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LIBANIUS'
AUTOBIOGRAPHY

(ORATION I)

THE GREEK TEXT

EDITED WITH
INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION
AND NOTES BY
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INTRODUCTION

THE MAN

LIBANIUS was born of good municipal stock in Antioch in A.D. 314.¹ Made fatherless as a boy, he prepared himself with single-minded purpose for a career as a teacher. At twenty, when he was struck by a thunderbolt, he suffered an experience which was to leave him a legacy of recurrent migraine and to affect him, both in temperament and in professional outlook, throughout his life. Two years afterwards, he went to study in Athens, a more mature and critical student than most, and less willing to conform to the ordinary scholastic conventions. Because of this unorthodoxy and the unusual training that preceded it, he was later criticized as deficient in some of the normal professional attainments (cf. Eunapius, *V.S.* 495 f.), but his ability as a student in Athens was enough to mark him out for advancement. However, again departing from the norm, he broke away from this traditional seat of learning and in A.D. 340/1 was established as a private teacher in the new society of the recently founded and barely completed capital, Constantinople. There he enjoyed a brief but startling success until, on the occasion of the riots of A.D. 342, professional rivalry and official disapproval combined to force his retirement under a cloud.

After a brief tenure of the chair in Nicaea, he was appointed official sophist in Nicomedeia, and held this position with conspicuous success for five years (A.D. 343-8). There he continued that acquaintance with St. Basil the Great, who was at the time teaching there, which is echoed in the spurious correspondence between saint and sophist, and there too the young Julian, who was later to become Emperor and go down in history as the Apostate, though forbidden attendance at his lectures, obtained access at second hand to his oratory. His triumphs at Nicomedeia culminated in that masterpiece of equivocation, the panegyric

¹ For the date of birth of Libanius, cf. Sievers, *Beil. A.*, 207-8.

of *Oration 59*, and he was summoned by imperial command to the chair at Constantinople, where he composed his *Hypotheses of Demosthenes*. Although he showed increasing restiveness and lack of sympathy with the atmosphere of Court, he prudently declined an invitation to a professorship at Athens, so avoiding the excessive rancour of scholastic rivalries there. Instead, and with the connivance of his family, he revisited Antioch in summer A.D. 353 to show his sophistic mettle and to intrigue for succession to the professorship, which was about to fall vacant. Early the next year, at the climax of the inauspicious reign of Gallus, he returned to settle permanently in his native city.

Here he was very soon appointed official sophist, and again had to experience professional and political rivalries, but despite this and persistent ill health he enjoyed considerable success with the prefects in residence. In A.D. 359, however, when he was already affected by a series of bereavements, he lost official favour and his influence declined until the accession of Julian in A.D. 361. Yet it was during this period that his mastery of his technique became increasingly apparent, with his panegyric on Antioch (*Or. 11*), his imitations of Aristeides (*Or. 61*, the Monody on Nicomedeia, and *Or. 64*, on the Dancers), and the more controversial oration for the school-teachers (*Or. 31*). An elaborate correspondence supplements the narrative of the *Autobiography*, covering the period from his settlement in Antioch up to A.D. 365.

The reign of Julian (A.D. 361-3) saw Libanius, in action, speech, and correspondence, ready to avoid the extremism of reactionary paganism. A very different picture is presented by pseudo-Chrysostom (*Homilies on St. Babylas*) and by modern commentators such as Boissier and Bury, but the evidence from the letters of Libanius' good sense and moderation in religious matters is incontrovertible. He was indeed enthusiastic in his welcome for these new social, religious, and educational policies, but this period of felicity was soured by Julian's quarrel with the Antiochenes, whose spokesman he became, and eclipsed by the disaster of the Persian expedition and Julian's untimely death. The Julianic orations (*Or. 12-16, 60*) and their appendages composed

soon afterwards (*Or. 17-18*) are the high-water mark of Libanius' public oratory.

In the post-Julianic reaction, he was repeatedly accused of complicity in the many conspiracies of the day, and his known friendship with Julian and his avowed paganism made him the more suspect. Significantly, the correspondence stops short in A.D. 365, not to be resumed until A.D. 388, and the original *Autobiography*, the only surviving oration dated with certainty to later in the reign of Valens (A.D. 364-78), was denied any extensive publication. Not until the accession of Theodosius in A.D. 378 does he emerge from comparative obscurity to express his views freely on social and educational problems. This is the period of his most sustained intervention in civic affairs: opponents, whether professional, official, or private, suffer the full force of his rhetoric, but he also embarks on a series of reform speeches in which his art is accompanied by enlightened social criticism. His protests upon prison conditions (*Or. 45*), forced labour (*Or. 50*), the decline of the municipal bourgeoisie (*Or. 48-49*), religious abuses (*Or. 30*), or the new development of patronage (*Or. 47*), though rarely completely disinterested, are almost unique in rhetoric. As sophist of the city, he had intervened in local politics between A.D. 354 and 363 before the governors and the emperor, but it is in the 380's that he becomes the mouthpiece of the oppressed, whether individuals, groups, or the community as a whole, in the face of governmental or private encroachment. In this he acted as the ideal sophist, and he was confirmed in his attitude by a genuine humanity and a physical revulsion against the organized and bloody campaign of terror which then passed for the preservation of public order. His comments reveal the nature of his prejudices: civilian to the core, he distrusts the military and the civil service allied to it; conscious of the civilizing mission of his society, he views with alarm the barbarization of the army; as a pagan, he despises Christianity for a revolutionary, anti-social creed, but he holds no brief for the extremism of his co-religionists or for the mumbo-jumbo in which contemporary pagan philosophy found practical expression. He is unashamedly provincial in his devotion to Antioch, and

has no good word for Rome, Alexandria, or Constantinople; and, though of municipal stock and an owner of municipal land, he deliberately remains outside the sphere of municipal government while yet, in his acceptance of municipal ideals and from his middle-class viewpoint, he deplors the internal and external pressures which affected his fellows. Above all, his life is that of a teacher, devoted to the established scholastic tradition and seeing no merit in any other, but practising his profession at a time of rapid social change and seeking, often vainly, to harmonize his educational ideal with his circumstances. Vain, opinionated, and cantankerous he may be, but even in his most illogical moments there is a kind of perverse sincerity about him, and this reveals itself in his prolonged refusal of honorary office, to which so many of his fellows aspired.

His social and domestic life was almost entirely subordinated to the demands of his profession. His cousin, whom he had expected to marry, died before his return home, and thereafter he held in concubinage the mother of his son Arabius, later called Cimon. From the time of Julian, his preoccupation was with his son's succession to his estate. Even the grant of testamentary succession, received in A.D. 381/2, was not regarded as sufficient, and in A.D. 388, after some wirepulling, Libanius was finally granted the right to settle, in his own lifetime, his property on his son. As a result, he was immediately embroiled with that local landed aristocracy which monopolized the functions of local government, the curia of Antioch. He had hoped to secure for him also immunity from curial service and all the expenditure it involved by placing him in a career as teacher, but Cimon preferred to take up the career of advocate. In fact, neither course availed: under threat of impressment by the curia, Cimon, against his father's advice, adopted a third and more drastic alternative, aspiring to imperial office and the position of Senator. Though successful in obtaining nomination to the governorship of Cyprus, he had the mortification of seeing his appointment cancelled and his application for Senatorial rank ignominiously rejected, owing to his mother's low status. On the way home from Constantinople he broke a leg and was brought home to die,

soon after his mother's death in A.D. 391. This was the major tragedy of Libanius' last years, but from A.D. 388 he was further embroiled with the curia as a result of his inheritance under the will of his friend Olympius, which was bitterly contested. More ill will was engendered by his support of his assistants, Eusebius and Thalassius, in their attempts to avoid impressment into the curia, and by that council's support of the institution of a Latin rhetor in Antioch; and as a result an atmosphere of gloom is conveyed by his last writings.

Perhaps the most significant factor in his life, other than his devotion to his profession, was his concern with his health. The migraine which resulted from his encounter with the thunderbolt not only placed him on a level with such heroes of the Second Sophistic as Scopelian and Herodes Atticus, who had suffered a somewhat similar visitation, but induced in him a chronic melancholy and neuroses which became more fixed with advancing age. Until the age of forty, he accepts his ailments as a matter of course, and even employs them to his advantage, as at Athens or upon the occasion of his second departure from Constantinople, but thereafter he shows an increasing tendency to collapse under stress. This was increased by his own sedentary habits of scholarship. The gout that affected him from his early forties interacted with migraine to produce fits of chronic depression which overwork and personal anxieties did nothing to alleviate. This, as he himself indicates, was certainly the case in A.D. 359 and in the years following the death of Julian, and the record of his activities in the 380's suggests that this was the reason for the recurrence in A.D. 386 also. The narration of symptoms which he gives on each occasion is detailed and acute, and, while not exhibiting the clinical accuracy of those personal observations upon gout which Sydenham made under somewhat similar conditions, it reveals almost all the classic features of the disease. As for its effects upon his public and private conduct, although personal vanity was never far distant from him, the monotonous regularity with which he alienated those who professed themselves his supporters is, in large measure, indication of the deep-seated neuroses to which this combination of ailments rendered him naturally prone. A progressive lack

of control is to be observed, and this is exaggerated in that portion of his narrative which he composes for himself alone; but the private hysteria with which he greeted the news of his brother's blindness is matched, in his public relations, by a farrago like that of *Or.* 54, in which there is more than a hint of the *senex delirans*. Despite the shock to his self-esteem occasioned by the revelation of his unpopularity in A.D. 381 (*Or.* 2), he was constitutionally incapable of appreciating the reason for it. The criticisms and complaints which form the staple of his later public oratory, whether positive, as in the case of his reform speeches, or purely destructive, as with officials like Eutropius or Eustathius, may seem a departure from the sophistic norm, and the more remarkable therefor; but this very difference in tone, linked as it is inextricably with an identity of form, style and tradition, serves to mark the inner tensions of the frustrated panegyrist.

THE WORK

Gibbon tersely and unsympathetically described the *Autobiography* of Libanius as 'the vain, prolix but curious narrative of his own life'. Gibbon professed little liking for orators who cultivated the science of words, whereas such a description would have been regarded by Libanius as a compliment, and the historian's further tepid commendations of the social activities of the sophist¹ serve only to underline the differences between the two. Moreover, Gibbon did not possess the advantage of Reiske's contemporary work on Libanius, and so inherited all the obscurities and none of the enthusiasm of Morel, whose text he used, with a consequent lack of appreciation revealed most clearly in his assessment of the *Autobiography*.

In *Or.* 1, 51, Libanius remarks that, at the time of writing, he was nearly sixty years old. Thus, as Reiske noted, the work consists of two or more sections, the first of which is definitely dated to A.D. 374, with the remainder added at intervals thereafter until A.D. 392 at least. The resulting discrepancy in style and arrangement gives an air of incoherence to the whole. What had been intended as a scholar's *apologia pro vita sua*,

¹ Ed. Bury, ii, 513.

presented with all the skill of the sophistic art, ended as an old man's private journal and consolation. Reiske's comment (on 1. 263) is cogent explanation of much of Libanius' obscurity in his later narrative: '*quod Libanius per aenigmata loquatur, tanquam sibi soli scripsisset, non posteris*'.

A major problem is to determine the point of division between the two main sections. Since it is known that the oration in its original form was composed in A.D. 374, during Valens' stay in Antioch, the end must come at some point after § 144, where his arrival is mentioned, and precede § 179, which refers to his final departure in A.D. 378. Sievers therefore found the division at § 178, Misson at § 175. Festugière (*Antioche*, 95 n.) at § 170, all of which are unsatisfactory on grounds of historical and artistic probability. The summary of Festus' career from A.D. 366 onwards certainly belongs to the period after his removal from office and before his death, i.e. between A.D. 378 and New Year 380,¹ for Festus is presented as still living. The break must therefore come before § 156. Further, the layout of topics demands that it should occur at § 155.² An elaborate comparison of good and bad in his fortune has been made from § 148, and here it is rounded off with a prayer for future blessings, in a reference back to his original theme. This artistic convention is commonly employed by Libanius in his orations (e.g. in the *Antiochicus*, *Or.* 11).

It follows from § 159 that the date of the first addendum to the oration must be before A.D. 380 and after the death of Valens and the closely connected appointment of Hypatius as prefect. The Olympia of A.D. 380 are mentioned in § 184, with events preceding in §§ 182-3. Thus this first instalment ends, with an appropriate rhetorical paradox, at § 181. The tripartite division of the whole work adduced by Sievers (op. cit. 203-4) and adopted with minor changes by Misson³ thus becomes untenable. In fact, from this point onwards the

¹ Cf. Eusebius, *F.S.* 481.

² As suggested by L. Petit, *Essai*, 234.

³ According to Sievers, the first part was §§ 1-178, composed in A.D. 374; the second part, dated to A.D. 384, consisted of §§ 179-233, with §§ 234-85 written at some time after A.D. 388. Misson ends the first part at § 175, and dates the last to c. A.D. 391 (*Paganisme*, 51).

narrative consists of a series of occasional additions recounted in diary form at different times during the next twelve years. Their scattered and disjointed nature is indicated at points in the text by interim pronouncements¹ and proved by the references to Cimon, alive in § 196 and dead in § 280. In each portion of the work the narrative is presented in chronological order, except for digressions which are clearly emphasized (e.g. § 171 and § 239). In such a standardized system, the arrangement of subject-matter, and especially the repetition of topics which would normally be treated as a whole, marks the occasional addition. Thus the Sabinus episode of §§ 190-4 is obviously of earlier composition than that of § 261, his brother's illness (§§ 197-204) is separated from the mention of his death, and the initial reference to Proclus (§ 212) is anterior to the more bitter comments of §§ 221-4. In addition, there is a most obvious doublet on the decline of Greek rhetoric which distinguishes §§ 213-15 from § 234. From § 182 onwards, six added sections may be traced, viz. (a) §§ 182-204, written in A.D. 382; (b) §§ 205-15, dated by the tenure of Proclus as Comes Orientis, and possibly placed more exactly in winter A.D. 383/4, if a *double entendre* be recognized in χειμῶνος (§ 212); (c) §§ 216-34, written before the harvest of A.D. 385 (cf. § 233); (d) §§ 235-50, composed in A.D. 386; (e) §§ 251-70, of summer A.D. 388; (f) §§ 271-85, written some time after Cimon's death, i.e. in A.D. 392, at least. Each section is rounded off by some appropriate pronouncement upon himself, his profession, or his fortune, which points the moral for his main theme.

The apparent shapelessness of the *Autobiography* as a whole thus becomes more understandable if these addenda are recognized as his unfinished memoirs, collected together and published after his death by one of his associates, Thalassius perhaps.² Although each instalment shows the same general trends in the selection and presentation of subject-matter as the original oration, the second part as a whole has not received the same meticulous care. The fiction of the oratorical address

¹ e.g. § 233, ἀπέειπεν μὲν ἐνί, τύχοι δὲ ἡ ἐπις τοῦ τέλους. § 234, οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ πρότερον ἤγγισται. § 244, οὕτως δὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἔγραψον ἐπεσώθην.

² Cf. P. Petit, 'Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius', *Historia*, 5 (1956), 489.

to an imaginary audience (e.g. §§ 12, 19, 31, 141) is laid aside: there is little attempt to interlink the various instalments, and the earlier elaboration of rhetorical devices and vocabulary is applied only at intervals. Furthermore, Libanius' approach to his theme has altered: whereas Fortune is omnipresent in the first portion, a more significant intervention on the part of other divinities may be observed in the later sections. In these circumstances, it is inappropriate to draw deductions from the stylistic expertise of the work as a whole,³ since the period of composition extends over nearly twenty years and inevitably produces unevenness in technique.

The oration of A.D. 374 was intended as a work of art in its own right. It draws its inspiration from a similar work of the classics, the *Anitosis* of Isocrates, and similarly fulfils the demands made upon the composer by contemporary taste. Thus Isocrates presented his work in the guise of forensic oratory, Libanius in the form of a rhetorical declamation. Any form of biography, if transferred into rhetorical form, must enclose the traditional elements of panegyric or invective. Autobiography naturally rules out the latter, and so Libanius may be seen carefully to observe the textbook rules of panegyric. The oration begins therefore with a eulogy of place of origin, and proceeds to deal with family, education, and achievements in strict order; as exactly as the panegyric of *Oration 59*, it follows the precepts laid down by Hermogenes⁴ or Menander Rhetor. Originality in such matters was impossible, for any divergence from the rules of rhetoric ran counter to the literary experience of his audience, and the choice of rhetoric as the vehicle for autobiography was unfamiliar enough already. Instead, originality must come with the treatment of the material and the handling of the audience within such rules, and as a result the oration also becomes a practical exercise in psychological appreciation. Its proemium, for instance, represents a by no means contemptible effort to win over his audience with every possible conventional device. Thus, the theme is defined in the terms of a stock rhetorical thesis.⁵ An atmosphere of eagerness is immediately

³ So P. Petit (op. cit.), following Rother.

⁴ 'Should one engage in rhetoric?': e.g. Hermogenes, *Progymn.* 25, ed. Rab.

obtained by the unusual use of *δέ* as the introductory particle, indicating a plunge *in medias res*, and by strong anacoluthon.¹ Emotive vocabulary is employed (e.g. *δδυνῶν καὶ πόνων*), along with familiar classical echoes.² Such literary piety is supported by reference to local religious tradition, the cult of Nemesis, and is followed by an appeal to local patriotism. With all this elaboration he yet succeeds in striking an attitude reminiscent of that of Isocrates (*Antid.* 1-7).

It is, in fact, this ability to strike attitudes evocative of a response from his audience that is the strongest point of Libanius' art, as Eunapius (*V.S.* 495) remarked. Thus, in §§ 56 ff., in order to disarm criticism, Libanius, again using a traditional thesis,³ parades the stock virtues of friendship—with the required classical references—and of filial piety, while in §§ 86 ff. he indulges in a piece of ethopoeia especially designed for an Antiochene audience with its suggestions of conventional piety and local patriotism. Strong emotion may be expressed by the use of parentheses and deliberate incoherence in sentence structure and narrative (e.g. § 117), and the manipulation of vocabulary, both in itself and by its hints of classical origins, serves to vary the mood. Thus, in § 53, elevated literary language (*ἐγὼ . . . χρόνον*) is followed by an occupational simile taken from the schools,⁴ and this in turn leads on to the vivid metaphor of everyday life. All of these effects are supported by appropriate, carefully cultivated gestures, pauses and intonations, 'stuff designed to make a bad speech sound good' (*Ep.* 481). Granted this essentially psychological approach—and, as Libanius himself confesses, he was twitted upon being more of an actor than an orator (*Ep.* 127)—it must be admitted that in his original oration he rarely fails to achieve his desired effect.

In its appreciation of psychology, the affinity of rhetoric with the theatre is clearly discernible, and not surprisingly, since they formed the two main means of mass communication in a society where the oral tradition still counted for more than

¹ τοὺς δὲ . . . ἐκατέραν ταιν ψήφον . . . ἐπανορθῶσαι περατέον.

² τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐκέρασαν, cf. Homer, *Il.* 24. 527 ff. μὴ βάλῃ βέλος, *Od.* 9. 495.

³ 'Sitne aequum, amicos cognatis anteferre'. Cicero, *Part. Or.* 19. 66.

⁴ ὡς περ γεωργοί: cf. Hermogenes, *De Inv.* 2. 3.

the written. So the sophist regards his schoolroom as a theatre, and a work such as this contains features alien to more sophisticated tastes. The audience is deliberately conditioned for the next development of the theme (e.g. §§ 18, 26, 60, 117, 151), just as comedy prepares the audience for a fresh character or situation, and each episode is summarized in terms of the comparison of good and bad demanded in his original thesis. Both features, as part of the store of rhetorical experience, are conventions which arise from a proper appreciation of the intellectual limitations of a mass audience.

For the composition of such an oration, it matters little whether the audience is real or imagined. Misch romantically recounts the sensation produced by the delivery of the oration in A.D. 374:¹ Petit denies it any real publication at all.² Petit's view is almost certainly correct, for Libanius elsewhere reveals a discreet selectivity in publication (*Ep.* 33), and the voluntary suppression of speeches is well attested (*Ep.* 283, 916). In fact, he remarks explicitly upon the presence in his files of speeches awaiting delivery (*Ep.* 877). Yet, though the addenda probably did remain undelivered and unpublished, it is almost inconceivable that the oration in its first form received no delivery at all. The rhetorical practice of using the private auditorium, in operation at Athens at the time (cf. Eunap. *V.S.* 483), and used by him at Antioch in A.D. 354 (§ 101), and at intervals thereafter (*Or.* 2. 25), must be taken into account. Before a select audience, however small, controversial orations—and the circumstances of the time put the *Autobiography* into this category—must have received some hearing. Such orations had a practical end in view (*Or.* 2. 70 ff.), and even with a restricted audience had a propaganda value. This declaration of nonconformity with current practices exists as a personal confession of faith in the social, cultural and religious traditions of Hellenic paganism, and by the exposition from his own career of the unqualified merits of the system for which he stood, Libanius could console himself and confirm his chosen circle in their established and increasingly unpopular attitude towards an authoritarian régime and a rapidly changing social order.

¹ *History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, vol. 2, 554.

² P. Petit, *op. cit.*

FORTUNE

For a citizen of Antioch, Fortune, as the tutelary deity of the city, stood in no need of explanation: for the world at large she was incapable of it, and her vagaries had become part and parcel of popular lore. In the *Autobiography*, Libanius is content to assume the popular notions of Fortune without any attempt to explain or analyse her self-contradictions. Thus she can appear in various guises—as controlled by the gods (§ 1), or in association with and simultaneously controlling them (§ 266), as the fickle jade of popular belief (§ 133) or, more often, as his own protecting genius—without remark upon the seeming incongruity. Nor should this be a matter for much concern: from the fifth century B.C. onwards the mutability of Fortune had increasingly exercised writers in every field, and it was from this common store that Libanius drew, in the composition of A.D. 374, to produce an autobiography as a novel extension of the rhetorical form of encomium. To ensure success, it was essential that in an unusual context the notions and imagery should be familiar, and that he should be able to strike all the required sophistic attitudes. For this purpose there was no conception more fitting or familiar than that of Fortune as presented in the literary tradition of paganism. As an added advantage, her presence enabled the orator to sing his own praises with less offence by largely transferring his narrative from first to third person.

Epicletic oratory, such as this or other set pieces which deal with Fortune,¹ is a dangerous source from which to adduce evidence of belief, as Misson does,² and in the narrative of his own career Libanius provides little that is specifically spiritual or philosophic. Such was never his intention: his métier was sophistry, his material platitudes artfully disguised. His vocabulary in this context shows a marked resemblance to that of his near contemporary Heliodorus,³ and his comments upon Fortune, in their diction and conceits, smack of the novelist's tradition.⁴ Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Chariton

¹ e.g. *Orations* 6-8, 25.

² *Recherches sur le paganisme de Libanius*, chap. 3.

³ Cf. Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, 434-6.

⁴ Cf. Rohde, *op. cit.* 436 n., 477 n., 493 n.

all speak in erotic terms which Libanius, by the long-established tradition of education, can as easily apply to his own rhetoric,¹ and such an application imparts to this success story a romantic flavour which is increased by the similarity in treatment of subject-matter so diverse. Fortune also, presented in the vocabulary and situation of romance, plays an equal part in generating such an atmosphere.

In the later additions to the *Life* there may be observed in the treatment of Fortune a change of emphasis which seems due to the increasingly private nature of his composition. Since there is now no question of publication, the demands of an audience are no longer so pressing and Fortune need be presented in a manner acceptable only to himself. Thus, although she still appears as a major supporter, she is no longer alone. A professional conception of more religiosity appears with the notion of the *logioi theoi*, derived from Aristides, and is supported by interventions of the gods, either singly or collectively, whereby the element of chance is much reduced and that of piety increased. The *logioi theoi* are, as Fortune was, identified with himself and his career, but they lack her negative characteristics, being consistent in their attitude and having nothing unpredictable about them.² Similarly, the activity of the gods is one of positive assistance.³ The practice of magic also leaves less room for Fortune, for the springs of action are deliberate. Significantly enough, in the whole of *Oration* 36 (*De Veneficiis*) there is no single reference to Fortune. Divination, to which he resorted for his health's sake, also limits her scope.⁴ In fact, throughout the *Autobiography*, it is not the literary devices but the exclusions and limitations to which he tacitly subjects Fortune that give the clue to personal belief. In the same way he eschews the exaggerations of Neoplatonism and damns with faint praise, if not with open derision, the current craze for astrology.⁵ Here he is saved by his own self-conceit and by ingrained habits of scholarship from accepting the notion of an ineluctable

¹ e.g. *ἔρωτες τῶν λόγων, κάλλη λόγων, ὄρα, ἐραστῆς.*

² Cf. §§ 234-5, 238, 274. Also *Epp.* 907, 1051, 1085, 1089.

³ Cf. §§ 221-2, 255, 262, 270.

⁴ Cf. §§ 143, 173 ff., 244, 268.

⁵ Cf. §§ 43, 281.

destiny, and his belief in an entirely random Fortune is equally belied by his conduct in his career and by his account of it. Fortune may set the stage, for the purpose of his narrative, as she had done in Lucian's satire, but Libanius remains the actor and the quality of the performance depends upon him. It is his uninfluenced decision which dictates his first interest in rhetoric and his choice of career.¹ This done, it is his will which must carry it out, and not for nothing does he describe his life as one of *logoi* and *ponoi*, for *ponoi* automatically imply some limitation imposed on Fortune. A man has some contribution of his own to make, and to some extent both Fortune and the gods can be induced to change their ways as a result of human prayer and action. Elsewhere he remarks that the help of the gods must be secured not merely by men's prayers but by their deeds.² To his ideal emperor Julian he allots the two classical attributes of *tyche* and *gnome*,³ and, while to all men Fortune grants the position they hold,⁴ the use they make of it is dictated by character and will, so that, once elevated by her, a man must then show his virtues by his own actions.⁵

Nothing of this is startlingly new. Synesius develops this distinction in more philosophic vein,⁶ and Dio Chrysostom had reproduced it in sophistic manner and with a more popular interpretation.⁷ The interaction of *tyche* and *gnome* was one which Thucydides had defined in Periclean terms and had been developed by Plato: and although Libanius, throughout the *Autobiography*, overtly makes play with the popular conceptions of Fortune, as expressed by comedians and sophists, the same interaction is implicit in the narrative of his career. Sophistic terminology is inescapably part of his public expression, but adherence to the purely classical models remains an equally potent factor in the formulation of his ideas.

THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Rhetoric, which is for Libanius itself part of virtue, he describes as religion's greatest gift.⁸ Hence his delight at Julian's religious policy. In addition, he connects the institu-

¹ Cf. §§ 5, 11. ² *Ep.* 1416. ³ *Or.* 16, 37. ⁴ *Or.* 57, 52-53, 62, 50.
⁵ *Ep.* 1261. ⁶ *De Regno*, 3. ⁷ *Or.* 65, 14.
⁸ Cf. *Or.* 18, 157, 161; 21, 9; 42, 9-10.

tion of rhetoric with the system of local government by the curial class of the towns, which, with its unity of culture, he diagnosed as the unifying social element throughout the Empire.¹ Well he might, for this upper-class urban society had long provided the rhetor with the bulk of his pupils, and the connexion between the state and religion had long been written into the charters of Roman municipalities. Unfortunately for Libanius and the other pagans, state support for their religion had been withdrawn, but the moral and practical excellences of his profession still remained for him beyond question: rhetoric must be good *per se*, and its training inevitably directs the student towards virtuous character and conduct in society.² Such assumptions give a one-sided logic to his denunciations of educational shortcomings in his opponents, whose social and political misconduct is traceable to this source.³

Much, in fact, can be adduced to support this view of rhetorical study as character training, and Libanius is as justified as Quintilian had been. For him, *logoi* are equated with *ponoi*: study demands not merely aptitude but such a long and disciplined application and control of the appetites as he himself practised, and this course could not but involve a moral training of the pupil, with the teacher playing his full part in the shaping of character. Yet, in this very sphere, rhetoric showed some strange aberrations. As an art, it had from the beginning an ingrained eristic element and demanded an atmosphere of competition which, in the forcing house of city-state politics, had necessarily involved rivalry and opposition. With the standardization of the system in the Hellenistic world, when rhetoric had been removed from the *agora* to the schoolroom, feuds and rivalry remained, but were now directed merely to the personal aggrandizement of the teacher. In Philostratus' time such rivalries, though strong, were not necessarily vicious, the sophist generally giving credit where it was due. By the fourth century, however, there was much more personal bitterness, and professional rivalries brought in their train all manner of intrigues and even physical violence, as the *Autobiography* shows. Others besides Libanius

¹ Cf. *Or.* 3, 34 ff.; *Ep.* 369. ² *Epp.* 379, 666, 3. ³ *Or.* 54 *fin.*, 57 *fin.*

experienced this: Himerius was knifed and even Prohaeresius forced into temporary retirement.¹ Rivalry is the occasion for Libanius' acceptance or refusal of various posts until his return to Antioch, and sophistic feuds with their attendant criminal charges made teaching a hazardous occupation for him thereafter. Thus the efficiency of the profession as a whole was undoubtedly reduced, so that not only an interested party like Libanius but so equable a character as Synesius can complain of declining standards of proficiency in teaching.² In Antioch Libanius specifically blames sophistic feuding for the desertions of students and the consequent decline in educational standards: for any improvement, the teachers must aspire to professional unity among themselves—and this suggestion was actually adopted for a time.³ In such an atmosphere of vendetta, the sophist's practice belied his teaching: the moral aim of his course was lost in a fog of personal pique and unscrupulous intrigue, and both Libanius and the rest, in the formative part of their careers, had experience of underhand manoeuvres initiated by them or against them.

There was also manifested by such teachers a feeling of greater insecurity. In Libanius' view, the ideal position of the sophist in society was that of Zenobius who 'directed the city according to his whim',⁴ much as the worthies of Philostratus had done. In practice, however, the relations between himself and the various classes of the society in which he lived were a constant preoccupation. He is at pains to deny the imputation of disagreeable arrogance and to emphasize his solicitude for all sections of the community.⁵ What he found intolerable in Constantinople was the necessity to truckle for the favours of the great.⁶ For him independence is the hall-mark of the teacher, and his profession provides its members with place enough, without the need to resort to flattery.⁷ In his prolonged refusal of honorary office, practice matched preaching. His repeated complaints of the harm wrought upon the conduct of teaching by the need to dance attendance on the administra-

¹ Himerius (ed. Colonna), *Or.* 69; Eunapius, *V.S.* 488.

² Synesius, *Epp.* 54, 135.

³ *Or.* 43 (*De Practi.*).

⁴ *Or.* 49, 18.

⁵ *Or.* 2, 36.

⁶ *Or.* 1, 74 ff.; *Ep.* 399.

⁷ *Epp.* 19, 13, 80, 81, 314, 4, &c.

tion are supported by the evidence of the all-pervasive influence of officials, high or low, in the teacher's day-to-day conduct of his task. However, it must be admitted that the personality of Libanius, staunchly provincial and middle-class, found it much harder to reach a *modus vivendi* with the court and official circles than did others of his profession—the more aristocratic Nicocles or the time-serving Themistius, for example.

There was yet another unhealthy symptom to be observed in the world of learning. The erotic bond between teacher and pupil, so characteristic of classical Greece, had been repressed by the more puritanical influence of Rome, but the erotic vocabulary remained at the basis of educational theory and an erotic atmosphere subsisted, divorced from the ideals and the society in which it had developed. Libanius and John Chrysostom agree upon the prevalence of pederasty among both students and adults.¹ As material for rhetorical invective such allegations were part of the literary tradition, but here it was employed by and against teachers who professed to direct their pupils in virtue. Libanius makes free of the allegation against others and is, in turn, the target for it. Sophistic rivalry which employed this theme and the professors who banded it about did much to obscure the moral aim of their teaching, lowering the standards of conduct of the profession and incidentally giving an opening for Christian polemic. Protection against such temptation was provided for the student by the pedagogue, the teacher's natural ally, who acted as the link between home and school. But not all reached the high standards expected of them:² they could be unreliable or bullying towards the student, and dictatorial or dishonest towards the teacher.³ Worst of all was the pedagogue who exceeded his proper duty and criticized the sophist's teaching with an impertinent assessment of the intellectual and practical value of the course.⁴

Criticism from such a source implies that the schools were under fire, not merely from the standpoint of morals but from a more secular notion of educational values. In the case of

¹ Cf. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*, chap. 5.

² *Or.* 58, 6 ff.

³ *Or.* 1, 12, 25, 47; *Epp.* 405, 8, 1188, 1475, 3.

⁴ *Or.* 34, 5, 26.

an enlightened teacher like Libanius, the strictures of a Chrysostom against the immorality of pagan education are merely irrelevant; he is as austerely sincere in his moral aim, and as demanding of self-control, industry and determination as any Christian. Criticisms of the uselessness of rhetoric were more serious, for, like the classical sophists, the rhetor professed practical as well as moral aims, and here he was held to be failing. Pupils and parents were beginning to criticize the pointlessness of rhetoric,¹ and technical studies gained in popularity and profit. The old literary training was held to waste whole days in arduous drill directed to no apparent purpose, arguing a point from Homer or Demosthenes or listening to the teacher's declamations, with increasing boredom and resentment among the pupils.² Themistius, from his philosophic elevation, similarly criticizes sophistic practice,³ and Libanius, with his compromise recommendation of an examination of the pupil's proficiency and an impartial investigation into the teacher's methods, does indicate that parental dissatisfaction was not without substance, but that the situation could be remedied easily enough.⁴

His major problem arose from the definition of 'utility', for in a changing society parents and pupils approached the career with a viewpoint differing from that of an earlier day. Then most pupils had gone quietly home to become decurions in their local town council: now the able and ambitious wanted only to get out of this curial society, and those remaining refused to show their real qualities.⁵ The height of ambition was to enter the civil service, free from the burden of curial liturgies, but to do this by denying the value of the rhetorical education involved a gross confusion of the utilitarian with the more modern technical training, which ignored the educational aim of integrating the individual with his society. From this point of view, the *Epitaphios* represents, in the person of Julian, the Hellenic educational system as both right and useful. It reveals a paragon of moral virtue who simultaneously possesses a virtue supremely practical, whereby the state is

¹ Cf. *Ep.* 379 compared with *Or.* 43, 6-7.

² *Or.* 3, 11 ff., 34, 15, 26.

⁴ *Or.* 43, 16.

³ Themistius, *Or.* 23, 289 a.

⁵ *Or.* 35.

purged of its errors and its members instructed in their duty in real situations. Further, even the much-despised book learning can accommodate itself to the more popular notions of utility.¹

A good case can be made out for rhetoric, for, except for law and war, it was the only subject scientifically studied by any considerable number, and its pre-eminence had been recognized but recently by the cash valuations of Diocletian's edict. The course, designed to stimulate the virtues of character and intellect, proceeded by rational stages to the highest specialization, combining a wide variety of subjects and taking into account the difficulties of material and the differences of capacity among students. These considerations also affected the basic training at the pre-rhetor stage, where memorization supplied the deficiency of texts, provided the necessary rules and drill, and looked forward to the rhetor's training where the pupil would apply them for himself. Proficiency had to be attained at each stage before progressing to the next, with constant revision and individual supervision needed throughout;² composition was tackled in well-established gradations of difficulty, the objective being an argument consistent with the assumed character and circumstances and suited to the temper of the possible audience.³ Such a course, usually four or five years long, did inculcate, along with the methodical training of memory, a critical faculty, an orderly and coherent presentation of arguments, and a working appreciation of psychology—all essential for the smooth working of the civil service machinery.

This emphasis on method and style had, however, disguised a contraction in the scope of education. It is notorious that physical education had dropped out of the school curriculum, but the sophistic programme showed still more unbalance in its selection of literary material. Admittedly Libanius and his kind did their best to keep abreast of modern scholarship and also to acquaint their pupils with the work of scholars like Aristides, Longinus, Hadrian of Tyre and Favorinus, but

¹ *Or.* 18, 72 f., 118, 223, 245-6.

² *Or.* 34, 15-16, 5, 46 ff.

³ Introduction to *Decl.* 24 and 46; *Decl.* 49.

the bias was inevitably towards sophistic publications in this, and much of the earlier literature had been lost to the schools, its place being taken by a corpus of reference works. Thus, although Libanius employs the traditional material—poetry, oratory and history, Plato and the dramatists¹—knows it thoroughly and uses it expertly, there are limitations. In lyric, Pindar is the only poet of his acquaintance, and even so this is confined only to the *Olympians* and, less certainly, to the *Pythians*. He provides independent evidence for only three fragments, and these are frankly gnomic,² all the rest coming to him through intermediaries.³ Citations from other lyric poets are those of a proverbial kind, and his interest in Alexandrian poetry is almost non-existent. With drama also he uses his knowledge to the full, but it is a limited knowledge and, of the four alleged fragments of tragedy for which he is the only authority, only two are genuinely dramatic.⁴ All other quotations are derived from classical authors or from commentaries.⁵ His use of the vocabulary of comedy, commended by Eunapius, seems to have been an exercise in grammar and lexicography. In Menander his interest seems to have been surprisingly small. Citation or reference is rare, proverbial utterances or reminiscences of plots few.⁶ Even the *Dyscolus*, with a character and theme so dear to sophistic declamation, can provide no more than four possible sources of reference,⁷ and in view of the thorough treatment of the subject by a host of sophists, including Aelian, Lucian and Alciphron, it is hard to believe that Libanius had direct access to much of Menander. His material is more probably derived from such later writers and from reference encyclopedias to New Comedy.⁸ If he builds an oration upon a tag from Philemon, as he does with *Oration*

¹ *Ep.* 1036. 4-5; *Or.* 2. 24, 48.

² Pindar *fr.* 209, 238, 391 (ed. Bowra) = *Ep.* 36, 1218; *Or.* 14, 21.

³ e.g. *Ded.* 1. 87 = Plato, *Gorg.* 484 b; *Ded.* 17, 26 = Isocrates, *Antid.* 166.

⁴ *Aesch.* *fr.* 340, *Soph.* *fr.* 739, *Eur.* *fr.* 235, *Eur.* *fr.* 934 (Nauck) = *Ep.* 175 (but cf. Förster ad loc.), *Or.* 64, 47, *Vitup.* 5, 14-15 (cf. Förster, viii, 96), *Ep.* 571.

⁵ *Or.* 1, 142 = Ion *fr.* 56 = Plut. *Mor.* 466 n. *Ep.* 516 = *Eur.* *fr.* 812 = Dem. *F.L.* 245.

⁶ *Dyscolus* 169 f. = *Ded.* 26. 4, 376 = *Ded.* 27. 20, 605 f. = *Ded.* 27, 18, 627 = *Ded.* 27. 1.

⁸ e.g. of Hypsicrates, *P. Oxy.* xviii. 2192.

is, this is stock moralizing only. In the same way, history for him means Thucydides, Herodotus and Xenophon. Acquaintance with Theopompus, claimed for him in two passages,¹ ignores the fact that the source of one is Didymus' *Commentary on Demosthenes* and of the other a lexicographer's list which finally appears in Harpocration, so that both probably came to him at second hand. To Plutarch's *Lives* there is but one certain reference, none to Polybius, but he did use some work on the local history of Antioch. In oratory his knowledge was, as is to be expected of the author of the *Hypotheses*, authoritative and encyclopedic, whereas in philosophy assessment is more difficult because of his deliberate retention of the distinction between the sophist and the philosopher. Thus, he knows Plato thoroughly, Theophrastus not at all; Aristotle is mentioned rarely, Stoics and Epicureans never, and Cynics only for their anecdotal value. Yet, although for him philosophy appears to be confined to Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates, it does not follow that he was out of touch with current trends. His views are in line with those of the scholastic tradition and he displays some familiarity with the Neoplatonists,² although he refrains from emphasizing this branch of study. Philosophy, in fact, is for him a postgraduate subject. Instead, his staple is the Second Sophistic. Coincidences with the *Timon* indicate acquaintance with Lucian, but Aristeides is his model and Philostratus his handbook of deportment. Dio Chrysostom seems to have been a subject of special research for the benefit of Dio's admirer, Julian.³ Julian's works are referred to at length, as are the orations of Themistius which came to him by presentation. Undoubtedly the oddest item for him to use is the *Vita Constantini*, which is the basis for his panegyric on Constans and Constantius.⁴ Almost certainly he was the possessor of a Dream Book, and his ability to reproduce medical idiom indicates acquaintance with such writing.

Of the textbooks used in grammar, as distinct from literature, the items can only be guessed. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is more

¹ *Hell. Oxy.* *fr.* 159, 77; claimed by Förster, vi, 186.

² Cf. *Dee.* 13, 19. Festugière, *Rev. d'Herm. Trium.* iii, 14 n.

³ *Or.* 14, 28 = Dio 37, 11, 17-19; *Or.* 15, 28-29 = Dio 37, 32.

⁴ Cf. P. Petit, *Historia*, 1 (1950), 362-82; Morcau (*Historia*, 4 (1955), 234-45) suggests Praxagoras as the source, which cannot be proved.

than possible; an impressive list of parallels with the rhetor Anaximenes may be cited,¹ similarly with Menander Rhetor.² The principles of Hermogenes are also to be seen, but texts like these were probably but part of his teaching apparatus. In every section of his work there is evidence for his reliance upon works of reference of every kind, compilations of paroemiographers, of mythology, of local history, of dramatic selections and commentaries. The material of the sophistic education had become stereotyped, and the most devoted of teachers taught their subject at second or third hand.

Libanius' own system gave grounds for current dissatisfaction on a further issue, and on one upon which he prided himself especially. In outlook, conduct and education, he systematically ignored or rejected all things Roman, in this being at variance with both his contemporary Themistius and his model Aristides. He has no panegyrics for Rome, and the extension of romanization to Constantinople aroused in him only distrust and contempt. His debt was to Antioch, and he can dismiss the history of Roman Antioch in less than four pages. In his official orations he overleaps Roman history from the kings to the advent of Julian in one bound. History ends with Demosthenes only to restart with Diocletian. He knew no Latin himself, nor did he intend to do so: neither did such Antiochene worthies as his antagonist Eubulus and his uncle Phasganius. But the legal system of the state was Roman and the language of the administration Latin, so that he and his kind were as incapable of being assimilated into a genuinely Roman-Greek world as were his despised Syriac-speaking countrymen. In himself he symbolizes the division of empire, and his consistent propagation of such notions of independence in an age of centralization might well deprive his system of the virtue of utility which he claimed. Parents might wonder whether this staunchly Hellenic programme was after all the most fitting preparation for their sons' entry upon a career in Roman administration or law, and his critics, whether parents or prefects, had a surer appreciation of the facts than he.

¹ Cf. Markowski, *De Libania Socratis Defensore*, 150-68.

² Cf. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius*, 130.

Yet Philostratus and Eunapius show that the system worked. It was highly selective in its personnel and had been developed from and for a select social group. Its practical advantages for any form of administration had long been obvious, for it had provided the basic qualities for local and imperial government, and until recently there had been nothing to compete with it. But the inflated bureaucracy of the fourth century¹ gave scope to an alternative, more technical, training. The administrative demand, in the more numerous provinces both of East and of West, for Latin-trained lawyers increasingly diverted from Libanius' Hellenic rhetoric students who previously would have specialized in law as a postgraduate course at Berytus; while the institution of a chair of Latin in Antioch in A.D. 388 at last gave more opportunity of discarding the traditional system—a tendency previously noted and deplored—to some even of his intimate acquaintance. More deplorable still in his eyes was the rapid extension of training in shorthand, and the advancement of such students whose only qualification was mere mechanical expertise. Although Libanius' laments upon the decline of the rhetorical education may appear exaggerated and self-interested, the fact remains that it was not now, as it had so recently been, indispensable for the ambitious youth of decent family. It is also true that, in his day, the curial class to which most of such students had belonged was facing an unprecedented combination of pressures, and the condition of many of its members was critical. As a result of such social change, the educational system within two or three generations assumed a distinctly Byzantine appearance, with the Christian church claiming for itself, as the only surviving expression of local loyalties, those students who had in Libanius' day been destined for service as councillors in their communities.

Even so, his system could adapt itself and stand on its own merits. No less than Quintilian, Libanius insists that the teacher stands *in loco parentis* to his pupils. This remains an article so fundamental to his theory and practice that it permeates his whole attitude and language, appearing almost

¹ Cf. *Or.* 2. 58: 4 secretaries and 15 *agentes in rebus* in Julian's time become 520 and over 10,000 under Theodosius.

commonplace. His students are indeed his sons, and the implications of the relationship were accepted by him and them and were acceptable to their families and acquaintances both during and after their course of study. He too can write pastoral letters—to his curial friends and ex-pupils in Tyre or Ancyra, for instance—in which this quasi-parental relationship is extended to the community as a whole. Associated with this attitude on the part of the teacher and with the strong class-consciousness of the pupils, was a genuine enthusiasm among students, revealed not only by Libanius but by Eunapius, Olympiodorus, and Gregory Nazianzen.¹ This *sophistomania* was fairly general among the educated classes, and expressed itself in a variety of forms, from the vocal exercises of students in the small hours which keep the neighbours awake, and the stentorian applause at declamations,² to the support of the teacher both during the university course and afterwards. The teacher's fortunes wax and wane with the gain or loss of influence on the part of his old pupils. Although Libanius records increasing dissatisfaction among the teachers with their conditions, as in *Oration* 31, there was a general conviction that they were doing a worth-while job, and doing it well. For him his position is no less important or necessary than that of the governors, and rhetoric is in itself a form of social service:³ among the families and friends of his pupils there is evidence of the willingness among the well-to-do to subsidize the education of poorer students.⁴ Friends and relations took a personal interest in the progress and proficiency of pupils, and this was displayed in informal visits to the school, testing, and practical examination, none of which was unwelcome to the sophists.⁵ With such intimate contact between teacher, pupil, parents and friends, it is not surprising to find teachers increasingly ready to forgo the receipt of fees and the imposition of corporal punishment. Moreover, among court circles and officialdom generally, the continued potency of the sophistic system as a factor in social and political

¹ Cf. Eunap. *V.S.* 485 ff.; Olympiod. *F.H.G.* iv, fr. 28; Greg. Naz. (Migne), *P.G.* 36, 514.

² *Epp.* 25, 277.

³ *Ep.* 314. 4; *Or.* 31. 17.

⁴ *Epp.* 30, 319, 552. 12.

⁵ *Epp.* 127, 187, 346.

life can be estimated by the importance attached to panegyric.

For all the weaknesses that rhetoric showed, the teacher regarded the personality of the student and educated him for membership of his community, and it comes as no surprise to find, that on the triumph of Christianity, Hellenic influences remain. The contents of the course might change, but the methods remained almost entirely untouched. The insistence upon eloquence as a major qualification for the primates of Constantinople carries the old scholastic discipline forward to a fresh field of study. Upholder of the pagan institutions though he was, Libanius, the teacher of Chrysostom and the associate of Basil, in his own career gives evidence of the strength of tradition and the imminence of change.

TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS

Förster's detailed examination of the manuscripts¹ has rendered any further assessment superfluous, and, thanks to his comprehensive critical apparatus, such information may properly be presented in a simplified form. Förster's standardized text (F) has therefore been taken as the basis of the present work, any departures from it are indicated, and the more important manuscript variants and conjectures of Reiske (Re) have also been included. In each case, the source of the variation from F, whether manuscript or conjecture, is noted and, in the case of conjectures, any manuscript support is added, with the initial letter in parenthesis, viz.

- A : Monacensis (Augustanus)
- C : Chisianus
- P : Palatinus
- B : Barberinus
- V : Vindobonensis
- L : Laurentianus

The text shows the pagination of both F and Re.

¹ Ed. Teubner, i. 10 ff.

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R 1 BΙΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΥΧΗΣ
F 79

1. Τοὺς δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τύχης οὐ τὰ εἰκότα δοξάζοντες, οἷοί
R 2 ὄσοι με ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονέστατον εἶναι | φασὶν ἀπὸ τούτων δὴ τῶν
ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις θορύβων οἷοί ὄσοι τῶν ὄντων ἀθλιότατον ἀπὸ τῶν
συνεχῶν δὴ ὀδυνῶν καὶ πόνων, τούτων τοῖνυν ἑκατέρων ταῖν ψήφου
5 τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπειρηγεμένην ἐπινοοῦσιν πειρατέον διηγήσει τῶν τε
ὑπερβάντων ἐμοὶ τῶν τε ἐτι νῦν ὄντων, ὡς εἶδειεν ἅπαντες, ὅτι μοι
F 80 τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐκέρασαν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οὔτε εὐδαιμονέστατος | οὔτε
ἀθλιότατος ἐγώ, Νεμέσεως δὲ ἡμᾶς μὴ βάλοι βέλος.
R 3 2. Πρῶτον τοῖνυν, εἰ καὶ τὸδε εἰς εὐτυχίαν | φέροι, πόλεως
10 πόλτην εἶναι μεγάλην τε καὶ ὀνομαστήν, ἀθρείτω μὲν τις τῆς
Ἀντιόχου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ οἷα τις αὐτῆ καὶ πόσῃ νέμεται γῆν καὶ
οἶνον μὲν πίνει πηγῶν, οἷοις δὲ ζεφύροις τρυφᾷ, ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἰδόντι
τῆν πόλιν ἀκοῆ πάντα ἐπίστασθαι. ποῖος γὰρ ἡπείρου ἢ ποῖος
βασιλέως μυχός, οἱ τὸ κλέος οὐ πεπότευται τοῦ ἄσπετος; ἐν δὴ
15 μεγίστη μεγίστους εἶναι συνέβη γένος τοῖμιν παιδεία τε καὶ πλοῦτῳ
καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ ἀγῶσι καὶ λόγοις, ὄσοι φοραῖς ἀρχόντων ἀπαν-
τῶσαν. 3. οἴονται | δὲ τινες τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπίταππον ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἦκειν
F 81 ὑπὸ λόγου τινός τῃ ἐκείνων γλώττῃ ποιηθέντος ἡφατιμένου. ὁ δὲ ἄρα
R 4 τὸ μὲν εἶχε ποιεῖν, ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν. ἐκοσμετο δὲ οὐ μάλλον φωνῇ
τῇ ἰκεῖνων ἢ μαυτικῇ, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἀπολουμένους προσῆδει τοὺς νείεις
20 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ σὺδῆρω καλοῦς τε ὄντας καὶ μεγάλους καὶ εἰπεῖν
ἱκανούς. τοῦτο ἡμῖν χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐκέλευσε τὸν οἶκον, ὥστε
ὁ πατὴρ οὐμὸς ἀδελφᾶς ἐπιγύμους ἐλευόμενος ἔτρεφε. τῷ δ' αὖ
πρὸς μητρὸς πάππῳ τᾶλλα τε ὄντι λαμπρῷ καὶ ῥητορικῷ μάλλις
25 διαφρονόντι τὸν ὅμοιον θάνατον ἢ τελευτῆ συνέβη νόσῳ δύο προμάχοις
R 5 τῆν βουλήν παραδόντι, οἷν ὁ μὲν ἐπ' | ἀρχῇ κατέλυσε τὸν βίον, ὁ δὲ

Title: τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λόγος πρῶτος V: περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης μ' B: missing A.
2 τῶν ἀνθρώπων Re (Vat. 939, Patm.). 4 δὴ οἷα. Re. ὀδυνῶν F (Vat.
939, Patm.); κινδύων Re (other MSS.). ἑκατέρων F (MSS. except C); ἑκα-
τέρων Re (C). τῆν inserted after ψήφου Re. 5 τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπειρη-
γεμένην conj. Re (Animadversiones). 11 αὐτῆ F (B; corrected from αὐτῆ
C); αὐτῆ VL: αὐτῆ P. 15 τῇ μεγίστῃ Re (VL). 16 φοραῖς F
(MSS.). Conjectures: θέραις Re (Anim.), διαφοραῖς Schmidt, ὀρμαῖς Gasda.
25 διουῖς προμάχων Re (V; correction in C).

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. Some people labour under a misapprehension in the opinions they entertain about my career. There are some who, as a result of this applause which greets my oratory, assert that I am the happiest of men: there are, on the other hand, those who, considering my incessant toils and pains, would have it that I am the wretchedest man alive. Now each of these verdicts is far removed from the truth, and I must endeavour to correct them by a narration of my past and present circumstances, so that all may know that heaven has granted me a mixture of fortune, and that I am neither the happiest nor the unhappiest of men. And I pray that the bolt of Nemesis may not light upon me.

2. First then, if it is conducive to good fortune to be a citizen of a great and famous city, let us consider the size and character of the city of Antioch, the extent of its territory, the streams which water it, and the breezes in which it basks. Even without seeing it, one can have full knowledge of it from hearsay, for there is no corner of land or sea to which the fame of the city has not spread. My family was one of the greatest in a great city—in education, wealth, the provision of shows and games, and in the oratory which opposes itself to the ill-temper of governors. 3. There is a notion current that my great-grandfather came from Italy—a mistaken idea arising from a speech which he composed in Latin. The fact is that, although he was versed in Latin, he originated from nowhere else but here. Acquaintance with Latin was not his only endowment: he had the power of divination, and it was through this that he foresaw that his own sons would perish by the sword, noble, great, and eloquent though they were. Their execution drained our household of great wealth, so that my father in his compassion maintained his sisters after they had reached an age for marriage. Moreover my maternal grandfather, who was especially pre-eminent as a speaker, barely escaped a like fate. He died of an illness and left the leadership of the city council to his two sons, of whom one died after

ἀρχὴν ἀπωσάμενος. οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτοις τὰ μὲν ἡμέρου, τὰ δὲ οὐ
τουαίτης τύχης.

4. Γίγμιας δὲ τὴν ἐκ τούτων οὐμὸς πατὴρ τρεῖς παῖδας ποιησά-
μενος, ὧν ἐγὼ μέσος, ἄρχετο πρὸ ἀμειβῆς μικρὰ ἐκ πολλῶν κεκο-
5 μωμένους, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆς μητρὸς ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ὁ πατὴρ. δέσασα δὲ ἡ
μήτηρ ἐπιτρόπων κακίαν καὶ ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τὰς τοῦ δεῖν εἰς
F 82 λόγους ἰένα σφίαν ἀνάγκας αὐτῆ ἡμῖν ἀξιοῦσα εἶναι | τῶν
μὲν ἄλλων εὐ μάλα εἶχετο σὺν πόνῳ, τελοῦσα δὲ ἀργύριον τοῖς ἐπὶ
R 6 τοῦ παιδεύειν οὐκ ᾔδει χαλεπήναι πρὸς καθεύδοντα | παιδα, φιλοσύνης
10 εἶναι νομίζουσα τὸ μηδαμῆ μηδαμῶς ἀνῶν τὸν ἑαυτῆς, ὥστε τοῦ
ἔτους τὸ πλεόν εἰς ἀγροῦς ἡμῖν μάλλον ἢ λόγους ἀναλοῦσθαι.
5. τετάρτων δὲ μοι τούτων διελθόντων τὸν τρόπον ἐναντιῶν πέμπτου
τε ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα ἡπτόμην καὶ με εἰσῆρχετο δρυμὸς τις ἔρωσ τῶν
λόγων· ὥστε ἡμέληντο μὲν αἱ τῶν ἀγρῶν χάριτες, ἐπέπραντο δὲ
15 περισσότεραί, δεινὸν θρέμμα καταδουλώσασθαι νέον, ἀμύλλαι δὲ ἔππων
καὶ τὰ τῆς σικνῆς πάντα ἀπέριπτο, καὶ ᾧ δὴ διαφερόντως ἐξέλεξα
καὶ νεότητα καὶ γῆρας, ἀθέατος ἕμενα μονομαχιῶν ἐκείνων, ἐν αἷς
ἐπιπτόν τε καὶ ἐνίκων ἄνδρες, οὓς ἐφροθα ἂν μαθητὰς εἶναι τῶν ἐν
Πύλαις τριακοσίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λειτουργῶν ἦν θεῖος ἐμὸς πρὸς
20 μητρὸς ἐκάλεε τέ με ἀφόμενον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄρα ὑπὸ τῶν βιβλίων εἰχόμεν.
F 83 λόγος γε τὸν | σοφιστὴν ἐκείνον μαντεύσασθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ πόρρωθεν, |
R 7 ὁ δὲ καὶ τετέλεσται. 6. ποῦ δὲ τὴν ὀρφανίαν θήσομεν; καὶ ἦδιστα
μὲν ἂν ἐπεῖθον τὸν πατέρα ἐν γῆρα, εὐ μέντοι τοῦτό γε οἶδα, ὡς νῦν
ἂν ἦν ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἀτραπῷ βίου τοῦ πατρὸς μοι προβάντος εἰς πολλὰν.
25 ἀντεξτάξω δὲ τις τὰ νῦν παρόντα ἐκείνοις, βουλῆς λέγω φροντισίαν
ἢ δίκαις ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία γε θράνοις ἀρχῶν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν καὶ οὕτω γ'
ἀνέροι, ποτέρωσ τε τοῦτο τιβεῖς ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴη τεθεικῶς. 7. ἀλλὰ μὴ
τὴν γε τῆς μητρὸς σωφροσύνην, ἢ μυρίους ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἀπήλασει,

8 ἔλλω F (conj. Re; correction in C); μάλλον Re (text) (L). 9 οὐκ
οἶδε Re (Mor). 12 δὲ F (MSS); δὲ Re (corr. in C). 21 λόγος; καὶ
λόγος BL: λόγον conj. Re. γε corr. from σε B: γε conj. Wyttenbach (V);
εἰλόγῳ γε conj. Schmidt. 25 τὰ before παρόντα MSS.: cancelled F;
Cobet: τὰ παρόντα del. Re (Anim.). 26 θράνοις conj. F; Cobet: φθόνοις
CL: φθόνοις B. Corr. in P and V. 27 ἀνέροι F (corr. from ἂν εἴροι V): ἂν
εἴροι Re (CPB): ἂν εἴρη L.

holding a governmental office, the other after declining it. So
In this, part of my fortune was good, part bad.

