

2 Monody on wretched Constantinople

2.1 Introduction

The text of the *Monody on wretched Constantinople* composed by Kallistos in the last period of his stay in Crete (i.e. before his arrival to Italy)¹ has been published for the first time in the volume CLXI (1886) of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (cols 1131–1142). To date, the only available critical edition was that found in an article by Sp. Lampros.² A short selection of chapters was more recently republished in a volume edited by A. Pertusi, accompanied by an Italian translation by M. Peri.³ The anthology of Greek texts compiled in the 1990s by J.-C. Polet and C. Pichois hosts a partial translation in French of Kallistos' text by S. Stavrou.⁴ A complete translation in French newly appeared in a collective volume edited by V. Déroche and N. Vatin, along with an introduction and useful commentary notes.⁵

Despite a very brief remark appearing in E. Fenster's book collecting the *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*,⁶ the *Monody* has long remained without a comprehensive study or a commentary. In a research monograph devoted to the Greek tradition of ritual lament, M. Alexiou claimed:

In style, his (*scil.* Andronikos') monody is learned and rhetorical, its ideas and imagery more dependent upon classical sources than on Hebrew and Christian models. It is the tragic loss of the Greek cultural heritage, and not the defeat of Christianity by Islam or the moral responsibility of the people, which he emphasises and mourns, in classical style: ὦ Ῥώμη νέα, [...] ποῦ σου νῦν τὰ καλὰ (O new Rome, where now are your fine things?). The other prose monodies draw more on biblical tradition.⁷

More recently, some considerations, mainly aiming at the identification of the quotations from classical sources, are found in a paper by E. Russell.⁸ Finally, we owe to A. J. Goldwyn a more detailed analysis of the structure of Kallistos' *Monody* and some comparisons with contemporary threnodies, laments, invocations, and

1 See *supra*, § 1.2 and 2.1.

2 Lampros 1908, 203–218.

3 See Pertusi 1976, II, 354–363.

4 See Polet and Pichois 1995, 267–272.

5 See Déroche and Vatin 2016, 865–880. The translation by Déroche mainly relies on the text by Lampros, with slight changes.

6 See Fenster 1968, 282.

7 Alexiou 2002, 86–87.

8 See Russell 2013, 105–123.

monodies (such as Manuel Christonymos' *Monody on the Sack of Constantinople*).⁹

2.2 The manuscript tradition

To my knowledge, the text of the *Monody* is handed down (fully or partly) in three manuscripts:

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1774

Paper, last quarter of fifteenth century, mm 205 × 140, fols XV+355+III'. Composite manuscript, assembled by Antonios Eparchos. It is partially copied by Konstantios (fols 32r–34r, 36rv, 44v, 109r–110r, and 345r–353v), a scribe working in Crete in the second half of the fifteenth century (see *RGK* I 233 = II 322 = III 377). The text of the *Monody* is at fols 345r–353v. *Bibl.*: Muratore 1997, 50–52; Stefec 2012c, 257–259; Speranzi 2013a, 290–291; Ferreri and Speranzi 2017, 295–309; Mondrain 2017, 464 n. 11; Cardinali 2020b, 137, 141; Muratore 2022, 19. *Cat.*: Omont 1886–1888, II, 140.

L = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 44

Paper, first quarter of sixteenth century, mm 350 × 250, fols I+134+I'. Composite manuscript made of two coeval codicological units: I (= fols 1–126, copied around 1545 in Venice); II (= fols 127–134). The text of Kallistos is found at fols 127r–133r. See a detailed description at <<http://manuscripta-mediaevalia.de>> (with further bibliographical references; accessed on 27 March 2023).

V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 428

This codex is made up of several and not coeval codicological units dated back to the fifteenth–sixteenth century (see a description in Stevenson 1885). V has only little text (205,12–210,1 Lampros = 466,18–472,11 Orlandi; see below), kept in a small *binio* (mm 154 × 111, fols 70–73). *Bibl.*: Lampros 1908; Pertusi 1976, II, 354–355; Martínez Manzano 2019a, 159 n. 10. *Cat.*: Stevenson 1885, 277–278.

There are no copies of the text made in Italy before the beginning of the sixteenth century. Kallistos' *Monody* thus does not seem to have been read in Italian Humanism. We wonder whether this is due to the fact that he did not bring a copy of the text with him from Crete. Be that as it may, the recognition of the island of

⁹ See Goldwyn 2014, 92–107.

Crete as the place of composition of the text¹⁰ and the location in that same place of its main witness (= P, in the hand of Konstantios) indicate that at least one exemplar of the text was preserved and copied in turn, thus ensuring the survival of the work.

Manuscript P is a complete witness to the text of the *Monody*. The copyist, Konstantios, made numerous mistakes while transcribing from the model. There are nearly a hundred instances of trivial errors such as itacisms and exchange of syllable quantities.¹¹ Most of them have already been corrected by the editors. Below some significant errors of P:

- § 5 οὐ om. P
- § 6 διαφέροντα] ὑπεφέροντα P
- § 6 καὶ θέσεις om. P
- § 6 φθαρέντας] φθαρέντα P
- § 11 προσόντα] προσὸν P
- § 12 μαθήσεσθε] μαθήθησθε P
- § 12 χρανοῦσιν] χνανοῦσιν P
- § 13 σιγᾶτε] σιβᾶτε P
- § 19 εἴ τις] εἴποις P

Among the most frequent errors made by Konstantios we notice, in the case of the accusative form of some terms, the shifting from the third to the first declension: § 2 ἀέρα] ἀέραν; § 9 χεῖρα] χεῖραν; § 20 πατρίδα] πατρίδαν; § 20 μητέρα] μητέραν. A phenomenon characteristic of vernacular Greek texts, this shifting is not likely to refer to intention of Kallistos and has therefore been corrected in the text.

¹⁰ See *supra*, § 1.2.2.

¹¹ Here are some minor slips of P (already corrected and therefore not included in the apparatus): § 2 κατειλημένων] -λημένων P; τοῖνυ] τοινῦν P; δοκῆ] δοκεῖ P; φθαρεῖση] φθαρήση P; συλλήβδην] συλλύ- P; § 5 τυγχάνη] -νει P; ἐντυχόντες] ἐντυγχ- P; § 6 διεννηνοχῶς] διεννη- P; ὀμιλῶν] ὀμη- P; ἕξιν] ἕξιν P; μεμορφωμένων] μεμορφο- P; § 7 στερρόν] στερόν P; ψηφῖσι] -φίσι P; ποικιλίας] πικιοι- P; ἐπιτήθειον] -θειον P; ἀμφοτέρας] ἀμφοτέρες P; § 8 σκυθρωπάζον] σκυθρο- P; ἡδίσταις] ἡδύσταις P; ἀκραφνές] ἀκρεφνές P; § 9 γενναίως] γεννώως P; § 10 ὀρώσαι] ὀρόσαι P; ὑποβαλοῦμεν] -βαλλοῦμεν P; ἀνδράσι] ἀνδραῖσι P; § 11 βραχεῖ] βραχύ P; σοροὶ] σωροὶ P; ὄργια] ὄργια P; ὀμότης] ὀμο- P; μακάριαι] μακαρίαί P; θηλάσουσιν] θυλά- P; εἰρωνείαν] ἡρωνείαν P; § 12 ἕξετε] ἕξετε P; ἀφαιρεθείσης] ἀφερεθείσης P; κατωρθώκοσιν] κατο- P; ἐρέται] ἐρεταί P; ἤξιωμένα] ἤξιο- P; τεχνιτῶν] τεχνητῶν P; πείσεσθε] πίσε- P; ἀγιστεῖαν] ἀγιστίαν P; πλανώμενοι] πλανό- P; θεῖαν] θεῖαν P; § 13 ὦ (cum genitivo)] ὦ P (idem *infra*); 17 σεῖοντος] σίον- P; § 15 Πελοπόννησος] -πόννησος P; κλεινοῦ] κλι- P; § 16 Χάρυβδιδι] Χάρι- P; § 17 ἐπεισελθούσης] ἐπισελ- P; ἔλκοντες] ἔλκ- P; § 18 ὦ] ὦ P (idem *infra*); θεῖα] θεῖα P; οἰμώττουσι] οἰμόττ- P; πεδιάδες] παιδ- P; στρουθία] στρουθεῖα P; μυκώμενα] μυκό- P; ἀχρείοις] ἀχρίοις P; § 19 μοῖρα] μοῖρα P; ἕάλω] ἕάλω P; § 20 ὀδοιπόροι] ὀδοι- P; ἀνάπαυαν] ἀναπαύλαν P; προστάτιν] -τάτην P.

Manuscript L, whose existence was unknown to Lampros and Pertusi and which has so far not been collated, happened to be a copy of P, as it carries all of the significant and insignificant errors of the latter. Below some examples:

- § 1 νικᾶν] νικῶν P L
- § 1 παραστήσει] παραστήσι P L
- § 5 οἷς] εἰς εἰς P L
- § 5 οὐ om. P L
- § 8 νεώς] νεοῦς P L
- § 13 ἀνηκέστου] ἀνικέτου P L
- § 13 σιγᾶτε] σιβᾶτε P L
- § 13 αἰτεῖν] ἄττειν P L

In addition, the manuscript L shows its own errors:

- § 2 λείψεται] λείζεται L
- § 4 βάσκανος] βάσανος L
- § 6 νόμον] νειμῶν L
- § 7 κέρδους] κέρδας L
- § 9 ἐγεγόνει] ἐγετόνει L
- § 11 κόσμος] κόσμης L
- § 11 νοῦν] ναῦ L
- § 13 σείοντος] δίοντος L

An independent witness to the text is codex V. It does not share the errors of P and L; however it transmitted only a short part of the text (205,12–210,1 Lampros = 466,18–472,11 Orlandi). Below a list of V's significant errors:¹²

- § 5 τοῦ] τοὺς V
- § 6 Θεμιστοκλέους] βεμιστοκλέους V
- § 6 νιφάδεσιν] νιφάδεσις V
- § 7 ante τοσοῦτον add. τὸ V
- § 8 διείργοντος] διείρχοντος V
- § 8 ἄλλος om. V

12 Here are some minor slips of V (not included in the apparatus): § 5 ἦμαρ] ἦμαρ V; πᾶσιν] πάσιν V; § 6 Νέστορος] νέστωρος V; διενηνοχῶς] διενηνοχῶς V; ἐκκλησίας] ἐκλ- V; μετ' αὐτόν] μεταυτόν V; πάλαι] πᾶλαι V; κριτήριον] κρητ- V; γλώτταν] γλώταν V; καθίστησι] καθή- V; ἔξιν] ἔξιν V; μεμορφωμένων] μεμορφο- V; καθηγεμῶν] -μῶν V; § 7 συγκρινόμενα] συκρ- V; εὔρει] εὔρει V; § 7 στερρόν] στερόν V; ἀπανταχοῦ] ἀπανταχοῦ V; ψηφῖσι] ψηφισι V; περικαλλῆ] περικαλλῆ V; ἐπιτήδειον] -διον V; οἰκοδομᾶς καὶ φαιδρότητας] -δομᾶς καὶ φεδρ- V; ἐποίει] ἐποίη V; πράσιν] πράσιν V; § 8 Προποντις] προποντις V; ἐν ἐκείνους] ἐν ἐκείνης V.

Finally, the presence of common errors in P, L and V shows that they all stem from the same source:

§ 6 αὐτοῖς scripsi: οὐ τοῖς P L V: τούτοις con. Déroche

§ 7 καταχυρωμένη corr. Lampros: καταχυρωμένη P L V

§ 7 τις corr. Lampros: ἴς (sic) P L V

§ 7 κέρδος corr. Lampros: κέρδους P L V

Conspectus siglorum

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1774.

V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 428.

Lampros = ed. Lampros 1908, 203–218.

Déroche = Déroche and Vatin 2016, 866–880 (French translation and notes).

