

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB 1911

EDITED BY

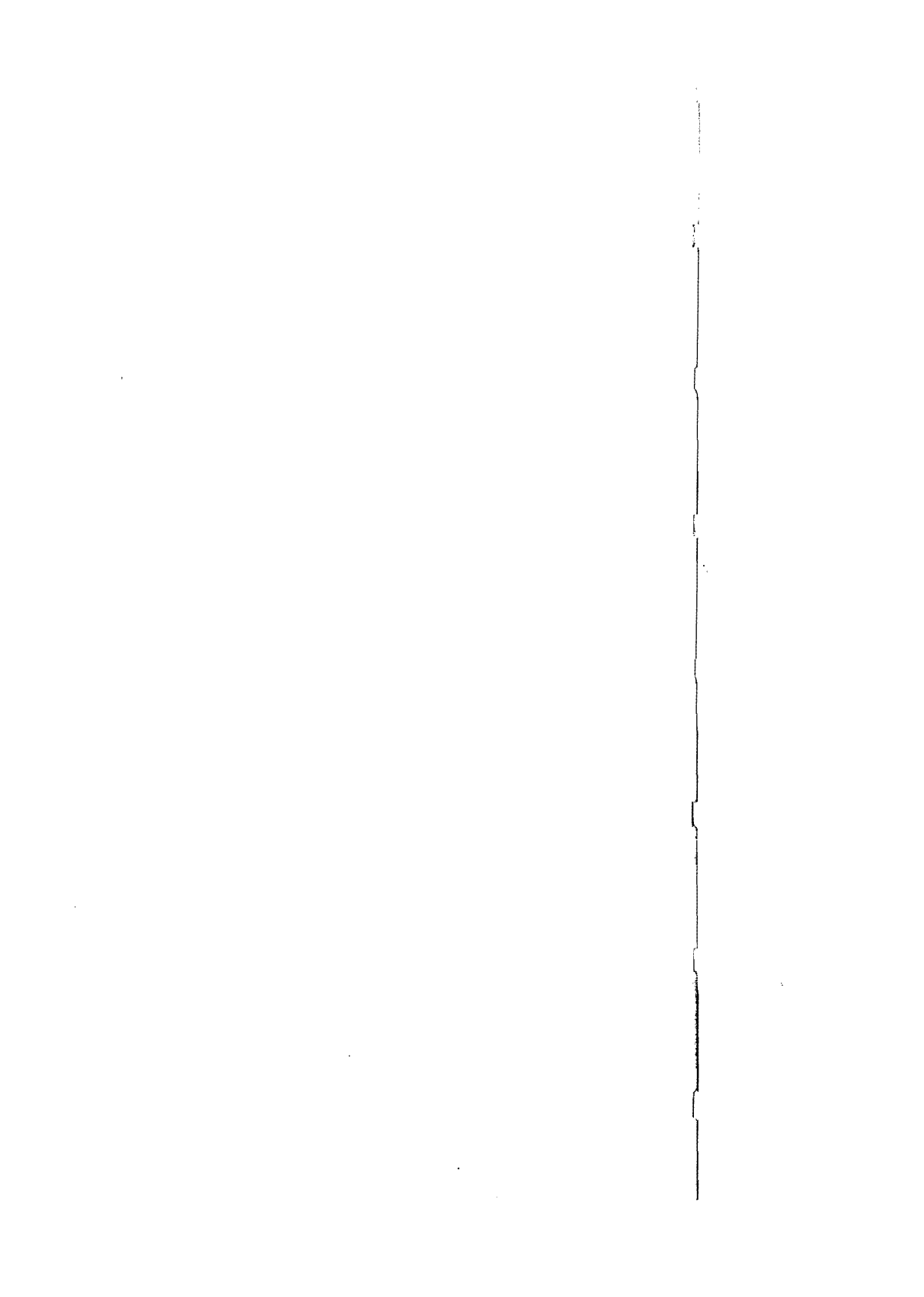
JEFFREY HENDERSON

LIBANIUS

ORATIONS

II

LCL 452



LIBANIUS
SELECTED ORATIONS
VOLUME II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
A. F. NORMAN



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND

Copyright © 1977 by the President and Fellows
of Harvard College
All rights reserved

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

ISBN 978-0-674-99497-3

*Printed on acid-free paper and bound by
Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan*

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
BIBLIOGRAPHY	ix
ORATION 2. TO THOSE WHO CALLED HIM TIRE SOME	1
ORATION 50. FOR THE PEASANTRY, ABOUT FORCED LABOUR	53
ORATION 30. TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS, FOR THE TEMPLES	91
ORATION 45. TO THE EMPEROR, ON THE PRI- SONERS	153
ORATION 33. TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS, AGAINST TISAMENUS	194
ORATION 23. AGAINST THE REFUGEES	246
ORATION 19. TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS, ABOUT THE RIOTS	268
ORATION 20. TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS, AFTER THE RECONCILIATION	310
ORATION 21. TO CAESARIUS, MASTER OF OFFICES	348

CONTENTS

ORATION 22. TO ELLEBICHUS	374
ORATION 48. TO THE CITY COUNCIL	420
ORATION 49. TO THE EMPEROR, FOR THE CITY COUNCILS	460
ORATION 47. ON PROTECTION SYSTEMS	491
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES: A	537
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES: B	541

PREFACE

THE speeches in this volume are selected from those of the Theodosian age, and arranged in chronological order as far as possible. The choice of material is an individual one, dictated by a combination of considerations of length and relative ease of access to translations and studies elsewhere. Hence most of the orations which deal with matters specifically educational do not appear, and the reader is directed to the studies of P. Wolf and Festugière where translations are already available.

Two works of major importance for the study of Libanius have appeared in the interval since the appearance of Volume I. Of these, *Antioch* by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, takes its place among the standard works on later Roman society, while the first volume of the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (cited throughout as *PLRE*) is an invaluable reference work for the major personalities of the 4th century. This, however, does not entirely supersede the work of Seeck, which remains the chief source of information for the correspondents of Libanius as a whole. It is also assumed that the reader will have access to Jones' *Later Roman Empire* for more detailed discussion of the problems canvassed by Libanius. The edition of *Libanius, Discours*

LIBANIUS

moraux by Schouler appeared too late to be used in this volume.

As in Volume I, the text is based on Foerster's collation of manuscripts. Reference to readings of Foerster (F.) and Reiske (Re.) is accompanied by indication of manuscript support, for which see Vol. I, pp. lv f., and the introductions to the various orations in this volume.

A. F. N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For the manuscripts, see Vol. I, Introduction, pp. lv f. and introductions to the separate orations. The following works are relevant to the present volume :

LIBANIUS : EDITIONS

- F. Morel : *Libanii Orationum Tomus II*, Paris, 1627.
J. A. Fabricius : *Bibliotheca Graeca*, VII 145-378, Hamburg, 1715.
D. Gothofredus : *Opera Juridica Minora*, Leiden, 1733.
A. Bongiovanni : *Libanii Sophistae Orationes XVII*, Venice, 1754.
J. J. Reiske : *Libanii Sophistae Orationes et Declamationes*, Altenburg, 1791.
R. Foerster : *Libanii Opera*, 12 vols. (Teubner), Leipzig, 1903-1924 (repr. 1963).
H. Bouchery : *Themistius in Libanius Brieven*, Antwerp, 1936.
L. Harmand : *Libanius, Discours sur les patronages*, Paris, 1955 (*Or.* 47 with translation and commentary).
A. F. Norman : *Libanius' Autobiography (Or. 1)*, Oxford, 1965 (*Or.* 1 with translation and commentary).
B. Schouler, *Libanius, Discours moraux*, Paris, 1973.

LIBANIUS

TRANSLATIONS

- E. Monnier : *Dix Discours choisis de Libanius* (Sorbonne, unpublished), c. 1860.
- L. Petit : *Essai sur la vie et la correspondance du sophiste Libanius* (with translation of *Or.* 1), 1866.
- R. van Loy : "Le 'Pro Templis' de Libanius," *Byzantion*, viii (1933), pp. 7-39 (translation), 389-404 (comment).
- R. A. Pack : *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius*, Ann Arbor, 1935 (includes translation of *Or.* 45, and comment).
- J. Festugière : *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*, Paris, 1959 (includes translation and comment on *Or.* 3, 34, 35, 36, 43, 55, 58).
- G. Downey : "Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (*Or.* XI)," with commentary, *P.A.Ph.S. ciii* (1959), pp. 652-686.
- G. Downey : *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton, 1961 (includes translation of *Or.* 5 and 10).
- P. Wolf : *Libanios, Autobiographische Schriften*, Zürich, 1967 (translation of *Or.* 1-5, with comment).

SOURCES

- Ammianus Marcellinus : *Histories*, 3 vols., ed. Rolfe (Loeb).
- Ausonius : *Poetical Works*, 2 vols., ed. White (Loeb).
- Chrysostom (John) : *Opera*, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (=P.G.), vols. xlvii-lxiv.
- Chrysostom (John) : *Homilies on the Statues*, P.G. xlix.
- Codex Theodosianus* : ed. Mommsen, 3 vols., Berlin, 1905 (repr. 1954) = *C. Th.*
- Codex Theodosianus* : translated C. Pharr, Princeton, 1952.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Eunapius : *Lives of the Sophists*, ed. Wright (Loeb)
= *V.S.*
- Himerius : *Orations*, ed. Colonna, Rome, 1951.
- Julian : *Works*, ed. Wright, 3 vols. (Loeb).
- Julian : *Epistulae, Leges, Fragmenta*, ed. Bidez and
Cumont (Paris and London), 1922 = *E.L.F.*
- Julian : *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Bidez, Rochefort,
Lacombrade, 2 vols. in 4, Paris, 1924-1964.
- Malalas : *Chronographia*, Migne, *P.G.* xcvi.
- Malalas : *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas*,
ed. A Schenk von Stauffenberg, Stuttgart, 1931.
- Salvian : *De Gubernatione Dei*, Migne, *Patrologia La-
tina* (= *P.L.*), vol. liii.
- Socrates : *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Migne, *P.G.* lxxvii.
- Sozomen : *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Migne, *P.G.* lxxvii.
- Symmachus : *Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. Seeck,
M.H.G. (A.A.), vi, Berlin (repr.), 1961.
- Themistius : *Orationes*, ed. Dindorf, 1832 (repr. 1961).
- Themistius : *Orationes*, ed. Downey and Norman, 3
vols. (Teubner), Leipzig, 1965-1974.
- Theodoret : *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Migne, *P.G.* lxxxii.
- Zosimus : *Histories*, ed. Mendelssohn, 1887 (repr.
1963).

SELECTED MODERN LITERATURE

- J. Bidez : *La Vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris, 1930.
- C. Bonner : "Witchcraft in the lecture room of Li-
banius," *T.A.P.A.* lxiii (1932), pp. 34-44.
- R. Browning : "The riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch,"
J.R.S. xlii (1952), pp. 13-20.
- J. Declareuil : *Quelques Problèmes d'histoire des ins-
titutions municipales au temps de l'Empire romain*,
Paris, 1911.

LIBANIUS

- G. Downey : *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton, 1961.
- G. Downey : "The Olympic Games at Antioch in the 4th century A.D.," *T.A.P.A.* lxx (1939), pp. 428-438.
- R. Foerster and K. Muenscher : Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* xii. 2. 2485 ff., s.v. "Libanius."
- R. Goebel : *De Johannis Chrysostomi et Libanii orationibus quae sunt de seditione Antiochensium*, Göttingen, 1910.
- H. Grégoire : "Le préfet du prétoire, Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus," *Anatol. Stud. in honour of W. Ramsay*, 1923, pp. 151-154.
- R. A. Hug : *Antiochia und der Aufstand des Jahres 387*, Winterthur, 1863.
- L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde : *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. III (2 parts), Paris, 1950-1953.
- A. H. M. Jones : *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937 (2nd ed. 1971).
- A. H. M. Jones : *The Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1964 = *LRE*.
- A. H. M. Jones (and others) : *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1972 = *PLRE*.
- D. Levi : *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1947.
- J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz : *Antioch*, Oxford, 1972.
- J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz : "The finances of Antioch in the 4th century A.D.," *Byz. Z.* lii (1959), pp. 344-356.
- J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz : "The Syriarch in the 4th century A.D.," *Historia*, viii (1959), pp. 113-126.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- H. I. Marrou : *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris (2nd ed.), 1950.
- F. Martroye : "Les patronages d'agriculteurs et de vici aux iv^e et v^e siècles," *Rev. hist. droit fr. et étr.* (ser. 4), vii (1928), pp. 201-248.
- J. F. Matthews : "Maternus Cynegius and his family," *J.T.S. N.S.* xviii (1967), pp. 438-446.
- S. Mazzarino : *Aspetti sociali del quarto secolo*, Rome, 1951.
- J. Misson : *Recherches sur le paganisme de Libanios*, Louvain, 1914.
- A. F. Norman : "The family of Argyrius," *J.H.S.* lxxiv (1954), pp. 44-48.
- A. F. Norman : "Gradations in later municipal society," *J.R.S.* xlvi (1958), pp. 79-85.
- R. A. Pack : "Curiales in the correspondence of Libanius," *T.A.P.A.* lxxxii (1951), pp. 176-192.
- P. Petit : *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au iv^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris, 1955.
- P. Petit : *Les Étudiants de Libanius*, Paris, 1957.
- P. Petit : "Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius," *Historia*, v (1956), pp. 476-509.
- P. Petit : "Les sénateurs de Constantinople dans l'œuvre de Libanius," *Antiquité Classique*, xxvi (1957), pp. 347-383.
- P. Petit : "Sur la date du *Pro Templis* de Libanius," *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), pp. 285-310.
- A. Piganiol : *L'Empire chrétien*, Paris, 1947.
- F. Schemmel : "Der Sophist Libanius als Schüler und Lehrer," *Neue Jahrb. für kl. Alt. und Pädag.* xx (1907), pp. 52-69.
- F. Schemmel : "Die Hochschule von Konstanti-

LIBANIUS

- nopel im ivten Jahrhundert," *ibid.* xxii (1908), pp. 147-168.
- O. Seeck : *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*, Leipzig, 1906 (repr. 1966) = *B.L.Z.G.*
- O. Seeck : *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, Berlin, 1897-1921 (repr. 1967).
- O. Seeck : "Libanius gegen Lucianus," *Rh.M.* lxxiii (1920), pp. 84-101.
- G. R. Sievers : *Das Leben des Libanius*, Berlin, 1868 (repr. 1967).
- J. H. W. Walden : *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York, 1912.
- P. Wolf : *Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike, Studien zu Libanius*, Baden-Baden, 1960.
- F. de Zulueta : "De patrociniis vicorum," *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* i (1909), pp. 1-78.

ORATION 2
TO THOSE WHO CALLED
HIM TIRESOME

INTRODUCTION

THIS oration was composed by Libanius in his 67th year, *i.e.* in A.D. 380/1, and refutes criticisms currently made against him in Antioch of his tiresome and cantankerous attitude. Such comments, duly reported to him by candid friends, appear to have come as a sudden shock to him, since they flatly contradict that reputation for affability and humanity which he had long enjoyed and for which Eunapius provides confirmation. An almost contemporary account by Libanius himself of his situation at this time is provided in those sections of the *Autobiography* which are appended to his original oration of A.D. 374. In these there is significant duplication of incidents referred to in the present oration^a; and the circumstances whereby Libanius found himself suddenly deprived of the support which he had previously enjoyed among the upper classes in Antioch may be explained by the series of deaths there related,^b and by the hostility of *principales*, of whom Sabinus, a connection by marriage and his friend twenty years before, is now the clearest example.^c

In this speech, Libanius indignantly rejects such

^a *i.e.* Or. 1. 155-204: for the visit of Archelaüs *cf.* 1. 166; the battle of Adrianople, 1. 179.

^b Or. 1. 182 ff.; 188.

^c Or. 1. 190 ff.

ORATION II

criticisms. He points out his genuine affability towards the working class and the scrupulous punctilio he has always shown in his dealings with individuals of the administrative classes. He may, admittedly, have dilated upon his family background and his scholastic success, but his purpose had always been to stimulate and encourage friends and pupils. He confesses himself to be a staunch adherent of order in society, and therefore, in view of his open disapproval of the divisive tendencies of the age, naturally to be regarded as a *laudator temporis acti*, but his unpopularity on this account is confined to the *parvenu* and the *nouveau-riche*. The social criticisms which he has presented, upon the ruinous condition of the pagan religion, of the peasantry, or of the decurionate, and upon the corruption and incompetence revealed in both military and provincial administration, are only too clear from the facts. The last straw, of course, is the decline of the prestige of his Hellenic system of education, and the prominence currently given to the studies of Latin, law and shorthand. The studies of the classics naturally imbue the student with a genuine concern for the distress of suffering humanity, which is extended to cover the circumstances of the present day, and the scholar is bound to deplore the upsetting of the balance of society, unless and until some effort be made to remedy current abuses. In any case, his own criticisms have always been made with a practical end in view, that they should be transmitted to court for the emperors' attention, but his efforts to publicize the need for reform have always been frustrated by the self-interest or indolence of the notables at court. For example, his recent

LIBANIUS

approach to the praetorian prefect upon the matter of recruitment to the *curia* had produced no reaction other than hostility. Since human support has failed, the sole recourse remaining is to intercede with the gods for the relief of present abuses.

These arguments mark a significant recognition by Libanius of his growing insecurity. The underlying theme of the whole oration is that of the comparison of the present with the prosperous order of the reign of Julian, but the call for avenging the murder of Julian, with which he had welcomed the accession of Theodosius barely two years before (*Or.* 24), had fallen on ears that were either obstinately deaf or increasingly hostile, as is clear from the bitter tones of § 58/9. His natural morbidity was not diminished by the personal griefs and afflictions suffered in A.D. 380, and his lowness of spirit is clearly revealed in his *Autobiography*. Even the recent triumph over the sophist Gerontius, who had aspired to his official chair, had proved a hollow one (*Or.* 1. 186 ff.), since for the first time in nearly twenty years his tenure of the sophistic chair at Antioch had been challenged, with ominous backing from the provincial governor. The immediate threat to his position had been evaded, but the incident clearly had served to concentrate upon him the increasingly hostile regard of many of the upper classes, from whom he singles out for attack those *honorati* and serving officials, whom he here describes with the unflattering innuendo normally reserved for Christians. The bitterness of this oration is matched by that of his reaction to the criticisms voiced by individuals at this time. In reproving an acquaintance named Heortius who had written to

ORATION II

him criticizing him for arrogance, he retorts with allegations of ignorance, lack of sympathy and dislike, remarking that he has already punished, by the composition of an oration, a whole city which had passed such a judgement upon him.^a The reference is obviously to the present oration.

The "punishment" is here reserved for those sections of Antiochene society who have arrogated to themselves undue influence over the direction of the city's affairs, and consists primarily of a catalogue of grievances of the down-pressed—workers, decurions, peasants, rank-and-file soldiery and provincials. The point of departure for the development of his argument is his refusal of the honorary quaestorship offered by Julian, acceptance of which would have given him *entrée* into the class of *honorati*. Among pagan intellectuals there evidently existed deep suspicion of such distinctions, for Eunapius speaks with approval of Libanius' correctness here,^b and Themistius, lampooned by Palladas upon his elevation to the prefecture, has recourse to an elaborate oration of apology.^c *Honorati, principales*, military commanders, governors and the varied hotch-potch of imperial agents and secre-

^a *Ep.* 12. 3: ὑπεροφίας δὲ μνηθεῖς, εἰ μὴ δώσεις δίκην, Ἡρακλεῖ χάριν ἔχειν ἀλεξικάκῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη πόλιν ὄλην τοῦτο φθεγξαμένην τετιμώρημαι λόγῳ.

^b *V.S.* 496: Eunapius confuses the honorary prefecture, offered by Theodosius and accepted in A.D. 383/4, with the quaestorship refused in A.D. 363, but his commendation of Libanius' motives remains valid: οὐκ ἀπεδέξατο φήσας τὸν σοφιστὴν εἶναι μείζονα. καὶ τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν οὐκ ὀλίγος ἔπαινος, ὅτι δόξης ἐλάττων ἀνὴρ μόνῃς ἡττητο τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δημώδη καὶ βάνανσον ὑπελάμβανεν.

^c Palladas (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 292): Themistius, *Or.* 34.

LIBANIUS

taries, whose presence made Antiochene society more incoherent and unbalanced, have used such distinctions for their own elevation to undermine the established system of local organization. Throughout the speech there is implicit a strong protest against the incompetence and corruption which are symbolized by the uses made by such gentry of the practice of private audience (*εἰσοδοί*). This was something of long standing and, in palmier days, had been employed by Libanius himself, not without arousing prejudice against him (*Or.* 1. 107 ff. ; 125). The general odium aroused by the practice had resulted in a curb imposed by imperial decree (*C. Th.* 1. 16. 13 of A.D. 377), and was to be followed in the next few years by a total ban by the prefect (*Or.* 52. 46), and limitations even upon official audiences (*cf. Or.* 10. 3 ; 26. 13 ff. ; 27. 12 ff. ; 56. 2 ff.). Courtesy calls by officials which Libanius deploras (§ 9 ; *cf. Or.* 1. 166) were also forbidden by legislation in A.D. 383. The practice however was so deeply rooted that, even after such curbs, expressly designed to remove corruption, he felt called upon to deliver two orations against its continuance (*Orations* 51 and 52) in A.D. 388.

The oration also throws important light upon his purpose in composing such propaganda speeches, and upon their methods of publication. In addition to the explicit statement of his intentions in this oration (§§ 70 ff.), a comparison of its arguments with that portion of the *Autobiography* which he had composed in A.D. 374 is not without significance for his practice.^a That narrative of his sophistic suc-

^a *Cf.* P. Petit, "Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius," *Historia* (1956), pp. 478 ff.

ORATION II

cesses, which figures so prominently in the *Autobiography* (1. 81 ff.), he here asserts has been reserved for his students only (§§ 12 f.), and has become general knowledge at second-hand and not through any information direct from him (§§ 14 f.). The implication is that an oration like the *Autobiography* had received no general distribution in the years following its composition. Discretion and selectivity distinguish the methods of disseminating such works. Certain orations were too contentious to be widely published without great risk to the author, as is proved by his remarks in *Ep.* 916. Such is the case even with the monody upon his uncle, Phasganius, as he confesses himself,^a and the circumstances of date of composition and of content would certainly place the *Autobiography* in this category. Even for declamations, the current practice was, as often as not, the use of the private auditorium and carefully selected audience (*cf.* § 25; *Or.* 1. 101), and there was a consistent attempt by the author to control the publication of his works, *cf.* *Ep.* 33. The successful insistence upon publication by Strategius is marked as exceptional (*Or.* 1. 113), and even Julian had much difficulty in persuading Libanius to consent to a general distribution of *Or.* 12.^b In the case of the present oration, such deliberate restriction

^a *Ep.* 283. 2 ff: ἃ μὲν οὐκ εἶχε κίνδυνον εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρεσθαι ἐν πολλοῖς εἴρηται· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα φίλων ἐδεῖτο σαφῶν, οὓς ὀλίγοις δεξάμενος τοῖς βάρθοις κλείσας τὰς θύρας ἀνέγνων δεόμενος αὐτῶν, εἰ τι φαίνοιτο καλόν, σιγῇ θαυμάζειν μηδὲ τῇ βοῇ πολλοὺς ἐγείρειν . . . ὅστις οὖν οὐκ ἐπιθυμῆ βαράθρου, κρύψαι λόγον αἰρήσεται μᾶλλον ἢ διδοῦς τρέμειν.

^b *Ep.* 785. 2: λόγος δὲ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ἔτι μέλλει κρύπτεσθαι μὲν ἐθέλων, ἐλκόμενος δὲ εἰς μέσον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἴσως φανείται, δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνον κρατεῖν.

LIBANIUS

seems to have been essential, and the actual audience confined to a handful of intimate friends behind closed doors. It is through the agency of these friends, and of their connections at court, that the practical purpose of these controversial orations is achieved. Passed from lip to lip, these arguments could penetrate the centres of power with less risk to their author, and create a climate of opinion from which action might follow, more effectively than from any personal intervention, such as had had so little success with the praetorian prefect.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts number twenty-nine in all, and include the major codices utilized in Vol. I (*viz.* CAPUVIBM). In establishing his apparatus, Foerster, as Reiske had done before him, also made use of Monacensis gr. 101 (= Mo.). The divergent traditions are indicated by the broad groupings of the codices into (i) CAPBM and (ii) VUI Mo. For the history of the publication of the text, however, a Bodleian ms. (Barocc. 219, of the 14th century) is of importance, since from it stems a copy, dated A.D. 1629, in the Gale Collection in Trinity College, Cambridge, and another in the Bodleian (Langbain. Advers. 20), itself transcribed first by Olearius and then by J. C. Wolf, to form the basis of the edition first published by Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* VII, 179 ff., Hamburg, 1715), with Olearius' Latin translation. This text was utilized by Reiske in his edition, supplemented by the readings of A and Mo. The speech formed part of Monnier's unpublished collection, in

ORATION II

French translation (*cf.* Vol. I, p. lvii). For Foerster's work on the mss. *cf.* his edition, vol. I, pp. 208-238. A German translation, with notes, by P. Wolf appears in Libanios, *Autobiographische Schriften*, Zürich, 1967, pp. 123 ff.

II

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΒΑΡΥΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ
ΚΑΛΕΣΑΝΤΑΣ

R 171 1. Ὡς δὲ βαρύς, ὡς δὲ ἐπαχθής, εἴρηταί τισι F i.
περὶ ἡμῶν. ὁ δ' ἀπαγγέλλων Ἀνδρόμαχος ἦν
ὀμνύς, ἐπιστεύετο δ' ἂν καὶ οὐκ ὀμνύων καλός τε
ὦν κάγαθός καὶ ἡμῖν ἐταῖρος καὶ οὐχ ἠδέως τὰ
R 172 τοιαῦτα ἀκούσας· οὕτω πλείστον ἀπέιχε τοῦ | τὰ
οὐκ εἰρημένα πλάσαι ἂν ποτε κατ' ἐμοῦ. προ-
καλοῦμαι τοίνυν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἔλεγχον καὶ ἀξιώ δεῖ-
ξαι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀληθείας τι μετόν· ἀλλ' οὐχ
ἔξουσι. |

2. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο θαυμάσαι τις ἂν δι- F 24
καίως πῶς εἰς τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον οὕτως ὄντα
μακρὸν οὐκ ἦλθε ταυτὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα. ἕτερα μὲν
γὰρ εἴρηται πολλὰ ψευδῆ μὲν καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ παρὰ
ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρῶν οἷς αἰσχύνεσθαί τε ὕστερον συν-
έβη καὶ μόνον οὐκ εἰς γόνυ κατενεχθεῖσιν ἰκετεύ-
ειν συγγνώμην ἔχειν αὐτοῖς μωράνασι, καὶ ἔσχον,
τουτὶ δὲ νῦν εἰσῆλθεν ἀναμείναν ἑβδομον καὶ ἑξή-
κοστὸν ἔτος. 3. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς λεγό-
μενον ἐλάνθανεν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τᾶλλα. τῆς τε γὰρ
τῶν λεγόντων ἀσελγείας ἦν μὴ κρύπτειν, εὖνοί τε
R 173 ἡμῖν πολλοὶ παρ' ὧν ἂν ἐπυνθανόμην. | 4. τί οὖν;

^a For the date of birth of Libanius cf. Sievers, pp. 207 f.

ORATION 2
TO THOSE WHO CALLED HIM
TIRESOME

1. TIRESOME and overbearing! That is how I have been described by some people. Andromachus told me so, and gave me his solemn word, though I would believe him without it, for he is a gentleman, a pupil of mine, and one who did not enjoy hearing such remarks. So he was the most unlikely person ever to have fabricated such comments against me if they had not been made. Well, I challenge those to prove it, and I require them to show some truth in their remarks. They will not be able to!

2. First of all, it might justifiably be a matter for surprise how it is that these criticisms have not been aired during all this long time past. Plenty of other criticisms have been made, falsely of course and by my personal enemies, but later on they came to feel sorry and almost fell on bended knee to beg for the pardon, which they got, for their utter stupidity. And now this crops up, after waiting for my 67th year to do it.^a 3. It cannot be said, for instance, that it was an accidental remark: nor were the others, either. Such openness was a sign of the impudence of those responsible for it, and I have plenty of friends to keep me informed. 4. Well? Am I to

LIBANIUS

χρή¹ νομίζειν ὅτι νεώτερος μὲν ὢν ἠπιστάμην σωφρονεῖν, προιούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας διεφθάρην; ἀλλὰ τούναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν, λῆξαι μὲ νῦν, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἐπαχθῆς ἦν. δεινὸς γὰρ παιδεύειν καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν ὁ χρόνος. 5. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἅπαντα τᾶλλα διεξεληλυθότες, καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐρυθρίασαντες, ἐπειδὴ σιγᾶν οὐ δύνανται, φροντίσαντες οὐδὲν εἰ μηδὲν ἐροῦσι πιθανόν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐξημέθησαν ὅπως αὐτοῖς φεύγουσι τὰς ἐμὰς συνουσίας εἴη λόγος.

6. Βαρὺς ἐγώ; τί οὖν ἔστιν ἀκούειν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ὅποτε παρίοιμι λεγόντων; οὐχ ὁ | μέτριος; οὐχ ὁ κοινός; οὐχ ὁ καὶ τὰς τῶν πενε- F 241
στάτων προσρήσεις ἀμειβόμενος τοῖς ἴσοις; ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ἂν ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ἴσον ἐν οἷς ἕξεστι ποιῶν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ δυνατῶν κρείττων ἂν ἀξιώσειν εἶναι; οἱ φιλοῦσι μὲν μου καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρας, εἰ καὶ μὴ σφόδρα φιλοῦσιν αὐτόν, ἔχοντες δ' οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἀπέρχονται.

7. ποῦ τοίνυν ὁ βαρὺς; ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας; ἀλλ' ἴσασιν ἅπαντες οἱ τε εἰσιῶν καθιζάνω παρὸν ἔς τι² κάλλιον, καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἀπαντῶ καὶ προπέμπω, καὶ τίνων ἀποσχιζόμενος, ὧν ἐλκόντων με παρ' |
R 174 ἑαυτοὺς πολλάκις οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὑπακούσας φαίνομαι. 8. καὶ τί ταῦτα λέγω, λέγειν ἔχων τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐκείνο ὃ διεωσάμην, ὅπως μὴ σε-

¹ τί οὖν χρή mss. Corrected Re.

² παρὸν Re., F. (UIMO.): παρ' ὧν (CAPBMV): παρῶν Fabr. | ἔς τι Re., F.: ἔστι CAPBMV: εἰς Fabr. (UIMO.).

^a For the metal-working industry in Antioch cf. *Or.* 31. 12. Unusually enough, the factories were there centres of social intercourse (cf. *Or.* 1. 87, 8. 4). Libanius takes a personal and sympathetic interest in the welfare of the

ORATION II, 4-8

believe that when I was younger I knew how to behave decently, but now, with advancing years, I have fallen from grace? The opposite is more likely, that even if I was overbearing in the past, I have stopped being so now; for time is a fine teacher and corrector. 5. The case, I imagine, is as follows. After having had recourse to every other shift, and having been made to blush at every one, they still cannot keep quiet; without concerning themselves about the conviction of any of their assertions, they have been reduced to this, so as to have some justification for avoiding association with me.

6. I tiresome? Then what can you hear people say in the workshops whenever I go by? "Decent and polite, isn't he? He replies in kind to the greetings even of the penniless." Is there any who puts himself on a par with them, where possible, and yet could claim to be superior to the authorities and the leading townsfolk? Yet they like the sight and sound of me and what I do, and even if they don't like me personally, they come off none the worse for that. 7. Where am I tiresome, then? In dealings with the governors? But everyone knows where I seat myself when I attend them, though I could go higher. They also know those whose company I keep when I go to meet and to escort people, and those from whom I dissociate myself, to whom, despite all their inducements to join them, I am never seen to show any deference. 8. And what need is there to mention this when I need only adduce those credentials that I refused, so as not to seem to workers (*e.g.* *Or.* 36. 4; 58. 4 f., 22), in this differing greatly from Themistius, who regards them merely as the material for uplifting discourse (*e.g.* *Or.* 21. 254 b-c).



LIBANIUS

μνότερος γεγενῆσθαι δόξαιμι; καίτοι γε ὑπῆρχε λαβόντι δεινὰ πάσχειν λέγειν οὐχὶ βαδιζόντων παρ' ἐμέ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχόντων καὶ θορύβου γε ἐμπιπλάναι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταγωγὰς ὁπότε παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐρχοίμην. ἀλλ' οὐδέτερον ἐβουλήθην οὐδέ γε ἡγησάμην μέγα οὐδὲ ταῖς διὰ τὸν τρόπον μου
R 175 τιμαῖς | ἡξίωσα προσθεῖναι τὰς ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν γραμμάτων. 9. ἠθέλησεν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ γέρων ἐλθεῖν ὡς ἐμέ, διεκώλυσα· Δομνίκος μετ' ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσα προαισθόμενος. ἦλθεν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Ἀρχελάου λαθὼν γε καὶ ἐλύπησεν ἐλθὼν καὶ τοῦτ' ἤκουσεν αὐτὸ καὶ εἶξε. F 242
Σαπῶραι δὲ καὶ Ἰούλιοι καὶ Βίκτωρες ἀρρωστοῦντος οὐκ ἔχοντος φυγεῖν ἤκον, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς γῆν ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐβλεπον ἔρῃῳ δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι τῇ τιμῇ βαρυνοίμην.

10. Ἀλλὰ βαρὺς εἰμι τοῦ γένους μεμνημένος. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὑπῆρχε μὲν πλὴν ὀλίγων κομιδῇ λέγειν πρὸς ἅπαντας ὡς ἔνεκα γένους οὐδ' ἀντιβλέπειν ἔχοιεν ἂν πρὸς ἐμέ, εἶπον δὲ οὐδεπώποτε οὐδὲ ἐπήρθην ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ταῖς λειτουργίαις, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖν ἡγησάμην τὸ ταῦτα ἡμῖν συνειδέναι τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ὡς οὐδὲν φαυλοτέροις εἰς

* The acceptance of Julian's offer of the honorary position of *quaestor (sacri palatii)* would have given Libanius the status and privilege of *honoratus*, with right of entry to the governor. Eunapius (V.S. 495 f.) wrongly asserts that the offer of honorary status made by Julian and refused by Libanius was that of prefect. Julian himself (E.L.F. No. 98) addresses Libanius as "Sophist and *Quaestor*." The honorary prefecture was offered by Theodosius and accepted only in A.D. 383/4. Seeck (*Untergang*, v, p. 527) and Petit (*Byzantion*, xxi, p. 293) agree that Julian's offer was that of *quaestor* and that Eunapius confused the two offers.

ORATION II, 8-10

have become too high and mighty? But if I had accepted them, I could have said that I was affronted at imperial officials when they do not come to see me, and I could fill the governors' headquarters with turmoil whenever I went to see them.^a But I had no wish for either, nor yet did I set much store by it, nor did I think it proper to add the distinction conferred by these credentials to that which I had gained through my own personality. 9. The elder Archelaüs wanted to visit me, and I stopped him.^b Next Domnicus^c had the same idea, but I got wind of it and put a stop to this too. Archelaüs, nephew of Archelaüs, did pay me a visit, unexpectedly, and annoyed me by doing so, was told just that and went away again. People like Sapor, Julius and Victor^d came when I was ill and could not avoid them, but in my distaste I kept my eyes fixed on the ground and made it clear by so doing that I was embarrassed at the compliment.

10. "But you are tiresome," I may be told, "because you are always talking about your family." I could say to all but a very few that, as far as families go, they couldn't even look me straight in the face, but I never have done so, and never have I exalted myself because of their portraits^e or public services; I thought it enough that the city should be equally aware of them, but I continue my association with the others as being in no way my inferiors in

^b *Cf. Or. 1. 165 f. PLRE 100. Seeck (I, II) 83 f.*

^c *PLRE 265.*

^d Three generals of the reign of Valens. *PLRE 803, 481 (2), 957 (4).*

^e Portraits of civic notables could be hung in the City Hall, as was that of Libanius himself, *cf. Or. 42. 43 f.*

LIBANIUS

γένους λόγον ὁμιλῶν διατελῶ. 11. πάππου δὲ καὶ ἐπιπάππου μνησθῆναι μὲν ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολλάκις, μνησθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ μὲν καὶ μαντικὴ γένοιτο τέχνη πρὸς ἑτέροις ἀγαθοῖς παρ' ἧς προμάθοι τὸ βιαίως αὐτῷ τοὺς υἱεῖς ἀποθανεῖ-
 R 176 σθαι | τοὺς καλοὺς, θατέρου δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς
 παῖδας ἐπιμέλειαν πολλάκις διηγούμενη· δι' ἣν ἦλθε
 μὲν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν αὐτός, ἤγαγε δὲ πείσας πολλοῖς
 χρήμασι σοφιστοῦ σθένος, ἀπέφηνε δὲ θαυμα-
 στοὺς | οὓς ἐγέννησε τοὺς τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς ἀδελ- F 248
 φούς. καὶ ταῦτα διεξήγειν οὐ ψιλῆς χάριν εὐφημίας
 ἀλλ' ὅπως πατήρ τις ἀκούσας ζηλώσειεν.

12. Ἐν τοίνυν τῇ νεότητι διεφύγομεν ἂ μὴ πάνυ
 ῥᾶδιον, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρες πρὸς τοῖς πάντα ἐπι-
 σταμένοις θεοῖς εἰσὶ μοι τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν οἱ ζῶντες
 ἔτι, νῦν μὲν σαπροί, τότε δὲ ἡνθούμεν. ἠνώχλη-
 σα οὖν ἐγὼ τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς σωφροσύνης; εἶπον
 ἄξιός εἶναι διὰ τοῦτο τιμῶν; ἢ οὓς ἐξῆν μάρτυρας
 καλεῖν ἐκάλεσα; 13. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, τῶν περὶ
 τοὺς λόγους ἐμνημόνευσα πόνων ἢ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἢ
 τῶν ἐτέρωθεν; ἢ ὡς ἀγόμενος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἔφυγον; τούτων οὐκ οὔσης
 ἀνάγκης ἐμνημόνευσα λαμπρύνων ἄλλως ἐμαυτόν;
 οὐκ ἔστι, παρακλήσεως δὲ εἵνεκα τοῖς νέοις πολ-
 λάκις. ὦ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ὁ βαρὺς ἦκιστα ἂν προσ-
 ἦκοι.

^a Cf. *Or.* 1. 3. Libanius' family, one of the most prominent in Antioch, was punished and suffered confiscation of property in c. A.D. 303, as part of the general repression following the revolt of Eugenius at Seleuceia (for which cf. *Or.* 11. 158 ff., 19. 45 f., 20. 18 ff.).

^b Panolbius and Phasganius (cf. *PLRE* 665 (1), Seeck 234 f.).

ORATION II, 10-13

the matter of birth. 11. I do admit that I have mentioned my grandfather and great-grandfather, and frequently too; but this mention was for no such reason as this, but, in addition to his other accomplishments, because of my great-grandfather's skill in divination, in consequence of which he had foreknowledge of the violent death of his fine sons.^a As for my grandfather, I often discoursed upon his care for his children, which was the reason why he personally went to Apamea, brought back a teacher of high ability, using the persuasion of a high fee, and made his sons, my mother's brothers, men of note.^b This account I would give, not for the sake of empty compliments, but so that any parent who heard it might be moved to emulate him.

12. Now, in my youth I succeeded in avoiding what it was not particularly easy to avoid,^c and besides the omniscient gods I have as witnesses for it those of my contemporaries who still survive, now frail, but then we were in our prime. Well! Have I been a nuisance in calling to mind my own probity? Have I claimed to deserve respect on this account? Have I called those whom I could call as witnesses? 13. Leaving this aside, have I ever mentioned my labours in rhetoric either here or abroad? or that I was invited to Athens by the governor,^d and escaped to take up the chair here? Did I ever mention such things unnecessarily, and take vain pride in them? No! I have mentioned them to my students often enough, but to encourage them, and to this the term "tiresome" is the last that should be applied.

^a Cf. *Or.* 1. 12, 20 ff.

^d For this invitation by Strategius in A.D. 353 cf. *Or.* 1. 81 ff., 62. 61.

14. Ἄλλὰ τοὺς παρ' ἐτέρων λόγους ὄντας ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ οὐ τοιούτους ἐκβάλλω ταῖς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν εὐφημίαις· ἐγὼ τὸν δεῖνα σοφιστὴν ἐνίκησα F 244 καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἐπεστόμισα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα κατέβαλον καὶ τὸν δεῖνα κατεπάλαισα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα φεύγειν ἠγάγκασα καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθήνησι τοὺς τρεῖς εἰς φόβον κατέστησα καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ βουλῆς; 15. οὐχ ἐτέρων ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων μεμαθήκατε; εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀπήγγελλον, ἠγνοεῖτ' ἂν ἕνεκά γ' ἐμοῦ τὰς νίκας. ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ ὧν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔγνωσαν οὐ μικραὶ τινες οὐδὲ ὀλίγαι πό- R 177 λεις, οὕτω μὲν | ἀκηκόατε, πεύσεσθε δ' ἴσως, οὐ μὴν ἐμοῦ γε λέγοντος. 16. καίτοι τούτου¹ γε οἶόν- περ οἶδε φασὶν ἀνθρώπου τί ποτ' ἦν; πάντα τόπον καὶ καιρὸν ἐμπιπλάναι τῶν τοιούτων ῥημάτων καὶ ἡμέρας γε ἐκάστης, τοτὲ² πρὸ μεσημβρίας, τοτὲ² μετ' ἐκείνην.

17. Καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅστις γε εὖ ποιήσας πολλάκις μνημονεῦει τῆς χάριτος, βαρὺς,³ εὔπερ ἐγγὺς μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ ὀνειδίξειν, λυπηρὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνο. σκοπῶ- μεν τοίνυν εἰ μὴ εὖ πεποίηκα τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ, δεσμὸν μὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀπορρήξας ᾧ με κατέδησε βασιλέως ψῆφος οὐ πάντες | ἴστε, δραμῶν δὲ ὡς ὑμᾶς οὐκ F 245 ἀκίνδυνον δρόμον, ἐναντίον⁴ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιθυμία, ἐπίδοσιν δὲ λαμπρὰν τοῖς λόγοις ἐνεργασάμενος. ταύτην οὖν προφέρων τῇ πόλει τὴν εὖ-

¹ τούτου Norman: τοῦτο Fabr. (mss.): τοιούτου F.: τοῦ Re. ² τοτὲ F. (I; το τὲ U): τό τε Re. (other mss.).

³ βαρὺς F., Re., Fabr.: βαρὺ mss.

ORATION II, 14-17

14. "Ah! but by your own self-praise you damn other people's oratory, whether it be good or bad," I may be told. "You have defeated such and such a teacher, reduced so and so to silence, brought down another, floored another, caused the retirement of another. Your many opponents in Egypt,^a those three in Athens, you set all of a flutter when you were invited by the council there." 15. Haven't you learnt this from other sources? If it weren't for them, you would be unaware of my triumphs, as far as I am concerned. Of the statues of me and the decrees passed about them by many great cities, you have never heard a word, though you may perhaps do so—but certainly not by my telling. 16. Yet what was to be expected of me, if I were such as these people say I am? Every place, every occasion would reecho such a tale, every day, morning, noon and night.^b

17. However, I suppose that any benefactor who keeps harping on his kindness is tiresome, for his attitude is akin to reproach, and that causes discomfort. Still, let us consider whether I have been a benefactor to my country, by breaking the strong bond imposed on me by the emperor's decree, as you all well know, and by hastening to return to you, at no small risk to myself^c since it was contrary to the emperor's desire, and by effecting a remarkable improvement in oratory. Did I leave anything at all

^a Possibly referred to in *Ep.* 1274 (A.D. 364) when he is invited by Maximus (*praef. Aegypt.*). There is no other reference in Libanius. For the Athenians *cf. Or.* 1. 25.

^b For the implications of this passage for the publication of his speeches *cf. Petit, Historia*, v (1956), pp. 478 ff.

^c *Cf. Or.* 1. 94 ff. Here Libanius concocts or adapts a line of tragedy to make his point.

^d *δρόμον* repeated before *ἐναντίον* (MSS.): cancelled F.

LIBANIUS

R 178 εργεσίαν οὐδοτιοῦν | ἀνήκα; καὶ τίς οὕτως ἀναιδῆς
 ὅστις εἰπεῖν τολμήσειεν ἄν;

18. Ἄλλ' ἢ βάδιαις φορτική. ποία, πλὴν εἰ τὴν
 παρὰ τοῦ νοσήματος λέγοι τις; ἀλλὰ τὸ βλέμμα,
 ἀλλ' αἱ ὀφρύες, ἀλλ' ἡ φωνή. οὐ τὸν ἐπίχαρὶν με
 καλεῖν εἰώθατε; ταῦτ' οὖν οἷόν τε τὰ ὀνόματα συν-
 ελθεῖν ὥστε τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτό τε καὶ βαρὺν ἐν δίκη
 καλεῖσθαι; 19. εἰσὶ τοίνυν τινὲς οἱ τῶ τὸν γέλωτα
 καθάπαξ φυγεῖν ταύτην ἠνέγκαντο τὴν προσ-
 ηγορίαν. πότ' οὖν ἢ διεκώλυσα γελῶντας ἢ νέφος
 ἐπήγαγον εὐφροσύνη; ποσάκις δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεμῶν
 ἐγενόμην γέλωτος ἐν οἷς ἐξῆν; ἐπεὶ σπουδῆς γε
 καὶ προνοίας πραγμάτων ἐπιστρεφούσης πρὸς ἑαυ-
 τὴν πονηρὸν ἄν ἦν γελᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ γελᾶν ἑτέ-
 ρους ποιεῖν. 20. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπέχω ταύτης τῆς
 αἰτίας ὥστ' οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς φοιτῶντας τοιοῦτος
 γεγένημαι, ἀλλ' ἠδονὴν τινα τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμερό-
 τητος καταμιγνύω τῶ πράγματι δι' ἣν οὐδὲν δέο-
 μαι πληγῶν ἐκόντων ἅπαντα ποιοῦντων, ἑτέρους
 δὲ ἴσμεν μυρίας ράβδους ἀνηλωκότας οἱ οὔτε τοσ-
 οῦτον ἐδυνήθησαν οὔτ' ἐκλήθησαν ὃ νῦν ἐγώ. |

21. Τί δ'; ἐν ταῖς ἀρρωστίαις ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς F 246
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους δι' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἠξίουσιν παρ'
 ἐμὲ βαδίσειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νυκτός, ἐνίους δὲ μηδ'
 ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῆς κλίνης, αὐτὸς δὲ ταύτην ἐλ-
 λείπων τὴν φορὰν εἰκός τι ποιεῖν ἐνόμιζον; τοῖς
 μὲν γὰρ πρέπειν τὴν λειτουργίαν, ἑμαυτῶ δὲ τὴν
 περὶ ταῦτα ἀτέλειαν. 22. καὶ μὴν πάλαι μὲν ἑω-

^a Gout, *Or.* 1. 140 ff., 243 f.

^b As did Eunapius also, *V.S.* 495-496.

^c Libanius claims to be punctilious in the social duty of
 sick visiting, *cf.* *Or.* 1. 105, 63. 4. He complains bitterly
 when his son Cimon does not receive such attentions.

ORATION II, 17-22

undone when I proffered such service for my country? Who is so bare-facedly impudent as to dare assert such a thing?

18. "Ah! but we find your walk is offensive." Indeed? unless of course you refer to the effects of my illness.^a "And your glance, your haughty airs, your tone!" But you used to describe me as "charming"!^b Can there be any consistency in these terms? Can you properly describe the same man as both "charming" and "tiresome"? 19. Some people have applied the term to me, asserting that I absolutely eschew laughter. But when have I ever stopped people from having a laugh or when have I cast a cloud over mirth? I myself have often raised a laugh on occasions that warrant it: but when serious matters and consideration are required, it would be wrong to burst into laughter oneself or to cause others to do so. 20. So far from being liable to this charge am I that I have never comported myself so even towards my pupils, but I impart into the subject an element of genteel pleasantry. That is the reason why I have no cane to beat them, for they do everything willingly. But others I know have broken hundreds of canes without winning the influence and reputation that I have now.

21. Well, then? Can it be said that in my times of illness I expected others to visit me every day, at night even, and some never to leave my bedside, and yet thought I was behaving properly if I failed to return such services, my idea being that it was all right for them to perform such a duty and for me to be exempt from it? 22. No, indeed!^c In times long

LIBANIUS

R 179 *ρώμην θέων ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῶν ἀσθενούντων καὶ κλίμακας, | νῦν δὲ φερόμενος τὰ μὲν ἵππων, τὰ δὲ χερσὶν οἰκετῶν. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὴν ἔχειν ἀπολογίαὶν ἠγγησάμενος τό τ' ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ κακὸν τό τε γῆρας ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀφήκε τῆς ταλαιπωρίας; ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῖς <οὐκ>¹ ἐπισκεψαμένοις με κάμνοντα τοῦτο πώποτε ἐμεμψάμην αὐτός τε καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν πολλάκις ἦκον ἐπισκεψόμενος.*

23. *Τί λοιπόν; ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσιν εἰμὶ βαρὺς, τὸν μὲν αἰεὶ γιγνόμενον κρότον κἂν ἦ πολὺς ὡς ἐλάττω τοῦ δέοντος αἰτιώμενος, ταῖς δ' εἰωθυῖαις φωναῖς προστιθέναί καινὰς ἀξιῶν, τὰς δὲ εὐφημίας ὡσπερ λίθινος δεχόμενος καὶ οὔτε ὀφθαλμοῖς οὔτε χερσὶ τοὺς ἐπαιέτας οὔτε μειδιάματι τιμῶν;*

24. *ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἶδα καὶ ῥήμασιν ἐπισχῶν δεόμενος μὴ οὕτω λίαν κόπτειν αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐν οἷς ἐμέ κοσμοῦσι ταλαιπωρεῖν. ἃ δ' ἠγανάκτησα πολλάκις ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους ὅποτε F 247 ἀδικοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου, τὰ πολὺ διεστηκότα συναγόντων ταῖς βοαῖς, οἶμαι πάντας εἰδέναι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προλόγῳ ταῦτα ἔπαυσα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐβουλήθη μὲν, ἔτι δὲ ταῦτόν ἐστιν οὗ² | τολμᾶται.*

25. *Αὐτὸ τοίνυν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιδείξεων ἐπειδή τινὰς ἠσθόμην δυσχεραίνοντας, ὥμην δέ γε αὐτοῖς ὁ ἠλίθιος χαρίζεσθαι τῇ πυκνότητι, κατέλυσα καὶ ἃ πρότερον ἐν πλείοσι ταῦτ' ἐν τοῖς φοι-*

¹ οὐκ F. (inserted Fabr.): μη inserted in I.

² οὐ F., Re. (CB, A before correction to δ, PM after correction from δ): δ VUIMo.

^a By implication Libanius means himself and his own compositions. The audience interrupt his speech, exclaiming that this is the real Demosthenes, and he stops them. Cf. *Or.* 3. 18, where both Demosthenes and himself receive

ORATION II, 22-25

past I could have been seen hurrying on foot to the doors and stairways of the sick, though nowadays I am taken there on horse-back or by the hands of my slaves. Yet everyone would think gout and age excuse enough and would rid himself of this burdensome obligation. But I have never made this reproach against those who did not come to visit me as I lay sick, and I have often gone visiting in person and when I was not fit to do so.

23. What next, then? I am tiresome in my declamations: I have no good word for the applause that greets them on each occasion, however great it may be, since I regard it as less than it deserves to be; I demand fresh compliments above and beyond the normal; I receive their acclamations like a graven image and honour the plaudits with never a glance, gesture or smile. 24. I know that I have restrained them, and verbally too, and begged them not to weary themselves too much or to exhaust themselves in their applause for me. Everyone, I am sure, realizes the discomfort I have often felt for Plato and Demosthenes, when they have not had a fair reception from the audience,^a who by their applause link together subjects that are quite distinct. In fact, I even put a stop to this in my prologue, or rather I wished to do so, but the wish is father to the thought!

25. As for the actual number of my declamations, when I saw people becoming restive at them—for, like a fool, I used to think that I was doing them a favour by their frequency—I put a stop to that, and now I give to my regular pupils the declamations that a less flattering reception. Later scholars nicknamed Libanius “Demosthenes the Second” or, simply, “Demosthenes,” *cf.* Foerster, vol. I, p. 74.

LIBANIUS

τῶσι δεικνύω. οὕτω πάνυ δέδοικα τὸ¹ δοκεῖν εἶναι βαρὺς.

26. Νῆ Δί', ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς αἰτιᾶται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ τὰ πάλαι μὲν ὄντα ποθεῖν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν τῶν παρόντων δὲ κατηγορεῖν, καὶ τότε μὲν φάσκειν εὐδαίμονας εἶναι τὰς πόλεις νυνὶ δὲ δυστυχεῖν, καὶ τοῦτον αἰεὶ τε καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν λέγεσθαι μοι τὸν λόγον. 27. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ταῦτα μεμφόμενοι καὶ οἱ τοῖς λόγοις ἀνιῶμενοι τούτοις, οἷς τὰ παρόντα συνήνεγκεν· οἷς δ' ἔλυμήνατο, τῶν ἐπαινούντων. γεγόνασι δὲ οὗτοι μὲν ἐξ ἐνδόξων ἄδοξοι καὶ ἐξ εὐπόρων ἄποροι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει, ὧν τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὅσον περ τοῦ πτήσεσθαι. 28. οὐκοῦν τοῖς μὲν εὖ | πράττουσι παρὰ F 248
R 181 τὴν ἀξίαν ἀηδῆς εἰμι καὶ βαρὺς ταῦτα λέγων | τοῖς δ' ἐξ εὐδαιμόνων κατενεχθεῖσι κεχαρισμένος, οἷα δὴ συναχθόμενός τε καὶ πεπληγμένος ταῖς ἐκείνων συμφοραῖς. διὰ τί οὖν, ὅταν με βαρὺν καλῶσιν, οὐ προσδιορίζουσι μικρόν τι προστιθέντες τὸ σφίσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἅπασί γε ἐγὼ βαρὺς ἀλλ' οἷς τὰ κακὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθὰ. πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ὧν βαρὺς ἡσχυνόμην ἂν τοῖς λεγομένοις, εἰ δὲ τοῖς οὕτως εὐτυχηκόσι σεμνύνομαι· 29. οὗς ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην πότερά με ψεύδεσθαι φασὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τουτοῖσι καὶ τοῖς ψιλόγοις ἢ οὐ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ψεύδεσθαι, δει-

¹ <καὶ> τὸ F. (V).

^a For the "regular" declamations cf. *Or.* 3 *passim*. The practice of declaiming before a select audience was popular

ORATION II, 25-29

I used to give before a wider audience,—so afraid am I of the appearance of being tiresome.^a

26. No one, however, makes any accusation like that. The complaint is that I am constantly praising and longing for what is dead and gone, denouncing the present day, harping on the past prosperity and the present misery of the cities, and that this is my tale, everywhere, every day. 27. Some complain about this and are annoyed at my comments, but they are those who have benefited from the present situation. People who have been hard hit are among those who applaud them, and these are the people who have lost the prestige and the wealth they once enjoyed: on the other hand, those others enjoy prestige, wealth and influence, though they used to have as little expectation of them as they had of flying in the air. 28. So to these *nouveaux-riches* I am inordinately displeasing and tiresome with these remarks, but with those who have been brought low from their affluence I am in high favour, in so far as I am filled with sympathy and alarm at their misfortunes. So then, when people call me “tiresome,” why are they not more precise in their definition, and simply add the rider, “to themselves”? For I am certainly not tiresome to everybody, only to those who batten on the misery of the majority. No; if I were tiresome to everybody, I would be ashamed of such comments, but if to those who enjoy a prosperity of this sort, I pride myself on them. 29. I would like to ask them if their assertion is that I am a liar in using such commendations and reproofs or not. If they say that I am, let them among pagan sophists at this time, *cf.* Eunap. *V.S.* 483; *Lib. Or.* 1. 101, *Ep.* 1075.

LIBANIUS

ξάτωσαν ὡς οὐκ ἀμείνω ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ πρόσθεν· εἰ δ' ἀληθεύειν, τί χαλεπαίνουσι; τί δ' οὐχὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν βαρεῖαν καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπόμενον ἐκείνη βαρύν; οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος τὰ πράγματα πεποίηκεν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων οἱ λόγοι τοιοῦτοι γεγένηται. 30. εἶπον ὅτι πάλαι πολλὰι θυσίαι καὶ μεστὰ τῶν θυόντων τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θαλίαι καὶ αὐλοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ πλοῦτος ἐν ἐκάστῳ κοινὴ τις οὗτος τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπικουρία. τί οὖν ἐψενσάμην; καὶ νῦν τοὺς νεῶς ἴδοι τις ἂν τοιούτους; μᾶλλον δέ, ἴδοι τις ἂν πενίαν ἐτέρωθι τοσαύτην; 31. εἰσὶ μὲν οἱ ὡς ἥδιστ' ἂν θεοὺς ἀναθήμασι τιμήσαιεν, ἴσασι δ' ὡς εἰ κομίσαιεν ἐκείσε ταῦτα ἐτέρων ἐστίν, ὅπου γε καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν γῆν | ἕτεροι γεωργοῦσι καὶ F 249 τῆς προσόδου μέτεστι τοῖς βωμοῖς οὐδοτιοῦν. 32. εἶπον ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὴν γῆν πονοῦσιν ἦν καὶ κιβώτια πάλαι καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ στατήρες καὶ μετὰ προικὸς οἱ γάμοι. νῦν δὲ διὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἐρήμων

R 182

ἤξεισιν ἀγρῶν οὐδὲ τὸ πιέζεσθαι | ταῖς¹ εἰσπράξεσιν ἐκένωσε προστεθέντος ἐτέρου κακοῦ μείζονος, τῶν τὰ ἄντρα σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπληκότων, τῶν μέχρι τῶν ἱματίων σωφρόνων. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ μένουσιν ἐν

¹ ταῖς F., Re., Fabr. : τε MSS.

^a Under Julian's reforms, cf. *Or.* 1. 119, 17. 9, 18. 286 ff. Temple properties had previously been confiscated by Constantine, *Or.* 30. 6, 62. 8.

^b Julian intended that his newly reorganized pagan church should engage itself not merely in religious but also in social and welfare activities: Julian, *E.L.F.* Nos. 84, 89. Libanius approved of this and deplores the attacks on pagan temples on this account, cf. *Or.* 30. 20.

ORATION II, 29-32

prove that the cities were no better off before ; if that I am telling the truth, what are they complaining about? If they don't call the truth tiresome, why do they call me, who follow the truth, tiresome? My comment is not the cause of the present situation : such comments are caused by it. 30. I have said that in the past there were sacrifices in plenty^a : the temples used to be full of worshippers, there was good cheer, music, songs, garlands, and the treasure in every one was a means of assistance to those in need.^b What lie did I tell, then? Can you find the temples like this nowadays? Indeed, can you find such dire poverty anywhere else? 31. There are some who would gladly honour the gods with offerings but know that, if they take them there, they fall into some one else's hands, to judge by the cases where others farm the great estates of every one of the gods and not a penny of the revenue reaches the altars.^c 32. I have said that in the past the workers of the land used to have money chests, clothes, and cash, and marriages with dowry. Nowadays, though, you can go through miles of deserted farmland. The burden of taxation has emptied it, and there is another and worse trouble besides,—that crew who pack themselves tight into the caves, those models of sobriety, only as far as their dress is concerned.^d Those who do stay on the farms have no

^a Julian's religious reforms were immediately rescinded by Jovian and the temple lands again confiscated. *C. Th.* 5. 13. 3, 10. 1. 8 (A.D. 364).

^d The Christian monks, who made the caves of Mt. Silpius their hermitage, accused by Libanius and pagans generally of every kind of anti-social excess. *Cf. Or.* 30. 8 ff. See also Festugière, *Antioche*.

LIBANIUS

ἀγροῖς οὐδὲν δέονται κλείειν θύρας· οὐδεὶς γὰρ φόβος ἀπὸ ληστῶν τῷ γε οὐδὲν ἔχοντι.

33. Ἄλλὰ τὰς βουλὰς ἐρεῖς. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο διέκειτο κακῶς, τοῦτό γ' ἂν ἔπειθε μόνον λέγειν οἷάπερ λέγω. ἀντὶ μὲν ἑξακοσίων τῶν τότε οὐδὲ ἑξήκοντα νῦν. ἑξήκοντα εἶπον; οὐδὲ μὲν οὖν ἕξ παρ' ἐνίοις.

34. ἀλλ' εἰσὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὁ αὐτὸς εἰσπράττει, λούει καὶ πάλιν λούει. τί τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἰνίγμα; λούει τε τῇ χορηγίᾳ τῶν ξύλων καὶ τὸν ἀμφορίσκον λαβὼν βαλανεὺς ὁ λειτουργῶν γίγνεται. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν θερμὸν ὁ δὲ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐζήτησε, τῷ δέ, οὐκ ἔνι γὰρ μερισθῆναι, τὴν θα-

F 250 τέρου φέρειν ὀργὴν ἀνάγκη. | 35. ἀλλ' οὐ παρ' |
 ἡμῶν ταῦτα. μηδέ γε, ὦ Ζεῦ, γένοιτο, ἀλλ' οὐ R 183
 τοῦτο δεῖ σκοπεῖν οὐ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ
 ταῦτα ἔστιν ἔνι. καὶ μὴν αἷς μὲν τῶν βουλῶν ἢ
 γῆ πονηρά, τῷ μεγέθει τῶν φορτίων ἀπολώλασιν
 οὐδενὸς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐρώντος γῆς οὐδὲ ἄνουμένου,
 παρ' οἷς δὲ βελτίων, ἀντὶ τῶν κεκληρονομηκότων
 ἔχουσι τοὺς πρίασθαι δυναμένους δεσπότης. εἶθ'
 οἱ μὲν πολιτευόμενοι ταπεινοὶ καὶ ὀλίγοι καὶ οὐ
 πένητες μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πτωχοί, οἱ δ' οὐκ
 οἶδ' ὀπόθεν εἰσπεσόντες θέντες τιμὴν, τὸ γὰρ ἀλη-
 θὲς εἰρήσεται, τρυφῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων, οἱ μὲν

^a On the flight from the councils cf. Jones, *LRE*, pp. 740 ff., Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, pp. 174 ff., Petit, *Vie municipale*, pp. 321 ff. On the decline in curial numbers indicated by Libanius' figures cf. *Or.* 48. 3 ff., 49. 8. See also *Or.* 32. 8, *Ep.* 851.

^b Cf. *Or.* 49. 31. The curial's task of collecting the taxes for his locality was one of his most important duties in the eyes of the imperial administration. The provision of heating

ORATION II, 32-35

need to bar their doors : beggars have no need to fear bandits.

33. You will mean our city councils, then. If there were nothing else amiss, this at least should induce you to say what I say. Instead of the 600 of days gone by, there aren't even sixty now. Sixty, did I say? In some places there aren't even six.^a

34. There are some cities where the same person collects the taxes,^b becomes a bathman and then becomes a bathman once again. What is the answer to this riddle? He acts the bathman by his duty of providing the fuel, and then the performer of this service becomes the bath attendant by getting hold of the bucket. Then there is a call for hot water here, for cold water there, and he has to put up with the bad temper of one or the other, for he cannot be in both places at once. 35. "But that doesn't happen here." Good Lord! I hope not! But what we have to consider is not the places where it does not happen, but that there are places where it can. In fact, the councils where the land is poor are ruined by the size of their burdens, for nobody has any desire for such land or purchases it. Where the land is better, instead of the hereditary occupants, they have as landlords those people who can buy it up. Then the councillors are depressed and depleted; they are not just poor; they are beggared, while these newcomers from heaven knows where suddenly descend, put down the money—let's give the devil his due!—and luxuriate in their property,

for the civic baths is one of the highest and most expensive liturgies, reserved for the *principales*. For any such to undertake personally the "vulgar" task of bath attendant would be unheard of.

LIBANIUS

οἰκίας οἱ δὲ ἀγροὺς οἱ δὲ ἀμφότερα κεκτημένοι.
 36. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα οὐδαμοῦ, σο-
 βούσι δὲ οἱ ξένοι καὶ γαμοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀρώμεν
 καὶ συνδειπνοῦμεν καὶ συνευχόμεθα γῆρας, βου-
 λεύοντι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν δοίῃ κόρην· οὐχ οὕτω μισεῖ τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ. μὴνός ἂν δέοι τῷ γε δι' ἀκριβείας εἰπεῖν
 βουλομένῳ τὰς τῶν ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς συμφοράς.

37. Οἶδα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὥσπερ
 ὑπὲρ τῶν βουλευόντων στενάξας, οὐδὲ τούτων ἴσως
 ἀδίκως, πεινῶντων καὶ ῥιγούντων καὶ οὐδ' ὀβολὸν
 ἔχοντων διὰ τὴν τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν δι-
 καιοσύνην, οἱ τοὺς μὲν ἀθλιωτάτους ποιοῦσιν αὐ-
 τοὺς δὲ πλουσιωτάτους. πεινώσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
 ἱππέων ἵπποι, ὁ δὲ | λιμὸς οὗτος χρυσὸς ἐκείνοις F 251
 R 184 πρὸς τῷ | παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὅς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων ἔρχεται. 38. καὶ
 καλὸν μὲν ἐμέσαι καὶ μεθυσθῆναι καὶ συνάψαι τού-
 τοις εὐθύς ἐδωδὴν ἑτέραν καὶ πόσιν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ αἰ
 μελέται καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρέπουσι πόνοις αὐτὸν
 γυμνάσαι. τοιγαροῦν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀρκεῖ βοῆσαι
 τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾗχοντο ἀπιόντες, ὁ δὲ
 μένων πεισόμενος ἔμεινε. καὶ περιδεεῖς μὲν αὐ-
 τοῖς αἰ ψυχαί, σκιῶν δὲ οὐ πολὺ διαφέροντα τὰ
 σώματα. 39. πικρὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῖς ποσὶν ὑπο-
 δημάτων ἀπορία· δεῖ γὰρ δὴ καὶ εἰς γύναιον ἀνα-

^a There was no legal restriction on the sale of curial land until A.D. 386, *C. Th.* 12. 3. 1.

^b Officials and the military, aided by the *principales*, were some of the chief offenders in promoting this flight of councillors from the curia. Libanius, with his customary prejudice against the military (*e.g. Or.* 48. 30), here conveniently forgets that one of his own aunts had married a military officer (*Or.* 47. 28).

ORATION II, 35-39

gaining possession of their estates, their houses, or both.^a 36. Nowhere is there any respect for the council ; outsiders swagger in and contract marriages, and we look on, join their banquets and wish them long life : but nobody would let his daughter get married to a councillor—he doesn't loathe her as much as that !^b I would need a month if I wanted to give an accurate description of the misfortunes of the members of the councils.