4. My father took his bride from such a family and had three
sons, of whom I am the middle one. He died before his prime
when he had recovered a little of these great losses, and he was
flattened almost immediately by my maternal grandfather. My
mother was a nice woman and feared the dishonesty of
guardians and the litigation which would inevitably arise with
them, and so she herself set out to be all in all to us. In general,
she succeeded very well by dint of her exertions, but though she
paid out fees to schoolmasters for us, she did not have the
heart to get annoyed with her sleepyhead of a son, for she
thought it was a loving mother's part never to upset her
child. Thus it came about that we spent the greater part of the
year in the countryside rather than in the classroom. 5. Four
years passed by in this way, but in my fifteenth year my inter-
est was kindled and an earnest love of study began to pos-
sess me. Hence the charms of the countryside were put aside:
I sold my pigeons, pets which are apt to get a strong hold on
a boy; the chariot races and everything to do with the stage
were discarded, and I remained aloof, far from the sight of
those gladiatorial combats where men, whom you would
swear to be the pupils of the three hundred at Thermopylae,
used to conquer or die. My attitude in this caused the greatest
amusement both to young and old. The person responsible for
the presentation of these shows was my maternal uncle, and
though he invited me to the spectacle, I still stayed wedded to
my books. The story goes that he, all that time ago, foretold
for me the professional career that has actually come to pass.
6. In which category, then, shall I put my orphan's state?
Childly would I have beheld my father in his old age, but of one
thing I am certain—that if my father had come to a ripe old
age, I would now be engaged upon a very different way of
life. If you compare the present with the might-have-been—
a career in local politics, for instance, or law, or even in the
imperial administration—you would have no difficulty in dis-
covering which would be the correct estimate of my fortune.
7. Moreover, not even the most self-indulgent of men would
dare deny that we children were fortunate in our mother's

R 8 οὐδ' ἂν ὁ σφόδρα ἠδονῶν ἦττων | τοιμησαί μοι δοκεῖ μὴ συγχωρῆσαι
 παίδων εἶναι εὐτυχῶν, εἰ δὴ καλὸν μὲν τὸ σὺν παρρησίᾳ ζῆν, ποιεῖ
 δὲ ταύτην οὐ τὰ αὐτῷ τινι βεβιωμένα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ 'κεινοῖς ἐξ
 ὧν ἔφυ, ὡς πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀμέμπτους σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασχόμενοι γονέων
 5 ἔπεισομιόθησαν ὀνειδεῖσι. |

F 84 8. Πάλιν τοῖνυν τὸ μὲν παρ' ἄνδρα πεφοιτηκέναι λόγων προχέοντα
 κάλλος εὐδαίμονος φοιτητοῦ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑπόσου ἀξίον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν
 ἀφοσιώμην φοιτᾶν, κινουῖντος δὲ ἦδη πρὸς μαθήσεις ἔρωτος οὐκ
 ἔχειν τὸν μεταδώσοντα θανάτῳ σθεσθέντος τοῦ βρέματος, τοῦτι δὲ
 10 ἀλλίου. πῶθ' ἂν μὲν τοῖνυν τὸν οὐκέτ' ὄντα, χρώμενος δὲ τοῖς ὄσων,
 εἰδούλιος γέ τισι σοφιστῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς ἐκ κριθῶν ἄρτους ἀπορία
 γὰρ τοῦ βελτίονος, ἐπειδὴ ἦντιον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἦν κίνδυνος ἡγεμόσι
 τυφλοῖς ἐπιόμενοι εἰς βάραθρον ἀμαθίας πσεῖν, τοῖς μὲν χαίρειν |

R 9 εἶπον, παύσας δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν τοῦ τίς τευ, τὴν δὲ γλώτταν τοῦ
 15 λέγειν, τὴν δὲ χεῖρα τοῦ γράφειν ἐν ἔδρων μόνον, μνήμη τὰ τῶν
 παλαιῶν ἐκτῶμην συνῶν ἀνδρὶ μνημονικωτάτῳ τε καὶ οἴῳ τῶν
 παρ' ἐκείνοις καλῶν ἐμπείρους ἀπεργάζεσθαι νέους. καὶ οὕτω δὴ
 τὴν αὐτῷ προσεκέμην ἀκριβῶς, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἀπαλλαττομένου τῶν νέων
 ἀπηλλαττομην, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐν χερσὶν τε ἡ βιβλος, καὶ ἔδει
 20 τὴν ἄνδρα καὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκην λέγειν, ἦν ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα μὲν
 δῆλος ἦν δυσχεραίνων, χρόνους δὲ ἐν ὑστέροις ἐπήγει. 9. πέντε
 ταῦτα ἔτη ἦν ἀπάσης μοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκέισε | τετραμμήνης, καὶ
 F 85 συνέπραττεν ὁ δαίμων οὐδενὶ νοσήματι τὸν δρόμον ὑποσκελλίζων,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ προσέπεισε τῇ κεφαλῇ—ἦν δὲ τοῖνυν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῦσι
 25 τοῖς Ἀριστοφάνους ἦν καθημένῳ τῷ γραμματιστῇ παρεστηκώς, ὁ
 δὲ ἦλιος οὕτω παχέων ἐκέκρυπτο νέφεσιν, ὥστ' ἦδη τινὰ νύκτα
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν προσεπέειν. μέγα δὲ κτυπήσαντος τοῦ Διὸς
 καὶ ἅμα κεραυνῶν ἀφέντος ἐπέπληκτο μὲν τῷ πυρὶ τὰ ὄμματα,
 ἐπέπληκτο δὲ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῇ βροντῇ. καὶ ψμν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐνδρόσθαί

8 ἀφοσιώμην conj. Herwerden: approved F (vol. iii, p. xiii): ἀφοσιώμην B;
 ἀφοσιώμην F (MSS. exc. B) Re. 12 ἐπειδὴ F (MSS. ἐπεὶ δὲ C): ἐπεὶ δὲ
 Re, Planudes (Vat. 939). 19 ἀγορᾶς, . . . βιβλος punct. F.

goodness, which drove countless admirers from our doors—
 once it is granted that it is a fine thing to be a respected mem-
 ber of society, and that this is ensured not only by one's own
 conduct in life but by that of one's parents too. Many people,
 in fact, who have shown themselves to be personally beyond
 reproach, have been reduced to silence by the ill-repute of
 their forebears.

8. Again, I was lucky as a pupil in that I attended the lec-
 tures of a teacher with a fine flow of oratory; my bad luck was
 that my attendance was not as regular as it should have been
 but occurred only in a most perfunctory fashion, and then,
 when my desire did spur me on to study, I found none to
 instruct me, for death had stopped his flow. So, though
 I longed for my dead teacher, I began to frequent the living,
 mere shadows of teachers, as men eat loaves of barley bread
 for want of anything better. However, when I found that I was
 making no progress but was running the risk of falling into the
 bottomless pit of ignorance through following blind guides,
 I had done with them. I restrained my mind from composing,
 my tongue from speaking, and my hand from writing, and
 I concentrated upon one thing only—the memorization of the
 works of classical authors—and studied under a man of pro-
 digious memory who was capable of instilling into his pupils
 an appreciation of the excellence of the classics. I attached
 myself to him so wholeheartedly that I would not leave him
 even after class had been dismissed, but would trail after him,
 book in hand, even through the city square, and he had to
 give me some instruction, willy-nilly. At the time he was
 obviously annoyed at this importunity, but in later days he
 was full of praise for it. 9. For these five years my life was
 entirely devoted to these pursuits, and heaven helped me by
 placing no hindrance of illness in my course, and then the
 incident of the thunderbolt occurred. This was as follows: I was
 standing by my teacher's chair engrossed in the *Achaeans* of
 Aristophanes, when the sun was hidden by such a pall of cloud
 that you could hardly tell the difference then between day and
 night. The heavens resounded with a mighty crash and a
 thunderbolt hurtled down, blinding my eyes with its flash and
 stunning my head with its roar. My first thought was that

μοι δευόν, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα λήξεν τὴν ταραχὴν, ἀπελθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε καὶ
 ἐπ' ἀρίστῳ κατακλιθεὶς | βροντῆς τε ἐκείνης ἐδόκουν ἀκούειν
 R 10 κεραυνῶν τε ἐκείνου τὴν οἰκίαν παραβῆν ἰδρωτὰ τ' ἐκίει τὸ δέος
 καὶ ἀναπηδῶσας ἐκ τῶν σιτίων ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην καταφεύγω. σὺ γὰρ
 5 δὲ ὅμην δεῖν τοῦτο καὶ φυλάττειν ἄρρητον, ἀλλὰ μὴ κοινώσας
 ἰατροῖς εἰς φάρμακά τε καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἐκ τῶν εἰωθῶτων
 ἐκινωθεὶς ἀναῶσθαι. 10. τοῦτο καὶ εἰς βίβλας ἤγαγε τὴν συμφορὰν
 ἐκβληθεῖσαν ἂν, ὡς φασιν, ἐν προοίμοις οὐ σὺν πόμφῳ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 συναπέδημησέ μοι τὸ κακὸν αἰξόμενον τὴν αἴξην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεῖρό
 10 τε ἀφίκαται πάλιν τροπὰς μὲν τινὰς τρεπόμενον, οὐ μὴν τοῦ γε
 ἐλαύνειν πανόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁπότε δοκεῖ χαλᾶν, οὐ παντάσῃσι
 F 86 λήγει—ἀλλ' ὅπερ | ἔφη, πλὴν τοῦδε τρικαῖα τὰλλα ἦν ἄνοσος, καὶ
 οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἶργε μὴ ἀπολαύειν τῶν παιδικῶν.

II. Συνειλεγμένον τοῖνον εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους
 15 κατὰ λόγου δύναμιν θαυμαζομένων ἀνδρῶν ὀρμῆς τέ με ἐπὶ τοῦτον
 εἰσελθοῦσας τὸν βίον—ἦν γὰρ τις ἑταῖρος ἐμοὶ Καππαδόκης, Ἰασίων
 R 11 ὄνομα αὐτῷ, βραδέως | μὲν ἦκων ἐπὶ λόγους, φιλοπονία δέ, εἴπερ
 τις ἄλλος, ἡδόμενος—ὅστος ὁ Ἰασίων, ἃ παρ' ἀνδρῶν πρεσβυτέρων
 Ἰθρηῶν τε πέρι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δρομῶν ἐδέδεκτο, καθ' ἡμέραν
 20 ὡς εἶπεν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐμυθολόγει Καλλιπικὸς τέ τινος καὶ Τηπολέμου
 ἐτέρων τε οὐκ ὀλίγων σοφιστῶν διηγοῦμενος σθένος λόγους τε οἷς
 ἀλλήλων ἐκρατήσαν τε καὶ ἐκρατήθησαν, ὅφ' ὦν τις ἐπιθυμία τοῦ
 χωρίου κατελάμβανέ μοι τὴν ψυχὴν. 12. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ὕστερον
 ἐμελλον ἐκδηλῆσαι, ὡς εἶη μοι πλευστόν, τῆς φήμης δὲ τῶν
 25 πόνων οὐς ἐπόνουν κατεχούσης τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς γε ἐν ὥρᾳ σωφρο-
 σύνης—λέγω γὰρ οὐκ ἰσχυροῦσίνης πέρι θαρροῦσιντος ζώωντων ἔτι μοι
 μαρτύρων, οἳ βουλομένων ἡμῶν ἀναστάντες μαρτυρήσουσι, ὅρῳ
 γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐνταυθοὶ καθημένους, ἦν δὲ ἀνάλωτος οὐ
 F 87 φρουρῆ καὶ φόβους παιδαγωγῶν, οὓς ἀσθενεὶς πέφυκεν | ὄρφανία
 30 νέου ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ προνοία Τύχης, δι' ἣν αὐτὸς τε ἑμμαντοῦ φίλαξ

5 δὲ conj. F: τε Re (MSS). 16 τις inser. F (VL). 23 τούτῳ Re.
 26 οὐκ om. Re (Mor).

I had suffered no permanent ill-effect and that the shock would
 soon settle. However, after I had reached home and was at the
 lunch table, I seemed again to sense that crash and the thunder-
 bolt hurtling past the house. I broke out into a sweat of fear,
 and leapt up from the table to the refuge of my bed. I decided
 that I ought to say nothing of the matter and to keep it secret
 and not suffer the inconvenience of telling it to the doctors
 and being dragged from my usual routine to take medicine or
 undergo professional treatment. 10. This caused the malady
 which, as the saying goes, could have been removed with no
 trouble at all in its early stages, to take a deeper root. Hence
 my affliction was my constant companion abroad, growing
 great with increase, and it has returned home with me. There
 have been some fluctuations, of course, but it never stops
 worrying me, for even when it seems to abate, it never ceases
 completely. However, as I have said, except for this, I was un-
 troubled by illness all this time, and even this did not prevent
 me from enjoying my pleasures to the full.

II. Now when I had committed to memory the works of
 those who were most renowned for their stylistic abilities, the
 urge for this way of life came over me. I had as a fellow student
 a Cappadocian, Iasion by name, and he, though backward
 as a scholar, had an infinite capacity for taking pains. This
 Iasion, almost every day, would tell me the tales he had heard
 from his elders about Athens and the goings-on there. Names
 like Callinicus and Tlepolemus were always on his tongue,
 and he would tell the tale of the rhetorical prowess of many
 another sophist too and of the orations by which they won or
 lost their disputations, and as a result of all this a longing for
 Athens began to possess my soul. 12. Later on I intended to let
 the news out that I had to go there; in the meantime there
 spread through the town the report of the labours upon which
 I was engaged and also of my youthful discretion. I make
 mention of this discretion with confidence, for I have witnesses
 will alive to rise and testify to it, should you so desire; many of
 them, indeed, I see seated here. I was incorruptible, not
 through the vigilance or the deterrents of any attendant, for
 then the orphan state of their charges tends to make un-
 reliable, but through the providence of Fortune whereby I

ἦν ἄλλους τε ἐρρόνην παιδιάς τε ἔπανον ἐπιζημίους, ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς
 λόγους βίβαντες οὐκ ἀλλοιοὶ τῶν νέων ἐφέροντο—γεμούσης δὲ τοῦ
 περι ἄμφοιν τοῖν ἀγαθοῖν λόγου τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης οἱ παρθένους
 πρέφοντες πατέρες διὰ τοῖν θεῖων τοῖν ἐμοῖν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πλήθει
 5 προικὸς ἕτερον ἕτερον παριόντες,

ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οἶποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔπειθον,

οἶμαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ θεῖον ὑπεριδεῖν ἂν γάμον πρὸς τὸν
 R 12 Ἀθηναίων καπνόν. 13. ἢ μὲν οὖν μήτηρ | ἐδάκρυεν οὐδὲ τὸν λόγον
 ἀνεχομένη τοῦ ἔργου, τοῖν θεῖων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῆ μὲν ἦστο
 10 βοθηεῖν δεῖν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκέλευεν ἀδυνάτων ἀφαστάσαι, μηδὲ γὰρ εἰ
 F 88 σφόδρα ἐρήνην, ἐπιτρέψει αὐτόν. τὰ Ὀλύμπια δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου
 ποιήσαντος τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἐμοῦ τῆς ἀνέγκης ἡττημένου ζῆμοι μὲν ὁ
 δαίμων τὴν πόλιν, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῆ Πανολβίου τελευτηῆ,
 τοῦτι γὰρ ὄνομα τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν θεῶν, τῆς μητρὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν
 15 ἕτερον οὐκέτι τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς δάκρυσι δυναμένης, ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Φασγάνιος
 οἶος οἰκτῶ βλαβερῶ μὴ ἐνδιδοῖναι, τὴν μὲν πείθει λήπην οὐ μακρὰν
 καρποῦς μεγάλους ὑπισχνουμένην ἐνεργεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνοίγει τὰς
 πύλας.

14. Ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅ τι μὲν εἰδαίμων, ὅ τι δὲ οὐ
 20 τοιοῦτον. ἐξεληλιακὸς δὲ ἦδη τότε ἀρα ἠσθάνομην ὡς δεινῶς πικρὸν
 ἀπολιπεῖν οἰκείους. ἐφερόμην οὖν σὺν ὄνυμοις τε καὶ ὀδύνη, πυκνὰ
 ἐπιστρεφόμενος πόθῳ τῆς τῶν τοῖων ὀψεως. μέχρι μὲν Τυάνου
 δάκρυα, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ σὺν πυρετῷ δάκρυα. δυοῖν δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν μαχο-
 μέναι ὁ τῆς αἰσχύνης φόβος θατέρω προσγεγόμενος ἐκέισε ἐποίησε
 25 τὴν ῥοπήν, ὥστε εἶδει νοσοῦντα ὀδοπορεῖν. τοῦ νοσήματος δὲ ὑπὸ
 τῆς πορείας αἰξανόμενου διαπλέω μὲν τὸν Βόσπορον μικρὸν τι νεκροῦ
 R 13 διαφέρων, καὶ οἱ ὀρεῖς δὲ | ταῖτον ἐπέσόνθεσαν, ἐν ᾧ δὲ εἶχον
 ἐλπίδας ὡς βασιλεῖσι με πέμψοντι παρὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ζεύγεσιν, οὗτος
 μὲν ἐξεπεπνῶκει τῆς πολλῆς ἐκείνης βώμης καὶ τᾶλλα δὴ προθυμῶ-
 30 τατα ζενίζων ἐν τοῦτο εἶφη μὴ δύνασθαι. 15. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν

8 Ἀθηναίων F (conj. Re): Ἀθηναίων Re (MSS). 11 αὐτόν F: αὐτόν Re
 (MSS). 21 δάκρυ F (MSS): δάκρυα Re (Mor). 29 ὄνυ F (conj.
 Gaisda): δά Re (MSS).

acted as my own protector and as the rescuer of others besides, putting an end to the harmful pranks to which many youngsters who neglected their studies betook themselves. Well then, when the whole town buzzed with the account of both these virtues of mine, those fathers who had daughters on their hands approached me through my two uncles—one outbidding another in the size of the dowry he offered, 'but never for a moment did they win my heart'. I think that I would have followed Odysseus' example and spurned even marriage with a goddess for a glimpse of the smoke of Athens. 13. My mother was in tears and could not bear even the mention of the matter. Of my uncles, the elder thought that he should support her and he bade me give up this wild-goose chase, for, however much I hankered after it, he would not give his consent. However, after the younger of the two had presented the Olympic festival in honour of Zeus and I had yielded to necessity, Fate afflicted the city, or rather the whole world, with the death of Panolbius—as the elder of my uncles was called. My mother could not now prevail so well upon the other by her laments, for Phasganius was not the man to give way before idle tears. He persuaded her to bear her grief, for it would not be of long duration and it gave promise of great returns, and so he opened the door for me.

14. In this account the good luck and the bad are perfectly clear. However, once I had set out, I began to realize at last how terribly hard it is to leave behind one's kith and kin. So I went on my way with weeping and wailing, often turning round in longing for the sight of the city walls. As far as Tyana, I was in tears all the way: from there onwards, I was in a fever as well. I was torn between two desires, but the fear of the shame I would incur was added to the one and weighted the balance in its favour, and so I continued on my way perforce, ill though I was. My illness grew worse with the journey, and I crossed the Bosphorus little better than a corpse, with my mules in much the same shape. There the man on whom I relied to send me on to Athens by the Imperial Post had fallen from his previous position of influence. He was most zealous in the other duties of hospitality, but this was the one thing which he said he could not provide. 15. I transferred my attention

ἔβλεπον ἦδη κεκλεισμένην ὑπὸ τῆς ὕρας ναυτίλοις, ἐντυχὸν δὲ τινα
 F 89 λαμπρῶ κυβερνήτῃ | μνησθεὶς τε χρυσίου πείθω βράδιος καὶ ἐμβλῆς
 τυχὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐκοιμίζοιμν περπόμενος, Πέρηνθόν τε παρα-
 πλέων Ῥοίτειόν τε καὶ Σίγειον καὶ τὴν τὰ δεινότατα παθοῦσαν
 5 Πριάμου πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ὄραν τὸν τε Αἰγαῖον
 διέδραμον οὐ χεῖρου πνεύματι χρησόμενος Νέστορος, ὥστε μοι
 κέρδος γενέσθαι τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ ξένου. 16. καταπλεύσας οὖν εἰς
 Γεραυστόν, ἔπειτα εἰς λιμένα τινὰ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐκοιμήθην,
 τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐν ἄστει τε ἦν ἐσπέρας καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἄν οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλό-
 10 μην, ἔπειτα τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐν ἑτέρων αὖ χερσὶν ἄν οὐδὲ τοῦτων
 ἐβουλόμην· οὐ δὲ ἦλλον μετασχίσαι, τοῖτον οὐδ' ἄρᾳν εἶχον ἐν
 πῖθω μικροῦ καθεργημένος, οἷα τὰ ῥέαν εἰς τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους
 R 14 τῶν νέων. ἐβῶαμεν δὴ διεσπικότες, ὁ σοφιστὴς μὲν | ἐμοῦ, ῥέαν
 δὲ ἐγὼ στερόμενος· τοῖς ἔχουσι δὲ λόγος οὐδὲς τῆς βότης, ἀλλ'
 15 Ἀριστοφῆδης μὲν ἄρᾳ τῶν ὄρκων ἐτηροῦμην ὁ Σύρος, ἀμμοκῶτι δὲ
 F 90 ἦδη τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαπήσειν ἀνοίγει τις τὴν θύραν, καὶ ἠκροῦμην
 τοῦ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐν τάξει μαθητοῦ, τῶν δυοῖν δὲ κατὰ νόμον δὴ τὸν τῶν
 ἐπιδελξέων. 17. καὶ ὁ μὲν κρέτος πολλὸς εἰς ἀπάτην τῶν τότε πρῶτον
 γενομένων ἐγειρόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἠσθάνομην ἐπ' οὐδὲν σεμνὸν ἀφιγμέ-
 20 νος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν νέων ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν οὐ πολὺ τὴν νέων διαφερόντων
 R 15 ἤρπασαμένης. καὶ ἐδόκουν δὴ πλημμελεῖν τε εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας | καὶ
 δίκην ἐφλεῖν οὐχὶ θαυμάζον τοὺς ἄρχοντας. μάλιστα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν
 καταπραῖναι σφίσι σιγῇ φήσας θαυμάζω, κεκαλύσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν
 νοσημάτων τὴν βοήν, δεικνυμένων δὲ ἦδη τῶν ἐμῶν ἕκ τε γραμ-
 25 ματίων καὶ ἄλλως εἰκόσ τι παθεῖν ἐδόκουν οὐχὶ θαυμάσας.

18. Κἂν τοῖς εἰρημένους δὴ τοῖτοις ἀξίον ἐξετάσαι τὴν θεόν.
 οὐκοῦν αἱ μὲν νόσοι καὶ τὸ ὥσπερ κατ' ἐμπορίαν πεπλευκότα χεῖροισι

5 τὴν Πριάμου F (CPB): τὴν om. Re (VL). 9 χερσὶν A commences.
 24 γραμματίων F (MSS): γραμματείων Re.

to the sea, but it was now closed to seafarers because of the
 season. However, I lit upon a well-known sea-captain, won
 him over easily enough by the mention of a fare, embarked,
 found Poseidon favourable and went on my way rejoicing.
 I sailed past Perinthus, and from the deck I gazed upon
 Rhoeteum, Sigeum and the ill-fated city of Priam. I crossed
 the Aegean and enjoyed a wind no worse than Nestor did, and
 so my host's inability turned out to my advantage. 16. So
 I made landfall at Geraestus, and then at one of the harbours
 of Attica, where I got a bed for the night. Next night I was in
 Athens—in the hands of people I wanted none of; and the day
 after, I was in the hands of yet other people, and these I wanted
 none of, either. I was unable even to catch a glimpse of the
 teacher from whom I had come to learn, for I was cooped up
 in a cell about as big as a barrel—such is the reception they
 give students on their arrival. My teacher had lost me and
 I him, so we began to set up a hullabaloo from our separate
 stations. My captors, however, took no account of our out-
 cries, but I was kept under lock and key until I took the oath,
 like any Aristodemus, Syrian though I was. After I had sworn
 the oath to put up with my present condition, the door was
 opened and I began to attend the lectures of Diophantus as
 his regular pupil straightaway and those of the other two ac-
 cording to the normal practice of public declamation. 17.
 Though the applause that arose was enough to deceive those
 who experienced it then for the first time, I began to realize
 that I was present at nothing out of the ordinary, for the
 guidance of students had been monopolized by people who
 were little better than students themselves. So my attitude
 was held to be derogatory towards Athens and I was held
 guilty of not respecting my professors. It was with difficulty,
 therefore, that I allayed their anger, telling them that I was
 listening in respectful silence, for vocal demonstrations had
 been made impossible because of my illness. Finally, I pro-
 duced some exercises of my own from my notebooks and
 the like, and made it appear that my attitude was satisfactory,
 despite my lack of enthusiasm.

18. From this narrative you can get a good idea of my for-
 tune. Thus, my ailments and the fact that, like a merchant

- τῆς ἐπιπέδος ἠμιλήσαι λιμέσαι μὲν ἔχουσι θαυμαστῆν, πείραν δὲ
οὐ τοιαύτην τοῦτ' μὲν οὐκ εὐτυχσοῦς ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ χειμῶνι μὲν
F 91 οὐδὲν χαλεπωτέρου θέρουσ' χρῆσασθαι πρὸς | τὰ πελάγη, γενέσθαι δὲ
οὐχ ὅσπερ ἔσπευον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐβελίαστο, ταυτὶ δὲ δῶρα Τύχης.
5 εὐκαίτε τὸ μὲν τῆς εὐπλοίας δέχεσθαι καὶ κατὰ μέλος εἰρήσθαι
συγχωρεῖν, τὰ δ' ἀδ' ἀπὸ σοφιστῶν ἀλλοκότως εἰρήσθαι, εἰ δὲ
ἄσπερ ἠγαυαζόμεν, ἐν τοῦτοις εὐτυχηκέαι φημί. δεῖ δὲ μὲν λῦσαι
τὸ αἰνύμα, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἶμι.
- R 16 19. Ἀκούων ἔγωγε ἐκ παιδός, ᾧ | ἄνδρες, τοῖς τῶν χορῶν ἐν
10 μέσαις ταῖς Ἀθήναις πολέμου καὶ βόπαλά τε καὶ σίδηρον καὶ λίθους
καὶ τραύματα γραφῆς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἀπολογίας καὶ δίκας ἐπ'
ἐλέγχους πάντα τε πολυμάμενα τοῖς νέοις, ὅπως τὰ πράγματα τοῖς
ἡγεμόσιν αἰροῦν, ἀγαθοῖς τε ἀποδοῦ τοῖς κινδύνοις ἡγούμεν δικαίους
15 τοῖς θεοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ ἐμάντῳ τοιαῦτα ἀρμετεύσαι καὶ δραμεῖν μὲν
εἰς Πειραιᾶ τε καὶ Σούνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους λιμένας νέων ἐφ' ἀρπαγῇ
τῆς Ὀλύμπου ἐκβάλλοντων, δραμεῖν δὲ ἐπὲρ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἀθλῶν εἰς
Κόρινθον κρηθισόμενον, δεῖπνα δὲ δειπνοῦσιν ἀποδοῦ τὰ τῶν
F 92 ὄντων ἀνηλωμένων εἰς δανείσαντα βλέπειν. 20. εἰδύα τούτων ἢ θεός
20 εἰς τὸν εὐπρεπῆ μὲν τούτων ἐκπεσοῦμενον ὀλεθρον, ἢ τοῦτομα μάλα
εὐφύμιον, ὃ τοῦ χοροῦ προστάτης, ἐπὲρ ὅτου μὲν ταῦτα ἡγούμεν
μοι προσήκειν ὑπενεγκεῖν σοφιστοῦ, τούτου μὲν με σοφώτατα,
ὡσπερ εἴθε ποιεῖν, ἀπήγαγε, φέρουσα δὲ ἑτέρου ποιεῖ, παρ'
ὅσπερ ἐμελλον μόνους εἰσεσθαι τοῖς ἐπὲρ τῶν λόγων μάχους.
25 ὃ δὲ καὶ ἄδε ἔσχεν. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὡς ἂν ὑβρισμένος ταῖς ὄρκων
R 17 ἀνάγκαις οὐδὲν ἂν εἴην ἡξίον | λειτουργεῖν, ἄλλος τ' ἂν οὐδεὶς
ἐπέταττε διὰ τὸ οὐχ ἐκόντα δεδεκεῖναι, καὶ ἅμα δέος ἦν μὴ δυο-
χεραίων τὸ φορτίον ἕτερόν τι βουλεύσω πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον ἀπολογησά-

4 ὅσπερ Re (V; A before correction): ὡσπερ F (PBL, corrections in AC);
ὅσπερ conj. Asmus. F (vol. iii, p. xv) conj. ὅσπερ ἔσπευον, ἀλλ' ὅς 6 τὰ
F (MSS): τὸ Re (corr. from τὰ in A). 13 <ἐν> τοῖς κινδύνοις F. 14 τὲ
οὐχ F (V and conj. Re): δὲ οὐχ other MSS.

venturer, I found my ports of call to fall below expectation—highly spoken of but far different in experience—all this can be placed on the debit side. Yet that my winter sailing weather was no worse than that of summer, and that what occurred was not what I intended but resulted from duress—these are the favours of Fortune. You would probably agree with me on the matter of my voyage and accept my account as consistent with my theme, but for me to assert, with regard to my teachers, that I was lucky in experiencing such compulsion would perhaps seem to you a very queer argument. I must then resolve the riddle, and to this topic I will now proceed.

19. From my boyhood, gentlemen, I had heard tales of the fighting between the schools which took place in the heart of Athens: I had heard of the cudgels, the knives and stones they used and of the wounds they inflicted, of the resultant court actions, the pleas of the defence and the verdicts upon the guilty, and of all those deeds of derring-do which students perform to raise the prestige of their teachers. I used to think them noble in their hardihood and no less justified than those who took up arms for their country: I used to pray heaven that it should be my lot too to distinguish myself so, to go hot-foot to the Peiraeus or Sunium or other ports to kidnap students at their landing, and then go off hot-foot once more to Corinth to stand trial for the kidnapping, give a string of parties, run through all that I had, and then look to someone to make me a loan. 20. Well, Fortune knew that I would be heading for ruin in this specious trap with its high sounding title of 'head of the school', and so, in her usual wisdom, she withdrew me from the teacher whom I used to regard as the purer recipient of such services on my part, and took me off to be the pupil of someone else, under whom I would become acquainted only with the labours connected with rhetoric. This, in fact, is precisely what happened. I felt myself outwitted by the compulsion of the oath and refused to perform any of the services I have mentioned, and no one else would order me to do them because of my unwilling bondage, and there was also the fear that, in my resentment of the imposition, I might take some fresh line with regard to the oath, leaving my case upon the compulsion to which I was subjected.

μενος οἷς προσηγαυαζόμεν. 21. ἦν οὖν ἀτελής ἐξέδων τε καὶ
στρατειῶν καὶ ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὗς ἔρχεται Ἄρης, καὶ παρατάξω,
καὶ δὴ κὰν τῇ μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πάντων συμπεπωκότων καὶ ὄσους ὁ
χρόνος ἀφίει, μόνος πόρρω που καθήμενος ὁ τι ἑκάστος λάβοι κακὸν
5 ἦκουσι πληγῶν τε διεγενόμενῃ καθαρός, ὅσας ὄργαι ποιοῦσιν ἐνὸς
πρὸς ἓνα, οὐ δούς ποτε, οὐ λαβῶν οὐδὲ μελλήσας οὐδέτερον. καίτοι
ποτὲ Κρής λελομημένος ἐντυχῶν μοι λουσομένῳ, μέσος δὲ ἐπορευόμεν
F 93 δούσιν, | τὸν μὲν ἔθεν καὶ ἔθεν ἐπάταξεν ἀσελγαίνων, οὐκ ἀμνύ-
μενος, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀντέβλεψεν, εἰδόμενος δὲ ὅμως ἠδικήσθαι τῷ ἐν
10 ἐμοὶς τὰ τοιαῦτα | ὀφθαλμοῖς τετολημῆσθαι. 22. οὕτως ἅπαντες
R 18 ἅπαντας ἤξιον ἐμοῦ παρόντος σιωφρονεῖν τοῦ γε οὐδὲ σφαίρας
Ἀθήνησιν οὐδεπώποτε ἀφαιμένου τοσοῦτον ἀποσχόντος κόμου τε
καὶ κοινωνίας τῶν ἐν νυξίν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πενεστέρων πορευομένων
οικίας· ἐπεὶ καὶ Σκύλλης κεφαλῆς ἢ εἰ βούλει γε, Σειρήνων δενα-
15 τέρας γέγονας, ἑταίρας μελωδοῦσας, αἶ πολλοὺς ἐξέδωσαν, μάτην
ἠδοῦσας ἀπέφηνα.

23. Ἄλλ' ὅθεν ἐξέβην, ἐκείνων γε τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν διὰ τὴν
Τύχην ἀπελελεμέην, ὥστε τὴν Κόρινθον εἶδον οὐ φείγων οὐδὲ διάκων,
ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἐφ' ἑορτῇ Λακωνικῆν, τὰς μάστιγας, ἐπειγόμενος,
20 νῦν δὲ εἰς Ἄργος τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς μυηρόμενος. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τοσοῦτον.
F 94 καὶ κατ' αὐτοῖς δὴ τοῖς λόγοις μιμητῆς | ἂν ἐκείνου, παρ' ὃν
R 19 ἠρχόμεν, γενόμενος, τὸ γὰρ | δὴ ἔρῳ καὶ τοῦτο ἂν ἔπραξεν, εἰπέμην
ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἔχουσιν, οὗς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπίστασθε, σιγᾶσθαι δὲ ἐμοὶ κάλλ-
λιον. οἷος ἂν οὖν ἦν, εἰ ἀνθ' ἂν ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἑμῶν λόγοις
25 ἀναμιμήσκω, τοῦ δεινῶς ἀνεμιμήσκω ταπεινοῦ τινος καὶ πένητος
ρήτορος;

24. Ταῦτ' ἂν οὖν οὕτως εἶ καὶ καλῶς ἐστρατήγηται τῷ δαίμονι.
καὶ προσῆν τὸ οἷς ἐχρῆν ἠγεμόνα ἀκολουθοῦντα μὴδὲν ἰατρῶν ἐν τῷ
σώματι δεδεῆσθαι, ὥστε ἐπόσαι ἡμέραι, τοσοῦτοι πόνοι, πλὴν ὅσας
30 αἱ πανηγύρεις αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐ πολλὰς τινος οἶμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ

2 ἐφ' οὗς suggested F: ἐφ' οἷς F (text) MSS. 12 τοσοῦτον (re) F.
13 τῶν τε MSS.: τε del. F (Re, Anim.). 13 πορευομένων F (conj. Gasda):
πορευομένων Re (MSS.): ἴσχυι κεφαλῶν? F. 17 γε F (conj. Re): re ACPBL:
om. V. 23 (ἂν) alter εἰπέμην inser. F. 30 αἰτῶν F (V): αἰτῶν Re (ACPBL).

21. Thus I took no part in the sallies, skirmishes, martial
affrays, and parades. In fact, even on the occasion of the great
riot, when everyone was involved, even those excused by
their age, I alone stayed in my seat far away from it all,
hearing of the harm which befell each one and remaining
aloof from the blows they dealt each other in their anger,
giving none and receiving none, and with no intention of so
doing, either. Why, a Cretan coming out from his bath once
met me, as I was going in for mine with a companion on either
side of me. Without any provocation at all, he gave one of
them a blow on either side of the face, and never even glanced
at me; for all that, I felt myself the victim of such an outrage
committed before my very eyes. 22. Thus when I was present,
everyone made a point of getting all to behave decently, for
I never so much as touched a ball all the time I was in Athens,
and I kept myself well away from the carousals and the com-
pany of those who raided the houses in the meaner quarters
at night, and I made it quite clear too that the singing girls—
man-eaters, or neighbours perhaps more dangerous than Sirens
—who have wrecked the career of many a man, sang to me in
vain.

23. But to return to my point—from all those disasters I was
preserved by Fortune, and so I saw Corinth neither as defend-
ant nor as plaintiff, but only once when I passed through on
my way to attend the festival of the Whippings at Sparta, and
again when I went to Argos to be initiated in the local mys-
teries. So much for that. Moreover, with regard to my studies,
if I had become an imitator of the man I had set out to attend,
for affection would have ensured this happening, I would
have followed in the steps of individuals I would prefer not to
mention—you know well enough whom I mean. So imagine
what I would now be like, if I reminded you of some wretched
marveling hack instead of those classic writers who are now the
models for my oratory.

24. This, then, was one of the excellent dispositions of Fate.
There was the added fact that, as I followed my proper guides,
I needed no doctor for my bodily ailments. So I applied my-
self to study day in and day out, save those reserved for official
holidays, and they were not many. Since it was agreed that the

ἐδόκει μέγιστον εἶναι θρόνον ἀξίον τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίους κεκρίσθαι,
 καὶ τοῦτο φροντισάσα ἡ Τύχη δέδωκε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. 25. ἦν τις
 ἄρχων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας φρονήματός τε πλείους οἰόμενός τε δεῖν
 ἀμαρτάνεσθαι μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ νεότητος. ἐν δὲ μαρία τῶν νέων
 5 παῖσι μὲν τοὺς ποιμένας, ὡς δὴ κακοὺς ποιμένας, τοὺς δὲ αὐτ'
 ἐκείνων ἀρξούτους ἀνεζήτει τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοσοῦτων ἐκείνων. ἐπηρεῖτ'
 R 20 οὐδ' | Ἀγύπτιος τέ τις εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν πολῆτης τέ τις ἐμὸς, ἀμφω
 F 95 παρόντε. τῆς ἰσορροπῆος δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐτυχίας | ἀπέλανον εἰς πότους
 ἐτη πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι γεγονάσ, ὁ δὲ Ἀγύπτιος πλείω δέκα, τοῦτου δὲ
 10 ἦν ἄτερος πρεσβύτερος, εἶδει δὲ παρεῖναι καλοῦμενον. καὶ τῶ μὲν τὸν
 θυμὸν ὁ χρόνος ἐκοίμιζε, καὶ εἶχον οἱ σοφιστὰι τὰ αὐτῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ
 οἷς ἤρεθον ἐκεκοσμημένῃ. μετὰ δὲ τὰπὶ τοῖτοισ ὑποφίας καὶ οὐκ
 ἦν οὐτ' ἐκείνους οὔτε ἡμῖν καθέουδει, ἀλλ' ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς μὲν τὸ
 ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀγροπνεῖν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἡ τοῦ τι πέσεισθαι τῶν ἀηδέστερων
 15 ἐλπίσ. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθά με πρόσκατο θρασύτητι νεωτέρων ἢ
 Τύχη, κατέχε δὲ αὐτοῦσ καὶ μάλα ἀργούντάσ τε καὶ παρωξυμ-
 μένουσ.
 26. Φέρε δὴ καὶ ἑτέρας οὐκ ἀγεννοῖσ μνησθῶμεν ἀποδείξουσ, ὡσ
 ἦν ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ τῇ Τύχη. ἐμελλέ μοι πεπάσεισθαι τὰ πατρώα, καὶ
 20 τοῦτο ἡ θεός, οἳα δὴ θεός, προηπίστατο, γνώμων δὲ εἶχον ἑτέρα
 τέτταρα ἐτη τοῖσ ἡνωμένοισ προσθεῖσ οὕτωσ Ἀθήνηθεν ἀπελθεῖν,
 R 21 ὡσ τῆσ μοι ψυχῆσ δευμένησ γενέσθαι βελτίονοσ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ | ἐτι
 μάλιστα ἀποχρόντωσ ἐδόκουν τοῖσ ἄλλοισ εἶχειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτοῖσ γε
 ἐφαινόμην ἐμανθῶ, δέοσ δὲ με ἐξετάραττειν, ὡσ περισσάντεσ οἱ
 25 ἐκασταχοῦ | σοφοὶ μωρία βασάνωσ κατενεργεῖν ἐθελήσουσι· δεῖν οὐδ'
 F 96 ἐτι ἐπιζήτοῦντα μανθάνειν. 27. ἐπὶ δὲ ἀργεῖλᾳ τῇ περὶ τῆσ πράσεισ
 Ἀθήνηζε ἠκούση πάντωσ ἀν αὐτοῦ κατέμενον οὐδὲν τι τοῖσ κτηθείσαι
 χρώμενοσ, ὁ δὴ πολλοῖσ τῶν νέων κατέλαβε θρόνον τε οὐ δυνηθέντασ
 ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν πρὸσ γῆράσ τε μετ' ἀφονίασ ἤκοντασ.
 30 μνηχανάται δὴ τι τοῦνδε. Κρισπίνω μάλᾳ ἐχρώμην Ἡρακλέωτη
 νεανίσκω τῶν ἴσων ἐκεῖ μοι διατετριφῶτι χρόνω, ᾧ τὸ δύνασθαι

10 εἶδει δὲ F: εἶδει δὴ Re (MSS.) 14 After τι in text F reads δεῖν (AC):
 δὴ B (and corrections in PVL): del. F (vol. III, p. xv). 23 εἶδοκον F,
 Re (V): εἶδοκει other MSS. 26 ἐτι ἐπιζήτοῦντα F (PB): ἐπιζήτοῦντα Re
 (CA): ἐτι ζήτοῦντα VL.

peak of a man's career was to be deemed worthy of holding
 a professorial chair at Athens, Fortune devised this and granted
 me it in the following manner. 25. An Italian was governor,
 a martinet who demanded that the students there should not
 misconduct themselves at all. As a result of rioting by the
 students, he dismissed their teachers as being no good shep-
 herds, and he began to look around for three others to take
 their places as professors. So an Egyptian and a fellow citizen
 of my own, both resident in Athens, were recommended. My
 professional success matched theirs, though I was but twenty-
 five years old and the Egyptian was ten years older and the
 other older still. So I was bound to accept the invitation. How-
 ever, the governor's temper was soothed in the course of time,
 and the professors retained their posts, but I had been marked
 for distinction by this choice. After this, the atmosphere was
 charged with suspicion: there was no rest either for them or
 for me, for their intrigues caused them sleepless nights, while
 the expectation of undergoing some unpleasant experience
 had the same effect on me. Yet here too Fortune had not
 abandoned me to the misconduct of the students; rather did
 she restrain their heightened tempers and vindictiveness.

26. Now let me mention yet another signal proof that I was
 under the protection of Fortune. My father's estate was going
 to be sold, and the goddess, naturally, had foreknowledge of
 this. My intention was to spend another four years additional
 to those I had already completed and then to leave Athens,
 since I felt that my intellect needed to be improved still
 further: however sufficient my ability might seem to other
 people, it did not seem so to me, and I was harassed by the
 crowd that the pundits, who were everywhere about me, would
 wish to trip me up by exhaustive examination, and so I must
 still continue to research and increase my knowledge. 27. If
 the news of the sale had reached me in Athens, I would cer-
 tainly be there now, making no use at all of my acquired
 learning, a fate that has befallen many students who, unable to
 get out of the professorial chairs there, reach old age with no
 chance of showing their eloquence. However, Fortune devised
 the following remedy. I had a close friend in Crispinus from
 Macedonia, a lad in my own year there who possessed a natural

λέγειν μετὰ μικρῶν ἢ φύσει ἐχαρίσατο πόνων, ἡλικιώτης δὲ ὡν
 ἐμὸς πατέρα με εἶπετο προσορᾶν καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς νόμοις ἐν μειξοσί
 τε καὶ ἐλάττωσι πειθόμενος πατρός οὐ κατήγαγεν ἀρετῆς ἡγου-
 μένου πάντων ἀτῶ βῆμάτων ἐρυθρήματος. οὗτος οἰκάδε καλούμενος
 5 ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου.—θείου τιῶς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπου καὶ πλείω γε θεοῖς ἢ
 ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλήσαντος ἐν γῆ, καίτοι νόμος γε εἴργε καὶ ἦν ἡ δίκη
 R 22 τῷ τολμῶντι θάνατος, ἀλλ' ὅμως σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις | πορευόμενος
 τὸν βίον νόμου τε ποιητοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου δυσσεβοῦς κατεγλα—
 ὡς οὐν ἐκέκλιτο καὶ μένει οὐκέτ' ἦν, ἡ καρδία οἱ καθ' Ὁμηρον
 10 μεγάλα στήθεσσι πάτασσε καὶ μᾶλλον γε ἢ εἰ ἤρχετο πολεμίου
 F 97 συμμίξω· ἐν πολιταῖς γὰρ ἀδ' δεξιοῖς καὶ | περὶ σοφίαν διατρίβουσι
 μέλλον δείξεν τὰ Ἀθήνηθεν ἀγωνίσματα νεανίσκος εὐλαβῆς τε
 καὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων ἄγεστος εἰκόσις εἰδέμηναι. 28. δεόμενος δὲ
 συμμάχου τε καὶ φίλου παραστησομένου τε καὶ θαρρυνούτου ἐγ-
 15 γίνετο οὐκ ἔμελλε δὴ τὸν τοιοῦτον ζητήσῃν ὄντος ἐμοῦ, καὶ εἰπόντος
 δὴ τό τε αὐτοῦ πάθος ὅτου τε χρῆζοι, πρὸς μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ μήκος
 οἶμαι κατώκνου, ἐνίκα δὲ ὅμως ἢ φίλτα τὸν ὄκνον, καὶ ἅμα ἐνεόουσι,
 ὡς εἰ του φαινομένου ἐν συνουσίας ἐπιδεῖς, ἐκ τῆς ἀθῆς ἐπὶ ταῦτα
 R 23 πορεύει | ἀπολογησόμενος. 29. τουτὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῖγος ἀνεβί-
 20 βαζεν, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ εὐνοῖα καὶ Μουσῶν ἀπὸ Πλαταιῶν ἀρξάμενοι
 χρῆσθαι οἷς εἴχομεν ἐπανοίμεοί τε καὶ μακαρίζόμενοι τῶν τε
 Ἀθηναίων εὐεργέται προσαγορευόμενοι διὰ παντός ἐχωροῦμεν ἄστεος,
 καὶ οὐδὲ ὅστις εἰώθει τοῖς διὰ Μακεδονίας ἰοῦσιν ἐπιτιθέμενος
 25 ἐκταράττειν ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν ἐτάραξεν· ἐπέθετο μὲν γάρ, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὁ
 ποιεῖν εἰώθει, πεποιθώς. 30. τούτων οὐδὲν φαιλότερα τὰν τῆ
 Κωνσταντινουπόλει πολλῶν ἀπανταχθὲν παιδεία διαφερόντων ἐκεῖσε
 μετοικούντων, οἱ ἐπῆρουν τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπῆρουντο. διαβίαντες δὲ τοῦ
 Πόντου τὸν αἰχένα, καθ' ὃν πάλα ποτὲ τὴν Ἰῶ λόγος ἐν εἶδει βοῶς,
 F 98 ἐλθόντες τε διὰ Χαλκηδόνος διὰ τε Στακίας τρίτης τε ἐτέρας

5 γε F (conj. Sintenis): τε ACFB: om. Re (V). τοῖς θεοῖς L. 14 θαρ-
 ρυνούτος F, Re (L): θαρρύνοντας other MSS. 15 ἐμελλε τοῦτον MSS.: [τοῦτον]
 F, Re. 19 ἀπολογησόμενος Re (ACFBV): ἀπολογησόμενος L: ἀπολογησόμε-
 conj. F (text).

gift of eloquence. He, though of my own age, looked upon me
 as a father, and in all things great and small he followed my
 precepts, doing nothing to sully the virtues of his house, for
 modesty was his guide in his every word. He was summoned
 home by his revered uncle—revered indeed, for he consorted
 more with gods than with men on earth: despite the law which
 banned it and the death penalty inflicted on any who dared
 do so, he yet went his way through life in the company of the
 gods, and he laughed to scorn that evil law and its sacrilegious
 enactor. As I have said, Crispinus was called home and could
 no longer stay, and, as Homer puts it, 'his heart was sore
 afraid within him'—more so even than if he were going out to
 do battle against the foe, for that skill in declamation which he
 had acquired in Athens he was going to demonstrate among his
 fellow citizens, clever and highly cultured people, and so, being
 a prudent lad and without experience of such an ordeal, he
 was not unnaturally alarmed. 28. He needed an ally and
 friend to stand by him and to be near to encourage him, and
 such a one was not far to seek when I was there. He told me of
 his predicament and of his need, and naturally I, considering
 the length of the journey, hesitated, but friendship overcame
 my hesitation. I also had the notion that, if my performance
 before such an assemblage proved at all inadequate, I would
 excuse myself from any second journey for this purpose.
 29. This was the consideration which set me on my way, and by
 the grace of Hermes and the Muses, from Plataea onwards we
 began to make the most of our accomplishments, and, in every
 town through which we passed, we had praises and blessings
 showered upon us and were entitled benefactors of Athens.
 Nor yet did the Macedonian, whose habit it was to set upon
 travellers passing through Macedonia to their discomfiture,
 cause any discomfort to us. He engaged with us, indeed, but
 went off, himself for once discomfited. 30. Our experience in
 Constantinople was no less pleasant, for the many famous men
 of letters, who come from all over the world to reside there,
 welcomed us and gave and received their meed of praise. We
 crossed the Bosphorus, that neck of the Pontus where once long
 ago, so the story goes, I went in the guise of a heifer, and
 passed through Chalcedon, Astacus, and a third city which,

πλωος μικρᾶς μὲν ἐκ μεγάλης τῆς πρὶν, ἐχούσης δὲ τι παντὸς
 μεγέθους μείζον, γέροντα γλυώττης ἦδονῃ τῷ Νέστορι παρισσούμενον
 καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦτο καλούμενον μάλλον ἢ ὅπερ ὁ πατὴρ τε
 αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἔθεντο, ἐνταῦθα ξενίων τυχῶν, τοῦ Κρισπίνου δὲ
 5 ἄρα κηδεστῆς οὗτος ἦν, ἐρχομαί τε εἰς τὴν Ἑρακλείου, ἣν ἐκτίσεν
 R 24 ἐκεῖνος τοῦ τῶν κάτω θεῶν κρατήσας κυνός, | καὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν
 εἶδον. 31. τετελεσμένον δὴ τῷ Κρισπίνῳ πάντων ὑπὲρ ὧν με
 ἀδίκετο λαβῶν, πάλιν τε ἦν ἀναστρέφον ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κωνσταντινίου
 πόλει καὶ καταβάς εἰς λιμένα τὸν μέγαν ἐγὼ μὲν, ὅστις Ἀθήναζε
 10 πλέοι, περιμῶν ἐπιπλανώμεν, λαβόμενος δὲ μου τοῦ ἱματίου τῶν τις
 διδασκάλων, ἴστε αὐτόν, Νικοκλέα λέγου τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, οὗτός
 με ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς ἐαυτόν, Οὐ τοῖτόν σε, ἔφη, δεῖ πλεῖσαι τὸν
 πλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον. Καὶ τίνα ἂν, ἔφη, ἕτερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γλιχί-
 15 μος ἢ τοῦτον πλέοι; Ὅτι, ὦ μακάριε, παρ' ἡμῖν σε, ἔφη, μένοντα
 χρῆ κυβερνήσαι τῶν πολλῶν τούτων καὶ εὐδαιμόνων τοῦς παῖδας.
 ἔα δὴ τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ πείθου καὶ μήτε σαυτὸν μήτε ἡμᾶς ἀδίκει
 μηδὲ ἀγαθὰ πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα προσόντα φείγε μηδ' ἄρχειν ἐξόν
 F 99 ἀρξόμενος | πλέε' ταυτηρὶ δὲ ἐγὼ σοι παραδώσω τὴν βασιλείαν
 αἰῶνα, τετταράκοντα νέους, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τῆδε ἢ κρητῆς δὲ εἰ
 20 καταβληθείη, πολλὴν τὸν ὄλβον ἐπιρρέοντα ὄφει. καὶ διηγείτο ἃ
 Βημαρχίῳ τῷ σοφιστῇ τελέσειεν ἢ πόλις. εἶδεῖτο δὲ μου κατα-
 πολεμῆσαι δι' ἐμοῦ βουλάμενος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ Κυζίκου μισρόν τε καὶ
 ἀχάριστον, δι' ἐκείνου μὲν τῆς πόλεως μετασχῶν, κρηοῦ δὲ τροφεία
 κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐκείνου. 32. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν ἔφην ποιήσεν καὶ
 R 25 οὐκ ἀπειθήσει, λαθὼν δὲ ἀρχόμεν | πλέων. τοῦ δὲ Αἰγαίου κινήθentos
 τῶν τε ναυτῶν οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τοῦ πελάγους λεγόντων στάς ἐγὼ παρὰ
 τὸν κυβερνήτην ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενον εἶχοναι Νηρεὶ τε καὶ ταῖς
 Νηρέως κόραις, νύξ δὲ ἦν ἐν ἣ τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα παρήν, καὶ ἀνίσχει
 ἥλιος διὰ νεφῶν προσβάλλων τὴν θάλασσαν, σημεῖον μὲν ἀγριωτέρων
 30 πνευμάτων, καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἅπαντες ἐτίλλομεν, ἦν δὲ ἄρα τι τῶν

28 δ4 F: τε Re (MSS).

though small in comparison with its former greatness, pos-
 sessed something greater than mere size, since there lived there
 an old man, Nestor's double in the sweetness of his eloquence
 and therefore called by that name rather than by the one
 which his parents had given him. There we were duly enter-
 tained, for he was father-in-law to Crispinus, and so I arrived
 at Heraclea, the town that Heracles founded after he had
 overcome the hound of the gods of the underworld, where
 I saw the route by which he had returned to earth. 31. After
 performing for Crispinus everything for which he had taken
 me, I was in the process of returning and, in Constantinople,
 was down at the Great Harbour going the rounds with in-
 quiries about sailings to Athens. There I felt a tug at my gown.
 It was one of the teachers there—you know him, Nicocles the
 Spartan. He turned me round to face him, and, 'That is not
 the tack for you', said he. 'There is a different course for you to
 take.' 'Oh! and what is that, when I am anxious to get back to
 Athens?' I replied. 'Stay with us here, my dear fellow,' he
 said, 'and be master of the sons of our many wealthy citizens.
 To the deuce with your ship! Just you listen to me, and don't
 put a spoke in your wheel or in mine. Don't try to dodge the
 many great rewards that will come your way. When you can
 be in charge yourself, why sail off to be under someone else?
 Here is your domain, and I will hand it over to you inside
 twenty-four hours—forty pupils, the cream of the place! Build
 on these foundations, and you'll see—you are a made man.'
 Then he went on to tell me of the fee the city paid to the
 sophist Bemarchius. This request of his was occasioned by his
 desire to bring down, through my efforts, a nasty, graceless
 fellow from Cyzicus who had become a citizen through his
 assistance and then had bitten the proverbial hand that fed
 him. 32. I agreed and accepted his suggestion, but quietly
 slipped away by ship. The Aegean was stormy and the sailors
 said they had never known a sea like it. I stood by the helms-
 man who was overcome by this plight, and offered a prayer to
 Nereus and his daughters. It was night when these terrors
 encompassed us about, and when the sun rose, his rays struck
 the sea through a bank of clouds—a sign of worse weather to
 come. We all tore our hair, but there was, after all, some

εὐχῶν ἔργον, καὶ πάντα τὰ λυποῦντα δέξωμαι ἐλλυτο θεῶν θαλαττίων
 ἡμερούνην τὴν θάλατταν. 33. ἔπλεον δὲ μένειν ὑποσχόμενος οὐδ'
 ψεύστης οὐδ' ἀπατεῖν τις ἂν οὐδὲ τῷ παρακρούεσθαι τερπόμενος,
 ἀλλὰ ἔρκον ἔμπεδον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν Ἀθήνηθεν ἐπεποιήμην ἔξοδον,
 F 100 ἔπάνοδον ἔχοντα· οὐκ οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χρῆσθαι | ἔσεσθαι τῇ ἐπιτηδεύσει
 προσομιῶν ἢ ἐπιτοκίας. διὰ ταῦτα ἔπλεον. ἔθλων δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτοκίας
 κήρας ἐπ' ὀρχήματος δικύκλου χεμῶνος ἀρχομένου τῶν τῆς ἄρας
 R 26 ἀεχόμενος ἀναρῶν ἡλιανον, ἔπος αἰθῆς λόγῳ | προσθεῖναι ἔργον.
 34. τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ νέων τε ἐπιστατεῖν καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἔθνεσι τῆς
 10 τῶν λόγων ἀπεργασίας οὐκ ὀλίγων δημιουργηθέντων καὶ ὅλων ἀν
 τοῦ νῦν ἀποδελαικα σχήματος ἐν ἐκεῖνο αἰτιατέον, τὴν τῷ φίλῳ μὲν
 ἐν κοινῶν τῆς ἐξόδου δεδομένην χάριν, τὸν ἐμὸν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξω
 τόπους ἀφελούσων φόβον. εἰ γὰρ αὐτὴ τότε με ἐξήγαγεν ὁ δαίμων,
 ἐκράτει ἂν τὸ ἀεὶ δεῖν μέλλειν. 35. ἦδη μὲν καὶ ἄλλον τινα ἀνθρώ
 15 πων δι' ὁδοῦ τραχείας ἐπὶ γλυκὶ | τέρμα προήγαγεν ἢ θεός, ἀτὰρ οὐκ
 R 27 καὶ ἐμὲ τότε. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπέβαλον εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ὄρω τινα Καπ
 παδοίκην ἦκοντα ἐπὶ θρόνον βασιλέως πέμποντος, καὶ γὰρ ἐτήγγαγεν
 ἢ βουλή τὸν ἄνδρα ἡτηκῖα, βήτορα ἄκρον ἐξ οἰμαί τινος ἀγῶνος
 ἐνός αἰτησαμένη. ὁ μὲν δὲ σεμνὸς σεμνῶς εἰσῆκει, γνοῖς δὲ ἐγὼ
 20 παρά του γέροντος, ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως καὶ ἐφ' ὅτω
 F 101 παρεῖη, | πλοηγὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῖς εἰρημένους ἦεν παρ' ἐκείνου, ὅς μοι
 προξενήκει τὴν πόλιν, ὡς δὲ ἀνέμνησα τῶν λόγων, Πάϊς εἰ, ἔφη,
 μάλα παῖς, εἰ δὴ ὅπως ἐστὶ καιρὸς οὐκ οἶσθα καὶ ταῦτα ἦκον εἰς
 Δελφοῖς. ὑποσχέσων δὲ ἐκείνου, ὅς τῷ πλῆ κεκίνηκας, αὐτὸν τε
 25 σὲ μνησθῆναι μάταιον ἕτερον τε ἀναμνησκειν. πληρῆ ταύτην δευ
 R 28 τέρα πληρῆς | ἀπεχούρων Ἀθηνῶν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλπίδος ἀμαρτῶν.
 36. ἦν δὲ τις αὐτόθι Διονύσιος, ἀνὴρ Σικελιώτης, οὗτω μέγας τε καὶ
 δυνατὸς ἔκ τε τῶν ἐν δίκαις ἄλλων ἔκ τε τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐπαίνων ἔκ
 τε φιλοξενίας ἔκ τε τοῦ βαδῆως τὸν λυποῦντα ἐπικυλῆζειν, ὥστε

9 οὐτόν F, Re (B, corr. in P): τοῦτο ACVL. ἐπιστατεῖν ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἔθνεσι
 καὶ F. 14 μέλλειν MSS.: μένειν F (Re, Anit.). 15 ἀτὰρ F (VL):
 αὐτὰρ Re (ACPB). 25 ταύτη F, Re (PBVL): ταῦτα (AC).

result to my prayers, for the gods of the sea calmed the deep
 and all our troubles were quickly resolved. 33. Now, when
 I sailed away after promising to stay, I was no liar or trickster,
 nor did I take any joy in deception. I was bound by oath to
 return, and that was the condition on which I had set out
 from Athens. To break my word did not seem the fitting pre
 lude to a teaching career, and that was the reason why I sailed
 away. So I returned and kept my word, but in early winter,
 despite the inclement weather, I travelled by fast carriage
 back to Constantinople, once again to put my words into
 effect. 34. This then must be accounted the sole cause of my
 career as a teacher and of the production of the many orations
 I have composed in so many provinces, in short, of the fruits of
 the state I now enjoy,—that I did a friend a good turn by ac
 companying him upon his going down, and so rid myself of
 my fear of places elsewhere. In fact, had not heaven sent me
 forth at that time, the necessity of making the break would
 ever be with me. 35. Other men before me have been ad
 vanced by Fortune safe to port after passage through stormy
 seas, and so she treated me then. As soon as I entered the city
 square, I caught sight of a Cappadocian taking his seat, ap
 pointed by the Emperor. The city council had asked for him,
 requesting his appointment as a first-class orator merely upon
 the result of a single competition, I am sure. There he stood
 in all his glory, and when I learned from some old fellow who
 he was and where he had come from, and of the manner and
 purpose of his coming, I was stricken to the heart at the tale,
 and approached him who had recommended my coming to
 the city. I reminded him of his offer, but he replied, 'You
 really are a simpleton if, for all your learning, you have not the
 wit to take time by the forelock. It is of no use for you to recall
 those promises or to remind anyone else of them. You put an
 end to them by sailing away.' Shaken by this second blow,
 I began to take my leave, cheated both of Athens and of my
 high hopes. 36. But there was in Constantinople a Sicilian
 named Dionysius who was great and influential because of
 his successes in the courts, his reputation in office, his ready
 hospitality and his ability to bring to heel any who fell foul of
 him—so much so that it paid any governor to be on good

ελυσιτλει τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι χρῆσθαι Διονυσίῳ. οὗτος ὦν τε εἴρη
 εἰδὼς ἤμικα ἐπετρέπευε Σύρους, τῷ τε Νικοκλεῖ τούτῳ τῶν πρὸς
 ἐμὲ πρότερον συνεφαψάμενος λόγων ἕκκειτο τρικαῦτα ἀσθενῶν, φη
 δὴ μάλιστα ἐβλαπτόμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ βάρσας τὸν ἅπαντα ἤκουσε λόγον
 5 καὶ ὡς χεμαζοίμενον, δυοῖν γὰρ ἕνα οὐκ εἴναι κρατεῖν, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν
 Ἡρακλέα τὴν παρομίαν λέγειν, ἑαυτῷ τοῦτ' ἔφη μελήσειν, μὴ
 χρεῖται δὲ ἀθυμεῖν ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος προσέθηκεν, ὡς ὑπ'
 ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἂν ποτε τρόπαιον ἀθυμούντων σταθεῖ.

