A LINGUISTIC AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE RHETORICAL PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE FRAMING PAUL THE SILENTIARY'S EKPHRASIS OF S. SOPHIA

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ABSTRACT

Paul the Silentiary's hexameter ekphrasis of the church of S. Sophia in Constantinople was written to celebrate the re-dedication of the church in December 562 A.D.; this followed the reconstruction entailed by the collapse in 558 of the dome of the emperor Justinian's earlier church (dedicated in 537 A.D.). The church which stands today is essentially that which Paul described; hence his poem is not, as it might have been, a vital testimony for art history. Its importance rather is literary, since it is the most substantial Greek poem written in the classicing manner which survives from the period. The ekphrasis proper, or description of the church, is framed by a panegyrical prologue and epilogue. The present study is concerned with this panegyrical framework. The poem opens with a double prologue in iambic trimeters, of which the first part is a panegyric of the emperor Justinian and the second a personal statement by the poet; in the opening hexameters, the imperial panegyric is continued and the events which led up to the re-dedication of the church are also described; the poem concludes with a further panegyric of the emperor and of Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople. The object of my study is twofold: first, to elucidate the poem and its themes by reference to other available historical, literary and, occasionally, artistic sources and second, to examine its literary pedigree by a detailed discussion of its language and style. This literary aspect of the study has involved comparison with earlier epic poetry, Homeric, Alexandrian and Nonnian, with the epigrams of the Greek Anthology and, where appropriate, with other poetic and prose usage. In my commentary on the complex and elaborate hexameters, I have attempted to provide an extensive linguistic discussion, in order to supplement existing lexica; in treating the Atticising iambics, I have been content with a more cursory discussion of language and style. I have also included several detailed excursuses on literary and historical questions raised by the poem. The text of Friedländer's edition of the poem is largely satisfactory; I provide a list of places where I diverge. I also provide an English translation, which deliberately aims to keep as close as possible to the Greek original, and a select Index verborum to facilitate reference to linguistic discussions in the commentary. Abbreviations are based on those of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon and Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon.
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INTRODUCTION

Biographical note

Biographical details about Paul are given by Agathias, Hist. 5.9.7...
...ἀναλεγέσθω τὰ Παύλου τῷ Κύρου τοῦ Φλώρου ἐν ἔξαμετροις πεπονημένα,
ὅς ὡς τὰ πρώτα τελόν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀμφὶ τῶν βασιλέας σηχῆς ἐπιστάταις
γένους τε κοιμούμενος ὅξη καὶ πλούτον ἀρξον έκ προγόνων
διαδεξάμενος, ὧμως παιδεία γε αὐτῷ καὶ λόγων ἀσκησις διεσπούδαστο,
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δέ μᾶλλον ἥξει καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο. καὶ τοίνυν πεποιηταί
οὗ καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ πλείστα ποιήματα μνήμη οἱ ἡξία καὶ ἐπαίνου, δοκεῖ
ὅτι τὸ τῇ ἐπὶ τῷ νεῷ εἰρημένα μείζονός τε τὸν καὶ ἐπιστήμης
ἀνάπλεα καθεστώναι, ὅσω καὶ ἤ υπόθεσις θεαμασιωτέρα. A. and A. Cameron
(JHS 86, 1966, 17-19) have discussed the evidence for Paul's
biography and proposed identifications for Cyrus and Florus (identical
with those made by Du Cange in the preface to his edition, Paris 1670,
reprinted in Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae Vol.40, Bonn 1834,
vii-vii). R.C. McCail (JHS 89, 1969, 94) and R. Keydell (BZ 64, 1971,
69) both expressed doubts about the chronology proposed by the
Camerons on the basis of their identifications of Cyrus and
Florus. The most important objections are (i) that the ekphrasis,
Paul's most scholarly and erudite work (see Agath., quoted sup.),
is unlikely to be the work of a young man of about thirty (cf.
JHS 86, 1966, 19) and (ii) that Agathias' use of the past tense
(διεσπούδαστο, ἥξει, ἐσεμνύνετο ) in the passage quoted sup.
indicates that Paul was dead at the time Agathias wrote this
passage, probably between 579 and 582, see A. Cameron, Agathias
(Oxford 1970) 9f. These two objections reinforce one another
and suggest that other possible candidates should be sought in
the attempt to identify Paul's father Cyrus and his grandfather
Florus.

First, however, the value of Agathias' testimony should be
assessed. Agathias' mention of Paul's grandfather as well as
his father might be attributed either to the desire to distinguish
between various people so named (cf. Du Cange loc.cit.), or,
perhaps more likely, to a desire to stress Paul's distinguished
ancestry (cf. γένος τε κοσμούμενος ἀδέη, Agath., quoted sup.). Agathias' friendship with and respect for Paul (cf. JHS 86, 1966, 18) may, however, have led him to exaggerate the distinction of Paul's family, particularly in view of Agathias' own provincial origins (Agath.Hist.praef.14).

In seeking to identify Paul's father Cyrus, the Camerons rightly dismiss (p.18) the Egyptian poet Cyrus of Panopolis. Their chronological objection (that Cyrus of Panopolis died too early to be Paul's father) is reinforced by the negative testimony of Agathias (loc.cit.) which, while praising Paul's ancestry, gives no hint that he had a literary background. (The use of the term ὁμοιότης in describing Paul's literary interests also implies a non-literary family). This objection may be added to the reservations voiced by McCail and Keydell against the Camerons' proposed identification of Paul's father with the Cyrus Ἰωάννης Ὀπίσθου who composed A.P.9.808 and 809 and, according to Planudes, A.P.9.813.

There survives independent, non-literary evidence of other officials from the relevant period who may have been called Cyrus. (i) A silver stamp, dated to the early years of Justinian's reign, bears the name KVPV, see E.C.Dodd, Byzantine Silver Stamps (Dumbarton Oaks Studies VII, Washington 1961) no.6, p.64f; Mrs.Dodd suggested (p.27f) that this stamp was used by an official responsible to the comes sacrarum largitionum, rather than to the emperor, and thus relatively minor in the hierarchy of officials concerned with the stamping of silver. (ii) A seal of a silentiarius and vestitor, on which the letters ΧΩΠ (? = ΚΩΠ) may represent the name of the holder, is recorded by G.Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin (Paris 1884) 602; Schlumberger suggested that the name may be Cyril or Cyrus, and dated the seal to the 6th/7th century. The office of silentiarius could be purchased (see Jones LRE II.572, III.164, n.17), so it is not impossible that Paul's father might have been a silentiarius also. (iii) Another seal, bearing the name Kyros and dated to the sixth century, is recorded by G.Zacos and A.Weglery, Byzantine Lead Seals I (Basel 1972) no.654 (cf. ib. no.2808 for the seal of a Kyros stratelates dated to the period 550-650 A.D.). There is no evidence to connect
any of these men called Cyrus with Paul's father, but they should be noted in conjunction with the Camerons' discussion of the evidence.

To the Camerons' evidence for Florus (p.19) may be added Malalas' reference (Exc. de ins.fr.47, p.173.7 de Boor) to a Florus among the team of eminent men (τινας των πατρικίων καὶ ὑποτυχον, line 5f) sent by Justinian to Cyzicus in 542 to investigate accusations that the exiled John the Cappadocian was implicated in the assassination of Eusebius, bishop of Cyzicus (see further Stein B-E II.482f). This may well be the same Florus who held office in the 530s, proposed by the Camerons as Paul's grandfather. His appearance on a commission as late as 542 would increase the acknowledged chronological tightness of this proposed identification.

J.R.Martindale (The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II, A.D.395-527, Cambridge 1980, 481f) lists four men called Florus, of whom none is connected with Constantinople. The most distinguished (Florus 3) was a native of Edessa called by Theophanes (A.M.5963, p.117.3 de Boor) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, father of a Heraclius who was killed in 474 (see PLRE II s.v. Heraclius 4)*. It would be necessary to postulate that Florus had another, much younger, son Cyrus, who moved to Constantinople**, if this Florus were to be Paul's ancestor. Equally unfounded hypotheses would be necessary to connect any of Martindale's other three candidates with Paul.

Agathias refers (ἀς ὅν τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν ἀκτλ.) to Paul's office of silentiary. By the 6th century, this was a distinguished and fashionable part of the imperial cubiculum, see Jones LRE II.571f; R.Guilland, Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantin (Paris 1976) XVII; J.B.Bury, The imperial administrative system in the ninth century (London 1911) 24f. On the significance of Agathias' expression τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν, see n. inf. on 256-61, sec. (iib) fin.

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* It has been suggested by A.N.Stratos (Byzantium in the seventh century I, 602-34, Amsterdam 1968, 92) that the future emperor Heraclius was descended from this family.

** Hereafter Cpl.
Manuscript, editions, textual criticism, commentaries, translations

Paul's ekphrases of S. Sophia and of its ambo, together with John of Gaza's ekphrasis of the cosmic painting in the winter baths at Gaza, only survive in one manuscript, the Heidelberg cod.gr.23, best known as the source of the collection of epigrams which forms the Palatine Anthology. The manuscript is dated to the tenth century and the part which contains Paul's poems (p.1-40) is in the hand of a scribe designated J, who assembled and supplemented the work of an earlier scribe A. A facsimile of the manuscript has been edited by K.L. Preisendanz, Anthologia Palatina: Codex Palatinus et Codex Parisinus phototypice editi (Lugd. Batav. 1911). In his preface, Preisendanz discussed in detail the history, composition and scribes of the manuscript, and I have relied upon this preface and facsimile in my discussion of palaeographical problems. Briefer discussions of the manuscript are to be found in Friedländer's preface to his edition of Paul (on which see below), p. 105f; Hermann Beckby, Anthologia Graeca I (2nd ed., Munich 1965) 90ff; A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams (Cambridge 1965) xxxiii ff.

The earliest edition of Paul's ekphrasis of S. Sophia is that of Charles du Fresne, Seigneur Du Cange, appended to his edition of Cinnamus, published in Paris in 1670. Du Cange worked from a copy of the manuscript made by Salmasius in the early seventeenth century (see Beckby op.cit.p.95f), and included a Latin translation of the poem and an architectural commentary. The poem was re-edited, together with Paul's Ambo and the ekphrasis of John of Gaza, by F. Graefe (Leipzig 1822), who used the apographum Gothanum of the manuscript, made by J. Spalletti in 1776 (see Beckby op.cit. p.97, 99), and provided brief textual notes recording improvements to Du Cange's text and his own conjectures. After studying the same apograph and inspecting Graefe's edition, F. Spitzner published a discussion of textual problems in lines 135-223, entitled Observationes criticæ maximam partem in Pauli Silentiarii descriptionem Magnae Ecclesiae (Erfurt 1823). A further edition of Paul's two ekphrases was produced by I. Bekker in the series
Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Vol.40 (Bonn 1837). Bekker re-printed Du Cange's preface, translation and commentary, but recorded textual comments made by Niebuhr after an examination of the manuscript. Bekker's edition is reproduced by J-P.Migne in Patrologia Graeca 86, cols. 2119ff. Meineke's comments on the poem, including some textual remarks, were published with the German translation of W.Kortüm, which forms an appendix to W.Salzenberg, Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel (Berlin 1854). In his dissertation de Paulo Silentiario Byzantino sectatore Nonni (Leipzig 1889), J.W.Merian-Genast made a detailed study of Paul's metrical practice and collected linguistic parallels from Nonnian poetry.

The most recent edition of the text is that of Paul Friedländer, Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius, Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit (Berlin 1912, repr. 1969). For his edition, Friedländer* studied the manuscript afresh and, in places where the text had been damaged by damp, was able to fill lacunae by an examination of the reverse imprint of the writing on the facing page (see his preface, p.108f). These lacunae, however, occur chiefly in the central section of the poem; the text of the panegyrical framework of the ekphrasis, with which I have been concerned, presents few palaeographical problems. Fr. also provided a German paraphrase of the poem and a brief exegetical commentary. Fr.'s text was criticised by A.Ludwich who, in his Textkritische Noten zu Paulus Silentiarius (Königsberg 1913), noted errors observed from his own examination of the manuscript and suggested other textual improvements based upon analysis of Paul's linguistic usage. Scholarship on Paul up to 1929 is reviewed by R.Keydell in Jahresber. Über d. Fortschritte d. klass. Altertumswiss. 230 (1931) 134ff.

There is no complete modern English translation of Paul's ekphrasis of S.Sophia. W.R.Lethaby and H.Swainson included an incomplete and often inaccurate rendering in The church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople (London and New York 1894). Lines 352-889, together with Amb.50ff, are translated by Cyril Mango in The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1972) 80-96. The various German translations are listed by Fr., p.108, n.4.

* Hereafter Fr.
Variants from Friedländer's text

1. ἀρ' for ἄρ'
36. τῶ[ν πεπ]όντων for τῶν [μαθ]όντων
89. γε μὴν for γε μὲν
91. τῶν for τῶν
110. αὐτῶν for αὐ τῶν
141. δὲθρο for δέθρο
148. οὐδ' ὅτι for οὐχ ὅτι
149. ἀκεαινίτιδα for ἀκεαινίτιδας
156. Ἀνθοῦσα for Ἀνθοῦσα
187. ἀντῆς, for ἀντεῖς
188. μελάθρου for μελάθρου,
191. ὁμιχλήσας for ὁμιχλήσας
201. σφαῖρης ὅδ' for σφαῖρης τε
221. Βασκανίη for βασκανίη
222. Retain line as follows:

ὅτι σέθεν ζώοντος ὅτι ἐγγύθεν ἔστει ἁρμὴν,
238. (?) ἐάσος for ἐάσος
258. (?) ἔχοντα for ἔδοντα (cf. Fr.'s app. crit.)
298. πάλλει for πάλλειν
340. ἀρχὸς ὑποδρήσουν ...ἐφετμαῖς, for ἀρχὸς, ὑποδρήσουν...ἐφετμαῖς

929. δοίται for δοίτης
943. (?) ἄντιβιδι τινα for ἄντιβιδι τινα
948. ἐρείμαίνοντα σέθεν γυγόδεσμον ἀφάζαι, for ἐρείμαίνοντα, σέθεν γυγόδεσμον ἀφάζαι,
991. τλήμονες, οἱ for τλήμονες, οἱ
1022 ἕς for εἰς
Paul the Silentiary's Description of the Church of S.Sophia.
(Iambics addressed to the Emperor Justinian).

Is it possible to think of a day greater than the present one, in which God and the emperor take pride? It is impossible to name one. We know that Christ is Lord, yes we know it without doubt. For this you make known by your words, mighty master, even to barbarians (5). As a result of which you have Him as a helper present to hand in your deeds: in making laws, founding cities, raising temples, taking up arms (should the need arise), arranging truces and checking conflicts. As a result Victory is inherent in your labours (10) like an insignia. (Is it not true that, to the west, we must traverse the whole earth and come to the Ocean, to find the boundary of your power? While to the east have you not now made all men yours?—some you routed in battle, others before coming to this (15); and have you not held every Libyan in slavery long since?). As a result, you escape from diseases serenely, against all expectation; as a result, you always pass by hidden dangers, as one would expect, mighty ruler, with knowledge, protected not by spears or shields (20), but by the very hand of God.

I admire you, almighty master, for your good courage, I admire you for your judgement and faith. The ambush was laid, the sword at the ready, the appointed day at hand (25); the conspirators had already passed within the palace and were laying hand on the inner door, after which they were going to assault your throne. But you knew this and had known long since, and so you remained steadfast and had faith in Him alone (30) who is your champion,—I mean God,—through whom you are victorious in all things. And you did not err in your intent. For what followed? The leader of the ambush fell by his own hand, for Justice was not willing to preserve him. For She knew clearly (35) from the rebels who have so often fallen, that if you had him in your power alive, you would
for certain turn straight to pity and mercy; in these too you surpass all mankind. For, feeling sympathy for the sins of life (40), many a time have you groaned at our transgressions, excellency. Many a time do you dampen your kindly eye with tears, as kings do, grieving on our behalf. Looking in particular towards incontinence, life's housemate (45), you release all from their wicked debts, like God, and run to mercy. You make petitions to yourself when the magnitude of the accusations does not allow others to begin entreaty. For indeed, you never allow (50) the pity which is pre-eminently yours to become the prerogative of another. And as a result of the impious deeds of daring which we do, you have occasion for intercession above.

Does he not take up arms against God Himself, whoever is not willing for this man to rule as emperor (55), a man who is gentle and kindly, and who gives benefits in moderation to friends and enemies alike? This preserves you; this makes the soul of the empress, mighty master, she who is blessed, all-excellent, lovely and all-wise (60), to intercede with God on your behalf; she whom, when she was alive, you had as a pious helpermate; but when she passed on, she provided for your subjects a supporting oath, an oath most unbreakable, which you have not disregarded and would not willingly neglect (65).

So much for that; but to those who are already wanting to go to the temple, give leave to make bold. And let this too, pray, be among your marvels, that words should appear which dare to describe the work which conquers all things by the pre-eminence of its marvels (70). Evidence of the outstanding greatness of your marvels is the great love which the whole city cherishes for you, mightiest emperor, and for your temple. For when you were celebrating the festival as needs must, at once all the commons, the senate (75) and those who pursue the safe middle way of life, begged you to extend the feast-days; you agreed; the days expired; they begged again; again you agreed. By doing this repeatedly, you extended the feast opulently (80).
(After these words had been spoken in the palace, there was an interval in the recitation, and the rest was spoken in the bishop's palace, in the presence of Eutychius, the most holy patriarch, and the following iambics were spoken in preface).

We have come to you, gentlemen, from the hearth of the king, to the hearth of the King who is the all-greatest, the creator of all things, on account of whom Victory is inherent in our master. There the governor of privileges (85) condescended to join the audience after his speech, and he yielded his attention to us graciously; but here the governor of priests is present to our sight: may he also be gracious. While of these may none, on hearing, rebuke the words (90). For someone may well say: "Sir, what utter and exceeding rubbish you talk! Are you asking this man to be gracious to your words, he who is the abode of all goodness and clad in all graciousness? You are in just the state you would think a man was in (95) if he were to beg, importunately insisting, that the sun should rise by day, that light should be bright, or words be words". I would not deny that this is how it is, but looking to my objective (100), which is most all-great and insurpassable, I fear the contest. And yet I begin again to take courage, from the very source of my previous fear. For if there were any hope for mighty word to be matched with the all-lovely temple (105), then it would have been perilous to strip for bouts in which victory was put at venture. But since we all know that never would a word appear which would run an equal race with the emperor's achievements, and that of those very achievements (110), the all-greatest is the foundation of this temple, we ought not to stand spiritless, afraid in the face of a foregone conclusion, but to stir up all our enthusiasm, to the limit of our strength. Boldness is a worthy thing in a man (115). For if the master had not created the temple with goodly courage and lofty spirit, surpassing the contemplation of all hope, the city would not have proceeded to such good cheer and happy indulgence (120). Why then
is it unreasonable that there should now be an appropriate freedom and impunity for words? For whatever they may in their weakness neglect, this can be added by the eyes. However, it is no Attic bean-eater who is their judge (125), but rather men of piety and mercy, in whom both God and the emperor rejoice: they order cities, they hold the reins of all things, both words and deeds. Is it then right that upon them should march these lines (130), cajoled to outspokenness by demagogic harangue? It is right to do this, I myself will repeat, appearing like an echo of my own words. And so I will return to the great emperor.

(Description of the Great Church by Paul the Silentiary, son of Cyrus).

Today it is not the thud of shields bears me on, nor (135) do I hasten to celebrate a victory, western or Libyan, nor yet do I strike out a reverberating rhythm over tyrant-slaying trophies. Let the glories of Mede-slaying works remain unproclaimed today. Peace, rich in prosperity, nurse of cities, you whom our lord has embraced more than Victory of the lovely helmet (140), come now; exulting in city-preserving toils, let us sing in holy hymns of the house which surpasses every most glorious contest, beneath the majesty of which alone every divinely-inspired, glorious, high-roofed work has cowered low.

But pray come you, fruitful Roma (145), and garland our life-giving emperor, clothing him abundantly with pure hymns, not because he has fitted your yoke-band upon the nations of the earth, nor yet because he has extended the almighty measures of your throne beyond outermost boundaries, over against the shores of Ocean, but because, by raising this measureless temple about your arm (150), he has made you more brilliant than your mother on the Tiber. Make way, I say, renowned Roman Capitol, make way! My emperor has so far overtopped that wonder, as great God is superior to an idol! And so I desire that in honey-voiced measures you (155), Anthusa of the golden tunic, sing of your sceptre-bearer. For indeed, not only did our lord, equipping his hand with
weapons, enslave innumerable barbarians with his shield-piercing spear, so that they bowed their untamed necks to your yoke-straps, and cowered before the yoke of your justice; but even (160) black Envy himself, shrieking insolently, sank down beneath the bow of the emperor, protector of the city, and, lacerated by a shower of arrows, thudded down, and by his fall hollowed out the dust. But you too, firstborn Latin Roma, come, singing a song in harmony with fresh-budding Roma (165); come, rejoicing that you see your child surpassing her mother, for this is the delight of parents.

Gentlemen, whose task it is to do honour to the holy ordinances, come pray, cast off the garb of sombre grief and, rejoicing, clothe your limbs in snowy robes (170). Having wiped the five-year tear from our eye, let us sing rhythmic hymns with lips auspiciously praising. The sceptre-bearer of the Ausonians has opened on earth the bolts of the heavenly gates, he has spread wide the doors of joy to all our festivities, he has dulled all cares (175). For, from the time when our lords' most mighty work thudded down, there was unabating mourning throughout the city. Be gracious to my bold tale, be gracious mighty guardian of the earth, may you pardon my verses, even if I provoke your ear a little. For delight in your great works has supervened (180) and buried pangs of gloom in the streams of forgetfulness. The light of the sun is more radiant to the wayfarer after a wintry night, and the longed-for calm is more cheering to sea-roaming men after waves. Be gracious, mighty one, be gracious to my bold tale (185).

Now, although mounted on mighty foundations, the wondrous vault of the hemisphere collapsed, and shook all the foundations of the house of holy mysteries; all the depths of the foundations in the city leapt up, the earth groaned long beneath, and (190) murky dust, mingling with the clouds of the air, hid the midday sparkle of the clear sky of heaven. But, blessed Christ, you stretched a hand over your seat, and did not allow the malicious Telchines to stain your earth with streams of man-slaying blood. For neither did you endure (195) to look with the all-seeing glance of your undefiled eye, upon blood shed in the precincts of the bloodless sacrifice. Nor again did the broad-breasted temple, held
fast within the bonds of craftsmanship, excellent in its fruit, sink down as far as its foundations. But the curve of a single arch slipped away, the eastern one, and a portion of the sphere was mingled with the dust. And one part was on the ground, while the rest still (a wonder to behold), just as if without support, was hanging there companion to the breezes. And every man groaned, stricken with gloom. May no-one smite my Siren with indignant word for walking along the path of grief forgotten. Sweeter after weeping is laughter, after sickness health. Not so did the flame streaming forth from the sky grieve men, when it burnt up the surface of the earth, leaving it without herbage, when countless streams of torrents hissed as they were dried up; nor yet when down upon the fruit-bearing earth the fiery heaven yawning wide, opened the gates of destructive rainstorm, and confounded dry plain with the sea's surges.

But my sceptre-bearer, when he heard about the horrible grief, did not for long hide the radiance of his mind, nor did he endure to rest downcast in the bonds of idle hesitation, but he shook off the pang of grief short-lived, and darted to the labour of re-building the house.

Shield-brandishing Roma stood beside him and said: "All-powerful lord, of blessed portion, abode of Justice, mainstay of cities, Jealousy has snatched me up, but it is a sign of grace in Envy that in your lifetime, when help is at hand, that in your lifetime she has assaulted the beauty of Roma. A gaping ulcer is welling up in our breast. But blessed one (for you have the power to sprinkle medicines upon the ulcer), stretch forth your hand, the nurse of prosperity which flows with riches. All the world, directing it with your guiding bridle, have I made subject to your trophy-bearing triumphs. Quiet are both the Median lord and the Celtic war-cry, and the Indian has given the sword of friendship to your throne, bringing elephants and sea-pearls; Carthage has bent the knee in slavery to my trophies. Towards me every merchant-ship directs life-bringing hope, watching the circling course of the two Bears, so that I may hand out to my
children affluent prosperity; and the winds blow fair, bringing merchandise over the seas (235). These things follow upon your toils; but pray, sceptre-bearer, do not let your wondrous work be cast upon the treasure-heap of all beauty under the streams of Lethe. For never, lord, even though the peoples of the boundless earth cower down before you, bent low before Ausonian ordinances (240), even though you have built the whole city for me, never will you find another more brilliant symbol of your throne".

So she spoke, and longed to implant her lovely lips upon the emperor's feet. But he stretched out to his familiar Roma a gracious right hand, and raised her up as she bent her knee (245). And he smiled softly, so as to banish her measureless grief and pronounced words full of carefree gladness: "Away with sorrow, royal city, do not trouble your heart. As no dart has conquered your shield, nor has any other barbarian spear smitten your unwavering spirit (250), nor yet may you bow down beneath cares hard to endure. Endure, all-royal city, do not tear your heart. For indeed by my toils I shall make you more celebrated, by rebuilding the well-vaulted summit of the temple.

So he spoke, and hastened to the precincts, and (255) his deed was surely swifter than the accompanying word. For in his haste he did not, according to custom, await his attendant shield-bearer, wearing the golden necklet on his unbending neck, nor any golden staff, ever the escort of lords, nor the host excelling in the deeds of prowess of strong-footed youth (260), black-shod companion of the well-armed way. But suddenly, on either hand men came streaming together from all directions, the emperor before them; shields thudded amid the close-packed multitude, and a confused din rang out. But when he set foot in the temple and perceived that the foundation (265) of the house was unshaken, he turned his whole intent to the vast summit, and praised Anthemius' craftsmanship and his mind excelling in prudent counsel. That man laid the first foundations of the temple, discharging the counsels of the nobly-toiling emperors (270), a man skilled both in the choice of a centre and the drawing of a plan. He had implanted in the walls strength great enough to vie with the hostile demon's
onsets, hard to endure. For [the church] did not sink down when the strong-shouldered peak was severed, but unshaken on the well-based foundation (275) supported its foot. And on the former walls the pilot of the great throne among the Ausonians built again the beauty of the faultless head.

But who could sing how with lofty adornment he restored the temple to life? Who has the ability to describe (280) the wise counsel of the wide-ruling emperor, excellent in its fruit? Those things, sceptre-bearer, we shall leave aside, as [being] the province of the building craft, but I will come to the culmination of your nobly-laboured toils, having seen the newly-accomplished miracle, at sight of which divine love thrilled the beams of every eye (285). Every mortal who has directed his eye to the heaven of lovely form, has not for long endured to watch with back-bent neck the circling meadow of the star-tunicked dance, but brought back his eye to a green hill and longed to watch the stream of a flowery torrent (290), the ripe corn, the shelter of a wood thick with lovely trees, the frisking flocks, the coiling olive, the vine supported on luxuriant branches and a bright-eyed calm upon the blue-green sea, fretted by the sea-washed oars of the sailor (295). But if anyone plants his step inside the holy precincts, he is unwilling to bring back his foot again, but with eyes enchanted bends his neck hither and thither with many a twist. All satiety has been expelled outside the lovely-helmeted house. Such an ever-guarded, flawless temple (300) has the emperor built with the succouring counsel of immortal God. For by your toils, lord, you attract the everlasting benevolence of most glorious Christ. For you did not wish to plant massive-shouldered Ossa on the peaks of Olympus, nor to drag Pelion above the neck of Ossa (305), making the aether scalable by mortal steps. But by pious labours having accomplished a work beyond hope, you have no need at all of stepping on mountains, in order that you may dart up to heaven, but on the straight-faring wings of piety you ride to the divine aether (310).

But why do I delay in celebrating the day of the care-banishing feast? Why do I roll out my tale outside the temple? Let us go
within the precincts; sing praises of God, initiates, invoking Him in supplication to assist my words.

Its edge lately blunted after the vintage, the sickle (315) was awaiting the summer work of sheaves to be, and the sun, shaking his reins by the wing of the south wind, was driving to the heatless degrees of the fishy goat, having left lately downcast the discharger of darts. Came the venerable dawn and (320) the divine gate of the newly-built temple bellowed as it was opened, summoning inside people and guardian. As dark night wanes and the light of day grows greater for all, so in truth waned, when the great temple appeared, the night of sorrows and the bright gleam of joy spread over all (325). It was a deed befitting you, mighty sceptre-bearer, and befitting Roma, to have opened the door of the temple to your people as harbinger of the feast of God immortal; it was fitting next after that day of divine wonder to have come to the birthday of life-giving Christ (330). And now the night had been accomplished, guide of Dawn of the lovely foot, summoning gladness, and the immortal herald of God had, waking, welcomed the strains of the unsleeping choir in his wondrous precincts, where with mystic voice the men of life-preserving Christ (335) had rejoiced to utter night-long hymns, singing without pause. But when, having drawn back her shadowy veil, rosy-armed Daylight stole over the heavenly vaults, then all the people assembled and every lord of thrones who discharges the behests of the mighty king (340), and bringing gifts of thanksgiving to Christ the king, with suppliant mouths sang reverent hymns, kindling the silver-white candle with nobly-toiling hands. And the Priest accompanied, and led off the holy choir, the Priest much-hymned (345), whom the sceptre-bearer of the Ausonians had found worthy of the temple. And all Rome's path of the broad ways was straitened. And when they had come to the divine courts, all the people cried out in thanksgiving, and thought that they planted their steps in the undefiled heavenly vaults.

Unbar the door to me, reverent initiates, unbar it (350), unbar the shrine of divine wonder to my tale, and offer a prayer for my verses. For as we touch the starting-rope we must direct our eyes towards you.

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Abide, o sceptre-bearer, I pray, for long-lasting cycles, to
bring light to both west and east; for upon you east and west, much-
hymned one, know how to rest their cares. For you harbours
preserve bright-eyed calm in every city of the maritime earth (925);
wrapping about in fair-bosomed embrace the wave outpouring, they
sooth the foaming threat of Nereus. And the water of rivers,
roaring with its stream, has submitted, and no longer is the
robber current sullied by travellers; whoever has seen Mygdonian
Sangarius in the Bithynian land, in the past exultant in his
untamed streams (930), with his surface spanned by a bridge of
dressed stone, will not reproach the true rhythm of my verses.

These things, blessed one of happy portion, foster your long
accumulation of life-bearing years; these things (935), with western,
Libyan and eastern triumphs, do honour to your power beside the
rim of Ocean; these things have often laid low the necks of usurpers
by the destructive daring of self-slaughtering hand, before you
have girt about your hands with arms, and have smitten the heads
of others before you have learnt (940) the tidings announcing
acts of wrong. For if ever Justice, having rested for a brief
space, brings before your feet one of your enemies, straightway
you lull the tempests of necessary anger, straightway you assume
a merciful serenity, and the brazen chain, which before was
confining (945) him in penal bonds, straightway opens up the
fastening upon his neck. And you, directing upon him a glance of
gentleness, instead of executing him, elevate to dazzling belts
the man who before strove to smite your yoke-band. And you gain
profit in the number of your servants' limbs that the relentless
tomb could cover (950); vanquished by your serenity, thrice-august
emperor, much more than by the sword, the prisoner turns about
his whole mind and draws it towards you, and, having darted from
fear to love and trust in you, willingly makes his neck slave to
your yoke-straps (955). For you know how much mightier is love
than constraint, you know too how amidst pastoral flowers, often
the bull, by heeding the pipe, avoids the sound of the shepherd's staff.
Hence there ever rose up as escort of your toils Christ the Lord, and with steering bridle (960) your stout-hearted counsels he keeps straight, whether there is need to bare the sword for war or to cover it. He also granted that you choose a God-fearing Priest, who easily runs over all the rugged path of four-fold virtue, whom (965) a divine voice from heaven set upon the most holy seat of Rome.

But, turning aside a little from trophy-bearing hymns of successful warfare in your honour, let us direct our song towards the august Priest. The hymn too for its part is in some respect yours, lord. For Victory, coming by turns now from this quarter, now from that (970), for toils of successful warfare and labours in protection of the city, rested a delicate garland on your head. For when, sceptre-bearer, in the life-giving counsel of your mind, you appointed the great Initiate to your precincts, straightway the assault of the wicked-minded demon collapsed (975), straightway you routed the grievous battle of all the passions, straightway you bound on the wreath of victory for toils in protection of the city.

But do you too uphold a longed-for ear, father most-hymned, leader of the holy temple. By your seal is protected the glory of the emperor (980) and by your prayers winged Victory has subjected the nations beneath the city-preserving yoke-straps of sovereignty. And some, who exulted in clashing shields, the spear brings beneath the emperor's feet, but countless other barbarian-speaking nations of the earth have gathered at Rome (985), because they have heard of the holiness, thrice-prayed-for one, of your serenity. Just lately I saw the divine court thronged by black-limbed men; and, enchanted by your divinely-inspired voice, they bowed soul and neck with voluntary will to thrones of heaven and earth (990). Wretched are those who have not received your hand upon their head, the hand which drives away sins hard to withstand, the hand which supports the impoverished, the hand which is the nurse of orphans and luller of all distress. For indeed, from birth temperance and modesty (995) have united you to holy ways of heavenly hope. Simple are both your meals and your divinely-inspired purpose, simple are the bright gleams of your eyes, simple the steps of
your feet and a simple word moves your lips. Downcast gloom of lowering brow (1000) you do not cherish, but foster a heart which rejoices in Christ, and bear a kindly, gracious radiance; and on your countenance, a gentle smile furrows your august cheeks. These things you bear as signs of your gentle-minded heart; for you are inaccessible to the ready steps of Anger (1005), seated unshaken in untumultuous serenity. You have shaken off all the woes of material labours, but, opening up a conduit of piety, your kindly heart, you direct a sympathetic eye towards human sufferings. Nor is any mortal whom you perceive without means (1010); for forthwith, having opened wide the treasure-store of a spotless mind, you surpass the Lydian wealth of the torrent rich in gold, bestowing wealth flowing river-like, poured forth from your hand. All the glories of labours primeval and more recent you have thoroughly learned: with spotless feet you travel (1015) every path in the holy meadow, and your cares the mystic canon has measured on a just-minded balance. That is why, enchanting your mind with undefiled cares, you have not endured to see holiness for sale, nor have you made holy heads the object of trafficking, nor yet (1020) have you pointed out to profane men a path which should not have been theirs to tread. And if anyone, meekly coaxing with gifts, expects to draw you to favour, heavily you crush him with rebuking bridle, enough to wipe away the cloud from his heart, enough to shame gold disdained, and to teach the fool (1025) that it is meet that he who frequents spotless precincts should himself be spotless.

May you continue to foster the realm of my emperor, blessed one, by your prayers; and may you continue to cleanse from Rome which neighbours the sea every weal of sinful-minded life.
Title and lemma.

Ποντὶ Σιλεντιαρίου ἑκφρασις τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας: This title is written in the manuscript in maiuscule letters (as opposed to the miniscule in which the text of the poem is written) and adorned with asterisks, in the hand of J, the scribe of this part of the manuscript, see K.L. Preisendanz, Anthologia Palatina: Codex Palatinus et Codex Parisinus phototypice editi (Lugd. Batav. 1911) praef. col. XXXIIff. The title is also written again above in a later hand, perhaps that of Jan Gruter, see Preisendanz col. CXLIV. The words ἀρχὴ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἦσαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν are added in maiuscule letters by J in the right-hand margin, after his title. Similar lemmata after lines 80, 134 and 410 mark the divisions of the poem. These subsequent lemmata are inserted by J into the main body of the text in maiuscule letters and distinguished by marginal decoration. See Preisendanz praef. col. XXXIII for other marginalia and ib. col. LXXVff on J.

Ποντὶ Σιλεντιαρίου: See biographical note in Introduction, p. 1ff sup.

ἐκφρασις: The ekphrasis is included among the progymnasmata in the rhetorical handbooks of the imperial period. It is defined by Theon (Spengel II. 118.7f) as λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐνάργειος ὑπ᾽ ὁπιν ἀγών τοῦ ἀρχαίου (cf. Hermogenes, ib. 16.12ff, Aphthonius, ib. 46.15f, Georg. Choir., ib. III. 251.24ff). Such rhetoricians mention as possible subjects for ekphrasis people (πρόσωπα), events (πράγματα), places (τόποι), times (χρόνοι), see Theon II. 118.8f, Hermogenes 16.12ff, Aphthonius 46.16ff, who adds animals and plants (άγών αὐτά καί...φυτά). The fifth cent. writer Nicolaus Sophistes adds an explicit distinction between the ekphrasis and the diegesis or description (Spengel III. 491.27ff), emphasising the importance of ἐνάργεια (clarity) as characteristic of the ekphrasis, η μὲν (sc. διήγησις) γάρ ψιλῆν ἔχει ἐκθέσιν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ (sc. ἑκφρασις) περιβάλλει θετικὸ τοῦ ὁκούντος ἐργάζεσθαι (29f; see also ib. 492.6ff). To the list of possible subjects, Nicolaus adds festivals (παρηγόρεις, 491.31) and, significantly, since these topics became increasingly
common at this period, statues and pictures (ἀγάλματα, εἰκόνας, 492.11f). So Agathias (Hist.5.9.7) advises that anyone who lives outside Cpl. should read Paul's ekphrasis of S.Sophia, εἰ δὲ τις ἔθελοι...γιγνώσκειν σοφίαν ἀπαντά, καθό παρὼν καὶ θεομενός, cf. ib. sec.8 fin. For a study of the history of the literary description of works of art from Homer onwards, see Fr.'s introduction to his edition, 1ff, esp.83ff on ekphrasis in rhetoric; cf. G.Downey s.v.Ekphrasis in Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, ed.T.Klauser, Band IV, cols. 921-44, esp. 932ff on ekphrasis in the Christian period; on ekphrasis in the sixth cent., see J.Irmscher, Die poetische Ekphrasis als Zeugnis Justinianischer Kulturpolitik (Wiss.Zeitschr.Univ.Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwiss. Reihe 1, Jg.14, 1965, 79-87).

Of Paul's poem, only the central section 354-920 (rather more than half of the total number of lines) is properly ekphrasis of the church. The remainder is devoted to panegyric of the emperor and of the patriarch, and to an account of the events leading up to the occasion for which the poem was composed, see n. inf.

τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας: Internal evidence indicates that Paul's poem was written to celebrate the re-dedication in December 562 (see further n.inf. on 1) of Justinian's church of S.Sophia, following the reconstruction which was made necessary by the collapse of the dome in 558. J.'s church was first dedicated in 537, having been built to replace the old S.Sophia, which was destroyed in the Nika Riot of 532. See Stein B-E II.457ff.

Paul uses the classical term ναός to designate S.Sophia throughout the poem. The more explicitly Christian εἰκλησία occurs only in the lemma after line 134, where the popular name of the church is used, see n. ad loc. See further 8n.inf.

Τιμωβόι πρῶτον τοῦ βασιλέα Ιουστινιανόν: The hexameter poem is preceded by two prologues in iambics, of which the first (1-80) is

* Justinian is hereafter referred to as J.
a panegyric of J., while the second (81-134) is a personal statement by Paul, attempting to win over his audience. Prologues in iambics are found elsewhere in preface to hexameter poems dating from the fourth to the sixth centuries. These are usually similar in content and purpose to Paul's second prologue (see nn.inf. on 66-80 and 81-134), but may be panegyrical like Paul's first prologue (e.g.P.Ant.115, discussed by Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20, 1970,119ff). Both Paul's prologues are metrically akin to other prologues in their free resolution of the trimeter, modelled on the iambics of Attic comedy, see Fr.p.118f; T.Viljamaa, Studies in Greek encomiastic poetry of the early Byzantine period (Soc. Scient.Penn., Comm.human.litt., Vol.42, No.4, Helsinki 1968) 84-6; P.Maas, Greek Metre (tr.H.Lloyd Jones, Oxford 1962) secs.110ff, esp.111, 114. The style of both prologues is also characteristically lively, although the first prologue, addressed to the emperor, is more formal than the second, see nn.inf. on 1-80, 81-134.

Fr. is probably right to suggest (p.119) that Paul's double prologue was composed specifically to suit the circumstances in which the poem was delivered: lines 66f, 81-88 and the lemma after line 80 make it clear that Paul and his audience (or part of it) moved to a new venue after the delivery of the first iambic prologue, see further nn.inf. on 66f and lemma after 80.

Paul's double prologue is paralleled by that of Corippus in his Laud.Just., which similarly opens with a prologue addressed to the emperor, followed by one addressed to the quaestor Anastasius, (both, however, in hexameters) and, secondly, by the triple prologue composed by Agathias for his Cycle of poems (A.P.4.3); in the latter, an iambic prologue similar to Paul's second prologue is followed by a hexameter encomium of the achievements of the emperor, and finally by a brief elegiac preface on the theme of the endurance of literary memorials. Paul's prologue probably served as a model for the more elaborate treatments of Corippus and Agathias (see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just. praef.,p.118f. B.Baldwin, BZ 70, 1977, 298ff and ib.73, 1980, 334ff, argues for the traditional dating of Agathias' prologue to the end of the reign of J.).
According to the opening lemma, Agathias' prologue was composed for the occasion of the presentation of his new collection of epigrams. There is no evidence to indicate the occasion on which Corippus' poem might have been recited, but Corippus does refer to the public recitation of panegyrics at the inauguration of Justin II as consul (1st January 566), Laud. Just. 4.154ff tunc oratorum geminae facundia linguæ/egregias cecinit sollemni munere laudes/consulis Augusti, see Cameron ad loc. for additional evidence of formal recitation of panegyrics such as Paul's (although probably more often prose works).

Although Paul's hexameters are generally carefully composed in a meticulous and scholarly manner, there are some indications, particularly towards the end of the poem (see, for example, nn.inf. on 1013, 1014f), that the work may have been completed in some haste, perhaps under the pressure of a deadline, and that it lacks a final polish. The ekphrasis proper might have been composed well in advance (most of what Paul says would have been equally applicable to J.'s original church, dedicated in 537, see n.sup.); the passages dealing with topical points, however, (e.g. the conspiracy of Marcellus in November 562, see n. inf. on 24-39 and cf. 937-9 inf., the reference to J.'s extension of the encaenia celebrations, 74-80, and perhaps the description of the encaenia itself, 315-49, although here there is little detail which could not have been derived from similar ceremonies in the past) must have been written only shortly before the poem was recited, see n.inf. on 1 τῆς νότος ἡμέρας for the date of its delivery.
1-80. First iambic prologue: panegyric of the emperor Justinian.

No day could be greater than this one, which is the delight of both God and emperor (1-3). You have spread Christianity, J., and consequently Christ is your constant partner (4-21). I admire your courage, judgement and faith: even when faced with an imminent assassination attempt, you calmly trusted in God (22-32). The assassin's suicide was an act of Justice, since, had he come into your hands, you would have shown your customary surpassing mercy (33-39). You weep at our sins, showing mercy above all to incontinence. You petition yourself when the offence is so great that others dare not ask, and you intercede with God for our impieties (40-53). To take up arms against so virtuous an emperor is to take up arms against God (54-57). This preserves you and makes the empress Theodora intercede with God on your behalf, the empress who was your devout partner in life and whose name, now that she is dead, is a most sacred oath (58-65). But now we must turn boldly to your church. May you achieve the further marvel that words may appear adequate to describe your marvellous achievement (66-70). The great love of the whole city for you and your church indicates the magnitude of your marvellous achievements: by popular request you twice agreed to extend the festival in celebration of the inauguration of your new church (71-80).

Professor Cameron (on Cor.Laud.Just.praef., p.118) links this prologue with the similar prologues of Corippus and Agathias (see n.sup.) as "one of a group of literary treatments of the theme of imperial triumph". In harmony with this theme, the mood of the opening rhetorical question (1-3) is confident and optimistic, and
this tone is maintained, and indeed enhanced (see n. inf. on 135-67), throughout the panegyrical introduction to the ekphrasis proper. This attitude of confidence and optimism probably bears little relation to popular feeling at the end of J.'s reign. The period saw the emperor's increasing preoccupation with religious affairs and consequent loss of interest in other matters, see the comments of Agathias (Hist.5.14.1ff) and Corippus (Laud.Just.2.260ff) on neglect at the end of J.'s reign (both, of course, written after the accession of Justin II). J.'s last years were marked by various manifestations of popular unrest and discontent, including the conspiracy to assassinate J., to which Paul alludes (inf.24ff); see the surveys of Stein, B-E II.777ff, and Jones, LRE 298ff, esp. 301ff, and cf. G.Downey in TAPA 78 (1947) 181f. Paul uses the occasion of the re-dedication of S.Sophia to present a rosy picture of the reign, depicting the new church as a centre and climax of the achievements of a Christian emperor, see further n. inf. on 150-54. It is, however, doubtful whether such an elevated piece of literary propaganda as Paul's poem can have had any popular influence, although the elaborate ceremonial surrounding the re-dedication of the church may have made more impact on the popular imagination, cf. Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 9 with n.25 (in the context of a wider discussion of the changing emphasis of ceremonial in the second half of the 6th cent.). A popular counterpart to Paul's poem survives in Canticum XII ap. C.A.Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica (Wiener byz.Studien Band V, Vienna 1968), see Trypanis' introduction, p.139.

Although this prologue is generally serious in tone, it nevertheless has affinities with the lively style characteristic of the iambic prologue in which the poet attempts to win the favour of his audience (see nn. inf. on 66-80, 81-134). It employs locutions which verge on the colloquial and are characteristically Attic (see, for example, nn. inf. on 18, 31) and, in one case, specifically comic (24n.); note also the use of linguistic play (see nn. inf. on 40-53, 57), direct question (1f, 11-16, 54-57), dramatic asyndeton (3, 24, 54) and remarks in the first person by the poet (22f).
1f. The poem opens with a reference to the occasion, natural at the beginning of an occasional oration, cf., for example, Chor.Or.1 dial.1 (1.6f Foerst-Richt.) ἐπειδὴ καὶ παίζειν τι δίδωσιν ὁ καρδός, παράγωρα γὰρ καὶ μία διὰ πάντων ήδονή τε καὶ εὐθυμία φοιτῶ, κτλ., inf. 135 σήμερον (the first line of the hexameters; see n. ad loc.), also 74-80, see n. ad loc. Paul's opening rhetorical question (answered in line 3) is confident in tone (see introductory n. sup.) and gives an effect of spontaneity and wonder. For a similar effect, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.1 ὃς ἐπιτρέπει συγγενές τι μόχθος καὶ λόγος. Graefe prints the line in Jo.Gaz. as a question, but since it is a gnome based on Menander (Monost.640, quoted by Fr., p.135), Fr. is probably correct in considering it to be a statement. (For ὅτα so used, see J.D.Denniston, Greek Particles, 2nd ed., Oxford 1954, p.48 n.2). Paul's opening question is balanced by the similar one which concludes the second iambic prologue (130ff. The effect of this latter question is, however, different). A.Ludwich (Textkritische Noten zu Paulus Silentiiarius, Königsberg 1913, 27) is certainly right to argue that in our line as in 130, the particle required is interrogative ὅτα, as printed by Graefe and Bekker, not ὅτα as in Fr.

1. τῇ νῦν ἡμέρᾳ: Probably 6th January (i.e. the Feast of Epiphany) 563, or shortly before, see Fr.p.110. Paul describes the encaenia celebrations of 24th December (inf. 315-49, cf. esp. 329f for the day) and refers (74-80) to J.'s extension of the celebratory festivities. According to the anonymous Διηγήματος περὶ τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας, ch.27 (ed.T.Preger, Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum I, Leipzig 1901, 105.9f), the festivities lasted until Epiphany*. The encaenia took place in December 562 (indiction 11, Mal.495.9ff, Anon.ap.J.A.Cramer, Anecdota graeca

* This work is dated by Preger (BZ 10, 1901, 458) before the mid-ninth cent. It is not generally reliable in historical detail (cf. Fr.p.110 n.1, Preger in BZ loc.cit.458ff, and see further nn.inf. on 198-203, 267ff, 275-8), but since its reference to the prolongation of the festivities is substantiated by Paul, the further information that they lasted until Epiphany may also be true.
Theophanes 238.17ff, cf.237.5, gives only the correct regnal year date 36, which appears also in Cramer, and an incorrect A.M. date, see further nn. inf. on 186-92 and 930-33 on dates in Theophanes. Paul's poem is probably not too long to have been recited in two sessions (a break is indicated by the brief iambic prologue, 411-16) in a single day, so it may well have been recited on the final day of the festivities, the Feast of Epiphany, cf.Fr.p.110 n.3 and see further n. inf.

With Paul's reference here to the occasion, Viljamaa (op.cit. p.54) compares P.Ant.115.b7 ... νυν ης[ρ]ας.

2. ἐν ἐν τοῖς κτισμασιν: "in which God and the emperor take pride". The verb ἁμαρτάμαι is probably not passive ("are magnified/honoured," cf.Fr.p.110 "gefeiert wird", Du Cange honore afficiuntur), but rather middle with ἐν "take pride in", a classical usage, cf. Dem.18.258 ἐχουν ἐπεζευγατισμην...παραλειπομενος τὸ λαμπαναί τιν'ἐν ὑφ σεμνύνομαι, see LSJ s.v.II, PGL s.v.B.2b, adding Agath. Hist.5.9.7 σ.ἐπι, also Proc.Aed.1.1.28, 63 ἀποσεμνύνομαι σ.ἐπι. For the singular verb after two closely-linked singular subjects, cf.inf.996, also 341-43 with 340n.

Fr. (p.110), translating the verb as a passive, suggested that this line supports the thesis that the poem was delivered on the Feast of Epiphany. If the verb is middle, the reference might simply be to the pride of God and emperor in the new church which Paul is about to celebrate, but God and J., the champion of Christianity (cf.4f.inf. with n. ad loc.), would equally take pride in one of the great Christian feasts. Moreover, the following reference to Christ (3) would be natural on the occasion of Epiphany. The names of God and His Christian emperor are regularly linked,

** On this source, apparently not based on Malalas, see A.Freund, Beiträge zur antiochenischen and zur konstantinopolitischen Stadtchronik (Jena 1882) 36ff; L.M.Whitby, The chronicle source of Theophanes for the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice, Appendix (forthcoming article).
see (for example) S. MacCormack in CQ N.S. 25 (1975) 146ff; B. Rubin, Das Zeitalter Justinians I (Berlin 1960) p. 429, n. 392, who cites similar instances from the legal code. The link here foreshadows the development in the following lines (4-21) of the related theme of the liaison between J. and Christ.

3. Χριστοῦ ὑμεν, κτλ.: The asyndeton is deliberately harsh, for the sake of emphasis, cf. Paul’s bold opening line. On the dramatic use of asyndeton, see Denniston, Greek Particles p. xlv, and cf. [Longin.] 19.2 τὰ γὰρ ἄλλοις διάκεκομενα καὶ οὐδὲν ἔττου κατεπευομένα φέρει τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐμφασιν ἀμα καὶ ἐμποτίζουσι τι καὶ συνεισκούσι.

4. πάντως: In strong affirmation, cf. NT 1 Ep. Cor. 9.22 τοῖς πάσι γέγονα τὰ πάντα τοια παντος τινας σώμα, and see LSJ s.v. II.1.

4f. τοῦτο γὰρ, κτλ.: J.’s promotion of Christianity, cf. Proc. Aed. 1.1.9 (where greater stress is put on J.’s concern to unite the Church in orthodoxy) and contrast id. Arc. 13.7. J. took an unprecedented interest in religious affairs, and his reign saw a vigorous attempt to eradicate paganism and heresy, see Bury HLRE II.360ff, Stein B-E II.279ff, 369ff, 623ff. The last persecution of pagans occurred in June 562, see Stein B-E II.373 and Excursus H. Paul’s phrase τοῖς σοὶς λόγοις may be intended to suggest more peaceful missionary activity, such as the conversion of the Eruli recorded by Procopius, BG. 2.14.33 Χριστιανοὺς γενέσθαι ἄπαντας ἔπεος (by giving them lands), cf. ib. 4.3.21 διεπραζότα ἄπαντα αὐτοῖς ἱπτὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκδιδάσκεοθα (of the Abasgi). But τοῖς σοὶς λόγοις here is used in linguistic play with ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι (6), cf. Agap. Cap. 49 (PG. 86(1).1180A) ο τοῖς ὑπηκόοις νομοθετεῖς διὰ τῶν λόγων, τοῦτο προλαβὼν ὑπόδειξις διὰ τῶν ἑργῶν . . . ὡς γὰρ εὐδόκησεν ἀποφαγή σου τὸ κράτος, καὶ λέγων πρακτικῶς, καὶ πράττων λογικῶς, and inf. 69 with n. ad loc.

5. ποιεῖς, . . ., γνώριμον: Cf. X. Cyr. 5.5.28 τὶ γὰρ ἅν, καὶ τὴν κυνα . . .θεραπεύων γνωριμιστέρου ἐσητῶ ὥς οὐ ποιήσειεν.
Κράτιστε: Cf. Sozomen HE.prol.15, of the emperor Theodosius; Agap.Cap.52 (PG.86(1).1180B), of J.; Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.174 and passim (see Pertusi's index s.v.κράτιστος, p.309), of Heraclius. The subject of an encomium is regularly addressed directly, or alluded to in the second person, often at the very beginning, e.g.Jul.Or.1 (1.3 Hertlein), Them.Or.7 (I.128.1 Downey), Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (p.489 Bonn), Pris.Pan.5, Cor.Laud.Just.praef.1f, ib.pan.Anast.1, Diosc.3.1ff (I.130 Heitsch).

6f. οδευν συνεργον, κτλ.: God's repayment to J. for his promotion of Christianity, continued in οδευν 10, 17, 18. Cf. inf. 959f ουδεν δει καματοι τεσστο προκελευθοσ ανεστη/Χριστος αναξ. The theme is common in imperial panegyric, e.g. Liban.Or.13.28 (II. 72.16ff Foerster) έχων ιδονηθεν την θεον (Athene) και βουλης κοινωνιν και πραξεων συνεργουν (of Julian); Proc.Aed.5.3.10 αετν τα έργα συνεπλαμβανεται ο θεος απαντα (of J.); Georg.Pisid.Her.1.185ff ή Χριστος έτης εις βασιν παριστατατ, 01' βαν έχορδον .../...καθευλες (of Heraclius); cf.nn.inf. on 20f, 31, 32. For the same idea in a different context, cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps. proth.109f έτη δε οι (sc. Marcian) ήνυσα βουλη/Χριστον ...λαχων έπαρωγον αοιδης.


The word πραξεις, introduced one of the main topics prescribed by Menander Rhetor for the encomium of an emperor (Βασιλεις λαγος), Rhetores Graeci ed.Spengel III.372.25ff*, τας τοιαυτας τοινυν πραξεις διαιρησεις διχα εις τα τα κατειρηναι και τα κατα παλεμον. The achievements of J. in peace and war are summarised in lines 7-16, cf. the similar survey of Procopius, Aed.1.1.6-11.

7. ἐκείνη παρόντα: Cf. Prisc.Pan.277 ipse Deus pelago praesens exhaustit ab alto (of Anastasius). In late authors the cognate term παρουσία regularly denotes the advent of Christ, see Soph.Lex. s.v., Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2b, PGL s.v.B.3.


κτίσων πόλεως: Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.8 πόλεως δὲ ἀνωριθμὸς δεδημοφυγηķεν οὐ πρότερον οὖχας. Among J.'s foundations, Procopius mentions Petra in Lazica (BP.2.15.10), Justiniana in Greater Armenia (Aed.3.5.15), Justiniana Prima in Dardania (ib.4.1.19), Justinopolis in Dardania (ib.4.1.30), Rhaedestus on the Propontis (ib.4.9.20); many new fortresses are listed (Aed.4.4.3 and 4.11.20). The foundation of cities occurs as a panegyric-element at Call. Ap.55.

The verb κτίσω is loosely used in Byzantine literature in the context of imperial building in the sense "have to do with building activities": it does not necessarily always denote entirely new foundations, see G.A.Downey in BZ 38 (1938) 1ff, esp.10 n.3 on the emphasis on imperial building activities in Byzantine panegyric and biography (e.g.Proc.Gaz.Pan.18ff); id. in TAPA 77 (1946) 27.

8. νεός ἐγείρων: Procopius praises this aspect of J's activity in Aed., passim, cf. Prisc.Pan.268 templae novans renovansque Deo fulgentia semper (of Anastasius). For the expression, cf.Luc.Alex. 10 νεόν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐγείραι, NT Ev.Jo.2.19 λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τούτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέρας ἐγείρω αὐτόν, Romanos 54 κα'5 (τὸν ναὸν) ἀνεγείρας, (temple at Jerusalem), ib. κβ'6 τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγείροντα ἔργον (J's re-building of S.Sophia after its destruction in the Nika Riot); inf.150, 300; also Amb.128. The verb appears
to be first used in this sense in poetry at Call.Ap.64 Ὄνομάθαιν τὸ πρῶτα θεμέλια Φοῖβος ἐγείρειν, see Williams' n. ad loc. and cf. also A.P.9.696.1 (Anon.), and other exx. collected by LSJ s.v. I.4, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1aδ. Paul uses the Attic form νεώς in the iambics (66, 73, al.), but Homeric νηός in the hexameters (199, 254, al.).

8f. ὅπλα κινοῦν, κτλ.: J.'s achievements in war, cf. Proc. Aed.1.1.6-8, also 11. Paul emphasises J.'s pacifism: Agathias (Hist.5.14.1) observes that J.'s great military victories were achieved in his youth; in old age he preferred to achieve his ends by peaceful conciliation.

ὅπλα κινοῦν: Cf. Thuc.1.82.1 ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μῆπω κινεῖν .

εἰ δεῦι: Cf. X.Mem.1.2.59 μήτε στρατεύματι μήτε πόλει μήτε αὐτῷ τῷ ἡμῶ, εἰ τι δεῦι, βοηθεῖν ἰκανοῦς.

9. ὑπὸνόμος τε τάττων: J. had concluded a Fifty-Year Peace with Persia late in 561, see Stein B-E II.516ff, esp.518 n.2 for the date, Bury HLRE II.120ff. See further n. inf. on 13-15.


The expression may refer to the gradual drying-down of the war in Italy, where the last Gothic strongholds, Verona and Brixia, fell in 561 or 562 (see Stein B-E II.610ff, cf. Bury HLRE II.281). According to Malalas (492.17ff, cf. Theoph.A.M.6055, 237.12ff de Boor), Narses' announcement of these victories arrived in Cpl. in November 562. The war with Persia similarly petered out: military activities ceased after 556 (Stein B-E II.517, Bury HLRE II.120), although the Peace was not concluded until 561, see further n. inf. on 13-15.

10. ὅθεν τὸ νικῶν, κτλ.: J. is victorious through Christ, cf. inf.84; at 981ff the prayers of the patriarch Eutychius are said to
secure J.'s victories. The concept of the victory of the Christian emperor through Christ, and in particular through the sign of the Cross, originated in Constantine's vision before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, and became standard thereafter, see J. Gage, *Staurôs νικηφόρος*, *La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien*, in *Revue d'hist. et de philos. religieuses* 13 (1933) 370ff; A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris 1936) 32ff; etc. Cf. Proc. Aed. 1.2.11 σταυρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου ἐπίκειται, ὅλου δὲ μόνον τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόρτισαι κράτος, describing the emblems carried by J. in his equestrian statue in the Augustaeum; Cor. Laud. Just. praef. 1f deus omnia regna/sub pedibus dedit esse tuis, introducing an empire-survey, as in Paul.

11. ἐπίσημον: Substantival, "distinguishing mark", "insignia".
The term is used of the device on a shield, coin, et simil., see LSJ s.v.; also of imperial insignia (plural), see PGL s.v.2.

11-16. οὖχι πρὸς τὴν ἐπισέραν, κτλ.: The bounds of empire.
The theme of J.'s world-empire is reiterated, inf. 135ff, 147ff, 157ff, 226ff, 239f, 922f, 935ff. It is treated at length in the prologues of Corippus (Laud. Just. praef. 1ff, using rhetorical questions, 10-15, 35f, as in Paul) and Agathias (A. P. 4. 3B. 1ff), both probably dating from the early years of Justin II, see Cameron on Cor. loc. cit., p. 118f. (Cameron's dating of Agathias' prologue is disputed by Baldwin, see n. sup. on opening lemma, p. 21). P. Lamma (Ricerche sulla storia e la cultura del VI secolo, Brescia 1950, p. 55f, n. 21) notes the similar empire-survey at Just. Nov. XXX. 11. 2 (A. D. 536). which, like Paul, alludes to divine assistance and to Ocean, ἐλπίδας ἐχειν ἀγαθάς ὅτι καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπικρατεῖαν νεότερον ὁ θεός ἔτυμπο οἱ πάλαι ῥωμαίοι μέχρι τῶν πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἄκειον ἄριστων κρατήσαντες...ἀπέθανον... (p. 234. 34ff Kroll). For the boundary of Ocean, cf. also A. P. 9. 297. 5 (Ant. Thess.) ῥώμην δ', ἄκειον περιτέρμονα πάντοθεν. A different view of J.'s imperial ambitions is expressed at Proc. Bp 2. 3. 42 ἡ γῆ τῶν ἄνθρωπων οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασα· μικρὸν εὗτιν αὐτῶν πάντων ὁμοίο τῶν ἄνθρωπων κρατεῖν... (from a speech said to have been made by Armenians to Chosroes of
Panegyric of a ruler often includes an empire-survey (e.g. Theoc.17.77-94, Claud.Stil.3.130ff, al.), or a reference to the bounds of empire, see B.Rubin op.cit.p.461ff, n.583. For the latter, expressed with polarisation similar to Paul's, cf. Jos.Bk 3.107 τι θαυμασθὼν, εἴ πρὸς ἐω μὲν Ἱουράτης, ἄκεανδος δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, μεταμφιῶν δὲ Αἰβύνα τῷ πιότατον, ...τῆς ἴγκομονίας ὦροι, also Them. Or.19 (I.330.14f Downey) ὅτι οὖν (i.e. Theodosius) ὑποκύπτει μὲν Ῥωμαίοις η ἑως, ἀτρεμίζει δὲ ἡ ἐσπέρα, Eus.V.Const.1.1 (I.7.9f Heikel) ὅπῃ γὰρ ἄτενέος ἐμβλέψειυν, ἢν τε πρὸς ἐω ἢν τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν... (on Constantine's universal presence).

11-13. J's empire in the west included a province in southern Spain, see Stein B-E II.560ff, Bury HLRE II.286ff, and cf.A.P.4.3B. 36ff (Agath.). (An allusion to Spain at 228 inf., suggested by Bury, 288 n.1, is less likely, see n.inf. ad loc.).

11. οὐχὶ: Common in Attic tragedy (see LSJ s.v. οὗ G), not specifically comic like τούτι, 95, see n.inf. ad loc.

12. ἄκεανδος...κράτους: Cf.937 inf.

13. διεκδρομοῦσι: Dative plural of the aorist participle with ἴμιν (12). Agathias exploits the idea of the freedom of the Roman traveller, A.P.4.3B.31ff ἀλλ' ἵνα νῦν ἀμφιλοκτος ὑπὲρ οἱμοῦν ἱμνηρον ὀδυσσεου, Αὐστηρῶς, σκύρησον, διδοῖπόρε, κτλ. Cf. 929 inf. with n. on 921-33.

13-15. πρὸς δὲ τῆς ἐω, κτλ.: Persia, the great eastern power, had not been conclusively defeated by J., although Paul elsewhere speaks as if it had, cf. inf. 138, 936. No great Persian defeat preceded the treaty of 561 (see 9n.sup.) and the terms of the treaty included a large tribute payable by the Romans to Persia in return for Lazica (Stein B-E II.519, Bury HLRE II.121, cf. Fr.11n.). Paul's attitude is, however, characteristic of the poetry of the period, cf. A.P.4.3B.3ff, 9.641.1 (both Agath.), ib.16.72.1f (Anon;
discussed by the Camerons in BICS 16, 1966, 101ff); Cor.Laud.Just. praef.30ff with Cameron ad loc. But Paul does not mention Persia specifically here, and the verb προσλαμβάνει (15; "take to oneself as one's helper or partner", LSJ s.v.I.3) suggests alliance rather than conquest, cf. Ἰππικέει 228.

14. τούτῳ μὲν ἑπέσκυψ μάχαις: E.g. the suppression of the revolt of the Abasgi (Bury HLRE II.114-16, Stein B-E II.507) and the massacre of the Masimi (Bury 119f, Stein 515). For ἑπέσκυψ, cf.976 inf. with n. ad loc.

15. τούτῳ δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ δέ: The Lazi voluntarily sought an alliance with J. (Bury 113, Stein 504f ). Cf. Cor.Laud.Just. praef.27 certatim gentes Romana ad foedera currunt. Paul uses a similar expression (πρὶν ἐν τοιούτῳ χείρας ἔλεγξε) at 939 inf. in discussing J.'s defeat of tyrants/usurpers (see n. ad loc.).

Ludwich (op.cit.p.24) argued that Du Cange and Graefe were correct to write εἰς here, since Paul prefers this form to ἐς in trimeters. But the number of instances of εἰς is small (86, 119, 131, Amb.8), and since ἐς also appears in the ms. at 82 (as well as 81, where it is used metr.gr.), it is more prudent to follow Bekker and Fr. in retaining the ms. ἐς here (although εἰς predominates in Attic prose and comedy, see LSJ s.v.init.). Cf. 1022n. inf. on Paul's practice in hexameters.

16. Αἴβυν ἃς πάντα, κτλ.: "every Libyan". Libya represents the southern boundary of the empire, cf. Jos., quoted in n.sup. on 11-16. Corippus (Laud.Just. praef.35f) and Agathias (A.P.4.3B.42ff) similarly mention Libya in their empire-surveys.

The Vandal Gelimer surrendered to Belisarius in 534, but peace was not established in Africa until John Troglita's victory over the Moors in 548, see Bury HLRE II.124ff, Stein B-E II.311ff, 547ff. On the Moorish rebellion of 563, see n.inf. on 136. Cf. also 231 inf. where δοῦλον is similarly used in a further reference to Africa, and see n. ad loc. for parallels.
17f. ὅθεν νόσου, κτλ.: For J.'s illness and rumoured death in 560, see Theoph.A.M.6053 (234.20ff), Stein B-E II.778; Procopius (Arc.4.1ff, 9.35ff) mentions earlier unexpected recoveries from illness. For Paul's juxtaposition of this theme with that of military achievements, cf.A.P.1.11.3f (Anon.)Ἰωστίνου (i.e.Justin II) ὄδου/νικῶς ἐπὶ νικάς κατὰ νόσου καὶ βαρβάρων.

18-21. ὅθεν εἰκότως, κτλ.: J. escapes dangers because Christ gives him foreknowledge of them, so that he is able to meet them prepared. This, the last enumerated of the rewards conferred by Christ on J. (see n. sup. on 6f), prepares for the transition to the recent unsuccessful conspiracy of November 562 (see n.inf. on 24-39), which forms the largest single topic of the first iambic prologue. J.'s foreknowledge (μέθον 20, 29) and trust in God on that occasion is the leading theme of this section. For imperial foreknowledge, cf. Men.Rhet.373.23ff (discussing the use of traps and ambushes by the emperor and his enemies respectively) εἰτα ἔρεις, ὅτι οὐ μὲν τοὺς ἐκείνους λόχους καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας διὰ φρόνησιν ἐγίνομεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν ἕπο ςοῦ πραττομένων οὐδὲν συνίεσαν, and Christian exx. quoted 31n.inf.

18. εἰκότως: The adverb, common in classical drama and oratory (see LSJ s.v.) and also in Romanos (e.g. 54 'ε'1, ἑν'4 with E.C. Topping in BZ 71, 1978, 30 n.63, id. κα'1) is here virtually a parenthesis, "as one would expect". Paul uses εἰκότως again inf. 95, 412 (both iambics). Its position in our line is determined by the desire to exploit its homophony with εὐκόλως (17), see Pertusi's introduction to his edition of George of Pisidia, p.45ff, on the frequent use of similar effects in the iambics of George. Paul's use of εἰκότως here may have influenced his omission of the δὲ which is strictly expected in this clause after the μὲν in 17.

19. ἐν ἀφανεί: Cf. Thuc.1.42.2 ἐν ἀφανεί ἐντὶ κεῖται; etc.

20. παρήλθες: Cf. Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.2.330 τοὺς σοῦ παρήλθες εὐχερῶς ἐναντίος (of Heraclius); also Dem.18.188 τὸ ψυφίσμα
The theme of the emperor's divine protection is common in imperial panegyric, e.g. Them. Or. 7 (I.135.17f Downey) ὁ νοῦς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ πολαμὶς δορυφόρεται, κτλ., an Assyrian proverb, quoted also at id. Or. 19 (I.333.3ff), al.; Liban. Or. 13.20 (II.70.6ff Foerster); Prisc. Pan. 254f haec propter celsi dominator maximus axis/... avertit... hostes, where God's protection is seen as a reward for Anastasius' virtue, as in Paul, cf. ib. 270ff; simil. Georg. Pisid. Bell. Av. 237ff τὸξον γὰρ εἶχε τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα/.../ πύργους δὲ πύτην καὶ βέλη τὰ δάκρυα/καὶ πῦρ τὸ πυρήμα, κτλ., of the patriarch Sergius, in the context of his defence of Cpl. against the Avars in 626. Cf. also ps. Ap. Met. Ps. 58.19 οὐκέτα μεν θεός αἰτέν ὑπερμενέως προδίδει.

22f. The narrative of the conspiracy is preceded by two lines in praise of J., in which a heightening of tension is indicated by the use of asyndeton, anaphora of ἀγαμή and the intensive adjective παγκράτιστη (very rare: elsewhere only in Palladius, see PGL, Soph. Lex. s.v.; cf. τρισέβατε 952 inf. with n. ad loc., also of J.). Menander Rhetor recommends (373.5ff) that the πράξεις of the laudandus be divided according to the four virtues ἀνδρεία, δίκαιοτητα, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις. Paul here enumerates the virtues which characterised J.'s behaviour at the time of the plot, namely courage (εὐπρήχως = ἀνδρεία, cf. Agath. Hist. 5.1.8, etc.), wisdom (γνώμη = φρόνησις) and faith in God (πίστις).

24-39. These lines refer to the conspiracy of Ablabius, Marcellus, Sergius and others in November 562, see Mal. Exc. de ins. fr. 49 (173).
30ff de Boor), Mal.493-5 Bonn, Theoph.A.M.6055 (237.15ff de Boor); Bury HLRE II.69, Stein B–E II.779. The circumstantial details of Paul’s account make the reference here certain, see detailed nn. inf. Professor Cameron plausibly suggests (on Cor.Laud.Just.2.361f), on the basis that three of those implicated in the plot are called ὅ ὧν ὑπομαι, that this was a bankers’ plot, reflecting the financial crisis at the end of J.’s reign and consequent strained relations between government and bankers; cf. Lamma op.cit.p.56ff, n.22 and see introductory n.sup. on 1-80 for the probable widespread feeling of disenchantment and dissatisfaction at the end of J.’s reign.

References to unsuccessful conspiracies or attempts to gain the throne are not uncommon in imperial panegyric, e.g. Them. Or.7 (I.127ff Downey) on Valens’ victory over the usurper Procopius in 366, where the treatment is similar to Paul’s, with circumstantial detail (e.g.p.137.19ff), references to the emperor’s protection by God (e.g. 131.23f, 135.17ff), and his clemency to offenders (e.g.140.12ff), also id.Or.19 (I.327ff) on Theodosius’ clemency (probably written against the background of a conspiracy against him, see Downey’s note, p.328), Or.4 (I.80.2ff), for a reference to the conspiracy of Magnentius and Vetranio; Julian Or.1, 2, both of which have many references to the western usurpers Magnentius and Vetranio, and Silvanus, e.g. Magnentius and Vetranio: Or.1 (1.5ff Hertlein), 26Bff (32.5ff), 30Bff (37.8ff), Or.2, 55Cff (70.7ff); Silvanus: Or.1, 48C (60.13ff), Or.2, 98Cff (126.10ff), al. (Julian does not emphasise the emperor’s clemency to the same extent as Themistius, but the theme is present, e.g. Or.1. 32A, 39.18ff, 38B, 47.20ff, 48Aff, 59.22ff; Or.2. 58B, 73.19ff, 99A-B, 127.5ff, al.); ps.Pampr.1 verso 1-15 (I.109 Heitsch), recto 21-32 (p.110f), with R.C.McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 38ff, esp.54f, 60-62, identifying the accounts in the two passages as referring respectively to Zeno’s campaign against Illus and the sedition of Marcianus (note esp. McCail p.60f on the similarity between our passage and ps.Pampr’s treatment of the second theme). Similar references occur in panegyrics which are more or less contemporary with Paul’s, Proc.Aed.1.1.10, 16, on J.’s clemency to the conspirators Arsaces and Artabanes in 548 (see further nn. inf. on 940f, 948f); Cor.Laud.
Just. 1.60f, 4.348ff with Cameron ad locc. and A.P. 4.3B.53f (Agath.) with Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford 1970) 14f: Cameron argues that both Corippus and Agathias refer to the conspiracy of Aetherius and Addaeus in 566.

Paul probably developed the theme here for the same reason as that suggested by Cameron (1.60n.) for Corippus' references to the 566 conspiracy: the attempt by Marcellus and Sergius to assassinate J. had taken place little more than a month before Paul spoke, and could not be passed over without comment. (It is given detailed treatment by the chronographers). So Paul turned the affair to panegyrical advantage by producing a version of it which presented J. in the best possible light: the proximity of J.'s danger is emphasised by the dramatic style of lines 24-29 (note the opening asyndeton at 24, the use of short clauses linked by καὶ at 24 and 25, together with the resolutions in the first foot of these lines, and the following more extensive period, 27f, which culminates in the vivid imperfect ἐπιτοντο, 29; cf. n. sup. on 22f). With this is contrasted the emperor's supreme calm and faith in God (29-32, see further ad loc.). J.'s calm is suggested stylistically by the long words of 30f ἑκατέρημος, πεπίστευκας, ἐποιήσατο, and by the lack of resolution in the trimeter. Moreover, the affair was not fully resolved at the time Paul spoke, and the extensive treatment of the theme of imperial clemency which follows the narrative of the conspiracy (35-53) may be a polemic in defence of J.'s actions, see further n. inf. on 34-39.

24. ὁ λόχος συνέστη: The chief conspirators are named as Marcellus ὁ ἀργυροπάστης, Sergius, nephew of Aetherius the curator (domus divini), and Ablabius, son of Miltiades, who was bribed by Marcellus to help him. The plan was to assassinate J. as he sat

For συνέστη, cf. Ar.Eq.861ff ἐστὶ εἰς ἀν/έτωσα τοῦ ἔρωματα, καὶ μ’οὐ λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ξυνιστάμενον, with Blaydes ad loc.; X.An.5.7.2 καὶ σύλλογοι ἐγίνοντο καὶ κύκλοι συνιστάντο. Paul's use of συνέστη here, followed by ξυνιστάτω (26) looks like a reminiscence of Aristophanes (cf. Viljamaa op.cit. p.91), although other comic allusions are confined to the second iambic prologue, 81-134, see n.inf. ad loc.


* I.e. the great hall or state room, perhaps the τρίκλινος τῶν ἐκκαννα ἱκανοβίτων (on which see J.Ebersolt, Le grand palais de Constantinople, Paris 1910, 58ff, A.Vogt on Const.Porph.de Caer., t.1(2).68f). The subsequent "trial" of the conspirators (see n.inf. on 34-39) is also said to have taken place ἐν τῷ τρίκλινῳ (Mal.Exc.fr.49,175.3, Mal.494.15); cf.Const.Porph.de Caer.1.95 (432f Bonn) ὑ τις θείας λήξεως Ἰουστίνος τὸν εὐσεβεστάτον ἡμῶν δισπότην Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τρίκλινῳ. The sources attribute the great new Chrysotriclinos to Justin II (see, most recently, A.Cameron in Byzantion 50, 1980, 76, id. in Past and Present 84, 1979, 17 and cf. R.Janin Constantinople byzantine, 2nd ed., Paris 1964, 115f); Bury, however, suggested (HLRE II.54 n.3) that J. may have designed the Chrysotriclinos buildings as part of the re-building of the palace area after the destruction of the Nika Riot.
25. ἡ κυρία: Sc.ἡμέρα, "the appointed day". Cf. Hdt.5.50.1 and see LSJ s.v. κύριος II.3, adding Proc.BV 1.2.22 ἔπει δὲ ἡ κυρία παρῆν, Agath.Hist.1.12.2 ἢ μὲν κυρία παρωχήκει.

26-29. Paul elaborates on the proximity of J.'s danger (cf. n.sup. on 24-39), although the chronographers confirm (Mal.Exc. fr.49, 174.17ff, Theoph.238.1ff) that Marcellus was seized and committed suicide (cf.n.inf. on 33f) ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ. The pursuers appear to have waited until the conspirators had thoroughly incriminated themselves before arresting them (cf.n.inf. on 29-32).


27. παρῆλθεν: "passed within", see LSJ s.v. III.2, PGL s.v.1.


29. τοῖς σοῦ θρόνοις: In the hexameters, Paul similarly uses θώκος/Θώκος in the plural to denote J.'s throne, see 148n.inf.

29-32. ταύτα γνωστα, κτλ.: J. is aware of the imminent danger and remains perfectly calm, trusting in God. Paul omits to mention that the conspiracy had been betrayed in advance by Ablabius (Mal. Exc.p.174.9-14, Mal.493.11-16, Theoph.237.25-29). Hence J.'s escape is made to appear the direct result of his πίστις and God's protection. The chronographers also imply that the failure of the conspiracy was due to divine intervention, by introducing the reference to Ablabius' betrayal with the phrase τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως εὐδοκησοντος (Mal.Exc.174.9, Mal.493.12, Theoph.237.25). On imperial serenity, see further nn. inf. on 244-47 and 944.

29. δὲ: Adversative, delayed metr.gr.

31. τῷ σου προσώπιζοντι: "in your protector/champion". Cf.
The verb προσπίσω is found in late prose (see LSJ s.v.) and in Nonnus (D.20.221, 45.110, al.), who also uses the noun προσπίστηρ (D.20.50, al., Par.17.35).

τον θεον λέγω: The explanation is scarcely necessary. The explanatory use of λέγω ("I mean") is characteristically Attic (see LSJ s.v.III.9) and the expression here adds a conversational flavour; this is more pronounced in the style of the second iambic prologue.

32. ἐξοντικα: "through/in whom you are victorious in all things", cf. Du Cange per quern omnia vincis. The dative ἐξ is used in a comitative sense, with antecedent θεόν, equivalent to the usual σὺν θεόν. But Fr. (ad loc.) understood as the antecedent τῶς πιστεύειν, from πεπίστευκας (30).

For this variation of an idea now familiar (see esp.10n.sup., also nn. on 6f, 20f, 31), cf. Prisc.Pan.6f qui (sc.deus) tibi regna dedit, cui debes omnia soli/prospera, quae bellis pariter vel pace tulisti; Cor.Laud.Just.praef.1f deus omnia regna/sub pedibus dedit esse tuis, 1.182f pro te deus omnia fecit,/quaer fieri voluit and passim, see Cameron on praef.1 and Introduction p.8f.

32. τοῦ οἰκοποῦ δ'οὐκ ἐσφάλης: "you did not err in your intent/guardian" (exploiting the ambiguity of οἰκοποῦ), almost "you did not miss your mark", (cf. 100 inf. πρὸς δὲ τῶν οἰκοποῦ βλέπων).

The pithy statement and the alliteration again anticipate the style of the second prologue.
Lines 32-35 are divided by a strong pause after a long aniceps in the second metron. The short phrases give an effect of speed appropriate to Paul’s rapid résumé of the dénouement.

33. τί γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις;: For the use of the question, cf. A.P.4.3A.8 (Agath.) τί δὲ νῦν ποιήσομεν;


Paul refers to Marcellus’ suicide again, inf.937-9. Julian similarly refers to the suicide of the usurper Magnentius (Or.1. 40B, p.50.4ff Hertlein), which, like Marcellus’ fate, is considered to be a just end (see n.inf. on 34-39); cf. also Prisc.Pan.259 sed Deus in propriam cladem converterat illos, of Arab invaders.

34. ὁ τῶν λόχων ὀγγιζόμεν: It was usual not to refer to conspirators by name, see Cameron Agathias 15. Conspirators or usurpers are not named in any of the panegyric instances collected in n.sup. on 24-39.

34-39. οὐ γὰρ ἠθελεν, κτλ: The end of Marcellus is represented as an act of Dike, whose harshness is contrasted with J.’s clemency, cf. inf.941ff. Certainly there is no evidence that any executions followed the uncovering of the plot (see below).

Praise of the emperor’s φίλανθρωπία is a stock theme of the βασιλικὸς λόγος, see Men. Rhet.374.25ff on clemency to those vanquished in war (quoted in part in n.inf. on 56f), ib.375.8ff (peacetime achievements) καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸ ῥήματο τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπαινέσει, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίαν,

Paul develops the theme at considerable length (35-53), perhaps in an attempt to justify J.'s handling of the conspiracy, and, in particular, his treatment of his old general Belisarius (cf. Cameron on Cor. Laud. Just. 4. 348f, for a similar justification in Corippus). Paul mentions only the death of Marcellus, but the chronographers record (Mal. Exc. 174. 2ff, Mal. 494. 1ff, Theoph. 238. 5ff) that Sergius was dragged from his sanctuary and made a confession which implicated, among others, Belisarius. Further arrests were made and confessions elicited, and finally J. called a grand meeting of the consistory and senate on 5th December, which was attended by many dignitaries, including the patriarch Eutychius. The various depositions were read out and Belisarius was disgraced: his bucellarii were removed and he was placed under house-arrest. Theophanes records (239. 17f) that Belisarius was only restored to favour in the following July, so that he would still have been under house-arrest when Paul spoke. (Belisarius died in March 565, Theoph. A. M. 6057, 240. 24-26). Belisarius' popularity is reflected in the biased account given by Agathias (Hist. 5. 15. 7ff) of his defeat of the Kotrigurs in 559, see Cameron, Agathias 49f. His disgrace is recalled in mediaeval legend, according to which the great general ended his days as a blind beggar in Cpl., see W. Wagner, Medieval Greek Texts (London 1870, repr. 1971) 116ff, and cf. Bury HLR II. 69, Stein B-E II. 779f n. 5.

Lammas suggested (op. cit. p. 57 n. 22 fin.) that J.'s moderate action may have been a compromise solution at a time of strong feeling against the emperor. In emphasising J.'s clemency, Paul acts as his publicist. The indignant question of 54-57 may have the same motive.

36. τῶ[ν πε]σοδοντων: Graefe's supplement for the short syllable which is lost where the ms. is damaged, accepted by Bekker. This, or παλαντων (Fr. in app. crit.) or ἀλόντων, is preferable to μαθόντων (Fr. in text; "found out"—what?).

τυράννων: The term may denote captured barbarian kings like the Vandal Gelimer, who had been treated generously by J. (see Bury HLR E II. 138, Stein B-E II. 318), cf. A.P. 4. 3B. 55 (Agath.) ἀνοιβαν δὲ τυράννων, of the Gothic kings of Italy after Theodoric, Cor. Laud. Just. praef. 11 with Cameron ad loc. But it is also regularly used to mean "rebels", "usurpers", see Soph. Lex. s.v., PGL s.v. 2, Fn's n. on 135-137, and cf. Jul. Or. 1. 26B (32. 4 Hertlein), al., and the other exx. from the 3rd/4th cents. collected by R. Macmullen, The Roman concept Robber-Pretender; in Rev. int. des droits de l' Antiquité, Ser. 3, t. 10 (1963) 221 n. 3. Macmullen (221ff) traces the idea back to the Stoic/Cynic distinction between king and tyrant: legitimate rule belongs only to the philosopher-king.

πολλάκις: Rhetorical exaggeration, cf. n.inf. on 937ff.

37f. ἔση...τρέπη: The use of indicative for optative in historic sequence in oratio obliqua is classical: "She knew that, if you were to catch him, you would turn to pity", see Goodwin, GMT p. 274f. In the apodosis, τρέπη is written because it is metrically convenient, or as representing the prophetic use of the present (Goodwin GMT sec. 32, p. 11). Fr. suggested that the present is used because clemency was characteristic of J., but the reference is to J's treatment of a single individual (ἀυτός 37, i.q. δὸ τὸν λόχων ἰγνον 34), not to a continuous or repeated state of affairs.

38. εἰς οἰκτον..., εἰς ζέλεων: Rhetorical dualism, cf. 65
παραλλῆλης ... παραδράμοις; 120 εὐθυμίαν τε καὶ τριψίν, 121το παραθετάν ... λόγων ἀςεμίαν.

εὐθύς: Cf. 944-47 inf.

39. κάνταμῆς νικῶν: "in these also conquering", i.e. as well as being all-conquering in the sense implied in 32.

πᾶσαν ἄνθρωπον φόνον: Periphrastic for πᾶντας ἄνθρωπους. For the locution with φόνον, see LSJ s.v.V.

This statement prepares for the more general discussion of J.'s clemency which follows (40-53). The idea suggested in this line is developed in 47 ὑπερ τοῦ θεοῦ. The Christian emperor was seen as God's representative on earth, imitating God in his life. An important aspect of this imitation was in the exercising of clemency. This is already made explicit in Themistius, Or.19 (I.333.9ff Downey): the emperor is called divine not because of his material power, ἀλλ' ὁτι μόνον θεό καὶ βασιλεία ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἐστὶ ζωῆς ἐπιδοτοῖ (14f); so no-one gives God the title νικήτης et simil., but τοῦ φιλόθρωπον καὶ τοῦ ἐμπιστεύσατο καὶ τοῦ οἰκεῖα (17f). Cf. Agap.Cap.63 (PG.86(1).1184A) ὃ μὲν θεόν ὁδεγὸς δείται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡ ὅνων θεόν. Μενοῦ τοῖνον τοῦ ὁδεγὸς δείκνυον, καὶ δεικνύον τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐμπιστεύτο τοῦ ἐμπιστεύσα, κτλ., cf.id.Cap.21 (col.1172A) τῷ μὲν οὕτω τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα παντὶ ἄνθρωπῳ ὁ βασιλεύς, τῷ ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ ἀξιώματος δόματος ἐστὶ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ· οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπηλότερον. Χρὴ τοῖνον αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ θεόν μὴ ὅργυσθαι, κτλ., Cap.8 (1168A), Cap.37 (1176B) and passim, see P.Henry III in GRBS 8 (1967) 281ff, esp. 298ff. For additional illustration and bibliography, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.2.361f (a passage designed to illustrate Justin's pietas and clementia), esp.nn. on 399, 428. With our line, cf. also Prisc.Pan.228 et superans omnes mentis novitate benignae.

40-53. J.'s clemency. The illustrations are arranged in order of increasing magnitude, progressing from J.'s sympathetic grief and
and tears (40-44) to more concrete manifestations of clemency (44-50), and culminating in J.'s own petitions to God on behalf of sinners (50-53). The examples are unified by linguistic play: at 40f, the parallelism of the synonyms ἀμαρτάσιν/πταίσμασιν is reinforced by the homophony achieved by placing both words in the dative plural at the line-end; in a similar echoing effect, the areas in which J.'s clemency is exercised are denoted by abstract nouns used in the genitive plural at the line-end (46 ἄφλημάτων, 48 ἐγκλημάτων, 52 τολμημάτων); in addition, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων (48) is matched by τῶν δεσιων (49); note also the repetition of πολλὰς in eadem sede at 41f. The use of similar effects characterises the iambics of George of Pisidia, see 18n.sup.

40. ταῖς τοῦ βίου, κτλ.: Cf. 1009 inf. συμπαθεῖν ἀνδρομεοσιν ἐπὶ ἀγεοιν ὑμα τιταίνεις, of the patriarch Eutychius. Here τοῦ βίου is equivalent to ἀνδρομεοσιν in 1009.

40f. ἀμαρτάσιν/...πταίσμασιν: These nouns are synonyms. The feminine third declension noun ἀμαρτάς is a less common variant for ἀμαρτία or ἀμάρτημα. In classical Greek all three terms, together with πταίσμα, denote "error" and do not necessarily imply moral guilt, see LSJ s.v.v., and cf. Aristotle's definition of ἀμάρτημα, EN 5.8.6, 1135b11ff. In Jewish and Christian thought, however, ἀμαρτία and ἀμάρτημα are the usual words for "sin" (see Soph.Lex.s.vv.2, PGL s.v.ἀμαρτία, ἀμάρτημα II) and ἀμαρτάς and πταίσμα are used in the same sense, see Soph.Lex.s.v. ἀμαρτάς 2, PGL s.v.1 and s.v. πταίσμα, and for πταίσμα, add Romanos 54 κε'5, No.XII ap.Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica, η'5.

42. ἄριστε: "excellency". In respectful address ἄριστε is usually used in conjunction with a noun, e.g. Ορφ.Hymn 56.1 δάμου ἄριστε, Προκ.Hymn 1.33 θεῶν ἄριστε. Plato uses ὃ ἄριστε/ ἄριστε alone (e.g. Meno 77c, Rep.338d), but there the tone is ironical, "my dear fellow".
42f. τοιούτων δὲ, κτλ.: J.'s tears are those of a king (βασιλικός 43). Normally the emperor remains calm and serene at all times, as J. did in face of the attempt upon his life, 29f sup., see nn.inf. on 244-47 and 944. Tears are, however, permissible, even commendable, in some contexts, for example in grief (as here, ἀλγύων 44) or in prayer, see Cameron on Cor.Laud Just.1.156f, 2.10f. Here J.'s tears are appropriate to his God-like clemency, cf. NT Ev.Luc.19.41 where Christ weeps for Jerusalem. Contrast Proc.Arc.8.24 on J.'s crocodile tears.

43. τὸ πράσον ὦμα: Cf. inf.947 οὐ δι᾽ ἐλαυνόν ὦμα τονύσσας, also of J.'s clemency. For πράσος in this context, cf. X.Ages.11. 6 τῶν μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμαρτίας πράσος ἔφεσε, and see further nn.inf. on 1021f.


ὑποβρέχεις: The compound is not classical and is usually used metaph. of topers, see LSJ s.v. But for Paul's literal use, cf. Thphr.HP 5.3.3 καὶ γὰρ ὑποβρέχουσι ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν τρομησιν μαλάξως χάριν (of hardwood trees), where ὑποβρέχουσι is a probable conjecture.

44. ἀλγύων ἐφ᾽ ἐφήμιν: Cf. Cor.Laud. Just.2.380 condoluit miserans (Justin II's behaviour to petitioners).

44f. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἁκρασίαν, κτλ.: In Aristotle (EN 7), ἁκρασία is a general fault, "weakness of will" or the inability to do what one knows to be right owing to the intervention of desire. The ἁκρασία is only ἡμιποιητικός because the moral judgements he makes are correct (7.10.3). In later writers, however, ἁκρασία takes on definite sexual implications, e.g.Λ.Π.5.105.2 (Marc.Arg.) ἐπεὶ πάσης γευταί ἁκρασίας (of Menophile), Agath.Hist.2.24.2 λέγεται γὰρ ποτε Σεμίραμιν...ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἁκρασίας ἀμηνίναν, ἐγὼ Νινῶ τῆς παιδί ἐθελήσαμεν ἐξουσιαὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτα, cf. NT 1Cor.7.5, Soph.Lex s.v. ἁκρασία 2.
"Incontinence" in sexual matters is therefore the natural interpretation here: J. did pass stringent legislation which prohibited divorce by consent and, with Theodora, attempted to control prostitution, see Jones LRE II.972-76, III.327f, esp.nn.81, 84 for J's legislation; Bury HLRE II.406-9, 411-13.

45. τὴν σύνοικον τοῦ βίου: The use of metaph. σύνοικος in moral contexts is classical, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. also Greg.Nyss.Virg.20 (PG.46.400B-C) τὴν ἀληθινὴν σοφίαν σύνοικον τε καὶ βίου κοινωνίαν ἐκστάτω λαμβάνειν.

46. ὀφλημάτων: In Attic, ὀφλημα is a technical term for a fine incurred in a lawsuit, but later it is used of debt in general, see LSJ and PGL s.v. and cf. Agath.Hist.5.14.2. In Christian writers, the forms ὀφείλημα and ὀφειλέτης are used metaphorically of sin (ἀμορτία), see Arndt and Gingrich s.v. ὀφείλημα 2, ὀφειλέτης 2, PGL s.v. ὀφειλέτης. Romanos uses ὀφλημα in this sense, e.g. 27 γυν. 19 speeches ἐποφειλοῦσα ὀφλημα, 28 κεύματα (both of Adam's sin), see further J.Nimmo Smith, Romanos the Melodist and Christian Rhetoric (Edinburgh University M.Litt. thesis, 1971, unpublished) 101-6 and cf. J.Rivière, Le dogme de la redemption (2nd ed., Paris 1905) 373ff on judicial allegory in Christian thought. Fr.(ad loc.) is certainly right in saying that Paul here has in mind NT Ev.Matth.6.

12 ὀφέλημα τὸ ὀφείληματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀφράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. The parallelism between J. and God is made explicit in 147 ὀμπερ το θεον. Remission of material debts was also an imperial prerogative, e.g. Theoph.A.M.6060, 242.22ff, of the empress Sophia.


τρέχειν: Cf. Agap.Cap.62 (PG.86(1).1181D) τρέχειν μὲν εἰς τὴν
The eagerness to act with clemency implied in the use of τρέχεις (47) is further manifest in J.'s willingness to act both as suppliant and judge. Cf. Greg.Nyss.Res.3 (PG.46.657D) εἶ γὰρ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ βαρέα τὰ ἀμπαρτήματα, παραπτωμαί ὑπερβαίνοντα καὶ συγγνώμην, αἰτίοςμένος ὁ δεσπότης τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γαληνοῦ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, δέχεται τὸν ἀπερριμένον, κτλ.

48. αιτεῖς δὲ σουτῶν: Sc. συγγνώμην.

ἐν τῶν ἐγκληματῶν: Like ὕφλημα, ἐγκλημα is a technical lawcourt term in Attic, "charge" (see LSJ s.v.I, II, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1, PGL s.v.1); later it is also used more generally, "reproach", "ground of complaint" (LSJ s.v.III, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2, PGL s.v.2).

49f. ὁ δὲ δίδωσιν, κτλ.: For the construction of δίδωσι with accusative and infinitive, cf.963 inf. with n. ad loc. In δεπηδέων, Paul uses another Attic lawcourt term (see LSJ s.v.I, Soph.Lex. s.v.2), which is later regularly used of petition to God (see Soph.Lex.s.v.1, Arndt and Gingrich s.v., PGL s.v.).

51. τῶν ἐλεοῦ σου τῶν πάνω: "your pre-eminent pity", "the pity which is pre-eminent yours"; cf. 39 sup. For the use of πάνω with article, see LSJ s.v.II, K-G.I.595, sec.461.6c, and cf. Thuc.8.89.2 ἑχόντες ἡγεμόνος τῶν πάνω [στρατηγοῦν σεcl. Clausen] τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλγήρχεια καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖ ὀντῶν, Athen.8.347e φιλοσοφος δὲ τῶν πάνω δ Ἀτοχύλος, Agath.Hist.2.24.2 Σεμιραμίτης τὴν πάνω τῆς ἁμαρτίας.
52f. ἐξ ὑμῶν δὲ ὅρμησεν, κτλ.: "And as a result of the impious deeds of daring which we do, you have occasion for intercession above". In cases of impiety, where J. himself has not the power to grant forgiveness, he intercedes with God on behalf of the offenders, which their very impiety would prevent them from doing for themselves, cf. LXX Jb.27.9f ἡ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ [τοῦ ἁσεβοῦ] εἰςακούσται κύριος; ἣ ἐπελθοῦσις αὐτῷ ἀνάγκης ἢ εἴπερ τινὰ παρηγοροῦν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ; ib.Pr.13.5 λόγου ἁδικον μετέ ὑποκαΐως, ἀπεβής δὲ ἀποκύνυται καὶ ωὰ ἢ παρηγοροῦν, and see PGL s.v. παρηγορία IIA.3c. Although παρηγορία has a long history in classical Greek (see 115n.inf.), Paul is here using the term in its Christian sense: according to Judaeo-Christian doctrine, παρηγορία is the right to speak freely with God, granted to persons of special piety, such as OT prophets, NT disciples, holy men and Christians of similarly outstanding virtue, see E.Peterson, Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von Παρηγορία in Reinhold Seeburg Festschrift I (Leipzig 1929) pp.289ff; G.Scarpat, Parrhesia: Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino (Brescia 1964) 73ff; PGL.s.v.IIA.2,3. Paul here refers specifically to παρηγορία as the power of efficacious intercession with God on behalf of sinners: this appears originally to have been the prerogative of Christian martyrs after death, later felt to belong to them also in life, as well as to ascetics and holy men, see Peterson pp.293ff, Scarpat pp.93ff, Peter Brown in JRS 61 (1971) 94ff, PGL s.v. IIA.3d, and cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych.98 (PG.86(2).2385A) on the dead patriarch Eutychius (although the term παρηγορία is not itself here used). In attributing such Christian παρηγορία to J., Paul no doubt has in mind the Christian concept of the uniquely-close relationship between the emperor and God (see 39n.sup.), but the resulting compliment to J.'s piety is of the highest order, without parallel among secular figures (although cf.61 inf.). The later, more explicit, compliment to J.'s piety at inf. 307-10 is more deeply rooted in imperial ideology, see n. ad loc.inf.

52. δὲ : Delayed, metr.gr.; cf.29.
53. ἀφορμᾶς...παρρησίας: This sense of ἀφορμή ("occasion") is Attic, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Georg. Pisid. Bell. Av. 165 τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν λόγων, "the occasion of my poem", id. Her. 2. 123, al.

54-57. An indignant rhetorical question in asyndeton recalls the subject of the conspiracy, from which the excursus on J.'s clemency originated, see n. sup. on 34–39 on the political background which may have motivated Paul's words. For the form of the question here, cf. 11ff sup. (with 11n. on οὐχί), and on such use of asyndeton, see 3n. sup.

Paul's passage, although much briefer, is similar in context and sentiment to the conclusion of Julian's second oration (panegyric of the emperor Constantius), 98Bff (126.5ff Hertlein), which refers to the death of the usurper Silvanus and Constantius' subsequent clemency, cf. 100A-B (128.10ff) πολλάκις ἢ ἡ πανούργος καὶ μοχαρία καὶ δωστυνή, πολέμιος ἑθέλων εἶναι τοιούτῳ καὶ δυ σφόδρα ἤγαθον καὶ διαφερόντως πρὸν ἡπίοτατοι, of Silvanus; 99B (127.7f) ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα πρός ἐμε ἐφευρέσυ τὸν ἢ, 100B (128.18f) ὃ ἢ ἡμερός καὶ πρός καὶ μεγαλόφηνει, al. simil., on Constantius' clemency.

54f. The parallelism between God and emperor marks the climax of the parallelism between divine and imperial clemency in 40–53 (made explicit in 47, but also suggested elsewhere, see, for example, n. on 42f, and cf. 39n. sup.). Paul may well have had in mind Call. Ap. 25ff κοκόν μοικάρεσιν ἐρίζειν. ὅς μάχεται μοικάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιληί μάθοιτο/ὅτις ἐμῷ βασιληί, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μαχότο. Similar sentiments are, however, commonplace at all periods, e.g. Ι. 17.98f ὀπίσθ' ἀνήρ ἐπέλυτ πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεοςαι, ἣν κε θεὸς τιμῇ, τάχα οṙ μέγα πήμα κυλίθη; Pi. P. 2.88 χρὴ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν; A. P. 10.91.1ff (Pallad.) ὀταν στυγνῇ τῇ άνδρᾳ, τὸν θεός φιλεῖ/ὅτους μεγάλη έμφραν κατείσχυς/ἀφενέρως γὰρ οὕτω τῇ θεῷ κορύσσεται, κτλ.; ps. Pampr. 3.151 (I. 116 Heitsch) τὰς ἁν μοικάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν, cf. Heitsch XXXVII. 25 (I. 125); Niceph. Hist. Syn. p. 6.11ff de Boor εἶπετι λέγεται πρὸς αὐτῶς (i.e. the emperor Heraclius to assembled dignitaries and people) "ὁ βασιλέα οὐβρίζων
tínì prookrhoúei;" touś dé fánavi "tû òtheî tû poiýounai autón basileáa".

56f. tòn òmeron, ktl.: "a man who is gentle and kindly, and who gives benefits in moderation to friends and enemies alike". This general laudation of J.'s philanthropic rule concludes the encomium of the emperor; Paul ends his panegyric with a compliment to the dead empress Theodora (58-65). Procopius likewise follows his reference to the conspiracy of Arsaces and Artabanes (cf.n.sup. on 24-39) with more general sentiments on J.'s philanthropia, Aed.1.1.10 kai toûs mèn epibouleitouvsin autepággelotos tás aitías aféis, touc dé biou deoiemous pòout pietímenos katekoreis kai túkhun autous tìn epirexouvsan biaxamouvs, ebdámouvs bíw tìn politiein xuníkiteen. For the philanthropic virtues mentioned by Paul, cf. Jul.Or.2.99B, 100B (quoted in n.sup. on 54-57); Men.Rhet.375.8f ton òmeron ton proû toûs òphkous (quoted more fully in n.sup. on 34-39), ib.374. 28-31 mórióv dé tòs filanvromí vos ò dikaiosínn, óti víkhsa ò basileús oú toûs diqous òmuñato toûs òfíxantaí déikwv érgwv, all' éméria kai tò òkia tòs práxeis timoú tòs filanvromí vos, ktl. (Aristotle defined justice as a mean, EN 5, 1133a30ff); Them.Or.1 (I.8.7f) tò dé òi próou kai tò épitéikeis kai tò òmeron tì òv állo én déik òkalóito (describing ò filanvromí vos basileús); Prise.Pan.43 est clemens, stabilis, moderatus, mitis, honestus (of Anastasius); Agap.Cap.41 (PG.86(1).1176D) Ísous proû te filous kai èchhroû poîov tòs kriwes, ktl., id.Cap.19 (col.1169D) ei tìn ec pántwn boîlæi kai o épomhês tìn, gínu toûs òpásin evékptai koiwès, Cap.13 (1168D) Ístev eînai òch pántote toû basilewv to fòdhyma, Cap.55 (1180D) ..., kai òumouswv metríwv, kai òh òumouswv, ktl.; etc.

56. én tòu metríwv: "according to the mean", "in moderation". The use of tò metríov in the sense "the mean" is classical, see LSJ s.v.µétrios III.1, although the dative phrase with én appears to be Paul's own.

57. evêrkêtoûnta: The concept of the evêrkêta is adopted into Byzantine imperial ideology from Hellenistic political philosophy, e.g Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (490.3,9), Agap.Cap.19 (quoted in n.sup.on 56f).
καὶ φίλους καὶ μὴ φίλους: Viljamaa (op.cit.p.82) cites this expression as an example of word-play, characteristic of the prose and iambic prologue and the language of New Comedy. The negative μὴ is generic, see K-G.II.197, sec.512.4.

58. οὖχει σε ταῦτα: Emphatic asyndeton. In ταῦτα, Paul refers back generally to J.'s benignant rule, as exemplified in the previous passage, cf. the similar use of ταῦτα inf.934 (reiterated 935, 937), also 236. The theme of the security achieved by clemency is expounded inf.950-58 (see n. ad loc.), lines which, like our passage, follow a discussion of τύραννοι (937ff). Menander recommends a prayer for the emperor's preservation as a suitable topic for the epilogue of the θεασμικὸς λόγος, 377.19ff (see further n.inf. on 921-33).

58-61. ταῦτα τὴν ψυχὴν, κτλ.: Not only does J.'s φιλανθρωπία secure his kingdom on earth, but it causes the dead empress Theodora to intercede with God on his behalf. Paul thus elegantly effects a transition to a concluding complimentary reference to Theodora (who died in 548, see Stein B-E II.589 with n.4), using asyndeton and anaphora to reinforce the significance of his words. For similar bold anaphora, cf.Cor.Laud.Just.*4.288 principis haec, haec aula dei. On the value of an emperor's good works on earth for securing access to heaven, see n.inf. on 307-10.

Menander recommends that a reference to the empress be inserted when praising the emperor's οὐρανοῦν, 376.9ff εἰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀμαρτία εἰς καὶ τιμῆς μεγίστης ἢ βασιλῆς; for such references, cf. Prisc.Pan.301ff (of Ariadne, who, like Theodora, was already dead); Cor.Laud.Just. præef.22f, al.; also Epigr.Gr.1064.10ff where a prayer to the martyr Sergius for Theodora follows a prayer for J.

Paul here implies that Theodora is in heaven: judgement was commonly assumed to follow immediately upon death, e.g. Theoph. A.M.6008, 162.2ff de Boor, Cyr.Scyth.V.Sab.60 (II.161.18ff Schwartz), Evagr.HE 5.1 (195.4ff Bidez-Parmentier), al. Like J. on earth, Theodora is said to have attained in heaven the rare honour of τιμησία with God (see n.sup. on 52f), presumably in reward for
her pious deeds in life (cf. 62 infra). Such παρθενία is sometimes considered to be greater after death, e.g. Jo.Chrys.Pan.Bern.7 (PG.50.640.52ff) πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχουσι παρθενίαν οὐχὶ ἐὼσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτᾶσας· καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τελευτᾶσας, cf. Thdt. Hist.rel.18 (PG.82.1428B). There is, however, a Hellenic precedent for this motif in panegyric: at Theoc.17 (an encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus) 46-52, the king's dead mother Berenice is said to have been given upon death a place in Aphrodite's temple and a share in the goddess' prerogatives, so that she looks kindly on men and eases their cares.

60. τῆς παναρίστης: The epithet is rare, attested only in a Spartan inscription (see LSJ s.v.) and in Theodoret, of patriarchs (see PGL s.v.).

τῆς καλῆς: Paul praises Theodora's beauty also at A.P.16.77, cf.ib.78 (Anon., on the same theme), Proc.Aed.1.11.8f, id.Arc.10.11.

πανοδόφου: The epithet is Attic (see LSJ s.v.), used in patristic writers of God, prophets, apostles, bishops, holy men et simil. (see PGL s.v.); cf. also Georg.Pisid.Heracl.ex Africa 6 οἵ πάνοδόφος νοῦς ὁ Χαρακτηρίζεται, of other panegyrists of Heraclius.

62. εὐσεβὴς συνεργάτης: Cf. Just.Nov.VIII.1 (A.D.535) where J. acknowledges the advice of "the most pious consort whom God has given us", κοινώνῃ τοῦ θεοῦ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δεδομένην ἡμῖν εὐσεβεστάτην σύνοικον; also Epigr.Gr.1064.11 ἦ γενότιος εὐσεβὴς φαιδρόντας, of Theodora; etc. The feminine noun συνεργάτης (cf. σύνεργον 6) is classical (E.Fl.100), but rare, being found occasionally in later prose, see Stephanus, PGL s.v.

Theodora undoubtedly had great influence on J. (for example, in the fall of John the Cappadocian, see Stein B-E II.480ff), but her sympathies did not always coincide with his, most notably her monophysitism, see the survey of Stein B-E II.235ff, and cf. Proc.Arc.10.
63. Fr. (ad loc.) objected to the line as "schlecht gebaute", referring to the word-end inside both the resolved first brevis (δὲ μετηλθὲ) and the resolved second anceps (μετηλθὲ, παρέσχε), i.e. the "broken anapaest", see Maas, Greek Metre sec. 111. But, according to Maas sec. 114, this is tolerated "in the trimeter of the rhetorical preludes of the imperial period".

μετηλθὲ: "passed on". This verb is not elsewhere used absolutely in this sense, but cf. OGI 56.55 (Canopus, 3rd cent. B.C.) εἰς θεοὺς μετηλθὲν, with Dittenberger ad loc., ib.45 μεταθείν εἰς τὸν ἀέναου κόσμου, and see PGL s.v.1 fin. Analogous are Polyb. 2.70.6 τὸν βίου μετηλθαἰε, 4.25.6 κατὰ φύσιν...μετηλθαῖς; Evagri. HE 5.1. (195. 6f Bid.-Farm.) εἰς τὰ κατάτατα μετεχάρησε δικαιωτήτοια; Eustrat. V. Eutych. 65 (PG. 86(2).2348C) μεταστὰς τὸδὲ τοῦ βίου, cf. Greg. Nyss. Pulch. (PG.46.869A; quoted in n. inf. on 81f); etc.

63-65. παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπηκοοῖς, κτλ.: Men can rely on an oath which J. swears in Theodora's name; τοῖς ὑπηκοοῖς is dative of advantage. This is the interpretation of Maas. Fr. understood Paul to mean that men in general swear by Theodora's name, but this is unlikely in view of Just. Nov. LXXVII.1 (A.D. 535), which seeks to prevent the swearing of blasphemous oaths in God's name, and also random oaths κατ' ἀνθρώπων (contra homines). See Fr. ad loc. for Maas's examples of the binding of an obligation by the utterance of an oath, and without further ceremony. With Paul's sentiment, contrast Proc. Arc. 8.24f on the ὄρκους δεινοτάτους with which J. sealed his agreements, before immediately proceeding to break them.

64. Βοηθόν: The syncopated form Βοηθὸς is found in Attic prose, see LSJ s.v.; and cf. Call. Dian. 153.

ὁρκοῦ ἀραιεσπαντῶν: The sense is reinforced by the emphatic repetition of ὄρκου and the superlative of ἀραιεσπαντῶν, the latter not elsewhere attested. The simple adjective is used of agreements in a late inscription and in papyri, see LSJ s.v. I.2 and cf. Preisigke.
65. ηαρηλθει, ...παραδραμοι: The verbs are used as synonyms. This sense of παρέρχομαι is classical (see LSJ s.v. IV), but παρατρέχω is so used only at Theoc. 20.32 and in later prose, see LSJ s.v. 4b, PGL s.v. 1b, and cf. inf. 123.

66-80. These lines are transitional, linking the themes of the two prologues: the encomium of J. (1-65) is continued in Paul's compliments to the emperor's achievement in building S. Sophia (70) and to his extension of the festival (71-80), but the prayer for courage (68-70) anticipates Paul's auxesis of his subject and attempt to win the audience's goodwill in the second prologue (81-134, see further ad loc. inf.). Fr. (66n.) observed that the lines also mark a corresponding change towards the lighter tone of the second prologue.

From this point, Paul's prologue betrays a clear debt to the techniques and tone of the prose prolalia or dialexis and to the language of Attic comedy. In this it can be more closely related to other iambic prologues in late Greek poetry, see further nn. inf. on 68-70, 81-134. Relevant material is collected and discussed by Fr., p. 119ff.; T. Viljamaa, Studies in the encomiastic poetry of the early Byzantine period (Soc. Scient. Fenn., Comm. human. litt., Vol. 42, No. 4, Helsinki 1968) 68ff.; Alan Cameron in CQ N.S. 20 (1970) 119ff.; Menander Rhetor (ed. Russell-Wilson, Oxford 1981) p. 295.

66. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπος τάῦτα: I.e. the encomium of J. The formula is common in Attic, see LSJ s.v. οὖν C.VII. 3, and cf. Denniston Greek Particles p. 258f.

66f. πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεόν, κτλ.: The expression marks Paul's turning to the main subject of his poem, but is also an appeal to J. to give the sign for the dismissal of the assembly. Paul might be thought simply to refer to the change of subject, as he does inf. 134 οὐκοῦν ἐπενεμάς πρὸς βασιλέα τοῦ μέγαν, Amb. 26 οὐκοῦν πρόσειμι τῷ σεβασμῷ τόπῳ, and probably inf. 313 ἓν ἐν τεμένεσι, see
n.inf. on 311-14, for exx. from prose rhetoric, noting esp. Proc. Gaz.Pan.17 (507.16 Bonn) where βασιλέως is used. But lines 81-88 inf. and the lemma after line 80 clearly indicate that Paul did indeed move to a new venue after the delivery of the first iambic prologue. According to the lemma, this was not the church itself, but the έπισκοπεῖον, see further n. ad loc.inf. The unqualified dative βουλομένου might refer to Paul alone (for the poetic plural, cf. 85 ήμίν, 933 ήμετέρων έπέσων), but it probably includes part, if not all, of the audience. Fr. suggested (p.110) that the audience moved in ceremonial procession to its new venue, see further 81n.inf. In θαρρεῖν, Paul prepares for the reference in 69 to the τόλμη needed by the poet to undertake his task, see n. ad loc., and cf. n.inf. on 102-124.

67. εὐθείας:LSJ designate this word "Very rare in Poets" (citing E.Ph.544). It is, however, common in Aristophanes: 83 instances are listed in H.Dunbar, A complete concordance to the comedies and fragments of Aristophanes (New ed., rev. Marzullo, Hildesheim 1973). John of Gaza uses it metaphorically in iambic prologue (Descr.1 prol.10), and Choricius in rhetorical dialexis (XXIV = dial.14.5, p.281.21 Foerst.-Richtst.); cf. inf.130. On the use of comic expressions and vocabulary in iambic prologues, see Viljamaa op.cit. p.88ff.

68-70. With a complimentary appeal to J., Paul seeks inspiration in face of the magnitude of his task: the building of S.Sophia is a marvel; may J. achieve the further marvel that Paul be sufficiently inspired to find words to praise it. This theme is developed inf.100ff. The emperor here takes the place of the Muse or deity to whom the writer usually appeals, Ἡ.1.1 μηνὶν έξείδε, θεά, etc.; George of Pisidia makes an appeal similar to Paul's, but to the Trinity, Exp.Pers.1.15f ὑπονοούμεν μή αὐτὸ τὴν ἔξωσια/τῆς οὖσας ἐνέστι συγγράφειν τὰ θεάματα.

The need of the poet for τόλμη is already acknowledged in Pindar (e.g.O.9.82, 13.11), and reference to this becomes commonplace in later rhetoric. Discussing the βασιλικὸς λόγος, Menander Rhetor
recommends that auxesis (i.e. elevation of the subject) is appropriate to prooemia (368.8f); examples are given, which include stressing the greatness of the subject (368.9-11) and the impossibility of doing justice to it in words (368.21ff, mentioned as being appropriate to all kinds of epideictic subjects; 369.7ff). Cf. Liban. Or. 59.5 (IV.211.9ff Foerst.) ἐστι μὲν οὖν ἐξος τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐγκυμίαςειν τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν καταμέμφεσθαι δύναμιν ἃ πολὺ λειπομένῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποθαυμάζειν ὑπερβολῆν ἃ πολὺ νικᾶσσα τοῖς λόγοις, al simil. This double theme of the greatness of the subject and the author's humble ability commonly leads to the idea of τόλημ, as in Paul, see the exx. collected by Viljamaa op. cit. p.73ff and cf. also Jul. Or. 1 (pp1-4 Hertlein); ps. Pampr. 3.4 (I.111 Heitsch); Diosc. 5.11ff (I.134 Heitsch), 6.13ff (p.136), 12B.18ff (p.142); Proc. Gaz. Pan. 1 (490.12ff); Prisc. Pan. 8; Eustrat. V. Eutych. 1f (PG. 86(2).2274 Cff); etc. For similar auxesis of the subject without specific reference to τόλημ, cf. Cor. Johann. praef. 15ff, A.P. 4.3A.45f (Agath.); also Agath. Hist. praef. 12f, with other references collected by Cameron Agathias Appendix E, p.145, s.v. Agathias' modesty. A related use of τόλημ-language is that which reflects unease about the depiction of divine natures, see the passages collected by R.C. McCall in Byzantion 41 (1971) 241ff, and cf. inf. 756 where Paul draws back after describing the altar-table of S. Sophia.

68. ἔτους δὲ, κτλ. "And let this too, pray, be among your marvels, that...". Niebuhr's conjecture τοῦτο ποίου is unnecessary: the use of the neuter article as equivalent to the demonstrative τοῦτο, when introducing a dependent expression, is a Homeric usage, e.g. (introducing infinitive) II. 17.406f οὖδε τὸ ἔλεπτο πάμπαν, ἐκπέρεσειν πτόλεμον, cf. Od. 1.370, 20.220f, Call. Lav. Pall. 132f μίας θαυμάτων εἰςκεπεραίην ἡθονίαν πατρίδα πάντα φέρεσθαι; (introducing a clause) II. 15.207 ἔσθλων καὶ τὸ τέμπτατα, ἄτ' ἄγγελος αἴσθημα εἶδος. See further Chantraine Grammaire homérique II. 160, sec. 237, K-G. 1.576, sec. 457.1 fin., 579, sec. 457.6a fin.

The particle δῆμου emphasises τό, see Denniston Greek Particles p.267 on its nuance. It is found occasionally in Homer (e.g. II. 16.
746, 24.736, Od.4.739, 17.484), but is most frequent in Attic comedy (see Denniston loc.cit.). Homer often uses ὃς alone after the demonstrative article, see Ebeling Lexicon Homericum s.v.A.5b.

69. ὁγος...πράγμα: This antithesis is further exploited for the same purpose in the development of this theme inf., cf. 104f ὑπερβαίνει ὁγος/συνεξιστούθαι τῷ νῷ , 108f ὃς ἀν πιστὲ/ὁγος φανεὴ συνιστάμεν ταῖς πράξεσι; also 129. Preoccupation with ὁγος and their appropriateness to the subject is not uncommon in rhetorical prologues, e.g. Chor.Or.1 dial.2 (1.8ff Foerst.-Richtst., id.24 (=dial.14).5 (281.21ff); Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (490.22f); Jo.Gaz.Descr.1 prol.1-8, id.Anacr.2.1f, of.3.1f; Proc.Aed.4.1.1-3, of.27; A.F.4.3A.45f (Agath.), inf.Amb.5f; cf. Viljamaa op.cit.p.77-9. For the ὁγος/πράγμα contrast, of. also Proc.Gaz.Pan.27 (514.17f) νῦ ἡγ ὃς ὁ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐρω, ἐ τοῖς ὁγοις ἄκοις ἐθαμιαζον , sup.4-6 with n. on 4f.

70. τὸ πᾶντα νικών, κτλ.: For the surpassing achievement of S.Sophia, cf. inf.101, 118, 142, 143f, 153, with additional material collected in nn. on the hexameter lines; see 153n. also on the use of θαῦμα and θάμβος in connection with building achievements. This sense of ὑπερβολή ("pre-eminence", "perfection"), without the usual pejorative associations of excess (cf. LSJ s.v.3) is Aristotelian, see LSJ s.v.5 and cf.Lib.Or.59.5 (quoted in n.sup. on 68-70); Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (491.2f) τῇ λίθῳ ὑπερβολή καὶ τῇ πλήθει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καταπλείτακι; Agath.Hist.5.9.2 μεγέθους τε ὑπερβολή...

ἐπικοσμίμος, of S.Sophia. Paul uses the word in the same context inf. 101, see n. ad loc.

71. τῶν ᾧγος σου θαυμάτων: Like πάνω (51 sup.), ᾧγος is regularly used with a noun in Attic, see K.-G.loc.cit.5tn., and cf.Democ.

222 ἠ...ἀγον χρημάτων συναγωγή, S.Ant.1251 ἠ τ' ᾧγον ρητή, Pl.Rep.8.564a ἠ...ἀγον ἐλευθερία, id.Epist.8.354d ἐκὰ τὴν ᾧγον ἀναφέρχον.

This third reiteration of θαυμάτων serves as a transition to the theme of the popular request for J.'s extension of the festival in celebration of the inauguration of S.Sophia; the prologue is thus
concluded with the theme from which it began, see Fr's n. on 71.

72f. δι τοιοούτοις ἔρωτι, κτλ.: Popular enthusiasm is referred to again, inf. 119f (see n.ad loc.), 413-5, Amb. 15ff, also 25. Paul's words here are true to the extent that the festivities connected with the re-dedication of the church probably offered a bright contrast to the prevailing atmosphere of neglect and decline in J's last years. The assassination attempt of November 562 (see n.sup. on 24-39), popular unrest and faction riots (see Stein B-E II.778f) indicate the limits of the people's love; cf. n.sup. on 1-80.

74-80. J's extension of the festivities in response to universal popular request. This extension is not recorded in the chronographers, but the 9th cent. Anon. Descr. S. Soph. says that the festivities lasted until Epiphany, see 1n. sup.

74. ἤγετε τὴν ἐορτὴν: Cf. Hdt. 1.147.2 Ἀπατωρία ἀγωνι ὁρτῆν, 1.182.2 ἐπεδαυ τὴν ὁρτὴν ἀγωνι, Call.fr. 305 Pf. Λύμαν ἱ δὲ χοροπτάκτης ἤγον ἐορτάζ, and exx. of this sense of ἀγω in Attic collected by LSJ s.v. IV.1.

The chronographers (Mal. 495.9, Anon. ap. Cramer p. 114.27*), Theoph. p. 238.18) use the technical term ἔγκαινια, which is applied both to the consecration or dedication of a church, city et simil. (see PGL s.v.1) and to the annual celebration of the dedication (see PGL s.v.2); see also Du Cange Glossarium s.v. According to 9th cent. sources, the encaenia of S. Sophia was celebrated annually on 23rd December, see C. Mango and J. Parker in POP 14 (1960) 233. Sources date the first encaenia of J's church to 22nd or 27th December, see n.inf. on 315-53.

75f. ἀπάσο δὲ δῆμος, κτλ.: Paul divides ἡ πόλις πολις (72) into three separate groups, thus stressing the unanimity of the appeal. There is no reason to understand δὲ δῆμος in the technical sense "circus factions" as does Fr. (75n.). In contrast to ἡ γερουσία ("the

* On this work, see 1n.sup., footnote **.
The natural sense is the general "people", "commons" (Lat. plebs), the normal meaning of δῆμοι in late Greek, see Alan Cameron Circus Factions (Oxford 1976) 28ff., and cf. LSJ s.v. II.1. The expression οἱ τῶν μέσων, κτλ. denotes all who are excluded from the other two classes (not the clergy, as suggested by Fr., 75n.). For the use of μέσος to denote class, see LSJ s.v. II.2. The connection between the middle way and safety is classical, e.g. Eur.fr.928 Nauck οὐ γὰρ ἀμφάλεξις/περαιτέρω τὸ κάλλος ἢ μέσον λαθεῖν, Snell suppl.ad Nauck (Hildesheim 1964) Adesp. 547.6 ἢ ὁ δὲ μεσότης ἐν πάσιν ἀμφάλεστερα (of the gifts of fortune); cf. Arist. Pol. 4.9.7, 1295b29f καὶ ὁδοιοντα οἴν τὰς πόλεοιν οὕτωι (sc. οἱ μέσοι) μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν (followed by illustrations); Hor.Carm. 2.10.5ff, and additional exx. collected by Nisbet and Hubbard ad loc. Fr. (ad loc.) notes the similarity of Daedalus' advice to Icarus, O.Met. 2.137 medio tutissimus ibis.

77. ἐπεξέγειν: For the sense "extend", cf. D.C. 43.50.1 τὸ τε πωμήριον ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπεξήγαγε, Heliod. 9.26.2 οὐδὲ ἐπεξάγω τὴν τοῦτον πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, Plut.Mor. 855o τὴν διήγησιν, and similar exx. collected LSJ s.v. II.1.

78f. ἡτούν, κτλ.: The dramatic, asyndetic style (cf. 3n.sup.) is similar to that of 24f, although here the brief phrases are much more staccato. Paul perhaps intends to suggest the readiness of J.'s compliance with popular request.

ἐξεδραμοῦν: For the sense "expire", see LSJ s.v. 7 and cf. Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers. 2.286 ἐκτὸς ὡς λοιπὸν ἐκδραμούσης ἡμέρας.

79. πολλάκις: This probably refers simply to the two extensions mentioned, cf. n.inf. on 937ff for another case of πολλάκις in rhetorical exaggeration. Adverbial εὐθώς is used for similar effect at 75, cf. inf. 944-46, 974-76.

80. ἐπεκτείνεται: The sense "extend", occurs in Aristotle, see LSJ s.v. II.1; cf. Plut. Mor. 1147a ἐπεκτείνειν τοῦς περὶ τούτου
λόγους, and see Soph.Lex.s.v.2 for the technical sense "lengthen a word/vowel".

πλουσίως: The adverb is classical, see LSJ s.v., adding Ar. Vesp.1168, X.Oec.9.13 (comparative); also in NT, see Arndt and Gingrich s.v.
Lemma

In the ms., the lemma is inserted into the main body of the text (see n.sup. on opening lemma), which suggests that the lemma was already in the exemplar from which the scribe J copied in the tenth century. Further assessment of its authority can be based only on the internal evidence of the poem. All the information in the lemma might have been deduced from the text (66f, 81-88), except for the precise detail that the remainder of the poem was recited in the ἐπισκοπεῖον (on which see n.inf.; the lemma at the beginning of Paul's Ambo similarly says that the poem was delivered ἐν τῷ πατριαρχεῖῳ). The natural inference which a later scholiast would have made from references in the text (66 ἐπὶ τοῦ νεὸν, 82 ἐπὶ βασιλέως ἐστιν/τοῦ παμμεγίστου) is that the poem was delivered in the church itself. (This is the conclusion of W.R.Lethaby and H.Swainson, The Church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople, London and New York 1894, 34). The lemmatist's reference to the ἐπισκοπεῖον may, therefore, have early authority. The church was later used for public orations, for example the reading of a despatch announcing Heraclius' final triumph over Persia (Chron.Pasch.727.7ff Bonn). But the recitation of Paul's poem was not an occasion of such popular interest, and a more select audience would have been more comfortably accommodated for a long recitation in the ἐπισκοπεῖον. The references in the text (quoted sup.) could refer generally to the ecclesiastical buildings associated with S.Sophia rather than precisely to the church itself: at 66f the expression means "move to the subject of the church" as well as "go to the church", see n. ad loc.

ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ..., ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπεῖῳ: The ἐπισκοπεῖον is the bishop's palace, more properly designated τὸ πατριαρχεῖον in the lemma at the opening of the Ambo. The name ἐπισκοπεῖον dates back to the time when the prelate of Cpl. was only a bishop, see R.Janin in Revue des études byzantines 20 (1962) 131f. The lemmatist perhaps preferred the older name here to avoid the repetition which would be involved in the following reference to ἐπισκοπεῖον, if πατριαρχεῖον were used. Such linguistic sensitivity would be worthy of Paul himself, and indeed, the lemma may date back to Paul,
see n.sup.

Little is known about the patriarchal palace, and particularly about the patriarchal palace in 562, since, according to John of Ephesus (HE 2.34, p.145 Payne-Smith) it was rebuilt by the patriarch John Scholasticus (A.D.565-577) after it had been destroyed by fire, presumably the great conflagration of the Nika Riot in 532. After rebuilding, it was situated close to S.Sophia, to the south or south-west, across the Augustaeum from the Great Palace; it occupied a considerable area and included several other buildings besides the patriarchal palace itself, see C.Mango The Brazen House (Arkaeol-Kunsthistorisk Meddelelser Dan. Vid. Selsk 4, no.4, Copenhagen 1959) 51ff and map p.23, R.Janin in Rev. Ét. Byz. 20 (1962) 131ff, id. Constantineople byzantine (2nd ed., Paris 1964) 177-80, and cf. Averil Cameron in Byzantion 50 (1980) 74-6. Before its destruction, the patriarchal palace may have been on the same site, or perhaps to the north, between S.Sophia and S.Irene, see Mango pp.54-6, Janin REB 133f, Cpl. byz. 177. The destruction and re-building of the patriarchal palace at this period does not necessarily undermine the authority of the lemma: the patriarch must have been provided with some kind of accommodation between 532 and 565, and this would be designated τὸ πατριαρχεῖον. Indeed the new patriarchal palace may well have been built, at least in part, by 562 (John Scholasticus may have been responsible only for the completion of the work).

Εὖτη Ἐψηχίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου: Eutychius succeeded Menas as patriarch in 552 (see Stein B-E II.654f with 655 n.1) and was deposed by J. in 565 for refusing to accept the doctrine of aphthartodocetism (see Stein p.687 with 688 n.1); Eutychius resumed his former position after the death of his successor John Scholasticus in 577, until his own death in 582. Paul concludes his Desor. with a panegyric of J. (921ff), followed by a panegyric of Eutychius (978-1029, see further nn. ad loc.inf.). Hence the two parts of the epilogue, addressed respectively to J. and Eutychius, balance the two iambi prologues, spoken before
J. and Eutychius respectively.

The reference to Eutychius here, together with the contrast drawn between J. and Eutychius in lines 85-89, indicates that Eutychius presided over the remainder of Paul's recitation. This might be taken to suggest that the patriarch was the highest dignitary present, and hence that J. himself was not present. Although J. is directly addressed later in the poem (e.g. 177ff, 921ff, 934ff), this does not necessarily prove that he was present, cf. (for example) Diosc.1 (I.128 Heitsch), for an encomium of Justin II, composed to celebrate the arrival of a representation of the emperor in Egypt. But, in view of J.'s personal enthusiasm for and involvement in the re-building of S.Sophia (recorded in other sources besides Paul, see n.inf. on 214-18), it is hard to believe that he did not attend Paul's public celebration of his achievement. Eutychius would, however, have presided over the recitation because it took place in his palace (see n.sup.).

The recitation of Paul's poem in the patriarchate, under the presidency of Eutychius, and before an audience which included a significant proportion of clerical dignitaries (see 81n.inf.), indicates that the occasion was, at least nominally, one of ecclesiastical rather than imperial significance, although of course the poem itself is essentially an imperial panegyric, as foreshadowed by the opening panegyric of J. The linking of imperial and ecclesiastical in ceremonial occasion has now been recognised as part of a general trend towards such integration in the late sixth century, see Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 3ff, esp.6ff.
81-134. Second iambic prologue: appeal for the goodwill of the audience (*captatio benevolentiae*). We have come from the palace to the patriarchate. There J. received us favourably; may Eutychius do so here (81-89). You may think that my appeal is ridiculous, and I acknowledge that it is, but my task is so great that I am afraid (90-102). And yet I take courage in the thought that the task is acknowledged to be impossible: in the face of this acknowledgement, one should gather all one's resources and do one's best (102-114). Such boldness is commendable: if the emperor had not acted boldly in building the church, we should not now be in our present joyful position (115-120). Why should I not speak with appropriate boldness? Anything overlooked may be supplied by looking at the church (121-24). My audience is pious and merciful, being composed of men who rule cities (125-29). Should they be subjected to outspoken harangue? They should, and so I will return to the subject of J. (130-34).

This prologue belongs to a homogeneous group of similar iambic prologues in late Greek poetry, in which the practice of prose rhetoric is combined with the metre and idiom of Attic comedy, cf. n.sup. on 66-80. Prose rhetoricians, particularly those of the Gaza school, regularly prefaced a serious prose oration with a *dialexis* or *prolalia* in a familiar, chatty style, aimed at securing the audience's goodwill, see Fr.p.120ff, Viljamaa op.cit. p.71ff. This technique was adopted by poets treating epideictic themes, who expressed their *captatio benevolentiae* in the resolved trimeters (see n.sup. on initial lemma) and characteristic idiom and vocabulary (sometimes extending to the point of clear reminiscence) of Attic comedy, at the same time betraying a more general debt to
the manner and tone of the Aristophanic prologue and parabasis and to the prologues of New Comedy, see Fr.p.118ff, 121f, Viljamaa p.84ff, Cameron in CQ N.S.20 (1970) 122ff.

The themes and techniques of Paul's prologue are typical: an opening reference to the new venue (81-84) leads to a direct appeal for a favourable reception (85-89) and anticipation of audience criticism (89-102); there follows a justification for the poet's acknowledged boldness in essaying his theme (102-24; the author's τόλμη is a theme of the rhetorical auxesis, see n. sup. on 68-70), flattery of the audience (125-29) and a conclusion which indicates the transition to the poem proper (130-34). The style is enlivened by the use of linguistic play (especially 81-88, see nn. ad locc.; cf. 99f), dialogue technique (89-98), maxim (115), and direct question (121f, 130f), as well as by direct comic reminiscence (e.g. 106, 107).

81. ἀνέστειλεν: The second prologue is addressed to the audience. Such direct address of the audience is characteristic alike of the Aristophanic parabasis, the comic prologue, the rhetorical prolalia/dialexis and the iambic prologue. For the last, cf. Laud.Beryt.8ff (I.95 Heitsch), Jo.Gaz.Deser.1 prol.20ff, A.P.4.3A.1ff (Agath.), inf.Amb.3ff; also Prisc.Pan. praef.5, 11 (appeal to Anastasius for favourable reception).

Later references (88f, 126ff, 168, see nn.inf. ad locc.) suggest that the audience over whom the patriarch presided (see n.sup. on lemma) included a significant proportion of ecclesiastical dignitaries, as indeed might be expected. Perhaps the secular dignitaries assembled in the palace to hear Paul's first prologue and then proceeded to join Eutychius and the ecclesiastical dignitaries already assembled in the patriarchate, cf. n.sup. on 66f.

81f. ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης, κτλ.: Such word-play, aimed at producing a favourable contact with the audience ("phatic language"), is characteristic both of the prose rhetorical prologue and the iambic prologue, cf. inf.85/88 and see Viljamaa op.cit.p.82f. The linguistic parallel here between God and emperor recalls the ideological
parallelism of 40-53 sup., see 39n., and cf. also 2 sup. For Paul's choice of parallelism here, cf. Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46. 869A) ἐκ βασιλείας εἰς βασιλείαν μετέτοιη, of Pulcheria's elevation, in death, from an earthly to a heavenly kingdom. On the move here referred to, see nn.sup. on 66f and lemma after 80; on the form εἰς, see 15n.sup.

83. τοῦ παμμεγίστου: The superlative compound is rare, cf. Ael.VH 10.2 παλαιάντα and other exx. collected by Stephanus s.v. Paul uses it in connection with S.Sophia, inf. 101, 111.

τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων: The noun ποιητός is Maas's conjecture for the ms. ποιητοῦ. The correction seems certain: substantival ποιητής is not elsewhere attested, while the phrase ποιητής πάντων is used by patristic writers of God and Christ, see PGL s.v. ποιητής B, C, and cf. also Pl.Tim.28c τῶν...ποιητήν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντός. For Paul's expression with ὄλος, cf. Just. Dial.7.3 (PG.6.492B) τὸν ποιητήν τῶν ὄλων θεοῦ, and see PGL s.v. ποιητής B.2f, s.v. ὄλος 2a. Paul regularly uses ὄλος as a synonym for πᾶς (e.g. 129, 174f, 976) and the use of τὸ ὄλον like τὸ πᾶν, to denote the universe, is classical, see LSJ s.v.II.1. The shortening of the first syllable of ποιέω (metr.gr. in Paul) is Attic, see LSJ s.v. ποιέω init. and cf. ib.s.v. ποιητής fin. for the shortening of the first syllable of the noun in inscriptions. For confusion of ν and π in mss., see F.J.Bast Commentatio paleaeographica, appended to Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Corinth (Leipzig 1811) pp.715f, 726, 730, 747.

Note the repetition of the syllable -τοῦ at the beginning of each metron in this line, and cf. n.sup. on 81f on linguistic play.

84. δι' ὑμῖν, κτλ.: The close similarity to line 10 sup. (see n. ad loc.) is to some extent excused by the fact that the two lines are addressed to different audiences (cf. 81n.sup.).

85-88. On the circumstantial evidence of these lines, see n.sup. on lemma after 80. Viljamaa (p.82) cites antithesis (ἐκεῖ μὲν 85,
as a further characteristic of "phatic language", see n.sup. on 81f.

85. τῶν γερῶν ο̣ς προστάτης: "the governor of privileges". The chief purpose of this appellation of J. lies in the word-play (achieved by the softened pronunciation of γ here) with τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ προστάτην (88), see n.sup. on 81f. The noun προστάτης occurs in Attic drama, including Aristophanes (Eq.1128, Ran.569, Pax 684, Pl.920), but it is otherwise regularly confined to prose, see LSJ s.v. For its use in iambic encomium, cf. Diosc.3.3 (I.130 Heitsch) = 5.41 (p.135) γουνάζομαι σε προστάτην τῶν προστατῶν.

86. καθεὶς ἐκατόργον κτλ.: "condescended to join the audience after his speech". The verb καθιμι suggests both physical descent and metaphorical condescension (cf. Fn.'s n. ad loc.). The noun θέατρον is used by Paul collectively to denote the "audience" (cf. LSJ s.v.2) or the "gathering" et simil., rather than the place of assembly, cf. inf. 411, Amb.7, 10, 11; also Jo.Gaz.Descr.1 prol.20; Chor.Or.3 dial. (48.5 Foerst.-Richtst.); etc. The phrase ἐκ λόγου indicates that J. made a preliminary speech, but Paul is chiefly concerned with the verbal play between this expression and εἰς θεάτρου.

87. τῶν νοῦν παρέσχεν εὐμενώς: Paul uses παρέχω instead of the more usual προσέχω (cf. inf.Amb.9), thereby continuing the notion of condescension or submission implicit in καθεὶς (see n.sup.). For Paul's use of εὐμενώς (picked up by εὐμενής in eadem sede 89) in the context of a favourable reception for his poem, cf. A.P.4. 3A.15f (Agath.) ἀλλ' ἐστίν ἐπίς εὐμενώς τῶν ὀρμένων/ὑμᾶς μεταλαβέν; Agath.Hist. praef.13 νῦν δε ἡ μὲν εὐμενής καὶ ἱλαρός [καὶ] τῆς προεθύμου ἡμᾶς ἀποδεχόμεθα θεοῦ (his native Myrina); also Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.35f ἀλλ' ὅ στρατηγεῖ τῶν σοφῶν βουλευμάτων, μετ' εὐμενειαίος τούς ἐμούς ἐθέκαν λόγος.

88. τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ προστάτην: The genitive τῶν ἱερῶν might be
masculine or neuter. A neuter expression ("governor of holy offices") might be expected to parallel the neuter τῶν ἱερῶν (85), but Paul perhaps rather intended τῶν ἱερῶν as a masculine antecedent ("priests") to τοῦτων in 89, see further n.inf. ad loc. Paul later uses adjectival ἱερὸς to mean "priestly", "of priests", inf. 344, 996, 1020, see nn. ad locc. For προστάτης of the patriarch of Cpl., cf. Eustrat. V. Eutych. 95 (PG. 86(2). 2381 A) ποιμένα καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ προστάτης, of Eutychius' successor, and see PGL. s.v. 4.

89-100. τοῦτων γε μὴν, κτλ.: Paul anticipates audience criticism. Cf. Chor. Or. 2 dial. 4 (27.23ff Foerst.-Richtst.) μὴ τοῖν νυν νεμέοι, ὃ φιλότης, κτλ., and see the exx. from iambic prologue collected by Viljamaa op.cit.p. 75. Like Paul, Agathias expresses the imagined criticism in direct speech, A.P. 4. 3A. 28f τοῦτο δὲ τις αὐτῶν προσφόρας, δεικνύς ἐμε, ἵνα ἐρεῖ πρὸς ἄλλον;"..., κτλ. But the technique is as old as Homer, II. 22. 105ff ἀκούσαν Τρῶας..., μὴ ποτὲ τις εἶποι κακώτερος ἄλλος ἐμείοι... ἕκτωρ ἥπι βιβεὶ πίθηκος ἄλεσε λαὸν'.

