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EMPEROR JULIAN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATIONS BY
WILHELM GAFFEL, PH.D.

THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR
JULIAN

I



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THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

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IN THREE VOLUMES

I



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INTRODUCTION

FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS,¹ son of Julius Constantius and nephew of the Emperor Constantine, was born at Constantinople in 331 A.D. His father, eldest brother, and cousins were slain in the massacre by which Constantius, Constantine II., and Constans secured the empire for themselves on the death of their father Constantine in 337. Julian and his elder brother Gallus spent a precarious childhood and youth, of which six years were passed in close confinement in the remote castle of Macellum in Cappadocia, and their position was hardly more secure when, in 350, Gallus was elevated to the Caesarship by Constantius, who, after the violent deaths of his two brothers, was now sole ruler of the empire. But Julian was allowed to pursue his favourite studies in Greek literature and philosophy, partly at Nicomedia and Athens, partly in the cities

¹ The chief sources for the life of Julian are his *Orations*, his *Letter to the Athenians*, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the *Orations* and *Epistles* of Libanius.

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of Asia Minor, and he was deeply influenced by Maximus of Ephesus, the occult philosopher, Libanius of Nicomedia, the fashionable sophist, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator, the only genuine philosopher among the sophists of the fourth century A.D.

When the excesses of the revolutionary Gallus ended in his death at the hands of Constantius, Julian, an awkward and retiring student, was summoned to the court at Milan, where he was protected by the Empress Eusebia from the suspicions of Constantius and the intrigues of hostile courtiers. Constantius had no heir to continue the dynasty of the Constantii. He therefore raised Julian to the Caesarship in 355, gave him his sister Helena in marriage, and dispatched him to Gaul to pacify the Gallic provinces. To the surprise of all, Julian in four successive campaigns against the Franks and the Alemanis proved himself a good soldier and a popular general. His *Commentaries* on these campaigns are praised by Eunapius¹ and Libanius,² but are not now extant. In 357-358 Constantius, who was occupied by wars against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, and threatened with a renewal of hostilities by the Persian king Sapor, ordered Julian,

¹ fr. 89.

² Epistle, 33.

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who was then at Paris, to send to his aid the best of the Gallic legions. Julian would have obeyed, but his troops, unwilling to take service in the East, mutinied and proclaimed him Emperor (359 A.D.). Julian issued manifestoes justifying his conduct to the Senates of Rome and Athens and to the Spartans and Corinthians, a characteristic anachronism, since their opinion no longer had any weight. It was not till 361 that he began his march eastward to encounter the army of Constantius. His troops, though seasoned and devoted, were in numbers no match for the legions of his cousin. But the latter, while marching through Cilicia to oppose his advance, died suddenly of a fever near Tarsus, and Julian, now in his thirtieth year, succeeded peacefully to the throne and made a triumphal entry into Constantinople in December, 361.

The eunuchs and courtiers who had surrounded Constantius were replaced by sophists and philosophers, and in the next six months Julian set on foot numerous economic and administrative reforms. He had long been secretly devoted to the Pagan religion, and he at once proclaimed the restoration of the Pagan gods and the temple worship. Christianity he tolerated, and in his brief reign of sixteen months the Christians were not actively persecuted. His

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treatise *Against the Christians*, which survives only in fragments, was an explanation of his apostasy. The epithet "Apostate" was bestowed on him by the Christian Fathers. Meanwhile he was preparing—first at Constantinople then at Antioch, where he wrote the *Misopogon*, a satire on the luxury and frivolity of the inhabitants—for a campaign against Sapor, a task which he had inherited from Constantius. In March, 362 he left Antioch and crossed the Euphrates, visited Carrhae, memorable for the defeat of Crassus, then crossed the Tigris, and, after burning his fleet, retired northwards towards Armenia. On the march he fought an indecisive battle with the Persians at Maranga, and in a skirmish with the retreating enemy he was mortally wounded by a javelin (January 26th, 363). His body was carried to Tarsus by his successor the Emperor Jovian, and was probably removed later to Constantinople. The legend that as he died he exclaimed: *Γαλιλαῖε νενίκηκας*, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!" appears first in the Christian historian Theodoret in the fifth century. Julian was the last male descendant of the famous dynasty founded by Constantius Chlorus.

In spite of his military achievements, he was, first of all, a student. Even on his campaigns he took his

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books with him, and several of his extant works were composed in camp. He had been trained, according to the fashion of his times, in rhetorical studies by professional sophists such as Libanius, and he has all the mannerisms of a fourth century sophist. It was the sophistic etiquette to avoid the direct use of names, and Julian never names the usurpers Magnentius, Silvanus, and Vetricianus, whose suppression by Constantius he describes in his two first *Orations*, regularly refers to Sapor as "the barbarian," and rather than name Mardonius, his tutor, calls him "a certain Scythian who had the same name as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Hellas."¹ He wrote the literary Greek of the fourth century A.D. which imitates the classical style, though barbarisms and late constructions are never entirely avoided. His pages are crowded with echoes of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato, and Isocrates, and his style is interwoven with half verses, phrases, and whole sentences taken without acknowledgment from the Greek masterpieces. It is certain that, like other sophists, he wished his readers to recognise these echoes, and therefore his source is always classical, so that where he seems to imitate Dio Chrysostom or Themistius, both go back to a common source, which

¹ 352 A.

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Julian had in mind. Another sophistic element in his style is the use of commonplaces, literary allusions that had passed into the sophistic language and can be found in all the writers of reminiscence Greek in his day. He himself derides this practice¹ but he cannot resist dragging in the well-worn references to Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander, to the nepenthe poured out by Helen in the *Odyssey*, to the defiance of nature by Xerxes, or the refusal of Socrates to admit the happiness of the Great King. Julian wished to make Neo-Platonism the philosophy of his revived Hellenism, but he belonged to the younger or Syrian branch of the school, of which Iamblichus was the real founder, and he only once mentions Plotinus. Iamblichus he ranked with Plato and paid him a fanatical devotion. His philosophical writing, especially in the two prose *Hymns*, is obscure, partly because his theories are only vaguely realised, partly because he reproduces the obscurity of his model, Iamblichus. In satire and narrative he can be clear and straightforward.

¹ 236 A.

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¹ The text of the present edition is Hertlein's, revised.

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THE ORATIONS OF
THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ERRATUM.

- P. 227, l. 6 from bottom, *for* 'to gain "the most great and grievous tyranny of heaven,"' *read* "'Tyranny the greatest and sternest of the gods.'"

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΟΝ

Πάλαι με προθυμούμενον, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ,
τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πράξεις ὑμνῆσαι καὶ
τοὺς πολέμους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τυραν-
νίδας ὅπως ἀνήρηκας, τῆς μὲν λόγῳ καὶ πειθοῖ
τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποστήσας, τῆς δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις
κρατήσας, τὸ μέγεθος εἶργε τῶν πράξεων, οὐ τὸ
βραχὺ λειφθῆναι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἔργων δεινὸν
κρίνοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ παντελῶς τῆς ὑποθέσεως
διαμαρτεῖν δόξαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς πολιτικ-
οὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν ποίησιν διατρίβουσιν οὐδὲν
θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥαδίως ἔξεστιν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐπαί-
νοις τῶν σοι πραχθέντων· περίεστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ ²
τῆς τοῦ λέγειν μελέτης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδεί-
ξεις συνηθείας τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐν δίκη. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν
τοιούτου μέρους κατωλιγώρησαν, ὥρμησαν δ' ἐφ'
ἕτερον παιδείας εἶδος καὶ λόγων ξυγγραφὴν οὐ
δήμῳ κεχαρισμένην οὐδ' ἐς θέατρα παντοδαπὰ
τολμῶσαν ἀποδύεσθαι, πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἔχοιεν
ἂν εἰκότως εὐλαβεστέως. ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἄδηλον
τουῦθ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς Μοῦσαι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ³
ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιπνεομένους τὴν ποίησιν γράφειν ἄφθονον

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS

I HAVE long desired, most mighty Emperor, to sing the praises of your valour and achievements, to recount your campaigns, and to tell how you suppressed the tyrannies; how your persuasive eloquence drew away one usurper's¹ bodyguard; how you overcame another² by force of arms. But the vast scale of your exploits deterred me, because what I had to dread was not that my words would fall somewhat short of your achievements, but that I should prove wholly unequal to my theme. That men versed in political debate, or poets, should find it easy to compose a panegyric on your career is not at all surprising. Their practice in speaking, their habit of declaiming in public supplies them abundantly with a well-warranted confidence. But those who have neglected this field and chosen another branch of literary study which devotes itself to a form of composition little adapted to win popular favour and that has not the hardihood to exhibit itself in its nakedness in every theatre, no matter what, would naturally hesitate to make speeches of the epideictic sort. As for the poets, their Muse, and the general belief that it is she who inspires their verse, obviously gives them unlimited

¹ Vetricano.

² Magnentius.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

παρέχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πλάσματος· τοῖς
 ῥήτορσι δὲ ἡ τέχνη τὴν ἴσην παρέσχεν ἄδειαν,
 τὸ μὲν πλάττειν ἀφελομένη, τὸ δὲ κολακεύειν
 οὐδαμῶς ἀπαγορεύσασα, οὐδὲ αἰσχύνῃν ὁμολογου-
 μένην τῷ λέγοντι τὸ ψευδῶς¹ ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς οὐκ
 ἀξίους ἐπαινοῦ κρίνασα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπειδὴν καινόν
 τινα μῦθον καὶ μηδέπω τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπινοηθέντα
 φέρωσιν αὐτοὶ ξυνθέντες, τῷ ξένῳ τοὺς ἀκούοντας C
 ψυχαγωγήσαντες πλέον θαυμάζονται· οἱ δὲ τῆς
 τέχνης ἀπολαύσαί φασιν ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι περὶ τῶν
 μικρῶν μειζόνως διελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀφελεῖν
 τῶν ἔργων τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὅλως ἀντιτάττειν τῇ
 τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει τὴν δύναμιν² τῶν λόγων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐώρων ταύτης ἐμαντὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 παρόντος ἐν χρεῖα τῆς τέχνης, ἦγον ἂν τὴν προ-
 σήκουσαν ἡσυχίαν τοῖς ἀμελετήτως ἔχουσι τῶν D
 τοιούτων λόγων, παραχωρῶν τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων
 ἐκείνοις, ὧν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαν
 τούναντίον ὁ παρῶν ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἀπλήν διήγησιν οὐδενὸς ἐπεισάκτου κόσμου
 δεομένην, ἔδοξε κάμοι προσήκειν, τοῦ³ ἀξίως
 διηγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀνεφίκτου καὶ τοῖς προλα-
 βοῦσιν⁴ ἤδη φανέντος. ἅπαντες γὰρ σχεδὸν οἱ
 περὶ παιδείαν διατρίβοντές σε⁵ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ 3
 καταλογάδην ὑμνοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἅπαντα περι-
 λαβεῖν ἐν βραχεῖ τολμῶντες, οἱ δὲ μέρεσιν
 αὐτοὺς ἐπιδόντες τῶν πράξεων ἀρκεῖν ᾤήθησαν,

¹ ψεῦδος V. ² τὴν δύναμιν Wytttenbach, δύνασθαι τὴν
 MSS, Hertlein. ³ τοῦ Reiske adds. ⁴ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν
 Hertlein suggests, τότε προλαβοῦσιν MSS. ⁵ σε Schaefer adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

license to invent. To rhetoricians the art of rhetoric allows just as much freedom; fiction is denied them, but flattery is by no means forbidden, nor is it counted a disgrace to the orator that the object of his panegyric should not deserve it. Poets who compose and publish some legend that no one had thought of before increase their reputation, because an audience is entertained by the mere fact of novelty. Orators, again, assert¹ that the advantage of their art is that it can treat a slight theme in the grand manner, and again, by the use of mere words, strip the greatness from deeds, and, in short, marshall the power of words against that of facts.

If, however, I had seen that on this occasion I should need their art, I should have maintained the silence that befits those who have had no practice in such forms of composition, and should leave your praises to be told by those whom I just now mentioned. Since, on the contrary, the speech I am to make calls for a plain narrative of the facts and needs no adventitious ornament, I thought that even I was not unfit, seeing that my predecessors had already shown that it was beyond them to produce a record worthy of your achievements. For almost all who devote themselves to literature attempt to sing your praises in verse or prose; some of them venture to cover your whole career in a brief narrative, while others devote themselves to a part only, and think that if they succeed in doing justice to that part they have proved themselves equal to the task.

¹ Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 42 c.

εἰ τούτων τῆς ἀξίας μὴ διαμάρτοιεν. ἄξιον δὲ ἄγα-
σθαι τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων, ὅσοι
τῶν σῶν ἐπαίνων ἤψαντο. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὅπως μηδὲν
ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν σοι πραχθέντων ἀμαυρωθῆιη,
τὸν μέγιστον ὑποδύναϊ πόνον ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ δέ,
ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτήσῃν ἠλπιζον, τὴν αὐτῶν
γνώμην ἐν μέρει προύφηναν, ἄμεινον τοῦ τῆς B
σιωπῆς ἀκινδύνου γέρωσ κρίναντες κατὰ δύναμιν
σοι τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἀπάρξασθαι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ὧν ἐτύγχανον τῶν τοὺς
ἐπιδεικτικῶν ἀγαπώντων λόγους, ἐχρῆν ἐντεῦθεν
ἄρχεσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως, τὴν ἴσην εὐνοίαν ἀπαι-
τήσαντα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἤδη σοι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ
δεηθέντα τῶν λόγων ἀκροατὴν εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι,
οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀπαραίτητον κριτὴν κατα- C
στήναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις μαθήμασι τραφέντες
καὶ παιδευθέντες, καθάπερ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ
νόμοις, ἀλλοτρίων κατατολμῶν ἔργων δοκοῦμεν
οὐκ ὀρθῶς, μικρά μοι δοκεῖ χρῆναι καὶ περὶ
τούτων δηλώσαι, οἰκειότεραν ἀρχὴν προθέντα
τοῦ λόγου.

Νόμος ἐστὶ παλαιὸς παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου φιλοσο-
φίαν ἀνθρώποις φήναντος οὕτως κείμενος· ἅπαν- D
τας πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν βλέποντας
ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν ξυνουσίαις, ἐν
πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον μικροῖς καὶ
μείζοσι τοῦ καλοῦ πάντως ἐφίεσθαι. πάντων δὲ
ὅτι κάλλιστον ἀρετῆ, τίς ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν νοῦν ἐχόν-
των ἀμφισβητήσῃ; ταύτης τοίνυν ἀντέχεσθαι
διακελεύεται τοὺς μὴ μάτην τουτὶ περιοίσοντας

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

Yet one can but admire the zeal of all who have made you the theme of a panegyric. Some did not shrink from the tremendous effort to secure every one of your achievements from the withering touch of time; others, because they foresaw that they could not compass the whole, expressed themselves only in part, and chose to consecrate to you their individual work so far as they were able. Better this, they thought, than "the reward of silence that runs no risk."¹

Now if I were one of those whose favourite pursuit is epideictic oratory, I should have to begin my speech by asking from you no less goodwill than I now feel towards yourself, and should beg you graciously to incline your ear to my words and not play the part of a severe and inexorable critic. But since, bred as I have been and educated in other studies, other pursuits, other conventions, I am criticised for venturing rashly into fields that belong to others, I feel that I ought to explain myself briefly on this head and begin my speech more after my own fashion.

There is an ancient maxim taught by him who first introduced philosophy to mankind, and it is as follows. All who aspire to virtue and the beautiful must study in their words, deeds, conversation, in short, in all the affairs of life, great and small, to aim in every way at beauty. Now what sensible man would deny that virtue is of all things the most beautiful? Wherefore those are bidden to lay firm hold on her who do not seek to blazon abroad her name in vain,

¹ *Simonides fr.* 66. *Horace, Odes* 3. 2. 25.

τοῦνομα, προσῆκον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς σφετερισμένους. ταῦτα δὴ διαγορεύων ὁ νόμος οὐδεμίαν ἰδέαν ἐπι-
 τάττει λόγων, οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἔκ τινος τραγικῆς
 μηχανῆς, φησί, χρῆναι προαγορεύει τοῖς ἐντυγ- 4
 χάνουσι σπεύδειν μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀποφεύγειν
 δὲ τὴν πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο
 δίδωσι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλευθέντι μιμῆσθαι τὴν ἐκεί-
 νου φύσιν. καὶ γὰρ παραίνεσιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ λόγων
 προτρεπτικῶν χρῆσιν καὶ τὸ μετ' εὐνοίας ἐπιπλήτ-
 τειν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐπαινεῖν τε αὐτὰ καλῶς
 πραχθέντα καὶ ψέγειν, ὅταν ἦ καιρός, τὰ μὴ B
 τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων. ἐφίησι δὲ καὶ¹ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 ἰδέαις, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι, πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν λόγων
 χρῆσθαι, ἐπὶ παντὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράξει
 μεμνήσθαι προστάτων, ὅπη τούτων ὑφέξουσιν
 εὐθύνας, ὧν ἂν τύχωσιν εἰπόντες, λέγειν δὲ οὐδὲν
 ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀνοίσουσι.
 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄρα τί ποτε δράσομεν, εἰργόμενοι μὲν
 τῷ δοκεῖν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς χάριν τὴν εὐφημίαν, τοῦ C
 γένους δὲ ἤδη τῶν ἐπαίνων διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 μετιόντας ὑπόπτου καθεστῶτος δεινῶς, καὶ κολα-
 κείας ἀγεννοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐ μαρτυρίας ἀληθοῦς τῶν
 ἀρίστων ἔργων εἶναι νομισθέντος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τῇ
 περὶ τὸν ἐπαινούμενον ἀρετῇ πεπιστευκότες ἐπι-
 δώσομεν ἑαυτοὺς θαρροῦντες τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις; τίς
 ἂν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴ καὶ τάξις τοῦ λόγου γένοιτο
 καλλίστη; ἢ δῆλον ὡς ἢ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῇ, δι' D
 ἣν ὑπῆρξέ σοι καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτῳ γενέσθαι; τροφῆς

¹ καὶ Reiske adds.

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appropriating that which in no way belongs to them. Now in giving this counsel, the maxim does not prescribe any single type of discourse, nor does it proclaim to its readers, like a god from the machine in tragedy, "Ye must aspire to virtue and eschew evil." Many are the paths that it allows a man to follow to this goal, if he desire to imitate the nature of the beautiful. For example, he may give good advice, or use hortatory discourse, or he may rebuke error without malice, or applaud what is well done, or condemn, on occasion, what is ill done. It permits men also to use other types of oratory, if they please, so as to attain the best end of speech, but it enjoins on them to take thought in every word and act how they shall give account of all they utter, and to speak no word that cannot be referred to the standard of virtue and philosophy. That and more to the same effect is the tenour of that precept.

And now, what am I to do? What embarrasses me is the fact that, if I praise you, I shall be thought simply to curry favour, and in fact, the department of panegyric has come to incur a grave suspicion due to its misuse, and is now held to be base flattery rather than trustworthy testimony to heroic deeds. Is it not obvious that I must put my faith in the merit of him whom I undertake to praise, and with full confidence devote my energies to this panegyric? What then shall be the prelude of my speech and the most suitable arrangement? Assuredly I must begin with the virtues of your ancestors through which it was possible for you to come to be what you are. Next I think it will be proper to describe

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δὲ οἶμαι καὶ παιδείας ἐξῆς προσήκει μνησθῆναι, ἥπερ σοι τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀρετὴν συνεισηνέγκατο, ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ τούτοις ὡσπερ γνωρίσματα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν τὰς πράξεις διελθεῖν, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτιθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἐξεις δηλῶσαι, ὅθεν ὀρμώμενος τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἔδρασας καὶ ἐβουλεύσω. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ 5 τῶν ἄλλων πάντων διοίσειν τὸν λόγον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἴστανται, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενοι πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐφημίαν τὸ τούτων μνησθῆναι, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι δεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸν πλεῖστον λόγον ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ' ὧν ὀρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἦλθες. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔργων, σχεδὸν δὲ πάντα, τύχη καὶ δορυφόροι καὶ στρατιωτῶν φάλαγγες καὶ τάξεις ἰππέων¹ συγκατορθοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα μόνου τέ B ἐστὶ τοῦ δράσαντος, καὶ ὁ ἐκ τούτων ἔπαινος ἀληθῆς καθεστῶς ἰδιός ἐστι τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὐκ-οὖν ἐπειδὴ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν σαφῶς διώρισται, τῶν λόγων ἄρξομαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπαίνων νόμος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τῆς πατρίδος ἢ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιοῖ μεμνήσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τίνα χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν πατρίδα σὴν· ἔθνη γὰρ μυρία περὶ ταύτης ἀμφισβητεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον. καὶ ἡ μὲν βασιλεύουσα C τῶν ἀπάντων πόλις, μήτηρ οὖσα σὴ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης παρασχούσα, ἐξαίρετον αὐτῆς φησὶν εἶναι τὸ γέρας, οὗ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐφ' ἀπάντων τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων δικαίοις χρωμένη· λέγω δὲ ὅτι, κὰν ἄλλα-

¹ ἰππέων καὶ πεζῶν MSS.

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your upbringing and education, since these contributed very much to the noble qualities that you possess, and when I have dealt with all these, I must recount your achievements, the signs and tokens, as it were, of the nobility of your soul, and finally, as the crown and consummation of my discourse, I shall set forth those personal qualities from which was evolved all that was noble in your projects and their execution. It is in this respect that I think my speech will surpass those of all the others. For some limit themselves to your exploits, with the idea that a description of these suffices for a perfect panegyric, but for my part I think one ought to devote the greater part of one's speech to the virtues that were the stepping-stones by which you reached the height of your achievements. Military exploits in most cases, nay in almost all, are achieved with the help of fortune, the body-guard, heavy infantry and cavalry regiments. But virtuous actions belong to the doer alone, and the praise that they inspire, if it be sincere, belongs only to the possessor of such virtue. Now, having made this distinction clear, I will begin my speech.

The rules of panegyric require that I should mention your native land no less than your ancestors. But I am at a loss what country I ought to consider peculiarly yours. For countless nations have long asserted their claim to be your country. The city¹ that rules over them all was your mother and nurse, and in an auspicious hour delivered to you the imperial sceptre, and therefore asserts her sole title to the honour, and that not merely by resorting to the plea that has prevailed under all the emperors.

¹ Rome.

χόθεν τυγχάνωσι, τῷ μετέχειν ἅπαντας ἤδη τοῦ
 πολιτεύματος καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν καταδειχθεῖσιν
 ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι πολῖται γεγόνασιν
 οὐκ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὡς¹ τεκούσα τὴν σὴν μητέρα
 καὶ θρεψαμένη βασιλικῶς καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων
 ἐκγόνων² ἀξίως. ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Βοσπόρῳ πόλις,
 ὄλου τοῦ γένους τοῦ Κωνσταντίων ἐπώνυμος,
 πατὴρ μὲν οὐκ εἶναί φησι, γεγονέναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 σοῦ πατρὸς ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἰήσεται,
 εἰ ταύτης γοῦν τις αὐτὴν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συγγενείας
 ἀφαιροῖτο. Ἰλλυριοὶ δέ, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς γέγονας,
 οὐκ ἀνέξονται τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν εὐτυχημάτων
 στερόμενοι, εἴ τις ἄλλην σοι πατρίδα προσνέμοι. 6
 ἀκούω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τῶν ἐφώνων ἤδη τινὰς λέγειν,
 ὅτι μὴ δίκαια δρῶμεν ἀφαιρούμενοι σφᾶς τὸν
 ἐπὶ σοὶ λόγον· αὐτοὶ γάρ φησι τὴν τήθην ἐπὶ
 τὸν τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ σοῦ προπέμψαι γάμον.
 καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ προφάσεις ἐπι-
 νοοῦντες μικρὰς ἢ μείζονας αὐτοῖς σε³ εἰσποιεῖν
 ἐκ παντὸς ἐγνώκασιν. ἐχέτω μὲν οὖν τὸ γέρας
 ἦν αὐτὸς ἐθέλεις, καὶ ἦν ἀρετῶν μητέρα καὶ B
 διδάσκαλον πολλάκις ἐπαινῶν εἶρηκας, τυγχαν-
 ὄντων δὲ ἐκάστη κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αἱ λοιπαὶ τοῦ
 προσήκοντος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν ἀπάσας

¹ γεγόνασιν· οὐκοῦν ὡς MSS, οὐκοῦν ἀλλ' ὡς M, οὐκοῦν οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὡς Hertlein suggests.

² ἐκγόνων Wright, ἐγγόνων MSS, Hertlein.

³ σε Schaefer adds.

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I mean that, even if men are born elsewhere, they all adopt her constitution and use the laws and customs that she has promulgated, and by that fact become Roman citizens. But her claim is different, namely that she gave your mother birth, rearing her royally and as befitted the offspring who were to be born to her. Then again, the city on the Bosphorus which is named after the family of the Constantii, though she does not assert that she is your native place, but acknowledges that she became your adopted land by your father's act, will think she is cheated of her rights if any orator should try to deprive her of at least this claim to kinship. Thirdly, the Illyrians, on whose soil you were born, will not tolerate it if anyone assign you a different fatherland and rob them of the fairest gift of fortune. And now I hear some even of the Eastern provinces protest that it is unjust of me to rob them of the lustre they derive from you. For they say that they sent forth your grandmother to be the consort of your grandfather on the mother's side. Almost all the rest have hit on some pretension of more or less weight, and are determined, on one ground or another, to adopt you for their own. Therefore let that country¹ have the prize which you yourself prefer and have so often praised as the mother and teacher of the virtues; as for the rest, let each one according to her deserts obtain her due. I should be glad to praise them all, worthy as they are of glory and honour, but I am

¹ Rome.

ἐθέλοιμ' ¹ ἂν ἀξίας οὔσας δόξης ² καὶ τιμῆς, ὁκνῶ δὲ μὴ διὰ τὸ μῆκος, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ λίαν οἰκεία τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀλλότρια φανῆ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπαινοὺς διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ, τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συλλαβὼν ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀρετῆς προσειπὼν, τῷ δοῦναι τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ἐγκωμίων, τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων λόγους ἀφήρησαι. τί γὰρ λέξομεν ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον ἕτερου; τί δὲ ἄλλος τις εἰπέιν ἔχει; ὥστε μοι δοκῶ σεβόμενος εἰκότως τὴν πόλιν τούτῳ τιμᾶν αὐτὴν πλέον, τῷ παραχωρεῖν σοι τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν λόγων.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς σῆς ἴσως ἄξιον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν βραχεῖ διελθεῖν. ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἔοικα κἀνταῦθα, πόθεν ἀρχεσθαι χρή. πρόγονοί τε γάρ εἰσί σοι καὶ πάπποι καὶ γονεῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ καὶ ξυγγενεῖς βασιλεῖς ἅπαντες, αὐτοὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐννόμως ἢ παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων εἰσποιηθέντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, Κλαυδίου μνησθέντα, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου ἐναργῆ παρέχειν καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τεκμήρια, τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ³ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀναμνησκοντα, καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀσίως ἅμα καὶ δικαίως ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὴν ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῆς διαίτης λιτότητα, καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ὀρωμένην ἔτι; τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πάππων τῶν σῶν ἔστι μὲν τούτων νεώτερα, λαμπρὰ δὲ οὐ μείον

¹ ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν Cobet, ἔχοιμ' ἂν Hertlein, εὔχομαι MSS.

² δόξης Wytttenbach ἀξίας MSS, Hertlein.

³ τῶν Hertlein adds.

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afraid that my compliments, however germane they may seem to my subject, might, on account of their length, be thought inappropriate to the present occasion. For this reason, then, I think it better to omit a eulogy of the others, but as for Rome, your imperial Majesty summed up her praises in two words when you called her the teacher of virtue, and, by bestowing on her the fairest of all encomiums, you have forestalled all that others might say. What praise of mine would come up to that? What indeed is left for anyone to say? So I feel that I, who naturally hold that city in reverence, shall pay her a higher honour if I leave her praise in your hands.

Now perhaps I ought at this point to say a few words about your noble ancestors. Only that here too I am at a loss where to begin. For all your ancestors, grandfathers, parents, brothers, cousins and kinsfolk were emperors, who had either acquired their power by lawful means or were adopted by the reigning house. Why should I recall ancient history or hark back to Claudius and produce proofs of his merit, which are manifest and known to all? To what end recount his campaigns against the barbarians across the Danube or how righteously and justly he won the empire? How plainly he lived while on the throne! How simple was his dress, as may be seen to this day in his statues! What I might say about your grandparents¹ is comparatively recent, but

¹ Constantius Chlorus and Maximianus.

ἐκείνων. ἔτυχον μὲν γὰρ ἄμφω τῆς ἀρχῆς δι' ἀρετὴν ἀξίω κριθέντε, γενομένω δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεταδόντα τῆς βασιλείας εὐσεβῶς, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν ὠμολόγει μηδὲν τούτου πώποτε κρεῖττον βεβουλεῦσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα σωτήρια τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξευρών, οἱ δὲ τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων κοινωνίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχήν, εἶπερ οἶόν τε ἦν, ἐκάστω περιγενομένην ἠγάπων. οὕτω δὲ διακείμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔργων ἔδρων τὰ κάλλιστα, σεβόμενοι μὲν μετὰ τὴν κρεῖττονα φύσιν τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντα, τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δὲ πρῶως¹ καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἐλαύνοντες μόνον πάλαι κατοικούντας καὶ νεμομένους καθάπερ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀδεῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα, φρούρια δὲ ἐπιτειχίζοντες αὐτοῖς τοσαύτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις κατέστησαν, ὅσῃν οὐδὲ εὐξασθαι τότε ῥάδιον ἔδοκει. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἄξιον ἐν παρέργῳ λέγειν. τῆς δὲ ὁμοιοῖας αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ μέγιστον σημεῖον παραλιπεῖν οὐδαμῶς εὐλογον, καὶ ἄλλως προσήκον τῷ λόγῳ. κοινωνίαν γὰρ τὴν καλλίστην τοῖς αὐτῶν παισὶν ἐπινοήσαντες τῶν σῶν πατέρων τοὺς γάμους ἤρμωσαν. προσήκει δὲ οἶμαι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν βραχεῖ διελθεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς φανῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς κληρονόμος. τὴν μὲν οὖν βασιλείαν ὅπως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κατέσχε τελευτῆν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκείνου τῇ κρίσει καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀπάντων τῇ ψήφῳ πατὴρ ὁ σός, τί χρὴ νῦν περι-

¹ πρῶως Cobet, ὁσίως MSS, Hertlein.

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equally remarkable. Both of them acquired the imperial sceptre as the reward of conspicuous merit, and having assumed the command, they were on such good terms with each other and displayed such filial piety to him¹ who had granted them a share in the empire, that he used to say that of all the safeguards designed by him for the realm, and they were many, this was his master-stroke. They, meanwhile, valued their mutual understanding more than undivided empire, supposing that it could have been bestowed on either of them separately. This was the temper of their souls, and nobly they played their part in action, while next to the Supreme Being they revered him who had placed authority in their hands. With their subjects they dealt righteously and humanely, and expelled the barbarians who had for years settled in our territory and had occupied it with impunity as though it were their own, and they built forts to hinder encroachment, which procured for those subjects such peaceful relations with the barbarians as, at that period, seemed to be beyond their dreams. This, however, is a subject that deserves more than a passing mention. Yet it would be wrong to omit the strongest proof of their unanimity, especially as it is related to my subject. Since they desired the most perfect harmony for their children, they arranged the marriage of your father and mother.² On this point also I think I must say a few words to show that virtue was bequeathed to you as well as a throne. But why waste time in telling how your father, on his father's death, became emperor both by the choice of the deceased monarch and by

¹ Diocletian.

² Constantine and Fausta.

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εργάζεσθαι ; τὴν δὲ εἰς τοὺς πολέμους ῥώμην ἐκ
 τῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν λόγων ἂν τις γνωρί-
 σειε. τυραννίδας γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλείας ἐννόμους
 καθαιρῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν. το-
 σαύτην δὲ εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρέστησεν,
 ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν στρατευόμενοι τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς
 καὶ τὰς χάριτας μεγαλοψυχίας ἐτι μεμνημένοι
 καθάπερ θεὸν διατελοῦσι σεβόμενοι· τὸ δὲ ἐν ταῖς
 πόλεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πλῆθος, οὐχ οὕτω τῆς
 τῶν τυράννων ἀπαλλαγῆναι βαρύτητος εὐχόμενοι,
 ὡς παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχθῆναι, τὴν κατ'
 ἐκείνων αὐτῷ νίκην ἐπηνύχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπάντων
 κύριος κατέστη, ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐχμοῦ τῆς ἀπληστίας
 τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος πολλῆς ἀπορίας χρημάτων
 οὔσης καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῶν βασιλείων ἐν μυχοῖς
 συνεληλαμένου, τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀφελὼν ἐπέκλυσεν
 ἀθρόως τῷ πλούτῳ πάντα, πόλιν τε ἐπώνυμον
 αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα,
 τοσούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν μείζονα, ὅσῳ τῆς
 Ῥώμης ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖ, ἥς τὸ δευτέραν τετάχθαι
 μακρῷ βέλτιον ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἢ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀπασῶν πρώτην νομίζεσθαι. καλὸν ἴσως ἐνταῦθα
 καὶ τῶν ἀοιδίμων Ἀθηνῶν μνησθῆναι, ἃς ἐκείνος
 ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετελεῖ.
 βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὢν καὶ κύριος πάντων, στρατηγὸς
 ἐκείνων ἡξίου καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνας
 τυγχάνων μετ' ἐπιγράμματος ἐγάνυτο πλέον ἢ
 τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἀξιωθείς. ἀμειβόμενος δὲ
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν πόλιν, πυρῶν μεδίμνους δίδωσι
 πολλάκις μυρίους καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος δωρεὰν καρ-
 ποῦσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ὑπῆρχε τῇ πόλει μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις

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the vote of all the armies? His military genius was made evident by his achievements and needs no words of mine. He traversed the whole civilised world suppressing tyrants, but never those who ruled by right. His subjects he inspired with such affection that his veterans still remember how generous he was with largess and other rewards, and to this day worship him as though he were a god. As for the mass of the people, in town and country alike, they prayed that your father might be victorious over the tyrants, not so much because they would be delivered from that oppression as because they would then be governed by him. But when he had made his power supreme, he found that the tyrant's¹ greed had worked like a drought, with the result that money was very scarce, while there were great hoards of treasure in the recesses of the palace; so he unlocked its doors and on the instant flooded the whole country with wealth, and then, in less than ten years, he founded and gave his name to a city² that as far surpasses all others as it is itself inferior to Rome; and to come second to Rome seems to me a much greater honour than to be counted first and foremost of all cities beside. Here it may be proper to mention Athens "the illustrious,"³ seeing that during his whole life he honoured her in word and deed. He who was emperor and lord of all did not disdain the title of General of the Athenians, and when they gave him a statue with an inscription to that effect he felt more pride than if he had been awarded the highest honours. To repay Athens for this compliment he bestowed on her annually a gift of many tens of thousands of bushels

¹ Maxentius.

² Constantinople.

³ Pindar *fr.* 46

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εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ τῶν βελτίστων.

Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν ἔργων τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ πραχθέντων, ὧν τε ἐπεμνήσθην καὶ ὅσα διὰ τὸ μῆκος παραλιπεῖν δοκῶ, πάντων ἄριστον ἔγωγε φαίην ἄν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας 9 ὁμολογήσειν, τὴν σὴν γένεσιν καὶ τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν· ἐξ ἧς ὑπάρχει τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ τὸ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τέ ἐστίν εἰς πλείονα χρόνον. δοκεῖ γοῦν ἄρχειν ἐκείνος εἰσέτι. καὶ Κύρῳ μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε τοῦτο. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ὁ παῖς ὠφθῆ μακρῷ φαυλότερος, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πατήρ, ὁ δὲ ἐπωνομάσθη δεσπότης. σὲ δὲ πραότερον μὲν τοῦ B πατρὸς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς κρείττονα σαφῶς τε¹ οἶδα, καὶ δηλώσω τοῦ καιροῦ φανέντος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. ἐκείνῳ δὲ προσήκειν καὶ τούτου νομίζω μεταδόντι σοι τῆς ἀρίστης τροφῆς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἤδη λέγειν πειράσομαι, μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν τῶν σῶν ἐπιμνησθεῖς.

Τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας τοσοῦτον περιῆν καὶ κάλους σώματος καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς, ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλη γυναικὶ ῥαδίως ἄν τις ἐξεύροι. ἐπεὶ καὶ Περσῶν ἀκούω τὸν ὑπὲρ Παρυσάτιδος λόγον, ὅτι μόνη γέ C γονεὺν ἀδελφῆ καὶ μήτηρ καὶ γαμετὴ καὶ παῖς βασιλέως. ἀλλ' ἦν γε αὕτη τοῦ γήμαντος ἀδελφῆ τῇ φύσει, νόμος δὲ ἐδίδου γαμεῖν ἀδελφὴν τῷ Πέρσῃ. τὴν σὴν δὲ μητέρα κατὰ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν νόμους ἀχράντους καὶ καθαρὰς τὰς οἰκειότητας ταύτας

¹ τε Cobet, εἰ MSS, Hertlein.

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of wheat, so that while she enjoyed plenty, he won applause and reverence from the best of men.

Your father's achievements were many and brilliant. Some I have just mentioned, and others I must omit for the sake of brevity. But the most notable of all, as I make bold to say and I think all will agree, was that he begat, reared and educated you. This secured to the rest of the world the advantages of good government, and that not for a limited time but for a period beyond his own lifetime, as far as this is possible. At any rate your father seems still to be on the throne. This is more than Cyrus himself could achieve. When he died his son proved far inferior, so that while men called Cyrus "father," his successor was called "master."¹ But you are even less stern than your father, and surpass him in many respects, as I well know and will demonstrate in my speech as occasion shall arise. Yet, in my opinion, he should have the credit of this as well, since it was he who gave you that admirable training concerning which I shall presently speak, but not till I have described your mother and brothers.²

Your mother's ancestry was so distinguished, her personal beauty and nobility of character were such that it would be hard to find her match among women. I have heard that saying of the Persians about Parysatis, that no other woman had been the sister, mother, wife, and daughter of kings. Parysatis, however, was own sister of her husband, since their law does not forbid a Persian to marry his sister. But your mother, while in accordance with our laws she kept pure and unsullied those ties

¹ Herodotus 3. 89. ² Constantine II. and Constans.

φυλάττουσαν συνέβαινε¹ τοῦ μὲν εἶναι παῖδα, γαμητὴν δὲ ἑτέρου, καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἄλλου, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐνὸς μητέρα. ὦν ὁ μὲν τις τῷ πατρὶ συγκατειργάσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Γέτας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην τοῖς ὄπλοις κρατήσας ἀσφαλῆ παρεσκεύασεν, ὁ δὲ ἐτήρησεν ἄβατον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρατεύων ἐκείνοις πολλάκις, ἕως ἐπέτρεπον οἱ μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν εἰς ἐκείνον ἀδικημάτων δίκην ὑποσχόντες. πολλῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνοις περιφανῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν τις αὐτοὺς δικαίως ἐπαινεῖν ἔχοι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν περιουσίας οὐσης,² οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐφ' ᾧ μακαρίζων ἂν³ τις αὐτοὺς εἰκότως σεμνύνοι, ὡς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν δὲ ἔκγονοι⁴ γεγόνασιν.⁵ ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ μακρότερα περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς σοῖς καιρὸν ἀναλώσω τοῦ λόγου, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν ὡς ἡμῖν ἄξιον, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, μακρῷ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιδείξω σε⁶ σεμνότερον.

Φήμας μὲν δὴ καὶ μαντείας καὶ ὄψεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα θρυλεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτω λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανῆ πραξάντων, Κύρου καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκιστοῦ πόλεως καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, ἐκὼν ἀφήμι·

¹ συνέβαινε Reiske, lacuna Hertlein.

² οὐσης Wytttenbach adds, περιουσίας MSS, Hertlein.

³ ἂν Schaefer adds.

⁴ ἔκγονοι Petavius, ἔγγονοι MSS, Hertlein.

⁵ γεγόνασιν Wytttenbach adds. ⁶ σε Wytttenbach adds.

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of kinship, was actually the daughter of one emperor,¹ the wife of another, the sister of a third, and the mother not of one emperor but of several. Of these one aided your father in his war against the tyrants; another conquered the Getae and secured for us a lasting peace with them; the third² kept our frontiers safe from the enemy's incursions, and often led his forces against them in person, so long at least as he was permitted by those who were so soon punished for their crimes against him. Though by the number and brilliance of their achievements they have indeed earned our homage, and though all the blessings of fortune were theirs in abundance, yet in the whole tale of their felicity one could pay them no greater compliment than merely to name their sires and grandsires. But I must not make my account of them too long, lest I should spend time that I ought to devote to your own panegyric. So in what follows I will, as indeed I ought, endeavour—or rather, since affectation is out of place, let me say I will demonstrate—that you are far more august than your ancestors.

Now as for heavenly voices and prophecies and visions in dreams and all such portents³ as are common gossip when men like yourself have achieved brilliant and conspicuous success, Cyrus, for instance, and the founder⁴ of our capital, and Alexander, Philip's son, and the like, I purposely ignore them. Indeed

¹ Maximianus.

² Constans.

³ Isocrates, *Evagoras* 21.

⁴ Romulus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ταῦτα τῆς ποιητικῆς ἐξου-
 σίας εἶναι. καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ὑπάρ-
 ξαντά σοι γένεσιν ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ βασιλικά
 καὶ¹ τὸ λέγειν εὐηθες. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐν τοῖς C
 παισὶν ἀγωγῆς ὁ καιρὸς ὑπομένηκεν, ἔδει σοι
 τῆς βασιλικῆς τροφῆς δῆπουθεν, ἢ τὸ μὲν σῶμα
 πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ εὐεξίαν καὶ κάλλος
 ἀσκήσει, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιο-
 σύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν ἐμμελῶς
 παρασκευάσει. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ ῥάδιον διὰ τῆς
 ἀνειμένης ὑπάρχειν διαίτης, θρυπτούσης μὲν, ὡς
 εἰκός, τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, ἀσθενεστέρας δὲ
 ἐργαζομένης πρὸς τε τοὺς κινδύνους τὰς γνώμας D
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους τὰ σώματα. οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν
 ἔδει γυμναστικῆς, τῷ σώματι, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ τῆ τῶν
 λόγων ἐκόσμεις μελέτη. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀμφο-
 τέρων ἄξιον διελθεῖν· ἀρχὴ γάρ τις αὕτη τῶν μετὰ
 ταῦτα πράξεων γέγονε. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιμελείας τῆς
 περὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν οὐ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἀρμόζον
 ἤσκησας, ἥκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν ὑπολαβῶν τῶν
 τὰς παλαίστρας κατειληφόντων τὴν θρυλουμένην εὐε- 11
 ξίαν, μέλλοντι τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγώνων μεθέξειν, ὑπ-
 νου τε ἐλαχίστου δεομένῳ καὶ τροφῆς οὐ πολλῆς,
 καὶ ταύτης οὔτε κατὰ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ ποιότητα
 πάντως ὠρισμένης οὔτε κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ὃν χρὴ προσ-
 φέρεσθαι, τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης δέ, ἐπειδὰν αἱ πράξεις
 τὸν καιρὸν ἐνδῶσιν. ὅθεν ᾧου δεῖν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια
 πρὸς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι,² πολλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικά, B
 χορείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις, δρόμον τὸν ἐν τούτοις,
 τὴν ἵππικὴν τέχνην, οἷς ἅπασι διατετέλεκας ἐξ

¹ καὶ Wytttenbach adds.

² ποιεῖσθαι Wytttenbach, ποιεῖσθαι εἶναι δὲ MSS, Hertlein.

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I feel that poetic license accounts for them all. And it is foolish even to state that at the hour of your birth all the circumstances were brilliant and suited to a prince. And now the time has come for me to speak of your education as a boy. You were of course bound to have the princely nurture that should train your body to be strong, muscular, healthy, and handsome, and at the same time duly equip your soul with courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom. But this cannot result from that loose indulgence which naturally pampers body and soul, weakening men's wills for facing danger and their bodies for work. Therefore your body required training by suitable gymnastics, while you adorned your mind by literary studies. But I must speak at greater length about both branches of your education, since it laid the foundation of your later career. In your physical training you did not pursue those exercises that fit one merely for public display. What professional athletes love to call the pink of condition you thought unsuitable for a king who must enter for contests that are not make-believe. Such a one must put up with very little sleep and scanty food, and that of no precise quantity or quality or served at regular hours, but such as can be had when the stress of work allows. And so you thought you ought to train yourself in athletics with a view to this, and that your exercises must be military and of many kinds, dancing and running in heavy armour, and riding. All these you have

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ἀρχῆς ἐν καιρῷ χρώμενος· καὶ κατώρθωται παρὰ
 σοὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ὡς παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὀπλιτῶν. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν τις ἐκείνων, πεζὸς ὢν
 ἀγαθός, τὴν ἵππικὴν τέχνην ἠγνόησεν, ὁ δέ, ἐπι-
 στάμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἵππικοῖς, ὀκνεῖ πεζὸς εἰς
 μάχην ἵεναι. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπάρχει σοὶ τῶν μὲν
 ἵππέων ἀρίστῳ φαίνεσθαι παραπλησίως ἐκείνοις
 σταλέντι, μετασκευασαμένῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὀπλίτας
 κρατεῖν ἀπάντων ῥώμη καὶ τάχει καὶ τῇ τῶν
 ποδῶν κουφότητι. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τὰς ἀνέσεις
 ῥαθύμους εἶναι μηδ' ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλων ποιεῖσθαι
 συμβαίνει, ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύειν ἤσκησας. καὶ τὸ
 μὲν σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐκουσίων πόνων πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀκουσίους εὖ ἔχειν παρεσκεύασας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ
 ἠγείτο μὲν ἢ τῶν λόγων μελέτη καὶ τὰ προ-
 σήκοντα τοῖς τηλικούτοις μαθήματα. ὅπως δὲ μὴ
 παντάπασιν ἀγύμναστος ἢ μηδὲ καθάπερ ἄσματα
 καὶ μύθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπακούη λόγους,
 ἔργων δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ πράξεων ἄπειρος οὔσα τὸν
 τοσοῦτον διαμείνη χρόνον, καθάπερ ὁ γενναῖος
 ἠξίωσε Πλάτων οἶονεὶ πτερὰ τοῖς παισὶ χαριζό-
 μενον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζοντα¹ ἄγειν εἰς
 τὰς μάχας, θεατὰς ἐσομένους ὢν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
 ἀγωνιστὰς ἐχρῆν καταστήναι, πατέρα τὸν σὸν
 διανοηθέντα φαῖναι ἂν εἰκότως τοῖς Κελτῶν ἔθνεσιν
 ἐπιστῆσαί σε φύλακα καὶ βασιλέα, μειράκιον
 ἔτι, μᾶλλον δὲ παῖδα κομιδῇ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε
 συνέσει καὶ ῥώμῃ τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν

¹ ἀναβιβάζοντα Cobet, ἀνάγοντα MSS, Hertlein.

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continued from early youth to practise at the right time, and in every exercise you have attained to greater perfection than any other hoplite. Usually a hoplite who is a good infantryman cannot ride, or, if he is an expert horseman, he shirks marching on foot to battle. But of you alone it can be said that you can put on the cavalry uniform and be a match for the best of them, and when changed into a hoplite show yourself stronger, swifter, and lighter on your feet than all the rest. Then you practised shooting at a mark, that even your hours of leisure might not be hours of ease or be found without the exercise of arms. So by work that was voluntary you trained your body to stand the exertions that you would be compelled to undertake.

Your mind, meanwhile, was trained by practice in public speaking and other studies suitable to your years. But it was not to be wholly without the discipline of experience, nor was it for you to listen merely to lectures on the virtues as though they were ballads or saga stories, and so wait all that time without actual acquaintance with brave works and undertakings. Plato, that noble philosopher, advised¹ that boys should be furnished as it were with wings for flight by being mounted on horseback, and should then be taken into battle so that they may be spectators of the warfare in which they must soon be combatants. This, I make bold to say, was in your father's mind when he made you governor and king of the Celtic tribes while you were still a youth, or rather a mere boy in point of years, though in intelligence and endurance you could already hold your own with men of parts.

¹ *Republic* 467 E.

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ἐνάμιλλον ἤδη. τοῦ μὲν ἀκίνδυνον γενέσθαι σοι τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ὁ πατὴρ προνόησε καλῶς, εἰρήνην ἐπιτάξας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἄγειν τοῖς βαρβύροις· μάχεσθαι δὲ ἀναπείθων καὶ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων συμφυραῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι στρατηγικὴν ἐδίδασκε τέχνην, ἀσφαλέστερον βουλευόμενος τοῦ σοφοῦ Πλάτωνος. τῷ μὲν γάρ, εἰ πεζὸς ἐπέλθοι πολεμίων στρατός, οἱ παῖδες θεαταὶ καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἦν που δεηθῶσι, τοῖς πατράσι γένοιντ' ἂν κρατούντων δὲ ἰππεύσει τῶν πολεμίων, ὥρα μηχανᾶσθαι τοῖς μειρακίοις σωτηρίας τρόπον δυσεπινόητον. τὸ δὲ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κινδύνοις τοὺς παῖδας ἐθίζειν πολεμίων ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀρκούντως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν δοκεῖ βεβουλευσθαι.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτοις σοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὑπῆρχε μελέτη. φρονήσεως δὲ ἢ μὲν φύσις, ἦν εἴληχας, αὐταρκῆς ἡγεμόνων· παρήσαν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τὰ πολιτικὰ διδάσκοντες. καὶ παρέιχον ἡθῶν καὶ νόμων καὶ ξένων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐμπειρίαν αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τῆδε βαρβάρων ἐντεύξεις. καίτοι τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ συνετὸν Ὀμηρὸς ἐκ παντὸς ἀποφῆναι προαιρούμενος πολύτροπον εἶναί φησι καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοῦν καταγνώσκειν καὶ ἐπελθεῖν τὰς πόλεις,¹ ἢ ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπιλεξάμενος ἔχοι τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πρὸς παντοδαποὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀμιλεῖν δύναιτο. ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ὅς² οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε

¹ τὰς πόλεις Cobet, ταῖς πόλεσιν MSS, Hertlein.

² τῷ μὲν ὅς Wright, τὸν μὲν MSS, Hertlein, τὸ μὲν V.

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Your father wisely provided that your experience of war should be free from risks, having arranged that the barbarians should maintain peace with his subjects. But he instigated them to internal feuds and civil war, and so taught you strategy at the expense of their lives and fortunes. This was a safer policy than the wise Plato's. For, by his scheme, if the invading army were composed of infantry, the boys could indeed be spectators of their fathers' prowess, or, if need arose, could even take part. But supposing that the enemy won in a cavalry engagement, then, on the instant, one would have to devise some means to save the boys, which would be difficult indeed. But to inure the boys to face the enemy, while the hazard belongs to others, is to take counsel that both suffices for their need and also secures their safety.

It was in this way then that you were first trained in manliness. But as regards wisdom, that nature with which you were endowed was your self-sufficing guide. But also, I think, the wisest citizens were at your disposal and gave you lessons in statecraft. Moreover, your intercourse with the barbarian leaders in that region gave you an acquaintance at first hand with the manners, laws, and usages of foreigners. Indeed, when Homer set out to prove the consummate wisdom of Odysseus, he called him "much-travelled," and said that he had come to know the minds of many peoples and visited their cities, so that he might choose what was best in every one and be able to mix with all sorts and conditions of men. Yes, even Odysseus, who never ruled an

ποικίλων ἡθῶν ἐμπειρίας χρεία· τὸν δὲ πρὸς
 τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τρεφόμενον οὐκ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ
 που χρῆν διδάσκεσθαι οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν,
 καθάπερ ὁ Κῦρος, παίζοντα μιμῆσθαι οὐδὲ
 χρηματίζειν τοῖς ἥλιξι, καθάπερ ἐκείνον λέγουσιν,
 ἀλλ' ἔθνεσιν ὀμιλεῖν καὶ δήμοις, καὶ στρατιωτῶν
 τάγμασιν ἐπιτάττειν ἀπλῶς τὸ πρακτέον· ὅλως δὲ
 οὐδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθαι τούτων, ὧν ἐχρῆν ἄνδρα
 γενόμενον ἐπ' ἀδείας πράττειν.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἐδιδάχθης
 καλῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἡπειρον μετιῶν τοῖς
 Παρθυαίων καὶ Μήδων ἔθνεσιν ἀντετάχθης
 μόνος. ὑποτυφομένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου
 καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μέλλοντος ἀναρριπίζεσθαι,
 ταχέως καὶ τούτου κατέγνωσ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ
 τὴν τῶν ὀπλων ἰσχὺν ἐμιμήσω, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 ὥραν τοῦ θέρους εἴθισας καρτερεῖν τὸ σῶμα.
 πυνθάνομαι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων
 Ἑλλήνων οὕτως εὐφυῶς μεταβολὰς ἐνεγκεῖν, ὡς
 καὶ μιμήσασθαι πρῶτον¹ μὲν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαι-
 μονίων ἐγκράτειαν, ἐπειδὴ Σπαρτιάταις αὐτὸν
 ἐδεδώκει, εἶτα Θηβαίους, καὶ Θράκας ὕστερον, καὶ
 ἐπὶ τέλει τὴν τῶν Περσῶν τρυφήν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνος
 μὲν τοῖς χωρίοις συμμεταβάλλων καὶ τὸν τρόπον
 ἀνεπίμπλατο πολλῆς δυσχερείας καὶ τὸ πάτριον
 ἐκινδύνευε παντελῶς ἀποβαλεῖν, σὺ δὲ τῆς μὲν

¹ πρῶτον Cobet adds.

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empire, needed experience of the many and divers minds of men. How much more necessary that one who was being brought up to guide an empire like this should not fit himself for the task in some modest dwelling apart; neither should he, like young Cyrus in his games, play at being emperor, nor give audiences to his playmates, as they say¹ Cyrus did. Rather he ought to mix with nations and peoples, and give orders to his troops definitely indicating what is to be done, and generally he should be found wanting in none of those things which, when he comes to manhood, he must perform without fear.

Accordingly, when you had gained a thorough knowledge of the Celts, you crossed to the other continent and were given sole command against the Parthians and Medes. There were already signs that a war was smouldering and would soon burst into flame. You therefore quickly learned how to deal with it, and, as though you took as model the hardness of your weapons, steeled yourself to bear the heat of the summer season. I have heard say that Alcibiades alone, among all the Greeks, was naturally so versatile that when he cast in his lot with the Spartans he copied the self-restraint of the Lacedaemonians, then in turn Theban and Thracian manners, and finally adopted Persian luxury. But Alcibiades, when he changed his country changed his character² too, and became so tainted with perversity and so ill-conditioned that he was likely to lose utterly all that he was born to. You, however, thought it your duty to maintain your severity of

¹ Herodotus 1. 114.

² Cf. Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* 78. Horace *Epistles* 1. 11. 27.

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ἐγκρατοῦς διαίτης ὧν δεῖν ἔχουσθαι πανταχοῦ, ἐθίζων δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς D
 ῥᾶου ἤνεγκας¹ τὴν ἐκ Γαλατῶν εἰς Παρθυαίους ἄνοδον ἢ² τῶν πλουσίων οἱ ταῖς ὥραις τὴν οἴκησιν
 συμμεταβάλλοντες, εἰ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν βιασθεῖεν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ θεὸς εὐμενὴς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων
 ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν παρασκευάζειν ἐθέλων, κύκλω σε περιαγαγεῖν καὶ ἐπιδειξάει τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ὄρους καὶ πέρατα καὶ φύσιν χωρίων καὶ μέγεθος χώρας καὶ δύναμιν ἐθνῶν καὶ πλήθος 14
 πόλεων καὶ φύσιν δήμων καὶ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὴν περιουσίαν³ ὧν οὐδενὸς ἀπολελεῖφθαι
 χρὴ τὸν πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν τρεφόμενον. τὸ μέγιστον δὲ μικροῦ με διέφυγεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τούτων
 ἀπάντων ἄρχειν ἐκ παίδων διδασκόμενος, ἄρχεσθαι κρεῖττον ἔμαθες, ἀρχῇ τῇ πασῶν ἀρίστη καὶ
 δικαιοτάτῃ, φύσει τε καὶ νόμῳ, σαυτὸν ὑποτιθείς· πατρὶ γὰρ ὑπήκουες ἅμα καὶ βασιλεῖ· ὧν εἰ καὶ
 θάτερον ὑπῆρχεν ἐκείνῳ μόνον, ἄρχειν αὐτῷ πάντως προσῆκον ἦν. καίτοι τίνα ποτ' ἂν τις B
 ἐξεύροι βασιλικὴν τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν ἀμείνω ταύτης πάλαι γενομένην; οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵπερ δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς τῆς τῶν βασιλέων μεταλαβεῖν, οὔτω τοὺς Ἡρα-
 κλείδας ἐπαίδευον, οὔτε τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ Καρχη-

¹ ἤνεγκας Cobet, διήνεγκας MSS, Hertlein.

² ἢ Reiske adds.

³ περιουσίαν Petavius, γερουσίαν MSS, Hertlein.

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life wherever you might be, and by hard work inuring your constitution to change, you easily bore the march inland from Galatia to Parthia, more easily in fact than a rich man who lives now here, now there, according to the season, would bear it if he were forced to encounter unseasonable weather. I think Heaven smiled on you and willed that you should govern the whole world, and so from the first trained you in virtue, and was your guide when you journeyed to all points, and showed you the bounds and limits of the whole empire, the character of each region, the vastness of your territory, the power of every race, the number of the cities, the characteristics of the masses, and above all the vast number of things that one who is bred to so great a kingship cannot afford to neglect. But I nearly forgot to mention the most important thing of all. From a boy you were taught to govern this great empire, but a better thing you learned, to be governed, submitting yourself to the authority that is the best in the world and the most just, that is to say nature and law. I mean that both as son and subject you obeyed your father. Indeed, had he been only your father or only your king, obedience was his due.

Now what rearing and education for a king could one find in history better than this? Consider the Greeks. Not thus did the Spartans train the Heracleidae, though they are thought to have enjoyed the best form of government, that of their kings. As for the barbarians, not even the Cartha-



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δόνοι, βασιλευόμενοι διαφερόντως, τῆς ἀρίστης ἐπιμελείας τὸν ἄρξοντα¹ σφῶν ἠξίου· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἦν κοινὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ παιδεύματα, καθάπερ ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς πολίταις ἄρξιν τε καὶ ἀρχθήσεσθαι μέλουσι, καὶ οὐδὲν διάφορον προσῆν εἰς παιδείας λόγον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἄλλων. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ εὔηθες ἀπαιτεῖν μὲν ἀρετῆς μέγεθος ἀνυπέμβλητον παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, προνοεῖν δὲ μηδέν, ὅπως ἔσονται τῶν πολλῶν διαφέροντες; καὶ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις, ἅπασιν ἐν κοινῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης προκειμένης, τὸ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἠθῶν ὁμοίαν γίγνεσθαι παράσχοι συγγνώμην· τὸν Λυκούργου δὲ τοῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάττοντα² μηδεμίαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τῶν νέων εὐρόντα σφόδρα ἂν τις εἰκότως μέμφαιτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς καὶ τροφίμους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, τῆς ἴσης ἀξιοῦν ἐχρῆν τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας τοὺς ἰδιώτας τοῖς ἄρξουσιν.³ ἢ γὰρ τοιαύτη κατὰ μικρὸν παραδυομένη⁴ συνήθεια ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνέτεκεν⁵ ὑπεροψίαν τῶν κρείττωνων· ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲ κρείττονας νομιστέον τοὺς οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν πρωτεύειν

¹ ἄρξοντα Hertlein suggests, ἄρχοντα MSS.

² διαφυλάττοντα [καὶ] Hertlein.

³ ἄρξουσιν Cobet, ἄρχουσιν MSS, Hertlein.