Μονωδία κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Καλλίστου ἐπὶ τῇ δυστυχεῖ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει

1. Αἶ, αἶ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἐχρῆν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προστεθῆναι κοιναῖς συμφοραῖς τὰ τε προλαβόντα πάθη λίαν νικᾶν καὶ μὴδ' εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔσσεσθαι ποτε μεῖζον, εἰ γοῦν τοιοῦτον ὅλως ἐόν. ὃ γὰρ μόνον εἶχμεν ἀπολειφθὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πρὸς ὃ προσεδόκα πᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσμός, τοῦτο δυστυχῶς ἀφηρέθη νῦν ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ἄλλους γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐμπλήσαν καὶ δεινῆς συμφορᾶς, καίτοι, κἂν εἰ παρήσαν ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἀφορᾶν, τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ πάντα καὶ κατόπιν ἔαν. νῦν γὰρ ἡ κοινὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστία, ἡ διατριβὴ τῶν Μουσῶν, ἡ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀπάσης διδάσκαλος, ἡ τῶν πόλεων βασιλεὺς ἐάλω, φεῦ, χερσὶν ἀσεβῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν κατακλυσμὸν τουτὶ φαίη τίς ἄν, οὐκ — οἶμαι — παραστήσει τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἄλις δεινόν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ συμβάντι ἀπώλετ' ἂν ἅπαν καὶ λόγος ἦν οὐδεὶς ἔτι, οὐδ' ἂν ἔπαθέ τι κακὸν ὁ κρατῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειρόνος· τῷ δὲ συμβάντι νυνὶ περίεστιν ὄραν μυρία δεινὰ καὶ λόγον νικώμενον ἀλογίᾳ καὶ ἰλίγυου πάντα καὶ ζάλης μεστὰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν ἀληθῶς ἐφιστάμενον ταῖς ψυχαῖς.

2. Ὅσω τοίνυν τῆς τοῦ σώματος λώβης κακίων ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὅσω τὸ κακῶς ζῆν τοῦ μὴ ζῆν, τοσοῦτῳ τὸ νῦν ἐπεισχωμάσαν δεινὸν ὑπερέχει κατακλυσμοῦ. εἰ δ' ἡλίου τίς φαίη φθορὰν καὶ σκότος κοινόν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀζίως ἐκτραγωδήσει τὴν ξυμφορὰν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τὸ μὲν αἰσθητοὺς μόνους ἔβλαπτεν ἂν ὀφθαλμούς, τὸ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς μὲν προσεχῶς, ἐπομένως δὲ καὶ <τοὺς> τοῦ σώματος, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ κρεῖττον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀντή τὰς αἰσθήσεις πεπρωῶσθαι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ πολλῶν παρόντα δεινῶν, ὡς ἂν ἄγευστος ἦ τῶν τηλικούτων παθῶν, ἢ κεκτῆσθαι αὐτὰς ὑγιεῖς καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνειν ἐκείνων, ἃ πάσης ἐστὶν ἀηδίας μεστὰ. νῦν γὰρ ὁ κακὸς βλάπτει τὸν ἀρείονα φῶτα μύθοισι σκολιοῖς ὀνοτάζων, Αἰδῶς δὲ καὶ Νέμεσις ὡς ἀληθῶς προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἴζεσθον, τὰ δὲ λείπεται ἄλγεα λυγρά, κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσεται ἀλακῆ. εἰ μὲν ἀληθῶς ἀνθρωπος πάλα γέγονεν ὑπὸ πάθους ὄρνις ἢ δένδρον ἢ λίθος, μᾶλλον μὴν ἐχρῆν πάντας τοῦτο παθεῖν, ὅσον καὶ μεῖζων ἢ ξυμφορὰ. εἰ δὲ ψεῦδος ἐκεῖνα, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς τῶν μύθων ἄλλα πατράσιν ἐρρέθη, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐχρῆν γενέσθαι, ὡς ἂν τῇ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολῇ συνεξυφαινοίτο καὶ τινα τέρατα θαυμαστὰ ἐκπλήττοντα πᾶσαν ὄρασιν τε καὶ ἀκοήν, ὃ δὴ καὶ γεγονέναι νομίζω, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ὁ μὲν μῦθος τὴν φύσιν μόνον ἀλλάσσει ἐκείνων, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον ἔχειν φησί· νῦν δ' ἀντιστρόφως ἢ μὲν φύσις ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ ἦν, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον ἀφηρέθη πάντῃ μετὰ τοῦ λόγου, πολλῆς

23–26 νῦν–ἀλακῆ] cf. Hes., *Op.* 193–200

3–466, 18 Αἶ–τραγωδῶν deest in V 4 νικᾶν corr. Lampros: νικῶν P 5 ἐών P 8 ἀποκρύπτειν P, in -ει mut. alia manus 11–12 παραστήσι P: correxi: παραστήσαι Lampros 18–19 ἐκτραγωδήσειε Lampros 20 τοὺς¹ add. Lampros 22 ἦ corr. Lampros: ἡ P 27 ὄρνις corr. Lampros: ἄρνις P | μὴν corr. Lampros: νῦν P 28 μεῖζον P: correxi

Andronikos Kallistos' monody on wretched Constantinople

1. Alas, alas, also this then had to be added to the common disgraces of the Greeks, thus overcoming the previous suffering so much, that one would never imagine anything greater than this, if indeed such a thing were to exist at all! The only good thing that in fact remained to us and to which the entire Greek people had been looking has now been miserably taken away from us, something that fills us with pain and atrocious misfortune. For even if there were many other things to take into consideration, this one is so serious that it overshadows everything else and leaves all else in the background. For now the common homeland of the Greeks, the residence of the Muses, the teacher of all sciences, the queen of the cities has been conquered, alas, by the hands of the impious. If one were to call it a cataclysm, I do not think that it would fully convey the idea of the evil caused by this pain. Confronted with what is happening now, in fact everything would become meaningless and there would be no more words, nor would the superior have suffered any harm because of his inferior; what remains now is to look at thousands of evils, speech defeated by inability to talk, everything full of chaos and storm, and a universal disaster befalling even upon our souls.

2. Just as the outrage of the soul is more painful than that of the body, and just as living in unhappiness is worse than not living at all, so then is the current misfortune graver to overcome than a universal disaster. If one was to speak of the destruction of the sun and universal darkness, one would not even deplore this misfortune sufficiently, not only because this would hinder only the eyes amongst the senses, and primarily those of the soul and, thereupon, those of the body; it also seems to me absolutely more desirable that those who find themselves in the midst of many misfortunes should remain deprived of their senses, thus being not able to feel such pains, rather than be possessed of them, thus experiencing those things which are greatly odious. Therefore, the inferior man will now harm the superior one, speaking with crooked words, and Aidos and Nemesis will depart to Olympus leaving humans behind, baneful pains will remain and there will be nothing left to ward off evil. If it is true that once upon a time a human being was transformed owing to misfortunes into a bird, a tree, or a stone, it might have been better for all of us to endure this, all the more so because our current misfortune is far worse. If, on the contrary, those things were a lie, as in many fables told by our ancestors, it still would now have been best if it had happened, so that to this extreme pain are joined some wonderous happenings that completely stun sight and hearing, something that I believe has happened, with the exception that according to the myth only the bodily consti-

ἐπιτεθείσης ἀναισθησίας ταῖς τῶν πάθει κατειλημμένων ψυχαῖς. οὕτω γὰρ τότε πολὺ φῶς ἀμαυροῦν οἶδε τὰς ὄψεις ὃ τε βαρὺς κτύπος πλήττειν τὰς ἀκοάς· καὶ νῦν λοιπὸν ἢ ψυχὴ τῷ πάθει ὡσπέρ τινα τάφῳ κρυφθεῖσα, οἷον ἀναισθητον δρᾶ τὸ σῶμα. οὕτω τοίνυν τοῦ δεινοῦ πεφυκότος μεγίστου, ποίαν μὲν ῥήξω φωνὴν ἐξαρκούσαν αὐτῷ, εἴπερ δεῖ λέγειν; πῶς γὰρ ἀρκέσει μοι φωνὴ μία καὶ γλῶτταν 5 καὶ χεῖρας ἀπλᾶς κοπτομένῳ τὲ καὶ βοῆς τὸν ἀέρα πληροῦντι; τίς δὲ θρῆνος οὐ νῦν ἀσθενῆς ἔσται πρῶτον καὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως χεírων; πῶς δ' αὖ χρῆσασθαι τῇ σιγῇ δυνηθῶ, κἂν ἀσφαλὲς τοῦτο δοκῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, μὴ δόξας ἀδικεῖν οὐ τὴν ἐνεγκούσαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλους αὐτούς, οἷς καὶ δεξιούσθαι χρῆ τὴν δωρησαμένην, καὶ πάντα τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσμον, οἱ συμφθεροῦνται φθαρείσῃ; ἐῷ δὲ 10 λέγειν ναοὺς καὶ θήκας ἀγίων καὶ ἱερὰ σκεύη καὶ οἰκοδομὰς καὶ φαιδρότητας σὺν χρηστῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις· ὧν ἕκαστον πρὸς τίνα θρῆνον ἂν οὐκ ἐκίνησε, μὴ ὅτι γε πάντα συλλήβδην τὸν μὴ τὴν διάνοιαν πάντη πεπρωμένον;

3. Φεῦ οἷαις ἀπορίαις ἐμπεριείλημμα, οἷοις διευθύνω κακοῖς ἐμαυτόν, οἷαις ὁ λόγος ἐντυγχάνει ταῖς συμφοραῖς. πλὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἦν ἰσχύσαι τινὰ κατ' ἀξίαν 15 δρᾶσαι τὸν θρῆνον — ἦγουν τῆς ἀξίας ἐγγύς —, λόγον ἂν εἶχεν ἡμῖν ἢ παραίτησις, ἀδυνατοῦσι πρὸς τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' Ὀρφεὺς, εἰ παρῆν, οὐδ' Αἰσχύλος, οὐδ' ὁ τῶν τραγωδῶν ἀπάντων ἔσμος ἴσχυσεν ἂν — ἀλλ' ἤττητο πάντη Πυγμαῖος τίς φανεῖς παραβαλλόμενος Ἡρακλεῖ —, δοκεῖ κάμοι τοῖς πέννησι λόγοις χρησάμενον ἐπὶ ξένης ὄντα θρηνῆσαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ κοινὴν ξυμφορὰν. 20

4. Τί λοιπὸν οὕτω πλάττω τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνιαρὰν ἐκπέμπω φωνήν, οἷαν εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κακοῖς; τί μὴ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνων μετ' οἰμωγῆς τύπτω μὲν τὰ στήθη καὶ τέμνω, τοῖς ὄνουξιν δὲ ξαίνω τὰς παρεῖας καὶ πάττομαι τέφραν καὶ κόνιν καὶ τίλλω τὰς τρίχας, ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνον πάσχη ψυχὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ 25 σῶμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ξυμφορᾶς;

5. Φεῦ, ὦ βασιλῆς τῶν πόλεων καὶ πατρίς, ἥτις ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀξίας δούλειον ἦμαρ εἶδες, ὡς πράττεις κακῶς ὅσον περ πάλαι καλῶς. ἀντισηκώσας δὲ σε δαίμων τίς φθονερός φθείρει τῆς πάροιθεν εὐπραξίας παραχωρήσει Θεοῦ, ἀχρηστίαν κατεγνωκότος ἡμῶν. ἄλλως γὰρ οὔτε τύχην ἂν τις εἴποι τοῦ παρόντος αἰτίαν κακοῦ, διανοίας οὐσαν ἀνάπλασμα, οὔθ' ὁ φθονερός δαίμων, κἂν φύσει 30 τυγχάνῃ σφόδρα βάσκανος καὶ κακοποιός, τοσοῦτον ἂν ἴσχυσε καθ' ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τοῦ φωτὸς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐστερηθῆναι τούτου χρεῶν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὧν ἐν καὶ πρῶτον ἦν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ τῶν πόλεων μεγίστη καὶ βασιλῆς. νῦν γὰρ ἐντυχόντες μυρίοις, οἷς οὐδέποτε εἰσόμεθα πάντως, ὡς οἱ κακοὶ γνώμαισι τάγαθὸν χεροῖν ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασι, πρὶν τίς ἐκβάλῃ. νῦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἢ τῶν 35

26–27 δούλειον ἦμαρ] Hom., *Il.* 6,463 34–35 οἱ–ἐκβάλῃ] Soph., *Aj.* 964–965

2 οἶδε corr. Lampros: εἶδε P 5 γλῶτταν correxi: γλῶττα P 6 χεῖρες ἀπλῶς Lampros | ἀέραν P 7 χεῖρον P: correxi 18 ἀπάντων] hic incipit V 25 συμφορᾶς V 26 τοιαύτης Lampros 32 τοῦ] τοὺς V 35 τ' ἀγατὸν P | οὐκ ἴσασι corr. Lampros: οὐκ ἦσασι P: οὐκῆσασι V

tution of the characters changes, for they keep their tears; but now, on the contrary, the nature of men has remained as it was, but the tears have been completely wiped away with the words, a great insensitivity having fallen upon the souls overtaken by the pain. Then, as you know, excessive light normally clouds the eyes and a loud crash stuns the ears; and from now on the soul is buried by the pain as in a tomb, and the body acts as if it were deprived of feelings. So now that the greatest misfortune has happened, what word should I say loud enough for it, if one in fact really need say anything at all? How will that be enough for me who had my tongue and hands cut off and who fills the air with my cry? What lamentation will not now be too weak and not be unsuitable? On the other hand, how could I remain silent, even if this seems to be a safe choice for the masses, without believing that it would harm not only my motherland but also all those for whom it is necessary to stand by their benefactor and the whole Greek people, who will share her ruin? I shall avoid mentioning the temples, the shrines of the saints, the sacred furnishings, the buildings, and the beauties together with the valiant emperor and his relatives and friends; if each of these things on its own was not enough to prompt a lamentation, would it together not also be enough, even for a man who has not completely lost his mind?