37. I know that I have complained on the soldiers' behalf too, as well as for the councillors, and here too perhaps not without good reason. They starve and shiver, and haven't a penny to their name—all through the probity of their colonels and generals who feather their own nests and make the lives of their men a misery.^c The cavalrymen's horses starve too, and such starving means gold for the officers, above and beyond the pay from the emperor which passes through the soldiers' hands into their own. 38. Their glory is to get drunk, fetch up their food and start off at once on another round of eating and swilling : it is a disgrace for them to practise or to school themselves with proper exercises on the training field. As a result, all the enemy needs to do in action is to set up a yell, and they are off and away, and any who stays, stays but to be beaten : their souls are fearful, their bodies little better than shadows.^d 39. Even the ground is hard to their feet for lack of footwear ; for they are obliged, of course,

^c *Cf. Or. 47. 32.*

^d *Cf. Or. 18. 209 ff.* The contrast here is between the high morale of Julian's armies and the shock following the disaster of Adrianople. Criticism of army efficiency was widespread at this time, *cf. Or. 24. 3 ff., Zosimus, 4. 23.*

LIBANIUS

λίσκειν καὶ παῖδας, ἔστι δὲ ἑκάτερον ἑκάστῳ καὶ
 οὔτε τοὺς γάμους κωλύουσιν οὔθ' ἢ τις ἂν γένοιτο
 τροφή καὶ ταῖς τικτούσαις καὶ τοῖς τικτομένοις
 σκοποῦσι. τεμνομένου τοίνυν εἰς τοσαύτας τομὰς
 τοῦ σίτου τῷ στρατιώτῃ πόθεν ἐκείνῳ κόρος; ἢ δὲ
 ἀπὸ τούτου βλάβη ζημία τῷ πολέμῳ καθίσταται.
 40. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καιροῖς οὓς ἐπαινώ
 ταῦτα ἦν, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίας μὲν ἀντὶ χρημάτων ἤρων
 οἱ ἠγούμενοι, τὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ
 ἀφαιρησόμενος. οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ ἀν-
 δρεῖοι καὶ τεχνῖται πολέμων καὶ οὐκ | ἐγάμουν, F 252
 ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδὲ δεήσονται γάμων εὖρητο. οἱ δέ γε
 ἵπποι φέροντες τοὺς ἰππέας ἠδιστον μὲν τοῖς¹ οἰ-
 R 185 κείοις θέαμα φοβερὸν δὲ τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις, καὶ | ἦν
 εἰρήνη παραινούντων ἑαυτοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν
 ἠσυχίαν ἄγειν. 41. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν τὰ ἔθνη
 διοικούντων ἀρχόντων εἰπεῖν, ἦρχον μὲν οἱ βέλτι-
 στοὶ κριθέντες, τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐμμεΐναντες τῷ
 τρόπῳ κατεγῆρων ἐν τοῖς θρόνοις, οἱ δὲ ἐκπε-
 σόντες ἑαυτῶν ἀπέθνησκον καὶ οὐκ ἦν παραίτησις.
 τοῦτ' οὖν ἐποίει τοὺς νόμους κρατεῖν. 42. ἀλλὰ
 νῦν τρέχει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πρίασθαι δυνηθεὶς,
 μεταστρέφεται δὲ περισκοπῶν μὴ οὐ πολλοὺς ἀπ-
 ἔχει² σταδίους ὁ διαδεξόμενος. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ εὐθύς
 ὡς ἦκε ληψόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ προ-
 οίμιον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ πρότερον
 ἐν σκότει γιγνώμενα τολμᾶται, κἂν ἐξέλθῃ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς, μικρὸν τι τοῦ παντὸς ἐξεμέσας τὸ πλέον
 32

ORATION II, 39-42

to spend their money on the wife and children—for every one of them has both. Nothing stops them getting married and they don't concern themselves with what the mothers and the children will have to live on. So when soldiers' rations are so sub-divided, where can the man get his fill? The harm resulting from this is a loss of military efficiency. 40. This was not the case in those good old days which I commend. Then the officers hankered after glory, not cash, and no one would rob the soldiery of what was theirs. And the men themselves were sturdy and brave, specialists in warfare, and they remained unmarried : it was ensured that they would even have no need of marriage. And the horses on which the cavalry were mounted were a fine sight for our folk to see, and a fearsome one for the foe, and there was peace, and the barbarians counselled themselves to keep it. 41. And if mention must be made also of the governors who administer the provinces, then the best were selected for office, and those of them who behaved consistently with their character grew old in their chairs of office, while those who lapsed were put to death, and there was no appeal. That then is what used to produce the rule of law. 42. Nowadays, though, it is the man who has been able to buy it who scurries into office and keeps turning round to see, in case his successor is hard on his heels. He agrees straightaway that he is there for what he can get ; and this is the prelude to his term, and what previously used to be done under cover is now ventured upon in full view of all and sundry, and, even if he leaves office, he fetches up some small part of the

¹ τοῖς inserted F., conj. Re.

² ἀπέχει F., Cobet, Fabr. : ἀπέχῃ Re. (mss.).

LIBANIUS

κατέπεφε. βαρὺς οὖν ὁ τὰ μὲν μισῶν τὰ δὲ θαυμάζων;

43. Εἶεν· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τᾶλλα με πάντα φίλον ἐποίει τοῖς παρούσιν, οὐκ ἄν με καὶ μόνα τὰ περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἰκότως ἔξεπολέμωσεν; οἱ πάλαί μὲν ἥστραπτον νῦν δ' εἰσὶ σκοτεινοί, καὶ πάλαί μὲν | εἶλκον τὴν πανταχόθεν νεότητα νῦν δ' οὐδὲν εἶναι F 2 κέκρινται. 44. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐοικένας δοκοῦσι πέτραις εἰς ἃς ὁ σπείρων μαίνεται προσπολλὺς τὴν σποράν. καρποὶ δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλῶν R 186 φωνῆς, ᾧ δέσποινα Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ τῶν νόμων. | οὗς ἔδει πρότερον φέροντας τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἐστάναι πρὸς τὸν ῥήτορα βλέποντας ἀναμένοντας τό· ᾧ οὗτος ἀναγίνωσκε. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὑπογραφεῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀρχαῖς, ὁ δὲ τὸ λέγειν ἀντ' ἐκείνου μαθῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καταγελάται καὶ αὐτὸς ὀδύρεται. 45. πολλοὶ δὲ πολλοῖς οὐσίας ἐκ συνηγοριῶν σεσωκότες ἐκπηδήσαντες ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων ὀπλῖται γεγένηται, οὐ τῆς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν δόξης ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀλλ' εἰδότες ὅτι δόρου λέγουσιν¹ εὐθὺς ὑπάρξει γαμῆν καὶ τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐσθίειν, πολέμιου δὲ ἐπελθόντος ἐν ἀκμῇ μάχης ῥᾶστον ἀντὶ τῶν

¹ δόρου λέγουσιν Re. (mss.): δόρου ελοῦσιν F.: δεῦρο ἤκουσιν Gasda: δόρου λαβοῦσιν Fritz (commended by F. vol. III. xxvii), cf. Plat. *Resp.* 374 D.

^a For examples of the purchase of office cf. *Or.* 4. 28; 28. 22; 48. 11; Zosimus, 5. 2. The succession of governors in the Theodosian age was extraordinarily rapid, cf. *Or.* 1. 251 ff. Between A.D. 380 and 393 there were at least eleven *Comites Orientis*. Between A.D. 353 and 364, despite three changes of emperor, there were only six: v. Downey, *Comites Orientis and Consulares Syriae*.

ORATION II, 42-45

total and digests the greater part. So am I tiresome in hating all this and admiring the past? ^a

43. Well! even if everything else reconciled me to the present situation, would not the state of oratory alone be enough to set me at odds with it? Rhetoric, that in the past used to flash like lightning, is now under a cloud: it used to attract young students from far and wide, but now it is considered a mere nothing. 44. It is held to be like the stony ground on to which the sower scatters seed and then is enraged to lose his crop also. It is from other sources that the yield comes—from Latin, by all that is holy, and law.^b Previously, if they had any training, they had to bring in their law books and stand, with eyes fixed on the orator, waiting for the words, "You, read that, please." But now they are even secretaries ^c in the highest offices of state, while the student of eloquence, rather than of that stuff, is a laughing-stock for them and laments his own plight. 45. Many people, who have saved many a man's property in consequence of their advocacy,^d have decamped from the courts and enlisted as soldiers, not from any desire for the fame to be gained in combat, but in the knowledge that if they claim acquaintance with arms, they will be able to marry straightaway and live on what the wife has, and that in the event of any enemy attack, in the heat of battle

^b For the competition of Latin and law *cf. Or. 1. 154, 213 ff.; 40. 5; 48. 29 f. Liebeschuetz, pp. 243 ff.*

^c For the competition provided by shorthand, with hopes of preferment to the *schola notariorum*, *cf. Or. 62. 8 ff., 51. Julian in his appointments consciously reacted against Constantius' preference for notaries, cf. Or. 18. 158. Cf. Wolf, pp. 80 ff., Liebeschuetz, pp. 242 f.*

^d For decurions as advocates *v. Petit, Étudiants, 179 ff.*

LIBANIUS

- χειρῶν χρῆσασθαι τοῖς ποσὶν ὡς οὐκ ἔσομένων
 εὐθυνῶν. 46. τῶν τοίνυν καλουμένων σημεῖων τρε-
 R 187 ψαμένων μὲν τὸν Ἑρμῆν | τρεψαμένων δὲ τὰς Μού-
 σασ, τὴν δ' οὖσαν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνας εὐδαιμονίαν
 εἰς αὐτὰ μεταθέντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν τεταπεινωμέ-
 νων, τῶν δὲ τὰς γνάθους φυσῶντων, ἀγανακτεῖ
 τις εἰ τῆς τέχνης ἀχρήστου μοι γεγενημένης ἀλγῶ; |
 47. Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ταύτης, φησί, μόνον ἀλγεῖς F²
 ἀλλ' ὅλως ἐπιλαμβάνη μὲν τῶν νῦν, ὑμνεῖς δὲ τὰ
 πρότερα καὶ περιεργάζη. τίνα, ὦ βέλτιστοι, παρα-
 βαίνων νόμον, τίνας ὑπερπηδῶν ὄρους τῆ περι-
 ταῦτα λύπη; πῶς ἀδίκημα γίνεταί τὸ τοῖς πράτ-
 τουσι κακῶς συνάχθεσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ χρηστό-
 τητος εἶναι νομίζω τὸ μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκείων
 ἀνιᾶσθαι κακῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρῳ συμβαίνουσι
 ταῦτ' οὖν ποιεῖν. 48. καὶ οἶδα πολλοὺς οὐ μόνον τοὺς
 καθ' αὐτοὺς εἰ ἀτυχοῖεν ἐλεοῦντας ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς
 τῶν τραγωδιῶν ἀναγνώσεσι δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν βι-
 βλίων ἀφιέντας. πῶς οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τούτους κακί-
 ζετε; 49. ῥάδιόν γέ τοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν· τί δὲ
 ὑμῖν μέλει τῶν Νιόβης τέκνων, ἢ εἴ τις Κάδμου
 θυγάτηρ τὸν αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινε; Λαίος δὲ ὑμῖν
 πατήρ; Οἰδίπους δὲ ἀδελφός; Ἐκάβη δὲ μήτηρ;
 Κρέων δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος θεῖος; Γλαύκη δὲ ἀνεψιά;
 πρῶν Ἰππόλυτον τὸν Εὐριπίδου θρήνων οὐκ ἤξι-
 ωσα τοσοῦτων ὄσωνπερ ἄν, εἰ παρῆν καὶ ἐώρων
 R 188 τὸ πάθος; τί | οὖν οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦμαι ταῖς | πρὸ τῶν F³

^a The tutelary deities of learning and of literature are Hermes, and the Muses led by Apollo Musegetes.

^b The tragic stories referred to are those of Niobe (who boasted of her numerous family as compared with that of Leto, and had her children slain by Apollo and Artemis in

ORATION II, 45-49

it is the simplest matter to use one's feet instead of one's hands, for there will be no questions asked. 46. And this so-called shorthand has put learning and literature^a to flight and has monopolized the rewards that devotees of those subjects used to possess, either reducing them to poverty or causing them to gnash their teeth : so is it taken amiss that I complain now that my art has been rendered useless ?

47. "Oh!" comes the rejoinder, "your complaints are not just about that. You are never satisfied with carping at the present and fussing about, singing the praises of the past." Well, my friends, what law have I broken, what limits have I overstepped in my grief on this account ? How does sympathy with the unfortunate become a crime ? I regard it as perfectly proper to be upset by not just the troubles of one's own, but by those of others too. 48. And I know plenty of people who don't confine themselves to pitying themselves in their misfortunes, but who, even in their readings of tragedies, let their tears fall upon their books. Do you abuse these people, too ? 49. It is easy to say to them, "What concern of yours are the children of Niobe ? or that a daughter of Cadmus killed her own son ? Is Laius your father ? Oedipus, your brother ? What's Hecuba to you—your mother ? Have you got Creon of Corinth for an uncle, or Glauce for a cousin ?" Only just recently haven't I regarded the Hippolytus of Euripides as deserving my laments as much as if I were present and witnessed his fate ?^b Why then don't they accuse

consequence) dramatized by Aeschylus ; of Agave and Pentheus, Euripides' *Bacchae* ; of the *Oedipus* by Sophocles ; of the *Hecuba*, *Medea* and *Hippolytus* of Euripides. Libanius had evidently composed a declamation on the Hippolytus

LIBANIUS

Τρωικῶν συμφοραῖς πληττόμενος; 50. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ πρὸς Διός, νέων ἐκφερομένων καὶ πατέρων ἀκολουθούντων συνεκφέροντες οὐ θρηνεῖτε, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδεμιᾶς ἀναγκαζούσης συγγενείας; τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας οὖν εἰκότως ἂν ἔχοιτε. καὶ μὴν ἐν εὐεργέταις οἷς ταῦτα εἰσηγηνόχατε γονεῦσιν ἠρίθμησθε.

51. εἰ δ' οὐδὲν δεινὸν τὸν οὐ προσήκοντα ἀποθανόντα δακρύνειν, πῶς δεινὸν τοὺς ζῶντας ἐν ὀδύναϊς, ὃ πολὺ τοῦ θανάτου πικρότερον; εἰ δ' ἄξιον ἀθυμεῖν κακῶς φερομένης πόλεως, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ ἔθνους; εἰ δὲ ἑνός, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ πλειόνων;

52. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν τοὺς συναχθομένους εἰ καὶ πλείστον ἀπέχοιεν τῶν περὶ λόγους φιλῶ, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἑτέροις ζῶντας εἰ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῖν οὐκ ἀδικήσω; οὐκ ἐσμὲν Κύπριοι οὐδέ, σὺν Ἀδραστεία δὲ εἰρήσεται, τῷ σεισμῷ κατενεχθεῖσαν ἐπίδομεν

R 189 τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως οἰμωγαὶ | καὶ ὄδυρμοί, καὶ ὦ πόλεις, ποῦ ποτε ἄρ' ἐστέ; πολλῶν ἦν ἀκούειν λεγόντων, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπέπληξεν εἰ τοσαύτη τῆς νήσου διειργόμενοι τῇ θαλάσῃ μετέχειν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐνομίζομεν. 53. τί οὖν αὐτοῖς | ἡ περιεργία F 231 βούλεται; οὐκ εἰμὶ μὲν τῶν δυνάμεων ἡγεμῶν οὐδὲ ἐκοινωνήσα τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ παρατάξεων οὔτε ὡς στρατηγὸς οὔτε ὡς στρατιώτης ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἀπὸ

story only just recently. For his progymnasmata on Medea and Niobe cf. vol. viii, pp. 373, 391 F.

^a For this morbidity of outlook in Libanius, increased in part by the depression produced by gout and migraine, cf. *Or.* 1. 151, 35. 25, 62. 53.

^b Cited from Plato, *Resp.* 451 A. Cf. also *Or.* 1. 158. Adrasteia is Nemesis, whose cult, connected with the Olympia, enjoyed most popularity in Syria: cf. Seyrig, *Syria*, xiii (1932), pp. 30 ff.

ORATION II, 49-53

me of being affected by events that happened before the Trojan War? 50. Good heavens! when young men are carried out to burial and their fathers follow the bier, don't you join the cortège of mourners, though no bond of kinship demands it? You can expect to be reproved for it, then, even though the parents to whom you have extended this token of sympathy count themselves in your debt.^a 51. If there is nothing wrong in bewailing one who is not a relative, when he dies, how is it wrong to bewail those who live a life of agony, which is a far harsher fate than death? And if it is proper to feel despondency when a city is in sore straits, why not for a province, too? And if for one province, why not for more besides? 52. Those who sympathize with me in my grief, however far removed they may be from the world of learning, receive my affection. Will I not be doing injustice to people in other walks of life, if I refuse to accord them the same? We are not Cypriotes, not yet—and may Heaven forbid^b—have we beheld our city laid low by earthquake, but still you could hear many people moaning and lamenting, “Alas, poor cities! Where on earth are you now?” and no one has reproved us for thinking that we shared in the disaster, though separated from the island by such a stretch of sea.^c 53. What is the point of this unnecessary fuss? I am no leader of armies, nor did I participate in the fighting in Thrace, either as general or as private^d: I could never have borne the sight of

^c Severe earthquakes afflicted Cyprus in A.D. 343 and 365, but these seem to be too early for a reference here. The most likely is that recorded in A.D. 374/5 by Zosimus (4. 18).

^d The battle of Adrianople, A.D. 378, when Valens was killed, cf. *Or.* 1. 179; 24. 3 f.; *Amm. Marc.* 31. 13.

LIBANIUS

δένδρου ποθὲν ὑψηλοῦ τὴν θεάν ἤνεγκα ἂν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης μάχης, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀκούσας τῆς συμβολῆς τὸ πέρας τό τε μέτωπον ἔπληξα καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἔτιλα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐξήτασα¹ τῶν κακῶν ὧν τῆς ὑστεραίας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἐμνήσθην. ἡμάρτανον οὖν τούτοις; καὶ τίς ὁ τοῦτο φήσων;

54. Οὐ βουλευώ μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖμαι ταῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους φροντίσιν, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ ἔξεστί μοι καὶ τῇ τῶν βουλευόντων πενία καὶ τῷ τῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι ὑπηρετούντων πλούτῳ, ὧν ἔνιοι πέρυσι κρέα πωλοῦντες οἱ δὲ ἄρτους οἱ δὲ λάχανα ταῖς ἐκείνων οὐσίαις μεγάλοι γεγένηται περὶ τιμῆς οὐδὲν δι-
R 190 ενεχθέντες τοσοῦτος | αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ χρυσός. 55. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν οἰκιῶν λυποῦσι τοὺς γείτονας οὐκ ἐῶντες τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπολαύειν καθαρῶς. εἴτ' ἐκείνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν σοι δοκοῦσι τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων διορυχαῖς, εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ δύναται σιωπᾶν φορτικὸς οὗτός ἐστι καὶ βαρῦς; 56. ἀλλὰ σὺ | μὲν εἶ σοί F 251
τις τῶν συγγενῶν ἴσος γένοιτο κατὰ πλούτον ἀποπνίγη, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν καὶ ἡδιστ' ἂν δίκην ἔλαγες τῇ Τύχῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτὴν ὡς δίκαια ποιούσαν ἐπαινεῖν ἡξίους οὕτω πολλῇ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀδικία κεχρημένην καθ' ἑκάτερον, καθελούσαν μὲν οὖς εὖ ποιεῖν ἐχρήν, δοῦσαν δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς τοῖς καθάρμασιν. 57. ἢ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡμιόχων πλούτον ἐπαινεῖν με προσήκει καὶ ὅς ἐστιν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἐπὶ τινι γέλῳτι καὶ τὸ πρόχειρον εἰ-

¹ ἐξήτασα F. (CAPBM): ἐξήτησα Re. (VUI).

^a His immunity from curial liturgies came to him as sophist of the city.

^b Private building in Antioch was very much the fashion

ORATION II, 53-57

that great battle even from some coign of vantage in a tree-top, but still, when I heard the result of the engagement, I beat my brow, tore my hair and pondered on the causes of the disaster, and next day imparted them to others too. Was I at fault in this, then? Who will tell me so?

54. I am no councillor: I have immunity because of my concern with rhetoric,^a but I can still be upset at the poverty of the councillors and the wealth amassed by the lackeys of the governors. Some of these, only recently hawkers of meat, bread or vegetables, have grown great on the property of the councillors and enjoy just as much respect as they, so great is the wealth they possess. 55. Others, just by the size of their houses, are a nuisance to their neighbours, for they do not allow them the enjoyment of full clear daylight.^b Isn't it the case, then, that you can see nothing wrong with them in this change and undermining of their fortunes, whereas anyone who cannot keep silent on this matter is vulgar and tiresome? 56. But in your case, if one of your relatives becomes your equal in wealth, you are green with envy; the situation is intolerable, and you would cheerfully put Lady Luck in the dock. Yet you expect me to commend her for fair dealing, though she has used men so unfairly both in ruining those on whom she should have smiled and in granting her favours to guttersnipes. 57. Or do you think I should also commend the fortunes made by the racing drivers,^c or those won by certain other in-

at this time (*Or.* 11. 227) and ostentatious town houses were built both by *honorati* and by *principales*.

^c Libanius thought as little of the races and the theatre as did Julian. *Cf. Or.* 16. 41 ff. *Jul. Misop.* 340 a, 343 d ff.

LIBANIUS

ναι ζώνης τυχεῖν καὶ τὸ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀναισχυντεῖν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς πατέρας ταῦτα ὀρώντας ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας τὸ πλεον καθεῦδειν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ μέλλειν λουῖσθαι δαπανᾶν; ἐν ᾧ δὲ μέλλουσιν, ὅ τι καὶ ὅπου δρῶσιν οὐ λέγω.

58. Τέτταρες ἦσαν ὑπογραφεῖς ἐκείνῳ περὶ οὐ λέγων τι καλὸν οἶδα λυπῶν, καὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας οἱ φέροντες ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ ὁ τούτοις ἐφεστηκὼς ἄθλον εἶχε πολλῶν ἐτῶν τὴν περὶ τὸν χαλκὸν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι | τὰς πόλεις ἐποιοῦν λαμπράς. τὰ δὲ νῦν, οἱ μὲν εἰσιν εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν μυρίων πλείους, ᾧ δὲ μέλει τούτων ὅπῳ αὐτῷ δόξειεν | ὑπαρχος ἀνεφάνη. 59. τούτοις F 258 κεντουῖμαι τὴν ψυχὴν, περὶ τούτων οὐ δύναμαι μὴ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν καὶ ἔχω γε τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς συμποσίοις ἐν οἷς πολλὴ μὲν ἡ χιών, πολλὴ δὲ ὕβρις, αἰσχραὶ δὲ ἄμιλλαι, πονηραὶ δὲ νῦκαι, ὑμνοῦνται δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν οἱ τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων αἴτιοι.

60. Τῷ πολλάκις γάρ, φησί, τοῦτο ποιεῖν βαρὺς εἶ. τὸ πολλάκις δὲ λέγειν ἂ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν, τῷ λέγοντι μέμψιν¹ ἐνεγκεῖν δίκαιον; καὶ πῶς; ἢ γὰρ

¹ μέμψιν ἂν Re. (mss. except BMV): [ἂν] F.

^a The baldric (ζώνη) is the symbol of the στρατιώτης (*officialis*); similarly ἀναξυρίς καὶ ζωστήρ, *Or.* 62. 14: cf. *R.E.* xvii. 2047, s.v. "Officium."

^b The innuendo is again that of pederasty.

^c Julian. For his purge of the civil service cf. *Or.* 18. 131 ff. (Vol. I, pp. 365 ff.)

^d The precise nature of this supervision of coppersmiths

ORATION II, 57-60

dividuals by reason of the amusement they provide, and their easy passage to service posts^a; and the way mere lads are debauched and their fathers look on complacently, and how they sleep for the greater part of the day and spend their nights waiting to bathe? And what they do in this period of waiting, and where they do it, I forebear to mention.^b

58. My emperor—and I know that any commendations I make of him will cause offence—my emperor had four secretaries and seventeen couriers only^c: the minister in charge of them held the job as reward for the long years of service as superintendent of the armouries,^d and the rest made the cities prosperous. But nowadays there are 520 secretaries and more than 10,000 couriers,^e and the minister in charge of them turns up as prefect whenever he likes. 59. At this I am smitten to the heart: I cannot help but speak the truth about it, and I have my supporters, just as you have each other at your fine parties, where there is plenty of iced water laid on and plenty of misconduct, and where there is competition in vice and winning is a disgrace, and where not the gods but those responsible for our present woes receive hymns of praise.^f

60. "Yes," comes the reply, "it is by harping so often on this that you are tiresome." But is it right for the speaker to be reproved for harping upon what he is justified in saying? How can it be? Either is unclear. It seems to be connected with arms manufacture, which was a state monopoly, controlled by the *magister officiorum* (*Not. Dign. Or. XI. 18 ff.*).

^e *Agentes-in-rebus* or *σπαριῶται*.

^f This jibe is directed against the Christians influential at court and in Antioch. According to him, they are drunkards (hence the snow to cool the wine, *cf. Or. 1. 76*) and sexual perverts.

LIBANIUS

- οὐ δίκαια¹ ἂ μὴ χρῆν, ἣ καὶ πολλάκις, ἂ προσῆκεν. |
 R 192 61. ὄρᾱς ὡς τοῖς αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην
 ἀλλήλους προσαγορεύομεν καὶ οὐκ ἐσμέν βαρεῖς
 οὐδὲ λυποῦμεν τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀλλ' ἠδίους ποιοῦμεν,
 ὁ δ' οὐ προσειπὼν ἠτίμασεν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς τρα-
 πέζας ὑμῖν ἄδοντες νέοι καὶ ὑφ' ὧν τοῖς ἄσμασι
 πίνετε, οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν παραπέμπουσι τὰς κύ-
 λικας καὶ εἰσιν ἠδίους αὐτοῦ τοῦ πόματος; πῶς
 οὖν ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐ βαρὺ, τοῦτο δέ; εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο
 τοῖς πότοις πρέπει, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς συμφοραῖς.
 62. οἶδα δὲ ἔγωγε | πολλοὺς ἐπὶ δεινοῖς τισιν ἐν F 259
 θρήνοις ἀποθανόντας ὧν οὐδεὶς κατηγορήσεν ὅτι
 μὴ προεπαύσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς ἔδοξαν ἠσθῆσθαι
 τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶ τῶ συνεκβεβιωκέναι² τῇ λύπῃ.
 63. στήσον τὴν λύμην τὴν περὶ ἕκαστον καὶ στή-
 σεις μοι τοὺς περὶ αὐτῆς λόγους. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνη
 χωρεῖ, τί μοι τὴν γλῶτταν ἀποστρέφεις³; αὐτὰ γάρ
 με κινεῖ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὰ ῥήματα· σὺ δ'
 ὁμοίον τι ποιεῖ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς οὐκ ἔχων
 ἔλκος ἰάσασθαι τὸν ὀδυνώμενον ἐκέλευε μὴ στέ-
 νειν. 64. ἀπόδος τὴν παλαιὰν ἰσχύν τε καὶ ὤραν
 ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ τῆς παλινοδίας ἀκούσῃ. κατὰ-
 στησον εἰς τὴν ἔμπροσθεν τάξιν τοὺς λόγους, καὶ
 τότ' αὐτοὺς ἀπαίτει τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν εὐλογίαν. εἰ
 δὲ ἡ νόσος βαδίζει καὶ τὸ κακὸν αἰεὶ μείζον⁴ γί-
 νεται καὶ μικρὰ | τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὰ νῦν καὶ τι-

¹ ἢ γὰρ F. (MSS.): καὶ γὰρ Re., Fabr. | δίκαια Re. (MSS.):
 λεκτέα F.; δίκαιον Gasda.

² συνεκβεβιωκέναι F., Re. (ACPBΜ): συμβεβιωκέναι Fabr.
 (VUIMo.).

³ ἀποστρέφεις Re. (MSS.): ἀποφράττεις F.

ORATION II, 60-64

improper statements should not be made or justifiable ones should—and often. 61. You see us addressing each other in the same words every day without being tiresome or annoying in what we say. In fact, we give pleasure by it, and anyone who fails to greet us, slights us. And those youngsters who sing to you round the table and to the accompaniment of whose songs you drink—don't they pass you your cups with the same refrain and provide more pleasure than the actual drink? ^a So how is it that that is not tiresome, while this is? If that suits your drinking, this suits our misfortunes. 62. I know many people who have died of grief at some disaster, but nobody has ever reproached them for not having put a stop to it before that, but they were even thought to have had a proper appreciation of their troubles by dying and so taking leave of their grief. 63. Put an end to all the indignities I have mentioned, and you will put a stop to my comments about them. If they continue, why do you try to divert my tongue? The very facts induce me to speech. Your behaviour is like that of a doctor who is incapable of curing a wound and yet tells the agonized patient to stop moaning. 64. Restore to the cities their vigour and glory of old and you will hear my recantation. Place oratory back in its former place, and then you can require it to sing the praises of the present. But if the ailment progresses and the trouble waxes ever greater, if the past is of little account as compared

^a A typical pagan misrepresentation of Christian religious ceremonial.

⁴ ἀεὶ <μείζον> F. : ἀεὶ γίγνεται <μείζον> Fabr. : κακὸν <κἀκιον> ἀεὶ Gasda. Read κακὸν περιγίγνεται?

LIBANIUS

μιώτερα τὰ φαυλότερα καὶ ἀτιμότερα τὰ κρείττω,
τί με τὴν φθορὰν ἀναγκάζεις ἐγκωμιάζειν;

65. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης
ἐμαντοῦ νενόμικα βελτίω τε καὶ χεῖρω, καὶ γί-
γνομαι τοιοῦτος οἷον ἂν με ποιῶσιν αἱ ἐκείνης τύχαι,
μισεῖσθαι δὲ ὁ φιλῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην οὐκ ἄξιος.

66. εἰ δ' οὖν | καὶ κατακλείοι μέ τις εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ F 260

τῆς ἐνεγκούσης πρόνοιαν, ἀτυχεῖν μοι δοκεῖ ταῖς
μετοικίαις αὐτῆ πολλῶν τινῶν οἱ τὰς αὐτῶν κατα-
λιπόντες πόλεις καὶ οἴκους, εἰ δὴ καὶ οἴκους καὶ

R 194 οὐδ' ἂν ὄναρ ἠδέως ἰδόντες οὐπὲρ ἔφυσαν, | ξένοι
πολιτῶν κρατεῖν οἴονται δεῖν τρέμοντες¹ μὴ νόμον

θῆ βασιλεὺς εἶναι τῶν παραδόξων πλούτων εὐ-
θύνας. 67. οἷς οὐκ ἔξαρκεῖ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἔχειν,
ἀλλὰ κἂν αἰτιάσθαι τις τὴν Τύχην θυμοῦνται, καὶ
βαρὺς ὁ μεμφάμενος· τὸ γὰρ εἰς τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἤκειν
παρρησίας ὄντας οἰοίπερ ἐστέ, πῶς οὐ πάνδεινον;

68. εἰ δὲ γεωργὸς ὢν αἰεὶ σπεύρων οὐδὲν κομιζό-
μενος κατεβῶων τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν τὸ μὲν λαβόντων τὸ
δὲ οὐ δεδωκότων, ὀχληρὸς ἂν ᾦν τοῖς ταῦτα καθ'
ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀκούουσι; καὶ πῶς ἐνῆν μὴ θρηνεῖν
ἐν αὐχμοῖς καὶ ἐπομβρίαις καὶ νοσήμασιν ἄλλοις
καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν σπορὰν αὐτὴν ζημίᾳ; 69. ἀλλὰ
μητρὸς μὲν τηκομένης μήκεσι νόσων ἔδει κλάειν,
πατρίδος δὲ ἢ καὶ πρὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἂν εἶη κακῶς

¹ <οὐ> τρέμοντες Re., Fabr.

^a A fair example of the *philanthropia* professed by Libanius and Themistius, reminiscent of Terence, *Heauton.* 77.

^b For immigration into Antioch, previously commended in *Or.* 11. 163 ff., cf. Liebeschuetz, p. 99. Libanius in the Theodosian period is very critical of this development, cf. *Or.* 10. 25, 41. 6. His special target here is the *honorati* who settle in Antioch.

ORATION II, 64-69

with the present, if things of little worth are held more precious, and the better is of less repute, why do you force me to speak in praise of our loss?

65. So when I have particularly considered the state of the whole world, good and bad alike, to be my own concern, and my attitude is such as its fortunes make it,^a one who so loves the world does not deserve to be an object of hatred. 66. So, even if I should be confined just to consideration for the city that bore me, her I regard as ill-used in the immigration of many persons: these leave their native towns and their homes,—if indeed they have homes to leave and if it were not the case that the last place they would pluck up courage to see, even in their dreams, was their own birthplace—and, outsiders as they are, they regard it as their right to ride rough-shod over citizens, and they are all of a tremble in case the emperor should decree an investigation into their unexpected wealth.^b 67. They are not satisfied with possessing what is ours, but if there is any word of blame for Fortune, they are up in arms, and anyone who complains is tiresome. For you, being the people you are, to be brought to such a pass with regard to your freedom of expression, that is a most dreadful thing. 68. If I were a farmer, sowing my seed all the time and getting no return, if I grumbled at the years that took all and gave nothing, would I be a nuisance to those who heard it year after year? How could I help complaining in times of drought, flood, and agricultural diseases also, and in the losses made upon the actual sowing? 69. If it is right to grieve when one's mother is wasted by long illnesses, should a man make merry when his

LIBANIUS

διακειμένης ἑορτάζειν ἐχρῆν; ἦδειν ἀρέσκοντα ποιῶν τοῖς λαχοῦσιν αὐτὴν δαίμοσι, τοῦτο δὲ ἠπιστάμην δίκαιον ὄν. δίκαια τοίνυν ποιῶν οὐκ ἠδίκουν. |

70. Ἐν μὲν τοῦτο τοσοῦτον ἔπειθε λέγειν, ἕτερον F 261
R 195 δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον· ἠλπίζον δράσειν τι τὸν λόγον καὶ
 ἰάσεσθαι καὶ ἐπανορθώσειν | ἑτέρων πρὸς ἑτέρους
 αὐτὸν φερόντων, ἕως εἰς ὧτα τοῖς βασιλευσιν
 ἀφίκοιτο. 71. δεδυστύχηται δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
 μάτην με ταῦτα ἐλπῖσαι. περὶ παντὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον
 διαλέγονται τοῖς βασιλευσιν οἷς τούτου μέτεστιν
 ἢ τῶν τηλικούτων, καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπερβάντες
 ἀφ' ὧν χαριοῦνται λέγουσι. 72. καὶ τί δεῖ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμᾶν; οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐκίνησα τὸν ὑπαρχον
 εἰς φροντίδα τῶν βουλῶν εἰπὼν (ὃ τίνα οὐκ ἂν
 ἐπεσπάσατο;) ὅτι τὸ γένος τοῦτο ἐκλείψει παίδων
 βουλευταῖς οὐκ ἔσομένων, γάμων αὐτοῖς οὐ γι-
 γνομένων, τοῦ βουλεύειν κακῶν εἶναι δοκοῦντος
 ἐσχάτου. 73. ὁ δ' ἐλέγχειν μὲν οὐκ εἶχέ μοι τὸν
 λόγον, εἰπὼν δὲ κακῶς τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας τῶν πολι-
 τευομένων σὺν ὀργῇ μεγάλη πᾶν ὃ προσῆκεν ὦετο
 πεπληρωκένας καὶ τῷ τρυφᾶν¹ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἔδωκε.
 74. Τί οὖν λοιπόν; εὐχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς χεῖρα
¹ τρυφᾶν F., conj. Re. : γράφειν Re. (edit.), Fabr. (mss.).

^a A commonplace with Libanius.

^b Especially the tutelary goddess of Antioch, the Muse Calliope (*Or.* 1. 102; 31. 40).

^c The emperors are Theodosius and Gratian, not (as Foerster, vol. I, p. 208) Arcadius. Arcadius did not become emperor until A.D. 383.

^d The prefect is usually identified with Domitius Modestus, praefectus praetorio Orientis (=ppO), A.D. 369-377. Liban-

ORATION II, 69-74

country is in sore straits, for she should mean more to him than his mother, even?^a I knew that my conduct was pleasing to the deities who took her under their protection,^b and this I knew to be right. So if my behaviour was right, I did no wrong.

70. This then is the sum of one matter that induced me to speak, but there is another, no less weighty. I hoped that my remarks would have some effect, and would serve as a cure and corrective, transmitted from person to person until it reached the emperors' ears.^c 71. This has been a vain hope and I have not succeeded. Those who have the ear of our rulers converse with them on any matter but this, neglecting things of importance and reporting only what will win them favour. 72. And what need to reproach all and sundry? Not even the prefect himself did I move to concern himself with the local councils, though I said what would convince anybody, that this class of person would die out, since councillors would have no children, they remain unmarried and their status is regarded as the worst of all possible evils. 73. He could not refute what I had to say, but flew into a temper and abused three or four of the councillors, thought that he had done his whole duty, and took himself to his flesh-pots again.^d

74. What recourse have we, then? Pray the gods ius' intervention, which was certainly made in person, would then have occurred at least four years before the composition of this oration, and under a different emperor. A nearer date in the reign of Theodosius seems more appropriate, and the most likely candidate would be Neoterius (ppO, A.D. 380-381), who had apparently sponsored the consular Carterius (for whom cf. *PLRE* 182 (3)). This incident would account for the unflattering picture of the prefect, which is unlike anything Libanius wrote about Modestus.

LIBANIUS

ὀρέξαι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς καὶ ταῖς
βουλαῖς καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ καὶ τὰ μὲν
οὐδὲ δικαίως | ἠϋξήμενα μικρὰ ποιῆσαι, τὰ δὲ ἀδίκως F 262
καταφρονούμενα τὰ αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι δοῦναί τε
ἀφορμὰς ἐμοὶ χαρᾶς ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ἀνίας.

ORATION II, 74

to stretch their protecting hand over temples,
farmers, councils and the language of the Greeks, to
bring low all that has improperly been raised up, to
allow what is unjustly despised to recover its due,
and to grant me, in place of my present woe, full
cause for joy.

ORATION 50
FOR THE PEASANTRY,
ABOUT FORCED LABOUR

INTRODUCTION

THE date of composition is shown by the reference to *C. Th.* 15. 9. 1 (§ 12) to be after July A.D. 384. Parallels with the first oration against Icarius (*Or.* 27. 14 ff.) place it firmly in Icarius' term of office as *Comes Orientis*, in the winter or spring of A.D. 385.

The situation in Antioch was then embittered by the prolongation of famine conditions, which had existed since A.D. 382. Then Libanius had, by his personal intervention with the *Comes*, averted the risk of civil disorder, which usually accompanied such crises, and had protected the bakers from excessive victimization (*Or.* 1. 205 ff.). Now, however, under Icarius, whom he had regarded as his protégé, he found the offer of his services in a similar situation rejected. Icarius, indeed, resorted to the extremes of control—regimentation of the bakers' corporation, supervision by his own nominees of both the bakeries and the markets generally, the imposition of fixed prices and of rationing for bread, not to mention the more normal imposition of emergency demands upon the city councillors for their services in maintaining the food supply (the *sitigia*: cf. *Or.* 27-29 *passim*). All such measures were applied by his agents with the brutality and venality characteristic of the administration. Simultaneously, an influx of hungry refugees into Antioch exaggerated the general

LIBANIUS

increase in the population of the city, which was a feature of this period (*Or.* 27. 6), so creating a problem of accommodation, which was almost totally ignored in the building projects then being instituted by the rich magnates resident in the city. Needless to say, the ordinary city councillor, in the face of such a combination of pressures, found himself squeezed between the increased demands of the administration and the growing discontent of the hard-pressed proletariat.

Libanius, piqued at personal slights and genuinely distressed at the situation in Antioch, resumed his rôle as the spokesman of the oppressed, and began a series of orations against the excesses of Icarius' administration. The personal attacks, which contrast so strongly with the oration of advice to Icarius upon his arrival (*Or.* 26), commenced in the late autumn of A.D. 384 with a speech of protest to him against the conduct of his nominees towards the bakers (*Or.* 29), moving on, early in A.D. 385, to the open attack upon him for neglecting to control these subordinates (*Or.* 27), all these orations being designed to influence opinion in Antioch, until he finally composed an oration, ostensibly addressed to the emperor, demanding Icarius' dismissal for the malpractices which he describes (*Or.* 28). At the same time, he composed, also for the attention of the imperial administration, the present oration, taking his stand upon considerations of natural justice and public utility. The same grievances, which are used in the narrowly personal attack upon the governor, are here deployed in the exposition of a point of principle in a spirit of genuine social reform, the two sets of arguments supplementing each other as doublets in the same way

ORATION I

as those of *Or.* 33 and 45 are to do in the following year.

The point of principle upon which Libanius seizes here is the local custom of the casual requisitioning of forced labour.^a According to Libanius, the practice was peculiar to Antioch and of long standing. Had it been imposed by the city council he might well have been less bitter in his complaints, but the authorization evidently came from the *Comes* alone, and there was a sharp contrast between the efforts of the central government to regulate the demands for the *angariae* in the *cursus publicus* from A.D. 382 onwards (*cf. C. Th.* 8. 5. 38-45) and the continuance of this casual requisitioning of services by the officials resident in Antioch. Icarus, indeed, upon entering office had proclaimed his disgust at this practice and had announced his intention of stopping it: instead, it had been applied more arbitrarily than ever (*Or.* 27 15 f.). Extensive demolitions and rebuilding in the city, both public and private, brought with them the problem of disposal of rubble and debris. Expenditure on this was avoided by obtaining a permit from the *Comes* through his officials to requisition the services of animals and their owners to perform the task. The victims of this practice were, without exception, the peasantry visiting the local market, whose social status was thus demonstrated as being inferior to that of the townsmen. Since the city itself possessed draft animals in large numbers, and

^a The phrase *περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν* may well be a later intrusion into the title, since the term does not appear in the text of the oration. This type of local requisitioning is not to be confused with the general system of *ἀγγαρεῖαι* by imperial regulations (for which *cf. C. Th.* 8. 5).

LIBANIUS

yet refused to use them for its public services, the inequality of treatment became the more glaring (§ 5). Even worse was the extension of the practice to the services of private individuals (§§ 16 ; 20 ff.). The consequence was that both the public and private interests in the city of Antioch were being run on the cheap in crude monetary terms but that the returning peasants suffered personal inconvenience and even danger, as well as economic loss, and so began a boycott of the markets which in turn affected the citizens by increasing the prevailing scarcity and raising the cost of living.

The arguments deployed before the emperor are those of justice and public utility. Whether they affected the conduct of the administration in any way is more than doubtful. In the next year Libanius was to publicize yet another kind of administrative abuse—that of prison conditions. However partial he may be in the presentation of his arguments, he certainly illuminates the growing social unrest and economic depression which were to provoke the violence of the riots against the statues in A.D. 387. The oration also clearly reveals the growing impotence of the city council. The influence of the *Comes* is all-important, and this in turn is applied upon the solicitation of various potentates, but the councillors themselves, both as landlords and as agents responsible for collection of taxation demanded by the central government, retain the odium attached to their nominal authority. The abuses here listed contribute to that rift between urban and rural life which is displayed in *Or. 47 (De Patrocinii)*, and are a sharp contrast to the rhetorical praises of country life which appear both in Libanius (Foerster, vol. VIII

ORATION L

pp. 261 ff., 349 ff.) and in Themistius (*Or.* 30) and are a commonplace in the schools. Libanius here has the merit of indicating clearly that the economic basis of his urban society lies in the maintenance of the rural economy.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Only four manuscripts (CABI) survive for this oration. Although all have the same title, it is possible, as Foerster suggested, that the phrase *περὶ τῶν ἀγγραρειῶν* is an addition by a Byzantine scholar. A collection of excerpts compiled by Macarius Chrysocephalus in the 14th century preserves four passages from the speech under the title *περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει πηλοῦ*.

The *editio princeps* was that of Gothofredus, Geneva, 1631, with Latin version and notes (*Libanii Sophistae Orationes IV*), reproduced in his *Opera Juridica Minora*, Leiden, 1733. Reiske's edition, Altenburg, 1791, incorporates these notes. The latest editor was Foerster. Monnier translated the speech. Assessments of it appear in Pack, *Studies*, Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale*.

L

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ
ΑΓΓΑΡΕΙΩΝ

R ii. 551 1. Εἰ καὶ περὶ μικρῶν δόξω τισὶν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, F iii. ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ σοὶ γε οὐ περὶ μικρῶν οἶμαι δόξειν λέγειν διὰ τὸ πᾶν ὅτιπερ ἂν ἡ δίκαιον μέγα κεκρίσθαι παρὰ σοί. συμβαίνει δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκούσῃ¹ σήμερον, <ὅ>² εἰκότως σε καὶ μόνον ἐπειθεν ἂν πως. οὐ μείζω μοι τὴν ἐλπίδα ποιεῖ τὸ ταῦτὸ καὶ λυσιτελεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρξει σοι τῶν πραττομένων, ὦ φιλανθρωπότατε βασιλεῦ, μαθεῖν. |

2. Πολλὰ ποιεῖ χοῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὦ θεία F 472 κεφαλῇ, πίπτουσαι οἰκίαι σαθραί,³ αἱ δὲ τεκτόνων τέχνη λυόμεναι, θεμέλιοι νέαις τιθέμενοι, περὶ οἰκοδομήματα δημόσια τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα γιγνόμενα. τοῦτου δὴ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτων χοῦν δεῖ μὲν ἔξω φέρεσθαι τειχῶν ὅπως ἐφ' ὅτουπερ ἔκειτο τοῦτο δέξαιτό τι ἴδιον ἢ δημόσιον. 3. καὶ τὸ μὲν δίκαιον ἦν ἀφ' ἧς οἰκοδομεῖται τὰ δημόσια δαπάνης, ἀπὸ ταύτης καὶ τοῦτο πράττεσθαι τὸ μέρος. εἰ γὰρ τὰ

¹ ἀκούσῃ F. : ἀκούσειν Re. text (mss.) : ἀκούσεις conj. Re.

² <ὅ> conj. Re., F.

³ σαθραὶ Cobet, F. : σαπραὶ Re. (mss.).

^a Or. 50 F., 49 Re.

ORATION 50 ^a
FOR THE PEASANTRY,
ABOUT FORCED LABOUR

1. EVEN if some believe that my orations deal with trivial matters, Sire, I think that you at least will not believe that I deal in trivialities, because every consideration of right has been adjudged of importance in your eyes. Such happens to be the subject of which you will hear today, and this of itself may well carry conviction with you, but what raises my hopes the more is the fact that it is also a subject that involves your interests also. And the truth of my statements, your most gracious majesty,^b you will be able to gauge from the facts themselves.

2. In our cities, your majesty, there is much that produces rubble—the collapse of derelict houses, their demolition by workmen and the laying of foundations for new ones, and the very same thing happening with public buildings too. The rubble from them must be carted outside the walls so that the vacant site can receive some building, private or public. 3. The proper thing would be for the cost of doing this job to be included in the cost of the public building schemes, for if, in the case of timber,

^b On the “philanthropy” of Theodosius *cf. Or.* 19. 16 f. ; 20. 16 f. *Themist. Or.* 19.

LIBANIUS

R ii. 552 ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ κεραμίδας καὶ ἐργάτας
καὶ τέκτονας καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς δι' ὧν ἂν τις ἢ
κατασκευάσαιτό τι τῶν | οὐκ ὄντων ἢ ἐπισκευά-
σειε τῶν καμώντων, εἰ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων
δίκαιον μὴ φεύγειν τὴν δαπάνην τὴν πόλιν, ταῦτό
κρατεῖτω δίκαιον καὶ περὶ τὸν χοῦν. εἰ δὲ καλῶς
τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενα γίγνεται περὶ τὸν χοῦν, τί μὴ
διὰ πάντων τοῦτο ἔρχεται τῶν ποιούντων δημόσιον
οἰκοδόμημα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡμὸν τοῦτο, κἀκεῖνο· εἰ
δ' οὐ δεινόν,¹ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο. 4. ἀλλὰ δεινόν τε, ὦ
βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἄδικον καὶ κακὸν καὶ λόγου παντὸς
ἐπιεικοῦς ἔστερημένον. τί λέγεις; ἔθηκα τιμὴν
ὀρέων ἢ ὄνων ἢ καμήλων, ἐμισθωσάμην τοὺς ἐπι-
μελησομένους τούτων ἐκάστου, καὶ γέγονεν ἐν-
τεῦθεν ἐμοί τε καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ παισὶν ἢ τροφή.
σὺ δ' ἄπτη καὶ ἔλκεις καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σὸν ποιεῖς, καὶ
δεῖ τὸ μὲν ἐργάζεσθαι | σοί, βλέποντα δὲ ἐμὲ σιω- F 473
πᾶν. ὄρα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ οὐ σφόδρα βασιλείας τοῦ-
το ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κτηθὲν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα βαδίζειν.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφαιρεῖταιί με τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ
τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀδικημάτων δίκη, πάντα ἔστω τὰμὰ
τῆς πόλεως· εἰ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἔγνωσται, πῶς ἂ
παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἔχω ταῦτά με οὐκ ἔας ἔχειν;

R ii. 553 5. Ἔστι τῇ πόλει χωρία παρὰ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἐν διαθήκαις | δεδομένα τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα γεωρ-
γεῖται τῇ πόλει καὶ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ πρόσοδος τῆς
κεκτημένης. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις ἔστι ταῦτα ἂ
νῦν ἔφην, ὀρεῖς, ὄνοι, κάμηλοι. τί ταῦτα ὑπερβαί-

¹ δεινόν <τοῦτο> conj. Re., Monnier.

^a Cf. Or. 27. 15: λέγω τὰ περὶ τὸν χοῦν ὃν ἐκφέρειν ἀλλοτρίοις ἔδωκεν ὄνοις δέον οἰκείοις ἀναγκάζειν.

^b On the question of the city estates of Antioch cf. Or.

bricks, tiles, builders and carpenters, in fact everything to do with the erection of a new structure or the renovation of one in disrepair,—if it is not the thing for the city authority to evade such and similar costs, then the same principle should also apply to the disposal of rubble.^a If the present practice in disposing of rubble is correct, why does it not apply to all aspects of the construction of public buildings? If this is oppressive, then that would be too, and if there is no harm in this, neither would there be in that. 4. But there is harm in it, Sire: it is wrong and wicked and without any reasonable justification. Why! Suppose I pay a price for mules or asses or camels and hire people to look after them all, and the income from them maintains my wife and children and myself. Then suppose that you lay hands on them, take them off and make what is mine yours, and they must work for you while I must look on and hold my tongue. Observe, Sire, that it is quite unconstitutional for a magistrate to invade my property. If a verdict in law robs me of my possessions and this is a punishment for my misdeeds, then let all I have be confiscated to the city. But if no such verdict has been declared, then how do you forbid me possession of what I legally possess?

5. The city has estates bequeathed to it by testament from men of days gone by. These are farmed for the city and the income from them belongs to the city that owns them.^b On these estates there are what I have just mentioned, mules, asses, camels. 31. 16 ff., Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, pp. 149 ff., and in *B.Z.* lii (1959), pp. 344 ff. For a different view cf. Petit, *Vie municipale*, pp. 96 ff.

LIBANIUS

νοντες οί τήν ἀρχήν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χω-
 ροῦσι καὶ ποιούντες ἀτελὲς πᾶν ἐκείνοις ὧν ἔστιν
 ὁ πόνος, τούτων ποιούσι τὸ ἔργον οἷς ἀδικον ἐν-
 οχλεῖν; εἰ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἔξω τοῦτο τῶν τεταγμένων,
 καὶ ἡμῖν. 6. οὐκ οὐκ ἔχοι τις ἂν δεῖξαι νόμον οὔτε
 σὸν οὔτε ἄλλου βασιλέως οὐδενὸς καθ' ὃν καὶ
 τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν λειτουργίαις. οὐδέ γε ἐν τοῖς καθ'
 ἕκαστον ἔτος γράμμασιν ἐν οἷς ἂ δεῖ φέρειν ἔστιν
 οὐδαμοῦ προσέγραπται τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῦ-
 το περὶ ὅτουπερ ὁ νῦν λόγος ἐξέστω ποιεῖν καὶ
 R ii. 554 τοὺς ὄνους τοὺς οὐ τῆς πόλεως | ποιεῖν τῆς πόλεως.
 καίτοι καὶ εἰ νόμῳ τοῦτο διώριστο,¹ κατὰ μὲν τὴν
 ἐντεῦθεν ἀνάγκην ἐγίγνετ' ἂν, οὐ μὲν ἄνευ γε τοῦ
 χαλεπῶς φέρειν, ἦν δ' ἂν ἴσως τι καὶ παραμυθίας
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κείσθαι νόμον. νῦν δὲ | νόμος μὲν F 474
 οὐδαμοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ πολὺ τὸ ἔργον. 7. τοῦτο δὲ
 ὅταν εἶπω, τὸ ἀδίκημα λέγω. ἡδέως δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς
 ἐροίμην διὰ τί μὴ καὶ οἰκέτας καὶ θεραπαίνας καὶ
 στρώματα καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἀμάξας ἄγουσιν ἐκ τῶν
 οἰκιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλεως χρεῖαν. εἰ γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ
 ἔξεστι φήσουσιν, οὐδέ ταῦτα ἔξεστι. πῶς οὖν τὸ
 μὴ ἐξεῖναι τιμῶντες οἷς τούτων ἀπέχονται τὸ αὐτὸ
 τοῦτο δι' ὧν ποιούσιν ὑβρίζουσι; καὶ μὴν ὑπὲρ
 πολλῶν αὐτοὺς οἶδα διὰ γραμμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐρομέ-
 νους εἰ ποιητέον, ὡς οὐκ ὄν θέμις ποιεῖν ὃ μὴ τῆς
 τοιαύτης ἐξουσίας ἔτυχε. πῶς οὖν οὐ καὶ περὶ

¹ διώριστο F. (CP, γρ in marg. A): διείρητο Re. (AI).

^a "Indictiones . . . quibus modus canonicarum functio-
 num, seu tributorum et munerum publicorum continebatur"
 (Gothofred.).

^b The magisterial *relationes* to the emperor (e.g. those of
 Pliny to Trajan, *Ep.* x, and of Symmachus). For regula-
 64

ORATION L, 5-7

Why do the magistrates ignore these and proceed against other people? Why grant complete immunity to them whose task it is and impose the job on those whom it is wrong to burden with it? If this lies outside their sphere of obligation, it is outside ours, too. 6. Nor could one point to a law of yours or of any other emperor whereby this also is part of the civic duties. Nor is it anywhere written into the annual list of obligations to be performed^a that the governors should be allowed to indulge in the practice now under discussion and to confiscate to the city asses that do not belong to her. But if this had been defined by law, it would take place in accordance with the enforcement of the law, not without resentment, it is true, but there would perhaps be a measure of consolation to be derived from its legal enactment. As it is, there is no law at all, but the practice is frequent. 7. And when I say this practice, I mean this illegal practice. I would like to ask them why they don't take male and female slaves, bedding, furniture and carriages from private houses for the service of the city. If they say that it is illegal, this is illegal too. How comes it then that they show respect for legality by refraining from these actions and yet violate this very same principle by the actions that they do? Moreover, I know that they will communicate with you on many questions to enquire whether such and such an action should be taken since it is not lawful to do anything not so permitted.^b How is it then

tions concerning them *cf. C. Th.* 11. 29 (especially 29. 5 of A.D. 374, where both the governor and his staff are held to be criminally responsible for any dereliction of duty in presenting them).

LIBANIUS

τούτων ἤροντο καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀναμείναντες οὕτως ἢ ἔδρων ἢ οὐ; νῦν δ' αὐτῷ τῷ φυγεῖν τὸ ἐρωτηῆσαι τὸ μὴ τῶν δικαίων εἶναι τοῦργον δεδηλώκασιν.

8. Ἐτι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῦτο ἦν ἐγνωσμένων, κοινὸν ἂν ἦν τοῦτο τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῖν πόλεων ὥσπερ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. νῦν δ' ἀπιστία τοὺς ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐρχομένους ἔχει πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτο καὶ ἀκούοντας καὶ ὁρῶντας. ἐρχονται γὰρ ἐκ πόλεων ἐν αἷς τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ οὐχ ἠγούνται τὰς αὐτῶν | ὃ χρῆν ἔχειν οὐκ ἔχειν ἀλλ' εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν ὃ μὴ εἶναι βέλτιον.

9. Ἴδοις δ' ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἷς οὐ ποιοῦσιν ὧν δρώσι κατηγοροῦντας. | οὗτοι γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἐν δυνάμει γεγενημένων καὶ F 475 στρατοπέδων ἠγησαμένων αἰδοῦνται τοὺς τε ὄνους καὶ τᾶλλα, καὶ παρέρχονται τὸν χεῖρ οἱ ταῦτα ἐλαύνοντες ἀνεσπασμέναις ταῖς ὀφρῦσι καὶ ὀρθοῖς τοῖς αὐχέσι, κἄν τις λάβηταιί τινος παριόντος παρανενόμηκε. τῶν ἄλλων δὲ οἱ μὲν μετὰ πόνου τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ῥύονται, οἱ δ' ἂν ἀντιβλέψαι τολμήσωσι, τυπτόμενοι μανθάνουσιν ὅτι κρείττον ἦν σιωπῇ πάσχειν κακῶς. τοῦ τοίνυν μὴ δικαίως τοῦσδε πιέζεσθαι τὸ μὴ καὶ πάντας τὰ τοιαῦτα πονεῖν σημείον. εἰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑπ' ἑκείνων οὐ πονοῦντων παραβαίνεται νόμος, οὐδ' οἶδε νόμῳ πρὸς τοῦτ' ἄγονται.

10. Ἐρεῖ τοίνυν τις ὡς εἰ καὶ μὴ γεγραμμένον τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀλλ' εἰς ἔθος ἦκει. ἔθη δὲ εἰ μὲν ἀκίνητα πάντα ἔμεινεν, εἰκός τι καὶ οἶδε πεπόνθασι δεδουλευκότες τοῖς ἔθεσιν· εἰ δὲ λέλυται πολλὰ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς κρείττοσιν εἰζάντων τῶν

ORATION L, 7-10

that they did not make enquiries on this matter too and, after awaiting your reply, act accordingly? Simply by omitting to enquire they have shown their actions to be illegal.

8. Moreover, if this were one of your edicts, it would be of universal application to the cities under your sway, as are the other edicts also. But visitors to us from elsewhere are possessed by disbelief when they hear and see such goings-on. They come from cities where this practice does not exist, and their notion is not that their home town does not possess a privilege it should have, but that there exists here a practice we could better do without.

9. And you may observe, Sire, that the governors themselves by their omissions proclaim their sins of commission. They respect the asses et cetera of retired officials and military officers, and their drivers pass by the rubble with disdainful face and noses in the air, and if somebody claims any of them as they pass by, it is an outrage. But anybody else either rescues his animals with much trouble or, if he dares look askance, learns under the lash that he would do better to suffer in silence. So the fact that not everyone performs these duties is proof that these people are unjustly oppressed, for if no law is broken by those not doing the task, these here are not legally forced to do it either.

10. But it will be objected that even if this is not a matter of statute, it has passed into custom. If all customs remained inviolate, there is some sense in their slavish adherence to custom. But if many lapse with the passage of time, with the worse giving way

¹ *ἰπ'* F. (I) : *ἐπ'* Re. (CAP).

χειρόνων, μὴ τὸ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος φύσεως διαλέγεσθαι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸ πεπραῆχθαι πολλάκις καταφευγόντων. ἄχθεσθαι γὰρ ἄξιον ὅτι γέγονε πολλάκις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦτο μένειν. 11. ἦσαν τινες οἱ πονηρὰν ἑορτὴν εἰσήγαγον

R ii. 556 εἰς τὴν Δάφνην. | ἦν δὲ τὸ πάντα τρόπον ἀσχη- F 476

μονεῖν ἑορτὴν ποιεῖν. τοῦτό τις κατιδὼν βασιλεὺς ἐπιεικῆς καὶ σώφρων αἰσχυρθεὶς μὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις, ἀλγῆσας δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ χωρίου παύει τὴν ἐπι τοιούτοις σύνοδον καὶ παύσας εὐδοκιμεῖ. καὶ οὐδεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἔλεγεν ἔτη οὐδ' ὡς τὰ κεκρατηκότα δεῖ κρατεῖν διὰ τέλους. ἀλλ' ἐξεβέβλητο τοῦτο τῆς Δάφνης τὸ νόσημα χρόνον πολὺν ἕως αὐτὸ πάλιν ἄνδρες ἀξίως τοιούτων ἑορτῶν βεβιωκότες εἰσήγαγον. 12. αἱ κατὰ τῶν βουλευόντων πληγαὶ διὰ κακίαν ἀρχόντων εἰς ἔθος

R ii. 557 ἦκον. τοῦτ' αὐτὸς | ἀνήρηκας¹ νόμῳ κὰν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς περὶ σοῦ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν. ἐπὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν θηρίων λειτουργίας ἀνάγκαις ἤγετό τις πρότερον. σὺ γνώμης² τοῦτο ἐποίησας οὔτε κωλύων βουλομένους οὔτε ἔλκων ἄκοντας. |

R ii. 558 καὶ οὔτε ἐνόμιζες ἀδικεῖν ἔθει μαχόμενος οὔτε ἠδίκεις. μηδὲ ἔστωσαν ἀνεψιῶν γάμοι γέγραψας ἐν

¹ ἀνήρηκας conj. Re., F. : ἀνήρηκε Re. text (mss.).

² σὺ γνώμης Monnier, F. : συγγνώμης Re. (mss.).

^a The Maiuma, cf. *Or.* 10. 14. The ban on this orgiastic ritual, which was associated with Dionysus and Aphrodite and notorious for its immorality, had perhaps been imposed by Julian, cf. *Or.* 41. 16. Julian certainly disapproved of the festival, cf. *Misop.* 362 d. Gothofredus, with less likelihood,

ORATION L, 10-12

to the better, let them not, in evading discussion about the nature of the practice, have recourse to the argument of its prevalence in the past. Its long history should be cause for annoyance, and not reason for remaining as you are. 11. A disgusting festival was introduced by certain persons to Daphne: its ceremonial was that of utter and absolute licence.^a This came to the eye of a good and prudent emperor, and he, ashamed at the behaviour and distressed for the sanctuary, put a stop to a gathering of this character, and won approval for doing so. And nobody told him how many years the festival had lasted,^b or that what had been the fashion should forever be the fashion, but this plague was banished from Daphne for a long time until men whose manner of life was in keeping with such kind of festivals once again introduced it. 12. The flogging of city councillors has, through the failings of the governors, hardened into custom. You personally have banned this practice by law,^c and in the recital of your praises this forms one of the cardinal points. In the past people were forced under compulsion to undertake the provision of the beast shows. You made this voluntary^d; you neither sought to hinder the willing nor to draft the unwilling. Neither did you think yourself wrong in going counter to custom, nor were you wrong. You also decreed that marriages between cousins be banned, though the

identified the emperor with Constantius. *V. Julian, E.L.F.* No. 102; *C. Th.* 15. 6.

^b It had been organized by Commodus, *cf. Malalas* 284 ff.

^c *C. Th.* 12. 1. 80, 85 (A.D. 380, 381).

^d *C. Th.* 15. 9. 1 (July A.D. 384); a later enactment, 12. 1. 109 (April A.D. 385).

LIBANIUS

ἐξουσία πολλῇ τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος. καὶ τῶν φαινομένων σοὶ δικαίων οὐκ ἦν ὁ τοῦ ἔργου χρόνος δυνατώτερος. πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδει βλέψαι τοὺς τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον αἰδεσθῆναι τὸν τῶν ἀδικημάτων χρόνον ἢ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι ταῦτα πεπαῦσθαι. |

R ii. 559 13. Καίτοι πόσους ἐποησάμην, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ F 477
τούτου λόγους πρὸς ἕκαστον. οὓς μέμφεσθαι μὲν ὡς οὐκ ὄντας δικαίους οὐκ εἶχον, ἀγειν δὲ εἰς ἔργον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο, οὐχ ἴν' ὁ σὸς οἶκός τι κερδάνειε, κέρδος μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' εἴ τι χρυσίον ἐντεῦθεν ἐγίνετό | σοὶ, ὅτου γὰρ οὐχ ἡγείται τὸ καλὸν τοῦτο ἅπαν ζημία, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐντεῦθεν ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πόνος ἐτέρων, ὁ δὲ μισθὸς ὧν εἰπεῖν οὐ βούλομαι. 14. ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην, πολλάκις μὲν ἐμεμφόμην τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα περιορᾶν, ἦννον δὲ οὐδέν. καὶ ἦν λοιπὸν σοὶ τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαλέγεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῆς σῆς ψήφου βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, πρὸς ὃν ἢ οὐδεὶς τολμήσει μεμνήσθαι τοῦ ἔθους ἢ μάτην. ἐλαύνων γὰρ δὴ σὺ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ νόμοις καινοῖς εὖ ποιεῖς τοὺς ἀρχομένους. ὧν ἕκαστος λύει τὸν πάλαι κείμενον εἰκότως ἀμείνων δήπου δεικνύμενος. 15. εἰ δὲ γεγραμμένους λύεις λογισμοῦ πείθοντος, πῶς τοῦτο ἐν ἀγράφοις ὀκνήσεις τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνούσης αἰτίας; ὀρωμεν δήπου καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχοντας ἐκβάλλοντας τὰ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνοικούντα κακὰ καὶ μᾶλλον γε εὐδοκιμοῦντας τοὺς τοῦτο δυνηθέντας

^a Cf. Victor, *Epit.* 48, Ambrose, *Ep.* 60. 8. The decree itself does not survive, though the wording of *C. Th.* 3. 12. 3 (A.D. 396) implies previous legislation on the matter.

ORATION L, 12-15

practice was widely current.^a Nor was the long period of this currency of more influence than what you felt to be right. It is the duty of the governors of this city to observe such examples and not have such regard for the long reign of misdeeds as for the rightness of ending them.

13. But oh ! the protests I have made, Sire, to every one of them on the matter ! They could not complain that these were not right ; they simply refused to translate them into action, not that the imperial house might profit thereby, for it would not profit you at all, even if any money resulted from it ; anything not directed by right is sheer loss. So far from any such result accruing, one set of people did the work while the payment for it went to people I forbear to mention. 14. As I have said, I have often reproved them for neglecting such matters, but with no success. The sole alternative was to address you, Sire, and to assist the injured parties by means of your decree, for no one will dare mention custom to you or, if he does so, it will be in vain. For you bless your subjects by the defeat of the enemy ^b and by new laws, every one of which annuls one of long standing, and rightly too, since it is seen to be the better. 15. And if, at the dictate of reason, you annul laws in the statute book, you will certainly not shrink from it in the case of unwritten laws, if they are open to the same objection. Indeed we see doctors also, whose job it is, getting rid of the ailments that reside in the bodies of their patients, and those who can do so in the case of illnesses of

^b The first of Theodosius' military successes against the Goths was celebrated in A.D. 379 ; *cf.* Vol. I, p. 502 n.

LIBANIUS

κατὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυναστευσάντων χρόνον. καὶ νῦν ὅσῳπερ ἂν τις ἐτῶν μνημονεύσῃ πλειόνων, τοσοῦτῳ μείζων ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας ἢ δόξα. |

16. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν οἰκοδο- F 478
 R ii. 560 μημάτων σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν | λαμβανέτω, τὸν κέραμον. εἰ δ' οὖν δεῖ τι καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι περὶ ταῦτα τοὺς ὄνους, περὶ ταῦτά γε ἀδικεῖσθωσαν μόνα. νῦν δὲ τίς ἂν, ὦ Γῆ καὶ Ἡλιε καὶ θεοὶ πάντες καὶ δαίμονες, ἐνέγκαι τὴν παροιμίαν¹; τοῖς ἰδιώταις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα καὶ δέδοται καὶ δίδοται. καὶ οἱ μὲν προσιόντες αἰτοῦσι πύλην ὀνομάζοντες, ὁ μὲν τὴν, ὁ δὲ τὴν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τρίτην, τῷ ῥήματι τούτῳ τὰ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλαυνόμενα λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, οἱ δ' ὡςπερ ἀπάντων τούτων δεσπόται ταχέως ἐχαρίσαντο τὰ ὀλίγα γράμματα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τούτοις πολλοὶ μὲν ὄνοι, πολλοὶ δὲ ὄρεῖς, πολλὰ δὲ κάμηλοι. ὧν ἐπιλαμβάνονται τε² καὶ πρὸς τὸν χοῦν ἄγουσι παίοντες τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας οἰκέται τῶν λαμβανόντων τὴν χάριν πρὸς τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τῆς ἀρχῆς. 17. εἰ δ' οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς οἰκοδομουμένοις ταῦτα δοτέον, πῶς σοι, <ὦ>³
 R ii. 561 φροντίδες ὑπὲρ | ὧν αὐτοὶ κέκτηνται μόνων, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός; ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἐπριάμην μὲν ἐγὼ καὶ τρέφω καὶ ἰατρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ χωλεύοντα καλῶ καὶ μισθὸν τούτου τελῶ, βαδιεῖται δὲ καὶ χρήσεται τοῖς ποσὶν οὐχ ὑπὲρ | ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ σοῦ; τί τού- F 479
 του παρανομώτερον; τί δεινότερον; τί δ' ἄλλο τὸ τῶν τυράννων ἢ τοῦτο ἔστιν, ἀφελῆσθαι τοῦτον, ἐκεῖνῳ δοῦναι, τὸν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι, τῷ δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ

¹ παροιμίαν Re. (mss.): παρανομίαν F.

