατήριος.

387. 5. ὦ γλυκύτατε τῶν ἑταίρων. The only personal address in
either Treatise, despite the common occurrence throughout of the
second person singular future as a command.

387. 12. καὶ ἵππων is omitted in one group of manuscripts, and is
inappropriate between ὁρῶν and πεδίων. Perhaps the addition is due
to a reader who wished to recall Troy's fame for horses.

387. 17–28. The textual and historical problems of this section are
interlocked, and we have no complete solution to offer in either field.

(i) 17–20. (a) εὐτυχήσαντας cannot be right; we have to choose
between Z's -σαντος and Bursian's εὐτυχήσαμεν. In either case, the
verb governs the acc. βασιλείας (cf. 439. 16). If καὶ (17) is answered
by καὶ (20), a finite verb would be normal, but we cannot feel certain
that M. could not have written the participle. (b) We have then to
remember that Tros is the grandson of Dardanus, and the mean and
treacherous Laomedon the grandson of Tros. The order of the names

is thus very strange, and it seems unlikely that Laomedon should have been viewed as a great hero.

(ii) 20–2. Since the whole section is supposed to be made up of ἀρχαῖα διηγήματα (16), the natural hypothesis is that M. is still talking about the past. So οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν are our ancestors, presumably at the time of the Trojan War. It follows that ἄρχουσιν (21) should be deleted. The point made in this section is that the location of the Troad on the mainland of Asia made it the basis of an unlimited empire, not constrained (as the Greeks were) by the limits of islands or peninsulas. The amplification οὐ μικρῶν . . . Πελοπόννησος thus justifies τοιγάρτοι (17), the causal link with the section on θέσις.

(iii) 23–4. ἀλλ' ἦρξεν . . . καταστρεφόμενος can stand only if the name of a conquering king (Priam?) is inserted. It seems simpler to follow the lead of ZY and change verbs and participle to the plural. For the notion of Troy as an imperial power in Asia, cf. Lycurgus, *C. Leocr.* 62: Τροία . . . πάσης ἐπάρξασα τῆς Ἀσίας.

(iv) 24–8. It is natural to take ὡμολόγησαν as referring to the same period as the preceding aorists. If this is right, Egyptians, Blemmyes, and Eremboi are thought of as Trojan allies in the siege of Troy. This is, we think, the most plausible interpretation also of the following clause: (a) εἴπερ, 'since', introduces the evidence for the statement, and Bursian's οἷπερ is not necessary (p's αὐτοὶ for Λυδοὶ is evidently right); (b) ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις χρόνοις means 'in the last phase of the siege', not 'in recent times' (note that Dem. 9. 23 says τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους when he means 'this last phase'); (c) ἡμῖν has its natural sense of 'us Trojans'—not 'us, citizens of the Roman empire, which has its origins in Troy'; (d) ἐν ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ κλήσεσιν refers to the Trojans' summoning of allies, and especially the Ethiopians under Memmon; (e) φαίνονται ὑπακούοντες means φαίνεται ὅτι ὑπήκουον; the present participle stands for an imperfect tense, see K.–G. 2. 1. 200 Anm. 9, and e.g. Thuc. 1. 2, φαίνεται ἡ Ἑλλάς . . . οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη ('it is evident that Greece was not securely settled . . .'). There is of course no Homeric or other evidence for these particular exotic allies in the Trojan War. The tradition has been coloured by more recent events, and the passage offers clues, though uncertain ones, to the provenance and date of the book.

(v) The Eremboi appear in *Od.* 4. 84, among the peoples visited by Menelaus in his wanderings; the name is later used for various Ethiopian, Indian, and Arab peoples (*RE* s.v. *Eremboi*, 413 ff. [Tkač]). The Blemmyes first appear in literature in Theocr. 7. 114. They were a nomadic people of lower Nubia, and remained troublesome to the

Romans in Egypt. They were of topical interest at various times in the third century. (a) Blemmyes, Arabs, and Saraceni were displayed in Aurelian's triumph after the defeat of Zenobia, according to SHA *Aurel.* 33. 4, the Blemmyes and Saraceni having been recently associated with Firmus, the merchant of Seleucia who is said to have rebelled in Egypt in 273 (SHA *Firmus* 3). Nitsche (13) takes these events as determining the date of our treatise. Given the fictitious nature of SHA, this is a very hazardous procedure: on Firmus, see R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, 55 n. 3. (Blemmyes are also mentioned as defeated by Probus, SHA *Probus* 7. 2.) (b) Much better attested are the events recorded in Procopius *B. Pers.* 1. 19. 28–37, to which Professor G. W. Bowersock has drawn our attention. Diocletian (after 298) settled the Nobatai (an Ethiopian tribe, for whom the classical name Eremboi would be appropriate) and Blemmyes [*sic*] on the Nile, subsidizing them and maintaining them rather than treating them as tributary. If the above analysis of 26–8 is wrong, and the sentence is to be taken as referring directly to the present, it is to these events that it should be related. If, on the other hand, that analysis is right, the allusion is less direct, and 298 cannot be used as a *terminus post quem* for the book, because it is sufficient explanation of the writer's elaboration of the legends to say that Blemmyes and Eremboi are well-known names.

(vi) One other historical remark may be added, though its relevance is uncertain. SHA *Claudius* 11. 9 tells us that some believed Claudius II to be descended from Dardanus and Ilus. The possibility of an allusion to a victorious monarch of Trojan origin should at least be considered, though in view of other considerations concerning the date, it is unlikely that we have to do with any event as early as 269–70. Cf. Introd., p. xl.

388. 1. Walls of Laomedon: *Il.* 21. 441 ff.

388. 2 ff. (i) Bursian proposed that ὥσπερ ... ἀκρόπολιν should come immediately after τειχίζουσιν; but he did not see that ὥσπερ . . . νομίζοντες (6) amplifies ὁμογνωμονοῦντες (5), and should be placed after ἀμφότεροι. (ii) Difficulties remain. The argument is that Troy can go one better than Athens, because the consensus of gods in her case is more glorious to her than their quarrel over Athens: cf. Aristid. *Panath.* 40, περὶ γὰρ μόνης ταύτης . . . ἤρισαν καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μοναρχίᾳ . . . οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν θεῶν. A possible solution is (a) πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων (Spengel) or πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, i.e. 'against the Athenians', with (b) replacement of εἶτα by a verb, e.g. ἐρεῖς. We translate this. But the corruption may be deeper: εἴπερ οὖν (2) is an unexpected connection, and the ἔρις in question in 3 might be expected to be that between the gods.

388. 6 ff. Cf. 444. 6 for the (unhistorical) association of Alexander with the foundation of Alexandria Troas. For Alexander's rivalry with Heracles, cf. Arrian, *Anab.* 3. 3. 2, for Dionysus ibid. 5. 1. 5, 5. 2. 1.

388. 7. m's conjecture 'that the writer is Alexandrian' is not a valid inference from the text: see Introd., p. xxxviii.

388. 14–15. i.e. encomium of χώρα (which ended 387. 30) is followed by origin of city (387. 31–388. 12) and from this point we go on to θέσις of city. This seems again in conflict with Treatise I, in which origin (γένος, i.e. foundation, 353. 4 ff.) follows the entire treatment of θέσις and φύσις.

388. 17–394. 31. IV. *Lalia* (The Talk)

Analysis

388. 17–389. 2. Various uses of *laliai* in deliberative and epideictic oratory.

  389. 3–390. 13. First example: encomium of a governor.
   389. 4–9. Consider his qualities shown in various activities.
   389. 10–27. Special need for historical examples and narratives.
   389. 27–390. 4. Herodotus is a useful source and there are other models of the appropriate simple style, e.g. Xenophon and some sophists.
   390. 4–13. Invent dreams or messages which you can 'report'.
  390. 14–391. 18. Other examples and uses.
   390. 14–17. Advice on concord.
   390. 17–391. 5. Advice on taking interest in oratory.
   391. 5–10. Satirical comment in *laliai*.
   391. 10–18. Use of *lalia* to prepare your audience.
  391. 19–28. Irregularity of order of topics in *lalia*.
  391. 29–392. 9. A further example: how to treat in this form your return home after a long absence.
   392. 9–14. The general principle repeated: no regular pattern.
   392. 14–18. How to write about Athens in this form.
  392. 18–28. Other topics that can give a pleasant effect in *laliai*: mountains, rivers, Dionysus, etc.
   392. 28–393. 1. Use of Plutarch's *Lives*.
   393. 1–5. Use of books on 'metamorphoses' and the like.
   393. 6–16. Use of poets.
   393. 17–30. Simplicity of style, brevity, moderation.
  393. 31–394. 12. *Lalia* on leavetaking (*syntaktikē*).
  394. 13–29. *Epibatērios lalia*.
  394. 29–31. Universal usefulness of *lalia*.

This chapter deals, not with speeches for a particular occasion, but with informal composition in general. It was perhaps a standard treatment: an anonymous rhetor of later Byzantine times (later than Psellus) refers to Μενάνδρου ῥήτορος περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς for a fuller treatment of λαλιά than he can give (Introd., p. xxxvi). He makes the point that the λαλιά can be composed quickly when time is pressing (cf. also Walz, 3. 600).

Rhetorical performances which deliberately lack formal structure are an important feature of the Second Sophistic. B. P. Reardon (*Les Courants littéraires grecs*, 165 ff.) calls the *lalia* 'a bridge between rhetoric and literature'. This is not the right way of putting it— all formal oratory in this period is essentially 'literature'—but the practice of the *lalia* certainly made it possible for writers to handle a wide variety of topics in an imaginative and untrammelled way. The result is a tradition of something like the English 'essay'. There are no clear classical antecedents, though Plato and Xenophon gave hints (cf. [Aristid.] *Rhet.* 2. 539 Sp., Xenophon's work is οὐχ ὡς ὕψος . . . ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κατὰ κόμμα λαλιῶν εἴδει συνηγμένον). There is no doubt a connection with Hellenistic philosophical or moral sermons, such as modern scholars commonly call διατριβαί. The similar term διάλεξις comes near to being a synonym of λαλιά as with the popular philosophical διαλέξεις of Maximus of Tyre. Lucian is the greatest exponent of this kind of writing. (See Introd., p. xvii, and J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain*, esp. 286 ff.) As M. indicates (391. 10 ff.), the λαλιά can be used as an introduction; it is then sometimes called προλαλιά (on this, see K. Mras, 'Die προλαλιά bei den griechischen Schriftstellern', *WS* 64 (1949), 71–81). This too can be called διάλεξις; in Choricius of Gaza, an informal piece so titled regularly precedes the formal model declamations. Among later authors, Himerius deserves mention: see *Or.* 22 Colonna, 44 (a birthday piece), 63 (entitled διάλεξις, on return to Athens), 64, 68 (a protreptic *lalia*).

388. 17. ἀνδρὶ σοφιστῇ. Here alone does M. imply that his pupil is a potential σοφιστής. Contrast 331. 16 (οἱ καλούμενοι σ.), 332. 27 (οἱ πάλαι σ.), 364. 15 (dist. ῥήτορες), 412. 1 (σοφισταί who write συγγραφικὸν εἶδος). So in Treatise II the word is not pejorative: it applies to practitioners of rhetoric who not only taught but gave public performances (E. L. Bowie, *Past and Present* 46 (Feb. 1970), 5 n. 4).

388. 24 ff. Advice: 390. 14 ff. Expression of feelings: 390. 19 ff.

388. 28 ff. σχηματίσαι διάνοιαν. i.e. give a special turn to the thought. See in general Martin, 274 f., and [Dion. Hal.] περὶ ἐσχημα-τισμένων 2. 295 ff. U.–R., where many examples are given of passages

or whole works whose form does not correspond with the purpose:
e.g. Plato's *Apology* is not only a defence speech but an attack on the
Athenians and a statement of the principles of a philosophic life.
M. suggests various ways in which a serious object can be conveyed
in a comic or satirical vein (cf. below, 391. 6 ff.). p's omission of
προαιρούμενον regularizes the syntax. The power to handle ἐσχηματι-
σμέναι ὑποθέσεις was much admired: Polemon's skill in them is
defended against critics by Philostratus (*VS* 1. 25).

388. 31 ff. The promise made here seems to be fulfilled 393. 17 ff.
at the conclusion of the examples and some additional advice on
models. τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ γένους will then be (i) the discussion of
style and length, (ii) the discussion of συντακτική, ἐπιβατήριος, and
προπεμπτική (a separate chapter, but closely cohering with this).
There is an overlap between 393. 30 ff. and the whole later chapter on
συντακτικὸς λόγος (430. 14 ff., esp. 434. 1 ff.).

389. 8. αὐστηρὸς καὶ κατεστυμμένος. Plu. *Cat. Min.* 46, τοῦ Κάτωνος
τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ κατεστυμμένον; Greg. Nyss. *Vit. Mos.* 2. p. 131 Musu-
rillo (*PG* 45. 417): τὸν ἐν ἱερωσύνῃ βίον ἐγκρατῆ τινα καὶ κατεστυμμένον
. . . ἔνδοθεν δὲ τὸ ἐδώδιμον . . . περιέχοντα. 'Harsh and stiff': the phrase
has hardly any complimentary nuance, but the fact could doubtless
be represented in terms of personal dignity. The orator has to inquire
into (ζητεῖν) such features of character before deciding how to
handle them.

389. 13. γλυκύτητι . . . ἁβρότητι. 'Sweetness' and 'delicacy' are
commonly associated with each other, and with 'simplicity' (ἀφέλεια).
The differences between these qualities are slight and mainly verbal
(ὀνόματι διαλλάττει μόνῳ Hermog. *De ideis* 344. 17 Rabe); see in general
Hermog. *De ideis* 330 ff. Rabe (with Hagedorn, 48 ff.), [Longin.]
34. 2 ff., Dion. Hal. *CV* 11, Aristid. Quintil. 2. 10.

389. 14. Finckh's τῷ λόγῳ (cf. 393. 16) is strongly supported by
389. 28.

389. 21 f. τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς . . . τῶν πόλεων. E.g. in giving Troy to
Priam after the defeat of Laomedon, Elis to Phyleus after killing
Augeas, Sparta to Tyndareus after killing the sons of Hippocoon
(Diod. 4. 32. 4, 33. 4–5).

389. 22. This story about Agesilaus is not attested elsewhere, and
its source is not known. It presumably refers to his return home in 394.

389. 27. ἡ ἱστορία Ἡροδότου. Cf. [Hermog.] *Progymn.* 4. 14 Rabe:
διήγησις . . . ἡ ἱστορία Ἡροδότου, ἡ συγγραφὴ Θουκυδίδου, διήγημα
δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ἀρίονα. Similar word-order also in Liban. *Or.* 11. 62, τὴν
ἀγριότητα Καμβύσου, Sopater Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων (8. 241. 19 Walz),
τὴν βαρύτητα Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν Θηβαίων, and in M.
402. 13 ταῖς προχοαῖς Ἐνίπεως.

389. 28 ff. ἐν οἷς. We punctuate strongly before this, because the subsequent sentence makes it clear that the antecedent is not 'the διηγήματα in Herodotus' but narratives generally (note χρώμεθα 31).

389. 31. μηδὲ περιόδους ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἐνθυμήματα. For the connection, cf. Longin. *Ars* p. 309. 31 Sp. (= 193. 26 Sp.–H.) : ἡ δὲ περίοδος ἐνθύμημά πώς ἐστιν ἀπηγγελμένον. The enthymema is a rhetorical form of argument, or incomplete syllogism (Aristot. *Rhet.* 1. 2, 1356ᵇ4; Demetr. 32; Quint. 5. 14. 24, etc.), and the period stands to it as form to content (Demetr. 30), even though it may be an accident of an enthymema to be periodic (ibid. 33, D. M. Schenkeveld, *Studies in Demetrius*, 48 ff.).

389. 32. ἁπλουστέρα . . . καὶ ἀφελεστέρα. Cf. 393. 22. These words are not commonly combined, though they are of course similar in sense : ἁπλοῦς however indicates absence of complication, ἀφελής absence of abundance or pomposity. Cf. ἀφελείας καὶ ἁπλότητος 411. 25.

390. 1. For a similar list of models, cf. 411. 31 ff.

(i) Xenophon: cf. e.g. Hermog. *De ideis* 404. 22 ff. Rabe: ἔστι τοίνυν οὗτος ἀφελὴς μὲν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα . . . ταῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφελείας αὐτῆς ἡδοναῖς πολλαῖς χρώμενος, γλυκύτησι δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τούτων οἷον ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μύθων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μανότερον. Hermogenes admires *Cynegeticus*, *Symposium*, and the stories of Abradates and Panthea and of Tigranes and Armenia in *Cyropaedia*. See also Cic. *Brutus* 132, 292; Quintil. 10. 1. 82; Dion. Hal. *De imit.* 208, 1 ff. U.–R.; [Longin.] 8. 1; and in general K. Münscher, 'X. in der gr.-röm. Literatur', *Philol.* suppl. 13. 2 (1920).

(ii) Nicostratus: a Macedonian sophist of the second century, regarded also by Hermogenes as a model for ἀφέλεια (*De ideis* 329. 10 Rabe) and the εἶδος πανηγυρικόν (407. 8 ff. Rabe). We know (from the *Suda*) of works entitled Ἐγκώμια, Δεκαμυθία, Θαλαττουργοί, μῦθοι δραματικοί, γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα.

(iii) Dio. Apparently the earliest evidence for the nickname χρυσόστομος. Somewhat later are Themistius, *Or.* 5. 63 d (τὸν χρυσοῦν τὴν γλῶτταν), Synesius, *Enc. Calv.* 1 (τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν γλῶτταν), *Dio* 1 (τῆς γλώττης ἣν χρυσῆν εἶχεν), Eunapius, *V. Phil.* 454 Boissonade (ὃν ἐπεκάλουν Χρυσόστομον). The word is also familiar in the name of St. John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, a pupil of Libanius.

(iv) Philostratus. The three (or four?) Philostrati, sophists from Lemnos of the second and third centuries, were confusing to ancient scholars as they are to modern. M. means the second of the family, the author not only of the Εἰκόνες and *Heroicus*, but of the lives of Apollonius and of the sophists (H. Gärtner, *Kl. Pauly* 4. 780 ff.; but see also Bowersock, 2 ff., Benner and Fobes, in the Loeb edition of

Alciphron, Aelian, Philostratus: *Letters*, 388). He is again coupled
with Dio by M. at 411. 32.

This group of authors recalls not only the recommendations of
Hermogenes but those of the later rhetor Metrophanes of Lebadea
(*Suda* M 1010) who wrote on the styles of Plato, Xenophon,
Nicostratus, and Philostratus. His date is uncertain: perhaps early
fourth century.

390. 3. ἐρριμμένη. Cf. Hermog. *De ideis* 383. 7 Rabe: τὸ ἐπιμελὲς καὶ
μὴ ἐρριμμένον (v.l. διερριμμένον, a commoner expression for 'broken,
disjointed': Polyb. 3. 58. 3, Demetr. 13, etc.).

390. 4 ff. Aristides, who took dreams seriously, naturally uses this
motif: *Or.* 37. 1, 38. 1, 41. 1, *Hieroi Logoi* 4. 14, 31, 89. The device was
old and easily ridiculed: Sen. *Contr.* 2. 1. 33, 'Otho Iunius . . . edidit . . .
iv libros colorum, quos belle Gallio noster Antiphontis libros vocabat:
tantum in illis somniorum est. Et hoc vitium ab antiquis qui artem
dicendi tradebant duxerat; illi enim colores probabant qui non possunt
coargui, non ut somnia, sed ut non essent aliquo nomine offensui.'

390. 14 ff. The two themes selected—concord and encouragement
of audiences—may both be illustrated from Dio Chrysostom: see
Or. 39 (on concord, at Nicaea); 40 (on good relations between Prusa
and Apamea), *Or.* 32 (to the Alexandrians, a people fond of frivolous
entertainment but impatient of sound advice).

390. 15. Bursian's ταράττουσι and Hillyard's ἀντιπράττουσι both
give satisfactory sense. In favour of the former, cf. Lucian, *Phalaris* 1.
3, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐτάραττον ἀλλ' ὑπήκουον . . . ἡ πόλις δ' ἀστασίαστος ἦν.

390. 19. ἐν ὑποδείγματι. According to Phrynichus (4 Fischer =
p. 62 Rutherford), ὑπόδειγμα is non-Attic for Attic παράδειγμα. But
see Xen. *Eq.* 2. 2.

390. 20. αἱ ἀκροάσεις. Here not the lectures, nor the lecture-halls
(as in Plu. *Mor.* 58 D, Cic. *Ad Att.* 15. 17. 2), but rather 'audiences';
we know no close parallel, but the development from the sense
'lecture-halls' seems quite natural, cf. Lat. *auditoria* (Plin. *Ep.* 4. 7).
With Kroll's τὰς ἀκροάσεις, the word has the normal meaning 'lec-
tures', but the subject of ἀπαιτοῦσιν is left undefined.

390. 21 ff. The orator (= Apollo) pretends that the audience
(= the Muses) is complaining of his absence from them, and that
Zeus therefore tells them to ask him to perform more often. For
content and manner, cf. 438. 30 ff., 442. 26 (note πλήττει τὴν λύραν
as at 390. 31 and 400. 15), and other 'mythical' parts of the 'Smin-
thiac' speech. Note also that this is λόγος ἐσχηματισμένος (below, 28),
a way of dealing with an embarrassing situation.

391. 1. κριτικῶς. Cf. Artemid. 4 prooem., ἐπειδὴ κριτικῶς εἶχε τῶν
τοιούτων.

391. 1. Isocrates published the *Panegyricus* in the summer of 380 BC, around the time of the Olympic festival; but he did not, or so it is generally believed, follow the example of Gorgias and Lysias in delivering the speech himself, because of his poor voice. But the tradition does not seem to have been certain: [Plu.] *V. Isocr.* 837 B, τόν τε Πανηγυρικὸν λόγον καί τινας ἄλλους τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν, οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὓς δ' ἑτέροις παρεσκεύαζεν.

391. 12. ἐπὶ παρόδου. Dem. *Or.* 9. 11, *Ep.* 3. 29, uses πάροδος in a similar sense of a public appearance.

391. 13. ἠθικῶς μετριάζοντα. Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 13, φήσει δ' οὖν πάνυ μετριάζων ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ('very modestly'—Lucian's ironical comment on a boastful speech); schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 64, where μετριάζειν (*pace* LSJ) is used as a comment on a diminutive, i.e. an understatement. M. here recommends some modest remark to elicit goodwill.

τέττιξ. We accept P's reading, though with hesitation. It implies that the cicada is inferior to 'singing birds': cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2. 12–13 'raucis . . . cicadis'. But it is not clear that the Greeks thought this: *Il.* 3. 151 f., τεττίγεσσιν . . . οἵ τε καθ' ὕλην δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὄπα λειριόεσσαν ἱεῖσιν stands at the beginning of a long tradition in which cicada is not only garrulous (λάλος) but musical (cf. the myth in Pl. *Phdr.* 259 B–C). Note Clem. Al. *Protr.* 1 (the cicada who sang on the lyre-player Eunomos' broken string) and *Anth. Pal.* 9. 380: εἰ κόκκυξ τέττιγος ἐρεῖ λιγυρώτερος εἶναι, ἴσα ποιεῖν καὶ ἐγὼ Παλλαδίῳ δύναμαι. These examples tend to favour τέττιγας with τοὺς ᾠδικοὺς τῶν ὀρνίθων in apposition, and the word ὀρνίθων is no objection: Lucian *Musc. Enc.* 1, ἡ μυῖα . . . τὸ σμικρότατον τῶν ὀρνέων. However, it would not be at all 'modest' for the speaker to claim that 'he imitates the cicadas, those winged musicians', and he would not thereby achieve the desired effect of ἀπολογία. On the other hand, it would meet the case perfectly well if he represented himself as a small, but sweet-voiced creature. We regard this consideration as decisive. M. may have in mind a passage of Archilochus (fr. 223 West) paraphrased by Lucian (*Pseudologista* 1) in which the provoked poet compares himself to a cicada, which makes an even louder noise if you catch it by the wing. The context is quite different—M. is not provoked to anger—but the allusion may still be present.

μιμεῖται. The third person is in keeping with μέλλει (12), though M. changes abruptly to the second person with αἰτήσεις. If we were to read τέττιγας, it would be possible (though not attractive) to take 'the audience' as the subject of μιμεῖται and make the clause refer to the approving hum of the crowd.

391. 14–15. Sophists often gave extempore speeches (cf. Himerius,

Or. 16, *Or.* 64 Colonna; Philostr. *VS* 1. 5 of Alexander). As von Arnim points out (*Dio von Prusa*, 172), audiences were excited by the sense of participation in the speaker's composition, and tended to be less critical. Attitudes to prepared and impromptu speaking varied: e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 2. 5. 20, 'L. Vinicius . . . ex tempore causas agebat, sed non desiderabat hanc commendationem ut ex tempore agere videretur'; Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 20, τὸ ταχὺ τοῦτο οὐ σμικρὰν ἔχει τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ θαῦμα παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς· ὥστε ὅρα μή ποτε γράψῃς [γράψας Cobet] ἢ σκεψάμενος παρέλθῃς, ἔλεγχος γὰρ σαφὴς ταῦτά γε. For early views on improvisation see Alcidamas in Radermacher *AS* B XXII. 15; G. A. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion*, 172 f.

391. 16. τὰς ἀπαρχὰς. M. clearly envisages a student returning from his rhetorical school to his native city.

391. 18. θαλύσια. The only festival mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 9. 534); it involves the giving of first-fruits after the winnowing.

391. 23. κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν. Apparently 'on the same track'; Nitsche's διὰ restores more normal usage. For other somewhat unusual uses of κατὰ in M. cf. 353. 21; 382. 2.

391. 27. The paradosis gives ἐγκωμιάσεις μόνον ποτε which is unsatisfactory; the point of these instructions is that the order of the encomiastic topics is fluid, not that a *lalia* can be constructed out of one topic. We print ἄλλοτε, though with hesitation. In 28, p may well be right to omit μιᾶς.

392. 1. *Od.* 5. 463 combined with *Od.* 13. 251; cf. also 13. 354.

392. 3–4. Bursian's transposition of κοινῇ πάντας leaves ὡς μὴ . . . λέγειν to follow directly ἀνωνύμως μέντοι, as it should.

392. 5. συγχαίρειν ἑαυτῷ. Aristot. *EN* 1166ᵇ18, οὐδὲ δὴ συγχαίρουσιν οὐδὲ συναλγοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι [sc. οἱ μοχθηροί] ἑαυτοῖς· στασιάζει γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή.

392. 6–7. The paradosis is intelligible, though it is odd that τελοῦντας εἰς in 6 applies to the present state of affairs, but in 7–8 (τελοῦντας εἰς παῖδας) to the past.

392. 8. *Od.* 9. 34, οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκήων γίγνεται. Cf. below, 433. 7.

392. 10. ἄν is obligatory in such clauses in Attic prose, but not in classical poetry, and the Attic rule is by no means universally kept in later prose: see Radermacher, *NT Gr.* 177 n. 1, Schmid i. 245 (Lucian), iv. 90 (Philostratus).

392. 17. λόγων ἀγώνων καὶ μουσείων. The correction (μουσείων for μουσικῶν) seems preferable to Bursian's λογικῶν for λόγων, and is supported by 398. 7, ἅμιλλαι λόγων ἐπὶ τῶν μουσείων.

νεολαίας. A Doric word (from tragic lyric, Theocritus, etc.) which had some vogue in late prose (Lucian, Alciphron).

392. 18–28. M. here recommends the use of what is really primary grammatical knowledge (cf. Marrou, *HEA*⁶, 233) : lists of musicians, artists, prophets, mountains, rivers, and so on. Handbooks of such things were universal : a late Roman example well illustrates the kind of thing—Vibius Sequester, *De fluminibus fontibus lacubus* (ed. P. G. Parroni, 1965), a set of alphabetical lists of geographical names, entirely drawn from the classical Latin poets.

392. 19. διαφόρων. 'Outstanding' rather than 'various' : cf. εὐδοκί-μων . . . ἐνδόξων, 20–1.

392. 23. Πιερίας. Presumably the district of Macedonia associated with the Muses, and so naturally linked with Helicon (e.g. 432. 31 ; Liban. *Progymn.* 10 = 8. 360), though, unlike the other items of the list, it is not a mountain. It is, however, most unlikely that M. means the Syrian mountain of this name near the mouth of the Orontes.

392. 28 ff. An interesting testimony to Plutarch's influence. Cf. Himerius, *Or.* 7. 4 Colonna, where Himerius' son Rufinus ἐστὶν ἐκ Πλουτάρχου, δι' οὗ πάντας ὑμεῖς παιδεύετε . . . ἐκ Μινουκιανοῦ, τοῦ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φωνῆς πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἐλευθερώσαντος. Family connections can be seen to reinforce a continuous tradition of Athenian higher education from the second century to the fourth.

392. 31. ἀποφθέγματα abound in Plutarch's *Lives*, and could easily be excerpted from them (cf. the collections preserved in *Moralia* 172 B ff., whatever their precise origin) ; χρεῖαι ('anecdotes') are also numerous (see B. Bucher-Isler, *Norm und Individualität in den Biographien Plutarchs* (1972), 82 f.) but it is a little surprising to find proverbs (παροιμίαι) mentioned.

393. 1–4. Bursian may well be right to delete δεῖ δὲ . . . δένδρων (1–2). The sense is repeated in the following sentence, and the distinction between φυτῶν and δένδρων is pointless in this context.

393. 3. L. Septimius Nestor of Laranda in Lycaonia was a celebrated poet of the third century AD. He wrote (see *Suda* s.v.) various didactic and historical poems, and the *tour de force* of an *Iliad* in which each of the twenty-four books was written without one of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet ('Ἰλιὰς λιπογράμματος). There are honorific inscriptions to him from Paphos, Ephesus, Cyzicus, and Ostia, and *Anth. Pal.* contains some hexameter passages which are probably from the *Metamorphoses* (9. 128, 129, 364, 536, 537). See R. Keydell, *Kl. Pauly* s.v.

γέγραπται . . . μεταμορφώσεις. The singular verb in a 'rubric' like this is common (but not invariable) practice in Photius' *Bibliotheca* : e.g. cod. 45, ἀνεγνώσθη . . . λόγοι βραχεῖς δύο. Cf. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1. 3 for both Latin and Greek usages of this type.

σοφισταῖς. Cf. 386. 30 on Hadrianos. An extant work of this

kind is that of Antoninus Liberalis (ed. Papathomopoulos, 1968); on the genre in general, see S. Jannaccone, *La letteratura greco-latina delle Metamorfosi* (1953).