⁴ παραδυομένη Wright, cf. *Rep.* 424 D, ὑποδυομένη MSS, Hertlein.

⁵ ἐνέτεκεν Wytttenbach, ἐντεκεῖν MSS, Hertlein, πέφυκεν ἐντεκεῖν Petavius.

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ginians, though they were particularly well-governed by their kings, chose the best method of training their future rulers. The moral discipline and the studies prescribed by their laws were pursued by all alike, as though the citizens were brothers, all destined both to govern and be governed, and in the matter of education they made no difference between their princes and the rest of the citizens. Yet surely it is foolish to demand superlative excellence from one's rulers when one takes no pains to make them better than other men. Among the barbarians, indeed, no man is debarred from winning the throne, so one can excuse them for giving the same moral training to all. But that Lycurgus, who tried to make the dynasty of the Heracleidæ proof against all shocks,¹ should not have arranged for them a special education better than that of other Spartan youths is an omission for which he may well be criticised. He may have thought that all the Lacedaemonians ought to enter the race for virtue, and foster it, but for all that it was wrong to provide the same nurture and education for private citizens as for those who were to govern. The inevitable familiarity little by little steals into men's souls and breeds contempt for their betters. Though, for that matter, they are not in any sense one's betters unless it was their own merit that earned them the right to rule. This, in

¹ cf. Xenophon *Rep. Lac.* 15. 7.

λαχόντας. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας χαλε-
 ποτέρους ἀρχθῆναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρεῖχε πολ-
 λάκις. χρήσαιτο δ' ἄν τις σαφεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῶν
 ῥηθέντων τῇ Λυσάνδρου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον φιλο-
 τιμία καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν, ἐπιὼν τὰ πεπραγμένα
 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

Ἄλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τὰ¹ πρὸς ἀρετὴν
 ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζουσα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν δια-
 φέρον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐδίδου τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ
 καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ὑπάρχειν παρεῖχεν ἀνδράσι
 Καρχηδονίων δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευ-
 μάτων ἐπαινεῖν ἄξιον. ἐξελαύνοντες γὰρ τῶν
 οἰκιῶν οἱ γονεῖς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέταττον εὐπο-
 ρεῖν διὰ τῶν πόνων τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀναγ-
 καίων, τὸ δρᾶν τι τῶν δοκούντων αἰσχρῶν ἀπαγο-
 ρεύοντες. τὸ δὲ ἦν, οὐ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελεῖν τῶν
 νέων, ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν² πειρᾶσθαι τι δρῶντα³ προστάτ-
 τειν. πέφυκε γὰρ οὐ τρυφῇ μόνον ἦθος διαφθεί-
 ρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεῆς δίαιτα,
 ἐφ' ᾧ οὐπω τὸ κρίνειν ὁ λόγος προσλαβῶν
 ἔπεται ταῖς χρεῖαις ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναπειθό-
 μενος, ἄλλως τε εἰ καὶ τούτου μὴ κρατοῖη τοῦ
 πάθους, πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἐκ παίδων συνθετιζό-
 μενος καὶ τινὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἐμποριῶν καὶ καπηλείας
 τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρῶν τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότην
 μαθῶν, ὑπὲρ ᾧ οὐ λέγειν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούειν

¹ τὰ Wyttenbach adds.

² λαθεῖν Cobet, τὸ λαθεῖν MSS, Hertlein, τοῦ λαθεῖν
 Schaefer.

³ τι δρῶντα Spanheim, ἰδρῶτα MSS, Hertlein.

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my opinion, is the reason why the Spartan kings often found their subjects hard to govern. In proof of what I say one might quote the rivalry of Lysander and Agesilaus, and many other instances, if one should review the history of the Spartan kings.

The Spartan polity, however, by securing a satisfactory development of the moral qualities in their kings, even if it gave them a training in no way different from that of the crowd, at least endowed them with the attributes of well-bred men. But as for the Carthaginians, there was nothing to admire even in the discipline that they all shared. The parents turned their sons out of doors and bade them win the necessaries of life by their own efforts, with the injunction to do nothing that is considered disgraceful. The effect of this was not to uproot the evil inclinations of the young, but to require them to take pains not to be caught in wrong-doing. For it is not self-indulgence only that ruins character, but the lack of mere necessaries may produce the same result. This is true at any rate in the case of those whose reason has not yet assumed the power to decide, being swayed by physical needs and persuaded by desire. It is especially true when one fails to control the passion for money-getting, if from boyhood one is accustomed to it and to the trading and bartering of the market-places. This business, unfit for a youth of gentle birth to mention, or so much as hear spoken of, whether the youth finds it out for himself

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ἄξιον ἐλευθέρῳ παιδί, πλείστας ἂν κηλίδας ἐναπόθοιτο τῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν πασῶν καθαρὸν εἶναι χρῆ καὶ τὸν ἐπεικῆ πολίτην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ στρατηγὸν μόνον.

ἔμοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐκείνοις προσήκει· δείξω δὲ μόνον τῆς τροφῆς¹ τὸ διαφέρον, ἧ χρησάμενος κάλλει καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διήνεγκας, διὰ μὲν τῶν πόνων τὴν εὐεξίαν περιβαλόμενος, διὰ δὲ τῶν νόμων τὴν σωφροσύνην κατακτησάμενος,² καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι ῥωμαλεωτέρῳ διὰ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τῇ ψυχῇ δ' αὖ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καρτερίαν δικαιότερα χρώμενος, τὰ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως ἀγαθὰ συναύξων ἐκ παντός, τὰ δὲ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἔξωθεν αἰεὶ προσλαμβάνων· καὶ δεόμενος³ μὲν οὐδενός, ἐπαρκῶν δ' ἄλλοις καὶ χαριζόμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ ὅσαι τοὺς λαβόντας ἤρκουσι ἀποφῆναι τῷ Λυδῶν δυνάστη παραπλησίους, ἐνδεέστερον μὲν ἀπολαύων αὐτὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἢ Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ σωφρονέστατος, τοῦ τρυφᾶν δὲ παρέχων ἄλλοις χορηγίαν, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις σωφρονεῖν παρέχων σαυτὸν μιμῆσθαι, ἄρχων μὲν πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως τῶν ἄλλων, ἀρχόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σωφρόνως καὶ ὡς εἰς τῶν πολλῶν τὸν ἅπαντα διετέλει χρόνον. παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι σοι καὶ μειρακίῳ ταῦτά τε ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα, περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγειν μακρότερον ἂν εἴη τοῦ καιροῦ.

¹ τροφῆς MSS, Cobet, διατροφῆς V, Hertlein.

² κατακτησάμενος Cobet· κτησάμενος MSS, Hertlein, καταχρησάμενος V.

³ δεόμενος MSS, Cobet, ἐνδεόμενος Hertlein.

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or learns it from those of greater experience, leaves many scars on the soul ; and even a respectable citizen ought to be free from all this, not a king or general alone.

But it is not for me to criticise the Carthaginians in this place. I will only point out how different was your education, and how you profited by it and have come to excel in looks, strength, justice, and temperance. By your active life you achieved perfect health ; your temperance was the result of obedience to the laws ; you enjoy a body of unusual strength by reason of your self-control, and a soul of unusual rectitude because of your physical powers of endurance. You left nothing undone to improve your natural talents, but ever acquired new talents by new studies. You needed nothing yourself but gave assistance to others, and lavished such generous gifts that the recipients seemed as rich as the monarch of the Lydians.¹ Though you indulged yourself less in the good things that were yours than the most austere of the Spartans, you gave others the means of luxury in abundance, while those who preferred temperance could imitate your example. As a ruler you were mild and humane ; as your father's subject you were ever as modest as any one of his people. All this was true of you in boyhood and youth, and much more about which there is now no time to speak at length.

¹ Gyges.

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Γενόμενος δὲ ἐφ' ἡλικίας, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτήν τοῦ δαίμονος μάλα ὀλβίαν παρασχόντος, οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τὸν τάφον ἐκόσμεις, γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς ἀποτίνων τὰ χαριστήρια, πολὺ δὲ πλεον τῷ μόνος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ζώντος μὲν ἔτι καὶ πιεζομένου τῇ νόσῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρμήσαι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὰς μεγίστας τιμὰς καταστήσαι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι. καλοῦσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐφ' αὐτὰς αἱ πράξεις ὑπομιμνήσκουσαι τῆς ῥώμης, τῆς εὐψυχίας, εὐβουλίας τε ἅμα καὶ δικαιοτήτος, οἷς ἅμαχος ὄφθης καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς πατρώους σοι φίλους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καταστησάμενος· πλὴν εἴπου βιασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἄκων ἑτέρους ἐξαμαρτεῖν οὐ διεκώλυσας· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνδρείως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῆς προὔπαρχούσης ἀξίως τοῦ γένους δόξης καταστησάμενος. τοῖς μὲν δι' ὁμοιοῦς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον συγγέγονας, ἀστασίαστον μὲν τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάττων καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς συνάρχοντας θεραπεύων αἰεὶ, τοῖς φίλοις δὲ τῆς ἰσηγορίας¹ μεταδιδούς καὶ τῆς παρρησίας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθόπως, κοινωνῶν μὲν ἅπασιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μεταδιδούς δὲ ὧν ἕκαστος ἐνδεὴς δόξειε. καὶ τούτων μάρτυσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις εἰκότως ἂν τις χρήσαιτο, καὶ τὰ πράγματα δὲ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι

¹ ἰσηγορίας Petavius, ἰσης παρρηγορίας MSS, Hertlein.

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When you had come to man's estate, and after fate had decreed the ending of your father's life¹ and Heaven had granted that his last hours should be peculiarly blest, you adorned his tomb not only by lavishing on it splendid decorations² and so paying the debt of gratitude for your birth and education, but still more by the fact that you alone of his sons hastened to him when he was still alive and stricken by illness, and paid him the highest possible honours after his death. But all this I need only mention in passing. For now it is your exploits that cry aloud for notice and remind me of your energy, courage, good judgment, and justice. In these qualities you are unsurpassed, unrivalled. In your dealings with your brothers,³ your subjects, your father's friends, and your armies you displayed justice and moderation; except that, in some cases, forced as you were by the critical state of affairs, you could not, in spite of your own wishes, prevent others from going astray. Towards the enemy your demeanour was brave, generous, and worthy of the previous reputation of your house. While you maintained the friendly relations that already existed, kept the capital free from civil discord, and continued to cherish your brothers who were your partners in empire, you granted to your friends, among other benefits, the privilege of addressing you as an equal and full freedom of speech without stint, and perfect frankness. Not only did you share with them all whatever you possessed, but you gave to each what he seemed most to need. Anyone who wants testimony to all this might reasonably call your friends to witness, but if he does not know your friends, the facts

¹ At Nicomedia 337 A.D.

² Isocrates, *Evagoras* 1.

³ Constans and Constantine.

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τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συνουσίας ἱκανὰ δηλώσαι τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου παντός.

Ῥητέον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν πράξεων ἀναβαλλομένοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἕξεων λόγον. Πέρσαι τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης πάλαι κρατήσαντες καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ πολλὰ καταστρεψάμενοι, μικροῦ δέω φάναι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην περιβαλλόμενοι κύκλω ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφήρηντο, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγίας ἔργον γενόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ παίγνιον, χαλεπῶς φέροντες¹ τὸ δουλεύειν, ὡς ἐκείνοι ἦσθοντο τετελευτηκότα, τῶν διαδόχων ἀποστάντες Μακεδόσι τε εἰς τὴν ἀντίπαλον δύναμιν αὐθις κατεστησαν καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς κατακτησαμένοις ἀξιόμαχοι διὰ τέλους ἔδοξαν εἶναι πολέμιοι. καὶ τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν τί χρὴ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκειν, Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κράσσου, στρατηγῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνα διὰ μακρῶν ἀποσάμεθα κινδύνων τὰ αἰσχη, πολλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀναμαχεσαμένων τὰ πταίσματα; τί δὲ χρὴ τῶν δευτέρων ἀτυχημάτων μεμνήσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Κάρου πράξεων, ὅσπερ μετὰ τὰς συμφορὰς ἠρέθη στρατηγός;² ἀλλ' οἱ τὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀγαπωμένην εἰρήνην ἐπιτάξαντες ἐκείνοις ἄγειν, οἱ πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντες, οὐχ ὁ μὲν καῖσαρ καθ' αὐτὸν συμβαλὼν αἰσχυρῶς ἀπήλλαξεν; ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης ἄρχοντος καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς ἡγεμονίας

¹ φέροντες πρὸς MSS.

² ὅσπερ . . . στρατηγός MSS.

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themselves are sufficient to demonstrate the policy of your whole life.

But I must postpone the description of your personal qualities and go on to speak of your achievements. The Persians in the past conquered the whole of Asia, subjugated a great part of Europe, and had embraced in their hopes I may almost say the whole inhabited world, when the Macedonians deprived them of their supremacy, and they provided Alexander's generalship with a task, or rather with a toy. But they could not endure the yoke of slavery, and no sooner was Alexander dead, than they revolted from his successors and once more opposed their power to the Macedonians, and so successfully that, when we took over what was left of the Macedonian empire, we counted them to the end as foes with whom we must reckon. I need not now remind you of ancient history, of Antony and Crassus,¹ who were generals with the fullest powers, or tell how after long-continued dangers we succeeded in wiping out the disgrace they incurred, and how many a prudent general retrieved their blunders. Nor need I recall the second chapter of our misfortunes and the exploits of Carus² that followed, when after those failures he was appointed general. Among those who sat on the throne before your father's time and imposed on the Persians conditions of peace admired and welcomed by all, did not the Caesar³ incur a disgraceful defeat when he attacked them on his own account? It was not till the ruler of the whole world⁴ turned his attention to

¹ Defeated at Carrhae B.C. 53: the Roman standards were recovered by Augustus B.C. 20.

² Emperor 282-283 A.D.

³ Galerius Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian, was defeated in Mesopotamia, 296 A.D., by Narses.

⁴ Diocletian.

ἀπάσης ἐκείσε τρέψαντος καὶ προκαταλαβόντος
 τὰς εἰσβολὰς στρατεύμασι καὶ καταλόγοις ὀπλι-
 τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ νεολέκτων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς
 παρασκευαῖς, δεδιότες μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην ἠγάπη-
 σαν. ἦν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως περιόντος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ
 σοῦ συγχέαντες καὶ συνταράξαντες, τῆς μὲν παρ'
 ἐκείνου τιμωρίας διήμαρτον, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν
 πόλεμον παρασκευαῖς τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος·
 σοὶ δὲ ὑπέσχον τὴν δίκην ὕστερον τῶν τετολμη-
 μένων. μέλλων δὲ ἔτι δὴ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 ἀγώνων γενομένων σοὶ πολλάκις ἄπτεσθαι τοσοῦ-
 τον ἀξιῶ σκοπεῖν τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ὅτι τοῦ
 τρίτου μορίου τῆς ἀρχῆς καθεστῶς κύριος οὐδα-
 μῶς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐρρῶσθαι δοκοῦντος, οὐχ
 ὄπλοις, οὐκ ἀνδράσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις, οὐδενὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα πρὸς τηλικούτον πόλεμον ἐχρῆν
 ἐπιρρεῖν ἀφθονα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀδελ-
 φῶν σοὶ δι' ἀσθηποτοῦν αἰτίας τὸν πόλεμον
 ἐλαφρυνόντων· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀναίσι-
 χυντος οὐδὲ βάσκανος συκοφάντης, ὃς οὐκ αἰτιώ-
 τατοι γενέσθαι σὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμονοίας
 φήσει· ὄντος δὲ οἶμαι τοῦ πολέμου καθ' αὐτὸν
 δυσχεροῦς, τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων πρὸς τὴν μετα-
 βολὴν διεταράττετο, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν σφῶν
 ἠγεμόνα ποθεῖν ἐκβοῶντες, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀρχεῖν ἐθέλ-
 οντες· καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἄτοπα καὶ δυσχερῆ παντα-
 χόθεν ἀναφυόμενα χαλεπωτέρας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 πολέμου παρείχεν ἐλπίδας· Ἀρμένιοι παλαιοὶ
 σύμμαχοι στασιάζοντες καὶ μοῖρα σφῶν οὐ φαύλη
 Πέρσαις προσθέμενοι, τὴν ὁμορον σφίσι λησταῖς
 κατατρέχοντες· καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐφαί-

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them, directing thither all the forces of the empire, occupying all the passes with his troops and levies of hoplites, both veterans and new recruits, and employing every sort of military equipments, that fear drove them to accept terms of peace. That peace they somehow contrived to disturb and break during your father's lifetime, but they escaped punishment at his hands because he died in the midst of preparations for a campaign. It was left for you later on to punish them for their audacity. I shall often have to speak of your campaigns against them, but this one thing I ask my hearers to observe. You became master of a third of the empire,¹ that part in fact which seemed by no means strong enough to carry on a war, since it had neither arms nor troops in the field, nor any of those military resources which ought to flow in abundantly in preparation for so important a war. Then, too, your brothers, for whatever reason, did nothing to make the war easier for you. And yet there is no sycophant so shameless and so envious as not to admit that the harmony existing between you was mainly due to you. The war in itself presented peculiar difficulties, in my opinion, and the troops were disaffected owing to the change of government; they raised the cry that they missed their old leader and they wished to control your actions. Nay, more; a thousand strange and perplexing circumstances arose on every hand to render your hopes regarding the war more difficult to realise. The Armenians, our ancient allies, revolted, and no small part of them went over to the Persians and overran and raided the country on their borders.

In this crisis there seemed to be but one hope of

¹ The provinces of the East.

νετο μόνον σωτήριον, τὸ σὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχεσθαι
καὶ βουλευέσθαι, τέως οὐχ ὑπῆρχε διὰ τὰς πρὸς
τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἐν Παιονίᾳ συνθήκας, ἃς αὐτὸς
παρὼν οὕτω διώκησας, ὡς μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν
ἐκείνοις παρασχεῖν μέμφεως. μικροῦ με ἔλαθεν ἡ¹
τῶν πράξεων ἀρχὴ διαφυγοῦσα καλλίων ἀπασῶν
ἢ ταῖς καλλίσταις ἐξ ἴσης θαυμαστή. τὸ γὰρ B
ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτων πραγμάτων βουλευόμενον μηδὲν
ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τὸ πλεον
ἔχειν ἐκὼν συγχωροίης, σωφροσύνης καὶ
μεγαλοψυχίας μέγιστον ἂν εἴη σημεῖον. νῦν
δὲ εἰ μὲν τις τὴν πατρώαν οὐσίαν πρὸς
τοὺς ἀδελφούς νεμόμενος ἑκατὸν ταλάντων,
κείσθω δέ, εἰ βούλει, τοσοῦτων ἄλλων, εἴτα
ἔχων πεντήκοντα² μναῖς ἔλαττον ἠγάπησε δὴ, καὶ
μικροῦ παντελῶς ἀργυρίου τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμό- C
νοιαν ἀνταλλαξάμενος, ἐπαίνων ἂν ἐδόκει καὶ
τιμῆς ἄξιος ὡς χρημάτων κρείττων, ὡς εὐβουλος
φύσει, ξυνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὡς καλὸς κάγαθός.
ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῆς οὕτω μεγαλοψύχως
καὶ σωφρόνως δοκῶν βεβουλεύσθαι, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐκ
τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῷ μείζονα μὴ προσθεῖναι πόνον,
τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσόδων ἐκὼν ὑφίεσθαι
ὑπὲρ ὁμοιοῦσας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ῥωμαίων D
ἀπάντων εἰρήνης, πόσων ἐπαίνων ἄξιον κρινεῖ τις;
οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἔνεστιν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς
καλῶς μὲν, ἀλυσιτελῶς δέ· λυσιτελές³ μὲν γὰρ

¹ ἡ Schaefer adds.

² πεντήκοντα μναῖς Reiske, Cobet, μναῖς MSS.

³ ἀλυσιτελῶς δέ· λυσιτελές Petavius, Wytttenbach, Hertlein,
ἀλυσιτελές MSS.

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safety, that you should take charge of affairs and plan the campaign, but at the moment this was impossible, because you were in Paeonia¹ making treaties with your brothers. Thither you went in person, and so managed that you gave them no opening for criticism. Indeed, I almost forgot to mention the very first of your achievements, the noblest of all, or at any rate equal to the noblest. For there is no greater proof of your prudence and magnanimity than the fact that, in planning for interests of such importance, you thought it no disadvantage if you should, of your own free will, concede the lion's share to your brothers. Imagine, for instance, a man dividing among his brothers their father's estate of a hundred talents, or, if you prefer, twice as much. Then suppose him to have been content with fifty minae less than the others, and to raise no objection, because he secured their goodwill in exchange for that trifling sum. You would think he deserved all praise and respect as one who had a soul above money, as far-sighted, in short as a man of honour. But here is one whose policy with regard to the empire of the world seems to have been so high minded, so prudent, that, without increasing the burdens of administration, he willingly gave up some of the imperial revenues in order to secure harmony and peace among all Roman citizens. What praise such a one deserves! And certainly one cannot, in this connection, quote the saying, "Well done, but a bad bargain." Nothing, in my opinion,

² Regularly in Greek for Pannonia.

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οὐδέν, ὃ, τι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ καλόν, ἔμοιγε φαίνεται. ὅλως δὲ εἴ τιμι καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν δοκεῖ, κρινέτω μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον σκοπῶν μηδὲ προσόδους χωρίων ἀπαριθμούμενος, καθάπερ οἱ φιλάργυροι γέροντες ὑπὸ τῶν κωμωδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐλκόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν. φιλονεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρίων καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχων ἐκείνων ἂν ἦρξε μόνων ὧν ἔλαχεν, εἰ καὶ πλέον ἔχων ἀπήει· ὑπερορῶν δὲ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ καταφρονήσας ἦρχε μὲν ἀπάσης μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ τοῦ λαχόντος μέρους, ἀπολαύων μὲν τελείας τῆς τιμῆς, μετέχων δὲ ἔλαττον τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ πόνων.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὐθις ἐξέσται διὰ μακροτέρων δηλῶσαι. ὅπως δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμελήθης, τοσοῦτων κύκλω περιστάτων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν κινδύνων καὶ παντοδαπῶν πραγμάτων, θορύβου,¹ πολέμου ἀναγκαίου,² πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμάχων ἀποστάσεως, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, ὅσα ἄλλα τότε δυσχερῆ κατελάμβανεν, ἴσως ἤδη διελθεῖν ἄξιον. ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης ὁμονοίας διώκητο, παρῆν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτάττων βοηθεῖν κινδυνεύουσι, πορείαις ταχείαις³ χρησάμενος ὅπως μὲν ἐκ⁴ Παιόνων ἐν Σύροις ὤφθης, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξαι ῥάδιον· ἀρκεῖ

¹ πραγμάτων θορύβου Wyttenbach, θορύβου πραγμάτων MSS, Hertlein. ² ἀναγκαίου Capps suggests, γενναίου MSS, Hertlein. ³ πορείαις ταχείαις Capps suggests, πορείας μὲν τάχει MSS, Hertlein. ⁴ ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Petavius, ἀθρόως ἐκ MSS, Hertlein.

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can be called a good bargain if it be not honourable as well. In general, if anyone wish to apply the test of expediency alone, he ought not to make money his criterion or reckon up his revenues from estates, like those old misers whom writers of comedy bring on to the stage, but he should take into account the vastness of the empire and the point of honour involved. If the Emperor had disputed about the boundaries and taken a hostile attitude, he might have obtained more than he did, but he would have governed only his allotted share. But he scorned and despised such trifles, and the result was that he really governed the whole world in partnership with his brothers, but had the care of his own portion only, and, while he kept his dignity unimpaired, he had less than his share of the toil and trouble that go with such a position.

On that subject, however, I shall have a chance later to speak in more detail. This is perhaps the right moment to describe how you controlled the situation, encompassed as you were, after your father's death, by so many perils and difficulties of all sorts—confusion, an unavoidable war, numerous hostile raids, allies in revolt, lack of discipline in the garrisons, and all the other harassing conditions of the hour. You concluded in perfect harmony the negotiations with your brothers, and when the time had arrived that demanded your aid for the dangerous crisis of affairs, you made forced marches, and immediately after leaving Paeonia appeared in Syria. But to relate how you did this would tax my powers of description, and indeed for those who know the

δὲ τοῖς ἐγνωκόσιν ἢ πείρα. ὅπως δὲ πρὸς τὴν
 παρουσίαν τὴν σὴν ἀθρώως ἅπαντα μεταβαλόντα
 καὶ μεταστάντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὐ μόνον τῶν
 ἐπικρεμασθέντων ἡμᾶς ἀπήλλαξε φόβων, ἀμείνους
 δὲ μακρῶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων παρέσχευ
 ἐλπίδας, τίς ἂν ἀρκέσειε τῶν ὑπάντων εἰπεῖν; τὰ D
 μὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων, πλησίον γενομένου μόνον,
 ἐπέπαυτο τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ μεθειστήκει πρὸς
 κόσμον, Ἀρμενίων δὲ οἱ προσθέμενοι τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις εὐθύς μετέστησαν, σοῦ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς
 φυγῆς τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἄρχοντι παρ' ἡμᾶς
 ἐξαγαγόντος, τοῖς φεύγουσι δὲ τὴν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν
 κάθοδον ἀδεᾶ παρασκευάσαντος. οὕτω δὲ φιλαν-
 θρώπως τοῖς τε παρ' ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένοις ἄρτι
 χρησαμένου καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς μετὰ τοῦ 21
 σφῶν ἄρχοντος κατεληλυθόσι πράως ὀμιλοῦντος,
 οἱ μὲν, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, αὐτοὺς ἀπω-
 λοφύραντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην τῆς πρόσθεν
 ἠγάπων μᾶλλον δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες
 ἔμπροσθεν ἔργῳ σωφρονεῖν ἔφασαν ἐκμαθεῖν, οἱ
 δὲ τοῦ μὴ μεταστῆναι τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἀξίας τυγ-
 χάνειν. τοσαύτη δὲ ἐχρήσω περὶ τοὺς κατελ-
 θόντας ὑπερβολῇ δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῆς, ὥστε μηδὲ B
 τοῖς ἐχθίστοις σφῶν εὖ πράττουσι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα
 τιμωμένοις ἄχθεσθαι μηδὲ βασκαίνειν. ταῦτα δὲ
 ἐν βραχεῖ καταστησάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραβίας
 ληστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς πρεσβείαις
 τρέψας, ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς ἤλθες,
 ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ χεῖρον ἐν βραχεῖ προειπεῖν.

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facts their own experience is enough. But who in the world could describe adequately how, at the prospect of your arrival, everything was changed and improved all at once, so that we were set free from the fears that hung over us and could entertain brighter hopes than ever for the future? Even before you were actually on the spot the mutiny among the garrisons ceased and order was restored. The Armenians who had gone over to the enemy at once changed sides again, for you ejected from the country and sent to Rome those who were responsible for the governor's¹ exile, and you secured for the exiles a safe return to their own country. You were so merciful to those who now came to Rome as exiles, and so kind in your dealings with those who returned from exile with the governor, that the former did, indeed, bewail their misfortune in having revolted, but still were better pleased with their present condition than with their previous usurpation; while the latter, who were formerly in exile, declared that the experience had been a lesson in prudence, but that now they were receiving a worthy reward for their loyalty. On the returned exiles you lavished such magnificent presents and rewards that they could not even resent the good fortune of their bitterest enemies, nor begrudge their being duly honoured. All these difficulties you quickly settled, and then by means of embassies you turned the marauding Arabs against our enemies. Then you began preparations for the war, about which I may as well say a few words.

¹ Tiranus, King of Armenia, was now, 337 A.D., deposed and imprisoned by Sapor. His son, Arsaces, succeeded him in 341. Julian is describing the interregnum. Gibbon, chap. 18, wrongly ascribes these events to the reign of Tiridates, who died 314 A.D.

Τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τῆς πρόσθεν τοῖς μὲν στρα-
 τευομένοις ἀνείσης τοὺς πόρους, τοῖς λειτουργοῦσι
 δὲ κουφοτέρας τὰς λειτουργίας¹ παρασχούσης,
 τοῦ πολέμου δὲ χρημάτων καὶ σιτηρεσίου καὶ
 χορηγίας λαμπρᾶς δεομένου, πολὺ δὲ πλεον ἰσχύος
 καὶ ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπειρίας τῶν
 στρατευομένων, ὑπάρχοντος δὲ οὐδενὸς σχεδὸν
 τῶν τοιούτων, αὐτὸς ἐξῆνυρες καὶ κατέστησας, τοῖς
 μὲν ἐν² ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι λαχοῦσιν ἀποδείξας
 τῶν πόρων μελέτην, παπαπλησίαν δὲ τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις ἵππικὴν καταστησάμενος δύναμιν, τῷ πεζῷ
 δὲ ἐπιτάξας τῶν πόρων ἔχεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὐ
 ῥήμασι μόνον οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, μελετῶν δὲ
 αὐτὸς καὶ συνασκούμενος καὶ δεικνύων ἔργῳ τὸ
 πρακτέον, πολέμων ἐργάτας ἄφνω κατέστησας.
 χρημάτων δὲ ἐπενόεις πόρους, οὐκ αὖξων τοὺς
 φόρους οὐδὲ τὰς συντάξεις, καθάπερ Ἀθηναῖοι
 πρόσθεν, εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεον κατα-
 στήσας, ἐμμένων δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πλὴν εἴ-
 πον πρὸς βραχὺ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν³ ἐχρῆν αἰσ-
 θέσθαι δαπανηροτέρων τῶν λειτουργημάτων. ἐν
 τοσαύτῃ δὲ⁴ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἦγες ἀφθονία, ὡς
 μήτε ὑβρίζειν τῷ κόρῳ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας
 πλημμελεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι. ὅπλων δὲ καὶ ἵππων
 παρασκευὴν καὶ νεῶν τῶν ποταμίων καὶ μηχανη-
 μάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τὸ πλῆθος σιωπῇ
 κατέχω. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τέλος εἶχε

¹ ἀς λειτουργίας Reiske adds.

² ἐν Reiske adds.

³ καιρὸν Cobet, εὐκαιρὸν MSS, Hertlein. ἀκαιρὸν V, ἀκαριαῖον Hertlein conjectures.

⁴ δὲ Wright, τε Schaefer, Hertlein.

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The previous period of peace had relaxed the labours of the troops, and lightened the burdens of those who had to perform public services. But the war called for money, provisions, and supplies on a vast scale, and even more it demanded endurance, energy, and military experience on the part of the troops. In the almost entire absence of all these, you personally provided and organised everything, drilled those who had reached the age for military service, got together a force of cavalry to match the enemy's, and issued orders for the infantry to persevere in their training. Nor did you confine yourself to speeches and giving orders, but yourself trained and drilled with the troops, showed them their duty by actual example, and straightway made them experts in the art of war. Then you discovered ways and means, not by increasing the tribute or the extraordinary contributions, as the Athenians did in their day, when they raised these to double or even more. You were content, I understand, with the original revenues, except in cases where, for a short time, and to meet an emergency, it was necessary that the people should find their services to the state more expensive. The troops under your leadership were abundantly supplied, yet not so as to cause the satiety that leads to insolence, nor, on the other hand, were they driven to insubordination from lack of necessaries.

I shall say nothing about your great array of arms, horses, and river-boats, engines of war and the like. But when all was ready and the time had come to

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καὶ ἔδει χρῆσθαι τοῖς προρρηθείσιν εἰς δέον, ἐξεύγνυτο μὲν ὁ Τίγρης σχεδία πολλάκις, ἤρθη δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούρια, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἀμύναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθουμένη, πάντα B δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἤγετο τὰ κείνων ἀγαθὰ, τῶν μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι τολμώντων, τῶν θρασυνομένων δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑποσχόντων. τὸ μὲν δὴ κεφάλαιον τῶν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσβολῶν τοιοῦτον. καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπεξιέναι τίς ἂν ἀξίως ἐν βραχεῖ λόγῳ δυνηθείη, τῶν μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν δὲ τὰς ἀριστείας ἀπαριθμούμενος; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν, ὅτι πολλάκις τὸν ποτα- C μὸν ἐκείνον περαιωθεὶς ξὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίψας¹ χρόνον, λαμπρὸς ἐπανήεις τοῖς τροπαίοις, τὰς διὰ σὲ πόλεις ἐλευθέρως ἐπιὼν καὶ χαριζόμενος εἰρήνην καὶ πλοῦτον, πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τῶν πάλαι ποθουμένων διδοὺς ἀπολαύειν, νίκης κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τροπαίων ἐγειρομένων κατὰ τῆς Παρθυαίων ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας,² ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπεδείξαντο τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συγ- D χέαντες, τὸ δὲ μὴ τολμώντες ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀμύνεσθαι.

Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ με τούτων μὲν ἠδέως μεμνήσθαι τῶν ἔργων, ὀκνεῖν δὲ ἐκεῖνα, περὶ ἃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις πλεονεκτῆσαι παρέσχευ ἢ τύχη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ χώρα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσλαβοῦσα ῥοπήν, ὡς αἰσχύνῃ ἡμῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ

¹ διατρίψας Cobet, τρίψας MSS, Hertlein.

² ἀνανδρίας [καὶ δειλίας] Hertlein. M omits καὶ before δειλίας, hence Petavius omits δειλίας.

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make appropriate use of all that I have mentioned, the Tigris was bridged by rafts at many points and forts were built to guard the river. Meanwhile the enemy never once ventured to defend their country from plunder, and every useful thing that they possessed was brought in to us. This was partly because they were afraid to offer battle, partly because those who were rash enough to do so were punished on the spot. This is a mere summary of your invasions of the enemy's country. Who, indeed, in a short speech could do justice to every event, or reckon up the enemy's disasters and our successes? But this at least I have space to tell. You often crossed the Tigris with your army and spent a long time in the enemy's country, but you always returned crowned with the laurels of victory. Then you visited the cities you had freed, and bestowed on them peace and plenty, all possible blessings and all at once. Thus at your hands they received what they had so long desired, the defeat of the barbarians and the erection of trophies of victory over the treachery and cowardice of the Parthians. Treachery they had displayed when they violated the treaties and broke the peace, cowardice when they lacked the courage to fight for their country and all that they held dear.

But lest anyone should suppose that, while I delight in recalling exploits like these, I avoid mentioning occasions when luck gave the enemy the advantage—or rather it was the nature of the ground combined with opportunity that turned

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ἐπαινον καὶ τιμὴν φέροντα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων
 πειράσομαι δηλῶσαι διὰ βραχέων, οὐ πρὸς τὸ
 λυσιτελέστατον ἑμαυτῷ τοὺς λόγους πλάττων, 23
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν δὲ ἀγαπῶν ἐν πᾶσιν. ἥς εἴ τις ἐκὼν
 ἁμαρτάνοι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν αἰσχύνην
 οὐδαμῶς ἐκφεύγει, προστίθῃσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπαινουμέ-
 νοις τὸ δοκεῖν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εὖ ἀκούειν
 κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν· ὁ παθεῖν εὐλαβησόμεθα. δείξει
 δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτός, εἰ μηδαμοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος πρὸ τῆς
 ἀληθείας τετίμηκεν. οὐκοῦν εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι πάντες
 ἂν μέγιστον φήσειαν πλεονέκτημα τῶν βαρβάρων
 τὸν πρὸ τῶν Σιγγάρων πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκείνην B
 τὴν μάχην ἴσα μὲν ἐνεγκεῖν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τὰ
 δυστυχήματα, δεῖξαι δὲ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν περιγενο-
 μένην τῆς ἐκείνων τύχης φαίην ἂν εἰκότως, καὶ
 ταῦτα στρατοπέδῳ χρησαμένου¹ θρασεῖ καὶ τολ-
 μηρῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνίγους
 ῥώμην οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις συνήθει. ὅπως δὲ
 ἕκαστον ἐπράχθη, διηγῆσομαι. θέρος μὲν γὰρ ἦν
 ἀκμάζον ἔτι, συνήει δὲ ἐς ταῦτόν τὰ στρατόπεδα
 πολὺ πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας. ἐκπληττόμενοι δὲ οἱ C
 πολέμιοι τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἡσυ-
 χίαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πλήθει θαυμαστοὶ φανέντες, ἤρχετο
 μὲν οὐδεὶς τῆς μάχης, τῶν μὲν εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι πρὸς
 οὕτω παρεσκευασμένην δύναμιν ὀκνούντων, τῶν δὲ
 περιμενόντων ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, ὅπως ἀμυνόμενοι
 μᾶλλον ἐν πᾶσιν, οὐχὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ πολέμου μετὰ τὴν

¹ χρησαμένου Hertlein suggests, χρησάμενον V, χρησαμένην MSS.

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the scale—and that I do so because they brought us no honour or glory but only disgrace, I will try to give a brief account of those incidents also, not adapting my narrative with an eye to my own interests, but preferring the truth in every case. For when a man deliberately sins against the truth he cannot escape the reproach of flattery, and moreover he inflicts on the object of his panegyric the appearance of not deserving the praise that he receives on other accounts. This is a mistake of which I shall beware. Indeed my speech will make it clear that in no case has fiction been preferred to the truth. Now I am well aware that all would say that the battle we fought before Singara¹ was a most important victory for the barbarians. But I should answer and with justice that this battle inflicted equal loss on both armies, but proved also that your valour could accomplish more than their luck; and that although the legions under you were violent and reckless men, and were not accustomed, like the enemy, to the climate and the stifling heat. I will relate exactly what took place.

It was still the height of summer, and the legions mustered long before noon. Since the enemy were awestruck by the discipline, accoutrements and calm bearing of our troops, while to us they seemed amazing in numbers, neither side began the battle; for they shrank from coming to close quarters with forces so well equipped, while we waited for them to begin, so that in all respects we might seem to be acting rather in self-defence, and not to be respon-

¹ In Mesopotamia, 348 A.D. (Bury argues for 344 A.D.)

εἰρήνην ἄρχοντες φανείην. τέλος δὲ ὁ τῆς βαρ-
 βαρικῆς ἐκείνης δυνάμεως ἡγεμόν, μετέωρος ἀρθεῖς D
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδιον καὶ καταμαθῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν
 τάξει, οἷος ἐξ οἴου γέγονε καὶ ποίας ἀφίει φωνάς;
 προδεδῶσθαι βοῶν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου
 πείσαντας αἰτιώμενος, φεύγειν ᾤετο χρῆναι διὰ
 τάχους καὶ τοῦτο μόνον οἱ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀρ-
 κέσειν, εἰ φθῆσεται τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι, ὅσπερ
 ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ὄρος ἀρχαῖος. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκείνος πρῶτον
 ἐπὶ πόδα σημαίνει τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ κατ'
 ὀλίγον προστιθεὶς τῷ τάχει τέλος ἤδη καρ- 24
 τερῶς ἔφηνεν, ἔχων ὀλίγους ἰππέας ἀμφ'
 αὐτόν, τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν τῷ παιδί καὶ τῷ
 πιστοτάτῳ τῶν φίλων ἐπιτρέψας ἄγειν. ταῦτα
 ὀρῶντες τὸ στράτευμα καὶ χαλεπαίνοντες, ὅτι
 μηδεμίαν ὑπέσχον τῶν τετολμημένων δίκην, ἐβόων
 ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ κελεύοντος σοῦ¹ μένειν ἀχθό-
 μοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔθειον ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχε
 ῥώμης τε καὶ τάχους, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες αὐτοὶ τέως
 τῆς σῆς στρατηγίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὀρῶντες B
 ἄμεινον αὐτῶν τὸ συμφέρον κρίνειν ἤττον ἐπί-
 στευον· καὶ τῷ πολλὰς² συγκατειργάσθαι τῷ
 πατρὶ τῷ σῷ μάχας καὶ κρατῆσαι πανταχοῦ τὸ³
 δοκεῖν ἀηττήτους εἶναι συνηγωνίζετο. τούτων δὲ
 οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον τὸ παρεστῶς Παρθυαίων δέος
 ἐπῆρεν ὡς οὐκ ἀγωνισαμένους⁴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας

¹ κελεύοντος σοῦ Hertlein suggests, κελεύοντος MSS.

² τῷ πολλὰς Cobet, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.

³ τὸ Cobet, τῷ MSS, Hertlein.

⁴ ἀγωνισαμένους Rouse suggests, ἀγωνισομένους MSS, Hertlein.

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sible for beginning hostilities after the peace. But at last the leader¹ of the barbarian army, raised high on their shields, perceived the magnitude of our forces drawn up in line. What a change came over him! What exclamations he uttered! He cried out that he had been betrayed, that it was the fault of those who had persuaded him to go to war, and decided that the only thing to be done was to flee with all speed, and that one course alone would secure his safety, namely to cross, before we could reach it, the river, which is the ancient boundary-line between that country and ours. With this purpose he first gave the signal for a retreat in good order, then gradually increasing his pace he finally took to headlong flight, with only a small following of cavalry, and left his whole army to the leadership of his son and the friend in whom he had most confidence. When our men saw this they were enraged that the barbarians should escape all punishment for their audacious conduct, and clamoured to be led in pursuit, chafed at your order to halt, and ran after the enemy in full armour with their utmost energy and speed. For of your generalship they had had no experience so far, and they could not believe that you were a better judge than they of what was expedient. Moreover, under your father they had fought many battles and had always been victorious, a fact that tended to make them think themselves invincible. But they were most of all elated by the terror that the Parthians now shewed, when they thought how they had fought, not only against the enemy, but against the very nature of the ground,

¹ Sapor.

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μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν αὐτὴν, καὶ εἴ τι
 μείζον ἐξωθεν προσπίπτοι, καὶ τούτου πάντως
 κρατήσοντας. ταχέως οὖν ἑκατὸν μεταξὺ στάδια
 διαδραμόντες¹ ἐφειστήκεσαν ἤδη Παρθυαίοις εἰς τὸ C
 τεῖχος καταπεφευγόσιν, ὃ πρότερον ἤδη πεποίητο
 σφίσιιν ὡσπερ στρατόπεδον. ἐσπέρα δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν
 καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτόθεν ξυνερρήγνυτο. καὶ τὸ μὲν
 τεῖχος αἰρούσιν εὐθέως τοὺς ὑπὲρ² αὐτοῦ κτείναντες·
 γενόμενοι δὲ εἴσω τῶν ἐρυμάτων πολὺν μὲν ἠρίσ-
 τενον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δίψους ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη
 καὶ λάκκοις ὕδατος ἐντυχόντες ἔνδον, τὴν καλλίστην
 νίκην διέφθειραν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέσχον
 ἀναμαχέσασθαι τὸ πταῖσμα. τοῦτο τέλος τῆς D
 μάχης ἐκείνης γέγονε, τρεῖς μὲν ἢ τέτταρας
 ἀφελομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, Παρθυαίων δὲ τὸν
 ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τρεφόμενον, ἀλόντα πρότερον,
 καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν παμπληθεῖς ξυνδιαφθειράσης.
 τούτοις δὲ ἅπασιν δρωμένοις ὁ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἠγεμῶν οὐδὲ ὄναρ παρῆν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέσχε τὴν
 φυγὴν πρὶν ἢ κατὰ νότου τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιή-
 σατο· αὐτὸς δὲ διέμενες ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις δι' ὅλης 25
 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπάσης, συμμετέχων μὲν τοῖς
 κρατοῦσι τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων, τοῖς πονοῦσι δὲ ἐπαρ-
 κῶν διὰ ταχέων. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐψυ-
 χίας εἰς τοσοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα μετέστησας, ὥστε
 αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβού-
 σης ἀσμένως ἀποσωζέσθαι, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 μάχης, ἐπομένου σου, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας οὕτω
 τὸ δέος πᾶσιν ἀνήκας τῆς φυγῆς. ποῖον οὖν B

¹ διαδραμόντες Naber, δραμόντες MSS, Hertlein.

² τοὺς ὑπὲρ MSS, Cobet (τοὺς ἀμυνομένους) ὑπὲρ Hertlein.

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and if any greater obstacle met them from some fresh quarter, they felt that they would overcome it as well. Accordingly they ran at full speed for about one hundred stades, and only halted when they came up with the Parthians, who had fled for shelter into a fort that they had lately built to serve as a camp. It was, by this time, evening, and they engaged battle forthwith. Our men at once took the fort and slew its defenders. Once inside the fortifications they displayed great bravery for a long time, but they were by this time fainting with thirst, and when they found cisterns of water inside, they spoiled a glorious victory and gave the enemy a chance to retrieve their defeat. This then was the issue of that battle, which caused us the loss of only three or four of our men, whilst the Parthians lost the heir to the throne¹ who had previously been taken prisoner, together with all his escort. While all this was going on, of the leader of the barbarians not even the ghost was to be seen, nor did he stay his flight till he had put the river behind him. You, on the other hand, did not take off your armour for a whole day and all the night, now sharing the struggles of those who were getting the upper hand, now giving prompt and efficient aid to those who were hard-pressed. And by your bravery and fortitude you so changed the face of the battle that at break of day the enemy were glad to beat a safe retreat to their own territory, and even the wounded, escorted by you, could retire from the battle. Thus did you relieve them all from the risks of flight. Now what fort was taken

¹ Sapor's son.

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ἦλω φρούριον; τίς δὲ ἐπολιορκήθη πόλις; τίνος δὲ ἀποσκευῆς οἱ πολέμοι κρατήσαντες ἔσχον ἐφ' ὅτῳ σεμνύνονται μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον;

Ἄλλ' ἴσως, φήσει τις, τὸ μηδέποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἦττον ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εὐτυχῆς καὶ εὐδαιμον ἡγητέον,¹ τὸ δὲ ἀντιστῆναι τῇ τύχῃ ῥωμαλεώτερον καὶ² μείζονος ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει σημείον.

Τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ἐν εὐδία τὴν ναῦν κατευθύνων, γαλήνης ἀκριβοῦς κατεχούσης τὸ πέλαγος; τίς δὲ ἠνίοχος ἄρματος δεξιὸς ἐν ὀμαλῷ καὶ λείῳ χωρίῳ εὐπειθεῖς καὶ πράους καὶ ταχεῖς ἵππους ζευξάμενος, εἶτα ἐν τούτοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν τέχνην; πόσῳ δὲ ἀμείνων νεῶς μὲν ἰθνητῆρ ὁ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα προμαθῶν καὶ προαισθόμενος καὶ πειραθείς γε τοῦτον ἐκκλίνει, εἶτα δι' ἀσθηποτοῦν αἰτίας ἐμπεσὼν καὶ διασώσας ἀπαθῆ τὴν ναῦν αὐτῷ φόρτῳ; ἄρματος δ' ἐπιστάτης ὁ καὶ πρὸς χωρίων ἀγωνιζόμενος τραχύτητα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους μετατιθεῖς ἅμα καὶ βιαζόμενος, ἦν τι πλημμελῶσιν; ὅλως δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἄξιον τέχνην μετὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς σκοπεῖν. οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς ἀμείνων ὁ Κλέων Νικίου, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πύλον ἠτύχησεν, οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ κρατούντων. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν σὴν ἀμείνω καὶ δικαιότεραν τῆς τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρατίστην φήσαιμι, ἀδικεῖν ἂν εἰκότως 26

¹ ἡγητέον Schaefer, ἡγεῖ τὸ δὲ Cobet, Hertlein, ἡγεῖτο δὲ V, M, ἡγῆ τὸ δὲ MSS.

² καὶ Reiske, ὃ καὶ MSS.

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by the enemy? What city did they besiege? What military supplies did they capture that should give them something to boast about after the war?

But perhaps some one will say that never to come off worse than the enemy must indeed be considered good fortune and felicity, but to make a stand against fortune calls for greater vigour and is a proof of greater valour.

Is a man a skilful pilot because he can steer his ship in fair weather when the sea is absolutely calm? Would you call a charioteer an expert driver who on smooth and level ground has in harness horses that are gentle, quiet and swift, and under such conditions gives a display of his art? How much more skilful is the pilot who marks and perceives beforehand the coming storm and tries to avoid its path, and then, if for any reason he must face it, brings off his ship safe and sound, cargo and all? Just so, the skilful charioteer is he who can contend against the unevenness of the ground, and guide his horses and control them at the same time, if they grow restive. In short, it is not fair to judge of skill of any sort when it is aided by fortune, but one must examine it independently. Cleon was not a better general than Nicias because he was fortunate in the affair of Pylos, and the same may be said of all whose success is due to luck rather than to good judgment. But if I did not claim that your fortune was both better and better deserved than that of your opponents, or rather of all men, I should with reason be thought to do it an injustice, since it

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δοκοίην, τὴν μὴ παρασχούσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσθέσθαι τὸ πλεονέκτημα. χρῆ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥηθέντων κρινούντα¹ τὸ μὲν ἐλάττωμα τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ἀνανταγωνίστῳ ῥώμῃ λογίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἴσον καταστῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπολαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αἰσθέσθαι συμφορῶν, ἀγνοῆσαι δὲ τὰ κατορθώματα τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης ἔργον λογίζεσθαι.

Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ μακρότερα περὶ τούτων λέγων B
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειζόνων καιρὸν ἀναλώσω, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο περιστὰν ἡμᾶς τῶν πραγμάτων πλήθος διεξιέναι² καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ὅπως ἅπασιν ἀντισχῶν τυράννων μὲν πλήθος, βαρβάρων δὲ ἐτρέψω δυνάμεις. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις ἤδη, ἕκτον που μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔτος, οὗ μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, ἦκε δὲ ἀγγέλλων τις, ὡς Γαλατία C
μὲν συναφεστῶσα τῷ τυράννῳ ἀδελφῷ τῷ σῷ ἐβούλευσέ τε καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν φόνον, εἶτα ὡς Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία κατείληπται, τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατόπεδα ταραχιδῶς ἔχει καὶ βασιλέα σφῶν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τέως στρατηγὸν ἀντισχεῖν ἐθέλοντα πρὸς τὴν ἄμαχον δοκούσαν τῶν τυράννων φοράν. ἰκέτευε δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος χρήματα πέμπειν καὶ δύναμιν τὴν βοηθήσουσαν, σφόδρα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεδιῶς καὶ τρέμων, μὴ πρὸς τῶν τυράννων κρατηθεῖη. καὶ τέως μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο D
τὰ προσήκοντα δράσειν, οὐδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν

¹ κρινούντα Cobet, κρίνοντα MSS, Hertlein.

² διεξιέναι Reiske, lacuna Hertlein following Petavius.

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prevented the enemy from even perceiving their advantage. For, in my opinion, an impartial judge of my narrative ought to ascribe our reverse to the extreme and insupportable heat, and the fact that you inflicted loss on the enemy equal to ours he would regard as achieved by your valour, but that, though they were aware of their losses, they took no account of their success, he would regard as brought about by your good fortune.

That I may not, however, by saying more on this subject, spend time that belongs to more important affairs, I will try to describe next the multitude of difficulties that beset us, the magnitude of our perils, and how you faced them all, and not only routed the numerous following of the usurpers, but the barbarian forces as well.

About six years had passed since the war I have just described, and the winter was nearly over, when a messenger arrived with the news¹ that Galatia² had gone over to the usurper, that a plot had been made to assassinate your brother and had been carried out, also that Italy and Sicily had been occupied, lastly that the Illyrian garrisons were in revolt and had proclaimed their general³ emperor, though for a time he had been inclined to resist what seemed to be the irresistible onset of the usurpers.⁴ Indeed, he himself kept imploring you to send money and men to his aid, as though he were terribly afraid on his own account of being overpowered by them. And for a while he kept protesting that he would do his duty, that for his part he had no pretensions to the throne, but

¹ cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 169.

² Gaul.

³ Vetricio.

⁴ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 61.

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τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπίτροπον δὲ οἶμαι πιστὸν καὶ φύλακα
 παρέξειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος· ἔμελλε δὲ οὐκ εἰς
 μακρὰν ἄπιστος φανείσθαι καὶ δίκην ὑφέξειν
 καίτοι¹ φιλάνθρωπον. ταῦτα πυθόμενος οὐκ ᾧον
 δεῖν ἐν ῥαστώῃ πολλῇ τὸν χρόνον ἀναλίσκειν
 μάτην. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ πόλεις
 μηχανημάτων καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ σίτου καὶ τῆς
 ἄλλης παρασκευῆς² ἐμπλήσας, καὶ ἀπὼν ἀρκέσειν
 τοῖς τῆδε προσεδόκησας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 27
 τυράννους ὀρμᾶν ἐβουλεύου.

Πέρσαι δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτου
 παραφυλάξαντες, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν Συρίαν
 ληψόμενοι, πᾶσαν ἐξαναστήσαντες ἡλικίαν καὶ
 φύσιν καὶ τύχην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὄρμητο, ἄνδρες,
 μεράκια, πρεσβῦται καὶ γυναικῶν πλήθος καὶ
 θεραπόντων, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
 ὑπουργιῶν χάριν, ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ πλείστου
 ἐπόμενον. διεννοοῦντο γὰρ ὡς καὶ τὰς πόλεις
 καθέξοντες καὶ τῆς χώρας ἤδη κρατήσαντες B
 κληρούχους ἡμῖν ἐπάγειν.³ κενὰς δὲ ἀπέφηνεν
 αὐτοῖς τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς σῆς
 τὸ μέγεθος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέ-
 στησαν, ἐπετειχίζετο μὲν ἡ πόλις κύκλῳ τοῖς
 χώμασιν, ἐπέρρει δὲ ὁ Μυγδόνιος πελαγίζων τὸ
 περὶ τῷ τείχει χωρίον, καθάπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, φασί,
 τὴν Αἴγυπτον. προσήγετο δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν ταῖς
 ἐπάλξεσι τὰ μηχανήματα, καὶ ἐπιπλεῖν ἄλλοι

¹ καίτοι Reiske, καὶ MSS, Hertlein. Petavius omits καί.

² παρασκευῆς V, παρασκευῆς ἀπάσης MSS.

³ ἐπάγειν Hertlein suggests, ἐπάξοντες Wytttenbach, ἐπαύξουσι V, ἐπάξουσι MSS.

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would faithfully guard and protect it for you. Such were his assertions, but it was not long before his treachery came to light and he received his punishment, tempered though it was with mercy. On learning these facts you thought you ought not to waste your time in idleness to no purpose. The cities of Syria you stocked with engines of war, garrisons, food supplies, and equipment of other kinds, considering that, by these measures, you would, though absent, sufficiently protect the inhabitants, while you were planning to set out in person against the usurpers.

But the Persians ever since the last campaign had been watching for just such an opportunity, and had planned to conquer Syria by a single invasion. So they mustered all forces, every age, sex, and condition, and marched against us, men and mere boys, old men and crowds of women and slaves, who followed not merely to assist in the war, but in vast numbers beyond what was needed. For it was their intention to reduce the cities, and once masters of the country, to bring in colonists in spite of us. But the magnitude of your preparations made it manifest that their expectations were but vanity. They began the siege and completely surrounded the city¹ with dykes, and then the river Mygdonius flowed in and flooded the ground about the walls, as they say the Nile floods Egypt. The siege-engines were brought up against the ramparts on boats, and their

¹ Nisibis.

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διενοοῦντο τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ C
 τῶν χωμάτων τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.
 οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἤμνον καρτερῶς τῇ πόλει.
 μεστὰ δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα σωμάτων καὶ ναναγίων καὶ
 ὄπλων καὶ βελῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταδυομένων,
 τῶν δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς βίας κατε-
 νεχθέντα κατέδου, κουφίζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος.
 ἀσπίδες μὲν ἐπενήχοντο βαρβάρων παμπληθεῖς
 καὶ νεῶν σέλματα¹ συντριβομένων ἐπ' αὐταῖς τῶν
 μηχανημάτων. βελῶν πλήθος ἐπινηχόμενον μι- D
 κροῦ δεῖν ἐπέιχεν ἅπαν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους
 καὶ τῶν χωμάτων. ἐτέτραπτο δὲ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς
 λύθρον, καὶ κύκλω τὸ τείχος ἐπήχουν οἰμωγαὶ
 βαρβάρων ὀλλύντων μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὀλλυμένων²
 δὲ πολυτρόπως καὶ τιτρωσκομένων ποικίλοις
 τραύμασι.

Τίς ἂν ἀξίως τῶν δρωμένων διηγοίτο; πῦρ μὲν
 ἐνίετο ταῖς ἀσπίσιν, ἐξέπιπτον δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 ἡμίκαντοι πολλοί, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀποδιδράσκοντες
 τὴν φλόγα τὸν ἐκ τῶν βελῶν οὐκ ἀπέφευγον
 κίνδυνον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔτι νηχόμενοι τὰ νῶτα 28
 τρωθέντες ἐς βυθὸν κατεδύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξαλ-
 λόμενοι τῶν μηχανημάτων πρὶν ὕδατος ἄψασθαι
 βληθέντες οὐ σωτηρίαν, κουφότερον δὲ εὖρον τὸν³
 θάνατον. τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ νεῖν εἰδότας ἀκλεέστερον
 τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπολλυμένους τίς ἂν ἀξιώσειεν
 ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μνήμης; ἐπιλείψει με, καθ' ἕκαστον
 εἰ πᾶσιν ἐπεξελεθεῖν βουλοίμην, ὁ χρόνος· τὸ

¹ σέλματα Reiske, ἔρματα MSS, Hertlein. Reiske suggests συντριβομένων. ἐπ' αὐταῖς δὲ μηχανημάτων καὶ βελῶν πλήθος.

² ὀλλυμένων Cobet, ἀπολλυμένων MSS, Hertlein.

³ εὖρον τὸν Cobet, ἠῦροντο Hertlein, εὖρον τὸν V, εὖραντο MSS.

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plan was that one force should sail to attack the walls while the other kept shooting on the city's defenders from the mounds. But the garrison made a stout defence of the city from the walls. The whole place was filled with corpses, wreckage, armour, and missiles, of which some were just sinking, while others, after sinking from the violence of the first shock, floated on the waters. A vast number of barbarian shields and also ship's benches, as a result of the collisions of the siege-engines on the ships, drifted on the surface. The mass of floating weapons almost covered the whole surface between the wall and the mounds. The lake was turned to gore, and all about the walls echoed the groans of the barbarians, slaying not, but being slain¹ in manifold ways and by all manner of wounds.

Who could find suitable words to describe all that was done there? They hurled fire down on to the shields, and many of the hoplites fell half-burned, while others who fled from the flames could not escape the danger from the missiles. But some while still swimming were wounded in the back and sank to the bottom, while others who jumped from the siege-engines were hit before they touched the water, and so found not safety indeed but an easier death. As for those who knew not how to swim, and perished more obscurely than those just mentioned, who would attempt to name or number them? Time would fail me did I desire to recount all this in detail. It is enough that you

¹ cf. *Iliad*, 4. 451. ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων.

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κεφάλαιον δὲ ἀκούειν ἀπόχρη. ταύτην ἡλιος B
 ἐπεῖδε τὴν μάχην ἄγνωστον ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἔμπρο-
 σθεν χρόνον· ταῦτα τὴν παλαιὰν ἀλαζονείαν
 ἤλεγξε τῶν Μήδων τύφον ὄντα κενόν· ταῦτα τῆς
 Ξέρξου παρασκευῆς ἀπιστουμένης τέως τὸ μέγεθος,
 εἰ τοσαύτη γενομένη τέλος ἔσχεν αἰσχρὸν καὶ
 ἐπονείδιστον, ἐναργέστερον τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι
 γνωρίμων ἡμῖν κατέστησεν. ὁ μὲν ἐπειράτο πλεῖν
 καὶ πεζεύειν ἀπεναντίον τῇ φύσει μαχόμενος
 καί, ὥσπερ οὖν ὤετο, κρατῶν ἠπείρου φύσεως C
 καὶ θαλάττης ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνας ἠπτάτο σοφίας καὶ
 ῥώμης στρατιωτῶν οὐ τρυφᾶν μεμελετηκότων οὐδὲ
 δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως ἄρχεσθαι καὶ πονεῖν εἰ-
 δότων. ὁ δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐκείνου καταδεέστε-
 ρος, ἔμπληκτος δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τοὺς
 Ἀλωάδας ὑπερβαλλόμενος μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ πλησίον
 ὄρος ἐγνωκὸς ἀμφικαλύψαι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαφιεῖς δὲ
 ποταμῶν ῥεύματα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη διαλύσας οὐδὲ D
 ἀτειχίστου τῆς πόλεως περιγεγόμενος ἔσχεν ἐφ'
 ὅτῳ σεμνύνηται, καθάπερ ὁ Ξέρξης ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς
 ἐμβαλὼν τὴν φλόγα. ἐπανήγει δὲ τεττάρων μηνῶν
 ἀναλώσας χρόνον μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἤττον ἀπάγων
 τὸ σράτευμα, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἠγάπησεν ὁ πρόσ-
 θεν ἀφόρητος δοκῶν, τὴν σὴν ἀσχολίαν καὶ τὴν
 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πραγμάτων ταραχὴν ὥσπερ ἔρυμα
 τῆς αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενος σωτηρίας.