89f. τοῦτων γε μὴν, κτλ.: "while of these may none, on hearing, rebuke the words". The genitive τοῦτων may either define μηδεῖς or be objective genitive with ἀκούσας ("having heard this"). Its position and the strengthening particles γε μὴν (on which see n. inf.) favour the former interpretation. Moreover, if τοῦτων went with ἀκούσας and denoted Paul's words, the dative τοῦς λόγους would either be weakly repetitive ("having heard these words, rebuke the words") or an awkward and redundant instrumental dative ("revile with words"; the article τοῦς further renders this interpretation unlikely), see further 90n.inf. Taken with μηδεῖς, τοῦτων refers to the audience. The particles γε μὴν and the intonation of the speaker would make the reference sufficiently clear, but it is likely that τοῦτων refers back to 88 τῶν ἱερῶν ("the priests"), see n. ad loc.

γε μὴν: In view of Paul's sensitive use of particles, I have
tentatively preferred the collocation γε μήν here to the γε μὲν of the ms. and all other editors, on the grounds that the former is an Attic combination, whereas γε μὲν is confined to Epic and Ionic, see Denniston Greek Particles p.347 (γε μήν) and p.386f (γε μὲν), and cf. LSJ s.v. γε I.5, inf.413 νόν γε μήν (iambics). This easy change does not affect the sense, since the usage of the two combinations "corresponds closely" (Denniston p.386): both are most commonly adversative (γε μήν, Denniston p.348f, sec.2, cf. Gow on Theoc.1.95; γε μὲν, Denniston p.387, sec.1, cf. Gow on Theoc.4.60); so here, and at 413, the collocation introduces an adversative sentence. But both also occur in a progressive sense in lists (γε μήν, Denniston p.349, sec.3, cf. Gow on Theoc.1.95; γε μὲν, Denniston p.387, sec.2, cf. Call.Ap.73, Dian.188, Theoc. 25.127). If, as argued in n.sup., τοῦτοι here refers to the audience, it is the third item in a list, after J. (85) and Eutychius (88); hence the idea of progression is also present here.

90. λοιπὸν τοῦτο λόγος: Middle λοιπῶ is constructed with dat.pers. in Aristophanes (Eq.1400, Pax 57, Ec.248, Pl.456), see LSJ s.v.II, and cf. also Agath.Hist.1.12.9. Paul's following dat.rei is apparently without parallel, but he later uses a dat.rei, referring to his poem, after verbs which are normally followed by a dat.pers., cf. inf.177 ἔλεдель μόθῳ, 179 ἐλήκοντο ἐπέεσον, with nn.inf. ad loco. The dative here refers specifically to 89 έστοι δὲ καύτοις ἐμενήνη, as is made clear by lines 92-4 inf.

91. εἶποι γάρ εἰκός ἰν τίς: "For someone may well say". Paul here uses εἰκός as equivalent to εἰκότως, cf. inf.412γ ὄχλον ἰν τίς εἰκότως/νηπίσσας τούτο; Agathias similarly uses προσφόρως, A.P.4.3A.28 (quoted in n.sup. on 89-100). Expressions such as this are often used to introduce a hypothetical objection, e.g. Greg.Nyss.Pulch(PG.46.868C) εἶποι τίς ὄν, οἷμα, Eus.Laud.Const.11 (224.18 Heikel) φαίη ἰν τίς ὄτων. Viljamaa (op.cit.p.17) notes that the rhetorical ethopoeia (i.e. imaginary characterisation presented in the character's own words) regularly begins with the words τίνος ἰν εἶποι λόγοις ὅ δεῖνα, and (p.117) that the style of
such ethopoeiae is regularly "staccato, asyndetical, and antithetical". This style is recognisable in Paul's imaginary interlocutor (91-98).

ὤ θαῦ: "Sir". This is a polite and respectful form of address, used in speaking to parents, social superiors, and equals who are not intimates, frequently calling attention to an admonition or proposal; so E.R.Dodds on E.Bacch.802, cf. G.Björck Das Alpha Impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache (Acta societatis litterarum humaniorum regiae Upsaliensis, Uppsala 1950) 275-7. The expression occurs frequently in comedy, including 21 instances in Aristophanes (Dodds' figure). Dodds and LSJ suggest that it is an Attic colloquialism, but new evidence indicates that it is not so limited, see LSJ Suppl.s.v. τῶν.


92f. τούτου αὕτες, κτλ.: Indignant asyndeton, cf. 3n.sup. The tone of these words is clear only from the context.

93f. των ἀγαθῶν τὴν οἰκίαν, κτλ.: These expressions stand out from the colloquial style of the passage in which they are embedded, recalling instead the imagery of Biblical and patristic writers, appropriate in compliment to the patriarch.

93. των ἀγαθῶν τὴν οἰκίαν: In NT and patristic writers, the body is regarded as the habitation of the soul (e.g. NT 2Ep.Cor.5.1 ἐπείγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνων; Epist.ad Diognetum 6.3, p.144. 25f ed. K.Bihlmeyer, Die Apostolischen Väter I, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1956); the Christian is inhabited by God, Christ, the Holy Spirit et simil., e.g. NT Ep.Rom.8.11 διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ (i.e. God) πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν, Greg.Naz.Or.44.5 (PG.36.613A) ἡμεῖς οἱ θεοῦ ναός εἶναι...ζητούμενοι, see further Arndt and Gingrich s.v. ἐνοικέω, PGL s.vv. ἐνοικέω and cognates, ὁικό 4. For Paul's more general expression, cf. NT Ep.Rom.7.17 ὁ οἰκίσας ἐν ἐμοί ἡμαρτία, Barn.16.7
94. The metaphor of the garment is likewise common in NT and patristic writers, where, however, it is usually expressed by the verb ἐνδύω, see Arndt and Gingrich s.w. ἐνδύμα 2, ἐνδύμα 2b, PGL s.vv. ἐνδύμα 2, ἐνδύμα A.1, esp. for its use of spiritual gifts or qualities; see further n.inf. on 169f.

Paul's participle ἡμφιεσμένον is Aristophanic (Vesp.1172, Th.92, 840, Ec.879, 1057; cf. Emp.277), although it is not used metaphorically of qualities in comedy. In classical authors, this metaph. usage is more commonly expressed by the participle ἐπειειμένος, e.g. Il.1.149 ἄναδείην ἐπειείμενε, 8.262 ἐπειείμενοι ἀλκήν, cf. A.P.7.606.1 (Paul Sil.) ἐλευθερίην ἐπειείμενοι. Later writers, however, use ἡμφιεσμένον metaphorically, e.g. Them.Or.1 (I.6.9f Downey) οὔκ ἦν καὶ ἐνεδύσαν αὐτῇ Ἡ ἄνευς Ὑποπτικίας γὰρ ἡμφιεσμένον πορφυρόν (on the unageing garment of imperial benefaction); Const.Porph.de Caer.1.5 (49.19f Bonn) οὗ γὰρ ἑσπερία ξαφνίω ἡμφιεσμένοι.

95-98. The folly of Paul's request that Eutychius be ὑμενῆς (89) is illustrated by comparison with a series of three established or self-evident phenomena, drawn from nature and from language. Reference to the order of nature as a means of emphasis is a long-established technique. It may be expressed either positively, as in Paul (e.g. "while the sands o'life shall run") or, commonly, negatively, in the form of an ἀδύνατον (e.g. "till a' the seas gang dry"). Early instances are found in Archilochus (fr.74D = 122 West) and Herodotus (5.92.1), and the technique is common in Roman poetry of the Augustan period, see R.G.Austin on V.Aen.1.607ff; cf. also
Claud.6et.54ff, Diosc.5.43ff (I.135 Heitsch) = 9.10ff (p.139); etc. Paul begins with such a typical analogy from nature and concludes with a linguistic instance, the second example being part natural, part linguistic, see Fr. 98n. Fr. rightly suggests (loc.cit.) that the choice of the final example should be connected with the significance which λόγοι have in this prologue: the reference here anticipates the exploitation of the contrast between λόγος and πράγμα in Paul’s auxesis of his theme, inf.100ff, cf. nn.sup. on 68-70, 69. In putting this example into the mouth of his imaginary critic, Paul makes a joke at his own expense. Paul further enlivens his analogies by making his imaginary interlocutor phrase them in the form of an appeal from a further hypothetical character that the phenomena should be in accordance with their established order.

95. τοὐτῷ πέπονθας, κτλ.: Cf. Ar.Vesp.946f οὐκ, άλλ' έκείνο μοι δοκεῖ πεπονθέναι, τόπερ ποτὲ φεύγων ἐποθε καί θουκυδίδης, al.simil.; this use of πάοςχοι is Attic, see LSJ s.v.II.1, 2. On τοὐτῳ, cf. Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20 (1970) 123, "It is well known that deictic iota is, in poetry, virtually confined to Attic comedy - where it is very common", and see ib.123f for instances from late iambic prologues. For εἶκόνως, cf. 18 sup. with n. ad loc.

96. λιπαρός έγκειμενός: Wilamowitz’s conjecture, λιπαρός for λιπαρῶν, is attractive, cf. Jos.BJ 7.108 πάλιν δ' αυτῶν σφόδρα λιπαρῶς έγκειμενῶν καί συνεχῶς δεσμέων, id.BJ 1.56 τού θεου λιπαρός έγκειμενο καί πολυπραγμονοντος, ib.15.31, 16.13, al.simil.; Heliod.2.6 (43.16f Bekker) ο θεογήνης ουκ είτα λιπαρός έγκειμενος. When used in this sense ("insist"), έγκειμαι is frequently constructed with an adjective or adverb (see LSJ s.v.II), and Paul has many adverbs in -ως in his iambics (e.g. πλουσίως 80, εὕμερως 87, εἰκόνως 18, 95).

97. The line is metrically incorrect: metre requires the third syllable of ἄνατέλλειν to be short. Maas (Greek Metre sec.20) judged the verb to be corrupt, but this is the term normally used of the rising
of a heavenly body, see LSJ s.v.II.

99-102. Paul acknowledges that the criticism is justified, but explains that the magnitude of his task makes him nervous. The magnitude of the subject is a theme of the rhetorical auxesis (see n.sup. on 68-70), and the reference here marks the transition to Paul's justification for undertaking his theme (102-24).

99. τὸν πρόσωπον: Like the expression τῶν γερῶν ὁ προστάτης (85), the noun is here introduced chiefly for the sake of the word-play with ὄκοπτον (100). Note also the alliteration of ταυ in this line.

100. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὄκοπτον βλέπων: Cf. Greg.Naz.Or.43.12 (PG.36.509C) ...τὸς ὄχλος τὸ παραδείγμα, πρὸς δὲ βλέπων ἐνθευζόμενος ὁ ἀγίος ἦν (of St.Basil), cf. ib.20 (col.521C), 80 (604A). The term ὄκοπτος is often used in prologues to denote the author's objective, e.g. Diosc. 12A.15 (I.141 Heitsch) τοῖνυν σύ γ' ὀχτός συνδραμόν τὸ 'μακόκοπτον (addressed to the laudandua), Jo.Gaz.Anacr.1.4γ ἀλλὰ μενολυήν/ ὑμετέρην ὄκοπτον οἶδα ταυῦκοπον (addressed to the audience), Eustrat.V.Eutych.1 (PG.86(2).2276A) ἵκνησαμεν πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ὄκοπτον; (leading, as in Paul, to the affirmation that, faced with an impossible task, it is best to do one's utmost). The δὲ is here adversative, cf. 29 sup.

101. οὖκ οἰκεῖος, κτλ.: The magnitude of the subject, cf. 70 sup. with n. ad loc. On oἰκεῖος, see 83n. sup.

οὐκ ἐχὼν ἑπερβολήν: Cf. Dem.21.119 τοῦτο γὰρ, τοῦτο ὡς ἐχὼν ἑστίν ὑπερβολὴν ἀκαθαρσίας, id.25.54 δεινῶν γὰρ ὀντων, οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐχόντων ὑπερβολὴν, and other expressions collected LSJ s.v. ὑπερβολή 3. But in these Attic expressions, the term has a pejorative sense; here, as at 70 (see n.sup. ad loc.), it is used in compliment.

102. τῆς ἑγγύων: The metaphor of the contest is commonplace in this context, cf. Men.Rhet.368.11, Lib.Or.59.6 (IV.211.16 and

102-24. θαρρεῖν δ' οὖσιν, κτλ.: Paul takes courage in the thought that the task is acknowledged to be impossible, but, granted this, the speaker should do his best (102-114). Two further justifications are adduced at 116-20, 123-24. The progression from fear and hesitation at the task ahead to the assumption of courage is an indication of the speaker's τόλμη, see n.sup. on 68-70 for the theme of τόλμη in the auxesis of rhetorical prologue. Similar to Paul's sentiments here are those of Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (490.20-491.14): the orator feels at once courage and fear (θαρρεῖν τε άμιμα καὶ δεδείναι με, 490.21), courage because the subject inspires, but fear lest its richness should render him speechless (Procopius, like Paul, uses the noun οπερβολής, see the expression quoted 70n. sup.); nevertheless he makes bold (πάντα τολμώντες οἱ λόγοι καὶ νῦν δημούς θρασὺνονται,...θαρροῦντες, 491.9ff; οὔτε τολμήσομεν τι καὶ παρὰ δόναιμιν, ἀρκοῦσαν εἰς συγγνώμην τὴν προθυμίαν προβεβλήμενοι, 491.13f). Procopius of Caesarea likewise claims to hesitate as he embarks on his Arcana (ἄλλα μοι ἡς ἀρχώσιν ἐξέρχον ἑντεῖτε καὶ δεινῶς ἄμμαχον...βαθμαίνειν...βαθμαίνειν, Arc.1.4), thinking that what he is about to relate will one day seem incredible (διότι καὶ καὶ νοολογίας ἀποθεοῦμαι δόξαν καὶ τοῦτος τραπεζοδίδωσικάλοις τετάξομαι, ibid.); but he takes courage (ἔκεινέ μέντοι τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐχον οὐκ ἀποδειλίδως τοῦ ὄγκον τοῦ ἔργου, οὐ μοι οὐκ ἀμαρτύρητος δ λόγος ἔστιν, 1.5). For the verb θαρρέω in similar context, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.1 οὐδὲ λόγου δινάμει μεθαρώθων (explaining his reasons for writing), A.P.4.3A.35 (Agath.), Agath. Hist. praef.12, and for the expression of 102, cf. Pl.Smp.193e νῦν ὅτε ὁμως θαρρῶ (after reference to possible fear). From this point, Paul assumes an increasing confidence, which culminates in the expression χρὴ τοῦτο πράττειν (132).
103. ἔδεσείνιν: Hermann's correction (accepted by Bekker and Fr.) is preferable to Graefe's ἔδεσοικείνιν, since ἔδεσείνιν might easily have been corrupted to the optative ἔδεσείνιν which is transmitted in the ms.

104. εἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίς ἦν τῇ: Agathias uses ἐλπίς to express greater confidence, A.P. 4.34.15 ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐλπίς, κτλ.

104f. εὐσθενεῖι λόγως/συνεξισοῦσθαι τῷ νεῖτι τῷ παγκάλῳ: On the contrast between the λόγος and its subject, see n.sup. on 69. Paul here reinforces the parallelism by putting both λόγῳ and νεῖτι in the dative. The expression εὐσθενεῖι λόγῳ is dative after ἐλπίς, cf. E.Or. 779 μολύντι δ' ἐλπίς ἐστι σωθήναι κακῶν, and see the exx. collected K-G.1.195, sec. 389.6D, Anm.7. The verb συνεξισοῦσθω occurs only in late literary Koine writers, see LSJ, Soph.Lex. and PGL s.v. For its use in this context, cf. D.H.Pomp.5.6 (II.244,4f Usener-Radermacher) οὐδὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεξισοῦσθαι τοὺς λόγους. The epithet εὐσθενεῖι is found occasionally in poetry, cf. II. Pers.6.3 (V.140, ed. Allen, Homeri opera) εὐδοξος, A.P. 16.323.4 (Mesomed.) σόδρου, Q.S.14.633 Ἀργεῖων; also in prose, see LSJ, PGL s.v. But πάγκαλος is Attic, see LSJ s.v.

106. σφαλερῶν ὕπηρξεν, κτλ.: "it would have been perilous to strip for bouts". The indicative ὕπηρξεν (= ἦν) is here used potentially, without ἀν, a classical idiom, see Goodwin GMT secs. 416 (p.152), 420-22 (p.154ff); contrast 119 εἰκ ἂν προθέεσθω. For ἐπαποδέεθαι πᾶλαρι, cf. Ar.Lys. 615 ἂλλ' ἐπαποδεύμεθ' ἄνδρες τούτων τῷ πράγματι. This is the only instance of the compound in classical Greek, although it is found elsewhere in Koine and patristic writers, see LSJ, Soph.Lex., PGL s.v. ἐπαποδέεθω. Paul's application of the metaphor from wrestling to poetic composition recalls the contest staged between Aeschylus and Euripides at Ar.Ran.814ff, e.g. 877f ὅτων εἰς ἐριν ἐξεμερίμνοις ἑλθοῦσι στρεφόμενοι παλαισμος ἀντιλογοῦντες.

107. παροικείνδυνευμένουν: Cf. Ar.Ran.98f ὅστις φθέγξεται/
τοιούτου τι παροκεκινώσειμένου, also id. Eq.1054, Ach.645, Vesp. 6; elsewhere in Attic and Koine prose.

108. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες 'Ἰους: Paul identifies himself with the audience in a further tactic aimed at the establishment of a sense of mutual rapport, cf. n.sup. on 81-134. He then proceeds (ὡς οὐκ ἃν ποτε, κτλ.) to further auxesis of the subject, see n.sup. on 68-70.

109. λόγος φανείν, κτλ.: The λόγος/πράγμα contrast is again reiterated, cf. 69n.sup. For the reference to λόγος combined with the verb συντρήσω, cf. ps.Pampr.3.2ff (I.111 Heitsch) ὡς γὰρ [...]] y συντρήσωσιν οἱ λόγοι[ι] τῶν ποίκιλον νοῦν τῶν ποιητῶν σωφρόνως ἐκάκουσιν, ἐκφέρουσιν εἰς εὐτολμίαν, κτλ.: Graindor's conjecture ἐφεξοι before συντρήσωσιν in line 2 (suggested in Byzantion 4, 1927-28, 475), would make the sentiment close to Paul's, although ps.Pamprepius is describing a positive inspiration which Paul feels is impossible in the present case. Similar also are Jo.Gaz.Anacr.2.1f ὡς λόγος στρατηγικῇ λαβών ἐξουσιαν, ἑαυτοῦ προσειο τῷ στρατηγῷ συντρήσας; Diosc.12A.15 (I.141 Heitsch) ζῷν σὺ γ' αὐτὸς συνδραμῶν τῷ ἑαυτῷ ὀκοπάω.

110. αὐτῶν πράξεων: Cod. αὐτῶν. Ludwig argued (Textkritische Noten zu Paulus Silentiarius, Königsberg 1913, 12f, cf. id. in Rhein.Mus.41, 1886, 596f) that αὐτῶν must be read (so Du Cange, Graefe) rather than αὖ τῶν (Bekker, Fr.), because Paul avoids αὖ, but frequently uses αὐτὸς (Ludwich, Noten, collects the instances). For the same reason, Meineke's conjecture αὖ τῶν inf.703 and at A.P.5.250.1 (Paul Sil.) is to be rejected.

111. τῷ παμμεγίστου: Cf. 101 sup. and see 83n.

τούτου νεώ: Wilamowitz's conjecture, accepted by Fr., is probably to be preferred to the ms. τοῦ σοῦ. This prologue is addressed to the audience (ἀνδρεῖς 81) in the patriarchate, over which Eutychius presided (see nn.sup. on lemma after line 80). The expression τοῦ σοῦ might be thought to refer to the patriarch
Eutychius, but elsewhere (e.g. 73), the church is described as J.'s. This objection is removed if the demonstrative is read. There is no difficulty about the omission of the definite article with the demonstrative in poetry, see K-G.I.630, sec.465.4, Anm.6f.

112f. οὐ χρῆ δεδοκικτας, κτλ.: Paul has assumed considerable confidence in the course of the argument from 102f δεδοικα τὴν δυνατινα. In the second metron of 112 both longa are resolved to accommodate the polysyllabic words; the effect of fluttering trepidation reinforces the sense of δεδοικικτας. The plurals δεδοικικτας and ιντλμνωσ continue Paul's identification of himself with the audience (cf. 108n.).

ἐπὶ προδειγωμένους: "in the face of a foregone conclusion"; cf. Jos. ΑΙ 17.94 ἱκετεύοντος μη προδειγωμένην καταστῆσαι δύκην.
The verb occurs first in Thucydides (1.78.1, 5.38.3), then occasionally in Koine writers, see LSJ s.v.

113. μένειν ιντλμνωσ: Proc.Gaz. (Pan.1, p.491.3) and Agathias (Hist. praef.12) use passive καταπλησω to describe the same sensation. Paul here again indulges in word-play, μένειν/κινειν (114).

113f. ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν, κτλ.: Proc.Gaz. hopes more explicitly (Pan.1, p.491.13f, quoted n.sup. on 102-24) that enthusiasm (προθυμία) will make amends for deficiencies; cf. A.P.4.3A.17f (Agath.) ἐθος γάρ ἡμῖν τῇ προθυμίᾳ μᾶλις/τῇ τῶν καλοντων ἐμμετρεῖν τὰ σιτία (metaph., of his feast of poetry); Agath.Hist. praef.15 νῦν δὲ ἤ μὲν εὐμενής καὶ ᾠλας [καὶ] τῆς προθυμίας ἡμᾶς ἀποδέχεσθω (of his native Myrina), also ib.13 ἀλλὰ μοι εἴη δίκιόν τι ὑδάσκαι τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τοῦ μεγεθοῦς τῶν ἔργων ὡς ἐγνωτάτω ἴκεσθαι.

is classical, see E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* Bd. II p. 132 sec. γ).

115. ἐξεί τι χρηστόν, κτλ.: The abrupt asyndeton of the line is due to its gnomic character: Viljamaa (op. cit. p. 82) compares Men. *Monost.* 623 (ed. Jaekel) ὄψιν ὄψιν σεμνόν ἐς παρρησία, and observes (ibid.) that the use of maxims was a further rhetorical technique which aimed to appeal to the audience, cf. Jo. Gaz. Deser. 1 prol. 1 and other exx. from iambic prologue collected by Viljamaa.

Paul here uses the maxim in transition from one argument to another. Its sentiment sums up the argument of 102-14 (cf. Fr. 115n.) where Paul declares that, although fearful, he is encouraged to attempt the task before him by the thought that, where defeat is inevitable, there is credit in τόλμη and προθυμία. In the following lines (116-20), Paul further argues in support of τόλμη that J.'s building of S. Sophia was itself an act of τόλμη. The reference to παρρησία here is picked up by the reiteration of the term at 121 and at the climax of Paul's argument in 131.

In this Atticising prologue, Paul uses the term παρρησία without reference to its Judeo-Christian associations, see n. sup. on 52f and cf. 61. In origin, παρρησία was closely associated with the ideals of the Athenian democracy (= πᾶν-δῆμος, the right to say all things), e.g. E. Hipp. 421ff ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι/παρρησία θάλλοντες ὀκοίν τόλμιν/κλειὼν Ἀθηναίων, see Barrett's n. ad loc. and other exx. collected LSJ s.v. 1. With the decline of democracy, the word suffered a corresponding corruption of sense (see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. 131n.inf.). It was later adopted into moral and religious terminology (cf. n. sup. on 52f), but it also continued to be used more generally well into the Byzantine period (see LSJ s.v. 3 and cf. PGL s.v. B), frequently in the sense "boldness", "courage", e.g. Test. XII Patriarch., Test. Reub. 4.2 (p.7 de Jonge, = PG 2. 1041 C-D) ὃς εἰχόν παρρησίαν ἔτενίσαι εἴς πρόσωπον Ἰωάννης; Agath. Hist. 5.22.5 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βαρβαροὶ ἦσσοι ἐπερδάντες τὸ προπετές τοῦ τείχους... ἐνέκλινον πρὸς τὰ εὖ καὶ ἐπεφέροντο φονεῖματι ἐδώ πολλῷ καὶ παρρησίᾳ, cf. 5. 19.2; Niceph. Hist. Syn. p. 19.17 de Boor, the παρρησία of the emperor Heraclius in single combat with a Persian general, cf. ib. p. 44.7. See further the surveys of Peterson and
This general sense "boldness" is the dominant one here: the term covers both Paul's τόλμη in attempting to describe S. Sophia (102-14) and J.'s τόλμη in building the church (116-20). It is introduced here in anticipation of Paul's exploitation of its Attic associations below (121, 131). See R.C. McCail in PCPS N.S.16 (1970) 80, with n.4. For παρφοσία used of the writer's boldness, cf. Chor. Or. 3 dial. (p.48.4f Foerst.-Richtst.), Jo. Gaz. Anaer. 3.1 (both quoted by Viljamaa, p.74); Proc. Aed. 1.1.1.

116-20. J.'s building of S. Sophia was itself an act of τόλμη, and this is the source of the present celebrations. The success of J.'s act of τόλμη is a further justification for Paul's attempting a similar act. Paul draws a more explicit parallel between his own work and J.'s, inf. Amb. 5f. Agathias and John of Gaza make similar references to the τόλμη of the creators of works of art which they describe. Their references, however, are not used in justification of the writer's τόλμη, but reflect rather an unease about the depiction of divine natures; John of Gaza explicitly dissociates himself from such τόλμη (Descr. 1 prol. 24-6). See R.C. McCail in Byzantion 41 (1971) 241ff, esp. 244 for the passages from John of Gaza.

116. εἰ μὴ γὰρ: For the postponement of γὰρ, cf. Ar. Vesp. 653 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὅπως δουλεύω γάρ; etc.

φρονέων μέγα: The expression is Homeric (II. 11.296 of Hector going into battle, 13.156 of Deiphobus) and Attic, although in Attic it is often used in a bad sense, see LSJ s.v. φρν. 2b.

117. ἐξημιούργησε: "fashioned/created". Cf. Proc. Aed. 1.1.31 καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ νεόν πρόσωπον...τούτως τοιῷδε δεδημιούργηται (of S. Sophia), Agath. Hist. 5.6.3 31 (sc. μηχανοποιοί) ...μημήματα τινα καὶ οἰον εἴδωλα τῶν ἄνων δημιουργοῦσι (describing the profession of Anthemius of Tralles, architect of S. Sophia), inf. Amb. 5f λόγους τῶν διεσπάτης/συνδημιουργεῖν τῶν νεών. The simple verb is
elevated, and frequently used by late authors of divine creativity, see LSJ s.v.I.3, PGL s.v.3.

118. πάσης ὑπερβολῆς, κτλ. : "surpassing the contemplation of all hope". Cf. inf. 307f ὑπέρτερου ἐλπίδος ἔργου/ἐξανάλογος, also of S. Sophia; also 18 sup. Paul's elevated periphrasis here stresses the lofty aspiration which produced J's surpassing achievement (cf. sup.101 and 70 with n. ad loc.).

119f. οὐκ ἄν προῆλθεν, κτλ. : Paul refers to the festivities associated with the re-dedication of the church, cf. 74ff sup. But such reference to festivity and feasting is also a rhetorical technique aimed at catching the audience's sympathy by reminding them that the occasion of the speech is also one for self-indulgence. The suggestion is that they should also be indulgent to the metaphorical feast offered by the speaker: this image is developed in detail by Agathias in his prologue (A.P.4.3A). Paul uses similar language in the same context, inf. Amb.18f τροφῇς τε μορφῶς ἐνσωματεύσεσθαι πανηγύρευσιν. Cf. also Chor. Or.1 dial.1 (1.6ff Foerst.-Richtst.) ἐξείδη καὶ παίζειν τι οἴνοσιν ὁ καιρὸς, πανηγύρις γάρ καὶ μία διὰ πάντων ἡδονή τε καὶ ἐυθυμία φοιτήσῃ, πόρος τὰ ἐμά καὶ αὐτὸς διαφορμαί παιδικά, 1b.3 (1.17f) νῦν δὲ, οίκε τε πανηγύρις τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ τρυφῆς γέμουσαι τράπεζαι παντοχοῦ, κτλ.; A.P.4.3A.4 (Agath.) καὶ ἄν καθήσομε τῇ τρυφῇ σεσαφήνειον, ib.26 τρυφῶσι; and see Viljamaa p.80f.


121-24. The question of 120f, a confident challenge to the audience to fault the argument, marks the conclusion of the justification of τόλμη which began at 102. An additional, unconnected argument is appended in 123f.

121. ἀπεικός: Sc. ἔστι. Cf. Antiphon 2.2.5 ἔστι δ' οὖκ ἀπεικός;
etc. Paul is fond of derivatives of ἐσκο, cf. εἰκῶς 91, εἰκότως 18,95,412. Here ἀπεικός προσφόροις is virtually an oxymoron, cf. n.sup. on 91 for parallel use of εἰκῶς/εἰκότως and προσφόρος in Paul and Agathias respectively.

παρεξήγης: See 115n.sup. Here the sense is closer to the Attic "freedom of speech", as is made clear by the addition of the phrase λόγων ἀξιώδους (122). This Attic flavour prepares the way for the Aristophanic reminiscence (125) which opens the next passage, in which Paul flatters his audience.

122. ἀξιώδους: Graefe, Fr.; ἀξινωκόν, cod., Du Cange, Bekker. If the ms. reading is correct, καὶ in 122 must be a vague emphatic "even". The conjecture ἀξιώδους makes καὶ a simple connective and gives the couplet (121f) a rhetorical balance which is enhanced by the homophonous line-endings of 121-2 (cf. the extensive use of similar techniques 40-53 sup., see n. ad loc.). The only difficulty is that ἀξιώδους is not elsewhere attested. But Hesychius has the entry ἀσόμιδον το ἀσικήτως φουεύσειν. Κρήτης. K.Latte (Heiliges Recht, Tübingen 1920, repr.1964, p.66 n.10) suggested that Hesychius' gloss may have originated in a legal phrase of the form si quis eum occiderit, ἀσόμιδον ἠμπι. Hesychius' entry is substantiated by epigraphical evidence: ἀσόμιος = ἀσόμια is attested in Boeotian (E.Schwyzer, Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora, Leipzig 1923, no.503a, note; ca.B.C.200; = LSJ Suppl.s.v.ἀσόμιος); similarly ἁττόμιος in Cretan (2nd cent.B.C.; see LSJ Suppl.s.v.), and in Elean (4th cent.B.C.; see LSJ s.v. = Schwyzer op.cit.no.424).* If therefore, as seems likely, Graefe's conjecture is correct, Paul here furnishes a unique instance of the Attic form of a word attested elsewhere only in another dialect.

123. παραδείγματιν: For this sense, cf. 65 sup. with n. ad loc. Paul uses the verb again in the same context of his omitting to

* I am grateful to Professor A.J.Beattie for pointing out these references to me.
describe parts of the church, inf.445, 703.

ἡσθενηκότες: A final reference to the inadequacy of words to do justice to J.'s church, cf. 104 sup. where εὐσεβεία λόγῳ is used in the same context, 114 ὅς ἔχει τὸς ἴσχύος, and similar instances collected in n. ad loc.


125-29. Paul flatters his audience. The technique is used in the prologues of prose rhetoric and in iambic prologues, with the intention in each case of securing a favourable reception, see Viljamaa p.80f.

125. κρίνει: Graefe and subsequent editors have preferred the present κρίνει to the future κρίνει of the ms.

ὅτι: Adversative, introducing a doubt which is answered at 132.

κυσμοτρώξ Ἀττικὸς: Cf. Ar.Eq.40ff νῦν γάρ ἐστὶ διστάτης/ ἀγροῖσις ὑπὸ νυκτὸς κυσμοτρώξ ἄφρος σιλικίνης, δύσκολον γερόντιον/ὑπόκουλον. The scholia on κυσμοτρώξ (Schol. in Aristophanem, Pars 1, fasc.II ed. D.Mervyn Jones, Scripta Academica Groningana, Groningen/Amsterdam 1969, p.16f) suggest that the epithet refers to the dicas' habit of chewing beans to keep awake in the law-courts, or alternatively to the Athenian practice of using beans as voting-counters and lots in the appointment of magistrates, and implies "venal". Demos, therefore, is a typical example of the kind of Athenian from whom Paul wishes to distinguish his audience. See Fr. ad loc. and the discussion of this allusion by R.C.McCall in PCPS N.S.16 (1970) 79ff, esp. 81, rejecting the suggestion of Alan Cameron (PCPS N.S.15, 1969, 23) that Paul intends an allusion to Simplicius. McCail's interpretation is accepted by H.Blumenthal in Byzantion 48 (1978) 380.
John of Gaza similarly refers to his Attic audience, Desor. 1 prol. 20 ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ φαινόταν ἡττικισμένον, but there the reference to Athens is flattering. For Paul's pejorative allusion, McCail (loc. cit. p. 82 n. 1) compares Georg. Pisd. Van. Vit. 103 (PG. 92. 1589) πλαστὸς σοφιστής; μωρὸς ἡττικισμένος.

126-29. The description of these lines would be equally applicable to secular or ecclesiastical officials (see detailed nn. inf.), and it is reasonable to assume that Paul's audience included both, cf. 81n. sup.

126. εὐσεβεῖς: Piety is not the prerogative of priests alone, but of all good Christians, cf. H. A. Drake In Praise of Constantine (Univ. of California publications: classical studies 15, California 1976) 51f, who argues that the expression χοροὺς ὀφίων καὶ εὐσεβῶν ὀνόματι at Eusebius Laud. Const. 2. 5 (199. 29 Heikel) "would be applied to anyone deemed worthy of admission to the Imperial presence" (p. 52). Averil Cameron argued (Agathias p. 103) that Paul's reference here indicates that Athens was still a byword for impiety in 563, even if Paul does not allude specifically to contemporary pagan philosophy in Athens, but Blumenthal rightly objects (loc. cit. 125n.) that "there is no reason why the allusion must be exclusively to contemporary or even recent circumstances".

συγγνώμονες: "merciful", in their official capacities and so too, Paul hopes, in their judgement of his poem, cf. Proc. Gaz. Pan. 1 (491. 13f) ὡς τολμήσαμεν τι καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, ἀκούσας εἰς συγγνώμην τὴν προθυμίαν προβεβλημένοι. At 47 sup., Paul uses συγγνώμη to denote J.'s clemency. See McCail loc. cit. 79f.

127. καὶ, κτλ.: The echo of line 2 brings the poem back to its starting-point at a formal level; so the question of lines 130-32 corresponds to that of 1-3. Cf. also the echo of line 10 at the beginning of the second prologue (84). McCail (loc. cit. p. 80 n. 2) would hesitate to interpret this line as a precise reference to the combined secular and ecclesiastical character of the audience.
1.12 ἑφηδέται: LSJ cite exx. of this compound only from prose and, for its use in a good sense, only Aristaeum 1.12 ἑφηδόμαι τοῖς τροποῖς εὖ μᾶλα συμπέπουσι τῇ μορφῇ.

128f. οἱ τῶν πόλεως, κτλ.: The description is applicable to bishops as well as magistrates in view of the clergy's power in secular administration at this time, see McCall loc.cit.n.sup., and cf. also now G.Dagron in DOP 31 (1977) 19ff.

οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήσ/δῶν ἔχοντες: "The language of reins and driving is standard in late Greek for any form of public office, especially provincial governorships", Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just. praef.25; see the exx. there collected.

129. καὶ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων: in a final explicit reference (cf.n.inf. on 132f) to the theme introduced at 69 (see n. ad loc.), Paul reminds his audience that they have power over λόγοι (such as his) as well as over πράγματα.

130-34. The lines form a concluding transition to the poem proper, following the precept of Menander Rhetor, 369.13ff ἡ τρίτη δὲ τοῦ προοιμίου ἕννοια...προκαταρκτικὴ γενέσθω τῶν κεφαλάων (Menander's two preceding sections of the prooemium are both concerned with suggestions for auxesis). See Viljamaa op.cit.p.83f. In a final show of hesitation, Paul further compliments his audience, picking up the Athenian allusion of 125. The rhetorical question and answer of 130ff formally balances that with which the poem opened (1-3).

130. θαδίζειν τοῖς στίχοις: On θαδίζειν, see n.sup. on 67. Paul's use of the verb here is similar to that of Jo.Gaz. and Chor. loc.cit., both of whom use it in connection with λόγοι. Paul writes στίχοις instead in order to exploit the ambiguity of the noun: the verses march like ranks of soldiers.

131. ἐκδημαγωγηθέντος εἰς παρρησίαν: "cajoled to outspokenness by demagogic harangue". This striking line ("gesucht" in Fr.'s
opinion, see his n. ad loc.) marks the climax of Paul’s argument. In ἐκδημογωγηθέντος, Paul disparages the techniques which he has used (102ff) to arouse his own τόλμη. The compound occurs elsewhere only in D.H., e.g. 5.61.2 ἐκδημογωγηθέντες ὅσοι τοῦ λατινῶν μετείχον γένους κοινῷ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναιροῦντα τόλμην, 7.56.2 ὑπὸ τῶν κακιστῶν ἐκδημογωγοῦμενος (ὁ ὁμοίος), cf. 4.32.3, 7.4.5, 7.25.4. Here, as at 115 and 121, παρρησία refers to Paul’s τόλμη in describing S.Sophia. But in coupling it with ἐκδημογωγεῖν, Paul suggests at the same time the associations of licence which the term acquired with the decline of democracy, cf. Isoc.8.14 δημοκρατίας ὑπὸς ὡς ἐστὶ παρρησία, πλὴν εὐθαδέ τῶν ἀφενεστάτων καὶ κακῶν διὰ τοῦτο φροντίζοντι, κτλ., id.7.20 ...όθεν ἡγεῖται τὴν μὲν ἀκολουθίαν δημοκρατίας, τὴν δὲ παρανομίαν ἔλευθερίαν, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἱσομοιότατα, κτλ., and see Scarpat op.cit. (in n. sup. on 52f) 46ff. This is the interpretation of McCail loc.cit.p.81.

132f. χρῆ τούτῳ πράττειν, κτλ.: The affirmative answer is a paraprosdokian (so McCail, p.81). The emphatic asyndeton here underlines Paul’s resolution. The affirmative χρῆ answers the interrogative χρῆ of 130 (ὥσπερ τις ἡχῇ). There may be a hint of the λόγος/πράγμα contrast (cf. 69n.sup.) in πράττειν.../...λόγων: Paul will now undertake a πράγμα.

134. οὐκοῦν, κτλ.: For the explicit statement of transition, cf. inf. 416 οὐκοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν προσκαταθῆσαι τῷ χρέως, Amb.26 οὐκοῦν πρός εἰμι τῷ σεβασμῷ τάμας; Α.Π.4.34.43 (Agath.) ἐκ τοῦ Βασιλέως τὸς προδόγου ποιήσωμαι; Laud.Beryt.1.31f (I.95 Heitsch; quoted by Viljamaa p.84). On the use of the verb of motion, see n.sup. on 66f and n. inf. on 311-14.

Βασιλέα τοῦ μέγαν: Cf. inf.Amb.16 τοῦ μεγίστου βασιλέως, P.Ant.115.b14 παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέα τοῦ μέγαν (the similarity to Paul’s expression is noted by Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20, 1970, 127), and see the exx. from late prose cited by A.Alföldi, Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe (Mitt.des deutsch.arch.Instituts, röm.abt.49, 1934) 101f, adding Them.Or.4 (I.80.10 Downey), quoted in n.inf. on 244-47.
Lemma

See n.sup. on opening title and lemma (p.19). The word ἀρχή is here added by the scribe J in the right-hand margin.

Παῦλου Σιλεντιαρίου, νίου Κυρίου: See biographical note in Introduction, p.1ff sup.

ἐκφραστι: See n.sup. on opening title and lemma, p.19ff.

τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας: The church of S.Sophia was first called simply ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία. This remained the popular name at all periods, although the name Sophia was in use as an alternative appellation by the first half of the fifth cent., see G.Downey in Harvard Theological Review 52 (1959) 37ff, with the reservations voiced by Averil Cameron, ibid.58 (1965) 161-3. For the popular name, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.66 τὰ μὲν σὺν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησίας, ἡπερ μεγάλην καλεῖν νενομίκασι, Mal.489.19ff, Theoph. A.M.6051 (232.28 de Boor), Agath.Hist.5.9.2 ὤ μέγιστος τοῦ θεοῦ νεωτ, inf. 324, 414; etc.

Today I sing not of the achievements of war, but of the greater peacetime achievement of the building of S. Sophia (135-44). (New) Roma, garland your emperor with hymns, not for his subjugation of the world, but because of the church he has built, a church which has made you (New Rome) more illustrious than your mother (Old Rome), by surpassing the Capitol at Rome (145-56). Not only has the emperor subjected barbarians to his yoke, he has even defeated Phthonos itself (157-63). You too come, Old Roma, and sing with New Roma, rejoicing like any mother to see your child surpass you (164-67).

As in the first iambic prologue (1-80), Paul is concerned to glorify the achievements of J., although here the material is arranged to highlight S. Sophia as the culmination of that achievement. The tone of confidence and optimism which characterised the first iambic prologue (see n.sup. on 1-80), is now heightened to a note of exultation and triumph. The heightened effect, or auxesis of the subject, is achieved by rhetorical and stylistic elaboration. The theme is dramatised by hymnic invocation of goddesses (139 Eirene, 145-67 the appeal to the two Romas to celebrate J.), by apostrophe (152 the Capitol), and by means of extended personification (160ff Phthonos in combat with J.). (With these should be contrasted the explicitly Christian invocation of prophets, apostles and martyrs with which Paul opens the Ambo, inf.30-49). The theme is further elaborated by the use of synkrisis (151-4). The style is likewise elaborate: Paul uses long and complex sentences (e.g. the negative tricolon 135-7, the double negative leading to a positive 147-51, the οὐ μοῦνον... diffé kai structure of 157-63; the bombastic periphrasis 141-4), resounding compound epithets (particularly in the opening lines 135-44, e.g. τυραννοφόρος κονοχήποδα juxtaposed in 137), and poetical proper names (Θωμασιάδος 151,
Moreover the strongly dactylic rhythm (especially 135-8, 144-50) increases the effect of excitement.

This elaborate style, and in particular the use of one or more negative expressions to reinforce a positive statement, enables Paul to glorify J.'s military victories while emphasising that he is concerned with a greater, peacetime achievement. It is regular encomiastic practice to turn from an emperor's achievements in war to those of peace (see Men. Rhet. 372.25ff, 375.5f, and cf., for example, Proc.Gaz.Pan.11, p.502.4ff Bonn), and to rate the latter superior (θαυμασιότερος, Men. Rhet. 375.10-12). The treatment of the building of S.Sophia as the culmination of J.'s military achievements obscures the chronological sequence of events: J.'s church was originally constructed in the first decade of his reign, in the period 532-7, as part of the building programme initiated after the destruction of the city during the Nika Riot, see Stein B-F II.456-60. Only with the mention of the "five-year tear" in 171 and the ensuing narrative (176ff, 186ff) of the collapse of the dome, does Paul indicate that he is writing not in honour of J.'s original building, but for the second dedication of S.Sophia in 562, when it had been restored after the collapse of the dome in 558.

135-7. σήμερον οὖν... οὖν...οὖν...οὖν οὔτε χωρίασθαι, οὔτε οὖν οὖν οὖν οὐκ οὖν οὖν οὐκ οὔτε οὔτε οὔτε οὔτε οὐκ οὔτε οὖν οὖν οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ φανερώσω...οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἰσέχει...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οὐδὲν...οYPREPRINT

Nonnus regularly uses a long series of negative phrases or clauses introduced by οὔτε and οὖν, e.g. D.32.93ff, 40.478ff, al., see Peek Lex.s.v.οὖν, and cf. K-G II.293f, sec.535.4b. For a negative
tricolon with a similar line-end to 135, cf. Nonn.D.10.333ff τοῖοι μὲν ὁδὶ τρίποσ ἤειν ἄεθλιον, οὕτω ἐπὶ νίκην/ἀνθεμέον παρέκειτο λέβης, οὐ φορβάδες ἢπειοι/ἀλλὰ ...ἀλος Ἐρώτων; also Jo.Gaz.Anacr.1.3ff (PLG III.342) Μοῦσα μὲ νῦν ἄμορφον ἐκπάθος οὐκ ἐπὶ χάρμην/οὐκ ἐπὶ δυσμενὲς νίφα βάρβαροι· ἀλλὰ μενοινὴ/ἀμετέρην σκοπόν οἴδα ταυνόκοπον, κτλ. With these passages from Jo.Gaz. and ps.Pampr., Viljamaa (op.cit.,p.107) compares our passage and infra 147-51, 157-63, and observes that such use of antithetical clauses is particularly favoured in prooemia. (In our passage, the expected positive statement introduced by ἀλλὰ is replaced by the invocation of Εἰρηνη, 139). This technique is perhaps rather one manifestation of a grand style thought particularly desirable in prooemia (cf. introductory n. sup.). Paul uses an identical negative tricolon in the peroration of the poem (1019f), which, like the prooemium, is characterised by stylistic auxesis, see n. inf. on 1018-26.

In both of these tricola, the first clause is a general statement (here "I do not sing of war") to which the succeeding clauses add precision ("not victory over external foes, nor yet over usurpers", see n. inf. on 136f).

135. σοκέων...κτύπωσ: Cf. inf 263 ἐπεκτύπῳσον ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ 


135f. ἐπὶ νίκην...ἐπείγομαι: The verb continues the metaphor of ἐπεί (135). For its construction with ἐπὶ, cf. Hdt.4.135.3 ὅ Δαρειος...ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ; metaph.,Eur.Antioch.fr.183 Nauck
(ap. Pl. Gorg. 484e) κατὰ τοῦτ· ἐπείγεται; passive, Const. ap. Eus. V. Const. 2.68 (68.8 Heikel) ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦτος ἀνάγκην ἐπειχθεῖσ.

In epic it is usually constructed with other prepositions, e.g. Π. II.23.437, 496 ἐπειγόμενοι περὶ νίκης; Theoc. 7.24 μετὰ, Opp. H.3.189 μέχρι περὶ σῶμας ἐπειγόμεναι φορέονται/πουλυπόδαι; Orph. Arg. 71, Nonn. D.1.510, 17.138, al., all with εἰς. Paul may have been influenced in his choice of preposition here by the Nonnian line-end ἐπὶ νίκη, e.g. D.10.333 (quoted sup. 135-7n.), 24.105, cf. A.P. 16.371.3 (Anon., 6th cent.); ἐπὶ νίκας, A.P. 6.74.3 (Agath.).

136. ἐσπέρου ἡ Ἁἰβυσσόν: I.e in Italy or Africa. The first may be a topical reference; for recent events in Italy, see n. sup. on 9 καταστέλλων μόχας. The topicality of the reference to Africa is more doubtful. In the first iambic prologue (16), Paul speaks of Libya as long held in slavery, referring to the Roman liberation of Libya from the Moors from 548 onwards, see n. ad loc. There was, however, a Moorish rebellion, dated by Malalas (495.19ff) to January 563. (Theophanes, A.M.6055, p.238.24ff, puts it in December 562, but this is a mistake, arising from his omission, in adapting Malalas, of the latter's first notice for January; hence Theophanes' introductory Τῆς ὀντὸς μηνὶ erroneously refers back to December). The 563 rebellion was quickly suppressed by an expedition under J.'s nephew Marcian, see Bury HLRE II.147f, Stein B-E II.559f (sources Stein p.560 n.1) and Cameron on Cor. Laud. Just. 1.18f. It is, however, unlikely that Paul, speaking early in January 563, could have known of these events. In this expression and the reference to the Persians in 138, Paul merely reiterates from the first iambic prologue (11-16) the theme of J.'s world-empire, see n. ad loc. sup. For local ἐσπερος, see LSJ s.v. II, adding Nonn. D.1.228, 31.103 (both adj.), 30.275 (subst.), and cf. sup.11 (fem., sc. χαρά), inf. 887, 923 (both subst.). For Αἰβυσσάν in the same context of world-empire, cf. A.P. 4.3B.42 (Agath.) ἑσχατίν δὲ Α. This feminine form is classical, see LSJ s.v., adding Lyc. 1014, 1016.

136f. τροπαίων ἀμφὶ τυραννοφόρους: "over tyrant-slaying trophies", i.e. trophies of slain tyrants; cf. 194 inf. αἷμασιν ... ἀνδροφόροις, "the blood of slain men". The epithet τυραννοφόρος indicates that Paul here has in mind victory over the
tyrant or usurper, a topical point, see n.sup. on 24-39 and, for this sense of τορπαννοις, 36n.sup. For Paul's use of the epithet τορπαννοφόνος, cf. A.P. 15.50.5f (Anon.) νίκης, ... τορπαννοφόνου: this expression refers to the part played by the charioteer Porphyrius in the suppression in 515 of the revolt of Vitalian against Anastasius, see Alan Cameron Porphyrius the Charioteer (Oxford 1973) 127f. The epithet (first in Bianor, see LSJ s.v.) is used elsewhere in 6th cent. epigrams of the emperor, A.P. 9.656.1 (Anon.) of Anastasius, 9.779.1 (Anon.) of Justin II (for justification of this appellation of Justin, see A. and A.Cameron in JHS 86, 1966, 24).

The reference to trophies suggests a public celebration of victory. A celebration of this kind had indeed taken place in the hippodrome in Cpl. in 534, when J. revived the Roman tradition of awarding a triumph to a victorious general in honour of Belisarius' victory over the Vandal Gelimer (a τορπαννοις, see 36n. sup.); in the procession booty and slaves were paraded, including Gelimer himself, see Proc.BV 2.9. Although this type of ceremony was not to be repeated until the reign of Justinian II (see Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84, 1979, 8f on the different celebration of Belisarius' victory in 559), scenes based on the triumph over Gelimer were depicted in art. Procopius (Aed.1.10.16ff) describes the depiction in mosaic on the ceiling of the Chalke of a scene of imperial triumph, in which Belisarius presents spoils to J., while the Vandal and Gothic kings approach as prisoners of war, and the senate rejoices round about, see C.Mango The Brazen House (Copenhagen 1959) 32-4,
who dates the mosaic after 540. Corippus (Laud. Just. 1.276ff) describes a similar scene depicted on J.'s funeral vestment and also refers (3.121ff) to the depiction of the triumph over Gelimer on gold vases, see Cameron ad loc. Allusions to trophies and postures of triumph likewise occur in the literature of the period, e.g. Cor. Laud. Just. praef. 1f deus omnia regna/sub pedibus dedit esse tuis, see Cameron ad loc. for additional parallels from art and literature. For Paul's expression, cf. Proc. Gaz. Pan. 30 (516.2ff) θησίων δὲ πολίδας καὶ βιονόμων, ὁμφί σοι κινοῦντας τὴν γλώτταν, εὐπορεῖν δεί καὶ τοῖς σοῖς τροπαίοις ἀβράμευοι (the final phrase is adapted from ib. 1, 489.2). Paul later similarly refers to τροπαίοφρονοι θριάμβους (inf. 227, see n. ad loc.) and τροπαίοφρονοι... ὕμνου (967). The noun τροπαίον (cf. inf. 231 and see LSJ s.v.) does not occur elsewhere in epic, but is found occasionally in epigram (e.g. A.P. 7.135.3, Anon.; Epigr. Gr. 768.11, ib. 768a.2, 5, praef. p. xvi) and in Christian prose (see PGL s.v.).

The preposition ὁμφί, when constructed with a dative, may be either local (LSJ s.v. B.I; K-G. I.489, sec. 436.II.1; Peek Lex. s.v. III.1) or causal (LSJ IV; K-G. I.490, sec. 436.II.3; Peek III.3, cf. Keydell I.62*). Here the sense is primarily causal, but the local associations of the construction continue the metaphor of φέρει (135) and ἐστὶν νίκην... ἐπείγομαι (135f).

137. κακοαχτήσας ὑμηθλὸν ἄρασον: "I strike out a reverberating rhythm". Graefe's conjecture ὑμηθλὸν for the ms. θυμηθλὸν is accepted by Bekker, Fr., and by F. Spitzner, who discusses and rejects alternative conjectures, Observationes criticae maximam partem in Pauli Silentiiarlii descriptio om vacnae ecclesiae (Erfurt 1823) 4-6. In support of ὑμηθλὸν, Graefe (in n. ad loc.) cites inf. 933 ἐπετόρῳ ὑμηθλὸν... ὑμηθλὸν. An instance of the same
ms. confusion is to be found at Nonn. D.5.96, where Keydell and Peek adopt Scaliger's conjecture ὑθυμὸν ἔρωτον for the Laurentianus' θυμοῦ. (Nonnus elsewhere uses ὑθυμὸν alone to denote music or song, e.g. D.11.112, 19.97, cf. A.P.11.64.2, Agath.). Paul's expression here is modelled on Nonnus' use of ἄρασσων with ἓχων, μέλος, ὑμον et simil. in the sense "play", "strike out", e.g. D.1.488 κιθάρως ἐπινίκιον ὑμον ἄρασσων, 12.148 θόρπιον ἄρμονίν... αὐλάς ἄρασσων..., Φύγα ὑθυμὸν ἑχων ἢ Δωρίδα μολῆν, al., see Peek Lex. s.v. ἄρασσων A.II, and cf. also Coll.55 σακέων... κόμπον ἄρασσειν. (On the use of ἄρασσων in general, see n. inf. on 948). Huschke's conjecture ἢμον, on the analogy of 172 inf. εὐποδας ὑμον, is rightly rejected in our line by Graefe (in n. ad loc.) because it would involve hiatus. The use of the epithet εὔμος at 172 to denote metrical feet is, however, parallel to the use of καναχῆμπος in our line. Elsewhere (Alcm.23.48, Certamen 100, Opp. C.2.431) the latter is applied only to the horse. Paul may have been influenced in the choice of an epithet appropriate to the horse by Nonn. D.41.190, where the sound made by a galloping horse is said to "strike out a birthday tune" (γενέθλιον ἓχου ἄρασσων) for Beroe. The reference to metrical feet here complements the idea of ὑθυμὸν; the latter conjecture is therefore superior to the alternative μῦθον (suggested by Graefe ad loc.), which is not particularly associated with verse, although Paul does use it of his poem, e.g. inf.177, 185, 312, 314. The expression κ. ὑθυμὸν aptly describes the galloping dactylic rhythm which predominates in this introductory section and enhances its triumphant note, see n. sup. on 135-67. The ms. carries the alternative ἄρασσων in the margin, but the present is certainly correct after Φέρει (135) and Επείγομαι (136).

138. Μηδοφόρων, κτλ.: "Let the glories of Mede-slaying works remain unproclaimed today". The line breaks the anticipated structural pattern: the series of negatives (135-7) would normally culminate in a strong positive ἀλλα, cf. 147-50 inf., and see n. sup. on 135-7. It marks the transition to the positive statement of theme (141-4) which follows the invocation of Eirene, see Fr.'s n. on 135-44. The reference to Persia, the eastern limit of J.'s empire, completes the
allusion to the bounds of empire begun in ἔσπερον ἥ Λίβυσσον (136), see n. ad loc. It also neatly changes the subject from war (135-7) to peace (139), since a Fifty-Year Peace with Persia had recently been concluded (Dec.561, see 9n.sup.), although Paul's reference to Μηδοφῶν...κλέα...ἐργῶν is exaggerated, see n.sup. on 13-15.

The expression κλέα...ἐργῶν (cf. κλέα μόχθων 1014 inf.) is a reminiscence of II.9.189 κλέα ὀνόματι, cf. ib.524, Od.8.73, Theoc.16.2; κλέα φωτόν, h.Hom.32.18, A.R.1.1, A.P.2.378 (Christod.); also κλέα τε μεγάρων, A.R.4.316. Paul avoids the hiatus of the Homeric expression by the judicious repetition of οἴμερον from 135, thereby emphasising the unity of 135-8. (Elsewhere κλέος is used only in the singular). The epithet Μηδοφῶν is applied to J. in an epigram (A.P.16.63.4, Anon., μάρτυρος Μ.) on his equestrian statue erected in the Augusteum (in 544, according to Mal.482.14, Theoph.A.M.6036, 224.13; cf.Proc. Aed.1.2.1-12), cf. ib.62.1 (Anon.; same subject) ο Ἡσιακοι Μηδοκτόνει. Elsewhere Μηδοφῶν is used in reference to the Greco-Persian wars of the classical period, Peek GVI 1466.6 (mid.-3rd cent.B.C.); Epigr.Gr.931.4 (Roman period); A.P.7.243.2 (Loll.Bass.); Plut.Mor.349c; Nonn.D.27.300; A.P.16.118.1 (Paul Sil.), ib.233.7 (Theaet.Schol.). Paul's fondness for -φῶν compounds, manifest in 137-8, is further demonstrated at A.P.11.60.2 (Ἀνδροφῶν, cf. inf.194), ib.5 (τουρφώνων).

For μέγα with predicative adj., cf.sup.113. Nonnus uses this construction with μέγα, e.g.D.30.20, 31.183, al., see Peek Lex. s.v.I.5, and cf. A.P.16.72.7 (Anon., 6th cent.). The adj. δόκησε is rare, but for its use with κλέος in the same sense, cf. Peek GVI 1550.2f (167/6); also Nonn.Par.12.173 of πίστις, 18.62 πορείνη.

Wilamowicz's conjectured δ' after Μηδοφῶν is unnecessary: Paul often uses asyndeton for emphatic or dramatic effect, e.g. sup. 3, 24, 132; inf.176, 226, 231, 232.

139-44. The invocation of Eirene marks a new beginning, after the
rejection of military topics, see n.sup. on 135-67 on the encomiastic practice of turning from military to peacetime achievements. J.'s church of S.Sophia is an appropriate symbol of his peacetime achievements, being the architectural masterpiece of the re-building programme instigated by J. in Cpl. after the destruction of much of the centre of the city in the Nika Riot of 532, see Stein B-E II.452, 456ff; Proc.Aed. Ek.1. The church of S.Eirene was destroyed with S.Sophia and also re-built by J. (Proc.Aed.1.2.13). The Nika Riot did not, of course, mark the end of urban rioting and incendiarism in Cpl., see Alan Cameron Circus Factions (Oxford 1976), e.g. 276f, 89ff on riots in the period between 532 and 562.

139. Εἰρήνη πολύολβη, κτλ.: The invocatory opening originates in Homer's appeals to the Muses (II.1.1, Od.1.1), and the technique continued to be used in late poetry, e.g. Opp.H.3.1ff, 9ff, Σ.2.1ff; Nonn.D.1.1, 25.1; Coll.1ff; Tryph.1ff; Musae.1; Cor.Laud.Just.1.8ff with Cameron ad loc. and Stache on 1.12; Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.1, 2.1; inf.Amb.30ff. Honorific appellations are characteristic of hymn, prayer or invocation, both pagan and Christian, e.g. II.1.37ff, al.; Cal.Dian.225f, Lav.Pall.43, al.; Orph.Hymn 10.1ff, 12.1ff and passim; Clem.Alex.Paed.Hymn 1ff, 11ff, al. (I.291 Stählin); Synes. Hymn 1.145ff (p.11 Terzagi), 4.7ff (p.27), 60ff (p.28), al.; Nonn.D.41.143ff (where Beroe is called πολύολβων τροφός); Jo.Gaz.Descr. 1.19; Cor.Laud.Just.4.134ff; Anon. Akathistos Hymn passim (p.29ff Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica). With our line, cf. Opp.H.2. 680 νῦν γὰρ σὲ, Δίκη, θρέπτειρα πολής, Α.Ρ.11.380.1 (Mac.Cons.) πωρθένος εὐπατρέεια Δίκη, πρόεξεξείρα πολής. Dike similarly cares for cities because she is the sister of Eirene, see Hes.Th.902, Pi.0.13.6ff and esp. Orph.Hymn 43.1f ζωραι θυγατέρες Θέμιδος καὶ Ζηνος ἀνωκτος, Εὐνομίῃ τε Δίκῃ τε καὶ Εἰρήνῃ πολύολβῃ, also ib.32.15 δι' εἰρήνην πολύολβου, Hymn Curet.40 (p.161 Powell) δ' ἐν δικαίωσι πλούτου, of Bacch.fr.4.6ff Snell-Maehler and Paus.1.8.2, 9.16.2 on a statue in the market-place at Athens of Eirene nursing the infant Plutus.
Eirene is also called ταύτη at Dioscoros 5.32 (Heitsch I.135) and οὐτον at Nonn.D.41.395. Active πολύολβος ("rich in blessings/prosperity") occurs first in Sappho, see LSJ s.v.II, and cf. also Orph.Hymn 40.20 πολύολβος, 63.1 of Dikaiosyne, al.; Procl.Hymn 1.40 φῶς (of the Sun); and perhaps ps.Pampr. 3.154 (Heitsch I.116) Δήμητρο πολύολβος, (suppl. Arnim). The sense "wealthy" is more common (LSJ s.v.I, also Nonn.D.5.223, 33.254, A.P.9.153.2, Agath., etc.). For the form τιθηνήτειρα, cf. A.P.9.19.5 (Arch.), 16.296.1 (Ant. Sid.; attr. Ant.Thess. by Gow-Page); Nonn.D.7.4, 20.30, al.; Jo. Gaz.Deser.2.241, all in eadem sede. The solemn slowness of this line, achieved by the use of spondees and polysyllabic words and by the repetition of the long -η-/ει-sound, is in deliberate contrast to the galloping dactylic rhythm of 135-8, cf. Fr.'s n. on 135-44. The ms. εἰρήνης was corrected by Du Cange.

140. ἧν πλέου, κτλ.: "whom our lord has embraced more than Victory of the lovely helmet". The claim could scarcely be made of J.'s reign as a whole, but Paul is writing under the influence of the recent peace treaty with Persia (see 138n. sup.). The pax Romana became a favourite theme for panegyists in the ensuing years, cf. Cor. Laud.Just. praef. 1ff with Averil Cameron ad loc., p.118f; A.P.4.3B.1-47 (Agath.) with A. and A. Cameron, JHS 86 (1966) 23f*.

πλέου εὐπηλικος...Νίκης: Victory is here called εὐπηλικος because Paul is thinking of Victory in war, cf. inf. 981. But at 970f Νίκη is associated both with military achievements and with "labours in protection of the city" (ἀστυκής...μάχαιρας, cf. inf. 141 πολιοσοφοικα...ἀδέλφοις), as in the prologue victory (το νικάν, 84) is said to be the partner of J.'s labours in general (cf. 10 sup., although in the following passage, 11-16, Paul is thinking of military victory). The helmet is not a regular attribute of Victory in imperial art, see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Victoria III, col. 851ff, esp. 853 (ii); occasionally, however, she is depicted wearing a helmet (loc.cit. fig. 7469), more often holding one (fig. 7471) or with her foot on one (fig. 7472). See further nn. inf. on 970-72, 981f. The epithet εὐπῆλικος occurs first at A.P.6.120.5 (Leon.)

* B.Baldwin (BZ 70, 1977, 298-301 and BZ 73, 1980, 333ff) rejects the Camerons' arguments and would retain the traditional Justinianic dating for Agathias' prologue.
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'Ἀθήναις; cf. Babr.65.1a of a peacock; Nonn.D.13.197 'Αθήναι, 32.
264 Μορφώσ, al. Paul uses it again inf. 299 οἶκοι, 529γ καλύπτῃ,
both referring to the dome of S.Sophia. Nonnus regularly constructs
πλέον with genitive of comparison, see Peek Lex.s.v.VI.

نسخ: The Homeric word is preferred in the hexameters to the ὀσπότης
of the iambics (117). The former is common in 6th cent.poetry, see Vasiliev
in DOP 4 (1948) 40 and cf., for example, A.P.16.335.1, 348.3 (both
Anon.).

γεκάσατο: For this verb metaphorically used in a similar context,
cf. A.P.8.3.11 (Agath.) φίλην ἑγκάσατο Ρώμην. In both Paul and
Agathias the sense is rather "embrace" (cf. Euph.in PSI 1390.C.1.9;
Nonn.D.8.347, 12.385, al.; inf. 375) than "lift up in the arms"
(IL.17.722; cf. Call. fr. 236.1 ἀπο...ἀγκάσασθαι). So Hesychius
glosses ἵγκασαντο· τις ἑγκάλας περιελάμβανον. Spitzner (op.cit.
in n. on 137, p.6ff) was the first to argue for the restoration
of the ms. reading ἵγκασατο, which was adopted by Bekker. Du Cange
and Graefe both wrote ἵγκασατο. (Graefe and Spitzner were both
working from the apographum Gothamum of the Codex Palatinus, see
Spitzner p.3. This carried the reading ἵγκασατο, Spitzner, p.7).

141. ἐεὸρο: Adhortatory, as often. The adverb may stand alone,
see LSJ s.v.I.2C and cf. Orph.Hymn 72.1 ἐεὸρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ';
Musae.124 (if the transmitted text is correct). Usually, however,
it is accompanied either by a prepositional expression implying
motion (e.g.Theoc.27.11,13; Orph.Hymn 54.7; Nonn.D.11.147; Musae.248)
or, more often, an imperative (see LSJ s.v.I.2a; also A.R.4.759;
Call.fr.726; Theoc.27.46; Opp.H.4.237; Nonn.D.15.283, 29.58, Par.4.
28f, 11.158, 20.124; Musae.142, 271; inf.169, Amb.46) or first
person plural subjunctive (see LSJ s.v.I.2b; also A.R.3.25; Theoc.1.
21; A.P.4.3B.55f, Agath.). It is likely that Paul intended this last
construction here, and that ἔεισομεν (143) should be construed as
a short-vowelled Homeric subjunctive, like έγυμν 313 inf. See
Chantraine, Grammaire homérique I.454f, sec.216 on the frequent use
of the short-vowelled subjunctive with sigmatic aorists, and Keydell
I.46* on this form in Nonnus. (So Du Cange rendered the verbs
ἔπωεισοντος 140, and ἔεισομεν 143 with the subjunctives praedicemus,
celebremus). Hence it is preferable to follow Du Cange, Graefe and Bekker in punctuating with a comma after δεῦρο, as opposed to Fr.'s colon: the whole passage 139-44 is a single grandiloquent period in which Paul announces his theme.

πολιοσσοχοιοιοιν ἐπαυχησαντις ἀέθλους: "exulting in city-preserving toils", i.e. restricting our encomium to J.'s labours for the city. Agathias, in introducing his theme, uses the same metaphor of ἀέθλος (A.P.4.38.57) and ἁγιόν (ib. 55, cf. 142 inf.), as well as the same construction with δεῦρο (see n. sup.); Agathias, however, uses the metaphor in reference to his own work, as Paul does sup. 102, see n. ad loc. But at 116ff, Paul justifies undertaking the ἁγιόν (102) of describing S.Sophia on the grounds that even greater enterprise was necessary for J. to build the church. So at A.P.1.10.74, 75 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἀέθλος denotes Anicia Juliana's building of churches*. In Homer ἀέθλος, usually at the line-end as here, is frequently used of the contests of war (see LSJ s.v. ἀέθλος I, and cf., for example, II. 3.126), but it is also used more generally of struggle or toil, e.g. II.8.363 of the labours of Heracles, cf. A.R.1.1318; Opp.H.2. 504 of Odysseus' wanderings, ib. 3.2 ἀγορεύοντας ἀέθλους, of fishermen; Nonn.D.25.218 of Dionysus' exploits, contrasted with those of Heracles. For S.Sophia as a benefit to the city, cf. 119f sup. Paul similarly uses πολιοσσοχος in connection with J.'s achievements infra 798 ἐργα πολιοσσοχων...βασιληων, detailed (799f) as hospitals and churches, and 982 κοινοτητας...πολιοσσοχοιοι λεπάδους, more generally of J.'s world dominion, see n. ad loc. The epithet (a poetic variant of πολιοσσοχος) is regularly used in classical authors of the protecting deity of a city, its patron et simil., later of emperors, see LSJ s.v. πολιοσσοχος, πολιοσσοχος and cf. Call.Lav.Pall. 53 τὴν Πολλᾶδα τῶν πολιοσσοχον; A.R.2.846 τῶν τε πολιοσσοχον, of Idmon; Opp.H.4.4 κύριοτερος πολιοσσοχων βασιληων (of Marcus Aurelius); Nonn.D.3.262 θεατης (Hera), 47.463 θείου (also πολιοσσοχος, e.g.18.224); Tryph. 432, 444, both of Athene (both forms); A.P.2.358 (Christod.) δημοβοροτοι πολιοσσοχοιοιν ιδίων, ib.9.482.5 (Agath.) Ζηνου πολιοσσοχον βασιλη; also PGL s.v. for πολιοσσοχος in Christian contexts.

* This epigram was inscribed in the church of S.Polyeuktos in Cpl. at the time of its reconstruction by Anicia Juliana, probably in the period A.D.524-27, see C.Mango and I.Ševčenko in DOP 15 (1961) 243ff.
For its use with a non-personal noun, cf. Isyll.16 (p. 133 Powell) πολιούχος... ὑφεῖν τε καὶ αἴδως; Nonn.D.34.358 ἐνδόμωχον κλόνον... πολισσοῦχοι κυδιμοῦ. The compound ἐπαυχέω ("exult in"; cf. inf. 983) is rare, only S. Ant.483, Ar.Av.629, both c.dat.rei, (also S. Fl.65, see LSJ s.v.2); Nonn.D.48.869 ἀστυγιαπόψ ἀγόρευεν ἐπαυχήσας ὑμεναίοις, 32.209 o.dat.pers., also 11.188. The verb is glossed by Hesychius and Suidas. In our line a present participle might have been expected, but Nonnus uses only the aorist participle.

142. παντὸς ὑπερκυδάντας, κτλ.: "the house which surpasses every most glorious contest". The metaphor of ἄξθολος (141) is reiterated in ἀγώνος (see n. sup.) The idea of S.Sophia as the culmination of J's achievements has occurred several times in the prologue, 70, 101, 118; cf. also Romanos 54 κγ'1ff μεγάλα ὄντως καὶ φαιδρὰ καὶ ἀξία θαυμάτων καὶ ὑπερβεβηκότα/ἀκανθα τὸς ἀσχαίως βασιλεύς ἐδείξαν νόμι/οί ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων εὔσεβῶς τὰ πράγματα διέποντες, of the re-building of Cpl. after the Nika Riot. For ὑπέρτερος c.gen. in this sense ("above", i.e. "superior to"), see LSJ s.v.1.3, adding A.R.3.988f οὐ γὰρ ἄνευθεν/ὑμείων στονόντας ὑπέρτερος ἐσοῦ ἄξθολο, al.; Theoc.12.22; Nonn.D.16.89, 42.367, al., Par.10.105, 13.74; Jo.Gaz.Desor.1.168; A.P.1.10.12, 46 (Anon., 6th cent.), ib.5.258.5 (Paul Sil.) and infra 307; also Agath.Hist.3.1.3 (quoting Pl.I.1.2); F.Masp.67002.1.7 (6th cent.). The use of οἶκος to denote a temple goes back to the classical period (see LSJ s.v.1.3) and is common in Christian contexts (see Arndt and Gingrich s.v.18, PGL s.v.3). Paul uses ὑπερκυδάσας again inf. 303 of Christ, 446 of the central area of S.Sophia. The epithet is used by Homer (Il.4.66, 71 ὑπερκυδάντως ἄχμιοίζ) and Hesiod (Th.510 ὁ Μενοίτιον), but occurs elsewhere only in lexica (e.g. Hesych.s.v. υπερκυδάντως) and commentaries discussing its formation (loc.c citt. Schmidt ad Hesych.s.v.). For modern etymological discussion, see Chantraine, Dict. étym. s.v.κόδων, Dérivés nominaux 4, Frisk Gr.etym.Wörterbuch s.v.κόδων. Graefe (ad loc.) suggested that the ms. bears a marginal note γῆτει at this point because of the rare epithet.
143. ἐνέργος ὑμνοῖσιν ἄξιος εἰς ἡμέραν, cf. inf. 155, Nonn.Par. 4.109 θεοῦ... ἄξιος εἰς ἡμέραν ὑμνοῖσιν... δ. 2.81 φιλοθρησκείος δὲ μολαστὴς/αἴλινα φοιάμης ἄξιος δαϊζομένως ὑπάκινθων; also inf. Amb. 46 ὅπως... ἐνυγγείως ἀοιδάς... μέλος πλέονθε, Descr. 335 παντοχώριος... ὑμνοῦσιν/ἀπαντοῦσι βέβαιαν ἀστηγήσειν ἀοιδάς; These datives indicate the manner of singing: it is the epithet rather than the noun which adds a new idea to the sentence, and the dat. expression does service for an adverbial one. They should be classed as sociative, quo declaratur, quae condicio vel actio rem quae narratur comitetur, Keydell I.59*, see the exx. ibid. 60* of the wide use of such datives in Nonnus D. The epithet ἐνεργός has the general sense "holy", rather than the more technical "fit for sacrifice", see LSJ s.v., and for our sense, cf. also Theoc. Ep. 4.5; A.P. 6.231.2 (Phil.); Orph. Hymn 7.2, 12 and passim; Procl. Hymn 7.33; inf. Amb. 117, 175; Psell. In Orac. Chald. (PG. 122.1136C). On ἄξιος εἰς, see n. sup. on δέσπο 141.

143f. ὅπως μούνως, κτλ.: "beneath the majesty of which alone every divinely-inspired, glorious, high-roofed work has cowered low". The clause reiterates in more graphic and bombastic terms the substance of 142. Procopius (Aed. 1.1.27) describes how S. Sophia physically towered above the other buildings of Cpl., ἐπηρταῖ μὲν γὰρ ἐς ύψος οὐράνιον ὕσσον, καὶ ὅπως τῶν ἄλλων οἰκοδομήματων ἀποσαλέσουσα ἐπινεύεσθαι ὑπερεκτιμήσῃ τὴν ἀλλή πόλιν... ὑμνοῦσιν ὅπως, ὅτι αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς πόλεως) ὅσα καὶ ἐπεμβαίνουσα τοσοῦτον ἄνεχει οὕτως ὅποι ἔνθευκεν ἡ πόλις ἐκ περιπέθη ἀποκοπεῖται, cf. ib. 42. In No. XII ap. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byz. Cantica, S. Sophia is described as (ε'3f) τεχνικῆν ὑπαοῦσαν ὑπερανέχουσαν ἀνθρώπινου ἐν τοῖς δόμοις. Cf. Evagr. HE 4.31 (180.12ff Bid.-Parn.) on the height of the dome of S. Sophia; Mio. Thess., Descr. S. Soph. 1 (ed. Mango-Parker, DOP 14, 1960, 235.7-9; 12th cent.) μέγιστος οὖτως κατὰ τὰ ὄρη μεταφρασθέντως καὶ πάντα κατὰ προλείπον καὶ τοιχή ἤμασθαν χειρός δείηγε; also A.P. 1.10.52 (Anon.) ἀβρακτών καὶ ἀθέρας ἀστρα διώκων, on Juliana's church of S. Polyeuktos (perhaps felt by Ἰ. to rival his own building works, see Cameron on Cor. Laud. Just. 4.283) and the boast of A.P. 9.656.1f (Anon.) ἐκεῖ ἡ ἀναστατοστότοι... μούνως ὑπερτέλλω παναπείροισι... ἄστεσι γαῖς, ib. 18, quoted 153n. inf.
This is the first of several instances in Paul of ὄκλαζω and compounds. The basic meaning of the simple verb is to crouch or squat down, of men or animals, see LSJ s.v. But in late epic, ὄκλαζω and compounds are frequently used in the context of human beings bowing down in submission, obeisance or entreaty, cf. 161 inf. of Phthonos before J., 245 of Roma before J.; Epigr-Gr. 1028.53 (Hymn to Isis) κορος ὑποκλαζοιτ' ; Opp.C.4.194 ὁ δ' ὄκλαζε τα γαϊντ, /βαλλόμενος... ὄκωκας; Nonn.D.22.375f ὅς ὥπει γαϊντ/δραθός ὄκλαζων (supplication), 24.234 Κρόνου...ὑποκλαζοντα κεραυνυ...al., Par. 4.96 κυμβαχον ὄκλαζοντας, attitude of prayer; Jo.Gaz.Desor.2.330f δεξιουργοι ποδὲ πηκε καὶ ὄκλαζουσαν ἐλέγχας/ἐθείσει νυκτός ἐλογον φύσιν (of Kosmos); A.P.38.4 (Agath.) ἐποκλαζοντο δε γαϊντ(of Persia before Roman power). This idea of submission or obeisance is present in our line. (Paul also uses ὑποκλαζω /ὄκλαζω of the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia, inf. 198, 275, see nn. ad locc.; other contexts 251 with n. ad loc., 735, A.9.5.279.2). The compound in κατα- is rare, only Opp.C.3.473, Strabo 3.4.15 (med.), both of animals; metaph., Anon. in Rhet.233.17, Bas.Sel. Or.40.2 (PG. 85. 456A). Hesychius glosses κατακλαζος (corr.Ruhnken κατακλαζης), ἐπὶ πτερναιν ἐκάθιος. The simple and compound forms of the verb are sometimes constructed with the dative (e.g.inf. 161, 251 med., other exx.quoted sup.), but Paul's construction with ὂπο is unparalleled. The preposition here carries both local (LSJ s.v.B.I.2, Peek, Lex.II.1) and causal/instrumental force (LSJ B.II.1, Peek II.2) and also suggests subjection (LSJ I.3, II.2). The line-end ὀ ὧπο μουῳς is in the Nonnian manner, cf. D.7.112 ὔνι μουῃς, 31.280 ὔνι μουῳς; al., Par.5.175 ὅ ὥπει μουῳς; also A.P.10.76.5 (Paul Sil.) ὎ ὥπει μουῃς. Nonnus allows hiatus in such expressions (other exx., Keydell I.414), although he does not use Paul's collocation with ὂπο; compare, however, Call.Del.166 ὅ ὂπο μίτρῃς. Ludwig (op.cit.p.20) notes the rarity of hiatus in Paul, comparing inf. 284, 676, 843, Amb.160. Ludwig also (p.27) corrects Fr's accentuation of ὂπο to paroxytone, in line with other exx. cited, cf. H.W.Chandler, A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation (1st ed., Oxford 1862) sec.910.
The expression κλέος...ἐργα is periphrastic for "glorious work", on the analogy of poetic expressions like Ἀμεμοῦ, θεῶν σέβας, see K.-G. Ι.280f, etc. 405 d, and cf. inf. 986 σέβας...γολύνης, with n. ad loc. The familiarity of the Homeric expression θέσκελα ἐργα (Il.3.310, Od. 11.374, 610; cf. A.R.3.229; ps.Ap. Met.Ps.45.15; A.P.1.10.64, Anon., 6th cent., ib.7.679.7, Sophron.; sing. O.Lith.78, inf. 238) no doubt accounts for the ms. error θέσκελον ἐργα, corrected ad loc. The epithet is also used more widely in later epic, e.g.A.R.4.657 τεῦχα, Nonn.D.4.50=Coll.126 ἔρμης, Nonn.D.25.377 Ρείης...θέσκελον αἰολήν, al., Par.4.171 λήπια, 5.106 ὀμφήνω, al.; cf. inf.187, 329, 351. It is probably derived from κέλλω (see LSJ, Chantraine Dict.etym.s.v.), although perhaps connected by later poets with κελεύω, see LSJ s.v., and cf. Hesychius' gloss (inter alia) θεοεικέλα ἡ θεοκέλευτα.

The epithet ψυροφός is apposite in the context of S.Sophia, the height and diameter of whose dome was probably its most innovatory feature, cf.Proc.Aed.1.1.45f, inf .489f 530f. The height was increased in the post-558 restoration, to make the structure safer (Agath. Hist.5.9.3), although Agathias judged it to be less striking in consequence (ibid.5). The epithet is used by Homer of houses or rooms, see LSJ s.v., and cf. A.R.3.285, Peek GVI 1121.7 (? 2nd/1st cent.), Nonn.D.8.2, 18 (both corr. Rhodom.ε ὑψι-), Par.19.61; also Coll.121 ὑψορόφος φυτῶν...καλύπτρης.

145-67. The invocation of the goddess Eirene to celebrate J. (139ff) is in this passage extended and elaborated by further invocations, first of New Roma or Cpl. (145ff) and subsequently of Old Roma (164ff). The emperor and his capital city were closely associated from the time of the establishment of the cult of Roma and Augustus, and the two were depicted together in art from the 1st cent. A.D. onwards, see S.MacCormack in CQ N.S.25 (1975) 139ff. In the 4th cent., after the establishment of Cpl. as the eastern capital, Roma and Cpl. regularly appear together (see further n. inf. on 151), while Cpl. came to be closely associated with her emperor in the way that Roma had been (MacCormack loc.cit.147ff; cf.E.Fenster, Laudes
Constantinopolitanae, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 9, Munich 1968, 33f., 51ff, on the expression of this relationship in Themistius, and see further n. inf. on 146. Paul's linking of the emperor with Old and New Roma together is not unprecedented (the three appear together on 4th cent. coins, see, for example, J.M.C.Toynbee in JRS 37, 1947, 142), but F.Dölger (Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner, repr. in Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt, Darmstadt 1964, 93ff) saw this passage as the first developed expression of the ideology of renovatio, which reached its peak in the 12th cent. In this ideology Cpl., the New Rome, and hence young and vital, is contrasted with the ageing and moribund Rome of the West. Dölger compares Cor.Laud.Just.4.138ff (where the idea is suggested much more briefly) and gives later examples. Aspects of this topic are discussed infra in greater detail as follows: Cpl. as New Rome, n. on Ῥώμη 145; the garlanding of the emperor by Cpl., n. on στέφον 146; the relationship between the two Romas, 151n.; personification of Roma in literature, 219-54n.

145. ἀλλὰ σοὶ μοί: For this collocation, cf. Opp.H.4.4 ἀλλὰ σοὶ μοί, κάρτιστε πολισοῦχον βασιλῆς, Nonn.D.31.152 ἀλλὰ σοὶ μοί, φίλε κοιρε, χολωσε δίζυγι θεομή; on ἀλλὰ with the imperative expressing "a transition from arguments for action to a statement of the action required" (Klotz), see Denniston Greek Particles p.13ff, sec.4.

an emperor not named in the extant text, identified with Zeno by R.C. McCail, JHS 98 (1978) 40; Dioscorus 1 recto 1(I.128 Heitsch) of Justin II. The epithet is glossed by lexicographers (e.g. Hesych. s.v. ὁ τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον φέρων καὶ σώζων, ἥ ζωοποιίς) and is one of those listed in the Alexandrian onomasticon P.Hib.II.172, col.v, line 123, see n. on μελαικρήμιδα 261 inf. See further 232n.inf.

εὐμνία: "fruitful". A rare Attic word, adopted by Alexandrian poets and much glossed in lexica (probably deriving ultimately from the Atticists, see Pfeiffer on Call.frr.287, 357), including the Αὐτοκτον Πλάκοσι of Philetas of Cos (fr.44 Kuchenmüller = Schol. on Α.Ρ.4.989). It is used in connection with corn and agriculture (see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.40.391 ζωɵών, 42.278 εὐμνία λήψα γαίης, al., ib. Par.4.175 σπόρου) and as an epithet of Demeter (Call. fr. 1.10 τ. Οἰκισμόφυρας of Philetas' Demeter, see Pfeiffer ad loc.; Nonn.D.11.213, 31.39, al., Δμώ, cf. ps. Pampr.3.115, 1.115 Heitsch; Hesych.s.v. ζ.λείμων; also in inscriptions, see LSJ s.v.2). It is a derivative of Attic εὐμνη (sometimes written ομνη), sing. "bread-corn", pl. "sacrificial cakes", see Chantraine Dict.etym. s.v. ομνη and cf. Pf. on Call.fr. 681.1. The lexica also preserve instances of the metaphorical use of the epithet in Sophocles (fr.246 θ.φεύγους, glossed μέγα, πολύ, θετημένου et simil., see Pearson ad loc.) and in Callimachus (fr.357 θόωρ, glossed τὸ τρόφιμον, καὶ πολύ); for its wider usage, cf. also Lyce.1264 κτῖσιν...εὐμνίαν κειμένων; Nonn.D.5.488 Μήνη, 26.190 εὐμνιον...κειμάδα χαίτις (of Phaethon, denoting dew); Jo.Gaz.Desor.1.95 οὐζανίον λαμπτήρος...ζ.ἄγλην , 2.21 κέρας θ. (cornucopia). The scholiast on Α.Ρ.4.989 who preserves Philetas' gloss goes on to give the further gloss φερεσβίον (on the similar associations of which see n. sup.). In juxtaposing the terms φερεσβίον and εὐμνία here, Paul may well be indicating his approval of this interpretation of εὐμνία, in the manner of the Homeric glosses of Alexandrian poets, see n. on λάμ. 333 inf. for a possible instance of interpretatio Homerica in Paul and Agathias. The effect of the similar epithets applied to Roma and J. is to suggest the natural link between them, see n. sup. on 145-67. On the designation of Cpl. as "fruitful", see further n. inf. on θ.σθοσά, 156.
Constantine conceived his new city, Cpl., as a second Rome, and deliberately modelled it upon the older city, cf. Socr.HE 1.16.1 (I.102.17ff Hussey) Ἰς τῇ βασιλείᾳ ναυαράς Κωμητίας, καὶ ἰωνικήν τοῦ τῆς μετονομάσεως, χρηματίζειν δευτέρας Κωμῆς νόμον ἐκπυρωσών, Sozomen HE 2.3.1-6 (51.12ff Bidez), Hesych.Mil.Patria 1 (Script.Orig.Cpl. ed. Preger I.1.6f), etc., see F.Dölger loc.cit. 145-67n. sup., 85ff; also A.Erzen in Akten des XI internationalen byzantinistenKongressus München 1958 (Munich 1960) 147 "am offiziellen Gründungsfest vom 11 Mai 330 wurde nicht nur die Gründung der Stadt, sondern auch die Neugründung der zweiten Reichshauptstadt (δευτέρα Κωμῆς zweites Rom) gefeiert". It has been argued that Constantine did not actually give the city the name "New Rome" (Dölger ibid. 83ff, cf. H.G.Beck in Gymnasium 71, 1964, 168); it was, however, soon described as "New Rome" and so designated in an official document in 381 (Dölger 83ff, Beck 168ff, esp. 171f, cf. G.Dagron, Naissance d'une capitale, Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 7, Paris 1974, 45ff). This name was widely used in Byzantine literature (see 151n.inf. on the different attitude of the West): the Byzantines described themselves as of Πολιτών (see, for example, Dölger 77ff) and Αυεστίων, "Italians" (cf. inf. 174 with n. ad loc.). In surveying the praise of Cpl. from the time of its foundation, E.Fenster saw the literature of the Justinianic period as marking a climax (op.cit. 95f), "Das Zeitalter Justinians, des Kaisers, in dessen Denken die Erinnerung an die gloria Romana eine zentrale Stellung einnahm, bedeu	je zweifels-ohne einen, vielleicht sogar den Höhepunkt der byzantinischen Romidee, es bedeutet die Erfüllung des lange gehetzten Wunschtraumes, Rom zu heissen und Rom zu sein". Certainly sixth cent. poets regularly refer to Cpl. simply as "Rome", e.g. A.P.9.155.7 (Agath.; quoted 147n. inf.), 9.657.5 (Mar.Schol.), both in apostrophe as in our line; A.P.1.10.43 (Anon., 6th cent.) κωνσταντίνον, ἐν κοιμήτορα Πολιμάς; 15.47.1 (Anon.) on the charioteer Porphyrius, cf. Vasiliev in DOP 4 (1948) 40; 16.32b.2 (Theaet.Schol.); also Prisc.Pan.265 utraque
Roma, i.e. Rome and Cpl.; later, Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers. 3.430, Rest. S.Cruc. 49, al.; other exx. from the 4th-12th cents., Dölger loc.cit. n.37, p.93f. Sometimes, however, Cpl. is distinguished from Old Rome, e.g. A.P.1.5.5 (Anon., 5th or 6th cent.) νεοθηλεα Ρώμην (cf. inf.165); 9.808.1 (Cyr.) νεοτηθηλεα Ενδοθι Ρώμης; 16.56.1 (Anon., on the charioteer Eusebius) Βυσινωτις...Ρώμη, cf. ib.72.7 (Anon.), 80.1 (Agath.); 16.378.1f (Anon., on the charioteer Uranius) διπλοτέρην τε Ρώμην.

For Paul’s apostrophe of Roma, cf. also Claud.Get.50ff, Stil.1.385, ib.3.1ff, al.; Georg.Pisid.Her.2.1ff; at Sid.Pan.Anth.30ff, apostrophe of Roma (=Cpl.) leads on to the topos of world-empire, as in our passage, see the discussion by Viljamaa op.cit.p.109f, and see further n.inf. on 219-54 on personification of Roma in literature.

146. στέφον, κτλ.: The garland or wreath is an ancient sign of victory (in the games or war, cf. 147ff inf. on J.’s victories, and see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Corona 1529ff); at 970-72 inf., J. is described as being crowned by Nike, see n. ad loc.; for the garlanding of J., cf. also A.P.1.91 (Anon.) Ιουστινιανω καὶ Ἑγαθέν Θεόδωρω/ στέϕεν Πάρις Ἡρώτος ἐφιμούσας, with Beckby’s n. ad loc., and contrast Const.Porph. de Caer. Appendix (497.17f Bonn), where J. is received without garlands (δίχα στέφανων) on his adventus into Cpl. after the defeat of Zabergan in 559 (see Stein B-E II, Excursus O, p.818f).

The offering to an emperor of a crown or garland by a city as a token of reverence or gratitude was a recognised ceremony for which Menander Rhetor prescribes a special form of encomium, παίδια στεφανουμένων. Spengel III.422f, esp.422.30 τοῖ γαρτοι διὰ τοῦτο στέφανον σε ἢ πόλις, also ib.377.26 with Proc.Gaz.Pan.30 (516.1) τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπ'εὐτυχίας στεφάνους πλέκειν. Themistius, in expressing the relationship between emperor and capital (see n.sup. on 145-67), uses the image of Cpl. crowning its emperor, Or.14 (I.262.1f Downey) δόμῳ δὲ φρεσκόνθη οὗτος (Theodosius) τῆς πόλεως Κωνσταντίνου στεφάνους, ...,κτλ., cf. Or.3 (I.63.9ff), of Constantius II; such a scene is depicted on a 4th cent. cameo, see S.MacCormack in CQ N.S.25 (1975) 148. For Paul’s close association of garland and hymn, cf.P.Ant. 115.a10f στέϕοναν ὑμνοὺς [ἐπεμελητηρ] Αρχέλαος[ν]/μόλις γὰρ οὖν εὐθεῖα ἢ πόλις τῶν] δύτης κτλ. (a 76th cent. encomium of a provincial governor, supplemented and discussed by Alan Cameron, CQ N.S.20, 1970,125); Men.Rhet.422.9f ἡ σύμποσια ὁδοιτεμένη τοῦ μεγίστου στεφανοῦσα στεφάνων, ταῖς εὐφημίαις, ib.12f λόγοις τε ἀμα στεφανοῦσα καὶ χαοῦ λα το στέμιατι; Eus.V.Const.1.1 (I.7.5f
Greek text:

Δ' Κρυπταίσι τοιες κατεσιμένον θύμιος: "abundantly clad in pure hymns". The participle is probably intended to be proleptic with στέψων, "garland him so that he is clad"... "clothing him".


The same form is used at A.R.1.939, 3.830, but there it is derived from καθήμεν, see LSJ s.v. κατασιμείνος 2. For χύδν (from χέω) in this sense, see LSJ s.v.ΙΙΙ, adding Α.P.11.158.3 (Ant.Thess.), 16.306.1 (Leon.Tar.), 10.100.4 (Antiphon.), 12.2.4, 12.200.4 (both Strato); Orph.Arg.404; Nonn.D.17.54, Par.2.42; inf.Amb.196. With δικρασίοισι...θυμοί, cf. sup. 143 εὐφέρους θυμοίσιν, also inf.Amb. 52, 172.


147ff. οὐχ ὅτι.../οὐδὲ/ὅτι.../.../ἀλλ' ὅτι: The technique (a series of negative clauses building up to a positive assertion) and the subject-matter (the achievements of war contrasted with the peacetime achievement of S.Sophia) are the same as at 135ff, see n.sup.on 135-67. The similarity is closer if the ms. reading (147f οὐχ ὅτι.../οὐδὲ/ὅτι... is retained. (Fr.'s apparatus is inaccurate).
All editors have written οὐχ..., οὐχ..., but there is no reason to prefer this erroneous transcription. On οὐ...οὐδὲ, see n. sup. on 135-7 and for οὐχ οὔτι..., ἀλλ' οὔτι, cf. Nonn.D.19.161, 44.229 (both with μοῦνον, see Peek Lex.s.v.ὅτι II.2a,b). For a similar series in late prose panegyric, cf. Them.Or.19 (I.333.10ff Downey) οὐχ οὔτι..., οὐδ' οὔτι..., ἀλλ' οὔτι.

147. οὖν ζυγόδεσμον, κτλ.: "he has fitted your yoke-band upon the nations of the earth". For the metaphor of the yoke-band (ζυγόδεσμον or λεπάδον) to denote the imperium Romanum, cf. inf.159, 948, 955, 982; A.P.9.155.7f (Agath.) οὐ δ', οἱ τέκοι, άτρομε Ρώμη, / βάλε καθ' θελήμας σής ζυγόδεσμα δίκης (Troy speaking); A.P.4.3B.1f (id.) μή τις ἐπαυκένιοι λιπῶν ζωτήρα λεπάδονον/βάρβαρος ἐς βασιλέα βιημάχων ὁμα ταύτας; metaph. ζυγόδεσμον also at Procl.Hymn 1.31 (pl.), Nonn.D.15.155, 34.206 (both sing.), al. The imagery of harness, reins et simil. is common in the context of government, cf. n.sup. on 128f. The term ζυγόδεσμον is Homeric (Il.24.270), see further LSJ s.v., adding A.P.9.285.3 (Phil.Thess.), Nonn.D.9.268, 43.26, al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.347. With Paul’s use of ἐφαρμόζω, cf. A.P.9.19.10 (Arch.) δοῦλαν ζεύγλαν ἐφημύσατο, of Heracles; also Nonn.D.41.298 θάλασσαν ἐφήμυσε σύμμη γαῖα (of a scene depicted in weaving). The verb occurs once in Homer (Il.19.385) of fitting on arms, see LSJ s.v. I.1; it is used transitively in Hesiod and later poetry of fitting one thing onto another, as here, see LSJ s.v.II, with id.Suppl. s.v., adding Nonn.D.41.107f οὐ πόδα χέρων/κοιλάδος βρήμινον ἐφήμυσεν; PGL s.v.2 and n. inf. on 966. For the line-end, cf. inf. Amb.33, also A.P.9.656.2 (Anon.,aet.Anastasii) ἂστεοι γαῖας; ἔθνας γαῖας, inf.240, 985, D.P.185, 1129, Nonn.D.13.41, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.proth.34; ἔθνας γαῖας, D.P.383. Paul reserves the term ἔθνα for non-Romans or barbarians (240, 981, 985) or non-Christians (Amb.33), cf.LSJ s.v.2b.

148. σῶν ἐτάνυσσεν ὑπέρβηκ μέτρα θοόκων: "he has extended the almighty measures of your throne", i.e. the boundaries of the Roman empire. For the topos, cf. 135ff, and 11ff sup. with n. ad loc. Here the extent is suggested by an accumulation of vague general
phrases (148-9) rather than specific references to west, east and south. Below (229, 242, 277), Paul similarly uses ἡδῶν / ἀδῶν of J's throne, as the symbol of his sovereignty. The term is used of the seats or thrones of gods and kings from Homer onwards, II.8.

439 ἡδῶν...ἀδῶν, Od.2.14 of Odysseus' seat, used by Telemachus, see further LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.667 Hypsipyle's father's seat; Nonn.D.45.249 τῶν μυστήρων θόων (of Dionysus, à propos of Pentheus' throne), 46.229 τῶν ἐπιβήτωρα θόων / Πένθεα (of Cadmus' throne), al., id.Par.6.191 τῶν ἐπιβήτωρα θόων (Christ's heavenly throne); Tryph.570 Hades' throne; A.P.7.587.1f (Jul.Aeg.) θόος / Πλουτήος, 16.336.3 (Anon., charioteer epigr.) ἀνακτορέας θόος (emperor's seat in the hippodrome); also in the form θὸκος, Agath.Hist.2.26.4, 4.28.7, of the Persian throne. As these examples indicate, Nonnus, like Paul here, uses the poetic plural for sing., and follows Homer in admitting the two forms θὸκος and ἡδῶν, cf. infra 229 for the shorter form. See further nn.inf. on 339f and 965f. The expression μέτρα θόων is formed on the analogy of the Homeric μέτρα κελεύου et simil. (Od.4.389, see LSJ s.v. μέτρον 3 and cf. also A.R.3.308, Nonn.D.38.243, Par.14.18, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.34, all μ. κελεύου; Opp.H.1.11 ἀλόγο...μέτρα, cf.1.222; Nonn.D.4.277 μέτρον ἀρουρής, "the measure of the earth"). With Paul's ὑπέρθεια μέτρα, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.156 ὑπέρθεια μέτρα. The epithet ὑπέρθεια is used in the sense "overweening" in Homer (II.18.262, Od.1.368, see LSJ s.v. II, adding Nonn.D.2.625, 19.317, Par.8.88, A.R.6.20.1, Jul.Aeg.); the sense "very mighty" is, however, found in Pindar (see LSJ s.v. I) and A.R., e.g.1.151, 3.714, cf.Opp.H.2.559, ζ.2.491, al., Eudoc.Cypr.1.138 (PG.85837B). The use of ταῦτα to denote spatial extension is Homeric, see LSJ s.v. II.

149. τέλος παρ' ἐκατόντων: For Paul's use of τέλος, cf.A.P.6.161.2 (Crinag.) κραυαθὲς τέλος παρ' Ἰταλίας. In Homer, τέλονoi denotes the land at the edge of the field where the plough turns, II.13.707, 18.544, 547, cf.A.R.3.412 (all sing.). It is used in the general sense "edge" at Nic.Th.546 τέλον οὐκος; so Hesych. glosses it πέρας. καὶ τὰ ὕμιοια. Cf. also inf.424, 820 τέλος μελάρου. Du Cange wrote οὐκος; the mistake was corrected by Jacobs, Animadvers.ad Gr.Anth.XII (Leipzig 1803) p.481 and by

κατ' ἄκεανιτίδος ἀκτᾶς: For the reference to Ocean as the boundary of J.'s empire, cf.12 sup, 937 inf., and for the adj. ἄκεανιτίς in this context, cf. A.P.4.3B.8 (Agath.) ἄκεανιτίδα Θούλην. The adj. is very rare, elsewhere only in late literary Koine, see LSJ s.v., adding Ael.NA 3.23 ἄκεανιτίδας νῆσος; Psell.Caes.Luc. 9 (p.185, ed. Boissonade, Nuremberg 1838) ἄκεανιτίδας...πηγάς; (also subst. at V.Georg.4.341 "daughters of Ocean"). Paul's line-end is formed on the analogy of expressions like D.P.565 ἄκεανινο παράθεσιν ἀκτᾶς, cf. 243; Orph.Arg.112 ὡπέρ Παγασῆτιδος ἀκτᾶς, ib.336 ψαμμιθῶιδες ἀκτᾶς, cf. also A.R.4.631f ἀκτᾶς ἄκεανού. Ludwig (op.cit.p.26) corrected Fr.'s accentuation of ἄκεανιτίδος from paroxytone to proparoxytone, following Graefe, cf. LSJ and Pape-Benseler s.v. and the other instances of the adj. cited sup. Chandler (Greek Accentuation sec.649f, p.184ff) gives no guidance on the accentuation of ἄκεανιτίσ. Nonnus uses κατά with accusative as equivalent to εἰς (D.33.188, 48.172, see Keydell I.65*, Peek Lex.s.v.II.1 and cf. K-G.I.477, sec.433.II.1a), but Paul may intend the sense "over against" (LSJ s.v. B.I.3). Du Cange and Graefe wrote παρά, but Graefe suggested κατά in his n. ad loc. and the ms. reading κατά was restored by Bekker.

150-54. The idea (already familiar, see n. sup. on 142) of S. Sophia as a surpassing achievement is here developed in the suggestion that by building the church J. has made New Rome superior to Old Rome. S.Sophia is now seen as a symbol, like the Roman Capitol
This idea is developed more explicitly at 239ff inf., where Roma, as the climax of her appeal to J. to restore the dome of S.Sophia, argues that neither world-domination nor the re-building of Cpl. as a whole, is a more brilliant symbol of his throne. For a discussion of Paul's poem as a glorification of J.'s reign in terms of the symbolic achievement of S.Sophia, at a time of general unrest and dissatisfaction, see P. Lamma, Ricerche sulla storia e la cultura del VI° secolo (Brescia 1950) 47ff, and for a wider discussion of the use of poetical ekphrasis in testimony of the Justinianic achievement, see J. Irmscher in Wiss. Zschr. Univ. Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwiss. Reihe, Heft 1, Jg. 14 (1965) 79-87. S.Sophia is also regarded as a major symbolic achievement in other types of literature, e.g. Just. Nov. III (A.D. 535) praef. (p. 19, line 2 Kroll) Τὴν τὴς Ἡμετέρας Ῥωσίλειας μητέρα; Anon. Monody on the destruction of S. Sophia, publ. K. Kumaniecki, BZ 30 (1929-30) p. 41.18f τὸ δφθαλμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ib. line 30f τὴν εὐκλείαν παντὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίου γένους καὶ μετὰ καυχήσεως στέφανον (the latter specifically of the ambo). *

In our passage the symbolic importance of S. Sophia is indicated obliquely by means of a series of three related synkriseis or comparisons, each expressed in a different form: in 151 a general comparison is made between the two Romes using a genitive of comparison; in 152 the Roman Capitol is set against S. Sophia by means of apostrophe, and in 153-4 the synkrisis of 152 is reinforced

* Kumaniecki's arguments for ascribing this monody to Procopius of Caesarea will not now stand: the author of the monody was undoubtedly familiar with Procopius' account of S. Sophia in Aed. 1.1, but he was wrong to assume that Procopius' Aed. was not written in 558. On the contrary, Procopius' failure to mention the collapse of the dome indicates that he had written his account before the collapse occurred in May 558, and Stein (B-E II, Excursus V, p. 837) would put the publication of the whole work before summer 555. Mercati believed the monody to relate not to the 558 collapse, but to that of 1346, see the editor's note in BZ loc. cit. p. 41; this belief is upheld by Stauros Kourouses, who has re-edited the text and ascribed it to the hand of Nicephorus Gregoras, Epeteris Hetaireias byzantinōn Spoudōn 37 (1969-70) 24ff.
by a further synkrisis using quantitative correlative adverbs. The use of synkrisis is a recognised method of auxesis or elevation of the subject (e.g. Arist.Rhet.1.9.38, 1368a19ff, referring to means of auxesis, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἄδινον (sc. τοῦ ἐπαινοῦμενον) ἐνδορήσῃ, πρὸς ἀλλοῦ ἀντιπαραβάλλειν cf. Quint. 8.4.9ff) and the importance of synkrisis, as well as auxesis, in encomium is likewise well-established, e.g. Hermog. ap.Spengel Rhetores Graeci II.14.9f (on synkrisis as a progymnasma or rhetorical exercise) παρείληται δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐγκωμίῳ κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἡμῶν αὐξόντων τὰ χρηστά, cf. Nic.Soph. ibid. III.485.25ff; Men.Rhet. ibid. III.372.21f (on the βασιλικὸς λόγος) τίθει δὲ καὶ σύγκρισιν ἐφ’ ἐκαστῷ τῶν κεφαλαίων τούτων, cf. ib.377.3f. Paul's synkrisis here are in accordance with the precepts that comparison should be between things of similar nature and magnitude and that it should favour the laudandas, e.g.Theon II.112.26ff πρῶτον δὲ διοικῶσθω, ὅτι αἱ συγκρίσεις γίνονται οὕτω τῶν μεγάλων πρὸς ἄλλη τις διαφοράν ἐχόντων; Nic.Soph. III.487.17f ...ἀλλὰ τότε ἦσαν τὰ ἡμέτερα μεγάλα, ὅταν μεγάλων μείζονα φάνη; Men.Rhet. III.377.1f (on the comparison of the present βασιλεία with previous ones) ...θαυμάζων μὲν ἐκεῖνος, τὸ δὲ τέλειον ἄμοδοιδος τῇ παροῦσῃ. For a survey of the history of synkrisis up to the 4th cent. (with special reference to Gregory Nazianzus), see T.Sinko in Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności wyd. filologiczny Ser.2, Tom.26 (Krakow 1906) 249ff; on the rhetoricians' treatment of synkrisis and the connection of the latter with encomium, see F.Focke in Hermes 58 (1923) 330-39; and on the use of synkrisis in late poetic encomium, see T.Viljamaa, Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the early Byzantine period (Comm.human.litt., Soo.Scient.Fenn., Vol.42, No.4, Helsinki 1968) 114ff.

150. σον περὶ πῆχυν, κτλ.: "but because by raising this measureless temple about your arm". The church is like an adornment which adds lustre to Rome's military might. That this is the nuance is clear
from the anaphora ὀχὸς ὑτὶ σὺν ζυγόδεσομον..., /οὐδ᾽ ὑτὶ σῶν...θεσκὼν/..., / ἀλλ᾽ ὑτὶ σὺν περὶ πήξιν, where all the nouns are symbols of power. At the same time, the city is conceived as a woman, like Thebes in Nonn.D.25.11ff, see 145-67n.sup. and other nn. there cited, esp. inf.151. That ἀπειρονα qualifies νηφν rather than πήξιν is indicated by the regular feminine caesura (see P.Maas Greek Metre, tr.H.Lloyd Jones, Oxford 1962, sec.90, p.62) and by the analogous expression in A.P.9.656.9f (Anon., describing the Chalke, restored by Anastasius in 510) Ἑβεν ἀπειρονα μεγεθος περὶ ποντὶ τιταῖνων/ Αὐσούνης νίκησα βοώμενα θαύματα γαϊῆς; cf. also ib.4, 13 on the great size of the edifice. (The poem was certainly known to Paul, see further nn. inf.); also A.P.9.808.3 (Cyr.) ἀγαθὴ δὲ μοι ἀμφίς ἀπειρονη τεταμωσται, of the vista from Maximus' house. Paul has already referred to the physical bulk of S.Sophia, sup. 143f, see n. ad loc. On νηφν ἕγερος, see 8n.sup.

151. θυμηριᾶδος ποίησε, κτλ.: "he has made you more splendid than your mother on the Tiber". Old Rome is now introduced as the mother of Cpl., by whom she has been outshone. Cpl. was linked with Rome in conception and name (see n. sup. on 145) and the two Romas appear together in art and literature from the fourth cent. onwards. The relationship depicted between the two cities varies according to the historical context of the portrayal or account, and according to whether it was intended for a western or an eastern audience. In art, the superiority of one of the cities may be indicated by her position or attitude, or by the attire and attributes of Cpl., who initially appears as a city Tyche wearing a turreted crown, but is later often depicted helmeted, and hence assimilated to the usual portrayal of Old Roma as a warrior goddess, see J.M.C.Toynbee in JRS 37 (1947) 138ff, and id. in Studies presented to D.M.Robinson II (Missouri 1953) 261ff, and cf. n.inf. on 219-54. Similar variety of attitude occurs in literature: thus Claudian, writing from a western viewpoint, speaks of Cpl. (Ruf. 2.54) as urbs etiam, magnae quae ducit aemula Romae (cf. F.Dölger, loc.cit. 145-67n.sup., p.89 n.33, E.Fenster, Laudes Constantinopolitanae, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 9, Munich 1968, 79f), while the 6th cent. Latinist John
Lydus, although resident in Cpl., refers to Old Rome as τῆς μείζονος Ῥώμης (de Mag. 3.28, 116.8 Wuensch); Himerius, on the other hand, honouring a Constantinopolitan, speaks of his city (Or. 62 (16).5, 225.39ff Colonna) in terms similar to Paul's, or καὶ τὴν Ῥωμόλον πόλιν μόνη παρακληθεὶς τοῦ θαύματι (cf. Fenster op. cit. 37ff). On the development of the relationship between the two cities in art and literature in the 4th cent., see G. Dagron, op. cit. 145n. sup., 49ff.

Paul's picture of the two cities as mother and daughter also dates back to the 4th cent., e.g. Liban. Ep. 972.5 (11.107.16ff Förrster) καὶ γὰρ εὖ μὴ Ῥώμη γε ἡμέτερ, μηθ' ἤ μητηρ μηθ' ή παῖς,... (cf. Fenster op. cit. p.43, and see Dölger op. cit. p.98 on Augustine's western version of this relationship). Cf. also D. P. 356 (Ῥωμῆς) μητέρα πασών πολίων.


On the adj. θυμβριάς, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. θυμβριας, ποταμὸς Ῥώμης, ὡς καὶ Τίβερις: τὸ ἐθνικὸν θυμβριός καὶ θυμβριάς. For θυμβριός referring to the Tiber, see LSJ s.v., adding A.P. 9.219.4 (Diod. Sard.), Q.S. 13.337, Himer. Or. 62 (16).5 (226.44 Colonna), and other exx. from prose cit. Pape-Benseler s.v. 4. For Paul's adj., sometimes written θυμβριάς, cf. Epigr. Or. 1046.1 (Marcell., 2nd cent. A.D. = Cougny 1.264) διεθύτε θυμβριάδες...γυναῖκες; Nonn. Par. 13.21 θυμβριάς αὐξή (εις κορών θυμβηκέ!) i.e. Latin; A.P. 2.415f (Christod.) ὅπως τὴν Ῥώμην θυμβριάς ἀλλον ὄμηρον ἀνέτρεψε πάτριος ἤδω, of Virgil. With Paul's use of φαντασμοῦ here, cf. inf. 242 where φαντασμοῦ is used in the same context (see n. sup. on 150-54); A.P. 1.5.5f (Anon., probably
152-54. The comparison with Old Rome in 150f leads on to a more explicit comparison between S. Sophia and the Roman Capitol. The Capitol is elsewhere regarded as a symbol of the endurance of Rome (e.g. V. Aen. 9.446ff), or as an outstanding architectural monument (e.g. A.P. 9.656.11, Anon., quoted inf. 152n.). The Capitol, S. Sophia and also the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, on which see further inf., are in late authors sometimes included, although not all together, among catalogues of the seven, or eight, wonders of the world, see RE Suppl. X, cols. 1022f and cf. Stache’s n. on Cor. Laud. Just. 4.283. But Paul’s choice of analogy in 154, between the Christian God and an idol, indicates that he here has in mind in particular

* On this work, see footnote to n. sup. on 150-54.
the rôle of S.Sophia as the centre of the state religion of
Christianity in the new Christian capital of Cpl., by contrast with
the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the centre of the old Roman pagan
state religion, see G.Scheja in Istanbuler Mitteilungen 12 (1962) 46f
and cf. Lamma loc.cit. n.sup. on 150-54; (Lamma sees J.'s S.Sophia as
symbolising more particularly the victory of orthodoxy). Corippus,
in a similar but more explicitly Christian analogy, compares S.Sophia
not with the Capitol, but with the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem,
the first House of God, Laud.Just.4.283 iam Salomoniaci sileat
descriptio templi. For an investigation of possible aspects of
this relationship, see Scheja loc.cit.47ff, summarised by Stache on
Cor.loc.cit.; for other such comparisons, including J.'s celebrated
exclamation on entering his new church (ἐνύκτηρά σε, Σολομῶν),
together with an explanation of the significance of the Solomon
analogy in terms of the rivalry between J. and private enterprise
in the field of church building, see Cameron on Cor.loc.cit.
(Cameron's reference to Eusebius should be corrected to HE 10.4.3).
To Cameron's citation of Canticum XII γ'2 ap. Trypanis (op.cit.n.
sup.) for the comparison with the temple of Solomon, should be
added id. strophe ιδ'-ιε' (cf. n.inf. on 984-6; note also ιζ'1
where S.Sophia is explicitly described as ὂφθαλμόν θῆς καθάλου...
ἐκκλησίας); Romanos 54 κυ'3ff, where the destruction of S.Sophia
and S.Eirene in the Nika Riot is compared to the destruction of
Solomon's temple at Jerusalem.

152. ἔξετε μοι, κτλ.: "Make way, I say, renowned Roman Capitol,
make way", (lit. "Capitolean fame"). The dramatic effect of the
apostrophe (cf.135-67n.sup.) is enhanced by asyndeton. Paul's
immediate model is probably A.P.9.656.11 (Anon.; see nn.sup. on
150, 152-54) ἔξετε ἄφειτοτέροι χάρισ Καπιτωλίδος αὐλής. The only
other instance of the adjective Καπιτωλίδος appears to be Jo.Lyd.Mag.3.29
(117.9f Wuensch) τῶν διδοκάλοις ἀπονενμένον ἀφορμίσαντοι μοι
ἐπὶ τῆς Καπιτωλίδος αὐλής, referring to an imperial notification to
the prefecture, which promised John financial recompense for teaching
Latin; (the university was housed in the exedrae of the Capitol at Cpl., see Janin, Constantinople Byzantine, 2nd ed., Paris 1964, 174ff). For expressions akin to Paul's elsewhere in the context of building achievements et simil., cf. Cor.Laud.Just.4.284 ecatant cunctorum miracula nota locorum (of S.Sophia, immediately after the comparison with Solomon's temple, see n. sup. See Stache's n. ad loc. on the ecat formula*); A.P. 9.665.1 (Agath.) εἰξοῦ εἰμὶ, Δόφυς ἱερὸν κλέτας (of a seaside park, perhaps the Heraiion, see Beckby's n. on 9.663). For the repetition of εἰκῷ after the bucolic caesura, cf. Coll.171 εἰξετέ μοι πολέμωι συνήθειος (v.l. συνήθειες), εἰξετέ νίξης; Prop.2.34.65 cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai. Nonnus D. has εἰξενε/εἰξετε at the beginning of a line (2.620, 12.251) and after the bucolic caesura (8.83, 34.60, 39.66), but he does not repeat the word within a single line. This pattern (first word of a line, often an imperative, repeated after the bucolic caesura) is favoured by Alexandrian and Nonnian poets, e.g. Theoc.1.70 (ἀρχετε); Antagonas 3.1 (ἐί τε; Powell Collectanea Alexandrina p.121 =A.P.9.147); Anon. ap.Powell op.cit., p.79.18 (ἐκεν); Nonn.D.11.17 (ἐπρετε) and inf. 185 (ἳλαθι), 326 (ἐπρετε), 350 (οἰξατε),806 (πάντα),993 (χειρα), 998 (λιτα). For the aorist imperative of εἰκῳ with μοι ethic dative as here, cf. Il.24.716 εἰξατε μοι οὐρεύσαι δειλάζεμεν (so interpreted by Leaf and Monro), Nonn.D.9.235, 10.130, 11.186, 12.245; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.118.213.

The use of εἰκῳ in synkrisis is as old as Pi.I.1.5f τί φιλτερου κεδύων τοκέων ἀγαθοί;/εἰεῖεν ὠπολλωνίασ , cf. Cougny Appendix ad Anth.Pal.3.162.7f εἰξατ'εμών τεκέων δυνάτι, Κλεοβίς τε Βίτων τε. For plural φημ in this sense, cf.Pi.0.7.10 δ' οὐδεβίος οὖν φάμαι κατέχοντ'ἀγαθαί and see LSJ s.v.I.3. I have found no other instances in late poetry.

153ff. τόσον.../διπόσον: Cf.Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.10.5f (PG.37.1027A) ὑποτέρη Ῥώμη, τόσον προφέρουσα πολήμων, ὑσσάτιον γαίς οὐράνδι

Similar correlative expressions occur elsewhere in *synkrisis* in poetic encomium, e.g. Theoc. 17.66f τίοι δέ με τόσου άννον περ /Δίλον ἐτύμπεν κυανάμυπκα φαῖβος ἀπόλλων, cf. ib.24f, 38f; A.P. 12.195.1ff (Strat.) ᾧθεσιν οὗ τόσοιοι...χλοόνου/λειμύντες,.../άσσους εὐγενέτας,...παιδάς ἀθρόηεις; P.Argent.480 recto 7ff (I.79 Heitsch) οὗ γάρ δοσοῖτεινποιν ὑπ[δ π]τύχα θερμοπολίων/μηδώς ἥρας ήχησεν ὑπ[δ ο]τρατηγὶς

λακώνων,/τόσος ἐμοὶ βασιλεύς[ιν ἐ]πίεν ἀντιβολῆσων ; and ps.Pampr. 2.3f (I.111 Heitsch), where there may be a contrast between Christian and pagan as in our expression, see R.C.McCail in *JHS* 98 (1978) 53. For τόσουο...διπόσον in *synkrisis*, cf. Call.fr.64. 1f Pf., Nonn.D.37.647-9, 47.367, A.P.5.264.7 (Paul Sil.). Paul's expression puts J. on a parallel with God, an analogy made more explicitly in the first iambic prologue 46f, cf.2.


ὑπερήλικα θάμβος ἔκεινο: "overtopped that wonder". Cf.A.P.9. 656.10 (Anon.) ἄσσονίνης τύχιος βῶμενα θαύματα γαῖης, ib.18 μεγάλην μοῦνος δ'ὑπερδραμον ὃλης, also ib.2, quoted sup. in n. on 143f; sup.70 θαυματίων ὑπερβολή. The terms θάμβος and θάμα (also sup. 68, 71) are often used in late poetry in the context of building achievements, e.g.Epigr.Gr.1068.1 θάμβος ὁμοί καὶ θάμα παρερχομένοις ἐτύχην, of a pagan temple converted for Christian use, ib.706.2, and other exx. collected by L.Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1948) 66ff; Const. Rhod. Desor.S.Apost.90 (ed. Legrand, *Rev.Ét.grecques* 9, 1896, 39) τρίτον ὃ θάμα καὶ περίβλεπτον κλέος; also A.P.1.10.70f (Anon., 6th cent.) γραφίδων ἱερῶν.../...μέγα θαύμα, of a depiction of Constantine at the west end of the church of S.Polyeuktos. For θάμβος in the sense "object of wonder", "marvel" (LSJ s.v.2) in late poetry, cf. also Opp.H.1.236, C.2.393, al.; Nonn.D.30.16, 38.17, Par.4.251; Jo.Gaz.Desor.2.170 and 202 inf. with n. ad loc.
Literal ἐπεράλλομαι is Homeric (II.5.138, 20.327, cf. Opp.H.3.104), but it is otherwise rare in epic. For its use in prose, see LSJ s.v. and id.Suppl. s.v., adding Agath.Hist.5.3.9, and for Paul's metaphorical use, cf. LXX Si.38.33 and other exx. from patristic writers cit. PGL s.v.

154. εἰδώλοιο...ἀρείων: "superior to an idol". The comparative ἀρείων may have been suggested by A.P.9.656.11 (Anon.) εἴξαυ ἄρειοτέροισι, see 152n.sup. and cf. also Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.7.48 (PG.37.442) τί γὰρ Θεότητις ἀρειον; A.P.1.10.21 (Anon.; quoted 151n.sup.). Nonnus has several instances of ἀρείων with comparative genitive, e.g. D.16.182, 25.104, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. II, cf.Par.8.165, 13.75, 15.82; Opp.C.2.301; A.P.10.76.5f (Paul Sil.). This sense of εἰδώλου is Biblical (see LSJ s.v.IV and cf. Hatch and Redpath, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.) and common in patristic writers (see PGL s.v. and compound formations in εἰδώλο-). For its use in poetry, cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.123 (PG.37.979), ib.2.2.7.54 (col.1555); ps.Ap.Met.Ps.105.40, 72, al.; Eudoc. Cypr.1.44 (PG.85.833C), 2.5 (col.845A), al.; A.P.1.19.8 (Claud.), ib.1.10.72 (Anon., 6th cent.); inf. Amb.39. Paul's word εἰδώλον specifically suggests a pagan idol or god (such as Jupiter, worshipped on the Capitol, cf.152 sup.).

155f. The invocation of New Rome in 145f is reiterated in less extravagant and less dramatic language, providing an interlude before a further rhetorical elaboration of the theme of J.'s achievements (157-63).

μελιφθογγονι Χορείας: "in honey-voiced measures". For the dative with οδίδω, cf. 143 sup. with n. ad loc. In classical Greek, χορεία denotes "dance", properly choral dance, see LSJ s.v., noting esp.Pl.Leg.2.654Β χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησις τε καὶ ὁπείς ξύθωλην ἐστι; cf. Suidas s.v. χορείαν· οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν μετὰ ψόδης ὄρχησιν, κτλ. For this sense in later poetry, cf. A.R.2.714; Theoc.27.26; GVI 742.2 (2nd/3rd cent.); Orph.Hymn 55.21; Nonn.D.5.88, 28. 328, al., Coll.4 (all three dat.pl.); Musae.191, 277; A.P.4.3B.15, 86, 6.74.5 (both Agath.), ib.6.57.7 (Paul Sil.). In our line, Paul is thinking primarily of song (cf. Du Cange dulcisonis carminibus), although the idea of accompanying celebratory dance is not excluded, cf. A.P.4.3B.56 (Agath.) παίγνια κυνήσωμεν ἄοιδοτολο χορείας (introducing his Cycle of poems); inf.Amb.46f (also in opening invocation) ἰδυρό, χοροῦς στήσασθη καὶ εὐαγέσαυν ἄοιδας/σύνθορον ἡμετέροις μέλος πλέξασθε χορείας , where the term apparently denotes Paul's poetry, see Fr. ad loc. (p.298), who quotes in comparison Jo.Gaz.Deser.1.9 ὧφα χορεύων οὐρανίην ἀνυμνήσαι με γενέθλην. At 333 and 344 inf., sing. χορεία means "choir", see nn.ad loco., but at 288 the sense "dance" is preferable, see n.ad loc. Du Cange erroneously wrote χορείας. The epithet μελιφθογγος is elsewhere extant only in Pindar, cf.esp.I.6.9 ἄοιδαις, also 0.6.21 Μοίσαι, I.2.7 Τερψιχόρας.
156. Χρυσουχίτων Ἀνθοῦσα: Anthusa is a name for Cpl., used also by Georg.Pisid. Bell.Avar.66. The earliest attestation of this name occurs at Jul.Honor.Cosmogr.32 (Recens B; p.42 ed. Riese Geogr.Lat.Minores, Heilbronn 1878), if this work is correctly dated to the 4th cent., see Riese in Hermes 12 (1877) 143f. It has also been suggested that a reference to the name Anthusa lies behind the use of the expression florentissima urbs to denote Cpl. in C.Th.XV.2.4 = CJ.XI.43.2 (A.D.389?), C.Th.VII.8.14 (A.D.427) and CJ.XII.40.9 (1) (A.D.444), see, for example, Du Cange Constantinopolis Christiana (the second part of his Historia Byzantina, Paris 1682) ch.III (p.30) and J.Strzygowski in Analecta Graeciensa (Graz 1893) p.143. An explanation of the name in similar etymological terms is given by Steph.Byz. s.v. Ξυκώ (p.590.18f Meineke; see M's n. ad loc.) ἡ πόλις ἀντή παρὰ τὸ γεννοῦσα ἀνθελεῖν Ἀνθοῦσα. With this may be compared the regular portrayal of Cpl. as a city Tyche, often bearing a cornucopia, cf.151n.sup. and see Toynbee in JRS 37 (1947) 136. According to Malalas, however, (320.17ff, 322.6ff; cf.Chron.Pasch.528.16ff) the name was given by Constantine to the Tyche of Cpl., cf. Eustath. ad D.P.803 (p.253.25f Bernhardy), who says simply that Constantine gave the name to the city. The evidence of Malalas is indirectly supported by John Lydus who (de Mens.H.30, 89.19f Wuensch, ib.4. 75, 126.16f) connects Anthusa with the use of Flora (Φλορα) as a name of Rome, the latter being explained (ib.4.73, 125.3ff) as the sacral name (ἰεροτικὸν ὄνομα), one of the three names given to Rome by Romulus at the time of its foundation. Lydus' connection of Flora with Rome is corroborated by the fact that the feast of the so-called Templum Urbis in Rome coincided with that of the Floralia (28th April), see H.Nissen Das Templum (Berlin 1869) 200f, D.Lathoud in Οχος d'Orient 24 (1925) 181f. It is a plausible assumption that Constantine not only modelled his new city on Rome (see 145n.sup.), but also transferred to it a name for Rome (although it has been correctly observed by A.Frolow in Rev.de l'histoire des religions 127, 1944, p.62 n.1, that the Latin equivalent of Ἀνθοῦσα is strictly Florentia rather than Flora).
On the rôle of the Tyche in Constantine's dedication of Cpl., see further Strzygowski loc.cit. 143ff, Lathoud loc.cit. 180ff, Frolow loc.cit. 61ff; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (2nd ed., Paris 1964) 24-6; G. Dagron, *Naisance d'une capitale* (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 7, Paris 1974) 29ff. Whether or not Lydus' account is the true one, the de Mensibus (probably published by 540, see *Der Kleine Pauly* III. col. 801) may well have been the source from which Paul gleaned the name Anthusa, a recherche equivalent for ζυμνια θυμη (145), and one which likewise suggests fruitfulness (according to the analysis of Steph. Byz., cf. n. on ζυμνια 145) and links the two Romas (according to Lydus). (On the reading of Lydus in the 15th cent. and consequent use of the name Anthusa, see J. Bernays in *Hermes* 11, 1876, 129ff). The ms. reading in our poem was first vindicated by Meineke ap. Kortüm des Silentiiarius Paulus Beschreibung der h. Sophia und des Ammon (supplement to W. Salzenberg, Althchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel, Berlin 1854) p. 36; Du Cange, Graefe and Bekker printed αθουσα. Graefe considered ἀνθουσα (sic) to be possible (f. non male de tota urbe, n. ad loc.), but did not know it as an historical name for Cpl. The passage also puzzled Spitzner, see op. cit. 17ff. The correct accentuation is probably proparoxytone, see Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* sec. 175, p. 50. This accentuation is generally adopted by editors of texts in which the term occurs; Fr.'s ἀνθουσα is found elsewhere only in the Bonn edition of the Chron. Pasch., loc. cit. sup.

The epithet χρυσοχιτων occurs again, inf. 599 μηνι χρυσοχιτωνι, θεοι κατα μουτιν εορτη of the Feast of Epiphany (6th January), where χρυσοχιτων probably refers to the rich gold-embroidered robe worn by the consul in his inaugural procession on January 1st, see Fr.'s n. ad loc. (following Du Cange) and cf. R. C. McCail in *JHS* 98 (1978) 58; for literary evidence for the consular robe, cf. Cor. Laud. Just. 4. 124 with Cameron ad loc. Since Paul's poem was almost certainly recited early in January (see n. sup. on 1 ηες νου ημερας), the allusion here is probably the same. At Pi. fr. 195 Snell-Maehler, the epithet is similarly applied to a city (Thebes), and in Peisander ap. Jo. Lyd. de Mag. 3. 64 (155. 10 Wuensch)
AuSoi x* refers to the gold-woven tunics of the Lydians; cf. ps. Pampr. 1 recto 13 (I.110 Heitsch) with McCail loc. cit. 58f; also A.P. 6.102.6 (Phil. Thess.) x. ἐλάσην, of the ripe fruit, Orph. Lith. 720f κόκκου.../ ...χυσοχίτων, μελαγχροίην, ἐρίτιμον, where, however, Hermann and Abel follow Tyrwhitt, who argued that the reference is to pepper and emended ἄνθοσοχίτων (Abel ἄνθοσοχίτων).

τεὸν σκηπτόουχον: Cf. n. sup. on 153 ἕμας βασιλεὺς. Paul uses σκηπτόουχος substantively of J. throughout the poem (238, 282, 326, 921, etc.); ok. is substantival once in Homer (Od. 8.47, also II. 14.93 predicate; elsewhere with βασιλεὺς), cf. Orph. Hymn 15.6 (of Zeus), al.; Opp. H. 3.1 (of an emperor, probably Marcus Aurelius), al.; Nonn. D. 26.18, 30.21 (both of Deriades), al., Par. 3.80 (God); Tryph. 267 (Priam); Jo. Gaz. Descr. 1.168 (Aion); Diosc. 1 verso 7 (I. 129 Heitsch; of Justin II); also Prisc. Pan. 270 sceptifer (voc., of Anastasius). For its use with genitive, see n. on 174 inf. For a discussion of the nature of the οἰκίππρον, see Reiske's n. (II. 667f Bonn) on Const. Porph. de Caer. 2.15 (575.16 Bonn).

157-60. The theme of J.'s military conquests is reiterated in a negative expression, as at 135ff and 147ff, but here it is not, as before, a foil for his peacetime achievements, but for his crowning victory, that over Envy itself, see 160-63 n. inf.

157. καὶ γὰρ: Explanatory, Denniston, Greek Particles 108f, sec. 2.

ἔν ξέντεσι χείρα κορύσσων: Cf. Nonn. D. 27.99 προστήρι οἰκήμωνα χείρα κορύσσων, ib. 2.5. (In Homer the verb is usually passive or middle when this is the sense, see LSJ s.v. I. 1). Paul replaces Nonnus' instrumental dative with ἔν and dative, a usage as old as Homer, see Fr. p. 115 and cf. Chantaine Grammaire homérique II. 102, sec. 144; K. G. I. 465, sec. 431.3a, ib. 542 Ann. 1; Blass-Debrunner-Redekopf sec. 195.1, p. 157 and other references there cited, n. 2.

158. οἰνοτόρφῳ δούλωσεν, κτλ.: "enslaved innumerable barbarians
with his shield-piercing spear". The accusative ἀπειρονα βάρβαρον is probably collective singular (Du Cange translated infinitos barbaros), cf. II.24.776 ὁμος ἀπειρων, simil.A.R.2.675, ib.1.893 ἀ.λαδ. In Attic, and in later prose, ἡ βάρβαρος = ἡ β.γη, see LSJ s.v.βάρβαρος I.1 fin., and cf. D.H.1.23.1, Paus.9.29.7, Liban.Or.11.103 (I.470.1f Foerster), etc., while Homer has ά. γατιν, Od.1.98, 5.46, cf.A.R.1.1323, D.P.323, inf.240. In the present context, however, ά.δοφου κλίνειε(159) and πτηειε (160) suggest that a personal reference is intended. The dative expression β. αἰχμη is probably instrumental: the spear is the instrument of enslavement. It might be rendered "enslaved to his...spear" (cf. 955 inf. with n. ad loc.), but this would anticipate the sense of the dative in 159. The only other instance of active δουλῶ in late poetry appears to be Nonn.D.34.201 άπετα δούλωρας Κλίκων υψήνορι νίκη: there the dative might be considered instrumental ("by means of "), but should probably rather be classified as comitative/sociative ("in a..."), see in general Keydell I.59*ff. Passive δουλῶ, often with accompanying dative, is more common; in some cases the dative denotes, as in our line, the instrument of enslavement, e.g. Nonn.D.7.276f ἐρωτοτόκυ δὲ φορέτη/βρονταίς βαρβάρους ἐδούλωθη κτύπος ἡχοῦς, Par.8.84f οθ τῶν ἄνδρων/αἴχην δοκὴμυσσετέ ἐδούλωθημεν ἵμαθελη, cf. D.25.193, A.F.9.641.4 (Agath.), both with dat. of παλάμη. Elsewhere the dative noun is abstract, Nonn.D.3.330 Μοιρίζου κλωστήρος ἐδούλωθησαν ἄνδρικη, cf. 45.237, or personal D.17.126 Σατούραον ἐδούλωθησαν ἄνδρικη. The dative αἰχμη is Graefe's correction: the grave accent in the ms. reading αἰχμη (sic) may indicate (as suggested by Ludwich op.cit. p.2) that an original final iota has been corrected to nu; Du Cange wrote αἰχμη (sic). (Fr's apparatus is incorrect, as observed by Ludwich loc.cit.). Confusion over the case of αἰχμη may have arisen from an attempt to provide a noun to support βάρβαρον, which does in fact qualify αἰχμη inf. 250, cf. Nonn.D.36.43 μάρμαρος αἰχμη, both at the line-end. The epithet βινότορος is applied by Homer to Ares, II.21.392, cf.Hes.Th.934; Nonn.D.45.288 θυρω, 21.87 νάρατκι (Dindorf, θινωτόμης L).
159. ῥυζά τεσσάρα, κτλ.: "so that they bowed their untamed necks to your yoke-straps". The construction here is modelled on Nonnus’ use of ῥυζά with aorist subjunctive or optative as equivalent for classical υμετέρω + infinitive, see Keydell I.77*, Peek Lex.s.v. ῥυζά IV. Paul several times uses unaccompanied datives in expressions analogous to this line, infra 231 Καρχηδών γόνω δοῦλον ἐμοίς ἐκλίνει τροπάιοις, 955 ὑμετέροις ἐθέλοντα λόφου δοῦλως λεπάδουσι, 989γ αὐχένα.../ὑποευνοίσι ἐκλίναν ἐπιχθονίοις τε θοῶσιν, Amb.38 καὶ οὐκ ἐκλίνατε κυριοί/αὐχένας εἰς ἀόπλοις, A.P.5.234.4 αὐχένα σοι κλίνω, Κύριος; passive inf. 239f, see n. ad loc. Cf. also Nonn.D.48.280 αὐχένα σοι κλίνουσαν ἁγια...Ἀμφιτο, where the position of σοι suggests that it goes with κλίνουσαν, but it may also be taken with ἁγια; (αὐχένα κλίνω is used without dative at Jo. Gaz.Descr.1.258; passive A.P.5.248.4, Paul Sil.). The bowing of the head, neck or knee is a sign of submission or obeisance, and similar language is used in Christian contexts of the attitude of prayer, sometimes with a following dative (e.g. τῷ κυρίῳ ), see the exx. collected by Soph.Lex.s.v. κλίνω 1, Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v. κλίνω 1, PGL s.v.κλίνω A1, ib. s.v. γόνω; also NT Ev.Luc.24.5, Ev.Jo.19.30 (of Christ on the Cross), cf. Nonn.Par 19.160, ib.4.103, all with accusative only; Georg.Pisid.Hex.1899ff (PG.92.1578) κόμψου δι’ αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ τοῦ αὐχένα,/...,κλίνου δι’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ βήμα τὰ σκέλη. In our present expression the dative may suggest the idea that the neck is offered ready for the yoke-strap to be bound on, cf.A.P.4.3B.1 (Agath.) ἐπαυκενύιοιο...λεπάδονοι. Since it appears that yoke-straps passed beneath the neck (e.g. Pollux Onom.1.147 τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν δυμών ἀπορρημένα, ὡς δὲ τοῦ αὐχένας τῶν ὦπων ἐλεπτόμενα, λεπάδονα), it is not strictly accurate to combine ὡς with κλίνω in this metaphor, as does Nonnus, Par. 8.76 ὕποκλίνουτο λεπάδοιοι, cf. inf. 981γ ἔθενε Νίκη/...ὑπεθήκε... λεπάδοιοι. This consideration does not arise in the related expressions at A.P.4.3B.6 (Agath.) ἀδοκίμω τοῦ κλίνοντο τολάκτοις and A.P.16.203.1 (Jul.Aeg.) κλίνας αὐχένα γανύρου ὑφ’ ὑμετέροις πεδίλοις; Cor.Laud.Just.3.387f (regna) ardua sub nostris
flectentia colla triumphis/suscepere iugum. The term λέμαθην is (like χυγόδεσμον 147 sup.) Homeric, II.5.730, 19.393 (both plural), see further LSJ s.v., noting its metaph. use at A.Ag.218; for metaph. use similar to Paul's, cf. also Nonn.D.40.271, al., Par.4.248, al., and see further n. on χυγόδεσμον 147 sup. The term λόφος, used by Homer both of men (II.10.573) and animals (II.23.508), is appropriate to Paul's metaphor, cf. Eustath. on II.23.508 (301.46ff ed. Lips.) λόφος δὲ ἐπὶ τε Βωσὸν καὶ ἦπιμώνῳ τόπῳ τοῦ τροχήλου, ὃ ἐπιτίθεται ὁ ζυγός; cf. S.Ant.291 Γ οὐδ’ ὑπὸ χυγῷ/λόφου δικαίως εἶχον, metaph. of men, and, in the same context as Paul, A.P.4.38.5 (Agath.). Elsewhere in later poetry it is usually applied to animals, e.g. A.R.3.1317, Call.fr.21.3, Nonn.D.6.110, 20.126, al. Homer similarly uses ἀδημής of animals (Od.4.637), as well as maidens (Od.6.109, 228; cf. A.R.1.672, 811, 3.4, Nonn.D.6.106, 47.236).

160. θεμίδος πτήσεις τειχις χυγόν: For the image of the ius Romanum (here continuing the idea of λεμάθην 159), cf. A.P.9.155.7f (Agath.) οὗ δ’, ὑ τέκνας, ἄ τροπε Ἥρμη (=Cpl.),/βάλλε καθ’ ἐλλήνων σῆς χυγόδεσμα δίκης. The yoke image is, of course, commonly used in the context of slavery, see LSJ s.v. χυγόν I.2 and cf. Nonn.D.27.198, 33.253, al., A.P.2.401 (Christod.), Cor.Laud.Just.3.388 (quoted in n. sup.), etc. With πτήσεις here, cf. 239 inf., where καταπάτησον is used in the same context. For the construction with accusative, see LSJ s.v.πτήσω II.3, adding A.P.12.141.4 (Meleagr.), Opp.H.1.152, A.P.5.268.1 (Paul Sil.).