393. 8. παρ' ὧν. The antecedent is probably the persons praised and blamed by the poets, rather than the poets themselves. We punctuate and translate accordingly.

393. 9. Archilochus as model: cf. Quint. 10. 1. 59–60, and Plu. *Mor.* 803 A, for a favourable view of his usefulness.

393. 12 ff. Poets as counsellors of kings: there are many traditions M. may have in mind: Homer and Midas (*Vit. Hom.* 11); Hesiod and the βασιλεῖς of the *Works and Days*: Simonides and Thessalian rulers; Simonides and Hiero; Pindar and Hiero; Ibycus and Polycrates; Timotheus with Philip and Alexander; Euripides and Archelaus.

393. 15. ἐπιφώνησις. A word with a wide range of application: e.g. of the ritual cry 'Talasio', Plu. *Pomp.* 4; of spells or incantation (*Corp. Herm.* fr. xxiii. 14); of an epiphonema, [Plu.] *Vit. Hom.* 65. Here it means 'quotation': cf. Plu. *Alc.* 23. 6, τοῖς δ' ἀληθινοῖς ἄν τις ἐπεφώνησεν... "ἔστιν ἡ πάλαι γυνή." Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 3. 202, ἂν ἐπιφωνῆσαι τὸ τραγικὸν ... οὕτως ...

393. 16. μάλιστα προσφορώτατοι. Such pleonasms occur in classical Greek (e.g. Soph. *OC* 743 πλεῖστον κάκιστος) as well as later. Aristides and Aelian have μάλιστα+superlative occasionally (Schmid i. 45, iii. 61), so has [Hermog.] *De inv.* 133. 17 Rabe (μάλιστα σαφέστατα). Stricter Atticists disapproved: ἄκαιρον τὸ ... μάλιστα πλουσιώτατος (Herodian p. 460, in Moeris, ed. Pierson).

393. 17. The sense is incomplete without a mention of 'exhortation': so add ⟨προτρέπειν καὶ⟩.

393. 22. Cf. 389. 32.

393. 23. Cf. 391. 19 ff.; 392. 11 ff.

393. 25–6. Mras (art. cit. 75) thinks M. is probably thinking of speeches by Dio Chrysostom in which the *prolalia* forms the prologue to a longer speech, viz. *Or.* 12, 32, 33, 35.

393. 27–30. p's reading means: 'just as garrulity is not good, nor is ... for this is acknowledged to be in bad taste'. The reading offered by the rest of the tradition, however, gives quite satisfactory sense.

393. 31 ff. Cf. the separate chapter on συντακτικός 430. 10 ff. It appears that ἐὰν is followed by ἐμφανίζωμεν (394. 1); we then punctuate after †τοὺς ἀνιωμένους† (3), and the outcome is an inelegant but perfectly possible sentence. It is worth considering, however, whether ἐὰν is without a finite verb, the participle μέλλοντες serving instead, and the parallel main verbs are ἐμφανίσομεν and ἥξομεν (3).

394. 3. Cf. 430. 10: ὁ συναττόμενος δῆλός ἐστιν ἀνιώμενος ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ. It must therefore be the speaker's grief that is expressed. We obelize †τοὺς ἀνιωμένους†: either Nitsche's ἑαυτοὺς ἀ. or ὅτι ἀνιώμεθα would give the required sense. Our translation follows these lines.

394. 5 ff. The Eleusinian mysteries flourished in the first and second centuries. Philostr. *VA* 4. 17 speaks of the populousness of Athens at the time of the festival. The sanctuary at Eleusis was partly destroyed by the Costoboci in 170, the occasion of the 'Eleusinian' oration of Aristides (*Or.* 22). Restored by M. Aurelius, the shrine continued to be very much frequented until the Gothic invasion of 395, though fortification against barbarian incursions had apparently become necessary in the middle of the third century (G. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 156, 165). In this instance, then, there is nothing anachronistic in M.'s account.

394. 6. i.e. the proclamation commanding the *mustai* to set out for Eleusis, on 19 Boedromion, or possibly the preliminary proclamation (*prorrhēsis*) on 15 Boedromion (L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 69 ff.). This passage is also evidence for a ceremonial proclamation before the return to Athens. Note Ἐλευσῖνάδε . . . ἄστυδε, an appropriate archaism.

394. 14. μικρῷ πρόσθεν. 391. 32 ff. The subject of this λαλιά is the same as that of the type of *epibatērios* discussed 382. 10 ff. The pattern is not the same (the *lalia* lays more emphasis on personal emotion) but many details of course correspond.

394. 24. Text uncertain. There are two main possibilities: (i) ἀποδημῶν. ⟨καὶ⟩ προσθήσεις "ἀλλ' ἄγε διηγήσομαι . . ." Cf. 410. 21, καὶ προσθήσεις ὅτι. (ii) ἀποδημῶν προσθήσεις. ἀλλ' ἄγε (or ἀλλά γε) then lacuna. (i) is better: remembrance of one's country is naturally associated with affection for its people. Our translation follows this suggestion.

394. 26-7. A conjunction is expected: παρῇ ⟨ἢ⟩ would give this. But reference to the speaker's father is surprising here, and the variant τῆς πατρίδος is unacceptable because this has been the subject of the entire address. Should ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πατρός be deleted as an incorrect first writing of the following words ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας?

395. 1–399. 10. V. *Propemptikē Lalia*: the propemptic talk

Analysis

395. 1–4. Definition: a speech speeding the departing traveller on his way with praises. Delicacy of style and narrative content are needed.

395. 4–12. Type I: superior to inferior, emphasizing advice.

395. 12–20. Type II: equal to equal, emphasizing affection.

395. 21–6. Type III: inferior to superior, emphasizing encomium.

395. 26–32. In all types, affection and desire are important.

396. 1–399. 10. The rest of the chapter consists of a detailed scheme for Type II: a young student sends off a contemporary.

396. 3–11. Complaint of desertion, addressed to Fortune and the Erotes.

396. 11–15. Alternative (?) complaint, addressed to the audience as judges in the case.

396. 15–21. Mythological and animal exempla.

396. 21–3. Recollection of past comradeship.

396. 23–31. Encomia of city, introduced as an argument for not leaving.

396. 31–397. 9. Further complaints of betrayal and loss.

397. 9–12. This concludes the first part of the speech.

397. 12–16. The second part begins with a further complaint, but with resigned acceptance of the decision that the friend has made.

397. 16–398. 23. This leads to an encomium of the person concerned, which includes many regular encomiastic topics, though not in formal order.

> **397. 17 ff.** Family and city to be congratulated.
>
> **397. 22 ff.** Cardinal virtues displayed in his promise for the future.
>
> **398. 1–6.** Caution against exaggeration.
>
> **398. 6–14.** Educational achievements.
>
> **398. 14–23.** Physical beauty and personal integrity—with a caution against possible embarrassing misunderstanding.

398. 23–6. Praise of the friend's native city.

398. 26–9. The speech moves to its conclusion: ask him to remember old friends.

398. 29–399. 10. Description of journey and prayer for safe passage. Cairns (esp. 7 ff.) discusses parts of this chapter. He is right (9–10) to observe that the situation envisaged is typical of the rhetorical school: the master encourages pupils to compose valedictory speeches for those who have completed the course. We have no means of knowing whether or not M. composed prescriptions for the other two types of speech which he enumerates. Neither is as well suited to the *lalia* form as the 'equal to equal' situation.

There is a long tradition of poetical 'propemptica', much discussed by modern scholars. Obviously relevant texts include: Sappho fr. 5 L.-P.; Ar. *Eq.* 498 ff.; Hipponax fr. 115 West; Erinna fr. 2 D; Call. fr. 400 Pf.; Theocr. 7. 52–89; *Anth. Pal.* 12. 171; Hor. *Odes*

1. 3, 3. 27; Prop. 1. 8; Ov. *Am.* 2. 11; Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2. See Cairns,
284 ff. for a fuller list of texts, and his index for discussions of particu-
lar poems; also Nisbet–Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* 1. 3; K. Quinn,
Latin Explorations, 239–73; and the sensible scepticism of D. Wachs-
muth, *Kl. Pauly* s.v. Propemptikon. The theme of speeding the depart-
ing traveller is of course a natural topic of lyric poetry, and a natural
ingredient in narrative and drama. It is, as Wachsmuth says, *Gat-
tungsungebundenes*. Some later poetical instances (esp. Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2)
have a scale and elaboration that suggest rhetorical influence on the
poet; but there is no reason to believe that the Augustan poets, for
example, had anything like M.'s prescriptions before them, though
they will of course have been familiar both with what was actually
said on such occasions and with classical Greek lyric, drama, and
epigram. Known prose *propemptica* are late; we should take seriously
the statement of Himerius (*Or.* 10. 1 Colonna) that this was a new
form: τοὺς προπεμπτικοὺς λόγους, κἂν νέοι τῷ νόμῳ τυγχάνωσιν, ἀλλ'
οὖν ἔξεστι τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐργάσασθαι. This introduces an
ingenious dialogue, with various episodes and modulation of style.
Cf. also Him. *Or.* 12, 15, 31 (to a proconsul of Achaea) and 36
(Colonna).

   Johannes Sardianus (*Comm. in Aphthon.* 142. 7 ff. Rabe) reports
discussion on the τέλος of the προπεμπτικὸς λόγος, which (he says)
involves both praise and blame: ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ ὡς χωριζόμενον
τῶν φίλων τὸν προπεμπόμενον διαβάλλομεν . . . ἐν τέλει δὲ ἐπαινοῦμεν.
This is interesting as an attempt to define the purpose of the speech
by reference to encomium and psogos, the primary epideictic themes;
M. does not make this point, though the prescription he proceeds
to give contains in fact the same two conflicting elements.

395. 3–4. We are here confronted with a choice between the shorter
version of this sentence in p, and a fuller one in the other manuscripts.
Both make good sense (in the fuller version, we would take κατα-
ποικίλλεσθαι with the second clause as well as with the first, i.e.
ἀπὸ κοινοῦ). We print and translate the shorter version, as being
more appropriate to the concise manner of this introductory defini-
tion. The longer version means: '(The propemptic *lalia*) . . . takes
pleasure in being diversified by delicacy and by the charms of agree-
able narratives.'

   395. 30. αὐτοῖς. Sc. τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς πάθεσι.

   396. 4. σχετλιάσει. Cf. 435. 10 σχετλιάζειν. A common enough
word in Attic usage and an established term in rhetoric from early
times: Aristot. *Rhet.* 1395ᵃ9, ἐν σχετλιασμῷ καὶ δεινώσει. Ex-
plained neatly by [Dion. Hal.] *Rhet.* 9. 5, p. 330. 18: Ἀγαμέμνων ἀπὸ

σχετλιασμοῦ ἤρξατο· Ζεύς με μέγας Κρονίδης ἄτῃ ἐνέδησε βαρείῃ, σχέτλιος. Epilogues ('Cornutus' 356. 18 Sp.–H. = 5. 15 Graeven) and emotional narrative (Apsines 1. 357. 28 Sp.) are characteristic contexts for σχετλιασμός and δείνωσις which are often thought of mechanically as produced by exclamations: φεῦ καὶ οἴμοι exemplifies σχετλιασμός, θέαμα δεινόν is δείνωσις (Apsines 1. 406. 9 Sp.). The term ἐπίρρημα σχετλιαστικόν is common in scholia, applied to interjections like φεῦ, ἰού. See in general Volkmann, 498, Martin, 257, 343.

396. 12. γραφὴν ἀποφέρων. In Attic law, this phrase applies to the process of handing in the accusation to the magistrate (Dem. 18. 54), not to bringing it before the court.

396. 17. The reference is to *Il.* 2. 563 ff.: Euryalus accompanies Diomedes and Sthenelus, Diomedes being in general command of the contingent. This, as Finckh observes, is sufficient to make M.'s point. However, since a pair of friends would have been a better instance than a trio, mW may be right to omit καὶ Διομήδης: this could easily have been added by a reader who remembered the passage in Homer. Spengel's addition of Nisus, on the other hand, is unlikely: the friendship of Nisus and Euryalus in *Aen.* IX is probably Virgil's invention (so R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*, 245), and it would be quite surprising to find an allusion to it in a Greek author, despite the evidence of interest in Virgil in the Greek world (for this see F. Vian, Budé edn. of Quintus of Smyrna, i. xxxii ff.).

396. 19. The social feelings and affection of animals—often seen as superior to mankind—were a commonplace theme: Plu. *De soll. an.*, *passim*, Aelian, *NA* 5. 48, 6. 2.

396. 25. τρίτον. M. seems to think of his plan as follows: (a) σχετλιασμός addressed to Fortune; (b) address to the audience; (c) encomium of the city. But this neglects 21–3 προϊὼν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ etc., and the arrangement is thus not quite clear.

396. 26–31. οὐδ' οὕτως . . . χαριέντως; Probably a question: 'Does not desire for Athens so move you even so (i.e. in view of these splendid features) . . . ?' Cf. Him. *Or.* 12. 12 Colonna, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς φίλας Ἀθήνας ὁ στόλος, αἵ σε πόθοις οὕτως ἐξέκαυσαν . . . The structure of the sentence then changes from a question to a mere list of topics (Ἄρειος δὲ πάγος . . .), so that we seem to have hints of treatment rather than the full wording. After χαριέντως (31), pB introduce an additional clause—τίς ἄρα (leg. ἂν ?) ῥᾳδίως καταφρονήσειεν; 'who then would readily despise?'—which may be a relic of the original version. Reconstruction must be hypothetical; perhaps the nouns Ἄρειος πάγος, Λύκειον, Ἀκαδημία, κάλλος were originally in the genitive, depending on καταφρονήσειεν.

396. 28. μουσεῖα καὶ θέατρα λόγων. Cf. 426. 28.

396. 28. παιδευτῶν φιλοτιμίαι. Lively, sometimes violent, rivalries were a feature of academic life in the sophistic period. See e.g. Aristid. *Or.* 51. 30 ff. (he defeats an Egyptian sophist at Smyrna), Liban. *Or.* 1. 19 (with Norman's note), *Ep.* 405 (lengthy rivalry with Eubulus), Eunapius, *VS* 483–5 Boissonade ('town and gown' riots in fourth-century Athens, also fighting between pupils of rival teachers of rhetoric), Himerius, *Or.* 69 Colonna. P. Wolf, *Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike*, Baden-Baden, 1952, 49 ff.; G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, chap. VII, 'Professional Quarrels'.

397. 1. *Il.* 2. 339 (συνθεσίαι τε καὶ ὅρκια).

397. 2. Nitsche's ἠλίθιος ἦν ἄρα ('So I was a fool . . .') is ingenious, but destroys the anaphora οἷος . . . οἷον.

397. 5. m gives the correct μισάνθρωπος, perhaps by emendation; but [ἐρημίας] should be regarded as a mistaken repetition of ἐρήμους. The choice between καὶ . . . ἐπικληθήσομαι and ἐπικληθείς is difficult: we follow the consensus of PW. Timon, whose retreat into misanthropic solitude was a topic of Old Comedy (Ar. *Lys.* 805 ff., *Av.* 1547 ff.), became the typical μισάνθρωπος, of whom many stories were told: Plu. *Ant.* 69–70, *Alc.* 16; Call. *Epigr.* 3. 4; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 4. 25, *Laelius* 87; Lucian, *Timon*; Liban. *Decl.* 12 (5. 534 ff.).

397. 8. μονήρη. Lucian, *Timon* 42: μονήρης δὲ ἡ δίαιτα καθάπερ τοῖς λύκοις.

397. 9–12. Bursian's correction gives adequate sense, though the sentence is clumsy and odd (note esp. the repeated τῆς προπεμπτικῆς, 12) and may perhaps include some interpolation, since ἐν τούτοις . . . κατὰ διαίρεσιν adds nothing new, and is awkwardly expressed.

397. 16. συνδράμωμεν. 'Concur'. The metaphor is dead, the word common in legal or administrative senses. Cf. 398. 6.

397. 18. τῆς βλάστης. 'Their child'. Apparently a poetical term: LSJ cite Soph. *OC* 972, *OT* 717.

397. 21. σύστασιν. 'Confirmation': cf. Hermog. *De ideis* 1. 10 (= p. 276. 24 Rabe) σύστασιν καὶ πίστεις.

397. 27 ff. These orators did not take part openly in public life: Isocrates, a poor speaker, published his principal speeches as pamphlets; Isaeus and Lysias composed forensic speeches for clients, and Lysias was also a metic. So they are not fit models for a future sophist who is also to be a political figure. Cf. Liban. *Declam.* 23. 31 (= 6. 393), where Demosthenes is made to say: ὤφελον μὲν γὰρ . . . τὸν Ἰσοκράτους ἢ τὸν Ἰσαίου, τῶν διδασκάλων τῶν ἐμῶν, ἤ τινος ἄλλου τῶν μακαρίων σοφιστῶν ἄνωθεν ἑλέσθαι βίον, ἵν' ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ γαλήνῃ καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐβίουν χρόνον ἐπ' ἐμαυτῷ φιλοσοφῶν. 'A quiet life' is just what M.'s pupil cannot expect either. If the text is right, τοιοῦτος ὅμοιος is a striking pleonasm.

398. 2–3. We follow p, thus retaining δοκεῖ (3), though δόξει may be thought to fit better with the following καταστήσεις.

398. 7. μουσείων. We take this to mean places which are in some sense sacred to the Muses, e.g. schools (cf. 392. 17); but Μουσεῖα is also the name of a festival, and ἐπὶ could be taken in a temporal as well as a local sense.

398. 9. See Theopompus T5a (*FGrHist* 115) on evidence for T. and Ephorus as pupils of Isocrates. There seems to be no other evidence for this story of a monthly prize.

398. 16. οἷος μὲν ἰδεῖν, οἷος δ' ὀφθῆναι. This mysterious expression recurs 404. 9; p's εἰπεῖν for ἰδεῖν is therefore presumably a wrong conjecture. We tentatively take the sense to be: 'How wonderfully his eyes glance, how wonderful he is to see!' But the combination of active and passive infinitives of the same verb with different meanings is mannered and awkward. A pointed use of active and passive is seen in Plu. *Antony* 67. 1, [Antony] ἐκείνην [Cleopatra] οὔτ' εἶδεν οὔτ' ὤφθη 'neither saw her nor was seen by her', and Heliod. 7. 15, σύνοικον ἔχειν τὸν ἐρώμενον, ἐπ' ἀδείας ὁρῶντα καὶ ὁρώμενον. These passages suggest another possible interpretation of M.: 'What a wonderful person to see and be seen by!'—with some erotic overtones.

398. 18 ff. Cf. 404. 11 for similar advice on how to avoid scandal.

398. 21. ἠθῶν. Slightly odd after ἦθος above, nor is the combination ἐγκράτεια ἠθῶν ('moral continence'?) very happy. We should consider reading ἡδονῶν ('self-control over pleasures').

398. 29 ff. The journey forms an obvious and common topic: e.g. Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2. 83 ff., 101–22. The land journey is apparently from Athens via Thrace into Asia Minor. The sea journey (399. 1) is not located; presumably the Aegean is in mind.

399. 3. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2. 35, 'hinc multo Proteus geminoque hinc corpore Triton | praenatet, et subitis qui perdidit inguina monstris | Glaucus adhuc patriis quotiens adlabitur oris | litoream blanda feriens Anthedona cauda.'

399. 5. Dolphins as escort: Apollo took this guise, Hom. *hymn. Apoll.* 400, 494: cf. also Ap. Rhod. 4. 933 ff., Opp. *Hal.* 1. 670 ff., Sen. *Oed.* 466 ff. and *Ag.* 449 ff., with Tarrant's note. But there are also echoes of the progress of Poseidon, *Il.* 13. 27 ff.: ἄταλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. See D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Fishes*, 52–6.

399. 7–8. *Od.* 13. 88–9:

> ὡς ἡ ῥίμφα θέουσα θαλάσσης κύματ' ἔταμνεν
> ἄνδρα φέρουσα θεοῖς ἐναλίγκια μήδε' ἔχοντα.

399. 11–405. 13. VI. *Epithalamios* (Wedding Speech)

Analysis

 399. 12–16. Definition and general characteristics.

 399. 16–19. These are two types, one more formal (σύντονος), one less so (συγγραφικός).

 399. 20–400. 6. Prooemia of the formal epithalamium.

 400. 7–28. Prooemia of the less formal sort.

 400. 29–402. 20. General 'thesis' material for the *locus* on 'marriage': this is common to both types (402. 22).

 402. 21–403. 25. Encomia of the families.

 403. 26–404. 14. The bride and bridegroom.

 404. 15–29. The bridal chamber, prospect of children, closing prayer.

 404. 29–405. 13. Some possible alternative arrangements for the *ekphrasis* of Hymen or Eros.

M.'s distinction between *epithalamios* and *kateunastikos* roughly corresponds to that between *gamikos* ([Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 270. 1; 271. 5; equivalent to *gamēlios* in M. 399. 12) and *epithalamios* in [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 260 ff. This latter division is more in accordance with tradition, the 'epithalamium' being strictly the song sung by the bride's unmarried girl contemporaries outside the *thalamos* or bridal-chamber. Another word for the same thing is κατακοιμητικός (Arg. Theocr. 18). We should therefore compare the present lay-out with that of the *gamēlios* or *gamikos* of [Dion. Hal.] (Appendix p. 365). This is as follows:

 260. 20–261. 13 (U.–R.) (i) A personal introduction and definition.

 261. 25–264. 7. (ii) General 'thesis' material, shown to be a very valuable part of the speech: marriage is from the gods, it is natural, it is advantageous for reputation and for comfort. (Cf. below, 400. 29 ff.)

 264. 7–13. (iii) Famous marriages.

 264. 14–265. 6. (iv) Prayer for good fortune and children.

 265. 6–266. 3. (v) Encomium of the couple, which comes at the beginning or at the end.

 266. 4–12. (vi) Some special points to be considered if the bridegroom himself is making the speech.

 266. 13–16. (vii) The style should be simple.

Another theoretical statement is found in the προθεωρία of Himerius, *Or.* 9 (Colonna); here poetical language is recommended, and four main topics are distinguished: an account of the choice of speaker, the general 'thesis', encomium of the people concerned, *ekphrasis* of the bride.

These rhetorical precepts stand of course at the end of a long and rich tradition of wedding songs and speeches: see in general A. L. Wheeler, *AJP* 51 (1930), 205–23, and commentators on Catullus 61, 62. Among earlier poets, Sappho was pre-eminently the model (cf. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 270. 4 ff. = Appendix, p. 370). From the point of view of our evaluation of the rhetors, however, Theocritus 18 (epithalamium for Helen and Menelaus) is especially interesting: it contains praise of the bride's family (19), her beauty (20–31), her accomplishments (32–7), and prayers for happiness (49–55). It thus demonstrates that a Hellenistic poet could choose to work up the epithalamium theme by using rhetorical topics of encomium: i.e. Theocritus is doing essentially what M. recommends. Cf. Introd., p. xxxiii and *PCPS* 205 (1979) 104 ff.

399. 12. γαμήλιος. Ammonius, *Diff. voc.* 114 Nickau makes a similar distinction: ἐπιθαλάμιον (-ος Ald.) μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ θαλάμῳ τῆς γαμουμένης γραφὲν ποίημα· ὁ δὲ γαμήλιος οὐ περιώρισται χρόνῳ, τάττοιτο δ᾽ ἂν καὶ κατὰ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐν γάμῳ διδομένης. Similar distinctions between ἐπικήδιον and θρῆνος (178 Nickau) are attributed to Tryphon and Aristocles of Rhodes.

399. 13. παστάδας. See Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 1207 (with Appendix), Gow on Theocr. 24. 46. παστάς in contexts not connected with marriage seems to mean 'verandah' or 'pillared corridor' (Xen. *Mem.* 3. 8, 9; Hdt. 2. 109). In wedding contexts παστάς (or παστάδες) is sometimes distinguished from θάλαμος (Antipater, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 245, δυσμοίρων θαλάμων ἐπὶ παστάσιν οὐχ ὑμέναιος, / ἀλλ᾽ Ἀίδης) and apparently signifies a part of the bridal chamber, perhaps a curtained recess or alcove containing the bed. Whatever the precise sense, the word is a prominent feature of the conventional language of wedding celebrations (cf. 400. 4).

399. 17. συντόνως . . . συγγραφικώτερον. See on 369. 4; 400. 7 ff.; 411. 27; 411. 32; 434. 7. The difference is primarily a stylistic one, in which the predominance or otherwise of syntactical periods is an important feature (cf. Soffel, 193), though choice of vocabulary and differences in dignity and seriousness of theme are also involved.

399. 18. συνέστραπται. 'Concentrated', 'compacted'. The term is often used in connection with the completeness and economy of rhetorical periodic writing. Cf. Demetrius 20, τῆς δὲ ῥητορικῆς περιόδου συνεστραμμένον τὸ εἶδος καὶ κυκλικόν, [Hermog.] *Inv.* 173. 13 Rabe (an antithesis may be either expressed in full with many cola or concentrated [συστρεφόμενον] to form a single period).

399. 19. πολιτικῶς. The contrast intended here is like that between the πολιτικὸς λόγος and the ἀφελὴς λόγος which is the basis of [Aristid.]

Ars 2. 459 and 512 Sp. M. has in mind the 'handling' (cf. μετεχειρί-
σαντο 399. 16) of the subject rather than thought and style. [Aristid.]
Ars 2. 513. 7 ff. Sp. is therefore relevant: ἡ δὲ διαφορὰ τῶν μεταχειρί-
σεων αὕτη ἐστίν. ἐν μὲν τῷ πολιτικῷ λόγῳ δεῖ φανερὰς εἶναι . . . ἐν δὲ
τῷ ἀφελεῖ . . . κεκρυμμέναι ἐνίοτε εἰσὶν αἱ ζητήσεις, καὶ οὐδὲ οἶδέ τις
τί βούλεται λέγειν ὁ λέγων. Explicit and self-justificatory prooemia
are thus naturally characteristic of the πολιτικὸς λόγος.

399. 19–20. τὰς ἀρετὰς. We retain the tradition (cf. [Aristid.] *Ars*
2. 459. 5 Sp., περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ ἀρετῶν ἐξ ὧν συνίσταται ὁ πολι-
τικὸς λόγος), but with some hesitation because ἀρεταί do not consort
well in a list with προοίμια. Consideration should be given to τά τε
ἄλλα.

399. 21. ⟨ἐν οἷς⟩ ἢ μέγεθος περιθήσεις. Text uncertain. What fol-
lows (down to 400. 28) is a detailed prescription for the prooemia
in both kinds of speech. mW's ἃ προσθήσει is attractive but entails a
change of αὔξων into (e.g.) αὔξεις δ' or αὔξοντα; on the other hand
ἢ . . . περιθήσεις . . . ἢ . . . ἐρεῖς makes a convincing sentence.

399. 23. ἐν αὐτοῖς. i.e. ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις.

399. 23 ff. The topic of a special connection between speaker and
bridegroom is used by Statius, *Silv.* 1. 2. 256 ff., near the end of an
epithalamium:

> Me certe non unus amor simplexque canendi
> causa trahit: tecum similes iunctaeque Camenae . . .

400. 2 ff. Cf. Demetrius 132–3 for χάρις of thought and word.
M.'s distinction here seems forced, but he may be thinking of myth
and narrative as a source of suitably pleasing ἔννοιαι: cf. Hermog.
De ideis 330 ff. Rabe (γλυκύτης).

400. 8. τοῦ δὲ ἀνέτου καὶ συγγραφικοῦ λόγου. (i) ἄνετος is used
in the same connection below (402. 24) as the opposite of σύντονος.
The 'monody' also is ἄνετος (437. 4) and relaxing digressions in the
course of formal encomia are ἀνέσεις (cf. 374. 6 ff.). Dionysius (e.g.
De Isocr. 13, *De Dem.* 13, 44, 46) uses the contrast ἐπίτασις/ἄνεσις,
i.e. increase/decrease in rhetorical force and tension. M.'s use is not
unlike this, and Soffel (193 ff.) is right in thinking that style, espe-
cially periodic structure, is the primary criterion (see on 399. 17).
(ii) Soffel also (l.c.) discusses the sense of συγγραφικός. For this 411.
28 ff. is especially important; but see also 434. 7. LSJ's 'more suited
to prose' is clearly wrong; so is Schmid's 'historisch' (*Der Atticismus*
iv. 8). There is no precise connection with the doctrine of Demetrius
19 ff. (and cf. Cic. *Orator* 62 ff.) of different types of period, historical,
rhetorical, and dialogical. The essential notion in all usages of
συγγραφικός etc. is naturally that of the written as opposed to the

spoken word. This contrast, however, can be seen in more than one way. In Pl. *Phaedo* 102 D 3, συγγραφικῶς is applied to a formal antithetical sentence, inappropriate to conversation. In M., the point is rather the absence of rhetorical urgency and tension and the admissibility of a more varied and discursive style. The use is common later: an exercise in Libanius (8. 267), entitled Ἐγκώμιον βοὸς συγγραφικῷ χαρακτῆρι, is marked by short sentences, fairly simple syntax, and a good deal of antithesis.

400. 9–11. ἧττον μὲν ἐγκατάσκευα ... τὰς αὐτάς. M.'s thought is difficult to represent clearly. Prooemia which are ἐγκατάσκευα would include articles of argument; it would be possible to do without these and yet write with περιβολή—roughly the same as αὔξησις, 'expansion', 'amplification' (cf. Hermog. *De ideis* 1. 11 with Hagedorn, 43 ff.)—but this again is not what is here required. That is rather the explicit, uncomplicated exposition of the basic ideas (for the sense of ἡπλωμένα, cf. 420. 6; schol. Soph. *Trach.* 678).

400. 14. νέος ὤν can hardly apply to the speaker; we transpose it to make it agree with Ἀπόλλων, but other positions in the sentence are possible. Dionysus and Ariadne are a standard *exemplum* for marriage; see esp. Xen. *Symp.* 9. 2 ff., Diod. 4. 61. 5 (ἔχειν αὐτὴν ὡς γυναῖκα γαμετήν), Catull. 64. 116 ff., with Kroll and Fordyce, Choricius, *Or.* 6. 12 (Foerster–Richtsteig). Place and circumstances of the wedding are variously recorded, and rhetors and poets had a wide choice: thus Himerius (*Or.* 9. 5 Colonna) makes Pan play loud on his pipes ὅτε τὴν Ἀριάδνην Διόνυσος ἐν Κρητικοῖς ἄντροις ἐνύμφευεν.