3. Alas! in what kind of confusion am I entangled, what misfortunes will I be heading towards, what calamities shall my speech chance upon! But if it were possible that someone might have the ability to worthily compose a lamentation – or at least close to the dignity it deserves – it would be natural for me to give up because of my inability to perform this task. But since neither Orpheus, if he were present, nor Aeschylus nor the whole troop of tragic authors could do this – a Pigmgy, being inferior, would lose indeed when up against Herakles – it seems right to me, being in a foreign land, to sing the lament of this misfortune involving me and all of us, by using my poor words.

4. So, why do I arrange my speeches in this way, instead of letting an inconsolable howl as is appropriate before such grave evils? Why don't I stretch out my hands while lamenting or strike and tear my chest, or scratch my cheeks with my nails, or cover myself with soot and dust, or tear my hair out, so that, along with the soul, also the body suffer at the extent of this misfortune?

5. Alas, queen of cities, my homeland, you who from such great honours have known 'the day of bondage', for you are <now> as wretched as you once were flourishing. Some evil demon, having ripped you away from your old joy, destroys you through God's concession, who has condemned us for our vileness. Moreover, no one could say that our present misfortune is due to destiny, even though it is the completion of a <divine> intention, nor could an evil demon have had so much power against us, even if he were by nature exceptionally wicked

Ἑλλήνων πληθὺς ἀνήκεστον δυστυχίαν περιβαλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν οἷς
 νῦν μέλει μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔσονται κατηφεῖς, οὐ κατῆμαρ οὐδ' ἐννη-
 μαρ, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν ὕδωρ τὲ νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη καὶ τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον
 ὄσφω καὶ πλέον τητῶνται τῶν αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἔστια τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ
 πόλις ἦν, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσι παρείχε τὰ ταύτης καλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς καθειστήκει 5
 μήτηρ, τροφός, ἀνάπαυλα, παντοίων χορηγὸς ἀγαθῶν.

6. Φεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῖς τῶν πόλεων, ὦ δυστυχία τοῦ γένους κοινή, ὦ λύπη μέχρις
 ὁστέων διήκουσά τε καὶ μυελῶν, ὦ κάλλη καὶ μεγέθη ναῶν, ὦ τεῖχη καὶ μήκει καὶ
 πλάτει τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηρημένα· ὦ μουσεῖα τῆς Ἀκαδημίας καὶ τῆς Στοᾶς, κάλλει
 μὲν ὑπερφέροντα, τῇ σοφίᾳ δὲ μηδὲν διαφέροντα. ὦ λιμὴν ἠδὺς μὲν πρῶην καὶ 10
 εὐτυχῆς ταῖς ναυσί, νῦν δὲ δυστυχῆς καὶ τῆς Σκύλλης οὐδὲν διεννηνώχως. ὦ
 Ῥώμη Νέα, γεγηρακυῖα δὲ τῷ βάρει καὶ πλήθει τῶν συμφορῶν, ποῦ σου νῦν τὰ
 καλὰ; ποῦ μὲν ὁ θειότατος βασιλεύς, ὀξύτερον μὲν Θεμιστοκλέους ὄρων, ἠδιον
 δὲ τοῦ Νέστορος ὁμιλῶν, σωφρονέστερος δὲ Κύρου, δικαιοτέρος δὲ Ῥαδαμάν- 15
 θυος, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ Ἡρακλέους; ποῦ δ' ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὠραϊσμός, ὁ τε θεῖος
 ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν εὐθύς καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ἱερὸς χορὸς; ποῦ δὲ σεμνεῖα καὶ
 παρθενῶνες καὶ ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν κοσμιότης ἢ καὶ ἀγγέλοις ἐφάμιλλος; ποῦ δὲ τὸ
 βουλευτήριον σὺν ταῖς βουλαῖς; ἐν οἷς τί μὲν δέον ὁ οὐκ ἐρρήθη, τί δ' ὁ ῥηθὲν οὐκ
 εὐθέως ἐπράχθη; τίνας δὲ δημηγόρους οὐ παρέτρεχον ὁμιλοῦντες, νῦν μὲν πάλαι 20
 τὲ καὶ μάλα λιγέως, νῦν δὲ νιφάδεσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίησι; τὸ δὲ κριτήριον ποῦ,
 πάντα μὲν τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον καὶ Πλάτωνος κατόπιν ἀφέν, ἐπιστήμη δὲ μᾶλλον
 ὠραϊσμένον πλεῖστη καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος λόγοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς ἀπάσης
 καὶ σοφίας εἰσὶν ἰσχυρότεροι; ποῦ δ' ὁ λοιπὸς ἔσμος τῶν λογάδων, οἱ μὲν σοφία
 κεκοσμημένοι, οἱ δὲ λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς πολιτεία κοσμεῖται τὲ καὶ συνίσταται; 25
 ἄμοιρος μὲν γὰρ ἦν οὐδεὶς τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ, πᾶς δὲ πρὸς ὅπερ εἶχε καλὸν ὑπ' ἄλλου
 μὲν οὐδενὸς ἠττάτο, ἐνίκα δὲ πάντας τοὺς βουλευομένους συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ
 πάντας λοιπὸν ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν λογάδων ἐχρῆν ἠττάσθαι καλοῖς. ποῦ δὲ τὸ τῶν
 λόγων κράτος, ὅπερ ἦν ἀκμάζον ἐν σοί; ποῦ τῆς γραμματικῆς ἢ τέχνης, ἢ τὴν
 γλῶτταν ἐξελληνίζει καὶ πάσης ἀηδίας καθίστησι καθαρὰν; ποῦ δὲ τῆς ῥητορικῆς 30
 τὸ πυρίπνου, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἄπτον τοῦ τῆς Χιμαίρας πυρός; ποῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς διαλε-
 κτικῆς κράτος, σόφισμα μὲν πᾶν ἀπορρίπττον, μόνης δ' ἐχόμενον ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς

3 ἂν – τεθήλη] *Anth. Pal.* 7,153,2 (cf. Orlandi 2014a) 20 νιφάδεσιν – χειμερίησι] *Hom., Il.* 3,222

1 οἷς corr. Lampros: εἰς εἰς P: εἰς V 2 οὐ om. P 4 τητῶνται] ζητῶνται Lampros | ἰδίᾳ Lampros
 5 πᾶσι corr. Lampros: πᾶσα P V 6 post ἀνάπαυλα spat. rel. V 10 λιμὴν corr. Lampros: λυμὴν P
 V 16 λοιπὸς in λιπὸς mut. V 17 κοσμιότης corr. Lampros: κοσμιώτης P V 18 ταῖς βουλαῖς]
 ταῖς βουλευταῖς V: τοῖς βουλευταῖς Lampros | ὁ] ὄν V | οὐκ ἐρρήθη scripsi: οὐχ ὀράθη P V:
 οὐχ ὠράθη Lampros | ὁ ῥηθὲν corr. Lampros: ὀραθὲν P V 20 νιφάδεσιν V 21 πάντα corr.
 Lampros: πάντων P V | τῶν ... νόμων P | ἀφ' ἐν V 28 ἀκμάζων P 29 γλῶσσαν Lampros
 ἐξελληνίζει corr. Lampros: ἐξελληνίζειν P V 30 Χιμαίρας corr. Lampros: χειμαίρας P V
 31 ἀπορρίπττον corr. Lampros: ἀπορρίπττον P: ἀπορίπττον V

and devilish; but, just as those who were unworthy of the light had to be deprived of it, so we have to be deprived <now> of any good, of which the only and primary one at our disposal was the greatest city, the queen. Now we are faced with a multitude of tremendous things that we will never know completely, for the wicked in spirit, when they hold the good in their hands, do not know they have it before it is torn from them. Now, not only the multitude of Greeks will be surrounded by an irremediable misfortune, but many of those who do not care about it at the moment will be not less bereaved, and not just for some days, but «as long as the water flows and the trees grow high» and furthermore that they will be deprived of the benefits of the City. For this city was, yes, privately the proper home of the Greeks, though it publicly offered everyone its benefits too, and to everyone it had simply represented a mother, a nurse, a rest, a source of all kinds of good things.

6. Alas, queen of the cities, o common misfortune to all the people, o pain penetrating into the bones and the marrow, o beauty and greatness of the churches, o walls that surpassed all the other in length and width, o museums of the Academy and the Stoa, which excels in beauty, and not less in wisdom. O sweet port, once pleasant and happy for the ships, now unhappy and in everything similar to Scylla. O New Rome, aged by the gravity and the great quantity of misfortunes, where are your beauties now? Where is your emperor so divine, who sees more sharply than Themistocles, speaks more softly than Nestor, who is wiser than Cyrus, more equitable than Radamant, more courageous than Heracles? Where is the beauty of your Church, where is your patriarch enlightened by God and his close collaborators and the rest of the sacred choir? Where are the monasteries of men and women, the good behaviour of the monks that rivalled that of the angels? Where is the senate with its council chambers? What was not said there that should have been said? And what was not done correctly that should have been done? Which orators have not been surpassed by their eloquence, sometimes in the past with a clear voice, sometimes ‘like torrents swollen by the melting snow’? Where is the court which left far behind all the laws of Solon and Plato and has been adorned with the supreme wisdom and words that come from the Holy Spirit, which are more powerful than any persuasion and belief? Where is the rest of the group of dignitaries, some of them adorned with science, others with other virtues by which the State itself was adorned and formed? For none lacked any merit, and each one in regard to his own virtue was not inferior to any other, but prevailed over all those who would face him, and it was inevitable that everyone proved inferior to the virtues of the dignitaries. Where is the power of the speeches which culminated in you? Where is the knowledge of grammar that hellenised our language and preserves it from any impurity? Where is the sacred fire of

εὐθύτητος; ποῦ δὲ φυσικὰ προβλήματα καὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λύσεις τὴν ἕξιν ὑπερβαί-
νοντα καὶ διαιρέσεις καὶ μουσικῆς ἀναλογίαι καὶ φθόγγοι καὶ γεωμετρίας σχημα-
τισμοὶ καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἀστέρων αἰτίαι καὶ θέσεις καὶ δρόμοι, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν
παλαιῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Πόλει χρόνῳ φθαρέντας ἠνωρθωκέναι, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ
προσθεθεικέναι καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὁρᾶσθαι σφζόμενα; Ποῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς θεολογίας κρά- 5
τος καὶ τῆς πρώτης φιλοσοφίας, ὡς εἶναι στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας τοὺς λόγους ἐκεί-
νων καὶ δογμάτων ὀρθότητα καὶ πηγὴν, τοῦ δὲ πρακτικοῦ τῆς σπουδῆς μέρους
αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἶναι τούτους εἰκόνα τινὰ ταῖς ἰδέαις, μεμορφωμένων τῶν ἀρετῶν; ἐν
τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι πρώτος ἦν ὁ <...>, τῆς σοφίας πηγὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων
καθηγεμών, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἀμφοῖν τοῖν φιλοσόφοιν ἐλάττων ἦν, φαίη δ' ἂν ὅτι καὶ 10
μεῖζων.