37. Τρεπίμεθα δὴ πρὸς τὰ ἀγωνίσματα, καὶ εἶδει μὲν ἕτερον τὸν
 10 ταῦτα διηγουμένον εἶναι, | περὶ ἑτέρου γὰρ ἂν ἕτερος ἀποκεκαλυμ-
 R 29 μένως διήξει, λόγοι τε ὅσοι | παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ οἷτινες τὰς μορφάς,
 F 102 νικωντίας τε καὶ νικωμένους, ὅστις τε ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐφειλικυμένους,
 καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἐλάττωμα εἰς τὸν στέφανον τὸ μὴ τῶν βασιλέως
 εἶσθαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἡ τροφή παρ' ἐκείνου πολλή, πατέρες δὲ ἡμῶν
 15 τῶν φοιτητῶν βίβσκον ἄλλοι ἄλλους παρακαλοῦντες, καὶ ἐν οὐ πολ-
 λαῖς ἡμέραις ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ὁ χορὸς ἐπιρροῇ τε τῶν ἔξωθεν
 καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἑδῶν ἀποστάσεσιν, οἱ τε ἐπτοημένοι περὶ τὰς τῶν ἵππων
 ἀμύλλας καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς θέαματα πρὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων
 μετερρηγέσαν σπουδὰς δόγματά τε ἐγράφετο παρὰ τοῦ κρατούντος
 20 ἐπαγγέλλοντα τὴν ἐμὴν αὐτοῦ μονήν. ἦν γὰρ δὴ δέος μὴ ἐν ξουσία
 τοῦ ἀπαύρειν ὦν μνησθεῖν τῆς ἐμαντοῦ. 38. τῷ μὲν δὴ σοφιστῶν
 ἐπειθείτην, ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ ἀνθήσας ἀρχὴν, ὁ δὲ ἀπρηθικός· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 οὐδὲ παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι, ὁ δὲ ἐξεπεπτώκει. ἐπειθείτην μὲν
 οὖν καὶ τὰλλα ἐλοιδορείσθην βίαιον, πλεονέκτην, ἀκόρεστον, οὐδαμοῦ
 25 στήναι δυνάμενον, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναιοχνητούντες. οὐ γὰρ δὴ χειρῶν
 R 30 ἔργον ἦσαν οἱ ἀφιστάμενοι τῶν νέων, ἀλλ' ἕτερον | τὸ πείθον. ὥσπερ
 F 103 οὖν τοὺς καλοὺς οὐκ ἂν γράψαιτο | τις βίαιον, εἰ πολλοὶ σφῶν ἐρῶνεν,
 οὕτως οὐδ' ἡ ἐν λόγοις ὥρα τὸ τῆς μαγνήτιδος πράττουσα πονηρῶν
 ἂν τὸν πατέρα τῆς ὥρας ἐλέγξει.

39. Οὐμῶντοιαι δὴ τοῖς ὠδε πεπραγμένοις ἔρχεται Βημέρηχος

2 τούτων conj. Re.
Re (MSS).

24 ελοιδορείσθην F (conj. Gasda): ελοιδορείσθον

terms with Dionysius. He had known my family when he had
 held office in Syria and had been associated with Nicocles in
 the previous overtures to me, but at this time he had fallen ill,
 which was a great misfortune for me. Upon his recovery he
 heard the whole tale and of the straits in which I now found
 myself, that by myself I could not get the better of two men—
 not even Heracles in the proverb could do that—and so he
 told me to leave things to him and to cheer up. He quoted
 Plato in reply, that no trophies are ever raised by men
 downcast.

37. So I turned to the public competitions. Really, someone
 ought to be telling this story, for he would have no
 personal axe to grind. He would recount the number and the
 type of orations each contestant made, who won and who lost,
 who attracted the favour of the city, and how it was no detri-
 ment towards gaining the crown not to be supported by the
 Imperial exchequer. The others, in fact, got maintenance in
 plenty from it, but the fathers of my pupils supported me, one
 encouraging another, and in a few days my class had grown to
 more than eighty by the influx of students from elsewhere and
 by the defection of those within the city. People who had been
 all of a flutter about the chariot races or the theatrical per-
 formances had changed to a sudden interest in rhetoric, and
 a decree was drafted by the Emperor enjoining me to stay in
 the capital, for they were afraid that, if I were at liberty to
 leave, I would bethink me of home. 38. So both the professors
 were full of chagrin, one because he had never enjoyed any
 success at all, the other because he had lost it, for the first had
 never even had the chance of pre-eminence and the second had
 been ejected from it. As I have said, they were full of chagrin,
 and they proceeded to heap abuse upon me, calling me
 a greedy, insatiate, restless disturber of the peace and other
 such insulting names. Yet it was through no deed of violence of
 mine that their students were deserting them; the inducement
 was something different. You would not prosecute men of good
 looks for rape if many people transferred their affections to
 them: in the same way the attraction of perfect oratory would
 not prove the author of that perfection to be a rogue.

39. So while they were moaning and groaning at their

σύμμαχος μὲν ἰβδόμῳ, μάλα δὲ τὸν Κωνσταντῖον ἡρηκῶς ἀνὴρ καὶ
τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τοὺς ἀμνήτους ψόφῳ τε καὶ κτύπῳ παρανόμων
ῥημάτων δόξαν ἐπὶ λόγοις βουβαλέου λαβῶν φίλοις τε τοῖς ἀπὸ
R 31 ἐκεῖνων | ἐτετεύχιστο τῶν χρόνων, δευροὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ κῆβοι καὶ τὰ
5 μέγχι μέθης συμπόσια φίλιας ἰσχυρὰς κεράσαι. διέβη μὲν δὴ τὸν
πορθμὸν κυδιῶων τε καὶ ὑψοῦ ἀκέρη ἔχων κρότω τε ἐπιρμένους καὶ
οἷς εὐργάαστο χρήμασι, λόγον ἕνα μέγχι Νεῖλου δεικνύων τὸν τε
ἐναντία τοῖς θεοῖς τεταγμένον ἐγκομίζων, αὐτὸς θύων θεοῖς,
διδάσκων τε καὶ διηροῦμενος, οἷον αὐτῷ τὸν νέων ἐγείρει Κωνσταν-
10 τιος. διέβη μὲν δὴ μειδιῶν, ὡς δὴ οὐδενὸς αὐτὸν ὑπομενοῦντος, ἀλλ'
ἀμαχεῖ τὰ τε αὐτοῦ κομιοῦμενος καὶ καταδύσων αὐτὸν τε ἐμὲ καὶ
ὅ τι ἐμοὶ συνέπει. 40. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐς αὐτὸν
ἐπάνοδον γενέσθαι τῶν νέων ὠδύνα καὶ ἐκέειτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἔπειτα
ἐμοῦ λόγον εἰς σύλλογον εἰσαγαγόντος παρῶν τε καὶ ἀκροῦμενος
15 οὐχ ὡς ἤδιστα διετέθη, τῶν φίλων δὲ οἱ παρανοούτων βροτῶν καὶ |
F 104 ἀποκρίπτεν λόγῳ λόγον γράφαντα περὶ ἄνπερ ἐγώ, πάντως δ' ἂν
R 32 με τῇ πρώτῃ καταστῆραι προσβολῇ, πλὴν εἰ μή|που τὴν δυνάμιν ἦν
εἶχεν ἀποδόλεκε, τοιοῦτοις ἀναπτερωθεὶς ῥήμασι μὲν ὑστερον ἦκε
κομίζων λόγον, ὅς ἐκεῖνον ᾧ προσπολέμει καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπαινού-
20 μενον θαυμαστότερον ἀπέφηνεν. 41. ἡττημένος δὴ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἂν
θεοῦ προειπόντος ἐλπίσας ἦκεν ἀμαχοῦμενος τὴν ἦτταν τῷ τὸ
πολύ χρόσιον πεπαιγκῶτι λόγῳ, καὶ διεξιόντος αὐτοῦ κίονας δὴ τινος
καὶ κενγκίδας ὀδοῦς τε ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τεμνομένης ἐμπιπτούσας οὐκ
οἶδ' ὅποι, βλέποντες εἰς ἀλλήλους οἱ καθήμενοι, συνεῖναι αὐτὸς
25 ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔχων, νεύμασι τοῖς ἀφεστηκῶτας ἡρώτων εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ
πάθοιεν, καὶ ταῦτο τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγὼ παθῶν σαφηνείας δόξαν
R 33 οἷς ἐθορύβων ἐπειρώμεν περιάπτειν τῷ λόγῳ χαρίζομενος | τῇ
φάλαγγι. 42. δευτέρῳ δὴ τούτῳ τρώσας αὐτὸν λόγῳ λόγον ἐμὸν
ἔτερον φανῆσαι διακαλίσει τὸν ἀρχοντα πείσας οἱ χαρίσασθαι τὸ μὴ

4 τῶν om. F, by mistake. 17 καταστῆραι F, Re (Anim.): καταστῆραι Re
(MSS). 23 ἐμπιπτούσας (re) F.

flight, after six months Bemarchius came to their aid. He had
been a staunch supporter of Constantius and the profane crew
about him, and by the rattle and clatter of his blasphemous
oratory he had gained the reputation of a vigorous speaker,
and he had hedged himself about with the protection of the
friends he had made at that time, for gambling games and
drunken orgies are fine things to cement strong friendship.
So he crossed the Bosphorus, 'glorying in his might, with head
held high', uplifted by the applause and the wealth he had
amassed. He had travelled as far as Egypt, delivering just one
oration, in which, although he personally was a worshipper of
the gods, he spoke in praise of him who had set himself up
against them, and discoursed at length upon the church Con-
stantius had built for him. Anyway, over he came all smiles,
his idea being that none would withstand him and that he
would gain his objective without a struggle and shipwreck me
and all my supporters. 40. First of all, the fact that no students
returned to him pained him and cut him to the quick. Then,
being present when I introduced an oration to a select audience
he listened in no very sweet frame of mind. His friends
urged him to loose his thunders, to write a speech on the
theme I had chosen and to put mine in the shade: he would
surely lay me low at the first encounter, unless perhaps he had
lost any of his former ability. Elated by such remarks, he came
the following month with a speech which proved that mine,
which he was attacking, was, for all the approval it had gained,
even more admirable. 41. After this reverse which he would
not have expected once in a blue moon, he came again to
avenge his defeat with the speech which had made his fortune.
He rambled on and on about pillars, trellised courts, and
intercrossing paths which came out heaven knows where.
Meanwhile, the audience looked at one another, and when
not a single one of them knew what he was talking about, they
nodded and signed to those who were some distance away to
inquire whether they were in the same boat. My own feelings
were exactly the same as the rest, but, in order to oblige his
company, I tried, by my applause, to make it appear that his
dissertation was a model of lucidity. 42. Having injured him-
self by this second speech, he took pains to prevent another

ἀφικέσθαι μοι. ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὖλος καὶ πεισθῆναι τῷ. τῆς τοίνυν
 πόλεως τοσοῦτον μείζονος τάμα ἐλομένης, ὅσπερ μάλλον εὐρα τῶν
 F 105 δικαίων ἀποστερούμενον, | εἶδεν ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος καὶ πρὸς τῷ
 Νικοστράτῳ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους καταφρονῶν, ὅτι λόγους μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι
 R 34 παρέλθοι λόγους οὐ μᾶλλον γὰρ ἢ ποσὶ πόδας τοῦ ἐμοῦς | τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 5 μία δὲ ἀπαλλαγὴ κυρία, εἰ μικρὴ εἶναι. 43. εἰ μὲν δὲ φαρμάκῳ οὖλος
 ἦν ἀνεργεῖν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔκπωμα ἦκεν ἂν, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχων γοήτων
 ἤττησθαι περιῶν ἐτραγῶδει· ξυνεῖναι μὲ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τυραννοῦντι τῶν
 10 ἄστρων, δι' ἂν ἐκεῖνον τὸν μὲν εἶ, τὸν δὲ κακῶς ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπων,
 ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις διὰ τῶν δορυφόρων· τούτου δὲ εἶναι
 τὸν ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖ βιβλιογράφοις ταῖς πλευραῖς, Κρητὸς τινας ἐπει-
 15 κοὺς πολλὰ τῇ δεξιᾷ καμίντος Ἀθήνησι τε καὶ πανταχοῦ. 44. γνοὺς
 δέ, ὡς μόνος μὲν ἰλακτῶν οὐδὲν περαῖνοι, δεοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συμ-
 μαρίας, εἰρίσκει πόνου χωρὶς τοῦ συλληγομένου πρὸς τοῖς σοφι-
 20 σταῖς τοῦ ἀμφὶ τοῦ ποιητῆς. ἐποίει δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦς συνεργοὺς λῆπτη
 τε καὶ φέβος καὶ φθόνος· τοῖς μὲν σοφιστῆς πάντα, τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ
 τὸ φθονεῖν. χρόνται δὲ καιρῷ τῇ τοῦ δήμου μανίᾳ, ἦν ὁ μὲν ἄρχων
 τραυματίας φείγων τῷ Περικτῶν σὺζεται τείχει, συλλαβόντες δὲ
 R 35 τοῖς συκοφαντοῦμενοις | οἱ συνωμοτῆς καθεῖραντες εἶχον ἀθάνατον
 20 ἔσεσθαι τῆν | σπᾶσιν οἰόμενοι. 45. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτῶν ἐγένοντο οἱ
 F 106 παραφρονησαντες, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἐπανῆκεν, ὁ δεσμὸς δὲ ἦν παρὰ τοῦς
 νόμοις, ὁ μὲν, ὡς ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμέλλε βοηθήσειν ἀντιον
 καὶ ὡς οὐ σμικρὰν λήφοιτο δίκην, παρεδίηλον, τῶν δὲ ἐν τρέμῳ τε
 25 καταστάτων καὶ ἀλλήλοισ ἀτιωμένων, οἷα ἐβούλευσας, ὡ δαίμων.
 περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξέβαλες τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρέδω-
 κας ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ Λιμενίῳ τὸ ἄστυ, συνωμοτῆ μὲν οὐκ ἂν φαίην,
 ἀνωμότῳ δὲ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βουλομένῳ θεὸς μὲν γὰρ ἤθελεν εἶναι
 δοκεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ σπουδαῖον ἐνόμιζον ἀνθρώπων, ᾧ γε ἦν ἢ

11 βιβλιογράφου F (MSS.): βιβλιογράφου Re. 13 οὐδὲν ἂν Re (VL).
 15 αὐτῷ F (VL): αὐτῷ Re (ACPB). τοῖς συνεργοῦς inser. F (VL). 18 τῷ
 τῶν II. Mor., Re, who brackets [τω].

speech of mine from appearing, for he got the governor, who
 was the sort of fellow to follow anyone's lead, to do him a good
 turn by not attending my declamations. However, the city
 took my side, and all the more so since it saw me robbed of
 my due. Then our fine fellow realized that he had bitten off
 more than he could chew, for he could not outstrip me in his
 oratory any more than he could actually outpace me: there
 was only one thing for it—to put an end to me. 43. If he could
 have done away with me by poison, he would have got at my
 drink, but, finding this impossible, he went around with the
 fairy tale that he had been worsted by magic. I was intimate,
 so he said, with an astrologer who controlled the stars and
 through them could bring help or harm to men—just like
 a tyrant with his bodyguard: the proof of all this was to be got
 from the hide of my copyist, a Cretan and a decent fellow
 whose hand had served me well both at Athens and elsewhere.
 44. Yet he realized that he was getting nowhere by setting up
 this howl all by himself; he required a gang of his own and
 he found people ready enough to take up the cudgels among
 schoolmasters and professors. Chagrin, fear, and envy made
 them his accomplices—all these emotions in the case of the
 professors, envy in the case of the rest. They made the most of
 the opportunity afforded by popular riots, when the proconsul
 fled wounded and gained the protection of the walls of Perin-
 thus and the conspirators arrested any who were denounced to
 them and kept them clapped in jail as if the disturbances
 would last for ever. 45. When the rioters had regained their
 senses and the governor had returned, my confinement was
 clearly illegal. He let it be known that on the following day he
 intended to support the law and myself, and that the punish-
 ment he would inflict would be a severe one. They were all
 in a panic and beginning to make accusations one against
 another—when what did heaven dispose! About midnight
 Alexander was deposed from his office, and at daybreak con-
 trol of the city was handed over to Limenius. I would not go
 so far as to assert that he was a member of the conspiracy
 against me, but, even if he were not, his attitude was the same
 as theirs. He assumed the airs of the almighty, but I did not re-
 gard him seriously even as a man—his only serious aim was to

σπουδῇ γελασθήναι. 46. οὗτος πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθήμενος
 ἤτησε παρὰ τῆς Τύχης εἰς τοσοῦτον τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐν ὅσῳ γένοιτ' αὐτῷ
 αὐτῷ κτεῖναι ἐμέ. λαβόντος οὖν τὸ δικάζειν ἔμενον ὁ ταῦτα εἰδὼς
 ἐγὼ πιστεύων εἶναι τι τάληθές, τοῦ γραφομένου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος νοῦν γὰρ
 5 ἔχων. τῶν ὁμομοκότων οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἐκεῖνον λόσιον ἔμμενον
 τεῖοντο τοῖς δεδεμένοις, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνον παραβάτος τὸν περὶ
 ταῦτα νόμον, ὁ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου τοὺς κολακεύοντας αἰδοῦμενος οὐ
 διάκοντα ὄραν, οὐ φεύγοντα καλέσας ἀρχὴν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς κρίσεως
 τοῦ ταλαιπύρου τὴν βάσανον, ἐν ἧ' πρῶτον ἤκουσα βασανιστῆς
 10 ἀπειπεῖν. 47. πρίων δὴ τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ | τοῦ γε δευτέρου σώματος
 ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἀξιώματι, πῦρ ἠπέλει τῷ κατατετηγημένῳ φάσκαυ
 F 107 οὐ λήξειν πρὸ τῶν αὐτῶ φίλων ῥημάτων. καὶ ἅμα ἐμοὶ | διὰ τοῦ
 παρέδρου παρήγει πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λακτίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπελθεῖν εἰ μὴ
 θανατήν. ἔδοξέ μοι πολλῆς ἀποπληξίας εἶναι τῆν ἄλλως ἀποθανεῖν
 15 καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ νίκῃ τῇ διὰ τῆς βασάνου. 48. προσπαρεκάλει δέ με
 καὶ τὸ χείρονος ἄμεινον ἀντιλήθεσθαι χωρίον, τὴν Νικομήδους
 πόλιν, λόγων τροφὸν τῆς τρυφῆς βαρυνομένης. ὁ δὲ κάκειν ἔκλειε
 μοι γράμμασιν, οὐ μὲν εἰς ἅπαν ἦγον γὰρ ἐκεῖσε διὰ τῆς Διονύσου.
 Νικαίας γὰρ οἱ οἰκίτροες ἐπειδὴ ἦσθοντο τὴν ἐξοδον, πρεσβείας
 20 παρ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐκάλουν ἅπαν ἐπαίνοις ἐν ψηφίσμασι χρῶμενοι.
 προσκνήσας δὴ τὸν Διόνυσον εἰπόμεν καὶ αἰθῆς ὦν ἐν νέοις τε καὶ
 λόγοις ψηφίσμασιν ἑτέροις ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Δήμητρος ἡγήμην τοῦ τῶν
 Βιθυνῶν ἄρχοντος δεηθεῖσαι χαριζομένου. 49. ἐδέοντο δὲ οὐκ ἀπορία
 σοφιστοῦ πολίτης γὰρ δὴ ἦν τις σφίσι τῶν ἐπαινομένων, ὁ δὲ λόγων
 25 μὲν οὐκ ἀείριος εἶχε, θυμῷ δ' ἔδοῦλε καὶ ποτε τὴν | βουλήν
 R 37 ἅπαν δούλους τῶν αὐτοῦ πατέρων ἐτόλμιζε προσεῖπεν. τοῖς δὲ
 ὑπὲρ δίκης βουλευομένοις καὶ ὅτω χρή τὸν ὑβριστὴν μετελθεῖν,

12 αὐτῷ F (L): αὐτῷ Re (other MSS).

play the fool. 46. Before taking up his office, he sat in the city
 square and prayed Fortune that his tenure would last at least
 long enough for him to be able to kill me. When he took
 control of the case, I stayed on, though I knew all this well
 enough, for I was confident that truth would prevail, and not
 without reason since there was none to indict me. The mem-
 bers of the cabal who approved of him were full of forebodings
 that the prisoners would be released, since he would not trans-
 gress the law on this matter, but he had more respect for his
 flatterers than for the law, and though he found no prosecutor
 and summoned no defendant, he set the case in motion with
 an examination by torture of the poor fellow, and it was here
 for the first time that I heard of the torturers giving up from
 sheer exhaustion. 47. He gnashed his teeth in anger and,
 balked of a second victim by reason of my standing, he
 threatened the poor devil with death at the stake, swearing
 that he would never give up until he had got a statement that
 satisfied him. At the same time, he warned me, through his
 assistant, not to kick against the pricks, but to be off if I wanted
 to save my skin. I thought it sheer lunacy to die to no purpose,
 especially after my triumph in the matter of the examination.
 48. I had also received an invitation to change my position
 for the better, at Nicomedia, and to exchange a city that was
 full of self-indulgence for one which was the nurse of eloquence.
 Through his dispatches he tried to bar me from there too, but
 he did not succeed entirely. I got there by way of Nicaea, the
 city of Dionysus. The inhabitants of Nicaea found out that
 I had left the capital, and sent envoys to invite me there, with
 all kinds of complimentary references in their decrees; so
 I paid my respects to Dionysus and went with them, and I was
 once more engaged with my students and my studies when,
 by another decree, I was invited to Demeter's city, Nicomedia,
 the governor of Bithynia having graciously acceded to their
 request. 49. This request was not due to any lack of a teacher.
 One of their own citizens was a sophist of repute, by no means
 without skill in rhetoric, but the slave of a passionate temper,
 who was once so bold as to call the whole town council the
 slaves of his forefathers. They came to consider a fitting punish-
 ment and to decide how this upstart should be dealt with, and

ἀθανάτω τις εἶπε κακῶ, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων οὐ μακρῶν ἐσομένων
 ἐραμένων δὲ τί τοῦτο εἴη τὸ ἀθάνατον αὐτῶ κακῶ, ἐμὲ τε ἔφη κα
 F 108 τοὺς | ἀπ' ἑμοῦ τοῖς ἀντιτέχνους μόχθους. 50. ἐδέδιεν μὲν οὖν μὴ μ
 ἐντυχῶν δάκην, φυλαξάμενος δὲ λέγων σιγῶντα ἐτρεψάμην ὄντα μ
 5 οὐδὲ πρότερον ταχύν, ἀργῆ δὲ βραδύτερος ἐγεγόνει. τῶ δὲ ἀρ
 κρεῖττον ἦν, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἀφικόμεν, σιγῶν ἢ λέγων οὐχ ὡς οὐ κακῶ
 ἰφαιώνων, δεῖ γὰρ τό γε ἀληθὲς τιμᾶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶ φόβους τυδ
 ἐντεκν, ὡς δὴ γοητεύοντο, τοῖς δόγμασι τὴν μνήμην ἐξέπληγτε κα
 ἀπῆει πᾶν μὲν ὁρῶν, πᾶν δὲ φθγγόμενος, ὥστε ὑπ' ἀλλήλοις κρύπτει
 10 σθαι τῶν διαλυθέντων πολλοῖς, μὴ ζῶν ἐτι προσπειῶν τῶν διαρ
 πάσαι. |
 R 38 51. Τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν χρόνον, ἔστι δὲ ἔτη πέντε, τοῦ παντὸς δι
 βεβλίωκα, ταυτὶ δὲ σχεδὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἕαρ ἢ ἄνθος προσπειῶν οὐδ' ἀ
 οὔτως εἶην συμμέτρως προσειρηκός. ἔχω μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἕτερα πέντε
 15 καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα τοσαῦτα ἐπαύουσαι, τὸ νικᾶν δὲ τοῦτον ἔστι τῶν
 ὑπὸ τῇ Δήμητρι, νικούντων τοῖς ἅπασιν, ὑγιείᾳ σώματος, εὐθυμίας
 F 109 ψυχῆς, ἐπιδείξειεν πυκνότητι, τοῖς | ἐν ἐκάστη πηδύμασι, ὀρμηαῖς
 νέων, ἐπιδοῖαι νέων, νυκτερινοῖς πόνοις, μεθμερινοῖς ἰδρώσι, τιμαῖς,
 εὐνοῖαι, φιλτρῶν. 52. τῶν δ' ἐκεῖ εἰ τις ἤρετο ὄντινόν, ὅτῳ μεγίστη
 20 καλλωπίζοντο ἢ πόλις, τὰς ἐμὰς ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ διατριβὰς ἀκοῦσαι,
 ἐκεῖνη γὰρ αὐτὴ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἤκουσα μεγέθους τε καὶ κάλλους τῶν
 τε ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα δίδωσιν, οὐδενὸς ἂν ἐν
 μνήμῃ μεγαλαυχίας πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐμνημόνευσει, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 R 39 εὐδαιμονίαν | τῆς πλησίον πόλεως τοῦτο ἀντεξήγεν, ὡς ἡ μὲν
 25 εὐθροῖτο θεάτρων ἡδοναῖς, αὐτῇ δὲ φορᾷ παιδείας καὶ ὡς ἡ μὲν
 οὐδὲ φυλάξει παρὸν εἰδείη καλόν, αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸν κτήσασθαι.
 53. ἐγὼ δὲ εἴφευ ἀνδρὶ κατακεκλιμένῳ πρὸς πηγάς τε διαφανῶν
 ἰδάτων καὶ ὑπὸ δένδρων παντοίας ὑπεραιρουόντων χάριτας ἔστε
 φανωμένῳ τε καὶ συνεχῶς εὐωχομένῳ κατὰ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐκεῖνον,

10 προσπειῶν τῶν F (BV). Conj. Re, Wyttenbach, Cobet: προσπειῶν τῶν
 CIL. διαρπάσαι MSS.: διαρπάσαι Re (Anim.): διαρπάσαι conj. F (text).
 19 ἐκεῖ inser. Herwerden; approved F (vol. iii). 20 ἢ F: ἂν Re (MSS).
 27 re inser. F (BV).

one member suggested that he be visited with endless woe, for
 none of the ordinary methods would last long enough. When
 they inquired what form this was to take, in answer he spoke
 of me and my labours against my rivals. 50. My fear was that
 he would cross my path and do me harm, but I took pre-
 cautions in my speeches and caused him to retire silenced, for
 though he had not been particularly smart before, his stupidity
 had increased because of his temper. So, in the end, after my
 arrival it paid him better to remain silent than to speak,
 though, to give the devil his due, this was not because of
 any inability of his to compose first rate stuff; but, because
 of hallucinations that he was bewitched, his memory was
 affected and off he would go, with all sorts of queer words and
 actions, so that many of his audience, after his lectures, would
 hide one behind another for fear that, while still in his frenzy,
 he would fall upon someone and rend him limb from limb.
 51. If I called this five-year period the spring or prime of my
 life—and I am now nearly sixty—I would not be quite correct,
 for I can speak as highly of another five-year period and yet
 another in my life. However, this time which I spent under
 Demeter's care in Nicomedia excels them all, winning on
 every count—health of body and peace of mind, frequent
 declamations and excited applause at each of them, throngs of
 students and their progress, study by night and the sweat of
 my labours by day, honour, kindness and affection. 52. If any-
 one there were asked what was the city's proudest boast, the
 answer was that my declamations could be heard in it. Indeed,
 this town, which had grown to such size and beauty and pos-
 sessed every other blessing provided by land and sea, in any
 recital of its glories would have prided itself on none of these in
 preference to my compositions: this was the comparison that it
 drew with the prosperity of Constantinople nearby, that there
 they revelled in the delights of the stage, here, in Nicomedia,
 in the fruits of learning; there they had not the wit to keep the
 good things they had, here they knew how to gain possession
 of those they had not. 53. I was like a man who laid himself
 down by streams of clear water beneath the pleasant shade of
 trees of every kind, garlanded and in continual junketing, like
 that Egyptian who devised a way whereby his short life should

5 δὲ εὐοφίστατο μακρὸν αὐτῷ τὸν βραχὺν γενέσθαι χρόνον. ἐποίει δὲ
 μοι τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ τὸ εὐθίκειν καὶ πίνειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ τῶν λόγων εὖ καὶ
 καλῶς χωρεῖν καὶ τὸ τὰς Ἀθήνας τῆς Βιθυνίας καταβῶσθαι, ὥστε
 γεωργοὶ γεωργῶν ῥύακος ἀρχαίου κωλυθέντος ἢ πρότερον βεῖναι
 F 110 οὕτω τὸν ἐκέλευε | δρόμον τῶν νέων παλαιῶν τε καὶ ἐξ ἄσοιπερ
 5 ἐμπορίας λόγων, ἧδε ἔστιγέ τε ἡ γῆ παρ' αὐτῆ καὶ ἔπεισε μὴ πρό-
 ραυθεν ποτηρὰ λαμβάνειν ἐξὸν ἐγγύθεν ἀμείνω. 54. καὶ μὴν ὁ γὰρ
 ἀνὴρ ἐκέλευε ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης σωροὺς ἐφ' ἀμάξης ἦκεν ἄγων βιβλίων
 R 40 ποῶν με οἷς ἐβουλόμην πλοῦσιον· ἐπεὶ εἰ γῆν τε καὶ | ὀλκάδας καὶ
 10 συνοικίας εἶδον, δοκῶ μοι τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἂν ἐπανέσας αὐτὸν κελεύ-
 σαι ἔχειν. οὐ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐποίησα τὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τε ἄμα
 καὶ αὐτῆν τὴν θυγατέρα καλοῦντα μόνην ἐν μεγάλοις αὐτῷ τρεφο-
 μένῃν χρήμασι, τὴν μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπανέσας, κελεύσας δὲ ζῆτεῖν
 νυμφίον, ὡς ἔμοιγε οὕτως ἀντὶ γυναικὸς τῆς τέχνης. 55. περὶ ἧν
 15 οὕτω τὴν ἔθεον ἐμεμύρει μανίαν ἢ Νικομήδους πόλιν, ὥστε ἦδη με-
 κὰν ταῖς κολυμβήθραις τὰν τῶν διδασκαλείων ποιεῖν καὶ μηδὲ ταῦτα
 ἐξω τοῦ νόμου τοῖς ἰδιώταις εἶναι δοκεῖν. οὕτως ἡμῖν ἅπανα ἡ πόλις
 καθεστῆκε μοισεῖον· οἷ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς προλόγους παραλαμβάνοντες,
 τὰλλα ἐκβάλλοντες ἴσματα, ἄδοντες πανταχοῦ διετέλουν. 56. ἡ
 20 μέγιστη δὲ τῶν εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἀφορμὴ τὸ σαφεῖς κεκτῆσθαι φίλους,
 ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐ λείπεσθαι τῶν δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν ὁ Εὐριπίδης φησὶν,
 F 111 εἶδὼς ὅτι οὐτοὶ οἱ σαφεῖς οὐκ | οὐσίας μόνον ἀποστατεῖν ἀνὴρ τῶν
 ἐπιτηδείων ἀλλὰ κὰν ἀποθάνειν, ὧν δὴ γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν τῆς
 Θετίδος υἱόν, ὃς ἐπρίματο τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πατρόκλου δίκην.
 25 ταύτης οὐδὲν τι νωβροτέρας ἀνταῖθα ἐκτησάμην φίλους. 57. ὧν εἰ
 R 41 τὴν Ἀρισταίνου | φαῖν ὑπερφέρει φίλαν, οὐδένα ἂν νουμισθῆσαι
 μοι δοκῶ τῶν τιθεμένων δευτέρων· εἴ μοι καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ εἰ τῶν
 ἄλλων λύπην ἐνεποιῶν ἁπάν, εἰκότως ἂν ἐγκαλοῖ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ δὴ
 καὶ τὰ τοῦ κείνου τρόπου φάρμακα τῶν γλυκίων τούτων ἐφάνη
 30 γλυκύτερα.

58. Καίτοι τίς φιλομήτωρ μάλλον ἐμοῦ; τεκμηρίω δὲ μεγάλω

1 ἀντὶ conj. F: ἀντὶ Re (MSS). 12 ἀντὶ Re (Mor.). 16 κὰν Re
 (CP), Mor. 7' ἀν Re (CPV), Mor. 20 δὴ MSS.

become a long one. My pleasures were not those of eating and
 drinking, but arose from the excellent progress of my oratory
 and from the hue and cry that was set up at Athens against
 Bithynia, for all the world like some farmers complaining
 against others of their kind about the diversion of a water-
 course from its original channel. The flow of students to
 Athens, which was something of long standing and as old as
 the business of rhetoric itself, was stayed, and the province
 kept them to herself, persuading them not to go abroad to get
 inferior stuff when there was better to be found on their own
 doorstep. 54. Moreover, my friend Crispinus from Heraclea
 came with a cartload of books and made me rich in what I
 most desired. Had he offered land, ships, or villas, I would,
 I feel, have thanked him kindly and told him to keep them.
 Something of the sort I did do, even with him: he invited me
 to dinner to meet his only daughter whom he was bringing up
 in the lap of luxury, but I thanked him for the thought but told
 him to look elsewhere for a bridegroom: my bride was my art.
 55. The city of Nicomedia was by now visited with such in-
 inspired frenzy for it that I gave school lessons even in the swim-
 ming baths and this seemed nothing out of the ordinary to the
 average person. In this way the whole city had become my
 college chapel, as it were, and those who had learnt my pre-
 ludes turned their backs upon other people's compositions,
 continually reciting mine everywhere. 56. The greatest incen-
 tive towards happiness is the possession of firm friends. All the
 blessings a man can think of do not equal this, says Euripides,
 for he knew that these firm friends would, for their comrades'
 sake, give up not just their possessions but their very lives, as,
 for instance, Achilles, who secured vengeance for Patroclus at
 the cost of his own life. In this town, I found friendships no less
 devoted than this. 57. And if I were to state that my friendship
 with Aristaenetus surpassed them all, none of those who play
 second fiddle would have held it against me, I am sure. Both
 my mother and any other person who was pained by my
 absence would have reproached me on account of him, and
 with good reason, for he and the charm of his character were
 more potent than any charms of theirs.

58. For all that, there is no one fonder of his mother than

τοῦτο ἀποδεικνύσθαι. γῆν οὐσάν μοι πατρῶν ἀπέδοτο, ὃ δὲ εὐνη-
 μένος ἐπ' Ἰταλίας πορευόμενος δέσας μὴ παρακάλεσας ὑστερον τῆν
 συμμαχίαν τῶν νόμων ἢ ζώσης τῆς μητρὸς ἢ οὐχομένης ἐπιστρα-
 τεύσω τῇ πράξει, λῶν ἤδη ταύτην ἢ βεβαιῶν ἐδέετο. ἡρόμην οὖν
 5 εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς πεπραμένοις εἴην, ὡς οὐδὲ τούτῳ μαχοίμενος·
 καὶ ὅς τὸ βιβλίον προῦπτεν ὡς προσλίβοι ταυτηαὶ τῆς χειρὸς γράμ-
 ματα, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔγραφεν, ὃ δὲ οἷς εὐρα διηπίσται. 59. δευὰ δὴ
 F 112 δοικῶν ἐμαντῶ ἰδρᾶν εἰ τὴν οὕτω στεργόμενῃ μὴ συνὸν γηροτρο-
 R 42 φοίην, ὅπῃτε ἀκούομι φλεγγομένου τοῦ φίλου, δεσμὸς τοῦτο ἦν,
 10 ὥστε καὶ ἡνίκα δεῦρ' ἐπαρήην, ἐπὶ μόναις ταῖς παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦτο
 ἐπράττετο ἀνάγκαις ἀπειλοῦντος ἢ μὴν χεῖρω με, εἰ τούτῳ ἀτιμιά-
 σαμι τὸ δίκαιον, νομείν.

60. Πλείοσι τοῖσιν καὶ μείζονα ἀγαθὸς τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἠφάν-
 ζεν ἢ Τύχη, καὶ ἡ λύπη μικρὰ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν ἡδονῶν, μάλλον
 15 δὲ οὐδὲν τοσοῦτον ὄψον καὶ ἀνάσαι δύνασθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς
 ἀρστέουσιν ἂ πλῆττονται κοῦφα διὰ μέγεθος ἀν δράσει. λεγέσθω
 οὖν καὶ τὰ χεῖρω· τῆδε γὰρ ἀν καθαριώτερον φανείη τὰ βελτίω
 δεικνυμένων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν νευκημένων.

61. Ὁ μὲν δὴ παῖς ἀνηβος ἐπίσταν ἀπατηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῶν οὐδ
 20 ἀναπαύσαντων ἀποκτινύντων πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ἰφέλο-
 μένος στατήρας ᾤχετο, ὡς εἰκόσ, ἀποθανοῦμενος μελλοντός μοι
 R 43 δέξασθαι τοῦ ἄρχοντος λόγον, καὶ | ἐπεδεικνύμην κινούμενος τὰ
 εἰωθότα τῶν ἀκροατῶν τῇ κλοπῇ τεταραγμένον, ὥστε εἶναι μοι
 διπλοῦν τὸ θαῦμα, τὸ μὲν ὡς λέγειν ἐπισταμένῳ, τὸ δὲ ὡς τὰ τοιαῦτα
 25 φέρον καὶ τρίτον γε ἕτερον προσεγγεῖναι διωθουμένου μου τὸν
 F 113 ἠθροισμένον ἐκ τῶν | πόλειων ἀργυρον παριόντα τὸν ἐξεληλυθότα
 χρυσὸν θεραπεύειν περριμένον τοῖς παρὰ σφῶν τῆν βλάβην.

62. Ταυτὶ μὲν ἀφείσθω τῆν ζημίαν ἔχοντα ἐν χρήμασι, ἃ δὴ
 διαππίσειεν ἀν ἀνηρ ελευθερος. ἀλλ' ἐνόσει μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τῷ σοφιστῇ
 30 τὰς φρένας, ὃ δὲ οὐ βουλόμενος ταυτ' εἶναι τῆς τοῦ σώματος πονη-
 ρίας ἐπ' ἐμέ τε ἦγε τῆν αἰτίαν καὶ κακοῖς ἐπίμενος παραδείγμασι

11 τούτων F: τοῦτο Re (MSS).
 Par. 3016): ἀνάσθαι MSS.

15 ἀνάσαι F, conJ. Re (correction in

I, and let me demonstrate this with signal proof. She sold my family property, and the purchaser, now on his way to Italy, was afraid that I would later invoke the aid of the law and attempt to invalidate the sale, either during my mother's lifetime or after her death. He asked me either to confirm or to deny the sale now. Well, I asked him whether I too was part and parcel of the items for sale; even so, I would not contest it. He proffered the document, to get my signature written by this, my hand, and I signed it—and he could hardly believe his eyes. 59. I felt that I was being most remiss not to attend and support so loving a mother in her old age, but whenever I heard my friend's voice, it was a chain that bound me. Finally, even when I did come home, it was only under compulsion from him, for he swore that he would think the worse of me if I so disregarded what was right and proper.

60. Fortune, then, banished sorrow by the provision of more and bigger blessings. My troubles were small because of my many pleasures; in fact, nothing was enough to cause me distress, just as, with great champions, their mishaps seem mere nothings because of the greatness of their achievements. So let me mention my misfortunes, for good fortune can be more clearly revealed so, if there is an account of what it has overcome.

61. My slave, a mere lad, beguiled by men who are the ruin of those they lead astray, decamped, perhaps to his death, taking 1,500 staters with him. I was on the point of delivering an oration before the governor, and though my audience was greatly disturbed by the theft, I proceeded to give my declamation in my customary manner of delivery, so that I gave cause for wonder on two counts, by my ability in oratory and by enduring such a loss with equanimity. There was yet a third reason for wonder, for I refused the collection of money made from the cities who tried to repair my loss by their contributions, which exceeded the amount of money stolen.

62. So much for that and the financial loss it involved. A man of breeding would think nothing of it. However, the professor's wife began to suffer from mental illness, and he, refusing to believe that this was due to any physical ailment, tried to pin the blame on to me and, following bad example, he

βιβλιογράφου καὶ αὐτὸς εἰλικε καὶ οἰχομένης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου μετὰ δακρύων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἑλθὼν κατηγοροῦ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ οὕτως γίνεταί, τοσοῦτον δὲ εἶρε, τὸ
 R 44 δῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρωπον. 63. ἐπὶ τοῖσι τὸ | πρᾶγμα ἀνέστραπτο τοῦ
 5 μὲν φεύγοντος τὴν κρίσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπιναγκάζοντος. ὁ δικαστὴς δὲ ἄρα ἔγχετο, εἰ περὶ γυναῖκα ἐγὼ παρανήλασκον τὸν θάνατον ὑπερβάς τὸν σοφιστήν, ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ τις ἀλλοτρίης κτείναι ἔχων τὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῦτο μὲν ᾔδειτο συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ διέσωζε, τὴν τεκοῦσαν δὲ αὐτὸν ἤραζε διὰ δαιμόνων. τῷ μὲν δὲ ἔργον ἦν φεύγειν, ὁ δικαστὴς
 10 δέ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνὴρ, εἰλικε τε διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ ἐπινάγκαζεν ἢ λαβεῖν ἢ δοῦναι δίκην, τὸν γὰρ αὖ νόμον οὐκ εἶν κεναιὸς αἰτίας
 F 114 ὑβρίσειν. ὁ δὲ πεσὼν ἰκέτευε μὴ ἀτιμῶσθαι | μηδὲ αὐτοῦ μάλ-
 15 λον ἢ τοῦ πένης ἐκεῖνα νομισθῆναι. 64. εἰκετὸν τὸν σοφιστήν ὁ δικαστὴς, καὶ οὐκ ἐμεμψάμην τὸν οἶκτον· ἐμοὶ γὰρ εἴη τὸν ἐχθρόν
 R 45 εἰς συγγνώμην καταφεύγοντα ἰδεῖν καὶ | οὐδὲν ἂν ἐτέρας δεῖ δίκης, καὶ δὴ καὶ φίλον εἶναι βουλόμενον οὐκ ἀτιμῶσαι· ὅστις δὲ αἰσχρό-
 20 μενον τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα θράων προσπολέσαι βούλοιτ' ἂν, θηριώδης τε ὅστος καὶ οὐκ αἰσθανόμενος, ὡς ἀνθρώπων γε ὄντι γένοιτ' ἂν ποτε ἴσως εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων χρεῖαν πεσεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐχ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ πρὸς
 25 ἐκεῖνον οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀπαντῶν ἐξερέπετ' ἂν, τῷ δὲ πρόνοια μὴ ἀπαντῆσαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ κεκολλᾶσθαι τοῖς προσήκουσι τὸν ὑβριστήν ἦδη τινά τι καὶ ἀπορρῆμαι εἰς τὸν ἐρήφισιμόν καίτοι σφόδρα ἀγαπώμενον ἠγάγκασε. 65. πιεζόμενος δὴ παραχόθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀποκράντων οἱ τῶν λόγων ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ τρόπου προσδιαβεβλη-
 30 μένου τρέπεται ἐπ' ἀνὴρ τῶν νέων, χρημάτων οὐ φειδόμενος πολλῶν οἱ προσόντων ἐκ γῆς· οἱ δὲ δέχονται μὲν τὸ διδόμενον, σφᾶς δὲ
 R 46 αὐτοὺς οὐ προίενται, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον τε τὸ ἀπέρρητον | ἤγρετο καὶ γέλωσ διὰ τῆς πλοῦτος ἐχάρει, οἳ μὲν ἐμεμηχάνητο, οἳ δὲ ἤλπισεν,
 F 115 οἳ δὲ ἐπεπόνθει. | 66. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ μόνος Βιθυνῶν συνελάμβανεν
 30 ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸ ὀρμήσειεν ἀπαύστου φιλονεικῆ χράμενος φήσας ἐν τῷ

4 ἀνέστραπτο Re (L), Mar. 8 ᾔδειτο conj. Schenkel: ἠγρέτο F (Par.: C, corr. from ἠγρέτο): ἠγρέτο A: ἠγρέτο Re (PVL). 12 αὐτοῦ F: αὐτοῦ Re (MSS). 20 ἂν Re (MSS): αὐτοῦ conj. F. 26 προσόντων F, Re (L): προσόντων other MSS.

too tried to have my copyist examined. Upon his wife's death, he left her grave in tears and entered the court, but even so his accusation was not presented in any legal form; his sole recourse was to have the man arrested. 63. Consequently, the roles were reversed; he tried to avoid a trial and I insisted that it be held. The governor was amused at the idea that I, having got the better of the professor, should now go to the length of procuring his wife's death; it was just as absurd as for an athlete, who had it in his power to kill his opponent, to refuse to engage and to let him go, and then to try to do away with the fellow's mother by means of magic. He did his best to escape, but the governor had him fetched by his attendants, since I maintained my stand, and gave him the alternative of proving me guilty or being found guilty himself, for the law forbade the illtreatment of anyone on baseless charges. He fell on his knees and besought that he should not be dismissed in disgrace, for his grief was to be regarded as the cause of all this, not he. 64. The governor took pity on him, and I could not blame him for it, for I could ever wish to see my enemy throwing himself on the mercy of the court, with no need for any other punishment; indeed, I will not refuse him if he wishes to become my friend, for any man who sees a sinner shamed and yet wants him done away with, is a mere brute and without the wit to realize that he is only human and may sometime perhaps be brought to such a pass himself. Not so the Bithynians in their attitude towards him: they would either get out of his way if they met him, or take good care not to meet him at all, and the fact that my assailant suffered no condign punishment caused people to inveigh against the magistrate who had given such a decision, even though he was very popular. 65. So he was crushed completely: his eloquence availed him nothing, especially as his general behaviour was held in disrepute. Hence, he had recourse to buying his pupils and spared none of the great wealth that came from his estates, but though they took all he offered, they did not entrust themselves to him. The cat was let out of the bag, and he became a laughing-stock throughout the city because of his trickery, his high hopes, and his disappointment. 66. There was only one Bithynian to take his part, a man of unquenchable

περὶ τοιούτων τῶν δάραν λόγῳ τε καὶ ἐλέγχῳ καὶ γλωσσῇ μηδὲ τὸ τῆς
αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ὄνομα σεσηγῆσθαι ὡς δὴ τοῦ τε ἔργου κεκοινωνηκυίας
πάν τε ἀνηλωμένον, ἐπὶ ζεύγος ἄρκων ἀναβάς ἤλαιεν ἐπὶ Καπ-
παδοκίας παρὰ ἄρχοντα φίλων εἰδότα χάριτι βλάβαι νόμον, νέω δὲ
5 ἄρα τῷδε πάντα ἀλλήλων Αθήνησι κεχωρισμένοι διὰ τέλους ἐμελλόν
τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ παρασκευῆς τε αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Περσικὸν
πόλεμον ὅς τότε ἦν, ἐτέρων τε προμηθείας οὐ μείονος ἀξίαν μένειν
ἀναγκαζόντων πάντα τὰ μέγιστα μικρὰ ἡγησάμενος ἀναστὰς ἐφέρετο
10 γυμνῷ τῷ ξέφει προπέμψας στρατιώτην, ᾧ χρῆν' με εἰς Νικαιαν
ἐπεσθαι, τῶν νέων ἄγοντα ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄτι μὴ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέδοντο
ἠδικησῶτας. 67. Νικομηδεῖς μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐτι ζῶντας ἐπέθενον,
ὡς περ' οὖς εἰς τὸν Λαβύρινθον ἐπεμπον Αθηναῖοι. σωτήρ δὲ ἄρα
R 47 ἡμῖν | ἐμελλε τῆς Τύχης βουλομένης Ἑρακλῆς ὁ Διὸς εἶσεσθαι καὶ
προδῆλου γε ὁ ποιήσει καὶ ὡς σβέσει τὴν πυρὰν, ἀνείρατι· πυρὰν γὰρ
15 δὴ μεγάλην ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Νικαίᾳ τῶν τινα Ἀντισθένης μμηγῶν ἐδόκουν
ἐφελζάνοντα σβεννύειν καὶ εἶναι κρείττον τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ σῶμα. θαρρῶν
F 116 δὴ τοῖς | τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τῆς τε ἐπαγγελίᾳ τῆς ἐπικουρίας ἦεν·
οἱ συνίγοι δὲ ἡμῖν μέχρι Λίβου μὲν ἦγον, αὐτοὺς δὲ καταδύοντες
ἀπεσκόπων ὅπῃ τὸ πρᾶγμα πεσείηται, καὶ ἀναφανέντες ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει
20 συνέχαιρον, ὡς περ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην
τοῖς Αθηναῖοις. 68. ἦν δὲ ἄρα κάκεινο Ἑρακλέους τὸ ἔργον, ὅς καὶ
ἡμῖν τὸ νέφος ἀπέωσεν· ἦδον μὲν γὰρ ἀλεκτρονέες καὶ ἐκῆρυντον οἱ
κῆρυκες, ἐκρούετο δὲ ἡ θύρα καὶ ὄρω μέλει τῶν τοιούτων, εἴβλα
R 48 καταβαίνου. ἐκαθήμεθ' οὖν ἐν μυροπωλίῳ | τινὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀνα-
25 μένοντες Ἀλκιμῶς τε καὶ ἐγώ (τὸν Ἀλκιμον τοῦτον θεοῦ τιнос ἔγωγε
παῖδα ἡγοῦμαι γεγονέναι, μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς φῆναι τοιοῦτον).
συμκρὸν δὴ πρὸ μεσημβρίας οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ κεκραγὼς ὁ συκοφάντης
ἔστειχεν ἡμμανῆς κεκρατῆσθαι τῇ βαφῇ καὶ Φιλάγριον λέγων, ἡμῖν
γε οὐ συνετὰ λέγων. 69. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ δικαστῆς ἐξῆει, καὶ φαιδρὸς

24 μυροπωλίῳ Herwerden (AF); μυροβολίῳ C; μυροπαλίῳ F (BVL).

rancour in all his undertakings. He alleged that, in the gossip, the inquiries, and the ridicule that arose from these gifts, his wife's name had been bandied about too as a participant in this business and in the bribery. Into his travelling carriage he got and set off for Cappadocia, to his friend the governor, who was quite capable of obliging him by flouting the law, for these two had been students together in Athens and had done each other all kinds of good turns and probably continued to do so thereafter. Though the preparations for the Persian war, which occurred then, and other duties no less deserving of consideration ought to have induced him to stay where he was, the governor thought all important matters to be mere incidentals; so he got up and came along with bared blade, sending in advance a soldier whom I had to follow to Nicaea with seven youths whose crime was that they had not sold themselves. 67. So the people of Nicomedia gave us up for dead, as the Athenians did those whom they sent to the Labyrinth. However, under the guidance of Fortune, my saviour was destined to be Hercules, son of Zeus, who in a dream revealed to me what he would do and how he would quench the funeral flame; for I dreamed that a disciple of the Cynic Antisthenes mounted a great pyre in the centre of Nicaea and quenched it, and that his body prevailed over the fire. So I went on, heartened by this revelation of truth and the tidings of help. My advocates went as far as Libon, but there they went to ground and watched the outcome of the affair from afar, and when it was all over they emerged to offer their congratulations, as the Spartans did to the Athenians after the battle of Marathon. 68. Yes, that too was a labour of Hercules, and he brought me also from out of the shadow: the cocks were crowing and the criers were crying when there came a knocking at the door and our jailer shouted to us to come down. Alcimus and I were lodged in a perfumer's shop awaiting our turn. This Alcimus, by the way, had something divine about him, I am sure; such a man could never have been sired by mortal man. Well, just before noon, that rascal of an accuser dashed in distraught and howling that Philagrius too was tarred with the same brush, an incomprehensible remark as far as we were concerned. 69. The governor left immediately, and we saw

- εωρώμεν τοὺς φίλους ὡς δὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τι, τοῦτ' δὲ ὅ τί τε ἦν ὅτω
 F 117 τε τρώψω συμβάν, | εἰδέναι οὐκ ἦν, πρὶν δὴ τις τῶν ἡμῖν εὐνων
 πόρρωθεν ἐσήμῃρε τῇ χειρὶ τὸν πολέμιον πεφηνέμεναι, τῷ δικαστῇ
 γὰρ ἀνάγκην ἐξαίφνης τῆς τοῦ νόμου φυλακτῆς ἐπιπέσειν ἐγνωκότι
 R 45 γὰρ ἐπὶ πρόδηλον εἰσάγειν σφαγῆν ἤκειν τινὰ ἄγγελον τῆς | Φιλιπ-
 που κινήσεως καὶ δεῖν ἴδῃ θεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι τοῖς ὄροις τῆν βλοσυρὰν
 ἀρχήν· καὶ τὸν δεῖσαντα εἰπεῖν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν καιρὸν τῇ χάριτι καὶ
 εἶναι τοῦ νόμου τὸ κράτος, δεῖν οὖν ἢ γραφὴν ἀπενεγκεῖν ἢ μὴ
 ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης νικώμενον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐκέλευον μεμνήσθαι
 10 τῆς βαφῆς ὡς δὴ μεταπεισιμένον. 70. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὃν θυμὸν κατέδωκε
 ἄσπεστο οἴκαδε στένων, ὁ δὲ οἷς ἔδωκεν ἀνεροθριῶν καλέσας ἐμέ καὶ
 παρ' αὐτὸν καθίσας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τρίβων τῇ χειρὶ τὸ πρόσσωπον
 R 50 διασύρων τε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ παρὰ τοῦ φίλου λόγους | ἤξιον
 με πρῶτος τε ἔχειν τῇ παρ' αὐτὸν ὀδῶ καὶ μηδὲν οἰεσθαι τῶν πεπρα-
 15 γμένων πεπραχῆναι, φήσαντος δέ μου καὶ πρὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ὄδε
 ἔχειν πίστιν ἀπῆρει τῶν εἰρημένων, εἶναι δὲ πίστιν, εἰ ποιησαίμην
 αὐτὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐν μέσσοις Νικομηδείου λόγου τυνός. Καίτοι ὁ γὰρ
 Φίλιππος, ἔφη, καλεῖ, ταῦτ' δὲ ὅμως προτετιμῆσθαι. 71. νεῦα καὶ
 20 ὑπασχοῦμαι, καὶ ἦμεν ἐν τῇ Νικομήδου καὶ εἰσῆγον τὴν ἐπίδειξιν.
 F 118 ἔπειτα ἦκέ | ποθεν, ὡσπερ πνεῦμα, ὁ σκυφοάντης ἄγων τὸν ὑπάπτην
 ἐκείνον καὶ ἐφασκε δεῖν τὸν ἐκεῖνου φθίσει λόγον, πρὶν ὑπὸ κρότου
 πολλοῦ καταληφθῆναι τὸν δικαστήν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἤσχαλλεν, ἐγὼ δὲ
 συνεχάρουν. ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἦν αὐτὸς καίτοι γὰρ λέγων ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα
 R 51 ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς δεσθεῖς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπεινὰν | μερίδα. ὡς γὰρ εἶδε τὸ
 25 στάδιον, διαγμάσας ἐξενήκετο τῆς μνήμης καὶ ἐβόα μὴδὲ τότε
 πεπαῦσθαι τὸν γόητα ἐμέ· τοῦ δὲ ἀναγνῶναι κελύσαντος, εἰσελθεῖν
 γὰρ λόγον, οὐ μνήμην κρινῶν, οὐδὲ τοὺς σφθάλμους ἔφη δύνασθαι τὸ
 αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν. Μὰ ὁ δέον λαβὼν ἀναγνώσεται,

11 ἀνεροθριῶν conj. F (crit. note): ἀνερθριῶν F (text), Re (MSS.). 12 αὐτὸν
 F, conj. Re: αὐτὸν MSS. 26 κελύσαντος F (VL): κελύσαντος Re (ACPB).
 27 κρινῶν F, conj. Gaisler, Cobet: κρινῶν Re (MSS.).

our friends all smiles, as though at some fortunate event. Of the nature and manner of it we had not the slightest idea until one of our friends gestured to us from a distance that our enemy had fled, for the governor had suddenly been confronted with the need to maintain the law. He had made up his mind to disclose a charge of murder against me when news arrived of Philippus' tour of inspection, and he had to go off in a hurry to receive his grim overlord into his diocese: in a panic he declared that the time for favours was past and the law must prevail: he must either hand in his charge in proper form or reconcile himself to being a victim of necessity. That was the reason for the expression 'being tarred with the same brush', the inference being that he had been bribed to change his mind. 70. So my accuser went off home despondently, 'eating his heart out', while the governor, all blushes for the favour he had granted, summoned me to him, sat me down by his side in court, wiped his hand across his brow and tried to make light of his friend's remarks on the professor's behalf. He begged me not to be annoyed at my coming to him and to think of the whole incident as though it had never happened. I replied that such was my reaction even before he had begun to speak, but he asked for some guarantee of my words, namely, that I should allow him to attend an oration of mine in the heart of Nicomedeia. 'Phillippus summons me, to be sure', he exclaimed, 'but let this have precedence.' 71. I consented and gave my promise, and there in Nicomedeia I was just introducing my declamation, when my accuser entered like an ill wind with that jealous rival of mine, and asserted that his oration ought to precede mine, before the governor was beguiled by the roars of applause. Though the governor was put out, I was agreeable, and so he entered, but behaved like his usual self although he spoke before an audience of but fifteen, having himself requested the withdrawal of my supporters. As soon as he saw the stage set for him, he grew dizzy and his memory failed him, and he exclaimed that I, the wizard, had not even then stopped my tricks. The governor told him to read then; he had come to judge a speech, not a test of memory. His reply was that his eyes could not do their job, either, and for the same reason. 'Then he shall take it and

δέξας τῶν ῥητόρων τὸν ἄριστον. ὁ δὲ ὡς τοῦτο ἤκουσε, βίβλας τὸ
 βιβλίον ἀπέχει τιμπλὰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνοήτων ῥημάτων. 72. τῆς δὲ
 ὑστεραίας ὁ μὲν ὄχλος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, τοῦ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγὼ τὴν
 φωνὴν ἀνακινῶν τε καὶ ἀποπειράμενος, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων περὶ ἔξοδον, ὁ
 5 δὲ αὐχιστὰ ἀπῆλλαγός ἐκεῖνος ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μόν
 ὕψιστος παρῆν, καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν αἱ θύραι ῥύονται τοῦ νεῦ τῆς Τύχης,
 οὐτερ καὶ ἐκαθήμην. τὸν ἄρχοντα δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόγων τῆ 'κείνου
 R 52 τόλμη κτᾶμαι, καὶ σὺν | εὐνοίᾳ μὲν εἰσέρχεται, γενόμενος δὲ
 F 119 φραστῆς ἀνίσταται καὶ παραχρῆμα | γράμμασι συγγενεῖς τε οἱ
 10 αὐτῷ παρ' ἄλλοις διέτριβον φίλων τε παῖδας εἰς ἐν τοῦτο διδα-
 σκαλίον ἤθροίξε τῷ λόγῳ τε δὴ ἠερκεῖ σὺν τῇ αἰτίας τε καὶ λαβόν,
 τῷ συκοφάντη τε οἷαν οὐχ ἑτέραν ὀφείλειν ἔλεγε χάριν γυνῶναι δόντι
 ταῦτα ἃ ἀγνοεῖν ζημία.
 73. Ὡν λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων φερομένης τε εἰς ἐκεῖνος
 15 παρ' ὧν ἀπεληλύθει τῆς φήμης, οἱ οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἄσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
 σμικροτάτους τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀβάτους ὥσπερ μοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἐργάσε-
 σθαι, τίς Τέλλος, τίνες Ἀργεῖοι νεανίσκοι διὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν
 τῆ μητρὶ κεκαριασμένοι, τῆ σφῶν αὐτῶν τῆν ἐμὴν εὐδαιμονίαν
 παρήσαν; ὥστε μοι δοκῶ καὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἦν ἐπὶ τῆ γενέσει τούτων
 20 ἠτασάμην | τὴν Τύχην ἀφήσειν τὴν θεόν, εἴπερ ἐκ τῆς βασάνου
 R 53 ταῦτα. οὐδὲ γὰρ Μέλανθος δῆπουθεν ἠτίχει φεύγων μέλλων ἀντὶ
 τοῦ Μεσσηνῆν οἰκεῖν βασιλεύειν Ἀθηνῶν.
 74. Ἡδξημένης δὴ τῆς δόξης μυρίων τε ἡμᾶς ἐπανοιόντων στομά-
 των ὄντων τε τῶν καὶ τοῦτο λεγόντων, ὡς συνέην ἀνθρώποις οὐδ
 25 ἐξέβαλεν ἂν κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου φονέα τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὁ Πύθιος,
 F 120 ἐπικεμένους | τε τῶν ἔξω τῆς αἰτίας τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ γίνονται πρὸς τὸν
 ὑπαρχον ἱκετεῖαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποδόσεως πέρι· ὡς δὲ ἀδικήσειν τοὺς
 ὑποδεξαμένους ἔφην καὶ ἅμα ἐδέειμν μὴ με αἰθὴς ἐμβολεῖν εἰς
 R 54 ἀρῆθ' σιγῆν, ἀπελθῶν ὡς δὴ οὐκ ἐπαναγκάσω, | ἀνάγκη μεταφέρει

9 γράμμασι inser. F (V); γράμμασι L. om. ACPB. 16 ἐργάσεσθαι F
 (crit. note); ἐργάσεσθαι F (text) MSS.; ἐργάσεσθαι Re (Mar.).

read it', said the governor, pointing out the best speaker present. On hearing this, he threw aside his script and made off, filling the square with meaningless cries. 72. Next day while the crowd was assembling in the town hall, and I was exercising my voice and testing it nearby, the governor was just about to leave his headquarters, when that madman, who had fled in disgrace, came from the citadel armed against my person. I was saved by the doors of the temple of Fortune where I was seated. Even before my speech I had the governor on my side because of this mad attempt, and he made his entry well disposed towards me. When he rose to leave, he was one of my devoted admirers, and immediately he sent out letters and collected his relatives, who happened to be studying under others, and the sons of his friends, and brought them to my school, and mine alone. He attended the oration he had heard—a favour which he requested and received, and he declared that he owed an unparalleled debt of gratitude to my accuser for the chance to get to know my work: without it, he would have been so much the poorer.