400. 15–19. λύραν ἔπληττε ... ἔπληττε λύραν. Cf. 390. 31; 443. 5; Him. *Or.* 9. 3 Colonna.

400. 15. Peleus and Thetis: for variations in the tradition see J. Bramble, *PCPS* 196 (1970), 22–41; R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 35 (1900), 73 ff. For the Muses at the wedding, note Sid. *Carm.* 10. 17: 'hic et Pipliadas induxerat optimus Orpheus / chordis voce manu carminibus calamis.'

400. 16. προσῆσαν. Anaphora of παρῆσαν would be more natural and effective; πρὸς ⟨δὲ παρ⟩ῆσαν could be considered.

400. 23. Megacles and Agariste: the primary source is Hdt. 6. 126–30. The story was much embellished later in books about luxury and pleasure: cf. Chamaeleon fr. 8 Wehrli (= Athen. 273 B). There seems to be no parallel for the expansion here, with its anachronistic inclusion of orators and prose-writers at the feast; but the story is an obvious school theme.

400. 28. Kroll's δεύτερον may well be right: 'the same thing has happened a second time.'

400. 30. πρόσφορα. Cf. 405 16: τὰ πρόσφορα in the κατευναστικός are ὅσα τῷ θαλάμῳ ἁρμόζει.

400. 32 ff. For θέσις about marriage, cf. esp. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 261. 13 ff. It was, as [Dion. Hal.] says, a common subject set for elementary θέσις writing (cf. e.g. Aphthonius, *Progymn.* 42 Rabe; Liban. *Progymn.* 13 (8. 550 ff.)). [Dion. Hal.] mentions, as important topics: (i) the divine origins of the institution; (ii) the natural need for marriage for the perpetuation of the species; (iii) advantages of marriage for one's reputation and for facing the trials of life; (iv) marriage as a primary society, from which households, villages, cities developed. M.'s suggestions are less heavily moralizing and he assigns a less important place to this material in the speech as a whole. See Appendix, p. 365.

401. 4. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. See B 17, B 27. Empedocles speaks of φιλότης, but the interpretation of this as Ἔρως is natural, and was doubtless common: cf. Plu. *Amat.* 756 D, *De facie* 927 A. M. has devised a variation on the common theme of the production of cosmos out of chaos by the separation of the elements (ἅπαντα διεκρίθη) and has coloured his account with language suggesting the traditional 'marriage of earth and heaven'. These themes have a long history: for the philosophical background, see W. Spoerri, *Spät-hellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter*, 1–117; poets also made much use of these ideas: e.g. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 496 ff., Virg. *Ecl.* 6. 35 f., Hor. *Odes* 1. 3. 21, Ovid, *Met.* 1. 21 ff.

401. 9–11. Note the curious double sense of στάσιν: 'conflict' in 9, 'position' in 11.

401. 12. ὑποβαίνων . . . ἐρεῖς. For the formula, cf. Hermog. *De invent.* 4. 10, 200. 6 Rabe.

401. 16 ff. Again a stock theme: Liban. *Or.* 5. 27, καὶ ἃ δὴ τὸν Γάμον ὑμνεῖν ἐν γάμοις εἰώθαμεν, ὡς ὄντα πατέρα ἀνθρώπων.

401. 22. The tradition has ὁρίζεται: our suggested πορίζεται seems closer than m's χαρίζεται ('gives as a favour').

401. 23. πλεῖται. See on 377. 13.

401. 25. καὶ νόμοι καὶ πολιτεῖαι. This point is stressed in [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 264. 4 ff. Cf. also Liban. *Progymn.* 13 (8. 554, 2 ff.): ποῖα δὲ βουλευτήρια; ποῖαι δὲ ἐκκλησίαι; ποῖαι δὲ στρατεῖαι κατὰ γῆν; . . . τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτὰς ὅλως πῶς οἷόν τε μένειν, ἂν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξέλῃ τις;

401. 28. Choricius, *Or.* 6 (5). 9: τὰ μὲν οὖν παίγνια τοῦ θεοῦ, δένδρα καὶ λίθους, ἐῶμεν καὶ τὰ πετόμενά τε καὶ νηχόμενα γένη.

401. 29. Alpheus and Arethusa: again an old and much-used theme (e.g. Ibycus fr. 42 *PMG*, Pind. *Nem.* 1. 1, Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F 41, Virg. *Ecl.* 10. 4, Ovid, *Met.* 5. 573–641, Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2.

203–8, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 362, Philostr. *Ep.* 47). Choricius l.c. understandably says: καὶ ποταμόν τινα πηγῆς ἐραστὴν ᾀδέτω σμικρολόγος ἀνήρ.

401. 31–2. We feel some doubt about the text here. Should κελαρύζων and ζέων be interchanged? ζέω can be used of passion, and the sense would be: 'seething with passion like an ardent bridegroom, goes bubbling through the sea to the isle of Sicily . . .'. Or is ζέων a gloss on κελαρύζων?

402. 7. περὶ δὲ δένδρων. Ach. Tat. 1. 17 (in a context deploying much of this kind of material) gives the grafting of a shoot of the female palm-tree on the male as his main illustration. For this, cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 9. 6, Nonnus 3. 142 f., G. Anderson, *Lucian: Theme and Variation*, 28. This is not in M., either here or at 408. 15. We should compare rather the intertwined branches of trees in the Beautiful Garden, Ach. Tat. 1. 15: ἔθαλλον οἱ κλάδοι, συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, αἱ γείτονες τῶν πετάλων περιπλοκαί, τῶν φύλλων περιβολαί, τῶν καρπῶν συμπλοκαί (the same passage has ivy winding round pines, smilax hanging from planes, vines supported on reeds). Cf. also the Garden of Venus in Claudian, *Nupt. Hon. Mar.* 65–8: 'vivunt in Venerem frondes, omnisque vicissim / felix arbor amat; nutant ad mutua palmae / foedera; populeo suspirat populus ictu, / et platani platanis alnoque adsibilat alnus.'

402. 10. ἔτι δὲ τούτου ἀνωτέρω. An afterthought, which should have come at 401. 14. The story of Poseidon and Tyro comes originally from *Od.* 11. 235 ff. (note 242 ἐν προχοῆς ποταμοῦ, whence M.'s προχοαῖς (13)). The daughter of Salmoneus fell in love with the river-god Enipeus, in whose shape Poseidon came to her and gave her the twins Pelias and Neleus. A notable use of the story in love-poetry is to be found in Prop. 1. 13. 21 ff. Cf. also Him. *Or.* 9. 11 (Colonna), Nonnus 1. 122 ff., Philostr. *Ep.* 47.

402. 11. δεύτερον. No need for δύο. For this idiom, see Radermacher, *NTGr.* 71. Cf. 409. 17.

402. 13–14. [ποταμὸς . . . Ἐνιπεύς] seems almost certainly a gloss, as Spengel took it.

402. 14. Europa: *Il.* 14. 321; Moschus, *Id.* 2 (with W. Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos* (1960), and *Europa: ein Ueberblick über die Zeugnisse des Mythos* (1968)); Hor. *Odes* 3. 27, etc. Io: Aesch. *Suppl.* 291 ff., *PV* 589 ff., Ovid, *Met.* 1. 583 ff., etc.

402. 17. Σαπφοῦς. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 270. 4 ff. refers to the ἐπιθαλάμιοι ᾠδαί of Sappho (*PLF* 104–17). Cf. Demetr. 132: νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφοῦς ποίησις, Chor. *Or.* 5. 19, ἐγὼ οὖν τὴν νύμφην, ἵνα σοι πάλιν χαρίσωμαι, Σαπφικῇ μελῳδίᾳ κοσμήσω, Him. *Or.* 9. 4, 9. 16, 28. 2 (Colonna).

402. 18. The reference to Homer is presumably to the story of

Ares and Aphrodite, the Deceiving of Zeus, and perhaps the portrayal of Nausicaa. For Hesiod, see Merkelbach–West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, 1 ff. (this passage is given as a testimonium, p. 2).

402. 22. τῶν γαμούντων. Distinct from τῶν νυμφίων, the bridal pair, who are discussed 403. 26 ff.; M. presumably means the persons (families) arranging the marriage: LSJ s.v. γαμέω II. 2. He proceeds accordingly to deal with ancestry and more recent family connections.

402. 26 ff. Two alternative procedures are suggested. The reader therefore expects ἢ γάρ in 26, to prepare for ἢ οὐ συνάψεις in 32. In the first method, we avoid a σύγκρισις, because this involves a relative order of value: cf. [Nic.] *Progymn.* p. 60. 5 Felten: σύγκρισίς ἐστι παράλληλος ἐξέτασις ἀγαθῶν ἢ φαύλων ἢ προσώπων ἢ πραγμάτων, δι' ἧς πειρώμεθα ἢ ἴσα ἀλλήλοις ἀμφότερα δεικνύναι τὰ προκείμενα, ἢ τὸ ἕτερον προέχον τοῦ ἑτέρου. We do, however, proceed κατ' ἀντεξέτασιν, i.e. taking the points of distinction of the two families in turn. (Cf. 404. 6–7 for ἀντεξέτασις not involving a direct comparison between the parties.) The difficulty with this procedure is said to be ἀσάφεια and αὐχμηρότης: the latter term (cf. 379. 12, μὴ αὐχμηρὰν καὶ ἄγονον παρασχέσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν) apparently means 'dryness' or 'barrenness', and J. F. Lockwood proposed instead ἀμαυρότης, 'obscurity', a closer relative of ἀσάφεια. The second method (32 ff.) is a straightforward pair of encomia, first of the bridegroom's family, then of the bride's.

403. 6. τοῦτο rather than ταύτην, because it is the professed purpose that needs to be thus defined, not the subject.

403. 12. φιλοτιμίας. Probably 'acts of generosity': cf. 411. 17; 413. 2; LSJ s.v. I. 4.

403. 20. σωφροσύνην, ἐπιείκειαν. These are virtues which may be manifested in fairly humble circumstances, and so are appropriate here. Word-order is odd, and it is tempting to think of transposition or omission; but if the phrase is a gloss, it is a sensible one.

403. 24. παρακλέψαντα τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον. i.e. 'having finished with the discussion of the families without anyone noticing it'. We know no close parallel, but Pm's παρακαλέσαντα is clearly wrong, and there are analogous uses of κλέπτειν: e.g. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 304. 3 U.–R.: κλέπτων τὸ δοκεῖν συναγορεύειν βασιλεῖ, 'getting rid of the impression of being on the King's side without anyone noticing'; ibid. 369. 15. Cf. also above, 372. 18 μηδὲ [sc. ἐᾶς] κλέπτεσθαι τῶν κεφαλαίων τὴν ζήτησιν.

403. 27. κατὰ συμπλοκὴν ἀντεξεταστικῶς. Cf. 404. 1, ἄνευ ἀντεξετάσεως, κατὰ συμπλοκὴν δέ. The examples make the meaning clear. The first method is that illustrated by 'wonderful is the young man, wonderful too the maid', the second by 'Who would not praise the

virtues of both?' The ἀντεξέτασις therefore consists in the separate statements made of each party, the συμπλοκή in the fact that (whether or not there are separate clauses) the two parties are considered together. Various rhetorical senses of συμπλοκή are given by Ernesti and LSJ: (i) combination of arguments (as at 339. 7); (ii) interweaving of topics, as often in Demosthenes; (iii) a figure in which the same word is placed at the beginning and end of a sentence. None of these seems to fit here.

403. 29. Since lyre-playing is a possible accomplishment for the girl (cf. e.g. Ovid, *Am.* 2. 4. 25, *AA* 3. 311), and the rest of the sentence consists of pairs of contrasting clauses, one has good reasons for thinking that M. may have written ⟨ἐκείνη δ'⟩ ἐν λύρᾳ, though the paradosis (which we retain and translate) makes adequate sense.

404. 4 ff. A third alternative is to develop separate ἔπαινοι for each of the two. This, however, is inadvisable with regard to beauty, where the method of ἀντεξέτασις is obligatory. Why? Perhaps (1) because male and female beauty have distinct qualities, so that the method of 404. 1 ff. would not work; (2) because it is important to avoid embarrassments (cf. 404. 11), and a separate encomium of each might well lead to these.

404. 7. Comparison of the beauty of bride or bridegroom to a handsome plant is traditional. Sappho (115 *PLF*) of the bridegroom: ὄρπακι βραδίνῳ σε μάλιστ' εἰκάσδω. In *Od.* 6. 162 ff., Odysseus compares his impression of Nausicaa with that made on him by the palmtree at the altar of Apollo at Delos. (Palm and olive or bay were the trees clasped by Leto in her labour: see Allen–Sikes on *Hom. hymn.* 3. 117.) For a rhetorical example, very much in M.'s tradition, see Greg. Nyss. *Cons. in Pulcheriam* p. 463. 2 ff. Spira: τὸν ὑψίκομον φοίνικα (= Theodosius) . . . τὴν εὐγενῆ κληματίδα (= Flaccilla) τὴν περιειλημμένην τῷ φοίνικι τὴν τὸ ἄνθος ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὠδίνασαν.

404. 8. Cf. Him. *Or.* 9. 16 Colonna: Σαπφοῦς ἦν ἄρα μήλῳ μὲν εἰκάσαι τὴν κόρην. Unusual perhaps to compare the bridegroom to a rose: contrast Philostr. *Ep.* 51, ἡ Σαπφὼ τοῦ ῥόδου ἐρᾷ καὶ στεφανοῖ ἀεί τινι ἐγκωμίῳ τὰς καλὰς τῶν παρθένων ἐκείνῳ ὁμοιοῦσα.

404. 9. Cf. 398. 16.

404. 11 ff. Avoidance of scandal is sometimes achieved by appropriate fiction: e.g. in Claudian, *Epith. Hon. et Mar.* 241 ff., Venus is represented as amazed at Maria's beauty. If M. is to be trusted as a witness to social history, the passage throws an interesting light on the degree of segregation of the sexes expected in his world: only a relative, it appears, can safely know what a girl looks like. This is nothing surprising in the eastern Mediterranean, in pre-Islamic times as well as later; and we suspect that M. is here accurately reflecting the

world he knew, rather than that of classical Athens (contrast his
'moral archaism' at 361. 10 ff).

404. 13. Bursian's supplement or something like it is necessary:
the speaker can plead either that, as a relative, he is bound to know
what the girl looks like, or that he has hearsay evidence.

404. 15–16. Nitsche objected, perhaps rightly, to the future in-
finitive ἐρεῖν, and so deleted it. This would avoid the need for Bursian's
supplement ⟨τὰ⟩ and make the sentence resemble more closely the
parallel passage, 403. 26.

404. 23. †συγκυρώσουσιν ἀναπνεῖν†. The verb συγκυροῦν is not
attested elsewhere, and its presumed sense ('ratify') does not seem
appropriate. Neither of the two main senses of ἀναπνεῖν—'recover'
or 'breathe forth'—is at all apt, and the construction of the dative
is obscure. No wholly satisfactory conjecture is to hand: Spengel
proposed συγκρούσουσιν or συγκροτήσουσιν ('put together'); συγ-
κεράσουσιν ('mix together') is also possible, but none of these helps
with the meaning of ἀναπνεῖν. However, Musonius p. 68. 16 Hense
has τῷ ὁμόζυγι συντείνειν τε καὶ συμπνεῖν, and this suggests something
like ἀναγκάσουσι συμπνεῖν 'will compel them to breathe as one . . .'
assuming an exchange of initial syllables between the words.

404. 26 ff. The prayer for children is of course a standard feature:
Catull. 61. 211 'et brevi liberos date.' Elaborate version in Sidon.
Carm. 11. 131, 15. 189 ff.

404. 29 ff. M. here returns to possibilities for the early part of the
speech (for θέσις, see 400. 29–402. 20). The suggestion of an *ekphrasis*
of the ever-young Gamos or Eros makes for a lighter tone than the
usual moralizing θέσις material. The picture of Gamos recalls Aga-
thon's Eros (Pl. *Symp.* 195 c), with the addition of Hymen's torch,
and eyes that drip desire; all highly conventional.

405. 2. The *ekphrasis* of Eros, suggested as an alternative, has much
in common with that of Gamos.

405. 8. ἠϊθέων. *Il.* 22. 127. For the wedding-feast cf. *Il.* 18. 491 ff.;
ibid. 605 (not a wedding but a dance) for the acrobats.

405. 14–412. 2. VII. *Kateunastikos* (Bedroom Speech)

Analysis

405. 15–24. Definition: this speech is an exhortation to inter-
course.

405. 24–8. Heracles is a useful *paradeigma*.

405. 28–406. 7. Encomium of the bride should concentrate on her
beauty; encourage the bridegroom, but beware of vulgarity.

406. 8–29. The exhortation: comparison with athletic com-
petitions; night the appropriate season.

406. 29–407. 4. Other topics to use: e.g. the guests.

407. 4–6. The bridal chamber.

407. 6–12. The beauty of the bride.

407. 12–17. The speaker has dreamed of good fortune.

407. 17–20. The bridegroom should pray to Eros, Hestia, and the Theoi Genethlioi.

407. 20–4. The speaker prays for the couple's happiness and for their children.

407. 24–9. Special topics to use if you are (a) a relative;

407. 29–408. 1. (b) a married man;

408. 1–6. (c) a stranger, young or old [see notes].

408. 6–8. 'Produce children.'

408. 8–26. The season of the marriage: spring, summer, autumn, or winter.

408. 27–30. 'Fulfil the prayers of your friends!'

408. 30–409. 8. Mythological parallels.

409. 8–14. Exhortation to the guests to dance and sing.

409. 14–22. This material cannot of course all be used on any one

occasion; and the order also will vary according to circumstances.

409. 22–9. There is in fact no traditional 'division'; but M. suggests the following.

409. 29–410. 9. (a) Short prooemium.

410. 9–18. (b) Exhortation to the young man.

410. 18–25. (c) Time: evening, night.

410. 25–30. (d) Exhortation based on difficulties of the courtship.

410. 30–411. 2. (e) Seasons.

411. 2–5. (f) Myths and histories.

411. 5–7. (g) Beauty of girl, bridal chamber, etc.

411. 7–9. (h) The gods of marriage.

411. 9–13. (i) A brief 'thesis': the gods instituted marriage for mankind.

411. 13–18. (j) Benefits of marriage.

411. 18–21. (k) Prayer for prosperity, harmony, and children.

411. 21–412. 2. Advice on how to maintain the requisite charm throughout the speech; simplicity of style; the *lalia* manner; useful models—Plato, Xenophon, Dio, Philostratus.

The chapter thus falls into two parts: (a) a somewhat chaotic list of topics (to 409. 22); (b) a suggested 'division', which does not cover precisely the same range of themes. M.'s prescriptions have an agreeable lightheartedness about them, all the more evident when we compare [Dion. Hal.]'s more serious *Epithalamios* (269. 19 ff. U.–R. = Appendix, p. 370). This admits a much more straightforward analysis:

269. 19–270. 15. Definition: useful material to be found in the poets.

270. 16–18. Necessity and advantages of marriage.

270. 18–271. 8. The persons concerned; general pleasure caused by the event.

271. 9–21. Exhortation to concord: 'thesis' on concord.

[Dion. Hal.] thus completely omits all the προτροπὴ πρὸς τὴν συμπλοκήν which is the key theme in M. The difference of taste is very marked. The omission of our chapter in PB is perhaps due to a feeling that it is somewhat unsuitable.

405. 15. Finckh's συντομώτατος is undoubtedly right: σύντονος is an epithet of the formal style (cf. the two types of epithalamium, 399. 12–16) and quite inappropriate here. Cf. Theon, *Progymn.* 83. 15 Sp., ἔστι γὰρ ἡ συντομία λόγος τὰ καιριώτατα τῶν πραγμάτων σημαίνων. Cf. also 411. 21, πειράσεις δὲ καὶ συντόμως ἅπαντα προαγαγεῖν.

405. 19 ff. For an extreme development of this kind of exhortation in poems, cf. Claudian's *Fescennini* for the marriage of Honorius and Maria (4. 5 ff.): 'ne cessa iuvenis comminus aggredi, / implacata licet saeviat unguibus / . . . tum victor madido prosilias toro / nocturni referens vulnera proelii.'

405. 24. M. doubtless thinks especially of the fifty daughters of Thespios, or of the story of Auge, the mother of Telephus.

406. 1 ff. Text and interpretation doubtful. παραινεῖν, if it has a personal object, takes it in the dative. Possibilities are:

(i) τὴν ἀλκὴν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην stands for τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλκῆς καὶ τῆς ῥώμης, i.e. the phrase is parallel to τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους (405. 31). We should then read δὲ in 406. 1, and understand the object of παραινοῦντες.

(ii) τὴν ἀλκὴν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην is a gloss on ταῦτα and to be deleted. Then read τῷ νεανίσκῳ and omit δὲ.

(iii) Insert ⟨ἐπαινοῦντες⟩ before παραινοῦντες to justify the accusative.

We have translated (i).

406. 8–24. These topics are an adaptation of what could be said by way of exhortation to athletes: [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 283 ff. has a chapter on προτρεπτικὸς ἀθληταῖς, which should be compared.

406. 13. μὴ ἐν φαύλῳ . . . ποιήσῃ. A reproach as to a laggard bridegroom is traditional: e.g. Sappho 110(b) *PLF* (= Demetrius 167); Theocr. 17. 9 ff.; Nonnus 3. 103 ff. (the crow reproves Cadmus: τί νύμφιε νωθρὸς ὁδεύεις;).

406. 18. Bursian's correction ('rites performed') is confirmed by 424. 10 and 425. 11.

406. 22. Bursian's νόμισον regularizes the syntax: νομίσας may

have arisen under the impression that ἴθι was its main verb; this is not so, since ἴθι κτλ. is the imagined ἐπιφώνησις of Hymenaeus.

406. 26. ὕπαιθρος. 'Clear'; but the word usually means 'in the open air' and the sense required here is known to be borne by δίαιθρος (Plu. *Sulla* 7, ἐξ ἀνεφέλου καὶ διαίθρου τοῦ περιέχοντος). Some doubt therefore attaches to the text.

406. 27. καταυγάζει τὸ φαινόμενον. Cf. 371. 16, καταλάμπων τὸ φαινόμενον. For καταυγάζει, cf. Strabo 2. 5. 42, ὁ ἥλιος ... καταυγάζει τὸν ... ἀέρα; Him. *Or.* 12. 35 (Colonna), τὸν ... καταυγάζειν μέλλοντα τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἥλιον, ibid. 37, ἀστέρος ... τὴν ἀναγωγὴν καταυγάζοντος; Heliod. 6. 14, τῆς σεληναίας ... φωτὶ λαμπρῷ τὰ πάντα καταυγαζούσης.

407. 9. Likeness of children to parents; cf. below, 23. Another conventional topic: e.g. Hes. *WD* 232, Catull. 61. 221, Hor. *Odes* 4. 5. 23, Ovid, *Tristia* 4. 5. 31.

407. 9–12. M. combines Hes. *WD* 374 (αἱμύλα κωτίλλουσα) with *Il.* 14. 215 ff., the description of the κεστός: ἔνθα τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο· ἔνθ᾽ ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ᾽ ἵμερος, ἐν δ᾽ ὀαριστὺς πάρφασις, ἥ τ᾽ ἔκλεψε νόον.

407. 12–14. [προτρέψῃ ... κάλλους]. This is a clumsy repetition of what has been said above, 407. 6 ff.

407. 14. It seems odd that the speaker should prophesy that the couple will have a vision; one expects him to have had one himself, and we should perhaps read εἶδον, 'I have seen.'

407. 15. Cf. Him. *Or.* 47. 17 Colonna: χρηστὰ δ᾽ ἐπαγγέλλῃ συμβόλοις αἰσίοις τὰ μέλλοντα.

407. 19. γενεθλίοις. Here gods of birth, naturally associated with Eros and the household divinity Hestia: cf. Him. *Or.* 9. 21 Colonna: στὰς δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν θάλαμον Τύχῃ καὶ Ἔρωτι καὶ Γενεθλίοις προσεύξομαι· τῷ μὲν τοξεύειν εἰς τέλος, τῇ δὲ διδόναι βίον, τοῖς δὲ παίδων γνησίων γένεσιν.

407. 22. †ἑστίαν†. Undoubtedly corrupt, perhaps suggested by Ἑστίᾳ (19). mW's ἀστασίαν 'inconstancy' gives the reverse of the sense needed: εὐεστώ 'prosperity', εὐαρεστίαν 'satisfaction', εὐστάθειαν 'stability', are all possibilities, but none imposes itself.

408. 2–5. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ νέος πρὸς νέον ... ἐὰν δὲ προεληλυθὼς τὴν ἡλικίαν. The syntax strictly implies that M. is considering the problems posed by different ages of speaker. In this case, the older speaker should not 'rouse the suspicion that he is feeble'. But this seems pointless, and one expects two exhortations to the bridegroom: ἄλκιμος ἔσσ᾽ ἵνα ... (= *Od.* 1. 302) is one, and μὴ δοῦναι κτλ. is then the other. We conclude that προεληλυθὼς τὴν ἡλικίαν applies to the bridegroom, and μὴ δοῦναι κτλ. is what is said to him (see Radermacher, *NTGr.* 180 for the construction, and note infin. δοῦναι in

imperatival sense, *IG* XIV. 2333). M. is then not quite logical; perhaps he assumes that an older bridegroom is likely to have an older friend to make the speech. The deletion of πρὸς νέον would cut the knot, as there would then be no doubt that νέος and προεληλυ-θὼς τὴν ἡλικίαν referred to the bridegroom.

408. 9 ff. Descriptions of seasons (9–16 spring; 16–19 autumn; 19–24 winter; 24–6 summer) naturally contain many traditional elements. The ἔαρος ἔκφρασις was particularly well worn: see Nisbet–Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* 1. 4, Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 335 (360), with (e.g.) Procop. *Ep.* 8. 69, Him. *Or.* 47. 3 (Colonna), Nonnus, *Dion.* 3. 1 ff., and the ἐκφράσεις in the collections of *Pro-gymnasmata* (Hermogenes, Aphthonius, Libanius (8. 479), Theon, Nicolaus). For the adaptation of a season-description to a wedding, cf. Choricius, *Or.* 6. 47 Foerster–Richtsteig: ἐγὼ καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους φαιδρύνειν οἶμαι τὰ δρώμενα. ὅ τε χειμέριος ἀχλὺς ἐκποδὼν εὐπρόσωπός τε θάλλουσα δένδροις ἡ γῆ, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχει ἰχθῦς . . . νῦν ἄλυποί τε καὶ προσηνεῖς πνέουσιν αὖραι, τοῦ μὲν ἔαρος λείψανον, τοῦ δὲ θέρους προοίμιον. Cf. also [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 258. 1 ff. U.–R. (= Appendix, p. 364) for the use of the characteristics of the seasons to commend a festival.

408. 10. καταμουσίζουσαι. 'Charming them with their music'. No other example in LSJ, but mW's καταμουσοῦσαι 'embellishing' (cf. Jul. *ep.* 10) gives the wrong sense.

408. 15. ἵνα . . . γάμος. Presumably 'so that this becomes their marriage rite'. The force of the ἵνα-clause may be consecutive, rather than final, as often in late Greek.

408. 16 ff. In his suggested description of autumn, M. uses the traditional notion of the marriage of heaven and earth, and the motherhood of earth, made fertile by the rain. M. and his pupils would be well acquainted with such classical texts as Aesch. fr. 44 N (*Danaides*), Eur. fr. 839 N (*Chrysippus*), both of which are standard anthology pieces. Cf. also Lucr. 1. 250 ff.

408. 19 ff. Cf. Donne, *Epithalamium made at Lincoln's Inn*, 49: 'Oh winter days bring much delight, / not for themselves, but for they soon bring night.'

408. 21. πάντα. Acc. sing. masc. or neut. plural? Kroll's πάντας may well be right.

408. 22. Kroll's πείθει seems preferable to Bursian's ἐπείγει.

408. 24 ff. τοῖς ὡραίοις (as Nitsche saw) lacks a noun parallel to λήϊα and ἡμερίδες; we need a word meaning 'fruit-trees', and we suggest ἀκρόδρυα; Nitsche has κῆποι, 'gardens'.

408. 26. γεωργία πᾶσα. Sc. κατάκομος, in the sense that all cultivated plants are in leaf.

408. 31. †νεανίας†. Given δένδρων ἔρωτας (cf. 402. 7) we expect something like a reference to the Arethusa story: νυμφῶν is possible, and we translate accordingly.

409. 1. Dionysus and love: cf. e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 773–4, οἴνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις, and see Pease on Cic. *ND* 2. 61, where Cic. quotes Ter. *Eun.* 732: 'sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus.' Pease's ample collection of parallels does not include our passage.

409. 4. A unique variant of the legend, Aegina being in fact the mother of Aeacus by Zeus. Presumably a mistake, and, if so, evidence of the shakiness of M.'s learning (cf. 366. 26 n.).

409. 6. Telemachus and Polycaste: Hesiod fr. 221 M.–W. Hadrian was informed by the Pythia that Homer was the son of this couple: *Anth. Pal.* 14. 102.

409. 18 ff. ἡ θεωρία—namely, the continuous theoretical discussion which has been given—will show you the whole range of topics, of which you will only be able to use a few on any given occasion.

409. 19. πολλάκις. It is tempting but not necessary to read πολλάκις τὰ ῥηθέντα. This would make M. advise 'frequently changing the order of the points listed', rather than 'changing the order of points frequently made'.

409. 23. εἰρημένην. The division is, in fact, to follow (27 ff.). The use of the perfect participle is thus unexpected, and we should consider emending to ῥηθησομένην. But the scholastic language of this passage (from 409. 14) has a number of strange features, which it is perhaps more prudent to leave untouched.

409. 25. μηδένα ὁμότεχνον. We accept Bursian's correction; the phrase διὰ τὸ . . . ὁρίζειν then applies to ἡμεῖς . . . ἐπινενοήκαμεν, not to the intervening clause. M.'s claim to originality is typical of rhetors (cf. [Longin.] 17. 1) and need have no basis in fact. However, the passage perhaps lends some support to our view (cf. Introd., p. xxviii) that rules for these varieties of epideictic speech were comparatively recent development in M.'s time.

410. 11. p has τὰς ἀρετὰς, and ἤδειν after χρόνῳ. Anaphora of ἤδειν is acceptable, and it would make sense if the word is placed after δεύτερον. mW omit this ἤδειν, and have ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. We accept p's fuller version, as being more appropriate in a rather elaborate piece of 'fair copy'.

410. 17. καὶ ἕκοντα καὶ ἄκοντα. The reluctant bridegroom again: cf. 406. 8.