7. Μῆκει μὲν οὖν ἡ Πόλις πάσας τὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀπλῶς ὑπερεῖχε, κάλλι δὲ καὶ τὰς
τῆς ἐσπέρας· τεῖχη δ' οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνένδοτα οὐκ ἂν εὐροῖτό
τις συγκρινόμενα πρὸς αὐτά. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τάφος εὐθύς καὶ πλάτει καὶ βάθει καὶ
πλίνθοις ὁπτοῖς καταχωρωμένη — ποταμὸς τις ἄλλος τοῖς παριοῦσι δοκοῦσα —, 15
τεῖχος δ' εὐθύς μετ' αὐτὴν ἰσχυρόν, εὖρει τὲ καὶ ὕψει στερρόν, ἕτερον δὲ μετ'
αὐτό, μεῖζον τούτου πολὺ, ὥστε καὶ θαυμάζειν ποιοῦν τοῖς ἀτενίζουσι πρὸς αὐτό.
ποῦ δ' ἂν ἴδοις νεῶς τοσοῦτους κάλλι τὲ καὶ μεγέθει τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς νικῶν-
τας λίθοις τὲ καὶ κίοσι καὶ ψηφῖσι καὶ χροαῖς καὶ ποικιλίαις παντοδαπαῖς; ποῦ δὲ
λιμένα τοσοῦτον εὖροις περικαλλῆ τε καὶ μέγαν καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον; νεώ- 20
ρια δὲ ποῦ οὕτω λαμπρά, ποῦ δὲ βασιλείων καὶ οἴκων οἰκοδομὰς καὶ φαιδρότη-
τας; ποῦ δὲ στοῶν θέσιν καὶ ὁδῶν τάξιν καὶ λουτρῶν ποικιλίαν; ποῦ δὲ νοσοκο-
μεῖα καὶ γηροκομεῖα καὶ πτωχοτροφεῖα, ὧν ἡ Πόλις πολλὴν ἐποίει σπουδὴν; ποῦ
δὲ ἵπποδρομον καὶ ὅσα περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀγάλματα; ποῦ δ' ὠνίων πρᾶσιν καὶ κέρδος
ἐμπόρων; ἡ γὰρ θέσις τῆς Πόλεως πάντ' ἐποίει ῥᾶστα καὶ πρόχειρα. ταύτην γὰρ 25
μόνην ἀμφοτέραις ἂν εἶδες δεξιουμένην ἠπειροῖς.

8. Εἶχε μὲν ἡ Εὐρώπη, ἐγγυτάτω δ' ἦν ἡ Ἀσία καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς ἀπεῖχεν
ὅσον τὸ πλάτος ἐστὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ, μονονουχὶ δὲ καὶ πάσχουσα ἦν καὶ τοῦ πορ-
θμοῦ καταβοῶσα μεγάλως ὡς διείργοντος ταύτην ἐκείνης· πλὴν ἤδετο πάλιν τὴν 30
Πόλιν ὀρῶσα μᾶλλον οὕτως εὖ διατιθεμένην, καὶ τὴν ἠδονὴν ἐκείνης καὶ ἰδίαν
ἐποίει. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ διττὰ πελάγη, ἧ τε Προποντις καὶ ὁ Πόντος, οὐκ ὀλίγην

ante 1 προβλήματα add. καὶ P 3 καὶ θέσεις om. P 4 φθαρέντα P | ἠνωρθωκέναι corr. Lampros: ἀνηρωκέναι P: ἀνηρθωκέναι V 6 στήλην corr. Lampros: στίλην P V 8 αὐτοῖς scripsi: οὐ τοῖς P V: τούτοις Déroche post 9 ὁ lac. indicavit Lampros, <πατριάρχης> dubitanter suppl. Déroche 10 φαίην P 13 ἰσχυρὰς V 14 τις corr. Lampros: ἴς (sic) P V 15 ὁπταῖς Lampros καταχωρωμένη corr. Lampros: καταχωρωμένη P V 18 ἴδοις corr. Lampros: ἴδεις P: ἴδεις V 19 χροαῖς corr. Lampros: χρώαις P: χρώες V ante 20 τοσοῦτον add. τὸ V | ἐξέυροις Lampros 24 ἐκεῖνον ex ἐκείνων corr. P | κέρδος corr. Lampros: κέρδους P V 25 ῥᾶστα e ῥάστα corr. P 28 μονοχὶ in textu scr. P V, -νου- supra lin. suppl. alia manus in P 29 διείργοντος V

rhetoric, no less burning than the fire of the Chimera? Where is the strength of dialectic, which refutes all captious reasoning and was devoted only to truth and rectitude? Where are the problems of physics, which transcend in power the questions and the solutions, where are the logical subdivisions, the proportions of music and notes, the constructions and reasoning of geometry, the principles of the stars, their positions and their motions, for much of this ancient knowledge which had been corrupted by time has been restored in the City and has in no small quantity been extended and remained visible until now. Where is the power of theology and of the first philosophy, which made their speeches a monument to the Orthodoxy and a source of dogmas while the practical aspect of their study made them like the images of the ideas, the virtues having taken shape in them? In all these things the first was the <...>, source of the wisdom and guide of our speeches, who was not inferior to either philosopher, but one could even say superior.

7. In size, the City surpassed all those in the East, in beauty also those in the West; none could ever find walls so strong and unyielding against enemies comparable to its own. For the ditch was vertical, equipped in width and depth with fired bricks – it seemed to the passers-by to be like another river –, while the wall just behind it was strong, solid in width and height, and behind it there was another one much higher, so that those who gazed upon it were astonished. Then, where could one ever see such imposing churches, which by their beauty and size prevailed over all the others on the earth, with their marbles, columns, precious stones, mosaics and every kind of variety? And where could one find such a port, beautiful and large, suitable for ships? Where such splendid dockyards, where such brilliant architecture in royal palaces and houses? Where could one find such an arrangement of arcades, such an order of streets, such a variety of baths? Where hospitals, hospices for the elderly and the poor, for which the City took great care? Where the racecourse and all the statues around it? Where such a trade in goods and profitable opportunities for the merchants? For the very position of the City made everything easy and available. It was in fact the only City that could be seen as being welcoming both continents at the same time.

8. Europe held it, but Asia was very close and as distant from it as the width of the strait, and she almost suffered from this, and she raged against the strait which separated her from the City; but on the other hand she was delighted to see the City in such a good position and made the happiness of the City her own. And even the two seas, the Propontis and the Pontus, provided the City with a considerable abundance of fishes, and the region was fruitful and fertile like no

παρεῖχον τῇ Πόλει τὴν ἀφθονίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τόπος καρπόφορος τίς καὶ εὐγεως ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. πεδιάς γὰρ ἅπαν ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὄρεσι τε περιεχόμενον καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀρδευόμενον καὶ λίμναις πλείσταις πεποικιλμένον, ὥστε πανταχόθεν ἀφθονία παρῆν τῇ Πόλει. ἐν δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐρῶ, ὅτι πᾶς τίς ἐλθὼν ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ χρόνον διατρίψας συχνὸν ἢ καὶ παιδιόθεν τραφεὶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἐμπλησθεις ἀγαθῶν, ὅτε του χάριν τῆς Πόλεως ἐξῆι, εὐθύς ἐν ἐπιθυμία ταύτης ἦν, ὡσπερ μὴδὲ γευσάμενος ὄλως, καὶ στρέφεσθαι λοιπὸν ἦν ἀνάγκη καὶ ὄραν πρὸς αὐτήν, μέχρις ἂν ὁ τόπος ἐδίδου· ἐδίδου <δὲ> ἄχρι πολλοῦ. ἐρχόμενοι δὲ τινες πρὸς τὴν Πόλιν, ἔτι σταδίους ἀπέχοντες οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐζήτουν μὲν ἀπάντων, μία δὲ κοινὴ διήγησις πᾶσιν ἦν τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τις ἦν ἀγὼν ἐν ἐκείνοις φιλοτιμουμένοις τίς ἂν εἴποι πλείω θατέρων μέχρις ἂν εἰσιούσι τὴν Πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνης κάλλεσι φαιδρυνθεῖσιν, ἅπαν μὲν λυποῦν καὶ σκυθρωπάζον ἀπήν, ἡδονὴ δὲ τις πλείστη τὰς αἰσθήσεις αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπλη, ἡδίσταις δεσμοῦσα τούτους σειραῖς. εἴποι δ' ἂν τις, αὐτὴν παρεικάζων πρὸς τὴν οὐράνιαν σφαιραν, ἥλιον μὲν τὸν περικαλλῆ νεῶν, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκτῆσθαι Σοφίαν, σελήνην δὲ τὸν τῶν ἱερῶν φοιτητῶν, ἀστέρας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς θεῖους νεὼς καὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς ἄλλο τι μέρος αὐτῆς ἐφαρμόζων, ἐν ἧ καὶ Θεὸς ἀληθὴς ὑμνεῖτο καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἦν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν θεῖον δόγμα, ὃ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν διητᾶτο καλῶς.

9. Ἄλλ' οἴχεται ταῦτα πάντα, καὶ δούλη, φεῦ, ἡ βασιλὶς ἐγεγόνει. ὦ πῶς ἂν τις ἐκτραγωδήσοι τὸ πάθος; ἡμέρα μὲν ἦν, σκότος δὲ καὶ ζόφος τῇ Πόλει, πόλεμος δ' ἔρρει τῇ Πόλει σφοδρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς. ὁ δ' ἀσεβὴς μηχαναῖς βάλλει τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πίπτει κατὰ γῆς πολλαχόθεν, ὁρμᾶ δὲ κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως χεῖρα ἐπάγων βαρεῖαν, οἱ δὲ γενναίως ἀνθίστανται κατ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πίπτει μὲν εὐθύς ὁ θεϊότατος βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων πολλοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ· ἔπειτα δέ, βαβαί, δοριάλωτον πᾶσαν λαβῶν, κτείνει τὲ καὶ λεηλατεῖ καὶ ζωγρεῖ. ἀνομιώζειν δεῖ τοιγαροῦν καὶ κωκυτοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς τοῦδαφος καλινδεῖσθαι καὶ νικᾶν πάντα νόμον θρῆνων ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς.

10. Ὡ κυρία τῶν πόλεων, πῶς ἠνέσχου ζυγὸν ἐπιθεῖναι δουλείας τῷ σῷ τραχήλῳ; ὦ θειότατε βασιλεῦ, πῶς, οὕτω φιλόφρωνος ὦν καὶ πάντα τρόπον φιλοφροσύνης ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους οὐκ ἀμελήσας ποιεῖν, νῦν ἠνέσχου καταλιπεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς δυστυχίαν καὶ δουλείαν τοσαύτην ἀνερματίστους τὲ ὄλως καὶ τῇ γῇ τηρουμένους καὶ τοῖς σκοπέλοις; ὦ λογάδων ἐσμός, πῶς ἠνέγκατε τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ

13 ἡδονή–ἐνεπίμπλη] cf. Lib., *Epist.* 1046, 1,6–7 Foerster

1 καρπόφορος] παφόρος V: παμφόρος Lampros 2 ἄλλος om. V 5 παιδόθεν V 6 του corr. Lampros: τοῦ P V | εὐθύς ex εὐθῆς corr. P | ἐνεπιθυμία V 7 γευσάμενοι P 8 δὲ add. Lampros 9 ἐζήτουν corr. Lampros: ἐζήτων P V | ἀπάντων] ἀπὸ πάντων Lampros 11–484,33 –μούμενοις – κακὸν deest in V 13 ἐνεπίμπλη corr. Lampros: ἐνεπίπλα P 16 νεὼς corr. Lampros: νεοὺς P τᾶλλα corr. Lampros: τ' ἄλλα P 23 χεῖρα corr. Lampros: χεῖραν P 25 δοριάλωτον corr. Lampros: δορυ- P 27 καλινδεῖσθαι corr. Lampros: καλινδουῖσθαι P 31 ἀνερματίστους corr. Lampros: ἀναρ- P

other. For the whole territory is a plain, surrounded by mountains and drawing water from rivers, embellished by various lakes, so that the abundance came from all sides to the City. I will say only one thing for all the others, namely that anyone who came to the City and lived there long enough or had grown up there since childhood and enjoyed its benefits, when leaving the City for any reason immediately began to desire it again, as if he had not even enjoyed it, and he was forced in the end to turn back and to address his gaze to it, as long as the topography of the region made it possible – and it made it possible from far away. When people came to the City, even though they were still far away, they asked everyone for information, and the only common answer was a story about the richness of the City, and there was, as it were, a competition between them to see who knew more about it than the others, until the visitors entered the City and were delighted by its beauties, and all their sorrow and sadness disappeared as a complete sense of joy invaded their senses, binding them with the sweetest chains. And one could say, by comparing the City to the celestial sphere, that the sun was the most beautiful of the churches, that is Holy Wisdom of God, the moon that of the Holy Apostles, and the stars the other divine temples, thus adapting the rest to the other elements of this city, in which the true God was praised, where the state of the faith was pure and where there was no divine commandment which was not respected in the right way by its inhabitants.