160-63. ἄλλα καὶ, κτλ.: The anticipated contrast of J.'s over-riding achievement in re-building S.Sophia (cf.139-44, 150-54), is here replaced by a graphic account of J.'s defeat of Phthonos, described in terms of an epic duel. Later in the poem, similar evil forces (195 Telchines; 221 Βασκανίη and Μέγαρα; 273 a ὀαίμων αὐτίβιος; see nn. ad loc.) are blamed for the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia. In the light of these passages, the defeat of Phthonos here may be said to symbolise J.'s triumphant re-building
of the church, which is itself a symbol of his triumphant régime, cf. n.sup. on 150-54 and see further below. The power of Phthonos is explicitly accredited with physical destruction at A.P. 9.153.7 (Agath.) on Troy; Const.Rhod.Descr.S.Apost. 105 (ed.Legrand, Rev.des études grecques 9, 1896, 39) on the burning of the church. Phthonos is associated with hostility to prosperity or good fortune as early as Pindar (e.g. Π.11.29, see LSJ s.v.; a late example is A.P.16.353.1, Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius), and is already personified at Π.Ο. 8.55 μη βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνος. This idea is embodied in early classical theology in the concept of the φθόνος θεῶν, see LSJ s.v. φθόνος I.2 and E.R.Dodds The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley 1951) 29ff. By a further development under the influence of Christianity, Phthonos came also to be associated with the malignity of the Devil or θυνός δαίμων, often designated δέ μισόκαλος, see G.J.M.Bartelink in Vigiliae Christianae 12 (1958) 37ff. According to Christian doctrine, the Devil envied mankind as being made in God's image, e.g. Greg. Naz.Carm.1.1.7.60ff (PG.37.443), Thdt.Affect.3 (PG.83.896A), Romanos 11 τα'5ff, other exx. Bartelink loc.cit.p.40 (with n.10), PGL s.v. διόβολος B.7a; cf. also PGL loc.cit. 7b for exx. of the Devil as envy personified. Christian writers frequently refer to Phthonos as a cause of evil to men, e.g. Greg.Naz. Carm.1.2.14.58 (PG.37.760), ib.2.1.10.8 (col.1027), 31 (1029), al., all of personal troubles; Greg.Nyss.V.Mos. (PG.44.409Bf) Phthonos, the cause of human troubles from Eve onwards, approached Moses also; Phthonos is personified at id.Pulch. (PG.46.865B) ὅπως αὐτήν ὁ φθόνος τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀφῆκε, also ibid., ὁ δὲ φθόνος ξίφους δίκην πλάγιον ἐμπεσόν τῷ ἐπιδώδει διέκοψεν, both on the premature death of Pulcheria; Eustrat.V.Eutych. 32 (PG.86 (2).2312C) ὁ φθονερὸς καὶ μισόκαλος δαίμων, jealous of the prosperity of Christians, causes Eutychius' deposition as patriarch. The links of Phthonos with both pagan and Christian thought make the concept attractive to writers like Paul who are concerned to
maintain a classical atmosphere and reluctant to speak in explicitly Christian terms, cf. Averil Cameron in *Historia* 15 (1966) 477f on the use of Phthonos in Procopius’ *Wars*. In late writers, Phthonos (or its absence) is often mentioned, as in Paul, in encomium of the Roman emperor or empire, e.g. *Aristid. Or.* 26.65 (II.109.17ff Keil); *Liban. Or.* 59.151f (IV.285.13ff Foerster); *Diosc.1* verso 2,3 (I.128 Heitsch); *Theoph. Sim.* 8.12.6 (307.18 de Boor); *Georg. Pisd. Exp. Pers.* 1.239ff, 3.443f, and esp. *Cor. Laud. Just.* 1.60 quisquis erit vestrae per se cadet invidus aulae, ib.171 non caret invidia regni locus, where it is likely that behind the general statement there lies an allusion to contemporary signs of popular discontent, and in particular to a plot in 566 against the emperor, see Cameron ad loco. (Stache ad 1.171 gives further exx. of Phthonos/invidia in connection with the emperor). Since Paul has devoted a large section of the iambic prologue (24ff) to discussion of the failure of a similar plot in 562, his account of the defeat of Phthonos here may likewise be seen to allude to J.’s defeat of plotters envious of his throne. (This idea was suggested by Meineke, ap. Kortüm’s appendix to W.Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1854, p.36). It is another manifestation of the triumph of J.’s régime, which is the overall point of the introduction of the idea of Phthonos, see sup. Personified Phthonos is well-established (see exx. sup. and cf. *Nonn. D.* 8.34ff, 105ff), but Paul’s description of J. slaying Phthonos with a shower of arrows may well derive from a conflation of *Call. Ap.* 97ff, where Apollo is depicted slaying the serpent Python with his arrows (esp. 101f τὸν μὲν σὺ κατήναξεν ὄλον ἐπ᾿ ἄλλῳ/ βάλλων ἀκόνιον ὀίτοτον, cf. 162f inf.), and ib.105ff where the god banishes Phthonos with a kick; see n.sup. on 54f for another reminiscence of *Call. Ap.*

161. τετριγως ὀπέροπλα: “shrieking insolently”. The verb is used by Homer (frequently in perfect with present sense as here) of the sound made by the souls of the dead (II.23.101, Od.24.5) and of animal sounds (e.g. Od.24.7, of bats, compared with noise
made by souls; other exx. LSJ s.v., adding Opp.H.5.583); also of
creaking or grinding sounds (LSJ s.v.2, adding Tryph.321). So
the dying Phthonos emits an animal cry, like that of those already
dead. In view of the reference to Telchines (195 inf.) as jealous
forces (see n. sup.), Paul may here have in mind Callimachus'
expression (fr.1.1) Τελχίνες ἐπιτρύουσιν ἁμάδη: both τρύω and
τρύξω denote inarticulate sound, and there is evidence for their
confusion in mss., e.g.ps.Ap.Met.Ps.58.35; at D.3.13, Nonnus
uses τρύξω of the swallow, whereas Homer uses τρύω of birds,
II.2.314, cf.Luc.Tim.21. Homer uses adverbial ὑπέροπλον in the
expression ὑπέροπλον εἶπεῖν, II.5.185, 17.170 ("insolently"), cf.
Coll.324 κυδιῶν ὑπέροπλον, and, for Paul's plural, Tryph.331 κυδιῶν
ὑπέροπλα (both "exceedingly"). Elsewhere it is used adjectivally,
both in the Homeric sense (see LSJ s.v.I, adding A.R.2.4 superlative,
ib.2.110; Nonn.D.14.318, 20.404, al.) and in the sense "mighty"
(of creatures), "overwhelming" (of conditions; see LSJ s.v.II,
Desor.1.292). In reference to Phthonos, it is likely that Paul
intends the pejorative sense, as in Homer, A.R. and Nonnus.

μέλας Φθόνος: The colour is associated with death in Homer
(e.g.II.2.834) and in the tragedians with Ἐρίνως (A.Th.993, Eum.52),
ἄτα (A.Ag.769), Hades (S.OT 29, E.Hipp.1388) etc., see LSJ s.v.
III.1. In Christian writers, it is frequently associated with
the Devil, sin et simil., see PGL s.v. μέλας, μελανία 1, μελανωμός,
μελακώσις, μελαχίτων.

Ἄκλασε τόξω: "sank down beneath the bow". For ἀκλασω in the
context of defeat in battle, cf.Opp.C.4.194f ὁ δὲ ἀκλάσων κατὰ
γάινας/Βαλλόμενοι...ἀκωκαίς, of a defeated warrior; Nonn.D.29.260
Ἀστράτος δεδούστο, Μάρων φύγεν, ἅκλασε Ληνεύς, ib.30.32, al., A.P.
16.105.5f (Anon.) καὶ αὐχένα θηρ ὑπὸ χερσίν/ἐφορμάσενον κρατερᾶς
ἀκλασεν εἰς ὑπίων of the bull of Marathon, killed by Theseus, and
other exx. of similar uses collected in n. sup. on 143f. The dative
tόξω, Graefe's correction for the ms. τόξων, accepted by all
subsequent editors, is certainly correct. The dative is here used after the simple verb, as it is used elsewhere after the compounds in ὑπὸ and ἐπὶ, e.g. Nonn.D.24.234, A.P.4.3B.4 (Agath.), both quoted 143f n.sup., cf. inf.251 (mid.), and also the similar dative with δούπησε at A.P.4.3B.27 (Agath.), quoted in n.inf. on 162f. The ms. variant ὀδόν may be an attempt to make the construction here parallel to πτηξεῖον...ζυγόν (160), but there is no parallel for an accusative after ὄρκλαξ̄ω in this sense, cf. also Fr.'s objection in his n. ad loc.

162. ἀστυχής βασιλῆς: The epithet (cf. πολιοσαρχής 141 sup.) is found first in Nonnus, D.26.10 ἄνδρων, 47.577 ἤπνης, cf. A.P.16.36.3 (Agath.) μερίμνης, ib.9.764.6 (Paul Sil.) τείχος, inf.971 μοθήκοις, 977 καμάτοις, Amb.299 γαλήνης (cf. J.). Homer has the proper names ἀστυχής (II.2.513) and ἀστυδήσια (II.2.568; mistakenly glossed by Suidas, ὄνομα πόλεως). Cf. also Io 5 (2).77 (Tegea).

162f. ἐπιστασμένας ὧδε βελέμνων, κτλ.: "and, lacerated by a shower of arrows, thudded down". There may be a reminiscence of Callimachus in this expression, see n.sup.on 160-63 (fin.). For the instrumental dative with ὅμωγαλέος, cf. II.2.416τὲ κτέρεον ὧδε χιτώνα περὶ στήθεσιν δαίμων ὅμωγαλέον ("rent with the bronze" Murray), Nonn.D.47.154 (χιτώνα) ὅμωγαλέος πληγήσων ἁμορβαῖοι σιόμπου. The term is elsewhere applied only to inanimate things (often at the line-opening), Od.13.435, al. βάκτος ὧδε χιτώνα/α, cf. Nonn.D.36.154; Od.17.197f, al. πὴρην/πυκνὰ ὧ; Orph.Arg.402 στιβάδον; Man.6 (3).435 πέπλος; Nonn.D.2.309 σοκέων, 48.79 ὧ κενεὼν...ἐροῦρης, Par.6.49 φορβῆς. It would be possible to take the dative with δούπησε, cf. A.P.4.3B.27 (Agath.) Βάκτρας ἤμετέρας Τίγας δούπησε βελέμνων, Nonn.D.7.363 ὧδε σκυλάκεσσι δέδουτότα, 23.68 δέδουτότα θῆλεί θύρως, al. In Homer, δούπησε is regularly used of the thud of a corpse, frequently coupled with πεσόν in the expression δούπησε δὲ πεσόν, e.g. II.4.504. Paul here neatly varies this expression, δούπησε, πεσόν δὲ. Homeric ἔπαικτατερος (e.g. II.4.427, Od.16.366) is used elsewhere
in late poetry of weapons, cf. esp. Nonn.D.22.346 ἐπασσιτεροίσι βελέμνοις in eadem sede, also ib.29.12 ἵον, al.; Opp.H.3.573f δούροις, 4.538 αἴγμας, 5.327 άκωκαῖς, al.; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13. 16 (PG.37.1228) βάλλοντες ἐπασσιτεροίσιν ὀϊτοῖς, ib.146f (col. 1239) ἐπασσιτεροίσι κακοῖσι/βαλλόμενοι, βάλλοντες (both of bishops). The connective δὲ in this expression and the next may be intended to recall Homer’s use of short clauses loosely connected by particles, since both language and subject matter are here also strongly reminiscent of Homer.

163. πεοῦν δ’ἐβάθυνε κούνην: Cf. Il.17.315 ἐν κούνηι πεοῦν, Od.18.98 ἐπεσ’ἐν κούνηι, etc. The verb βαθύνω is more common in the passive (e.g.inf.644), but cf.II.23.241 βαθύνε δὲ χύρων ἁπαντα, Nonn.D.47. 239 ἐβάθυνε πέδων...ταροφόρος, of a dog, and see further LSJ s.v. There is no need to take up Graefe’s suggestion (ad loc.) that ἐβάθυνε should be read. Paul may have been influenced by Nonn.Par.6. 47-49 where ἐπασσιτέρων, βαθυμομένης and ἰωγαλέης appear in successive lines, although there is no similarity of context.

164-67. As the climax and conclusion of the opening invocation of Roma (=Cpl.), "Latin Rome" is invoked to come and sing in harmony with her daughter. Lamma (op.cit.p.61) may be right in seeing this as a final triumphant allusion to J’s conquest of the barbarian west, see 9n. sup. on the final collapse of the Gothic strongholds in Italy in 561-2, and cf. A.P.4.3B.1ff (Agath.) for the idea of conquered nations paying homage to J., esp. 15ff σύννυμον Ἀδριανοῦς ἐναπλέξασσα χορείν/Φασίας η λίσσοιτο φίλῳ οἰκισματί μύης, ἰὰς καμάτους μέλψεις πολυσκῆπτρου βασιλῆς. With Paul’s panegyrical invocation of Old Roma to celebrate New Roma, cf. Georg.Pisid. Rest.S.Cruc.49ff, where Constantine is summoned to applaud his successor Heraclius for restoring the Holy Cross, φάνητι, Κωνσταντίνε, τῷ Ράμῳ πάλιν/κρότει τὸ τέκνον, πῶς λαβὼν πεφυμένην/ ἐδείξε τὴν σὴν οὐσίαν σεσωσμένην.
164. καὶ ἄδε: "a natural enough combination, the former particle denoting that something is added, the latter that what is added is distinct from what precedes", Denniston Greek Particles p.199; for καὶ ἄδε (separated), more common in prose than in verse, see ibid. 200-202.

προσβύγενεθλε Λατινίδας...Ρώμη: Both epithets are rare:
προσβύγενεθλος (=προσβύγενη, Il.11.249) occurs only at Orph.Hymn 4. 2, voc. of Ouranos (although Old Rome is often called προσβύτις et simil., e.g.Agath.Hist.5.6.5; cf.Evagr.HE 5.19, 214.26 Bid.-Parm.); the form Λατινίδας is not elsewhere attested, but cf.Nonn.D.41.160 Λατινίδα δέλτων, Par.19.102 Λατινίδα...αὐξή, A.P.2.303 (Christod.) Λατινίδος...Μοῦσης, Theoph.Sim. 4.14.2 (178.17f de Boor) Λατινίδας ἄνωχης.

165. σύνθερον ἄειδουσα, κτλ.: Cf.inf.Amb.47 σύνθερον ἡμετέροι μέλος πλέξασθε χορειάς ; Nonn.D.3.67 σύνθερον ἐςμαράγγησε μέλος βητάρμονι παλιὖ (this opening half-line is used without following dative at ib.3.237, 41.184); and for σύνθερον ε.δ. dat., ib.26.203, 45.187; also ib.1.506 θηλίμ μέλος πλέξασιν ὁμήθροον ὄρσενι μολιᾷ. At A.P.9.308.3f (Bianor) αὐτίκα μν κιθάρῳ λίγυνχει δέεατο δέλτιν/σύνθερον (of Arion), σύνθερον derives from Planudes , while the Codex Palatinus has σύνθερον; most editors and LSJ follow Planudes, but Gow-Page prefer σύνθερον. The same confusion occurs in our line: the ms. reads σύνθερον with a deletion sign above the first nu. Graefe wrote σύνθερον by conjecture, since his source, the apographum Gothanum of the ms., read σύνθερον see Spitznner op.cit.p.17,n.2. For μέλος ἄειδω, cf.Nonn.D.27.304 and also ib.11.301, 20.87 ὄμνον ἄειδω , al.simil. The accusative usually denotes the subject of song , see LSJ s.v. ἄειδω II and cf. 143 sup. with n. ad loc. The epithet νεοθηῆς is Homeric (Il. 14.347 ποίην), also used of animals , and metaph. as here, see LSJ s.v., adding Nic.Th.94 καὶ οὖν; A.P.4.1.53 (Meleagr.) ἡττολλοῦ; D.P.843 παρθενικεῖ (compared with νεβροί); Opp.C.2.357 ὄμνος, 3.491 κοῦρον, al.; Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.865B) ἔνθος (metaph. of Pulcheria), al.;
Nonn. D. 12.335 βότρυας, 42.306 ζυμοφόρα. It is already applied to Cpl. at Laud. Beryt. 81 (I.97 Heitsch) ᾲ[ων]ταινιάδης νεο[θη]λε[ός] [ἐν Χριστι]α[νώμης (4th cent.; cf. ib.53, p.96, νεοκτιμενή[η] ἀπὸ Ἀρώμης); A.P. 1.5.5 (Anon., probably act. Anastasii) ν.Ρώμην in eadem sede (see 151 n.sup. for another reminiscence of this epigram); cf. also A.P. 16.72.5 (Anon.) εὐνομίας ἐριθηλέους (on J.). For other appellations of New Rome, see 145n.sup.

166f. The suggestion that the daughter Cpl. surpasses her mother Rome is reiterated from 151 (see n. ad loc.), but here extended in the idea that the success of offspring gratifies the parent. Similar ideas are to be found elsewhere in late poetry, e.g. Greg. Naz. Carm. 1.1.2.9 (PG.37.402) Πατρος γάρ κλέος ἐστι πάις μέγας (of God and Christ); and notably in the context of building achievements, A.P. 1.10.11f (Anon.) κύδος ἀξιόπιστως πολυσκήπτων γεωτούρμων/πάνντα γάρ, ὀσον τέλεσαν, ὑπέρτερα τεύχε τοκὴν, ib.20f ὀτι τοκὴν/φαίδροτέρους ποιήσαν ἀφειτήτουσιν ἐπιβρώγναι, cf. ib.75, on Anicia Juliana’s church of S. Polyeuktos, A.P. 1.12.7ff (Anon.) on the benefactions of the same lady to the church of S. Euphemia (on Anicia Juliana, see Cameron on Cor. Laud. Just. 4.283 and of n. sup. on 152-54); A.P. 9.659 (Theaet. Schol.) on Domninos’ re-building of the Great Praetorium, under Justin II. The introduction of this theme, and particularly the generalising, gnomic tone of the final clause (with which Meineke, loc.cit. 156n.sup., compared το γάρ γέρας ἐστι θανόντων, Il. 16.457, 675, al.) has the effect of concluding this opening hymnic section on a remote and quiet note, a technique used by Paul elsewhere, cf. inf. 182-84, 207-13, 956-58.

Ἐρχεσαι καγχαλώσα, κτλ.: Cf. A.P. 5.234.5 (Paul Sil.) δέξο με καγχαλώσα, σοφήν ὑπὶ Παλλᾶδα νική (to Aphrodite), which verifies Du Cange’s correction of the ms. ἐτι to ὑπὶ; Enc. duc. Romani 2.22 (I.122 Heitsch) Θήβη καγχαλώσα, in eadem sede. For the participle, cf. Od. 23.1, 59 (both at the line-end), and see LSJ s.v. for the use of καγχαλώ in Alexandrian and later poets (not in Nonnus).
Homer uses δοκεῖν in the sense "watch narrowly" (see LSJ s.v.1), but the weakened sense "see" is found in Nonnus D. and elsewhere in later poetry, see LSJ s.v.3, Peek Lex. s.v., esp. III, for Nonnus' frequent construction of it with accusative and predicative participle as here (e.g. D. 2.51, 7.88). With Paul's use of ὑπερτέλλω here, cf. A.P. 9.656.1f (Anon.) ὠκὸς ἀναστασίοιο...μοῦνα ὑπερτέλλω παυπείροιχος ἡστει. γαῖς and see 152n.sup. for another reminiscence of this poem. The verb is not common: first in Hdt. (3.104) of the sun, it is constructed with the genitive, as in our line, by Euripides, see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D. 33.292 ὑπερτέλλοντα δὲ Ταῦρου/Μύρτιλον (of constellations), and noting its use by Paul of the stone over Tantalus' head at A.P. 5.236.5 (cf. E. Or. 6).
168-85. Transition from invocation to account of the collapse and restoration of the dome. Priests, don white robes and join my celebratory hymn (168-72). J. has brought joy in place of the sorrow caused by the collapse of the dome (173-77). Look kindly on my poem, J.: it may recall a time of sorrow, but that has now given place to a joy which is the more overwhelming because it follows upon sorrow (178-85).

The transition from invocation of deities (135-67) to narrative of the collapse and restoration of the dome (186-310) is achieved by a further invocation to celebratory song, but this time directed to the priests in Paul's audience (168-72); this leads on to a direct appeal to J. (177-85; see further ad loc.), probably also present, but not directly addressed since the first iambic prologue (1-80; see n.sup. on lemma after line 80). The immediate occasion is thus recalled (picking up οἴψ ψε 135) and the narrative of events which led up to it follows naturally, and is indeed anticipated in the allusion of 176ff. Although the two iambic prologues also refer to the occasion of the poem (e.g. 1f, 74-80, 81-89), the present passage explicitly indicates for the first time that Paul is writing at the time of the second encaenia, after the collapse of the original dome (cf. sup. 1n., 135-67n). An exultant tone is here maintained by the development of the theme of change from dark to light, sorrow to joy and the increase of happiness which that brings.

168. ἁνέρες, ὅσι μέμηλε, κτλ.: Paul has already alluded to the clergy among his audience, sup.87f (the patriarch Eutychius), 88f, 126ff; cf. 81n.sup. For the expression of this line and the next, cf. A.P.11. 63.1f (Mac.Cons.) ἁνέρες, ὅσι μέμηλεν ἀπήμωνος ὀργία Βάκχου, ἐλπίσιν ἡμερίδῶν ρήσατε τῆν πενίην, where the phrase ὀργία Βάκχου is derived from Nonn.D.44.219 μέλει δὲ μοι ὀργία Βάκχου. For ὅσι μέμηλε, cf. also A.R.1.355, Call.fr.75.34, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.63.4.
Similar are Call.Lav.Pall.137f ἀλλὰ δέχεσθε/τὰν θεόν, ἢ κόραι,
tόργου ὀσιάς μέλεται; Eudoc.Cypr.2.1f (PG.85.845A) ὀσιάς δὴ
proth.13 ἀνδράσιν, οὐσι θεός μέλεται καὶ ὁμά θεοῖ, cf.Coll.229;
also inf. 758 μυτιπόλοι...οὐσι τὸδε θεσμὰ κελεύει. For the
asyneton in invocation, cf.139 sup., simil.152 sup.

Theoudeo Theouma: In the Od. (6.121, al.), Theoudeo is used only of
people in the sense "god-fearing", as if from θεός and δεός,
also apply the epithet to things in the sense "holy", as if
equivalent to Theoseid (cf. also Theoseidos), see LSJ s.v. and
id.Suppl.s.v., and cf. Orph.Lith. 374 πέτρου; Nonn.Par.1.100
θεούς, 4.168 λήφων; inf. 296, 676, 916, 979, 1016; so Hesychius
glosses the term θεό θρέσκων. In Nonn.D., when Theoudeo is
applied to inanimate substantives, it always admits the earlier
sense, cf. n.inf. on 342.

169f. The priests are invoked to tear off grief like a sombre
garment and put on white robes. For a similar combination of
προβάλειν ἢ κτίσις, τῷ γὰρ σκοτεινῶν ἐκδιδόκεται χρέως, λευκήν δὲ
φωτός ἄμφιέννυται χάριν, cf.ib.41f (col.1377B).

In the imperial period, white robes were regularly worn on
occasions of festival or celebration, e.g.D.C.75.1.4 on Septimus
Severus' entry into Rome; Marc.Diac.V.Porphy. 47 (39.14f Grégoire-
Kugener) on the procession of dignitaries after the baptism of
Theodosius II: the robes gleam, ὧς νομίζωσθαι τὸ πλήθος ὑπὸ χίονος
πεπληρωθηθαί; Const.Porph.de.Caer.1 Appendix (498.1 Bonn) on Jt's
adventus of 559 (cf.Stein B-E II.818f); Cor.Laud.Just.4.330
on Justin II's inauguration as consul (further exx. are collected
by Cameron on ibid.234); Theoph.Sim. 4.16.7f (184.22ff de Boor) where
the bishop Dometian expounds on the symbolic importance of wearing
white for the festival celebrating the recovery of Martyropolis
from the Persians (A.D.590/1). That the clergy might wear white
on a ceremonial occasion is suggested by the mosaic in S.Vitale, Ravenna (consecrated in A.D.547, Stein B-E II.459), which depicts J. with Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna, and entourage: the clergy wear white robes with wide sleeves and a single vertical dark stripe running from each shoulder to the ground; (the archbishop also wears additional vestments). But H.Leclerq (Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie III.2999ff) shows that, although white was common, other colours might also be worn. It seems, moreover, that a white robe might be worn all the time, since an anecdote in Cyril of Scythopolis' Life of Euthymius indicates that the patriarch of Jerusalem could always be distinguished by his white robe, see P.Devos in Anal.Boll.98 (1980) 33ff. (For a ceremonial occasion he might well don additional vestments). Monks, on the other hand, normally wore black or dark garments, like mourners, according to Historia mystagogica 21 (ed.J.Brightman, J.Th.S. 9, 1908, 262.18ff), cf.Liban.Or.30.8 (III.91.12 Foerster) οἱ δὲ μελανειμονοῦντες οὕτως. Hence Paul's exhortation might be literally applicable at least to a part of his audience. The main point of it, however, is the general association of white dress with joyous celebration. (White robes are also commonly associated with angels, saints, martyrs, visionary beings et simil., e.g. Romanos 58 ε'6 of martyrs, other exx. PGL s.v. λευχέιμονέω and associated terms).

Paul's metaphor of casting off grief like sombre clothing recalls NT Ep.Rom.13.12 ἀποθωμεθα σὸν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, ἐνδυσώμεθα δὲ τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός. Such metaphorical clothing language is common in the Bible (e.g.NT Ep.Gal.3.27, Ep.Eph.4.22-24, Ep.Col.3.9f, 1Ep.Th.5.8) and in later Christian writers, see H.Piesik, Bildersprache der apostolischen Väter (Diss., Bonn 1961) 55f, who sees the OT as the source of this imagery (but see also n.inf.) and gives exx. from the Apostolic Fathers. To these may be added Greg.Naz.Or.44.6 (PG.36.613A) τὸν πολατὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀπορρίψασθε; Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.869A); Romanos 6 γ'6, 44 ζ'6 πάσαν τὴν αἰσθήμα ψυχῆς καρδίας ἀπέρριψε, al.; sup. 94 (with n. ad loc.). The imagery of darkness and light is likewise

169. δεόρο μοι: See n. sup. on 141, and for the ethic dative, cf.Nonn.D.11.147, Musae.248, etc. I take μέλψομεν (172) as short-vowelled subjunctive ("let us sing": cf. Du Cange concinamus), like δεόσομεν 143.


170. χιονέως ἔσοσθε, κτλ.: This construction of middle ἐννυμί with accusative and dative is Homeric (see LSJ s.v.II), as is plural ἀφεκα ("limbs"), see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.2.199, 3.676; Opp.H.2.294, C.2.259, al.; Nonn.Par.11.23 (not in D.); A.P.5.255.16, 264.8, 286.8 (all Paul S1I.). For χιονεως applied to clothes, cf.Asius 13.3, Jo.Gaz.Desor.1.78 (both with χιτωνια(v)), Nonn.Par.20.56 χιονεως σπινθηρας ἀκονντιζουτα χιτωνας. For γεγηθοτες (various cases) in eadem sede in present sense (as always in tragedy, see LSJ s.v.) and often absolute as here, cf. D.P.1078, Opp.H.1.462, C.2.436, Nonn.D.3.44, 42.274, al., Par.4.232, 10.12.
171. δέκρυ δὲ, κτλ.: Cf. Nonn. D. 8. 205 δέκρυον εὐποίητον ἀποψῆσαι προοίμων; A. P. 5. 46. 5 (Rufin.) ἀποψῆσαι δὲ δέκρυ. The use of ὀποίη in the sense "eye" is late (see LSJ s.v. II. 2), but common in poetry of the imperial period, see the exx. collected by Kost on Musae. 101 and cf. inf. 285. The form πενταέτηρος is Homeric, of oxen, II. 2. 403, 7. 315, Od. 19. 420; of a boar Od. 14. 419. The dome of S. Sophia collapsed on Tuesday 7th May 558 (see Stein B-E II. 460 and 186-92 n. inf.) and the church was re-dedicated on 24th December 562 (see Stein loc. cit., inf. 315-53 with n. ad loc., esp. 327-30, and cf. Du Cange's commentary on Paul Sil., sec. 6, p. 66f Bonn). This is the first explicit indication that Paul is writing on the occasion of the second encaenia of J.'s church.

172. μέλψαμεν...εὐποδὰς ὑμνοὺς: On μέλψαμεν, see n. sup. on δεῦρο μοι 169. For the accusative, cf. Clem. Alex. Paed. Hymn 54 ff (I. 292 Stählin) ὑμνοὺς ἀπρεκεῖς/βαοῖλαίτε Χριστῷ/.../58 μέλψαμεν ὁμοῦ; ps. Synes. Hymn 10. 16 (p. 64 Terzhagi) μέλψω ἀοίδιαν; Nonn. D. 19. 82 μέλπων πάτριον ὑμνον, 17. 332 οὐλὸς ἐμελπε φόνου μέλος. The accusative is cognate (cf. LSJ s.v. μέλπω I. 2), like that after ἀξίω 165 (see n. ad loc.), since both verbs have the sense "sing about" when constructed with a direct object (see LSJ s.v. μέλπω I. 1 and cf. 142 f. sup. for ἀξίω). Paul uses εὐποδάς in a musical context at A. P. 6. 54. 6 μέλος...εὐποδάς ἀφοινίας; elsewhere it is used literally of the feet of men, animals, etc., see LSJ s.v. and cf. n. inf. on 260.

eὐσφίμως ὑπὸ χείλεσιν: The preposition ὑπὸ is used in place of a simple instrumental dative, as elsewhere in Paul, see Fr. p. 115, and cf. Chantraine Grammaire homérique II. 140 f., sec. 208, for the Homeric usage. Such periphrastic use of ὑπὸ is not uncommon among post-classical authors, e.g. A. R. 2. 26 λέων ὑπ' ἄκουστι τετυμμένος; A. P. 5. 74. 2 (Rufin.) ὑπ' ἄκομα πλεῖστων παλάκων; Nonn. D. 10. 120 τρομεροῦσιν ὑπ' ἱμερεσίαν ἀκομα πόντῳ, 13. 499 τοὺς δὲ λίγα κροτεύοντας ὑπ' εὐρόθυμης κρησνα ταρσότι, al., see Peek Lex. s.v. ὑπὸ II. 2. (NT writers, on the other hand, never construct ὑπὸ
with dative, see Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.203, p.166). In late writers, ἐυφὴμος and cognate terms often carry connotations of praise as well as good omen and holiness or reverence, cf. Nonn.D.19.106f ἐπεφθέγξαντο δὲ λαοῖ/ἐυφήμοις ἐπέεσσαν (at a musical contest), ib.Far.12.58 ἐυφήμοις στομάτεσσαν ἀνέκλαγε σύνθροον ἴδνω (Palm Sunday); Agath.Hist.1.13.7 ἐν ἐυφήμῳ πολλῇ τὸν Ναοῦν ἐποιοῦντο; see further LSJ s.v.III, PGL s.v.3,4.

173f. ὀμοιόμοιον ζηέευ, κτλ.: The asyndeton may indicate that the following lines (perhaps as far as μερίμνοις 175?) are intended as an example of the εὐποδὸς ὑμνοῦς; cf.II.22.393f and scholia ad loc.(V.340.93ff Erbse) where the lines, which were obelised by Aristarchus, are criticised as being unsuitable for Achilles (schol.a), cf. schol.b (p.341.2ff) and Eustath.1275.21, quoted by Erbse. The reference to the gates of heaven recalls the chronographers’ report (Mal.495.13ff, Theoph.A.M.6055, 238.19ff de Boor, quoted inf. 315-53n.) that at the second encaenia of S.Sophia the procession sang ἄματε πόλας, οἱ ἁρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρσητε, πολλαὶ άλωνιοι, καὶ εἰσέλυστε στὸ βασιλεύς τῆς δόξης (LXX Ps.23 (24).7,9). It is likely that Paul is referring to the singing of this psalm at 347f inf., μολὼν δ’ ἐπὶ δέσπιδας ἀπάλας/δήμος ἴπας ἐπέβωσε χορίσιον (see n. on 348), where there follows an explicit analogy between S.Sophia and heaven. This analogy is also implied in the passage inf. 286ff (see 286-88n.), and here in the metaphor of J.’s opening the heavenly gates, although this metaphor also suggests the state of heavenly joy which the reconstruction of S.Sophia has produced on earth, as described in the next two phrases 174f ὀλαίς δ’, κτλ. The former idea is common in Byzantine literature in the form of a comparison between the dome and the vault of heaven, e.g.Greg. Naz.Or.18.39 (PG.35.1037A) οὕρανῳ δὲ ὄμομεν καταστράτησατο, πηγὰς δὲ φῶτὸς πλουσίαι τὰς ἴπεις περιαναγάουντα, ὡσπερ ἄληθις φῶτός οἰκτήριον, on the church at Nazianzus; cf. inf. 490f, 530f and see C.Mango and J.Parker in DOP 14 (1960) 241, E.Baldwin Smith, The Dome (Princeton 1950) 79ff, esp.85ff. But S.Sophia is also elsewhere compared more generally with heaven, e.g. Romanos 54.
The term κλησθον is Attic (see LSJ s.v. κλησθον), but is not to my knowledge found elsewhere in late poetry (although cf. Agath.Hist. 1.10.7) where κλησθείσας is, however, common, see n.inf. on 350f. For Christians, the keys of the gates of heaven are associated with the apostle Peter (NT Ev.Matth.16.19 και δόμων σου τας κλείσις της βασιλείας των ουρανών; cf. PGL s.v. κλείσις and inf.788), but it is unlikely that, in using κλησθον here, Paul intends to suggest an analogy between J. and Peter. It is true (i) that the NT reference to Peter's guardianship of the keys of heaven was one of the texts on the basis of which the bishops of Rome argued for their supremacy in the Church (see Eva C. Topping in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 2, 1976, 9, and in general, on the attitude of the eastern Church to Peter earlier in the 6th cent.), and (ii) that by 562, when Paul wrote, the papacy was controlled by J. (see Stein B-E II.674f on the papal election of 561). Hence Paul's reference might be interpreted as a polemical allusion to J., God's Vice-gerent on earth, as the ultimate head of the Church, but this seems over-subtle.* Paul's reference here is more simply understood in the light of later allusions (inf. 320f, 328) to the opening of the doors of S.Sophia on the occasion

* For another application to the emperor of imagery associated with Peter, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.2.171 with Cameron ad loc.
of the second encaenia, here implicitly likened to the opening of the gates of heaven, see sup. In a pagan context, the gates of heaven are opened by the Seasons, e.g. Nonn.D.2.703f (Διί) ἔρχομένῳ δὲ οὕρανίας πετάσαντο πύλας ὑψάθενες ὤραι, cf.13.23f.

174. Αὐσονίων σκηπτοῦχος: Cf. inf.346. The Byzantines thought of themselves as Ρωμαίοι, successors of Roman power and called their capital Cpl. "New Rome" (see 145n.sup.). So poets regularly use the term Αὐσονίων ("Italians"), e.g. A.P.4.38.6 (with Beckby's n. ad loc.), ib.32 (Agath.), A.P.9.803.1 (Anon.), 16.350.6 (Anon.); cf. inf. 240, 277, al. and see A.A.Vasiliev in DOP 4 (1948) 40. On σκηπτοῦχος, see n.sup.on 156 (fin.); for its use with genitive, see LSJ s.v.1 fin., adding Nonn.D.12.39, 34.62, al., Par.18.162.

174f. ὀλας δ’ ἐπέτασεν, κτλ.: "he has spread wide the doors of joy to all our festivities". Cf.904 inf. πάσι μὲν ἐυφροσύνης ἀναπέτασεν ὑπὸ γῆς θερίαν of the lights of S.Sophia. In our line, ἐπέτασεν is parallel to δίζευξ (173) and εὔρεταν continues the metaphor. The verb πετάνυμι is regularly used of doors, e.g. 11.21.531, Od.21.50; Procl.Hymn 7.7 (metaph.); Nonn.D.2.704 (quoted sup.), 13.23f (both c.dat. as here), Par.7.159 (metaph.); Tryph.238, inf.328; it appears in this sense with the noun omitted at Theoc. 16.5f τίς.../ημετέρας ἁρίτας πετάσας ὑποδέξεται οἶκῳ, see Gow ad loc. Paul's metaphor here is clear after δίζευξ...κλήρα πυλῶν (173).

175. εὐφροσύνης... ὀλας ἡμιλευε μερίμνας: In a pagan context, this language would appropriately describe the effects of wine, cf.Hor.Epod.9.37f curam...iuvat/dulci Lyaeo solvere, id.Carm.1. 7.31 vino pellite curas; Nonn.D.17.80 οὗ λύῳ ται μερίμνας (of milk, contrasted with wine), 47.132 οἴνῳ..., θρότεσ αὑμαία μερίμνης, cf.17.74, al.simil.; 7.89γ ομπαλου...εὐφροσύνης κήρυξα, 17.42 εὐφροσύνης δοτῆρα (Dionysus), al.simil., of. A.P.4.3B.86 (Agath.), 7.329.4 (Anon.), 11.63.4 (Mac.Cons.), and see 311n.inf. on the epithet λαθικηδῆς. Paul uses a similar expression inf.247 εὐφροσύνης...ἀκνέδεος; for εὐφροσύνη of the joy brought by the new S.Sophia, cf. also inf.332, 677, 904, (quoted in n.sup.). Apart from its associations with the pleasures
of wine, however, the term is also used of joy or well-being in life, frequently, as here, in contrast to the suffering or care which is so often experienced, e.g. Od. 10.465, 23.52, al.; A.R. 4. 1037, 1167; A.F. 9.26.10 (Ant.Thess.); Procl.Hymn 7.48; Orph.Hymn 69.13, al.; Nonn. D.7.10; and of Christian joy, NT Act. Ap. 2.28, 14.17, al.; Nonn.Par. 8.182, al.; Greg.Nyss.Hom. 6 in Eccl. 4 (PG. 44. 708B), Eustrat.V.Euth. 30 (PG. 86.2309A), al., see further PGL s.v. For ἐμβλύνει μερίμνας, cf. Emp.fr. 2.2 πολλὰ δὲ δειλὶ ἐμπαια, τὰ τὸ ἐμβλύνουσι μερίμνας (explaining why perceptions are not a reliable guide to truth), ib.fr. 110.7 where the final half-line recurs in the context of alternatives to Emp’s. system of the universe; Agath.Hist. 1.16.3 τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐμβλύνει (the effect of reversal on those accustomed to success); Opp.H. 1.300 of blunting the strength of disease; Jo.Gaz.Descr. 2.287 φῶς ἐμβλύνεσα (of autumn), and other exx. of metaphor usage quoted by LSJ s.v. ἐμβλύνω I. (The verb does not occur in Nonnus). Paul uses it literally of the edge of the sickle inf. 315, see n. ad loc. At 386 inf., the expression παραπλάσιώτα μερίμνας is used of capitals, supporting arches. Elsewhere (e.g. inf. 923, 1016) Paul uses plural μερίμνα in a general sense of that which preoccupies the mind, but here and at 251 it denotes specifically the sorrow caused by the collapse of the dome, a theme developed 176f.

176f. έξότε γὰρ, κτλ.: Romanos similarly describes the popular feeling on the destruction of the original church in the Nika Riot, 54 1017ff καὶ τὸ πέσθαι ἡν κοινωνία πάσῃ τῇ πόλει. έκειτο χαμαι ὁ θόρυμας τῆς ἐκκλησίας; the same theme is expressed more extravagantly at Anon.Monod.in S.Soph. ap.BZ. 30 (1929-30) p. 41.9ff (on this work see footnote to 150-54n. sup.). But Procopius argues (Aed. 1.1.22, also in the context of the Nika destruction), that, had any Christian been shown what J’s church would be like, he would have prayed for the immediate destruction of the old one.

έξότε: Not uncommon in late poetry, see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn. D. 23.25, 38.91, al., Par. 8.126, 10.78, al.; A.F. 5.296.1,
The language is Homeric and anthropomorphic: the verb δούσε is commonly used of the thud of a victim in combat falling to the ground (cf. 163 sup., with n. ad loc.), while κηδος denotes mourning or funeral rites, see LSJ s.v. I.2b; in Homer it is frequently plural, but for this sense in the singular, cf. II.4.270, al., A.R.2.240 ἀδιναδυ κ., 858 ἀμποκτον κ., al. With Paul's use of ἀλίαστον here, cf. II.24. 760 γόνο, ib. 2.420 πόνον = A.R.2.649. (Nonnus uses neither κηδος nor ἀλίαστος). For ἀλίαστον, cf. A.R.1.653, 838, al., Nonn. D.44. 125, 47.34.

The epithet is usually applied to gods or men, see LSJ s.v. For Paul's use, cf. GVT 1983.9 (3rd cent.A.D.) ἐγονον ἀνάκτων, A.P. 9.808.6 (Cyrus) ἐγονον ἀνάκτων, also inf. 535 τοῖχος ἑρεθενετής. The plural ἀνάκτων probably means J. and Theodora together, since the name of the empress was inscribed in S. Sophia together with that of J., see 714f inf., and, for similar use of the plural, cf. inf. 270, 554, 798, 802, 810. At 980, however, ἀνάκτων refers to J. alone, see n. ad loc. and Fr.'s nn. here and on 980. Other writers similarly use the plural to denote emperor and empress together, e.g. Romanos 54 κβ'8, cf. Eva C. Topping in BZ 71 (1978) 25, n.24; other exx. collected by R.C. McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 43.

177-85. The reference to the collapse of the dome in 176f prepares the way for a narrative of the catastrophe, but Paul here breaks off and inserts a new prooemium, following Menander Rhetor's precept (III.372.14ff) that each new section of the encomium be introduced by a prooemium. This prooemium takes the form of a direct appeal to J. to look favourably on Paul's poem, and it thus marks the climax of the series of invocations which have occupied the hexameters so far. In theme, it is linked with the second iambic prologue (81-134, cf. also 68-70), since it is likewise a
captatio benevolentiae and uses the τόλμη-language (τολμήντι 178, 185) of rhetorical auxesis (see nn.ad loco.citt.sup.). But in its rhetorical grandiloquence and stylistic elaboration, the passage is characteristic of the hexameters (cf.n.sup. on 135-67): the argument is expounded with the aid of paradeigmata (182-84, see further ad loc.), while the style of the opening and closing lines (177-79, 185) is refined by the use of anaphora (ἲλαθι.../ἴλαθι..., ὀλίγκοις), hyperbaton (ἲλαθι μύθῳ, ἴλαθι τολμήντι) and the resumption of the opening words (ἲλαθι μύθῳ, ἴλαθι τολμήντι, μεγαθενέξ) in chiastic order in the last line (ἲλαθι τολμήντι, μεγαθενέξ, ἴλαθι μύθῳ).

177f. ἴλαθι μύθῳ, ἴλαθι τολμήντι: For ἴλαθι in auxesis of encomium, cf.Diosc.5.14 (I.134 Heitsch; = id.21.24, p.147) ἴλαθι μοι τραμέντι (note also τολμήντι, ib.line 11); simil. Synes.Hymn 1.113ff (p.10 Terzragi) μάκαρ, ἴλαθι μοι/πάτερ, ἴλαθι μοι/ε’ παρ’ κόσμον, ε’ παρ’ μοιραν/τῶν σοῦ ἔθιγον. For Paul’s construction with dat.rei, cf. Nonn.D.19.309f ἀλλὰ σὺ Βόσχαι/ἴλαθι καὶ Σατύροις καὶ οἴνοδότηριν ὀπώρας; elsewhere with dat.pers., Call.Dem.138, fr. 638; Epigr.Gr.818.17, 835.a3, 1023.7; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.14.119 (PG.37.765); ps.Ap.Met.Ps.56.1; A.P.5.86.1 (Claud.), 6.87.4 (Anon.), Nonn.D.19.175, 20.269, al. Absolute ἴλαθι/ἴληθι (sometimes repeated) is found in poetry in appeal to deities or persons of power from Homer onwards, see LSJ and id.Suppl.s.v., adding A.R.2.693 bis; GVI 2040.7 (1st/2nd cent.); Epigr.Gr.725.7, 1024.2; Opp.C.1.22; Procl. Hymn 7.40; Nonn.D.2.157, 161; A.P.1.19.11 (Claud.), 1.36.1 (Agath.), 2.143, 144 (Christod.); 5.301.5 (Paul Sil.), 6.40.1 (Mac.Cons.), 11.400.1 (Luc; = Epigr.11) bis; see also PGL s.v. For similar repetitions in Paul, cf. 152 sup. with n. ad loc. On τόλμη-language in rhetorical auxesis, see n. sup. on 68-70. The epithet τολμήντι is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.; used also in late poetry, Opp.C. 4.210, H.1.356, al.; Maneth.2 (1).171; Nonn.D.23.188, 27.66, al., Par.3.94, 9.89, al.; Tryph.433; A.P.1.34.2, 5.289.7 (both Agath.).

178. μεγαθενέξ ἃρανε γαῖς: Alexandrian poets use ἃρανε in
the sense "guardian", "keeper", A.R.2.513 μὴλων... ἡρανον (Aristaeus), Hermesian.7.16 (p.98 Powell) Μουσαίος Χαρίτων ἡρανος, ib.22 Ἡ ποσις ἡρανον ἰστορίας, Simm.13.2 (p.113 Powell) ἡρανον ἀλίων μνηχων (Doris). Later glossographers recognise also the sense "ruler", which would be appropriate in our context, cf. Hesych. s.v., βασιλευς, ἡραον, σκόπος, φυλαξ, Etym. Magn. 436.28 βασιλευς, ἡ βοσθος; Suidas cites our line in its gloss on ἡρανος. The compound ἐπίηρανος is more widely attested in the sense "helping", "ruling" et simil., see LSJ s.v.II. Etymologists distinguish ἐπίηρανος used in these senses from Homeric ἐπίηρανος, "pleasing", "acceptable" (Od.19.343, LSJ s.v.I), which is semantically associated with ἐπίηρος, ἡρα, see Chantraine Dict. étym. s.v. ἡρανος, Frisk, Gr. etym. Wörterbuch s.v. ἡρανος, ἐπίηρανος 1 and 2. The epithet μεγαθερνης is applied to J. at A.P.1.98.2 (Anon.), cf. inf.326. For its use in choral lyric and tragedy see LSJ s.v., and cf. also A.R.1.181; Opp.C.3.430; Epigr.Gr.831.1 (2nd cent.); Orph.Hymn 12.1, 13.2, 50.5, al.; Procl.Hymn 6.2, 14, 7.3.

179. ἵλκοις ἐπέσεν. Probably "may you pardon my verses", see further n. inf. This is the usual sense in Nonnus, who uses optative ἵλκω to mitigate a potentially insulting statement (cf. Peek Lex. s.v.), e.g. D.30.287 ἵλκοις Διὸς εὐχος, ἄδειλος ὰν σε καλεσσω (Athene to Dionysus), 48.361 ἵλκοις τεδυ εἰδος ἐγὼ σοι μᾶλλον ἀρεῖων (Aura to Artemis). For this sense, cf. Coll. 250, A.P.5.73.3 (Rufin.), 5.299.10, 6.74.5, 16.36.2 (all Agath.); 16.363.3 (Anon., on the charioteer Faustinus); probably also Opp. C.1.78 where the verb is used in appeal to the deities of sea and woodland for the poet's preference for the theme of hunting, with which cf. id.H.1.73 where it occurs in the poet's appeal to Poseidon to favour his poem on fishing. The verb is sometimes constructed with dat. pers. (Epigr.Gr.818.11, Opp.H.loc.cit.), but not elsewhere with dat. rei.

καὶ εἰ τεδυ σοις ὀρίων: "even if I provoke your ear". The ear
was traditionally the seat of memory, cf.V.Buc.6.3f *Cynthis aurem/vellit et admonuit*, with Conington's n. ad loc. Paul's reference to the collapse of the dome will recall unhappy memories. Agathias records that, in seeking to repair the damage caused by the great earthquake of December 557, J. was particularly concerned about S.Sophia (Hist.5.9.2 ἐπεφρόνισε δὲ οἱ έστι τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ Θεοῦ νέως). But the collapse of S.Sophia was merely the climax of the widespread panic and misery caused by the earthquake itself, during which many people died (Agath.Hist.5.3.10), see the vivid account of Agathias, Hist.5.3-5, esp.5.5.4 οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἄν ἐν τῷ τότε δὲ μὴ λίαν δεξιός καὶ ἐκπελλημένος. The chronographers record (e.g.Mai.489.9f, Theoph.A.M.6050, 232.2ff) that at this time J. put aside his imperial θέμα for thirty days. On conflation of these events in Agathias, see n.inf. on 186-92.

On the distinction between εἴ καί (cf. inf.241 with n. ad loc.) and καί εἰ, see Denniston Greek Particles p.299ff, and cf. LSJ s.v. καί B.8. The condition here may be described as an "extreme case" (Denn.p.301, sec.ii), since Paul is asking for pardon despite the fact that his words may remind J. of things which he would prefer to forget, and hence make him disinclined to mercy. For the poetic nom./acc. form ὅντας (from ὅντας), cf.Simon.38.20P.; A.P.7.409.3 (Ant.Sid.); Opp.C.2.407, 3.92, 505; Orph.Hymn 19.14; Prool.Hymn 2.14, 7.52; Nonn.D.25.426, (ἴεν οὖν ὅντας in eadem sede), 16.362, Par.18.53, 125; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.155; A.P.16.244.2 (Agath.); and, in similar context, Synes.Hymn 5.75f (p.46 Terzhang) ἐπ' ἐμοῖς ἄλοιον ὅντας/τάνυσον χοροθίων ὑμῶν.

180. βαίδων ὅσον: "a little". Cf. A.P.12.227.2 (Strat.) 
βαίδων ὅσον παραβαίς ἐκθέτει μεταστρέφομαι . For this use of ὅσον, cf.Theoc.1.45 τυείδον δ' ὅσον ἔπαινεν, with Gow's n. ad loc., citing Opp.H.4.191; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.197 τυείδον ὅσον κατὰ βαίδων ἀἐξεταί (of Iris); see also LSJ s.v.ὁσος I.6. Adverbial βαίδων is found elsewhere in late poetry, e.g.A.R.2.86 στάντε δὲ βαίδων ἔπαινεν; Opp.H.1.295 βαίδων θαυμάσαντες, C.2.470 δόχυμα γὰρ κλίνας βαίδων κερδεύτα μετώπα, al.; Nonn.D.22.288 βαίδων, ὅσον χρῶς ἀκρον
180f. μεγάλων γὰρ, κτλ.: In Justification, Paul argues that the present joy has obliterated previous sorrow, cf. Romanos 54 κυρίωρε τὸν χρόνον γάρ δέχθηκαν ἄνεσιν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, / ὥς καὶ λήφθην ἐγκενιέσθαι τούτου πάσχωμεν πάντων τῶν δυσκολῶν, of J.'s rebuilding of S.Sophia after the destruction of the Nika Riot. For this use of χάρις with genitive, see LSJ s.v.IV and cf. Nonn.D.7.18, 34.96. The use of ἐπέρχομαι of events or conditions is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.I.2.

181. κατηφέα κέντρα: "pangs of gloom". With Paul's use of κατηφέα in this context, cf. inf. 204 κατηφειά βεβολιμένος, 215γ ὅσε κατηφής/βαθμένος τέτληκεν, of J.; Anon.Monod.in,S,Soph.ap BZ 30 (1929-30) 41.12γ καὶ κοινὴ σκυθρωπότητα καὶ στυγνότης καὶ κατηφειά ἐκασταξιῶν περιειλήθει ταῖς πόλεις (on this work, see footnote to n.sup. on 150-54); also Agath.Hist.2.16.6 ἀνδρέας δὲ σποράδων διάλυστοι ἄνεφαίνοντο σκυθρωμοὶ τε ἄγαν καὶ κατηφείς καὶ ὑστερετὺς τῇ σφετέρῳ βίῳ ἄπειρακότες (describing the survivors of the tidal-wave which destroyed Cos in 551), and, in association with death, A.P.16.365.2 (Anon.) on the death of the charioteer Constantine, Theoph.Sim.8.12.5 (307.14 de Boor) of the funeral of the emperor Maurice, cf.Eus.V.Const.4.69 (I.146.16 Heikel), Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.864D), etc. The term carries associations not only of dejection, but of darkness or dimness, see LSJ s.v.2, and cf. Greg.Naz.Or.24.5 (quoted inf. 182-84n.), Nonn.D.1.303f ἀπόστροφη ἐπὶ ἡλίους, .../μαραθοῦν δελαγίς κατηφεῖ λεπταλέον πόρι, Tryph.32 φέγγος ὑποκλέψατα κατηφεῖς ἢματις ἡμῶς (in mourning for her son Memnon), inf. Amb.35f πᾶσαν ἐφοιτήτωςα κατηφεῖς ἀντυγα κόσμου/τυφλόν ἀμειλητοῦν νέφος σκεδάσαντες ὧμιχλην (of the apostles), and 215, 319, 1000 inf. with nn. ad loco. This latter idea is not as prominent here as it
is (for example) at inf.319, Amb.35, but κατήφης does pick up the imagery of 169f, where sorrow and darkness are similarly associated; so κατήφης is used in a contrast like that of 169f sup. at Sophr.H. Or.4 (PG.87.3305D) τὰ κατήφη καὶ σκυθρωπὰ καταλύσαντα, καὶ τῶν χαροποιών ἠμῶν τὴν ὀμηνή ἐκπετάσαντα (of the Resurrection), cf. Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.864C). The adjective properly refers to people and denotes downcast expression (Od.24.432, A.R.3.504, 4.1344, Nonn.D.12.128, 37.483, al., see further LSJ s.v.), but Paul’s use of it with κέντρα (as equivalent to κέντρα κατήφης ) is similar to the usage of Nonnus D., where it is frequently applied by association to things, e.g.5.429 σὲ παῖδα κατήφη κεδοθε κοινή, 11.464f ἄμφι ἐν λειψι...πλοκαμίδα κατήφη τάμνε σιδηρῷ. This metaph. use of κέντρα is common, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. (plural exx. only) Nonn.D.40.568 κ.πάθοιτο, Par.11.69 κ.μερίμνης, Musae.87 κρυφίοις...κ., A.P.5.302.12 (Agath.) ἄστρογγος κέντρα παλμβολίς; sing. inf.217 κέντρου ἄνιχς. The alliterated κ-sound suggests the nagging prick of the goad.

Ἀθαίναις ἐκάλυψε...βεθοῖς: For the use of καλύπτω, cf.Nonn.D.23.76f ἀναλυμένης δὲ βεθοῖς/κεντυμένους ἐκάλυψε καὶ ἐπέλεο τύμβος ὸδόππης, and ibid. 79, 27.104 Βάκχων ἔχερα κάρυνα δοσὶ ποταμῶν καλύπτων, al. For the reference to Lethe, cf. inf.237. The adj. Ἀθαίναις (either "of forgetfulness" as here, or "of Lethe", see LSJ s.v.) occurs first in Alexandrian poetry, Call.Del.234 πέρον (of Sleep); Lyc.1127 σκόπες; A.P.9.279.1 (Loll.Bass.) ὠκύτοιο; Orph.Lith.197 of the stone ἀνακτίτης; Procl.Hymn 4.8 ληθαίοις ὑπὸ κεδώσαν; Nonn.D.3.327 στροφάλγυ, 17.3 ἄνταίς, al., Par.14.96 ὄφρας. The arrangement of the words reinforces the sense: the κ.κέντρα are literally surrounded by the Ἀθαίναις... βεθοῖς.

182-84. The point of 180f is amplified by the addition of two commonplace examples (παραδείγματα) to illustrate that joy is indeed the greater when it has arisen out of sorrow. The same point is made by the same means at 207 infra. On this technique, cf.
Men.Rhet.368.21f δέχεται δε τα προσόμια του λόγου καὶ ἐκ παραδειγμάτων ἀορίστων ἀνίστασαν συντριπτικῶς, and see also 150-54 n.sup. on the use of synkrisis in auxesis. The use of commonplace is similarly recognised by rhetoricians as a means of auxesis, e.g. ps.Long. peri ὕψους 11.2 τούτο δὲ (i.e.ἀξεσίας) εἶτε διὰ τοπογραφίαν, εἶτε δείνωσιν...γίνοιτο; Rhet.ad Herenn.2.30.47 amplificatio est res quae per locum communem instigationis auditorum causa adsumitur, on the use of amplification in conclusions (not necessarily confined to the end of a speech) with specific reference to judicial oratory: there follows a list of ten appropriate commonplace formulae.

The examples which Paul chooses are of a type standard in contexts of salvation/preservation, cf. Od.23.233ff Odysseus as welcome to Penelope as land to shipwrecked sailors; E.Andr.891ff ὑπ' αὐτῆς χειμάτων λιμνὴ φανερῷ ἀγαμέμνονοι παῖς; A.Ag.899ff γαίαν φανείσαν ναυτίλιον παρ' ἐλπίδα, κάλλιστον ἡμεῦ εἰσείδειν ἐκ χειμάτων, ὁδοίπορος διψάνι πηγαίον ρέεις (Clytemnestra on Agamemnon's return), with Fraenkel ad loc., who cites (inter alia) E.fr.316. 1f Nauck καλὸν μὲν φέγγας ἥλιον τὸ ὄν, καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦρα ἰδεῖν εὐημέρειαν, A.P.5.169.1f (Assclep.) ὑδὸς θέρινος διψάνι χιών ποτόν, ἡδὸν δὲ ναόταις/ἐκ χειμάνον ἰδεῖν εἰσαριφόν Στέφανον, also Theoc.18.26ff (all three in priamel); A.R.3.815 καὶ τέ ὁ ἥλιος γυμνῶν γένετ' εἰσφόρονται (Medea, after contemplating suicide); Liban.Or.13.16 (II. 68.18ff Foerster) Julian's preservation described in the image of the Dioscuri rescuing his storm-tossed ship; Himer.Or.47 (3). 2 (190.19f Colonna) τινὲς δὲ χειμάνος καὶ νεφέλας φεύγοντες λαμπρὸν ἱδεῖν πράσαθεν ἡλίον, cf. also ibid., line 16f; Jo.Chrys.Saturn. (PG.52.413ff) πολὺν ἐστίν θρόνον... ἀλλ' ὀδοὺ ραθυμία τινὶ καὶ ὁκνὸς ωμότος, ἀλλὰ τας ταραχὰς καταστελλὼν, τὰ κύματα κομίζοντων, τὸν χειμώνα διαρθόμενον, τοὺς ναυαγοῦντας ἀνισταμένοις, τοὺς γινομένοις ὑποβρυχίους πρὸς λιμένα καὶ γαλήνην χειραγωγήσαι σπευδῶν; Roman.44 1β' 66ff ὅπερ ὁ ἄχλης τὸν ἄξον ἑσπέρας κατέβας/τὴν ἕλιον ὡκ ἀμβλύνει λαμπρόσπιτα/ὡπερ νέφος ἀπελαυνεῖται ὑπ' ἄνεμου διωκθέν, τοῦ ἥλιου δὲ μετέπειτα καταλαμπάμουσιν ἀργαί · ὥστε καὶ ὡδολεύειται αὐτῇ, κτλ. (Joseph's words); Cor.Laud. Just.2.327ff mollior ut ventis quotiens venit aura remotis/
fluctivagum pelagus, quod tempestate movetur, / mansuetis planatur aquis, tunc solis honore/ omnia clara silent tranquillis aequora ripis (not here in the context of salvation, but of the calming of the crowd in the hippodrome). Particularly similar to Paul is Greg.Naz.Or.24.5 (PG.35.1176A) ἐπεὶ γλυκὸ μὲν ἢλιος μετὰ νέφος, ὡ τῶν συνεκαλυπτετο· γλυκίων δὲ τὸ ἔαρ, ὅτι μετὰ χειμῶνος κατηφείαν· ἠδῶν δὲ μειοδῶσα γαλήνη, καὶ θάλασσα ἡπλωμένη, καὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς προσπαίζουσα μετὰ πνευμάτων στάσιν, καὶ ἀδίνωντα κύματα, of the appeal of the sudden conversion of S.Cyprian. (Nautical imagery, such as the voyage of life, is very common in the Cappadocian Fathers, see, for example, M.Guignet, S.Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique, Paris 1911, 144f; J.Nimmo Smith, Romanos the Melodist and Christian Rhetoric, unpubl.Edinburgh Univ. thesis, 1971, 23ff. For more general exx. of light/dark imagery, see n. sup. on 169ff).

In Paul, the generalising character of these parallels has an effect similar to that of 166f sup., in lowering the tone before a new section, like the synkriseis of 207-13, 956-58 inf.


183. χειμερίνη μετὰ νύκτα: Cf.Emp.84.2 χ.διὰ νύκτα , Pt.3.9. 100f ἐν χ./νυκτί, Tryph.615f ὕπο νύκτα/ χ. 

ἵμερόςσα γαλήνη: The epithet here has the sense "lovely", because "longed for", as in the Homeric expression ἵ.γός (Od.10. 398), cf.LSJ s.v. ἵμερος 1; so D.P.234 πρῶτοι ὁἵμεροντος
πειρήθησαν ἄρτοτροι, Ὀρφ. Ἱμύ. 40.9 βίον ἡμερῶν τρεῖς
πολύσωλον ἀνείσαι (Eleusinian Demeter), Nonn. D. 12.145 ποτᾶ (wine),
15.338 δίστος, al., inf. 978 ἀκουή, of the patriarch Eutychius.

184. ἀνδραὶ ἀλιπλάγκτοι...μᾶλλον ἰαίνει: Ms. θυμόν, marg.
γρ. μᾶλλον. Fr. follows Graefe and Bekker in printing μᾶλλον in
the text. This is probably correct: (i) if θυμόν is read,
ἀνδραὶ ἀλιπλάγκτοι must be emended to dative plural (Du Cange)
or genitive singular (Wernicke, see Spitzner, op. cit. p. 26);
(ii) the familiarity of the Homeric phrase θυμόν ἰαίνω would make
this an easy error of transmission (cf. Iliad 24.119, Od. 15.379,
h. Cer. 65, 435, A. R. 2.306, Theoc. 7.29, infra 891; more frequently
in the passive, see LSJ s.v. I. 3); (iii) the analogy of 182f
suggests that a comparative is required. The epithet ἀλιπλάγκτος
is found first in Sophocles, Aj. 695 Πᾶν, cf. Epigr. Gr. 1033.15
439 γενέθλιος (fish), 1.734 κυνός (dog-fish), 4.582 μοῦθον; Orph. Arg.
1295 πορείας, cf. 1349; Nonn. D. 3.245 μεληδόνος; A. P. 6.65.7 (Paul
Sil.) Τρίτωνος.

μετὰ κύματα: Cf. Nonn. D. περιοχὴ 77 μετὰ κύματα λέοσεις/Δηριάδῆν,
περιοχὴ 71 = 35.361 μετὰ κύματα λύσσης.
186-213. The collapse of the dome. The foundations of the church were strong, but the dome collapsed; the whole city shook, the earth groaned and the sky grew dark (186-92). But Christ prevented anyone from being killed by the dome's collapse (193-97). Nor did the church collapse altogether, but only the great eastern arch and part of the dome, which thus presented an amazing spectacle (198-203). Everyone was grief-stricken: do not upbraid me for recalling this grief, since our present joy is increased as a consequence of it. Men's grief was greater than that caused by natural disasters of fire and flood (204-13).

The narrative is enlivened, in a manner now characteristic, by the apostrophe of Christ (193ff), whose good offices are contrasted, in a similarly characteristic blend of Christian and pagan, with the malicious Telchines (cf. Phthonos 160ff sup., and see 195n. inf. Note the judicious placing of the two opposed forces at either end of the sentence 193-95). The account concludes (205ff) with the same justification for recalling grief as at 180ff, but here elaborate similes in the epic manner (208ff) are used to emphasise the depth of despair which ensued.

186-92. The account opens dramatically (ἡ ἄνελεξα) with the collapse of the dome, picking up the reference of 176 sup., see n. inf. on 198-203 on the precise area of the collapse. The δ' of 188 is in immediate contrast to the μήν of the opening line (since ἀπεκτάνεται is transitive): hence the punctuation of Graefe and Bekker is preferable to that of Fr., i.e. comma rather than colon after συγκαταλαθ ClassNotFoundException (187), and probably colon instead of comma after μελάθρου (so Bekker). In lines 189-92 Paul apparently slides into a more general description of the earthquake which precipitated the collapse of the dome. This transition may be indicated by the
change of subject in 189, although the series of parallel δὲ-
clauses which follow on from that of 188 might suggest that Paul
is still describing the tremendous impact of the collapse of the
dome. This reiterated δὲ is perhaps intended to give the flavour
of Homeric narrative to the account, cf. 162f sup. with n. ad loc.
If it is right to take 189-92 as a general description of the
earthquake, then Paul is conflating events for dramatic effect,
just as Agathias does in his account in the Hist., see A.Cameron,
which damaged S.Sophia lasted from 14th-23rd December 557 (Agath.
Hist. 5.3-9; Mal.488f; Theoph.A.M.6050, p.231.14ff; Anon.ap.J.A.
Cramer, Aneodota graeca parisiensia II, Oxford 1839, p.113.31ff*;
Mich.Syr.IX.29, II.245f Chabot; cf. Stein B-E II.758). The dome,
however, did not collapse until the following May (Tuesday 7th at the
fifth hour), whilst repair work upon the cracks caused by the
earthquake was in progress (Stein B-E II.460; Anon.ap.Cramer
p.114.14. Theophanes, A.M.6051, p.232.26, gives the day and the
month, Malalas 489f the correct year, see Cameron loc.cit.n.4).
A modern analysis of the structural problems of the design of
S.Sophia suggests that the earthquake of 557 was not in fact the
primary cause of the collapse, but that "it merely sought out an
inherent weakness" in the design, see R.Mainstone in Architectural
History 12 (1969) 39ff, esp.46.

186. ἡδὲ μὲν: For the opening, cf. inf.315 ὁρίι μὲν, and for
μὲν introducing a new section, inf. 354, 806, Amb.148, 297, al.

σθεναροὶσίν ἐπεμβαθεῖσιν θεμέλιοις: "mounted upon mighty foundations",
since the main body of the church remained firm. The point is
frequently emphasised, e.g.inf.198f, 265f, 272ff, also 369 of the
great eastern arch, 452f of the four main piers; cf. Trypanis,

* On this source, see In.sup., footnote **.

187. ὁμίτυμον...θέσκελος ἀντιε: "the vault of the hemisphere", i.e. the dome. Paul uses a variety of periphrases for the dome, see Fr.'s list, p. 124, n. 3, adding 267 κορυφή περίμετρος, 299 εὐπλής σφίκος, 509 ὁμίτυμος. Fr. notes that the historians Agathias (Hist. 5. 9. 4) andProcopius (Aed. 1. 1. 45 ὁμίτυμοι ὁδὸς ἀντίε also avoid the chronographers' word τρούλλος, Lat. trulla (Theop. A. M. 6051, 232. 28, Mal. 489. 19). Evagrius, in his account of S. Sophia (HE 4. 31, 180. 6ff Bid.-Parm.), similarly prefers ὁδὸς (180. 12) and ἡμισφαίριον (180. 11f, 181. 4). Agathias' studied vagueness (Hist. loc. cit. τὸν ἐν μέσῳ ὑπεράνειστον ἐίτε κύκλον ἐίτε ἡμισφαίριον ἐίτε ὅτι ὅποι νύμφη παρ' αὐτοῖς [the.
suggests that there was no recognised expression for "dome" which was acceptable to his literary taste (cf. A. Cameron, *Agathias*, Oxford 1970, 80), in spite of the fact that θόλος (Proc. and Evagr.loc.citt.sup., Proc.Aed.1.1.56, 1.8.13, 1.10.9, Evagr.HE 2.3, p.40.20 Bid.–Farm., etc.) has Homeric authority (Od.22.442, 459, 466). For a detailed study of this term, see F. Robert, *Thymele* (Paris 1939) 46ff, and cf. Du Cange Comm.in Paul Sil., sec.33, p.90f Bonn. Paul's σφάζα ἡμίτομος (cf. 483 inf.; simil. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.119 σφάζης ὑψιπρόοιον in eadem sede) is a poetic variation of the historians' ἠμισφαίριον; the epithet ἡμίτομος is not uncommon in late poetry, Mosch.2.88 ἀντυγος (of a bull's horns, or the horns of the moon, see Bühler's n. ad loc.); Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.3.38 (PC.37.411A) of Eve, cut from Adam's rib; Nonn.D.37.107 (λίθος) ἡμίτομον κύκλοιο φέρον τύπον, εἰκόνα μῆνης, 37.469 Βοηίς, al.; Eudoc.Cypr.1.61 (PC.85.833D) ἡμίτομος προσθείτα υπερφούς (v.l. προσθείταν ὀφρείς) πυρι (of a virgin tormented by a demon); Georg.Pisid. Sev.612 (PC.92 1668A) of God, not dissected by incarnation. Homer uses ἄντυς ("edge or rim of anything round or curved", LSJ) of the rim of a shield or a chariot-rail (see LSJ s.v.I); but in later poetry it is frequently used at a cosmic/universal level, e.g. of the vault of heaven, Greg.Naz. Carm.1.1.17.67 (PC.37.444), A.P.8.1.3 (attr.Greg.Naz.), Nonn.D.1. 210, al., Par.3.66; of the zones or orbits of heavenly bodies, Nonn.D.2.616, 38.322, al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.116, A.P.9.807.3 (Anon., 7th cent.); of the earth/universe, Nonn.D.41.302, al., ps.Ap. Met.Ps.45.17, al., inf.Amb.35; other exx. LSJ s.v.II.3. At 338 inf., Paul too has οὐρανίας ἄντυς, "vaults of heaven", to which at 348f the church is compared, οὐρανίας ὅλα/ἀχράντους ἐδόξησεν (sc. ὁ δῆμος) ἐξ ἄντυς ἡμίκινα ἔθεσαν. It is no doubt with its cosmic associations in mind that he here uses ἄντυς of the vault of the dome, which is itself later specifically likened to heaven, 490f, 530f, see further n. sup. on 173f. For this use of ἄντυς, cf. A.P.1.10.70 (Anon.) ὑπὲρ ἄντυων σύλης, of the location of a depiction of Constantine, probably in the vaulting of the narthex of the church of S.Polyeuktos. Later in the poem, Paul uses ἄντυς in
other architectural contexts, in the sense "arch", 370, 398, 516, 536, 682; cf. 458 rainbow likened to arch (a similar comparison is made in the anonymous Syriac hymn on the church of S.Sophia at Edessa, verse 7, transl.C.Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, New Jersey, 1972, p.58. Jo.Gaz. uses ἁυτος of a rainbow, Descr.2. 176); of the circular cornice on which the dome rests, 403, 481, 483, 813, 864, 869; of the projecting curve formed by the east end of the church 419; of external curves 613; of the architrave of the ambo Amb.192. On the vague use of architectural terms in post-classical writers, with a discussion of σφαῖρα and ἁυτος, see G.Downey, TAPA 77 (1946) 22-34. (Downey takes ἁυτος here to refer to the cornice on which the dome rests, p.28, but a more general reference to the dome as a whole is preferable in the context). For the epithet θέσκελος ,see 144n.sup.

κατήριπε: This intransitive use of the strong aorist of καταρείπω in the sense "fall down", "collapse" is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.II. The perfect is used in the same sense of the collapse of a wall at ιλ.14.55, quoted by LSJ. Cf. also A.R.4.1686 προμνθεν ἔξογείσα κατήριπεν, of a half-hewn pine, Nonn.D.38.21 καὶ πολὺς ἐνθά καὶ ἐνθα κατήριπε πυροδὸς ἀλῆτος, of bolts falling from heaven, ib.162 δι νωτῆ στροφάλλει κατήριπεν εἰς μέλαν ὅδωρ, of the boy Phaethon in play (cf.Theoc. loc.cit.LSJ), inf.975 of the collapse of the Devil.


μυστιπόλου...μελάθρω: "of the house of holy mysteries", i.e.S.Sophia. Du Cange assumed that the reference is to the
patriarchal palace (aedisque patriarchalis), which was indeed close to S.Sophia (see n.sup. on lemma after line 80), but this is unnecessary. Certainly μέλαθρον often means "house" or "palace" (see LSJ s.v.II.1, PGL s.v.2 and cf.Nonn.D.46.63, 68, al., A.P.16.41.5, Agath.), but it is also used of a shrine, temple or church, Pi.P.5.40, Call.Ap.2, Nonn.Par.2.95, A.P.1.10.63 (Anon., 6th cent.).

Likewise substantival μυστικός (which occurs only in late Greek) regularly denotes one who solemnizes mysteries, i.e. a priest (pagan or Christian), e.g. Epigr.Gr.824.5, 957.2; Orph.Hymn 48.6, 49.2, al.; Nonn.D.12.19, 65, 13.189, Par.1.65, 9.161, al.; Eudoc.Cypr.2.261 (PG.85.856B); A.P.9.806.4 (Anon.) of Sergius, patriarch of Cpl. A.D.608-39; inf.758, cf. 362f Θάκους/μ., of the synthronon of S.Sophia. As an adjective, however, it is also used more generally of that which is connected with mysteries, "mystic", "holy", e.g. Epigr.Gr.822.8 δούλος, 823.6 ηματικός; Orph.Hymn 25.10 προνοητικός, 79.12 τελετάρχικος, al.; Nonn.D.24.39 ἀνθέκτικος, 40.296 νάοθηκας, al., Par.7.50 ἐντοτικός, 11.225 ἑρωολόμους; Eudoc.Cypr.2.2 (PG.85.848A) (Χριστοῦ) πόιτις; A.P.2.115 (Christod.) φώμιγγι; inf.585 βίβλιος.

189. πάντα δὴ ὑποκηριτησμένην, κτλ.: Cf.Agath.Hist.5.3.3 (on the earthquake of 557) ἰσαλθείν ἡδονής ἐκ βραβευμον αὐτῶν ἐδονεῖτο, ibid. sec.9 τῇ δὲ κύριες ἐν ὑπεράυφα τινὶ δωματίῳ ἱδρύμενοι ἁγιοντισμόν τῇ βίᾳ των βραβευμόν αὐτῶν ὑπεραληθόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πορφυρέρους, καθόπερ διασφεινόνθησέντες, ἐκ τοῦ μεταψύχου κατεφεύρων καὶ ἰσαλθεῖται διερρήγυνον. Paul's ὑποκηριτικός is very rare, and only elsewhere attested in prose (Ael.NA 7.8, Philostr.Imag.1.9, 14, ps.Greg.Nyss.Ep.26, PG.32.1093A), but there is no reason to follow Graefe in writing the more common compound ἑπισκηρτικός(A.P.5.103.3, Rufin., 12.10.1, Strato; Nonn.D.40.239, 41.192, al., Par.13.84, Musae.277). The preposition ὑπὸ is more appropriate to the context than ἐπί, and the anaphora πάντα δὴ ὑποκηριτησμένεσ.../γαῖα δ' ὑπεστείλαξίς... is then a deliberate effect (cf.n.inf. on 1018-26 for the use of rhyming line-ends). Nonnus similarly coins the compound ὑποσκαίρωσ at D.8.21 instead of his usual ἑπισκαίρω (D.24.123,
Both βάθρα and θεμέλιων mean "foundations"; for the latter, see n.sup. on 186, and for βάθρα in this sense, see LSJ s.v.3, adding Nonn.D.41.266, Agath.Hist.5.3.3 (quoted sup.), ib. 5.9.2; cf. also Orph.Hymn 23.5f ὃς κλονέεις δηοὺς ἴερον βάθρον, ἡνίκα πυοιῶν/ἐνυψώματι κενθυμέσιν ἐλαυνομένας ἀποκλεῖσις, of Nereus, who is in the following line asked to avert earthquakes.

190. γαία δ’ ὑπεστενάξιεν: Cf.II.2.781f γαία δ’ ὑπεστενάξιεν Ἀτλ ὃς τερπικέραυνῳ/χωμένῳ, of the Achaean battle-charge, also ib.2.95, Hes.Th.843 (with West’s n. on the variants; Spitzner, op.cit.p.26f, discusses the possibility that Paul may have written ὑπεστονάξιεν, but there is no evidence to suggest that this is likely). Du Cange wrote ἐπεστενάξιεν, refuted by the Homeric precedent, by contextual suitability and by the ms. reading. Agathias (Hist.5.3.4) similarly records "subterranean thunder", ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡχὸς τῶν βορῶν καὶ ἄρροις, ἑσπερ χθονία βροντή, ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναπεμπόμενη ἐπηκολούθη τῷ κλάνῳ καὶ ἔδιπλασίας τὸς ἐκπλήξις; cf.Mich.Syr.9.21 (II.193 Chabot) who, describing an earthquake earlier in J’s reign, speaks of a sound like a bull bellowing from the earth.


190-92. ἡερίας δὲ, κτλ.: The dust cloud; cf. Agath.Hist. 5.3.4 (continuation of passage quoted sup.) ὁ τε περίγειος ὁδὸ ὀμίχλη καταώθει οὐκ οἶδα ὡθεὶν ἀνακυθείσα κατεμελάνετο, also ib.2.16.5 on the dust cloud following the tidal wave which struck Cos. Paul emphasises the horror of the gloom by the choice of vivid language in 192 to describe the brightness which was obscured.

191. ὀμίχλη εσσα κοφή: A variation of Homer's κοφής... ὀμίχλην (Il. 13.336). In Homer, ὀμίχλη is mist or fog (LSJ s.v.1), but later it is used generally of cloud-like darkness or gloom, often of night, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. A.P.9.675.1 (Anon.) ἀφέγγεια νυκτὸς ὀμίχλην; Nonn.D.4.122 μία νυκτὸς ὀμίχλη, 38.19 κρυπτόμενον Φαέθοντα μεσημβρίας εἶχεν ὀμίχλη (solar eclipse), al., Par. 6.67 μελαγκρῆδεμνος ὀμίχλη (cf. NT Ev. Jo. 6.17 σκοτιά ἑπὶ ἐγέγονεν ), 9.7 ὀμία γενεθλίας εἶχεν ὀμίχλη, of a blind man, al.; Tryph. 310γ μερόπων γένος, ὀντιν ὀμίχλη/ασκόπος; Musae.232 κυκλόπεπλος... νυκτὸς ὀμίχλη, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.245 κόσμον ὀμίχλης, al. Later (inf. 905, 1000, Amb. 36), Paul uses ὀμίχλη in metaph. dark/light contrasts, see n. inf. on 1000 for examples of its use elsewhere in such contrasts, both literal and metaph., and cf. n. inf. The adjectival form ὀμίχληες appears first in Nonnus, D. 28.173 λού, 35.276 Βερέθρῳ; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.92 Βελέμνῳ, 2.200 νύσσων; conj. Hermann for ὀμίχλαλέντος at Coll. 208 ἡρός. In preferring the unaspirated form ὀμίχλη (against the ms. and all editors), I follow Keydell and Peek, who prefer this form in Nonnus, cf. Ludwig's n. on inf. Amb. 36, op. cit. p. 24.

192. ὄμαφυμα ὀμίφυμα, κτλ.: "hid the midday sparkle of the clear sky of heaven". Nonnus uses ὀμίφυμα of daylight, D. 18. ἀλλ' ὄτε ὅτι βοθεῖσιν ὀμαφύμασιν ἄγγελος Ἁθος/ ἀκροφαῖς ἔχαραις λαπόςκιον ὀρὸς ὀμίχλην. Elsewhere Paul uses it of the gleam of marble (inf. 545), the bright gleam of an eye (inf. 998, see further ad loc.) and the sheen of human flesh (A.P. 5.259.3. So at A.P. 16. 77.3, 4. Paul uses μαμαφωυμα both of sunlight and of the beauty of the empress Theodora). To the examples of μεσημβρινὸς, "noontide" in late poetry collected by LSJ s.v.1, add A.R. 4.1505, Call. Lav. Pall. 72, 73, Opp.C.1.299, 2.17, Nonn.D.5.602, 48.307. The closest parallels to Paul's ὀμφανῆς... ἀθέμης are (e.g.) A.R. 4.297 ἄκτινος, Nonn.D. 17.9 ἄκτινα (metaph.), 28.193 φέγγεος, of lightning; Jo.Gaz.Descr. 1.95 λαμπάτηρας. Nonnus does not use
διόν, but the term is Homeric, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.P.11.106.1 (Lucill.), 12.194.1 (Strat.); GVI 2026.6 (2nd cent.A.D.); Opp. H.3.635; A.P.9.275.3 (Mac.Cons.); metaph. inf.904. The verb ὀκτείνω, although originally a prose form, is found elsewhere in late poetry, Nonn.D.2.6 νέφος ἔσκεπε κάδμον, 18.155 ἔσπερην χθόνα πᾶσιν ὑπόσκοιος ἔσκεπεν ὀφθην, al.; A.P.5.294.4, 7.572.4 (both Agath.).

193-97. Christ prevented the collapse of the dome from causing bloodshed. The fact that the collapse caused no loss of life, if correct, is indeed remarkable: Agathias (Hist.5.3.10) and Malalas (489.4) record that many people died in the earthquake, and, according to the chronographers (Mal.490.1ff, Theoph.A.M.6051, 232.26ff), the dome of S.Sophia collapsed while Isaurians were working to repair the damage caused by the earthquake. On the style of this passage, see introductory note sup. on 186—213.


οὐ δὲ: For the postponement of ἤδη after a vocative, common in "serious poetry", see Denniston Greek Particles p.189, sec.2.

οὐδ' ἐνοία: "over your seat". The adjective ἐνοίατος appears in Homer (II.11.726, Od.4.450) in the sense "at noon ". Later poets use it in this sense, as well as other senses connected with the meaning of the root δυτή "daylight", "sky", see LSJ s.v.I.1-3 and etymology (fin.); they also use the term as a neuter substantive, "noon", or "evening" (LSJ s.v. ἐνοίατος II). It is first used
substantively of place at Opp.H.4.371 ἐνδία πέτρης, cf. GVI 1932. 6 (2nd cent. A.D.) soi ἐν Δικαστηρίῳ ἐνδίαν ἐν Πειραιᾷ, where it denotes “a place of sojourn in the open air”, see LSJ s.v.ἐνδίαν, Chantraine Dict.etym. s.v.ἐνδίαιος and cf. Eustath. on Od.4.450 (p.177.11ff ed. Lips.). who cites the Oppian passage to exemplify the sense ὑπερθέα (a gloss which is also preserved inter alia in Hesychius, s.v.ἐνδία) and adds, ὕπο ἐν ἐνδίαιοι (i.e. Oppian) ἐνδίαιον ἔρμηνεως καὶ τοῦ ὁς ἐπείν ἐναέριον (followed by exposition at length). This local use (sing. and pl.) is adopted by Nonnus, who, with the exception of Par.14.93, always constructs the term with defining genitive, as in our line, e.g.D.11.56, al. ἐνδία λόχης 37.94 ἐνδίαιον ἴδιος, al., Par.12.49 ἐνδίαια κάψης, 14.110 ἐνδίαιον ἄντρων, al.; also metaph., D.41.114 ἐνδίαιον ἐπίρροσύνης, of the city of Beroe. Cf.A.P.9.426.2 (Jo.Barb.) ἐνδίαιοι εἰδώλων (of Berytus after an earthquake), ib.668.8 (Mac.Cons.) χῶρον Ἀμακρούδων ἐνδίαιον, 11.63.4 (id.) ἐνδίαιον ἐπίρροσύνης (of a wine-cask); so ἐνδίαιον is used in late poetry in the sense "haunt", see LSJ s.v. Paul uses the term again to denote the church or areas of it in periphrastic expressions where the sense is little more than "region", inf. 354 (quoted by Suidas s.v.ἐνδία), 545f, 902, Amb.50, also Amb.138 ἐς ἐνδία μυγδόνος ἔκρης.


194. ἄμασιν...ὑπ’ ἀνδροφόνοις μαίναι: The verb μαίνω is normally constructed with simple instrumental dative, e.g.II.16.795f μιᾶνθησαν ἐν ἀνδροφόνοις καὶ νομήσατο, al.simil., see LSJ s.v.2, Nonn.D.24.20 φονή βαθαίμης Ποσειδώνα μαίνω, al., Par.8.108 μαίνετε χείρας δλέργῃς, Agath.Hist.1.2.5 χαῖρε ἀμαντία ἐφιλιόρ τῆν πατρίδα ἐγκυκλίων μαίνειν, cf.1.7.5 (quoted in n. inf. on 195-97), other exx. 929n. inf. But for the use of ὑπ’ and dative instead of simple dat.instr., see n.sup. on 172. Plural ἄμασι is rare (LSJ s.v. I.1 give instances from tragedy); Paul perhaps intends to suggest that the blood of more than one person is in question. For the
use of the epithet ἀνδροφόνος here, cf. Orph. Hymn 65.4 οἴματι ἄγαρον, of Ares, and cf. 136f sup. τροπαίοισ...πυραννοφόνοισ where "tyrant-slaying trophies" stands for "trophies of slain tyrants" as "man-slaying blood" here means "blood of slain men". See also 138n. sup. on Paul's liking for compounds in -φόνος. The epithet ἀνδροφόνος is used by Homer of Hector (Il.24.724, al.) and of the hands of Achilles (Il.18.317), see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.4. 701 subst.; GVI 922.6 ληστός; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.4.49 (PG.37.419) κατά, ib.1.1.7.74 (col.444) ἀ. κακοῦ βασιλῆσα; Orph. Lith.545 ὀσέε (of the Gorgon); Maneth.1(5).136 σιδήρου, ib.149 δοῦρασιν; A.P.9.378.1 (Pallad.) subst.; Nonn.D.29.96 δίσκη, 30.325 κυδομοῦ, al.; Tryph.482 σιωμῆς, 544 κολοσσωτῷ; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.139.6 ἀσπίδος; Epigr.Gr.1140.4 βάσικοι[ος, ἄν]δροφόνοι[ς], of Satan; A.P.9.210.6 (Anon.; aet.Anastasii) πολέμιοι, 11.60.2 (Paul Sil.) φοντίδα, Agath.Hist.2.7.2 subst.

194f. μεθήηκας...μηναί...Τελχίνας: For the construction of μεθήημι with acc. and inf. in the sense "allow", see the exx. cit.LSJ s.v.I.1a, K-G.II.75, sec.484.29, and of A.P.9.378.11 (Pallad.), Nonn.D.22.57f.

195. Τελχίνας κακοεργεύς: The Telchines were early inhabitants of Rhodes, sometimes identified or associated with the Curetes, Corybantes and Dactyli, and renowned as craftsmen, particularly as metalworkers, and as wizards, their name being connected by ancient etymologists with θέλγειν (of Hesych.s.v. θελγίνεις: οἱ Τελχίνες· γόπτες, πανούργοι, φαρμακευταί), see D.S.5.51.1-56.2, Strabo 14.2.7, col.10.3.7, 19, Eustath. on Il.9.525 (771.44ff ed. Lips. = 788.11ff Van der Valk). Discussions of these and other sources can be found (for example) in C.A.Lobeck Aglaophamus (Königsberg 1829, repr. Darmstadt 1961) 118ff; H. van Gelder Geschichte der alten Rhodier (Haag 1900) 44ff; Daremberg and Saglio s.v.Telchines (Vol.V.66f); and esp. the comprehensive article by Herter (with additional bibliography) ap.Pauly RE ser.2, Halbband 9 (1934) cols.197-224. Good and evil Telchines are distinguished in some sources, but by the time of Suetonius their
name was a byword for evil, a further source on the Telchines being Suetonius' discussion in his περὶ βλασφημίαν (ed.M.E.Miller, Mélanges de littérature grecque, Paris 1866, p.417), a work used by Eustathius, among other sources, for his note on II. loc.cit. (771.57ff ed. Lips. = 789.1ff Van der Valk, see W.'s n. ad loc.). From the Alexandrian period onwards, the Telchines are regularly referred to as malignant and jealous creatures, e.g. Call.fr.1.1, 7, 17 Pf (here connected with βασκανία, see further inf.), fr.75. 65; A.P.11.321.2 (Phil.Thess.); Nonn.D.14.36ff, 30.226, al. In later antiquity they are considered to be demons, hostile to mankind, e.g.Greg.Naz.Or.4.101 (PG.35.636B) τίνες Τελχίνες πονηροί, καὶ βασκανιὸς δαίμονες (sc. τιν' ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγε οὗ); cf. Suidas s.v. Τελχίνες: πονηροὶ δαίμονες. ἡ ἀνθρώποι φθονεροὶ καὶ βασκανιός, and see RE loc.cit. col.210 for many other exx. of Telchines as hostile to men. As πονηροὶ δαίμονες, the Telchines belong to the same milieu as the concepts of Phthonos (see n. sup. on 160-63, and cf.Nonn.D.8.106ff δυναμῶν δὲ ὀμίας καὶ προσέπτα ὁμοίος ἐστιν κάτω, ἐφί δόλον, εἰς κομίτα νῦν Τελχίνα κορόσσων, of Phthonos) and βασκανία (cf. exx. quoted sup. for association of Telchines and βασκανία, together with other exx. ap. RE col. 206f, where the connection of the Evil Eye with the Telchines is also discussed, see further 221n.inf. and cf.Fr.'s n. on our line). Also related is Μοῦκας, e.g. Call.Ap.113, A.P.1.103.1 (Anon.), Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.31ff (PG.37.581), ib.2.2.1.368 (col.1477), Eudoc.Cypr.1.84 (PG.85.836B), Chor.Laud.Marc.2.56 (42.2 Poerst.-Richtst.). On the attraction of such concepts to classicising writers like Paul, see n. sup. on 160-63. Bartelink (loc.cit. in 160-63n., p.39f) notes that the malignance of the Devil was particularly manifest against the prosperity of the Church and the extension of Christianity, compare the passage from Eustratius V.Eutych. cited 160-63n sup. In our passage it is implied that the Telchines caused the collapse of the dome, just as the same act is attributed to βασκανία and Μεγαίρα at 221 inf. and to a δαίμων ἀντίβιος at 273. For the Devil's involvement in this kind of activity, cf. Eudoc.Cypr.1.48 (PG.85.833C) ἰστα ἱακλόνεων (corr. Ludwig e ἱακλόνεω), καὶ τείχεα
κἀβαλὼν αἵμα, spoken by the κακοεργής δαίμων summoned by Cyprian. The form κακοεργής (= κακοεργός, κακοδρόγος) used by Paul and Eudocia (op. cit. line 23, col. 833B) is rare, cf. Maneth. 1.249 βίς, 315 θυμῷ, 259 τήλῃ; Epigr. Gr. 818.15 subst.; Nonn. Π. 35.264 ἡμῶς.

195-97. οὖθε γὰρ ἔτης, κτλ.: Christ did not allow blood to be shed in His church because Christian sacrifice is bloodless (i.e. the Eucharist), unlike that of pagan religions, as exemplified by the Telchines. The bloodshed involved in animal sacrifice was an aspect of paganism especially repugnant to Christians, see, for example, Eudoc. Cypr. 1.44f (PG. 85.833C) θυμῶς/ ἀνθρώπους ἐξειν βλούσει κατεξηγεῖσα ταύρῳ, a further credential offered by the κακοεργὴς δαίμων to Cyprian (cf. n. sup.); Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica XII. 15' ή νοητάς αἱ θυσίαι ἐν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἐν κυνίσσαι καταφύγει καὶ αἵματων ραβάς/ ἀνευδότως θεῷ εἰς ὁμῆς εὐφράξεσσας προσάγονται, ἐν Σ. Σοφίᾳ; Agath. Hist. 1.7.4f τὴν γε μὴν τῶν θυσιῶν ἁμότητα καὶ κακοδαμούνας οὐκ οἴνδα εἰ σῶν τε λόγῳ ἀκέρασθαι, …(5) ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἤγομια μηδὲν τι εἶναι τὸ ἱδρυμένον θαμοίς αἵματι μαινομένοις καὶ εὐαίς ὀλέθρῳ βιαστάτῳ· εἴ δὲ γὰρ ἄρα καὶ ὀτιοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσέσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴθος οὐδὲ ἠμερον, ἠγρίων δὲ τί ἕως καὶ μανιδές, ὅποιον τὸν δεῖμον ἀναπλάττονι μάτην οἴ ποιήσαι καὶ τὸν θόβον Ἐνυώ τέ τινα καὶ Ἀτης καὶ ἔριν, ὡς ἂν ἀοτροῖ φαίην, τὴν ἀμαυμάκετον, discussed by R. C. McCall in Byzantion 41 (1971) 252.

The connective οὖθε γὰρ, "negative counterpart of καὶ γὰρ" (Denniston Greek Particles p. 111), is here used because the clause adds a new idea: 194f you did not allow death in your church; 195-7 in addition your sacrifices are bloodless. In this expression, γὰρ rather than οὖθε is the connective.

196. ὑμιματος ἄχριτῶτοι, κτλ.: "to see with the all-seeing glance of your undefiled eye". The use of βόλη to denote the glance of an eye is Homeric, Od. 4.150, see LSJ s. v. 3 and cf. also Musae. 94, Tryph. 116; Nonn. Π. 26.213f ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δὲ οἱ οὐγλη/ πέμποι ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ βολαὶς ἀντίρροπος ἡμῶς; simil. Greg. Naz. Carm. 1.2.10.91
Active πανθερκής is regularly used of the eye of a god in both pagan and Christian contexts, Epigr.Gr.1033.13 (an oracle, ca. 3rd cent. A.D.); Orph.Hymn 34.8, Orph.fr.62.2, A.P.9.525.17 (Anon.), all of Apollo; Orph.Hymn 8.1, Maneth.2(1).342, both of Helios; Orph.Hymn 62.1, of Dike; Maneth.3(2).359, of Hyperion; Q.S.2.443 οὐρανώνες; Christian exx. PGL s.v.; also Nonn.Par.12.165 ὑφαλμῷ κραδίης πανθερκῆς, of Isaiah. With Paul's use of ἀρχαντος, cf. A.P.2.124 (Christod.) ἅ.


197. τεμένουσιν ἀναμέκτοιο θυμής: Paul uses the simple dative to denote place, as often in Nonnus D., see Keydell I.59*, and cf.D.35.234f, 36.104 for similar datives with χέω; cf. K-G.I. 441ff, sec.426.1, Fr.p.114f. See further nn. inf. on 255 and 974 for Paul's idiosyncratic use of τεμένουσιν(v) at this place in the line. Homer uses τεμένος of a holy precinct (II.8.48,al., see LSJ s.v.II), and late authors sometimes apply it to Christian churches, e.g.Chor.Gaz.Laud.Marc.1.38 (12.11 Foerst.-Richtst.), 2.29 (35.22), al., Phot.Hom.10.5 (102.13 Laourdas), al.; cf. also A.P.9.155.5 (Agath.) of the temples of Troy, and, in a secular context, ib.9.658.2 (Paul Sil.) of the Great Praetorium. With Paul's
expression ἀναμένοντος θυσίας (also inf. 683, dat.pl.), denoting the Eucharist, cf.ps.Ap.Met.Ps.proth.25 and contrast A.P.6.324.3f (Leon.Alex.) ἀναμένοντος δὲ θυσίας/οὖ δέχομαι θυμωνὸς ὁ θρασύμητις Ἄρης. It is a variation of ἡ ἀναμένοντος θυσία, which is standard in this context, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.10.1 (PG.37.1027A) = ib.2.1.13.1 (col.1227), Evagr.HE 4.31 (181.1 Bid.-Parm.), Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica XII.18' 5, Theoph.A.M. 6113, 304.1 de Boor, al., see PGL s.v. θυσία 6, ἀναμένοντος 3.

198-203. The whole church did not collapse, but only the great eastern arch and part of the dome, cf. inf. 274ff and Agath. Hist.5.9.3 τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλόνου τὸ μεσαίτατον μέρος τῆς ὀροφῆς καὶ ἀπαντα ὑπερβάλλον ἀποθεβληκτότα... The chronographical accounts (Mal.489.19ff, Cramer Anecdotæ parisiensia II, 114.14ff* Theoph.A.M.6051, 232.26ff) agree with Paul and Agathias that the collapse occurred at the east end (ἐπειδὲ τὸ ἀναπολικὸν μέρος τῆς προὺποστολῆς). Their term προὺποστολή is, however, very rare (see inf.) and its sense uncertain. In PGL it is defined as "ṣupporting wall of vault", but G.Millet (Rev.belge de phil. et d'hist. 2, 1923, 604) suggested that the sense is rather "the part before the apse" (πρὸ + ὑποστολὴ, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.32 ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ὑπεσταλμένη κατὰ βοραχό, describing the apse) and took the reference to be to the eastern semidome. This view is accepted by C.Mango (Polychronion: Festschr.F.Dölger, Heidelberg 1966, 365) who suggests that the term may reflect Syrian usage. The only other occurrence of the term προὺποστολή is in the Vita S.Marthae, ASS May 5th, col.416D-417A, now ed. P.Van den Ven, La vie ancienne de S.Symeon stylite le jeune, Vol.2 (Subs.hag.32, Brussels 1970) ch.49 (p.291) and ch.50 (p.294). Mango takes the reference there to be to the roof of Martha's martyrium, probably a barrel vault. Van den Van (loc.cit.p.291-93, n.2), accepts the different analysis of προὺποστολὴ proposed by A-M Festugière, "espace couvert en avant de", and Festugière's consequent understanding of the reference in the V.S.Marthae as "un portique couvert enclos de murs". In the case of the chronographers' use of προὺποστολὴ, * On this source, see In.sup., footnote **.
however, Van den Ven agrees that it refers to the area to the east of the main dome of S. Sophia ("celle [i.e. la localisation] des deux semi-coupoles qui bordait la coupole centrale à l'orient et abritait le ciborium", p.291). Millet (p.604f) proposed to emend the chronographical texts (suggesting that τὸ πρὸ has fallen out before τῆς προοίμισιν) to accord with the sense given by Paul and Agathias, i.e. that the dome itself collapsed. This is probably not necessary: at 200ff Paul implies that the great eastern arch collapsed initially, which would surely cause damage both to the eastern semidome and to the central dome, as is assumed by R.J. Mainstone in Architectural History 12 (1969) 44. Certainly the dome was demolished in consequence and re-built to different specifications, cf. Mal.490.3-5, Cramer 114.20-22, and see further n.inf. on 276-78. Paul does not include the information given by the chronographers that the fall destroyed the ambo (Cramer, Theoph., cf. Anon.Descr.S.Soph.28, 105.19ff Preger*), the ciborium and the Holy Table (Mal., Cramer, Theoph. Millet doubts this, loc.cit.606f, arguing that here the Anon.Descr. may be correct in mentioning only the ambo, solea and pavement).

198. οὔδε μὲν: "Nor again"; see Denniston Greek Particles p.362, sec.8. This completes the negative progression οὔ (194).../... οὔδε γαρ (195).../οὔδε μὲν (198), "you did not allow... For neither did you endure... Nor again did the church wholly collapse".

198f. εὐρύστερος ὑπάκλασε μέχρι θεμείλων/νησίς: In εὐρύστερος and ὑπάκλασε, Paul applies anthropomorphic language to S. Sophia, cf. esp. 274ff inf. οὔ γὰρ ἁπτομηγέντας εἰρικήμων κατάνυσιν ὑπάκλασεν, with n. ad loc., where ὑπάκλασεν is used in the same context as ὑπάκλασε here. The verb ὑπάκλασσε and compounds are originally applied to men or animals in the sense "bend the knee", "crouch down", but Paul has already used κατοκλάσσω of buildings (sup.144), although not in precisely the same sense as here, see n. on 143f. For Paul's use of ὑποκλάσσω here, cf. Anon.Laud.Beryt.49 (I.96 Heitsch) ὑπάκλασε γαία χοιο[ῦα], also of an earthquake; cf. 188n.sup. for

* On this work, see footnote * to In.sup. It mistakenly dates the collapse to the second year of Justin II (p.105.15ff).
another similarity to the following line of this poem. The compound in ἔξω- occurs only in late authors, see LSJ s.v., noting Paul's different metaph. usage at A.P. 5.279.2, also infra 735 and 251 with n. ad loc.; the compound is used literally, infra 245.

The epithet εὐρυτερῶν is elsewhere applied to divine beings:

199. ἡ ραστόδινος ἔξωμενος, κτλ.: "held fast within the bonds of craftsmanship, excellent in its fruit". The participle ἔξωμενος ("shut in", "confined"; from εἴλω) is Homeric, used both literally (e.g. II. 18.287 ἔξωμενοι ἔξωθεν πύρινα, al., see LSJ s.v. ἔτιμα A.1) and metaphorically (II. 13.524 ἦτο τὸ δίδοσ θυσίαν ἔξωμενος); cf. A.R. 1.869 flaw ἔξωμενοι...καὶ ἔξωμαι, 4.604 ἔξωμεν, ταναθήν ἔξωμεναι αἰτιωροῦσιν (A.R. also uses the form ἔξωμενος in the same sense, 1.129, 2.1249, cf. Nonn. Par. 11.156, etc.); Nonn. D 14. 243 ἦσσαν ἔξωμενοι...κοιναί, 26.117 ἔξωμενοι ἄνδρα φυλάσσομι, also 2.484; A.P. 2.248f (Christod.) νόμιμα πολύπλοκον εἴχε θυμοτύπης; ἀμφασίης πελάγεσσιν ἔξωμενοι. With Paul's metaph. use of ἔξωμεν, cf. Opp. 2.2.398f σάμα μὲν ὀδόν κακείνον δαμήσετε ἄφρος φίλος/ἀμφασίης ἔξωμενοι ἔξωμενοι...κοιναί, 26.117 ἔξωμενοι ἄνδρα φυλάσσομι, also 2.484;

200. μηδὲ ἀφίδος...κεραίη: "the curve of a single arch". Like
avxu£ (cf. 187 sup. with n. ad loc.), ἀψις denotes something round or curved (a loop or mesh, the felloe of a wheel, a disk, see LSJ s.v.1, 2, 4), and it is commonly used of an arch or vault, see LSJ s.v.5, G.Downey in TAPA 77 (1946) 28f, and cf. Nonn.D.23. 265 ἡπείρης ἀψίδας, sing. ib.41.276; A.P.9.641.3 (Agath.) of the arches of a bridge (cf. PGL s.v. 1a); and esp. Proc.Aed.1.1.39, Agath.Hist.5.9.4, inf.466, 473, 484, al., all referring to the four great central arches of S.Sophia, as in our line. (Paul does not, of course, restrict his use of ἀψις to these arches, e.g. 382, 383 of the arches of the three eastern exedrae, 722 of the arches of the ciborium). The term κέρατη, on the other hand, does not appear in an architectural context before Paul, although the basic sense "horn" is commonly transferred to other things which project like a horn (e.g. a yardarm or projecting piece of land, see LSJ s.v.II, PGL s.v. and note also A.P.6.75.3, Paul Sil., of a bow made of horn, = κέρας, see LSJ s.v. κέρας III.1). So Paul applies it (usually in conjunction with another term to suggest curvature) to architectural curves which bend like a horn, often to ἀψίδες/ἀντυγες, inf. 401 of the great eastern arch; 457, 462 of the four main arches; 561 of the vauling of the north aisle; 368 of the curve of the synthronon about the apse.

ἀπωλισθης: This compound (not used by Nonnus) is more common in prose, see LSJ s.v.ἀπωλισθαιω, PGL s.v.ἀπωλισθαιω, but for its use in poetry, cf. A.P.7.273.3f (Leon.Tar.) ἀπωλισθηθον δὲ βίοιο/Κάλλακισχος, A.P.9.158.5 (Anon.) ἐκ τέγευς γὰρ ἐκλπεῖν ἀπωλισθης πέσωμαι, also inf. 773 of the drapery of the figure of Christ depicted on the altar-cloth.


σφαίρης δὲ λάχος κονιόμενον ἐμίχθη: Ludwig (op.cit.p.14f) argued convincingly for the retention of the ms. δὲ instead of the τε of all editors, comparing inf. 217f, 311f, 558f, 728, etc., for δὲ after ἀλλὰ. Analysis of Ludwig's list of the incidence of τε
in the Desor. shows that Paul never uses it to connect clauses, but only to link individual words or phrases, usually substantival, and often in the expression τε καί. For this use of λόγος ("portion", "part"), cf. A.R.1.1082 πώλησαν λ. (sc. νυκτός), 3.1340 τρίτατον λ. ήμιτον; Mosch.2.2 νυκτός...τρίτατον λ.; Nonn.D.10.25 ψυχής τρίτατον λ. (here only in Nonnus); inf.356 οφαίρης τετρατόμοιο λάχος το τέταρτον. In our line οφαίρης is abbreviated for οφαίρης ήμιτομοίο, cf. 187 sup. with n. ad loc., Downey in TAPA 77 (1946) 22-26. The line-end κούνιτιν ἐμίχθη is Homeric, Η.10.457, Od.22.329. Nonnus uses κονίτι only in the sing. Contrast the different collocation of the same words at 191 sup.

202. τὸ μὲν διαπέδοιτο, τὸ δὲ εἴσετι: "one part was on the ground, the other/the rest still...", i.e. of the arch and dome. With the two articles λόγος may be understood from 201, although they might equally stand alone, cf. A.P.9.129.1 (Nestor of Laranda) εἰπέ τὸ μὲν, τὸ δὲ ἔμελλε, τὸ δὲ ἦν ἑτερον ἐν εὐθείᾳ simil. Nonn.D.25.533ff. For the simple dative διαπέδοιτο denoting place, cf. 197 sup. with n. ad loc. Plural διαπέδου is not common in the general sense "ground", but cf. Nonn.D.9.190, 40.434; also sometimes in the sense "plain", see LSJ s.v. and of. A.P.9.247.2 (Phil.). The adverb εἴσετι is found first in Alexandrian poetry, see LSJ Suppl.s.v. and of. Nonn.D.35.362, 36.69 and passim, A.P.7.572.4, 9.482.19, 10.64.6 (all Agath.).

Θάμβος ἱδεσθαι: Cf. A.R.1.220 μέγα θάμβος ἱδεσθαι in eadem sede, 1.1307 θάμβος περιώσιον ἀνθρώπινον λαβοσείν, also 4.1430; Opp.H.5.469 θάμβος ἐπὶν ξείνιοι καὶ ἐνυκάκιησιν ἱδεσθαι; Nonn.D.43.358 θάμβος ἱδεσθαι, also 38.17; A.P.1.10.71 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἐστὶν ἱδεῖν μέγα θαῦμα; inf.447, 493; Anon.Desor.S.Soph.26 (I.102.9 Preger) θαῦμα ὅπε ἦν ἵδεσθαι, of S.Sophia. On this use of θάμβος/θαῦμα, see 153n. sup. Paul's use of the parenthetical phrase here (cf. θαῦμα ἱδεσθαι, Η.5.725, Od.6.306, al.; mirabile visu, V.Aen.1.111, 12.252, al.) is "a dramatic way of drawing attention to the wonderful or the horrible" (Austin on V.Aen.1.111).
203. οίσαμερ ἄστηρικτων: "just as if without support". For this sense of ἄστηρικτως, cf. A.P.6.203.10f (Lacon. or Phil.) Νύμφαις δ' ἐξετεύετο δόξον αἱ σπουδασαν πέμπειν μιν ἄστηρικτον ἠθέτειαν δόσει. In Nonnus the word is widely used, often predicatively as in our line (see Peek Lex.s.v.II), of restless movement or instability (e.g. of water, D.13.317, 32.8, al., cf. Musae.295; of people, D.4.29, 15.255, al.); also "unsteady" (D.16.375, Par.5.25) and "inconstant" (D.33.112, Par.6.206). Nonnus uses οίσαμερ frequently, but always connects it with a participle when using it in Paul’s sense, e.g. D.4.76 οίσαμερ αἰσθημένη, 37.434 οίσαμερ οὐκ ἀνων, cf. Musae. 116, 121, A.P.5.259.2 (Paul Sil.).

ομίλεσαν ἐκκρεμὴς οὕραις: "was hanging there companion to the breezes". The adjective ἐκκρεμὴς (cf. inf. 486, 820, 825, 852) occurs only in late authors, Coll.109 ὀρθη, A.P.6.64.7f (Paul Sil.) ἐπὶ χρόνῳ ἐκκρεμῆς ἁπνῆθε κατ᾿ ὁδοθαλμοῦ βυῦου ἐπικούνιον, metaph. ib.5.241.7f (id.) ὃ ἐπὶ πῶσατε/εἰσὶν ἐμὴς ψυχῆς ἑλπίδες ἐκκρεμῶσί; c.gen., A.P.5.247.6 (Mac.Cons.) κεῖλεσα ἐκκρεμέα (so. me), Agath. Hist.1.10.6 τεῖχος, 2.31.7 of a beard, al., other exx. from prose collected LSJ s.v. Nonnus uses ομιλεῖω of abstracts and things as well as of people, e.g. D.1.284 θάλασσα...ομιλήσεν θαλάμῳ, 38.210 ξαφνίεσ...ομιλίσεν ὀλέθρῳ.

204-13. At 204 Paul returns to the same point as that of 176f sup., the universal distress caused by the collapse of the dome. As in the earlier instance, this leads (205ff) into a new prooemium to the next section (214ff J.'s reaction), likewise a captatio benevolentiae, giving the same justification for recalling past grief, but this time addressed to the audience in general, cf. n.sup. on 177-85. Here, however, the justification is very briefly expressed (207), and two elaborate synkrisis drawn from nature illustrate the extent of despair, in the manner of an epic simile, see further n.inf. on 208-13.

204. κατηφεῖσθαι βεβολημένοις: On the use of κατηφεῖ and cognates in such a context and the associations of such terminology, see
n. sup. on 181. The noun is Homeric (II.3.51, 16.498, 17.556; cf. A.R.3.1402, 4.205, 594), as is the metaph. use of the perfect passive βεβολήματος, II.9.3 πένθει... βεβολήματο πάντες, 9.9 άχει... βεβολημένος ἤτορ, other exx. collected LSJ s.v. βολέω I. Nonnus uses βεβολημένος chiefly of a physical wound, e.g. D.35.385, 44.250, cf. A.P.5.266.1 (Paul Sil.) ἀνέφας λυσιτήρι κυνός βεβολημένον ὅπς, but also of the dart of love, D.10.290, 324, cf. Musae.134, with other exx. collected by Kost ad loc.

205. μὴ τίς, κτλ.: For similar anticipation of opposition in the audience, cf. 89f sup.

ἐμὴν σειρῆνα: I.e. my Muse, and hence "my song". The relationship between the Muses and the Sirens is disputed, see, for example, E.Buschor, Die Musen des Jenseits (Munich 1944), proposing that the Sirens were the infernal counterparts of the heavenly Muses, with the objections of J.T.R.Pollard in CR 66 N.S.2 (1952) 60ff; in general RE Ser.2, Halbband 5 (1927) col.288ff, Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Sirenes (IV.1, 1353-55). As goddesses of song, however, the two are akin, and "Siren" is elsewhere used, at any rate in late authors, as a synonym for, or in connection with, the Muse(s), although it has been suggested (Pollard loc.cit.p.62) that the first instance of their juxtaposition in Alcman (fr.30 Page à Μῶσα κέκλαγ' α λίγη Σηρή) is a deliberate contrast. But for late exx., cf. A.P. Appendix ap. Cougny 2.550b.1f τίς μου τὴν Σειρῆνα κακός κακὸς ἥρποσ δαίμων; τίς μου τὴν γλυκῃρὴν ἡρποσἀηδουνίδα; (followed by an address to the Muse); A.P.9.184.1f (Anon.) Πίνδαρο, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρῆν/Βασχυλίδη; ib.2.350 (Christod.) Πιερικῆς Σειρῆνος ἀφιέναι ἐργον φαίνων, of Homer; ps.Pampr.4.25f (I.119 Heitsch) ἐκ δὲ τεῦν μέλπειν φε[ρο]μαι γένος ἀλλα λιγαινειν/ δειμαίνων, γενείς γὰρ ἐμ[ὴ]ν σειρῆν[a] καλπτείς, of Theagenes, cf. ib.3.11 (p.111); Jo.Gaz.Desor.1.1ff περιβείς με δι' ἑρέος ἐκμόρισε βροδίζει/Σειρῆνων λυγίσων ἄγει ὅρδος· ἐν δὲ μενοῦν/Μουσάων πλήκτροι σιμάθοισα ὅρνεν κέντρον; Chor.Gaz.Laud.Summ.2 (70.6ff Foerst.-Richtst.) ἡδον μὲν οὖν τίς ἐν μόλα τὰ Μουσάων ἐργαζόμενος ποιητικὴ σειρῆνι τὸ θεάτρων ἐθελεῖν ἐνιαία σου τῶν γνωρισμάτων.
In epistolography, 

τὴν καὶ παρὼν μὲν ὡς 

τὸν λόγων, see further H. Hunger in DOP 23-4 (1969-70) 29.

βάλλοι νεμεσίμοινι μούθω: "smite with indignant word". This metaph. use of βάλλω is classical, see LSJ s.v.A.1.3 and cf. Nonn. D.29.40 καλλεὶ Βάλκου Ἑβάλλες. The unmetrical ms. reading βάλλοι was corrected by Du Cange. Nonnus uses the line-end νεμεσίμοινι μούθω at Par.4.218, cf. D.25.125, 39.292 ν. ...φωνή; the epithet occurs elsewhere only at Call.fr.96.11 Pr. θεοί πάντες κομπεῖς νεμεσίμοινες.

206. ἀπαραθόν ἁμνήστωι, κτλ.: "for walking along the path of grief forgotten". The sentiment of 179 καὶ εἰ τεῦν οὔς ὁρίων is here expressed in a new way, see n. ad loc. sup. The metaphor of the path or way is commonplace, used by Paul again inf.964 ἀμφίθης ...οἷον, 1015f πᾶσαν...διεύθυν/ἀπαραθόν λειμένη θεουδεί, see nn. ad loco. For metaph. ἀπαραθός, see LSJ s.v.2 and, for exx. in late poetry, cf.Maneth.4.531 ἀ.βιτότου; Nonn.Par.14.21 ζῷη ἐγὼ βιότοι καὶ ἀπαθός, cf.16.39; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.9.50 ἀ.ἐλεγχήστρον δδεῦει, 100.15 ἀ.δοίιας. The compound διαστείχω (strictly "go through/ across") is constructed with accusative at E.Andr.1090, 1092 (LSJ s.v.1), and often in Nonnus, e.g.D.4.332 ἄμεσα, 18.61 πρήμα...ἐριπνήσ, al., Par.7.3 γαῖαν...διαστείχων Γαλλαίης, 18.1 τάδε πάντα διάστειχον, also 2.111; elsewhere c.gen., Pi.I.3.17 metaphor. (see LSJ s.v.2), Nonn.D.8.16, 10.66, Par.6.75, 11.155; absolute, Theoc.27.69 (emended to ἔστειχε by Gow), A.P.12.85.5 (Mel.), Nonn.D.17.37, 25.533, Par.4.136, 11.36, al.; or with εἴς, Nonn.D.6.159, 8.188, al.; also metaph. in patristic writers, see FGL s.v.B. The epithet ἁμνήστος is rare, passive (as here) Theoc.16.42, Lyc.1230, J.Ap.1.2, Nonn.D.9.303, 17.6, 34.22; active, Phryn.PS p.20B, Opp.C.1.34 (v.l.), Nonn.D.3.327, 36.400, Par.20.100.

207. ἡδύτερος, κτλ.: A pair of bald commonplaces, set down with gnomic asyndeton (cf.115 sup.), serve to provide the same answer to possible objections as at 180ff sup., see n.sup. on
182-4 on the rhetorical theory of such techniques. The perfunctory style here is in sharp and deliberate contrast to the elaborate poetic language of the two analogies which follow. For the Ionic form ὑγεῖα (= ὑγεῖια = ὑγεῖεια, see LSJ s.v. ὑγεῖεια) in late poetry, cf. Orph.Hymn 23.8, Prool.Hymn 1.22, 42.

208-13. The prooemium is concluded with an auxesis of the theme of the extent of grief experienced (picking up 204), in the form of two negative comparisons (synkrisis), expressed in the manner of epic similes and, as such, developed for their own sake. On synkrisis as a means of auxesis, see n.sup. on 150-54, and on auxesis in prooemium, n.on 182-4. Synkrisis is similarly used to expand the theme of grief at Anon.Laud.Beryt.48ff (I.96 Heitsch) where the death of the professor from Smyrna is said to have caused the city more grief than the earthquake which destroyed it (like 211 inf., the synkrisis begins οὐκ[᾿ΩΙΕ], although the sense is different); also ib.98ff (p.97) mourning like that of the Muses and Thetis over Achilles. (It is likely that Paul knew the first passage, cf. nn.sup. on 188, 198f). The similes here have the same effect as the examples of 182-4 sup., in lowering the tone before the next section by means of a development remote from the main theme. Here, however, this effect is more pronounced than at 182-4 (or at 166f), since the similes are more extended, expressed with greater artistry and more original and individual in character, and there is no return to the immediate occasion as there is in 185.

Like many epic similes, the theme of these is drawn from nature, the collapse of the dome being compared in its effect to great natural disasters of fire and flood, which are similarly witnessed by men in helpless consternation and are similarly the cause of extreme suffering and despair because of the destruction caused. Fr. is surely right to argue (ad loc.) that 208-10 describe the sudden disaster of lightning causing a great conflagration, rather than simply the parching heat of the sun (which is not a sudden dramatic disaster and would be most unlikely to cause the phenomenon of 210, see further nn.inf.).

Similes from fire and flood are well-established in epic poetry,
e.g. (i) fire: \textit{Il}.2.780 (cf.\textit{ib}.781 and 190n.sup.), 11.155ff, 15.605f, 20.490ff, 21.12ff, all of warriors raging over a battlefield, cf. Lucan 1.143ff Caesar's valour in battle compared to the devastating effect of lightning; \textit{Il}.14.396f of the noise of an army; A.R.1.1027f of the clash of opposing warriors; \textit{Il}.2.455f, A.R.3.1265ff of the glint of armour, compared to forest fire by Homer, lightning by Apollonius. (ii) flood: (Paul's image is that of a destructive thunderstorm, but the more common classical analogy is that of a mighty river swollen by rain); \textit{Il}.5.87ff, 11.492ff, \textit{V.Aen}.2.496ff, \textit{Ov.Fast}.2.219ff, Val.\textit{Flacc}.6.631ff, Sil.4.520ff, etc., all of the destructive might of individual warriors; \textit{Il}.4.452ff of the noise of battle, 16.384ff of Patroclus doing battle in Achilles' chariot; \textit{V.Aen}.9.667ff battle compared to a violent storm; \textit{Lucr}.1.283ff destructive power of a river in flood as an analogy for the power of Lucr.'s unseen bodies of wind; \textit{Hor.Carm}.3.29.33ff life like a river, sometimes peaceful, sometimes in spate; \textit{Ov.Met}.3.79f wounded serpent advances like a river in spate; Claud.\textit{Ruf}.1.124ff Rufinus' threats like a torrent; Cor.\textit{Laud. Just}.1.124ff flood of weeping ceased, just as a river is checked by dykes built by prudent farmer. (iii) fire and flood: Juxtaposed in battle imagery at \textit{V.Aen}.2.304ff, 12.521ff, while at \textit{Il}.17.736ff images of fire and flood occur in a series of similes describing the struggle to remove Patroclus' body from the battlefield. (iv) despair of the helpless onlooker: This, the chief point of Paul's imagery, is emphasised by Virgil at \textit{Aen}.2.307f (cited (iii) sup.) and \textit{Aen}.12.451ff, Aeneas' attack compared to rain destroying crops; and by Apollonius at 3.1399ff, Aietes witnesses the destruction of the army which sprang from the dragon's teeth like a gardener whose saplings are destroyed by rain; cf. \textit{ib}.4.1278ff Argonauts wander in despair like those who have seen prodigies and expect war, plague or destructive flood. In contrast, at \textit{V.Aen}.10.405ff the shepherd watches as \textit{victor} the fire which he has deliberately started for clearance, again in battle imagery.

The same type of imagery is also to be found elsewhere, for example in patristic writers, e.g. (i) fire: Jo.\textit{Chrys.Laud.Paul}.4 (PG.50.491.24ff, \textit{ib}.494.33ff), the voice of Paul has an effect
on his enemies like destructive fire among corn stalks and hay or thorns, cf. Romanos 36 δ’2 Gabriel consumes BMV’s fear as fire consumes foliage; Thdt.Ep.61 (II.140.5ff Azēma) the all-consuming fire of φιλία; Greg.Naz.Or.27.5 (PG.36.17A) enemies desire to light the secret spark of evil which leads to destructive conflagration (cf. id.Or.2.40, PG.35.449A, for fire/spark image). (ii) flood: Bas.Leg.lib.gent.5 (PG.31.577B) rejection of the beneficial along with the harmful is like a torrent which sweeps away everything in its path; Jo.Chrys.Theatr. (PG.56.265.3ff) an ekphrasis describing the storms which destroyed crops, with the result that people flocked to church, Ὅχετερος χέιμωρος; (iii) fire and flood: Greg.Nyss.V.Macr. (PG.46.985D) the need to express grief compared to a smouldering spark which produces a conflagration, and then to an overflowing torrent; Greg.Naz.Or.4.30 (PG.35.556C-D) hidden vice compared to a smouldering spark or subterranean stream; id.Or.4.88 (PG.35.617A) passions break out like a smouldering spark or a river contained by force. (iv) emphasis on onlooker: Jo.Chrys.Pan.Pelag.Ant.2 (PG.50.582.1ff) the body or S.Pelagia is more terrible to the phalanxes of demons than is a thunderbolt to us; Bas.Hom.fam.et sicc. (PG.31.305Cff) an ekphrasis describes the despair of one surveying the drought-stricken earth.


ἀν’αἰθέρος οἶκχυμένη φλόξ: "the flame streaming forth from the sky". In classical tragedy, φλόξ is used both of the sun’s heat and of lightning, see LSJ s.v.3, and for the former sense, cf. Nonn.D.2.320, 16.109, 38.185. But Nonnus also frequently uses the expressions οὐρανίη φλόξ (e.g.D.2.496, 8.398) and αἰθερίη φλόξ (e.g.D.2.445, 46.33) to denote lightning, cf. esp. ib.7.147 ἐξελήφθη δὲ πεσόσα δι’αἰθέρος οὐρανίη φλόξ. It is likely that Paul
modelled his expression on this usage and intended the sense "lightning" here. For φλόξ combined with a compound of χέω, cf. II. 16.123 τῆς δὲ (sc. νηδός) άτιμα κατ' αύξεσιν κέχυτο φλόξ. Paul uses passive ἐκχέω again, inf. 925, of a wave. The sense "stream forth" is common from Homer onwards, in a variety of contexts, see LSJ s.v. ἐκχέω II.1 and cf. A.R.1.880 μελισσαί, 2.97 θυμός; Theoc.22.125 άτιμα, cf. Opp.C.2.483, Nonn.D.4.448, Tryph.392; Opp.H.5.269 λύθροι; Nonn.D.40.361 νάματος; Π.9.660.1π (Anon., Byz.) πυγή/άφθονος ἀδυσονίων...νομίμων; other exx. PGL s.v. Paul also uses the adj. ἐκχύτος in the same sense, e.g. 1013 inf., see n. ad loc., and cf.esp.inf.888 ἐκχύτον αὐτραπτοντα πυρός φλόγα of the lights of S.Sophia. The line-end here is in the Nonnian manner, cf. D.8.398 φείδομένη φλόξ, 36.296 μανιμένη φλόξ al.simil., also A.R.4.925 αὐθομένη φλόξ.

209. άτιμα κατέφλεγεν, κτλ.: "when it burnt up the surface of the earth, leaving it without herbage". The term νάμον/νάτα ("back", i.e. upper surface, see Barrett on E.Hipp.128-9) is commonly so used of wide expanses, such as sea, earth or sky, see LSJ s.v. II.1, and for its use of the earth, cf. also A.R.4.1246 νάτα χέονυξ; D.P.692 νάτον πεδίον, cf. 872, ib.420 ἱσθμια νάτα; Nonn.D.1.107 γαίης δύτα νάτα, Π.9.663.1π (Paul Sil.) πλωτα δη χέρουν/νάτα. See further n.inf. on 932. The term άχλος, here proleptic, is very rare, cf. E.Hel.1327 άχλοα πέδα γάζ, Opp.H.2.496 άχλοον ούσει ξένος (effect of sting-ray’s venom); also Hp.Coea.596 and occasionally in later prose, see Stephanus s.v. Homer uses καταφλέγω of fire, II.9.653, 22.512, cf. A.R.4.392; Nonn.D.2.630 κατέφλεγεν αἰθέριον πῦρ (of Typhoeus), 36.132 μὴ σε...καταφλέξεις κεραυνό; al.; Romanos 54 ἵ2; also in prose, e.g. Agath.Hist. 4.20.7, other exx. LSJ, PGL s.v.

210. μυρία καρφομένων, κτλ.: "when countless streams of torrents hissed as they were dried up". For water boiling and being dried up in contact with lightning, cf. Nonn.D.2.444ff where Typhoeus fails in an attempt to check Zeus’ lightning (αἰθέρι οἱ φλόξ, 445) by hurling water at it. But the phenomenon of the boiling river
is derived from literature rather than from nature, going back to II.21.36ff where Hephaestus subdues the Scamander, cf. Nonn.D.23. 252ff Dionysus fights the Hydaspes with fire, also ib.25.76ff (noting κατέφλεγεν, line 77).

The verb σίζω is used by Homer (Od.9.394) of the effect of the red-hot brand on the Cyclops' eye, compared to the noise made by hot metal when tempered in cold water; cf. Arist.A.Po.94b33 σίζειν καὶ ψόφειν, of fire quenched. It is rare (exx. LSJ s.v., adding Opp.H.1.772 of the sea in a storm), and is cited by Cerealius at A.P.11.144.3 as an example of a trite Homerism. Du Cange wrote σίσεν, which gives no sense, and was rejected by Hermann (Orphica, Leipzig 1805, Addenda p.XXVII) on metrical grounds (that correction in the second syllable of the dactyl is rare in Nonnian poets). Hermann accordingly proposed σίζεν, which was accepted by Graefe. But, although this aorist probably occurs in literary Doric (see Gow on Theoc.6.29), the ms. has the imperfect, which is expected after κατέφλεγεν.

The Ἀνυμος is the name of a river in Thessaly (LSJ s.v., cf. E.HF 390, Call.Del.103, Dian.101, Orph.Arg.114, Hesych. s.v.), but it is used by Alexandrian poets of a torrent formed or swollen by rains, see LSJ s.v.II and cf. Schol.A.R.1.9, Schol.Lyc.1424, D.P.1118, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.9.5 (PG.37.667), Coll.104, Etym.Magn. s.v. (100.57f). The participle καρφομένων, like σίζεν, denotes the effect of the fire on the torrents, cf. Euph.fr.50.3 (p.39 Powell) πυρὶ καρφομένα. In Homer and Hesiod the verb is used of skin (Od.13.398, 430; Op.575), see further LSJ s.v., adding Call. fr.44 άγγατος...κάρφετο, Α.Π.11.374.8 (Mac.Cons.) γήρας αύχμηρρη καρφομένη θέρεϊ, of a woman.

211. καρποτόκος κατὰ χεινος: "down upon/over the fruit-bearing earth". Cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.85.25 χεινον καρποτόκος, also A.Π.16.11.3 (Hermocr.) ἀγροῦ; the adjective is not common, v.l. in A.Π.12.225.3 (Strat.) of Demeter; A.Π.16.264.1 (Anon.), Epigr.Gr.982.1, both of Isis; Nonn.D.22.277 δώμου, 24.11 ὁδασι, 40.344 ἁσθματι (of wind), cf. also ib.21.26 Γάτα δὲ καρποτόκεια. The preposition is used as in Homer, cf. II.3.217 κατὰ χεινος οὕματα πῆξας, see further LSJ s.v. II.1, K-G.I.475, sec.433 B.1b.
211f. οὖρανὸς αἴθων/εὐρύ χαυνὸ, κτλ.: "the fiery heaven yawning wide, opened the gates of destructive rainstorm". Paul is thinking of a sudden downpour, as in a thunderstorm (the Homeric sense of οὖμπρος, see LSJ s.v.); hence αἴθων suggests both the livid colour of the sky (as it is commonly used of the tawny colour of animals, see LSJ s.v.III, adding Opp.C.1.309, 3.54, al.) and the streaks of lightning, cf. Pi.O. 10(11).83 κεραμυνν, P.1.22f δουλ κασπυ/αἴθων' (describing the eruption of Mt.Etna), N.7.73 ἀλώ; Orph. Lith.703 Ἡφαίστειο. For the line-end, cf. Orph.fr.43.1 Abel ( = Clem.Alex.Strom.5.128.3, II.413.9 Stählin) ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμον γένετο, μέγας οὐρανὸς αἴθων (οὐρανὸν Stählin). This fragment is taken by Kern to be part of the longer fragment preserved in Bus. Praep.Ev.3.9, Stob.Ecl.1.2.23, where the line-end reads instead μέγας ἄρχος ἀπαντών, cf.fr.168.6 Kern, fr.123.8 Abel). The aorist of χάσκω/χαίνω is elsewhere applied to earth rather than heaven, II.4.182, al. τότε μοι χάνοι εὕρετα χάων. Anon.Laud.Beryt. 49 (I.96 Heitsch) γαῖα χαυνοῦσα, cf. A.P.7.564.1 (Anon.), Nonn.D.33. 214. With οὐρανὸς.../...ιέει πῦλας here, contrast 173 sup., where similar language is used in a different context. Absolute δηλήμων is found at II.24.33 σχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοί, δηλήμωνες, cf. Jul. Or.2.87A (111.19f Hertlein) αὐτί σωτήρνω καὶ προσογωνιστῶν ἀνεφάνησον αὐτὸ δηλήμωνες (of wolves and mongrel dogs, contrasted with soldiers); inf.938. Elsewhere the term is constructed with objective genitive, Od.18.85, al., see LSJ s.v. and cf. Procl. Hymn 1.28; Nonn.D.21.110, 40.178; Tryph.642.

213. καὶ τραφερὸν ἕξωσος, κτλ.: "and confounded dry plain with the sea's surges". Cf. Opp.H.5.7f ἦδατι γαῖαν/ἔξωσος, "mingling earth with water" (of Prometheus' creation of mankind from clay). The verb is attested only in late writers, Nearch.ap.Arr.Ind.20.4 λέγει δὴ δ' Νεάρχος. ἐξωτική ἤνουθηκέ τὸν ἀλέξανδρον... ("discussed"); Schol.Pi.O.7.36 (=20f; I.208.15f Drachmann) ὅστε ἤνουσοι καὶ πάσιν ἄνθρωποι εἰς μέσον ἄγαγεν; Maneth.2.493 πρώτας ἀκτινος ἤνουμενὴ (of the moon); Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.50.43 (PG.37.1388A) ἡ μοῦνος Χριστῇ ἤνουμικός ἐν αὐτοῦ ὄμιλῳ; then widely in Nonnus, in both active and middle without distinction, in the sense "unite", "associate with",...
"share with", "communicate with" et simil., e.g. D.3.384 θεαμένη δι' θυγατρα νόθην...σύγχρονον ἡμαθίωνος ἐνὶ ξυνώσατο μαζὶ, 10.312 γὰρ σὺ τραφέρη/αθερή ἐξωσας (to Zeus, of Ganymede), al., Par.1.184 ἐπος ἐξωσε Φιλίππη, 19.99 νυκτιλόχους δύο φῶτας ἐνὶ ξυνωσαυν ολέθρῳ, al. Cf. inf.996. Homer uses τραφέρην (sc. γῆν) of dry land in the phrase ἐπὶ τραφέρην τε καὶ ὕγρην, II.14.308, Od.20.98, cf. h.Cer. 43, A.R.4.281, Opp.H.5.313, al., Orph.Arg.300, A.P.9.672.1 (Anon.); but it is also used by late poets as an adjective with other substantives in the same sense, see LSJ s.v.II, adding GVI 1283.2 (4th cent.A.D.) ἐπὶ τραφέρην χθονί, cf. Orph.Lith.39; Nonn.D.2.541 µήτηρ (Gaia), 4.408 βόλῳ; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.60 καλάμησιν (v.l.). Nonnus has ὀθιοις...θαλάσσης at D.25.437; in Homer (Od.5.412), adjectival ὀθιος is used of the sound of waves, and in classical Greek the neuter plural is used substantively to denote waves, see LSJ s.v.II.1; so often in later poetry, sometimes absolutely, sometimes with genitive, as here, e.g. A.R.1.541 abs.; Opp.H.1.232 abs., 5.342 ὀλὸς ὀθιῶν, al.; A.P.9.670.1, 672.4 (both Anon.) both abs.; Nonn.D.32.153 abs., 48.935 ὀθιοις ποταμοῖο, al.; Musae.242, 248 abs.; A.P.6.167.5 (Agath.) abs.
214-54. J.'s reaction to the catastrophe. J. shook off grief and turned immediately to the task of re-building (214-18). The goddess (New) Roma stood beside J. and appealed to him to use his power to heal the gaping wound in her breast (219-25). She argued that under her guidance, J. had brought prosperity: he had made Cpl. mistress of the world and the centre of all trade (226-36); he must not let this church, the greatest symbol of his position, subside beneath the waters of Lethe (236-42). Roma then attempted to prostrate herself before J., but he raised her up and spoke reassuringly (243-47), saying that Roma must not submit to grief, as she had refused to submit to external foes, and promising to make her yet more illustrious by the restoration of the dome (248-54).

The narrative is in this passage interrupted by the imaginary dialogue between Roma and J., a literary device which offers an explanation of J.'s motivation in immediately embarking on the restoration of the dome, while Roma's speech also provides the opportunity for further panegyric of J. (see n.inf. on 220-42).

214-18. Agathias (Hist.5.9.1f) gives a similar account of J.'s practical activity in contrast to the general mood of shock and apprehension which followed the cessation of the earth tremors: ἔναυλον γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπήρχε τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ ὑποψία ἐνέκειτο ἐπίθεσιν τὸ λογισμένον. ὡδὲ βασιλεύς πολλὰ τῶν ὀικοδομικῶν ... ἐπανορθῶσθαι ἑπειρᾶτο. ἐπεφράντιστο δὲ οἱ ἔς τὰ μάλιστα ὁ μέγιστος τοῦ θεοῦ νεός κτλ. Romanos commends J.'s prompt re-building of S.Sophia after its destruction in the Nika Riot, 54 κβ'5' ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μετὰ μίαν τῆς πτώσεως ἱέραντο ἡμέραν/το τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγείρεσθαι ἱέργον; cf. Agap.Cap.25 (PG.86(1).1172C) Bouleviai μὲν τὰ πρακτέα βραδέως, ἐκτελεῖ δὲ τὰ κριθέντα σπουδαίως. For J.'s personal enthusiasm in supervising the building of his church, cf. Proc.Aed. 1.1.67ff, Anon.Dscr.S.Soph.9 (I.85.4ff Preger)*.

* On this work, see In.sup., footnote*.
Paul uses the epic adversative ἀδιάτορ only here in the Descr., although the phrase ἀδιάτορ ἑγὼ occurs several times in his epigrams, A.P.5.230.3, 236.7, 272.6, 274.3, cf. Call.Ap.71, A.P.9.756.3 (Agath.), etc. Like Nonnus (D.13.384, al.), Paul uses only the form ἀδιάτορ, never ἀτάρ. On ἐμὸς οἰκηποδίχος, see nn.sup. on 153 and 156.

ἀπόστροφον ἁλγος: "the horrible grief", i.e. at the collapse of the dome, referring back to 204, 208-13 sup. The sense of ἀπόστροφος is here "from which one turns away", cf. Hesych.s.v. ἀπόστροφον ὃ τις ἀποτράπαιτο, citing S.ΟΤ 1313Γ τῷ σκότου/ νέφου ἐμὸν ἀπόστροφον, see further LSJ s.v.1.2, adding Opp.H.5.416 ἔλεοις δ' άφρον μὲν ἀπόστροφος. The term is used once in Homer (Od.14.372 "turned away," "far from men"), but is otherwise rare in epic: it is not used by Nonnus.


ἐκάλυψε νόσον σέλας: "hid the radiance of his mind". J.'s mind was momentarily clouded by grief, like the ἀχλυδοσα ἀνὴρ which the clergy are invoked to cast off at 169 sup. Cf. Greg.Naz.Ορ.7.15 (PG.35.773Β) ...καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν οὐτω ψυχὴν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίους καλινδομένην, καὶ ἄποψη ἡλιοῦ νέφει συγκαλυμμένων, of his brother Caesarius; Greg.Nyss.Melet. (PG.46.852Β) πῶς ἀναβλέψην τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς, τοῖς τῆς συμφορᾶς γνώφης κεκαλυμμένοις; τίς μοι διασχύον τὴν βαθείαν ταύτην καὶ σκοτεινὴν τῆς λύπης νεφέλην; Jo.Chrys. Pop.Ant.2.2 (PG.49.36.18ff); Romanos 44.1β.6-11 and other exx. collected by J.Nimmo Smith, Romanos the Melodist and Christian Rhetoric (unpubl. Edinburgh Univ. M.Litt. thesis, 1971) 73ff. The metaphor of the obscuring cloud (of grief, tribulation et simil.) is Homeric, e.g. II.17.591 τοῦ ἀδακιοῦ νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.
Paul uses σέλας again in connection with J., inf. Amb. 299 σέλας ἀπευδχοτο... γολήματι (see Fr.'s n. ad loc.), and at 1002 it is used of the patriarch Eutychius, where it is similarly contrasted with darkness (κατηφόδωσον ὁμίλημα, 1000, cf. κατηφός in our line, with n. inf.). The term suggests a bright, clear light: from Homer onwards it is used of fire (e.g. II.19.366), of the heavenly bodies (II.19.374) and of lightning (II.8.76); cf. 647 inf., where it is used of the glitter of mosaic, and see further 1002n.inf. In applying it to J., Paul is following a tradition of associating the emperor with the idea of light, e.g. Proc. Gaz. Pan. 5 (494.20) πρὸς ἄρχην τοσούτην ἄνελαμπησ (of Anastasius), see further Cameron on Cor. Laud. Just. 1.149 (and other notes collected in Cameron's index s.v. light imagery).

κατηφός: Cf. 181 κατηφέα κέντρα, with n. ad loc. on the associations of the term both with dejection and darkness, 204 κατηφείτι βεβολημένος (both in the same context as here), and esp. 1000 inf. where the cognate term κατηφόδωσον is similarly contrasted with σέλας.

217. ἀλλὰ μινυνθαδιῆς, κτλ.: The line is composed of Nonnian elements, cf. Par. 4.151 δαίμα μινυνθαδῆν ἀπεσείσατο, 11.69 ἀπεσείσατο κέντρα μερίμνης, 16.75 ἀποσείσεται ἥχος ἄνινης, D. 12.269 ἀποσείσεται γόγκον ἄνινης, 15.85 ἀποσείσατο κέντρον Ἐρώτων. Metaph. ἀποσείσαι is Aristophanic and also used in prose (see LSJ, PGL s.v. ἀποσείσιμος), but the verb is not common in any sense in post-classical poetry before Nonnus, perhaps at A.R.1.129 (cf. Nonn.D. 11.217; the reading is preserved in Simplicius and accepted by some modern editors, e.g. Fränkel, Vian, while others retain the codd. ἀπεθήκατο, e.g. Mooney, Ardizzoni); Call.fr. 239 Pf.; GVI 633.4 (mid-2nd cent.); Orph.Hymn 78.9; also Musae. 108, Jo.Caz.Deser. 2.30. For the metaph. use of κέντρον, cf. 181 sup. with n. ad loc. (The singular is here used to avoid hiatus with ἄνινης). Homer uses μινυνθάδιος, Ι. 1.352, 17.302, al., esp. Ι. 22.54 μινυνθαδιώτερον ἀγγος, cf. A.R. 2.856, 3.690; GVI 121.2 (2nd/3rd cent.); Orph. Lith. 413 (adv.); A.P. 7.334.2 (Anon.); Nonn.D. 13.381, 29.54, al., Par. 6.107, 18.32; Tryph. 160, 603; inf. Amb. 142.

218. πρὸς δὲ πόνους ἡπίξε: For similar rapid activity on J.'s part, cf. 47 sup. πρὸς δὲ συγγυμνήν τρέχεις. For ἄμυων πρὸς, cf. 954 inf. This use of the verb in the sense of eagerly turning attention to something is more common in prose, see the exx. collected LSJ s.v. I.2, Stephanus s.v. col. 1068. In epic, it is usually applied to rapid physical movement, although Homer also uses it of mental activity, Ι. 15.80 μὰς δ’ οὔτι ἄνερος; also of a word, Call.fr. 384.7 Pf., Nonn.D. 42.152.

παλινθωμίταρας οἴκου: "of re-building the house". On οἴκος, see n.sup. on 142. The epithet is apparently Paul's coinage. It governs an objective genitive like the noun ὅμωμα, Μαν. 6.415 ἐχυρῶν ὅμωμας οἴκων; Paul uses ὅμωμα adjectivally inf. 456 ο. τέχνης, 513 ο. μύχθρο. On the strength of these parallels, Spitzner (op.cit.p.29), taking up the suggestion of Graefe ad loc. (Fortasse πάλιν separandum), would write ἡπίξε πάλιν ὅμωμας οἴκου. The
separation of παλιν from ὣμητορος, however, weakens the essential point that J. is now re-building, and, more important, replaces the feminine third-foot caesura, regular in Nonnian poetry, with the less common fourth-foot caesura (see 150n.sup.). Nonnus uses several παλιν- compounds (e.g. παλινώγρετος, παλιναυξίς, see Peek Lex. col.1247-9) and there is no reason why Paul should not have coined another one. The scribe (and Du Cange) originally wrote παλινῳμήτορος, but this is erroneous, since -τω suffixes express agency, see Kühner-Blass II.270f, sec.329.26, Schwyzer I.530f, L.R. Palmer, Grammar of the post-Ptolemaic papyri I.1 (London 1945) 118f, etc.