² τε F.: μὲν Re. (mss.).

ORATION L, 15-17

long standing enjoy the greater reputation. So now, the more the years that are recalled for the practice, the greater the fame to be gained from the cure.

16. If possible, let our public constructions have their right and proper foundation,—of tiles. Anyway, if our asses must be improperly burdened with this, then let the improprieties be confined to this alone. But now, by all that is holy in heaven and earth, who can endure the enormities? The service of our asses, Sire, has been and is being given to private individuals. They seek an audience, put in their request, and name the gate, one this, one that, another yet a third, and simply by this naming they claim the impressment of everything that passes through, and the authorities, just as though they own it all, are quick to oblige them with the brief missive. But in this brief missive are involved many asses, mules and camels. And the slaves of those who obtain this favour, as well as the governor's lackeys, get hold of them and direct them to the rubble, belabouring their drivers with blows. 17. But if this concession is not to be granted even to military officers for their building projects, how is it allowable to you, whose concern is simply and solely for what they personally possess? You utter rascal, I buy animals, feed them, call the veterinary if they go lame and pay cash for it, but when they walk and use their legs, are they not to do so for me more than for you? Nothing is more illegal than this, nothing more shocking. This is sheer tyranny, to take from A and give to B, to wrong the one and,

^s σοι, ᾧ Norman: σοι Re. text (mss.): σοι οὐ conj. Re.: οἷς F.

LIBANIUS

τούτου χαρίσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἑτέρου βλάβην ἄλλου ποιῆσαι κέρδος. καὶ νῦν εἰ βουλευθείην τὰ τῶν τοῦτο¹ λαβόντων ὀνόματα πάντα διελθεῖν, πολὺ τε τοῦτο ἔσται καὶ ἀποκναίσει.

18. Κωλύσεις οὖν, ἐροῦσι, τὸν ἄρχοντα διδόναι χάριν; πάνυ γε, τὴν ἄδικον. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔνι τὸ δίκαιον ἐν ταύτῃ παντί που δῆλον καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τε διδοῦσι τοῖς τε λαμβάνουσιν. ἢ πόθεν ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ οὗτοι κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἃς ἐποιούμην, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἀγνοήσεις ἀλλ' ἔσται τις ὁ μνηύσων; 19. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρεῖ τις ὅτι δεῖ τι τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἐξεῖναι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐρῶ ταῦτό πάλιν ὅτι τὸ δίκαιόν σφισι μόνον ποιεῖ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἃ δὲ ἐστὶν ἔξω τούτου κεκώλυται. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖνυν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς δικαίοις ἐστί, κεκωλυμένον ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ ὡσπερ ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων αὐτοὶ γεγενημένοι καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις σὺν δορυφόροις κατειληφότες καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας κεκινημένης οὕτω μέμνηται τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὡς οὐδὲ σοὶ πάντα ἔξεστιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔστι βασιλεία τὸ μὴ πάντα τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐξεῖναι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς ἐξουσίαν ἀνοίσομεν, οὐδ' εἰ μάχονται τοῖς νόμοις αἱ γνώσεις, αἰτιασόμεθα οὐδὲ ἐγκαλέσομεν οὐδ' εἰ τοὺς ὑστέρους τῷ σχήματι πρὸ τῶν προτέρων ἄγοιεν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ἀρχεῖν ἀκουσόμεθα πανταχοῦ.

20. Φίλοις οὖσιν ἔδει τι παρὰ τοῦ φιλοῦντος

¹ τοῦτο Re., F.: τούτων Gothofred. (mss.).

^a Libanius reverts to the more classical views (e.g. of Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 1. 48 R) upon the limitations of sovereignty. In this he contradicts the view put forward by Themistius, that the emperor is νόμος ἔμφυχος.

ORATION L, 17-20

by this very wrong, to oblige the other, and to make one man's loss another man's gain. And now, if I were to recite the complete list of names of the recipients of this favour, it will be a very long job and will wear me out.

18. "So you will stop governors granting favours, will you?" they will exclaim. Yes, certainly—when it is wrong. And that there is no question of right in this is surely clear to everyone, even to the donors and to the recipients. Or how was it that both these parties were alarmed at my threats that you would not be kept in ignorance of this but that there would be someone to inform you? 19. Still, it will be suggested that the governors should be allowed some authority. My rejoinder is, once again, that right alone is the basis of their authority, and anything beyond it is forbidden. And this practice too, for it certainly is not one that is right, has been forbidden. But these people act as though they were laws to themselves: they behave as though they have occupied our citadels with their bodyguards and the government of the Roman empire has broken down, and then they make their appeal to authority, though they know full well that not even to you, Sire, is all permitted. For it is the very essence of monarchy that its holders are not omnipotent.^a But if we make this concession to authority, we shall proffer no complaint even if their dictates are at loggerheads with the law, nor any charge even though they promote the socially inferior over the heads of their betters, for in every case we shall be told, "I'm the governor!"

20. "A friend should be able to get something

LIBANIUS

εἶναι. καλῶς. ἔστιν ἄργυρός σοι καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ γῆ. τούτων, εἴ τι βούλει, δὸς καί, εἴ βούλει γε, πάντα. τὸ γὰρ δὴ κωλύον οὐκ ἔσται. τῶν ἐμῶν δὲ ἕτερον μὴ ποίει δεσπότην. ἀλλ' ὅταν τις ἐλθὼν ἢ παρακαθήμενος ἢ καὶ παρεστῶς μνημονεύῃ τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος καὶ χοῦ καὶ ὄνων, λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι, ὦ ἀριστε, ἐγὼ σε πάνυ μὲν φιλῶ καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν σοι πολλὴν τε καὶ καλὴν γενέσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν, ἃ δὲ οὐ καλὸν δοῦναι, μὴ δοῦναι καλόν. |

R ii. 563 21. οὕτω μὲν τις τῶν τοῦτο πεπονθότων ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων εἰκόνας κατέφυγε, δεῖσαι δὲ ἄξιον μὴ γένηται. τί οὖν χρή σε ποιεῖν; σοὶ μὲν ἔστι χρυσίον, ὄνους δὲ ὀρώμεν πωλουμένους καὶ πρίασθαι ῥάδιον. οὕτω σοι βέλτιον οἰκοδομεῖσθαι. τὸ δὲ σὺν ἀραῖς, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ νῦν, παραινῶ σοι φυγεῖν. οὕτως ἂν ἦσαν ἄρχοντες ὡς ἀληθῶς, τοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτρίβοντες, τοὺς δὲ νουθετοῦντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ κακῶς πάσχειν τοὺς δὲ τοῦ ποιεῖν ῥύομενοι. κέρδος δὲ δήπου καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κωλυθῆναι ποιῆσαι κακῶς. |

22. Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τοῖς ἀρχουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα F 481
αὐτὰ διδόναι, δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἤδη τις ὅς παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦτο εὔρηται γεγένηται. τί γὰρ ἐνοχλεῖν ἔδει τῷ βασιλεῖ δοθέντος ἂν δικαίως καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δικάζειν τεταγμένου; ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ληψόμενος μὲν παρ' ἐκείνων ἦδει τὴν χάριν, οὐ μὴν μετὰ γε τῆς τοῦ δικαίου μερίδος. τοῦτο δὴ δεδιῶς καὶ

^a Legislation to regularize this practice was passed in A.D. 386, C. Th. 9. 44. 1.

ORATION L, 20-22

from a friend." True enough ! you have silver plate, clothing, gold, slaves, cattle and land. Give them any of these, if you like ; yes, and if you like, give them all. There will be nothing to stop you. But don't make another man master of what is mine. When someone comes and sits or stands by your side and suggests a favour like rubbish disposal and claiming asses, just tell him, " My dear sir, I am very fond of you : I would like you to have a big, fine house, but what it is not right to give, it is right not to give. 21. None of the victims has yet sought sanctuary at the statues of the emperors,^a but we ought to have some qualms about the possibility of this happening. What should your course of action be, then ? You have money : I see that there are asses for sale, and it is easy enough to buy them. Your building is better done this way. My advice to you is not to let it become an object of execration as it is now." In this way they would act as real governors, without oppressing the one party, but advising the other, and they would save the one from suffering harm, the other from doing it. And there is indeed some advantage in being prevented from doing harm.

22. And that such grants are not in the governors' sphere of authority is clearly revealed by the fact that one applicant secured it from the emperor. For what need was there to trouble the emperor if it could have been granted legally by the appointed governor ? He knew, I think, that though he would get the concession from them too,^b it would have been without legal sanction, and so, alarmed at this and

^b Indicative of the encroachment of the imperial administration upon the sphere of municipal authority.

LIBANIUS

θαρρεῖν οὐκ ἔχων ὡς οὐκ ἔσονται ποτε τῶν τοιούτων εὐθύναι, βασιλέως ἦκε κομίζων ἐπιστολήν. ἦν ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, φημί δὲ πίστιν εἶναι τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τούτοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξεῖναι.

R ii. 564 23. Καὶ τί δεινόν, φησίν, | ἐξιόντα τὸν ὄνον φορτίον ἕτερον οὐκ ἔχοντα τοῦτο φέροντα ἐξιέναι; τοῦτ' αὐτό, φαίην ἄν, τὸ ἐξὸν μὴ φέρειν φορτίον ἀναγκάζεσθαι φέρειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ μὴ φέρειν τὸ φέρειν βαρύτερον, οὕτως, οἶμαι, καὶ ὄνῳ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐξ ἀγρῶν εἰς ἄστὺ πορείας ἢ ἐξ ἄστεος ἐκείσε κουφοτέρα, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ μὲν φορτία, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθερία βάρους. ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς ἐφιζάνων τε οὐχ οὕτω λυπηρὸς καὶ φειδοῖ πολλάκις ἀκολουθεῖ. 24. ἀλλ' οἱ κυρίου αὐτοῦ οὗτοι ποιοῦντες ὧν ἐκ τῶν νόμων οὐκ εἰσιν, ἀποστεροῦσι τοὺς ταλαιπώρους τούτους ὄνους ταυτησί τῆς παραμυθίας τὰ νῶτα αὐτῶν ὑποτιθέντες τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς τούτοις χώμασιν. ἐφ' ἃ δεῖ χωρεῖν τοὺς γεωργοὺς, ὠθοῦντας ἐνίους τὸν ὄνον. | καὶ πολλάκις ἥς δεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν πύλης, F 482 αὕτη¹ πλησίον, δεῖ δὲ ἐκ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἢ τέρματός γε ἐτέρου λαβόντα τοῦ χοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλθόντα πάλιν ὁδὸν οὕτως ἄψασθαι τῆς πύλης. 25. καὶ τὸ ἔτι δεινότερον, τῶν ἀδικουμένων αὐτῶν ἀγῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φορτίου σπεύδοντος ἐκάστου πρὸ ἄλλου τυχεῖν τοῦ φορτίου. καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, πωλεῖται τὸ κακόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐ τυρὸν ἔμελ-

¹ αὕτη Re., F. : αὐτή Gothofred. (mss.).

^a Reiske points out that this passage proves that the speech was delivered in Antioch. Thence it was presumably to be despatched to court. The emperor here mentioned is certainly not Theodosius, but probably Valens.

ORATION L, 22-25

with no assurance that it would not be a matter for future investigation, he turned up here with a letter of permission from the emperor.^a I cannot commend it, but I contend that it is evidence that such things are not permitted to the governors here.

23. "And what harm is done," I am asked, "if an ass that is leaving town with no other load should leave with this one?" Just this, that it is forced to carry a load when it need not. Acting as porter is a heavier job for a man than not doing so. The case is the same, I think, for an ass, too. And because of this the journey from town to the farm is lighter work than that from the farm to town: on the way there, they are loaded, on the way back, they are not, but they enjoy freedom from burden. And if the farmer rides the way home, he is not such a heavy burden, and often he spares it by walking behind. 24. But these gentry who make themselves masters of what is not legally theirs rob these wretched beasts of this bit of respite by piling their backs high with masses of rubble. And the farmers must go and get it, some of them prodding their asses on. Often the gate through which he needs to pass to reach his farm is close by, but he has to collect his load from the middle of the city or right from the other end of it, and retrace his steps before getting to the gate.^b 25. Worse still, there is competition among the victims themselves as each one struggles to get a load before some one else. And, by the powers above! this sinful business becomes a matter of buying and selling. One offers the money that was to be the price of his cheese and

^b The imposition is all the greater considering the extent of the city area of Antioch, described in *Or.* 11 (*Antiochikos*).

LIBANIUS

λεν ἔξειν ἀργυρίου, τοῦτο δούς ἀπήλθεν, ὁ δ' οὐ
 δυνηθεὶς ἔστηκε κλάων, ἔλεει δὲ οὐδεὶς. καίτοι τί
 τούτων ἔλεεινότερον οἷς ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἢ βραδυ-
 R ii. 565 τῆς; ὧν οἱ μὲν τοῦ χροῦ μετέλαβον | (δείλης),¹ οἱ
 δ' ἡλίου μέλλοντος δύσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ δεδυκότος, οὓς
 εἶναι χρῆν οἴκοι πρὶν ἦκειν μεσημβρίαν. 26. νυκ-
 τὸς τοίνυν ἐν ὁδῶ καταλαβούσης τοὺς ταῦτα πεπον-
 θότας τί τούτοις ἢ πόθεν ἢ συμφορᾶς ἴαμα μήτ'
 εἰς πανδοκεῖον αὐτοὺς εἰσάγοντος μηδενὸς βαλλαν-
 τίου, πῶς γὰρ τοῦ γε οὐκ ὄντος; τήν τε ἐν νυκτὶ
 πορείαν σφαλερὰν τῶν κακούργων ποιούντων τρο-
 φῆς τε οὐδαμόθεν φαινομένης οὔτ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε τοῖς
 ὄνοις. καὶ νόσους τοίνυν καὶ θανάτους εἰκὸς ἐκ
 τοῦ τοιοῦτου γεγενῆσθαι πολλάκις, εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
 ταῦτα, λύπην γε² καὶ δάκρυα τούτων τε αὐτῶν καὶ
 τῶν τούτοις οἰκείων ἐν τῷ μὴ ἔχειν ἀλλήλους ὀδυ-
 ρομένων. 27. καίτοι ταῦτα | δεινὰ μὲν, εἰ καὶ F 485
 παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων γίγνοιτο, δεινότερα δέ, ὅταν
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρία τε καὶ βοήθεια παρ' ὑμῶν
 πεμπομένων. καὶ πληγαὶ δέ, ὧ βασιλεῦ, γίγνον-
 ται παρὰ τῶν τούτοις ἐφεστηκότων στρατιωτῶν.
 καὶ ἡ μὲν πρόφασις· οὐκ ὀξέως ἅπαντα ποιεῖς,
 ἀλλ' ὑπτιος εἰ καὶ βραδύς, τὸ δ' ἀληθές· οὐκ ἔστιν
 ἀργυρίον σοι οὐδὲ ἐνὶ μοί τι παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν.
 δίδου τοίνυν ἀτυχίας δίκην. 28. καὶ οἷς μὲν ἔστιν,
 ὧ βασιλεῦ, σακκία σῖτον ἢ κριθὰς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον
 ἀγρόθεν ἐνηνοχόσιν, ἦττον τὸ κακόν· νῦν δὲ καὶ
 τοῖς χιλὸν κεκομικόσιν ἴση τοῦ ταῦτα ὑπηρετεῖν

¹ δείλης supplied after μὲν Re., after μετέλαβον F.

² γε conj. Re., F. : τε Re. text (mss.).

^a Banditry was only too common in rural areas, cf. their activities after the Riot of the Statues, *Or.* 19. 58, 23. 18.

ORATION L, 25-28

so gets away : another can offer nothing and stands there in tears, but no one has any pity for him. Yet there is nothing more pitiable than those whose delay is caused by their poverty. They get their load of rubble in late afternoon, or just before sunset, or after sunset, though they should have been home before midday. 26. So night overtakes these poor wretches on their way home, and what remedy is there for their plight, and where can it come from, for no purse secures them entry into an inn—how can it, when they have none ?—and criminals make travel by night dangerous,^a and there is nothing to feed either their asses or themselves ? The natural consequences of all this are often illness and death, or at least sorrow and tears both on their part and on that of their relatives, as they lament their loss of each other. 27. This would be bad enough if it happened at the hands of our foes, but it is far worse when it is caused by those whom you send for their succour and protection. Floggings also occur, Sire, inflicted by the soldiery set to supervise them, the excuse being, “ You are not doing things at the double. You are a slowcoach ! ” But the real reason is, “ You’ve got no money and I can get nothing out of you. So pay for your misfortune ! ”^b 28. Those who possess sacks, Sire, after carrying wheat or barley or the like from their farms, find their plight easier. But the carriers of fodder are equally compelled to perform these

Bandits were held to be in league with innkeepers, *Or.* 33. 40 ; 45. 6. The most notorious example of a bandit community was that of Marathocupreni, *Or.* 48. 36, *Amm. Marc.* 28. 2. 13.

^b Libanius’ prejudice against the “ soldiery ” is here obvious, but not unjustified, *cf. Or.* 27. 14.

LIBANIUS

ἀνάγκη, σακκίων δὲ οὐκ ὄντων τὸ τοῦ γεωργοῦντος ἱμάτιον ἀντ' ἐκείνου γίγνεται χεῖρον αὐτῷ καθιστάμενον, τό τε σαπρὸν τό τε οὐ σαπρὸν. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ταύτην ἐνέγκαι γεωργὸς τὴν ζημίαν, ᾧ μὴ ἔστιν ἕτερον αἰτῆσαι παρὰ τῆς γυναικός, ᾧ τὰ παιδία γυμνά; 29. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκφορεῖσθαι τι τοῦ χοῦ γηράσκει μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ θάπτον ἢ δεῖ θοιμάτιον, μένει δὲ ὅμως

R ii. 566 αὐτῷ. αἱ δὲ τῶν πυλωρῶν ἀρπαγαί, μικρὸν | εἰπεῖν χαλινοὺς ὄνων καὶ ἱμάντας ἑτέρους καὶ σχοινία καὶ ἄρτους κεκρυμμένους ἰχνευομένους, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτὸν προσαφέλοιτο, φιλανθρωπότερος ἀξιοὶ νομίζεσθαι. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν εἰσιόντα ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν ὡς, εἰ φέρων ὀφθείη χοῦν, ἀποδώσουντες, ἀναστρέφοντος | δὲ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς F 484 ἠφάνισαν, ὁ δ' οἰμώξας καὶ πλήξας τῇ χειρὶ τὸ μέτωπον ἀπήλθε. καὶ ἔστι τοῖς ἀθλίους ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλεμος χρήζουσι μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἀκούουσι δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἔργων ὅτι χρή φεύγειν τὴν πόλιν.

30. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χαλεπὸν, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, γίγνεται χαλεπώτερον προσθήκην ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ λαβὸν ἐπὶ τὸν χειμῶνα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκταθέν. ὃς ἴστη πρότερον ἐπελθὼν τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα. ἀλλὰ νῦν ψῦχος μὲν καὶ πηλὸς καὶ ὄμβρος, πολὺ τούτων ἕκαστον, ἀναπνοή δὲ οὐδαμόθεν. οὐδὲ ἔστι σπονδῶν τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρώντων τοὺς πόνους¹ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐκφέρεται δὲ ὅμως ὁ χοῦς, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ πηλός, ἔστι δ' οὐ καὶ βόρβορος. ὑφ' ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἀχρηστα

¹ πόνους F. (I): ὄνους Re. (CAP).

ORATION L, 28-30

services, and they have no sacks ; so the peasant's cloak does instead and deteriorates in consequence, whether it was tattered or not. But how can a peasant sustain this loss when he cannot ask his wife for another and his children run naked ? 29. As a result of this manner of disposing of rubble, the fellow's cloak wears out more quickly than it should, but for all that he still keeps it. As for the rapacity of the gate keepers, their ferreting out of donkey bridles, other straps and ropes and hidden loaves is hardly worth the mention ^a : if they do not rob the fellow of his very jerkin, they can claim to be thought generous ! For this is their method of dealing with him when he enters town : he will get it back, they say, if they see him coming out with his load of rubble, but when he does return, they are nowhere to be seen, and so he beats his brow in lamentation and departs. And war is waged in peace time against the poor devils who need the city but are schooled by events to avoid it.

30. This oppression, Sire, becomes the more oppressive since the season adds to it because the governors extend it into the winter. In times past the onset of winter used to put a stop to this injustice, but now there is cold, mud and rain—all in plenty—and no respite at all. No truce is made. The observers of the impositions say that the practice is unconstitutional, but still the export of rubble, or rather of mud, and at times even of muck, goes on. And in consequence of this combination, the corn

^a In view of the continuing famine, the *Comes* Icarus proceeded to ration bread as well as to impose a price edict, cf. *Or.* 1. 205 ff. The ration that could be taken out of town was two loaves per man, *Or.* 27. 14.

LIBANIUS

τοῖς σιτηγοῦσι τὰ σακκία, κᾶν ἐμβαλῶν εἰς οὔτω διακείμενα σῆτον ἄγης διέφθειας. τῆς δ' ἐντεῦθεν βλάβης ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἐρχομένης εἰς τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν ὁ κομίσας ἐζημιάται. 31. ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ πάθη καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν περὶ τὴν τροφήν συμφορὰν ἐπέτεινε, καὶ τέταρτον προσετέθη κακόν. καὶ νῦν ἀριθμοῦμεν τὰ τῶν μυῶν ἔθνη, τοὺς ὄφεις, τὰς ἀκρίδας, τὸν χοῦν. παιδεύονται γὰρ οἷς ζημιοῦνται φεύγειν ὥσπερ τι βάραθρον τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ζητεῖν οὐ ταῦτα οὐ πείσονται. ὥστε οἷς οὐ πᾶσα |
 R ii. 567 ἀνάγκη δεῦρ' ἰέναι, βαδίζουσιν ἄλλοσε παραινοῦν-
 τες οἷς συντυγχάνοιεν ἀναστρέφειν. |

32. Καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐνδείας αἰτιάσαιο μὲν F 481
 ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλο τι, μέμφαιτο δ' ἂν εἰκότως καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων χάριτας. παρ' ὧν εἰ μὴ λάβοις δίκην, δόξεις οὐ σφόδρα κήδεσθαι τῶν πόλεων, εἰ ἄς ὄπλοις σώξεις ἐκδίδως ἀρχόντων κακία. οἷς οὐκ ἂν μὲν ἦν λόγος οὐδ' εἰ τοῖς πενεστέροις ταῦτα ἐχαρίζοντο, ἦττων¹ δ' ἂν ἦν ἡ κατηγορία τῆς τῶν² χάριν λαμβανόντων ἐνδείας ἀφαιρούσης τι τοῦ μίσους.³ νῦν δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδ' ἴσασι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὄντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ὀλίγων ἐπανορθοῦσι τὰς οἰκίας, οἷς δὲ πάντα πολλὰ καὶ γέλωσ τὰ τοῦ Γύγου, τούτοις οὔτω συνοικοδομοῦσιν, οἷς μυρίαὶ μὲν κάμηλοι, πολλοὶ δὲ ὄρεῖς καὶ ζεύγη, πλήθος δὲ ἵππων ταῖς τῶν ἵπποκόμων χερσὶ κοσμουμένων, οἷ δι-

¹ ἦττων Re., F. : ἦττον Gothofred. (mss.).

² τῶν <τὴν> Re., F.

³ μίσους Re. (API) : μύσους F. (C).

^a In sharp contrast with the praises of the amenities of Antioch recited in *Or.* 11.

^b King of Lydia, ancestor of Croesus, proverbially wealthy,

ORATION L, 30-32

carriers' sacks become useless : if you put corn in them in this condition, and bring it in, it goes bad. The resulting damage affects the bread and the carrier suffers loss in the price of his corn. 31. These troubles also intensify the city's difficulties with the food supply, but there is a fourth source of nuisance, too. Now we catalogue the hordes of flies, the snakes, the locusts and the rubble. People are schooled by their afflictions to avoid this city as though it were the pit, and to seek out a place where they will not suffer so.^a So those who are not absolutely obliged to come here go elsewhere and warn any they meet to turn back.

32. And though various other complaints might be made about the failings in this, favours granted by the governors can be regarded with justified disapproval. Unless you punish them, it will be thought that you are not greatly concerned for the cities, if you protect them by force of arms and yet expose them to the wickedness of governors. They would not have a leg to stand on even if they distributed these favours to the poorer classes, but the accusation would be less pointed, since the poverty of the recipients of a favour detracts somewhat from its odium. As it is, they simply ignore them. They repair their houses from their own small possessions, while those who have everything in plenty and who would make mock of the wealth of Gyges^b have the governors providing such assistance for their building, though they have camels innumerable, mules and carts in plenty, and numbers of horses that are titivated at the hands of their grooms. These would *cf.* Herod. 1. 8 ff. The target for Libanius' invective here is once more the *honorati*.

LIBANIUS

καϊότερον ἂν τοῖς δεσπόταις τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπουργοῦν ἢ οἱ μικρὸν τῶν τεθνεώτων διαφέροντες ὄνοι. 33. νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν τρυφῇ τε καὶ φάτναις καὶ ὕβρει καὶ θεραπείᾳ, οἷς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνων ὁ βίος, τούτοις ὁ μόνον ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀπόλλυται. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρωντες τὴν τε ἐν τούτοις ταλαιπωρίαν τὴν τε ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀσέλγειαν σχετλιάζομεν καὶ λέγοντες ἅ τοὺς ἀλγοῦντας εἰκὸς ληροῦμεν. ὁ γὰρ προσέξων οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ὁ πεισόμενος. ἀλλὰ

R ii. 568 παρὰ σοῦ, | φιλανθρωπότατε βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα ἡμῖν γενέσθω καὶ | φαίνου κηδόμενος μὴ τῶν πόλεων F 486 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τῶν πόλεων πλέον. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τούτων ὁ θεμέλιος. 34. καὶ φαίη τις ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἔστηκέναι τὰς πόλεις κάκείνους εἶναι κρηπίδα ταύταις, παρ' ὧν πυροί, κριθαί, βότρυες,¹ οἶνος, ἔλαιον, τροφή μὲν ἀνθρώποις, τροφή δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις. εἰ δὲ μὴ βόες ἦσαν μὴδ' ἄροτρον μὴδὲ σπέρματα μὴδὲ φυτὰ μὴδὲ ἀγέλαι βοσκημάτων, οὐδ' ἂν ἐγένοντο τὴν ἀρχὴν πόλεις. καὶ γενόμεναι δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐξήρτηνται τύχης, καὶ τὸ εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον αὐταῖς πράττειν² ἐκείθεν ἔστι. 35. καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ταύτην ἀκαιρίαν τὴν κοινὴν ὁ κείνων τόκος ἀδικηθεῖς ἔτεκε. καὶ νῦν ἐν εὐχαῖς αἱ πόλεις ἀπασαι μείζονές τε καὶ ἐλάττονες εὐμενῶν τὴν γῆν ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν Ὠρῶν. ἦν δεομένην τῶν ἐργασομένων ἴσμεν, οὓς ἅπαντας τοῦ Κελεοῦ μαθητὰς χρῆ νομίζειν εἶναι. ὅστις οὖν τοῖς ἐκείνων πολεμεῖ

¹ βότρυες F.: βότρυς τε mss., Re. (who would omit τε): βότρυς Macarius.

² αὐταῖς πράττειν Re. (mss.): πράττειν αὐταῖς F.

^a Celeus, king of Eleusis, welcomed Demeter exhausted

ORATION L, 32-35

more properly provide such services for their masters than donkeys that are practically dying on their feet. 33. But those beasts live on the fat of the land in their mangers, arrogant and well-tended, while those who make a living from their donkeys lose the only thing they have. And we, with one and the same glance, see misery here and rapacity there and complain, but in expressing our natural feeling of dismay, we are wasting our time, for there is none who will pay any heed or yet believe us. But let us get it from you, your most kind Majesty : show your concern not just for the cities, but for the countryside too, or rather for the countryside in preference to the cities—for the country is the basis on which they rest. 34. One can assert that cities are founded on the country and that this is their firm footing, providing them with wheat, barley, grapes, wine, oil and the nourishment of man and other living beings. Unless oxen, ploughs, seed, plants and herds of cattle existed, cities would not have come into being at all. And, once in existence, they have depended upon the fortunes of the countryside, and the good and ill that they experience arise therefrom. 35. And the harm wrought to its offspring has given rise to the present distemper that affects all alike. Now in all cities, great and small, they pray that the land should enjoy the blessing of the Seasons. We know that it needs men to work it, and we should regard them all and every one as disciples of Celeus.^a Any foe to their well-being—and in this even their
after her wandering in search of Persephone, Hom. *Hymn. Dem.* 96 ff. In return she instructed him in her mysteries, *ibid.* 475 ff., and he became, along with Triptolemus, a patron of agriculture.

LIBANIUS

πράγμασιν, ἐν οἷς εἶναι συμβαίνει καὶ τοὺς ὄνους, οὗτος τῇ γῇ πολεμεῖ, ὅστις δὲ τῇ γῇ, οὗτος καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι καί, νῆ Δία γε, καὶ τοῖς πλέουσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐκεὶ κάκεινοῖς δεῖ τῶν παρὰ ταύτης. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ πλείω τὰ ὄντα ποιεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' αὐτό γε τὸ δύνασθαι ζῆν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. |

36. Καὶ σοὶ δὲ ὁ φόρος ἐκεῖθεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ. δια- F 487
λέγη μὲν γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι, ταῖς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν τὸ δοῦναι. ὅστις τε οὖν βοηθεῖ τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὗτος τὰ σὰ συνέχει, καὶ ὅστις ἐπηρεάζει, περὶ τὰ σὰ κακὸς γίνεται. ταύτην τε
R ii. 569 οὖν τὴν ἐπήρειαν ἐπισχετέον σοι, | βασιλεῦ, νόμῳ καὶ τιμωρίᾳ καὶ γράμμασι, καὶ τῇ περὶ ὧν νῦν ἀκούεις σπουδῇ παρακλητέον ἅπαντας εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν γεωργῶν λόγους. 37. οἶμαι δὲ σοι προσήκειν μὴ νομίζειν ἰκανὸν εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἐθελῆσαι λαβεῖν. δίκη δὲ πρέπουσα τοὺς μὲν ἀρχιτέκτονας ὅσα τε χῶματα καὶ ὄσων ἂν μετετέθη χρημάτων εἰπεῖν, ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ χρήματα γενέσθαι σοι μέρος τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων δαπάνης, τοὺς δὲ τιθέντας ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι, τοὺς τε δόντας τὴν χάριν τοὺς τε λαβόντας.

ORATION L, 35-37

asses are included—is foe to the land, and the foe to the land is foe to the cities also, and indeed to mariners as well, for they too need the produce of the land. They may get from the sea increase of their store of goods, but the very means of life comes from the land.

36. And you too, Sire, obtain tribute from it. In your rescripts you hold converse with the cities about it, and their payment of it comes from the land. So whoever assists the peasantry supports you, and ill-treatment of them is disloyal to you. So you must put a stop to this ill-treatment, Sire, by law, punishment and edicts, and in your enthusiasm for the matter under discussion, you must encourage all to speak up for the peasants. 37. In my opinion, you should not regard it as sufficient that there should be no repetition, but you should also be ready to impose punishment. A suitable method would be for the architects to declare the quantity of rubble to be disposed of and the cost of such disposal, and for you to receive this sum to cover part of the expenses of government, and for its contributors to be both the donors and the recipients of the favour.



ORATION 30
TO THE
EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
FOR THE TEMPLES

INTRODUCTION

THE *Pro Templis* stands as the most positive affirmation of Libanius' position in the religious controversies which follow the reign of Julian. His other statements in these years had been, almost without exception, nostalgic and backward-looking, vindications of either Julian or himself (as in the *Epitaphios* and the *Autobiography*), complaints and criticisms of contemporary society (as in *Oration 2*), or attempts to preserve the purity and exclusiveness associated with the festivals of paganism (as in *Oration 10*). In the present speech, however, he looks ahead, and presents on behalf of the institutions of his religion more urgent suggestions and demands which are destined ultimately for the emperor's ear. He demands for persecuted pagans toleration and freedom to worship inside the limits allowed by law, and concludes his demand for the maintenance of law and order with a minatory tone, unusual for the pagan propagandist of his day, emphasizing that, if the protection of the law is not to be available to his fellows, it must be expected that they will themselves take measures for their own protection. Conflicting attitudes are therefore visible here—the pagan respect for law, the ideal of *philanthropia*, which appears in contemporary pleas for toleration, and the final exasperation of persecuted pagans, such as

ORATION XXX

erupts into action in the last defence of the Serapeum.

The oration begins with a summary of the history of religion until the reign of Constantine, who, despite his disastrous religious legislation, set strict legal limits upon the interference to which the institutions of paganism were to be subjected (§§ 4-7). A steady erosion of this protection in matters of religion followed thereafter, chiefly inspired by the illegal activities of predatory monks and their "pastor" in attacking rustic shrines (§§ 8-11). All this is the negation of law, contrary to imperial edict and detrimental to the social order, with ecclesiastical courts claiming summary jurisdiction, and Christian bigots preaching charity and yet ruining the temples and the amenities of the cities along with them (§§ 12-23). The rule of law must be paramount, and forcible conversion eschewed. The monopoly of the benefits which Christians claim to confer on mankind is false, since even now the continuance of sacrifice, both in Rome and in Alexandria, promotes the safety of empire. This was amply revealed by the fate of the family of Constantine and the fame of Julian (§§ 24-37). In any case the destruction of temples, which are integral to both urban and rustic society, and which, incidentally, belong to the emperor, is sheer stupidity. At least preserve them as works of art and put them to other uses (§§ 38-43). High officials at court have been guilty of conspiring to deceive the emperor for their suppression, and have illegally worked hand in glove with the ravaging monks, inducing them to claim the emperor as their supporter. In the face of such unsanctioned aggression, whereby Christians continue to oppress the in-

LIBANIUS

stitutions of paganism, the persecuted, in default of the legal protection to which they are entitled, have no other recourse than to meet force with force (§§ 44 ff.).

Various commentators have been tempted to interpret religious legislation of the Theodosian age as directly affected by the arguments of this oration, with the result that its form and dating have long been a matter of debate. The form of the address, as Petit, following earlier precedent, has fully shown,^a is that of the "open letter," carefully restricted in circulation and presented to a very select audience. This was the practice in operation at Athens, with its private auditoria (Eunapius, *V.S.* 483), and consistently used by Libanius in Antioch (*e.g.* *Or.* 2. 25). The precautions taken in the case of such controversial orations as this are outlined in *Ep.* 283, where the funeral oration upon his uncle Phasganius is delivered to an audience of no more than four. Even so, such restricted circulation was utilitarian in purpose, since it directed propaganda to the right quarters at court in safety and with effectiveness, the orator's friends there acting as intermediaries (*cf.* *Or.* 2. 70 ff.). Hence the unexpected combination of social criticism and violent personal abuse here.

For this oration, the *terminus post quem* is A.D. 381, when Flavianus, mentioned as bishop of Antioch in the text (§ 15), was appointed, and when *Oration 2* was composed (*cf.* *Or.* 1. 208). There he had plumed himself (*Or.* 2. 8) upon his consistent refusal of an honorary office, specifically mentioning the quaestor-

^a "Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius" (*Historia*, v [1956], pp. 479-509).

ORATION XXX

ship granted by Julian. The implication is that, at the time of composing that speech, he had received no such recognition from Theodosius. The extreme *terminus ante quem* is given as A.D. 391 by its reference to the continued existence of the Serapeum (§ 44); so that the composition must antedate the destruction of the temple in that year. A more precise definition may be seen in the reference at the beginning of the speech to the honorary office granted him by Theodosius, and accepted by him. This is the honorary prefecture referred to by Eunapius (*V.S.* 496), who yet manages to confuse the issue by stating that it was offered by Julian and refused by Libanius. Libanius' acknowledgement, however, is reproduced in almost identical terms in the proem to the *De Vinctis* (*Or.* 45), which may be dated with precision to A.D. 386. Such considerations rule out Seeck's attempt to place the speech to the winter of A.D. 388/9,^a and some other explanation must be given for the passage in the *Autobiography* (*Or.* 1. 257-258) which he identifies as Libanius' reference to the grant of this honorary office. The similar datings given by Gothofredus,^b Sievers^c and Van Loy^d are also rendered invalid. Seeck's further suggestion that the rescript of September A.D. 390 (*C. Th.* 16. 3. 1) was in direct response to the arguments given in this speech must also fall.

Tillemont and Foerster, however, though for different reasons, both date the speech to A.D. 384. Tillemont rejects outright Gothofredus' identifica-

^a *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, v, pp. 527 ff. ^b *Opera iuridica minora*, Leiden, 1733, pp. 469 ff.

^c *Das Leben des Libanius*, Berlin, 1868 (repr. 1969), p. 192. ^d *Byzantion*, viii (1933), pp. 17 ff.

LIBANIUS

tion of the high official pilloried in this oration (§§ 46 ff.) with Cynegius (ppO, A.D. 384-388): and Foerster^a cannot bring himself to believe that the violent condemnations of this oration could possibly be applied to Cynegius in his lifetime, in view of the otherwise favourable notices which the prefect receives in other orations. This argument, it must be admitted, takes little account of the practice of Libanius in his treatment of other high officials, where he shows himself to be no respecter of persons, nor yet of his habits in the publication of his more controversial orations. Both agree in identifying the pagan consul of § 53 with Richomer, and see in the narrative of *Oration* 1. 219—where honours proffered by both consul and emperor are mentioned—the occasion for the delivery of this oration. However, the problems connected with the honorary prefecture are explained by neither, the one denying the grant altogether, the other merely ignoring it, despite the indications here and in *Oration* 45. Both identify the law which currently bans pagan sacrifice with *C. Th.* 16. 10. 7 of A.D. 381.

The most recent examination of the problem has been conducted by Petit,^b and he has succeeded in explaining the difficulties already mentioned and placing the oration in its social and historical context. For him, the honours of A.D. 384 proffered by both consul and emperor (*Or.* 1. 219) are the nomination to the prefecture and its acceptance, so that the speech must occur after that. The episode of *Or.* 1. 258 is concerned not with the grant of the prefecture

^a Foerster, *Libanius*, vol. III, pp. 80-81.

^b Petit, "Sur la date du 'Pro Templis,'" *Byzantion*, xxi, pp. 293 ff.

ORATION XXX

but with the permission to transfer during Libanius' own lifetime his property to his illegitimate son Cimon.^a The misguided prefect is to be identified with Cynegius, currently in office, the pagan consul with Eutropius (iv, Seeck ; cos. A.D. 387 and designate in late 386), and the ban on pagan sacrifices is that of *C. Th.* 16. 10. 9 of A.D. 385. From these and other indications the oration is to be allocated to A.D. 386, which, significantly enough, is the date of the *De Vincitis*, with its almost identical introduction.^b

The oration thus falls into context as far as concerns both the career of Libanius and the development of imperial policy in social and religious affairs. Libanius presents his arguments as a propagandist of paganism from the social elevation of *honoratus*, a rank which he himself says he has held for some little time. The activities of Cynegius, criticized here and praised elsewhere, were at first concerned with curial recruitment, and only after the law of A.D. 385 does he appear to have diverged to the suppression of pagan temples, including that at Apamea (*cf.* Theodoret, *H.E.* 5. 21. 1), in this exceeding the mandate allowed him by the law. At the time of the composition of the *Pro Templis* Cynegius had moved to Egypt but had not yet extended his religious excesses to Alexandria (§§ 35 f.). The oration is therefore a protest against the recent religious purges in the

^a Petit's recognition of this incident as prompted by Libanius' request for the property transfer is in no way vitiated by his misinterpretation of some of the manœuvres which ensured its success (*cf.* Libanius, *Autobiography*, ed. Norman, p. 224).

^b A similar identity of treatment may be observed in passages composed about the same time upon the same topic in *Or.* 1. 171 and *Or.* 24. 13 f. (*cf.* Vol. I, p. 501, note c).

LIBANIUS

diocese of the East and a warning against extending a similar reign of terror to the pagan cults of Egypt. At the same time Theodosius is alerted to the damage, both social and economic, caused by this illegitimate encroachment upon the limits set by imperial decree. The urgency of tone in this speech indicates that he is conducting here a desperate, last-ditch defence of the institutions of his religion.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts which antedate the 17th century number thirteen, including the eight collections utilized by Foerster (CAPUVIBM). Of these, A shows a lacuna of one folium (from § 19 *ὡς ἔχει* to § 28 *δέ σοι*), —a lacuna which is reproduced both in the *editio princeps* of Gothofredus (Geneva, 1634), in his *Opera Juridica Minora* (Leiden, 1733) and in Reiske's edition (Altenburg, 1791). It reappears also in Orelli's edition of 1828, a work which also contains John Chrysostom's *In Eutropium* and (pseudo-)Themistius, *Or. XII (De Religionibus)*. Mai (*Fronto* (ed. 2), Rome, 1823) first supplied the missing text, the oration being printed in its entirety for the first time by L. de Sinner (*Novus SS. Graecorum saec. iv delectus*, Paris, 1842, pp. 227 ff.). The oration was translated into English by Nathaniel Lardner (in *Arguments of Celsus etc. against the Christians* by Thomas Taylor (the Platonist), London, 1830); into French by Monnier (*cf.* Vol. I, p. lvii), and by Van Loy (*Byzantion*, viii (1933), pp. 19 ff.). Excerpts from the speech appear in Thomas Magister, Planudes and Macarius.

Comment upon the oration appears in Gothofredus (*loc. cit.*), Tillemont (*Histoire des empereurs*, V², note

ORATION XXX

16 on Theodosius I), Seeck, Foerster (*loc. cit.*), Pack, and—most recently and successfully—by Paul Petit, “Sur la date du ‘Pro Templis,’” *Byzantion*, xxi, pp. 293 ff. A running commentary is given by Van Loy (*Byzantion*, viii (1933), pp. 389 ff.).

XXX

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ

R ii. 155 1. Ἐπὶ πολλῶν πρότερον συμβουλῶν, ὦ βασι- F iii. 8
λεῦ, δόξας σοι τοῦ προσήκουτος τετυχηκέαι καὶ
τῶν τάναντία καὶ βουλομένων καὶ λεγόντων τῷ
R ii. 156 βελτίῳ παραινεῖν κεκρατηκῶς | ἤκω ταυτὸ καὶ νῦν
ποιήσων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλπίδος. σὺ δὲ μάλιστα
μὲν καὶ νῦν πεισθείης· εἰ δὲ μή, μήτοι νομίσης τοῖς
σοῖς ἐχθρὸν εἶναι πράγμασι τὸν εἰρηκότα λογιζό-
μενος μὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τιμῆς
ἧς με τετίμηκας, ἐνθυμούμενος δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς F 88
μὴ σφόδρα τὸν εὖ παθόντα φιλεῖν τὸν εὖ πεποιη-
κότα. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ὃ συμβου-
λεύειν οἶμαι δεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν ἡγῶμαι χρηστόν τι
λέξειν. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τῷ βασιλεῖ δυναί-
μην ἀποδοῦναι χάριτας, λόγοις δ' ἂν ἴσως μόνοις
καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων.

2. Δόξω μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοις κίνδυνον πολλὴν
ἔχουσι ἐπιχειρεῖν ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν σοὶ καὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν
κακῶς αὐτὰ πάσχειν ἤπερ νῦν, μέλλων διαλέγεσθαι,
δοκοῦσι δέ μοι πλεῖστον ἀμαρτάνειν τῆς σῆς φύ-

^a Or. 30 ed. F. Or. 28 ed. Re.

^b Or. 45 begins with a similar profession of gratitude for

ORATION 30 ^a
TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
FOR THE TEMPLES

1. On many previous occasions, Sire, when I have tendered advice, you have felt that I have reached a proper conclusion, and I have prevailed over those whose words and wishes were opposed to mine because of the superior merits of my counsel. Now too I come on the same errand, inspired with the same hope, and now too especially lend me your ears. If, however, I fail to convince you, do not consider the speaker to be hostile to your administration. Apart from anything else, reflect upon the great distinction you have bestowed upon me and consider that the beneficiary cannot but reasonably feel the strongest affection for his benefactor.^b Simply for this reason I feel that I must advise on matters where I believe I have something worth while to say. In no other way could I show my gratitude to my sovereign, only perhaps by my oratory and what follows from it.

2. To many people it will appear that I am courting much danger by embarking upon an address to you about the temples and the need for them not to be abused as they are now, but in my view such people, honours received. For its importance *cf.* Introd. p. 95 and the article of Petit there cited.

LIBANIUS

R ii. 157 σεως | οἱ τοῦτο τὸ δέος ἔχοντες. ὀργίλου μὲν γὰρ
οἶμαι καὶ χαλεποῦ τὸ εἶ τι λέγοιτο τῶν οὐκ ἀρε-
σκόντων αὐτῷ, χωρεῖν εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν εἰρη-
μένων δίκην, ἠπίου δὲ καὶ φιλανθρώπου καὶ πρᾶου,
ταῦτα δὴ τὰ σά, τὸ μὴ δέχεσθαι μόνον τὴν οὐκ
ἐπαινουμένην ὑφ' ¹ ἑαυτοῦ συμβουλήν. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ
πεισθῆναί τε καὶ μὴ κύριος ὁ τῶν λόγων ἀκροώ-
μενος, οὔτε φεύγειν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἄξιον οὐκ οὔσης
βλάβης ἐντεῦθεν οὐδεμιᾶς, οὔτ' εἰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν
εἶη τὰ λεγόμενα, χαλεπαίνειν τε καὶ τιμωρίαν ζη-
τεῖν, εἴ τις ἂ βέλτιστα ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανε ταῦτα
ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν. 3. δέομαι οὖν εἰς ἐμέ τε τεί-
νειν τὸν λέγοντα τὴν ὄψιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, | καὶ μὴ F 89
τοῖς διὰ πολλῶν ἐκκρούειν καὶ σὲ καμὲ βουλευσο-
μένοις διδόναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. ὡς πολλάκις γε
νευμάτων δύναμις πλεον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἰσ-
χύος ἠνέγκατο. φημὶ δὲ δεῖν κακείνους ἑάσαντάς
με καθ' ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ χωρὶς ἐπηρείας διεξελθεῖν
τὸν λόγον ὕστερον αὐ πειρᾶσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς λόγῳ
κρατῆσαι τῶν ἡμῖν εἰρημένων.

4. Οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἐπὶ γῆς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ
R ii. 158 μετέωρα καταλαβόντες | σπηλαίοις τε καὶ καλύ-
βαις αὐτοὺς διασώζοντες θεῶν εὐθὺς ἔννοιαν λα-
βόντες καὶ γνόντες ὅποσον ἢ 'κείνων εὐνοια τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις, ἱερά τε οἶα εἰκὸς τοὺς πρῶτους φύντας
καὶ ἀγάλματα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν. τῶν πραγ-
μάτων δὲ εἰς πόλεις προελθόντων ἤδη τῆς περὶ
ταῦτα τέχνης εἰς τοῦτο ἀποχρώσης πολλαὶ μὲν ἐν
ὑπωρείαις, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐν πεδίοις ἐφάνησαν, ἐν ἐκά-

¹ ὑφ' F., conj. Re.: om. U: ἐφ' other mss.

ORATION XXX, 2-4

in entertaining these fears, are very much mistaken in their assessment of you. To my mind, it is the choleric, ill-tempered man who proceeds immediately to condemn the expression of opinions, when anything is said that is displeasing to him : the kindly, humane gentle character—your own qualities, Sire ^a—merely refuses the counsel of which he does not approve. For where it lies with the hearer of a discourse whether to be convinced by it or not, it is unjustified for him to refuse a hearing, since no harm can come of it, or to become angry and resort to punishment if he disagrees with any remarks when anyone has the courage to say what he conceives to be right. 3. I beg you then, Sire, to turn your gaze on me as I speak, and not to let your eyes light upon those who will wish by various means to delude both you and me, for often enough the influence of a nod has more effect than the force of truth. I submit that they too should allow me to develop my argument quietly and without abuse and afterwards attempt by argument themselves to refute what I have said.

4. The first men who appeared on earth, Sire, occupied the high places and protected themselves in caves and huts, and soon gained a notion of gods and realized how much their good will means to mankind. They raised the kind of temples to be expected of primitive man and made idols for themselves. As their culture advanced towards urbanization and building techniques became adequate for it, many cities made their appearance at the mountain's foot or on the plains, and in each and every one of them

^a The customary notice of Theodosius' clemency, *cf. Or.* 45. 1 ; 50. 1.

LIBANIUS

- στη δὲ μετὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀρχὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος |
 R ii. 159 ἰερά καὶ νεώ. παρὰ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων κυβερ-
 νητῶν ἠγοῦντο μεγίστην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀσφά-
 λειαν ἔσεσθαι. 5. κὰν ἐπέλθῃς τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν ἦν
 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νέμονται, πανταχοῦ τοῦτο εὐρήσεις,
 ἐπεὶ κὰν τῇ μετὰ τὴν μεγίστην πρώτη νεώ τινες
 ἔτ' εἰσω, εἰ καὶ τῶν τιμῶν ἐστέρηται, ὀλίγοι μὲν
 ἐκ πάνυ πολλῶν, οὐ μὴν ἐξῆλθέ γε ἅπαν ἐξ αὐτῆς F 90
 τοῦτο. καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν τουτωνὶ συμμαχίας
 ἐπιόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις μαχόμενοί τε ἐνί-
 κων καὶ νευικηκότες βελτίω τοῖς ἠττημένοις τοῦ
 R ii. 160 πρὸ τῆς ἠττης | τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ χρόνον ἐποίουν φό-
 βους τε ἀφελόντες καὶ πολιτείας τῆς αὐτῶν μετα-
 δόντες.

6. Παίδων τοίνυν ἡμῶν ὄντων καθαιρεῖ μὲν τὸν
 περιωβρίσαντα τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Γαλατῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 ἀγαγὼν στρατόπεδον, οἱ θεοῖς ἐπῆλθον πρότερον
 R ii. 161 εὐξάμενοι, κρατήσας δὲ καὶ ἀνδρὸς | ἐπ' ἐκεῖνω
 ταῖς πόλεσι ἀνθεῖν παρεσχηκότες ἠγῆσάμενος αὐ-
 τῷ λυσιτελεῖν ἕτερόν τινα νομίζειν θεὸν εἰς μὲν τὴν
 R ii. 162 τῆς πόλεως περὶ ἣν ἐσπούδασε ποίησιν | τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 ἐχρήσατο χρήμασι, τῆς κατὰ νόμους δὲ θεραπείας
 ἐκίνησεν οὐδὲ ἔν, ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πενία,
 παρῆν δὲ ὄραν ἅπαντα τᾶλλα πληρούμενα. 7.

^a Constantinople, "the first city next to the greatest" (Rome): a regular description, cf. *Or.* 1. 284; 18. 11; 59. 94. Christians (e.g. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3. 48, Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, 5. 25) claimed that Constantine founded his new capital with no temples or idols, but temples certainly survived from the Byzantium which preceded it.

^b An argument lately used by Symmachus concerning the Altar of Victory, *Symn. Rel.* 3.

^c For commendation of Roman generosity with grants of citizenship cf. *Dion. Hal. Ant.* 1. 9. 4.

ORATION XXX, 4-6

the first buildings to be erected after the wall were shrines and temples, for they believed that from such governance they would have the utmost protection also. 5. And if you travel the whole length of the Roman world, you will find this everywhere the case. Even in our second capital some temples still exist,^a robbed of all honour, admittedly, but though they be but few out of very many, still they have not vanished from it completely. And it was with these gods to aid them that the Romans used to march against the foe, engage them in battle,^b conquer them and, as conquerors, grant the vanquished a condition of life better than that which they had before their defeat, removing their fears and allowing them a share in their own civic life.^c

6. While I was still a boy, the ruler who held a reign of terror in Rome was brought down by the leader of an army of Gauls—Gauls who, originally worshippers of the gods, turned against them and attacked them.^d He, after overcoming the person who had infused new life into the cities,^e thought it to his own advantage to recognize some other as a god, and he employed the sacred treasures on the building of the city upon which his heart was set.^f For all that, he made absolutely no alteration in the traditional forms of worship, but, though poverty reigned in the temples, one could see that all the rest of the ritual

^a Libanius was born in A.D. 314. In A.D. 312 Maxentius was defeated at the Milvian Bridge by Constantine, Caesar in Britain and Gaul, Zos. 2. 16.

^e Licinius, Augustus in the East, defeated by Constantine, A.D. 323. Zos. 2. 28.

^f Zosimus (2. 29) agrees that Constantine's adoption of Christianity occurred after the fall of Licinius.

LIBANIUS

- R ii. 163 καταβάσης δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου, μάλ-
 λον δὲ τοῦ σχήματος, | ὡς τό γε κρατεῖν ἑτέρων
 ἦν οἷς ἢ ἐξ ἀρχῆς παιδαγωγία καὶ τὸ μέχρι παντὸς
 ἴσον δύνασθαι παρέσχεν, οὗτος οὖν ἐν τῷ κελεύ-
 εσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν βασιλεύων ἄλλα τε οὐ καλὰ πεί-
 θεται καὶ μηκέτ' εἶναι | θυσίας. ταύτας ὁ ἑκείνου F 91
 μὲν ἀνειψιός, ἀρετὴν δὲ ἅπασαν κτησάμενος ἐπαν-
 ἀγει καὶ τεθνεώτος ἐν Πέρσαις, ὃ τι δεδρακῶς ἢ
 μέλλων ἀφίημι νῦν, μένει μὲν τινα τὸ θύειν ἱερεῖα
 χρόνον, νεωτέρων δὲ τινων συμβάντων ἐκωλύθη
 παρὰ τοῖν ἀδελφοῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ λιβανωτόν. ἀλλὰ
 τοῦτό γε καὶ ὁ σὸς ἐβεβαίωσε νόμος, ὥστε μὴ
 R ii. 164 μᾶλλον ἀλγεῖν ἡμᾶς | οἷς ἀφηρέθημεν ἢ χάριν εἰ-
 δέναι τῶν συγκεχωρημένων. 8. σὺ μὲν οὖν οὐθ'
 ἱερά κεκλείσθαι (ἐκέλευσας)¹ οὔτε μηδένα προσ-
 ἰέναι οὔτε πῦρ οὔτε λιβανωτόν οὔτε τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἄλλων θυμιαμάτων τιμὰς ἐξήλασας τῶν νεῶν οὐδέ
 τῶν βωμῶν, οἱ δὲ μελανειμονοῦντες οὔτοι καὶ
 πλείω μὲν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσθίοντες, πόνον δὲ παρ-
 R ii. 165 ἔχοντες τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐκπωμάτων | τοῖς δι' ἄσ-

¹ ἐκέλευσας inserted F., conj. Re. Cf. schol. C: τὸ σχῆμα ἀτελές· λείπει τὸ ἐκέλευσας.

^a Zosimus (4. 36) implicitly agrees. Christians, however (e.g. Socr. *H.E.* 1. 18), assert that he razed temples and forbade sacrifices, the latter point confirmed by Constantius' edict of A.D. 341 (*C. Th.* 16. 10. 2). Constantine's own edicts allowing pagan ritual (*ibid.* 9. 16. 1-3) are prior to A.D. 324.

^b Constantius II (Augustus in East A.D. 337-361), notorious for his weakness in the face of his eunuchs and officials of court, cf. *Or.* 18. 152 ff.; 62. 8 ff. *Amm. Marc.* 21. 16. 16.

^c Cf. *Or.* 1. 27. *C. Th.* 16. 10. 4-6; the breach of these edicts was punishable by death. ^d Julian; cf. Vol. I.

^e Van Loy identifies this with the law of Valentinian and Valens, *C. Th.* 9. 16. 7 of A.D. 364 (cf. *Zos.* 4. 3). This does

ORATION XXX, 6-8

was fulfilled.^a 7. To his son passed the government, or rather the shadow of it, for the reins of power were held by others who, through their control of his earliest upbringing, had gained a supremacy absolutely equal to his own.^b He, then, ruling under orders from them, was induced to adopt several misguided policies, in particular, the banning of sacrifices.^c His cousin, a paragon of all virtue, restored them. Of his actions and intentions I make no mention here, but after his death in Persia,^d the performance of sacrifice lasted for some little time until, after some untoward incidents, it was banned by the two imperial brothers,^e an exception, however, being made in the case of offerings of incense. This particular exception has also been confirmed by a law of your own, so that we do not so much lament what we have lost as show gratitude for the concession we have obtained. 8. You then have neither ordered the closure of temples nor banned entrance to them. From the temples and altars you have banished neither fire nor incense nor the offerings of other perfumes.^f But this black-robed tribe, who eat more than elephants and, by the quantities of drink they consume,^g weary those that accompany their drink-

not provide room^h for the time lag or the unrest mentioned by Libanius, which should refer to Procopius' revolt. The edict is thus, in Libanius' narrative, that of *C. Th.* 9. 16. 8.

ⁱ Theodosius (*C. Th.* 16. 10. 7 of A.D. 381) had forbidden sacrifices to be made in temples, allegedly used for purposes of divination. This ban was reinforced by that of A.D. 385 (*ibid.* 10. 9). Turification is finally banned in A.D. 392 after the fall of Tatianus (*C. Th.* 16. 10. 12).

^j For the anti-social activities of the monks cf. *Or.* 2. 32, 45. 26; *Amm. Marc.* 27. 3. 14, *Eunap. V.S.* 472, *Zos.* 5. 23, *C. Th.* 12. 1. 63 (*ignaviae sectatores*).

LIBANIUS

μάτων αὐτοῖς παραπέμπουσι τὸ ποτόν, συγκρύπτοντες δὲ ταῦτα ὠχρότητι τῇ διὰ τέχνης αὐτοῖς πεπορισμένη μένοντος, ὧ βασιλεῦ, καὶ κρατοῦντος

R ii. 166 τοῦ νόμου θέουσιν ἐφ' ἱερὰ ξύλα φέροντες καὶ | λίθους καὶ σίδηρον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τούτων χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. ἔπειτα Μυσῶν λεία καθαίρουμένων ὄρο- F 92
φῶν, κατασκαπτομένων τοίχων, κατασπωμένων ἀγαλμάτων, ἀνασπωμένων βωμῶν, τοὺς ἱερεῖς δὲ ἢ σιγᾶν ἢ τεθνάναι δεῖ· τῶν πρώτων δὲ κειμένων δρόμος ἐπὶ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα, καὶ τρόπαια τροπαίοις ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ συνείρεται. 9. τολμᾶται μὲν οὖν κὰν ταῖς πόλεσι, τὸ πολὺ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς.

R ii. 167 καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον πολέμιοι, | ἐπὶ δὲ μυρίοις κακοῖς τὸ διεσπαρμένον τοῦτ' ἀθροίζεται καὶ λόγον ἀλλήλους ἀπαιτοῦσι τῶν εἰργασμένων καὶ αἰσχύνῃ τὸ μὴ μέγιστα ἠδίκηκέναι. χωροῦσι τοίνυν διὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὥσπερ χεῖμαρροι κατασῦροντες διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τοὺς ἀγρούς. ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ἱερὸν ἐκκόψωσιν ἀγροῦ, οὗτος¹ τετύφλωταί τε καὶ κεῖται καὶ τέθνηκε. ψυχὴ γάρ, ὧ βασιλεῦ, τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰ ἱερὰ προοίμια τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κτίσεως γεγενημένα καὶ διὰ πολλῶν γενεῶν εἰς τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ἀφιγμένα. 10. καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἐλπίδες ὅσαι περὶ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ βοῶν καὶ τῆς σπειρομένης γῆς καὶ τῆς πεφυτευμένης. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο πεπονθὼς ἀγρὸς ἀπολώλεκε καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐλπίδων τὸ

¹ οὗτος F., conj. Re., Cobet: τοῦτω Re. text (PU, corrections in VI): τοῦτο other mss.

^a For this denigration of Christian ritual cf. *Or.* 2. 59; and the monkish pallor, *Or.* 62. 10.

ORATION XXX, 8-10

ing with the singing of hymns, who hide these excesses under an artificially contrived pallor^a—these people, Sire, while the law yet remains in force, hasten to attack the temples with sticks and stones and bars of iron, and in some cases, disdaining these, with hands and feet. Then utter desolation follows,^b with the stripping of roofs, demolition of walls, the tearing down of statues and the overthrow of altars, and the priests must either keep quiet or die. After demolishing one, they scurry to another, and to a third, and trophy is piled on trophy, in contravention of the law. 9. Such outrages occur even in the cities, but they are most common in the countryside.^c Many are the foes who perpetrate the separate attacks, but after their countless crimes this scattered rabble congregates and calls for a tally of their activities, and they are in disgrace unless they have committed the foulest outrage. So they sweep across the countryside like rivers in spate, and by ravaging the temples, they ravage the estates, for wherever they tear out a temple from an estate, that estate is blinded and lies murdered. Temples, Sire, are the soul of the countryside: they mark the beginning of its settlement, and have been passed down through many generations to the men of today. 10. In them the farming communities rest their hopes for husbands, wives, children, for their oxen and the soil they sow and plant. An estate that has suffered so has lost the inspiration of the peasantry together

^b Proverbial—of a prey to all and sundry; *cf. Or.* 12. 40, 14. 26; and Vol. I, p. 59 n.

^c Temples and altars in the countryside (mentioned in the ban of *C. Th.* 16. 10, 12 of A.D. 391) are finally doomed to demolition by Arcadius in A.D. 399 (*ibid.* 10. 16).

LIBANIUS

R ii. 168 πρόθυμον· μάτην γὰρ ἡγοῦνται πονήσειν τῶν εἰς
 δέον τοὺς πόνους ἀγόντων ἐστερημένοι θεῶν. τῆς
 γῆς δὲ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίων | πόνων ἀπολαυούσης οὐδ' ἂν
 ἴσος ὁ τόκος | τῷ πρὶν ἀπαντῶη. τούτου δὲ ὄντος F 93
 τοιούτου πενέστερος μὲν ὁ γεωργός, ἐν βλάβῃ δὲ
 ὁ φόρος. καὶ γὰρ ἂν σφόδρα ἐθέλη τις, τό γε μὴ
 δύνασθαι κωλύει.

11. Οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων βα-
 δίζει τὰ διὰ τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν κατὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν
 πολμώμενα, οἱ φασὶ μὲν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πολεμεῖν, ἔστι
 δὲ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος πόρος τῶν μὲν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγ-
 κειμένων, τῶν δὲ τὰ ὄντα τοῖς τάλαιπῶροις ἀρπα-
 ζόντων τὰ τε κείμενα αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἃ
 τρέφουσιν. ὥστ' ἀπέρχονται φέροντες οἱ ἐπελ-
 θόντες τὰ τῶν ἐκπεπολιορκημένων. τοῖς δὲ οὐκ
 ἀρκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆν σφετερίζονται τὴν τοῦ
 R ii. 169 δεινὸς ἱερὰν εἶναι λέγοντες, | καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πατ-
 ρῶν ἐστέρηται δι' ὀνόματος οὐκ ἀληθοῦς. οἱ δ'
 ἐκ τῶν ἐτέρων τρυφῶσι κακῶν οἱ τῷ πεινῆν, ὡς
 φασι, τὸν αὐτῶν θεραπεύοντες θεόν. ἦν δ' οἱ πε-
 πορθημένοι παρὰ τὸν ἐν ἄστει ποιμένα, καλοῦσι
 γὰρ οὕτως ἄνδρα οὐ πάνυ χρηστόν, ἦν οὖν ἐλ-
 θόντες ὀδύρωνται λέγοντες ἃ ἠδίκηθη, ὁ ποιμὴν
 οὗτος τοὺς μὲν ἐπήνεσε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπήλασεν ὡς ἐν
 τῷ μὴ μείζω πεπονθέναι κεκερδακότας. 12. καί-

^a Thus neglect of the gods is held to produce the famines which had been prevalent since A.D. 382; cf. Symm. *Rel.* 3. 15 ff.

^b On temple properties, cf. Bidez, *Vie de Julien*, pp. 225 ff.

^c Zosimus 5. 23 supports this accusation.

^d See on § 8 above. Theodosius himself about this time complained, "monachi multa scelera faciunt" (Ambrose, *Ep.* 41. 27).

ORATION XXX, 10-12

with their hopes, for they believe that their labour will be in vain once they are robbed of the gods who direct their labours to their due end.^a And if the land no longer enjoys the same care, neither can the yield match what it was before, and, if this be the case, the peasant is the poorer, and the revenue jeopardized, for whatever a man's willingness, surely his inability frustrates him.

11. So the outrages committed by these hooligans against the estates bear upon vital matters of state.^b They claim to be attacking the temples, but these attacks are a source of income, for, though some assail the shrines, others plunder the wretched peasantry of what they have, both the produce stored from the land and their stock; and the invaders depart with the loot from the places they have stormed. Others are not satisfied with this, but they appropriate the land too,^c claiming that what belongs to this or that body is temple property, and many a man has been robbed of his family acres on this false title. Others, again, claim to worship their god with fasting, and yet grow fat on the misfortunes of other folk.^d And if the victims of this looting come to the "pastor" in town—for that is the title they give to a fellow who is not all that he should be—^e if they come and tearfully recount their wrongs, this pastor commends the looters and sends the victims packing with the assurance that they are lucky to have got off so lightly. 12. Yet, Sire, these

^a *i.e.* the bishop (at this time Flavianus, § 15), with his ecclesiastical court. The term was, of course, current in Christian circles, but arouses Libanius' ire because it was also one of his own expressions to signify his relation as sophist with his pupils (*ἀγέλη*).

LIBANIUS

τοι τῆς μὲν σῆς ἀρχῆς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ οὗτοι, το-
 σούτω δὲ χρησιμώτεροι τῶν ἀδικούντων αὐτοὺς
 ὄσω τῶν ἀργούντων οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ

F 94 ταῖς μελίτταις, οἱ δὲ | τοῖς κηφήσιν ἐοίκασι. κἂν |
 ἀκούσωσιν ἄγρον ἔχειν τι τῶν ἀρπασθῆναι δυνα-

R ii. 11

μένων, εὐθύς οὗτος ἐν θυσίαις τέ ἐστι καὶ δεινὰ
 ποιεῖ καὶ δεῖ στρατείας ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πάρεισιν οἱ
 σωφρονισταί, τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τίθενται ταῖς λη-
 στείαις, εἰ μὴ καὶ¹ μικρὸν εἶπον. οἱ μὲν γε πει-

R ii. 171 ρῶνται λαυθάνειν καὶ ἃ τολμῶσιν ἀρνοῦνται, | κἂν
 καλέσης ληστήν, ὕβρισας, οἱ δὲ φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ
 σεμνύνονται καὶ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας διδάσκουσι καὶ
 γερῶν ἀξίους εἶναι φασιν αὐτούς. 13. καίτοι τοῦτο
 τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολεμεῖσθαι τοὺς γεωρ-
 γούς; οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλάττους ποιεῖ τὰς συμ-
 φορὰς τὸ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων πάσχειν κακῶς, εἰ μὴ
 καὶ δεινότερον τὸ οὖς εἰκότως ἂν ἐν ταραχαῖς εἶχον
 συμμάχους, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐν ἡσυχίας καιρῶ πάσχειν
 οἷα διήλθον.

14. Καίτοι τί μαθῶν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς δυνάμεις
 συνέχεις καὶ ὄπλα κατασκευάζῃ καὶ στρατηγοῖς
 κοινολογῇ καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκπέμπεις οἱ συμφέρει,
 τοῖς δὲ ἐπιστέλλεις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπειγόντων, τοῖς δὲ
 ἀντεπιστέλλεις ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐρωτῶσι; τὰ δὲ τείχη
 ταῦτα τὰ καινὰ καὶ οἱ θερινοὶ πόνοι τί βούλεται

R ii. 172 ταυτὶ | πάντα καὶ ποῖ βλέπει; καὶ τί προξενεῖ
 ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὸ ζῆν τε ἐν ἀδείᾳ

¹ καὶ F. (V): om. Re. (other mss.).

^a The σωφρονισταί are a type of rural police, cf. Marc. Diac. *Vit. Porph.* p. 22. Here their function is usurped by the monks.