παραπέμπειν. Cf. Lucian, *D. Mar.* 5. 1, Peleus and Thetis ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παραπεμφθέντες.

410. 27. τῆς μνηστείας. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 31 ff. ('et duras pariter reminiscere noctes').

410. 28–9. It is difficult to believe that the speaker identifies himself with the couple so closely as to speak of *'our* success' (ἡμῖν κατωρθώθη); we therefore propose ὑμῖν, with deletion of ἡμῖν in 29.

410. 32. προείρηται. At 408. 8 ff.

[ἀπὸ . . . ἤδη]. This clause duplicates the sense; we think Nitsche was right to omit it, as also the gloss [ἔαρος . . . θέρους] (31–2).

411. 10. θέσιν βραχεῖαν. See on 400. 32 ff.

411. 15. οἴκου καὶ περιουσίας. The intrusive καὶ before οἴκου in p spoils the sense. The thought is that of *Od.* 6. 182–3 (quoted by [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 271. 18): ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή. περιουσίας (cf. 427. 5) seems to be used in the sense of οὐσίας, 'property': cf. Joh. Lydus, *De magistratibus* 2. 27, ἐκ προγόνων περιουσίας; Lampe s.v. 3.

411. 17. The generous services are to be conferred on the city: cf. 413. 2. Neither branch of the tradition is right; we take it that both have corrupted an original πατρίδι, correctly conjectured by Finckh.

411. 21 ff. χάρις and ὥρα are thus secured (a) by the narrative element, (b) by stylistic simplicity reflecting the ἦθος of the speaker, (c) by a certain kind of elaboration in diction, as in Plato, Xenophon, etc.

411. 26–9. See on 369. 4; 399. 17; 400. 7 ff. Cf. also 414. 29. It is clear that M. here advocates lack of connection between sentences and absence of periodic structure; we note also that the λαλιά (see on 388. 17 ff.) is associated with the term συγγραφικός. For other ancient views on asyndeton, see Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 1414ᵇ19, [Longin.] 19, Demetrius 194, Hermog. μεθ. δειν. 426 Rabe, *Ad Herennium* 4. 30. 41, Quint. 9. 3. 50.

411. 29. M. turns from sentence-structure to diction as a means of achieving the required type of style.

411. 31 ff. Cf. 390. 1 ff. and [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 266. 13 ff.: λέξει δὲ χρηστέον ἀφελεῖ μᾶλλον ἐγγὺς Ξενοφῶντός τε καὶ Νικοστράτου βαίνοντα. M. however seems here to make a distinction between the simplicity derived from the ἦθος τοῦ λέγοντος (411. 26) and the sophisticated style to be acquired from the models. The 'other sophists' must at least include Nicostratus (see on 390. 1).

412. 3–413. 4. VIII. *Genethliakos* (Birthday Speech)

Analysis

    412. 4–5. The prooemium.

    412. 5–12. Praise of the day.

    412. 12–19. Encomium of the person, following usual divisions,

with comparison under each head, and general comparison at the end.

412. 19–22. Praise of the day again.

412. 23–413. 4. A special case: the birthday of a young man.
This chapter, very short by comparison with the preceding one, is clearly incomplete. We have a somewhat fuller prescription in [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 266. 19 ff. (= Appendix, p. 368), where this speech also follows a wedding speech. He deals (a) with the 'praise of the day' (226. 19–267. 14); (b) with seasons and festivals, as appropriate (267. 15–268. 3); (c) with the birthplace (268. 4–15); (d) with the personal encomium based on the scheme of 'past, present, and future' (268. 16–269. 11); and finally (e) with the closing prayer for future happiness.

For birthday celebrations in general, see W. Schmidt in *RE* 7. 1144 ff.; for rhetorical and other literary material, Burgess, 142 ff., Cairns, 283. Note Aristid. *Or.* 30 (*Genethliakos* to Apellas), Him. *Or.* 44 Colonna (not at all like M.'s prescription) and, among Latin poets, Stat. *Silv.* 2. 7 (*Genethliacon Lucani*, combining funeral with birthday topics in an anniversary commemoration), *Silv.* 2. 3 and 4 (both with some birthday themes), and Ausonius, *Parentalia* 13 (*Geneth. ad Nepotem*).

412. 5–12. This topic is handled more elaborately by [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 266–7, who has much on lucky days (those sacred to various divinities).

412. 9. ἐν πανηγύρει. So [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 268. 1, ἐν Διονυσίοις ἢ ἐν μυστηρίοις ἢ ἐν πανηγύρεσίν τισιν.

412. 10. Seasons: so also [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 267. 15 ff. with the point that a winter birth signifies courage!

412. 16–19. Cf. 372. 14 ff., 377. 2 ff. (*Basilikos*); 386. 10 ff. (*Epibatērios*); 417. 5 ff. (*Prosphōnētikos*). The insistence on order makes it clear that the *Genethliakos* is a more formal and public speech than the wedding speeches with which it is associated both in M. and in [Dion. Hal.]. Birthdays of emperors and governors were naturally occasions of public celebration.

412. 22–3. πρότερον . . . ἐρεῖς. As it stands, this contradicts μετὰ ταῦτα just above. Bursian's περὶ πρεσβυτέρου ('concerning an older man') for πρότερον is ingenious; it is only the older man who has πράξεις to his credit, and so can be the subject of a full encomium (cf. 379. 10 ff.). But perhaps the whole sentence should be deleted.

412. 30. [τοῦ νέου] has no construction; we delete as a gloss or relic of a variant form of the following clause (e.g. τοῦ νέου γὰρ οὐδέπω πράξεις εἰσίν).

413. 5–414. 30. IX. *Paramuthētikos* (Consolation)

Analysis

413. 6–15. This speech is based on the same material as the *monōdia*.

413. 15–22. But, after the first section of lamentation, it proceeds to concentrate on consolatory topics. Thus:

413. 23–414. 2. 'Better die than live': example of Cleobis and Biton.

414. 2–6. Inevitability of death.

414. 6–8. Cities and nations perish.

414. 8–12. Death is a relief.

414. 12–16. If life is a gain, he has had it enough; if a misfortune, he has escaped it.

414. 16–27. Perhaps he is in Elysium, or with the gods.

414. 28–30. Appropriate length and style.

This prescription presupposes the *monōdia* (Introd., p. xlv). It is indeed difficult to separate M.'s *paramuthētikos, epitaphios* (418. 6 ff.), and *monōdia* (434. 10 ff.) clearly, for they use much the same material and draw on the same tradition. Broadly speaking, however, M. seems to think of one of the three elements of the classical *epitaphios* as predominant in each of his three types: consolation in this chapter, praise of the dead in the *epitaphios*, lament in the monody. We may compare the distinction in content between *epithalamios* and *kateunastikos*. [Dion. Hal.] gives one type only, which he calls *epitaphios*: see on 418. 6 ff.

The standard modern treatment of 'consolations' is R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur gr. und röm. Konsolationsliteratur* (1958). This traces both the philosophical and the rhetorical tradition and contains a valuable collection of material in the form of notes on ps.-Plut. *Consolatio ad Apollonium*. Much material (as on all forms of 'death' speeches) in Soffel, 6–89, and full bibliography, ibid. 277 ff. We confine ourselves to illustrating M.

413. 6. Παραμυθητικὸν δὲ ὁ λέγων. The form of the sentence, as well as the explicit reference in 413. 9, shows that this chapter follows that on monody.

413. 10–11. We delete [γένους . . . πράξεων] as a (correct) gloss on τῶν ἐγκωμιαστικῶν. The connection of thought appears to be: (a) the *paramuthētikos* uses the material of monody; (b) monody is made up of encomiastic elements (cf. 434. 21 ff.); (c) but it will not keep the usual order of encomia because of the intense emotion, but use instead the 'past, present, future' scheme (cf. 435. 16 ff.). In all this, the procedures of 'consolation' and 'monody' coincide. Bursian's

deletion of χρὴ δὲ . . . πράξεων (9–11) produces a more difficult connection: (a) the *paramuthētikos* uses the material of monody; (b) but (μὴν) it will not maintain the 'encomiastic' order. This seems to leave out a step necessary for the intelligibility of the whole.

413. 14. Cf. 435. 16.

413. 25. Eur. fr. 449 N. Kassel (op. cit. 76) discusses the use of this hackneyed passage, referring specially to [Pl.] *Axiochus* 368 A. Note the connection with Herod. 5. 4 (story of the Trausoi).

413. 31. παρῳδήσεις. Here of adaptation and allusion, not involving any element of burlesque; cf. Hermog. μεθ. δειν. 30 (447 R.): verse quotations may be incorporated either κατὰ κόλλησιν 'by sticking them on'—i.e. quoting them entire and unchanged—or κατὰ παρῳδίαν (i.e. with a part of the passage in the original form, but the rest in a prose version adapted to the syntax of the context).

414. 1. Cleobis and Biton: Hdt. 1. 31, Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 113, *Axiochus* 367 C, [Plu.] *cons. Apoll.* 14, Choricius, *Or.* 8. 40.

414. 4–5. πέρας . . . θάνατος. From Dem. *Or.* 18. 97.

414. 7. πόλεις ἀπόλλυνται. Kassel 101 n. 1 for this *topos*; and note esp. Serv. Sulpicius ap. Cic. *Ad fam.* 4. 5.

414. 10. ἀδίκου is needed with τύχης, but ἀδίκων with πραγμάτων is meaningless. Cf. Pl. *Apol.* 41 D, τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων (cited with other examples by Soffel, who, however, does not draw the conclusion that ἀδίκων must go).

414. 15. We take πίπτειν as 'to die' and τύχη of good fortune. 'In this world, it is lucky to fall.' The words τύχης . . . ἐνθάδε may be part of an iambic line.

414. 16. p's μιαρά is much less apt than ἀνιαρά. Cf. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 282. 14 U.–R.: ἀλγεινὰ τοῦ βίου.

414. 16 ff. The idea of the dead man in heaven, with the heroes of old, is a traditional one: M. has it again 421. 16 ff., [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* has it at 283. 9 U.–R. Classical instances include Pl. *Apol.* 41 A–C, Hyper. *Epitaph.* 35 ff., Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3. 22 ff. See in general A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* iii. 137 ff. Note Him. *Or.* 8. 23 Colonna (of his son Rufinus): κἂν εἶτα [ἐς τὰ Reiske] μάλιστα ἄνω που μετὰ θεῶν ἀθύρων καὶ ἐκεῖ κατοπτεύοις τὰ σύμπαντα . . . εἰκὸς . . . μετὰ θεῶν πολιτεύεσθαι.

414. 20. περιπολεῖ. From Pl. *Phaedr.* 264 B, ψυχὴ πᾶσα παντὸς ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀψύχου, πάντα δὲ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖ.

414. 21. μέμφεται τοῖς θρηνοῦσιν. Kassel 98, Sen. *Cons. ad Polyb.* 5. 1: 'nulli minus gratum esse dolorem tuum quam ei cui praestari videtur'; Liban. *Or.* 18. 296 (of Julian): νῦν αὐτὸν ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ἐν τῷ θρήνῳ μερίδα τοῦ λόγου μέμψασθαι.

συγγενὴς γὰρ οὖσα τοῦ θείου. A basically Platonic theme: *Phaedo*

81 A, [Pl.] *Axiochus* 366 A, etc. But see also Virg. *Aen.* 6. 730, 'igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo / seminibus', with Norden's notes and R. G. Austin, *Virgil, Aeneid VI* (1977), 220 f.

414. 23. In Euripides' *Orestes* (1633 ff.), Apollo snatches Helen away when Orestes tries to kill her, and makes her immortal. As a goddess, she had sanctuaries in various places, the most famous at Sparta. Other variants of the legend make her live on in the Isles of Blest, with Achilles or with Menelaus (Lucian, *Vera Historia* 2. 8).

414. 25–7. M. proceeds a further step: not only is the deceased 'with the gods', he is a hero or even god himself, to be placated as a daimon. We should not seek here evidence for precise belief—ἥρως, θεός, and δαίμων are undifferentiated and seem quite vague—but it is worth noting (with Soffel) that orators of the imperial age tend not to speak of the dead as θεοί, except for emperors. Themist. *Or.* 20. 3 makes an exception of his father. The term μακαρίσωμεν is appropriate both to gods and to the blessed dead: R. Lattimore (*Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, 51 ff.) observes that the use of this and kindred words in epitaphs implies a vague idea that survival in paradise means the same as being deified. See also Festugière, op. cit. iii. 140 (with references) and in general F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, 581 ff. ('Heroisierung und Apotheose').

414. 26–7. εἰκόνας (here painted pictures, it would seem) are a normal honour to the living as well as to the dead (cf. 417. 30). M. seems to have added a detail which is inept in this context.

414. 27–30. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 283. 16 ff. recommends συνεστραμ-μένη λέξις in the argumentative parts, Platonic elevation in the 'grand' parts. M. is less specific, and (once again) conceives his task somewhat more modestly.

414. 27. Themist. *Or.* 20 θεωρία: φιλεῖ . . . ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μὴ δέχεσθαι μῆκος ἡ τοιάδε ἐπαγόρευσις.

414. 29–30. See on 369. 4; 399. 17; 400. 7 ff.; 411. 26–9.

414. 31–418. 4. X. *Prosphōnētikos* (Speech of Address)

Analysis

414. 32–415. 5. Definition: this speech is not a full-scale encomium of the ruler, but is based primarily on his actions.

415. 5–23. A proposed division: prooemium, brief praise of emperor, praise of the ruler himself, as far as possible on the ground of his actions, but with a mention of family also.

415. 24–417. 4. Division of 'actions'.

415. 24–416. 4. (a) Wisdom: legal experience, foresight, capacity

for business and appreciation of orators. Exempla: Demosthenes, Nestor.

416. 5–17. (b) Justice: clemency, gentleness, accessibility, impartiality. Exempla: Aristides, Phocion, famous Romans.

416. 17–23. (c) Temperance: self-control in pleasure and laughter. Exempla: Diomedes, Hippolytus.

416. 23–417. 4. (d) Courage: shown in behaviour towards emperors, and in standing up for his subjects. Exempla: Ajax, Pericles, Alcibiades.

417. 5–17. Comparisons, general and particular.

417. 18–23. Praise of the city.

417. 23–418. 4. Epilogue. The city's welcome.

This chapter evidently precedes the ἐπιβατήριος: cf. 382. 1 and 7. Bursian regarded it as the first chapter of the whole work. It gives detailed and unsurprising advice for one of the commonest forms of formal speech. [Dion. Hal.] gives a similar μέθοδος προσφωνηματικῶν (272–7 U.-R. = Appendix, p. 371), which may be analysed as follows: (a) 272. 1–273. 6: usefulness of this universal practice of address; (b) 273. 7–15: say something about your own qualifications; (c) 273. 15–22: be courteous to the governor; (d) 273. 23–274. 6: encomium of emperor; (e) 274. 7–275. 18: encomium of governor; (f) 275. 19–276. 9: praise of city: (g) 276. 10–15: exhort governor to be generous; (h) 276. 15–22: further mention of the speaker himself. [Dion. Hal.] concludes (276. 23–277. 2) with advice on appropriate style. The main difference between his prescription and M.'s is thus his stress on the speaker's personal position; the difference in terminology (προσφωνητικός, προσφωνηματικός) is insignificant: manuscripts of Liban. *Or.* 13 (to Julian) vary between the two forms for the title of this speech.

Complimentary addresses to rulers and important personages are naturally commonplace, especially in Hellenistic and Roman times. The practice is well illustrated by a famous anecdote. M. Cato at Antioch (64 BC) encountered a reception party at the gates, garlanded and in their best clothes. It annoyed him that his attendants had not prevented this τιμή καὶ δεξίωσις, but he took it with a good grace—only to find that the show was intended for an influential slave of Pompey called Demetrius (Plu. *Cato* 13, *Pomp.* 40, Julian, *Misopogon* 29, 358a ff.). The practice was universal and no doubt often ridiculous. The literary examples preserved are naturally special cases (e.g. Aristid. *Or.* 21 (Keil), to Commodus; Liban. *Or.* 13 to Julian).

Cairns (18 ff.) uses the term *prosphōnētikos* for a 'genre' (in his sense) of welcoming address which embraces, e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 855–974,

Theocr. 12, Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2, 127–43, Juvenal 12. Of course, the situation reflected in M.'s *prosphōnētikos* and *epibatērios* is of the same general type (a welcome after a journey) as those depicted in these various poems. But there is little in the present chapter of M. (and not much in the chapter on the *epibatērios*) which is of use for the interpretation of poets.

415. 2. i.e. a full encomium would involve origin, birth, education, as well as actions (cf. the *Basilikos*, 369. 17 ff.). The restriction seems arbitrary: contrast [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 274. 8 ff., who allows the whole range of ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ τόποι. Cf. 416. 32 ff.: the *prosphōnētikos* is a sort of miniature model of an encomium, in which many topics are not worked out.

415. 5 ff. Cf. 375. 10 ff.

415. 9. βασιλέων. Here and at 416. 24 the tradition varies between singular and plural: at 415. 11 and 13 we have only the plural. It looks as if we may safely infer that this passage was written during a plural reign. (Cf. 368. 19; 378. 32; Introd., p. xxxix.)

415. 15. καί. The preceding words οἷον . . . γένους are an extract of the proposed speech. M. now continues his advice. The reading of the manuscripts ὄν gives too close a connection: we propose καί.

415. 24 ff. Cardinal virtues: cf. 361. 10 ff.

415. 29. ἀντιγράφειν. See F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 216 ff., 313 ff., for correspondence between emperor and governor. The emperor more often answered points raised by the governor than initiated correspondence; but letters to the governor were also the natural vehicle for the communication of decrees.

416. 1. The examples do not seem to tally very well with the points just made; but a mention of Demosthenes is perhaps appropriate in connection with the governor's παίδευσις (415. 27), and one of Nestor in connection with his wisdom in counsel (415. 28); he is also to be commended for his legal knowledge (26), hence the 'lawgivers'.

416. 10. πόλεις ἐγείρειν. Cf. Pl. *Laws* 809 D, θυσίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ . . . ζῶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐγρηγορυῖαν παρεχόμεναι. The governor 'stimulates' cities by benefaction, encouragement of building and festivals, etc.

416. 12. Plutarch's parallels to Phocion and Aristides are the two Catos.

416. 15. δυσπρόσοδος. Undoubtedly the expected word (cf. Xen. *Ages.* 9. 2, ὁ μὲν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος εἶναι ἐσεμνύνετο, ὁ δὲ τῷ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος εἶναι ἔχαιρε) and conventional in imperial panegyrics. (Plin. *Pan.* 48, Themist. *Or.* 15. 190 c.)

416. 15. δωροδέκτης. This form is found in biblical Greek, δωρο-δόκος being apparently the more classical form.

416. 19. τὴν περὶ γέλωτα ἐγκράτειαν. It is traditional philo-sophical ethics that excessive laughter is undignified and undesirable: Aristot. *EN* 1128ᵃ4, *EE* 1234ᵃ9, Epictetus, *Enchiridion* 33. 4, and esp. Simplicius ad loc. (= p. 113 Dübner): laughter is necessary sometimes, but not often, and it is better to smile than to laugh outright.

416. 20. Diomedes is praised for his modesty (Plu. *Aud. poet.* 29 A), and his action against Aphrodite is judged in M.'s way by schol. Ven. A on *Il.* 5. 131 : ἡ πρακτικὴ φρόνησις καὶ καταφρονεῖν τὸν Διομήδη ἡδονῶν παρασκευάζει. (Observations of this kind help to explain the existence of the moralizing element in the so-called exegetic scholia on the *Iliad*.) Somewhat different is the allegory in Heraclit. *Quaest. Hom.* 29, where Aphrodite = ἀφροσύνη, 'folly', i.e. the foolish be-haviour of the Trojans.

416. 32. We take χρήσῃ as future. It is not part of the ἵνα clause, and we therefore punctuate after πανταχόθεν.

417. 2. We hesitantly add ⟨ἐν⟩. The point is that the speaker is not to 'dwell upon' any of the encomiastic topics as he would in a complete encomium.

417. 11. *Il.* 22. 158.

417. 21–3. Cf. 348. 1 ; 351. 20 ff. These are regular topics of 'praise of cities'.

417. 22. ἀέρων. See on 383. 13.

417. 24. τοῦτο τὸ ξίφος. What sword is this? ξίφος can apparently sometimes stand for the *ius gladii*: Philostr. *VA* 4. 42, Τιγελλῖνος ὑφ' ᾧ τὸ ξίφος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος. But ἀναθῶμεν suggests that M. envisages an actual sword.

417. 25. Note that Deimos and Phobos are here children of Ares (it is very unlikely that M. uses παισὶν in the classical sense 'slaves'), but they are usually his attendants, as at 341. 13.

417. 27. For these (late) forms of the imperative, cf. Blass–Debrun-ner, § 84.

417. 29. χρόνους . . . πλείονας. 'Further years' in office; a not uncommon meaning in late Greek ; see Arndt–Gingrich, s.v. χρόνος p. 896 b.

417. 30. The tradition of allegorical paintings of this nature goes back to classical and Hellenistic times; famous examples were dis-played in the triumphs of Aemilius Paullus (168 BC) and M. Fulvius Nobilior (187 BC).

418. 1–2. The construction of τῷ πίνακι is not clear, and Nitsche's ⟨ἐν⟩ may well be right.

Analysis

418. 6–419. 10. Introduction. Athenian *epitaphioi* were delivered over the war-dead. In later imitations (as those of Aristides) the lapse of time between the present and the historical events recorded makes the elements of dirge and consolation pointless, there remains only encomium: contrast Thucydides. The time elapsed since the death is an important consideration.

419. 11–422. 4. Scheme for the 'emotional' *epitaphios* on an individual lately dead. The emotion should be combined with each of the usual encomiastic sections:

419. 16–24. Family.

419. 24–420. 4. Birth.

420. 4–9. The 'dirge' element should be present throughout and the style simple.

420. 9–12. All encomiastic topics should be used.

420. 12–14. Nature—beauty and mental qualities.

420. 14–24. This should be supported by treatment of nurture, education, and accomplishments.

420. 24–7. Actions.

420. 27–31. Fortune.

420. 31–421. 10. Comparisons (but we must not rule out making separate comparisons under the other headings).

421. 10–14. 'Dirge'.

421. 14–24. Consolation topics.

421. 25–32. Advice to children and wife.

421. 32–422. 2. Praise of family for not neglecting funeral.

422. 2–4. Closing prayer for the family.

This speech is to be compared with the *paramuthētikos* and the *monōdia*. It is the most elaborate of the three, and consists for the most part of an adaptation of the regular encomium topics. It is an exercise in a long tradition, which combines classical models of various kinds; M.'s introduction makes this clear. Cf. in general Soffel; Martin, 192–4; Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 550 ff.; Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide*, 317 ff. The models for the 'speech on the fallen', only an archaizing exercise in M.'s time (cf. Polemon's speeches on Cynegirus and Callimachus; Himerius, *Or.* 6 Colonna), are Gorgias (fr. 6), Thuc. 2. 35–46 (and note Plu. *Per.* 8 on Pericles' alleged speech of 439); Pl. *Menexenus*, and the *epitaphioi* by (or attributed to) Lysias, Demosthenes, and Hyperides. Early individual speeches are lost (Mausolus' death in 353 was commemorated by a rhetorical competition which Theopompus won), but we have various specimens from later Greek oratory, some

of them tending to the emotional *monōdia* rather than the formal encomium: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 29 (Melancomas); Aristid. *Or.* 31 (Eteoneus), 32 (Alexander of Cotyaeum); Him. *Or.* 8 Colonna (his son Rufinus); Liban. *Or.* 17 and 18 (monodies on Julian); Themist. *Or.* 20 (on his father); Greg. Naz. *Or.* 7, 8, 18, 43; Choricius, *Or.* 7, 8; Greg. Nyss. *In Meletium, In Pulcheriam, In Flaccillam.*

Once again we are face to face with a tradition rich in banality. Ach. Tat. 3. 25 amusingly calls the phoenix who has buried his father ἐπιτάφιος σοφιστής. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* naturally also gives a prescription for the *epitaphios.* It is as follows (Appendix, pp. 373 ff.):

277. 6–13 (U.–R.) Death is inevitable, so this is a necessary subject.

277. 14–278. 2. There are two types: (i) the public; (ii) the private or individual.

278. 2–14. Examples of (i) may be found in Thucydides, Plato, Lysias, Hyperides, Demosthenes, Naucrates; of (ii) in poems and many prose works, ancient and modern.

278. 15–18. Up to a point, the topics are those of encomia.

278. 18–279. 7. Thus the subject's native country is a topic, but more important in a public speech than a private one.

279. 7–18. Ancestors and natural ability.

279. 18–280. 8. Upbringing.

280. 9–14. Protreptic not essential in type (i).

280. 15–281. 2. Protreptic not essential in type (ii).

281. 2–19. Consolation and grief. In the case of the war-dead, their glory, quick death, public funeral, and eternal renown may console.

281. 20–283. 8. In individuals, use topics based on age: those the gods love die young, the middle-aged are most missed, the old have had a good life.

283. 8–10. Immortality of the soul, the deceased's place among the gods.

283. 10–15. Special qualities, e.g. of a literary man.

283. 16–19. Appropriate style.

The awkwardness of combining the two types of speech in one prescription is even more evident in [Dion. Hal.] than in M.

Quite extensive parts of the beginning of this chapter are transcribed in Johannes Sardianus, *Comm. in Aphthonium,* 121–2 Rabe; Sardianus seems to have used a text of the type of p (note ἀκροῶτο, 418. 30).

418. 10. These speeches of Aristides are lost (cf. Boulanger, 317 n. 3) and the one fragment (in the scholia, 3. 127 Dindorf) is unilluminating. Himerius' *Polemarchikos* (*Or.* 6 Colonna) is in the same genre.

418. 15. πρὸ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν. This would appear to indicate a date around AD 70, i.e. some 200 years or more before M.'s time.

418. 16. ἐπὶ τοῖς 'Ρειτοῖς. Bursian and Soffel regard these words as a learned interpolation, referring to the cavalry skirmish of Thuc. 2. 19. 2. They argue that Thuc. treats the Funeral Speech as concerned with all the casualties of the year. But the error may be M.'s, and as two branches of the tradition have the phrase (ῥητοῖς is a natural corruption) we retain it.

418. 18–19. (i) ὅτι . . . ἐδύναντο. Cf. Thuc. 2. 42 esp. ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ [τὸ] ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι. Soffel takes ὅτι as 'why' and explains by reference to Thucydides' exposition of the merits of Athens: 'he showed also the grounds through which they had the strength to go to their deaths'. This seems to us less plausible than the simple point 'they were capable of dying'. Bursian takes Pm's ἐδύνατο and adds ⟨τὸ⟩ before πεσεῖν: 'he showed what their death meant'.

(ii) We accept Finckh's ⟨τὸν⟩ . . . τόπον which gives a natural object to ἐφυλάξατο ('was on his guard against'), which otherwise needs to be construed with δακρύειν (so Soffel). This is against the run of the sentence. Moreover, τὸ ποσόν is difficult ('to a certain extent, by and large', Soffel).

(iii) The key to the following phrase is [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 306. 18 ff., esp. 307. 2–4: εἰ ἐθρήνησεν τοὺς πρώτους ἀποθανόντας, ἀθύμους ἂν ἐποίησεν τοὺς μέλλοντας πολεμεῖν. If M. may be allowed to regard the dead and the living as members of one society, all of whom may be taken to be the speaker's audience, no further emendation is needed except Spengel's οὐ γὰρ for ὅπερ: 'It was not the orator's business to weep for those whom he was exhorting to fight.' However, the addition of ⟨ποιεῖν⟩ which we have tentatively made makes the logic easier. An alternative would be προετρέψατο: he ought not to weep for those whom he had (formerly) urged to fight.

419. 3. Isocrates, *Or.* 5. The ancient hypothesis to this speech makes the same point as M. This epitaphios contains no lament or consolation because (i) Evagoras has been dead some considerable time, and (ii) consolation is out of place when lamentation is not needed. Cf. Introd., p. xv, for the importance of the *Evagoras* in the epideictic tradition.

419. 10. M. does not give a clear definition of the παθητικὸς ἐπιτάφιος but it is presumably that which is delivered within a few months of the event (or a year or so, if the death is in the family).

419. 14. ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως. Cf. 428. 31 ; 435. 8. Soffel translates here 'sobald man sie angesprochen hat'. But the phrase (cf. ἐκ μεθόδου) means rather 'in accordance with the manner of handling' (cf.

LSJ s.v. ἐκ II. 8). In the present context, the μεταχείρισις suggested is the διαπόρησις leading to the topic of γένος. At 428. 31, M. suggests a way of leading in to the encomiastic topics. At 435. 8 he says that such lamentations should be developed, 'in accordance with the handling', out of the topics just mentioned. Whereas ἐκ μεθόδου refers to a regular technique, ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως seems to refer rather to a particular *ad hoc* arrangement. Cf. Sopater, *Progymn.* fr. 8 Rabe: θέσεως . . . μεταχείρισις, 'the handling of the thesis'.

419. 15–16. mW's ὦ πῶς (which we adopt) requires fut. ind. or pres. subj.

419. 18. λαμπρὸν . . . . ἐνδοξότατον. It is clear from what follows that it must be the distinction of the γένος that is meant here. The combination of positive with superlative has classical antecedents (Thuc. 1. 84 ἐλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν) as well as being fairly common in later Greek (Max. Tyr. 30. 3 Hobein has three examples in one short section). The superlative here is intensive in sense, and is qualified by μᾶλλον. Cf. 423. 17.

419. 19–21. For the imagery, cf. e.g. Him. *Or.* 8. 7 Colonna: τίς τὸν πυρσὸν τὸν φανότατον τῆς ἐμῆς δόξης ἀπέσβεσε;

419. 29. †ὤδινε†. We suspect that this is a false repetition of ὠδῖνος above, and that εἶδε should be read: the mother 'has seen' signs (cf. 371. 5 for signs at the birth of heroes).

419. 30. †αὐτὰ† must be corrupt, probably for αὐτῇ τὰ.

420. 1. ἐπετώθασε. For the idea of the 'mockery' of fate, cf. e.g. Him. *Or.* 8. 6 Colonna: ἡ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐπήρεια, Choricius, *Or.* 29 (*Decl.* 8) 7 (= 317. 15 F.-R.): ἀτύχημα Σπαρτιάταις ἐπεκώμασεν ἀπρεπές.

420. 6. ἡπλωμένην. Cf. 400. 9–11 n.

420. 7. It would be strange to speak of the 'brilliance of the circumstances' (προσόντα) in a dirge, and p's προσώπων is much better.