Ταῦτα καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τρόπαια καὶ

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should hear the sum of the matter. On that day the sun beheld a battle the like of which no man had ever known before. These events exposed the historic boastings of the Medes as only empty conceit. Till then men had hardly believed that Xerxes could have had so huge an armament, seeing that for all its size its fate was so shameful and ignominious; but these events made the fact clearer to us than things long familiar and obvious. Xerxes tried to sail and to march by fighting against the laws of nature, and, as he thought, overcame the nature of the sea and of the dry land, but he proved to be no match for the wisdom and endurance of a Greek whose soldiers had not been bred in the school of luxury, nor learned to be slaves, but knew how to obey and to use their energies like free-born men. That man,¹ however, though he had no such vast armament as Xerxes, was even more insensate, and outdid the Aloadae in his infatuation, as if almost he had conceived the idea of overwhelming the city with the mountain² that was hard by. Then he turned the currents of rivers against its walls and undermined them, but even when the city had lost its walls he could not succeed in taking it, so that he had not even that triumph to boast of, as Xerxes had when he set fire to Athens. So, after spending four months, he retreated with an army that had lost many thousands, and he who had always seemed to be irresistible was glad to keep the peace, and to use as a bulwark for his own safety the fact that you had no time to spare and that our own affairs were in confusion.

Such were the trophies and victories that you

¹ Sapor.

² *Odyssey* 8. 49.

νίκας, ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀκμῆτας ἦγες τὸ στρα- 29
 τευμα, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐμπλήσαι τροπαίων
 ἐγνωκώς. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκεῖ¹ τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα, εἰ
 καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν εἶχον σεμνότερον,
 πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἀποφῆναί σε τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς
 αὐτῆς σοι μετασχόντων τύχης συνέσει καὶ ῥώμη
 κρατοῦντα. τὸ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς ὤσασθαι μὲν τὴν
 Περσῶν δύναμιν, οὐ πόλιν οὐδὲ φρούριον, ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲ στρατιώτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου προέμενον, B
 πολιορκία δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι λαμπρὸν καὶ οἶον
 οὐπω πρόσθεν ἠκούσαμεν, τίνι χρή τῶν ἔμπροσ-
 θεν παραβαλεῖν ἔργων; περιβόητος γέγονεν ἡ
 Καρχηδονίων ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς τόλμα, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτη-
 σεν εἰς συμφοράς· λαμπρὰ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πλα-
 ταιέων πολιορκίαν γενόμενα, ἐχρήσαντο δὲ οἱ
 δείλαιοι γνωριμώτερον τοῖς δυστυχήμασι. τί χρή
 Μεσσήνης καὶ Πύλου μεμνήσθαι, οὔτε ἀγωνισαμέ-
 νων καρτερώς οὔτε ἀλόντων ξὺν βία; Συρακούσιοι C
 δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἐκείνον ἀντιτάξαντες ταῖς παρα-
 σκευαῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως καὶ τῷ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ
 στρατηγῷ τί πλέον ὤναντο; οὐχ ἐάλωσαν μὲν
 τῶν ἄλλων αἴσχιον, ἐσώζοντο δὲ καλὸν ὑπόμνημα
 τῆς τῶν ἐλόντων πραότητος; Ἄλλ' εἰ πάσας
 ἐξαριθμῆσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλοίμην, αἶ πρὸς τὰς
 ὑποδεεστέρας οὐ κατήρκεσαν παρασκευάς, πόσας
 οἶμι μοι βίβλους ἀρκέσειν; τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ ἴσως
 ἄξιον μνησθῆναι πάσαι ποτὲ χρησαμένης τύχη
 τοιαύτη, Γαλατῶν οἶμαι καὶ Κελτῶν ἐς ταῦτο D

¹ ἀρκεῖ Cobet, ἤρκει MSS, Hertlein.

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left behind you in Asia, and you led your troops to Europe in perfect condition, determined to fill the whole world with the monuments of your victories. Even if I had nothing more wonderful to relate about you, what I have said is enough to demonstrate that in good sense and energy you surpass all those in the past whose fortune was the same as yours. Indeed to have repulsed the whole strength of Persia and remain unscathed, not to have lost so much as a soldier from the ranks, much less a town or fort, and finally to have brought the siege to so brilliant and unprecedented a conclusion,—what achievement I ask in the past could one compare with this? The Carthaginians were famous for their daring in the face of danger, but they ended in disaster. The siege of Plataea shed lustre on its citizens, but all that their valour could do for those unhappy men was to make their misfortunes more widely known. What need to quote Messene or Pylos, since there the defeated did not make a brave defence nor was a vigorous assault necessary to subdue them? As for the Syracusans, they had their famous man of science¹ to aid them against the armaments of Rome and our illustrious general,² but what did he avail them in the end? Did they not fall more ignominiously than the rest, and were only spared to be a glorious monument of their conqueror's clemency? But if I wished to reckon up all the states that could not withstand armaments inferior to their own, how many volumes do you think would suffice? Rome, however, I ought perhaps to mention, because long ago she had just such a fortune, I mean when the Galatians and

¹ Archimedes.

² Marcellus 212 B. C.

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πνευσάντων καὶ φερομένων ἐπ' αὐτὴν καθάπερ
χειμάρρους ἐξαίφνης. κατέλαβον μὲν γὰρ τὸν
λόφον ἐκείνον, οὐ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίδρυται βρέτας·
γέρροις δὲ καὶ τισι τοιούτοις οἴουεὶ τείχει φραξά-
μενοι, πολυπραγμονούντων οὐδὲν προσιέναι τῶν
πολεμίων βία τολμώντων, ἐκράτησαν.

Ταύτῃ παραβαλεῖν ἄξιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τὴν 30
ἔναγχος τῷ τέλει τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἔργοις
οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν ὅσαι πάλαι γεγόνασι. τίς γὰρ ἔγνω
κυκλουμένην μὲν ὕδασι πόλιν,¹ λόφοις δὲ ἔξωθεν
καθάπερ δικτύοις περιβληθεῖσαν, καὶ ποταμὸν
ἐπαφιέμενον οἴουεὶ μηχάνημα, συνεχῶς ῥέοντα καὶ
προσρηγνύμενον τοῖς τείχεσι, τὰς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν
υδάτων μάχας καὶ ὅσαι περὶ τῷ τείχει κατενε-
χθέντι γεγόνασιν;² ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην,
ἀπόχρη καὶ ταῦτα· τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ ἐστὶ μακρῶ
σεμνότερα. καὶ τυχὸν οὐδαμῶς εὐλογον ἄπαξ B
ἐλόμενον ἀπάντων ἐς δύναμιν μνησθῆναι τῶν σοι
πραχθέντων, ἀκμαζουσῶν ἔτι τῶν πράξεων,
ἀφεῖναι τὴν διήγησιν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῖς
ἔργοις προσκαθήμενος, ὧν μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἐμ-
νήσθην, περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διώκησας, πρεσβείας
πέμπων καὶ ἀναλίσκων χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα
τὰ προσκαθήμενα τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐν Παιονίᾳ ἐκ-
πέμπων, τοῦ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τὸν πρεσβύτην ὑπὸ

¹ πόλιν Reiske, τὴν πόλιν MSS.

² γεγόνασιν; Wright, γεγόνασιν. Hertlein.

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Celts¹ conspired together, and without warning poured down on the city like a winter torrent.² The citizens occupied the famous hill³ on which stands the statue of Jupiter. There they intrenched themselves with wicker barricades and such like defences, as though with a wall, while the enemy offered no hindrance nor ventured to approach to attack at close quarters, and so they won the day.

It is with this siege that the recent one may well be compared, at least in the issue of its fortunes; for the actual occurrences could not be paralleled in all history. For who ever heard of surrounding a city with water, and from without throwing hills about it like nets, then hurling at it, like a siege-engine, a river that flowed in a steady stream and broke against its walls, or of fighting like that which took place in the water and about the wall where it had fallen in? For my purpose, this is, as I said, evidence enough. But what remains to tell is far more awe-inspiring. And perhaps, since I have undertaken to record, as far as possible, all that you accomplished, it is not fair to break off my narrative at the point where you were at the very height of your activity. For even while you were occupied by the interests I have just described, you arranged your affairs in Europe, despatching embassies, spending money, and sending out the legions that were garrisoning Paeonia against the Scythians, all of which was with the intention of preventing that feeble old man⁴ from being overpowered by the

¹ The Galatians, *i.e.* the Gauls, and Celts are often thus incorrectly distinguished, cf. 34 c. 36 B. 124 A.

² 390 B.C. under Brennus.

³ The Capitoline.

⁴ Vetrico.

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τοῦ τυράννου προνοῶν, πῶς ἂν τις ἐν βραχεῖ λόγῳ
 παραστήσαι δύναίτο καὶ πάνυ σπουδάζων; C

Ἐπεὶ δέ, ἤδη σου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὠρμημένου,
 οὐκ οἶδα παρ' ὅτου δαιμόνων ἐξαιρεθεὶς τὸν νοῦν καὶ
 τὰς φρένας ὁ τέως πιστὸς μενεῖν φύλαξ ἐπαγγελλό-
 μενος καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατοπέδοις καὶ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ περισωζόμενος εἰρήνην
 ὠμολόγησε τῷ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιωτάτῳ
 καὶ πολεμῷ κοινῇ μὲν ἀπάντων, ὅπόσοις εἰρήνης
 μέλει καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἐκ παντὸς στέργουσιν, ἰδίᾳ D
 δὲ σοὶ καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων· οὔτε ἔδεισας τῆς
 παρασκευῆς τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε ἀπίστων ἀνδρῶν
 ξυμμαχίαν πλέον ἔχειν¹ ὑπέλαβες τῆς ἔμφρονος
 γνώμης. ἐγκαλῶν δέ, ὡς εἰκός, τῷ μὲν ἀπιστίαν,
 τῷ δὲ πρὸς ταύτην πράξεω ἐναγῶν καὶ παρανόμων
 τολμήματα, τὸν μὲν εἰς δίκην καὶ κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
 στρατοπέδων προυκάλεις, τοῦ δὲ κριτὴν ὑπελάμ-
 βανες εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ὁ
 καλὸς καὶ συνετὸς ἀπήντα πρεσβύτης, εὐχερέστε- 31
 ρον παιδαρίου τινὸς μετατιθέμενος τὰ δόξαντα καὶ
 ὧν εὖ πάθοι δεόμενος μετὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐπιλήσμων·
 παρῆν δὲ ἄγων ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγας καὶ τάξεις
 ἰππέων, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πείθοι, βιασόμενός σε² ὀπίσω
 πάλιν ἀπιέναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἄπρακτον· οὐδὲν ἐκ-
 πλαγεῖς, ὅτι τὸν σύμμαχον καὶ στρατηγὸν μενεῖν
 ἐπαγγελλόμενοι πολέμιον εἶδες ἐξ ἴσης ἄρχειν
 ἐθέλοντα, καίτοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατευμάτων

¹ πλέον ἔχειν Hertlein suggests, πλέον MSS.

² σε Hertlein adds.

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usurper.¹ But how could one, with the best will in the world, present all this in a short speech?

No sooner had you set out for the seat of war, than this very man, who had all along protested that he would loyally continue to guard your interests, though you had reinforced him with money, troops, and everything of the sort, was driven to folly and madness by I know not what evil spirit, and came to terms with the most execrable of mankind, the common enemy of all who care for peace and cherish harmony above all things, and more particularly your enemy for personal reasons. But you were undismayed by the magnitude of his preparations, nor would you admit that a conspiracy of traitors could overreach your own wise purpose. One² of the pair you justly accused of treason, the other³ of infamous crimes besides, and deeds of lawless violence, and you summoned the former to trial and judgment before the legions, the latter you decided to leave to the arbitrament of war. Then he met you face to face, that honourable and prudent old man, who used to change his opinions more easily than any child, and, though he had begged for them, forgot all your favours as soon as the need had passed. He arrived with his phalanxes of hoplites and squadrons of cavalry, intending to compel, if he could not persuade you, to take no action and return the way you came. When, then, you saw this man, who had protested that he would continue to be your ally and general, playing an enemy's part and claiming an equal share of your empire, you were not at all dismayed, though his troops outnumbered

¹ Magnentius.

² Vetricano.

³ Magnentius.

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ἐλαττούμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντες εἶποντο, πρὸς πλήθει B
 κρατοῦντα διαγωνίζεσθαι τολμηρὸν μὲν ἴσως,
 σφαλερὸν δὲ πάντως¹ ὑπολαβὼν καὶ κρατήσαντι
 τῇ μάχῃ διὰ τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς
 πράγμασιν ἄγριον τύραννον, ἐβουλεύσω καλῶς
 μόνον εἶναι σὸν ἐθέλων τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ παρήεις
 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τοῦ τέως συνάρχοντος· συνηῖ
 δὲ ὀπλίτης δῆμος στίλβων τοῖς ὄπλοις, τὰ ξίφη
 γυμνὰ καὶ τὰ δόρατα προτείνοντες, δειλῶ μὲν φρικῶ- C
 δες καὶ δεινὸν θέαμα, εὐψύχῳ δὲ καὶ θαρραλέῳ καὶ
 οἶος αὐτὸς γέγονας ὄφελος γενναῖον. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ
 πρῶτον ἤρξω τῶν λόγων, σιγῇ μὲν ἐπέσχε, πρὸς τὴν
 ἀκοὴν ὠρμημένων πάντων, τὸ στράτευμα· δάκρυα δὲ
 προυχεῖτο πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας
 ὄρεγον, σιγῇ καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες, ὡς μή τις αἰσθηται.
 τὴν εὐνοίαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδείκνυντο καὶ² διὰ τῆς
 ὄψεως, πάντες δὲ τῷ σφόδρα ὠρμηῆσθαι τῶν λόγων
 ἀκούειν. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς δημηγορίας συνενθου- D
 σιῶντες τῷ λόγῳ πάντες ἐπεκρότουν, εἶτα αὖθις
 ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἠσύχαζον. τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ
 τῶν λόγων ἀναπειθόμενοι σὲ³ μόνον ἐκάλουν
 βασιλέα, μόνον ἄρχειν ἠξίου ἀπάντων, ἠγεῖσθαι
 σφῶν ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, ἀκολουθήσειν
 ὠμολόγουν, ἀπολαμβάνειν ἠξίου τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ
 γνωρίσματα. σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν χεῖρα προσάγειν
 ᾧου δεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφελέσθαι ξὺν βίᾳ· ὁ δὲ ἄκων μὲν
 καὶ μόλις, εἶξας δὲ ὅμως ὄψέ ποτε, φασί, τῇ

¹ πάντως Hertlein suggests, ἄλλως MSS, cf. 222 A 353 C.

² καὶ Hertlein adds.

³ σὲ Reiske adds.

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yours. For you had not brought your whole force with you, since you decided that to fight it out with such odds against you might be courageous but was in every way hazardous, even if you won the battle, because of that other savage usurper¹ who was lying in wait for a favourable opportunity² when you should be in difficulties. You therefore made a wise resolve in preferring to achieve success single-handed, and you mounted the platform with him who for the moment was your colleague in empire. He was escorted by a whole host of hoplites with glittering weapons,³ presenting drawn swords and spears, a sight to make a coward shake with fear, though it inspired and supported one so brave and gallant as yourself. Now when first you began to speak, silence fell on the whole army and every man strained his ears to hear. Many shed tears and raised their hands to heaven, though even this they did in silence, so as to be unobserved. Some again showed their affection in their faces, but all showed it by their intense eagerness to hear your words. When your speech reached its climax, they were carried away by enthusiasm and burst into applause, then eager to miss no word they became quiet again. Finally, won by your arguments, they hailed you as their only Emperor, demanded that you alone should rule the whole empire, and bade you lead them against your adversary, promising to follow you and begging you to take back the imperial insignia. You, however, thought it beneath you to stretch out your hand for them or to take them by force. Then against his will and with reluctance, but

¹ Magnentius. ² Demosthenes, *De Chersoneso* 42.

³ Euripides, *Andromache* 1146.

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Θετταλικῇ πειθανάγκῃ, προσῆγέ σοι περιελόμενος 32
 τὴν ἀλουργίδα. οἷός τις ἐνταῦθα γέγονας τοσού-
 των μὲν ἔθνων καὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ χρημάτων ἐν
 ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ γεγονὼς κύριος, τὸν πολέμιον δέ, εἰ καὶ
 μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα, τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἀφελόμενος καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρατήσας;

Ἄρ' οὐ τούτῳ μὲν ἄμεινον καὶ δικαιότερον
 προσηνέχθης ἢ Κῦρος τῷ πάππῳ, τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν
 δὲ τὰς τιμὰς διεφύλαξας οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἀφελόμενος,
 προσθεῖς δὲ οἶμαι δωρεὰς πολλοῖς; τίς δέ σ' ¹ B
 εἶδεν ἢ πρὸ τοῦ κρατῆσαι σκυθρωπὸν λίαν ἢ μετὰ
 τοῦθ' ὑπερηδόμενον; καίτοι πῶς ² ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν
 ἐστὶ σε δημηγόρον ἄμα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα
 χρηστὸν καὶ γενναῖον ὀπλίτην προσαγορεύοντας;
 ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἀπορραγὲν τὸ στρατηγεῖον ³ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 βήματος εἰς ταῦτόν πάλιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἠξίωσας
 σχῆμα, μιμούμενος οἶμαι Ὀδυσσεᾶ καὶ Νέστορα
 καὶ τοὺς ἐξελόντας Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαίων στρατη- C
 γοῦς, οἱ φοβερωτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος
 τοῖς ἀδικουῦσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τῆς παρατά-
 ξεως αἰεὶ κατέστησαν. Δημοσθένους δὲ καὶ ὅστις
 τοῦτον ἐξήλωκε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἰσχὺν αἰδού-
 μενος, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δημηγορίας οὐποτ' ἂν
 ἀξιώσαιμι τῷ ⁴ σῶ παραβαλεῖν τὰ κείνων θέατρα,
 οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐδημηγόρουν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ
 τοσούτων κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ἢ

¹ σ' Reiske adds. ² ἴσως Hertlein suggests.

³ στρατηγεῖον Cobet, Hertlein στρατήγιον MSS.

⁴ After τῷ Petavius adds σῶ.

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yielding at last to what is called Thessalian persuasion,¹ he took off the purple robe and offered it to you. What a heroic figure yours was then, when, in a single day, you became master of all those races, those legions, all that wealth, when you stripped of his power and took prisoner one who, if not in fact yet in intention, had shown that he was your enemy!

Did you not behave more nobly and more generously to him than Cyrus did to his own grandfather? For you deprived your enemy's followers of nothing, but protected their privileges and, I understand, gave many of them presents besides. Who saw you despondent before your triumph or unduly elated after it? Orator, general, virtuous emperor, distinguished soldier, though men give you all these titles, how can any praise of ours be adequate? Long had the orator's platform been wholly disconnected from the general's functions²; and it was reserved for you to combine them once more in your person, in this surely following the example of Odysseus and Nestor and the Roman generals who sacked Carthage; for these men were always even more formidable to wrong-doers whom they attacked from the platform than to the enemy in the field of battle. Indeed I pay all the homage due to the forcible eloquence of Demosthenes and his imitators, but when I consider the conditions of your harangue I can never admit that there is any comparison between your theatre and theirs. For they never had to address an audience of hoplites nor had they such great interests at stake, but only

¹ A proverb for necessity disguised as a choice, cf. 274 c

² Aeschines, *Ctesiphon* 74. 18.

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τιμῆς ἢ δόξης, ἢ φίλοις συνερεῖν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι,
 ἀπήεσαν οἶμαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, τοῦ D
 δήμου θορυβήσαντος, ὠχροὶ καὶ τρέμοντες, ὥσπερ
 οἱ δειλοὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ὄψει στρατηγοὶ παρα-
 ταττόμενοι. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἶπειν ἔχοι τοσοῦτον
 ἔργον ἐτέρῳ πραχθὲν πώποτε καὶ τοσοῦτων ἐθνῶν
 κτήσιν ἐκ δικαστηρίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα
 τῆς δίκης οὔσης οὐχ, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, εὐκατα- 33
 φρόνητον, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς μὲν στρατείαις γινώριμον,
 πρεσβύτην δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τοῦ
 χρόνου δοκοῦντα προσειληφέναι καὶ τῶν στρατο-
 πέδων ἐκείνων ἄρχειν λαχόντα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον.
 τίς οὖν ἢ ῥώμη γέγοιεν τῶν λόγων; τίς δὲ ἢ πειθῶ
 τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐπικαθημένη, ἢ¹ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων συνειλεγμένων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν²
 ἰσχύσασα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ νίκην παρασχεῖν τῷ B
 μεγέθει μὲν ἐνάμιλλον ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλων περι-
 γινομέναις, εὐαγῆ δὲ καὶ καθαρὰν, ὥσπερ ἱερέως
 ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντος, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλέως ἐς πόλεμον,
 ἔργον γενομένην; καίτοι γε μὴν ταύτης εἰκόνα τῆς
 πράξεως μακρῶ λειπομένην καὶ Πέρσαι θρυλοῦσι,
 τοὺς Δαρείου παῖδας τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαφερομένους δίκη τὰ καθ'
 αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ τῇ τῶν ὀπλων ἐπιτρέψαι κρίσει.
 σοὶ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
 οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀγῶν γέγοιεν οὐδὲ εἰς ἔχαιρες C

¹ ἢ Cobet, ἢ Reiske adds, Hertlein.

² ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἰσχύσασα Cobet, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἰσχυσε Schaefer, Hertlein, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἰσχύσαι MSS.

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money, or honour, or reputation, or friends whom they had undertaken to assist, yet when the citizens clamoured in dissent, they often, I believe, left the platform pale and trembling, like generals who prove to be cowards when they have to face the enemy in battle-line. Indeed from all history it would be impossible to cite an achievement as great as yours when you acquired control of all those races by judicial pleading alone; and moreover you had to make out your case against a man not by any means to be despised, as many people think, but one who had won distinction in many campaigns, who was full of years, who had the reputation of experience gained in a long career, and had for a considerable period been in command of the legions there present. What overwhelming eloquence that must have been! How truly did "persuasion sit on your lips"¹ and had the power to "leave a sting" in the souls of that motley crowd of men, and to win you a victory that in importance rivals any that were ever achieved by force of arms, only that yours was stainless and unalloyed, and was more like the act of a priest going to the temple of his god than of an emperor going to war. It is true indeed that the Persians have a similar instance to quote, but it falls far short of what you did, I mean that on their father's death the sons of Darius quarrelled about the succession to the throne and appealed to justice rather than to arms to arbitrate their case. But between you and your brothers there never arose any dispute, either in word or deed, nay not one, for it was in fact more

¹ From the description of the oratory of Pericles, Eupolis *fr.* 94: *πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθειζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν | οὕτως ἐκῆλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων | τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις.*
Cf. 426 B.

δὲ οἶμαι τῷ κοινῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἶναί σοι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μόνος ἀπάντων γενέσθαι κύριος· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν ἢ παράνομον οὐδὲν εἰργασμένον, ἄπιστον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα ἐν¹ ἐλέγχῳ, οἱ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐκείνου δείξουσι.

Ταύτην ἐκδέχεται στρατεία λαμπρὰ τὴν δημηγορίαν καὶ πόλεμος ἱερός, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἱεροῦ χωρίου, ὅποιον τὸν Φωκικὸν ἀκούομεν συστήναι² κατὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς D πολιτείας καὶ φόνου πολιτῶν μυρίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀνηρήκει, τοὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε συλλαβεῖν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι δεδιῶς μὴ τις αὐτὸν πολίτην μοχθηρόν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βάρβαρον ὑπολάβῃ φύσει. τὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν ἀδικήματα οὐδενὸς ὄντα τῶν κοινῇ τολμηθέντων αὐτῷ φανλότερα καὶ ἐλάττονος ἀξιούν ῥου δεῖν φροντίδος· οὕτω σοι τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἔδοξε καὶ δοκεῖ τίμια.

Πότερον οὖν χρὴ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀπάντων 34 μεμνήσθαι ὧν εἰς τε³ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἔδρασε, κτείνας μὲν τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δεσπότην· ἀνδράποδον γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων, τῆς ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν λείας λείψανου δυστυχῆς περιωζόμενον· ἄρχειν δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν, ᾧ μηδὲ ἐλευθέρῳ προσῆκον ἦν νομισθῆναι μὴ τοῦτο παρ'

¹ ἐν Reiske adds, ἐλέγχου σοι V.

² συστήναι Petavius, Cobet, ἐνστήναι Schaefer, Hertlein, στήναι MSS.

³ ὧν εἰς τε Schaefer, ὧν τε εἰς Hertlein, εἰς V, ἐς MSS.

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agreeable to you to share the responsibility with them than to be the sole ruler of the world. But your quarrel was with one who, though his actions had not so far been impious or criminal, was shown to have a treasonable purpose, and you brought proofs to make that treason manifest.

After your harangue there followed a brilliant campaign and a war truly sacred, though it was not on behalf of sacred territory, like the Phocian war, which we are told was waged¹ in the days of our ancestors, but was to avenge the laws and the constitution and the slaughter of countless citizens, some of whom the usurper² had put to death, while others he was just about to kill or was trying to arrest. It was really as though he was afraid that otherwise he might be considered, for all his vices, a Roman citizen instead of a genuine barbarian. As for his crimes against your house, though they were quite as flagrant as his outrages against the state, you thought it became you to devote less attention to them. So true it is, that, then as now, you rated the common weal higher than your private interests.

I need not mention all the usurper's offences against the community and against individuals. He assassinated his own master. For he had actually been the slave of the murdered emperor's ancestors, a miserable remnant saved from the spoils of Germany. And then he aimed at ruling over us, he who had not even the right to call himself free, had you not granted him the

¹ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 230, a favourite common-place.

² Magnentius.

ὑμῶν λαβόντι· καὶ ὡς¹ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 ξυνδῶν καὶ ἀποκτιννύς καὶ δουλεύων αἰσχυρῶς τῷ
 πλήθει καὶ κολακεύων τὴν εὐταξίαν διέφθειρε·
 καὶ ὡς τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους ἐτίθει νόμους, τὴν B
 ἡμίσειαν εἰσφέρειν, θάνατον ἀπειλῶν τοῖς ἀπει-
 θοῦσι, μηνυτὰς δὲ εἶναι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν
 οἰκετῶν· καὶ ὅπως ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς οὐδὲν δεομένους
 τὰ βασιδικὰ κτήματα πρίασθαι; ἐπιλείψει με
 τὰ κείνου διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος ἀδικήματα καὶ
 τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς καταλαβούσης τὸ μέγεθος.
 ἀλλὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἣν
 κατέβαλε μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχρήσατο δὲ C
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἰσχὺν τίς ἂν² ἀξίως παραστήσειε;
 Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται, ἔθνη καὶ τοῖς πάλαι φανέντα
 δυσανταγώνιστα, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιρρεύσαντα
 καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἀνυπόστατος Ἴταλοῖς καὶ
 Ἰλλυριοῖς, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀψάμενα τῷ
 κρατεῖν τοῖς ἐνόπλοις ἀγῶσιν, ἄκοντες³ ἡμῖν
 ὑπήκουσαν, ἔς τε⁴ τοὺς καταλόγους τῶν στρατευ-
 μάτων ἐγγράφονται καὶ τέλη παρέχονται λαμπρὰ
 παρὰ τῶν σῶν προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς κατειλεγμένα·
 εἰρήνης δὲ μακρᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐκ ταύτης ἀγαθῶν
 ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπιδούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας πρὸς D
 πλοῦτον καὶ εὐανδρίαν, καὶ ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς σοῖς
 στρατιώτας καταλέξει πολλοὺς παρέσχοντο,
 τέλος δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ βία καὶ οὐ γνώμη πανδημεῖ
 συνεστρατεύοντο. ἠκολούθουν δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ
 ξυγγενές ξύμμαχοι προθυμότατοι Φράγγοι καὶ

¹ ὡς Hertlein adds.² ἂν Schaefer adds.³ ἄκοντες Reiske, Hertlein, ἀλόντες MSS.⁴ τε Wytttenbach adds.

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privilege. Those in command of the legions he imprisoned and put to death, while to the common soldiers he behaved with such abject servility and deference that he ruined their discipline. Then he enacted those fine laws of his, a property tax of fifty per cent., and threatened the disobedient with death, while any slave who pleased might inform against his master. Then he compelled those who did not want it to purchase the imperial property. But time would fail me were I to tell of all his crimes and of the vast proportions that his tyranny had assumed. As for the armament which he had collected to use against the barbarians but actually employed against us, who could give you an adequate report of its strength? There were Celts and Galatians¹ who had seemed invincible even to our ancestors, and who had so often like a winter torrent that sweeps all before it,² poured down on the Italians and Illyrians, and, following up their repeated victories on the field of battle, had even invaded Asia, and then became our subjects because they had no choice. They had been enrolled in the ranks of our armies and furnished levies that won a brilliant reputation, being enlisted by your ancestors, and, later, by your father. Then, since they enjoyed the blessings of long-continued peace, and their country increased in wealth and population, they furnished your brothers with considerable levies, and finally, by compulsion, not choice, they all in a body took part in the usurper's campaign. The most enthusiastic of his followers were, in virtue of their ties of

¹ Gauls.

² Demosthenes, *De Corona* 153.

Σάξονες, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥήνον καὶ περὶ¹ τὴν
 ἑσπερίαν θάλατταν ἔθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα. καὶ
 πόλις πᾶσα καὶ φρούριον πρόσοικον Ῥήνω τῶν 35
 ἐνοικούντων φυλάκων ἐξερημωθέντα προδέδοτο
 μὲν ἀφύλακτα πάντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
 δὲ ἐξεπέμπετο παρεσκευασμένον λαμπρῶς τὸ
 στράτευμα· πᾶσα δὲ ἐφέκει πόλις Γαλατικὴ
 στρατοπέδῳ παρασκευαζομένῳ πρὸς πόλεμον· καὶ
 πάντα ἦν ὄπλων καὶ παρασκευῆς ἰππέων καὶ
 πεζῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν πλήρη. συρ-
 ρέοντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπανταχόθεν τῶν B
 ἐκείνου ξυμμάχων καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα πάλαι κατει-
 λεγμένοις στρατιώταις ἐς ταῦτὸν ἐλθόντων, οὐδεὶς
 οὕτως ἐφάνη τολμηρὸς, ὃς οὐκ ἔδεισεν οὐδὲ
 ἐξεπλάγη τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα. σκηπτὸς ἐδόκει
 πᾶσιν ὁ φερόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄλπεων, σκηπτὸς
 ἀφόρητος ἔργῳ καὶ ἄρρητος λόγῳ. τοῦτον ἔδεισαν
 Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Παῖονες καὶ Θρᾶκες καὶ Σκύθαι,
 τοῦτον οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντες ἄνθρωποι ἐφ'
 αὐτοὺς ὠρμήσθαι πάντως ὑπέλαβον, τούτῳ
 πολεμήσειν ἤδη περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ Πέρσαι C
 παρεσκευάζοντο. ὁ δὲ μικρὰ μὲν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι
 τὰ παρόντα καὶ πόνον οὐ πολὺν τῆς σῆς συνέσεως
 καὶ ῥώμης κρατῆσαι, τοὺς Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐσκόπει
 πλούτους καὶ Περσῶν τὴν πολυτέλειαν· τοσοῦτον²
 αὐτῷ περιῆν ἀνοίας καὶ θράσους ἐκ μικροῦ παν-
 τελῶς περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους πλεονεκτήματος,
 οὓς ἀφυλάκτους ὄλη τῇ στρατιᾷ λοχῆσας ἔκτεινεν.
 οὕτω τὸ πράττειν εὖ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀρχὴ
 πολλάκις γέγρονε τοῖς ἀνοήτοις μειζόνων συμφορῶν.

¹ περὶ Hertlein suggests.² [καὶ] τοσοῦτον Hertlein.

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kinship, the Franks and Saxons; the most warlike of the tribes who live beyond the Rhine and on the shores of the western sea. And since every city and every fortified place on the banks of the Rhine was shorn of its garrison, that whole region was left with no defence against the barbarians, and all that splendidly organised army was despatched against us. Every town in Galatia¹ was like a camp preparing for war. Nothing was to be seen but weapons of war and forces of cavalry, infantry, archers, and javelin men. When these allies of the usurper began to pour into Italy from all quarters and there joined the troops who had been enrolled long before, there was no one so bold as not to feel terror and dismay at the tempest that threatened.² It seemed to all as though a thunderbolt had fallen from the Alps, a bolt that no action could avert, no words describe. It struck terror into the Illyrians, the Paeonians, the Thracians, the Scythians; the dwellers in Asia believed it was directed entirely against themselves, and even the Persians began to get ready to oppose it in their country's defence. But the usurper thought his task was easy, and that he would have little difficulty in baffling your wisdom and energy, and already fixed his covetous gaze on the wealth of India and the magnificence of Persia. To such an excess of folly and rashness had he come, and after a success wholly insignificant, I mean the affair of the scouts whom, while they were unprotected by the main army, he ambushed and cut in pieces. So true it is that when fools meet with undeserved success³ they often find it is but the prelude to greater misfortunes. And so, elated by

¹ Gaul.

² 351 A.D.

³ Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 1. 23.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἀρθεῖς γὰρ ὁ δαίλαιος ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ταύτης D
 μετέωρος κατέλιπε μὲν τὰ προκείμενα τῆς Ἰταλίας
 ἐρυμνὰ χωρία, ἐς Νωρικοὺς δὲ καὶ Παίονας ἀφυ-
 λάκτως ἦει, δεῖν αὐτῷ τάχους, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὄπλων
 οὐδὲ ἀνδρείας οἴομενος.

Ὁ δὲ καταμαθὼν ἐπανήγες ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν
 τὸ στράτευμα, εἶπετο δὲ ἐκείνος, διώκειν, οὐχὶ
 δὲ καταστρατηγεῖσθαι νομίσας, ἕως εἰς τὴν
 εὐρυχωρίαν ἄμφω κατέστητε. τῶν πεδίων δὲ
 τῶν πρὸ τῆς Μύρσης ὀφθέντων, ἐτάττοντο 36
 μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως¹ ἵππεῖς ἑκατέρου πεζοί τε
 τε ἐν μέσῳ· ἔχων δὲ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν
 ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῷ λαιῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερ-
 βαλλόμενος ἐτρέψω μὲν εὐθέως καὶ διέλυσας
 τὴν φάλαγγα οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν συγκειμένην ὀρθῶς,
 ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἀπείρου πολέμων καὶ στρατηγίας
 αὐτὴν κοσμήσαντος. ὁ δὲ τέως διώκειν ὑπο-
 λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικόμενος, ἔφευγε B
 καρτερῶς ἐκπλαγεῖς τὸν κτύπον τῶν ὄπλων, οὐδὲ
 τὸν ἐνυάλιον παιᾶνα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπαλαλα-
 ζόντων ἀδεῶς ἀκούων. διαλυθείσης δὲ οἱ στρα-
 τιῶται τῆς τάξεως συνιστάμενοι κατὰ λόχους
 πάλιν τὸν ἀγῶνα συνέβαλον, αἰσχυνόμενοι μὲν
 ὀφθῆναι φεύγοντες καὶ τὸ τέως ἄπιστον ἅπασιν
 ἀνθρώποις ἐφ' αὐτῶν δεῖξαι συμβαῖνον, στρατιώ-
 την Κελτόν, στρυτιώτην ἐκ Γαλατίας τὰ νῶτα
 τοῖς πολεμίους δείξαντα. οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τὴν C
 ἐπάνοδον ἀπεγνωκότες, εἰ πταίσειαν, ἢ κρατεῖν
 ἢ θνήσκειν δράσαντές τι δεινὸν τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἤξιουν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ξὺν τῷ τυράννῳ τοσοῦτον πε-

¹ ἐπὶ κέρως Wytttenbach, Hertlein, ἐπικαίρως MSS.

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this stroke of luck, he left the fortified posts that protected the Italian frontier, and marched towards the Norici and the Paeonians, taking no precautions, because he thought that speed would serve him better than force of arms or courage.

The moment that you learned this, you led your army out of the narrow and dangerous passes, and he followed in pursuit, as he thought, unaware that he was being outgeneralled, until you both reached open country. When the plains before Myrsa¹ were in sight, the cavalry of both armies were drawn up on the wings, while the infantry formed the centre. Then your Majesty kept the river on your right, and, outflanking the enemy with your left, you at once turned and broke his phalanx, which indeed had from the first the wrong formation, since it had been drawn up by one who knew nothing of war or strategy. Then he who so far had thought he was the pursuer did not even join battle, but took to headlong flight, dismayed by the clash of weapons; he could not even listen without trembling when the legions shouted their battle-song. His ranks had been thrown into disorder, but the soldiers formed into companies and renewed the battle. For they disdained to be seen in flight, and to give an example in their own persons of what had hitherto been inconceivable to all men, I mean a Celtic or Galatian² soldier turning his back to the enemy. The barbarians too, who, if defeated, could not hope to make good their retreat, were resolved either to conquer, or not to perish till they had severely punished their opponents. Just see the extraordinary daring

¹ In Pannonia 353 A.D.

² Gallic.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ριῆν θράσους¹ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε πολλή προθυμία.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ὄλων κρατήσαντες, αἰδούμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, παροξυνόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι κατορθωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ τέως ἀπίστων ἔργων, τέλος ἄξιον τοῖς προὔπηργμένοις ἐπιθεῖναι φιλο- D
τιμούμενοι πάντα ὑπέμενον ἠδέως πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄρτι τῆς παρατάξεως ἀρχομένης, συνιόντες πάλιν ἔργα τόλμης ἀπεδείκνυντο καὶ θυμοῦ γενναῖα, οἱ μὲν ὠθούμενοι περὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ λαμβανόμενοι τῶν ἀσπίδων, καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὀπόσους ἵπποι τρωθέντες ἀπεσεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο. ταῦτα ἔδρων οἱ ξὺν τῷ τυράννῳ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐπιβρίσαντες· καὶ ἦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξ ἴσης, ἕως οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν ἰππέων πλήθος, 37
οἱ μὲν ἐκ τόξων βάλλοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπελαύνοντες τοὺς ἵππους, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινον, ἐδίωκον δὲ ἅπαντας καρτερῶς, τινὰς μὲν πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ὠρμηκότας φεύγειν, ὧν ἡ νύξ ὀλίγους ἀπέσωσε μόλις, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατηνέχθη, καθάπερ βοῶν ἢ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλη συνελαυνόμενοι. τοσαῦτα ἐκείνο τὸ στράτευμα τῆς τοῦ τυράννου δειλίας, οὐδὲν ἐκείνον ὀνήσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῆς αὐτοῦ, μάτην ἀπέλαυσε. B

Τρόπαιον δὲ ἀνέστησας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοῦ πατρώου λαμπρότερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τέως ἀμάχους

¹ θράσους Wytttenbach, Cobet, θράσος MSS, Hertlein. πρὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ Hertlein suggests, καὶ πρὸς . . . τοῦ MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

of the usurper's troops in the face of dangers and their great eagerness to come to close quarters!

Our men, on the other hand, had so far carried all before them and were anxious to retain the good opinion of their comrades and of the Emperor, and were moreover stimulated by their successes in the past and by the almost incredible brilliance of their exploits in this very engagement, and, ambitious as they were to end the day as gloriously as they had begun it, cheerfully encountered toil and danger. So they charged again as though the battle had only just begun, and gave a wonderful display of daring and heroism. For some hurled themselves full on the enemy's swords, or seized the enemy's shields, others, when their horses were wounded and the riders thrown, at once transformed themselves into hoplites. The usurper's army meanwhile did the same and pressed our infantry hard. Neither side gained the advantage, till the cuirassiers by their archery, aided by the remaining force of cavalry, who spurred on their horses to the charge, had begun to inflict great loss on the enemy, and by main force to drive the whole army before them. Some directed their flight to the plain, and of these a few were saved just in time by the approach of night. The rest were flung into the river, crowded together like a herd of oxen or brute beasts. Thus did the usurper's army reap the fruits of his cowardice, while their valour availed him nothing.

The trophy that you set up for that victory was far more brilliant than your father's. He led an

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δοκοῦντας ἄγων ἐκράτει γέροντος δυστυχοῦς· σὺ δὲ ἠβώσαν καὶ ἀκμάζουσιν οὐ τοῖς κακοῖς μόνον οἷς ἔδρα, τῇ νεότητι δὲ πλεον, τὴν τυραννίδα παρεστῆσω, τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ παρασκευασθεῖσι στρατοπέδοις παραταξάμενος. τίς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχει τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων ἰππικὴν δύναμιν καὶ σκευὴν τῶν ὄπλων τοιαύτην ἐπινοήσαντα καὶ μιμησάμενον; C ἢ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐγγυμνασάμενος διδάσκαλος ἐγένου τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄπλων χρήσεως ἀμάχου. ὑπερῆς εἰπεῖν τολμήσαντες πολλοὶ τῆς ἀξίας διήμαρτον, ὥσθ' ὅσοι τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες ὕστερον ἰδεῖν ἠτύχησαν τὰς ἀκοὰς σαφῶς ἀπιστοτέρας ἔγνωσαν εἶναι τῶν ὁμμάτων. ἄπειρον γὰρ ἦγες¹ ἰππέων πλήθος, καθάπερ ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχουμένους, οἷς συνήρμοστο τὰ μέλη κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων D καρπῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἐκ² τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνου καὶ τὰ νῶτα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦν ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ κνήμαι καὶ μηροὶ μηδὲ ἄκροι πόδες τῆς σκευῆς ταύτης ἔρημοι λείπονται. συναρμοζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς θώραξι διὰ τινων ἐκ κρίκου λεπτοῦ πεποιημένων οἰοῦναι ὑφασμάτων οὐδὲν ἂν ὀφθείη τοῦ σώματος γυμνὸν μέρος, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι τούτοις σκεπομένων πρὸς τὸ καὶ 38 καμπτομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς δακτύλοις. ταῦτα

¹ ἦγες V, Hertlein, εἶχες MSS.

² ἐκ Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

army that had always proved itself invincible, and with it conquered a miserable old man.¹ But the tyranny that you suppressed was flourishing and had reached its height, partly through the crimes that had been committed, but still more because so many of the youth were on that side, and you took the field against it with legions that had been trained by yourself. What emperor can one cite in the past who first planned and then reproduced so admirable a type of cavalry, and such accoutrements? First you trained yourself to wear them, and then you taught others how to use such weapons so that none could withstand them. This is a subject on which many have ventured to speak, but they have failed to do it justice, so much so that those who heard their description, and later had the good fortune to see for themselves, decided that their eyes must accept what their ears had refused to credit. Your cavalry was almost unlimited in numbers and they all sat their horses like statues, while their limbs were fitted with armour that followed closely the outline of the human form. It covers the arms from wrist to elbow and thence to the shoulder, while a coat of mail protects the shoulders, back and breast. The head and face are covered by a metal mask which makes its wearer look like a glittering statue, for not even the thighs and legs and the very ends of the feet lack this armour. It is attached to the cuirass by fine chain-armour like a web, so that no part of the body is visible and uncovered, for this woven covering protects the hands as well, and is so flexible that the wearers can bend even their fingers.² All this I desire to represent in words as vividly as

¹ Licinius. ² cf. Oration 2. 57 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ὁ λόγος παραστήσαι μὲν σαφῶς ἐπιθυμεί, ἀπο-
λειπόμενος δὲ θεατὰς τῶν ὄπλων τοὺς μαθεῖν τι
πλέον ἐθέλοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκροατὰς τῆς ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν διηγήσεως ἀξιοῖ γενέσθαι.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον διεληλύ-
θαμεν, ληγούσης ἤδη τῆς ὀπώρας, ἄρ' ἐνταῦθα τὴν B
διήγησιν πάλιν ἀφήσομεν; ἢ πάντως τὸ τέλος
ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ποθοῦσιν¹ ἄξιον;
ἐπέλαβε μὲν ὁ χειμῶν καὶ παρέσχε διαφυγεῖν τὴν
τιμωρίαν τὸν τύραννον. κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν λαμπρὰ
καὶ βασιλικῆς ἄξια μεγαλοψυχίας· ἄδεια δὲ
πᾶσιν ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ταξαμένοις μετὰ τοῦ τυράννου,
πλὴν εἴ τις ἀνοσίῳ ἐκείνῳ φόνων ἐκοινώνει
ἀπελάμβανον τὰς οἰκίας ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα
καὶ πατρίδας οἱ μηδὲ ὄψεσθαι τι τῶν φιλτάτων
αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζοντες. ὑπεδέχον τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς C
Ἰταλίας ἐπανερχόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐκεῖθεν πολίτας
κατάγον φεύγοντας οἶμαι τὴν τῶν τυράννων
ὠμότητα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει στρατεῦσθαι,
πάλιν ἐφειστήκεις δεινὸς τῷ τυράννῳ. ὁ δὲ προ-
βάλλετο τὰς Ἰταλῶν δυσχωρίας, καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι
τοῖς ἐκεῖ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐναποκρύψας τὰς
δυνάμεις αὐτὸς οὐδὲ ὑπαίθριος ἐτόλμα στρατεῦειν.
ἀναλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πλησίον πόλιν D
τρυφῶσαν καὶ πολυτελῆ, ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ
τρυφαῖς ἔτριβε τὸν χρόνον, ἀρκέσειν μὲν αὐτῷ
πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὄρων τὴν δυσχωρίαν μόνον
οἰόμενος. ἀκόλαστος δὲ ὢν φύσει κερδαίνειν ᾤετο
τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐν τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς,

¹ τοῖς ποθοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ποθοῦσιν MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

I can, but it is beyond my powers, and I can only ask those who wish to know more about this armour to see it with their own eyes, and not merely to listen to my description.

Now that I have told the story of this first campaign, which was fought at the end of the autumn, shall I here break off my narrative? Or is it altogether unfair to withhold the end and issue of your achievements from those who are eager to hear? Winter overtook us and gave the usurper a chance to escape punishment. Then followed a splendid proclamation worthy of your imperial generosity. An amnesty was granted to those who had taken sides with the usurper, except when they had shared the guilt of those infamous murders. Thus they who had never hoped even to see again anything that they held dear, recovered their houses, money, and native land. Then you welcomed the fleet which arrived from Italy bringing thence many citizens who, no doubt, had fled from the usurper's savage cruelty. Then when the occasion demanded that you should take the field, you again menaced the usurper. He however took cover in the fastnesses of Italy and hid his army away there in the mountains, wild-beast fashion, and never even dared to carry on the war beneath the open heavens. But he betook himself to the neighbouring town¹ which is devoted to pleasure and high living, and spent his time in public shows and sensual pleasures, believing that the impassable mountains alone would suffice for his safety. Moreover, intemperate as he was by nature, he thought it clear gain to be able to indulge his appetites at so dangerous a crisis, and

¹ Aquileia.

δῆλός τε ἦν λίαν πεπιστευκῶς ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ
 παρόντα ἔχειν, ἀποτεριζομένης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς
 Ἰταλίας τοῖς ὄρεσι, πλὴν ὅσον ἐξ ἡμισείας ἢ 39
 θάλασσα τεναγώδης οὔσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων
 ἔλεσιν ἐμφορῆς ἄβατον καὶ νηίτη στρατῷ πολεμίων
 ἀνδρῶν καθίστησιν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν οὐδὲ ἐν ἡ φύσις
 πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην τοῖς ἀκο-
 λάστοις καὶ δειλοῖς ἔρυμα μηχανήσασθαι, πάντα
 ὑποχωρεῖν φρονήσει μετὰ ἀνδρείας ἐπιούση
 παρασκευάζουσα· πάλαι τε ἡμῖν ἐξηῦρε τὰς
 τέχνας, δι' ὧν εἰς εὐπορίαν τῶν τέως δοξάντων B
 ἀπόρων κατέστημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἔργων τὸ πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαινόμενον¹
 ἐπιτελούμενον πρὸς ἀνδρὸς σώφρονος. ὁ δὲ καὶ
 τότε τοῖς ἔργοις, ὧ βασιλεῦ, δείξας εἰκότως ἂν
 ἀποδέχοιο τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγους.

Ἐστράτευες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπαίθριος, καὶ ταῦτα
 πλησίον παρούσης πόλεως οὐ φαύλης, τοῖς στρα-
 τευομένοις δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος τὸ πονεῖν καὶ
 κινδυνεύειν, ἐξ ὧν δὲ αὐτὸς ἔδρας παρεγγυῶν
 ἄτραπον μὲν ἐξηῦρες ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσι, πέμψας C
 δὲ ἀξιόμαχον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπάσης ὀπλιτῶν
 μοῖραν, εἶτα ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἔγνωσ αὐτοὺς τοῖς
 πολεμίοις ἐφεστῶτας, αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἦγες τὸ
 στράτευμα, καὶ κύκλῳ περιέχων πάντων ἐκράτη-
 σας. ταῦτα ἐδράτο πρὸ τῆς ἔω, ἠγγελοτο δὲ πρὸ
 μεσημβρίας τῷ τυράννῳ ἀμίλλαις ἰππικαῖς καὶ

¹ After φαινόμενον Reiske thinks ἐπέδειξε has fallen out.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

he evidently placed too much confidence in the safety of his position, because the town is cut off from that part of Italy by a natural rampart of mountains, except the half that is bounded by a shoaling sea, which resembles the marshes of Egypt and makes that part of the country inaccessible even to an invading fleet. It seems however as though nature herself will not devise any safeguard for the sensual and cowardly against the temperate and brave, for when prudence and courage advance hand in hand she makes everything give way before them. Long since she revealed to us those arts through which we have attained an abundance of what was once thought to be unattainable, and in the field of individual effort we see that what seemed impossible for many working together to achieve can be accomplished by a prudent man. And since by your own actions you demonstrated this fact it is only fair, O my Emperor, that you should accept my words to that effect.

For you conducted the campaign under the open skies, and that though there was a city of some importance near at hand, and moreover you encouraged your men to work hard and to take risks, not merely by giving orders, but by your own personal example. You discovered a path hitherto unknown to all, and you sent forward a strong detachment of hoplites chosen from your whole army; then when you had ascertained that they had come up with the enemy, you led forward your army in person, surrounded them, and defeated his whole force. This happened before dawn, and before noon the news was brought to the usurper. He was attend-

πανηγύρει προσκαθημένω καὶ τῶν παρόντων οὐδὲν
 ἐλπίζοντι. τίς μὲν οὖν γέγονεν ἐκ τίνος, καὶ D
 ποταπὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ
 ὅπως ἐκλιπὼν ἔφυγε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
 πᾶσαν, τοὺς φόνους καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἀδικίας
 ἐκκαθαίρομενος, οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἂν εἴη λόγου
 διηγεῖσθαι. ἔμελλε δὲ βραχείας ἀνοκωχῆς τυχῶν
 οὐδὲν τι μείον τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δράσειν. οὕτως
 οὐδὲν πρὸς πονηρίαν ψυχῆς ἄνθρωπος ἀνόσιος¹
 ἐξηῦρε καθάρσιον διὰ τοῦ σώματος. ἀφικόμενος
 γὰρ εἰς Γαλατίαν ὁ χρηστός οὐτοσί καὶ νόμιμος
 ἄρχων τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ γέγονε χαλεπώτερος, 40
 ὥς, εἴ τις πρότερον αὐτὸν διαφυγῶν ἐλελήθει
 τιμωρίας τρόποσ ὠμότατος, τοῦτον ἐξευρῶν
 θέαμα κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἀθλίων
 πολιτῶν παρέιχε συμφοράς· ἄρματος ζῶντας
 ἐκδήσας καὶ μεθεῖς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἠνιόχοις ἔλκειν
 ἂν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς ἐφεστηκῶς καὶ θεώμενος
 τὰ δρώμενα· καὶ τισι τοιοῦτοις ἑτέροις αὐτὸν
 ψυχαγωγῶν τὸν πάντα διετέλει χρόνον, ἕως
 αὐτὸν καθάπερ Ὀλυμπιονίκης περὶ τῷ τρίτῳ B
 παλαίσματι καταβαλὼν δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι τῶν
 τετολμημένων ἀξίαν κατηνάγκασας ὄσαντα διὰ
 τῶν στέρνων τὸ αὐτὸ ξίφος, ὃ πολλῶν πολιτῶν
 ἐμίανε φόνω. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς νίκης² ἀμείνω
 καὶ δικαιοτέραν οὐποτε γενέσθαι φημι οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἧ
 μᾶλλον τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ηὐφράνθη γένος,
 τοσαύτης ὠμότητος καὶ πικρίας ἀφεθὲν ὄντως
 ἐλεύθερον, εὐνομία δὲ ἤδη γανύμενον, ἧς τέως

¹ ἀνόσιος Cobet, ἀλλ' οὐ θεός V, ἀλλ' ὁ θεός MSS.

² νίκης MSS, Cobet, δίκης M, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

ing a horse-race at a festival, and was expecting nothing of what took place. How his attitude changed, what was his decision about the crisis, how he abandoned the town and in fact all Italy, and fled, thus beginning to expiate his murders and all his earlier crimes, it is not for this speech to relate. Yet though the respite he gained was so brief, he proceeded to act no less wickedly than in the past. So true is it that by the sufferings of the body alone it is impossible for the wicked to cleanse their souls of evil. For when he reached Galatia,¹ this ruler who was so righteous and law-abiding, so far surpassed his own former cruelty that he now bethought himself of all the ruthless and brutal modes of punishment that he had then overlooked, and derived the most exquisite pleasure from the spectacle of the sufferings of the wretched citizens. He would bind them alive to chariots and, letting the teams gallop, would order the drivers to drag them along while he stood by and gazed at their sufferings. In fact he spent his whole time in amusements of this sort, until, like an Olympic victor, you threw him in the third encounter² and forced him to pay a fitting penalty for his infamous career, namely to thrust into his own breast that very sword which he had stained with the slaughter of so many citizens.³ Never, in my opinion, was there a punishment more suitable or more just than this, nor one that gave greater satisfaction to the whole human race, which was now really liberated from such cruelty and harshness, and at once began to exult in the good government that we enjoy to this day.

¹ Gaul.

² In wrestling, the third fall secured the victory. Cf. *Or.* 2. 74 c.

³ 355 A. D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἀπολαύομεν καὶ ἀπολαύσαιμὲν γε ἐπὶ πλέον, ὧ C
πάντα ἀγαθὴ πρόνοια.

Ἔμοι δὲ ποθοῦντι μὲν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἅπασιν τοῖς
σοι πραχθεῖσιν, ἀπολειπομένῳ δὲ συγγνώμῃ
εἰκότως, ὧ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, παρέξεις, εἰ μῆτε
τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα μνημονε-
ύοιμι ἀπὸ τε Αἰγύπτου παρασκευασθέντων καὶ
ἐξ¹ Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν πλευσάντων, μῆτε
ὡς τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὀρώων ἐκράτησας ναυσὶν
ἐκπέμφσας ἐπ' αὐτὰ στράτευμα, μῆτε τῶν
ἔναγχός σοι πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους D
πραχθέντων, μῆτ' εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον τῶν πάσαι
γεγονὸς λέληθε τοὺς πολλούς. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν
Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἑαυτὴν σου² ἐπώνυμον ἐπονομά-
ζουσιν ἀκούω πολλάκις. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν
κτίσαντα, πλουτεῖ δὲ ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν
εὐπορίαν ἐπιδέδωκε διὰ σὲ λιμένας εὐόρμους τοῖς
καταίρουσι παρασχόντα· τέως δὲ οὐδὲ παραπλεῖν 41
ἀσφαλὲς οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον ἐδόκει· οὕτως ἦν πάντα
σκοπέλων τινῶν καὶ πετρῶν ὑφάλων ἀνάπλευα τῆς
θαλάσσης τῆσδε πρὸς ταῖς ἡόσι. στοὰς δὲ καὶ
κρήνας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων διὰ
σὲ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ὀνομάζειν ἄξιον. ὅποσα δὲ τῇ
πατρῴᾳ πόλει προστέθεικας, τεῖχος μὲν αὐτῇ
κύκλῳ περιβαλὼν ἀρξάμενον τότε, τὰ δοκοῦντα
δὲ οὐκ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν³ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων εἰς
ἀθάνατον ἀσφάλειαν κατατιθείς, τίς ἂν ἀπαριθ-
μήσαιτο; ἐπιλείψει με τούτων ἕκαστον ὁ χρόνος B
διηγούμενον.

¹ ἐξ Reiske, τῶν ἐξ MSS.

² πόλιν ἑαυτὴν σου Wyttenbach, ἐπώνυμόν σοι ἑαυτὴν Reiske,
πόλιν ἐπώνυμον MSS, Hertlein. ³ ἔχειν Hertlein suggests.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

Long may we continue to enjoy it, O all-merciful Providence!

I would fain recite every single one of your achievements, but you will with reason pardon me, most mighty Emperor, if I fall short of that ambition and omit to mention the naval armament against Carthage which was equipped in Egypt and set sail from Italy to attack her, and also your conquest of the Pyrenees, against which you sent an army by sea, and your successes against the barbarians, which of late have been so frequent, and all such successes in the past as have not become a matter of common knowledge. For example, I often hear that even Antioch now calls herself by your name. Her existence she does indeed owe to her founder,¹ but her present wealth and increase in every sort of abundance she owes to you, since you provided her with harbours that offer good anchorage for those who put in there. For till then it was considered a dangerous risk even to sail past Antioch; so full were all the waters of that coast, up to the very shores, of rocks and sunken reefs. I need not stop to mention the porticoes, fountains, and other things of the kind that you caused to be bestowed on Antioch by her governors. As to your benefactions to the city of your ancestors,² you built round it a wall that was then only begun, and all buildings that seemed to be unsound you restored and made safe for all time. But how could one reckon up all these things? Time will fail me if I try to tell everything separately.

¹ Selencus son of Antiochus,

² Constantinople.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Σκοπεῖν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἄξιον ἤδη τῶν ῥη-
 θέντων, εἰ μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς βελτίστης ἕξεως
 ἅπαντα γέγονε· τούτῳ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τῶν λόγων
 ἀρχόμενος μάλιστα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἠξίουν.
 οὐκοῦν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως
 ὅπως προσηνέχθης, ὁμονοῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς
 διετέλεσας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνου, ἀρχόμενος μὲν
 προθύμως, συνάρχων δὲ ἐκείνους σωφρόνως, πάλαι C
 τε εἴρηται καὶ νῦν ἀξιούσθω μνήμης. τοῦτο δὲ
 ὅστις μικρὰς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπέλαβεν Ἀλέξανδρον
 τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Κῦρον τὸν Καμβύσου σκοπῶν
 ἐπαινείτω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μειράκιον ἔτι κομιδῇ νέον
 δῆλος ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενος ἄρχοντας, ὁ
 δὲ ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν πάππον. καὶ ταῦτα
 οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν οὕτως¹ ἠλίθιος, ὅστις οὐκ οἶεταί σε,²
 μηδὲν ἐκείνων μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ
 φιλοτιμία λειπόμενον, οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ σω-
 φρόνως τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς προσενηνέχθαι. D
 παρασχούσης γὰρ τῆς τύχης τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς
 ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίας ἐχρῆν μεταποιηθῆναι, πρῶτος
 ὠρμήθης, πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ πρὸς τὰναν-
 τία ξυμπείθειν ἐπιχειρούντων· ῥᾶστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς
 ἀσφάλειαν τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον διοικησάμενος
 ἐλευθεροῦν ἔγνωσ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ κατειλημμένα,
 δικαιοσύνην μὲν καὶ οἶαν οὐπω πρόσθεν ἔλαβε 42
 πρόφασιν πόλεμος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχθρας

¹ οὕτως Reiske adds.