219-54. The narrative is abruptly broken off and there follows a dialogue between J. and Roma ( = New Rome), who, already invoked by Paul to celebrate J. (sup.145ff), now appears in person and does so. On the relationship between the emperor and his capital, see n.sup. on 145-67.

Personified Roma ( = Old Rome) was first established in literature in the early Augustan period, see U.Knoche in Gymnasium 59 (1952) 324ff, who also traces the earlier history of Roma in cult and art. At V.Aen.6.781ff Roma appears in the pageant of future Roman history as the destined mistress of a world-empire, compared with Cybele who wears the towered crown; at Lucan 1.185ff she appears in a nocturnal vision to Caesar at the Rubicon and questions his objective, herself now wearing the towered crown, but old and dishevelled. It is, however, in Claudian and his successors that the motif is fully developed and exploited in a panegyrical context (perhaps under the influence of Statius' personifications, see Alan Cameron Claudian, Oxford 1970, 255), e.g. Claud.Prob.73ff, Gild.17ff, Eutr.1.371ff, Stil.2.218ff, VI.Cons.356ff; Sid.Pan.Anth. 387ff, Pan.Mai.13ff, Pan.Aviti.45ff; Rutil.de reditu suo 1.47ff (explicit personification 115-20); Prudent.Contra Symm.2.80ff, 640ff. (Even the abruptness of Paul's introduction of the scene is characteristic of Claudian, cf. Gild.17ff, Stil.2.424ff, al.). This literary development is parallel to contemporary artistic depictions of Roma, particularly on coinage, see Cameron op.cit.p.273ff, also 363ff
and cf. 151n.sup. For a sixth cent. example, cf. Cor.Laud.Just. 1.288ff with Cameron and Stache ad loc. Personification of Roma (= New Rome) in Greek writers is much less common and less developed: Themistius, in describing the association between the emperor and Cpl. (on which see n.sup. on 145-67), speaks of the city in anthropomorphic terms, e.g. Or. 4. (I.80.6ff Downey) ἡ πόλις ὑπὲρ ἑνδεικτόρου ἑξεπεπληκτῶ ὑπὸ δείματος, καὶ ἐπαλλή μὲν αὐτῆς ἡ καρδία, ἢ ἐξομβαινὲ δὲ ἡ φωνὴ, κτλ., see further Fenster op.cit. p.34; cf. Anon.Laud.Beryt. verso 82ff (I.97 Heitsch) where Cpl. mourns the dead professor of Berytus, line 94 ἡ πάρος αἰὲν ἀδόκρυσ ἔδοκρυον τὸτε Ῥώμη; Anon.de Pol.Scient.5.3 (ed. A.Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio II, Rome 1827, p.598) where cities battered by faction rioting are seen by the speaker standing in a circle around Cpl. (ἂν ἐν πίνακι κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ βασιλίδα ἐοικώσας, line 4f), being maltreated and describing their suffering. (Mai ascribed this work to Peter the Patrician and dated it to the first half of the sixth cent.; see further A.S.Fotiou in Jahrb.der österr.Byzantinistik 27, 1978, 1ff). With Roma’s speech in Paul, compare the direct speech put into the mouth of Thebes at Anon. Enc.duc.Romani 4.11ff (I.123 Heitsch; 5th cent.), A.P.16.32b (Theaet. Schol.) where Roma and Beroe declare "μάντα φοίνιξ δύναται"; later Georg.Pisid.Her.2.4.

Paul’s New Roma clearly derives from the traditional portrayal of Old Roma in Latin poetry: she is a warrior goddess (μάντα φοίνιξ 219), but distraught (cf. Luc., Claud.Gild., Sid.Pan.Avit. locc. cii.sup., Prudent.Contra Symm.2.80ff) and imploring (243ff inf.; cf. Claud.passim, see Alan Cameron op.cit.p.365; Sid.Pan.Avit. loc.cit.). J’s reassurance (248ff) parallels those in earlier dialogues of Theodosius (Claud.Prob.164ff), Jupiter (id.Gild.204ff, Sid.Pan. Avit.123ff), Honorius (Claud.VI.Cons.427ff) and Aurora (Sid.Pan.Anth. 516ff), although this reassurance, in combination with the detail about Roma’s distress and supplication, is overall most closely parallel to, if much more compact than, the scenes in Sid.Pan.Avit. and its model Claud.Gild. On the neutral character of Roma, such that she could appear in pagan and Christian writers alike, see Alan Cameron, op.cit.p.365ff, J.M.C.Toynbee in JRS 37 (1947) 135f.
Against Paul's scene, firmly placed in the pagan classical tradition, should be set that at Cor.Laud.Just.1.33ff (written only a few years later in 566-7, see Cameron's Introduction to her edition, p.2). There the future emperor Justin is visited in a dream not by Roma but by the Virgin (described, line 36, as sacrae Pietatis imago) who crowns him and clothes him in the imperial purple, telling him of the death of Justinian and urging him to assume the imperial office. Corippus, although using an epic model, translates it into explicitly Christian and Byzantine terms (see Cameron ad loc.), and in his choice of the Virgin foreshadows the central role played in early 7th cent. Cpl. by the Theotokos, a warrior maiden like Roma, as protectress of emperor and city, see (for example) Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 4ff, 18ff, S. MacCormack in CQ N.S.25 (1975) 149.

219. ταραττουμαι...έννεπε Ρώμη: Homer uses only the aorist participle in this sense, cf. II.13.725, 20.375, al. εἶπε ναρατιάς. Nonnus uses the perfect once (D.20.42), but in the epic form ταραττομαία, cf. έστημοι Α.Ρ.3.878, al. The line-end is, however, in the Nonnian manner, cf. D.35.140 έννεπε Μορρείτος, 47.595 έννεπε Περσείτος, both introducing a speech, al.simil.


220-42. Roma's speech. The appeal is constructed as a further glorification of the achievements of J., in which the building of S.Sophia, now endangered, is seen as a fitting climax to J's world conquest, as it is in the introductory invocation of the two Roma's (135-67). Here, however, the emphasis is upon the prosperity and trade which J's peaceful world-empire has brought. The panegyric is given enhanced encomiastic value by being put into the mouth of the goddess Roma.
220. ταγκρατίς, ὀλβιώμοιρε, κτλ.: On the use of honorific appellations in hymn, prayer and invocation, see 139n.sup. In classical drama and lyric, ταγκρατίς is used of divine beings, see LSJ s.v.1, and cf. Orph.Hymn 12.5 π. ἔχων (of Heracles), 28.2 (similarly of Heracles); of God, LXX 2Ma.3.22, Clem.Alex. Paed.2.8.75 (I.203.14 Stählin), id.Strom.5.1.6.3 (II.329.32), Eus.V.Const.3.17 (I.84.24 Heikel); cf. ταγκρατίστε 22 sup., of J. J. is again called ὀλβιώμοιρε at 934 inf.; the epithet occurs elsewhere only in the Orphic Hymns, 26.6 of Gaia, 36.9 of Artemis, 63.3 of Dikaiosyne, al. It is appropriate to designate J. Δίκης ἔστεν in view of his work on the legal code, see 7n.sup., and cf. also Paul's emphasis on J.'s clemency, sup.35ff, inf.941ff. Greg.Naz. calls Nemesius ὀμμα Δίκης, Carm.2.2.7.1 (PG.37.1551A); cf. also Opp.H.2.680 (quoted 139n.sup.). With ἔρμα πολῖς, cf. ΠΠ.16.549 ἔ.πολης, of Sarpedon, Od.23.121 of the suitors; also Epigr.Gr. 969.5 (197-207 A.D.), GVI 1983.9 (3rd cent.A.D.). The metaphor is appropriate for a king, cf. ΠΙ.Ο.2.6 ἔρσιομέτρεγοντας, of Theron, Opp.Π.1.1 γαίης ἐρυκτίδες ἐρείσωμα, of Caracalla.

221. ἑρμακώτι σακκακανί νε, κτλ.: "Jealousy has snatched me up, but it is a sign of grace in Envy,...". The ms. reads μεγαίρετο, from which Graefe wrote Μεγαίρης, a correction accepted by subsequent editors (although Spitzner, op.cit.p.30f, would retain μεγαίρετο). The concepts of Βασκανία and Μεγαίρα are here virtually synonymous: they embody the same notion of cosmic malevolence which Paul elsewhere attributes to Phthonos (161 sup., see n. on 160-63), the Telchines (195 sup., with n. ad loc.) and a δαίμων ἀντίθετος(273 inf.). In coupling Βασκανία with ἀρπαζω here, Paul personifies it, just as the other concepts are personified: hence it is preferable to follow Graefe in writing both Βασκανία and Μεγαίρα with initial capital letters (cf. G.Giangrande in Hermes 96, 1968, 717 n.1). The idea of Βασκανία is associated with Death or Hades by Erinna (Α.Π.7.712.3 βασκανίς ἔος', ξίδα), and it appears frequently in sepulchral epigrams, often in conjunction with ἀρπαζω, as in our line. (The metaphor is from a creature of prey, cf. Call.fr.43. 63 Pf. καὶ γαῖ ὁ βασκα(ί)νει πύργον ἐγείρομενον, of the ἀρπαζω, an
unknown bird of prey, believed to be a bad omen, here in connection with the foundation of a city; A.P.7.80.5f, Call., δ πάντων/αποκτήσ Άιδης and 929 inf. with n. ad loc.). For example, Epigr. Gr. 381.2 άμοι[ν]θετι[ο]'Αιδεων Βασικανίς; GVI 971.1 (?1st/2nd cent.) άφτα γενεάντιόν με δ' Βασικανός ήστατα(ν) δαίμων; ib. 1114.1f (3rd cent. A.D.) Οππιανός κλέος έσχεν δαίμονα, ἀλλὰ με Μοιράν/Βασικανός ἐξήπαξε μύτος (at line 4 ἀνίνος φθόνος is used in the same context; the lines are said to have been inscribed on the tomb of Oppian); SEG 15 (1958) 853.5f άφτα γάρ ἐς τέμ[π]τον σε καὶ ἱκουτόν λυκάβαντα/τοίμενα βιοτάς ἀπασε Βασικανίν. The verb ἀφεῖσαι is also used with φθόνος, e.g. GVI 583.3 (2nd/3rd cent.) (παίδα) φθόνος ἤστασεν, ib. 705.5ff (end 1st cent.) με [ἀπὸ μητέρα] ἄρος ἠστασε μο[ι]τα/καί] φθόνος.../[βάσικανοί ἐστε, θεοὶ]; Greg.Nyss.Puleh. (PG.46.865B; quoted in n.sup. on 160-63), cf. A.P. 9.153.5ff (Agath.) πάντα... Μοίρα κρατάπτῃ ἠστασεν ἀλλοτρίην ἀμφιβαλούσα τύχην/καὶ σε τόσον νίκησα Βασις φθόνος (on Troy). The power of Βασκανίᾱ is frequently regarded as operating by means of the Evil Eye, e.g. A.P.5.22.5f (Rufin.) ὡμία βαλός ὁμομοτ' ἐφ' ἠμέτερα ἔλπισα βασικανίν. It particularly affects the young: so in our line New Rome is young by contrast with her mother Old Rome (cf.n.sup. on 145-67). The concept is discussed in detail by G.Giangrande, who adduces a wealth of additional evidence, in Hermes 96 (1968) 716ff, with reference to A.P.7.525 = Call.Epigr.21 Pf. For the use of βασκανία/βάσικανος in Christian writers, frequently in conjunction with φθόνος, as at Agath.Hist.3.2.9, 5.20.5, see PGL s.vv. and the exx. collected by Bartelink, loc.cit.in n.sup. on 160-63; on the association of the Telchines and βασκανία and the connection of the former with the Evil Eye, see 195n.sup.

Megaera is not regularly associated with the Devil in Christian writers, but she appears in pagan literature as one of the Furies (Erinyes), sister to Tisiphone and Allecto, and, like βασκανία, endowed with the Evil Eye, e.g. V.Aen.12.846ff, Lucan 1.576ff, 6.730ff, Lucian Trag.4 (where Gout is deemed to be the child of Megaera), Claud.Ruf.1.74ff, al., id.Rapt.3.386ff, Orph.Hymn 69.2 ( = Orph. Arg.968), Orph.Lith.225, 728, Nonn.D.10.35, 12.218 and esp. 31.73f καὶ οὗτ ἔμηγαιραν ὀμόστολον, ἀφρα τελέσσῃ/βάσικανον ὄμμα φέρουσα
νόον ζηλήμονος Ὕπνος, αι.; see further RE Suppl. VIII (1956) s.v. Erinys 18, col. 123f. The verb μεγαίρω also appears in connection with βάσικαίρα and related ideas, e.g. A.P. 16.78.1 (Anon., on a portrait of the empress Theodora: the previous poem, on the same subject, is by Paul) βάσικαίρας ἦ γραφής ἐκκι αι ηθούρομεν μεγαίρεις; Enc. duc. Romani 4.12 (I.123 Heitsh.) [η]μετέρας ἱερίκας ἀφροδαίας, εἰ [δὲ μεγαίρη]ς (Thebes addressing another land; Viljamaa, op.cit. p.121, notes the similarity of the antithetical style here to that of our line); cf. A.R. 4.1669f ἐξοδοποιῶν̃ ὄμματι...ἐμέγην̃ ὄπωμάς, where μεγαίρω is used as a synonym for βάσικαίρα.

222/222a. The text of the ms. is here faulty: line 222 lacks one short syllable between ζῷοντος and ἐγγύθεν, while line 222a is an addition in the right-hand margin, which Fr. (in app. crit.) took to be in the hand of the scribe of the main text. This judgement accords with the conclusions of Preisendanz, whose introduction to his facsimile edition of the Anthologia Palatina (full title in n.sup. on opening title and lemma) contains by far the most detailed study of the ms. The line added in the margin is written in maiuscule letters, while the majority of the text is in miniscule, but this is consistent with the practice of the scribe J elsewhere, see Preisendanz, praef. col. LXXVff, esp. LXXVIIIif. From examination of the facsimile alone, many similarities can be observed between the lettering of line 222a and that of the lemma after line 80 (for example). Since the latter is inserted into the main body of the text (see n.sup. ad loc.), it is certainly in the hand of J.

Editors and commentators have varied in their adaptation of the ms.: Du Cange printed 222a in brackets, while Bekker excised the line. Fr. follows Wilamowitz in doubting 222. Graefe, Ludwig and Spitzner retained both lines (Spitzner put line 222a before line 222). Proposed supplements for line 222 are ὃτ' (Du Cange, Graefe, Bekker), ὥ (Ludwig) and ἔτ' (Spitzner; to be read in combination with the inversion of lines 222 and 222a, op.cit. p.29ff).

Of these supplements for line 222, Du Cange's ὃτ' is by far the best: Ludwig's ὥ introduces hiatus without improving on the sense of Du Cange's ὃτ', while Spitzner's ἔτ' (although an
easy omission before ἐγγ- in uncialς, ETETI) is feeble. On the other hand, ὅτι' could easily be lost after the opening ὅτι, while evidence from Nonnus' usage suggests that Paul might well have written such a half-line, cf. esp. D.30.151 ὅτι'ἐγγύθεν ἠλθὼν ὀλέθρου; also the incidence of ἐγγύθεν as fourth dactyl in half-lines of similar cadence at Par.4.124, 11.122, D.1.50. The close alliance of ὅτι and ὅτε may appear inelegant, but again Nonnus offers some precedent, cf. D.46.1 ὅλι' ὅτε δὲ γίνωσκεν ἄνωθεν ὣρας, ὅτι..., 31.118ff γίνεσκεν φευγόνωμος, ὅτι καὶ ὁμοίω/ἀνάτιτοπος μελέσσοιν, ὅτε ὁρεῶ τότιν ἀνάγκης, /...ἐς ἄρτεμιν εἰς ὅμειθω, Par.4.97ff πειθεῖ σοι,..., ὅτι νέου διόκτον διὰ ῥητορὸς ἔχεται ὑπν/εὐειθής ὀχετηγός, ὅτι ὁ ὆κεν τοῦτον τέχνη/...(102)...δέετε λοιβήν.

The poetic quality of line 222a suggests that it is authentic: the verb ἐπιχρῶ, used by Paul again 602 inf., is apposite for describing the destructive force of an Erinys, cf. II.16.352 of wolves attacking sheep; A.R.3.431 of ἀνάγκη (constructed with acc. and inf.), also ib.2.498 of a storm wind (abs.), 2.283 of Zetes and Calaïs pursuing the Harpies; Nic.Th. 14 of the Titan's daughter attacking Orion through the agency of a scorpion; A.P.14.3.2 (Metrod.) τίττα τοι, ὅ τέκνος, ἀλώγος ἐπέχραεν ; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.37 (PG.37.581) of the venomous tongue of Μύως, ib.2.1.13.128 (col.1237) ἕλειδροιν ἐπέχραε λυγρός ὀλέθρος; Nonn.D.19.8 of πενθος, 15.89 and 17.116 of untimely sleep, and passim of the activities of gods against mortals (2.425, 5.345, 30.3, 33.261, 46.99, etc.). The simple ἐχραὶ is similarly used at Od.5.396 στυγρός õè ὤ ἐξορε δαίμων, cf. ib.10.64; Nonn.D.29.120, 40.172 (both of φθόνος), 18.329 (μόρας), 5.481 (βαρύμυν ἀσελην); also A.P.5.297.2 (Agath.) of the greater Πόνος which besets women by contrast with men.

Hence neither 222 nor 222a can be rejected outright as intrusive (although 222a is certainly better poetry). The omission of 222a by haplography is, like the omission of ὅτι' in 222, eminently plausible. The two lines might possibly be considered as original alternatives, both alike by Paul (cf. n.inf. on 1013 ὀλόθρον ὀπάζων), but Graefe's argument (ad loc.) in favour of the retention of both lines, is attractive: ...habet tamen repetitum illud οἰδεμεν ύζουτος, quod gravitatem aliquam spiret, et, nescio, quam gratiam prae se ferat.
There is precedent in Nonnus for such repetition of an opening half-line, e.g. D.4.294ff, 8.359ff, cf. 5.399ff, 416f, 26.22f, etc.; also Call.Dian.33f, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.76.31f. Paul himself elsewhere repeats a key word or phrase for rhetorical emphasis, e.g. sup.176ff, inf. 326ff, 975ff, 991ff, 997ff, cf. Call.Ap.26f and the use of anaphora in the longer passage, Call.Dem.1-23.

In the ms., line 222a is inserted in the margin at the end of line 222, suggesting that it belongs afterwards, but the marginal insertion of a missing line slightly out of place is a simple error. Spitzner argued that if 222a is put first, line 223 becomes a dependent clause of the previous sentence, instead of standing alone in awkward asyndeton. The translation would then run: "...it is a sign of grace in Envy, that in your lifetime she has assaulted the beauty of Roma, that in your lifetime, when help is at hand, a gaping ulcer wells up in our breast". The suggestion is neat, but it is not necessarily desirable that line 223 should be so closely linked with the preceding lines. Its medical imagery rather looks forward to line 224, and the ἀλά of 224 is in strong and immediate contrast to 223 (although see further 224n.inf.). Fr. (ad loc.) argued that line 223 "setzt neu ein mit starkem Accent" and certainly such emphatic or dramatic asyndeton is very common throughout the poem (e.g. 3, 24, 92, 173) and is particularly characteristic of Roma's speech (226, 228, 231, 232, 236). I would therefore retain the line order indicated by the ms. (i.e. line 222 followed by 222a) and reject Graefe's proposal (ad loc.) that στηθεσις ἰποτεροις be read in 223 if 222a is retained.

223. στηθεσιν ἵπποτεροις, κτλ.: "A gaping ulcer is welling up/ breaking out in our breast". Themistius uses similar imagery in Or.7 (I.137.11ff Downey) ἀρτί καθεστηκών τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχής καὶ γαλήνης λαμπρᾶ ἐφ' ἄποσαν τὴν γῆν τεταμένην, ὡσπερ σάματος τὰ ἐξωθέν ὑγιάσαρτος ὄμημα ὑπολογού ὑποτρεφόμενον ἐν τῷ βάθει περὶ τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν μερῶν ὑπεσμαίνειν. Intransitive ἀνεχω/ἀνάχω does not regularly occur in a medical context, but it is used of people or things rising up from or breaking a surface, e.g. Od.5.320 of Odysseus, unable to surface when shipwrecked; Hdt.8.8, Opp.H.5.666
both of a diver; A.R.3.851 of the magic herb which sprang up where Prometheus' blood dripped, 3.1383 of the Spartiates; Opp.H.1.645 of the offspring born of the dolphin and seal; Alciphrr.3.24.3 (p.89.3 Schepers) of Aphrodite rising from Cythera; also of topographical features et simil. rising up or jutting out. see LSJ s.v. ἄνεξω B.1a, 1e, 2, and cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.32 οἰκοδομία τις ἐκ γῆς ἄνεξει, of the apse of S.Sophia, Agath.Hist.2.19.4 of thickets and copses. For this sense of ἐλκος, see LSJ s.v.I.2. The epithet περιβραγής is very rare, only A.P.7.542.3 (Stat.Flacc.) π. ... ῥηγαλέσεων ποταμοῦ Βιστούνιοι τρόφος (of ice), Clem.Alex.Paed.2.2.33.1 (I.176.14f Stählin) αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες,..., ὡς μὴ ταῖς πλατείαις κύλισιν διαξέουσαι τὰ χεῖλη περιβραγῆς γένωνται... For the use of the simple dative στήθειαν (poetic plural for singular) without preposition, to denote place, cf. 197 sup. with n. ad loc.

224. ἄλλα, μάκαρ, κτλ.: The line is modelled on Call.Del.226f ἄλλα, φίλη, δόνοσαι γὰρ, ἄμνεος πότνια δοῦλος/ὑμετέρους (with Maas' conjectures. The transmitted text reads ἄμνειοι...δοῦλοι/ ὑμετέρους. See P.Maas Textual Criticism (tr. B.Flower, Oxford 1958) sec.30, p.28ff). Cf. also A.P.6.76.5 (Agath.) ἄλλα, θεά, δόνοσαι γὰρ, ἡ θεότητα μὲ τεῦχον... Maas rightly argued that these imitations of Paul and Agathias substantiate his restoration of the imperative for infinitive in Call. Paul’s use of ἄλλα with imperative here marks the transition from Roma’s statement of the problem to her appeal for help, cf. Klotz’s definition, cited by Denniston Greek Particles p.14 and quoted 145n.sup., and see the many exx. collected by Denniston loc.cit. Hence, although Paul’s ἄλλα is in immediate contrast to 223 and ἐφ’ ἥκει i in 224 picks up ἐλκος in 223 (cf. n.sup. on 222/222a fin.), it is also antithetical to the whole of the preceding sentence from 220. The expression δόνοσαι γὰρ et simil. occurs elsewhere in prayers and petitions, e.g. Od.5.25 Τηλέμαχον δὲ σὺ πέμψειν ἐπιστασαίνως, δόνοσαι γὰρ (Zeus to Athene), Il.16.515 δόνοσαι δὲ σὺ πάντος ἀκούειν (prayer to Apollo), Romanos 8 ἐντι’ γὰρ δόνοσαι μόνος ὡς κτίσιν τῶν πάντων ἀμαρτίας ἀφεῖναι.

μάκαρ: Of J.also inf. 934, of the patriarch Eutychius 1028.
For this vocative used honorifically of people, cf. Epigr.Gr. 859.7; Opp.H.1.66 (Marcus Aurelius), C.1.1 (Caracalla); Nonn.D.46. 221 Κάδμε μᾶκαρ; Tryph.278 ἁλλά, μᾶκαρ, πεθύλαξο... (Simon petitioning Priam); A.P.4.38.55 (Agath., of his patron Theodorus), 5.292.10 (id., of Paul Sil.), 9.644.1 (id., of the farmer). See also 193n.sup.

ἐφ’ ἐλκεῖ φάρμακα πᾶσσεν: Cf. Il.15.393 gestion ἐφ’ ἐλκεῖ λυγρῷ φάρμακ’...ἔπασσε, Il.5.401 τῷ ἐφ’ ἐλκεῖ φάρμακα πᾶσσον, al.simil.; A.Ph.4.442 θελκτήρια φ. ἔπασσεσθε with dative; Orph.Lith.343 καὶ μίν ἐφ’ ἐλκεῖ πᾶσσε (of the stone which cures snake-bite); Nonn.D.29. 265 ἐλκεοι φάρμακα πᾶσσον, cf. 30.104, absolute D.17.357, 34.72, Par.12.162 (metaph., prophecy of Isaiah concerning Christ); A.P.5. 225.3f (Mac.Cons.) οδὸ δ’ Μακάμου/τημία μοι πᾶσσει φάρμακα δενουμένη.

The use of medical imagery in connection with the emperor is, by the 6th cent., commonplace, e.g. Liban.Or.15.69 (II.147.2ff Foerster), 17.36 (II.221.1ff); Jul.Or.2.89B (114.15 Hertlein), also 3.129A (166.3ff) in comparison between Pericles and the empress Eusebia; Them.Or.1 (I.20.17ff Downey); Cor.Laud.Just. praef.43ff with Cameron 37n., ib.2.194f with the references collected by Stache ad loc.; Georg.Pisid.Her.2.41ff with Pertusi ad loc. H.Hunger (Prooimion 137, quoted by Stache loc.cit., p.301) saw a connection between the application of this imagery to the emperor and its frequent use in Christian writers of Christ and the apostle Paul: the emperor was from the time of Constantine considered to be ἰσαμόστολος, and so the imagery was naturally transferred to him. On the use of medical imagery in the Church Fathers, see (for example) H.Piesik Bildersprache der Apostolischen Väter (Diss., Bonn 1961) 68ff, R.Arbesmann in Traditio 10 (1954) 1ff; and in Romanos, R.J.Schork in Traditio 16 (1960) 353ff, K.Mitsakis, The Language of Romanos the Melodist (Byz.Arch.11, Munich 1967) 169f and J.Nimmo Smith op.cit.p.89ff.

225. χεῖρα τεῖν προτίπατε, κτλ.: Cf. Cor.Laud.Just. praef.37 senio dextram, pie, perrige fesso, ib.1.12f, and see Cameron’s n. on praef.37 for other exx. from late poetry of the image of the
outstretched hand, noting esp. Diosc.9.20 (I.139 Heitsch) τῇ ὀφεὶ ὀφείξου οἰκέτην ὄλβου χείρα, where the outstretched hand is connected with ὄλβος, as in Paul. Both Dioscorus and Corippus are seeking financial recompense; so at 1013 inf. Paul refers to Eutychius' almsgiving as ἐκχυτον ἐκ πολλήν ποταμῷριτου (see below on ὑπηφενής) ὄλβου ὑπάξων. Here, however, Paul refers more generally to the prosperity which J.'s reign has brought in consequence of his establishment of a peaceful world-empire, as is indicated by the development of this theme at 226-36. The reference to ὄλβος here is picked up at 234 ἐπὶρρυτου ὄλβου; cf. the invocation of Eirene at 139 sup. as πολύλεος, τιθηνύτειρα πολύς. For Paul's use of the epithet ὑπηφενής, ("flowing with riches"), cf. Nonn.D.40.272 ὑπήφενες χύτιν ὄλβου. The noun ὑπηφενή occurs at Call.Jov.84 ἐν ἄνε ὑπηφενήν ἐβαλεὶς φίλος, ἐν διάλυσ ὄλβος (of Zeus' treatment of kings), but the adj. is first extant at D.P.337 Ταυτηνὸς χαρίσσα, ὑπηφενέως πέδου ἄνδρῶν, cf. Eustath. ad loc. (p.153.26ff Bernhardy) τοῦ δὲ Ταυτηνὸν ποταμοῦ κασσίτερον τοῖς ἐκεῖ καταφέρεσιν ἱστόρημα.

So Nonnus uses it (inter alia) in connection with the river Pactolus (e.g.D.10.152, 25.332; see n.inf. on 1012) and the amber tears shed by the Heliades (who were transformed into trees) and carried in the river Eridanus (e.g.D.23.92, 43.415). The compound προτείνω is not elsewhere attested. It is a variation for προτεῖνω, see LSJ s.v.ΠΕΙΙ for χείρα προτεῖνω and cf. Proc.Gaz.Pan.5 (495.11f).

226-36. The familiar theme of J.'s world-empire (cf. 11-16, 135-41, 147-49, 157-60 sup.) is here reiterated, with greater emphasis upon the resulting peace and consequent prosperity, following on from ὄλβος (225), see n.sup. and cf. inf.673ε καὶ γὰρ ἐμὸς σκηπτούχος, ἀλης χθονὸς εἰς ἐν ἱοδος, ἐβάπταραν Ἀδωνίον τε πολύτροπον ὄλβου ἀγείρας, on the collection of materials for S.Sophia.

226f. πάντα, κτλ.: "All the world, directing it with your guiding bridle, have I made subject to your trophy-bearing triumphs". I.e. Roma has directed J.'s successful campaign of world-conquest. The language and concepts are very similar to 960f inf. Βουλᾶς δὲ κυβερνητῆρι χαλινώσειτο κατιδύνει κρατερόφρονας, "your stout-hearted
counsels he (Christ) keeps straight with guiding bridle", where J. is addressed; 981f σείο δ' ὑπ' εὐχαρίστησιν κατάπτερος ἔθνεα Νίκη/ κοιμαντήτ' ὑπέθηκε πολιοσῳχον λεπάνδροι, "by your prayers winged Victory has subjected the nations beneath the city-protecting yoke- straps of sovereignty", where the patriarch Eutychius is addressed. Note the emphatic opening asyndeton in our lines.

226. κυβερνητῆς τε καὶ διέπουσα χαλινῷ: Homer uses a dat.instr. with διέμω at II.24.247 σκηπανθεί διεπ' ἄνερας. For the phrase κ. χαλινῷ (also inf. 960; simil. 1023), cf. Opp.C.1.95f λαίπ... ἐπελάτης δὲ ὑπὼν ἐθυετε κυβερνητῆς χαλινῳ; Nonn.D.25.189 (in eadem sede), 37.207 (at the line-end, as inf. 960), both dat., of animals. For this type of imagery in the context of government, cf. sup.159f λεπάνδροι, ζυγόν, 147 ζυγὸςκινεῖον, with n. ad loc. The image of the emperor as helmsman (κυβερνητῆς) of the ship of state is similarly commonplace, e.g. (late exx.) Eus.Laud.Const.10 (223.12ff Heikel), Them.Or.19 (I.330.16 Downey), Georg.Pisid. Her.ex Africa red.78f, Theoph.Sim.4.11.3 (169.25 de Boor); cf. Cor.Laud.Just. pan.Anast.27 principis auspicio leges et iura gubernans, of Anastasius, quaestor and magister officiorum.

227. ὑπέθηκα τροπαιοφόροι θριάμβοις: The phrase τ. θριάμβοις means no more than "victories", as the two terms mean respectively "victories" and "victorious" when used independently inf.935, 967; compare Paul’s use of τροπαιοῖς sup.136 (and inf.231) and see n. sup. on 136f on the Roman triumph awarded to Belisarius in 534 and the depiction of scenes of imperial triumph in art. For Paul’s use of the terminology of triumph here, cf. Const.Porph.de Caer. Appendix (p.498.7ff Bonn) ὡς δὲ εἰσέγει τὴν χαλίνην ὁ βοσκεῖται, ἢπερ ὁ ἀναμισθοῦνείξας, ἔχων τὸν πρωτόκετα καὶ τὸν θριαμβεύεται, καὶ ἐκρατεῖ τὸ θριαμβεύεταίον ὁ διάδοχος adventus into Cpl. in 559 (see Stein B-E II, Excursus 0, p.818f); Cor.Laud.Just. pan.Anast.50f sacrosque triumphos/principis invicti felici carmine dicam, with Cameron ad loc.

In its earliest occurrence (Cratinus fr.36, see LSJ s.v.I.1; cf. A.P.13.6.2, Phal.), θριάμβος denotes a processional hymn to
Dionysus, and it is later used as an epithet of that god (see LSJ s.v.I.2). But in prose of the Hellenistic and imperial period, it is used of a Roman triumph (see LSJ s.v.II), and in patristic writers it is used metaphorically to suggest a glorious victory (see PGL s.v.1). Etymologists suggest that the Latin triumphus is borrowed from the Greek θρίαμβος, via Etruscan, "comme l'indiquerait le p correspondant à la sonore β de θρίαμβος" Ernout and Meillet Dict.Étym.de la langue latine (4th ed., Paris 1979) s.v. triumphus, cf. Chantraine Dict.Étym.de la langue grecque s.v. θρίαμβος. It has been suggested that the Greek may be a borrowing from a pre-Indo-European Mediterranean ("Pelasgian") word, or alternatively the Latin and Greek terms may be independently borrowed from "Pelasgian", see Frisk Gr.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. θρίαμβος. The term is rare in poetry in this sense, cf. A.P.9.808.10 (Anon.) οὐσίον ίδουσ Σοφίαν σχέδον άμφοτεροι δε/χρόσευεν έργου έτευξεν άπ’ Ἀσσιρία θρίαμβο. In literary Koine, τροπαιοφόρος is similarly used in the sense "triumphal" e.g. D.H.3.31.6 παραγενόμενοι εἰς Ρώμην τὴν τροπαιοφόρον ὑπεδέσθην τοῖς θεοῖς πομηπὴν τε καὶ θυσίαν δεύτερον ἐκεῖνον κατάγαμ θρίαμβον, see LSJ s.v.II, Soph.Lex.s.v.2; in the Fathers it is also used more generally to mean "victorious" (as here), e.g. Greg.Nyss.Steph.1 (PG.46.705D) ἂλλʼ ιδέα αὐτὴς κατʼ τοῦ ψεύδους τροπαιοφόρος ἡν, see PGL s.v. For its use in poetry, cf. A.P.16.222.1 (Parmenio) Μὴδοις ἐλπισθείσα τ.λίθος εἶναι, ib.259.2 (Anon.) πάλιν; Orac.Sib.14.343 ἀνδρῶν ; A.P.5.294.24 (Agath.) Κύπρι. Metaph. ὑποτίθημι ("make subject") is found in prose, see LSJ s.v.I.1fin., Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v.3 and cf. Agath.Hist.4.24.7, of subjection to tribute; it occurs once in Homer in the active, of placing one thing under another, II.18.375; cf. Theoc.24.36, A.P.7.179.4 (Anon.), Nonn.D.37.69 (Graefe, Keydell, Peek; Επιλ.), Tryph.100.

228-31. The proposition of 226f is illustrated. The references to Mede, Celt, Indian and Carthage comprise a survey of the bounds of empire, east, west and south, like 11-16 (see n.sup. ad loc.) and 135-38 sup., cf. 935f inf.
228. ἡμεῖς, κτλ.: "Quiet are both the Median lord and the Celtic war-cry". On the Fifty-Years Peace with Persia concluded in December 561, see nn.sup. on 9 and 13-15, and cf. 138.

In classicising writers, Κέλτοι is widely used of the inhabitants of Gaul, the Alps and the Rhine area, e.g. A.P.9.125 (Anon.), ib.283 (Crinag.), both of the Rhine area (other instances from the Anthology in Beckby's index s.v. Keltoi); D.P.288f, 292f (on the Po); Opp.H.3.625f (mouth of the Rhine); D.C.39.49.1f (Rhine area); Nonn.D.38.93 (Po), 46.54 (Rhine area), al.; Proc.BG 1.1.18 (source of Po), ib.4.5.30, Aed.4.5.9 (both on source of the Danube).

For the feminine form Κέλτιζ (also inf.637), cf. A.P.10.21.4 (Phld.), Orac.Sib.7.103, 12.133. Here Paul is referring to the Franks, cf. Agath.Hist.1.2.1 πρόσοκατ τε γάρ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἰχτείμοις τὸ γένος τῶν Φράγγων. εἰς τὸν τότε ἤπειρον, ἐξωσι ὡς καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν πόλιν, ...; and see Averil Cameron Agathias p.82 on the use of classicising names in Byzantine literature.

The most recent encounters between the empire and the Franks had been in the Italian wars, where a combined Frankish and Alamannic invading force under the leadership of Leutharis and Butilinus had seriously harassed and hampered Narses' campaign of re-conquest. Even after the elimination of Leutharis' contingent as a result of an epidemic and the destruction of Butilinus' force at the Battle of Capua (A.D.554), Gothic and Frankish resistance in the areas north of the Po continued until 561/2, when Narses finally sent the keys of Verona and Brixia to J., see 9n.sup. These events are described in detail in Agathias Hist.1.1 to 2.14, cf. Stein B-E II.605ff, Bury HLRE II.274ff. Earlier Frankish enterprises included the sending of a force of Burgundians to assist the Goths in the recapture of Milan in 539 (Bury 202ff, Stein 354), and the occupation of the northern provinces of Italy whilst the Goths were engaged south of the Po in the 540s (Bury 257, Stein 526ff). Agathias describes how the imperial ambitions of the Frankish king...
Theodebert extended even to attacking Cpl. itself, since he objected to J's assumption of the title Ἀρχηγός, inter alia (Hist.1.4.1ff), but any such ambitions were cut short by his death, ca.547 (Agath. Hist.1.4.5ff, cf.Stein 530 and Excursus N, p.816f, Bury 258). On Agathias' account of the Franks in general, see Averil Cameron in Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Lettere, Storia e Filosofia, Vol.37 (1968) 95ff, esp. 122ff on Theodebert and 125f on Leahar and Butilinus.

In referring to the Κέλτες ὁμολή here, Paul certainly intends to recall the re-conquest of Italy, J's main achievement in the west, cf. Cor.Laud.Just. praef.10-18 with Cameron's nn. ad loc. (Bury, HLAE II.288 n.1, suggested that the allusion here is to Spain, but this was a minor achievement compared with the re-conquest of Italy, see n.sup on 11-13). For Paul's coupling of references to Persia and the west in this line, cf. A.P.9.641.1f, 4.38.3-11 (both Agath.), also 9 sup. with n. ad loc.

The vague ἄρημεττι (cf. 216 sup. with n. ad loc.) is appropriate here, since both Persians and Franks were far from being J's subjects (ὑπέθηκα 227). For the use of this verb in such a context, cf. Proc.Gaz.Pan.26 (514.3f) δι᾽ ἅρμα (Agesilaus)βαρβαρός ἄρημεττι, A.P.16. 353.1 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius) εἰ φθόνος ἄρημεττι, Agath.Hist.4.1.1 and esp. 2.6.7, 2.12.7 where it is used negatively of the Franks.

For οὐκέλη in the sense "war-cry", cf. II.16.147 πιστήτατος δὲ οἱ ἔσκε μάχη ἕνι μείναν ὁμολήν, of enemy clamour, Nonn.D.29. 259f μηδὲ ἐξεντρίσεις ομολής ἀρσενίως ἔνδοντο (the noun occurs only here in Nonnus). Homer uses ομολή generally of the kind of address used by the ἄνδρες to inferiors (e.g. II.12.413 οἱ δὲ ἀνάκτος ὑποδείσοντες ομολήν, Od.17.189, al.), and the word covers the range "threat", "rebuke", "summons" (also in address to animals), see LSJ s.v.I, adding Call.Del.158 ("rebuke"), ib.231 (of call to attendant dog); A.R.2.20 (Amycus' challenge), 4.13 (cries of hounds threatening a fawn). In later epic, it is also used of abstracts such as wind, winter, heat and fire in the sense "onset", "attack", see LSJ s.v.II, adding Opp.H.2.248 of winter. But Paul's use of it here of people in conjunction with ἄρημεττι is like that of
Homer and Nonnus, cf. inf. 927, also 1023 ὁμοικλητήρι...χαλινῷ and see nn. ad locce. The "Celtic war-cry" was a tactic of their warfare familiar to the Romans from their earliest encounters with the people of this area, e.g. Livy 5.37.8 (of the Gauls at the R.Allia) nata in vanos tumultus gens trucii cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono, cf. ib.5; Tac.Germ.3.1f on the German barritus; cf. ps.Maurice Strategicon 11.5 (ed. Scheffer, Uppsala 1664, p.276) on the Slav habit of raising a cry before going into battle in order to test the enemy.

229f. καὶ ξίφος, κτλ.: "and the Indian has given the sword of friendship to your throne, bringing elephants and sea-pearls".

The term Ἰνδός is regularly used at this period of the inhabitants of the areas flanking the southern end of the Red Sea, i.e. the Axumites or Ethiopians on the west side and the Homerite, Himyarite or Amerite Arabs on the east. In the sixth cent., direct commercial contact between the Roman empire and India had ceased and the Byzantine trade in luxury goods from the east was conducted by means of intermediaries, notably the Persians and these Ethiopians and Arabians. The resulting vagueness about the geography of eastern areas led to inaccuracy in the use of the term "Indian", e.g. Proc.Aed.6.1.6 Νείλας μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδόν ἐπ᾽Αἰγύπτου φερόμενος, κτλ., Mal.433.3f ἐν αὐτῷ ὤε τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη Ἰνδός πολεμᾶτος πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ οἱ ὄνομαζομένοι ἄβυσσομίται καὶ οἱ Ὠμηρίται, Theoph.Sim. 3.9.6 (128.25f de Boor) τούς Ὠμηρίτας (Ἰνδικὸν ὤε τὸ γένος καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάκουον), and commonly; cf. Bury HLRE II.318 nn.1 and 2, E.H.Warmington The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (2nd ed., London 1974) 136ff and N.Pigulewskaja Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, Band 36, Berlin 1969) 140.

The hostility between the Roman empire and Persia in the 6th cent. led to a strong Byzantine interest in securing good relations with the Axumites and Homerites. There survives in Procopius (BP 1. 20.9ff) and Malalas (456.24ff; cf. Theoph.A.M.6064, 244.13ff de Boor, where the same description is wrongly cited in connection with the renewal of hostilities between Byzantium and Persia in the
570s) a detailed account of a Byzantine embassy by J.'s agens in rebus Julian to the Axumites and Homerites in 530/1. Procopius attributes a twofold object to the embassy: to persuade the Axumites to sever their trading connections with Persia and trade in silk directly with the Romans, thereby eliminating Roman dependence upon Persia for a commodity in great demand, and secondly, to instigate a Homerite invasion of Persia from the south-west, across the intervening desert. In the event, neither of these objectives was realised (despite Malalas' statement, 458.16ff, that the Indian king immediately made war on Persia), but the embassy was well received, Mal.457.10ff μετὰ χαράς πολλῆς ἐξενθοθέν ὅ βασιλεὺς Ἰνδῶν ὁτι διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐξόθη μετὰ τοῦ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων κτῆσονθαι φιλίαν. There follows in Malalas a detailed description of the reception of the embassy by King Elesboas (Ella Atzbeha) derived from an account by the ambassador himself (457.12f ὃς ὁ ἐξηγησατο ὁ οὐτος προσβευτη). In connection with our line, note especially the conclusion of Malalas' description (458.22ff, cf. Theoph.245.11ff) ὅ βασιλεὺς Ἰνδῶν κρατήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ προσβευτοῦ Ῥωμαίων, διὰ ἅκους εἰρήνης φίλημα, ἀπέλυσεν ἐν πολλῇ θεραπείᾳ. κατέπεμψε γὰρ καὶ σάκρας διὰ Ἰνδοῦ προσβευτοῦ καὶ δώρα τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων.

It has been suggested (see Figulewskaia op.cit.p.252ff) that this passage in Malalas conflates more than one embassy and that the account of the ambassador is in fact that of Nonnosus, who conducted an embassy to the area in the reign of J. and published an account of it, which is summarised in Photius Bibliothecae cod.3. Whether or not this is correct, it is clear that there was a good deal of diplomatic activity between Byzantium and the countries flanking the Red Sea during the sixth cent.: Photius' summary records (I.4 Henry) that both Nonnosus' grandfather (unnamed) during the reign of Anastasius, and his father Abranam had led embassies to the "Saracens" (of the Arabian peninsula, see Henry's n., p.194), while the chronographers have notices recording subsequent "Indian" embassies to Cpl., e.g. Mal.477.7f; ib.484.9f, cf. Theoph.226.33ff, where the detail is added (227.4ff) that the elephant brought by the ambassador escaped one night and rampaged through the city, causing deaths and injuries. Malalas dates this
latter embassy to 550/1. Procopius (BP 1.20.13) similarly implies frequent contact between the Byzantines and Homerites. Cf. also ib.2.3.40f ὅπως ὁμαλής ἡ πεποίησε πρὸς τὸν Ἐφιάλη καὶ τὸν Ἀδριάνων ἀρχάγγελον ὁ Καίσαρ, ὥστε καὶ ἀνήκουσε τὸ παρὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐγγύς καὶ ἄρσενι ἡ ὁμορρίτας τε καὶ θᾶλασσων τὴν ἑρυθρὰν περιβάλλεται, κτλ. (from a speech purporting to have been made by Armenians to Chosroes I in 539 in denigration of J.'s imperial ambitions). This diplomatic activity may have had as its product the Homerite expedition to Mecca.

This expedition aimed to win control of the caravan routes down the east coast of the Red Sea rather than actually to invade Persia, but even this limited objective was in Byzantine interests, particularly if relations with Persia were bad. It is traditionally dated to 570/1, but there is a case for placing it in the period between 540 and 562 and connecting it with the Byzantine-Persian war of that time. See Pigulewskaja op.cit.p.265ff. (The reference in Proc.BP 1.20.13 to the one attempted Homerite invasion of Persia might then perhaps be to this expedition. If so, the expedition would have to be dated before 551, since Bélia 1-7 had been completed by that date, see Stein B-E II.717). On the history of the Axumites and Homerites and their relations with Byzantium and Persia during this period, see further H.Dillmann in Abhandl.der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1878, p.177ff, and ib.1880, p.1ff; Pigulewskaja op.cit. p.175ff; Bury HLRE II.316-27; Stein B-E II.101ff, 265ff, 298ff; on the spread of Christianity in the area in the early 6th cent., see I.ShahTā in DOP 33 (1979) 23ff.

The evidence available does not indicate a specific treaty to which Paul might be referring here, but, like Ἐλληνικὴ ὁμοκλήτιος in 228, the words suggest a sphere of foreign policy in which J. acted with some success.

The mention of elephants and pearls is appropriate to the context: the ambassador's account of the Axumite king describes him as being adorned with pearls (Mal.457.16f) and riding in a chariot drawn by four elephants (457.21), while the account of Nonnosus preserved in Photius mentions an encounter with a herd of elephants (p.6.35ff Henry); an "Indian" embassy to Heraclius brought gifts of pearls and other precious stones (Theoph.A.M.6123,
335.10ff). The elephant and "India" or "Indians" are traditionally associated, see LSJ s.v. Ἰνδός 1 and cf. Opp.H.5.17 Ἰνδόν/θηρα (i.e. elephant); Hesych.s.v. Ἰνδός. The elephant is traditionally associated, see LSJ s.v. Ἰνδός; Hesych.s.v. Ἰνδός. Hesych.s.v. Ἰνδός. Hesych.s.v. Ἰνδός. Hesych.s.v. Ἰνδός. Hesych.s.v. Ἰνδός. Theopoh.A.M.6075 (253.2) ἐλέφαντα, εἶδον Ἰνδικού, ib.A.M.6081 (266.26f); also Sid.Pan.Anth.52ff on Byzantine import of the ivory of Indian elephants (in an empire survey, following a reference to Persian submission, 50f). On the Roman trade in ivory with India and Africa, see Warmington op.cit.p.162ff; on the pearl trade, ib. 167ff. Nonnus associates the pearl with India, D.42.239 μὴ λίθου Ἰνδόν, μὴ μάργαρα χειρὶ τιναξης, cf. 32.25 where the phrase λίθου Ἰνδόν φιλοτήτιον may have suggested Paul's ξύφος...φιλοτήτιον in 229 (although φιλοτήτιον is Homeric, Od.11.246 ἔργα; cf. Opp.H.1.546, Χ.1.333, al., Nonn.D.4.69, 5.102, al.). The line-opening Ἰνδός αὐθή (230) is Nonnian, cf. D.17.347, 35.133. On θάχοις (229), see n.sup. on 148.

231. Καρχηδὼν, κτλ: A further reference to J.'s reconquest of Africa, here represented by the capital Carthage, see nn.sup. on 16 and 136, noting the similar use of δοῦλον in 16. For this, cf. Nonn.D.15.124f γόνιῳ δοῦλοιν δικλίνας Διονύσου/Ἰνδός, 27.176, al.simil.; A.P.4.38.35 (Agath.) δοῦλον ἧδομην. This adjectival use of δοῦλος is classical, see LSJ s.v.ΙΙ.1, adding A.P.7.218.13 (Ant.Sid.), 7.526.4 (Nicand.), 9.19.10 (Arch.); Opp.C.2.72, 3.261; A.P.2.401 (Christod.). On Paul's use of κλίῳ with unaccompanied dative, see 159n.sup. The defeat of the Vandal Gelimer had been celebrated by a Roman triumph in which trophies were paraded, see n.sup. on 136f. The form Καρχηδων is found from Hdt. onwards, see LSJ s.v. and cf. also Proc.BV 1.3.27, 4.38, al., Agath.Hist. praef.24, and for its use in epic, D.P.195-7.

232-35. The reference of 229f has already hinted at the theme of trade (see n. ad loc.), and the development of the theme of Cpl. as a trading-centre here neatly concludes Roma's survey of J.'s achievements by returning to the point from which it began, that of the ὃλβος (225, cf.234) which J. has nurtured. A reference
to the import of Egyptian corn similarly concludes a survey of Roman imperial power at Theoph.Sim.2.14.7 (98.14ff de Boor; in a speech). This kind of topic is recommended by Menander Rhetor for the epilogue of the βασιλικὸς λόγος. 377.22ff ὡμβροὶ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ θαλάσσης φοραὶ καὶ καρπῶν εὐφορίαν οἷα τὴν τῶν βασιλέως δικαιοσύνην ἡμῖν εὐτυχοῦστα, cf. Prisc.Pan.206ff on Anastasius' providence in ensuring a supply of corn. The praise of great imperial cities as centres of trade is also well-established (e.g. Isocr.Pan.42 Athens' Piraeus as the market-centre of Hellas; Aristid.Or.26.11ff, II.94.20ff Keil, Rome as a world market-centre, cf. Sid.Pan.Maio.40ff where the countries of the world bring their products to the goddess Roma). The strategic position of Byzantium as a centre of maritime trade had long been recognised (e.g. Polyb.4.38.1ff) and the topic naturally occurs in encomium of Cpl. (cf. E.Fenster Laudes Constantinopolitanae 19), e.g Them. Or.6 (I.124.9ff Downey), cf. id.Or.4 (I.75.14ff), Himer.Or.62(16). 5 (226.42ff Colonna), Greg.Naz.Or.42.10 (PG.36.469C), Socr.HE 4. 16.8 (II.508.18ff Hussey), Proc.Aed.1.5.2ff, Cor.Laud.Just.1.109ff; also A.P.4.3B.28-30 (Agath.) on the security and freedom of the seas under J. Paul returns to the topic at 906ff inf., where the lights of S.Sophia are said to guide sailors from all directions into Cpl. Other sources suggest a less rosy view of Cpl. as a trading-centre: it appears to have been largely a consumer market with no exports of its own (Them.Or.4, I.86.18ff Downey, ἔρχεται μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπαντα ἀπανταχῶθεν τὰ ἁγαθά, ἔξερχεται δὲ οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ γῆ καὶ ψάμμως καὶ φορυτῶς), and never rivalled Alexandria as a great commercial centre (see Jones LRE II.688); Procopius (Arc.25.1-10) accuses J. of ruining trade by exacting exorbitant duties. For a discussion of trade in general, see Jones LRE II. 824ff, Bury HLRE II.316ff.

232. εἰς ἐμὲ, κτλ.: "Towards me every merchant-ship directs life-bringing hope". The ships direct "life-bringing hope" because they carry supplies essential to life, above all corn, see Fr.'s n. ad loc. and cf. 234 inf. with n. ad loc., 915 inf. φέρεσθαιν δικαία, in the same context. The epithet φέρεσθαι is
first applied to earth, and so associated with the earth’s fruit, see 145n.sup. In late poetry, it is sometimes used, as here, with non-personal nouns other than earth, land et simil., e.g. Orph. Arg.311 ὤρης; Nonn. Π.4.253 ἀναφθένον ἐφέσσιον...τέχνην, 7.47 ὁμιηθήν...ἐφέσσιον πείσματα, al.; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.4.11 ὀλβοῦ (cf. 234n.inf.); Tryph.483 ὀθωμα; A.P.16.87.1 (Jul.Aeg.) τέχνης πυροῦν ὀπωσον ἐφέσσιον (Prometheus). The cargo in the ship is a source of ἐλπίς both to the sailors who bring it in the hope of a safe voyage and profitable trade (cf. Jo.Chrys.Res.Mort.5, PG.50.425. 20ff, ib.3, col.422.47ff, on the trials and hopes of the merchant), and to the people of Cpl. whose hopes for security and survival depend upon it (cf. 234n.). For the emphatic opening εἰς εὐμε (here strengthened by asyndeton), cf. εἰς σὲ inf.922, A.P.4.38.57 (Agath.). Homer uses φορίζ adjectivally with νόσι at Od.5.250, 9.323, but later it is used alone in the same sense, A.P.9.215.4 (Ant.Thess.), Opp.H.5.105, 312, A.P.16.118.3 (Paul Sil.), inf. 917; exx. from prose, LSJ s.v.

233. κύκλιον εἰσορόωνα, κτλ. "watching the circling course of the two Bears", i.e. Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. Contrast inf. 914ff οὐχ Ἔλικην, οὐχ ἕνωθας Κινοσουρίδος άφρωτου/εἰσορόων.../, ἀλλά τεσ' νυσί θεού θεουζία λαμπάδα λέοντων, also 854, and for εἰσορόω Similarly used in a metaph. expression, A.P.10.76.8 (Paul Sil.). The stars are the sailor’s compass (e.g. Od.5.271ff, A.R.3.744ff, Musae.213ff; the Great Bear was used for this purpose by the Greeks, see Pearson on S.fr.432.11; the value of the Little Bear for navigation was learnt from the Phoenicians, see Stanford’s n. on Od.5.272-5); they also denote the changing seasons (Theo.24.11ff with Gow ad loc.) and their very appearance, signifying a clear sky, is an auspicious and cheering sign to sailors (Theo.22.21f) and to travellers (inf.895ff). The Bears are here called κύκλιος ("circling") because they circle around the Pole and never sink below the horizon (hence also the name Ἐλικην of the Great Bear, inf. 914, A.R. loc.cit.sup., ib.3.1195, etc.); cf. Od.5.273f = Il.18. 487f; S.fr.432.11 and other exx. collected by Pearson ad loc.; E.Ion 1153f; Arat.26ff; Cic.ND 2.41.105; etc. The adjective κύκλιος
is rare in late poetry (cf. 288 inf. with n. ad loc.), but for Paul's language here, cf. Nonn.D.2.17 ἀντυγα κυκλάδος ἁρκτοῦ, 38.407 κυκλάδας ἁρκτοῦ, cf. 27.150; D.25.136 ὀλβίζει ὀδύρον ἁρκτοῦ, also 8.76, 33.68, al. for ὀδύρον used of the stars; D.1.252 διόδυμοι Δράκων μεμερισμένος ἁρκτοῖς. The use of Homeric ὀδύμαζων (II.5.548, 16.672, al.) in the singular in the sense ἐκάτερος is also Nonnian, e.g. D.11.215 ποδῶν ὀδύμαζον χιλιᾷ, 11.414 ὀχθες ὀμφότερης ὀδύμαζον νῶσον, al., see Peek Lex. s.v. IV.

234. ὃς κεν, κτλ.: A regular supply of bread and water to the populace of Cpl. (Roma's "children", τεκέσσιν, see 151n. sup. on the concept of Mother Roma), was essential for the maintenance of urban peace: a bread shortage lay behind agitation in Cpl. in May 556 (Mal.488.6ff, Theoph.A.M.6048, 230.17ff) and there had been rioting because of a water shortage as recently as November 562 (Mal.492.11f, Theoph.A.M.6055, 237.7ff; cf. Stein B-E II.778). On the organisation of the food supply in Cpl., see Jones LRE II.695ff.

The verb ὀρέζω is aorist subjunctive: final ὃς κεν may be constructed with either aorist or present subjunctive, but the aorist is preferred by Nonnus, see Keydell I.77*, and cf. (for example) D.47.386, 451. For Paul's line-end. cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 4.11 φερέσβιον ᾠδήν ὀρέμει (cf. φερέσβιον in eadem sede 232 sup.). In ἐπίρρυτον Paul chooses another epithet associated with water to qualify ᾠδήν, cf. 225 sup. ῥυθμενέος, 1013 inf. ποταμήρρυτον, with nn. ad loc.; our epithet is rare in poetry, A. Eu. 907 καρμόν, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.115 ὄραν δεσμόν ἔχοντες ἐπίρρυτον, of the ὄμβροι.

235. ἐμπορίνην δ', κτλ.: "and the winds blow fair, bringing merchandise over the seas". Graefe commented on the line (ad loc.) languide iungitur. But Fr. is right to argue (ad loc.) that it would not be an improvement to reverse the order of lines 234 and 235, and that 235 is in fact a climax: even the winds conspire to assist in Cpl.'s prosperity. The point is of topical relevance: immediately after his reference to the water shortage in November 562, Malalas continues (492.12ff), καὶ βορεῖς ὦ τόλλου ὄμβροι.
236. ταύτα, κτλ.: For the use of emphatic ταύτα, cf. 58 sup., 934ff inf., A.P.10.76.7 (Paul Sil.). Middle ἐφήμω is regularly used in epic in this sense ("follow", "attend upon"), but elsewhere the dative is a person or animal, see LSJ s.v.ΙΙ.1 and cf. D.P. 996; Opp.H.5.73; Nonn.D.14.39, 16.401, al., Par.10.98, 11.194; Coll.311.

236ff. ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης, κτλ.: Roma's appeal to J. to save S. Sophia, begun at 224f, is at last enunciated. See n. sup. on 220-42 on the construction of Roma's speech. With the use of ἄλλα here, cf. 145 sup. with n.ad loc., 224, and see Denniston Greek Particles p.16, sec.5 (ii).

237. ἀγαλαῖν θημόνι πεσεῖν, κτλ.: Agathias speaks in similar language of the quenching of mortal beauty by death, A.P.7.220.5f ἄλλ' ἐπε, Ἀθήνα/ναίεις, ἀγαλαῖν ἐν χθονὶ καταθεμένι, 7.593.1ff τῶν πάροικῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἀγαλαῖς καὶ ἀοιδῶς.../Εὐγενεῖς κρύπτει χθόνια κόσμησ, 7.602.8ff πᾶς ὥς τε τὴν εἰκόνα δερκόμενος/τὴν ἄδικον Μήτραν
katamêfetai, òuveka toîni, a mega vnelîi, òofeEan òglaîîn.

For reference to Lethe in connection with a building, cf. also A.P.1.10.28f (Anon.) ou yâr òxâlou/ðiða òpoobênnouv òristoptîvouv òmêtîvou, lines inscribed in the church of S.Polyeuktos in Cpl., restored in the 520s by Anicia Juliana. Lethe is here conceived as a river, as it is at 181 sup. and often; with Paul's expression, cf. Procl.Hymn 3.6 òpèp ðæþexêýômôva ëêñhîn, 4.8 ðêþaîôis ðûòi ðeûmoun, Nonn.D.19.175 ðòôsta ðêhîs, cf.12.219.

The term òmêvou ("a heap") is not common: once in Homer of chaff (Od.5.368), it is later used of chaff or corn (cf. Hesych. s.v. òâv ò òpouwEîmêvouv, òîon òxîrîwv ò òmêwv), and also more widely, Arist.Mete.344a26 èix òxîrîwv òmêvou; Philo de Vita Mos.1.105 plural, of dead frogs, id. ap.Eus.PE 8.7. (385d) ùh òmêvouos òfaiðepoðîvêa ùmêv ò ìëkôv òûlâv ìmêév (law of Moses); Opp.H.4.496 òmêvouos ðêhînou, òf grain; Nonn.D.12.348 òmêvouos ðêîwîs; Synes. ðêpì ðòastilèâ 4 (p.9 Terzhagi) ðòoûtou òmêvou, ib.20 (p.49) òmêvou òmêwv, id.Hymn 9.22f (p.58) òmêvou...òkêwvûv, ðróûwv ðîlbwv.

(Other forms, such as òmêvou, also âêî-, âîm-, are found in LXX and patristic writers, see Hatch and Redpath, LSJ and LSJ Suppl. and PGL s.v. òmêvou, and cf. Hesych.s.vv. òmêvou, âêîmveïai, òmêvou). It is with Synesius' use of the term, of a heap of valuables, that we should probably associate Paul's use of it here: at 681 inf., it is used again of a heap of treasure or a treasure-house, ònðaðe ðollî/òìmetêrvou òmêvoues ònìwEîhêmouv ònìkêtvou, of the collection of gold and silver for the adornment of S.Sophia; this is also the sense at 1011 inf., see n. ad loc. So here, Paul means the "treasure-heap" of beautiful things collected under the streams of Lethe.

The verb ðesôiû is used as equivalent to the passive of ðâllîw, "be cast", as often, see K-G.I.98, sec.373.5.

238. ðòkptouâiç: See 156n.sup., and for the vocative, cf. inf. 282, 921, 973.

ðipotê ùoi,..., òò òêâkêlov ðêryou ðêmôs: On òêâkêlov ðêryou, see 144n.sup. Du Cange wrote ðêmôs, which may well be correct,
although the ms. has the form in single sigma. Keydell (I.52*) accepted the authority of the Laurentianus ms. of Nonnus D., which gives forms in double sigma for the future and aorist of ἐσορης, e.g. 16.195f, 46.207f μηδὲ.../...ἐσορης, cf. Peek Lex.s.v. Keydell also believed (loc.cit.) that the form ἐσορης which appears in the mss. at A.R.4.285 should be retained, although modern editors write ἐσορης. This line in A.R., is, like our line, a negative petition, μηδὲ σοῦ Ἡξομυθἴν ἁμηχανέοντας ἐσορης/ἐσοβαλείν, cf. h.Ven.188 μή με γνωτ'Iἀμενηνδον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐσορης/ναείν. Paul may well have modelled his line on that of A.R., and would therefore have written ἐσορης if he found it in A.R. The verb ἐσορης does not occur elsewhere in the hexameters of the Desor. (present, 50 sup.), but forms in double sigma are used for verbs like γελαω (901, Amb.159), τονω (286, 353, 398, 947) and πετανωμι (174, 328, 585, 1011, Amb.67). On the other hand, forms in single sigma are used by Paul and Agathias in epigrams, e.g. A.P.5.262.6 (Paul Sil.) τονοσιγ, 7.205.3 (Agath.) ἐσορης. (It may be significant that these epigrams are in part of the Codex Palatinus written by the scribe A, whereas the Desor. is in the hand of the later scribe J, see Preisendanz op.cit. praef. col.XXV ff.)

239f. οὐ γὰρ, κτλ.: The theme of J.'s subjugation of the earth, expressed in similar language (see nn.inf.), is used as a negative foil sup. 147ff, 157ff, cf. also 135ff. For the sequence of ideas in this clause and the next, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.8 πολλας (ος πολιτειας) ἀμέλει προσεποίησεν ἢν το ὑμαιων ἄρχη ἄλλοτριας καθ' αὐτον ὁδός, πολεις δὲ ἀναφθῆμος διδημηδοργηκεν οὐ πρώτων ὁδοιας, also of J.


δε καταπτήσουσι.../...ἀπείρονος ἔθνεα γαῖς: Like πτήεειε at 160 sup., Homeric καταπτήσω (II.8.136, Od.8.190, al.) is constructed with accusative, cf. Opp.H.2.2559 (v.l.), A.P.5.224.14 (Paul Sil.) and the exx. from late literary Koine collected by LSJ s.v.2. For the line-ending ἔθνεα γαῖς, see 147n.sup., and on ἀπείρονος
...γαίς see n.sup. on ἀπείρωνα βάρβαρον 158.

κλιθέντα/Αὔσουνίος θειμοῖον: "bent low before Ausonian ordinances".
The expression is more probably intended as a passive version of
the idiosyncratic use of κλίνω with dative discussed 159n.sup.,
than a straightforward use of passive κλίνω with dat.instr.
Nonnus uses the middle of κλίνω analogously, D.5.48 στρατὸς ἀντιβίων
ικέτος ἐκλίνετο Κάδμῳ, 15.203 αὐχένι λαχνήντι λέων ἐκλίνετο νῦμφή.
On Αὔσουνίος, see 174n.sup.

241. εἶ καὶ πᾶσαν, κτλ.: "even though you have built the whole
city for me". On εἶ καὶ, see n.sup. The aorist ἔδειμας (Homerie,
I.1.21.446, etc.) has perfect sense, see K-G.I.167, sec.386.13, and
for similar aorists after εἶ καὶ cf. Thuc.2.64.1 (quoted by
Denniston loc.cit.n.sup.), A.P.5.220.1 (Agath.); simil. A.P.4.3B.49,
54, 58ff (id.) and passim elsewhere in Agathias' epigrams, inf.
249, 250, etc. The reference is to J.'s extensive re-building
and beautification of Cpl. (including of course the new S.Sophia)
after the destruction of much of the centre of the city in the
Nika Riot, cf. Romanos 54 κυ' ἑτε ἱπτὸ ἁγὸ ὁλίγῳ ἁυνέστησαν
(i.e. J. and Theodora) ἁπασαν τὴν πόλιν, ἀκειναν ἐγγενεσθαί
τοῖς πάσχουσι πάντων τῶν δυσκόλων, Proc.Aed.1.10.2 (and Aed.1
in general on J.'s building works in Cpl. and environs), also
Evagrius HE 4.31 (180.6ff Bid.-Parm.) on J.'s ecclesiastical building
in Cpl. (preceding Evagrius' account of S.Sophia as μέγα τι καὶ
ἀπαράδελπτον χρῆμα, line 8), and see Bury HLRE II.48ff.

241f. οὐποτε δὴ εἶπς, κτλ.: "never will you find another more
brilliant symbol of your throne". As the climax of her appeal, Roma
makes explicit the idea implied in 150-54 sup. (see n. ad loc.),
that S.Sophia is the greatest symbol of J.'s achievements in war
and peace; see also nn.sup. on 142 (S.Sophia as J.'s culminating
achievement) and on 143f (the literal and metaphorical prominence
of S.Sophia above other buildings) and cf. Fr.'s n. on our line
for a more literal sense in which S.Sophia might be said to
distinguish J.'s throne.
The use of the second person singular present of δημολογεῖν with future sense is Homeric, II.13.260, Od.7.49, cf. A.R.3.941, A.P.7.520.4 (Call.), 7.370.4 (Diod.), Orph.Lith.417, 613, al., A.P.10.76.5 (Paul Sil.). The verb is not used by Nonnus. For this sense of σῳβολοῦν, see LSJ s.v.III.1 (with id.Suppl.s.v.) and cf. Call. fr.59.7, 384.36 Pf., A.P.9.507.4 (Call.; conj. Ruhnken, accepted by Pfeiffer and Beckby), A.P.5.195.2, 12.158.6 (both Meleagri, both of amatory tokens), 5.118.4 (Marc.Arg.; also amatory); Procl. Hymn 5.5, 7.22; Nonn.D.8.309, 37.477, al., Par.19.11, 125; Jo.Gaz. Descri.1.28, 145, 2.51; A.P.5.264.4, 291.1, 6.71.9 (all Paul Sil.), 5.294.18 (Agath.), all amatory; see also PGL s.v.A.4. With the use of ἐλαξινοτέρου here, cf. φαίνοντερυν 151 with n. ad loc., and on this form of the comparative, see 182n. On θεώκος, see 148n.

243f. Roma attempts to kiss J.'s feet. By the 6th cent., it had long been the custom for men of high rank, upon entering the emperor's presence, to perform an act of adoratio. The gesture was at once a mark of respect and of supplication. For an examination of the practice, see A.Alfoldi, 'Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells um römischen Kaiserhofe', Mitt.des deutschen arch. Instituts, röm.abt.49 (1934) 3ff (now repr. in id. Die monarchischen Repräsentation in römischen Kaiserreiche, Darmstadt 1970), with comment and criticism by W.T.Avery, 'The Adoratio Purpurae and the Importance of the Imperial Purple', Mem.Am.Acad.Rome 17 (1940) 66ff, and cf. R.Guilland Recherches sur les institutions byzantines (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, Band 35, Berlin 1967) I.144ff. Contemporary evidence for the practice of kissing the imperial feet is to be found in Proc.Arc.15.15, 30.23; Cor.Laud.Just.1.157f (with Cameron and Stache ad loc.), 3.231ff (with Cameron on 3.234), al.; Const. Porph.de Caer.1.84 (387.8f, 13f Bonn), 1.89 (406.12, cf. 407.17f), 2.51 (700.12, 16, al.), al. (The chapters of the de Caer. mentioned all date from the 6th cent.; the first is certainly, the second probably, and the third possibly from the peri πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως of Peter the Patrician, see J.B.Bury in EHR 22, 1907, 212f, 216f). According to Procopius (Arc.30.21ff), the practice of prostrating oneself on the floor and kissing the emperor's feet is a modification
introduced by J. to the ceremony of *adoratio* (cf. Avery 79f, Guillian 144), although some kind of obeisance had been the practice since the mid-third cent. A.D. (Alföldi 58, Avery 69) as the result of gradual evolution from the ceremonial practices of the Principate. On the literary affiliations of the suppliant Roma/benignant emperor motif, see n.sup. on 219-54, and for literary references to, and numismatic depictions of, scenes very similar to ours from as early as the 1st cent. B.C. onwards, see Alföldi 52. (The prostration of Roma is a mark of the greatest extremity, since Alföldi notes, p. 43, that in allegorical portrayals, Roma alone retained throughout the empire the exceptional privilege of remaining seated in the emperor’s presence).


244-47. ὁ δ’ ἤλαον, κτλ.: J. responds to Roma’s impassioned
plea with gracious calm. In describing J. as Ἑλον (244) and Ἰκα...μειδήρας (246), Paul reflects the view that the emperor should always appear serene and calm, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.3.264 ut clementes princeps legatos surgere iussit, 266f 'quod poscitis', ore sereno/ clementer regnator ait, 'memorare, docete', on Justin II's response to the proskynesis of the Avar legates, ib. 308-10 talia iactentem, nulla commotus in ira, tranquillus princeps oculis pietate serenis/aspexit iuvenem, placidoque haec edidit ore, and see Cameron's n. on 309; also inf. 944 with n. ad loc. on imperial γαλήνη. Paul's description here recalls that of Themistius Or.4 (I.80.10ff Downey) δ Βασιλεύς δ μέγας...γικε τε εὐμενής παρ' αὐτῷ και χείρα Ὄρεξε κραδαιωμένη και προορεψατο εὕψουν εἶναι, Constantius' reassurance of Cpl., concerned about the conspiracy of Vetranio and Magnentius (see n.sup. on 219-54 for Themistius' description of Cpl.'s distress).

244f. ὁ δ’ Ἑλον ἤθοδι ήγιμη/δεξιτέρην Ὄρεξεν: Cf. Nonn.D.1.424 ποιμένι δεξιτέρην μίαν Ὄρεγεν, 29.247 χείρας Ὄρεξε Μάρωνι, al.simil., and see LSJ s.v. Ὄρεγω I.1 for the expression χείρας Ὄρεγω in Homer. For the use of Ἑλον of J., cf. 947 inf. Ἑλον ὃμμα τούκουσας with n. ad loc., also 177f Ἑλοθί, 179 ἡλκοί. The epithet is used by Homer of gods and men, see LSJ s.v. Ι, II and cf. Theoc.27.16, Call.Dian.129 (both of Artemis); A.P.6.334.5 (Leon.Tar.; of Hermes, Pan and the Nymphs); Epigr.Gr.812.5 (Hermes); Procl.Epigr.2.8 (Bacchus); Orph.Hymn 18.19 (Pluto), 35.6 (Leto); Nonn.D.2.236 (Eileithyia), 31.178 (Hera), al.; Agath.Hist. praef.15 (Myrina); inf.302 (Christ). Paul's use of ἤθοδι here is modelled on that of Nonnus, who uses the term widely of that with which another is closely connected or constantly associated, see Peek's n., Lex.s.v. and of. D.6.347 ηδομε, τι σπεῖσει; τίνι κάλλιτες ἤθαδα θύσην;, 19.101 (وطغرا) γενέτης ὀφρής, ὑμέτεις ἤθαδι Μοῦης, Par.10.50γ ἤθαδα μποροτήρα/ταύτα (so. ἐμα μῆλα) με γινώσκουσιν.

245. δεξιτέρην, κτλ.: For the form of the line, cf. Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.330 δεξιτέρηπ ποδὶ πῆξε καὶ ὁκλάζουσαν ἐλέγχας (Kosmos making subject ἀλογος φύσις). On ὑποκλάζω, see nn.sup. on 143f, 198f
and cf. inf. 251 where its literal use in our line is picked up in a metaphorical usage. For the use of ἐγείρω here, cf. NT Act.Ap. 10.25f ...συναντήσας αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Πέτρου) ὁ Κορνήλιος πέσω ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας προσεκύνησεν. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἤγειρεν αὐτόν, also ib.3.7 καὶ πιάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξίας χειρὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτόν, of a cripple, Ev.Matth.12.11 of a fallen sheep. In Christian writers, the verb is regularly used of raising up the sick or the dead, see Arndt and Gingrich s.v.18, LSJ s.v.I.3, PGL s.v.B.1 and cf. Nonn.Par.11.83. Elsewhere (8, 150, 300) Paul uses it transitively of building.

246. Ἡκα δὲ μειδίσσας: Cf. A.R.2.61 of Polydeuces' response to Amycus' challenge; ib.3.107 Ἡκα μειδίσσας of Hera to Cypris, Hes. Th.547 Ἡκ' ἐπιμειδίσσας, of Prometheus to Zeus, all init.vers. J.'s smile indicates his serenity, see n.sup. on 244-47 and cf. 1003 inf. for the serene smile of the patriarch Eutychius.

ἲνα μυρίου ἀλγος ἐλάσσος: "so as to banish her measureless grief". Cf. Il.1.12 μυρὶ' ᾧλγε', also A.R.1.259, Opp.H.2.503f, A.P.11.401.3 (Luc.; adapting Il.1.2); μυρίοις πένθος, Il.18.88, etc. This sense of ἐλάσσω is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.I.3, and cf. Nonn.D.32.111 λύσαν ἐλάσσας at the line-end, al., see Peek Lex. s.v.A.II; inf.299; etc.

247. εὐφροσύνης πλήθουσα ὠκηνεῖος: "full of carefree gladness". For J.'s ability to bring εὐφροσύνη and banish care, cf. 175 sup. with n. ad loc. This sense of ὠκηνεῖος ("carefree, "serene", often of the gods' tranquillity) is Homeric, Il.24.526, cf. Hes.Th.489, Op.112, all of gods; A.R.1.556, 4.822 νόστου; Call.Dian.62 of the Oceanids (who were not ὠκηνεῖος when confronted with the Cyclops); A.P.11.42.5 (Crinag.) θυμὸν (achieved by initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries); Nonn.D.29.142 of Phoebus. Although in late poetry πλῆθω is sometimes constructed with the dative (e.g. Orph.Hymn 72.10, other exx. LSJ s.v.) or accusative (see LSJ s.v.II), the Homeric construction with the genitive (Il.21.218) continued to be used also, Opp.H.1.496, 4.691, al.; Nonn.D.35.326, 48.390, al., Par.1.45, 6.142, al.; Tryph.514; A.P.4.3B.52 (Agath.), also 11.382.6
(id.) passive. For Paul's metaph. expression here, cf. Them. Or. 4
(I.75.18f Downey) νῆς γέμουσα εὐδαιμονίας.

ἐκφάτο μοῦθους: Cf. A.R.2.10, 1122, al. ἐκφάτο μοῦθον in eadem sede;
Od.10.246 ἐκφάσασθαι...ἐποίη.

248-52. J.'s reply to Roma's appeal is formally arranged,
in a similar way to the prooemium 177-85 sup.: two lines of exhortation,
parallel in structure and similar in language (248 and 252, cf.
177f and 185) are here strengthened by an intervening reminder of
past fortitude. In the concluding climax (καὶ γὰρ, 253), J.
promises the restoration of S.Sophia and consequent enhancement
of Roma's reputation.

248. ρίψων ἡχοῖ: Cf. 169 sup. ἀπορρίψωντες ἀυίην, with n. ad loc.
Like ἀπορρίπτω, simple ρίπτω is also used of casting off arms or
clothes, see LSJ s.v.IV and cf. Nonn.D.20.15, 37.773, al.; A.P.
5.252.1 (Paul Sil.) where the verb is the emphatic opening word
in asyndeton, as in our line. For its metaph. use in imperative here, cf.Greg.
Naz.Carm.1.2.14.77 (PG.37.761) ῥίψων ὑπασθαλίν (to the Psyche),
ib.2.1.12.305f (col.1188) μὴ πλάτωνος στέργε τὴν εὐγλωττίαν./
ῥίψων τὸ κάλλος, ὅσ τὰ δύσματ' ἀποστρέφῃ; A.P.10.78.1 (Pallad.)
ῥίπτε γόους, 11.63.2 (Mac.Cons.) ῥήψατε τὴν πενίν (with 168n.sup.); also ib.
10.76.1f (Paul Sil.) ἄλλα τὸ ῥησικροντίδος ἀς στέρων, Nonn.D.12.
290, 21.287 ἀρρήνε μερίμνας, al.simil., Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.94 μοῦθον
όλου ρίπασα (of Arete), and see R.C.McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 44.

Βασιλεία πόλις: The title ἡ βασιλεία πόλις et simil. was originally
applied to Rome, and was still used of that city by Eusebius; from
Themistius onwards, however, the title is transferred to Cpl.,
see G.Dagron Naissance d'une capitale 51ff, E.Fenster Laudes
Constantinopolitanæ 27, 33f, 74ff and cf. (for example) Greg.Naz.
Or.5.17 (PG.35.685B) τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ βασιλείᾳ πόλει, al., simil. Agath.
Hist.5.13.5, al., Theoph.Sim.1.15.1 (68.2 de Boor), Just.Nov.
III (A.D.535) praef. (p.19.1 Kroll) and see Fenster op.cit. p.95 n.2
on the use of such titles in the legal code; Jo.Lyd.de Mens.1.12
(7.7f Wuensch) βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἀπό σῶν, simil. Evagr. HE 3.30 (127.1f Bid.-Parm.), Eustrat.V.Eutych.19 (PG.86(2).2297A), al.; Evagr.HE 6.7 (225.30f) τῆς βασιλίδας; ib.4.36 (185.20) τὴν βασιλείδουν, Eustrat.V.Eutych.19 (PG.86(2).2297B) τὴν βασιλείδουν πόλιν, al.; many other exx. from the 4th to 6th cents. are collected by Fenster op.cit.p.33-96. For Paul's particular expression, cf. LXX 1Macc.3.37 ἀπὸ ἄντιοχείας ἀπὸ πόλεως βασιλείας αὐτοῦ; also Evagr.HE 6.13 (231.22) ἀνακαμάθη τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

μὴ θυμῶν ὄρινες; Cf. II.24.568; simil. Od.14.361, al., A.R.3.515, etc.; A.P.7.205.5 (Agath.) ψυχῆ...όρινεται.

249f. In the past, Roma has not succumbed physically or mentally to enemy assaults. The fortitude of Cpl. had been tested as recently as 559, when marauding Kotrigur Huns approached the Long Walls, which were still unrepaired after the earthquake damage of December 557. Only the skilful tactics of the ageing Belisarius averted disaster on that occasion. See Agath.Hist.5.11ff, esp. 5.14.6ff on the alarm felt in the city from the common people to the emperor himself; Bury HLRE II.304ff, Stein B-E II.535ff.

ός...οὐ νίκησε...οὐδὲ.../...ἐστυφέλιζε.../μὴδὲ...ὑποκλάζοιο...: The initial ὁς-clause strictly expects an answering οὐτως, but instead the concluding exhortation is introduced simply by μὴδὲ (cf. 757 inf. for μὴδὲ introducing an exhortation). This gives a negative tricolon effect, like the οὐ...οὐδὲ.../...οὐδὲ of 135f sup., 1019f inf. For the use of the aorists νίκησε and ἐστυφέλιζε with perfect sense, cf. ἔδειμος 241 sup. with n. ad loc.

249. τεῦν σῶκος; Cf. 219 sup. σοκέσπαλος Ἱοῦη̣μη̣ and see nn.sup. on 151 and 219-54 on the portrayal of Roma as a warrior goddess.

249f. οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλην...βαρβαρος αἰχμή: Paul uses the line-end οὐδὲ τῆς ἄλην at A.P.5.293.1; for the line-end βαρβαρος αἰχμή, cf. 158 sup. with n. ad loc. The use of ἄλην here implies that the collapse of the dome, over which Roma is so distressed, is also a
This is a variation of the assertion elsewhere that the collapse of the dome has been caused by a πονηρός δαίμων or similar evil force, cf. 273 inf., 160-63, 195, 221 sup. with nn. ad loco.

250. ὅκλονον ἐστιφέλις τεῦν φρένα: "smitten your unwavering spirit". The verb is used by Homer of the impact of weapons, on a shield or body, II.5.437, 7.261, al., cf. A.R.2.115, Opp.H.4. 252, Nonn.D.17.202, 36.42, al. Although the noun κλόνος is Homeric (see LSJ s.v.), the adjective ὅκλονος is extant elsewhere only in Galen, of a "steady" pulse (9.347) and a limb "free from jars" (17(1). 513). Ancient lexica list the form ὅκλονητος in the sense "unshaken" (ἀδειοτον, ἀδόνητον, Photius, Suidas) or "unconfused", "undisturbed" (ἐπάραχος), κλόνος γὰρ ἡ παραχὴ, Hesych.); the Fathers use this latter form in the sense "unmoved", see PGL s.v.

251. μηδὲ βαρυτλῆτοισιν ὑποκλάξοιο μερίμνας: "nor yet may you bow down beneath cares hard to endure". The verb ὑποκλάεω (here middle) is now used metaphorically, picking up its use of Roma's literal obeisance before J., sup.245, see nn.sup. on 143f, 198f and cf. also 161n.sup. on its construction with the dative. For the metaphor. usage here, cf. A.P.5.216.1f (Agath.) εἰ φιλεῖς, μὴ πάμπιον ὑποκλασθέντα χαλάζῃς/θυμόν ὀλισθήρης ἐμπλευ ἴκεσίν (with Fr.'s n. on 734 inf.; cf. LSJ s.v. ὑποκλάεω 2); ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 94.34 ὁκλάσατον νός, A.P.5.251.5 (Iren.) ἄλλ'ου σής κραξίς ὑφαικένος ὑκλαζον ὄγκος, Sophr.Ep.Syn. (PG.87.3149c) σπαρίζει με μπροστά ὅκλαζοντα, and other exx. of the metaphor. use of the simple verb collected by LSJ s.v.I.2, PGL s.v.2. As at 175 sup., the μερίμνας are those caused by the collapse of the dome. The epithet βαρυτλῆτος (cf. inf.273) is used in this passive sense in Bacchylides, 14(13).4 συμφόρα, cf. A.P.16.245.3 (Leont.) ὀδυνόοι, Jo.Gaz.Desor.1. 178 ὢχεαν. Elsewhere the sense is "bearing heavy weight" (lit. or metaph.), see LSJ s.v.I, adding Nonn.D.24.190, Enc.dic.Romani 4. 22 (I.124 Heitsch).

252. τέτλαθι, παμβασύλεια πόλις, κτλ.: For the structure of
the line, cf. II.1.586 τέτλαθς, μήτε έμη, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ (Hephaistus to Hera), simil.5.382; and esp. Nonn.D.33.351 τέτλαθς, Χαλκόμεδη, μη δειδίνι πορρός εύνην; also ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 36.73 τέτλαθι πομαξιλή, φύλαξε δε τοιο κελεύθους. For the epithet, cf. A.P.9.647.1 (Anon.) Ἐφήμ πομαξιλεία, τό σοι κλέας οὔποτ' ολείται, and see further LSJ s.v., adding Orph.Hymn 10.16 of Physis, 14.7 of Rhea, al. The line-end θυμόν ἀμύσας (various parts of the verb) is Homeric, II.1.243, cf. Call.fr.75.10 Pf, Nonn.D.38.165, Par.6.189, Tryph.471; also A.Pers.116 φηθν ἀμύσαται φύσι, A.P.5.262.5 (Paul Sil.) μάτην δε σοι παρ᾽ ἀμύσας, and other exx. collected by LSJ s.v. ἀμύσω II.

253f. The thought is similar to that of 150f sup.

253. καὶ γὰρ, κτλ.: For the use of καὶ γὰρ, cf. 157 sup. The dative ἐμοὶς καμάτωσιν (here instrumental) picks up τεοὶς καμάτωσιν (236), at the conclusion of Roma's catalogue of J.'s achievements. Nonnus frequently follows τελῶ with double accusative as here, cf. D.16.201 αἰθέρας ἔνθιν ἔγνω σα καὶ ἀρτοδέντα τελέσω (Dionysus to his dog), 48.220 γηραλέων σε τελέσεσαι, see further Peek Lex.s.v.A.II and cf. LSJ s.v.I.5b. The use of ἀοιδός in the same sense as ἀοιδός is rare, Arcesil.ap.D.L.4.30 (Πέργαμως) ἐσσεται εἰς άθης πολλῶν ἀοιδοτέρη, A.P.9.424.6 (Duris) αἰαῖ, τὴν Πόλεως πολλῶν ἀοιδοτάτην, of Ephesus; the sense was however, known to Hesychius, who glossed the nominative plural περιβόητοι, ὄνοματοι.

254. οὐτίς ἀναστήσας: Cf. infr. 278 οὐτίς ...δωμήσατο, sup.218 πόνους...παλινδωμώτορας οὖκοι. This use of ἀναστήσαν is classical, see LSJ s.v.I.5 and cf. (for example) Nonn.D.45.53 βημὸν ἀναστήσας, al.

κορυφῆν εὐδαύνυγα ὑπὸ: "the well-vaulted summit/head of the temple". On periphrastic expressions for the dome and on Paul's use of ἄντυς, see 187n.sup. The epithet εὐδάυνυς is here adopted on the basis of Paul's use of ἄντυς as an architectural term ("vault", "arch"); it survives elsewhere only in Photius and Suidas, where the accusative is glossed εὐδάεονα. The term κορυφῆς is applied to
the dome again, inf. 267, cf. also 274 inf. τρικυψίμοοι καφήνου, with n. ad loc. It is found elsewhere in various architectural contexts, cf. esp. Nic.Mes.Descr.S.Apost.14.2 (ed. G.Downey, Trans.Amer. Philos.Soc. 47, 1957, 90) ἐκπίπτοντα...διὰ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν τῆς οἰκίας δικτυωτοῦ, of the figure of Christ depicted in the dome; also Eus.V.Const.3.38 (I.94.20f Heikel) κρατῆροι...τὰς κορυφὰς κοσμούμενοι, of columns in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; Greg.Naz.Or.18.39 (PG.35.1037B) ἀπὸ κρηπίδος ἐς κορυφὴν, of bands of decoration on the exterior of the church at Nazianzus, erected in memory of Gregory's father; Chor.Or.1.18 (7.22 Foerst.-Richtst.) ὁ μεσαίτατος (sc. κύκλος) καὶ τῆς ἄψυχος ("arch") τῇ κορυφῇ περικείμενος, on the decoration of circles on the porch of the church of S.Sergius at Gaza.
255-78. J.'s inspection of the damage. Without waiting for his customary escort, J. hurried off to the church (255-61), a noisy throng following him (262-4). J. saw that the collapse of the dome had not damaged the base of the building, and praised the skill of the architect Anthemius (265-76). He re-built the dome on the original walls (276-8).

The account of the collapse of the church and its re-building is here essentially completed, since Paul declines (279ff) to go into technical details of the re-building process itself. Even in this passage, the narrative of events is limited to a bare skeleton, which is filled out by descriptive and eulogising material: the imperial escort (described at some length on the pretext of its absence on this occasion), the crowds accompanying J.'s visit to the church, and the panegyric of Anthemius.

255. ὁ Ἰ. σφεμένος: Cf. II.5.290, Nonn.Π.4.307, al. and see n.sup. on 243ff.

τεμένεσιν ἐπιέγετο: "he hastened to the precincts". This is clearly the sense, although ἐπιέγειομαι in the sense "hasten to" is elsewhere constructed with ἐπὶ, εἰς or ἐπὶ. But the use of the simple dative with verbs denoting motion towards is found elsewhere in poetry, especially in epic, see K-0.I.406, sec.423.2; so too in Nonnus D. (Keydell I.58*), e.g. 2.706 ἦσσον νόστησαν Ὠλύμπι. Fr. (p.114f), collecting instances in Jo.Gaz. and Paul of the genitive and dative in unusual constructions without preposition, suggests that at 644 inf. βαθύνομένου χλοεροῦ κυραιώτιοι μορφή (of marble), the dative similarly expresses the goal or end of the action denoted by the verb, "green deepening to blue"; he acknowledges, however, that there the dative could be instrumental (p.115 n.1). Paul found the dative τεμένεσιν (v) metrically convenient, placing it in the third trochaic caesura also at 197, 296, 313, 334, 974; this may have helped to determine his use of it here in preference to accusative alone or accusative with preposition.
On the use of τέμενος, see further 197n.sup. The verbs ἐπείγομαι and ὑρνύμι (256) both occur in 11.6.363, which Paul may have had in mind.

255f. καὶ τάχα μῦθου/γείτονος ἔργου ἐπὶ ταχινώτερον: "and his deed was surely swifter than the accompanying word". J.'s speed of action is similarly emphasised sup.47, 215ff; the reference here to his rapid physical movement can hardly be literally true of a man of eighty. Paul's expression is a variant of our "no sooner said than done", cf. 11.19.242 ὁμικρον' ἐπείθ' ἀμα μῦθος ἐπη, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργου, and see LSJ s.v. ἔργον I.4 for other exx. of the opposition of ἔργου and μῦθος et simil. The aphoristic character of our expression is emphasised by the linguistic echo τάχα.../...ταχινώτερον.

τάχα: "surely", "I think". This adverb is regularly used in late Greek to indicate a note of uncertainty, to qualify or mitigate a statement, see Soph.Lex.s.v.2 ("forsooth"), Peek Lex. s.v.II and cf. Nonn.D.7.250, 46.47, etc., and for καὶ τάχα in this position, 25.124; also Opp.C.1.280; A.P.5.269.7, 299.4 (with Herwerden in Mnemosyne N.S.2, 1874, 313), 6.72.5, 7.612.5 (all Agath.); A.P.5.246.5 (bis), 266.3, 290.3 (all Paul Sil.); ib.16.113.6 (Jul.Aeg.), 16.337.2 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius), 16.357.3 (Leont.). So also νοὶ τάχα, A.P.4.3B.81, 5.294.22, 9.653.6, 11.379.4 (all Agath.); ib.5.236.1 (Paul Sil.), 16.101.5 (Anon.), 16.353.3 (Anon., on Porphyrius); cf. ἦ τάχα ποιήσα, A.P. 9.396.5 (Paul Sil.), ἦ τάχα φοίνις, Nonn.D.26.209, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. τάχα II.2; Musae.59; inf.808, 831, etc.

μῦθου/γείτονος: Adjectival γείτων, first in Pindar (see LSJ s.v.II), is common in Nonnus (see Peek Lex.s.v.II), where it is applied both to spatial proximity (most often, e.g. D.2.155, Par.4.26; cf. Opp.H.4.273, 5.58, Tryph.144, Coll.236, Musae.32, al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.115, 301, al., A.P.5.294.1, Agath.) and also to proximity in time (e.g. D.1.523, Par.11.51). But Nonnus has no close parallel for Paul's usage here: nearest is perhaps D.1.418f οὐρίγγος ἐδίειτο γείτονα μολῆν/ἐκοπάμενος μελέτησαν; cf. also
224

13.362 καὶ μέλος ἐφονίης ἐμελίζετο γείτονι φωνῇ.

The superlative form occurs at Arat.289.

256-61. ὄρνυμενος γὰρ, κτλ.: Such is J.'s eager concern to see the damage to S.Sophia that he contravenes custom and does not wait for his imperial escort. The absent escort is, however, described in some detail, by the device of praeteritic. (Compare 519ff inf. where, in remarking that the dome of S.Sophia was roofed with brick, the poet mentions several kinds of timber of which it was not made, adding detail much as here). Paul's interest in the escort is not surprising, since, as a silentiary, he would himself have participated in imperial ceremonial regularly, see R.Guilland Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantin (Variorum reprints, London 1976) XVII and cf. inf. sec.(ii) fin.

According to Paul, the escort comprises (i) a shield-bearer, wearing a golden torques, (ii) a golden staff carried before the emperor and (iii) an armed bodyguard of élite troops shod in black.

The description provides evidence about the imperial escort, which can be supplemented to some extent from other sources.

(I have postponed linguistic comment on these lines until after the historical discussion).

(i) 257f. συνέμπορον ὁπιδιώτης κτλ.: Fr. (ad loc.) rightly draws attention to the similarity of the pictorial representation of J.'s bodyguard in the mosaic in the Ravenna church of S.Vitale: at the emperor's side are depicted guards, with spears and shields, their necks adorned with the military torques (ὁρμον 258), i.e. gold necklet. This torques distinguishes the guards, both in the mosaic and in our line, as the candidati, whose emblem it was, cf. Reiske on Const.Porph.de Caer.1.1 (II.79f Bonn) and see Const.Porph.de Caer.1.86 (I.391.9ff, esp.19ff) on the creation of a candidatus*; on the torques, see R.I.Frank Scholae Palatinae

* This chapter can be firmly dated between 548 and 565, i.e. after the death of Theodora and before that of J., cf. 390.8f and 391.17f. It probably derives from the peri politikis kaiotopseus of Peter the Patrician, see J.B.Bury in EHR 22 (1907) 212f, sec.3.
The candidati were a unit of forty (de Caer.1.86, 392.8) who served as the emperor's personal bodyguard. They were closely connected with the scolae palatinae or imperial guard, since a law of 524 (CJ.XII.xxxiii.5, sec.4) refers to the holding in plurality of the militiae of candidatus and scholaris (see Jones LRE III.183 n.11 fin., Frank op.cit.131) and the comes of the sixth or seventh scola participated in the ceremony for the creation of a candidatus (de Caer.1.86, 391.12, 392.1); but it is probably not strictly true to say with Jones (II.613) and others that the candidati were selected from the scolae, see the discussion of Frank 127ff. By the end of J.'s reign, the scolae in general were no longer an effective military force, cf. Proc.Arc.24.17ff; Agath.Hist.5.15.2ff, although at Proc.BG 3.38.5 a candidatus Asbados appears in the command of a cavalry troop, ἥν δὲ στρατηγὸς ὄνομα (συνώνυμος) βασιλέως μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ δορυφόρος, ἐπεὶ ἐξ τούτων Καυσίδιστος καλομένους τελῶν ἐτυχε, κτλ. Moreover, the central position of the scolae (including the candidati) at court had earlier given them political importance at moments of crisis, as, for example, in the choice of a new emperor on the death of Anastasius (de Caer.1.93, 426ff, cf. Frank 163f) and in the Nika Riot (see Frank 215f, with Alan Cameron in CR N.S.22, 1972, 137, col.ii). By the 560s, however, their main rôle was undoubtedly ceremonial, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.3.158ff with Cameron ad loc., and see Frank 213ff, Jones II.657; for a general survey of the office, see R.Guilland in Polychronion: Festschrift F.Dölger (Heidelberg 1966) 210ff, repr. in Guilland Titres et fonctions (London 1976) II. (Although they were originally called candidati on account of their white uniform, Frank argues, p.134f, on the evidence of artistic depictions such as the S.Vitale mosaic, that by the 6th cent. this had been replaced by more lavish and colourful attire, at least for ceremonial occasions. But contrast what Frank says, 151f, on evidence in Claudian).

Fr. (ad loc.) assumed that the οὐσίων in our line refers collectively to the whole corps of candidati. But Paul may well intend a specific reference to the emperor's personal shield-bearer,
who is clearly depicted on the S.Vitale mosaic, bearing the imperial shield, distinguished by the Christogram, and wearing a special torques, the medallion (bulla) of which bears the imperial portrait, see Frank 138ff and cf. J.Kollwitz in Gnomon 13 (1937) 423 for sculptural depictions of the imperial shield-bearer. Frank calls this shield-bearer "captain of the guard" (141) and, although there is no explicit evidence to this effect, it is natural to identify him with the chief officer, the primicerius of the candidati (de Caer.1.86, 391.12ff, 392.2, 10ff; cf. Frank 137). Frank assumes throughout that the candidati had only one primicerius, but the de Caer. passage more than once refers to primicerii in the plural. According to the Chronicon Paschale (1.501.13ff Bonn, cf. Frank 131f), two corps of candidati were created, one attached to the sixth and one to the seventh schola, cf. de Caer.1.86, 391.12 τὸν κόμητα τῆς ἐκτης ἐς ἐβδόμης σχολῆς. Hence it may be that there were two primicerii, one for each schola. Later evidence from the de Caer. attests at least two different corps of candidati, see Guillard loc.cit.212.

At Cor.Laud.Just.3.220ff, 4.366ff, the emperor's armiger is the eunuch Narses, cubicularius and spatharius or protospatharius, see Cameron 3.220n., Stache 3.221n. Corippus' phrase domini vestigia lustrans (3.220) recalls the emphasis of de Caer.1.86 (392.14ff) on the constant attendance upon the emperor of the candidatus (or perhaps rather the primicerius of the candidati, since the passage follows immediately upon the account of the annual re-election of the primicerius, and forty is a cumbersome number to be in constant close attendance, for example, in the imperial chariot, line 15); cf. also Paul's συνήθεια (257). But despite the apparent similarity of their duties, the offices of candidatus and spatharius were, at least in origin, quite distinct: whereas candidatus was a military title, the spatharius was a member of the imperial cubiculum (and hence a eunuch), and his badge of office was a sword (see J.B.Bury The imperial administrative system in the ninth century, British Academy Supplemental Papers 1, London 1911, 112f, cf.22; Jones II.567). So Corippus calls Narses ensipotens, 4.366. By the end of the ninth cent., when these titles
were purely honorific, considerable amalgamation had occurred: both spatharii and candidati were placed under the protospatharius (de Caer. 2.52, 718.15ff, from the Kletterologion of Philotheus, A.D. 899; Bury IA 112) and the title spatharocandidatus may be attested from the mid-seventh cent. (Bury IA 26). A species of torques was the insignia of the protospatharius, together with the spatharocandidatus and the candidatus (de Caer. 2.52, 709.19ff, 709.12ff, 708.18ff). There is, however, no evidence that these developments had taken place in the 6th cent. On the contrary, it has been compellingly argued (by I. Ševčenko in Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog Instituta = Recueil des travaux de l'institut d'études byzantines 12, 1970, 5f) that Corippus' Narses was not protospatharius and that this title was unknown in the 6th cent. Narses' prominence in Corippus may be partly accounted for by the fact that he was a personal favourite of Justin II (Cameron 3.220n), but the similarity between the references of Corippus and Paul to the offices of spatharius and candidatus respectively, may perhaps foreshadow the developments recorded in Philotheus. It cannot, however, be argued on the basis of the 9th cent. evidence of Philotheus that J.'s ἀσπιλώτης and Justin II's ensipotens held the same office, that of protospatharius.

(ii) 259. χρυσῆν τινὰ δέξας, κτλ.: Other literary sources confirm that the emperor was preceded in formal processions by one or more officials bearing golden staffs, notably Const. Porph. de Caer. 2.51 (700.16ff) ἐμπροσθεν δὲ (i.e. in front of the imperial chariot) ἐν παρακολούθησιν δὲ καὶ δὲ ἡμνηστιῶν τὰ χρυσὰ ἀναθέματα, describing the ceremonial accompanying an imperial inspection of the granaries. This chapter is dated to the 6th cent. by Bury (EHR 22, 1907, 216, sec. 8, cf. 223, sec. 14 with n.40) and Stein (R-E II.742f, n.1).

(a) οἱ κορυφαλάττης: Cf. Cass. Var. 7.5.6 (Corpus Christian., Ser. Lat. XCVI, ed. Fridh, Turnholt 1973, 265) Illud quoque considera, qua gratificatione tracteris, ut aurea virga decoratus inter obsequia numerosa ante pedios regios primus videaris incidere, ut ipso testimonio vicinitatis nostrae agnoscamur tibi palatia commississe.
The documents edited in the Variae date from the period between A.D. 507 and 537 (see Der Kleine Pauly s.v. Cassiodorus, Vol.I, col.1068), and relate to the Gothic court of Theodoric at Ravenna, the ceremonial and offices of which were modelled on those of Cpl. Note also de Caer.1.45 (231.10ff) where the ceremony for the investiture of a curopalatus is described: he is handed a staff by the emperor as his insignia. This account is appended to a longer description of a much grander ceremony for the investiture of a curopalatus (ch.45, 229.7ff). This second account may represent either a ceremony from another period, like that of de Caer.1.84 which derives from the 6th cent. work of Peter the Patrician (see Bury IA 35 and cf. Vogt's commentary to the Budé ed. of the de Caer., 2(2).54) or alternatively a ceremony for the promotion of a lower rank of curopalatus (cf. R.Guilland Titres et fonctions III, 193 n.41 and see further inf.).

The surviving evidence for this title, and in particular for the rank and importance of its holder, is so contradictory that it can only with difficulty be accommodated to an account of a single office, see the attempt of Stein, B-E II.739ff and cf. Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.4.186f. Consequently the hypothesis of Bury (IA 33ff; compare the earlier suggestion of Alemannus on Proc.Arc.44.6, p.363f Bonn) that there were by the 5th cent. two distinct offices (hereafter distinguished as curopalatus and cura palatii), has won wide acceptance. There is, however, no consensus as to which pieces of evidence relate to which of the two offices, see the discussions of Bury loc.cit.; M.F.Martroye in Mélanges Schlumberger I (Paris 1924) 79ff, largely reproduced by H.Leclerq in Dict.d'archéol.chrét.et de liturgie XIII (Paris 1937) col.544-48; R.Guilland Titres et fonctions III; Jones LRE I.372, II.571 with nn. The most plausible account is that of Jones, who simply isolates the evidence of the Notitia Dignitatum as referring to a body of minor officials (cura palatii) in the charge of the castrensis, and takes the remaining references to be to a more important administrative office (curopalatus) conferred on a tribune of the scholae. This was the office held by J.'s nephew, the future Justin II, from 551 until his accession
(i.e. at the time of the events which Paul describes), see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.135-42, Jones I.304, Stein II.745. Subsequently it became a high honour, bestowed only on relatives of the emperor, see Bury 34, Guillard 188ff. It is this more senior official who might be expected (at any rate until the accession of Justin II made the curopalatus important in his own right) to carry a golden staff before the emperor in processions. At Cor.Laud.Just.2.280ff the future curopalatus Baduarius is described as leading, together with Justin's brother Marcellus, the procession of dignitaries to the Hippodrome.

This assumption can be indirectly supported by combining the 6th cent. evidence of de Caer.2.51 (see sup.(ii) init.) with that of ib.1.84.(explicitly headed ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μαγίστρου Πέτρου).
De Caer.1.84 describes the ceremony for the promotion of comes admissionum, comes scholae and curopalatus. As it is stated that the ceremony for the promotion of all three may be the same (1.84, 387.18-20), they would appear to be offices of similar status. The discrepancy in terminology between the tribunus scholae, the rank of a curopalatus mentioned above, and the comes scholae with whom the curopalatus is juxtaposed in 1.84, can be accounted for: from the early fifth cent. onwards, tribunes of scholae were usually accorded the title comes prīmi ordinis (Jones I.372). The existence of this practice is implied in C.Th.VI.xiii.1 praepositos ac tribunos scholarum,..., inter quos tribunus etiam sacri stabuli et cura palatii numerantur, si primi ordinis comitivam cum praepositura meruerint... (quoted in full by Jones,III.78 n.16). In the Justinianic recension of this same title (CJ.XII.xi.1), the words comites sacri stabuli replace tribunos sacri stabuli of the Theodosian code, cf. Stein II.742 n.1. Hence de Caer.1.84 refers to the curopalatus who is ranked with tribunos scholae in C.Th. and CJ.locc.citt. At de Caer.2.51 (700.18f, immediately after the sentence quoted at the beginning of (ii) sup.) select comites scholae are said to walk on either side of the imperial chariot. Further, it will be argued (b) inf. that the decurion of de Caer.2.51 (700.17) is very probably identical with the comes admissionum.
Hence 1.84 and 2.51 both group together the same three officials, and the europalatus who in 1.84 is ranked with the comes scholae, in 2.51 carries a golden staff before the emperor. The ceremony described in 1.84 contains no reference to a golden staff, but, according to the concluding sentence, it was customary for a comes scholae and europalatus at least, to be inaugurated in a less formal ceremony, not in the consistory (387.20ff) ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ κατέσχεν ἐδοξ ἐν τῷ κουμουκλεῖῳ γίνεσθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸ ἀριστοῦ καὶ δέιλης, ὡς ἂν δόξη τῷ βασιλεῖ. It may well be this ceremony which is described at the end of 1.45 (231.10ff), in which the new europalatus is invested with a golden staff, ὡς γίνεται σιλέντιον, ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς λαμβάνων ἐν τῷ ἔδω τὸν ἐμέλλοντα γενέσθαι κουροπαλάτην, κτλ. The grander ceremony for inauguration of a europalatus described in the main part of 1.45 (in which the europalatus is himself formally preceded by two silentiaries carrying their staffs, after the ceremony and for three days subsequently, 230.17, 231.5f) dates from a later period when the office had acquired a much higher significance (see Bury IA 35).

The official described by Cassiodorus as carrying a golden staff is of considerable importance, since he directs all imperial building works, not only those relating to the palace (Var.7.5.4, cf. Stein II.739f, n.2. Stein quotes Henri Valois on PG.86.2789c, who was the first to connect our passage with Cassiodorus). Hence Jones is undoubtedly correct in connecting Cassiodorus' formula with the more important europalatus (III.78 n.16), against Martroye (p.80) and Guillard (p.188); discrepancies between the evidence of Cassiodorus and other evidence may be attributed to the peculiar practices of the court at Ravenna, cf. Stein loc.cit.  

(b) ὁ δήκουρις: Reiske (on de Caer.2.51, II.822 Bonn) suggested that this was probably one of the three decurions who commanded the corps of silentiaries (i.e. ushers within the palace at meetings of the consistory, Jones II.571f; other discussions are cited sup. in Introduction: biographical note). Reiske's suggestion is corroborated by later evidence from the de Caer., where silentiaries are mentioned carrying staffs before the emperor in procession:
so 1.10 (81.14ff; describing the ceremonies for the second day of Easter week) δὲ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως ἀπὸ σαγγίου ἀληθένου διέρχεται ἐμπρόσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως πεζῶν μετὰ καὶ σιλεντιαρίων πεζῶν, ἐμφάνως καὶ σωτοῖ... ἐπιτάχθησαν καὶ βεγγὰ χρυσὰ διάλεια, κτλ.; cf. ib. 1.17 (100.2ff), 1.30 (167.21ff) where silentiaries carry gold staffs in similar religious processions; also ib. 1.45 (230.17, 231.5ff) where silentiaries formally precede a newly-invested curopalatus, see (a) sup. At ib. 1.86 (389.1ff) the emperor hands a golden staff to the newly-invested silentiary on his appointment*. This ceremony is apparently identical with that for the investiture of a curopalatus in 1.45 (231.10ff), see (a) sup. De caer. 2.52 (708.10ff; from Philotheus' Kleterologion) indicates that the inauguration ceremony for silentiaries, and their official insignia, remained the same at this later period. The de Caer. also records (2.40, 640.7ff) that four of these silentiaries' staffs, described as ἄργυρων διάχρυσον ("silver, plated/inlaid with gold"), were deposited in the Oratory of S. Theodore, adjacent to the Chrysotriclinium, together with (inter alia) four of the ostiarii's staffs (see (c) inf.), torques of protospatharius and spatharocandidatus (see (i) sup.) and the so-called Rod of Moses, which was itself carried in grand imperial processions, cf. de Caer. 1.1 (6.24ff), with Vogt's n. ad loc. (1(2).23) and J.Ebersolt Sanctuaires de Byzanz (Paris 1921) 22.

According to de Caer. 1.84 (387.3ff) ἐπιτιθέμεται (sc. δὲ βασιλεύς) τῷ κόμητι τῶν ἁγιορείων τῷ μέλλοντι παύεσθαι ἐνεγκείν τοῦ πρώτου δικαυρίων... (6f) καὶ ἐπιστάζων αὐτῷ (i.e. the decurion) δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ κωδικέλλα τοῦ κόμητος τῶν ἁγιορείων κτλ. and John Lydus Mag. 2.17 (73.18f Wuensch) ἔνθεν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν λεγομένων σιλεντιαρίων - ἀπεισοδολόγος καλεῖται, κτλ., the title comes admissionum or admissionalis was regularly bestowed on the senior decurion of the silentiaries (see Jones II.582, Guillard Titres et fonctions XVII, 39; cf. Bury IA 119). Hence the decurion of de Caer. 2.51 may well be identical with the comes admissionum of 1.84, see (a) sup.

* On the dating of this chapter between 548 and 565 see (i) sup., footnote.
Agathias (Hist. 5.9.7) describes Paul himself as ἑν τοῖς ἀμφί τοῦ βασιλέα σιγής ἐπιστάταις. In this description, the words ἑν τοῖς ἀμφί τοῦ βασιλέα could be merely complimentary, much as (for example) Vie de Théodore de Sykeon 89 (ed. A.J. Festugière, Subs. hag. 48, Brussels 1970, I. 73) ἑξελεφταίριδός τις τῶν πρῶτων, ὕκεματι Μάννας, κτλ. But if Agathias' designation of Paul as ἑν τοῖς ἀμφί τοῦ βασιλέα means that Paul was in fact chief or senior decurion of the silentiaries, then it would be Paul, together with the future emperor Justin II as europalatus, who would carry his golden staff before the emperor on occasions such as that described in de Caer. 2.51 and the one referred to in our line. The indefinite τινὰ of our line may mean "any", thereby indicating that more than one staff, or staffs carried by more than one official would normally precede J.

(c) Note that the emblem of an ostiary (on this office, see Bury IA 122, R. Guillard Recherches sur les institutions byzantines, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten Bd. 35, Berlin 1967, I. 286ff) was also a golden staff (de Caer. 2.52, 721.18ff, cf. 1.1, 10.2ff), but he carried it before dignitaries or officials whom he introduced into the imperial presence rather than in imperial processions, e.g. de Caer. 1.1 (9.21ff), 1.9 (67.13ff), 1.32 (172.2ff), 1.41 (209.22ff), 1.45 (229.9ff), al.; see Guillard 286f. An ostiary also assisted at inauguration ceremonies such as those mentioned sup. (a) and (b), where he handed the appropriate emblem to the emperor (other exx., Guillard 287). The ostiary's staff is distinguished from that of a silentiary by its gem-adorned cap, de Caer. 2.52 (721.18f) χοιρῆ ἰάδεας ἐκ λίθων τιμιῶν περικεφαλαίων ἔχουσα, cf. 1.1 (10.3f), also 2.40 (640.6f; mentioned (b) sup.) ἰάδεια ὀστιαρίκια ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ μαργάριων ὀλόχρυσα ("solid gold staffs ornamented with gems and pearls").

(iii) 260f. οἰκονομοῦ ἐκκατομμένου ἐσώδος Ἱάνης, κτλ.; This description suggests an armed military bodyguard, by contrast with the more ceremonial attendants previously described. It is likely that Paul refers to the excubitores, a corps of 300 created by Leo to replace the declining scholae as effective palace guards.
By the mid-sixth cent., they had achieved a position of considerable prominence and influence, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.202f, 3.165; Frank op.cit.p.204ff (with the reservations voiced by Alan Cameron in CR N.S.22. 1972, 137f); Jones II.658; Bury IA 57f. Corippus confirms that the excubitores took part in ceremonial occasions, see 4.240f and esp. 3.165ff, where great emphasis is placed on their powerful physique as in our line: they are compared to massive oak trees and described as præstricti crura cothurnis (169) which recalls Paul's μελογκρηπίδα (see 261n.inf.); cf. also Proc.Arc.6.3.

The scribones, described by Agathias (Hist.3.14.5) and Theophylact Simocatta (1.4.7, 7.3.8) as imperial bodyguards (δορυφόροι, σωματοφυλάκια) are first mentioned about this time (A.D.545). Little is known about this corps: most of the evidence about them concerns the employment of individual scribones on special missions. They may have been the officers of the excubitores. See Jones II. 658f, Bury IA 58f, Stein II.446 n.1. There is nothing to suggest that Paul had the scribones in mind here; on the contrary, the term στρατὸν (260) might be thought to suggest the larger body of the excubitores.

(Linguistic comment on 257-61 follows).

257. ὲς θέμις οὐκ ἀνέμιμεν: "he did not, as it was customary to do/according to custom, await...". For the misplacement of ὲς θέμις metr.gr., Fr. compares Bion 9.9 (Gow) καὶ οὐ πάρος οὐκέτι ἀείδει. Nonnus has absolute ὲς θέμις at the line-opening at D.20.226. For transitive ἀνέµιμεν in eadem sede, cf. Nonn.D.2.169, 9.4; Musae. 235; inf.316; also Il.16.363 absolute; Il.11.171, Od.19.342 transitive, other parts.

συνέµιπορον: "companion", "attendant"; c.gen. 870 inf. φάσα... συνέµιπορος πάντοθε πέζης. Nonnus and other late poets use συνέµιπορος both absolutely, as in our line (Call.fr.714.3 Pf.; Opp.H.2.183; Nonn.D.10.274, 16.82, 29.173, Par.21.36), with genitive (Nonn.Par.18.82, D.2.182 and esp. 8.99 where it occurs in conjunction with the
similar σώματος, which Paul uses inf.261; Coll.366), and also (more frequently) with dative (A.P.7.413.5, Ant.Sid., ib.635.3, 9.415.1, both Antiphil.; Nonn.D.2.127, 41.288, al., Par.1.152; A.P.5.238.5, Mac.Cons.).

ἀσπιδιώτης: Specifically "shield-bearer" (see historical discussion sup.), rather than the usual general sense "warrior". Twice in Homer (Π.2.554, 16.167) in the phrase ἱππος τε καὶ ἄνερος ἀσπιδιώτης, this term is subsequently rare and confined to epicing poetry (Theoc.14.67, 17.93; A.P.9.116.2, Anon.; Nonn.D.17.344, 28.125, al., Par.18.36, 69; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.143.6) and deliberate reminiscence of Homer (Luc.Nav.29; Plb.10.29.6, 10.30.9, on which see Chantraine Dict.étym.s.v.ἀσπίς, Dōrivēs; Phot.Bibl.246, 408.27 Bekker = VII.32.26f Henry). Also Eustath. on Π.1.152 (I.110.31f Vander Valk, I.59.35 ed.Lips.) on terms for "warrior" derived from a part of the armour,...καὶ ἀπὸ ἀσπιδῶν ἀσπιδιώτα καὶ ἀσπισταὶ .... Homer in fact uses ἀσπιστής rather more frequently, although always in the genitive plural and only in Π., e.g. 4.90, 8.214.

Etymologists regard ἀσπιδιώτης as an extended form devised for metrical reasons, see (for example) Chantraine loc.cit., Calame/Mader in Lex.des frührgr.Epos, fasc.8, s.v. The form ἀσπιστής (first in Attic tragedy, see LSJ s.v.) also occurs in late epic, Opp.H.2.564; Nonn.D.2.416, Par.18.12, cf. προσωπιστής, Nonn.D.27.327, 30.60, al., Par.17.35. Prose writers use compounds of ἀσπιστής, e.g. προσωπιστής, see LSJ, PGL s.v. and cf. προσωπίζοντι 31 sup. with n. ad loc.; ὑπερφυσιστής, LXX Ps.26 (27).1, 27(28).7, al., Jo.Lyd.Mag.1.46 (48.22 Wuenesch) προμοσκευατόριοι, ὑπερφυσισταί, of vūn λεγόμενοι προτήκ[οός], (in list of parts of a legion), see also PGL s.v.; and, more commonly, ὑπερφυσιστής, see LSJ s.v., adding Plb.5.27.3, D.H.3.18.3, and PGL s.v., noting esp. Synes.Ep.75 (PG.66.1441A) where the term is used of the emperor's guard. (The term δορυφόρος is, of course, common in prose in this context, see n.sup. on 20f).

258. καταδιέχεινος ὄρμου ἐλέος:: Cf. inf.867 καταδιέχεινος ὄρμου ἐλέος, of a necklace wound about the neck of a princess, Jo.Gaz. Desor.2.49 οὐτάρ ὁ τετράβολος ἐπικαδιέχεινος ὄρμου ἐλέος. The
use of ἐλίσσειν in these two instances gives a more forceful expression than the rather clumsy ὄρμον ἔλιντα ("having taken up/wearing") of our line, but there is no plausible emendation which would incorporate ἐλίσσειν here. Hence the suggestion of Fr. (in app. crit.) that ἔχοντα should be read, may be right. There is ample precedent for ms. confusion between the two participles: Peek lex.s.v.ἐλεῖν fin. notes that such confusion is common in the Laurentianus ms. of Nonnus D., while Stephanus s.v. ἀφῄειν fin. gives exx. of similar confusion in Homeric and tragic ms. (e.g. II.11.488, 23.219). Note especially A.P. 5.222.1 (Agath.) where Planudes and the original hand of the Palatinus read ἔχοντα, altered to ἔλιντα by the corrector of the Palatinus (see Beckby's app. crit.). Nonnus (D.33.100) has ὄρμον ἔλιντα ("picking up"), but cf. Od.15.460 χρύσουν ὄρμον ἔχον. For καταφθέγγονος "in/about the neck", cf. A.P. 9.150.5 (Antip.) προδέτω δ' ἔγ' ἤμαντι καταφθέγγονος ἀμμα λυγόσας, Nonn.D.40.262 καταφθέγγονος ἀμμα πεδήσος, 29.280τ ἀπ' πλακάμιοι δ' ἐκ πάγχης/ἄφλεγεος σελάγισε καταφθέγγονος...πόρο, al., and for other exx. similar to Paul's cf. Nonn.D.2.595 ποικιλον αὐχένος ὄρμον εὕρησον, 30.80 αὐχένι μιτρώσας πυρήνατος ὄρμον ἀνάγκης. On the military ὄρμος, see historical discussion sup. on 256-61, sec.(i).

ἀγνάμπτπνο: "unbending". The word has both literal and metaphor. force here, suggesting both the upright posture and the inflexible resolution of the escort, much as in Nonn.D.13.419 τοῦ μὲν ἔλιντα ἀγνάμπτπνον ἔλιντα δέμας (in a description of the gigantic Ogyrus, a soldier of Dionysus). The epithet occurs first in Bacchylides, 9.73 ἐρώτων, cf. A.Pr.163 νῦν; Plu.Cat.Mi.11 ἥδους; Orph.Lith. 27 σφέντος; Nonn.D.17.349 πῆλης, 43.30 πάντος (of an elephant), al., Par.10.6 of a shepherd entering the sheepfold, 20.109 πεταῖ; A.P.16.278.3 (Paul Sil.) νῦν.

259. χρυσόν: Meineke's correction (in notes to Kortüm's translation of Paul Sil.Descr., appendix to W.Salzenberg Alchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel, Berlin 1854, p.XXVIII) for the ms. χρυσῆς, variously emended by intervening editors (χρυσοῦν Du Cange;
The form χρόσεν is accepted by Fr. (and by Ludwich in *Rhein.Mus.* 41, 1886, 594 n. 1, who similarly amended A.P. 5.230.1, Paul Sil., from χρονήσις to χροσείνς) on the grounds that Paul uses only the epic forms χρόσες and χρόσειος (cf. Od. 16.172 χροσείρι πάρα; infra 791 χροσείνς ἐπὶ βαβδοῦ), never the contracted form χροσός. This argument is probably valid: Nonnus admits very few contracted forms (Keydell I.43*) and uses the contracted χροσός only in the phrase χροσής (-ήν) ἀψυδήτης (-ν) at the line-end (D.2.603, 19.44, al.), where it may be accounted for by the greater licence permitted in conjunction with proper names. The first syllable of χροσός is scanned either long or short in Nonnus e.g. D.13.172 χρόσεοι (line-opening, cf.258 sup.) 37.93 εἰς χροσήν φιάλην in eadem sede.

ὅτι προκέλευθον ἄνδρας: Cf. 959f inf. ὅτι καμάτωι τεοῦ προκέλευθος ἄνδρα/Χρῖστος ἄνδρες, also 327. The use of προκέλευθος with genitive (the genitive being objective, or because implied by προ-) occurs first at Mosch.2.151 πλοῦτο προκέλευθον ἐμετο (see Bühler's n. ad loc.) and is common in Nonnus, e.g. D.38.289 ἰπποσώμης προκέλευθον, 48.315 προκέλευθος ἀνάσας (Artemis), al., see Peek Lex.s.v.II.2, Par.1.22 φαίνο προκέλευθος (of John the Baptist), ib.111 προκέλευθος ἀκρόπτοι πορείν (same) al.; cf. Enc.Theb.19 (Heitsch S.10, Band II, p.50) (ὑπή σπορατ[ης] ἐς φάλαγξ) [ὅ]βης μὲν προκέλευθοι... (?), A.P.5.245.1 (Mac.Cons.) χρεμέσιμα γάμου προκέλευθον. The word is previously rare (ἡμέρα dub.lit. in Stratt.36, λαμπάδος GVI 1522.7f, 2nd cent.A.D.).

260. ἡμορέμποι κεκαυμένου εἴρισος ἠβης: "excelling in the deeds of prowess of strong-footed youth". Homer constructs κεκαυμένος (from καύμωμι) with dative in the sense "surpassing", "excelling in", II.4.339, Od.4.725, see LSJ s.v.I and cf. A.R.1.138. In later poetry, the sense is often weaker "adorned/equipped with", see LSJ s.v.II and cf. Opp.C.2.475, Nonn.D.2.348, 5.333, al., A.P.2.88, 267, al. (Christod.). Either sense is possible here (as at 268 inf. and elsewhere), but the similarity of Od.24.509 ἀλκῆ τῇ ἡμορέμποι τε κεκαυμέθα, suggests that Paul intended the
stronger Homeric sense. Nonnus associates ἴμνορη and νῆ in a similar line at D.37.177f ὅτι κοιμίζει τοῖς σύμφωνοι ἴμνορη κεκερασμένον ὁμόμορον νῆς, and the two nouns are also juxtaposed at 1b.3.222f. Plural ἴμνορη is rare, but cf. Pi.N.3.20, I.4.11, al.; Orph.Arg.169 in eadem sede; also dub. lit. at Coll.7. For εὐπόνοι applied literally to the human/divine foot (as opposed to its use in a musical context at 172 sup.), see LSJ s.v. and cf. Nonn.D.6.15 al. ταρσός, 7.107 al. τρέπαν, cf. Par.19.142; Jo.Gaz.Descr1.106 δίπος (of Atlas); inf.331 ἴδως, all in eadem sede. Note also inf.558 εὐπνομένας.


μελαγκρήπιδα: "black-shod". Apart from Corippus' similar reference to the footwear of the excubitors (Laud.Just.3.169, quoted in historical discussion of 256-61, sec. (iii) sup.), the epithet is of little assistance in the identification of Paul's στρατον. The κρήπις was a kind of shoe consisting of a stout-nailed sole which was laced to the foot by means of thongs passed through loops in the sole. It was worn by soldiers (e.g. Poll. Onom.7.85 φορήμα στρατιωτικῶν). But the same term is used of a type of shoe worn at the Macedonian and Egyptian courts, and by women as well as men, see Gow's n. on Theoc.15.6 and Daremberg and Saglio s.v.crepida, crepidula (Vol.I.2, 1557ff). Paul probably intends it to denote a stout soldier's shoe here, since his description emphasises the military characteristics of this escort (cf. στρατον, εὐόπλοιο, etc.), but it might denote the low sandals, similar to those of the emperor himself, which are worn by J.'s escort, both clerics and soldiers, in the S.Vitale mosaic.

This latter interpretation might appear to be supported by
Corippus, who not only refers to the footwear of the excubitors as *cothurni*, but uses the same term of the imperial footwear (Laud. Just. 2.104). The latter are elsewhere commonly called ὑποδήματα or *compagi*; John Lydus (Mag. 1.17, 22.2ff Wuensch) describes the *compagus* (κάμπαγον ἀότο καλοῦσιν, line 10) as a type of open sandal (ἐλυσόν γυμνόν, line 2f), like that worn by J. and company on the S. Vitale mosaic. The *cothurnus*, on the other hand, is the tragic buskin, characterised, like the *kπτύνξσ*, by its thick sole, see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. *cothurnus* (1.2, 1544ff). Hence Cameron argues (ad loc.) that at 2.104 Corippus has in mind such a *compagus*, but uses *cothurnus* for literary effect, in reminiscence of Virgilian expressions. This raises the possibility that Corippus might refer to similar sandals when describing the footwear of the excubitors as *cothurni* at 3.169. But the description itself makes clear that he does not: praestricti crura *cothurnis*, "their legs gripped by *cothurni*", surely indicates a high boot. Furthermore, Proc. Aed. 3.1.23, describing the footwear bestowed on Armenian satraps, may imply that the imperial footwear was akin to such *cothurni* rather than to the low *compagus* described by Lydus: ὑποδήματα μέχρι ἐς γόνων φοινικοῦ χρώματος, ἀ δὴ βασιλέα μόνον ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὑποδείησαι θέμεν (all editors read ἃ referring to ὑποδήματα, rather than the ms. ὧ, referring to χρώμα. If ὧ were retained, then it would be the red colour alone, rather than the type of shoe, which was reserved for imperial wear). Similarly George of Pisidia describes the emperor Heraclius setting out to fight the Persians equipped as a soldier with sword and shield (Exp. Pers. 3.112ff) and continues (118ff) καὶ νῦν μελαμμέδιλον ἐκτείνων τόδα/.../ (121) βάφται γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ ἔξοψ βαφῇ θελεί/πολύν ἐρυθρῶν Περσικῶν ἐκ ἄθιμων; compare the epigram to the same effect said by the chronographers (e.g. Leo Gramm. 150.16ff Bonn) to have been composed by George on Heraclius' departure from Cpl. (quoted by Pertusi on Exp. Pers. 1.132). Here the emperor's footwear is presumably also a soldier's boot, which will distinguish him as emperor once it has been reddened.

Black footwear is worn not only by soldiers, as implied by George of Pisidia, but also by state officials, cf. Jo. Lyd. loc. cit.,
describing the characteristic dress of patricians (see p.21.14 Wuensch), the evidence of the S.Vitale mosaic, and see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.2.100, 111; note also Theoph.A.M.6295 (477.25f de Boor) where the usurper Nicephorus shows the deposed empress Irene his black ὑποδήματα as evidence of his humility and lack of eagerness to assume the imperial red shoes, and see Du Cange Gloss.s.v.ποδάγγας, col.1557 enimvero caeterorum ex plebe, vel eorum qui dignitabib
Palatinis fulgebant,μέλανα erant ὑποδήματα.

More revealing is the extreme rarity of the epithet μελαγκρῆμα, which occurs only twice elsewhere. Eustathius (on II.2.74, I.267.13 Van der Valk, I.142.1 ed.Lips.), discussing the accentuation of πολυμηθὸι, cites πολυστίχος, μελαγκρῆμα as parallel instances of a noun changing its accentuation when it is incorporated in a compound, cf. also id. on Od.2.119 (I.87.29 ed.Lips). The other instance of the epithet is in P.Hib.II.172.3 (ed.Turner, London 1955), where it is cited in the masculine/feminine nominative plural ([μέλαγκρήματα]) among a list of compounds of μέλανα.
The papyrus appears to be an Alexandrian (ca.270-230 B.C.) onomasticon or collection of poetical epithets compiled for use as a handbook in poetic composition. It is a successor to the famous Ατοκτώνο of Philetas of Cos. (Turner suggested ad loc. that the new papyrus might perhaps actually be a part of Philetas' lexicon, but this is unlikely, see the objections of R.Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship I, Oxford 1968; 91f). Approximately one quarter of the epithets listed are not recorded in lexica, but the fact that not all the epithets (including ours) are cited in the masc.nom.sing. strongly suggests that the collection was compiled from extant literature (hexameter and lyric), rather than that it included specially-invented words. Some of the words are known only from Hellenistic poets, almost certainly writing after the compilation of this list. See further Turner's introduction ad loc. Paul's use of rare Alexandrian words, and words extant only in ancient lexica has already been noted, cf. ὀζυμίαν 122, ὀμυμία 145, Ἄφθονον 156, ἢμαρις 178, ὀκανών 210 sup. with nn. ad loco. Since μελαγκρῆμα was apparently rare when P.Hib.II.172 was compiled, it is likely that Paul took the word from a handbook of the same type.
262-64. J.'s progress is attended by a noisy throng. It is not altogether clear whether these lines refer to the hurried assembly of the neglected escort, to whom the shields (βοεία) of 263 presumably belong, or whether they describe a more general gathering of the populace. If, as seems more likely, the latter is intended, then the detail is panegyric and may be classed with other similar passages in which Paul emphasises popular concern for the fate of S. Sophia, and the popularity of J. himself (71ff, 173ff, 204ff, cf. inf. 346f). Corippus likewise makes frequent references to the popularity of Justin II and everything associated with him, e.g. Laud.Just.1.345ff, 3.62ff and esp.4.53f mirantur populi, studioque videndi/omnis concurrens sexus veniebat et aetas (in connection with the grandstand specially erected for Justin II's inauguration as consul).


συνέρρευν: The verb occurs only in prose writers in classical and Koine Greek, but cf. Nonn.D.13.231 (μαχηται), 393 (ἀξιοδίωται), 37.602 (κήρυκες); also No.XII ap.Trypanis Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica 16'2 (of the Israelites flocking to Solomon's temple at Jerusalem); Agath.Hist.2.15.6 (of people congregating in the streets because of earth tremors), 5.16.3 (of peasants gathering around Belisarius at the time of the Kotrigur invasion); and, in similar context, Evagr.HE 5.6 (202.15 Bid.-Parm.) of people flocking around the patriarch Gregory of Antioch when he advanced in the street.

ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι: Cf. Opp.H.1.461, Tryph.607. A variant of the Homeric line-end ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοις (Il.9.311, Od.9.493, al.; cf. Theoc.1.34, al., Opp.H.1.189, al., Q.S.5.83, Musae.84 v.l., see further Kost ad loc.). Nonnus has the phrase ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοσ (−οῦ) (D.22.189, 346, 36.403, Par.6.53, 12.38; cf. inf.896), but does not admit it at the line-end, where ἄλλοσ, -οῦ is rare (D.23.40, 25.128, 36.404), see Keydell I.37*. Other variants of the Homeric phrase

263. προφθαμένου: "being first", and so here "before them". For this absolute use of the aorist middle, cf. A.R.4.913, Nonn.D. 39.86, Par.5.27, all in eadem sede; also Nonn.Par.13.85 γλώσσῃ προφθαμένῃ.

ἐπέκτυπαν δὲ Βοείαι: For this verb denoting the sound of beaten shields, cf. A.R.1.1136 σάκεα ξιφέσσιν ἐπέκτυπον, 2.1081 σάκεσσιν ἐπέκτυπον, Nonn.D.29.218 φάγονα τυπαμένην ἐπέκτυπε γυμνά Βοείας (of Corybants). Cf. also 135 sup. σάκεων...κτύπος with n. ad loc. In Homer, Βοείη often denotes an ox-hide shield (II.5.452, etc.). In Nonn.D., it sometimes denotes a shield, and sometimes a drum made from stretched ox-hides (or, in the case of the Corybants, an ox-hide shield beaten like a drum, cf. loc.cit. sup.), see Peek Lex.s.v. But the drum is appropriate only to Dionysiac revelry, and Paul certainly intended the sense "shield" here, as at inf.983, Amb.119, A.P.6.84.7.

264. στεινομέων:Of people, Il.14.34, Nonn.D.22.270 (corpses), Par.4.147, A.P.2.16 (Christod.; metaph. of Aeschines). Paul uses the verb of place inf.346, 988, see nn. ad locc.


265-76. J.'s discovery that the foundations of the church are
undamaged leads naturally to an encomium of the skill of Anthemius, the original architect. In describing the earthquake (186ff sup.), Paul has already said that the collapse was confined to the great eastern arch and part of the dome, 198-203, see n.sup. ad loc. But there, although the strength of the foundations was alluded to (186, 198f), no specific mention was made of Anthemius.

265. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὲι: The particles ἀλλὰ...δὲι bring the narrative at last to the main point, as J. actually sees the damage and turns his attention to its repair. So Il.22.208 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὲι τὸ τέταρτον ἐπὶ κρουσοῦν ἀφικόμεθο, introducing the climactic scene of the Iliad, cf. Nonn.D.3.243, al., inf.337 and see Denniston Greek Particles p.241, sec.2.

κατὰ νηθὸν ἐδόθη: "he set foot in the temple". Cf. Od.4.246 κατέδευ πόλιν . Il.5.140 κατὰ σταθμὸν ὀδύεται; active, Il.8.375 καταβαίσα Αἰώς ὀδύον.

βάσις: "foundation", cf. inf. Amb.279. In literary Koine, βάσις denotes the base or pedestal of columns, statues et simil.; it is sometimes used metaphorically, see LSJ s.v.III, adding Orph.fr.168.29, 247.32 Kern; Agath.Hist.1.10.3, 3.25.2; metaph., Georg.Fisid.Carm.12.1 (ed. L.Sternbach Wiener Studien 13, 1891, 17) δογμάτων,..., βάσις (of S.Basil), together with other similar exx. collected by Sternbach ad loc., p.53f; and esp. A.P.7.588.3 (Paul Sil.) ἄλετο γραμμικτικής ἱερὴ βάσις (of Damocharis of Cos).

266. ἀστυφελικτόν: Cf. 543 inf. ὑπ' ἀ.ἀνάγκην, Amb.157 (ἰχνοῦς), Amb.282 (δειμοῦ), all in architectural contexts; 250 sup. ἐστυφελίζε. The adjective is found first at X.Lac.15 βοσκεῖαν, cf. Call.Del.26 θείας, A.P.6.163.5 (Meleagr.) ἐνατά (with dat.), ib.7.748.5 (Ant. Sid.) χώμα, GVI 976.3 (2nd/3rd cent.) ἄδος Orph.Hymn 12.13 of Heracles, Orph.fr.168.22 αἴμα (of Zeus), Procl.Hymn 1.45 ἀλαβόν, al., Opp.H.5.679 θεμελίλα.../...γαίνης, Nonn.D.45.330 ἀδύνα, 47.465 of Ortygia (predicative, as here), al., Par.3.84 πίεσα, al., Jo.Gaz. Desor.2.52 ἀνάγκη, al., A.P.9.764.7 (Paul Sil.) ὑπῆνου...χάριν.
he turned his whole intent. Such metaph. use of τρέψω is not uncommon, e.g. Il.5.676, see LSJ s.v.I.1 and cf. A.P.16.244.6 (Agath.) θυμών άλον τρέψας πικτίδας ἀσχολήσ; also inf.Amb.91 φίμω/τρέψειν άλην χροίν, of marble. The noun μενοινή (cf. inf.997), first found in Alexandrian poetry (Call.Jov.90, A.R.1.700, etc.) and common in Nonnus (D.4.65, 46.103, al., Par.3.51, al.), covers the range "desire", "purpose", "concern", "thoughts". It often contains an implication of eagerness or earnestness, but is more varied in sense than LSJ's explanation ("eager desire") suggests, e.g. A.R.4.355 ούν τήνδε συναρπάσαθε μενοινήν/ ἡμοῦ ἐμοί; ("purpose", "plan"); Nonn.Par.11.202 οὔδεν ἀπειρίην πενυμένον ἵστε μενοινήν ("intent", "thoughts"), cf. A.P.1.10.13, 25 (Anon., 6th cent.); Nonn.D.5.373 οἰκοστόργω δὲ μενοινήν/ νόησις ἄκριβεσσα ιμάσσετο πένθει μήπορο ("concern", "distress"); A.P.2.311 (Christod.) ἐμφορίων ἀλλ' ὁμορος ἐδείκνυεν, οὐτε μενοινήν/οἶμορον οὗτε νόησι κεχρομένον ("thoughts", "intellect"); A.P.11.350.3 (Agath.) ἥτρησ πιστεῖς πεκινόφροιν ἑπὶ τε μενοινήν/ ποίκιλον αὐξάσατο μῦθον ἐμισταμένη ("wits", "resourcefulness").


267ff. ἐπευρήμησε δὲ, κτλ.: In an easy digression ("leicht abschweifend", Fr. ad loc.), a brief encomium of the architect Anthemius is introduced; so in A.P.9.656, an anonymous poem in praise of Anastasius' Chalke, a compliment to its architect Aetherius is included (6ff). In a further brief complimentary reference, inf. 552ff, Paul couples the name of Anthemius with that of Isidorus (of Miletus), as does Procopius at Aed.1.1.24, 50, 70; both Paul and Procopius put the name of Anthemius first, however, suggesting that he was the senior partner. (The Isidorus of Miletus who collaborated with Anthemius in the original building of S.Sophia, to which Paul here refers, is to be distinguished from his nephew,
Isidorus the Younger, who re-built the dome of S. Sophia after its collapse in 558, cf. Agath.Hist.5.9.4, Proc.Aed.2.8.25). The anonymous Descr.S.Soph. says nothing about Anthemius and Isidorus, mentioning instead a certain Ignatius who was πρῶτος οἰκοδόμος μηχανικός and δī πρῶτος τῶν οἰκοδόμων, δī μηχανικός (ch.6, p.83.2, and ch.10, p.86.5). But this semi-legendary account cannot be relied upon for historical detail, see nn.sup. on 1 (footnote) and 198-203 (fin.). Certainly Ignatius was not chief architect.