420. 8. ἐπιστρέφῃς. The reading of the paradosis (-ηται or -εται) is perhaps affected by the preceding φαίνηται. The vulgate ἐπίστρεφε gives an abrupt change to the imperative: we tentatively read ἐπιστρέφῃς, continuing the ἵνα clause. Cf. ὕλη σοι γινέσθω below for the use of the second person.

420. 18–20. There are several textual problems here. (i) There is a strong possibility that διὰ τούτων (18) is wrongly repeated from 17; (ii) we accept Bursian's εὐθὺς τρεφόμενος, i.e. 'he displayed his natural ability and quickness from the time when he was nurtured'; (iii) we accept p's τιθεὶς (19), and repunctuate and supplement to give the meaning 'putting quickness second, and natural ability first'. Soffel's articulation (257) of the whole sentence (ἐρεῖς μὲν [17] . . . ἐρεῖς δὲ [20] . . . διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων [21]) is clearly

right, but is not destroyed by the parenthetical clause δευτέραν . . . εὐφυῖαν, taken in the way we propose.

420. 21. Again a difficult sentence, though the general sense is clear. (i) Is the subject of ἐδείκνυε the person, or ἡ παιδεία? (ii) What does ἐπὶ τούτῳ refer to? If παιδεία, we expect ἐπὶ ταύτῃ (so Bursian). Kroll's ἐδόκει removes the first difficulty. We retain the paradosis with hesitation, taking ἐδείκνυε . . . προσχεῖν in the sense of the normal ἐδείκνυε . . . προσχών ('showed that he was . . .'), and ἐπὶ τούτῳ as a vague 'herein'. Bursian's conjecture (see app. crit.) means: 'that he demonstrated his native ability in this also (i.e. in his education), and gave proof of his superiority to his fellows'.

421. 7. Text and logic unsure. We obelize †ἄμεινον†. Nitsche's οὐδενὸς δεύτερος· μᾶλλον δὲ τῷδε κτλ. is quite attractive: 'he is second to none; or rather these qualities attached to him in a higher degree . . .' Bursian thought on the same lines; but there are alternatives, e.g. ἀνθρώπων for ἄμεινον, 'second to none of mankind': or ἐκείνων (i.e. the demigods and men of note), proposed by J. Fettes.

421. 9. ἐνδόξῳ does not, as Soffel suggests, apply to βίῳ. The words καλοῦ καλλίονα make it certain that the comparison is between persons.

421. 10. One expects παραβάλλοντα, subordinate to the infinitive ἀποδεικνύναι, and we read this, though with some hesitation, because M.'s sense of syntax is perhaps not sure enough to exclude an irregularity of the kind presented by the tradition.

421. 13. λοιπόν. Synonymous here with ἤδη: 'at this stage' the speech dispenses with encomiastic features, so as to concentrate on the lamentation. Cf. 422. 29.

421. 17. Cf. 414. 17 ff.

421. 19–24. If a woman's personality is to appear 'dignified', some special emphasis must be laid on her ἀρετή. Thuc. 2. 45. 2 makes Pericles allude only briefly to the widows: women's honour consists in not being noted among men, either for good or for bad. M. thus expounds here an attitude based on classical literature, rather than on the normal views of his time (cf. 362. 30; 404. 11). Contrast 436. 24–6 where the husband delivers a *monōdia* over his wife; in Roman practice, as Soffel points out, *laudationes* of women are normal, and require no preliminary apologies. Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5. 1, *epicēdion* on Priscilla.

421. 24. Kroll's τῇ ἀρετῇ should probably be accepted; Soffel, however, prefers to explain τῆς ἀρετῆς as 'genitive of cause'.

421. 31. Exhortation to children: cf. e.g. Thuc. 2. 45.

422. 2–4. As Soffel points out, a prayer is a normal conclusion for many kinds of encomium and *epideixis* (e.g. cf. 399. 9), and a

prayer of this kind would be very natural in the circumstances of private bereavement. Extant *epitaphioi* and the like are usually of public figures, or of the speaker's own relatives (see introd. note to this chapter), and it is no surprise that we have no close parallels to M.'s recommendations.

422. 5–423. 5. XII. *Stephanōtikos* (The Crown Speech)

Analysis

422. 6–13. Prooemium. The city gives the emperor a golden crown, and crowns him also with speech.

422. 13–15. Encomium of family, if appropriate.

422. 15–19. If not, then Fortune.

422. 19–20. Education.

422. 20–9. Virtues: courage and peaceful virtues.

422. 29–423. 3. The city crowns him for good service and relies on his *philanthrōpia*.

423. 3. Read the honorific decree.

423. 3–5. Length of the speech should not exceed 150–200 lines. This speech and the next deal with occasions which must often have confronted M.'s clientèle. For embassies, see the discussion in Millar, op. cit. 217 ff.: for crowns, ibid. 140 ff., Ganschinietz, *RE* xi. 1599 f. The practice of giving gold crowns (i.e. wreaths of solid gold) to victors or monarchs goes back to classical times; in the Hellenistic and Roman periods there are innumerable examples. P. Oxy. 1413 records a discussion about the payment for a crown sent to Aurelian by Oxyrhynchus; Themist. (*Or.* 3) presents a golden crown to Constantius in 357 in a speech ten pages (say 300 στίχοι) long; another good instance from late oratory is to be found in Synesius, *De regno* 3, 2 c. It should be remembered that the στέφανος or 'crown' of this practice is not an emblem of royalty, but a prize of victory.

422. 8. τὸ κρεῖττον. Cf. 369. 6; 370. 22; 427. 19; *Corp. Herm.* 18. 6, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐμενές. The masc. ὁ κρείττων may well be a Christian alteration.

422. 11. Cf. 427. 29: σῶν is to be deleted, for ὑπηκόων is an adj. with πόλεων.

422. 15 ff. Cf. 370. 17 ff.

422. 21 ⟨καὶ⟩ γάρ τοι. Nitsche's τοιγάρτοι (cf. 422. 30; 440. 21; 377. 24) gives a strong inferential sense which is not appropriate here. ὅτι is the particle introducing a quotation.

422. 22. καὶ ἵππῳ, which Pp omit, reads strangely between δουρὶ and ἀσπίδι, which themselves seem to go closely together.

422. 28. The manuscripts show some disorder here. The expected sense is given by ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

423. 3. Cf. 434. 7 and 437. 1 for similar prescriptions stating a desirable limit of lines (στίχοι, or as here ἔπη). These standard lines are approximately the length of a hexameter (hence ἔπος is an appropriate term for them), but methods of calculation appear to have varied. We should be safe in thinking of M.'s standard as rather less than a line of print, say thirty-five to forty letters. See F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, 9; E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 8; C. H. Roberts in *Literature and Western Civilization* ed. D. Daiches, vol. 1 (*The Classical World*), 448.

423. 6–424. 2. XIII. *Presbeutikos* (Ambassador's Speech)

Analysis

423. 7–11. If you are sent as ambassador on behalf of a city in distress, you must make much of the emperor's mercifulness.

423. 12–14. But praise also his warlike deeds and peacetime achievements.

423. 14–21. Two topics about the city: the former glories of Ilion and a vivid description of the present state of affairs.

423. 21–25. Mention especially the things emperors take thought for: baths, aqueducts, public buildings.

423. 25–424. 1. Appeal for mercy. The city speaks through the ambassador.

424. 1–2. Ask him to deign to receive the decree.

Like the next chapter (*klētikos*) and the *Sminthiakos*, this speech envisages the situation of Alexandria Troas (423. 16 ff.). Elaborate water-supply works had been proposed here by Herodes Atticus (Philostr. *VS* 2. 3) and there are remains of baths and an aqueduct. This elaborate system may well have been in decay by the later third century. The chapter presupposes the στεφανωτικός and is of similar scale and form: both close with the handing over of a decree.

423. 7. καμνούσης. E.g. by war, plague, or earthquake: cf. Aristid. *Or.* 19, the letter to Marcus and Commodus about Smyrna after the earthquake (AD 178).

423. 8. ἃ προείρηται. Presumably the encomium of the emperor prescribed in the preceding chapter.

423. 16. ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐναντίου αὐξήσεως. Cf. Apsines (1. 405. 10 Sp.): πάθος ποιοῦσιν αἱ ἀντεξετάσεις μάλιστα πρὸς τὰ πρότερα. In Cic. *Inv.* 1. 55. 107 the first 'locus misericordiae' is that 'per quem quibus in bonis fuerint et nunc quibus in malis sint ostenditur'. See Martin, 161.

423. 17. For combination of positive and superlative, cf. 419. 18.

423. 19. ἐκ διατυπώσεως. Cf. [Longin.] 20. 1. This 'vivid description' of troubles gives the fifth of Cicero's 'loci misericordiae' (l.c. 107): 'per quem omnia ante oculos singillatim incommoda ponuntur, ut videatur is qui audit videre'.

423. 28. Cf. Libanius, *Ep.* 114. 5 (to Datianus, urging him to listen to an embassy): ἂν ταῦτα λέγῃ μὲν ἡ πόλις, λέγῃ δὲ ὁ πρεσβευτής— ἐρεῖ δέ, καὶ γὰρ προσέταξεν ἡ πόλις—τί ἀποκρινῇ; Procop. Gaz. *Anastas.* 490. 18–20 (*CSHB*): ὁ γὰρ ὑπὲρ πόλεως προβεβλημένος τῷ λόγῳ μιᾷ γλώττῃ τὰς ἁπάντων ὑποκρίνεται γνώμας.

423. 29. [νόμιζε] is wrongly repeated from 28. Scribes perhaps found difficulty with the acc. and inf. in the relative clause, but this is normal and classical: K.–G. ii. 550.

424. 3–430. 8. XIV. *Klētikos* (Speech of Invitation)

This repetitive and complex chapter on invitations to rulers and governors appears to belong to the same series as the *stephanōtikos* and *presbeutikos*, but is very much fuller. It too assumes Alexandria Troas as a subject (426. 12; 427. 22; 429. 1), though it also envisages others (492. 23 ff.). The prescription seems to presuppose another 'festival' speech (424. 21–2); cf. Introd. p. xxxvii.

424. 4–425. 21. (A) Invitation to a festival.

424. 4–10. Prooemium: occasion of the invitation.

424. 10–15. Encomium of the *panēguris*.

424. 15–17. Encomium of the city.

424. 17. Encomium of the governor.

424. 18–24. (Note: this is the right order, the *panēguris* is the main subject.)

424. 24–425. 8. Repeated invitation to the *panēguris*.

425. 8–10. Comparison with other festivals.

425. 10–21. Refusal would be disastrous both for the speaker and for the city.

425. 22–429. 22. (B) Invitation in circumstances other than a *panēguris*.

425. 22–30. (i) The prooemium is different.

425. 30–426. 7. Second prooemium on the speaker's distinctions and qualifications. Beware of vulgarity.

426. 7–15. Encomium of city, based on actions, not on position or climate.

426. 15–18. Encomium of governor.

426. 18–428. 6. (ii) First Hypothesis: this is his first visit.

426. 18–20. Description of the country and the city.

426. 21–427. 2. Encourage him to come: the city's literary achievements, its Athens-trained orators.

427. 2–10. Comparison with other cities. The special distinction of ours reinforces the governor's feeling for it.

427. 10–13. Description of the journey.

427. 13–16. Description of the city.

427. 16–30. Epilogue. The city is ready to welcome you, as it does Apollo at the Sminthia.

427. 31–428. 6. The speaker's pride in his office.

428. 7–429. 22. (ii) Second hypothesis: he has visited the city before.

428. 7–10. You should then remind him of the city, using the same sequence of headings (? as in 426. 18–21).

428. 10–16. But manage the encomium differently: 'lovers long to behold their beloved again and again'.

428. 16–18. Let us review the whole scheme on this hypothesis.

428. 18–30. Prooemium (cf. 425. 24 ff.).

428. 31–429. 7. Encomium of city with transition to virtues of the governor (cf. 426. 7 ff.).

429. 8–13. Encomium of governor (cf. 426. 15 ff.)

429. 13–22. Position and beauty of the city: but 'all this is little compared with seeing you' (cf. 427. 13–16). We then proceed as for the First Hypothesis (i.e. as in 427. 16 ff.).

429. 23–7. (C) A note on procedure to be followed if the city has no historical traditions: 'position' of country or city supplies the place of the encomium.

429. 28–430. 8. (D) A note on an alternative method, in which the qualities of the city and those of the governor are linked at each point (e.g. 'the city is humane, but so is he'). In this procedure, it is better to put the governor first.

For the first part of the chapter, [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 255–60 (= Appendix, pp. 362 ff.) is relevant.

424. 11 ff. There are noticeable variations and omissions in the manuscripts. We accept Finckh's ἐφ' ἥν in 11, though the whole clause ἐφ' ἥν ἡ κλῆσις is clearly not essential to the sense; we also delete [τῆς πανηγύρεως . . . λέγων] (13–14), a passage which impedes the sense and seems to be made up of phrases in 10–11 and 15.

424. 12 ff. Cf. [Dion. Hal.] *Ars* 257. 20 ff., λεκτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τίς ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις αὐτοῦ . . .

424. 19. προηγούμενον. 'Primary subject', a technical term of Hellenistic logic; cf. [Longin.] 44. 12, προηγουμένως . . . γράψειν.

424. 23. ἔφαμεν. A similar point is made (378 ff.) with regard to περιχάρεια in the ἐπιβατήριος and (434 ff.) with regard to lamentation in the μονῳδία. But it is not clear that M. is referring to these passages,

and it is possible that we have here an indication of a lost chapter; this suspicion is strengthened by καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ('this speech also') which implies another in which the *panēguris* is primary. (τὸ τῆς πανηγύρεως seems anyway an unavoidable change in 22.)

424. 28. τοὺς ἀρίστους goes more naturally with ἀθλητάς. Then κιθαριστάς, αὐλητάς are in asyndeton. Musical performances of course were a regular feature of many festivals: M. selects *aulos* and *kithara* for mention, and says nothing of *salpiktai* or drama or dancing, also common events.

425. 3. ἴδοι. It would be rash to add ἄν in the sentence. More probably, τάχα behaves as ἴσως sometimes does in later Greek: Olympiod. *In Gorgiam* 223, 15 Westerink, ἴσως εἴποιμεν; Joh. Philop. *De aet. mundi* 421. 16: ἴσως δὲ πάλιν καὶ τοῦτο ἀπορήσειεν: Radermacher, *NTGr.* 160. Examples are found in manuscripts even of classical prose authors (e.g. Isaeus 10. 18), but these are usually (and probably rightly) corrected by editors.

425. 19. ὁ γὰρ . . . πόλεως. Cf. 423. 28. The sentiment is not very appropriate here. τοῦτο (20) signifies the act of compliance and thus refers back to the idea conveyed in σπεῦδε. The clause therefore interrupts the argument and one is tempted to delete it.

425. 23. δι' ἥν gives adequate sense; but cf. 424. 11, 12, and below, 425. 29, which lead us rather to expect ἐφ' ἥν.

426. 2. παρὰ τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν. Almost a title, as in P. Oxy. 1163. 4 (*c.* AD 5) and other late texts (Lampe s.v.). Similar usage in Latin from the third century AD onwards (Leumann–Hofmann, 746–7).

426. 5. Cf. 426. 29 ff. The orator is Athens-trained and has returned to his native Alexandria Troas. It is natural to infer that these instructions are given him by his teacher in Athens. τρόφιμον. 'Alumnum', cf. Palladas (*Anth. Pal.* 10. 52. 2): Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων τρόφιμος (of the poet Menander), [Liban.] *Ep.* 1550 (a Christian text) σοφὸς καὶ θεοσεβείας τρόφιμος.

426. 12. ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξάνδρου. If the text is right, Ἀλ. probably depends on πόλις. For the word-order, cf. 389. 27. The διηγήματα will naturally be the mythical tales of Troy. But 429. 1 has normal word-order; transposition or deletion here must be considered.

426. 24–6. We translate Kroll's εὑρήσεις and m's οὐδὲν λεῖπον. But serious doubts remain about the whole passage. If οὐδὲν λεῖπον is indeed original, and means 'nothing lacking', εὑρήσεις completes the restoration of the passage satisfactorily—'you will find nothing lacking'—though one might also consider εὐτυχήσεις ('you will be lucky enough to get . . .', cf. 387. 19; 439. 16), as nearer the εὐτυχήσας offered by the manuscripts. But it is also possible that οὐδὲν λεῖπον

is a scribal note, indicating either (i) the opinion that there is no lacuna or (ii) a lacuna after the word οὐδέν. Difficulty continues in the next two lines: in 26, the accusative is necessary, since ἄλλην σεμνότητα must be parallel to ἦθος and μετριότητα.

426. 29. Nitsche's ἠρανίσαντο is supported by ἐρανιοῦμαι, 433. 1, and by ὃ βούλομαι ἐρανίσασθαι 433. 32, both in similar contexts.

427. 8. μεῖζον. In sense of superlative: K.–G. II 1. 22, Radermacher, *NTGr* 70.

427. 11. Cf. 398. 30 ff. which suggests that mW's ὃν δὴ διϊὼν is to be accepted. We obelize ὡς ἐπιλογικόν; it is tempting to delete it, but it should be remembered that a reference to the epilogue is not necessarily out of place: note προσθήσεις δὲ τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις (16 below) and especially the use of this *topos* as the epilogue of the *propemptikē*, 398. 26 ff. (ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν).

427. 21. In Ap. Rhod. 3. 298 ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο is said by the scholia to mean πολυκηδείῃσι νόοιο, and this is said to signify λύπαις. Bursian wrongly thought that this gave adequate grounds for preferring p's ἀκηδίαν in the present passage.

427. 22 ff. 'Once upon a time', gods and men had much closer connections; they feasted together (e.g. Hesiod fr. 1. 6, Theog. 507 ff. with West's note p. 306), gods actually appeared at festivals— especially Apollo (Nilsson, *G. Gr. Rel.* I 516) at Delos or Delphi, and so here at the Sminthia—and these appearances were a mark of a happier age.

428. 1–2. *Il.* 9. 522–3: spoken by Phoenix.

428. 7. The context ensures that φθάσας τὴν θέαν means φθάσας θεασάμενος (or θεάσασθαι), 'has already seen'; but lexica give no examples of this construction.

428. 10. M. presumably means the order suggested 426. 20 ff.: description of χώρα and of city. Cf. 429. 14.

428. 15. †εὐθὺς†. An adverb is needed, but αὖθις ('again') or μᾶλλον ('all the more') would be nearer the expected sense.

428. 22–3. μανικῶν . . . ἐρώτων. These words could well be part of a hexameter.

428. 31. ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως. See on 419. 14.

429. 2–3. Text uncertain. Bursian's addition of ⟨τί⟩ after ἀγνοοῦντι is helpful: 'why should I tell you, when you are fully aware . . . ?' The first οὐδὲ in 2 should be retained: the governor is not ignorant of these things either. Spengel's οὔτε . . . οὔτε loses this nuance. The second οὐδὲ is more doubtful: τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν remains unspecified, and two cures are possible, Nitsche's deletion ('the antiquities of our city') or the addition, e.g. of ⟨τῶν ἐξαιρέτων⟩ after παρ' ἡμῖν—'the antiquities and our special glories'. We follow Nitsche.

429. 5. πάλιν ὀφθῆναι. The city previously tempted the governor by her historic attractions, but this time she does not so much claim to be seen again (this would be vanity!) as desire to see the governor because of his virtues. παροφθῆναι ('be overlooked') is intelligible only if ἀξιοῦσα could bear different applications in its two occurrences, viz. (i) 'not claiming to have been overlooked', (ii) 'asking to see you' at some future time. This seems intolerably awkward.

429. 21–2. The address for which instructions are here given is to the governor who has been to the city before: ὅσα . . . προείρηται refers to 424. 25 ff. (though the emphasis there is on different contests), and that passage (see Analysis) belongs to the prescription which is common to 'first visit' and 'second visit' invitations. However, it is odd that, in a passage dealing wholly with ὁ φθάσας a back-reference should be made ἐπὶ τοῦ φθάσαντος. We tentatively suggest ⟨μὴ⟩ φθάσαντος and the deletion of [κλητικοῦ]. Interpolation may however extend further; the sentence could end satisfactorily with ὅσα τοιαῦτα ('and the like'), the rest being a confused cross-reference to the earlier passage.

430. 6 Cf. Him. *Or.* 31. 8 Colonna: πρᾷος εἶ; κοινὸν καὶ τοῦτο πλεονέκτημα.

430. 9–434. 9. XV. *Suntaktikos* (The Leavetaking)

Analysis

430. 10–30. Leave-taking involves grief, or at least the appearance of it. The basic example we are to follow is Odysseus' farewell to Arete and Alcinoos.

430. 30–431. 30. General scheme for a speech on departure:

430. 30–431. 15. (a) Encomium of the city you are leaving.

431. 15–22. (b) Mention of your destination; is it your home, or a strange city?

431. 22–8. (c) Prayer for those you leave, and for your own journey.

431. 28–30. (d) 'If you have children, you will send them.'

431. 31–432. 26. Scheme for taking leave on your departure from home (with an interruption, 432. 10–26, which applies only to departure for home).

431. 31–432. 2. (a) Expressions of love and distress.

432. 2–9. (b) Encomium of destination.

432. 9–10. (c) Necessity of going.

432. 10–26. 'The law commands return'—this is a topic that applies when you are returning home, not when you are leaving, and should follow immediately after the initial expressions of affection.

432. 27–433. 13. Continuation of speech to be made on leaving home.

432. 27–32. (a) We return to the theme of leaving home, recalling the topics of 432. 2–9.

432. 32. (b) You are still young enough to study rhetoric.

432. 32–433. 9. (c) When you have studied, you will return to benefit your native city.

433. 10–13. (d) Prayer for the city and for yourself.

433. 13–434. 9. Some general points.

433. 13–19. (a) There is opportunity for similes, narratives, and descriptions. Take care to project a suitable personality.

433. 19–32. (b) The city you are addressing should be praised first. This is a general principle. If your destination is less distinguished, stress the necessity of your journey.

434. 1–9. (c) If the speech is a *lalia*, make it short. If the 'leave-taking' is your only speech, it can be 200–300 lines long; style should be free.

The confusions in this chapter—which combines two situations, leaving home and going home—are presumably due to careless composition. Cairns, 38 ff., makes the whole seem more orderly than it is.

See Cairns also for literary (mainly poetical) parallels. M. himself begins with *Od.* 13. 38–41; cf. also Soph. *Phil.* 1452–71, Eur. *Hec.* 445–83, *Phoen.* 625–35. Latin poetical treatments of kindred themes include Cat. 46, Tib. 1. 10, Prop. 3. 21, Virg. *Aen.* 4. 333–61, Juv. 3, Rut. Nam. 1–164. Greg. Thaumaturg. *Prosphon. Origen.* (AD 238) contains an element of the *suntaktikos* cf. esp. chaps. 16–19 (§§ 184–206), with the Introduction of H. Crouzel, 42 ff.

The chapter has affinities with the *epibatērios* (same initial formula, cf. 377. 31) and covers ground partly covered under *lalia* (393. 31 ff.).

430. 12. ἐρωτικόν is no doubt right, and the thought is picked up at 431. 32. It is, however, true that πάσχειν πρός τινα can itself mean 'fall in love with' (Plu. *Amat.* 749 D), so that the omission of ἐρωτικόν in p leaves adequate sense.

430. 12–13. προὔλαβε . . . καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος. Cf. 437. 20. This sentence (note καὶ) suggests that the chapter follows '*monōdia*' (cf. 434. 11).

430. 15. Ἀρήτῃ τῇ Ἀλκινόου. sc. γυναικί (cf. Ev. Joh. 19: 25, Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ). Rare in Greek, the ellipse is normal in Latin.

430. 16 ff. We expect *Od.* 13. 38 ff. (Ἀλκίνοε κρεῖον . . .) to be quoted first, especially as Alcinoos and the Phaeacians have been mentioned

before Arete. One wonders if 16–28 (to τὰ ἐξῆς) is an addition to an original brief reference to the passage.

430. 23. ἐν τῇ ῥαψῳδίᾳ. Presumably 'in the episode'. But we expect it to be specified: ἐν ⟨τῇ αὐτῇ⟩ ῥαψῳδία or ἐν τῇ ⟨ν'⟩ ῥ.? For the meaning of ῥαψῳδία cf. Lucian, *Charon* 7, where a seasick Homer vomits up πολλὰς τῶν ῥαψῳδιῶν.

430. 28. καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Viz. a wish that the gifts may profit Odysseus and he may find all well at home, while the Phaeacians enjoy home and prosperity and freedom from public troubles. Cf. 431. 22 ff., 432. 10 ff., for analogous themes.

430. 28–30. Cf. 434. 17–18, for the idea that the orator has to 'work up' material from the poets.

431. 5. ἐπαινέσει. We assume that the change from third person to second person does not occur till συνεύξῃ (23); but there can be no certainty about this.

431. 6. Bursian's μουσεῖα is confirmed by 396. 28.

431. 10 ff. The situation is obviously that of a student leaving Athens. This type of speech—like the 'propemptic'—forms an obvious exercise for such occasions.

431. 19 ff. Greg. Thaum. *Prosphon. Origen.* 184 ff. compares himself in these circumstances to Adam driven from paradise.

431. 32. ἐρωτικά supports, and is supported by, ἐρωτικόν in 430. 12; cf. also 432. 25. But πάτρια—'national traditions, local history'—can hardly be combined with it, and we must consider deletion or emendation. In favour of the latter is τὰ δεύτερα at 432. 2, which leads us to expect here a reference to the first part of the speech. Wilamowitz's τὰ πρῶτα meets the need; one might also consider the alternative τὰ προοίμια.

432. 6. Μουσῶν ἐργαστήριον. Cf. Liban. *Or.* 55. 34, λόγων ἐργαστήριον.

432. 12. καὶ οἷς. The manuscripts are divided between ὡς and ὅσον, neither of which gives acceptable sense. We adopt Kroll's καὶ οἷς, 'and to the [laws] which the father . . . laid down', as the best suggestion available.

432. 14 ff. The admission that the writer has strayed from his subject is odd and casual. But it is not unnatural, and the original theme is resumed at 432. 27 ff. with a clear indication. The whole section reads like an ill-composed lecture; and it is probably better to suppose that this is what it is, rather than to speculate whether 8–26 (καὶ ὅταν . . . ὡς ἔφαμεν) is an addition to the original text.

432. 24. τῆς συντακτικῆς. Sc. λαλιᾶς; cf. 434. 7.

432. 31–2. Exact wording uncertain. ἔπειτα (all manuscripts except p) cannot be right. At the same time, ἔτι seems inappropriate,

since there is no special indication of the speaker's age, and no reason why he should be thought of as being beyond the age when it would be natural for him to make the speech. However, the point may simply be that λόγους πονεῖν is a young student's business, and anyone more adult may therefore decently make some excuse: cf. Plu. *Soll. an.* 959 c, ἔδοξέ μοι τὸ ῥητορικὸν ἐγεῖραι διὰ χρόνου, χαριζόμενος καὶ συνεαρίζων τοῖς μειρακίοις. For the form of expression, cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12. 12, εἴ μοι τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπεδέχετο.

433. 5. Σειρῆσι. (i) The paradosis undoubtedly has Ἴβηρσι, but this is difficult to understand: it is not well supported by Hdt. 1. 163, where the Phocaeans decline Arganthonius' offer of a settlement-site in the area of Tartessus, and he supplies them with money for their fortifications at Phocaea. Later versions of this episode are less precise, and Appian (*Iber.* 3) is closer to what would suit M.'s purpose, in so far as he makes some of the Phocaeans remain in Spain. (ii) ἂν Νηρηῖσι (B, and cf. p's ἂν ἥρησι) appears to be an attempt to make sense of a corrupted version of the paradosis. The extra ἂν is not an objection, and Nereids are at least mythological creatures, and so go better with the Lotophagi than do the Iberians. But it is still not good enough. Though men occasionally saw Nereids, as the Argonauts did, there is no evidence that they were charmed by them in this way; it is rather nymphs who are sinister and dangerous (as to Hylas) and we can hardly invoke the similarity between nymphs and Nereids, or the fact that in more recent Greek folklore nymphs are called Neraides. (iii) What is wanted is another Homeric example, and the Sirens are obvious and apt. Thus Himerius (*Or.* 30 Colonna) makes Odysseus so love Ithaca as to make the land of the Lotophagi seem barren to him, and his desire for his own city the effective ear-plug against the Sirens (cf. also Max. Tyr. 30. 2 Hobein). This is commonplace, and we expect the commonplace in M. We accept Cobet's conjecture, as did Wilamowitz.

433. 7. *Od.* 9. 34 + 1. 58. Homer has ἱέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ... νοῆσαι / ἧς γαίης. M. modifies the line.

433. 13 f. εἰκόσι ... παραβολαῖς. On the difficulty of defining these terms and relating them to the sense 'simile', see esp. M. H. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison*, 24 ff., 130 ff., 187 ff. M.'s distinction is perhaps that of Minucianus (1. 418. 29 ff. Sp.): παραβολαί and εἰκόνες are related to παραδείγματα but (i) παραβολαί are ἄνευ ἱστορίας καὶ ἀορίστως ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων, (ii) the εἰκών is the same as the παραβολή but makes the sentiment ἐναργέστερον; when Demosthenes ([Dem.] 25. 52) compares Aristogiton walking through the agora to a snake or a scorpion raising its sting, and darting this way and that, the phrase 'like a snake' is a παραβολή,

while the descriptive part ('raising its sting . . .') applies both to the scorpion and to Aristogiton and ἐναργῆ παρέσχε τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ὁρωμένου. We may perhaps also compare Victorianus (p. 228. 9 ff. Halm *RLM*), for whom εἰκών ('imago') compares appearances ('os umerisque deo similis') and παραβολή ('conlatio') inner natures ('qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram taurus'). [Longin.] 37 also puts εἰκόνες and παραβολαί together, but his further discussion is lost, so that it is not clear how he distinguished them.

433. 17. ἦθος . . . δεξιόν. 'Kindly': LSJ s.v. δεξιός, V.

433. 19. καθαιρεῖν. 'Depreciate', opp. αὔξειν cf. (e.g.) Ar. *Rhet.* 1376ᵃ34.

433. 32. δι' ἐκείνης. Presumably the city to which the speaker is going; but if this is so, the point of μόλις is obscure. We should consider reading ⟨εἰ μὴ⟩ δι' ἐκείνης, i.e. 'this advantage could scarcely be gained except by using the resources of that city'.

434. 3 ff. Cf. 393. 24 ff.