² σε Reiske adds.

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The time has now come when it is proper to consider whether your career, so far as I have described it, is at every point in harmony with virtue and the promptings of a noble disposition. For to this, as I said at the beginning of my speech, I think it right to pay special attention. Let me therefore mention once more what I said some time ago, that to your father you were dutiful and affectionate, and that you constantly maintained friendly relations with your brothers, for your father you were ever willing to obey, and as the colleague of your brothers in the empire you always displayed moderation. And if anyone thinks this a trifling proof of merit, let him consider the case of Alexander the son of Philip, and Cyrus the son of Cambyses, and then let him applaud your conduct. For Alexander, while still a mere boy, showed clearly that he would no longer brook his father's control, while Cyrus dethroned his grandfather. Yet no one is so foolish as to suppose that, since you displayed such modesty and self-control towards your father and brothers, you were not fully equal to Alexander and Cyrus in greatness of soul and ambition for glory. For when fortune offered you the opportunity to claim as your right the empire of the world, you were the first to make the essay, though there were many who advised otherwise and tried to persuade you to the contrary course. Accordingly, when you had carried through the war that you had in hand, and that with the utmost ease and so as to ensure safety for the future, you resolved to liberate that part of the empire which had been occupied by the enemy, and the reason that you assigned for going to war was most

τιθέμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄξιον προσαγορεύειν τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ βάρβαρος ἦν ἡγεμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσας βασιλέα καὶ χειροτονήσας στρατηγόν. τῶν ἀδικημάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ ὧν ἔδρασεν εἰς οἰκίαν τὴν σὴν οὐχ ἡδύ μοι πολλάκις μεμνήσθαι. ἀνδρειοτέραν δὲ τῆσδε τῆς πράξεως τίς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι; ἐφ' ἧς δῆλος μὲν ἦν ἀποτυχόντι τῶν ἔργων ὁ¹ κίνδυνος· ὑπέμενες B δὲ οὐδὲν κέρδους χάριν οὐδὲ κλέος ἀείμνηστον ἀντωνούμενος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ πολλάκις τολμῶσιν, οἷον πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν δόξαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποδιδόμενοι, οὐδὲ μὴν δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρχῆς μείζονος καὶ λαμπροτέρας, ὅτι μῆδὲ νέω σοι τούτων ἐπιθυμῆσαι συνέβη, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν στέργων τῆς πράξεως πάντα ὑπομένειν ὧν δεῖν πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ῥωμαίων βάρβαρον βασιλεύοντα καὶ νόμων κύριον καὶ πολιτείας καθεστῶτα καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν C εὐχὰς ποιούμενον τὸν τοσοῦτοις ἀσεβήμασιν ἔνοχον καὶ φόνοισ. τῆς παρασκευῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἢ λαμπρότης καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος τίνα οὐχ ἰκανὸν ἐκπλήξαι; καίτοι Ξέρξην μὲν ἀκούω τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἕξαστήσαντα χρόνον ἐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δέκα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, εἶτα ἐπαγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς χιλιάσι τριήρεσι διακοσίας ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν χωρίων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν D οὐδὲ ὅλοις μῆσι δέκα ναυπηγησάμενος ἡγειρας τὸν στόλον, πλήθει νεῶν ἐκείνον ὑπερβαλλόμενος· τῇ τύχῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις.

¹ Hertlein suggests δ.

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just and such as had never before arisen, namely your detestation of those infamous men. Civil war one could not call it, for its leader was a barbarian who had proclaimed himself emperor and elected himself general. I dislike to speak too often of his evil deeds and the crimes that he committed against your house. But could anything be more heroic than your line of action? For should you fail in your undertaking the risk involved was obvious. But you faced it, and you were not bidding for gain, nay nor for undying renown, for whose sake brave men so often dare even to die, selling their lives for glory as though it were gold, nor was it from desire of wider or more brilliant empire, for not even in your youth were you ambitious of that, but it was because you were in love with the abstract beauty of such an achievement, and thought it your duty to endure anything rather than see a barbarian ruling over Roman citizens, making himself master of the laws and constitution and offering public prayers for the common weal, guilty as he was of so many impious crimes and murders. Who could fail to be dazzled by the splendour of your armament and the vast scale of your expenditure? And yet I am told that Xerxes, when he mustered all Asia against the Greeks, spent no less than ten years in preparing for that war. Then he set out with twelve hundred triremes, from the very spot, as I understand, where you gathered your fleet together, having built it in rather less than ten months, and yet you had more ships than Xerxes. But neither his fortune nor his achievements can properly be compared with yours.

Τὴν δὲ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ δαπανήματα μεγαλοπρέ-
 πειαν μὴ πολὺ λίσαν ἔργον ἢ φράζειν, οὐδὲ ὅποσα
 ταῖς πόλεσι πάλαι στερομέναις ἀπεδίδους ἀπαριθ-
 μούμενος ἐνοχλήσω τὰ νῦν. πλουτοῦσι μὲν γὰρ 43
 ἅπασαι διὰ σὲ ἐπὶ τῶν¹ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνδεεῖς οὔσαι
 καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων
 ἕκαστος οἴκων διὰ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν πόλεων
 εὐετηρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἄξιον
 δωρεῶν μεμνήσθαι, ἐλευθέριον σε καὶ μεγαλόδωρον
 βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντα, ὃς πολλοῖς μὲν στε-
 ρομένοις πάλαι τῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων, τοῦ
 πατρῶου κλήρου συμφορᾷ περιπεπτωκότος ἐν δίκῃ
 καὶ παρὰ δίκην, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐγένου κύριος,
 τοῖς μὲν καθάπερ δικαστῆς ἀγαθὸς τὰ τῶν B
 ἔμπροσθεν ἀμαρτήματα διορθωσάμενος κυρίου
 εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας παρέσχες, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιεικῆς
 κριτῆς γενόμενος ταῦτα μὲν ὧν ἀφήρητο πάλιν
 ἐχαρίσω, ἀρκεῖν οἰόμενος τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου
 πρὸς τιμωρίαν τοῖς παθοῦσιν· ὅσα δὲ αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν
 χαριζόμενος πλουσιωτέρους ἀπέφηνας πολλοὺς
 τῶν πάλαι δοξάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων C
 εὐπορίᾳ σεμνύνεσθαι, τί χρὴ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκοντα
 περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν δοκεῖν; ἄλλως τε καὶ πᾶσιν
 ὄντος καταφανοῦς, ὅτι μηδεὶς πώποτε πλὴν
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου τοσαῦτα βασιλεὺς
 τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις διανέμων ὤφθη. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
 ὁ τῶν φίλων πλοῦτος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμης
 ὑποπτος ἐφάνη μᾶλλον καὶ φοβερώτερος, ἄλλοι

¹ ἐπὶ τῶν Cobet, διὰ τῶν Wytttenbach, Hertlein, τῶν V, τὸν MSS.

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I fear that it is beyond my powers to describe the magnificence of your outlay for other purposes, nor will I risk being tedious by staying now to count up the sums you bestowed on cities that had long been destitute. For whereas, in the time of your predecessors, they lacked the necessaries of life, they have all become rich through you, and the general prosperity of each city increases the welfare of every private household in it. But it is proper that I should mention your gifts to private persons, and give you the title of a generous and open-handed Emperor; for since there were many who long ago had lost their property, because, in some cases justly, in others unjustly, their ancestral estates had suffered loss, you had no sooner come into power, than like a just judge you set right in the latter cases the errors committed by men in the past, and restored them to the control of their property, while in the former cases you were a kindly arbiter, and granted that they should recover what they had lost, thinking that to have suffered so long was punishment enough. Then you lavished large sums from your privy purse, and increased the reputation for wealth of many who even in the past had prided themselves on their large incomes. But why should I remind you of all this and seem to waste time over trifles? Especially as it must be obvious to all that no king except Alexander the son of Philip was ever known to bestow such splendid presents on his friends. Indeed some kings have thought that the wealth of their friends gave more grounds for suspicion and alarm

δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐγένειαν ὑπιδόμενοι
 πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας προπηλακίζοντες
 ἢ καὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἄρδην τὰς οἰκίας κοινῇ μὲν ταῖς D
 πόλεσι συμφορῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνοσίων ἔργων
 αἰτιώτατοι κατέστησαν. οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο δὲ ἤδη
 τινὲς τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθοῖς, ὑγιείᾳ φημί καὶ
 κάλλει καὶ εὐεξίᾳ, βασκαίνοντες· ψυχῆς τε ἀρετὴν
 ἔν τιμι τῶν πολιτῶν γενομένην οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ὑπέ-
 μενον, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀδίκημα τοῦτο, καθάπερ ἀνδροφονία
 καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ προδοσία, τὸ δοκεῖν ἀρετῆς μετα-
 ποιηθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα τυχὸν ἀληθῶς οὐ βασιλέων 44
 φήσει τις, πονηρῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνελευθέρων τυράννων
 ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἤδη τὸ πάθος
 οὐ τῶν ἀνοήτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ τινῶν ἐπιεικῶν
 καὶ πράων ἀνδρῶν ἀψάμενον, τὸ τοῖς φίλοις
 ἄχθεσθαι πλέον ἔχουσι¹ καὶ πολλάκις ἐλαττοῦν
 ἐθέλειν καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι,
 τίς ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐτόλμησε; τοῦτο καὶ Κῦρόν
 φασὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν γάμβρον ὄντα βασιλέως παρὰ
 τοῦ κηδεστοῦ παθεῖν ἀχθομένου τῇ παρὰ τοῦ
 πλήθους εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῇ, καὶ Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
 δῆλος ἦν ἀχθόμενος τιμωμένῳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἴωσι B
 Λυσάνδρῳ.

Τούτους οὖν² πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἀρετῇ,
 τοῖς πλουτοῦσι μὲν τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀσφαλέςτερον
 ἢ πατὴρ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ κατέστησας, εὐγε-

¹ πλέον ἔχουσι Reiske, πλέον MSS, Hertlein.

² οὖν ὅτι MSS.

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than did the resources of their enemies, while others were jealous of the aristocrats among their subjects, and therefore persecuted the well-born in every possible way, or even exterminated their houses, and thus were responsible for the public disasters of their cities and, in private life, for the most infamous crimes. There were some who went so far as to envy mere physical advantages, such as health or good looks, or good condition. And as for a virtuous character among their subjects, they could not bear even to hear of it, but counted it a crime like murder or theft or treason to appear to lay claim to virtue. But perhaps someone will say, and with truth, that these were the actions and practices not of genuine kings but of base and contemptible tyrants. Nay, but that other malady which has been known to attack not only those who were irrational, but some even who were just and mild, I mean the tendency to quarrel with friends who were too prosperous and to wish to humble them and deprive them of their rightful possessions, who I ask has ever dared so much as to mention such conduct in your case? Yet such, they say, was the treatment that Cyrus the Persian, the king's son-in-law, received from his kinsman,¹ who could not brook the honour in which Cyrus was held by the common people, and Agesilaus also is well known to have resented the honours paid to Lysander by the Ionians.

All these, then, you have surpassed in merit, for you have made their wealth more secure for the rich than a father would for his own children,

¹ Cyaxares.

νείας δὲ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων προνοεῖς καθάπερ
 ἀπάσης πόλεως οἰκιστῆς καὶ νομοθέτης· καὶ τοῖς
 ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς πολλὰ μὲν προστιθεῖς,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς χαριζόμενος, δῆλος
 εἰ τῷ μεγέθει μὲν τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων C
 δωρεὰς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, τῇ βεβαιότητι δὲ τῶν
 ἄπαξ δοθέντων τὰς παρὰ τῶν δήμων χάριτας
 ἀποκρυπτόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ μάλα
 εἰκότως συμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς συνίσασιν
 αὐτοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἀγαθοῖς, τοῖς κεκτημένοις
 βασκαίνουσιν, ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐστὶ
 λαμπρὰ καὶ οἷα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 προαιρέσεως τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης μακρῷ σεμνότερα,
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτου δεόμενος τῷ κεκτημένῳ φθονήσειεν. D
 ὃ δὲ καὶ σαυτῷ μάλιστα πάντων ὑπάρχειν ἐγ-
 νωκῶς χαίρεις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθοῖς,
 εὐφραίνει δέ σε τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων κατορθώματα·
 καὶ τιμὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν ἐχαρίσω, τὰς δὲ
 ἤδη μέλλεις, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐνίων βουλευῆ· καὶ οὐκ
 ἀπόχρη σοι πόλεως μιᾶς οὐδὲ ἔθνους ἑνὸς οὐδὲ
 πολλῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπ'
 αὐταῖς τιμὰς διανέμειν· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ βασιλείας
 ἔλοιο κοινωνόν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοσοῦτον ὑπομείνας 45
 πόνον τὸ τῶν τυράννων γένος ἀνήρηκας, οὐδὲν
 ἄξιον τῶν σαυτοῦ κατορθωμάτων ἔργον ὑπέλαβες.
 καὶ ὅτι μὴ χρεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ χαίρειν πάντα

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and you take thought that your subjects shall be well-born, as though you were the founder and law-giver of every single city. Those to whom fortune has been generous you still further enrich, and in many cases men owe all their wealth to your generosity, so that in amount your gifts clearly surpass those of other princes, while, in security of ownership of what has once been given, you cast into the shade any favours bestowed by democracies.¹ And this is, I think, very natural. For when men are conscious that they lack certain advantages, they envy those who do possess them, but when a man is more brilliantly endowed by fortune than any of his fellows, and by his own initiative has won even higher dignities than fate had assigned him, he lacks nothing, and there is none whom he need envy. And since you realise that in your case this is especially true, you rejoice at the good fortune of others and take pleasure in the successes of your subjects. You have already bestowed on them certain honours, and other honours you are on the point of bestowing, and you are making plans for the benefit of yet other persons. Nor are you content to award to your friends the government of a single city or nation, or even of many such, with the honours attaching thereto. But unless you chose a colleague² to share that empire on whose behalf you had spared no pains to exterminate the brood of usurpers, you thought that no act of yours could be worthy of your former achievements. That you reached this decision not so much because it was necessary as because you

¹ An echo of Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* 15.

² Gallus 351 A.D.: then Julian 355 A.D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δωρούμενος ἐπὶ ταύτην ὄρμησας τὴν γνώμην, ἅπασιν οἶμαι γνώριμον γέγονε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀγώνων κοινωνὸν οὐχ εἶλου, τῆς τιμῆς δὲ τὸν οὐ μετασχόντα τῶν πόνων ἠξίωσας μεταλαβεῖν μόνον, ὅτε μηδὲν ἔτι φοβερὸν ἐδόκει. καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀφελῶν δῆλος εἶ, τῶν πόνων δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν κοινωνεῖν ἀξιοῖς. πλὴν εἴ που δέοι πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπόμενόν σοι στρατεύεσθαι. πότερον οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων μαρτύρων τινῶν καὶ τεκμηρίων τῷ λόγῳ προσδεῖ; ἢ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μὴ ψευδεῖς ἐπεισάγει λόγους; ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον ἄξιον ἐνδιατρίβειν.

Σωφροσύνης δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὄσσην εὐνοίαν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνεργάσω, βραχέα διελθεῖν ἴσως οὐκ ἄτοπον. τίς γάρ σ'¹ ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ἀπάντων τοσαύτην ἐκ παίδων τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης ἐπιμέλειαν ἐσχηκότα, ὄσσην οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν ἔμπροσθεν; καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐν παισὶ σωφροσύνης μάρτυς ὁ πατήρ γέγονεν ἀξιόχρεως, σοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας μόνῳ, ὄντι γε οὐδὲ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων. τῆς δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἅπαντες αισθανόμεθα, καθάπερ πολίτου τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούοντος, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλέως τῶν νόμων ἄρχοντος, αἰεὶ σου προσφερομένου τῷ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει. τίς γάρ σ'² ἔγνω μείζον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας φρονήσαντα; τίς δὲ ἐπαρθέντα

¹ σ' Hertlein suggests.

² σ' Hertlein suggests.

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take pleasure in giving all that you have to give, is, I suppose, well known to all. For you chose no colleague to aid you in your contests with the usurpers, but you thought it right that one who had not shared in the toil should share in the honour and glory, and that only when all danger seemed to be over. And it is well known that from that honour you subtract not even a trifling part, though you do not demand that he should share the danger even in some small degree, except indeed when it was necessary for a short time that he should accompany you on your campaign. Does my account of this call for any further witnesses or proofs? Surely it is obvious that he who tells the tale would not be the one to introduce a fictitious account. But on this part of my subject I must not spend any more time.

A few words about your temperance, your wisdom, and the affection that you inspired in your subjects, will not, I think, be out of place. For who is there among them all who does not know that from boyhood you cultivated the virtue of temperance as no one had ever done before you? That in your youth you possessed that virtue your father is a trustworthy witness, for he entrusted to you alone the management of affairs of state and all that related to your brothers, although you were not even the eldest of his sons. And that you still display it, now that you are a man, we are all well aware, since you ever behave towards the people and the magistrates like a citizen who obeys the laws, not like a king who is above the laws. For who ever saw you made arrogant by prosperity? Who ever saw you up-

τοῖς κατορθώμασι τοσούτοις¹ καὶ τηλικούτοις ἐν
 βραχεῖ χρόνῳ γενομένοις; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φιλίππου
 φασὶν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Περσῶν καθεῖλε
 δύναμιν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν πρὸς ὄγκον
 μείζονα καὶ λίαν ἐπαχθῆ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπεροψίαν
 μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τοῦ φύσαντος ὑπερορᾶν 46
 καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπάσης φύσεως. ἡξίου γὰρ
 υἱὸς Ἀμμωνος, ἀλλ' οὐ Φιλίππου νομίζεσθαι, καὶ
 τῶν συστρατευσασμένων ὅσοι μὴ κολακεύειν μηδὲ
 δουλεύειν ἠπίσταντο τῶν ἐαλωκότων πικρότερον
 ἐκολάζοντο. ἀλλὰ σοῦ γε τῆς εἰς τὸν πατέρα
 τιμῆς ἄρα ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα μεμνήσθαι; ὃν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ
 μόνον σεβόμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις
 διετέλεις ἀνακηρύττων καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν ἥρωα.
 τῶν φίλων δέ, ἀξιοῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄχρισ 1
 ὀνόματος μόνον τῆς τιμῆς, πολὺ δὲ πλέον διὰ τῶν
 πραγμάτων βεβαιοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῦνομα· ἔστιν
 οὖν ἄρα τις ὁ μεμφόμενος ἀτιμίαν ἢ ζημίαν ἢ
 βλάβην ἢ τινα μικρὰν ὑπεροψίαν ἢ μείζονα; ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἂν οὐδαμῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. τού-
 των γὰρ οἱ μὲν γηραιοὶ σφόδρα, ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς
 τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτήν τοῦ βίου παραμείναντες,
 τὰς ἐπιμελείας τῶν κοινῶν συναπέθεντο τοῖς
 σώμασι, παισὶν ἢ φίλοις ἢ τισι πρὸς γένους τοὺς 0
 κλήρους παραπέμποντες· ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 πόρους καὶ τὰς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύοντες, ἀφέσεως
 ἐντίμου τυχόντες, ζῶσιν ὄλβιοι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ
 μετήλλαξαν, εὐδαίμονες παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι

¹ τοσούτοις τῷ πλήθει V, τοσούτοις τὸ πλήθος MSS.

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lifted by those successes, so numerous and so splendid, and so quickly achieved? They say that Alexander, Philip's son, when he had broken the power of Persia, not only adopted a more ostentatious mode of life and an insolence of manner obnoxious to all, but went so far as to despise the father that begat him, and indeed the whole human race. For he claimed to be regarded as the son of Ammon instead of the son of Philip, and when some of those who had taken part in his campaigns could not learn to flatter him or to be servile, he punished them more harshly than the prisoners of war. But the honour that you paid to your father need I speak of in this place? Not only did you revere him in private life, but constantly, where men were gathered together in public, you sang his praises as though he were a beneficent hero-god. And as for your friends, you grant them that honour not merely in name, but by your actions you make their title sure. Can any one of them, I ask, lay to your charge the loss of any right, or any penalty or injury suffered, or any overbearing act either serious or trifling? Nay there is not one who could bring any such accusation. For your friends who were far advanced in years remained in office till the appointed end of their lives, and only laid down with life itself their control of public business, and then they handed on their possessions to their children or friends or some member of their family. Others again, when their strength failed for work or military service, received an honourable discharge, and are now spending their last days in prosperity; yet others have departed this life, and the people call them blessed.

κρινόμενοι. ὅλως δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ εἷς, ὃς ἐπειδὴ ταύτης ἠξιώθη τῆς τιμῆς, εἰ καὶ μοχθηρὸς ὕστερον ἐφάνη, τιμωρίας ἔτυχε μικρᾶς ἢ μείζονος· ἤρκεσε δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι μόνον καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔτι.

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἅπασιν ὧν καὶ γεγονῶς τοιοῦτος D
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠδονῆς ἀπάσης, ἣ πρόσεστιν ὄνειδος καὶ
μικρὸν, καθαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν διεφύλαξας. μόνον δὲ
οἶμαι σὲ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων, σχεδὸν δὲ
πλὴν σφόδρα ὀλίγων καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ἀνδράσι μόνον παράδειγμα πρὸς σωφροσύνην παρα-
σχεῖν κάλλιστον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀν- 47
δρας κοινωνίας. ὅσα γὰρ ἐκείναις ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ
νόμοι τοῦ γνησίου¹ φύεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιμελό-
μενοι, ταῦτα ὁ λόγος ἀπαγορεύει ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
παρὰ σοί. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἔχων ἔτι πλείονα
λέγειν ἀφίημι.

Τῆς φρονήσεως δὲ ἄξιον μὲν ἔπαινον διελθεῖν
οὐδαμῶς εὐχερές, μικρὰ δὲ ὅμως καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης
ρήτέον. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔργα τῶν λόγων οἶμαι
πιστότερα. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν εἰκὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν
καὶ δύναμιν μὴ παρὰ τῆς ἴσης διοικουμένην καὶ B
κρατουμένην φρονήσεως πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος
ἀφικέσθαι καὶ κάλλος πράξεων· ἀγαπητὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ
τῇ τύχῃ μόνον δίχα φρονήσεως ἐπιτρεπομένη² ἐπὶ
πολὺ μένει.³ ἀνθῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ προσσχόντα
πρὸς βραχὺ ράδιον, διαφυλάξαι δὲ τὰ δοθέντα
ἀγαθὰ δίχα φρονήσεως οὐ λίαν εὐκόλον, μᾶλλον

¹ γνησίου MSS, Cobet, γνησίως V, Hertlein.

² M and Petavius omit πρὸς . . . ἐπιτρεπομένη.

³ μένει Wyttenbach, μένειν MSS, Hertlein, ἐπὶ πολὺ μένειν V and Spanheim omit.

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In short there is no man who having once been held worthy of the honour of your friendship, ever suffered any punishment great or small, even though later he proved to be vicious. For them all that he had to do was to depart and give no further trouble.

While this has been your character from first to last in all these relations, you always kept your soul pure of every indulgence to which the least reproach is attached. In fact I should say that you alone, of all the emperors that ever were, nay of all mankind almost, with very few exceptions, are the fairest example of modesty, not to men only but to women also in their association with men. For all that is forbidden to women by the laws that safeguard the legitimacy of offspring, your reason ever denies to your passions. But though I could say still more on this subject, I refrain.

Your wisdom it is by no means easy to praise as it deserves, but I must say a few words about it. Your actions, however, are more convincing, I think, than my words. For it is not likely that this great and mighty empire would have attained such dimensions or achieved such splendid results, had it not been directed and governed by an intelligence to match. Indeed, when it is entrusted to luck alone, unaided by wisdom, we may be thankful if it last for any length of time. It is easy by depending on luck to flourish for a brief space, but without the aid of wisdom it is very hard, or rather I might say impossible, to preserve the blessings that have been

δὲ ἀδύνατον ἴσως. ὅλως δὲ εἰ χρὴ καὶ περὶ
 τούτων ἐναργῆς φράζειν τεκμήριον, πολλῶν καὶ
 γνωρίμων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. τὴν γὰρ εὐβουλίαν C
 ὑπολαμβάνομεν τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθῶν καὶ
 συμφερόντων ἐξευρίσκειν τὰ κράτιστα. σκοπεῖν
 οὖν ἄξιον ἐφ' ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς, εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' ἔν ἐστι
 τῶν σοι πραχθέντων. οὐκοῦν ὅπου μὲν ἦν
 ὁμοιοῖας χρεῖα, ἔχαιρες ἐλαττούμενος, ὅπου δὲ
 τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐχρῆν βοηθεῖν, τὸν πόλεμον ἀνείλου¹
 προθυμότατα. καὶ Περσῶν μὲν τὴν δύναμιν
 καταστρατηγήσας οὐδένα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀποβαλὼν
 διέφθειρας, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους δὲ πόλεμον D
 διελὼν τοῦ μὲν ἐκράτησας ταῖς δημηγορίαις, καὶ
 τὴν μετ' ἐκείνου δύναμιν ἀκέραιον καὶ κακῶν
 ἀπαθῆ προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησας μᾶλλον διὰ
 τῆς συνέσεως ἢ διὰ τῆς ῥώμης τὸν τοσούτων τοῖς
 κοινοῖς αἴτιον συμφορῶν. βούλομαι δὲ σαφέ-
 στερον περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν ἅπασι δεῖξαι, τίτι
 μάλιστα πιστεύσας² τοσούτοις σαυτὸν ἐπιδούς
 πράγμασιν οὐδενὸς ὅλως διήμαρτες. εὖνοιαν οἶε 48
 δεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπάρχειν τῷ βασιλεύοντι
 ἐρυμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον. ταύτην δὲ ἐπιτάττοντα
 μὲν καὶ κελεύοντα καθάπερ εἰσφορὰς καὶ φόρους
 κτήσασθαι παντελῶς ἄλογον. λείπεται δὲ λοιπόν,
 καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὄρμηκας, τὸ πάντας εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ
 μιμῆσθαι τὴν θείαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύσιν· πράως

¹ ἀνείλου Hertlein suggests, Cobet, cf. 94 D 95 A, εἴλω V, εἴλου MSS.

² πιστεύσας καὶ MSS,

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bestowed. And, in short, if we need cite a convincing proof of this, we do not lack many notable instances. For by wise counsel we mean the ability to discover most successfully the measures that will be good and expedient when put into practice. It is therefore proper to consider in every case whether this wise counsel may not be counted as one of the things you have achieved. Certainly when there was need of harmony you gladly gave way, and when it was your duty to aid the community as a whole you declared for war with the utmost readiness. And when you had defeated the forces of Persia without losing a single hoplite, you made two separate campaigns against the usurpers, and after overcoming one of them¹ by your public harangue, you added to your army his forces, which were fresh and had suffered no losses, and finally, by intelligence rather than by brute force, you completely subdued the other usurper who had inflicted so many sufferings on the community. I now desire to speak more clearly on this subject and to demonstrate to all what it was that you chiefly relied on and that secured you from failure in every one of those great enterprises to which you devoted yourself. It is your conviction that the affection of his subjects is the surest defence of an emperor. Now it is the height of absurdity to try to win that affection by giving orders, and levying it as though it were a tax or tribute. The only alternative is the policy that you have yourself pursued, I mean of doing good to all men and imitating the divine nature on earth. To show mercy even in anger, to take away their

¹ Vetricano.

μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ὀργήν, τῶν τιμωριῶν δὲ ἀφαιρεί- B
σθαι τὰς χαλεπότητας, πταίσασι δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς
ἐχθροῖς ἐπιεικῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως προσφέρεσθαι.
ταῦτα πράττων, ταῦτα θαυμάζων, ταῦτα τοῖς
ἄλλοις προστάττων μιμείσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην μὲν,
ἔτι τοῦ τυράννου κρατοῦντος τῆς Ἰταλίας, διὰ τῆς
γερουσίας εἰς Παιονίαν μετέστησας, προθύμους δὲ
εἶχες τὰς πόλεις πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας.

Τῶν στρατευμάτων δὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν τίς ἂν ἀξίως
διηγῆσαιτο; τάξις μὲν ἰππέων πρὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Μύρση C
παρατάξεως μεθειστήκει, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκρά-
τησας, πεζῶν κατάλογοι καὶ τέλη λαμπρά. ἀλλὰ
τὸ μικρὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου δυστυχῆ τελευ-
τὴν ἐν Γαλατία γενόμενον κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἔδειξε
στρατοπέδων τὴν εὐνοίαν, τὸν θρασυνόμενον
καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐρημίας καὶ τὴν γυναικείαν ἀλουργίδα
περιβαλλόμενον ὥσπερ τινὰ λύκον¹ ἐξαίφνης δια-
σπασαμένων. ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γέγονας τῇ
πράξει, καὶ ὅπως πράως ἅπασι καὶ φιλανθρώπως
τοῖς ἐκείνου γνωρίμοις προσηνέχθης, ὅσοι μηδὲν
ἠλέγχοντο ἐκείνῳ συμπράξαντες, πολλῶν ἐφε-
στηκότων τῇ κατηγορίᾳ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ τὴν D
πρὸς ἐκείνον φιλίαν ὑποπτεύειν μόνον κελευόντων,
ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπάσης ἀρετῆς τίθεμαι τοῦτο² κεφάλαιον.
καὶ γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δικαίως φημὶ καὶ πολὺ πλεόν
ἐμφρόνως πεπράχθαι. ὅστις δὲ ἄλλως ἠγεῖται
καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀληθοῦς ὑπολήψεως
καὶ τῆς σῆς γνώμης διήμαρτε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ
ἔλεγχθέντας δίκαιον ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, σώζεσθαι, 49

¹ τινὰ λύκον MSS, τινῶν λύκων: Hertlein suggests.

² τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, τὸ MSS.

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harshness from acts of vengeance, to display kindness and toleration to your fallen enemies, this was your practice, this you always commended and enjoined on others to imitate, and thus, even while the usurper still controlled Italy, you transferred Rome to Paeonia by means of the Senate and inspired the cities with zeal for undertaking public services.

As for the affection of your armies, what description could do it justice? Even before the battle at Myrsa, a division of cavalry came over to your side,¹ and when you had conquered Italy bodies of infantry and distinguished legions did the same. But what happened in Galatia² shortly after the usurper's miserable end demonstrated the universal loyalty of the garrisons to you; for when, emboldened by his isolated position, another³ dared to assume the effeminate purple, they suddenly set on him as though he were a wolf and tore him limb from limb.⁴ Your behaviour after that deed, your merciful and humane treatment of all those of his friends who were not convicted of having shared his crimes, and that in spite of all the sycophants who came forward with accusations and warned you to show only suspicion against friends of his, this I count as the culmination of all virtue. What is more, I maintain that your conduct was not only humane and just, but prudent in a still higher degree. He who thinks otherwise falls short of a true understanding of both the circumstances and your policy. For that those who had not been proved guilty should be protected was

¹ Under Silvanus.

³ Silvanus.

² Gaul.

⁴ 355 A. D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ὑπόπτους δὲ τὰς φιλίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φευκτὰς
οὐδαμῶς ᾧου δεῖν κατασκευάζειν, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν
ὑπηκόων εὐνοίας ἐς τοῦτο μεγέθους ἀρθεῖς καὶ
πράξεων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ τετολμηκότος
νήπιον κομιδῇ τῆς πατρῴας οὐδὲν εἴασας μετα-
σχεῖν ζημίας. οὕτω σοι πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ἢ πρᾶξις
ρέπουσα τελείας ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει γνῶρισμα. * * *

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

of course just, and you thought you ought by no means to make friendship a reason for suspicion and so cause it to be shunned, seeing that it was due to the loyal affection of your own subjects that you had attained to such power and accomplished so much. But the son of that rash usurper, who was a mere child, you did not allow to share his father's punishment. To such a degree does every act of yours incline towards clemency and is stamped with the mint-mark of perfect virtue * * * * *¹

¹ The peroration is lost.

ORATION II

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION II

The second Oration is a peroration of the Emperor Constantine's address which follows after his elevation to the rank of Caesar, and was composed in 313. It is clearly noticeable that after raising the Flavian and was probably never delivered. It is a beautiful and formal statement of the principles of Constantine with regard to the religious future, drawn to the advantage of the Great Julian which is a noble specimen of imperial oratory.

ORATION II

It is divided into three parts, each in its historical development of the Emperor's oration. The first part is a peroration of the first part of the oration, which is a regular feature of a peroration of this type, though Julian explains to make the direct application to Constantine in the first chapter of the oration. The second part is a peroration of the oration, which is a regular feature of a peroration of this type, though Julian explains to make the direct application to Constantine in the first chapter of the oration. The third part is a peroration of the oration, which is a regular feature of a peroration of this type, though Julian explains to make the direct application to Constantine in the first chapter of the oration.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION II

THE Second Oration is a panegyric of the Emperor Constantius, written while Julian, after his elevation to the rank of Caesar, was campaigning in Gaul.¹ It closely resembles and often echoes the First, and was probably never delivered. In his detailed and forced analogies of the achievements of Constantius with those of the Homeric heroes, always to the advantage of the former, Julian follows a sophistic practice that he himself condemns,² and though he more than once contrasts himself with the "ingenious rhetoricians" he is careful to observe all their rules, even in his historical descriptions of the Emperor's campaigns. The long Platonic digression on Virtue and the ideal ruler is a regular feature of a panegyric of this type, though Julian neglects to make the direct application to Constantius. In the First Oration he quoted Homer only once, but while the Second contains the usual comparisons with the Persian monarchs and Alexander, its main object is to prove, by direct references to the Iliad, that Constantius surpassed Nestor in strategy, Odysseus in eloquence, and in courage Hector, Sarpedon and Achilles.

¹ 56 B and 101 D.

² 74 D.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ
Ἡ ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ.

Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ἢ ποιήσῃς, ὅποτε ἐμήνισε καὶ διηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεθεῖναι μὲν ταῖν χεροῖν τὴν αἰχμὴν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, ψαλτήριον δὲ ἄρμολάμενον καὶ κιθάραν ἄδειν καὶ ὑμνεῖν τῶν ἡμιθέων τὰς πράξεις, καὶ ταύτην διαγωγὴν τῆς ἡσυχίας ποιεῖσθαι, εὖ μάλα ἐμφρόνως τοῦτο διανοηθέντα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ παροξύνειν τὸν βασιλέα λίαν αὐθαδῆς καὶ ἄγριον τυχόν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ἀπολύεται τῆς μέμφεως ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος, ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἔργων εἰς ὧδὰς καταχρῆται καὶ κρούματα, ἐξὸν τότε μὲν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὅπλων καὶ μὴ μεθιέναι, αὐθις δὲ ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ὑμνεῖν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἄδειν τὰ κατορθώματα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονά φησιν ὁ πατὴρ 50 ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων μετρίως καὶ πολιτικῶς προσενεχθῆναι τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπειλῇ τε χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔργοις ὑβρίζειν, τοῦ γέρωσ ἀφαιρούμενον. συνάγων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτὸν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταμελομένους, τὸν μὲν τῆς Θέτιδος ἐκβοῶντα

Ἄτρείδη, ἢ ἄρ τι τόδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον
Ἐπλετο, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί,

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS,

OR, ON KINGSHIP

ACHILLES, as the poet tells us, when his wrath was kindled and he quarrelled with the king,¹ let fall from his hands his spear and shield ; then he strung his harp and lyre and sang and chanted the deeds of the demi-gods, making this the pastime of his idle hours, and in this at least he chose wisely. For to fall out with the king and affront him was excessively rash and violent. But perhaps the son of Thetis is not free from this criticism either, that he spent in song and music the hours that called for deeds, though at such a time he might have retained his arms and not laid them aside, but later, at his leisure, he could have sung the praises of the king and chanted his victories. Though indeed the author of that tale tells us that Agamemnon also did not behave to his general either temperately or with tact, but first used threats and proceeded to insolent acts, when he robbed Achilles of his prize of valour. Then Homer brings them, penitent now, face to face in the assembly, and makes the son of Thetis exclaim

“ Son of Atreus, verily it had been better on this wise for both thee and me ! ”²

¹ Agamemnon,

² *Iliad* 19. 56.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

εἶτα ἐπαρώμενον τῇ προφάσει τῆς ἀπεχθείας καὶ Β
 ἀπαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐκ τῆς μῆνιδος ξυμφοράς, τὸν
 βασιλέα δὲ αἰτιώμενον Δία καὶ Μοῖραν¹ καὶ
 Ἐρινύν, δοκεῖ μοι διδάσκειν, ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι
 τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀνδράσιν οἶον εἰκόσι χρώμενος,
 ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας μηδὲν ὕβρει πράττειν
 μηδὲ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς ἅπαν χρῆσθαι μηδὲ ἐφίεναι
 τῷ θυμῷ, καθάπερ ἵππῳ θρασεῖ χήτει χαλινού
 καὶ ἠνιόχου φερομένῳ, παραινεῖν δὲ αὐ τοῖς
 στρατηγοῖς ὑπεροψίαν βασιλικὴν μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, C
 φέρειν δὲ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πράως τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις,
 ἵνα μὴ μεταμελείας αὐτοῖς ὁ βίος μεστὸς ᾖ.

Ταῦτα κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐννοῶν, ὃ φίλε βασιλεῦ, καὶ
 σὲ μὲν ὄρων ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν παιδείαν
 ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ ἐθέλοντα πάντως κοινῇ μὲν²
 ἅπαντας ἀγαθόν τι δρᾶν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἰδίᾳ τιμὰς καὶ
 γέρα ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις παρασκευάζοντα, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ
 οἶμαι κρείττονα τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέως εἶναι
 ἐθέλοντα, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἠτίμαζε τοὺς ἀρίστους, σὺ
 δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν φαύλων πολλοῖς τὴν συγγνώμην
 νέμεις, τὸν Πιττακὸν ἐπαινῶν τοῦ λόγου, ὃς τὴν
 συγγνώμην τῆς τιμωρίας προτίθει, αἰσχυνοίμην D
 ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ Πηλέως φαινοίμην εὐγνωμονέστερος
 μηδὲ³ ἐπαινοίην εἰς δύναμιν τὰ προσόντα σοί, οὔτι
 φημὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀλουργῇ χλαῖναν, οὐδὲ μὰ Δία
 πέπλους παμποικίλους, γυναικῶν ἔργα Σιδωνίων,
 οὐδὲ ἵππων Νισαίων κάλλη καὶ χρυσοκολλήτων
 ἀρμάτων ἀστράπτουσιν αἴγλην, οὐδὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν 51

¹ Μοῖραν Hertlein suggests, Μοῖρας MSS.

² κοινῇ μὲν Hertlein suggests, κοινῇ τε MSS, cf. 43 D, 51 D.

³ μηδὲ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS .

Later on he makes him curse the cause of their quarrel, and recount the disasters due to his own wrath, and we see the king blaming Zeus and Fate and Erinyes. And here, I think, he is pointing a moral, using those heroes whom he sets before us, like types in a tragedy, and the moral is that kings ought never to behave insolently, nor use their power without reserve, nor be carried away by their anger like a spirited horse that runs away for lack of the bit and the driver; and then again he is warning generals not to resent the insolence of kings but to endure their censure with self-control and serenely, so that their whole life may not be filled with remorse.¹

When I reflect on this, my beloved Emperor, and behold you displaying in all that you do the result of your study of Homer, and see you so eager to benefit every citizen in the community in every way, and devising for me individually such honours and privileges one after another, then I think that you desire to be nobler than the king of the Greeks, to such a degree, that, whereas he insulted his bravest men, you, I believe, grant forgiveness to many even of the undeserving, since you approve the maxim of Pittacus which set mercy before vengeance. And so I should be ashamed not to appear more reasonable than the son of Peleus, or to fail to praise, as far as in me lies, what appertains to you, I do not mean gold, or a robe of purple, nay by Zeus, nor raiment embroidered all over, the work of Sidonian women,² nor beautiful Nisaeon horses,³ nor the gleam and glitter of gold-mounted chariots,

¹ *Republic* 577 E.

² *Iliad* 6. 289.

³ Herodotus 7. 40; horses from the plain of Nisaea drew the chariot of Xerxes when he invaded Greece.

λίθον εὐανθῆ καὶ χαρίεσσαν. καίτοι γε εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τούτοις τὸν νοῦν προσέχων ἕκαστον ἀξιούν λόγου, μικροῦ πᾶσαν οἶμαι τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν ἀποχετεύσας ἔτι δεήσεται λόγων, καὶ οὐκ ἀποχρήσει σοὶ μόνῳ τὰ ξύμπασι ποιηθέντα τοῖς ἡμιθέοις ἐγκώμια. ἀρξώμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκῆπτρου πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς· τί γὰρ δὴ φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλων τῆς B τῶν Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνδείξασθαι;

ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων

Ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἡφαιστος κάμε τεύχων,

καὶ ἔδωκε Δίῃ, ὃ δὲ τῷ τῆς Μαΐας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ παιδί, Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκε Πέλοπι,¹ Πέλοψ δὲ

δῶκ' Ἀτρέϊ ποιμένι λαῶν·

Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπε πολῦαρι Θυέστη·

Αὐτὰρ ὄγ' αὐτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δῶκε φορῆναι, C Πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν·

Αὕτη σοι τῆς Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας ἡ γενεαλογία, εἰς τρεῖς οὐδὲ ὄλας μείνασα γενεάς· τά γε μὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυγγενείας ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ Κλαυδίου, μικρὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διαλιπούσης τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸ πάππῳ τὸ σὺ διαδέχεσθον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς μητρὸς πατὴρ τὴν Ῥώμην διώκει καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ D τὴν Λιβύην τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν, οὐτι φαυλοτέραν τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Μυκηναίας

¹ [, ὃ δὲ] Πέλοπι Reiske, Hertlein.

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nor the precious stone of India, so beautiful and lovely to look upon. And yet if one should choose to devote his attention to these and think fit to describe every one of them, he would have to draw on almost the whole stream of Homer's poetry and still he would be short of words, and the panegyrics that have been composed for all the demi-gods would be inadequate for your sole praise. First, then, let me begin, if you please, with your sceptre and your sovereignty itself. For what does the poet say when he wishes to praise the antiquity of the house of the Pelopids and to exhibit the greatness of their sovereignty?

"Then uprose their lord Agamemnon and in his hand was the sceptre that Hephaistos made and fashioned."¹

and gave to Zeus; then Zeus gave it to his own and Maia's son, and Hermes the prince gave it to Pelops, and Pelops

"Gave it to Atreus, shepherd of the host, and Atreus at his death left it to Thyestes, rich in flocks; and he in turn gave it into the hands of Agamemnon, so that he should rule over many islands and all Argos."

Here then you have the genealogy of the house of Pelops, which endured for barely three generations. But the story of our family began with Claudius; then its supremacy ceased for a short time, till your two grandfathers succeeded to the throne. And your mother's father² governed Rome and Italy and Libya besides, and Sardinia and Sicily, an empire not inferior certainly to Argos and Mycenae. Your

¹ *Iliad* 2. 101,

² Maximianus.

δυναστείαν, ὃ γε μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γεννήτωρ
 Γαλατίας ἔθνη τὰ μαχιμώτατα καὶ τοὺς Ἑσπε-
 ρίους Ἰβήρας καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ὀκεανοῦ νήσους, αἱ
 τοσοῦτω μείζους τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς
 ὀρωμένων εἰσίν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς εἰσῶ θαλάττης ἢ τῶν
 Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν ὑπερχεομένη. ταύτας δὲ
 ὅλας τὰς χώρας καθαρὰς ἀπέφηναν πολεμίων,
 κοινῇ μὲν ἐπιστρατεύοντες, εἴ ποτε τούτου 52
 δεήσειεν, ἐπιφοιτῶντες δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν
 ἕκαστος τῶν ὁμόρων βαρβάρων ὕβριν τε καὶ
 ἀδικίαν ἐξέκοπτον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐκοσ-
 μοῦντο. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ τὴν μὲν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ
 μοῖραν μάλα εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως ἐκτήσατο, περι-
 μέINAS τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτήν τοῦ γεγενηκότος,
 τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδας
 ὑπενεχθέντα δουλείας ἔπαυσε χαλεπῆς, καὶ ἦρξε B
 συμπάντων τρεῖς ὑμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας προσ-
 ελόμενος ξυνάρχοντας. ἄρ' οὖν ἄξιον μέγεθος
 δυνάμεως παραβαλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ
 χρόνον καὶ πλήθος βασιλευσάντων;¹ ἢ τοῦτο μὲν
 ἔστιν ἀληθῶς ἀρχαῖον, μετιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πλοῦτον
 καὶ θαυμαστόν σου τὴν χλαμύδα ξὺν τῇ πόρπῃ,
 ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ διατριβὴν παρέσχεν ἠδεΐαν;
 λόγου τε ἀξιωτέον πολλοῦ τὰς Τρωὸς ἵππους, αἱ
 τρισχίλια οὔσαι

ἔλος κατά βουκολέοντο,
 καὶ τὰ φώρια τὰ ἐντεῦθεν; ἢ τοὺς Θρακίους
 ἵππους εὐλαβησόμεθα λευκοτέρους μὲν τῆς χιόνος,
 θεῖν δὲ ὠκυτέρους τῶν χειμερίων πνευμάτων, καὶ
 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄρματα; καὶ ἔχομέν σε ἐν τούτοις

¹ [τῶν] βασιλευσάντων Hertlein.

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father's father¹ ruled the most warlike of all the tribes of Galatia,² the Western Iberians³ and the islands that lie in the Ocean,⁴ which are as much larger than those that are to be seen in our seas as the sea that rolls beyond the pillars of Heracles is larger than the inner sea.⁵ These countries your grandfathers entirely cleared of our foes, now joining forces for a campaign, when occasion demanded, now making separate expeditions on their own account, and so they annihilated the insolent and lawless barbarians on their frontiers. These, then, are the distinctions that they won. Your father inherited his proper share of the Empire with all piety and due observance, waiting till his father reached his appointed end. Then he freed from intolerable slavery the remainder, which had sunk from empire to tyranny, and so governed the whole, appointing you and your brothers, his three sons, as his colleagues. Now can I fairly compare your house with the Pelopids in the extent of their power, the length of their dynasty, or the number of those who sat on the throne? Or is that really foolish, and must I instead go on to describe your wealth, and admire your cloak and the brooch that fastens it, the sort of thing on which even Homer loved to linger? Or must I describe at length the mares of Tros that numbered three thousand, and "pastured in the marsh-meadow"⁶ and the theft that followed?⁷ Or shall I pay my respects to your Thracian horses, whiter than snow and faster than the storm winds, and your Thracian chariots? For in your case also we can extol all

¹ Constantius Chlorus. ² Gaul.

³ Julian is in error; according to Bury, in Gibbon, Vol. 2, p. 588, Spain was governed by Maximianus.

⁴ The Atlantic. ⁵ The Mediterranean.

⁶ *Iliad* 20. 221. ⁷ *Iliad* 5. 222.

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ἐπαινείν, οἰκίαν τε οἶμαι τὴν Ἀλκίνου καὶ τὰ τοῦ
 Μενέλεω δώματα καταπληξάμενα καὶ τὸν τοῦ
 πολυφρόνος Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ τοιαῦτα ληρεῖν
 ἀναπέεισαντα τοῖς σοῖς παραβαλεῖν ἀξιώσομεν, μή D
 ποτε ἄρα ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τούτοις δοκῆς, καὶ οὐκ
 ἀπώσομεθα τὴν φλυαρίαν; ἀλλ' ὅρα μή τις ἡμᾶς
 μικρολογίας καὶ ἀμαθίας τῶν ἀληθῶς καλῶν
 γραψάμενος ἔλη. οὐκοῦν ἀφέντας χρὴ τοῖς
 Ὀμηρίδαις τὰ τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ
 τούτων ἐγγυτέρω πρὸς ἀρετὴν, καὶ ὧν μείζονα
 ποιεῖ προμήθειαν, σώματος ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς
 ὄπλοις ἐμπειρίας, θαρροῦντας¹ ἰέναι.

Τίμι δὴποτε οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ὕμνου-
 μένων σειρῆνος εἶξομεν; ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τοξότης παρ' 53
 αὐτῷ Πάνδαρος, ἀνὴρ ἄπιστος καὶ χρημάτων ἡττων,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὀπλίτης φαῦλος,
 Τεῦκρός τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μηριόνης, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς
 πελειάδος τῷ τόξῳ χρώμενος, ὁ δὲ ἠρίστευε μὲν ἐν
 τῇ μάχῃ, ἐδεῖτο δὲ ὡσπερ ἐρύματος καὶ τειχίου.
 ταυτὰ τοι καὶ προβάλλεται τὴν ἀσπίδα, οὔτι τὴν
 οἰκίαν, τὰδελφοῦ δέ, καὶ στοχάζεται καθ'
 ἠσυχίαν τῶν πολεμίων, γελοῖος ἀναφανεὶς στρα-
 τιώτης, ὅς γε ἐδεῖτο μείζονος φύλακος καὶ οὐκ ἐν B
 τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐποιεῖτο τῆς σωτηρίας τὰς ἐλπίδας.
 σὲ δῆτα ἐθεασάμην, ὦ φίλε βασιλεῦ, ἄρκτους καὶ
 παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας συχνοὺς καταβάλλοντα

¹ θαρροῦντας Cobet, θαρρούντως MSS, Hertlein.

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these, and as for the palace of Alcinous and those halls that dazzled even the son of prudent Odysseus and moved him to such foolish expressions of wonder,¹ shall I think it worth while to compare them with yours, for fear that men should one day think that you were worse off than he in these respects, or shall I not rather reject such trifling? Nay, I must be on my guard lest some one accuse and convict me of using frivolous speech and ignoring what is really admirable. So I had better leave it to the Homerids to spend their energies on such themes, and proceed boldly to what is more closely allied to virtue, and things to which you yourself pay more attention, I mean bodily strength and experience in the use of arms.

And now which one of those heroes to whom Homer devotes his enchanting strains shall I admit to be superior to you? There is the archer Pandaros in Homer, but he is treacherous and yields to bribes²; moreover his arm was weak and he was an inferior hoplite: then there are besides, Teucer and Meriones. The latter employs his bow against a pigeon³ while Teucer, though he distinguished himself in battle, always needed a sort of bulwark or wall. Accordingly he keeps a shield in front of him,⁴ and that not his own but his brother's, and aims at the enemy at his ease, cutting an absurd figure as a soldier, seeing that he needed a protector taller than himself and that it was not in his weapons that he placed his hopes of safety. But I have seen you many a time, my beloved Emperor, bringing down bears and panthers and lions with the weapons

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 69 foll.

² *Iliad* 4. 97.

³ *Iliad* 23. 870.

⁴ *Iliad* 8. 266.

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τοῖς ἀφιεμένοις βέλεσι, χρώμενον δὲ πρὸς θήραν
καὶ παιδιὰν τόξῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀσπίς
ἐστί σοι καὶ θώραξ καὶ κράνος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν κατα-
δείσαιμι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τοῖς Ἐφαιστείοις λαμ-
πρυνόμενον καὶ ἀποπειρώμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
ὄπλων,

Εἴ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἀγλαὰ γυῖα· C
ἀνακηρύττει γὰρ εἰς ἅπαντας τὴν σὴν ἐμπειρίαν
τὰ κατορθώματα.

Τὴν γε μὴν ἵππικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις
κουφότητα ἄρά σοι παραβαλεῖν ἄξιον τῶν
πρόσθεν τοὺς ἀραμένους ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν
μείζονα; ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐδὲ ἠϋρητό πω; ἄρμασι
γὰρ ἐχρῶντο καὶ οὐπω πώλοισ ἀζυξι· τάχει δὲ
ὅστις διήνεγκε, τούτῳ πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν ἀμφή-
ριστος κρίσις· τάξιν δὲ κοσμήσαι καὶ φάλαγγα D
διατάξαι καλῶς δοκεῖ Μενεσθεὺς κράτιστος, καὶ
τούτῳ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ Πύλιος οὐχ ὑφίεται τῆς
ἐμπειρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν οἱ πολέμοι πολλὰκις
τὰς τάξεις συνετάραξαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους
ἴσχυον ἀντέχειν παραταττόμενοι· σοὶ δὲ μυρίαίς
μάχαις ξυμμίξαντι καὶ πολεμίοις πολλοῖς μὲν βαρ-
βάροις, οὐκ ἐλάττοσι δὲ τούτων τοῖς οἰκοθεν ἀφες-
τῶσι καὶ συνεπιθεμένοις τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετερίσα-
σθαι προελομένῳ ἀρραγῆς ἔμεινεν ἢ φάλαγξ καὶ
ἀδιάλυτος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ἐνδοῦσα. καὶ ὅτι 54
μὴ λήρος ταῦτα μηδὲ προσποιήσις λόγων τῆς

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hurled by your hand, and using your bow both for hunting and for pastime, and on the field of battle you have your own shield and cuirass and helmet. And I should not be afraid to match you with Achilles when he was exulting in the armour that Hephaistos made, and testing himself and that armour to see

“Whether it fitted him and whether his glorious limbs ran free therein;”¹

for your successes proclaim to all men your proficiency.

As for your horsemanship and your agility in running, would it be fair to compare with you any of those heroes of old who won a name and great reputation? Is it not a fact that horsemanship had not yet been invented? For as yet they used only chariots and not riding-horses. And as for their fastest runner, it is an open question how he compares with you. But in drawing up troops and forming a phalanx skilfully Menestheus² seems to have excelled, and on account of his greater age the Pylia³ is his equal in proficiency. But the enemy often threw their line into disorder, and not even at the wall⁴ could they hold their ground when they encountered the foe. You, however, engaged in countless battles, not only with hostile barbarians in great numbers, but with just as many of your own subjects, who had revolted and were fighting on the side of one who was ambitious of grasping the imperial power; yet your phalanx remained unbroken and never wavered or yielded an inch. That this is not an idle boast and that I do not make a

¹ *Iliad* 19. 385. ² *Iliad* 2. 552. ³ Nestor: *Iliad* 2. 555.

⁴ The building of a wall with towers, to protect the ships, is described in *Iliad* 7. 436 foll.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀληθείας κρείττων, ἐθέλω τοῖς παροῦσι διεξελθεῖν. γελοῖον γὰρ οἶμαι πρὸς σέ περὶ τῶν σῶν ἔργων διηγεῖσθαι· καὶ ταῦτόν ἂν πάθοιμι φαύλῳ καὶ ἀκόμψῳ θεατῇ τῶν Φειδίου δημιουργημάτων πρὸς αὐτόν Φειδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντι διεξιέναι περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρθένου καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Πισαίοις Διός. εἰ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκφέροιμι τὰ σεμνότατα τῶν ἔργων, ἴσως ἂν B ἀποφύγοιμι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, καὶ οὐκ ἔσομαι ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἔνοχος· ὥστε ἤδη θαρροῦντα χρῆ λέγειν.

Καί μοι μή τις δυσχεράνη πειρωμένῳ πράξεων ἄπτεσθαι μειζόνων, εἰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου συνεκθέοι μῆκος, καὶ ταῦτα θέλοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ βιαζομένου, ὅπως μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἢ τῶν λόγων ἀσθένεια περιχεομένη διαλυμήνηται· καθάπερ δὴ τὸν χρυσὸν φασὶ τοῦ Θεσπιᾶσιν Ἐρωτος τοῖς πτεροῖς ἐπιβληθέντα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν C ἀφελεῖν τῆς τέχνης. δεῖται γὰρ ἀληθῶς τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς σάλπιγγος τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ πολὺ πλεόν ἢ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνοσ ἔργα. δῆλον δὲ ἔσται χρωμένοις ἡμῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν λόγων, ὄνπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προυθέμεθα. ἐφαίνετο δὲ τῶν βασιλέωσ ἔργων πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων πολλὴ ξυγγένεια, καὶ αὐτόν ἐφάμεν ἀπάντων προφέρειν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος διήνεγκε, καὶ ὅπως ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν δὴ βασιλέωσ αὐτοῦ βασιλικώτερος, εἴ που D μεμνήμεθα τῶν ἐν προοιμίῳ ῥηθέντων, ἐπεδείκνυμεν, ἔσται δὲ καὶ μάλα αὐθις καταφανές. νῦν δέ, εἰ βούλεσθε, τὰ περὶ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς

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pretension in words that goes beyond the actual facts, I will demonstrate to my hearers. For I think it would be absurd to relate to you your own achievements. I should be like a stupid and tasteless person who, on seeing the works of Pheidias should attempt to discuss with Pheidias himself the Maiden Goddess on the Acropolis, or the statue of Zeus at Pisa. But if I publish to the rest of the world your most distinguished achievements, I shall perhaps avoid that blunder and not lay myself open to criticism. So I will hesitate no more but proceed with my discourse.

I hope no one will object if, when I attempt to deal with exploits that are so important, my speech should become proportionately long, and that though I desire to limit and restrain it lest my feeble words overwhelm and mar the greatness of your deeds; like the gold which when it was laid over the wings of the Eros at Thespieae¹ took something, so they say, from the delicacy of its workmanship. For your triumphs really call for the trumpet of Homer himself, far more than did the achievements of the Macedonian.² This will be evident as I go on to use the same method of argument which I adopted when I began. It then became evident that there is a strong affinity between the Emperor's exploits and those of the heroes, and I claimed that while one hero excelled the others in one accomplishment only, the Emperor excels them all in all those accomplishments. That he is more kingly than the king himself³ I proved, if you remember, in what I said in my introduction, and again and again it will be evident. But now let us, if you please, consider

¹ By Praxiteles. ² Alexander. ³ Agamemnon.

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πολέμους ἀθρήσωμεν. τίνας οὖν Ὀμηρος δια-
φερόντως ὕμνησεν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων;
αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ καιριώτατα.

Τίς τ' ἄρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην, σύ μοι ἔννεπε, 55

Μοῦσα,

Ἄνδρῶν ἠδ' ἵππων, οἳ ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδαισιν ἔποντο.

Ἄνδρῶν μὲν μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,

Ὀφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μῆνιεν· ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν.

καὶ αὖθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τελαμωνίου φησίν·

Αἴας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος, περὶ δ' ἔργ' ἐτέτυκτο,

Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. B

Ἑλλήνων μὲν δὴ τούτους ἀρίστους ἀφίχθαι φησι,
τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς Τρῶας Ἐκτορα καὶ Σαρπηδόνα.

βούλεσθε οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ λαμπρότατα ἐπιλεξάμενοι

περιαθρῶμεν τὸ μέγεθος; καὶ γὰρ πῶς ἐς ταῦτόν

τισι τῶν βασιλέως¹ ξυμφέρεται ἢ τε ἐπὶ τῷ

ποταμῷ τοῦ Πηλέως μάχῃ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος

τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος· Αἴας τε ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος C

τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐπιβεβηκῶς τῶν ἰκρίων ἴσως ἂν

τυγχάνοι τινὸς ἀξίας εἰκόνας. ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν

διηγείσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχην, ἣν ἠγωνί-

σατο βασιλεὺς ἔναγχος. ἴστε δὲ ὅθεν ὁ πόλεμος

ἐξερράγη, καὶ ὅτι ξὺν δίκῃ καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλείονος

ἐπιθυμία διεπολεμήθη. κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπομνη-

σθῆναι δι' ὀλίγων.

Ἄνῆρ ἄπιστος καὶ θρασὺς τῆς οὐ προσηκούσης
ὄρεχθεὶς ἡγεμονίας κτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλέως D

¹ [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein.

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his battles and campaigns. What Greeks and barbarians did Homer praise above their fellows? I will read you those of his verses that are most to the point.