Agathias (Hist.5.6.3) and Procopius (Aed.1.1.24, 50) designate both Anthemius and Isidorus as μηχανοποιοί, the epithet indicating that they had completed the full course of architectural studies, which included both theoretical planning and practical building (cf. Paul's τέχνη καὶ νόον, and Agath.Hist.loc.cit.), and had achieved the highest rank in this field, see G.Downey in Byzantion 18 (1946-8) 99ff; A.Fabré in Échos d'Orient 22 (1923) 59ff. Procopius judged Anthemius to be superior in his profession not only to his contemporaries, but also to all his predecessors (Aed.1.1.24), and mentions (Aed.2.3-7) his collaboration with Isidorus in devising a flood barrier for the fortified city of Dara in Mesopotamia. Anthemius also collaborated with Isidorus the Younger in the building of the church of the Holy Apostles at Cpl., according to Const.Rhod.Descr.S.Apost.548ff (ed. E.Legrand Rev.et.grecques 9, 1896,52. Stein, B-E II.457, suggested that there was doubt about which Isidorus was involved in this project, but Constantine says Τοῖς ἑωσφόροις νέος, line 550). Other evidence suggests the wide range of the scientific interests and skills of both Anthemius and the elder Isidorus: Agathias (Hist.5.6.2ff, cf. Jones LRE II.1013f) mentions Anthemius' family of four illustrious brothers and describes in detail the ingenious mechanical contrivance which he devised in order to simulate the effects of an earthquake in the house of an uncongenial neighbour, as well as his use of mirrors to imitate lightning. The reputation of Anthemius as an inventive engineer survived in the 12th cent., cf. Eustath. on II.5.4 (II.5.5ff Van der Valk, II.3.13f ed.Lips.) and Od.5.128 (I.206.39 ed.Lips.), Tz.H.12.969. On the mathematical achievements of Anthemius, see G.L.Huxley Anthemius of Tralles (Greek, Roman and Byzantine monographs 1,
267. ἐπευφήμησε: For the construction with accusative in the sense "applaud", "praise", cf. E.IA 1467ff (with double acc. and dat.) ἐπευφήμησατι,...παῖσιν τῇμῇ, συμφόρη...Ἀρτέμιν: Arr. Epict. 3.26.29 (351.6 Schenkl) ἄκολουθον, ἐπευφήμισεν τὸν Ἕγεμον; Procl.Hymn 1.26 ἄλλοι...Ἄδωνι... ἐπευφήμησαν ἀμοίβας; Musae.275 ὃς ἐνοχὴν ἔχει τῆς ἐπευφήμησαν ἀιτίων; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.9.45 ἔμερον... πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν ἀλητροῦ: A.P.16.338.5f (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius) οὗτος ἐπευφήμησεν ἀμοίβας/οὗν κλέος ἀντιπάλους ἐξῆς ἀγασσάμενος:;.

268. κεκασμένον ἐμφρονί βουλή: Cf. 260 sup. with n. ad loc. Here Paul's phrase is modelled on Nonn.D.5.333 Ἀκταίωνα κεκασμένον ἐμφρονί θυμῷ, where the verb has the sense "endowed with". In the context of J.'s praise of Anthemius, however, the stronger Homeric sense "excelling in" is perhaps to be preferred, as at 260 sup. For the expression here, cf. also Nonn.D.13.487 κεκορυφημένον ἐμφρονί λόγχη, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.259 μεμεθυμένος ἐμφρονί τέχνης; dative ἐμφρονί βουλή in eadem sede, Orph.Hymn 14.12, 59.20, al., Nonn.D.4.455; ἐμφρονί θυμῷ Opp.H.5.492, Nonn.D.1.312, Par.1.31, cf. Procl.Hymn 7.5; al simil. For the association of νόος and βουλή, cf. inf.973, Nonn.D.4.179, 34.8f, 37.222f, etc.

269. κεῖνος ἄνηρ: Emphatic, beginning the parenthesis on Anthemius (269-73); cf. Od.4.145, A.R.1.182, Nonn.D.5.229, 242, Par.9.53, 57, A.P.2.403 (Christod.). The expression is picked up at 271 by δεινὸς ἄνηρ, recalling the word-play at the beginning of the second iambic prologue (85, 88) and the more elaborate repetition at 177f/185; cf. 286/299 inf. παῦς βροτὸς/πᾶς κόρος.

τὰ πρῶτα θεμελία πέζατο νηοῦ: Cf. Call.Ap.58 τεταρτεῖς τὰ πρῶτα θεμελία θοίβος ἔπηκε, also ib.64, 57. (Only in this imitation of Call. does Paul allow the lengthening of a monosyllable, τὰ, in thesi by mute and liquid, see J.Merian-Genast de Paulo.
Silentiario Byzantino Nonni sectatore, Diss., Leipzig 1889, 68f, who compares Nonn.D.10.427 δέκτο νέος τα πρῶτα; also A.P.9.649.1 (Mac.Cons.) ἀπὸ πρῶτοιο θεμέλιον. For θεμελία πήγαμι (active and middle), cf. Epigr.Gr.1069.10 (med); Nonn.D.5.50 (act.), Par.4.18 (act.), 17.14 (med.), D.43.3 (act.) and 17.135 (med.; both metaph.); A.P.9.808.2 (Cyr.; act.). Paul uses the Homeric form (II.12.28, etc.) θεμέλια in eadem sede inf.Amb.127, 130; at the line-end he uses θεμέλιον, see 186n.sup.

270. εὐκαμάτων, κτλ.: "doing service to/discharging the counsels of the nobly-toiling emperors". Cf. inf.554 καλλιπόθων βουλητῶν ὑποδηρσοῦντες ἀνάκτων, also of Anthemius and Isidorus, 340 ὑποδηρσοῦν αὐθεντοῦ βασιλῆς ἐφετμαζότος, also 514; A.R.3.274 ὁς καμάτου μεθείσεκεν, ὑποδηρσοῦν βασιλῆς; Epigr.ap.Jo.Mal.326.3 Κωστοτατίου (or Κωστοτατίνου) ἀνάκτος ὑποδηρσοῦσάτος ἐφετμαζότος (said to have been inscribed in the Great Church at Antioch); Man.6(3).726 ἄλλως δὲ ὑποδηρσοῦντος ἀνάκτων; A.P.9.582.3 (Anon., 4th cent.) θέσμῳ ὑποδηρσοῦντες ἀνικήτων βασιλῶν; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.7.16 (PG.37.440A) = ib.1.2.1.34 (col. 524A) ἔσσυμένως μεγάλης ὑποδηρσοῦσιν ἐφετμαζότος, ib.1.1.27.25 (col.500A) Χριστοῦ βασιλῆς ὑποδηρσοῦστας ἐφετμαζότος; ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 77.27 οὐδ’ ἔθελεν θεμοιοίζειν ὑποδηρσοῦσιν βασιλῆς. The verb is found first at A.R. loc.cit., probably formed from Homeric ὑποδηρστήρες (Od.15.330), ὑποδηρσοῦν (Od.15.333), see Mooney and Gillies on A.R.loc.cit.; cf. also Nonn.D.2.588, 48.297, al., Par. 12.105; Heitsch XXVI.2 verso 6 (I.87); Musae.143; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.80.13. In using the plural βασιλῶν, Paul probably means J. and Theodora together, cf. ἀνάκτων 176 sup. with n. ad loc. For εὐκάματος applied to people, cf. A.P.2.398 (Christod.) πρόμονες εὐκαμάτων Πομπήιος Ἀνωνύμων; Philostr.Gym.42 εὐκάματοι δὲ ἄρη μοχθεῖν ("easily-enduring", see LSJ s.v.3). Meineke (ap.Salzenberg-Kortum op.cit.) would read ἄκματων in our line and at 343 inf. (Ἄργυφον εὐκαμάτοις ὑπὸ χείρεσι κηρον ἀνάπτων, of the members of the inaugural procession to S.Sophia) on the grounds that εὐκάματος must be passive in sense, as at E.Bacch.67 κἀματον (the earliest instance of the epithet). But it is used actively by Christodorus loc.cit., and also at A.P.1.10.34 (Anon., 6th cent.) Ίχνευς δ’ εὐκαμάτων ἐφεστομένη
γενιτήρων (of Anicia Juliana). At 283 inf. it is passive, e. 247
κόρας, "nobly-laboured toils", see n. ad loc. At 452 e. θεμελίωσι
and 496f εὐκαμπτότης νόμοις/κάψίδων, it may be either active, as
here, "strongly-labouring", or passive in the sense "made by noble
toil", cf. Nonn.D.25.28 Ἰφιρώτας, 35.158 δακτύλιγγη (of sweat);
A.P.16.335.2 (Anon., on Porphyrius) στεφάνοις ("won by noble toil").

271. δεινὸς ὁμήρος, κτλ.: "a man skilled both in the choice of a
centre and the drawing of a figure/plan". Paul refers to Anthemius'
theoretical skill in semi-technical language. Geometry played a
major role in Byzantine architectural design and construction,
cf. Pappus of Alexandria (4th cent.; here based on the doctrine of
Heron of Alexandria, probably 1st cent.) on the theoretical
training of a μηχανικός, Syn.8.1 (III.1022.15ff Hultsch) καὶ τὸ μὲν
λογικὸν συνεστάναι μέρος [τῆς μηχανικῆς] ἢ τὲ γεωμετρίας καὶ
ἀριθμητίκης καὶ ἀστρονομίας καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν λόγων; Agathias'
description of Anthemius' profession, Hist.5.6.3f τίχυν δὲ τὰ τῶν
μηχανοποιῶν εὐρήματα, οἵ τινες τὴν γραμμήν θεωροῦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔλαν
κατάγωντες μιμήματά τινα καὶ οἴκουν εἴδωλα τῶν ἄντων ἔμεινοννοῦς,
γέγονε δὲ...ἐξ ἀκρον ἥκων τῆς μαθηματικῆς ἐπιστήμης; and see
Downey loc.cit. in n.sup. on 267ff, esp. p.106ff, 117f. (Downey
notes also, p.112, that Isidorus was probably a professor of
geometry or mechanics).

δεινὸς: Regularly c.inf. in this sense in classical drama
and in prose, see LSJ s.v. δεινὸς III and cf. also Theoc.Ep.11,

κέντρου ἔλειν: Paul's phrase is probably based on the geometrical
expression εἰλήφθω τὸ κέντρον..., "let the centre be"..., used of
a circle or part of a circle, see Hultsch's index to his ed. of
Pappus of Alexandria s.v. κέντρον for many exx. The term κέντρον
is applied in Greek to the centre of a geometrical figure (usually
a circle) from the time of Plato, deriving from its use to denote
the fixed point of a pair of compasses, see LSJ s.v.6 and cf. inf.
365, 837; Nonn.D.38.268, 313 (astron.); Evagr.HE 4.31 (181.3f Bid.-Parm.)
tò δὲ βάθος ἀπὸ τοῦ κέντρου τοῦ ἡμιοφαίριου μέχρις ἑδάφους (of the dome of S.Sophia). It also continued to be used of the fixed point of compasses, e.g. Greg.Nyss.Ep.25.8 (p.81.1f ed. Pasquali, 2nd ed. 1959) ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πλευρᾶς (of a semi-circular structure) πηγυμένου τοῦ κέντρου, cf. PGL s.v.3. Hence Paul’s expression might also be interpreted as "the taking up of the compass point", but this has ultimately the same sense as "the choice of a centre".

σχήμα χαράζατι: The term σχήμα ("form", "shape") is regularly used in technical Greek to denote geometrical figures, see LSJ s.v.8, Soph.Lex.s.v.7, Stephanus s.v. col.1659 and cf. Vitruv.1.6.12 formas sive uti Graeci schemata dicunt (of two diagrams which he will append to his work). It occurs frequently in late architectural descriptions by non-technical writers: sometimes it is used generally to denote "form" or "shape", e.g. Agath.Hist.2. 17.4 (on the re-building of Tralles) ἀκαδομήσας αὖθις τὴν πάλιν καὶ ἐς τὸ μέχρι τοῦ δευτερο- σεκάδουν ἀποργάσασθαι σχήμα, ib.5.9.4 ἵστῳ ῥηματί ὡς καὶ αἱ πάλιν μηχανοποιοῖ τὸ πρότερον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀναθεωρήσαντες σχήμα... cf. ib.5.9.2 (both of S.Sophia); Mal.495. 10§ προσετέθη ὡς τῷ πρότερῳ καὶ τὸ παλαιόν σχήμα πόδες λ’, (of S.Sophia); Anon.Descr.S.Soph.8 (I.83.1f Preger) ὡς ὡς σχήμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἀγγελος κυρίου ἔδειξε κατ’ ὅναρ τῷ βασιλεῖ; elsewhere there is a specific reference to a geometrical figure, e.g. Eus.HE 10.4.39 (describing the forecourt of the church at Tyre) εἰς τετράγωνον τὸ σχήμα περιφερείας τοῦ τόπου; Greg.Nyss.Ep.25.3 (79.21 Pasquali, 2nd ed.1959) οὐστρός ἐστι τοῦ εὐκτρείου τὸ σχῆμα, cf. sec.6 (p.80.20); Chor.Or.2.41 (38.21f Foerst.-Richtst.) μίαν τὴν ὑπερτάτην φημί, καὶ οὖσα ἐπικείμενα σχήμα. κάτων ἡμιέα τούτο καλοῦσι γεωμετρίας σχήμα... (of the semi-dome of the apse of the church of S.Stephen at Gaza, rising from the bands,ζώνας, of marble decorating the wall, see C.Mango The Art of the Byzantine Empire p.71, n.87), cf. ib.1.18 (p.7.20) σχήμα of a design of circles surrounding an arch, al.; Proc.Aed.1.1.32 ἐπὶ σχῆμα τα κατὰ ἂμοι τὸ στρόγγυλον ἱοῦσα, ὁπερ οἱ περὶ τὸ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ ἡμικύλινδρον ὄνομάζοντου (of the apse of S.Sophia), cf. ib.35, al.; Agath. Hist.5.9.8 ὡς ἑιθόγραμμα σχήματα καὶ ὡς κυκλικά (details contained
in Paul's description of S.Sophia); inf.Amb.261 σχήμα κύβου... περιμήκεςος ὁδὸς ἰσοπλεόρου (of the shape of the columns bounding the solea). In several of the above instances, σχήμα may be rendered "plan", e.g. Greg.Nyss.E£.25.3, Agath.Hist.2.17.4, 5.9.4; certainly the shapes or geometrical figures which Anthemius is described as drawing in our line are likely to be architectural plans. G.Downey (loc.cit. in n.sup. on 267ff) maintains that "σχήμα is well-known as a technical term for a plan" (p.116), citing Vitruv.loc.cit.sup., and Sop.Lex.s.v.7; he suggests that Const.Rhod.Descr.S.Apost.497f κ' αὕτης μετακεκάθαρον εἰς τὸ νῦν μέγα / καὶ σχήμα καὶ πρόβλημα χ’ ὕψωμα ξένου, is a description of the three ways (plan, projection, elevation) in which an architect would conceive and present a building.

The verb χαίρονσεων (inf.280, 501, 507, 693, al.) is commonly used in the sense "draw", "write" in late authors, see LSJ s.v.III and cf. also Theoec.23.46; A.P.9.139.4 (Claud.); Nonn.D.2.628, al.; A.P.4.38.72 (Agath.), 5.254.5 (Paul Sil.), 6.65.1 (id.; of a pencil ruling lines on a page for a scribe) and esp. Nonn.D.6.19 of geometrical drawing, Marc.Diac.V.Porph.93 μεγάλην όστην τὴν ἐξεκλησίου έχάραξεν("planned").

272f. Paul here reiterates the idea of 198f sup., where the church is said to have remained standing because ἀφιετάδινος ἐξελέμονος άμασι τέχνης. Now, however, the compliment to Anthemius is made explicit: he has made the walls strong enough to withstand even the malign supernatural forces whose defeat is, in the earlier passage, attributed to Christ's intervention.

272. τοίχοις ἐνέπεκ...οθένος: "He had implanted strength in the walls". The construction of ἐνίψιμοι with acc.rei and dat.pers. in this sense is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.2; for Paul's use of dat.rei instead of dat.pers., cf. A.P.7.172.6 (Ant.Sid.), Call.fr.788 Pf., Opp.H.3.467 (of fish); A.P.9.6.2 (Pallad.). The dative τοίχοισ is Du Cange's correction for the ms. reading τοίχοισ.

τόσον οθένος ὄσον ἐρίζειν: "strength enough to vie with".

273. δαίμονος ἀντιβίοιο βαρυτὴτοισιν ἐρωτῶς: "(to vie) with the hostile demon’s onsets, hard to endure". As at 195, 221, the collapse of the dome is attributed to the malevolent activity of the πονηρὸς δαίμων, see nn.sup. ad loc., also n. sup. on 160-63 and cf. esp. Bartelink loc.cit. For δαίμων denoting, as here, not merely this or that evil spirit, but the Devil, Lucifer, in phrases similar to Paul's, cf.esp. Nonn.Par.17.54f ἀλλ' Ἰα μν... φυλαξίς/δαίμονος ἀρχεκάκοιο δυσαντιτών ἀπὸ δεσμόν, 8.123f ύμεῖς ἡμί τέκνα δυσαντεῖν ἐπεὶ τοκῆς/δαίμονος ἀντίπαλοιο, cf. 13.9, 17.35. Homer uses ἀντίβιοι in the expression ἀ.ἐπέκοψεν, Η.1.304, Od.18.415, al., cf. Opp.H.5.266f ἀπηθης, 2.419 predicat., Nonn.D. 39.384 νυνί, Par.13.50f Τουδαίοις, Tryph.624 ομιλοῦν, A.P.6.81.1f (Paul Sil.) χολόδων; also substantival, Opp.H.5.114, ps.Orph.Hymn 88.5, Froccl.Hymn 7.50, Nonn.D.2.508 and passim, Par.19.6, ps.Ap. Met.Ps.36.42, Eudoc.Cyper.1.90 (PG.85.836B), A.P.7.149.2 (Leont.), 7.205.4 (Agath.). On βαρυτητός in the sense "hard to bear", "hard to endure", see 251n.sup. and for plural ἐρωτη, (LSJ s.v.1 "quick motion", "rush", "force"), cf. Nonn.D.7.19, 39.9, al.

274f. οὗ γὰρ...ἀκλασεν: Fr. assumed (ad loc.) that the main thread of the narrative is now resumed after the digression on Anthemius and that, consequently, the γὰρ here strictly refers to 267f ἐπευφήμησε δὲ τέχνην, κτλ. These lines are, however, more simply and naturally taken as being explanatory of 272f: the walls were strong enough to resist the destructive forces which caused the dome to collapse, for the main church remained unshaken. At the same time, 272-3 express the same idea as 265-6 βρατὶν ἔργῳ/δώματος ῥητοφελήκτου, so that οὗ γὰρ refers simultaneously to 267f and 272f. The digression on Anthemius is not altogether well-knit into the context: even granted that Paul often repeats himself, the two lines 270 and 554 are so alike as to suggest that the two encomia of Anthemius were alternatives, one of which Paul might have
intended to delete, were he to have revised the text.

A further sign of unease is the lack of a proper subject for ἀκλασευ and for ἔπεστηρίζευ (276): Du Cange translated neque enim procubuerunt (presumably understanding as subject οἱ τοῖχοι extracted from τοῖχοις, 272), ..., sed concussam (δουητόν, see 275n.inf.) imam partem firmissimo fundamento sustentavit magni Romanorum imperii rector, et super muris prioribus... But the Greek will not bear this interpretation, since (inter alia) the plural οἱ τοῖχοι can scarcely be understood as the subject of singular ἀκλασευ. Meineke (ap. Salzenberg-Kortüm) proposed οὐξευ (272) as the subject of both verbs, but its use with ἔπεστηρίζευ would involve an unlikely personification. Much more satisfactory is Fr.'s suggestion (ad loc.), that the subject of both verbs is ηῆς, compare the translation of G.Millet in Rev.belge de philol.et d'hist.2 (1923) 601, "La haute tête est tombée, mais l'édifice n'a pas fléchi; ses pieds sont restées fermes, appuyés sur de belles fondations". The subject ηῆς is easily understood in the context (particularly since parts of the church are regularly described in anthropomorphic language, see n.inf.), although the word itself has not occurred since 265, 269. Compare esp. the similar passage 198f οὐδὲ μὲν εὐρυστέρνυ ὑπόκλασε μέχρι θεμελίων/ηῆς, and see n. ad loc. on the use of the verb.

For simple ἀκλασευ (usually of people or animals, describing physical bending or sinking down) cf. 161 sup. with n. ad loc. and see also n.sup. on 143f κατώκλασε. The same contrast with στηρίζεω occurs in a metaphorical context at Sophr.Ep.Sym. (PG.87(3).3149c) στηρίζειν με μικροψυχία ὀκλάσοντα.

ἀποτυμψέντος ἔρικυμνοιο καρνίου: "when the strong-shouldered head/peak was severed". Nonnus uses κάρνιον of a dome, D.3.137f λόφος ἐμφαλίσειν διεσφαίρης καρνίο/μεσοσφαίρης δρόφοιο. Cf. inf. 503 ἐρίχυσθοι κ. 855f κ./...βαθυστέρνοι, 814 ηῆς ἀεροκάρνιος, 402f κ./...βαθύκυμνοι (see further below); also plural, 359 of conches; 375, 542, 860 and (?) 887 of capitals (cf. 385 καρνία). Although the epithet ἔρικυμνοι (see inf.) suggests that Paul probably here has in mind the common metaphorical use of plural
κάρηνα of mountain peaks (cf. 304 inf. with n. ad loc.; so κορυφή is used of the dome sup. 254, 267), κάρηνα is, like ἀκλάσεν (see n.sup.) anthropomorphic language. Such language is characteristic of the architectural description of the poem, having the twofold advantage of minimising the necessity for technical terms and admitting colourful poetic metaphor. Compare, for example, 355ff inf., where the terms ὀδυκένα (355) and κάρηνα (359) are combined with an explicit analogy with the body of a peacock in a description of the eastern apse and exedrae.

The epithet ἐρίκυνημος (likewise ἐρικυνήμις 304 inf.) is not elsewhere attested (neither is mentioned by LSJ and LSJ Suppl.). There is, however, no reason to doubt its authenticity: the formation is unimpeachable (from Epic κυμός, "shoulder of a mountain", II.21.559, etc., see LSJ s.v.ι.1) and Paul may either have coined it himself or culled it from a word-list such as that in which he probably found μελαγκρήπτις (261, see n.sup. ad loc.). Eustathius 1437.54 (Od. Vol.I.87.30 ed.Lips.) has κυμίς, εὐκυμίς to illustrate the same rule of accentuation as κρήπις, μελαγκρήπτις. At 1498.43 (Od. Vol.I.168.19 Lips.) he appears to connect κυμίς with κυμή and hence with κυμίς, when he glosses the first ὀρεινοὶ τόποι, οὗ μετὰ τῶν πρόποδας ἀνωτέρων, cf. Chantraine Dict.étym. s.v. κυμίς. When applied to Ossa (304), ἐρίκυνημι means "with massive shoulders/spurs", cf. inf. 379f Θῆβας/Νειλόης...ἐὐκυμίδες ἐρίττναι; D.P.714 Καλλοσίας κυμίδας; Nonn.D.9.273 κάρηνα βαθυκυμίδος ἐρίττνης, 13.66f Υῆλην,...νυκτόιο ταυκυμίδα τιθήνην, also ib. 4.336 = 13.70 βαθυκυμίους τε Πλαταίας. In these exx., κυμίς and compounds are used in the same sense as κυμίς and compounds.

So in our line Paul imagines the dome of S.Sophia as a mountain "with massive shoulders", cf. 402f inf. ἄχρι καρήνου/ἄχρι βαθυκυμίου καὶ ἀνυγειος, ἂς κατὰ νῆτον...κτλ., where, if Fr.'s text is correct and if βαθυκυμίου qualifies καρήνου, the same image recurs.

The spurs or shoulders of the dome would be the semidomes, apse, exedrae etc., which act as its buttresses, or possibly, if Paul is thinking of the view from the inside, as he is at 402f inf., the ribbing of the dome itself. For the mountain analogy applied to S.Sophia, cf. Mic. Thess. Desor.S.Soph.1 (12th cent.), quoted sup. in n. on 143f.


At Musae.325f ποιοῦν δὲ ὁ ὄκλασεν ὄρμη, καὶ σήν ὄν ἄδόνυτον ἀκοιμήσων παλαιών, Graefe's conjecture ἄδόνυτον is accepted by most editors, and is strongly supported by the parallel of Nonn. D.39.309 καὶ πόνος ὑπὸ ἄνδοντος ἐπειγομένων ἔλατηρων (of a sea-battle). Kost, however, argued (ad loc.) for the retention of ἄδόνυτον on the basis of the similar contrast with ὄκλασεν in our passage: "Die Bewegung der Füße erlahmte, und doch war die Kraft der Arme noch ungebrochen". In our line, Graefe correctly wrote ἄλλῳ ἄδόνυτον,
correcting Du Cange's ἄλλα δονητῶν.

Δοκρητίδος θεμελίως: "on the well-based foundation". The adjective is Du Cange's conjecture, accepted by all editors, to supply the short and long syllables missing from the third and fourth feet in the ms., which has simply ἀδόνητον κρητίδι θεμελίως. Ludwich, however, objected (op.cit.p.10) to Δοκρητίδος on the grounds that (i) Paul does not use this epithet elsewhere and (ii) he uses θέμελιον elsewhere only in the plural. Accordingly Ludwich proposed ἐπὶ κρητίδι θεμελίων on the analogy of inf.AmB.278 κρητίδος ένιδρυθείσα θεμελίως. An alternative would be ἐπὶ κρητίδι θεμελίων. Against Ludwich (i) is Paul's predilection for the unusual epithet (e.g. 218 πολινικηπόρος, 261 μελακρηπίδα, 274 ἐρυκήμωσο, see nn. ad locc.), while (ii) the singular θέμελιον does appear at Call.Dian.248, A.P.9.649.1 (Mac.Cons.), ib.14.115.1 (Anon.; post A.D.330), and there is no reason why Paul should not have used it here. The Amb. passage is not strictly parallel since in it the grammatical function of the two nouns is reversed.

(In fact, Ludwich's conjecture receives more support from Nonn.D. 17.41 ὑπὸ κρητίδα θεμελίων, cf. also ib.40.500 ἐπὶ κρητίδα θαλάσσης, A.P.4.38.7, Agath., ἐς κρητίδα Γασσίων, all at the line-end). There is, moreover, no reason to introduce a preposition in our line, since ἐπιστηρίως is regularly constructed with accusative and dative (Opp.C.4.256, Nonn.D.14.369, 38.291, al.; note also the simple dative with ἐφιδρῶ in a similar expression, inf.AmB.158, quoted in n.sup., and indeed, Ludwich's own example, inf.AmB.278). The epithet Δοκρητίς is Nonnian, D.40.258 Δοκρητίδος ὑπὸ οἰκοπίθου ἱματίου, 43.222 Δοκρητίος λόφου νησίων. (Paul's adaptation of language elsewhere applied to mountains has been noted in the case of ἐρύκημος sup.). It is the only extant compound of κρητίς listed in Buck-Petersen (Reverse Index p.424) which will both fit in and make sense here.

276-78. ἐπὶ προτέροισι δὲ τοῖχοις, κτλ.: The section is abruptly concluded: neither here nor elsewhere does Paul indicate that alterations were made during the re-building, in order to make the
dome more secure. The detailed account of Agathias (Hist.5.9.3f) describes how, Anthemius and Isidorus being dead, the latter's nephew Isidorus the Younger, after examination of the original plan (σχῆμα, see 271n.sup.) and the nature of the collapse, left the great eastern and western arches as they were (i.e. re-built the eastern arch as it had been before it collapsed), but increased on the inside the depth of the north and south arches (τῆς δὲ ἀρκτῆρας τε καὶ νοπίας τῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρτώματος οἶκοδομίαν πρὸς τὰ ἔνδον παρατείναντες καὶ εὐρυτέραν ἃρμα ποιησάμενοι; cf. Mal.495.11f καὶ τὰς δύο καμάρας ἐκ προσθήκης ποιήσαντες, τὴν τε ἀρκτῆραν καὶ τὴν μεσομβρινὴν) and thereby made the central area more symmetrical. The dome was then re-built to be sharper and slimmer than the original, so that it was much safer, but at the same time less striking to the observer. Thus we are given to understand that the re-building began at the level of the base of the springing of the four great arches, and that the new dome was considerably less flat than the old (Mal.490.5 and Theoph.A.M.6051, 233.2f, give the figures, respectively, of twenty/more than twenty feet higher. Mal.later, 495.10ff, says thirty feet). The account of Agathias has been substantiated and elucidated by recent archaeological examinations of the structure of S.Sophia, see R.J.Mainstone in Architectural History 12 (1969) 39ff (who postulates a continual adaptation of the design of 537 as problems arose during construction); K.J.Conant in Bull.Byz.Inst.1 (1946) 71ff, also id. in AJA 43 (1939) 589ff; W.Emerson and R.L.van Nice in AJA 47 (1943) 403ff; G.Millet in Rev.belge de philol. et d'hist.2 (1923) 599ff, and other articles cited by Mainstone loc.cit.p.49,n.7. Theophanes (A.M.6051, 232.31ff) attributes the collapse to the fact that the columns (πύθωνις) supporting the dome were hollow, and says that these were accordingly replaced, but this version is misleading: Mainstone (p.45f) attributed the collapse of the eastern arch to the yielding of the main columns, caused by the failure of interconnections with the buttress piers. It may be that Theophanes refers to the strengthening of such interconnections, but the main piers were not themselves replaced. Theophanes makes no reference to alterations to the arches. The anonymous and legendary Descr.S.Soph.28 (I.105ff Preger)
also gives a different version, that the premature removal of the props supporting the dome, before it had properly set, caused the collapse. This may have been a contributory factor (see Conant, Bull.Byz.Inst.1, p.71), but the account is certainly incorrect in its assertion (p.107.6f) that the original dome was too high and the new one accordingly made flatter, cf. nn.sup. on 1, footnote *, 198-203 fin., 267ff.

276. ἔπι προτέρων δὲ τοῖχοις: Cf. Call.Ap.15 ἐστιςειν δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπ’ἀρχαῖοι διεσῆλθοι. In our line, the δὲ is delayed metr.gr., cf. 29, 98 sup.

277. ἰθυνηρός, κτλ.: "the pilot of the great throne among the Ausonians". The more than usually elaborate periphrasis for the unmetrical ἰοὐστινιανὸς restores pride of place to the emperor at the end of the section. For ἰθυνηρός (first in Alexandrian poetry, see LSJ s.v.) in this metaph. usage, cf. Epigr.Gr.905.1 (Gortyn) Ἐσπερίης πόσης χεύνος ὄβριμον ἰθυνηρὸν/Μαρκελλίνου Milet.1(9). 340 προτέρων ὑπέρτερος ἰθυνηρός, Opp.H.2.37 ἀλὸς θεὸν ἰθυνηρὰ; also ἰδιούς, of Christ, Gr.Naz.Carm.2.1.34.141 (PG.37.1317A), Nonn.Par. 6.57. Οὖ θεόκου, see 148n.sup., and on Αὐσονίωσι 174n.

278. οὐτίς, κτλ.: Cf. 254 sup., also 218 πόνου...πολινδωμητορας οἶκου. For middle οὐμάσομαι, cf. A.P. 7.748.1 (Ant.Sid.), ib.11.400.3 (Luc.), Epigr.Gr.1047.1, GVI 1768.3 (2nd/3rd cent.), Orph. Arg.570, Nonn.D.40.534, Coll.287, 307; passive, Call.Dian.249, Nonn.D.6.385. The active form οὐμάω occurs less frequently, see LSJ s.v.

ὁμωμέντοιο χάριν...κόρον: "the beauty of the faultless head"; i.e. the beautiful, faultless head, cf. the constituent genitive with κλέος 144 sup. with n. ad loc. For similar periphrases with χάριν, cf. A.P.4.3C.5 (Agath.) ὁ δ’ἀρωτή σοφίας τε χάρις, ib.5.292.2 (id.) φυλλάδος εὐκάρπου...χάριν; ib.270.5 χάριν αἰθομος αἰγής, 9.764.7 ὑπανο δ’αὐτοφελεικτο...χάριν, also 10.15.2, 16.78.3 (all Paul Sil.) The anthropomorphic term κόρος is applied to the dome as a variant for κάρυννον (274), cf. inf. 560, where it is used of
279-314. The re-built church. Paul will leave to the experts the detailed account of the re-building of the church and turn to the newly-completed work before him (279-85). No man has for long endured to stare up at the heavens, but has eagerly brought back his gaze to the various natural beauties of the earth (detailed); but it is impossible to have enough of gazing at the new church (286-99). By his labours J. wins Christ's entire goodwill: he did not seek to reach heaven in the manner of the Giants by piling Ossa on Olympus, but by his devoted toils he has won easy access on the wings of piety (300-310). But why delay in hymning the festival of re-inauguration? Let us go within and invoke God's aid (311-14).

This elaborate eulogising passage marks the end of the preliminary account of the earthquake, destruction of the church and its re-building, and brings the narrative to the recent festival of re-inauguration (315-49), which is followed (354ff) by the ekphrasis proper. It constitutes a carefully-constructed prooemium, preparatory to the beginning of the main part of the poem, and comparable in form and content with the smaller prooemia at 177-85 and 205-13 (see nn. ad locc.). In a similar way to the two earlier instances, a direct appeal or address by the poet to his audience (279-85) is followed by rhetorical synkrieseis: Paul first (286-99) favourably contrasts examination of the church with that of the natural beauties of heaven and earth and secondly (300-310) gives a favourable assessment of J.'s achievement in building the church by contrast with the misguided efforts of the Giants of mythology. The whole passage (279-310) is composed with a view to auxesis (elevation of the subject), the primary characteristic of the prooemium as laid down by Menander Rhetor for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, 368.8f λήψιν τούτων ἐν τούτῳ τὰ προσόμιμα δηλοῦσί ἀπὸ τῆς αὐξήσεως, κτλ. The opening rhetorical questions (279-81) also suggest the
topic specified by Menander for the second prooemium (369.7ff), the impossibility of doing justice to the subject (cf. also ib.368.21ff). The passage 311-14 corresponds to Menander's third and final topic for the prooemium, the transition to the subject proper, 369.13-16 ἡ τρίτη ἐκ τοῦ προομίου ἐννοια, ..., προκαταρκτικὴ γενέσθω τῶν κεφαλαίων, κτλ. For an analysis of the structure of late encomiastic prooemia in terms of Menander's precepts, with particular reference to papyrus fragments of hexameter poetry, see Viljamaa op.cit.pp.98ff, esp. 104ff. Our passage, like 177-85 sup. (see n. ad loc.), contains indications of a conscious striving for stylistic effect: note especially the use of direct questions (279-81, 311f; both double), the rhetorical symmetry achieved by their position at beginning and end of the passage and by the repetition of the similar-sounding ἀλλὰ τις (279), ἀλλὰ τι (311), also πᾶς βρότος (286), πᾶς κόρος (299; these framing the first synkrisis). There is also a marked tendency towards antithetical expression, 282f κείμενα μὲν,.../..., εὐκαμάτων δὲ, 308f ὄρεων μὲν,.../..., εὔσεβής δὲ; 287 οὐκ ἐπὶ δὴν,...(289) ἀλλὰ καὶ..., 303 οὐ γὰρ ...,(305) οὐκ..., (307) ἀλλ᾽...; compare the similar characteristic in the rhetorical passage 135-67 sup. (see n. ad loc. sup. and Viljamaa p.107).

279-85. Address to J.: The statement (276ff) that J. re-built the church would naturally introduce an account of how he did so. This Paul declines to give on the grounds that it is impossible, expressing the point by means of two rhetorical questions. For Paul's use of the double rhetorical question as a means of breaking off and turning to a new aspect of the description, cf. inf. 311f, 444f, 755 (with Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.1).

The rhetorical question is a favourite technique for auxesis among encomiastic writers: it is used in prooemia to indicate the writer's ἀπορία/διαπόρησις or difficulty in knowing where to begin in the vast field before him (e.g. Theoc.17.11; Call.Jov.1-4, Del.28ff; ps.Pampr.4.17f, I.118 Heitsch; cf. Men.Rhet.369.16f), and more generally to suggest at any point the writer's feeling that he cannot do justice to his subject, e.g. A.P.1.102 (Anon.).
of. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.29.1ff (PG.37.507A); Prisc.Pan.294-301; Proc.Gaz.Pan.30 (515.18f); Romanos 44 κ'11f; Eustrat.V.Eutych.74 (PG.86 (2).2360A-B); Phot.Hom.10.7 (103.19ff Laourdas). The particular form of question used by Paul ("Who could do this?") is standard in this context, sometimes, as here, constituting a recusatio or refusal to undertake the task in question, otherwise suggesting the inadequacy of the description proferred or standing in place of such a description, e.g. Call.Jov.92f (recusatio); Opp.C.4.12ff; Himer.Or.41 (7).6 (171.57f Colonna; of Cpl.); Jul. Or.1.41B (51.9f Hertlein; recusatio); Greg.Naz.Or.18.39 (PG.35.1037B); Greg.Nyss.Ep.20.13 (71.9ff Pasquali, 2nd ed.); Jo.Chrys. Laud.Paul.1 (PG.50.473.11ff); Prisc.Pan.112f; A.P.1.10.66ff (Anon., on the church of S.Polyeuktos); Proc.Aed.1.8.13 (of the church of the Archangel Michael at Anaplus); Cor.Laud.Just. praef.10ff, 3.41, 103f, 144ff (recusatio; double question); Eustrat. V.Eutych.72 (PG.86(2).2356B); and, also describing S.Sophia, Proc.Aed.1.1.58f (recusatio; double question. Paul similarly refers to the marbles of S.Sophia, using a single rhetorical question, inf. 617ff; cf. also Chor.Gaz.Or.1.41, 12.27ff Foorst.-Richtst.), Anon. Descr.S.Soph.26 (104.3ff Preger), Anon.Monod.in.S.Soph. ap.BZ 30 (1929-30) p.41.3ff.

Like Paul, Procopius (Aed.1.1.50) claims that the technical details of building construction are beyond him (although he does describe one special technique used to strengthen the piers, ibid.51-54); cf. also Eus.HE 10.4.43f, where the reason given for omission of detail is that description is superfluous since the church (at Tyre) can be seen for itself. Paul's and Procopius' reluctance to discuss technical details arises not so much from inability to understand them as from an aesthetic unwillingness to introduce technical terminology into a literary work, cf. 187n. sup. on periphrases for "dome".

279. ἄλλα τις ἀν μέλψειν ὅπως: The ἄλλα here is of the type described by Denniston Greek Particles 7f, sec.3: it expresses opposition to what has gone before without determining whether or not the opposite ideas are compatible. Cf. 311 inf. and also the
lively use of ἀλλὰ with imperative at 145 sup. For μέλῳ introducing an indirect question, cf. Nonn.D.1.17 (there with direct object as well). The optative is potential, see K-G.I.231ff, sec.396.

2.5.

ὑψαὐχενι κόσμῳ: "with high-necked/lofty adornment", i.e. by restoring the dome. Nonnus has several instances of epithet with κόσμῳ at this place in the line, in a more or less loosely-appended sociative dative phrase (see Keydell I.59*), e.g. D.18.27ff καὶ Πέλλας πλάτυν ἵμων, ὥσον θοινήσατο Δώμ,υμορφώσας ἐλέφαντι, νόθῳ τεχνήμοιν κόσμῳ,υμίνα δαίτρευθέντα πάλιν εἴγονος (cf. ἀνεξάρτητον inf.280) Κρονίων, ib.5.169 τετέρης δὲ (sc. πέριγεν) μεσοδιφαλος οὔτοι κόσμῳ/λεπτοφαίς σέλας ὑγρὸν ἀπέπεμεν Ἰνδος ἀχάτης, in ekphrasis of a necklace, cf. 2.594f, 25.394f, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. κόσμος II; ib.Par.2.97; inf.Amb.117, 191; also Greg.Nyss. Ep.25.14 (82.9f Pasquali, 2nd ed.) εἴσοδὸς ἐκ μορφῶν τῷ καθήκοντι κόσμῳ κατειργασμένων.

The epithet υψαὐχηὴν (of a horse, Pl.Phdr.253d, Nonn.D.37.328, Theoph.Sim.2.14.2, 97.23 de Boor, etc.) is regularly used of physical height in the sense "stately", "towering", e.g. E. Bacch.1061 ἐκλάτην; A.P.5.135.2 (Anon.) of a wine bottle; Orph.Hymn 32.4 ὀθολός; Epigr.Gr.903.1 τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς υψαὐχηὴν θόκον υπάρχων (Sardis; see the discussion of L.Robert in Hellenica 4, 1948, 35ff, esp.p.42. n.4 on the use of υψαὐχηὴν in this context); inf.642 οὐ υψαὐχηὴν βῆσον; also ps.Ap.Met.Ps.90.1 υψαὐχηὴνος ἀλκαρ ὑπόπτης , of God. It is also used more metaphorically in the sense "proud", Orac.Sib.8.37 = 12.230 τῷμῃ (voc.); Nonn.D.8.8.356 κοῦρη, 48.377 κοῦμον, al.; Par.2.58 τιμῆ, al.; A.P.5.251.5 (Iren.) κραδίς, 9.641.1 (Agath.) ἐκπερίην, 5.300.1 (Paul Sil.) ἐκθροοῦς υψαὐχηὴν; Agath.Hist.1.8.6 of the Goth Aligern; etc. Here the former sense is more appropriate, since the dome physically towers over the city (cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.27, where the church is similarly described as adorning, κοιμοῦσα, the city which it dominates), but it is also a "proud adornment" to the church. The epithet is consistent with the conception of the dome as the head, κόρην, of the church, cf. 274 sup. with n. ad loc., 814 inf. υπὸς ἀεροικάρηνος.
262. This compound occurs first in Nonnus, usually of recalling someone from the point of death (D.13.119, 31.46, al., Par.5.41), but probably also of actual restoration from death, D.19.104 (of Hyacinth restored to life by Apollo), cf. Agath. Hist.1.13.3, where the noun ἀνεξάγωρησις is used in this sense. For Paul's metaphorical usage, cf. esp. A.P.7.594.2ff (Jul.Aeg.) ἐνὶ βιβλιακῶν μυριάστιν σελίδων/ἀντὶν ἀνεξαγωρήσισι ἀπολυμπεμένων ὑπὸ λήθης /ἀρπάζας νοερῶν μοίχουν ἀοιδοπόλων.

280f. τὸ ἀφικνύσι ἦσσι, κτλ.: The second question repeats the substance of the first, but with greater emphasis on J. as the creator of the church, thus anticipating the theme of the second part of this section (300ff). Cf. 512f inf. θάμβος ἐξω, τίνα μὴν ἐπηράρεν ἐδρέει νηπι/ἡμέτερος σκηπτοῦχος.

For ἀφικνύσι constructed with infinitive in this sense, cf. Call.fr.236.2 Pf., id. Cer.34, A.R.2.799, Arat.460, 741, 1148, Nonn.D. 7.221, 36.253, Par.6.20, and, for its use in the same context as in our line, A.P.1.10.42 (Anon., inscribed in the 6th cent. in the church of S.Polyeuktos) ποῖος ἱστολινυς χορὸς ἀφικνύσι ἦσσιν ἀξέλοιτις, κτλ.; also inf. 807f λιγανίνεσι/...οῦ μοῦθος ἐπάφικνος. The verb χαμάλισω is appropriate to the conception of the ekphrasis as a word-picture (seen. sup. on ἐκφρασις in opening title and lemma), since it can be applied either to writing or to pictorial depiction, see the exx. collected 271n.sup., where it is used of drawing a plan, and cf. also A.P.7.237.1 (Alph.Myt.), Nonn.D.5.527, 12.105, 25.553, where it is applied specifically to pictorial representation. For Paul's use here in the general sense "describe", "detail", cf. esp. Nonn.D.25.9f ἐβδομάτῃς ἐδυ/ὑμίνην ἰσόβιον ἐμὴν στροφήν ἔκαψε.

281. μὴν ἀριστετέλων: "wise counsel, excellent in its fruit". In Homer, μὴν may be either the general quality "wisdom" et simil., or concrete "plan", see LSJ s.v. Hellenistic and later poets usually prefer the latter sense (e.g. A.R.1.664, 3.30, al.; Opp.H. 2.182, C.1.248, al.; Nonn.D.34.65, 36.443, Par.9.87 bis, 11.214), but the more general sense is also found (e.g.A.R.1.560; Opp.H.2.225,
C.2.591; Epigr. Gr. 874.3 (2nd or 3rd cent.); Orph. Arg. 196; Nonn. D. 7.68, 37.196. At A.P. 9.642.7 (Agath.) and ib. 782.4 (Paul Sil.) the sense is general, but weak, "mind", "intellect". In our line μήτις denotes J.'s wisdom and skill in restoring the church: the sense is strictly general, although J.'s general quality is here seen applied in a particular context. For ἀριστώδης, see 199n. sup.

πολυσκήπτρου: This epithet occurs only here and at A.P. 4.3B. 17 (Agath.) καμάτους μέλψειε π.βασιλῆς (so. θαυμάς υμφής), of Justin II or J.; A.P. 1.10.11 (Anon., 6th cent.) π.γενετήρων, of the Theodosian house (ἀριστώδης occurs at ib., line 9).

282f. κείνα..., μεμπότα τέκτονι τέχνης/λείψουμεν: "Those things we shall leave aside, as [being] the province of the building craft". The half-line μεμπότα τέκτονι τέχνη is naturally taken together "a care for/ the province of the building craft"; this expression is probably predicative (see translation), rather than subjective, "Those cares of the building craft"... For λείπω used in the sense of ἐλείπω/παραλείπω, "pass over", see Gow on Theoc. 2.91 (with Addenda p. 592), and cf. also Nonn. D. 7.64, 19.209, al. Nonnus often constructs λείπω with predicative accusative, e.g. D. 4.440 ἀκοα ποδῶν ἀπελεύσατα λείπειν ἀροῦμη (of a Spartiate), other exx. Peek Lex. s.v. II. It would be possible to take the dative τέκτονι τέχνη with λείψουμεν in the sense "leave/abandon to", as often in Nonnus, e.g. D. 3.114 ἐγόρων λίπε τάφρῳ (imperat.), see further Peek Lex. s.v. III and cf. A.P. 11.60. 5f (Paul Sil.) ταυροφόρων δ' ἀμέγαρτα καὶ αἰμαλέα κρέας ἄρπων/ ἥρωμαι καὶ ὀινωνίζει λείψουμεν ὑμοίδοροι; also with predicative, e.g. Nonn. D. 41.247f Βερόνυ.../γνωτὶ λείπειν ἀκοίτιν, "he left Beroe to his brother as wife/ as wife to his brother". Then the sense of our line would be "those cares we shall leave to the building craft", or (predicative) "those things we shall leave to the building craft as cares". But this destroys the natural affinity of μεμπότα τέκτονι τέχνη.

ὁ σκηπτοῦχε: Cf. 238 sup. with n. ad loc.
μεμλότα τέκτονι τεχνή: For similar use of the perfect participle active of μέλω with dat.rei, cf. A.P.7.370.1 (Diod.); Opp.H.1.155, al.; Nonn.D.32.263, 45.296, al., Par.4.93; inf. Amb.260. The expression τέκτονι τεχνή to denote the builder's craft further exemplifies Paul's practice of avoiding technical or prosaic words wherever possible, cf. inf.456 δωμήτορι τέχνη, 467 ήθεσι τέχνη, 513 δωμήτορι μόχθων 691 τεχνήματι μόθωμα, etc., all in eadem sede. Procopius regularly uses the similar term τεχνίτης for "builder" (Aed. 1.1.23, 73, al.; cf. Greg.Nyss.Ep.25.1, 79.15 Pasquali, 2nd ed., ib.12, 81.24, al.); see also the discussion of various names for builders by G.Downey in Byzantion 18 (1946-48) 104f, also 110, where τεκτονεσ is mentioned as occurring in Syrian inscriptions. This is originally the Homeric word for a craftsman in wood (II.5.59, Od.9.126, etc., see LSJ s.v.1, adding Theoc.9.24; Nonn.D. 37.592, 45.191, al.; Tryph.64; Greg.Nyss.Thdr., PG.46.737D, and cf. Anon.Descr.S.Soph.9, I.85.6 Preger, where τεκτονίκος, "carpenters", occurs in a list of various craftsmen); it is also used more generally of any kind of craftsman (II.4.110; E.Ion.1129; Nonn.D. 24.248, 37.109, Par.18.20; A.P.6.66.8, Paul Sil.; al., see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Hesych.s.v.τέκτων πᾶς τεχνίτης ). It is applied specifically to a builder at II.6.315, E.Or.1570, Theoc.7.45 (see Gow's n. ad loc. and, for the context, cf. 303ff inf.). For τεκτων as feminine, cf. A.Ag.1406, E.Med.409, and for the accompanying noun, cf. II.6.315, 13.390, al.; Sappho 111.3 Lobel-Page; Nonn.D. 37.109, Par.loc.cit. (Note also the similar line-end at Hes.Op. 25 κεραμείς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτων τέκτων). The anonymous Canticum written for the 562 re-inauguration of S.Sophia (No.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica) says of the new church (ε' 3f) τεχνικήν ὀπασαν ὑπερονέχον ἐπιστήμην ἀνθρώπινον ἐν τοῖς δόμοις.

283f. εύκαμπτόν δὲ τεῦ, κτλ.: Cf. Tryph.631 χαίρωσα κακῶν ἐπὶ τέρματι μόχθων (of Helen) in eadem sede. The expression τέρματα μόχθων is classical, A.Pr.99f; E.Bacch.1105, cf. A.Pr.182f; Pl. Ax.371ε τ.πόνων, etc. In our line, the sense may be simply "end of toils", as in the classical exx., or perhaps rather "culmination
of toils", see LSJ s.v. τέρμα II.3. With ευκαμάτων μόχθων ("of nobly-laboured toils"), cf. A.P.1.10.15 (Anon., 6th cent.)
ευκαμάτως έξερχοντας φαίνεται τοκην, of Anicia Juliana; also E.Bacch.67 κάματον εάκ. (earliest instance of this compound);
Nonn.D.5.483, al. εύκαμ.τόσσος. The force of the εύ- element varies slightly according to the context, but the general implication is of a job well done. So in our line the nobility and success of J.'s enterprise is suggested: cf. 270 sup. with n. ad loc. (active sense, of the imperial couple), 452, 496 inf. (of parts of the church). For ευκαματος associated with the verb μοχθων in another sense, cf. Philostr.loc.cit in 270n.sup. For ἵκνεομαι constructed with ἐπί, cf. II.6.69, Od.8.227; Nonn.D.16.138, 39. 279, al.; Musae.127; cf. also S.Aj.48 κατι τέμμομάντευσου.

284. ἀφτιτέλεστον...σέβας: Like θαμβος (see 153n.sup.) σέβας, originally "(reverential) awe", "wonder" (LSJ s.v.I, cf. Call.fr. 367. Pf., Nonn.D.4.5, al., Par.5.67, al., A.P.1.34.5, Agath.), comes to mean also "an object of (reverential) awe/wonder" (LSJ s.v.II, cf. also A.P.9.408.5, Ant.Thess.; Theoc.24.78; Opp.H.4.311, 5.470, 473). The epithet ἀφτιτέλεστον is a Nonnian coinage, D.5.579 ὁμον, 9.185 ἴδιον, al.; not elsewhere.

γὰρ ἐπὶ πάσης: The line-end is in the Nonnian manner, cf. D.29.46 γὰρ ἐπὶ καταραν, 30.169 γὰρ ἐπὶ δείλη, al.; A.P.6.84.1 (Paul Sil.) γὰρ ἐπὶ λαίη, simil. inf.723, 813. On the hiatus, see n.sup. on 143f, and on the preposition ἐπί with θαμπτοιέω, see further infra.

285. θείος ἔρως, κτλ.: This line further exemplifies Paul's practice of adopting into a Christian context ideas and language from the pagan Hellenistic world. The point is well illustrated by comparison with the similar expression at Musae.90 σὺν βλεφάρων δ' ὀφθαλμών ἀξείτων πυρός ἔρωτων, describing the effect of Hero's beauty on Leander, cf. also ib. 94f ὀφθαλμοί δ' ὀφθαλμοί ἄνδρος ἔτιν. ἐπί δ' ὀφθαλμοί. ὁλόων/κάλλους ἀληθαίνει κατ' ἐπί φένος ἄνδρος δειεύει. This concept, that the eyes are the means by which beauty affects the soul, goes back to Pl.Phdr.249d ff, esp. 251a-b, but it is
adopted by Hellenistic erotic writers, see the notes of Ludwich and Kost on the Musaeus passage for illustration and discussion, noting esp. A.P.5.226 (Paul Sil.; Beckby ad loc. gives further parallels). The expression θείας ἔρως is ambiguous, as it might mean either "God's love" or "love for God", but the analogy with erotic language indicates that the latter is the primary sense: the church arouses those who see it to love, not for the building itself, but for God. The idea that a representation can inspire love for the object represented is a topos of the ekphrasis, see H. Maguire in DOP 28 (1974) 130. Like Paul, Agathias (A.P.1.34) uses this idea in a Christian context: a depiction of the archangel Michael inspires the beholder to greater heights of veneration; note esp. line 7 ὀμματα δ' ὀτρύνουσι βαβυ νόσιν.

ἀκτίνας ἀνεπτοῖσεν ὀπισθής: Nonnus has βλεφάρων ἀκτίνες, D.35.172, cf. 8.341 and other exx. collected by Kost on Musae.90 (Kost also lists other exx. of ἀκτίνες used of eyes); cf. also Pi. fr.123.2f Snell-Maehler τὰς ἐς θεοτένου ἀκτίνας πρὸς ὄμων/ μαραμοῦσθος (v.l. προσώπων); ἀ.προσώπου, Nonn.D.9.143, 34.322, al.; ὀμματος ἀκτίς, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.184. For ὀπισθής in the sense "eye", see 171n.sup. and note esp. Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.153-55, where it occurs in this sense in conjunction with the expression βλεφάρων ἀκτίνες; also Nonn.D.33.200, of a lover's restless eyes.

The compound ἀνεπτοῖσεν ("excited", "thrilled"; here aorist of instantaneous action) occurs only in late authors; like the simple πτο(1)έω, it suggests both fear and excitement, see LSJ s.vv. For its use in an erotic context, cf. Opp.C.2.425 (ὀφθαλμος) θηριος ἀνεπτοῖσας ἐπ' ἅρεσθοισι πόθοισι, Musae.168 (of Hero) κάλλει οὗ ῥεμάδεντος ἀνεπτοῖσα Λεοννρο; also of mental disquiet, Nonn.D.21.186 (passive). Fr. (ad loc.) argued that the sense here is "drives/forces the gaze upwards" ("Sie trieb den Blick empor"), but this interpretation takes no account of the metaphorical use of ἀναπτιο(1)εω in an erotic context, a context in which the simple verb πτο(1)έω is well-established. For a good discussion and illustration of this usage of both verbs, together with an examination of ἀναπτιο(1)εω in Nonnus, see Kost on Musae.168. Paul's construction of ἀναπτιο(1)εω
with ἐπί and dative ("excited at") is paralleled by similar constructions with the simple πτο(ι)έω, e.g. Parth.4.3 πτοπεις ἐπι γυναικα, Plb.31.11.4 πτοπεις ἐπι τοις ἄγγελοις, also Luc. Am.23 (πτοεομαι followed by ἐπί and accusative). At Opp.C.2.425 (quoted sup.) ἄνεκπτοιεω is constructed with ἐπι and dative, but in a different sense ("stirred up to"...). Du Cange mistakenly wrote ἄνεκπτοιησυν, but this double compound is not elsewhere attested.

286-299. First synkrisis: auxesis of church. This first synkrisis is paratactic: the description of man’s observation of heaven and earth is not explicitly introduced as a comparison, but is a miniature ekphrasis in its own right. The point of comparison only emerges at 296ff (contrast the paradeigmata/synkriseis at 182ff and 208ff sup. which illustrate a point already made). The tendency for the first member of a comparison to develop into an ekphrasis is a rhetorical feature which has been well-exemplified from the writings of the 4th cent. Fathers, see L.Méridier, L’influence de la Seconde Sophistique sur l’oeuvre de Grégoire de Nyssse (Rennes 1906) 131ff; M.Guignet, S.Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique (Paris 1911) 178ff; T.Ameringer, The stylistic influence of the Second Sophistic on the panegyrical sermons of St.John Chrysostom (Catholic univ. of America, Washington D.C. 1921) 78ff. That the beauty of nature was a favourite subject for such rhetorical comparison or ekphrasis is demonstrated by the exx. collected locc.citt., together with Méridier p.140, 142ff; Guignet p.190ff; Ameringer p. 87ff; T.C.Burgess Epidiectic Literature (Univ. of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology III, Chicago 1902) 184ff; J.Nimmo Smith op.cit. p.65ff. Note esp. Greg.Naz.Or.44.10 (PG.36.617C ff) where a long ekphrasis on spring (in fact a paratactic comparison, as in Paul) contains many of the same elements as Paul’s ekphrasis (the heavens, including the ἄστέρων χοροῖς; beauties of the earth - springs and rivers, luxuriant growth, frolicking lambs, etc.; ships returning to the sea) and in the same sequence, suggesting that Paul is here following a standard pattern, see further detailed nn. inf. Depreciatory remarks about descriptions of natural phenomena at Bas.Ep.14 (44.29ff Courtonne), Greg.Nyss.Laud.Bas. (PG.46.816A)
similarly indicate that the subject was a familiar *topos*. For its use on a small scale in paratactic *synkrisis*, cf. Theoc.17.9f (in *prooemium* of *encomium*), al.; Greg.Naz.Ep.46 (PG.37.96A), id.Ep.228 (PG.37.372B).

In late rhetorical writers such comparisons with natural phenomena frequently take the form of an analogy with a flowery meadow (λειμων; a recognised topic for *ekphrasis*, e.g. Theon II. 118.19 Spengel; Nic.Soph. III.492.1 Spengel), e.g. comparison between the Scriptures and a meadow, Jo.Chrys.Petrop.2.1 (PG.52. 395 fin.), id.Pop.Ant.1.1 (PG.49.17.20ff); id.Laud.Paul.1 (PG.50. 473.1ff) soul of Paul is a meadow of virtues (detailed analogies), Liban.Or.17.12 (II.211.22 Foerst.) λειμων/life of Julian, cf. id. Or.13.45 (II.79.5f), Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (491 5ff) λειμων/material for panegyric of Anastasius; etc., see further n.inf. on 1015f. In our passage, Paul conceives of the heavens as a λειμων clad with stars, see further 288n.inf. For more explicit comparison between the beauty of a church and that of a meadow, cf. Greg.Nyss.Thdr. (PG.46.737D) of painting in the *martyrium* of S.Theodore; A.P.1. 10.61ff (Anon., 6th cent.) of mosaics in the church of S.Polyeuktos; Proc.Aed.1.1.59 of marbles of S.Sophia, cf. inf.618ff, Amb.256f. Note also inf. 547ff columns (?) like a grove with varied flowers; 671ff golden mosaic of roof like sun in spring; Amb.224ff ambo like a beautiful island; Anon.Descr.S.Soph.26 (I.102.11ff Preger) marbles like ever-flowing waters of sea or river; A.P.1.15.4 (Anon.) decoration of church of S.Euphemia rivals stars; etc. Moreover, rhetorical λειμων analogies frequently employ the motif of our 297ff, that the eye wanders from one beautiful object to another and cannot rest, e.g. Jo.Chrys.Pan.Ign.1 (PG.50.587.42ff), Greg. Nyss.Deit (PG.46.553C), Greg.Naz.Or.14.1 (PG.35.860A-B). The same motif is applied by Himerius (Or.39(5).7(8), 162.1ff Colonna) to the spring sky (as an indication of the difficulty of knowing where to begin an *encomium* of Thessalonica). See further n.inf. on 297f.

286-88. Observation of the heavens: Paul modifies the comparison with natural phenomena by drawing a contrast between observation of the heavens and that of the earth. This prepares for the
introduction of the κόρος motif at 299 (linked to 286 by a linguistic nicety, see n.sup. on 279-314 fin.) and gives the synkrisis as a whole a twofold application to the church: not only are the beauties of the church as diverse as those of nature, but the observer never tires of them as he does of looking at the heavens. The analogy between heaven and the dome is not here made specifically, but it is sufficiently commonplace to be suggested by the mention of heaven in such a context, see n.sup. on 173f and cf. 830ff inf. where the κύκλος χορός of lights in the dome are compared to the constellation Corona, 892ff where the various lights are said to cheer the observer as the various constellations cheer the traveller; note also Chor.Or.1.39 (12. 15ff Foerst.-Richtst.; quoted inf. 287n.) where the standard analogy between the roof of the church of S.Sergius at Gaza and heaven occurs in conjunction with the idea of the straining neck of the observer, which Paul applies to the heavens. For a more general analogy, cf. Phot.Hom.10.5 (101.18ff Laourdas): entering the church is like entering heaven; the observer is illuminated by its beauties as by the stars and the church itself seems to whirl like the heavens, as the spectator turns in excitement from one object to another (cf. n.sup. on 286-99 fin., and n.inf. on 297f on the wandering-eye technique).

286. βροτός: For the use of βροτός, cf. SEG VIII.281.3 (6th cent.) τίς βροτός πήρατο κάλλος; δι μὴ πάρος ἀπείροι αἰών; A.P.1. 34.3 (Agath.) ἐπεὶ βροτός εἰκόνα λεύσων, κτλ. It gives a more forceful opposition than ἀνήρ when a comparison between human and divine is intended. Here it is picked up by the homophonous κόρος (299), see n.sup. on 279-314 fin., and cf. κεῖνος ἀνήρ/ δεινός ἀνήρ, sup. 269/71.

The half-line occurs at A.P. 9.188.3 (Anon.), cf. inf. 531; Nonn. D. 9.32 = Ps. Ap. Met. Ps. 108.7. The line-end occurs again inf. 398, 947, al. simil.; Nonn. D. 22.287, 33.92, 37.71; Coll. 131; Jo. Gaz. Descr. 1.287; cf. A.P. 4.38.2 (Agath.) οватьς, ib. 5.262.6 (Paul Sil.) ο. τεν ταυςεις, etc.; for ομα τιτανειν (various endings) see n. inf. on 1009.

287. οὐκ ἔτι δὴν: See 215n. sup.; here also Du Cange wrote ἐτι.

tετληκεν: With ιδειν also inf. 1019, A.P. 11.379.1 (Agath.).

άναγγαλψφεντι τραχήλῳ: "with back-bent neck". The expression suggests the great height of the object under observation and the idea is apparently a topos in ekphrasis of art, cf. Chor. Or. 1.39 (12.15ff Foerst.-Richtst.) εις ὄν θανατέως αὐχένος δεήσῃ πρὸς ύψος θανάτευσεθαι γεγυμνασμένου οὐτως ὑπέρανεξε τῶν ἐδάφους. εἰκότως, οἷα μιμούμενα οὐρανοῦ τὸ δρόμουν. Paul's phrase is picked up in the reference to the πολύστροφον αὐξένα of the observer of the church (298): there, however, he is so diverted that he is oblivious of the physical strain and has no sensation of κόρος.

This compound of γνάππωτο is rare, only elsewhere at ll. 3.348, 7.259, 17.44 in the phrase ἄνεγνάψθη ὡς ο αὐχή (i.e. against an opponent's shield), imitated by Nonnus at D. 17.244; and Od. 14.348 δεσφοῦ...ἀνεγνάψθη, "loosed"); "undid"). The scribe's slip ἄναγγαλψφεντι was corrected by Du Cange. The noun τραχήλος (as opposed to αὐχή) is not common in poetry (E. Bacch. 241; plural, Call. fr. 191.86 Pf.), but regular in prose, especially in late writers (exx. LSJ, PGL s.v.), including LXX (Gen. 27.16, al.) and NT (Ev. Matth. 18.6, Ev. Mk. 9.42, al.).
288. κύκλιον ἀστροχιτῶνος...λειμῶνα χορείης: "the circling meadow of the star-tunicked dance". The heavens are conceived as a meadow, dotted or clad with stars as with flowers (cf., for example, Jo.Chr ys.Pop.Ant.10.3, PG.49.114.42ff τὸν ἄσω λειμῶνα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ γῆ λειμῶνα καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λειμῶνα) τὰ ποικίλα τῶν ἄστρων οὐθεν, κἀτ’ ὀρὸς, ἄσω τρὶς), and the circling movements (κύκλιος, see infra) of the heavenly bodies in the meadow are considered to be a dance. Late authors regularly apply the term λειμῶν in a metaphorical sense to "any bright, flowery surface", see LSJ s.v. III and cf. also Nonn.D.26.76, al., of a beard; Musae. 60 with Kost ad loc. for exx. of its application to feminine beauty; A.P.6.66.7 (Paul Sil.) λειμῶνα θαλάσσης, and PGL s.v. for exx. of its metaphor. use in patristic writers. Its use in rhetorical comparison and ekphrasis is discussed in n.sup. on 286-299.

The epithet ἀστροχιτῶν is closely connected with λειμῶνα, since it suggests the idea of the clothing of the heavenly meadow with stars: only the first element (ἀστρ-) is relevant to χορείης. (On the other hand, κύκλιον is arguably more appropriate to χορείης than to λειμῶνα, see infra). As often, Paul has in ἀστροχιτῶν chosen an epithet which is extant only rarely elsewhere, Orph.Arg.513 μῆνη, ib.1028 νῦς; cf. Nonn.D.40.367, 369, al., where it is used as a cognomen of the Tyrian god Melkart, who is invoked as Heracles (369) and Helios (370). In the subsequent hymn to Ἀστροχιτῶν/Helios, Nonnus introduces (385) the image of the meadow of heaven, here painted (χοροῦσεται) with stars. For the starry robe of heaven, cf. also Nonn.D.40.408f ἐνυχῖοι γὰρ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόσεντες ἐπογάζουσι χιτῶνες (justification of the cognomen ἀστροχιτῶν; note also ib.578 where Heracles literally cloaks Dionysus in a starry robe, ἀστραίῳ Δίνυσου ἀνεχλαίνοις χιτῶνι; ib.2.165f σιγαλέη Νῦς/οὐρανόν ἀστερόσεντι διεχλαίνοις χιτῶνι, simil.18.161. John of Gaza (Descr.1.193) has πόλον ἀστροχιτῶνα, a phrase which is quoted in the dative case at Etym.Magn. col.806.1, cf. Epim.Hom.10 ap. J.A.Cramer Anecdota graeca oxoniensia I (Oxford 1835) p.435.13: this suggests that it occurred elsewhere in this case.

The concept of the χορὸς/χορεία ἀστρῶν (E.El.467, lyr., cf. S.Ant.)
The adjective κύκλος here has the sense "circling" (not simply "round") as at 233 sup., where it is used of the circling course of the Bear around the Pole; so here the expression κύκλος λειμώνα suggests the rotation of the whole starry firmament. At the same time, however, κύκλος χορός is the classical expression for a circular or cyclic dance (see LSJ s.v. κύκλος II) and Paul's juxtaposition here of κύκλον and χορεῖν suggests that he had the classical phrase in mind; at 831 inf. he actually uses κύκλος χορός of the lights of the dome of S.Sophia. In view of this association, χορεῖν here should certainly be rendered "dance", although at 333, 344 inf., and probably at Nonn.Δ.25.241 ἀστραίην...χορεῖν, the sense is simply "choir" (a regular sense of χορός, see LSJ s.v. II); cf. also plural χορείαις 155 sup. with n. ad loc. The expression κύκλος χορός is rare in late poetry, where the adj. κύκλος tends to be avoided (cf. 233n.sup.), but cf. Orph.Hymn 55.21 κυκλίσται χορείαις of sea-creatures dancing round Aphrodite, Call.Del.313 κύκλον ἄρχοντα, χορόν δ’ ἀγαθόν Θησεύς. Nonnus has κύκλα χορεῖν (D.40.245) and κυκλάδος...άμα χορεῖν (44.29) of Bacchic dance, cf. also ib.3.70f ἐπιστατοῦσαν.../εἰς χορον...κυκλάδες ὄρκτοι, 5.111 ἐπ’ εὐκυκλία ὡς χορεί, 48.959 ἐκυκλώοντο χορείτ, al. simil.

289-93. The beauties of the earth. This is essentially a combination of elements standard in rhetorical descriptions of nature (see n. sup. on 286-99), on which, however, Paul's idiosyncratic linguistic amalgam confers a certain originality, see detailed nn.inf. The length and detail of the description here is to some extent justified by the desire to suggest the inexhaustible variety of earth's, and by analogy the church's beauties, but the justification lies equally in the artistry of the description itself.
The verb ϰλοαω is an equivalent, usually in poetry, for ϰλαω (LSJ s.v. I "be bright green"; II "sprout"; Hesych. s.v. ϰλαζειν ἀνεφρος ἐστιν, ἀνεφρευται); first in Eupolis (fr. 105 Kock, of a city), then only in Alexandrian and later writers, see LSJ s.v., adding A.P. 12.195.1f (Strato) ἀνθεσιν ὑπὸ τὸ συνοιτί διόξευφοι ϰλαζοῦσιν, Ἑσυχ. s.v. ϰλαζειν—avBεπράπειν, avβριπέμαι, avΒριπέμαται, avΒριπέμαται in a rhetorical enumeration of earth’s beauties. Nonnus uses the present participle of ϰλαω in the sense "green" as well as of paleness (LSJ II), e.g. D.5.178 λίθος (an emerald; cf. inf. 539, 643). 43.207 μορφήν (of Glaucus), 45.207 Βακχίας αἰχμή (thyrsus), al. Note especially A.P. 5.292.1 (Agath., addressed to Paul Sil.) ἐνθέτε μὲν ϰλαζοΰσα τεσπλάτε ἔκτις ὀρόμην. Homeric κολώνη (II.2.811, 11.757, al.) is regularly used in later epic of a hill, mound or mountain, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.601, 3.581, al. (also as the proper name of a hill at 2.650, 789); Theoc.17.68; Call.fr.228.47 Pf.; Opp.C.2.616, H.4.65; Orph.Arg.369; Nonn.D.3.217 and passim; Coll.374; inf.Amb.77. For the luxuriant hill elsewhere in rhetorical description of nature, cf. (for example) Greg.Nyss.Hom.Op.1 (PG.44.132A-B), id.Infant. (PG.46.181B), Nonn.D.45.159.

Although ἀπάγω is found in Homer and in prose of all periods, there appears to be no other instance of it in poetry after the classical period, see LSJ, PGL, Arndt and Gingrich s.v. It is likely that Paul is here adapting the Homeric and classical sense "bring back (home)", LSJ s.v. II, elsewhere applied to people.

For the use of the epithet, cf. II.2.467 ἐν λειμώνι Σκομανδρίῳ ἀνθεμένη, Bacch.16(15).5 Snell-Maehler ἐπ’αὐτον ἐθεμένη, Nonn.D.10.226 Πακτωλοῖο παρ’ἀνθεμένη θεοῦργοι. On ἀναυώσεως see 210n.sup. The spring, stream or river is a standard element in natural description and is a favourite source of comparison in patristic writers, e.g. A.P.9.437.5f (Theoc.: Jo.Chrys.Pop.Ant. 10.3 (PG.49.114.51ff), id.Pan.Eust.Ant.2 (PG.50.600.41ff); Greg.Nyss. Infant. (PG.46.181B-C), id.V.Ephr. (PG.46.841C); Greg.Naz.Or.44.10
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(PG.36.617C), id.Carm.1.2.14.10f (PG.37.756); see also J.Nimmo Smith op.cit.p.80ff and, for a different type of river imagery, n.sup. on 208-13. The repetition of ίδιςμου from 288 in eadem sede (like that of οἴμων 286, 289) may be deliberate parallelism, since there are other examples of parallelism in this passage (279/311, 286/299, see n.sup. on 279-314), or simply an indication that the work at some points lacks a final polish, cf. 1013n.inf. on οἴλιον.

291. στάχυν ήμωντα: For ήμων of plants, cf. Od.5.69, A.P. 7.24.3 (attr.Simonides), Longus 4.5, Nonn.D.12.299, 42.296, all of the vine/grapes; Opp.C.2.581 of flowers in meadow, (id.H.2.252 of spring); and esp. Nonn.D.2.649 ήμωντα...καρπὸν άλωνῆς. (Paul uses ήμωσιν of the metaph. flower of passion, φλογὰς ἀνέθεσε at A.P.5. 26d.7). The unmetrical ms. reading ήμωντα was corrected by Du Cange: ήμωντα is the regular Homeric and Nonnian form of the masculine present participle, II.9.446, cf. 24.604, Od.10.6, Nonn.D.2.577, 24. 188, (see Keydell I.51* on the question of whether editors of Nonnus should normalise the two variant forms of the feminine participle which have been transmitted in D.). The singular στάχυς is common in the collective sense "corn", see LSJ s.v., adding Call.Dian.130, al.; A.R.1.688, al.; Nonn.D.42.298 (with ήμπολος ήμωντα 296, in description of summer) and passim; A.P.6.41.6 (Agath.); etc. Ripe corn is similarly cited in illustration of earth's fruitfulness and beauty at Greg.Nysc.Ep.10.1 (39.21f Pasquali, 2nd ed.), id. Infant. (PG.46.181B); Bas.Hex.2.3 (PG.29.36B); Greg.Naz.Ep.228 (PG.37.372B); etc.

ib.7.193.1 (Simm.Rhod.) οὐρός; ΚΩI 970.3 Αέαρ (1st cent A.D.); Nonn.D.27.145 λόχιαν, 45.182 οὐρέως, al., Par.3.86 παραδέτου, 12.55 κήπου. Cf also Nonn.D.45.159 καὶ φίν όρος βασιλεύνωρον ἐφαίνετο καὶ νομὸς όλην, followed by a reference to flocks, as in our passage. The pleasant wood and the shady tree are commonplace in pastoral poetry and in descriptions of nature from Homer onwards, e.g. Od.13.351, al. (see 146n.sup.) ὁ ρόος καταειμένον όλη, cf. Call.Dian.41, Bas.Ep.14.2 (I.43.16 Courtonne) of his retreat in Pontus; A.P.9.313 (Anyte); Pl.Phdr.230b; A.P.16.13 (Plato); Theoc.7.135ff, al.; A.P.10.13 (Satyrus); V.Ecl.1.1, al. Likewise in rhetorical description or comparison in the Fathers, e.g. Bas.Hex.2.3 (PG.29.36B); Greg.Nyss.Hom.Op.1 (PG.44.132B), id. V.Ephr. (PG.46.841D) of Eden; (also Greg.Nyss.Ep.10.1, 39.22ff Pasquali, 2nd ed., Jo.Chrys.Pan.Eust.Ant.2, PG.50.600.57f, of shade of vine, on which see 293n.inf.).


ἄμφιελικτον ἔλαίην: Fr. (ad loc.) observed how appropriate ἄμφιελικτος is to describe the twisted trunk of the olive tree. The epithet ("coiled/coiling round") is rare before Nonnus: Euripides (HF 398, lyr.) has the form ἄμφιελικτός of a serpent, but ἄμφιελικτος appears first at Aratus 378 in the sense "revolving" of the stars; cf. D.P.466 περὶπλου ἄ., "winding" (of sailing between islands), ib.718 ἀλλ'εὺς τοι σχήμα περὶπλούν ἄμφιελικτόν, of the Caspian Sea; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.12.1 (PG.37.753) τρόχος
Nonnus uses the epithet of a serpent (D.4.365, 15.102, al.), of satyrs twitching their horse-like tail from side to side of their rump (14.42), of reeling, drunken movement (47.63), of a maiden carried off sideways across Dionysus' shoulders (48.144) and of the ground shaken by earthquake (21.102); cf. also ps.Pampr.3.78 (I.114 Heitsch) ὁμίχλην/ὕψοθετον ὁμφαλῶ τὸ ἐλκις. At Amb.137, Paul creates the new form ὁμφαλίζει to describe the curving shape of the cavern-like area beneath the platform of the ambo; elsewhere he invents new compounds in ἐλκις, Amb.207 ὁμφαλοκτός... ἔλος, ib.284 νίματα χρυσόελκις. Most authorities prefer the proparoxytone accentuation of ἐλκίς compounds, except in the case of the Euripidean ὁμφαλικτός (although there Wilamowitz accents oxytone in text, but proparoxytone in commentary, II.101). Proparoxytone is the normal accentuation for a two-termination verbal derivative (from ἐλίς) in τος, in so far as any rule can be formulated, see Chandler Greek Accentuation sects.529-31, p.149ff. But LSJ (s.v. ὁμφαλικτός) and Buck-Petersen (Reverse Index p.497) accent oxytone.

The olive and the vine are commonly used as symbols in Christian writers (exx. PGL s.v. ἔλασσα B, ἔμπεσος), but here they are simply the typical fruit-giving trees of the Mediterranean countryside (see K.D.White Roman Farming, 1970, 224, who adds the fig), as often in pastoral and natural description, e.g. (of the olive) Theoc.4.44; A.P.6.3.3 (Dionys.); Nonn.D.3.98; A.P.9.668.9 (Marian.).

293. ἐπικλινθέντων: The sense ("resting on", "supported on") is clear from the context, but this use of the compound in the aorist passive is not common, cf. A.P.11.14.2 (Ammian.) τοῦ ἐπικλινθην, Q.S.9.450 ἀμφότερων κρατερῶν ἐπικλινθέντω χέρεσιν (of Philoctetes supported between two companions), cf. ib.458. Nonnus uses the pluperfect passive (with dative) of someone/something lying stretched out on the ground or simil. (D.10.359, 21.180, 37.427) and the active of leaning or resting one thing upon another (D.41.166, 48.276, al.); for related use of the perfect passive, cf. Thuc.2.76.4, D.C.56.11.2 of a person/thing leaning against a vertical support.
The form ὀφαλέσσιν ὀφαλμοῖς: The form ὀφαλμοῖς (cf. inf. Amb. 196) is a very rare variant (elsewhere only at Nic. A1. 154, 420, 487, Th. 92; A.P. 5.292.1, Agath., quoted 289n. sup.) of ὀφαλμοῖς, itself also rare, Thphr. HP 9.16.3; Nic. Th. 863, A1. 603, al.; A.P. 9.3.3 (Antip. or Plato) with ὀφαλῆς as in Paul, ib. 231.3 (Ant. Thess.) ὀφαλῆς. ὁ ὀφαλμὸς is ... ὀφαλμοῖς; Call. fr. 655.1 Pr.; Luc. Am. 31. Theocritus (7.138) appears to have a diminutive form ὀφαλμοῖς ὀφαλμοῖς, and the forms ὀφαλμῶς, ὀφαλμοῖς are also extant, see LSJ s.v. ὀφαλμοῖς.

The sense in our line and in general is probably "branch" or "twig" (cf. Hesych. s.v. ὀφαλμοῖς κλάδους, κλάδοι, βλαστήματα, ὀπίσθες, and see Gow-Page on A.P. 9.3.3), although Suidas glosses ὀφαλμοῖς simply ὡς παραφύας, "sucker", see further Pfeiffer ad Call. loc. cit. The epithet ὀφαλῆς is regularly applied to plants et simil., e.g. A.P. 9.313.1 (Anyte) φύλλα; Mosch. 3. 100 ἄνθηον; Orph. Arg. 912 (ἄλογος) ὄξυρισσα ὀφαλέσσιν κατακοιτῶν, al., cf. Plu. Mor. 409A; Nonn. D. 19.48 ἐν. κορύμβοις (conj. Koechly e ὀφαλέσσι on the analogy of our line, see Keydell's app. crit.); Bas. Hex. 2.3 (PG. 29.36B) νάμα; other exx. from late prose writers collected by Stephanus s.v.

It was a recognised method of viticulture to train the vine up a living tree, see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. Carm. 2.15.5, K.D. White Roman Farming p. 236. White says that the practice was essentially Italian, but references to it occur also in Greek writers: the term ἀνάκατενόρας (LSJ "vine that grows up trees") is first attested in Pherecrates (fr. 109.1 Kock), see further LSJ s.v., adding A.P. 9.249.1 (Quint. Maec.) Jo. Chrys. Pan. Eust. Ant. 2 (PG. 50.600.53ff); cf. also A.P. 9.220 (Thall. Mil.), ib. 231 (Ant. Thess.; note ὀφαλμοῖς, line 3), both perhaps referring to a wild vine, since the plane tree was not commonly used in viticulture, see Gow-Page on A.P. 9.231. Certainly the phenomenon was not unfamiliar outside Italy, cf. E. Fraenkel in JRS 55 (1955) 8.

For the vine in descriptions of nature in late authors, cf. Theoc. 11.46; A.P. 9.437.9 (Theoc.), Epigr. Gr. 720.6 (these two of a vine draping a sanctuary/tomb); Nonn. D. 42.296 (Ɲᾶξ, see 291n. sup.); etc.; for its appearance in synkrisis with nature, cf. Jo. Chrys. Pan. Eust. Ant. 2 (loc. cit. sup.), id. Pop. Ant. 10.3 (PG. 49.114.23ff); Greg. Nyss. Ep. 10 (39.22ff Pasquale, 2nd ed.).
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278f. In epigram, calm sea and seafaring are regularly associated with the return of spring, see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor.Carm.1.4, p.58f and note esp. the 6th cent. epigrams on this subject (A.P. 10.14-16) written by Agathias, Paul and Theaetetus. The same association is found in late rhetorical synkrisis of nature, e.g. Greg.Nyss.Hom.Op.1 (PG.44.132A-B); id.Ep.10.1 (39.19f Pasquali); Greg.Naz.Or.44.10 (PG.36.617C); simil. Jo.Chrys.Eutrop.2.1 (PG.52.395ff) where an analogy between a meadow and Scripture is followed by an analogy with the sea, η δασσα μεϊνεται, où δε μετα γαληνης πλεξεσ (397.12f). On the frequency of nautical imagery in general in late rhetoric, see n.sup. on 182-4.

294. χαροπός γλαυκώμιν: By juxtaposing these two epithets, Paul signifies his awareness that in late authors χαροπός and γλαυκός are frequently interchangeable in sense. This similarity was recognised in Alexandrian times, cf. Theoc.20.25 ὃ μιματα μοι γλαυκάζ χαροπότερα πολλόν λαθάνας, alluding to the Homeric use of γλαυκώμις as an epithet of Athene; A.R.1.1280 ήμος δι’ουρανθεν χαροπη ὑπολάμπεται ήως εκ περάτης άνιοσσα, διαγλαύκωσει δι’άπαρπο, where διαγλαύκωσω is derived from γλαυκός, cf. Schoel. ad loc., χαροπην την ἤω διὰ το λαμπρύνειν τον ἀέρα καὶ φωτίζειν. το δε γλαυκόν και χαροπόν συνωνύμως λέγεται ἀμφότερα γαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπρο. διὸ καὶ ἐπήνευκεν διαγλαύκωσουσι, ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτίζουσιν ἢ διαλάμπουσιν. οἴθεν καὶ ἡ θυενά γλαυκώμις καὶ γλαύνη καὶ κόρη τοῦ δυρχαλού, παρὰ τὸ γλαυκώσειν, ο ἐστι λαμπειν...κτλ. (mentioning Euripides’ use of γλαυκώμις of the moon, fr.1009). Cf. also Opp.C.1.303, 308, 310 where χαροπός and γλαυκός occur together in discussion of the colours of animals’ eyes, and see Mair’s note on 308 for the difficulty of distinguishing the colours designated by these two. These passages illustrate that both χαροπός and γλαυκός may refer to brightness in general (A.R.) and to the brightness/colour of the sky (Theoc., Opp.). Both are also regularly used of the sea, see LSJ s.v. χαροπός 4, adding A.P.9.32.2 (Anon.), ib.143.6 (Ant. ?Thess.), al.; Opp.C.2.117, H.4.312, al.; etc.; and for γλαυκός, A.R. 1.182; Theoc.11.43, 16.61; Nomn.D.5.168, 20.353, al.; cf. LSJ s.v.1. In this usage, as also elsewhere, the context often leaves ambiguous
whether the reference is specifically to the sea's colour or more generally to its gleam or lustre (although both terms are usually interpreted as referring to colour in late authors). Both words are associated with things (the eye, water, the moon, dawn, the olive) where both colour and lustre are in question, and it is probable that they frequently include both ideas, sometimes with one or other sense more dominant.

The Homeric use of γλαυκάμις (Paul's epithet) and χαροπός probably indicates that in both cases the notion of lustre is earlier than that of colour. Athene's epithet γλαυκάμις, first at Il.1.206, is generally interpreted as a reference to the gleam of her eye, in view of the description of Athene at Il.1.200 δεισε δε οι δος ενωθεν (although the epithet is probably connected etymologically with γλαδε, Athene's bird, rather than with γλαυκός, see Chantraine Dict.ἐτυμ. s.v. γλαδε); cf. Hesych.s.v. γλαυκάμις: φοβερα εν τω δραμαιο. λαμπρόφθαλμος. ενδεθαλμος; Eustath. on Il.1.206 (86.35ff, I.73.31ff Lips., I.137.1ff Van der Valk) and modern commentators ibid. One might therefore argue that Homer's γλαυκη...θάλασσα (Il.16.34) similarly denotes lustre rather than colour (cf. LSJ s.v.I; but Chantraine Dict.ἐτυμ. s.v. γλαυκός prefers "bleu clair"). Similarly Homer's use of χαροπός of lions (Od.11.611) may mean "gleaming-eyed" and hence "fierce", see Chantraine Dict.ἐτυμ. s.v. (although in expressions like χαροπότο τιν...γενείοις, Nonn.D.5.363, of bears, reference to the eye is no longer present).

Even in late authors, γλαυκάμις is regularly restricted in application to Athene, although cf. Emp.42.3, E.fr.1009 Nauck, Nonn.D.5.70, all of the moon; A.P.9.189.1 (Anon.) of Hera; Euph.fr.150 of the olive; and, closest to Paul's use, Orph.Hymn 22.1 of the sea-god Tethys. Paul applies it to γαλήνην again, inf.924. In calling the calm γλαυκάμις rather than the more regular γλαυκός, Paul may merely have felt the Homeric epithet to be more appropriate to his poetic purpose. As a scholar-poet, however, (cf. n.inf. on λόγων 333), he may have deliberately chosen the Homeric epithet to indicate that he had in mind the association of this term with lustre rather than colour (still recognised in the 6th cent.,
viz. Hesychius' gloss, quoted sup.). A colour reference is then added in χαρποῦ.

Όπερ πόντοιο: The preposition ὁπερ is regularly equivalent to ἐπὶ in the sense "on/at" in Nonnus, see Keydell I.67*, who, for ὁπερ πόντοιο in this sense, cites Nonn.D.1.55, 39.200, 45.114; q.s.14.658.

295. ξαίνομένην: Properly of carding wool (Od.22.423, see LSJ s.v.I), but this metaphorical use of waves et simil. occurs elsewhere, A.R.4.1265§ οὐσία/ξαίνομενον ολιθίον ἐπιτροχάει ψαμάθοισιν;
Opp.H.5.221f χώρας ἀπάντη/ξαίνομενος βέβικας ἐλύωνται ἅμφιτρήτης;
Clem.Alex.Paed.1.6 (114.11f Stahlin) οἱ ποταμοὶ δόξῃ φερόμενοι τῷ ἐμπεριλθῆσθαι τοῦ περικεχυμένου ἁέρος ξαίνομενα; cf. also A.P.6.223.4 (Ant.Sid.) of a fish mangled by waves, ib.23.4 (Anon.) of a fishing-net rubbed on the shore.

πλωτήρος: "sailor", see LSJ s.v., adding A.P.7.295.4 (Leon.Tar.);
Opp.H.1.207, al.; GVI 1329.4, 5 (3rd cent A.D.); Orph.Arg.470;
Greg.Naz.Orig.44.10 (PG.36.617C); Nonn.D.4.239, 28.253; Musae.2;
Tryph.526; etc. Kost on Musae.2 argues convincingly that the word always has this sense and never means "swimmer" as LSJ s.v.2.

ἀλιβρέκτωσιν ἐρεμοῦς: Poetic ἐρεμοῦ (Od.11.77, al., = κόππι) is common in late authors, A.P.7.279.1 (Anon.); A.R.1.358, al.;
Call.fr.11.3, 18.10 Pf.: Theoc.12.27; D.P.1043; Opp.H.4.651, al.;
Orph.Arg.68, al.; Nonn.D.2.14, al., Par.6.72, al.; Coll.227; etc.
Nonnus does not use ἀλιβρέκτως of ἐρεμοῦ, but for the line-end, cf. D.40.330 ἀντιτύποιον ἐρεμοῦς. Paul's epithet ἀλιβρέκτως ("sea-washed") occurs only at A.P.7.501.4 (Pers.) πέτρου ἀλιβρέκτω
...ὑπὸ πρόσοποι καὶ Nonn.D.1.208 κοιμῶν (of a horse), 43.115 ἐννοούμενοι, al. The Alexandrian onomasticon P.Hib.II.172 (see n.sup. on μελαγκρήφια 261) lists ἀλι- compounds, col.iii (50ff), but this one does not survive among them.

296-99. The point of the description of 286ff is now first
indicated: J.'s church is more fascinating to observe than heaven and as rich and diverse as nature itself, cf. n.sup. on 286-88. The second analogy is not made explicitly, but it is clearly implied by the detail of the description of earth's beauties (cf. n.sup. on 289-93) and by the similarity of other such rhetorical *synkrisēs*, see n.sup. on 286-99.

296. εἰ ὅς τις, κτλ.: Cf. A.P. 1.10.66 (Anon., 6th cent. on the church of S. Polyeuktos) τὸς ὅς φήμων θοῦν ἡδύν ἡμίσεις ἐπὶ τεφυρήματα 
αὐτῶν . . .; In our line εἰ ὅς τις is contrasted with πᾶς θρόνος (286). On τέμενος, see 197n.sup. and on θεότης, 168n.

ἡδύν ἡμίσεις: Cf. 276 sup. ἡδύν ἡμίσεις with n. ad loc. A.R. uses ἡμίσεις of planting the feet, 1.1010; for ἡδύν ἡμίσεις, cf. A.P. 6.235.5 (Thallus), 7.315.3f (Zenod. or Rhian.), D.P. 406, Opp.C.1.515, Nonn.D.18.15, al., Par.5.31, Coll.231, ps.Pampr.1 recto 18 (I.110 Heitsch), A.P. 5.301.1 (Paul Sil.), inf.Amb.223; ἡμίσεις ὀφθαλμὸς, Orph.Arg.256. The expression is usually followed by ἐπὶ, εἰς, κατὰ et simil., or a simple dative; Paul's εἰ has the sense "inside", "within", cf. 313 inf. with n. ad loc.

297. οὖκ ἔθελεν: A future is strictly expected after ἔθελεν, but the present makes the apodosis more vivid. Late Greek tends to replace the future with the present (Keydell I.70*, cf. 52*) and Nonnus does not admit the future of ἐθέλω (see Peek Lex.s.v.). N. Bănescu (Die Entwicklung des griech. Futurums, Munich 1915, 66f) cites a similar example with εἰ from Malalas, 384.9ff εἰ μὴ δὴ 
τῆς αὐρίου καὶ τῆς μετ’ αὐτῆς ὠδηγεῖτε αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἄρχων καὶ ἀπαλλάξετε αὐτοῖς, ἀποκεφαλίζω υμᾶς.

παλίνορσον ἀγείρω πόδα: "to bring back the foot". As often, 
παλίνορσον (first at II.3.33) could be adjectival or adverbial. 

297f. θελομένους δέ/ομμασίν, κτλ.: See n. sup. on 286-99 fin. on the incidence of the "wandering eye" motif in late rhetorical synkrisis, and see Fr. p. 92 for a reference to this phenomenon in an ekphrasis of Procopius of Gaza. For its use in ekphrasis of a church, cf. Chor. Or. 1.23ff (8.22ff Foerst.-Richtst.); Proc. Aed. 1.1.47ff; Phot. Hom. 10.5 (102.13ff Laourdas, cf. ib. 101.21ff and n. sup. on 286-88 fin.). O. Wulff, 'Das Raumerlebnis der Naos im Spiegel der Ekphrasis' ( BZ 30, 1929-30, 531ff), argued that the restless wandering of the observer's eye is a natural response to the unified and centralised structure of Byzantine churches such as S. Vitale and S. Sophia, which he contrasted with the more rigid directional focus of the basilica style of western architecture; further, that since the wandering eye motif is a feature of ekphrases of church interiors (such as those cited above), his thesis represented the contemporary response to and conception of the church interior. But the exx. collected in n. sup. on 286-99 fin. indicate that the wandering eye of the observer is a rhetorical motif by no means peculiar to architectural ekphrasis and hence perhaps less significant there than Wulff supposed.

θελομένους...ομμασίν: The charming or enchanting of the eyes is a poetic motif which occurs in a variety of contexts, e.g. I I. 24.343, Od. 5.47, al., of Hermes inducing sleep with his staff; I I. 13.435, Poseidon confusing a victim in battle; A.P. 16.13.3f (Plato) of the pipe charming and inducing sleep (reading θελομένων βλεφάρων); A.P. 5.174.3 (Meleagr.), Nonn. D. 31.192, al., both of sleep; A.R. 1.777 of a star, compared with Jason; Luc. Salt. 85 of dancing (citing Homer's reference to Hermes' staff). By contrast, at A.P. 5.270.9f (Paul Sil.) and ib. 282.3f (Agath.) the eyes of an
attractive woman are described as enchanting. In Paul's expression, the enjambement reinforces the sense (Nonnus avoids enjambement, see A. Wifstrand Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos, Lund 1933, 98). The dative is locative, as often in Nonnus, Keydell I.59 fr., cf. esp. D.23.74, 47.139, where ὑμασί is found in such a dative phrase.

298. ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα: The expression is Homeric (Od.2.213, al.) and very common in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex. s.v. ἐνθα I.3.

πολύστροφον ἀδέλενα πάλλει: "bends his neck with many a twist". Although the epithet is found first in Pindar (fr.202.3 Bowra θνατον πολύστροφον γνώμαν), this active and literal sense of πολύστροφος does not occur before Nonnus, D.8.145 πολύστροφος ἔτρεχε Αντών, 30.108 of a dancer, 40.464 ἡνιοχή, of a boat's tiller, 44.191 Μήνη (voc.); also Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.194 πολύστροφον δίκαιον ἀπήνης (the constellation) and esp. Nonn.Par.9.60 π.ἀκμάδα πάλλων in eadem sede, of Christ making mud to anoint the eyes of a blind man. See LSJ s.v.1 for the passive usage of πολύστροφος. In Homer, πάλλω is used of poising or brandishing a weapon or of shaking lots (LSJ s.v. I.1, 3), but the active is used transitively of movements of the limbs at A.R.1.1270 γούνατα, 2.45 χείρας and, in a line similar to Paul's, 3.1263 πολλὰ δ' ἄρα ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα μετάφοιον ἔχως ἐπέλευ (of Jason, like a proud horse, exulting in the invincible strength conferred by Medea's magic); Nonn.D.8.105, al. γούνατα, cf. Par.5.33, al.; D.6.48 κάμπυλον ἔχως; 25.546 ποδὸς θέναρ; D.42.2 and Par.3.65 πόδα; Jo.Gaz.Descri.2.112 σκέλος; Nonn.D. 19.219 δόκτυλα and esp. 36.230 αδέλενα, of a horse. The verb is used in the same sense inf.999 (see n. ad loc. and Fr.p.113); cf. also inf. 915 and see further 317n.inf. Fr.(ad loc.) argued for his retention of the ms. πάλλειν, dependent on θέλω, instead of the πάλλειοι of all other editors. The indicative is, however, to be preferred: a person entering the church does not merely wish to let his eye wander, but actually does so.

299. πάρος κόρος: Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.63 τούτου κόρου οὐδείς τοῦ θεάματος ἔλαβε πάλλετε, also of S.Sophia; Phot.Hom.10.5 (102.17
Laourdas) where κορέννυσθαι is likewise used of observing the beauties of a church. Similar reference to κόρος occurs elsewhere in an erotic context, of insatiable looking at the beloved, e.g. Nonn.D.11.101f, 42.47, al., Coll.257, Musae.78 with Kost ad loc. for further parallels, including Roman poetry (Kost postulates a Hellenistic original for this erotic motif), simil. Opp.H.4.324, A.P.5.255.3 (Paul Sil.); also A.P.7.575.6 (Leont.) τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὕτω δεχόμεθα κόρον (epitaph); and of food, Opp.H.2.206f, Nonn.D.24.330, al., Par.6.41, Heitsch XXVI.2 recto 11 (I.87), A.P.4.3A.40 (Agath.) metaph. of his collection of poems. At Nonn.D.34.5f, satiety is associated with observation of the heavens, as it is sup. 286-88, see 286n.

εὐπλήκος ἐληλαται ἐκτοθεὰν οὐκου : Cf. 529f inf. καλύπτηρι/εὐπλήκε, also of the dome; at inf.489 the dome is simply called a helmet (πλήκε). On the epithet, see 140n.sup. The conception of the dome of a church as a celestial helmet is apparently of great antiquity in the Near East, see E.Baldwin Smith The Dome (Princeton 1950) 77-79, who cites Plu. Per.13.6 for Cratinas' comparison between the roof (probably pointed rather than domical) of the Odeon at Athens and the helmet worn by Pericles (= fr.71 Kock), and compares also the 6th cent. Syriac hymn on the church of S.Sophia at Edessa, v.6 (English transl., C.Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, New Jersey 1972, p.58). It seems more likely, however, that Paul formulated the idea independently on the basis of his use of anthropomorphic language of the dome (e.g. κάρηνων 274 sup., see n. ad loc.), than that he derived a 'mystical interest in a dome as a "beautiful helmet"' from Syrian and Palestinian sources, as suggested by Smith.

For ἐκτοθεὸν with genitive, first at Od.1.132, see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.3.1201, Opp.C.4.90, 252, Nonn.D.39.118, al., Par.19.61. The perfect passive form ἐληλαταί (ἐλαόνω) is Homeric, Od.7.113, al., cf. A.R.2.231 (part.), Opp.H.4.82, Tryph.106. (Nonnus does not use this tense).

300f. These lines mark the transition from the first synkrisis
to the second by introducing a reference to J., whose effort and achievement in building the church is about to be contrasted with that of the Giants of mythology (302ff).

300. τοῖον ἀειφρούρητος: Μs. τοῖος ἀειφρούρητος. The double nominative puts the emphasis of these lines on J., whereas the double accusative puts it on the church. Graefe and all subsequent editors have printed τοῖον ἀειφρούρητος; Du Cange wrote τοῖος ἀειφρούρητον. The accusative τοῖον is without doubt the preferable reading in the context: τοῖον then refers back to the previous description of the church and justifies the statement of 299, that one can never tire of looking at it. Nonnus generally uses τοῖος in such a way ("Meist zurückverweisend", Peek s.v.). The correct case of the epithet ἀειφρούρητος presents more difficulty: its position in the couplet 300f favours its attachment to νηὸν, but νηὸν then has an accumulation of epithets; objection to this has presumably governed the preference of editors for the nominative with κοίρανός. But for the piling up of epithets after accusative τοῖον, cf. S.Aj.562f τοῖον πυλώρυν φύλακα Τεύκρου ἀμφὶ σοι/λεῖυω τροφῆς ὁκνον. Moreover, at 508 inf., Paul does use the epithet in the accusative with νηὸν, (507f) ὑφα σωφρο/νηὸν ἀειφρούρητου ὅλου κόσμου σωπτρ, explaining the significance of the mosaic cross in the centre of the dome of S.Sophia. (This line occurs in a passage restored by Fr. from examination of the imprint of the text on the facing page of the ms., the pages having at some time been stuck together by damp, see Fr.'s introduction p.108f. As far as can be seen from Freisendanz's facsimile of the ms., Fr.'s restoration is feasible, although νηὸν survives only in a very faint reverse imprint on the facing page). The only other instance of the epithet is at Nonn.Par.3.124f (οἵκω) οἴκον ἀειφρούρητου ἐξόσσοτο πομπὸν ὀλέθρου/θείος ἀνὴρ βαρύςσομος, of John performing baptisms prior to his imprisonment. Here again the use of ἀειφρούρητος with οἴκος, a word of similar sense to νηὸς, might suggest that it would best qualify νηὸν in our line.

A further difficulty is whether the sense of the epithet should be active ("ever-guarding") or passive ("ever-guarded"). Adjectives
in -τος are generally passive in sense, but are sometimes used actively, especially in poetry and in compound formations, see P. Chantraine, La formation des noms en grec ancien (Paris 1933) 306f, sec. 244; E. Fraenkel, on A.Ag. 12; W. S. Barrett, on E. Hipp. 677-9.

So it is with ἑφωνητῶς and compounds: νυκτιφωνητῶς A. Pr. 861, active; ἑφωνητῆς Pl. Lg. 760a, etc. (see LSJ s.v.), passive (cf. ἀφωνος Pl. Phdr. 256c, etc., active); ἑφωνητῶν A. P. 6. 230. 4 (Quint.), passive; ἀμτο-, ἐτερο-, θεοφωνητῆς ps. Just, Qu. Chr. (PG. 6. 1456 B-C), all passive. The related epithet ἄειφωνρητος is used only actively ("ever-watching", "everlasting"; so Hesych. s.v., ἄει δισμένων. ἄειθολής), cf. Cratin. fr. 98. 7 Kock ὅ τι ὀμέλιτω; Opp. H. 4. 189 ἄ. πόνοιοι, of a fish guarding his bride, and especially S. Ant. 891γ ὁ τύμβος, ὁ νυμφέων, ὁ κατασκαφής/οὐκής ἄειφωνρητος, describing Antigone's walled prison/tomb - a context very similar to the Nonnus passage where ἄειφωνρητος is used. It is not clear, however, whether Nonnus intended ἄειφωνρητος as an equivalent of ἄειφωνρητος in the Ant. passage, or as a passive variant ("ever-guarded"), which would make equally good sense in the context.

At 508 inf., a passive sense is preferable, "that the saviour of the whole universe might save the ever-guarded church", i.e. guarded by Christ as symbolised by the cross; cf. 492 inf., where the same cross is described as ἐρωτοπολιν, "defending the city", also 738, where the phrase ἔλαντος εἶν is used of the cross surmounting the ciborium. An active sense in 508 would require a proleptic interpretation of the epithet in the sense "ever-guarding" = "everlasting" (like ἄειφωνρητος), "save the church and make it everlasting". In our line, if the epithet qualifies κοίμας, the same argument applies (here the church would be guarded by J. and God, see below). If the epithet qualifies κοίμας it is certainly active: J. might be described as "ever-guarding" merely because he is emperor, or because he seldom slept (cf., for example, Proc. Arc. 13. 28, 30, 15. 11), or because he had closely supervised the building of the church (cf., for example, Proc. Aed. 1. 1. 67, 71, 77). Meineke (ap. Salzenberg-Kortüm) interpreted ἄειφωνρητος passively as a reference to J.'s bodyguard, described sup. 257-61, but this is hardly apposite here; neither does its position in the
line nor usage elsewhere favour its connection with the dative χραϊσμήτωρι βουλήν ("ever-guarded by"...). The need for an active interpretation of the epithet with κοιρανος is a further argument for its attachment to νηδόν: if the passive sense is to be preferred at 508 inf., it is unlikely to be active in our line. This argument, that δειπνομητυου must be read in the accusative with νηδόν and be passive in sense, is substantiated by the fact that the epithet of our line is explained by what follows: the church is "ever-guarded" because J.'s work has rendered Christ propitious forever (302f), and the church is a work of piety pleasing to God (307-10). So the passage 300-10 is a continuous unit.

..."flawless"; see LSJ s.v.I and cf. also Epigr.Gr.740.1 αγαλμα; Orph.Hymn 15.10 άγιον, al.; Opp.H.1.61 άγιον; Greg.Naz. Carm.1.2.1.209 (PG.37.538A) χοράς; Nonn.D.24.229 όμοιοσα βότρυν ὀμώρης, 47.474 Νάξου, al.; Par.11.39 ὄμηον, 18.61 Χριστοῦ, al.; A.P.1.10.18 (Anon.) δώρα (referring to Anicia Juliana's church-building), ib.16.41.1 (Agath.) κηδεμονία (= curator divinae domus Placidiae, cf. Jones LRE III.103, n.39). On νηδόν έγειρει, see §n.sup.; the verb is here present for perfect or historic present, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.321-22, p.265f. (Homer does not use the historic present, see K-G.I.134, sec.382.2 fin.).

301. κοιρανος: Of the Roman emperor, Epigr.Gr.863.10 (Hadrian); Opp.H.5.1 (Marcus Aurelius); A.P.16.340.6, ib.343.2, 349.2 (all Anon.; ?of Anastasius), ib.9.482.27 (Agath.; of Zeno); etc. On the use of terms such as this in 6th cent. poets, see Vasiliev in DOP 4 (1948) 40, and cf. κοιρανίας 982 inf.

χραϊσμήτωρι βουλήν: "sucouring counsel", cf. 779 inf. The epithet occurs first in Nonnum, applied to people (D.13.409 θείων χραϊσμήτωρι Κάδμω, al.; Par.3.161 χραϊσμήτωρα κόσμου, of Christ, al.) and to things (D.20.76 ἄνω...χραϊσμήτωρα λέκτρων, 33.369 φροιρὸν...
...οφιν χρασιμήτορα μίτης, αλ.). In Paul's expression, however, the genitive depends on θολελ, rather than on χρασιμήτορι. See further 314n.inf. The dative is instrumental, "by means of", cf. Nonn.Par.7.90f ἐντρ χρασιμήτορι μυθο/ευγήρας θελο θυδός καὶ οὖ τιμήτωρ σιδήρως and see Keydell I.59* on the wide use of the instrumental dative in Nonnus (Insolentius usurpatur). For the thought, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.61 ὅπηνικα δὲ τις εὐδομένος ἐς αὐτὸ [S.Sophia] ἦν, εὐνύπη τινὰ ὡς ὀμὸ ἀνθρωπεσίφ δύναμιν ἑ τέχνη, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ ἐπού τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτελόμενα, also ib.71, Phot.Hom.10.3 (100. 29f Laourdas). The idea is not uncommon in encomium of imperial building activities, see G.Downey in BZ 38 (1938) 10f, n.3. The emperor is directed by God, and the architects by the emperor, cf. 270 sup., 554 inf.

302-10 Second synkrisis: auxesis of J. and his achievement. The theme of J.'s close contact with God, suggested in 301, is developed by means of a comparison between his monumental enterprise and that of the Giants: whereas the latter wasted their resources in an attempt to gain mastery of heaven by the upheaval of mountains, J.'s pious completion of a similarly ambitious undertaking in God's name has secured for him easy access to heaven. The synkrisis is therefore twofold (like the previous one), referring both to the comparable size of the two endeavours and to the differing relationship to God of the protagonists. This passage recalls the emphasis placed upon the close relationship between J. and God in the first iambic prologue, e.g. 6f Christ as J.'s constant συνεργόν; 21 J. protected by the hand of God; 31 God as J.'s bodyguard; 53, 61 J.'s and Theodora's παρενήσια with God; 54f opposing J. is like fighting God.

Rhetorical synkriseseis frequently employ mythological material (cf. Viljamaa op.cit.p.114-16) and the practice continued among Christian writers, even though myth is often replaced by Biblical analogy (e.g. Eustrat.V.Eutych.43, PG.86(2).2324C ff, comparison between Eutychius and OT patriarchs; similar instances are to be found on virtually every page of this work) or, in the case of Gregory Nazianzus, by fable, see M.Guignet Les procédés épistolaires
de S. Grégoire de Nazianze (Diss., Paris 1911) 49ff. So, for example, Greg.Naz.Or.4.62 (PG.35.585A) Julian's Protean attitude to Christians; id.Or.43.22 (PG.36.525A-B) Gregory's intimacy with Basil at Athens like that of Orestes and Pylades or the Molionidae; Bas.Ep.14.2 (I.43.6ff Courtonne) his mountain retreat in Pontus superior to Calypso's isle; Proc.Gaz.Pan.13 (505.16ff) Anastasius' abolition of the chrysargyron tax like Heracles' slaughter of Hydra; Eustrat. V.Eutych.15 (PG.86(2).2292C) Eutychius did not rapidly assume the rank of presbyter like the giants, ὃμοιο ἀπολυκεῖ καὶ ἀναξιόθεῖς, or like οὗ ἀδημοσαμοὶ παλατᾶμενοι πὴλινοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ προστάται; Phot. Hom.10.4 (101.10ff Laourdas) observers of atrium of church rooted to the ground as if turned to trees by a power like Orpheus' lyre (ekphrasis of church).

The myth of the war between the gods and giants was a popular subject for artistic and literary exploitation from the earliest classical period onwards, see P. Vian La guerre des géants (Études et commentaires 11, Paris 1952), esp. 286ff on the religious and political significance of the myth. This popularity continued in the imperial period, particularly among court poets seeking panegyrical analogies for the achievements of the emperor, e.g. Aristid.26.103 (II.121.25ff Keil) the benefits of the Roman empire compared to the rule of Zeus, who brought order and banished the Titans under the earth; Heitsch XXII.1 verso, esp.6f (I.80f), with P. Cumont in Rev.et.anc.4 (1902) 39f; cf. Alan Cameron Claudian (Oxford 1970) 468, on Claudian's fascination with the theme; also Greg.Naz.Or.4.115 (PG.35.653A) where Hesiod's Theogony and the war with the giants are cited as a likely subject of address under Julian's pagan rule, id. Or.4.85 (PG.35.613A-B) Julian's anger likened to the groaning of the giants under Etna. The theme is also important in Nonnus D. (bks.1-2 and bk.48), perhaps under the influence of Claudian, see Cameron op.cit.p.11.

The particular incident to which Paul refers derives ultimately from Homer (Od.11.315f ὃσοιν ἐπὶ ὀδόλυμπῳ μέμοσαν θέμεν, αὐτάρ ἐπὶ ἄσσον/ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλοι ἤν' οὐράνθος ἁμβατὸς ἐτή); but it is commonly mentioned subsequently, particularly by Latin poets (e.g. V.G.1.281f, cf. Aen. 6.582-4; Hor.Carm.3.4.49ff; Prop.2.1.19f in recusatio of

(According to F.Cumont, Rev.de l'hist.des religions 62, 1910, 151f, the belief that heaven is close enough to be reached by means of earthly mountains and a ladder is found among ancient Egyptians; Cumont compares the Biblical ladder of Jacob).

Sentiments similar to those in our passage are expressed by Nonnus at D.20.94-6, υόσφι πόλων οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνέβαστον αἰθέρα ναῦτιν·οὐ πέλε ρηθὸς μικρὸν ὄρος· εἰς ἅρετῆς δὲ/ ἀτραπῶς ὀδύμπόιοι θεόδοτοι εἰς πόλων ἱκεῖ, referring to Hesiod's famous lines (Op.289ff) on the long and steep path to heaven, which were much quoted and discussed at all periods, see Rzach on Hesiod loc. cit. for many citations, including the quotation of Op.289 by Agathias at A.P.9.653.1, and cf. West's n. on Hes.Op.287-92. Paul may well have had these passages of Nonnus and Hesiod in mind here: he certainly refers to the Hesiod passage inf.964f, see n. ad loc.

302. σοί γάρ, ἢκτος, κομάταιν: The pattern of this line closely
resembles A.P.9.658.3 (Paul Sil.) οοις δε πόνοις, Δομνῖνε, κατηφέα νῦκτα διώκεισι, and confirms διώκεισι, which Jacobs (followed by Beckby) emended to διώκει. For the dative expression here, cf. 236, 253 sup. and for J.'s toils over S.Sophia, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1. έτι ού χρήσαι δε οὕτων (S.Sophia) ο βασιλεὺς ἔσείματο μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ πονομενήν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπετῇ, introducing anecdotes of how J. gave crucial practical advice to the despairing architects during the construction of the church, when it seemed about to collapse. The vocative ἄναξ indicates that this συνκρίσις (and indeed the whole passage, cf. 282 οὐ οἰκτοῦσέ) is addressed directly to J., like the panegyrical first iambic prologue.

εφέλκεσαι ἓλασον εἶναι: In εφέλκεσαι, Paul uses an uncontracted form of the second person singular present indicative middle, in the Homeric manner, see Chantraine Grammaire homérique I.57, sec.23. This sense ("you draw on/attract") of the middle of ἐφέλκω occurs in Homer (Od.16.294, 19.13) and is frequent in late authors, see LSJ s.v. ἐφέλκw III.2, Hatch and Redpath s.v., PGL s.v.2a and cf. also A.R.1.1162; D.P.832; A.P.10.37.2 (Lucian), 12.87.6, 152.2 (both Anon.); Orph.Lith.332; Opp.H.3.346, al.; Nonn.D.45.83, al.; Tryph.315, 519; Agath.Hist.3.11.6; A.P.4.3C.6 (Agath.), 9.443.6 (Paul Sil.). Paul's use of the verb presents some difficulty, however, since it is not normally constructed with an infinitive, the only comparable case being a doubtful reading in an inscription from Cyrene of a letter of Hadrian, published by P.Fraser in JRS 40 (1950) 78, where line 6 reads ο ἄρχων του Πανελληνίου ἐφέλκει ἐπιστεύλαι μοι, which Fraser (p.80) interprets "delays to send" (cf. LSJ s.v. ἐφέλκw I.4), but finds ἐφολκεῖ "perhaps epigraphically preferable". Du Cange wrote ἐφέλκεται in our line and translated tuis...laboribus adscribendum quod in omnibus propitius sit gloriosus Christus. This impersonal use of ἐφέλκωμαι is, however, similarly unparalleled, while the introduction of the third person would not be consonant with the vocative ἄναξ and in conjunction with θελεῖ (305), χατίςεισ (308) and ἀναίτειας (309). A more plausible suggestion is offered by Ludwich (op.cit.p.4), who argued that the gloss which occurs in the margin of the ms. before
line 301 is correctly recorded by Graefe as γρ. (ἄφεται) Ἰλαος ε'η, as opposed to Fr.'s χρ. (ιστος) Ἰλαος ε'η, and that it constitutes an alternative reading for the end of 302. The phrase Ἰλαος ε'η would then be in parenthesis as it is at 738 inf. and the difficult infinitive after ἔφελκεαι removed. Preisendanz's facsimile edition indicates that Graefe's and Ludwich's interpretation of the first letter of the gloss is probably correct. There are, however, objections to the acceptance of the phrase as the correct reading for the line-end: (i) the parenthesis is more difficult here than at 738, since here it occurs in mid-sentence, although this is not unparalleled, e.g. A.P. 1.34.2, 7.602.10 (both Agath.); SEG 8 (1937) 281.6 (6th cent.) and perhaps Call. Dem. 7; (ii) it is arguable that the appeal, by introducing an undesirable suggestion of doubt, weakens the point that J.'s pious labours in themselves arouse Christ to favour; (iii) the origin of the ms. Ἰλαον εἰναί would be difficult to account for and it is more likely that the more familiar phrase (Nonn.D. 10.281, 15.391) was inserted by someone who found the infinitive puzzling. Paul, on the other hand, may well have been deliberately adapting the more usual Ἰλαος ε'η to a consecutive construction when he wrote Ἰλαον εἰναί. (So in Nonn.D. locc. cit.) The explanatory consecutive infinitive is widely used in Homer (Chantraine op. cit. II. p. 301 ff., sec. 441 f.) and this passage in Paul incorporates many Homeric reminiscences. The ms. Ἰλαον εἰναί should therefore be retained as an unprecedented but explicable construction after ἔφελκεαι.

On the epithet Ἰλαος, see n. sup. on 244.

303. ὑπερκύδαντα: See 142 n. sup.

διαμπερέας: "forever", modifying Ἰλαον εἰναί and picking up ἔπιφορώηντο (300, see n. ad loc. fin.). When absolute, the adverb may be used either in the sense "through and through", "continuously", (Hesych. s.v., διάλοις ἔτελες στίμπας, cf. Od. 10.88, 11.12.398, al., see LSJ s.v. I.2, adding A.R. 3.671, al., Opp. H. 3.556) or, as here, temporally "for ever" (Od. 8.245, etc., see LSJ
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s.v.II, adding A.P.9.397.3, Pallad.). It is not common in late poetry and does not occur in Nonnus.


305. ὄσσον ὑπὲρ αὐχένα: For αὐχένα of a mountain-peak, cf. Nonn. D.2.376 (quoted in n.sup.), ib.13.422f εἰς ἔν τε δειρημ.νηκεδανή, περίμετρον, ὑμίνιον αὐχένα πέτρας; A.P.12.55.1 (Anon. or Artemon) ἀλληλοπον ἀυχένα δηλου, of the high ground of Delos. This sense is not mentioned by LSJ; αὐχένα is used elsewhere in other topographical senses, see LSJ s.v.II.1, 2, 3, adding A.R.4.307 of an isthmus (the northern part of the Balkan peninsula), cf. Nonn.D.41.17, 38 of the peninsula of Berytus; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.172, 2.54 αὐχένα κόσμου ("etwa „das Rund”", Fr. on 1.172). It is probably not coincidence that Paul chooses in αὐχένα and καρπήνων terms which he elsewhere uses in an architectural context of the church, see n.sup. on 274f and cf. ἔπικετεν κόσμου 279 sup. with n. ad loc. For ὑπὲρ so used, see LSJ s.v.B.I, Peek Lex.s.v.II.1c.

ἐπιχθονίῳ Διονύσῳ, al., see Peek Lex.s.v.II.

ἀνδρομέοισιν ὑπ' Ἰχνεοίσιν: Cf. Nonn.D.10.120 τρομεροῖσιν ὑπ' Ἰχνεοίσιν in eadem sede. The ὑπὸ may mean simply "beneath" or be instrumental, as elsewhere in Paul and Nonnus, see 172n.sup. The adjective is Homeric (see LSJ s.v.I) and also used in later epic, Opp.H.1.92; Nonn.D.20.153, al., Par.3.33, al.; Tryph.121, 350; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.56, al.; A.P.6.67.6 (Jul.Aeg.), 9.822.4 (Anon.); inf.565, 670, 1009, al.

307-10. ἀλλ' ὅσιοις μόχθοισιν, κτλ.: For the suggestion that the emperor may win access to heaven by good works on earth, cf. Agap. Cap.59 (PG.86(1).1181B) χρῆσαι δεόντως τῇ κάτω βασιλείᾳ, ἵνα κλίμαξ σοι γένηται τῆς ἁπο διδοξίας· οἱ γὰρ ταύτιν καλῷς ὀικοδόμητες, μετὰ ταύτιν κακείνης ἀξίουνται; also ib.15 (1169A) where εὔσεβεία is deemed an emperor's finest adornment, which will achieve for him immortal glory; 45 (1177B) on imitation of God through good works; etc., and see Patrick Henry III in GRBS 8 (1967) 298ff, esp. 306f where it is suggested that J.'s building of churches is an expression of τὴν διὰ τροχιμάτων εὐσεβῶν προσφορὰν, which God requires from the emperor as εὐχαριστίαν, Agap.Cap.5 (col.1165C).

The idea of the Roman emperor's posthumous apotheosis stemmed from the deification of Julius Caesar, although its origins can be traced back to Hellenistic Asiatic monarchies and beyond, see F.Cumont in Rev.de l'hist.des religions 62 (1910) 134ff. It subsequently became an element of the imperial cult inaugurated by Augustus and extended under later emperors, see (for example) Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Apotheosis, Vol.I.323ff, esp.324ff; L.R.Taylor The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (Connecticut 1931); J.Beaujeu La religion romaine a l'apogée de l'empire I (Paris 1955) esp.413ff; A.Alfoldi Insignien und Tracht der römischer Kaiser in Mitt.des deutschen arch.Instituts, röm.abt.50 (1935) 82ff, now reprinted in id. Die monarchischen Repräsentation in römischen Kaiserreiche (Darmstadt 1970) 200ff; J.M.C.Toynbee 'Ruler apotheosis in ancient Rome' in Numismatic Chronicle Ser.6, no.7 (1947) 126ff.

In the Christian period, the emperor was envisaged as ascending to heaven to rule with God, by whom he had been guided in life,
of Eus. V. Const. 4.48 (137.17ff Heikel) ...τει δη καν του παροντι
βικα της κατα παντων αυτοκρατορικης βασιλειας ἡ ειςωμένος εηη καν
του μελλοντι συμβασιλειειν μελλον τοι νιψ του Θεου, (an orator's
praise of Constantine), ib.69 (146.20ff) on depictions of the dead
Constantine in heaven; Cor. Laud. Just. 1.50f (of the dead J.)
vivit pater, aesthere vivit/et fruitur meliore die, ib.4.338f
(J.'s dying words) iussue creantis/ae regnis in regna vehor...
(341f) cum carne relicta/spiritus ascendens claram penetraverit arcem,
also 1.143f, 3.32ff. See further P.E. Schramm, "Mitherrhchaft im
Himmel". Ein Topos des Herrscherkults in christliche Einkleidung'
in Polychronion: Festschrift F. Dölger (Heidelberg 1966) 480-85
(Schramm discusses the passages quoted sup. and adds many exx. from
later western literature); O. Treitinger Die oströmische Kaiser-
und Reichsidee vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken (2nd ed.,
Darmstadt 1956) 155ff; and in general, W. Ensslin Gottkaiser und
heft 6 (Munich 1943).

307f. ὑπέρτερον ἐλπίδος ἔργον/ἐξαιμόρας: "having accomplished a
work beyond hope", i.e. having built a church superior to all
expectations of it. For the idea, cf. 118 sup. and for this use of
ὑπέρτερον, cf. 142 sup., where it is also used of the church, and
see n. ad loc. This sense of ἐξαιμόρας is Homeric, II 8.370 ὑπερτυδος
ὄεξήνοσε βουλας, see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.1.897 ἔπος, 1320
ἄθλους, al.; Opp. H.5.624 πόνον, al.; not used by Nonnus.

308. ὄρεων μὲν, κτλ.: "you have no need at all of stepping on
mountains". The substantive Ἱ ἐπεμβάς -άδος is a new coinage by
Paul. Fr. (p.113) found it "sehr bedenkliches", and certainly
the formation is gratuitous, since the sense is identical with that
of the infinitive το ἐπεμβάινειν. It is, however, theoretically
acceptable, see P. Chantraine La formation des noms en grec ancien
(Paris 1933) 350f, sec. 283f and cf. esp. ἦ ἐμβάς -άδος "Boeotian
slipper", Hdt. 1.195, etc.; Fr. notes that there are many formations
in -άς, -άδος in Nonn. D., collected by Ludwig, loc. cit. Fr. p.113, n.2.
The noun occurs again inf. 934f οὐτά σοι ...δηναιον ἔξει/ξωφόρου
where the sense is more metaphorical, "mounting up", "increase", "accumulation", see n. ad loc. Cf. also A.P.9.668. 5f (Marian.) καὶ γλυκερὴς τρόστοιχος ἐπεμβαόν ἄλλος ἐπ᾽ ἄλλου/ μακτὸς ἀναθάλητει χεύματα Ναϊάδος (of a triple fountain in a park), where the adverb ἐπεμβαόν is similarly coined from ἐπεμβαίνω.

The genitive here is objective, cf. S.Phil.17f Ἡλίου.../...ἐνθάξειας, lit. "a sitting in of the sun", i.e. a place for sitting in the sun. The verb ἐπεμβαίνω can take a genitive, but Paul elsewhere constructs it with a dative, cf. 186 sup. with n. ad loc. The term ἐπεμβαόν is itself genitive after χατίζω, as regularly, e.g. II.2.225, Od.8.156, al., see LSJ s.v.II; also A.R.1.1173; Opp.C.3.457; Nonn.Par.5.21, 21.87, D.23.147, 42.298, al., esp.D.20.381 where it is similarly followed by a final clause.

309. ὤς κεν ἀναίζειας: A final clause in primary sequence would normally take the subjunctive, as at 234 sup. But the use of the optative, particularly with ὄς κεν ὄς μὲν, is Homeric (Od. only, 2.53, 16.297, al.), the optative expressing "le sens de possibilité de la proposition finale", and deriving from the original use of ὄς as a relative particle, see P.Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.272, sec.401, K-G.II.386, sec.553.5b, Goodwin GMT sec.329.1, p.117f. The practice is imitated in later writers, see Gow on Theoc.2.142, 10.45 and cf. Theoc.24.100; A.R.4.766f, 841, al.; Opp.H.3.273; Nonn.Par.17.92f. (Keydell I.76* notes that Nonnus uses subjunctive and optative with the same force in final clauses and gives exx. of the optative following present indicative. At D.20.373, 48.737 ὄς κεν is constructed with optative, but in historic sequence). The compound ἀναίζουσα is Homeric (II.3.216, 4.114, al.), constructed with ἐς at Nonn.D.28.15, 36.185; for its use in an expression similar to Paul's in 309f, cf. A.R.4.842 ἀναίζουσα καὶ ἀλέθερος, of Thetis (after ὄς κεν with optative in primary sequence, see sup.); also Orph.Lith.111 Ὑς ὀδήγησ γαϊνθεν ἀναίζος ἐξαίκων, and the simple verb at A.P.4.3B.49 (Agath.) ὕνθα κεν ἀνείξειας (also primary sequence).

309f. εὐσεβῆς δὲ, κτλ.: The suggestion recalls Proc.Arc.13.11f
The latter passage implies a pagan apotheosis, but the reference of Procopius and Paul to εὐσέβεια puts the anecdote into Christian terms, compare, for example, Bas.Sel.V.Thecl.1 (PG.85.485A-B) ὑπὸ τῆς γε τῶν ἀρετῶν κορυφῆς ὥστε καὶ ἀμεταπτῶς ἔχουσας ἄει, καὶ τὸ πάνω σώμα τῆς εὐσέβειας ούκ ἔχει, καὶ ἀπόλως εὐθυγράφησε τρὸς οὐρανοῦ, κτλ. The patriarch Sergius is praised in similar terms by George of Pisidia, Van.Vit.233f (PG.92.1598) καὶ πέτυ γὰρ, καὶ τὸν ἀιθέρα τρέχεις, ταπεινὸς ἡσώα, καὶ συνέρχη τοὺς κάτω.

The idea of the ascent of the soul to heaven on wings goes back to Pl.Phrdr.246a ff, 248c, etc.; its adoption in a Christian context is, however, well-established, e.g. Clem.Alex.Prot.10 (76.8ff Stählin) τόμα ποῦ ὁ κύριος ἀπλήστησε υἱῷν ἀναφέρεται πτερόν (πτερόνων προῆρηται τοῦς γεγενέτοις), ἵνα δὴ τοὺς χρησιμοὺς καταλείποντες οἰκήσητε τοὺς οὐρανοὺς; Greg.Nyss.Hom.XV in Cant. (PG.44.1101A) διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεφάνη ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ χάρις φωτίζουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἀποθεόουμεν τὴν ἁστείαν, καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθύμιας, πάλιν δι’ ὀσιότητος τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης πτεροφυνήσωμεν, cf. Proc.Gaz.Cant.6.4 (PG.87.1709C-D) and see PGL s.v. ὄρετα Β.3b fin., πτερόν 4, 5, πτερων et simil.

Paul’s expression also recalls earlier artistic depictions of imperial apotheosis in which the dead person is shown being conveyed aloft either on the back of a winged spirit (e.g. Vatican apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina; apotheosis of Sabina, Capitol Museum), on an eagle or peacock (e.g. coins showing apotheosis of Sabina and Faustina; apotheosis of Titus, Arch of Titus; apotheosis of Julian and Flavia Helena, Grand Cameo of Roumania, see M. Gramatopol in Latomus 24, 1965, 870ff; other exx. ap. F.Cumont in Rev.de l'hist.des religions 62,1910, 134ff), on a winged horse (Marcellus on the Grand Cameo of France in Paris), in a chariot with winged horses (Vatican apotheosis of Julius Caesar) or in a chariot guided by the winged figure of Sol (apotheosis of Marcus...
Aurelius from Ephesus, now in Vienna). Constantine the Great was similarly depicted (on a coin described by Eusebius, V. Const. N. 73, 147.29-148.2 Heikel) as a charioteer, but in the act of being taken up by a right hand stretching out from heaven, see J.A. Staub in DOP 21 (1967) 44f, H.A. Drake In praise of Constantine (Univ. of California publ.: classical studies, Vol. 15, California 1976) p. 9. A group of deities in heaven similarly welcome the emperor depicted in the act of being raised aloft by winged figures in a 4th cent. diptych in the British Museum, see O.M. Dalton Catalogue of the ivory carvings of the Christian era of the British Museum (London 1909) No. 1 and Plate I; E. Kitzinger Early medieval Art in the British Museum (Trustees of British Museum 1940) 13ff and plate 6. See further Mrs. A. Strong Apotheosis and After-Life (London 1915) 65ff (with plates); F. Cumont loc. cit. sup. p. 151ff; E. Bickerstein in Archiv für Religionswiss. 27 (1929) 9ff; plates in J. Ferguson The religions of the Roman Empire (Thames and Hudson 1970) p. 118-20.

Such artistic representations, together with the use of intransitive ἐλαύω ("go in a chariot", "drive", "ride", LSJ s.v. 1b, see 310n.inf.), suggest that Paul here perhaps envisages J. as being literally carried aloft by a winged personification of Eusebeia, rather than himself being metaphorically endowed with spiritual wings on account of his piety, as the theological writers imagine.


πρὸς αἰθέρα ὁ Ἰου Ἐλαύνεις: Similar language is used of the charioteers depicted on the roof of the imperial box in the hippodrome, cf. A.P.16.380.2f (Anon.) καλῶς ἐπήρθη καὶ πρὸς αἰθέρα τρέχειν/Πορφύριος, ib.382.3f (Anon.) πρὸς οὐρανοῦ ἓν ἄρτο φαυστίνος τρέχων/ ὅς ἐὼν σὺν ἱππότι, see n.inf. on 970-72; also Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1. 1.122 (PG.37.979) κούλη ἀν πρὸς αἰθέρα ταρσὸν ἄνειρα, of the Christian life of his mother.

This intransitive use of Ἐλαύνεις is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.1b and cf. Call.Dian.141 ὅτι ὁ δὸς Ιάδος οἶκον Ἐλαύνεις, Opp.C.4.76 Θεοῦ εἰς Ἑλευον Ἐλαύνειν, Nonn.D.38.277 χαμαλὴν ἐπὶ νόσσων Ἐλαύνων (Ἡλίος), 25.373, 29.211, al.; etc. For αἰθέρα ὁ Ἰου, cf. II.16. 365 αἰθέρος (Feminine in Homer) ἐκ δήσ. Od.19.540 ἐς αἰθέρα ὁ Ἰου; Call.fr.1.34 Pf. ἐκ δήσ. ἄρεος, al.; etc.

311-14. Transition to new theme. The double rhetorical question takes up that of 279ff, see nn.sup. on 279-314 fin. and 279-95 (noting esp. ps.Pampr.4.17f, I.118 Heitsch, where a double rhetorical question, there indicating διαιρήσεις, similarly concludes a prooemium) and cf. Viljamaa op.cit.p.99f. Procopius of Gaza uses the same technique as a means of returning to his subject after a historical synkrisis, Pan.14 (506.15ff) ἀλλὰ τί μοι λέγειν ἐπῆλθε Πεισιστρατοῦ,...κτλ. In both Procopius and Paul the suggestion is that the writer has been carried away and diverted from his subject more than he intended, and certainly Paul's picture of J.'s ascent to heaven is remote from the description of S.Sophia.

This passage implies in the words ἕκτοθεν νησοῦ (312) and ὤμεν ἐν τεμένεσι (313) a physical move inside the church, cf. 350f inf. οἴκιστε μοι κληρίδα, κτλ; this may be no more than a conventional
means of indicating that the description of the inside of the church is about to commence: similar phraseology is used elsewhere to mark the logical sequence of a panegyric or ekphrasis, e.g. Jul. Or. 2.64A (81.24f Hertlein) ἐπανασώμεν αὐν αὐθεὶς εἰς ἱχνος καὶ ἧλεν ἐξέβην, Them. Or. 1. (I. 17.24f Downey) ἀλλ' ἐπανεκτέου τὸν λόγον ἐκτρεπόμενον τοῦ ἱχνος ἐφ’ ὅπερ ἂρθμησεν ἥλε ἀρχῆς, Proc. Gaz. Pan. 17 (507.16) καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ βασίλευμα τῷ λόγῳ, Proc. Aed. 1.1.17 ταῦτα δὲ, ἄπερ ἐπιήν, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τουτοῦ δὴ τῷ βασιλέας ἡμῶν ἢτέων, and, in describing S. Sophia, ibid. 54 ἐπὶ τὰ λειψάνων δὲ τοῦ νεὼν ἰμένα; Agath. Hist. praef. 15 ἡμοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἢτέων. Paul uses similar expressions to denote transition, sup. 134, inf. Amb. 26; cf. 66f sup. with n. ad loc. But both here and at 350ff, the dramatic presentation (313 ἵμεν, "let us go", see n. inf.; ὄμνησατε μόστα) is in sharp contrast to the usual prosiness of such transitions, recalling rather the excited atmosphere of the opening of some of Callimachus' Hymns (Ap., Lav. Pall., Dem.), where imperatives are similarly used to suggest the unfolding of a ritual celebration under the poet's own direction, see further n. inf. on 350-53. There, as here, the audience is imagined to be physically present, and not merely reading the successive chapters of a description, as in the prose passages quoted sup. References in the following passage in Paul to the opening up of the door of the church on the morning of the inauguration ceremony (320f, 328) continue the idea of 313, which looks forward to the beginning of the poem proper.

311. δῆθουσα: Homeric, present and imperfect forms only, see LSJ s.v.; also in later epic, A.R.2.75, 985; Opp. H.2.332, C.3.445, al.; Nonn. D.1.378, 16.8, al.; Musae 333; Coll.27, 345; also A.P.5. 223.6 (Mac. Cons.), ib.279.1 (Paul Sil.). For the construction with infinitive, cf. Nonn. D.2.569 δῆθουσας τῷ μέχρις ἀνεμβατου αἰθέρα ναίσειν (Zeus taunting Typhoeus after felling him with a thunderbolt), Par. 2.61 οὐ μὲν ἄνας δῆθους πέδου Καναναίοι τοις ἑτείςειν.

λαθυκοῦσας ἴματο ἐκρητέως: "the day of the care-banishing feast". The epithet is Homeric, II.22.83 μακόν, used subsequently in

312. μοθον ἐλίσσομεν: The closest parallel for this expression is Call.fr.1.5 Pf. ἐπος δ' ἐπὶ τυπθὸν ἐλ[ίσσω], where Pfeiffer would take ἐπὶ τυπθὸν together as an adverbial phrase rather than understanding ἐπὶ ...ἐλίσσω in tmesis; for the expression, he compares Page GLP 106.3f (Anon., in Philic.Cercyr.) εὕμνοι κυλίων/βύματα. Cf. also Ael.NA 5.38 τακερὸς ἐλίπτειν τὸ μέλος (of the nightingale, suggesting the rippling notes of its song). Callimachus' expression appears to be an extension of the use in Alexandrian and later poets of ἐλίσσω in the sense of ἀνελίσσω, "to unroll" (a book), Call.fr.468 Pf. γράμματα (= συγγράμματα) ὅ' οὖν ἐλίσσειν ἀπόκρυφα; Page GLP 114.16 (?Posidipp.) βιβλος, cf. A.P.9.161.1 (Marc.Arg.), ib.12.208.4 (Strato), Nonn.Par.7.191.

ἐκτόθι νησοῦ: Cf. Nonn.Par.2.85, 9.164.

313. ἵομεν ἐν τεμένεσι: Editors before Fr. punctuated after ἵομεν and took ἐν τεμένεσι with the following clause; the position of ὅ' after θεῶν then presents some difficulty, see Hermann Orphica Addenda p.XXIX, Graefe ad loc. Fr.'s punctuation after τεμένεσι (first proposed by Hermann, according to Graefe loc.cit.) removes this problem and gives a good contrasting phrase to μοθον ἐλίσσομεν ἐκτόθι νησοῦ. The use of ἐν and dative rather than εἰς and accusative after a verb of motion is as old as Homer (LSJ s.v. ἐν A.I.8, K-0.I.541f, sec.447 Aa; but in Paul's expression, the idea of "motion to and subsequent position in" is not strong); it is particularly common in late and NT prose (Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.218, esp.n.3, p.177f; J.Humbert La disparition du datif en grec, Paris 1930,
58ff; Mayser II.2.372f; Keydell's index to his edition of Agath. Hist.p.225; E.Mihevo-Gabrovec, Études sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos, Ljubljana 1960, 33); it occurs passim in Nonnus D. (Peek Lex.s.v. ἐγείρετο). No doubt Paul is here following Nonnian usage primarily. Fr. (p.115) compares 984 inf. ἔχεις ἀγεί ἑπολήν ὑπ’ ἐχυσιν.

In view of the following imperative ὑμνήσατε, Paul certainly intended ὑμεῖς to be construed as the epic, short-vowelled form of the subjunctive ("let us go"), see Chantraine Grammaire homérique I.457, sec.217 and cf. II.2.440, al. in eadem sede; see also n.sup. on ἴδοι 141.

Greek: θέλη δ' ὑμνήσατε μύσται: Initiates (of Christianity) are called upon to invoke God's assistance for Paul's poem, in what may be seen as a Christian development of the traditional preliminary invocation of the Muse (II.1.1 μὴν ἴδῃς, θέλη, etc., cf. 139n.sup). Similarly μύσται are instructed at 350 inf. to open the doors of the church. The precise identity of the μύσται is left vague: like ὑμεῖς ἐν τεμένεσιν, these words are a formula in the Callimachean manner indicating that the poem is about to begin (see n.sup. on 311-14 fin.) and no actual choir is envisaged. Elsewhere the same term is applied more specifically to clerics and laymen associated with S.Sophia in various capacities, e.g. 432 a choir singing psalms in the narthex, 865 the lamplighter, 974 the patriarch Eutychius; cf. also 686, 718. In 334 the words μοισίδια φωνή refer to the choir which sang in the church of S.Plato. By the 6th cent., μύστης and related terms deriving from pagan mystery religions were well-established in Christian usage, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.8.67f (PG.37.452) ἑκεφορονα μύστην/οδρανίων (of man), Nonn.Par.4.111 of true believers in general, other exx. collected PGL s.v. μύστης et simil. Paul's use of the term is, however, consistent with his general principle of avoiding exclusively Christian vocabulary which might spoil the purity of his style. Compare the more extensive use of vocabulary associated with the mystery religions in the prologue of Eus.Laud.Const. (p.195-6 Heikel), including the terms μύστης (195.12, 196.3) and ἀνάκτορα (196.1; cf. 351 inf.), and see
H.A. Drake in *Praise of Constantine* p.51f and p.156.n.10: Drake argues that these terms should not be interpreted as exclusively Christian references in Eusebius. So the emperor Constantius II, in an address to the senate, described the pagan orator and philosopher Themistius as ἡμεροφάντες δὲ τῶν ἀνθών τε καὶ ἀνακτόρων φιλοσοφίας, Them. Orationes III.124.18f Downey-Norman.

314. ἵκεσιον: With καλέοντες, "caling/invoking in supplication". Fr. (ad loc.) rightly compared the adverbial use of χαρίζων at 348 inf. and suggested that Paul's use of ἵκεσιον here is a development of that at Nonn.Par.4.103 ἵκεσιον κλίνοντες ἐπειδομένον γόνω πέτρα, where ἵκεσιον goes closely in sense with the verb, although grammatically qualifying γόνω.

ἐμὸν θεοσύμπορα μύθων: "to assist my words". On θεοσύμπορα see 301n.sup. and for its use as a predicate, cf. Nonn.D.21.132 ἄρεα μοῦνον ἡχὰν θεοσύμπορα, 33.369 (quoted 301n.sup.), Par.3.81, 161, al. (of Christ). For καλέω with predicative accusative, cf. Nonn.D.4.53 βροτὸν ἄνδρα κάλεσεν ἐοὶ συνάεθον ἄγωνος, simil.40. 72f and, in a context similar to Paul's, D.13.50f ὄμηρον ἀκοσμητῆρα καλέσω/εὐπείης ὄλον ὄρμον, al., see Pekk Lex.s.v. καλέω A.I.4. The ms. reading θεοσύμπορι (confusion with 301) was corrected by Du Cange.
315-53. The second encaenia. It was December when the doors of the church were opened, summoning people and emperor (315-22). That dawn ended the night of sorrows and brought a bright light of joy to all (322-25). It was fitting that the celebration should be on the eve of Christ's birth (326-30). Vigil was kept on the preceding night in the church of S.Plato (331-36). At dawn the people and officials gathered, singing hymns and carrying candles. The patriarch accompanied and led the procession, and the streets were crowded (337-47). At the church the people gave thanksgiving, thinking that they were setting foot in heaven (347-49).