434. 7. συγγραφικῶς. Cf. 411. 28. On the suggested length cf. 423. 3; 437. 1.

434. 10–437. 4. XVI. *Monōdia* (Monody)

Analysis

434. 11–18. Homer gives a model in the lamentations over Hector.

434. 18–19. Lamentation and expression of pity is the object of the monody.

434. 19–23. If the speaker is not closely connected with the deceased, he should lament the death and combine encomium with lament.

434. 23–6. If he is closely related, he should grieve also for his own bereavement.

434. 26–31. If the deceased is a prominent citizen, make use of encomia of the city.

434. 31–435. 7. If he was young, make use also of this fact.

435. 7–9. In fact, use all relevant circumstances as a starting-point for the lament.

435. 9–14. Topic of 'complaint against fate'.

435. 15–16. A note emphasizing that detailed prescriptions will not be given (?)

435. 16–436. 4. Division of the subject by time: present (17–23), past (24–8), future (28–436. 4).

436. 4–10. His relations with the city.

436. 11–15. The funeral.

436. 15–21. Description of the physical beauty of the deceased.

436. 21–437. 1. Monodies are usually delivered on the young, but may be e.g. given by a husband over his wife.

437. 1–4. Length limited to 150 lines: style 'relaxed'.

As M. says, the earliest model for such lamentations is in the speeches of Priam (*Il.* 22. 416–28), Hecuba (22. 431–6, 24. 748–59), and Andromache (22. 477–514, 24. 725–45) over Hector. (He does not mention Helen's short piece, *Il.* 24. 762–75.) These epic laments are themselves the reflection of a tradition which was old, no doubt, in Homer's time and has persisted in various forms throughout Greek history: M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), gives much valuable background. M.'s *monōdia*, taken with the *paramūthētikos* (413. 9 ff.) and *epitaphios* (418. 6 ff.) completes his set of funeral speeches; 'lament', not consolation or praise, is its predominant feature. Its name μονῳδία comes from drama: it is a solo, not a choral song. As solos were often laments, the term came to mean this also: the *Suda* and Photius, *Lex.* identify it with θρῆνος, and it is used by later orators for prose lamentations of various kinds: see introductory note on *Epitaphios*, 418. 6 ff. It is noteworthy that M. gives no rules for what appears to be a common type of *monōdia* in the Second Sophistic, namely the lament over a town ruined by sack or natural disaster: Aristid. *Or.* 18 (Smyrna), 22 (Eleusis); Liban. *Or.* 60 (Daphne), *Or.* 61 (Nicomedia).

434. 11. Ὅμηρος. For Homer as 'inventor of rhetoric' see Radermacher, *Artium Scriptores*, 9–10, [Plu.] *De vita et poesi Homeri* 161–74. Only M. uses Homer as a source for lamentation; in early times this was not a rhetorical theme (though Quint. 10. 1. 47 mentions *consolationes* in Homer). For other uses of Homer in M., see 393. 5–9; 430. 12–30; 437. 16–18.

434. 14. οἰκείους ἑκάστῳ προσώπῳ. An important virtue: father, mother, and wife lament differently.

434. 17–18. Cf. 430. 28–30.

434. 31 ff. Cf. Greg. Nyss. *In Melet.* 852 M, 441. 14 Spira: ἰδοὺ γάρ, βουλῆς καιρός, καὶ ὁ συμβουλεύσων σιγᾷ· πόλεμος ἡμᾶς περιεστοίχισται, πόλεμος αἱρετικός, καὶ ὁ στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἔστιν.

435. 1. νέος. This is the characteristic case for an impassioned lament. Dio 29, Aristid. 31, [Plu.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 16, with Kassel, *Konsolationsliteratur*, 80–6.

435. 3 ff. Cf. the parody of such sentiments in Lucian, *De luctu* 13: τέκνον ἥδιστον, οἴχῃ μοι καὶ τέθνηκας καὶ πρὸ ὥρας ἀνηρπάσθης, μόνον ἐμὲ τὸν ἄθλιον καταλιπών, οὐ γαμήσας, οὐ παιδοποιησάμενος, οὐ στρατευσάμενος, οὐ γεωργήσας, οὐκ εἰς γῆρας ἐλθών· οὐ κωμάσῃ πάλιν οὐδ' ἐρασθήσῃ, τέκνον, οὐδ' ἐν συμποσίοις μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν μεθυσθήσῃ.

435. 3. ἀπὸ τῶν συμβάντων. 'From the event'. Bursian's συμβάντων

⟨ἄν⟩, 'what would have happened', is attractive in view of the reference in what follows to the hoped-for marriage, but (i) we expect τὰ συμβάντα to refer to the bereavement: cf. Basil, *Ep.* 300, ἐφ' οἷς . . . ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν διετέθη πρὸς τὸ συμβάν, (ii) the sequence ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας . . . ἀπὸ τῶν συμβάντων . . . ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν makes good sense.

435. 4. ὅτι †ἀνύοντι† αὐτῷ. (i) Soffel may be right to delete ἀνύων as dittography from συμβάντων; it may also (less probably, cf. 435. 2, 5) conceal a verb of saying (λέγων, ἐπιχειρῶν (cf. 436. 4), or the like). (ii) The construction of ἔμελλε . . . ἔμελλον is also difficult, and an infinitive is expected. This raises the possibility of ὅτι ἀνύεσθαι ('be completed'). Soph. *Ant.* 805, τὸν παγκοίταν ὅθ' ὁρῶ θάλαμον τήνδ' Ἀντιγόνην ἀνύτουσαν is indeed not parallel (ἀνύτουσαν = 'attain to') but might nevertheless be in M.'s mind, and suggest this unusual word. (iii) A further possibility is that the original reading was ἀνοίγεσθαι and that this was corrupted into various forms of ἀνύω (a type of corruption facilitated by Byzantine pronunciation): 'His wedding chamber was soon to be opened.'

The special pathos of death before or on the eve of marriage is a common topic (it is a recurrent theme, for instance, in Sophocles' *Antigone*). Hymeneal songs give way to dirges, wedding-torches to the funeral fire, the *thalamos* to the grave. The parallelism between wedding and funeral ritual reinforced this point: Alexiou, op. cit. 58, 120, 155. There are many literary expressions of all this: e.g. Bion, *Epitaph. Adon.* 87 ff., *Anth. Pal.* 7. 185, 712; Ach. Tat. 1. 13 (in the rhetorical tradition, and very reminiscent of M.'s prescriptions); Xen. Eph. 3. 7. 2; Greg. Nyss. *In Melet.* 442. 20 Spira, τότε ἐπιθαλάμιον, νῦν ἐπιτάφιον ᾄδομεν (of spiritual marriage of bishop and congregation).

435. 8. ἐκ μεταχειρίσεως. See on 419. 14.

435. 10. σχετλιάζειν . . . πρὸς δαίμονας. For σχετλιάζειν cf. 396. 4 (and note), 397. 13; also Aristaenet. *Ep.* 2. 7 (πρὸς τὴν τύχην), 1. 6 (τὸ συμβάν). The *topos* of 'unjust fate' is again banal: Him. *Or.* 8. 1, 2, 6 Colonna; Julian, *Or.* 18. 2; Aristid. *Or.* 31. 13; Liban. *Or.* 17. 6; *Anth. Pal.* 7. 439, 468, 602.

435. 11. p's omission of ἄδικον . . . ὁρίσασαν is a *saut du même au même* and there can be no doubt about the tradition. Soffel is right against Nitsche in saying that a certain fullness or combination of synonyms is characteristic of M.; deletion of πρὸς μοῖραν ἄδικον should not be seriously considered.

435. 14. πολλάκις ταὐτά. We accept Bursian's correction though with hesitation. M. does not want to keep repeating himself; his point is that praise and σχετλιασμός must be combined in each part of the speech. This is clear in everything said in 434. 20–435. 9, and

may be seen also in 435. 9–13, since the exclamatory οἷον implies praise of the deceased. By τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποθέσεις (15–16) he seems to mean headings such as ἀπὸ τῶν συμβάντων or ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

435. 16. Cf. 413. 14 ff. for the scheme of 'three times'. Soffel regards the use of this scheme as an innovation of M.'s. In the state of our knowledge, this is not demonstrable. The scheme is sometimes used (Alexander Numeniu, 3. 1 Sp.; cf. Introd., p. xxiv) to distinguish the three εἴδη of rhetoric: deliberation concerns the future, forensic oratory the past, encomium the present and future. But the contrast of past and present is inherent in the expression of loss: Him. *Or.* 8. 5 Colonna, τρισευδαίμων διὰ σὲ πρότερον, νυνὶ δὲ τρισάθλιος.

435. 18. μᾶλλον κινητικώτερος. Cf. Blass–Debrunner, *Gramm. d. ntl. Griechisch*, § 246 for this 'double comparative' which is not uncommon: Ev. Marc. 7 : 36, μᾶλλον περισσότερον, Hermas *sim.* ix. 28. 4, μᾶλλον ἐνδοξότεροι.

435. 20 ff. The sentence is awkwardly expressed but (a) εἰ μακρᾷ . . . θάνατος (21) is parenthetical, and explains 'the manner of death'; (b) in 22 Bursian's ⟨ἤ⟩ suffices.

435. 23. Cf. 436. 14.

435. 31. mW's imperfect tense seems necessary.

436. 15 ff. The description of the beauty that has gone merges into description of its fading and corruption (μαρανθείς . . . συμπεπτωκότα πάντα): the contrast between past and present gives the required pathos. Cf. e.g. Him. *Or.* 8. 7 Colonna: τίς κατέχει κόνις τὰς ἱερὰς ἐκείνας κόμας . . . ; τίς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς τῷ κάλλει μικροῦ καὶ ἡλίου τὰς αὐγὰς ἐλέγχοντας; τίς Ἐρινύων τὸ παρειῶν ἔρευθος καὶ τὸ προσηνὲς καὶ ἡδὺ μειδίαμα τῶν σῶν προσώπων ἐσύλησεν; Greg. Nyss., *In Pulcheriam* 464. 21 ff. Spira: ὅταν . . . καλυφθῇ . . . τοῖς βλεφάροις ἡ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀκτίς, μεταπέσῃ δὲ εἰς ὠχρότητα τῆς παρειᾶς τὸ ἐρύθημα, κρατηθῇ δὲ τῇ σιωπῇ τὸ στόμα, μελαίνηται δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους ἄνθος.

436. 20. ἕλικες οὐκέτι ἕλικες. Soffel takes the second ἕλικες as an adjective ('curling'?). This is unnecessary, and spoils the effect. The 'curves' of the eyelids have flattened and lost their springy movement.

436. 25 ff. M. appears to be content with exempla which are traditional but not wholly apt. The ox and the horse lament their yokefellows (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 515 ff., Stat. *Theb.* 9. 82 ff.), the swan his companion (τὸν σύννομον does not necessarily mean 'mate'; nor can Bursian's τὴν σύννομον be confidently accepted), and the swallow (Philomela or Procne?) perhaps her child.

436. 29. ἀνεὶς τὸ πτερὸν τῷ ζεφύρῳ. For the sake of the sound

thus made by the wind: Aesop, *Fab.* 416[b] Halm, ὅταν ἀνῶμεν τῷ ζεφύρῳ τὰς πτέρυγας ἐμπνεῖν ἡδύ τι καὶ ἐναρμόνιον: Procop. Gaz. *Ep.* 120, ὁ μὲν κύκνος εὐθὺς ἐνήχει ταῖς ἀκοαῖς καὶ ὥσπερ τῷ ζεφύρῳ τὸ πτερὸν ἀνεὶς ὅλος ἀνέκειτο ταῖς ᾠδαῖς: Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 9. 5, αἱ πτέρυγες ἥπλωνται τοῖς κύκνοις πρὸς τὸ πλήττεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου.

436. 30. We accept Nitsche's transposition, with Soffel's addition of ⟨ἡ⟩ before χελιδών. Without this, ὀδύρεται and κατοδύρεται (32) are both applied to the swallow in the same sentence, and this is intolerable. Given the change, ὀδυρόμενα (29) is taken up (a) by ὀδύρεται (30) of the swan, (b) by κατοδύρεται of the swallow.

436. 32. ἐπὶ τῶν πετάλων τῶν δένδρων. *Od.* 19. 520, the nightingale weeps for Itylus δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη; cf. also Ar. *Ran.* 681, Θρηκία χελιδὼν ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἑζομένη πέταλον.

437. 1. Cf. Themist. *Or.* 20 init. (an *epitaphios*): φιλεῖ . . . ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μὴ δέχεσθαι μῆκος ἡ τοιάδε ἐπαγόρευσις. For restriction to a given number of στίχοι cf. 423. 3 ff.

437. 4. ἄνετος. See on 411. 28 ff.

437. 5–446. 13. XVII: *Sminthiakos* (The Sminthiac Oration)

Analysis

437. 6–15. First prooimion: a speech is appropriate to the god of speech, who had given us this power among other benefits. We should always praise gods.

437. 15–27. Second prooimion: Homer and Pindar praised Apollo, but gods accept humbler offerings, and I pray Apollo to give me strength for this enterprise.

437. 27–438. 9. How can I begin?

438. 10–29. How should we address Apollo? I pass over philosophical views of his nature and turn to myth.

438. 29–440. 15. His 'origin': Delos or Lycia? Homer is evidence for Lycia, and it is likely that Apollo should then come first to the Troad, and only later to Delphi, however great his honours there.

440. 15–20. Encomium of the country (reason for this order is given later, 440. 28–32).

440. 20–4. Apollo is our helper.

440. 24–441. 2. Transition to the 'powers' of the god:

441. 3–442. 8. (i) Archery.

442. 9–23. (ii) Prophecy.

442. 24–443. 12. (iii) Music.

443. 13–444. 2. (iv) Medicine (birth of Asclepius).

444. 2–20. Transition to the city, its foundation by Alexander, and its great festivals.

444. 20–6. Description of festival and brief 'thesis' on festivals.

(**444. 26–32.** A note on a general principle: a brief general 'thesis' should precede any account of an acknowledged good—e.g. music— but must be kept within bounds.)

445. 1–24. Description of temple and statue.

445. 25–446. 13. Final appeal to the god, under his many names. This elaborate chapter contains an unusual amount of actual 'fair copy'. The theme was known to later rhetoricians (cf. Nicolaus, *Progymn.* 49. 14 Felten: ἐπιθαλάμιος ἢ προσφωνητικὸς ἢ σμινθιακός) presumably from M.'s treatment. Cf. Introd., p. xxxvi.

The cult of Apollo Smintheus is first known from Chryses' appeal to the god in *Il.* 1. 39 and this Homeric testimony must have contributed greatly to its perpetuation and dissemination. It was not confined to the Troad, but found also in the Aegean islands e.g. Lesbos, Ceos, and Rhodes (for Rhodes, see A. Tresp, *Fr. gr. Kultschriftsteller*, 150 f.: fragments of Philomnestos, περὶ τῶν ἐν ῾Ρόδῳ Σμινθείων). But the main seat of the cult was at Chryse, south of Alexandria Troas (Strabo 13. 1. 48) where the temple-site has been known since 1855. Various legends were told of its origin here (schol. *Il.* 1. 39; Ael. *NA* 12. 5; Strabo, l.c.): they agree in connecting it with a plague of mice, which Apollo destroys. The cult-statue at Chryse, represented on coins, shows Apollo with his foot on a mouse. It is noteworthy that M. shows no clear knowledge of this famous peculiarity, nor of the temple itself (but see 445. 20 ff. for knowledge of the area). His speech, however, is obviously (cf. 444. 3 ff.) meant to be delivered at Alexandria, presumably by a pupil.

For the cult in general see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 142 ff., W. Fauth in *Kl. Pauly*, s.v. *Apollon*, 447. Modern theories as to its origin vary: Nilsson accepts the view that the god wards off field-mice from the crops, others suppose him rather a god of pestilence, as he is shown in the *Iliad*.

437. 6. The chapter begins abruptly, without stating what speech is to be discussed; this is unique in M., and some prefatory sentence is probably missing. He envisages several προοίμια; cf. 425. 32.

437. 15. ῥᾳθυμεῖν. Cf. 409. 32, ῥᾳθυμοῦντος τῆς ἀγωνίας, and 444. 14 (s.v.l.).

437. 16. ⟨καὶ ἐν⟩ ὕμνοις. We accept Bursian's correction though with some hesitation. The alternative is to delete ὕμνοις and take καὶ as 'even'. But what then is the point of identifying the epics as τῇ μεγάλῃ ποιήσει? They must, we think, be contrasted with the hymns; ὕμνοις as a title and ὕμνους below in a more general sense co-exist tolerably in the same sentence.

437. 19. Cf. perhaps the prologue of Hesiod's *Theogony*, where the Muses sing the praises of all the gods, including Apollo and Artemis (14).

437. 20. προὔλαβε. Cf. 430. 12. Pindar (fr. 51ᵃ⁻ᵈ Snell) wrote a hymn εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα Πτῷον.

437. 22–4. A variation of the common prefatory theme of modesty, based on the idea that the gods willingly accept a poor gift from those who can give nothing better: cf. Hor. *Odes* 3. 23; Tibull. 1. 1. 37–8; Marinus, *Vita Procli* 1 : καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους κομψότερον ἐργάζονται τοὺς μὲν ἐν μέτρῳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄνευ μέτρου . . . ἕτεροι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔχοντες προσάγειν, πόπανον δὲ μόνον καὶ χονδρὸν εἰ τύχοι λιβανωτοῦ θύοντες καὶ βραχεῖ δέ τινι προσρήματι τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ποιούμενοι, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκείνων εὐηκόιας ἀπολαύουσιν.

437. 25–6. The repetition of Ἀπόλλωνι is very awkward, but may be defended on the assumption that M. is giving two separate suggested sentences and does not imply that εὔχομαι δὲ κτλ. should come immediately after the preceding sentence in the actual speech. Cf. the repeated ἀρχῆς . . . ἀρχὴν below (29), where—again if the text is right—M. may be suggesting alternatives.

437. 31. †εἰς†. We think a verb necessary but it is not clear whether this is to be supplied (e.g. ⟨εἰσιέναι⟩ εἰς) or εἰς is itself a relic of a transitive verb, e.g. προσειπεῖν. The general sense is not in doubt.

438. 1. σεισθέντων τῶν τριπόδων. Cf. 439. 24, κινῆσαι τρίποδας. Call. *Hymn.* 2. 1 ἐσείσατο δάφνινος ὄρπηξ is explained by the scholia thus: ἐντεθεασμένων καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δαφνίνων τε κλάδων σειομένων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεμένους. P. Amandry, *La Mantique apollonienne à Delphes*, 31, compares Lucian, *Bis accusatus* 1, and associates the 'shaking' with divination by lot, not with uncontrolled movement in trance.

438. 2. κατατολμῆσαι τοῦ πράγματος. Cf. Jo. Chrys. *Hom.* 37. 2 *in* 1 *Cor.*, ἀναγκαῖον κατατολμᾶν τοῦ λόγου.

438. 5–6. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 1 ; cf. Hor. *Odes* 1. 12 with Nisbet–Hubbard.

438. 8. τοῦ γένους. The topic is postponed to 438. 29; the intervening ὕμνος is philosophical and scientific, i.e. a φυσικὸς ὕμνος as described in Treatise I, 336–7. M. seems to be refining on the more natural order recommended by Alex. Num. (3. 5. 5 ff. Spengel), viz. (1) γένος, (2) identification of the god, e.g. identification of Apollo with the sun. By doing so, he eases the transitions to be made to 'encomium of the country' (440. 15) and 'powers of the god' (440. 25).

438. 12. The traditional question τίνα σε χρὴ προσειπεῖν; (cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 144 ff., Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 160) is given alternative answers: (a) Apollo is the sun (cf. 337. 1) : this is

a common identification, first known from tragedy (Aesch. *Supplices* 213 ff., Eur. fr. 781 N) and perhaps originally a Pythagorean idea, but certainly widespread in Hellenistic times, especially under Stoic influence (cf. Cic. *ND* 2. 68 ff. (with Pease's notes), Cornutus 65. 1 Lang, ps.-Heraclit. *Quaest. Hom.* 6) and disputed by opponents of the Stoa (Plu. *Pyth. Or.* 12, 400 c). (b) Apollo is νοῦς. The validity of this (and of the subsequent identifications) rests on Apollo being also the sun. Again, there are some Stoic elements: Cleanthes (*SVF* 1. 499) took the sun to be the ἡγεμονικόν of the κόσμος, and the same doctrine is to be seen, e.g. in Pliny, *NH* 2. 12, 'mundi totius animum ac planius mentem'. M.'s θεολογοῦντες naturally cannot be identified: Stoic and Platonist thought tends to be expressed in very similar language, and it is noteworthy that we have here both the notion of νοῦς . . . διήκων, 'penetrating' or 'passing through' the universe, which is characteristically Stoic, and the contrast between 'this world' (τὰ τῇδε) and the regions of light from which illumination comes, which is much more Platonic. For late Platonizing examples of the idea (which is suggested already by Pl. *Rep.* 7. 517 C, where light is related to the sun in the visible world as truth to νοῦς in the intelligible) note *Corp. Herm.* 16. 6: εἰ δέ τις ἔστι καὶ νοητὴ οὐσία, αὕτη ἐστὶν ὁ τούτου ὄγκος, ἧς ὑποδοχὴ ἂν εἴη τὸ τούτου φῶς, Julian *Or.* 4. 134 A: ἄχραντον ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθαροῦ νοῦ τὴν ἀπανταχῇ προϊοῦσαν αὐγήν. (c) Apollo is the creator. Here we have clear Hermetic parallels: *Corp. Herm.* 16. 5, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν συνδεῖ ὁ δημιουργός, λέγω δὴ ὁ ἥλιος, ibid. 16. 18, πατὴρ μὲν πάντων ὁ θεός, δημιουργὸς δὲ ὁ ἥλιος (see Nock–Festugière ad loc.). (d) The 'demiurge' is of course also the 'second god', so that M.'s third and fourth interpretations are really the same. *Asclepius* 29 makes the identification with the sun: 'secundum etenim deum hunc crede, o Asclepi, omnia gubernantem omniaque mundana inlustrantem.' The function of the 'second power' in M. is to separate the elements and put an end to chaos (cf. *Anth. Lat.* 389. 5 ff. *in laudem solis*: 'nam chaos est sine sole dies').

This passage has been discussed briefly by K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie*, 373, and W. Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur and Götter*, 82 f. There is clearly nothing original in it, but neither is it a complete reproduction of a coherent cosmogony. This kind of 'solar religion' gathers to itself the ideas of Plato, the Stoics, and the traditional view of creation as the separation of elements once confused in chaos. On the general background, see F. Cumont, *La Théologie solaire du paganisme romain*, and M. P. Nilsson, *G. Gr. Rel.* 2. 486 ff.

438. 21. τὴν ἄτακτον ἐκείνην καὶ †ἀμειγῆ† φοράν. Cf. Pl. *Epinomis* 978 A: ἡ σχεδὸν ἀλόγιστός τε καὶ ἄτακτος ἀσχήμων τε καὶ ἄρρυθμος

ἀναρμοστός τε φορά. We take the paradosis to be represented best by P's ἀμειγῆ (but ἀμιγῆ 'unmixed'—though apparently read by Reinhardt, l.c.—is the opposite sense to what is required). Finckh defended ἀμειδῆ 'unsmiling' from Opp. *Hal.* 4. 24, ἐκ χάεος . . . ἀμειδέος. But what is wanted is another word for 'disorderly': πλημμελῆ (Bursian) is recommended by Pl. *Tim.* 30 A, Plu. *De sup.* 171 A; Wilamowitz's ἀνέδην and our παμμιγῆ are also possibilities. None carries complete conviction, but the general sense cannot be in doubt.

438. 22. οὐρανίων ἀψίδων. A Platonic touch, which suggests that M. read οὐράνιον ἀψῖδα at Pl. *Phaedr.* 247 B 1, a difficult crux (see de Vries ad loc.).

438. 25. σοφῶν παισί. Cf. 442. 30. Again Platonic (*Laws* 6. 769 B, οἱ ζωγράφων παῖδες) and common in later literature from Dion. Hal. onwards (W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus* 1. 23, 2. 139).

438. 26. μυθολογούντων. M. now passes from 'philosophical' to 'mythical' matters and this change ought to be expressed; μυθολογούντων (or μύθους λεγόντων) is required.

438. 27. οὗτος . . . ὁ λόγος. The myth of the god's birth, now to follow, will not be inappropriate for him, because it conceals the truth. We should probably think of allegories of Δήλιος (ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα, Cornutus 67. 3 Lang) and of Λύκιος (the wolf devours sheep as the sun's rays evaporate moisture: Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 17. 36 from Cleanthes (*SVF* 1. 541); cf. F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homère dans la pensée grecque*, 194).

439. 4. ἐξελόμενος. Cf. Liban. *Or.* 5 (*Artemis*). 4: μητρὸς δέ, ἣν ἐκεῖνος εἰς τοιαύτας ἐξελέξατο γονάς . . .

439. 5. †ἑτέροις τόκοις†. Hes. *Theog.* 921 (and cf. Apollod. 1. 3. 3) makes Hebe, Ilithyia, and Ares children of Zeus and Hera; in *Il.* 1. 572 ff. Hephaestus is also their child. But Hera's family plays little or no part in legend. Yet, unless there is some specific reference, the point seems frigid. On the other hand, neither Bursian's ἑτερότροπος nor Kroll's ἑτέρωσε τραπείς . . . ⟨οὐκ⟩ ἐφύλαττεν is satisfactory; M. will hardly have recommended an explicit reference to Zeus's un-faithfulness in this pious context.

439. 8. If ἡδέως is what M. wrote, it should be taken with καταλαμ-βάνει; she was glad to get there in time.

439. 10. εὐτυχῆσαι. Cf. 377. 24; 387. 19; 426. 24. The transitive sense is not uncommon: Herodian 3. 10. 5, τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμὴν εὐτύχησε, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1310, πολλῶν ἰχθύων εὐτυχήσας ἄγραν, Proc. Gaz. *Ep.* 48, ταῦτα γὰρ εὐδαιμόνων εὐτύχησαν παῖδες.

439. 11. Cf. Him. *Or.* 38. 2 Colonna: [Delum] ὕφαλον τέως ὑπὸ τῷ πελάγει κρύπτεσθαι.

439. 12. The insertion of ⟨δέ⟩ is an alternative to emending ἀνασχεῖν μέν (10) to ἀνασχοῦσαν (Bursian).

439. 13. οἶδε μέν. Answered perhaps by ἐκ δὲ Λυκίας κτλ. (21).

439. 15. *Il.* 4. 101 and 119: Pandarus' prayer to Apollo.

439. 20. καὶ τί γὰρ οὐ. Cf. Philostr. *VA* 1. 12, ὑποθρύπτων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑγραίνων καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχ ἑλίττων τῶν οὕτως ἀσελγῶν.

440. 3. The variations in the manuscripts make it as legitimate to read ἐποίησε as Spengel's pluperfect ἐπεποιήκει which is much less common with ἄν.

440. 8. τῆς χάριτος. The favour they have received; Kroll's χαρᾶς, 'joy', is needless.

440. 10. εὐχερής, 'easy-going', is not a word of high praise: cf. 406. 7 for εὐχαρῆ.

440. 11. μαντείων. The sense required is 'oracles' not 'prophets'. A minimal change suffices.

440. 19. We take it that τῇ χώρᾳ was a false reading which was corrected by the note γράφε δὲ τῆς χώρας ('but read τῆς χώρας'), which then itself infiltrated the text.

440. 25. The four δυνάμεις are seen also in Callim. *Hymn* 2. 42 ff.:

τέχνῃ δ' ἀμφιλαφὴς οὔτις τόσον ὅσσον Ἀπόλλων·
κεῖνος ὀϊστευτὴν ἔλαχ' ἀνέρα, κεῖνος ἀοιδόν . . .
κείνου δὲ θριαὶ καὶ μάντιες· ἐκ δέ νυ Φοίβου
ἰητροὶ δεδάασιν ἀνάβλησιν θανάτοιο.

Cf. also Diod. 5. 74. 5. The idea gives an attractive scheme for an encomium on the same scale as the four cardinal virtues in the encomia of human beings, or the adaptation of this for *laudes imperatoris* in Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 28 ff. (*scientia, virtus, auctoritas, felicitas*).

440. 28–32. διὰ τοῦτο . . . ἐκ τοῦ τόπου. This is not part of the model, but the rhetor's explanation of what he has been doing. Bursian is probably right to cut out the elementary definition of ὕμνοι in 30 (the term has been used freely without explanation, e.g. at 438. 8). Cf. also 434. 22, and note that M. there wrote ἀπολύτως.

441. 6. βούλομαι δὲ τὰς ἀρετάς. This is part of the 'fair copy' not of the instructions. The genitive τῶν ἀρετῶν is unintelligible and we read the accusative.

441. 13. Tityos: Ap. Rhod. 1. 759:

ἐν καὶ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ὀϊστεύων ἐτέτυκτο,
βούπαις οὔπω πολλός, ἐὴν ἐρύοντα καλύπτρης
μητέρα θαρσαλέως Τιτυὸν μέγαν.

441. 14. Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν. *Od.* 11. 580 of Leto. M. does not mention the version according to which the serpent also attacked Leto (Hyginus 140).

441. 15 ff. M. exemplifies the kind of ἀφέλεια appropriate to myth: the narrative begins with asyndeton, the ὅση-clause (18–19) has no verb, there are many short and simple cola (καὶ . . . οὐδέν 23, ᾦκει . . . οὐδείς 28, ἦν . . . ἔρημον 28–9), anaphora and naïve hyperbole (25–6).

441. 23. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 440, 'tantum spatii de monte tenebas'.

441. 28. M.'s version of the way in which Apollo possessed himself of the oracle resembles that in Apollod. 1. 4. 4 (i. 27 Frazer); for variants, see Amandry, op. cit. 202.

442. 1. W's false ἀκτῖσι was presumably suggested by the thought of Phoebus as the sun. M. presumably means that Apollo kills the serpent with the same arrows as Tityos.

442. 4. Castor was not at Troy (cf. *Il.* 3. 234 ff.), nor was Apollo angry with Achilles for anything done to him. The reading of p adds the true reading Ἕκτορα to the false; Finckh's solution of the problem must be right.

442. 5. The continuous 'fair copy' breaks off here; what follows (καὶ ὅτι κυνηγέτης . . . καὶ ὅτι τοξικὴν . . .) is a set of separate hints, not worked out in detail.