“Tell me, Muse, who was foremost of those warriors and horses that followed the sons of Atreus. Of warriors far the best was Ajax, son of Telamon, so long as the wrath of Achilles endured. For he was far the foremost.”¹ And again he says of the son of Telamon:

“Ajax who in beauty and in the deeds he wrought was of a mould above all the other Danaans, except only the blameless son of Peleus.”²

These two, he says, were the bravest of the Greeks who came to the war, and of the Trojan army Hector and Sarpedon. Do you wish, then, that I should choose out their most brilliant feats and consider what they amounted to? And, in fact, the fighting of Achilles at the river resembles in some respects certain of the Emperor's achievements, and so does the battle of the Achaeans about the wall. Or Ajax again, when, in his struggle to defend the ships, he goes up on to their decks, might be allowed some just resemblance to him. But now I wish to describe to you the battle by the river which the Emperor fought not long ago. You know the causes of the outbreak of the war, and that he carried it through, not from desire of gain, but with justice on his side. There is no reason why I should not briefly remind you of the facts.

A rash and traitorous man³ tried to grasp at power to which he had no right, and assassinated the

¹ *Iliad* 2. 761 foll. ² *Odyssey* 11. 550 ³ Magnentius.

καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνόν, καὶ ἤρετο λαμπραῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα μμησόμενος καὶ ἀποφανῶν οὐ μῦθον τὸν Ὀμήρου λόγον, παντὸς δὲ ἀληθῆ μάλλον, ὃς ἔφη περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ·

Τρὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἰών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἴκετο
τέκμωρ,

Αἰγίās,

καὶ ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ὑποζεύξας τοὺς ἵππους διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐφέρετο.

Γηθοσύνη δὲ θάλασσα δίστατο· τοὶ δ' ἐπέτοντο 56
Ῥίμφα μάλ', οὐδ' ὑπένερθε διαίνετο χάλκεος
ἄξων,

ἄτε οὐδενὸς ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, πάντων δὲ ἐξιστα-
μένων καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ἐν χαρμονῇ. οὐκ οὐκ
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πολέμιον οὐδὲ ἀντίπαλον ᾤετο
καταλιπέσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν κατείργειν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ
μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος στήναι ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς.
εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ὀπλίτης,¹ ἵππεῖς δὲ οὐχ
ἦττους, ἀλλ' οἵπερ ἄλκιμοι, Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες B
Γερμανῶν τε οἱ πρόσοικοι Ῥήμφη καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ
τῇ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἣν εἶτε Ὠκεανὸν χρὴ καλεῖν
εἶτε Ἀτλαντικὴν θάλατταν εἶτε ἄλλη τινὲ χρῆσθαι
προσωνυμία προσῆκον, οὐκ ἰσχυρίζομαι· πλὴν
ὅτι δὴ αὐτῇ προσοικεῖ δύσμαχα καὶ ῥώμη
διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν γένη βαρβάρων,
οὐκ ἀκοῆ μόνον, ἥπερ δὴ τυγχάνει πίστις οὐκ
ἀσφαλῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ πείρα τοῦτο ἐκμαθὼν οἶδα.
τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξαναστήσας οὐκ ἔλαττον C

¹ ὀπλίτης Cobet, ὀπλίτης πεζός MSS., Hertlein.

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Emperor's brother and partner in empire. Then he began to be uplifted and dazzled by his hopes, as though he was about to imitate Poseidon and to prove that Homer's story was not mere fiction but absolutely true, where he says about the god

"Three strides did he make, and with the fourth came to his goal, even to Aegae,"¹

and how he took thence all his armour and harnessed his horses and drove through the waves :

"And with gladness the sea parted before him, and the horses fared very swiftly, and the bronze axle was not wetted beneath,"

for nothing stood in his way, but all things stood aside and made a path for him in their joy. Even so the usurper thought that he had left behind him nothing hostile or opposed to him, and that there was nothing at all to hinder him from taking up a position at the mouth of the Tigris. And there followed him a large force of heavy infantry and as many cavalry, yes, and good fighters they were, Celts, Iberians and Germans from the banks of the Rhine and from the coasts of the western sea. Whether I ought to call that sea the Ocean or the Atlantic, or whether it is proper to use some other name for it, I am not sure. I only know that its coasts are peopled by tribes of barbarians who are not easy to subdue and are far more energetic than any other race, and I know it not merely from hearsay, on which it is never safe to rely, but I have learned it from personal experience. From these tribes, then, he mustered an army as large as that which

¹ *Iliad* 13. 20.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN; II

πλήθος τῆς οἰκοθεν αὐτῷ ξυνεπισπομένης¹
στρατιᾶς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον εἶπετο
πολὺ καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμφυλον, τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον· οὕτω
γὰρ καλεῖν ἄξιον· ὅπόσον Ῥωμαίων βία καὶ οὐ
γνώμη ξυνηκολούθησεν, εἰκόδς ἐπικούροις καὶ
μισθοφόροις, ἐν Καρὸς εἶπετο τάξει καὶ σχήματι,
δύσνονν μὲν, ὡς εἰκόδς, βαρβάρῳ καὶ ξένῳ, μέθη
καὶ κραιπάλη τὴν δυναστείαν περιφρονήσαντι καὶ D
ἀνελομένῳ, ἄρχοντι δέ, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον τὸν ἐκ
τοιούτων προοιμίῳν καὶ προνομίῳν ἀρξάμενον.
ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτι κατὰ τὸν Τυφῶνα, ὃν ἡ
ποιητικὴ τερατεία φησὶ τῷ Διὶ χαλεπαίνουσαν
τὴν Γῆν ὠδῖναι, οὐδὲ ὡς γιγάντων ὁ κράτιστος,
ἀλλ' οἶαν ὁ σοφὸς ἐν μύθοις Πρόδικος τὴν Κακίαν
δημιουργεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἄρετὴν² διαμιλλωμένην καὶ
ἐθέλουσαν τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἀναπείθειν παῖδα, ὅτι
ἄρα αὐτῷ μάλιστα πάντων τιμητέα εἶη. προάγων
δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προυφέρετο τὰ τοῦ Καπανέως, 57
βαρβαρίζων³ καὶ ἀνοηταίνων, οὔτι μὴν κατ'
ἐκεῖνον τῇ ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς πίσυνος οὐδὲ ἀλκῇ
τοῦ σώματος, τῷ πλήθει δὲ τῶν ξυνεπομένων
βαρβάρων, οἷς δὴ καὶ λείαν ἅπαντα προθήσειν
ἠπεῖλει, ταξίαρχον ταξιάρχῳ καὶ λοχαγὸν λοχαγῷ
καὶ στρατιώτην στρατιώτῃ τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐταῖς
ἀποσκευαῖς καὶ κτήμασιν, οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα ἀφιεῖς
ἐλεύθερον. αὖξει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ

¹ ξυνεπισπομένης Cobet, ξυνεπομένης V Hertlein ξυνεφεπο-
μένης MSS.

² (τὴν) Ἄρετὴν Hertlein, ἀρετὴν MSS.

³ βαρβαρίζων MSS., Hertlein, βατταρίζων Cobet, cf. Plato,
Theaetetus 175 c.

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marched with him from home, or rather many followed him because they were his own people, allied to him by the ties of race, but our subjects—for so we must call them—I mean all his Roman troops followed from compulsion and not from choice, like mercenary allies, and their position and rôle was like that of the proverbial Carian,¹ since they were naturally ill-disposed to a barbarian and a stranger who had conceived the idea of ruling and embarked on the enterprise at the time of a drunken debauch, and was the sort of leader that one might expect from such a preface and prelude as that. He led them in person, not indeed like Typho, who, as the poet tells us,² in his wonder tale, was brought forth by the earth in her anger against Zeus, nor was he like the strongest of the Giants, but he was like that Vice incarnate which the wise Prodicus created in his fable,³ making her compete with Virtue and attempt to win over the son of Zeus,⁴ contending that he would do well to prize her above all else. And as he led them to battle he outdid the behaviour of Capaneus,⁵ like the barbarian that he was, in his insensate folly, though he did not, like Capaneus, trust to the energy of his soul or his physical strength, but to the numbers of his barbarian followers; and he boasted that he would lay everything at their feet to plunder, that every general and captain and common soldier of his should despoil an enemy of corresponding rank of his baggage and belongings, and that he would enslave the owners as well. He was confirmed in

¹ The Carians were proverbially worthless; cf. 320 D.

² Hesiod, *Theogony*.

³ Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2. 1. 2.

⁴ Heracles.

⁵ Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 440; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1182.

βασιλέως¹ δεινότης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσχωριῶν εἰς τὰ Β
 πεδία κατάγει γανύμενον καὶ οὐ ξυνιέντα, δρασμὸν
 δὲ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ οὐ στρατηγίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα
 κρίνοντα. ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἀλίσκεται, καθάπερ
 ὄρνιθες καὶ ἰχθύες δικτύοις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς τὴν
 εὐρυχωρίαν καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Παιόνων ἦλθε καὶ
 ἐδόκει λῶον ἐνταῦθα διαγωνίζεσθαι, τότε δὴ βασι-
 λεὺς τοὺς τε ἰππέας ἐπὶ κέρως τάττει χωρὶς
 ἑκατέρου.

Τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσιν αἰχμοφόροι, θώραξιν
 ἐλατοῖς καὶ κράνεσιν ἐκ σιδήρου πεποιημένοι
 σκεπόμενοι κνημίδες τε τοῖς σφυροῖς εὖ μύλα C
 περηρημοσμένοι καὶ περιγονατίδες καὶ περὶ τοῖς
 μηροῖς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐκ σιδήρου καλύμματα·
 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντες ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἵππων φερόμενοι, οὐδὲν ἀσπίδος δεόμενοι. τούτοις
 εἶπετο τῶν ἄλλων ἰππέων πλήθος ἀσπίδας
 φέροντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων τοξεύοντες. πεζῶν
 δὲ ὁ μὲν ὀπλίτης ἦν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνάπτων D
 ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῖς ἰππεύσιν· ἐξόπισθεν δὲ οἱ σφεν-
 δονῆται καὶ τοξόται καὶ ὀπόσον ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλει
 γυμνὸν ἀσπίδος καὶ θώρακος. οὕτω κοσμηθείσης
 τῆς φάλαγγος, μικρὰ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως προελθόντος
 ἅπαν τὸ πολέμιον συνετετάρακτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαττε
 τὴν τάξιν.² ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ οὐκ
 ἀνιέντων φεύγει μὲν αἰσχροῦς ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν
 αἰσχιον ἀρπάσας, λείπει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππαρχον
 καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους πάνυ πολλοὺς καὶ

¹ [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein, cf. 55 B.

² τὴν τάξιν Hertlein suggests, τάξιν MSS.

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this attitude by the Emperor's clever strategy, and led his army out from the narrow passes to the plains in high spirits and little knowing the truth, since he decided that the Emperor's march was merely flight and not a manoeuvre. Thus he was taken unawares, like a bird or fish in the net. For when he reached the open country and the plains of Paconia, and it seemed advantageous to fight it out there, then and not before the Emperor drew up his cavalry separately on both wings.

Of these troops some carry lances and are protected by cuirasses and helmets of wrought iron mail. They wear greaves that fit the legs closely, and knee-caps, and on their thighs the same sort of iron covering. They ride their horses exactly like statues, and need no shield. In the rear of these was posted a large body of the rest of the cavalry, who carried shields, while others fought on horseback with bows and arrows. Of the infantry the hoplites occupied the centre and supported the cavalry on either wing. In their rear were the slingers and archers and all troops that shoot their missiles from the hand and have neither shield nor cuirass. This, then, was the disposition of our phalanx. The left wing slightly outflanked the enemy, whose whole force was thereby thrown into confusion, and their line broke. When our cavalry made a charge and maintained it stubbornly, he who had so shamefully usurped the imperial power disgraced himself by flight, and left there his cavalry commander and his numerous chiliarchs and taxiarchs, who continued to fight bravely, and in

ἔρρωμένως ἀγωνιζομένους, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν ποιητὴν
 τοῦ τερατώδους καὶ ἑξαγίστου δράματος, ὃς πρῶτος 58
 ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλετο μεταποιῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ
 ἀφελῆσθαι τοῦ γέρωσ ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ τέως μὲν¹ ἔχαιρε τῆς πρώτης πείρας
 οὐκ ἀποσφαιεῖς οὐδὲ ἀμαρτήσας, τότε δὲ ἐφε-
 στώσας ξὺν δίκῃ ποινὰς ἀπαιτεῖται τῶν ἔργων
 καὶ ἄπιστον τιμωρίαν εἰσπράττεται. πάντων
 γὰρ ὁπόσοι τοῦ πολέμου τῷ τυράννῳ συνεφή-
 ψαντο ἐμφανῆς μὲν ὁ θάνατος, δήλη δ' ἡ φυγὴ
 καὶ ἄλλων μεταμέλεια· ἰκέτευον γὰρ πολλοί, καὶ B
 ἔτυχον ἅπαντες συγγνώμης, βασιλέως τὸν τῆς
 Θέτιδος ὑπερβαλλομένου μεγαλοφροσύνη. ὁ
 μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ Πάτροκλος ἔπεσεν, οὐδὲ πιπρά-
 κειν ἀλόντας ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἠξίου, ἀλλ'
 ἰκετεύοντας περὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔκτεινεν· ὁ δὲ
 ἐκήρυττεν ἄδειαν τοῖς ἑξαρνούμενοις τὴν ξυνωμο-
 σίαν, οὐ θανάτου μόνον ἢ φυγῆς ἢ τινος ἄλλης
 τιμωρίας ἀφαιρῶν τὸν φόβον, ὥσπερ δὲ ἔκ τινος
 παλαιπωρίας καὶ ἄλλης δυστυχοῦς τῆς ξὺν τῷ C
 τυράννῳ βιοτῆς κατάγειν σφᾶς ἐπ' ἀκεραίοις τοῖς
 πρόσθεν ἠξίου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐθις τεύξεται
 λόγου.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἤδη ῥητέον, ὡς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κει-
 μένοις ἦν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὁ παιδοτρίβης
 τοῦ τυράννου. τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ ἐλπίσαι συγγνώμην
 εὐλογον οὔτω μὲν ἄδικα διανοηθέντα, ἀσεβῆ δὲ
 ἐργασάμενον, φόνων τε ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναι-
 κῶν, πολλῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν, πάντων δὲ σχεδὸν D

¹ μὲν Reiske adds.

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command of all these the real author¹ of that monstrous and unholy drama, who had been the first to suggest to him that he should pretend to the imperial power and rob us of our royal privilege.

For a time indeed he enjoyed success, and at his first attempt met with no repulse or failure, but on that day he provoked the punishment that justice had in store for his misdeeds, and had to pay a penalty that is hardly credible. For all the others who abetted the usurper in that war met death openly or their flight was evident to all, as was the repentance of others. For many came as suppliants, and all obtained forgiveness, since the Emperor surpassed the son of Thetis in generosity. For Achilles, after Patroclus fell, refused any longer even to sell those whom he took captive, but slew them as they clasped his knees and begged for mercy. But the Emperor proclaimed an amnesty for those who should renounce the conspiracy, and so not only freed them from the fear of death or exile or some other punishment, but, as though their association with the usurper had been due to some misadventure or unhappy error, he deigned to reinstate them and completely cancel the past. I shall have occasion to refer to this again.

But what I must now state is that the man who had trained and tutored the usurper was neither among the fallen nor the fugitives. It was indeed natural that he should not even hope for pardon, since his schemes had been so wicked, his actions so infamous, and he had been responsible for the slaughter of so many innocent men and women, of whom many were private citizens, and of almost all who were connected

¹ Marcellinus.

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ὁπόσοι τοῦ βασιλείου γένους μετεῖχον ἀψάμενοι, οὔτι ξὺν δείματι οὐδὲ ἄν τις ἐμφύλιον φόνον διανοηθείη δρῶν, παλαμναίους τινὰς καὶ μιάστορας δεδιῶς καὶ ὑφορώμενος ἐκ τοῦ μιάσματος, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ τισὶ καθαρσίοις καινοῖς καὶ ἀτόποις τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀπονιπτόμενος ἄνδρα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀποκτιννὺς εἰκότως ἀπέγνω τὴν ἰκετηρίαν. ταῦτα εἰκὸς μὲν αὐτὸν διανοηθῆναι, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ⁵⁹ ἴσμεν ὅ, τί ποτε παθῶν ἢ δράσας ὄχρητο ἄιστος, ἄφαντος. ἀλλ' εἴτε αὐτὸν δαίμων τιμωρὸς ξυναρπάσας, καθάπερ Ὀμηρὸς φησι τὰς τοῦ Πανδάρου¹ θυγατέρας, ἐπὶ γῆς ἄγει πέρατα ποινὰς ἀπαιτήσων τῶν διανοημάτων, εἴτε αὐτὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὑποδεξάμενος ἐστιᾶν κελεύει τοὺς ἰχθύς, οὔτι πω δῆλον. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς καὶ ὀπηνίκα οἱ λόχοι συνετάττοντο πρὸς φάλαγγα θρασὺς ἦν ἐν ^B μέσοις ἀναστρεφόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπράχθη² τὰ τῆς μάχης, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον, ἀφανῆς ὄχρητο οὐκ οἶδα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων κρυφθεῖς, πλὴν ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀμείνοσι ταῖς τύχαις εὐδηλον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐθις ἔμελλε φανεῖς ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὑβρίζων ἀδεῶς εὐδαιμονήσειν, ὡς ὄχρητο, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ παντελὲς ἀφανισθεῖς τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν αὐτῷ μὲν

¹ Πανδάρου V, Naber, cf. *Odyssey* 20, 66, Τυνδάρου MSS., Hertlein. ² ἐπράχθη MSS., Hertlein, ἐταράχθη Naber.

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with the imperial family. And he had done this not with shrinking nor with the sentiments of one who sheds the blood of his own people, and because of that stain of guilt fears and is on the watch for the avenger and those who will exact a bloody reckoning, but, with a kind of purification that was new and unheard of, he would wash his hands of the blood of his first victims, and then go on to murder man after man, and then, after those whom they held dear, he slew the women as well. So he naturally abandoned the idea of appealing for mercy. But likely as it is that he should think thus, yet it may well be otherwise. For the fact is that we do not know what he did or suffered before he vanished out of sight, out of our ken. Whether some avenging deity snatched him away, as Homer says of the daughters of Pandareos,¹ and even now is carrying him to the very verge of the world to punish him for his evil designs, or whether the river² has received him and bids him feed the fishes, has not yet been revealed. For till the battle actually began, and while the troops were forming the phalanx, he was full of confidence and went to and fro in the centre of their line. But when the battle was ended as was fitting, he vanished completely, taken from our sight by I know not what god or supernatural agency, only it is quite certain that the fate in store for him was far from enviable. At any rate he was not destined to appear again, and, after insulting us with impunity, live prosperous and secure as he thought he should; but he was doomed to be completely blotted out and to suffer a punishment that for him indeed was

¹ *Odyssey* 20. 66.

² The Drave.

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δυστυχή, πολλοῖς δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸν μηχανοποιὸν τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως πλείονος ἀξιωθέντα λόγου, μέση τῇ C πράξει¹ παρελόμενα τὸ ξυνεχὲς τῆς διηγήσεως, ἐνταῦθά που πάλιν ἀφετέα. ἐπανιτέον δὲ ὄθενπερ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἀποδοτέον τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ξὺν τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν δειλία καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πίπτει φρονήματα, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῖς διεφθάρη, οὐ κακία σφῶν, ἀπειρία δὲ καὶ ἀμαθία τοῦ τάττοντος, κατὰ λόχους συνιστάμενοι διηγωνίζοντο καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάσης ἐλπίδος μείζον, τῶν μὲν D οὐχ ὑφιεμένων ἐς τὸ παντελὲς τοῖς κρατούσι, τῶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν τελέως τῇ νίκη φιλοτιμουμένων, ξυμμιγῆς τε ἤρητο τάραχος καὶ βοή καὶ κτύπος τῶν ὀπλων, ξιφῶν τε ἀγνυμένων ἀμφὶ τοῖς κράνεσι καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων περὶ τοῖς δόρασι. ἀνὴρ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ξυνίστατο, καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὠθοῦντο² μικρὰ τοῦ παθεῖν φροντίζοντες, ἅπαντα δὲ εἰς τὸ δρᾶσαί τι δεινὸν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν θυμὸν τρέποντες, τοῦ μὴ καθαρὰν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ ἄδακρυν παρασχεῖν τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. καὶ 60 ταῦτα ἔδρων οὐ πεζοὶ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοις τῶν ἰππέων ὑπὸ τῶν θραυμάτων ἀχρεῖα παντελῶς ἐγεγόνει τὰ δόρατα.³ ξυστοὶ δὲ εἰσιν εὐμήκεις, οὓς συγκαταγνύντες καὶ ἀποπηδῶντες εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο.

¹ μέση τῇ πράξει V, Hertlein, μισητῆς πράξεως Reiske, μέση τῆς πράξεως MSS. ² Naber suggests ὠθουν ὠθοῦντο.

³ After δόρατα Petavius, Hertlein omit σφῶν.

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fatal, but to many was beneficial and gave them a chance of recovery.

Now though it would be well worth while to devote more of my speech to this man who was the author of that whole enterprise, yet it breaks the thread of my narrative, which had reached the thick of the action. So I must leave that subject for the present, and going back to the point where I digressed, describe how the battle ended. For though their generals showed such cowardice, the courage of the soldiers was by no means abated. When their line was broken, which was due not to their cowardice but to the ignorance and inexperience of their leader, they formed into companies and kept up the fight. And what happened then was beyond all expectation; for the enemy refused altogether to yield to those who were defeating them, while our men did their utmost to achieve a signal victory, and so there arose the wildest confusion, loud shouts mingled with the din of weapons, as swords were shattered against helmets and shields against spears. It was a hand to hand fight, in which they discarded their shields and attacked with swords only, while, indifferent to their own fate, and devoting the utmost ardour to inflicting severe loss on the foe, they were ready to meet even death if only they could make our victory seem doubtful and dearly bought. It was not only the infantry who behaved thus to their pursuers, but even the cavalry, whose spears were broken and were now entirely useless. Their shafts are long and polished, and when they had broken them they

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καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ἀντεῖχον·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε ἵππεῖς ἔβαλλον ἐκ τόξων πόρρωθεν
 ἐφιππαζόμενοι¹ καὶ οἱ θωρακοφόροι πυκναῖς ἐπ'
 αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐπελάσεσιν ἅτε ἐν πεδίῳ B
 καθαρῶ καὶ λείῳ νύξ τε ἐπέλαβεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ
 μὲν ἀπέφευγον ἄσμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐδίωκον καρτερῶς
 ἄχρι τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ αὐτὸν αἰρούσιν αὐταῖς
 ἀποσκευαῖς καὶ ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ κτήνεσιν. ἀρξα-
 μένης δέ, ὅπερ ἔφη, ἄρτι τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολε-
 μίων καὶ τῶν διωκόντων οὐκ ἀνιέντων, ἐπὶ τὸ
 λαιὸν ὠθοῦνται, ἵναπερ ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν τοῖς
 κρατοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ πολὺς ἐγένετο C
 φόνος, καὶ ἐπλήσθη νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων
 ἀναμίξ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Δράῶς ἐώκει Σκαμάνδρῳ,
 οὐδὲ ἦν εὐμενῆς τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν
 νεκροὺς αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀπορριπτεῖν
 τῶν ρευμάτων, τοὺς ζῶντας δὲ ξυγκαλύπτειν καὶ
 ἀποκρύπτειν ἀσφαλῶς ταῖς δίναις. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ
 ποταμὸς ὁ Τρῶς τυχὸν μὲν ὑπὸ εὐνοίας ἔδρα, τυχὸν
 δὲ οὕτως ἔχων μεγέθους, ὡς ῥάδιον παρέχειν βαδί-
 ζειν τε ἐθέλοντι καὶ νηχομένῳ τὸν πόρον· ἐπεὶ
 καὶ γεφυροῦται μιᾶς ἐμβληθείσης εἰς αὐτὸν D
 πτελέας, ἅπας τε ἀναμορμύρων ἀφρῶ καὶ αἵματι
 πλάζ' ὤμους Ἀχιλῆος, εἰ χρῆ καὶ τοῦτο πιστεῦ-
 σαι, βιαιότερον δὲ οὐδὲν εἰργάζετο· καὶ ἐπιλα-
 βόντος ὀλίγου καύματος ἀπαγορεύει τὸν πόλεμον
 καὶ ἐξόμνυται τὴν ἐπικουρίαν. Ὀμήρου δὲ ἔοικεν
 εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο παίγνιον, καινὸν καὶ ἄτοπον
 μονομαχίας τρόπον ἐπινοήσαντος. ἐπεὶ καὶ τᾶλλα

¹ ἐφιππαζόμενοι Hertlein suggests, ἀφιππαζόμενοι MSS.

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dismounted and transformed themselves into hoplites. So for some time they held their own against the greatest odds. But since our cavalry kept shooting their arrows from a distance as they rode after them, while the cuirassiers made frequent charges, as was easy on that unobstructed and level plain, and moreover night overtook them, the enemy were glad at last to take to flight, while our men kept up a vigorous pursuit as far as the camp and took it by assault, together with the baggage and slaves and baggage animals. Directly the rout of the enemy had begun, as I have described, and while we kept up a hot pursuit, they were driven towards the left, where the river was on the right of the victors. And there the greatest slaughter took place, and the river was choked with the bodies of men and horses, indiscriminately. For the Drave was not like the Scamander, nor so kind to the fugitives; it did not put ashore and cast forth from its waters the dead in their armour, nor cover up and hide securely in its eddies those who escaped alive. For that is what the Trojan river did¹, perhaps out of kindness, perhaps it was only that it was so small that it offered an easy crossing to one who tried to swim or walk. In fact, when a single poplar was thrown into it, it formed a bridge,² and the whole river roared with foam and blood and beat upon the shoulders of Achilles,³ if indeed we may believe even this, but it never did anything more violent. When a slight fire scorched it, it gave up fighting at once and swore not to play the part of ally. However this, too, was probably a jest on Homer's part, when he invented that strange and unnatural sort of duel. For in the

¹ *Iliad* 21. 325 foll. ² *Iliad* 21. 242. ³ *Iliad* 21. 269.

δηλός ἐστιν Ἀχιλλεὶ χαριζόμενος, καὶ ὥσπερ
 θεατὰς ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα μόνον ἄμαχον καὶ 61
 ἀνυπόστατον ἐπάγει τοῖς πολεμίοις, κτείνοντα
 μὲν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, τρεπόμενον δὲ ἀπαξ-
 απλῶς πάντας φωνῇ καὶ σχήματι καὶ τῶν
 ὀμμάτων ταῖς προσβολαῖς, ἀρχομένης τε οἶμαι
 τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ¹ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ταῖς
 ἡόσιν, ἕως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἄσμενοι ξυνελέγησαν οἱ
 διαφυγόντες. ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος πολλοῖς ἔπεσι διη-
 γούμενος καὶ θεῶν ἀναπλάττων μάχας καὶ ἐπι-
 κοσμῶν μύθοις τὴν ποίησιν δεκάζει τοὺς κριτὰς
 καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει δικαίαν φέρειν καὶ ἀψευδῆ
 ψῆφον. ὅστις δὲ ἐθέλει μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους B
 ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπι-
 φερομένων πλασμάτων, † ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ
 ἀρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρωμάτων, †² Ἀρεοπαγίτης
 ἔστω κριτής, καὶ οὐκ εὐλαβησόμεθα τὴν κρίσιν.
 εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατιώτην ὁμολογοῦμεν
 τὸν Πηλέως, ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀναπειθόμενοι.
 κτείνει μὲν ἄνδρας εἴκοσι,

Ζωοὺς δ' ἐκ ποταμοῖο δυνώδεκα λέξατο κούρους,
 Τοὺς ἐξῆγε θύραζε τεθηπότας ἤυτε νεβρούς,
 Ποιὴν Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο θανόντος.

τοσαύτην μέντοι ἠνεγκεν εἰς τὰ πράγματα τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν ἢ νίκη τὴν ῥοπήν, ὥστε οὐδὲ μείζονα C
 φόβον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέβαλεν οὐδὲ ἀπογνῶναι ἐς
 τὸ παντελὲς ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐποίει. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων

¹ προσβολαῖς—καὶ Wright προσβολαῖς.—[καὶ] Hertlein προσβολαῖς.—καὶ MSS.

² ὥσπερ—χρωμάτων Hertlein suggests ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ ὑπ' ἀργυρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρυσομάτων "as though by gold or silver work in a picture."

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rest of the poem also he evidently favours Achilles, and he sets the army there as mere spectators while he brings Achilles on to the field as the only invincible and resistless warrior, and makes him slay all whom he encounters and put every one of the foe to flight, simply by his voice and bearing and the glance of his eyes, both when the battle begins and on the banks of the Scamander, till the fugitives were glad to gather within the wall of the city. Many verses he devotes to relating this, and then he invents the battles of the gods, and by embellishing his poem with such tales he corrupts his critics and prevents us from giving a fair and honest vote. But if there be any one who refuses to be beguiled by the beauty of the words and the fictions that are imported into the poem . . . ¹), then, though he is as strict as a member of the Areopagus, I shall not dread his decision. For we are convinced by the poem that the son of Peleus is a brave soldier. He slays twenty men; then

“He chose twelve youths alive out of the river and led them forth amazed like fawns to atone for the death of Patroclus, son of Menoitius.” ²

But his victory, though it had some influence on the fortunes of the Achaeans, was not enough to inspire any great fear in the enemy, nor did it make them wholly despair of their cause. On this point

¹ For eight words the text is hopelessly corrupt.

² *Iliad* 21. 27.

ἄρ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μάρτυρος δεησόμεθα τὸν Ὀμηρον
 παραλιπόντες; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τῶν ἐπῶν μνη- D
 σθῆναι, ἃ πεποίηκεν ἐκεῖνος, ὅπηνίκα ἐπὶ τὰς
 ναῦς ἦλθεν ὁ Πρίαμος φέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ
 λύτρα; ἐρομένου γὰρ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑπὲρ¹
 ὧν ἀφίκτο, τοῦ τῆς Θέτιδος υἱέος

Ποσσημαρ μέμονας κτερεῖζέμεν Ἐκτορα δῖον,
 τά τε ἄλλα διέξεισι καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου φησί·

Τῇ δὲ δυωδεκάτῃ πολεμίζομεν,² εἴπερ ἀνάγκη.
 οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλειν ὀκνεῖ μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν 62
 τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἀγεννῆς καὶ δειλὸς τύραννος
 ὄρη τε ὑψηλὰ προυτείνεται τῆς αὐτοῦ φυγῆς καὶ
 ἐξοικοδομήσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρούρια οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν
 τόπων ὀχυρότητι πιστεύει, ἀλλὰ ἰκετεύει συγγνώ-
 μης τυγχάνειν. καὶ ἔτυχεν ἄν,³ εἴπερ ἦν ἄξιος
 καὶ μὴ ἐφωράθη πολλάκις ἄπιστος καὶ θρασύς,
 ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις προστιθεὶς ἀδικήματα.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ μὴ δόξῃ τις τῶν
 διηγουμένων προσέχειν ἐθέλοι μηδὲ ἔπεσιν εὖ B
 πεποιημένοις, ἐς αὐτὰ δὲ ὄραν τὰ ἔργα, κρινέτω.
 ἐξῆς δ', εἰ βούλεσθε τὴν Αἴαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν
 καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀντιθεῖναι
 μάχην τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἔργοις· ἢ δὴ
 Μυγδόnius ποταμῶν κάλλιστος τὴν αὐτοῦ προσ-

¹ [τὰς] ὑπὲρ Reiske, Hertlein.

² πολεμίζομεν Cobet, MSS., πολεμίζομεν V, Hertlein,
 πτολεμίζομεν M.

³ ἄν Reiske adds.

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shall we set Homer aside and demand some other witness? Or is it not enough to recall the verses in which he describes how Priam came to the ships bringing his son's ransom? For after he had made the truce for which he had come, and the son of Thetis asked:

“For how many days dost thou desire to make a funeral for noble Hector?”

He told him not only that, but concerning the war he said:

“And on the twelfth day we will fight again, if fight we must.”¹

You see he does not hesitate to announce that war will be resumed after the armistice. But the unmanly and cowardly usurper sheltered his flight behind lofty mountains and built forts on them; nor did he trust even to the strength of the position, but begged for forgiveness. And he would have obtained it had he deserved it, and not proved himself on many occasions both treacherous and insolent, by heaping one crime on another.

And now with regard to the battle, if there be anyone who declines to heed either the opinion expressed in my narrative or those admirably written verses, but prefers to consider the actual facts, let him judge from those. Accordingly we will next, if you please, compare the fighting of Ajax in defence of the ships and of the Achaeans at the wall with the Emperor's achievements at that famous city. I mean the city to which the Mygdonius, fairest of rivers, gives its name, though it has also been named after

¹ *Iliad* 24. 657.

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τίθησι φήμην, οὔση δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως ἐπωνύμῳ· γέγονε δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτερον ὄνομα βάρβαρον, σύνηθες τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τῆδε βαρβάρους ἐπιμιξίας· ταύτην δὴ τὴν πόλιν στρατὸς ἀμήχανος πλήθει Παρθυαίων ξὺν Ἰνδοῖς C περιέσχεν, ὀπηνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον βαδίζειν προύκειτο· καὶ ὅπερ Ἑρακλεῖ φασιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λερναῖον ἰόντι θηρίον συνενεχθῆναι, τὸν θαλάττιον καρκίνον, τοῦτο ἦν ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου Τίγρητα διαβὰς καὶ περιτειχίζων¹ τὴν πόλιν χώμασιν· εἶτα εἰς ταῦτα δεχόμενος τὸν Μυγδόνιον λίμνην ἀπέφηνε τὸ περὶ τῷ ἄστει χωρίον καὶ ὡσπερ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ συνείχε τὴν πόλιν, μικρὸν ὑπερεχουσῶν καὶ ὑπερφαινομένων D τῶν ἐπάλλξεων. ἐπολιόρκει δὲ ναῦς τε ἐπάγων καὶ ἐπὶ νεῶν μηχανάς· καὶ ἦν οὐχ ἡμέρας ἔργον, μηνῶν δὲ οἶμαι σχεδόν τι τεττάρων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει συνεχῶς ἀπεκρούοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπιμπράντες τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς πυρφόροις· ναῦς δὲ ἀνείλκον πολλὰς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους, ἄλλαι δὲ κατεάγνυντο ὑπὸ ῥώμης τῶν ἀφιεμένων ὀργάνων καὶ βάρους τῶν βελῶν. ἐφέροντο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς 63 λίθοι ταλάντων ὀλκῆς Ἀπτικῶν ἐπτὰ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ συχναῖς ἡμέραις ταῦτ' ἐδράτο, ῥήγνυται μέρος τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων εἰσρεῖ² πλήμμυρα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ τείχους μέρος οὐκ ἔλασσον πήχεων ἑκατὸν συγκατηνέχθη.

Ἐνταῦθα κοσμεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν τὸν Περσικὸν

¹ περιτειχίζων Hertlein suggests, cf. 27 B, ἐπετειχίζων MSS.

² εἰσρεῖ Cobet, ἐκρεῖ MSS., Hertlein.

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King Antiochus. Then, too, it has another, a barbarian name¹ which is familiar to many of you from your intercourse with the barbarians of those parts. This city was besieged by an overwhelming number of Parthians with their Indian allies, at the very time when the Emperor was prepared to march against the usurper. And like the sea crab which they say engaged Heracles in battle when he sallied forth to attack the Lernaean monster,² the King of the Parthians, crossing the Tigris from the mainland, encircled the city with dykes. Then he let the Mygdonius flow into these, and transformed all the space about the city into a lake, and completely hemmed it in as though it were an island, so that only the ramparts stood out and showed a little above the water. Then he besieged it by bringing up ships with siege-engines on board. This was not the work of a day, but I believe of almost four months. But the defenders within the wall continually repulsed the barbarians by burning the siege-engines with their fire-darts. And from the wall they hauled up many of the ships, while others were shattered by the force of the engines when discharged and the weight of the missiles. For some of the stones that were hurled on to them weighed as much as seven Attic talents.³ When this had been going on for many days in succession, part of the dyke gave way and the water flowed in in full tide, carrying with it a portion of the wall as much as a hundred cubits long.⁴

Thereupon he arrayed the besieging army in the

¹ Nisibis.

² Sapor becomes the ally of Magnentius as the crab was the ally of the Hydra in the conflict with Heracles.

³ 400 lbs. in all.

⁴ 150 feet.

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τρόπον. διασώζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἀπομιμοῦνται τὰ
 Περσικὰ οὐκ ἀξιούντες, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Παρθυαῖοι
 νομίζεσθαι, Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιούμενοι. B
 ταῦτά τοι καὶ στολῇ Μηδικῇ χαίρουσι. καὶ ἐς
 μάχας ἔρχονται ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις ὄπλοις τε ἀγαλ-
 λόμενοι τοιούτοις καὶ ἐσθήμασιν ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ
 ἀλουργέσι. σοφίζονται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν
 ἀφεστάναι Μακεδόνων, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐξ
 ἀρχαίου βασιλείαν προσήκουσαν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ
 βασιλεὺς Ξέρξην μιμούμενος ἐπὶ τινος χειροποιή-
 του καθῆστο γηλόφου, προῆγε¹ δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ξὺν
 τοῖς θηρίοις. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν εἶπετο, καὶ ἔφερεν
 ἐκ σιδήρου πύργους τοξοτῶν πλήρεις. ἠγούντο δὲ C
 αὐτῶν ἰππεῖς οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ οἱ τοξόται, ἕτερον
 ἰππέων πλῆθος ἀμήχανον. τὸ πεζὸν γὰρ σφιν
 ἀχρεῖον ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ καθέστηκεν οὔτε ἐντίμου
 μετέχον τάξεως οὔτε ὄν σφιν ἐν χρεῖα, πεδιάδος
 οὔσης καὶ ψιλῆς τῆς χώρας ὀπίσθη νέμονται.
 εἶοικε γὰρ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου
 χρεῖας τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀξιοῦσθαι. ὥς οὖν
 ἀχρεῖον τῇ φύσει οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν νόμων πολυωρίας
 ἀξιοῦται. συνέβη δὲ οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὴν Κρήτην
 καὶ Καρίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ μυρίοις ἔθνεσι τὰ D
 περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατασκευασθῆναι, οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ
 Θετταλῶν οὔσα πεδιάς ἰππεύσιν ἐναγωνίζεσθαι
 καὶ ἐμμελετᾶν ἐπιτήδειος ἐφάνη. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς
 ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ἅτε ἐς ἀντιπάλους παντοδαπούς
 καταστάντα, εὐβουλία καὶ τύχη περιγενόμενα,

¹ προῆγε Hertlein suggests, προσῆγε MSS.

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Persian fashion. For they keep up and imitate Persian customs, I suppose, because they do not wish to be considered Parthians, and so pretend to be Persians. That is surely the reason why they prefer the Persian manner of dress. And when they march to battle they look like them, and take pride in wearing the same armour, and raiment adorned with gold and purple. By this means they try to evade the truth and to make it appear that they have not revolted from Macedon, but are merely resuming the empire that was theirs of old. Their king, therefore, imitating Xerxes, sat on a sort of hill that had been artificially made, and his army advanced accompanied by their beasts.¹ These came from India and carried iron towers full of archers. First came the cavalry who wore cuirasses, and the archers, and then the rest of the cavalry in huge numbers. For infantry they find useless for their sort of fighting and it is not highly regarded by them. Nor, in fact, is it necessary to them, since the whole of the country that they inhabit is flat and bare. For a military force is naturally valued or slighted in proportion to its actual usefulness in war. Accordingly, since infantry is, from the nature of the country, of little use to them, it is granted no great consideration in their laws. This happened in the case of Crete and Caria as well, and countless nations have a military equipment like theirs. For instance the plains of Thessaly have proved suitable for cavalry engagements and drill. Our state, on the other hand, since it has had to encounter adversaries of all sorts, and has won its pre-eminence by good judgment combined with good luck, has naturally

¹ Elephants.

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εικότως ἐς ἅπαν εἶδος ὄπλων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς ἄλλης¹ ἡρμόσθη.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ ταῖς τῶν ἐπαίνων τέχναις καθάπερ νόμοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τί σοι προσήκει καὶ τούτων, ἐν καιρῷ σκέψομαι, τά γε μὴν ὀνειδέη τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπολύομαι. φημὶ γὰρ ὡς οὔτε ἐγὼ τῶν τεχνῶν μεταποιοῦμαι οὔτε ὅστις μὴ τισιν ὠμολόγησεν ἐμμενεῖν ἀδικεῖ μὴ φυλάττων ταῦτα· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν εὐπρεπῶν παραιτήσεων. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον μακρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν δέον ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως. ἐπαναβῶμεν οὖν αὐθις εἰς ἵχνος καὶ ὅθεν ἐξέβην.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ Παρθυαῖοι κοσμηθέντες ὄπλοις αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἵπποι ξὺν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς θηρίοις προσῆγον τῷ τείχει, λαμπροὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα ἀναρπασόμενοι,² καὶ ἐδέδοτό σφιν τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν τὸ σημεῖον, ὠθοῦντο ξύμπαντες, αὐτὸς τις ἐθέλων πρῶτος ἐσαλέσθαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἴχεσθαι φέρων τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κλέος· εἶναί τε οὐδὲν ἐτοπαζον δέος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομενεῖν σφῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν τοὺς ἔνδον. Παρθυαῖοις μὲν τοσοῦτον περιῆν ἐλπίδος. οἱ δὲ πυκνήν τε εἶχον τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεστῶτος ὀπόσον ἦν ἀχρεῖον πλήθος

¹ παρασκευῆς ἄλλης Cobet, MSS., παρασκευῆς (ἄλλοτε) ἄλλης Reiske, Hertlein.

² ἀναρπασόμενοι Hertlein suggests, διαρπασόμενοι V, διαρπασόμενοι MSS.

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adapted itself to every kind of armour, and to a varying equipment.

But perhaps those who watch over the rules for writing panegyric as though they were laws, may say that all this is irrelevant to my speech. Now whether what I have been saying partly concerns you I shall consider at the proper time. But at any rate I can easily clear myself from the accusation of such persons. For I declare that I make no claim to be an expert in their art, and one who has not agreed to abide by certain rules has the right to neglect them. And it may be that I shall prove to have other convincing excuses besides. But it is not worth while to interrupt my speech and digress from my theme any longer when there is no need. Let me, then, retrace my steps to the point at which I digressed.

Now when the Parthians advanced to attack the wall in their splendid accoutrements, men and horses, supported by the Indian elephants, it was with the utmost confidence that they would at once take it by assault. And at the signal to charge they all pressed forward, since every man of them was eager to be the first to scale the wall¹ and win the glory of that exploit. They did not imagine that there was anything to fear, nor did they believe that the besieged would resist their assault. Such was the exaggerated confidence of the Parthians. The besieged, however, kept their phalanx unbroken at the gap in the wall, and on the portion of the wall that was still intact they posted all the non-

¹ *Iliad* 12. 438 ; cf. 71 B

ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέστησαν ἀναμίξαντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι προσήλαυνον καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀφίετο βέλος, βεβαιότεραν εἶχον τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κατ' ἄκρας αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔπαιον μᾶστιξι καὶ ἤμασσον τὰς πλευρὰς τοῖς κέντροις, ἕως ἐποίησαντο σφῶν κατὰ νώτου τὰ χρώματα· ἐπεποιήτο δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνα πρότερον πρὸς τὸ ἐπέχειν τοῦ Μυγδονίου τὰς ἐκροάς, ἰλύς τε ἦν περὶ τὸ χωρίον εὐ μάλα βαθεῖα τοῦδὲ αὐτοῦ παντελῶς ὄντος ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης¹ καὶ διὰ τὸ πείρασαν εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ στέγειν δύνασθαι φύσει τὰς λιβάδας. ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ παλαιὸν ἔρυμα τῇ πόλει τάφρος εὐρεία, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ βαθύτερον συνειστήκει τέλμα. ἀπτομένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ταύτης καὶ διαβαίνειν πειρωμένων, ἐπεξῆσαν² πολλοὶ μὲν ἔνδοθεν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔβαλλον τοῖς λίθοις· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος, φυγῇ δὲ ἔτρεπον τοὺς ἵππους ξύμπαντες, τῷ μόνον ἐθέλειν καὶ δηλοῦν τὴν γνώμην διὰ τοῦ σχήματος. ἐπιστρεφόντων γὰρ ἐπίπτον εὐθέως καὶ κατέφερον τοὺς ἵππεας· βαρεῖς δὲ ὄντες τοῖς ὄπλοις μᾶλλον ἐνείχοντο τῷ τέλματι. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα γίνεται³ φόμος, ὅσος οὐπω πρόσθεν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ τοιαύτῃ³ γέγονεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἵππέων ὠδὲ ἐπεπράγει, τῶν ἐλεφάντων πειρῶνται, καταπλήξεσθαι μᾶλλον

¹ οὐδὲ—ὕλης corrupt. Reiske suggests οὐδὲ αὐτὸ παντελῶς ἔν ξηρὸν ὑπὸ τε ὕλης. ἔλης V, ὕλης MSS.

² ἐπεξῆσαν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεξήσαν MSS., V omits.

³ τοιαύτη Reiske suggests, τοσαύτη MSS., Hertlein.

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combatants in the city, and distributed among them an equal number of soldiers. But when the enemy rode up and not a single missile was hurled at them from the wall, their confidence that they would completely reduce the city was strengthened, and they whipped and spurred on their horses so that their flanks were covered with blood, until they had left the dykes behind them. These dykes they had made earlier to dam the mouth of the Mygdonius, and the mud thereabouts was very deep. †In fact there was hardly any ground at all because of the wood,^{1†} and because the soil was so rich, and of the sort that conceals springs under its surface. Moreover there was in that place a wide moat that had been made long ago to protect the town, and had become filled up with a bog of considerable depth. Now when the enemy had already reached this moat and were trying to cross it, a large force of the besieged made a sally, while many others hurled stones from the walls. Then many of the besiegers were slain, and all with one accord turned their horses in flight, though only from their gestures could it be seen that flight was what they desired and intended. For, as they were in the act of wheeling them about, their horses fell and bore down the riders with them. Weighed down as they were by their armour, they floundered still deeper in the bog, and the carnage that ensued has never yet been paralleled in any siege of the same kind.

Since this fate had overtaken the cavalry, they tried the elephants, thinking that they would be more

¹ The text here is corrupt.

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οιόμενοι τῷ ξένῳ τῆς μάχης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων διέφθαρτο, ὡς μὴ καθορᾶν βαρύτερον μὲν ὄν ἵππου τὸ θηρίον, φέρον δὲ ἄχθος οὐχ ἵππων δυοῖν ἢ πλειόνων, ἀμαξῶν δὲ οἶμαι συχνῶν, τοξότας καὶ ἀκουτιστάς καὶ σιδηροῦν πύργον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα πρὸς τὸ χωρίον χειροποίητον γεγονός τέλμα κωλύματα, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ φανερά· ὅθεν οὐκ εἰκὸς εἰς μάχην ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἔνδον παρασκευάζεσθαι. προσῆγον δὲ ἐν τάξει μέτρον διεστῶτες ἀλλήλων ἴσον, καὶ ἐφώκει τείχει τῶν Παρθυαίων ἢ φάλαγξ· τὰ μὲν θηρία¹ τοὺς πύργους φέροντα, τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δὲ ἀναπληρῶντων τὰ ἐν μέσῳ. ταχθέντες δὲ οὕτως οὐ μέγα ὄφελος ἦσαν τῷ βαρβάρῳ· παρείχον γὰρ ἡδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους θεωμένοις. ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο διακορεῖς οἰονεὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ πολυτελοῦς πομπῆς πεμπομένης, λίθους ἐκ μηχανῶν ἀφιέντες καὶ τόξοις βάλλοντες ἐς τὴν τειχομαχίαν προυκαλοῦντο τοὺς βαρβάρους. φύσει δὲ ὄντες εἰς ὀργὴν ὀξύρροποι καὶ δεινὸν ποιούμενοι τὸ γέλωτα ὀφλήσαι καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν ὀπίσω τὴν παρασκευὴν ἄπρακτον, ἐγκελευομένου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως, προσῆγον τῷ τείχει καὶ ἐβάλλοντο πυκνοῖς² τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς τοξεύμασι· καὶ ἐτρόθη τῶν θηρίων τινὰ καὶ ἀπέθανεν κατενεχθέντα³ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰλυσος. δείσαντες δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπήγον ὀπίσω πάλιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

¹ τὰ μὲν θηρία corrupt, Hertlein.

² πυκνοῖς Cobet, πυκνῶς MSS., Hertlein.

³ κατενεχθέντα Reiske, εἰσενεχθέντα MSS., Hertlein.

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likely to overawe us by that novel sort of fighting. For surely they had not been stricken so blind as not to see that an elephant is heavier than a horse, since it carries the load, not of two horses or several, but what would, I suppose, require many waggons, I mean archers and javelin men and the iron tower besides. All this was a serious hindrance, considering that the ground was artificially made and had been converted into a bog. And this the event made plain. Hence it is probable that they were not advancing to give battle, but rather were arrayed to overawe the besieged. They came on in battle line at equal distances from one another, in fact the phalanx of the Parthians resembled a wall, with the elephants carrying the towers, and hoplites filling up the spaces between. But drawn up as these were they were of no great use to the barbarian. It was, however, a spectacle which gave the defenders on the wall great pleasure and entertainment, and when they had gazed their fill at what resembled a splendid and costly pageant in procession, they hurled stones from their engines, and, shooting their arrows, challenged the barbarians to fight for the wall. Now the Parthians are naturally quick-tempered, and they could not endure to incur ridicule and lead back this imposing force without striking a blow; so by the king's express command they charged at the wall and received a continuous fire of stones and arrows, while some of the elephants were wounded, and perished by sinking into the mud. Thereupon, in fear for the others also, they led them back to the camp.

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Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ὁ Παρθυαῖος ἡμάρτε τῆς
 πείρας, τοὺς τοξότας διελὼν εἰς μοίρας διαδέ-
 χεσθαί τε ἀλλήλους κελεύει καὶ συνεχῶς βάλλειν
 πρὸς τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, ὡς μὴ δυνηθεῖεν
 ἀποικοδομηῆσαι καὶ ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν πόλιν·
 οὕτω γὰρ αἰρήσειν λαθῶν ἢ βιασάμενος τῷ
 πλήθει τοὺς ἔνδον ἠλπίζε. ἀλλὰ μάταιον γὰρ¹
 ἀπέφηνεν ἢ βασιλέως παρασκευὴ τοῦ βαρβάρου
 τὸ διανόημα. κατὰ νότου γὰρ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἕτερον
 τεῖχος εἰργάζετο· ὁ δὲ ᾤετο τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἴχνεσιν
 εἰς τὰ θεμέλια χρωμένους μέλλειν ἔτι. ἡμέρα δὲ
 ὄλη καὶ νυκτὶ συνεχῶς ἐργασαμένων ἔστε ἐπὶ
 τέτταρας² πήχεις ὕψους ἠγείρετο, καὶ ἔωθεν ὄφθη
 λαμπρὸν καὶ νεουργές, ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἀκαρῆ χρόνον
 ἐνδιδόντων, διαδεχομένων δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀκοντι-
 ζόντων εἰς τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τῷ κειμένῳ τείχει,
 τοῦτο ἐξέπληξε δεινῶς τὸν βάρβαρον. οὐ μὴν
 ἀπῆγεν εὐθύς τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλ' αὐθις τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς χρῆται παλαισμάσι. δράσας δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
 παθὼν παραπλήσια ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν ὀπίσω,
 πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δῆμους ἀπολέσας,
 πολλὰ δὲ ἀναλώσας περὶ τοῖς χώμασι καὶ τῇ
 πολιορκίᾳ σώματα, σατράπας δὲ ἀνελὼν συχνοὺς,
 ἄλλον ἄλλο ἐπαιτιώμενος, τὸν μὲν ὅτι μὴ καρτε-
 ρῶς ἐπεποίητο τὰ χώματα, εἶξε δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλύσθη
 παρὰ τῶν ποταμίων ρευμάτων, τὸν δὲ ὡς φαύλως

¹ ἀλλὰ μάταιον γὰρ Hertlein suggests, μάταιον δ' ἄρα Reiske, μάταιον γὰρ MSS.

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Having failed in this second attempt as well, the Parthian king divided his archers into companies and ordered them to relieve one another and to keep shooting at the breach in the wall, so that the besieged could not rebuild it and thus ensure the safety of the town. For he hoped by this means either to take it by surprise, or by mere numbers to overwhelm the garrison. But the preparations that had been made by the Emperor made it clear that the barbarian's plan was futile. For in the rear of the hoplites a second wall was being built, and while he thought they were using the old line of the wall for the foundations and that the work was not yet in hand, they had laboured continuously for a whole day and night till the wall had risen to a height of four cubits. And at daybreak it became visible, a new and conspicuous piece of work. Moreover the besieged did not for a moment yield their ground, but kept relieving one another and shooting their javelins at those who were attacking the fallen wall, and all this terribly dismayed the barbarian. Nevertheless he did not at once lead off his army but employed the same efforts over again. But when he had done as before, and as before suffered repulse, he did lead his army back, having lost many whole tribes through famine, and squandered many lives over the dykes and in the siege. He had also put to death many satraps one after another, on various charges, blaming one of them because the dykes had not been made strong enough, but gave way and were flooded by the waters of the river, another because when

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ἀγωνισάμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλας ἐπάγων αἰτίας ἔκτεινεν. ἔστι γὰρ εὖ μύλα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βαρβάροις σύνηθες ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τὰς αἰτίας τῆς δυσπραγίας ἀποσκευάζεσθαι, ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε δράσας ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ ἄγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ἐκ τούτου, καὶ οὔτε ὄρκων οὔτε συνθηκῶν ἐδέησεν, ἀγαπᾷ δὲ οἴκοι μένων, εἰ μὴ στρατεύοιτο βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ δίκην ἀπαιτοίη τοῦ θράσους καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας.

* Ἀρά γε ἄξιον ταύτην παραβαλεῖν τὴν μάχην ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τοῦ τείχους; ἀθρεῖτε δὲ ὧδε τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὸ διάφορον λογίζεσθε. Ἑλλήνων μὲν Αἴαντε καὶ οἱ Λαπίθαι καὶ Μενεσθεὺς τοῦ τείχους εἶξαν καὶ περιείδον τὰς πύλας συντριβομένας ὑφ' Ἐκτορος καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἐπιβεβηκότα τὸν Σαρπηδόνα. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ διαρραγέντος αὐτομάτως τοῦ τείχους ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο Παρθυαίους ξὺν Ἰνδοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἐπιβὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων ὥσπερ ἐρύματος πεζὸς διαγωνίζεται, οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐναυμάχουν, τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐπάλξεων εἶξαν καὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐνίκων ναυσί τε ἐπίοντας καὶ πεζῇ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὖ ποιῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα καὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, ὑπηνέχθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτό γέ φασι τῶν ἔργων

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fighting under the walls he had not distinguished himself; and others he executed for one offence or another. This is in fact the regular custom among the barbarians in Asia, to shift the blame of their ill-success on to their subjects. Thus then the king acted on that occasion, and afterwards took himself off. And from that time he has kept the peace with us and has never asked for any covenant or treaty, but he stays at home and is thankful if only the Emperor does not march against him and exact vengeance for his audacity and folly.

And now am I justified in comparing this battle with those that were fought in defence of the Greek ships and the wall? Observe the following points of similarity, and note also the difference. Of the Greeks the two Ajaxes, the Lapithae and Menestheus fell back from the wall and looked on helplessly while the gates were battered down by Hector, and Sarpedon scaled the battlements. But our garrison did not give way even when the wall fell in of itself, but they fought and won, and repulsed the Parthians, aided though these were by their Indian allies. Then again Hector went up on to the ships and fought from their decks on foot, and as though from behind a rampart, whereas our garrison first had to fight a naval battle from the walls, and finally, while Hector and Sarpedon had to retreat from the battlements and the ships, the garrison routed not only the forces that brought ships to the attack but the land force as well. Now it is appropriate that by some happy chance my speech should have alluded to Hector and Sarpedon, and to what I may call the very crown of their achievements, I mean the de-

τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὴν καθαίρεσιν τοῦ τείχους, ὃ¹ μᾶλλον πρότερον ἡμέρα τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς φησι, τοῦ Πυλίου δημαγωγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ξυμπείθοντος, ἄρρηκτον νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν εἶλαρ κατασκευάσασθαι.

Σχεδὸν γάρ μοι τοῦτο φαίνεται τὸ γενναιότατον τῶν ἔργων Ἐκτορος, καὶ οὐχὶ Γλαύκου τέχνης² συνεῖναι οὐδὲ σοφωτέρας ἐπινοίας δεῖται, Ὅμηρου σαφῶς διδάσκοντος, ὡς Ἀχιλλέως μὲν φανέντος ἐδύσετο οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν.

Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐπικειμένου καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καταδιώξαντος Ἐκτορα ὕπαγε Ζεὺς, ἵνα ἀποσώζοιτο καθ' ἡσυχίαν. προσπαιζὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ καταγελῶν τῆς δειλίας ὑπὸ τῆ φηγῶ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἤδη καθημένῳ τὴν Ἴριν ἤκειν ἔφη παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς φράζουσαν

Ὅφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν ὄρας Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν
Θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν, ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν,

Τόφρ' ὑπόεικε μάχης.

πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς οὕτως ἀγεννῆ καὶ δειλὰ παραινεῖν τὸν Δία, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ μαχομένῳ, ξὺν πολλῇ δὲ ἐστῶτι ῥαστώνῃ; καὶ ὀπηνίκα δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τυδέως, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πολλὴν ἐκ τοῦ κράνους ἀναπτύξεως φλόγα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινε, φεύγειν δὲ ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας, πόρρω τε ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπομένων ὀνειδῆ ἀπέγνω μὲν κρατοῦσι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀντιστήναι, εὐπρεπῆ δὲ ποιεῖται τὴν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ πορείαν, ὡς τῇ μητρὶ

¹ ὁ Reiske adds.

² τέχνης Reiske, τέχνη cant. Hertlein, τέχνη MSS.

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struction of that wall which Homer tells us the Achaeans built only the day before, on the advice of the princely orator¹ of Pylos "to be an impregnable bulwark for the ships and the army."²

For that I think was almost the proudest of Hector's achievements, and he did not need the craft of Glaucus to help him, or any wiser plan, for Homer says plainly that the moment Achilles appeared

"He shrank back into the crowd of men."³

Again, when Agamemnon attacked the Trojans and pursued them to the wall, Zeus stole away⁴ Hector so that he might escape at his leisure. And the poet is mocking him and ridiculing his cowardice when he says that as he was sitting under the oak-tree, being already near the gate, Iris came to him with this message from Zeus :

"So long as thou seest Agamemnon, shepherd of the host, raging among the foremost fighters and cutting down the ranks of men, so long do thou keep back from the fight."⁵

For is it likely that Zeus would give such base and cowardly advice, especially to one who was not even fighting, but was standing there very much at his ease? And while the son of Tydeus, on whose head Athene kindled a mighty flame, was slaying many and forcing to flight all who stayed to encounter him, Hector stood far away from the battle. Though he had to endure many taunts, he despaired of making a stand against the Achaeans, but made a specious excuse for going to the city to advise his

¹ Nestor.

² *Iliad* 14. 56.

³ *Iliad* 20. 379.

⁴ *Iliad* 11. 163.

⁵ *Iliad* 11. 202.

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παραινέσων ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν μετὰ τῶν
 Τρωάδων. καίτοι εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἰκέτευε πρὸ τοῦ
 νεῷ ξὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, πολὺν ἂν¹ εἶχε λόγον· προσ-
 ἕκει γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα
 καθάπερ ἱερέα καὶ προφήτην θεραπεύειν αἰεὶ ξὺν
 κόσμῳ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηδὲν ὀλιγωρεῖν μηδὲ ἐτέρῳ
 μᾶλλον προσήκειν ἡγεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀν-
 ἀξιον αὐτοῦ νομίζοντα τὸ διακόνημα.