9. But all this vanished and the Queen – alas! – became a slave! Oh, could anyone bring to an end the lamentation of this misfortune? It was daylight, but in the City there was darkness and gloom, and the battle raged bloody on mainland and sea. The infidel strikes the walls with his war machines and goes down to the ground everywhere, then he breaks into the City and throws heavy hands on it, and the inhabitants resist him valiantly. And soon the divine Emperor falls and many of his subjects with him; and then, alas, having taken the whole city by force of arms, the infidel kills, loots and takes prisoners. It is therefore necessary to complain, to moan from the depths of the heart, to roll on the ground from pain, to transcend all limits by bewailing this misfortune!

10. O Mistress among the cities, how could you bear to have the yoke of servitude around your neck? O divine Emperor, how could you resign yourself, you who are so philanthropic and never spared any kind of philanthropy in favour of your people, to abandon us now to this misfortune and to such a heavy slavery, us who stand completely forsaken on our path and condemned to crash on the ground and the cliffs? O troop of the dignitaries, how could you bear to

καρδίαις τοσαύταις ἐνεΐναι βέλος δριμύ; ὧ̅ ἱερέων ὀμήγυρις καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἐξεπέμψατε χεῖρας ἐκτενεῖς πρὸς Θεὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν; ἡ δεδράκατε μὲν πᾶν ὅσον εἰκός, ἔδει δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τρόποις οἷς οἶδεν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία, ἡ καὶ τὸν Παύλου νοῦν ὑπερβαίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλιγγιᾷ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπιδεῖν. ὧ̅ πολιτεία πᾶσα ἐμπορική τε καὶ τεχνική, ποῦ νῦν ἴσχεσθε, τὴν ἐρωμένην ἀφέντες; ὧ̅ γυναῖκες δυστυχεῖς, οἷαις ἐνεπέσετε συμφοραῖς, τέκνα μὲν ἐκ τῶν μαστῶν ἀρπαζόμενα βλέπουσαι, πατέρας δέ, νυμφίους κτεινομένους ὀρῶσαι καὶ ἀδελφούς. ὧ̅ σχέτλιοι γέροντες, οἷον ἐφθάσετε τέλος; ὧ̅ κακοδαίμονες νέοι, οἷω θανάτῳ περιπεπτώκατε, ἄκροις δακτύλοις μόνον γευσάμενοι τῶν καλῶν καὶ ὅσον χεῖλα μὲν τ' ἐδίηεν, ὑπερῶν δ' οὐκ ἐδίηεν. ὧ̅ Σοφία θεία, νεὼς οὕτω καὶ οἶκος Θεοῦ, πάντων ὅσοι κατὰ πόλεις εἰσὶν ὑπερτεροῦσα νεῶν, ποῦ νῦν σου ἡ ὠραιότης, ποῦ ἡ εὐπρέπεια, ποῦ τὸ κάλλος, ποῦ τῶν λίθων αἰ διαύγεια, ποῦ τῶν ψηφίδων αἰ ποικιλία, τίς τὴν ἱεράν σου ἐντὸς τελέσει μυσταγωγίαν, τίς τὰς ἱεράς ὠδὰς ἀναπέμψει τῷ Θεῷ; ὧ̅ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος νεὼς ἱερός, δεῦτερος εὐθὺς μετ' ἐκείνον, καὶ σοῦ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ χάριεν οἴχεται. οὐκέτι τὰς ἱεράς ἐν σοὶ ψήφους συνοδικῶς ἐπισκέπονται, οὐκέτι διδάσκουσιν ἐν σοὶ ὑποβαλοῦμεν τὰς ἀκοάς. ὧ̅ λοιποὶ ναοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἱ περὶ πᾶσαν τυγχάνοντες Πόλιν ἀστέρες ἄντικρυς λάμπροντες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι, ποῦ νῦν ὁ κόσμος ὑμῶν, ποῦ τελεταί, ποῦ πανηγύρεις; ὡς ἐμίανθητε, ὡς κατεχράνητέ τε καὶ καταχραίνεσθε ποσὶν ἀσεβῶν. ὧ̅ θεῖαι εἰκόνες καὶ ἱερά πάντα σκεύη καὶ κόσμος αὐτῶν, οἷαις βεβήλοις χερσὶν ἐνεπέσετε. ὧ̅ σοροὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θῆκαι, οἷοις ἀσεβέσιν ἀνδράσι σπαράγματα κείσεσθε.

11. Βαβαὶ τῶν κριμάτων σου, Χριστέ, φεῦ τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου. ἐγενόμεθα νῦν ὡς τὸ ἀπαρχῆς, ὅτε οὐκ ἦρχες ἡμῶν, καὶ παρεδόθημεν πικροτάτῳ τυράννῳ καὶ ἀσεβεῖ, ἡμεῖς τε ὁ ἱερός σου λαὸς καὶ πᾶς ὁ τόπος ὁ ἅγιος. βούλομαι τοπρῶν ἀναλογίσασθαι προσόντα καλὰ τῇ Πόλει λόγῳ βραχεῖ καὶ παραθεῖναι τοῖς νῦν, ἵνα μᾶλλον ἐκτραγωδήσω τὴν ξυμφοράν. ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν κτίσις ἀνδρὸς ἱεροῦ (ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἄρξομαι, τὰ πρὶν ἀφείς καὶ θαύματα γεγονότα, καθάπερ ἱστορία φασίν) ἐκείνου μὲν κατ' ἀντικρῶ τῆς δυστυχοῦς ταύτης κτίζειν διανενοηκότος, ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφαρπαζόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸν νῦν διακομιζόντων, καὶ συνόδων ὅσαι ὥραι συγκρότησις ἱερῶν θείων δογμάτων πέρι καὶ Θεὸς ὑμνούμενος ἀληθῆς καὶ τελεταί καὶ μυστήρια καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ νόμοι καὶ μουσεῖα καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι καὶ τέχναι καὶ δογμάτων ἀκρίβεια καὶ νεῶ καὶ σοροὶ καὶ εἰκόνες ἁγίων καὶ ἱερά σκεύη καὶ κόσμος καὶ τάξις καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ καὶ μύσται καὶ σεμνεῖα καὶ παρθενῶνες καὶ καλλοναὶ καὶ φαιδρότητες καὶ βασιλεὺς χρηστός σὺν ἀγαθοῖς

9 ἄκροις–καλῶν] cf. [Luc.], *Am.* 42, 14–15 10 χεῖλα–ἐδίηεν²] Hom., *Il.* 22,495

ante 5 ἴσχεσθε add. ei P: secl. Lampros 18 λάμπροντες corr. Lampros: λάμπροντες P | ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι corr. Lampros: ἀλλόθως ἄλλος P 21 σοροὶ] σοφοὶ Lampros 25 τοπρῶν] τὰ πρῶην Lampros 26 προσόντα corr. Lampros: προσὸν P 32 λόγοι e νόμοι corr. P

leave your companions and let the sharp arrow penetrate into such great hearts? O order of priests and monks, why did you not stretch out your arms to God for your salvation and ours? You might have done it in all likelihood, but it should have been done in the way that God's Wisdom knows, which also surpasses Paul's thought, but one gets vertiginous just contemplating it. O whole community of merchants and craftsmen, where have you gone now, abandoning your beloved? O unfortunate women, in what misfortunes have you fallen, seeing your children torn from your womb, your fathers, your husbands and brothers slaughtered? O miserable old men, to what an end have you come? O young men mistreated by fate, in what death did you fall, having tasted the pleasures of life only with your fingertips, thus 'wetting their lips, but not their palate'. O Holy Wisdom, church and at the same time House of God, which is superior to all the churches in the cities of the world, where is now your prosperity, where the majesty, where the charm, where the splendour of the marbles, where the variety of mosaics? Who will therein celebrate henceforth the sacred revelation, who will raise to God the sacred hymns? O sacred church of the Apostles of the Saviour, second in order after that, you too, your beauty and your charms have disappeared. One will no longer count within you the sacred votes during the synod, we will no longer lend our ears to those who teach within you. O other churches of God, stars scattered all around the City from one side to the other, where is now your splendour, where are the holy days, where the celebrations? How you have been desecrated, how you have been soiled and will be soiled by the feet of the infidels! O holy icons and all the sacred furnishings and their ornaments, into what profane hands have you fallen! O urns of the saints and relics, by which ungodly men you will be reduced to shreds.

11. O Christ, your precepts, your tolerance. We have now become as we were at the beginning, when you did not rule us, and we have been abandoned to a ruthless and ungodly tyrant, we, your holy people, and your holy land. I want to briefly summarise all the beautiful things that the City had before and compare it to those it has now the better to deplore its misfortune. Now, those things had been created by a holy man (I will start indeed from there, leaving out also the previous fabulous things that had occurred there, as the historical accounts claim); this man had planned to found the City in front of this unfortunate one, but birds were tearing off the stones and transporting them from there to the current place, and at any moment the assembly of the synods on the sacred divine dogmas, and the true God to be praised, the sacred feasts, the sacraments, the justice, the laws, the museums, the speeches, the sciences, the arts, the accuracy of the dogmas, the church, the relics, the icons of the saints, the sacred vessels, the sacred order, the monastic rule, the priests, the initiates, the monasteries, the convents for the women, the beauty and the splendour, and the