442. 11 ff. The 'thesis' developed here on the blessings of μαντική lays special emphasis on the colonizing impetus of the great oracles. So also Call. *Hymn.* 2. 55 ff.:

> Φοίβῳ δ' ἑσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
> ἄνθρωποι· Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιληδεῖ
> κτιζομένῃσ' . . .
> Φοῖβος καὶ βαθύγειον ἐμὴν πόλιν ἔφρασε Βάττῳ.

Cf. Cic. *De div.* 1. 3; A. S. Pease, *CP* 12 (1917), 1–20.

442. 17. Cf. 387. 24 τὴν ἑῴαν ἅπασαν. Bursian's transposition gives a much better ascending series.

442. 21. Branchidae (Miletus) and the Smintheum, though important oracular sites, do not seem to be credited elsewhere with any influence on colonization.

442. 24. †τῶν πράξεων†. These headings are not πράξεις but ἀρεταί or δυνάμεις though (like the cardinal virtues in normal encomia) they provide a framework for the account of πράξεις. We suspect that τῶν πράξεων has displaced a verb of saying or the like which is necessary for the sentence: ⟨ἐπ'⟩ ἄλλο ἥξεις (cf. 443. 12) would meet the case.

442. 26 ff. Here again M. touches on philosophical speculation, based on the identification of Apollo with the sun, as the player of the cosmic harmony, in a central position in the universe. This again is a set of ideas current from the time of the early Stoics, and

much used in the 'solar theology' of later periods. Cf. *SVF* 1. 502: [Cleanthes] ἄντικρυς πλῆκτρον τὸν ἥλιον καλεῖ· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐρείδων τὰς αὐγάς, οἷον πλήσσων τὸν κόσμον, εἰς τὴν ἐναρμόνιον πορείαν [τὸ φῶς] ἄγει. Cornutus 67. 17 Lang: μουσικὸς δὲ καὶ κιθαριστὴς παρεισῆκται τῷ κρούειν ἐναρμονίως πᾶν μέρος τοῦ κόσμου. *Orph. hymn.* 34. 16: σὺ δὲ πάντα πόλον κιθάρῃ πολυκρέκτῳ / ἁρμόζεις (with Quandt's note). The central position is important. In M. Apollo makes the πόλος revolve about him, if (as we believe) περιδινεῖν (31) is transitive and αὐτόν (32) is Apollo himself. Cf. e.g. Cic. *Somn. Scip.* 4. 4 for the 'Chaldaean' system of the planets, in which the sun is central, with Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars beyond him, and Venus, Mercury, and the moon on the side nearer to the earth. This centrality is much emphasized in later religious texts: e.g. *Corp. Herm.* 16. 6, μέσος γὰρ ἵδρυται στεφανηφορῶν τὸν κόσμον; Jul. *Or.* 4. 132 D, μέσον ἐκ μέσων, 138 C, μέσον ἐν μέσοις ἱδρῦσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς. Cf. also 446. 1.

442. 28. Nitsche's supplement—giving the sense that Apollo 'dances' with the Muses—is supported by 390. 26, but is not essential.

443. 3–7. For the evidence for this familiar aspect of the legend of Orpheus, see Kern, *Orphica*, 14 ff. (he does not include this passage).

443. 17. προπαρασκευάζουσαι. We suggest that the paradosis προδιατιθεῖσαι is due to anticipation of 443. 18 (where W is correct), and that what is needed is a verb which itself, without the addition of a word for 'favourably', expresses the idea of the preparatory 'conditioning' of the hearer: Nic. *Progymn.* 4. 7 Felten supplies the relevant term: προοίμιον μέν ἐστι λόγος παρασκευάζων τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ οἰκείως διατιθεὶς εἰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον.

443. 26. πέπονα. If right, this means 'gentle'. M. perhaps recalls Aesch. *Eum.* 66, ἐχθροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς οὐ γενήσομαι πέπων. But we expect a known title of the god, perhaps παιήονα. Or is πέπονα simply a duplication of παιᾶνα, and to be deleted?

443. 27. ἀλαλκέα ὀδυνῶν. So W: ἀλαλκεύς is *addendum lexicis*; it comes presumably from ἀλαλκεῖν 'ward off', and is unlikely to be the result of corruption or emendation. We take m's ἀλκέα ὀδυνῶν as a corruption, p's ἀκεσώδυνον (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 815, ἀκεσώδυνον ὕδωρ) as an emendation.

443. 28. καὶ ⟨συγγραφεῖς⟩ σύμπαντες. The supplement seems necessary for the sense: καὶ ... καὶ must be 'both ... and' and we need a class of persons to contrast with the poets.

443. 32–444. 2. A note of general application, not applying specifically to γένεσις Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

444. 1. πατρίων. Cf. e.g. 382. 14; 394. 25. πάτρια is a regular title for works dealing with local traditions: A. Cameron, *Claudian*,

7 ff. The addition of such material helps to relate the general account of the qualities of the god to the particular circumstances of a city, to which the orator now passes, beginning a passage of fair copy at τοιγαροῦν (444. 4).

444. 6. †μὲν ἐκίνησεν†. We believe there is corruption here, though the extent of it is uncertain. This is not because μὲν is apparently unanswered by δὲ (this would not matter), but because it involves an extremely awkward change of subject to take σύμβολα as the subject of ἐκίνησεν (Alexander can hardly be said to 'set in motion' the portents himself), and this objection is particularly strong in what is evidently a carefully written passage. Bursian's ⟨αὐτὸν⟩ clarifies the sense, but does not meet this difficulty. A verb meaning 'observed' or 'accepted' would be natural: e.g. (κατ-)ἐνόησεν, (κατ-)εἶδεν or the like.

This foundation legend (cf. 388. 6) is anyway unhistorical. The city was founded as Antigonia, c.310 BC, and later renamed Alexandria, probably after Ipsos (301). W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, 233 ff. gives an outline of the history.

444. 10. προφαίνοντος (W) is to be preferred. The word is appropriate to indications given by an oracle (Demosth. 21. 54, Plu. *Mor.* 149 D, 244 E, etc.), and the variant προπέμποντος may well be due to the influence of καταπέμποντος above.

444. 16–17. ὕμνοις ἱλασκόμεθα. Cf. 379. 6, τὸ κρεῖττον ὕμνοις καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἱλασκόμεθα. Bursian was on the right lines, but presumably did not observe this close parallel with the present passage.

444. 26. ⟨ἀγαθὰ γίγνεσθαι⟩. Isocr. *Paneg.* 44: τοσούτων τοίνυν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τὰς συνόδους ἡμῖν γιγνομένων.

444. 26–32. Another general rule (cf. 443. 32), applicable to all such uses of thesis material concerning ὁμολογούμενα ἀγαθά or other ἔνδοξα. 'Acknowledged goods' are (e.g.) happiness, wealth, honour (Aristot. *Rhet.* 1362ᵇ9–29 gives a list: cf. Isocr. *Helena* 14) and are the normal material of encomium. By τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον (30), M. seems to mean local or traditional details: cf. 443. 28 ff. where the myth of Asclepius follows the 'thesis' on the blessings of medicine.

445. 1. τὴν ἔκφρασιν τῆς πανηγύρεως. Cf. 444. 20 ff.

445. 1 ff. The description of the temple is generalized and the author gives no signs of actual knowledge (e.g. the cult-statue is mentioned (16 ff.) without the famous mouse on which Apollo rested his foot: Strabo 13. 1. 48, Leaf, op. cit. 241 f.).

445. 2 ff. Text uncertain. There are various possibilities, but we tentatively accept m's omission of τὸ ὕψος and read ἐξεικαστέος (note ὑπερφέρων, 4).

445. 3. †τοὺς τοιούτους†. Nitsche suggested τὰς τοιαύτας (sc.

ἀκροπόλεις), but this does not help: the comparison is with any citadel, not with citadels of a certain kind. Aristid. *Or.* 27. 19 (a classic description and encomium of a temple) says of the temple at Cyzicus: φαίης ἂν . . . τὸν . . . νεὼν ἀντὶ τοῦ παντὸς περιβόλου . . . i.e. the temple is as impressive as a whole sacred area. This suggests that we should consider τοὺς περιβόλους ('precincts') in this passage. We translate on these lines.

445. 4. Cf. Aristid. *Or.* 27. 17, ὁ νεὼς ἀντὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀρκεῖ (as a landmark from the sea).

445. 5. Bursian rightly takes τῶν ὀρῶν as repeated from the line above. We adopt a variation on his conjecture λίθου. The temple was, it seems, of Cyzicene marble.

445. 6. The direct speech of the 'fair copy' begins at ἔτι and continues to ἐκπλαγείη in 7.

445. 8–12. If we read οὕτω for αὐτῷ in 9, and take it with all three rhetorical questions, the sense is satisfactory, though it is tasteless to mention Amphion's lyre as well as Apollo's, and intolerable to have the 'Theban walls' as an exemplum, so soon after Amphion. M. may be giving alternative suggestions; but if anything is to be deleted, it should be ποῖα . . . Θηβαῖα, not (as Nitsche proposed) the whole passage εἴποις . . . Ἀθηναίοις. Cf. Aristid. *Or.* 27. 38: ποῖαι ταῦτα Σεσωστρίδος στῆλαι δύναιντ᾽ ἂν ὑπερβαλέσθai;

445. 14–15. So again Aristides on Cyzicus, *Or.* 27. 18: Homer and Hesiod would have said ὡς ἄρα Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλων κοινῇ φιλοτεχνήσαντες ἀπειργάσαντο τὸ ἔργον τῇ πόλει.

445. 15. There is no such difference in meaning between κατασκευάζειν and δημιουργεῖν as to make it plausible to retain μᾶλλον as 'correcting' the previous statement by alleging a superior activity on the part of the gods concerned. We suggest δεδημιούργηκεν. The point is that the two divinities most closely associated with craftsmanship, viz. Athena and Hephaestus (mW's reading is clearly preferable), now take the place of the single 'earth-shaker' Poseidon in the Homeric story of Laomedon's walls, and Alexandria is more glorious than her predecessor because she had the help of three gods not two, and professional builders at that.

445. 20. For the bay (δάφνη) as Apollo's plant, cf. Amandry, op. cit. 126; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 4. 124. Apollo himself, like his prophetesses, is often represented garlanded with bay or holding a branch.

445. 22. Chryse and the temple are about 15 miles south of Alexandria. The site of the temple 'lies among gardens and orchards' (Leaf, 226), i.e. it is well watered, as M. says.

445. 28. τελευτήσει is much more apt than καταντήσει. Cf. *Il.*

9. 97, ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι, or Theocr. 18. 1, ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώ-
μεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι with Gow's note.

445. 28 ff. A list of titles such as this is also conventional: cf.
Call. *Hymn.* 2. 69–71, Aristid. *Or.* 43. 30 (titles of Zeus). Stat. *Theb.*
1. 696–720 (hymn to Apollo, including also other features of M.'s
Sminthiac). Of the titles here given, most are familiar: for *Lykeios* and
Delios see Nilsson, *G. Gr. Rel.* 1. 505, 521; *Aktios*, from the cult at
Actium, is important especially in the Roman period, when Apollo
Patroos, as in classical Greece, continued to be much worshipped
(Nilsson, op. cit. 2. 312). *Amyklaios* from Amyclae in Laconia is well
attested also; *Branchiates* is explained by Metrodorus of Scepsis
(*FGrHist* 184 F 16) as derived from the name of a Thessalian youth
name Branchus. Apollo *Askraios*, from Hesiod's home town, is how-
ever unique, so far as we know. M. L. West suggests to us the possi-
bility of corruption from Ἀκραῖος, a title appropriate to Apollo as
dwelling on a height (cf. his cult-title Ἀκρίτας at Sparta, Paus. 3. 12.
8); ὑπακραῖος is also a possibility (cf. Nilsson *G. Gr. Rel.* 2. 312;
IG II² 2891–931). But it seems safer to assume that M. knew (or
thought he knew) of an Ascraean Apollo.

446. 3. For the 'syncretism' with Mithras cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 719–20,
'. . . seu Persei sub rupibus antri / indignata sequi torquentem cornua
Mitram'; Nonnus, *Dion.* 40. 399 f.

> εἴτε Σάραπις ἔφυς . . .
> εἰ Κρόνος, εἰ Φαέθων πολυώνυμος, εἴτε σὺ Μίθρης,
> Ἥλιος Βαβυλῶνος.

The identification with Horus is first found in Hdt. 2. 144 and is
common later. Plu. *Is. et Os.* 375 F is typical: τὴν . . . ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ
ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένην δύναμιν Ὧρον, Ἕλληνες δ' Ἀπόλλωνα.
M. derives the name Horus from ὧραι as e.g. Porphyry does (*De
imag.*, ap. Euseb. *PE* 3. 11): ᾗ περὶ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ κόσμου περιπολεῖ
καὶ χρόνων ἐστὶ ποιητικὸς καὶ καιρῶν ὁ ἥλιος, Ὧρος κατὰ τοῦτο κέκληται.
Cf. the verses quoted in J. Lydus, *De mensibus* 2. 5:

> Ἥλιος Ὧρος Ὄσιρις ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,
> ὡρῶν καὶ καιρῶν ταμίης ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὄμβρων.

446. 4. E. Rohde (*Psyche*, E. T. 288 and n.) uses our passage to
demonstrate the possibility of this identification in later times. Cf.
also Apollo Βάκχιος, *Orph. hymn.* 34. 7; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31. 11, καίτοι
τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔνιοί φασιν εἶναι τὸν
αὐτόν. In fact, it is clear that the close association of Apollo and Diony-
sus at Delphi did lead, by the Hellenistic period, to representations
of Apollo indistinguishable from those of Dionysus: Amandry, op. cit.

198, gives references. Both gods are *Μουσηγέται*, and this lends some colour to Spengel's *Μοῦσαι* in 446. 6 (see below).

446. 6. †Θοῦραι†. This could conceal another kind of maenad, but Wilamowitz's *Θριαί* (from Callim. *Hymn.* 2. 45) is very uncertain; the scholium ad loc. says *θριαί* are *μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι* discovered by three nymphs (on whom see also Amandry, op. cit. 27–8). On the whole, Spengel's *Μοῦσαι* seems better. For *θυιάδες* see Alcman, *PMG* 63.

446. 7. See on 442. 26 ff.

APPENDIX

Pseudo-Dionysius, *On Epideictic Speeches*

The seven chapters here translated are the surviving parts of a treatise on various types of epideictic orations, very like 'Treatise II' in Menander. They are attributed in Parisinus 1741, which is the sole primary source for them, to Dionysius of Halicarnassus; but they bear no resemblance to his genuine work, and probably date from much the same period as our 'Treatise II'. The stylistic exuberance and the interest shown by the author in Plato (cf. 'Treatise I') make it plausible to regard them as products of a Platonist rhetor, a common class of man in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. There are modern editions by H. Usener (1891) and L. Radermacher (1905). We follow Radermacher's text, and indicate divergences from it in our brief notes. References are to Radermacher's pages and lines (Dionysius Halicarnaseus, vol. 6 = *Opuscula* vol. 2, Leipzig, Teubner, 1905).

[255] I   PANEGYRICS[1]

Festivals are an invention and gift of the gods, granted us for a relaxation from the continual labours of life, as Plato[2] has it, because the gods took pity on the weary race of man. They were convened by wise men and established by cities by common decision for the delight and amusement of those present. Different people make different contributions to festivals: from the rich comes expenditure of money, from the rulers splendour in the festival and abundance of the necessary provisions; athletes do honour with their physical strength, the

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[1] *Τέχνη περὶ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν.* This chapter does not correspond with any in M. (though *Κλητικός* and *Σμινθιακός* are related to it), and a brief analysis may assist the reader:

255. 3–256. 13. General introduction: festivals are gifts of the gods, instituted by wise men and cities, adorned and assisted by the participants according to their tasks and abilities.

256. 14–257. 5. Praise of the god is thus the first topic.

257. 6–19. Next comes praise of the city.

257. 20–258. 11. Origin of the festival and comparison with others: seasonal advantages.

258. 12–19. Types of competition.

258. 20–259. 15. The prizes.

259. 16–24. Concluding praise of the emperor.

260. 1–17. Appropriate style.

[2] *Laws* 2. 653 C–D.

servants of the Muses and Apollo with their music. A man who is [256] concerned with literature, and has dedicated his whole life to it, may properly, I fancy, make his contribution to the splendour of the occasion by such means,[3] pursuing his speech with art, so that it is not as the common herd might make it.

Allow me then, Echecrates,[4] to be your guide on a road that the many have not trodden, and tell you, for this purpose, what I have inherited from the fathers of my wisdom, and they and their predecessors (so they said) acquired from Hermes and the Muses—no less a gift than the shepherd of Ascra had from those same Muses on Helicon.[5] So let us pursue our speech with the aid of art in this way.

A god is always the leader and namegiver of any festival : Olympian Zeus of Olympia, Apollo of the festival[6] at Pytho. So let the beginning of the speech be the praise of this god, whoever he is ; a far-gleaming front[7] of the speech, as it were. You should then praise him on the ground of his attributes : if it is Zeus, he is the king of the gods and creator of the universe ; if Apollo, he is the inventor of music, and identical with the Sun,[8] who is the cause of all good things for all ; if Heracles, he is the son of Zeus, and you can say what he gave to [257] human life. In general, the passage will be made up of what each god invented or provided for mankind. These points should be brief, so that the preliminary speech is not too long in comparison with what is to follow.

One must next tackle the praise of the city in which the festival is held ;[9] its position, its origin—including the identity of the founder god or hero and anything that can be said about him—and what the city has done in war or in peace. It will also be in place to speak of its size if it is great, or, should it be small, to say that it is preeminent in beauty and, though small, yet equal to the great in influence. Add also its splendours, e.g. temples or the dedications in them, public and private holidays (e.g. Herodotus speaks of the buildings in Babylon that have five or six roofs[10]), and any river that is there, large or clear or doing a service to the inhabitants of the country. Myths told about the city would also lend much sweetness to the speech.

After this, one must speak of the competition itself : its beginning and establishment, the reason for its foundation, whether a myth or

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[3] 256. 4 : we follow Hermann in omitting λόγοις.

[4] Unknown ; the name is most familiar as that of a character in Plato's *Phaedo*, and is not common in imperial times.

[5] Hes. *Theog.* 22–34.   [6] 256. 16 : read τῆς [sc. πανηγύρεως] for τοῦ.

[7] Pind. *Ol.* 6. 3.   [8] Cf. M. 337. 1, 448. 12, and notes.

[9] In general, see M. 346 ff.

[10] Hdt. 1. 180 ('three or four' roofs, not 'five or six').

some other ancient tradition. At this stage, do not simply pass over [258] the topic; you must institute a comparison with other games. You will have no difficulty about this in the speech, e.g. by making a comparison about the season:[11] if the festival is in spring, this is the best balanced time; if in winter, it is in the strongest and (one might say) manliest season; if in summer, the spectacle was devised for the exercise of the spectators, and is a test of their determination, to the extent that the spectators would have to struggle even in the absence of athletes! You can praise autumn similarly, on the ground of the harvesting of crops and the rest that men now have from their labours.

One must also consider the nature of the arrangement of the competition. If it is both 'musical' and athletic, it is the most perfect competition, a comprehensive combination of bodily strength, beauty of voice, and other kinds of 'music'. If it is solely athletic, it has rejected 'music' as making the mind effeminate, and has chosen bodily strength. This type of competition (you may add) is useful for developing courage in war.

Do not pass casually over the crown itself, whatever the prize is, for there will be no lack of opportunity for praise at this point either. The oak is sacred to Zeus, and is the first and oldest food of men;[12] [259] it is not dumb, but one spoke at Dodona. If the crown is of olive, this is sacred to Athena, is a cure for pains, the ancients made trophies of this tree, it is the symbol of victory, and Athena garlanded herself with it first, when she defeated Poseidon;[13] moreover, it is specially appropriate to the competitors—gymnastic exercise involves the use of olive-oil—and it contributes to the speech by which festivals are honoured.[14] Of the bay, you will say that it is sacred to Apollo, and a prophetic tree; if you care to touch on the myth of Daphne,[15] this will not be out of place. Similarly, if there is any other crown— e.g. of wheat or pine[16]—you will have much to say of it. Nor will a comparison between the garland and those used elsewhere fail to confer prestige.

Let the climax of your whole speech be praise of the emperor, because he who presides over peace is really the organizer of all festivals, since it is peace that enables them to be held. Some speakers have praised the actual organizers of the games, if they are dis-

[11] Cf. M. 366. 10.

[12] Acorns are traditionally the food of primitive humanity: see e.g. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 148.

[13] Cf. e.g. Aristid. *Panath.* 41.

[14] i.e. orators have to burn the midnight oil to compose their speeches. A scholion (cited by Radermacher) alludes to Demosthenes' speeches 'smelling of the lamp'.

[15] i.e. the story of her metamorphosis, as in Ov. *Met.* 1. 452 ff.

[16] As at the Isthmia: cf. Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 5. 3 (675 D ff.) for lore on this subject.

tinguished, saying that they have previously been of service in other ways, and are specially ambitious in this. If you have nothing more important to put forward, make the point that this is the greatest and most truly Hellenic foundation of patriotic ambition.

The diction should vary according to the individual's talents or [260] intention. If my opinion is to prevail, I am inclined to advise that it should not be homogeneous, but varied and mixed, treating some topics with simplicity, some with Isocratean antitheses and parisoses, and some with elevation. I know that the chief and leader of our choir[17] almost always, or at least generally, proceeded in this way, unless he had planned to write in a particular manner. The material gave him the impetus for each style. One must in fact adopt a style that follows the lead of the thought, e.g. by treating narrative passages or those relating to myth with simplicity, anything concerning emperors or gods with grandeur, and anything involving contrasts or comparisons in the style of public rhetoric—unless indeed one offers a single uniform style with a view to one's dignity. What I have recommended however is more suitable for epideictic performance, and more likely to give popular pleasure.

II   PROCEDURE FOR MARRIAGE SPEECHES[18]

It would have been delightful to be with you, and dance and revel with you, my dear friend, and sing the praises of the marriage shortly [261] to be made, and indeed to chant the hymeneal song proper to the wedding. But since our present bondage, as it were, to literature and current teaching seems to separate us bodily and spatially—God forbid that we may ever be separated in soul, in attitudes and in the goodwill that comes from these!—let there be at least a gift from me as a contribution to, and adornment of, the wedding; I should not wish you yourself to be without knowledge of what is commonly said about these things, whether you wish to keep it for yourself or make a present of it to someone else. No doubt you have yourself on other occasions struck up some preliminary strains in this sort of speech, when you were pursuing the first paths of rhetoric with me as a very young man, writing and composing the exercises and practice pieces of rhetoric, and especially what are called *theses*, and,

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¹⁷ Presumably Plato.
¹⁸ *Μέθοδος γαμηλίων*. See on M. 399. 11 ff. It is probably only coincidence that the chapters of [Dion. Hal.] which have *μέθοδος* in the title (II–VI) are also those which correspond with subjects treated in M. There seems no special significance in the term *μέθοδος*; the chapters which do not have it (I and VII) cohere together, but are indistinguishable in scope and pattern from those which do.

among these, the arguments relating to marriage itself and the exhortation to it.[19] The subject of the desirability of marriage is set to young students for writing more often than any other. The topic now under consideration is not very far removed from the pursuit of this type of composition. It naturally ⟨employs⟩ the same sort of topics we use in *theses*: ⟨e.g.⟩ the topic based on the gods, viz. that [262] they discovered and showed the way to marriage for mankind, for Zeus and Hera ⟨were gods⟩, the first who joined and coupled; Zeus is called father of all, and Hera 'Zygia', from the joining of male with female, and it was from these divinities that the choir of the other gods came into life, those who are acclaimed at marriages and are called gods of marriage and birth. Marriage is the cause of these gods' being named and honoured; for without marriages their honours would not have come into human ken.

You should next introduce the argument about nature, and explain that begetting and conceiving are her work, and her work[20] permeates all things, both animals and plants. We shall then adduce the peculiar characteristic of human copulation and association, namely that animals copulate simply and in any fashion, but man has devised an order and law of marriage, not allowing copulation in herds like the wild beasts, but contriving a union and association of two as the most serviceable for an entire life. It was through marriage (we should add) that men freed themselves from their bestial and erring life. It is by the union and association of marriage that the [263] human race has become immortal, like a fire kindled and handed on to the next comers in the succession of generations by human procreation, and never extinguished. This one might well call the fairest contribution: it is not of money or property of any kind, but of nature herself and of the race.

You should next examine the advantages that accrue to the married. First, in reputation: they are the better reputed, because, with their marriage, they at once enjoy the fairest part of virtue, namely temperance. For marriage at once gives men a reputation for temperance, and such persons are thought to have given up promiscuous sex and to look each to his own wife and to her alone. From this, men inevitably become more highly thought of, and come to be regarded as more reliable and loyal to their country in every respect, because they have given their country hostages as it were, in the form of their children, for whose sake they are bound to be taken more into consultation.

[19] Cf. M. 400. 32 ff. and notes.
[20] 262. 13; so Radermacher, but it must be strongly suspected that τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς is an interpolation.

Marriage is also of the greatest use in facing the pains and distresses of life; it makes them lighter burdens as it were, because we share our distresses with our wives and are comforted by their companionship. At the same time, pleasures must appear more delightful, because we do not keep our enjoyment to ourselves but have children and wives and other relations to share our celebrations and pleasures. [264] Feasts and celebrations are delightful because they take place in the company of many. Marriage too must enlarge family connections. From marriage arose, first, joint households, then villages, then cities. From marriage connections came greater knowledge and kinship with foreign parts.

Now is the time to adduce and mention famous or historic marriages and the benefits that have accrued to mankind through them, and how distress is averted by marriage: e.g. how Menelaus became immortal because of his marriage with Helen,[21] and Peleus because of his marriage with Thetis,[22] and how Admetus escaped his destined death through Alcestis.

When you have dealt adequately with these points, you should make use of a prayer containing a wish for good fortune in the marriage and the birth of children, and for the averting of misfortune. You must then give a vivid description, in prophetic words as it were, of their future life with their children; how a group of children is particularly delightful, if it is vouchsafed to him, to an old man, and how it gives him in a sense a rejuvenation and a new strength, in the company of his children.[23] At this point, it is necessary to remind him of what he himself did in youth; the memory of what happened in our childhood is also pleasant. Again: there is nothing else that makes us live our lives anew from the beginning. If a man takes pleasure in seeing an inanimate image of himself, ⟨how much more pleased will he be⟩ when he sees not an inanimate image but an [265] animate one, and not one but perhaps many! Here you should again mention historical instances of people who have been fortunate in their children or have found escape from evil by their means, as Anchises through Aeneas.

Nor should you omit the personalities of the partners in the marriage, but praise them also. Sometimes, this topic should be used at the beginning, sometimes at the end: if the personalities have great prestige, at the beginning; if not, postpone it and put it at the end. The praise will contain the elements of encomia, and the topics are

[21] *Od.* 4. 563.

[22] A variant of the normal legend, which makes Peleus die in Cos; his 'immortality' does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

[23] We retain P's εἰ in 264. 19 (οἱ Rad.), and provisionally accept Sylburg's ⟨ποιεῖ⟩ in 20, which at least gives the sense required.

the same, viz. native country, family, nature, upbringing; ⟨they are to be represented as⟩ both equal, alike, and reliable, and descended from parents and ancestors of the same type. If they are of the same city 'they have long been brought close together by their proximity'; if of different cities, 'the gods have brought them together in their union'. If they are of the same family, 'an increase and closeness of kinship has been added to that which existed, a firmer and securer bond'. When they are of different professions, the one from the military world, the other from that of education, 'this is the best harmony, the coming together in one of wisdom and of courage:

[266] what children may one expect to be born of such a pair!'

If it is the bridegroom himself who makes the speech, he must make an elegant prooemium on this very point, as you yourself must do. 'If lovers praise their beloved, much more should one praise marriage.' 'One must use one's eloquence and education for this purpose too.'

[. . . speaking a prelude, as it were, and making a prophecy about the children, to the effect that they too are likely to excel in education.[24]]

The style to be used should be simple, on the lines of Xenophon or Nicostratus,[25] but occasionally raising the tone to one of dignity, if this is required by the thought.

III   PROCEDURE FOR BIRTHDAY SPEECHES[26]

Next you have the speech on the birth of children. (Birth of course is connected with marriage.) It should be composed on the following principles.

Since the day on which a person was born is the beginning of his being, it is necessary to say a little about the day, composing a kind of encomium of its qualities, and noting if it has any special

[267] characteristic which other days have not. Thus if it is the new moon, it is the beginning of the month, and beginnings are best, and all things come from a beginning: it is indeed half the whole, or rather, as Plato says,[27] it is the whole. If it is the sixth or seventh of the month, these days are sacred to the Two Goddesses, and the facts of the birth assure a community with the divine power. Of the ninth, you can also say that it is sacred to the sun, and it is natural that such a man should be distinguished and probably a benefactor, as is the Sun's nature.

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[24] This fragment of a sentence (266. 10–12) is clearly out of place here. Since ancestry is discussed (265. 14–18) under the two heads of (i) similarity, (ii) dissimilarity, we may expect a similar treatment of 'education and accomplishments'. This fragment may therefore be a portion of a passage which belongs before ὅταν δὲ κτλ. (265. 21).

[25] Cf. M. 390. 1.   [26] Cf. M. 412. 3 ff.   [27] *Laws* 6. 753 E.

If it is the fifteenth, this is the day of Athena, and at this point the moon's orb is perfect, and such a birth as he enjoys will naturally be without deficiency. So with other days: relate them to beginning or end, consider their qualities, and so try to compose a praise of them.

After the day, it is necessary to consider the time. For one thing, this means the season—winter, spring, or the other divisions of the year—just as in praising a festival we note the peculiarities of the season, attributing courage to one, cheerfulness to another, to summer the fullness of the earth with good things, and to the remaining season rest and relaxation from work. We should also sometimes note what is incidental to the season: e.g. whether a person was born at some festival, such as the Dionysia or the mysteries. All these things will give you [268] opportunities for praise.

After this we should proceed to the place of birth. First the environment—Asia, Europe; the race[28]—Greek or barbarian; and also the wisdom, courage, or other qualities of the race. Next the circumstances within the environment: his city, his metropolis: 'The city is close to a metropolis in honour—great, populous, fertile in manly virtue'—or any other human excellence it may possess. Next again, circumstances within the city: what sort of household did he come from? 'Not humble, not without prestige.' 'Nor was his family without prestige.' Who were his ancestors and parents? ⟨Compose⟩ a brief praise of these on the basis of their qualities.