73. The report of these orations and occurrences reached those from whom I had fled and who thought that by their calumnies they would make it impossible for me to live in towns or even in the tiniest villages. Could Tellus or those Argive youths, who blessed their mother by their exploit with the carriage, have had greater happiness than I? I am tempted to absolve Fortune of the charge I levelled against her for causing all this, if such are the results of putting her to the test. Melanthus too was not unlucky in his exile, since it was destined that instead of being a dweller in Messene he should be ruler of Athens.

74. My reputation had increased and countless were the tongues that praised me, though there were some who asserted that I associated with people whom Apollo would have deemed unworthy—as in his oracle he rejected the murderer of Archilochus. The sincere set about the malicious, and there followed pleas to the prefect to restore me to Constantinople. I protested that I would be behaving badly toward my hosts and I also pleaded that I should not once more be reduced to awful silence, and the prefect departed apparently with no intention

μείζονι, βασιλείου γράμμασιν. 75. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὴν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
 εὐνοσιμῶν λῆπνι, οἱ πατρίδα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἀποβαλόντες ἔρχονται
 ἐν ἄλλοτρίᾳ δουλεύουσιν. καὶ ἐμὲ τούτων κατελίμβανε τὸ τῶν μὲν
 ἡδίστων τε καὶ λυσιτελεστάτων στέρεσθαι, εἰς δὲ τὰ ἀνάσποντά τε
 5 καὶ ζημιόσποντα ἀγεσθαι· χρῆν γὰρ δὴ ἢ συμπίπειν τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ
 περὶ τραπέζης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς διατρίβειν τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἐχθρόν τε
 κεκρίσθαι καὶ πολυμείσθαι. ταυτὶ δὲ ὡς ἀναντιώτατα τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἀγαθοῖς, πᾶς ἂν μοι συμφέρηαι μεθύσας τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἕτερον ἰδὼν
 τοῦτο πάσχοντα. 76. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεκνύμαι λόγους οὐδὲ ὡς κατέλυσσα,
 10 καὶ συγχεῖσθαι οἱ μὲν ἀκουσόμενοι λόγων, οἱ πλείους δὲ θεασόμενοι
 κινούμενοι, οἷα δὴ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκείνης ἐξ ὅπλων ἢ μουσείων τὸ
 πλεόν. τοῦτι μὲν οὖν οὐ παντάπασιν εἶχε κακῶς, χορὸς δὲ ἂν ἦλθον
 ἔγων ὡς τάχιστα μοι διέρρει, τῶν μὲν ἡδοναῖς γοητευθέντων, οἷς
 δὲ αἱ γυνῆμαι βελτίους, οὐτοὶ δὲ δέισαιτες, οἶμαι, ὡς δὴ πεφοκῶτα
 15 νέων ψυχὰς διαφθείρειν τὸν τόπον οἱ μὲν εἰς Φοινίκην ἰστία |
 F 121 πετάσαντες, οἱ δὲ Αἰθῆνας ἐφύχοντο, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦνομα ἐλέλειπτο, ὥστε
 R 55 εἰσάκρανσεν ἂν τις ὑπὲρ | ὅσων ὀμιλητῶν πρὸς ὁπόσῃ χιόνα
 παραταξόμενος ἐξήειν.

77. Περιήειν οὖν πενθοῦσαν ἰουκίως, τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀχθόμενος
 20 τὰ τε ἀπόντα ποθῶν, καὶ μοι οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ὁ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἔρος
 ἐνόκει μῆδεν ἕτερον ἐπιτρέπων θανάσιμα, ὥστε ἐπειδὴ θέρος ἦν,
 αὐθις ἐκεῖσε ἐκοιμίζμην ἀφιέντος μὲν οὐδενός, ἀπειλούντων δὲ
 πολλῶν, κρατοῦντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ. λοιμοῦ δὲ ἐλαίνοντος τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
 25 πους μετασχῶν πως τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς παρανώεσεν ἰατρῶν πάλιν
 ἦν, ἐξ ἧς ἐπεφεύγειν. δεινέρου θέρους ταῦτά καὶ ἐτόλμων καὶ
 ἠναγκαζόμενι λιμοῦ ποιοῦντος ἂ πρότερον ὁ λοιμὸς. καὶ κατὰ ταύτην
 γὰρ τὴν πορείαν ἐν Λιβύσση—σταθμὸς δὲ ἡ Λιβύσσα τάφου τε καὶ
 λόγου τῷ περὶ τοῦ κειμένου κοσμιόμενος—ἐνταῦθα ἐξ αἰθρίας τε
 ἀκριβοῦς καὶ δριμυνιάτης ἀκτίνας νέφη συνδραμόντα σκηπτῶν καὶ ποιεῖ
 30 καὶ ἀποστῆλαι, καὶ δὲ πρόσθ' ὄρεων Διομήδεος ἦκε χαμάζε,
 R 56 καὶ ἐπέπῳθεν μὲν δὴ ὅσα εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τοιοῦδε | πυρός. 78. τοῦ δὲ

9 ὡς F (MSS.): ὡς Re. 23 [δὲ] F. 25 ταῦτά F, Re (Anim.): ταῦτα
 Re text (MSS.). 31 δὴ om. PBVL.

of forcing me to go, but then he had me moved with harsher
 constraint, an imperial summons. 75. I grieved as prisoners
 grieve, who have lost land and liberty and go into slavery in
 a foreign clime. I was fated to lose all my pleasure and profit
 and to be brought into trouble and distress, for I had either to
 go drinking with the men of influence and waste the greater
 part of day and night at the table, or else be regarded by them
 as an enemy and an object of hostility. That all this is com-
 pletely opposed to the well-being of the spirit everyone would
 agree, if he has ever been drunk himself or seen others in that
 state. 76. For all that, I did not relax in the presentation of my
 orations. Some came to listen to declamations, but the majority
 came merely to observe my gestures in delivery, for the Senate
 there was for the most part drawn from the army rather than
 from the schools. This activity was not at all unsuccessful, but
 the class I had brought with me promptly began to disappear,
 for they were either seduced by pleasure or, if they were of
 finer intellect, they became alarmed, feeling I suppose that the
 place was naturally ruinous for a student's character. So they
 hoisted sail for Phoenicia or went off to Athens, and only my
 fame was left to me. You would have wept to see how few were
 the students for whom I sallied forth to encounter all those
 iced drinks.

77. So I went about as though in mourning, grieving at my
 present state and longing for what was past. My love for
 Bithynia possessed me so utterly and allowed me no regard for
 anything else that, next summer, I made my way there again,
 under the god's direction, though none gave me permission
 and many threatened me; but there was an attack of the
 plague in the province, and, having been affected by it
 slightly, I returned to the city from which I had fled, under
 medical advice. The next summer I ventured the same once
 more and was again forced to return, for famine was the cause,
 as plague had been before. On this journey, while I was at
 Libyssa, which is a post-station famous for a tomb and the
 legend of the man buried in it, from clear sky and bright sun-
 light a mass of clouds suddenly gathered and sent forth a
 thunderbolt 'and hurled it to earth before the steeds of Dio-
 mede', and from this flash I suffered my usual trouble. 78. Why,

- χάρην ἐρασθῆν πόλεως ἡδικημένον ἀπεκάλυεν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν ἢ |
 F 122 Τύχη; τὸ πτώμα ἦδει γενησόμενον, ἐφ' ἣ με καὶ αὐτὸν κεσόμενον.
 λυπούσα δὲ τοιαῦτα τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπόριξε καὶ ἀποστερούσα τόπου
 τυῶς ἐχαρίζετο γήρας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ εἰς τὴν μεγίστην με πόλιν αἰθῆς
 5 φέρουσα ἐμβαλεῖν οὐ κακοῦν ἐθέλουσα ἐπραττε, κακὸν δέ τι κἀν-
 ταῖθα ἰομένη. 79. ὄρωσα γὰρ ἀδ τοὺς μὲν κακοηθεία, τοὺς δὲ τυας
 καὶ ἀγνοία τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναχώρησιν οἶχ ὅπερ ἦν καλοῦντας, τιμωρίαν
 δὲ μετονομάζοντας καὶ ψήφον τῆς πόλεως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐργαστηρίου ποη-
 10 ροῦ τυῶς ἐπήρειαν, εἶδεν ὡς ἐνὶ μόνῳ τοῦτ' ἀν ἐξαλειφθεῖ τὸ αἰσχρὸν,
 R 57 εἰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως αἰθῆς | θηραθεὶς ἐχοίμην ἐν ἄπασί τε οἷς ἐμπροσθεν
 εἶην νέων τέ τυαν ἐκεῖ νέων περιεστηκότων θεάτρων τέ μοι
 πληρουμένον ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀπάσης. 80. καίτοι καὶ πλεόν τι τὰ τότε
 εἶχε· τῶν γὰρ δὴ ἀρχόντων αἰε τοῦ δευτέρου τὸν πρότερον ταῖς εἰς
 ἐμὲ σπουδαῖς τε καὶ τιμαῖς παριόντος ὁ τέταρτος Φοίνης ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ
 15 Χαρίτων κυβερνήμενος δόγμα ἡμελημένον ἀνανεοῦσαι τῆς βουλῆς,
 καὶ βασιλεὺς συνηθεὶς τῇ πόλει τοιαῦτα ψηφισομένη μυρίας με
 F 123 κατακοσμεῖ δωρεαῖς, ὧν αἱ μὲν | ἀξίωσι, αἱ δὲ πρόσδοαν ἔφερον,
 ὥστε ἄνευ τῶν περὶ γῆν φροντίδων τὰ τῶν γεωργούντων ἔχειν.
 81. ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶνδε μείζον ἔργον τῆς Τύχης, μάλλον δὲ ὅτου τις ἂν
 20 φήσειεν ἀνδρὶ δόξαν τὴν ἀπὸ λόγων οἰώνπερ ἡμεῖς διώκοντι, μετὰ
 R 58 γὰρ τὴν | πᾶν τυράννων κατὰλυον, ὧν τὸν μὲν λόγῳ, τὸν δὲ χειρὶ
 Κωνσταντίου ἔπαυσε, δωρεῖται μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας τῇ Στρατηγίου
 πρῶτῳ κῶσμον τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας τὴν ἐκείνου νομίζον ἐν ἀρχαῖς
 χρηστότητα. 82. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέριος μὲν ἡμῶν ἔχων, εἰς πείραν δὲ τῶν
 25 Ἀθήνησιν ἐρχόμενος καὶ τὰ μὲν δακρύων, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀμνημονῶν
 ἐπέπηξεν Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἀξιοῦντες διὰ κάλλη λόγων ἐκείσε ἅπαντας
 καταπλεῖν οἶκ ἐπεισόγοισι τῶν ὄντων σφίαν ἀμείνω· Ἀλλὰ σίτω
 μὲν ἐπεισάκτωι χρέμενοι διδάσκαλοι τῶν περὶ τὸν οἶτον αὐτοὶ
 κατασάντες ἅπανσι οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθε δευόν, εἰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους
 30 τοῦτο δρᾶσετε, τὰ σεμνὰ ἡμῖν οἰχθήσεαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδ' εἰ πάντας
 ἡμῖν κατεχρῶσσαν τοὺς νεῶς, μάλλον ἂν ἦν εὐεργέτης ἢ τοιαῦτα

23 βασιλείας F (VL), Mor.: πολιτείας Re (ACFPB). 30 Punctuation (i) F.

when I loved the city so, did Fortune so misuse me and keep
 me from my heart's desire? She knew the disaster that was to
 come and that I too would have fallen a victim. By these
 afflictions she granted me salvation, and by keeping me from
 one place she blessed me with old age. In causing me to return
 to my life in the capital, she acted from no desire to harm me,
 but here too to provide a remedy for trouble. 79. For here
 again, she saw that some from malice, others from ignorance,
 were calling my retirement from the capital what it never
 was, dubbing the abuse of a wretched cabal a 'punishment'
 and 'an ordinance of the city'. She realized that the one way
 for this calumny to be wiped out was for me to be courted once
 again by the city and to be engaged in all my former activities,
 with the sons of its inhabitants attending me as students and
 the theatres filled with men of all ages. 80. Yet my position
 then excelled even this. Each successive governor outdid his
 predecessor by the regard and honour in which he held me,
 until the fourth of them, a Phoenician motivated by gracious-
 ness, revived a neglected decree of the Senate, and the Em-
 peror, rejoicing at such a decision by the city, honoured me
 with countless gifts which increased my prestige and my in-
 come, so that I had the revenue of estates without the worry of
 them. 81. A stroke of luck more important than this—or in-
 deed, than anything you could think of for a man who, as
 I did, sought a name for eloquence for himself—happened as
 follows: after the removal of the tyrants—put down by Con-
 stantius, one by persuasion, the other by force—he bestowed
 upon Greece the gentle Strategius, for he considered his
 uprightness in office to be one of the glories of his reign.
 82. Strategius was not unacquainted with me, and he went to
 acquaint himself with affairs at Athens. By his complaints and
 his account of the situation there, he reproached the Athenians
 for expecting everyone to visit them for excellence in oratory
 while yet refusing to import anything better than they already
 had. 'You live on imported corn,' said he, 'and set yourselves
 up as expert advisers on corn with no compunction at all. But
 if you do the same with education, will not your pride be
 humbled? Even if I gilded all your temples, I would be no
 more of a benefactor than I am by my present suggestion.'

- R 59 εὐσηγούμενος. 83. οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἔφεσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταυτὶ διανοηθῆ-
 F 124 σθαι, | παθεῖν δὲ ὁ | πολλοὶ πολλάκις, αἰδοὶ βεβλαῖσθαι, προσλαβόντες
 δὲ νοθεύσαν βελτίους ἔσεσθαι. καὶ αὐτίκα τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα ἐγέ-
 γραπτοῦ τοῖς σοφιστῶν δὲ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοῖς διήλλαττεν ὁ φόβος, καὶ
 5 πυκναὶ μὲν αἱ βουλαί, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ δρόμοι, καὶ ἢ χρηὴ τοιούτων
 διενοεῖται ἐκκρίσσειν. τοῦτο οὕτως πρόσθεν Ἀθηναίους ἀκήκοα δρά-
 σματος οὐδ' αὖ ἐτέρῳ τοιαῦτα εἰς δόξαν παρὰ τῆς Τύχης εὐρημένα.
 καίτοι καὶ πρότερον ποτε λόγοι λόγων ἤτταντο τῶν παρ' ἐτέροις οἱ
 παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ φαίνονται κεικλιγότες ἐτέρωθεν βήτορα.
 10 84. ταῦτι μὲν δὴ κεφάλαιον τῶν παρὰ τῆς δαίμονος ἀγαθῶν νομο-
 στίων· εἰ γὰρ αὐ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων κλητῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἐλθόντα νέων
 R 60 ἀρχὴν | κτήσασθαι μακαριστόν, πηλικῆς εὐδαιμονίας τὸ Ἀθηναίους
 εἶναι τοὺς μεταπεπονημένους; ἐγὼ δὲ ἤσθη μὲν κατὰ τὸν Κρήττα
 ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν κατέχουσαν τὰ πράγματα τῶν λόγων νέων καλού-
 15 μεις, οὐ μὲν οὕτω γε ἐπιδήσιμων τις ἦν ὥστ' εἰρήνην τε καὶ
 ἀσφάλειαν ἐλπίζει μετὰ τοὺς πολέμους ἐκείνους οὐς ἐτύχχανον
 εὐρακίως, ἐν οἷς τραύματα πόνον πολλοῖς ἰατροῖς παρασχόντα
 συνέβη.
 F 125 Ἦν οὖν δεινῆς ἠλιθιότητος τοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους | ὄπλα αἰρου-
 20 μένους, οἷς ἰσχυρὰ παραλήσια δι' ἴσου πᾶσι παραγενομένη τοῦ
 χρόνου, τὸν ἄρτι ἦκοντα τὰ σφῶν ἐλέγξοντα τοῦτους οἰεσθαι μετὰ
 θυσῶν τε καὶ αἰδῶν καὶ χορῶν ἐπιστήσεν ταῖς ἀγέλαις ταῖς αὐτῶν.
 R 61 ἦκοντο δὲ γε πρὸς οἷς ἐτεθεῖμην | τῷ μὲν Ἀραβίῳ κελουμένῳ τε καὶ
 ἐπ' ἄριστον ἰόντι δύο τινὲ μισθωτῶ βορβόρῳ κρύφαί το ἰσόσωπον,
 25 Παφλαγονίας δὲ τρεῖς ἅπαντα ἀδελφοῖς, τὴν φύσιν, τὴν ἡμαθίαν, τὴν
 τόλμαν, τοῦ σώματος τὸ πάχος, τὸν Ἀγύπτιον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰνῆς
 ἀρπάζσαντας ἐπὶ τὸ φέρον κομίσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν ἀπειλῆσαι καὶ μιλ-
 λευ, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖται τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείψειν, καὶ ἐξέλιπεν, ὥστ' εἰς
 Μακεδονίαν ἦκον ἕτερον τι ποιῶν ἐτελετύτησε τὸν βίον.
 30 86. Τοῦτοις ἑμᾶντὸν κατέχον τοῖς λογιμοῖς. τῶν δὲ οὐκ
 ἀντεχόντων σοφιστῶν οὐκ ἂν οἴκοι με ταῦτ' ἀλεγάντων θυγηθήναι,
 12 πηλικῆς F, Re (VL): πηλικῶν (ACPB). 19 αἰρουμένων ACPVL:
 ἡρημένους B: ἀναρουμενούς F: αἰρουμένους Re. 22 αὐτῶν F, conij. Re:
 αὐτῶν MSS.

83. They said that they too had long entertained this idea, but, as people often do, they had been misled by a sense of shame; after this admonition, however, they would mend their ways. They drafted their decree without more ado. The professors were reconciled to one another by their fear, and there was much deep cogitation, much coming and going, as they considered how to put up with what was to come. Never before have I heard of such an action on the part of the Athenians, or of such a device of Fortune to increase any man's reputation. At other times before this their speakers have been worsted by outsiders, but for all that they have never been known to invite an orator from abroad. 84. This, then, I must consider the chief of the favours of Fortune. It is thought a matter of congratulation for a man to be invited from Athens by other people to assume the guidance of students; how deep is the happiness, then, when it is the Athenians themselves who extend such an invitation! I rejoiced like Epimenides of old, since I was summoned to deal with the malady that afflicted the world of letters, but I was not so absent-minded as to expect peace and quiet, after all those battles I had seen and the resulting wounds which provided many a doctor with employment.

85. It was sheer stupidity to expect that those people who took up the cudgels against each other, and who had all enjoyed pretty well the same influence for an equal length of time, should welcome to the head of their own classes with offerings or music or dancing the newcomer who was to reveal their ability for what it was. Besides what I had seen, I heard how two hired roughs had set upon the Arabian professor as he was on his way to dine after his bath, and had rubbed his face in the dirt; and how three Paphlagonians, brothers in everything, character, ignorance, insolence, and physique, had dragged the Egyptian from his bed, carried him to the well and threatened to throw him in—and would have done so too—if he did not swear to leave town: and leave it he did. He retired to Macedonia, took up another occupation, and died there.

86. These were the calculations with which I restrained myself. The teachers, though making no opposition, began to

χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἶναι πολίτου τυχεῖν ἐπαινεῖται, οἷ γε κἄν σὺν δόξῃ παρὰ
 σφᾶς ἀβίηταί τις περιαρῆν τε ἐπιχειροῦσαι καὶ πάσῃ τέχνῃ μικρὸν
 ποιῆν, καὶ τὰυτὰ αὐτοῦς ληροῦντος ἐπιδείξει βουλομένη ἡ Τύχη
 R 62 κινεῖ μὲν με πρὸς αἰτήρων μνηῶν | τεττάρων, ἐφέντος δὲ βασιλέως
 5 καὶ πρὶν ἢ χειμῶνα ἀρχεσθαι δεῖν ἐπανήκειν εἰπόντος ὄρω μὲν
 ὁδοῖς τε καὶ πόλιν τὰς ἐμοὶ φιλάτας, ὄρω δὲ ἱερὰ τε καὶ στοάς, ὄρω
 F 126 δὲ | τοῖων τῶν ἑμαντοῦ γήρας, ὄρω δὲ μητρὸς πολύν, ὄρω δὲ τὸν
 ἐκένης ἀδελφὸν οὕτω ἀφηρημένον τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὄνομα, ὄρω δὲ
 ἀδελφὸν τε πρεσβύτερον ἤδη πάππον κεκλημένον συμφοιτηρῶν τε
 10 ἔθνη, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀρχαῖς φανέντας, τοὺς δὲ δικαζομένοις συμμάχους,
 φίλους τε πατρώους ἀλλήλους γε ἐρρωμένῃν τε πλήθει σοφῶν τῆν
 πόλιν, ὥστε ἠδόμεν τε ἰμοῦ καὶ ἐδεδοίκεν, τὸ μὲν, ὅτι τῆς τοσαύτης
 τε καὶ τοιαύτης πολιτῆς εἶην, τὸ δὲ, ὅτι παγχάλεπὸν ἔστιν οὕτω με-
 15 θεν ἐρωτήματα, ἐν ἐργαστηρίοις δὲ τοῦτο ἦν γιγνόμενον, ἀπαντῶντι
 καὶ ἐπειδὴ δι' ἀγῶνος αὐτοῖς εἶδει τίς ποτε ἦν φανῆναι· πρῶτον
 μὲν γὰρ ἐδείθην οὐδὲν τῶν σὺν θηπέει συλλεζόντων ἕκαστον,
 R 63 ἀλλ' ἐξήρκει | γενέσθαι δῆλον ὡς ἐροῖν. ἔπειτα οὐκ ἀναμείναντες
 ἦλιν ἐνεπεπλήκεισαν τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ ἔδοξε τότε πρῶτον εἶναι
 20 οὐκ ἀποχρῶν, ὥστε ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπυθανόμεν εἰ ἦκοι τις, ὁ παῖς δὲ ἔφη
 τινὰς καὶ αὐτοῦ κοιμηθῆναι. 88. τοῦ θελοῦ δέ με εἰσαγόντος τρέμον-
 τος μειδιῶν τε αὐτὸς εἰσόμεν θύρσοις ἐμβολούσης τῆς Τύχης καὶ
 βλέπων εἰς τὸν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, ἑτερπόμεν,
 F 127 τούτω δὲ οὕτω λέγων | ἐκπλήξας πῶς ἂν ἀξίως εἴποιμι περὶ τε τῶν
 25 ἐπὶ τῷ πρόλογῳ δακρύων, ὃν καὶ ἐκμαθόντες ἀπῆλθον οὐκ ὀλίγοι,
 περὶ τε τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δευτέροις βακχείας; οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἰς γε τὸ πηδᾶν
 καὶ ἄπαντα δρᾶν οὐ γέρον ἦν, οὐ φύσει βραδείας, οὐκ ἀσθενής, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ οἷς ἔργον ἐστάναι διὰ νόσον ποδῶν εἰστήκεσαν καὶ ἐμοῦ καθίζον-
 τος αὐτοῦς οὐκ ἔβασαν τὸν λόγον, ὃν δὴ καὶ διακόψαντες δεῖξοσαν

14 δὲ F (P and correction in A): δὲ Rc (CBVL). 16 ποτε εἶδει τίς ποτε
 ἦν F (ACPB): ποτε (1) om. VL: ποτε εἶδει τίς ἦν φανῆναι conj. Re.

allege that I would not have the same influence in my home town, for 'a prophet is without honour in his own country', where, even if a man of high renown comes among them, they try to take him down a peg and use every device to deflate him. Fortune, therefore, in her desire to prove that they were talking nonsense in this, spurred me on to ask for four months leave, to which the Emperor consented, though stipulating that I must return before winter. So I saw the streets and gates that I loved, the temples, the colonnades, the old walls of my home, my grey-haired mother, her brother who still rejoiced in the name of father, my elder brother already a grandfather, all my schoolfriends, some of them as governors, some as advocates, my father's friends, all that were left of them, and my city strong in the number of its learned sons. I was glad, and yet fearful, glad that I was a citizen of so great and noble a city, and fearful, since it is most difficult to win over one so great. 87. Here too Fortune aided me, both when I was the target for questioning from every side, which happened in the workshops, and when in a declamation I finally had to prove my mettle to them, for, first of all, they did not require anyone to call them together with words of flattery for each of them, but it was enough for them to have the news that I was going to speak. Then, without waiting for daylight, they packed the city hall, and for the first time it proved too small, and the result was that, when I inquired if my audience had turned up, my slave told me that some had even slept the night there. 88. My uncle introduced me with trepidation, but I followed him smiling, for Fortune had instilled confidence into me. I gazed upon the throng and rejoiced, as Achilles rejoiced at the sight of his armour, and in this way I made an impression upon them before ever I began my speech. How could I describe adequately the tears that followed my introductory address, which many had learnt by heart before they left, or the excitement which greeted my subsequent oration, for no one—not even the elderly, the slow or the sick—but jumped up and applauded enthusiastically? Even the gouty, who had much ado to stand up, were on their feet, and when I tried to get them seated again, they declared that my speech would not let them be, and they kept interrupting it with clamorous

- ἔδειξάν ἀποδοῦναι με τοῖς ἑμοῖς βασιλεία. 89. τοῦτ' οὖν ἕως
 ἀπείπον ποῦσαντες αἴθις ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον μετέβαινον μακάριον ἐμέ τε
 R 64 καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀποφαίνοντες, ἐμέ μὲν | ὡς τέχρη λέγοντα, σφᾶς δὲ
 αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀρεταῖς πολίτων ἡδομένους, καλῶς ἐλέξαντες ἔργω
 5 μάταιον λόγον, ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀλλήλων ἀγαθοῖς φθονεῖν τοὺς
 κοινωνοῦντας πατρίδος. οὐ φαιδρότερον ἐπέιδεν Ἀγαμέμνων ἡμέραν
 ἐν ἧ Τροίαν εἶλεν ἢ ἐγὼ ταῦτην ἐν ἧ ταῦτα ἂ διήλθον ἔλαβον. οἱ
 γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ λουτρᾶν ἰόντι συνηκολούθουν θινεὶν ἕκαστος ἐπιθυμοῦντες
 τοῦ σώματος.
 10 90. Ἦν δὲ τις τῆδε Φοινῆς θαυμάζομενος ἐπὶ τῆδε τῆ τέχρη,
 σοφιστοῦ μὲν υἱός, σοφιστοῦ δὲ υἱοῦς, καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι γὰρ οὐχ
 ἦρτον ἐντεῦθεν ἢ ἢ παρὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶ. οὗτος νόμος μὲν τῆς
 F 128 ὠραίας | ἐτύχχανεν ἀφιγμένους οἴκαδε, δευχθέντων δὲ μοι τῶν λόγων
 καὶ πάντων οἰχομένων γράμματα πέμπεται πρὸς ἐκεῖνον φράζοντα
 15 τῆν ταχίστην ἐπιστήναι τοῖς νέοις ὡς ἡρημένους. Εἰ δὲ μελλήσεις, τὰ
 γράμματα ἔλεγεν, ἐπὶ κενὸν ἤξεις τὸ διδασκαλεῖον. οὕτως ἅπαντας
 ἀπαγαγῶν ὁ Ὀρφέος οὐκίσηται. 91. καὶ ὅς αὐτίκα παρῆν γυναικα
 R 65 καὶ οἴκον θέρους ἀφείς καί με ὡς εἶδεν ὠχρὸν καὶ ἰσχνόν, | ἄ με ἡ
 νόσος εἰργάσατο—νόσος γὰρ δὴ κατεδήφη τὴν ἐπίδειξιν—ἀλγεῖν
 20 μὲν ἔφη, πολέμου δὲ ἦρχετο καὶ ὡς δὴ οὐκ ἐγνωσμένος λέγει τε ὡς
 περιεσόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆν ἡτιῶτο τοὺς μεταπεμφμένους. τοιαῦτα
 ἠθέριζε, κεμένω δὲ ἐπενέβαινε, ὅς ἀεὶ ποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦριζε, καὶ
 ἐπιλαβόμενος εἶλκε πρὸς τὸ βασιλεῖον παλαίειν ἀξιών. ἐγὼ δὲ ἰδὼν
 τε τὸν βασιλεύοντα καὶ λόγῳ τιμήσας μὲν ἂν καὶ μὴ αἰτοῦντα τὸν
 25 λόγον, νῦν δὲ ἡτρηκός εἴφερον αἴθις ἐτέροις τισὶν ἐστίαςας τὴν πόλιν,
 ὄν νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἔκει. 92. καὶ δὴ κλάων κλάοντας ἀπελίμ-
 R 66 πων, οἱ δὲ | οὐκ ἔκλαον οἱ βέλτιστοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
 F 129 ὑπάρχοντο δόσεων εἰ διαπραξάμεν τὸ παρὰ σφίσι | ζῆν. ἑμοὶ δὲ ὄν
 ὑπάρχοντο τῶν μεγάλων μεῖζον ἦν τὸ οἴκοι ζῆν.

5 οὐκ del. Re, Cobet: οὐκ con. Schmidt. 8 θεγείν F: θύγειν Re (MSS).
 19 μετὰ τῆν ἐπίδειξιν con. F (crit. notes and vol. iii, p. xviii). 22 αὐτὸν F,
 Re: αὐτὸν MSS. 28 ἐμοὶ—29 τῆν om. ACPBL.

demands that the Emperor should restore me to my own folk. 89. This they did, until they stopped from sheer exhaustion. Then they passed on to my speech, and congratulated both themselves and me—me, for my skill in oratory, themselves, for their pleasure in the excellence of their citizens. Thus they fully disproved the idle tale that fellow citizens inevitably envy each other's success. The sun did not shine more brightly for Agamemnon the day he captured Troy than it did for me on the day when I had the reception I have described. Why, they even escorted me as I went to bathe, every one desiring to touch me.

90. There was here a Phoenician, much admired for his ability in this profession. He was the son and the grandson of teachers, and was respected no less on this account than because of his oratory. He had gone home, as was usual, for the summer vacation, but after I had delivered my declamations and all were deserting him, a letter reached him, telling him to come and take charge of his pupils as soon as he could, for they had been filched from him. 'If you dally', so ran the letter, 'you will return to an empty classroom. This Pied Piper will be gone, and all of them with him.' 91. He returned promptly, leaving wife and home in summertime. He found me pale and emaciated as a result of an illness which had hampered my declamations, expressed his regrets and began hostilities, and, since he was well known already, he gave a speech, sure of success, and after it reproved those who had sent for him. Such were the slights he began to heap upon me, and he tried to trample on me when I was down—he who was always at loggerheads with himself—and he took hold of me and dragged me to the palace, thinking fit to compete against me. I saw our ruler and would have honoured him with an oration, even without his asking. As it was, he did ask for one and I produced it, delighting the city with another discourse, the fame of which has now reached up to heaven. 92. And so I began to take my leave, all of us in tears, but they, fine people that they were, were not just tearful: they promised a big salary if I could manage to come and live among them. But for me, to live at home was a more important factor than all their great promises.

93. Αναβαίνων δὴ τὸ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον τῶν σταθμῶν ἄνατες, οὐ λόγος κατακαυθῆναι τοὺς Ἰγνάντας μαχομένους τοῖς θεοῖς, μικροῦ τῆ βάρβω τοῦ τὸ ζεύγος ἐλαύνοντος τὸν δόφθαλμὸν ἐξεκόντη, ὥστε καὶ τοὺν βλεφάρων τὸ κάτωθεν βαγῆσαι, τὸν δόφθαλμὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἢ 5 Τύχη διέσωσεν. 94. ἀνύσας τοῖνον τὴν πολλὴν ὁδὸν μάλλον ἢ πρὶν εἰσοχέραναι τὸ χωρίον. εἰπὼν δὴ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα ἃ φρονῶ καὶ βοῦθῆν παντὶ θυμῷ δεσθεῖς καὶ πείσας αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἰατροῦς, τοὺς μὲν λέγειν ὡς τῆ κεφαλῇ μοι φάρμακον μὲν ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν αἴψρ, ἐχθρὸς δὲ ὁ παρ' ἐκείνους, τὸν δὲ ἀπλῶς οὕτω προσέειπαι, πείθω πάλιν τῶν 10 τινα ἐν βασιλείαις δυνατῶν τῆ τῶν ἰατρῶν γνώμῃ συναγορευόντα πείσαι βασιλεῖα μὴ φθονῆσαι τῆ κεφαλῇ ὃ δὲ ἐβόηθει μὲν, ἐβόηθει | R 67 δὲ οὐ φίλων μὲν, διεοστήκει γὰρ τοῖς πρόποις, ἐνδεικνόμενος δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρήσαντα διαφύγοι. 95. δίδωμι μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐπαυελθεῖν οὐδὲ τότε εἰς ἀπαξ, λαβὼν δὲ ἐγὼ τὰ γράμματα καὶ F 130 συνακεταζόμενος δέχομαι πικρὰν ἀγγελίαν τεθνάναι | μοι τὴν ἀνεψιδῶν, κείσθαι δὲ τὸν θεῖον ἐν τέφρῃ τῆς Τύχης τὴν αὐτῆς διαφθειρούσης δόσαν· οὐ γὰρ εἴ' ἦν μοι βουλομένη τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν μέλλοντι γε ἀντὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν ἐκείνης ὀφεισθαι τάφον. αἰσθημένου δὲ ἄμφω τοῦ θεῖου καὶ ὡς εἶναι κύριος ἐπαυελθεῖν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλωμι, καὶ 20 τρίτον γε, διότι, καὶ δακρύσαντός γε εἰ μὴδ' ὁ μόνον αὐτῷ παραμύθιον λείπειτο, τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκούει φωνῆς, καὶ καταγοροῦντος ἐν γράμμασιν εἰ μὴ κινούμενη, ἔρχομαι μὲν, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ δὲ καὶ πρότερον R 68 τῆ ψυχῇ, ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἰλαρὰ τε καὶ | εὐθυμομένη, ὑστερον δὲ ἄχος τε πλεῖ καὶ διατεθρυσμένη. 96. καὶ γὰρ αὐ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις 25 ζῆλῃ τις κατελήθει τὸ κοινόν, ἀργῆ βασιλεὺς εἰς φόνον προελθοῦσα· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔκειντο, τοὺς δὲ ὡς κτείνειν εἴρησεν, ἀπαντας ἀγαθοῦς ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν ἑμῆς διδάσκαλον ἐύρων· ἦλθον γὰρ δὴ οὐπερ ἐδέοντο, καὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ὑπερβὰς πεσὼν ἀλοφρομένη ἐν πᾶσαν ὀδωρομένους. καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐλέωντο καὶ ἐγένετο δόξα ἀνεισελ- 30 θεῖν τινά μοι τῶν βελτιόνων δαμνίων, ὑψ' οὐ σπορεσθῆναι τὰ κύματα. 97. τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης προσειπὼν τὸν βασιλεῖα δεύτερον αἰτη- 7 (τοῖς) ἰατροῖς F. 12 οὐ φίλων (μὲν), διεοστήκει γὰρ F (conj. Re.): οὐ φίλων, διεοστήκει μὲν γὰρ MSS. 13 ὁ βασιλεὺς F (VL). 24 διατεθρυσμένη conj. Aspinus (cf. vol. iii, p. xviii): διατεθρυσμένη F, Codet: διατεθρυσμένη Re (MSS).

93. As I went inland, up the slope past the first station at Phlegrae where, so the story goes, the Giants were burned to death as they fought against the gods, I nearly lost my eye when the driver's whip struck me. The lower lid was gashed, but Fortune saved the eye itself. 94. After completing my long journey, I disliked Constantinople more than ever. I told the governor of my feelings, and asked for his whole-hearted assistance, and I won over both him and my doctors. I got them to report that the climate here was beneficial for my migraine while that in the capital was not, and from him I got full support for this. I also induced a man with influence at court to back the doctors' opinion and to persuade the Emperor not to grudge me the treatment my migraine needed. Assist me he did, but through no feeling of affection, for he was very different from me in outlook, but merely to show that he would succeed in everything he undertook. 95. Even then the Emperor did not allow me to return home for good, and I had just got the letter of authorization and was making my preparations when I received the grievous news that my cousin was dead and my uncle in mourning—and so Fortune ruined her own gift. Despite my wishes, I could no longer bear to live in the city, for I would see, instead of a wife, only her tomb. My uncle realized both that I had it in my power to return and that I was reluctant to do so, and he also realized why. He lamented that he did not hear my voice, the one consolation left to him, and in his letters he reproached me for not stirring—and so I came, but not in the same frame of mind as before. Then I had been cheerful and in good heart, but now I was full of sadness and dejection. 96. For, besides my own troubles, the whole community was tempest-tossed by the murderous anger of the Emperor Gallus. Some were dead already, others he had arrested for execution, and all were men of parts. Among them I saw even my old teacher Zenobius, for I went to their prison and, crossing the threshold, I fell on my knees and wept among them as they all lamented. Next day they were released, and the rumour spread that some kindly spirit had entered with me, and by its agency the storm had been stilled. 97. On the day following, I made an address to the Emperor, and being asked to deliver another oration,

F 131 *καὶ παρῆν μὲν ὁ | διδάσκαλος οὐκ καθαρῶς ἀναπεινευκός,
εἰσάγων δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν λόγον ὡς δὴ ἐπηρεκτότα πρὸς με πολλάκις
τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν γλώτταν, ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς ἄρχει τὴν δεξιάν τὸ διη-
λάσθαι δηλῶν, καὶ ὁ μὲν κατεφίλει προσκεκυφώς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐβδούμεν
5 ὅπως ἐν τοιοῦτοις εἰκόσιν εἰς βασιλέα δέους ἡλευθερωκότα διδάσκαλον
γέροντα.*

98. *Τῶν τοίνυν ἐν μέσῳ μοι γιγνομένων ἐπιδείξεων συνηθῶν τε
R 69 οὐδῶν καὶ αἰῶν ἐφέλικεσθαι νέους νεανίσκος πολλὰ | δεῖπνα δεδειπη-
κὸς ἐπὶ τῇ σάματι μισθῷ μεγάλῳ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα δραμιῶν
10 δούω γυναιῶν ἔφη με κεφαλᾷ ἀποτεμόντα κεκτῆσθαι τῇ μὲν ἐπ'
ἐκείνου χρώμενον, θατέρᾳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον. ἦν δὲ τοῦ
ψεύδους ὁ μισθὸς συγκοίμησις ἀρχιστοῦ τινος πάντα πειθαυμένου
τοῖς ἀμφ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν σοφιστήν. εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκομίσαστο τὸν μισθὸν
ὁ τε λαβὼν ὁ τε δοῦς οἶδεν, ἐφ' ᾧ δ' οὐκ ἐτόλμα ἄπερ ἐτόλμα, τοῦτο
15 ἦν. 99. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπέμπεν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ οὐόμενον,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε ἐκείνους ὑφ' ἧν ἐμεμίσθητο ταῖς αἰτίας ἡλιπίζον
ἀκολουθήσειν τὸ ξέφος. οὐκὼν ἐδιώξεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς
πόλεως περὶ τὰς ὑπαρξείας ἐκείτο συγκεκαλυμμένος. ἔδοκει δὲ ἡμῶς
R 70 ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ ψιλλῆς τῆς αἰτίας φαυλότεράν | με ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦτο
20 πάντως | ἐπιδείξειν προπεμπόμενος, οὐδὲ γὰρ βλέμματός με ἀξιό-
F 132 σεν. 100. ὁ δὲ ἐκ μέσων τῶν ἵππεων ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου τὸ χεῖλος
οὐπερ εἰσῆτήκειν τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας εἰδὲ τε οἶον πρότερον ἐκείνους τε
μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ μεμνήσθαι τῆς Θράκης. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν ἔφην
ποιήσειν, ἐποῖον δὲ τὰ πάλαι δεδογμένα μένων τε καὶ τῆς πατρίδος
25 ἐχόμενος. καίτοι τῶν τε ὑποσχέσεων ἔργον οὐδὲν ὅς τέ με ἐπὶ
διαδοχῆν ἐκάλει τῶν περὶ τοὺς νέους πόων ὁ Ζηρόβιος ἕτερος
ἐγεγόνει πόων τε αὐτὸς ἐρᾶν λέγων καὶ ἐμὲ μὴ δεῖν ἐπέευσθαι.
101. ὁ δὲ μοι καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὐκ ἤκιστα ἐβλάψε, τὸ μὴ εὐθὺς
προσπεσόντα τρέψασθαι τοὺς τεταραγμένους· καθ' ἡσυχίαν γὰρ τὰ
30 αὐτῶν ἐβρβαυόντο, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶκοι μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα νέους συνῆν, αὐ-*

¹⁶ ἡλιπίζον F (VL), Re: ἡλιπίζεν (ACPB). ¹⁸ περὶ F (VL): παρὰ Re (ACPB).

unwillingly and fearfully I gave a panegyric, covering the same ground. My old teacher was there, scarce breathing freely after his ordeal, and I introduced him into my oration, saying that he had often spoken to me in praise of the Emperor's eloquence. At this the Emperor was delighted and stretched out his hand in token of reconciliation, and he did obeisance and kissed it, while we applauded, as you would expect in such a case when the Emperor had freed an old teacher from fear.

98. In the meantime my declamations were numerous and of the kind to attract students. Then a lad, who had earned many a dinner by the favours of his person, was influenced by a large bribe to scurry off to this Emperor with allegations that I had cut off the heads of a couple of girls and kept them for use in magic, one against him, the other against his senior colleague. The reward for this lie was to bed with a dancer who obeyed my rival the sophist's clique in everything. Whether he actually got his reward, only he and the dancer can tell, but that was the object of this misdeed. 99. Gallus directed him to the courts, which was the last thing he expected, for both he and those who had hired him anticipated that my execution would follow straight upon the charge. So he did not prosecute me, but lay in hiding in the outskirts of the city near the mountain foot. Still, it was believed that the Emperor, as a result of this baseless charge, thought me disloyal and would certainly show it when he appeared in public, for he would not spare me so much as a single glance. 100. But he rode out from the middle of his escort, cantered up to the edge of the ditch where I was standing, looked upon me just as he had done before, and bade me not to linger but to bethink me of my duties in Thrace. Though I agreed to do so, I acted upon my earlier resolve and stayed clinging to my native city. However, the promises I had received were not put into effect; Zenobius, who invited me to succeed him, changed his mind and said that he was devoted to his work and that there was no need for me to bother. 101. What affected my position most adversely was the fact that I did not attack at once and put them to rout while they were in disorder. Thus they quietly strengthened their position, while I stayed at home attending

ἦγον τὸ πλὸν ἄγων, οἴπω δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ τοῦ δημοσιεύοντος σχήματι, καὶ κατέχευε μὲν ἀδύμια τοὺς ἔμοιός, κατέχευε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐμέ, καὶ τῷ ἀργεῖν ὡπερ ὁ τοῦ Πηλέως ἀχθόμενος ἀχθος τε ἀρούρης ἐμαυτὸν ὀνομάζων εἰς τοῦτο ἀπεφερόμην, ὥστε φαρμάκων πόσει διεπισσάμην τὸς | φρένας τοῖς μὲν χεῖρασι τῶν ἐλπίδων χροόμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦς οὐκ ἔχων ἄνευ γέλωτος ἐπανελθεῖν.

R 71 102. Ἐνταῦθά μοι γέρων τις προσελθὼν οὐδὲν ἔφη θαυμαστὸν εἶναι μὴ εὖ πράττειν ἐν τῇ κλήτῃ κείμενον· πλεονεκτεῖν γὰρ δὴ τοῦς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καθήμενος· | Ἀλλ' εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, μαθεῖν τῶν διηκόντων F 133 τὸ πλῆθος, ἄρμησον ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἱερῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ὑπακούω τῷ γέροντι, τῶν ἀγοραίων δὲ τινα μεταστήσας ἄλλοσε τῆς συνοικίας καταβάς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖσε ἑκαθήμην ψαῦον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καὶ ἔδρασε τί τὸ χωρίον προστεθέντων οἷς ἔφην ἄρτι πλειόνων ἢ τοσοῦτων νέων, τὸ Μουσεῖον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἦν, ῥοπή τοῖς ἔχουσι μεγάλη, λέγω δὴ πρὸς τὴν Καλλιόπην, ὅτι Ὡ Μουσῶν μὲν ἀρίστη, τὴν πόλιν δὲ ἡμῖν ἄγουσα, τίνας ταύτας οὐ πράττει δίκας; τί με ἐδελέαζες R 72 οὐσα θεός; τί τῶν μὲν ἐξέβαλες, τὰ δὲ οὐ | δίδως; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἡπατηκῶς τρυφᾷ, τὸν ἡδικημένον δὲ ἀπερριμμένον περιωρᾷ; 103. τοιαῦτα μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἔδος πόρρωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς διελέχθην, ἡμέραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἐγὼ μὲν οἴκοι τι καθήμενος ἐδημιούργουν, βοῆ δ' ὅσα γίνονται ἂν ἐξ ἔχλου νόμου ὑπεροπῶντος προσέβαλεν, ὥστε με στήσαντα τὴν χεῖρα τί τὸ ταῦτα ποιοῦν παρ' ἐμαυτῷ σκοπεῖν ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὄντος ἀναβάς οὐμὸς ἀνεμὸς ἀσθμαίνων τὸν μὲν ἀρχοντα ἔφη τεθνεῶτα εἰκεσθαὶ παιδίων ποιουμένων τῶν κτεινάντων τὸν νεκρῶν, Εὐβουλον δὲ σὺν τῷ παιδὶ δρασιμῷ τοῦς ἐκείνων δια- F 134 φραγόντα λίθους εἰς ὄραν ποι κορυφὰς ἀναφηνέας, τοῦς | δὲ ἀμαρτόντας τῶν σομάτων εἰς τὴν οὐκίαν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀφείναι τὸν θυμὸν. Καὶ κηπὸς οὐτοσί, τοῦ πυρὸς ἀγγελοῦ, αἴρεται καὶ ὄραν ἐξεστίν. 104. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Πάτροκλος πληγῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολωλέκει τὰ ὄπλα, R 73 τὸν δὲ ἀπόντα μὲν κηλοῦντα, παρόντα δὲ | ἀποθνήσκοντα φεύγειν μὲν ἡνάγκηθεν οὐδέ, νόσος δὲ καταβαλοῦσα μακρὰ τῶν νέων ἀφίστη,

3 ἀρούρης F (MSS); ἀρούρας Re (Mor). 9 τῷ inser. F (VL), om. other MSS. 10 τοῦτο F conj. Gaisda; τούτω Re (MSS). 15 (31) τοσοῦτων inser. F (conj. Cobet). 21 γάνου' Re (BV), Mor. 26 ἀμαρτόντας F, Re, Mor.; ἀμαρτόντας MSS.

to my class of fifteen, most of whom I had brought with me. I did not as yet hold the post of publicly appointed professor, and both my friends and I were full of despondency. Like Achilles, I found idleness burdensome and called myself a burden to the earth, and I reached such a pass that I kept my wits only by taking draughts of medicine, since here I was disappointed in my hopes and I could not return to Constantinople without becoming a laughing-stock.

102. At this point an old gentleman came to me and said that it was no wonder I had no success if I lay abed, for those who were in the public eye always got the best of it. 'If you really want to know how many they are who are thirsting for knowledge', said he, 'just go to any of the temples.' Though I did not take the old fellow's advice in this, I got one of the market people to move to another room in the block and went down and settled myself there, on the fringe of the square. This move was quite successful, for the number mentioned above was increased by as many more, but my rivals had the great advantage of using the Museum for their lessons. Then I addressed Calliope thus: 'Most glorious of the Muses, our city's guide, for what reason do you punish me so? Why do you, a goddess, ruin me? Why have you removed me from one position and refuse me another? While the deceiver flourishes, are you content to see his victim utterly cast away?' 103. So I addressed the temple from afar as I stood in the colonnade, but not many days thereafter, as I sat at home engaged in my craft, there came to my ears a shouting, as of a riotous mob. I stopped writing and began to wonder what could the matter be, and while I was still like that, my cousin came puffing and panting up the stairs and reported that the governor was murdered, his body was being dragged along as sport for the murderers, and Eubulus and his son had fled before their brickbats to seek refuge somewhere on the hilltops, while the mob, cheated of their persons, vented its wrath against his house. 'There is the smoke rising to mark the fire', he exclaimed. 'Look, you can see it.' 104. So our Patroclus, sore smitten, had lost his weapons, but as for Zenobius, who summoned me from abroad and rejected me when I came, nothing forced him to take to his heels. Instead, a prolonged illness

καὶ θυοὺν ἐβιάζετο κακοῖν, τιρεσθῆναι τε καὶ λύπη πυνθανόμενος ἰδρῶ-
 σθαί με ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τοσοῦτόν τε εἶναι τὸ ποίμνιον ὥστε μὴ οἶόν
 τε εἶναι, πρὶν ἤλιον δύναμι, διὰ πάντων ἰέναι. 105. τὸν δὲ καὶ οὕτως
 ἔχοντα γνώμης ἐργόμενος ἐθεράπευον καὶ οὐκ ἦν εἰπεῖν ἦν οὐκ ἤλθον
 5 ἐπισκευόμενος ἡμέραν. καίτοι που καὶ ἀπρηλαινώμενη, ἀλλ' ὄμως οὐκ
 ἀνήν, καὶ τελευτήσαντι δὲ οἱ δακρύων μετέδωκα καὶ λόγον ἐποίησα.
 106. Πρῶτον δὲ ἦν ἀφιγμένους ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχεῖ
 Στρατηγὸς πάλα προειρημένον αὐτῷ. προσλαβὼν δὲ φίλον οὕτω
 F 135 μέγαν, οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἐκεῖνος | ὁ τὰς μὲν Ἀθήνας ἐμοί, ταῖς Ἀθήνας
 10 δὲ ἐμὲ διδοῦς, κατέστην οὖν ἡκοτος εἰς τὸ βοηθεῖν ἐκεῖνοις ὧν
 ἐδόκουν δεῖσθαι βοηθῶν. 107. οὐκ ἔτ' οὖν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος μόνον
 R 74 ἔργον ἦν, ἀλλ' ἔδει τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν | εἶναι λόγων, τὴν δὲ ἑσπέραν
 πράξασθαι οἷ τε γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ δυνατωτέρων ἀδικουμένοι οἷ τε κατ'
 ὄργην ἐγγεγραμμένοι, τῆς ἀρχῆς δὲ εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν δεόμενοι οἷ τε
 15 ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὡς τάχιστα ψήφου τυχεῖν—πολλὰς δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλας
 ἀρχὴ δούη χάριτας οὐ λυποῦσα τὸν νόμον—οὕτω, οἱ μὲν αὐτοί, τῶν
 δὲ γυναῖκες, ἦσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἰλιθεῖν ἐκείσε. 108. ἐγὼ δὲ μέγρι
 μὲν μεσημβρίας ταυτῶν ἐποιοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις διδασκάλοις, ἔπειτα τῶν
 20 μὲν οἱ μὲν ἐθδὸς ἠρίστως, οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ λούσαντο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἦν ἐν οἴσπερ
 πρῶτον. σκότους δὲ με ἀνιστάτος ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν φίλον ἐκ
 R 75 γραμμάτων δὴ τινα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ κεκείμενων, | ὑπὲρ ὧν δεηθῆναι χρῆν,
 ἀναμνηστικῶς. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπέθετο, τὰ δὲ οὐ πειθόμενος, ὡς
 οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον, διδάσκων ἐξέπεμπε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκολάκευεν ἀνα-
 μένων λουόμενος, ὡς οὐ τῷ λουτρῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ 'μὴ θέα δυναμένω
 25 αὐτῷ κομφίεσθαι τῶν πόνων. ἃ δὲ ἐγὼ γνώσις ἐχαρίζομαι αὐτῷ
 F 136 ταῖς κατ' ἡμέραν εἰσδοῖς, ἀνάγκης δὲ | εἰργοῦσης πέμπων ὅ τι τὸ
 κωλύσαν ἀνεπιθυμῶντο. 109. ἡρία μὲν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἀντικαθή-
 μενον τὸ τε εἰ πάσχειν οὐκ ὀλίγους τὸ τε ἀμσθί. τοῦτ' ἄρα δὲ καὶ
 30 πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς παρ' ἐμὲ καταφεύγοντας ἐποίησε τὸ μὴ δεῖν
 τιθέναι τιμὴν ὡς περ λαχάνων ἢ κρεῶν. ἡγχετο δὲ διαφερόντως τῷ

1 ἰδρῶσθαί B: ἰδρῶσθα F, Re (other MSS.). 23 ἐκολάκευεν MSS.:
 ἐκολάκευε κελεύων codd. Re: ἐκέλευε F (codd.) Clabot. 24 λουόμενος F, Sievers
 (BV: correction in P): λουόμενος Re (ACL): λούμενος Clabot. 25 ὁ Re
 (MSS.): ὁ F. 26 ὁ F (MSS.): τὸ Re. 28 [καὶ] F.

attacked him and separated him from his students, and he was
 harried by a double ill—his fever and his chagrin on learning
 that I was established in the city hall and that I had such
 a large class that I could not get through them all before sun-
 set. 105. I went to tend him, even though he was in such
 a frame of mind, nor could you name the day when I did not
 go to visit him. Though I was even turned away at times, I still
 did not give up and, upon his death, I gave him his meed of
 tears and composed a funeral oration.