ORATION XXX, 12-14

victims are your subjects too, and as workers are more useful than idlers, so are they more useful than their oppressors. These are as the bees, those the drones. And if they hear that an estate has something worth looting, it is straightaway involved in sacrifices and is committing all manner of crimes: an armed visitation is called for, and up come the justices,^a which is the term they use to describe these—for want of a better word—footpads, for footpads at least try not to be found out and they deny their misdeeds. Call one of them a footpad and you insult him. But this crew flaunt their excesses, boast of them, advertise them to those who are unaware of them, and claim that they should be rewarded. 13. But it is nothing else than war in peace time waged against the peasantry. Ill-usage at the hands of their fellows is no alleviation for their misfortunes, except for the fact that it is even worse that those allies they might normally have had in times of trouble are responsible for their experiencing the above-mentioned outrages in time of peace.

14. Then what is your purpose, Sire, in maintaining your forces, equipping your armies and conferring with commanders? Why send them to where they are needed, post despatches to them on matters of urgency, despatch replies to their queries? What is the point of these fresh fortifications, these labours of midsummer?^b What is the object of all this? What is it that allows both town and country to live

^b The fortifications and labours of midsummer were identified by Seeck and Van Loy with the Balkan campaigns of A.D. 390, and so held to indicate a late date for the speech. Petit (*op. cit.* p. 305) identifies with the successful campaign against the Gruthungi of A.D. 386.

LIBANIUS

καὶ καθεύδειν ἀκριβῶς καὶ μὴ θορυβεῖσθαι ταῖς F 95
ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἐλπίσιν ἀλλ' εἶ εἰδέναι πάντας
ὅτι κὰν ἐπίη τις, λαβῶν τι κακὸν μᾶλλον ἢ λυπή-
σας ἄπεισιν; ὅταν οὖν σοῦ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πολεμίους¹
ἀνείργοντος τῶν ὑπὸ σοι τινες ἐπὶ τινος τῶν ὑπὸ
σοι φέρωνται τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἔωντες μετ-
έχειν, πῶς οὐ τὴν σὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ φροντίδας καὶ
πόνους ἀδικοῦσιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἐν οἷς
πράττουσι καὶ τῇ σῇ γνώμῃ πολεμοῦσι;

15. Παραβαίνοντας γάρ φησι τὸν οὐκ ἔωντα
θύειν νόμον καὶ θύοντας ἐτιμωρούμεθα. ψεύδον-
ται, ταῦτα ὅταν λέγωσιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ. οὐδεὶς γὰρ
οὕτω θρασὺς τούτων δὴ τῶν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπείρων
ὡς ἀξιοῦν εἶναι κυριώτερος νόμου, νόμον δὲ ὅταν
εἴπω, τὸν τεθεικότα λέγω. πιστεύεις οὖν ὡς οἱ

R ii. 173 μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ πράκτορος | χλαμύδα φέροντες οὗτοι
βασιλείας ἂν κατεφρόνουν; ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τού-
των ἐλέγετο μὲν καὶ παρὰ Φλαβιανῶ πολλὰκις,

R ii. 174 ἠλέγχθη δὲ οὐδεπώποτε. οὐδὲ | γὰρ νῦν. 16. ἰδοὺ
γὰρ δὴ προκαλοῦμαι τοὺς κηδεμόνας τοῦδε τοῦ
νόμου· τίς εἶδ' ² τινος τούτων τῶν ἀναστάτων ὑφ'
ὑμῶν γενομένων τεθυκότας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν, ὡς ὁ
νόμος οὐκ ἔα; τίς νέος, τίς πρεσβύτης, τίς ἀνὴρ,
τίς γυνή, τίς τῶν τὸν | αὐτὸν οἰκοῦντων ἀγρὸν οὐ F 96
συμφερόμενος τοῖς θύσασιν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, τίς
τῶν ἐν τοῖς πλησίον; πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ δυσμένεια
καὶ φθόνος ἐμποιήσῃε γείτοσιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἔλθοι τις
ἂν³ ἠδέως ἐπ' ἔλεγχον, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε τούτων οὔτε

¹ πολεμίους F. : πολέμους Re. (mss.).

² εἶδ' F. (M) : οἶδέ Re. (other mss.).

³ ἂν inserted F. (V) : om. Re. (other mss.).

ORATION XXX, 14-16

in security, to sleep soundly and not to quake with expectations of war, save the universal conviction that any invader will retire after suffering more damage than he has caused? So, while you keep external foes at arm's length, if one group of your subjects attacks another and prevents them sharing in the general prosperity, they inevitably do harm to your precautions, your policies and your task, Sire, and by their activities they rebel against your will also.

15. The assertion is, of course, that they were punishing those who offer sacrifice and so contravene the law that bans it. This assertion, Sire, is always a lie. None of these ignorant rustics is so impudent as to claim to be above the law, and when I say the law, I mean its formulator. Do you really believe that those who cringe even at the tax-collector's uniform would despise the emperor's majesty? Yet this was the argument so often put to Flavianus,^a but it was never proved—nor is it now. 16. Now look! I challenge the guardians of this law. Who has seen anyone out of all the persons you have dispossessed who has sacrificed on the altars in the manner forbidden by the law, whether you be young or old, man or woman, a fellow-villager who disagrees with sacrifices to the gods, or any native of the neighbourhood? Spite and envy could provide reason enough for neighbours to start proceedings against them, but for all that neither from them nor from anywhere else has anyone come forward, nor

^a Patriarch of Antioch A.D. 381-404. His activities are either disparaged or ignored by Libanius, but his journey to court after the Riots of the Statues to plead on behalf of the city was most successful (*cf.* Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Statues*, esp. *Hom.* 21).

LIBANIUS

ἐκείνων οὐδείς ἤκεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἤξει δεδιῶς ἐπιορκίαν, ἵνα μὴ πληγὰς λέγω. τίς οὖν ἢ πίστις τῆς αἰτίας ἢ τὸ λέγειν τούτους ὡς ἄπερ οὐκ ἐξῆν ἔθυσαν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρκέσει τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ.

R ii. 175 17. Οὐκ ἔθυσαν οὖν; ἐρήσεταιί τις. πάνυ γε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θοίνῃ καὶ ἀρίστῳ καὶ εὐωχίᾳ τῶν | βοῶν ἀλλαγῶ σφαπτομένων, βωμοῦ δὲ οὐδενὸς τὸ αἷμα δεχομένου οὐδὲ μέρους οὐδενὸς καομένου οὐδὲ οὐλῶν ἡγουμένων οὐδὲ σπονδῆς ἀκολουθούσης. εἰ δέ τινες συνελθόντες εἷς τι φαῖδρον χωρίον μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον ἢ ἄμφω θύσαντες τὰ μὲν ἐψήσαντες τὰ δὲ ὀπτήσαντες κατακλιθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔφαγον, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τινας οὗτοι παρέβαινον τῶν νόμων. 18. οὐδὲ γὰρ κεκώλυκας ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, νόμω, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰπῶν δεῖν μὴ ποιεῖν τᾶλλα πάντα ἀφήκας. ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων θυμιαμάτων συνέπινον, οὐ παρέβαινον νόμον οὐδέ γε εἰ πάντες ἐν ταῖς φιλοτησίαις ἡδὸν τε καὶ ἐκάλουν θεούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν οἴκοι δίαιταν γιγνομένην | ἐκάστῳ συκοφαντή- F 97
R ii. 176 σεις. 19. ἦν¹ ἔθος πολλοὺς ἀγρότας² εἰς | τοὺς γνωριμωτέρους συνιόντας ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς θύσαντας εἶτα εὐωχεῖσθαι. τοῦθ' ἠνίκα ἐξῆν ποιεῖν, ἐποίουν. μετὰ ταῦτα πλὴν τοῦ θύειν ἢ περὶ τᾶλλα ἔμεινεν ἐξουσία. καλούσης τοίνυν τῆς εἰωθυίας ἡμέρας ὑπήκουον καὶ οἷς ἀκίνδυνον ἐτίμων αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸ ἔδος. ὅτι δὲ καὶ θύειν ἄξιον, οὐδείς οὐτ' εἶπεν οὐτ' ἤκουσεν οὐτ' ἐπεισεν οὐτ' ἐπέισθη. οὐδ' ἂν εἰ-

¹ ἦν F., conj. Re. : ἦν Re. text (mss.).

² ἀγρότας F. (BM, C marg.) : ἀγροὺς Re. (other mss.).

^a This was a practice still allowed by law: cf. C. Th. 16. 10. 17 (of A.D. 399) where the occasions for such festivities are *vota publica*.

ORATION XXX, 16-19

will he, if he has any qualms about perjury—not to mention the flogging for it. So what basis is there for the charge, save the mere assertion that they have performed an illegal sacrifice? But this will not do for the emperor.

17. "They did not sacrifice, then?" will be the comment. Of course they did, but for a banquet, a dinner, a feast, and the oxen were slaughtered elsewhere^a: no altar received the blood offering, no single part of the victim was burned, no offering of meal began the ceremony, nor did libations follow it. If people assemble in some beauty spot, slaughter a calf or a sheep, or both, and boil or roast it, and then lie down on the ground and eat it, I do not see that they have broken the laws at all. 18. You, Sire, have put no legal ban on these acts. By banning the performance of one specific action you automatically permit everything else. So even if they were in the habit of drinking together amid the scent of every kind of incense, they broke no law, nor yet if in their toasts they sang hymns and invoked the gods, unless indeed you intend to use a man's private life as grounds for accusation. 19. It used to be the custom for country folk to assemble in large numbers at the homes of the village notables at holiday time, to make a sacrifice and then hold a feast. This they did while ever it was permitted to do so, and thereafter all the rest, with the exception of sacrifice, remained permissible. So, summoned on the usual day, they dutifully honoured it and the shrine in a manner that involved no risk. That they also thought fit to offer sacrifice no single person has ever said or heard, alleged convincingly or be-

LIBANIUS

ποι τις τῶν ἐκείνοις ἐχθρῶν ὡς ἢ αὐτόπτης θυσίας γέγονεν ἢ ὡς ἔχει¹ τὸν μεμνηκότεν. εἰ δ' ἦν ταῦτα ἢ τὸ ἕτερον γε, τίς ἂν ἦνεγκε τούτους ἔλκοντας καὶ βοῶντας καὶ κατηγοροῦντας οὐκ ἐν τῷ Φλαβιανοῦ δικαστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς δικαστηρίοις; οὕτω γὰρ μᾶλλον ᾤοντο ἂν ἀναιρήσειν τὸ θύειν ἀνελόντες τῶν τεθυκότων τινάς. 20. ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτῶν ταῦτα εἶναι φήσουσι παραδιδόναι τοῖς ἀποκτενοῦσιν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδ' ἦν τὰ δεινότερα εἰργασμένος ἦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσους μὲν ἐν στάσεσιν ἀπεκτόνασιν οὐδὲ τῆν τῆς προσηγορίας αἰσχυρόμενοι κοινωνίαν, παρίημι, F 98 μὴ τις εἰς τὸ ἀπερίσκεπτον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνενέγκη· ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἐξηλάσατε τοὺς ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείαις πενία βοηθοῦντας ἔν τε γραυσὶ καὶ πρεσβύταις οὔσῃ καὶ παιδίοις ὀρφανοῖς καὶ τούτων τοῖς πλείοσι τὰ πολλὰ πεπηρωμένοις τοῦ σώματος, ταῦτα οὐ φόνος; ταῦτα οὐ θάνατος; ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκτείνειν, καὶ πικροτέρῳ² γε θανάτῳ, διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ; τοῦ τρέφεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλότος τοῦτ' ἐλείπετο δήπου. εἴτ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπολλύντες οὐδὲν αἰτιαθέντας ἀπώλλυτε, τούτους δ' ἂν παραβεβηκότας νόμον <οὔ>³; οὕτω τὸ τὰ δικαστήρια φυγεῖν τὸν τοῦ μὴ τεθυκέναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔλεγχον ἔχει.

¹ ἔχει: A ends (gap of one folium); resumes § 28, δέ σοι. Similarly Re.

² πικροτέρῳ mss.: πικροτάτῳ F.

³ οὔ inserted F., conj. Monnier: om. mss.

^a On the jurisdiction of episcopal courts cf. *C. Th.* 1. 27. 1 (A.D. 318), *Const. Sirm.* 1 (A.D. 333), Jones, *LRE* 491 f.

^b Libanius consistently criticizes those Christian governors who, despite the brutality of their physical punishments, yet profess to avoid the imposition of the death penalty (cf. *Or.* 4. 38, 45. 27 ff.), as either exceeding the bounds of their duty or failing to perform it.

ORATION XXX, 19-20

lieved. Nor yet could any of their enemies assert that he either had personally witnessed a sacrifice or could produce an informant about one. But if he had these proofs, or even one of them, who would have put up with arrests, a hue and cry, and charges made by these people, not in Flavianus' court but in a real court of law? ^a For they might expect more success in doing away with sacrifices if they did away with some individuals who had performed them. 20. But it is not their way, they will say, to hand a man over to execution, even though he be guilty of the most heinous crime. ^b I forebear to mention the numbers they have murdered in their riotings in utter disregard of the name they share, ^c in case such incidents be described as due to overhasty action: but your expulsion of people who by their personal care provided relief for poverty among old men and women and fatherless children, ^d the majority of them suffering from severe physical handicaps—is not this murder? Isn't it execution? Isn't this sentencing them to death, and to a death worse than ever, by starvation? For when their means of support have gone, this is surely the fate in store for them. Then in massacring their protectors, you have been massacring these innocents, but you wouldn't dream of doing so if they had broken the law! This by-passing of the courts of law is proof that their victims did not offer sacrifice. This killing without trial

^c As had happened in A.D. 361 (the lynching of George of Cappadocia) and was to occur in A.D. 391 at the overthrow of the Serapeum, *cf. Sozom. H.E. vii. 14*. Julian had described the Christians in their religious quarrels as being worse than wild beasts.

^d On social welfare in the pagan church *cf. Or. 2. 30 n.*

οὕτως οὐς ἔκτειναν¹ οὐ κρίναντες τὸ μηδ' ἀφορμῆς εἰς τὸ κρίνειν εὐπορεῖν ὠμολογήκασιν.

21. Εἰ δέ μοι γράμματα λέγουσιν ἀπὸ βιβλῶν αἷς φασιν ἐμμένειν, ἐγὼ τὰ πράγματα ἀντιθήσω τὰ παρὰ φαῦλον ἐκείνοις² πεποιημένα. εἰ δέ μὴ τοῦτο τοιοῦτον ἦν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐτρύφω. νῦν δ' ἴσμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπως χρώνται μὲν ταῖς ἡμέραις, χρώνται δέ ταῖς νυξίν. οὐκ οὖν ἦν εἰκὸς τοὺς οὐκ ὀκνοῦντας ἐκεῖνα τοῦτο | φυλάξασθαι; ἀλλ' ἐξήρηται F 99
τοσαῦτα τοσοῦτων ἀγρῶν ἱερά ὕβρει καὶ παροιρία³ καὶ κέρδει καὶ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι κατέχειν αὐτούς.

22. τεκμήριον δέ, ἦν ἄγαλμα ἐν Βεροῖα τῇ πόλει χαλκοῦν, Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐν εἴδει τοῦ Κλεινίου παιδὸς τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἡ τέχνη τὴν φύσιν ἐμιμείτο, τοσοῦτον δέ ἦν τὸ τῆς ὥρας ὥστε καὶ οἷς ὑπῆρχεν αὐτὸν καθ' ἡμέραν ὁρᾶν, εἶναι τῆς θεᾶς ὅμως ἐπιθυμίαν. τούτῳ θύεσθαι θυσίας οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀναιδῆς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἂν τολμῆσαι. τοῦτο τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ τοιοῦτον πολλῶ μὲν, ὡς εἰκὸς, πόνῳ, λαμπρᾷ δέ ἠκριβωμένον ψυχῇ κατακέκοπται καὶ οἴχεται, καὶ τὰ Φειδίου χεῖρες πολλὰ⁴ διενείμαντο. διὰ ποῖον αἷμα; διὰ ποῖαν μάχαιραν; διὰ ποῖαν ἔξω τῶν νόμων θεραπείαν; 23. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐνταῦθα καίτοι θυσίαν οὐδεμίαν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ὅμως πολλὰ μέρη τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, μᾶλλον δέ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἔτεμνον ἀποκοσμούντες τὴν πόλιν τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα, οὕτω χρῆ νομίζειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐσχηκέναι. τέθυκε μὲν ἱερεῖον οὐδεὶς, ἐν

¹ ἔκτειναν F. : ἔκριναν mss.

² ἐκείνοις F. (M marg.) : ἐκεῖνα mss.

³ παροιρία F. (IMV) : παρανοία other mss.

⁴ τὰ Φειδίου χεῖρες conj. Monnier : τὰς Φειδίου χεῖρας πολλὰ F. (mss.) : πολλοὶ prop. F.

ORATION XXX, 20-23

is a confession that there are no good grounds to try them.

21. And if they prate to me of the teachings of the scriptures that they profess to obey, I will counter them with the despicable acts they have committed. If this were not so, they would not be living on the fat of the land. As it is, we know how they spend their days—and their nights. How improbable it is for those who have no qualms about that to be so punctilious about this! In estate after estate shrine after shrine has been wiped out by their insolence, violence, greed and deliberate lack of self-control.

22. For instance, in the city of Beroea there was a bronze statue of Asclepius, in the likeness of the handsome son of Cleinias. In its art matched nature; such was its perfection that even those who could see it every day still wanted to look at it. No one was such a scoundrel as to dare say that sacrifice was performed to it. Yet this statue, Sire, so carefully made no doubt with much toil and brilliant genius, has been broken up and exists no more. The mob's handiwork has been to tear apart the masterwork of Pheidias.^a For what offering of blood? For what use of the sacrificial knife? For what illegal act of worship? 23. At Beroea, though they could not allege any sacrifice, they yet smashed to smithereens the likeness of Alcibiades, or rather of Asclepius, and desecrated the city by the outrage committed against the statue: similarly, we must believe their outrages in the countryside to fall into the same pattern. No one has sacrificed any victim, yet the temples, great

^a On such artistic attributions *cf. R.E.* i. 1531. The attribution of this statue to Pheidias is highly unlikely, the language being that of rhetorical exaggeration.

LIBANIUS

οἷς δὲ κάμνοντες¹ αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυον ἱεροῖς, ταῦτα ἀνήρηται μείζω τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἐλάττω. καὶ νε-
ναυαγηκόσιν οἱ ταῦτα παθόντες εἰκόασιν ἀνθρώ-
ποις ἐκπεσοῦσαι τῶν νεῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἔπλεον. |

24. Πότεροι τοίνυν τῶν δίκην ὀφειλόντων εἰσίν, F 100
οἱ τετηρηκότες τοὺς νόμους ἢ οἱ τὴν αὐτῶν βού-
λησιν ἀντ' ἐκείνων πεποιημένοι; εἰ γὰρ δεινὸν
μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφεῖσιν ἀπει-
θεῖν, φαίνονται δὲ πεισθέντες μὲν οἱ μὴ τεθυκότες,
ἐναντία δὲ πεποιηκότες οἱ διαφθείραντες ἃ μένειν
τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐδέδοκτό σοι, οἱ δίκην εἰληφότες ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ λαβεῖν ὀφείλουσιν· ἦν γὰρ οὐ προσῆκεν
ἔλαβον ζῆν μὲν ἑάσαντες οἷς ἐνεκάλουν, ἃ δ' οὐκ
ἦν αἰτιάσασθαι τῶν γε ἀψύχων ὄντα κατεσκαφότες.

25. Καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ σφόδρα τοῦτο ἦν ἀδίκημα,
τὸ μὲν ἀξιόους δεῖξαι δίκης ἐκείνους τούτων ἦν, τὸ
δὲ ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν δίκην τοῦ δικαστοῦ. δικαστοῦ
δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀπορῆσαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων
ἀπάντων. οὕτω καὶ τοὺς φονέας οἱ τῶν ἀπεσφαγ-
μένων οἰκεῖοι τιμωροῦνται λόγοις μὲν τοῖς παρ'
ἑαυτῶν, ψήφῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν δικαζόντων. οὐδεὶς δὲ
ἀρπάσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνδροφόνον ξίφος προστίθησιν
αὐτὸ τῷ κείνου (τραχήλῳ)² χρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ
δικαστηρίου τῇ χειρὶ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ³ τυμβωρύχον
οὐδὲ προδότην οὐδὲ τῶν τὰ ἄλλα ἀδικούντων οὐ-
δένα οὔτε πρότερον οὔθ' ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τῶν
ξίφῳν εἰσαγγελίαι καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ δίκαι. 26. καὶ
τὸ δι' ὧν ὁ νόμος βούλεται γενέσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν |

¹ κάμνοντες MSS. : καμόντες F.

² τραχήλῳ inserted F. (cf. schol. V : αὐτὸ τὸ ξίφος τῷ
'κείνου τραχήλῳ) : om. MSS.

³ ἐπὶ F. (U, P corr.) : om. other MSS.

ORATION XXX, 23-26

and small alike, in which the weary used to find repose, have all been demolished, and those who have suffered this loss are like ship-wrecked mariners, swept from the ships in which they sailed.

24. Which party, then, deserves to be punished? Those who have kept the law or those who have replaced it by their own inclinations? If it be a crime, Sire, to disobey your edicts, and if those who have refrained from sacrifice have obviously obeyed them, and if these despoilers of things which you have decreed shall remain in their owners' possession have disobeyed them, then the exactors of punishment, by the very fact of exacting it, deserve to suffer it. Their punishment has been misdirected, for they have allowed the persons they accused to live, and have demolished objects which, being inanimate, lay beyond the reach of accusation.

25. Moreover, if this really and truly was a crime, it was their job to show that the accused deserved to be punished, but it was the magistrates' job to impose the penalty. And a magistrate ^a was not far to seek, for all the provinces are under such. This is how the kinsfolk of any murdered man get the murderers punished—by their presentation of the case and by the sentence of the magistrates. Nobody draws his sword against the murderer and puts it to his throat, employing force in place of the forms of law, nor does he do so against the desecrators of tombs, or traitors or any other criminal offender, either past or future, but the place of swords is taken by impeachments and processes, civil and criminal.

26. The magistrate, too, I believe, is satisfied for the

^a δῖκαστῆς = *iudex* = provincial governor.

ἀρκοῦν οἶμαι τῷ δικάζοντι. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μόνοι τῶν F 101
 ἀπάντων περὶ ὧν κατηγοροῦν ἐδίκασον καὶ δικά-
 σαντες αὐτοὶ τὰ τῶν δημίων ἐποίουν. τί δὴ ζη-
 τοῦντες; εἰργομένους ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς τὰ τῶν θεῶν
 τιμῶντας ἐπὶ τὰ κείνων ἐνεχθῆναι. τουτὶ δ' ἐστὶ
 πάντων εὐηθέστατον. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς αὐ-
 τοῖς οἷς ἔπαθον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὶν ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ταῦτα
 τεθαυμάκασιν; ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἐρῶντες
 ἐκ τοῦ κωλύεσθαι μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν μᾶλλον τοῦτο
 ποιῶσι καὶ γίνονται τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρασταὶ σφο-
 δρότεροι. 27. εἰ δὲ ταῖς κατασκαφαῖς ἐγίνοντο
 τῆς γνώμης αἱ περὶ ταῦτα μεταβολαί, πάλαι ἂν
 σῆ ψήφῳ τὰ ἱερά κατέσκαπτο· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν
 ἠδέως ταύτην εἶδες τὴν μεταβολήν. ἀλλ' ἦδεις οὐ
 δυνησόμενος. διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπέσχου τῶν ἱερῶν τού-
 των. τούτους δ', εἰ καὶ τι τοιοῦτον προσεδόκων,
 μετὰ σοῦ προσῆκεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ μεταδοῦ-
 ναι τῷ κρατοῦντι τῆς φιλοτιμίας. ἦν δέ, οἶμαι,
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνοντας κατορθοῦν ἄπερ ἤθελον κάλ-
 λιον ἢ μετὰ τοῦ πλημμελεῖν.

28. Εἰ δέ σοι¹ φήσουσί τινας ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τού-
 των γεγενῆσθαι τῶν ἔργων καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν εἶναι
 τῇ περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξῃ, μὴ σε λανθανέτωσαν δο-
 κοῦντας οὐ γεγενημένους λέγοντες. ἀφεστᾶσι μὲν

¹ δέ σοι : A resumes : similarly Re.

^a On the inefficacy of forced conversion *cf.* Or. 18. 121 ff. (Vol. I, pp. 357 ff.) where Libanius commends Julian's refusal to have recourse to it; Athanasius (*Ep. ad solitariam vitam agentes*), quoted by Gothofred and Reiske: οὐ γὰρ ξίψεσιν ἢ βέλεσιν οὐδὲ διὰ στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἀλήθεια καταγγέλλεται ἀλλὰ πιθοὶ καὶ συμβουλῆ.

ORATION XXX, 26-28

penalty to be exacted by agents defined by law. But these people here were the only ones ever to judge the cases of those whom they accuse and, having passed judgement, themselves to play the hangman's part. And with what object? For the worshippers of the gods thenceforth to be barred from their own rites and be converted to theirs? But this is utter nonsense. Everybody knows that, as a result of their very sufferings, people have become more confirmed than ever in their faith,^a just as in physical desire the lover has only to be barred from the act and he does it all the more and becomes more ardent towards the same object of his affections. 27. If such conversion could be effected simply by the destruction of temples, they would have been long ago destroyed by your decree, for you would long since have been glad to see this conversion. But you knew that you could not, and so you never laid a finger on these shrines. These people, even if they looked forward to some such result, ought to have advanced towards it in step with you and should have let the emperor share in their ambition. It would have been better, surely, to succeed in their objective by staying on the right side of the law rather than by abusing it.^b

28. And if they tell you that some other people have been converted by such measures and now share their religious beliefs, do not overlook the fact that they speak of conversions apparent, not real.^c Their

^b Libanius here regretfully accepts Theodosius' christianizing policy, but insists that he, unlike these monks, promotes it by due force of laws.

^c Theodosius grew increasingly severe upon apostasy during the course of his reign, *cf. C. Th.* 16. 7. 1-5.

LIBANIUS

- R ii. 177 γὰρ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον | αὐτῶν, φασὶ δέ. τοῦτο δέ F 10:
 ἔστιν οὐκ ἐκείνους ἕτερα τιμῶν ἀνθ' ἐτέρων, ἀλλὰ
 τούτους πεφενაკίσθαι. ἔρχονται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ
 φαινόμενα <καὶ>¹ τὸν τούτων ὄχλον καὶ διὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων ὧν οὗτοι πορεύονται, καταστάντες δὲ εἰς
 σχῆμα τὸ τῶν εὐχομένων ἢ οὐδένα καλοῦσιν ἢ τοὺς
 θεούς, οὐ καλῶς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου χωρίου, κα-
 λοῦσι δ' οὖν. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις ὁ τὸν
 τύραννον εἰσιὼν οὐκ ἔστι τύραννος ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἦν
 πρὸ τοῦ προσωπείου, οὕτω καὶ ἐκείνων ἕκαστος
 τηρεῖ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀκίνητον, δοκεῖ δὲ τούτοις κεκι-
 νῆσθαι. 29. καίτοι τί τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτοῖς γεγένη-
 R ii. 178 ται | βέλτιον, ὅταν λόγος μὲν ἦ τὰ 'κείνων, τὸ δὲ
 ἔργον ἀπῆ; δεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὰ γε τοιαῦτα πείθειν, οὐ
 προσαναγκάζειν. εἰ δ' ὁ μὴ τοῦτο δυνάμενος ἐκεί-
 R ii. 179 νῳ χρήσεται, εἴργασται | μὲν οὐδέν, οἶεται δέ.²
 λόγος δὲ μῆδ' ἐν τοῖς τούτων αὐτῶν τοῦτο ἐνεῖναι
 νόμοις, ἀλλ' εὐδοκιμεῖν μὲν τὸ πείθειν, κακῶς δὲ
 ἀκούειν τὴν ἀνάγκην. τί οὖν μαίνεσθε κατὰ τῶν |
 ἱερῶν, εἰ τὸ πείθειν μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, βιάζεσθαι δὲ F 10:
 <δεῖ>³; σαφῶς γὰρ οὕτως καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἂν
 αὐτῶν παραβαίνοιτε νόμους.
 30. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μῆδ' εἶναί φασιν ἱερὰ χρήσιμον
 εἶναι τῇ γῆ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀνθρώποις. ἐνταῦθα
 τοίνυν δεῖ μὲν μοι πολλῆς, ὡ βασιλεῦ, τῆς παρρη-
 σίας, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τινα λυπήσω τῶν ἐμαντοῦ
 κρειπτόνων. χωρεῖτω δ' οὖν ὅμως ὁ λόγος ἐν
 τοῦτο ἀπαιτούμενος, τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

¹ <καὶ> ins. F.

² After δέ, *τουτὶ ἀσθενές* inserted in mss. Re. (edition) and F. bracket as gloss. Re. (*Animadv.*) had conjectured *τουτὶ δὴ τὸ ἀσθενές*.

ORATION XXX, 28-30

converts have not really been changed—they only say they have. This does not mean that they have exchanged one faith for another—only that this crew have been bamboozled. They go to their ceremonies, join their crowds, go everywhere where these do, but when they adopt an attitude of prayer, they either invoke no god at all or else they invoke the gods. It is no proper invocation from such a place, but it is an invocation for all that. In plays, the actor who takes the part of a tyrant is not a tyrant, but just the same as he was before putting on the mask ^a: so here, everyone keeps himself unchanged, but he lets them think he has been changed.

29. Now what advantage have they won when adherence to their doctrine is a matter of words and the reality is absent? Persuasion is required in such matters, not constraint. If persuasion fails and constraint is employed, nothing has been accomplished, though you think it has. It is said that in their very own rules it does not appear, but that persuasion meets with approval and compulsion is deplored. Then why these frantic attacks on the temples, if you cannot persuade and must needs resort to force? In this way you would obviously be breaking your own rules.

30. But, they assert, the very absence of temples is a blessing to the world and the people in it. Well, here, Sire, I must speak fully and frankly, though I fear that I shall upset some in higher station than myself. However, let my argument proceed, according to the demands of truth alone.

^a *Cf. Or. 64. 74.*

³ βιάζεσθαι F., conj. Monnier (PBU): -εσθε Re. (other mss.). | δεῖ inserted F., conj. Re.

LIBANIUS

R ii. 180 31. Εἰπάτω γάρ μοί | τις τῶν τὰς μὲν πυράγγρας
καὶ σφύρας καὶ ἄκμονας ἀφέντων, περὶ δὲ οὐρανοῦ
καὶ τῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐχόντων ἀξιούντων διαλεγέ-
σθαι, ποτέροις ἀκολουθοῦντες οἱ τὰ μέγιστα ἀπὸ
μικρῶν καὶ φαύλων τῶν πρώτων ἀφορμῶν Ῥω-
μαῖοι δυνηθέντες ἐδυνήθησαν, τῶ¹ τούτων ἢ οἷς
ἱερά καὶ βωμοί, παρ' ὧν ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ
ποιεῖν διὰ τῶν μάντεων; Ἀγαμέμνονα δὲ τὸ παν-
ταχοῦ τεθυκέναι πλέοντα ἐπ' Ἴλιον αἰσχροῦς ἐπαν-
ήγαγεν ἢ νενικηκότα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῶ τὸ τέλος |
εὐρούσης; Ἡρακλέα δὲ τὸν πρὸ τούτου τὴν αὐτὴν F 104
καθελόντα πόλιν οὐ θυσίαις ἴσμεν τῶν θεῶν προσ-
λαβόντα τὴν ῥοπήν; 32. ἔτι τοίνυν λαμπρὸς μὲν ὁ
Μαραθῶν οὐ διὰ τοὺς μυρίους μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίων
ἢ διὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ Πᾶνα, θεία δὲ ἢ Σαλαμίς
οὐ διὰ τὰς² τῶν Ἑλλήνων μᾶλλον ναῦς ἢ τοὺς ἐξ
Ἐλευσίνος συμμάχους οἱ μετ' ὠδῆς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ
τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἦκον. μυρίους ἄν³ τις ἔχοι λέγειν
πολέμους τῇ τῶν θεῶν εὐνοίᾳ κυβερνηθέντας καί,
νῆ Δία γε, καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας χρόνους.

33. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ μάλιστα τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
ἀτιμάσαι δοκοῦντες καὶ ἄκοντες τετιμῆκασιν. τίνες
οὔτοι; οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην τοῦ θύειν οὐ τολμήσαντες
R ii. 181 ἀφελέσθαι. καίτοι | εἰ μὲν μάταιον ἅπαν τοῦτο

¹ After τῶ F. inserted θεῶ, following gloss (θεῶ δηλ.) in V.

² τριακοσίας (i.e. τ') inserted F., before τῶν.

³ <δ'> ἄν F.

^a A sourly classical reference to Homer, *Od.* 3. 434. Libanius' criticism of the monks is the more bitter, in that ignorant and untaught, they aspire to be interpreters of divine philosophy, the most select and exclusive of the higher professions of paganism.

^b The arguments of Symmachus also, *Rel.* 3.

ORATION XXX, 31-33

31. These people who have cast aside tongs, hammers and anvils ^a and now claim to discourse upon heaven and its occupants—let any of them tell me which it was the Romans followed, when from such small and humble beginnings they attained supreme power.^b Was it the god of these people? or was it the gods with temples and altars, from whom they heard, by means of seers, what they should or should not do? Did Agamemnon's far-flung sacrifices on his expedition to Troy ensure his return in disgrace or in triumph, once Athena had devised the means to the end?^c Heracles before him sacked this same city, and do we not know that he gained the support of the gods by sacrifice?^d 32. Moreover, the glory ^e of Marathon is due not so much to the 10,000 Athenians as to Heracles and Pan, and the crowning mercy of Salamis not to the Greek fleet so much as to the helpers from Eleusis,^f who came to the battle to the accompaniment of their own sacred hymn. You could cite wars without number that have been directed by the favour of the gods,—yes, by Zeus, and times of peace and quiet, too.

33. And the most crucial point of all—those who appear to have been our chief opponents in this particular have honoured the gods even against their will. And who might these be? Why, those who have not dared rob Rome of its sacrifices.^g Yet, if

^a Cf. Homer, *Od.* 1. 327, 3. 144. ^d Cf. Pausan. 5. 14. 2.

^e Cf. Herod. 6. 105, Polemo, *Decl.* 1. 35, 2. 41. *Lib. Or.* 18. 66.

^f For "divine Salamis" cf. the oracle quoted by Herod. 8. 65; cf. *Or.* 15. 40; for the supernatural aid from Eleusis cf. the mystic procession, *Plut. Them.* 15, Herod. *ibid.*

^g Sacrifices in Rome were not banned until Feb. A.D. 391 (*C. Th.* 16. 10. 10), an indication of the *terminus ante quem*.

LIBANIUS

τὸ περὶ τὰς θυσίας, τί μὴ τὸ μάταιον ἐκωλύθη; εἰ δὲ καὶ βλαβερὸν, πῶς οὐ ταύτη γε μᾶλλον; εἰ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκεῖ θυσίαις κείται τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπανταχοῦ δεῖ νομίζειν λυσιτελεῖν τὸ θύειν καὶ διδόναι τοὺς μὲν | ἐν Ῥώμῃ δαίμονας τὰ μείζω, F 105 τοὺς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστεσιν ἐλάττω, δέξαιτο δ' ἂν τις εὖ φρονῶν καὶ τὰ τηλικαῦτα. 34. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν οὐκ ἴσον μὲν τὸ παρ' ἐκάστου, φέρει δέ τι τῇ μάχῃ τὸ παρ' ἐκάστου. οἶον δὴ τι κἂν ταῖς εἰρεσίαις· οὐκ ἴσοι μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ βραχίονες, συντελεῖ δέ τι καὶ ὁ τοῦ πρώτου λειπόμενος. ὁ μὲν τις τῷ σκήπτρῳ τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης συναγωνίζεται, ὁ δὲ¹ ταύτη σώζει πόλιν ὑπήκοον, ὁ δὲ τις ἀγρὸν ἀνέχει παρέχων εὖ πράττειν. ἔστω τοίνυν ἱερὰ πανταχοῦ ἢ ὁμολογούντων οὗτοι δυσμενῶς ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔχειν δόντας αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ἀφ' ὧν ζημιώσεται.²

R ii. 182 35. Οὐ τοίνυν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μόνον ἐφυλάχθη τὸ θύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Σαράπιδος | τῇ πολλῇ τε καὶ μεγάλη καὶ πλήθος κεκτημένη νεῶν, δι' ὧν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου φορὰν. αὐτῇ δὲ ἔργον τοῦ Νείλου, τὸν Νεῖλον δὲ ἐστιᾶ³ | ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρούρας πείθουσα,⁴ ὧν οὐ F 106 ποιουμένων ὅτε τε χρῆ καὶ παρ' ὧν, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθελήσειεν. ἄ μοι δοκοῦσιν εἰδότες οἱ καὶ ταῦτα ἂν ἠδέως ἀνελόντες οὐκ ἀνελεῖν ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι τὸν

¹ δέ <τις> F.

² ζημιώσεται F., Re. : -ετε MSS.

³ ἐστιᾶ Re. (A) : ἐστία other MSS. (ἐστὶν ἡ οἶδαμεν C marg.) : ἐστιάματά ἐστιν F. : ἱερὰ ἐστὶ τὰ Cobet.

⁴ πείθουσα Re. : πείθοντα F. (MSS.).

⁴ Alexandria, where sacrifices were banned in June A.D. 391 (*ibid.* 10. 11). This was soon afterwards followed by the sack of the Serapeum by Theophilus and his monks.

all this business of sacrifice is nonsense, then why has not the nonsense been stopped? If it is harmful, then isn't this all the more reason? But if the stability of empire depends on the sacrifices performed there, we must consider that sacrifice is everywhere to our advantage; the gods in Rome grant greater blessings, those in the countryside and the other cities, lesser ones, but any sensible man would welcome even such as these. 34. In an army, a man's individual contribution may not be comparable with another's, but it all counts towards winning the battle. Similarly, among ships' rowers, also: their arms do not all pull alike, but even the less capable does his bit. So with the gods: one supports the might of Rome, another protects for her a city under her sway, another protects an estate and grants it prosperity. Let temples everywhere remain in being, then, or else let these people agree that you emperors are ill-disposed to Rome since you allow her to act in a manner that will cause her harm.

35. And it is not only in Rome that sacrifice has been maintained. They are also performed in the great and mighty city of Serapis,^a with its fleet of ships whereby it makes the produce of Egypt common to all mankind. Egypt is the work of the Nile, and offers feasts to the Nile inducing him to flood the fields, and if these are not performed in due season and by due persons, he too would refuse.^b I feel that, in awareness of this, the eager supporters of abolition have refrained from abolishment of them,

^b Constantine had already withdrawn the "Nile cubit," the ceremonial unit of measurement for the Nile flood, from its traditional place in the Serapeum.

LIBANIUS

ποταμὸν εὐωχεῖσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς νομίμοις ἐπὶ
μισθῷ τῷ εἰωθότι. 36. τί οὖν; ἐπεὶ μὴ ποταμὸς
ἔστι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀγρὸν τὰ τοῦ Νείλου τῇ γῆ
παρέχων, οὐδ' εἶναι τὰν τούτοις ἱερὰ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅ
τι δόξειε τοῖς γενναίοις τουτοισὶ πάσχειν; οὐς
ἠδέως ἐκεῖνο ἂν ἐροίμην εἰ τολμήσουσι παρελθόντες

R ii. 183 γνώμην εἰπεῖν πεπαῦσθαι | μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα τῷ
Νείλῳ, μὴ μετέχειν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν μηδὲ σπεί-
ρεσθαι μηδὲ ἀμᾶσθαι μηδὲ διδόναι πυροὺς μηδ'
ὅσα δίδωσι μηδ' ἀνάγεσθαι γῆν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἃ νῦν.
εἰ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τούτοις διάραιεν τὸ στόμα, οἷς οὐ
λέγουσι διελέγχουσι ἃ λέγουσιν. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν
εἰπόντες δεῖν τῶν τιμῶν ἀποστερεῖσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον
ὁμολογοῦσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμφέρειν τὰς τῶν ἱε-
ρῶν τιμὰς. |

37. Ὅταν τοίνυν καὶ τοῦ σεσυληκότος μνημο- F 11
νεύωσι, τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας προῆλθε,

R ii. 184 παρείσθω, ἀλλὰ τίς | οὕτω μεγάλην τῶν περὶ τὰ
ἱερὰ χρήματα δέδωκε δίκην τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν
μετιῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη καὶ τεθνεὼς πάσχων ἐπ' ἀλλή-
λους τε ἰόντων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ λελειμμένου
μηδενός; καίτοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπ'
ἐκείνου τινας ἄρχειν ἢ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ τοῖς
οἰκοδομήμασιν αὔξεσθαι πόλιν δι' ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν
πλὴν τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶς τρυφώντων ἅπαντας ἀνθρώ-

^a Constantine's self-inflicted punishment was the murder
of his son Crispus for an alleged amour with his wife Fausta ;

ORATION XXX, 35-37

but have allowed the river to be feasted in the time-honoured ritual for the customary reward. 36. What, then? Since there is not a river on every estate bestowing the blessings of the Nile upon the land, must the temples in them cease to exist and be mis-used in whatever way these fine fellows may decide? I would like to put this question to them. Will they dare come forward and propose the abolition of the Nile feast, and with it the banning of the land from partaking of it, and from the sowing and reaping and production of corn and all its products and their transportation to all the world as now? If they would not utter a word under these conditions, then by their silence they refute what they do say, for by denying that the Nile should be deprived of his honours, they agree that the honouring of the temples is to the benefit of mankind.

37. And when they mention their desecrator, leaving aside the fact that he did not proceed against the sacrifices,—who paid more dearly for his policy concerning temple property, by punishment whether self-inflicted or suffered even after death,^a when the members of his family attacked each other and not a single one was left? For him it would have been far better to have descendants of his own upon the throne than for the city that bears his name to sprout a crop of buildings, when simply because of it he has all men, save those who wallow there in base extravagance, calling down curses upon him

after his death, the family suffered from family feuds—his half-brothers were murdered in the bloodbath of A.D. 337, Constantine II by Constans in A.D. 340, Constans himself by the usurper Magnentius in A.D. 350, and Constantius died without male issue in A.D. 361.

LIBANIUS

- R ii. 185 πους ἔχει καταρωμένους | τῇ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπορία
τὴν εὐπορίαν ἐκείνη παρέχοντας.
38. Καὶ ὅταν τοίνυν μετ' ἐκείνον τὸν ἐκείνου
λέγωσι καὶ ὡς καθείλε νεῶς οὐκ ἐλάττω περὶ τοῦτο
πονησάντων τῶν καθαιρούντων ἢ τῶν οἰκοδομη-
σάντων,—οὕτως οὐκ ἦν ῥάδιον ἀλλήλων διαζευξαι
τοὺς λίθους δεσμοῖς ἰσχυροτάτοις εἰσηνεγμένους,
—ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα λέγωσιν, ἐγὼ μεῖζόν τι προσ-
τίθημι, ὅτι | ἐκείνός γε καὶ δῶρα ναοὺς τοῖς ἀμφ' F 108
- R ii. 186 αὐτὸν ἐδίδου καθάπερ ἵππον ἢ ἀνδράποδον | ἢ κύνα
ἢ φιάλην χρυσῆν, κακὰ δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὰ δῶρα τοῖς τε
δοῦσι τοῖς τε λαβοῦσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τρέμειν
καὶ δεδιέναι Πέρσας ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἐβίω φοβού-
μενος ἔαρ¹ ἕκαστον ἔξοδον ἔχον,² ὥσπερ τὰ παιδία
τὰς Μορμόνας, τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄπαιδες καὶ πρὸ
διαθηκῶν ἀπῆλθον οἱ δυστυχεῖς, τοῖς δ' ἦν ἄμεινον
μὴ παιδοποιήσασθαι. 39. τοιαύταις μὲν ἀδοξίαις,
τοσοῦτῳ δὲ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συζῶσιν οἱ
- R ii. 187 ἀπὸ τούτων ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν | ἱερῶν κίονων
στρεφόμενοι, δι' οὓς, οἶμαι, ταῦτα. τοιαύτας τοῖς
τέκνοις εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀφορμὰς οἱ πλουτεῖν εἰ-
δότες ἐκείνοι παρέδωκαν. καὶ νῦν οὓς ἄγει μὲν
εἰς Κιλικίαν νοσήματα τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χρή-

¹ φοβούμενος ἔαρ F., conj. Re. : φοβούμενος. ἀρ' mss.

² ἔχον F., conj. Re. : ἔχων mss.

^a Pagans tended to criticize Constantinople for its luxury and parasitical rôle in the empire, cf. *Or.* I, 279, Zos. 2. 30. Libanius was always critical of the vulgarity of the high life in the Christian court, e.g. *Or.* I. 75 f.

^b Cf. *Or.* 17. 7. The furore caused by Julian's decree to

ORATION XXX, 37-39

for the prosperity with which they endow it by begging themselves.^a

38. And if, after him, they tell of his son and his destruction of temples, when the demolition was as laborious as their erection,—such were the difficulties of tearing apart stones that had been bound together by strongest of ties,—when they prate of this, I add a rider of more importance, that he presented his courtiers with gifts of temples, as though it were a present of a horse, a slave, a dog or a golden goblet,^b but these gifts were fatal both to the givers and to the takers. He spent all his life in fear and trembling of the Persians : just as children are scared of the bogey-man, he was scared of every spring-time and the invasion it brought.^c They either died in misery without issue and without testament, or else they would have done better to have had no children at all. 39. In such infamy, in such mutual strife do their children pass their lives wandering amidst the columns of temples, the reason for their plight, I am sure. Such is the source of the prosperity bequeathed by those money-grubbers to their children. And now the people whom their illnesses, that require the hand of Asclepius,^d attract to Cilicia are

restore temples and temple property reveals the extent to which this process had gone : *v. Liebeschuetz*, p. 152.

^a A condensed adaptation of *Or.* 18. 206 ff. For *Μόρμυρες* cf. *Xen. Hell.* 4. 4. 12, *Lib. Or.* 33. 42.

^b The temple of Asclepius at Aegae, a noted pilgrim shrine, with miraculous cures produced by incubation, *Philostr. V. Apol.* 1. 1. 6 ff. Christian writers (*e.g.* Euseb. *V. Const.* 3. 56, *Sozom.* 2. 5) attribute its demolition to Constantine. Under Julian it was restored to its former status (*Ep.* 695), and Libanius had recourse to it during his illness of A.D. 367 (*Or.* 1. 143).

LIBANIUS

R ii. 188 ζοντα χειρός, αἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν τόπον ὕβρεις ἀπράκτους ἀποπέμπουσι, πῶς ἔνεστι | μὴ κακῶς τὸν τούτων αἴτιον λέγοντας ἀναστρέφειν;

40. Βασιλεῖ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἔστω τὰ βεβιωμένα, ὥστε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ζῆν καὶ τετελευτηκότα, οἷον γενόμενον | ἴσμεν τὸν¹ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐκδεξάμενον τὴν F 109 ἐκείνου, τὴν Περσῶν δὲ καθελόντα ἄν, εἰ μὴ προδοσία τὸ πέρασ ἐκώλυσε. μέγας δὲ ἔστιν ὁμως καὶ τεθνεώς. δόλω μὲν γὰρ ἀπέθανεν, ὥσπερ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου πεπραγμένων, ὡς ἐκείνος, ἄδεται.

41. καὶ ταῦτα τούτω παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οἷς ἀπέδωκεν ἱερὰ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ αἶμα. παρ' ὧν ἀκούσας ὡς τὸ τῶν Περσῶν αὐχνημα ταπεινώσας εἶτα ἀποθανεῖται, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπρίατο τὸ κλέος πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις ἐλών, πολλὴν δὲ γῆν δηλώσας, παιδεύσας δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας φεύγειν, μέλλων δέ, ὡς ἅπαντες ἴσασι, δέξεσθαι πρεσβείαν κομίζουσαν τῶν πολεμίων δουλείαν. τοιγαροῦν ἠσπάζετό τε τὸ | τραῦμα καὶ βλέπων ἠγάλλετο καὶ μὴ δακρῦων αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦτο δρῶσιν ἐπετίμα εἰ μὴ νομίζοιεν αὐτῷ παντὸς ἀμείνω γήρως εἶναι τὴν πληγὴν. καὶ αἱ πρεσβεῖαι τοίνυν αἱ πολλαὶ αἱ μετ' ἐκείνον ἐκείνου πᾶσαι καὶ τὸ λόγοις | ἀνθ' ὄπλων χρῆσθαι τοὺς F 110 Ἀχαιμενίδας ἐκείνου τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν ἐγκατατεθειμένου ταῖς ψυχαῖς. τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ὁ τὰ ἱερὰ

¹ <περὶ> τὸν F.

^a Resumes arguments already presented in *Or.* 24. For allegations of treachery made against the Christians and the murder of Julian cf. *Or.* 18. 268 ff., 24. 6 ff. (Vol. I, p. 494 n.).

^b Cf. Philostr. *Her.* 19. 11.

ORATION XXX, 39-41

sent empty away because of the outrages the place has suffered. They cannot help returning with curses for the author of it.

40. An emperor's conduct in life should be such that even after death he lives on in the praise that he has won. Such a one, we well know, was his successor on the throne, who would have broken the power of Persia had not treason prevented his design: yet great he is, even in death.^a For he died by treachery, as did Achilles, but, like him, his praises are sung in consequence of the deeds he did before he died.^b 41. And this is his reward from the gods, to whom he restored temples, honours, precincts, altars and offerings of blood.^c From them he heard that he was destined to die after humbling the pride of Persia,^d and he paid for his glory with his life, after taking many a town, ravaging many a land and teaching the pursuer to turn tail, just as he was going to receive, as everybody knows, an embassy that brought the enemy's complete surrender. So he welcomed his wound, gazed upon it and was glad, and, tearless himself, he reproved his tearful friends that they did not believe his wound better than a ripe old age.^e And all the many embassies since his time are due to him, and the Achaemenids' ^f preference for negotiation rather than war is due to the fear that he inspired in their souls. Such then was he that restored the temples

^a By his edict of toleration in A.D. 361, *E.L.F.* No. 42 (with refs.); *cf.* *Or.* 18. 121 ff.

^b *Cf.* the oracle cited in Suidas, *s.v.* "Julianus."

^c For accounts of the death of Julian *cf.* *Or.* 18. 272 f., 24. 7. *Amm. Marc.* 25. 3. 15 ff.

^f For this classicizing reference to the Persian royal house *cf.* *Or.* 17. 32 (Vol. I, p. 270 n.).

LIBANIUS

τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνιστάς, κρείττω μὲν ἔργα λήθης ἐργασάμενος, κρείττων δὲ λήθης γεγενημένος.

42. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἠξίουں τὸν πρὸ τοῦδε τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων καθαιρεῖν καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ κατακάειν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐγνώκει τῶν θεῶν καταφρονεῖν, εἰ καὶ¹ ἱερῶν γε καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄντων τοῖς πολεμίοις φειδόμενος ἀμείνων, οἰκείων μέντοι ναῶν πόνῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ πολυχειρία καὶ πολλοῖς ταλάντοις κατεσκευασμένων καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἄξιον. | εἰ γὰρ πανταχόθεν μὲν σωστέον τὰς πόλεις, λάμπουσι δὲ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἱ πόλεις καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς μετὰ γε τὰ κάλλη τῶν βασιλείων κεφάλαιον, πῶς οὐ καὶ τούτοις μεταδοτέον προνοίας καὶ ὅπως ἐν τῷ σώματι τῶν πόλεων εἶεν σπουδαστέον; πάντως δὲ εἰσιν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ εἰ μὴ νεῶ γε. δεῖ δέ, οἶμαι, τῷ φόρῳ τῶν δεχομένων. δεχέσθω τοίνυν ἔστώς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καταφερέσθω. μηδὲ τὸ χεῖρα μὲν ἀποκόπτειν ἀνθρώπου δεινὸν ἠγώμεθα, πόλεων δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύττειν μέτριον μηδ' ἐν μὲν | τοῖς σεισμοῖς τὸ πίπτον ὀδυ- F 111
ρώμεθα, σεισμῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων οὐδὲ βλαπτόντων
R ii. 191 αὐτοὶ τὸ ἰκείνων ποιῶμεν. | 43. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν βασιλέων οἱ νεῶ κτήματα, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, τὸ δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν καταποντίζειν ὄρα εἰ σωφρονοῦντων. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν βαλάντιον ρίπτων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν οὐχ ὑγιαίνει οὐδ' εἴ τις κυβερνήτης τέμνοι κάλων οὐ δεῖ τῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ναύτην δὲ εἰ κελεύσειε² τῇ θαλάττῃ τὴν κώπην ἀφεῖναι, δεινὰ ἂν

¹ εἰ καὶ F., conj. Monnier : ἐπεὶ Re. (mss.).

² κελεύσειε F., Re. (Par. gr. 853) : κελεύεις other mss.

^a As pagans had claimed, and had been conceded by Constantius and Theodosius himself (*C. Th.* 16. 10. 3, 8 of A.D.

ORATION XXX, 41-43

to the gods, the author of deeds unforgettable, himself unforgettable.

42. As for his predecessor, once he had made up his mind to spurn the gods, even though he would have done better to spare the temples and property of the enemy, I would have expected him to demolish, overthrow and burn the temples of the enemy, but to be a proper champion of our own shrines that have been erected with so much toil and time, labour and expense. If we must protect our cities everywhere, if our cities owe their fame to the temples in particular, and if these temples are, after the glories of the palace, their chief pride, we must surely give them some consideration and be zealous for their maintenance as part of the fabric of the cities. They are at least buildings, even though not used as temples.^a Taxation, presumably, requires offices of collection ^b: so let the temple stand and be the collecting office, and keep it from demolition. Do not let us think it a crime to cut off a man's hand and a credit to gouge out the eyes of cities. Let us not lament the destruction caused by earthquakes while we ourselves create the havoc of earthquakes when none occur to cause damage. 43. Temples, like other things, are imperial property. Look! when anyone causes what is his own to founder, is he behaving properly? Any man who hurls his purse into the sea is out of his mind: if the pilot cuts the cable on which the safety of his ship depends, or bids the sailor jettison his oar, he would be 346 and 380). This was to be reiterated by *C. Th.* 16. 10. 19 of A.D. 408.

^b For the collection of produce in kind, under the ἀποδεκταί.

LIBANIUS

- δοκοῖ ποιεῖν· πόλιν δὲ εἴ τις ἄρχων ποιοῖ μέρει
 τηλικούτῳ χείρονα, τὰ μέγιστα ὠνήσε; τί γὰρ δεῖ
 διαφθεῖρειν, οὐ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐνι μεταποιῆσαι; πῶς
 R ii. 192 δὲ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν στρατόπεδον πολεμεῖν λίθοις | οἰ-
 κείοις καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐφεστηκότα παρακαλεῖν κατὰ
 τῶν πάλαι πολλῇ σπουδῇ πρὸς ὕψος ἀναβάντων,
 ὧν τὸ πέρας ἑορτὴν τοῖς τότε βασιλεῦσιν ἔθηκε;
44. Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω σὴν ταῦτ' εἶναι κατηγο-
 ρίαν, ὧ βασιλεῦ. κεῖται μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις
 R ii. 193 Περσῶν νεῶς ᾧ παραπλήσιον | οὐδέν, ὡς ἔστιν
 ἀπάντων | τῶν τεθεαμένων ἀκούειν. οὕτω μέγι- F 112
 στος μεγίστοις ἐγεγόνει τοῖς λίθοις, τοσοῦτον ἐπ-
 ἔχων τῆς γῆς ὀπόσον καὶ ἡ πόλις. ἤρκει γοῦν ἐν
 τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων φόβοις τοῖς οἰκοῦσι [τὴν
 πόλιν]¹ μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον τοῖς ἐλοῦσι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ
 ἔχουσι κἀκείνον προσεξελεῖν τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ περι-
 βόλου πᾶν ἐλεγχούσης μηχανήμα. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ
 ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος ἀναβᾶσι πλείστον ὅσον τῆς πολεμίας
 ὀρᾶν, οὐ μικρὸν πολεμουμένοις πλεονέκτημα ἀν-
 θρώποις. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐριζόντων τινῶν ἐν ὀπο-
 R ii. 194 τέρῳ τὸ θαῦμα μείζον | ἱερῷ, τῷ μηκέτ' ὄντι τού-
 τῳ ἢ ὁ μήποτε πάθει ταυτόν, ἐν ᾧπερ ὁ Σάραπισ.
 45. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἱερόν,
 ἵν' ὑπερβῶ τὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀπόρρητα καὶ ὅσα ἀγάλ-
 ματα σιδήρου πεποιημένα κέκρυπται² τῷ σκοτῷ
 διαφεύγοντα τὸν ἥλιον, οἴχεται καὶ ἀπόλωλε, θρη-

¹ τὴν πόλιν mss., edd. Here bracketed as gloss.

² κέκρυπται V: κέκρυπτο Re., F. (other mss.).

^a e.g. Theodoret (*H.E.* 5. 21) recounts the destruction of the temple at Apamea by the bishop Marcellus. He was "the first of all to use the law [*i.e.* *C. Th.* 16. 10. 9] as a weapon," by calling in the *Comes Orientis* and troops to

140

ORATION XXX, 43-45

thought a lunatic. If a magistrate diminishes a city by however little, is he its great benefactor? What need to destroy what can be applied to another use? It is surely disgraceful for an army^a to wage war upon stones of its own, and for the general in charge to direct it against towering structures, erected long ago with great zeal, whose completion was the occasion for a festival for monarchs of yester-year.

44. And let none believe that this is an accusation against you, Sire. On our frontier with Persia there lies in ruins a temple that, to judge from the report of all that have seen it, was without peer, so massive was it, built with mighty stones, covering as much ground as the city itself.^b At any rate, in the alarms of war it sufficed the inhabitants that if the enemy captured the city, they would get nothing more, since they would be unable to capture the temple because the strength of its wall defied all the engines of war. Moreover, if they mounted to its roof, they could observe a vast area of enemy country, which is a considerable advantage to people at war. I have even heard it argued which temple held the greater marvel, this that is now no more or that of Serapis, which I pray may never suffer the same fate.^c 45. But this magnificent temple, leaving aside the concealed splendours of its ceiling and all the statues wrought in iron that were hidden in its shadow far from the sunlight,—it is vanished and gone, to the destroy it. In A.D. 391 Theophilus is to do the same and call up troops for the destruction of the Serapeum.

^b Edessa, as suggested by Gothofredus: *cf. Or. 20. 27 f.* In *C. Th.* 16. 10. 8 (A.D. 382) Theodosius had refused to have the temple closed.

^c *Terminus ante quem* for this speech. For the Serapeum *cf. Amm. Marc. 22. 16. 12 ff.*, and Eunap. *V.S.* 472.

LIBANIUS

νος μὲν τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν, ἡδονὴ δὲ τοῖς οὐχ ἑωρακόσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀφθαλμοὶ τε καὶ ὤτα, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσιν ἄμφω, καὶ λύπη καὶ ἡδονή, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος, τὸ δ' ὅτιπερ οὐ τεθέανται. 46. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς σκοπήσειεν, οὐ σὸν τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ ἡπατηκότος ἀνθρώπου

R ii. 195 μάτου | καὶ τῇ τικτόμενον αὐτὸν | δεξαμένη γῆ F 118

δυσμενεστάτου, ἀλογίας μὲν ἀπολελαυκότος τύχης, κακῶς δὲ χρωμένου τῇ τύχῃ δουλεύοντος τῇ γυναικί, πάντα ἐκείνη χαριζομένου, πάντα ἐκείνην ἡγουμένου. τῇ δ' ἀνάγκῃ πάνθ' ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπιτάττουσιν ὧν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξις τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἱματίοις πενθούντων καὶ μείζων¹ γε ταύτης τὸ ἐν ἐκείνοις ὧν οἱ καὶ τῶν σάκκων ὑφάνται. | 47.

R ii. 196 τοιοῦτον ἐργαστήριον ἡπάτησέ σε,² ἐφενάκισεν, ὑπηγάγετο, παρεκρούσατο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ θεοὺς παρὰ (τῶν παίδων)³ τῶν θεῶν μαθόντες ἴσμεν ἀπατηθέντας. ὡς γὰρ δὴ καὶ θυόντων ἱερεῖα καὶ οὕτως ἐγγύς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων ῥίνας τὸν καπνὸν εἰστρέ-

R ii. 197 χειν, καὶ ὡς ἀπειλούντων⁴ | καὶ μείζω μικροῖς ἐπαγόντων καὶ κομπούντων καὶ πεπιστευκότων μηδὲν ἂν αὐτῶν ποτε φανῆναι δυνατώτερον, τοιοῦτοις πλάσμασι καὶ τέχναις καὶ ῥήμασι μεμηχανημένοις δεινοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν ὄργην τὸν πραότατον |

R ii. 198 βασιλέων ἐξήγαγόν πως αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ τά | γε ὄντως F 114

¹ μείζων F., conj. Re. : μείζον mss.

² ἡπάτησέ σε F., conj. Re., Cobet : ἡπάτησεν mss., except I, which omits.

³ παίδων τῶν inserted F. (cf. Plat. Resp. 366 v).

⁴ ἀπειλούντων M corrected (Schol. M (marg.) : εἶχεν ἀπλούντων, οἶμαι δὲ ἢ ἀπολούντων ἢ ἀπειλούντων θέλει), F., Re. : ἀπλούντων other mss.

ORATION XXX, 45-47

grief of those who had seen it and the comfort of those who had not, for in such cases seeing and hearing do not have the same effect. In fact, these who had not seen it experience the twin emotions, of grief at its fall and of comfort at not having witnessed it. 46. However, on a careful consideration of the matter, this is none of your doing, but of the person that misled you, a scoundrel hated of the gods, cowardly and avaricious, and a plague to the earth that welcomed him at his birth. He profited by fortune's folly and abused his fortune foully, a slave to his wife's whims, obliging her in all and regarding her as his all.^a And she must in all things needs obey the givers of orders such as this, whose profession of virtue^b is to live in mourning garb, and an even greater than this, to live in clothing made by weavers of sack cloth. 47. Such is the cabal that has deceived and hoodwinked you, led you on and bamboozled you, but from the sons of gods^c we know that many even of the gods have been deceived. Alleging against them the sacrifice of victims, so close that the smoke of it wafts to their nostrils, and the bandying of threats, provocations great and small, boastings and a confidence in their everlasting invincibility,—with such fictions, such devices and such contrived accounts calculated to arouse his wrath, they have induced the gentlest of emperors to behave unlike his true self, for his character is one

^a Petit, "Sur la date du *Pro Templis*," *Byzantion*, xxi, pp. 295 ff., convincingly shows that this official must be Cynegius, ppO A.D. 384-388. His wife was Achantia (*M.H.G. (A.A.)* 9. 245).

^b *Cf. Or. 2. 32.*

^c The poets: *cf. Plat. Resp.* 366 b.

LIBANIUS

R ii. 199 αὐτοῦ φιλοφροσύνη, ἔλεος, οἶκτος, ἡμερότης, ἐπι-
 εἰκεία, τὸ σώζειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολλύναι. ἀλλ' ὄντων
 τῶν τὰ δίκαιότερα | λεγόντων ὅτι, εἴπερ τι τοι-
 οῦτον εἶη, δίκην μὲν δεῖ τοῦ τολμήματος λαβεῖν,
 τούτῳ δὲ αὐτῷ προνοηθῆναι τοῦ μέλλοντος ὃ τὴν
 Καδμείαν νικήσαι νίκην οἰόμενος δεῖν πανταχόθεν
 ἐνίκησεν.

48. Ἐδει δὲ αὐτὸν <μη>¹ μετὰ τὰς οἰκείας ἡδονὰς
 τὰ² σαυτοῦ θεραπεύειν μηδ' ὀράν³ ὅπως μέγας
 εἶναι δόξῃ τοῖς τὴν μὲν γεωργίαν ἀποδράσιν, ὀμι-
 λεῖν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι λέγουσι τῷ τῶν ὄλων ποιητῇ,
 ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ σὰ καὶ⁴ καλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια παρὰ
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δοκοῖ. νῦν δὲ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ λα-
 βεῖν καὶ κενῶσαί σοι τοὺς θησαυροὺς πολλοὶ φίλοι
 καὶ ἐπιτήδριοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς ἢ σὴ
 βασιλεία, καιροῦ δὲ ἤκοντος καὶ βουλῆς παρούσης
 R ii. 200 εὐνοίαν ἀπαιτούσης ταυτὶ μὲν ἡμέληται, | τὰ δὲ
 ἰδιά σφισιν⁵ ἐσπούδασται. 49. κὰν προσελθῶν τις
 αὐτοῖς τί ταῦτα; ἔρηται, τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔξω τῆς
 αἰτίας ποιούσι, καὶ ὅτι πεποιθήκασιν ἀποκρίνονται
 ἃ γε⁶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔδοξε καὶ ἐκείνον τὴν ἀπολογία
 ὀφείλειν καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγουσιν. οἱ δ' ὀφείλοντες |
 ἦσαν οὗτοι οἱ οὐδέποτε λόγον ἔξοντες οὐδένα ὑπὲρ F 115

¹ μη inserted F., conj. Monnier.

² τὰ F. : τὰς Re. (mss.). | ἑαυτοῦ V.

³ ὀράν inserted F., following similar suggestion by Re.

⁴ καὶ bracketed F. ⁵ σφισιν F. : τισίν Re. (mss.).

⁶ ἀποκρίνονται F., conj. Re. : ἀποκρύπτονται Monnier (mss.). | γε F. : δὲ VU, inserted in PM : om. Re. (other mss.).

^a Theodosius himself : Gothofredus suggested Valens, but the humane characteristics are highly inapplicable.

^b Cf. Or. 28. 18 ; Paroem. Gr. Zenob. 4. 45 ; Apost. 9.

of genuine humanity, compassion, pity, kindness and moderation, and an eagerness to protect rather than to destroy.^a But despite the protests of those who urged the juster course, that if any such crime occurred, it should be punished and its recurrence thereby prevented, this fellow, convinced of the need to win at all costs,^b has won all along the line.

48. He ought not to have put his private pleasures before your interests, nor sought influence with the renegades from the farms who claim to commune among the mountains with the creator of the universe^c: rather should he have taken care that your reign should appear noble and praiseworthy in the eyes of all people. As it is, while ever it is a matter of money making and emptying your treasuries, you have plenty of friends and intimates, and your majesty means more to them than their own lives, but when it comes to the point and a council is assembled where consideration is required, these pious sentiments are forgotten and they ride their own hobby-horses. 49. And if we approach them and ask them to explain what they are up to, they disclaim any responsibility: their reply is that they have done as the emperor decreed^d and that he is the one to provide an explanation, and so on. But they should provide it, they who can never justify

30 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, vol. i, p. 97; ii, p. 470). Equivalent to the Latin "Pyrrhic victory."

^c Cf. on § 31 above. The monks set up their cells in the mountains around Antioch, cf. Theodoret, *H.E.* 5. 20, and Festugière, *Antioche*. Libanius' prejudice is indicated by his assertion that they are runaway peasants, and so, by implication, Greekless. The bitter tone is heightened by the reference to Plat. *Tim.* 28 c.

^d *C. Th.* 16. 10. 9 (May A.D. 385).

LIBANIUS

τῶν πεπραγμένων· τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπὲρ τοιούτων κακῶν γίνοιτο λόγος; οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρνοῦνται μὴ σφῶν εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, ἐντυγχάνοντες δὲ σοὶ καταμόνας δι' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τὸν σὸν οἶκον οὕτως εὖ πεποιηκῆναι φασίν. ὦν τὸν σὸν ἀπαλλάξαιαν οἶκον οἱ γῆ τε καὶ θαλάττῃ τὴν σὴν ἐπιστήσαντες κεφαλὴν· ὡς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι μείζον ἂν παρ' αὐτῶν λάβοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐν φίλων ὀνόματι καὶ κηδεμόνων ἀφ' ὧν ἂν βλάψαιεν λέγοντες τῷ πιστεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν βλάβην ἀφορμῇ χρώμενοι ῥαδίως ἐζημίωσαν.

50. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τούσδε μέτειμι τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν τὴν ἀποδείξιν ἐκ τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων ποιησόμενος. |
 R ii. 201 φέρε γάρ, διὰ τί φατε κατασκαφῆναι τὸ μέγα τοῦθ' ἱερὸν; οὐ διὰ τὸ δόξαι τῷ βασιλεῖ; καλῶς. οὐκοῦν οἱ καθαιροῦντες οὐκ ἠδίκουν τῷ τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ ποιεῖν. ὅστις οὖν τὰ μὴ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ πεποίηκεν, ἀδικεῖ; οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς οὗτοί γέ ἐστε οἷς οὐδὲν ἐνι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν δεδράκατε. | 51. εἰπέ μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τοῦτο F 116 σῶν ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου; ἄρ' ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἂν αὐτὰ μένειν; οὐ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδεὶς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν. εἰλήφατε δὲ τὴν κατ' ἐκείνων ἀδιεφθάρκατε; οὐ.¹ πῶς οὖν οὐκ ὀφείλετε δίκην; ἢ
 R ii. 202 πῶς ἂν δεδράκατε | καλεῖτε δίκην τῶν πεπονθότων οὐδὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ πεποιηκότων ὃ δέχοιτ' ἂν αἰτίαν;

¹ οὐ. F., conj. Re. : om. mss.

^a The temple of Fortune in Antioch is that of Calliope, the tutelary deity of the city, cf. *Or.* 15. 79. Secular uses of temples noted by Libanius are of the Museum, used as a school A.D. 354-362 (*Or.* 1. 102), of that of Dionysus, used as a

ORATION XXX, 49-51

their behaviour. Indeed, what justification could there be for such misdeeds? In public they disclaim such responsibility, but in private conclave with you they claim that none of their other actions has served your house so well. May the powers that have placed your person in authority over land and sea deliver your house from such service! You could receive no greater gift from them, for these self-styled friends and protectors, by their hurtful counsel and by employing your confidence to occasion hurt, have had no difficulty in harming you.

50. But I will cross-examine them, to demonstrate their guilt from the account I have just given. "Tell me: What is your reason for demolishing this great temple? That it was the emperor's decree? All right! Then those who destroyed it did nothing criminal because they did as the emperor decreed. So if anyone has done what the emperor has not decreed, he is a criminal, then? Well, you fall precisely into this category, for you have no such excuse to offer for your actions. 51. And tell me! Why is the temple of Fortune here still intact and that of Zeus, Athēna and Dionysus?^a Because you wanted them to remain so? No, but because no one has given you the authority to move against them. But have you received any authority against those that you have destroyed? No! Then why should you not be punished? How can you describe your action as the imposition of a punishment when the victims in no single particular have done anything that could be described as a crime?"

courtroom by the *consularis* Tisamenus in A.D. 386 (*Or.* 45, 26) and of Athena, used as a lawyer's meeting place in A.D. 388 (*Ep.* 847).

LIBANIUS

52. Ἦν σοι, βασιλεῦ, κηρύξαι· μηδεὶς τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ νομιζέτω θεοὺς μηδὲ τιμάτω μηδὲ αἰτείτω τι παρ' αὐτῶν μήθ' ἑαυτῷ μήτε παισὶν ἀγαθὸν πλὴν εἰ σιγῇ τε καὶ λανθάνων, ἅπας δὲ ἔστω τοῦ παρ' ἐμοὶ τιμίου καὶ βαδιζέτω μεθέξων τῶν ἐκείνῳ δρωμέων καὶ τὰς τε εὐχὰς ἥπερ ἐκείνῳ ποιείσθω καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν ὑπαγέτω τῇ τοῦ τὸν λεῶν ἀρμωτομένου χειρὶ. τὸν δ' ἀπειθοῦντα πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τεθνάναι. 53. ταῦτ' ἦν μὲν σοι κηρύξαι ῥάδιον, οὐ μὴν ἠξιώσας | γε οὐδ' ἐπέθηκας¹ ζυγὸν ἐνταῦθα F 11 ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς, ἀλλ' οἶε μὲν τοῦτ' ἐκείνου βέλτιον εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ἀσέβημά γε ἐκεῖνο οὐδ' ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἂν δικαίως καὶ² κολασθεῖη. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν τιμῶν τοὺς γε τοιοῦτους ἀπέκλεισας, | R ii. 203 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκας³ καὶ συσσίτους ἐποιήσω καὶ τοῦτό γε πολλάκις καὶ προὔπιες καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἄλλοις τισὶ παρέξενξας σεαυτῷ συμφέρειν τῇ βασιλείᾳ νομίσας ἄνδρα ὁμνύντα θεοὺς πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ σέ καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖς οὐδ' ἀδικεῖσθαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὑπολαμβάνεις ὄρκους οὐδ' εἶναι πάντως κακὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχοντα τὰς βελτίους ἐλπίδας.

54. Σοῦ τοίνυν οὐκ ἐλαύνοντος ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὁ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκείνος μεθ' ὅπλων ἐληλακῶς τοὺς ἐναντίως ταύτῃ τῶν ὑπηκόων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχον-

¹ ἐπέθηκας F. : ἐπέστησας Re. (mss.).

² καὶ om. V ; F. brackets.

³ ἔδωκας F. : δέδωκας Re. (mss.).

^a i.e. the bishop.

^b A mark of high favour, reserved for a select company of

ORATION XXX, 52-54

52. You could have issued an edict, Sire : " Let none of my subjects revere or honour the gods, or invoke them for any blessing either for himself or for his children, save in silence and in secret. Let everyone worship the one that I adore, go share in his rites, pray as he did, and bow his head under the hand of the director of the people.^a And any who disobeys must die." 53. It would have been easy for you to promulgate such an edict, yet you have refused to do so, nor have you imposed this yoke upon the conscience of men. You regard your religion as better than the other, but that is no act of impiety nor yet just cause for punishment either. Nor have you excluded its adherents from advancement, but you have given them office and made them your companions at table,^b and often too, you have drunk their health, and even now, in addition to other individuals, you have linked to yourself, in the belief that it is to the benefit of the crown, a man who takes his oath by the gods in the presence of others and yourself.^c Nor do you take it amiss and conceive such oaths to be an offence against yourself, nor do you regard one who places his higher hopes in the gods as being necessarily evil.

54. You do not persecute us any more than he who harried the Persians by force of arms persecuted those of his subjects whose religious beliefs differed *comites*, *praepositi*, and *tribuni scholarum* (*C. Th.* 6. 13. 1), together with some honorary officials (*e.g.* Prohaeresius, Eunap. *V.S.* 492).

^c *παρέξενος* implies tenure of the consulship (as *ὁμόλυξ* described Sallustius as Julian's colleague, *Or.* 17. 22). Foerster identified this pagan with Richomer (cos. A.D. 384), Seeck and Van Loy with Tatianus, ppO ; Petit with Eutropius, cos. A.D. 387, and therefore cos. des. in 386.

LIBANIUS

τας, πῶς ἐλαύνουσιν οὗτοι; κατὰ τί δὲ δίκαιον ποιοῦνται τὰς ἐφόδους; πῶς δ' ἀλλοτρίων ἄπτονται μετ' ὀργῆς ἀγρῶν; πῶς δὲ τὰ μὲν καταφέρουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀράμενοι φέρουσιν ὕβρει τῇ τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν προστιθέντες ὕβριν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καλλύνεσθαι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις;

55. Ἡμεῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, σοῦ μὲν ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ ἐπιτρέποντος οἴσομεν οὐκ ἄνευ μὲν λύπης, | δείξομεν δ' ὡς | ἄρχεσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν. εἰ δ' R ii.
F 118 οὐχὶ καὶ σοῦ διδόντος οἶδε ἤξουσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ δια-²⁰⁴
πεφευγὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ διὰ τάχους ἀναστάν, ἴσθι τοὺς
τῶν ἀγρῶν δεσπότης καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βο-
ηθήσοντας.

ORATION XXX, 54-55

from his own.^a Then why do these people persecute us? By what right do they launch their attacks? How is it that they extend their furious grasp to the estates of others, and wreak destruction, or pillage and loot, and add insult to injury by boasting of their exploits?

55. If, Sire, you commend and command such actions, we will put up with them, not without sorrow, but we will demonstrate that we have been schooled to obedience. But if these people without your permission proceed to attack anything that has escaped them or has been hastily restored, you may be sure that the landowners will defend both themselves and the law.

^a Julian, as above, §§ 26, 40 ff., *Or.* 18. 121 ff.

ON PRISON CONDITIONS

ORATION 45

TO THE EMPEROR,
ON THE PRISONERS

ORATION 33

TO THE
EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
AGAINST TISAMENUS

INTRODUCTION

THE orations *On the Prisoners* and *Against Tisamenus* are an example of Libanius' practice of composing orations as "doublets." They are supplementary to each other, both ostensibly destined for the emperor's consideration and drawing his attention to the same situation from two different starting points. The problem at issue is that of administrative abuses in the management of the prisons, but, despite the similarity of content and argument, there is a crucial difference of approach.^a The *De Vincitis* is a model of Libanius' "reform" speeches: it is marked by a genuine and generous humanity, and presents a wide-ranging and sensible argumentation upon the need for reform in prison conditions. As such, it was obviously designed to have some effect in court circles, especially in view of Theodosius' repeated protestations of humane and liberal administration. The oration *Against Tisamenus*, however, uses the same situation to launch a bitter personal tirade against the current *consularis* for his brutality and incompetence, not least in his administration of the

^a Thus Paul Petit (*Historia*, v (1956), pp. 479 ff.) describes them as a "false doublet," similar to those of *Or.* 15 and 16, 27 and 28, 48 and 49. They do, however, by presenting the emperor as the addressee in both cases, provide a much closer parallel with the genuine doublet, *Or.* 51 and 52.

LIBANIUS

prisons, but the address to the emperor is almost immediately vitiated by the *caveat* (§ 2) of the hostility to be anticipated from some high official at court. The oration is much more controversial, and its circulation likely to be more selective. Publication was intended to be restricted to a small circle of friends in Antioch or, at best, transmitted to an equally select coterie at court to provide propaganda, possibly against the Christian prefect Cynegius, by attacking his creature Tisamenus, if Pack's suggestion (p. 96) be accepted. In the *Autobiography*,^a Tisamenus appears in a context that may certainly be dated to A.D. 386, *i.e.* after the episode of the chameleon (*cf.* *Or.* 36) and before the riots of the statues. The internal evidence of the orations gives more precision to this. The legislation limiting the amounts to be expended on public festivals (*C. Th.* 15. 9. 1 of A.D. 384) is described as passed two years previously (*Or.* 33. 15: *προπέρυσιν*),^b and from the reference of *Or.* 33. 19 (*μὴν μὲν γὰρ οὐτοσὶ τῷ ἔτει τέ-*

^a *Or.* 1. 251: ἦκεν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρχων ἡκιστα τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐμὲ μιμούμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο τιμῶν, οἷα ἀνὴρ ἐπιστάμενος λέγειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐβουλήθη με εἰδέναι, ἐν αἰτήσει τε χάριτος δικαίας τε καὶ οὐ μεγάλης ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀνόητός τε εἶναι δοκῶν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ματαίων ἐπιμελῶς, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων ἀμελῶς ἤρχετο, διαμένων ἡμετέρων ἀγευστος λόγων. οὐ γὰρ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ γέρωσ ἀξίος ἐφαίνετο. μία μὲν ἦδε δίκη, ἑτέρα δὲ πρὸς τὰ τέρματα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑπάρχου πέμποντος, ἦκων ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τε καθῆστο καὶ ἡλίω φλέγοντι θυφῶν τε αἶψα καὶ πίνων.

^b More debatable is the identification of *C. Th.* 15. 5. 2, attributed to 20 May A.D. 386, with the situation of *Or.* 45. 21. Gothofredus believed that the speech inspired the law, Foerster that it referred to it. Seeck redated the edict to A.D. 394 (since it is addressed "Rufino ppO"; *cf. Regesten* 94; 284). Pack (p. 93) evades the issue, but the coincidence is remarkable enough to allow the presumption that the error lies not in the date but in the address.

ORATIONS XLV, XXXIII

ταρτος, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μέρος), Pack dates the speech precisely to December, since ἐνιαυτός is the calendar year, ἔτος the year of the indiction, beginning in September. The composition of the *De Victis* is therefore almost contemporary with that of the *Pro Templis*, and both orations reveal the attitudes characteristic of the current propaganda of paganism—respect for law, the necessity of its impartial enforcement, the claims of the social virtue of *philanthropia*, and the need for stability in the social order. Such emphasis, by implication, is a protest against the remissness of the ruling class of officialdom, with its increasingly Christian bias; and the *Contra Tisamenum* provides the detailed evidence for such protest.

Roman legal theory, from the earliest days of the Republic, had viewed imprisonment not as a type of punishment after conviction but as the exercise of the magisterial power of *coercitio* designed to secure the person accused and to make him available for trial. As such it was always regarded as a temporary expedient, and this view had remained valid, in theory at least, throughout the principate.^a By the fourth century, however, authoritarianism and laxity combined had brought about a change in practice and in outlook. By A.D. 320 Constantine, even while seeking to ameliorate prison conditions, can speak of the abuses of commitment as “*poenae carceris*”

^a So Ulpian, *Dig.* 48. 19. 8. 9: “Solent praesides in carcere continendos damnare aut ut in vinculis contineantur: sed id eos facere non oportet. Nam huiusmodi poenae interdictae sunt: carcer enim ad continendos homines, non ad puniendos haberi debet.” The abuses of commitment had evidently been of long standing. Almost all of those here described by Libanius had been anticipated by Lucian (*Toxaris*, 29).

LIBANIUS

(*C. Th.* 9. 3. 1). In A.D. 326 (*ibid.* 9. 3. 2) commitment itself is more specifically stated to be "poena carceris." The growing ambiguity of the terms and the laxity of administration produced half a dozen imperial enactments between A.D. 320 and 380, all designed, in the best humanitarian tradition, to remedy the abuse of imprisonment, and all evidently failing to achieve this end. The law of A.D. 380 (*ibid.* 9. 3. 6) repeats in general terms the provisions of Constantine's legislation, and is itself reinforced in A.D. 409 (*ibid.* 9. 3. 7) by an edict of Honorius in which the corruption of prison officers is admitted.

The social problem is presented in the context of the fiscal pressures exercised by and upon the governor. Complaints against the brutality of prison conditions, for which he is responsible and where he acts only too often with irresponsible potentates against the lower classes of both town and country, are combined with complaints against his excessive zeal in the collection of fiscal dues, where he tyrannizes the decurions who are responsible for this task. The increased demands of the central government in preparation for the ultimate clash with Maximus were working their way downwards through the system, and the combination of bad government and excessive government was becoming intolerable, even for the highest stratum of the municipal administration. The activities of Tisamenus set the scene for the riots of A.D. 387.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

For *Oration 33 (Contra Tisamenum)* eight manuscripts only survive, consisting of the major codices

ORATIONS XLV, XXXIII

CAPIBV with the addition of Neapolitanus II E 17 (N) and Vaticanus gr. 81 (Va), both of which are closely allied with B. V alone represents a variant manuscript tradition as compared with the rest. The form of the title supplied by Foerster is, however, derived from none of these, but from the excerptor Macarius (fol. 90 *πρὸς βασιλέα κατὰ Τισαμένου*). The first edition was that of Morel in vol. II of his edition of Libanius' works, based upon Va but lacking the final sections from *πεπραγμένον* (§ 37). This deficiency was remedied in the editions of Reiske and Foerster.

Oration 45 (De Vincis) survives in the same eight manuscripts as above, plus Patmius 471 (Pa) of the 14th century and Urbinas gr. 126 (U) dated A.D. 1316. As before, V alone provides a variant tradition, but the lacuna in § 24 is common to all. Macarius here agrees with them as regards the title. The *editio princeps* was that of Gothofredus (Geneva, 1631 : cf. Introduction to *Or.* 50, p. 59 above), with Latin version, reprinted in his *Opera Iuridica Minora*, Leiden, 1733, later editors being Reiske and Foerster. The speech is translated, with notes, and with detailed social commentary by R. A. Pack in *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius*, Ann Arbor, 1935. Further discussion appears in P. Petit, *Vie municipale*, and W. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*.

XLV

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΩΝ

R ii. 439 1. Εἰ μὲν ἅπαν ὃ προσῆκον ἦν περὶ τοὺς δε- F iii. 1
σμάτας παρὰ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἐφυλάττετο,
ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἂν συνέχαιρον, σοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν
ἠνώχλουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν κακοὶ περὶ τοῦτι γεγέ-
νηνται τὸ μέρος, λέγει δὲ οὐδὲν πρὸς σέ περὶ τού-
των οὐδεὶς τῶν εἴτε ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀδικούντων εἴτε εἰ-
δότες σιωπῶσιν, ὃ τι τε ἂν περὶ ταῦτα γίγνηται
δυσσεβές, οὐκ ἔστι μὴ συνδιαβάλλεσθαι τὴν βασι-
λείαν, ὃ τὴν σὴν πραότητα θαυμάζων ἐγὼ καὶ ἅμα
χάρις τὴν μεγίστην | εἰληφῶς δίκαιος ἂν εἶην τῇ F 360
σῇ ψήφῳ θεραπεῦσαι τὸ ἀμαρτανόμενον.

2. Οἶσθα μὲν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτό γε δίκαιον
ὄν τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους θανάτου θνήσκειν, τοὺς δὲ
μὴ ζῆν τε καὶ περιεῖναι, καίτοι γε δι' ὑπερβολὴν
φιλανθρωπίας ἤδη τινὶ καὶ τούτων ζῆν ἔδωκας,
ἀλλ' ἔστω κύρια τὰ παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων.

^a Cf. *Or.* 33. 8.

^b Cf. Introduction to the *Pro Templis*, above, and the discussion by Petit (*op. cit.*).

^c The most sensational example occurred in winter A.D. 385/6, when an ex-pupil of Libanius, of Senatorial rank, was charged with magic. Libanius' secretary was alleged to have been implicated. No death penalty was inflicted, unusually in such cases: cf. *Or.* 1. 239 ff., Themist. *Or.* 19. 229 d. 160

ORATION 45
TO THE EMPEROR,
ON THE PRISONERS

1. If care were taken,^a Sire, by the holders of governmental office to maintain in full the proper procedure in dealing with persons held in custody, I would be congratulating them and not worrying you. However, although the officials have been at fault in this matter, no one informs you of these malpractices by them, whether done in ignorance or deliberately veiled in silence, and the commission of any impiety here necessarily involves the imperial authority in the odium incurred. So, because of my admiration for your clemency and because I am in receipt of your greatest honour, it would be right for me by your decree to correct the error.^b

2. Well, Sire, as you know, justice involves death for those who deserve to die, and life and survival for those who do not. Admittedly, in your remarkable generosity you have in the past granted reprieve to some miscreants even,^c but let the provisions of old-established legislation^d be regarded as the norm.

^a *παλαιοί* is a fairly elastic term. The last legislation was that of *C. Th.* 9. 3. 6 of A.D. 380. Similarly, *C. Th.* 12. 1. 80 (of A.D. 380 and 381) are described as *παλαιοί* in A.D. 385 (*Or.* 27. 13).

LIBANIUS

ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀποθνήσκειν μὲν ὧς τι τοιοῦτο τε-
 τόλμηται, ζῆν δὲ ὅς οὐδὲν τηλικούτον ἠδίκηκε. τὸ
 δὲ τετολμηκέναι καὶ τὸ ἠδικηκέναι τί ποτέ ἐστι;
 R ii. 440 τὸ ἐξεληλέγχθαι. | ὡς τό γε πρὸ ἐλέγχων ἀπο-
 θανεῖν οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἠδικῆσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἴ
 τω πέπρακται μὲν ἄξιον θανάτου, τουτὶ δὲ συγ-
 κέκρυπται, τοῦτον ὁ κτείνας ἀδικεῖ τὴν τιμωρίαν
 πρὸ τῆς πίστεως λαβών. 3. ἴσθι τοίνυν σοι φονέας
 ὄντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένους ἄρχοντας, ὧ
 βασιλεῦ. τίνα τρόπον; πολλαὶ μὲν ὄργαι πολλὰς
 ποιούσι μέμψεις, κἂν θυμωθῆ τις, εὐθὺς παρὰ τὸν
 ἄρχοντα τρέχει καὶ φησιν ὑβρίσθαι καὶ πεπονθέναι
 κακῶς, ὁ δὲ ἑαυτὸν μὲν οὐ, τὴν γυναῖκα δέ, ὁ δὲ
 τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον, τοὺς παῖδας δέ, καὶ ῥήματα
 πλάττουσι καὶ πληγὰς καὶ καταρρήξαντές τι τῆς
 ἐσθῆτος ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῦτο προσέθεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἄρ-
 νούμενός τε καὶ σεσυκοφαντῆσθαι λέγων καὶ με-
 μνημένος γραφῆς καὶ νόμων πέμπεται δεθησόμενος
 καὶ ταῦτα (ἐν) ἐγγυητῶν ἀφθονία.¹ 4. πάσχουσι
 R ii. 441 δὲ τοῦτ' ἐπέικως | οἱ | ἀσθενέστεροι παρὰ τῶν F 361
 δυνατωτέρων, καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἐνὶ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν
 εὐπορούντων, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν ὀλίγων οἱ
 τὰς αἰτίας τὰς παρὰ σφῶν πλεον ἔχειν ἀξιούσιν
 ἀποδείξεων. ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ συν-
 εδρίῳ, ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων βουλῶν, ταῦτα παρὰ
 τῶν τὰς εὐφημίας ὑμῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων κατὰ τῶν
¹ ἐν ἐγγυητῶν ἀφθονία Re., F: ἐγγυητῶν ἀφθονία mss.

^a The expression is intended to shock: it is the exact
 opposite of the normal commendations of governors which
 were posted to Court. So Florentius, though he did not
 execute, is described as a murderer in *Or.* 46. 9. The term
ἀρχων τῶν ἐθνῶν usually describes the *Comes Orientis*: the
 162

ORATION XLV, 2-4

These are death for the perpetrators of any such crime and life for those innocent of such misdemeanours. And the definition of a crime and misdemeanour is what?—the proof of it in a court of law. For a man to be executed before trial is downright illegality, and even if he commits an act that involves the death penalty and it remains undiscovered, anyone who kills him is at fault in exacting the penalty before the proof. 3. Now, Sire, you must realize that the governors sent out to the provinces are murderers.^a The manner of it is as follows. Lost tempers often involve numerous complaints. Someone takes umbrage: straightaway he scurries off to the governor alleging that he has been the victim of insult and abuse,^b or, if not he, his wife has been, or, if neither of them, his children. They invent insults and injuries, make a tear or two in their clothes, and use this as a complaint additional to the first. The other party, despite denials, claims of wrongful accusation and appeals to law and statute, is packed off to jail, even though he has plenty to go bail for him.^c 4. This is the normal treatment of the weaker at the hands of the influential, of the penniless at the hands of the wealthy, of the masses at the hands of the élite who expect any charge they make to count for more than proof. This is their experience at the hands of Senators^d and decurions: this the treatment accorded to the manufacturing class

slight difference of wording here indicates provincial governors generally.

^b As was foreseen in *C. Th.* 9. 1. 5 of A.D. 326.

^c *e.g. Or.* 46. 3.

^d τὸ μέγιστον συνέδριον = the Senate of Constantinople or (less often for Libanius) of Rome.

LIBANIUS

R ii. 442 ἐν ταῖς χειροτεχνίαις, | ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν [ἐν]¹ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπηρετούντων κατὰ τῶν οὐ πάντα αὐτοῖς χαριζομένων. 5. δεσποτῶν δὲ ὠμότης πλείστῳ χρῆται (τούτῳ)² καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δέον³ δῆσαι τὸν ἠναγκασμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κἂν ἀδικῆται σιγᾶν. ἐνταῦθά που θετέον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν γῆν ποιοῦντας τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὴν γῆν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτοις τινὲς ἴσα καὶ οἰκέταις κέχρηται, κἂν μὴ τὰς πλεονεξίας ἐπαινώσιν ἐκείνων τὰς καθ' ἑαυτῶν, ὀλίγα συλλαβαί, καὶ στρατιώτης ἄμα ἀλύ-

R ii. 443 σεσιν ἐπὶ τὸν | ἀγρόν, καὶ δεδεμένους τὸ οἶκημα δέχεται. 6. βούλει με μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν αἰτίαν λαμβανόντων φονεύειν τοὺς ὁδοιπόρους; οὐκοῦν οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἢ τρεῖς, δῶμεν δὲ καὶ τρεῖς τοσοῦτους εἶναι καὶ δέκα καὶ πλείους· παρ' οἷς δὲ ἢ | ἔπιον ἢ F 30 ἔφαγον ἢ ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἔλκονται τριπλάσιοι πολλακίς τῶν ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ὄντων οὐδὲν εἰδότες τῶν ἐγκεκλημένων ἢ τὸ⁴ μηδὲν εἰργάσθαι δεινὸν ἐκείνοις ἢ τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐ μετεσχηκότες.

7. Οὗτοι πάντες ὧν ἐμνήσθην, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τινες ἔξω τούτων καθ' ἑτέρους ἤκοντες ἐκείσε τρόπους ζῶσι τὸν ἐν δεσμοῖς βίον. οἱ δ' αὐτοὺς παραδεδωκότες ἐν εὐωχίαις εἰσὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν ἄπασιν ἡδονῶν εἶδεσιν, εἰς τὴν Δάφνην ἀναβαίνοντες, εἰς ἀγροὺς ἐλαύνοντες, ἐπ' ἄλλας ἰόντες πόλεις ὑπὸ νυμφίων καλούμενοι γῆν ὠνησόμενοι, θάλατταν

R ii. 444 ὀψόμενοι. | τῶν δὲ δι' αὐτοὺς δεθέντων τῶν μὲν

¹ ἐν mss.: brackets F., as suggested by Re.

² <τούτῳ> conj. Re., F.

³ καὶ δέον Re. text (mss.): ῥάδιον conj. Re., Cobet, F.

⁴ τὸ F. (CPUB, AI corrected): τῶ Re. (PaV, AI before correction).

^a Cf. Or. 33. 34.

^b i.e. an officialis.

ORATION XLV, 4-7

by organizers of loyal addresses to you and by the lackeys of the governors to such as do not gratify their every whim. 5. Brutal masters make full use of this technique every single day, for one who is compelled by law to remain silent, however wronged he may be, must needs be arrested also. Into this category are also to be put the peasants who work for the landlords, for some treat them just as though they were slaves, and if they do not acquiesce in the extortions that are practised upon them, just a word or two ^a is needed, and a soldier ^b goes down to the farm, complete with fetters, they are arrested, and the jail takes them in. 6. Would you like me to mention also those accused of murder on the high roads? There are two or three of these, but let us concede that they are three times as many—ten or more. But the persons with whom they drank, ate or slept, often three times the number of the accused, are arrested too, even if they know nothing of the offence other than that the accused are not guilty of it, and even if they had no part in the deed.

7. All these I have mentioned, Sire, and others besides who get there by other ways, live their lives in chains. And those who have sent them there enjoy the high life and indeed live in the lap of luxury. They go up to Daphne, they drive to their estates, they visit other towns, invited by the bridegroom to a wedding, to buy land, to visit the seaside.^c As for those whose arrest they have secured, they

^c For examples of these social activities of the Antiochene upper class at various dates: holidaying in Daphne in summer, *Ep.* 419; their estates, *Or.* 11. 171; weddings, *Or.* 33. 14 ff.; purchase of estates, *Or.* 47. 9, 48. 37; but Libanius is concerned with the immediate troubles of the year A.D. 386.

LIBANIUS

ἐπελάθοντο, τῶν δὲ οὐ φροντίζουσιν. οἱ δικασταὶ δὲ οἱ βέλτιστοι οἱ τὸν δεσμὸν αὐτοῖς ὄν ἐβούλοντο δεδωκότες καὶ περὶ πλείονος τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους χάριν τῆς τοῦ δικαίου μοίρας πεποιημένοι οὔτε ἀγανακτοῦσιν οὔτε καλοῦσιν οὔτε ἐπιτιμῶσιν οὔτε τί ταῦτα; ἐρωτῶσιν οὐδ' ὡς περὶ ἀσεβοῦς τοῦ πράγματος διαλέγονται οὐδ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πλεον δύναιντο τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνέχεσθαι λέγουσιν. 8. εἶτα μεστὸν μὲν¹ σωμάτων τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐξιόντος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἢ κομιδῇ γε ὀλίγων, εἰσιόντων δὲ πολλῶν. καὶ γίγνεται διπλοῦν τὸ κακὸν αὐτῷ τε τῷ δεδέσθαι καὶ τῷ² οὕτως. οὐδὲ γὰρ [οὔθ'³] ὑπνου λαχεῖν F 363 ἔστιν | ἀκριβῶς, οὐδὲ γὰρ | κείσθαι κατακλιθέν- R ii. τας,⁴ ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐστῶσιν⁵ αὐτοῦ μεταλαβεῖν, τοσοῦτον ἔχουσι.

9. Πόθεν τοίνυν τούτοις ἡ τροφή; τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λέβησι φακῆν καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα λάχανα καὶ εἴ τι τούτοις πρόσεστιν, ἐλάττω ταῦτα πολὺ τοῦ δέοντος εἶναι φασιν. ἀνάγκη δὴ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀδελφὰς καὶ θυγατέρας, αἷς ἦν ἡ τροφή παρὰ τῶν οὔπω καθειργμένων, αὐτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἐκείνους τρεφούσας. πόθεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ; τῷ δεσμῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὰς εὐπορωτέρας γεγονέναι. λείπεται δὴ τὰς μὲν ἀμόρφους ἢ γῆρα κατεχομένας προσαιτεῖν, ἐν αἷς δέ τι καὶ ὥρας, πάντα ἀνέχεσθαι. ταῦτ'

¹ [μὲν] F.

² αὐτῷ τε τῷ . . . τῷ conj. Re., F. (V): αὐτό τε τὸ . . . τὸ Re. text (other mss.).

³ οὔθ' mss.: brackets F., as suggested by Re.

⁴ κατακλιθέντας F.: -κλιθέντα IB: -κλιθέντ' Gothofred. (CAPUV): -κλιθέντι Re.: -κλινέντας Pa.

⁵ ἐστῶσιν <ἔστιν> F.

ORATION XLV, 7-9

either forget all about them or don't bother about them. And our fine governors who have secured the desired arrest for them, and are more interested in ingratiating themselves with them than in the claims of justice,—they don't become angry, or demand their presence, reprove them and ask what is the meaning of this, nor do they talk to them about the heinous character of the affair, or tell them that they cannot tolerate such conduct any longer. 8. In consequence, the prison is packed with bodies.^a No one comes out—or precious few, at least—though many go in. They are doubly afflicted, by the actual imprisonment and by the manner of it. They cannot get any proper sleep, for they cannot even lie down to rest.^b Their repose is just what they can get standing.

9. Where does the food come from for all these? The soup in their pots, their few greens, and anything else besides,—all this, they say, is much below their needs. Their wives, sisters, daughters, who were supported by them before their imprisonment, must needs be the ones to support them now.^c And how, Sire? The women cannot possibly be better off as a result of the imprisonment of their menfolk. The consequence is that the ugly and the aged go begging, while those who have any looks at all endure

^a Tisamenus is criticized for this: *Or.* 33. 41.

^b On such prison conditions *cf.* *Plut. Mor.* 165 E, Lucian, *Toxaris*, 29; *infra*, § 31.

^c Although prison rations were to be officially organized by provincial governors at a later date (*C. Th.* 9. 3. 7 of A.D. 409), allocations of prison fare had been regular throughout the Principate, *e.g.* *Sen. Ep.* 2. 6. 11. Visiting and maintaining the prisoners, however, remained the responsibility of relatives and friends, *e.g.* *Or.* 20. 7, 26. 32, 28. 15.

LIBANIUS

οὖν τοῖς δεδεμένοις τοῦ δεσμοῦ πικρότερα· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς δήπου καὶ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ διδάσκεσθαι πόθεν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἔρχεται.

10. Καὶ οὐ ταῦτά γε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα δεῖ παρ' ἐκάστου γενέσθαι τῷ τῆς θύρας κυρίῳ τῷ
 R ii. 446 λύχνον μὲν ἕνα πᾶσι παρεχομένῳ, | τοῦ μικροῦ δὲ
 ἐλαίου τούτου μέγαν ἀπαιτοῦντι μισθόν. ὁ δὲ οὐ
 θεὸς δι' ἀπορίαν εὐθύς ἐστιν ἐν πληγαῖς, κἂν λέγῃ
 τυπτόμενος· ἐμοί, ὦ ἄρχων τοῦ τε δεσμωτηρίου
 τούτου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένων, πλήν τοῦδε τοῦ
 σώματος ἔστιν οὐδέν, οὐ γονεῖς, οὐ τέκνα, οὐ φί-
 λοι· | πόθεν ἂν οὖν ἀμειψαίμην τὸν λύχνον, εἰ μήτ' F 30
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀργύριον ἔχοιμ' ἂν ἀνασπάσαι μήτ'
 ἔστιν ὁ εἰσοίσων; ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀκούει· διὰ τί οὐ
 καλεῖς διὰ τῶνδε τῶν ἐξιόντων γυναικα δεῦρο τῶν
 ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία φιλοτιμουμένων, εἴτ' αὐτῆς πρὸς
 τὰ γόνατα προσπεσὼν πείθεις προσαιτοῦσαν ἄγειν¹
 R ii. 447 τί σοι; τουτὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν τις ἐδυνήθη, ὁ | δ' οὐ. παρ'
 ὅτου δὲ οὐκ ἐνὶ λαβεῖν, ἀρκεῖ μαστιγῶσαι.

11. Δακρύεις, ὦ βασιλεῦ. πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ σοι γέ-
 νοιτο διὰ τὴν ἄγαν χρηστότητα. καὶ ἔγωγε, νῆ τὸν
 Δία καὶ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς, τοῦτ' ὄψεσθαι προσ-
 εδόκων. ἀλλ' ὄντων δεινῶν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐνὶ τι
 μεῖζον, εἰ μεῖζον ὧν ἔφην τὸ τεθνάναι. θνήσκουσι
 γάρ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θνήσκουσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ
 μεγίστῳ δὴ, στενοχωρία, μυρίοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν φύλαξ

¹ ἄγειν Re. (mss.): ἀγείρειν F.

^a Cf. Or. 33. 30. This abuse had been explicitly forbidden

ORATION XLV, 9-11

every kind of outrage. For the prisoners then this is a more bitter pill than their imprisonment, for they are bound to ask the source from which they get this support and to be told it.

10. Not only this. There are also the payments ^a each one must make to the jailor ^b who provides a single lamp for them all and who demands a fancy price for this little drop of oil. Anyone who, through lack of means, fails to pay is immediately in for a flogging, and even if he cries when under the lash, "Sir, keeper of this jail and its inmates, I have nothing save this my body—no parents, no children, no friends. How then can I pay for the lamp? I cannot wrest money from the earth and there is none to bring me any," he receives the answer pat, "Make use of these who are due for release and fetch in one of those women who have a name for good works.^c Fall at her knees and get her to go begging and bring something for you." Some manage to do this, others don't. When nothing can be got from a man, a flogging makes up for it.

11. You are weeping, Sire! Bless you for your great goodness! Heavens above! this is just what I expected to see! But grim though my tale has been, there is yet worse to come, if death is worse than the sufferings I have recounted. Yes, people are dying, Sire, and dying as a result of their afflictions, of close confinement in particular, and dying by *C. Th.* 9. 3. 1 of A.D. 320, but evidently remained a favourite form of extortion.

^b The *commentariensis* (as in *C. Th.* 9. 3. 7, where his conduct is subjected to close scrutiny): *cf. Or.* 26. 32, Lucian, *loc. cit.*, *Amm. Marc.* 28. 6. 24.

^c Deaconesses, *cf. Pliny, Ep.* 10. 96, Lucian, *de morte Peregrini*, 12.

LIBANIUS

ἐμήνυσεν, ὁ δ' ἄρχων οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ παθὼν θάπτειν ἐπέτρεψε. τῷ δ' ἠττιαμένῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδεὶς φόβος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ τέθνηκεν οἶδεν. ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ ἐν τούτοις δοῦλοί τε ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ἐλεύθεροι, οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότες, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἄξια θανάτου. οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἴσασι· οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν Ἥλιος. οἷς οὐκ ἂν φαίης τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀρέσκειν. ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπιόντων ἔστι¹ τὸ πρὸς τὸν δεσμὸν ἀγόμενον ἢ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ καὶ πλέον. |

R ii. 448

12. Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν εἰ μὲν τις ἐν ἀγορᾷ μαχόμενος ἢ ἄρχων χειρῶν ἢ καὶ ἀμυνόμενος κτείνει τινά, πάντα ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ βοᾶν καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν τοῖς | τοῦ τεθνεώτος οἰκείοις καὶ τοὺς οὐ προσήκοντας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων διὰ τῶν δεσμοτηρίων τοσοῦτων ἀπολλυμένων πρῶτος ἔχειν σε δοκεῖν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ' εἰπὼν τις εὖ λέγειν ἂν δόξειεν ὡς οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδείης. ἀπαιτῆ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ πάντα ἐπίστασθαι. καὶ τοὺς φονέας τούτους πάλαι χρῆν τούτων τῶν θανάτων ὑπεσχηκέσαι δίκην, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν γέ τις ἐπιστροφὴ γενέσθω.

13. Καὶ τί δεινόν, φησὶ τις, εἴ τις ἀνδροφόνος ὢν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὸ οἶκημα τῆς αἰτίας εἶτα οὕτω τέθνηκεν; ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν τοῦτο λέγοντα ἐροίμην ἂν ἠδέως εἰ ὅσοι τοῦτον τεθνᾶσι τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεκτονότων εἰσὶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ψευδεῖς αἰτίαι καὶ ῥῆμά τι καὶ μικρὸν ἤδη τινὰς ἀργύριον ἔδῃσε, προὔβη δὲ ὁ δεσμὸς εἰς θάνατον, τί δεῖ

¹ ἔστι F. (V): ἔστι Gothofred. (other mss.): ἐπὶ Re.

^a Cf. Or. 33. 41: a long standing criticism of prison conditions, which still prevailed, despite the edict (C. Th. 9. 3. 1) which allowed light and air to prevent prisoners dying.

ORATION XLV, 11-13

in thousands.^a The jailor makes his report ^b; the governor doesn't turn a hair, but merely orders the funeral. The original accuser has no qualms: he doesn't even know whether the fellow is dead or not. And among them slave and free die alike, some guilty of no offence at all, others of offences that do not deserve death. The gods, and especially the all-seeing Helios,^c know this, and such goings-on cannot be described as pleasing to them: but the influx into the prison that replaces the departed is just as large or even larger.

12. So isn't it a disgrace that, if someone kills a man in a street brawl, either as an aggressor or in self-defence, everyone—even though unrelated to him—is outraged, sets up an outcry and behaves exactly like the dead man's kinsfolk, yet when so many people are killed by the governors by imprisonment, you should be thought unconcerned? Even if it be asserted that you know nothing of all this, the argument would not be valid, for you are required by your imperial position, Sire, to know all. These butchers should long ago have been punished for these killings, but now at least, if never before, let some attention be paid to them.

13. "Well," it may be said, "what is wrong if some homicide is clapped into jail on this count, and then dies so?" I would like to ask the proposer of this question whether all who die in this way are homicides. A false charge, an odd word or two, a bit of money have secured someone's arrest before now, and if this imprisonment results in death, what

^b Monthly returns were required of the *commentariensis*, *C. Th.* 9. 3. 6 of A.D. 380.

^c *Cf. Or.* 13. 35, 42. 41. Homer, *Il.* 3. 277, *Od.* 11. 109.

LIBANIUS

λέγειν τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα ἠδίκηκότας κατὰ τῶν ἢ οὐ-
δὲν ἢ μικρά; εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς ἐκεῖνα
δεδρακόσι προσήκων ἦν θάνατος,¹ ἀλλὰ τούτοις γε
οὐκ ἔχρην οὕτω μακρὸν ποιεῖν τὸν δεσμὸν ὥστε αὐ-
τοῖς τὸ κακὸν εἰς θάνατον τελευτᾶν. 14. εἴποι δ' ἄν
τις καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων λόγον, οἶμαι, δίκαιον |
ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἀνεξέταστοι τεθνᾶσιν, ἠδίκηνται κρίσεως F 366
οὐ τετυχηκότες, εἰ δὲ ἐξεληλεγμένοι, πάλιν ἠδί-
κηνται τοῦ περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀπεστερημένοι τάχους.
τί γάρ με κατατήκεις, εἴποι ἄν, οὐ τοῦτο τοῦ νόμου
R ii. 449 λέγοντος; τί δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναλίσκεις ὥστε | ἀπὸ
μόνων τῶν ὀστών καὶ τοῦ δέρματος ἀπελθεῖν τὴν
ψυχὴν, οὐ τοιαύτης ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικει-
μένης τῆς δίκης; 15. τί δ' ἄν ἀποκριναίμεθα ταῖς
τῶν ἐπὶ μαρτυρία δεθέντων γυναιξὶ πρὸ τῆς κρί-
σεως αὐταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἰχομένων, οὓς ἔχρην
ἡμερῶν <ὀλίγων>² οἴκοι πάλιν εἶναι φράσαντας ὅ
τι εἶχον; ἔτι τοίνυν τῶν οὕτως ἀπιόντων δεσμο-
τῶν τοῖς ἔτι ζῶσι συμβαίνει καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαί-
ρειν, λυπεῖσθαι μὲν τεθνεῶτος συνήθους, χαίρειν δὲ
κληρονομοῦσι τοῦ τόπου. ἔπειτ' οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον
ἦκεν ἕτερος ὁ τὸν ἐκείνου καθέξων.

16. Καὶ πῶς ταῦτα σὺ περιεώρας, ἐρήση, δέον
R ii. 450 ἐπιτιμᾶν τε τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ | ταῦτα ἅ νυνὶ λέγεις
λέγειν καὶ μηδὲ βουλομένοις ῥαθυμεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν;
καὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅσα καὶ ὁσάκις εἴρηταί μοι πρὸς

¹ <ὁ> θάνατος Re., F.

² <ὀλίγων> F.

^a As they failed to do from Tisamenus, *Or.* 33. 9 f.

^b *C. Th.* 9. 3. 1 (= *C. J.* 9. 4. 1). The governor is liable to punishment if this happens. This provision is reinforced by *C. Th.* 9. 3. 6, where both jailor and governor are held liable. Further prohibitions were to be enacted in the future, *C. Th.* 9. 1. 18 (A.D. 396), 9. 36. 2 (A.D. 409).

ORATION XLV, 13-16

need is there to cite major criminals against those whose offence has been little or none? However fitting a punishment death may be for those guilty of serious crimes, certainly for such as these the term of imprisonment should never be so prolonged that their suffering should end in death. 14. And even for serious criminals a case could be made, and properly so, in my opinion, that if they die without trial, then they are the victims of injustice in having failed to secure a hearing,^a and if they die after their guilt has been proved, they are again victimized by being robbed of a speedy death. "Yes! why do you leave me to rot?" they could protest. "The law gives no warrant for this. Why make me die a lingering death, so that my life spirit departs from bare skin and bone? Such is not the punishment enjoined by statute."^b 15. And what answer can we make to the wives of men detained as witnesses,^c when their husbands are dead before ever the case is heard, though they ought to have been back home again in a day or two after telling all that they had to tell? And what is more, when prisoners depart in this way, the survivors experience both sorrow and joy, sorrow at the death of a companion, and joy at inheriting the place he occupied. But not long afterwards someone else arrives to occupy it.

16. "How comes it, then," you will ask, "that you have neglected this, when you should reprove the governors and tell them the story you are telling me now, and not allow them to be so slack, even if they want to be?" Everybody knows what I have

^c An abuse to be remedied in part by the elaborate precautions of *C. Th.* 9. 37. 4 (A.D. 409).

LIBANIUS

αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ δεσμῷ φθειρομένων, ὡς ἀσεβοῖέν τε ταύτῃ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἐμμένοιεν ὄροις οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἂν ἐτέρους δικαίως κολλάζοιεν ἢ διδοῖεν αὐτοὶ δίκας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν | δεσμοτηρίων ἐκφερομένοις νεκροῖς; οἱ δ' ἔλεγον F 387
 μὲν ἔσεσθαι βελτίους, ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτον τοῖς δεσμώταις εἰς ἀναπνοὴν διδόντες, ὅσον ἦγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πρὸ δικαστηρίου χωρίον. ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν γε ἦγοντο πάλιν ἐλπίσαντες μὲν τι κάλλιον, ἐσχηκότες δὲ οὐδέν.

17. Νῆ Δία, τὸ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων πλήθος κρεῖττον τῆς αὐτῶν βουλήσεως, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἠδέως ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἦκον, τὰ κωλύοντα δὲ ἦν ἰσχυρότερα. τίνα ταῦτα; εἰπάτωσαν. αἱ εἰσφοραὶ καὶ τὸ πολλὰ πολλοὺς ὀφείλειω καὶ εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἀναγκαιότερα· δεῖσθαι γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν χρημάτων. ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐώρων περὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἅπαντα ἀναλισκόμενον χρόνον, ἴσως μὲν οὐδ' ἂν τότε λόγων ἠπόρησα τῶν τῇ σῆ βασιλείᾳ πρεπόντων, ἦν δ' ἂν τι καὶ τούτοις εἰπέιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάνυ καλόν· νῦν δὲ τίς οὕτως ἀγνοεῖ τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς οὐκ εἰδέναι πόσον τι τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσπράξει νεμόντες ὅποσον ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας; 18. δίκαι δὲ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν πολλαί, ὑπὲρ δὲ μεγάλων ὀλίγαι. πολ-

^a Both as sophist and as *honoratus*, Libanius saw this as his duty, and he had certainly fulfilled it with Icarus, *Or.* 26. 32.

^b Decurions, in particular, who were responsible for the collection of tribute and unable to collect it from the recalcitrant peasants, *cf. Or.* 47 *passim*. Tisamenus was most insistent upon the collection of tribute, *Or.* 33. 13 ff., 32. *Cf.* also *Or.* 62. 43.

ORATION XLV, 16-18

told them, and how often I have done so,^a about the people who are dying in jail,—how abominably they are behaving in this, how they are overstepping the provisions of the constitution, and how they deserve no more to punish others than themselves to be punished for the dead that are carried out to burial from prison. And though they promised to mend their ways, they persisted in their attitude and gave the prisoners just so much respite as to take them to the courthouse yard, for back the inmates would go by the road they had come, hoping for better things and gaining nothing.

17. “Ah, yes! but pressure of business overrode their wishes. They would have been glad to deal with the matter, the business that stopped them was more urgent.” What business? Let them describe it. Matters of taxation, of course: large numbers of people ^b were owing large sums, and this was a far more pressing matter, for the state of the empire demands ready money!^c If I saw them spending their whole time on this, even so I probably would have been at no loss for arguments consonant with your imperial dignity, but they might have presented some plausible, even though not particularly creditable explanation. As it is, no one is so ignorant of the governors’ behaviour as to be unaware of what portion of the day they allocate to the collection of taxes and what to court hearings.

18. And court hearings there are in plenty for matters of little moment, for matters of importance, few.

^a Theodosius was already making preparations against the usurper Maximus. The final breach was to come in a few months. His excessive fiscal demands sparked off the Riots of the Statues early in A.D. 387.

LIBANIUS

λάκεις γοῦν ἤκουσα παρακαθήμενος τριάκοντα στα-
 τήρας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ πλέθρον καὶ δένδρα τινὰ καὶ
 ἀνδράποδον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον καὶ χλαμύδα καὶ
 χιτωνίσκον καὶ πολὺ τούτων ἐλάττω καὶ πολλοὺς
 R ii. 451 μεθ' ἑκατέρων ῥήτορας καὶ μακροὺς | παρ' ἀμφοτέ-
 ρων λόγους. καθίζει δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσπέρα δικα-
 στας οὐκ ὀλιγάκις, καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοὺς ἢ κρίσις |
 ἀφελομένη τὸν ἀγῶνα οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔπαυσε. πῶς F 368
 οὔν, ὦ βέλτιστοι, τούτοις μὲν ἐνὶ χώρα μετὰ τῶν
 εἰσπράξεων, τοῖς δεσμώταις δὲ δι' ἐκείνας κέ-
 κλειται τὰ δικαστήρια; ἢ καὶ τούτων, ὥσπερ τῶν
 εἰσπράξεων, ταῦτα ὕστερα, τῶν χρημάτων αἱ ψυ-
 χαί; 19. καὶ μὴν τοῖς μὲν ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς οὐκ
 ἀπώλλυτ' ἀν¹ τὰ παρὰ² τοῦ πράγματος δίκαια. ἃ
 γὰρ τήμερον ἐνήν εἰπεῖν, ταῦτα ἂν ὑπῆρχε καὶ δύο
 μηνσι καὶ πλείοσιν ὕστερον· περὶ δ' αὐ τοὺς θανά-
 τους τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἂν κατάσχοι τις τὴν ψυ-
 χὴν εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτήν· μένε, ἀλλ' ἀπειπόντος τοῦ
 σώματος ἀνάγκη φεύγειν ἐκείνην. οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ
 περὶ ἀργυρίου δικάζοντες ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ γνώσει γε αὐτῇ
 τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀκούοντες θανάτους οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ
 τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο νομίζουσι. καταφρονοῦσι γάρ,
 οἶμαι, τῶν μὲν ὡς οὐκέτ' ὄντων, τῶν δὲ ἐκείνοις
 συγγενῶν ὡς ἀσθενῶν.

20. Εἰ δὲ καὶ χρήματα δεῖ συγχωρῆσαι τῶν ψυ-
 χῶν εἶναι τιμιώτερα, ἀλλ' οὐ δήπου γε ὀρχηστὰς

¹ ἀπώλλυτ' ἀν F. (PaV) : ἀπώλλυτο Re. (other mss.).

² παρὰ conj. Re., F. : περὶ Re. text (mss.). : om. Gothofred.

^a As was required of him as *honoratus*.

ORATION XLV, 18-20

Anyway, I have often sat in attendance ^a and listened to cases dealing with thirty staters, or twenty, an acre of land, a few trees, a slave, a camel, an ass, a cloak or a jacket, and things far less important still,^b with a galaxy of legal talent on each side and longwinded speeches from both. Even nightfall often finds the judges in session ^c: the verdict robs them of their supper, but it does not put an end to the case, for all that. My dear fellows, how is it that there is room for all this along with your collecting duties, when because of those duties the courts are closed to men under arrest? Is it that here too, as in fiscal matters, one thing must give way to another—men's lives to money? 19. "Yes! but those caught in the law's delays would not have an intrinsically sound claim lost to them. What they can say today, they could say just as well in two or three months' time!" But if they are dead, they cannot. Nobody can retain the vital spark by telling it to stay: when the body succumbs, it too must needs depart. But those who hear of such deaths while they are engaged on financial cases or at the very beginning of the investigation, do not regard it as at all damaging to their position. The victims they disregard, so it seems to me, as dead, their kinsfolk as men of little import.

20. And even if I must grant money to be more precious than men's lives, dancers, mimes, horses

^b Tisamenus (*Or.* 33. 13 f.) was guilty of such excess of zeal. Later (*C. Th.* 2. 1. 8 of A.D. 395) such petty cases were to be adjudged improper for the governor's personal attention. He was to concentrate on criminal matters. Here, as often, *stater* = *solidus*.

^c But not so Tisamenus, *Or.* 33. 10.

LIBANIUS

- R ii. 452 καὶ μίμους καὶ ἵππους καὶ τοὺς τούτοις | ἐφεστη-
κότας. τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιούσιν οἱ σωτῆρες ἀξιούν-
τες ὀνομάζεσθαι; τρέχουσιν ὀψόμενοι μὲν ταῦτα,
ὀψόμενοι δὲ ἐκεῖνα, νῦν μὲν καλούμενοι, νῦν δὲ καὶ
οὐ καλούμενοι καὶ τῶν κλήσεων δὲ ἐνίας¹ αὐτοὶ
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι. | πῶς γὰρ οὐχ αὐτούς, ὅταν F 369
αὐτοὶ διαπράττωνται φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ θύρας² τοὺς καλέ-
σοντας; 21. τὴν ἀνάγκην δὲ ἂν λέγωσι καὶ τὸν
φόβον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ζημίας, ἐξαπατῶσιν. ἢ τε γὰρ
R ii. 453 δείλη καθαρὰ τοῦδε τοῦ φόβου ἢ | τε ἀνάγκη τῆς
θέας ἡμερῶν τιῶν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπάσης. οἱ δὲ
ἐπὶ πάσης ἔρχονται καθ' ἑκατέραν³ τῆς ἡμέρας
μερίδα καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰσπράξεων οὐ χεῖρω ταύτη
καθίσταται. καίτοι πόσω βέλτιον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώ-
τερον τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βοηθεῖν εἰς
ὅσον ἕξεσθαι ἢ ἐν περιττοῖς θεάμασι ἀναμένειν τὰς
R ii. 454 νύκτας, καὶ δειπνοῦντα | ποιεῖσθαι λόγους ὑπὲρ
τῶν καλῶς ἀφειμένων ἢ ὅσα τοῖς ἡμιόχοις ἐπ'
ἀλλήλους εὔρηται. 22. πόθεν δὴ τούτων τὰ μὲν
ἡμέληται, τὰ δὲ ἐν σπουδῇ μεγάλῃ; δόξα τις πο-
νηρὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας κατέσχευε ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
πάντα φαῦλα καὶ οὐδέν, μόνον δὲ ἀγαθὸν αἰ παρὰ
τῶν πολλῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς μετ' εὐφημιῶν βοαὶ καὶ τὸ

¹ ἐνίας conj. Sintenis, F.: ἐν ἐνιαῖς Re. (mss., ἐν om. B).

² θύρας conj. Re., F. (V): θύραις Re. text (other mss.).

³ καθ' ἑκατέραν om. Re. (A, I in margin).

^a Like Julian and the intellectuals generally, Libanius disliked the races and theatre, and everything connected with them: e.g. *Or.* 35. 13 f., 42. 8. Cf. Pack, *Studies*, pp. 61 ff.

^b Tisamenus expected to be invited to shows, *Or.* 33. 26.

^c Discrimination on the part of the governor was required

ORATION XLV, 20-22

and drivers certainly are not.^a So what do our governors do—these aspirants to the title of “saviours”? They hurry to see first this show, then that, sometimes by invitation,^b sometimes not, sometimes actually self-invited, for obviously they are self-invited when they personally ensure that the future hosts flock to their doors.^c 21. And if they talk of the need to attend and the fear of unfortunate consequences if they do not, that is mere deception. The afternoons are free from such fear, and the need to attend applies to some days,^d not to every day. But off they go, every day alike, both morning and afternoon, without any disruption of their fiscal duties. Yet how much better and more humane to assist unfortunate persons to the best of one’s ability than to hang around until nightfall in extravagant shows, and over dinner to discourse upon the clean starts or the tactics devised by the drivers against each other!^e 22. How is it then that some of these duties are so neglected and others performed so enthusiastically? The governors are possessed of a pernicious notion that everything else is cheap and of no account, and that their sum of happiness consists in the cheers and acclamations^f

in the acceptance of private invitations, *Or.* 26. 15, 27. 17. For the problems raised by *είσοδοι* cf. *Or.* 51-52.

^a By the terms of *C. Th.* 15. 5. 2 (of May A.D. 386), which Libanius clearly has in mind here, governors are not to attend games, etc. except on imperial anniversaries, and then in the mornings only: cf. *Or.* 52. 33.

^b Including magic spells, as *Amm. Marc.* 26. 3. 3, 28. 1. 27.

^c The attitude is not unreasonable (cf. *οἱ σωτήρες ἀξιούντες ὀνομάζεσθαι*, § 20). *C. Th.* 1. 16. 6 (cf. A.D. 331) had ordained that acclamations received by a governor be reported to the emperor, and despatched by public post, as evidence

LIBANIUS

εἰδέναι χάριν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἃς πορίζουσι τῷ πλήθει. ἀφέντες οὖν τὸ διὰ τοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονουῦσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ἡγούνται τοὺς ἀργοὺς τουτουσι καὶ κηφήνας ἐπισπᾶσθαι, ταῦτα χαρίζονται, οἱ μὲν ἐκδεχόμενοι τὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ προστιθέντες, κἂν τύχωσι τῆς κλαγγῆς τῶν γεράνων,

F 370 εὐδαιμονίζουσιν | ἑαυτοῦς. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν μεγάλοι, R ii.
ταπεινοὶ δὲ οἱ βουλευόντες καὶ τῇ παρ' ἐκείνων 455
βοηθείᾳ πολλάκις τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὀργὰς διαφεύγοντες. τοῦτο ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀπόλλυσιν.

23. Οἱ δὲ περικλύζεσθαι φασιν ὑπὸ πλήθους¹ τῶν πραγμάτων. ἃ δίδωσιν ὑμῖν τοσαύτας ἡμέρας ἐκάστου μηνὸς τηνάλλως ἀναλίσκειν, ἃ δίδωσιν ἐν Δάφνῃ καθημένοις τέρπειν τε καὶ τέρπεσθαι κακῶς. ἢ καὶ τότε φήσετε τοὺς ὀφείλοντας εἰσπράττειν;

R ii. 456 ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ πρώτῳ τιμᾶτε | τὴν εἰς ἅπαντα
ἐκείνην ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ἑορτὴ τὸ μηδενὸς ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν αἰσχροῦν. καὶ τοῦτο τοίνυν αὐτῇ χαρίζονται, βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ πάνυ τότε μεμνήσθαι τινα τῶν τοῖς σοῖς θησαυροῖς ὀφειλομένων χρημάτων. 24. πάντων δὲ ἀλογώτατον εἰσπράξεων εἰς ἀπολογίαὶν μεμνήσθαι τὸν ἀρχοντὶ τὸν οὐκ αὐτὸν περιμόντα καὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων λαμβρα-

¹ τοῦ πλήθους F. (Pa).

of his administrative capabilities. Tisamenus acknowledged the importance of acclamation, *Or.* 33. 11 f., as did other officials in the 380s: e.g. *Or.* 26. 18 f., 27. 13, 41 *passim*, 46. 39.

ORATION XLV, 22-24

they receive from the commons and the gratitude evinced towards them in return for the pleasure they provide the masses. So they reject the fair fame to be won from men of sense by the performance of their duty, and they distribute these favours, whereby they think to attach to themselves these idlers, these drones.^a Some inherit the practices of their predecessors,^b others even make additions of their own and, if they meet with the clamour of cranes,^c they are full of self-congratulation. Then those fellows rise to greatness, and humbled are the city councillors,^d who often escape the governors' wrath by means of the assistance they provide. This creates havoc, not least for those in jail.

23. But, their claim is, they are overwhelmed by a mass of business. This business allows you to idle away so many days every month, and it allows you to recline in Daphne and to have and to give enjoyment of a vicious kind.^e Or will you tell me that you are dunning the debtors at that time too? But this is the first and foremost factor in the respect you show towards that carnival of misrule in Daphne, where the essence of the festival is to hold aloof from none of its vices.^f And this is how they favour it, Sire, by utterly and completely forgetting the moneys owed to your treasuries. 24. And it is quite ridiculous for a governor, who does not make a personal tour and arrest of debtors, to make mention

^a Used to describe the theatrical claque, who arranged the acclamation, *Or.* 46. 17.

^b Thus Icarus was urged not to adopt the pattern of Proclus, *Or.* 26. 22. ^c Homer, *Il.* 3. 3. ^d *Cf.* *Or.* 2. 35.

^e On the licence in Daphne *cf.* Sozom. 5. 19.

^f The Maiuma, *Or.* 10. 14, 50. 11; *C. Th.* 15. 6. 1-2.

LIBANIUS

νόμενον.¹ ἴσμεν γὰρ δι' ὧν σοι τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττεται, τοῦ δὲ ἄρχοντός ἐστιν εἰπεῖν τε ὃ δεῖ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν ποιήσαντα ἐπαινέσαι καὶ τὸν μὴ ποιήσαντα πλήξαι. σὺ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς λαμπροὺς ἐστιάτορας τὴν ἀσχολίαν ταύτην οὐ λέγεις οὐδ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν δύναιο πίνειν κατακείμενος τοσαῦτα | μέρη F 371 τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἀδικεῖς ὑπακούων τοιαῦτα τοῖς φίλοις· ἂν δέ τι τῶν μειζόνων τὴν σὴν ἀπαιτῆ γνώμην, οὐκ ἄγεις σχολήν, ἀλλὰ βαπτίζῃ καὶ σε ὃ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ἄλλων ὄχλος ὑφ' αὐτῷ πεπολήται, ὡσπερ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων ἃ λέγεις τοῖς μὲν ἐκπώμασιν εἰκόντων, σωτηρίας δέ τισι φθονούντων.

25. Βούλομαι δέ τί σοι διηγῆσασθαι τῆς τούτων
R ii. 457 περὶ τὰ | τοιαῦτα ἀργίας. ἀποθνήσκει μὲν τις ἐν ἀγρῷ ξίφει νυκτός, τοῖς ἀπεκτονόσι δὲ ὑπῆρξε διαφυγεῖν τῶν οἰκετῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην ὑποδύντων, νομιζόντων ἀρκεῖν εἰ διασωθεῖεν. ἐτεθνήκει μὲν οὖν ἄπαις, οὗς δὲ ἐπεποιήκει τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότας διαθήκη τούτους ἔδει κατὰ τὸν νόμον μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν ἐξ ὧν ἦν² ἐλπίς ἔσεσθαί τινα δίκην. ἄνθρωποι τοίνυν ἐξάγονται τῆς κώμης σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχειν λεγούσης, ὑποπτεύειν δὲ τούτων εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. 26. οἱ μὲν οὖν κληρονόμοι προσιόντες³ πολλάκις ἐδέοντο τὸν ἐνόνητα ποιῆσασθαι περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς ἐξετασμόν, οἱ δὲ ληρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκον οὐ παραχωροῦντας τοῦ δι-

¹ λαμβανόμενον F.: ἐπιλαβόμενον conj. Re.: λαμέον Re. text (CAPUI): om. Gothofred. (PaBV).

² ἦν conj. Re., F. (mss.): ἦ Re. text: ἡ Gothofred.

³ προσιόντες Re., F. (V): om. B: προσίοιτο other mss.: -ιόνται Gothofred.

ORATION XLV, 24-26

of revenue collection to excuse himself. We all know the agents by whom such jobs are done. The governor's task is to tell what needs doing, to commend the one who does it and to flog the one who doesn't. You don't mention this pressing business to your excellent hosts ^a: you don't tell them that you could not possibly lie there drinking for such a large part of the day, and perhaps you are not at fault in so obliging your friends. However, if some matter of major importance requires your attention, you simply haven't the time, you are up to the ears in work, and the weight of other business has bowled you over, just as this business you mention gives way to drinking parties but begrudges men their salvation.

25. I would like to tell you something of their idleness on such matters. A man was murdered on his farm, stabbed to death at night: the murderers managed to get away when the slaves faced the attack by ducking under the bed and thinking it quite enough if they came out alive.^b Now he died without issue, and those whom he had made masters of his property by testament had the duty according to law of neglecting no means of securing a conviction.^c So some fellows were arrested, the villagers saying that, though they had no certain proof, they suspected that it was some of their work. 26. So the heirs presented themselves time and again, begging the resident magistrate to hold an investigation of the murder, only to be told that they were stupid in not yielding the court to those who were dealing

^a Such as the *principalis* Callippus was to Icarus, *Or.* 27. 29.

^b *e.g.* Amm. Marc. 28. 2. 13.

^c *Cf. Or.* 30. 25.

LIBANIUS

καστηρίου τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ἄγουσι. μη-
 νῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ διελθόντων καὶ οἷς ἦν ἀνάγκη τοῦ
 κειμένου φροντίζειν ἐγκειμένων τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον-
 τι ποιεῖται μὲν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου στοᾶν ἀνὴρ |
 R ii. 458 δικαστήριον. μελλούσης δὲ εἰσιέναι τῆς δίκης
 ἀκούει μὲν | ἄδόντων τὰ αὐτῶν ἄσματα τῶν ἐν F 372
 τοῖς σπηλαίοις οἰκούντων δεῦρο τότε ἠκόντων, ὁ
 ποιεῖν τοῦ θέρους εἰώθασιν, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ
 θρόνου τὴν ταχίστην ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς οὐκ ὄν δίκαιον
 ἐκείνων φανέντων τῶν δικαίων τι ποιεῖν· ἀπελθὼν
 δὲ οὐκέτι προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἐπεξιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς μὲν ἀποστερηθῆναι τῆς οὐσίας αἴτιος ἐγένετο
 προαχθεῖσιν, ὡς ἐν μήκει χρόνου, μικροῦ του προσ-
 R ii. 459 ἄψασθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, | πέντε δὲ ἐκείνων ἀπο-
 θανεῖν ὑποπτευθεῖσιν, οὐκ ἐλεγχθεῖσιν, ὧν ἂν εἰς
 ἐσώθη τις καὶ μάτην νομισθεῖς, τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ
 ἅπαντες. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα νόμιζε καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος
 ἀμαρτάνεσθαι, βασιλεῦ.

27. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ πάση μὲν τέχνῃ κτῶνται τὸ
 παρελθεῖν εἰς ἀρχὴν, παρελθόντες¹ δὲ οὐ τῆς αὐτῶν
 εἶναι φύσεώς φασιν οὔτε βασανίζειν ἄνθρωπον τὴν
 διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν βάσανον οὔτε ξίφος παραδιδόναι
 τῷ δημίῳ. πρὸς οὓς εἶπομ' ἂν ὅτι χρῆν αὐτοῦς

¹ παρελθόντες Re., F. : ἐλθόντες mss.

^a For the temple of Dionysus cf. *Or.* 30. 51, Malalas 10, p. 234. Downey, pp. 179 f.

^b Since the governor is almost certainly the Christian Tisamenus, it is uncertain why he should decamp at the advent of the monks (τῶν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις οἰκούντων, cf. *Or.* 2. 32, 30. 8). Their mass interventions before the governors were certainly influential, as after the riots of A.D. 387, but Pack's notion (p. 117) of his superstitious confusion of their appearance with a mourning procession is appropriate only to a pagan who dreaded the pollution

ORATION XLV, 26-27

with a financial case. Seven months passed by, and those who were in duty bound to have regard for the deceased put pressure on the governor, and so his worship turned the colonnade in front of the temple of Dionysus ^a into his courtroom. Just as the case was due to begin, he heard the chanting of hymns from the cave-dwellers, who had then come to town, as they usually do in summer.^b Up he jumped from his seat and made off hot-foot, giving out that it was improper to observe any of the proprieties of law, once they had put in an appearance. And after his departure, he paid no further attention to the plaintiffs, and so he was responsible for them losing their property, since they were induced, as you might expect considering the delay, to take possession of some small portion of the produce of the estate, and also for the deaths of five of the defendants whose guilt was suspected, not proved. Any one of these could have been suspected without reason and been saved, and perhaps all of them. You may be assured, Sire, that many such crimes are committed year after year.

27. Some people use every possible means to achieve office, and when they achieve it, they say that it is not in their nature to submit a man to examination by flogging or to hand him over to the executioner for beheading.^c My reply to them is that they should recognize their own limitations ^d of contact with the dead. More likely is that he was evading the unpopularity which would accrue from a confrontation with the monks. For their interference in secular matters, *C. Th.* 9. 40. 16, 16. 3. 2.

^c A criticism directed against Christian officials in particular, *e.g.* Eutropius, *Or.* 4. 36. On their dilemma *cf.* Jones, *LRE* 983.

^d The Delphic γνῶθι σεαυτόν.

LIBANIUS

ἑαυτοὺς ἐγνωκότας ἰδιωτεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἄρχειν ἀδυνατοῦντας ἄρχειν. ἄρχοντος μὲν γὰρ ἔστι τὸ καὶ ταῦτα δύνασθαι, οἱ δὲ¹ τὸ μηδέ² ἄρχειν δύνασθαι σαφῶς | ὠμολογήκασιν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ F 373 μὲν πράγματα τούτων ἀμφοτέρων δεῖται, καὶ βασιάνων καὶ θανάτων, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα κάκεῖνα φεύξεται, πῶς ἂν ἄρχων εἴη μὴ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅπαν ποιῶν; βασιάνῳ γὰρ τάληθές ἐν πολλοῖς εὐρίσκοιτ' ἂν μόνῃ τῷ τε τῶν ἐξελεγκομένων θανάτῳ τάχ' ἂν τις τῶν πονηρῶν γένοιτο μετριώτερος.