Open the doors, priests, and pray for my poem (350-53).

Other sources confirm and supplement the factual details which Paul here provides, cf. Theoph. A.M. 6055 (238.18ff de Boor) τῷ δὲ Δεκεμβρίῳ μηνὶ κα' γέγονε τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τὸ δεύτερον. ἢ δὲ παννυχίς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκαίνιαι γέγονεν εἰς τὸν Ἁγίον Πλάτωνα, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν ὁ πατριάρχης Ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐστόχιος μετὰ τῆς λιτής, συμπάροντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεζόμενος ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι καὶ φορῶν τὸ ἀποστολικὸν σχῆμα καὶ κρατῶν τὸ Ἁγίον εὐαγγέλιον, πάντων ψαλλόντων τῷ ὦ ἀρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν") Cramer Anecdota graeca parisiensia II.114.26ff*; Mal.495.9ff. On the year, see In.sup.

The anonymous Desor. S. Soph. 27 (I.104f Preger)** describes only the first encaenia (i.e. that before the collapse of the dome described in ch.28, p.105ff, but wrongly dated to the second year of Justin II, see n.sup. on 198-203). In its details, however, it is a conflation of the first and second encaeniae, with the addition of information which does not appear in other sources. Much of the latter is at best very dubious (e.g. J.'s preliminary sacrifice of cattle, sheep, etc., 104.11ff). The date of December

* On this source, see In.sup., footnote **.
** On this source, see In.sup., footnote *.
given in the *Descri.* (104.8) fits both encaeniae (see the sources collected sup. for the second encaenia, and for the first, Theoph. A.M.6030, 217.17f, Cramer 112.34f. Theophanes gives the date of the first encaenia as the 27th, whereas the Anon.*Descri.* gives the 22nd; Cramer mentions only the month. Cramer and Theophanes agree with Paul that the second encaenia was on the 24th). The *Descri.* mentions that Strategius distributed alms (105.6f): this he presumably did in his capacity as comes saorae largitionis, an office which he held at the time of the first encaenia in 537 (Stein B-E II.433, Corp.Iur.Civ.III.813 Kroll; Strategius is called μαγισσος in the *Descri.*, referring to his previous office of magister officiorum, see Stein loc.cit. and ib.378 n.1. On Strategius and the reasons for his mention in the *Descri.*, see T.Preger in BZ 10, 1901, 458-60). But the *Descri.* names the patriarch at the encaenia as Eutychius (105.1), rather than Menas, who officiated at the first encaenia (Theoph.217.19, Cramer 113.2), and mentions the extension of the festivities until Epiphany (105.9ff), a detail which agrees with Paul's account of the second encaenia, 74-80 sup., see In.sup. and Fr.p.110 with n.1. Du Cange (commentary on Paul Sil., secs. 5 and 6, p.66f Bonn) collected information supplied by Theophanes and other late chronicles on the two encaeniae.

Note how Paul adapts the words of the psalm (LXX Ps.23(24).7, 9 ἀπαχτεیدος πλαγιος) which, according to the chronographers, was sung by the procession, so as to form an introduction to his ekphrasis of the interior of the church, see further n.inf. on 350-53.

315-19. The season is described in elaborate poetic detail, first (315-6) generally in terms of the agricultural year and then (317-9) more specifically by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac. Such elaborate references to the season of the year or the time of day are common in epic poetry from the time of Homer and Hesiod, e.g. dawn: II.11.1f, al., A.R.1.519ff, Nonn.48.1ff (beginning ἀφτιον αε); Tryph.668ff (ἀφτιον γραφο...); evening:II.11.86ff, Od.13.31ff, A.R.1.1172ff, ps.Pampr.3.177ff (I.117 Heitsch); spring: Nonn.48.1ff; autumn: Hes.3.414ff; spring and autumn, winter and summer: Opp.1.114ff; midsummer: Nonn.48.306ff,
cf. Hor.Carm.3.29.17ff; May: Hes.Op.383; November: ps.Pampr.3.24ff (I.112 Heitsch; ἀρτι μὲν...). Also relevant to our passage are A.P.Appendix III (ed. Cougny, Paris 1890) bk.IV.47.51f (attr. Hermes Trismeg. or Orph.) ἐν δὲ ᾗν, ἐν ἀλγοκέρωτι, ἔστι τροπαὶ ἥλιοι/χειμεριναὶ, στεῖχοντος, κτλ. (in an earthquake prophecy); Chaucer Canterbury Tales (ed. Robinson, 2nd ed., London 1957) pro.1ff "Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote/The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,...(line 5) Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth/Inspired hath in every holt and heeth/The tendre cropps, and the yonge sonne/Hath in the Ram his halve cours yronne," etc. So too Agathias dates the earthquake of 14th December 557 in terms similar to Paul (Hist.5.3.2) ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐκεῖνου τοῦ ἔτους ἢ τοῦ φεινοτόπου ἔληγεν ὅρα ἔτη τὰ ὑπέρ τῶν ὄνομάτων συμπέσα ἐτελείτο, ὑπὲρ τοῖς Ρωμαίους νενύμτωσα, κροὺς μὲν ἢδη ὑπῆρχεν, ὅπων ἐνυκι ἐκδς τοῦ ἡλίου ἔπε τὰς τροπὰς ἐλαύνοντος τῶν χειμερίων καὶ πρὸς τὸν αλγοκέρωτα φερομένου... κτλ., cf. Cameron Agathias (Oxford 1970) Appendix C, and for the date, see Theoph.A.M.6050, 231.14ff, Cramer 113.31ff. Paul's passage at this point serves to mark the new beginning promised by the rhetorical prooemium of the preceding lines (279-314) and to elevate the ensuing account of the encaenia: compare the opening lines of Corippus' account of the Avar embassy to Justin II (Laud.Just.3.151ff), and of the description of Justin's inauguration as consul (ib.4.90ff).

315. ἀρτι μὲν ἀμβλυνθεῖσα: Cf. 319 ἀρτι κατηφάνατα. These two phrases, each consisting of ἀρτι with aorist participle and extending to the third trochee, constitute a species of parallelism or cyclos analogous to such examples as 85/88, 269/71, 286/299 sup., also 322/332 inf. Precise tense usage enhances the fastidious structure of 315-20: "Its edge lately blunted by the vintage, the sickle was awaiting the next year's harvest, and the sun was driving to the region of the goat, having left the archer lately made downcast. Came the venerable dawn..." (abbreviated). Alternatively ἀρτι might be translated "now", and taken as modifying ἀνεμέμψε 316. This sense of ἀρτι occurs in the Koine (Moeris, ed.Pierson, Leipzig 1830, p.63; Arndt and Gingrich s.v.3) and
sometimes in late literary authors, e.g. Coll.235ff, with imperfect; Nonn.Par.13.34, with present, al. (but not for certain at ps.Pampr. 3.24, I.112 Heitsch, where the restoration ἔμπειρον is very dubious). But in many alleged instances of ἀρτί in the sense "now", the verb is aorist and ἀρτί means not "now", but "lately", "just", "just now", "only now". Thus Paul uses ἀρτί with aorist in A.P.10.15.1ff ἦν μὲν...ἀνοίγει...ἀρτί δὲ...ἐμπλήθησε, "Now summer is opening her bosom..., and the ship has just slid...". This would seem to confirm that ἀρτί is best taken with the aorist participle in 315 and 319 here. (Nonnus uses ἀρτί in this sense with aorist participle in beginning a new section at D.27.1, 41.1, but in these exx. the main verb is also aorist and ἀρτί is less precisely attached to the participle).

ἀμμελυθεῖσα γέννου...ἀρτή: "the sickle, its edge blunted"; γέννου is accusative of respect (K-Ω.1.315f, sec.410.6). On the ἀρτή, see West on Hes.Th.175. Even if not identical in origin with the δρέπανον (= δρεπάνη; see West loc.cit.), these three terms are used interchangeably in later poetry to refer to an agricultural sickle which might also serve as a weapon, especially that with which Kronus castrated Uranus or Perseus' scimitar. For its use of cutting grapes, cf. Nonn.D.42.296 ἀμπέλος ἡμώνου πεπάνεται ἀμιμορος ἀρτής (at Hes.Sc.292 a δρεπάνη is used for this purpose), and of harvesting in general, Hes.Op.573; A.R.3.1388; Nonn.D.17.154, 47.120, Par.4.167, 12.97, and especially D.11.503f ἔκτωμοι γέννου ἀρτής ἄγγελον ἄμπιτοῖο. Jo.Gaz.Desor.2.32 εἰς γέννου ἀρτής. For γέννος in the sense "edge", see also LSJ s.v.II, adding Opp.H.5.259; Nonn.D.15.32 σιδηρεῖς γέννου ἀρτής (weapon), ib.6.145, of a carding comb, al.; A.P.6.84.4 (Paul Sil.) ξιφέων...γέννος. Nonnus does not use ἀμβλύνω or associated words, but cf. A.P.6.65.6 (Paul Sil.) for ἀμβλύνω of a pen, ib.67.4 (Jul.Aeg.) λάνον, ὃς ἀμβλεῖται θύγη γέννου καλάμου (i.e. pen), and see further LSJ s.v.II; metaph. 175 sup., see n. ad loc.

μετὰ βότρυος: "after the grapes", i.e. after harvesting the grapes. The preposition is here used in the pregnant sense
characteristic of Nonnus, see Peek Lex. s. v. II. 1, Keydell 1. 66* and Koechly loc. cit. ap. Keydell for exx. from other authors.

316. άνέμιμεν: Cf. 257 n. sup.

θερείγενές έργον: "the summer work"; the ms. reading θερηγενές was corrected by Graefe. The epithet is extant elsewhere only at Nic. Th. 601 ἐν δὲ θερείγενεσκαιρόν κέρασι κυμίνου, Nonn. D. 12. 95 οὐνόπα βότρυν έχουσα, θερείγενές άθος ὀψώρης, 16. 109 θερείγενες ...φλόγα διψάδος ἁρης, al.

άσσομένης...άμάλλης: "of future sheaves". According to Hesychius s. v. άμαλλαί, an άμαλλα consisted of a hundred trusses (citing Istros fr. 54M) or two hundred trusses (citing Philetas gloss. fr. 46). Hesychius also attributes the word to Homer, but Homer in fact has only the compound άμαλλοδέτης (II. 18. 553, 554, shield of Achilles; δρεπάνη occurs in the same passage). Nevertheless this attests the antiquity of the form of the simple noun. The latter was known to Alexandrian writers (cf. Philetas cit. sup., Call. fr. 186. 27 Pf.) and later, D. P. 358; Q. S. 11. 156, 171 (both similae); Plu. Publ. 8. 1; Jo. Gaz. Descr. 2. 7, 58; with single lambda, Philostr. Jun. Imag. 10. 13; Semus fr. 19 Müller (ap. Athen. 14. 618d, cf. ib. 7. 305b). The term is also mentioned or explained in other lexica, commentaries, etc., Schol. Theoc. 10. 44 (single λ); Pollux 1. 222 (70. 1 Bethe); Phot. s. v. άμαλλειόν, 86. 16 Reitzenstein; Etym. Mag. 76. 47, also ib. ood. S ap. Reitzenstein Etym. Mag. 226. 25f note (both versions quoted by Pfeiffer on Call. loc. cit.); Eustath. on II. 18. 553, 1162. 28 (IV. 97. 11 Lips.); also P. Masp. III. 331, fr. iii verso 1, 2 (p. 158; fragments of a Byzantine commentary on II. loc. cit., restored on the basis of Hesychius); Tzetz. on Lycophr. 34 (II. 29. 27 Scheer; single λ). For a modern discussion of the formation of the noun, see P. Chantraine Dict. etym. s. v. άμικον, άμάλλον, who considers it to be technical in origin.

descriptions of the harvest and of the vintage are similarly juxtaposed.


The preposition παρὰ is local, in the same sense as if constructed with the dative, see Keydell I.66*; Peek Lex.s.v.III.1.

Ἠνία πᾶλλων: Cf. Nonn.D.38.301 ἡδονὴ δέ ὦ ἂνια πᾶλλειν (of Helios handing over his chariot to Phaethon); ib.48.306ff ἂνια πᾶλλων/...μεσσημβρινὸν ἥχον ἔμοισθησι/Ηέλιος, cf. 37.162; 13.193 = 37.758 τεῦχεα πᾶλλων al.; also Opp.H.5.167 γέννυ ἄντια πᾶλλει, of a hooked fish. This sense of the verb ("brandish", "shake") is classical, see LSJ s.v.I.2; for a different usage, see 298n.sup.

The idea of the sun's chariot is as old as Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns, see RE VIII.1.col.88, Daremberg and Saglio s.v.Sol, Vol.IV.2.1376f. It is usually associated with the sun's daily journey across the sky, but is also mentioned, as here, in connection with his annual journey through the zodiac, e.g. O.Met.2.74ff, Nonn.D.38.233ff (both of the Phaethon story. It seems that there may have been a version of this in which Phaethon wished to drive the sun's chariot on its course for a whole year, rather than for a single day, as in all extant accounts, see RE XIX.2.col.1513).

318. αἰγὸς ἐς ἰχθυόεντος ἀθαλῆς...μοίρας: "to the heatless
degrees of the fishy goat", i.e. to the sign of Capricorn. The sun enters Capricorn on December 21st, so Paul’s description is appropriate for December 24th, the date of the second consecration of the church; cf. Agathias' description of December 14th (Hist. 5.3.2, quoted in n.sup. on 315-19). The correct name for Capricorn is Άιγοκερής / Άιγοκέρως, see LSJ s.v.v., and cf. Nonn.D.1.250, 38.279 ηθοδευτας... Άιγοκερής, al. In astronomical contexts, αίς elsewhere denotes the star Capella, see LSJ s.v.1.3, adding Nonn.D.1.451, 23.314. Nonnus and Paul call Capricorn ιχθυοεις (II.9.4 πόντον, Od.3.177 κέλευθα, etc.) because he is usually portrayed with a fish’s tail, and derives ultimately from the Babylonian Goatfish, see V. Stegemann Astrologie und Universalgeschichte, Studien und Interpretationen zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis, Stoicheia Heft 9 (Leipzig 1930) 63f; RE III.col.1550f. (Stegemann adds that he is lord of the fishes). Fr. (ad loc.) noted too that, according to Aratus, the Fish Ιχθυς lies close below Capricorn, Phaen.386ff νετοθι Άιγοκερής, υπο πνοιαί νότοιν, Ιχθυς... αἰωρείται... Νότιον δέ εί κακλήσκουσιν, cf. 701f. This suggests an alternative way of accounting for the goat’s epithet ιχθυοεις, especially since Aratus and Ptolemy did not know of the fish’s tail of Capricorn (RE loc. cit.). The ms. of Paul has ιχθυοεις, but the Nonnian parallel makes the correction certain. For ΄αισαλπέας, cf. Nonn.D.2.658, 38.285 ά.Αιγοκερής, al. The adjective is not extant before Nonnus, but cf. Hp.Acut.29 ΄αισαλπέας. For Capricorn as the traditional beginning of winter, see Stegemann op.cit.p.64, who collects the evidence of Nonnus. Technical writers use μοιρα of a division of the zodiac, as well as of an astronomical/geographical degree, see LSJ s.v.1.5, Soph.Lex.s.v. and cf. Nonn.D.38.266 εί μή άνωπλήσειας έσικοι καὶ άέκα μοιρας, i.e. the distance of thirty degrees from the beginning of one sign to the beginning of the next (also from Helios' instructions to Phaethon).

Ἡλες: "was driving/riding"; intransitive, as at 310 sup. For this form of the imperfect of ἔλαμε, as if from ἔλαμω, cf. Opp. H. 5.493f ὅπω νός ἡθεώτου/Ἡλεσ; A.R.1.755 conj. Platt, accepted by Fränkel and Ardizzoni (for Ἡλασε), on the analogy of ib.3.872
319. κατηφησαντά: The verb is Homeric, II.22.293, Od.16.342, often in the form of a participle, as here, see LSJ, PGL s.v. Cf. κατηφησις 181, 215 sup., κατηφείτι 204. Nonnus has only κατηφης (D.25.382, 37.609, al.), κατηφιάω (D.33.230, 37.701, al.). Here Paul's expression includes both the senses "downcast" and "dim", i.e. because of the loss of the sun, see n.sup. on κατηφης 181.

άφετηρα Βελέμνων: "the discharger of darts", i.e. Sagittarius, the sign through which the sun passes prior to Capricorn, cf. Nonn.D.1.250Γ καὶ θραύσὶς ἵχνουσεν τὸ δύσόμος Ἀργοκέφης/Τώξευτῳ βέλος ἤκεν. The sense is certain, but the noun ἀφετηρό -ης (from ἀφίνω) is extant only elsewhere at Iamb.Protr.21.λη' (125.23f Pistelli) ὥσπερ ἀνίδ δίζης καὶ ἀφετηρὸς τῆς μολόχης ἄρμιμμένος. The -τηρ, -τωρ suffix is regularly used to form agent nouns in Homer and subsequent poetry and also in Koine Greek, see Chantraine Formation des noms 321ff, esp. secs.259, 263, L.R.Palmer A Grammar of the post-Ptolemaic papyri I (London 1945) 108f. (Regularly nouns derived from simple verbs take the suffix -τηρ/-τωρ, whereas those derived from compounds are formed in -της. In Attic-Ionic, however, this distinction is not observed and the suffix -της is generally used, cf. Polyb.4.56.3 λιθοφόρος τεττοριας καὶ τοῦς ἀφέτας τούτοις, where ἀφέτας denotes soldiers firing a catapult; also of a starter in races, as a technical term in astrology and of a freed slave, see LSJ s.v. ἀφέτης. Cf. also ἀφετηρίος, "for letting go", of a military engine, Jos.BJ 3.5.2:3.80 al., see further LSJ s.v.). In the Iamblichus passage, ἀφετηρό may denote an agent "the sender up of the mallow", i.e. the agent of growth (so Stephanus, Sophocles s.v.), but is perhaps rather abstract "the starting-point" (so LSJ). Paul probably formed the word as an equivalent to ἀφέτης, on the basis of similar formations
in Homer, etc. Note the Homeric epithet of Apollo, ἀφίτωφο (Il.9. 404 only), which is also an agent-noun formed from ἀφίτιμι, "the sender out", either of arrows or colonists, see Chantraine, Dict. étym.s.v. and Radt-Schmidt s.v. in Snell Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos. For Ἀφέται as the name of a place in Magnesia, see Beck ibid.

320. ἡλυθε δ' ἤριγενεια σεβάσμιοι: Cf. Musae.335 ἡλυθε δ' ἤριγενεια (v.l. ἡλυθεν ἤρι-), "came the venerable dawn", beginning the line and signalling the dénouement, much as here; Orph.Arg.367 ἐφέσπετο δ' ἤριγενεια, al.; Nonn.Par.6.163 ὡστατίς ὑστε φέγγος ἔλευσται ἤριγενείν, ib.20.114, etc. Originally an epithet of Ἔκσ (Od.4.195, etc.), ἤριγενεια is already used substantively (= ἤρι-) at Od.22.197, 23.347, Hes.Th.381, and so regularly in later epic, see the exx. collected by Kost on Musae.loc.cit. and cf. Gow on Theoc.24.39, inf.616. For σεβάσμιοι in poetry, cf. Orph.Hymn 28.10, 79.7, Epigr.Gr.1015.9, GVI 2061.2 (3rd/4th cent.), Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.139; more often in late prose, see LSJ, PGL s.v., but it is included in Hesychius, who glosses it τιμητόν, προσκυνητόν.

320f. οἰγομένη ἀς, κτλ.: For the bellowing gate, cf. II.5. 749 = 8.393 οὐτόματα ἀς πόλαι μύκον οὐφανοῦ, ἀς ἔχον ἤρια, with Epigr.Gr.1110.5 (ca. 2nd cent) and, for the use in the line in a Christian context, Eudoc.Homero-ent.1908 (p.113 Ludwich); II.12. 460 μέγα δ' ἀφι πόλαι μύκον (of the gate of the Achaean camp under Hector's assault); Nonn.D.45.328f καὶ δ' ὀξεῖν ἀπὸ λαμμάναικίνες πυλεύσις ἐμυχᾶται πελάθοι (under the influence of Dionysus); also Od.21.47ff. In the first Homeric passages (II.5.749, 8.393), the gates of heaven bellow as they open of their own accord (οὐτόματα) to let out Hera and Athene. This automatic door-opening is a response to the power of the deity, and is a motif which occurs elsewhere in classical and other ancient literature, see O.Weinreich Türöffnung im Wunder-, Prodigien- und Zaubererlauben der Antike, des Judentums und Christentums, repr. in Religionsgeschichtliche Studien (Darmstadt 1968), esp. ch.1; K.J.McKay in CQ N.S.17 (1967) 184ff. Significant for our context is the appearance of this motif
at Call.Ap.6f, a passage recalled by Paul inf.350f, see n.inf. on 350-53. The similarity between the Callimachus passage and LXX Ps.23(24).7-10 (the psalm sung by the procession at the reinauguration of S.Sophia, see n.sup. on 315-53) has been noted, but interdependence is probably to be discounted, see Weinreich op.cit.p.415ff = 253ff (repr.), McKay loc.cit.p.190f. At 350f inf. Paul adapts Callimachus and the psalmist so that the µόσται are commanded to open the doors. In our passage, οἶγομένη is used without an agent, but there is no explicit indication that Paul intended to suggest a supernatural door-opening (as God entered His church on the day of its consecration).

Homer uses ἐμβρωτος of anything associated with the gods, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Nonn.D.13.22 Διϊς ἐμβρωτος αὐλη, al., Par.14.11 εἰς ἀδοξας, al., see further n.inf. on 332f. The epithet ἄρτιδομος (recens exstructus, Stephanus) occurs elsewhere only in the vulgate reading of Nonn.Par.19.62 ἄρτιδομα δ' ἐκάθητο λιθοστρώτῳ παρὰ χώρῃ, where, however, Scheindler accepted Marcellus' correction ἄγχιδομα ("dwelling near", "built nearby", Bacch.13(12).89 ἐταίραις, of Nymphs; Coll.247 μελάθροις). The latter epithet is indeed recommended by NT Ev.Jo.19.13 which has simply δ' οὖν Πιλάτος... ἑγαγεν ἐξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λειψαμένον λιθοστρώτων, κτλ. In our line, however, ἄρτιδομος is certainly correct, whether Paul derived it from Nonnus, or from a lexicon or onomasticon, or coined it himself on the analogy of many other such compounds in ἄρτι- (see LSJ, Peek Lex.col.191-93).

322. λαὸν ἑω καλέουσα: Cf. 439 inf. and note the verbal parallelism with 332 inf., εὐφροσύνην καλέουσα, cf. n.sup. on ἄρτι 315. Here λαὸν is contrasted with κρανοῦ (on which see 178n.sup.) in the Homeric sense "subjects", see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Nonn.D.17.104 (sing.), 35.18 (pl.), etc.

ἑω: Nonnus admits only this form; Homer prefers εἰω, but also admits ἑω, Il.24.155, Od.11.579, al., both c.acc. In Nonn. D. it is always followed by a genitive case, but Homer uses absolute ἑω, see LSJ s.v. and cf. also A.R.4.712, al.; Opp.H.1.326, 2.98, al.; Nonn.Par.10.30, 20.25; etc. For Paul's use with καλέω,
cf. A.R.3.48 εὕτε τε σφι’ έκαλει and Nonn.Par.2.48 ἔσω μεγάροιο καλέοσας.

322-25. εὕτε.../..../ως έτεδυ...: "As..., so in truth; εὕτε is comparative (= ἡντε), not temporal, and ως correlative (= σύντως, see LSJ s.v. ως A.a3). Cf. II.3.10ff εὐθυνόροεσ κορυφῆσι Νότος κατέχεων ὄμιχλην,.../...(13) οs ὁρα τῶν ὅπως κονίσαλος ὄρνυται ἀστῆις ἔφυμένων; Q.S.3.142ff εὕτε λέοντος/ἀγροταί ἐν ἴροισαί τεθημότεσ,.../...(147) ως οροι Πηλεῖδον χόλος..., ib.221ff, 280ff and often, see LSJ s.v. εὕτε III, K-G.II.490f, sec.580, Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.250, sec.369,R.II, and cf. 906 inf., where εὕτε ("as") introduces an example of a previous generalisation. Bekker construed these lines differently, putting a comma after ἧρανον and taking εὕτε κελαΐνη...κτλ., as a following temporal clause; ως έτεδυ...κτλ., is then exclamatory (quam vere...; see LSJ s.v. ως D.I.2). But a temporal clause with this meaning would be redundant after 320 ἣλυθε δ’ ἤριγένεια σεβάσμιος, and the change from aorist to present tense unaccountable. Moreover, the repetitions (μυνόθει 323, 324; κελαΐνη/νος 322f, νος ἄχέων 325; πάντως 323, πάντως325) support the view that all from εὕτε to ἀγαλη belongs to the same syntactical circumscription and that εὕτε and ως introduce correlative clauses. For the dark/light imagery used in the same context, cf. 169f sup., also 182f, with nn. ad loco.

322f. κελαΐνη/νος: Cf. II.5.310, 11.356 (both nominative; metaph. of loss of consciousness); E.HF 834 (genitive; of night personified); A.R.4.1171 (accusative), ib.1631 (dative), Orph.Arg.304 (accusative), all literal.

323. μυνόθει: Homeric, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.286, 4.1308, and, for Paul's usage, cf.esp. Theoec.21.22f τὰς νύκτας ἐρασκόντως θέρειος μυνόθειν (of nights growing shorter as the days grow longer); Nonn.D.5.162ff Σελήνης...λίθου....cyκεράοιο θεαίνως/λειπομένως μυνόθει καὶ ἀξέσται, ib.7.75; also Jo.Gaz.Deser.2.191f καὶ σφιδακήν ἀκτίνα μεσημβρίζουσαν ἀξέσων (Helios)/παραβίαν μυνόθουσαν ἐλν (Iris) ἀπέκερα καλύσας. The verb exists only
in the present and Ionic imperfect forms. Hence the recurrence of the present in 324, although an aorist is strictly required to correspond with ἔμεδρομε.

πᾶσιν: Dative of interest or advantage, see K-G.I.417ff, sec. 423.17, cf. GVI 9, quoted in n.inf.

ἀξεταί: Cf. ΙΙ.8.66 = Οδ.9.56 ὅφα μὲν ἡδὸ καὶ ἄξετο ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ; Ἑσ.Οp.772ff μηνὸς...ἀξετομένοιο; Ὀπ.Π.5.590 μήνης...ἀξετομένης; Nonn.Par.9.23 εἰσδόκευ ἡμὰρ ἄξεται (metaph.), D.5.164 quoted sup.; Jo.Gaz.Deser.2.197 of Iris; also GVI 9 (?479/8) ἦλλαδι καὶ Μεγαρεύσιν ἐλεύθερον ἡμὰρ ἄξεται/ἷμενοι θανάτου μοιρὰν ἑδεξάμεθα.


μεγάλου νησίο: Cf. inf.414 and see n.sup. on lemma between lines 134 and 135.

325. πάντας ἐπέδραμε κάρματος αἰγῆν. "the bright gleam of joy spread over all". For the idea, cf. inf. 904 εὐφροσύνης ἀνακατταται εὐθείος αἰθρη, and for the expression cf. Οδ.6.45 λευκῇ δ' ἐπεδράμεν
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This metaphorical use of ἐπιτρέχω is widespread, see LSJ s.v.II.2, adding A.P.12.82.5 (Meleag.) A.R.3.139, Call.fr.274.1 Pf., Opp.H.4.677, Nonn.D.12.311, 42.301, al. The verb is commonly either absolute or c.dat., but for Paul's construction with accusative, see LSJ loc.cit.fin., adding Opp.H.3.410, and, in other senses, A.R.4.489, D.P.489, Nonn.D.6.244, 12.64, etc. Homer uses αἰγλη of the light of the sun and moon (Od.4.45), see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.1.1282, Orph.Arg.1246, both of dawn, cf. 338 inf.; A.R.4.301, Nonn.D.27.18, 38.244, al., Agath.Hist.5.6.4, A.P.9.782.1 (Paul Sil.), all of the sun; metaphor. Nonn.Par.3.6 θεάματος ἔνθεου αἰγλην, 12.146 θεάρχεις ὑπὲρς αἰγλης, al., Synes.Hymn 1.131 (p.10 Terzhtag1), 3.27 (p.36), both of God, ps.Synes.Hymn 10.14 (p.64) of Christ, other exx. PGL s.v. The abstract use of χάρμα in the sense "joy" (as opposed to concrete "source of joy", LSJ s.v.I) is as old as Homer, see LSJ s.v.II, adding A.R.3.257, 724; Nonn.D.5.93, 45.2, al., Par.3.147, 11.96, al.; Tryph.311; A.P.9.768.6 (Agath.).

326-30. ἐπερεπε σοι,..., ἐπερεπε.../ἐπερεπε.../.../ἐπερεπε: On Paul's use of such anaphora as a means of auxesis, see 152n.sup., noting esp. Nonn.D.11.17 ἐπερεπε σοι...ἐπερεπε; for emphatic repetition extending over several lines, cf. 177-85 sup., inf. 597-601 δικόν, 934ff ταύτα, 944ff and 975ff εὐθὺς, 991ff χείρα, 997ff λίπα; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.96ff (PG.37.1235). The date of the festival is now first specified as the eve of Christ's birth, i.e. December 24th.

326. ἐπερεπε σοι, κτλ.: Impersonal ἐπερεπε is regularly constructed with dat.pers. and infinitive (328 πετάσασοι), see LSJ s.v.III.4, K-G.II.12f, sec.473.4 and cf. A.P.9.697.1f (Anon., 4th cent.), 16.344.5 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius); Theocr.10.57f (inf. only).

σκηπτοῦχε μεγαθευσές: Both terms have previously been applied to
J., although not in conjunction, σκηπτοῦχος 156 (see n. ad loc.), 174, 238, al.; μεγαθενής 178 (see n. ad loc.), 185.

Ῥώμη: Ms. Ῥώμη. Fr. and Bekker printed the dative, following the suggestion of Graefe ad loc.; Ludwig (op.cit.p.22) would retain the vocative. In lines of similar formation (collected 152n. sup.), the last word may be vocative (152 sup., 350 inf.; A.P.9. 147.1, Antag.; Prop.2.34.65), dative (185 sup.; Nonn.D.11.17) or other (accusative: 993 inf.; nominative: Anon. ap Powell p.79.18; genitive: Theoc.1.70, Coll.171). In lines 152 and 350 (which most closely resemble the present line), the vocative at the line-end is preceded by a vocative epithet; this would not be so in our line were Ῥώμη to be read. There would, moreover, be a certain clumsiness in a line containing apostrophes to two different entities, expressed in this way. The dative, therefore, is preferable. For the omission of the iota subscript, cf. Preisendanz, op.cit.col.LXXVIII iota mutum frequentissime adscripsit, interdum omisit, of the scribe J; 984f n.inf.

327. ἀμβροσίατο θεοῦ προκέλευθον ἐορτῆς: "as harbinger of the feast of God immortal". The feast is, of course, Christmas. On προκέλευθος, cf. 259n.sup. Strictly speaking it was not the door, but the opening of the door, that was the harbinger of Christmas; but Paul's Greek is perspicuous and forceful. It is not necessary to treat προκέλευθον as an adverb equivalent to πρό, as did Fr. The epithet ἀμβροσίας is regularly used in Homer and later epic of anything associated with the gods, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.512, 4.430, al.; Theoc.11.48, 17.32; Opp.C.1.44; Procl.Hymn 7.45; Nonn.D.1.513, 25.379, Par.6.97, 9.173, al.; inf.676; see also PGL s.v. In none of these instances, however, is it applied to a god himself. For Paul's use of the epithet in this latter context, like ἀμβροτος (see n.inf. on 332f), cf. H.Merc.230 νύμφη.

328. ὑμετέροις λαοῖς: The dative goes not with ἔπρεπεν, but with πετάσσει, as often in Nonn.D., e.g. 13.23f οὔδε σοι ἀμαῖ/ μὴ πω ἄεθλεύσαντι πύλας πετάσσειν θλύμποι; 45.301, al., see Peek
Lex.s.v.A. Du Cange first supplied to the dative λαοίς of the ms., the final iota required by metre. On πετάμμυμι of opening doors, see n.sup. on 174f.

329f. ἔπρεπεν.../. . . γενέθλιον ἥμαρ ἱκέσθαι: Here the accusative γενέθλιον ἥμαρ is ambiguous: it may be either subject ("...that the birthday should have come") of object ("...to have come to the birthday") of ἱκέσθαι, since in Homer, Nonnus and elsewhere in poetry, ἱκέσθαι may be constructed with an accusative of the goal or object of direction, see K-G.I.311f, sec.410.4, LSJ s.v.I.1 fin., and Keydell I.56*, adding Nonn.D.40.467. If ἥμαρ is the subject of ἱκέσθαι, then ἔπρεπεν is here constructed with accusative and infinitive, see K-G.II.28, sec.475.4, and cf. also Athanas.Ar.1.4 (PG.26.20B) τι γὰρ ἔπρεπε ποιεῖν κώτον, Nonn.D.16.69f, A.P.16. 335.5f (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius), inf. Amb.171. Either interpretation is possible, but the poetic construction with ἥμαρ as object of ἱκέσθαι is perhaps to be preferred, since then the construction is the same as that of 327f (without dat.pers.), while Musae.44 πασημῷ ο’ ἐποπευδον ἐς ἱερὸν ἥμαρ ἱκέσθαι, gives a good parallel for the idea and for the line-end (although Musaeus uses ἱκέσθαι in a more concrete sense, implying "journey to"). For γενέθλιον ἥμαρ, cf. A.P.6.261.3 (Crinag.) ἥμαρ ἐπεὶ τὸ δὲ σεῖο γενέθλιον. The prose expression for "birthday" is ἡ γενέθλια ἡμέρα, often abbreviated to ἡ γενέθλια/-ος, cf. also τὰ γενέθλια / τὰ γενέθλια, "birthday feast", see LSJ s.v.I, Soph.Lex.s.v.1, 3, PGL s.v.1 and esp.ib.3 for its use of Christ's nativity, celebrated on 25th December. Cf. also Call.fr.202.21f Pf. τὴν γενέθλιαν/ ἔκδομην Ἰρ[η]ν ἡ[ν] ἡμερῆς, i.e. septimo post puellam natalem die celebrando (Pfeiffer ad loc.); for γενέθλιος meaning "pertaining to birth", but accompanying nouns other than ἥμαρ and ἡμέρα, cf. Nonn.Par.3.28 διπλατέρην δέξιοτο γενέθλιον ἀσπονοῦ ἀρχῆν (i.e. second birth), id.D.41.190 ἵππος ἀνεκτόπολες γενέθλιον ἴχνον ἀφάνοι (at Beroe's birth), 23.231, al.

329. ἐξέπεσε: Epic for ἔκαμ. Here it is temporal, as ἔκαμ always is in NT (Arndt and Gingrich s.v. ἔκαμ 2) and often in papyrus

Θέακελον ἴματος: On Θέακελος see 144n.sup., and cf. esp. Nonn.Par. 9.70 Ἰματος (of the sabbath). The epithet is used here because the day saw the revelation of the Θέακελον Ἑργον of S.Sophia (cf. 238 sup.). Both here and in 330 Du Cange wrote the nonsensical ἴματα for ἴματος.

330. ζωοτόκου Χριστοῦ: "life-giving Christ". This figurative use of the epithet occurs first in Nonnus, D.26.191 γαῖς, 38.417 ζωοτόκου Διός ὄμβους, al., Par.5.109 τύμβων (of the Resurrection); Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.22 ζωοτόκου Δημητρος ἐπιτλήμασα γενέθλἰας (in a description of a cornucopia); also occasionally in patristic writers, see PGL s.v.

331. καὶ ὁ, κτλ.: The narrative is resumed after the rhetorical auxesis of lines 322-330. The particles are connective, and also convey a sense of climax, "And now the night had been accomplished...", cf. Denniston Greek Particles p.248. Other examples of καὶ ὁ in later poetry are more strongly deictic in sense; cf. Musae.329f καὶ ὁ λύχνου ἄπιστου ἀπεσεῆτε πικρὸς ἄπτης/καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔρωτας πολυτλῆτοι Λεόνδρου, and the passages collected by Gow on Theoc.5. 83. Nonnus does not use this collocation.

νῦν τετέλεστο: "the night had been accomplished". Homer uses τελέω of time, Od.5.390, 10.470 περὶ...τελέσθη, cf. Hes.Th.59 with West ad loc., and see LSJ s.v. τελέω I.7. For the pluperfect passive so used, cf. Nonn.Par.7.73f ἡμετέρου γὰρ/οὕτω μοι τετέλεστο χρόνου ὀρόμας. Paul's expression is sonorous (cf. NT Ev.Jo.19.30 τετέλεσται, Christ's last word from the Cross, rendered
by Nonn.Par. 19.159 of the conclusion, πανοτονίας φάτο μύθης; 2 Tim. 4.7 τον δρόμον τετέλεσα, την πίστιν τετήρηκα; in view of the description which follows, it recalls too the use of τέλεω, common in patristic writers, of celebrating or solemnising rites, feasts et simil., see PGL s.v.9 and cf. LSJ s.v. III.3.

προηγήτης εὐμοδὸς ἡμῶς: "guide of Dawn of the lovely foot". For the line-end, cf. Jo.Gaz.Deser. 2.203 προσάγετος αὐθεντός ἡμῶς (οτ'Εωρφόρος). This feminine form of ψρηγήτης = προηγήτης (from προηγήσομαι) is extant only here and at 917 inf. (LSJ Suppl. list TAM 2.189.7, of Hecate, but there the epithet is in fact προκαθηγήτης, which is attested elsewhere, see LSJ s.v. LSJ Suppl. is, however, correct in stating that the masculine form προηγήτης is used of Apollo and Artemis at TAM 2.188.7). A.R. and Nonnus use the feminine προηγήτειρα, see LSJ s.v. For εὐμοῦς, used by Nonnus of the Πραξι and a favourite epithet of Paul's, cf. 172, 260 sup. with nn. ad loc.

332. εὐφροσύνην καλέουσα: For εὐφροσύνη in a similar context, cf. 175 sup. and see n. ad loc.

332-36. θεοῦ δ' ὑπεδέξατο κήρυκς, κτλ.: Paul refers to the πανοχής or vigil kept the night before the encaenia in the church of S.Plato, cf. Theoph.A.M.6055, quoted in n.sup. on 315-53. The "immortal witness of God" is S.Plato himself, who is here imagined as welcoming in person the vigil kept in his church. Meineke (ap. Salzenberg-Kortùm) compared 429ff inf., where the nocturnal singing of psalms in the narthex of S.Sophia is said to charm the ears of Christ, 429f ἐνθα δέ τας κατὰ νύκτα διαμπερῆς θύμος ἀνέρπων/εὐκέλαδος Χριστοῦ βιαρκέος οὕτα τέλειω). On the church of S.Plato, built by Anastasius and restored by J., and situated in the Portico of Domninus, near the Forum of Constantine, see R.Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, pt.I, t.iii (2nd ed., Paris 1969) 404f; C.Capizzi L'imperatore Anastasio I (Or.Christ.Analecta 184, Rome 1969) 198. For an oratory dedicated to S.Plato, built by Theodore of Sykeon adjacent to his church of

332. ὑπεδέξατο: From Homer onwards, ὑποδέχομαι is regularly constructed with accusative and dative in the sense of welcoming into one's house. So it is here. cf. LSJ s.v.Ι.1, adding A.R.1.210, 2.653, Theoc.16.6, Nonn. D.23.26. The object is usually personal; κελάδημα χορεύειν here implies persons. As Fr. notes (ad loc.), here and at 336 (ἐβόησαν) the aorists strictly stand for pluperfects, as often, since they are parallel to τετέλεστο, describing events of the night now over.

332f. κήρυς/ἀμβροτος: S. Plato was a "herald of God" in that he had been a martyr, see Festugière loc. cit. sup., and cf. PGL s.v. κήρυς 2 for many exx. of this term used of those who preach the Gospel or proclaim Christ in any way, adding Nonn.Par.1.15 (of John the Baptist), ib.181 (of the OT prophets), al., inf.700 (of the prophets); Eustrat.V.Eutych.98 (PG.86(2).2384C-D) προσέτεθη τοῖς πατριάρχαις ὡς Πατριάρχης, τοῖς κήρυσιν ἡ μεγάλη φωνῇ, ὥς μάρτυς τοῖς μάρτυσιν, κτλ. (of the dead Eutychius). The epithet ἀμβροτος (unlike ἀμβροσίας, cf. 327n.sup.) is regularly used of persons, see LSJ s.v.1 and cf. also Orph.Hymn 30.7 δαιμον, 55.26 ἄρωμα; Nonn.D.8.134 (of Hera), 44.174 ἠθη; Synes.Hymn 4.3 (p.39 Terzhagi) ἰδεῖν, 6.2 (p.48) of Christ. See further n.sup. on 320f.

333. λάετα: Ms. λάθαν, marg. γρ.πέλαν et γρ.τελων κελάδημα; τελέιν Graefe; κλάεω Meineke; ἱλοῖν Fr., Πλάτων? app.crit. (but regarded as "höchst bedenklich" in n. ad loc.). R.C.McCail (CQ N.S.20, 1970, 306-8) has argued convincingly, taking up the suggestion of Arthur-Ludwich (op.cit.p.25), that the ms. λάθαν is correct except for the circumflex accent. This should be replaced by paroxytone (λάετα) and the word construed as the present participle of the very rare epic verb λάω (Od.19.229, 230, h.Merc.360, cf. Hesych.s.v. λάετα, and other lexicographers cited by McCail). The sense intended by Paul, and by Agathias at A.P.5.237.5, is
"seeing", and hence here "waking" or "watching". Both writers may be indulging in interpretatio Homerica, by suggesting (probably on the basis of scholia and lexica, McCall 307, n.5) what they conceived to be the correct meaning of the verb in one or both of the ancient instances. The rarity of λῶ led to the puzzlement of the scribe of our line (J) and provoked his and subsequent conjectures, which, however, (except for τελείων) recognise that a present participle is required. See further the detailed argument of McCall, adding now Frisk Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch Bd.III (1972) 144, Chantraine Dict.étym.s.v. λῶ.

ἀγρύπνουσιν κελάδημα χορεῖσι: "the strains of the unsleeping choir". The noun κελάδημα is used in classical Greek of the sound of wind (Ζεφύρου E.Ph.213, lyr.) and rivers (Ar.Nub.283, anap.), and later more generally of any loud noise, A.P.6.350.1 (Crinag.) σάλπιγγος; Nonn.D.6.203 αθέρετου κελάδημα πολαὶ κανάχιον ἔλθουσι, 8.363 βροντῆς, 15.72 ἀφασσομένης...Βοεῖς, 43.202 εἰναλίων...λεύνων, 47.23 of a pipe, al.simil. For Paul's application of the word to human utterance, cf. A.P.2.42f (Christod.) ὀπὸ στομάτων ἐτι τινάζατο/πήλε μὲν κελάδημα θειστήρον, of the seer Polyidus of Corinth. Paul probably here has in mind the use of κελαδέω in the sense "sing of", "celebrate loudly", see LSJ s.v.II. For ἀγρύπνουσι χορεῖσι (in Bacchic contexts), cf. Nonn.D.45.226 φοιτάδος ἀγρύπνου...χορεῖσι, simil.19.5 ἀγρύπνου ἀπειθήρα χορεῖσι; also 5.116 ἀκοιμήτου χορεῖσι. 9.115 τελείων ἀγρυπνοῦ, 12.397 ἑρτήν, al.; Musae.292 ὄμνοιῶν, and other similar exx. from the Anthology and elsewhere collected by Kost ad loc., esp.A.P.5. 279.4 (Paul Sil.) πόθοις. For the epithet in Christian contexts, cf. Nonn.Par.1.62 ἱερής, al., and see PGL s.v. Here χορεῖσι is simply "choir", of the priests who kept the vigil, cf. 344. This is the usual sense in patristic writers, see PGL s.v.2. Paul elsewhere uses the term in other senses, see nn.sup. on 155 and 288.

334. θεοποιεῖσθαι τεμένειοιν ἐοὶς: So Fr. The ms. and all other editors have τεμένειοιν νέοις. But Fr. is doubtless correct to argue that νέοις is unlikely here. According to Procopius (Aed.1.4.29)
J. built the church of S. Plato "from the foundations" (ἐκ θεμεύλων ἐδείχματο. In fact he restored the church built by Anastasius, see Janin, cit. sup. in n. on 332-36) ἐν τῷ θείῳ Ιουστίνου βασιλεύωντος, i.e. in the period 518-27. The edifice would scarcely still be described as "new" in 562, cf. Mccall, cit. sup. 333n., p. 308, n.2. The epithet θεοπατορ, first in Homer (Π.1.591 θηλοῦ, Od.13. 363 ἄντρου, al.) is widely used at all periods in prose as well as poetry, of anything marvellous, awful or divine, see LSJ s.v.ΙV, adding A.R.1.977 ἡνοίουσιν, al.; Theoc.15.66 σ.Ομιλος (perhaps colloquial, see Gow ad loc.); A.P.16.151.2 (Anon., on a statue of Dido) κάλλιες, al.; D.P.424 θεοπατορ θυσία θαλάσσιον, al.; Opp.H.2.683 πατὴρ (of the Roman emperor), 4.8τ δοκίμων/δόξα θεοπατορ; Orph.Lith.681 ὅνειρα, al.; Nonn.D.13.15 τραπέζης (of Rhea), 40.76 δείματι, al.; Par.9.141 Χριστοῦ, 17.7 ἡμῶν θ.ἀμώνιον, al.; Coll. 248 χαρίτεσσιν; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.118.148 φέγγος, al.; A.P.16.41.3 (Agath.) σεμάφροδος, i.e. J. and Theodora; Agath.Hist.2.29.4 ζητήσεως, al.; and see PGL s.v.


μύστιδι φωνῇ: Instrumental dative. The line-end is Nonnian, D.22.5, 35.229, 40.368. Cf. also D.3.263, al. = Par.4.99 μ. τεχνη, D.9.127 κίσνη, 27.205 γυρῷ, al., Par.12.6 ἡμῖν (of Easter); Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.29.299 (PG.37.906A) ἐρωτήσα, Orph.Arg.905 ὀρίστεια. Earlier μύστις is used only substantivally, as a feminine form of μύστης, see LSJ s.v., PGL s.v.1. Ludwig (op.cit. p.26) corrected Fr.'s accentuation from paraoxytone (so too Du Cange and Bekker) to preprooxytone (ms., Graefe, LSJ s.v., see Chandler Greek Accentuation p.184, lines 3 and 22). On the ambience of μύστις and related terms used by Paul, see 313n.sup.

335. συννυξίους Χριστοῦ, κτλ.: Theophanes calls the vigil in S. Plato η συννυξίς (A.M.6055, quoted in n.sup. on 315-53) and
the noun is used elsewhere in Christian contexts in this sense, see PGL s.v.1. The adjective παιδωτός (cf. παῦννυχος) in Homer always agrees with the subject of the verb, see LSJ s.v., and it is usually predicative, see Kost on Musae.230 (who considers παιδωτός and παῦννυχος together). For the attributive use in oblique cases, cf. Nonn.D.22.135 ὄμορφοι, Musae.230 ἄρανων, A.P.5.259.5 (Paul Sil.) παλαιόστροφος, Thdr.Lect.fr. (PG.86(1). 225B) ἐξίθην, and esp. Epigr.Gr.1049.11 (Egypt) παὐννυχίος ὁ ὑμνοῦμεν ὁ [π'] εὐφροσύνας τὸν ἀνάκτα[ε]μαχίν. It would be possible to take Χριστότο Βιοκός as objective genitive depending on ὑμνοῦς, "hymns to Christ the Saviour" (cf. Pl.Lg.801d ὁ ἰμηρὸς θεόν, so Athen.14.627f; Orph.Hymn 29, tit. ὑμνοῦς Περσεφόνης, al.simil.; Nonn.D.16.286 ὁ ἐπότων, 27.174 ὁ ἐν παῖς ὀστράκους the same. LSJ s.v. ὑμνοῦς). But ἄνετες would then be unqualified, which would be strange (contrast sup. 168 άνετες, οἰκείως μέμφετε θεοῦδα θεοῦδα γεράρειν). More probably, therefore, Χριστότο is possessive genitive, depending on ἄνετες. For Βιοκός, cf. A.P.6.179.1 (Arch.) λυνοτατίζης; Nonn.D.17.370 γαῖς, Par.8.140 τοῖχος (God), 15.52f ἐφετέρας/μητέρας (Christ's words), 17.21 μισθοῦς σοὺς (i.e. of God). Paul uses the epithet of Christ again inf. 430, cf. also 665 ὑμνάσσει (?S.Sophia), Amb.43 λαότρος (of baptism).

336. ὑμνάσσω ἐβοῦλαν: "had gladly cried". Cf. Inf. 665, Amb.38. The adverb is Homeric, often going closely with the verb, see LSJ s.v. ὑμνάσσω, and cf. also A.R.1.270, 1173, al.; Theoc.16.7; Opp.H.1.467, 471, al.; Orph.Arg.116; A.P.16.300.6 (Anon.), ib.5.248.8 (with μάλλον), 275.4 (both Paul Sil.). For ἀλλοίω with cognate accusative, see LSJ s.v.II.3, K-G.I.320f, sec.411.3b, and cf. also Opp.H.5.300 νύκτα...βοῶσε/...παίνονα, Nonn.D.37.324, al. τοῖον ἐπόσ βοῶσ, cf. Par.5.53. On the tense, see n.sup. on ὑμνάσθατο 332.

ἀνιῆμοτοίσιν ὁδίαντίς: The dative phrase is loosely appended in order to include the idea of the continuity of the hymns, but ὁδίαντίς is redundant after ὑμνοῦς. For a similar accumulation of datives, cf. Nonn.Par.5.157f μετορίζην βοῶσαν ἐμὴν ὑποφήτορι νῦν ἄνθρωπον ὑποτρύουσιν οἰκείγιαν. For ἀνιῆμοτοίσιν redundant after ὑμνοῦς, cf. Nonn.D.39.359 θεοτείτην λάλοι ὑμνοῦν ὑποτρύουσιν (sc. ἀνιῆμοτοίσιν) ἀνιῆμοτοίσιν but this is an intentional echo of Call.fr.1.1 Pf. οἶος ἁτίμοι
Τελευταίος ἐπιτρόποιν ἄλοιπον. On the force of the dative ἄλοιπον in Callimachus and Nonnus, see Pfeiffer on Call.loc.cit. In our passage, the dative must be classed as sociative, like εὐξείρος ὑμνοῖσιν 143 sup., see n. ad loc. The epithet ἄσιγνητος occurs first in Callimachus, Del.286 λέβητος (of Dodona), then often in Nonnus, Π.3.79 βοσύν, 13.133 πηγής (of Castalia), 33.231 χείλεως, al., Par.6.218 βίβλων, 9.78 ψαρισσάων, 11.227 ἐορτής, al.; also Bas.Hom.Jul.9 (PG.31.260A) ὅμυμων, and see PGL s.v. for the adverb ἄσιγνητος used of praising God.

337. ἀλλ' ὅτε δῆ: The particles have the same function as at 265 sup. (see n. ad loc.): with this third mention (cf. 320, 331) of the dawn, the account of the festal procession to S.Sophia at last begins. Theophanes (loc.cit., see n.sup. on 315-53) clarifies Paul's description: the chronicle uses the term λιτή, which denotes a formal ecclesiastical procession with prayer or litany, usually, as here, made in celebration, but sometimes also expiatory, see the exx. collected PGL s.v.2, Du Cange Glossarium s.v., adding Niceph.Hist.Syn.p.18.25f de Boor εὐχαριστηρίους λιτάς (for the deliverance of Cpl. after the siege of 626). These exx. (notably that from C.Tyr. (518) Act (p.90.12 Schwartz) μετὰ ψαλμοδίῳ καὶ κηρών καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ οἴκῳ κατανυσσόμενες τὴν λιτήν... πληρώσωμεν) indicate that the hymns, or perhaps strictly psalms, and candles mentioned by Paul 342f inf., and probably likewise the χαρίσια ὄμωα of 341, were regular elements of such a λιτή. Paul does not make clear that the procession set out for S.Sophia from S.Plato, nor that J. himself participated in it, as described at some length by Theophanes.

σκίσεσσαν ἀναστείλας καλύπτον. Cf. A.P.4.38.3f (Agath.) μηδ' ἔτι Περσίς ἀνάλαξις ἀναστείλας καλύπτον/θρόνοιν ἀθρόησειν (se. ἐς Βασιλῆς). Paul personifies Daylight (ἥδος ἰδίους αὐγάς, see 338n.) as a woman who puts on a dark veil at night and draws it back at dawn. The καλύπτον was large enough to cover the head, shoulders and torso, see R.Horn Stehende Weibliche Gewandstatuen (Munich 1931), Taf.5.3, 23.1, etc. By a slightly different
iconographical convention, Night is sometimes represented as a
crowned and dark-clothed female figure wearing or holding a dark
veil, cf. Jo.Gaz.Deser.2.245 νυξ δὲ μελαγκρήδεμνος and the imagery
used by Paul inf.904f πάσι μὲν εὐφροσύνης ἀναπέπτταται εὐδίας αἴθρη/ ψυχαίνῃ ἐλάσσοσα μελαγκρήδεμνον θυμίχλην (the κρήδεμνον and καλύπτρη
are probably identical); cf. also the picture of Nyx displaced by
Orthros in Paris ms.Gr.139, ninth cent. (D.Talbot Rice The Art of
Byzantium, London 1959, pl.IX).

The metaphorical use of καλύπτρη to denote night, darkness et
simil. is as old as A.Ch.811 ὀνοφέρας καλύπτρας, where it refers to
the gloom enshrouding Agamemnon's palace; so of dark cloud, Opp.
H.4.66f ἡνίκα μῆνη/κέκρυμπται, νεφέων δὲ κελατινώσαι καλύπτρα;
ib.175f, 10.301, 36.39; Jo.Gaz.Deser.2.126 νεφέλης...μελανουτέρνοι
calyptrhν; and of primaeval darkness, Nonn.D.41.96 χάεςς τοφεύσαν
ἀπεστυφέλξε καλύπτρην (of Beroe). For σκίδεις in this context,
cf. Nonn.D.33.266f ἡν ὡς ἀναλάμψται θαυμάσιος ἀναφεύρον τοῖς ἀσφοροις
ἀναφεύρετο μελατιόνιο κόνως θυμίχλης, Par.6.62 καὶ σκίδεις ὑπὲ κύνος
ἀνέδραμε γείτονος ἀφινής; Tryph.236 ἁβραοῦ ὑπὸ σκίδεια. Although
ἀναστέλλω commonly means "tuck up" when used in connection with
clothing, its meaning here is clearly "draw back".

338. οὐρανίας...ἄντυγας: "heavenly vaults". The expression is
Nonnian, see 187n.sup.

Βοσόπηχος...αἴγηλη: Cf. inf.769 Βολαῖς Βοσόπηχος ἡος. The
noun αἴγηλη (metaph. 325 sup., see n. ad loc.) is here personified,
as equivalent to the Homeric Εὔως, Ἐργεύσις, which have already
appeared sup. (320, 331). The epithet is not Homeric, but is
used of Εὔως at h.Hom.31.6, Theoc.2.148 (codd.; Gow Βοσόπηχος),
and in Hesiod and early lyric as an epithet of women, see LSJ s.v.,
252, 26.360, 47.90, al., A.P.5.227.3 (Mac.Cons.).

ὑπέδραμεν: "stole over", "overran". Homer uses the verb to
describe the action of a suppliant in running in under a weapon
in order to clasp someone's knees, Il.21.68, Od.10.323. Its sense here, however, is closer to that of Sappho fr.31.9f Lobel-Page λέπτον ὀστύκα χαρή πόρο ὑπαδεδρόμηκεν, a sense elsewhere confined to prose (Hippocrates and, of emotions, Polybius, etc.), see LSJ s.v.IV. It is rare in poetry at all periods, but Hesychius recognises Paul's sense in the gloss ὑπειορεχόμενοι (s.v. ὑποτρέχουτες).

339. ὅτε τότε: For this combination after a clause introduced by ἄλλοτε ὅτε, cf. A.R.1.1167; Nonn.D.22.4, 29.293, 37.68 (the last in a dawn-description analogous to Paul's), Par.4.201; also Il.22.209 καὶ τότε ὅτε.

συναγειρέτο: So ms., Fr.; συναγειρέτο Du Cange, Graefe (who conjectured συναγειρέτο), Bekker. The ms. reading is undoubtedly correct, cf. Il.24.380ff ὀστύα ἐπείτα καὶ συναγειρόμενοι δαίμονα ἑρμικοῦ δαίμονα, 11.687 οἱ δὲ συναγειρόμενοι Πολύων ἡγήτορες ἀνδρῶν; Theoc.22.76; Orph.Lith.327 (of λαοῖ); Nonn.D.27.250, Par.1156; Tryph.144. The compound συναγειρέω is rare in poetry (only ps.Phoc. 140), and is weaker in our context than συναγείρω. At 646 inf., all editors write συναγειρέτο, although Graefe suggested συναγειρέτο in his apparatus. But Ludwich rightly observed (op.cit.p.2) that here too the ms. has the compound of ᾦγείρω, which should be retained.

339f. πᾶς τε θῶσκων/ἀρχὸς: "every ruler/lord of thrones". The noun ἀρχὸς is Homeric for a leader or chief, regularly e.g., see LSJ s.v. and cf. also Theoc.25.43, Nonn.D.3.220, 7.119, 36.279, Par.3.2, 12, 124, al. Above (see 148n.sup.) Paul uses the term θῶσκος/θῶκος of J.'s throne; below (362, 366, 421) it is applied to the synthronon of S.Sophia, to the women's seats in the gallery (541), and to the patriarch's throne (965, see n. ad loc.). Here, however, Paul is probably not referring to ecclesiastical dignitaries, since θῶσκων/ἀρχὸς is coupled with the laity (λαοῖς 339) and the following descriptive phrase ὑποδρήσων...ἐφετιμάς (340, see n.inf.) suggests that the reference is to secular officials or government ministers. The patriarch and his ecclesiastical procession (ἰερᾶς...
χορείν) are mentioned at 344. For θὸκος/θοκος used of secular office, cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.2.7.5f (PG.37.1551) ὑοτοτον ὀντέλλεις θόκων ὑπερ ἡγαθεῖοι/Καμπαλόθείοι, of the judicial orator Nemesius (note also ib.1.1.7.13f, col.439 θοκον/ἀμφί μέγαν, of God's throne, for division of a θὸκος-expression between two lines, as in Paul); A.P.7.688.2 (Pallad.) τῶν μεγάλων ὑπάτων θοκον; Nonn.Par. 19.68 Πιλάτος ὑσσυνεργός ἐπ'εὐλαθιγγυ θοκωος; Epigr.Gr.903.1 τῆς Ἀσίας υψωκένα θόκων υψώκων, ib.912.2 έξομενον θόκων ὑψόθεν αἰτιωτάτων, and other exx. from late epigram collected by L.Robert in Hellenica 4 (1948) 41-43; also Anon.Laud.Beryt.92 (I.97 Heitsch) where θοκος denotes professorial chairs. Likewise θρόνος, A.P.16. 73.1 (Anon., 5th cent.) ὑπατον θρόνον; Just.Nov.82.1 (A.D.539) (402.12f Kroll) the throne of the praefectus praetorio per Orientem, ib.p.402.7 throne of the praefectus urbi; A.P.7.602.7 (Agath.) throne of pr.pr.per Or., ib.1.36.4 (id.) throne of proconsul of Asia; Niceph.Hist.Syn.p.4.5 de Boor, throne of praefectus urbi.

340. ὑποδρήσων, κτλ.: This phrase is descriptive of the functions of the θόκων ἄρχος. But the subsequent participles (κομίζων 341, ἀνάπτων 343) and the verb ἠμεν(342) refer to the activities of the λας and the θόκων ἄρχος together on this occasion. (The καὶ of 341 follows on from συνοχείρετο 339 and continues the narrative. The weaker τε of 339 merely adds a second subject to the sentence, cf. Ludwich op.cit.p.14f on Paul's sparing and discriminating use of the particle τε). The two participles and verb can be singular because the two individually-expressed subjects are each singular (cf. 2 sup. θεός τε καὶ βασιλεῦσ ομνοῦντεσται), and because the initial verb συνοχείρετο is singular. Graefe marked a period after ἐφετεράς and certainly some punctuation is required, perhaps a comma or colon rather than Graefe's full stop. (The comma after ἄρχος might be omitted). The ambiguity of the singular participle ὑποδρήσων which Du Cange interpreted as referring to both subjects like the two subsequent participles (tum populus omnis coit, omnesque palatii proceres, fortissimi imperatoris praecipito,...) may be an indication of hasty or unrevised composition.
The expression ἐφετμαίς is similar to phrases used by Paul at 270 sup., 554 inf. and even closer to a line in an epigram preserved in a 4th cent. context by John Malalas and to a line from Greg.Naz. (quoted 270n.sup.): Paul has here adapted a familiar phrase without observing the ambiguity of the participle in its present context.


ἐφετμαίς: Homeric, Il.5.508, al., frequently plural as here, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.3.390 (sing.), 4.688 (pl.), al.; Call. Del.227 (sing.); Opp.H.5.496 (sing.); Orph.Hymn 11.18 (pl.); Orph.Arg.6 (pl.); Nonn.Par.9.152, 14.79 (both pl.), al. (not in D.); Coll.99 (sing.).

341. χαρίσια δῶρα κομίζων: "bringing gifts of thanksgiving". Cf. A.R.1.419 ἄπειρεις δῶρα κομίζων, 4.1705; Nonn.4.4.259γ πάντως Ἠλλάδι φυλήντα καὶ ἑμφόρονα δῶρα κομίζων (of Cadmus), 42.396 ποῦ οἴ χνισιότοι ἐπάξια δῶρα κομίζουσι, also 42.416; A.P.1.10.18 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἀμεμφέα δῶρα κομίζειν, 1b.16.62.1 (Anon.) τιμήν οἴ, ὁ βασιλεύ Ἡρακλῆς, δῶρα κομίζει, of J. This is the usual sense of κομίζω (cf. LSJ s.v.II.4, 5, 10) in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex.s.v.; cf. also A.R.4.1515, al., Call.Lav.Pall. 29, al.; Orph.Hymn 12.14; Nonn.Par.10.12, al.; Coll.312, al.; Tryph.186, al.; Musae.151, al.; A.P.5.276.1 (Agath.); etc. Paul uses the term χαρίσιος again at 348 inf. In both places, the ms. has χαρίσια -ον, corrected by Du Cange. In sense, it is equivalent to the Koine χαριστήριος (see LSJ s.vv. χαρίσιος, χαριστήριος, PGL s.v. χαριστήριος), but this form is very rare: first at Call.fr.383.1 Fr. Ζηνί τε κα[ί Νεμέω τι χαρίσιον ἐδόν θέειλ] (suppl. Lobel e fr. 193 Schneider), with which Pfeiffer compares our line and Greg.Naz. Carm.2.2.4.205 (PG.37.1521) ἀμφοτέροις χαρίσιοι (−ισίοιν codd.) ὑμνον ἀξίων; add also Dam.Isid.216 χαρίσιοι δηλία ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀποδίδοντι, cit. Suidas s.v. χαρίσιοι, after the gloss χαριστήριοι: LSJ's distinction of a second sense "free" in this instance is unfounded. Hesychius (s.v. χαρίσιοι) recognises only the Aristophanic
342. ἱκέσιος στομάτεσσι: Instrumental dative. On this use of ἱκέσιος, see LSJ s.v.3 (tragedy), adding Nonn.Δ.13.13 χείλεσιν, 15.202 καρήνω, al., Par.15.64 χιόνι; Trypt.263 μελόμετος; A.P.5. 300.5 (Paul Sil.) οὐκτοῦ. See also 314n.sup.

The verb ἰπόω: The verb ἰπόω (Dor. and Arc. ἰπὼ) is Homeric in the sense "call to", "invoke" (Ili.14.399, Od.10.83, al.), but the sense "sing", "utter" is later, cf. LSJ s.v.2, 3, noting esp. Mosch.2.124 γάμινον μέλος ἰπότες, and adding A.Pers.122 ὡδ, τοῦτο ἰπότος...ἰμίλος ἰπόων; A.P.9.99.3 (Leon.Tar.) τῷ δ' ἰπόω ἐκ γαίης τούτων ἢπει (v. 16.17.1 (Anon.)) ὡδαν, φερμομένας ἵπαυ πάντα ἰπόω ποίμνας; A.P.4.230 δεινά δὲ παντὶ παρασχεδον ἰπόω λαθῆ. Orph.Arg.5f ὕφαν...μητοῖς...ἀοίθην/ἡπόω; Nonn.Δ.41.251 μελήρωτον ἢπει φωνή, 4.197 τοῖα νοοπλαυέοςτι μελήδοσιν ἢπει κούρη. On θεοῦδας, see 168n.sup.; here and at 350, 963, Paul's usage is more akin to that of Homer and Nonnus Δ., and the sense may be "reverent".

343. ἁργαρφοῦ...κηρὸν ἰανάπτων: "kindling silver-white candles". This is clearly the sense of ἰανάπτω (LSJ s.v. II.1) after κηρόν, "candle", cf. Mal.467.16 τινὸς γὰρ ὑφάσκοντος κηροῦς ἐν τῇ θεστρῷ, Chron. Fasch.605.3 Bonn ἱπάκα κηροῦ ἢ Ἰανδεμέλαια, Const.Porph.de Caer. Appendix (497.19 Bonn) ἵπων κηροῦς ἐτί το μνήμα τῆς ἱεροῆς (of J.); for this sense of the verb in late poetry, cf. Orph. Lith.373; Epigr.Gr.818.14, 1064.5; Nonn.Δ.25.290, 31.141, al.; Musae.239 (passive), 306 (middle), with exx. from A.P. etc., collected by Kost ad lococ. (for A.P.7.201.7 read A.P.16.201.7), adding A.P.5.291.3 (Paul Sil.), inf.488, Amb.293, also inf.864. The use of κηρός (also κηρίδος, κηρίου, κηρίων, see FGL s.vv.) of a wax taper or candle (cf. Lat. cereus) is common in late prose, frequently in the context of processions, see LSJ s.v.II, Soph. Lex.s.v., PGL s.v.2, Du Cange Glossarium s.v., adding Marc.Diac. V.Porph.47 (39.17 Grég.-Kug.), and compare the passage from C.Tyr. Act quoted in 337n.sup. It is not, however, usual in poetry,
where the term is more commonly applied to the wax used in encaustic painting (cf. LSJ s.v. I.1), e.g. A.P. 1.34.2, 7.602.1, 16.80.6, 244.5 (all Agath.). Paul uses it of a candle again, inf. 747. The epithet ἀργυρός (a less common equivalent of ἄργυφος, inf. 624, Amb. 94) is used in Homer of sheep (II. 24.621, Od. 10.85), cf. Opp. ζ.1. 121 ἄργυφο... ὀπλα νήλον, 2.39 ὀξωρ; Nonn. D.14.419σ γάλαγος αἰγών/ ἄργυφον, 33.31 μελέων... ἄργυφος αἰγλη, al.

ἐκκάμωτος ὑπὸ χειρεσι: The preposition ὑπὸ is instrumental, instead of a second simple dat. instr. after ἱκεσίοις στομάτεσσι, cf. 758 inf. and for this usage, see 172n.sup. On ἐκκάμωτος (here "nobly-toiling") see 270n.sup. The ms. χειρεσιω was corrected to χειρεσι, metr. gr., by Du Cange.

344. ἔσπετο δ' ὀντίπο: "the Priest accompanied"; a reference to Eutychius, patriarch of Cpl., cf. Theoph. loc. cit. in n.sup. on 315-53, and see further note sup. on lemma after line 80. It is not necessary to explain ἔσπετο as indicating that Eutychius arrived after the procession had assembled, as does Fr. ad loc.; it may imply that Eutychius and his clergy followed the secular ministers (θρόκων/ἄρχος 339τ, see n.sup. ad loc.) in the procession, but ἐσπομαι often means simply "accompany", see LSJ s.v. ἔσπετο (B) I.1 and cf. Nonn. D. 4.160 ἐσπομαι, ἡν ἐθέλησκα καὶ ὀμόστολος, 14.224, etc. The line recalls II. 11.472 δ μέν ἐξρχ, ὁ δ' ὀμή ἔσπετο, which may help to account for the aorist ἔσπετο amidst a series of descriptive imperfects (339 συνογείρετο, 342 ἕμευ, 346 ἔστεινετο). In ἐπίτιπο, Paul uses a Homeric term for "priest" (again of Eutychius inf. 963, 969; plural 421, of clergy of S. Sophia), cf. II. 1.11 of Chryses, al., see LSJ s.v., adding Epigr. Gr. 800.2, 827.4, 6, 873.3; Nonn. D. 13.480, Par. 11.209 (of the High Priest Caiaphas); A.P. 5.286.10 (Paul Sil.); also in Christian inscriptions, see PGL s.v. Alexandrian poets use the feminine form ὀμήτερα, A.R. 1.312, 3.252, Call. Cer. 42; cf. Orph. Arg. 905, Musae. 68.

ἰερὸς δ' ἐξῆρχε χορείης: "and led off the holy choir". This technical use of ἐξάρχω with genitive of leading off a song, etc.,
is Homeric, ll.18.51 ὅτις ὡς ἠφίησε γάρ τινα, al., cf. Hes Incre.205 and other exx.cit. LSJ s.v.1; cf. also Arist.Poet.4.14, 1449a11 ἢ μὲν (sc. τραγῳδία) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχῶντων τὸν διήθρομπου (on the origins of tragedy). The usage is rare in later poetry, but cf. Theoc.8.62, Lyc.250, where the verb has a similar sense, but is followed by an accusative (cf. LSJ s.v.2). For χορείης, cf. 333n.sup. The epithet indicates that the choir was composed of priests, cf. 88 sup., 996, 1019f inf., with nn. ad loco., and see PGL s.v.1. Note the repeated connective δὲ in this narrative passage (344 bis, 346, 347, 348), a practice generally uncharacteristic of Paul, who uses particles sparingly and with discrimination; but compare the description of the earthquake 188-92 sup. and 162f with n. ad loc.

345. ἀρηπτὸς πολύμνος, κτλ.: The panegyrical comment on Eutychius (compare the longer encomium of Anthemius 267ff) clarifies the reference of the vague ἀρηπτὸς of 344. The patriarch is praised at length inf. 978-1026.

πολύμνος: "much-hymned". Cf. inf. 979 πάτερ πολύμνος, also of Eutychius; 434 of the Virgin Mary; 527, 923 of J.; Amb.300 of S.Sophia; also inf.375 λαὸν, active sense. The epithet occurs in early lyric and classical drama, see LSJ s.v. with id Suppl., and cf. also Orph.Hymn 55.1 of Aphrodite, 76.12 εἶλον; Nonn.D.48. 188 γάμος ("of many songs"); Synes.Hymn 9.26f (p.58 Terzagi) πολύμνος δὲ τις εἴθ/παρὰ κούροις; Epigr.Gr.1062.5 (? aet.Leonis) Μαρίαν.

ὅν ἄξιον εὗρετο νηπὸ, κτλ.: Cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych.23f (PG.86(2). 2300f) which describes how, on the death of the patriarch Menas (in 552), God made J. look to Eutychius as his successor, (ὁ Θεὸς) κλίνει καὶ τὴν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου βασιλέως καρδίαν εἰς τὸν ἄξιον ἄνδρα, 2301A. Note also ib.24 (col.2301D) θεωρῆσατε σὺν τῷ ἐνυστασιν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὅσιν σπουδὴν μετὰ τίνος Θείας ἐλλάφισες ἐπεδείκνυτο, πάντες ὅμοθεμάδον, κοινῇ γχώμῃ, κοινῇ ψήφῳ, μιᾷ φωνῇ, πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ, τὸ ἄξιον, ἄξιος, ἄκραζον. This formal cry of ἄξιος
was regularly used at the election of bishops and senior clergy, see the detailed article of Du Cange Glossarium s.v. (who quotes the passage 2301D), Soph.Lex.s.v.2, PGL s.v.2. It was no doubt with this in mind that Paul wrote ἐξερχομένοι here: in similar expressions late authors prefer compound forms of ἐξερχομένοι, cf. Diosc.19.2 (I. 145 Heitsch; = 20.2, p.146) παντοῖς ἐξερχομένοις οὖν μάλα, A.P.7.149.3f (Leont.) τόσος γὰρ Χρόνος ἄλλον ἐπάξιον ἀνέρα τόλμησις/οὐχ εὑρων (these two exx. indicate that Du Cange's dative υπὸ in our line is a mistake); also Nonn.D.4.125 γάμισον ἐξερχομένοις and, with εὑρίσκω middle, Musae.66 ἑπερείαν ἐπάξιον εὑρατο Κύριος. The middle of εὑρίσκω is often used with little distinction from the active, e.g. (late authors) Orph.Hymn 86.15 ὑπάρχειν ἐξερχομένοις ἕλεος ἔρχομενοι; Opp.H.4.119 στυγερὴν δὲ πάθων εὑρόντο τελευτὴν, al.; A.P.6.59.3 (Agath.) εὑρετο γὰρ μυστήρια, τὸν Ἡθελ, 7.585.5f (Jul.Aeg.) τελευτήν/εὑρετο συλλήξιος ὀλκᾶ δὲ κατομήνη, 16.338.4, 364.3 (both Anon. charioteer epigrams). (Nonnus uses the middle only at D.3.76 εὑρατο, "invented"). Here the aorist stands for pluperfect, as at 332, 336 sup. Kost, commenting on Musae.loc. cit., noted that the weak aorist form εὑρατο (as if from εὑρω), although rare in Attic, is common in later Greek, both literary and Kolne, see his examples and cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.81.3, p.63f. It is, however, unlikely that our line should be emended in view of Call.Ap.97f οὐκεκα τοῦτο/Δελφάς τοι πρώτηστον ἐφύμνιον εὑρετο λαος, id.Del.323f & Δηλας εὑρετο νόμημα/παύγια κοινιστοι καὶ ἀπόλλωνι γελαστούς; compare the use of the strong form in late epigrams cit.sup.

346. Ἀὐσσοῦνις οὐκῃπτοῦχος: Cf. 174 sup.

346f. ὃλης ἐστεινετο, κτλ.: A panegyrical detail like that of 262-4, see n. ad loc. For ἐστεινετο, cf. 264. Here Paul exploits the ambiguity between the most common use of the verb, "be thronged" with people, animals, corpses, et simil. (Il.21.220, Od.9.219, Hes.Th.160, etc., see LSJ s.v.II.2, adding Nonn.D.26. 366 πόλις, 36.201 Δῆθε; Tryph.543 Ἰλιος; inf. 988), and the rather different use of a wide place made or seeming to be narrow, Od.18.385f
tā θύρετρα, καὶ εὕρεσαι περ μάλ' ἐδύναται, ἡθύγοντι στεινοντο; Nonn.D.36. 203f εὐρυτέρους πυλέων, ἐκώ νῦν μελάθρων, στεινομένων ἐκάτερθε (conj. Castiglioni; κτεινομένων L); Tryph.336 αἰ δὲ οἱ ἐρχομένω θυρών πτύχες ἐστείνοντο; A.P.9.656.13f (Anon.Byz.) κρύψων ἀμετρήτων μεγάρων στεινομένων αὐλαῖς, /Πέργαμε, ἕπροντιν οὖς. It is in order to suggest this second sense that the pleonastic expression ἀπαραῖς εὐρυάγματα is introduced, the epithet constituting an oxymoron with ἔστεινον. Elsewhere the epithet is applied to cities, Il.2.141 Τοῦνη, Od.15.384 πόλις, al., see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.41.274 Ἀθήνην, Coll.220 Μυκήνην; also Β.Cer.16 χῶν, Terp.6.2 οἰκα. It is listed in the Alexandrian onomasticicon Π.Hib.II. 172, col.ii, line 45, see n.sup. on μελαγκρηπίδα 261.

347. μολὼν δ' ἐνί θεοπίδαις αὐλαῖς: "And having come to the divine courts", i.e. S.Sophia, cf. inf.987. At this period, αὐλῆ might designate any grand court or hall, frequently the royal court or palace (LSJ s.v.IV, Soph.Lex.s.v., Arndt and Gingrich s.v.4; cf. Theoec.15.60 with Gow ad loc.; Nonn.D.3.125, 18.62, al.; Eustrat.V.Eutych.23, PG.86(2).2300C; etc.), but also the courtyard of a temple or church, where people gathered (cf. inf.591, 614, and see LSJ s.v.III, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.3, PGL s.v.1 and esp. Du Cange Glossarium s.v.), and the courts of heaven, pagan or Christian (LSJ s.v.III, PGL s.v.3; cf. GVI 1325.4, 2nd or 3rd cent., Procl.Hymn.1.32, 2.6; Nonn.D.13.22, Par.3.17, 14.8; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.83.2 with LXX Ps.83(84).3). Paul's use of the vague plural here, as opposed to the singular of 591 and 987, anticipates the analogy which follows in 348, ὀδοφάνας δὲ, κτλ. The epithet (cf. θεοπέσιος 334, al.sup., θεοκέλος 329, al.sup., also θεουός 342, al.sup.) has here lost its proper sense ("filled with the words of god", "inspired", of a song or singer, Od.1.328, 17.385, al., see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Nonn.Par.1.87 θῆμι, 5.54 φωνα, 13.81 and inf.702, both θωθόνη, al.), and is used in the general sense of "awful", "divine", cf. h.Ven 208 ἀκλα; Nonn.D.10.278 μορφα (of the boy Ampelus), 25.452 ποιήν, 36.82 χάμη, al., Par.1.210 διπα, 1.93 θυά.

348. δῆμος ἀπας: A variant of λοις ἀπας 339 sup.
Επέβωσε χαρίσιον: Conj. Wilamowitz; ἐσέβωσε ms., γρ. ἐσέβδομεν marg.; ἐβόσην Graefe; ἐσέβησε Ludwig. The rare χαρίσιον ("of thanksgiving", see 341n.sup.) here goes closely with the verb, cf. ἱκέσιον 314 sup. with n. ad loc. The ms. ἐσέβωσε (accepted by Du Cange and Bekker) looks like an aorist active of ἔσβω, but the active verb σέβω is elsewhere used only in the present and imperfect, see LSJ s.v. σέβομαι II, and does not occur elsewhere in late poetry. Of the conjectures, that of Wilamowitz is by far the best: the marginal ἐσέβδομεν is unmetrical and merely suggests a desirable sense, while Graefe's ἐβόσης bears little relation to the ms. reading. Ludwig's proposed ἐσέβησε (op.cit.p.5f) is based on the mistaken assumption that χαρίσιον and the verb here must be equivalent to χαρίσιον ἄρα κομίζων in 341 sup., and is in any case unlikely since the rare causal aorist of εἴσβαίω is used elsewhere of putting something on board ship (II.1.310, A.R.2.167) or introducing someone to something (E.Alc.1055, Ba.466), see LSJ s.v.II. Wilamowitz's ἐπέβωσε, on the other hand, is close to the ms. reading and gives good sense, "cried out/sang (to God) in thanksgiving" (see LSJ s.v. ἐπιβοῶ I.1, 2; also ib.4 for the sense "applaud" in Koine Greek, where ἐπιβόμενος is used in the sense "acclamation", see Soph.Lex.s.v. ἐπιβόμενος and cf. PGL s.v. ἐπιβοῶ A.4). The verb is not, however, common in late poetry, A.P.9.334.1 (Perses) act.; Theoc.12.35 middle, with Gow ad loc. on contracted forms in -βω-. (Gow observed that the aorist ἔβω- of the simple verb occurs from Homer onwards). The idea that βῶ or compound is required is supported by Greg.Naz.Carm.2.2.4.205 (PG.37.1521) χαρίσιον ἄνυν άείω, and also by the chronographers' reference (locc.citt. in n.sup. on 315-53) to the singing of the psalm ἔκπαι πῦλας (LXX Ps.23(24).7, 9): Paul has mentioned the singing of hymns during the procession (342), but ἔκπαι πῦλας would be particularly appropriate for the arrival ἐν Θεοπίδας σόλας, and it is these words which Paul presently recalls (350f) as an introduction to his ekphrasis of the church interior. These considerations make it virtually certain that Wilamowitz's conjecture is correct.
348f. οὐρανίας δὲ, κτλ.: The analogy between the church and the heavens is by now familiar, cf. 286-8 sup., and esp. 173f sup. with nn. ad loco., noting Phot.Hom.10.5 for the same idea developed at greater length. For οὐρανίας ἀντιγα, cf. 338 and see 187n.sup., and for the epithet ἀξραντος in Christian and pagan usage, see 196n.sup.

349. ἐόδησεν... ἵχνια θέσθαι: "they thought that they planted their steps". For the personal construction of δοκέω with infinitive in late poetry, cf. A.R.4.1479f ὅς ἐδεύ τε νέῳ ἐπὶ ἤματι μῆνην/ ἴδεν, ἡ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλίουσαν ἵδεσθαι, Nonn.D.16.257 διδόμην ἐδόκησεν ἵδειν... λίμνην, 45.165 γαῖαν ἵδειν ἐδόκησαν, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. δοκέω III, A.P.5.300.3 (Paul Sil.) ὁ πρὶν ὑπερβοσάτη δοκέων τὴν παῖδα χαλέπτειν, and see LSJ s.v. δοκέω I.1 fin., K-G.II.5, sec.473.b1. For the expression ἵχνια θέσθαι (a variation of ἵχνος ἐπεστηρίζετο 276 sup., ἵχνος ἐρείπετο 296 sup., see nn. ad loco.), cf. E.IT 752 ἵχνος θείαν πόδας, id.Or.140 (lyr.) λεπτού ἵχνος... τίθετε, ib.234 χρόνιον ἵχνος θείσ, id.Phoen.1718 (lyr.) πόθι γεραιῶν ἵχνος πίθημι; A.P.7.464.2 (Antip.) θείεσθαι ἵχνος ἐπ' αἰώνι, Nonn.D.4.334 ποδῶν ἵχνος ἐθηκε Ταναγραίῳ κενευτεῖ, 42.72 χώσου, ἐπὶ ποδα θήκε, etc.; for ἵχνιον in a similar expression, cf. Nonn.D. 37.388 ἵχνιον ἁρματει πήξιος, A.P.6.70.6 (Mac.Cons.) ἵχνιον ἀροσαμήν.

350-53. The arrival of the λίθος at the doors of S.Sophia is the starting-point for Paul's ekphrasis of the church interior. The people's Psalm ὑπατε πόλας (cf. Theoph., cit.sup. in n. on 315-53 and see 348n.sup.) is transformed into a command by the poet that the doors be opened for the beginning of his description (cf. 313 sup. ὑμεῖν ἐν τεμένεσι). The ekphrasis is thus presented as a word-picture of the prospect which greeted those entering the new church for the first time, in literal accordance with the rhetoricians' precept that an ekphrasis should bring its subject clearly before the eyes of the audience, see n.sup. on opening title and lemma. These lines have the same introductory function and the same excited tone as 313f sup., and the request that the priests pray for God's assistance for Paul's poem is reiterated (352); here, however, the Callimachean model (see n.sup. on 311-14)
is evoked more specifically with a reminiscence (350f) of Call. Ap. 6f. αὕτω οὖν κατοχής ἀνακλίνασθε πυλάων, αὕτω δὲ κλήσας.

350f. οὖξατε μοι, κτλ.: For the symbolism of the opening of the door, as at Call. Ap. loc. cit., see n. sup. on 320f. For the use of anaphora (οὖξατε) as a means of auxesis, cf. 152, 185, 326ff sup., with nn. ad locc., noting esp. the similar vocative μῦσται at A.P.9.147.1 (Antag.) ὅτε δήμητρας πρὸς ἀνάκτορον, ὅτε, μῦσται, and also Callimachus' use of anaphora for the same effect at Ap.1f, 6f, 17f. Here μοι is probably not ethic dative as it is at 152 sup., but dative of interest (like παῖσιν 323 sup., see n. ad locc.), parallel to ἴμετέρωσι...μῦθοις in 351, of II.6.298 τῆς θύρας ἔδει, 24.457 ἐξε γέροντι. Like Callimachus (Ap.7), Paul uses the Homeric κλήσα, of a bar or bolt, II.14.168, Od.21.241, al., see LSJ s.v. κλεῖς. The word is singular in this sense in Homer, as in Paul, but more commonly plural in late poetry, cf. A.R.3.822 (pl.), Opp. H.2.171 (pl.), Nonn. D.35.240 (sing.), 44.21 (pl.), Coll.252, 391, al. (all pl.), Tryph.539 (pl.), A.P.5.217.5 (Paul Sil.; pl.); also metaph. (cf. LSJ s.v. κλεῖς I.4), A.P.7.738.1 (Theodorid.), D.P.1036, Orph. Hymn 18.4, 25.1, al. (all pl.), Procl. Hymn 1.3 (sing.). On Paul's use of μῦσται, see 313n.sup.; here too it is unnecessary to seek a precise identification for the μῦσται, although Paul appears to be addressing a band of clergy already inside the church, ready to unbar the door, rather than the priestly participants in the παννυχίς or λιτή described 330ff. For θεουσίς, "holy" or perhaps "reverent", see nn. sup. on 168 and 342.

351. ἀνάκτορον θέσκελα: Cf. inf.427. The noun ἀνάκτορον (sing. inf.615, 884, also of S. Sophia) occurs first in Hdt. (9.65 of the shrine of Demeter at Eleusis, as at A.P.9.147.1; Gow-Page, Hellenistic Epigrams II.31, suggested that the term was official in that connection); in tragedy it is used of a temple or shrine (see LSJ s.v.); then in Alexandrian poetry, Call. Ap.77, A.P.9.147.1 (q.v.), A.P.6.128.1 (Mnasalc.), ib.132.3 (Nossis), 277.3 (Damag.); also Epigr. Gr.950.2 (aet. Hadrian.), Them. Or. 4 (I.75.14 Downey)

ημετέροισιν...μοῦθοι: Dative of interest, see n. on μοῦθοι 350 sup. As at 177, 185 sup., Paul uses μοῦθοι (cf. ἐπέεσσοι 352) as a dat.rei denoting his poem, where a dat.pers. would be the normal construction. The ms. has ημετέροισιν, but the sense requires ημετέροισιν. This correction was made by Du Cange in his text as well as translation: Graefe and Fr. are wrong to note (ad loc.) that Du Cange retained ημετέροισιν in the text, while translating ημετέροισιν.

352. εὐχωλην ἐπεεσσοι κοµίσσατε: Cf. Orph.Arg.800f εὐθέα περ αἰεὶ/εὐχωλῆς βείθροιοι καὶ τερά κολά κόμιτε. The verb is used of bringing an offering, here a prayer, cf. 341 sup. and exx. cit. ad loc. The dative ἐπεεσσοι, parallel to Χριστῷ βασιλείᾳ 341 and βείθροιοι Orph.Arg.loc.cit., denotes the indirect object after κοµίσσω; but here, as in the parallel cases, there is also an idea of advantage, "for (the benefit of)". For εὐχωλῆ (Epic and Ionic form of ἐὐκή, "prayer", "vow"), cf. II.1.93, Od.13.357, al., see LSJ s.v.1.1, adding A.P.6.137.2 (Anacor.); A.R.1.425, 4.713, al.; Epigr.Gr.753.2, 754.2, al.; Orph.Hymn 86.11, 87.11; Orph.Lith.176; GVI 1927.3 (1st/2nd cent.); Nonn.D.33.85.

352f. καὶ γὰρ ἄναγκη, κτλ.: "For as we touch the starting-rope we must direct our eyes towards you". The prayer of the μύσται to God replaces the pagan invocation of the Muse, see 313n.sup. Fr. follows Graefe in retaining the ms. ἀπομένουσα (sc.:μειάζ); Du Cange and Bekker wrote ἀπομένουσα. The latter has the advantage of avoiding ambiguity, since ἀπομένουσα might agree with μένας, while the construction of ἄναγκη (ἐστι) with dative and infinitive is classical, see the exx. collected by LSJ s.v.1 and cf. K-G.II.13f, sec.473.5. But late poets also construct ἄναγκη (ἐστι) with
accusative and infinitive, cf. Opp.H.3.31ff ὅτι γὰρ ἀνάγκη/πολλάκι 
μὲν κρατεροῦσιν ἄνελκομένοισι μάχεσθαι/ιχθύσιν; Nonn.Par.3.150ff ἐμὲ δὲ βροτῶν ἔστιν ἀνάγκη/Ṛṣṇανα μέτρα φέρειν; A.P.11.376.9ff (Agath.) ἢ σοι ἢ τῷ ἐλάντι τεῦχος, θεράπατοι ἀνάγκη/δουλεύειν κείνους. 
Since the application of ἀποτομεύουσις is clear from the context, from its position after ἀνάγκη and from the regular third foot feminine caesura after βαλβίδος (Maas Greek Metre sec.90; see further 928n. inf.), it is unnecessary to emend the transmitted text.

The βαλβίδος marked the starting-point (and also the finishing-point) of a race. Ancient evidence suggests that it varied
(probably partly according to the type of race) between a rope or stick held before the competitors, a line marked on the ground and a low barrier, see Neil on Ar.Eq.1159-60 and RE s.v. (II. col.2819). The term is used metaphorically in classical drama, see LSJ s.v.I, II. So too in later poetry, Opp.Σ.1.513 εἴσοδε τέρμα πόλοιο καὶ 
 eius βαλβίδα περὶ ὁμίλοις; Nonn.D.2.173ff ἀξονίστα κτύπου ἡξιάδ/ἐκ Κρονῆς 
βαλβίδος ἐξέχυντο νόσσα σελήνης, 19.153f ἡμετέρη γὰρ νόσσα χορός. 
βαλβίδες ἐπικοινωνίας τάρατών, al., Par.2.98 εἰς δολιχῆν βαλβίδα 
παλινδόμιτον ὑφάσμα. (of Solomon building the temple), 3.40 
tικτομεύων ἐτέρην βαλβίδα γενέθλιον (of re-birth in Christ); A.P. 
4.3B.39 (Agath.) ὑπὲρ βαλβίδα θαιάζοντας, ib.75 τριτάτην 
βαλβίδα νεύνιδος...βίβλου (describing the topics of the books of his Cycle of 
14 (22.5f de Boor) προάγει δῆτα, ὡς παί, καὶ βαλβίδα τινὰ τῇ ὕπερ 
τοὺς φιλοκρόμοσιν ὁμπερ ἐντίθει προοίμιον (Philosophy addressing 
History); see also PGL.s.v. For ὤμαι ταυτόσχοι, cf. 286 sup. with 
n. ad loc.
921-77. Concluding panegyric of J. and transition to panegyrical address to the patriarch. May you survive, J., for many years, relieving east and west of cares (921-23). You have subdued the seas and rivers by the building of harbours and bridges, witness the Sangarius bridge (924-33). These things will extend your years; they make you master of the entire world; they cause usurpers to destroy themselves before you act against them (934-41). If an enemy does come before you, you mercifully release his bonds and elevate him to office, and so win loyalty by love rather than by force (941-58). Hence Christ is the constant companion of your toils and guide of your counsels, in war and in your choice of a virtuous patriarch, appointed by the will of heaven (959-66). Let us digress a little from your victories to the patriarch; that hymn is also yours, for Victory has crowned you both for military successes and for toils on behalf of the city, and by your election of this patriarch, you at once routed all evil and won a peaceful victory for civil labours (967-77).

This concluding panegyric of J. balances the first iambic prologue (1-80), as the panegyric of Eutychius (978-1029) balances the second iambic prologue (81-134), spoken in Eutychius' presence (see lemma after line 80). The central section of this panegyric of J. (934-66) reiterates, in a different order, the major themes of the first iambic prologue, see n.inf. on 934-66, while the transition to the theme of the patriarch (967-77) contains reminiscences of the opening panegyrical hexameters (135-67) see n.inf. on 967-77. But the opening lines (921-33) introduce new themes, which help to link this epilogue with the concluding lines of the ekphrasis proper, where the lights of S.Sophia are described as a beacon guiding sailors approaching Cpl. from east and west (906-20).
921-33. A prayer for the emperor's longevity and for his line is recommended by Menander Rhetor (Spengel III.377.28-30) as an appropriate conclusion to the βασιλικὸς λόγος, arising from the general sentiment of the epilogue that the security and prosperity of the empire under this emperor is such that the only prayers necessary are those requesting his preservation (377.10-22). For such prayers, see (for example) Liban.Or.13.53 (II.82.4ff Foerster), Them.Or.11. (I.229.28ff Downey), Claud.IV Cons.641f (prayer for repeated consulships of emperor), Proc.Gaz.Pan.30 (515.20f Bonn), simil.Prisc.Pan.309f; cf. also T.D.Barnes in AJP 96 (1975) 444 on the different emphasis of the Christian Eusebius at Laud.Const.10 (223.13-22 Heikel). So of J., Epigr.Gr.1064.8f ἀλλ'ενί πάσιν/κοιναίνον βασιλής ὁκοιμήτοιο φυλάξοι (an appeal to the martyr Sergius; there follow complimentary remarks about Theodora).

Paul exemplifies the security and unity of the empire by reference to J.'s building of harbours (recalling the mention of sailors (906ff sup.) and bridges, notably the recently-built Sangarius bridge, see further n.inf. on 930-33. It is implied that these complete J.'s world-empire by extending his control over water as well as land, an idea common in panegyrical, e.g. A.P.9. 526.3f (Alph.Myt.) ἄρτον γὰρ καὶ πόντος ὑπέζευγται δορὶ ἐνώς/καὶ χῶς Them.Or.19 (I.330.13f Downey) τὸν πάσης σχεδὸν βασιλεύσατος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης (Theodosius I); Claud. III Cons.189f unanimi fratres, quorum mare terraque fatis/debetur (of Honorius and Arcadius); Diosc.1 verso 15 (I.129 Heitsch) ἢν[α]ς χεῖρος ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης (of Justin II). The idea is taken up by Procopius (Aed.4.2.11f) in describing J.'s subjugation of the sea by building a sea-wall at Thermopylae, and by Agathias, who, in a close parallel to our passage, celebrates the Sangarius bridge as the culmination of J.'s achievement after his conquest of the nations of the world (A.P. 9.641; for linguistic similarities, see nn.inf. on 930, 932). Praise of engineering achievements begins in classical Roman authors, see H.V.Canter in CJ 34 (1938-9) 406 (on aqueducts) and in general Z.Pavlovskis Man in an artificial landscape (Mnemosyne Suppl.25, Brill 1973) on imperial literature, esp.20f on a road, 43 a harbour.
For specific references to harbours and bridges elsewhere in panegyric, see (for example) Sid.Pan.Anth.62; Them.Or.11 (I.226.15ff Downey); A.P.9.788.7ff (Anon., hymn to Tyche); Prisc.Pan.184-92; Proc.Gaz.Pan.19 (509.1ff); also Aristid.Or.26.100ff (II.121.2ff Keil) of bridges and roads across mountains (linked with the theme of freedom of travel throughout the Roman empire, see further below).

The security of the seas is also a topic included by Menander Rhetor in the survey of the benefits of the present rule recommended for the epilogue of the βασιλικὸς λόγος, 377.13f πλείται η θάλασσα ἀκινδύνως, repeated almost verbatim by Proc.Gaz.Pan.28 (515.4). At Liban.Or.59.171f (IV.294.23ff Foerster) and A.P.4.3B.28ff (Agath.), this topic leads into the more general theme of the complete freedom of travel throughout the world-empire, a theme perhaps hinted at by Paul in his reference to the traveller (929). But the theme of the swollen torrent preventing travel occurs also at A.P.9.277.2 (Antiphil.), cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.7.30-35 (PG.37.441) for a simile of a traveller crossing a dangerous river, whose heart fails him in midstream; moreover, danger to the traveller in crossing rivers is regularly mentioned by Procopius in the Aed. in connection with bridges built by J. (e.g.4.8.16f bridge at Rhegium; 5.2.8, 13 two bridges at Helenopolis; 5.3.6 bridge at Nicaea; 5.3.9 Sangarius bridge; 5.4.2 bridge at Juliopolis; 5.5.6f Mopsuestia; 5.5.12 Adana; cf. also ib.5.1.3; other references to J.'s bridges at Aed.2.10.8 Antioch and 5.5.20 Tarsus). Of J.'s construction of harbours, the Aed. says virtually nothing - only one or two in the environs of Cpl. are mentioned, 1.8.7-9, 1.11.18-22, cf. also 1.5.2. This suggests that Paul's reference may owe more to the traditions of panegyric than to J.'s actual achievements in this field.

921. μήνυε μοι, κτλ.: The line-opening is Nonnian, D.11.75, 21.51; similar half-line 238 sup. For the construction with ἐπι and a temporal accusative, cf. Nonn.D.47.716 οὔτε μὲν οὔτε δέ μήνυεν ἐπι χρόνον, also 23.11ff; II.2.299 μείνατ' ἐπι χρόνον; contrast Od.15.545 πολυν χρόνον ἐνθάδε μήνυοις. For μένω in similar context,
polychronious εἰπὶ κύκλους: Menander Rhetor (377.29; see n.sup. on 921-33 init.) uses the expression εἰς μήκιστον χρόνον προελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν. For polychronious ("long-lasting" or "long-lived"), cf. Call.Lav.Pall.128 βίότω τέρμα πολυχρόνων, id.Dian.132, Del.282 (superlative); Nonn.D.32.213 μηκεσσαθεύν βίοτοιο πολυχρόνιοι πορεῖναι, 41.322 πόθου; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.246 vifetoi; A.P.5.255.14 (Paul Sil.) polychroniws πλέγματι συμφωνά, of vine stems, and see LSJ s.v.II and PGL s.v. for exx. from prose. Paul's choice of this epithet here reflects the association of this and cognate terms with the expression εἰς χρονοὺς πολλοὺς et simil., used in public acclamation of the emperor, patriarch and other dignitaries, see Du Cange Glossarium s.v. polychroniou, polychronizeiv, Soph.Lex.s.v. polychronēow 2, polychrontēw 2, polychroniow, Stephanus s.v. polychronēw. The word κύκλος is used by classical writers to denote the orbit of the heavenly bodies and hence the revolution or cycle of time, see LSJ s.v.III.1 and cf. also D.P.720, Opp.H.4.333f, Nonn.D.25.307, 41.410, al., all plural, referring to the cycles of the moon; Nonn.D.26.297, 32.215, al. κύκλα...ἐνιαυτὰ; and, for Paul's use without indicating a specific period of time, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.248 ἀπερείπων ἀπὸ κύκλων, A.P.7.575.5f (Leont.) μυρία κύκλα/ζώεται. For similar usage in late prose writers, in particular of an indiction cycle of fifteen years, see PGL s.v.4a, Du Cange Glossarium s.v.

922. ἐς φῶς ἐσπερίδον τε καὶ ὑθρίον : "as the light of both west and east", "to bring light...". The use of φῶς as a metaphor for happiness, salvation et simil. is common from Homer onwards, see LSJ s.v.II and cf.A.P.9.788.1 (Anon.), Nonn.D.19.23, 25, Par. 1.10. 17.20, al.; so often in Christian contexts, see LSJ s.v.IIb, PGL s.v φῶς II and cf. n.sup. on 169f. Moreover, light imagery is by the 6th cent. well-established in imperial panegyric, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.1.149 τὸ decus imperii lumen virtusque Latini (of Justin II) ib.2.171 Iustinum Sophiamque pares duo lumina mundi and see Cameron ad locc. for discussion of this topos in Latin
panegyric (going back to Hor.Carm.4.5.5), noting A.Grabar L'empereur
dans l'art byzantin (Paris 1936) 102-6 on the association of such
imagery with the iconography of the Pantocrator. Here Paul’s
metaphor picks up the theme of the final section of the ekphrasis
proper (806ff), that of the φαεα (e.g.885) of S.Sophia, cf. n.sup.
on 921-77 (fin.). On Paul's use of the forms φαος and φως, see
n.sup on φως 323.

Fr. (p.115) noted that here and at 370 sup., Paul uses ἐς where
a simple accusative would be regular in earlier Greek. Paul’s
use of the preposition here is modelled on the wide incidence of ἐς
in Nonnus D. "zur Bezeichnung einer Bewegung in Richtung auf eine
Tätigkeit, einen Vorgang oder einen Zustand hin; oft finaler
Bedeutung sich nährend oder ihr gleichkommend (zur Angabe des
beabsichtigten bzw. gewünschten Ziels oder Zwecks)", Peek Lex.
s.v.II; e.g. D.30.233f καί οἱ δριστεύμενει σελάφωρον ἑπαγωγαλήν/
ἐς φόδων ἀντιβίοις, simil.34.144, al. In our line, the verb
μένενε does not suggest any kind of movement (rather the opposite),
but the phrase ἐς φαος does have final overtones.

For the local use of ἐσπερίως, see LSJ s.v.II, adding A.R.3.
311, 1192; A.P.6.161.1 (Crinag.); D.P.30, 58, al.; Opp.H.1.793,
Anastasii); cf. ἐσπερίη, A.P.4.3B.7, 9.641.1 (both Agath.); PGL
s.v. ἐσπερίως, ἐσπερία 1, and 136n.sup. on local ἐσπερίως. But
ὁσπερίως and cognate terms are not normally used to denote place.
(For the adjective in a temporal sense, see LSJ s.v., adding Theoc.
7.123, Orph. Arg.758, 1247; Opp.C.3.305; Nonn.D.5.77, 27.7, al.;
Jo.Gaz.Descri.1.59, 315, 331; A.P.9.396.1, Paul Sil.). The word
is so used here for the sake of variety in a context where the
sense is immediately made clear, like the similar use of αἰγαλὴ
in the sense of ἡμῶς at 338 sup.

922f. ἐς σὲ...ἀμμακείν...οἱ δὲ μερίμνας: "upon you know how
to rest their cares". With the emphatic opening ἐς σὲ, cf. ἐς
ἐμὲ 232 sup. For ἀμμακείν followed by ἐς (but with the preposition
in a different sense), cf. Opp.H.5.52f (τὸσον ἔδαρ) ὧσον ἀποτοῦν/
ἐς κόρον ἀμμακείναλ κείνων γένου, tanta...esca...quaererelem ad
satietatem componat ipsorum maxillam (Lehrs). At A.P.4.3B.38
Agathias writes Ἰχνιον ἀμμακέεσται ἐπὶ ἑκάτεροι σιν ἱφήρων and a
similar construction with ἐπὶ or ἐν and dative, or perhaps ἐπὶ
and accusative, might be expected in our line. For the latter (with ἀναποδα middle), cf. LXX Is.11.2 ἀναποδαεται ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ πεῦχα τοῦ
Θεοῦ, simil. NT 1Ep.Petr.4.14, see LSJ s.v. ἀναποδα II.3; the
middle of ἀναποδα is used with a simple dat.loci at A.P.9.788.7
(Anon.) νηπή λιμένεσσι σαρτεροὶ ἀμμακόνται. Nonnus, however,
frequently uses ἐἰς instead of ἐπὶ (see Peek Lex.s.v. ἐἰς I.2c)
and instead of ἐν (ibid.g), and also as a substitute for a
"genuine" dative (ibid.f; cf. A.P.4.3B.57, Agath., in a line-end
similar to ours, see 924n.inf.). Such replacement of the dative
is characteristic of later Greek, see Keydell I.64 with references
ad loc., and cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf p.150, sec. 207.2, p.169
(ἐἰς instead of ἐπὶ); sec.205, p.167 (ἐἰς instead of ἐν); sec.
207.1, p.167 (ἐῖς for simple dative). Active ἀμμακέω, constructed
with following accusative only, is not uncommon in this sense
("rest", or "make to halt", "put an end to"), see LSJ s.v.I.2,
171.1 (Mnasalc.), 9.313.4 (Anyte), 9.338.2 (Theoc.), 12.226.2
(Strato) ὑμὸν, 16.90.4 (Anon.) ὄντω ἡρων; Opp.H.1.1629; Orph.
Arg.1285; see also PGL s.v.A.2. Nonnus uses the verb only in the
middle and intransitively (D.47.287, cf. 48.259, al., Par.4.21),
but for Paul's connection of it with μερίνως, cf. D.17.74 = 47.
132 ἀμμακμα μερίνως (both of wine); simil.A.P.9.649.7
(Mac.Cons.) τῶν ἀμμακμα (with J.A.Madden in Mnemosyne Ser.4,
30, 1977, 155f, on the Biblical associations of the expression).
For οἶξος with infinitive in this sense (LSJ s.v. ἐefdων B.2) in
later poetry, cf. Opp.H.5.103f, Opp.N.D.4.300, 16.236f, al.,
A.P.5.293.5, 6.65.1, 9.664.3f (all Paul Sil.).

ʔγος/...και ἔσπερος: Of place, as often, see LSJ s.v. ἔγος I.4,
adding D.P.243, 332, al., Nonn.D.2.531, 26.293, al., A.P.5.301.3
(Paul Sil.), sup.13; for ἔσπερος, see n.sup. on 136. For the
plural subject with singular verb, cf. sup.2, 339-43 with 340n.
The unmetrical ms. reading ἔσπερος was corrected by Du Cange.
924. σοὶ λιμένες, κτλ.: On the panegyrical purpose of the reference to harbours, see n.sup. on 921-33. The first of the two treatises περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν ascribed to Menander Rhetor (Spengel III.331-67)* has a brief section dealing with the praise of harbours (351.20-352.5). Relevant to our line are the aspects suggested for praise at 352.1ff, λιμένας δὲ ἐπισκεπτεῖς ή δὲ ὁκλύστως, ή δὲ νυνίσμι ή δὲ ἐπισκεπτεῖς,...κτλ. Cf. also A.P.16.64.3 (Anon.) ὄφος καὶ ἐν λιμένοις ἐν πεῖστει γαλήνην, on a statue of Justin I erected at the Portus Juliani (so Beckby ad loc.; this poem is discussed by Alan Cameron in GRBS 17, 1976, 278ff); the emperor is there imagined as transmitting his personal γαλήνη or serenitas (cf. inf. 944 with n. ad loc., 951; also 986, 1006) to the harbour over which his statue watches.

For γαλακτίων and γαλήνην in eadem sede, cf. 294 sup. with n. ad loc. on γαλακτίων, and cf. also n.sup. on 182-84 on γαλήνη-imagery in general. The dative σοὶ (thrown forward for emphasis like εἰς σὲ sup. and here made doubly emphatic by asyndeton) should probably be classified as a dative of interest (K-G.I.417ff, sec.423.17), but Fr. (ad loc.) rightly argued that it is chiefly intended to suggest the agency of the emperor in achieving this calm by building the harbours ("Aber vor allem liegt dies darin, dass der Kaiser die Ursache ist, weil er die Häfen erbaut hat"). With Paul's use of emphatic second person pronouns here and in 922, cf. A.P.4.38.57f (Agath.) σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν ἔξοδον ἐμφάνισαν ἐἰς σὲ ὑδαίνῳ ἐπίσκεψα, referring to Theodorus, to whom Agathias dedicated his Cycle of poetry. The verb ἀποκρίνω ("set apart"; here perhaps "keep apart", "preserve") is not common in poetry, occurring once only in Homer (Il.5.12, passive) and occasionally elsewhere in early poetry, see LSJ s.v.; rarely in later epic, A.R. 1.1351, Opp.C.2.51, passive; not in Nonnus.

925. πᾶσαν ἐς...πόλιν: The preposition ἐς is used instead of ἐν,

* See now the new edition of these treatises edited by D.A.Russell and N.G.Wilson (Oxford 1981), esp. Introduction p.xxxiv ff on their authorship and date.
an idiom characteristic of late Greek, and in particular of the vulgar language, cf. εἰς δὲ 922 sup., with references in n. ad loc., also LSJ s.v. εἰς I.2 fin. On the corresponding use of ἐν for εἰς, see 313n.sup.

ἀγχιάλοιο...χθόνος: "of the maritime earth", i.e. that part of the earth which is next to the sea. But ἀγχιάλοιο could be a transferred epithet, belonging properly to πόλιν, "in every coastal city of the world". The epithet is Homeric, used with the names of cities (Il.2.640, 697), then more generally, see LSJ s.v., adding GVI 1466.3 (mid-3rd cent.B.C.) Ἀχλαμίνος, ib.1745.6 (3rd cent.B.C.) Ἐμύρνης ἀγχιάλοιο...ἐπιαίδειαν; A.R.2.914 ὀκτῆς, 4.1475 Χαλύβων; Theoc.25.165 Ἑλίκης; D.P.880 ὧδρος, 912 Βύβλον, al.; A.P.5.17.1 (Gaetul.) Ἑνημίνος, ib.7.619.2 (Anon.) κόλποις; Opp.H.4.503 ἄγγιαλοῖο, al., Ὀ.1.56 πέτρας; Orph.Arg.462 θυμόλη; Nonn.D.13.397 Μύρμικα, 40.342 ἄροισας, al., Par.4.211 Καβαρκοκοῦμ (genitive); Tryph.38 νῆας; A.P.7.4.2 (Paul Sil.) σκοπέλα; inf. Amb 239 κολύνης. Also itself used as a place name, e.g. Proc.Aed. 3.7.18, al., Theoph.Sim.1.4.4, al.

925f. ἐκχυμένου δὲ/κύμα: "the wave outpouring". The sense is reinforced by enjambement. For the idea that harbours confine or oppose the sea (περιστέλλοντες here; see 926n.), compare Men. Ῥhet. 352.4f (λιμένας δὲ ἐπαυνέσεις) ἃς πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων πελαγῶν προκείμενος. For the expression, cf. 208 sup. ἐκχυμένη φλοξ with n. ad loc. on the use of ἐκχύω, and 1013 inf. (with n. ad loc.) where the adjective ἐκχυτός is used of wealth streaming forth like a river from the hand of the patriarch. Ludwig (op.cit.p.2f) rightly argued that these parallels in Paul indicate that Fr. is unjustified in questioning the text here and suggesting (in app.orit.) that ἐγκέφωμαι or ἐγκέφωμαι be read instead. Neither of these compounds occurs elsewhere in Paul or Nonnus. Fr. presumably felt that Paul ought to say that the harbours embrace the wave which is poured into them rather than poured out, but the ἐκ- of ἐκχύμενου need not signify that the wave streams out of the harbour, but merely that it streams forth (from the sea).
Ludwich further remarked (ibid.) that Fr.'s apparatus is incorrect in stating that the ms. reads ἐκχυμένου; in fact it has ἐκχύμενον, while ἐκχυμένου is the reading of Du Cange, who construed it as a genitive agreeing with Ἡρέος (927), effusi maris fluctus. There is, however, no reason to doubt the ms. reading: κῦμα is self-explanatory and does not need the genitive Ἡρέος, while the position of the latter at once makes it an unlikely partner for ἐκχυμένου and naturally associates it with 927.

926. περιστέλλουτες ὑπευκόλποισιν Ἁγοστοῦς: "wrapping about in fair-curved/ fair-bosomed embrace". For the metaphor, cf. Men. Rhet. 351.22f καὶ φήσεις ὡσπερ κόλπῳ δέχεσθι τοὺς καταπλέοντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἁγκάλας (of a harbour situated in the middle of a city), ib.30ff ἂν μὲν εἰς (sc. λιμνῇ) ὅτι ὡσπερ οὕμως εἰς κόλπος ἐστίν· ἐὰν δὲ πολλοί, ὅτι ὅποι φίλανθρωπός πολλὰς κείρος προτείνει τοῖς κατοίκουσι. The verb περιστέλλω is regularly used of wrapping a garment about the body (see LSJ s.v.I.1, adding Opp.C.1.100, A.P.11.354.11, Agath.), and so of laying out a corpse (this sense in Homer, Od.24.293, see LSJ s.v.I.2, adding Agath.Hist.2.31.6); but it occurs in various metaphorical senses from Pindar onwards (see LSJ s.v.III, PGL s.v., esp.1 "keep in" et simil.), although it is generally more common in prose than in poetry. But for its metaphorical use in late poetry, cf. Opp.C.1.405 οὔσα τα λεπτάλεοι περιστέλλονθ' ὑμένεσσι (of a dog), Nonn.22.57 φύλα περιστέλλας θητόρα κόκλον ὑποψής (of a spyhole), also ib.6.118 ("guiding"), and see Hesych.s.v. περιστέλλει. For the following ὑπὸ, cf. Men. Rhet. 351.23 (quoted sup.); the preposition emphasises the idea of protection or covering suggested by the verb, and is akin to the many instances of instrumental ὑπὸ in Paul and Nonnus, see 172n.sup. and cf. exx. inf.

The Homeric sense of Ἁγοστοῦς is "flat of the hand", "palm" (Ili.11.425, al.; cf. A.R.3.120), but Paul's sense "arm" (like ἁγκάλη, ἁγκῶν, cf. Hesych s.v.), occurs in Alexandrian poetry and also in a metaphorical sense in A.P.6.144.3 (attr. Anacreon and Simonides), see LSJ s.v.II, with Gow's note on Theoc.17.129; note esp. A.P.5.255.15 (Paul Sil.) ὑπ'ἀντιπόροισι τ' Ἁγοστοῦς (of
lovers' embrace) and add A.P.7.730.5 (Perses) ήδ' ματρὸς ἀγοράτῃ. Nonn.D.1.299, 37.33, 48.38 (all dative plural with epithet, as in our line, although no exx. with ἄλλος), al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.10.

The earliest instance of the epithet ἐὐκολοπός is in a context similar to Paul's, Archestr.fr.9.3 Brandt (preserved ap. Athen. 7.285b) καὶ λαβῇ πρόσφατον αὐτὸν (i.e. ἄφυήν) ἐν ἐὐκολοπίᾳ (Meineke; εὐκόλοποις A) Φαλήρου/Ἀγκώτου ληφθένθεν τ' ἐρεισί, cf. Coll.228 χθονὸς εὐκόλοποίσιν ἐπ' ἡδίνεσοι; elsewhere of goddesses, GVT 2020.6 (Corinth, 22nd /1st cent.B.C.), Nonn.D.5.592, both of Persephone, A.P.2.104 (Christod.) Κύπριδος; and of a fishing-net, A.P.6.28.3 (Jul.Aeg.).

927. Νηρέος, κτλ.: "they soothe the foaming threat of Nereus". The metaphor of the previous line is extended with the suggestion that the sea is coaxed to calm by the soothing embrace of the harbours. The compound ὑποσοσάιω (cf. σοίω, Od.10.217, al., "fawn", "wag the tail", of dogs, see LSJ s.v.) appears first in A.R., 3.396, 974, 4.410, all of addressing a person in a coaxing or soothing manner, cf. Nonn.D.3.228, 42.362; inf.1021f δωροῖ... ὑποσοσάιων. (For the doubling of the sigma in the epic form of the compound, Ardizzoni, on A.R.3.396, compares the Homeric compound ὑποσοσίω, Od.9.385; so also περίσοσάινονες, Od.10.215, περίσοσαίνον, Od.16.4). Also in late prose (with single sigma), both of animals and men, see LSJ s.v.ὑποσοσάιω, Soph.Lex.s.v., PGL s.v.1 (the sense in our line is not "revere" as stated PGL s.v.2), and cf. also Eustrat.V.Eutych.16 (PG.86(2).2292D) τὰ τοῦ βιοῦ τερπνὰ καὶ τὴν σιόθησιν ὑποσοσάινοντα; Theoph.Sim.2.6.8, 2.7.8, 3.14.5 (passive), all of men.

Paul's use of ὑμοκλή here may appear to be similar to the exx. distinguished by LSJ s.v.II of the abstract sense of this term in late epic, "onset", "attack"; in these cases ὑμοκλή is not used of the human voice, as in Homer, but metaphorically of wind, winter, heat, fire et simil., see 228n.sup. But in our line the appearance of the term in conjunction with the personification Νηρέος (i.e. "of the sea"), and with ὑποσοσάινον (elsewhere only in connection with humans or animals), suggests that Paul had in mind
the Homeric and Alexandrian use of ὅμοικα of animate beings, and
that he intended the sense "threat" or even "threatening cry" as
at 228 sup., rather than the abstract "onset". Cf. also 1023 inf.
for the adjective ὅμοικος, "rebuking". For Ἡρεύς used as a
The poetic verb ἀφρίω = ἀφρέω appears only in late authors, cf.
Opp.H.1.772, C.2.437 (both of the sea); present participle, Porph.
ap.Eus.PE 3.11 (p.1140) θάλασσος; also Opp.H.5.183 of a hooked
whale; Opp.C.1.343, Q.S.7.319, Nonn.D.37.303, all of a horse;
Q.S.6.221, 9.244, of a boar; Nonn.D.1.153 Ἡρεύς ἀφριώσα φάραγξ,
15.152 Ἡρεύς, ἀφριώσα...κύματι λύσσης, al.

928. καὶ ποταμῶν, κτλ.: "And the water of rivers, roaring
with its stream, has submitted". The dative ῥόη goes with βραχύωμενον
rather than with ὑπόειξε (cf. Du Cange, fluctibus suis mugientes):
with ὑπόειξε the dative would naturally mean "yielded to the
stream", which makes no sense in the context (the rivers have
submitted to bridges), while the feminine caesura (i.e. after
ὑπόειξε in our line) is the regular metrical break in Nonnus and
subsequent hexameter poetry, see Maas Greek Metre sec.90 (cf. sec.85);
Keydell I.35*, sec.1; J.Merian-Genast de Paulo Silentariario byzantino
(Diss., Leipzig 1889) 42f (who cites Hermann Orphica 696). Cf.
Nonn.D.5.336 κινητή βραχύωσα φωνή (Actaeon), al.simil., 18.243
βραχύωσα λευτερίωσι καθόμοις (some of the heads of Enyo), 38.357
Κυνή σειριάυντι λέων βραχύωσα λαυμα,'et simil. The association
of the verb with the noise of water occurs in Homer, of waves
Od.5.412, Π.17.264 (where a river flows into the sea, cf. Aristid.
Or.17(15).14), also Od.12.242, of rock re-echoing as Charybdis
sucks in water; elsewhere in the Π., the verb is used of the
death-cry of wounded men (13.393, 16.486), later more generally of
men and animals (cf. Hesych.s.v.βραχύωσαται ἄγι λέων ), see LSJ s.v.,
adding Opp. H.2.619 (wounded stag), C.4.161 (lion); Nonn.D.45.151
(lion), 45.347 (Pentheus), al.; Tryph.367 (Cassandra), Jo.Gaz.
Deser.2.332 (lion).

ὑπόειξε: Aorist in perfect sense. Nonnus has only this form
of the verb, although Homer admits forms from both ὑποίκω and ὑπείκω, see LSJ s.v. ὑπείκω. For its absolute use in the metaphorical sense "yield", "submit" (usually of people), cf. II.15.211, Nonn. D.14.197, Coll.67b, Epigr.Gr.1140.8 (aet. Justiniani) and esp. A.R.2.1266, of a river; also in Attic tragedy and prose, see LSJ s.v. ὑπείκω II. The ms. ὑποίκε was corrected by Du Cange.

929. μιαίνεται... ὄδιταις: ὄδιταις ms.; ὄδιταις Du Cange, Bekker; ὄδιταις Graefe, Fr. The variant in the ms. appears to be in the hand of the scribe J. Both the nominative and the dative present difficulties: if ὄδιταις is read as the subject of μιαίνεται, then ἀρπακτήρα δόλκον is the direct object and μιαίνεται is middle standing for active, "the traveller no longer sullies its robber current"; if dative ὄδιταις is read, it must be dative of the agent with ὕσωρ as subject of passive μιαίνεται and ἀρπακτήρα δόλκον as accusative of respect, "the water is no longer sullied as to its robber current by travellers". Although the nominative ὄδιταις may initially appear to be the less unsatisfactory choice, ὄδιταις, the lectio difficilior, is probably to be preferred. The construction of passive μιαίνω with dative and accusative of respect has poetic precedent, A.R.4.716 ὑθνεῖ χεῖρας μεμιαμενοί αἰματι χείρας, Nic.A1.252f κυιδή/χρότα μιαμεμον, Nonn.D.45.288 χείρας ἐὰς ἐμιήνατο λόθρῳ (surely parallel to A.R.loc.cit., rather than middle in active sense, as listed by Peek Lex.s.v. μιαίνω B. This is the only possible instance known to me of middle μιαίνεται standing for active); also Pl.Rep.10.621c, accusative of respect only. Paul's expression appears to be a bold extension of this usage, with ὄδιταις dative of agent on the analogy of the instrumental dative of the earlier examples. For dative of agent with passive verb, see Keydell I.58*, Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.72f, sec.94, K-G.I.422, sec.423.18c; contrast 194 sup. αἰματαίας... ὑπεύολυφνοισι μηγισαί. Nonnus D. several times uses μιαίνω in the context of the pollution of rivers, and hence of the sea, by corpses, cf. esp. 23.101 ὡςο, μὴ νεκρίζοσι Ποσειδώνις μήνης (addressed to the river Hydaspes), where the dative νεκρίζοσι lends support to the dative ὄδιταις in our line; also 22.382, 398, 24.20. For pollution of the sea or rivers by
corpses, cf. also Il.21.218ff, A.Pers.272ff, 419ff, al.; also Jul. Or.2.60B-C (76.18ff Hertlein) where an explicit analogy is made between the emperor Constantius' battle with the usurper Magnentius at the R.Drave and the battle at the Scamander described in Il.21. Paul varies this theme by saying that until now the water of rivers has been violated by living travellers (δύταις). This was perhaps suggested to him by the encomiastic topos of the danger to travellers in crossing rivers, used by Procopius in the Aed. in connection with J.'s bridge-building, see n.sup. on 921-33.

ἁρπακτήρα δλκὸν: "the robber current". The noun δλκὸς (LSJ s.v.II "furrow", "track", "trace"; from ἐλκῶ) is first used of water by A.R., 1.1167 ὀφρατὸς δλκοῦς, "the furrows of the swell"; cf. D.P. 432 f τοῦ διὰ μέσου (i.e. the Aetolian plain) οὐρείται δλκόν ἓκον Ἀκελλώτου ἄργυροδύνης, cf. ib.733 f, also 198 of the Syrtis, 55, 878, both of the sea; also A.P.16.323.9 (Mesomed.) of a stream of molten glass; then frequently in Nonnus D. in the sense "stream", "current" et simil. (cf. Peek Lex. s.v. "Von jeder zügigen Bewegung, besonders vom Ziehen oder Sog des Wassers (von Flüssen), . . ."); Hesychius glosses δλκός, inter alia, συμφός, e.g. D.12.129 f πηγαῖς ἄνεκοπη πολύσωτον δλκὸν ἑκοῖτας/ἐγγύονος, 27.151 f πολυπερέων ποταμῶν περιφρομένον δλκῇ/Καυκάσιον οἰκοπέλαιον Διπετῆς ἑρχεται σῶμα, cf. Par.21.52 Κύματος δλκῆ; also epigram on an aqueduct at Tralles, published by M.Pappaconstantinou in Rev.ēt.anc. 11 (1909) 296 ff, quoted and dated to the mid-fourth century by L.Robert in Hellenica 4 (1948) 112 f, line 3 f δσ (i.e.Νεότος) δυλχοῦς ἑργούντων κατ'υδέας ϑάτος δλκῶν/κείμενον ὑδάτους ὁποῦ τὸδ' ἥμλαίσας; Milet.1(9).343.10 (6th cent.) δλκοὶ καλλιρᾶ[ων] δράτας, of water in a public bath; and in late prose, see PGL s.v.3 ("channel", "stream") and cf. LSJ s.v.II.3 for its use in late prose of an aqueduct. As at Nonn.D.27.151 (quoted sup.), δλκὸν in our line suggests the torrential force of a river in flood: so Procopius (Aed.5.2.8, 5.3.6, 5.4.2) describes the combination of flooding river and inadequate bridge as fatal to the traveller; cf. also A.P.9.147 (Antag.), Epigr.Gr.1078.2 ff. At 597-601 sup. the term δλκὸν describes the streaming water of the fountain in
the centre of the courtyard of S. Sophia.

In ἀπρακτήρα, Paul uses the same metaphor as at 221 sup. ἡρμοσε Βασίλεια με (other exx. in n. ad loc.): the river seizes travellers like a predatory beast. (Procopius similarly describes the Sangarius as seizing, συλλαβοῦν, the boats which were used to bridge it, Aed. 5.3.9). The term ἀπρακτήρα is used substantively by Homer, Η. 24.262 ἄρνων ἣν ἐρίφων ἐπισῆμιοι ἀπρακτήρες (Priam speaking of the sons he has left alive after Hector's death); subsequently it appears in Alexandrian and later writers (usually in poetry), sometimes with a noun in apposition, as in Paul, Lyc. 147 λύκους, Opp. H. 1.373 κύνες (dogfish), ib. 425 ὁλικεῖτον, C. 3.267 ἄρνειον ἐρίφων τε πολυπλόκων ἀπρακτήρα (of the wolf); Jul. Or. 2.87A (111.16 Hertlein) metaph. of soldiers; Nonn. D. 6.92 γυμφίου ἀπρακτήρα; Περσεφονείς, Tryph. 164 δεύτερου ἀπρακτήρα γάμου; Jo. Gaz. Descr. 2.106 ἀπρακτήρι βελέμψει. On nouns formed with the suffix -τήρο, -τωρ, see n. sup. on ἀφετήρα 319. Callimachus has the form ἀπρακτής, A. P. 7.80.6 = Epigr. 2 Pf., of Hades (quoted in 221 n. sup., there also implying a comparison with a beast of prey).

930-33. J.'s conquest of seas and rivers is epitomised by his bridge over the R. Sangarius in Bithynia, about eighty miles east of Cpl. Described by Procopius (Aed. 5.3.8-11) amidst a series of J.'s bridges (and other works in connection with water supply, roads, etc.) in Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia (Aed. 5.2-5), this was in antiquity and has remained by far J.'s most celebrated bridge. It was a work of considerable importance, since it lay on the main route towards the east from Cpl., cf. C. Texier Description de l'Asie mineure (3 vols., Paris 1839) I. 55f (with plate 4). A large bridge, which may be J.'s, still stands, although the Sangarius no longer flows under it. The beginning of its construction is recorded by Theophanes A. M. 6052 (23A. 15ff de Boor), i.e. for the year 559-60. This date cannot, however, be firmly trusted: since Procopius (Aed. 5.3.10f) describes the bridge as currently in progress as he writes, Theophanes' reference was once used to date the composition of the Aed. (e.g. J. B. Bury HLRE II. 420, n. 2 fin.; G. Downey in TAPA 78, 1947, 181), but it is now
recognised that an *annus mundi* date in Theophanes is unreliable, since it could not have derived from Theophanes' probable source, Malalas, who uses an indiction system of dating; there are other reasons for dating the Aed. several years earlier, see (for example) B-E II.Excursus V, p.837, J.A.S. Evans Procopius (New York 1972) 43f.

Hence the bridge was probably begun well before 559, but its construction no doubt occupied a period of several years, and it would still have been a relatively recent achievement when Paul wrote in 562. Agathias also wrote an epigram in praise of the completed bridge, see n.sup. on 921-33. The bridge is singled out for mention (along with the church of the Theotokos at Pege, Cpl.) in a brief survey of J.'s building works in Leo Grammaticus (130.14ff Bonn), who refers to Procopius' account, and in the same context in Cedrenus (678.15ff Bonn). The twelfth century chronographer Zonaras includes it in a more detailed list (14.7.4-6, III.159.3ff Bonn, mentioning in addition the church of SS.Sergius and Bacchus and the church of the Holy Apostles) and preserves Agathias' epigram on it.

The bridge is also mentioned and the epigram preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Them.1, 27.8ff Bonn), who says that the epigram was inscribed ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πλακῶν, see Averil Cameron in Byzantion 37 (1967) 16. In the nineteenth century, the surviving bridge was admired by the French traveller Xavier Hommaire de Hell, Voyage en Turquie et en Perse (4. vols., Paris 1854) I.277ff.

930. τὸν πρὶν, κτλ.: Cf. Α.Π.9.641.5f (Agath.) ὁ πρὶν ἐξ ὀκαφέωσιν ἀνέβατος, ὁ πρὶν ἄτειρῆς/κεῖσα λαϊνὲς σφιγκτὸς ἀλκτοπέδη, of the Sangarius; Proc.Aed.5.3.8 (after stressing the strong current and great depth and width of the Sangarius) διαγέγονε μὴν τὰ γε εἰς γέφυραν ἀνέπαφος πᾶσιν, ξε ἐν γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι; also Polyb.21.37.4 Γνώσε ὁ ὑπατος Ρωμαίων διερχόμενος ἐγεφόρωσε τὸν Ἐσσαγάριον ποταμόν, τελέως κολού ὄντα καὶ δύσβατον (quoted in Suidas s.v. Ἐσσαγάριος). Procopius goes on to explain that before J. the river was crossed by a system of boats lashed together, like that by which Xerxes crossed the Hellespont. Theophanes and Cedrenus (locc.citt. in n.sup.) simply say that there was previously a wooden bridge. Certainly the river must have been crossed by some
means, and Procopius' account is more reliable than that of the later chronographers. The 6th cent. writers all agree that there was previously no permanent bridge; Agathias' ἀκαφέσσονι ἀνεβατος doubtless means "not navigable", but this expression is not incompatible with Procopius' bridge of boats.

tὸν πρὶν...ἀγνορέοντα: For this adverbial use of πρὶν with article and participle in late poetry, cf. A.P.9.19.1f (Arch.) ὁ πρὶν...λάμψας πλέον ἄλητὰς ὑπων, ὥ πρὶν ὑπαί μίτρας κάλα καθαψάμενος, ib.20.1ff (Anon.), 16.89.1 (Corn.Gall.) σὸντος ὁ πρὶν μοκάρεσσι συνεστας; Οpp.C.4.253f μέλλεν ἀνήμερος ὁ πρὶν ἐσοῦσα/ γαῖα φυτηκομέειν Nonn.Π.44.232 ὁ πρὶν ἀιν ταχυγουνος (Lycurgus), 48.873 ὁ πρὶν ἀλυσκάζουσα καὶ οὐνομα μοῦνον ἔρωσαν (Aura); A.P.2.24 (Christod.) (σαλμίς) ὁ πρὶν λήθνοις/πεθοῦσ...νοήμων πυρόν ἀνάφαγα, cf. ibid.97; A.P.5.234.1 (Paul Sil.) ὁ πρὶν .../... Ποτήριος θεσμον ἀπειτάμενος, cf. ibid.3, ib.300.3 (id.) ὁ πρὶν ὑπερβαίσθη δοκεών τὴν πάθα χαλέπτειν, and A.P.9.641.5f (quoted sup.), 9.787.1 (Sophr.) ὁ πρὶν ἀλωμένους καὶ ἀνέστιου ἵχνος ἔλαβον.

The verb ἀγνορέω (from the Homeric ἀγνορεία, "manliness", "arrogance", see LSJ s.v.) is first attested in a papyrus fragment of Euphorion, used transitively in the sense "treat arrogantly", PSI 1390.C.2.9 (p.53) ὁ[...] κεν ἀγνορέωσι τοκῆς. Subsequently it is used intransitively by Nonnus in the sense "be proud/arrogant" as in our line, e.g. Π.21.163ff ἢνα μὴ τὶς ἀγνορέων ἔροτος ἄνηρ/ἀλλος ἐχων μήμην δοριθρασεός ὄγοργου/μοῦν ἀναστήσειν ἁμωμήτῳ θιουργῷ, 37.338 εἰ μὲν ἀγνορεῖτις Πελοπηδῆς εὖνεκα τέχνης, αἰ., Par.3.169f ὡς ὃς κεν ἄνηρ/πατῆς θεοῦ χάλκους ἀγνορέων ἀπίθης; also Jo.Gaz.Desor.1.263 of Notus' steed; ps.Pampr.1 recto 26 (I.110 Heitsch).

ἀνικήτοις...δεέθροι: The verb ἀγνορείω is not elsewhere constructed with a dative, but its force here is causal: the river is proud because its streams are unconquered. Analogous is the dative τῶς at 161 sup., cf. also n. on 162f on the dative βελέμνοις. Keydell (I.59*) gives exx. of causal dative in Nonnus Π. (note esp. 1.285 for singular δεέθρῳ so used); see also K-G.I.438ff,
sec. 425.11, esp. p. 439 "Namentlich bei den Verben der Gemütsstimmungen", with exx. For the adjective ἄνικητος, first in Hesiod and early elegy, see LSJ s.v., adding Theoc. 22. 111 Πολυδεευκής; A.P. 6. 97. 3 (Antiphil.) βροχόνος (of Alexander); Ἐπιγρ. Gr. 949. 3 (? 2nd cent. A.D.) παῖδες (wrestlers); Ὀρφ. Ὑμν. 19. 9 βέλος (Zeus' thunderbolt), cf. 20. 4; Nonn. D. 36. 466 οἰόνια (of Morpheus), 37. 309 οἶνομᾶς... ἄνικητων... ὦ ὕππων, al., Par. 21. 131 ἱεράτου; Musae. 91 πυρὸς (of love), with other similar exx. collected by Kost ad loc.

931. Μυγὸνα Σαγγαρίων: The Sangarius is mentioned by Homer (Il. 3. 187, 16. 719) and Hesiod (Th. 344) and in later epic, A.R. 2. 722, D. P. 811, Orph. Arg. 716, Q. S. 7. 611, 11. 38, Nonn. D. 12. 130, 48. 327, al.; other ancient references collected in RE s.v. Sangarios (Lief. 13a/14a. col. 2269f), where variant forms of the name are listed, for example Proc. RG 3. 29. 12, Aed. 5. 3. 8, Σάγγαρις v.l. Σάγγαρις.

For the epithet Μυγὸνα, "Phrygian", cf. Nonn. D. 10. 232 Μυγὸνας αἰαληθῆς, 14. 14 Μυγὸνι... μυραθός, al., inf. Amb. 138 Μυγὸνος ἄκρος. This form is not used adjectivally before Nonnus, but Hellenistic and Roman poets use Μυγὸνιος, Mygdonius in this sense, e.g. Mosch. 2. 97f (with Bühler's note ad loc.), Hor. Carm. 2. 12. 22, 3. 16. 41, Ov. Her. 20. 108, al., Prop. 4. 6. 8, Val. Flacc. 3. 47, al.; other exx. from Latin poetry are collected by Pape-Benseler s.v. Mygōνιος I. 1; (Nonnus also has the form Μυγὸνιος, e.g. D. 25. 456, 28. 91 of the river Hermus, as well as a feminine form Mygōνίς, D. 1. 153, 43. 347, al.). At A.R. 2. 787 the variant Μυγὸνας recorded in the scholia has been accepted into the text by recent editors (Fränkel, Vian) in preference to the καὶ Φουνας of the codd. Cf. also Paus. 10. 27. 1 καὶ ἀπεταίμον (Mygdon) ποιηταίς Μυγδόνας ὀνομα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑφρείς τίθεσθαι καθέστηκεν. In Homer (Il. 3. 184ff) Mygdon and Otreus were kings of Phrygia to whom Priam went as an ally to fight the Amazons on the Sangarius. According to ps. Fluv. Fluv. 12. 1 (VII. 303. 4ff Bernardakis), the river was named after Sagaris, son of Mygdon, who threw himself into it after being driven mad by the Bona Dea because he scorned her rites and insulted her priests (Τάλλοι). (At A.P. 6. 94. 5, Phil. Thess., the οὐγαριζ is the two-edged sword used by the Τάλλοι for self-mutilation). Another son of Mygdon,
Coroebus, fell in love with Cassandra and fought and died at Troy, cf. V.Aen.2.341ff with Austin’s note, ib.407ff; also E.Rh.539, Q.S.13.169. See further RE s.v. Mygdon 2 (Bd.XVI.1.col.997ff).

Du Cange corrected the ms. ΜΥΓΔΩΝ to accusative; he, and subsequently Graefe and Bekker, accented ΜΥΓΔΩΝΑ, cf. A.R. and Paus. locc.citt. But national names in -ων are normally oxytone (Chandler Greek Accentuation sec.614), whence Fr. printed ΜΥΓΔΩΝΑ.

τής ίδιων: "whoever has seen". For this collocation in eadem sede, cf.A.R.2.605γ ὅ τι καὶ μόρσιμον ἤνεκ μακάρων, εντ'αυτού τής ίδιων δία νηὶ περάσας (with Vian’s n. ad loc. on the interpretation of ίδιων there); Opp.H.5.661γ τοῦ μέν τής ίδιων προφυγόντα θαλάσσης/ αὐτῷ γηθήσει καὶ οἰκτείρων οἰκάχοιτο (of those witnessing a sponge-fisher’s safe return to the surface); A.P.16.373.7 (Anon., on the charioteer Constantine) καὶ τής ίδιῶν μετόπισθε χερείους ἡνιοχήας; also inf. Amb.140 ίδιων δέ τις.

ΒΙΘΥΝΙΔΙ γαίη: Dative of place, cf. 197 sup. with n. ad loc., 202 sup. The adjective ΒΙΘΥΝΙΣ appears in Alexandrian poetry, cf. esp. A.R.2.177 γαίη ΒΙΘΥΝΙΔΙ (with the variants Θυνηίδι, ΒΙΘΥΝΙΔΙ), accusative ib.619; also ib.2.4 ΒΙΘΥΝΙΣ ΜΕΛΙΝ, 2.730 εἰς ἀλα...ΒΙΘΥΝΙΔΙ; A.P.6.229.1 (Ant.Thess.) ΒΙΘΥΝΙΣ Κυθέρη, ib.230.1 (Quint. ?Maecius) ΒΙΘΥΝΙΔΟΣ...ΧΩΡΑΣ, and in prose, see Pape-Benseler s.v.1. At A.P.9.808.5, Cyrus writes γαίης ΒΙΘΥΝΙΤΙΔΟΣ. Du Cange wrote ΒΙΘΥΝΙΤΙΔΙ in our line, but the Alexandrian precedents, in which the first two syllables of ΒΙΘΥΝΙΣ are long, make the ms. reading certain. The accumulation of proper names in this line creates a pedigree for the "proud" river.

932. νάτα λιθωτήτιοι, κτλ.: "his surface girt about with a stone-cut bridge/spanned by a bridge of dressed stone". For the construction of this line, with νάτα accusative of respect after διακωπθέντα and an instrumental dative, cf. A.P.9.641.3 (Agath.) Σωγγύριος, κρατερῆς δόξης ἄψισι πεδήθεις. For the compound διακώπνυμι, cf. inf. Amb.122 πάντοθεν ἄργυρος ἄργυρος πέπεθος μέταλλοις, of the roof of the chamber formed beneath the ambo; it occurs
elsewhere only in prose, particularly in writers of late literary Koine, often used metaphorically in geographical or topographical descriptions, see the exx. cited by LSJ s.v. II, adding Strabo 2.5.14 παρὰ τὸν Ταύρον ἱσόμεν τὸν διεσκότα τῇ Άσίᾳν, Philo Vit.Mos. 1.228 ποταμών καὶ πήγαίς διεξωμένη (sc. ὀρεινή χώρα). In the context of bridges, however, τεύων is the verb regularly used, see LSJ s.v. II.3, adding A.P. 9.708.1 (Phil.), Epigr.Gr.1078.12; also τεύμα, A.P. 9.147.4 (Antag.), with Gow-Page ad loc.