ὑπηκόοις. τὰ δὲ νῦν, οἴμοι· ἀσεβῆς δυνάστης σὺν ὑπηκόοις ὁμοίοις καὶ σκότος
 καὶ ζόφος σὺν ἀσελείᾳ καὶ ἱερέων ἀταξία σὺν ἀκοσμίᾳ καὶ σκευῶν ἀρπαγῇ καὶ
 ὕβρις εἰκόνων καὶ σοροὶ διασπώμεναι καὶ νεῶ βεβηλούμενοι καὶ δόγμα θεῖον πᾶν
 σιωπώμενον καὶ ἀλογία καὶ ἀμουσία σὺν ἀδικίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ καὶ δαιμόνων ὄργια
 καὶ συναγωγή πονηρὰ κηρύττουσα τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ βαρβάρων ὠμότης καθ' 5
 ἡμῶν φερομένη νεανικῶς, οὐκ ἀληθῆ θεὸν λατρεῖν ἡμᾶς σὺν γέλῳ λέγουσα,
 φεῦ, καὶ φθορὰ παντελής. ἄρ' οὐ κατὰ διάμετρον ἐναντίως τοῖς πρώην τὰ νῦν;
 τοῦ χάριν τὰ νῦν, ὧ βασιλεῦ τοῦ παντός; Ἱερεμίας παρίτω βοῶν οὐ μόνον ἐκηρύ-
 κευσας τοὺς σοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρίζας ἀφήκας ποιεῖν, καὶ ταύτας μεγίστας,
 ὡς καὶ καταφαγεῖν ἡμᾶς, τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τὸν σόν, καὶ πατεῖν οὐκ ἀφήκας πόδας 10
 πραέων τὴν σὴν ἱεράν αὐλήν, ἀλλὰ πατήσουσιν αὐτὴν ἀνδρῶν ἐχθίστων πόδες
 καὶ ἀσεβῶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων καὶ πεφιλοσοφήκασιν, εὖ οἶδα, πολλοὶ καὶ νῦν
 οὐχ ἤττον δράσουσι τοῦτο, τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐκ ἐώσης τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν ἡρμεῖν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ φαίην ἂν ὡς μακάριοι νῦν οἱ τεθηκότες, ἐλεεινοὶ δὲ οἱ ζῶντες καὶ θρή-
 νων ἄξιοι. καὶ τὸ τῆς Γραφῆς δὲ προσθήσω· 'μακάριαι αἱ κοιλῖαι αἱ οὐ συλλήψον- 15
 ται καὶ μαστοὶ <οἱ> οὐ θηλάσουσιν'. ἡ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ἂν τις εἰκότως πρὸς Θεὸν
 οἰκονομήσαι ζώντων τὲ καὶ τεθηκότων πέρι, τῶν μὲν τοῦ μακαρίου τυχόντων
 τέλους — ὃ καὶ τέλος εὐρὸν μακαρίζεται παρὰ Σόλωνι Κροίσου μᾶλλον πολὺν
 χρυσὸν κεκτημένου — ἄκροις μὲν δακτύλοις τοῦ κακοῦ γευσαμένων, θανόντων
 δὲ εὐθύς, θνητῶν πεφυκότων καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις νῦν ἐνδιατριβόντων καλοῖς, ὑπὲρ 20
 τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πατρίδος θανόντων, ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν ζώντων γευσαμένων μὲν
 τοῦ δεινοῦ μέχρι κόρου καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς δὲ βίον ἐλκόντων ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ δακρύων
 ἀνάμεστον, χλεύην μὲν λαβόντων καὶ εἰρωνείαν καὶ τωθασμούς παρὰ πάντων,
 ὡς βαρβάρων δὲ μεταξὺ περιπατούντων καὶ τὸ τέλος ἡμῶν ἀγνοούντων, τίνος ἂν 25
 τις τύχη θανάτου.

12. Ἄγε δὴ λοιπόν, ὧ δυστυχεῖς Ἕλληνες, εἰς τοσοῦτον δεινὸν κατενηνεγμέ-
 νοι, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς θρηνησωμεν, εἰ δοκεῖ, τοὺς ζώντας. ὧ γέροντες τάλανες, ποῦ
 δὴ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔξετε, πάσης ἀγαθῆς ἀγκύρας ἀφαιρεθείσης; ἡ που πτώμα κείσε-
 σθε πᾶσι καὶ γέλῳ, καὶ δάκρυα χύσετε πλεῖστα, ὥστε καὶ πεπληρῶσθαι τοὺς
 ὦπας, ἀνύσετε δὲ μηδὲν ἢ τὸ κεκτῆσθαι μὲν δυστυχεστάτην τὴν πολιάν, κακο- 30
 δαιμονέστατον δὲ τὸ γῆρας. ὧ σχέτλιοι νέοι, τίς ὑμῖν χαριεῖται καταρθωκόσιν ἢ
 παυδεύσει καλῶς ποιῶν ἀμελοῦντας; ὁ γὰρ κοινὸς ἡμῶν προμηθεὺς ἀπώλετο,

15–16 μακάριαι–θηλάσουσιν] cf. Lc. 23, 29 18–19 μακαρίζεται–κεκτημένου] cf. Hdt. 1,29–33

8–9 ἐκηρύκευσας corr. Lampros: ἐκηρύτευσας P 9 ἀφήκας Lampros 10 ἀφήκας] -κες Lampros
 11 ἀνδρῶν] ἐχθρῶν Lampros post 12 οἶδα add. ὅτι Lampros 16 οἶ add. Lampros
 17 οἰκονομήσαι corr. Lampros: -μίση P 18 πολὺν e πολλὴν corr. P 19 γευσαμένων corr.
 Lampros: γευσαμένου P post 24 περιπατούντων add. τόσων Lampros 25 τύχοι Lampros
 26 δεινὸν corr. Lampros: δεινῶν P 26–27 κατενηνεγμένοι corr. Lampros: κατανηνεγμένοι P
 32 ποιῶν secl. Lampros | ante γὰρ add. μὲν Lampros

benevolent Emperor with his brave subjects. Now instead, alas, are these things: an ungodly tyrant with like-minded subjects, darkness and gloom together with brutality, disorder among the priests and indecency, raiding of the sacred vessels, outrage of the icons, plundering of relics, desecration of churches, every divine precept silenced, irrationality, disharmony and lack of justice, absence of laws, cults of demons, a miserable coven who preaches impiety, the cruelty of the barbarians which savagely hits us, mocking and denigrating us for the worship of a false God, alas, and complete destruction. Are not these current things exactly the opposite of those of before? Why do these things happen now, o Lord of all things? Let Jeremiah come forward, shouting: 'You have not only announced the arrival of your enemies, you have also let them grow roots, and such enormous ones, so that they have devoured us, your vineyard, and you have not let the feet of gentle people tread your holy court, but those of your worst enemies, ungodly people, will tread it'. But about these things, I know, many have already discussed and they will nevertheless do the same now, for misfortune does not allow their minds to be quiet. I would say that now the dead are blessed, while miserable and worthy of lamentation are the living. And I would add the saying of the Holy Scriptures: 'Blessed are wombs that will not give birth, and the breasts that will not nurse'. Perhaps one could say to God that in this way he had not disposed well the fate of the living and the dead, because on the one hand some obtained a blessed end in fate – something which was considered by Solon more blessed than the richness of Croesus – having touched only with the tips of their fingers the evil since they died immediately, those who had born mortal and spend now their time among the highest goods, after dying for the glory of God and the defence of their country. On the other hand we, the living, have tasted the evil to satiety and spend now a painful life full of tears, for we have suffered the contempt, irony and mockery by everyone, and wander in the meantime like barbarians, ignorant of our end, of which death might befall us.

12. O unfortunate Greeks, plunged into such a misfortune, let us mourn ourselves while still alive, if it is appropriate. O miserable old men, where will you place your hopes, when every good anchor of salvation has been taken away? Perhaps you will become a cadaver for everyone's mockery, and you will shed numberless tears, thereby soaking your faces with them, and you will obtain nothing more than getting the hateful age of the white hairs, miserable old age. O young unfortunates, who will congratulate you on your success or correct you properly if you have faults? For our common Prometheus is lost, alas!

φεῦ, ἀλόγοις πάντως ἐπιτηδεύμασι χρώμενοι τὸν ἐξῆς μοχθηρῶς διανύσομεν βίον, ἐρέται τινὲς ὄντες ἢ σκαπανεῖς καὶ θῆτες. ὦ παῖδες ἄθλιοι, οἱ τε νῦν ὄντες καὶ ἐσόμενοι, τίς ὑμᾶς θρέψει καὶ παιδαγωγήσει καὶ τὸ δέον διδάξει, τῆς κοινῆς τροφῆς καὶ διδασκάλου φθαρείσης; συβῶται πάντως ἔσεσθε καὶ βουκόλοι, καὶ πέτρας καὶ ὄρη καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔξετε πόλιν. ὦ δυστυχεῖς γυναῖκες, ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων 5 μὲν ἔσεσθε δοῦλαι, ἀλλάξετε δὲ τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μαθήσεσθε πάντως ὑφαίνειν καὶ σαίρειν καὶ τελευταῖον τὰ ὑμέτερα λέχη χρανοῦσιν ἄνδρες δοῦλοι, ἠξιωμένα πρῶτον λογάδων. ὦ λογάδες, τῶν χυδαίων νῦν οὐδὲν διενηνοχότες. ὦ στρατιῶται, οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο πρῶτον πολλοί, νῦν δὲ παιζόμενοι παρὰ πάντων. ὦ γεωργοὶ κακοδαίμονες, ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου νῦν ἔσται πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν καὶ γεωργήσεσθε ξένοις ἀλλ' οὐκ ὑμῖν. ὦ πληθὺς τεχνιτῶν, ἀπόλοιτ' ἂν τὰ ὄργανα νῦν ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅποι χρήσεσθε τούτοις. ὦ δυστυχεῖς ἔμποροι, ποῦ νῦν ἀφόβως τὰς ἐμπορίας ποιήσεσθε; οἷς γὰρ ὑπήρχε παρὰ πάντων αἰδῶς καὶ θάρρος, νῦν ἀντιστρόφως ἔσται παρὰ σφῶν ὕβρις καὶ φόβος. ὦ ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν χορός, τί ποτε πείσεσθε νῦν; παρὰ τίνος ἔξετε τὰς τιμάς, τὰς εὐλογίας, τὸ περιπατεῖν εὐσεβῶς, τὸ βαίνειν ὀρθῶς, σφαλέντες δὲ παρὰ τίνος λήψεσθε τὰς ἐπιτιμίας, ἀποροῦντες δὲ παρὰ τίνος ἔξετε λύσιν, τίνα δ' εἴποτ' ἔχοντες κεφαλὴν, πῶς δ' ἂν ἀπαιτούμενοι δοίητε λόγον περὶ τῆς ὑγιοῦς ὑμῶν δόξης; ἀπώλετο τὸ ὑμέτερον καύχημα, ἡ κεφαλὴ, ὁ ἀρχιερέυς, ὁ κηδεμών. ἦ που πᾶς χρηστός ἀφήσει τὸ ἱερατεύειν, οὐ βουλόμενος 'παίζειν ἐν οὐ παικτοῖς', καθεδεῖται δὲ καθάπερ τίς ιδιώτης, 20 πονηροὶ δ' ἄνθρωποι τινες καὶ γόητες ἀρπάσουσι βιαίαις χερσὶ τὴν ἱεράν ἀγιστεῖαν, πλανώμενοι καὶ πλανῶντες, τὸ τῆς Γραφῆς φάναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφρονεύσουσι πλεῖστοι ποιμένες, καὶ διαφθεροῦσι τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱερὸν ἀμπελώνα, ὑπὲρ οὗ προήκατο τὴν θεῖαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν.

13. Φεῦ τῆς ἀνηκέστου ξυμφορᾶς, φεῦ πληγῆς πληγῶν βαρυτάτης, φεῦ 25 ξίφους τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκκεντοῦντος καρδίας, φεῦ τῆς κοινῆς ἀποφράδος, φεῦ ἀφανισμοῦ παντελοῦς, φεῦ πυρετοῦ τὰ πάντων καταφρονοῦντος σώματα, φεῦ ἰλίγγου καὶ σκοτομήνης τὰς πάντων σείοντος κεφαλᾶς. νῦν ὄντως τὸ ζῆν ἀηδές, νῦν ὄντως θανεῖν χρή, ὅτε κακία μὲν πᾶσα τὴν γῆν ἐμπιπλᾷ, δικαιοσύνη δ' ἄπεστιν. ἐκκλινοῦσι γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀχρεῖοι γενήσονται καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔσται ποιῶν 30 χρηστότητα, οὐδὲ μέχρῃς ἐνὸς νῦν πράγματα πάντα κατὰ τὸν φάμενον οὕτως

7 χρανοῦσιν–δοῦλοι] cf. Eur., *Hec.* 365–366 21–22 πονηροὶ–πλανῶντες] Paulus, *II Tim.* 3,13 22–23 ἀφρονεύσουσι–ἀμπελώνα] cf. Hieremias 12, 10,1

4 ἔσεσθε corr. Lampros: ἔσεσθαι P 5 ἔξετε corr. Lampros: ἔξεται P 6 μαθήσεσθε corr. Lampros: μαθήθησθε P 7 χρανοῦσιν corr. Lampros: χρανοῦσιν P 9 παιζόμενοι] πιεζόμενοι Lampros 10–11 γεωργήσεσθε corr. Lampros: -σθαι P 14 σφῶν] αὐτῶν in textu, γρ. σφῶν in marg. scr. P 15 παρὰ τίνος corr. Lampros: παρατίνας P (idem *infra*) | ἔξετε corr. Lampros: ἔξεται P 17 δ' εἴποτ'] δὴ ποτ' Lampros 22–23 ἀφρονεύσουσι corr. Lampros: -εῦσουσι P 25 ἀνηκέστου corr. Lampros: ἀνικέτου P 27 καταφρονοῦντος] καταφαγόντος Déroche 29 ἐμπιπλᾷ corr. Lampros: ἐμπιπλᾷ P