106. There had previously arrived, in the office of praetorian
 prefect, Strategius, as had long been prophesied for him. He
 was the one who had recommended Athens to me and me to
 Athens, and upon gaining so powerful a friend, after his
 arrival I set about helping those whose help I thought I should
 need. 107. Thus oratory was no longer my only concern, but
 while my days were taken up with it, my nights were perforce
 engaged with business. Those people who had suffered injury
 at the hands of men of greater influence, those who, indicted
 in anger, now needed the governor for their deliverance, and
 those desirous of a speedy trial—and many other favours too
 a governor can grant without harm to the law—all these,
 either in person or through their wives, begged me to ap-
 proach him on their behalf. 108. Until noon my activities were
 the same as those of other teachers, but then, when they dined,
 either at once or after they had bathed, I would remain at my
 previous task. When darkness forced me to rise, I would visit
 my friend, refreshing my memory from jottings which I took
 with me, about the people whose cause I must plead. He would
 either consent or, when he did not, would inform me that
 justice would not allow it, and so he would dismiss me, or
 rather he would flatter me by bidding me wait until he bathed,
 for he got more relaxation from his labours at the sight of me
 than from his bath. I realized all this, and obliged him with
 my daily audiences, and whenever anything happened to pre-
 vent it, he would send to inquire what it was. 109. It irked
 my rival that many received these benefits, and without paying
 for them. In fact, the reason for the large number of those who
 sought my aid was that they need not make a set payment as
 though for meat and vegetables. He was especially dismayed

τῶν ἐπίδειξεν ἀριθμῶ καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν τῶ ταῖς μορφαῖς διαφέρειν
 ἀλλήλων καὶ ἠγορεύτο καθήμενος ὅποτε ἄρα πλάττουμι τοὺς λόγους,
 οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅ τί ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ὕπνου περιεῖναι. 110. σιγῶν τε οὖν
 R 76 ὠδυνᾶτο, καὶ οὐ σιγῶν ἐτι | τὸ σιγῶν εἰη βέλτιον ἐμάνθανε. μέχρι
 5 μὲν δὴ μέσου θέρους ἄκων τε καὶ μάλισ, ὥσπερ ἵππος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἰμάξυτος ἐλκόμενος, ἐχώρει, τοῦ καιροῦ δὲ τὸ σκεῖναι παύοντος
 ἐξῆγε μὲν ἐπαυρῆσει εἰπὼν, ἀπελλῶν δὲ ἔμεινε, ὡς δὴ ὑπὸ τῆς οὐσῆς
 τῶ μῶ θεῖο δυνάμειος κεκακομένους. ἔλκω δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀγῶνας ἀπελαῖς τε ταῖς τοῦ ἀρχοντος καὶ ἅμα ἐπὶ πλείους πυρούς,
 10 ἦδει δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ κερδαίνειν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦκε, φίλος ἦν διὰ τοὺς πυρούς,
 αἰθῆς δὲ ἀφισταμένους ὀμιλητῶν καὶ ἐτοιμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν ἦσθιέ
 F 137 τε ἅμα καὶ ἦν ἐχθρὸς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἀμείνων μὲν, | ἀφελῶν τι
 τῆς βαθυμίας, οὐ μὴν ἐφ' ὅσον γε ἄξιον, ἦρτο. 111. καὶ δὴ τι καὶ
 R 77 τοιοῦτον γίνεται ὁ ὕπαρχος | τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπιθυμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ
 15 ἕτερος τοῦ ἀρχεῖν, χρέος μὲ τι τοιοῦτον εἰσέπραττεν, ὡς ἂν ἔχω
 τῆν ἀρχὴν, ἧς ἐπιβάντα αὐτὸν ὑπεσχίμην ἐπαυρῆσθαι. προσείργω
 μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ φανεῖς εὐθὺς ἐν βραχέσιν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὰ τε ἐκεῖνα
 διεργασθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἐνάντων βῆθῆναι σωπηθῆναι μὴδὲν ἐβούλετο.
 112. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς μὲν οὐχ ὑπεσχίμην οὐκ ἐξηρνούμην, ἔφη δὲ
 20 ἀποδώσειν εἰ μοι οἴκωθεν ἐξελλῶν ἐν τῶ βουλευτηρίῳ δέχοιτο τὸν
 πόνον· καινὸν μὲν γὰρ τι ποιῆσειν τὸν ὕπαρχον, ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
 τοῦ λόγου μέρος τὸ πρῶτον ἀδε τετιμηκέναι τοὺς λόγους. ἔφη τιμῆ-
 R 78 σευ, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ἠπίστου· ὁ δὲ καὶ δὴ παρῆν, | δεομένου δὲ τοῦ
 μήκουσ αἰθῆς αὐτὸν παρεῖναι πάλιν παρῆν, δεομένου δὲ καὶ τρις οὐδὲ
 25 τότε ἀπῆν. καὶ νῦν τοῦτο ἴδεται περὶ ἀμφοῖν, τίς καὶ τίνας καὶ τί καὶ
 ποῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀκίκοε. 113. βουληθεῖς δὴ τῶν πόλεων εἰς τὰς
 ἀρίσττας ἀφικέσθαι τὸν λόγον, οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσας ἔλθειν,
 30 τρέπει μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῶν βιβλογράφων δέκα. τούτων δὲ ἐνὶ χρυσῶν

2 ἠγορεύτο F, Re (Anim.); ἠγέρει τε Re (MSS). 9 πλείους πυρούς
 Re (MSS); πλείους πυρούς F (conj. Gasda). 10 ὁ inser. F. 25 περὶ
 ἀμφοῖν Gasda (VL); παρὰ ἀμφοῖν Re (ACPB); παρὰ πάντων conj. F. 26 δὴ
 F (VL); ἢ Re (ACPB). 28 βιβλογράφων AB, Thomas Mag., Re.

at the number of my declamations, and again at their different types, and he sat puzzling out when on earth I managed to compose my orations, for he had no idea what it was like to burn the midnight oil. 110. So he suffered in silence, and when he did not, he soon found out that silence is golden. Unwillingly and grudgingly, he stayed until midsummer, like a horse forced along by its team-mate, but when the season brought our classes to an end, he went off, saying that he would be back; but, once he was away, he stayed away, alleging that his position had been jeopardized by my uncle's influence. However, I fetched the fellow back to the contests, by means of threats from the governor and also to a bigger allowance, for he knew on which side his bread was buttered: when he did return, he was quite friendly because of this allowance, but his pupils deserted him even more readily than before, and then he took the allowance and fell out with me. As regards his oratory he had improved, for he had rid himself of some of his slackness, but not nearly as much as he should have done. 111. Finally, there occurred the following incident. The prefect was more desirous of praise than other men were of office, and he demanded of me a panegyric as repayment of the debt I owed him, since I had promised a speech in his honour once he had attained his present office. Immediately after his appointment, I had made a brief address to him, and now he wanted the subject elaborated, and none of the possible topics to be passed over in silence. 112. I did not deny that I had made this promise, but I said that I would settle my debt if he left his quarters and came to listen to my oration in the city hall, for this would be something without parallel for the prefect to do, and it would form the first part of my speech that he had honoured eloquence so. He agreed to do me this honour, though most people would not believe it, but attend he did; and when the length of the speech required a second attendance, he did so again, and similarly, a third time. And now it is on everyone's lips about us both, the speaker and the auditor, and about the speech and whereabouts in the city it took place. 113. He wanted the oration to reach the foremost of the cities, for by that means it would reach them all, and so he put ten copyists on to the job. To one of these the sophist

- F 138 δέικνονσι | ὁ σοφιστὴς καὶ διαφθείρας μετ' ἐκείνου τὴν παρομίαν κοινὰ τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ποιησάμενος καὶ ῥήματα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν εἰς χώραν τὴν ἀλλήλων μεταθείς, σικμρὰ δὲ ἅπτα ἐμβάλων καλεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον παραλυθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς δὴ τὸ ἴσον οἰσόμενον.
- 5 114. τέρατος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ πρέμματος δοκοῦντος χελώνης ἵππου τάχει χρομένης μηνύει τις τοῦ λόγου τὴν πρᾶσιν, καὶ ὁ τὸ χρυσίον ἔχει, ὡς εἶδε τὰς μαστίγας, ἁμολογεῖ τε καὶ ἱκετεύει συγγνώμην ἔχειν αὐτῷ μεγάλης ἡτηθέντι τιμῆς. ὡς οὖν μὴ ἄλλοι ταῦτα
- R 79 εἶδειεν, ἀγοῦ τὸν | πατήρα τοῦ λόγου παρὰ τὸν Νικέντιον, οὐ ἦν ἢ 10 ἀρχὴ Σύριων, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καίτοι προσδοκωμένης ζημίας ὅμως ὁμολογεῖ ταῦτα καὶ ἄθως ἀπήλθεν οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεηθέντος δίκην λαβεῖν. 115. ὁ δὲ ἀνδρείωτατος σοφιστῶν ἐκείνος οὐδ' οὕτως ἠσύχασεν, ἀλλ' ἀδῆς τὰ εἰρημῆνα ἐμβολόγησε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ τοῦ Στρατηγίου καταγωγῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξήλασεν, Ἑρμογένῃ δὲ τὸν τὴν 15 ἀρχὴν ἐκδεχόμενον αὐτῷ | δεῖνόν τε καὶ ἀγριον ἦγεν ἢ φήμη καί, F 139 ἦν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγνός, ἐδόκουν οὐκέθ' ἂ πρότερον ἰσχύσειν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὁ Ἑρμογένης βέλτιστος ἀρχόντων καὶ οὐ πολλοῖς μὲν ὀμιλεῖν ἀξίω, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ θυμῷ χράμενος. 116. οὗτος αὐθὺς μὲν εἰσακάσας τὴν βουλὴν εἰπόντων ὁ τι ὤφειτο τῇ πόλει 20 λυσιστέλλειν ἑκάστου, τὸν θεῖον τὸν ἐμὸν ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων εὐρών, Ὄττος ἐκείνος, ἔφη, Φασγάνιος, ὥστε τὸν Εὐβουλὸν τε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου μοῖραν μικροῦ πεσεῖν. ἔπειτα ἐμὲ καλέσας φίλον ἐδείξέ οἱ R 80 γενέσθαι | τοιοῦτον, ὥστε μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον ταύτῃ Ἀρισταίνεω καὶ Σελεύκῳ, παρ' ὧν δὴ καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν κενωθήσῃαι τοῦ κτήματος.
- 25 Ἀλλὰ δίκαιον μέντοι, ἔφη, τὸν φιλοῦντα ἐκείνω καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φιλεῖσθαι.
117. Ταυτὶ μὲν εὐπτόμου, δυστοχοῦς δὲ τὰ ῥηθησόμενα. τὴν γὰρ δὴ πᾶντ' ἐμοῦ μητέρα καὶ τὸν τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας ὀφθαλμῶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ πύργου, τὸν θεῖον ἤρπασεν ἢ Τύχη, τὸν μὲν πρότερον, ἢ δὲ οὐκ 30 ἐνεγκόσῃα ἐπαποθήσκει. καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι μοι τῶν ἡδέων ἦδὲ οὐδ' αὐτό γε τὸ πάντων ἤδιστον, αἱ ἐπιδείξεις· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο

4 οἰσόμενος F, Re: οἰσόμενος MSS. 8 αὐτῷ F: αὐτῷ Re (MSS). 11 δόξα F, Mor. (VL): πολλοὶ Re (ACPB). 9 Νικέντιον F, Valensius (B corr. in P): Νικέντιον Re (AC): Ἰνικέντιον L: Ἰνικέντιον V. 13 ἐμβολόγησε F: ἐμβολόγησε Re (MSS). 16 ἐδόκουν οὖν MSS.: οὖν cancell. F, Re. 25 τὸν inser. F, Re, Mor., om. MSS.

offered a bribe and in concert with him he completely falsified the old proverb, making it a case of share and share alike between foes; of my expressions he changed the majority around in their contexts, and he made minor insertions, and then he invited the governor, when his term of office was done, to come to the same place and get his due reward. 114. It seemed more than strange that the tortoise should beat the hare, and information was laid that the speech had been sold. As soon as he saw the lash, the copyist who had been bribed confessed and pleaded for pardon for succumbing to the great temptation. So, in order that all should be aware of it, I halted the seller of my speech before Nicentius, governor of Syria, and, for all that he expected to be punished, the fellow confessed and got off scot-free, since I did not press for the infliction of the penalty. 115. Not even then did my brave sophist be still, but he tried to tell the tale again, and in Strategius' residence, too. Strategius sent him packing, but rumour had it that Hermogenes, his successor, was a man of stern and unbending character. As he was unacquainted with me, it seemed that I would no longer have my former influence. However, it turned out that Hermogenes was an excellent governor, and, though considering it below his dignity to have a host of intimates, he was of kindly disposition and was guided by reflection rather than by passion. 116. He convened the town council forthwith, and when its members were each making suggestions for the city's welfare, he recognized my uncle as a result of his remarks. 'Why, there's Phasganius', he exclaimed, and thereupon Eubulus and his clique nearly collapsed. Then he summoned me to him, and begged me to be his friend, as intimate with him as I was with Aristaenetus and Seleucus, by whom he had been inspired with the desire to obtain this boon. 'Well,' said I, 'it is only right that I should be a friend of a friend of theirs.'

117. Such was my good fortune; I will now proceed to the bad. My mother, who was all in all to me, and my uncle, the light of Asia and a tower of strength to me, Fortune snatched from me—him first, she, heart-broken, dying soon after. No more could I derive any pleasure from my pleasures, not even from the chief of them, my declamations. For during their

ἦδιστον ὅπ' ἐκέλευν ἐγίγνετο, τοῦ μὲν ὄλον ἀνηβωντός τε ἐν τοῖς
κρότοις καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἐπιλαθνομένου, τῆς δὲ ὑπερχαιρού-
F 140 σης | ὅποτε αὐτῆ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδρύτα κομίσοιμι. 118. μετ'
ἐκέλευς τὰς ταφάς καὶ τὴν Εὐσεβίου γε τοῦ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπεθνήκοντος—
5 ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ Νικομηθείας πτόμα καὶ ὃν ἡ πόλις ἐκάλεθε
R 81 πεσοῦσα θανά | τε καὶ οἶα λύπην τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμβάλειν, ὅθ' ἦς δὴ
καὶ πολὺς ἐξαιφνης εἰδείξα, κακὰ δὲ προστεθέντα κακοῖς, ταῦτα
ἐκέλευς φίλω τε φίλος καὶ πόλει φίλῳ μίσηρ τε καὶ ὁ ταύτης
ἀδελφός—πάντα ἐμοὶ δι' ἃ ζῆν βούλοισ' ἄν τις, ἀποφαίνουσι πικρά,
10 πρὶν δὴ τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν ἀμαχεὶ παραλαβὼν ὁ παντὸς φιλοσόφου
μᾶλλον ἐν βασιλείῳ τὴν σοφίαν ἀγαπήσας κατήγαγεν ὡσπερ ἐκ φυγῆς
εἰς τὸ αἴθρι ἀσπίξεσθαι τὰ δυσχεραίνόμενα. 119. καὶ ἐγέλασά τε καὶ
ἐσκίρτησα καὶ σὺν ἡδονῇ λόγους καὶ συνέθηκα καὶ εἰδείξα, βιωμῶν
μὲν ἀπειληφόταν αἶμα, καπιού δὲ φέροντος πρὸς οὐρανὸν τὴν
15 κίνησαν, θεῶν δὲ ἑορταῖς τιμωμένων, ὧν ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐπιστήμονες
λελειμμένοι γέροντες, μαντικῆς δὲ εἰς ἐξουσίαν παρῆσαν, λόγων
δὲ εἰς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ εἰς τὸ θαρρεῖν, βαρβάρων δὲ
τῶν μὲν ἠττημένων, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων. 120. οὗτος ὁ σωφρανέστα-
τός τε καὶ δικαιοτάτος καὶ ῥητορικώτατος καὶ πολεμικώτατος, ὁ
20 μόνος τοῖς δυσσεβέσι ἐχθρὸς τῶν | μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν πρῶβρων οὐ
F 141 μετ' ἐμῶν ὡς αὐτὸν ἠκόοντων γραμμάτων ἤλγησε καὶ Ὡ' Ἡράκλειος,
ἔφη, ὁ τοῦδε ἐκ τοῦ γράφειν ὑπομνήσας κινδύνους ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ σιγῆ.
τῆς δεῖρο δὲ ὁδοῦ καὶ τοῦτο κέρδος ἀνάμειξεν, εἰ ἐμέ τε ἴδοι καὶ
ἀκούσαι λέγοντος. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης
25 ὄψεως πρῶτον τοῦτο ἐφθέγγετο· Πῶστε ἀκουσόμεθα; | ὁ δὲ ἀνταγωνι-
R 82 στήσ ἑκείνους ἦδη ἦν οἴκοι τεθνηκυίας μὲν αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός,
θυγατέρων δὲ ὠραίων γάμου τῶν ἐκείνου δεσμένων ὀφθαλμῶν,
ἐλέγετο δέ, ὡς καὶ ζώσῃς τῆς γυναικός ὄχετο ἄν.
121. Ὁ τοῦτον βασιλεὺς προσέειπεν μὲν τῶν λόγων καθ' ἑκάστην
30 ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἡμέραν θυσιάς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ βασιλείου
δέδροις, πολλὰν δὲ φοιτῶντων τε καὶ διὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς

2 αὐτοῦ F, Re: αὐτοῦ MSS.

lifetime, this really was my greatest pleasure, since he, as it were, regained his youth in the applause and forgot his own trouble, while she rejoiced exceedingly whenever I returned to her with the sweat of my labours upon me. 118. With their death, and that of Eusebius also who had died before either of them—and there had also occurred the earthquake at Nicomedia and the death of Aristaenetus, buried in the ruins of the city, a shocking event and one that caused me such extreme grief that my hair went white all of a sudden—trouble piled upon trouble, one thing followed another, friend after friend died, a city I loved was destroyed, my mother and her brother had passed away, and all that a man could wish to live for turned to gall for me, until at last there came the unopposed accession to the throne of the Emperor Julian. He, who in his palace loved philosophy more than did any philosopher, restored me, as though from exile, to a condition where I was once more reconciled to my troubles. 119. I laughed and danced, joyfully composed and delivered my orations, for the altars received their blood offerings, smoke carried the savour of burnt sacrifice up to heaven, the gods were honoured with their festivals, which only a few old men were left to remember, the art of prophecy came again into its own, that of oratory to be admired; Romans plucked up heart, and barbarians were either vanquished or soon to be so. 120. This emperor, in his prudence and justice, eloquence and might, enemy to the unbelievers alone, was grieved when our ambassadors reached him and brought him no message from me. 'Good heavens,' he exclaimed, 'Libanius, who has withstood the perils his writings occasioned, is silent now that he is safe.' The profit he got from his journey here was simply this, he said, that he would see me and hear me speak. Indeed, at the very first sight of me, right at the city boundary, the first thing he said was, 'When shall I hear you speak?' Meanwhile my rival was still at home, for his wife was dead and his daughters, now of marriageable age, required his supervision; but rumour had it that, even if his wife had still been alive, he would have left.

121. Now the Emperor, as a prelude to each day's address, used to sacrifice under the trees in the palace garden. He had many to attend him and flatter him by means of their religious

ἐκεῖνον θεραπευόντων αὐτὸς ἦν ὁππερ ἀεὶ, καὶ οὕτε ἐκαλούμην τό τε
 ἄκλιτον ἰέναι μετέχειν τιῶς ἀναιδείας ὑπελείμβανον καὶ τὸν μὲν
 ἄνθρω ἐφθίδον, τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ οὐκ ἐκολάκεον. 122. ἦκε δὲ ποτε εἰς
 Διὸς Φιλίου θύσων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κατιδῶν, ἐβούλοντο γὰρ καὶ πᾶν
 5 ἐποίουν ὅπως ὀφθήσονται, μόνον οὐ τεθεσμένους ἐμὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς
 ἐμμεγμμένον δειλῆς διὰ δέλτου τιῶς ἡράτα τε ὅτι εἴη τὸ κεκαλυκῆς,
 καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων καθήφτετο. ἂ μὲν δὲ ἀπεκρινάμην διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
 F 142 δέλτου καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐδήχθην μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο ἐποίησα | καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν
 χάρσιν, οἶδεν ἀναγνώστῃς τε ἐκείνου καὶ ἐρυθρίας. 123. ἀπεχο-
 10 μένου δὲ μου καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέλτου οὐδὲν ἦττον τοῦ τε κήπου καὶ τῶν
 R 83 ἐν τῷ κήπῳ δρωμένων | καὶ ἀπημελήσθαι δοκοῦντος καὶ οὕτε
 ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπισταμένου τε ὅστις ἦν ὁ τὴν φίλιαν διορύξας, Πρίσκος,
 Ἡπειρώτης ἀνὴρ ὅτι πλείστους ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ συγγεγονῶς ἀνδράσι,
 πλημμελεῖσθαι ταῦτα ἡγησάμενος τῷ βασιλεὶ παύει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν·
 15 οἷός μιν λόγους, οὐκ οἶδα, καλοῦμαι δὲ πλιθούσης ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
 διαπορεῖτό τε καὶ εἰς γῆν ἔκπτειν ὁ κεκληκῶς κατηγορῶν οἷς
 ἔπασχεν ὡν ἐδεδράκει. 124. μῶλις δ' οὐν ποτε αὐτὸν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ
 τὸ πολλὰ κατηγορησάσθαι πράττειν αἰτιασάμενος, ἐπειδὴ καλῶν μὲν
 ἐπ' ἀριστον ἤκουσεν ὡς δεῖπνοῖν, καλῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἤκουσεν ὡς
 20 καὶ τοῦτο ἐξὸν ποιεῖν ἢ κεφαλὴ καλῶσι, Σὺ δ' ἄλλα θαμίξαι ἡμῖν,
 ἔφη. Καλοῦντός γε, ἔφη· ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἐνοχλήσειν. ὁ δὲ πείθεταί τε
 καὶ οὕτως ἐποίει. 125. αἱ δὲ συνοουσίαι λόγους τε ἡμῖν τοὺς ὑπὲρ
 λόγων εἶχον καὶ ἐπαίνους τῶν ἐδ' πραττομένων ἐκείνῳ καὶ μέμψεις
 F 143 τῶν ἀλιγωρημένων, ἦττον δὲ οὐδὲν | οὐ τῶν ἐν θησαυροῖς, οὐκ οἰκίαν,
 25 οὐ γῆν, οὐκ ἀρχάς, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους λόγους ἦν οὐκ ἕων κακῶν |
 R 84 τῶν οὐ τοιούτων δοκεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδίδου τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδ'
 ἀπολαβεῖν ἡξίον ὄντων μοι παππῶν οὐ μικρῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου
 κτήμασιν. ὁρῶν δὲ κέρδος τε ἅπαν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταπαταγμένον
 ζητούντά τε οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ὅπως ἐκείνους ἀποκρήψαι τὰ ὑμνούμενα,
 26 οὐ F, Mor. (L), om. Re (other MSS). 29 ἀποκρήψαι F: ἀποκρήψαι
 Re (MSS).

activity, but I stayed where I always was; I received no in-
 vitation and I considered that to attend without one was a sign
 of rudeness, and while I liked him personally, I refused to
 flatter him because of his position. 122. One day he came to
 sacrifice at the altar of Zeus Philius, and there he saw the rest,
 for that was their desire and they would go to any lengths to
 ensure that they were seen: the only one missing from the
 throng was myself, and in the afternoon he sent a letter to
 inquire what had prevented me, his tone being one of delicate
 reproof. My answer I sent by return, and when he read it, he
 realized that I was as capable of administering delicate re-
 proofs as I was of receiving them, and he blushed for shame.
 123. Even after this message I still held aloof from the garden
 and the goings-on there, and it seemed that I was quite out of
 favour. Yet I was not downcast, for I understood who it was
 who had undermined our friendship, but Priscus of Epirus,
 who as a philosopher had a large circle of acquaintances,
 thought the Emperor to be at fault in this attitude and checked
 his error. What his arguments were, I do not know, but one
 morning I received an invitation. The Emperor who had issued
 it was out of countenance and kept his eyes on the ground, and
 by his emotions showed how wrong he had been. 124. Anyway,
 he recovered himself at last with some difficulty and blamed
 the mass of business with which he had to deal. Then he in-
 vited me to lunch, and got the reply that I was in the habit of
 dining: so he invited me to dinner, but was told that, though
 I was free to go, my headache prevented me. 'Still, visit me
 often', he exclaimed. 'Certainly,' I replied, 'if you invite me.
 Otherwise I will not trouble you.' He consented and so he
 began to carry on. 125. Our intercourse consisted of literary
 discussion, of praise for his successes and criticism of his over-
 sights. I asked for nothing—for none of his treasure, for no
 villa, estate or office. That business about Aristophanes was an
 oration to ensure that a man who was no rogue should not be
 regarded as one. What is more—he offered me that official
 post, but I did not think it proper to accept, though a large part
 of my grandfather's estate was among his possessions. He saw
 that I spurned all gain and that my sole object was to ensure
 that he should outdo all the good things said about him, and he

τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔφασκε τὸν αὐτοῦ πλοῦτον φιλεῖν, ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτόν,
καὶ μηδ' ἂν τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν υπερβαλέσθαι τὸ φίλτρον τὸ παρ'
ἐμοῦ. 126. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς παρηγοῖαν ὑπέμενον,
R 85 ὅτε ἡ γῆ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδεύετο στερηθείσα τοῦ ἀνωθεν ὕδατος, ὁ δὲ
5 ἤξιόν γέμειν τε ὠνίαν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ μένειν ἐντὸς ὅρου οὓς ἔοττε
ταῖς τιμαῖς· δαίμων δὲ ἄρα ταῦτα ἠνάγκαζε φθονερός ὠθῶν εἰς
ὄπερ αὐτὸ καὶ τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔωσε. τότε οὖν ὁ μὲν ᾧδει καὶ
μάχεσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βουλήμασι τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἔββα, κόλακες δὲ
ἔθνευ καὶ ἔθνευ παρεστηκότες ἐρρίπιζον τὸν θυμὸν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν
10 τρέσας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξετάζων φύσιν διετεινόμεν ἄδικουσάν
F 144 τε οὐδὲν ἀπέφαινον τὴν βουλὴν. καίτοι τις τῶν καθημένων παραρ-
ρεῖν τὸν Ὀρόντην ἔφασκε τῷ ποταμῷ με φοβῶν, ἀναξίους ἀπειλαῖς
τὴν βασιλείαν ἔβριζων. ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθός, ὥστε
κρατῆσαι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἠττηθείς δὲ οὐκ ἔμισσε. 127. μάλλον
15 μὲν οὖν ἢ πρόσθευ ἠγάπησεν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος ἄσπερ ὄπλα θέμενον
τοὺς λόγους, ὕπατον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύς αἰσθανόμενός τε τῶν τε
ἡδὴ παρόντων τῶν τε ἡξόντων μυρίους σὺν ὠδαῖς σφίσι παραστρο-
μένον κελεύει μοι τιμῆσαι λόγῳ τὴν ἑορτήν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἑτέρων εἶναι
τοῦργον εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν φωνὴν οὐκ ἤγγου, ὡς μηδένα μηδὲν
20 ἱερὸν δόξαι λέγειν, μηδ' ὅς λαμπρῶν ἀπολαύσειε θορόβων. 128. καὶ
R 86 πως συμβαίνει ἐν τῷ | προτέρῳ λόγῳ τύχης, οἶμαι, τινὸς τοῦ Αἰθῆς
βοησομένου τε καὶ χαριουμένου ἑτέρωσ πεμφάσης, οἷς ἔλωιτέλει
μὴ τὰμὰ διαβῆλλειν· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐνδον οὐδενὸς ἐπανοῦντος ἐπῆκει,
δευτέρῳ τούτῳ παρέχων ἀφορμὴν γέλωτι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γελά-
25 σοντας οὐκ ἄνιαι λαιδορῶν, οἱ δ' αὖθις ἐγέλων, καὶ τὸ δι' ἀπάτης
F 145 πορισθὲν ἐξεκένυτό οἱ οὐ φωραθὲν ἂν, εἰ τοσοῦτόν γε | ἠπίστατο, ὅτι
δόξαν οὐχὶ δικαίαν ἠσυχία φυλάττειν δύναιτο ἂν. 129. οἱ μὲν δὲ
ἄλλοις εἰς παραμυθίαν ἤρκου, ὡς δὲ ἀπέθον ὕστατος αὐτοῦ τοῦ
1 αὐτοῦ F: αὐτῶ Re (MSS). 6 ὠθῶν Re (MSS): ὠσαν conj.
F. 7 αἶ F (VL): ἂν Re (ACPB). 17 παραστρομένον F (conj, Re):
παραστρομένους MSS. 19 κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν conj: F (vol. iii, pp. xix f.):
κατὰ θετέραν F (text): καθ' ἑτέραν V: καθ' ἑκατέραν Re (other MSS).
22 βοησομένου (BVL): βοηθρομένου F (ACF). After πεμφάσης Re notes
lacuna. 23 αὐτόν Re, F: αὐτόν MSS. 25 ἂν αὖθις Re (MSS): [ἂν] F.
26 οὐ ἴμερ. F (conj, Re, Wyttenbach). 27 φυλάττειν F (MSS):
διαφυλάττειν Re, Mor.

asserted that, while other people loved him for his wealth,
I loved him for himself alone, and not even his mother's
affection could have surpassed mine. 126. It was for this reason
that he suffered my frankness on behalf of the city council,
when the land had produced no crops because of lack of rain
from heaven, and yet he demanded that the market should be
full of goods for sale and that they should stay within the price
limits he had set. Some spirit of evil, it seems, was at work in
this, forcing the march of events towards the crisis that ensued.
So then his anger swelled and the flatterers surrounding him
on every side inflamed his wrath, but I, with never a tremor,
insisted upon examining the facts of the matter and showed
conclusively that the council was not in the wrong. Yet one of
the audience called out that the Orontes was flowing close by,
trying to frighten me with the threat of a ducking but merely
insulting the royal presence with his unseemly threats. The
Emperor was so truly good that, though he tried to win his
point, he bore no malice on being worsted. 127. On the con-
trary, his liking for me was more than ever before, after I had
presented my oratory in defence of my native city. So, when he
designated himself consul and saw the thousands already pre-
sent and the thousands more who would come to join them in
their songs, he bade me give a speech in honour of the festival.
I said that it was a job for someone else, but I began to busy
myself with the task in Greek, so that no one, even of those who
enjoyed rapturous applause, was thought to have said any-
thing out of the ordinary. 128. Somehow this success was
secured for me in the speech which preceded mine, since some
fortune, I am sure, diverted to me people who would cry 'En-
core' and support me, and who found it paid them not to
disparage my work. The previous speaker, since there was
none in the company to praise him, spoke in praise of himself,
and so provided another cause for ridicule, and he did not
cease abusing those who ridiculed him, whereupon they laughed
all the more. The fruits of his deceit were lost to him, though he
could have retained them, had he realized that, by keeping
silence, he could keep his ill-deserved reputation. 129. The
others, to be sure, were capable of consoling one another.
I was the last to take part, for the Emperor himself had so

- R 87 βασιλεύς ὅπως ἐτι πλείστοι | συνέλθοιεν φροντισίαντος, τὸν Ἑρμῆν
 ἔφησαν τοῦ θεράποντος κηδόμενον τῆ βάρβω κινεῖν τῶν ἀκροαμένων
 ἕκαστον, ὅπως μῆδ' ὅτιον ὄνομα θαύματος ἄμοιρον ἀπέλθῃ. βασι-
 λεις δὲ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τῆ διὰ τῆς μορφῆς ἡδονῆς μνημονεῖν συνετέλει,
 5 ἔπειτα τῷ μὲλλεν ἀναπνεῖν, ἔπειτα, οὐ γὰρ διὰ κατεῖχεν αὐτὸν καὶ
 σφόδρα πειράμενος, ἤλατο μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, τῆς χλαμίδος δὲ
 ὄπισσον ἔξεν ταῦν χερσὶν ἀνεπέτασεν, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποι τις τουτουῶν
 τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἐκφερόμενος τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς δ' ἂν ἀνὴρ εἰ εἰδῶς
 R 88 οἷς ἂν σεμνῆ βασιλεία γένοιτο, ἄρα ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι μένων | τί
 10 γὰρ δὴ βασιλικώτερον τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πρὸς κάλλη λόγων
 ἀνίστασθαι; 130. τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλως οἷόν τ' ἦν μὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάσχειν,
 πατρὶ πολλῶν λόγων πρό τε διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγενημένω.
 αἱ γὰρ ἀγρυπνίαι τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῖν λόγους ἐποίησαν ἤδη, καὶ μᾶλλον
 ἐτέρων ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥρας οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἔδρα. |
 15 131. Τὸν δὴ ἐντέθεν μέχρι τῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐξόδου χρόνον τοῖς
 F 146 μὲν ἄλλοις ἄλλ' ἅπτα, πλεόν δὲ ἐμοὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τὸ φίλτρον, καὶ
 διετῆλει δὴ λόγων ἐτι Δάσω σοι δῶρον ἐξελαίνων, ὃ οὐκ ἂν ὄσπερ
 R 89 τᾶλλα φύγοις. δεδειπνηκότες | οὖν, ἐβιάσθη γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ, Ὡ
 ἄνθρωπε, φησὶν, ἄρα σοι τὸ δῶρον δέχασθαι. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶχον
 20 ὃ τι αὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν εἰκόσαι· ὃ δὲ Δοκεῖς μοι, φησὶν, εἰς μὲν ῥήτορας
 κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τελειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐν φιλοσόφοις γεγρά-
 φθαι. καὶ ἦσθην εἰπόντος, ὡς περ ὁ Λυκούργος ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν
 παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συνοικοῦντος εἴρητο.
 132. προπεμπούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ δεομένων ἀφείσθαι τὰ
 25 ἐγκλήματα, Ταρσοῖς, πόλει Κιλικίαν δώσω αὐτὸν εἰπὼν ἦν ὃ θεὸς
 R 90 ἀποσώζῃ. Καίτοι | μοι δῆλον, ἔφη, τὸ πρὸς ταῦτα γεννησόμενον, ὡς ἐν
 F 147 τῷ προσβένοντι τὰς ἐπιτίδας ἔχετε, τὸν | δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέισε μετ'
 ἐμοῦ δεῖσαι βαδίζειν. ἀσπασίμενος δὲ με δακρύοντα οὐ δακρύων
 ἤδη βλέπων τὰ τῶν Περσῶν κακὰ, γράμματα ὄστατα πέμψας ἀπὸ
 5 μέλλων F(MSS.): μέλλων Re. ἔπειτα, οὐ F (MSS.): ἔπειτα om. Re. δὴ
 F (cont.) Re, om. V: μὴ οὐτε MSS. αὐτὸν om. ACPB: αὐτὸν Mor.: [αὐτὸν]
 Re. 13 φύγοις F (cont.) Re, (Cobet): φύγοις MSS. παρ' ἡμεῖς F (Cobet).
 28 δὴ F (MSS.): δὲ Re, Mor.

devised it that there should be the fullest possible audience, and people insisted that Hermes, in his care for his servant, stirred every member of the audience with his wand, so that no single expression of mine should pass without its share of admiration. The Emperor contributed to this, first by the pleasure which he expressed at my style, then by his tendency to rise to his feet in applause, until finally when he could no longer restrain himself, despite his best efforts, he leapt up from his seat and, with outstretched arms, spread wide his cloak. Some of our boors would assert that in his excitement he forgot the dignity of his position, but anyone who is aware of what it is that makes kingship an object of reverence, would maintain that he stayed within the bounds of what is proper. For what is more royal than that an emperor should be uplifted to the glory of eloquence? 130. It was indeed impossible for him not to be so affected, for he had been the source of much eloquence both before and during his reign. The Emperor, by burning the midnight oil, gave us oratory still, and in it was a perfection of style greater than any other man's.

131. In the interval from then until his departure for the Persian expedition, his attitude towards others varied but I always received tokens of affection from him. He always used to say, 'When I leave, I will give you a present, which you will not try to avoid, as you do the rest.' So after dinner—for I had accepted his invitation perforce—he told me, 'My friend, it is time for you to receive your present', and, as I was unable to guess what on earth it might be, he continued: 'It is this. Your eloquence puts you among the rhetoricians, but your actions have enrolled you among the philosophers.' I rejoiced at this statement as did Lycurgus at Apollo's greeting, for this was uttered by one who consorted with heaven. 132. When our city council escorted him on his way with prayers that they might be forgiven the charges against them, he replied that, if heaven preserved him, he would favour with his presence Tarsus in Cilicia. 'Though I have no doubt that you will react to this', he went on, 'by pinning your hopes upon him who will be your envoy, yet he too will have to go there with me.' Then without a tear he embraced me in my tears, with his gaze now fixed on the ruin of Persia. He sent me a last letter

τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄρων ἤλαυνε γῆν τέμων, κόμης ἀρπάζων, φρούρια
λαμβάνων, ποταμούς διαβαίνων, τείχη κατασείων, πόλεις αἰρών.
133. καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ἡγγελλε μὲν οὐδεὶς, τῆν δὲ τῶν ὀρώντων
ἡμεῖς ἴδοντες ἠδύμεθα πιστεύοντες, ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, γενήσεσθαι,
5 πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποβλέποντες. ἀλλ' ἡ Τύχη γὰρ τὰ αὐτῆς, κοιμάσαν-
τος γὰρ κατὰ Περωῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ φόνους τε καὶ τροπαῖς ἀγῶσι τε
γυμναστικοῖς καὶ ἵππικοῖς, ἃ κατεβούοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων οἱ
Κτησιφώντους οὐκίητορες οὐδὲ τῶ πάχει τοῦ τείχους πιστεύειν ἔχου-
τες, τοῦ τε Μῆδου διὰ πρσβείας τε καὶ δώρων ἐγνωκότος ἰκετεύειν,
10 μηδὲ γὰρ νοῦν ἔχων πρὸς δαίμονα ἄνδρα μάχεσθαι, τῶν δὲ
R 91 πρέσβων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔππους ἀναβαινόντων | αἰχμῇ τοῦ σοφωάτου
βασιλέως τεμοῦσα τὴν λαγάνα βρέχει τῶ τοῦ νευικρότος αἵματι τὴν
τῶν ἡττημένων γῆν καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν πεφρικότα τῶν δικόντων κύριον.
134. τῶ μὲν δὲ Πίρση παρ' αὐτομόλου τινὸς μαθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν ὄρω
15 εἴη τήχης, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῶν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς, σεισμοὶ
δὲ ἐγένοντο τοῦ κακοῦ μινυταὶ πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ
Συρία τῶν μὲν μέρη, τὰς δὲ ὅλας κατενεγκόντες· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ
F 148 θεὸς μεγάλοις | πάθει μέγα σημαίνειν. εὐχομένων δὲ μὴ τὰ ὄντα
δοξάζειν πικρὸν διὰ τῶν ὄτων τρέχει τῆς ἀγγελίας βέλος, Ἰουλιανὸν
20 μὲν ἐκείνον ἐν σορῶ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ δέοντος δὲ γεγενῆσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον,
Περωῶν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅπουσον ἐβούλοντο γῆς. 135. εὐθὺς
μὲν οὖν εἰς ξίφος εἶδον, ὡς ἀπάσης σφαγῆς ἀλγενοτέρας τῆς ζωῆς
R 92 ἔσομένης. ἔπειτα ἐνενόησα | τὸν τοῦ Πλάτωνος νόμον καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν
οὐ λυτέον τὴν τοιαύτην δὴ λύσιν καὶ ὡς οὐτως ἐλθὼν εἰς Αἰδοῦ τε καὶ
25 παρ' ἐκείνων ἐν αἰτίας ἂν εἶην ἴδω τετελευτηκῶς· πάντως γὰρ ἂν
ἐμμέμφοτο μὴ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ περιμείναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει μοι
χρῆσαι λόγοις ἐπιταφίους τὸν ἀπελθόντα τιμᾶν.
136. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτω διὰ ταῦτα ἔσχε, λόγον δὲ τινα διαφεύγω
βουλοβείσης τῆς Τύχης. οἱ γὰρ αὐτῶν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ καιρῶν ἐν
30 βασιλείῳ πρὸς ἰσχυρὸν ἀπολαύσαντες, τότε δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ἠναγκασμένοι
R 93 πράττειν, ὑπὸ Φρυνιῶνδου τινὸς ἀναπεισθέντες ὡς | ἐμὲ δεῖνὰ αὐτοῦς
16 Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ Συρίῃ ἐσθ. Re. 23 αὐτῶν F (VP): αὐτῶν Re (ACBL).

from the frontier of the Empire, and marched on, ravaging
the countryside, plundering villages, taking fortresses, crossing
rivers, mining fortifications and capturing cities. 133. There
was no messenger to tell us of any of these achievements, but
we rejoiced just as if we saw them, confident that events would
happen as they did, as we looked to him. But here Fortune
played her usual trick. The army had revelled in the slaughter
and rout of the Persians and in the athletic competitions and
horse races, on which the inhabitants of Ctesiphon had gazed
from their battlements with no grounds to trust even their
thickness of wall: the Persians had decided to come as sup-
pliants with prayers and gifts, knowing that it was against
common sense for a man to oppose heaven's will. Then, as
their envoys remounted their horses, a spear pierced the side
of our wise Emperor, and with the victor's blood it drenched the
land of the vanquished, and the pursuers it delivered into
the hand of the fugitive. 134. It was by means of a deserter that
the Persians found out their good fortune, but we in Antioch
discovered it through no human agency: earthquakes were
the harbingers of woe, destroying the cities of Palestine Syria
either wholly or in part. We were sure that by these afflictions
heaven gave us a sign of some great disaster, and, as we prayed
that our guess should not be right, the bitter news reached our
ears that our great Julian was dead, that some nonentity held
the throne, and that Armenia, and as much of the rest of the
Empire as they liked, was in Persian hands. 135. My first im-
pulse was to look to my sword, for life would be harder to bear
than any death. Then I bethought me of Plato's maxim, that one
must not seek such relief, and that if I met Julian in the other
world, he would hold me guilty for dying so, for he would
have no good word to say for a man who had not waited for
orders from heaven. Moreover I felt it my duty to honour the
fallen with funeral orations.

136. Such was the position and such the reason for it, when
by the will of Fortune I avoided a trap set for me. Those people,
who had made the most of their earlier opportunities but who
under Julian had been forced to mind their own business, were
induced by some blackguard to believe that I had done them
serious wrong in a letter to Babylon, as a result of which Julian

είργασθαι δι' ἐπιστολῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἡκούσης, ὅφ' ἦς ἂν αὐτοῖς
 δυσμενῆς ἐπανηκεν ἐκεῖνος, ψηφίζονται παρὰ συγγενῆ με γυναῖκα
 εἰσόντα συλλαβόντες εἰς τὸν κήπου, οὗ τὰς βουλάς ἐβούλευον,
 εἰσαγαγόντες κτεῖναι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν δῶρα σφίσι παρὰ τοῦ τὰ σκῆπτρα
 λαβόντος γενέσθαι. 137. τοῖς μὲν δὲ ἡρώμαστο τὰ | βόσπαια, τῶν δὲ
 F 149 τις ταυτὶ μὲν συναδέστων τοῦ δὲ ἔργου κοινωεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλοντων,
 πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ μάλᾳ οἰκείως ἐσχηκότων, τῆς θεοῦ πεμπούσης,
 ἀφεκτίον εἶναι μοι τῶν παρὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκείνην ὁδῶν ἔφη, κερ-
 δάειν γάρ, ὅ τι δὲ ἦν τὸ δευρὸν ἀπατοῦντι, τοῦτ' οὐ προσέθηκε.
 10 θαυμαζούσης οὖν ὡς οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιοῖν τῆς γυναῖκος, ἀπεκρῶμένη
 ἀφ' ὧν ἠρκεῖεν. καὶ ἡ διερευνημένη νοῦν τε ἔχοντα καταμαθοῦσα
 τὸν φόβον παύσασά τε ἐξαπατωμένους ἐπήγεσε τὸν ἐξελέμενον αὐτῇ
 τοιοῦτον μύσους τὴν οἰκίαν δαίμονα.

138. Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος ἐξόργιζε τὸν κρατοῦντα
 R 94 ἐπ' ἐμὲ λέγων ὡς οὐ πανοίμην θρησκῶν τὴν | τοῦ πεσόντος πληγὴν. ὁ
 δὲ ἐμελλε μὲν ἀπολεῖν με κακῶς δίκην ὁδύνης πραττόμενος, ἀνὴρ δὲ
 τις Καππαδοκῆς ἀγαθός, συμφοιτητῆς ἐμῶς, παρ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ μέγας,
 Καὶ τίνα ἂν ἔχοις, ἔφη, ψυχρὴν, εἰ ὁ μὲν κείνοιο ἀποθανόν, ζῶντες δὲ
 οἱ λόγοι περιφοιτῶεν τὴν γῆν αἰ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον περὶ τῆς σῆς γεγραμ-
 20 μένοι φύσεως; τοσαῦται μὲν αἱ τρικυμῖαι, τοσαῦται δὲ αἱ ἀρωγαί.

139. Τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν μὲν Ὀλύμπια τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἔτος δὲ
 ἐμοὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἐπιθυμία τε τῆς πανηγύρεως ὑπερφανῆς παρα-
 κήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἑορτῆς δεσμιότης ἦν, οὐκ ἄρχοντος
 F 150 δῆσαντος, ἀλλὰ | ποδάγρα τότε πρῶτον πολλὴ τις ἐπιπεσοῦσα καὶ
 25 χαλεπὴ πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν εἰσόντων ἠνάγκαζε ῥόμης τε πέρι καὶ
 τέχνης τῶν ἀθλητῶν, ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκεχειρίας μικρὸν διαλυποῦσα
 πάλιν ἠκόνητιζε καὶ πολλῶς γε ἐκάτερον. 140. ἰατροὶ δὲ νευκῆσθαι
 μὲν ὁμολογούν, παρεμβλοῦντο δὲ μεταπιθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπ'
 ἐκεῖνος τῶ λόγῳ τὴν νόσον· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ποσὶ μὲν κακόν, τῇ δὲ
 R 95 ἔσεσθαι ἀγαθόν. | ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο φλυαρία, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἐκείνην
 κατελιγῆς εἶχετο τῶν ἄνω καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀπέσχον οἱ πόδες
 ἀνηγαί τι τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὥστε ὥσπερ ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς κακῶν

9 τοῦτ' [δὲ] F. 10 τὰ αὐτὰ F (MSS. exc. L): ταῦτα L: ταῦτα Re: τὰ
 τοιαῦτα Morc. 19 τὴν γῆν inser. F (VL), om. Re (ACFPB). ὑπ' F (VL):
 ἀπ' Re (ACFPB).

on his return would have been hostile to them. They decided to kidnap me on my way to see a lady, a relative of mine, to take me to the garden which was the scene of their plot and there to kill me: they would, they were sure, be rewarded by the new Emperor. 137. They had already got their clubs ready, when one of the accessories to the plot who had no desire to participate in the affair but were not on very intimate terms with me, was guided by Fortune to tell me that I should refrain from going to see the lady, as it would be to my advantage. I inquired what was the trouble, but he would tell me nothing further. When the lady began to wonder why I did not visit her as before, I sent her a reply based on the information I had received. She made further inquiries and, finding my fear well founded, she put an end to their plot and praised the powers that had preserved her home from such pollution.

138. Next, however, a barbarian tried to rouse the Emperor against me, asserting that I never ceased to bewail the fate of the fallen Julian. The Emperor was about to slay me in dishonour as punishment for his resentment, but a Cappadocian, a good fellow and a schoolmate of mine who had great influence with him, exclaimed, 'Now, how would you feel, for him to lie slain, while the living words, which he has written about you, go the length and breadth of the world?' Such was my crisis, such my salvation.

139. The next event to follow this was the Olympia at Antioch, in my fiftieth year. I was more than eager to see it, but after briefly appearing at the start of the festival I was held prisoner, not arrested by any governor but experiencing then for the first time a severe attack of gout, whereby I was forced to learn of the strength and skill of the competitors only by making inquiries of my visitors. It left off for a while—a truce, as it were—and then began to make me its target again, a sequence often repeated. 140. My doctors confessed themselves beaten, but tried to console me with the story that my illness had passed from my head to my feet; what was bad for the feet would be good for the head. This was, of course, arrant nonsense; my migraine remained in possession up above, while my gout, so far from relieving it, made it worse

μοιρὰν τινα ἐκέισε πέμψαντες χαλεπώτερα τὰ κείνης ἐποίησαν.
 141. οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ φόβου ἐπαρattόμην μόνους, ἐν οἷς καὶ
 τοῦτο ἦν, μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρπάσαντες ἀνεμοὶ φέροντες εἰς τὸν
 Ἰκεαυὸν ἐμβάλωσιν, ἀλλ' ἔδεισα μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες, καὶ τὸν τῶν
 5 ἀπαντῶντων ὄχλον, ἐφυγον δὲ τὰ μέσα τοῦ ἄστεος, ἔδεισα δὲ μεγέθη
 λουτρῶν, ἔδεισα δὲ οἰκίας πλήρῃ τῆς ἑμμουτοῦ πάσας, νεφέλης μὲν ἐπὶ
 τὰ ἄμματα ἐρχομένης, τοῦ πνεύματος δὲ εἰς μικρὸν συσταλλομένου,
 F 151 τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ ἰλύγων κατεχόντων, δόξης δὲ ἀεὶ τοῦ | πσεῖσθαι
 παρούσης, ὥστε ἐσπέρας ἦδομεν ἐπ' αὐτῶ τὴν Τύχην ἐν κέρδει τὸ μὴ
 10 πεπτωκέαια ποιούμενοι. 142. ἐν ἐνῆν ἐκείνοισι μέτριον, ὅτι μῆτε
 τοὺς λόγους μῆτε τοὺς νέους ἐφεύγομεν· αὐτὸ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἦν ἡ
 R 96 παραψυχή | τὸ ὡς ἦδιστα περὶ ταῦτα πονεῖν οἴκοι τε ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης
 ἐπὶ τε τοῦ σκίμποδος ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον κομι-
 σθῆναι παρακινδύνεισι, αἱ δὲ ἐπιδείξεις ἐκποδῶν, ἀηδῆς δὲ φίλος
 15 προσῶν. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ πελάγη διαβάλλειν μέλλοντες καλοῦσι Διοσ-
 κούρους, οὕτως ἡμῶν οἴκοθεν ἐξιοῦσιν ἐκαλοῦντο θεοὶ καλυταὶ
 γενεσθαι τῶν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἀσχημόνων. 143. καὶ ὁ κλύδων οὗτος ἔτη
 τέτταρα ἐπεκράτει, καὶ καταφεύγει δι' οἰκέτου πρὸς τὸν ἔτοιμον
 20 αἰμίον, τὸν μέγαν Ἀσκληπιῶν, καὶ φράσαντος οὐ καλῶς ἀφαστάναι
 με τῶν εἰωθῶτων πίνω τε οὐ πάλοι φαρμάκου, καὶ ἦν μὲν τι κέρδος,
 οὐ μὴ παντελῶς γε ἐξεληγάτο τὸ κακόν. ἔφη δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοῦτο
 χαριεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἦδεν μὲν, ὡς οὐκ εἰσθεβὲς ἀπιστεῖν ἐγγυητῆ
 τοιοῦτω, θαυμάζειν δὲ ἕως παρῆν εἰ καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι ποτε δόξαιμι
 25 τῆς χάριτος ἄξιος. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἔτος ἔβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς πενήκοντα
 λήγων ἦδη, τρισὶ δ' ἐνυπνίσις ὁ | θεός, ὡν τῶ δύο μεθημερινῶ, μέρος
 F 152 οὐ μικρὸν ἐκάστω τοῦ νοσήματος ἀφήρει καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς τοῦτο,
 ὃ μῆποτε ἀφέλοιτο. 144. αὐτῶ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἤκοντος τὴν αἰγλήν
 R 97 τὴν τε ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων τὴν τε ἀπὸ τῶν | δρακόντων ἠχῶ τε ὀργάνων
 ὑπέμενα συμμίγη, μὴδ' ἂν διηγούμενον πρότερον. καὶ οὐ πολὺ
 30 ὕστερον δῶρον αὐτῶ λόγων εἰσῆγον, ἐφ' ᾧ πλέον ἢ ὅτε τὰ ἔργα
 ἐπραττεν ἡσθῆναι βασιλεὺς ἐδόκει. καίτοι τῶν μειζόνων γε ἀνήκοος

5 ἀπαντῶντων F (MSS. exc. C), conj. Re: ἀπάντων Re (C). 10 ἐπὶ
 F, Re (Anim.): ἡ Re (MSS.). 13 ἐπὶ τε F (V), conj. Re: ἐπὶ δὲ (other
 MSS.) Re. 29 Ἄλλετ πρότερον F insertis ἀνοσχημόνοις; ἡ βεβαιε μὴδ',
 Schmidt.

by transmitting to it, as it were, some part of its own affliction.
 141. So now I was harassed not merely by my previous night-
 mares, for example, that a hurricane would uproot our city
 and cast it into the sea, but, gentlemen, I was also afraid of meet-
 ing a crowd. I avoided the centre of the city, I feared the great
 baths and every house but my own. A cloud would descend upon
 my eyes, my breathing would become short, bouts of dizziness
 would overcome me, and I always felt that I was going to
 fall—so much so that in the evening I thanked my stars and
 counted it a blessing that I had not done so. 142. I showed one
 grain of sense in all this, in that I did not seek to avoid my
 studies or my students. My consolation lay in the fact that
 such work was as pleasant as could be; at home I would lie
 in my bed, in school, upon the couch, but to be carried to
 either was a risky business, declamations were out of the
 question, and friends' visits unwelcome. As travellers, before
 setting out on a journey overseas, call upon the Heavenly
 Twins, so I, on setting out from home, used to pray the gods to
 prevent the trouble I expected. 143. For four years I was sub-
 jected to the buffets of this sea of troubles, but then with a ser-
 vant's aid I sought the aid of that ready protector, the mighty
 Asclepius. His message was that I had been wrong to give up
 my usual habits, and so I drank the medicine I had drunk long
 before, and there was some improvement, though my affliction
 was not completely removed. Then the god declared that he
 would grant me this favour too. I knew that it was not right to
 disbelieve such a promise from him, but I could not but wonder
 whether I should ever be thought worthy of this boon. However,
 when I had reached the end of my fifty-seventh
 year, by each of three visions, of which two occurred in the
 daytime, the god removed a great part of my ailment, and re-
 stored me to this condition, in which, I trust, I will always re-
 main. 144. Thus, when the Emperor came to Antioch, I could
 stand the glint of arms and standards and the raucous blare of
 trumpets, though previously I could not have borne even the
 mention of them. Not long afterwards I presented him with an
 oration, a narration of his achievements, from which the Em-
 peror seemed to derive more pleasure than he had done from
 their performance. Yet he remained unacquainted with the

ὡν ἐν Σκύθαις ἐπεδέδεικτο ἐμμενῆκει. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ ἡμίσεος διὰ
μῆκος ἀναβεβλημένου δέσσαντες οἱ οὐκ ἔμεινον τέρεσθαί λεμῶσιν
ἀληθινοῖς τῶν βασιλέα Μουσῶν, ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένους ἰσῆσαι τὴν
ἄκρῳσιν, λεγόντων δὲ ἑτέρων φόβος οὐδεὶς, ταυτὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς
5 Γόργουδς φοβερῶτερα. βασιλεῖ γε μὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκ ἐν
ἀγνοουμένοις ἔγω.

145. Σὺν ἔργον, ὃ δαίμων, καὶ τὸ τεθῆναι νόμον τῶν παίδων τοῖς
νόμοις ἐπίκουρον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ νόμῳ τε αὐτὸν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ
βασιλέου ἐλθεῖν ἕνα τε τῶν κρατούντων τοῖς ἐκείνου γεγονάται
γράμμασι, κοινῆς τοῦτο ἔστω τῆς τῶν ἐν χρεῖα τοῦ νόμου καλοστη-
10 κῶτων τύχης, τὸ δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἦκιστα αὐτὸν ἐπανοῦντα μάλιστα
ἐπανοῦντα φανῆναι ποιῆσαι τε κύριον, ἐπειδὴ με ἐξουσίας τῆς ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ δεόμενον ἴσθητο, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐν δίκῃ τῆς ἐμῆς κριθεῖν τύχης; |
F 153 ἢ με πολλῆς τε καὶ βαρείας ἠλευθέρωσεν ἀνίας, ὡς τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας
15 τελευτήν | μὲν ἐμοί, πτωχεῖαν δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐσχάτην οἰοῦσιν.

R 98 146. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε ἐχθροῦς—καὶ μὴ με οἰσῶμαι τις τὴν Ὀμήρου
συμβουλήν παραβαίνειν τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσαν ἐπὶ κταμένοις ἀν-
δράσιν εὐχετᾶσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τωαντίης γε μνησθήσομαι τῆς
γνώμης, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴδ' ἄρρητον εἴη τῶν παρ' ἐκείνης δεδο-
20 μένων—οἱ τοῖνυν ἐπ' ἐμὲ μνησθέντες μὲν λόγου, μνησθέντες δὲ ἔργου, μνη-
σθέντες δὲ ἀποσχόμενοι τέχνης, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οὐδεὶς περιβάλλειν ἀποχρῆν
νομίσαντες, οἱ δὲ πᾶν μικρὸν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀποκτείναναι, οἱ δὲ οἷς ἦν ἡδὺ
R 99 καὶ ταῖρου τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκδήσαντας ἀφείναι διὰ | πετρῶν φέρεσθαι,
τούτους τοῖνυν τοὺς πάλαι μὲν πολεμοῦντας, ἐγκαλεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν σὺν
25 ἀλβηγία γε ἔχοντας προσηγγενεν ὁ δαίμων ἡμῶν γε ἡσυχάζοντων
καὶ οὐδ' ὅσον ἀραῖς ἀμνομένων· τί γὰρ δὴ ἔδει καταρᾶσθαι πάντα
ἐπισταμένον τοῦ δαίμονος, τὸν ἀδικοῦντα, τὸν ἀδικούμενον, τὸν ἀφεί-
λοντα δίκην, ὃ τὴν δίκην ὠφείλει; 147. ἦν δέ τι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου
τοῖς πολλοῖς θανάτου παρά γε σόφρονον ἀνθρώποις δεινότερον
30 τὸ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐπιδύνας εἶτα οὕτως ἀπελθεῖν· ὧν ἔν τι καὶ τὸ
τῶν αἰδῶων τοῦ μοιχοῦ λαβόμενον τῆ χειρὶ ξυρῶ τὰ πάντα ἀμῆσαι. |
F 154 148. Τούτους ἄξιον ἐκείνου προσβῆναι σμικρὸν τε καὶ οὐ σμικρὸν·

22 μὴ καὶ F (Casida): καὶ μὴ Re edd. (MSS.). ἀποκτείναναι F: ἀποκτείναναι
Re edd. (ACPV): ἀποκτείναναι B: ἀποκτείναναι L. 31 F (vol. iii, pp. xxxi f.)
suggests τὰ πάντα τὸν ἀνδρα ἀμῆσαι.

greater part of it, an account of his feats among the Scyths. Half of it was postponed because of its length, and they who found it better that the Emperor should not enjoy the true fields of learning stopped my declamation at this point. They felt no fear if others spoke of this, but such a declamation from me put them into a panic. For all that, I was, in consequence, now known to the Emperor.

145. Fate also helped to enact a law in favour of illegitimate offspring. Granted that it may be attributed to the fortune shared by all who stood in need of the law that the senior emperor devised it and made it valid by his decree, but that his younger colleague, who thoroughly disapproved of it, should yet be seen to approve it and ratify it—this must rightly be judged as proper to my own fortune, since she saw that I required the privilege it bestowed. Thus she freed me of great and heavy disquiet—the thought that the very same day would bring death for me and utter beggary for my son.

146. Moreover, with regard to my enemies—and let it not be thought that I go counter to Homer's maxim forbidding boasting over the fallen, for it is in no spirit of gloating that I shall mention this; rather my intention is not to leave even this aspect of Fortune's favours unmentioned—my enemies, then, spared no word or deed or wile against me. Some thought it enough to encompass me about with slander; some thought it of no avail unless they also had me killed; there were others who would have enjoyed tying my dead body to an ox-tail and leaving it to be dragged over the rocks. Those people, then, who had long been at odds with me, but who could bring no accusation against me compatible with the truth, destiny made haste to remove, while I remained still and sought no protection, not even that of imprecations, against them. What need was there of imprecation, when the all-seeing eye of destiny saw the just and the unjust, the guilty and the victim? 147. For most of them, before their death, suffered a fate worse than death, for decent people, at least—deep disgrace followed by a disgraceful end. One such instance was the castration and mutilation of an adulterer by the outraged husband.

148. Another occurrence deserves mention also. Although

- R 100 ἡμῶν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως | τῷ μικρολογεῖσθαι δόξω, δηχθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν
 ψυχὴν οἶδα καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τούτῳ παθῶν. ἦν μοι ἡ Θουκυδίδου
 συγγραφή, γράμματα μὲν ἐν μικρότητι χαρίεντα, τὸ δὲ σύμπαρ οὕτως
 βράδιον φέρειν ὥστ' αὐτὸς ἔφερον παῖδός ἀκολουθοῦντος καὶ τὸ
 5 φορτίον τέφρις ἦν. ἐν τούτῳ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ
 Ἀθηναίων μιλῶν ἐπεπόνθειν ὑπερ ἴσως ἤδη τις καὶ ἕτερος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
 ἐξ ἑτέρας βίβλου ταῦτ' ἂν ἀδῖς ἐπήλθον πρὸς ἡδονήν. 149. ἐπειτῶν
 δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς τὸ κτήμα καὶ εὐφρανόμενος μάλλον ἢ
 Πολυκράτης τῷ δακτυλίῳ κλέπτας αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἐπίηγον, ἂν
 10 τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εὐθὺς ἤρουν, ὁ δὲ γὰρ τελευταῖος πῦρ ἀνήκε τοῦ
 μὴ ἀλάνας, καὶ οὕτως δὴ τοῦ ζηρεῖν μὲν ἐπεπαύμην, τὸ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι
 δὲ οὐκ εἶχον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κέρδος μοι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου μέγα
 ἂν γενόμενον μείον ἤρχετο διὰ τὸ σὺν ἀηδία γράμμασιν ἑτέροις
 ὁμλεῖν. 150. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ μέντοι τὸ οὕτως ἀναρῶν βραδέως μὲν,
 15 ὅμως δὲ ἰσάσσο ἢ Τύχη. διετέλον μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν |
 R 101 γράφον αὐτὸ μετὰ λίπης, τῷ λόγῳ μέτρα τε διηγούμενος καὶ οἷον
 μὲν τὰ εἶσω, οἷον δὲ τὰ ἔξω καὶ ποῦ νῦν ἄρα καὶ ἐν τίνος χερσὶ. νέος
 F 155 δὲ τις, πολίτης ἐμός, ἐωνυμῆος ἦκεν ἀναγνωσόμενος, καὶ | ὁ
 διδάσκαλος ἀνεβόησε τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο, τοῖς γνωρίσμασιν ἑλῶν, καὶ ἦκεν
 20 ἐρωτῶν εἰ μὴ ἀμαρτάνοι δόξης. λαβὼν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ ποιήσας οἶα ἂν
 τις ἐπὶ παιδὶ τῶν ἰσων μὲν ἀφανισθέντι χρόνον, φανέντι δὲ οὐ
 προσδοκῆθέντι περιχαρῆς ἀπὸ πλάττομένην καὶ τότε εὐθὺς καὶ νῦν οἶδα
 τῇ θεῷ χάριν. γελᾶτω δὲ ὁ βουλομένος, ὡς ὑπὲρ φαύλου μακρολογή-
 σαντος, ἀδεὲς γὰρ δῆπουθεν ἀπαιδέντου γέλωτος.
 25 151. Ἐφ' ᾧ δ' ἂν μάλιστα νομιζοίμην ἄλλως, ἤδη φράσω. εἰ γὰρ
 αὐτὸ πατὴρ ἔσται πολλοὺς μὲν παῖδας παρέδωκε μνήμασι, πολλὰς δὲ
 κλίνας αἰματὰ γὰρ τούτων φερούσας ἠκολούθησεν, ἄλλως, πῶς
 R 102 οὐχὶ | καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐν δυστυχοῦσιν ἀρθοίμην, οὐ πολλοὺς μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς παῖδας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς θάψας, τοὺς δὲ ἐν σοροῖς
 30 ξένους νεανίσκους εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· ἀποπέμψας; 152. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ
 Θρασύβουλος τοὺς τῶν ἀσταχῶν ὑπερέχοντας ἐξέκοπτεν, οὕτως ἡ
 Τύχη τῶν ὁμολῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἤρπασεν, ἀρξάμενη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν

² ταῦτά ἐστὶν conj. Re. 10 τελευταῖος F (VL); ἕτερος Re edd. (ACP); om. B.
 πῦρ MSS. edd.: πῦρ F, Re (Anim.), Gadda. 16 δὲ F (VL, correction in
 B), conj. Re, om. ACP edd. 27 γὰρ τούτων VL: τούτων γὰρ ACPB: τούτων
 [γ] F, Re.

a trivial matter, it is significant. Some of you perhaps will regard me as a mere pedant, but I, smitten to my very heart, know that my emotion arose because of a calamity great indeed. I had a copy of Thucydides' *History*. Its writing was fine and small, and the whole work was so easy to carry that I used to do so myself, while my slave followed behind: the burden was my pleasure. In it I used to read of the war between Athens and Sparta, and was affected as perhaps others have been before me. Never again could I derive such pleasure from reading it in another copy. 149. I was loud in praise of my possession, and I had more joy in it than Polycrates did in his ring, but by singing its praises so, I invited the attention of thieves, some of whom I caught in the act. The last of them, however, started a fire to prevent capture, and so I gave up the search but could not but grieve at the loss. In fact, all the advantage I could have gained from Thucydides began to diminish, since I encountered him in different writing and with disappointment. 150. However, for this discomfort Fortune provided the remedy, a tardy one, admittedly, but, none the less, the remedy. I kept writing to my friends about it, so grieved was I, and I would describe its size and what it was like inside and out, and wonder where it was and who had it. Then a student, a fellow citizen of mine, who had purchased it, came to read it. The teacher of the class set up the cry, 'That's it', recognizing it by its tokens, and came to ask whether he was right. So I took it and welcomed it like a long-lost child unexpectedly restored. I went off rejoicing, and both then and now I owe my thanks to Fortune. Let him who likes laugh at me for making a mountain out of a mole hill. I have no regard for the laughter of bores.