Οἶμαι γὰρ τὴν Πλάτωνος μικρὰ παρατρέψας
 λέξιν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι, ὡς ὅτῳ ἀνδρί, μᾶλλον
 δὲ βασιλεῖ, ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀνήρηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς
 εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις
 αἰωρεῖται, ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων πλανᾶ-
 σθαι ἀναγκάζεται αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πράγματα,
 τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ζῆν. εἰ δὲ
 ἐπιτρέποι μηδεὶς μεταγράφειν² μηδὲ ἐκτρέπειν
 μηδὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦνομα, ἀλλὰ ὡσπερ ἱερὸν
 ἀρχαῖον κελεύοι μένειν ἕαν ἀκίνητον, οὐδὲ οὕτως
 ἄλλο τι διανοεῖσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ἐροῦμεν. τὸ γὰρ
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν³ οὐ δήπου τὸ σῶμά φησιν οὐδὲ τὰ
 χρήματα οὐδὲ εὐγένειαν καὶ δόξαν πατέρων· ταῦτα
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν τινος οἰκεία κτήματα, οὐ μὴν ἐστὶ
 ταῦτα αὐτός· ἀλλὰ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν,⁴ φησί, καὶ
 τὸ ὅλον τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν θεόν.⁵ ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρωθι

¹ ἂν Hertlein adds.

² μεταγράφειν Cobet, παραγράφειν MSS., Hertlein.

³ εἰς ἑαυτὸν Cobet, cf. *Menexenus* 247 E σεαυτοῦ Hertlein, suggests ἑαυτὸν, σεαυτὸ V, σεαυτοῦ MSS.

⁴ νοῦν—φρόνησιν Hertlein suggests, νῶ—φρονήσει MSS.

⁵ τὸν—θεόν Hertlein suggests, τῶ—θεῶ MSS. Hertlein suspects corruption.

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mother to propitiate Athene in company with the Trojan women. And yet if in person he had besought the goddess before the temple, with the elders, he would have had good reason for that, for it is only proper, in my opinion, that a general or king should always serve the god with the appointed ritual, like a priest or prophet, and not neglect this duty nor think it more fitting for another, and depute it as though he thought such a service beneath his own dignity.

For here I think I may without offence adapt slightly Plato's language where he says that the man, and especially the king, best equipped for this life is he who depends on God for all that relates to happiness, and does not hang in suspense on other men, whose actions, whether good or bad, are liable to force him and his affairs out of the straight path.¹ And though no one should allow me to paraphrase or change that passage or alter that word,² and though I should be told that I must leave it undisturbed like something holy and consecrated by time, even in that case I shall maintain that this is what that wise man meant. For when he says "depends on himself," assuredly he does not refer to a man's body or his property, or long descent, or distinguished ancestors. For these are indeed his belongings, but they are not the man himself; his real self is his mind, his intelligence, and, in a

¹ *Menexenus* 247 E.

² Plato says *εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτηται* "who depends on *himself*."

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κυριώτατον ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς εἶδος ἔφη, καὶ ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸν δαίμονα θεὸς ἐκάστῳ δέδωκε, τοῦτο ὁ δὴ φάμεν οἰκεῖν μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπ' ἄκρῳ τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ ξυγγένειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἶρειν. ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ ἔοικεν ἐπιτάττειν ἀνηρτῆσθαι χρῆναι ἐκάστῳ ἀνδρί, καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα βλάπτειν καὶ κωλύειν ἐθέλοντες πολλάκις ἐδυνήθησαν· ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰ παρείλοντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἀκόλυτον μόνον καὶ ἀπαθές ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος τὸ κρεῖττον βλάπτεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐκείθεν ὁ λόγος. ἀλλ' ἔοικα γὰρ καταφορτίζειν ὑμᾶς τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος λόγοις μικρὰ ἐπιπάττων τῶν ῥημάτων ὥσπερ ἁλῶν ἢ χρυσοῦ ψήγματος. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν¹ ἠδίω τὴν τροφήν, ὁ δὲ εὐπρεπῆ μᾶλλον παρέχει τὴν θέαν. ἀμφοτέρα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Πλάτωνος λόγοις· καὶ γὰρ αἰσθέσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἠδίους τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ θρέψαι ψυχὴν ξὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ καθῆραι θαυμαστοί· ὥστε οὐκ ἀποκνητέον οὐδὲ εὐλαβητέον τὸν ψόγον, εἴ τις ἄρα καταμέμφοιτο τὴν ἀπληστίαν, καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ἐπιδραττόμεθα ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις οἱ λίχνοι τῶν ἐδωδίμων ἀπάντων, οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τὸ μὴ τῶν προκειμένων ἄψασθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔοικε συμβαίνειν, ἐπαίνους ἅμα καὶ δόγματα ἄδειν καὶ πρὶν ἢ μετρίως ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ προτέρου λόγου μέσον ὑποτεμομένοις φιλοσόφων ἐξηγεῖσθαι ῥή-

¹ [ὡς] ἠδίω Hertlein, μᾶλλον V adds.

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word, the god that is in us. As to which, Plato elsewhere calls it "the supreme form of the soul that is within us," and says that "God has given it to each one of us as a guiding genius, even that which we say dwells in the summit of our body and raises us from earth towards our celestial affinity."¹ It is on this that he plainly says every man ought to depend, and not on other men, who have so often succeeded when they wish to harm and hinder us in other respects. Indeed it has happened before now that even without such a desire men have deprived us of certain of our possessions. But this alone cannot be hindered or harmed, since "Heaven does not permit the bad to injure what is better than itself."² This saying also is from Plato. But it may be that I am wearying you with these doctrines of his with which I sprinkle my own utterances in small quantities, as with salt or gold dust. For salt makes our food more agreeable, and gold enhances an effect to the eye. But Plato's doctrines produce both effects. For as we listen to them they give more pleasure than salt to the sense, and they have a wonderful power of sweetly nourishing and cleansing the soul. So that I must not hesitate or be cautious of criticism if someone reproaches me with being insatiable and grasping at everything, like persons at a banquet who, in their greed to taste every dish, cannot keep their hands from what is set before them.³ For something of this sort seems to happen in my case when, in the same breath, I utter panegyric and philosophic theories, and, before I have done justice to my original theme, break off in the middle to expound the sayings of

¹ *Timaeus* 90 A. ² *Apology* 30 D. ³ *Republic* 354 B.

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σεις. πρὸς δὴ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταμεμφομένους εἴρηται μὲν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον καὶ αὐθις δὲ ἴσως λελέξεται.

Νῦν δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀποδόντες τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπανάγωμεν ὥσπερ οἱ προεκθέοντες ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις. ἐλέγετο δ' οὖν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν τινὰ φησι Πλάτων τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς θαυμασίοις διώρισται νόμοις. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἴ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν λέγοι· “Ὅτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός, ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων ἢ καὶ πασχόντων πλανᾶσθαι ἀναγκάζεται, τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ζῆν,” οὐ παρατρέπει τὴν λέξιν οὐδὲ παραποιεῖ, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ ὀρθῶς καὶ ἐρμηνεύει· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ λέξεως τὸν θεὸν παραλαμβάνει οὐκ ἀδικεῖ. εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν δαίμονα, ὄντα μὲν ἀπαθῆ τῇ φύσει καὶ θεῷ συγγενῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνατλάντα καὶ ὑπομείναντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα κοινωνίαν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν τε καὶ φθείρεσθαι φαντασίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς¹ παρασχόντα, τοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνος προίσταται βίου τῷ γε εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀμιγυῶς γηίνῳ σώματι διανοηθῆναι νοῦ, ὃν δὴ καὶ θεὸν εἶναί φαμεν καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ἡνίας ἐπιτρέπειν τοῦ βίου χρῆναι παραινοῦμεν πάντα ἰδιώτην τε² καὶ βασιλέα,

¹ τοῖς πολλοῖς Hertlein suggests, πολλοῖς MSS.

² ἰδιώτην τε Hertlein suggests, τε ἰδιώτην MSS.

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philosophers. I have had occasion before now to reply to those who make such criticisms as these, and perhaps I shall have to do so again.

I will now, however, resume the thread of my discourse and go back to my starting-point, like those who, when a race is being started, run ahead out of the line. Well, I was saying, a moment ago, that Plato declares that a man's real self is his mind and soul, whereas his body and his estate are but his possessions. This is the distinction made in that marvellous work, the *Laws*. And so if one were to go back to the beginning and say "That man is best equipped for life who makes everything that relates to happiness depend on his mind and intelligence and not on those outside himself who, by doing or faring well or ill force him out of the straight path," he is not changing or perverting the sense of the words, but expounds and interprets them correctly. And if for Plato's word "genius"¹ he substitutes the word "God" he has a perfect right to do so. For if Plato gives the control of our whole life to the presiding "genius" within us which is by nature unaffected by sensation and akin to God, but must endure and suffer much because of its association with the body, and therefore gives the impression to the crowd that it also is subject to sensation and death; and if he says that this is true of every man who wishes to be happy, what must we suppose is his opinion about pure intelligence unmixed with earthly substance, which is indeed synonymous with God? To this I say every man, whether he be a private citizen or a king, ought to entrust the reins of his life, and by a king I mean

¹ δαίμων, cf. 69 A.

τόν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ οὐ νόθον οὐδὲ ψευδώνυμον, συνιέντα μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰσθανόμενον διὰ συγγένειαν, ὑφιέμενον δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἔμφρονα; ἀνόητον γὰρ καὶ μάλα αὐθαδὲς τὸ μὴ καθάπαξ ἐς δύναμιν πείθεσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελομένους· τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα χαίρειν ὑποληπτέον τὸν θεόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐννόμου θεραπείας ἀποστατέον οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τιμὴν ὑπεροπτέον τοῦ κρείττονος, θετέον δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς μοίρᾳ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν κρατίστην. ἔστι γὰρ ὀσιότης τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔκγονος· αὕτη δὲ ὅτι τοῦ θειοτέρου ψυχῆς εἶδους ἐστίν, οὐδένα λέληθε τῶν ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειρίζονται.

Ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸν Ἐκτορα σπένδειν μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν λύθρον· ἠξιοῦμεν δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἄστν ἰέναι μηδὲ ἀπολείπειν τὴν μάχην μέλλοντά γε οὐ στρατηγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἐπιτελεῖν ἔργον, διακόνου δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτου, Ἰδαίου τινὸς ἢ Ταλθυβίου τάξιν ἀναληψόμενον. ἀλλ' ἔοικε γάρ, ὅπερ ἔφαμεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πρόφασις εὐπρεπῆς¹ εἶναι φυγῆς τοῦτο. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε τῷ Τελαμωνίῳ ξυνίστατο πεισθεὶς τῇ φήμῃ τοῦ μάντεως, ἀσπασίως διελύθη καὶ ἔδωκε δῶρα, τὸν θάνατον ἐκφυγὼν ἄσμενος·² καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν, φεύγουσιν ἔπεται

¹ εὐπρεπῆς Cobet, εὐπρεποῦς MSS., Hertlein suggests εὐπρεπῆς ἀπρεποῦς cf. 19 D.

² ἄσμενος Hertlein suggests, ἀσμένως MSS.

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one who is really worthy of the name, and not counterfeit or falsely so called, but one who is aware of God and discerns his nature because of his affinity with him, and being truly wise bows to the divine authority and yields the supremacy to God. For it is senseless and arrogant indeed for those who cultivate virtue not to submit to God once and for all, as far as possible. For we must believe that this above all else is what God approves. Again, no man must neglect the traditional form of worship or lightly regard this method of paying honour to the higher power, but rather consider that to be virtuous is to be scrupulously devout. For Piety is the child of Justice, and that justice is a characteristic of the more divine type of soul is obvious to all who discuss such matters.

For this reason, then, while I applaud Hector for refusing to make a libation because of the blood-stains on his hands, he had, as I said, no right to go back to the city or forsake the battle, seeing that the task he was about to perform was not that of a general or of a king, but of a messenger and underling, and that he was ready to take on himself the office of an *Idaeus* or *Talthybius*. However, as I said at first, this seems to have been simply a specious excuse for flight. And indeed when he obeyed the bidding of the seer and fought a duel with the son of *Telamon*,¹ he was very ready to make terms and to give presents, and rejoiced to have escaped death. In short, as a rule, he is brave when in pursuit of the retreating foe, but in no case

¹ Ajax.

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θρασέως, αἴτιος δέ ἐστιν οὐδαμοῦ νίκης καὶ τροπῆς, πλὴν ὅτε

πρῶτος ἐσήλατο τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν

ξὺν τῷ Σαρπηδόνι. πότερον οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες τηλικούτου ἔργου βασιλέως εὐλαβησόμεθα τὸν ἀγῶνα, μή ποτε ἄρα μικρὰ μεγάλοις καὶ φαῦλα σπουδῆς ἀξίοις μείζονος παρατιθέναι δόξωμεν, ἢ τολμήσομεν καὶ πρὸς τηλικούτου ἔργου ἀμιλλᾶσθαι; οὐκοῦν ἐκείνο μὲν ἦν τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡόνος, ἐν οὐδὲ ὄλῳ τῷ πρὸ μεσημβρίας χρόνῳ συντελεσθέν, ὁποίους ἡμῖν τοὺς χάρακας ἔννομον κατασκευάζεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄλπεων τεῖχος παλαιόν τε ἦν φρούριον, καὶ αὐτῷ χρῆται μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν ὁ τύραννος, ὥσπερ ἔρυσμά τι νεουργῆς ἀποφήνας καὶ ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἀπολιπὼν ἔρρωμένων ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὡς πορρωτάτω πορεύεται, ἔμενε δὲ ἐν τῇ πλησίον πόλει. ἔστι δὲ Ἰταλῶν ἐμπόριον πρὸς θαλάττη μάλα εὐδαιμον καὶ πλούτῳ βρύον. φέρουσι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν φορτία Μυσοὶ καὶ Παίονες καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὅποσοι τὴν μεσόγαιαν κατοικοῦσιν, Ἐνετοὶ δὲ οἶμαι τὸ πρόσθεν ὠνομάζοντο. νῦν δὲ ἤδη Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις ἐχόντων τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄνομα σώζουσι βραχεῖα προσθήκη γράμματος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ σύμβολον χαρακτήρ εἰς, ὠνομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ, καὶ χρῶνται ἀντὶ τοῦ βῆτα πολλάκις προσπνεύσεως οἶμαι τινὸς ἕνεκα καὶ ιδιότητος τῆς

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has he the credit of a victory or of turning the tide of battle, except when

“He was the first to leap within the wall of the Achaeans”¹

together with Sarpedon. Shall I therefore shrink from competition as though I could not cite on behalf of the Emperor any such exploit, and must therefore avoid seeming to compare the trivial with the important and things of little account with what deserves more serious consideration, or shall I venture to enter the lists even against an achievement so famous? Now that wall was to protect the beach, and was a palisade such as we are wont to construct, and was completed in less than a morning. But the wall that was on the Alps was an ancient fort, and the usurper used it after his flight, converting it into a defence as strong as though it had been newly built, and he left there an ample garrison of seasoned troops. But he did not himself march all the way there, but remained in the neighbouring city.² This is a trading centre of the Italians on the coast, very prosperous and teeming with wealth, since the Mysians and Paconians and all the Italian inhabitants of the interior procure their merchandise thence. These last used, I think, to be called Heneti in the past, but now that the Romans are in possession of these cities they preserve the original name, but make the trifling addition of one letter at the beginning of the word. Its sign is a single character³ and they call it “oo,” and they often use it instead of “b,” to serve, I suppose, as a sort of breathing,

¹ *Iliad* 12. 438.

² Aquileia.

³ “v”.

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γλώττης. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξύμπαν ἔθνος ὧδε ἐπονομάζεται· τῇ πόλει δὲ ἀετός, ὡς φασιν, οἰκίζομένη δεξιὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἰπτάμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ φήμην χαρίζεται. οἰκεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων ὄρη δὲ ἐστὶ ταῦτα παμμεγέθη¹ καὶ ἀπορρῶγες ἐν αὐτοῖς πέτραι, μόλις ἀμάξη μιᾷ καὶ ὀρικῶ ζεύγει τὴν ὑπέρβασιν βιαζομένοις ξυγχωροῦντα, ἀρχόμενα μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης, ἣν δὴ τὸν Ἴόνιον εἶναί φαμεν, ἀποτειχίζοντα δὲ τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ Τυρρηνὸν πέλαγος ἀναπανόμενα. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τῆς χώρας ἀπίσης ἐκράτουν· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τό τε τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἔθνος καὶ Λίγυές τινες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γαλατῶν οὐ φαύλη μοῖρα· τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα σφῶν ὀνόματα σώζειν οὐ διεκώλυσαν, τῷ κοινῷ δὲ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ξυγχωρεῖν κατηνάγκασαν. καὶ νῦν ὅποσα μὲν εἶσω τῶν Ἄλπεων κατοικεῖται, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον καὶ τὸν Τυρρηνὸν καθήκοντα, ταύτη κοσμεῖται τῇ προσωνομίᾳ· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄλπεων τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν Γαλάται νέμονται, καὶ Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον, ἵνα Ῥήνου τέ εἰσιν αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἰστρου πλησίον παρὰ τοῖς γείτοσι βαρβάροις· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἕω ταῦτα δὴ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὄχυροῦν ἔφαμεν, ἵνα περ ὁ τύραννος τὴν φρουρὰν κατεσκευάσατο. οὕτω δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπανταχόθεν ὄρεσί τε συνεχομένης λίαν δυσβάτοις καὶ θαλάσση τεναγώδει, ἅτε ἐσρεόντων ποταμῶν μυρίων, οἳ ποιούσιν ἔλος προσεοικὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἔλεσι, τὸ ξύμπαν

¹ παμμεγέθη Hertlein suggests, παμμιγῆ MSS.

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and to represent some peculiarity of their pronunciation. The nation as a whole is called by this name, but at the time of the founding of the city an eagle from Zeus flew past on the right, and so bestowed on the place the omen derived from the bird.¹ It is situated at the foot of the Alps, which are very high mountains with precipices in them, and they hardly allow room for those who are trying to force their way over the passes to use even a single waggon and a pair of mules. They begin at the sea which we call Ionian, and form a barrier between what is now Italy and the Illyrians and Galatians, and extend as far as the Etruscan sea. For when the Romans conquered the whole of this country, which includes the tribe of the Heneti and some of the Ligurians and a considerable number of Galatians besides, they did not hinder them from retaining their ancient names, but compelled them to acknowledge the dominion of the Italian republic. And, in our day, all the territory that lies within the Alps and is bounded by the Ionian and the Etruscan seas has the honour of being called Italy. On the other side of the Alps, on the west, dwell the Galatians, and the Rhaetians to the north where the Rhine and the Danube have their sources hard by in the neighbouring country of the barbarians. And on the east, as I said, the Alps fortify the district where the usurper stationed his garrison. In this way, then, Italy is contained on all sides, partly by mountains that are very hard to cross, partly by a shallow sea into which countless streams empty and form a morass like the marshlands of Egypt. But the Emperor by his skill

¹ Because of this favourable omen the city was called Aquileia, "the city of the Eagle."

τῆς ἐκείνη θαλάττης πέρας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ σοφίας
ἔλαβε καὶ ἐβιάσατο τὴν ἄνοδον.

Καὶ ἵνα μὴ διατρίβειν δοκῶ αὐθίς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν
δυσχωριῶν διαλεγόμενος, καὶ ὡς οὔτε στρατόπεδον
ἦν οὐδὲ χάρακα πλησίον καταβαλέσθαι, οὔτε ἐπά-
γειν μηχανὰς καὶ ἐλεπόλεις, ἀνύδρου δεινῶς ὄντος
καὶ οὐδὲ μικρὰς λιβάδας ἔχοντος τοῦ πέριξ χωρίου, 73
ἐπ' αὐτὴν εἶμι τὴν αἴρεσιν. καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε τὸ
κεφάλαιον ἀθρόως ἐλεῖν τοῦ λόγου, ὑπομνήσθητε
τῆς τοῦ Μακεδόνατος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πορείας, οἱ
τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην κατῴκουν, ἐφ' ἣν οὐδὲ τῶν
ὀρνίθων ἦν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις ἀναπτῆναι, ὅπως
εἶλω, καὶ οὐδὲν πλεόν ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμήσετε.
πλὴν τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέ-
βαλε πολλοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐξελὼν τὴν πέτραν,
ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος ἄρχων καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲ χιλί-
αρχον ἀποβαλὼν ἢ λοχαγόν τινα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ B
ὀπλίτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου, καθαρὰν καὶ ἄδακρυν
περιεποιήσατο τὴν νίκην. Ἐκτωρ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
Σαρπηδῶν πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος κατέβαλον,¹
ἐντυχόντες δὲ ἀριστεύοντι Πατρόκλῳ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ
τῶν νεῶν κτείνεται, ὁ δὲ ἔφευγεν αἰσχρῶς οὐδὲ
ἀνελόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φίλου. οὕτως οὐδενὶ
ξὺν νῶ, ῥώμη δὲ μᾶλλον σωμάτων θρασυνόμενοι
τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος πάροδον ἐτόλμων. βασιλεὺς δὲ
οὐ μὲν ἀλκῆς ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ θυμοῦ χρῆται τοῖς
ὄπλοις καὶ κρατεῖ ξὺν εὐβουλία,² οὐ δὲ μόνον C

¹ κατέβαλον Reiske, ἔβαλον MSS., Hertlein.

² ξὺν εὐβουλία Hertlein suggests, εὐβουλία Wytttenbach, ξυμβονλία MSS.

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gained control of the whole of that boundary of the sea, and forced his way inland.

I will now relate how the city was actually taken, lest you should think I am wasting time by describing once more the difficulties of the ground, and how it was impossible to plant a camp or even a palisade near the city or to bring up siege-engines or devices for storming it, because the country all about was terribly short of water, and there were not even small pools. And if you wish to grasp the main point of my narrative in a few words, remember the Macedonian's¹ expedition against those Indians who lived on the famous rock² up to which not even the lightest birds could wing their flight, and how he took it by storm, and you will be content to hear no more from me. However I will add this merely, that Alexander in storming the rock lost many of his Macedonians, whereas our ruler and general lost not a single chiliarch or a captain, nay not even a legionary from the muster-roll, but achieved an unsullied and "tearless"³ victory. Now Hector and Sarpedon, no doubt, hurled down many men from the wall, but when they encountered Patroclus in all his glory Sarpedon was slain near the ships, while Hector, to his shame, fled without even recovering the body of his friend. Thus without intelligence and emboldened by mere physical strength they ventured to attack the wall. But the Emperor, when strength and daring are required, employs force of arms and good counsel together, and so wins the day, but where good judgment alone is necessary it is by this

¹ Alexander.

² A hill fort in Sogdiana where the Bactrian chief Oxyartes made his last stand against Alexander, 327 B.C.

³ cf. 77 B., Plutarch, *de Fort. Rom.* c. 4.

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ἔδεησε γνώμης, ταύτη κυβερνᾷ καὶ κατεργάζεται
 πράγματα τοσαῦτα, ὅποσα οὐδ' ἂν ὁ σίδηρος
 ἐξελεῖν ἰσχύσειεν.¹

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος φερόμενος
 ἤκει πάλαι ποθῶν τὴν ξύνεσιν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὴν
 εὐβουλίαν, ἀποδοτέον. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀλίγα
 πάλαι² διεληλύθαμεν· ὅποσα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο
 πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ἐκείνων ἔχειν ξυγγένειαν, D
 μεγάλα μικροῖς εἰκάζοντες, δι' ὁμοιότητα διήλ-
 θομεν.³ δῆλον δὲ ἀποβλέψαντι πρὸς τὸ τῆς παρα-
 σκευῆς μέγεθος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν περιουσίαν.
 τότε γὰρ ἢ τε Ἑλλάς ἐκεκίνητο ξύμπασα καὶ
 Θρακῶν μοῖρα καὶ Παιόνων τό τε τοῦ Πριάμου
 ξύμπαν ὑπήκοον,

Ὅσον Λέσβος ἔσω Μάκαρος ἔδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
 Καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπέιρων.

τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔθνη συνιόντα βασιλεῖ καὶ συμπολε- 74
 μοῦντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους
 καταριθμεῖν μὴ λῆρος ἢ καὶ φλυαρία περιττὴ καὶ
 λίαν ἀρχαῖον.⁴ ὅσῳ δὲ μείζους αἱ συνιοῦσαι
 δυνάμεις, τοσοῦτ' ἔργα προφέρειν εἰκός· ὥστε
 ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνων ὑπεραίρειν. πλήθει
 γε μὴν ποῦ ποτε ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ

¹ Hertlein suggests ἐκτελεῖν, but cf. *Phoenissae* 516, ἐξελεῖν
 MSS. οὐδ' ἂν—ἰσχύσειεν Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—ἰσχύσει MSS.

² πάλαι Hertlein suggests, ἅπαντα MSS.

³ διήλθομεν Reiske, δηλοῦμεν MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ ἀρχαῖον Reiske, ἀρχαῖος Hertlein, ἕθλος λίαν ἀρχαῖος Cobet,
 ἀρχαῖος MSS.

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that he steers his course, and thus achieves triumphs such as not even iron could ever avail to erase.¹

But since my speech has of its own accord reached this point in its course and has long been eager to praise the Emperor's wisdom and wise counsel, I allow it to do so. And in fact I spoke briefly on this subject some time ago, and all the cases where there seemed to me to be any affinity between the heroes of Homer and the Emperor, I described because of that resemblance, comparing great things with small. And indeed if one considers the size of their armaments, the superiority of his forces also becomes evident. For in those days all Greece was set in motion,² and part of Thrace and Paconia, and all the subject allies of Priam,

“All that Lesbos, the seat of Makar, contains within, and Phrygia on the north and the boundless Hellespont.”³

But to try to count up the nations who lately marched with the Emperor and fought on his side in the war, would be idle talk, superfluous verbiage, and absurd simplicity. And it is natural that, in proportion as the armies are larger, their achievements are more important. So it follows of necessity that, in this respect as well, the Emperor's army surpassed Homer's heroes. In mere numbers, at any rate, at what point, I ask, could one justly compare them? For the Greeks fought all along for a single

¹ Julian refers to the triumph of Constantius over Vetrico, described in *Or.* 1. 31 foll. and echoes Euripides, *Phoenissae* 516, πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος | ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν. Themistius, *Or.* 2, 37 B quotes these verses to illustrate the same incident.

² Isocrates, *Evagoras* 65, *Panegyricus* 83. ³ *Iliad* 24. 544.

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μιᾶς ἐμάχοντο πόλεως ξυνεχῶς, καὶ οὔτε Τρῶες¹
 ἀπελάσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπικρατοῦντες ἠδύναντο,
 οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἐξελεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέψαι τῶν
 Πριαμιδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἴσχυον,
 δεκαέτης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλώθη χρόνος. βασιλεῖ δὲ B
 πολλοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἀγῶνες· καὶ γὰρ² ἀνεγράφη
 Γερμανοῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμῶν, τά τε
 ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι ζεύγματα καὶ τῆς Παρθυαίων
 δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ἔλεγχος οὐ φαῦλος,
 ὅτε οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀμῦναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθουμένη,
 ἀλλὰ περιεῖδον ἅπασαν τμηθεῖσαν τὴν εἴσω
 Τίγρητος καὶ Λύκου, τῶν γε μὴν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον C
 πραχθέντων ὃ τε ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἔκπλους καὶ ἐς
 Καρχηδόνα, Ἡριδανοῦ τε αἱ προκαταλήψεις τῶν
 ἐκβολῶν ἀπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις
 ἀφελόμεναι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τρίτον πάλ-
 λαισμα περὶ ταῖς Κοττίαις Ἄλπεσιν, ὃ δὴ βασιλεῖ
 μὲν παρέσχεν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδεᾶ
 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἠδονήν, τὸν δὲ ἠττηθέντα δίκην
 ἐπιθεῖναι δικαίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐξειργασμένων
 πάνν ἀξίαν κατηνάγκασε. D

Τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέως ἔργων ἐν βραχεῖ
 διεληλύθαμεν, οὔτε κολακεία προστιθέντες καὶ
 αὔξειν ἐπιχειροῦντες τυχὸν οὐδενὸς διαφέροντα
 τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε πόρρωθεν ἔλκοντες καὶ βιαζό-
 μενοι τῶν ἔργων τὰς ὁμοιότητας, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς

¹ Τρῶες Hertlein adds.

² καὶ γὰρ Horkel, lacuna Hertlein; the inappropriate verb ἀναγράφω = "register, record," indicates corruption.

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city, and the Trojans when they prevailed were not able to drive away the Greeks, nor were the Greeks strong enough, when they won a victory, to destroy and overthrow the power and the royal sway of the house of Priam, and yet the time they spent over it was ten years long. But the Emperor's wars and undertakings have been numerous. He has been described as waging war against the Germans across the Rhine, and then there was his bridge of boats over the Tigris, and his exposure of the power and arrogance of the Parthians¹ was no trivial thing, on that occasion when they did not venture to defend their country while he was laying it waste, but had to look on while the whole of it was devastated between the Tigris and the Lycus. Then, when the war against the usurper was concluded, there followed the expeditions to Sicily and Carthage, and that stratagem of occupying beforehand the mouth of the Po, which deprived the usurper of all his forces in Italy, and finally that third and last fall² at the Cottian Alps, which secured for the Emperor the pleasure of a victory that was sure, and carried with it no fears for the future, while it compelled the defeated man to inflict on himself a just penalty wholly worthy of his misdeeds.

I have given this brief account of the Emperor's achievements, not adding anything in flattery and trying to exaggerate things that are perhaps of no special importance, nor dragging in what is far-fetched and unduly pressing points of resemblance with those achievements, like those who interpret

¹ cf. *Oration* 1. 22. 28.

² In wrestling the third fall was final: the phrase became proverbial, cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 256 B, Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 592, Julian, *Or.* 1. 40 B.

μύθους ἐξηγούμενοι τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀναλύοντες
 ἐς λόγους πιθανοὺς καὶ ἐνδεχομένους τὰ πλάσματα
 ἐκ μικρᾶς πάνυ τῆς ὑπονοίας ὀρμώμενοι καὶ 75
 ἀμυδρὰς λίαν παραλαβόντες τὰς ἀρχὰς πειρῶνται
 ξυμπείθειν, ὡς δὴ ταῦτά γε αὐτὰ ἐκείνων ἐθελόντων
 λέγειν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἴ τις ἐξέλῃ τῶν Ὀμήρου
 μόνον τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ὀνόματα, ἐνθείη δὲ τὸ
 βασιλέως καὶ ἐναρμόσειεν, οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἐκείνους
 ἢ τοῦτον πεποιῆσθαι δόξει τὰ¹ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἔπη.

Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔργων μόνον ἀκού-
 οντες τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τῶν² ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
 ἔλαττον ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνητε βασιλέα περὶ τὰ B
 σεμνότερα καὶ ὧν ἄξιον μείζονα ποιεῖσθαι λόγον,
 δημηγοριῶν φημι καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν, καὶ ὅποσα
 γνώμη μετὰ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως κατευθύνει,
 ἀθρεῖτε ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Νέστορι τοῖς ἐπαινου-
 μένοις κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, καὶ ἦν τι μείον ἐν
 βασιλεί καταμανθάνητε, τοῖς ἐπαινέταις τοῦτο
 λογίζεσθε, πλεον δὲ ἔχοντα δικαίως ἂν³ αὐτὸν
 μᾶλλον ἀποδεχοίμεθα. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν, ὀπηνίκα
 χαλεπαίνειν καὶ στασιάζειν ἤρχοντο περὶ τῆς
 αἰχμαλώτου κόρης, λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶν οὕτω δὴ τι
 πείθει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος, ὥστε C
 ὁ μὲν ἀκόσμως διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ
 περιμείνας ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἔτι
 δὲ αὐτὰ δρῶν καὶ ἀφορῶν ἐς τὴν θεωρίδα, στέλλει
 τοὺς κήρυκας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως σκηνήν, ὥσπερ
 οἶμαι δεδιῶς μὴ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιλαθόμενος καὶ

¹ Before τῆς Hertlein, Reiske omit ὑπὲρ.

² τῶν Hertlein adds.

³ ἂν Hertlein adds.

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the myths of the poets and analyse them into plausible versions which allow them to introduce fictions of their own, though they start out from very slight analogies, and having recourse to a very shadowy basis, try to convince us that this is the very thing that the poets intended to say. But in this case if anyone should take out of Homer's poems merely the names of the heroes, and insert and fit in the Emperor's, the epic of the *Iliad* would be seen to have been composed quite as much in his honour as in theirs.

But that you may not think, if you hear only about his achievements and successes in war, that the Emperor is less well endowed for pursuits that are loftier and rightly considered of more importance, I mean public speaking and deliberations and all those affairs in which judgment combined with intelligence and prudence take the helm, consider the case of Odysseus and Nestor, who are so highly praised in the poem; and if you find that the Emperor is inferior to them in any respect, put that down to his panegyrists, but we should rather in fairness concede that he is far superior. Nestor, for instance, when they began to disagree and quarrel about the captive damsel,¹ tried to address them, and he did persuade the king and the son of Thetis, but only to this extent that Achilles broke up the assembly in disorder, while Agamemnon did not even wait to complete his expiation to the god, but while he was still performing the rite and the sacred ship was in view, he sent heralds to the tent of Achilles, just as though, it seems to me, he were afraid that

¹ Briseis, *Iliad* 1. 247.

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ἀπαλλαγείς τοῦ πάθους μεταγνοίη καὶ ἀποφύγοι
 τὴν ἀμαρτάδα· ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης ῥήτωρ
 πολύτροπος πείθειν ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς διαλλαγὰς
 Ἀχιλλεῖα καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ διδούς, μυρία δὲ D
 ἐπαγγελλόμενος, οὕτω τὸν νεανίσκον παρώξυνεν,
 ὥστε πρότερον οὐ¹ βουλευσάμενον τὸν ἀπό-
 πλον νῦν² παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ
 θαυμαστὰ τῆς συνέσεως δείγματα αἷ τε ἐπὶ τὸν
 πόλεμον παρακλήσεις καὶ ἡ τειχοποιία τοῦ Νέσ-
 τορος, πρεσβυτικὸν λῖαν καὶ ἄτολμον ἐπινόημα.
 οὐκουν οὐδὲ ὄφελος ἦν πολὺ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ
 μηχανήματος· ἀλλὰ ἠπτῶντο τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος 76
 ἐπιτελέσαντες, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. τότε μὲν γὰρ
 αὐτοὶ τῶν νεῶν ᾤοντο προβεβλησθαι καθάπερ
 ἔρυμα γενναῖον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθοντο σφῶν³ προκεί-
 μενον καὶ ἀποικοδομούμενον⁴ τεῖχος τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ
 καὶ πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διηλούμενον,⁵ κατερραθύμουν
 καὶ ὑφίεντο τῆς ἀλκῆς τῷ τειχίσματι πεποιθότες.
 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐκείνοις μέμφοιτο καὶ ἐπι-
 δεικνύοι διαμαρτάνοντας, οὗτός ἐστι βασιλέως
 ἀξιόχρεως ἐπαινέτης· ὅστις δὲ οἶμαι τῶν ἔργων B
 ἀξίως μνησθεῖν, οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως οὐδὲ
 ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ γενομένων, προβουλευθέντων δὲ ὀρθῶς
 καὶ διοικηθέντων, οὗτος ἀρκούντως ἐπαινεῖ τὴν
 βασιλέως ἀγχινοίαν.

Τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστη συνόδῳ τὰς δημηγορίας
 ἐκλέγειν τὰς⁶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ δήμους καὶ

¹ πρότερον οὐ Hertlein suggests, οὐ πρότερον MSS.

² νῦν Cobet adds.

³ ἤσθοντο σφῶν Cobet, ἤσθοντο τὸ MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ ἀπφοδομημένον Hertlein suggests, ἀποικοδομούμενον MSS.

⁵ διειλημμένον Hertlein suggests, διηλούμενον MSS.

⁶ τὰς Reiske adds.

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he would forget his anger, and, once free from that passion, would repent and avoid his error. Again, the far-travelled orator from Ithaca, when he tried to persuade Achilles to make peace, and offered him many gifts and promised him countless others, so provoked the young warrior that, though he had not before planned to sail home, he now began to make preparations.¹ Then there are those wonderful proofs of their intelligence, their exhortations to battle and Nestor's building of the wall, a cowardly notion and worthy indeed of an old man. Nor in truth did the Achaeans benefit much from that device. For it was after they had finished the wall that they were worsted by the Trojans, and naturally enough. For before that, they thought that they were themselves protecting the ships, like a noble bulwark. But when they realised that a wall lay in front of them, built with a deep moat and set at intervals with sharp stakes, they grew careless and slackened their valour, because they trusted to the fortification. Yet it is not anyone who blames them and shows that they were in the wrong who is therefore a fit and proper person to praise the Emperor. But he who, in a worthy manner, recounts the Emperor's deeds, which were done not idly or automatically, or from an irrational impulse, but were skilfully planned beforehand and carried through, he alone praises adequately the Emperor's keen intelligence.

But to report to you those speeches which he made at every public gathering to the armies and

¹ *Iliad* 9. 260.

βουλευτήρια μακροτέρας δεῖται τῆς ξυγγραφῆς.
 ἐνὸς δὲ ἴσως ἐπακούειν οὐ χαλεπὸν. καὶ μοι
 πάλιν ἐννοήσατε τὸν Λαέρτου, ὅποτε ὠρμημένους
 ἐκπλεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπέχει τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ ἐς C
 τὸν πόλεμον μετατίθησι τὴν προθυμίαν, καὶ¹
 βασιλέως τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ξύλλογον, ἵνα δὴ
 πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ μειρακίων παιδικὰ φρονεῖν
 ἀναπειθόμενος ὁμολογιῶν ἐπελανθάνετο καὶ
 πίστεων, καὶ τῷ μὲν σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτη
 δυσμενῆς ἦν, σπονδὰς δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς ὃν ἦν
 ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος βασιλεῖ πόλεμος, στρα-
 τὸν τε ἤγειρε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ἀπήντα τῆς D
 χώρας, κωλύσαι τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ταῦτόν ἦλθον ἀμφοτέρω τὸ στρατεύ-
 ματε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ποιεῖσθαι
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βῆμά τε ὑψηλὸν ἤρετο καὶ
 αὐτὸ περιέσχεν ὀπλιτῶν δῆμος καὶ ἀκοντισ-
 τῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἵππεῖς τε ἐνσκευασάμενοι
 τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν τάξεων ἀνῆει
 τε ἐπ' αὐτὸ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ τέως ξυνάρ-
 χοντος οὔτε αἰχμὴν φέρων οὔτε ἀσπίδα καὶ 77
 κράνος, ἀλλὰ ἐσθῆτα τὴν συνήθη. καὶ οὐδὲ
 αὐτῷ τις τῶν δορυφόρων εἶπετο, μόνος δὲ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ βήματος εἰστήκει πεποισθὼς τῷ λόγῳ σεμνῶς
 ἤρμοσμένῳ. ἐργάτης γάρ ἐστι καὶ τούτων ἀγα-
 θός, οὐκ ἀποσμιλεύων οὐδὲ ἀπονυχίζων τὰ ῥή-
 ματα οὐδὲ ἀποτορνεύων τὰς περιόδους καθά-

¹ [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein.

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the common people and the councils, demands too long a narrative, though it is perhaps not too much to ask you to hear about one of these. Pray then think once more of the son of Laertes when the Greeks were rushing to set sail and he checked the rush and diverted their zeal back to the war,¹ and then of the Emperor's assembly in Illyria, when that old man,² persuaded by mere youths to think childish thoughts, forgot his treaties and obligations and proved to be the enemy of his preserver and benefactor, and came to terms with one against whom the Emperor was waging a war that allowed no truce nor herald of a truce,³ and who was not only getting an army together, but came to meet the Emperor on the border of the country, because he was anxious to hinder him from advancing further. And when those two armies met, and it was necessary to hold an assembly in the presence of the hoplites, a high platform was set up and it was surrounded by a crowd of hoplites, javelin-men and archers and cavalry equipped with their horses and the standards of the divisions. Then the Emperor, accompanied by him who for the moment was his colleague, mounted the platform, carrying no sword or shield or helmet, but wearing his usual dress. And not even one of his bodyguard followed him, but there he stood alone on the platform, trusting to that speech which was so impressively appropriate. For of speeches too he is a good craftsman, though he does not plane down and polish his phrases nor elaborate his periods like the ingenious

¹ *Iliad* 2. 188.

² Vetricano; Themistius, *Or.* 2. 37 B, who in a panegyric on Constantius describes this oratorical triumph.

³ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 262, ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος . . . πόλεμος.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

περ οἱ κομψοὶ ῥήτορες, σεμνὸς δὲ ἄμα καὶ
καθαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι ξὺν καιρῷ χρώμενος,
ὥστε ἐνδύεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ τῶν παιδείας B
καὶ ξυνέσεως μεταποιοιμένων μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη
καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ξυνιέναι πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπι-
αίειν τῶν ῥημάτων. οὐκοῦν ἦρει μυριάδας
ὀπλιτῶν συχνὰς καὶ χιλιάδας ἰππέων εἴκοσι
καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα¹ καὶ χώραν πάμφορον, οὐ
βία ἔλκων οὐδὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἄγων, ἐκόντας δὲ
αὐτῷ πειθομένους καὶ τὸ ἐπιταττόμενον ποιεῖν
ἐθέλοντας. ταύτην ἐγὼ τὴν νίκην κρίνω τῆς
Λακωνικῆς ἐκείνης² μακρῷ σεμνοτέραν· ἢ μὲν γε
ἦν ἄδακρυς μόνοις³ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν, ἢ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς C
κρατηθεῖσιν ἠνεγκε δάκρυα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βήμα-
τος κατήλθεν ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ὑποκριτῆς δικα-
σάμενος καὶ ὥσπερ ὄφλημα βασιλεῖ πατρῶον
ἀποδοὺς τὴν ἀλουργίδα· τὰλλα δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσι
βασιλεὺς ἄφθονα μᾶλλον ἢ Κῦρόν φασι παρα-
σχεῖν τῷ πάππῳ, ζῆν τε ἐποίησε καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι
καθάπερ Ὀμηρος ἀξιοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἀφηλι-
κεστέρους,

Τοιοῦτῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε,

Εὐδέμεναι μαλακῶς· ἢ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γερόντων. D

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸν ἠδέως ἂν τοὺς ῥηθέντας λόγους
διεξῆλθον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν με ὄκνος καταλάβοι οὕτω
καλῶν ἀπτόμενοι λόγων· αἰδῶς δὲ οἶμαι κατείργει
καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει μετατιθέναι καὶ ἐξερμηνεύειν
ἐς ὑμᾶς τοὺς λόγους. ἀδικοῖην γὰρ ἂν διαφθείρων

¹ τὰ before μαχιμώτατα V, Hertlein omit.

² ἐκείνης Naber adds.

³ μόνοις Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.

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rhetoricians, but is at once dignified and simple, and uses the right words on every occasion, so that they sink into the souls not only of those who claim to be cultured and intelligent, but many unlearned persons too understand and give hearing to his words. And so he won over many tens of thousands of hoplites and twenty thousand cavalry and most warlike nations, and at the same time a country that is extremely fertile, not seizing it by force, or carrying off captives, but by winning over men who obeyed him of their own free will and were eager to carry out his orders. This victory I judge to be far more splendid than that for which Sparta is famous.¹ For that was "tearless" for the victors only, but the Emperor's did not cause even the defeated to shed tears, but he who was masquerading as Emperor came down from the platform when he had pleaded his cause, and handed over to the Emperor the imperial purple² as though it were an ancestral debt. And all else the Emperor gave him in abundance, more than they say Cyrus gave to his grandfather, and arranged that he should live and be maintained in the manner that Homer recommends for men who are past their prime:—

"For it is fitting that such a one, when he has bathed and fed, should sleep soft, for that is the manner of the aged."³

Now for my part I should have been glad to repeat to you the words that the Emperor used, and no fear would overtake me when handling words so noble. But modesty restrains me and does not permit me to change or interpret his words to you. For it

¹ The victory of Archidamus over the Arcadians Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7. 1. 32.

² cf. *Oration* 1. 32 A.

³ *Odyssey* 24. 253.

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καὶ ἐλεγχόμενος αἰσχυνοίμην, εἴ τις ἄρα τὸ βασιλέως ἀναγνοὺς ξύγγραμμα ἢ τότε ἀκούσας ἀπομνημονεύοι καὶ ἀπαιτοίη οὐ τὰ νοήματα μόνον, 78 ὅσαις δὲ ἀρεταῖς ἐκεῖνα κοσμεῖται κατὰ τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ξυγκείμενα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν Ὀμήρῳ τὸ δέος πολλαῖς μὲν ὕστερον γενεαῖς τοὺς λόγους διηγουμένων, λιπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων οὐδὲν ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἐς τοὺς ξυλλόγους ῥηθέντων, καὶ σαφῶς οἶμαι πιστεύοντι, ὅτι ἄμεινον¹ τὰ κείνων αὐτὸς ἐξαγγελεῖ καὶ διηγῆσεται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μιμῆσθαι καταγέλαστον καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐλευθέρας ψυχῆς καὶ γενναίας. τὰ μὲν δὴ θαυμαστὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὁπόσων ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος θεατῆς τε ἐγένετο καὶ διασώζει τὴν μνήμην ξὺν εὐφημία, ἅτε ἐς τὸ² τέλος ἀφορῶν καὶ τῶν εὖ ἢ κακῶς ἀποβάντων κριτῆς καθεστῶς καὶ ἐπαιέτης οὐ μάλα ἀστείος, ἀκηκόατε πολλάκις τῶν μακαρίων σοφιστῶν καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ γένους πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν μουσῶν ἐπιπνεομένου, ὥστε ὑμᾶς τούτων ἔνεκα καὶ διωχλήκαμεν, μακροτέρους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι λόγους· καὶ γὰρ ἔστε λίαν C αὐτῶν ἤδη διακορεῖς καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστι τὰ ὦτα πλήρη, καὶ οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐπιλίπωσιν οἱ τούτων ποιηταί, πολέμους ὑμνοῦντες καὶ νίκας ἀνακηρύττοντες λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίασι κήρυκας· παρέσχεσθε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀφθονίαν, ἀσμένως ἐπακούοντες. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων ὑπολήψεις ἀγαθῶν

¹ ἄμεινον Petavius, Cobet, ἄρα Hertlein, MSS., ἄρα κἀκείνων cant. and fl.

² τὸ Reiske adds.

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would be wrong of me to tamper with them, and I should blush to have my ignorance exposed, if someone who had read the Emperor's composition or heard it at the time should remember it by heart, and demand from me not only the ideas in it but all the excellences with which they are adorned, though they are composed in the language of our ancestors.¹ Now this at any rate Homer had not to fear when, many generations later, he reported his speeches, since his speakers left no record of what they said in their assemblies, and I think he was clearly confident that he was able to relate and report what they said in a better style. But to make an inferior copy is absurd and unworthy of a generous and noble soul. Now as to the marvellous portion of his achievements and those of which the great multitude was spectator and hence preserves their memory and commends them, since it looks to the result and is there to judge whether they turn out well or ill, and eulogises them in language that is certainly not elegant,—as to all this I say you have often heard from the ingenious sophists, and from the race of poets inspired by the Muses themselves, so that, as far as these are concerned, I must have wearied you by speaking about them at too great length. For you are already surfeited with them, your ears are filled with them, and there will always be a supply of composers of such discourses to sing of battles and proclaim victories with a loud clear voice, after the manner of the heralds at the Olympic games. For you yourselves, since you delight to listen to them, have produced an abundance of these men. And no wonder. For their

¹ Latin; of which Julian had only a slight knowledge. The fourth century Sophists were content with Greek. Themistius never learned Latin, and Libanius needed an interpreter for a Latin letter, *Epistle* 956.

πέρι καὶ φαύλων ταῖς ὑμετέραις ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ D
ἀπαγγέλλουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δια-
νοήματα, ἃ¹ ὥσπερ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ² τοῖς
ὀνόμασι σκιαγραφήσαντες καὶ διαπλάσαντες
ἠδίστοις ῥυθμοῖς καὶ σχήμασιν ὡς δὴ τι και-
νὸν εὐρόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς φέρουσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄσμε-
νοι παραδέχεσθε, καὶ ἐκείνους τε οἴεσθε ὀρθῶς
ἐπαινεῖν, τούτοις τε ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸ προσήκόν
φατε. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν ἴσως ἀληθές, τυχὸν δὲ
καὶ ἄλλως ἔχει, ἀγνοούμενον πρὸς ὑμῶν ὅπῃ
ποτὲ ἂν ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐνενόησα Σωκράτη· 79
ἴστε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀκοῇ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
κλέος τῆς σοφίας παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκβοηθέν·
οὐ ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντα³ οὐδὲ εὐδαιμόνας καὶ μα-
καρίους ὁμολογοῦντα τοὺς πολλὴν κεκτημένους
χωρᾶν, πλείστα δ' ἔθνη καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολ-
λους μὲν Ἑλλήνων, πλείους δὲ ἔτι καὶ μείζους
βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Ἄθω διορύττειν δυναμένους
καὶ σχεδία τὰς ἠπείρους, ἐπειδὴν ἐθέλωσι
διαβαίνειν, συνάπτοντας καὶ ἔθνη καταστρεφο-
μένους καὶ αἰροῦντας νήσους καὶ σαγηνεύοντας B
καὶ λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα καταθύοντας.
οὔτε οὖν Ξέρξην ἐκείνος ἐπήνει ποτὲ οὔτε
ἄλλον τινὰ Περσῶν ἢ Λυδῶν ἢ Μακεδόνων
βασιλέα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνων στρατηγόν, πλὴν
σφόδρα ὀλίγων, ὅπόσους ἠπίστατο χαίροντας
ἀρετῇ καὶ ἀσπαζομένους ἀνδρείαν μετὰ σωφρο-
σύνης καὶ φρόνησιν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης στέργοντας.

¹ & Reiske adds.

² ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ MSS., Cobet, ἐσθῆτα ποικίλην Hertlein.

³ ἐπαινοῦντα Reiske, εὐδαιμονοῦντα MSS., Hertlein.

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conceptions of what is good and bad are akin to your own, and they do but report to you your own opinions and depict them in fine phrases, like a dress of many colours, and cast them into the mould of agreeable rhythms and forms, and bring them forth for you as though they had invented something new. And you welcome them eagerly, and think that this is the correct way to eulogise, and you say that these deeds have received their due. And this is perhaps true, but it may well be otherwise, since you do not really know what the correct way should be.

For I have observed that Socrates the Athenian—you know the man by hearsay and that his reputation for wisdom was proclaimed aloud by the Pythian oracle¹—I say I have observed that he did not praise that sort of thing, nor would he admit² that they are happy and fortunate who are masters of a great territory and many nations, with many Greeks too among them, and still more numerous and powerful barbarians, such men as are able to cut a canal through Athos and join continents³ by a bridge of boats whenever they please, and who subdue nations and reduce islands by sweeping the inhabitants into a net,⁴ and make offerings of a thousand talents' worth of frankincense.⁵ Therefore he never praised Xerxes or any other king of Persia or Lydia or Macedonia, and not even a Greek general, save only a very few, whomsoever he knew to delight in virtue and to cherish courage with temperance and to love wisdom with justice. But those whom he saw to be

¹ cf. 191 A. ² Plato, *Gorgias* 470 D. ³ Plato, *Laws* 699 A.

⁴ Plato, *Laws* 698 D ; Herodotus 6. 31. ⁵ Herodotus 1. 183.

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ὄσους δὲ ἀγχίνους ἢ δεινούς ἢ στρατηγικούς ἢ κομψούς καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανούς ἑώρα, σμίκρ' ἄττα μόρια κατανειμαμένους ἀρετῆς, οὐδὲ τούτους C
 ἐς ἅπαν ἐπήνει. ἔπεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ κρίσει σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν δῆμος ἀρετὴν θεραπεύοντες, τὰ κλεινὰ δὲ οἶμαι ταῦτα καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ μὲν ὀλίγου τινός, οἱ δὲ οὐδενός ἄξια λέγοντες.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταύτη πη ξυνδοκεῖ, δέος οὐ φαῦλόν με ἔχει περὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν λόγων καὶ ἔμαντοῦ, μὴ ποτε ἄρα τοὺς μὲν παιδιὰν¹ ἀποφήνητε, σοφιστὴν δὲ ἐμὲ γελοῖον καὶ ἀμαθῆ, μεταποιούμενον τέχνης, ἧς σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἔχειν D
 ὁμολογῶ, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμολογητέον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἐπαίνους διεξιόντι καὶ ὧν ἀκούειν ἄξιον ὑμῖν οἶσθε, εἰ καὶ ἀγροικότεροι καὶ ἐλάττους μακρῷ τῶν ῥηθέντων τοῖς πολλοῖς φαίνονται. εἰ δέ, ὅπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἔφην, ἀποδέχεσθε τοὺς ἐκείνων ποιητάς, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνεῖται τὸ δέος εὖ μάλα. οὐ γὰρ πάντα ὑμῖν ἄτοπος φανούμαι, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν μὲν οἶμαι φανλότερος, κατ' ἔμαντόν δὲ 80
 ἐξεταζόμενος οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπόβλητος οὐδὲ ἀτόποις ἐπιχειρῶν. ὑμῖν δὲ ἴσως οὐ ῥάδιον σοφοῖς καὶ θείοις ἀπιστεῖν ἀνδράσιν, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι πολλὰ μὲν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ, τὸ κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν λόγων ἀρετῆς ἔπαινος. ταύτην δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ φασιν ἐμφύεσθαι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαίμονα καὶ βασιλικὴν καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία πολιτικὴν καὶ στρατη-

¹ παιδιὰν Cobet, *Mnemosyne* 10. παιδιὰς (earlier conjecture Cobet) Hertlein, παιδείους V, παῖδας MSS.

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cunning, or merely clever, or generals and nothing more, or ingenious, or able, though each one could lay claim to only one small fraction of virtue, to impose on the masses, these too he would not praise without reserve. And his judgment is followed by a host of wise men who reverence virtue, but as for all those wonders and marvels that I have described, some say of them that they are worth little, others that they are worth nothing.

Now if you also are of their opinion, I feel no inconsiderable alarm for what I said earlier, and for myself, lest possibly you should declare that my words are mere childishness, and that I am an absurd and ignorant sophist and make pretensions to an art in which I confess that I have no skill, as indeed I must confess to you when I recite eulogies that are really deserved, and such as you think it worth while to listen to, even though they should seem to most of you somewhat uncouth and far inferior to what has been already uttered. But if, as I said before, you accept the authors of those other eulogies, then my fear is altogether allayed. For then I shall not seem wholly out of place, but though, as I admit, inferior to many others, yet judged by my own standard, not wholly unprofitable nor attempting what is out of place. And indeed it is probably not easy for you to disbelieve wise and inspired men who have much to say, each in his own manner, though the sum and substance of all their speeches is the praise of virtue. And virtue they say is implanted in the soul and makes it happy and kingly, yes, by Zeus, and statesmanlike and gifted with true

γικὴν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ πλουσίαν γε ἀληθῶς
οὐ τὸ Κολοφώνιον ἔχουσιν χρυσίου

Οὐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔεργε B
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, ὅτε ἦν ὀρθὰ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
πράγματα, οὐδὲ ἐσθήτα πολυτελῆ καὶ ψήφους Ἰν-
δικὰς καὶ γῆς πλέθρων μυριάδας πάνυ πολλὰς,
ἀλλ' ὃ πάντων ἅμα τούτων καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ
θεοφιλέστερον, ὃ καὶ ἐν ναυαγίαις ἔνεστι διασώ-
σασθαι καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ
ἐπ' ἐρημίας, ἐν λησταῖς μέσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τυράννων C
βιαιῶν.

"Ὅπως γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκείνου κρεῖττον, ὃ
βιασάμενον καθέξει καὶ ἀφαιρήσεται τὸν ἔχοντα
ἅπαξ. ἔστι γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ψυχῇ τὸ κτῆμα τοῦτο
τοιούτου, ὅποιον οἶμαι τὸ φῶς ἡλίῳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
τοῦδε νεὸς μὲν καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλοὶ πολλάκις
ὑφελόμενοι καὶ διαφθείραντες ὄχοντο, δόντες μὲν
ἄλλοι τὴν δίκην, ἄλλοι δὲ ὀλιγωρηθέντες ὡς οὐκ
ἄξιοι κολάσεως εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν φερούσης· τὸ
φῶς δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς
D
συνόδοις ἢ σελήνῃ τὸν κύκλον ὑποτρέχουσα,
οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτὴν δεχομένη τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ ἡμῖν
πολλάκις, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐκ μεσημβρίας
νύκτα δεικνύσα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαι-
ρεῖται φωτὸς τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἐναντίας ἵσταμένην
περιλάμπων καὶ μεταδιδούς αὐτῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ
φύσεως οὐδὲ τὸν μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν τουτουῖ
κόσμον ἐμπλήσας αὐγῆς καὶ ἡμέρας. οὐκουν

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generalship, and generous and truly wealthy, not because it possesses the Colophonian¹ treasures of gold,

“Nor all that the stone threshold of the Far-Darter contained within,”²

“in the old days, in times of peace,”³ when the fortunes of Greece had not yet fallen; nay nor costly clothing and precious stones from India and many tens of thousands of acres of land, but that which is superior to all these things together and more pleasing to the gods; which can keep us safe even in shipwreck, in the market-place, in the crowd, in the house, in the desert, in the midst of robbers, and from the violence of tyrants.

For there is nothing at all superior to it, nothing that can constrain and control it, or take it from him who has once possessed it. Indeed it seems to me that this possession bears the same relation to the soul as its light to the sun. For often men have stolen the votive offerings of the Sun and destroyed his temples and gone their way, and some have been punished, and others let alone as not worthy of the punishment that leads to amendment. But his light no one ever takes from the sun, not even the moon when in their conjunctions she oversteps his disc, or when she takes his rays to herself, and often, as the saying is, turns midday into night.⁴ Nor is he deprived of his light when he illumines the moon in her station opposite to himself and shares with her his own nature, nor when he fills with light and day this great and wonderful universe.

¹ The gold work of Colophon was proverbial for its excellence. Cf. Aristophanes, *Cocalus* fr. 8.

² *Iliad* 9. 404.

³ *Iliad* 22. 156.

⁴ First used by Archilochus, fr. 74, in a description of an eclipse of the sun.

οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀρετῆς μεταδιδούς ἄλλω τῷ
 μεταδοθέντι μείον ἔχων ἐφάνη ποτέ· οὕτω θεῖόν 81
 ἔστι κτῆμα καὶ πάγκαλον, καὶ οὐ ψευδῆς ὁ λόγος
 τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, ὅστις ποτὲ ἄρα ἦν ἐκεῖνος
 ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ· πᾶς γὰρ ὃ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς
 χρυσὸς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος. θαρροῦντες οὖν
 ἤδη πλούσιον καλωῶμεν τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα, οἶμαι
 δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εὐγενῆ καὶ βασιλέα μόνον τῶν
 ἀπάντων, εἴ τῳ ξυνδοκεῖ. κρείττων μὲν εὐγένεια
 φαυλότητος γένους, κρείττων δὲ ἀρετῆ διαθέσεως B
 οὐ πάντη σπουδαίας. καὶ μὴ τις οἰέσθω τὸν
 λόγον δύσεριν καὶ βίαιον εἰς τὴν συνήθειαν
 ἀφορῶν τῶν ὀνομάτων· φασὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς
 ἐκ πάλαι πλουσίων εὐγενεῖς. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ
 ἄτοπον μάγειρον μὲν ἢ σκυτέα καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία
 κεραμέα τινὰ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς τέχνης ἢ καὶ
 ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἀθροίσαντα μὴ δοκεῖν εὐγενῆ μηδὲ
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπονομάζεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα,
 εἰ δὲ ὁ τούτου παῖς διαδεξάμενος τὸν κλῆρον εἰς
 τοὺς ἐκγόνοους διαπορθμεύσειε, τούτους δὲ ἤδη μέγα C
 φρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς Πελοπίδαις ἢ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἀμιλλᾶσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅστις
 προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἔφυ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν
 τοῦ βίου ῥοπὴν κατηνέχθη, δικαίως ἂν μεταποι-
 οῖτο τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνοους ξυγγενείας, εἰ¹ μηδὲ ἐς
 τοὺς Πελοπίδας ἐξῆν ἐγγράφεισθαι τοὺς μὴ
 φέροντας ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον τοῦ γένους τὰ γνωρίσ-
 ματα. λόγῃ δὲ λέγεται περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν
 τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς ἐντυπωθῆναι παρὰ τῆς τε-

¹ εἰ Hertlein adds.