By dedicating ourselves to absolutely foolish occupations, we will tirelessly spend the rest of our lives as rowers, diggers or servants. O poor boys, you who are now there and those who will be there in the future, who will feed you, teach you what is necessary, now that our common nurse and teacher has disappeared? You will certainly be guardians of pigs and cowherds, and stones, mountains and cliffs will serve as your city. O miserable women, instead of being free you will be slaves, you will move from commanding to being commanded, and you will certainly get used to weaving and sweeping and, finally, men reduced to the condition of slaves will defile your beds, once worthy of dignitaries. O dignitaries, you are now in no wise different from the common soldiers. O soldiers, once feared by many, now derided by all. O unfortunate peasants, henceforth everyone will be able to oppress you at leisure and you will work for strangers and not for yourselves! O crowd of craftsmen, your work tools may be thrown away as well, since you have no longer a place to use them. O miserable merchants, where shall you now do your business without fear? For those who had once respect and confidence from everyone, now on the contrary will suffer from them violence and fear. O choir of priests and monks, what will happen to you now? From whom will you receive honours and blessings and the possibility to work in piety, to walk in the right way, and from whom will you receive punishments when you get lost, from whom will you get a solution when you are in confusion, who will you have as your leader, and how will you be able to account, when asked, for your salutary behaviour? Your pride has been obliterated, your chief, your high priest, your tutor. Every honest man will avoid becoming a priest, not wanting 'to play where one cannot play', he will remain inactive as a simple private citizen, and a few evil men and charlatans will take possession of the holy priesthood with their violent hands, both deceived and deceiving, as the Holy Scripture say, and for this reason many shepherds will lose their mind and destroy the holy vineyard of Christ, for which he gave his divine life.

13. Alas, what an implacable wrath, o the hardest blow of all, a sword that pierces the hearts of the Greeks, the day of common evil, a complete destruction, a fever that despises all bodies, a whirlwind and a dark night that shakes all heads. Now so shameful is living, so necessary is dying, when all possible evil fills the earth and there is no more justice. For all will go astray and become villains, and there will be none left who shall deal in honesty. Now all will go as announced, there will be a kind of dreadful nocturnal feud. 'But, please, let us

ἔσται καὶ νυκτομαχία τίς δεινὴ. ἄλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, ζητήσωμεν ἥτις ἡμῖν ἐλπίς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος'. φεῦ σιγάτε· ὄντως τοιγαροῦν ἡμῖν ἐλπίς οὐδεμία τυγχάνει. νῦν οὖν αἰτεῖν χρὴ θανεῖν, κἀγὼ πρὸ πάντων τοῦτο ζητῶ. τί γὰρ καὶ δράσεις, ὧ τάλαι Ἄνδρόνικε; ποῦ πορευθῆς, εἰς ποίαν πόλιν, ὑπὸ ποίῳ κυρίῳ παρατείνας ἰδίους καὶ φίλους, τίσι χρῆσις καθηγεμόσι τοῦ λόγου; ὧ δυστυχοῦς ἐμῆς βιοτῆς. ὧ πικρᾶς ὀρφανίας. ὧ τροχὲ χρόνε, οἶον βάραθρον φέρων κατήνεγκας. ὧ συγγενεῖς καὶ καθηγεμόνες καὶ φίλοι, πῶς ὑπεμείνατέ με τὸν ὑμέτερον φίλον καταλιπεῖν; ἀλλ' ἄρατέ με ταχέως σὺν ὑμῖν· ἄρατε καὶ μὴ μέλλετε. μισῶ γὰρ τὸ φῶς, τὸν ἀέρα, αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν. ὧ θάνατε, θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπίσκειψαι μολῶν. ὄλβιος γὰρ οἶτος ἐκεῖνος, ὃς οὐκ ἦλθεν εὐτυχεοῦσι, κληθεὶς δ' εὐθύς ἔβη δυστυχεοῦσι βροτοῖς. ὧ πόσα δυσπραγεόντας ἀποστρέφετ' οὔασι κωφοῖς, κλύειν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλει πενθαλέα δάκρυα.

14. Ὡ Ῥώμη θεία, τί ποτε δράσεις, τῆς θυγατρὸς γενομένης δούλης; ὧ μακαριώτατε πάτερ, πῶς οἴση τηλικούτον κακόν; ὧ καὶ σύ, θειώτατε πάτερ, πολὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας καὶ τὰς φρένας ποιμὴν τῆς οὐκέτ' οὔσης, πῶς χρῆσις σαυτῷ τῆς φήμης ἐλθούσης; ἦ που γόον ὄρνιθος οἰκτρᾶς ἀηδοῦς οὐχ ἤσης. ἀλλ' ὄξυτῶνος μὲν ὠδὰς θρηνήσεις, χειρόπληκτοι δ' ἐν στέρνοις πεσοῦνται δοῦποι καὶ πολιᾶς ἀμύγματα χαίτας;

15. Ὡ Πελοπόννησος δυστυχῆς, νῦν σὺν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀυταδέλφοις τοῦ κλεινοῦ βασιλέως θρηνήσετε καὶ πέμψετε κωκυτοῦς, αἶμα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκπέμποντες, τῆς βασιλίδος φθαρείσης καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίζειν οὐδὲν καλόν.

16. Ὡ θειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη πόλις τῶν Ἐνετῶν, τί δράσετε, νῦν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὑμῶν καὶ φίλης φθαρείσης; ποῦ νῦν αἱ τριήρεις ὑμῶν καὶ νῆες τὸν Εὐξείνιον εἰσπλέουσαι πόντον προσορμιοῦνται, φιλοφρονηθήσονται δὲ παρὰ τίνων, ὥσπερ προσῆκεν; ἀπότροπος πάντως ὁ λιμὴν ὑμῖν ἔσται καὶ Σκύλλα καὶ Χάρυβδις.

17. Ὡ φίλοι Κρήτες, τί πάθωμεν νῦν τῆς πικρᾶς ὀρφανίας ἐπεισελθούσης ἡμῖν; τύψομεν ἦ που τὰ στήθη καὶ ξανούμεν τὰς παρειὰς καὶ τὰ σπλάγχα τῆ θλίψει δράσομεν ἀηδίας μεστὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον διάξομεν ὡς τινες ἡμιθνεῖς, ἔλκοντες βίον ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ θανάτου μηδὲν διαφέροντα.

18. Ὡ πικρᾶς ἀληθδόνος. ὧ φαγεδαίνης κατεσθιούσης τὰ σώματα πάντων. νῦν χορεῖαι κατηφεῖς τῶν ἀγγέλων, νῦν ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου θεία ψυχὴ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν ἀγίων ἀηδῖαν περιβαλεῖται καὶ σκυθρωπάσει. πείθομαι

9 ὧ—μολῶν] Soph., Aj. 854 15–18 πῶς—χαίτας] cf. Soph., Aj. 629–634

post 1 ἐλπίς add. ἔσται Lampros 2 σιγάτε corr. Lampros: σιβάτε P 3 αἰτεῖν corr. Lampros: ἀττεῖν P | πρὸ πάντων corr. Lampros: προπάντων P 7 ὑπεμείνατέ με corr. Lampros: ὑπεμείνατ' ἐμέ P 16 που corr. Lampros: τοῦ P 17 χειρόπληκτοι corr. Lampros: χερό- P 20 κωκυτοῦς] κοπετοῦς Lampros 23 δράσετε corr. Lampros: -ται P 24 Εὐξείνιον ex εὐξείνιον corr. P 25 παρὰ τίνων corr. Lampros: παρατίνων P

seek for ourselves a hope for the future.' Alas, be silent! There is absolutely no hope for us. Now we must pray to die, and I ask for this before all others. For what will you do, poor Andronikos? Where will you go, to what city, under whose power will you leave your people and friends, what guidance will you find for your speech? O my unhappy fate; O bitter fate of being an orphan. O fast-flowing time, what an abyss you have brought with you. O parents, teachers and friends, how could you abandon me, your friend? Just take me quickly with you; take me and do not delay! For I hate the light, the air, life itself. 'O death, death, come now to visit me!' For blessed is indeed that fate of death which does not come while men are doing well, but comes to misfortunate mortals as soon as they call for it. O how he scorns the misfortunates with his deaf ears, and does not want listen to their painful cries!

14. O holy Rome, what will you do now that your daughter is a slave? O blessed Father, how will you endure an evil of this extent? O holy Father, shepherd of the City that no longer exists, you who are old in hair and soul, what will you do with yourself once the news arrives? Maybe you will not chant out the moan of a plaintive nightingale. But will you sing sharp-toned songs, and will your beating hands thud down on your breasts and keep tearing out your old grey hair?

15. O wretched Peloponnese, now together with the two brothers of the illustrious emperor you will burst into weeping and wailing in grief, blood, rather than tears, gushing from your eyes, since the queen of cities has been destroyed and there is nothing good left for you to hope for.

16. O holiest and mighty city of the Venetians, what will you do now that your sister and friend has been destroyed? Where will your triremes and ships plying the Euxine Sea dock now, who will take proper care of them? The harbour will be to you a place to escape from, a Scylla and Charybdis.

17. O Cretan friends, what shall we endure now that we are doomed to this bitter condition of orphans? We shall beat our chest and we shall scratch our cheeks, we shall fill our bowels with grief by way of suffering and we shall spend all our time as if half dead, dragging on a painful life that is no different from death.

18. O what bitter suffering! O what a cancer that consumes the bodies of all! The choirs of angels are now sad, now the divine soul of Constantine the Great along with all the choirs of saints will cover himself with grief and sorrow. For I

γὰρ καθάψεσθαι καὶ τούτων τὸ πάθος. νῦν οὐρανὸς ἀκαλλής· νῦν ἥλιος ὀλοφύρεται· νῦν σελήνη μελαίνεται· νῦν ἀστέρες οἰμώττουσι· νῦν ὁ ἀήρ ζοφοῦται· νῦν ἡ γῆ κλονεῖται καὶ στένει· νῦν ἡ θάλασσα κυματοῦται καὶ φρίσσει καὶ δυσχεραίνει τῷ πάθει· νῦν ὄρη καὶ βουνοὶ καὶ νάπαι καὶ πεδιάδες καὶ ποταμοὶ συμπάσχουσι· νῦν δένδρα καὶ θάμνοι καὶ πόαι μαραίνονται καὶ δακρύουσι· νῦν στρουθία πάντα 5
γοερὸν τι μέλος καὶ θρηνηῶδες ἐκπέμπουσι· νῦν τὸ τῶν χερσαίων ζῶων γένος, γοερῶς μυκώμενα, τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πάθους δεικνύουσι· νῦν τοῖς βράχεσιν ἰχθύς κτύπον δρῶντες τινὰ ἐμφαίνουσι δυσχεραίνειν τῷ πάθει. δεῖ γὰρ ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς πάντα κόσμον συμπάσχειν καὶ κατηφῆ τυγχάνειν καὶ σκυθρωπόν, ὡς περ κάπῃ τῷ πάθει γέγονε τοῦ δεσπότητος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ μετ' ἐκεῖνο δεύτερον τάττω, πλὴν καθόσον τὸ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ κόσμου προοίμιον ἦν, τὸ δὲ τῆς συντελείας, ὡς εἰκάζειν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν κἂν μὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁράνται τοιαῦτα σημεῖα, ἀχρηστίας χάριν ὃ τι πλειστοῦς ἡμετέρας τυγχάνει. τοῖς γὰρ ἀχρείοις ὅλως ἀνθρώποις οὐ σημεῖα φαίνεσθαι δεῖ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ τέλος εἰκὸς ἀθρόον ἐφίστασθαι. 10