Paul writes νότα here in an extension of the usage discussed above 209n., by which it may be used of "any wide surface", most commonly sea, earth or sky, see LSJ s.v. II.1, and for its use of the sea, cf. also Opp.H.1.60, al., Nonn.D.6.221, al., Coll.204, Musae.313, 336, A.P.9.651.1 (Paul Sil.). In Coll. and Musae. (locc.citt.) it refers to the relatively narrow expanse of the Hellespont, perhaps the closest parallel for Paul's application of it to a river here. But in Nonn.D. νόταν/νότα is used very widely of any surface, often merely as a periphrasis, e.g. 1.235 νότα μοχαιρίς, 12.346 ν.χαράδρας ("pit"), 36.41 πετπωδα ν.χαλάζης, and many other exx., see Peek Lex.s.v. For νότα used in connection with γέφυρα et simil., as in our line, cf. Nonn.D.39.298ς καὶ πληθυ θεκρῶν/γείτωνος ἀπερχα νότα γεφυρωθέντα θαλάσσης, and contrast ib.22.175 λαϊνες μέσα νότα διεξόντα (sc. ποταμόν) γεφυρής. The latter is the only instance of the noun γέφυρα in Nonnus. The sense, like that of the verb γέφυρωσα in the preceding example, is "dam", rather than "bridge". This is the Homeric sense of both verb and noun (see LSJ s.vv.), and the noun is used by Nonnus in a passage modelled on II.5.85ff, where γέφυρα occurs (88, 89) in a simile in which the destructive rampage of a warrior is likened to a river in flood. In our line the noun of course means "bridge", but Paul uses the plural with singular sense, just as Homer uses γέφυρα only in the plural (and only in the II., see LSJ s.v.init.). Du Cange wrote the genitive singular λιθότημοτο γεφυράς, but the dative of the ms. is without doubt the superior reading.

The epithet λιθότημος does not occur elsewhere. Ludwig (op.cit.p.12) was doubtful about its sense in the context ("mit der
Uberlieferung einen passenden Sinn zu verbinden, ist mir nicht gelungen...") and proposed to read λιθοδόμητος, from λιθόδομητος "stone-built", which occurs at Α.Ρ. 9.570.4 (Phld.) λ. ...περισσίῳ and Π. Hib. II. 172.90 λιθοδόμητος. The latter is the Alexandrian onomasticon in which the rare epithet μελαγκρήμις is listed, see 261n.sup. This is not, however, sufficient basis to justify altering λιθόδομητος in our line. There is, on the contrary, no reason to doubt its authenticity: it means "stone-cut" and hence "of cut/dressed stone", and it is introduced to make clear that the wooden or pontoon bridge has been replaced by one of stone, cf. Proc. Aed. 4.8.17 νῦν δὲ οὕτως (the bridge at Rhegium) Ἰοουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς λίθος λογάδην ἐμβεβλημένοις ἐς ἀφίδος μετεωρίζους μέγα τι χρῆμα, which is contrasted with the former γεφύρος εὐλίπη (16).

Paul’s epithet is formed on the analogy of many similar compounds in -τοῖς, several of which occur only in late authors, e.g. ἐρίκτυμητος, Opp. C. 4. 106; φιλόδομητος, Nonn. Par. 14. 16 (where its sense, as an epithet of θυμός, is uncertain); ἀναπτυμητος, Hesych.; other exx. Buck-Petersen p. 484. At 607 and 647 sup., Paul has the compound πολύτυμητος (earlier at Α.Ρ. 11. 66. 1, Antiphil., Opp. C. 2. 252, H. 5. 288), used respectively of marble and of mosaic decoration; cf. also 684 τύμημα λίθων. At Α.Ρ. 5. 270. 2, Paul uses a rare compound in λιθο-, λιθοδομητος ("set with stones", of a head-dress, in the same sense as Agathias uses λιθοκώλητος at Α.Ρ. 5. 276. 10; λιθοδομητος appears in another sense at Α.Ρ. 9. 3. 2, Ant. ?Thess.). Paul’s use of ἐρίκυμηνος (274) and ἐρίκυμηντις (304) sup. has already illustrated his use of compounds elsewhere unattested. On the sense of -τοῖς formations, see n. sup. on ἀσφαλοῦσθος 300.

933. κρήνων: "true". Paul’s choice of this word is further evidence of his pursuit of recherché language. The term occurs once in Homer, Ί. 1. 106 μάντι κακῶν, οὗ πώ ποτὲ μοι τὸ κρήνων ἐπίμας (Agamemnon to Calchas), where modern commentators render "good". Later prose writers (philosophy and the Hippocratic corpus) and Alexandrian poets use the word in this sense (see LSJ s.v.) and also apply it to people in a related moral sense "good" (LSJ s.v.3).
But, by a different interpretation of the Homeric passage, such writers also use κρήνας to mean "true", as in our line, see LSJ s.v.2 and the discussions of Gow on Theoc.20.19, id.Epigr.19.3 (the latter perhaps implying that the word appeared in Hipponax), and Headlam on Herodas 6.39. Headlam refers to our line, which appears to be the only instance of κρήνας in poetry after the epigram of Archias (A.P.5.58.1). Theon (Progym., II.81.10ff Spengel) cites κρήνας, along with ἀντιφερίζειν, μάρανθα, as a "poetic" word. Hesychius mentions only the senses ἀγάθον, ὑφέλιμον, ὄνειρα, but Etym.Magn. and Suidas both gloss ἀληθές and ἀγάθον. These two also suggest etymologies, as does the lexicon published by J.A.Cramer, Anecdota graeca oxoniensia (Oxford 1835) II.454.13, but no satisfactory etymology has been proposed by ancient or modern commentators, see Chantraine, Dict.étym.s.v. (fin).

Εμετέρων ἐπέων...δυμοῦ: For the periphrasis, cf. A.P.16.316.2 (Mich.Gramm.) δυμοῦς εὐερής δυμοῦ, of Agathias' double achievement as orator and poet. Paul uses ἐπέων to refer to his poem sup.179, 352, while δυμοῦ here supports Graefe's conjecture of δυμοῦ for the ms.reading ὑμοῦ at 137 sup. κανοχειμοδία δυμοῦ ἀράσσομεν, see n. ad loc. for parallels for δυμοῦ used of song, music, etc.

Ελέγχει: This is a certain correction for the ms. reading ἐλίζει. It is suggested in the margin of the ms. and adopted into the text by Du Cange and all subsequent editors. The mistake in the ms. perhaps arose from confusion with the line-end of 939, where the ms. has ἐλίζεις (see n. ad loc. inf.); line 867 sup. also ends with ἐλίζει in the ms., cf. ἐλίσσει 909. The verb ἐλίζομαι would in itself be acceptable with δυμοῦ, on the analogy of 312 sup. μῶν ἐλίζομεν (an echo of Callimachus, see n.sup. ad loc.), but it does not give the required sense here. On the other hand, the Homeric sense of ἐλέγχομαι, "dishonour" or "reproach" (cf. the Homeric sense of ἐλέγχος, LSJ s.v.A), is appropriate in our line, cf. esp. II.9.522f τῶν μη σοῦ γε μῶν ἐλέγχομαι ἡμῶν πόδας, Phoenix appealing to Achilles to heed Odysseus' embassy; also Od.21.424 ὁ δ' ζείνος ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἐλέγχει, spoken to Telemachus by the disguised
Odysseus, after Odysseus had strung the bow. (These two are the only instances in Homer). Later poets use the verb in the same sense, e.g. Call.fr.329 Pf. ουκ ἦν διὸς βασιλέας ἐλέγχομεν with Pfeiffer's n. ad loc.; Nonn.D.4.141f ἀκρα δὲ χειρῶν/αἰδέσωμαι κρίνειν, ἵνα μὴ γάλα λευκὸν ἐλέγξω, 10.210ff οὐ γὰρ ἐλέγξει/οὐράνιον τεὸν εἶδος ὑλήμπτον οἶμα λυκίου, al., Par.6.131 Ἡσσοῦς δ' ἀδρίτευν ἀγήνωρα λαὸν ἐλέγχων, 8.134f τὸς βροτὸς θυμίων μὲ δυνῆσαται αὐτὸς ἐλέγξατο/ἐμπλωκὴς ἐπίπερα; al.; Coll.297 μὴ με κατασχυνείας, ἐμὴν ἴμην ἵππην ἐλέγξεις; cf. PGL s.v.A for the sense "reprove" in patristic writers. Also A.P.9.619.3f (Agath.) ἐνθάδε γὰρ τέγγουσα τεῦν δέμας εἴδος ἐλέγξατο/ἡρην (of Aphrodite): here the sense may be stronger, "overcome", "get the better of" (cf. LSJ s.v.II.5, PGL s.v.G), as it is sometimes in Nonnus (e.g. D.1.42) and as in Paul's epigram A.P.5.217.5 χρυσὸς ἔλευσ ὅμηρος, ἕλεος κληρῶν ἐλέγχει.

934-66. Paul here rehandles in hexameters and in a new sequence, the panegyrical themes of the first iambic prologue (1-80), omitting only the concluding compliment to the empress Theodora (58-65) and the transitional sentiments of 66-80. In both passages, the major theme is the frustration of usurpers who plot against J., which leads on to a more general discussion of the emperor's clemency (18-57, 937-58). The opening sentiment of the hexameter passage (934-5), that the emperor's benefactions secure his throne, is parallel to the conclusion of the iambic treatment of J.'s clemency (58 σῶξει ταῦτα), while the theme of Christ's protection of J. in all his enterprises, which unifies the early part of the iambic prologue (6-21), concludes the hexameter passage on J.'s clemency and begins the transition to the subject of the patriarch (959-66). And J.'s world-wide empire, first referred to in the iambic prologue (10-16; subsequently 135-38, 147-49, 157-60, 226-36, 239f, 922f) is given a further brief mention (935-7).

934f. ταῦτα σοι, κτλ.: Cf. A.P.16.62.1f (Anon.) ταῦτα σοι, ὃς βασιλεὺς Μηδόκτεν, ἑώρα κομίζει/...Εὐστάθειος, on J.'s equestrian statue. Paul now replaces the prayer of 921f with a confident assertion of J.'s security and longevity (note the verbal echo
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The confident tone is marked by the repetition of ταύτα in asyndeton at 935 and 937; compare the confident single ταύτα at 236 sup. A similar note of triumph appears in other panegyrics from the period after J.'s peace with Persia in 561, see Cameron on Cor.Laud Just. praef.30f and cf. 135ff sup. and n.sup. on 1-80. The emphatic repetition of a word after the bucolic caesura is a stylistic device of Alexandrian and Nonnian poetry which Paul uses several times, cf. 152 sup. with n. ad loc. Such repetition occurs most often within a single line, but it may be extended over several lines in passages of special rhetorical emphasis, cf. sup. 178-85, 326-30 with n. ad loc. At 58 sup. (a passage parallel to ours, see n. sup.), Paul achieves a similar effect by the bold repetition of ταύτα in the middle of a line. Here, as at 58, ταύτα refers to all J.'s benefactions and virtues as a ruler, which have been exemplified in the preceding section (921-33). The dative οὖτι here is emphatically placed like that of 924 sup. For similar datives after active ἄξιω, cf. II.6.261 ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκλημένῳ μένος μέγα οἶνος ἄξει, A.R.1.206 Ἰησοῦν κόδος ἄξιων, Theoc.25.17 (ποιήσε) ἢ ὅ βοήθησι μένος κεφαλήν ἄξει, D.P.922 ἐνδύσει καρπὸν ἄξειν, Nonn.D.40.477 βλεψάροις καὶ οὖνοι θάμβος ἄξιων.

όλβιόμοιρε, μάκαρ: Honorific epithets, in contrast to the more straightforward panegyrical vocative ὁ σκηπτοῦχε 921 sup., reinforce the proud tone of these lines; compare the accumulated epitethes with which Roma opens her address to J., 220 sup., and see n. ad loc. on Όλβιόμοιρε and n. on μάκαρ 224 sup.

δηναιόν.../...ἐπεμβάδα: "foster the long accumulation of life-bearing years". An elaborate periphrasis equivalent in sense to ὁ σκηπτοῦχ 58 sup. The noun ἐπεμβάδα occurs only in Paul, first at 308 sup., ὄρεων...ἐπεμβάδος, "stepping on mountains", where the genitive ὄρεων is objective, see n. ad loc. A similar objective genitive might be intended here, "a mounting on the year", suggesting the bold image of J. mounting on the year as on a chariot. It is more probable, however, that the genitive λυκάδαντος is here rather
subjective (K-G.I.332, sec.414.2a) and refers to the mounting of the years one upon the other, i.e. their accumulation. Paul's choice of the epithet ἄμνατος, "long", or "long-continued" (see LSJ s.v.I.1, adding Trypt.525 πολέμωτο), lends support to the latter interpretation: if λυκάβαντος were objective genitive, an expression with the sense "oft-repeated" might be expected.

The noun λυκάβας, a term of uncertain etymology, occurs at Od.14.161 = 19.306, where it is variously interpreted to mean a year, a month or a day, see (for example) LSJ s.v., Monro on Od.14.158-62 and the discussions of Chantraine Dict.etym. and Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. But Hesychius and Suidas both gloss the term ὁ ἕνυμαντος, and this is the sense in which the word is used by Alexandrian and subsequent poets, see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.610; Opp.H.1.551, 1.588, Ζ.3.289, 4.330; Nonn.D.7.16, 25.367, al., Par.11.200 = 18.65; Trypt.6; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.142, 2.59, al.; Α.Ρ.1.35.3, 7.568.1 (both Agath.), ib.5.256.5 (Paul Sil.). The epithet ξωοφόρος, "life-giving" (as opposed to ξωοφόρος, "bearing animals") is extremely rare, only IG 3.171 = Epigr.Gr.1027.43 (2nd/3rd cent.), where it may be an epithet of the Telesphori, and Α.Ρ.9.765.4 (Paul Sil.) άνεμων. It is a further instance of Paul's deliberately recherché vocabulary.

935f. θριήμβοις/εοπέριοις Αἰβυκός τε καὶ ἕνουσι γεοργεῖν: Again the familiar theme of J.'s world-empire (see n.sup. on 934-66 fin.), here, as at 16, 136, 231 sup., including a reference to Africa along with east and west. On θριήμβοι see 227n.sup., and for local ἐσπέριος, cf. 922 sup. with n. ad loc. The adjective Αἰβυκός appears occasionally elsewhere in Hellenistic and later poetry, Theoc.3.5 ξυνόχαν, GL 1007.6 (56/5 B.C.) μελάθρων, Epigr.Gr.993.3 ἕφρυσιν, D.P.212 θεοῦ, 477 πόρος, Nonn.D.6.119 οἰκεσουν. Local ἕνους is more common, A.R.2.745 ἄλα, A.Ρ.9.297.2 (Ant.Thess.) ἱπποὶ Πάρθων...πόδες, ib.16.183.6 (Anon.) άκεσουν, D.P.37 ἱππου...οἰδίμα θαλάσσης, 901 Αἴβων, al., Nonn.D.12.116 οἰκεσουν, 17.22 γαῖαν, al. The whole expression is dat.modi after γεοργεῖν ("honour", "do honour to"), see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v., adding Theoc.7.94f ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐκ πάντων μέγ' οἰκεσουν, ὃ τι γεοργεῖν/
364

Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica 14, 5 and the wedding of the couple (of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem; this canticum celebrated the 562 encaenia of S. Sophia).

937. On a crater: Cf. 12 sup., where the term is used in the same context; A.P.16.62.5 (Anon.) ψύχα, Ἰουστινιανός, τεῦν κράτος (cf. n.sup. on 934f on this epigram); ib.72.5 (Anon.) θείον Ιουστίνου κάρτος (see A. and A. Cameron in BICS 13, 1966, 101 for confirmation of Brunck's Ιουστινιανοῦ rather than Planudes' Ιουστινιανοῦ, the latter accepted by Beckby); 16.44.1 (Anon.) πᾶσα φύσις, ἑαυτεῖς, τεῦν κράτος αἰτεῖν ἀξίζει.

Ἀκεανοίο παρ' ἄντυγα: For reference to Ocean in the same context, cf. sup. 12, 149. At this point, the top of a page, the ms. is damaged by damp (see Fr.p.108f), and the words ἂκεανοίο παρ' ἄντυγα· ταῦτα have been restored by Fr., by means of a study of the reverse imprint of the ink on the opposite page (the letters marked in italics in Fr.'s apparatus represent those deciphered from the facing page, see Fr. p.226). Earlier, Graefe proposed conjectures which give a similar sense, but do not include the word ἄντυγα; in his text he printed ἂκεανοίο περατερα· ταῦτα, and in his apparatus suggested the alternative ἂκεανοῦ ποτί τέρματα. But Fr.'s restoration is probably correct: using only Preisendanz's facsimile enough can be made out to support Fr., that is, σοῦ κράτος κέσον ὁ παρ ἄντυγα· αὐτα τυπάνων (my spacing is only approximate).

There appears to be no exact parallel for the expression ἄντυγα ἂκεανοίο, but it presents no difficulty. In the Homeric description of Achilles' Shield, Ocean is said to be depicted ἄντυγα παρ' ὑμμάτην (II.18.608), and in Nonnian poetry the term ἄντυξ is widely used to denote anything curved, often the earth or parts of the universe, see 187n.sup. Nonnus himself several times uses ἄντυξ in descriptions of ἂκεανοὺς, e.g. D.38.108 ἂκεανοῦ κελάδων,
Paul has in mind here the farther rim of Ocean, where it meets the curve of the heavenly sphere.

On local παρὰ with accusative, see n.sup. on 317.

937ff. ταύτα τυραννων/πολλάκις κτλ.: The third anaphora of ταύτα introduces the theme of the τύραννων (the noun is thrown forward to give it prominence); as in the first iambic prologue, this theme is given extended treatment, see n.sup. on 934-66. On the regular use of τύραννως in later Greek to refer either to despotic rulers or (as here) to rebels or usurpers, see 36n.sup. The noun is, however, rare in late Greek hexameter poetry: Nonnus does not use τύραννως or related words, but cf. Opp.C.4.243, 303, where it is applied to Pentheus; Agathias loc.cit.36n. Fr. (on 937) rightly argued that here Paul has in mind specific instances, and that πολλάκις is rhetorical exaggeration; compare the several instances of πολλάκις in the passage dealing with usurpers and J.'s clemency in the first iambic prologue (36, 41, 42); also 79, where πολλάκις probably refers simply to the two instances mentioned 77-9, see 79n. It is clear from 938 (see n.inf.) that lines 937-9 refer, like 24ff sup., to Marcellus and the conspiracy of November 562, on which see n.sup. on 24-39.

938. αὐτοφόνοιο χερὸς δηλήμονι τόλμη: "by the destructive daring of self-slaughtering hand". Cf. 33 sup. ἐπεσεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ. As at 212 sup. (see n. ad loc.), δηλήμονι is absolute and αὐτοφόνοιο χερὸς is defining genitive after τόλμη, which is itself instrumental dative. The letters -η- lost from the centre of δηλήμονι where the ms. is damaged, are restored with certainty from the reverse imprint on the facing page, see n.sup. on 937 άκεσαν οἱ παρ' ἄντυγα. Although late poets regularly use language associated with τόλμη in describing their work (see n.sup. on 68-70), the noun τόλμη is itself rare in epic poetry (Opp.C.3.431, Orph.Lith.306, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.13). But for Paul's use of it here in connection with violent death, along with the epithet αὐτοφόνος, cf. A.P.7.149.3f (Leont.Schol.) τόσης γὰρ Χρόνος ἀλλον ἐπάξιον ἄνερα τόλμης/οίχ
ευθών παλαμῆς θήκεν ὑπ’ αὐτοφόδῳ (of Ajax). Aeschylus uses αὐτοφόδως in the sense "murdering one's kin", see LSJ s.v., and the sense is doubtful at SEG 9.72.132 (Cyrene, 4th cent. B.C.), see LSJ Suppl. s.v., but late poets use it to mean either "murdering", "slaying with one's own hand" (A.P. 9.86.6, Antiphil.; Opp.C. 4.290; Nonn. D. 32. 231) or, more commonly, "self-slaughtering", "suicidal", as here, Greg. Naz. Carm. 1.1.2.4 (PG. 37.402); Orph. Arg. 875 παλαμῆς (of Spartiates); Opp. C. 1.269 (of horses), 2.480 (of wild beasts), H. 2.322 (of the muraena); Nonn. D. 17.314 παλαμῆς (of Orontes), 47.224 στροφαλλυγγί (of Erigone), al., Par. 8.46 διέθρευ; Tryph. 19 ἐλεῖς (Ajax). Nonnus admits only the genitive form χειρὸς, but for χερός used metr. gr. as here, cf. A.R. 4.852.

939. αὐχένας ἐπηνίξε: Cf. Nonn. D. 28.64 αὐχένα Δεξιόχοιο κατεπηνίξε μαχαίρι. The simple verb (from προνής = πρανής) is not attested before the Alexandrian period, Euphor. fr. 18 Powell, cit. Etym. Magn. 687.33ff., cf. Zonaras s.v. προνίχθης. Hesychius glosses the forms προνικεθέντα, προνίξε and προνικεθής, cf. Photius s.v. προνήκθηναι, Eustath. on II.2.414, p.248.44 (I.201.13 Lips., I.378.29 Van der Valk). It occurs at Lyc. 1005γ πολλοὶ δὲ πρόσθεν γαῖναν ἐκ κείμεν (i.e. the Amazon queen) δόξα/δάσος προνικεθέντες; A.P. 7.532.3f (Isid.) ἀλλ’ ἄμα νῦν/προνικεθεΐς (shipwreck); Orac. Sib. 4.58γ γὰρ δὲ κλάνα σεισμοῦ τινασσομένη.../πολλὰς προνίξει πολιας καὶ ἐργαϊνοντωσ, cf. ib. 84, 108, 5.17; Opp. H. 3.21f ἐνθα μὲν (Typhon) ὥσαυτα στεροπαΐ βηταὶ τε κεραυνῶν/καθαλγεῖς προνίξας; then often in Nonn. D., e.g. 6.217γ δύσιν...ἐν προνίξει κεραυνῷ/ζεῦς, 47.668 καὶ νῦ κεν...ἐπηνίξει Μυκήνας, Par. 19.175 δέσπερον ἐπρηνίξειν ἐπέσειον ὑς ὑς θτμα. The bent neck, often combined with the image of the yoke or yoke-strap, regularly represents submission, cf. 159 sup. with n. ad loc., noting the twofold use of this metaphor by Agathias at A.P. 4.38.1 and 4.6.

πρὶν ἐντεια χεῖρας ἐλίεΐς: ἐλιζεῖσες ms., Du Cange, Bekker; ἐλίζεισ Gaeae; ὑμείσ Merian-Genast, Ludwick; ἐλιέσ Fr. Fr. (940n.) rightly saw this phrase as the counterpart to πρὶν σε μυθεσθάι 940, and it is on this basis that the textual problem must
be considered: our phrase must similarly refer to J., and have the sense "before you have taken up arms". The construction of 
940 (i.e. accusative and infinitive), or alternatively simple
infinitive, is the regular one with πρὶν when it means "before"
in an affirmative sentence, K-G.II.457, sec.568.1d, Goodwin GMT
243ff, secs.626ff. Hence the emendation Ἐηλίζα, for which Ludwich
(op.cit.p.17f) cited the additional parallels in Paul of sup.647,
701, 816 and A.P.6.54.6. But there are objections to reading Ἐηλίζα here: (i)it is difficult to see how it could have been
corrupted to Ἐηλίζεις; (ii) the natural sense of the clause πρὶν
ἂντες χείρας Ἐηλίζα in the context would be that the usurper
committed suicide before he got to the point of taking up arms,
which does not meet the requirement (see sup.) that this clause
should refer to J. and be parallel to πρὶν σε μεθέοσαι (940).
It is furthermore manifestly untrue in the case of Marcellus,
who was caught εἰσερχόμενος ἐν τῷ πολιτείᾳ φορόν βούλιῳ, Mal.493.
18f, cf. id. Ἑκσ.δε ἵσες ἱς.φρ.49 (p.174.16f de Boor); Theoph.p.238.1
de Boor εἰπων οὗτος φοροῦντας κρυπτά ξίψη, of Marcellus and the other
conspirators. Objection (ii) might be met by re-dividing the words
πρὶν ἂντες χείρα σ᾽Ἐηλίζα, but (i) remains. If Graefe's Ἐηλίζας
(accented thus proparoxytone) represents an aorist second person
singular, there is no parallel for such an aorist of Ἐηλίζω with
the first syllable short. If it represents the aorist participle Ἐηλίζας
(paroxytone, Ἰ.23.466, etc.), then it is also open to
objection (ii), and the grammar of such a construction is dubious,
although Ἐηλίζας would be closer to the ms. reading than the infinitive
Ἐηλίζα. Of the two remaining alternatives proposed, Ἐηλίζεις and
Ἐηλίζεις, the future of the ms. is certainly wrong after the aorist
ἐπηνιέετε; Fr.'s subjunctive, on the other hand, involves only an
easy change from the ms. reading. It is true that the use of
the subjunctive here, after an affirmative main clause and where
no limiting notion of "until" is present, is unorthodox by Homeric
and classical standards, see the admirably lucid discussion of
πρὶν in Goodwin GMT p.240ff, secs. 621ff; but for a similar instance
(in present time), cf. Opp.H.2.13f ὅ δ᾽ ἔστιν ταῦτα οὕτω σκόφωνν;/
πρὶν χάλεπι μᾶς γιγναι καὶ οὐκ ἔθελων ἐλάθηται; also Nonn.D.8.93ff
δεχεσθήσω,...νοήσω,.../...(97) πρίν...ξίω... . Paul may have chosen to write the subjunctive here in a characteristic desire for stylistic variation, so as to avoid two precisely parallel expressions in adjacent lines. For the accusative and dative after ἐλίσσω, cf. Nonn.D.45.76 ἑλυκτοπέδισιν...χείρας ἐλίξας, 48.524 δεσμοῖς ἑφηράττοι τόδε καὶ χείρας ἐλίξας. Paul's dative ἔντοσι, "arms" (II.10.407, Od.23.368, al.; A.R.1.169, 2.1221, al.; Call.Dian.111; Nonn.D.8.40, 35.160, al.) is less natural with χείρας ἐλίσσω than "fetters" or "chains", but is admissible on the analogy of the familiar concept of "girding on" arms.

940f. τῶν δὲ, κτλ.: "and have smitten the heads of others before you learnt the tidings...". Paul writes τῶν δὲ in contrast to πολλάκις (938), treating the πολλάκις as though it were an antithetical μὲν.

This description fits the account given by Procopius (BG 3.31-2; cf. Bury HLRE II.67-9, Stein B-E II.590-2) of the plot to assassinate J. devised by Arsaces and Artabanes in 548. J. 's nephew Germanus, whom the conspirators planned to proclaim emperor, revealed the plot to Marcellus, the comes excubitorum (not the Marcellus of the 562 plot), who advised that it should not immediately be reported to J. (BG 3.32.22-26), and who only informed him of it at the very last moment, after he had verified all the details (ib.40-42). Procopius reports (47-50) that J. was subsequently very angry with Germanus because of his delay in informing the emperor, but was mollified by Marcellus. This plot is referred to by Procopius in his introduction to the Aed. (1.1.10, 16, see n. on 24-39 sup., and see further n.inf. on 948f). Theophanes (A.M.6053, p.235.1ff) also refers to accusations of a plot to put Theodorus, son of Peter the Patrician, on the throne in 560, but these appear to have been unfounded, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.25f.

κατηλοίσας καρήσατα: An extremely rare compound, κατηλοίσας (derived from Homeric ἀλώη, "threshing floor", II.5.499, etc.) balances ἐπρήνετε. This epic form survives only in Photius, who glosses κατηλοίσας: ὀνὰ ἀπλῶς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλὰ ἐξόλος παῖσιν,
ἀφ’ δὲ καὶ πατραλοίας ὀ τοῦ πατέρα τύπτων. (There is a similar
gloss on κατηλόπσοι, rendering the terms plural, in the lexicon
edited by Bekker, Anecdota graeca I, Berlin 1814, 270.27. The
reference to the πατραλοίας is preserved in Hesychius' gloss on
ἀλοία and Suidas s.v. ἀλοιών). The Attic form of this compound,
cαταλοκαί, occurs at Eub.15.5, X.Cyr.7.1.31, Aeschin.2.140, Luc.
Icar.15, all in the context of physical crushing or beating, while
the epic form of the simple verb is Homeric (Il.9.568, cf. Theoc.
10.48, Nonn.D.11.88, 31.7, Par.19.177). Other compounds occur, e.g.
ἀπαλοιώ, Il.4.522, Nonn.D.17.210, 28.52, al.; συναλοιώ, Theoc.
22.128, Opp.H.3.575, Κ.1.268, Q.S.11.472; so ἀλοιητής, Nonn.D.
25.201, 46.228, al., Par.7.97, 16.5, al., A.P.11.379.1 (Agath.).

Uncontracted forms in καρατ- are Homeric, Il.11.309, al.,
is very strong, but, in connection with the conspirators of 548,
means no more than that they were discovered, see further n.inf.
on 947-49.

πρὶν σε πυθόθαι: See n.sup. on 939. Nonnus has πυθόθαι with
acc.rei (cf. LSJ s.v.2) at D.5.463, 8.346.

941. φημιν ἀπαγγέλλοντον ἢ μὴ θέμις: "the tidings announcing
acts of wrong". In Homer, ἀπαγγέλλω is used only with a personal
subject, see LSJ s.v.1, but for Paul's use, cf. Nonn.D.15.355f
ἀνεμδύην/πάντων ἀπαγγέλλοντα ἐκόνομαι μινυόρουν ἢδειν, 48.431f σιγήν/
μόνον ἀπαγγέλλοντα ἀφιείδεος ἀνθρεφένον, al.; Musae.6 λύχνου
ἀπαγγέλλοντα διακτηρίαν ἀφροδίτης; Jo.Gaz.Desor.2.4f χλωρός...
κομῆς/εἰσαρινὴν γελώσας ἀπαγγέλλοντα ἀφροδίτην; A.P.5.261.6 (Agath.)
μοι ἀπαγγέλλει (sc. η κύλις) τὴν χώραν, ἢν ἔλοθεν. The poetic
noun φημις, used by Homer as an equivalent for φήμι, is rare in
late poetry, see LSJ s.v., adding Opp.H.5.470 πολλούς δ’ ὀφρομοι
φημις ἰδεῖν ὀφθαλμός ὀρμηθέντας. Paul writes ἢ μὴ θέμις sup. 757
in eadem sede, c.inf. For similar elliptical expressions with
absolute θέμις, cf. A.Suppl.336 πότερα κατ’ ἐχθρον ἢ τὸ μὴ θέμις
λέγεις, A.R.1.822 ἢ τῇ φρονάδειν ἀπερ θέμις, ἢ...; Opp.C.1.237
Here the expression anticipates the reference to Δίκη in the next line.

941-49. εἴποτε γάρ , κτλ.: The passage is parallel to 34-39 sup.: J.'s confrontation with a would-be assassin is considered to be an omission on the part of Δίκη, who normally deals with such offenders by her own uncompromising methods, since She knows that J.'s extraordinary clemency leads him to pardon all who come before him. Here the treatment is more elaborate than in the earlier case: J.'s clemency is described in terms of the metaphor of the calming of a storm (943-5) and the physical release of the prisoner's bonds (945-7) and, as a climax, a further specific reference is made to the conspiracy of 548 (947-9; see n. ad loc. and cf. n.sup. on 940f). With Paul's treatment here, cf. Georg. Pisid. Exp. Pers. 2.228ff ὃ δυστυχὸς εὐτυχός, εἰ δεῖ λέγειν/- σοι γάρ προσελθὼν ἀνταμείβει τὴν τύχην-, ἔριπτε τὰ δεσμά, τὰς δὲ συμπορὰς ὁλοκ/έτρεψεν εὐθὺς εἰς χαρὰν μεθαρμόσας (of an enemy general before Heraclius.) On the theme of clemency in the βασιλικὸς λόγος and the possible significance of Paul's emphasis upon it, see n. sup. on 34-39, and 39n.sup. on the clemency of the Christian emperor. If it is right that in the iambic prologue passage Paul has in mind Belisarius' disgrace after the conspiracy of Marcellus, the reference here to the reinstatement and elevation of Artabanes after the 548 conspiracy (see n.inf. on 947-49) may be intended to suggest that there will be a similarly happy conclusion to the case of Belisarius, unresolved at the time at which Paul wrote.

941f. εἴποτε γάρ σοι/...παρὰ ποιοί κομίσει: κομίσει Graefe, Bekker Fr.; κομίσει ms.; κομίσει Du Cange. Graefe's aorist subjunctive is certainly correct: for general suppositions expressed by εἰ (usually without κε/αύ) and subjunctive in Homer and other poetry, see Goodwin GMT sec.468, p.172, and cf. Nonn. D.4.194ff, 48.522f; with Keydell I.78*. The future κομίσει is incompatible with the aorist participle ἐλινύσασα and the present κατευνάξει (943).
The unparalleled ms. form κομίσσοι no doubt arose from confusion with σοι at the end of the previous line. For κομίζω in the sense "bring", cf. 341 sup. with n. ad loc.; the verb is also regularly so used by Nonnus with a personal object, e.g. D.36.146, 43.89, cf. Musae.151, 176, al., etc. The dative σοι should be construed with κομίσσοι; as at 924 sup., it is thrown forward for emphasis. The expression παρὰ ποσίτι adds precision and suggests the suppliant pose of the captive. For παρὰ ποσίτι in eadem sede, cf. Nonn. D.48.378, also ii.14.410f τά ὑπονησίαν ἐκκύλησεν, and for παρὰ c.dat. with verbs of motion, see Peek Lex.s.v. II.4, Keydell I.66*, and cf. esp. Nonn. D.43.398f βυθίζω παρὰ παυσάμενοι ἔδωκεν ἑρωτοῦ Ἀρσάκη κομίσασα Νηρεύς (middle).

Βαινὼν ἐλινύσσασα: "having rested for a brief space", and been momentarily inattentive to her high principle. The verb is a correction of Du Cange from the nonsensical ms. reading ἐλινύσσασα. Du Cange and Graefe wrote ἐλινύσσασα (Graefe "Fort. ἐλινύσσασα " in app.crit.), but the form with single ν is better attested. The verb occurs in Pindar and classical drama, in Ionic and late prose (see LSJ s.v.) and also in Alexandrian poetry, A.R.1.588f διπλά γὰρ ἐξεταίριζαν ἐλινύσσασαν, ib.862 ὅταν ἐλίνυσαν σοφί μένοντες; Call.Cer.47 τέκνον ἐλινύσσαν, id.fr.526 Pf. οὗτος Θηρύκος ἐλινύσσεν (quoted in Etym.Magn. s.v. ἐλινύσσα, 330.53ff) and fr.330 πόλυν ἐλινύσσεν (transitive only here; quoted by Suidas s.v. ἐλινύσσα); Theoc.10.51 ἐλινύσσαε δὲ τὸ καβόμα; see also Hesych.s.v. ἐλινύσσα, and cf. esp. A.P.5.237.1f (Agath.) εὔτε δ' ἐπελέξαυν ἄθροισαν ἐλινύσσαν μικρὰ χαριτόμενος. Adverbial Βαινὼν is often so used with aorist participle in late poetry, cf. 968 inf., and see the exx. quoted sup. in n. on 180.

943. ἀντιβίσων τινὰ φῶτα: The term ἀντιβίσων, adjectival in Homer, is used both as adjective and substantive in late poetry, although Nonnus D. has only one instance of the adjectival use, see the exx. cited in n.sup. on δούμονος ἀντιβίσων 273. In our line, φῶτα is otiose in a manner uncharacteristic of Paul: this may reflect anxiety to speak in general terms and to avoid the mention of names
(see 34n.sup., and cf. the vague ἄνερα 946 inf.) or simply hasty composition. But perhaps one should read ἄντιβιον τινα φώτα, thus making ἄντιβιος adjectival as at 273 sup., A.P.6.81.1 (Paul S11.).

943f. κατευνάξεις μὲν ἄέλλας/...ἀναγκαίοιο χόλου: The image of the lulling of a squall prepares for the introduction of γαλήνην (944), an idea commonly associated with the emperor, see n. ad loc. Paul's expression here is an elaboration of Nonn.D.48.943 καὶ χόλου ὑσχέαμα κατεύνασεν; cf. also A.R.1.1155 (ἀλῆρ) κοτὰ δ' εὐνάσε τὸν θυ, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.2.72 (PG.37.407) ὑς θεὸς εὐνασε τὸν θυ, and the metaphorical expression at A.P.6.171.3 (Anon.) κούμα κατευνάσατε τίνα. The verb κατευνάξω occurs once in the passive in Homer (II.3.448; κατευνάξω occurs four times, see LSJ s.v.), see further LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.3.307, 5.269, al.; A.P.5.220.1 (Agath.), ib.16.33.3 (Leont.); also in late prose, see PGL s.v. Paul's metaphorical use of ἄελλα appears to be unparalleled, although the term is used in a literal sense in epic poetry from Homer onwards, see LSJ s.v., and cf. A.R.1.1077, 1094, al.; D.P.677; Opp.H.1.41, 455, al.; Orph.Arg.125, 497, al.; Nonn.D.2.644, 39.180, al., Par.5.61, 6.199, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.242, 2.141, al.; A.P.6.27.5 (Theaet.). In qualifying χόλου with the adjective ἀναγκαῖος, "necessary anger" (cf. Du Cange necessariae iracundiae), Paul means that anger is the necessary and fitting reaction which J., as a just prince, must feel towards the usurper who challenges his authority. This sense of ἀναγκαῖος is more common in prose, see LSJ s.v.II.2, but cf. Nonn.D.21.168 πομπὸν ἀναγκαῖος διημένου ἄρσατοί, of Lycurgus blinded, ib.37.210f ἀναγκαίῳ τινὶ μέτρῳ/σον δρόμον ἑθύκων (instructions for chariot-racing), al.; Homer uses ἀναγκαῖος in a related passive sense "forced" of people, see LSJ s.v.II.1.

944. εὐθὺς: Cf. 38 sup. for the adverb in the same context. Here (cf. 945, 946) and at 975-77 it is used in a triple anaphora of a kind now familiar in Paul; compare the use of τοῦτα at 934, 935, 937, ἐπερεπε(ν) 326-9, and see 152n.sup. The desire to place the word to be repeated either at the beginning of the line or after the
bucolic caesura accounts for the awkward position of εὐθύς here. Homer admits only the epic form ἰδὺς (see LSJ s.v. εὐθύς) and the only instance of either form in Nonnus is Par.18.129 ἀκουχεῖν εὐθύς ἀλέκτωρ.

944ff. στρεπτὴν ὑπὲρ γαλήνης, κτλ.: Paul uses γαλήνη more directly of J. inf. 951, Amb.299, cf. also 244-47 sup. with n. ad loc. At 986 and 1006 inf. the patriarch Eutychius is similarly accredited with γαλήνη, see 986n.inf. By the 6th cent., this (= Lat. serenitas) and cognate terms are regularly associated with the emperor, see PGL s.vv.γαλήνος 2, γαλήνη 4, γαληνότης 2, Soph.Lex.s.vv. γαλήνη, γαληνότης 2, Du Cange Glossarium s.v. γαληνότης, Preisigke Wörterbuch III, Abschnitt 9 s.vv. γαληνότατος, γαληνότης, and R.C.McCall in JHS 98 (1978) 51. For Paul's use of it in the context of imperial clemency, cf. Them. Or.19 (I.330.17ff Downey) ὥτι οὕτω πρᾶξε καὶ ἡμερός καὶ γαλήνης γέμων ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀδίεκεῖν εἰς τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐλεγχθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κατακριθέντας ἐξελέσθαι τῆς τοῦ νόμου ἀνάγκης καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν ἡλιον ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ ἄχροντος (of Theodosius I), Agap.Cap.52 (PG.86(1).1180B-C) ὥθεν τῷ λυμένι τῆς οἷς γαληνότητος πάντες προσορμόσθην ὁ ἐλεός δεσμευόμενοι, καὶ τῶν κυμάτων τῆς πενίας ἀπολαττόμενοι,... , id.Cap.50 (1180A), both of J. Also of J., Eustrat.V.Eutych.23 (PG.86(2).2301A); of Justin I, A.P.16.64.3 (Anon.; quoted 924n.sup.); of Justin II, Cor.Laud.Just. 2.191 οὐλία...serenis, with Stache's n. ad loc., cf. ib.3.309 with Cameron ad loc.

Graefe (in n. ad loc.) suspected the epithet στρεπτὴν and suggested that perhaps στεφνὴν should be read instead. But this is not an epic word, and Fr. was surely right to argue (ad loc.) that στρεπτὴν is explicable in our context on the analogy of II.15. 203 ἃ τι μεταστρέφεις; στρεπτὸς μὲν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν, (Paul uses μεταστρέφω in this sense inf.953), cf. II.9.497 στρεπτὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ θεοῦ φῶς (cit. LSJ s.v. στρεπτὸς III). In these Homeric passages στρεπτὸς means "able to be turned", "able to be appeased" and hence "merciful". The term suggests that the god or ruler initially turns his face away from his suppliant, but then, prior to the granting of mercy, turns to face him. Paul modifies the Homeric
expression by applying στέρησις to J.'s characteristic imperial attitude of γαλήνη, rather than to J. himself. Elsewhere the epithet is used literally of things pliant, twisted or turned back, see the exx.cit. LSJ s.v.I, IV, adding A.P.16.306.2 (Leon.Tar.); D.P.122, 384, 878; Opp.C.2.308, 329; Greg.Naz.Carm. 2.1.1.155 (PG.37.981), metaph. ib.101 (col.977); A.P.5.255.14 (Paul Sil.); also Georg.Pisid.loc.cit.PGL s.v.

945. δεσμὸς ὃ χάλκεος: Cf. A.R.3.62 λυσόμενος χαλκῆς ἢγίων νεῖδθι δεσμοῖς; also A.P.5.217.3f (Paul Sil.) "χάλκεα νικ ADVISED to τιείχεα καὶ δεσμοὺς χρυσὸς ὃ πανδομάτω". The epithet need not be interpreted literally, since the metaphorical sense "stout", "strong" is as old as Homer, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Eustath. on II.11.241 χάλκεου ὄντων (841.30ff, II.24.5ff Lips., III.186.11ff Van der Valk), where he suggests the sense στερρόθω, adding ὅποιον καὶ χάλκεον ἔφη δεσμοῦ καὶ οὐρανοῦ; but this is a mistake, since Homer does not use χάλκεος of δεσμὸς (Van der Valk ad loc. suggested that Eustathius is thinking of II.5.391 χαλεπός...δεσμὸς). So Agathias uses χάλκεος metaphorically of a proud lover, A.P.5.299.7f καὶ νῦν ὁ βλοσυρωμὸς, ὃ χάλκεος, ὃ βραδυπειθὸς, ὃ πρὶν ἀερυπότης, ἢμιπον ἐξαπίνης.

945f. ὃ πρὶν ἐξεργου/ἀνέρα ποιναίοιοι ἐν ἄμμασιν: For adverbial πρὶν with article and participle, cf. 930 sup. with n. ad loc., inf.948; simil.A.P.5.299.8 (Agath.) quoted 945n. For ἐξεργο/ἐργῳ ἐν, cf. II.21.282 ἔρχετεν...ποταμῷ, Od.10.282f ἐνὶ Κίρκη/ ἔρχατοι, ὃς τε ὄσες; Opp.H.1.226 ἦπι ἐν ἀκλύτοτοιοι ἐξεργομένη λυμένεσιν, ib.2.571f ἀπερεσίοι ἐνι μοῦνος/ἔρχθεὶς δυσμενέοσι, al. For Paul's use of ἄμμασιν in conjunction with δεσμὸς, cf. E.HF 1035ff (lyr.) δεσμὰ καὶ πολύβροχ'ἀμμάσων/ἐρείσμαθ'... .../ ἄνημένα, id. Bacch.696f νεβρίδας τ'ἄλκοσετετελεθ'οδαιοίν ἄμματα/ σύνοδεμ'ἐλεύστω; Nonn.D.48.142 περιδέσμοιν ἄμματοι χειρῶν; Jo.Gaz. Deser.2.114f περίπλοκον ἰμαμ βαλόντες,/ὑγρον δεσμὸν ἔχοντες ἐρίρητου (ουκίμβροι); A.P.5.227.4 (Mac.Cons.) (σὲ) ὑγρὸν ἐντιπλέξας ἄμματι δεσμὸν ἔχω, of a lover. So Hesychius glosses ἰμαμ with δεσμὸς. On metaphorical ἰμαμ, see 199n.sup. The epithet ποιναίος (see LSJ
and Soph. Lex. s.v.) occurs only in late authors and only in prose apart from the oracle ap. Keil-Premerstein loc. cit. LSJ (the editors date the characters of the inscription to the second cent.), and A.P. 5.254.5f (Paul Sil.) μὴ ταῦτα χαράξαι / ὅρκα ποιναίην ἐώτου ὑπὲρ σελίδος.

946f. εὐθὺς ἀνοίγει/αὐξενήν κληίδα: "straightway opens up the fastening upon his neck". For neck fetters in mid-sixth cent. Byzantium, cf. (for example) Agath. Hist. 4.1.3 δεσμοῦς τε σιδήρους περιαυχενίους (displayed at the investigation into the murder of Gubazes). For Paul’s expression, cf. Il.24.455 ἀναοίγεσκον μεγάλην κλῆδα διηρᾶν; etc. As ἀνοίγω is regularly used of opening doors, so κληίδις is regularly used from Homer onwards of the fastening of a door, see the exx. cit. in n. sup. on 350f. It is, however, also used of the clasp, or part of the clasp, of a garment, Od. 18. 293f. ἐν δὲ ἄριστῳ (sc. τῷ ἔπλω) ἐσσὸν περὸνδαι δυνατίδεκα πᾶσαι/χρύσειαι, κλήτινα εὐγνάμποτοι ἀραμούται, Nonn. D. 32.15 περὸνδιν συνέβηνεν, ἐνὸ μεγάλω κληίδα χίτωνος, 37.671f. νεβρίδα.../, ἐν χρυσῇ κληίδι Διὸς περοῦσατο χαλκεῶς and esp. ib. 21.205f. αἰγῶς ἄρεσσινυμίῳ περὶ χροὶ ἀέρια συνάψαι, αὐξενήν κληίδι καθείμενον ἐξ ἐνὸς ὕμου, where our passage establishes Peek’s translation "mittels einer Spange von einer Schulte herabhängend", contra Rouse "hung over one shoulder from the collar-bone". The epithet αὐξενήν is Graefe’s emendation for the ms. reading αὐξενή τὴν (sic), and is surely correct, in view of the Nonnian parallel. The epithet occurs once in Homer (Od. 3.450 τένοντας) and in later poetry, see LSJ s.v. and LSJ Suppl. s.v., adding Arat. 698; A.P. 15.51.3 (Arch.), 16.105.3 (Anon.); Opp. H. 2.341, cf. ib. 3.307; Nonn. D. 15.86, 141, 28.78, al.; Tryph. 317; Jo. Gaz. Descr. 1.251, 2.50.

947. ὅ τι ῥαλαον ὄμμα τανῦσας: Cf. Coll. 131 ὁ ῥαλποιον ὄμμα τανῦσας, also Nonn. D. 17.60 = Par. 13.91 ῥαλαον ὄμμα φέρων. The same epithet is used of J. sup. 244, see n. ad loc. For ὄμμα τανῦσας, cf. 286 sup. with n. ad loc.

948f. τὸν πρὶν ἐρισμαίνοντα, κτλ.: "instead of executing him,
you elevate to dazzling belts the man who before strove to smite your yoke-band". I.e. not only does J. release the prisoner alive, but he even elevates him to high dignity. Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.16 αἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ ὀκατωρομένου μέχρι ἡς φόνον μὴ ὑπὶ βιοτεύοντες ἐξ ἄποφθεγμα τὰ ὁφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, κατερ ἐξεληφθεὶσαν διαφανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγοῦσας ὁμοίως ἦτι καὶ ἐξ ὁ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγεγραμένοι τελοῦσιν ἄξιωμα. Both Paul and Procopius refer to the conspirator Artabanes (see n.sup. on 940f), who initially suffered loss of office and imprisonment (Proc. BG 3.32.51; Procopius describes the imprisonment as follows: ...ἐπὶ τοὺς δημοσίους οἰκηματί. Belisarius too was given honourable imprisonment after the 562 conspiracy, merely being deprived of his bucellarii and kept under house arrest, see Mal.494.20f, id.Exc.de ins.fr.49, p.175.9f de Boor, Theoph.A.M.6055, 238.16ff de Boor. For the possibility that Paul may here be thinking of Belisarius, see n.sup. on 941-49, fin.). But Artabanes was soon pardoned, created magister militum per Thraciam and sent to Italy to fight in the campaign of 549-50 against Totila, see Proc.BG 3. 39.8, Jord.Rom.385 (MGH Auct.Ant.V.1, p.51) and cf. Bury HLRE II. 68f, Stein Ε-Ε II.591, 595. For the pardon and reinstatement of Belisarius in July 563, see Theoph.A.M.6055, p.239.17f.

948. τὸν πρὶν ἑριδομαίνοντα σεθεν κατοὰς: Ludwigh (op.cit.p.3) correctly observed that the reading of the ms. is not, as all editors have written, ἄραξας, but rather ἄραξαι. The mistake arose because the concluding iota of the word is oddly formed, or obscured by an additional mark (roughly σ), and resembles a sigma. But Ludwigh rightly noted that it bears no resemblance to the usual form of the sigma at the line-end (as, for example, in 947 and 949), which is large, round and distinctive (σ). (Although the letters α1 are in some cases abbreviated at the line-end in the form ζ, as at 940 and 963, this abbreviation is only used after certain consonants, and not after ξ, cf. 271, 394, 1024). The infinitive ἄραξαι greatly improves the sense of this line: it depends on ἑριδομαίνοντα (the comma after
the participle, which is not in the ms., should be removed).
Hence σέθεν εὐγόδοσμον ἄραξιν describes the conspiracy of 548 and
not, as would σέθεν εὐγόδοσμον ἄραξις (“having smitten your yoke-band”),
J.'s release of the prisoner from bonds. The correction to infinitive
removes difficulties inherent in this latter interpretation of
the phrase: (i) a reference to the release of the prisoner from
bonds would merely repeat, in more colourful language, the substance
of 945-7; (ii) ἄραξις (“smite”, see below) is too strong a verb
for this action of J., and σέθεν is likewise needlessly emphatic.
The only other instance of ἔριδμαίνω c.inf. (cited by Ludwig loc.
cit.) is Theoc.12.31 κούροι ἔριδμαίνουσι φιλήματος ἡκρα φέρεσθαι,
but Gow (ad loc.) observed that the infinitive is used with ἔριξις
“to denote the nature of the contest”, e.g. Od.18.38f ἔριξις τὸν
ἐλληποίνου/χερσο μαζέσσαθαι, cf. II.16.765f, simil. with ἔριθαίνω.
Our verb occurs once in Homer (II.16.260, transitive) and then in
Alexandrian poetry (intransitive), see LSJ s.v. (Nonnus D. has
fifteen instances of the verb in total) and cf. also Eudoc.Cypr.2.241
(PG.85.856A) ἢθανάτι κραίεστι ἔριδμαίνων ἀγίοιστε, A.P.9.664.1f
(Paul Sil.) ἐνθάδ' ἔριδμαίνουσι, τίνος πλέον ἐπλέον χάρος, Νύμφαι
Νητάδες, Νησείς, Ἀρημάδες. This construction with πρὶν is now
familiar, cf. 945 and 930 sup. with n. ad loc. For ἄραξις, cf.
137 sup. The verb is used "of any violent impact" (LSJ s.v.).
Homer has only compound forms, but Alexandrian and later poets
use the simple verb, see LSJ s.v., adding Call.Ap.3 καί δι' ποι ἡ
θύρετρα καὶ τὸ θύραρχον ἂθροισί; A.R.4.761f ἀκροείς ἢπαράστατοι/
χαλκεῖσι στιβαρότερα ἄραξονται τιμίοτεστιν; Opp.H.3.558 ἐκ γενέων
ἡραξίων ἀπείρας ἔφος (fishermen fighting swordfish); Nonn.D.2.258
χείρες ἐμαι, Δίδος δέκόν ἄραξε, 28.203 δυσμενεύων ἄρασσε καρπάτα
πυκνά σιδήρας, a1., Par.19.15 χερσίν ἄμμοβαφτεὶ πορηδὸς ἄκραν
ἀράσσαυν, 12.121; Coll.48, 55; Tryph.253; A.P.5.248.5 (Paul Sil.)
ὡς χαμοινήσας πάταγοι πάτομεν τῷ μέτωπον ἄρασσεις. For the image
of the yoke-band similarly applied to J.'s authority, cf. 147 sup.
with n. ad loc., noting esp. for our context, A.P.9.155.8 (Agath.)
σὸς εὐγόδοσμα δίκης (addressed to Roma).

949. ἄντι φόνου: Probably "instead of slaughter", i.e. instead
of executing him, in contrast to 

This is by far the most common sense of "antί" in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex. s.v. I-III, and esp. III.3 for exx. to our line, in which "Das von "antί" abhängige Wort steht statt eines präpositionalen Ausdruckes", and cf. LSJ s.v. III.1 for the sense "instead of" in Homer. But the phrase could mean "in return for murder" (see LSJ s.v. "antί" III.3, Peek Lex. s.v. IV), referring to the conspirators' plan to assassinate J. This latter interpretation is supported by the fact that φόνος in epic poetry normally refers to bloodshed in violent death or murder, rather than death as a punishment, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R. 1.999, al., Call. Dia. 224, Theoc. 22.82, al., Orph. Hymn. 65.3, Opp. C. 1.55, H. 2.647, al., Nonn. D. 20.176 and passim, Par. 7.70, Tryph. 7, al.; also Proc. Aed. 1.1.16 (quoted in n. sup. on 948f). For the latter sense, LSJ s.v. I.3 cite only S. Ant. 36, but cf. also Nonn. Par. 18.138, of the Crucifixion. In view of Nonnus' use of "antί", Paul's phrase is most naturally interpreted as expressing a straightforward contrast between Artabanes' expected punishment and his actual reward. So Prisc. Pan. 238 praemia pro poenis speratis sumere mirans, of offenders treated with clemency by Anastasius. Graefe's word-division of the ms. reading "antίφόνος" is certain.

For the use of "antίφόνος", cf. A.P. 1.36.3 (Agath.) έκ σέο γάρ θεόδωρος έχει "antίφόνος" μαγιστροῦ, i.e. magister officiorum. (On the identity of Theodorus, see A. and A. Cameron in JHS 86, 1966, 22f, R. C. McCall in JHS 89, 1969, 93). The belt (cingulum) is the symbol of office or rank, in the army or civil service (so ζώνη is glossed by Suidas τὸ άξιώμα), see Du Cange Gloss. Lat. s.v. cingulum 1, Soph. Lex. s.v. ζώνη 2, Daremberg and Saglio s.v. cingulum, Vol. I.2, p. 1181f, Jones LRE II. 566, McCall loc. cit. sup., Bury IA 20 and, for the late evidence of Philotheus, ibid. 22, and Fr.'s n. here. In Homer, "antίφόνος" denotes a warrior's belt, II. 4. 186 μαναίολος, ib. 132, 135, al., see LSJ s.v. 1 for this sense and cf. also Call. Ap. 85f "antίφόνες" ἐννοούσ/ἀνέρες, of warriors; A.R. 2. 778, 968 both of Hippolyte's girdle; A.P. 7. 151. 2, 152. 3 (both Anon.), A.P. 4. 3B. 63 (Agath.) ὅς ἄρει "antίφόνος."
The epithet αἰγλῆτης is used by Homer only of Olympus (II.1.532, 13.243, Od.20.103), but later poets use it more widely, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.519 ἰχνός, 4.615, 958, both qualifying οὐρανός, 4.1142 κῶς; Opp.Π.1.413 αἰθέρα, Σ.2.302 ὅμοιος ἀγλῆτης (of an antelope), al.; Procl. Hymn 6.4 τεύχετε δ’αἰγλῆτεσσαν ἐμοί βιότοιο ποιείναι Orph. Arg. 1198 τέρεμα, Lith. 614 μῶραγδον, 645 δέμας (of οὐρανός); Nonn. D.38.302 ἤμασθλην, 41.233 πόρδας, al., Par. 6.159 τοκῆσ, 13.19 χροδός, 19.119 χίτωνα; Tryph. 515, Jo. Gaz. Deser. 1.183, both with οὐρανόν. It occurs, along with the verb ἄξω, in a similar context to ours at Epigr. Gr. 1064.2ff ἡμέτερος δὲ/εὐθεῖα σκηπτούχος Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄξων/Εὔργιον αἰγλῆντι δόμῳ, θεράποτα γεραιτεί/Χριστοῦ παμμεδέοντος. Paul’s use of ἄξω has no precise parallel, but for the verb used in a similar context, cf. Epigr. Gr. 830.1 τόν Διὸς Ἀλκιμῆν τε γόνου τιμαίου ἄξων.

950-58. As at 40ff sup., a more general discussion of J.’s clemency now follows. Here, however, Paul does not expound the emperor’s outstanding capacity for mercy, as in the earlier passage, but instead considers its results (so briefly 58 sup. οὐκέτι σε ταῦτα, κτλ.), developing the more philosophical theme of the superiority of the empire founded on affection and trust over that founded on force. The passage reflects the ideas of late Greek political philosophy, as expressed (for example) in the 4th cent. by Themistius, e.g. Or. 7 (I.142ff Downey, esp. 143.23f) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (i.e. an instance of fair treatment by Philip of Macedon) οὐδεὶς Ἰν πιστότερος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν πάλαι κεκριμένων ἐπιπτῆσείν, id. Or. 19 (I.337.11ff) αὐτή (i.e. the emperor’s merciful staff, ῥάβδος, compared to that of Athen in the Odyssey) φιλακτήριον ἔστιν ἄρρητότερον τοῦ σιδήρου, αὕτη μάλλον διατηρήσει τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν ἢ πυρκαίας καὶ φλεβῶν ἐκτομαί καὶ πελεκέσις, κτλ.; so too in the 6th cent., Agapetus, e.g. Cap. 35 (PG.66.1175A) νόμισε τότε βασιλεύειν ἀνάφαλα, ὡσεὶ ἐκόπτων ἀνάσσας τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ... τὸ δὲ τοῦ θεσμοῦ τῆς εὐνοίας κρατοῦμεν, βεβαίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν τὴν εὐπείθειαν, cf. id. Cap. 58 (1181B) on the impregnable citadel of a kingdom fortified by ἐλεημόσυνα, id. Cap. 19 (1169D) on the εὐνοία του τοιαύτα εκείνου πιστεύοντα, id. Cap. 20 (1169D) contrasting
relations with external enemies and those with subjects. (I have quoted from the last two passages in nn.inf.). Paul's style in this passage is remarkably simple and direct, as indicated particularly by the lack of epithets. Even the concluding *synkrisis* is jejunie by comparison with those of 208-13 sup. Paul's characteristic style is apparent only in 955, a line which is based on an earlier passage of the poem, see n. ad loc.

950. *κερδάινεις*: "you derive profit/gain advantage", i.e. by winning allegiance through affection and trust, as explained in the following lines. The verb is emphatically placed, and somewhat clumsily allied with the following ὅσα-clause. It is not Homeric, and is very rare in late poetry (occasionally in epigrams, *A.P.* 390.6, Meneer., 10.59.2, Pallad., the latter in the sense "avoid"), although it is found in Hesiod, Pindar and classical poetry, and in prose at all periods, see LSJ, Arndt and Gingrich, Preisigke Wörterbuch, PGL s.v. It also occurs (transitively) in the Justinianic poem cited for linguistic similarity to 949 sup. (see n. ad loc.), *Epigr.* Gr. 1064.8 ἀματι κερδαίνων ὅμων ὀφεινού (of the martyr Sergius).

Τύμβος ὁμελίλιος εἴχε καλύψι: For the use of the epithet, cf. II.9.158 Ἀιδής, *A.P.* 7.560.7 (Paul Sil.) Μοῖρα, and see LSJ s.v., adding D.P. 721, Opp.C.1.262 (adverbial), Orph.fr.121.1, Nonn.D.29. 136, 47.370, al., *Par.* 12.23, Tryph.609, Musae.245, *A.P.* 11.63.7 (Mac. Cons.) The expression forms a paradox with *κερδάινεις*: the more of his subjects who die of natural causes, the better it is for J. The verb καλύπτω is regularly used of death or burial, e.g. II.5.553, al., see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.2.892; *GVI* 588.1 (3rd cent.A.D.) ὁμελίλιος οὔ σμικρόν καλύπτω τύμβος ὁμόρα; Nonn.D.9.74, 46.264, al.; Tryph.407; *A.P.* 7.592.2 (attr. Jul.Aeg.), 7.593.3 (Agath.), 7.560.1, 604.5 (both Paul Sil.).

951. γυνα τοῦ θεράποντος: The phrase is periphrastic for τοῦ ὑμετέρος θεράποντος, on the analogy of epic and tragic expressions like ἱσοκάστης κάρα (S.OT 1235), ἧς Τηλεμάχοιο (Od.2.409), see
K-G.I.280f, sec.405.5d and cf. 144n.sup. Agapetus uses a cognate term in the same context as ours, Cap.19 (PG.86(1).1169D) ἢ γὰρ διὰ φῶσου γινομένης θεραπείας, κατεσχηματισμένη ἔστι θεραπεία, κτλ.

951f. ἀφθονετέτοις ἐπὶ γαλήνης/νικηθέσι: Here and at 988 inf. τεχνής ὑπὸ θεσπιδος σωκήθηκεν, the ms. has ὑπὸ after a passive verb where ὑπὸ might be expected, so Fr. p.115. All editors have retained ὑπὸ except Graefe, who wrote ὑπὸ in both cases. But since the two instances are very similar, it is unlikely that ὑπὸ is due to scribal error in both instances. The use of ὑπὸ of people with passive and intransitive verbs in a sense very close to that of ὑπὸ is attested from the classical period (K-G.I.457f, sec.430.3c), and is increasingly common in later prose (LSJ s.v. ὑπὸ III.4, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.210.2, p.171). In our cases, the expressions include an idea of cause or means, a context in which ὑπὸ regularly occurs (LSJ s.v.III.3, 6, K-G.I.458, sec.430.3d, f), and Paul's usage has parallels in Nonnus D., where it may be an indication "...des Mittels (oder rein instrumental statt eines Datifs), der wirkenden Ursache..." (Peek Lex.s.v.II), e.g. 2.384 δένδρα ὑπὸ ἑπτύσσοντο Τυφαονίων ὑπὸ χειρών, 12.194 πλοκάμου (ἡμπέλου) ἐμέθυσε φιλακρήτων ὑπὸ φύλλων, 47.735f ἑφοινίσσοντο ὑπὸ βωμοῖο/φασσομένων στοιχείων ἐπαυσυτέρων ὑπὸ ταῦρων, other exx., Peek s.v. ὑπὸ II.1; cf. also Keydell I.63*. At Nonn. D.25.391ff an expression with ὑπὸ (there denoting material) is put parallel to a simple dative, as in our case (952), χρῶσυ μὲν.../ἐθέλειον ποίκιλλεν, ὑπ'ἀφυρέσῳ ὑπὸ μετέλλου/λευκαίων...κύκλωσε Σελήνην.

On this use of γαλήνη, see n.sup. on 944 and for νικῶ in this context, cf.Agap.Cap. 52 (PG.86(1).1180B) ...καὶ χρηστότητι νικῶν τῶν προσιόντων οἱ τὸν φῶσου.

τρισεβαστατε: There is no parallel for this appellation, although σεβαστός is regularly used as a title of the emperor ( = Lat. Augustus) in late Greek prose, see LSJ s.v.II, Soph.Lex.s.v., Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v., Du Cange Glossarium s.v. σεβαστοί. Fr. (ad loc.) compared the appellation τρισεβαστατε, which occurs
in 6th cent. acclamations of circus factions as recorded by
Theophanes (loc.citt.Fr.) and also in the 7th cent. Acts of the
Lateran Council, see PGL s.v. Fr.'s argument (ibid.) that because
the circus chanting is in verse it does not reflect "normal"
address, is of doubtful validity. (For a recent discussion of
the metrical character of this dialogue, see Alan Cameron Circus
is the suggestion of F.Dölger (in Studies presented to D.M.Robinson
II, Missouri 1953, 987 n.11, from 986) that the intensified
τρισοξύωντες indicates a decline, confirmed by other evidence,
in the everyday use of the official title αὐγοῦντος; in the intensified
form it has acquired "mehr epithetisch-adulatorisch schmückende
Bedeutung". Paul's τρισέξωστος is no doubt a synonym for
τρισοξύωντες. Homer uses intensive τρισώκαρ (Od.6.154f,
cf.5.306; A.P.5.255.17, 18, 9.396.5 fem., both Paul Sil., ib.7.614.
1 fem., Agath.) and τρίλλιστος (cf. 986 inf. with n. ad loc.).

D. does not have this combination, but cf. πολύ πλέον, 5.384,
15.261, al., Par.17.92; πλέον...ἡ, D.2.579, 15.243; πλέον ἥ,
Par.4.236.

953. εἰς σὲ...φθένα...ἐλκεί: For metaphorical ἐλκω followed
by accusative (usually personal) and εἰς or simil., see the exx.
from prose cit. LSJ s.v.II.8 and cf. Nonn.D.32.22 πέτρον...
ὡς ἀνέρας εἰς πόθον ἐλκεί, 33.126 μν ἱοκέαρα...εἰς χόλον ἐλκεί,
al., Par.1.205 καὶ μὴν ἄνας θάσουνεν ἐξ ἐλπίδα φέρτερον ἐλκὼν,
4.4.φῶτα ἀλήμωνας εἰς φῶς ἐλκῶν, al.; Jo.Gaz.Deser.1.177 καὶ θέου
ὑψιμέσοντα γαλήνιον ἐξ νόον ἐλκεῖν; semi-metaph., A.P.5.285.3f
(Paul Sil.) ἐγὼ δὲ τις ὡς διχετήριος/ἀρχὴν εἰς ἐπέρνη ἐλκὼν ἐρωτός
ὠθώ. (But in none of these does εἰς govern a personal object).
The sense of the verb is similar to that of ἐφέλκεαι (middle)
302 sup., see n. ad loc., and, for the compound used in the same
context as ours, cf. Agap.Cap.19 (PG.86(1).1169D) σὺδὲν γὰρ οὕτω
πρὸς εὐνοιαν ἐφέλκεται (middle), ὡς εὐποιίως χάρις διδόμενη τοῖς
χρηματιστοῖς. Ludwig (op.cit.p.24) argued that εἰς should here be
emended to ἐς, see n.inf. on 1022.
For this verb applied to the mind et simil., cf. II.15.51f τῷ κε Ποσειδάων.../αὐτὰ μεταστρέφεται νόον, 10.106f εἴ κεν Ἀχιλλεύς/ἐκ χόλου...μεταστρέψῃ φίλου ἡτορ, also absolute at II.15.203 ἢ τι μεταστρέψετις; στρεπταί μὲν τε φρένες ἐσοβλῶν; A.R.1.807f εἴ κεν ποτ' αὖθις/ἄψυ μεταστρέφωσι νόον; Nonn. D.4.179 (= 46.272) ἢ δὲ μεταστρέψασα νόον, 30.252 μεταστρέφαντα μενοινήν, Par.7.13 μεταστρέφαντες ἀπειθέα θυμὸν ὀλήνην, abs.16.118 ἢ τι μεταστρεφθείσες ἐμῇ πιστεύετε μῦθῳ. For ὀλὴν φρένα, cf. Nonn.D.1.534, 31.70, Par.16.22.

δέσμιος: The term is not normally used alone, without article, as a substantive, although cf. Nonn.D.45.76f καὶ κεν ἄλκτοπέδησιν ἐγὼ σε χείρας ἐλίξας/δέσμιον ἀχλυδεύτι κατεσφήγασα μελάνθῳ, where σε must be understood from σε with δέσμιον. Elsewhere it is adjectival, see LSJ s.v.ΙΙ, adding A.R.3.203, A.P.5.184.8, 12.113.1 (both Meleagr.), ib.10.53.6 (Pallad.); Nonn.D.29.186, 40.271, al., Par.18.187.

954. ἐκ δὲ φόβου πρῶς ἔρωτα, κτλ.: Contrast Agap.Cap.48 (PG.86(1).1177D) on the need for a balance between φόβος and πάθος in the attitude of subjects to their emperor, and cf. A.P.16.74 (Anon.), discussed 957n.inf. In ἔρωτα, Paul uses the term regularly associated with sexual passion: although ἔρως is used passim in Nonn.D., it is avoided in Par. But at 285 sup., Paul writes θείος ἔρως (see n. ad loc.) and at 72 sup., ἔρως refuses, as here, to the affection of subjects for emperor. The term πίστις, on the other hand, is common in Christian contexts (see Arndt and Gingrich, FGL s.v.) and occurs passim in Nonn.Par., although it is generally rare in epic, Hes.Op.372, Orph.Arg.306, cf. A.P.16.78.4 (Paul Sil.), sup.23; not used by Homer, A.R., Opp. or Nonn.D. The possessive τεῦν is here objective, cf. II.19.321 οὐ ποθήκε, Od.11.202 σὸς ἡ πάθος (with LSJ s.v. σὸς ΙΙ), Nonn.D.35.137 τεῦν πάθον. For ἄλογον πρῶς similarly used, cf. 218 sup. with n. ad loc.

955. ὑμετέροις ἔθελοντα, κτλ.: Cf. 158 sup. ἰδιοτόρος δοῦλωσεν
ἀπειρονα διορθασον αἱμή, ὁφρα τεοίς ἀδημίτα λόφον κλίνειε λεπάδνοις, and see nn. ad loc. for this use of λόφον, λεπάδνοις. Here the aorist δοῦλωμεν is gnomic, of regular or repeated action. The dative is similar to that of 159, see n. sup. ad loc. On the use of the dative elsewhere with δοῦλω ,see 158n.sup. (There is no precise parallel for our line). Paul here applies to the voluntary submission of a subject the language which in the earlier instances (and elsewhere, see nn. on 158-9 sup.) is applied to the forcible subjugation of foreign peoples. A similar contrast is made more explicitly by Agapetus, Cap. 20 (PG.86(1).1169D) σεπτῆ δικαιώς ἐστίν ἢ ἡμῶν βασιλεία ὅτι τοίς πολέμιοις μὲν δεικνύει τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δὲ νέμει φιλομάθης καὶ νικώσα έκκλησ τῇ δυναμεί τῶν πολεμ., τῷ ἀδίκῳ ἀγάπῃ τῶν ὁμοίων ἤτταται.

956-58. The argument is summarised first by a gnomic statement (956; cf. 115 sup.) and secondly by a bucolic synkrisis, which concludes the long section on J.'s clemency on a quiet and remote note; compare the effect of 166f, 182-4 and 207-13 sup. The two elements are linked by the now familiar technique of rhetorical anaphora (οἴσθα 956, 957).

956. οἴσθα γάρ ὀσσον, κτλ.: For parts of *ἐξόμω followed by clauses in ὀσσον, ὡς, cf. Od.7.327f ἐξέφορεισ ... ὀσσον ἀρισταί/ νής ἐμαι , Od.23.60 οἴσθα γάρ ὡς κ’ ἀπαστάς ἐνι μεγάροιοι φανεί, and other exx. cit. Chantaine Grammaire homérique II.293, sec.430; Nonn.D.42.383f οἴσθα γάρ, ὡς .../μισθον ἀγνυρῆς φιλομάθην ὁμοὶοι ὑπάγεις, al., see Peek Lex. s.v. οἴσθα I. Du Cange's correction of the ms. reading ὄσον to the epic form is necessary metr.gr. Homer speaks of ἀνάγκη as κρατέρη, II.6.458, cf. A.R.2.18, also Orph.Hymn 3.11 ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει. For a similar use of ἀνάγκη of physical constraint or force by a superior (cf. LSJ s.v.3) in contemporary poetry, cf. Epigr.Gr.1064.6 οὐ ἐξίοις, οὐχ ἐπέργη βασιλῶν ἔταμαξεν ἀνάγκη, of the martyr Sergius; also A.P.16.332.3 (Agath.) where it is contrasted with πετάω. For κρατερώτερος with genitive of comparison, cf, Opp.C.3.237ff ζεό πάτερ, ὄσσον ἐφι ζηλοίον πανάγρηγον ἤτοπ.// κείνου καὶ φύσιος κρατερώτερον εἰσορομάχαι/θήκας; comparative
κρατερότερος alone, id.H.1.753, 2.45.

957f. ὀσθα...ὡς: See preceding note.

νομίωσιν ἐν ἀνθεσί, κτλ.: The epithet νομίος (see n.inf.) at once indicates the pastoral setting of the following analogy. An anonymous epigram in the Planudean appendix (A.P.16.74) uses a very similar analogy to make the opposite point in the related context of advising an official, μὴν μετείχῃ βαιῶν φόβον (line 1; cf. Agap.Cap.48, cit.954n.sup.). The epigrammatist illustrates his point by three analogies, the sting with which the bee is armed (line 1f), the whip needed to direct the proud horse (line 3) and finally (line 4f) οὖν ὁ συν ἀγέλη ἐπιπείθεται ἀνδρὶ νομὶ, πρὶν καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι καλάντροσ ὅχον ἀκούσῃ. The striking linguistic similarity between the final half-line and our 958 indicates the dependence of one upon the other. But the anonymity both of the epigrammatist and of the official addressed means that the epigram cannot be dated very precisely. It occurs in the long series of poems in A.P.16 concerned with works of art (see Beckby Vol.IV, p.302); many of the surrounding poems (although not A.P.16.75) belong to the fifth and sixth cents., and the style and language of 74 are in the Nonnian manner. This is illustrated most simply by the fact that the epithet θεμήνος, applied to the bee in line 2, is likewise used of the bee in eadem sede at Nonn.D.14. 422, and is not attested outside these two authors. It seems probable that in our line Paul was deliberately adapting the epigram, since his argument, that the bull is more amenable to persuasion than to force, is less obvious than that of the epigrammatist, and could have been made in refutation of the latter. Paul's substitution of the bull for the herd of pigs in the epigram is in accordance with this hypothesis: although the bull is a familiar inhabitant of the pastoral world (e.g. II.2.481, Theoc.1.74, 25.126, al., A.R.1.1265, Coll.106, 113, al., Cor.Laud.Just.4.198), its reputation for ferocity and belligerence make it a better analogy than the pig for the rebel, to whom Paul's synkritis refers, its seduction by the pipe being as surprising and apparently
uncharacteristic as the rebel's conversion to allegiance.

νομίσειν ἐν ἀνθέσει: Cf. Il.2.289 ἐπ' ἀνθέσειν εἰδάρινοὐσίν;
Theoc.5.87 ἐν ἀνθέσει; GWI 1830.4 (3rd cent. A.D.) ἀνθέσειν ἐν μαλακοῖς (in Elysium); Opp.C.2.198 χαμαλαλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνθέσιν ποιήσ; Nonn.D.32.89, 98 ἐν ἀνθέσι(ν). The adjective νόμισος is first used as an epithet of pastoral gods (see LSJ s.v. (A)), and then also more widely in later poets, A.R.1.578 μέλος, cf. A.P.7.174.1 (Eryc.) οὐρίγγων νόμιον μέλος; A.P.16.305.6 (Ant.Thess.) δοράκων; Opp. H.4.356 ὅδλον, C.4.3 χαμεύναι; Nonn.D.14.76 ποίμνη, 15.208 καλαύροπα, 27.227 σύριγξ, al.; A.P.6.73.3 (Mac.Cons.) κορύναν, ib.168.4 (Paul Sil.) σκῦλακας.

958. πειδόμενος σύριγγι: "heeding the pipe". Cf. Nonn.D.4.299γ οὗ τινι κέντρῳ/πείθεται, οὗ μάότιγι κελεύεται, of Zeus disguised as a bull in courting Europa; Tryph.362γ οὐδὲ βοταρί/πείθεται οὐδὲ νομοίο λιλοίεται, of a heifer stung by a gadfly; A.P.16.74.4, quoted in n.sup. on 957f.

καλαύροπος ἰχον ἁλύσκει: Cf. A.P.16.74.5, quoted in n.sup. on 957f. The καλαύροφ is the shepherd’s staff, which was thrown to control the herd. According to a scholium on Il.23.845 (V.498.32ff Erbse), it was used to separate the gathered herd (contra LSJ s.v.) and had attached to it a thong which the herdsman used when throwing, as often in javelin-throwing, cf. Leaf's n. on Il.loc.cit. For a discussion of ancient throwing-sticks (especially the λαγωθόλον), see Norman Douglas, Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology (1928) 50ff. The fact that the καλαύροφ was thrown accounts for the use of ἰχον here: the animal would be familiar with the sound of the staff as it was hurled through the air.

The term καλαύροφ occurs once in Homer (loc.cit.sup.) and then in Alexandrian and later poetry and prose, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.4.974, Nonn.D.20.116 ἡνίδεχες καλαύροπι ταῦρον ἄλητην (of an Indian riding a bull), 34.254 ἦθους καλαύροπι πέτας μήλων, al., Par.21.108 οὐρανίᾳ ποίμαινε καλαύροπι μήλα καὶ άρνας; Coll.109 βοῶν ἐλάτειρα, καλαύροψ; inf.Amb.208 γυμνὸν ἐγγνάμπτοιο καλαύροπος
εἴδος ἐλίσουν, of the two crosses adorning the architrave of the ambo. The noun ἁκός (= ἁκή, II.13.837, etc.) does not occur in poetry before the Alexandrian period, see LSJ s.v., adding Call. Del.140, id.fr.23.2 Pr.; Epigr.Gr.989.4, 996.8, al.; A.P.7.267.3 (Posidipp.), 9.409.1 (Antiphan.); Opp.C.1.207; Nonn.D.1.170, cf. Par.8.147, D.25.268, al.; A.P.4.3B.82, 16.244.1 (both Agath.). The verb ἀλώκω is constructed with accusative by Homer, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.1035, 4.735, al.; Theoc.24.69 (simil. with ὑπολόγει, Orph.Arg.106); Opp.H.2.236, 4.64, al.; Nonn.D.23.7, 47.386, al., Par.12.47; Tryph.127; A.P.5.219.3 (Paul Sil.).

959. εὐθεῖα: Causal, see n.sup. on 155 and cf. θεῖας 6, 10, 17, 18 sup., where the adverb similarly introduces the theme of Christ's championship of J. (see n.sup. on 935-66). Whereas in the iambic prologue this is seen as arising from J.'s active promulgation of Christianity, its origin is here ascribed to his benevolent rule, as exemplified by his clemency. The two parallel sections (6-21, 959-66) mark the beginning and the end of the two encomia of J. which frame the ekphrasis proper: the new theme of the patriarch is indicated inf. 963ff. For the theme of the foundation of imperial prosperity in divine assistance, see n.sup. on 6f.

ἀεὶ καμάτων τεσσεράκοντα ἤκεισθαι: Cf.259 sup. ἀπαθῶς ἀεὶ προκέκλειθον ἄνεσθαι and see n. ad loc. on this use of προκέκλειθος with genitive. The phrase here is an epic equivalent for συνεργόν σὸν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἡκείστι παράντα, 6f sup. The verb ἄνεσθαι suggests that Christ stood up or rose to champion J., on the analogy of the Homeric sense of standing up as a champion to meet a challenge (often with dative), cf. II.23.709 and see LSJ s.v.B.I.5, adding Nonn.D.19.158, 37.500, Tryph.171.

960. Χριστὸς ἁναξ: Cf. Nonn.Par.1.68, 3.142, al., inf. Amb.44, and see PGL s.v.1 for the use of ἁναξ of God and Christ. Elsewhere (140, 157, 239, 970, etc.) Paul uses the term of J.

960ff. υπολάβας δὲ κυβερνητὴν χαλινῷ/σετό κατιθύει κρατερόφρονας: "and with guiding bridle your stout-hearted counsels he keeps straight".
Cf. 226 sup. κυβερνητήρι τεφ διέπουσα χαλινῷ, where, however, Roma is speaking of J. as a bridle in her hands, while in our line Christ is said to pull on the bridle which controls J.'s counsels. The essential idea in both passages is that of J. and a superhuman force working in concert, and Paul, the Hellenic Christian, expresses it in similar linguistic terms whether the superhuman power is pagan or Christian (although see n.sup. on 219-54, fin., on the neutral character of Roma). For the expression κυβερνητήρι χαλινῷ and the use of such imagery, see n.sup. on 226. The verb κατεύθυνω (equivalent to κατευθύνω) is originally used of steering a ship (Hdt.2.96); it occurs occasionally in Alexandrian poetry (see LSJ s.v., adding Mosch.2.151 τόνδε κατευθύνοντα πλόου προκέλευθον έμείοι), but is very rare in later poets, cf. Orph.Arg.126 υπα κατευθύνειν δεδέσει πολυμήτιδι τέχνη. For the following instrumental dative, see the exx. of this usage with κατευθύνω quoted by LSJ s.v.; so too with simple ίδυνω (which is used of ruling as early as Il.17.632 Ζεύς...πάντι' ιδυνει, see LSJ s.v.3), e.g. Od.5.270 πεδαλίῳ ίδυνει, Opp.C.1.95p (quoted 226n.sup.), Nonn.D.34.254 (quoted 958n.sup.).

The epithet κρατερόφων is used by Homer of Heracles (cf. A.R.1.122) and other heroes, and also of a wild animal (Il.10.184), see LSJ s.v., adding Orph.Lith.550 φωτῇ, Opp.C.2.464 θηρᾶ, 3.337 φόλα (jackals). For Paul's use, cf. Hes.Op.147 ἀδύμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφωνα θηρῶν, Orph.fr.164.2 πᾶς χρῆ μ’ αὐθανάκτων ἀρχὴν κρατερόφωνα θηρᾶται. Hesychius' gloss on the epithet (cited in the genitive), βουλητήρω, may be a clue to Paul's reason for choosing it to qualify Βουλᾶς here.

961f. εἴτ' ἐπὶ χάρμην, κτλ.: "whether there is need to bare the sword for war or cover it"; i.e. in war and peace. The expression replaces the more detailed list of J.'s achievements in peace and war given in the iambic prologue (6-16).

961. εἴτ' ἐπὶ χάρμην: For the line-end, cf. Nonn.D.26.215 = Tryph.382 οὖσ ἐπὶ χάρμην, Jo.Gaz.Anacr.1.3 (PLG III.342) οὖσ ἐπὶ χάρμην; Il.13.104 οὖσ' ἐπὶ χάρμην (of deer); sup. 135 οὖσ' ἐπὶ νίκην. The noun χάρμη ("joy of battle", or, as here, simply "battle") is used
frequently by Homer (see LSJ s.v.) and Nonnus (D.20.266, 38.13, al.), but only rarely elsewhere in later poetry, Lycoph. 563, 1271 (both plural), Tryph. loc. cit., 619, A.P. 16.44.4 (Anon., 9th cent.).

962. ἕνανα γυμνὸν...τίτε καλύψαι: The verb γυμνὸς is used elsewhere of drawing a weapon, Hdt. 3.64, A. Th. 624 (both passive); A.P. 16.124.2 (Anon.); Nonn. D. 10.39, 23.61, al.; exx. from late prose PGL s.v. 3. The adjective γυμνὸς is applied in Homer to a bow (Od. 11.607) and an arrow (Od. 21.417), see LSJ s.v. 3, adding Nonn. D. 29.218 ἕνανα...γυμνὰ. But καλύπτω does not regularly occur in this context. The two verbs are, however, regularly used respectively of baring the body and of covering it with clothes or armour et simil., and it is on this analogy that Paul writes καλύπτω here. For the verb in this latter context, cf. II. 3.141 (middle), 16.360 (passive), and other exx. cit. LSJ s.v. 1 fin., A. R. 1294, Nonn. D. 20.271, 37.763, al., Coll. 183, Jo. Gaz. Descrip. 2.308. The noun ἕναναν (here poetic plural for singular) is epic, II. 5.81, Od. 22.84, al., A. R. 1.1250, 2.101, al., Call. Del. 183, Theoc. 22.197, 201, GVI 722.11 (2nd cent. A. D.), Opp. C. 1.154, H. 2.24, al., Nonn. D. 2.293, 37.442, al., Tryph. 20, A. P. 5.248.8 (Paul Sil.).

τελέσθαι χρέος: Nonnus often uses χρέος (ἐστι) with genitive or (less frequently) infinitive/accusative and infinitive, like χρή, in the sense "need" (cf. LSJ s.v. χρέως VIII), e.g. D. 4.43 τί χρέος ἑν ἀνάδεουν ἐξείσῃ πιναχλὸς γμνοὺς ἀκοίτην, Par. 3.39 ὧτι χρέος ἐστὶ νομίσαι... . Paul here substitutes poetic τελέσθαι for ὧτι. The former is used by Homer with predicative adjectives and more widely by later poets, in the sense "to be", see LSJ s.v. and cf. A. P. 7.531.8 (Ant. Thess.), 9.332.2 (Nossis). A. R. 4.1576, Call. Ap. 50, Lav. Pall. 67, Theoc. 10.49, 26.21, al., D. P. 211, 673, Opp. H. 3.51, C. 1.320, al., Nonn. Par. 7.42, 8.103, al. (but it is not listed in Peek Lex. For Nonn. D.), Coll. 266, Jo. Gaz. Descrip. 1.335, 2.343, al., A. P. 5.218.11, 263.5, 7.583.7, 11.372.6 (all Agath.), ib. 7.563.4 (Paul Sil.); ib. 15.50.2, 16.344.1, 4 (both Anon. epigrams on charioteers).

963. ὅσε ἐς καὶ, κτλ.: Paul uses the theme of Christ's championship
of J. in order to introduce and pay a compliment to the patriarch Eutychius, who is addressed 978-1029. Considerable care is taken here and in 967-77 to introduce the patriarch with proper tact: Paul praises Eutychius' virtue, but emphasises the importance of J.'s role in making this wise selection of patriarch, cf. 973-77 inf. Eustratius' Life of Eutychius (on which see n.inf. on 978-1029) similarly suggests (ch.23, PG.86(2).2301A) that God directed J.'s choice of Eutychius, ἄλλ' ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετακομίζων Θεὸς, ἔταξαν δὲ καρδίας καὶ νεφοῦς, καὶ ἐν τῇ χεὶρι αὐτοῦ καρδίαν βασιλέως κατέχουν μετὰ τῶν περιτών τῆς γῆς, κλίνει καὶ τὴν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου βασιλέως καρδίαν εἰς τὸν ἄξιον ἄνδρα, κτλ. Chapter 24 (col.2301B-C) describes two visions, one seen by the man sent by J. to guard Eutychius (φυλάξας τε μετὰ τῆς προποθιούς τιμῆς, 2301A) and one seen by J. himself, both of which indicated that Eutychius should be patriarch; see further 966n.inf. According to Evagrius (HE 4.38, 187.27ff Bid.-Parm.), J. chose Eutychius to succeed Menas because he was impressed by Eutychius' masterly arguments at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych. 22-23 (PG.86(2).2300C).

σε...δῶκεν ἔλεοςαί: The phraseology suggests the granting of a prayer, since δῶμαι followed by accusative and infinitive is the construction used by Homer in prayers and vows, e.g. II.3.322 δός ἀποφθέγμενον δῶκαι δόμον ἅϊδος εἴτω, cf. Od.3.60, al., see LSJ s.v.III.1 and cf. Nonn.Π.39.209 δός δὲ με νικήσαι καὶ ἐν ὀδαῖ. The construction of the verb with dative and infinitive is more common.

ἀρητήρα θεοῦντα: "a God-fearing/reverent Priest". On ἀρητήρ, see n.sup. on 344, where it is also applied to Eutychius, and for θεοῦντα, see nn.sup. on 168, 342.

964f. ῥητίδως κρανάν, κτλ.: "who easily runs over all the rugged path of fourfold virtue". Cf. A.P.1.10.36 (Anon., 6th cent.) εὐμεθίνης ἔμπασαν ἀεὶ πατέουσα πορείν, of Anicia Juliana, and the similar reference to Eutychius inf. 1015f. Eustratius (V.Eutych.11,
describes Eutychius' decision to become a monk as προσδραμένων τοις ἄρεταιν, λέγω δὴ τού τῶν μοναχῶν ἀγγελικῷ χαρᾷ, cf. ib.2 (col.2276D) οὐκ ἀκαθένη ἢ θεία τοι καὶ ἑρά κεφαλή (τοῦ Ἑὐτυχίου) ...πᾶσαν τὴν ἄρετὴν ἑγκλωπουμένην. Cf. Theoph. Sim.Hist.dial.11 (21.20f de Boor) ἐπὶ τοῖς κολοφωνία τῶν ἄρετῶν τὴν ἀποκαταστάσει ποιομένος, of the patriarch Sergius; also the passage from Bas.Sel.V. Thecl. quoted in n.sup. on 309f. Paul has in mind Hes.Op.289ff τῆς ἄρετης ἰδρύτη θεοί προπάραμεθαν ξένηκαν/ἀθάνατοι μακρός δὲ καὶ ὁριός οἷος ἐς αὐτήν/καὶ τροχύς τὸ πρῶτον ἑπὶν ὁδεῖς ἀκρον ἦκαστη ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἐπείτα πέλει, χαλέπῃ περ ἑοῦσα.

On the wide citation and discussion of this passage throughout antiquity, including a quotation of line 289 by Agathias, see n.sup. on 302-10 fin. Cf. also Jo.Gaz.Desor.1.87ff on Arete, the colour of whose robe (crimson at the front but grey at the back) symbolises the toil which the aspiring mind must endure before reaching her meadow: συνερχομένη δὲ καρνηγί (i.e. when it reaches Virtue's mountain-top)/βετοὺς σκίρτης γαλανιώνς προσώπου/μόχθου ἠλοῦ δύσα (92ff).

In designating ἄρετῆ with the epithet τετραζεύς, Paul refers to the four cardinal virtues of classical philosophy, e.g. Pl. Rep.4.6, 427e ὠφλον δὴ ὑπὶ τῇ σοφῇ τέσσαρι καὶ ἄνδρεία καὶ σωφρόνων καὶ δικαιοσύνη, of the perfect state. These virtues remained central to political philosophy in the late antique period, cf. (for example) Men.Rhet.373.7f ἄρεται δὲ τέσσαρες εἴσον, ἄνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις (the emperor's πράξεις are to be categorised according to the virtues they represent). They are thought to have been first adapted to Christian ethics by Ambrose in the 4th cent., in an allegorical explanation of the four rivers of Paradise, see the discussion s.v. Tugend in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche Vol.10 (ed. Höfer and Rahner; Freiburg 1965), col.395ff, and cf. PGL s.v. ἄρετῆ B.2 for references to the cardinal virtues in Greek patristic writers. For a reference to the four virtues in late poetry, cf. A.P.7.343.5 (Anon., 25th cent.) τῶν πιστών ἄρετῶν ἀναφοράματα πάντα φέροντα.

964. ἐπείτα : The adverb is usually placed emphatically at

zeugma ἄρετής τετράχυος οἶμον: The variants suggested in the ms. (genitive κραναθές, accusative τετράχυον, see Fr.'s app.crit.) have been rightly disregarded by all editors, since Paul certainly intended κραναθές to qualify οἶμος, corresponding to Hesiod's τρηχύς (Op. 291, quoted sup.). The variants no doubt originated from confusion about the gender of οἶμος (perhaps combined with doubt about the genitive form τετράχυον, as opposed to τετράχυον, from τετράχυον, see n.inf.). But feminine οἶμος is attested as early as E.Alc. 835 (cit. LSJ s.v.) and often in later poetry, e.g. A.R. 4.296, 838, A.P. 7.246.4 (Ant.Sid.), ib. 627.2 (Diod. ?Zonas), 717.2 (Anon.), 9.526.4 (Alph. Myt.), 16.334.4 (Antiphil.); GVI 1330.5, 1539.2; Opp.H. 5.202; Nonn.Par. 1.85, 2.68; A.P. 9.811.4 (Anon., aet. Justinian). Homer uses the epithet κραναθές only of Ithaca, Il. 3.201, Od. 1.247, al., cf. A.P. 16.295.4 (Anon.); later poets apply it to other specific places, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R. 1.608, 4.580; A.P. 9.679.3 (Anon.); Orph.Hymn 35.5; Orph.Arg. 1357; Greg.Naz.Carm. 2.1.1.354 (PG 37.996A); Nonn.D. 13.161, 26.51, al.; A.P. 7.614.8 (Agath.). But it is also used more generally of landscape, as here, e.g. A.P. 9.64.2 (Aschl. or Arch.) ἐν κραναθὲς οὐρεῖς; Nonn.D. 4.346 πορείης, 5.542 κελεύθουν, al.; A.P. 5.237.10 (Agath.) εἰς ἐποῖος κραναθές οὖλιν. The epithet τετράχυι (as opposed to τετράχυον, for which, cf. E.Hel. 1039f ἄχον, Maneth. 5(6).171 ἄρμα), occurs first in Nonnus, who uses it both literally, of horses (D. 2.422, 12.9, al.) and more widely in the general sense "fourfold", as here, e.g. D. 5.54 ἀνέμων τετράχυι κόσμῳ, 7.6 ὀσμῆς of the four elements, 25.364 ζῷοι, Par. 7.9 γνωτός ὑπευθελεί τετράχυες ὑπὲρ Ἰωνῆς, 19.74 δουλατέου θανάτου...τετράχυι ὀσμῆ (i.e. crucifixion). For Paul's idea of the four virtues yoked like horses, cf. Theoph.Sim. 8.12.6 (307.17f de Boor) where the dead emperor Maurice is envisaged as the charioteer of the virtues.

965. ζητεροχαότα: The verb ζητεροχαώ is not attested before the

965f. Ἡγαθέωσιν θῶκοισ/Ῥώμης "the most holy seat of Rome", i.e. the patriarchal throne of Cpl. The term θῶκος/θῖκος is used elsewhere to denote an ecclesiastical chair of office, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.7 (PG.37.1228) Χριστοφόροι, θϊκοί οἶκοι ἕνεδροι νεότος ἀριστοτος, of bishops, ibid. line 145 (col.1238) θῶκον ἱερῶν, see further PGL s.v. θῖκος. Prose writers more commonly use θόρος in this context, e.g. Evagr.HE 4.36 (185.16f Bld.-Parm.) ἀνθεμίου...τοῦ θόρου τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβαθημένου, of the patriarchal throne of Cpl., Eustrat.V.Eutych.23 (PG.86(2).2300D) Μηνᾶς, τοῦ θόρου διέμων τῆς βασιλευουσίας πόλεως, see PGL and Du Cange Glossarium s.v. For the use of θῶκος in other contexts in Paul, see nn.sup. on 148 (where exx. are given of its use in the poetic plural for singular, as here) and 339, noting its use of the synthronon of S.Sophia sup. 362, 366, 421. The epithet Ἡγαθέως, here applied to the highest ecclesiastical seat, is used by Homer and later poets to denote "places immediately under divine protection" (LSJ). To the testimonies cited by LSJ add A.R.1.308 Δῆλον, 4.1329 Ἀχαίδα, Orph.Hymn 48.4 Τμῆλον, Orph.Arg.44 Μέμλιθ; also of gods and of people, Orph.Hymn pr.31 Δούλων, Opp.H.4.5 ύπέος ηγάθεων κηρ (the emperor's son), Greg.Naz.Carm.2.2.7.5f (PG.37.1551) Καππαδόκοιον, A.P.1.91.1 (Anon.) of the empress Theodora, ib.15. 48.4 (Anon., on the charioteer Uranus) Πέλοπος.

966. οὐδανιν τις...ἐνθέος ὀμφή: "a divine voice from heaven". See 963n.sup. on the evidence of Eustratius' Life of Eutychius for
the divine ordination of Eutychius' appointment as patriarch, and cf. also ib.ch.21 (col. 2297C ff), describing a dream in which Eutychius is told by God that he will become patriarch; ch.22 (col.2300B), where Menas, Eutychius' predecessor as patriarch, foresees that Eutychius will succeed him. The accounts of visions preserved in the Life may have been known to Paul: Eustratius states that J. described his vision τῇ τε εὔσχετε κλήρῳ καὶ τῇ ἑρώτῃ συγκλήτῳ (ch.23, col. 2301C). In it J. saw the apostle Peter, ὑποδεικνύοντα αὐτῷ τὸν μέγαν Εὐτύχιον, καὶ λέγοντα, ὦτι Τούτῳ ποιήσου ἐπίσκοπον γενέσθαι (ibid.). The vision of Eutychius is reported by Eustratius in what purport to be Eutychius' own words, ἔθεσέν γαρ, φησίν, ἐν δρόμῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ὀστράγαλον χειρὸς Δεσποτικῆς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,... καὶ ἥκον μανθ. λεγοῦσι μοι,... ὦτι Ἐκεῖ γίνη ἐπίσκοπος (col.2297C-D). It may be that this account of Eustratius was based on documentary evidence (or a sermon) from Eutychius, which was also known to Paul. But such stories were no doubt commonly associated with the appointment of patriarchs.

The term ὄμφη is used by Homer of the voices of gods, Ἰ.20.129, Ὀδ.3.215, al., and by later poets as oracles et simil., see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.4.1382, Epigr.Gr.1008.2, Orph.Arg.88, 190, 265, al., Nonn.D.12.107, and especially ib.7.161 ( = 12.141, 25.380) ἔθεσεν ὄμφη; also inf.Amb.31 πνεύματος ἀχράντοιο...όμφη. For ἐνθέος in a Christian context, cf. also Jo.Gaz.Desocr.1.33 ἔθεσεν εἰρήνης σημείων, of the Cross; Georg.Pisid.Hex.43 (PG92.1430) τὸν οὖν ἔθεσεν σημαίνων, of the patriarch Sergius, in a metaphor of his making barren places fruitful. For οὐρανίη...όμφη, cf. Nonn.Par.12.119 οὐρανίη...φωνή, of an angel. All three terms (οὐράνιος, ἐνθέος, ὄμφη) are used by patristic writers, see PGL s.vv.

Ἐφήμορφος: Cf. 147 sup. with n. ad loc. Paul uses the verb again inf.1019f οὖν καθάρσιν/ἐμπορίαν ἔφερον ἔφημορφος, of Eutychius' unwillingness to trade in ecclesiastical offices (see n. ad loc.), Amb.104 ἢ τίς (i.e. Hierapolis) ἔσω περιποιητοῦ ἔφημορφος οὐνομα πέτρῳ, i.e. marble, Amb.107 (Ἑκοί) ὅκτω διάδασσαί τιν ἐφήμορφος κίον τεχνη (of the ambo). These examples indicate that the idea of fitting one thing onto another is not always as precise
as it is at 147; cf. also Nonn.D.41.108 (quoted 147n.sup.) "set foot on". So here the sense is simply "set upon". (Compare also the metaphorical usage of the middle at A.P.10.26.4, Lucian, and ib.9.768.6, Agath., cit. LSJ s.v.II.2 fin.). The unmetrical reading of the ms., ξηπηρμωσεν, was corrected by Du Cange.

967-77. This passage may be compared with the opening panegyrical hexameters (135-67, esp. 135-44), both for thematic similarities, although here the scale is much smaller, and also on stylistic grounds. In both passages Paul draws a distinction between J.'s military and his civil victories and applauds the surpassing achievement of the latter, as exemplified in the one case by the building of S.Sophia (135-44) and in the other by the appointment of Eutychius as patriarch (967-77). Both passages allude to J.'s garland of victory (146; 972, 977) and to his defeat of hostile powers (Phthonos 160-63; the Devil and the passions 975-6). Moreover both passages are high-flown and rhetorical and clearly intended as stylistic pièces de resistance (note the commendatory marginal comment in the ms. at the beginning of our passage, quoted by Fr. in app.crit.). Aspects of this style common to both passages are the use of tricolon expressions (135-7, 147-51; 975-7) and elaborate compound epithets (e.g. τυραννοφόνοις 137, πολύσλεξ 139, εὐπήληκος 140, πολιοσοῦχοισιν 141; τροπαιοφόρων 967, εὐπτολέμων 967, cf. 971, ἀμφόσος ἐν 971, 977, βιοὸδοτα 973, ἀληπρόποιοι 975. Paul's repetition of the two epithets εὐπτολεμός and ἀμφόσος in this short passage may indicate that the last part of the poem was composed in some haste). Likewise, both passages begin boldly with a strongly dactylic line (135, 967; cf. also 136-8, 144, al.; 971, 975, 977). The purpose of our passage is to effect a transition to the panegyric of the patriarch Eutychius (978-1029), but the main emphasis is upon J. and his achievements, of which the culmination is his election of Eutychius, cf. 963n.sup. on Paul's concern to avoid offence in praising Eutychius. Eutychius had, of course, been patriarch since 552 (see n.sup. on lemma after line 80), although Paul's words tend to obscure this fact. Paul appears merely to have adapted the passage in praise of
S. Sophia as the culmination of J.'s peacetime achievements (135-67) to suit his present requirements, but the result is less felicitous than the earlier passage.

967f. ἄλλα τροπαίοφόρων, κτλ.: The genitive expression τροπαίοφόρων... ὄμοιον is separative after ἀποκλίναντες, cf. Maneth. 4.595 Ἡλείου δ' ἀκτίνες ἀποκλίνωσίν Ὀλυμπίου, also ib.6(3).721 ἀποκλίνω ἀπό..., al.; transitive, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.140.8 θυμοῦ ἀποκλίνειας ἐμὸν μῆθων ἀθεμίστων; also occasionally in prose, e.g. Philostr. Τιμ.1.14.4 στέφανον ἀποκλίνοντα τῆς κεφαλῆς (cit.LSJ s.v. III.3). But the verb is not commonly used in poetry (Od.19.556, h.Ven.168, S.OT 1192, lyr., Theoc.3.38, 7.130, Call.Del.209, 236) and is more often constructed with a preposition indicating the direction towards which there is a turning, see Theoc., Call. loc.citt.sup., other exx. LSJ, PGL s.v. For adverbial βαΐδον with aorist participle, cf. 942 sup. and parallels quoted in 18On.sup. The term ὄμοιος is applied to songs in honour of heroes, as opposed to gods, as early as h.Ap.161 and Pindar, see the exx.cit. LSJ s.v. The epithets τροπαίοφόρος and εὐπολέμος indicate that Paul has in mind hymns celebrating J.'s military achievements, cf. 136f sup. οἱ δὲ τροπαίοι/ἄμφοτεροί τυραννοφόροι κανονήστας δυτὶμον ἄρσιν. The reference to military achievements is introduced for the same reason as at 136f, in order that Paul may draw a contrast with a surpassing peacetime achievement, here the appointment of Eutychius (see n.sup.). But this time the contrast is less successful, since the expression τροπαίοφόρων... ἀποκλίναντες suggests that the earlier part of the poem has indeed been primarily concerned with hymns in honour of J.'s military achievements, rather than with the peacetime achievement of the building of S.Sophia. Paul uses τροπαίοφόρος with θρίαμβος, referring to J.'s victories at 227 sup., see n. ad loc. The epic epithet εὐπολέμος (cf. 971 inf.), restored by Fr. from the ms. in place of εὐπολέμων of Du Cange, Graefe and Bekker, is first extant at Q.S.4.90 Τροβισσίναν, ib.5.320 Ὀδυσσή, cf. Δ.Α.Π.4.3B.22 (Agath.) σταμάτας (of the Spartiates). At Δ.Α.Π.16.331.4 Σωτῆς εὐπολέμως... ἐνναύαταις, Agathias uses the earlier form of the adjective, cf. h.Mart.4, Xen.locc.citt. LSJ s.v.
GVI 20.4 νίκέων εὐπόλεμοι (= IG I2 945, cit. LSJ Suppl.s.v.), ib.1564.2 εὐπόλεμον τε ἄρετὴν (late 5th cent.B.C.); Nonn.D.5.97f εἰδηροφόρον δὲ καρπὴν/κέλας εὐπόλεμοι λόφους ἀπεσίσατο χαῖτις. The pronoun οὗτος is here objective genitive with ὑμῶν, "hymns in your honour", as often, see 335n.sup.

968f. ἐπιτρέψαμεν θαυμάσῳ/σεμνών ἐς ἄρατήρα: The sense must be "let us turn/direct our song towards the august Priest", i.e. Eutychius, see n.sup. ἄρατήρα 344. This is not, however, the normal sense of ἐπιτρέψαμεν which is regularly constructed with accusative and dative and means "bequeath", "entrust", "yield" et simil., see LSJ s.v. and cf. also A.R.1.642, 3.628, al., Call.Ap.44, Theoc. 17.41, 29.35, Opp.H.3.113, C.2.232, al., Nonn.D.2.63, 17.119, al., Par.2.114, 6.199, Agath.Hist.2.14.1, 5.24.6. The closest parallels for Paul's use of the term here are Opp.C.2.260 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τ', ἐφύπερθεν ἐπιτρέψαντες καρπονοῦ where, however, there is a variant reading ἐπιτρέπαντε; Nonn.D.15.110 γνωρίσεις πλατύ νότον ἐπέτρεπε πυθένι δόφης, cf. ib.117. In earlier references to his poem, Paul does not use ἄτιδὴν as here, but rather ὑμῖν (143, 172, 967, cf. inf.970), ἦπα (179, 352) or μῦθος (185, 312, 314). The epithet σεμνὸς is not Homeric, and occurs rarely in epic (h.Cer.1, 478, 486 of Demeter and her rites), but see LSJ s.v.II.1 for its use of human and half-human beings in classical writers, and PGL s.v. for its use in Christian contexts in late prose. For its incidence in late poetry, cf. A.P.5.116.2 (Marc.Arg.), Epigr. Gr.588.5 (3rd cent.) σεμνῶν γλυκερὸν φῶς ἡλίοιο, GVI 1288.6 (?2nd/3rd cent.) τὰ κόσμου σεμνὰ, Orph.Hymn pr. 19 Διώνυν, ib.18.18 μωστιπόλιοι, al., Procl.Hymn 7.18 κράτους...σεμνὸν ἐγεροιβρότων ἄρετῶν, inf. Amb.19.

969f. τεδὸς ὦ τῆς ἔστι, κτλ.: "The hymn too for its part is in some respect yours, lord". The τῆς qualifies and limits τεδὸς: the hymn is essentially in honour of Eutychius, but must be considered partly to belong to J. (who is denoted by ἄναξ), as explained in the following lines. On the other hand, καὶ αὐτὸς strengthens ὑμῖν: this hymn too, as opposed to the earlier τροπαίοφόροι καὶ
970-72. Νῖκη γὰρ ἀμυβαδῶν, κτλ.: "For Victory, coming by turns now from this quarter, now from that, for toils of successful warfare and labours in protection of the city, rested a delicate garland on your head". Cf. A.P. 15.47.2f (Anon.) Νῖκη δ’ ἔστεφάνωσεν ἀμυβαδῶν ἀλλοτ’ ἀπ’ ἀλλου/χρώματος ἀκρα φέροντα καρῆτα σύμβολα νίκης, of the charioteer Porphyrius, and see Alan Cameron Porphyrius (Oxford 1973) 248-52, on the parallelism between the victory of the charioteer and that of the emperor. For the symbolic depiction of the crowning of the emperor by Victory, cf. Pan.Lat. 6(7).21.4 (201.26ff Mynors) vidisti enim, credo, Constantine, Apollinem tuum comitante Victoria coronas tibi laureas offerentem; Cor.Laud.Just. 3.201-3 par laevam dextramque tenens Victoria partem/altius erectis pendentat in aera pinnis,/ laurigeram dextra fulgente coronam, describing the imperial throne in the Great Consistory, see Cameron ad loc., p.188. In our lines, Νῖκη is personified, as it is in the epigram (and elsewhere in the charioteer epigrams, e.g. A.P. 16.350.1, 357.3, 359.1; cf. ib. 62.3, Anon., on J.’s equestrian statue) and at 140 sup., 981 inf., see further nn. ad loco.

970. ἀμυβαδῶν ἀλλοθευν ἀλλη: For the line-end, cf. A.R. 4.953 ἀμυβαδίς ἀλλοθευν ἄλη, Theoc. 1.34 ἀμυβαδίς ἀλλοθευν ἄλης, Nonn. Par. 4.84 ἀμυβαδῶν ἄλην ἐπ’ ἀλω, inf. Amb. 263 ἀμυβαδῶν ἄλην ἐν ἀλω. The adverb ἀμυβαδῶν (first at Parm. 1.19) is much less common in late poetry than ἀμυβαδίς (same sense), cf. Stephanus s.v. ἀμυβαδίς, sed magis est poetica ἀμυβαδίς quam ἀμυβαδῶν. But for ἀμυβαδῶν, see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v. and those quoted sup., adding Q.S. 10.191, A.P. 16.351.3 (Anon., on Porphyrius), Agath. Hist. 3.28.2, inf. Amb. 223, 271; cf. also ἀμυβαδίν, A.R. 2.1071, Orph. Lith. 691. For ἀλλοθευν ἄλη cf. ἀλλοθευν ἄλης 262 sup. and see n. ad loc.
971. εὐπτολέμος καμάτοις, κτλ.: The epithets are used to draw the contrast between the victories of war and those of peace (on which see n.sup. on 967-77), whereas the two epithets in 967 both indicate the celebration of military achievements. See n. ad loc. on εὐπτολέμος and 162n.sup. on ἀστυδόχος. The two parallel dative expressions go closely with the preceding ὁμοιαδόν ἀλλοθεν ἔλλη and should probably be interpreted as causal, "for your toils". For the use of ἐπὶ and dative to express cause or occasion, see Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.109, sec.154 and cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.III.1, K-G.I.502, sec. 438.3d, Peek Lex.s.v. ἐπὶ II.5.

We must either understand ἐπὶ from the second dative expression to go with εὐπτολέμος καμάτοις also, or ally this dative with instances of causal dative in Nonnus, e.g. D.5.584, 10.44, al., see Keydell I.59*.

972. ὑμετέροις στέφος ἄβρον, κτλ.: For the garlanding of J., cf. 146 sup., where (New) Roma is summoned to perform this task, and see n. ad loc. for this theme in general. The compound ἐπιστηριῶν (strictly "cause one thing to rest upon another") occurs in prose and late epic only, often in architectural contexts, cf. 276 sup., with n. ad loc. But for Paul's use of it here, cf. esp. Nonn. D.38.291f Φαέθωντος ἐπεστηριέες καρφίνω·χρυσείν τρυφάλεται; also Opp. C.4.256 (χηλῶν) στεφάμεναι νότοις ἐπεστηριζόν ὄνοιο. The expression στέφος ἄβρον is Nonnian, D.33.99 καὶ στέφος ἄβρον ἔρωτι πόρεν γελάσας Γαυμήδης; cf. also Pi.I.8.66ff ἀλίκων τῷ τῷ ἄβρον/ἀμφὶ ποικρατίου κλεάνδρου πλεκέτωμυρσίνας στέφανον. Paul writes plural καρφίνωι here for singular; Homer similarly uses the term only in the plural.

973. καὶ γὰρ: Explanatory, cf. 253 sup. and 157 sup. with n. ad loc.

ὅτε: I.e. in A.D.552, see n.sup. on lemma after line 80, and cf. n.sup. on 967-77.

οὐχιπτοῦχε: See 156n.sup.
The dative is associative/instrumental, "in" or "by means of", see Keydell I.59f and cf. Nonn.D.4.179 ή δε μεταστρέφοις νόσου διάμυσιν Βοηλη (associative), ib.4.455f ή δε Παλλάδες έμφροντω Βοηλη/Γηγενέων τινα πέτρον ἐπίθεμεσα καρδίας (instrumental), 37.222f ἐπεὶ τεχνήμου ποιήσαν ἔδροιο πέλει νόσου ἡμιούχος (instrumental). For the collocation of νόσος and Βοηλη, cf. 268 sup. and for Βιοδώτωρι Βοηλη, cf. Nonn.Par.10.133f καὶ Βιοδώτωρι μνήμω/ἡμετέρω γενετήρος ἀτέρμονος ἀξία δέω (Christ speaking). Earlier the epithet Βιοδώτωρ is applied to gods and may mean "giver of livelihood" (so LSJ), cf. Epigr.Gr. 820.2 = IG 3.239 (ca. 2nd cent.A.D.) Β.λετόδος, Orph.Hymn 73.2 Βιοδώτωρα θυτήρω, of Zeus, and see LSJ s.vv. on the similar epithets Βιοδώτης, Βιοδώτης, Βιοδώτης (all rare too). Certainly LSJ's sense is intended at A.P.7.585.3 (Jul.Aeg.) ἐν γὰρ ἔχει ζῶν Βιοδώτωρα, of a ship.

974. ἡμετέρως τεμένεος, κτλ.: "you appointed the great Initiate to your precincts". The verb κληρώω is used in late prose in the technical sense "cause to become a cleric or religious" (κλήρος), e.g. Evagr.HE 4.36 (186.6ff Bid.-Parm.) τὸν μὲν παῖδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ λοίπῳ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας φωτισθέντας ἐκλήρωσε (so. δ.Ιουστινιανὸς), passive, Cyr.S.V.Sab.18 (p.102.21 Schwartz), see Soph.Lex.s.v. κληρώω, Du Cange Glossarium s.v. κληρωθῆναι. So of bishops in the phrase ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦμαι, e.g. Evagr.HE 2.5 (50.30ff Bid.-Parm.) Προτέρως δε τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ψήφῳ κοινῷ τῆς συνόδου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέως κληροῦμαι, cf. Eus.HE 3.2 (I.98 Bardy), ib.3.4.8 (I.101), al., and see PGL s.v.1. For the middle (used absolutely) in the sense "appoint", as in our line, cf. Jo.Chrys. Hom.2.1 in Eph.1 (PG.62.17) θεός...δ ΚΛΗΡΟΣΒΙΜΕΝΟΣ ( = PGL s.v.4). Paul certainly had these prose usages in mind in his choice of the verb here, since it is not Homeric and is extremely rare in late poetry, cf. Call.fr.203.32 Pr. αὐτῷ δὲ τραγῳδεῖν ἐκ θεῶν ἐκληρώσω (passive; cf. LSJ s.v.I, "appoint by lot"), id. fr.18.10 ἐκληρωθάντω τ'ἐρετιά (middle, "allotted", cf. LSJ s.v.II), similarly D.P.1173f (οἱ θεοὶ ἐκληρωθάντω δ'ἐκάστῳ/μοίραι ἐχειν πόντοιο καὶ ἡμείροιο βαθείας.
Here and at 976, 977, also 1007, Paul uses the uncontracted Homeric form of the second person singular aorist middle (e.g. Od.1.62 ἄδοξα, cf. L.R.Palmer in Wace-Stubbings A Companion to Homer, London 1962, p.120). On Nonnus' "studious avoidance" of contraction, see Keydell I.43* and cf. Lehrs, op.cit.Keydell, p.259 Nec unquam formas passivorum σαί, ικό, αο contraxit, of Nonnus; La Roche, op.cit.Keydell, p.208 "im fünften Fuss gibt es bei Nonnos selbstverständlich nur unkontrahierte Formen ebenso wie bei Homer". (But Paul does contract in iambics, sup.14 ἐτρήσκω, cf. 976). For uncontracted second person aorist middle elsewhere in late poetry, cf. (for example) Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.13 (PG.37.971), ib.181 (col.984); ps.Ap.Met.Ps.4.13, 88.37; Eudoc.Cypr.1.88 (PG.85.836B); Anon.Laud.Beryt.55 (I.96 Heitsch), ps.Pampr. 1 verso 15 (I.109 Heitsch); A.P.1.1.6 (Anon.Byz.), ib.15.49.5, 50.4, 5, 16.351.5 (all Anon. epigrams on charioteers); A.P.16. 332.2 (Agath.) In lines 976 and 977, Paul deliberately repeats this ending followed by a disyllabic accusative noun parallel to μύστην, so as to create a rhyming pattern which reinforces the rhetorical effect of the thrice-reiterated ἐξόθησι at the beginning of lines 975-77. Similar linguistic patterns have been observed elsewhere in highly rhetorical passages, see nn.sup. on 177-85 and 279-314. The use of rhetorical rhyme is a characteristic of the iambic poetry of George of Pisidia, see Pertusi's introduction to his edition, p.45ff.

The dative ὑμιτέρως τεμένεσσαι is not really parallel to other instances of the dative after verbs of giving and distributing (K-G.I.406, sec.423.1; cf. D.P.1173, quoted sup.), since such datives usually denote the person(s) to whom the gift or distribution is made. It is more akin to the poetic (especially Homeric) use of the dative after verbs of ruling et simil. (K-G.I.409, sec.423.6) and so implies "appointed as master over". For τέμενος applied to churches, see 197n.sup. and on Paul's use of the term μύστης see 313n.sup. Eustratius' V.Eutych. refers to τὸν μέγαν ἑότιχιον (ch.23, PG.86(2).2300D, cf. ch.32, col.2312B), ὁ μέγας ἀνέρ (ch.34, col.2313D), etc. His ordination as patriarch is described in ch.25 (col.2304 A-B).
975f. At the appointment of Eutychius, the Devil collapses and the passions are routed. The military terminology (ὅρμη, ἐπέτρεψα χάρμην) recalls the account of the defeat of Phthonos described in epic terms at 160-63 sup., see nn. ad loc. Here, however, the ideas are more explicitly Christian: the implication of the lines is that the virtue of Eutychius is so great (cf. 964f sup.) that the forces of evil at once collapse before it; cf. Romanos 2 δ’8ff, where the serpent which tempted Eve is said to flee at the Nativity. In the NT, the devils who cause diseases are discomfitted when confronted with Christ, e.g. Ev.Luc.8.28f ἄλων δὲ τὸν Ἡσοῦν ἀνακράζει προσέπεσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἶπε, Τί ἐμοί καὶ σοί, Ἡσοῦ, τί σου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ψιθυτοῦ; δέχομαι σου, μή με βασανίσῃς. παρῆγγελλε γὰρ τὸ πνεύματι τοῦ ἀκαθάρτω ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωποῦ, of the man possessed by devils, which Jesus causes to leave him and enter the Gadarene swine. Cf. PGL s.v. δαιμων F on the defeat of demons through Christ and the Church, ib.s.v. δίασωλος B.8 on the defeat of the Devil by Christ. Christ handed on to his disciples his power over devils (e.g. Ev.Marc.3.15, Ev.Luc.10.17), and in later saints' Lives a similar power to discomfit demons is commonly ascribed to the holy man, e.g. Eustrat.V.Eutych.5 (PG.86(2).2280B) where Eutychius' grandfather and namesake is said to have received from God the power to cast out devils and heal disease, οὖν ἔφρητον καὶ ἔξω τῆς θεᾶς οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι φέρειν τὴν ἄπωκτάπτουσαν χάριν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, paraχρῆμα κατέπιπτον,...κτλ.

In patristic texts, the passions are regularly associated with sin, evil, corruption, etc., see PGL s.v. πάθος 3, 4 and esp.5, on their association with the Devil and ib.9, on the fight against the passions and their control by virtue; cf. No.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica 15'6 ὅς ἔκ τῶν παθῶν σαιμωνίων ὑμᾶς; Theoph.Sim. 7.6.1 (254.24f de Boor) where John, patriarch of Cpl. (died 595) is said to have been called ἴπτερος, διὰ τὸ καταφλοσσόρος λίαν τῶν ἡδονῶν τυραννίσαι τε τῶν παθῶν αὐτοκράτορά τε τῆς κολύας γενόσθαι; Sabas V.S.Joanicii 2 (ASS Novembris, Vol.2, Pt.1, Brussels 1894, p.334A; 9th cent), where it is explained that the youthful Joanicicrus was able to allow his pigs to wander at will unharmed under the
protection of the sign of the Cross, ὃς μέλλοντι ὑποτάσσετι τὰ πάντα καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ἡδομένους ἐχθροὺς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δαίμονας, ὃς θήρας καὶ κλεπτάς, ἐλεύθεραν καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι. In the V.Eutych. 64 (PG.86(2).2348A), Eustratius describes how, during his exile, Eutychius was continually tried, οὗ γὰρ διέλθην τιν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κάμην τῶν πειρασμῶν, ὡς ἄρα τε καὶ ἀδρατοῖ ἐχθροῖ, καίοντες τὴν φλόγα τῶν παθημάτων, κτλ.

975. εὔθυς: Cf. 944 sup. with n. ad loc.

αλιτρονδοῦ οικατηρίπετε δαίμονος ὄρμη: Cf. 273 sup. δαίμονος ἀντιφιλοικοβαρυλήτοστοι ἕρωας, and see n. ad loc. on the use of δαίμων to denote the Devil. In the earlier passage (cf. 195, 221), the Devil is associated specifically with the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia in A.D.558, but here Paul refers in vague general terms to the assaults of the Devil against J.'s Christian empire. The noun ὄρμη is here used in the Homeric sense "onrush", "assault", Il.9.355, al., see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Nonn.Π.37.511 ἀντιφιλοικοβαρυλήτοστοι... ὄρμῆν, Agath.Hist 1.8.1 τὰς τῶν πολεμίων...ὅρμας, etc. The epithet ἀλιτρόνοος, "wicked-minded", survives once in Alexandrian poetry, Maiist.56 (p.70 Powell) φῶτας, and occasionally in later poetry, Orac.ap.Eus.PE 4.20 (168d) δαίμον, ἀλιτρόνοων ψυχῶν διάδημα λεογύρῳ, Epigr.Gr.1052.5 (4th cent.) ἀλιτρόνοων μόθον εἰργῶν, Nonn.Par.9.150 ἀνέρος, 12.124 κόσμον, sup. 705 μερίμνας, of the concerns of the disciples before they followed Christ. On κατηρίπετε, see 187n.sup.

976. εὐθὺς ἄλων παθέων, κτλ.: "straightway you routed the grievous battle of the passions". Cf. 14 sup. τοὺς μὲν ἔτρεψε μάχαις. Homer uses only active τρέψει in the sense "rout" (Il.15.261, al.), but the middle is sometimes used in the same sense in Attic and Koine writers, see LSJ s.v.III and cf. A.P.6.168.4 (Paul Sil.) νομίζεις τρεφήμενον σκύλωκας, of a boar. The verb usually has an object which is personal or implies people; so here παθέων...χάρμην has personal implication, to a certain extent. On χάρμη, see n.sup. on 974. The adjective χαλέπος is used in the
Homerian sense "hard to bear", "grievous", cf. Od.11.622 ἀξιόλογος, 23.250 τόνωσ, al., see LSJ s.v.I.1 and 2; in later prose, however, the term also has the sense "bad", "evil" (see Arndt and Gingrich s.v., PGL s.v.4) and Paul may have had this sense in mind too in choosing it here. (Nonnus does not use the word). The noun πάθος is regularly used in the sense "emotion", "passion" in late prose, see LSJ s.v.II, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2, PGL s.v.II, but it is rare in poetry in any sense, see LSJ s.v. and cf. Epigr.Gr.853.1, 1003.5; Procl.Hymn 7.17; A.P.1.118.1 (Anon.), 7.483.4 (Anon.), 10.88.1, 98.2, 11.304.2 (all three Pallad.), 11.73.8 (Nicarch.II); Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.28; Georg.Pisid.Hex.1881 (PG.92.1577). Paul writes ὄλων παθέων ("sufferings") in eadem sede sup.598.

977. εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ἀστυόχοις, κτλ.: "straightway you bound on the wreath of victory for toils in protection of the city". The election of Eutychius as patriarch won J. victory in his peacetime endeavours, as the building of S.Sophia is said to have done at 135-7 sup. But in both cases the victory of peace is equated with the triumph of Christianity in some form. For ἐπὶ ἀστυόχοις καμίατοι cf. 971 ἀστυόχοις ἐπὶ μόχθοις with n. ad loc. The verb ἀναθέω is used by Pindar of binding a victory wreath about the head, and its transferred use in the middle voice with νίκαι is as old as Simon.10 Bergk τίς ἢ τίνι γε νόν τοιαῦτα πετάλι θύρων/ ἢ στεφάνωις δόσων ἀνεδήσατο νίκαις. The poetic expression is imitated by Agathias at Hist.1.15.10, 2.22.5, 3.23.10 (cf. R.C. McCail in Byzantion 38, 1968, 563), and is a plausible conjecture of Lobeck at Nonn.D.19.299 γαλκερὴν δὲ Μάρων ἔδεσατο νίκην. Cf. also A.P.16.56.3 (Anon.) οὗ γὰρ ὁ γάμφηριος έλασθε ἐπτέφατο νίκην, ib.379.3 (Thom.Patr.), with Alan Cameron Porphyrius (Oxford 1973) 188ff.
978-1029. Panegyrical address to the patriarch Eutychius.
You too lend an ear to me, patriarch (978f). You are the seal of
imperial success and your prayers have made J. victorious (980-82).
Enemies come as captives, but many other barbarians come to Rome
because they have heard of you (983-86). Only the other day, I
saw S.Sophia crowded with black men who, charmed by your words,
willingly did obeisance to God and emperor (987-90). Unhappy are
those whom your benevolent hand has not touched (991-94). From
birth you have displayed Christian virtue; your disposition, habits
and behaviour are simple (995-99). You never display anger, but
manifest your Christian benevolence in a smiling face and unassailable
serenity (1000-6). You have shaken off the miseries of material
toil, but look with kindly heart on mortal griefs (1007-9). You
show unbounded generosity to the poor (1010-13). You live in
wisdom and piety according to a strict rule (1014-17). Hence you
are entirely incorruptible and will not permit the sale of ecclesiastical
offices. Anyone who tries to bribe you is at once shown the
folly of his intentions (1018-26). Long may you live for the
benefit of emperor and city (1027-29).

This extended panegyric of the patriarch in a poem which is
essentially concerned with panegyric of the emperor and his achievements
is unprecedented, but explicable in terms of the particular
circumstances in which the poem was delivered. This passage
balances the second iambic prologue, which, according to the lemma
after line 80, was delivered in the patriarchal palace in the
presence of Eutychius, see nn.sup. ad loc.

Panegyric of the bishop (often the founder) is not uncommon
in prose works written in celebration of the inauguration of a
new church, see the exx. described by Fr.p.99f and cf. also
Nicolaus Mesarites' Description of the church of the Holy Apostles, which similarly concludes with a panegyric of the patriarch John X Camaterus (ch.43.3ff, ed.Downey, Trans.Amer.Philos.Soc. 47, 1957, 896f), who may have invited Mesarites to compose the poem (see Downey's introd.,p.860).

After Paul wrote, at the time of the patriarch Sergius (patriarch A.D. 610-38), the patriarch became a figure of major political importance, and emperor and patriarch are then frequently set side by side in panegyric. So, in the Dialogue between History and Philosophy which precedes the Historiae of Theophylact Simocatta (p.20-22 de Boor), Philosophy attributes her restoration to the emperor Heraclius (secs.6f, p.20.24ff), while History praises the patriarch Sergius for her reinstatement (secs.8ff, p.21.5ff). Similarly, in the closing lines of his Hexaemeron, George of Pisidia refers first to the emperor Heraclius (1845ff, PG.92.1575f) and then to the patriarch Sergius (1869ff, cols. 1576-8), the latter being the addressee of the whole poem (1ff, col.1425ff); cf. id.de Van.Vit.231ff (PG.92.1598) for praise of Sergius, and see Pertusi's introduction to his edition of George of Pisidia, p.48. See also Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 19f for juxtaposition of emperor and patriarch in prayer to the Virgin and in ritual in the early seventh century.

Paul's panegyric of Eutychius is framed by an extended treatment of two themes which are certainly topical and which may be based on actual incidents in Eutychius' patriarchate. These are (i) the patriarch's power to convert barbarians (984-90, see nn.inf. on 984-86 and 987-90) and (ii) his strict principles in the allocation of church offices (1018-26, see n. ad loc.). The intervening section deals in a very general way with Eutychius' virtuous habits and Christian behaviour, and might well have been addressed to any patriarch. Here the only concrete detail is that of Eutychius' charity to the needy (993f, 1010ff), a virtue which is praised elsewhere in accounts of bishops and patriarchs, see n.inf. on 993f. The remaining general description is of a type common in prose hagiography (see n.inf. on 995-1006) and suggests that Paul had little personal information about his subject, or was deliberately avoiding topics which might be controversial.
Lamina (op.cit.p.68, n.36) noted the similarities "tavolta quasi letterale" between this passage and the legislation of the period which deals with Church affairs. In lines 1000-6 themes typical of imperial panegyric are transferred to the patriarch (see n. ad loc.), likewise indicating a dearth of material.

Paul's account of Eutychius can be compared with the information preserved in other sources. Of these, the most substantial is Eustratius' Life of Eutychius (PG.86(2).2273-2390). Eustratius was a disciple of Eutychius and, as is generally the case with such Lives, his work is essentially panegyrical, as well as being heavily encumbered with Biblical allusions. Nevertheless it preserves the basic outline of the main events of Eutychius' life, although the author's knowledge, or what he chooses to reveal, is more scanty than might have been expected from one who claimed to be a life-long disciple of the patriarch. On Eustratius and his Life, see P. Van den Ven in Byzantion 35 (1965) 325ff and P. Peeters in Anal. Boll.62 (1944) 80. The ecclesiastical historians Evagrius and John of Ephesus and the chronographers Malalas and Theophanes preserve scattered references to Eutychius. Some balance to the panegyrical assessments of Paul and Eustratius is provided by the Syriac monophysite historian John of Ephesus, who, with an equally biased antagonism, condemns Eutychius' persecution of the "orthodox" (i.e. monophysites), 2.37 (p.150f trans. R. Payne-Smith, Oxford 1860), ib.3.20 (p.200f); his pride, 3.19 (p.198); and speaks of his being tormented by a devil, 3.17 (p.196f); other references in Payne-Smith's index s.v. Eutychius. The outstanding event of Eutychius' life was his deposition and exile by J. in 565 for his refusal to condone J.'s aphthartodocetist edict (sources, Stein B-E II.688, n.1), but Paul's panegyric contains no shadow of this impending downfall.

978. ἀλλὰ μοι: Ethic dative, cf. 145 sup. ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι, in invocation of Roma, and see n. ad loc. on the following imperative.

ἐμερόομοιον ὑποστηρίζον ἀκούῃ: "uphold a longed-for ear". The compound ὑποστηρίζω, "underprop", "sustain", is not classical,
and is very rare in poetry, cf. only Opp. H.2.101 ὑποστηρίξεις ἐς τέχνην (of a trap), v.l. ὑποστηρίξεις, the latter compound being well-attested in poetry, cf. 276 and 972 sup. with nn. ad locc. Paul probably chose to write ὑποστηρίξεις here on the analogy of its metaphorical use in LXX Ps. 36(37).17 ὑποστηρίξεις ἐς τοὺς ἀκαίρους κύριος, ib.144(145).14 ὑποστηρίξεις κύριος πάντας τοὺς καταπίπτοντας; cf. the exx. of the metaphorical use of the verb in similar contexts in late prose cit. PGL s.v., adding Theoph. Sim.4.13.21 (177.8ff de Boor) ποίησιν ἐς σοι πίστεως κρητικῇ ὑποστηρίξεις τοῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὡς μεγίστης ἁγγειωσύνης ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν; For the literal use of the verb in writers of late literary Koine, see LSJ, Stephanus s.v., adding Agath.Hist.1.10.4. The sense of ἀκοή "ear", as here, is not Homeric, but the word is so used in Sappho and then commonly in poetry from the Alexandrian period onwards, see LSJ s.v. ἀκοή II.3, adding A.R.4.908; Call.Jov.65, id.fr.43.16 Pf., al.; Opp.C.4.22; Orph.Arg.1269; Nonn.D.10.236 πολυτερπέας...ἀκοῆς, ib.32.123, al. (always this sense in D.), id. Par.3.56, 13.108, al.; Jo.Gaz.Desor.2.152. On the epithet οἰμερός, see n.sup. on 183.

979. πάτερ πολύψυμως: For the use of πατήρ as an honorific title of holy men, particularly bishops and monks, see Soph.Lex.s.v.2 and cf. PGL s.v.Α.2; the title πατήρ πατέρων was accorded first to the patriarch of Rome and then to the patriarch of Cpl., sometimes to any bishop, see Du Cange Glossarium s.v. πατήρ πατέρων, id. Gloss.Lat.s.v. pater patrum. Corippus calls the patriarch John Scholasticus pontificum summus, Laud. Just.2.160. For the epithet πολύψυμως applied to Eutychius, cf. 345 sup. and see n. ad loc.

Θεούδεος ἡγέτα νηπῶ: The form ἡγέτης (as opposed to ἡγητής, ἡγητῷρ, ἡγητῷσ) is rare and confined to late poetry, see LSJ s.v. With θεούδεος...νηπῶ, cf. 296 sup. ἐν τεμένεσι θεουδεοιν, likewise of S.Sophia, and see n.sup. on 168 on θεουδῆς.

980-82. These lines complement 969-77 sup., where J.'s appointment of Eutychius is seen as his surpassing peacetime victory; now the patriarch is described as the "seal" of J.'s
military glory, in that his prayers have secured J.'s victories (lines 981-2 elucidate 980, cf. Fr.'s n. ad loc. The μὲν and δὲ here do not really express a contrast as they do in 983 and 984, cf. Denniston Greek Particles p.370 sec.(i)). The sentiments here expressed are not entirely compatible with earlier references to the direct championship of J. by Christ/God (959ff; 6ff, 31).

980. σῆ...ὑπὸ σφηνίγετι: The patriarch protects and guarantees imperial success as a seal protects and authenticates that to which it is attached. The image of the seal is widely used by patristic writers, for example, of the sign of the Cross and of baptism, see PCL s.v. σφηνίγε, of the corona clericalis seu potius benedictio pontificalis, see Du Cange Glossarium s.v. σφηνίγε, and cf. J.Nimmo Smith op.cit.p.129ff, Soph.Lex.s.v. σφηνίγε 2 and LSJ s.v. σφηνίγε II. The term σφηνίγε is not Homeric, but it is sometimes used in later epic in various contexts, cf. Opp.C.1.325, 2.299 of animals' spots; Nonn.D.2.305 ἐὰν σφηνίγετα κορείς ἰβ.8.137, 9.132, both of the seals of a prison; id.Par.11.145 σφηνύν σφηνίγετα σισίμης. cf. A.P.2.31 (Christod.); Par.12.185 νύσσω σφηνίγετα; also exx. from Orph.Hymns ap.LSJ loc.cit. The preposition ὑπὸ may mean "under", but is perhaps rather instrumental as in 981. It is similarly ambiguous at 306 sup. For instrumental ὑπὸ, see 172n.sup.

ἐὐχος ἀνάκτων: Cf. Nonn.D.41.143 ὑπὸ βίου, Βερόν, πολιῶν τροφός, εὐχος ἀνάκτων; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.27 (PG.37.1229) οὐμα μέγα Χριστότοι, τὸ τίμην εὐχος ἀνάκτως. In Homer, primarily in the Iliad, the term εὐχος (from εὐχομαι) is used in the context of defeating an enemy, e.g. II.5.285 ἔμοι δὲ μέγες εὐχος ὀδόκας (Pandarus' gloat after hitting Diomedes), 7.81 εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγώ τὸν ἐλω, δώσῃ δὲ μοι εὐχος Ἀπόλλων. Ebeling, Lex.Hom.s.v., glosses laus bellica, and this is the sense in which the term is understood by modern etymologists, see Chantraine Dict.etym. and Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. εὐχομαι, both of whom cite κλέος in comparison, and who gloss respectively "gloire", "Ruhm". This interpretation, which is applicable to all the Homeric instances, is preferable to the twofold interpretation of the Homeric use of εὐχος given by LSJ (I "thing
prayed for"; II "boast"). Certainly Paul means "glory" in our line. For this use of the term in later poetry, cf. A.P.7.27.1 (Ant. Sid.), 9.211.2 (Anon.); GVI 1924.27, 31 (after A.D.94); Epigr.Gr. 932.5 (3rd cent.), ib.909.6 (4th cent.); Orph.Hymn 33.5; Opp.H.5. 618; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.2.39 (PG.37.404), ib.1.1.3.1. (col.408); Nonn.D.25.103, 25.174, al., Par.5.70, 8.171; A.P.4.38.66, 71 (Agath.). Although in using the plural terms ἄνακτοις, βασιλέων sup. 176, 270, al. (see n.sup. on 176f), Paul probably intends to refer to J. and the empress Theodora together, Fr. is probably right to argue (ad loc.) that here ἄνακτοις refers to J. alone: Theodora was not closely connected with the military victories of the reign, as she was with the building of S.Sophia to which the earlier instances refer. Apart from the custom of referring to the emperor in the plural (see Fr.'s note), the Nonnian precedent accounts for the plural here.

981. οἱ τε ἐν θεότητι: For a rather different reference to the efficacy of the patriarch's prayer, cf. Georg.Pisid.Hex.36ff (PG.92.1429) εἰ μὴ φθάσῃ σοι τοῦ ἄνακτοις τοῦ ἄνακτοις τοῦ ἄνακτοις τοῦ καθετεις, ἢ τομαθετευτέως ὁς προσευχής εἰσεχέρωσε εἰφει, in which the poet dedicates his work to the patriarch Sergius and attributes its fruition to Sergius' patronage. For ἐν θεότητι, cf. 352 sup. with n. ad loc., and on ὄψιν, see n.sup. on 980. The whole phrase is parallel to the first half of the preceding line, while ἐν θεότητι in 980 is picked up by ἐν θεότητι, another derivative of ἐν θεότητι.

981ff. κατάπτετος ἀνέα Νίκη, κτλ.: "winged Victory has subjected the nations beneath the city-preserving yoke-straps of sovereignty". Cf. 226f sup. πάντα...λύμπεσα ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ πολιοφόρου θραύματος (Roma addressing J.), and see n. ad loc. on ὑπὲρ τούτου. For λεπάδνοις, cf. 955, and 159 sup. with n. ad loc., and for the epithet πολιοφόροις, cf. 141 π. ἀνέα λεπάδνοις, with n. ad loc. The latter term is less apposite here in the context of the subjugation of enemy nations, but Paul presumably means that J.'s conquests ensure the security of Cpl.: the expression is equivalent to "...the yoke-straps of the emperor, preserver of the city". At 301 sup., Paul uses κοίμασιν
of J. (see n. ad loc.); so here Κοιρανίη denotes the Roman empire, cf. Nonn.D.3.199 Κοιρανίης ἀλτότοιο προμάντις Αὔστικήμον, 41.390Γ Αὐρά...ἀρχηται Αὐδάνως Ζεύς/κοιρανίην, and, for its collocation with λεπάντων, ib.14.296ff ἵνα δούλουν αὐξένα λυθῶν/...κοιρανίης δασφλήτος ἀποσηζεῖει λεπάντων. The term is used in the same context by 6th cent. poets, cf. esp. A.P.4.33.49f (Agath.) κυκλώσατο κόσμον/κοιρανίην, of the empire at the end of J.'s reign/beginning of that of Justin II; A.P.16.41.4 (id.) χώρον...γείτονα Κοιρανίης, of J. and Theodora; ib.358.3f (Anon.) στῆλην ἐπὶ νίκαις/εῖλες, Καλλίτιτα, νεῦματι Κοιρανίης; Epigr.Gr.1064.8f ἄλλ' ἐν πάσιν/κοιρανίην Βασιλῆς ἀκοίμητοι φιλάξοι, an appeal to the martyr Sergius on behalf of J. The noun is first extant at D.P.464 Κοιρανίην ἄνεμων, of Aeolus.