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Just so no good man who imparts his goodness to another was ever thought to have less virtue by as much as he had bestowed. So divine and excellent is that possession, and most true is the saying of the Athenian stranger, whoever that inspired man may have been: "All the gold beneath the earth and above ground is too little to give in exchange for virtue."¹ Let us therefore now boldly call its possessor wealthy, yes and I should say well-born also, and the only king among them all,² if anyone agree to this. For as noble birth is better than a lowly pedigree, so virtue is better than a character not in all respects admirable. And let no one say that this statement is contentious and too strong, judging by the ordinary use of words. For the multitude are wont to say that the sons of those who have long been rich are well-born. And yet is it not extraordinary that a cook or cobbler, yes, by Zeus, or some potter who has got money together by his craft, or by some other means, is not considered well-born nor is given that title by the many, whereas if this man's son inherit his estate and hand it on to his sons, they begin to give themselves airs and compete on the score of noble birth with the Pelopids and the Heraclids? Nay, even a man who is born of noble ancestors, but himself sinks down in the opposite scale of life, could not justly claim kinship with those ancestors, seeing that no one could be enrolled among the Pelopids who had not on his shoulder the birth-mark³ of that family. And in Boeotia it was said that there was the impression of a spear on the Sown-men⁴ from the

¹ Plato, *Laws* 728 A. ² Horace, *Epistles* l. 1. 106.

³ One shoulder was white as ivory.

⁴ The Sparti, sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.

κούσης καὶ θρεψαμένης αὐτοὺς βώλου, καὶ τὸ D
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διασωθῆναι τοῦτο τῷ γένει
 σύμβολον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν οὐδὲν οἰόμεθα
 δεῖν ἐγκεχαράχθαι τοιοῦτον, ὃ τοὺς πατέρας
 ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς κατερεῖ καὶ ἀπελέγξει τὸν τόκον
 γνήσιον; ὑπάρχειν δέ φασι καὶ Κελτοῖς ποταμὸν
 ἀδέκαστον κριτὴν τῶν ἐκγόνων.¹ καὶ οὐ πείθουσιν
 αὐτὸν οὔτε αἱ μητέρες ὀδυρόμεναι συγκαλύπτειν
 αὐταῖς καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν ἀμαρτάδα οὔτε 82
 οἱ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τῶν γαμετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων²
 ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει δειμαίνοντες, ἀτρεκῆς δέ ἐστι καὶ
 ἀψευδῆς κριτῆς. ἡμᾶς δὲ δεκάζει μὲν πλοῦτος,
 δεκάζει δὲ ἰσχύς καὶ ὦρα σώματος καὶ δυναστεία
 προγόνων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκιάζουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει
 διορᾶν οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπειν ἐς τὴν ψυχὴν, ἥπερ δὴ τῶν
 ἄλλων ζώων διαφέροντες εἰκότως ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ τὴν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ποιούμεθα κρίσιν. καὶ μοι δο-
 κοῦσιν εὐστοχία φύσεως οἱ πάλαι θαυμαστῇ χρώ- B
 μενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπίκτητον ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες τὸ
 φρονεῖν, οὔτι πλαστῶς, ἀλλ' αὐτοφυῶς φιλοσο-
 φοῦντες, τοῦτο κατανοῆσαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 τοῦ Διὸς ἀνειπεῖν ἐκγονον³ καὶ τὸ τῆς Λήδας υἱέε,
 Μίνω τε οἶμαι τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν τὸν
 Κνώσιον τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιῶσαι φήμης· καὶ ἄλλους δὲ
 ἄλλων ἐκγόνους ἀνεκῆρυττον πολλοὺς διαφέροντας
 τῶν φύσει πατέρων. ἔβλεπον γὰρ ἐς τὴν ψυχὴν
 αὐτὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς πλοῦτον βαθύν

¹ ἐκγόνων MSS., cf. 82 A B, ἐγγόνων Hertlein.

² ἐκγόνων MSS., ἐγγόνων Hertlein.

³ ἔκγονον MSS., Cobet, ἐγγονον Hertlein.

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clod of earth that bore and reared them, and that hence the race long preserved that distinguishing mark. And can we suppose that on men's souls no mark of that sort is engraved, which shall tell us accurately who their fathers were and vindicate their birth as legitimate? They say that the Celts also have a river¹ which is an incorruptible judge of offspring, and neither can the mothers persuade that river by their laments to hide and conceal their fault for them, nor the fathers who are afraid for their wives and sons in this trial, but it is an arbiter that never swerves or gives a false verdict. But we are corrupted by riches, by physical strength in its prime, by powerful ancestors, an influence from without that overshadows and does not permit us to see clearly or discern the soul; for we are unlike all other living things in this, that by the soul and by nothing else, we should with reason make our decision about noble birth. And it seems to me that the ancients, employing a wondrous sagacity of nature, since their wisdom was not like ours a thing acquired, but they were philosophers by nature, not manufactured,² perceived the truth of this, and so they called Heracles the son of Zeus, and Leda's two sons also, and Minos the law-giver, and Rhadamanthus of Cnossus they deemed worthy of the same distinction. And many others they proclaimed to be the children of other gods, because they so surpassed their mortal parents. For they looked at the soul alone and their actual deeds, and not at wealth piled high and hoary with age, nor at the

¹ The Rhine; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 16.

² Plato, *Laws* 642 c.

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καὶ χρόνῳ πολιόν, οὐδὲ δυναστείαν ἐκ πάππων
 τινῶν καὶ ἐπιπάππων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἤκουσαν· καίτοι C
 γε ὑπῆρχέ τιςιν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀδόξων γενέσθαι
 πατέρων· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἧς ἐτίμων τε
 καὶ ἐθεράπευον ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἐνομίζοντο τῶν θεῶν
 παῖδες. δῆλον δὲ ἐνθένδε· ἄλλων γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰδότες
 τοὺς φύσει γονέας ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνήπτου τὴν
 φήμην, τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀρετῇ χαριζόμενοι. καὶ οὐ
 πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὡς ἄρα ἐκείνοι ὑπ' ἀμα-
 θίας ἐξαπατώμενοι ταῦτα τῶν θεῶν κατεψεύδοντο.
 εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς ἦν ἐξαπατη- D
 θῆναι θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, σχήματα περιτιθέντας
 ἀνθρώπινα καὶ μορφὰς τοιαύτας, ἀφανῆ μὲν
 αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀνέφικτον κεκτημένων αὐτῶν φύσιν,
 νῶ δὲ ἀκριβεῖ διὰ ξυγγένειαν μόλις προσπίπτου-
 σαν· οὔτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν θεῶν τοῦτο
 παθεῖν εὐλογον ἐκείνους, Ἡλίου μὲν ἐπιφημίζοντας
 Αἰήτην υἱέα, Ἐωσφόρου δὲ ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλ-
 λων. ὅπερ δὲ ἔφην, χρὴ περὶ αὐτῶν πειθομένους 83
 ἡμᾶς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας
 ἐξέτασιν· καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν ἂν ὄσιν ἀγαθοὶ πατέρες καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐμφορῆς, τοῦτον ὀνομάζειν θαρρύν-
 τως εὐγενῆ· ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν πατέρων ὑπῆρξεν
 ἀρετῆς ἐνδεᾶ, αὐτὸς δὲ μετεποιήθη τούτου τοῦ κτή-
 ματος, τούτου δὲ νομιστέον πατέρα τὸν Δία καὶ
 φυτουργόν, καὶ οὐδὲν μείον αὐτῷ δοτέον ἐκείνων,
 οἱ γεγονότες πατέρων ἀγαθῶν τοὺς σφῶν τοκέας
 ἐζήλωσαν· ὅστις δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γέγονε μοχθηρός, B

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power that had come down to them from some grandfather or great-grandfather. And yet some of them were the sons of fathers not wholly inglorious. But because of the superabundance in them of that virtue which men honoured and cherished, they were held to be the sons of the gods themselves. This is clear from the following fact. In the case of certain others, though they did not know those who were by nature their sires, they ascribed that title to a divinity, to recompense the virtue of those men. And we ought not to say that they were deceived, and that in ignorance they told lies about the gods. For even if in the case of other gods or deities it was natural that they should be so deceived, when they clothed them in human forms and human shapes, though those deities possess a nature not to be perceived or attained by the senses, but barely recognisable by means of pure intelligence, by reason of their kinship with it; nevertheless in the case of the visible gods it is not probable that they were deceived, for instance, when they entitled Aetes "son of Helios" and another¹ "son of the Dawn," and so on with others. But, as I said, we must in these cases believe them, and make our enquiry about noble birth accordingly. And when a man has virtuous parents and himself resembles them, we may with confidence call him nobly born. But when, though his parents lack virtue, he himself can claim to possess it, we must suppose that the father who begat him is Zeus, and we must not pay less respect to him than to those who are the sons of virtuous fathers and emulate their parents. But when a bad man comes of good parents, we ought to

¹ Memnon.

τοῦτον τοῖς νόθοις ἐγγράφειν ἄξιον· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ
 μοχθηρῶν φῦντας καὶ προσομοίους τοῖς αὐτῶν το-
 κεῦσιν οὐποτε εὐγενεῖς φατέον, οὐδὲ εἰ πλουτοῖεν
 ταλάντοις μυρίοις, οὐδὲ εἰ ἀπαριθμοῖντο προγόνους
 δυνάστας ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία τυράννους εἴκοσιν, οὐδὲ εἰ
 νίκας Ὀλυμπιακὰς ἢ Πυθικὰς ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν
 ἀγῶνων, αἱ δὴ τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων εἰσὶ λαμπρότεραι, C
 ἀνελομένους ἔχοιεν δείκνυσθαι πλείους ἢ Καῖσαρ
 ὁ πρῶτος, ὀρύγματά τε¹ τὰ Ἀσσύρια καὶ τὰ Βαβυ-
 λωνίων τείχη πυραμίδας τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὰς
 Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων
 καὶ τρυφῆς γέγονε σημεῖα καὶ διανοίας ὑπὸ
 φιλοτιμίας ἀναφλεγομένης καὶ ἀπορουμένης² ἐς
 ὅ,τι τῷ πλούτῳ χρήσεται, εἶτα ἐς τοῦτο τὰς τῶν
 χρημάτων εὐπορίας καταβαλλομένης. εὖ γὰρ
 δὴ ἴστε, ὡς οὔτε πλοῦτος ἀρχαῖος ἢ νεωστί ποθεν
 ἐπιρρέων βασιλέα ποιεῖ οὔτε ἀλουργὲς ἰμάτιον D
 οὔτε τιάρα καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ διάδημα καὶ θρόνος
 ἀρχαῖος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὀπλῖται πολλοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς
 μυρίοι, οὐδὲ εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι βασιλέα σφῶν
 τοῦτον ὁμολογοῖεν συνελθόντες, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀρετὴν
 οὔτοι χαρίζονται, ἀλλὰ δυναστείαν μὲν οὐ μάλα
 εὐτυχῆ τῷ λαβόντι, πολὺ δὲ πλεον τοῖς παρα-
 σχομένοις. δεξάμενος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος αἴρεται μετέ-
 ωρος ἐπίπαν, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τοῦ περι τὸν Φαέ-
 θοντα μύθου καὶ πάθους. καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτέρων δεῖ παρα-
 δειγμάτων πρὸς πίστιν τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦ βίου παντὸς 84
 ἀναπεπλησμένου τοιούτων παθημάτων καὶ ἐπ' αὐ-
 τοῖς λόγων. ὑμῖν δὲ εἰ θαυμαστὸν δοκεῖ τὸ μὴ

¹ τε Hertlein adds.² καὶ ἀπορουμένης Hertlein suggests.

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enrol him among the bastards, while as for those who come of a bad stock and resemble their parents, never must we call them well-born, not even though their wealth amounts to ten thousand talents, not though they reckon among their ancestors twenty rulers, or, by Zeus, twenty tyrants, not though they can prove that the victories they won at Olympia or Pytho or in the encounters of war—which are in every way more brilliant than victories in the games—were more than the first Caesar's, or can point to excavations in Assyria¹ or to the walls of Babylon and the Egyptian pyramids besides, and to all else that is a proof of wealth and great possessions and luxury and a soul that is inflamed by ambition and, being at a loss how to use money, lavishes on things of that sort all those abundant supplies of wealth. For you are well aware that it is not wealth, either ancestral or newly acquired and pouring in from some source or other, that makes a king, nor his purple cloak nor his tiara and sceptre and diadem and ancestral throne, nay nor numerous hoplites and ten thousand cavalry; not though all men should gather together and acknowledge him for their king, because virtue they cannot bestow on him, but only power, ill-omened indeed for him that receives it, but still more for those that bestow it. For once he has received such power, a man of that sort is altogether raised aloft in the clouds, and in nowise differs from the legend of Phaethon and his fate. And there is no need of other instances to make us believe this saying, for the whole of life is full of such disasters and tales about them. And if it seems surprising to you that the title of king,

¹ cf. *Oration* 3. 126.

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δικαίως μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς καλῆς ταύτης καὶ θεο-
 φιλοῦς ἐπωνυμίας τοὺς πολλῆς μὲν γῆς καὶ ἔθνων
 ἀπείρων ἄρχοντας, γνώμη δὲ αὐτεξουσίῳ δίχα νοῦ
 καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ταύτη ξυνεπομένων ἀρετῶν
 τὰ προστυχόντα κρίνοντας· ἴστε οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους
 ὄντας, οὐ μόνον εἰ τὰ παρόντα οὐδενός σφισιν B
 ἐμποδῶν ὄντος ἔχοιεν καὶ ἐμφοροῖντο τῆς ἐξουσίας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τῶν ἐπιστρατευόντων κρατοῖεν καὶ
 ἐπιόντες ἀνυπόστατοί τινες καὶ¹ ἄμαχοι φαί-
 νοιντο. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις ὑμῶν τῷ λόγῳ τῶδε,
 μάλα ἐμφανῶν μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν, Ἑλλή-
 νων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων, οἱ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ
 ἰσχυράς λίαν μαχεσάμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἔθνη C
 μὲν ἐκτῶντο καὶ αὐτοῖς φόρους ἀπάγειν κατηνάγ-
 καζον, ἐδούλευον δὲ αἴσχιον ἐκείνων ἡδονῇ καὶ
 τρυφῇ καὶ ἀκολασία καὶ ὕβρει καὶ ἀδικίᾳ.
 τούτους δὲ οὐδὲ ἰσχυροὺς ἂν φαίη νοῦν ἔχων
 ἀνὴρ, εἰ καὶ ἐπιφαίνοιτο καὶ ἐπιλάμποι μέγεθος
 τοῖς ἔργοις. μόνος γάρ ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὁ μετὰ
 ἀρετῆς ἀνδρεῖος καὶ μεγαλόφρων· ὅστις δὲ ἤττων
 μὲν ἡδονῶν, ἀκράτωρ δὲ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν
 παντοιῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ σμικρῶν ἀπαγορεύειν ἀναγ-
 καζόμενος, οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὸς οὐδὲ ἀνδρεῖος D
 ἀνθρωπίνην ἰσχύν· ἐπιτρεπτέον δὲ ἴσως αὐτῷ κατὰ
 τοὺς ταύρους ἢ τοὺς λέοντας ἢ τὰς παρδάλεις τῇ
 ῥώμῃ γάνυσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτην ἀποβαλὼν
 καθάπερ οἱ κηφῆνες ἀλλοτρίοις ἐφέστηκε πόνοις,
 αὐτὸς ὢν μαλθακὸς αἰχμητῆς καὶ δειλὸς καὶ
 ἀκόλαστος. τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν οὐ μόνον ἀληθοῦς
 ἐνδεὴς πλούτου καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πολυτι-
 μήτου καὶ σεμνοῦ καὶ ἀγαπητοῦ, ἐξ οὗ παντοδαπαῖ

¹ τινες καὶ Hertlein suggests, τινες σφόδρα καὶ MSS.

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so honourable, so favoured by the gods, cannot justly be claimed by men who, though they rule over a vast territory and nations without number, nevertheless settle questions that arise by an autocratic decision, without intelligence or wisdom or the virtues that go with wisdom, believe me they are not even free men; I do not mean if they merely possess what they have with none to hinder them and have their fill of power, but even though they conquer all who make war against them, and, when they lead an invading army, appear invincible and irresistible. And if any of you doubt this statement, I have no lack of notable witnesses, Greek and barbarian, who fought and won many mighty battles, and became the masters of whole nations and compelled them to pay tribute, and yet were themselves slaves in a still more shameful degree of pleasure, money and wantonness, insolence and injustice. And no man of sense would call them even powerful, not though greatness should shine upon and illumine all that they achieved. For he alone is strong whose virtue aids him to be brave and magnanimous. But he who is the slave of pleasure and cannot control his temper and appetites of all sorts, but is compelled to succumb to trivial things, is neither brave himself nor strong with a man's strength, though we may perhaps allow him to exult like a bull or lion or leopard¹ in his brute force, if indeed he do not lose even this and, like a drone, merely superintend the labours of others, himself a "feeble warrior,"² and cowardly and dissolute. And if that be his character, he is lacking not only in true riches, but in that wealth also which men so highly honour and reverence and

¹ *Iliad* 17, 20. ² Homeric phrase: *Iliad* 17. 588.

κρεμάμεναι ψυχαὶ πράγματα ἔχουσι μυρία καὶ
 πόνους, τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν κέρδους ἕνεκα πλεῖν τε ὑπο- 85
 μένουσαι καὶ καπηλεύειν καὶ ληστεύειν καὶ ἀναρ-
 πάζειν τὰς τυραννίδας. ζῶσι γὰρ αἰὲ μὲν κτώμενοι,
 αἰὲ δὲ ἐνδεεῖς, οὔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων φημί σιτίων
 καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἐσθημάτων· ὠρίσται γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦ-
 τος πλοῦτος εὖ μάλα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ οὐκ
 ἔστιν αὐτοῦ στέρεσθαι οὔτε τοὺς ὄρνιθας οὔτε τοὺς
 ἰχθῦς¹ οὔτε τὰ θηρία, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς
 σώφρονας· ὅσους δὲ ἐνοχλεῖ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία B
 καὶ ἔρος δυστυχῆς, τούτους δὲ ἀνάγκη πεινῆν διὰ
 βίον καὶ ἀθλιώτερον ἀπαλλάττειν μακρῶ τῶν τῆς
 ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ἐνδεομένων. τούτοις μὲν γὰρ
 ἀποπλήσασι τὴν γαστέρα πολλὴ γέγονεν εἰρήνη
 καὶ ἀνοκωχὴ τῆς ἀλγηδόνας, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὔτε
 ἡμέρα πέφηνεν ἀκερδῆς ἠδεΐα, οὔτε εὐφρόνη τὸν
 λυσιμελῆ καὶ λυσιμέριμνον ὕπνον ἐπάγουσα C
 παῦλαν ἐνεποίησε τῆς ἐμμανοῦς λύττης, στροβεῖ
 δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ στρέφει τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκλογιζομένων
 καὶ ἀπαριθμουμένων τὰ χρήματα· καὶ οὐκ
 ἐξαιρεῖται τοὺς ἀνδρας τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ ταλαιπωρίας² οὐδὲ ὁ Ταντάλου καὶ Μίδου
 πλοῦτος περιγεγόμενος οὐδὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ
 χαλεπωτάτη δαιμόνων τυραννὶς προσγενομένη. ἡ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε Δαρεῖον τὸν Περσῶν μονάρχην,³
 οὐ παντάπασι μοχθηρὸν ἀνθρώπων, δυσέρωτα δὲ
 αἰσχρῶς εἰς χρήματα καὶ νεκρῶν θήκας ὑπὸ τῆς
 ἐπιθυμίας διορύττειν⁴ καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπιτάττειν D

¹ ἰχθῦς Hertlein suggests, ἰχθύας MSS., cf. 59 A, ἰχθύας V.

² ταλαιπωρίας Hertlein suggests, λοιδορίας MSS.

³ μονάρχην Cobet, μονάρχην μισθωτὸν MSS., Hertlein suggests μόναρχον μισθωτὸν, ἢ μισθωτὸν Reiske, μονάρχου V.

⁴ After διορύττειν Cobet omits ἀναπειθόμενον.

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desire, on which hang the souls of men of all sorts, so that they undergo countless toils and labours for the sake of daily gain, and endure to sail the sea and to trade and rob and grasp at tyrannies. For they live ever acquiring but ever in want, though I do not say of necessary food and drink and clothes; for the limit of this sort of property has been clearly defined by nature, and none can be deprived of it, neither birds nor fish nor wild beasts, much less prudent men. But those who are tortured by the desire and fatal passion for money must suffer a lifelong hunger,¹ and depart from life more miserably than those who lack daily food. For these, once they have filled their bellies, enjoy perfect peace and respite from their torment, but for those others no day is sweet that does not bring them gain, nor does night with her gift of sleep that relaxes the limbs and frees men from care² bring for them any remission of their raging madness, but distracts and agitates their souls as they reckon and count up their money. And not even the wealth of Tantalus and Midas, should they possess it, frees those men from their desire and their hard toil therewith, nay nor to gain "the most great and grievous tyranny of heaven,"³ should they become possessed of this also. For have you not heard that Darius, the ruler of Persia, a man not wholly base, but insatiably and shamefully covetous of money, dug up in his greed even the tombs of the dead⁴ and

¹ Plato, *Laws* 832 A.

² *Odyssey* 20. 56.

³ Euripides, *Phoenissae* 506 and *fr.* 252, Nauck.

⁴ Of Queen Nitocris, Herodotus 1. 187.

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φόρους; ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα γέγονε κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους.¹ ἐκάλουν γὰρ αὐτὸν Περσῶν οἱ γνώριμοι ὅτιπερ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Σάραμβον.

Ἄλλ' ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ τινος κατάντους ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῆς καταρρήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κολάζειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς τρόπους, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτῷ περαιτέρω φοιτᾶν. ἀπαιτητέον δὲ εἰς δύναμιν τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγωρος θεραπείας θεῶν, εἶτα ἐς τοὺς τοκέας ζῶντάς τε οἶμαι καὶ τελευτήσαντας ὅσιος καὶ ἐπιμελής, ἀδελφοῖς τε εὖνους, καὶ ὁμογενίους θεοὺς αἰδούμενος, ἰκέταις καὶ ξένοις πρᾶος καὶ μείλιχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρέσκειν ἐθέλων, τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμελόμενος ἐν δίκῃ καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ· ἀγαπᾶ δὲ πλοῦτον, οὐτι τὸν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ βριθόμενον, φίλων δὲ ἀληθοῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἀκολακεύτου θεραπείας μεστόν· ἀνδρείος μὲν φύσει καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς, πολέμῳ δὲ ἤκιστα χαίρων καὶ στάσιν ἐμφύλιον ἀπεχθαίρων, τοὺς γε μὴν ἔκ τινος τύχης ἐπιφυομένους ἢ διὰ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν ἀνδρείως ὑφιστάμενος καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ἐγκρατῶς, τέλος τε ἐπάγων τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀφιστάμενος, πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλη τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὑποχείριον αὐτῷ ποιήσεται. κρατήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων

¹ ἀνθρώπους· Cobet, ἀνθρώπους ἐκφανές· Hertlein, ἐκφανές V, M, ἐμφανές MSS.

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exacted the most costly tribute? And hence he acquired the title¹ that is famous among all mankind. For the notables of Persia called him by the name that the Athenians gave to Sarambos.²

But it seems that my argument, as though it had reached some steep descent, is glutting itself with unsparing abuse, and is chastising the manners of these men beyond what is fitting, so that I must not allow it to travel further. But now I must demand from it an account, as far as is possible, of the man who is good and kingly and great-souled. In the first place, then, he is devout and does not neglect the worship of the gods, and secondly he is pious and ministers to his parents, both when they are alive and after their death, and he is friendly to his brothers, and reverences the gods who protect the family, while to suppliants and strangers he is mild and gentle; and he is anxious to gratify good citizens, and governs the masses with justice and for their benefit. And wealth he loves, but not that which is heavy with gold and silver, but that which is full of the true good-will of his friends,³ and service without flattery. Though by nature he is brave and gallant, he takes no pleasure in war, and detests civil discord, though when men do attack him, whether from some chance, or by reason of their own wickedness, he resists them bravely and defends himself with energy, and carries through his enterprises to the end, not desisting till he has destroyed the power of the foe and made it subject to himself.

¹ "Huckster" (κάπηλος) Herodotus 3. 89.

² Or Sarabos, a Plataean wineseller at Athens; Plato, *Gorgias* 518 B; perhaps to be identified with the *Vinarius Exaerambus* in Plautus, *Asinaria* 436; cf. Themistius 297 D.

³ A saying of Alexander, cf. Themistius 203 C; Stobaeus, *Sermones* 214; Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 21.

ἔπαυσε τὸ ξίφος φόνων, μίασμα κρίνων τὸν οὐκ ἀμυνόμενον ἔτι κτείνειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν. φιλόπονος δὲ ὢν φύσει καὶ μεγαλόψυχος κοινωνεῖ μὲν ἅπασιν τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἔχειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ πλεον ἄξιοι, μεταδίδωσι δὲ ἐκείνοις τῶν κινδύνων τὰ ἔπαθλα, χαίρων καὶ γεγηθῶς οὔτι τῷ πλεον ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐπαύλεις κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ κατεσκευασμένας, D
ἀλλὰ τῷ πολλοὺς μὲν εὖ ποιεῖν δύνασθαι, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ ἅπασιν ὅτου ἂν τύχωσιν ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες· τούτων αὐτὸν ὃ γε ἀληθινὸς ἄξιοι βασιλεύς. φιλόπολις¹ δὲ ὢν καὶ φιλοστρατιώτης τῶν μὲν καθάπερ νομεὺς ποιμνίων ἐπιμελεῖται, προνοῶν ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ θάλλη καὶ εὐθηνῆται τὰ θρέμματα δαψιλοῦς καὶ ἀταράχου τῆς νομῆς ἐμπιμπλάμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐφορᾶ καὶ συνέχει, πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ πραότητα γυμνάζων καθάπερ σκύλακας εὐφυεῖς καὶ γενναίους τῆς ποίμνης φύλακας, 87
ἔργων τε αὐτῷ κοινωνοὺς καὶ ἐπικούρους τῷ πλήθει νομίζων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἀρπακτῆράς τινας οὐδὲ λυμεῶνας τῶν ποιμνίων καθάπερ οἱ λύκοι καὶ κυνῶν οἱ φανλότατοι, οἱ² τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως καὶ τροφῆς ἐπιλαθόμενοι ἀντὶ σωτήρων καὶ προαγωνιστῶν ἀνεφάνησαν αὐτοῖ δηλήμονες· οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπνηλοὺς ἀνέξεται εἶναι καὶ ἀργοὺς καὶ ἀπολέμους, ὅπως ἂν μὴ φυλάκων ἐτέρων οἱ φρουροὶ δέωνται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς³ B
ἄρχουσιν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ μόνον ἀπόχρη σωτήριον ἐπιτήδευμα

¹ φιλοπολίτης Hertlein suggests, but cf. Isocrates *To Nicocles* 15. ² οἱ Hertlein adds. ³ τοῖς Hertlein suggests.

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But after he has conquered by force of arms, he makes his sword cease from slaughter, because he thinks that for one who is no longer defending himself to go on killing and laying waste is to incur pollution. And being by nature fond of work, and great of soul, he shares in the labours of all; and claims the lion's share of those labours, then divides with the others the rewards for the risks which he has run, and is glad and rejoices, not because he has more gold and silver treasure than other men, and palaces adorned with costly furniture, but because he is able to do good to many, and to bestow on all men whatever they may chance to lack. This is what he who is truly a king claims for himself. And since he loves both the city and the soldiers,¹ he cares for the citizens as a shepherd for his flock, planning how their young may flourish and thrive, eating their full of abundant and undisturbed pasture; and his soldiers he oversees and keeps together, training them in courage, strength and mercy, like well-bred dogs, noble guardians of the flock,² regarding them both as the partners of his exploits and the protectors of the masses, and not as spoilers and pillagers of the flock, like wolves and mongrel dogs which, forgetting their own nature and nature, turn out to be marauders instead of preservers and defenders. Yet on the other hand, he will not suffer them to be sluggish, slothful and unwarlike, lest the guardians should themselves need others to watch them, nor disobedient to their officers, because he knows that obedience above all else, and sometimes alone, is the saving discipline in

¹ Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 15; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* i. 28.

² *Republic* 416 A.

πρὸς πόλεμον· πόνων δὲ ἀπάντων ἀδεεῖς¹ καὶ ἀτεράμονας, οὔτι ραθύμους ἐργάσεται, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι μὴ μέγα ὄφελος φύλακος τὸν πόνον φεύγοντος καὶ οὐ δυναμένου καρτερεῖν οὐδὲ ἀντέχειν πρὸς κάματον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ παραινῶν μόνον οὐδὲ ἐπαινῶν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς προθύμως καὶ χαριζόμενος ἢ κολάζων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ξυμ- C
πείθει καὶ βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἐπιδεικνύων, ἀπεχόμενος μὲν ἡδονῆς ἀπάσης, χρημάτων δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σμικρὸν οὔτε μείζον ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἀφαιρούμενος τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὕπνω τε εἰκὼν ὀλίγα καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιος καθεύδων ἀνὴρ ἢ καὶ ἐρηγορῶς τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἐμφορῆς. πειθομένους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔξει καλῶς αὐτῷ D
τε οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, εἰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις πειθόμενος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ὀρθοῖς ξυνεπόμενος διατάγμασι δῆλος εἶη, καὶ ὅλως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποδοὺς τῷ φύσει βασιλικῷ καὶ ἡγεμονικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ θυμοειδεῖ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ. καὶ καρτερεῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπομένειν τὸν τε ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κάματον ὅποσα τε κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξηνρέθη γυμνάσια μελέτης ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὀθνεῖους ἀγῶνας, πῶς ἂν τις μάλιστα πείσας εἶη,² ἢ δῆλον ὡς αὐτὸς ὀρώμενος καρτερὸς καὶ ἀδαμάντινος; ἔστι γὰρ ἀλη- 88
θῶς ἡδιστὸν θέαμα στρατιώτῃ πονουμένῳ σῶφρων αὐτοκράτωρ, συνεφαπτόμενος ἔργων καὶ προθυ-

¹ ἀδεεῖς Reiske, ἐνδεεῖς MSS., Hertlein.

² πείσας εἶη Naber, cf. 272 D 281 A, πείσειεν Hertlein, πεισθεῖη MSS.

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war. And he will train them to be hardy and not afraid of any labour, and never indolent, for he knows that there is not much use in a guardian who shirks his task and cannot hold out or endure fatigue. And not only by exhorting, or by his readiness to praise the deserving or by rewarding and punishing severely and inexorably, does he win them over to this and coerce them; but far rather does he show that he is himself what he would have them be, since he refrains from all pleasure, and as for money desires it not at all, much or little, nor robs his subjects of it; and since he abhors indolence he allows little time for sleep. For in truth no one who is asleep is good for anything,¹ nor if, when awake he resembles those who are asleep. And he will, I think, succeed in keeping them wonderfully obedient to himself and to their officers, since he himself will be seen to obey the wisest laws and to live in accordance with right precepts, and in short to be under the guidance of that part of the soul which is naturally kingly and worthy to take the lead, and not of the emotional or undisciplined part. For how could one better persuade men to endure and undergo fatigue, not only in a campaign and under arms, but also in all those exercises that have been invented in times of peace to give men practice for conflicts abroad, than by being clearly seen to be oneself strong as adamant? For in truth the most agreeable sight for a soldier, when he is fighting hard, is a prudent commander who takes an active part in the work in hand, himself zealous while exhorting his men, who is cheerful and

¹ Plato, *Laws* 808 B.

μούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσι
 φοβεροῖς φαιδρὸς καὶ ἀδεῆς καὶ ὅπου λίαν θαρ-
 ροῦσι σεμνὸς καὶ ἐμβριθής. πέφυκε γὰρ ἔξομοι-
 οὔσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐλα-
 βείας περὶ καὶ θράσους. προνοητέον δὲ αὐτῶ
 τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ μείον ὅπως ἄφθονον τὴν τροφήν
 ἔχῃσι καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδέονται. B
 πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πιστότατοι τῶν ποιμνίων φρου-
 ροὶ καὶ φύλακες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀναγκαζόμενοι
 ἄγριοί τε εἰσι τοῖς νομεῦσι καὶ αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν
 ἰδόντες περιυλακτοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν προβάτων
 ἀπέσχοντο.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων ὁ γενναῖος, πόλει
 δὲ σωτὴρ καὶ κηδεμών, οὐτι τοὺς ἔξωθεν μόνον
 ἀπείργων κινδύνους οὐδὲ ἀντιπαττόμενος ἢ καὶ
 ἐπιστρατεύων βαρβάροις γείτοσι στάσιν δὲ
 ἐξαιρῶν καὶ ἔθνη μοχθηρὰ καὶ τρυφήν καὶ ἀκο- C
 λασίαν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν παρέξει ῥαστώνην.
 ὕβριν δὲ ἐξείργων καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἄδικίαν
 καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀμέτρου κτήσεως τὰς¹ ἐκ τούτων
 ἀναφνομένας στάσεις καὶ ἔριδας εἰς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν
 τελευτώσας οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέξεται φῦναι, γενο-
 μένας δὲ ὡς ἐνι τάχιστα ἀφανιεῖ² καὶ ἐξελάσει
 τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως. λήσεται δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς
 ὑπερβὰς τὸν νόμον καὶ βιασάμενος, οὐ³ μᾶλλον ἢ
 τῶν πολεμίων τις τὸν χάρακα. φύλαξ δὲ ὢν D
 ἀγαθὸς τῶν νόμων, ἀμείνων ἔσται δημιουργός, εἴ
 ποτε καιρὸς καὶ τύχη καλοίη· καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ
 πείθει τὸν τοιοῦτον ψευδῆ καὶ κίβδηλον καὶ νόθον

¹ Before τὰς Hertlein omits καί.

² ἀφανιεῖ Cobet, ἀφανίσει MSS., Hertlein,

³ οὐ Hertlein adds.

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calm in what seems to be a dangerous situation, but on occasion stern and severe whenever they are over confident. For in the matter of caution or boldness the subordinate naturally imitates his leader. And he must plan as well, no less than for what I have mentioned, that they may have abundant provisions and run short of none of the necessaries of life. For often the most loyal guardians and protectors of the flock are driven by want to become fierce towards the shepherds, and when they see them from afar they bark at them and do not even spare the sheep.¹

Such then is the good king at the head of his legions, but to his city he is a saviour and protector, not only when he is warding off dangers from without or repelling barbarian neighbours or invading them; but also by putting down civil discord, vicious morals, luxury and profligacy, he will procure relief from the greatest evils. And by excluding insolence, lawlessness, injustice and greed for boundless wealth, he will not permit the feuds that arise from these causes and the dissensions that end in disaster to show even the first sign of growth, and if they do arise he will abolish them as quickly as possible and expel them from his city. And no one who transgresses and violates the law will escape his notice, no more than would an enemy in the act of scaling his defences. But though he is a good guardian of the laws, he will be still better at framing them, if ever occasion and chance call on him to do so. And no device can persuade one of his character to add to the statutes a false and spurious and bastard law, any more than he would

¹ *Republic* 416 A.

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τοῖς κειμένοις ἐπεισάγειν νόμον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ δούλειον καὶ ἀγεννὲς ἐπεισαγαγεῖν¹ σπέρμα. δίκης δὲ αὐτῷ μέλει καὶ θέμιδος, καὶ οὔτε γονεῖς οὔτε ξυγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι πείθουσι καταχαρίσασθαί σφιν καὶ προδοῦναι τὸ ἔνδικον. 89 ὑπολαμβάνει γὰρ ἀπάντων εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα κοινὴν ἐστίαν καὶ μητέρα, πρεσβυτέραν μὲν καὶ σεμνοτέραν τῶν² πατέρων, φιλτέραν δὲ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ φίλων· ἧς ἀποσυλῆσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ βιάσασθαι μείζον ἀσέβημα κρίνει τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν παρανομίας. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐκγονος³ τῆς δίκης, ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα καὶ θεῖον ἀληθῶς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, ὃν οὐδαμῶς ὁ γε ἔμφρων ἀνὴρ περὶ σμικροῦ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀτιμάσει· ἀλλὰ ἐν B δίκη πάντα δρῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τιμῆσει προθύμως, τοὺς μοχθηροὺς δὲ ἐς δύναμιν ἰᾶσθαι καθάπερ ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμήσεται.

Διττῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποφαινόντων ἐλπίδας ὑμείνους καὶ οὐ πάντη τὴν θεραπείαν ἀπεστραμμένων, τῶν δὲ ἀνίατα πλημμελούντων· τούτοις δὲ οἱ νόμοι θάνατον λύσειν τῶν κακῶν ἐπενόησαν, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μᾶλλον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄλλων ὠφέλειαν διττὰς C δ' ἀνάγκη τὰς κρίσεις γίγνεσθαι. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν ἰασίμων αὐτῷ προσήκειν ὑπολήψεται τὴν τε ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀφέξεται δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μάλα ἐρρωμένως, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐκὼν ἄψαιτο κρίσεως, ἐφ' ἣ θάνατος ἢ ζημία παρὰ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ὠφληκόσι τὴν δίκην

¹ ἐπεισαγαγεῖν Hertlein, ἐπαγαγεῖν MSS.

² After τῶν Hertlein omits φίλων καί.

³ ἐκγονος Hertlein, MSS.

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introduce among his own sons a servile and vulgar strain. For he cares for justice and the right, and neither parents nor kinsfolk nor friends can persuade him to do them a favour and betray the cause of justice. For he looks upon his fatherland as the common hearth and mother of all, older and more reverend than his parents, and more precious than brothers, or friends or comrades; and to defraud or do violence to her laws he regards as a greater impiety than sacrilegious robbery of the money that belongs to the gods. For law is the child of justice, the sacred and truly divine adjunct of the most mighty god, and never will the man who is wise make light of it or set it at naught. But since all that he does will have justice in view, he will be eager to honour the good, and the vicious he will, like a good physician, make every effort to cure.

But there are two kinds of error, for in one type of sinner may dimly be discerned a hope of improvement, nor do they wholly reject a cure, while the vices of others are incurable. And for the latter the laws have contrived the penalty of death as a release from evil, and this not only for the benefit of the criminal, but quite as much in the interest of others. Accordingly there must needs be two kinds of trials. For when men are not incurable the king will hold it to be his duty to investigate and to cure. But with the others he will firmly refuse to interfere, and will never willingly have anything to do with a trial when death is the penalty that has been ordained by the laws for the

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προηγόρευται.¹ νομοθετῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων
 ὕβριν μὲν καὶ χαλεπότητα καὶ πικρίαν τῶν τιμω-
 ριῶν ἀφαιρήσει, ἀποκληρώσει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἰνδρῶν
 σωφρόνων καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου βάσανον οὐ φαύ- D
 λην τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς παρασχομένων δικαστήριον,²
 οἳ μὴδὲν αὐθαδῶς μὴδὲ ὀρμῇ τινι παντελῶς ἀλόγῳ
 χρώμενοι, ἐν ἡμέρας μορίῳ σμικρῷ βουλευσάμενοι,
 τυχόν δὲ οὐδὲ βουλήν δόντες, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς πολίτου
 τὴν μέλαιναν οἴσουσι ψῆφον. αὐτῷ δὲ οὔτε ἐν
 τῇ χειρὶ ξίφος εἰς πολίτου, καὶν ἀδικῆ τὰ ἔσχατα,
 φόνον οὔτε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κέντρον ὑπεῖναι χρή,
 ὅπου καὶ τὴν τῶν μελιττῶν ὀρῶμεν βασιλεύουσιν
 καθαρὰν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πλήκτρον γενομένην. 90
 ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μελίττας βλεπτέον, εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ
 οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα οὐπερ εἶναι χρὴ
 τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄρχοντα προφήτην καὶ ὑπηρέτην.
 οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὲν ἀγαθὰ γέγονε παντελῶς τῆς
 ἐναντίας ἄμικτα φύσεως καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, τούτων
 δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν τε καὶ ἔστι δημιουργός· τὰ κακὰ
 δὲ οὐτ' ἐγέννησεν οὐτ' ἐπέταξεν εἶναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ
 μὲν ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, περὶ δὲ τὴν γῆν B
 στρεφόμενα καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποικίαν σταλείσαν
 τῶν ψυχῶν διαλαβόμενα κρίνειν ἐπέταξε καὶ
 διακαθαίρειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις. τού-
 των δὲ οἳ μὲν εἰσι σωτῆρες καὶ ἐπίκουροι τῆς
 ἰνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπαραίτητοι κριταί,
 τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὀξεῖαν καὶ δεινὴν ἐπάγοντες δίκην
 ὥσιν τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀπολυθεῖσιν τῶν σωμάτων,

¹ προηγόρευται Hertlein suggests, προαγορεύεται MSS.

² δικαστήριον Hertlein suggests, τὸ δικαστήριον MSS.

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guilty. However, in making laws for such offences, he will do away with violence and harshness and cruelty of punishment, and will elect by lot, to judge them, a court of staid and sober men who throughout their lives have admitted the most rigid scrutiny of their own virtue, men who will not rashly, or led by some wholly irrational impulse, after deliberating for only a small part of the day, or it may be without even debating, cast the black voting-tablet in the case of a fellow-citizen. But in his own hand no sword should lie ready to slay a citizen, even though he has committed the blackest crimes, nor should a sting lurk in his soul, considering that, as we see, nature has made even the queen-bee free from a sting. However it is not to bees that we must look for our analogy, but in my opinion to the king of the gods himself, whose prophet and vice-regent the genuine ruler ought to be. For wherever good exists wholly untainted by its opposite, and for the benefit of mankind in common and the whole universe, of this good God was and is the only creator. But evil he neither created nor ordered to be,¹ but he banished it from heaven, and as it moves upon earth and has chosen for its abode our souls, that colony which was sent down from heaven, he has enjoined on his sons and descendants to judge and cleanse men from it. Now of these some are the friends and protectors of the human race, but others are inexorable judges who inflict on men harsh and terrible punishment for their misdeeds, both while they are alive and after they are set free from their bodies, and others again are as it

¹ Plato, *Theaetetus* 176 A.

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οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ δῆμοι τιμωροὶ τινες καὶ ἀποπλη- C
ρωταὶ τῶν δικασθέντων, ἕτερον τῶν φαύλων καὶ
ἀνοήτων δαιμόνων τὸ φύλον· ἃ δὴ μιμητέον τῷ
γενναίῳ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ, καὶ μεταδοτέον πολλοῖς
μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς¹ διὰ φιλίας ἐς ταύτην τὴν
κοινωνίαν προσληφθεῖσιν.² ἀρχὰς δὲ ἐπιτρεπ-
τέον οἰκείας ἐκάστου τῇ φύσει καὶ προαιρέσει,
τῷ μὲν ἀνδρώδει καὶ τολμηρῷ καὶ μεγαλοθύμῳ
μετὰ ξυνέσεως στρατιωτικᾶς, ἕν' εἰς δέον ἔχη
τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ, τῷ δίκαιῳ δὲ καὶ
πράῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον εὐχερῶς D
ἐπικλωμένῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν τὰς ἀμφὶ τὰ συναλ-
λάγματα, βοηθείας τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ ἀπλου-
στέροις μηχανώμενον καὶ πένησι πρὸς τοὺς
ἰσχυροὺς καὶ ἀπατεῶνας καὶ πανούργους καὶ
ἐπαιρομένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς τὸ βιάζεσθαι
καὶ ὑπερορᾶν τῆς δίκης, τῷ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κεκρα-
μένῳ μείζονα ἐν³ τῇ πόλει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν
περιθετέον, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτη-
μάτων κρίσεις, οἷς ἔπεται τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις 91
ἔνδικος ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων⁴
ὀρθῶς ἂν καὶ ἐμφρόνως λογίζοιτο. κρίνας γὰρ ὁ
τοιούτος ἀδεκάστως ἅμα τοῖς συνέδροις παραδώσει
τῷ δημίῳ τὰ γνωσθέντα ἐπιτελεῖν, οὔτε διὰ θυμοῦ
μέγεθος οὔτε διὰ μαλακίαν ψυχῆς ἀμαρτάνων
τοῦ φύσει δίκαιου. κινδυνεύει δὲ ὁ κράτιστος ἐν
πόλει τοιούτος τις εἶναι, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις B
ἔχων ἀγαθὰ, τὰς δὲ οἶον κῆρας ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος

¹ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς Reiske, ἀρετῆς MSS., Hertlein.

² κοινωνίαν προσληφθεῖσιν. Reiske, κοινωνίαν, MSS., Hertlein.

³ μείζονα ἐν Hertlein suggests, μείζονά τε ἐν MSS.

⁴ ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων Reiske, ἀδικουμένων, MSS., Hertlein.

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were executioners and avengers who carry out the sentence, a different race of inferior and unintelligent demons. Now the king who is good and a favourite of the gods must imitate this example, and share his own excellence with many of his subjects, whom, because of his regard for them, he admits into this partnership; and he must entrust them with offices suited to the character and principles of each; military command for him who is brave and daring and high-spirited, but discreet as well, so that when he has need he may use his spirit and energy; and for him who is just and kind and humane and easily prone to pity, that office in the service of the state that relates to contracts, devising this means of protection for the weaker and more simple citizens and for the poor against the powerful, fraudulent and wicked and those who are so buoyed up by their riches that they try to violate and despise justice; but to the man who combines both these temperaments he must assign still greater honour and power in the state, and if he entrust to him the trials of offences for which are enacted just pains and penalties with a view to recompensing the injured, that would be a fair and wise measure. For a man of this sort, together with his colleagues, will give an impartial decision, and then hand over to the public official the carrying out of the verdict, nor will he through excess of anger or tender-heartedness fall short of what is essentially just. Now the ruler in

ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων ἐκφεύγων.
 ἐφορῶν δὲ αὐτὸς ἅπαντα καὶ κατευθύνων καὶ
 ἄρχων ἀρχόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων
 καὶ διοικήσεων τεταγμένους καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ
 ἀπάντων βουλῆς κοινωνοῦντας ἀγαθοὺς τε εἶναι
 καὶ ὅ,τι μάλιστα αὐτοῦ παραπλησίους εὐξεται
 γενέσθαι. αἰρήσεται δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ὡς
 ἔτυχε, οὐδ' ἐθελήσει φαυλότερος εἶναι κριτῆς τῶν
 λιθογνωμόνων καὶ τῶν βασανιζόντων τὸ χρυσίον C
 ἢ τὴν πορφύραν. τούτοις γὰρ οὐ μία ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἐξέτασιν ἀπόχρη, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες οἶμαι τῶν
 πανουργεῖν ἐθελόντων ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον
 τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτεχνήματα εἰς δύναμιν
 ἅπασιν ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ ἀντέστησαν ἐλέγχους
 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τέχνης. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς
 κακίας ὑπολαμβάνων, ὡς ἐστὶ ποικίλη καὶ ἀπα-
 τηλὴ καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι χαλεπώτατον τῶν ἐκείνης
 ἔργων, ὅτι δὴ ψεύδεται πολλάκις ἀρετὴν ὑποδυ- D
 μένη καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ὀξύτερον
 ὁρᾶν ἢ καὶ ἀποκάμνοντας τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου
 πρὸς τὴν ἐξέτασιν, τὸ παθεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ὀρθῶς
 φυλάσσεται. ἐλόμενος δὲ ἅπαξ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν
 τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔχων τούτοις ἐπιτρέψει τὴν τῶν
 ἐλασσόνων ἀρχόντων αἴρεσιν.

Νόμων μὲν δὴ πέρι καὶ ἀρχόντων τοιαύδε
 γινώσκει. τοῦ πλήθους δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσιν
 οὔτε ἀργὸν οὔτε αὐθαδὲς ἀνέξεται εἶναι οὔτε μὴν
 ἐνδεὲς τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τῶν 92
 γεωργῶν φῦλον ἀροῦντες καὶ φυτεύοντες τροφήν

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our state will be somewhat like this, possessing only what is good in both those qualities, and in every quality that I mentioned earlier avoiding a fatal excess.¹ And though he will in person oversee and direct and govern the whole, he will see to it that those of his officials who are in charge of the most important works and management and who share his councils for the general good, are virtuous men and as far as possible like himself. And he will choose them, not carelessly or at random, nor will he consent to be a less rigorous judge than a lapidary or one who tests gold plate or purple dye. For such men are not satisfied with one method of testing, but since they know, I suppose, that the wickedness and devices of those who are trying to cheat them are various and manifold, they try to meet all these as far as possible, and they oppose to them the tests derived from their art. So too our ruler apprehends that evil changes its face and is apt to deceive, and that the cruellest thing that it does is that it often takes men in by putting on the garb of virtue, and hoodwinks those who are not keen sighted enough, or who in course of time grow weary of the length of the investigation, and therefore he will rightly be on his guard against any such deception. But when once he has chosen them, and has about him the worthiest men, he will entrust to them the choice of the minor officials.

Such is his policy with regard to the laws and magistrates. As for the common people, those who live in the towns he will not allow to be idle or impudent, but neither will he permit them to be without the necessaries of life. And the farming class who live in the country, ploughing and sowing to

¹ Plato, *Laws* 937 D.

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ἀποίοσους τοῖς φύλαξι καὶ ἐπικούροις σφῶν, μισθὸν καὶ ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀναγκαίαν. οἰκοδομήματα δὲ Ἀσσύρια καὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ δαπανηρὰς λειτουργίας χαίρειν ἔασαντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολλῇ τῶν τε ἔξωθεν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν οἴκοθεν καταβιώσονται, ἀγαπῶντες μὲν τὸν αἴτιον τῶν παρόντων σφίσι καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, ὕμνουντες δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπευχόμενοι, οὔτι πλαστῶς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ γλώττης, ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀγαθὰ. φθάνουσι δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς εὐχάς, καὶ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὰ θεῖα δόντες οὔτε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστέρησαν. εἰ δὲ τὸ χρεῶν βιάζοιτο κακῷ τῷ περιπεσεῖν, τούτων δὲ τῶν θρυλουμένων ἀνηκέστων, χορευτὴν τε αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο καὶ συνέστιον, καὶ αὐτῷ κλέος καθ' ἅπαντας ἤγειραν ἀνθρώπους. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τῶν σοφῶν ἀκούω πολλάκις, καὶ με ὁ λόγος ἰσχυρῶς πείθει. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθον, μακρότερα μὲν τυχὸν ἴσως τοῦ καιροῦ φθεγγόμενος, ἐλάττονα δὲ οἶμαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως· καὶ ὅτῳ γέγονε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἐπακούειν ἐν φροντίδι, οὗτος ὅτι μὴ ψεύδομαι σαφῶς ἐπίσταται. ἕτερα δὲ ἐστὶν αἰτία τοῦ μήκους τῆς μὲν εἰρημένης ἤττον ἀναγκαία, προσεχέστερα δὲ οἶμαι τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ· τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀνηκέους ὑμᾶς εἶναι χρή.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπομνησθῶμεν μικρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὅποτε τῆς ὑπὲρ τούτων διηγήσεως ἀπεπαυόμεθα. ἔφαμέν που χρῆναι τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐπαίνων ἀκροατὰς οὐκ εἰς ταῦτα ὀρᾶν, ὧν ἡ τύχη καὶ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς πολ-

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furnish food for their protectors and guardians, will receive in return payment in money, and the clothes that they need. But as for Assyrian palaces and costly and extravagant public services, they will have nothing to do with them, and will end their lives in the utmost peace as regards enemies at home and abroad, and will adore the cause of their good fortune as though he were a kindly deity, and praise God for him when they pray, not hypocritically or with the lips only, but invoking blessings on him from the bottom of their hearts. But the gods do not wait for their prayers, and unasked they give him celestial rewards, but they do not let him lack human blessings either; and if fate should compel him to fall into any misfortune, I mean one of those incurable calamities that people are always talking about, then the gods make him their follower and associate, and exalt his fame among all mankind. All this I have often heard from the wise, and in their account of it I have the firmest faith. And so I have repeated it to you, perhaps making a longer speech than the occasion called for, but too short in my opinion for the theme. And he to whom it has been given to hear such arguments and reflect on them, knows well that I speak the truth. But there is another reason for the length of my speech, less forcible, but I think more akin to the present argument. And perhaps you ought not to miss hearing this also,

In the first place, then, let me remind you briefly of what I said before, when I broke off my discourse for the sake of this digression. What I said was that, when serious-minded people listen to sincere panegyrics, they ought not to look to those things

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λάκις μεταδίδωσιν, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἕξεις καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς μόνοις μέτεστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φύσει σπουδαίοις. εἶτα ἐντεῦθεν ἐλόντες¹ τοὺς ἐξῆς 93 ἐπεραίνομεν λόγους, ὡς πρὸς² κανόνα τινὰ καὶ στάθμην ἀπευθύνοντες, ἧ τὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἐπαίνους ἐναρμόττειν ἐχρήν. καὶ ὄτω μὲν ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος ἀρμονία πρὸς τοῦτο γέγονε τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ὄλβιος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ὄντως εὐδαίμων, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οἱ μεταλαβόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς· ὅστις δὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετο, τῶν πλέον ἀπολειφθέντων ἀμείνων καὶ εὐτυχέστερος· B οἱ δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες παντελῶς ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τραπόμενοι δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ μοχθηροί, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιοι συμφορῶν.

Εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταύτη πη ξυνδοκεῖ, ὦρα ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς ἔργοις, ἃ τεθναμάκαμεν. καὶ ὅπως μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸν λόγον καθ' αὐτὸν ἰόντα, καθάπερ ἵππον ἀνταγωνιστοῦ στερόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, κρατεῖν καὶ ἀποφέρειν τὰ νικητήρια, πῆ ποτε διαφέρετον ἀλλήλων ὃ τε ἡμέτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν σοφῶν ῥητόρων ἐπαινος, δεῖξαι. C οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν τὸ προγόνων γενέσθαι δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων θαυμάζουσι μάλα, ὄλβίων καὶ εὐδαίμωνων μακαρίους ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐκγόνους· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε ἐνενόησαν οὔτε ἐσκέψαντο, τίνα τρόπον διατελοῦσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς³ χρώμενοι.

¹ ἐλόντες Cobet, ἐλόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν MSS., Hertlein.

² ὡς πρὸς Cobet, ὡσπερ MSS., Hertlein.

³ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς Hertlein suggests, ἀλλήλοις MSS.

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of which fortune often grants a share even to the wicked, but to the character of the man and his virtues, which belong only to those who are good and by nature estimable; and, taking up my tale at that point, I pursued the arguments that followed, guiding myself as it were by the rule and measure to which one ought to adjust the eulogies of good men and good kings. And when one of them harmonises exactly and without variation with this model, he is himself happy and truly fortunate, and happy are those who have a share in such a government as his. And he who comes near to being like him is better and more fortunate than those who fall further short of him. But those who fail altogether to resemble him, or who follow an opposite course, are ill-fated, senseless and wicked, and cause the greatest disasters to themselves and others.

And now if you are in any way of my opinion, it is time to proceed to those achievements that we have so admired. And lest any should think that my argument is running alone, like a horse in a race that has lost its competitor and for that reason wins and carries off the prizes, I will try to show in what way my encomium differs from that of clever rhetoricians. For they greatly admire the fact that a man is born of ancestors who had power or were kings, since they hold that the sons of the prosperous and fortunate are themselves blest. But the question that next arises they neither think of nor investigate, I mean how they employed their

καίτοι γε τοῦτο ἦν τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐκείνης τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν· εἰ μὴ τις καὶ πρὸς τοῦνομα δυσχεραίνει, τὴν κτῆσιν D ὑπὸ τῆς ἔμφρονος χρήσεως ἀγαθὴν καὶ φαύλην ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει· ὥστε οὐ μέγα, καθάπερ οἴονται, τὸ βασιλέως πλουσίου καὶ πολυχρύσου γενέσθαι, μέγα δὲ ἀληθῶς τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν πατρῶαν ὑπερβαλλόμενον ἄμεμπτον αὐτὸν τοῖς γειναμένοις παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπαν.

Βούλεσθε οὖν εἰ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει βασιλεῖ καταμαθεῖν; παρέξομαι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ μαρτυρίαν πιστήν, καὶ με οὐχ αἰρήσετε ψευδομαρτυρίων,¹ εὖ οἶδα· 94 ὑπομνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς² ὧν ἴστε· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἤδη τοῦ λεγομένου ξυνίετε, εἴ τε οὐπω δῆλον, αὐτίκα μάλα ξυνήσετε ἐννοήσαντες πρῶτον μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἠγάπα διαφερόντως, οὐτι πρῶτος ὧν λίαν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις οὐδὲ τῇ φύσει πλέον ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ διδούς, ἠττώμενος δὲ οἶμαι τῆς θεραπείας καὶ οὐκ ἔχων, ὅ,τι μέμφοιτο, δῆλος ἦν εὖνους ὧν. B καὶ αὐτοῦ σημεῖον τῆς γνώμης, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Κωνσταντίῳ ταύτην ἐξεῖλε τὴν μοῖραν, ἦν αὐτῷ πρότερον προσήκειν ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν, εἰθ' ὅτι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον, τὸν πρεσβύτατον καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀφείδσχαλον ἄγοντας, τοῦτον δὲ ἄσχαλον ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπέτρεπε τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ξύμπαντα. γενόμενος δὲ ἐγκρατῆς ἀπάντων οὕτω

¹ ψευδομαρτυρίων Cobet, ψευδομαρτυριῶν Hertlein, V, M, ψευδομαρτυρίας MSS.

² ὑμᾶς Hertlein suggests, ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς MSS.

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advantages throughout their lives. And yet, after all, this is the chief cause of that happiness, and of almost all external goods. Unless indeed someone objects to this statement that it is only by wise use of it that property becomes a good, and that it is harmful when the opposite use is made. So that it is not a great thing, as they think, to be descended from a king who was wealthy and "rich in gold," but it is truly great, while surpassing the virtue of one's ancestors, to behave to one's parents in a manner beyond reproach in all respects.

Do you wish to learn whether this is true of the Emperor? I will offer you trustworthy evidence, and I know well that you will not convict me of false witness. For I shall but remind you of what you know already. And perhaps you understand even now what I mean, but if it is not yet evident you very soon will, when you call to mind that the Emperor's father loved him more than the others, though he was by no means over-indulgent to his children, for it was character that he favoured rather than the ties of blood; but he was, I suppose, won over by the Emperor's dutiful service to him, and as he had nothing to reproach him with, he made his affection for him evident. And a proof of his feeling is, first, that he chose for Constantius that portion of the empire which he had formerly thought best suited to himself, and, secondly, that when he was at the point of death he passed over his eldest¹ and youngest² sons, though they were at leisure, and summoned Constantius, who was not at leisure, and entrusted him with the whole government. And

¹ Constantine II.

² Constans.