R ii. 460 28. τουτί δὲ ἄρχοντος ἔργον τὸν μὲν οὐκ ὄντα | ζῆν ἄξιον πέμπειν ἀποθανοῦμενον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τῷ φόβῳ τῶν ἴσων κατέχειν. παντὶ γὰρ τῷ τοῖς νόμοις ἐναντία ποιοῦντι πολεμεῖν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσήκει τὸν βοηθεῖν τεταγμένον τοῖς νόμοις. σὺ δὲ βραδύς μὲν ὦν τοὺς πόδας οὐκ ἂν ἦκες περὶ τάχους ἀγωνιούμενος εἰδὼς ὡς³ οὐ τῶν σῶν ποδῶν τὸ ἔργον, ἄρχεις δὲ οὐτ' εἰς φῶς ἄγειν ἀδικήματα δυνάμενος οὐθ' ὑπηρετοῦσαν τοῖς τοῦ νόμου προσταγμάσι⁴ τὴν φωνὴν παρέχειν; εἶτα δεινὸν νομίζων εἰ σοῦ φθεγξαμένου τις ἀποθάνοι δικαίως, οὐχ ἡγῆ δεινὸν εἰ σοῦ σιγῶντος⁵ πολλοὶ τινες ἀποθάνοιεν οὐ δικαίως;

29. Ἀλλὰ δῶμεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῖς οὐκ ἀρχικοῖς μὲν τούτοις, δεδιόσι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν εἰκότων τι πεπονημένοι. ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωποι ρύακας μὲν αἰ-

¹ οἱ δὲ F. (UB, PI corrected): om. Re. (other mss.).

² μηδέ Re. (mss.): μὴ F.

³ ὡς F. (I marg.): om. Re. (other mss.).

⁴ προσταγμάσι Cobet, F.: πράγμασι Re. (mss.).

⁵ σιγῶντος F. (mss. except AI): σιωπῶντος Re. (AI).

^a Thus, despite his aversion to corporal punishment, Li-
186

ORATION XLV, 27-29

and stay in private life, without aspiring to office when they are incapable of discharging it. A governor's job is to be able to discharge these duties too, but they have made an open admission that they are not even able to govern. In fact, if his duties require him to undertake both examination and execution, and he is going to evade both, how can he be a governor if he does not discharge his duties to the full? ^a In many cases truth can be discovered by examination alone, and by the execution of the guilty some criminal may perhaps be reformed.^b 28. This is the governor's task, to send to execution the man who does not deserve to live, and to restrain the rest by fear of a similar fate. It is the duty of the official who has been stationed to defend the laws to make war on every man who contravenes them. If you are slow of foot, you would never turn up to take part in a race, for you know that this is not within the capacity of your feet: yet do you take office, though you are incapable of bringing injustice to light or of raising your voice in support of the ordinances of law? And, finally, if you think it shocking for a man to be deservedly executed at your bidding, do you not think it shocking for many persons to be unjustly put to death, because of your silence?

29. Very well, Sire. Let us concede to these incapables who entertain such qualms that theirs is a normal reaction. But when people make streams of

banius requires his governors to be just and humane, but firm in administering it. They should not evade their duty.

^b Libanius' theory of punishment rarely touches upon the reformative aspect. Primarily, the objective is retribution and deterrence.

LIBANIUS

ματος | ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις διὰ τῶν μαστίγων F 374
 ποιῶσι, τύπτωσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφέντας κωφὴν
 αἰκιζόμενοι γῆν καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς ποταμούς, τοὺς
 δὲ εἰς βρόχους ὠθῶσι διὰ τὸν φόβον, ὅταν οὖν οὗτοι
 πέμπωσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεσμοτήρια φάλαγγας, ἐρρῶσθαι
 δὲ φράσαντες τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνα νόμοις ἐπ' ἄλλοις
 διατρίβωσιν ὡς δὴ φιλόφρονες δόξοντες εἶναι, τίς
 οὐκ ἂν ἀποπνιγείη; 30. ἐγὼ δὲ ἠξίουμαι αὐτοὺς
 εἰδέναι τε τὸ τοῦ Φοίνικος ἐκείνου καὶ μιμῆσθαι,
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπίστανται μὲν, μιμῆσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐθέ-
 λουσι. τί οὖν ἦν τὸ 'κείνου; τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ
 δεδεμένων τοὺς μὲν ἐτιμωρήσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἔλυσε
 τῷ δικαίῳ καθ' ἑκάτερον ἀκολουθῶν. ἔπειτα κά-
 πηλοί τε ἦσαν ἐν ἐκάστῳ¹ καὶ πίθοι καὶ ἐκπώματα
 R ii. 461 καὶ σὺν ὠδαῖς ἢ | πόσις. οὕτω δὲ τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων
 πραγμάτων ἐκάστῳ ταχίαν εὑρίσκει τὴν τελευτήν
 ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτ' αὐτῷ δεῆσαι δεσμοτηρίων. 31.
 παρελθὼν τοίνυν εἰς τις ἐρεῖ τῶν νῦν δὴ τούτων
 ταῦτό καὶ αὐτῷ πεπραῆχθαι καὶ αὐλοὺς εἰσελθεῖν
 ἐκέισε. αὐλοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσῆλθον, οὕτω δὲ κατα-
 γέλαστον ἐποίησατο τὴν μίμησιν ὥστε ἐν πολὺ
 χαλεπωτέροις τοὺς δεσμώτας γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ
 ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῖς παρέσχε τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ'
 ἤμειψε τὸν τόπον | τοῦ δεδέσθαι μένοντος. ἐπὶ γὰρ F 375
 τὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἀρχῆς οἴκημα πέμπει τὰ σώματα
 πολλοῖς πολλὰ προστιθείς, ὥστε ἀλλήλους κατα-
¹ ἐκάστῳ <δεσμοτηρίῳ> F.

^a Homer, *Iliad*, 24. 54.

^b Libanius was himself threatened with this fate by a courtier in A.D. 362, *Or.* 1. 126. The bodies of those lynched in A.D. 354 were thrown into the river, *Amm. Marc.* 14. 7. 16.

^c His identity is uncertain. Pack (p. 119) suggested Andronicus, for whom *cf.* *Or.* 62. 56 ff.

ORATION XLV, 29-31

blood flow in the courts by their floggings, and when they lash lifeless bodies, outraging senseless clay,^a and force some in panic to their deaths in the river,^b others in the noose, when, I say, such as these clap into prison whole battalions, let the prison regulations go hang, and waste their time on other business—all this indeed to get a name for humanity—it is enough to take one's breath away. 30. I begged them to get to know the practice of that well-known Phoenician^c and to follow it; the fact is, though, that they know it well enough, but refuse to follow it. His method was, in Palestine, to punish some of those under arrest and to release the rest, but in either case he followed the dictates of justice. Then there were stalls set up in every prison, jars and cups of wine, and they drank to the accompaniment of song. And he found such a speedy ending to every problem that beset him that he had no more need of prisons. 31. One of our present-day governors^d will come and say that he too has done the same, and has let music into the jail. True enough, music did go in, but his following of the pattern was so ludicrous that the prisoners were in a far worse condition. He gave them no release from their affliction: he merely changed their location, and their confinement continued. He packed off the bodies to the jail of his subordinate governor, herding their masses in with the masses there, so that they trampled one

^a The *Comes Orientis*, Deinias (*Or.* 33. 7, described as *ὑπαρχος* in *Or.* 1. 251, a term usually applied to the ppO). He occupies the *μείζων θρόνος* or *μείζων ἀρχή* (*Or.* 1. 210, 27. 6, 33. 27), the *consularis Syriae*, Tisamenus, holding the *ἐλάττων ἀρχή* (*Or.* 27. 6, see also *Ep.* 21. 7, where however *τὸν κρείττω* is the ppO).

LIBANIUS

πατοῦντες ἀπώλλυντο. τοιαῦτα τῶν καλῶν τούτων ἀλλῶν ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ ταλαίπωροι. εἶτ' ἐν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αὐθις εἶχε πλείους ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ οἶκημα. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἠγνοεῖτο μὲν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐδόκει.

32. Φανήτω δὴ κἀνταῦθα τὸ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας, ὦ βασιλεῦ. καὶ ὡς μὲν ἔθηκας νόμον βοηθῶντα τοῖς δεθείσι περὶ τὸν χρόνον, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν,¹ οἶδα. οἶδα μέντοι κακεῖνο, ὅτι ἄπερ ἂν οὐ κειμένου τοῦ νόμου, ταῦτα καὶ γεγραμμένου πέπρακται. οὐ γὰρ ὄντων τῶν βεβαιούν αὐτοὺς ἐθελόντων δικαστῶν γράμματα εἶσι | μόνον, τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις δὲ οὐ παρέπονται² ποιῶντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἔργοις τῶν ἡδικηκότων κρείττονας. 33. ἀλλ' ὅταν σὺ μὲν, ὦ γενναῖε, νομοθετῆς ἂ προσήκει, βραχὺς δὲ τούτων ἢ λόγος τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ δικάζειν καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην ἀντὶ τῶν σοὶ δοκούντων ποιῶσι κυρίαν, οὔτε οὐκ εἰδέναι ταῦτα ὑμᾶς καλὸν οὔτε εἰδόμενος φέρειν ῥαδίως, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπανισταμένων ὑμῖν μερίδι τοὺς τοιούτους θετέον καὶ μισητέον ὡσπερ ἐκείνους. καὶ γὰρ οὔτοι τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς, καθ' ὅσον | οἰοί τε εἰσίν, ἀφαιροῦνται τά γε τῶν πονούντων F 376 ὑπερ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ζώντων ἀτιμάζοντες καὶ οἷς ποιούσι λύοντες. εἰ δὲ εἰς ὁ πρῶτος τοῦτο τολμήσας ἐδεδώκει τῷ νομοθέτῃ δίκην, ἴσχυον ἂν οἱ νόμοι. 34. καὶ μὴν κακεῖνό γε ἠξίουν, κάλλη

¹ αὐτῶν conj. Re., F. : αὐτῆν Re. text (mss.).

² παρέπονται F. (V) : παρέσονται Re. (other mss.).

^a On crowding in prisons cf. *Or.* 33. 41.

^b *C. Th.* 9. 3. 6. (Dec. A. D. 380): "de his quos tenet carcer

ORATION XLV, 31-34

another to death.^a Such was the advantage the poor devils got from this fine piping. Then, not so many days afterwards, his jail once more was fuller than it had ever been before. And this did not pass unnoticed, for all that he thought it did.

32. Then, Sire, let your humanity reveal itself here too. That you have enacted a law to help people under arrest as regards the length of detention, and that this does serve to protect them, I know.^b But I also know that the same sort of practices have been current after the passing of the law as would have occurred if it was not in force. When magistrates willing to enforce them are non-existent, laws are mere scraps of paper^c and do not provide assistance to the victims by allowing them to get the better of their oppressors through their results.

33. But when you, Your Majesty, propose proper legislation and when the appointed magistrates take little notice of it and give validity to their own decisions instead of to your decrees, it is not right either for you to be unaware of this or, if you are aware of it, to be complacent about it. You must class such persons as rebels against your authority and loathe them, just as you do rebels. In fact, these people rob you of your own, as far as in them lies, for they bring into disrepute the work of those who live and labour for the provinces, and by their actions they undo it. If the first who had dared behave so had been punished by the legislator, the laws would now prevail. 34. Moreover, I presented a further

id aperta definitione sancimus ut aut convictum velox poena subducat aut liberandum custodia diuturna non maceret."

^c *Cf. Or. 33. 18.* The same complaint was made against Icarus, *Or. 29. 29.*

LIBANIUS

προστιθέναι ταῖς πόλεσι φάσκοντας ἔχειν τινὰ δεῖ-
ξαι καὶ δεσμοτηρίων πρόνοιαν. οὐ μεγάλα ἂν ἦν
ἀπὸ μικρῶν ὀνήσαι¹ χρημάτων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ
δεῖν ὡς πλείστους ἀνθρώπους ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἔχρη-
σάντων αὐτοὺς δὴπου μὴδὲ τῶν δεξομένων αὐτοὺς ἡμελη-
κέναι τόπων· ὡς οὐχ οὕτω δεῖ τοῖς ἀδέτοις τῆς ἀπὸ
τῶν τοίχων φαιδρότητος, ὡς τοῖς δεδεμένοις τοῦ
μετ' εὐρυχωρίας διαφέρειν τὰ κακά.

¹ οὐ . . ὀνήσαι Re., F. (V): οὐ . . ὠνήσαι Gothofred.
(other mss.).

ORATION XLV, 34

argument also, that people^a who claim to beautify our cities should be capable of showing some concern for the jails, too. Here it should be possible to do much good at little cost, for since their desire is to keep as many people as they can in durance vile, they surely ought not to neglect the places to receive them. Persons at liberty do not need the splendid façade so much as the prison-inmates need to endure their troubles with room to move.

^a As the governors claimed to do by their building programmes, *cf. Or. 10 passim*, 11. 193 ff., 46. 44. Tisamenus' efforts here in building cages for animals, not for prisoners were criticized, *Or. 33. 14.*

XXXIII

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ

- R ii. 239 1. Ἔδει μὲν οὕτως ἅπαντας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τοὺς F iii.
ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἔθνων ἀρχὰς ἐκπεμπομένους, ὃ βασι- 165
λεῦ, ὥστ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐξεῖναι λέγειν τι περὶ Τισαμενοῦ
βέλτιον, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κακῶς λέγειν ἡδιόν ἐστὶ μοι
μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦναντίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τοῦ χεί-
ρονος παρέχουσιν ἀφορμὰς, ὧν εἷς οὗτος Τισα-
μενός, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην ποιῆσαί σοι φανερόν
ὅτι παραδέδονται πολλαὶ πόλεις ἀνθρώπων πλείστον
- R ii. 240 ἀπέχοντι | τοῦ δύνασθαι δι' ἀρχῆς εὖ ποιεῖν πόλεις.
ἐρῶ δὲ | πρὸς σὲ περὶ τούτων, οὐχ ὅπως λάβοις F 166
τῶν πεπραγμένων δίκην ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ πλείω κακὰ
δράσειεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς μένων. 2. ὁ μὲν οὖν, ἴν'
οὗτος ἄρξειεν ἡμῶν, πολλὰ μὲν εἰπῶν, πολλὰ δὲ
ποιήσας, χαλεπὸς τε ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔσται καὶ
ζητήσῃ τὸν λελυπηκότα ποιῆσαι κακῶς οὔσης αὐ-
τῷ δυνάμεως ὀπόσης ἐθέλει· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἴσως μὲν
ὑπάρξει σωτηρία τε καὶ τὸ διαφυγεῖν παρὰ τῆς σῆς
εὐνοίας τε καὶ βοθηείας, ὃ βασιλεῦ. εἰ δ' οὖν

^a Pack (p. 96) suggests that this patron may have been Cynegius, ppO. Certainly Libanius moves gingerly here and makes no request for the punishment of Tisamenus, who is also exculpated from any charge of bribery (§ 38). But (§ 27) while both Cynegius and Deinias, the *Comes*, were absent in

ORATION 33
TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
AGAINST TISAMENUS

1. IDEALLY, Sire, everyone sent out to the government of the provinces should be so good that I should be able to tell a better tale about Tisamenus. Indeed my preference is not so much to level abuse as the reverse. However, there are persons, of whom Tisamenus here is one, who occasion ill report, and so I have thought it necessary to demonstrate to you that many cities have been entrusted to a man who is very far from having the ability to benefit cities by his rule, but I shall tell you of these matters, not for you to punish him for what he has done, but to ensure that he may do no more harm by remaining in office. 2. Now, the person,^a whose many words and actions have secured him as our governor, will be annoyed at my remarks and will seek to do harm to the one who has provoked him, for his influence is all that he could wish it to be. My means of escape and my salvation will perhaps come from your good will and support, Sire. But, anyway, if justice should

Egypt in A.D. 386, Tisamenus' supporters at court got an imperial order passed countermanding the instructions of these two. This order could not be enforced, presumably owing to the persistence of their opposition, and the identity of this patron must therefore remain uncertain.

ἡττηθείη τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἐνός τινος ἰσχύος, ἀρκέσει γε εἰς παραμυθίαν ἐμοὶ τὸ μὴ φόβῳ σεσιγησθαι τὰ ῥηθέντα ἂν πρὸς σὲ δικαίως.

3. Οὐτοσὶ τοίνυν Τισαμενὸς γένει μὲν ἔστι λαμπρός, καὶ ὃ γε τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἐν πολλαῖς γεγένηται διατριβαῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνάγκη μὲν ὅσον ἀφασθαι μετέσχε λόγων, ἀποκλίνας δὲ ταχέως εἰς ὄρχηστὰς καὶ μακαρίσας αὐτοῦς τε καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτοῦς, ἡδιστα μὲν ἂν ἡγεμῶν ἐγένετο τοῦ χοροῦ, τούτου δὲ πολλοῖς εἰργόμενος αἰτιάμασι, δι' ἄσμάτων ἃ ποιῶν παρείχεν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνηῆς χάριν τε διδοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄσμάτων ἔδει, τῷ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα εἰς ὄρχησιν ἄγεσθαι. 4. ἔπειτα ἦν ἐξαίφνης ἡγεμῶν ἔθνους, ἐν ᾧ τῶν ὑπτίων εἶναι δοξάντων οὐδενὸς διενεγκῶν ἀπῆλθεν οὐδὲν ἔχων διηγῆσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καλόν. καὶ ἄλλιν οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον παρεδρεύει στρατηγῷ οὐ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα F 167 ἐμπειρίαν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν συνδίκων τάξει πώποτε ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλ' οὐδέν, οἶμαι, δεῖ¹ τοιαύτης ἐμπειρίας ἐνταῦθα, καθῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπ' ἐξετάσει δικῶν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πληγαῖς τὸν στρατηγόν, ὥστ' ἔργον εἶναι

¹ οἶμαι Re. (conj. οἰόμενος in *Animadv.*) (mss.) : οἶεται F. | δεῖ Re. (mss.) : δεῖν Morel, F.

^a The theatre was always a dishonourable profession and subjected to vicious legislation, cf. *C. Th.* 15. 7, 1-6. Hence Libanius' contempt.

^b Liebeschuetz (p. 145) interprets ἔθνος as "profession"—a common enough use—and refers to Tisamenus' continuing connection with the theatrical profession. His first provincial tenure thus was that of Syria itself. However, the post of

ORATION XXXIII, 2-4

not prevail against the influence of a single individual, it will be comfort enough for me not to have kept silence through fear upon matters of which you should have properly been informed.

3. Well, Tisamenus yonder is of distinguished parentage : anyway, his maternal grandfather was a member of many learned gatherings. He personally participated in eloquence perforce, just so far as to get a nodding acquaintance, but he quickly bade it and its professors a tender fond farewell, and took himself off to dancers.^a His dearest ambition would have been to become the leader of the band, but he was prevented by many complaints. Still, because of the lyrics he composed and provided for them, he attached himself to the stage and offered them his services, while they provided him with theirs. They needed his lyrics : he needed them for them to be produced. 4. Then he suddenly appeared as the governor of a province,^b where there was no difference between him and any who had a name for dilatoriness. So he left office without having anything creditable to be said about him. And again, a few years afterwards, he became assessor to a military commander, not because of his experience in the job—he had never even been a member of the legal profession : there is no need of experience in this sphere, I suppose, for the military commander has to sit, not for judicial enquiries, but for corporal punish-assessor follows on a provincial command, perhaps praesidial, in the case of the anonymous of *Or.* 62. 65, and Syria ranks high in the consular provinces, its governors quite commonly having had prior experience (*e.g.* Eustathius, *PLRE* 311 (6), Florentius, *ib.* 364 (9)). ἐξαιφύνης would seem to indicate a sudden change of situation from stage to office, contrasted with the slowness of his later public career.

LIBANIUS

R ii. 241 τῷ τοιοῦτῳ παρέδρω κοινωνίαν | τρυφῆς καὶ μά-
 λιστα δὴ ποτοῦ. 5. καὶ σπέρμα γε πρὸς ἀρχὴν
 τοῦτο πολλάκις, ὃ δὴ καὶ νῦν γεγένηται τῆς τοῦ
 ῥήματος εὐφημίας τοῦτο πεποιηκυίας. προσήκειν¹
 γὰρ δὴ τῷ παρηδρευκότι τὸ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι πόλεσιν.
 ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἀκούειν λεγόντων τῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 εἰδόντων ὡς ἀπολείται τὰ πράγματα τῇ Τισαμενοῦ
 μωρία καὶ ἀτεχνία. καὶ ταχέως ἠκολούθησεν ἡ
 πίστις, ἥκων αὐτὸς καὶ δεικνύμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 θρόνος καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ραβδούχοι καὶ ὁ τῶν
 ὑπηρετῶν ἀριθμὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὰς ἡμέρας δὲ ἦν
 ἰδεῖν ἀναλουμένας μάτην οὔθ' ὄρωντος τούτου τὸ
 δέον οὔτ' ἄλλοις ὄρωσιν ἐπομένου. 6. καὶ ὁ δὴ
 κελεύσας αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπ' ὠνῆ σίτου
 διατρίβειν μισοῦντος μὲν ἐδόκει, φιλοῦντος δὲ ἔργον
 ἐποίει παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἦττον δεξιόις ἀναγκάζων αὐ-
 τοῦ τὴν ἀνοιαν διάγειν οὐ τῆς ἀνοίας ἔμελλον ἔξειν
 ἦττονα τὸν ἔλεγχον. καίτοι μέγα φρονεῖν ἀξιοῖ
 τὸ καῦμα τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις τραγωδῶν. ἐγὼ | δὲ F 168
 τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐπαίνων οὐκ ἀποστερῶ,
 πάνυ γὰρ δὴ γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν τε φλόγα λέγε-

¹ προσήκειν F. (MSS.): προσήκει Re.

^a Association with the stage is even more contemptible to Libanius when compounded by association with the military—whom he usually (but not always, e.g. *Or.* 1. 165, 47. 28) suspects and dislikes: cf. *Zos.* 4. 27.

^b ὁ δὴ—his superior, the Christian Comes of *Or.* 1. 251, 254, named § 7, below. See *Or.* 45. 31 n.

^c In times of emergency, the *consulares* of Syria could be allocated special duties in Euphratensis, a sensitive supply area in any Eastern campaign. Thus (*Ep.* 21) Nicentius in A.D. 358 was broken for failure to provision the Euphrates

ORATION XXXIII, 4-6

ment,^a and the consequence is that such an assessor's job is to share in his excesses, and especially in his drinking. 5. This has time and again been the seed for office, as indeed it has been in the present instance too, for the éclat appertaining to the title has ensured this result. The idea is that anyone who has been an assessor is also qualified to be put in charge of cities. Here you would hear people who knew the fellow say that things would go to rack and ruin because of Tisamenus' stupidity and lack of skill. Confirmation followed soon enough, once he had come and showed his qualities, for the governor's seat, the heralds, the lictors, and members of his staff symbolized his office, but you could see the days wasted, since this fellow neither saw where his duty lay nor followed the lead of others who did. 6. Indeed, though his superior,^b in ordering him to the Euphrates for the purchase of corn,^c appeared to be motivated by dislike, his action in fact was that of a friend, when he forced him in his oafishness to stay among less cultured people, where he would be less likely to have his oafishness revealed. For all that, he claims great credit for this, in his dramatic relation of the heatwave that he endured there. I wouldn't dream of depriving him of the praises he claims for this—for, as a matter of fact, he is said to have endured the blazing sun^d and certain other dis-garrisons. Tisamenus' duty in A.D. 386 appears to be the reverse of this: the crisis was the continuance of famine in Syria (continuing since A.D. 382), necessitating the procurement of supplies from Euphratensis, then at peace. Icarus had also interested himself in corn supplies in Euphratensis, *Or.* 28. 16. The supply demands were for the preparations against Maximus (for which *cf.* *Or.* 54. 47).

^a *Cf.* *Or.* 1. 251 (cited Introduction, p. 156).

LIBANIUS

ται καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρας ταλαιπωρίας, οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ τούτων οἰκέται καὶ ὀνηλάται τὸν αὐτὸν ἤνεγκαν ἥλιον, ὥστ' εἰ τούτω

R. ii. 242 σεμνύνεσθαι δώσομεν, καὶ κείνοις | καὶ πολλῶ γε πλέον ἐκείνοις ὅσω τῆς θεραπείας ἧς οὗτος ἀπήλαυεν, οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνοις. ὁ γε μὴν ἔπραττε, τί ποτ' ἦν τοῦτο; ὁ καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὅστισοῦν ραδίως ἄν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τῆδε τοῖς ἄρχουσι καθημένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀξέως ἐπράττετο. 7. ὁ δ' ὠδύρετο μὲν ὡς ἐν ἀγρίοις καθήμενος χωρίοις καὶ τέρψεων τῶν αὐτῶ κεχαρισμένων ἀμοίροις καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις δυναμένων ἤτοι τούτων τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν, τιμᾶσθαι δὲ ὡς ἐπ' ἔργοις ἐκουσίοις¹ ἀξιοῖ. καίτοι εἴ τι καὶ χρηστὸν ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ, Δεινίου² τοῦτο ἔστι τοῦ κατακεκλεικότος αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις. ἐφ' οὓς ἤκουσεν μὲν οἱ ῥήτορες, ὡς μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς αὐτόθι χρῆσόμενοι σχολὴν ἄγοντος τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν

F 169 ἔχοντος, | ὀρώντες | δὲ αὐτὸν τῶ σίτῳ μόνον³ R. ii. 24
προσκειμένον τᾶλλα ἐῶντα χαίρειν, οὕτω μεγαλήτωρ ἦν κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς εἰπεῖν, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους δεῦρ' ἤκουτες συνῆσαν ἀλλήλοις οὐ πείσαντες, εἴτ' ἀπελθόντες, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τοῦτο δράσαντες εὐ εἰδότες ὡς ἐδίδουσαν χάριν. τοσοῦτ' ἀπείχον τοῦ τι δεινὸν ἐντεῦθεν γενήσεσθαι νομίζειν. 8. ὁ δ' ἦν αὐτὸς δεῦρ' ἀφιγμένος· φυγὴ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δι-

¹ ἐπ' ἔργοις F. (CAPV) : ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις Re. (BNVa) : ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκουσίοις I. | τοῖς ins. Re. before ἐκουσίοις, om. F.

² δεινὸν Morel : τοῦ δεινός conj. Re. (*Animadv.*) : Κυνηγίου Monnier. ³ μόνον F. (APIBVa) : μόνῳ Re. (CNV).

ORATION XXXIII, 6-8

comforts most heroically—but I know that all his staff, and their attendants and donkey drivers, endured this same sun, so that, if we allow him to put on airs on this score, we must allow them the same, and much more so, since they could not enjoy the comforts that he did. Furthermore, just what was this duty that he was trying to perform? Any single one of his subordinates could easily do it, as indeed was the case even in times past, when here in Antioch^a such duties were quickly performed for the governors in residence. 7. He began to complain that he had been put in charge of a wilderness without any of the delights dear to his heart, and to demand of persons with influence at court relief from these duties, but he still claims the credit due to his voluntary performance of them. However if anybody comes out of this with any credit, it is Deinias, for having him confined in those places. The orators went there, under the impression that they would find more employment for their talents there now that the governor had time to spare; but they saw him concentrating only upon the corn supply and not caring two pence about anything else,—so “stout-hearted” was he, to use a poetic term^b—and so they mounted their horses and came back here, keeping each other for company. They took their leave, not after deploying their arguments, but in silence, well aware that they were obliging him; unpleasant consequences were the last thing they could expect from it. 8. And when he arrived here he was his old self: he shunned the courts; he

^a The decurions of Antioch had been responsible for such emergency duties in the 350s, to their cost; *cf. Or. 49. 2.*

^b Homeric (*Il.* 9. 629 etc.) and Pindaric (*Isthm.* 5. 44).

LIBANIUS

R ii. 244 κῶν, | ἐν εὐχῇ δὲ αἱ κλήσεις ἄς καλεῖ μὲν ἱππό-
δρομος, καλεῖ δὲ θέατρα, ἄς ὁ μὲν ἐπιστάμενος
δικάζειν ζημίαν τε ἡγείται καὶ δυσχεραίνει, οἱ δὲ
τούτῳ προσόμοιοι δέχονται μεθ' ἡδονῆς μᾶλλον ἢ
τῶν παιδῶν οἱ τὰ γράμματα μαυθάνοντες. τηρεῖ
δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Τισαμενὸς τὸ προσήκον ἀλλ'
ἐν τῷ μάλιστα βούλεσθαι ταῦτα εἰδέναι δοκεῖν
ἀηδῖαν ὅτι πλείστην ἐπεισάγει τοῖς γιγνομένοις νῦν
μὲν τῶν δοθέντων ἂν δικαίως ἀποστερῶν, νῦν δὲ
πλήθει πληγῶν τῶν κατὰ γυμνοῦ τοῦ σώματος.
οἱ δ' ἐπαινούμενοι τῶν ἀρχόντων παρόντες ἀποῦσιν
ἔωκεσαν τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τιμῶντες,
αὐτοὺς δὲ τῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξετάζειν ἀκριβῶς.

9. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι μεγίστη ταῖς δίκαις
| ἄνθρωπος οὐτοσὶ βλάβη. ἢ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα ἄττα F 170
καταφεύγει ταύτας ἀφείς ἢ δικάσαι καταναγκα-
σθεῖς ἐν τῷ φλυαρεῖν ἀνάλωσε τὸν χρόνον αὐτοῦ
μὲν οὐ τολμῶν ἄψασθαι τοῦ πράγματος, κύκλω δὲ
περιερχόμενος καὶ οὔτε οὐ τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν
ἔχων οὔτε σιωπᾶν αἰρούμενος ἀλλὰ ῥέων ἀχρήστῳ

R ii. 245 ῥεύματι οἷω τά τε ὦτα ἀνιᾶσαι | καὶ κόψαι τοῖς
συνδίοις τοὺς πόδας. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τέλος ζητεῖν
καὶ γνώσει στήσαι τὴν δίκην ἀποπέμπει πάλιν εἰς-
όδου δεησομένους ταῦτὸ καὶ αὐτῆς πεισομένης οὐ
τευξομένης τέλους. 10. τίνας οὖν οἶε γίγνεσθαι
τοὺς δικαζομένους ἐν τοιούτοις κακοῖς; τίνα ψυχὴν
ἔχειν; τί μὲν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν, τί δὲ πρὸς τε τὴν

^a Cf. Or. 45. 20.

^b Cf. Or. 18. 170 f., 26. 25 f., 41. 7 ff. Julian, *Misop.*
343 d ff. ^c Cf. Or. 45. 1; Liebeschuetz, pp. 144 ff.

^d Or. 45. 14.

ORATION XXXIII, 8-10

hankered after invitations to the hippodrome ^a and the theatre, invitations which anyone with any knowledge of administration regards as a disaster and resents,^b though people like this fellow receive them with more pleasure than do schoolboys learning their ABC. Yet even here Tisamenus ^c failed to maintain a sense of propriety: in his especial desire to be regarded as an expert on this, he imported the utmost possible unpleasantness into the proceedings, first, by withholding presentations that might properly have been made, secondly, by the number of floggings administered to naked bodies. But governors who are well thought of used to look as though they were not there, even when they were: they would show respect for the emperor by their attendance, and for themselves by not poking their noses too far into such matters.

9. But I revert to the point that this fellow is the greatest stumbling block to the administration of justice.^d Either he turns his back on it and seeks refuge in other business, or if he is compelled to hold court, he wastes his time on drivel, not daring to handle the actual case, but skirting all round it, incapable of seeing where justice lies and refusing to keep his mouth shut. He burbles in a pointless flood of words so as to distress the ears and weary the feet of the lawyers. And instead of seeking a conclusion and bringing the case to an end by reaching a decision, he sends them off so that they need another audience, which in its turn will be treated in the same way and reach no conclusion. 10. So what do you think becomes of the litigants in such a plight? What do they feel like? What remarks do they address to themselves, to earth and to

LIBANIUS

γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥλιον; οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴν παύσωνται θρη-
 νούντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀπῆλθον οἷς δεδαπάν-
 ηνται ψυχὴν¹ ἄρχοντος ἀναμενούντες, οἱ δ' ἀντὶ
 πλειόνων ἐλάττω λαβόντες ἠγάπησαν. τοῖς δ' ἐκ
 τοῦ συνδικεῖν τὸν βίον ποιουμένοις τὸ τηγάλλως
 καθῆσθαι περίεστιν, οἱ κήρυκες δέ τινες ἐπ' οὐδενὶ
 καλοῦντες καλοῦσιν ὅμως ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τι
 τὸ πραττόμενον, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀληθές ὕπνος πολὺς.
 τὰς δὲ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας καθέδρας οὐκ ἔργων ἐπι-
 θυμία ποιεῖ, συμβουλαὶ δὲ ἰατρικῆς καὶ τὰ τῆ F 171
 γαστρὶ συμφέροντα, ὥστ' εἶναι γέλωτα τοῖς ὀρώσι
 τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους λαμπάδας.

R ii. 246 11. Ἐτι τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παραλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον
 ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκότα εἰς τὸ μὴ γινώσκειν ἑαυτὸν προ-
 ῆγαγε διδάξας αὐτὸν ὡς μέγα τι τῷ ἄρχοντι τὸ
 λεχθῆναι τι παρ' ἐκείνων εἰς αὐτὸν εὐφημον. δῆ-
 μος δὲ πεισθεὶς ὡς ἄρχει² τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ ὑφ' ᾧ
 πέποιήται, πολλὰ κινῶν τῶν καθεστηκότων ἄρχεται.³

12. Ὡς δὲ τοῦτο τοιοῦτόν ἐστι μάθοις ἄν, ὦ
 βασιλεῦ, ραδίως. ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποτὲ συμβὰν οἶ-
 μαί τι τὸν δῆμον ἄφωνον ἐκάθισε. τοῦθ' οὗτος
 ἠγήσατο συμφορὰν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς τοῦτο δηλῶν
 καὶ τῆ χροῶ. ἔδει δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁμολογήσαι
 καὶ τῆ φωνῇ τὸ πάθος, καί, προὔπεμπον γὰρ αὐτόν
 τινες οὐ πλείους ἀνθρώπων εἴκοσιν, ἐφ' ὅσοις ἄν
 τις ἠσχύνθη, λεγόντων οὖν τινα τῶν εἰωθότων ἃ

¹ ψῆφον conj. Re.

² ἄρχει F. (V): ἄρχοι Re. (other mss., Macarius).

³ ἄρχεται Cobet, F.: ἔρχεται Re. (mss., Macarius).

^a Cf. Or. 45. 22 n. On the claque cf. Liebeschuetz, Appendix iv, pp. 278 ff.

ORATION XXXIII, 10-12

heaven? After they cease their laments, they either depart after all their great expenditure to wait for the governor to collect his wits, or are satisfied if they get a reduced amount instead of their full claim. For those who make their living by advocacy, the result is that they sit there idly : the heralds summon some of them to no purpose, but they still summon them, so as to make it appear that the business means something, though in fact it is the sleep of the dead ! It is not his eagerness to get business done that makes his sessions last until evening, but medical advice and his attention to his belly, and so the sight of torches preceding his carriage is a laughing-stock for the spectators.

11. And there is this point, too, Sire. He inherited from his predecessors a populace that knew its place and induced it not to know its place, for he taught it how important it was to the governor for them to address some acclamation to him.^a The populace is convinced that it governs its governor and that, in consequence of its arrogance, it has under its thumb the person under whom it has been set by law, and is beginning to upset many of the established institutions.

12. That this is the case, Sire, is easy for you to recognize. On one occasion in the theatre something or other occurred and kept the populace seated and silent. This fellow regarded that as a disaster, and showed his feelings in various ways, especially by his change of complexion. But he also had to acknowledge his discomfiture verbally, so it seemed. As he was being escorted home by a group of people, not more than twenty at most—a number small enough to make anyone ashamed—and as they began to

LIBANIUS

τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ βελτίους ἔπαυον, καταβαίνων ὁ θαυμάσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ζεύγους Τισαμενός, τίς ὑμῖν, ἔφη, τὰς γλώττας ἀπέδωκεν; ὡς οὐκ ἦσαν γε ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. τοιούτοις αὐτὸν ῥήμασιν ἐποίησε ταπεινὸν μηνύσας ὡς τὸ μὲν ζημίαν, τὸ δὲ ἠγοῖτο κέρδος. |

13. Ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν αὐτῷ καλὰ τε καὶ F 172
τὸν ἄρχοντα δεικνύοντα; ἀλλ' ἔπραττε μὲν οὐδὲ
πρότερον εὖ, προσκατεπόντισε δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ κακὸς
ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἃ παρῶπτο τοῖς ὑπάρχοις δι' ἀσθένειαν
τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸς ἀναζητῶν, διερευνῶμενος, οὐκ ἔῶν
κεῖσθαι, μέχρι δραχμῆς καὶ ὀβολοῦ καὶ τῶν οὕτω
μικρῶν ἀκριβολογούμενος, ἄλλοις μὲν ἐγκαλῶν,
ἑτέροις δὲ εἰσπράττων. ἑτέροις δὲ ὅταν εἴπω,
R ii. 247 τοὺς βουλευόντας λέγω τοὺς ἐκ πολλῶν |
ὀλίγους τεθνεώτων μὲν τῶν ὀφειλόντων, προσαι-
τούντων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων υἱέων οὐ διὰ κακίαν τῶν
πατέρων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀξιούντας ἐσ-
θίειν, τοὺς δεινοὺς ὑπηρέτας οἱ καὶ λαμβάνουσι καὶ
σιγῶνται τῷ παρ' ἑαυτῶν φόβῳ. 14. ὁ τοίνυν καὶ
στατήρα καὶ στατήρος ἡμισυ καὶ τρίτον εἰς μέ-
σον ἔλκων οὗτος ἦν, ἃ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐτῶν ἐκάθ-
ευδε, καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς τὴν ποίησιν αὐ-
τῷ τῶν οἰκημάτων εἶη χρήματα, ὧν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν
οὐδεπώποτε εἶδεν ἀχρηστότερον. ὁ δὲ λίθοις μὲν
ἠξίου μείζω τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν, τὰ δ' εἰς τὴν βουλήν
ἐλάττω πάντων μὲν γελώντων, πάντων δὲ¹ ἐλεγ-
χόντων τῆς περὶ τοῦτο σπουδῆς τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τῷ

¹ μὲν γελώντων, πάντων Monnier, F. : μὲν ἐλάττω, πάντων
mss. (om. V) : [μὲν ἐλάττω, πάντων δὲ] Re.

^a Cf. Or. 45. 17 n.

^b Cf. Or. 45. 34 n.

ORATION XXXIII, 12-14

utter some of the usual compliments which the better sort of governors used to stop, our fine fellow Tisamenus got down from his carriage and exclaimed, "Who has given you your tongues back then? You hadn't got them in the theatre." Such were the remarks with which he debased himself and showed that he regarded their earlier attitude as a dead loss, and this as a clear gain.

13. "But," it may be claimed, "aren't his relations with the town council a credit to him? Don't they show him as a real governor?" Well, it may have been in distress before this, but this rascal has torpedoed it, with personal investigations, inquiries and refusal to let things rest, though the prefects had turned a blind eye to them because of the decline of the council.^a He finicks and fusses about shillings and pence and the last brass farthing, with charges against some and demands upon others. And when I say others, I mean the councillors, those few left of many, for people die in debt and their sons are reduced to beggary, not through any fault of their fathers, but because of those persons who expect to gobble up all of this sort, those dreaded menials who grab and are never mentioned because of the fear they inspire. 14. Well, he was the one who brought forward matters involving a stater, or half or a third of it, matters that had remained dormant under the lapse of years, and his motive in so doing was to get money for his building constructions, and nobody has ever seen anything more useless than they are. He claimed that he was enlarging the city with his masonry,^b but he reduced the status of the council, for everyone mocked and condemned the pointlessness of his enthusiasm on this

LIBANIUS

μηδὲ διὰ τῶν θηρίων τὸν λειτουργήσοντα εἶναι.

15. ὁ | δ' ἐπειδὴ τις μῆμος τὰ μὲν θάλαμον, τὸν δ' F 173

R ii. 248 ἐπωνόμασε¹ νυμφίον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔφη πέρας | ἔχειν,
τὸν δ' οὐ φαίνεσθαι, ἀνάπτεται μὲν τουτὶ τὸ κάθ-
αρμα, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνοήτων παθῶν πάντως ἔφη δεῖν
φανῆναι τὸν καινὸν τοῦτον νυμφίον, τῶν κωλυόν-
των δὲ οὐδὲν ὄραν ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν ἐν τῷ βου-
λεύειν ἀδυναμίᾳ μεμιγμένας ὕβρεσιν ἀπειλὰς ἀντ-
εξῆγεν οὕσαν μὲν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν οὐκ ἔχων ἐπιδει-
ξαι, τὴν λειτουργίαν δὲ τοὺς ἀθλίους ὑπομείναι
κελεύων, σὸν ἐν τῷ τοῦτο τολμᾶν, ὧ βασιλεῦ,
περιυβρίζων νόμον. σὺ γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτον προπέ-

R ii. 249 ρυσιν ἔθηκας τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην τῆς τοιαύτης | δα-
πάνης ἀναιρῶν, γνώμης δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιῶν. λέ-
γει γοῦν ὁ νόμος· βούλει καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν; οὐδεὶς
ὁ κωλύσων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις; οὐδεὶς ὁ κατανα-
γκάσων. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἀναγινωσκομένου τοῦ νόμου
προσῆγε τὰς ἀνάγκας, ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ γραμματείῳ
τυραννίδα παρὰ σοῦ λαβὼν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρχὴν ἔννο-
μον. 16. καίτοι καὶ εἰ Μίδαί πάντες ἦσαν τὰ εἰς
χρήματα καὶ πολὺς ὁ χρυσὸς παρ' ἐκάστῳ, θηρία
δὲ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τρέφειν οὐδὲ τοὺς ταῦτα ὑπο-
μενοῦντας ἀνθρώπους, κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἔφευγον ἂν
τὸ | ἀνάλωμα. νῦν δὲ πάντες θεραπεύουσι δανει- F 174
στάς καὶ λυπηροὶ λήγοντες αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μῆνες.
εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς οὐδ' ἂν πρόοιντό τινες ὡς οὐ κομιού-

¹ ἐπωνόμασε F. (V): ὠνόμασε Re. (other mss.).

^a Cf. Or. 45. 7. The point of this sally is that Tisamenus was engaged in marrying off his daughters (cf. §§ 28 f.).

^b Critical for dating, C. Th. 15. 9. 1 (July A.D. 384) had made *editioes* voluntary. Similarly, the Syriarchate had been made voluntary in July A.D. 383 (C. Th. 12. 1. 103).

ORATION XXXIII, 14-16

issue because of the non-existence of any to sponsor the beast shows. 15. And when an actor dubbed his buildings the bridal-chamber and the sponsor the bridegroom,^a remarking upon the completion of the one and the absence of the other, this scoundrel flared up in rage and with irrational obstinacy insisted that this new-fangled bridegroom must put in his appearance, and refused to acknowledge any impediment. Against the inability of the councillors he paraded threats and insults combined, and though he could not demonstrate that they had the ability, he ordered the poor wretches to undertake the duty, and in daring to do so he infringed a law of yours, Sire. A couple of years ago you passed this law,^b and removed compulsion from expenditure of this sort, making the performance voluntary. Anyway, the law states that if you want to perform this duty, there is no one to stop you, but if you refuse, there is no one to compel you. But during the recital of the law this fellow began to apply compulsion, just as though he got from you in his credentials a despotic position, not a constitutional office.^c 16. Yet, even if they were all as rich as Midas,^d and each one had lots of money, and still did not want to maintain beasts or the men to fight them, they would have the right to avoid the expense. As things are, they all look to their creditors, and the end of the month is a troublesome time for them.^e There are some to whom no one would lend money, for they wouldn't

^a A stock antithesis in Libanius (*cf.* *Or.* 12. 8): implicitly contradicts Themistius' assertion of the emperor as νόμος ἐμψύχος.

^d *Cf.* *Or.* 18. 124.

^e Loans were made on a monthly basis, repayment being due at the beginning of the month.

LIBANIUS

μενοι. 17. τῶν δὴ τοιούτων λεγόντων τὴν ἀπο-
 ρίαν, ὀμνύντων, ἃ ὀφείλοιν ἀριθμούντων, δεομέ-
 νων, ἱκετευόντων μὴ σφᾶς ἐμβάλλειν εἰς αἰσχύνην
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ἀπορίας ἐλέγχου μηδέ γε εἰς κινδύ-
 νους | τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεωμένων οὐδὲν Τισαμενὸς
 ἐγένετο βελτίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εἶχετο ῥημάτων
 οὐκ ἔων μεμνησθαι τοῦ νόμου. καίτοι τούτου τίνα
 οὐκ ἂν δικαίως δοίη δίκην; ἢ εἰ μὲν εἰκόνοσ σῆς
 ἀντειλημμένους ἀπέσπα, δεινὸν ἂν ἦν, καταπεφευ-
 γότας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν σὸν νόμον ἀφέλκων οὐκ ἴσον τι
 ποιεῖν εἰκότως ἂν δοκοίη; ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὰ
 γράμματα ἦν αὐτοῖς. 18. ὁ δὲ μάτην ἐδείκνυ τὸν
 νόμον κείμενον, εἰθ¹ ὡσπερ παραβαίνοντας νόμον
 ἀλλ' οὐ νόμῳ χρωμένους πᾶσι κακοῖς περιέβαλλον
 ὑβρίζων, παροιῶν, ἀσελγαίνων, φοβῶν, ταρατ-
 των, ἔχθρα τὴν βουλήν δεχόμενος, ἀνευρίσκων ὅθεν
 ἀπολοῦνται, τοὺς τι τοιοῦτο μηνύοντας αὐτῷ νομί-
 ζων | εὐεργέτας. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς βλάβαις F 175
 μεῖζον τὸ διὰ τοῦ τάχους ἐπῆν κακόν. μάλιστα
 R ii. 251 μὲν γὰρ | πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν ἠξίου καταβάλλειν, ἢ φιλ-
 ανθρωπία δὲ μίαν εἶχεν ἡμέραν, μεθ' ἣν οὐδεμία
 συγγνώμη.

19. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις κἂν
 τῷ φόρῳ. μὴν μὲν γὰρ οὕτοσὶ τῷ ἔτεϊ τέταρτος,
 τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μέρος, ἠδίκησθαι δὲ τὸν

¹ εἰθ' F. : εἰ δ' C, A marg. : ὁ δ' AVa : ὁδ' PIBNV : οὐδὲ
 Morel : καὶ Re.

^a Regulations concerning sanctuary at the Imperial
 statues had been very recently enacted: *C. Th.* 9. 44. 1 of
 July A.D. 386.

^b Cf. *Or.* 45. 32.

^c Pack notes, for the dating of the speeches, that ἔτος is
 the year of the indiction, the financial year beginning in
 210

ORATION XXXIII, 16-19

get it back. 17. Well, when such people talked of their poverty, gave their word for it, totted up their debts, begged and prayed him not to inflict upon them the disgrace of revealing their poverty nor yet the risks of facing the spectators, Tisamenus behaved no better, but he stuck to the same story and refused to allow any mention of the law. Yet what punishment did he not deserve for this! If he tried to tear them away when they embraced your statue,^a it would be a dreadful business, but if he dragged them away when they sought the protection of your law, would it not appear that he was doing something similar? For them the letters of the law took the place of the bronze statue. 18. He began to demonstrate that the law had been passed in vain, and then, as though they were breaking a law, not using it, he gave them all sorts of trouble, with his insults, outrages and assaults,^b setting them into panic and confusion, receiving the council with distaste and seeking means to ruin them, and regarding those who gave him such information as might achieve this as his benefactors. And in these unlooked-for troubles, the speed with which things were conducted was a greater disaster still. Mostly, he required money down before they left; in his generosity he went as far as a single day: after that, there was no pardon.

19. And this is his standpoint, especially with regard to tax collection. It is the fourth month of the year now—the third part of the calendar year^c—but he states that it is an offence against the em-September, while *ἐνιαυτός* is the calendar year, “the third part” being September to December. Thus a precise date (December A.D. 386) may be established. Note that the tribute collected by the decurions is in kind.

LIBANIUS

βασιλέα φησὶν οὐ τοῦ παντὸς εἰσηνηγεμένου. πῶς,
 ὦ καταγέλαστε; καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀγροῖς κείμενον
 ἔκειτ' ἂν ὁμοίως τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔλαττον.
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα κείμενον πλέον, τῷ φέροντι δὲ
 οὐκ ἴσον ἢ τήμερον ἅπαν ἢ μεμερισμένον εἰς μῆνας
 εἰσηνεγκεῖν. οὐ δὴ κέρδος ἐκείνω, ζημίαν δὲ ἡμῖν
 προξενῶν¹ τὸ ταχὺ τοῦτο ζητεῖ. 20. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 στρατιῶται στρατιώτας μαστιγοῦσι γυμνοὺς οὐ
 πολλοὶ τοῦτο μέλλουσιν ὄραν, οἱ αὐτοῦ στρατιῶται
 τοὺς θατέρου, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς | χωροῦσι
 καὶ δρῶσιν ὃ πεπόνθασιν, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
 οἰκετῶν, προϊόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα τῶν δεσποτῶν,
 καὶ ῥάβδοι ῥάβδων διάδοχοι, πρόγονοι δὲ καὶ χορη-
 γαίαι καὶ δόξα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὴ τὰ τῶν πολιτενο-
 μένων μικρά τε καὶ ἀσθενῆ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια.
 ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτιμίαν τί ποιεῖ; τὸ μὴ πλουτεῖν
 ἡμῖν τοὺς πολιτενομένους μηδ' ἔχειν τὰ τηλικαῦτα
 λειτουργεῖν. εἰ δὲ μὴ μόνοι ταῦτα πεπόνθασιν, F I
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτους γε καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος, ὅπως τὸ
 τούτων συσκιάζεται καὶ μὴ λίαν ἔκδηλον ἦ.

21. Ἄρ' οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ὕβρεσι
 τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστησεν; ἐξεῦρε μὲν οὖν ἅ μηδεὶς
 ἂν ἕτερος ἐνεθυμήθη, τὸν ἐν Βεροῖα ταύτῃ δεῦρο
 καλέσας μετὰ τε τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τρεφομένων θη-
 ρίων καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰ μεμισθωμένων ἀνδρῶν. καὶ
 ἦκεν ἄγων ἄρκτους τε καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοὺς

¹ οὐ before προξενῶν Morel (mss. except V): del. F. (om. V): ὁ Re.

^a *i.e.* the curial tax-collectors. The violence used is contrary to *C. Th.* 12. 1. 85.

^b Tisamenus failed to cajole or force any decurion of Antioch to hold the Syriarchate, a position theoretically voluntary, where the presentation of beast shows was an

peror if all the contributions are not in. How do you work this out, you ridiculous fool? The produce on the farms would be just as productive for the emperor, and it would not be any the less. When deposited here, it doesn't increase any the more: nor is it the same thing for the contributor for him to pay up the sum total on the nail today as it is for him to divide his payments into monthly instalments. It is not out of concern for the taxpayer's interest, but out of a desire to ruin us that he requires such haste as this. 20. And this is the reason why one set of agents, his own, strip and flog another set, the agents of the other fellow, in a place where there are likely to be plenty to observe it, and why these advance against the councillors ^a and do as they have been done to, beginning with the slaves and proceeding to the backs of their owners, with lashing following upon lashing, and consideration of their ancestors, civic services and standing and all the other marks of curial distinction being petty, weak and worthless. And what is the reason for this disgrace? Just the impoverishment of our decurions and their inability to fulfil such demands. And if they are not the only ones to suffer so, everybody else suffers because of them, so that their sufferings may be obscured and not become too obvious.

21. So did he confine his insolence to judicial misconduct, then? Not he! He thought up an idea that nobody else would ever have dreamed of. He invited here that fellow from Beroea,^b along with the beasts he maintains and the men hired to fight them. And along he came, with bears and panthers and important part of the duties, and then disgraced the metropolis by calling upon this outsider from Beroea (mod. Aleppo).

LIBANIUS

- R ii. 253 τούτων ποτὲ μὲν ἡττημένους, | ποτὲ δὲ κεκρατη-
κότας καὶ ἦν μέγας τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ τὴν μείζω νικῶν
πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τίμιον ἐν τῇ Βεροίᾳ τὸ χρῆμα
τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσον ἦδε κάκεινη. ἐβούλετ'
οὖν ἐκείνην ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τῆσδε κωμάζειν καὶ τὴν
βουλὴν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι βελτίω δοκεῖν καὶ τῇ μὲν
εἶναι μέγα φρονεῖν, τὴν δὲ τεταπεινώσθαι καὶ γε-
γονέναι μικρὰν καὶ ἐξεληλέγχθαι καὶ μηδὲ ἐλεύ-
θερον ἔχειν βλέπειν. 22. ὅστις οὖν τὴν μὲν πρώτην
καθαιρεῖ, τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ δευτέραν ἐπαίρει καὶ παρέχει
προπηλακίζει τὴν ἑαυτῆς βελτίω, τὸν σὸν οὐδὲν
οὗτος οἶκον ἀδικεῖ; τὰ μέγιστα μὲν οὖν, εἴ τις
ἀκριβῶς λογίζοιτο. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ οὐ συνταράξων,
ὦ | βασιλεῦ, τὸν περὶ τὰς πόλεις κόσμον οὐδὲ ταῖς F 177
μὲν τὸ ὄν σφισιν ἀξίωμα λυμανούμενος, τὰς δὲ
ἐλάττους ἐπάξων ταῖς μείζοσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς
εἶχε διατηρήσων, ἐκάστης δὲ ἣ προσῆκεν ἐπιμελη-
σόμενος καὶ ποιήσων εὐδαιμονεστέραν προνοία.
23. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τὸν ἐκ Βεροίας ἐφ' οἷσπερ
ἤγαγεν ἄγειν ἐβόα πρὸς ἅπαντας ὅτι τήνδ' ἐκ τῆς πό-
λιν ὑπ' ἐκείνη κείσθαι δεῖ καὶ τοῦ τῆς μητροπό-
λεως ὀνόματος ἀποστατέον αὐτῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὴν
βουλὴν ὑπεικτέον καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ γνωστότεον
- R ii. 254 τοὺς ἀμείνονας. γνοίης | δ' ἂν ὅτι ταυθ' ὕβρις ἦν
ἐκ τε ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
εὐνοϊκῶς ἐχόντων, ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ τῶν οὐχ οὕτως.
ὕβριζεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἂν βούλοιο τὰς πόλεις. ἀλλ'

^a Cf. Or. 11. 192, 31. 7. Antioch had prided itself, according to Libanius, upon its pre-eminence as a cultural centre.

^b For an example of the importance attached to this order of precedence cf. Or. 18. 187 f.

ORATION XXXIII, 21-23

the fellows who had at times lost to them and at times beaten them, and he was cock-a-hoop at overcoming the greater city with the less. You see, even if the profession of letters ^a carries any weight in Beroea, there is no comparison between there and here. He wanted her to rule the roost over us here, for her council to be regarded as superior to ours, for hers to be able to put on airs and ours to be reduced and diminished, to be proved incapable and to be unable to take an independent line. 22. So if anyone brings the foremost city to ruin and exalts one which isn't even second-rate and allows it to insult its better, does he do no injury to your household? No! The injury is of the greatest, if the case is carefully considered. He was not sent, Sire, to disturb the order of precedence among the cities, nor yet to debase the prestige ^b which some possessed and to set the lesser upon the greater: he was sent to maintain the existing order, and to supervise each in a fitting manner and by his administration to increase their prosperity. 23. Tisamenus, however, in bringing here that fellow from Beroea for the purpose he did, proclaimed it aloud to all and sundry that our city must be subordinated to that other, that it must renounce its title of metropolis, ^c that our council must yield precedence to theirs, our citizens to theirs, and that we must recognize our betters. You could see the insult in this from the pain felt by our well-wishers and the pleasure felt by those who are not. Though you might not wish your cities to be subjected to insult,

^c This threat was actually put into effect for a time after the Riots of the Statues, by Theodosius himself. For a similar threat by Julian *cf. Or. 16. 5 n.* (Vol. I, p. 214).

LIBANIUS

οὗτος ὑβρίζειν βούλοιτ' ἄν. πῶς ἂν οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰκότως ἄρχοι;

24. Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ὁ τῶν ὄλων κύριος καὶ παρ' ὄτου καὶ παθεῖν τι τοιοῦτον οὐ λίαν ἀφόρητον, τιμᾶς ἡμῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς εἰς τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ πραττομένοις καὶ λεγομένοις, καὶ γίνγεται καθ' ἐκάστην πρεσβείαν ἢ πόλις ἡμῖν λαμπροτέρα, Τισαμενὸς δὲ κάθηται σκοπῶν καὶ ζητῶν ἐξ ὄτου γένοιτ' ἂν ἀδοξοτέρα. εἶτα πονηροὺς μὲν ποιμένας ἀπελαύνουσι τῶν ποιμνίων οἱ τούτων κύριοι καὶ παύσαντες ἐκείνους ἑτέροις παρεδωκαν τοῖς λυσι- F 178
τελεστέροις, σὺ δ' ἐκείνους ἐπὶ πόλεως τοιαύτης οὐ μιμήση; ἢ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰρχαῖα, τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ μετ' ἐκείνα, τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ νῦν, ἢ πλὴν δυοῖν πόλεων¹ ἐνι τι πρὸς ἀπάσας εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς. 25. νόμιζε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν διασώσειν, αἷς χεῖρω τὰ πράγματα διὰ | τὴν τοῦδε κακίαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην ἢ κεχαρίσθαι φησὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις κατέβλαψε μετενεγκῶν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν δαπάνην ἐκείνοις ὀφειλομένην, ὥστ' ἢ πένητα αὐτῇ ποιήσει τὸν πολιτευόμενον τῇ κατ' ἄμφω δαπάνῃ ἢ τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκείνην ὧν εἶχεν ἂν ἀποστερήσει.

26. Ἠδικῆσθαι γάρ φησιν οὐ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην θέαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν θέαν παρέχοντος. εἰ δὲ οὐ κληθεὶς ἡδίκηται, παρ' αὐτοῦ ζητείτω τὴν

¹ πόλεων F. (P): πόλεων CI: πολέοιν ABVaV: πόλεων Re.

^a Embassies to court were composed of *principales* mainly: cf. the list in Petit, *Vie municipale*, App. v, pp. 415 ff.

^b Cf. Or. 25. 55, where the governor is ποιμὴν λαῶν.

^c Rome and Constantinople. Antioch was held to be on a

ORATION XXXIII, 23-26

his wish would be to inflict insult. So how could a person of this sort be a decent governor ?

24. You are our supreme ruler and to experience some such treatment from you would not be absolutely intolerable. Yet you honour our city in both the words and the deeds you employ towards our envoys,^a and with each delegation our city's fame grows the greater. Tisamenus, however, sits here scheming and seeking the means whereby its reputation may decline. In the case of shepherds,^b the owners of the flocks dismiss bad ones from their job and entrust the sheep to more honest ones. So won't you take your cue from them in the case of a city as great as ours, whose glories in early times, in times thereafter and at the present are so great and which boasts of claims to fame against all other cities, with the exception of two.^c 25. You must believe that, by this same action, you will preserve the other cities also, whose fortunes are declining because of his incapacity. By this very same action he has harmed that very city to which he claims to have been a benefactor,—by his transference to us here of an expenditure which is due there ; thus, he will either impoverish their councillors for them by this expenditure in two places or, by concentrating it upon us, he will deprive Beroea of what she would have had.

26. He complains of having been insulted by not being invited ^d to a show of this kind by the man who promoted it. But if he has been insulted by this lack of invitation, then let him take it out on the level with Alexandria in third place, *cf. Or. 15. 59 n.* (Vol. I, p. 187).

^d For the governor's expectations on this *v. Or. 45. 20 n.*

LIBANIUS

δίκην τοῦ δόντος τῷ λειτουργοῦντι τὴν τούτου
 ἔξουσίαν, ὅτ' αὐτοῦ μνησθέντος κλήσεως ἠνίκα ἐπ'
 Εὐφράτην οὗτος ἦει, πράττε, ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ σόν,
 ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐφ' ὧπερ ἐτάχθην μελήσει, τοὺς πυροὺς¹
 λέγων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐψεύδου ταῦτα λέγων, οὐ λαμ-
 βάνειν δίκην, ἀλλὰ διδόναι δίκαιος εἶ, διὰ τί γὰρ
 δὴ καὶ ἐξηπάτας; εἰ | δ' ἀληθεύοντος ἦν ἐκεῖνα, F 179

R ii. 256 τὸ μὴ καὶ δεύτερον | κληθῆναι παρὰ σοῦ γεγένηται.
 εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἦν ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἐπὶ τὸν
 ἡμαρτηκότα χωρεῖν ἔδει τὴν ὀργήν, οὐ μὰ Δία τὴν
 βουλήν ὄλην. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλειουργοῦμεν, εἴποιεν
 ἂν, ἅπαντες οὐδ' ἦν ἔδει ποιεῖσθαι κλήσιω ἐξελίπο-
 μεν. 27. πιστὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀρνούμενον ταύτην
 ἐποίει τὴν κοινωνίαν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς μείζονος ἀρ-
 χῆς προειρηθῆσθαι τῷδε μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ
 κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ τῶν
 Νείλου ρευμάτων ἐπανέλθῃ. καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως
 ἐστὶν ἰσχυρόν ὥστε καὶ λυθὲν σοῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 γράμμασι δόντος τοῖς Τισαμενῶ βοηθοῦσι τὴν χά-
 ριν ὅμως ἐτετήρητο. ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὴ καλέσαντος
 ὀρθῶς οὐ κεκληκότος μισεῖ μὲν ἐκεῖνον, μισεῖ δὲ
 τοὺς ἄλλους, λῆξαι δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν μακρῷ δεδύνηται τῷ
 χρόνῳ.

28. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ δικαίως, ὅμως
 ἐγκαλῶν τι ζημιοῖ, τοὺς δὲ δικαζομένους, ἐρῶ γὰρ
 ὅ με διέφυγε πρότερον, τί λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἡδίκηκότας

¹ μελήσει τοῦ πυρὸς Morel (Va).

^a §§ 6 f. Or. 1. 251.

^b Cf. § 1 and note; Petit, *Byzantion*, xxi, pp. 302 f.

ORATION XXXIII, 26-28

actual person who gave the sponsor the authority to act so, when he did discuss an invitation at the time when Tisamenus was due to go off to the Euphrates. Tisamenus' reply was, "You get on with your job and I'll get on with mine"—the corn collection,^a that is. If you were trying to deceive by this statement, you deserve not to punish but to be punished, for what earthly reason was there for you to mislead? If your statement was made in good faith, then it was your own fault that you got no second invitation. In any case, even if there were any justice in your complaints, you should direct your anger against the person at fault, not, in heaven's name, against the whole council, for, as they could say, "It was not all of us who provided the show or who defaulted upon the issue of an invitation that should have been made." 27. And confirmation that he declined this association came from the strict instructions of his superior ^b that he was to stay where he was and not budge until he himself had returned from Egypt and the streams of Nile. And these instructions were so strict that, even though they were countermanded by a letter of your own, Sire, when you acceded to the request of Tisamenus' supporters, he was still retained there. But, although the councillor who failed to invite him was correct not to do so, he loathes him and he loathes the others, and hasn't been able to stop doing so, however long the time since then.

28. But he might have some cause for complaint, however unjustified, for him to punish these people. Yet, with regard to litigants—for I go on to mention a point that previously escaped me—how did he find them at fault towards him, for him to ruin

LIBANIUS

R ii. 257 ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ ταῦτα διὰ γάμων; τὰς γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 θυγατέρας ἐκδιδοὺς πολὺ πρὸ τῆς τῶν γάμων ἡμέ-
 ρας εἰσκαλέσας τῶν ῥητόρων τὸν χορὸν | σιγαῖτε,
 ἔφη, τῆς σιγῆς ἀρξάμενοι τήμερον, μέχρις ἂν αἱ
 κόραι τῶν νυμφίων γένωνται, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἑορτὴν
 ὀνομάσας. τὸ δὲ ἦν ἀποφράς, βλάβη μὲν τοῖς F 180
 οὐ λέγουσι, βλάβη δὲ τοῖς τῆς ἐκείνων δεομένοις
 φωνῆς. 29. καίτοι θυγατέρας ἄρχων οὐ πρῶτος
 τῆδε ἐξέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις, οἳ δὲ τινες
 καὶ αὐτοὶ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδε-
 τέρους οἳ γάμοι τῶν δικῶν ἀπήγαγον ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
 εἰς τοὺς γάμους φέροντα διὰ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς
 ἐπράττετο, τὸν ἄρχοντα δὲ ἦν ὄραν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ.
 ὁδὶ δὲ παρειστήκει μὲν τοῖς ὃ τὴν νύμφην δέξεται
 ῥάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς μαγείρους λόγους
 διέτριβεν. οἷς¹ δ' ἦσαν αἱ δίκαι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν αὐ-
 τοῖς πένητες, ἐχθροὶ τε ἦσαν τοῖς γάμοις καὶ κατ-
 ηρώντο τοῖς ἐστεφανωμένοις.

R ii. 258 30. Εἰτ' ἀπὸ ταυτησι τῆς ἀργίας τῆς πολλῆς |
 πολὺς ἦν ἐν πληγαῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἢ τοῦδε ἀρχῆ
 συκοφάντην ἠδέως ἰδεῖν, ἀπ' αἰτίας ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην
 δραμεῖν, τοῖς διὰ πληγῶν κακοῖς προσθεῖναι δε-
 σμόν. ὁ δεσμὸς οὗτος ἑτέραν, ὡ βασιλεῦ, δίκην
 ἔχει τὴν ἐν χρήμασι· δεῖ γὰρ ὑπερβαίνοντα τὸν
 οὐδὸν τὸν κύριον τῆς θύρας θεραπεῦσαι χρυσίῳ,
 χρυσίου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος τὸν μὲν δεῖ καθῆσθαι γυμνόν,
 εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ φύλακος, μητέρα δὲ γραῦν,

¹ οἷς Re., F. : οἷ mss.

^a Arguments resumed in Or. 45. 10.

ORATION XXXIII, 28-30

them—and ruin them, what's more, because of a wedding? When he was getting his daughters married, long before the wedding day he summoned all the members of the bar to him and told them, "Starting from today, you will stay silent, until the girls are wedded and bedded," and he called all this a holiday. In fact, it really was a ban, harmful to the advocates who could not plead and to the clients who needed their eloquence. 29. Yet it is not the first time a governor here has had his daughter married: it has happened in plenty of other instances. Some have even got married themselves. But for all that, in neither case did marriage deflect them from the administration of justice: the preparations for the ceremony were performed by his friends, while the governor could be seen fulfilling his proper duties. But this fellow stands over the bride's dress-makers, and spends his time debating with the cooks, but people involved in court actions—and many poor people among them—were bitter against the marriage and cursed the wedding party and all its finery.

30. Then, after this prolonged inaction, he busily engaged himself with floggings. This was the characteristic of his administration—a kindly eye for accusers, haste in moving from accusation to punishment, and, above and beyond the evils of corporal punishment, the imposition of imprisonment. And this imprisonment, Sire, involves another punishment too, a financial one.^a Anyone who crosses the threshold must cosset the turnkey with a piece of gold, and if he hasn't got one, then he must sit there stripped naked, his clothes taken by the jailor, and his old mother, if the prisoner has one, has to wander

LIBANIUS

εἶπερ εἶη τῷ δεδεμένῳ, πλανωμένην ἀγείρειν ὅσον
 ἂν προσαίτουσα δύνηται. 31. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι
 μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀφείσαν τὸν τοῦτο
 πεπονθότα καὶ ἰατροῖς δὴ καὶ ἰατρῶν φαρμάκοις,
 ὁ δὲ πέμπει τοὺς ἀθλίους ἀπολουμένους τοῖς ἐν τῷ
 δεσμωτηρίῳ κακοῖς. καὶ εἰ μὲν | ἢ αὐτὸν ἀναμι- F 181
 μνήσκων ἔλυεν ἢ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἦν ἀναμνησκειν
 ἐξουσία, μετριώτερον ἂν ἦλθε, νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη πρὸς
 πολλῶν γόνατα προσπεσεῖν οὐ πάντων τὰ τοιαῦτα
 αἰδουμένων, τῶν δ' αὖ ἐπιεικέστερων οἱ μὲν ἀσχο-
 λίαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι φήσαντες δώσειν μὲν εἶπον τὴν
 χάριν, εὐθύς δὲ οὐ δύνασθαι. τῷ δὲ μακρότερον
 R ii. 259 τὸ | κακόν.