J.'s world-conquest is here described in language and imagery essentially familiar, but with slight variation: personified Νίκη has already appeared in a similar context at 140 and 970 sup.; now Paul describes her as "winged", recalling the regular manner of depicting Victory in art and sculpture, see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Victoria III (Vol.V, p.845ff) and cf. Cor.Laud.Just.3.202, quoted in n.sup. on 970-72. Contrast A.P.9.647 (Anon.) Ἄρμη παμβασίλεια, τὸ σὸν κλέος οὕτω ἀλεῖται/Νίκη γὰρ σὲ φυγεῖν ἀπετροσ οὐ δύναται, which, according to the lemma, refers to a statue of Nike whose wings had been destroyed by a thunderbolt. The epigram is placed amidst a series from the Agathian Cycle. (There was also a temple of Νίκη Ἀπετρος on the Acropolis at Athens, according to Paus.1.22.4). Perhaps by designating Victory "winged" here, Paul wishes to suggest her rapid progress of conquest from one nation to another. The epiteth κατάπτερος is very rare, surviving elsewhere only at A.Pr.798, where it is applied to the three Gorgons, and E.Or.176 (lyr.), of Night. Winged Victory would be a familiar sight to the inhabitants of Cpl.: two epigrams (A.P.16.341 and 345) refer to a statue of Porphyrius erected near that of Nike in the hippodrome and, according to the Chronicon Paschale (I.494.10f Bonn), there was an area of Cpl. called Nikae, presumably adorned with statues of Nike, see Janin Constantinople byzantine (2nd ed., Paris 1964) 104, 397.
In a representation parallel to Paul's description here, one side of the base of the column of Arcadius showed Victories casting barbarians to the ground, see Averil Cameron in Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Ser.3, 5 (1975) 142.

983. ἄντιποτοις ἐπιτυχόσαντα Βοεῖας: "having exulted in clashing shields". For ἐπιτυχόν, cf. 141 sup. with n. ad loc., and for Βοεῖας "shield", cf. 263 sup. with n. ad loc. The adjective ἄντιποτο is widely used by Nonnus to describe anything which forms a counterpart to, mirrors, imitates, feigns or is similar to something else, cf. Peek Lex.s.v. "In mannigfachen Färben schillerndes Wort". Here Paul plays on its connection with τύπτω ("beat", "strike") in using it to describe the reciprocal response of hostile arms, cf. Nonn.D.14.388f δυσμενέων δὲ φάσογαν ἐκκύκλωσαντα μαχηται/τευχέσιν ἄντιποτοις, and, for its use with play on words with the root -τυμ-, Orac. ap.Hdt.1.67, cit. LSJ s.v.1, Nonn.D.29. 218f φάσογαν τυμπομένησιν ἐπέκτυμε γυμνὰ Βοεῖας/σκαρβεον ἄντιποτοις. Elsewhere it is used more generally to express opposition or hostility, see LSJ s.v.II.2 and cf. Nonn.D.3.408, 36.337, 48.142.

984. ἀγεῖ Βασιλῆς ὑπ’ ἱχνεσιν: The preposition ὑπ’ is regularly constructed with the dative when it expresses subjection (see LSJ s.v.B.II.2, K-G.I.524, sec.422.II.2c) and it is used with the dative after verbs of motion where rest or position follows as early as Homer, see LSJ s.v.B.I.2 and cf. (for example) Nonn.D.48. 910. Paul writes ὑπ’ ἱχνεσιν at this place in the line sup. 306, 538. For ἱχνος similarly used in the sense "foot", cf. Call.Del.230 ᾳςε...παρ’ ἱχνεσιν (of a hound by Artemis). This sense dates back to Euripides (Bacch.1134, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. A.P.6.219.11, Ant. Sid.) and is common in Nonnus, e.g. D.34.81, 48.623; see n.sup. on 275f for its metaphorical use in this sense.

984-86. ἀλλα δὲ Ἐρυμ, κτλ.: But many barbarians gather in Rome because they have heard about Eutychius' γάλην. By setting
Eutychius' achievement in direct contrast with that of J. (983-4), these lines mark the beginning of Paul's panegyric of the patriarch in isolation from the emperor. Eustratius' Life of Eutychius contains virtually no information about his first period as patriarch apart from the Fifth Ecumenical Council and J.'s apthartodocetist edict, and there is nothing which helps to elucidate or authenticate what Paul says here. If lines 987-90 refer to a particular incident (see n. ad loc.), then this may have prompted the general statement here. There is, however, an interesting parallel to this passage in Paul in the canticum which has been seen as the popular counterpart to Paul's poem in celebration of the second encaenia of S.Sophia, no.XII ap.Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica, see Trypanis' introduction, p.139. The poet is comparing S.Sophia with Solomon's temple (see n.sup. on 152-54), έγω σου έξων άρδομι & άρη (περ) πάλαι δοξάζεται, /άλλα τούς πέρασεν τής οίκουμένης/ιδανόντος πέρικε και σεβάσμος./έν αυτό γέρο προστρέχουσιν αύθαιρέτως, ούκ έκ θίας τινός,/έκ παντός έξων του όπο [τόν] ούρανον, ήθεν και άπιστοι μετά έδρασον ομολογούσιν, άς εστίν αύτον δ οικήτωρ θεός. It may be that Paul has turned such a sentiment into a compliment to Eutychius, by regarding him personally, rather than his church, as the barbarians' goal.

984f. Ρώμη/...συνήλθον: "gathered/assembled at Rome". This is a regular sense of the verb in classical Greek and later prose (including NT), see LSJ s.v.II.1, Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v.1, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1; but the sense is not common in epic, where the verb is in any case rare, only Π.10.224, see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Opp.H.2.154; Orph.Hymn 58.9 άλλα, μάκαρ, καθαράτι γυμμαίς μόστατοι συνέρχου (of Eros); Nonn.D.5.42, 41.81, both of hostile encounter,cf. LSJ s.v.II.2. When used in our sense, the verb is regularly constructed with a preposition, but Ρώμη is locative dative (K-G.I.441ff, sec.426.1). The ms. omits the final iota of the word Ρώμη, but a dative is required in the context; cf. 326 sup. with n. ad loc.

985. μυρία βαρβαρώφωνα...ζήνα γαίης: Cf. Od.11.632 ζήνε...μυρία
986. Ὑμετέρῳς ἄνωτα σέβας,..., γαλήνης: "hearing of the holiness of your sanctity", i.e. because they have heard about Eutychius. The present participle ἄνωτα here does service for a causal aorist participle parallel to ἐπαυχήσαντα 983. (The verb exists only in the present and imperfect forms). For ἀυτό and accusative in the sense "hear of", cf. A.R.3.352f ἀυτὸν ἐμέθεν μέγα δυσμενέοντας ἐξουσιοματας, Nonn.D.42.271 πατρών ἄνωσα μελίφρονα θεοῦ ἔρωτον (of Beroe), Par.3.64 οὐρανίης ἄνωτες ἀνθητον φύσιν ὀλης. The verb is more generally followed by an accusative of the sound heard, II.10.532, al., see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.2.1256, al., Call.Lav.Pall.14, Opp.H.4.316, al., Nonn.D.1.272, al., Par.1.135, al.

At 284 sup., Paul speaks of S.Sophia as an ἀρτιτέλεωτον...σέβας, see n. ad loc. Here the term σέβας is similarly applied to that which inspires awe or reverence, but the expression σέβας γαλήνης is really equivalent to σεβαστις γαλήνης, see LSJ s.v.II.1 fin. and K-G.I.280f, sec. 405.5d on periphrases with σέβας, and cf. Jo.Gaz. Descri.1.272 καὶ σέβας ἄρχητον οὐκείναι ικεανοῖο, al., inf. Amb.303 παμφάδει ἄχρητου τριάδος σέβας. The term σέβας is used in late prose writers in Christian contexts, but usually of reverence accorded rather than an object of it, see PGL s.v. Paul uses γαλήνῃ here in a sense similar to that in which he used it of J. at 944, 951 sup., see n.sup. on 944f. This and cognate terms are applied elsewhere to Christian tranquillity. see PGL s.v. γαλήνῃ 1-3 and note esp. sense 2 for its use in the context of quiet from passion, with which we may compare 976 sup. and 1006 inf.; cf. also A.R.1.118.5f (Anon.) ἀλλ᾽, ὅ γαληνὴ καὶ στορεστὰ τῆς γαλῆς,οὗ, Χριστὲ. Eustratius (V.Eutych.81, col.2365C) applies to Eutychius the expression ἐπιτιμήσας γαληνῶς, on the analogy of Gregory's use of it of Basil; cf. Georg.Pisid.Hex.30f (PG.92.1429)
kai t’i prosevei kai yalein’ sou logh/merimnikiwntas egegeireis tou sou logous, of the patriarch Sergius, and see also n.sup. on 182-4 on the use of nautical imagery in Christian writers.

triliste: "thrice prayed for", cf. trisebaste 952 sup., of J. But trilistos is Homeric, Il.8.487f autod lariskis/apaoth trilistos epilwthen vux erebenw, cf. Call.Cer.138 xlabi moi, triliste, megas krestis theta, of Demeter; also A.P.5.271.3f (Mac.Cons.) oti de filhtai, oti pote trilistos antion erxomenoi.

987-90. For the sentiments of these lines, cf. Georg.Pisid. Hex.1881f (PG.92.1577) all’i foueuta ton patoun ton bbarboun/sofasteis yado auta t’i makhira tou sou logous, of the patriarch Sergius.

In our lines the use of xhiga and the first person evnosa (the latter unusual except when Paul is talking about his poem) suggest that the lines describe a particular incident. It is possible, however, that Paul deliberately chose to create this effect in order to give immediacy to a panegyric which is for the most part imprecise and generalised, see introductory n.sup. on 978-1029. The kind of sentiment expressed in the passage from the contemporary canticum quoted in n.sup. on 984-86 would provide the basis for the construction of the "occasion" to which Paul here claims to refer. For a modern parallel to this kind of reference in panegyric, compare the speech by the Public Orator delivered in presenting His Eminence Cardinal Basil Hume for the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Encaenia held in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford on Wednesday 24 June 1981 (Oxford University Gazette, Suppl.(1) to No.3851, 26 June 1981, p.837), vidi egomet palatium eius juventute Londiniensi repletum. But if a particular occasion to which Paul might refer is sought, then Fr.'s suggestion (987n.) is plausible: that the throng of black-limbed men would be the members of a foreign embassy present in Cpl. The embassy in question cannot be precisely identified from the material available in the sources (see below), but no doubt foreign embassies regularly arrived in Cpl. Nor do other sources supplement the information Paul gives about the nature of such an encounter between patriarch
and embassy: two contemporary accounts of the reception of embassies survive, Const.Porph.de Caer.1.89-90 (from Peter the Patrician) on the proper treatment of a Persian embassy, and Cor.Laud.Just.3.151ff on the Avar embassy to Justin II, shortly after his accession in 565, but neither of these gives any indication of a ceremony in which the patriarch played a part.

During the period between 552 (when Eutychius assumed the patriarchate) and 562, the most remarkable embassy to arrive in Cpl. was that of the Avars in 558 (Mal.489.11f, Theoph.A.M.6050, 232.6ff, Men.Prot.frr.4 and 5, Müller FHG IV.203; cf. Bury HLRE II.314-6, Stein B-E II.541-5). But the Avars caused a sensation because of their long hair (cf. Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.praef.4, A. and A.Cameron in BICS 13, 1966, 104 n.12), and if Paul had them in mind he would surely have chosen an epithet which referred to this characteristic, rather than μελάγγυιος. In any case, the Avars were not black. The epithet is likewise inappropriate for the Persians, with whom there was presumably considerable diplomatic activity in the period before the conclusion of the Fifty Years' Peace in 561. (The presence of Persian ambassadors during a protest in the circus in 556 is mentioned by the chronographers, Mal.488.9, Theoph.A.M.6048, 230.20; cf. Cameron Circus Factions, Oxford 1976, 257f, 286). The only other specific references in Theophanes to the arrival of foreign embassies in Cpl. about this time are (i) A.M.6055 (i.e.563), 239.20ff τῷ δ’ ὀστὶ μηνὶ (?July) ἡλθον (εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν) πρέσβεις ἀσκήλη, τοῦ ῥηγὸς ἐρμηνεύσων, τοῦ ξεσώθην κειμένου τοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθνους πλήσιον τοῦ ἱκεανοῦ. This is a tribe from the northern steppes, see H.W.Hauusig in Byzantion 23 (1953) 424f; (ii) A.M.6056, 240.13ff τῷ 6 ἔνεμβριαυ μηνὶ (probably November 563, since the previous notice refers to October of the 12th indiction, which ran from 563-4) εἰσήλθεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀρεάθως, ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ φύλαρχος τῶν Ἑρακλειών, i.e. Harith the Ghassanid, see Bury HLRE II.91 and cf. Proc.BP 1.17.47. But neither of these peoples was strictly "black-limbed" and the Ghassanids were already Christians (Bury HLRE I.95). (Theophanes' dating of the embassies after the second encaenia of S.Sophia, A.M.6055, 238.18ff, need not be a serious objection, since his
Dates are often unreliable, although an indiction date, probably derived from Malalas, is more likely to be correct than an A.M. date, see nn.sup. on 930-33 and 186-92).

On the basis of the epithet μελάγγυιος, it is tempting to connect this reference in Paul with line 230 sup., and suggest that Paul has in mind Axumites or Ethiopians, see n.sup. ad loc.; the Ethiopians, like the Ghassanids, were monophysite Christians (see I.Shahid, DOP 33, 1979, 23) and their recognition of Eutychius would have been a triumph for orthodoxy.


987ι. μελάγγυιοιοιν.../οστείνουμενην ἐνδόσα: For aorist νοεω followed by a passive participle with ὑπό and dative as in our line, cf. Nonn.D.47.167. Nonnus regularly constructs ὑπό with dative rather than genitive after passive expressions, see Keydell I.67*, Peek Lex. s.v. ὑπό II.3. But στείνομαι is usually constructed with a simple dative (or genitive), whether of instrument or agent, see LSJ s.v. στείω II.2 and the exx. collected in nn.sup. on 346f, 264. For the use of ὑπό and dative instead of simple dative, cf. 194 sup. μιναί ὑπό. The epithet μελάγγυιος is otherwise unknown, but for a handlist of compounds of μέλας, see n.sup. on the rare μελαγκρήπις 261 (although there is no evidence that μελάγγυιος itself appeared in Π.Hib.II.172). See Buck-Petersen p.116 for other compounds in -γυις, many of which are Pindaric. All are proparoxytone, cf. Chandler Greek Accentuation p.151f, sec.534. At 347 sup., Paul uses the expression ἐπὶ θεσπιός σώλας to denote
S. Sophia. This, together with the epithet ἐνθεού, "full of God", "divine" (see 966n.sup.) suggests that οὐλὴν in our line likewise denotes S. Sophia. The term is also commonly used of the royal palace (see 347n.sup.) and Paul would certainly be present at audiences there in his official capacity as silentiary. But contemporary accounts of the reception of embassies give no indication that the patriarch played any part in such ceremonies (see n.sup. on 987-90) and it seems more likely that Paul here refers to a sermon delivered in S. Sophia, in the presence of J. and entourage.

988f. τείς δὲ ἀπὸ θεσπιῶν οὐλὴν/θελγόμενοι: "and, enchanted by your divinely-inspired voice". Eustratius' Life of Eutychius does suggest that the patriarch possessed outstanding powers of persuasive argument, based upon unparalleled familiarity with the Scriptures. The most remarkable instance of this is his summary dismissal of the controversy about the anathematisation of the dead at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, before his election as patriarch, which is described in ch.22 (PG.86(2).2300B-C). The incident is recorded in similarly laudatory terms by Evagrius (HE 4.38, 187.17ff Bid.-Parm.), and both authors go on to attribute the choice of Eutychius as patriarch (on the death of Menas shortly afterwards) to the impression which Eutychius made on this occasion upon the bishops present and the emperor. In our incident, however, it is likely that the black-limbed throng did not actually understand the address which Eutychius delivered, but were "enchanted" merely by his tones, as the eyes of the beholder of S. Sophia are described as θελγόμενοι at 297 sup. Cf. Evagr. HE 5.6 (202.20 Bid.-Parm.) προσφέδεγξοθάι διὰ χωρίων θείου σωτήρ, of the patriarch Gregory of Antioch. Agathias (Hist.3.11.6) similarly uses the verb θέλγω in the context of a persuasively-expressed (but bad) argument, which wins over the simple-minded; for its use elsewhere in the context of persuasive or enchanting tones, cf. A.R.2.772, Nonn.D.10.276, 18.310, Par.3.146, 10.97.

On the use of ἄνδρα with passive verbs, see n.sup. on 951f.

The epithet θεσπιῶς here (and at 702 sup.) carries its original
sense "filled with the words of god", "inspired", see 347n.sup.
The ms. has αὐλὴs in our line (cf. 347 θέσπιδας αὐλὰς), arising
from confusion with the line above. If Graefe's correction αὐλὴ is right (it is accepted by all subsequent editors), lines 987 and
988 are a further instance of homophonous line-endings, analogous
to 974, 976 and 977 sup. A word beginning with a vowel is required
metr.gr. and αὐλη is used by Homer of human speech, ΙΙ.1.249
μέλιτος γυλκίων βέευ αὐλή, of Nestor, cf. A.R.1.512, 3.458, al.,
Theoc.21.21, Epigr.Gr.877b.3 (2nd cent.A.D.), Opp.H.5.620, al. (but
of animals), Nonn.Par.15.27, 18.102, al., (not in D.), A.P.5.248.
3 (Paul Sil.).

989f. ψυχὴν τε καὶ αὐχένα...οὐρανίοις ἐκλιναν ἐπιχθονίοις τε
θόωκοις: For the form of expression, cf. 159 sup., and see n. ad
loc. In the context of obeisance to οὐρανίοις...θόωκοις, the
parallels from Christian usage (collected in n.cit.) are clearly
in point. For Paul's metaphorical use of ψυχὴν in conjunction with
αὐχένα, cf. Const.App.8.9.8 (I.486.23f Funk) ἐπιλέε ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐκεκλικότας σοι αὐχένα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, addressed to God (4th
cent.). Paul's expression implies spiritual submission to God
(ψυχὴν/ οὐρανίοις) combined with physical obeisance to the emperor
(αὐχένα/ἐπιχθονίοις), but since there is no means of identifying
the occasion (see n.sup. on 987-90), it is impossible to assess
the validity of the words: Fr. may be right in suggesting (987n.)
that they mean no more than that the embassy paid its respects to
the patriarch, but a more radical conversion to Christianity (or
orthodoxy) cannot be ruled out, since this passage leads on to a
brief excursus on the benefits afforded by membership of the
Christian Church, see n.inf. on 991-94. The term θόωκος is here
applied at once both to imperial and to ecclesiastical/divine
office, see nn.sup. on 148 and 965f. The use of ἐπιχθονίοις in
contrast (actual or implied) to that which is divine or heavenly
is as old as Homer, see LSJ s.v.1 and cf. A.R.2.250f, Theoc.17.125,
al., Par.5.131, 6.194, Musae.136, etc.
πρόφορον βουλή: Cf. 268 sup. κεκασμένον ἐμφόρον βουλή and see n. ad loc. for other similar dative expressions. Late poets generally use πρόφορον only in the nominative, as it often is in Homer, ιδ. 1.543, Od. 14.406, al., see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R. 1.771, 3.393, al., Theoc. 1.60, Opp. H. 1.556, 708, 4.6, Orph. Arg. 83, 1236, Lith. 688, Tryph. 123 (Nonnus does not use the term). But Homer also has the expression πρόφορον θυμό, Od. 16.257, θυμο/πρόφορον, ιδ. 8.39f, al., cf. π.κραδή, ιδ. 10.244 (see LSJ s.v. I.2), and it is on this analogy that Paul's dative expression is based. But the sense here is not "earnest", "zealous" (LSJ s.v. I.2), but "willing", "voluntary", (LSJ s.v. I.1): the dative expression means no more than the simple nominative πρόφορον, and βουλή here has to mean "will" (LSJ s.v. I.1, cf. ιδ. 1.5, etc.), rather than "counsel", as it does sup. 268, 301, 973.

991-94. The instance of the obeisance of the barbarians before the patriarch prepares the way for a rhetorical development of the theme of ἔσπεροθεσία, the laying on of the patriarch's hand in blessing. The rhetorical repetition of a key word, here χεῖρα, at significant points in the line is a technique now amply exemplified in Paul, see nn. sup. on 152, 326-30. The high proportion of rare words in lines 991-3 (see nn. ad locc.) may be at least partially explained in terms of the tight framework imposed upon composition by this repetition.

The practice of ἔσπεροθεσία goes back to the OT, LXX Gen. 48.14f ἐκτεῖνος δὲ Ἰσραήλ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξίαν ἐπέβαλεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἐφραίμ, ..., καὶ τὴν ἀνιστερὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μαασί, ... (15) καὶ εὐλογήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰπεν..., κτλ., cf. NT Ev.Marc. 10.16 καὶ ἐνακαλεσάμενος αὐτὰ (sc. τὰ παῖδια) κατευλόγει τίθει τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ'αὐτὰ, of Christ; also in healing, e.g. Ev.Matth. 9.18. In the later Church, ἔσπεροθεσία is part of the ceremony of ordination, as well as of baptism and confirmation, but Paul speaks of it here in general terms as a symbol of blessing, absolution and the protection of the Church, given to all those who, like the barbarians described, become Christians (see n. sup.). The laying of the hands on catechumens is a symbol of exorcism and healing, and the gesture

991. τλήμονες, οἱ, κτλ.: Fr. punctuates with a period after τλήμονες, but other examples of exclamatory τλήμονες with relative pronoun in late poetry suggest that the comma of earlier editors is correct, cf. A.P.12.18.1 (Alph.Myt.) τλήμονες, οἱ άνέφικτος έπι άιος, 16.278.3 (Paul Sil.) τλήμονες, οἱ άνγαμοντον έχει νόσου. For τλήμονες, cf. also GVI 17.1 (Athens, 75th cent.B.C.) τλήμονες ήπιον ἡγονα μάχες τελέσαντες ἀδηπ[το], κτλ. ("steadfast"; = Ath.Mitt. 57.142, cit. LSJ s.v. τλήμονα I.1); A.P.11.64.11 (Agath.) τλήμονες, ἀλλ' έμε εύρηκα, κτλ., A.P.9.644.9 (id.) τλήμονες οἱ πλουτοῦντες.

This last expression recalls the use of μακάριοι in the NT beatitudes, Ev.Matth.5.3ff μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, κτλ., and Paul may have had this in mind when writing our line too. For the construction of δέχομαι with acc.pers. or rei and dative (often of a part of the body), cf. Od.19.355; A.R.2.1147f, 3.871f, al.; Call.Diam.63, id.Epigr.6.1f Pr.; Opp.C.2.538; Nonn.D.25.480, 38.135, al., Par.4. 245; Tryph.661. For the dative plural καρνίον, cf. 972 sup., but here the reference is to more than one person.

992. δυσαντήτων ἐλατηρίου δημιουργιῶν: "driving away sins hard to withstand", a reference to χειροθεσία in the rite of penance and absolution. The verbal adjective ἐλατηρίος, also sup. 598, is rare; for its use with the genitive, cf. A.Che.968 (lyr.) καθαρμοίς οἱ Γάτην ἐλατηρίος, also occasionally in late prose, Tzetz.Exeg.II. p.43.24 Hermann, θόκαι Δαφναῖς ἀπόλλων τῶν κακῶν ἐλατηρίων, cf. Eutecn. Metaphr.Oppiani, quoted by Stephanus s.v. Elsewhere it is used as a technical term in medicine, see LSJ s.v.II, and cf.
Pollux Onom. 4.179, 5.132, Hesych. s.v. ἐλατηρίουν· φάρμακον καθαρτικόν, J. André in Études Class. 24 (1956) 41. The term ᾠμπλακία is applied to sin in a Christian context passim in Nonn. Par., e.g. 7.29, 9.188 (although it is avoided in Nonn. D.). It occurs first in Theognis and later in Alexandrian poetry, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R. 2.476, 4.413, al., Call. Del. 245, A.P. 7.425.6 (Ant. Sid.), Tryph. 605, Epigr. Gr. 421.4 (Christian, 75th cent.), A.P. 5.278.4, 9.769.2, 11.365.12 (all Agath.), ib. 7.596.4 (id.) with R. C. McCaill in Mnemosyne Ser. 4, 21 (1968) 76f, ib. 5.298.6 bis (Jul. Aeg.), ib. 7.604.3 (Paul Sil.). For δυσάντητος in a similar context, cf. Nonn. Par. 17.55 δαίμονος ἀφεκάκοιο δυσαντήτων ἀπὸ δεομῶν, and for this epithet elsewhere in poetry, cf. Procl. Hymn 3.5. δ.δευνάων, Nonn. D. 24.168 κυδοίμου, 42.406 ἐρωτῶν. It occurs first in late literary Koine, see LSJ s.v., adding Theoph. Sim. 2.6.13 (81.21 de Boor), 2.11.14 (93.22).

993-4. The hand which the patriarch extends in blessing is also the source of charity to those in need. From the time of Christ onwards, the Church made the needy its special concern (cf., for example, the passages from NT 1 Ep. Ti. quoted in n. inf.), and by the 6th cent. it played a major rôle in the provision of social benefits, see J. L. Boojamra, 'Christian Philanthropia: A study of Justinian's welfare policy and the Church' in Buzantina 7 (1975) 345ff; D. J. Constantelos, Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare (Rutgers Byzantine Series, New Brunswick 1968) p. 67ff; G. Dagron in DOP 31 (1977) 19ff on the rôle of the bishop in the city; also Jones LRE II. 901. For the involvement of a bishop/patriarch in charitable works, cf. (for example) Greg. Naz. Or. 43.34 (PG. 36. 541C) on Basil's concern with the physical as well as the spiritual care of the needy, cf. ib. 63 (col. 577C ff); A. P. 9.787 (Sophr.) on a hostel for the homeless, built by Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria (died A.D. 607). The stories of John Moschus' Pratum Spirituale suggest that almsgiving was the most highly-prized virtue of a model bishop, see N. H. Baynes, Byzantine Studies and other Essays (London 1955) 267f. It also occurs in praise of a secular official, the quaestor and magister officiorum Anastasius,
There is no concrete evidence to suggest that Eutychius was particularly outstanding in this respect, as was Gregory, patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 570-93), according to Evagrius HE 5.6 (202.11ff Bid.- Parm.): Evagrius says that Gregory was so generous that he was always followed by crowds in the street, and people came running when they saw him approaching. The seventh century patriarch of Alexandria, S. John the Almsgiver, was similarly outstanding, cf. (for example) Leont. V.Jo.Eleem.7 (p.13ff Gelzer) on John's provision for refugees at a time of Persian invasion. Eustratius' Life makes no reference to charitable works during Eutychius' first period as patriarch, although much space is devoted to details of healing miracles effected during his exile at his old monastery in Amasea (ch.44ff, PG.86(2).2326B ff) and during his second patriarchate (ch.85ff, cols. 2371A ff), while ch.61f (col.2343A ff) describes how, thanks to Eutychius' prayers, the monastery at Amasea was able to provide an endless supply of corn at the time of a Persian invasion (A.D. 576).

993. χειρα λιποκτένωνιν ἑμπρέκεια: "the hand which supports the impoverished". This theme is developed inf. 1010-13. For the expression, cf. Luc.Nigr.26 τοὺς δεσμένους ἑμπρέκεον, NT 1Ep.Ti.5.10 εἰς ὑλισμένους ἑμπρέκεον (discussing the possible experience of a widow), ib.16 εἰς τὸν ποιήτη ἡ Χειρα, ἑμπρέκειον ἀνταγονίζεται, κατὰ μὴ βαρείου ἢ ἐκεκλησία, ἵνα ταῖς ὀντός χήρας ἑμπρέκεον. The adjective ἑμπρέκεια is rare. It occurs in the sense "assisting", "helpful" at Emp.22.4 κρήνην, of the four elements, Nic.Al.564f οἰκουμένην (used as a remedy), and in the sense "sufficient" at Plu.Cic.7.3, D.P.1101 (both c.dat.). The epithet λιποκτένων is extant only here, but it is probably Aristophanic, cf. Choirobosk.Orthogr. ap. Cramer Anecdota graeca oxoniensia II (Oxford 1835) p.239.11 λιποκτένων ἑλπιδοφόροι· λιποταξίου παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει, where Cramer suggests that the first term is a corruption of λιποκτένων. Homer has the compound φιλοκτένων (II.1.122, superlative), and other -κτένων compounds occur elsewhere in poetry, see Buck-Petersen p.264; on the other hand, Nonnus D. has several new
compounds in λιπο-, e.g. λιπόθροος 4.327, λιποφεγγής 26.145, al., see Peek Lex. col.930.


994. πᾶσαι τε κατευνήταιραν ἀνάγκης: The term κατευνήταιρα (from κατευνάω, cf. 945 sup. with n. ad loc.) occurs only here and at Nonn.D.33.225 νοε... κατευνήταιρα τευτομοῦ. The use of ἀνάγκη in the sense "distress", "anguish", as here, is most common in late prose, especially LXX (e.g. Jb.15.24) and NT (e.g. 1Ep.Cor.7.26), cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych.61 (PG.86(2).2344D); but this sense is also found in poetry as early as Simonides, later in tragedy, see LSJ s.v.I.4 and cf. Orph.Hymn 2.9 Βίλείθω, λύσοις πόνως δειναις ἐν ἀναγκαίας, 1b.28.9 φίλε θυποῖς ἐν ἀναγκαίας (Hermes), al.; and perhaps Nonn.D.21.126 οὐ διὶ χείρα τίταινε, ἀλεξητείραν ἀνάγκης; (but not Musae.289, cit. Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2). Du Cange wrote πάσης δὲ, but the ms. has τε.

995-1006. Paul now turns to a more direct eulogy of Eutychius' personal virtues, describing how his habits, disposition, conduct and his physical appearance bear witness to the Christian benevolence of his heart, rooted in unassailable serenity. Eustratius' Life, in describing Eutychius' return to Cpl. after his exile, expounds in even greater detail (ch.80-82, PG.86(2).2364D ff) the patriarch's physical attributes, as the manifestation of his inner character
(the εἰς ἀνθρωπος ἐν τούς μελῶν ἡλιον τούς σώματος, ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἐντὸς ἀνθρωπος ὃς τὰ πολλὰ χαρακτηρίζεται, 2364D); cf. ib.ch.8 (fin., col.2284B) on Eutychius' early education in the church at Augustopolis, where he learned to read, πλέον δὲ τούτων, τὸ ἔθος, τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ βαδίσματος, τὸν στολισμὸν, τὸν τρόπον τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ ἱλαρόν τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, πάντων τῶν εἰς ἀπαρτισμὸν τελειότητος ἐμπλεος γέγονεν. But in drawing parallels (ch.81, 82, cols. 2365B ff) between his own praise of Eutychius and that of S.Basil by Gregory of Nazianzus (Or.43, PG.36.493ff), Eustratius tacitly implies that this type of description is not uncommon in the eulogy of the holy man, and there is nothing in his description or that of Paul which might not equally well have been said in praise of any patriarch, bishop or other holy man, or indeed, of the emperor, see further n. inf. on 1000-6. Contrast the very personal description of Gregory of Antioch given by Evagrius, HE 5.6 (202.8ff Bid.-Parm.) and Gregory's own description of Basil, Or.43.77 (PG.36.598D ff).

995. καὶ γὰρ: Cf. 973 sup. with n. ad loc.

ἀπ’ ἀδότινων: Cf. A.P.7.4.5f (Paul Sil.) Δήλος/μητρὸς ἀπ’ ἀδότινων ἀξεῖατ Λητώινη. But there seems to be no close parallel for the absolute use of the expression in the sense "from birth", as here. Eustratius (V.Eutych.9, col.2285A) calls Eutychius ὅς ἐκ σπαργάων Σαμουηλ. It is a hagiographical commonplace to attribute virtue to the holy man from earliest youth, e.g. Greg.Naz.Or.43.12 (PG.36.509A) τὰ μὲν ὃς πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τὸ μεγάλῳ πατρί, . . ., σπαργάναια καὶ διαπλάττεται πλάσιν τὴν ἁρίστην τε καὶ καθαρωτάτην (of Basil); V.Theod.Syc.5 (I.5.21ff Festugière) on the young saint's conduct at school; Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanæ, ed. H.Delehaye (Brussels 1902) col.848.35-849.5 (July 27th) ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν μητρικῶν ὃς εἰπεῖν ἄγκαλων ἦ μακαρία τὴν ἡγείαν ποθόσα, ἐν ἴδιοι καὶ σπαργάναις, κατὰ τῶν ἀπαστολῶν, διηγεῖτο, πάντα μὲν τὰ βίωτα μισοῦσα τε καὶ ἀποστρεφομένη, μόνην ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμοίαν ἀναπαχομένη καὶ στέργουσα (of S.Antusia); Petr.V.S.Joanic.4 (ASS Novembris, Vol.II, Pt.1, Brussels 1894, p.386B) εὐσεβῶς ἀπογιαλκτιοθεῖσαι; simil., of Gregory, patriarch of Antioch, Evagr.HE 5.6
(201.30f Bid.-Parm.) ἐὰν πρώτης ἡλικίας τοῖς μοναδικοῖς ἔναποδυσάμενος σκάμματι. On Eutychius' early upbringing in the church, see Eustrat.V.Eutych.8ff (cols. 2282D ff), especially the passage from ch.8 quoted in n.sup.

οὐσίαν τε καὶ αἰώνα: For the line-end, cf. Musae.33

σαφροσύνη τε καὶ αἰώνα (v.l. δὲ, accepted by Ludwich, Kost, Bo et alii. Gelzer preferred τε, which has stronger ms. support, see Kost's discussion, p.188f). Merian-Genast, who observed the parallel with Musaeus (op.cit.p.103), argued that Paul derived his expression from Musaeus, and that it is more appropriate to Hero (to whom it refers in Musaeus) than it is to Eutychius. Kost, however, in a comprehensive note on the Musaeus line (p.186-8), collected instances of the connection of these two virtues from the classical period to the middle Byzantine period, many from philosophical, sepulchral, and later, ecclesiastical contexts, e.g. Pl.Phdr.253d7 τιμής ἐρωτής μετὰ σωφροσύνης τε καὶ αἰώνας, of the noble horse which represents the good part of the soul; GVI 1575 (1st or 2nd cent.) σωφροσύνης αἰώνας τε ἐτύμου χάριν, ὃ μάκαρ Ἐρμῆς, ἡ ποιητικὴ χάρις καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόνα; Jo.Geom.Par. 25.1ff (PG.106.873; ?10th cent.) τὰ τρία ταῦτα φέρειν ἐπετελεῖτο ἵππῳ ἀνήρ· ἐν φρει τοσσοσύνην, αἰῶνα ἐπὶ βλεφάροις. γλώσσῃ ἀλκυτοπέδου (for the remainder of this poem, see n.inf. on 1012).

To Kost's examples may be added Meth.Symp.8.2 (p.82.10f Bonwetsch, GCS, Leipzig 1917) τῆς μετ’ αἰῶνας καὶ σωφροσύνης πατεφοποιήσας (discussing conjugal chastity). On the basis of his examples, Kost argued convincingly that the connection of σωφροσύνη and αἰῶνα is by no means confined to erotic contexts in later literature and, indeed, that the application of these qualities to a distinguished man (as in Paul) is more in keeping with their classical use in Plato and Thucydides (1.84, quoted by Kost). (Evagrius, quoting from Greg.Naz., calls Gregory of Antioch τὸ αὐτίκειον αἰῶνα σύγκρατον, HE 5.6, p.202.32f). It should be added, however, that
it remains likely that Paul is linguistically indebted to Musaeus: although the term ἀλήθος is to be found in epic from Homer onwards (II.15.561, Od.8.172, al.; A.R.2.1023, 3.93, al.; Call.fr.80.10 Pf.; D.P.1025; Opp.N.2.43, C.2.375, al.; Nonn.D.25.277, 42.129, al., Par.7.78, 21.42; Musae.96, 173; Tryph.149, 368; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.46; cf. A.P.5.286.3, Paul Sil., ib.302.13, Agath.), the noun σαφεσσάνη (as opposed to the adjective σαφήνει) is rare (Od.23.13, 30, Opp.N.3.359, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.70, PG.37.584, al., Orph.Lith.61, ps.Pampr.1 recto 16, 1.110 Heitsch; not in Nonnus; more often in epigram, e.g. A.P.7.60.1, Simias, 9.132.1, Anon., Epigr.Gr.971.2, GVI 674.4, 1764.3, al., A.P.7.614.14, Agath.).

996. ἐλπίδος οὐρανίας, κτλ.: "have united you to holy ways of heavenly hope". The expression is compressed, but the sense is approximately "your virtues have made you conduct your life according to the Christian manner of one whose hope is in heaven". Cf. 964f sup. on Eutychius' easy course over the rugged path of Virtue. The phrase ἐλπίδος οὐρανίας refers to the hope of the Christian in God and Christ, his hope of forgiveness, salvation, etc.; on the use of this term in Christian contexts, see PGL s.v. ἐλπίς, A.Cameron Agathias 96, and cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.176 Τούκεκα φῶτος ἐκεῖν ἐν οὐρανόν ἐλπίδι βαίνειν, in an allegorical description of the cloak of Aion, inf. Amb.42. For Paul's use of πορεία in this context, cf. Nonn.Par.14.20 ζωῆς Ἁληθείας τε καὶ ὑπαρχός εἰμι πορεία (Christ), ib.1.111 ἡλθον ἐγὼ προκέλευσάς ἀκοφύκτου πορείας (John the Baptist), and see PGL s.v.5 for its use in patristic writers of the way or course of life and conduct. This sense is also found elsewhere in late poetry, cf. Procl.Hymn 2.19, 6.4; Nonn.D.2.670, 3.298, al.simil.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.172. The term is confined mainly to prose before Nonnus, but it is regularly used in Nonnus and other late poets of any kind of way, course or journey, often of the sun, stars et simil., (cf. LSJ s.v.II.3), e.g. Orph.Hymn 78.4; Orph.Arg.37, 207, al.; Epigr.Gr.1028.32 (Hymn to Isis); Nonn. D.1.67, 38.36, al., Par.1.214, 4.161, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.248, 2.329, al.; A.P.4.3B.41, 84 (Agath.). Paul here uses plural for singular, cf. Nonn.D.7.43 τρομεροί περισσοπόδεσσι πορειαίς, of the
course of an old man with a stick. The epithet ἵππος may mean "priestly", "the life of a priest", as ἵππης χορεύειν at 344 sup. means "a choir of priests", see n. ad loc., and cf. 88 sup.

According to Eustratius' Life, Eutychius' early education in the church at Augustopolis (ch.8ff, col.2281D ff) was followed by a secular education in Cpl., after which he decided at once to become a monk (ch.10f, col.2285A ff). On the verb ἔμνωσε, see n.sup. on 213, and for its use with πορεῖας here, cf. also Nonn.D.5.265f στίχα μὴλων/εἰς νομὸν...μὴ ἔμνωσε κελεύθω. The singular is permissible after two separate, but closely linked, singular subjects, cf. sup.2, also 341-43 with 340n.

997. λιτὰ δὲ σοι καὶ δόρμα: Cf. A.P.9.644.3 (Agath.) λιτὰ δὲ σοι καὶ δείπνα (of the farmer); Nonn.D.17.59 ἀγρονόμων λιτὰ δείπνα (where the iota of λιτὰ is Nonnus' only false quantity, see Keydell I.42*; Maas Greek Metre sec.20); Luc.Asin.3 τὸ δὲ δείπνον οὐ σφόδρα λιτῶν; Clem.Alex.Paed.2.1.7.3 (I.158.5 Stählin) τὸ δείπνον ἔστω λιτῶν ἡμῖν καὶ εὔχωνον; A.P.6.232.8 (Crinag.) λιτῆν δαίτα. The term λιτῶς is also used more widely of diet and general modus vivendi, see LSJ s.v., adding Nicaen.fr.6.3 Powell λιτή...χάμευσα; A.P.9.43.1 (Ferm.Mac.) χλαϊνης λιτῶν σκέπασι; Serap.Ep.Mon.5 (PG.40.932A) ἥδες ὑμίν ἐν ἔρπωμι λιτῶς ἀρτος καὶ ἀλος καὶ πότιμον ὑδώρ; Une vie inédite de S.Jean l'Aumônier 10 (Anal.Boll.45, 1927, p.24.4f) ἐἰς τὸ τῆς λιτῆς διαίτης (sc. ἐπεδεικνυότο); also in metaphorical contexts, A.P.11.20.4 (Antip.) κρῆθος ἐξ ἵππης πάνετε λιτῶν ὑδώρ, of poetasters, A.P.4.3A.35f (Agath.) λιτῶν οἴκοθεν μέρος/κοινὸς πορεύμα, of his feast of poetry. Paul substitutes for δείπνα in the first group of expressions quoted the slightly more unusual form δόρμα. In Homer, the former is applied to the main meal of the day, taken at various times, morning, midday, evening (see LSJ s.v. and cf. Chantraine Diet. étym.s.v.), whereas the latter is more strictly the evening meal (Il.19.208, Od.12.439). In later epic, however, this distinction is not always observed. For δόρμον, cf. A.R.1.1173, 2.226, al. (A.R. does not use δείπνον); Call.fr.312 Pf.; Theoc.24.139; D.P. 1048; Opp.H.1.26, C.1.132, 3.49; Orph.Arg.406, 670; Q.S.4.278;
For the frugal habits of patriarchs, cf. (for example) Greg. Naz. Or. 43.61 (PG 36.576A-C) on Basil; id. Carm. 2.1.1.65–7 (PG 37.975) of himself; Pallad. V. S. Jo. Chrys. p. 69.10ff Coleman-Norton (Cambridge 1928); Theoph. Sim. 7.6.4 (255.5f de Boor) δυσκείμων γὰρ ἐν ὁ ἀμπελ ἀπὸ πολλομόλυβνος, of John Nesteutes, and cf. ib.1, quoted in n. sup. on 975–6; also Evagr. HE 5.19 (214.29ff Bid.–Parm.) on the frugal habits of the emperor Maurice and his control of his belly.

δυσκείμων μενοινή: The term μενοινή is used of mental purpose, concern, desire et simil., often with an implication of eagerness or earnestness, cf. 266 sup. and see n. ad loc. The epithet δυσκείμων (cf. δυσκή 966 sup. with n. ad loc.), now also attested in a damaged inscription of an oracle from the imperial period found at Didyma, see LSJ Suppl. s.v., is used by Nonnus in the sense "prophetic", "inspired", e.g. D. 6.16 δαίμονος δυσκείμων, of Astraeus, 9.271 θυσίας δυσκείμων...κούρη, al., Par. 1.194 θ... ἀνθερεμὸν, 13.94 ὁ στόμα, both referring to Christ. Hence Paul's phrase here means "divinely-inspired purpose" (cf. Du Cange, divina mens). The words are resounding, but editors have been puzzled as to what Paul means in linking them with λίτα, cf. Graefe ad loc., illa δυσκείμων μενοινή hic ineptissime interponitur; sana tamen videtur lectio. Fr. (ad loc.) suggested the sense "das auf die Sprache gerichtete Bestreben", putting emphasis on the idea of eagerness in μενοινή and the derivation of δυσκείμων from δυσκή. But he admitted the weakness of this interpretation in conceding that the words would have come better in 999, where Paul speaks of Eutychius' λιτὸν ἐπὸς. On Fr.'s interpretation, our phrase would say virtually the same, but with greater obscurity. The expression is better explained in terms of the passages from Eustrat. V. Eutych. quoted in n. sup. on 995–1006, in which the virtue and piety of the inner man are said to be characterised by his external appearance (ch. 80) and where (ch. 8) a list of physical characteristics of the virtuous man includes the phrase τὸν τρόπον τῆς ψυχῆς. Surely Paul here similarly refers to the inner simplicity
of the whole mental outlook of the patriarch, and not to a physical characteristic or habit. The use of the term λιτής in this context is certainly unusual, but neither is it particularly apposite with the physical characteristics which follow (998f). Paul begins with the familiar expression λιτά δείπνα/δόρπα and then, instead of simply saying λιτής δέ τήν διαίταν (cf. Epicur. fr. 478, M. Ant. 1.3, etc.), he expands on the theme, using rhetorical anaphora of a kind characteristic of the style of the poem (most recently 991-3 sup.), and substituting a detailed list which exemplifies the simplicity of the outlook and behaviour of the patriarch, on the analogy of the regular use of such physical descriptions in accounts of holy men, see n.sup. on 995-1006.


In Homer, βλέφαρα (always plural) refers to the "eyelid" rather than the "eye" (Il.10.187, Od.9.389, al.), but the sense "eye" is as old as Hesiod (Sc.7), and in later epic the term is used in both senses: for "eye", see the exx. quoted sup. and cf. Opp.H.2.6, Nonn. Par. 9.74, 187, al., Jo. Gaz. Descr. 1.336, al., A.P.5.262.2 (Paul Sil.); for "eyelid", cf. A.R.2.109, 3.1161, al., Theoc.21.20, 22.204, Opp.C.3.90 (reading ὑπ᾽; see citation sup.), ib.3.348, al., Orph. Hymn 78.9, and see PGL s.v. Often, for example in the context
of weeping, either sense is possible. Eustratius (V.Eutych. 80, col. 2364 D) describes Eutychius' eyes on the occasion of his return to Cpl. as patriarch, τοὺς χαραποτοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τὰς τούτους πεφυλαγμένας κόρας, τοιούτοι γὰρ οἱ βλέποντες ὀρθὰ καὶ ἐννεύοντες δίκαια.

998f. ταροῦν ἵχνια σῶν: "the steps/prints of your feet". The expression ἵχνια ταροῦν et simil. is Nonnian, often merely used periphrastically for "foot", although in our line Paul refers to Eutychius' gait, rather than to his feet. Cf. Nonn.D. 4.131 δύσα χιούναν ἀμαρώσεται ἵχνια ταροῦν (of Cadmus), Coll. 134f ἐφράσατο .../... ἀυτῶν ἵχνια ταροῦν (Paris examining the goddesses for judgement), Nonn.D. 10.408f ταροῦν ἵχνεσιν ἵχνα τύψε (in close pursuit), ib. 22.302f ταροῦν ἵχνεσιν ἑρταίες (in preparation for combat), 34.311 ποδῶν ἵχνεα, al.simil.; cf. Epigr.Gr. 339.4 διοσῶν σου ταροῦν στῆσας ἵχνος. Homer uses the expression ταροῦν ποδῶν to denote the flat or sole of the foot (II. 11.377, al.), but later poets use ταροῦς alone in the general sense "foot", see the exx.cit. LSJ s.v.II.1 and cf. Opp.C. 1.458, al., Nonn.D. 10.241 and passim (see Peek Lex.s.v.I), ib. Par. 8.42, 10.5, al., Jo.Gaz. Deser. 1.244, 327, al., A.P. 7.578.4 (Agath.). For the reference to Eutychius' gait, cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych. 80-81 (col. 2365 B) τοῦ κατὰ πᾶντα ὀρθοὺς καὶ ἑδραίους πόδας, καὶ ἐκκλίνοντας δεξίᾳ ἢ ἄριστα, βαδίζοντας δὲ τὴν τετριμένην καὶ βασιλικὴν δοῦν, ἢν βοῦς καὶ ὄνος πατεί, τουτέστιν ὅ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐξ ἔθνων πιστῶς λαοῦ. (81) τίς ὑπογράφει προπόντως τὸ εὐτακτον βάδισμα, τὸ εὐκίνητον ὠλου τοῦ σώματος; τοιαύτη γὰρ τῶν πρα salarié καὶ τῶν ὄραίων ποδῶν ἡ κύψεις, τῶν εὐαγγελισμένων εἰρήνην, κτλ.

999. καὶ λίτου ἐποσόεσο χείλεα πάλλει: The sense might be either "a simple word moves your lips" (ἐπος subject, χείλεα object) or "simple the word which your lips wield" (ἐπος object, χείλεα subject). Graefe, interpreting the expression in the latter sense, remarked ad loc., πάλλει offendit: an πάλλει vel χείλει? πάλλει? etsi sic elisionem evitasset. But neither suggestion is convincing and it is more likely that Paul wrote πάλλει. If χείλεα
is the subject, then the verb is used on the analogy of the classical sense "brandish", "shake", cf. 317 sup. with n. ad loc. The image of the lips wielding or brandishing speech is a bold one, but it is consistent with references to Eutychius' eloquence in Eustratius, e.g. V.Eutych.80 (col.2365A) τὰ πυρίζοντα χείλη, τὸ πυρώδες καὶ καθαρόν τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τὰς ἀπ'αὐτῶν ἀποστάζουσας χαρίτας, cf. ib.81 (col.2365C-D), and see n.sup. on 988f. In our context of the λίπα δίαστα, however, allusion to fiery eloquence is not particularly apposite, and it is perhaps more likely that Paul intended the expression to be understood in the alternative sense, with χείλεα as the object of πάλλει. Then the use of the verb is based on its regular transitive use in late poetry of movements of the limbs, cf. 298 sup. and other exx. collected ad loc. There is no close parallel for Paul's use of it here, of speech making the lips move, but it presents little difficulty. This second interpretation, which is accepted by Fr. (p.113), has the advantage of retaining the straightforward rhetorical emphasis on λίπων without the introduction of unnecessarily distracting imagery, and is the rendering suggested by the Greek word order.

1000-6. These lines describe Eutychius' serene countenance, the reflection of his inner serenity. Eustratius calls this τὸ ἱλαρὸν τοῦ προσώπου, see n.sup. on 995-1006 and cf. also id.V.Eutych.80 (col.2364D) τὸ ἱλαρόν, τὸ χαριέν τοῦ προσώπου, περὶ δὲ καὶ Σολομὼν ἡμῖν, "Καρδίας εὐφρατεύμενα", δὴ δὲ τῇ τὰς κατὰ θεόν, "πρόσωπον θάλλει" (quoting LXX Prov.15.13, which continues, ἐν δὲ λύπαις σοφερωμένης). In his description, Paul uses the imagery of darkness and light (ὠμίχλην 1000, σέλας 1002) and refers to Eutychius' gentle smile (1003) and to his γαλήνη (1006). All of these elements occur elsewhere in panegyric of the emperor, cf. 215 sup. νόσου σέλας, contrasted with κατηφής; 246 sup., J.'s smile in response to the impassioned appeal of Roma; and J.'s γαλήνη 944 sup., al., see nn. ad locc. and see further the discussion of Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.3.309. The transference of this imagery to the patriarch can be justified on the grounds that serenity is achieved by the Christian life, as indicated by the passages from
the V.Eutych. collected sup., and secondly that light imagery is also regularly used in Christian contexts (as Cameron illustrates in her n. on Cor.Laud.Just.1.149; cf. n.sup. on 169f): it is specifically applied to Eutychius by Eustratius, e.g. ch.2 (col.2276D ff), ch.6 (2281A-B), ch.80 (2365A) where Eutychius' white hair and beard are said to signify τὸ λαμπρὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ τέλειον.

1000. ἐπικούριον καταφείδωσαν δύμικλης: "downcast gloom of lowering brow". Cf. 169 sup. ἀχλυδεσσαν...ἀνίχνην. Paul here uses ὄμιχλη in contrast to σέλας in 1002, cf. 904ff sup. πάσι μὲν εὐφροσύνην ἀνακέπταται εὐθας αἰθήρ /ψυχαιν ἐλάσσασα μελαγκρῆδεμνον ὀμίχλην/πάφτας ἐπαυγάζει σέλας ἑφέν, of the joy brought by the lights of S.Sophia; ὀμίχλη is also used in a metaphorical dark/light contrast, inf.Amb.35f and ὀμιχλήσσα in a literal dark/light contrast, sup.191f. See 191n. on the use of ὀμίχλη in general (its metaphorical use is as old as A.Pr.145, lyr.). For other dark/light contrasts using ὀμίχλη, some literal, some metaphorical as in our line, cf. Orph.Hymn 6.6ff ὀσοῦν ἄγκος (i.e. Protagonus) σκοτείδεσαν ἀπημαρώχασα δύμικλην/...κατὰ κόσμον/λαμπρὸν ἄγων φῶς ἄγνοι; Procl.Hymn 4.6 νεῦσαν ἐμοὶ φῶς ἄγνοι ἀποσκεδάσας ὀμίχλην; Nonn.D.38.80ff ἡλίοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀστράπτοντος θερμαιός θέλον ἠτικω, καὶ τραύμα ὀρφαρῆι μελαγχόρουν Ἴνα δόσῃ ὀμίχλη, ib. Par.8.3ff ὀψοτε βαίνει/ποσοῦ ἀλωκενεῖς σκοτειδεὰ κώνον ὀμίχλης, ἀλλὰ καταργοῦσειν ἔχον δύμφορον εὐτυκείας ἀπαλάνειας φῶς ἔμπεδον, cf. 12.140f. Similarly at Hex.14ff (PG.92.1427f), George of Pisidia speaks of την ὀμίχλην τῶν φίλον, which the lamp of the patriarch Sergius disperses (18f τῷ σῷ φωτοκόσμῳ λαμπαδί/παρῆλθεν ἡ νύξ).

With the use of καταφείδωσαν here in connection with the brow, cf. Opp.C.3.27 (ἀφρός) ἀμφιλαφεῖς ἐπὶ βίνα καταθείς, of a lion. Paul earlier uses cognate terms to describe dejection or dimness, cf. 181, 204, 319 sup., with nn. ad locc., and esp. 215, on which see n.sup. on 1000-6. With our καταθείδωσαν ὀμίχλην, cf. A.P.9.658.3 (Paul Sil.) καταθέο κύκτα, also metaphorical. The epic participle καταθείδω (from καταθέω = καταθέω, cf. 319 sup.) occurs first in A.R. 1.461 καταθείδωτι ἔστως, 3.123 σφα καταθείδων (of Ganymede, beaten at knucklebones by Eros), A.P.14.3.1
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The term ἐπισκύνιον denotes the loose skin above the brow, which is knitted in frowning, cf. II.17.136 παῦ δὲ τι ἐπισκύνιον κατω ἔλκεται δοσε καλύπτων, of a lion; Ar.Ran.823 δεινόν ἔ. ξυμάγων (of Aeschylus); Theoc.24.118 τοῖον ἐ. βλοσυρῷ ἐπέκειτο προσώπῳ, cf. A.P.16.100.2 (Anon.); Opp.C.1.181 (horse), 1.420 (dog), 3.352 (tiger); A.P.11.376.8 (Agath.) ἐπιστρέψας γυρόν ἐ. Also in other contexts, of the beetling brows of old age, A.P.7.117.2 (Zenod.), 6.64.8 (Paul Sil.); of a supercilious expression, A.P.7.63.2 (Anon., on Diogenes); of the gleaming brow of the beloved, A.P.12.159.4 (Meleagr.).

1001. ἀμφιέπεις: In Homer (e.g. II.24.804), the verb ἀμφιέπομεν means "be busy about", "look after", then later "tend", etc., see LSJ s.v.II.1 and cf. also A.R.2.761, 1158, al., Opp.H.2.165, C.2.355, al., Nonn.D.21.200, 42.393, al., A.P.5.272.4 (Paul Sil.), 5.297.5, 6.80.4 (both Agath.). But often in Nonnus, the sense is little more than that of ἐχω, e.g. D.7.281 ἐνθεον ἀμφιέπων πολινάγρετον οἰδος ὑπαδῆς (of Zaïs), 36.299f ἀμφιέπων ἡξίζοσφυξ μίμημα λεοντεῖοι προσώπῳ, al., see Peek Lex.s.v.II, Par.6.216f ἀμφιέπεις γαρ/ζωῆς ἀνθίαοι μεληρύτα χέιματα μύθων (Christ), 8.145 οὔτε ἀμφιέπων μανιῶδεα δοῖνον ἰμαθήης, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.169 νόθον ἀμφιέπων οἰκτίρμωνοι φοιτάδι κόσμῳ, A.P.6.87.4 (Anon.) ἰλαθί τῷ ἐξων δ' ἀμφιέπουτι τύχην. (This is probably the sense also at A.P.9.482.10, 12, Agath.). Paul's usage here is similar to these Nonnian examples, but the parallel ἄξεις at the end of the line hints at the stronger Homeric sense; hence it should perhaps be rendered "cherish".

Χριστῷ δὲ γεγενήτα δυμὸν ἄξεις: For δυμὸν ἄξεις, cf. II.17. 226 ὑμετέρου δὲ ἐκάκου δυμὸν ἄξεω, Od.2.315 (passive); Nonn.D. 20.285 οὖ...ἀναλικίδα δυμὸν ἄξεστι, also ἔθος ἄξεω, Nonn.D.23.60,

1002. Ἡμιον εὐάντητου ἄγων σέλασ: The verb ἄγω is loosely used in our line as equivalent to φέων or ἐχω, as often in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex. s. v. init.; for the verb with σέλασ, cf. ib. 7. 311 (κώνος ὄμιξες) ἔσευνο...ἄγων, 34. 104 ἔφεγος ἡγείας (ἥσ). For the metaphorical use of σέλασ, of radiant light as opposed to murky gloom, cf. 215 sup. with n. ad loc. Nonnus uses the term of a radiant face, e. g. D. 34. 77 σέλασ πέμπουσα ποθοβλήτω σωσών, 48. 319 καύλ σέλασ ἰσχέαις ὀινυάζουσα προσόπου, al.; also of the flesh in general. e. g. ib. 10. 186, al., cf. A. P. 16. 77. 2 (Paul Sil.). Homer, in a simile, applies it to the light of the eye, Ili. 19. 17, 366, cf. Theoc. 23. 8, A. P. 12. 93. 9 (Rhian.), Opp. H. 2. 536, Nonn. D. 7. 260, 42. 426, Coll. 133. Paul does not specify whence Eutychius' σέλασ exudes: it is a general radiance. His πρόσωπου is described in the next phrase. For the use of Ἡμιον here, cf. Coll. 131 ὁ δὲ Ἡμιον ὄμιξα τούκεσθαι (Paris judging the goddesses), also Od. 20. 326 γ. μήθουν. In Homer, the term is usually applied to people (e. g. Il. 24. 770, Od. 10. 337), and this is its most common use in later poetry, see LSJ s. v. I, adding A. R. 3. 941, Theoc. 17. 51, Call. Del. 214, A. P. 5. 122. 4 (Diod.), GVI 1546. 10 (1st/2nd cent.), Epigr. Gr. 831. 9 (2nd cent.), 906. 4, Opp. H. 4. 155, 5. 349, Nonn. D. 20. 269, 24. 59, al. For εὐ...σέλασ, cf. ps. A. P. Met. Ps. 26. 20 ὁδ' ὕψος εὐ. (of God). The epithet εὐάντητος ("accessible", "gracious") recalls Menander Rhetor's precept for the βασιλικάς λάγος, that the emperor should be praised for τὸ εὐπρόσοδον (375. 10). The term occurs only in late authors: for its use of gods in inscriptions, see LSJ s. v. I and cf. Epigr. Gr. 779. 7; so Orph. Hymn 2. 5, 3. 13, al., Nonn. D. 27. 178 (Dionysus), 35. 316 (Hera), 39. 207 (Hephaistus); also
in Cyr.Alex., see FGL s.v.2. Callimachus (Dian.268) has the verb εὐαυτέω, and A.R. (4.148) the epithet εὐαυτής, both used in address to divinities. Oppian uses the term εὐάυτητος rather differently, of that which is welcome or pleasing, H.2.149 = 388 ἔσωθη, C.2.

εὖ δὲ προσώποις: "on your countenance/ in your expression". The radiance transmitted by Eutychius' Christian heart is manifest in his serene facial expression, Homer always uses προσώποι in the plural, even when it refers to a single person, e.g. II.7.212 μειλίχιοις βλασφεμοῖς προσώποις, Od.19.361, al.; cf. Epigr.Gr.980.6, Opp.C.2.448, 3.220, al., Coll.251, 261, Musae.170, Jo.Gaz. Descr.1.341, 2.150, A.P.5.231.1 (Mac.Cons.), ib.256.1 (Paul Sil.), 289.7 (Agath.).

1003. μειλίχιον μείζονα: The noun μείζονα is very rare, only elsewhere extant at Hes.Th.205 (plural), Orac.Sib.1.182, A.P.250.1 (Paul Sil.) ἡδόν, φίλοι, μείζονα τοῦ Λαῦδος. In Homer, μειλίχιον is used mainly of speech (e.g. II.12.267, Od.6.148), also with αἰῶν (Od.8.172), see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.294, 3.988, al., Nonn.Par.13.146, Coll.277; later it is applied to gods, see LSJ s.v.II, noting A.P.5.226.4 (Paul Sil.), and adding GVI 1029.8 (72nd cent.A.D.), Orph.Hymn pr.30, 72.2, 73.2. But it is also used more widely, e.g. GVI 194.2 (72nd cent.A.D.) μπέρπι, 1924.35 (after A.D.94) φέγγας (of the sun); Opp.H.5.33f ὕπαλασσας/κριότης (identified with the killer whale); Nonn.D.7.330 χείλεσι (serpent), 34.300 παλάμη, al., Par.19.173 of one of those crucified with Christ ("penitent", PGL s.v.2); Tryph.496 πυρί, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.75 γαλήνης; Agath.Hist.1.13.7 of Narses.

παρθία σεμαντικά χαράσσει: Nonnus uses χαράσσω with παρείν/παρθίας, but of scoring the cheeks in mourning (D.16.352, 33.13) or in combat (D.25.463, 37.412, 529), and of down marking the cheeks (D.10.180, cf. 5.404, A.P.2.279, Christod.). Here, however, Paul is describing the wrinkling of the cheeks (of an old, lined face) in a smile, and the sense is "furrow"; the verb is used analogously elsewhere in late poetry of ploughing the earth, or rippling/furrowing
the surface of the sea, with waves/oars et simil., see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v.II, adding Nonn.D.40.331 (ploughing); ib.3.9 (frozen water), 10.170 (water), al., cf. Jo.Caz.Deser.1.304, 2.97, A.P.5.35. 7 (Rufin.; metaph., in physical description). For the use of the verb in other contexts, see nn. sup. on 271, 280. The form ἐπημεννος is Homeric, plural Od.19.208 of Penelope, singular II.23.690; plural of a lion, Od.22.404, singular of a wolf, II.16.159; plural of people (one or more), A.R.2.82, 3.681, 4.45, Theoc.22.128, Nonn.D.20.16, 47.109, 733; also of gods, GVI 1765.15 (1st/2nd cent.) μείβοντες. For σημνός here, cf. 969 sup. σημνὸν ἢς ἄρητησα, also of Eutychius, and see n. ad loc.

1004. ἀυτόν δὲ προημυνότοι, κτλ.: "These things you bear as signs of your gentle-minded heart". As at 58, 236, 934ff sup., ἀυτόν refers generally to the preceding passage, here the description of Eutychius' characteristics from 997. These are signs of his inner Christian tranquillity, see n.sup. on 995-1006. Graefe (ad loc.) suggested that the line would be more forceful if the particle δὲ were omitted, on the analogy of the earlier instances of ἀυτόν mentioned sup. In the earlier cases, however, the pronoun refers to the achievements of J. and carries strong panegyrical emphasis; in our line the context is also panegyrical, but the note of triumphant emphasis is lacking. This difference in tone is reflected in the inclusion of the particle here. The question of the deletion of δὲ was first mooted by Hermann (Orphica, Addenda p.XXVII), who suggested that it should perhaps be removed to avoid Attic correption. (It is in this connection that Graefe raised the point). Nonnus allows Attic correption only in cases where a word is otherwise metrically inadmissable (Keydell I.40*, sec.16), but Paul admits it much more freely (Fr. p.117; Merian-Genast op.cit. p.71ff, who says that there are in Paul ten instances at the word-end in the second short of the first foot, p.72); hence its incidence here does not justify emendation. Du Cange's correction φέρει for the ms. φέρει (haplography) is an improvement accepted by all subsequent editors.

The epithet προημυνο省政府 is rare, first at Simias 24.10 (p.116 Powell
= A.P.15.24.10 πραύνων δὲ πειθοί (corr. Bergk e codd. πραύνω), cf. Orph.Hymn 44.11 πρέπουν καλέων αἰτὶ μὑσταῖσιν ὑπάρχειν (of Semele), ib.69.17 πραύνων μετάθεσθε βίου μαλάκδρονα δώσαν (addressed to the Moirae); A.P.9.769.1 (Agath.) τὸὺς μὲν πρεπόνας τάδε ποιήμα (of a gaming-board); and, in a context similar to ours, ib.7.592.5 (attr. Jul.Aeg.) πρεπονίου κρασίς μέγα δείγμα (of J.).

The following sentence (1005-6) expands upon the meaning of the epithet and serves as a summary of the whole description from 995.

1005. ἐσοὶ γὰρ εὐθύκτοισιν ἀνέμβατος, κτλ.: "for you are inaccessible to the ready steps of Anger". The term ἀνέμβατος, first extant in Eratosthenes (fr.16.14, p.62 Powell) is not uncommon in later prose and poetry in its literal sense, of place, military defences et simil., see LSJ and Soph.Lex.s.v., adding A.P.7.723.1 (Anon.), Opp.H.2.526, Q.S.8.484, 12.450, Nonn.D.2.140, 569, al., Par.3.66, 7.139, A.P.4.38.28, 5.294.3 (both Agath.). For its metaphorical use, LSJ cite Ocel.1.15, but there Mullach (FPG I.394) reads ἄνεκβατος. Paul, however, uses it metaphorically of himself at A.P.5.234.3 γιορθῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀνέμβατος ὧ πρὶν Ἄρων; cf. the metaphorical exx. collected PGL s.v., which include its application to God. For the expression ἀνέμβατος ἰχνεσίν ὅργης, cf. 306 sup. ἀμβατῶν ἀνδρομέοισιν ὑπ’ ἰχνεσιν αἰθέρα τεῦχων, and for ἰχνεσίν ὅργης, cf. NT Ep.Rom.4.12 τοῖς στοιχείοις τοῖς ἰχνεσι τῆς…πιστεῶς τοῦ πατρός ἡμῶν ἠδράμαι. The term ὅργη (“anger”) is contrasted with γαλήνη in 1006, as ἥχολοι is contrasted with γαλήνη at 944 sup.

The epithet εὐθύκτος means "good at grasping/touching" (θυγγάω; cf. εὐθύκτω, "find range", of artillery, see LSJ s.v.) and hence here "ready", "quick". Eutychius is inaccessible to anger which is "good at touching" other people, cf. 944 sup. ἀναγκαῖοι χόλου. There is no precise parallel for Paul's use of it here, but it is used analogously of intellect or wit which is quick and apposite, see LSJ s.v. It is, however, very rare in poetry, only A.P.6. 322.2 (Leon.Alex.) εὐπηνίς, Maneth.5(6).289 in a list of epithets characterising those born when Jupiter is in the house of Venus.

The adverb εὐθύκτως is glossed by Hesychius (εὐπηναφθώς), while
Suidas and Etym. Magn. gloss εὐθείκτου (ἐυθείς, εὐθηλάφητον).

The form ἐσπιρά αἰ. is used by Homer (e.g. II.1.176) and Nonnus (e.g. Par.1.174).

1006. ἐδρήσσων ἀτίνακτος, κτλ.: "seated unshaken in untumultuous serenity". For Eutychius' γαλήνη, cf. 986 sup. with n. ad loc., and see also n.sup. on 944f. There is no parallel for the poetic form ἐδρήσσω (cf. ἐδραζώ), but Nonnus uses the compound formations ἐϕεδρήσσω (D.11.148, 20.36, al., cf. A.P.7.161.5, Ant.Sid., all c.dat.; also Coll.256 ἐϕεδρήσσειν...δύσθεν ἐδρήσ. LSJ cite Coll. 69 for absolute ἐϕεδρήσσω, but Weinberger and Mair there prefer the reading ἔφεδρησσω and παραδρήσσω (D.9.112, 40.472, both c.dat.; Par.16.19 codd., παραδρήσσεων Hermann, Scheindler). Cf. also Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.150 (PG.37.1239A) (ἀνίην) ἐδρήσσασαν; this epithet is glossed in Hesychius.

The term ἀτίνακτος is often used predicatively in Nonnus of people, e.g. D.10.165f ἰδικα βάπτων ἡγχηθής ἀτῖνακτος, of a satyr standing in the R.Pactolus, ib.31.183 μένει ζεῦς ἀτῖνακτος; Par.5.14 τοῦτον ἵδων ἀτίνακτον ἐθημονι κείμενον εὐφρ., of an invalid, al.; with our context, cf. also Nonn.11.50 ἀτίνακτα...ώτα γαλήνης. The epithet appears first in Oppian, Η.2.8 ἀναγκαίη, 4.415 plural of ships, C.2.336 ἀνίηκη. See the discussion of A.W.James, Studies in the language of Oppian of Cilicia (Amsterdam 1970) 19f, who discusses other formations in -τινακτος and observes that the incidence of the epithet in an Egyptian papyrus (Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten 6574.5) may indicate that it is not Oppian's formation. Cf. also Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.356 (PG.37.996A), ib.2.1.51.1 (PG.38.110A = A.P.8.178.1); sup.461.

The phrase ἐφ' ἀφλοιοθεῖο γαλήνης describes the condition or circumstances of Eutychius' sitting. Such a phrase would more normally be expressed by ἐπί c.dat. (see LSJ s.v.ἐπί B.I.11, K-G.I.502, sec.438.II.3c). But Nonnus constructs local ἐπί with genitive or dative with little distinction (see Keydell I.64*), and Paul's usage here may be seen as an extension of that licence. After ἐδρήσσω a local expression is naturally expected (cf. Coll. 256, cit.sup.; Nonn.D.36.428 έξαμενοι...ἐπί βάθρων, 40.4 ἐξετα.. ἐπί προβλήτου έρίτνης, al.simil) and ἐφ' ἀφλοιοθεῖο γαλήνης used in
its literal sense of a calm sea (as οἶκος is in Homer, e.g. Od.10.94) would indeed be local. The noun is in fact used metaphorically, but the mode of a local expression is retained. For the qualification of οἶκος with the epithet ἀφλοίσβος, cf. Nonn.D.10.125 Νηρείς ἀφλοίσβοιο κυβερνήτειρα γαλήνης. The epithet occurs elsewhere only at ib.1.89 πορείς (of Europa's bull crossing the sea), 34.134 σωμῆ, 34.315 ἄνθερευνός. It is derived from φλοίσβος, used in the Iliad of the noise of battle (e.g.5.322), later of the sea, see LSJ s.v.

1007-26. In the remainder of the panegyric, Paul turns away from physical description of the patriarch and considers how the mental discipline of Christianity is manifest in his social behaviour. After a general statement of his Christian concern for human affliction (1007-9), Paul gives the specific example of his financial generosity (1010-13) and then describes in more detail how Eutychius' own exemplary purity and strict personal standards, based upon Scriptural prescription, render him entirely incorruptible in the administration of Church affairs, in particular in making ecclesiastical appointments (1014-26).

1007. πάντα μὲν, κτλ.: "You have shaken off all the woes of material labours", i.e. Eutychius' personal life is concerned entirely with spiritual labours, and material woes do not affect him (but, 1008-9, he is not oblivious of the mortal afflictions of others). For the idea, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.94 μόχθον ζλον δίψα, of Arete (see further n.sup. on 964f). Eustratius (V.Eutych.82, col.2368A-B) similarly concludes his account of Eutychius' physical virtues (see n.sup. on 995-1006) with a reference to his otherworldliness, praising the patriarch as another Christ, ἡμείς Χριστοῦς οἴδευ (sc. ὁ λόγος μοι) τοὺς ζῶντας κατὰ Χριστόν. (This expression derives from Greg.Naz.'s praise of Athanasius, see editor's n. ad loc.). Eustratius' passage includes such phrases ἀστῶν ἐτι ὑπέρ γῆν ὄντα καταλιπόντα τὴν γῆν,..., τὸν ἔξω σωρκὸς καὶ κόσμου ἄεὶ γενόμενον, ζῆσαντα ὑπὲρ τὰ ὁρμωμένα, καὶ τὰς θείας ἐμφάσεις δεξαμένον, ἀμηγγί τῶν κάτω χαρακτήρων καὶ πλαναμένων, ὄντως ἑσοπτρου ἀκτιλίσωτον Θεοῦ, κτλ.
For metaphorical ἀπεσειόμαι, cf. 217 sup. with n. ad loc.; with our line-end, cf. also Nonn.D.35.321 ἀπεσεῖοστο λύματα λύσης, 
Par.5.9 ἀπεσεῖοστο λύματα νοῦσου, and for πήματα μύχων, cf. 283 
sup. τέρματα μύχων; Orph.Hymn 67.2 πήματα νοῦσου, Nonn.Par.8.51 
pήματα κόσμου, A.P.5.236.1 (Paul Sil.) πήματα ποινῆς, etc. 
For the person-ending of ἀπεσεῖοστο, cf. 974 sup. with n. ad loc. 
The only poetic parallel for the rare epithet ὑλαῖος in the sense 
"material" is Procli. Hymn 1.3 ὑλαῖοις ἑνὶ κόσμοις. It is used 
in the sense "woodland" at Theoc.23.10 Ἑνο, A.P.11.365.8 (Agath.) 
ἀνθοσύνην (i.e. weeds); elsewhere only in prose, see LSJ, Soph.Lex.s.v. 

1008. εὐσεβής ὀχετηγόν, κτλ.: "but, opening up a conduit 
of piety, your kindly heart". For εὐσεβής ὀχετηγόν, cf. Nonn. 
Par.4.98f νέου βιτοίοι διάκτορος ἐρχεται ὄρν.,εὐσεβής ὀχετηγός, 
ib.14.64 ἀτρεκής ὀχετηγόν, of the Paraclete. Metaphorical 
ὀχετηγός, used literally at II.21.257, is not uncommon in epigram 
(see the exx. collected LSJ s.v.) and in Nonnian poetry, cf. Nonn. 
D.7.203 ὑμμα...γαμίης ὀχετηγοῦ ἀνάγκης (of Zeus), ib.44.270 
φώνων ὀχετηγοῦ (ae.μύχαιραν), al., Par.11.200 ἀρχιερεύς..., 
ὀχετηγὸς ἔορτης (Caiaphas), al.; Jo.Gaz.Desor.2.133 πτερείες 
ὀχετηγὸς ἀνέβλυσαν ἀγγελιῶτης; also Synes. Hymn 3.167f (p.12 
Terzagli) νεορητὸκε νοὸ/,ἀχετηγῇ ἑβω. For the form εὐσεβής, 
see n.sup. on 309f. The Homeric epithet ἐνής (II.17.204, Od.8. 
200, etc., elsewhere of men, gods, animals) is here parallel to 
πηνύνδοιο (1004). For ἄνοιγμα here, of the heart being opened 
like the flood-gates of a conduit, cf. Theoc.14.15 of tapping wine, 
Nonn.D.48.877f νένς...,ἀνοιγμοὺς ἀπὸ πηνής/νυμφόκομος πάλιν ὄντος 
ἀνέβλυς; also E.Med.660f (lyr.), S.fr.360 Nauck, of opening 
the door of the mind/soul. 

1009. συμπαθές: Cf. 40 sup. ταῖς τοῦ βιοῦ γάρ συμπαθῶν ἀμάρτασιν, 
of J. The adjective is very rare in poetry, only Tryph.393 
γυναικῶν, "sharing the common doom" (Mair), of the women of Troy, 
A.P.11.352.7f (Agath.) νεκρα...ἀ ν συμπαθεῖ ἀνακτότατα συμπαθεία, 
"interacting", of the strings of the lyre. It is, however, common 
in late prose in Paul's sense "sympathetic" (once in NT, 1Ep.Petr.3.8),
see LSJ s.v.1, Soph. Lex. s.v.1, PGL s.v.1, noting especially the designation of a bishop as ἐμπερὸς καὶ συμπαθής ἵππος πάντας ἱμενος τους ἐν ἀμφότεραις πεπληγμένους, Const. App. 2.20.10 (I.77.4f Funk). Cf. Leont. V. S. Jo. Eleem. 26 (54.2f Gelzer) τούτου τοῦ συμπαθήτατου, of the patriarch John the Almsgiver. John Moschus' Pratum Spirituale illustrates the high esteem in which a bishop's sympathy with sinners was held, see N.H. Baynes, loc. cit. in n. sup. on 993-4.

ἀνδρομέοισιν ἐπ' ἀλγεσίν ὀμμα τιταῖνεις: Like ὀμμα ταυτόσας (sup. 286, see n. ad loc.), ὀμμα τιταίνω is Nonnian; it is most often used absolutely (e.g. Nonn. D. 42.40, 48.395, al., ps. Ap. Met. Ps. 68.35, Tryph. 371, A.P. 2.225, 353, Christod.) or followed by εἰς (Nonn. D. 9.32, al., Par. 16.2, ps. Ap. Met. Ps. 108.7, A.P. 2.60, Christod., Enc. doc. Roman. 2.2, I. 121 Heitsch, sup. 531), sometimes by ἐπὶ and accusative (Musae. 336, v.l. ἐς; cf. Nonn. D. 15.242, 17.269). But for its use with ἐπὶ and dative, cf. Nonn. D. 39.256 ὄμμενον ὀμμα τιταινε ἐπ' εὐθύρυμοι Διονύσιοι; the verb τιταίνω is also constructed with accusative, followed by ἐπὶ and dative at ib. 10.155, 12.342, 37.516. Paul's choice of the construction here may be influenced by the fact that the dative ἀλγεσί (often with the preposition ἐν or ἐπὶ) is frequently placed immediately before the bucolic caesura, e.g. I. 24.568, Od. 5.83, al., A.R. 1.297, 4.1395, 1652, Opp. H. 3.323, 329, 4.679, Nonn. D. 47.314, 48.849, Par. 19.11, A.P. 11. 382.7 (Agath.). For the epithet ἀνδρομεος here, cf. Nonn. D. 7.13 μεληδόνως, 7.59 κακότητος, 12.258 μερίμνας, 47.55 ἀνίς, and see further n. sup. on 306.

1010-13. The theme of Eutychius' support for those in need has already been touched on at 993 sup. Its recurrence is doubtless due to the fact that this was a virtue most highly-prized in a bishop, see n. sup. on 993-4.

1010. οὖδε λιτεροῦτης: Cf. A.P. 9.649.5f (Mac. Cons.) οὖδε λιτεροῦτης κενοῦ καὶ ἀκερδῆ μοχθω/κλαῦσε (on this epigram, see J.A. Madden in Mnemosyne Ser. 4, 30, 1977, 153ff). The adjective
is extant in this form only in these two places (and Longus 2.22 if Schäfer's restoration for ληπεργήτης is correct), but Callimachus (fr. 254.2 Fr.) uses a feminine form ληπερνήτης, cf. Epic.aesp.4.17 (p.79 Powell = P.Oxy.1794), while ληπερνής occurs in Archilochus (and Hesychius), and the verb ληπερνεῖν in Josephus. See LSJ s.vv and cf. Pfeiffer on Call.loc.cit. on the citations of glossaries. For a discussion of the etymology, see Chantraine, Dict.étym. s.v. ληπερνής.

τελέθει βροτὸς: Cf. 962 sup. τελέθει χρέος in eadem sede and see n. ad loc. on τελέθω, here used with predicative adjective as in Homer. As at 286 sup., βροτὸς suggests a contrast with the immortal or divine, here the godlike virtue of Eutychius.

ἂν σὺ νοησῆτι: The aorist subjunctive νοήσῃς is Fr.'s correction of the future νοήσῃς of the ms. and all earlier editors. The sense of the relative clause is here general ("anyone whom you see"), for which the regular classical construction would be ὁ· with ἂν and subjunctive (Goodwin GMT sec.532, p.204, K-G.II.424ff, sec.559.1, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.380.1b, p.308). But Homer and later poets frequently omit ἂν (or κε) in such general statements (K-G, sec.559.1, Anm.1, p.426, cf. Goodwin GMT sec.538, p.207f, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.380 n.7, p.309), and Fr.'s ἂν...νοήσῃς would accord with this practice. Even in Homeric and classical Greek, however, the indicative sometimes replaces the subjunctive (Goodwin GMT sec.534, p.206, although Goodwin gives no exx. with future tense) and late Greek often makes no distinction between future indicative and subjunctive with ἂν in such clauses (cf. the alternative use of ἀν with subjunctive and εἰ with future indicative in general conditions in classical Greek, see Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec. 380.2, p.308 and cf. ib sec.363, p.293). This tendency is well exemplified by Nonn.D.19.138ff ἀς τις ἀεθλεύσει (Hermann, Keydell, Peck; ἀεθλεύσει L) .../...οἵτωσιν ἐλέσθω/...κρητήρα.../...δὲ πέση.../...ὑσσονα ὤμα δεξέσθω. See further Keydell I.72*ff, who cites cases of the replacement of the
future indicative by aorist subjunctive and discusses the difficulty of determining whether the form has been correctly transmitted. Hence it is possible that Paul wrote either νοήσας or νοήσεις, but perhaps we may tentatively accept Fr.’s aorist subjunctive, in view of Paul’s general strictness in adhering to Homeric practice on such points of grammar (cf., for example, the use of the optative ἄναίζεις in primary sequence at 309 sup., see n. ad loc.), and because here the easy corruption from -τις to -εις is made doubly easy by confusion with the preceding line-end τιταίνεις.

1011. καθαρότερν τόθου θημώνα πετάσσας: “having opened wide the treasure-store of a spotless mind”. Cf. 680f sup. ἐνθάδε πολλοί / ἐμείτερον θημώνας ἄνωθεν ἄνωθεν ἄνωθεν, in the context of the collection of gold and silver for the adornment of S.Sophia. On the term θημών, see 237n.sup. Like οἴγνυμι and compounds (cf. 173, 212, 320, al.sup.), πετάνυμι is regularly used of opening doors, cf. 328 sup. and see n.sup. on 174f., where it is used metaphorically, as here. The genitive καθαρότερν τόθου is possessive, like ἄνωθεν in 681, not constituent like ἄγοιν in 237. The weight of meaning lies in the epithet καθαρός, an epithet which is applied to Eutychius again inf. 1015, cf. καθαρίσων 1029 and the twofold use of καθαρός at 1026 in the context of Eutychius’ lessons to those who try to corrupt him. This reiteration of the term in connection with Eutychius serves to set his purity against the corruption of others with more worldly interests. The quality of purity is regularly associated with Christians in the NT (see Arndt and Gingrich s.v. καθαρός 3) and in patristic writers (see PGL s.v. Ι.Δ), cf. esp. Const.App.2.11.1 (I.47.22ff Funk; quoted PGL s.v.Ι.Δ.2) οὐ ἐπισκοπεῖ, ἐπούσεις καθαρὸς εἶναι τοῖς ἐργοῖς, κτλ. So here Eutychius’ spontaneous response to the sight of someone in need is that of the pure-minded Christian who has no thought of personal or worldly interest, but only that of Christian benefaction. For καθαρός νόσ, cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.211 (PG.37.986) οὐτίνα δ’ ἀτρεκὴν καθαρὸν νόσος ὑμματι λέεινων; Nonn.Par.13.53 ἀμμορον ἀμπλακίνης καθαρόν νόσον ἱστε καὶ αὐτοῖ, ib. 48, both of the disciples.
1012. Λυδῶν ἔριχυστοι...όλβον ἁναύρου: A reference to the Lydian river Pactolus, proverbially associated with wealth on account of the gold washed down in its streams in ancient times, to which the Lydians were reputed to owe their wealth. See RE s.v. Paktolos (Bd.XVIII.2, col.2439f), for examples of this topos in classical Greek and Roman poetry, and cf. also Call.fr.814 Pf., Schol. ad id. Del.250; A.P.9.423.4 (Bianor) οἵλβον Πακτόλου ἐξώματι δεξίμεναι (builders of Sardis); Dio Chrys.Or.33.23, 78.31; D.P.831f, with Eustathius' n. ad loc.; Them.Or.27 (II.158.20f Downey-Norman); Nonn.D.10.163 ὁλβον ἐφησίδα μεταλλεύων ποταμῷ (i.e. Pactolus), 13.472f ὅπη Πακτόλου ἱλῶν/ζανθός ἁποττών ἁμαύσοτεται ὁλβος ἐξώς, 34.213 Λυδῶν ἄπτετον οἵλβον, ὄσον Πακτόλας ἀδέξει, al.; Jo.Geom. Par.25.3f (PG.106.873) ἐκάλει τόγε τοὺς τοιούτους/τοῦ μεγάλου Λυδοῦ πολλὸν ἄφεντερους (of the three virtues recommended by a holy man; the earlier lines of this epigram are quoted in n.sup. on 995). The generosity of S.John the Almsgiver is described by his biographer Leontius by means of the same analogy, without the literary reference to the Pactolus, Leont.V.Jo.Eleem.12 (23.4f Gelzer) καὶ ἀθείδως ἡπλωμένην χείρα καὶ ἄπτερο ἐκ πηγῆς ἀείναυς πάσιν παρέχουσαν. Nonnus uses adjectival Λυδῶς (first in Sappho, see LSJ s.v.), as well as Λύδιος, e.g. D.17.318 Λυδῶν...οίκου ἀντίλης in eadem sede, cf. 17.106 ἄνηρ, 46.123 μέλος, al. For ἀναυρός, cf. 290 sup., and 210 with n. ad loc. The epithet ἐρίχυστος (cf. Homeric πολύχυςος, II.11.46, al.) occurs elsewhere only at sup.503 καρήνου (of the dome; the line is restored by Fr.) and at A.P.9.785 (Anon.) θυμίας χρύσου ἔργου ἐδέξισα πάσιν δίταις, κυσαίων πτολεύθρου ἐρίχυστου Βασιλέως (i.e. Cpl.). For other new formations in ἐρι-, cf. sup. 304 ἐρίκυμης, 274 ἐρίγκυμος with n. ad loc.

παρέδραμες: "you surpassed". For this sense in late poetry, cf. Opp.H.3.96 παρὰ δὲ φρένας ἔδραμον ἄνδρών (of fish escaping fishermen), where the senses "outrun" and "outdo" are both present; Nonn.D.1.490 Φοῖβον ἐμὴ φόρμιγγι παρέδραμον. Homer uses the verb transitively in the literal sense "outrun", "overtake" at II.23. 636 Ἰφικλον δὲ πόδεσσι παρέδραμον, cf. A.P.16.275.9 (Posidipp.), Nonn.D.29.347, 37.694, al.; the metaphorical usage "surpass" appears
in classical poetry and in later prose, see LSJ s.v. παρατρέχω 2. Earlier (65, 123, 445, 703) Paul uses it in the sense "neglect", "overlook" (cf. LSJ s.v.4b). In our line a present tense is expected after τελέθω (1010) and before ὑπέρταται (1013), but the aorist is gnomic, since this is a general statement (διὸ ποτέ καθήκοντα, 1010). Homer (exclusively) and Nonnus (with one exception, D.41.109) admit only the strong aorist form (although Paul has the perfect at 445, 703 sup.). For the same idea with ὄλβος, using a different verb, cf. A.P.5.259.6 (Paul Sil.) ὄλβοι ποιντὸς ὑπερτέταται, of a lover.

1013. ἐκχύτου ἐκ παλάμης: "poured forth from your hand". Cf. A.P.5.260.3f (Paul Sil.) ἐγὼ ἐκαθόρισα παλάμην ἐκχύτου ἐκ στέρνων ἐκεῖσθηκα μόνον, ib.16.229.1 (Anon.) ἐξ αὐτὸν Παλ. ἐστιν ὁ φήλιτατος ἐκχύτας αὐτός (Pan); also A.P.5.249.5 (Iren.) ἐκχύτα σῶματα φωτῶν, 5.275.1 (Paul Sil.) Μενεκρατίγε κύκλως ὑπνω, 9.669.8 (Marian.) ἐκχύτου...κόμη (of ivy); sup.639 of white markings spread over black marble, 888 of the lights of S.Sophia; Suidas s.v. κακχασμός: ὁ ἐκχύτας γέλως. The adjective is not elsewhere attested, although the term ἐκχύτας is used substantively at A.P.9.395.2 (Pall.), sens.dub. of something eaten. At 208 and 925 sup., Paul uses the participle ἐκχύμενος, "streaming forth", respectively of fire and water, see nn. ad locc. For ἐκ παλάμης, cf. Opp.H.3.154, Nonn.D.6.63, 18.185, 37.689, Par.4.35, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.250.

ποταμῷρρυτον: The form is not elsewhere attested, although ποταμῷρρυτος occurs in late prose, see LSJ s.v. Graefe emended to ποταμῷρρυτος in our line (with a note ad loc. suggesting as an alternative adverbial ποταμῳρρυέτον), but other editors have retained the transmitted form, Fr. with some hesitation, see his app.crit. There seems to be no good reason for emending ποταμῷρρυτον (the lectio difficilior): Oppian has ποταμῷρρυς (C.2.178, 4.84), and Nonnus uses the adjectival forms ποταμῇρρος (e.g. D.6.224, 26.237) and ποταμωτίς (D.12.163 of the Pactolus, 27.184, al.), the latter in imitation of Alexandrian poets (A.R.3.1219, Nic.Al.128). Fr. (ad loc.) observed that there are many other composites
of the kind ποταμηρωτος, citing θανατηφόρος (A.Cho.369, etc.); for such a compound in late poetry, cf. ἀποτιθηφόρος (Aesch., Eur., Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.3.402). Paul's wide use of new or rare formations has already been amply demonstrated, and there is no reason why ποταμηρωτος should not be added to this list. For the association between ὀλβος and a flowing river, cf. Paul's use of the epithet δυνατος supra.225 (see n. ad loc.), ἐπίρρυτον ὀλβον 234.

Ὀλβον ὁμάζων: The repetition of ὀλβον from 1012 in eadem sede is not obviously intended as deliberate word-play, although the similar repetitions of ὁμας (286, 289 sup.) and ἵσεις (288, 290) may be such, see 290n. Here it is perhaps a sign of haste: Paul may have intended lines 1012 and 1013 as alternatives, one of which would have been omitted on revision, since 1013 could stand instead of 1012 if ὁμάζεις were written instead of ὁμάζων. Compare n.inf. for a similar case of parallel lines. The use of ὀλβον is acceptable in both 1012 and 1013, since it is elsewhere used of the Pactolus' gold (see the exx. quoted 1012n.) and ὀλβον ὁμάζεις is Homeric, Od.18.19 ὀλβον δὲ θεοὶ μέλλουσιν ὁμάζειν, cf. Hes.Th.420, Maneth.2(1).221, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.4.83 (PG.37.422), etc. The verb is often used of the gifts of the gods.

1014f. πάντα μὲν ὁμυγίων, κτλ.: "All the glories of labours primeval and more recent you have thoroughly learned". I.e. Eutychius is thoroughly acquainted with the history of Christian endeavours. There is no linguistic indication to suggest it, but the context requires that the reference be specifically to Christian labours, since the following lines (1015-17) describe Eutychius' exemplary Christian life, presumably based upon the knowledge here referred to. Hence it is likely that the two adjectives ὁμυγίων τε καὶ ὁμαλοτέρων refer respectively to the Old and New Testaments. Eutychius' outstanding knowledge of the Scriptures is apparent from Eustatius' Life, for example, in Eutychius' apt citation of a passage from Scripture in resolving the controversy about anathematisation of the dead at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (ch.22, see n.sup. on 998f). According to the
Life, Eutychius' early education at his local church (ch.8ff, cols.2282D ff) was followed by a period of secular education at Cpl. (ch.10, col.2285A-B); after distinguishing himself in the latter, he chose to devote himself entirely to theological studies (col. 2285C). Leontius' Life of S. John the Almsgiver similarly comments on the patriarch's knowledge of Scripture and his practice of its precepts, ch.18 (36.1ff Gelzer) εἶχεν μὲν οὖν γνῶσιν καὶ τῶν θείων γραμμῶν ὅ ἐν ἀγίοις, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ ὡς ἄγιος τοῦτος ὡς ὁ ἐπὶ κεντροδοξίας ἀποστηθείς, ἀλλὰ διὰ ωτῆς τῆς τῶν ἔργων πράξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν τηρήσεως.

For the expression κλέα μόχθων, cf. 138 sup. κλέα...ἔργων and see n. ad loc. At A.P.2.378 (Christod.) the genitive (φωτών) is qualified by ἔγνωσιν, as μόχθων is in our line. The coupling of ἔγνωσις and ὀπλότερος appears to be Paul's own. The former is first certainly used as an adjective by Hesiod (Th.805ς Στυγὸς ἄφετιν θόρα/ἀγνωσιον), although in Homer's expression νήσοι ἕν ἔγνωσιν (Od.1.85, al.simil.), where the term is traditionally interpreted as a proper name, it need not be so. It is used by poets in the sense "primeval", "very ancient" (Hesychius glosses it ἀρχαίων, παλαιόν, cf. Suida, Etym.Magn.), but the etymology is unknown, see West's n. o. on Hes. loc.cit., Chantraine Dict.etym. and Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. ἔγνωσιν. For its use, see LSJ s.v. and cf. Epigr.Gr.845.2 (3rd or 2nd cent.) ἐπὶ γνωσιν υἱὲς ἑρικόντιδον; A.R.3.1178 ὁ. ξυν ᾑδῆ; Call.Jov.13ς ἀλλὰ ἐρείπις/ ἔγνωσιν καλέουσι λεξίας ἀπειθαίς(of a holy place), Del.160 ἔγνωσιν...καὶ τοῦ Μεροπηῦδα νῆσον, fr. 260.22ς Πρ. ἔγνωσις.../οίωνος; Nic.Th.34.3 μέθος; A.P.7.42.7 (Anon.; on Callimachus) ἀμφιβ. ἐρώτων, ib.15.24.12 (Simias) σκάπτους; D.P.523 of Thasos, 911 of Tyre, al.; Orph.Hymn 64.10 of Nomus, cf. 59.10; Nonn.D.13.164 ἔγνωσιν πέδου ἁγίας, conj. Canter at ib.12.19ς ἔγνωσις.../...κύψεως κόσμου, of Helios (the conjecture is accepted by all editors except Keydell, who printed L's οὔγιω and obelised. Peek argued in favour of ἔγνωσιν in Abh.d.deutschen Akademie d.Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Kl. für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jg.1969, Nr.1, p.17f); Coll.10 ἔγνωσι...εἰκος ἄρχη. (See also PGL s.v. for an example from late prose in the sense "immense"). The comparative ὀπλότερος
is Homeric (II.4.325, al., see LSJ s.v.), where it is used in "the comparison in age of people alive at the same time" (Gow on Theoc.16.46). This sense ("younger") is common amongst later poets (e.g. A.R.1.43, 992, al., Theoc.22.176, Opp.H.3.645, Nonn. D.5.209, 48.889, al., Musae.77, A.P.5.220.4, Agath., ib.7.604.6, Paul Sil.), but Theocritus (16.46) also uses it of later generations (cf. Euph.fr.80.1, p.44 Powell, A.P.4.2.6, Philipp., Orph.Arg.16, 109, al., Nonn.D.15.283, 16.125, A.P.5.218.3, Agath.), while Nonnus uses it more widely of things (as well as people) in the sense "later", "new", as here, e.g. Δ.13.463 Σαλαμίνα, 29.353 so. ἐξεδάνη, Παρ.3.28 διπλοτέρνη...γενέθλιον ἔσπορων ἁρχήν, 13.138 διπλοτέρνη...ἐφύμουσαν ἐπιτέλλω, also Coll.57 διπλοτέρνη δολίνης ...Βουλής, A.P.2.362 (Christod.) διπλοτέρνου κύμοιο, of Menander's New Comedy. Line 1014 is remarkably similar to 1007 sup., which likewise marks the opening of a new topic. The formal similarity between the two lines may be a further sign of hasty composition, cf. n.sup. on άλβον ὀπίσσων 1013.

For ἔξεδάνης, cf. A.R.4.1564φ Ἀθίνα καὶ πέλαγος Μινώτου εἶ νῦν που, ἦρως, ἔξεδάνης, also Maneth.6(3).469 ή γαρ μέτα μακρόσ
θεουν ἔξεδάνησαν. (At Theognis 1349φ οὐνεκα καγών/ἔξεδάνην καλοῦ
παιδὸς ἧμωτι δαμεῖς, Sauppe's conjecture ἔξεδάνη is less plausible
than the alternative conjecture ἔξεσφάνην, Baiter, Ahrens, Bergk, West, etc., based on the similar lines 1342 and 1344). These are
the only known instances of this compound of Homeric δῶ (II.3.208, al.). The aorist here has perfect sense, cf. σταθμήσατο 1017.

1015f. πάσιν δὲ μοιν, κτλ.: "and with spotless feet you
travel every path in the holy meadow". In the reference to the
holy meadow, Paul has chosen an image with a wealth of association
in Christian thought, of which an indication is given by the
examples collected in PGL s.v. λείμων; see also n.sup. on 286-99
on the use of λείμων images in late rhetorical writers. The vague
generality of Paul's expression here leaves the reader free to
conjure up this wealth of association. In view of the reference
in 1014 to Eutychius' knowledge of Scripture (see n.sup.), the
use of λείμων here must recall the image of the meadow of Scripture
(exx. PGL, n.sup. on 286-99). Hence this line may be seen as a
metaphorical reiteration of the statement of 1014f, with the additional suggestion, in the idea of walking a path, of the application of this knowledge to Eutychius' conduct of his life. But other associations of the image are also relevant: the image of the path here recalls the reference in 964f sup. to Eutychius' easy course over the rugged path of virtue (ἀρετῆς...ὁμοίον; see n. ad loc.), and elsewhere virtue is described in terms of the image of the meadow, e.g. Jo.Chrys.Laud.Paul.1 (PG.50.473.1ff) ὅτι οὖν τῆς ἀμφιπλόν πράτου καὶ παράδειασον πνευματικῆς καλέσας τῆς Παύλου ψυχῆς Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.91 ἡτέτθη λειμώνας (cf. n.sup. on 964f); similarly John Moschus called his collection of virtuous Lives a λείμων, because in it he culled the various flowers of contemporary virtue, Prat.proem.(PG.87.2852A-C, esp. B) εὖ δὲ (sc. ἀρετῶν) τὰ καλὰ δραμάμενοι ἄνθη πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἀκμάτου λειμῶνος λαβοῦν, κτλ. (cf. E.Hipp.73f). So Paul's expression here also means that Eutychius leads a life of complete virtue, based upon the knowledge of the Scriptures referred to in 1014f. Moreover, the reference to Eutychius' "spotless feet" suggests his spiritual purity and Christian enlightenment (cf. κ. νῦν 1011 sup., with n. ad loc.), a further context in which the λείμων analogy occurs elsewhere, see PGL s.v. There is no reason why Paul's image here should not be intended to suggest all of these associations.

The particles μὲν (1014) and δὲ (1015, 1016) indicate no greater antithesis than that between Eutychius' theoretical knowledge and his practical application of it in life. For the verb ὁδεύω (once in Homer, Il.11.569) constructed with accusative expressing the place traversed, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. esp. A.R.4.838 οἶμον ὁδεύειν, simil.D.P.923, Nomn.D.2.127, 10.102, Par.2.64, 7.67f, al., Tryph.102, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.275; also Nomn.D.16.72 = 48.514 ἐσώ λειμῶνος ὁδεύων. For this verb with the instrumental dative ποσοῦ, cf. Opp.Σ.1.101. Instead of οἶμος, Paul substitutes the Homeric ἄτραπτός (Od.13.195, also ἄτραπτός; cf. ἀτραπός), which is found in both literal and (less often) metaphorical contexts, see LSJ s.v. and cf. Call.Del.74; A.P.7.241.8 (Ant.Sid.), ib.12.121.1 (Rhian.), 16.256.4 (Anon.); Opp.Σ.1.484, 2.208, al.;
The dative άείς άονού άεούεύ gives local definition to άτροπιτόν; Nonnus often uses the dative alone in a local sense, see Keydell I.59* and cf. sup.202 and 197 with n. ad loc. On the epithet άεούεύζ, see n.sup. on 168.

1016f. οάς δε μέρίμνας, κτλ.: "and your cares the mystic canon has measured on a just-minded balance". In a new metaphor from measuring, Paul refers to the strict rule by which Eutychius' cares or preoccupations are governed. The plural μέριμνα denotes that which occupies or weighs down the mind (cf. 175, 251 sup., where it refers to the concern felt at the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia); its use here implies that strict discipline is applied not only to Eutychius' actions, but to the things which he allows to enter his mind. But the main point of the clause is to add the idea of a strict discipline of life.

The term κανών doubtless suggested the development of the measuring image: originally it denoted a rod or bar used to keep something straight, see LSJ s.v.I for its various technical senses, and cf. Nonn.D.5.63, 17.66, 41.269, all of builders' rules; A.P.6. 64.4, ib.65.2, 4, 66.3 (all Paul Sil.) of a writer's rule. But its metaphorical usage begins in the classical period (see LSJ s.v.II) and by the 6th cent. the term is well-established in Christian usage in several metaphorical senses in the range "rule", "order", "system", see PGL s.v. and cf. Soph.Lex.s.v., Du Cange Glossarium s.v. Here the "mystic canon" is the Christian rule or prescription by which Eutychius governs his life. It is the canon or rule of faith (PGL s.v.A), which was derived from the canon of Scripture (PGL s.v.A.3, B), cf. the reference to Eutychius' Scriptural knowledge in 1014f. In Christian thought, the term κανών also denotes a moral standard of behaviour (PGL s.v.D) and a rule of ecclesiastical law (PGL s.v.C). It has been suggested that Eutychius himself may have been involved in the reform of ecclesiastical canons, but at a later stage of his career, after his exile and reinstatement, see E.Honigmann, Trois mémoires posthumes d'histoire et de géographie de l'Orient chrétien (Subsidia hagiographica 35,
Brussels 1961) p.49ff, esp. 55ff. On the use of μήθης in Christian contexts and in Paul, see n.sup. on 313. Elsewhere Paul uses it only of people, either substantively (313, 350, 718, 974) or as an adjective with ἀνήρ (432, 686, 865), but it is occasionally used elsewhere as an adjective with a non-personal noun, see LSJ s.v.1 fin.

The verb σταθμόσαι is derived from στάθμη, the Homeric term for a carpenter's line or rule (Od.5.245, al.). The noun sometimes occurs in later writers in conjunction with, or in distinction from, κανών, see LSJ s.v.1 and, for their collocation in metaphor, cf. Greg.Naz.Or.43.20 (PG.36.521C) κανώνες ἄντες ἄλληλοι καὶ στάθμοι, ὡς τὸ εὐθεῖα, καὶ μὴ, διακρίνεται (of himself and Basil, studying together at Athens); the two occur along with our verb σταθμόσαι at Luc.Hist.Conscr.63 οὗτος σοι κανῶν καὶ στάθμη ἱστορίας δίκαιας, καὶ εἰ μὲν σταθμίσονται τινὲς αὐτῷ, εἴ ἂν ἔχοι, κτλ. Paul here chooses the verb because its connection with the technical term στάθμη suits the metaphor of κανῶν; at the same time σταθμόσαι is not inappropriate to the idea of measuring by weight, which is introduced in the instrumental dative πλάσκειν ("scale of a balance", see LSJ s.v.): Hesychius glosses σταθμήσας ἐν τούτῳ στῆσας, although the form σταθμίζω is elsewhere used in the sense "weigh", see LSJ, PGL s.v. Both verbs properly belong to prose, although σταθμόσαι occurs in Callimachus (fr. 191.54 Pf. = Iamb.1.119) and Aratus (234; passive) and, in a similar context to ours, at Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.10 (PG.37.579) μὴ δὲ μικρὸς μέτρωσι τῆς σταθμίζεσ αὕτου (advice to the celibate).

Metaphorical πλάζεινς is found in classical drama, see LSJ s.v.; for its incidence in later poetry, cf. A.P.12.88.5f (Anon.) τῆς, ἐμοὶ τοῦθ' ἄδω, καὶ εἰς πλάςεις ὀνκαίνυνει κλήρῳ τῷ μάτε σφενδεί μέλη, Orph.Hymn 63.7 πλάζεις ἡ δραματίσαι παρεκκλιναστας ἄλλοις, of the scales of Justice upset by the greedy; Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.329 καὶ μεθέπτων ὁμοφωνα οὐκ ἄλλο πλάζεις πορείας, of Kosmos; also metaphorical in patristic writers, see PGL s.v. The epithet ἱθόνος occurs elsewhere only at Nonn.D.41.353 θεσμοῦ, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.10.4 (κακοῖ) ἱθύνοντας ὁρφυνθέν οἰστεόσα μεμώτες.
1018-26. The description of Eutychius' personal wisdom, purity and discipline in 1014-17 has been preparatory to the account of his incorruptibility in Church administration, which now follows in the final section of the panegyric (1018-26). This is concerned with his refusal to tolerate the abuses of simony (1019f) and the appointment of laymen to ecclesiastical posts (1020f).

There is evidence that simony was a major problem from the mid-fifth century onwards, by which time a post as a priest or deacon could be quite lucrative: it was repeatedly condemned in imperial laws and ecclesiastical canons, and J. regulated by law certain fees and payments. See Jones LRE II.908-10 with notes, III.309ff, and cf. Boojamra in Buzantina 7 (1975) 367f; Bury HLRE II.361. An instance is described in Leontius' Life of S.John the Almsgiver (ch.13, p.25.15ff Gelzer), in which a landowner attempts to bribe the patriarch by offering him corn and gold at a time when the church was hard-pressed to support the needy (because of famine and refugees from Persian invasion), on condition that John make him a deacon; the offer was, of course, refused. Cf. ib.ch.4 (10.12ff Gelzer) for a reference to stewards being corrupted by bribes.

The appointment of laymen to ecclesiastical posts was likewise irregular, but not uncommon: J. passed a law that only clerics of six months' standing might become bishops (Nov.VI sec.1, A.D.535). See Jones LRE II.915ff on the appointment of bishops, ib. 912f on the promotion of lower ranks, with notes III.313ff. An instance from the reign of J. is that of John the Cappadocian, who was exiled to Cyzicus, ἐνταθεὶς ἱερέως οὗ τι ἐκούσιος περιβάλλεται σώμα, οὐκ ἐπισκόπου μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἀπείρον καλεῖν πρεσβύτερον νεομίκασιν, Proc.BP 1.25.31, cf. ib.2.30.54 and see Stein B-E II.482f.

Fr. observed in his note on 1019-20 that refusal to tolerate simony is to our minds a very dubious subject of encomium. Similar themes are not uncommon, however, in panegyric of secular figures, e.g. Prisc.Pan.197 nec luceri causa commiscent sacra profanis (in the context of Anastasius' removal of vices in the administration), Cor.Laud.Just. pan.Anast.29f qui munera temnis,/spernis avaritiam, fulvum qui respuis aurum (of Anastasius, quaestor and magister officiorum)
with Cameron ad loc. But Paul does give the theme of Eutychius' refusal to tolerate abuses striking prominence at the conclusion and climax of the panegyric. He may have chosen to develop this theme simply to give a concrete conclusion to a very generalised panegyric (see nn. sup. on 978-1029 and 987-90), but, like 987-90, our passage may reflect an actual incident or incidents in Eutychius' career. But Eustratius' Life furnishes no information on the subject.

This peroration of the encomium is marked by a rhetorical heightening of style similar to, although much more compressed than, that of the opening hexameters 135-67 (see n. ad loc.). Lines 1019-21 comprise a rhetorical tricolon of the form οὐ...οὐδέ.../...οὐδέ, exactly like that of 135ff; as in the earlier instance, the two οὐδέ clauses add precision to the general statement of the opening clause. Note also the rhyming line-ends 1019-21 (cf. 974-77 sup. with 974n.), the parallel προετοιμάσατο and βράτος at the beginning of 1022 and 1023, the homophony of χαλέσατο and χαλινῷ in 1023, the reiterated θόσον of 1024 which forms part of a second tricolon expression using the aorist infinitive (1024-26), the homophony of άτιμηθέντα and άφαίρεσαν in 1025, the polyptoton of καθαρός (i.e repetition in different cases, cf. K.Mitsakis, The language of Romanos the Melodist, Byz.Archiv 11, Munich 1967, 165) and the alliteration of the letters theta and tau in 1026.

1018. ἑχθεν: Causal, cf. 959 sup. and 155 sup. with n. ad loc.

ὤπ' ἀλαρτοίσι οὖν μελετήμονι θέλγων: "enchanting your mind with undefiled cares". The pure thoughts or concerns which alone are allowed by Eutychius' strict discipline to occupy his mind (1016f), so charm, or transform and purify it, that he cannot contemplate the corrupt practice of selling ecclesiastical posts (1019).

The verb θέλγω has been used before of the eyes of the beholder of S.Sophia (297) and the barbarians who hear Eutychius' voice (989), see nn. ad locc. As well as being applied to eyes and ears, it is also regularly used metaphorically of the mind, heart, soul et simil., and the expression οὖν θέλγω is Homeric, Π.12.255 (of a squall of wind raising dust and confusing the Achaeans),

The verb is used with instrumental μελετήματι, as in our line, at A.R.3.4f ἀμμήνας δὲ τετοί μελετήματι θέλεις/παρθενικῷ (of Erato, bringing the cares of love), cf. also ib.3.471 ἢ μὲν ἂν ὦκ εἴλητο νόσον μελετήματι κούρα Μεδεία, also of love-cares). The noun, here a synonym for μερίμνας in 1016, is Homeric (plural only), Il.23. 62, Od.15.8, al., see further LSJ s.v. and cf. Nonn.D.5.291 μελετήματα θήρης, 7.63 μ. κόσμου, also 20.244; A.P.5.221.3 (Paul Sil.) of cares in love. (Du Cange's mistaken μελετήματι was corrected by Graefe). For Paul's use of ἄχραυντας here, cf. A.P.1.10.65 (Anon.) ἀχράυντας κραδίνη ὑπὸ νεοῦμαι (of the patroness Anicia Juliana), and see further 196n.sup. For instrumental ὑπὸ, cf. 172 sup. with n. ad loc., 306, 343.

1019. ὠνιον οὖ τετλῆκας ἵδειν σέβας: "you have not endured to see holiness for sale". Paul uses the vague term σέβας to refer to ecclesiastical offices: the meaning becomes clear from what follows. As at 284 sup. (see n. ad loc.), σέβας denotes "an object of reverence", here the Church and its offices, cf. also 986 sup. with n. ad loc. The adjective ωνιος is used chiefly in prose (see LSJ s.v.), but also occasionally in poetry, cf. A.P.7.622.6 (Antiph.Byz.) μὲ ν ψυχὴς ὠνιον, 10.44.3 (Pallad.) ωνια γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τὰ ἰματα; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.157f (PG.37.981f) ἀμφοτέροισιν/ ὠνιοι (sc.κακοῖς); Nonn.D.45.113 ωνια Σιδοὺνης ἀληθέρφωρα πέπλα θαλάσσων, Par.2.76f πολὺν ἐσμον...φιλείμπορον...ὁνιον ἐργον ἐχοντα, 13.50f τίς μὴν ἄρη ἡμελλεν τιουδαίοις παραδώσειν/ονιον ἀντιβίοιοι; (Christ). For Paul's use cf. also Agath.Hist.5.15.6 οὐ δὲ ωνιον ἐλόντας τὸ γέροντα (i.e. enrolment among the Scholarii). For τετλήκαν ἵδειν, cf. 287 sup. with n. ad loc.

1019f. οὐδὲ καρπῆνοις, κτλ.: "nor have you made holy heads the object of trafficking", i.e. Eutychius has not allowed ecclesiastical office to be bought and sold like merchandise. The verb ἐφαρμόζω is strictly used of fitting one thing onto another, as at 147 sup.
(see n. ad loc.), but it is also used more widely in a metaphorical sense, of the application or accommodation of one thing to another, see the exx. from Paul collected in n.sup. on 966 and cf. LSJ s.v.II, PGL s.v.2. So here the sense is that Eutychius has refused to connect commerce and ecclesiastical office, or to see the latter as a suitable subject for the former. The combination of abstract ἐμπορία and concrete καρήνοις is similar to, although bolder than, that of οὔνομα and πέτρω at Amb.104 (quoted 965n.).

The term ἐμπορία belongs to the same linguistic milieu as ὄντος in 1019. At 235 and 851 sup., and at A.P.10.15.6, Paul uses it more precisely of the merchandise carried in ships, see n.sup. on 235. Here, however, the sense is more general, "trafficking", "trade", "commerce", see LSJ s.v.II.1 and cf. GVI 1833.4 (2nd cent.), D.P.710, 908; Nonn.D.3.117 (metaph. of love), Par.2.87; A.P.7. 586.1 (Jul.Aeg.); Agath.Hist.4.21.7, 5.5.6. The adjective ἱερός means "priestly", "of priests", as elsewhere in Paul, cf. 88, 344, 996 with nn. ad locc.

1020f. οὔδὲ βεβήλατος, κτλ.: "nor yet have you pointed out to profane men a path which should not have been theirs to tread". I.e. Eutychius has forbidden the appointment of laymen to ecclesiastical posts. The term ὄντος here denotes the course of a career in the Church. For the image of the "path" or "way" in a similar context, cf. 996 sup. (with n. ad loc.), and for metaphorical ὄντος, cf. 964 sup. The term is widely used in metaphorical or allegorical expressions, e.g. Nonn.Par.7.68 οἶμον ἐπιτυμίης, cf. 8.80 and, for Paul's use with ἐδείξας, D.P.1171 καὶ βαθὺν οἴμον ἐδείξαν ἀμετρήτοιο θαλάσσας. Nonnus similarly uses ἀνέμβατον οἴμον of a forbidden path at Par.7.138f καὶ οὐ πέμπῃ, διηπόθη βαίνω, ὡμέος ἰμέροντος ἀνέμβατον οἴμον ἑδέσειν. The epithet is regularly used in topographical contexts, see 1005n.sup. Here it is emphatically placed at the end of the sentence, between the third foot feminine caesura and the bucolic caesura. The dative expression βεβήλατος/ἀνέμβατον might go with ἀνέμβατον exx. quoted LSJ s.v.), but ἀνέμβατον is perhaps rather absolute, and the dative indirect object after ἐδείξας.
In the language of the mystery religions, the βέβηλοι are the
uninitiated, e.g. Call.Cer.3 τῶν καλαθῶν κατιόντα χαμαῖ
θανετοθε, βέβηλοι; Theoc.26.14 τά (sc. ἀργυρία μάκχου) τ’ουθ’ ὀφέοντι
βέβηλοι, cf. ib.3.51 and see Gow’s nn. ad loco.; Orph.fr.245.1
φηκήγοραί οἳς θέμις ἐστὶ· θῦρος δ’ ἐπιθέοθε βέβηλοι (v.l. βεβηλοί);
A.P.9.298.1ff (Antiphil.) με...όντα βέβηλον/οῦ μοῦνον τελετής,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡκλίου·/μύστην ὁ ἄμφοτέρων με θεαὶ θέσαν; cf. Soph.fr.570
with Pearson's note, and other exx. cit LSJ s.v.II. As in the
epigram of Antiphilus, Paul here uses it as the antithesis of
μύστης, his term for a priest or one in holy orders (cf. 313 sup.
with n. ad loc.). Gregory Nazianzus similarly uses the term in
a Christian context in a passage which recalls Callimachus (cf.
Ap.2), Carm.1.1.1.8ff (PG.37.399) ἀλλ’ ἀποτιθεὶ/φεύγετε, ὡς ὢλιτρός·
ἔμοι λόγος, ἡ καθαρίαντι, ἡ καθαρομέναιαν ὁ ἔφρεχται· οἰ δὲ
βέβηλοι/. . .κτλ. In the NT, βέβηλος is used more generally of
those who are "godless" or "irreligious", see Arndt and Gingrich
s.v.2; cf. PGL s.v. for its use in patristic writers, also Agath.
Hist.2.23.2, of a Persian who has not lived according to religious
practices; Opp.C.2.208 οὐκέκειν ἄτροποι μερόπων ἥρεσι βέβηλοι,
"because the paths of mortals are profane to wild beasts" (Mair).

1021f. δῶροις/πρῶτος ὑπόσοσιν τις: "anyone meekly coaxing
with gifts". Like βρεθές in 1023, the adjective πρῶτος is used with
adverbial force. Elsewhere πρῶτος (an epic form of πράος) is applied
to men, gods and animals in a favourable sense, see the exx. collected
LSJ s.v. πρῶτος I.2 and cf. Call.fr.202.18 Pf., 263.1; A.P.6.244.4,
16.273.6 (both Crinag.); GVI 1903.15; Opp.H.1.562, 4.29; Nonn.D.14.
49, 44.111; Tryph.659; A.P.7.606.1 (Paul Sil.); sup.43; so too
in Biblical and patristic writers, see Soph.Lex., Hatch and Redpath,
Arndt and Gingrich and PGL s.v. For ὑπόσοσιν, cf. 927 sup.
with n. ad loc. The dative δῶρος is instrumental.

1022. ὀδόςταί εἰς χάριν ἔλκειν: "thinks/expects to draw you
to favour". The form ὀδόςταί is very rare. Fr. (ad loc. and
p.112) was inclined to think that Paul intended it as a present,
but the incidence of the form in Oppian indicates that it is
short-vowelled aorist subjunctive, cf. Opp.H.1.432f ἀνέκ κεν ὄρνιν ὀνόσσαι ὀνοι μὲν ἵχθουν /εἰσορᾶν, where ὀνόσσαι is potential subjunctive with κε, see Goodwin GMNT sec.285, p.97f; also ib. 4.368f εἰ γάρ τις ὄνοσσα τὴν ὀπόλαυ, ὀούς ἄν ἐπεμπέλτετε, where ὄνοσσα is a variant reading (see Schneider's 2nd ed., Leipzig 1813, p.239) accepted by A.W.James in his Index to Oppian. These are the only other instances of the form. So here ἁλέψαο (1023) is gnomic aorist in the apodosis of a general condition, and ὄσσα ὄσσα is aorist subjunctive, see Goodwin GMNT sec.466, p.171 and cf. ib.sec.155, p.53f. The form is derived from the Homeric aorist ὄσσατο (Od.1.323, 9.213, both e.inf., al.), ὄσσαμεν ὄσσα (Od.15.443), where variant readings in double sigma are supported by the use of forms in double sigma in Alexandrian poetry, e.g. A.R.2.1135, Epic.Alex.Adesp.2.41 (p.74 Powell); see W.Schulze Quaestiones epicae (Guetersloh 1892) 354 and cf. LSJ s.v. ὄσσα init., W.Veitch, Greek verbs irregular and defective (Oxford 1887) s.v. ὄσσα. (Schulze argued that these sigmatic forms indicate a sigma in the root from which the verb is derived; modern etymologists argue similarly, but no certain etymology is known, see Chantraine Dict.etym. and Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. ὄσσα). For this aorist form in later poetry, usually with single sigma, but often with a variant in double sigma, cf. Opp.H.2.97 ὄσσαμεν (v.l ὄσσαμεν), C.4.228 ὄσσαμεν (e.inf.); Orph.Lith.123 ὄσσα (σ)ωτο (e.inf.), ib. 568, 569 ὄσσαμεν; Nonn.D.4.105, 30.35, al. ὄσσαμεν (usually e.inf.) and esp. ib.5.515 ᾠρτεμιν ὄσσαμεν...ἐς γάμον ἐλευθεροκοινοὶ for the line-end similar to ours; Coll.258 ὄσσα (σ)ωτο, ib.370 ὄσσα (both e.inf.); A.P.6.70.4 (Mac.Cons.) ὄσσαμεν (e.inf.), cf. ib.5.247.2 (id.). Nonnus allows epic correction of the second short in the fourth foot, see Keydell I.41*, sec.18.

Ludwigh (op.cit.p.23f) argued that the ms. ἐς should be restored here instead of the ἐς of all editors: he listed examples to prove that Paul prefers the form ἐς in hexameters even before consonants (e.g. sup.373, 563, 649, 919) and argued that the exceptions (534, 922, 953) are probably due to scribal error. But, in a note, he conceded that Paul may have written ἐς at 534 and 922 on grounds of euphony (presumably because the form ἐς
also occurs in both of these lines). It may be that Paul wrote "ις o¢ again at 953, as at 922, cf. A.P.4.3B.57 (Agath.). Our line is akin to 953 since in both cases the preposition follows λακω and accusative used in the same sense. (See the exx. collected in 953n. for this use of the verb). On the basis that Paul would be likely to use the same form in similar instances, one might argue either for the retention of the ms. "ις in 953 and emendation to εις in our line (with the additional support of the similar line-end with εις at Nonn.D.5.515, quoted sup.), or, with Ludwig, for the emendation of 953 to εις in accordance with Paul's usual preference, and the retention of the ms. εις in our line. Since there are arguments in favour of either form in both instances, caution favours the retention of the ms. reading in both cases (i.e. εις at 953, εις in our line), in the hope that the ms. does accurately represent the idiosyncrasies of Paul's style; but only a small error of transmission would be required for one form to be changed into the other.


On the gnomic aorist χαλέσαο (corr. Du Cange e χαλέσαο), see n.sup. on δίσεται, and for Paul's use of the uncontracted aorist middle, cf. 974 sup. κληρώσαο with n. ad loc. The middle is here used transitively in the sense "crush", as others use the active (Od.4.423, etc., see LSJ s.v.I.1 and cf. Nonn.D.2.117, 42.391). Paul chooses the verb for its homophony with χαλινω (cf. n.sup. on 1018-26). The image is that of reining in an undisciplined horse, for which compare Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.269 ὀκοιστησαυτα χαλέπαο, in a lengthy description. Paul earlier uses the metaphor of the bridle in the context of government, cf. 226 sup. with n. ad loc. (Roma's use of J. as a bridle), 960 (Christ using a bridle.
to direct J.'s enterprises). The term ὠφικλητήρ is used substantively by Homer in the phrase ὠφικλητήρος ἁκοῦσας, Ἰ.12.273, 23.452. It is not elsewhere extant, although Hesychius glosses both the genitive singular and nominative plural forms, suggesting that he knew an instance of it in the plural. Paul uses the term in a similar sense ("threatening", "rebuking") to that in which he uses ὠφικλή at 228 and 927 sup., see nn. ad locc. The use of γε to reinforce the article used as a demonstrative pronoun is a Homeric mannerism, see Denniston Greek Particles p.121f, sec.4. Nonnus uses γε only in clauses of comparison (except D.36.237, where it is a conjecture by Keydell), see Peek Lex.s.v. Du Cange and Graeae wrote τονδε.

1024. οόπον ἀποσμήξει καρδίς νέφος: Cf. Nonn.Par.3.115 σομήξου ἄπαρομέςς καρδίς βυσσον, of baptism. Paul substitutes for metaphorical βυσσον the image of the cloud, i.e. that which obscures or dulls, here a misguided belief in the efficacy of money. The image is similarly used in Christian contexts of idolatry, see PGL s.v. νέφος B.1, νεφέλη B.4, and cf. Epigr.Gr.1068.2 παν γάρ ἄκοιμι[ης] λέιται νέφοις, of a pagan temple converted to Christian use; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.14.22 (PG.37.757) σαφεῖς...κυκλή νεφέλης; No.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica η'5 τα δε νέφη τα πάντα των πατερών, inf.Amb.36. In Homer it is used of death, grief, etc., see LSJ s.v. νέφος I.2, νεφέλη I.2, and cf. n.sup. on 215. In prose, ἀποσμήξου appears first in Pherecydes, but only rarely thereafter until the Christian period, when patristic writers use it freely in contexts denoting the "wiping away" of sin, see LSJ, PGL s.v. It is not used in Homer or extant classical poetry, but Nonnus constructs it with accusative and separative genitive as here, e.g.D.5.604 ἵδρυτας ἀποσμὴσασα προσώπου, 48.348 ἁθαμαμαγας ἀποσμήσασα κομάκων; cf. A.P.9.362.8 (Anon.) c.acc. only, ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 68.59 passive. The ms. error ἀποσμήξεια is corrected in the margin, see Fr.'s app.crit. For ὀόπον with infinitive, cf. 272 sup. Here it is used adverbially, without antecedent, in a limitative sense, "enough to...", as often, see K-G.II.511, sec.585 Anm.3, Peek Lex.s.v. ὅς(ος) II.5, and cf. Theoc.30.6 with Gow's note ad loc.
Opp.C.4.387, etc. For the repetition of ὀσοῦν after the bucolic caesura, see n.sup. on 1018-26 and cf. 152 sup. with n. ad loc.

1024f. ὀσοῦν ἔλεγξαι /χρυσὸν ἀτιμηθέντα: The sense of ἔλεγξαι may be simply "show", "prove", with ἀτιμηθέντα predicative, see LSJ s.v. ἔλεγχω II.3 and cf. Nonn.D.37.446 ἔτερος δὲ χερείονα ψαύνον ἔλεγχων, Par.7.29 ἡδῶς ἄμπλακίτης ἐγκύμονα κόσμου ἔλεγχω, 12.191f λόγος οὕτος ἀπείθει τούτον ἔλεγξαι/κρίνων, al. But at 933 sup. the verb is used in the Homeric sense "disgrace", "put to shame", and this interpretation here gives a more forceful parallel expression to ἀποσμῆξαι. See the exx. collected in n.sup. on 933, noting esp. the conflicting statement made by Paul at A.P.5.217.5 χρύσα ὀλούς δυτίρας, ὀλας κλητίδας ἔλεγχει. The verb is similarly ambiguous at Nonn.D.48.801 ἄρτεμιν ὠδίνουσαν ἔλεγχει, μαλάδες τηρεῖ, where the sense might be "expose" (so Peek Lex.s.v. ἔλεγχω init.) or "reproach", "put to shame" (Rouse).

Paul uses the aorist passive participle ἀτιμηθέντα as an equivalent for ἀτιμητοῦν (cf. Fr.'s n. ad loc.) or ἀτιμος (II.1.171, etc.), because of its homophony with ἀφαίρετα (cf. n.sup. on 1018-26). The verb ἀτιμώ is Homeric (= ἀτιμάω), see LSJ s.v., noting its use with the proper name Χρύσανθη at II.1.11, and adding Coll.33, 139. The aorist passive does not, however, occur elsewhere in epic.

1025. ἀφαίρετα διδάσκαλοι: For the line-end, cf. Theoc.24.71 μάλα τοι φρονέστα ἀφαιρέτῳ. The verb ἀφαίρεω is elsewhere used as a participle, cf. II.2.258 σ'ἀφαίρετα, indicative, ib.7.109, Od.20.360; also in later epic, Nic.Al.34 ἀφαίρετας, Opp.H.4.634 ἀφαίρεσθαιναι, Q.S.2.322 (infinitive), Nonn.D.36.355 ἀφαίρεται... ἄνδρα, ib.20.397 (indicative).

1026. ὡς καθαρὸν καθαροτάτη, κτλ.: The closing line of the panegyric proper is carefully worded and arranged for stylistic effect, see n.sup. on 1018-26. For the collocation of the same word
in different cases in Paul, J. Merian-Genast (op. cit. p. 37) cited 478 sup., Amb. 290, comparing Nonn. D. 37. 443f, to which may be added Ps. Ap. Met. Ps. 68. 56f. With the accusative καθορη, the noun ἄνδρα or simil. must be understood. The term καθαρός is associated with Eutychius elsewhere in this passage, cf. 1011 sup. with n. ad loc. The expression θέμις (ἐστι) is more commonly constructed with dative and infinitive (see LSJ s.v. I), but for Paul's following accusative and infinitive, cf. Orph. Lith. 628, Nonn. D. 2. 488f, Par. 7. 138, 13. 68, 136. For θεμίζω with simple dative, cf. A. P. 5. 293. 9f (Paul Sil.) ἀλλὰ θεμίζεις/μᾶλλον ἀθναίνη, Κύπριου ἀπωσάμενος, Agath. Hist. praef. 10 ἔμοι μὲν ὅσον τοῖοθε θεμίζειν ἔδοκεν, where τοῖοθε refers to the composition of poetry. The verb is Homeric (I. 18. 386, Od. 8. 161, al.), but it is more often used absolutely or constructed with a preposition, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A. R. 3. 250, Orph. Lith. 633, Nonn. D. 29. 27, 40. 294, al., Par. 2. 69.

1027-29. The epilogue (ἐπιλογός) of Paul's ekphrasis is cast in the form of a prayer for Eutychius' longevity, the conclusion recommended by Menander Rhetor for the ὑμνήματος λόγος, cf. 921 sup. and see n. sup. on 921-33. The Amb. similarly ends with a prayer for the blessing of the Trinity (302ff).

1027f. ἀλλὰ μένοις, κτλ.: Cf. A. P. 16. 72. 7 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἐκπεδός ἀλλὰ μένοις, Βυζαντίας ἐμορφὰ ὡμία; ib. 1. 35. 5 (Agath.) ἀλλὰ φανείς, in prayer to the Archangel. For ἀλλὰ in prayers, cf. Denniston Greek Particles p. 13-16, secs. 4 and 5. The force of μένοις with following participle in Paul's expression is virtually periphrastic: "May you continue to foster...; and may you continue to cleanse...". Fr. rightly suggested (ad loc.) that the καὶ of 1027 should be linked with the δὲ of 1028, the latter being substituted for a second καὶ linking the participles ἀξιώματος and καθαρίσμων (1029). The two participial clauses describe Eutychius' twofold role as patriarch of Cph., namely support of the emperor and general care of the people. George of Pisidia similarly concludes his Hexaemeron with an appeal to the patriarch Sergius as protector of his people, lines 1881ff (PG. 92. 1577f).
On ἐμοῦ βασιλῆς, see 153n.sup. and for ἀξίω in a similar context, cf. 934 sup. Honorific μάκαρ is used of J. at 224 and 934 sup., see 224n.; it is also regularly used in Christian contexts of God, Christ, et simil., see 193n.sup. For εὐχαρίστη, cf. 981 and see 352n.sup.

1028. ἀλιγχεῖτον Ρώμη: Dative of interest. The epithet is used of Smyrna at Hom.Epigr.4.6; elsewhere only in Nonnus, D.28.247 πέτρην, 42.17 ὄρμου, 42.28 κοὐφρ, Par.2.63 Καφαρναοῦ (genitive). Compounds in ἀλι- are listed in the Alexandrian onomasticon P.Hib.II. 172, col.iii (see n.sup. on μελαγχρησία 261), but this one does not survive among them.

1029. πᾶσαν ἀμαρτινύσθη βιότου σμόδιγγα καθαίρων: "cleansing every weal of sinful-minded life". Cf. inf.Amb.44οι αἰμαλέτοι ἀξεθραίος/ψυχίας ἁκάθιεν ὅλην σμόδιγγα καλύπτος, on Christ's treatment of martyrs. The patriarch is seen as spiritual ἰατρός, cf. Const.App.2.20.10 (quoted 1009n.), Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.11.32 (PG.37.1032) ἰατροῖ παύων, of bishops; etc. Such medical imagery is common in imperial panegyric and in patristic writers, see 224n.sup.

The verb καθαίρω picks up earlier references to Eutychius as καθαρός, see n.sup. on 1011. It is used in medical contexts (LSJ s.v.I.3, cf. Opp.H.1.302), but also frequently metaphorically in a religious sense, in both pagan and Christian writers, see LSJ s.v.I.2, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2, PGL s.v. and cf. Procl.Hymn 1.35 κέκλυθε καὶ με κάθαρον ἀμαρτάδος οἴεν ἀμάδης, al.; Greg.Naz.Carm. 2.1.1.347 (PG.37.996) ὡς δικρύς ὧχετοι θελύματα πάντα καθήρω (of the soul); Nonn.Par.15.5 γείόπονος βιότοιο πατήρ ἐμὸς οἴειν καθαρίειν (in metaphor of the vine), 17.57 πάντας ἀληθείσης νοεραίς ἀκτίσι καθαίρων; also metaphorically at A.P.9.658.1 (Paul Sil.) κόμον ἰουσινός βασιλεῖς ὑπεύχονται καθῆρα. Homer uses ἀμαρτίας to denote a bloody weal or bruise caused by a blow (II.2.267, 23.716; see Hesychius s.v.), cf. Lyc.783; Nic.Al.545, Opp.H.2.428 (both of the effect of a bite/sting); Nonn.D.21.79, 37.574; Tryph.260. The epithet ἀμαρτινύσθη is used by Hesiod (Th.511) of Epimetheus, in the sense "erring in mind", "wrong-headed",
cf. Sol.22a.2 West ἤγέμονι, Rhian.1.1f (p.9 Powell) πάντες ἀμαρτίνοι πελόμεσθα/ἀνθρώποι; Aeschylus uses it of Io in the sense "distracted" (Suppl.542, lyr.). In Nonnus, however, the sense is probably stronger, "sinful-minded" (cf. ἀμαρτία, "sin"), Par.1.88 φαρισαίων, 6.188 μαθηταῖς, cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.1.13 οὐδ' ἂρ ἀμαρτίνοι πινωτών βουλήσι δικαίων, 3.13 αὖτ' ἀμαρτινών ὅλους ξυνέαξας δεδομένας. Paul uses the similar compound ἄλθρονος of the Devil, sup. 975. Here, as in the case of the compound πρηνος in 1004, the -νος element is redundant with βιότου.
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ERRATA

Abstract, line 9: for 'classicing' read 'classicising'.

Page 20, line 5: underline 'Fin'.

20, line 11: for 'Justinianischer' read 'justinianischer'.

27, note on 4f, 8 lines from end: delete stop after 'BG'.

28, line 1: delete stop after 'HE'.

31, 10 lines from end: delete underlining under 'XXX'.

31, 3 lines from end: delete stop after 'EF'.

34, note on 18, line 3: for 'ib.' read 'ib.'

38, footnote, 2 lines from end: underline 'Chrysotriclinos'.

40, line 6: replace colon by semi-colon.

50, 5 lines from end: for 'κατείσαγεί' read 'κατείσαγεί'.

54, note on μετήλες, line 4: underline 'fin.'

55, note on 66-80, 2nd para, 4 lines from end: for 'the' read 'Greek'.

56, line 1: delete comma after '311-314'.

81, note on 119f, 6 lines from end: underline 'Or!'

85, note on 129, for 'καί' read 'καί'.

97, 9 lines from end: complete first of 'πολίσσωρχοις'.

112, footnote, line 3: for 'he' read 'K.'

117, 3 lines from end: for 'ἀπονενεμένου' read 'ἀπονενεμένου'.

119, note on ὑπερήλατο ἐδώκειν, line 2: for 'Ἀδονῖς' read 'Ἄδονῖς'.

125, 11 lines from end: add comma after 'personal'.

133, 9 lines from end: add comma after 'σύνθρονου'.

140, note on 171, line 3: for 'ὀνωπί' read 'ὀνωπί'.

143, note on 174, 3 lines up: underline '(fin.).'

144, para 1, 4 lines from end: for 'μερίμνω' read 'μέριμνα'.

144, note on 176f, line 5: delete stop after 'ΕΕ'.

155, note on 186, line 2: for 'μὲν' read 'μὲν'.

164, line 5: for 'compounds' read 'compounds'.

170, note on 199, 4 lines from end: for 'Ἄθηναί' read 'Ἄθηναί'.


219, note on 251, 6 lines from end: for 'μερίμνα' read 'μέριμνα'.

245, note on 267, line 6: for 'ἐπευφήμενοι' read 'ἐπευφήμενοι'.

248, 9 lines from end: for 'ἐπίκειται' read 'ἐπίκειται'.

262, note on 280, last line: for 'Ἀνεσιγρήσας' read 'Ἀνεσιγρήσας'.

It 211, line 6: for 'A.R.4.285' read 'A.R.4.825'.

It 219, note on 251, 6 lines from end: for 'μερίμνα' read 'μέριμνα'.

It 245, note on 267, line 6: for 'ἐπευφήμενοι' read 'ἐπευφήμενοι'.

It 248, 9 lines from end: for 'ἐπίκειται' read 'ἐπίκειται'.

It 262, note on 280, last line: for 'Ἀνεσιγρήσας' read 'Ἀνεσιγρήσας'.

It 31, 3 lines from end: delete stop after 'BP*.'

It 31, 10 lines from end: delete underlining under 'XXX'.

It 34, note on 18, line 3: for 'ib.' read 'ib.'

It 38, footnote, 2 lines from end: underline 'Chrysotriclinos'.

It 40, line 6: replace colon by semi-colon.

It 50, 5 lines from end: for 'κατείσαγεί' read 'κατείσαγεί'.

It 54, note on μετήλες, line 4: underline 'fin.'

It 55, note on 66-80, 2nd para, 4 lines from end: for 'the' read 'Greek'.

It 56, line 1: delete comma after '311-314'.

It 81, note on 119f, 6 lines from end: underline 'Or!'

It 85, note on 129, for 'καί' read 'καί'.

It 97, 9 lines from end: complete first of 'πολίσσωρχοις'.

It 112, footnote, line 3: for 'he' read 'K.'

It 117, 3 lines from end: for 'ἀπονενεμένου' read 'ἀπονενεμένου'.

It 119, note on ὑπερήλατο ἐδώκειν, line 2: for 'Ἀδονῖς' read 'Ἄδονῖς'.

It 125, 11 lines from end: add comma after 'personal'.

It 133, 9 lines from end: add comma after 'σύνθρονου'.

It 140, note on 171, line 3: for 'ὀνωπί' read 'ὀνωπί'.

It 143, note on 174, 3 lines up: underline '(fin.).'

It 144, para 1, 4 lines from end: for 'μερίμνω' read 'μέριμνα'.

It 144, note on 176f, line 5: delete stop after 'ΕΕ'.

It 155, note on 186, line 2: for 'μὲν' read 'μὲν'.

It 164, line 5: for 'compounds' read 'compounds'.

It 170, note on 199, 4 lines from end: for 'Ἄθηναί' read '.ASCII'.

It 211, line 6: for 'A.R.4.285' read 'A.R.4.825'.

It 219, note on 251, 6 lines from end: for 'μερίμνα' read 'μέριμνα'.

It 245, note on 267, line 6: for 'ἐπευφήμενοι' read 'ἐπευφήμενοι'.

It 248, 9 lines from end: for 'ἐπίκειται' read 'ἐπίκειται'.

It 262, note on 280, last line: for 'Ἀνεσιγρήσας' read 'Ἀνεσιγρήσας'.

It 211, line 6: for 'A.R.4.285' read 'A.R.4.825'.
ERRATA contd.

Page 264, line 6: for 'Ἡθεςι τεχνη' read 'Ἦθεςι τέχνης'.

" 266, note on ὧκτίνας... line 5: underline 'v.l.'.
" 266, 7 lines from end: for 'drives/forces' read 'drove/forced'.
" 268, line 2: for 'smale' read 'small'.
" 269, 2 lines from end: underline 'ca.'
" 312, note on 320f, line 3: underline 'εαήα.'
" 347, note on ὥγχιλοιο...χεονοί, 2 lines from end: add stop after 'Amb'.
" 370, note on 941-949, 10 lines from end: close bracket after 'Heraclius'.
" 380, note on 951, line 1: for 'τοῦ' read 'τεοῦ'.
" 396, 3 lines from end: for 'Spartiates' read 'Spartoi'.
" 447, last line: for 'n.sup. on 998f' read 'n.sup. on 988f'.
" 449, note on 1015f, 7, 6 and 2 lines from end: for 'λείμων' read 'λείμων'.
" 450, lines 12 and 20: for 'λείμων' read 'λείμων'.
" 455, note on 1019, 5 lines from end: for 'φιλεμπορον' read 'φιλεμπορον'.
" 460, note on 1024, line 1: for 'ἀμοιμηξαί' read 'ἀμοιμηξαί'.
" 466, line 18: for 'Periegeta' read 'Periegetes'.
" 470, General...works, line 9: for 'accentuation' read 'Accentuation'.
" 474, line 23: delete bracket before 'Copenhagen'.
" 475, line 15: for 'späteren' read 'späteren'.
" 489: for 'σφαίρα' read 'σφαῖρα' and for 'τόλμη' read 'τόλμα' - here and throughout thesis.