One should next proceed to the praise of the subject of the encomium, whose birthday it is. What are his natural qualities—physique, strength? If he is tall, compare him to Ajax; if handsome and brave, to Achilles; if ⟨eloquent or⟩ wise and just or temperate, to the appropriate characters—Nestor, Themistocles, Aristides, Phocion. If he is a good man, 'he combines spirit with gentleness, is quick to understand'. If he is small, 'he is greater in virtue of soul, like Tydeus or [269] Conon'.[29] What is he like in his way of life? A man of taste? Of magnificence?

What about his relations with individuals, with the city, his generosity in the public service?

If he is an expert in some branch of knowledge, such as medicine or rhetoric or philosophy, introduce praise on these subjects in the form of a *thesis*, enumerating the fields in which each of these arts is useful. This will give the speech richness.

What has he been like? What is he like now? What is he going to be like in the future?

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[28] Text and logic uncertain, and perhaps affected by interpolation. We transpose τὸ ἔθνος to follow Εὐρώπην (268. 6).

[29] Tydeus: *Il.* 5. 801. Conon: we have been unable to find other evidence for this fact.

At this point, it would be quite in place to pray to the gods, including those of birth, for his future life, for its being better than the past, and for his completing many cycles of years and coming to a fresh and prosperous old age.

[IV]   PROCEDURE FOR THE BRIDAL-CHAMBER
SPEECH (*EPITHALAMIOS*)[30]

The speech delivered at the bridal chamber precedes that on birth; it nearly escaped my attention because of the disorder and confusion of departure.[31] It naturally follows the marriage speech, and is indeed [270] almost identical, except for the difference of time, since it is spoken at the conclusion of the marriage. In other respects it is in keeping with the speech already described, and is sung at the wedding in place, as it were, of the hymeneal song. There are some examples of this type in Sappho, songs entitled simply 'epithalamioi'. But since poetry and prose have very different methods of handling material, and differ in thought as well as in metre, I think you will find it appropriate to handle this subject also by making the point at the start, in the prooemium, that 'others sing the hymeneal song, we sing in prose instead, not with flutes or lyres or any such beauteous sound, but with praises and hymns honouring the newly married pair'.

Adduce next the argument that marriage is necessary for human beings, because it preserves the race, and enumerate the blessings of marriage. Then pass to the personalities of the two who are coming together in the marriage. In this section, you will speak of their origin and upbringing, physical beauty and age, advantages of fortune, [271] accomplishments, personal eagerness for the wedding and the union, the attitude of friends, strangers, and the whole city as a community. 'Everyone longs for this wedding. It is like a festival, a day of the new moon,[32] a public feast of the city.' Just as, in the marriage speech, we recommended consideration, among other things, of the question whether they are both from the same country or race, so here also you should be careful not to make too little of this section of the speech.

After the praises and encomia, let there be an exhortation to the married couple, to be fond of one another and live in concord as far as possible. Explain the blessings that are sure to follow with such concord and affection, and proceed from the general to the particular. 'Concord is the source of blessings for all mankind, but especially for

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[30] Cf. M.'s κατευναστικός, 405. 14 ff., with notes.

[31] A curious touch of realism; the author is so disturbed, not now by academic duties (as at 261. 4 ff.) but by some domestic move, that he forgets to write out the ἐπιθαλάμιος before the γενεθλιακός.

[32] νεομηνία; but perhaps ἱερομηνία should be read?

the married.' For this, one should take up the passage of Homer, employing an 'authoritative judgement': 'there is no greater good

> than when in agreement of mind,
> a man and a woman dwell in their house together'.[33]

Explain also the painful consequences of this for their enemies, and the pleasant consequences for their friends. Finally, make use of a prayer, that children may be born as soon as possible, so that you may live to see their marriage also, and sing their wedding song, and have a subject for this sort of speech once again.

[V] PROCEDURE FOR ADDRESSES [272]
(*PROSPHŌNĒMATIKOI*)[34]

My dear Echecrates: Isocrates—your friend and mine—says in his advice to the son of Hipponicus,[35] that the quality good men need, as much as any, is affability. This means, as he says himself, speaking to people one meets. But if it is necessary to do this to individuals, so as to ensure by such affability that we make them as far as possible more friendly and better disposed to ourselves, the business—i.e. this kind of address—is much more essential if we are dealing with men of authority and official position, and particularly those who come from time to time to our nations and cities from the emperors, so as to make them also, by this means, more amicably disposed to our native countries. Of course the practice is universal, and there is a sort of law or principle generally observed, under which cities make a public address to these persons at their first entrance within the gates, as one might say, by the mouth of some individual chosen from those noted for their education, who speaks [273] as it were with the public voice and makes an address on the common behalf. Let us therefore discuss these speeches also, and explain how we may best and most easily handle them.

In general, the manner of these speeches involves a sort of recommendation of one's country to the future rulers. This is not however the only point to handle in the speech; in this context one must not neglect oneself either. In my view, therefore, the most essential beginning is to speak of oneself and one's plans, why one has been chosen out of all the rest to give the speech, and how the theme of the speech is essential for oneself. This passage should contain some courtesies to the governor, assuming that he welcomes all such persons and as it were stretches out his hand. 'This is why I agreed

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[33] *Od.* 6. 182.   [34] Cf. M.'s *Prosphōnētikos*, 413. 31 ff. and notes.
[35] *To Demonicus* (*Or.* 1) 20.

the more readily. One could indeed learn this of him by hearsay at once, but it has become much more evident by the actual sight of him; his character and his ready attitude to these things become apparent from the brightness of his countenance.' After these preliminaries to the speech, you should proceed to the encomium of the emperor, making this brief, and indeed making a point of this, by saying that [274] 'the whole of time would not be enough for this', and that it belongs to a different occasion from the present one. You should conclude the encomium with the point that one of the emperor's noble features is that he chose a man like this to send down to your[36] nation, a man after his own fashion.

At this point the encomium of the governor should begin. Here too one should use the encomiastic topics—family, nature, upbringing. If these are well known, go into them in detail. If they are obscure, proceed by probable conjecture: 'A man thought worthy of such great honours is bound to be unsurpassed by any in race, nature, and upbringing: it is these that won him the preference.' Well-known facts should be noted more precisely: e.g. 'If this is what he was like in his youth, what should we expect for the future?' Or, 'He is young in years but old in wisdom.' If he is old: 'Having given proof of his virtue in many things, it was natural that he should be entrusted with this office.' And: 'Part of his good fortune is to be in full vigour in his old age.' If there is a grandeur about his personality, do not pass over this hastily. If he is a scholar, make an encomium of educa- tion: 'the educated are especially deserving of office and of a command [275] of this kind'. If he is educated in the Latin language, compare him to the best of the Romans; if in Greek, to the best of the Greeks. For this reason,[37] he is just, temperate, and precise in giving judgement: here too one must use examples of persons—Aristides, Themistocles— adapting and comparing, and showing how he is superior to them.

One should also add—when these are available—previous actions and offices held, whether on campaigns or in civil administration. If we are in a position to mention honours conferred on his ancestors, these too must be included. There should follow an exhortation and invitation to show goodwill to the city, making the point that they have good hopes of him. 'This is clear from the fact that he has accepted the city in this way, has met and talked with everyone with humanity and easy accessibility. And it was natural that he should do this: the city is one which shows gratitude to those who use her well.'

Next comes the praise of the city, if you wish: its origin, its power in its revenues, the culture of the inhabitants, the tributary territory

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[36] This must be the sense, whether we read P's αὐτοῦ, or emend to ἑαυτοῦ (Radermacher) or σαυτοῦ.

[37] We translate the paradosis διὰ τοῦτο, but the connection of thought is obscure.

from which the revenue comes: if this is extensive, reckon it to the city's strength; if small, 'she is content even with this'. You must then mention the founder, whoever he is, god, hero, ancient or recent monarch. If we have myths relating to the city, these should not be [276] omitted either. After this comes the greatness of the city, its beauty, its position—whether it is a mainland city, or coastal, or an island. If we are in a position to mention honours from emperors, these must not be omitted either, any more than past actions, ancient or recent, or previous honours conferred by us on past rulers.

With all this should be combined the exhortation and invitation to think well of the city: 'good rulers should assign their kindnesses to such cities'. At the end, we shall employ a prayer for the emperor and the governor himself. We shall say something again about ourselves. If we are beginners, 'we shall win honour and glory from this'. If we are of those who have already won a reputation and made speeches, we shall speak of ourselves inoffensively and conclude our speech by declaring that we have some hope not only that our reputation will be preserved by this, but that it will be much advanced for the future.

A mixed style will be most appropriate for a speech of this type— sometimes periodic, sometimes elevated, simpler in the myths. [277] Clarity of style must be a particular concern of the speaker throughout.

[In general, speeches on panegyric subjects are composed in this fashion.]

[V I]   PROCEDURE FOR FUNERAL SPEECHES
(*EPITAPHIOI*)[38]

The methodical and scientific student of rhetoric must not be without experience of this type of speech either. We pray that such things may not happen, but since we are human and have entered upon human life, it is inevitable that they should. For a human being, as Callaeschrus' son,[39] the member of the Thirty, says: 'Nothing is certain, save that, once born, one must die, and one may not in life walk apart from trouble.'

Two speeches have been devised that relate to burial. One is common to the whole city and people and is spoken over the war-dead. The other is private and individual, relating to events that frequently happen in peace, when people die at various ages. Both [278] however have the same name, *epitaphios*. There are examples of them

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[38] The manuscript indicates that 'Book II' begins here. For *epitaphios,* cf. M. 418. 6 ff. with notes.

[39] i.e. the sophist and poet Critias.

in the old writers: of the public or common kind, the sons of Olorus and of Ariston,[40] Lysias, Hyperides, the Paeanian,[41] and Isocrates' pupil Naucrates[42] have given us many such models. Nor shall we lack examples of individual speeches: poems are full of them (they are called *epikēdeioi* and *thrēnoi*), and there is likewise an abundance of works of this kind written in prose, both among the ancients and among our recent predecessors. Nor shall we cease[43] even now, so long as the human race exists and necessity dominates. We shall therefore consider them both on the following lines.

In a word, the *epitaphios* is a praise of the departed. This being so, it is clear that it must be based on the same topics as encomia, viz. country, family, nature, upbringing, actions.[44] Up to a point, at least, one must go the same way: e.g. in saying of the subject's native land that it is great, famous, and old, or (maybe) the first land that came to men, as Plato[45] says of Attica; or, if it is small: 'Through these men and their virtue and fame it has now itself become famous, as Salamis did through Ajax or the valour of those who fought in the [279] naval battle, and Aegina through Aeacus.' We may indeed have something to repeat which is related of it, as Apollo called Salamis 'divine':[46] ⟨or⟩ that it was founded by a god, like Ionia, Byzantium, and other cities.[47] When speaking of the war dead one can be lavish with these things. In speeches on individuals, on the other hand, a long passage on the native land is not essential. We should proceed straight to ancestors: were they autochthonous and not incomers? Or, if incomers, they nevertheless seized the best land by deliberate choice, not chance. They were either of Dorian race (the bravest), or Ionian (the wisest); and they were Greek. If there is some story of good fame about an individual—that his fathers and ancestors were distinguished—a brief praise of these may also be given, explaining their public and private character, their manner of speech and life, and any other acts or deeds they performed. Alternatively, if the quality of the person affords such an opening because of his natural endowment, 'he is naturally fitted for everything'. [But this ⟨topic⟩ is of common application.[48]]

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[40] Thucydides and Plato.   [41] Demosthenes.

[42] This man composed a speech for the death of Mausolus. Cf. Radermacher, *AS* 193 f.

[43] i.e. 'cease from composing such things'. But λήξουσι for λήξομεν ('nor will such subjects cease . . .') is perhaps to be preferred.

[44] Read πράξεων for πράξεως (278. 18).

[45] *Menex.* 237 D ff.

[46] Oracle in Hdt. 7. 142.

[47] Cf. M. 353. 4 ff.; but ʼΙωνία is inexplicable, and we suspect corruption; perhaps a lacuna should be marked after ἐκτίσθη (279. 3) i.e. before 'like Ionia'.

[48] We accept Sauppe's ὁ τόπος οὗτος (279. 18).

Coming then to upbringing, in the public speeches we shall consider the form of polity—democracy or aristocracy—while in the private speeches we shall look at upbringing, education, and accomplishments. Among actions, the public speech will include deeds of war and how they died, as was done by Plato, Thucydides, and the others.[49] **[280]** On the other hand, when we speak of an individual, we shall discuss his virtue—e.g. courage, justice, wisdom—and show how he behaved in these respects both as regards the city and in private—how he treated friends and enemies—and, finally, how he behaved to his parents, and also in any office he may have held.

After this, in public speeches we shall make the transition to the exhortatory part, exhorting the survivors to like deeds. This is an extensive topic. We proceed then to the consolation of the parents, both those still capable of producing children, and those past the age. This also is in Thucydides. In private speeches, on the other hand, we sometimes do not even include the exhortatory section, because (it may be) the deceased persons are children, and at other times we treat it briefly—except in the case of the very famous, where there is no objection to using this theme extensively: e.g. if the funeral speech deals with a governor or similar personality, his children should be urged to imitate their parents and aim at similar goals. The consolatory topic, however, is more essential, because we are consoling the **[281]** relatives. The procedure of the consolatory section also must be understood. We ⟨must⟩[50] not mourn or bewail the dead—this would not be to comfort the survivors but to increase their sorrow, and the speech would appear not to be a praise of the deceased but a lamentation, based on their dreadful fate—but only, in the course of the consolation, give way to the survivors in their feelings, and not resist too sternly; we shall win them over more easily like this, and the speech will also contain an element of praise, if we say that it is not easy to bear things gently[51] in such circumstances. However, since those who fall in war are alike in age, we shall have no means of proceeding to a consolation on these grounds, except by saying that they died honourably for their country, and such a death is swift and not felt, and they are removed from tortures and the evils of disease; moreover they have a public burial—this is enviable also to their posterity—and their glory is undying.

In the case of individuals, the speech will have many opportunities for consolation, arising out of the ⟨circumstances⟩ and[52] ages of the

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49 Plato, *Menex*. 244 D; Thuc. 2. 42.

50 Read θρηνεῖν ⟨δεῖ⟩ in 281. 3. οὐ γὰρ . . . παθόντων (281. 4–7) is a parenthesis.

51 πράως (Brinkmann) for ῥᾷον (281. 12).

52 Radermacher is right to suspect an omission: we translate ⟨ἀπὸ τῶν περιστά-σεων⟩ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡλικιῶν (281. 20).

deceased. (i) If a man dies suddenly and painlessly, 'his end has come upon him in a blessed fashion'. If he dies of illness, having been [282] ill long, 'he endured his illness with courage'; if in war, 'he died fighting for his country'; if on an embassy, 'in his country's service'; if on a journey, 'it makes no difference, for as Aeschylus says, "one single road leads to Hades" ';[53] if at home, 'he died in the land that he loved and that bore him, among all his dearest ones'. (ii) Age: if he dies young, 'the gods loved him—for they love such[54]—and they snatched away many of the heroes of old—such as Ganymedes, Tithonus, Achilles—not wishing them to be involved in the troubles here on earth or have their souls long buried in the body as in a tomb or prison, or be slaves to evil masters, but wishing rather to free them. Blessed were they, for they escaped the pains of life and the sorrows that befall men, countless and infinite, loss of eyes, feet, or other parts of the body; in truth disease is most painful.' If he has died in middle age, 'he was at the prime of his life and mental powers and had given proof of his virtue; moreover he left life much desired, not yet an object of dislike because of old age, but in his prime'. If a man has [283] died in old age, 'time has been measured out for him for the full enjoyment of the good things of life'. Here one must mention all the joys of festivals, marriages, children, honours from his country, for a longer period of life usually gives these. Again, 'he lived, like Nestor, "a rich old age" ',[55] and stayed here to become an example to others— especially if he was a personage of distinction. At the end, it is essential to speak of the immortality of the soul, and to say that it is reasonable to suppose that such men are better off, because they are among the gods.[56] The personality itself will sometimes furnish special topics which are not of common application: e.g. if he is a literary person, that it is right to praise him with words: or, if he had made a speech of this kind once for others, 'we must make the same contribution for him in turn'—or whatever the particular circumstances of the person suggest.

The style should be varied, periodic in the argumentative parts, elevated and grand, and approaching that of Plato in the portions which possess splendour and grandeur, such as the parts concerning the soul.

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53 Aesch. *Telephus* fr. 239 Nauck.

54 Cf. Menander, *Monostichi* 583 Jaekel = Stob. 4. 52, 27: ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος.

55 λιπαρὸν γῆρας: *Od.* 11. 136, 19. 368, 23. 283; not used in Homer of Nestor.

56 Reading ἄμεινον ⟨ἔχειν⟩ εἰκὸς ὑπολαβεῖν in 283. 9–10.

[VII]   EXHORTATION TO ATHLETES[57]

Following and, one might say, contiguous with this,[58] Echecrates, is the speech delivered at these festivals, but addressed not to the festival itself but to the contestants at the festivals, called [284] 'exhortation' to competing athletes.[59]

We have first to consider who the speaker is. Sometimes it may be a citizen, sometimes a person involved in the competitions; I have seen the organizer (*agōnothetēs*) become the performer of the oration, as I know has happened at Olympia in my time, and at Pytho, and in many other places to various people.[60] One may very properly start from this point. If he is a citizen, 'he obeyed the organizers and the law of the city and therefore entered the competition and ventured on a risk no less laborious, for the main contest is of the body, and this is of the mind. Now contests of the mind are more severe than those of the body, since in the bodily struggles the victory is plain and open to the eyes, which are the clearest of the senses, and moreover there is an umpire in charge, who is above envy of others. Here, on the other hand, the judgement is not in one man's hands, but in those of many, and they judge not by the eyes, but by opinion, which involves many conflicting factors—ignorance, ambition, envy, and finally the reluctance of the audience to believe that the things praised are made more important by the speech delivered about [285] them.' A further suggestion must be made here, namely that of removing the objection based on the quality of the person: athletes should not despise words because their activity is one of deeds. 'For speech is appropriate for all purposes, and gives strength for any effort: soldiers need the speech and exhortation of the general for war or battle, and then excel themselves in strength. Athletes particularly need the encouragement and exhortation of speech. They are the pupils and imitators of Hermes and Heracles, of whom one is the inventor of speech (or else speech itself), while the other successfully accomplished his orders by Athena's aid—and what is Athena but intellect and speech? Athletes also have people like these to encourage

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[57] This chapter has no parallel in M. It should follow closely on I (*Panegyricus*), and this is strongly suggested by 283. 22 ff. Four main topics are handled: (i) 284. 4–287. 15, consideration based on the speaker's identity and position; (ii) 287. 16–289. 2, thesis on festivals; (iii) 289. 3–8, encomium on the city; (iv) 289. 8–290. 5, on the festival itself. The rest is mainly a warning against cheating.

[58] i.e. with the content of chap. I, see previous note.

[59] The general sense of 284. 2–4 is clear, however uncertain the wording. Possibly τοὺς ἐν . . . δήπου (2–3) should be deleted as a gloss.

[60] We transpose 284. 6–7 ὡς ἔγωγε . . . τισίν to follow γεγενημένον (284. 10); an alternative is to place this clause ('as I know . . . various people') after 'competitions'.

them continually every day in their exercises.' And then you should explain how much more significant this praise is than the other, for the following reasons: (i) the other form of praise is for casual givers, this is from persons well tested in life and speech and reputation; (ii) the other comes as the result of a certain custom, this from the law of the city and the decision of the government; (iii) the other is a shout of applause, no better than an inarticulate cry, this is encouragement accompanied by praise and demonstrative argument. Again: it follows that those who are interested in physical beauty should also [286] be interested in beauty of mind—all the more so, inasmuch as the mind is of higher value than the body—not necessarily to the extent of practising themselves, but by listening to those who do. This involves no difficulty or hard work, especially as persuasion is for the benefit of those persuaded. For, just as in an army, the most genuine soldiers, having heard speeches from their commanders, are most ambitious for victory, so it is with those who receive exhortations in the proper spirit at the games: they will be most anxious to win.

[Those who promise physical safety ought to tell the truth.[61]] Add here: 'If a man can desire this, even if the reputation that comes from it is unsure, and if he can desire it without a motive and with no necessity to compel him, how much more ⟨likely⟩ is it that those who are here for this purpose, who have committed themselves, engaged in exercise for the same purpose to such an extent, and subjected themselves to control, should be seen to listen to the man provided for this purpose by the city, the *agōnothetēs* and the law?'

If the speaker should be an organizer, it will be well to say also— or before these points—that if the organizer of the games was not afraid to set himself up as a competitor and submit to the judgement of the audience for the sake of the games and their prestige, greatness, [287] and popularity, then this is clearly even more necessary for the competitors, who are to inherit the prestige of the games.

For a foreign orator, it would be proper to say that the speech is an appropriate task for him, because of his presence as a visitor and his participation in the spectacle; for those who gave him a part in the spectacle have also a part in the speech relating to it, for various reasons, but especially to increase the prestige of the festival. It is not only the man whose name is on the roll who is the genuine citizen, but rather the friend of the city, whose enthusiasm for fine things is devoted solely to the fine things that are the city's. And if a non-citizen has obeyed the command to enter the competition, it is much

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[61] Radermacher rightly observes that this sentence is out of place; the point of it is anyway obscure.

more necessary for the athletes to show enthusiasm, for they are as it were the citizens of the games.

Of these openings, some may also suit the panegyric, if the personalities taking part are of these kinds, and if similar qualities are involved. After an introduction of this kind, the general discourse on festivals should be inserted, including praise of those who establish them on the ground that they stopped cities warring and quarrelling, and brought them together as it were in a single city that should be the common country of all, so that men came and sacrificed and feasted together, forgetting all that went before. Nor was this all. They suggested innumerable spectacles and performances, not only for amusement [288] but for use, educating us by musical shows, and training us for war by gymnastics. It is good therefore for visitors to take an enthusiastic interest in the spectacle; but much better for the contestants to do so. The spectators have pleasure for the moment, the contestants glory that does not die. For the moment, everyone of them comes to be praised and pointed out for the most glorious reasons, to win, to be crowned, to be proclaimed, becoming through a single action and victory ⟨a citizen⟩ not of a single city but, one might say, of the whole world. For every person present, accepting him with goodwill for his virtue, appropriates him as a fellow citizen of his own. As Homer says, 'they behold him as a god as he goes up and down'[62] the festival— and not only this, but after the festival also, whenever they so much as see him. This happens at every competition when the athlete takes part. And when he has finished, the rewards of victory endure all his life, and give him prosperity in abundance, while after his death his memory survives in statues and pictures so that his reputation is recorded not only by being preserved in men's memories but by its abiding for all time in written histories. [289]

After this, you should introduce the theme of the city: the city itself imposes enthusiasm for the contest. However, this praise should be moderate in scale, since it is not our main subject. Enough openings have been given in the procedures suggested for the panegyric speech. Similarly, you should speak next about the festival itself, how it started, who instituted it, in honour of which gods it is performed, and who gave it its name. The praise should be brief, based on the same openings which were suggested in the other connection. At this point, a comparison with other festivals is essential. This comparison will be based on the place of the festival (e.g. ⟨that it is very distinguished⟩[63]), on the time (that it is very ancient or, if new, makes up by reputation what it lacks in age, and, if an object of enthusiasm now, will be even more in the future). If the name comes

[62] *Od.* 9. 173.   [63] Cf. M. 350. 15.

from a god, state the attributes of the god; if a hero, his actions; if it is a funeral commemoration, 'he deserved the contest and its institution because of his virtue'. You should also compare the city with others on grounds of size, beauty, founder, special character-

[290] istics: this has already been discussed. This said, one might very appropriately introduce the address to the athletes in the words of Thucydides: 'For such a city and such a contest many others have long shown zeal and enthusiasm for the victory.'[64]

Since the persons vary—some being distinguished, some less so, some having won many crowns, some just beginning—we shall endeavour to encourage each in specially appropriate ways. Thus those who have many crowns should be told that it is good not only not to disgrace these but to add more; for their glory will increase with the crowns. Those who have won but few may be told not to be content with these, but to confirm, by competing and winning more, that those they have were genuine and honest victories. Beginners may be reminded that 'well begun is half done', the defeated that it is good to fight back, to make it seem that the defeat was a matter of chance, not of failure of mind or body. Some should be exhorted by appeals to shame, some by appeals to honour; for those who have many crowns and earlier victories, it would be disgraceful to be defeated by those who have never won, while for the others it would be honourable and unsurpassably glorious to have defeated the victorious and won *their* glory too through a single crown. We should then en-

[291] deavour to demolish the reasons which lead some to become corrupted, by using the topics of disgrace and dishonour. It is disgraceful to abandon victory for money, and this concept of disgrace can be applied to both parties, the givers and the receivers. (i) The receivers. They get money instead of reputation. Here you should explain how different these are: money is for the moment, reputation is immortal; money is taken away by fortune, time, and war, reputation is immune from this; money pleases during life, reputation makes us envied after death; money can come from wickedness, reputation only from virtue and excellence of character. They are worse than traitors, for traitors sell others, and these men sell themselves. They are like male prostitutes in taking money for their bodies; yet the prostitutes are perhaps deceived because of youth while these people give themselves away for base gain.[65] (ii) The givers. They win in appearance, but really they have purchased their victory. They win not glory but

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[64] Cf. Thuc. 2. 41.

[65] These sentences ('They are worse than traitors . . . for base gain') clearly, as Schott pointed out, refer to those who accept the bribes, not those who offer them. We therefore transfer them to this place (i.e. 291. 12) from 291. 21–292. 2 (i.e. after '. . . a win that is a reproach.').

shame, for a victory which is not genuine tends to disgrace the winner
rather than give him glory; further, even if they are not detected,
they know themselves that they have done wrong; others think they
have won, but in their own hearts they have lost; there is no pleasure
in such a victory, and shame is always with them to bear witness to
a win that is a reproach. Again: they do not escape detection—they
are easily recognized by their physical condition, exercises, and pre- [292]
vious performances. At this point you may add: 'And what are the
consequences? Whippings, insults, maltreatment, things that happen
to slaves, not free men; being cursed by the spectators instead of
being praised, applauded and crowned; sometimes also penalties
and expulsion from the race-courses and competitions; finally, proud
as they are of freedom, they see themselves fall into punishments
reserved for slaves. If they notice a slave competing they accuse him
and exclude him as unworthy of taking part, while, as for them-
selves, they get a verdict of freedom from the organizers at the same
time as they pass a verdict of slavery on themselves.'

In this context, one must also remember past history and produce
examples of famous athletes; some because they were undefeated,
others because they won many victories, others again because they
won few, but notable ones—and all honestly! They became the men
they were through temperance, self-control, and practice. And the
consequence for them was of the same kind:[66] many were judged
godlike, some of the victors of old are actually honoured as gods.

[66] Or should τοιοῦτον (292. 22) be deleted, as a faulty repetition of τοιοῦτοι in
the previous line?

ADDENDA

p. **xiv.** On Plato's *Symposium* and its relation to encomium see now K. J. Dover, *Plato's Symposium* (Cambridge, 1980), 11 f.

p. **233.** ὑποπεφυκότας (335. 2) is perhaps supported by ὑποκειμένου (350. 31), where ὑπο- again does not imply 'under'.

p. **261** (on 360. 20 ff.). See also R. W. Smith, *The art of rhetoric in Alexandria* (The Hague, 1974), esp. 120 ff., 150 ff.

p. **262.** At 361. 7 f. τὸ αὐτὸ cannot be right, since the 'appropriate' style of living for women is not the same as that for men and children. We obelize; ἀποφαίνειν τὸ προσῆκον would give the required sense.

p. **265** (on 362. 18 ff.). A further possibility is that καὶ μάλιστα . . . δοκεῖ (18–20) has been misplaced and should follow γεγενῆσθαι in 16, not γεγενῆσθαι in 18. This makes 'philosophy and literature' a specially important component of the 'most numerous' honours of the Athenians.

p. **266** (on 363. 21). τὰς ὁσίας is, however, quite possible; for ὁσία 'funeral' see e.g. Sopatros 83. 2; 86. 18; 88. 11 (Walz, *Rh. gr.* 8). Cf. on 361. 20.

p. **270** (on 366. 32 ff.). We have considered the possibility that M. is thinking of a festival called 'Olympia' but held elsewhere, e.g. at Antioch or Prusa (A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 2. 1191, 964); but if this were so, M. would be guilty of the absurdity of including such a festival in a list of famous classical ones.

p. **272.** Further material on the theme of the βασιλικός in R. C. McCail, 'Pap. Gr. Vindob. 29788: hexameter encomium on an unnamed emperor', *JHS* 98 (1978) 38–63.

p. **273** (on 368. 22). If the expression οἷον ὡς is thought odd, it can perhaps be defended by a parallel from Hephaestion 13. 2, where Consbruch deleted ὡς despite its attestation by almost all the MSS.

p. **276** (on 371. 16). At Himerius *Or.* 6. 19 τὸ φαινόμενον seems to mean 'the sea'.

p. **291** (on 387. 12). In view of its absence from one part of the tradition, it seems less likely that ἵππων is corrupted from the name of some other geographical feature; but the possibility of e.g. λιμένων should be borne in mind.

p. **292.** One could also consider taking τὴν ἀρχὴν adverbially as 'in the early stage'.

p. **299** (on 391. 13). Note also Himerius, *Or.* 48. 11 ᾄδουσι μὲν ἀηδόνες . . . ᾄδουσι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες καὶ τέττιγες.

p. **316** (on 403. 29). Note also Himerius, *Or.* 9. 15 ἡ μὲν ἔχει λύραν, ὁ δὲ βιβλίον ἀσπάζεται.

p. **322** (on 408. 31). Perhaps ναμάτων—loves 'of springs', like Arethusa—is preferable to νυμφῶν, as being more exactly parallel with δένδρων.

p. **330** (on 416. 22). Cf. 11 above for ἔστω. It seems to follow that M. means in effect 'let Hippolytus be mentioned' rather than 'let (the subject) be a Hippolytus'.

p. **341** (on 426. 28). We accept σεμνύνονται, despite its relatively weak attestation (it may perhaps be a correction by an intelligent scribe of a mistake in the archetype). It must be right, because it is the present-day Athenians who are proud of their past.

p. **343** (on 430. 15). Cf. also e.g. Philostr. *Heroicus*, p. 675 Ἄλκηστίς τε ἡ Ἀδμήτου καὶ Εὐάδνη ἡ Καπανέως.

p. **345** (on 432. 31 ff.). On this passage of Plutarch see now H. Martin, *AJP* 100 (1979) 99 ff.

p. **354** (on 438. 26). An equally acceptable solution to this small problem is to read τῶν ⟨μύθους⟩ λεγόντων.

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