32. Εἰτ' ἂν μὴ φιλόανθρωπος ἀκούσῃ, δεινὰ πε-
 πουθέναι φησὶ καὶ τῇ φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντος
 ὀνόματος στέρεσθαι οὐκ αἰσχυρόμενος πληγὰς ἐτέ-
 ρας τὰς κατὰ τῶν οὐ δυναμένων εἰσπράξαι τοὺς
 οὐ δυναμένους ἐκτίσαι. καίτοι τί μιαιώτερον τοῦ
 μὴ δύνασθαι μὲν λέγειν ὡς [οὐχ]¹ οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐχρῆν,
 τῆς δὲ τῶν εἰσπραττομένων ἀπορίας ἀπαιτεῖν δίκας
 τοὺς τεταγμένους εἰσπράττειν; ὅμοιον γὰρ τοῦτό
 γε τῷ παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπαιτεῖν ζῶντας τοὺς τε-
 θνηκότας. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τῶν ἐχόντων ἐστὶ φύσιν
 τοῦτό τε τῶν ἀδυνάτων. κἂν δείρῃ τις τὸν ὀφεί-
 λοντα, τὸ δέρμα μὲν ἀφέλοιτ' ἂν, χρήματα δὲ τὸν
 οὐκ ἔχοντα ἔχειν οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν ποιήσειεν. ὁ
 R ii. 260 δὲ τοὺς μὲν πράκτορας, | εἰ μὴ δύναιντ' [ἂν]² εἰσ-

¹ οὐχ mss. : "deletum mallet," Re.

² F. suggests deletion of ἂν.

^a He contravened the provisions of *C. Th.* 9. 3. 6, among others.

around getting whatever she can get by begging. 31. Well, other governors, after imposing a flogging, used to release the victim to his relatives, to doctors and their potions, but this fellow sends the wretches to their death through ill-treatment in prison. And if he recollected them and released them, or if his underlings had the power to make him recollect them,^a his progress would be a more reasonable one. As it is, one must go on one's knees before many people, not all of whom respect such attitudes; again, more decent folk adduce as an excuse either lack of time or something else, and say that, though they will grant them this, it cannot be done straight-away. So for the victim, the agony is prolonged.

32. And then, if he is not called generous, he says that he is badly treated and is not given the title that befits his character, though he has no qualms about inflicting fresh floggings upon people who cannot extract the sums due from those who cannot pay them.^b Yet what could be more disgusting than not to be able to say that this course of action should be undertaken, and yet to punish the appointed collectors of taxes for the impoverishment of those who cannot pay them? It is just like asking of doctors that they should bring the dead to life. That is unnatural, but this is impossible. If you flay a debtor, you may take the hide off him, but you can't make a man of property out of someone who doesn't have it. But he says that it is right for the tax collectors, if unable to gather the due

^b The decurions had been made responsible, both in their persons and in their property, for the collection of tribute, and were beaten if they did not collect the sum assigned, *cf. Or.* 45. 24, 47. 8, 28. 16.

LIBANIUS

πρᾶξαι, δίκαιον εἶναι φησιν | οἴκοθεν θείναι, οὕτως F 182
 ἐστὶν ἡμῖν Αἰακός, ὁ δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο δυνάμενος τύπ-
 τεται.

33. Τοῦτον οὖν εἰσὶς ἄρχειν, δι' ὃν πολλοὶ μὲν
 ὀδυρμοί, πολλοὶ δὲ θρήνοι, πολλὰ δὲ δάκρυα, πολλὰ
 δὲ κατὰ τῶν θεῶν ῥήματα; ναί, τὰ γὰρ <τῶν>¹ ἐν
 τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ πρὸς ταύταις ταῖς τέχναϊς
 ἄμεινον ἔσχεν. ἀλλ' ἄρτι βαρεῖαν αὐτοὺς ὑπο-
 μείναντας φορὰν ὁ τῶν πενήτων οὐτοσὶ κηδεμῶν
 γράφειν ἠνάγκαζε τὰ περὶ τὰς θύρας οὐσῶν ἐν αὐ-
 τοῖς γραφῶν ἄς ἀφ' ὁμοίας ἀδικίας τῶν πρὶν τινες²
 ἀρχόντων ἔδειξαν τὴν μὲν πενίαν ἐπιτείναντες τοῖς
 ἀθλίοις, ποιοῦντες δὲ οὐ καλλίω τὴν πόλιν, τῶν
 R ii. 261 γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γραφεύσι [τῶν] φαυλοτάτων | ἔργα
 ταῦτα. ὡς δ' ὄντων τούτων³ ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν
 χρόνων ἐπιβάλλειν ἐκέλευεν ἕτερα τοῖς οὐ διεφθαρ-
 μένοις. 34. τί δὴ τὸ τούτων αἴτιον; τοῖς γρα-
 φεύσι εἰς τινὰς στοὰς χρησάμενος δοῦναι τῆς
 γραφῆς τὸν μισθόν, ἧ δίκαιον ἦν οὐκ ἐθέλων, δι-
 ἔλυσεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων γραφῶν. καὶ
 οἱ μὲν ἔγραφον, οἱ δὲ ἐδάκρυον ἐκ τοῦ πεινῆν μέλ-
 λοντες τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἐκείνους ποιήσειν. | ὄρᾳς, F 189

¹ <τῶν> F., conj. Re. ² τινες Re., F.: τινος Morel (mss.).

³ [τῶν] φαυλοτάτων ἔργα ταῦτα. ὡς δ' ὄντων F.: τῶν
 φαυλοτάτων ἔργα ταύτας (ταῦτα V, conj. Re.) δόντων Morel
 (mss.): τῶ φαυλοτάτω ἔργα ταύτας δόντων Re.: τῶν φαυλοτάτων
 ἔργα ταῦτα. οὗτος δ' ὄντων Monnier. For ὡς δ' read οὐδ'?

^a Cf. Or. 16. 19 (Vol. I, p. 222 n.), 37. 7. Aeacus, because
 of his piety on earth, was appointed judge in the underworld.

^b The *collatio Iustralis* or *chrysargyron*, levied on trades-
 men once every five years, cf. Or. 16. 19, 46. 22 f. This
 exaction, demanded in A.D. 386 (cf. C. Th. 13. 1. 15) was
 merely part of the financial pressures of this year, to be

ORATION XXXIII, 32-34

amount, to contribute it from their personal property—such a Grand Just Judge is he! ^a—but anyone who can't even do this gets a flogging.

33. So will you let this fellow remain as governor, when because of him there is many a moan and groan and tear, and many a cry rising up to heaven? "Yes, but," says he, "I have brought about an improvement in the conditions of workers in the factories in the practice of these trades." But this protector of the poor, for all that they have only recently suffered a severe tax demand, ^b has forced them to have their doorways painted, ^c although there were already in existence there the signs that some previous governors had had done, with similar injustice, ^d increasing still further the penury of the poor wretches and yet by no means improving the appearance of the city, for the job was done by the most cheap-jack of the painters. On the pretext that this decoration was old-fashioned he ordered a fresh coating to be put over even what had not been spoiled. 34. And what do you think his reason for all this? Why! he had employed the painters on some colonnades, refused to pay them for their work in the proper way, and so got out of it by this unnecessary painting work. The painters began to paint, and the householders to complain, since they were going to pay them their due and go hungry in followed by a *supraindictio* of the tribute inside the next two months.

^a An example of the consistent interference which the tradespeople suffered at the hands of the governors in the period following Icarius' interventions: *e.g.* *Or.* 4. 27, 54. 42, 46. 7 ff.

^d The last recorded example being little more than a year before, under Icarius, *Or.* 27. 31.

LIBANIUS

ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὸν πόνον; ἐπέταξεν ἐν
 ὀλίγαις συλλαβαῖς. οὐκ ἦν ἀντειπεῖν τοῖς ἐπιταττο-
 μένοις. ἀφῆρουν τῆς ἑαυτῶν τροφῆς. 35. ὁ δ'
 ἀφορμὴν ὀδύρμων παρασχὼν τῇ¹ πόλει πῶς ἂν
 R ii. 262 εἴη καλλίω τήνδε πεποικηκῶς | τὴν πόλιν; ἐγὼ μὲν
 γὰρ τὸ τοὺς ἀπόρους εὐπορωτέρους ποιεῖν ὥραν
 ἠγοῦμαι πόλεως, ὁδὶ² δ' αὐτῶν ἐναντίων αἴτιος
 ἡμῶν οἷς τε εἶπον τούτοις τοῖς περιττοῖς καὶ οἷς
 ἐρῶ. τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς δὴ τούτους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
 ἐργαστηρίοις κελεύει τριπλάσιον ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ παρ-
 ἔχειν τὸ πῦρ. πόθεν οὖν ἔλαιον τοσοῦτον πρίωμαι
 τὸ διὰ τὸ πολὺ πῦρ τοῦτο πλείονος ἢ πρόσθεν πω-
 λούμενον; πόσον μοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν χειρῶν ἀργύ-
 ριον; πόσα δι' αὐτοῦ μοι γένηται; τί πρὸς τοῦτ'
 ἐρεῖ Τισαμενός; 36. ἐν τοίνυν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀνα-
 παύλης, τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἀρχομένη νύξ, ἐκταράττει
 τοὺς τάλαιπῶρους ταῖς κατὰ τῶν θυρῶν πληγαῖς
 ἃς πλήττουσιν οἱ τῶν φυλῶν ἐπιμεληταὶ τῷ περι-
 ταύτας φόβῳ μὴ διαφθαρεῖεν ποιοῦντες τὴν ἀνάγ-
 R ii. 263 κην τοῦ πυρός. | οὗ γιγνομένου οἶδα βοήσασαν
 γυναῖκα χήραν ἄνωθεν, ὅτι πῶς ἂν ἄψαι δυναίμην;
 πόθεν ἂν ἔλαιόν μοι | γένοιτο τῇ³ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον F 184
 ἔλαιου μὴ γεγευμένη; 37. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ τοῦτ' εἶναι
 νεανικὸν δοκεῖ τὸ κελεῦσαι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον
 ἰδεῖν, εἰ δὲ δίκαιον ἢ μή, εἰ⁴ συμφέρον ἢ τοῦναν-
 τίον, οὐδεὶς λόγος. κἂν εἰσελθῶν τις ὡς αὐτὸν
 τῶν εἶναι δοκούντων φίλων εἶπη τάληθῆ περι τοῦ

¹ τῇ om. Re. (mss. except V).

² ὁδὶ F. : οὐ Re. (mss.).

³ τῇ Re. (mss. except V) : τὸν F. (V).

⁴ εἰ F. : ἢ Re. (mss.).

^a Cf. Or. 45. 5.

ORATION XXXIII, 34-37

the process. Observe the energy displayed by our governor, Sire. He issued his orders in a few short syllables,^a and there was no arguing about it. So they had to deduct the sum from what they had to live on. 35. If he has given the city cause for lamentation, how could he possibly have improved the appearance of this city? In my opinion, to increase the resources of the destitute is to make a city boom: this fellow, however, has been responsible for the exact reverse, both by the excesses already mentioned and by those I now proceed to relate. These very same people in the factories, for instance, he orders to triple the street lighting at night.^b "And where can I buy so much oil, now that it costs so much more than before because of this huge lighting programme? How much is the money I earn from my trade? And how much do I actually get because of it?" What has Tisamenus to say to that? 36. Anyway, at the time of rest, that is at nightfall, he scares the poor wretches out of their wits in case their doors should be knocked in, by reason of the watch committee^c battering on them and demanding the lamps to be lit. I know that, one time when this happened, a widow woman started crying upstairs, "How can I light them? Where can I get the oil from? For long enough now I've never had taste of a drop of it." 37. This fellow thinks it a grand thing to issue his order and to see it put into effect. He doesn't care twopence whether it is right or not or whether it is of any use or not. Even if some of his so-called friends come and tell him the

^b Cf. *Or.* 16. 41 (Vol. I, p. 237 n.). Tisamenus evidently attempts to improve this street lighting system.

^c For *epimeletae* cf. *Or.* 24. 26 (Vol. I, p. 508 n.).

LIBANIUS

πράγματος καὶ παραινέση πεπαῦσθαι ληρεῖν ἔδοξε. καίτοι τίς ἢ περὶ τοῦτο σπουδῆ, πῦρ¹ εἶναι τοσοῦτον ἐν καθευδούσῃ τῇ πόλει; οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῖς καθεύδουσιν εἴη ἄν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε φύλαξιν ἀπόχρη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· κακούργους γε οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἥττους μὲν γεγονέναι νῦν, εἶναι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πλείους. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἅπαν τοῦτο μέθης καὶ ἀσελγείας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν τῶν ἐν πενίᾳ ζώντων.

38. Εἰτά με ἐρήσεται τις, εἰ δεδωροδόκηκεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ, διέθηκε δὲ οὕτω τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ὡς ἤκουσάς μου διδάσκοντος, ἀγαθὸς ἔστι κακὸς ὢν, ἐπεὶ μὴ χρημάτων <εἰνεκά>² ἔστι κακός; ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸν μὲν οὐ φημι λαβεῖν, λαβεῖν δὲ ἑτέρους διὰ τοῦτον τῶν μὲν ἀδικεῖν προαιρουμένων ἐπὶ τε τοὺς κηδεστὰς καταφευγόντων καὶ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν τούτων
 R ii. 264 μητέρα καὶ τὸν οὐδεπώποτε ταύτην | λυπήσαντα F 185
 τὸν βέλτιστον ἰατρόν, ὧν ἕκαστος ὅτου μνησθείη, τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἔδει πεπράχθαι, ἣν δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους κρατεῖν καὶ τούτους κερδαίνειν. οἱ δὲ ἐκέρδαινον καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. οὐκ ἄρα τοῖς νόμοις ὑπῆρχε κρατεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὸ δύνασθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀφαιρούμενος σώζειν ἂν αὐτοὺς οὗτος δοκοῖ; τί γάρ; εἰ τὸ χρυσίον εἰς μὲν τὰς τοῦδε χεῖρας οὐκ ἔρχοιτο, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἑτέρων³ τούτου πέμποντος, ἦττον τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ δωροδοκίας ἀπόλωλεν; 39. διὰ

¹ <τὸ> πῦρ ins. F.

² <εἰνεκά> ins. F. Possibly <χάριν>.

³ τὰς τῶν ἑτέρων A, Re. (conj. τὰς τῶν ἐταίρων).

^a Cf. note on § 1 above. Libanius walks warily here, drawing a delicate distinction between personal responsibility
 228

ORATION XXXIII, 37-39

truth about what is going on and advise him to stop, they are held to be talking nonsense. Yet why all the eagerness on this point, for so much lighting in the city while it sleeps? No good results from it for the sleeping populace, and the lighting that existed before was good enough for the police. You can't tell me that there has been any decrease in the number of criminals now, or that there were more of them previously. All this business reeks of drunken insolence and disregard of the folk who live in poverty.

38. Then someone will ask me whether the fellow has gone in for bribery. If he has not, but has yet brought his subjects to the state of which you have heard me tell, is he a good man, for all that he is a rascal, just because his rascality is not for money? I will not go so far as to say that he has taken bribes himself, but others have done so because of him^a: some, who deliberately choose to act unlawfully, have recourse to his sons-in-law, his brother, his mother and that excellent physician who has never done anything to distress her. When any of these mentions something, it must needs be done on the spot, for it was not possible for the laws to prevail and, simultaneously, for this lot to make their pickings. And make their pickings they did, every single day, and so the laws could not prevail. If he deprives the laws of their power, how can he be regarded as their protector? Why! if your gold piece greases not his palms, but those of other people at his direction, is it any the less true that justice is subverted by bribery? 39. Thus whenever a man for bribery and the improper exercise of family influence that encourages it. Eutropius (*Or.* 4. 30 ff.) is more directly attacked on this issue.

LIBANIUS

τοῦτο ὅταν τις μέγα ἐργάσῃται κακὸν καὶ φόβοι
 παρὰ τῶν νόμων ὡσι γελᾷ· δρόμον γὰρ αὐτῷ μὲν
 ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ τὸν κηδεστήν μετα χρημάτων, ἐκεί-
 νῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τῆς γυναικός, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
 καλῶν τούτων εἰσόδων καὶ λόγων οἰχῆσεσθαι τὸ
 δίκαιον καταπατηθέν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔσχε
 πόρον τοιοῦτον, ἑτέροις δὲ παρέσχε, καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ
 μὲν ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἠῤῥησεν, οἶκον δὲ ἀνθρώπου πο-
 νηροῦ. 40. πολλοὶ δὴ τῶν πανδοκέων τοῖς λησταῖς
 συμπράττουσι μὲν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φόνων πρόσ-
 οδον, λαμβάνουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀρκοῦν αὐτοῖς κέρ-
 δος τὸ τοῖς κακούργοις κεχαρίσθαι. καὶ κάθηται
 Τισαμενὸς ψήφους περὶ τοιούτων φέρων. οἶδα δέ
 τινας τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον πεποιηκότας οὔτ' αὐ-
 τοὺς λαβόντας οὔθ' ἑτέρους πεποίηκότας | λαβεῖν, F 186
 τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ κακίᾳ λυμνηναμένους τὰς πόλεις καὶ
 μισουμένους ὅμως ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συμφορῶν καὶ οὐ
 δόξαντας εἶναι χρηστοὺς διὰ τὸ πεπρακέναι μηδέν.

R ii. 265 41. ὥστ' εἰ καὶ πᾶν τοῦτο | ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέρος,
 ἔκ γε τῶν ἄλλων κατεκλύζετ' ἄν, ὃς τοῖς δεσμώ-
 ταις διετέλεσε προστιθείς, ἐξάγων δὲ οὐδένα οὔτ'
 ἀπολογησόμενον οὔτ' ἀποθανούμενον, ὡς² πολλῶ
 τοῖς δεσμώταις κουφότερον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ
 τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὄραν ὅσα διὰ τοῦ δέρματος. ὁ δ'
 ἐμπλήσας τὸ οἶκημα σωμάτων ἀπὸ πάσης αἰτίας
 αὐτῷ κτείνει τῷ πλήθει τοὺς δεθέντας. 42. ὦν
 οὐ ταύτην οἱ πλείους ὤφειλον δίκην, ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ
 θάνατον ὀφείλοντες τὴν δίκην τὸν οὕτω. τέμνει

¹ περὶ F.: ὑπὲρ Re. (mss.).

² ὡς F.: ὁ Re. (mss.).

^a Cf. Or. 45. 6. Innkeepers were always suspect on this account.

^b Or. 45. 8, 31 f.

ORATION XXXIII, 39-42

commits a serious crime and legal deterrents exist, he just laughs at them, for he knows that all he has to do is to scurry to the son-in-law, cash in hand; the son-in-law goes to his wife's father, and as a result of these fine interviews and discourses, justice is bamboozled and done for. He never had anything to do with income of such a sort—Oh no!, but he allowed it to others, and though he did not increase his property from that source, he has increased the household of a wicked man. 40. Many innkeepers assist brigands to make money from murders, without touching a penny themselves^a: it is gain enough for them to have obliged the criminals. And Tisamenus sits there in judgement on people like them! Yet I know of people who have been innocent both of taking bribes themselves and of causing others to take them, who have yet harmed the cities by their other deficiencies and are particularly disliked because of the other troubles they have caused: they are not held to be good simply because they have never indulged in corrupt practices. 41. So, even if in this aspect of the matter everything was in his favour, he would still be in difficulties from other considerations. He has continued to add to the number of prisoners: he never lets one out either for trial or execution,^b and the consequence is that it is a much easier matter for the prisoners to give up the ghost than to see their bones sticking out through their hides. He packs the jail full of bodies for every possible reason and murders those under arrest by their very numbers. 42. The majority of them never deserved this punishment: not even those who deserve to be punished by death, deserve it by a death like this. The law has their heads

LIBANIUS

γὰρ ὁ νόμος τὴν κεφαλὴν, οὐκ ἀποπνίγει τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ. καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ὀξύτητα κέρδος εἶναι συμβαίνει τῷ τεμνομένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ δῆσαι ταχύς, ἐν δὲ τῷ κρίναι βραδύς, μᾶλλον δὲ φεύγει τὰς κρίσεις μᾶλλον ἢ παιδία τὰς Μορμόνας καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζει τὸ διὰ λήρων ἐπ' ἄριστον προελθεῖν.

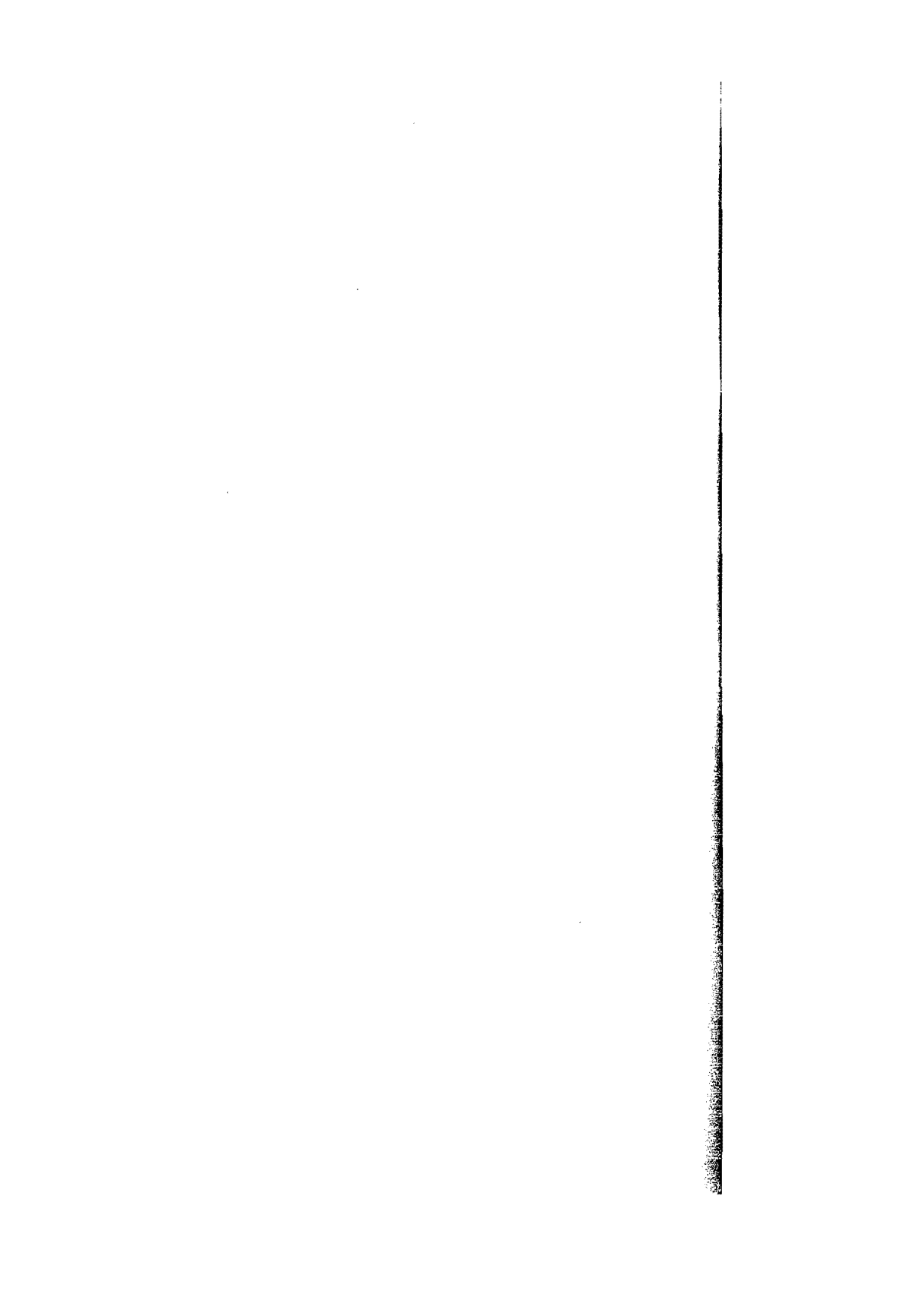
48. Ἀπάλλαξον δὴ τὰς σαυτοῦ πόλεις τοιούτων κακῶν καὶ πέμψον ἄνδρα νοῦν τε ἔχοντα καὶ πόνων ἐπιθυμητὴν καὶ πλείω πράξοντα ἢ λαλήσοντα καὶ | πείσοντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγκάσοντα καὶ βοηθήσοντα F 187 πένησιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρίψοντα, καὶ διαγνωσόμενον, τί μὲν δυνατὸν, τί δὲ οὐ, καὶ καιρὸν μὲν πληγῶν, καιρὸν δὲ εἰσόμενον ἀπειλῆς, ὅλως οὐδὲν εὐοικότα τῷ λοιμῷ τούτῳ.

^a Cf. Or. 30. 38 n. Xen. Hell. 4. 4. 17.

ORATION XXXIII, 42-43

chopped off: it doesn't suffocate them with overcrowding. In this case, the quickness of the act is to the victim's good. But this fellow here is so quick to arrest and so slow to come to a decision. In fact, he is more frightened of court hearings than children are of the bogey-man,^a and he thinks that being a governor is to proceed to lunch through a mass of drivel.

43. So free your cities of such ills and send us a man of sense who is eager to work, a doer rather than a talker, and one who will use persuasion rather than compulsion, a helper of the poor rather than their oppressor, who will distinguish what is and what is not possible, and recognize a time for flogging and a time for threatening—in short, a man who is nothing at all like this plague here.



THE RIOTS OF THE STATUES

ORATION 23

AGAINST THE REFUGEES

ORATION 19

TO THE
EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
ABOUT THE RIOTS

ORATION 20

TO THE
EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
AFTER THE
RECONCILIATION

ORATION 21

TO CAESARIUS,
MASTER OF OFFICES

ORATION 22

TO ELLEBICHUS



INTRODUCTION

THE ORATIONS UPON THE RIOTS OF A.D. 387

THE narrative of the *Autobiography* shows Tisamenus leaving office and the sudden outbreak of the riots following almost immediately. Here, says Libanius, through the intervention of evil spirits, imperial portraits were stoned and statues demolished in a furious outbreak of popular violence. There followed a panic exodus from the city, for it was feared that the soldiers would be let loose upon it, but it was saved from such a fate largely by his own intercessions with the newly-arrived commissioners of investigation. Such a crisis called for many speeches on his part, and these were uniformly successful.^a However, he adds (*Or.* 1. 254) that the numbers of his audience declined thereafter in consequence of governmental opposition.

^a *Or.* 1. 252: ἕτερος ἀρχων, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ δεινότερα πολέμων πονηρῶν δαιμόνων δόξαντα κεκινήσθαι, λίθοι τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς βασιλέας ἐκ χειρῶν ἐρχόμενοι, καὶ ἦν πολλὸς ὁ ψόφος, χαλκαὶ τε εἰκόνες διὰ γῆς ἐλκόμενοι ῥήματά τε ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν ὄλων κυρίους πικρότερα παντὸς ἀφιέμενα λίθου δι' ἃ πολλὰ δὴ μεταστάσεις, ὡς οὐκ ὄν μένοντι σωθῆναι, καὶ ὁ φεύγων τὸν οὐ φεύγοντα ἐθρήνει. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐλπίσι κατασκαφαί, τὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος ἕξω σωτηρία. (253) τοῦτου δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αἴτιος εἶναι ἐδόκουν· λόγοις τε ἡμερώσας καὶ δάκρυσιν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἦκοντας γραμμάτων ἐρᾶν ἔπειθον . . . καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον ἡγώμεθα τῆς Τύχης καὶ προσέτι γε τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους περὶ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν πεποιημένους ὑπόθεσιν, . . . δόξαντας δὲ εὖ ἔχειν.

LIBANIUS

There is no doubt that Libanius prides himself consistently upon the positive rôle which he played as sophist in this crisis. His various references to it all contain the characteristic note of self-congratulation or of depreciation of his opponents,^a but the evidence for the whole series of events is full of uncertainties. Thus Zosimus, deceived by Libanius' posture in *Orations* 19 and 20, talks of Libanius, chosen as Antiochene envoy, successfully pleading^b before the emperor in person. Sozomen^c makes an error of chronology in sandwiching his story of the incident into the account of the usurpation of Eugenius. From Libanius himself little can be deduced about the details of time; from the other eyewitness, Chrysostom, equally little about details of the events themselves; from neither can any certain conclusion be drawn about the financial demand which caused this explosion of feeling.

The relationship between Libanius and Chrysostom has indeed been a point of controversy, mostly interpreted to the disadvantage of Libanius. Chrysostom's *Homilies*, delivered during the course of the investigation and the weeks thereafter and exactly contemporary with the events, give some precise indications of chronology (*e.g.* for the outbreak of the riots, the departure of Bishop Flavianus to Constantinople, his return on Easter Day, a week after

^a *e.g.* *Or.* 32, 34, 12 ff., 63. 9.

^b *Zos.* 4. 41: αἰρουῦνται τοίνυν Λιβανίον τε τὸν σοφιστὴν . . . καὶ Ἰλάριον. καὶ ὁ μὲν σοφιστὴς τὸν περὶ τῆς στάσεως αὐτῶ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ λόγον εἰπὼν ἴσχυσε τὸν βασιλέα μεταστῆσαι τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιοχείων ὀργῆς ὥστε ἀμέλει τούτῳ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν ἐπιθεῖναι, τελείως τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχθος ἀποθεμένου.

^c *Sozom. H.E.* 7. 23.

ORATIONS XXIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII

the receipt of the news of the imperial pardon), as well as some insight into the course of events in the intervals. Libanius, however, certainly composed these orations after a settlement had been reached. His narrative shows so many coincidences of detail and of language with Chrysostom that Goebel, followed by Baur, conjectured that at the time of composition he had before him and deliberately imitated the *Homilies* already current in Antioch.^a The paradox of such a view is heightened by the fact that the Christian and the pagan each seem deliberately to have ignored the other in this flood of oratory. Apart from a casual sneer at Flavianus by Libanius and an equally casual reference to classical rhetoric which is probably a sneer at Libanius,^b there is no indication of any religious confrontation or co-operation at this time. Libanius insists, in fact, that pagan and Christian are to be treated alike. The coincidences of content and form are to be explained by the common subject-matter and the common rhetorical store of topic and rule, which made any account with pretensions to accuracy and to plausibility inescapably similar to another. Plagiarism on this issue by Libanius would be the more unlikely since it would almost certainly have been noted immediately.

The *Orations to the Emperor* (*Or.* 19 and 20) may perhaps be regarded somewhat differently. If coincidence was unavoidable, why should Libanius compose these orations when he did and in the way

^a Goebel, pp. 19 ff. compares *Hom.* 21 (the oration of Flavianus) with *Or.* 19, to reach this surprising conclusion.

^b Flavianus, "not at home," *Or.* 19. 28. Demosthenes' self-cure, cf. *Jc. Chr. Hom.* 1. 9 (cf. *Lib. Dem. Hypoth.* 10 f., vol. viii, p. 603 F.).

LIBANIUS

he did? There is no such question about Chrysostom. His *Homilies* are strictly contemporary with the events and are designed to sustain and improve the morale of his flock. Composition, delivery and publication of these addresses are immediately linked with the circumstances. In the case of Libanius, however, this immediacy is lost. All the orations except *Oration 23* were composed after the conclusion of the whole affair. In the case of *Orations 21 and 22*, miniature panegyrics upon the two commissioners, this is natural enough, since they are personal thanksgiving for services rendered during the emergency even though publication was delayed by the perfectionism of the author. *Orations 19 and 20*, although purporting to be pleas presented to the emperor at the time, were manifestly composed after the event. In this they are no less fictitious than his self-claimed status of ambassador. They could not have exerted any influence upon the course of events, nor were they intended to do.^a Yet, as the *Autobiography* indicates, they were published—unless Libanius is there guilty of the grossest deception—and they had purpose. This was, at least in part, to do with the maintenance of his professional prestige. As fictions they are on a par with Chrysostom's *Twenty-first Homily*—expressions of the speaker's views and of what might actually have been said in the situation, and like it, they are designed to instruct and comfort their audience, whether at first- or second-hand, in civic or in court circles. Significantly enough, Chrysostom speaks of Christian

^a Cf. P. Petit, "Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius," *Historia*, v (1956), pp. 493 ff.

ORATIONS XXIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII

converts gained by the activities of Bishop Flavianus and the monks during this crisis.^a Libanius in *Oration 23* concentrates upon the immediate task of rallying the backsliders to their Hellenic duty, but it was no less important that the social virtues of Hellenism and of classical culture should after the event not be regarded as having gone by default before a Christian emperor whose government, for all his good professions, had shown increasing indecisiveness in everything except religious partiality and fiscal repressiveness. It was no accident that the keyword was "reconciliation," just as it had been under Julian. The pagans had to be assured that they too were to be included in this settlement not merely for the present but also for the future. At the same time, Libanius was, as sophist of his city, acting as the mouthpiece of the curial class, who were willy-nilly held responsible for civic order, by imputing responsibility to the more unstable sections of the community, the clique, the mob, and the wealthy non-curial classes. The arguments of class and culture combine in these pleas for a restoration of good order, as they had done in the *Pro Templis* and the *De Vinctis* for its maintenance.

As for the fiscal demand which caused the disturbance, there is much vagueness. The church historians speak of it as intolerable, a term used by Libanius (*Or.* 46. 22) to describe the *chrysargyron*, and as new, which the *chrysargyron* was not, since it had been levied only the year before (*Or.* 33. 33). Libanius connects it with demands for Theodosius' *decennialia* and Arcadius' *quinquennialia*, that is *aurum coronarium*, due in A.D. 388. The pressure, however, is much

^a *De Anna*, 1. 1; Migne, P.G. liv 634.

LIBANIUS

more immediate, and the classes subjected to it wider than the usual decurions. This extraordinary tax, in view of the vagueness and contradictions in the sources, seems to be most probably a supra-indiction of the tribute.^a At any rate, it was the propertied classes who initiated a peaceful protest. Their lead was followed by the mob, who rapidly turned protest into riot, looting and arson, and attacked the imperial statues, under the leadership of expert rabble-rousers. The governor remained momentarily inactive, taken by surprise, and a panic flight of the horrified populace immediately took place, decurions leading, and there was a mass evacuation of the city, in fear of military reprisals. Libanius remained at his post, deserted by all but a few of his pupils and of his associates from the upper classes, of whom Olympius was the most notable. Martial law was instituted immediately, and a commission of investigation, composed of the *magister militum* Ellebichus and the *magister officiorum* Caesarius, pagan and Christian respectively, despatched from Constantinople. Bishop Flavianus had already set off to court to plead for the city, and the monks came down from the hills to intercede with the commission. Along with the imposition of martial law, the decurions had been arrested, Antioch deprived of its metropolitan and urban status, all public amenities—circus, baths, theatre—closed, and these disabilities remained while the commission continued its work, until Caesarius was sent in haste to recommend leniency to the emperor, while Ellebichus

^a Cf. Petit, *Vie municipale*, p. 146; Browning, *J.R.S.* (1952), pp. 14 f.

ORATIONS XXIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII

remained in charge in Antioch. By Palm Sunday the news had been rushed to Antioch that Theodosius had graciously consented to pardon the city for its late misdemeanours, and it regained its status and privileges.

The consistency and efficacy of Libanius' support of his city cannot be denied, but the enmities which he made in doing so then and afterwards, as for instance with Thrasydaeus, were to affect him adversely. The supporter of the decurions in A.D. 387 becomes the most vocal critic of the curia in the next year, while his feud with the *honorati* and various governors continued unabated. His oratory threw upon the opposition which caused his influence and position to decline.

MANUSCRIPTS

There is great variation in both manuscript density and editorial tradition in these orations. At the one extreme, *Oration 23* survives in six manuscripts only, its single excerpt in Macarius appears under a false title, and it received no publication until A.D. 1754. At the other, the two *Orations to the Emperor* can boast a density of twenty-six manuscripts each, and *Oration 19*, in particular, can boast an *editio princeps* in A.D. 1517, along with at least five other editions and two translations antecedent to Foerster's work, the relationship with John Chrysostom's "Homilies on the Statues" being chiefly responsible for such a concentration of editorial interest. In contrast, *Orations 21* and *22*, while fairly heavily represented in the manuscript tradition with seventeen mss. each (which is fair testimony to the interest aroused by

LIBANIUS

both form and content), were treated by two editors only before Foerster. The excerptors also are oddly divided, Planudes drawing his citations from *Orations* 19-21, Macarius from *Orations* 21-23.

The manuscripts common to the five speeches are CAPIMV. Four others (B, L (=Laur. LVII 20), La (=Laur. XXXII 13) and Mo (=Monacensis gr. 113)) give the text of *Orations* 19-22. The majority of the others deal with *Orations* 19 and 20 only, and of the manuscripts no more than five appear as singletons. These, however, have an importance in the editorial tradition disproportionate to their number, since Bad. (=Laurentianus Conv. Suppr. Bad. 9, cf. Foerster, vol. ii, pp. 380-381) forms the basis for the Florentine *editio princeps* of *Oration* 19, and Par. 3014 performs the same service for Morel in his first edition of that speech. Of the variant traditions, CAP universally represent the first, V the second.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oration 19 was first published as part of the Florentine edition of the orations of Aelius Aristides (A.D. 1517). It was twice edited by Morel, (a) in A.D. 1610 as part of the separate edition of the two speeches to Theodosius upon the Statues, (b) in A.D. 1627 in the second volume of the works of Libanius. Savile's edition of the works of John Chrysostom (Eton, A.D. 1612) included this and *Oration* 20 as part of his eighth volume. Reiske's edition of A.D. 1791 was followed by that of de Sinner (*Novus Ss. Patrum Graecorum saec. iv Delectus*, Paris, 1842), and by a translation by I. L. Genin (*Discours* 244

ORATIONS XXIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII

de Flavien et de Libanius à l'empereur Théodose . . ., Paris, 1826). *Oration* 20 also appeared in the two editions of Morel mentioned above and in those of Savile, Reiske and Foerster, *Orations* 21 and 22 in the general editions only of Libanius' works by Morel (A.D. 1627), Reiske, and Foerster. Foerster's *Oration* 23 (in Reiske numbered *Or.* 34) was first published in Bongiovanni's Venice edition (A.D. 1754) of the sixteen unedited orations of Libanius.

Subsidiary sources are Zosimus, 4. 41 ; Sozomen, *H.E.* 7. 23 ; Theodoret, *H.E.* 5. 19-20 ; the other primary source is the collection of twenty-one *Homilies on the Statues* of John Chrysostom (Migne, *P.G.* xlix : translated into English by E. Budge, in the Library of Fathers of the Catholic Church, Oxford, 1854). Discussion upon the incident is to be found in A. Hug, *Antiochia und der Aufstand des Jahres 387*, Winterthur, 1863 ; Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius*, pp. 172 ff. ; R. Goebel, *De Jo. Chrys. et Lib. orationibus quae sunt de seditione Antiochensium*, Göttingen, 1910 ; C. Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1929, I, pp. 212 ff. ; R. Browning, "The Riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch," *J.R.S.* xlii (1942), pp. 13 ff. ; P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale*, pp. 235 ff. ; G. Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria* (1961), pp. 426 ff.

XXIII

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΦΕΥΓΟΤΩΝ

R ii. 296 1. Τὰ μὲν ἀγγελλόμενα πάντες ἀκούομεν, ἅπαντα F ii. 49

εἶναι μεστὰ νεκρῶν, τὰς τε ἀρούρας τὰς τε ὁδοὺς
τὰ τε ὄρη τοὺς τε λόφους τὰ τε σπήλαια καὶ τὰς
κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρων καὶ τὰ ἄλση καὶ τὰς φάραγγας,
τῶν τε νεκρῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐστιᾶν ὄρνιθας καὶ θηρία,
τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλατταν φέρεσθαι.

2. πρὸς τοίνυν τὰς ἀγγελίας ποτέ μὲν πλήττομαι,
ποτέ δὲ τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἐγκαλῶ καὶ φημι δίκαια
πεπονθέναι τοὺς τῆς φυγῆς ταῦτα ἀπολαύσαντας.
οὓς φαίη τις ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐπισπάσασθαι τὰ τῶν κα-
κούργων ξίφη. ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐπεπόνθεσαν οἴκοι
μένοντες, τούτοις περιέπεσον πλανώμενοι θοίνην
μὲν αὐτοὺς προθέντες τοῖς πάλαι ληστεύουσι, ποιή-
σαντες δὲ ληστὰς ἑτέρουσιν τῷ ποιῆσαι πολὺ τὸ F 497
πεισόμενον. ἐκόντας οὖν ἀπολωλότας τίς ἂν ἐλεή-
σειε;

3. Φόβος γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις, φήσει
τις. πάνυ γε τοῖς τετολμηκόσιν αὐτοῖς, οἷς ἦν
αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς φυγὴν ἀνάγκη τὸ τοιαῦτα ἑαυτοῖς
συνειδέναι. εἰ δὲ τις μῆτε τῶν ῥημάτων μῆτε τῶν

^a Or. 23 ed. F. Or. 34 ed. Re.

^b On brigandage cf. Or. 33. 40 etc.; endemic in certain

ORATION 23^a

AGAINST THE REFUGEES

1. WE all hear the news that everywhere is full of the bodies of the dead—fields, roads, hills, ridges, caves, hilltops, groves and gullies,—some a feast for birds and beasts, others borne by the river down to the sea. 2. At such tidings, I am at times shocked, at other times am full of reproof for the sufferers and feel that they have just got what they deserve in these consequences of their flight. You could say that they drew upon themselves the swords of the assassins. If they had stayed at home, they would not have suffered such a fate ; but now they have encountered it in their wanderings, and they have offered themselves as a feast to those who have long made a pursuit of banditry, and moreover, by multiplying the number of potential victims, they have induced others to take up banditry.^b Who then could pity those who voluntarily made away with themselves ?

3. "Ah, yes," it will be asserted, "but there was a panic after these late outrages." Of course there was—among those who had actually committed them : consciousness of them was the very thing that compelled their flight. But for anyone who had no part

rural areas, *Amm. Marc. 28. 2. 13.* For brigandage after these riots *cf. § 18 below, Or. 19. 58, 34. 7.*

LIBANIUS

R ii. 297 ἔργων ἐκοινωνήσεν, ἐν οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ὕβρις, τί τοῦτον ἔδει θορυβεῖσθαι καὶ τρέμειν οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ φοβούντος; | 4. οἱ τοίνυν καταμείναντες οὐκ ἔσθ' ὁ πεπόνθασιν εἰπεῖν. τί οὖν μὴ τῶν μεινάντων ἦσαν οἱ πεφευγότες, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ θεῶν του κηρύξαντος ὡς οὐκ ἐνὶ σωθῆναι μένουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ μόνῃ πᾶσιν ἢ σωτηρία, οὕτω κενὰ μὲν ἐργαστήρια, κενὰ δὲ οἰκίας τε καὶ συνοικίας ἀφέντες ἦσαν οὐκ εἰδότες τὸ δεξόμενον; κἀνταῦθα οἷς ἦσαν ὄνοι καὶ ἡμίονοι καὶ κάμηλοι, σεμνοὶ τε καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐν τῷ μισθοῦν ἀνέσπων, ὡς ἂν συχνοῦ τοῦ μισθουμένου περιρρέοντος. 5. καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν γυναῖκας ἅμα τέκνοις κομιζομένας δεησομένας τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς οὓς οὐκ ἤδεσαν, μεταδοῦναι σφίσι τῆς γῆς. οὐ γὰρ οἰκημάτων γε. πόσα γὰρ δὴ ταῦτά γε; ἢ τίς ἂν τινὰς ἀγνοουμένους² ραδίως ἀνέμιξεν ἑαυτῷ; θάνατος δὲ παιδίοις τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χαμαὶ κείσθαι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ καταπεσοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν κομιζόντων, ὁ δ' ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπὶ | τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἠπείγοντο τῶν κακῶν. 6. καὶ οἱ F 498 πρῶτοι διὰ τούτων ἀπολωλότες τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἐπαίδεον, ἀλλ' ἑτέροισι ἑτέροι καταλάμβανον ἐπ' ἴσοις, καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα σωφρονεῖν οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ σκιάς φοβούμενοι συμφορῶν εἰς τὰς μεγίστας ἑαυτοὺς ἐνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ ἀνοητότατοι ταῖς γυναίξι παρηκολούθουν. ὧν ἀμφότερα καταγνοίη τις ἂν, εἴτ' αὐτοὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐφόβουν εἴτε μάτην φοβουμένας οὐκ ἐθάρρυνον.

¹ <τὰ> ἐργαστήρια, κενὰ δὲ <τὰς> Re.

² ἀγνοουμένους Re. (mss. except P): -μένας F. (P).

ORATION XXIII, 3-6

either in the words or in the acts which both involved such indiscipline, what need was there to fly into a panic of fear and trembling when there was no cause for alarm? 4. Well, one cannot name any injury suffered by those who stayed here, so why did the refugees not join those who stayed? It was as if one of the gods had told them that they had no hope of safety if they stayed, but that salvation for all lay in flight alone. So they left their workshops, their houses and tenements empty, and decamped without knowing who would welcome them. Here the owners of asses and mules and camels put on airs and supercilious frowns at their hiring, since they had customers in plenty milling around them. 5. You could see women, with children, riding to beg the country folk, whom they did not know from Adam, to let them stay on their land—not in their houses, that's certain. There weren't buildings enough, and besides, no one would readily consort with any person not of his acquaintance. So death came upon the children, some from exposure on the bare ground, some even falling from the arms of those who carried them, and death from starvation afflicted them all. But still they hurried on to meet such a multitude of evils. 6. And those who were the first to die provided no lesson for the rest. These came upon the others in the same plight, and the example did not persuade them to control themselves. Fearing imaginary disasters, they rushed headlong into the worst possible disaster. The most foolish of them accompanied their womenfolk, and deserve the most severe condemnation on both counts, whether because they put their wives into a panic, or because they gave them no encouragement to counteract their idle fears.

LIBANIUS

7. Ζήτησις γὰρ ἦν, φησί, καὶ τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας ἦσαν οἱ θηρεύοντες. οὐκοῦν τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς ἀμαρτούσας. οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκηκεσαν γυναῖκες οὔτε ἐδόκουν οὐδ' εἶπέ τις οὐδὲ ἤκουσε καὶ γυναῖκας συνεφῆθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χαλεπῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἢ εἰρημένων ἢ πεπραγμένων. 8. τί R ii. 298 οὖν ἔδει καὶ γυναικῶν ἐρημοῦσθαι | τὴν πόλιν, ὧν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἦν ὄραν ἐγκύμονας; εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔδει τι κακὸν λαβεῖν καὶ νοῦν αὐτοῖς εἶχεν ἢ φυγή, ταῖς γε δὴ γυναιξὶν οὐδαμῶθεν ἦν λόγος. ἀλλ' ὅμως νῦν μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους, νῦν δὲ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξήεσαν οὐ δῆπου γε μέλλουσαι παραδοθήσεσθαι δικαστηρίῳ καὶ μάστιγας καὶ δεσμὸν ὑπομενεῖν.¹ 9. τοιγαροῦν διὰ τὸν μάταιον τουτονὶ φόβον ὃ εἶχον ἀργύριον, μικρὸν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτ' ἦν, ἀνηλωκυῖαι παιδίῳ ἄρτον αἰτούσιν οὐχ οἰαί τε οὔσαι δοῦναι δακρύνουσαι πεινῶντα κατέθαπτον, εἶτα ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπαπέθνησκον. οὐδὲ γὰρ προσαιτούσαις ἦν εὐπορῆσαι τροφῆς. | οὐ γὰρ ἦν παρ' ὅτου F 499 πάντων ὄντων ἐν τῷ δεῖσθαι λαβεῖν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτῆς, τοῦτο δέ οὐ πολὺ.

10. Ταῖς μὲν δὴ γυναιξὶν οὐδεμία συγγνώμη, ταῦτό δ' ἂν ἰσχύοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν οὐκ ὄντων. οὐς γὰρ οὐκ ἤλαυνε τὸ συνειδός, τί τούτοις ἔδει φυγῆς καὶ ταῦτα Κέλσου τοῦ πανταχοῦ δικαίου κὰν τοῖς πράγμασι τούτοις τοιούτου πεφηνότος; ὀρμήσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν

¹ ὑπομενεῖν Cobet, F.: ὑπομένειν Re. (mss.).

^a Identified by Liebeschuetz and Foerster (*Or.* 19. 36, 55) with the *Comes*; by Seeck (*BLZG* 107) with the *consularis*. The unflattering description of the *Comes* in *Or.* 1. 254 f. makes identification with the *consularis* more likely here.

ORATION XXIII, 7-10

7. "Well," I hear it said, "there was an inquiry, and the hunt was up for the wrongdoers." Yes, for the male wrongdoers, not for women culprits. Women had done no harm, nor were they thought to have done. No one even said, or heard it said, that our womenfolk had taken any part in anything said or done on that dreadful day. 8. So what reason was there for our city to be bereft of its womenfolk too, many of whom you could see advanced in pregnancy? If indeed the men had to experience any trouble, there was some sense in their exodus, but for the women there was not the scrap of an excuse. Yet, for all that, they started to leave, in numbers, sometimes no less, sometimes even more than those of their menfolk, however unlikely it was that they would be committed to court or would endure flogging and imprisonment. 9. Anyway, because of this idle fear, after spending what money they had, and precious little it was, they were unable to give their children bread when they asked for it, and tearfully buried their starving brats, and then themselves died, of the same cause, for even women who went a-begging couldn't get much food. Everyone was in need and, except for those who had retired to their own estates, and there were not many of these, there was no source from which they could come by it.

10. No pardon, then, can be extended to the womenfolk. The same would also hold good of those men who were not implicated in the crime. What need had they to take flight when it was not the consciousness of guilt that harried them, especially when Celsus, that paragon of justice,^a displayed his qualities in this business too? When he set

LIBANIUS

τιμωρίαν οὐχ ὅπως ὡς πλείστους ἀποκτείνειει τῶν
 τῆδε ἀνθρώπων ἐσκόπησεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως οἱ δίκην
 ὄντως ὀφείλοντες οὗτοι μόνοι καὶ δῶσιν. 11. ἔδειξε
 γὰρ τοῖς τῶν φυλῶν ἐπιμεληταῖς ὡς ἐν ταῖς συκο-
 φανταῖς αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ οὓς ὡς ἡδίκηκόςτας παρα-
 R ii. 299 δώσουσιν ἀπολοῦνται. καὶ τινες τὰς τῶν¹ | αὐτῶν
 πλευρὰς ἐπέιδον τεμνομένας ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ὑπ-
 οψίασι οἱ τ'² εἰκότως τὰς αἰτίας λαβόντες μετὰ τῆς
 ἐσχάτης ἀκριβείας ἀλόντες παρεδόθησαν τῷ δημίῳ.
 οὐκοῦν καὶ τῇ τοῦ δικαστοῦ δικαιοσύνῃ φόβος ἅπας
 ἄδικος ἀνήρητο.

12. Λόγος γὰρ ἐγεγόνει, φήσει τις, ἐπιχυθήσε-
 σθαι στρατιώτας δόρασι καὶ ξίφεσι τὸ ἐνοικοῦν
 ἀναλώσοντας. τουτὶ δὲ ἐν ἀμαρτίαις πόλεων οὐ-
 δείς οἶδε πώποτε γεγενημένον. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἦν
 αὐτοῖς δίκην ἐθέλειν λαμβάνειν ἐπιζήμιον τῷ λη- F 500
 ψομένῳ. ζημίᾳ δὲ οὐ μικρὰ δήπου βασιλεῖ πόλις
 ἀπολλυμένη. τοῦ γὰρ ἐκείνο θυμῷ ποιοῦντος ἦν
 δήπου τὸ μηδὲ τῶν ἀψύχων φείδεσθαι. τίς οὖν
 βασιλεὺς τοιαύτην ἂν ἔλαβε παρὰ πόλεως δίκην, ἢ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ ποιήσειν ἐλάττονα; 13.
 καίτοι καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπέπρακτο,
 τοῦτόν γε οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἀκολουθήσειν οἴεσθαι τὸν τῷ

R ii. 300 μὴ κολάζειν μᾶλλον | ἢ τῷ κολάζειν ἡδόμενον.
 μάρτυς δὲ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας χρόνος πολλὴν αὐτῷ
 συνειδῶς πολλαχοῦ τὴν συγγνώμην. ὅς γε καὶ

¹ τὰς τῶν F.: τὰς Re. (MV, A marg., correction in C):
 τῶν API, C before correction.

² οἱ τ' F. (mss. except M): οἱ δ' Re. (M).

^a Cf. Or. 24. 26 (Vol. I, p. 508 n.). Or. 33. 36.

^b In A.D. 390, however, this did happen in Thessalonika.

ORATION XXIII, 10-13

himself to the matter of punishment, he was at pains not to execute all the males here that he could, but to inflict punishment only on those deserving of it. 11. He made it clear to the watch committee ^a that, if there were any trumped-up charges, they, rather than the persons they committed as malefactors, would be executed. In fact, some beheld the flanks of their own people lacerated for such suspicions, and those who were involved by circumstantial evidence were brought to justice with most scrupulous care, and handed over to the executioner. Thus, by reason of the uprightness of the judge, all unjustified fears had been removed.

12. "Ah, yes," it will be said, "but the story had gone about that the military would be let loose on us in a flood, to destroy the inhabitants with spear and sword." But nobody knows of this ever having happened when cities have put themselves in the wrong.^b Indeed it would be absurd to want to inflict a punishment which would be detrimental to the exactor of it, and the destruction of a city is obviously no small loss to an emperor : for surely a refusal to spare even inanimate objects is in keeping with the angry execution of this act. So what emperor would ever have punished a city in such a way as to diminish his own realm? 13. Yet even if any such action by others formed a precedent, this emperor, at least, should not be thought of as ready to follow it, since his delight is to forgo rather than to inflict punishment.^c The proof of this is to be found in the period of his reign, and in it the widespread awareness of pardon in plenty. Why, he has even saved those

^a The customary eulogy of Theodosius' *philanthropia*, cf. *Or.* 20. 15 etc.

LIBANIUS

τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς ἐπιτεθυμηκότας ὠθου-
 μένους τῇ ψήφῳ πρὸς θάνατον ἐρρύσατό τε καὶ ζῆν
 ἀφήκεν. οὕτως οὐδ' ὅστισοῦν τοῦτ' ἔδεισεν ὀρθῶς
 φαίνεται δείσας. 14. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ὅστις ἐξου-
 σίαν ἔδεισεν εἰς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρημά-
 των, ὃ πεποιήκασιν ἤδη τινὲς βασιλεῖς ἐφέντες¹
 στρατιώταις ἀρπάζειν προειπόντες ἐν ὧσιν δεῖ τοῦτο
 μέρει τῆς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι, οὐδ' οὗτοί μοι κακῶς
 δεῖσαι δοκοῦσιν. ἐν γὰρ ἀπουσίαις βασιλέων ἤκι-
 στα τὸ τοιοῦτον γίγνεσθαι, παρῶν δὲ εἰ βουλευθείη
 καὶ ταύτῃ δίκην λαβεῖν, οὐ κωλύειν φασὶ τὸν νόμον.
 15. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀκούειν παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς τὸ
 πρᾶγμα ἐπισταμένων ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ δὴ² βασιλεῦσιν
 ἐστρατηγηκότων. παρ' ὧν ἡμεῖς μαθόντες ἐβοῶ- F 501
 μεν ἐπερχόμενοι τὴν πόλιν· τί τετάραχθε; τί
 πεφόβησθε; τί πλάττετε τὰ δοκοῦντα δείματα;
 ἀλλ' ἔδοκοῦμεν φλυαρεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήεσαν καὶ ταῦτα
 τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας ὀρώντες οὐκ ἀπιόντας. τοῦτο
 γὰρ δὴ, τοῦτο μέγιστον εἰς πίστιν, ἔργα λόγοις
 ἀκολουθοῦντα καὶ μονῇ βεβαιοῦσα ῥήματα. 16. εἰ
 μὲν γὰρ θαρρεῖν ἑτέροις παρακελευόμενος ἅ τῶν
 φοβουμένων ἦν ἐποίουν καὶ μετανιστάμην, εἰκότως
 ἂν ἡγοῦντο πιστοτέραν συμβουλήν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
 πραγμάτων· εἰ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν πρὸ τῆς ταραχῆς ἐν
 οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκίνουν, ἡδίκουν οἱ μὴ μιμού-
 μενοι, πλὴν εἰ τοῦτο λέγοιεν ὡς ἐθανάτων καὶ τῆς

¹ ἐφέντες Cobet, F. (V) : ἀφέντες Re. (other mss.).

² δὴ F. (V) : δὲ Re. (other mss.).

ORATION XXIII, 13-16

who, after aspiring to the throne itself, were being hustled out to the death to which they had been sentenced, and let them live. So, obviously, anyone who feared this had no real grounds for his fear. 14. Nor yet, I feel, was there any justification for the fears of all who were afraid that he would allow free rein for plundering property in the city, though some emperors have acted so in days gone by, giving their soldiers licence to plunder but stipulating the precise period of the day for this to be done. Such a course, I am told, is most unlikely to be taken in the emperor's absence, though, if he is present in person and decides to impose punishment in this way, there is no law to prevent it. 15. This you could have heard from men who had held many high imperial commands and had accurate knowledge of the matter. I got this information from them and went all around the city protesting, "Why are you in such confusion and alarm? Why are you inventing unreal fears?", but I was held to be talking nonsense. The exodus continued, even though they saw that I, who told them this, was not going to leave, for this, this was indeed the greatest assurance of reliability, that what I did was in line with what I said and that my remaining here confirmed my statements. 16. If I, while encouraging others to be of good cheer, behaved like one in a panic and decamped, they would naturally regard the lesson to be learnt from the circumstances to be more reliable. If, however, in all that I did I did not deviate from the way I conducted myself previous to the riots, then anyone who did not follow my example behaved improperly, unless he would assert that I was bent upon dying and was eager for death

LIBANIUS

R ii. 301 ἀπὸ τῶν ξιφῶν ἐπεθύμουν τελευτῆς. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς οὕτως | ἄθλιος οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα δυσχεραῖνοι τὸ γῆρας.

17. Ποιηρᾶς τοίνυν οὔσης τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἐξόδου μείζων ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ κατηγορία, οἱ πόλεων ἄρξαντες καὶ ἔθνη διωκηκότες καὶ τιμῶν τετυχηκότες καὶ δικαίως ἂν ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν τε πόλιν ἐν ἣ κατοικοῦσι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δι' ἣν αὐτοῖς καὶ δόξα καὶ γάμοι καὶ χρήματα, ταῦτα πάντα ἀτιμάσαντες ἀπώλλυσαν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν. 18. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ὀλιγανθρωπίας τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν λησται διεσπαρμένοι στίφος ἐν ποιήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰσπεσόντες ἐληίζοντο τὸ ἄστυ, τὰ μικρὰ τὰ καταλελειμμένα, καὶ τελευτῶν|τες F 502 ἐνεπίμπρασαν ἄνθρωποι τῷ κακῶς ποιεῖν χαίροντες καὶ πολὺν ἐν τούτῳ βεβιωκότες χρόνον, ποῦ ποτ' ἂν ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἣς ἔχων πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀράται; ἀλλ' ὁμως οἱ σεμνοὶ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἄλλων πενία πεπλουτηκότες καὶ δεινὸν εἰ μὴ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξουσίαν ἠγούμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἐν νυξί, τὰ δὲ πάντων ὀρώντων μεθίστασαν οὕτω δὴ τι πολὺν ἄργυρον, ὡς συχῶν τε δεῖν ὀχημάτων ἐκάστῳ καὶ πολλῶν ὀρέων καθ' ἕκαστον, οὗς ἠνάγκαζε τὰ ἐλκόμενα στένειν. 19. τίνος οὖν τούτους ἀξίους εἶναι φῆσαι τις ἂν, οἱ προδόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν μόνον ἰδόντες τὸν πλοῦτον ἐτέρωσε κατα-
R ii. 302 θέμενοι | γυμνοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἕξω δρόμον ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι; καίτοι χρῆν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν πενία κωλύειν καὶ κατέχειν, τὰ μὲν πειθοί, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπειλαῖς. οἱ δ'

^a The *honorati* are again the chief target for criticism, the worst of them being, *ex hypothesi*, the Christians (§ 18).

ORATION XXIII, 16-19

by the sword. Yet nobody is as wretched as all that, however much he might resent his old age.

17. Well, if the departure of the commons was disgraceful, the accusation to be levelled at the classes elevated above the commons is more serious still. These have been magistrates of cities, governors of provinces and have won distinction,^a and they might properly be grateful to the city in which they live and to the empire through which they have attained fame, marriages and wealth. Yet they have dishonoured all this and have done their level best to ruin the city for the emperor. 18. Then, if the brigands scattered about the countryside had gathered into one body and, despising the small numbers left in the city, had plundered it, if these men, who delight in evil doing and have spent a long time engaged upon it, had finally set fire to it and its paltry remnants, what on earth would have been the position of our state, for which the emperor is seen to show so much consideration? But for all that, this high and mighty crew, who have grown rich on the poverty of the rest and who think it a scandal if they do not get their hands on the property of the gods, began to remove, some by night, some in full view of everyone, such quantities of silver that each one required a train of carts and a string of mules which groaned perforce under their burdens. 19. What then would you say these people deserve? They betrayed the city; they looked solely to their own interests; they deposited their wealth elsewhere, and then, unencumbered, were ready for the hurried exodus. Yet they are the people who should, by cajolery or even by threats, have prevented and restrained the poor. But they commended such con-

LIBANIUS

ἐπήγουν τε τοὺς ἐκεῖνο ποιοῦντας καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔλεγον εἶναι σώζεσθαι βουλομένους, ὥσπερ ὧν εὐ ἔπραξαν ἐν τῇ πόλει δίκης παρὰ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὀφειλομένης. οἱ τοῦθ' ἐν μόνον εὐ πεποιθήκασιν, ὅτι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀρνούμενοι μὴ πλουτεῖν νῦν αὐτοὺς ἐξήλεγξαν ὡς πλεῖστα κεκτημένοι πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πραγματεία μεταθέντες ἄλλοσε τὰ συνειλεγμένα.

20. Περὶ δὲ τῶν νέων τί φήσομεν ἢ τῶν τούτων γονέων; τί δ' ἕτερον ἢ ὡς οἱ μὲν ἤρπασαν τὸν καιρὸν | εἰς ἀργίαν, γονεῖς δὲ ταῖς τούτων ἐπιστο- F 503
λαῖς ἐξαπατηθέντες καλεῖν ταῖς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνεπίεσθησαν τοὺς νέους. οἱ δ' οὐ τοσοῦτο μόνον ἠδίκουν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ γράμμα οὐδὲν οὔτε πέμψαντες οὔτε λαβόντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ δρᾶν ὃ βούλοιντο καταστήσαντες κυρίου δῆσαντες τὰς διφθέρας ἀναβάντες ἐφ' ἵππους οἱ μὲν ἀγροὺς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐνέπλησαν ἀλλοτρίους, οἱ δὲ πατρώους, οἱ δὲ καὶ τροφοῖς καὶ τροφεῦσιν ἤκον εἰς χεῖρας καὶ μητρὸς ἕτερος καὶ πατρὸς ἄλλος, τρέμοντες δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας κροτοῦντες καὶ μεταστρεφόμενοι, καθάπερ διωκόμενοι διώκοντος μὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ σπεύδοντος ἐλεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγους σπουδῆς διώκοντες τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν. καὶ ὁ χρόνος τοῖς ἀθλίοις ἐν ἔδω-
δῆ καὶ οἴνῳ καὶ ὕβρει καὶ ὕπνῳ πᾶς οὗτος ἀνα-
λουτο, προσθείην δ' ἂν καὶ εὐχαῖς,¹ ἐν αἷς ἦτουν ἐκταθῆναι τὴν τῆς ῥαθυμίας ἀφορμὴν ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον. ἐφ' ᾧ δ' ἂν τις μάλιστα ἀγανακτήσειεν,

¹ ἐν before εὐχαῖς Re. (M) : bracketed F.

^a This desertion by his students forms the real ground of complaint in this speech. The numbers attending his school during the crisis and after fell to twelve at first, and later to seven; *Or.* 34. 14.

ORATION XXIII, 19-20

duct : they said that it was only human to wish for safety, as though the city owes them liability for the prosperity they enjoyed in it. This is the only benefit they have conferred on us, that, for all their previous protestations that they were not wealthy, they have now proved themselves to be possessors of vast fortunes by the considerable toil and trouble they have in depositing their hoards elsewhere.

20. And what shall I say of the students or their parents ? ^a What else than that the students seized upon the event as an excuse for idleness and the parents, hoodwinked by their letters, were induced to call their sons home by letters of their own ? And that was not the sum of their misconduct : there are some who, without having sent or received a single line, took it upon themselves to behave as they liked. They tied up their books,^b mounted their horses, and crammed themselves into estates belonging, in some cases, to other persons, in others, to their own families. Others went into the keeping of foster mothers and fathers either of their mother or their father, all of a tremble, with teeth chattering and turning to look behind them, as though they were being chased, though there was no one chasing them nor yet eager to seize them. They themselves were chasing a riddance to the pursuit of oratory, and all this time was spent by the wretches in dining and wining, in misbehaving and sleeping, and, I would go as far as to say, in praying too, when they prayed that this excuse for idleness should be stretched to the furthest limit possible. And this is

^b *διφθέρα* for Libanius is usually the covering of the papyrus book-roll (*πίρα*).

LIBANIUS

R ii. 303 οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμᾶς | εἰπόντες ὡς
ἀπιέναι καιρός, ἀπῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἔδοξεν, ἐσίγησαν,
ἔπραξαν. ὁ δ' ἐξῴων ἤδη τὸν διαβουλευόμενον
ἐνήγε τραγωδίας καὶ Ἰλιάδα κακῶν ἐπισείων ταῖς
μελλήσεσι.

21. Καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως μισήσειε τούτους
τοὺς μισούντας κτῆμα οὕτω καλόν, τοὺς λόγους,
οὓς | ἔδωκε μὲν Ἑρμῆς, ἠγάπησε δὲ τῶν Ἀθη- F 504
ναίων ἢ πόλις καὶ θρέψασα καὶ αὐξήσασα καὶ
κοσμήσασα πανταχῇ¹ διέπεμψεν. οὗτοι συγκρύ-
πτουσι μὲν δυσγένειαν, κρύπτουσι δὲ ἀμορφίαν,
πλοῦτον δὲ φυλάττουσι, λύουσι δὲ πενίαν, ἀρκοῦσι
δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν πάντων ὄντες ὄπλων ἐν
πολέμοις χρησιμώτεροι καὶ πάσης πολυχειρίας ἐν
μάχαις ἰσχυρότεροι.² οἱ τούτους ἔχοντες πρὸς τὰ
μαντεῖα πολλάκις ἀμιλλῶνται τῷ τὸ μέλλον δύνα-
σθαι προορᾶν· ὁ γὰρ ἐκείνοις τὰ πνεύματα, τοῦτο
τοῦτοις ἢ γνώμη. μόνους δὲ τοὺς παιδεία διενεγ-
κόντας φαίη τις ἂν καὶ ἀθανάτους εἶναι φύσει μὲν
τελευτῶντας, δόξῃ δὲ ζῶντας.

22. Ἄλλ' ὅμως οἶδε οἱ νέοι πεφεύγασιν μὲν τὴν
τοσοῦτα ἀγαθὰ προξενούσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μυρίων
μητέρα κακῶν, νωθείαν καὶ μαλακίαν, κεχωρήκα-
σιν ἔρμαιον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαν ἠγη-
σάμενοι, δεδιότες μὲν οὐδέν, προσποιούμενοι δὲ
πολλά. τίς γὰρ ἦκεν ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄρχων, τίς

R ii. 304 ὑπηρέτης, | τίς γείτων, τίς πολίτης, τίς ξένος πόρρω
μὲν ὄντας τῶν βλασφημιῶν, πόρρω δὲ τῶν ἐπ'

¹ πανταχῇ F. (CIMV): πανταχοῖ Re. (AP).

² πολέμοις ἰσχυρότεροι . . . μάχαις χρησιμώτεροι Re. (M).

^a Borrowed from Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* 148: cf. *Or.* 59.
136, 61. 19.