19. Φεῦ τῆς ἀνελπίστου ξυμφορᾶς. πᾶν μὲν ἄν τις ἤλιπσε μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο παθεῖν, κἂν ἢ μάντις ἢ θεία μοῖρα κινούμενος προεῖπεν ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἂν ἀπηλλάγη. φεῦ νῦν ὄντως πρῶτον ἔγνω παθῶν ὑπὸ συμφορᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύω τῷ πάθει φιλοσοφεῖν. νῦν πρῶτον οἶδα ὅτι δύναται πάθος καὶ νοῦν θολαίνειν καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐξ προΐενα καὶ λιθώδη τινὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπον δρᾶν. νῦν τὰς τραγικὰς 20
πεφίληκα Μούσας, αἱ δὲ με περιστάμεναι πείθουσιν οἰμωγὰς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ κωκυτοὺς καὶ ὀλολύζειν πικρῶς. φεῦ τίς Δαίδαλος νῦν με πτερώσας πρὸς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπάξει καὶ στρέψει πάλιν ταχέως; βούλομαι γὰρ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ προσμείναι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα περιχυθῶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς καὶ κειμένοις, τὸ δ' ἵνα μὴ πολὺν ὀρῶ χρόνον ἂ μὴδ' ἐπάϊειν ἰσχύω. φεῦ νῦν ἱστορία πᾶσαι καὶ μῦθοι καὶ παροιμῖαι σιγήσονται πάντως, οἷς χρώμενος πᾶς τίς τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκείνῳ κακὸν ἐδήλου, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ῥᾶστα τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κακοῦ δηλώσει. ἐάλω μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τροία, ἀλλὰ δικαίως, ὑπὲρ ὕβριστοῦ δειλοῦ μαχομένη, καὶ οὔτε τοσαύτη καὶ προσέτι βάρβαρος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων· Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀλλὰ μυρίων οὔσα ποινῶν ἀξία, δεσποτικὸν δράσασα φόνον καὶ Παλαιστίνης ἄρχουσα μόνον· Βαβυλών, ἀλλ' οὐ τοσαύτη τὴν φήμην, 30
οὐδ' ἐκ περάτων ἄρξασα μέχρι περάτων, εἰ καὶ τὸν περίβολον εἶχε μέγαν· Ῥώμη, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλπίς παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐκλυθῆναι, ὃ δὴ καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦν ἠκολούθησε. τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐσπέρας ἄρξασαν μέχρις ἐφ' ἑσπέρης, ἀρεταῖς δὲ παντοίαις κεκοσμημένην, ἀδικοῦσαν δὲ μηδένα, ἀδικουμένην δὲ πλεῖστα,

6 γοερὸν-μέλος] cf. Eur., *Hec.* 84 (et scholia)

1 τούτων] τοῦτο Lampros 4 συμπάσχουσι e συμπάσχουσιν corr. P 9-10 σκυθρωπόν P, -o- in -ω- corr. alia manus 15 ἀθρόον corr. Lampros: ἀθρόων P 17 ἀκινδύνως corr. Lampros: -δύνος P 20 ἐξ] ἐάν Lampros 21 παριστάνουσαι Lampros 34 ἀδικοῦσαν corr. Lampros: ἀδικοῦσα P

believe that this sorrow assails them too. Now the sky is devoid of all beauty; now the sun is weeping; now the moon is darkening; now the stars are wailing; now the air grows dim; now the earth shakes and groans; now the sea sways and ripples and is outraged with grief; now the mountains, the hills, the valleys, the plains and the rivers are feeling pity; now the trees, bushes and meadows wither and weep; now all the nightingales sing a song of grief and lament; now the species of land animals, moaning lamentingly, show the utmost degree of affliction; now in the shallows the fish make a noise to show that they are outraged by grief. For it is appropriate that in such great disasters the whole world sympathizes, grieves and mourns, as was also the case with the Passion of the Lord. For I place this sorrow in second place after that, though that one was the prelude of the world's salvation, the other of its end, as far as it is possible to infer from the Holy Scriptures, and if these signs are not seen by our eyes, it is because of our utter unworthiness. For it is appropriate that signs do not appear to men who are utterly unworthy, but the end shall come to them all at once.

19. O unexpected disaster! One would have hoped rather to suffer anything else, and if a seer, prompted by divine decision, had predicted it, he would not have done so without great risk. Alas, I have only really understood this by undergoing now this misfortune, and I do not have the energy to think as a philosopher in the midst of suffering. It is only now that I know that suffering can disrupt the mind, inhibit speech, and petrify the man. I become now fond of the tragic muses who surround me and convince me to shout, moan and lament bitterly. Alas, which Daedalus could give me wings to go now to the City and bring me back? For I want to see, but not linger, on the one hand embracing what I loved there, on the other not looking too long at what I cannot even stand to hear. Alas, now, stories, myths, proverbs, all will surely be silenced from what would have allowed each one to manifest the misfortune he suffers, and this will demonstrate all the better the excess of this misfortune. For Troy was taken, but for just reasons, as it fought for a cowardly transgressor, and was not so great, and moreover a barbarous city was taken by Greeks; for Jerusalem was taken, but deserved a thousand punishments for the murder of the Lord, and reigned only over Palestine; for Babylon was taken, but it was not so famous, nor had it reigned from one end of the world to the other, though it encompassed a large realm; for Rome was taken, but it could hope to be liberated by its daughter, which in fact was to happen. But she that reigned from the west to the east, whose beauty surpassed all others, adorned with all virtues, who did no harm to

ὑπὸ βαρβάρου κατενηνέχθαι καὶ μὴδὲ ἐλπίζειν ἀναστήσεσθαι πάλιν, τοῦτο δὲ συμφορὰ συμφορῶν καὶ πάθος πάθους καὶ λύπη λύπης ἐμπερικτικὴ ἀπάντων. ἐφθειρέτο μὲν οὖν ἡ τῆς Πόλεως ἀρχὴ πάλαι καὶ κατεσμικροῦτο καὶ μηδαμόθεν ἐβοηθεῖτο· νῦν δὲ κατέπεσε πᾶσα καὶ γέγονεν ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις σῶμα καλὸν λαβὼν κόπτει μὲν πρῶτον τὰ ἄκρα, τὸ τελευταῖον δ' αὐτὴν τὴν κεφαλὴν κατενέγκει· ἡ 5
καθάπερ μέγα δένδρον ἀποθερίζει μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς κλάδους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν ρίζαν· ἦν δ' ἂν ταυτὸν εἴπερ εἰλήφει τὴν Πόλιν πρὶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸ κράτος, ὡσπερ εἰ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνοι τάνθρώπου καὶ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δένδρου πρὶν ἐκκοπῆναι τὰ μέλη τὲ καὶ τοὺς κλάδους, τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πάσῃ γῆ καὶ πόλει ὅπερ ἀνθρώπων καὶ δένδρων κεφαλὴ τε καὶ ρίζα. 10

20. Ἄγε δὴ λοιπὸν πᾶς ὅστις αἰσθησιν ἔχει τοῦ πάθους — ἔστι δ' οὐδεὶς ὃς μὴ τοῦτο πάσχει — ξυναυλιᾶν ὀδυρώμεθα τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα τὲ καὶ τροφόν, οἱ γέροντες τὴν γηροκομοῦσαν, οἱ νέοι τὴν φιμοῦσαν τὰς ἀλόγους ὀρμάς τῆς ψυχῆς, οἱ παῖδες τὴν παιδεύουσαν ἀγαθῶς, αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν σωφρονοῦσαν, αἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν τιμῶσαν, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν στρατηγόν, οἱ γεωργοὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, οἱ τεχνῖται τὴν χρωμένην ὑμῖν, οἱ ἔμποροι τὸ κέρδος, οἱ πλεόντες τὸν λιμένα, οἱ ὀδοιπόροι τὴν ἀνάπαυλαν, οἱ πένητες τὴν πορίζουσαν, οἱ πτωχοὶ τὴν τρέφουσαν, οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ῥύουσαν, οἱ ὀρφανοὶ τὴν μητέρα, αἱ χῆραι τὴν προστάτιν, οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν ὁδηγόν, οἱ μοναχοὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν, οἱ ἐν λόγοις τὴν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην εὐθύνουσαν, οἱ πάντες τὴν πᾶσι πλουσίως διδοῦσαν τὰς ἡδονάς. ὡ πικρᾶς ἀληθόνος· ὡ πικρᾶς ὀμίχλης τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιπεσοῦσης· ὡ φήμης διερχομένης πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ πληρούσης ἅπαντα ζάλης καὶ ἀηδίας καὶ σκότους. 20

21. Νῦν θρηνησοῦσιν Ἴταλοὶ· νῦν οἱ Κελτοὶ κλαύσουσι, νῦν Γαλάται καὶ Βρετανοί, νῦν Γερμανοὶ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Θραῖκες καὶ Παῖονες· νῦν Ἴβηρες ἀνομιώξουσι· νῦν Ἴνδοι σκυθρωπάσουσι· νῦν γένος ἅπαν καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσα καὶ νῆσοι καὶ ἤπειροι κατακόψονται. ὁ γὰρ ἅπας κόσμος αἰεὶ τὴν παλαιὰν τιμὴν μετ' ἐπιεικείας ἀπεδίδου τῇ Πόλει. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν πικρὸν δυνάστην λυπηθῆναι μικρὸν γούν, τὴν καλλονὴν ὀρῶντα τῆς Πόλεως φθειρομένην καὶ τὴν τερπνότητα. ἡ γὰρ τῆς δυστυχίας ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς οἶκτον οἶδε πολλακίς καὶ τοὺς ἐχθίστους κινεῖν. νῦν 30
οὖν καιρὸς ἐστὶν ὀπίην τινα σμικροτάτην εὐρεῖν καὶ κλεισθῆναι ταύτης ἐντὸς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ θρηνεῖν καὶ κλαίειν διαπαντός. τούτου γὰρ οὐτ' ἦν οὐτ' ἔσται χεῖρον κακόν.

1 δὲ] δὴ Lampros 4 εἴ τις corr. Lampros: εἴποις P 5 κόπτοι Lampros | κατενέγκοι Lampros 6 ἀποθερίζει corr. Lampros: ἀπεθερίζει P 8 τάνθρώπου corr. Lampros: τ' ἀνθρώπου P 9 τὸ γὰρ] καὶ τὸ Lampros 12 πατρίδα corr. Lampros: πατρίδαν P 13 γηροκομοῦσαν corr. Lampros: γηροκομῶσαν P 16 ὑμῖν corr. Lampros: ὑμῶν P 18 μητέρα corr. Lampros: μητέραν P 20 οἱ bis scr. P

anyone, herself often a victim, that she should be struck down by the barbarian and not even hope to rise again, this is the catastrophe of catastrophes, the misfortune of misfortunes, the sorrow of sorrows that encompasses all. It is true that the reign of the City had long since shrunk, and that it received no help from anywhere; but now it has fallen completely, and it is as if someone, taking a beautiful body, first cut off its extremities and finally its head, or like a great tree that first loses its branches and then its roots. It would have been the same if the city were first taken and then its supremacy taken from it, as if the head of a man or the root of a tree were cut off first and then the limbs or branches, for it was to the whole earth and to every other city as the head is to the man and the root to the tree.

20. All those who are conscious of the misfortune (and there is no one who is not), let us lament in chorus our common homeland and nurse, let the old lament the place which was for them a shelter, let the young lament the place which restrained the irrational impulses of the soul, the children their good educator, the women the guardian of their virtue, the authorities the place which honoured them, the soldiers their commander, the peasants their justiciary, the craftsmen their employer, the merchants their profits, the sailors their port, the travellers their harbour, the poor their provider, the beggars their nurse, the prisoners their rescuer, the orphans their mother, the widows their patroness, the priests their guide, the monks the guarantor of their good order, the scholars the guide to all knowledge, and all of us the one who distributed to everyone pleasures in abundance. O bitter grief! O bitter darkness that fell upon everyone's eyes! O noise that spread through the whole world and filled it with chaos, sadness and darkness!

21. Now the Italians will mourn; now the Celts will weep, now the Galatians and the Britons; now the Germans, the Illyrians, the Thracians, and the Paeonians; now the Iberians will weep; now the Indians will grieve; now every race, people of every age, islands and continents will tear themselves apart. For the whole world used to honour the City with due measure. And I believe that even the cruel tyrant was saddened at least a little seeing the beauty and the grace of the City destroyed. For the excess of misfortune may indeed move even the worst enemies to compassion. Now, this is the time to find a little corner, to shut oneself up in safety and to weep and wail all the time. For there has never been and never will be a worse misfortune than this.