151. I will now recount the chief reason why I should be thought unhappy. Now, if a father is unhappy when he has consigned many sons to the tomb or followed the biers which bore their bodies to the grave, I too must be accounted unhappy, for my pupils who have died were not only many but good. Some I have buried myself, others, students from abroad, I have sent back to their homes in their coffins. 152. As Thrasylbulus used to cut off the tallest ears of corn, so did Fortune leave me reft of the best of my pupils. It has been the

- ἐν Βιθυνία διατριβῶν, προελθούσα δὲ εἰς τὸδε, ἀεὶ φειδομένη μὲν οἱ οὐκ ἂν ἐξέλαμψαι, τοὺς δὲ ἤδη τε ἐν δόξῃ καὶ αὐ τοὺς ἐσομένους ἀφήρει. 153. λέγω οὖν πρὸς τοὺς οἰομένους τι λέγειν, ἐπειδὴν
F 156 ἐρωτῶσι Τίνας δὲ ἡμῖν ἀπέφηρε | ῥήτορας; ὅτι ἐλθόντες εἰς Αἴδου
 5 θεάσαντ' ἂν οὐκ ἀλύγους. ἂν οὐχομένων ἐξημῶνται μὲν βουλαὶ καὶ
R 103 διοικήσεις πόλεων, ἐξημῶνται | δὲ δίκαι λόγων τῶν δικαίω συμ-
 μάχων ἐστερημέναι, ἐξημῶνται δὲ θρόνοι ἂν τοὺς μὲν Ἑρμῆς, τοὺς
 δὲ ἐφορῆ Θέμις.
 154. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸδε δυστυχὸς ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τε καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ
 10 προηλακισμῶ τῶν λόγων λόγους διδάσκων καθήμενον ἑτέρον ὄν-
 τιν ἐν οἷς αἱ ἐλπίδες· ἄς εἰ μὲν μὴ ἠπίστασθε, τοῦ διδάζοντος ἂν
 εἶδειν νῦν δὲ ἴστε μὲν οὐκ μακαρίζετε· παρ' οἷς οἱ πλοῦτοι, ἴστε δὲ οὐδ'
 ἐλεεῖτε· παρ' οἷς οἱ λόγοι. 155. εἴποι ἂν οὖν ἡ Τύχη καθάπερ ἐν
 δράματι λαβοῦσα φωνήν, ὅτι Εἰ καὶ μισροῖς ἐναντιώμασαν ἢ τέχνη
 15 σοι πεπολέμηται, τοῦτό γ' ἂν ὁμολογήσῃς, ἐν πολλῶν ἀντάξιον παρ'
 ἐμοῦ σοι γενέσθαι, τό τε εἰς πλῆθος ποιῆσαι λόγους τό τε οὕτω δόξαι
 τοὺς παιηθέντας εἶναι καλοῦς, ὅσπ' ἔτι ζῶντος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ φθονεῖσθαι
 ἀνάγκη, τὰς τῶν βιβλιογράφων δεξιὰς τὰς πολλὰς ἄλλως ἐλέγχεσθαι
 τῶ πληθει τῶν ἐραστῶν. τοιγάρτοι πᾶν ἐργαστήριον λόγων καὶ
 20 τοῦτοδε δεικνυσὼν ὁμοίως ἐν παιδευομένων τε καὶ παιδευόντων χερσὶ.
 καὶ τούτων, ὡ ἄνδρες, οἶδα τῇ Τύχῃ χάριν καὶ αὐτῶ γε παρ' αὐτῆς
 ἀεὶ βελτίω παρέχειν τὰ δεύτερα. |
F 157 156. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως με διεφυγέτην Αἰθέρσιος τε καὶ
 Φήστος, Σύρων μὲν ἄρχων ἐκείνους, ἄρξαντες δὲ πρὶν ἢ Βάλεντα
 25 δεῦρ' ἦκεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄπειρος | ἦν, ὁ Φήστος,
R 104 παραπαίων ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐπεισε διώσασθαι
 τὴν ἀρχήν, ἑλθὼν δὲ δεληθῆς εἰσάγων ὡς ἐαυτὸν Εὐβουλον καὶ σινῶν
 αὐτῶ δι' ἐρμηγῶς πιστοῦ, ὁ δ' ὁμολόγει τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιθυμείν
 τελευτήσ, ὅπως αὐθις εἰναί τι δόξειεν. ἐπάλει οὖν Εὐβούλω τὸ μισεῖν

3 ἀφῆρα F (ACPB): ἀφαιρομένη Re, Mor. (VL). 11 ἄς Re edd. (MSS.): ἄ Re (Anim.): ἄς conj. F. 15 γ' ἂν F (Cassida): γάρ ἂν V: γάρ L: γοῦν Re edd. (PB): γάρ corr. to γοῦν AC. 18 βιβλιογράφων Re, Mor. (AB; corrected to βιβλιογράφων P).

case, right from my teaching days in Bithynia up to the present time, that always she spares the second-rate and removes those who had made a name for themselves or were just beginning to do so. 153. Some persons think they have a good case when they ask, 'What orators has he turned out for us?' My reply to them is that they would see plenty if they went down to the underworld; and their deaths have inflicted a grievous loss upon the city councils and administration, upon the courts of law, since they have been deprived of the eloquence which is the helpmate of justice, and upon the schools and professorships of rhetoric and law.

154. Moreover, it is also part of my misfortune that I sat giving lessons in rhetoric while rhetoric is sick, disparaged, and reviled and your hopes are pinned on other men. If you do not know what these hopes are, you would need an instructor. As things are, you know well enough those whom you count the lucky ones—the men with the money—and the unlucky ones, too—the men of culture. 155. So Fortune, assuming a speaking part as though in a play, might retort, 'Though your art has met with countless rebuffs, grant me this much, at least: you have had one thing from me which makes up for them all, your composition of so many orations and their reputation for excellence, so that even in your own lifetime the copyists of your works, many though they may be, have yet proved to be too few for the number of your admirers. That is bound to involve envy. But every school of rhetoric reveals that your works are thumbed by pupils and teachers alike.' In this, gentlemen, I am grateful for Fortune's favour, and I beg of her that she may ever improve my future lot.

156. Yet somehow or other Aetherius and Festus have escaped mention so far. They were both governors of Syria, holding office before Valens came to Antioch. The first of them, Festus, was an ignoramus who knew no Greek, but not even this fact induced him to refuse the office. He arrived, and one evening he gave an audience to Eubulus, and held a conversation with him by means of a trusted interpreter. Eubulus admitted that he was eager for my death, so that he might once again be thought to be somebody. Festus, then, made a bargain with him, that for the price of his daily fare he would

ἐμὲ Φήστος ὦν καθ' ἐκείστην ἡσθιε ἡμέραν ἦσαν δὲ χήνες πίστες
 ἐκείνων καὶ αἶνος ἡδὺς καὶ φασιανοί. 157. ἐβλεπέ τε οὖν με οὐχ ὡς
 ἡδιστα ὁ Φήστος καὶ ὡς περὶ κακοῦ τοῦδ λόγου ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὅποσα
 ἐξῆν ἐπληττε. καὶ ποτε θέατρον μὲν μοι συνελλεκτο, λῦσαι δὲ τοῦτο
 5 πειρώμενος ἐπὶ γράμματα βασιλεια τοὺς καθημένους ἐκάλει, ὡς δὴ
 ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἐξελῶν, καὶ ὑπογραφεῖς ἅμα παρῆσαν
R 105 γραψόμενοι τὰ τῶν οὐκ ἀναπηδώντων ὀνόματα· | ὧστο γὰρ με
 μαχεῖσθαί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψκειν ἀπελθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀρκέσειν εἰς
 θάνατον. ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐξήρσαν πολλὰς μεταστρεφόμενοι
 10 πρὸς ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὰ βήθησόμενα, οἷς δὲ ἐξῆν ἀκοῦεν ἤκουον,
 ποθοῦντες δὲ τὴν οὐχ ἐκούσαν οἰχομένην μοῖραν. 158. ἐμίσει μὲν
F 158 οὖν καὶ ἐπεβαύλευε, τοῦ μίσους δὲ αἶδα τῇ Τύχη | χάρην, ἣ γέ με οὐκ
 ἐποίησε φίλον ἀνδρὶ δέισαντι μετὰ ταῦτα ὕστερον μὴ φθίασθαι τὸν
 ἐκείνου σίδηρον ἢ νόσος ἀπενεγκούσα τὸν Μάξιμον. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐνίκησε
 15 ταύτην τὴν νίκην, ἐγάνητο ὁ κακοδαίμων, οὐ μὴν ἐμὲ γε ἴσχυσε,
 προσκυῶ δὲ τὴν Μιδράστειαν, καίτοι τοῦτό γε βίπτων διὰ Μαρ-
 τυρίου, Πισαίου τινὸς ἀνθρώπου χαίροντος μὲν ἀλλήταις ἀμέμπτου |
R 106 δὲ ἄλλως, δοκούντος δὲ τῷ Φήστῳ γόητος διὰ τὸ προσκεῖσθαι
 παλαισταῖς. 159. περὶ τοῦτου μόνος πρὸς μόνον τὸν Βάλεντα
 20 εἶπών, ὡς ἐμὲ τε ἂν ἐν αὐτῷ βράδιος καὶ τὸν Εὐτρόπιον εἶποι, σπειδῶν
 ὧχετο εἰς Ἰωνίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὥστε γελῶσα πολλὴν ἐν τῷ
 δικαστηρίῳ τὸν Μαρτύριον παρασχέιν οὐκ ἐχόντων τῶν δικαζόντων
 μαθεῖν ἦτις ἡ ἀρχὴ τῷ τοῦτον εἰσαχθῆναι γένοιτο, τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ
 25 πράγματος ἐν σκότῳ γεγενημένης. Φήστω μὲν οὖν ἄθλον τῆς
 κακίας ἐγένετο γάμος, νέα μὲν γυνή, συγχὴ δὲ οὐσία, καὶ νῦν ἐν
 πόλει αὖς ἐκένισε τρυφή.
 160. Αἰθέριος δὲ τέθηκε μὲν πολλὰ δὴ καὶ μεγάλα πρότερον
 ἐπὶ δὴν κακὰ καὶ τὸ τε λαλεῖν τὸ τε ἀκοῦεν ἀποβαλῶν. γίνεται δὲ
 καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐμὲ κακός, ὥσπερ ἀχθόμενος ὅτι με ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ
 30 προῖβζβλητο καὶ ὅποτε τι δέσειεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ κατέφευγε. τὰς μὲν δὴ

23 εἰσαχθῆναι conj. Herwerden: ἀχθῆναι F, Re (MSS.).

be my enemy, for Eubulus had plenty of fat geese, sweet wine,
 and pheasants at his disposal. 157. So Festus did not look very
 kindly upon me, and he began to speak of me as a villain and
 to cause me as much annoyance as he could. On one occasion,
 an audience had mustered to hear me when he tried to dissolve
 it by summoning them to listen to a letter from the Emperor,
 obviously intending to disperse them at the end of this recital.
 He posted secretaries there to take the names of any who did
 not immediately rise to their feet, for he thought that I would
 resist and forbid them to leave, and that that would be excuse
 enough for my execution. Then some began to go out, willy-
 nilly, turning round again and again towards me and what
 I had to say, while those who were able to do so, listened to it,
 but missed the company of those who had made such an un-
 willing departure. 158. So he hated me and plotted against
 me, but I thank my stars for his hatred. At least I was kept
 from friendship with a man who afterwards was on tenterhooks
 lest Maximus should die of natural causes before he had the
 chance to murder him. So the poor deluded fool rejoiced at
 gaining this victory, but he did not prevail over me—praises
 be!—despite his attempts to do so by means of Martyrius,
 a Pisidian. This fellow, for all that he had a weakness for
 athletes, was otherwise of good character, but Festus chose to
 regard him as a dabbler in magic because of his craze for the
 wrestling schools. 159. He had a private conversation with
 Valens about him, telling him that he could easily involve both
 Eutropius and myself in the business, but then he went off in
 a hurry to Ionia to be governor there. The result was that
 Martyrius caused much laughter in court, for the judges could
 not understand why on earth the proceedings against him
 should ever have been commenced, since the commencement
 of the whole affair was veiled in mystery. Well, Festus got the
 reward for his villainy—marriage with a young bride and
 a large fortune, and now he rules the roost over the cities
 which he has bled white.

160. As for Aetherius, he died, but not before he had seen
 much misery, losing the powers of speech and hearing. He too
 behaved badly towards me, as though he was sorry that he had
 relied upon me in Bithynia and had recourse to me whenever

- F 159 εἰς τοὺς λόγους ἔβρεις αὐτοῦ παραλειπτόν, ἐν αἷς | ἐχαρίζετο πᾶν
 μὲν ἀνδρὶ πλουσίῳ, παῖδας δὲ οὐ κεκτημένῳ. 161. ἀλλ' οὐτός γέ
 ἔστιν ὁ στήθος με ἐν μέσῳ πολλῶν μὲν ἠρώτων, πολλῶν δὲ
 ἱπποκόμων, οἷς τε ἔργον ἀναπεταπνῖναι τοῖς ἄρμασι τὰς θήρας ὦν
 5 τοὺς μὲν ἔπειαι, τοὺς δὲ ἠπέλει κατακαύσειν, ἐνὸς δὲ τινος ἠρώτου
 R 107 γέροντος καὶ πλευράς, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ μέγα ἐβόησεν ὁ λέως, | κατέ-
 τευεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν πόνος οὐ μικρὸς μὴ τὸ αἶμα ἰδεῖν. καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ
 ἡλῆς αἰτίας ἀνδρὸς ἐποίει μαινομένου δεικνύτος τὴν μανίαν κἄν τοῖς
 ἐν αὐτῇ γιγνομένοις τῇ δίκῃ. 162. οὗτος ἦν ὁ κίμψος κελείσας εἰς-
 10 ἄγειν, ὡς δὴ τῆς Φιλομενοῦ γοητείας ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἐλεγχον ἔχων
 ὁ δὲ ἐλεγχος ἦν, παρήκου αὐτῷ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν ἀλλ' ἀπηλλάχθαι
 πραγμάτων. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἐφ' ᾧ ἔπερ ἐκαλοῦμαι. τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδόκει
 δεῖν ἐμὲ ἐφ' οὗτοι ἀνοήτοις εἰσελθόντα ἐστᾶναι. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν
 15 ἐξήμην ἐλεῶν τὸν δικαστῆν, ὅπως ἀπέχων νοῦ δικάζειν ἤξιον, τῶν
 δὲ φίλων πολλοὶ συνέρεον ἄλλος ἄλλο τι πρὸς παραμυθίαν ἐσκεμ-
 μένος. ἐποιοῦν δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς δεῖσθαι τῶν αἰεμάτων.
 οὕτως οὐκ ἐτετραύμα.
- F 160 163. Φιδήλιος δὲ ἦν μὲν Φήστου πολίτης, ἀγριὸς ἀνθρώπος, ἀρχὴ
 δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλέως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι | χρημάτων, φίλος δὲ πρὸς τὸν
 20 Εὐβουλον ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ τῷ Φήστῳ. | ἔχων τοῖνυν αὐτὸν πευθόμενον
 R 108 ἐκ πολλῶν δόρτων τε καὶ συμποσίων κινεῖται ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ συνε-
 βοῦλενε δίκην λόγου λαβεῖν. τὸν δὲ λόγον, τοῦ τυράννου μὲν
 ἐγκύμιον, γεγράφθαι, κείσθαι δὲ παρ' ἐμοὶ τῷ συγγραφεῖ. ῥᾶστον
 δὲ εἶναι δι' ὑπηρετῶν ελεῖν. 164. ἔδοξεν οὖν ἐκείνῳ κἀλλίων εἶναι
 25 τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο προσλαβεῖν, πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιον Ἰουλιανῷ
 γενόμενον, πολλοῦ δὲ ἄντα τότε τῷ Βιλιεντι, φοβερὸν μὲν πολεμίου,
 φοβερὸν δὲ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς κακοῖς, αἰδοῦμενον δὲ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ
 λόγους, λόγου δὲ ἐν σοφῶν συνοουσίας οὐκ ἀποροῦντα· τοῦτι δὲ αὐτῷ
 παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἦν. 165. οὗτος ὁ Λουπικίνος αὐτὸν μὲν με
 30 οὐδέποτε ἰδών, παρὰ φήμης δὲ ἴσως τινὸς περὶ ἐμοῦ τι δεξάμενος
 πρὸς μὲν τὸν εἶπε· Σίγα, ὦ φιλότις, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ταῦτα ἰστάσθαι.

2 γέ F, Re (V): τέ other MSS.

bracketed Mor., om. Re, F.

10 Φιλομενοῦ F, Re (BL): Φιλομένου Mor. (ACPV).

12 ἔπερ ἐκαλοῦμαι F (Gasda; Pat. 3916): ἔπερ παρακαλοῦμαι Re (Anim.): ἔπερ παρακαλοῦμαι (MSS.).

14 ἀπέχων νοῦ F (CV): ἀπέχων οὐ (APBL): ἀπέχων τοῦ con j. Re, Cobet.

21 δόρτων F, Re: δόρων MSS. κινεῖται Re (MSS.): κινεῖ τε F (con j. Gasda).

6 Ἀφὲρ λέως MSS. exc. V insert ἐφ' οὐ:

8 δεικνύτος (τε) F. κἄν F (PB): καὶ Re (ACVL).

9 ἐκαλοῦμαι F, Re (BL): ἐκαλοῦμαι Mor. (ACPV).

10 Φιλομενοῦ F, Re (BL): Φιλομένου Mor. (ACPV).

12 ἔπερ ἐκαλοῦμαι F (Gasda; Pat. 3916): ἔπερ παρακαλοῦμαι Re (Anim.): ἔπερ παρακαλοῦμαι (MSS.).

14 ἀπέχων νοῦ F (CV): ἀπέχων οὐ (APBL): ἀπέχων τοῦ con j. Re, Cobet.

21 δόρτων F, Re: δόρων MSS. κινεῖται Re (MSS.): κινεῖ τε F (con j. Gasda).

he was at all afraid. I must leave aside his insults to my oratory —insults by means of which he tried to curry favour with a rich man who had no children. 161. But it was he who set me in the middle of a crowd of drivers, grooms, and starters, whom he used either to beat or to threaten to burn alive. One old driver he lashed about the ribs, and the populace set up a loud outcry, while I had much ado to avoid the sight of blood. And all this was due to the baseless charges of a madman who revealed his madness even in the actual course of the trial. 162. It was he who haled me into court, thinking to find in me the proof of the charge of magic brought against Philumenus. And his proof? Why, that I advised him not to concoct slanderous charges, but to keep out of trouble: and that was the only reason for his summons to me. He thought it nothing out of the way that I should be fetched into court and stood up there for such a stupid purpose. I left the court room, pitying the governor for the perversity with which he saw fit to govern, while many of my friends flocked round me to console me with all kinds of reflections. But I ensured that they had no need of them, and so it was that I came to no harm.

163. Then there was Fidelius. He was a fellow citizen of Festus and a brute of a man, and he held the post of imperial finance officer. He struck up a friendship with Eubulus for the same reason as Festus had done. Eubulus dined him and wined him and got him under his thumb, and then set him upon me, counselling him to have me punished for a speech of mine. This speech, a panegyric upon the usurper Procopius, had, according to him, been composed by me and remained in the possession of the composer—me. It was the easiest thing for him to lay his hands on it through his agents. 164. So Fidelius decided that it would be better to bring the military commander into the plot. He had served with distinction under Julian, as he did under Valens at this time, for he was a terror both to the enemy and to the wrongdoers among his own people: he revered wisdom and eloquence, and was never at loss in the company of the wise—such was his natural gift. 165. This man, Lupicinus, had never seen me, but he had perhaps heard some report about me, for he replied, 'Hush, my friend. Don't let this go any further than me.' Then he sent for

- μεταπεφύμενος δὲ ἐμὲ ποιεῖται τε φίλον καὶ ἐπαγγέλλειν εἴ τοι
 R 109 δεοίμην εἰδίου παρεκάλει τε τοὺς τῶν ἑδῶν | τούτους καταγελεύοντας,
 τοὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κληροῦχος, ἀφέντας ἃ ἀλαζονεύονται τὰ μὲν ζηλοῦν-
 5 τας ὄρασθαι. τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀνέσειον ὁ δαίμων, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ
 F 161 ἐκοίμισεν, οὐχ ὡς πεποιημένοι μοι τοιοῦδὲ τινος λόγου, | ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς
 πρώτης πείρας ἀμαρτῶν ὁ Φιδίλιος προῖθαιεν ἂν ἐπιβουλεύοντες εἰς
 ἔργου τύχοι. 166. ὑπῆρξε δὲ μοι καὶ ἀμείψασθαι τὸν οὐχ ὑπαχθέντα
 10 ἀνθρώπου. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρατούντος ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν ὑπᾶτοις
 εἶναι, παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ Ἀρχελαός. καὶ ἐτιμώμην ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ἀλόγους
 R 110 καὶ | δὴ καὶ φήθη δέν εἶδον ὡς ἐμὲ προσεπέειν πατῆρ γινώσκοντες
 τῆς τιμῆς, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἂν ἐμμεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοῦτο αἰσθανόμενος
 φθάσας ἐδείχθην ἐν τι, προελέσθαι μείναι τὸν γέροντα, τὸν δὲ χρὴ
 νομίξειν ἀφίχθαι. 167. Προτάσιον ἐπέπλησαν μὲν τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ
 15 λόγων ἄνδρες ἐν οὐδενὶ μὲν λόγῳ πρότερον ὄντες, κτησόμενοι δὲ
 ἰσχὺν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουλιανοῦ σφαγῆς. οὗτοι τοῦτον ἐφόβον ὡς αἰσχιστά
 ἂν ἄρξειεν ἐμὴ ἀπελαίνου με τῶν θυρῶν, καὶ παρέλευζάν οἱ τῶν ἐκ |
 R 111 τῆς συμμορίας κοινῶν τῆς πορείας τηρήσουσα ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸν φόβον.
 ἦει μὲν οὖν ὡς ποιήσω με μικρόν, νόσῳ δὲ πιεζόμενος ἐβάδιζεν
 αὐξομένης τῆς πορείας τῆς νόσου. καὶ ἦκέ γε εἰς τὴν καταγωγὴν
 20 νυκτὸς οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τυχῶν, οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὸ νοσεῖν. 168. ὡς
 δὲ πολλῶν ἰόντων αὐτῷ μόνος ἀπελιπόμην, λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνα,
 F 162 ὃ μάλιστα | ἐχρήστο, τοὺς κατ' ἐμοῦ λόγους ἐξεληλέχθαι τοῖς
 ἔργοις. τὸν γὰρ δὴ λεγόμενον ἐνοχλεῖν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἦκιστα
 25 παρ' αὐτοῦς ἢ καὶ τοῦναντίον χαρίζεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ταῦτη τοῖς
 ἐρούσι τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐρώοντας οὐδὲ ἐπίστασθαι. ταυτὶ μὲν ἤκουσε,
 R 112 δῆλος δὲ ἦν ἀτιμάσω, οὐ | μὴν ἐπέτρεψέ γε ὁ θάνατος.

169. Ἐτερος Προτάσιος τὰ γε πρὸς ἐμὲ ῥῆσθ' ὅσως ἤκει, ὅς
 καθάρμασι μὲν συνῆν, παρ' ὧν δ' ἂν τι καὶ ἐμάνθανεν, ἄβατον

2 τε F (VL); δὲ Re (ACPB).

3 οὐρανοῦ F, conj. Wyttenbach, Cobet:
 Οὐρανοῦ Re (MSS).

8 αὐτῷ F, Valesius, conj. Re (Anim.). (Par.
 3016): αὐτοῖς Re (MSS).

9 Sievers suggests lacuna after δὲ (as in VL
 Par. 3016).

21 λέγει δὲ ACPB: [δὲ] F, Re.

me, made me his friend and offered to provide any service I required, and he called upon those persons who make mock of our temples, these heirs to the kingdom of heaven, to cease their vaunting and to look on me in emulation. Such were the storms which destiny conjured up and laid to rest—not that I had ever composed a speech of that sort, but Fiddius, after an initial failure, might have continued his plots until he attained his object. 166. I was able to make some return to Lupicinus too for not being led by the nose, since, although his appointment as consul depended upon the Emperor, he depended upon me to secure Archelaus' good will. From Archelaus I received many tokens of esteem; in fact, he felt that he should visit me for an interview as a mark of such esteem—an unprecedented course for him to take—but I got wind of it and forestalled it by simply requesting the old man to stay where he was. His nephew, however, I must admit was my visitor. 167. As for Protasius, he had his ears filled with accounts of my misdeeds by men who had been of no account in time past, but who had gained influence as a result of Julian's death. They sent him into a panic, asserting that he would be a really bad governor if he did not bar his doors to me, and they appointed one of the members of their clique to accompany him on his journey here and to keep his panic alive within him. So he made his way here to bring me down, but, as he came, he fell ill and his illness increased with his journey. He reached his headquarters one night, with no formalities of welcome because of his illness. 168. Since he had many visitors and I was the only absentee, he remarked to his close friend Zeno that the worth of the assertions made against me had been shown by the facts: I, who had a name for annoying the governors, would never show my face at his audiences. Zeno's reply was that he was not a bit surprised, for it was not my way to visit them any more than theirs to visit me: only to my well-wishers did I pay such a compliment, and those who did not wish me well I ignored completely. He listened to this but still was clearly bent on my disgrace, but death forestalled him.

169. His successor was, in his attitude to me, just another such. He associated with the scum of the earth, but made his headquarters out of bounds to everyone from whom he might

- ἔποίει τὴν καταγωγὴν. καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ζημιῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκέρδιαιον.
καὶ κληῖται μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου ἡλιπίεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλους εἰστίων
διδάσκων αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ λίαν αὐτοῦ δεοίμην. ὁ δὲ φθεῖ τούτοις γε τὴν
καρδίαν, ἔδειξε δὲ ἔν τινι κατηγορίᾳ νέον· οἷν δέον, εἴπερ ἡδίκουν,
5 ἐπιθέσει δίκην, ὁ δὲ τὸ διδασκάλων ἐσαγήρευεν ἕθνος οὐκ ἄπασιν
ἐγκαλῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐν τῷ παντὶ κρύπτοιο αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ.
170. καὶ τὼ μὲν νέω γυμνῶ τε ἤστην καὶ μετεώρω πρὸς πληγὰς,
παρεκάλητο δὲ τις Ὀλύμπιος. τοῦ δὲ οὐ μετεῖχον ἐγὼ, ἡδύκετο δὲ
ὁ νόμος. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ δὴ τι ξυνετός ἦν, ὥστε οἷς ἐβλήξατο μὴ
10 μαστιγοῦν ἐκεκάλωτο. φρόνημα δὲ τὸ θράσος καὶ ἠγροῦμενος καὶ
ὀνομάζων ὅπλα ἀνταράμενος τῷ στρατηγῷ γινῶναι τε αὐτὸν ἠναγ-
R 113 κάσθη καὶ συνεσταλμένος | ἔκειτο, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς πέρας.
F 163 171. Ἄλλ' ἐπάνειμι δὴ πρὸς τὸν Βάλεντα· ὃν ἔδειξε | μὲν χρηστόν
τὸ μὴ τῷ τυράννῳ τοῦ τυράννου φίλους ἐπαποκτείνει· ἐπεὶ καὶ
15 ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦμοῦ φίλου θάνατος Ἰερίου μᾶλλον τῆς ἀλώπεκος
ἔργον ἢ τοῦ παρακρουσθέντος ἦν. ἀσφάλειαν δὲ τῆς πράξεως
ἐκνήσθαι νομίζων εἶπεν ἕτερον λόγον, Φιδούσιόν τε καὶ οὖς ἐκεῖνος
ἐπανέστησε τῷ σκίπτρῳ, καὶ ἐχώρει μὲν διὰ τῶν ἡδικοτέρων ὁ
βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀρχήν, προσετίθετο δὲ τις καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον
20 ἐπιστατέμων. μάντις τε ἄσπας ἐχθρὸς ὅτι τε ἐδέησε τῆς τέχνης
διδάσκεισθαι τι περὶ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν βουλομένων·
χαλεπὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐδόκει εἶναι παρόντος μάντεως μὴ ἂν τινα καὶ ἐπὶ
R 114 τοῖς μείζουσι χρῆσασθαι | τῷ ἀνδρὶ. 172. τὴν ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὄρησιν οἱ
συκοφάνται λαβόντες πάντα ἐκίκαν ἐπὶ πάντας ἰόντες. δόξα τε ἦν
25 παρὰ τῷ Βάλεντι, φθόνου τὴν δόξαν πεποιθότος, πάντως ἂν εἰς
ἔλεγχόν με πεσεῖν δι' ἑνὸς γέ του τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βίαν αἰρομένων.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρέσθαι τὸν Εἰρηναῖον εἰ μετεῖχον τοῦ ἐπι-

have learned something. He thought to do me harm, but it was clear profit for me. He used to expect an invitation to my declamations, but I reserved this feast for others and gave him to understand that I had no great need of him. At this his anger swelled, and he displayed it in charges made against a couple of students. If they were guilty, he should have punished them both, but instead he cast his net over the whole teaching profession, not with any accusation to level against the whole body, but, by actions which affected them all, seeking to conceal his personal hostility towards me. 170. The two lads were stripped and hoisted up for the flogging, while a man named Olympius was in attendance. I was not acquainted with him, but the law was being flouted. Olympius showed such sound sense that, because of his outcries, the governor was prevented from carrying out the flogging, but, proceeding to regard and describe his outrageous conduct as sound policy, he took up the cudgels against the military commander, was forced to his senses, and reduced to eating humble pie. And that was the end of him.

171. But to return to Valens—the fact that, after Procopius' death, he did not execute his friends too argued that he was a decent person. The execution of my friend Andronicus was more the work of that sly fox Hierius than of the Emperor whom he deceived. Yet just when he thought that, by his clemency, he had bought himself security, he found more treason in Fidustus and those whom he roused to conspire against the throne. So the Emperor proceeded at first against the culprits, but there were added to the list names of men completely innocent of such a crime. Every soothsayer was his foe: so was any who, in his desire to learn from heaven something of his own fortunes, had recourse to this art, for it was hard to believe that, with a soothsayer handy, his services would not be employed on matters of greater moment. 172. This tendency of his the informers fastened upon, attacking everyone and setting everything in turmoil. Valens had an idea, and my enemies had fostered it, that I would certainly be implicated by the statements of one of those subjected to examination. It is said that he personally asked Irenaeus whether I was party to the plot and was surprised to hear that

βουλεύματος, θαυμάσαι τε οὐ μετασχέιν ἀκούσας. 173. καὶ μαντικῇ
 μὲν οὐδα χάρην, ἢ μοι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν πρασιτέροις κατέστησεν, ὅτω
 τε χρηστέον καὶ ὅτω μὴ φράζουσα, τὴν κεφαλὴν δ' ἂν ἀπετεμενόμεν,
 F 164 ὡς δευτέρου ὄν τοῦ ἀπολωλέναι τὸ ταύτη σεσώσθαι. | ἢ τις ἦκεν
 5 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδελφεῖον, ὃς θεῶν μὲν τὴν φύλιν ἤγειρο, καρτερεῖν
 δὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκας οὐκ εἶχε καὶ ὁμολογεῖ γέ τοι τοῦτο καὶ ὁμολογῶν
 ἦσαν ἔνοστο. 174. εἰθεῖτο οὖν ἡμῶν αἰτεῖν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς Τύχης τὸν
 R 115 θάνατον, οἷοι | πολλοῖς ἐξαιρέτως ἐπῆλθον. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες
 εἶχοντο, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἢ τῶν δεινῶν ἐπιπύσσον εἶναι κακῶν τοιαύτης
 10 εὐχῆς ἐφάνετο. σιγῇ τοῖνον ἐδάκρουν. ὁ δὲ λουσάμενός τε καὶ
 δευπνήσας ὕπνου τε ὁμοῦ καὶ θάνατον δέχεται, ὥστε εἶσθεν ἡμεῖς μὲν
 παρήμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν βασιλείων τινές, ὡς ἐκείνου
 διήσαντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ διεπεφεύγει πτηνῷ τάχει. 175. σπουθήμων
 τοῖνον ἐξ ἐπιστολῶν, τῶν μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἑτέρους, τῶν δὲ ἐμοὶ
 15 παρ' ἄλλων ἀφικνέμεν, ἐν αἷς ἀδικία μὲν οὐδεμία, λαβαὶ δ' ἂν
 ἐγένοντο συκοφάνταις ἀνθρώποις, ταύτας δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς μάλᾳ εἰπε-
 τὸς ἀνελεν ἢ Τύχῃ, ὥστε ἐν μυρίοις γράμμασι μὴ εἶναι γράμμα ἐμῶν.
 176. Τῆς αὐτῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ Περργάμιον πολὺ πρὸ τῶνδε τῶν
 κακῶν ἐγκαλέσαντά τι, ψεύδος μὲν, ψεῖρο δὲ ἠδικῆσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ
 20 πείσας αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸς ἦν. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἦν, κἂν ἐξελάγησέ τι τῶν
 R 116 οἰσόντων ἐμοὶ ζημιῶν. καὶ | τὴν Αὐξεντίου δὲ περὶ τούτων πρὸς με
 σιπήν τῆς Τύχης δῶρον νομιστέον, ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰδέναι ἀξίων ἀνθρα-
 F 165 πος, ὁ μὴ καὶ ἐμὲ δεῖν, τοῦτό γε ἄρρητον ἐπούησατο. | 177. ὁ μὲν δὲ
 βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ τις θηρατῆς ἀμαρτάνων θηρίου, δεινῶς ἤχητο,
 25 κινεῖται δὲ κίνδυνος ἐκ χαλεπότητός τε δεσπότης καὶ λήπτης οἰκέτου.
 ὑπογραφένος μὲν ὁ οἰκέτης ἦν, οἰκιστῆς δὲ ὁ δεσπότης. τοῦτον δὲ
 ποτε δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἠρώμην φαρμάκου τινὸς πέρι, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς οὐκ
 εἰπών, ἰατρῶν δὲ μνησθεὶς ἀσφαλείας εἶνεκα. ταῦτα ὁ μὲν οὐ
 κατέκαυσε τὰ γράμματα, ὁ δὲ κτησάμενος ἐφάλαττεν ὄπισ, εἰ τί

4 ἢ τις: obelized F: εἰ τις or τις conj. Schmidt. 7 αὐτῷ F: αὐτῷ Re (MSS). 15 αἷς F (VL): οἷς Re (ACPB). 18 περὶ inser. F (conj. Schmidt).
 21 παρ' ἄλλων inser. F (VL). 25 δὲ F: δὴ Re (MSS). 26 τούτων δὲ Re (MSS): τούτων δὲ conj. F. 29 ὄπισ F (V): ὄπισ L: ὄπισ Re (ACPB).

I was not. 173. I am grateful to the soothsayer's art for relieving the suffering of my head and for telling me which course to adopt and which not, but I was in fair way to losing my head altogether, for it was more dangerous to have been preserved by its help than to have succumbed. So it proved for Adelpheus. He regarded friendship as something sacred, but could not steel himself against torture, and so he confessed and was ashamed of his confession. 174. Thus he begged us to pray Fortune for his death—such a death as suddenly befalls many a man. All the others offered up this prayer, but to my mind the terrors he dreaded were less of an evil than this prayer, and so I silently wept. He bathed, dined, and welcomed sleep and, with it, death: and next day, at dawn, we were attending his funeral when people from the palace arrived to arrest him, but he had escaped them on the swift wings of death. 175. Yet there was some cause for misgiving owing to the correspondence which had passed between some of my friends and myself. There was nothing wrong in it, but it could have provided a handle for informers, but, by the favour of Fortune, this menace was removed quite easily, and in all the mass of correspondence there was not a single letter of mine.

176. By her aid also the business with Pergamius was settled. Long before this trouble he had made some complaint against me, and, false though it was, he reckoned himself the injured party. Anyway, he had convinced himself of this and was my enemy. Had he not been, he would have blurred out some statement which would have got me into trouble. Also the silence which Auxentius maintained towards me in this matter must be regarded as one of Fortune's gifts, for though he wanted acquaintance with nothing which I too should not know, this at least he kept secret from me. 177. The Emperor, like a hunter balked of his quarry, was in a towering rage. Then I experienced some danger owing to the harshness of a master who practised divination from birds, and the resentment of a slave, his secretary. I had once written to him, inquiring of some remedy, with no mention of the gods but guardedly referring to physicians. He did not burn this letter and the slave got hold of it and kept it, so that, if any trouble

ποθ' ὕστερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν δεινόν, σώζοιτο ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς. 178. ὡς οὖν
 ἐκάκου τε καὶ εἰδίκευ τὸν δεσπότην ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰωνοῖς, ἐν τοῖς γράμ-
 μασι τοῦτοις εἶχε τὴν πίστιν· συνήσει γὰρ δὴ τὸν δικαστὴν ὁ τι
 εἰδήλου οἱ ἰατροὶ· ἐμπεσόντι δὲ εἰς τὸ δίκτυον ὅπως οὖν ἐπέκειν' ἂν
 5 εὐθὺς κεκραγῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ παρανέσεις ἀπὸ πολλῶν
 πρὸς τὸν οἰκέτην μὴ τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀδικεῖν, εὐεργέτην δὲ με ἐπεποιή-
 κσαν αὐτοῦ μέμψεις τε καὶ ὄργαι καὶ ἐπιτιμώσεις αἰς τὸν δεσπότην
 R 117 ἐπειρόμεν ἀνείργειν, | ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν μὲν ταῦτα, ἔλεγε δὲ οὐ
 μέγιστα νομίζεν, προσθαί δ' ἂν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν ἐπιστολῶν. ἀπρά-
 10 κτων δὲ τὸν πολλῶν συμβουλιῶν ἀπελθόντων δαίμων αὐτῶν ἃ μηδεὶς
 ῥήτορον ἔπειθε, καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἀποπέμψας εἰσελθὼν ἤρτῆτο τῶν
 ἰσχυρῶν ἑσπερημένους. 179. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἐκείνην
 F 166 ἐλελωφίκει, τῆς Θράκης ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν τὸν ἀρχοντα | καλοῦσης, Σκυθῶν
 ἅπαντα πλὴν τειχῶν κατασφύροντων, γενομένης δὲ τῆς μεγάλης
 15 μάχης καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ πεινῆτος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ προθυμῆ
 μάλλον ἢ τέχνη συμβαλόντος, ἐρχεται Ῥωμαῖοις ἕπαρχος ἐν ὑπάρχου
 σχήματι τῆδε φανούμενος, ἀρέσκοντα Ῥωμαῖοις οὕτω ποιήσει
 ἡγούμενος. 180. πᾶς δὴ μικροῦ λόγου ἐποίησε, μῖα δὲ πᾶσιν ὑπόθεσις
 ὁ ἦπιος ἐκεῖνος. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδεδεύετο, Ἀνδρόνικος δὲ ὁ |
 20 ποιητῆς μέλλων ἀεὶ λέξεν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἀπήλθεν. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς εἰς
 τὸ μέσον ἐκάλεε. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰλικνεὶ οὐ κατήγετο τὸν λόγον ἐν ἄλλοις
 τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς φανούμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον,
 ὡς πολυάνθρωπον. ἡμιλογήσαντος δὲ γίνεσθαι τι τὸ διακωλύον, καὶ
 ὁ πόνος ἴμῳ, ὡς ἐδόκει, ζῆμια. 181. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν βοή τε πολλή
 25 καὶ ἄθυμια, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς φαιλοτέρας τύχης τῶν πράγματι ταῦτομα,
 μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἐπηρεῖτο τὸ δαιμόνιον πόλεμον μεγίστης πό-
 λεως ἐξελθόμενον τὸν ποιητὴν. ἃ γὰρ δὴ εἶχεν ἀνάγκην τῶ
 ἐπανέτη διελθεῖν, τῶ λόγῳ μὲν τὸ εἰκὸς ἐφύλαττε, πόλιν δὲ οὐ

4 ἐμπεσόντι F, Re (correction in V): ἐμπεσόντα Mor. (other MSS).
 9 αὐτὸν F, Re: αὐτὸν Mor. (MSS). 16 ὑπάρτου conij. Re. 17 φανούμενος
 Re (VL): φανόμενος F (ACPB). 18 μία—20 ἐκεῖνος om. ACPB: Re rejects
 as scholium. 24 ὡς F, Re: εἰς MSS.

arose in future, he could protect himself with the letters.
 178. So when he began to abuse his master and to prosecute
 him for his auguries, he placed his reliance upon this corre-
 spondence, for the governor would know exactly what 'physi-
 cians' meant, and the Emperor would in any case set up a hue
 and cry against anyone so entrapped. Many were the entreaties,
 and many they who entreated the slave not to harm
 his benefactor, for the reproaches and angry censures with
 which I had striven to restrain his master had made me such.
 He replied that he was well aware of all that, but did not at-
 tach much importance to it: if he gave away the letters, he
 would be giving himself away too. Many who went to him
 with advice came away unsuccessful, but then destiny suc-
 ceeded in doing what none of the advocates could do, and
 made him change his mind. He returned the letters, carried
 on with the case and lost it, since he had lost the evidence to
 corroborate it. 179. This crisis had now passed when the
 presence of our ruler was demanded in Thrace, since the
 Scyths were ravaging the whole district save the fortified
 places. The great battle occurred and great losses were sus-
 tained, and he fell, delivering his attack with more ardour
 than skill. Then for Romans a prefect came, to appear here in
 prefect's guise, thinking to please Romans by such a course.
 180. Practically everyone began to compose orations: his
 clemency was the sole topic for all. All the other addresses had
 been delivered, but Andronicus the poet, who all the time was
 going to give his recital, left without a word. The occasion
 thus called me to the fore. The prefect was eager for the speech
 to be given at his lodging, in front of a select audience, but
 I wanted him to come to the city hall where the audience
 would be larger. To this he consented, but something hap-
 pened to prevent it, and all the trouble I had gone to seemed
 so much wasted effort. 181. At the time there was much alarm
 and despondency, and the incident was accounted part of my
 misfortune, but a little later my luck was commended, since it
 had saved me, the author, from incurring the hostility of
 a great city. The statements which a panegyrist was bound to
 make, though maintaining the tone of the speech, would tend
 to exasperate a city which was not easy to win over in any

- ῥαδίαν ἐνεκεῖν ἐποίει πολεμίαν. οὕτω τὸ δοκοῦν κακὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀπεφάνη.
- F 167 182. Οὐ μὴν ὃ γε ἐρᾷ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ κακὸν καὶ | δοκοῦν καὶ ὄν,
 R 119 κακὸν τὸ μέγιστον. τέτταρες ἀνδρες οἰκίῶν | τῶν πρώτων, λαμπροὶ
 5 μὲν ἐν διδασκαλείῳ, λαμπροὶ δὲ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ἦν δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπίται το
 μείζονος ἐκλάμβεν, οἷτοι οἱ τέτταρες ἐν μισοῖ τοσοῦτοις ἐτάφησαν,
 καὶ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς ἀγνοῶν ἐπέμπε ἀρχὴς τοῖς κειμένιοις. 183. τοῦ-
 10 τούς ἐτι μοι πενθούντι τὸ περὶ τὸν πόδα τὸν δεξιὸν συνέβη· περὶ οὐ
 ποῖα πόλις οὐκ ἀκήσοι τῶν ἐν ἠπείροις ἢ νήσοις; ὡς ἀπῆεν μὲν
 15 δειπῆσαν λελουμένοι, παύειν δὲ τινα μάχην ἐπιχειρῶν ἐν μαινο-
 μένῳ τε ἀνθρώπου χερσὶν ἦν καὶ χαμαί. καὶ περιτειχθεὶς ὁ ἵππος
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄχλου καταπραγακᾶσθη τῇ ὀπλῇ γυμνώσαι τὸν πόδα τοῦ
 δέρματος. τοῦτω δὲ ἐπικολούθησεν ὁ πολλὸς ῥοῦς ἐπὶ πᾶν ὁμοίως
 μέλος χυθεὶς, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅς οὐκ ἐπέπειστό με αὐτίκα ἀποθανεῖ-
 20 σθαι τῶν γε παρόντων, τοῖς ἀποῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐτεθήρκειν. 184. καὶ
 τοῦτο μεταξὺ συνεβήθηκει θανάτου παιδίου τε καὶ ἀνδρός, ἀνδρὸς
 μὲν ὅς μοι συνεῖχε τὸ ποιμνιον διακονία τε καὶ πόνοισι, παιδίου δὲ ὃ
 μοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ καμάτου λῶον μετὰ ῥώμης πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ κἀμνειν ἦγε.
 R 120 τὰ μὲν δὴ Ὀλυμπία | ἐποιεῖτο τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δίῳ, λόγος δὲ ὁ ποιηθεὶς
 20 εἰς τὴν πανηγυριν ἔκειτο, ἐμὲ δὲ τί τε ἄλλα ἐτρικε καὶ ἀγρυπνία.
 185. διὰ μικροῦ δὴ τοῦ θέρους τοῦδε οἶδα ἐλθῶν. σκληρὸν δὲ μοι καὶ
 F 168 τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτω. παιδίον γὰρ ἕτερον, ὃ σὺν | ἐκείνῳ τέ με ἐκούφιζε καὶ
 μετ' ἐκείνο τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος παρέιχετο, γάμων εἵνεκα ἐλθὼν εἰς
 ἀγρόν, ἐν ᾧ κατῆμα τε οὐ φορητὸν ὕδωρ τε ποιηρὸν συνέλεξαν νόσον,
 25 ἐπανήκου θήσκει. ἐπὶ δὴ τοῦτοις πολλὰς ἤκουσαν οἱ θεοὶ τὸ ὦ
 θεοὶ βοᾶντες.
 186. Τὴν Τύχην δὲ αἰθῆς ἐπὶ ἡμέροισιν Καρτερίον τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν καταφυγόντας καταγελάστους ποιήσασαν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ὡς
 ἐγκαταστήσασαν ἐνταυθοὶ διδάσκαλον τὸν λοιμὸν Γερόντιον γνῶσει
 30 βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν εἰς Θράκην μέγας ἐπιζῶν ἐν βασιλείῳ
 ἐσσεσθαι, τῆς ἀνοίας δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ χίθην ἐξέλεγχθεισας, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ

2 ἀπεφάνη F (PBVL); ἐπεφάνη Mor. (AC); ἐπεφάνη Re (Anim.). 4 κα-
 κῶν F (VL); κακὸν Re (ACP); om. B. 11 ἦν καὶ χαμαί καὶ F, Sievers
 (VL); ἦν, καὶ χαμαί π. Re (ACPB). 24 ποιηρὸν συνέλεξαν conj. F (crit.
 note); ποιηρὸν, συνέλεξαν F (text), Re (MSS).

case. So what was, at first sight, bad luck, turned out well.

182. However, the next part of the story is nothing like this, but an evil both apparent and real—in fact, the greatest of evils. Four men of the leading families, renowned in the schools and in their tenures of office, whose fame we expected to increase still further, were dead and buried in as many months, and the Emperor, in all ignorance, sent their promotions when they lay in their graves. 183. I was still in mourning for them when I sustained the accident to my right foot, news of which has reached every city of continent and island. I had been to bathe and was leaving for dinner when, in trying to stop a brawl, I found myself in a maniac's grip and hurled to the ground. My horse, hemmed in by the crowd, could not but trample on me and strip the skin from my foot. A severe bleeding ensued, and this spread over every limb, so that everyone present was convinced that I would soon be dead, and as for those who were not actually there—well, I was dead already. 184. This accident occurred in the interval between the death of the man who worked and slaved to keep my flock together, and that of the slave who relieved me of the drudgery and enabled me to undertake fresh tasks. It was the occasion of the Olympia in honour of Zeus Olympius, but the speech I had composed for the festival was put aside and I was racked with pain, especially insomnia. 185. So this summer passed, and a wretched one it was, I know. Then another disaster befell me. A second slave, who along with the first used to assist me and who, after the other's death, did his best for me, went off into the country to get married. There intolerable heat and bad water brought on a sickness, and on his return he died. At this the gods time and again heard me lament, 'Alas, ye Gods!'

186. However, I had occasion to thank my stars once more for making a laughing-stock of Carterius and his toadies. He had it in mind to set up that plaguy Geronius as teacher here at the Emperor's command, and he went off to Thrace, with him in his train, fully expecting to be a power at court, but he made a complete fool of himself, even going to the length of insulting persons who enjoyed the imperial favour, so that he

- R 121 ὑβρίζειν ὄκνει τοὺς βασιλεῖ τιμῶν, ὁ μὲν ὠλοῦμένος | ἐμβὰς εἰς
 πλοῖον ἐπ' Ἰταλίας ἔπλει τῆς ἀτιμίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μισητῆς. 187. ὁ δὲ
 ἀρχιστῆ μισθώσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ σοφιστῆς εὐμερίας πραττόμενος χρο-
 σίον, τελευτῶν φεύγων τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους τοὺς τὸν μισθὸν οὐ δίδόντας
 5 εἰς Σελεύκειαν κομίζεται καὶ δεῖρ' ἀναβὰς ἐν σκότῳ διὰ δέος ἐπὶ τῆν
 κεκλησμένην αὐτῷ πατρίδα ψηφίσμασι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἔρχεται τὸν
 ἠδικημένον ἱκετεύσων ῥήτορα. 188. ἐνταῦθα ἔφη τις μέλειν ἐμοῦ τε
 καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τῇ Τύχῃ. ἢ δὲ ἐπεισήμικε τῇ ἑορτῇ πένθος ἡλικῶν οὐ
 πρότερον, Εὐσεβίῳ τελευτήν· ὁ δὲ ἦν τῶν ἐμῶν ἀγαλιμάτων τὸ
 10 κεφάλαιον, ὥστε ᾄμωξε μὲν ἢ γῆ τεθνεώτος, ᾄμωξαν δὲ αἱ νῆσοι.
 F 169 καὶ γὰρ ἀφίκτο πανταχοῦ λόγος τρόπων τε περὶ τῶν | ἐκείνου καὶ
 λόγων ἠγοῦντό τε οὐδένα ἐκείνῳ προσόμοιον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκτίνας
 ἐφορᾶσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. 189. καὶ διελεγμαι δέ, ἴσως οὐ φαίλιος, περὶ
 R 122 αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀπελθόντι ποιήσας, ὥστε εἶναι τοῖς | ἔπειτα μανθάνειν
 15 οἷός τις ἦν. τὸ δ' οὖν τῆς λόπης μέτρον ἐξεπίσταται Εὐμόλιπος, ὅς
 μοι παρακολουθῶν ἐπανάγαγε τὸν νοῦν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐξελαυνόμενον
 διεξιῶν ὅπως τι ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ παραφρονεῖν κακόν.
 190. Τί δέ; τὰ περὶ τὸν Σαβίνον οὐ καλὰ; τάχ' ἂν ἔροιο ἢ Τύχῃ·
 πάντῃ γε. ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἀεὶ κακὸς πᾶν ἂν χρημάτων εἵνεκα γινόμενος,
 20 ἦδιστ' ἂν παρὰ βασιλείας εἰρόμενος ἐξεῖναι οἱ πλοῦτον ἀπὸ τάφων
 ἀγείρειν· ἐξηπατῆκει δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἦν ἐν δόξῃ τὰ πρῶτα
 βελτίον, ὥστε καὶ ἦσαν οἱ περιήσαν τὰ κάλλιστα αὐτῷ τῶν
 ὀνομάτων ἀνατιθέτες. 191. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἄρα ἦν ἀγαθὸς ἢ τε σοφία
 αὐτοῦ πιστευθέντα ἀδικήσαι τὰ μὲν τέχνη τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναιδεία, ὥστε
 25 ἦδη τι λαβὼν ὡς ἀποδώσειν ἐν μέσῳ μυρίων ὀμμάτων, εἶτα ἠρνή-
 σατο ἐπὶ τε δικαστῆν ἦκε τῶν ἅπαντα εἰδόντων ἀποθαναζόντων,
 λόγου δὲ ἀπορᾶν, οὐκ ἔχων κρατῆσαι τοῦ δικαίου, πλασόμενος
 σκοποδιανᾶν, ἐξελλθὼν ὡς δὴ εὐθέως ἦξεν αἰθῆς ἐπὶ τὴν δίεσιν,
 F 170 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ | τὸν ἵππον ἔρρωτό τε καὶ ἤλαυε καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς

28 σκοποδιανᾶ F, conij. Cobet: σκοποδιαν Re (MSS).

was dismissed, boarded ship for Italy, and sailed away to bear the news of his own disgrace. 187. The sophist, meanwhile hired himself out to a dancer and made hay while the sun shone, but in the end he fled from his rivals who refused him any pay of theirs, and he landed at Seleucia. From there he came up here at dead of night, in fear and trembling, to his own city which had barred her gates against him by her decrees, and he was compelled to approach me, the teacher whom he had wronged, and to beg my assistance. 188. Hence I and mine were described as the darlings of Fortune. Yet she brought a new cause of grief to the festival—such a one as had never occurred before—for Eusebius died. Of my pupils he was my pride and joy, so that the whole wide world bewailed his passing, for the report of his character and eloquence had spread far afield, and it was thought that the light of day beheld not his peer. 189. I have delivered, and not badly perhaps, an oration composed in his memory, so that future generations may know what manner of man he was. At any rate, Eumolpius is well aware of the measure of my grief, for he attended me and, when I was well nigh distraught with sorrow, restored me to sanity by recounting how great an affliction madness can be for a man.

190. 'Well,' Fortune may rejoin, 'did not that business with Sabinus turn out all right?' Certainly it did. He was always a rogue who would turn his hand to anything for money and would cheerfully have wangled an imperial commission to make a fortune by grave-robbing. Yet he had most people hoodwinked, and at first he enjoyed a pretty good reputation, and as a result there were even some who went about speaking of him in most complimentary terms. 191. However, he turned out to be no good after all. His speciality was fraud, no matter whether by subterfuge or by brazen impudence. Why, in full view of a crowd of witnesses he obtained a loan upon promise to repay: then he denied the whole transaction and went to law about it, to the astonishment of those who knew the facts. He had not a shred of a case and was unable to override the course of justice, so he pretended to faint, left the court—he would, of course, return to the case immediately!—mounted his horse, and was off and away. Then he got the rack to work

κλίμακος ἐπὶ τραήματα τοὺς οὐκέτας ἔταπτεν. 192. ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ
 R 123 κολακεύοντες καὶ ὡς ἦσαν κλίμακες καὶ | ἐφενάκιζον, μέχρι δὴ καὶ
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τραπέμενος ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ φύσει,
 ὥστε καὶ αἶδε συνεχώρων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων Σαβίνου ἀδικώτατον, καὶ
 5 νῦν ταῦτον ἀπὸ γλώττης ἀπάσης ἐστὶ λεγόμενον νενικήσθαι τὸν
 Εὐρύβατον. οὐκοῦν οἷς ὀφείλει δίστην μείζω δέδοκε νῦν ἢ εἰ ἐτεθνή-
 κει. ἐλευστέρον γὰρ παρά γε ὀρθῶ κριτῇ μικρότερον εἶναι ἢ ζῆν ἐν
 ὀνειδέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐ Σαβίνω γε φαίης ἂν. 193. οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦτο δίστη.
 χθές τις ἦκε στρατιώτης γράμματα βασιλέως κομίζων ὄργῃ δικαία
 10 γεγραμμένα, καὶ ἦν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι ἀτιμὸν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ
 ἀποτίσαι διπλάσιον, τοῦ πρώτου δὲ αἰσθημένου πολλοὺς εἶδέναι
 R 124 ποιήσαντος ἡδονῇ | μισθὸν ἐποίει τῷ στρατιώτῃ, καὶ ἦν ἐεργέτης.
 194. τοῦτό μοι πολλῶν δίστη παραμιθουμένου με τοῦ δαίμονος. καὶ
 τοῦτο μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν μὲν ἀνεμὸν ἔνεκεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ κηδε-
 15 στῆν, ὃν ἐξέβαλε τῶν | ὄντων, ὥστε εἶναι τὸ δέξιπρον ἐκείνω φακῆν,
 F 171 τοῦτο δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν ἀγρῷ τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτῆς, ἢ μία μὲν νύξ, μία
 δὲ ἀπέχρησεν ἡμέρα. ἦδει καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ κεφαλὴν ἢ
 Τύχη, ἢν ἀπεκάλυψε τε Σαβίνος καὶ ἐμὸν ἔργον οὖσαν ἐπειράτο
 δεικνύει, ἐπιστολῇ ψευδεῖ τοῦτο μηχανώμενος. καὶ φετο μὲν με
 20 πηξάντα κεχωρηκέναι εἰς σπονδίας, συμπλακέντος δὲ μάλα γυναι-
 κῆς ἔξω τε ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰκέτευσεν.
 195. Καὶ τοῦτον οὖν ἰστέον τῇ Τύχῃ χάριν καὶ πρὸ τούτου γε
 R 125 ἐκείνου καὶ γὰρ αὖ | πρὸ τοῦδε γέγονεν. ὁ νόμος ἐπολέμει τῷ νόθῳ
 κληρονόμῳ οὐκ εἶναι, ἀνεκὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ποιοῦντα κληρονόμον.
 25 φίλων μὲν οὖν ἦν ἀφθονία μοι δικαίων, οἱ δώσειν ἂν λάβοιεν ἐμελλον,
 τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ὠδὲ δραμίοις ἐπιθησομένους ἦν οὐ ῥάδιον διαφυγεῖν
 γραφομένους τῆν ὀδὸν τῆς κτήσεως, ὡς ἀδικοῖ τὸν νόμον. 196.
 F 172 χρυσῶ | δὴ βασιλεὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βουλῆς εἰς τοῦτο χρησαμένης τῶν
 τε βασιλεῖ φίλων αἰτησάντων ἐπαυσεσάντων τῆν χάριν νεύει τε ὁ
 30 καθήμενος, καὶ ἠνείχετο τῆς δωρεᾶς ὁ νόμος, ᾧ τε μάλαστα τῆν

2 ὡς F (MSS): ὡς Re. 6 ἐτεθνήκει F (B): τεθνήκει other MSS.
 7 ἐλευστέρον conj. Norman: ποθεινότερον conj. F: δευτέρωρον Re (MSS): τοῦ
 μικρότερον εἶναι τὸ ζῆν Re (Anim.). 10 αὐτὸν F, Re (B): αὐτὸν other MSS.
 12 ἡδονῇ F, conj. Gasia (correction in V): ἡδονῆν Re (other MSS).
 14 μὲν ἀπὸ ἐμὸν inser. F (VL). 20 κεχωρηκέναι FB, corr. in A; om. CVL.
 Re, edd. ἢ χριστέου conj. F. 23 νόθῳ F, Re: νόθῳ Mor. (MSS). 25 αὐτὸν
 δώσειν ἂν F, Wyttenbach, Monnier, Schmidt, Cobet: αὐτὸν ἂν δ' ὡς ἴνα (ἔνα L
 Re, Mor.) MSS. edd. 27 ἀδικοῖ F (MSS): ἀδικεῖ Re.

and began to order his slaves to be tortured. 192. Yet still his toadies, true to type, fawned upon him and truckled to him until he turned upon them too, consistent as ever. Even they began to agree that Sabinus was the greatest villain alive, and now everyone tells the same tale, that he would beat the devil at his own game. So in his punishment his present fate is worse than death, for death is more pathetic than a life of dishonour, so any right-minded man would think. But not for Sabinus! 193. So this too is his punishment. A day or two ago there came a military courier with dispatches from the Emperor written in righteous indignation. Therein it was stated that he was disgraced and subjected to double the fine. The first man to hear of this spread the news to others besides, and their joy provided the courier with his reward, for he was a benefactor indeed. 194. This, so destiny consoles me, is the punishment for the many wrongs he has done me. This is his reward for his behaviour towards my cousin, his father-in-law, whom he robbed of his possessions so that he had but a mess of pottage to eat. This is the reward for the death of his wife down on his farm: twenty-four hours were enough to do away with her. And Fortune was also aware of the business about the head of the corpse which Sabinus produced and then tried to make out, by means of a forged letter, that it was some of my work. He had the notion that I had given up in alarm and come to terms with him, but when I tackled him spiritedly, he was disconcerted and began to plead with me.