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τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δικαίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως προση-
 νέχθη, ὥστε οἱ μὲν οὔτε κληθέντες οὔτε ἀφικό-
 μενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον καὶ διεμάχοντο, C
 τούτῳ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐμέμφοντο.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στάσις τέλος εἶχεν οὐκ εὐτυχές,
 ἐξὸν μεταποιεῖσθαι πλειόνων, ἐκὼν ἀφῆκε, τῆς
 αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνων πολλά τε ἔθνη καὶ
 ὀλίγα δεῖσθαι, περικεῖσθαι δέ, οἶμαι, φροντίδας
 μείζονας ὅτῳ πλειόνων ἀνάγκη τημελεῖν καὶ¹
 κήδεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρυφῆς ὑπολαμβάνει τὴν
 βασιλείαν εἶναι παρασκευὴν οὐδέ, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν
 χρημάτων εἰς πότους καὶ ἡδονὰς οἱ καταχρῶμενοι D
 μειζόνων εὐπορίαν προσόδων ἐπινοοῦσιν, οὕτω
 χρῆναι τὸν βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἀναι-
 ρεῖσθαι πόλεμον, ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων τῆς
 ὠφελείας ἔνεκα. οὐκοῦν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν τὸ
 πλεον ξυγχωρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ ἀρετῆς ἔλαττον
 ἔχων τῷ κρατίστῳ πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπέλαβε. καὶ
 ὅτι μὴ δέει μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκείνου παρασκευῆς τὴν 95
 ἡσυχίαν ἡγάπα, τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἐμφανές ἔστω ὁ
 μετὰ ταῦτα ξυμπεσὼν πόλεμος. ἐχρήσατο γοῦν
 πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου δυνάμεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις
 ὕστερον. πάλιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκείνοι μὲν που τὸ
 νικᾶν τεθαυμάκασιν· ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺ πλεον τὸ ξὺν
 δίκῃ μὲν ἀνελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, διενεγκεῖν δὲ

¹ τημελεῖν καὶ Cobet, [ἐπιμελεῖν καὶ] Hertlein, who suggests κήδεσθαι καὶ ἐπαμύνειν, ἐπιμένειν M, ἐπισυνέχειν V, ἐπιμελεῖν MSS.

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when he had become master of the whole, he behaved to his brothers at once so justly and with such moderation, that, while they who had neither been summoned nor had come of themselves quarrelled and fought with one another, they showed no resentment against Constantius, nor ever reproached him. And when their feud reached its fatal issue,¹ though he might have laid claim to a greater share of empire, he renounced it of his own free will, because he thought that many nations or few called for the exercise of the same virtues, and also, perhaps, that the more a man has to look after and care for the greater are the anxieties beset him. For he does not think that the imperial power is a means of procuring luxury, nor that, as certain men who have wealth and misapply it for drink and other pleasures set their hearts on lavish and ever-increasing revenues, this ought to be an emperor's policy, nor that he ought ever to embark on a war except only for the benefit of his subjects. And so he allowed his brother² to have the lion's share, and thought that if he himself possessed the smaller share with honour, he had the advantage in what was most worth having. And that it was not rather from fear of his brother's resources that he preferred peace, you may consider clearly proved by the war that broke out later. For he had recourse to arms later on against his brother's forces, but it was to avenge him.³ And here again there are perhaps some who have admired him merely for having won the victory. But I admire far more the fact that it was with justice that he undertook the

¹ Constantine II was slain while marching against Constans.

² Constans.

³ Constans was slain by the soldiers of Magnentius.

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ἀνδρείως καὶ μάλα ἐμπείρως, ἐπιθείσης δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς τύχης δεξιὸν χρήσασθαι τῇ νίκῃ σωφρόνως καὶ βασιλικῶς, καὶ ὅλως ἄξιον τοῦ κρατεῖν φανῆναι.

Βούλεσθε οὖν καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς B
δικαστηρίοις ὀνομαστὶ καλωῶμεν τοὺς μάρτυρας; καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐδεὶς πω πόλεμος συνέστη πρότερον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Μακεδόσιν, οὔπερ δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἐν δίκη γενέσθαι, τοσαύτην ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ παιδί που δῆλον, τοῖς μὲν γε λίαν ἀρχαίων ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίας σφόδρα νεαρᾶς¹ οὔτ' εἰς παῖδας οὔτε εἰς ἐγγόνους γενομένης, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸν ἀφελόμενον καὶ ἀποστερήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων C
ἀπογόνους· Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ ὄρμητο

τίσασθαι Ἑλένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας ἐστράτεψε γυναῖκα μίαν ἐκδικεῖν ἐθέλων. τῷ δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἦν νεαρὰ τὰ ἀδικήματα, ἦρχε δὲ οὐ κατὰ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πρίαμον ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ τυχὸν δι' ἀρετὴν ἢ κατὰ γένος προσηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιωθείς, ἀλλὰ ἀναιδὴς καὶ τραχὺς βάρβαρος τῶν ἐαλωκότων οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἔπραξε καὶ ὅπως D
ἦρχεν, οὔτε ἡδύ μοι λέγειν οὔτε ἐν καιρῷ· ἐν δίκη δὲ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπολέμησεν, ἀκηκόατε. τῆς δὲ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ πρόσθεν ρηθέντα σημεῖα, πιστότερα δέ, οἶμαι, τὰ ἔργα τῶν

¹ νεαρᾶς Hertlein suggests, νεωτέρας MSS.

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war, and that he carried it through with great courage and skill, and, when fortune gave him a favourable issue, used his victory with moderation and in imperial fashion, and showed himself entirely worthy to overcome.

Now do you wish that, as though I were in a law-court, I should summon before you by name witnesses of this also? But it is plain even to a child that no war ever yet arose that had so good an excuse, not even of the Greeks against Troy or of the Macedonians¹ against the Persians, though these wars, at any rate, are thought to have been justified, since the latter was to exact vengeance in more recent times for very ancient offences, and that not on sons or grandsons, but on him² who had robbed and deprived of their sovereignty the descendants of those very offenders. And Agamemnon set forth

“To avenge the strivings and groans of Helen,”³

for it was because he desired to avenge one woman that he went to war with the Trojans. But the wrongs done to Constantius were still fresh, and he⁴ who was in power was not, like Darius or Priam, a man of royal birth who, it may be, laid claim to an empire that belonged to him by reason of his birth or his family, but a shameless and savage barbarian who not long before had been among the captives of war.⁵ But all that he did and how he governed is neither agreeable for me to tell nor would it be well-timed. And that the Emperor was justified in making war on him you have heard, and of his skill and courage what I said earlier is proof enough, but deeds are, I

¹ Under Alexander.

² Darius III.

³ *Iliad* 2. 356.

⁴ Magnentius.

⁵ cf. *Oration* 1. 34 A.

λόγων. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενόμενα καὶ ὅπως
 ξίφους μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέησεν ἔτι, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἀδικημά- 96
 των μειζόνων εἶχεν ὑποψίαν, οὐδὲ εἴ τω πρὸς τὸν
 τύραννον οἰκειότερα γέγονε φιλία, οὐδὲ μὴν εἴ τις
 ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενος φέρειν τε ἠξίου κηρύκιον καὶ
 ἐλοιδορεῖτο βασιλεῖ, τῆς προπετείας ἀπέτισε
 δίκην, ὅ,τι μὴ τὰλλα μοχθηρὸς ἦν, ἐννοήσατε δὴ
 πρὸς φιλίου Διός. ποταπὸν δὲ χρῆμα λοιδορία;
 ὡς θυμοδακὲς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀμύττου ψυχὴν μᾶλλον
 ἢ σίδηρος χρώτα; οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά
 παρώξυνεν εἰς δύναμιν ἀμύνασθαι λόγῳ τε καὶ
 ἔργῳ· διηνέχθη γοῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου πρὸς τὸν
 ξενοδόκον αὐτὸς ὦν ἀλήτης καὶ ξένος, καὶ ταῦτα
 εἰδώς, ὅτι

Ἄφρων . . . καὶ οὐτιδανὸς πέλει ἀνήρ,

Ὅστις ξεινοδόκῳ ἔριδα προφέρῃσι βαρεῖαν,

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀχιλλέα
 τὸν Θέτιδος¹ καὶ ἄλλους δέ τινας οὐ φαύλους
 οὐδὲ ἀγεννεῖς ἀνθρώπους. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπήρχεν, C
 οἶμαι, Σωκράτει καὶ σπανίοις τισὶν ἐκείνου
 ζηλωταῖς, εὐδαίμοσιν ἀληθῶς καὶ μακαρίοις
 γενομένοις, τὸν ἔσχατον ἀποδύσασθαι χιτῶνα
 τῆς φιλοτιμίας. φιλότιμον γὰρ δεινῶς τὸ πάθος,
 καὶ ἔοικεν ἐμφύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ταῖς
 γενναίαις ψυχαῖς· ἄχθονται γὰρ ὡς ἐναντιωτάτῳ D
 σφίσι λοιδορία, καὶ τοὺς ἀπορρίπτοντας ἐς αὐτοὺς

¹ τὸν V, τὸν τῆς MSS.

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think, more convincing than words. But what happened after the victory, and how he no longer made use of the sword, not even against those who were under suspicion of serious crimes, or who had been familiar friends of the usurper, nay not even against anyone who, to curry favour with the latter, had stooped to win a tale-bearer's fee by slandering the Emperor, consider, in the name of Zeus the god of friendship, that not even these paid the penalty of their audacity, except when they were guilty of other crimes. And yet what a terrible thing is slander! How truly does it devour the heart and wound the soul as iron cannot wound the body! This it was that goaded Odysseus to defend himself by word and deed. At any rate it was for this reason that he quarrelled with his host¹ when he was himself a wanderer and a guest, and though he knew that

“Foolish and of nothing worth is that man who provokes a violent quarrel with his host.”²

And so it was with Alexander, Philip's son, and Achilles, son of Thetis, and others who were not worthless or ignoble men. But only to Socrates, I think, and a few others who emulated him, men who were truly fortunate and happy, was it given to put off the last garment that man discards—the love of glory.³ For resentment of calumny is due to the passion for glory, and for this reason it is implanted most deeply in the noblest souls. For they resent it as their deadliest foe, and those who hurl at them slanderous language they

¹ Alcinoüs.

² *Odyssey* 8. 209.

³ Dioscorides in Athenæus 507 D; Tacitus *Hist.* 4. 6; cf. Milton *Lycidas*,

“Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise

“(That last infirmity of noble mind).”

τοιαῦτα ῥήματα μισοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐπάγοντας τὸν σίδηρον καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας φόνον, διαφόρους τε αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι φύσει καὶ οὐ νόμῳ, εἴ γε οἱ μὲν ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς ἐρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἀφαιροῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μηχανῶνται βλασφημίας ψευδεῖς. τούτου καὶ Ἡρακλέα φασὶ καὶ ἄλλους δέ τινας ἀκράτορας τοῦ πάθους γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε περὶ ἐκείνων τῷ λόγῳ πείθομαι, καὶ βασιλέα τεθέαμαι σφόδρα ἐγκρατῶς τὴν λαιδορίαν ἀποτρεψάμενον,¹ οὔτι φαυλότερον 97 ἔργον, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῦ Τροίαν ἐλείν καὶ φάλαγγα γενναίαν τρέψασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις καὶ οὐ μέγα οἶεται οὐδὲ ἄξιον ἐπαίνων τοσοῦτων, ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶν, ὅταν ἔν τινι τοιαύτῃ ξυμφορᾷ γένηται, κρινέτω, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ σφόδρα ληρεῖν δόξομεν, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὦν καὶ γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰκότως οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἀγαπητός, πολλοῖς² μὲν τιμῆς καὶ Β δυνάμεως καὶ παρρησίας μεταδιδούς, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄφθονα χαριζόμενος καὶ χρήσθαι ὅπως τις βούλεται τῷ πλούτῳ ξυγχωρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοιοῦτος ἐδόκει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὑμῖν ἐμφανὲς καὶ τοῦδε γιγνέσθω· ἄνδρες, τῆς γερουσίας ὅτιπερ ὄφελος, ἀξιῶσει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ξυνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ ἐς λιμένα καταφεύγοντες τὴν τούτου δεξιάν, ἐστίας τε

¹ ἀποτρεψάμενον Hertlein suggests, δεξάμενον Petavius, τρεψάμενον MSS.

² πολλοῖς fl., Hertlein prefers, πολλῆς MSS.

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hate more than men who attack them with the sword or plot their destruction; and they regard them as differing from themselves, not merely in their acquired habits, but in their essential nature, seeing that they love praise and honour, and the slanderer not only robs them of these, but also manufactures false accusations against them. They say that even Heracles and certain other heroes were swayed by these emotions. But for my part I do not believe this account of them, and as for the Emperor I have seen him repelling calumny with great self-restraint, which in my judgment is no slighter achievement than "to take Troy"¹ or rout a powerful phalanx. And if anyone does not believe me, and thinks it no great achievement nor worth all these praises, let him observe himself when a misfortune of this sort happens to him, and then let him decide; and I am convinced that he will not think that I am talking with exceeding folly.

Now since this was and is the Emperor's behaviour after the war, he is naturally loved and "longed for by his friends,"² since he has admitted many of them to honour and power and freedom of speech, and has bestowed on them as well vast sums of money, and permits them to use their wealth as they please; but even to his enemies he is the same. The following may serve as a clear proof of this. Those members of the Senate who were of any account and surpassed the rest in reputation and wealth and wisdom, fled to the shelter of his right hand as though to a harbour, and, leaving behind their hearths and

¹ A proverb, cf. Euripides, *Andromache* 368.

² Aristophanes, *Frogs* 84.

λιπόντες καὶ οἴκους καὶ παῖδας Παιονίαν μὲν ἀντὶ C
 τῆς Ῥώμης, τὴν μετὰ τούτου δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν φιλιτάτων
 συνουσίαν ἠσπάσαντο, ἴλη τε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων
 ἰππέων ξὺν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν
 ἄγουσα τούτῳ τοῦ κινδύνου ξυμμετέχειν μᾶλλον
 ἢ ἐκείνῳ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἡξίου. καὶ ταῦτα ἅπαντα
 ἐδράτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δράου ταῖς
 ἡόσις ὁ πρόσθεν λόγος παρέστησεν. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ
 ἤδη βεβαίως ἐθάρρουν, τέως δ' ἐδόκει τὰ τῶν
 τυράννων ἐπικρατεῖν, πλεονεκτήματός τινος περὶ D
 τοὺς κατασκόπους τοὺς¹ βασιλέως γενομένου, ὃ δὴ
 ἐκείνόν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἄφρονα καὶ
 ἐξετάραττε τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ἐφικνεῖσθαι οὐδὲ
 διορᾶν τὴν στρατηγίαν. ὃ δὲ ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ
 γεννιάδας καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς νεὸς κυβερνήτης,
 ἐξαπίνης νεφῶν ῥαγείσης λαίλαπος, εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτῇ
 τοῦ θεοῦ σείοντος τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τὰς ἡόνας.
 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀπίρους δεινὸν καὶ ἄτοπον
 κατέλαβε δέος, ὃ δὲ ἤδη χαίρει καὶ γάννται, 98
 γαλήνην ἀκριβῆ καὶ νηνεμίαν ἐλπίζων. λέγεται
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν συνταράττων τὴν γῆν
 παύειν τὰ κύματα. καὶ ἡ τύχη δὲ τοὺς ἀνοήτους
 ἐξαπατᾷ καὶ σφάλλει περὶ τοῖς μείζουσι, μικρὰ
 πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσα, τοῖς ἔμφροσι δὲ τὸ
 βεβαίως θαρσεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειζόνων, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς
 ἐλάττοσιν αὐτοὺς διαταράττη, παρέχει. τοῦτο
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι παθόντες ἐν Πύλαις οὐκ ἀπηγό-
 ρεον οὐδὲ ἔδεισαν τὸν Μῆδον ἐπιφερόμενον, B

¹ τοὺς Hertlein suggests, τοῦ MSS.

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homes and children, preferred Paeonia¹ to Rome, and to be with him rather than with their dearest. Again, a division of the choicest of the cavalry together with their standards, and bringing their general² with them, chose to share danger with him rather than success with the usurper. And all this took place before the battle on the banks of the Drave, which the earlier part of my speech described to you. For after that they began to feel perfect confidence, though before that it looked as though the usurper's cause was getting the upper hand, when he gained some slight advantage in the affair of the Emperor's scouts,³ which indeed made the usurper beside himself with joy and greatly agitated those who were incapable of grasping or estimating generalship. But the Emperor was unperturbed and heroic, like a good pilot when a tempest has suddenly burst from the clouds, and next moment, the god shakes the depths and the shores. Then a terrible and dreadful panic seizes on those who are inexperienced, but the pilot begins to rejoice, and is glad, because he can now hope for a perfect and windless calm. For it is said that Poseidon, when he makes the earth quake, calms the waves. And just so fortune deceives the foolish and deludes them about more important things by allowing them some small advantage, but in the wise she inspires unshaken confidence about more serious affairs even when she disconcerts them in the case of those that are less serious. This was what happened to the Lacedaemonians at Pylae,⁴ but they did not despair nor fear the onset of the Mede because they had lost

¹ Pannonia.

² Silvanus, cf. *Oration* 1. 60.

³ cf. *Oration* 1. 35 c.

⁴ Thermopylae.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τριακοσίους Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος προέμενοι· τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι πολλάκις παθόντες μείζονα κατώρθουν ὕστερον· ὃ δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐννοῶν καὶ λογιζόμενος οὐδαμῶς ἐσφάλῃ τῆς γνώμης.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶπερ ἅπαξ ἐκὼν ὁ λόγος ἐς τοῦτο ἀφίκται καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, οἵπερ δὴ ξυμφυλάττουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπείργουσι τοὺς πολεμίους, διηγεῖται· βούλεσθε ὑμῖν ἐναργὲς εἶπω τεκμήριον C
 χθές που ἢ καὶ πρόφην γενόμενον; ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπιταχθέντων τοῖς ἐν Γαλατία στρατοπέδοις· ἴστε ἴσως καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὸν τρόπον· ὄμηρον φιλίας καὶ πίστεως ἀπέλιπεν οὐδὲν δεομένῳ βασιλεῖ τὸν παῖδα· εἶτα ἦν ἀπιστότερος τῶν λεόντων, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι, φησί, πρὸς ἄνδρας¹ ὄρκια πιστά, ἀρπάζων τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰ χρήματα καὶ διανέμων τοῖς D
 ἐπιούσι βαρβάροις καὶ ὥσπερ λύτρα καταβαλλόμενος, ἐξὸν τῷ σιδήρῳ παρασκευάζειν καὶ οὐ τοῖς χρήμασι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ὑπήγετο διὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς εὐνοίαν· καὶ τέλος ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀνελόμενος ἀλουργὲς ἰμάτιον γελοῖος ἀληθῶς τύραννος καὶ τραγικὸς ὄντως ἀνεφάνη. ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς μὲν εἶχον πρὸς τὴν ἀπιστίαν, θῆλυν δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένοντες ὁρᾶν ἐνδεδυκότα στολὴν τὸν δειλαιὸν 99

¹ [Ὅμηρος] ὄρκια Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

three hundred Spartans and their king¹ at the entrance into Greece. This often happened to the Romans, but they achieved more important successes later on. Wherefore, since the Emperor knew this and counted on it, he in no way wavered in his purpose.

But seeing that my argument has, of its own accord, once reached this point and is describing the affection that the Emperor inspires in the common people, the magistrates, and the garrisons who aid him to protect the empire and repulse its enemies, are you willing that I should relate to you a signal proof of this, which happened, one may say, yesterday or the day before? A certain man² who had been given the command of the garrisons in Galatia—you probably know his name and character—left his son behind him as a hostage for his friendship and loyalty to the Emperor, though not at the Emperor's request. Then he proved to be more treacherous than "lions who have no faithful covenants with man,"³ as the poet says, and plundered the cities of their wealth and distributed it among the invading barbarians, paying it down as a sort of ransom, though he was well able to take measures to win security by the sword rather than by money. But he tried to win them over to friendliness by means of money. And finally he took from the women's apartments a purple dress, and showed himself truly a tyrant and tragical indeed. Then the soldiers, resenting his treachery, would not tolerate the sight of him thus dressed up in women's garb,⁴ and they set on the miserable wretch and tore him limb from limb,⁵ nor would they

¹ Leonidas. ² Silvanus. ³ *Iliad* 22. 262.

⁴ Euripides, *Bacchae* 822. ⁵ cf. *Oration* 1. 48 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐπιθέμενοι σπαράττουσιν, οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς σελήνης
κύκλον ἄρξαι σφῶν ἀνασχόμενοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ
παρὰ τῆς τῶν φυλάκων εὐνοίας ὑπῆρξε βασιλεῖ
τὸ γέρας, ἀρχῆς ἀμεμφοῦς καὶ δικαίας ἀμοιβῆ
θαυμαστή. ὅστις δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ γέγονε ποθεῖτε
ἀκούειν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς λέληθεν, ὅτι μήτε
ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα χαλεπὸς μήτε ἐς τοὺς φίλους
ὑποπτος καὶ δεινὸς εἶλετο γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὡς B
ἐνὶ μάλιστα πράως εἶχε καὶ εὐμενῆς πᾶσιν ἦν
καίτοι πολλῶν συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελόντων καὶ διηρ-
μένων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐκ αἰτίους τὰ κέντρα. πολλῶν
δὲ τυχὸν ἀληθῶς ἐνόχων ὄντων ταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν
ὑποψίαις, ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ἦν πρᾶος τοῖς οὐκ
ἐξελεγχθεῖσιν¹ οὐδὲ ἀποφανθεῖσι κοινωνοῖς τῶν
ἀτόπων καὶ ἐξαγίστων βουλευμάτων. τὴν δὲ ἐς
τὸν τοῦ παρανομήσαντος παῖδα καὶ πατήσαν- C
τος πίστιν καὶ ὄρκια φειδῶ ἄρα βασιλικὸν
ἀληθῶς καὶ θεῖον φήσομεν, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπο-
δεξόμεθα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα χαλεπαίνοντα καὶ
πικραϊνόμενον τῶν Τρώων οὐ τοῖς ξυνεξελθοῦσι
μόνον τῷ Πάριδι καὶ καθυβρίσασι τοῦ Μενέλεω
τὴν ἐστίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κνουμένοις ἔτι καὶ ὦν
τυχὸν οὐδὲ αἱ μητέρες τότε ἐγεγόνεσαν, ὅποτε
ἐκεῖνος τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐνενοεῖ; εἰ δὴ τὸ
μὲν ὡμὸν τις οἶεται καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον D
ἥκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν, τὸ πρᾶον δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον ἀρμόττειν ἥκιστα
μὲν χαίροντι τιμωρίαις, ἀχθομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς
τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφοραῖς, ὅπως ἂν γίγνωνται, εἶτε

¹ ἐξελεγχθεῖσιν Hertlein suggests, ἐλεγχθεῖσιν MSS.

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endure either that the crescent moon¹ should rule over them. Now it was the affection of his garrison that gave the Emperor this guerdon, a wonderful recompense for his just and blameless rule. But you are eager to hear how he behaved after this. This too, however, you cannot fail to know, that he chose neither to be harsh towards that man's son² nor suspicious and formidable to his friends, but in the highest possible degree he was merciful and kindly to them all, though many desired to bring false accusations³ and had raised their stings to strike the innocent. But though many were perhaps really involved in the crimes of which they were suspected, he was merciful to all alike, provided they had not been convicted or proved to be partners in the usurper's monstrous and abominable schemes. And shall we not declare that the forbearance shown by him towards the son of one who had broken the laws and trampled on loyalty and sworn covenants was truly royal and godlike; or shall we rather approve Agamemnon, who vented his rage and cruelty not only on those Trojans who had accompanied Paris and had outraged the hearth of Menelaus, but even on those who were yet unborn, and whose mothers even were perhaps not yet born when Paris plotted the rape? Anyone therefore who thinks that cruelty and harshness and inhumanity ill become a king, and that mercy and goodness and human kindness befit one who takes no pleasure in acts of vengeance, but grieves at the misfortunes of his subjects, however they may arise, whether from their

¹ His Oriental dress suggested Persian rule, symbolised by the crescent.

² cf. *Oration* 1. 49 A.

³ cf. *Oration* 1. 48 C, D.

κακία σφῶν καὶ ἀμαθία, εἴτε ἔξωθεν παρὰ τῆς
 τύχης ἐπάγοιντο, δηλὸς ἐστὶ τούτῳ διδούς τὰ
 νικητήρια. ἐννοεῖτε γάρ, ὡς περὶ τὸν παῖδα
 γέγονε τοῦ φύσαντος ἀμείνων καὶ δικαιοτέρος,
 περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους πιστότερος τοῦ τὴν 100
 φιλίαν ὁμολογήσαντος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας
 προεῖτο, ὁ δὲ ἀπέσωσεν ἅπαντας. καὶ εἰ μὲν
 ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγνωκῶς¹ τρόπου
 ἄτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατανοήσας σφόδρα ἐπί-
 στευεν, ἀσφαλῶς μὲν οἱ τὰ τοῦ παιδός, βεβαίως
 δὲ ὀρμεῖν τὰ τῶν φίλων, συνίει μὲν ὀρθῶς,
 πολλάκις δὲ ἦν πανούργος καὶ μοχθηρὸς καὶ
 δυστυχῆς, πολέμιος ἐθέλων εἶναι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ
 ὄν σφόδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαφερόντως πρᾶιον B
 ἠπίστατο μισῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ ἀφαιρού-
 μενος ὧν οὐδαμῶς ἐχρῆν. εἰ δέ, ἀνελπίστου μὲν
 οἱ τοῦ παιδός τῆς σωτηρίας τυγχανούσης,
 χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ ἀδυνάτου τῆς² τῶν φίλων καὶ
 τῶν συγγενῶν, τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὅμως προείλετο,
 ὁ μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μοχθηρὸς καὶ ἀνόητος
 καὶ ἀγριώτερος τῶν θηρίων, ὁ δὲ ἡμερος καὶ
 πρᾶος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, τοῦ μὲν νηπίου κατ-
 ελεήσας τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ C
 οὐκ ἐξελεγχθεῖσι πρᾶως ἔχων, τοῦ δὲ ὑπεριδῶν καὶ
 καταφρονήσας τῶν πονηρευμάτων. ὁ γὰρ ἂ μηδὲ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις διὰ μέγεθος ὧν αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν
 ἀδικημάτων ἐλπίζει ξυγχωρῶν εἰκότως ἀρετῆς ἐστί

¹ ἐγνωκῶς τρόπου—κατανοήσας Hertlein suggests, ἐγνωκῶς—
 τὸν τρόπον κατανοήσας MSS.

² τῆς Hertlein adds.

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own wickedness and ignorance or aimed at them from without by fate, will, it is evident, award to the Emperor the palm of victory. For bear in mind that he was kinder and more just to the boy than his own father, and to the usurper's friends he was more loyal than he who acknowledged the tie of friendship. For the usurper forsook them all, but the Emperor saved them all. And if the usurper, knowing all this about the Emperor's character, since he had for a long time been able to observe it, was entirely confident that his son was safely at anchor and his friends securely also, then he did indeed understand him aright, but he was many times over criminal and base and accursed for desiring to be at enmity with such a man, and for hating one whom he knew to be so excellent and so surpassingly mild; and for plotting against him and trying to rob him of what it was a shame to take from him. But if, on the other hand, his son's safety was something that he had never hoped for, and the safety of his friends and kinsfolk he had thought difficult or impossible, and he nevertheless chose to be disloyal, this is yet another proof that he was wicked and infatuated and fiercer than a wild beast, and that the Emperor was gentle and mild and magnanimous, since he took pity on the youth of the helpless child, and was merciful to those who were not proved guilty, and ignored and despised the crimes of the usurper. For he who grants what not one of his enemies expects, because the guilt that is on their conscience is so great, beyond a doubt carries off the prize for virtue: for while he tempers justice with

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νικηφόρος, τὴν δίκην μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ πραό-
 τερον μετατιθείς, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενος
 τοὺς τὸ μέτριον ἐπιτιθέντας ταῖς τιμωρίαις, ἀνδρεία
 δὲ διαφέρων τῷ μηδένα πολέμιον ἀξιόχρεων ὑπο-
 λαμβάνειν, φρόνησιν δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῷ συγ-
 καταλύειν τὰς ἔχθρας καὶ οὐ παραπέμπειν εἰς
 τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ εἰς ἐγγόνους προφάσει τῆς
 ἀκριβοῦς δίκης καὶ τοῦ βούλεσθαι¹ ἐπιεικῶς μάλα
 πίτυος δίκην τῶν πονηρῶν ἀφανίζειν τὰ σπέρματα.
 ἐκείνων γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τόδε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 τὴν εἰκόνα παλαιὸς ἀπέφηνε λόγος. ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς
 βασιλεὺς μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς τὸν θεὸν οἶδε μὲν
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἐσμούς μελιττῶν ἐξιπταμένους,
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δριμυτάτου ξύλου τὸν γλυκὺν καρπὸν
 φυόμενον, σὺκά φημι τὰ χαρίεντα, καὶ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν
 τὴν σίδην καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλλων φυόμενα ἀνόμοια
 τοῖς γεννῶσι καὶ ἀποτίκτουσιν. οὐκ οἶεται
 ταῦτα χρῆναι πρὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς διαφθεῖρειν, ἀλλὰ
 περιμένειν τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἀπω-
 σαμένοις τῶν πατέρων τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ τὴν μωρίαν
 ἀγαθοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ σώφροσι, ζηλωτὰς δὲ γενο-
 μένους τῶν πατρῶων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑφέξειν ἐν
 καιρῷ τὴν δίκην, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις ἔργοις καὶ ξυμ-
 φοραῖς παραναλωθέντας.

Ἄρ' οὖν ὑμῖν ἱκανῶς δοκοῦμεν ἐκτετελεκέναι
 τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἔπαινον; ἢ ποθεῖτε ἀκούειν ὑμεῖς καὶ
 τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ὡς οὐ μόνον
 ἐστὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀήττητος, ἀλλ' οὔτε αἰσχρᾶς
 ἐπιθυμίας ἐάλω πώποτε, οὔτε οἰκίας καλῆς οὔτ'

¹ βούλεσθαι Hertlein suggests, βούλεσθαί περ MSS.

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what is nobler and more merciful, in self-restraint he surpasses those who are merely moderate in their vengeance; and in courage he excels because he thinks no enemy worthy of notice; and his wisdom he displays by suppressing enmities and by not handing them down to his sons and descendants on the pretext of strict justice, or of wishing, and very reasonably too, to blot out the seed of the wicked like the seed of a pine-tree.¹ For this is the way of those trees, and in consequence an ancient tale² gave rise to this simile. But the good Emperor, closely imitating God, knows that even from rocks swarms of bees fly forth, and that sweet fruits grow even from the bitterest wood, pleasant figs, for instance, and from thorns the pomegranate, and there are other instances where things are produced entirely unlike the parents that begat them and brought them forth. Therefore he thinks that we ought not to destroy these before they have reached maturity, but to wait for time to pass, and to trust them to cast off the folly and madness of their fathers and become good and temperate, but that, if they should turn out to emulate their fathers' practices, they will in good time suffer punishment, but they will not have been uselessly sacrificed because of the deeds and misfortunes of others.

Now do you think I have made my sincere panegyric sufficiently thorough and complete? Or are you anxious to hear also about the Emperor's powers of endurance and his august bearing, and that not only is he unconquerable by the enemy, but has never yet succumbed to any disgraceful appetite, and

¹ A proverb; the pine when cut down does not send up shoots again,

² Herodotus 6. 37.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐπαύλεως πολυτελοῦς οὔτε ὄρων σμαραγδίνων
ἐπιθυμήσας ἀφείλετο βία ἢ καὶ πειθοῖ τοὺς κεκτη-
μένους, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρας οὐδὲ θερα-
παίνης, οὐδὲ ὅλως τὴν ἄδικον ἀφροδίτην ἠγάπησε,
καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ὦν ὦραι φύουσιν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἄμετρον
ἀπαιτεῖ πλησμονήν, οὐδὲ αὐτῷ θέρους ὦρα τοῦ
κρυστάλλου μέλει, οὐδὲ μεταβάλλει πρὸς τὰς D
ὦρας τὴν οἴκησιν, τοῖς πονουμένοις δὲ ἀεὶ πάρεστι
τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρεσιν ἀντέχων καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρύος καὶ
πρὸς τὰ θάλπη τὰ γενναῖα; τούτων δὲ εἶ με
κελεύετε φέρειν ὑμῖν ἐμφανῆ τὰ τεκμήρια, γνώριμα
μὲν ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσω, μακρὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ
διωλύγιος, ἐμοί τε οὐ σχολὴ τὰς μούσας ἐπὶ
τοσοῦτον θεραπεύειν, ἀλλ' ὦρα λοιπὸν πρὸς ἔργον
τρέπεσθαι.

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never coveted a fine house or a costly palace or a necklace of emeralds, and then robbed their owners of them either by violence or persuasion ; and that he has never coveted any free-born woman or handmaid or pursued any dishonourable passion ; and that he does not even desire an immoderate surfeit of the good things that the seasons produce, or care for ice in summer, or change his residence with the time of year ; but is ever at hand to aid those portions of the empire that are in trouble, enduring both frost and extreme heat ? But if you should bid me bring before you plain proofs of this, I shall merely say what is familiar to all, and I shall not lack evidence, but the account would be long, a monstrous speech, nor indeed have I leisure to cultivate the Muses to such an extent, for it is now time for me to turn to my work.¹

¹ His campaign in Gaul.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION II

The Third Oration is an expression of gratitude to the Emperor Augustus for his help in the recovery of the Republic. After Julius's return, the Republic had been restored to its former state, and Augustus had been proclaimed Emperor. The oration is a model of the genre, and it is a masterpiece of Latin prose.

ORATION III

The Fourth Oration is a speech in which the Emperor Augustus addresses the Senate. He is discussing the recent events of the war, and he is praising the bravery of the Roman soldiers. He is also discussing the importance of the Republic, and he is urging the Senate to support the Emperor's policies. The oration is a masterpiece of Latin prose, and it is a model of the genre.

The oration is a masterpiece of Latin prose, and it is a model of the genre.

III ИЮЛЯ

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION III

THE Third Oration is an expression of gratitude (*χαριστήριος λόγος*)¹ to the Empress Eusebia, the first wife of Constantius. After Julian's intractable step-brother Gallus Caesar had been murdered by the Emperor, he was summoned to the court at Milan, and there, awkward and ill at ease, cut off from his favourite studies and from the society of philosophers, surrounded by intriguing and unfriendly courtiers, and regarded with suspicion by the Emperor, Julian was protected, encouraged and advised by Eusebia. His praise and gratitude are, for once, sincere. The oration must have been composed either in Gaul or shortly before Julian set out thither after the dangerous dignity of the Caesarship had been thrust upon him. His sincerity has affected his style, which is simpler and more direct than that of the other two Panegyrics.

¹ cf. Quintilian 3. 7. 10. on the *Gratiarum actio*.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΤΣΕΒΙΑΣ

ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Τί ποτε ἄρα χρῆ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων 102
 μεγάλη καὶ πέρα¹ μεγάλων, οὔτι φημὶ
 χρυσίου οὐδὲ ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς ὅ,τι ἂν τύχη
 τις παρὰ τοῦ πέλας εὖ παθῶν· εἶτα τοιαῦτα μὲν
 ἀποτίνειν οὔτε ἐπιχειρούντων οὔτε διανοουμένων,
 ῥαθύμως δὲ καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ τὰ
 δυνατὰ πῶιεῖν καὶ διαλύεσθαι τὸ ὄφλημα; ἢ B
 δῆλον ὅτι φαύλους καὶ μοχθηροὺς νομιστέον;
 οὐδενὸς γὰρ οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ἔλαττον
 μισοῦμεν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ ὄνειδίζομεν τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
 ποις, ὅταν εὖ παθόντες περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὧσιν
 ἀχάριστοι· ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὗτος ἀχάριστος μόνον,
 ὅστις εὖ παθὼν δρᾷ κακῶς ἢ λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὅστις σιωπᾷ καὶ ἀποκρύπτει, λήθη παραδιδούς
 καὶ ἀφανίζων τὰς χάριτας. καὶ τῆς μὲν θηριώδους C
 ἐκείνης καὶ ἀπανθρώπου μοχθηρίας σφόδρα ὀλίγα
 καὶ εὐαρίθμητα κομιδῆ τὰ παραδείγματα· πολλοὶ
 δὲ ἀποκρύπτουσι τὸ δοκεῖν εὖ παθεῖν, οὐκ οἶδα
 ὅ,τι βουλόμενοι· φασὶ δὲ ὅμως θωπείας τινὸς καὶ
 ἀγεννοῦς κολακείας τὴν δόξαν ἐκκλίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ

¹ πέρα Cobet, ὑπὲρ MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPRESS EUSEBIA

WHAT, pray, ought we to think of those who owe things of price and beyond price—I do not mean gold or silver, but simply any benefit one may happen to receive from one's neighbour—suppose that they neither try nor intend to repay that kindness, but are indolent and do not trouble themselves to do what they can and try to discharge the debt? Is it not evident that we must think them mean and base? Far more I think than any other crime do we hate ingratitude, and we blame those persons who have received benefits and are ungrateful to their benefactors. And the ungrateful man is not only he who repays a kindness with evil deeds or words, but also he who is silent and conceals a kindness and tries to consign it to oblivion and abolish gratitude. Now of such brutal and inhuman baseness as the repayment with evil the instances are few and easily reckoned; but there are many who try to conceal the appearance of having received benefits, though with what purpose I know not. They assert, however, that it is because they are trying to avoid a reputation for a sort of servility and for base flattery. But though I

τούτους¹ μὲν ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιᾶς λέγουσι σαφῶς 103
 εἰδῶς ὅμως ἀφήμι, καὶ κείσθω διαφεύγειν αὐτούς,
 καθάπερ οἴονται, κολακείας οὐκ ἀληθῆ δόξαν,
 πολλοῖς ἅμα πάθεσιν ἐνόχους φανέντας καὶ
 νοσήμασιν αἰσχίστοις πάνυ καὶ ἀνελευθέρους. ἡ
 γὰρ οὐ συνιέντες ἀναίσθητοι λίαν εἰσίν, ὧν οὐδ-
 αμῶς ἀναίσθητον εἶναι χρήν, ἡ συνιέντες ἐπι-
 λήσμονες ὧν ἐχρήν εἰς ἅπαντα μεμνήσθαι τὸν
 χρόνον· μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ ἀποκνοῦντες δι' ἀσδη-
 ποτοῦν αἰτίας δειλοὶ καὶ βάσκανοι φύσει καὶ
 ἀπλῶς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις δυσμενεῖς, οἳ γε οὐδὲ B
 τοῖς εὐεργέταις πρᾶοι καὶ προσηνεῖς ἐθέλοντες
 εἶναι, εἴτα, ἂν μὲν δέη λαιδορήσαί που καὶ δακεῖν,
 ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία ὀργίλον καὶ ὄξυ βλέπουσιν·
 ὥσπερ δὲ ἀνάλωμα πολυτελὲς φεύγοντες τὸν
 ἀληθινὸν ἔπαινον, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, αἰτιῶνται τὰς
 ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων εὐφημίας, ἐξὸν ἐκείνο
 ἐξετάζειν μόνον, εἰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶσι καὶ
 περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦνται τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαί- C
 νοις χαρίζεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν,
 ὡς ἀνωφελὲς χρήμα ἢ εὐφημία οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν
 γέγονεν οὔτε αὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπόσοι τὴν ἴσην
 ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὸν βίον τάξιν εἰληχότες τῆς ἐν ταῖς
 πράξεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀπελείφθησαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
 ἄκουσμά τέ ἐστιν ἡδὺ καὶ προθυμοτέρους παρέχει
 περὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν ἔργων· τοὺς
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ζηλοῦν ἐκείνα πειθοῖ καὶ βία παρ-
 ὠρμησεν ὀρώντας ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν προλαβόντων

¹ τούτους Cobet, οὔτοι MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

know well enough that what they say is all insincere, nevertheless I let that pass, and suppose we assume that they, as they think, do escape an undeserved reputation for flattery, still they at the same time appear to be guilty of many weaknesses and defects of character that are in the highest degree base and illiberal. For either they are too dense to perceive what no one should fail to perceive, or they are not dense but forgetful of what they ought to remember for all time. Or again, they do remember, and yet shirk their duty for some reason or other, being cowards and grudging by nature, and their hand is against every man without exception, seeing that not even to their benefactors do they consent to be gentle and amiable; and then if there be any opening to slander and bite, they look angry and fierce like wild beasts. Genuine praise they somehow or other avoid giving, as though it were a costly extravagance, and they censure the applause given to noble actions, when the only thing that they need enquire into is whether the eulogists respect truth and rate her higher than the reputation of showing their gratitude by eulogy. For this at any rate they cannot assert, that praise is a useless thing, either to those who receive it or to others besides, who, though they have been assigned the same rank in life as the objects of their praise, have fallen short of their merit in what they have accomplished. To the former it is not only agreeable to hear, but makes them zealous to aim at a still higher level of conduct, while the latter it stimulates both by persuasion and compulsion to imitate that noble conduct, because they see that none of those

τινὲς ἀπεστερήθησαν ὁ μόνον δοῦναί τε καὶ λαβεῖν
 ἔστι δημοσίᾳ καλόν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ D
 ἐμφανὲς διδόναι καὶ περιβλέπειν, ὅπως ὅτι
 πλείστοι τὸ δοθὲν εἴσονται, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀπειρο-
 κάλου· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑποσχῶν¹ τῷ χεῖρε ὑποδέξαιτ'
 ἂν τις ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, μὴ παντάπασιν
 ἀποσεισάμενος αἰδῶ καὶ ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου.
 Ἄρκεσίλαος δὲ καὶ διδούς τὸν λαβόντα ἐπειράτο 10
 λαθεῖν· συνίει δὲ ἐκείνος ἐκ τῆς πράξεως τὸν
 δράσαντα. ἐπαίνων δὲ ζηλωτὸν μὲν ἀκροατὰς
 ὡς πλείστους εὐρεῖν, ἀγαπητὸν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
 ὀλίγους. καὶ ἐπήγει δὲ Σωκράτης πολλοὺς καὶ
 Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης· Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ
 Ἀγησίλαον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην,
 οὔτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκείνον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν φ²
 συνεστράτευτο ἐπὶ βασιλέα³ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους
 ξυγγράφων οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο. ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμαστὸν B
 εἶναι δοκεῖ, εἰ τοὺς ἀνδρας μὲν τοὺς καλοὺς τε
 καὶ ἀγαθοὺς⁴ προθύμως ἐπαινεσόμεθα, γυναῖκα δὲ
 ἀγαθὴν τῆς εὐφημίας οὐκ ἀξιόσομεν, ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν
 μείον αὐταῖς ἢ περ τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσήκειν ὑπο-
 λαμβάνοντες. ἢ γὰρ εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ συνετὴν
 καὶ οἷαν νέμειν⁵ ἐκάστῳ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ
 θαρραλέαν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ
 ἐλευθέριον καὶ πάντα ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὑπάρχειν
 ἐκείνη⁶ οἴομενοι χρῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἶτα⁷ τῶν

¹ ὑποσχῶν Cobet, ὑποσχέιν MSS., Hertlein.

² τὸν φ² Cobet, Naber φ² MSS., Hertlein.

³ ἐπὶ βασιλέα Cobet, [ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα] Hertlein.

⁴ καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Cobet, καλοὺς MSS., Hertlein.

⁵ οἷαν νέμειν Hertlein suggests, νέμειν MSS.

⁶ ἐκείνη Petavius, ἐκείνην MSS., Hertlein.

⁷ εἶτα Cobet adds.

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who have anticipated them have been deprived of that which alone it is honourable to give and receive publicly. For to give money openly, and to look anxiously round that as many as possible may know of the gift, is characteristic of a vulgar person. Nay no one would even stretch out his hands to receive it in the sight of all men, unless he had first cast off all propriety of manner and sense of shame. Arcesilaus indeed, when offering a gift, used to try to hide his identity even from the recipient.¹ But in his case the manner of the deed always made known the doer. For a eulogy, however, one is ambitious to obtain as many hearers as possible, and even a small audience is, I think, not to be despised. Socrates, for instance, spoke in praise of many, as did Plato also and Aristotle. Xenophon, too, eulogised King Agesilaus and Cyrus the Persian, not only the elder Cyrus, but him whom he accompanied on his campaign against the Great King, nor did he hide away his eulogies, but put them into his history. Now I should think it strange indeed if we shall be eager to applaud men of high character, and not think fit to give our tribute of praise to a noble woman, believing as we do that excellence is the attribute of women no less than of men. Or shall we who think that such a one ought to be modest and wise and competent to assign to every man his due, and brave in danger, high-minded and generous, and that in a word all such qualities as these should be hers,—shall we, I say,

¹ Plutarch, *Moralia* 63 D.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγκωμίων ἀφαιρησόμεθα τὸν ἐκ C
 τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν ψόγον δεδοικότες; Ὁμηρος
 δὲ οὐκ ἠσχύνετο τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐπαιέσας οὐδὲ
 τὴν Ἀλκίνοῦ γαμετὴν, οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη διαφερόν-
 τως ἀγαθὴ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ἀρετῆς
 μετεποιήθη. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐκείνη τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 τούτῳ διήμαρτεν εὐφημίας. πρὸς δὲ αὐ τοῦτοις
 παθεῖν μὲν εὐ καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἀγαθοῦ, σμικροῦ D
 τε ὁμοίως καὶ μείζονος, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον παρὰ
 γυναικὸς ἢ παρὰ ἀνδρὸς δεξόμεθα, τὴν δὲ ἐπ'
 αὐτῷ χάριν ἀποτίνειν ὀκνήσομεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε
 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δεῖσθαι καταγέλαστον εἶναι φῶσι καὶ
 οὐκ ἄξιον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ γενναίου, εἶναι δὲ
 καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα τὸν σοφὸν ἀγεννή καὶ δειλόν,
 ὅτι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἰκέτευε θυγατέρα παίζου-
 σαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λειμῶνος ξὺν ταῖς ὁμήλιξι παρ-
 θένοις παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ἡόσι. μὴ ποτε οὖν
 οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόσχονται 105
 παιδός, ἣν Ὁμηρὸς φησιν ἀπεικασθεῖσαν παρ-
 θένω καλῇ καὶ γενναίᾳ Ὀδυσσεῖ μὲν ἠγήσασθαι
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια φερούσης ὁδοῦ, σύμβουλον
 δὲ αὐτῷ¹ καὶ διδάσκαλον γενομένην, ὧν ἐχρῆν
 εἶσω παρελθόντα δρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, καθάπερ τινὰ
 ῥήτορα ξὺν τέχνῃ² τέλειον ἄσαι βασιλίδος ἐγκώ-
 μιον, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἀρξαμένην. ἔχει δὲ
 αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔπη τὸν τρόπον τόνδε·

Δέσποιναν μὲν πρῶτα κιχήσεται ἐν μεγάροισιν,
 Ἀρήτη δ' ὄνομ' ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμον, ἐκ δὲ τοκῆων B
 τῶν αὐτῶν, οὔπερ τέκον Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα.

¹ αὐτῷ Cobet, αὐτοῦ MSS., Hertlein.

² [τῇ] τέχνῃ Hertlein.

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then rob her of the encomium due to her good deeds, from any fear of the charge of appearing to flatter? But Homer was not ashamed to praise Penelope and the consort of Alcinous¹ and other women of exceptional goodness, or even those whose claim to virtue was slight. Nay nor did Penelope fail to obtain her share of praise for this very thing. But besides these reasons for praise, shall we consent to accept kind treatment from a woman no less than from a man, and to obtain some boon whether small or great, and then hesitate to pay the thanks due therefor? But perhaps people will say that the very act of making a request to a woman is despicable and unworthy of an honourable and high-spirited man, and that even the wise Odysseus was spiritless and cowardly because he was a suppliant to the king's daughter² as she played with her maiden companions by the banks of the river. Perhaps they will not spare even Athene the daughter of Zeus, of whom Homer says³ that she put on the likeness of a fair and noble maiden and guided him along the road that led to the palace, and was his adviser and instructed him what he must do and say when he had entered within; and that, like some orator perfect in the art of rhetoric, she sang an encomium of the queen, and for a prelude told the tale of her lineage from of old. Homer's verses about this are as follows:

“The queen thou shalt find first in the halls.
Arete is the name she is called by, and of the same
parents is she as those who begat king Alcinous.”⁴

¹ Arete.

² Nausicaa.

³ *Odyssey* 7. 20.

⁴ *Odyssey* 7. 54.

ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οἶμαι
τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασαν τε καὶ
ἔπαθον εἰπὼν, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὴν ὁ θεῖος, τοῦ πατρὸς
ἀπολομένου νέου καὶ νυμφίου, ἔγημέ τε καὶ
ἐτίμησεν,

ὥς οὐτις ἐπὶ χθονὶ τίεται ἄλλη,
καὶ ὅσων τυγχάνει

Ἐκ τε φίλων παίδων ἕκ τ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλκινόοιο,
ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου, οὐ
καθάπερ θεὸν ὀρώσι πορευομένην διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος,
τέλος ἐπέθηκε ταῖς εὐφημίαις ζηλωτὸν ἀνδρὶ καὶ
γυναικί,

Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι νόου γε καὶ αὐτὴ δεύεται ἐσθλοῦ
λέγων, καὶ ὥς κρίνειν εὖ ἠπίστατο, οἰσὶν τ' εὖ
φρονέησι, καὶ διαλύειν τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλή- D
ματα τοῖς πολίταις ἀναφύμενα ξὺν δίκῃ. ταύτην
δὴ οὖν ἰκετεύσας εἰ τύχοις εὖνου, πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἔφη,

Ἐλπωρὴ τοι ἔπειτα φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι
Οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον

ὁ δ' ἐπέισθη τῇ ξυμβουλῇ. ἄρ' οὖν ἔτι δεησόμεθα
μειζόνων εἰκόνων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἐναργεστέρων,
ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν
ὑποψίαν; οὐχὶ δὲ ἤδη μιμούμενοι τὸν σοφὸν 106
ἐκεῖνον καὶ θεῖον ποιητὴν ἐπαινέσομεν Εὐσεβίαν
τὴν ἀρίστην, ἐπιθυμοῦντες μὲν ἔπαινον αὐτῆς
ἄξιον διεξελθεῖν, ἀγαπῶντες δέ, εἰ καὶ μετρίως
τυγχάνοιμεν οὕτω καλῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐπιτηδευμά-

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Then he goes back and begins with Poseidon and tells of the origin of that family and all that they did and suffered, and how when her father perished, still young and newly-wed, her uncle married her, and honoured her

“As no other woman in the world is honoured,” and he tells of all the honour she receives

“From her dear children and from Alcinous himself,”

and from the council of elders also, I think, and from the people who look upon her as a goddess as she goes through the city; and on all his praises he sets this crown, one that man and woman alike may well envy, when he says

“For indeed she too has no lack of excellent understanding,”

and that she knows well how to judge between men, and, for those citizens to whom she is kindly disposed, how to reconcile with justice the grievances that arise among them. Now if, when you entreat her, the goddess says to him, you find her well disposed,

“Then is there hope that you will see your friends and come to your high-roofed house.”

And he was persuaded by her counsel. Shall I then need yet greater instances and clearer proofs, so that I may escape the suspicion of seeming to flatter? Shall I not forthwith imitate that wise and inspired poet and go on to praise the noble Eusebia, eager as I am to compose an encomium worthy of her, though I shall be thankful if, even in a moderate degree, I succeed in describing accomplishments so many and

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των; καὶ τῶν¹ ἀγαθῶν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνη, σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ πραότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας ἢ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα φιλίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τιμῆς. προσήκει δὲ οἶμαι καθάπερ ἴχνεσιν ἐπόμενον τοῖς ἤδη ῥηθεῖσιν οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ξὺν εὐφημία τάξιν, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνη, πατρίδος τε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ πατέρων μνημονεύοντα, καὶ ὅπως ἐγγήματο καὶ ᾧτινι, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς πατρίδος πολλὰ σεμνὰ λέγειν ἔχων, τὰ μὲν διὰ παλαιότητα παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ· φαίνεται γὰρ εἶναι τῶν μύθων οὐ πόρρω· ὁποῖον δὴ τι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Μουσῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς εἶεν δῆπουθεν ἐκ τῆς Πιερίας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἀφίκοιντο παρὰ τὸν πατέρα κληθεῖσαι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, μύθῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ προσήκον, ἀπολείπτειν· ὀλίγα δὲ εἰπεῖν τῶν οὐ πᾶσι γνωρίμων τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λόγου. Μακεδόνων γὰρ οἰκίσαι φασὶ τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνους, Τημένου παῖδας, οἱ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν λῆξιν νεμόμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες τέλος ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ φιλοτιμίας· εἶτα ἐλόντες τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ γένος ὄλβιον ἀπολιπόντες² βασι-

¹ καὶ τῶν Petavius, οὐ τῶν MSS., Hertlein suggests οὕτως ἀγαθῶν ὑπαρχόντων, Reiske suggests ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἀπορῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτου ἄψωμαι πρώτου τῶν ἀγαθῶν. "I am at a loss which of her noble qualities to discuss first."

² ἀπολιπόντες MSS., ἀπολείποντες V, Hertlein.

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so admirable? And I shall be thankful if I succeed in describing also those noble qualities of hers, her temperance, justice, mildness and goodness, or her affection for her husband, or her generosity about money, or the honour that she pays to her own people and her kinsfolk. It is proper for me, I think, to follow in the track as it were of what I have already said, and, as I pursue my panegyric, so arrange it as to give the same order as Athene, making mention, as is natural, of her native land, her ancestors, how she married and whom, and all the rest in the same fashion as Homer.

Now though I have much that is highly honourable to say about her native land,¹ I think it well to omit part, because of its antiquity. For it seems to be not far removed from myth. For instance, the sort of story that is told about the Muses, that they actually came from Pieria² and that it was not from Helicon that they came to Olympus, when summoned to their father's side. This then, and all else of the same sort, since it is better suited to a fable than to my narrative, must be omitted. But perhaps it is not out of the way nor alien from my present theme to tell some of the facts that are not familiar to all. They say³ that Macedonia was colonised by the descendants of Heracles, the sons of Temenus, who had been awarded Argos as their portion, then quarrelled, and to make an end of their strife and jealousy led out a colony. Then they seized Macedonia, and leaving a

¹ Eusebia belonged to a noble family of Thessalonica, in Macedonia; she was married to Constantius in 352 A. D.

² Near Mount Olympus. ³ Herodotus 8. 137.

λείς ἐκ βασιλέων διετέλουν καθάπερ κληῖρον τὴν
 τιμὴν διαδεχόμενοι. πάντας μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς
 ἐπαινεῖν οὔτε ἀληθῆς οὔτε οἶμαι ῥάδιον. πολλῶν
 δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων καὶ καταλιπόντων
 Ἑλληνικοῦ τρόπου μνημεῖα πάγκαλα, Φίλιππος 107
 καὶ ὁ τούτου παῖς ἀρετῇ διηνεγκάτην πάντων, ὅσοι
 πάλαι Μακεδονίας καὶ Θράκης ἤρξαν, οἶμαι δὲ
 ἔγωγε καὶ ὅσοι Λυδῶν ἢ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ
 Ἀσσυρίων, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Καμβύσου παιδός, ὃς
 ἐκ τῶν Μήδων ἐς Πέρσας τὴν βασιλείαν μετέ-
 στησεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπειράθη τὴν Μακεδό-
 νων αὐξήσαι δύναμιν, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ
 πλείστα καταστρεψάμενος ὄρου ἐποίησατο πρὸς
 ἔω μὲν καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τὴν θάλατταν, ἀπ'
 ἄρκτων δὲ οἶμαι τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τὸ B
 Ὀρικόν ἔθνος. ὁ τούτου δὲ αὐτῷ παῖς ὑπὸ τῷ
 Σταγειρίτῃ σοφῷ τρεφόμενος τοσοῦτον μεγαλοψυ-
 χία τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διήνεγκε καὶ προσέτι τὸν
 αὐτοῦ πατέρα τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ τῇ θαρραλεότητι
 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, ὥστ'¹
 οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῷ ζῆν ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ μὴ ξυμπάν-
 των μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πάντων δὲ ἐθνῶν κρατήσειεν.
 οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν ἐπῆλθε σύμπασαν κατα C
 στρεφόμενος, καὶ ἀνίσχοντα πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων
 τὸν ἥλιον προσεκύνει, ὠρμημένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Εὐρώπην, ὅπως τὰ λειπόμενα περιβαλλόμενος γῆς
 τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάττης κύριος γένοιτο, τὸ χρεῶν
 ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατέλαβε. Μακεδόνες δὲ ἀπάντων
 ἤρχον, ὧν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ κτησάμενοι πόλεων καὶ
 ἐθνῶν ἔτυχον. ἄρ' οὖν ἔτι χρῆ διὰ μειζόνων

¹ ὥστ' Hertlein suggests.

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prosperous family behind them, they succeeded to the throne, king after king, as though the privilege were an inheritance. Now to praise all these would be neither truthful, nor in my opinion easy. But though many of them were brave men and left behind them very glorious monuments of the Hellenic character, Philip and his son surpassed in valour all who of old ruled over Macedonia and Thrace, yes and I should say all who governed the Lydians as well, or the Medes and Persians and Assyrians, except only the son of Cambyses,¹ who transferred the sovereignty from the Medes to the Persians. For Philip was the first to try to increase the power of the Macedonians, and when he had subdued the greater part of Europe, he made the sea his frontier limit on the east and south, and on the north I think the Danube, and on the west the people of Oricus.² And after him, his son, who was bred up at the feet of the wise Stagyrte,³ so far excelled all the rest in greatness of soul, and besides, surpassed his own father in generalship and courage and the other virtues, that he thought that life for him was not worth living unless he could subdue all men and all nations. And so he traversed the whole of Asia, conquering as he went, and he was the first of men⁴ to adore the rising sun; but as he was setting out for Europe in order to gain control of the remainder and so become master of the whole earth and sea, he paid the debt of nature in Babylon. Then Macedonians became the rulers of all the cities and nations that they had acquired under his leadership. And now is it still

¹ Cyrus.

² A town on the coast of Illyria.

³ Aristotle; "who bred | Great Alexander to subdue the world." Milton, *Paradise Regained* 4.

⁴ i.e. of Greeks.

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τεκμηρίων δηλοῦν, ὡς ἔνδοξος μὲν ἡ Μακεδονία D
καὶ μεγάλη τὸ πρόσθεν γένοιτο; ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς
τὸ κράτιστον ἢ πόλις ἐκείνη, ἣν ἀνέστησαν,
πεσόντων, οἶμαι, Θετταλῶν, τῆς κατ' ἐκείνων
ἐπώνυμον νίκης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔτι
δέομαι μακρότερα λέγειν.

Εὐγενείας γε μὴν τί ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἔτι πράγματα
ἐπιζητοῦντες φανερώτερον καὶ ἐναργές μᾶλλον
τεκμήριον; θυγάτηρ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου νομισ-
θέντος τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν,¹
πάλαι μὲν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀτεχνῶς ὀνομα- 108
ζομένην, μεταβαλοῦσαν δὲ διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
χρωμένους τῇ δυνάμει τὸ ὄνομα· νῦν δὲ ἤδη τῆς
δυνάμει ἐπιλειπούσης, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς μοναρχίαν
τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μεθέστηκε, τιμὴ καθ' αὐτὴν τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπάντων στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν
ἀντίρροπος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οἶον
ἄθλον ἀποκειμένη καὶ γέρας ἀρετῆς ἢ πίστεως
ἢ τινος εἰνοίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας περὶ τοὺς τῶν
ὄλων ἄρχοντας ἢ πράξεως λαμπρᾶς, τοῖς βασι- B
λευῖσι δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς οἶον ἄγαλμα
καὶ κόσμος ἐπιτιθεμένη· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων
ὀνομάτων τε καὶ ἔργων, ὅποσα τῆς παλαιᾶς
ἐκείνης πολιτείας διασώζει τινὰ φαύλην καὶ
ἀμυδρὰν εἰκόνα, ἢ παντάπασιν ὑπεριδόντες διὰ
τὴν ἰσχὺν κατέγνωσαν, ἢ προσιέμενοί γε διὰ
βίου καρποῦνται τὰς ἐπωνυμίας· μόνης δὲ, οἶμαι,
ταύτης οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπερείδον, χαίρουσί
τε² καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν τυγχάνοντες· καὶ οὔτε C

¹ ἄρχειν Hertlein adds.

² οὔτε—τε Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—δὲ MSS.