195. So I must thank Fortune for that, and for something else that had occurred before it. There was a law that was detrimental to my natural son, for it banned him from becoming my heir, so rescinding a previous law that had allowed it. Now, though I had plenty of good friends who would be sure to hand over to him anything they received in trust, it was not easy to escape the attentions of people who would attack such a transaction and indict this method of acquiring the property as illegal. 196. Our city council approached our good Emperor on the matter and, with the backing and favour of some of his friends, the prefect consented, and the legality of the grant was upheld. The law which caused me the greatest worry was rescinded, and my property will go to my son

- ψυχὴν ἔβαρυνόμεν ἔλεστο τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλευθέρως τε
 ἤξόντων ἐν βεβαίῳ τε μενούτων. ταυτὶ δὲ πεπεισμένον ἀφείναι τε
 τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλθεῖν τε εἰς Αἶδου | πῶς οὐκ ἂν εὐδαίμονος εἴη;
- R 126 197. Ἐν οὖν τῇ ἀπὸ τούτων εὐφροσύνῃ διύγοντι πνεῦμα πολέμιον
 5 ἐπέλθον ἐκβέβηκε μὲν τὴν ἡδονήν, ἀντεισάγει δὲ τραῦμα οἷον οὕτω
 πρότερον. ἦν μοι ἀδελφὸς νεώτερος οἰχομένου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου,
 μέσος γὰρ δὴ ἦν ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸν τόκον ἀμφότες. οὗτος πρὸ τε τῆς ἀπο-
 δημίας μοι συνέζη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Βιθυνοῖς ἐκαθήμην, ἦλθεν ἔμπρο-
 10 δαυτὸν μέγα ποιούμενος ἰδεῖν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νεμομένου παιδᾶς. 198.
 10 ἐπειθ' ὁ μὲν ἐπανῆλθεν οἴκαδε, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τῆς τοῦ κρατούν-
 τος ἦν ἀβθεῖς ὄθεν δὴ καὶ ἀπῆλθον· οὐδ' ἄλλο ἀδελφὸς ἀναφαίνεται
 καὶ χρόνον δὴ προύκτος λόγους τε πολλοὺς καὶ παρακλήσασιν ἀναστή-
 15 σασ ἄγει τέ με οἴκαδε καὶ συνέλευκτο. καὶ ὅποτε δὴ κάμνοι τὰ ἄρθρα,
 F 173 πικρὰ μοι τὰ τῆς τραπέζης ἦν. 199, οὐτός ποτε | συνδειπνῶν ἀρχο-
 15 μένου χειμῶνος πληγῆς μεταξὺ βέβηκε τὴν κεφαλὴν, βοήσας ὅλα
 εἰκός, χειρὶν οἰκετῶν ἀγεται πρὸς τὸ δομάτιον, καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ἦκε
 20 τὴν ἀργύλλων τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν αὐτῷ τὸν ἔτερον οἰχέσθαι βύντος ἐπ'
 R 127 αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὕδατος, ἐπειθ' οὐ | πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑστερον
 ἐκυκλώσθη καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ἤκουον. 200. καὶ ἦν πάντα τὰ πρὸ τοῦ
 20 δοκούντα ὑπέρθενα μικρὰ τε καὶ κοῦφα πρὸς τοῦτο ζεταζόμενα,
 καὶ οὐδὲν ὦν ἔπραττον ἀνευ δακρύων ἐπράττετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ λόγων μοι
 δευκνόμενον, ἦν γὰρ ἀνάγκη, μετὰ τῆς φωνῆς ἔρρει τὰ δάκρυα, καὶ
 25 εὐαίμαξέ γε οὐδεὶς, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ὅς οἱχ ὄθεν ταῦτα ἦν ἥπιστατο.
 δάκρυα ἐν λουτρῷ, συμβουλή γὰρ ἦν ἰατρικῆς λουτρῶν, δάκρυα ἐν
 25 δείκναι τοῦ γὰρ δὴ πρὶν συνδειπνούντος ἀπεστερήμην συνάντος ἐπὶ
 τῆς κλίνης, παρὰ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ νυκτὸς τῇ νυκτὶ παραδιδόμενου.
 201. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ χεῖρες ἰατρῶν, μύρια δὲ φάρμακα, πλείω δὲ
 30 περιπάττα. ἔπειθ' ἔδοξε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαίρειν ἔαν, καταφεύγειν δὲ
 ἐπὶ τε βωμοῦς καὶ ἱκετείας καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἰσχύν· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 30 οἰχόμενος ἔσλαον, καὶ τοῦτο ἤσυχῃ, οὔτε γὰρ ὀλός τ' ἦν ἰδεῖν οὐθ'
 F 174 ὄλωσ' ἰσχυρῶν λόγων πρὸς | τὰ ἀγάλματα, τοῖς γόνισσι δὲ τῶν χεῖρε
 περιβέει καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖν τῶν κεφαλῶν βρέξας θοιμάτιον τοῖς δάκρυασι |
 2 μενούτων F, Gasda (V); μενούτων Re (other MSS). 3 ἐλθεῖν
 . . . εὐδαίμονος εἴη F, Gasda; ἐλθόν . . . εὐδαίμονος Re (MSS). 19 (καὶ)
 τῶν ἰσχυρῶν F, Re. 20 παραδιδόμενου Re (MSS); παραδιδόμενον F,
 30 τ' ἦν F; τ' ἦν τὴν V; lacuna after γὰρ L; τὴν ACPB, bracketed Re,
 32 βρέξας F, Re; βρέξασαν Mor. (MSS).

without let or hindrance and will remain firmly in his possession. Happy indeed is the man who departs this life with such an assurance.

197. I was still basking in contentment as a result of this when the advent of some hostile spirit cast out my joy and, in its stead, inflicted such a wound as I had never known before. I was the middle one of three brothers: my elder brother was now dead, but the younger was still alive. He had lived with me before I went abroad, and, when I held my chair in Bithynia, he travelled overland, eager to see pupils under my care. 198. Then, after his return home, I was constrained by the Emperor to return to Constantinople, the place from which I had started. There too my brother made an appearance, and, as time went on, by his arguments and pleas he got me to move and brought me home. Here we lived together, and if ever he fell ill, the pleasures of the table were soured for me. 199. One day early in winter, as we were dining together, he was suddenly afflicted with a discharge from the head: he uttered a cry, as you would expect, and was carried by the slaves to his room. Early next morning I was told that one of his eyes was blinded, as a result of matter discharging over it, and not many days thereafter I heard that the right eye had gone too. 200. All the previous experiences which I thought so terrible proved trifling details as compared with this. Everything I did, I did in tears. Even at the lectures, which I was bound to deliver, a flow of tears accompanied my voice, and no one wondered at it, for there was no one who was not unaware of its cause. I shed tears while bathing, for bathing was prescribed by the doctors, and I shed tears while dining, for I missed the presence at table of my former companion who was now consigned from the darkness of his day to the darkness of night. 201. We had physicians in plenty, cures beyond number, and charms without end. Then I decided to have done with the rest, and to betake myself to the altars, to supplications and to the power of the gods. There I would go in person and mourn—and that silently—unable either to look upon the images or to utter a single word to them. I would clasp my hands around my knees, bend my head upon them and drench my gown with my tears, and so depart. As for my

R 128 ἀπήναι. τὸν δὲ οὐτε ὄραν οὐτε μὴ ὄραν φορητὸν ἐγίγνωτο νῦν μὲν
τοῦ πόθου, νῦν δὲ τῆς ὀφείας τοῦτο ποιούσης. 202. καὶ ποτε δεύλης
βιβλίων ἐγγύς μοι κεμένων καὶ ἱατροῦ γέροντος παρακαθημένου
ἐρόμενος ὁ ἠπιστάμην, εἰ τυφλὸς μοι γέγονεν ἀδελφός, τῶν φρονῶν τε
5 ἐξώσθη καὶ οὐκέτ' εἶχον οὐδὲν ἂν τέως ἦδεν εἰδέναι οὐτε οὐ
κατεσκεύην οὐθ' ὅ τι εἰρήκεν οὐθ' ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὐθ' ὅ τι μὴ.
203. πειρομένου δέ με ἐπανάγειν τοῦ γέροντος καὶ ἀθῆς ποιεῖν
ἡγιαίνει, λόγῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐτύχωνον συντιθεῖς κελύσσοντος προσελθὼν
τι, τὸ γραμμάτων ἀναροῦμαι μὲν καὶ ἐνεχέρον, εἰς ἀνοιαν δὲ τῆς
10 ὑποθέσεως καταστὰς ἀπ' οὐδένος τε τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐμαυτὸν ἔχων
διδάξαι τί ποτε ἦν μοι βουλόμενος ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἔρριμα, πρὸς δὲ
τὸν ἱατρὸν εἰπὼν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἶην, ἐκέλευν ῥίμων καὶ οὐκ ἠσχυνόμεν
ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μανεί. 204. οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἂν τοῦτω παρεξετά-
15 σασ κακῶν, καίτοι μυρίους βεβλημένους, ἢ μείζον ἢ ἴσον εἶρον ἂν.
ὥστε καὶ ἠτιώμην τοὺς δαίμονας ὅτι μὴ θάνατος ἀντὶ τοῦ παρόντος
ἐπῆλθεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν μοι γενομένων ἀγαθῶν ἔσθ' ὅ τι ἂν ἀντίρ-
ροπον αὐτοῦ δόξειε. ποῖα γὰρ ἐπίδειξις; τίνας εὐφημῶμαι; τίς κρότος;
F 175 τίνας ἐκ | βασιλέων τιμαί; πλοῦτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν |
R 129 Γίγνου δὲ νικῶν ἠττάτο ἂν τοῦ πάθους.
20 205. Καίτοι καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταύταις ταῖς τοῦ πάθους ἡμέραις ἀπ'
ἔργου τοῦδε θαυμαστός ἐδάκον εἶναι καὶ ἅμα μακάριος. ἀπολελαύ-
κει μὲν οὐ χρηστοῦ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ γῆ, μετριοτέρη δὲ οὐδὲν ἢ μετ'
ἐκεῖνον ὄρα. καρπῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδ' ἀναφάντων, τῶν δὲ ὡς
25 ἀλιόστων καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἡγίων, ἐκεκίνητο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ὁ
ἄριστος οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὄμβρων ἢ βουλή κυρία, αἴτων δὲ οἱ
ἀρχοντες πανταθῶθεν ἐκάλοιν, αἱ τιμαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἄρτοις ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον
ἦκον. 206. Φιλάγριος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἐνδοξότατος, ἐπὶ τὸν μείζω θρόνον
ἦκον, κρείττω μὲν οὐκ ἔχων τὰ πράγματα ποιῆσαι, ἀγαθῶν δὲ εἰ μὴ
φαιλόστερα, παρεκάλει μὲν τὸ τῶν αἰτοποῦν ἔθνος εἶναι δικαιο-
30 πέρους, ἀνάγκας δὲ οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἐπάγειν, δεδιώς τὴν ἐπὶ πλείον
ἀπόδρασαν, ᾗ ἂν εὐθὺς ἐβαπτίζετο τὸ ἄστυ, καθάπερ ναῖς ἐκλιπών-
των τῶν ναυτῶν. 207. ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῆ δόξῃ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς

8 γε F (ACPBV): τε Re (L). κελύσσοντος F, Re (PB): κελύσσας
(ACVL). 10 τε F, Re (V): γε (ACPB). 16 ἐπῆλθεν F (MSS):
ἐπὶλήθην Re. 19 ἠττάτο F: ἠττάτο Re (MSS). 20 αἱ αἱ F,
Re: αἱ Mss. (MSS). 21 ἐργῳ ACPB. 24 ἀλιόστων F (VL):
ἀλιόστων Re (ACPB).

brother, I could not bear to see him, so much was I affected
by the sight of him, or not to see him, so much did I miss him.
202. And one afternoon, when I had my books by my side
and an old physician seated nearby, I began to ask what
I really knew, whether my brother had gone completely blind,
when suddenly I lost my senses and could no longer recognize
any of the things with which I was familiar—where I was,
what I had said, what I must or must not do. 203. The old
fellow tried to restore me to my senses and to health once
more, and so he bade me continue with the speech I was com-
posing. I picked up my notebook and set to work, but I had
completely forgotten my theme and could not discern from
anything I had written what on earth my speech was about,
so I cast it aside, told the physician that I was done for, and
lay back without compunction, raving unashamedly under
such a blow. 204. Now, though I have been afflicted with
innumerable woes, I know of none that, in comparison, could
equal or exceed this. I cursed heaven that I had not died
instead of suffering the fate I did, for none of my previous
good fortune could ever be found to counterbalance this—not
my declamations, not the applause, not the congratulations,
not the honours bestowed by the emperors. I was not rich, and
yet a man richer than Croesus would have bowed before this
disaster.

205. Yet even in this very time of disaster I won admiration
and blessings from the following act. The countryside had
experienced a bad winter, and the following summer was no
better. Part of the corn had not even germinated, the rest was
sparse, and even this was blighted. In consequence, the popu-
lace created disturbances against the city council, quite un-
reasonably since the council could not control the weather.
Though the governors tried to get corn from every possible
source, the price of bread rose higher and higher. 206. The re-
nowned Philagrius, appointed Count of the East, though un-
able to improve the situation, was content if it got no worse. He
kept urging the bakers' corporation to be more reasonable, but
was reluctant to enforce his demands, for he was afraid of the
increasing desertion, which would have left the city ship-
wrecked, abandoned by its crew. 207. Hereupon, those rascals,

ἠγνύνενοι τὸν ἀνδρα ὄρωντες ἰσὺσθεον νομιζόμενον αἰτιῶνται οἱ
 R 130 δυσσβεεῖς, | τὴν περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σοφίαν οὐ σοφίαν εἶναι λέγοντες,
 πρᾶσον δὲ ὀφειλομένης ὀργῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς τε ἐγέλωλ ἐκεῖνόν
 τε ἤξισα. ὁ δὲ τὴν πρόωπην πειθόμενος ἐπειδὴ χωροῦσαν ἔωρα τὴν
 5 ἀπάτην, πάσχει τέ τι καὶ ἦκεν ἐπὶ μάστιγας, οὐ πλείστοι τοῦτο
 F 176 ἐμῶν | ὄψεσθαι. 208. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζεύγους καθήμενος ἠρώτα
 παίων ἄμα, τῆ περὶ τίνα ἀνθρώπων διαπάτη τοιοῦτοι περὶ τὸν ἄρτον
 ἀναγκάζονται εἶναι. τῶν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἐχόντων προβεβήκει μὲν
 ἐπὶ σῶμα ἔβδουον, οὐδὲν δὲ εἰδὼς ἐγὼ προσήειν τὰ εἰωθότα πορευ-
 10 ῖμνος, κτίπου δὲ πλιγῶν αἰσθόμενος | τῷ δῆμῳ κεχαρισμένον ὡς
 R 131 ἐκεχίρει πρὸς τε τὸ αἶμα καὶ τὰ νῶτα, θέαμα ἐπιστάς εἶδον πικρὸν
 τε καὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ὄμμασιν, οὐ μὴν εἰς ἀναβολὴν ἄλλ'
 εὐθὺς ταῖς ἑμαιτοῦ χερσὶ διατεμὼν τὸν ὄχλον σιγῇ μὲν μεμφόμενος
 μέγρι τοῦ τροχοῦ προσήει, ἐκεῖ δὲ λόγοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ οὐκέτι
 15 σιωπῇ τοῦν δυοῖν ἀπτομένου μόνου, ὡς οὔτε ἠδικήσασιν εἰ ἐν ταῖς
 πλιγαῖς εἴ τε οὐ λήξει τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ὄψεταί τις ἡμέραν τὴν ἐπιδοσαν
 οἶαν οὐκ ἂν βούλοιο. 209. ταυτὶ δὲ δίκαια μὲν καὶ λυσιτελοῦντα τῷ
 τε ἄρχοντι τῇ τε πόλει, θάνατον δέ, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ δόξα τῶν παρόντων,
 ἐχοντα τῷ λέγοντι, μαχόμενά γε τῇ τοῦ ὄχλου βουλῆσει. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
 20 λθοὶ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγων χερσὶν εἰ τις ἐξαίτσηται· οἱ ὅπως οὐκ ἐπὶ
 τοῖς πρώτοις ἐπέοντο βήμασι, θαῦμα ἦν. 210. ἔπειτα θαῦμα
 ἕτερον, ὅπως οὐ καὶ συνείπον οἱ οὕτως ἰουχάσαντες. τουτὶ δὲ
 R 132 ἔργον ἀνθρώπων | μὲν οὐδενός, θεοῦ δὲ τινος καὶ Τύχης, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ
 θαλάττης μανία κοιμίζεται. ἐντεθθεν εὐεργέτης ὀνομαζόμενον τῶν τε
 25 οὐ βασανισθέντων τοῦ | τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν τε ὀνομαζόμενων τοῦ τε
 F 177 τῆς πόλεως σώματος, τῶν μὲν οὐ πεινασάντων, τῆς δὲ οὐ κατακαυ-
 θέισης, τοῦ δὲ σχροῖα διαφεύγοντος.

211. Οὓς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπέπνιγεν ἐπέειπον. κακὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ πόδε

13 μὲν inser. F (VL). 15 μόνου F: χρόνου Re (MSS.). 16 λέγει
 τὸ F (L): λήξει τὸ (V): λήξουτο Re (ACPB). 20-21 οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πρώτοις F (BVL): ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις οὐκ Re (ACP). 22 οἱ F, Re: ἡ
 MSS.

who burst with envy at the governors' renown, saw this man
 with his immortal reputation and began to bandy accusations
 against him. The prudence he had shown in this affair was no
 prudence at all, they alleged; there had been bribery, and it
 ought to be punished. Now I just poured scorn on this, and it
 advised him to do the same. So he did at first, but then, when
 he saw that the slander was gaining wider currency, his
 attitude changed and he had recourse to floggings at a place
 where many people would be likely to witness them. 208. He
 sat there in his carriage and inquired at every stroke how much
 had gone in bribes and to whom, for them to charge prices
 like this for bread. They had no reply to make, and he had
 already reached his seventh victim, when I approached in all
 ignorance, following my usual path. I heard the sound of the
 lash, so dear to the common folk who were all agog at the sight
 of the bleeding backs, and I saw a painful spectacle, unbear-
 able to my eyes, but it did not deter me. Straightway I parted
 the crowd with my own hands, and advanced to the wheel,
 silent and reproachful. There I spoke long and loud, con-
 centrating upon two points only, first, that those whom he was
 flogging had done no wrong, and second, that if he did not
 abate his wrath, he would see a morrow such as he would not
 wish to see. 209. My arguments were justified and in the best
 interests of both the governor and the city, but meant death to
 the author of them—such was the opinion of all present—for
 they ran counter to the will of the populace. And, in fact,
 many of them had stones in their hands, in case anyone tried
 to present any plea for these people, and it was a marvel that
 they were not hurled at me when I first began to speak.
 210. Then followed another marvel, brought about by some
 divine power and by Fortune who can lull even the raging sea,
 that those who had been so recently appeased did not them-
 selves join in supporting my advocacy. As a result it was I who
 was called the benefactor of all—of the victims who were
 rescued from the lash, of the governor who escaped a lynching,
 of the citizens who did not starve, and of the fabric of our city,
 since it did not go up in flames.

211. Lamentations arose from that group which was green
 with envy at this. However, this was not their only trouble,

μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα μυρία τιμῶν ἔχοντα μεγάλῃ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ νόμου καταβῶσα μὴ δίδόντος οἱ βαδίζεν οὐκ ἄρα ὡς ἐμέ· ἢ πολλῶ μὲν ἐχρήτο ὁ Ἱππευρῶτης ἐκεῖνος, πλείου δὲ ἢ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκ Κύρου· τῶ μὲν ὄνομα Πελάγιος, Μαρκελλῖνος δὲ τῶ προτέρῳ. πλείοτα ἀνθρώπων εἰς ποιήσας τῶνδε οἶδα | τὸν χρόνον τῶν μὲν ἐν χρεῖα φαρμάκων ὄντων ἐπ' ἐμὲ καταφευγόντων, ἐμοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰωμένου τὰς πληγὰς.

R 133 212. Πρὸς τοῦ δὲ μνηστῆρος χεμιδῶς τε μέμνημαι καὶ αἰγῖδος καὶ πληγῶν καὶ αἵματος. ἦν μένοι τι καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγαθὸν ἐμοί, τὸ τοῖς δρομέοις τοῖσι καὶ ἀχθεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦεν ὡς αὐτῶν, ὁ πρὸς οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐπεποιήτῃ μοι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως. εἰδοκίμων οὐδὲ τῶ μίσει τῶ τε ἐμῷ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τῶ τε ἐκεῖνον πρὸς ἐμέ, F 178 τῶ μὲν ἐμῷ φανερῶ, | τῶ ἑκείνου δὲ βουλομένου μὲν λανθάνειν, ἀδυνατοῦντι δέ.

15 213. Καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ τελευτήσαι μοι τὸν ἀδελφόν ἐκεῖνον, ὃν ὡσπερ νέον τε καὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἐστρημένον ἐπέθου οὐκ ἀνεγόμενος τῶν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὰ ὄμματα τύχης φερόντων τὴν παραμυθίαν.

214. κακὸν δὲ ἕτερον σεισμὸν ἐπενεγκὼν τῇ τέχνῃ φυγῆ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνῆς, πλοῦς δὲ ἐπ' Ἰταλίας ζητούντων κατ' ἐκεῖνους

20 διαλέγεσθαι· τοῖς γὰρ δὴ λόγους τῶν λόγων γενέσθαι δυνατωτέρους καὶ εἶναι μετ' ἐκεῖνων δυνάμεις τε καὶ πλοῦτους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πλην αὐτῶν οὐδέν. οὐ μὴν ἐπειθόμενος γὰρ ταῖς περὶ τοῦ με δεῖν λαπεῖν τὴν τάξιν παραπέσειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠγνόουν μὲν οἱ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀφίεται, δίκαιος δὲ ὅμως ἠξίουν εἶναι περὶ αὐτό, οὐδὲ γὰρ μητέρα ἀτυχοῦσαν ἀφείναι

R 134 25 ἂν ἔρημον, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀτιμώτερον. 215. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῶ τῆς κακοπραγίας χρόνῳ διδάσκαλοι παρ' ἡμῶν ῥητορικῆς ἐξετέρανθησαν, ὃν πολλοὶ μὲν διασπαρῆτες κατέσχον τὴν Ἀσίαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄκρον, ἐφ' οὗ πόλις ἕκασται ἢ μεγάλη τρυφῶσα τῶ Βοσπόρῳ.

30 216. Τῆς δ' αὖ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίας καὶ τὸ μνηστῆρα ἀπέδειξεν. ἐξήντη μοι τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μετὰ τοῖς εὐαθέσις πόνοισι ἐπὶ

R 135 τοῦ ἵππου | τοῦ μικροῦ φερομένου πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἀναβηθῆναι

F 179 τὴν νέαν ἀπαντᾷ ζεῖγος ἄρῳν εἰς ἀναστροφὴν περιεργόμενον, | καὶ ὄρων τὸ ζεῖγος ὁ ἵππος ἔδεισε μικρὸν δὴ γενέσθαι σφίσι τῶν

35 προσώπων τὸ μέσον, καὶ οὐτ' ἀναστρέψαι ἦν τῶ ἵππῳ διὰ τὴν

6 αὐτοῖς F(V): αὐτοῖς τοῖς Re, Mor. (L): τοῖς ACPB.

10 καὶ δὴ δοκεῖ Re.

11 εὐδοκίμων F(VL): ἠδουκίμων Re (ACPB).

22 με F, Re (Anim.):

μη ecd. (MSS., exc. V where two letters are erased).

28 ἢ inser. B.

but there were many other incidents which raised my prestige. The governor even protested against the law which forbade him making personal calls upon me, as Marcellinus of Epirus and Pelagius of Cyrus had done with ever increasing frequency. Throughout this period I know that I was of the greatest service to people, for those in need of relief took refuge with me, and I would cure their smarts by my influence with the governors.

212. However, when I call Proclus to mind, I call to mind storm and tempest, flogging and blood. Yet even here there was some advantage for me, in that I was annoyed at his actions and was seen to be so, for I refused to approach him as I had done so many of his predecessors in office. Thus I acquired a good name from our mutual dislike, but whereas mine for him was open and above board, his for me he tried to keep dark, but without success.

213. The next occurrence was the death of my poor brother. I mourned for him as though he were a young man taken off in his prime, and I could not bear people trying to console me by mention of his blindness. 214. Another trouble arose which was a great shock to my profession. This was the flight from Greek and the migration to Italy of those whose object it was to learn to speak Latin. It was common belief that Latin was of increasing importance and brought power and wealth, but that Greek had no prospects. I refused to heed the advice that I should desert my post, but I was well aware how critical the situation was. I thought it but proper to remain loyal to my profession: I would never have left my mother alone and in distress, and this was something deserving of no less respect. 215. Yet even in those lean years, I produced teachers of rhetoric. Many of them have gone and spread far and wide over Asia, while one of them is now in Europe, in the capital, where it stands lordling it over the Bosphorus.

216. Another demonstration of divine assistance is the following. I was leaving the City Hall after my usual day's work and I was going on my pony up New Gate, when I was confronted by a pair of mules which were being turned round. Upon seeing these, my horse suddenly panicked at the narrowness of the gap between him and them. He could not turn

σπένδοντα οὔτε ἐξελθεῖν διὰ τὸν φόβον. λοιπὸν οὖν κατὰ τῶν
 νύκτων κατενεχθέντα τὸν ἵππον ἔχειν ὑπτιον ὑπὸ τοῖς νύκτοις ἐμὲ καὶ
 τὸ μὲν ἄλλο ἄδε κείσθαι, τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ ἵππου πεσοῦσαν
 καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κίωνων λίθοις ἐτραγείσαν δεκνύσαι τὸν
 5 ἐγκέφαλον. 217. ἦν οὖν βοή τῶν τε ὄρεακίμων τῶν τε ἐν τῷ
 R 136 βουλευτηρίῳ, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ τῷ κακῷ, τῶν | δὲ ἀλλήλους
 ἀμύνειν παρακαλούντων· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθεν ἀνείχον τοὺς πόδας
 χεῖροι πολλὰς, ὁ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τὰς τε χεῖρας ἀνάσχε
 καὶ ἠρώχραζε τρέμων. ἄμφω δὲ τοῦτω τῆς θεοῦ νομιστόν, τό τε τῶν
 10 ἀνθρώπων τό τε τοῦ ἵππου.

218. Χειμῶνος δὲ ἀρχομένου πολλὰ τε πολλαχόθεν ἀγγελίαι
 τελευτᾶς ἐτάριον μνήσασαι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκφορά νεανίσκου λύπην
 ὀπόσῃν τῷ πατρὶ πολλοῖς ἐνεγκοῦσα καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ ξένων κατὰ τε
 τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καλοκάγαθων καὶ τὴν εἰς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν
 15 ταῖς χρεῖαις τοῦ οἴκου χρηστότητα. 219. νοσοῦντος | δὲ ἔτι τοῦδε
 F 180 Ῥιχομήρης ἔρχεται στρατηγός, ἱεροῖς τε καὶ θεοῖς προσκείμενος
 ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἦρα μὲν μου καὶ πρὶν ἰδεῖν, ὡς τότε διδασκόμεθα,
 ἰδὼν δὲ πάντα τὰλλα ἀφείς εἶχετό τε καὶ εἰδὲτο φιλεῖσθαι καὶ εἰ
 R 137 τοῦδε τύχει τοῦ | μεγίστου ἂν ἠγείσθαι ἔλεγε τετιχημέναι. γενο-
 20 μένης δὲ ἡμῖν φιλίας τοῖς οὐ φιλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἀναρᾶς ἔρχεται τε ὡς
 βασιλέα καὶ μέλλον τελεῖν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὑπάτων χορὸν διπλοῖς με
 ἐκάλεϊ γράμμασι, τοῖς μὲν αὐτοῖ, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ποιῶν, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ
 βασιλέως, ὃ οὕτω πρόσθεν ἐγεγόνει. 220. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ παρ'
 ἡμῶν λόγος ἐπαυκῖν αὐτὸν βουλόμενος, εἰ μὲν τι πλὴν τῶν παρὰ
 25 τῶν ἄλλων ἔχων, οὐκ οἶδα, οἷς δ' οὖν εἶχον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτίμων τὸν
 στρατηγόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως
 ὄρω δὴ μάλιστα τῶν τῆδε ἡσθέη, τοῖμὸν εἰπεῖν ποιῆσαι τε ἐρῶντά
 μου τὸν ἄνδρα μᾶλλον ἐρᾶν φάναι τε καὶ τῆς δεῖρο ἐπιθυμεῖν ὁδοῦ
 ἐμοῦ χάρην.

9 τοῦτω F (VL): τοῦ Re (ACPB): τῆς inser. F
 (ACPB): Ῥιχομήρης V: Ῥιχομήρης L: Ῥιχομήρης Re. 16 Ῥιχομήρης F
 22 αὐτοῦ F, Re: αὐτοῦ Mor. (MSS.).

back, because of the lack of room, nor could he get through, because of his fright, so, in the end, he reared up on to their backs and sent me flat on my back beneath them. At least, that is how I was for the most part, but my head fell clear of the horse and was dashed against the cobbles between the porticoes, so badly gashed that the brain was exposed. 217. Thus there was an outcry, both from the muleteers and from those in the City Hall, as they shouted that it was all an accident or cried to one another for help. While they, from behind, with willing hands kept his feet away from me, the horse, quite contrary to his usual habit, kept his forelegs up and stood quiet and trembling. The behaviour both of the men and of the animal I must ascribe to the favour of Fortune.

218. Early that winter there came news from all quarters telling me of the deaths of pupils of mine. Here in Antioch there took place the funeral of a lad whose death inflicted upon many a man—citizen and foreigner alike—as much grief as it did upon his father, such was the nobility of the deceased and the generosity of his family to all who were in need. 219. While the lad still lay sick, Richomer arrived to take over the military command. He was a man deeply attached to the religion of the gods and, as I found out later, an admirer of mine even before he had seen me. Thus when he did see me, he put everything else aside and took me and begged me to be his friend: if he were to obtain this, he said, he would think that he had everything he wanted. So we became friends and he frowned upon any who were not friends of mine. When he returned to the Emperor to be appointed consul, he summoned me by two dispatches, one from himself—something others had done—but the other from the Emperor—something quite without precedent. 220. He received a speech in his honour from me too. Whether it was more effective than those of others, I cannot say, but at least I honoured him with all the means at my disposal. The story goes that when our good Emperor asked him what had given him the greatest delight here, he replied that it was I, and so he caused the Emperor, already an admirer of mine, to be even more enthusiastic and to express his desire to visit us here just on my account.

221. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ εὐχῆς τυχεῖν εὐτυχές,
 εὐξάμεν λῆξαι Πρόκλον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢν τυραννίδα ἀπέφηνε. καὶ οὐ
 R 138 μάτην γε εὐξάμεν, | ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ τοῦτό τ' ἔδωσαν καὶ προσέθεσαν τὸ
 καὶ σὺν ἀσχημοσύνῃ. δραπέτης γὰρ δὴ ἦν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν εὐαίμων |
 F 181 τοιαῦτα ἑαυτῷ συνήδει. 222. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἔρριετο τῶν ἀββαλμῶν
 ἐκείνου τὴν ἑορτὴν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ τὴν διάφνην
 φόβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ αἵματι μῆανος. καὶ μοι ἔδοκον αὐτὸν ὡσπερ
 κύνες ἰλακτοῦσαι φεύγειν καταναγκάζειν αἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ πειόντων
 ψυχαί, δῖξαν αἰετὰ παρέχουσαι διξέσθαι. τοῦτων οὐχ ὑπῆρξέ μοι τῶν
 10 Ὀλυμπίων μετασχεῖν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἦν ὄφνην μὲν, οὐκ
 ἐπέδειξα δέ, φέρων ἀνέθηκα τῷ Διὶ, στύρακος ἅμα ὁσμῇ θεραπεύσας
 τὸν θεόν. 223. τὸν μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης χρόνον πάντα ἐπε-
 βουλευόμεν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῷ χρωμένων, αὐτὸς οὐ χρώμενος, ἔδοκον
 δέ τιαν εἶναι φιλοκύνδυνος οὐ δεδωῖς τοῖς ἐκείνου κερανοῦς, θεῶν
 15 δὲ οἶμαι βοηθοῦντων, ὅπ' ἐκείνων τε δευὸν οὐδὲν σὺν παρρησίᾳ τε
 ζῶντες καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἐπιλαμβάνουσι πλείονη ἢ καὶ
 πρόσθεν ἠγωνισάμεθα λόγους, οὐδοσιῶν εἰς Πρόκλον ἀνηλωκότες
 R 139 χρόνον, πολὺν | δὲ γε ἕτεροι παρεστῶτες, παρακαθήμενοι, κολα-
 κέοντες, αἰτοῦντες, λαμβάνοντες, χρηματίζουμενοι· ἂν οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ
 20 ποιοῦντι ποιεῖν τε ἐνεγίγνωτο λόγους φέρειν τε εἰς συλλόγους.
 224. καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγίγνωτο πρὸς βεβαίᾳ περὶ εἰρήνης, πολλοὶ δὲ
 F 182 ἵπποσάσεις, ἀλλ' οὐ | προιδίδουσι γε αὐτοῖς ἐμαυτὸν οὐδὲ ἀνεπειθό-
 μην. τοιγαροῦν ἐπινοοῦμεν τε καὶ ἀνὴρ εἶναι ἔδοκον ἐν τε ἠπείροις
 καὶ νήσοις, δεῖγμα τρόπου βελτίονος ἐκφέρων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀμίλιας
 25 τῆς ἐκείνου φυγῆν.
 225. Δόσσα δὲ ἡμῖν ἀρχοντα ἀγαθὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τὸν Θεοδώρου
 τοῦ οὐ δικαίως ἀποθανόντος ἢ Τύχη ἔδωκε μὲν σωτηρίαν, ἔδωκε δὲ
 ἐλευθερίαν, ἔδωκε δὲ ἀναπιεῖσαι λυπήρασα μόνους τοὺς σοροπηγούς.
 ὁ δὲ Μουσῶν τε τὴν τρέφειν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλον εἶχεν ἐπὶ λέγειν
 30 τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς κεκωλυμένους λεγόντων ἀπολαύειν ἤθελε ταῖς τε εἰς
 ἐμὲ τιμαῖς παιδα ἐμὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεποιεῖκε, ὥστ' εἶναι μοι καὶ σὺν
 ὀργῇ φθέρεσθαι ὁ καὶ Θεοδώρου ἂν, εἴπερ ἐτύγχανε ζῶν. 226. οὗτος

1 τοσοῦτον Re (MSS); τοιοῦτον F (con). Gasda. 6 (τῆν) ἑαυτοῦ F (con).
 Gasda. 8 (ὄστ') αὐτοῦ F. 24 ἐκφέρων F, Re, Mor. (VL); φέρων ACPB.

221. So much then for that. If it is a matter of good fortune to have one's prayers fulfilled, I prayed that Proclus should lose the office he had turned into a tyranny, and my prayers were not in vain. Heaven granted his dismissal, and a dismissal in disgrace too, for he deserted his post and decamped—all as a result of his own guilty conscience. 222. Zeus kept his festival intact from the fellow's eyes, after he defiled his grove with much slaughter and bloodshed. It seemed to me that the spirits of the men he had murdered there, like howling dogs, caused him to flee under the constant delusion that they were ravaging at his heels. I could take no part in this celebration of the festival. I composed an oration but did not deliver it: instead, I took it and offered it to Zeus, at the same time worshipping the god with the scent of incense. 223. During the whole period of his office, I was the object of plots contrived by his associates. I refused to associate with him myself, though I appeared foolhardy to one or two people, but I had no fear of any bolt that he could hurl. With heaven's aid, therefore, nothing serious came from their contrivances, and I maintained my independence, attacked their activities, and held my own with more orations than before. I never wasted a single second on Proclus: he had time enough wasted on him by others, with their visits and attendance, their flatteries and petitions, their greed and business dealings. I had no use for this sort of thing, and so I could compose my orations and deliver them to my audiences. 224. Though I received many overtures of peace and many promises, I would not surrender to them nor would I relent. So I earned respect and on continent and island I was held to be a man of worth, since I provided an example of virtue by avoiding his company.

225. But when Fortune granted us a good governor in the person of Icarus, son of that Theodorus so foully slain, the great salvation, freedom, and respite, vexing only the undertakers. He was a nursling of the Muses, and held his office as a reward for his poetry. By virtue of his position he was prevented from giving orations, but he wanted to make the most of those who did do so, and in his respect for me he had become almost a son to me, so that I could speak to him in anger in exactly the same terms as Theodorus would have done, had

- ἐν λιμῷ κατειρήθει τὴν πόλιν. τοῦτον μείζω τὸν λιμὸν ἐποίουν αἱ
 R 140 κατὰ τῶν | σιτοποιῶν ἀπειλαί. εἴθ' οἱ μὲν ἀποδράντες ἑσωζοῦν
 ἑαυτοὺς, ἄρτος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ, πυροῦ δὲ ἐλπίδες, καὶ κακῶς δ' αὖ
 ποίησει τὸ πεινῆν. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις οὐδὲν διέφερε χειμαζομένης
 5 νεῦς, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰσδραμὼν παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα μετὰ πόνου μὲν, παύω δ'
 οὖν βλαβερὰν φιλονεικίαν. ἀπιστία δὲ εἶχε τοὺς σιτοποιούς, ὡς οὐχ
 ἀλώσονται φανεῖτες, καὶ ἅπασαι ὑποσχέσεις ἀσθενεῖς πλὴν μίᾶς τῆς
 F 183 ἐμῆς. 227. ὡς δὲ εἶπον δεῦν θαρρεῖν | ἐκβαλόντας τὸ δέος καὶ ἦκεν
 οὗτος εἰς τὰ ἄρη τε καὶ τὰς νήπας ὁ λόγιος, ἦσαν πρὸ ἑσπέρας ἐν τοῖς
 10 αὐτῶν ἑκαστος, καὶ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἂν ἐπισπῶν ἔωθεν ἑωράτο, δρόμος
 οὐδεὶς ἐπ' ἄρτους· αἰτίων δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν. τοῦτο μετὰ τῆς
 Τύχης πεπράχθη μοι φαίην ἂν. διὰ τῶν λειψουργηκῶν χρησιμώ-
 15 τερως ἐκεκρίθη τῇ πόλει· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν σωζομένη πεποιθῆσθαι τὴν
 δαπάνην, ὑπ' ἔμοδ δὲ αὐτὴν σεοῦσθαι. 228. πάλιν τοίνυν βουλῆς
 κακῆς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπῳ μεθύνοντι τε καὶ ἀλέθρῳ θείης τοὺς σιτοποιούς,
 ὃς ὁμοῦ μὲν ἔτυπτεν, ὁμοῦ δὲ ἔμελλε καὶ οὐ τοῖτους δὲ μόνον ἀλλ'
 R 141 ἔθνος ἅπαν, καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶν κακόν, τὸ γεγενημένους τοῖς | νότους
 ἀγεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἀστεος. τοῖτους ἐγὼ μὲν ἤλεγον, ὁ δὲ ἔχαιρε καὶ
 κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἐμέ. 229. τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ ἦσαν οἱ ὀρθῶς
 20 ταῦτα τῆδε πράττεσθαι ἔπειθον καὶ ὡς εἶ τις ἐκεῖνον ἀφέλοι χεῖρου
 ποίησει τὴν ἀγοράν. ἦν οὖν ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ νευκεῖτος σχήματι καὶ
 αὐτὸς τε ἦσθιν οἶ τε ταῦτα ἐπαυοῦντες, ἡμῖν δὲ κεκρατῆσθαι τε
 συνέβαινε ἔχειν τε πλὴν ἀθυμίας οὐδέν. 230. τῇ Τύχῃ δέ, ὡς εἴκεν,
 αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἐφαίνετο τοιαύτην νίκην τε καὶ ἦτταν περιορᾶν, καὶ τὸ
 25 πρᾶγμα μετέθηκεν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν πραγματοποιημένων· ὁ γὰρ δὴ αἶε
 F 184 οἶνον γέμων ἐκεῖνος ἐξέωστό | τε τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξουσίας οἴκοι
 τε καθήστο ἐγκεκαλυμμένος πεποιημένης τε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππο-
 δρομίας περὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ δεδιώς ἔτρεμε· τοσοῦτο κῆμα
 παιδῶν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐφέρετο, κελαινόντες ἐξεμῖν ἃ ἐδηρόκει κακῶς, καὶ

5-6 δ' ὡς F (VL); δὲ Re (ACPB). 7 ἀλώσονται F; ἀλώσονται VL;
 ἀλώσονται Re (ACPB). 11 ἄρτους F (V); two letters missing after ἀντ L;
 ἄρτων Re (ACPB). 12 ἂν inscr. F (V). 18 Between ἦγων and
 ὁ δὲ Re, Mor. read βορθεῖν δὲ οὐκ εἶχαν. Rejected by F. Absent from MSS.
 29 ἐξέμιν conj. Wyttenbach, Cobet; ἐμῖν F, Re (MSS.).

he been alive. 226. He found the city in a state of famine, and
 this was made worse by threats directed against the bakers.
 They began to decamp to save their skins: there was no bread
 at all, corn was merely a fond hope, and famine would have
 run riot. Our city was like a storm-tossed ship, when I hurried
 to the governor and quelled this disastrous rancour, though
 not without difficulty. The bakers were suspicious that if
 they emerged from hiding they would be arrested, and they
 placed no reliance in any promise save mine alone. 227. I told
 them that they must be of a good courage and cast out their
 fears, and this report went over hill and dale, so that before
 evening every one was back in his shop, and next morning
 a sight was seen that passed all expectations—no queue for
 bread, since there was so much of it. I venture to assert that,
 with Fortune's aid, it was I who brought this to pass. There-
 fore I was judged to have been of more service to the city than
 its high magistrates, for while they went to expense upon a city
 that was intact, I had been instrumental in saving it. 228. How-
 ever, evil counsel once more placed the bakers under the
 control of a villainous sot who began to make indiscriminate
 use of threats and floggings, not just against one or two of
 them, but against the whole corporation. Yet another injustice
 was perpetrated when they were paraded through the city
 with backs bared. At this I was grieved, but he was cock-a-
 hoop, and all the more so because of my grief. 229. At first,
 some people tried to maintain that such actions were justified
 and that, if he were removed, conditions in the market would
 get worse. So he appeared to be on the winning side and, while
 he and his adherents had food in plenty, we were the losing
 party and had nothing but disappointment. 230. However, it
 seems that Fortune considered it a shabby trick to turn a blind
 eye to a victory and a defeat of this sort, and so, without any
 intervention on my part, the whole aspect of affairs was
 changed, and he, ever the sot, was ousted from his position of
 authority and sat at home with covered face, and when the
 horse race had been run in honour of Poseidon, he was all
 fear and trembling for his own home, such a torrent of lads
 bore down upon it, torch in hand, calling upon him to dis-
 gorge all that he had unjustly consumed. His former associates

αἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἐν χειρῶν. ταπεινὸν δὲ ἦν καὶ ὄσον αὐτῷ συνόβριξε πρότερον, ὃ τε ἐξηρατωμένος αὐτὸν ἀπήγει δίκας διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν.

231. Ἦκε δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχου γράμμα⁵ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλας τιμῶντα εὐφημίας· ἐν αἷς καὶ πάνμ⁵ ἐθέλειν ἰδεῖν | ἐνεγέγραπτο, . . . ὅστε τοῖς νύκτωρ ἐκτεθεικόσιν
R 142 ἐκεῖνα τὰ γράμματα ὅσων μὲν ἦν οὐκ ἔλεγεν, ὅσα δὲ ἐσυκοφάντει
πένθος εἶναι τῆν ἐπιστολήν. 232. ὀλίγαις δὲ ἡμέραις ὑστερον ὃν
ἐποίησα λόγον αἰτήσαντι στρατηγῷ, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό μοι παρὰ τῆς
θεοῦ τὸ εἶναι τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰτιοῦντας, τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόγον
10 δεικνύων ἐδοκίμων, καὶ ἦν παραμύθιον ὃ κρότος τελευτῆς ἀνδρός,
ὃ τὰ γράμματά μοι πρὸς ἐπιδείξεις συνέπραττε βελτίω τε ὄντα τῶν
ἐμῶν ἢ ταῖς ὠδῶν ὑπῆκουε, καὶ παρέχοντα τρέχειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς
δι' αὐτῶν. ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐρήθων φίλοις γονεῖσι παῖδων παιδευο-
F 185 μένων ὄργην | τε ἄρχοντος ἐξαιρῶν καὶ λύων τινὰ δεσμῶν καὶ
15 παρέχων οἴκαδε ἀπέναι.

233. Τῆν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λμοῦ καὶ ἅμα ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ λύσῃ, ἐξ ὧν
πολύ τὸ θηῆσκον, οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅση μοι κατέσχε τὴν ψυχὴν
δυναμῆν. ὅτε φόβος ἠνάγκαζε πατέρας καλεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν παρ'
αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ ἐκ πυρός, οἱ μὲν δὲ ὑπῆκουον, μείων δὲ ἐμοὶ τὸ
20 ποίμωον, ἐγὼ δ' ἔχαιρον σωζομένων ἄλλοσε ἰόντων. πάντα μέντοι
τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀνευ γέλωτος διήγον ἱκετεύων θεοῖς δοῦναι μὲν
καρποῦς, δοῦναι δὲ ὑγίειαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔδοσαν, καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς ἔστη,
καρποῦς δὲ ἐλάττειν μὲν ἐν, τύχοι δὲ ἡ ἐλπίς τοῦ τέλους.

R 143 234. Ἄλλα τὰ γε τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων νῦν πλέον | ἢ πρότερον
25 ἤττηται τῶν ἑτέρων, ὡσθ' ἡμῖν καὶ φόβον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι μὴ
ἐκποσῶναι ἔλωσ, νόμον τοῦτο ποιοῦντος. γράμματα μὲν οὖν καὶ
νόμος τοῦτο οὐκ ἔπραττεν, ἡ τιμὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν τῆν Ἰταλῆν ἐπι-
σταμῶν γενέσθαι τὸ δύνασθαι. θεοῖς δὲ ἄρα τοῖς δοδοῖς τούσδε
τοὺς λόγους καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ὧν ἔδοσαν μελήσει καὶ τοῦ τὸ
30 κράτος ὃ ποτε ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς κομίσασθαι.

235. Παρὰ τούτων δὲ ἄρα τῶν θεῶν ὑπῆρξε καὶ ἐμοὶ ποτε σωτηρία
F 186 πολλοῖς μὲν πρότερον ἔτεσι, λεγέσθαι | δέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ
νῦν, ὁ λόγος δὲ παρὰ τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν ἀδικήσεται. παρεφθόνη τις
χειροτέρας καὶ τοὺς μὲν πέρρωθεν ἐτάραττεν, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ
2 ὃ τε F (conj. Gasda); see Re (MSS). 5 F and Gasda indicate lacuna
before ὡσθ'. 18 καλεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν F (VL); προσκαλεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν PB;
προσκαλεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦς AC; τοὺς αὐτῶν καλεῖν Re, Mor. 20 μέντοι F
(VL); μὲν Re (ACPB).

in arrogance were but broken reeds, and he, thoroughly undeceived, tore his hair in mortification.

231. About the same time, there arrived from the prefect letters full of praise and commendation for me. For instance, he wrote that he was very eager to meet me. . . . Thus that letter did not reveal its authorship to those responsible for its underhand publication, but it caused pain by its accusations.

232. A few days afterwards, the military governor asked me for the oration I had composed—yes, I owe it to Fortune that there were people to make such requests—and when I delivered it, I received high praise. The applause consoled me for the death of my secretary, whose writing assisted me greatly in my declamations, since the notes of my compositions which he provided were so much better written than my own and allowed me to run through them at a glance. After this, I helped various friends of mine, parents of boys in my charge, by assuaging the governor's anger, and I even got one released from prison and enabled him to return home.

233. I could not possibly recount the distress caused by plague and famine. Many people died: parents were induced by fear to summon home their sons as though from the dead: they obeyed, and my flock diminished, but I was glad that they found safety by leaving me. All this time I spent joylessly, in prayer to the gods to grant us food and health. Health they granted, for the plague abated; as for food, we can but hope, and I pray that our hope may be fulfilled.

234. Moreover, as regards my studies, they had now lost ground to Latin even more than before, so that I am afraid that they may, through the agency of law, become completely superseded. Yet it is not law or edicts that have brought this about, but the honour and power reserved for those acquainted with Latin. However, the gods have granted this eloquence, and will in the end ensure that what they have granted will emerge victorious and regain the influence it once held.

235. Indeed, I myself have been preserved by these same gods many a long year ago, but let me acknowledge it now, even if I have not done so before, for the account will take no harm, as regards the chronology. One of the artisans began to go mad, and he would annoy other people from a distance or

ἤπτετο, γαλεπάτατος δὲ ἦν ἐμοί, καθάπερ τι πεπονηὸς κακόν, καὶ
 ὅποτε ἴδοι με, λίθους ἀφίει καὶ ἐπεθίμει κτεῖναι βαλόν. 236. τὸ δὲ
 αἴτιον οὐτε τότε γινώσκω τε εὐρεῖν οὐκ ἔχω. πρὸς δὲ τὰς βολὰς βροαὶ
 R 144 μὲν τῶν ὀρώντων ἦσαν, οἷός μιν ποιήσαν ὑπὲρ τοιούτων φόβοι,
 5 χεῖρες δὲ ἔδραν οὐδέν, αἱ δὲ τῶν θεῶν καὶ πάνυ, δι' οὓς ἅπας λίθος
 μάταιος, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐξικονομῶν, τῶν δὲ ὑπερπετομένων. 237. καὶ
 ποτε θέρος μὲν ἦν καὶ μεσημέρια, καὶ δεκάτην ἡμέραν εἰώθειν
 κίον, τῷ Δημοσθένει προσκειμένος, παρῆν δὲ οὐδεὶς, οὐκ ἐλευθέρως,
 οὐ δοῦλος. ὁ δὲ ἤθλε τε ὡς ἐμὲ, καὶ ὁ λίθος ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ. προσελθὼν
 10 δὴ ταῖς μεγάλας θύρας αἰ οὐκ ἐκέλευτο καὶ δι' ἧν ἦν τῶνδον ἰδεῖν,
 ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν ἔνδον οὐτὰ αὐθέντα, ἀπῆλθε τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ λίθου,
 καὶ ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἔδραν οὐ κινήσεις, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸν
 ὀφθαλμὸν θεῶν του κεκαλυμμένος. ἦ οὐκ ἂν πληγῆς εἰς θάνατον
 εἰδείθην δευτέρας, τοσοῦτος ἦν ὁ λίθος. 238. τὸν τόνυν ἐκέλευεν εἰς
 15 τῆρδε τὴν ὄραν χρόνον δόσαι θεῶν λογίαν νομιστόν. ἐφρόντισα
 F 187 μένοι καὶ | τοῦ φρονήσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον δεῖσαι τε αὐτὸν τῷ πατρὶ
 συμβουλεύσαι καὶ μετενεγκεῖν ἐβ' ὕδωρ ἀπ' οἴνου, καὶ γὰρ δὴ
 καὶ ἐπεσίωμιν οἶνον νοσήσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
 R 145 239. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ νῦν δὴ τῶν τις | ἡμῖν πεπλησιακότων ἀνὴρ αἰεί
 20 τινος ἔστιν καὶ τούτῳ χαίρων ἂν τέ τις ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ συνεδρίῳ,
 κινδύητος ἀνείρασαν ξεπατηθῆναι ὑποσχόμενος τὰ οὐκ ἐσόμενα,
 γελῶν ἅμα πρὸς πολλοὺς ἅπαντα ἴδοι ἔλεγε. τοῦτο προῦν ὁ χρόνος
 ἐποίησε κίνδυνον. καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἐδόκει, ὁ μὲν οἷς εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ οἷς
 ἤκουσεν. 240. ἂν εἰς τις ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐμὸν ὑπογράφεα
 25 κεκουανγκῆναι τῆς ἀκοῆς ἔφασκεν, ὁ δὲ ἄρα ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ τοῦτο
 ἀκούσας ὁ δικαστὴς ἐξέβαλε τὸν λόγον. πάλιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ θανάτῳ
 βασάνων μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀδοῦ τε καὶ θορήβων καὶ πόνων οὐ
 φορητῶν ἀφείθην. ὁ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τεθνεώτα ἦκον τίς ἂν ἦν ζῶντος;
 ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ὡς τὸν νεκρὸν παραδώσαν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλ' οἷμαι
 3 πρὸς δὲ F: πρὸς τε Re (MSS). 4 ποιήσαν and φόβου F (VL):
 ποιήσαν φόβου Re (ACPB). 7 ἡμέρ F (V): ἡμέρ Re (ACPB). 10 οὐκ
 inser. F, Re. 16 φρονήσαι Re (MSS): σαφροῦσαι conj. F. 19 ἡμῖν
 Re (VL: original reading P): ἐμοί F (AB, correction in P). 27 τε inser.
 F (VL). 27-28 οὐ φορητῶν F (VL): ἀφορητῶν Re (ACPB). 28 τεθνεώτα
 F (BV, correction in P): τεθνεώσας Re (AC): τεθνεώσας (L and original reading
 of P).

would even manhandle them, but it was for me that he showed the greatest hostility, just as though I had injured him in some way. Whenever he saw me, he would hurl stones at me, and he threw intending to kill. 236. The reason I neither knew then nor can discover now. Whenever he threw, an outcry would arise from the onlookers who were, naturally, alarmed at such conduct, but no one ever lifted a finger to help. It was by divine providence that every stone missed me and either fell short or passed overhead. 237. One summer's day at noon, I was seated at the foot of my usual pillar, engrossed in Demosthenes, with not a soul in sight, free or slave, when this fellow approached with a stone in his hand. He came closer and peered through the big gate, which was open and gave a view of the interior, but saw no one there, and retired the way that he had come, still clutching his stone. I saw this for myself, without moving a muscle, and his eye did not light upon me, since some divine power prevented it. Otherwise there would have been no need for a second blow, so big was the stone. 238. The period from that time up to the present, therefore, I must regard as the gift of the gods of learning. However, I took good care to have the fellow brought to his senses: I advised his father to keep him under restraint and to get him off wine on to water, since I had discovered that he was a chronic drunkard.

239. But to resume—one of my ex-pupils was a man who always derived great pleasure from entertaining people. He was a member of the Senate, and had often been deceived by silly dreams that made promises impossible to fulfil, and he would humorously describe his visions to people at large. As time went on, this proved a risky business, for both he and his hearers were held to be guilty of an offence, he because of his story, they because they listened to it. 240. One of them alleged in court that my secretary had been implicated in the business, but as he was dead, the governor rejected the charge. Here again, by his death my secretary was spared the torture, and I the long journey and unbearable clamours and toils, for what trouble would not have been started if the man who attacked him after his death had attacked him in his lifetime? The motive behind this allegation was not to deliver the dead

- τι προσεδόκησε, τοὺς οὐ μετ' αὐτοῦ δεδεμένους τοῦ μὴ δεδίδαθαι
 F 188 φθοιῶν. κύρης τοῖων ἀγαθῆς τὸ μὴ κακωθῆναι | συκοφαντίας
 ὁδοῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἠδίστοις τε καμάρτοις καὶ εἰωθότοις ἀντὶ τῶν οὐκ
 εἰωθότων διὰ τοῦδε ἐλθεῖν τοῦ χρόνου.
 5 241. Ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν δὴ τῷ χειμῶνι πέρας ἐπιεικώτερον ἐπέθηκε
 βασιλεὺς οἷον οὐκ ἂν ἕτερον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. θανάτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα,
 R 146 φυγή δὲ δύο, πληγαὶς δὲ οὐ | πολλαῖς ἐποίησε τοὺς ἄλλους βελτίονας,
 ἐμοὶ δὲ γίνεσθαι τις ἑτέρωθεν ταραχὴ τῆς ἐν τῷ διδασκαλίῳ νεώ-
 τητος οὐ πάσης ἐν τῇ τάξει μενούσης, ἀλλ' ἐν σωφρονούντι τῷ
 10 πλείονι μοίρας τινός θρασυνομένης, τῷ λυπεῖν φιλοτιμιούνης καὶ
 ἄνδεικνυμένης ὡς εἰ ἐθελήσουσι καὶ πλεόν τι δράσουσιν. 242. ἐμοὶ δὲ
 μὴ ἀλλοτρίῳ μὲν οὐκ ἦν, σωπᾶν δὲ ἤξιον ἕως αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖν καταγόν-
 15 τες ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς προτέροις. τῆς γυνάμης δὲ οὐκ ἀρκούσης εἰς πίστιν
 προσεγενετό τι τὸ τῆν ἀνάγκην ἔχειν, ὥστε μηδὲ βουλομένους ἀπεῖναι
 243. Τὸ δὲ πάθος ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὃ βροντῆς
 ἔργον ἐγενόκει, διαλυτὸν ἑκαταεκα ἔτη πάλιν ἐνέκειτο καὶ ἦν
 χαλεπώτερον ἀρξάμενον εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν μεγίστην ἰσότην, ἣ γε κοινὴ
 20 τῶν παίδων καθήμενος, ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ κλίνῃς | κεϊμένῳ δέος, ἡμέραι
 F 189 τε ἅπασαι πικραὶ, νυκτεῖ δὲ χόρον ἤδεν τοῦ ἕπνου, φανείσα δὲ ἡμέρα
 τὸ κακὸν ἐκόμειεν ὥστε καὶ ἦτον παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀντ' ἄλλον τινός
 ἀγαθοῦ τὸν θάνατον, καὶ πιστεύειν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὡς οὐ διασφερεῖ
 μοὶ τὸν νοῦν ἢ νόσον. 244. οὔπω δὲ τοῦτο ὅτε ταῦτα ἐγραφοῦ
 25 ἐπεπόνθειν, θαρρήσαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐ παρήν. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ
 τοῦτό μοι τὸ μήπω παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰ διὰ μάντεώς με αἷμα οὐκ εἶω
 ἐξάγειν φλῆβα τεμύοντα, καίτοι σφόδρα γε ἄρμηρόστα. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ |
 R 147 λατρός, εἰ ταῦτα ἐγενόκει, διὰ τοῦ βύντος αἵματος ἰσχὺν λαβόντος
 τοῦ ρεύματος ἤρτηθεύσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν πάντως ἂν με καὶ καταβαλεῖν.
 30 245. ἐν τοῦτοις δὲ ὅτι μοι γίνεσθαι ὄναρ τοιόνδε· εἶδόν μοι τινες

10 <καὶ> ἀνδεικνυμένης F (crit. note: cf. vol. iii, p. xxiv): καὶ om. text.
 13 εἰς F (VL): πρὸς Re (ACPB). 14 τὸ F: ὁ MSS., which Re would omit.
 15 ὃ τ. F (B): ὅτι Re (AGPVL). 18 γε F: τε MSS.: τις conj. Re.
 29 ρεύματος F, conj. Gaisda: πρὸς Re (MSS.).

man up to justice, but he had something else in view, I suspect, since he bore a grudge against anyone who had not suffered arrest with him just because he had not been arrested. Thus it was by good fortune that I was not harmed by the fangs of envy, but passed this time in my usual congenial labours rather than in most unwelcome toils.

241. The Emperor put a fitting end to that winter, none more fitting, to my mind, when, refraining from inflicting the death penalty, he imposed a sentence of exile on a couple of people and corrected the rest with a few floggings. However, a disturbance of different origin affected me, when not all the students in the school kept the rules of discipline. The majority behaved properly, but a certain section misconducted themselves and made a point of being a nuisance, showing that, if they once took it into their heads, they would go to even greater lengths. 242. I naturally felt aggrieved, but I decided to remain silent until they recognized their misconduct and returned to their former station. However, their attitude gave no grounds for confidence, and so some compulsion was applied, so that they could be sent down despite their wishes. What this was exactly, I think it better to leave unmentioned.

243. My old migraine, originally caused by the thunderbolt, began to trouble me again after sixteen years of respite. Commencing straight after the great festival of New Year, in which all Roman subjects share, it became worse, and I feared that I would collapse in front of my class or even as I lay abed. Every day was painful: every night I was thankful for sleep: when day dawned, back came my affliction with it; and I prayed heaven for death in preference to any other boon, and was convinced that the malady would affect my reason. 244. At the time of writing, this has not yet occurred, but I can have no confidence with regard to the future. Yet the very fact that it has not occurred is heaven's work for, through the agency of a soothsayer, I was forbidden to open my veins for bleeding, eager though I was to do so. The doctors' opinion was that, if this had occurred, the discharge would have gathered force with the flow of blood, would have affected my head, and would have been the end of me. 245. While I was in this condition, I had the following dream. I saw two boys

θύσαντες δύο παῖδε τῶν νεκρῶν τὸν ἕτερον θέναι ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς
 ὄπισθεν τῆς θύρας, ἀγανακτούντος δέ μου τῆ τοῦ Διὸς ἕβρει φάναι
 τινὰς μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας τοῖθ' ὄντιος ἔξεν, ἠκούσης δὲ δολήσασθαι
 τάφῳ· φάρμακα δὲ καὶ μαγναιεύματα καὶ πόλεμον ἀπὸ γούτων
 5 ἀνδρῶν ταῦτα ἔδοκε δηλοῦν. 246. καὶ εἶπετο δὲ τὸ ἔργον, φόβοι τε
 ἐκείνοι καὶ πλὴν τελευτῆς οὐδενὸς ἐπιθυμία. ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτου
 λόγοι τε πρὸς τοὺς ἀεὶ παρόντας εἰχαί τε πρὸς θεοῦς. ἐχθρὸς μὲν ὁ
 λουτροῦ μεμνημένος, ἐχθρὸς δὲ ὁ δείκνου, καὶ φυγῆ ἀπὸ βιβλίων
 ἐν οἷς οἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων πόνοι, φυγῆ δὲ ἀπὸ γραφῆς τε καὶ ποιήσεως |
 10 λόγων, κατελέλυτο δὲ τὸ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν νέων βοαῖς τοῦτο
 F 190 ἔπαιτοῦντων. ὅποτε γὰρ δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸ γιγνομένων ἀπεφερόμην ὡσπερ
 ἀκάτιον ἐναντίῳ πνεύματι, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἶχον ἀκροάσεως ἐπιτιμίας, ἐγὼ
 δ' ἄσέβητον. ἰατροὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦτον ἰατρὴν ἀλλοθι ζητεῖν ἐκέλευον, ὡς
 R 148 οὐκ ὄντων οφθαί τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ φαρμάκων. | 247. ἔδοκε
 15 δὲ καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δις, ὁ μῆτρο
 πρότερον, νοσηταί μοι τὰ ἄρθρα χειμῶνος τε καὶ θέρους, δοῦναι τε
 τοῖς ἐπισκοποῦμένοις ἀεὶ λέγειν ὡς τῆς ἐπιούσης οὐχίσσασμαι. ταῖς δὲ
 δὴ ἄλλαις πόλει καὶ ἔδοκον τεθνάναι, καὶ τὰς πολλὰς δὴ ἡράτων
 προσειάσας εἰ τοῦτο ὄδε ἔχοι. 248. ἦσαν μὲν οὖν τῶν φίλων οἱ ἐμέ
 20 τε καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τινος ἐκίνου οἷς δόξα τοῦτων εἶναι τεχνίτας,
 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐτ' αὐτὸς τι τοιοῦτον ἔπασχον ἐκείνους τε κατεῖχον, εὐχεσθαι
 δεῖν εἰπὼν μᾶλλον ἢ τινος ἔλκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν σκότῳ συντεθέντων.
 R 149 καίτοι | χαμαιλέον ἀναφανείς, οὐκ οἷδ' ὅπῃθεν, ἐν τῷ τῶν
 λόγων χορῷ, πολλὰς μὲν τούτων τῷ χαμαιλέοντι χρόνος καὶ μηνῶν ὁ
 25 νεκρὸς οὐκ ὀλίγων, πόδων δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὀπίσσω κειμένων ἐυρόμεν
 τὴν κεφαλὴν, τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων ὁ μὲν ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, τὸ στόμα δὲ ἄτερος
 F 191 εἰς σιαστὴν ἐκλείπει. 250. ἀλλ' ἕμους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τριλοκίτοις | τοῖς ἀπο-
 κκαλυμμένοις ὀνομά τινος ὑπῆγον τῷ φανέντι, δέος μέντοι μοι
 R 150 ἔδοκε τοὺς αὐτοῖς τι συνειδότας | εἰσαελεῖν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑφεῖναι τῆς
 30 συνεχείας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀθῆς ἐργενέσθαι κινεῖσθαι. τύχης τοῖνυν εὐμενε-
 στέρας ὁ καταυράρικτο κείσθαι ὑπὲρ γῆν τοῖς βουλομένοις ὄραν.

13 cf F: ἂν Re (MSS). 17 ἐπισκοποῦμένοις F (MSS, ἐπισκοπούμενα
 L); ἐπισκεπτοῦμένοις Re. 24 χρόνος F, Re (L); χρόνους (ACPBV).
 25 κειμένων F, Re (V); κειμένων (ACPBL). 28 μέντοι F (MSS); μὲν τι Re.
 30 συνεχείας F (MSS); δυσμενείας conj. Re.

sacrificed, and the dead body of one was put in the temple of
 Zeus, behind the door. On protesting at this sacrilege, I was
 told that this would be the position until evening, but that,
 when evening came, he would be buried. This seemed to
 portend spells, incantations, and the hostility of sorcerers.
 246. And so it turned out in actual fact, when all those fears
 obsessed me and I desired nothing save to die. This was the
 sole topic of conversation with each fresh visitor and of my
 prayers to heaven. Any man who mentioned baths or dinner,
 I detested. I avoided all the books containing the works of the
 classics, and the writing and the composition of my orations,
 and my eloquence was undone, even though my students
 loudly demanded it. Whenever I ventured upon it, I was
 carried off course, like a boat in a contrary wind, so that, while
 they kept expecting a discourse, I would fall silent again. My
 doctors bade me seek the cure elsewhere, for there was no
 remedy for such maladies in their art. 247. They, and others
 with them, also attributed to this same cause a double visita-
 tion of gout, both winter and summer—which had never oc-
 curred before. The result was that observers kept prophesying
 that I would be dead before morning, and, in fact, in other
 cities it was said that I was dead already, and they inquired of
 our many envoys whether this was really so. 248. Thus some
 of my friends kept urging me, and each other too, to prosecute
 certain individuals who were rumoured to be responsible for
 this, but I did not share their attitude myself, and I restrained
 them, telling them to offer up prayers rather than to have
 folk arrested for secret machinations. 249. However a chame-
 leon turned up in the classroom from somewhere or other. It
 was an old specimen and had been dead for several months,
 and we saw the thing with its head tucked in between its hind
 legs, one of its front legs missing, and the other closing its
 mouth to silence it. 250. Nevertheless, not even after such a re-
 velation did I name anyone as responsible for its appearance,
 but it seemed to me that the guilty parties were overcome by
 panic and relaxed their pressure, so that I was able to move
 about again. Anyway, it was a stroke of good fortune that what
 had been buried deep should lie above ground, exposed for all
 to see.

251. Ἦκεν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρχων ἥμισυ τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππον ἐν τοῖς
 πρὸς ἐμὲ μιμούμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τιμῶν, οἷα ἀνὴρ
 ἐπιστάμενος λέγειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐβουλήθη με εἰδέναι, ἐν αἰτήσῃ τε
 χάρτος δικαίας τε καὶ οὐ μεγάλης ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀνότητος τε εἶναι
 5 δοκῶν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ματαίων ἐπιμελῶς, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων ἀμελῶς
 R 151 ἄρχετο, | διαμένον ἡμετέρων ἄγευτος λόγων· οὐ γὰρ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ
 γήρους ἄξιος ἐφαίνετο. μία μὲν ἦδε δίκη, ἑτέρα δὲ πρὸς τὰ τέρματα
 τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑπάρχου πέμποντος, ἦκων ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τε καθήστο καὶ ἡλιῶ
 φλέγοντι θυῶν τε αἰεὶ καὶ πίνων. 252. ἕτερος ἄρχων, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ
 10 δευότατα πολέμου ποιητῶν δαυμόνων | δόξαντα κεκνήσθαι, λθῆι τε
 F 192 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς βασιλείας ἐκ χειρῶν ἐρχόμενοι, καὶ ἦν
 πολὺς ὁ ψόφος, χαλκαὶ τε εἰκόνες διὰ γῆς ἐλκόμεναι βήματα τε ἐπὶ
 τοῖς τῶν ὄλων κυρίους πεκρότερα παντός ἀφείμενα λίθων δι' ἃ
 15 πολλαὶ δὴ μεταναστάσεις, ὡς οὐκ οὐ μένοντι σωθῆναι, καὶ ὁ φεύγων
 τὸν οὐ φεύγοντα ἔθρηνη. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐπισίαι κατασκαφαί, τὸ δὲ
 ἐλπίδος ἔξω σωτηρία. 253. τούτου δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰτίως εἶναι
 εἰδόμενος λόγους τε ἡμερώσας καὶ δάκρυσι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν
 R 152 γράμματος γραμμάτων | ἐρᾶν ἐπειθόν, καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πανταχοῦ
 γράμματα. καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον ἡγάμεθα τῆς Τύχης καὶ προσέτι γε
 20 τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους περὶ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν πεπονημένους ὑπόθεσιν,
 μορφήν ἄλλην ἄλλος ἔχων, δόξαντας δὲ εὖ ἔχειν. 254. θέατρα δὲ
 ἡμῖν οὐχ οἷα πρότερον, ἄρχων τε καὶ οὐδὲ τότε συνήγε πολλοὺς ἀπὸ
 πολλῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον, ἐν μὲν τῷ δουλείαν ἐνεώρουν, τὸ δ'
 R 153 εἶχεν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν φίλους, τὸ δὲ καὶ οὐ | φίλους, ζῆμίαν τῷ
 25 λέγοντι. 255. ἄλλος δὲ τις | ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ εἰδότες θεοῦς, εἰδὼς οὐδ'
 F 193 αὐτὸς θεοῦς, παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τρυφή μὲν εἰς σάρκας ἐπιδοῦς,
 οἷα ἐκ πολλῆς οὐσίας, ἣ δὲ ἀδικίας ἔργον ἦν, ἢν τοῦδε ἀνοητότερος,

1 τούτοις F (VL): τούτων Re (ACFB). αὐτοῦ F: αὐτοῦ Re (MSS).
 2 μὲν Re, F: μὲν Mor. (MSS). ὁ ἄρχων (MSS): εἶχετο F, conj.
 Gasda: ἦχε conj. Re. 7 τὰ inser. F (MSS): Gasda susperrecta lacuna.
 10 τε inser. F (VL). 19 ἡγάμεθα Re (MSS): ἡγοῦμεθα F, Mor. 21 ἄλλην
 ἄλλος ἔχων F (MSS. exc. B and correction P): ἄλλον ἄλλον ἔχοντα B: ἄλλην ἄλλον
 ἔχοντα (corr. from ἔχων) P: δ' ἄλλην ἄλλον ἔχοντα conj. Re. θέατρα F (VL):
 θέατρον Re (ACFB). 27 ἢν F, Re (B): ὡ C: ὡ AV, corrected to ὡ P:
 ὡ Mor. (L).

251. After this there came as governor Tisamenus, whose
 behaviour towards me was very different from that of his
 grandfather. He had always treated me with respect, as be-
 fitted a man of eloquence, but Tisamenus refused to have
 anything to do with me. He showed himself in his true colours
 and proved himself a complete fool over a request I made for
 a trifling but perfectly proper favour. He began by being
 careful about trifles, and inconsiderate of matters of impor-
 tance, and he stayed unacquainted with my oratory, for I did
 not think him fit for such a privilege. Anyhow, this was one of
 his punishments. He endured another on the frontiers of the
 Empire, where he was sent by the Count of the East. There he
 settled in the wilderness under the blazing sun, ever thirsting,
 ever bibbing. 252. Another governor followed. Under him, it
 seemed that evil spirits were at war with us. Terrible things
 occurred: stones were thrown at the portraits of the Emperors
 and rattled loudly against them. Their bronze statues were
 dragged along the ground, and insults more hurtful than any
 stone were hurled at the rulers of the Empire. Thus many
 people fled, and it was the exile who bewailed the fate of him
 who stayed. So utter destruction was all that we expected;
 salvation was out of the question. 253. But for this salvation
 I personally was held responsible. With orations and tears
 I soothed the members of the newly-arrived commission of in-
 vestigation and began to induce in them an eagerness to report,
 so that in a little while the news of it spread widely. Let me re-
 gard this as the work of Fortune, and also the success of the
 numerous orations, each with its own variation of style, com-
 posed by me on the same theme. 254. My audiences were not
 now, as they used to be, formed of the governor and the great
 numbers he used to bring from the many provinces. The
 reason was that, whereas my previous situation implied in-
 dependence, now I saw subservience involved; then I had an
 audience of friends, now one in which the unfriendly appeared
 also, and this put a blight on my oratory. 255. The successor of
 this ungodly fellow was another unbeliever himself. He took
 up his office and began to run to fat through his self-indulgence,
 as being a man of property, but his property was the fruit of his
 wickedness. He was more stupid than the other and, upon my

ἀκούσας μὴ χεῖρα ποιεῖν τὴν Δάφνην μηδὲ ἐπιφέρειν κυπαρίττοις
 ὀδῆρον ἐχθρὸς τε ἦν καὶ ἐπειράτο τὰμὰ καθελεῖν, πρῶτα μὲν
 Ἰταλὸν φωνῆ, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ τινα ἀσθενέστατον ὡς
 5 δὴ λοχυρότατον ἀποδύσας ἐκέλευε θεῖν. 256. ὁ δὲ ἄρα ἐπεπέδητο
 καὶ ἦν ἄφρων εὐθὺς ἐν προομίῳ, κερδαίνων μὲν ἐν τῇ σιωπῇ,
 κινεῖν δὲ ὅμως γλῶτταν ἀποθανοῦσαν περιόμενος. ἣ δὲ ἔκειτο, καὶ |
 R 154 ἀχλὺς ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τοῖς ὄμμασι, τοῦ μὲν ἀπίστος, τοῦ δὲ καθημένῳ.
 ταύτης τῆς δίκης οὐδ' αὖ τὴν διὰ θανάτου προτέραι ἐπινοήσασιν.
 257. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου ὑποφία μὲν τις ἀδικος τῶν
 10 τινα ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων ἐξέμηνεν ἐπ' ἐμέ, καὶ προσπεσὼν ὕβριζε
 μόνον οὐχ ἔλκων τὸν ἔξ ἐμοῦ. διέφυγον δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐγὼ καὶ
 ταῦτα ἀπὼν λόγοντά γε ἀδικεῖν με τῇ ἀτελείᾳ τὴν βουλὴν, ἣ μοι
 μετὰ ἀγχῶν ὑπῆρχε παρὰ τοῦ νόμου. 258. καὶ πρεσβεῖων μὲν ἐπὶ
 15 τούτοις ὄχετο, ταῖς δ' εἰς ἐμέ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμαῖς ταπεινωθεῖς
 F 194 ἐπανήρχετο, καὶ ἦκέ τις | μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβειων βασιλεῖον ἡμῖν
 κομίζων ἐπιστολὴν αἰξουσαν τὸν δεξιόμενον, ἠξήμενον πως καὶ τοῖς
 Εὐσεβίου, τῶν πρέσβειων δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ὡν τῶ μὲν τὸν
 πατέρα, τῶ δὲ ἐκόσμησε τὸν υἱόν, ὥστε τοῖς Ἀθηγηθεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ
 R 155 ἐρίξεν θαυμάζειν | αὐτὸν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐμέ, τοῦ δοῦναι μὲν ἐμέ, τοῦ
 20 λαβεῖν δὲ ἐκεῖνον.

259. Γνοίῃ δ' αὖ τις κἀντεῖθεν τὴν περὶ ἐμέ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίαν.
 ἐπαυθεῖ ποτὲ λελομμένος ἐσπέρας ἵπποι δὲ εὐκότεις μὲν θηρίοις,
 τοῦτο δὲ οὐ δοκοῦντες, εἰστήκεισαν περιμένοντες τοὺς δεσπότης, οἱ
 μὲν εἰς τοὺς κίονας ἄρῶντες, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν τοῦχοι τετραμμένοι. καὶ
 25 ἦν οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰκόσαι, τὸ δ' ἄρα ἦν μέγα. χωροῦντι σὺν μοι διὰ
 μέσου τοῦς ὀδόντας ἐδείκνυσαν ἀντὶ βελῶν τοῖς ποσὶ χρώμενοι, τὸ δ'
 ἤρκεσαν αὖ εἰς θάνατον. νῦν δ' ὁ ἵπποκόμος με ξερπάσας, μεθεῖς δὲ
 ἦγεν ἵππον, φέρον εἰς ἀσφάλειαν κατέστησε. τοῦ ἵπποκόμου μὲν αἰ

12 γε F, Re (Anim.): τε ACPBV: om. L. 17 ὁ λόγος, αὖν conj. Re:
 λόγος, αὖν conj. F: ὁ λόγος αὖν ACPBV: λόγος, αὖν L.

telling him to do no damage to Daphne and to lay no axe to its cypresses, he became my foe and tried to bring me down through teachers, first of Latin, then of Greek. Why, there was one weakening whom he groomed like a champion and bade throw down the gage to me. 256. But this fellow was tongue-tied immediately and fell dumb at the very start; he was better off for his silence, but he still tried to wag his failing tongue—and yet it remained speechless. A mist came over the eyes of the speaker as he retired and of the governor who stayed seated there. Even death, to my mind, could not have been a worse punishment than this.

257. About this time an unwarranted suspicion enraged one of my ex-pupils against me. He fell upon my son, insulted him and practically had him dragged into court. Nor did I escape his attentions, even though I was not present, for he alleged that I was guilty of misconduct towards the city council by reason of the immunity which I lawfully enjoyed along with many others. 258. He went off on an embassy with this in view, but returned humbled by the honours which the Emperor bestowed upon me, and there came one in the company of his fellow envoys with a letter from the Emperor which increased the prestige of myself, its recipient. My prestige had already risen through speeches by Eusebius, such was the information brought by our envoys, in one of which he praised the father, in the other, the son. Thus the products of the Athenian schools, instead of becoming his rivals, became admirers of him and of me too, of me for what I gave, of him for what he received.

259. From the following incident also one can recognize the favour of heaven towards me. When I was returning from the baths one evening, the horses, contrary to all appearances, were like wild beasts. They stood waiting for their masters, some facing the colonnade, others with their heads turned to the wall. There was no sign of any trouble, great though this turned out to be. Thus, as I made my way between them, they bared their teeth and lashed out with their hoofs, and that would have been the death of me. However, the groom let go the horse he was leading, snatched me away and set me in a place of safety. The hands were those of the groom, the will

- χειρες, τὸ βούλευμα δὲ τῶν θεῶν· 260. οἱ δὲ καὶ πόλεως γείτονος
 ἐξήλασαν ἄνθρωπον ὀλίγα μὲν εἰδῶτα, πολλὰ δὲ φάσκοινα, χρώμενον
 δὲ αὐτοῖς οἷς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τὸν δόντα, ἐξ' ᾧ τις ἀλγύσας νεανίαςκος τῶν
 μὲν ἠπατημένον τὴν ἀγλὸν ἀφείλε, τὸν δὲ ἐλέγχους ἐξέβαλεν.
- ⁵ 261. Ἐξεβέβλητο δὲ καὶ Σαβίνος οὐ πόλεως τινος | ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 ζῆν, εἰς κομιδῇ βραχὺ τι συσταλεῖς οὐτως ὡσθ', ὁπότε ἀμείβαι
 κλῆρον, ἐξαρκεῖν χεῖρα μίαν εἶναι τε αὐτῷ δευτὸν τὸ μὴ τεθνῆναι.
 καίτοι δεσποτῆρ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπεποιήκει πολλῶν τὴν αὐτὴν
 ἡμέραν ἐμὲ μὲν εἰς Αἴδου λέγων | ἄξειν, αὐτὸν δὲ εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν
 μοι γῆν.
262. Ἀρχὴ πικρὰ τοῦ μεγίστην ἔχοντος τὴν γαστέρα, δι' ἀπάτης
 παρωξυμμένου. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀπάτη, κυπαρίττοις μὲν ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ
 σιδηρον ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐργῶκει, τοῦτι δὲ εἰδὼς ἐγὼ τῷ τέμνοντι τελευ-
 τῆσον οὐκ εἰς ἀγαθόν, πρὸς τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ συμποσῶν ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ
 παρωξυντόν τὸν Ἀπόλλυ διὰ τῶν κυπαρίττων, καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ τῆς
 οἰκίας ἀφ' ὁμοίας πεπληγμένης αἰτίας, καὶ παρακαλέσειν δὲ ἔφη τὸν
 βασιλιά πρὸνοιαν τῆς Δάφνης ἔχειν, μάλλον δὲ μείζω ποιῆσαι τὴν
 οὐσαν· εἶναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ νῦν. 263. οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ψευδεῖς γράμ-
 μασι εἰς Φοινίκην ἔλθοῦσαι, ἀπειλῆσαι γὰρ δὴ με ἔλεγε κινήσειν τὸ
 σκῆπτρον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦδε | κεφαλὴν, τοῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀληθεῖς τούτους
 ὄργην ἐν αὐτῷ φυτεύσας ἦγεν ἐουκότα σοὶ | θήγοντι τὸν δόντα. καὶ
 οὔτε ἀπόντα ἐπὶ παρόντα τε εἶδεν ἂν ἡδέως ἀπόντα. 264. καὶ
 πολὺ παιναχῶ τοῦτο τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι μοι. ὁ δὲ
 καὶ γέροντι τινι καταπεπικῶτι μὲν πολλὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ
 ἀδελφῶν, ἐν δὲ συκοφαντίᾳ τῆς τροφῆς ἔχοντι τὰς ἐπιπιδας θάρσος τε
 ἐνέβαλε καὶ κατηγοροῦν ἐποίησεν. 265. ἔπειτα καὶ ἦν τῆς αὐτοῦ
 κατηγορίας | κατηγορος· οὕτω σφόδρα ταῖς πίστεσιν ἔρρωτο. καὶ ὁ
 μὲν ἐπ' ὄνομα κατέφευγεν εἰσφορῶν, ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως
 ἐγκλήμασι καθίστη τούτων εἶναι ἐθέλων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκέκρινον τὸν
- ⁵ δὲ F (BVL): δὲ Re (ACP). ¹⁵ αὐτῷ F: αὐτοῖς Re (MSS.): αὐτῆς
 Mor. ¹⁶ πεπληγμένης F, Mor. (V): πεπληγμένης Re (ACPB): πέπληγμαι
 L. ¹⁷ ἐφην F, Re: ἐφη MSS. ¹⁸ ἀπειλῆσαι F, Wyttenbach (CPBVL):
 ἀπειλήσας Re (ἀπειλήσας A). ¹⁹ καὶ γὰρ ACPBV: καὶ ὅτι L, bracketed F,
 Wyttenbach. ²⁰ αὐτοῦ F: αὐτοῦ Re (MSS.). ²¹ βέβαιον ἐθέλων F would
 insert κατηγοροῦν, Re ἐμὲ πολεμῶν. ²² εἶναι: ἐφείνασιν ὡς ἐκείνου, Schmidt.

- that of the gods. 260. The gods also expelled from a nearby
 city a man who, though of little wit, had much to say for
 himself. What ability he had, he used against me, the man who
 had helped him, at which one youth in anger removed the
 veil from the eyes of those he had hoodwinked, proved him
 a rogue and had him expelled.
261. Sabinus too had been expelled, not just from any city
 but from his very life. He had been reduced to such utter
 destitution that, whenever he changed his sleeping quarters,
 one man's hand was enough to do it, and his misfortune was
 not to be dead. Yet he had ear-marked my estate for himself
 many a time, saying that one and the same day would bring
 me to my death and him into my property.
262. The rule of our pot-bellied governor was a harsh one,
 for his wrath had been kindled by a piece of deceit. He had
 decided to lay the axe to the cypresses in Daphne, and
 I, realizing that such a course would bring no good to any who
 chopped them down, advised one of his boon companions that
 he should not incur the anger of Apollo because of the trees,
 especially since his family had already been afflicted for a
 similar reason. I told him that I would invite the Emperor to
 show concern for Daphne, or rather to emphasize the concern
 he felt already, for he was not without it, as it was. 263. This
 fellow sent a letter full of fabrications to his superior in
 Phoenicia, saying that I had threatened to bring down upon
 his head the Emperor's displeasure, and by this false report he
 roused his wrath and caused him to return like a boar whetting
 its tusk. He did not miss him when he was away, and he would
 have been glad to see the back of him when he did come.
 264. The tale spread like wildfire that the governor and I were
 at loggerheads, and this caused an old fellow, who had run
 through his own and his brothers' fortunes in drink and now
 found his hopes of a living in the informer's trade, to take
 heart and lay an accusation against me. 265. But then he was
 hoist with his own petard, so little was the reliance placed
 upon his evidence. So he had recourse to a trumped-up charge
 of tax evasion, but the governor made him appear in a charge
 of treason against the Emperor, since it was the Emperor he
 wanted as my accuser and not that old fellow. Letters went

γρόντα. καὶ αὐτίκα γράμματα ἦει, τὰ μὲν ὡς τὸν τῶν ὄλων κύριον,
τὰ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνον, καὶ ἀνέγνωσάν τε
ἄμφω τὰ γράμματα κατεγέλασάν τε ἄμφω τοῦ τρόπου τοῦμοῦ τὴν
αἰτίαν ἀποκρονομένου. τῷ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν λύπη μείζων ἢ εἰ νόσημά τι
5 τῶν αἰσίων τὰς ἐν τῇ γῆ διεφθάρκει Τυρίων οἴνου μητέρας αὐτῷ.
F 197 266. τὸ οὖν μὴδὲ κρίσει τό γε τοιοῦτον | δοῦναι, κεκρίσθαι γὰρ καὶ
R 159 πρὸ δικαστηρίου τῆ τοῦ δικαστοῦ μωρία, μείναι τέ με κατὰ χώραν
διαφυγόντα μακρὰν τε ὁδὸν καὶ χαλεπὴν τῶν τε ἰδίστων ἐμοὶ μὴ
στερηθῆναι διατριβῶν, θεῶν τε ἔργου καὶ ὑφ' ἧ τὰ πάντα, Τύχης.
10 267. ὁ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τιμαρίαν εἰσπραττάμενος, ἐνοσῶν οἶος εἰς οἶον
γεγένηται, ὄχρητο ποιήσων ἐτέρους κακῶς, ὁ πλοῦτιμ μὲν εἰσελθὼν
εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειρία δὲ λυμηγόμενος ταῖς πάλεσιν. ὁ δὲ δὴ μετὰ
τόνδε χρόνος, τιμαὶ μὲν εἰς ἐμέ, τιμαὶ δὲ εἰς λόγους. καὶ ἐδείκνυτο
κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον τῆς ἀρχῆς μοι δεχομένης τοὺς λόγους,
15 ἀνδρὸς μὲν εὐ εἰδότος δικασίας δικῆν, πλέον δὲ πράττητι δυναθέντος
ἢ ἕτεροι ξίφεσι, πείσαντος δὲ ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ
πόλιν καὶ ἔθνος βουλῆς τε καὶ δήμου καὶ ὧν αἱ χεῖρες περὶ τὴν γῆν.
268. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χρόνον τὰ μὲν τῶν εἰσθότων ἡμῖν πολεμῶν τόξα
ἦν ἐν πατῆρας, ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπολεμῆτο τῷ παλαιῷ κακῷ.
20 καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ καταπεσεῖσθαι ὁ φόβος οἴκοι παρήγει μένεν χαίρειν
εἰπόντα τῷ περὶ τοὺς νέους ἔργῳ. ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα θεῶν τις χεῖρα
ὑπερέχε δι' ἀγαθῷ μάντεως λύσας ἐλπίδ' ἰσχυρῶς τὸν φόβον· μάλλον δὲ ὁ
R 160 μὲν προσέπιπτεν, ἡ δὲ ἐμάχητό | τε καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο νικᾶν.
F 198 269. Ἀρχων ἕτερος, ἀργή, θυμὸς, δεξιμὸς τε φόβος | τε, ὄβρις,
25 ἀσέλγεια, πᾶν μὲν φθέγγασθαι, πᾶν δὲ τολμήσαι, τὰ τυράννων ἐν
νόμοις ἐργάσασθαι. οὗτος οὐ δοκεῖν μὲν τολμᾶν ἐβούλετο, πᾶν δὲ
τολμᾶντων ἔπραττεν, ἐν ἐτοίμοις ὑποσχέσει πανταχοῦ φευδόμενος,
ὥστε μετὰ τινας ἡμέρας καὶ τοιαύτην ἐπ' ἐμὲ δόξαν ἐλθεῖν, πλάτ-
τουτα λόγους ἔξω κομῆσειν, ἀκηκοῦσα οὐδέν. 270. αἰτοῦμεν δὴ παρὰ
30 τοῦ Διὸς ἀπαλλαγῆν, ὁ δὲ ἤκουσέ τε καὶ ταχέως ἔδωκε προσθεῖς τὸ
2 ὡς πρὸς Re (ACPB): ὡς VL: πρὸς F. τῶν inser. F (AF): τὸν
VL: οἷα Re (CB). ἀνέγνωσάν F, Re: ἐγνωσαν MSS. 6 δοῦναι Re
(MSS.): δοθῆναι F.

post-haste, one to the Emperor, another to his chief administrator: both read them and laughed them to scorn, since my conduct sufficed to repel the charge. He was more discomfited by this than if some blight of the season had destroyed his vines down on his estate in Tyre. 266. Thus the fact that the case never came up for judgement, for even before the trial its issue had been prejudged because of the governor's stupidity, and the fact that I stayed where I was, avoided a long and difficult journey, and was not deprived of the declamations I so much enjoy—all this is the work of the gods and of Fortune, under whose control all things are. 267. So he, in mortification and realizing that he had caught a tartar, departed to do his worst upon others—he who had reached his high position through his wealth, and besmirched the province through his incompetence. In the period after this, both I and my oratory were in high esteem. My declamations were held, in the time-honoured fashion, before the governor. He was a man well able to dispense justice fairly, and his authority, based on clemency, was more effective than that of others who relied on executions. He inspired affection in all—individuals and families, cities and provinces, councillors, commons and peasantry alike. 268. All this time, then, my usual enemies had hung up their weapons, but my migraine affected me badly with its old trouble. In fact, my fear of falling was recommendation enough for me to stop at home and give up my teaching, but here too, one of the gods stretched out his hands over me and, by the agency of a good soothsayer, he relieved my fear with hope. My fear continued to attack, but hope opposed it and tried to win the day.

269. Then there arrived another governor, and with him raging temper, fearful panic, wanton brutality, utter recklessness in word and deed, and tyrannical administration of the law. He wanted not to get a name as a trouble-maker but his every action was to the opposite effect; everywhere he broadcast his false promises among the gullible, so that in a few days it reached the point that the following story reached me, that he was inventing fairy tales and circulating them, though I had not heard a thing about the business. 270. So we prayed Zeus to be rid of him, and he heard our prayer and quickly

R 161 μετ' αισχύνης. καὶ γὰρ ἤγχετο καὶ εἰλετο, καὶ φυλακαὶ | καὶ
 ὕπνος κικλίμενος, ἔκειτό τε τὸν πανδοκέα πριάμενος, οἱ θηραταὶ δὲ
 καὶ οὗτοι τὸν λόγων ἤηρεσαν, ἐν τε τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει μέσος ὢν
 πρακτέρων ἐπὶ μέσῃς ἀγορᾶς σφαιρᾶς δίκεν πανταχοῖ πανταχόθεν
 5 ἐπέπετο. τοῦτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ὄρων, τὰ δὲ ἀκούων ἐγὼ προσεκύουον
 τῆν Τύχην, δὲ ἦν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε μοι δίκης ὀφειλομένης ἐστέρηθην.

271. Τὰ δ' αὖ μετὰ τοῦτον, ἀνὴρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἐκλιπὼν,
 ἐτέρωσε δὲ οὐκῶς, κέρδεισι δὲ τοῖς ἐν τρίσιν ἀρχαῖς ἐκ πενίας εἰς
 πλοῦτον ἄλλων, καὶ λογογράφος ἦκιστα μὲν ὢν, πάνυ δὲ εἶναι νομί-
 10 ζων εὐχετο μὲν | τῆνδε παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, Ὅπως, ἔφη, διδάσκαλος
 F 199 γενοίμην τοῖς ἀρχουσι τοῖσιν τῶν εἶναι χρή πρὸς τοῖς διδάσκον-
 τας λέγειν. καὶ λέγων ταῦτα συνῆν τε τὸ πλεόν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς

R 162 νικτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀνήλικε, καὶ εἴ τω διακωλυθείη, | ζημία τοῦτο
 ἦν. 272. ὁ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων παρὰ τὸν ὁ τι ἂν

15 ἐθέλωσι δοῦναι κυρίων αὐτῶν, λαβῶν καὶ ἔχων οὐκέτ' ἦν ὁ αὐτός.
 ἀλλὰ πέπτε μὲν ἡ μικρῶ τῶν πλείους ἡμέρας μόλις κατέχων αὐτὸν
 οὐκ ἐγμνοῦτο. ἐπειτὰ ποτε βῆμάτων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ βῆθέντων τῶν
 πειρομένων ἀμύνειν ὀφθανῆ τε καὶ πενία καὶ νεότητι μαθητοῦ

20 τινος ἡμετέρου πῆρ ἐν κειμήλοις δημοσίᾳ τρέφοντος, τότε οὐν θυμῶ
 καλυφθεὶς καὶ τῷ τε ὀφθαλμῷ κινήσας τὴν τε βίνα χειρὶ πείσας μέγα
 φθγγέμενος, Ἔα με, εἶπεν, ἀρχεῖν, ὡς νῦν γε οὐκ ἔξω. τῷ δ' ἄρα
 καταπλεῖεν ἐδεδόκτο καὶ ταλάντων ἔμελεν, ᾧ τὴν ἐμὴν ἦδει φύσιν
 ἐναντιωσομένην. 273. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸν εἶων ἀρχεῖν καὶ γίγνεσθαι

Κινύραν, ὁ δὲ τοιαύτην κρηπίδα βαλλόμενος ἐπακοδόμει, πᾶσι μὲν
 25 οἷς ἐντὴν ἵβριζων, μηχανώμενος δὲ καὶ θάνατον, ξίφος μὲν οὐκ
 F 200 ἀναιρούμενος ἐπ' ἐμέ, ὃν δ' ὤπτο | πευῶντα συκοφαντήσειν, πευῆν
 ποῦαν. ἦκε δ' ἡ δίκη παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πάλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπερρήμην

R 163 ἀλλ' ἀπεδεικνύμην ὢν αὐτοῖς | ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ. 274. τὸ γὰρ σκότος
 ἀφελόντες πως τῆς δωροδοκίας ὑπ' ἀγῆς ἤγαγον τὴν μισθαρνίαν,

12 συνῆν F, Re (Anim.): σὺν MSS. exc. V which omits. 15 ὁ αὐτός F
 (crit. note): αὐτός MSS. but cf. Or. 54, 38. 16 ἄρα μελέε, one page mis-
 sing in A. 20 καλυφθεὶς Re, F (text) MSS.: καταφθεὶς F (vol. iii, p. xxv).
 27 δίκη inser. F.

granted it, and a dismissal in disgrace into the bargain. He was
 harried and badgered, watched and allowed no rest, and he
 lay low after bribing his landlord, and his investigators got
 him to pay the penalty for these stories here: in the capital
 he was dunned on every side and chased around from pillar
 to post in the main square. Some of this I saw myself, the rest
 I learned by hearsay, and I gave thanks to Fortune through
 whose aid I have never been robbed of any vengeance which
 is my due.

271. His successor as governor was Eustathius, who had
 abandoned his native city and settled elsewhere, and had ad-
 vanced from poverty to riches by the gains he had made from
 three official posts. He had no literary gifts, although he
 thought he had, and he prayed to obtain this province so that
 he could, as he put it, teach governors how to behave towards
 teachers. With this remark, he attended me for the greater part
 of the day and part of the night besides, and anything which
 happened to prevent it, he found distasteful. 272. But although
 he made such demands for such an object from those who were
 able to provide him with anything they liked, once he had got
 them, he was no longer the same man. For five days or so he
 restrained himself from stripping off the mask, though with
 difficulty. Then, when I had spoken to him in support of
 a pupil of mine, a poor orphan boy, who had the duty of
 providing the fires for the public baths, then he was over-
 whelmed with anger. His eyes blazed and he rubbed his nose
 and shouted, 'Leave me to govern. You don't give me a chance
 now.' He had, it seemed, decided to haggle for bribes and he
 began to have an eye on the money bags, and he knew that
 I would naturally object to that. 273. So I let him get on with
 his governing and make himself a millionaire, and he, after
 laying this foundation, built upon it, insulting me with all
 possible means, and even plotting my death. In this he made
 no actual use of force against me, but he reduced to poverty
 Romulus who, he thought, would act as informer against me
 through poverty. Yet once again vengeance came from the
 gods and I was not utterly cast away, but was revealed as
 under the protection of heaven. 274. Somehow they stripped
 the veil from his bribery, and all this trafficking in gold, silver,

χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, ἐσθῆτα: ἄν τὰ μὲν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἦκε τῶν
 παρακεκοσμημένων οὐ βλάβος ἀλλὰ βοή τε καὶ ἀπειλαίς, τὰ δ'
 ἦθεν εἰς Τύρον, ἦθος τῶ κεκτημένῳ. ὁ δ' ἦλθεν ὡς ἀνοήτης
 αὐτῷ πευξέμενος, γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ χεῖρα Τυρίους, τοὺς λήθους
 5 μύθους διαφηγόν, κείστας τὰς θύρας ἐπολιωκείτω, χρήμασι δὲ αὐτοῦ
 διὰ δόξας τὴν ποσειδάων ἔδωκε, τὰς θύρας ἐκείνους κατενεγκῶν.
 ἔδιδου δὲ ἐν Τύρῳ Τύρῳ τε αὐτῇ δίκην καὶ Ἑρμῆ τῶν λόγων θεῶν
 ταῦτα πρωτανουσίτων ἀνακατοῦντων τῇ κατὰ τῶν λόγων ὕβρει,
 καλοῖς ἀσυχρὸν ἐπιθεμένῳ διὰ τὴν τοῦδε παροιμίαν.
 10 275. Ἔτι δὲ τοῦδε ἀρχοντος Ὀλύμπιος τελευτᾷ, πάντῳ μὲν φίλος
 εἶναι δοκῶν, διὰ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου γονεῖσιν ἀκολουθῶν· ἐπεὶ
 R 164 κείνους τῶν ἐμῶν | ἁμαρτῶν, ἡμαρτε δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῇ τιμῇ,
 F 201 γράφει μὲν γὰρ | κληρονομοῦν, ὁ τὸν φθόνον ἡγεῖρε, δώσειν δὲ φίλοις
 καὶ οἱ φίλοις εἶπεν ἔδωκε οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ θυμῶνεια. καὶ
 15 χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διετριπτεῖτο πολὺς, ἦξεν ἐπὶ
 κεφαλῇ ἐμῇ· χρίστας μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει καταλελοιπέναι χρήματων,
 τοῖς δὲ ὅτι γὰρ πολλὰ ὄθεν ἀντεπειῶν, καὶ ἦν ὀνόματα ταῦτα χρεῖων,
 R 165 οὐ | χρέα. 276. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τῆν ἐμαυτοῦ πορευόμενος καὶ ἅμα τοῦ
 πράγματος παρανοῦντος χαίρειν ἔμην δὲ τὸν κληρὸν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ
 20 σεμολογοῦμενοι πλείους ὄντες καὶ πιθανώτεροι στένοντες, εἰ ἄτιμος
 Ὀλύμπιος κείσται φηρόντος ἐμοῦ τὸ τε ὄνομα τὸ τε ἔργον. καὶ
 προσῆν τις ἐλπίς εἶναι τι ἐν τοῖς δανείσμασι ἰσχυρόν, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν
 οὐδαμῶς. 277. ἐμβαίω τοῖν ἐν τὴν πυρᾶν, καὶ πολὺ τὸ ξυροῦν
 καὶ ἡμέραν ἐπέερε, καὶ ἐξεπεπτικέων δὲ τῶν ὄρων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δια-
 25 τριβῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐν ἐμοῖς χωρίοις, διατριβῶν δὲ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις, λόγους
 εὐχομένους | δικαστὰς ἐν αἰδοῖ τῆν Θέμιν ἔχειν, καὶ πολλὰ ταῦτα τὰ
 R 166 οὐκ ἐμὰ, | καὶ ἔδεικνυσα ὡς δὴ μετακεκοσμημένοι μοι τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς
 τέως περὶ τοὺς λόγους σπουδῆς ἐπ' ἄλλα μεταβάσης. 278. καὶ
 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον, πολλὰ δὲ πωλεῖν ἐπανακαζόντων τῶν ἀπὸ
 30 τῆς διαθήκης ὀρμημένους ἐπὶ τοῦτομα πρῶτον οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν
 δίδόντων, ἔτερον πολὺ μείζον εἰς λύπην, ἐξ ἧς ἐτύχησαν πεπαιδο-
 5 δὲ F: re Re (MSS). αὐτοῦ F, Re: αὐτοῦ CV, original P: αὐτῶ B, P
 corrected: αὐτοῦ edd. (L). 8 ἄν ἀνακατοῦντων MSS.: [ἀγαν] F, Re.
 11 αἰε γονεῖσιν conq. Re (Anim.). 12 τῶν ἐμῶν ἁμαρτῶν δὲ . . . Re, F
 (text) MSS.: 'post ἁμαρτῶν excidisse videtur ἡμαρτε' F (crit. note). 14 F,
 Re (Anim.): re MSS. 15 ἦξεν F: ἦξεν MSS. (exc. L which omits in
 erasure): μέλιον ἦξεν Re. 17 ὀνόματα F, Re: ὄνομα MSS. 20 σεμο-
 λογοῦμενοι F, Re, Mor. (L): σεμολογοῦμενοι CPBV (Schol. V comments ἐμοῦ
 ἔμῳ). 25 Comma before λόγους inser. F. 26 εὐχόμενος conq. Mor. ταῦτα
 αἰ F (MSS.): ταῦτα Re. 27 μετακεκοσμημένοι F, Re: μέγα περὶ μὲν οὖν
 CPBL: μέγα περὶ τε V. 28 τέως F, Re: re αὐ MSS. 29 δὲ inser. F. τῶν
 inser. F, Re.

and raiment was brought to light. Part of the loot was re-
 stored to his victims, no easy matter indeed, but only after
 threats and a hue and cry: the rest found its way to Tyre, to
 delight him in his possession of it. He went there to enjoy
 some repose, but once the Tyrians found him within their
 reach, he barely escaped a stoning. He barred his doors and
 began to stand a siege, which he only raised after appeasing
 them with money and abating his insolence. In Tyre he was
 punished by Tyre and by Hermes, for the gods of eloquence so
 brought it about in their anger at his insolence towards
 eloquence, since by his reckless folly good discourse was at-
 tacked by the bad.

275. While he was still in office Olympius died, a very close
 friend of mine who all his life maintained this family tie. Now
 he, with some mistaken idea of honouring me, named me his
 heir, which aroused envy: and he privately promised gifts to
 many persons, whether friends or not, and that aroused en-
 mity too. In his correspondence he had been lavish with gold
 and silver, and all that was going to come back upon me. He
 had, it seemed, left plenty in his debt, but they were able to
 deny it on many grounds, and these remained nominal not
 actual debts. 276. Thus I was set on my own course and,
 warned by the facts of the matter, I thought that I should give
 up the inheritance, but there were many full of high-flown
 sentiments and plausible complaints, that Olympius would be
 dead and dishonoured if I gave up both the title and the duty.
 Moreover, there was some hope that reliance could be placed
 on the loans, though there was none at all, as things turned
 out. 277. So I went like a lamb to the slaughter; I had many
 a close shave every day. I was out of my proper sphere, on
 unfamiliar ground and none that I knew, spending my time
 on speeches wherein I begged the judges to reverse the right
 and so on, which is not my line at all. I was grieved, since the
 whole course of my life was changed and my previous devotion
 to rhetoric had given way to other considerations. 278. Such
 was one aspect of the matter, but as people set upon me as a re-
 sult of the will, forcing me to sell much of the property and
 impugning the title and allowing me no respite, another event
 occurred which caused me even more pain, the death after

πονημένος νόσῳ μακρᾷ τελευτῆ, γυναικὸς πολλῶν ἀνταξίας δια-
κόνων. ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν δραμιουμένην ἔχειν εὐλαϊστέῳ μοι βῶν. τῆ δὲ ἦν
μὲν ἀνιὰ τὰ γενησόμενα, καὶ γὰρ εἴ βῶει, ἦν δὲ τὸ μὴ τὸν νῦν ὄραν.
279. ὁ δ' ἄρα ἦν ἐν Θράκη τε καὶ Θρήκης πόλει τῆ τῶν ἄλλων
5 πόλεων τρυφύσῃ τοῖς ἰδρώσι. καθιγύρουσιν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ προῖδο-
R 167 μένης ἄνω φίλιος ὑβρεῶν τε κατακλυζόμενης | βένυματι. ποιητῆς
F 203 μὲν | καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τύχης ἔργα, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀπίης ἐξέπεσον, ἡ περὶ
τὸν πόδα ἑλιά, χρηστῆς δὲ καὶ βελτίους οἰκία τε τῶν Κιλικίων
ἀδελφῶν ἀνεργμένη τῷ πάθει πλήθους τε ἱατρῶν, ἐκείνων εἰσαγόν-
10 των, περὶ τὴν κλῆνῃν καθυμένον οὐκ εἴδωνται τι ποθεῖν εἰς ἴασην,
F 204 πολλῶν τε πόκων ἔστιν ἃ λελυμένα. | 280. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκούοντι ταῦτα καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρώντι δέουρ κοκομαμένον περιεστήκει μὲν ὁ τῆς τοῦδε
R 168 μητρὸς θάνατος, περιεστήκει | δὲ τὸ μὴδὲ ἐπὶ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνης
ἐξείναι κινεῖσθαι. πόδες τε καὶ χεῖρες, εἴπερ ποτέ, ἀπερήκεσαν.
15 θεῶν δὲ δωρεαί, λόγοι ἔμενον ἐν τῷ στόματι ὁποῖοι πρότερον, καὶ
τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ μὴ παρασχόν τοῖς πολεμίοις λαμπρῶς ἤδη παλαιεῖν.
θεάτροις μὲν οὐκ ἦν χρῆσθαι, ἃ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ μαθάνειν,
ἐπιτροῦτο κατὰ τὸν νόμον. 281. πολλῶν δὲ ἀπὸ πολλῶν φερομένων
πηγῶν διακρίων ἀσθενέστερος τε ἄερος γίνεται τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν καὶ
20 ἀπείρητος δὲ οὐκ ἔχρησθαι τέλος. τοῦτοί μὲν οὐκ οἱ τῶν ἀστέρων
ἅπαντα ἐφαρτῶντες οὐκ ἀπολείσθαι φασιν Ἄρεος εἰς διαλλαγὰς
ἐλθόντος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα προσεγίνοντο μὲν ὀμιληταὶ πολλαίθι, λόγοι
δὲ ἐργασθέντες ἔμενον εἰς αὐτῶν. 282. ἄρχουσι δὲ οὐ μάλῃ
συνεργόμενοι, τὸν μὲν ὄραν ὄντα κάπηλον καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ παλοῦντα,
25 τὸν δὲ ἀναπετάσαντα τὴν | καταγαγῆν καὶ περιφύβους οἷς ἦσαν
F 205 οἵκα ποιοῦντα . . . τοῦ δὲ ἀμαρτάνων, τὸν Μοῖσαις ποιητῶν ἐν λόγῳ

1 μακρᾷ τελευτῆ F (MSS.); μακρᾷ τελευτῆ Mor.; μακρᾷ τελευτῆς Re. ἀνταξίας F, Re (conj. Mor.); ἀνταξίας MSS. 2 τοῦ τῆν δραμιουμένην F, Re; τοῦτων δραμιουμένης MSS. 5 δὲ F; τε Re (MSS.). προῖδομένης Re (CPBV); προῖδομένης F; προῖδομένης L. 6 ἔνωσιν Re (MSS.); ἔνωσιν F, κατακλυζόμενης F, Re; κατακλυζόμενης (MSS.). ποιητῆς F, Re; ποιητῆς MSS. 7 ἔπειδὴ F; ἐπειδὴ MSS.; ἐπειδὴ, ἐπειδὴ Re. ἐξέπεσον, ἡ conj. Re; ἐξέπεσον, περὶ F (CPB); ἐξέπεσον VL. 9 εἰσαγόντων F (following Cobet); εἰσαγόντων εἰσαγόντων CPBV; εἰσαγόντων L. 10 ἄερος τε. οὐκ εἴδωνται τι ποθεῖν εἰς ἴασην F, conj. Wyttenbach; οὐκ εἴδωνται τίποτον ἴασην CPB; lacuna VL. 11 πολλῶν τε πόκων ἔστιν ἃ λελυμένα Norman; πολλῶν τε λόγων τὰ λελυμένα conj. Wyttenbach; λόγων τε ἐπιτάγματα conj. F; πολλῶν τε ἄσιν (ὡς οἱ Cl. ἄσιν L.) ὄντι τὰ ἄλλοις CPBL; B lacks accents. Lacuna in V. 13 μὴδὲ ἐπὶ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐξείναι κινεῖσθαι Norman (L); μὴδὲ ἐπὶ κλῆνῃ τὰ γένος ἐξείναι ἀπ' ἐκείνης κινεῖσθαι CPBV; obelized F. 15 λόγοι Mor. (VL); λόγων F, Re (CPB). στόματι τίποτα ὄντα MSS.; τίποτα F, conj. Re; 'An hoc delendum et λόγῳ pro λόγων scribendum' F. 20 ποιοῦσι F; ποιοῦσι Re (MSS.). θεῶν (conj. from θεῶν CP) τῶν ἀστέρων MSS.; [θεῶν] F, Re; θεῶτων conj. Gaisda. 24 οὐδὲν δὲ τι οὐ F (PBVL); οὐδ' ὅτι οὐ Re (C). 26 Locus desperatissimus. Lacuna after ποιοῦντα in MSS. τὸν Μοῖσαις PBV; τοῦ μοῖσαις C; τοῖσιν ποιητῶν L.

long illness of the woman who was mother of my son and better than any servant. Instead of having her run to my call, now I could only call her name. Her illness was to cause her dreadful suffering, of that she was well aware, but so did our son's absence. 279. He meanwhile was in Thrace, in that city that grows fat on the sweat of others, and I cursed his journey there and the friendship which was being betrayed by sloth and overwhelmed by streams of insults. A further stroke of ill luck was his injury to his foot when he fell from his carriage, but fortune was kinder when the Cilician brothers opened their house to him in this plight, and summoned many doctors who sat around his bed and saw that he lacked nothing for a cure, and when some relief was found for his great distress. 280. Upon hearing this news, and afterwards, when I saw him carried home, I felt the full force of his mother's death and of the fact that I could not even be moved from her to see our child. My hands and feet had failed me as they had never done before, but by the grace of heaven, my oratory stayed upon my lips as before, and this was what prevented my enemies setting up a howl of triumph. Though I was unable to appear in the lecture room, I duly fulfilled my duties towards my students. 281. As many a tear welled up in my eyes, the sight of one of them became weaker and I feared that it would go completely. However, the astrologers who make everything depend upon the stars, declare that the sight will not be lost since Ares has moved into a more favourable position. In addition, pupils came from many quarters, my declamations being composed and delivered at home. 282. With the governors I did not have much to do, for I saw one to be a mere huckster, who would do anything for money, while the other made his headquarters free for all and tried to frighten any man involved in court actions. . . . When he failed in this, he

καὶ τὸν διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς οὐσίαν ὡς πλείστην ἀνηλωκότα, ζῶντα δὲ
 ἐν λύσση τῆ κατ' ἑμοῦ ἐλέγχων | ἀπῆλασεν, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον ταπεινω-
 θέντα μηκέτ' εἶναι ἐν τῷσαύτῃ μανίᾳ. κὰν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς εἰς τὸν
 Ἰβήρα τοῦτο ὡς μέγιστον ἤθετο αὐτός τε αὐτῷ συγχαίρειν ἐφασκε
 5 τούτων δὴ τῶν πρὸς ἐμέ, καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ τῆς τραπέζης ἐντεῦθεν
 οὐδὲν ἐπιδοῦσθαι παρ' ἄλλων τοῦτο ἐχούσης. 283. ἔστω δὴ καὶ
 τοῦτο τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης, ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς αὐτῆς. καίτοι με
 πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ δοθέντος ὄκνος ἔχει τὸν λόγον. ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὡς
 μὴ ἀδικοῦμαι τῆ σιωπῇ τῆν δοῦσαν, πολυητέον εἰπεῖν. κατηφείας
 10 γὰρ κατεχούσης τοὺς φίλους ἐνθυμουμένους τῆς παρούσης τῆς περὶ
 τὸν Κίμωνα, καθ' ἣν αὐτοῦ τοῖν χερσίν ἤρπασθη τὸ γραμματίων ὁ
 αὐτὸν ἐφίστη | τῇ Κύπρῳ, ἐλθὼν οὖν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
 εἰδὼς τῆν τε ἀφθονίαν καὶ ὄθεν ἔφην, Ἄλλ', ὁ ἀνδρὲς ἀριστοί, λίσσεται,
 15 ἔφην, τῆς λύπης, ἔχοντες ὁ παῖναι πέφυκε λύπην. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ
 δίεψι, ἣν μείζω ποιεῖ τὸ διὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆς τυγχάνειν τὸν πεπον-
 θέντα. 284. ἴσπε, οἶόν τι τὸ τῶν εἰς Κρήτην ἀγομέμων Ἀθήρηθεν
 δαίμων ἐσομένην τῷ ἐν λαβυρίθῳ τέρατι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βέλους τοῦ
 κεκομκότος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τῆν νόσον καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρώτων τῆς
 Ἰλιάδος ἠκούομεν, ὡς ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς ἓνα ἕβρεως πολλῶν ἔδει πυρῶν
 20 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς τοὺς ἀποθησκοντας. καὶ ἦν μακάριος ὁ Χρύσης
 τσοσύρω κακῶ τιμώμενος. 285. ἕτερος τοῖν οὕτος ἱερεὺς θεῶν
 λιμῶ μεγάλῳ τιμάται. Δήμητρος, οἴμαι, τοῦτο ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀράς
 κατ' αὐτῶν γεγενημένης, εἴ τότε Ἀπόλλων ἐκνήθη καὶ ἡ μὲν
 ἡμέρῳ ἐνόη, μῆρας δὲ οὐτοσί τέτταρας ἀναλίσκει τῆν πόλιν. εἰ δὲ
 25 καὶ ἀνὴρ δοῦς δίεψι μέγα παραμύθιον τῷ τετρομμένῳ, πόσον ἂν τι
 πόλεως καὶ τηλικαύτης εἴη;

1 τῆς F (L); τε Re (CPBV). 13 καὶ: A resumes. 14 ἔφην F,
 Sievers (BV); ἔφην Re (ACPL). 14-15 ὅστι δίεψι F (VL); τῆ δίεψι ACP:
 ἐστὶ . . . πεποσθέντα om. B: τῆ; δίεψι μείζω conj. Re. 16 ἴσπε F, Re:
 ἴσως MSS. 21 ἱερεὺς θεῶν F, Re: ἱερέων ACVL; ἱερέων PB. 25 ἂν τι
 F (PBVL; corr. from ἀντὶ A); ἂν τὸ Re (C).

saw this so-called nursling of the Muses for what he was, a glutton who had run through a vast fortune in his gluttony and was rabid in his fury against me, and he sent him packing, so that he was humbled and no longer indulged in such craziness. In all the panegyrics of Spain, mine was the one that pleased him most, and he rejoiced, he said, in attentions towards me, even though his table never saw anything of me and knew me only at second hand through others. 283. So let that be attributed to good fortune, and also the following, though, considering the munificence of the gift, I hesitate to speak of it. However, I needs must, so that I may do full justice to the fortune that bestowed it. My friends were full of despondency when they considered the disgusting business about Cimon, whereby his credentials of appointment to Cyprus had been snatched from his hands. So I came in person, and fully knowing my friends' dejection and its source, 'Be troubled no more, gentlemen', I said. 'In vengeance you have a possession which always soothes troubles, and if the victim gets it through the agency of the gods, then it is all the greater. 284. You all know what happened when the Athenians were sent to Crete to feed the Minotaur in the Labyrinth. Of the bolt which brought plague upon the Achaeans we read in the first book of the *Iliad*, that because of an insult to one man, the Greeks needed many funeral pyres for their dead. Chryses was indeed blessed that he was avenged with such an affliction. 285. But here and now another priest of the gods is being avenged with great famine. This is surely Demeter's work, even though no curse has been invoked against them, such as happened when Apollo was moved to wrath. That plague lasted for nine days: this famine has been wasting the city for four months now. If it be a great consolation to the victim that one man should be punished, think what it would be for so great a city to be so visited!