ORATION XXIII, 20-22

the chief reason to be annoyed with them, for they left without breathing a word to me on this very matter, that it was time to leave; they made up their minds, kept mum and acted. And those who were on their way out egged on the waverers by parading before them dismal dramas and chronicles of woe ^a as the consequences of their dilly-dallying.

21. Yet who would not be justified in loathing those who loathe so noble an acquisition as eloquence, which is the gift of Hermes and which the Athenian state lovingly received, and nurturing, increasing and adorning it, has despatched over the whole world? ^b Eloquence helps to conceal lowly origin: it hides ugliness, protects wealth, relieves penury and suffices cities for their protection, since in war it is more useful than any equipment and in battle is more potent than any superiority of numbers. The possessors of it often vie with the oracles in their ability to foresee the future. What inspiration is to the prophet, their intellect is to them. Only those who excel in education can be described as immortal too, for though they die in the course of nature, they live on in their fame.

22. Despite all that, these students have fled the art that confers such great blessings. They have betaken themselves to the mother of countless evils, sloth and idleness, regarding our city's evil plight as a godsend for themselves, fearing nothing though pretending to be much afraid. What governor, which of his subordinates, would have attacked them, or what neighbour, what citizen, what stranger? They steered clear of the insults and of their conse-

^b Hermes, god of eloquence: *cf. Or. 24. 37*; also 18. 75 (Vol. I, p. 326 n.), of which this passage is a reminiscence.

LIBANIUS

ἐκείναις; καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ταῦτα ἐτολμᾶτο καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν προουμίαις ἢ μαρία, οἱ μὲν ἀπήλθον οἴκαδε θέοντες, οἱ δ' ἦσαν οὐπὲρ ἐγώ, τοῖς τῶν ἑωρακῶτων λόγοις, οὐ τοῖς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς μανθάνοντες τὰ τοῦ τότε χειμῶνος. πῶς οὖν ἐσυκοφαντοῦντο ἄν; 23. τῆς δ' ἐκείνων κακίας καὶ τότε | τεκμήριον. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ οὓς ὁ περὶ τοὺς λόγους F 505 ἔρως ἔπεισε μένειν ὀλίγους δὴ τινὰς κομιδῆ. τούτων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἐφήψατο οὔτε ἐμέλλησεν οὔτε αὐτῶν οὔτε παιδαγωγῶν οὔτ' οἰκετῶν. ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τοίνυν ἦσαν ἂν ἀδείας οἱ μὴ μείναντες ἥσπερ οἱ μεμενηκότες ταύτου δικαίου κάκεινοις καὶ τούτοις ὑπάρχοντος, τοῦ μηδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν μετεσχῆκεναι τῶν ὕβρεων.

24. Ἐτι τοίνυν εἰ μὲν ἐμίσουν ἐμὲ διὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνοὺς παρακλήσεις, τίς αὐτῶν ἀδικώτερος; καὶ γὰρ ἀθλητῆς ἀδικος, ὅστις οὕτως ἔχει¹ πρὸς τὸν γυμναστήν τὸν ὅτι δεῖ πάντα πόνον ἀνέχεσθαι λέγοντα. εἰ δ' ἐφίλουν τε καὶ ζῆν ἐβούλοντό με καὶ τὸ μένειν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούντο, τί μὴ προσιόντες ἐδέοντό μου σώζειν αὐτοῖς ἐμαυτόν; πάντως δὲ οὐδὲν καινὸν νέον γέροντος ἰδεῖν που τὸ συμφέρον ἄμεινον. δόξαν δ' ἂν αὐτοῖς ἦνεγκε καὶ τὸ μέμψασθαι καὶ τὸ καταβοῆσαι καὶ τὸ πάντα καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι πειρωμένοις ἐξάγειν, νῦν δὲ διὰ σιωπῆς ἐξεπήδησαν τήμερον συγγενόμενοι, νυκτὸς δὲ ἀπο- R ii. 305 δράντες, | θάνατόν μου κατεψηφισμένοι καὶ οὐ δεδοικότες μὴ αὐθις ἀλλήλους ἴδωμεν.

¹ ἔχει F. (MV): ἔχει Re. (CAPI).

ORATION XXIII, 22-24

quences. In fact, when this outrage occurred and the frenzy was still in its initial stages, some left hot-foot for home, while others stayed with me, and learned of the disaster that then occurred from the accounts of eye-witnesses, not by their own eyes.^a How then could a charge be trumped up against them? 23. And of their wickedness there is also this as testimony. Some their love of eloquence induced to stay—precious few, admittedly. No one laid a hand on them, or had any intention of doing so, either on their persons, or their attendants or slaves. Any who did not stay would, then, have enjoyed the same immunity as those who did, for the same justification applied to both in that they had not taken the slightest part in the outrages.

24. Moreover, if they hated me because of my exhortations to study, who is more wicked than they? Indeed an athlete is wicked in adopting this attitude towards the trainer who tells him that he must sustain every effort. If they loved me and wanted me to live and thought it was dangerous to stay, why did they not approach me and beg me to save myself for them? In any case, it is nothing out of the ordinary for a youth to see the advantageous course better than an old man. It would have redounded to their credit for them to have reproached me, cried me down, and to have left nothing unsaid or undone in their efforts to get me away. As it was, they scuttled away in silence, attending my lectures during the day and decamping at night, having condemned me to death and with no fear of us seeing one another again.

^a As Libanius himself had learned of the riots in A.D. 354, *Or.* 1. 103.

LIBANIUS

25. Γνοίη δ' ἄν τις κἀκείθεν τουτουσί· τῆς γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς τῇ βουλῇ μὲν ἐγκαλούσης καί τισι τῶν συνδίκων, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ παιδείας ἐνταυ-
 θοῖ | διατριβόντων οὐδαμοῦ μεμνημένης καὶ τού- F 506
 των τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκκειμένων καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐ-
 τῶν λόγου πανταχοῦ πεφοιτηκότος, ὥστ' εἶναι καὶ
 τοῖς πεφευγόσιν εἰδέναι, οὐδεὶς τὸ τῶν χαιρόντων
 ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ ἀνέπνευσεν οὐδὲ προσεκύνησε τὴν
 Τύχην οὐδ' ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὧν ἀπεστέρητο μετ-
 ουσίαν. 26. καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ
 δικαστήρια καὶ κρίσιν καὶ δεσμόν ἀποκρίνοντα τοὺς
 ἄλλους καὶ δημηγορίαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τε καὶ δι-
 καστοῦ καὶ ὄρκους ἔξαιροῦντας τὸν φόβον οὐδ'
 οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπανήκον οὐδ' ἠδέως εἶδον
 τοὺς τῶν βελτιόνων ἀγγέλους, ἀλλ' οἱ ταχεῖς ἐν-
 θένδε ἀπελθεῖν βραδεῖς εἰς τὰ δεύτερα κατεχόμενοι
 τῇ τῆς ἀργίας ἠδονῇ μᾶλλον ἢ ζήλω τῷ¹ μεμφό-
 μενοι τῷ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένων
 τάχει λόγων οὐκ ἀποροῦντες ἀναισχύντων, ὅτι ἀλλὰ
 περιήρηται τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ μετείληφε
 σχῆμα φρουρίου καὶ οὐθ' ὁ ἵππόδρομος οὔτε τὸ
 R ii. 306 θέατρον ἔχει τὰ αὐτοῦ. 27. καὶ τί | τοῦτο, ὧ
 Μουσῶν ὑμεῖς ἐχθροί; πολὺ γὰρ δὴ βελτίων ἢ
 πόλις εἰς λόγους ἐν οἷς δίκην ἔδωκε γεγένηται, καὶ
 τὰ μὲν βλαβερὰ περιήρηται, τῶν δ' ὄντων ἀγαθῶν
 οὐδὲν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς προσηγορίας βέβλαπται.

¹ τῷ Re., F. : τῷ CAPIV : τῶν M.

^a Cf. Or. 22 *passim*.

^b Cf. Or. 20. 6. The penalties immediately imposed on Antioch included the loss of metropolitan status and a ban on civic amenities. These had not been restored at the time of composition of this oration—hence the importance of this

ORATION XXIII, 25-27

25. You might recognize these fellows for what they are from this consideration too. The emperor in his wrath accused the city council and some of the lawyers, but never made any mention of those who were resident here to be educated. This imperial despatch was published and the talk of it had been noised abroad everywhere, so that even the evacuees knew about it, but none of them behaved as though he was glad, drew a breath of relief, thanked his lucky stars or hurried back to enjoy the pursuits of which he had been deprived. 26. Nor is there anything surprising in this! Even after the trials and the verdict and the arrests, which sorted the sheep from the goats, after the public address of Ellebichus, the military commander and investigator,^a and the oaths that removed all cause for alarm,—not even then did they return to their studies or look with favour on the bearers of good tidings. Those who were so quick to leave here were slow in what followed, for they were gripped by the pleasures of idleness rather than by any feeling of enthusiasm. They resented the speed of the emperor's emissaries, and were at no loss for arguments of barefaced impudence. "The reputation of the city is ruined," they said. "It has taken on the appearance of a garrison. Neither the race-course nor the theatre is as it should be." 27. And what does this matter, you enemies of the Muses? The city has indeed been much improved, as regards eloquence, by the punishment she has undergone; and the harmful elements have been removed. None of its true blessings has suffered harm by its change of title.^b

passage for the sequence of the orations. The remaining speeches were obviously written after the remission of the ban.

LIBANIUS

αὐτός γέ τοι χείρων οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς | εἰω- F 507
 θότας γέγονα πόνους. οὐδ' ὅσοι τῶν νέων ἔμειναν,
 [οὐκ]¹ ἤτιάσαντο τὴν μονήν, οὓς οὐδὲν τὸ μὴ λού-
 σθαι κωλύει καρποῦσθαι τὰ βιβλία.

28. Οἶμαι δέ, καὶ λούσονται καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν
 ἅπασιν αὐθις ὄψονται τὴν πόλιν βελτίους ὑμῶν
 αὐτῷ τούτῳ φανέντες τῷ καὶ τὰ δυσκολώτερα τῇ
 πόλει συνδιενεγκεῖν. ὑμεῖς δὲ αἰσχυνεῖσθε μὲν τοῦ-
 दाφος, αἰσχυνεῖσθε δὲ τὰς πύλας, αἰσχυνεῖσθε δὲ
 τὸ τῶν λόγων χωρίον, αἰσχυνεῖσθε δὲ καὶ² ἡμᾶς,
 εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἀπόλωλεν.

¹ [οὐκ] bracketed F., conj. Sintenis.

² [καὶ] bracketed F. (deleted in A).

Chrysostom (*Hom.* 17, *P.G.* xlix. 176) expresses senti-
 ments similar to those of Libanius here.

^a Since settling in Antioch in A.D. 354, he had taught in a

ORATION XXIII, 27-28

I personally have experienced no ill-effects as regards my usual task in consequence of it, nor yet have those of the students who stayed any cause to blame themselves for staying : their lack of bathing facilities doesn't stop them from reaping the fruits of their books.

28. My belief is that they will use the baths again, and will see the city once more in all its former state, and they will have proved themselves better than you by the very fact that they have shared in enduring the city's inconveniences. But you, you will feel shame at the sight of the city, its gates, its place of learning,^a and of me also, unless you are even thus far lost to any sense of shame.

room attached to the City Hall. The City Hall itself was used by the commissioners at this time as a place of confinement for the arrested decurions, which may well have been a deterrent to his scholars.

XIX

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ

R 626 1. Ἡτύχηκε μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις, ὧ βασιλεῦ, τοι- F ii. 93
 οὔτων ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἔραστήν τὸν ἑαυτῆς γεγε-
 νημένων, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ὡς ἡδικηκυῖα καὶ τούτῳ
 κεκώλυται πέμψαι πρὸς σέ πρεσβείαν τὴν ὑπὲρ
 τῶν συμβάντων καὶ λόγῳ χρησομένην καὶ ἔργῳ
 δεησομένην. 2. ἐγὼ | δὲ ἑμαυτὸν χειροτονήσας F 386
 ἤκω μέγα μὲν ποιούμενος εἰ ὅποσον εὐχομαι δυ-
 νηθείην, οὐ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰ-
 R 627 κείας πόνον, κἂν ἀτυχῆσαι | τοῦ τέλους γένηται.
 κριθήσεσθαι γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι τῇ γνώμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
 οὐχ ὑπάρξασι τοῦ δοῦναι κυρίοις. 3. τὸ μὲν οὖν
 γῆρας οἴκοι μοι παρήνει καθῆσθαι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν
 τε οἰκείων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὧν ἦν ἀκούειν ὡς
 οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶη λέγειν ὑπὲρ τοιούτων πρὸς ὠργι-
 σμένον βασιλέα, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν λεγο-
 μένων ἔσσεσθαι μοι δυσχερὲς ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς φύσεως
 εἶχον καὶ τρόπου, γῆρας δὲ θεῶν βουλομένων καὶ
 πρὸς δις τοσαύτης ὁδοῦ μῆκος ἀρκέσειν ἐπεεί-
 σμην, καὶ ὡς ὀρθῶς, αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα δηλοῖ. 4. ὁ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν ἐλπισθεῖς δια-
 268

ORATION 19
TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
ABOUT THE RIOTS

1. OUR city, Sire, has met with misfortune, in that it has been the scene of such behaviour towards its ardent admirer, and is ashamed at its misconduct and thus has been prevented from sending you an embassy to present our explanation of what occurred, and to make our real pleas about it. 2. I have come self-elected, and though I regard it of great consequence to be able to achieve all I could wish, my actual efforts for my native city are, I feel, of no little moment, even though I should not succeed in attaining my end. I shall be judged, I believe, by my intention rather than by the lack of the means to grant me its fulfilment. 3. So, though my advanced years bid me stay at home, as do many of my friends and relations, who could be heard telling me that it was not safe to plead such a case before an emperor in his wrath, I have deduced from your character and conduct that there will be no untoward consequences for me from my remarks. I was convinced that, if the gods so will, my old age would suffice for a journey even twice as long—and how correctly, the event itself reveals. 4. For I, who by no stretch of imagination could have been expected

LIBANIUS

βῆναι διά τε πολλῶν οὕτως ἀφίγμαι καὶ διέβην
Βόσπορον ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις εἰμὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ
τῆς πόλεως λόγοις. ὦν οὖν συλλαμβανόντων ἐνή-
νοχα τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέειπον, τούτους καὶ πρὸς
τὴν ὄλην σπουδὴν ἔξειν ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους. |

R. 628 5. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν τινος ἤκουσα ζηλοῦντος τὴν F 387
ἡμετέραν πόλιν ὑδάτων τε εἴνεκα καὶ πνευμάτων
καὶ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους <καὶ>¹ τῶν ἐνοικούντων
καὶ τοῦ λόγους ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δίδοσθαι καὶ | λαμ-
βάνεσθαι καὶ εἶναι τοὺς τε παιδεύεσθαι βουλομένους
τοὺς τε παιδεύειν δυναμένους. 6. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ εἰς
εὐδαίμονας αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ἂν θείην ἢ τούναντίον
λογιζόμενος σεισμούς τε καὶ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πτώ-
ματα καὶ Περσῶν ἐπιστρατείας καὶ πορθήσεις καὶ
κατασκαφὰς καὶ πῦρ καὶ τά, ὡς ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν,
δυστυχίας μείζονος,² θυμόν τε κατ' ἀρχόντων ἀδι-
κον καὶ ἐν ἔλξεσι ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν θανάτους,
ἃ παρ' ἄλλων ἐν ὀνειδέσειν ἀκηκόαμεν πολλάκις·
ἃ γὰρ ἠτύχηκε, καὶ ἐγκέκληται. 7. καίτοι ποῦ
δίκαιον τοῦτό γε; τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἶναι
χρῆ νομίζειν δαίμονος προσλαβόντος καὶ τὴν ὑβρι-
σμένην Νέμεσιν. ἢ δ' ὑβρις μηκέτ' εἶναι τὸ ἔδος.

¹ <καὶ> P corrected, F.

² μείζονος mss. except Bad., F. : ἀπάσης μείζονα Bad., Re.

^a This is the fiction which deceived Zosimus (4. 41) into stating that Libanius delivered this oration before the emperor and Senate of Constantinople, and succeeded in his plea.

^b Cf. Or. 1. 2, 11 *passim*. The praises of the locality by tradition occupy the first place in a set oration.

^c Especially the sack of Antioch by the Persians in the 250s. Cf. Vol. I, p. 520 n., Downey, pp. 252 ff.

^d The riots of A.D. 354, with the lynchings of Theophilus,

ORATION XIX, 4-7

to cover the first day's journey, have covered many, and so have made my way here. I have crossed the Bosphorus ; I am in the palace and participate in the debate about our city.^a So from the people with whose assistance I undertook the journey without flinching, I believe that I shall have support also in my whole enterprise.

5. Now, in the past I have heard people expressing envy for our city, because of its streams, its breezes, its size and beauty, its inhabitants, the instruction in oratory that is both given and received here, and because of its willing students and able teachers.^b

6. However, I would not consider her fortunate so much as the contrary, when I consider earthquakes and the ruin they have caused, invasions of the Persians, with their pillaging, demolition and arson,^c and the elements of a still greater disaster, to my mind,—the unprovoked rage against the governors, and their lynchings, as they have been dragged along by their tied feet,^d—all of which we have heard in reproving comment from other people, for our misfortune is also the ground for complaint against us. 7. Yet where is the justification for this ? The present situation surely must be regarded as the responsibility of the same spirit ^e which has gained the aid of an outraged Nemesis also,—the outrage being the disappearance of her temple.^f This has Montius and Domitianus, *Amm. Marc.* 14. 7, *Or.* 1. 103 ; *infra*, § 47.

^a The intervention of *πενήροι δαίμονες* is a feature of the accounts of the riots in Libanius (*Or.* 1. 252 ; *infra*, § 29 (with manifestations)) and in Chrysostom, *Hom.* 15 (*P.G.* xlix. 154) and 21 (*ibid.* 214 f.).

^f The temple of Nemesis, in Diocletian's reconstruction, was located in the stadium at Daphne, and was occupied by

LIBANIUS

καὶ | τοῦτ' ἀπεδείχθη τοῖς ἐξ ἱεροῦ Νεμέσεως ἐτέ- F 388
ρου γεγενημένοις.

8. Καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐ δεινὰ τὰ περὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας
εἰκόνας, τίς ἂν ἀντίποι; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν σκοτεινὴν
ἐκείνην προσείποι τὴν ἡμέραν; ἦν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
μαινομένης πόλεως, τὸ δ' ἐκβάλλον τοῦ φρονεῖν ἦν
τι ἰσχυρότερον, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ συγχωρῆσαι δεῖ τῆς
πόλεως ἀπάσης εἶναι τὸ ἀδίκημα, τὴν ἀπολογίαν
ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου ἔχει. ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔδρασε φρο-
νοῦσα, ταῦτα ἐτόλμα παραφρονοῦσα. 9. τὸν δὲ
R 629 τοῦτο πεπονθότα ἀνθρώπων οὐ κολάζει νόμος, ἀλλ'
ἐλεεῖν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι τέχνη τῇ τῶν ἰατρῶν | ἐπανορ-
θοῦν. οὐδεὶς δὲ τύπτει τὸν μαινόμενον οὐδὲ ἔγ-
κλημα νόσου ποιούμενος τὴν νόσον κατηγορεῖ.¹
νοσοῦσι καὶ πόλεις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ δὲ νοσήματα
τούτων ταραχαί, θόρυβος, ὀργῆς ἠττηθῆναι, τὰ τῶν
ἠττημένων ἀμαρτεῖν, τὰ νόμῳ κεκωλυμένα πρᾶξαι.
10. τοῦτ' ἂν αἱ στάσεις, ἐν αἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
δεινὰ καὶ σφαγαὶ οὐ πολιτῶν μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ
συγγενῶν, τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θυμοῦ βίας νικώσης τὰ παρὰ
τῆς φύσεως. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν | ἔλθοι μὲν ἂν F 389
ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ μικρὰν πόλιν, αἷς δὲ ἐστὶ μεγέθη,
πολὺ τοῦτο ἐν ταύταις. 11. κἂν ἐξετάξῃς τῆς
Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας τὸν χρόνον, καὶ στάσεις ἐν
ταῖς τηλικαύταις εὐρήσεις· ὥς οἱ μὲν ἄμεινον τῶν
βασιλέων φρονούντες συγγνώμης ἠξίωσαν, παρ'

¹ κατηγορεῖ Re. text (mss.): κατηγορεῖ Re. conj., F.

the judges and officials of the Olympic games. Thus, symbolically, the conduct of games and officials is under the protection of Justice, *qua* Nemesis. The temple had been demolished by A.D. 387, and for that reason was a source of divine vengeance. The "other temple of Nemesis" is the

ORATION XIX, 7-11

been proved by the proceedings which have emerged from another temple of Nemesis.

8. It cannot be denied that the treatment of your statues was shocking. That day must be called a black day. It was, Sire, the behaviour of a city gone mad, but the force which robbed it of its senses was something too potent, so that, even if we must admit that the misconduct belongs to the city as a whole, it has its excuse in what inspired it. Out of her senses she dared to behave in a way she never would have done in her right senses. 9. With regard to any human being in this plight, it is normal not to punish, but to pity him, and to try to correct him by the art of medicine.^a No one gives a flogging to a madman, nor, in bringing a case of disability to court, does he make that disability the charge. Cities too suffer from disabilities, Sire,—disturbances, riots, fits of temper, misconduct in consequence of them, and activities forbidden by law. 10. Such are the outbreaks of violence in which, to cap the many other outrages, murders are committed, not just of fellow citizens but, at times, even of relations, when the violence of temper overcomes natural affection. Even a small town may sometimes be visited with this evil, but it becomes serious in cities of any size. 11. And if you examine the history of the Roman empire, you will find outbreaks in such cities. The more sensible of emperors thought fit to pardon

emperor, and his commission, sitting in judgement on Antioch.

^a The analogy of the ailments of the city, as a collective body, with those of the individual is a commonplace (*s.g.* *Or.* 12. 50, 20. 40, 22. 9), and harks back to Plato and beyond (*s.g.* *Xen. Mem.* 3. 5. 18, *Plat. Menex.* 243 E).

LIBANIUS

ἐνίων δὲ οὐκ εἶ βεβουλευμένων ἦλθον ἐπ' αὐτὰς
 ζημίαι ζημιούσαι καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ζημιούντας.
 πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀσθενέστερα ποιεῖν οὐδ' εἶ-
 δέναι θεοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν ὠμολόγουν. 12. τίνα γὰρ
 δὴ τὰ τῶν θεῶν; συγγνώμη τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ῥή-
 R 630 ματα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφιεῖσιν ὅταν | τι παρὰ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων λυπῶνται. καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτοὶ σφᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ἀπολλύουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως¹ συκοφαντοῦσιν, οἱ
 δὲ ἀνέχονται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολὺ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων γένος, εἰ δ' εἶποντο πᾶσιν ἀμαρτήμασι δίκαι,
 σφόδρα ἂν ὀλίγον ἦν τὸ σωζόμενον. ὅστις οὖν
 εἰκόνα βούλεται θεοῖς, ἀφιεῖς τιμωρίας χαιρέτω
 μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνων. 13. ᾧ μεγίστῳ καὶ τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας εὐρίσκω τῶν βαρβάρων διαφέροντας. οἱ
 μὲν γε ἐγγύς εἰσι τῶν θηρίων ἀτιμάζοντες ἔλεον,
 οἱ δὲ ὄξεις τε | ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀργῆς περιόντες. οὕτω F 390
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἐξὸν Ἀθήνας ἀνελεῖν ἐφείσαντο,
 οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμήσαντες
 τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου στάντων καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάγκην οὐ
 μικρὰν εἰς τὴν δίκην ἔχοντες τὰ δεδογμένα περὶ
 αὐτῶν. ἦν δ' ἂν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν
 βελτίων οὐ κατασκάψας Θήβας. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπήντα
 R 631 τοῦτο τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἦν | ἂν πρῶτον
 ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγοις.

¹ After ὅμως, <οἱ μὲν> Morel, Re. : del. F.

^o Hints at the emperor as being θεοείκελος (as he had described Julian, Or. 15. 34, 16. 18). This is expanded in Or. 20. 12 ff. to the notion of the emperor as διατρεφής, in a classical Hellenic and current pagan sense. As, before Julian (Or. 15. 24 ff.), forgiveness had been paraded as an

ORATION XIX, 11-13

them, but by some less well advised, punishments were inflicted on them, which harmed those who imposed them too, for not only did they make themselves weaker, but they were self-confessedly incapable of following the ways of the gods. 12. By the ways of the gods, I mean pardoning those who every day disparage them whenever they are at all upset by circumstances. Why, they often call down destruction on themselves, but for all that they go on slandering the gods, and the gods turn a blind eye. So the human race abounds, but if punishment inevitably followed the crime, there would be precious few surviving. Anyone, then, who wants to be like the gods should have more joy in remitting punishment than in inflicting it.^a 13. In this respect in particular I find the Greeks also to be superior to barbarians. These approximate to brutes in despising pity, while the Greeks are quick to pity and get over their wrath. So the Spartans spared Athens when they had it in their power to destroy her^b; those of the Greeks who fought against the Medes spared those who sided with them, even though they had no small urge to vengeance in the shape of the decrees passed about them.^c Alexander of Macedon, too, would have been the better for not razing Thebes to the ground,^d for this would not then have countered the eloquence expended on his behalf, but would have held pride of place among it.

Hellenic virtue, so here before Theodosius, but the religious implications are now more contentious.

^b After the Peloponnesian War, 404 B.C., Xen. *Hell.* 2. 2.

^c The oath of revenge against the Greeks collaborating with Xerxes, Hdt. 7. 132. Thebes spared, Hdt. 9. 86-88.

^d In 336 B.C., Or. 14. 34, 20. 22, Dio Chrys. Or. 2, p. 83 R.

LIBANIUS

14. Δεινὰ τὰ γενόμενα.¹ τὰ δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μέτρια τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πυκνά; οἷς τὸ θέατρον τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν πολέμου χωρίον. ἐν δ' αὖ τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους πολέμοις καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχουσι πολεμοῦσι ῥῆμα οὐδὲν ὀκνοῦντες, οἳ καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν φονέας καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἔχοντας πάντων ἀκουόντων ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔστι τε ἡ πόλις καὶ μένει. καὶ | δέδοται τῇ φύσει τῶν F 391
R 632 πόλεων τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελεῖν καὶ οὐ τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν θαυμάζομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μῆ. οὕτως εἰ καὶ μὴ γράμμασιν ἀλλ' ἔργῳ τοῦτον τεθείκατε τὸν νόμον, συγγνώμην ἔχειν πόλεων ἀνοία. | 15. τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα εἶδε καλῶς καὶ τοῖν ἀδελφοῖν τοῖν Παιόνοιι ὁ νεώτερος. τὴν γὰρ αὖ μεγάλην πόλιν ἠδέως ὑποδεξαμένην τυράννου θράσος καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰποῦσαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ πράξασαν, ἐν οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς εἰς ἐκείνον ὕβρῃσιν ἐχαρίζετο τῷ τυράννῳ, τοῦτον τοίνυν ἐκείνος καθελὼν ἤξειν τε ἐλπίζόμενος ἐπὶ τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς πόλεως τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐνενόησεν, ἐκάθητο δὲ ἀναμένων ὅστις αὐτὴν ἐξαιτήσεται, καὶ φανέντος τὸν μὲν ἐπήνεσε, τὴν δὲ οὐκ ἐκόλασε.

¹ Before *δεινὰ*, Morel, *Re. ins.* *δεινὰ τὰ λεγόμενα*: after *γενόμενα ins. καὶ* (Bad.): om. F.

^a e.g. the murder of Georgius, Dec. A.D. 361; *Amm. Marc.* 22. 11. Julian, *E.L.F.* No. 60 (= *Socr. H.E.* 3. 3).

^b Maximus, usurper A.D. 383-388, responsible for the murder of Gratian and the expulsion of Valentinian II. A concordat between Maximus and Theodosius remained until A.D. 386, with Maximus recognized as Augustus and his statues erected throughout the East. Cynegius, ppO, had been sent to Alexandria early in that year to set these statues up and to institute curial reforms, but had then proceeded to attack pagan institutions there. As in

ORATION XIX, 14-16

14. "What happened was dreadful," it may be said. Then are the many frequent occurrences in Alexandria commendable? There the theatre is their battleground against their governors.^a Moreover in the warfare they wage against them, they wage war also against you, their emperors, with no mincing of words, since they invited to Egypt, in the hearing of all, the murderers of the Western emperors and the usurpers of their kingdom.^b But for all that the city still exists and remains. Such misguidedness is conceded as natural to cities; we are not astonished at their misconduct, but at the lack of it. So, if not by ordinance, certainly by practice you have set this rule, to pardon cities for their stupidity. 15. The younger of the Pannonian brothers realized this well enough.^c When the capital gladly welcomed a bold usurper with words and deeds, and in both sought to ingratiate itself with the pretender by insulting the emperor, after putting down the usurper, he was expected to descend upon the body and the complement of the city, but he never even entertained the idea; instead he sat waiting for someone to come and plead for it and, when he turned up, he praised him and refrained from punishing the city. 16. Then

A.D. 361, such interference produced pagan rioting, this time in favour of Maximus. By this time Theodosius was ready to break with the usurper; cf. Petit, *Byzantion*, xxi, pp. 303-304.

^c Valentinian and Valens, born at Cibalis in Pannonia (Grecized into Paeonia). For Valens and his reactions to the supporters of Procopius in Constantinople and elsewhere (A.D. 365-366) cf. Zos. 4. 5, Amm. Marc. 26. 6. 14. Themistius (*Or.* 7, *περὶ τῶν ἡτυχηκότων*) dilates on Valens' "clemency." In actual fact, there followed a bloody repression which included not only the rebels but pagans generally.

LIBANIUS

16. λεγέσθω δὴ τι καὶ περὶ σοῦ τοιοῦτον, ἄλλως θ' ὅτε σοι καὶ δόξα πλείων ἐντεῦθεν ἢ παρὰ τῶν [ἐν]¹ ὅπλοις κατωρθωμένων ἅ σε δεσπότην καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐποίησε | δούλων εὖνων. τὸ δὲ ἐκείνους οὕτως F 392 ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν σῶν εἰς ἐκείνους. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦν, ῥάδιον δέ, οἶμαι, παντί, τοὺς ἀρχομένους²
 R 633 ὅπως ἀδεεῖς³ ἔσονται ποιεῖς. ἐντεῦθεν | ἔστιν ἀκούειν ὀριζόντων τῶν μὲν ὡς πολεμικώτερος εἶης μᾶλλον ἢ φιλανθρωπότερος, τῶν δὲ ὡς φιλανθρωπότερος μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμικώτερος. 17. ὁ δὲ ἔπαινος πολλῶ λαμπρότερος ὁ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἔχων, αὐτοῦ γάρ τινός ἐστι καθαρώς, βασιλέως δὲ πολεμίων κεκρατηκότος τὸ μὲν τι γίγνεται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὄπλων, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἵππων, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων, τὸ δὲ τῶν νεῶν, εἰ δὴ διὰ τούτων μάχονται.

18. Μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δόξαν οὕτω καλὴν ἀνέλης, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμοῦ μὲν ὡς εἰκέναι δεῖ πατρὶ τὸν βασιλέα, πατέρων δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πράως φέρειν προπετείας | υἱέων. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἐγκώμια F 393 κατὰ σοῦ λέγειν, πλείστον δ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ τῆς ἡμερότητος ἔνεστιν. ὥστ' εἰ καὶ πάντες ἦσαν ἀπηνεῖς καὶ χαλεποί, σὲ τοῦτο φυλάττειν ἐχρήν.
 19. νῦν δ' ὄραν ἕξεστι καὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐντεῦθεν εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐσπουδακότα τὸν τε ἀντιθένητα τῇ Ῥω-
 R 634 μαίων πόλει⁴ τὴν νέαν | ὁμώνυμον⁵ ἔστιν οὐ τοῦτο

¹ ἐν F. (CA Bad.): om. other mss.: bracketed Re.

² ἀρχομένους conj. Re., F. (Par. 3014 Bad.): ἐχομένους Re. text (other mss.).

³ ὅπως ἀδεεῖς F. (M marg., P corrected): οἷς ἀδεεῖς Savile (Bad.): οἷς ἐνδεεῖς Morel (Par. 3017): ἐνδεεῖς Re. (other mss.).

⁴ πόλει F.: βουλῇ Re. (mss.): πόλιν Cobet.

⁵ ὁμώνυμον Cobet, F.: ὁμως Re. (mss.).

ORATION XIX, 16-19

let some such thing be said of you too, especially when more renown will accrue to you from it than from all the successes in arms which have made you master of the Scyths and them your loyal slaves.^a That they are so results from your treatment of them, for instead of doing them harm, which I feel any man might easily do, you ensure that your subjects shall be free from fear. Hence we can hear their attempts at definition, some saying that you are more of a warrior than a humanitarian, others that you are more of humanitarian than a warrior. 17. The praise which embraces humanity is much the more glorious, for it belongs to the individual personally, whereas some of the praise received by the emperor who has overcome his enemies belongs to the appropriate general, his soldiers, his equipment, horses, horsemen and ships, if indeed they fight by means of them.

18. Then, Sire, do not ruin such a noble fame. Consider that an emperor must be like a father, and a father's duty is to handle the waywardness of his sons gently. So, though we can sing your praises on many counts, the greatest truth lies in the account of your clemency,^b and thus even if all men were stubborn and difficult, you must protect this. 19. Indeed, we can see both that Julian sought to achieve fame from this source, and that the founder of the new capital, which he built to rival the city of Rome and which bears his name,^c displayed this

^a The Goths under Athanaric, Amm. Marc. 27. 11, Zos. 4. 34, Socr. *H.E.* 5. 10.

^b *Cf. Or.* 20. 16.

^c Of the commentators, Reiske and Cobet (misled by the omission of *τε* after *τόν* in I and Bad.) confuse the issue here by supposing a textual error to underlie *τόν Ἰουλιανόν*, so

LIBANIUS

ἐπιδεδειγμένον. τοῦ Ῥωμαίων γάρ ποτε δήμου
βοαῖς αὐτὸν ἀσελγεστέραις βεβληκότος, τί χρῆ
ποιεῖν ἐρόμενος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοῦ μὲν εἰπόντος
δεῖν πέμπειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δύναμιν καὶ κατακόπτειν,
ἡγήσεσθαι δὲ αὐτός, τοῦ δὲ ὅτι βασιλικὸν εἶη τὸ
μηδὲ εἰδέναί τὰ γε τοιαῦτα, τὸν μὲν ἂ δεῖ παρ|λαι- F 394
νεῖν, τὸν δὲ πικρὸν ἐκείνον ἥκιστα βασιλεῖ συμ-
φέρειν εἰπών, τοὺς δὲ κρατοῦντας πρέπειν ἀνέχε-
σθαι τῶν τοιούτων σκιρτημάτων, τὸν μὲν ἐποίησε
μέγαν τῇ δόξῃ, τὸν δὲ συστείλας ἀπέπεμψεν, εὖ-
νουν δ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐποίησε νομοθετήσας
γέλωτος ἀφορμὴν τοὺς βασιλέας τὰ τοιαῦτα ποι-
εῖσθαι.

20. Ἄλλ' ὅμως σοί γε οὐκ ἴσος ἐκείνος¹ εἰς
φιλανθρωπίας λόγον,² <ὅς>³ πρὸς μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα
R 635 πρᾶως εἶχε, χαλεπώτατος δὲ ἦν | τοῖς ὀρεγομένοις
βασιλείας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ οὐ
τούτοις δὲ μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι μάντεσιν ὑπὲρ
τοῦ ποῖ χωρήσει τὰ ἐκείνων⁴ διελέγοντο, καὶ οὐδε-
μία τέχνη τὸν γε τοιοῦτον ἐξείλετ' ἂν τοῦ πυρός.

21. σὺ δέ γε ποῖός τις ἐν τοιούτοις, τίς μὲν Ῥω-
μαίων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων οὐκ | οἶδεν; ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ F 395
ὁμοίων ἐγκλημάτων ἦσαν τινες ἀποθανούμενοι καὶ
ἡ ψῆφος εἶχε θάνατον, ἡ δὲ λύουσα φωνὴ τὴν ψῆφον

¹ ἐκείνος conj. Re., Cobet, F.: ἐκείνοις mss., Re. text.

² φιλανθρωπίας λόγον conj. Re., Cobet, F. (I corrected):
φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ λόγος Savile, Re. (M Bad.): φιλανθρωπίαν λόγος
Morel (other mss.).

³ <ὅς> F. (P corrected).

⁴ τὰ ἐκείνων Re. (mss.): τὰ ἐκείνου F. (τάκείνου P corrected).

referring the whole sentence to Constantine, Sievers by refer-
ring τὸν τε ἀντιθέτα to Julian. For Julian's clemency cf.
Or. 12. 85, 18. 200 ff., et al., and for Constantine's foundation

ORATION XIX, 19-21

quality at times. For instance, once when the Roman populace assailed him with catcalls,^a he asked his brothers what he ought to do. One of them answered that he should let loose an armed force upon them and cut them down, and offered to take charge of the operation himself. The other replied that it became his majesty to take not the slightest notice of such behaviour. Constantine told them that this advice was the correct one and that of that harsh brother was of little use to an emperor: it was proper for rulers to put up with such skittishness. So he made the one great in renown and dismissed the other crest-fallen, and he put himself on good terms with Rome by ordaining that emperors might have fun poked at them in this way.

20. But yet, in any count of humanity, there is no comparison between him and you. He was clement enough on such occasions as these, but he was most severe on aspirants to the throne and members of such conspiracies,—and not just on them, but on any who associated with soothsayers to find out the course their fortunes would take.^b There was no device that could have saved such a man from being burnt at the stake. 21. But everyone, both Roman and barbarian, knows your habit in such matters. On some such charge as this some persons were going out to meet their doom, and the verdict involved was of Constantinople as a “rival” to Rome *cf. Or. 20. 24, Sozom. 2. 3, Zos. 2. 30.*

^a For this anecdote *cf. Or. 20. 24.* The two brothers were Hannibalianus and Julius Constantius, the hawk and the dove respectively.

^b *e.g.* his murder of Licinius, justified by Socr. *H.E.* 1. 4, described as treacherous by Zos. 2. 28; his attitude to soothsaying, Zos. 2. 29.

LIBANIUS

λαβούσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάγουσα τῶν αὐχένων τὰ ξίφη, καὶ νῦν ζῶσιν ἐν χωρίοις παρέχουσι ἡδονὰς ἐπ' ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτοῦσι θάνατον.¹ 22. ἀπολέλαυκέ σου τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἡ πολλαῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τιμωμένη δαπάναις, δι' ὧν αἰεὶ μείζων τε καὶ καλλίων γίνεται. οἱ τοίνυν Σκύθη τινὰ στρατιώτην αἰτιαθέντα τι ἐπὶ μὲν δικαστήριον οὐκ ἀγαγόντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν θάλατταν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῆ σφαγὴν προσαποστεροῦντες καὶ ταφῆς ἐλύπησαν μὲν οἷς ἐτόλμησαν κινδύντες τὸ Σκυθικόν, R 636 ἔδεισαν | δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ οὐδὲ ὄλην ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίσαντες πεινήσειν ἦσαν ἐν ἄρτῳ πάλιν παρὰ τῶν διαλλαγῶν.

23. Ἡ οὖν ἕτερόν σε δεῖ γενέσθαι σήμερον καὶ ἄνω ποταμῶν πορευθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ ἕως ἄν ἐκεῖνος | ἦς, μηδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ δίκην ἔλθειν. τί γὰρ δὴ F 396 καὶ νεανικὸν πόλιν ὑπήκοον ποιῆσαι κακῶς; οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ποιμέσι θύειν ὅποσα βούλονται τῶν προβάτων, οὐδὲ τοῖς βουκόλοις τῶν βοῶν οὐδὲ τοῖς αἰπόλοις τῶν αἰγῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιούσι τῶν θηρίων καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ ἀπωθεῖν καὶ² μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν, τὸ δὲ κατεσθίειν ἃ τις νέμει, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν.

24. Οὕτω μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως

¹ ἀπαιτοῦσι θάνατον F. (V): ἀποῦσι θανάτου Re. (other mss.): <μικρόν> ἀποῦσι θανάτου conj. Re.

² καὶ om. Savile (Bad.): bracketed F.

^a e.g. the incident in *Or.* 1. 239 ff., *Themist. Or.* 19. 229 d ff., figures prominently in the recitals of the clemency of Theodosius, *Or.* 20. 15, 23. 13.

^b Constantinople, usually referred to with dislike, e.g. *Or.* 1. 74 ff., *ibid.* 279. For this incident, *Or.* 20. 14.

ORATION XIX, 21-24

death, when news of their reprieve,^a issuing first from the palace and proceeding through the city, removed the sword-blades from their throats, and now they live in places that give them pleasure, after the charges that demanded their death. 22. That city also has enjoyed your humanity, Sire, which is honoured with great expenditure every day, whereby it now becomes the greater and the more handsome.^b Anyway, they did not bring to court a Scythian soldier who had been accused of some offence, but they murdered him on land and then cast him into the sea, robbing him of burial besides. Although by this outrage they distressed you by the provocation offered to the Scyths, they did not spend even one whole day in fear of your wrath, but, for all that they expected to starve, they were supplied with bread once again in consequence of the reconciliation.

23. You must then either today become a quite different person and things go all topsy-turvy,^c or else, while ever you remain as you are, you must not now have recourse to punishment. Anyway, where lies the valour in injuring a subject city? There is none either for shepherds, or cowherds, or goatherds, in slaughtering as many as they like of their sheep or cows or goats. What matters and what is of note is for them to fight on their behalf against any attacking predator, and to overcome them and repel them. There is no admiration to be won by feeding upon one's charges.

24. So, Sire, by your natural qualities you would

^a Proverbial—the rivers run up-hill. *Paroem. Gr.* (ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin), pp. 47, 185 (*Zenob.* 2. 56, *Diogen.* 1. 27), *Eurip. Med.* 410.

ἡμαρτηκυίας τῇ γε σῆ φύσει προνοητέον ἂν ᾦν, νῦν δ' ἄκουσον ἕκαστα διηγουμένου· γένοιο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω δικαιότερος κριτῆς καὶ δαιτήσαις¹ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πεπραγμένων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν πόλιν.

25. *Ἦκε τὰ περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γράμματα, πρᾶγμα πάλαι φοβερὸν. πιστενομένου δὲ τοῦ τέως ἀπιστουμένου καὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ φερούσης τὸ ἄχθος κατηνέχθησαν οἱ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀκηκοότες εἰς γῆν ἐξ-εταζόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἀδυναμίαν καὶ ὡς εἰ ἂ μὴ δύνανται μὲν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ βού-
 R 637 λωιντο δυνήσονται, | τὰ σώματα δὲ σφισιν ἐν ταῖς F 397
 ἐσχάταις ἀνάγκαις ἔσται. καταφεύγουσι τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον καλοῦντες οἷόν τε ὄντα πείσαι σε τοῦ πλήθους ἀφελεῖν. 26. μεστοῦ δὲ ὄντος ἀνδρῶν τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐγεγόνεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπολιτεύοντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνδικεῖν εἶχον πρόσοδον, τοῖς δ' ὁ χρόνος λελύκει τοὺς στρατιωτικούς πόνους, τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ἠριθμημένων οἱ μὲν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἰκέτεον δάκρυσιν, οἱ δ' ἄνευ φωνῆς ἐδάκρουν, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἰκετεύουσι δῆπου θετέον. ὁ δ' ἀρχων οὐκ εἶχεν ἐπιτιμᾶν· τίνα γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέμψιν ἰκετεία δέχοιτο; 27. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἠδίκησαι, βασιλεῦ· ποῖον γὰρ ἀδίκημα παρ' οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰτεῖς τὰ ἀγαθὰ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τοῦτόν τινα ἀνθρώπων βοηθὸν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι; ἤδη δὲ ὄντων ἔξω καὶ ληγόντων τῶν τοιούτων ῥημάτων ἀνθρω-
¹ δαιτήσαις F. (V): -sois Savile (Bad.): -seis Re. (other mss.).

* Cf. Introduction, pp. 241-242, for discussion on the nature of this demand.

have had to take official measures to deal with our miscreant city. As things are, listen to my narration of the particulars, for in this way you would be more just in your judgement and would treat the inhabitants of the city in the light of the actual occurrences.

25. There arrived the decree concerning the gold, something long dreaded.^a What up to then seemed incredible was only too credible; the land could not bear the burden, and so those who had heard the directive cast themselves to the ground, the majority revealing their utter incapacity: however much they might wish it, they would be incapable of doing what they could not, and their persons would be in the direst straits. They had recourse, then, to the support of the god, invoking his name,^b for he could persuade you to remit some of the burden. 26. The court-room was crammed with people—ex-governors, city-councillors, professional lawyers, retired military men. Of these that I have listed, some, as I have said, began to make tearful supplication, others wept without speaking, though they too must obviously be classed as suppliants. The governor^c could not reprove them—for what reproof, indeed, is applicable to supplication? 27. So up to that point, Sire, you had been wronged by none, for what wrong is there in any man wanting to have to aid him the one for whose blessing you personally pray every day? But now, when they had come outside and were bringing their entreaties to an end, some fellows began to

^b The protesters are thus mainly Christians—a word he cannot bring himself to use: they form a *πονηρὰ συμμορία*, *Or.* 20. 3.

^c On the identity of the *consularis*, successor to Tisamenus, *cf.* *Or.* 23. 10 n. (p. 250 above).

LIABNIUS

ποί τινες σεισιγηκότων ἐκείνων | εἰσήγον τὴν ταρα- F 398
 χήν. 28. καὶ προελθόντες οὗ Φλαβιανὸν εὐρή-
 σειν ἔμελλον, οὐχ εὐρόντες εἶτα ἀνέστρεφον ὅθεν
 πρῶτον ἐκινήθησαν, ἀπτόμενοι μὲν ῥημάτων οὐ
 καλῶν, μέλλοντες δὲ καὶ ἔργων, τουτὶ δὲ οὐκ
 ᾤοντο οἷ γε ἐπιεικέστεροι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν ἐκεῖ-
 R 638 νοι; οἱ | καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ νεφῶν αὐτῶν
 τοὺς ὄρχουμένους προτιθέντες. ὧν ἤδη τις καὶ
 τῶν ἐν Βηρυτῶ συμφορῶν αἴτιος ἐγεγόνει· τουτὶ
 γὰρ ὕστερον ἔγνωμεν. 29. τοιούτοις οὖν ὑπερέ-
 ταις ὁ κακὸς χρώμενος δαίμων ἔπραξεν ἃ σιωπᾶν
 μὲν ἐβουλόμην, ὁ παιδείας δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔᾶ μὴ
 λέγειν.¹ ἄς γὰρ μετ' αἰδοῦς ἐωρῶμεν ὑμετέρας
 εἰκόνας, ταύτας οὐχ οὕτως εἶδον οἱ τολμηρότατοι.
 τοῦ δὲ σὺν δαίμοι πονηρῶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν τεκ-
 μήριον ἐναργὲς τὸ ῥαδίως ἅπαν τοῦτο πεπραχθαι
 παιδαρίων πολὺ πρὸ ἤβης ἐπὶ πάντα πετομένων,
 ὀξέως ἀναβαινόντων, καταβαινόντων, ἀπ' ἄλλων
 ἐπ' ἄλλα διαπηδόντων μετὰ ἰσχύος πλείονος τῆς
 ἐν ἀκμάζουσιν | ἐνούσης. 30. λέγεται δὲ καὶ γέ- F 399
 ροντα μείζονα ἢ κατὰ γέροντα δυνηθέντα περὶ τὸν
 ἵππον, εὖ γε, ὧ γέρον ἀκούσαντα ἀμεῖψαι πολλῶν
 ὀρώντων πρότερον μὲν εἰς νεανίσκον ἑαυτόν, ἔπειτα
 δὲ εἰς παιδα, εἶτα ἀφανισθῆναι καὶ φρίκην οὐ μι-
 R 639 κρὰν ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ταύτας ἰδόντας τὰς | μετα-
 βολάς.

¹ ὁ παιδείας δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔᾶ μὴ λέγειν I, correction in marg. :
 ὁ παιδί· C, corrected by later hand to λέξαι δ' ὅμως ἀνάγκη : ὁ
 π..δί A, followed by erasure : εἶπω δέ Re. (Par. 3017 Bad.) :
 om. other mss. | παιδείας] ἀληθείας F.

ORATION XIX, 27-30

cause a disturbance, and they kept quiet. 28. They proceeded to the place where they were likely to find Flavianus,^a but they didn't find him there and began to make their way back to the place from which they had first started. They began to employ shocking language, and soon were to translate it into action, which was something the more respectable elements did not expect. Who were these fellows,^b then? Why, those who think more of the dancers of pantomime than of sun and moon and darkness itself! One of their kidney had already been responsible for the sad occurrences in Berytus, as we afterwards discovered. 29. Using such instruments, then, the evil spirit performed such acts as I would prefer not to mention, but which my regard for the code of my upbringing forbids me to leave unspoken. We used to gaze with reverence upon your statues; not so those blackguards then. Clear evidence for their performance of such outrages under the direction of some evil spirit is to be found in the fact that it was all performed so easily. Urchins, mere boys, darted upon them all, quickly clambered up and down, jumped from one to another with more vigour than that of men in their prime. 30. It is even said that an old man whose activities against the equestrian statue^c surpassed those of any ordinary old men was greeted with the cry, "Well done, old fellow," and in full view of lots of eye-witnesses changed, first, into a youth, then into a child, and finally vanished; and they felt no small alarm upon seeing these transformations.

^a Bishop of Antioch, *Or.* 30. 15 n., 19. *Jo. Chrys. Hom.* 21.

^b For the rôle of the *claque* in the riots *cf.* Browning, *J.R.S.* xlii, pp. 16 ff.

^c *Cf. Or.* 20. 10.

LIBANIUS

31. † Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἦν ἐν ταῖς βοαῖς χρυσὸς πολλῶν ἦν ὅτε δρόμος αἰτεῖ, ὑπὲρ τούτων φωναί.^{†1} τοῦ πράγματος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς εἰκόνας προελθόντος οἱ μὲν ἠδίκουν, οἱ δὲ ἐθεώρουν ὄντες πολλῶ πλείους τῶν τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα ποιούντων. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐκώλυον; τὸν αὐτὸν ἐρῶ πάλιν λόγον, ὅτι τὸ κωλύον ἦν ἰσχυρότερον. † ἦν γάρ τι δαιμόνιον ἐνταῦθα, ἦν ἔνδον, ὃ τοῦθ' ἕκαστον | κατηνάγκαζεν εἰσβλέ- F 400
πειν,^{†2} αὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ εἶα ῥῆξαι φωνήν. 32. ἀρχῆς δὲ μὴ φαινομένης ἡρεμεῖν ἦν ἀνάγκη καὶ πλήθος ὄντας. οἱ πολιτευόμενοι δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ταῦτα ἦσαν καὶ πράττειν καὶ ὄραν καὶ καταδύντες ὅπη τύ-
R 640 χοιεν ἑαυτοὺς | διέσωζον δεδιότες μὴ φανέντες ἔλκοιτο. πολὺ δὲ δεινότερων ὄντων τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐκεῖθεν εἶχον εὐλογον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλάττοσι φόβον. τοὺς γὰρ ἐκείνων οὐκ ἀπεσχημένους τίνας ἔδει νομίζειν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἡδη πυρὸς εἰς τινος τῶν λαμπροτέρων οἰκίαν ἐμβεβλημένου; ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείων τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκιῶν λόγος. 33. διεσπαρμένοι τοίνυν κατὰ τὸν ἐμπεπτωκότα φόβον καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἰδεῖν ἀλλή-

¹ Corrupt reading of majority of mss. Variants: ἦν ἐν] ὤμην ἐν ταῖς βοαῖς δραμεῖν τὸ πλήθος ὅπου χρυσὸς πολλῶν B, C corr. ἦκουον καὶ ἐν ταῖς βοαῖς χρυσὸς πολὺς Bad., Re. (ἦν ὅτε . . . φωναί om. Bad.). F. conj.: ἐγὼ μὲν ἦκουον καὶ ἐν ταῖς βοαῖς πολλῶν χρυσὸς ἦν (ἃ γε δρόμος αἰτεῖ, ὑπὲρ τούτων φωναί).

² Corrupt. ἦν repeated before τι Re. (Bad.): om. F. | ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἔνδον ὃ Re., F. (Bad.): ὃ ταῦτα ἦν ἔνδον ἢ other mss. | τοῦθ' ἕκαστον mss. except CV: τὸ (τοῦ CV) καθ' ἕκαστον Re., F. (CV). | κατηνάγκαζεν εἰσβλέπειν Norman: εἰς (ἦς U: εἶσω Par. 3017) κατηνάγκαζε (-ον Bad.) βλέπειν mss.: εἰς del. F.: ἠνάγκαζε Re.

^a Textually corrupt. The translation is that of Foerster's conjecture, cf. *app. crit.*

ORATION XIX, 31-33

31. So I began to listen, and in the shouts of many of them there was the word "gold"—the shouting naturally having to do with the object of the crush.^a When things reached the stage of meddling with the statues, there were some offenders, but the spectators far outnumbered the performers of this outrage. Then how was it that they did not try to stop them? I repeat what I have said before—that a stronger power prevailed to stop them. There was some superhuman agency here and within them, which forced each man to look upon this and prevented him from uttering a word. 32. No magistrate put in his appearance, and so, numerous though they were, they were forced to be still.^b The city councillors, so far from participating in or witnessing such behaviour, went to ground wherever they could and tried to save their own skins, for they were afraid that if they appeared on the scene, they would be lynched. Upon the commission of even more shocking outrages, the fear they entertained because of the lesser deeds appeared justified in consequence, for after the commission of such excesses, how were they to expect them to behave in other matters, especially when the house of one of the notables had already been set on fire?^c They were much more concerned, though, for their lives than for their homes. 33. Anyway, they scattered because of the panic that affected them. They could not see one

^b Although the *curia* is, through the *epimeletae*, theoretically responsible for public order, the initiative must come from the provincial governor.

^c Arson as a sign of class grievance? It was used by the mob against the upper class in A.D. 354 (*Or.* 1. 103, Amm. Marc. 14. 7); and the example was only too fresh in their minds.

LIBANIUS

λους οὐδ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἅμα τῶν ἀγγελλομένων πλείους ποιούντων τοὺς ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἐπιθεμένους ἔκειντο εὐχόμενοι μὲν λαβεῖν τὰ παρόντα λύσειν, προβῆναι δὲ εἰς ἔργον οὐκ ἔχοντες. |

34. Ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις κάκειθεν ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμο- F 401
νίας ἦν τινος ταῦτα ἀνάγκης. ὃν γὰρ καὶ ἄκλητον ἔδει τὰ τοιαῦτα κωλύειν τοξόταις ἐνταῦθα ἐφεστη-
κότα τρεφομένοις ὑπὲρ καιρῶν ἀπαιτούντων βέλη, καλούμενος οὗτος μυρίαῖς φωναῖς ματαίους λέγων προφάσεις ἐκάθητο. 35. καίτοι καὶ μηδενὸς κα-
R 641 λούντος εἰκότως ἂν¹ καὶ ἀναστὰς | καὶ δραμῶν ὄδ' ἔμπειρος ὢν πολέμου καὶ τᾶλλ' οὐ κακὸς καὶ εἰδῶς ὡς οὐδὲ τὴν ὄψιν οἱ θορυβοῦντες οἴσουσι τῶν τόξων, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐκινεῖτο ἀλλ' ἦν εὐλαβῆς καὶ ἔμελλεν, οἰκία δὲ ἐβοήθει προθύμως καὶ πολλὴν ἐλπίζομένην φλόγα δύο βέλεσιν ἐν προοιμίῳ ἔσβησεν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνοτέρων ταῦτὸν πεποιηκότος. 36. ὁ δὲ ἄρχων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὡς ἤκουσε τοξότας ἤκοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ προσάγοντας, ἠκέ τε αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων² εἰσήνεγκε δῆλον τούτῳ ποιήσας ὡς μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς χειρὸς αὐτὸς ἂν ἦν κὰν τοῖς προτέροις. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κᾶοντας παρέδωκε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τὰ διὰ τῶν κεραμίδων τραύματα, τοὺς δὲ F 402 ἠσεβηκότας πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν θήραν ὁδοί, κατή-

¹ ἂν conj. Re., F. (V): om. Re. text (other mss.).

² λόχων Morel, Re., F. (Par. 3014): λόγων Savile (other mss.).

^a Liebeschuetz (pp. 124 f.) identifies this official with the *νυκτέπαρχος*—commander of the watch. His archers are clearly distinguished from army units. There was, in fact,
290

ORATION XIX, 33-36

another, or tell or hear the news about the situation, and at the same time rumour exaggerated the numbers of those who attacked the statues, and so they lay low, praying for the end of the business, but incapable of venturing to act.

34. One might infer that this did not occur save under divine compulsion from the following fact also. The commander who should have put a stop to such activities even without being summoned to do so, since he was in charge of archers maintained here against emergencies that require armed intervention, was summoned time and again but remained inactive, putting out idle excuses.^a 35. Yet even if he had not been summoned at all, it would have been reasonable to expect him to up and run to the scene. He was an experienced soldier, and quite good otherwise, and he knew that the rioters would not stand even the sight of his bowmen. Yet in these matters that affected you, he would not move but dilly-dallied cautiously, though he was keen to assist one household and with a couple of bowshots extinguished all the incendiarism that was expected as soon as it began, so that he stands self-condemned for not having done the same for more important matters. 36. However, when the Count of the East heard that archers had engaged the incendiaries, he visited the scene in person, and brought in troop reinforcements, and so made it abundantly clear that with the same force he could have done the same in the previous stages too. Wounds sustained by the incendiaries from roof-tiles caused them to be handed over to trial, and the many ways of search did the same with no settled garrison in Antioch at this time. He also acts independently of both *curia* and the governors.

LIBANIUS

γοροι δὲ ἀλλήλων οἱ συνασεβήσαντες ἀλλήλους τε
καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων εἰδότες. καὶ ταχύς τε καὶ σαφής
καὶ ῥᾶστος ὁ ἔλεγχος. 37. ἔδει δὴ χωρίζειν τοὺς
εἰλημμένους κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀδικημάτων μέτρον. |

R 642 τοῦτ' οὖν ἐγίγνετο. ἔδει χωρεῖν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν
τῶν πονηροτέρων τιμωρίαν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖνυν
ἐπράττετο τῶν μὲν ξίφει πεσόντων, τῶν δὲ πυρὶ τὰς
ψυχὰς ἀφιέντων, τῶν δὲ στόμασι θηρίων δαπανη-
θέντων, ἔσωζε δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς κομιδῆ παιδας τοῦτο
αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀνωφελής, ὡς ἐν τηλικούτοις,
ὁ τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ μὴ δοῦς δίκην οὐδὲ ἡδι-
κῆκει πανταχοῦ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἰόντος τοῖς λογι-
σμοῖς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐκάστῳ προσάγοντος, ὡς μη-
δαμοῦ τάληθες ἠττηθῆναι μηδενός.

38. Σκέψαι δὴ, βασιλεῦ, τί ποιῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις
τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας ἔξεις. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖς ἀρ-
κεῖν ἡγούμενος τὸ μηκέτ' εἶναι μηδένα τῶν ταῦτ'
ἡδίκηκότων. | εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν πολλοὺς θανάτους F 403
ἀποθανεῖν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς ἔδει ποιεῖν· τούτου
δὲ οὐκέτ' ὄντος ὥρα παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς. 39.
μὴ γὰρ δὴ τῶν θρυλουμένων μηδὲν εἰς ἔργον ἔλθοι.
τίνα δὴ ταῦτ' ἔστιν; οἱ μὲν εἰς ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὄντων
ἐκάστοις χρημάτων φασὶν ἐπαφήσειν σε στρα-
τιώτας, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ σφαγὰς τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν,
οἱ δὲ διὰ μεγέθους καταδίκης ἀμυνεῖσθαι¹ τὴν ὕβριν,
οἱ δὲ αἵματι τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γνωριμωτέρων.² 40.

¹ ἀμυνεῖσθαι F. (VIBM) : ἀμύνεσθαι Morel (Bad.) : ἀμύνα-
σθαι Re. (other mss.). ² γνωριμωτάτων Morel, Re.

^a By their attack on the imperial statues.

^b For the proceedings of the courts martial cf. Jo. Chrys.
Hom. 3 (P.G. xlix. 56).

those guilty of sacrilege.^a Their accomplices, who knew the identity and the actions of their fellows, turned state's evidence, and conviction was quick, clear and easy. 37. The prisoners had to be classified according to the seriousness of their crimes. So this was done. Then proceedings had to be instituted immediately for the punishment of the worst offenders. This too was done: some fell by the sword, or lost their lives at the stake, or met their deaths at the jaws of beasts. Nor could mere boys be saved by the very fact of their youth—their tender years, in fact, were a disadvantage to them in their involvement in such misdeeds. Those who escaped punishment were simply the innocent, for the investigator everywhere applied such rigorous examination to everyone that no one at all could evade the truth.^b

38. Well, consider, Sire, the means by which after this you may have people to praise you. You will, I think, succeed if you regard it as sufficient that none of these malefactors should remain alive. If it were possible for a man to die the death many times over, we ought to have died so. But since this is impossible, it is time to put an end to your wrath. 39. I can only trust that none of the rumoured courses of action is put into effect. Well, what are these? Rumour has it that you will unleash the military to pillage the property of us all, or to massacre the inhabitants of the city, or that you will avenge the insult by a huge fine or by shedding the blood of the leading lights of the city council.^c 40. I tried to combat these

^a As had been done by Diocletian after Eugenius' revolt in A.D. 303, *cf.* on § 45 below.

LIBANIUS

ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ταύτας ἐμαχόμεν τὰς δόξας οὐκ εἰ-
δέναι σὲ λέγων τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα οἰομένους. ὅτι
μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἀπάσης τὸ ἔργον τῆς πόλεως, ἤκουσας
διηγουμένου. πάντας οὖν ἀποθνήσκειν ποῦ δίκαιον
τούς τε ὅτε ταῦτα ἡμαρτάνετο μηδὲ ἐπίδημούντας,
τούς τε νόσω πεπεδημένους, τούς τε εἰ μὴ τις αὐ-

R 643 τοὺς ἀποκτεῖνοι τοῖς | θεοῖς εἰδότας χάριν;

41. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γυναιξὶν ἔστιν ἔπιπλα. γυ-
ναῖκας δ' οὐδ' ἂν εἰς φαίῃ μετεσχηκέναι τοῦ τολ-
|μήματος. αἶ γε σιδηρᾶς ἂν αὐταῖς ηὔξαντο εἶναι F 404
τὰς θύρας. οὕτω περὶ αὐταῖς ἔδεισαν. οὐκοῦν καὶ
τὰ τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν αἷς οὔτε ἀνὴρ οὔτε παῖ-
δες οὔτε ἀδελφοί, τῶν εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐξουσίαν λαβόν-
των ἔσται; 42. ἐὰν οὖν εἴπωσι προσελθοῦσαι ὅτι,
ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε ταῦτα οὔτε ἐβουλήθημεν
οὔτε ἐζητήσαμεν οὔθ' ὅπως ἔσται προὔτρέψαμεν οὔτε
τολμηθέντων ἤσθημεν οὔτε ἐν δίκῃ νῦν προσαι-
τεῖν ἠναγκάσμεθα καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ διδόν-
τος τῷ κοινῇ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὴν πενίαν, τί
πρὸς ταῦτα ἐρεῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ; τί δαί,¹ εἰ πρὸς σὲ
μὲν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἥλιον λέγοιτο;
ἢ καὶ τοῦ θρήνου ληψόμεθα παρὰ τῶν ὀδυρομένων

R 644 δίκην; 43. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τῇ καταδίκῃ | χῶραν
ἐνοῦσαν ὀρώ. πῶς γὰρ οὐς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλέγξαι πε-
πονηρευμένους, τούτους ἐνὶ ζημιῶσαι χρήμασι;
καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν κατὰ πάντων τοῦθ' ἤξει, καὶ οὐς ὡς
φίλους τῷ θεῷ τιμᾶν ἀξιοῖς, ζημιῶν ὀφθήσῃ· εἰ δ'
ἔσται τὸ χωρὶς κεισόμενον καὶ οὐ πεπληξόμενον τῇ
καταδίκῃ, δεινὰ φήσουσι πάσχειν οἱ καθαροὶ μὲν

¹ δαί F. (CAPU): δὲ Re. (other mss.).

ORATION XIX, 40-43

opinions, asserting that people with such ideas as these are quite unacquainted with you. You have heard my explanation that the action was not that of the city as a whole, so how can it be just for everyone to be put to death, for instance, those who **at the time of this offence were not even resident here, or who were fettered by illness, or who thanked their lucky stars that they had not been murdered by someone?**

41. Besides, women also have belongings. And no one would say that women had any part in the outrage. Why, they would have offered up a prayer for their doors to be of steel, so frightened were they for their persons. So will the property of these women too, who are without husband, sons or brothers, lie at the mercy of those who are given a free hand to loot? 42. If they come and address you thus, "Sire, it was certainly not by our wish or **seeking** or encouragement that these occurrences took place. We didn't enjoy such misconduct, nor is it right that now we are reduced to beggary, especially when there is no one to relieve us, owing to universal poverty in the city," what will be your reply to this, Sire? Well, then? What if such remarks were made not to you but to Helios? Shall we punish the grief-stricken for their lamentations, too? 43. No, and I see no room for any fine either. How can you impose a monetary fine upon those who cannot be proved to have gone wrong? What is more, if this is applied to us all, you will be seen to punish those whom you say you respect for their devotion to God. If there are to be exceptions and persons not to suffer the fine, then anyone like them, innocent of blame, will complain of victimization if

LIBANIUS

αἰτίας, ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι, μὴ τῶν ἴσων δὲ ἐκείνοις τε-
 τυχηκότες. 44. καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν τῶν τὰς εἰκόνας
 κεινη|κότων εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο πεισόμενοι, θάνατον F 405
 ὀφείλουσι τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν εἰς χρήματα· εἰ δ'
 οὐδεὶς ἂν τοῦτο φῆσαι, τίνος ἀπαιτοῦνται δίκην;
 λείπεται δὴ τὸ τῶν πολιτευομένων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων
 κεφαλῶν. οὓς εἴ τις ἀποκτείνει¹ μηδενὸς ἔχων
 αἰτιάσασθαι χεῖρας, πολιτείας ἀντ' ἀδικήματος εἰ-
 ληφῶς ἔσται τιμωρίαν, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φυγῆς ἄξιον
 καὶ νῦν εἶναι δοκοῦν ἔτ' ἔσται φοβερώτερον.

45. Τί οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων δείκνυται τούτων; ὅτι σοι
 τῆς ὀργῆς παυστέον. ὁ δὲ Διοκλέα λέγων σοι καὶ
 τὸν ἠναγκασμένον Εὐγένιον καὶ τὴν ἐκ Σελευκείας
 δεῦρο μετὰ μέθης εἰσοδον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον καὶ
 R 645 τὸν | Βρασίδαν καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανον οὗτοί τε καὶ τινες
 ἕτεροι κρίσεως μὲν οὐ τυχόντες οὐδὲ ἀπολογίας,
 κατ' αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι μόνον, οἱ ταῦτά σοι
 λέγοντες οὐχ ἂ μμείσθαι προσήκει λέγουσιν. 46.
 οὐ γὰρ ἴσον, οὐκ ἴσον Θεοδόσιος καὶ Διοκλῆς.
 ἔλυσιτέλει δέ, οἶμαι, | κάκείνω μὴ τὸ ξίφος ἀκονᾶν, F 406
 νῦν δὲ πολλῶ τούτῳ χρησάμενος ὢν οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγοις
 θαυμαστός διέβαλε τὰ καλὰ τοῖς χείροσιν, ὥστε καὶ
 τοῖνομα συνάγειν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἀηδίαν καὶ ποιεῖν
 ἀποπηδᾶν. 47. μᾶλλον οὖν μεμνήσθω τις Κων-
 σταντίου τοῦ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πόλεων ἀμαρτίας ἡμέ-
 ρου. ὃς ὑπαρχον ἐνταῦθα πέμπων Στρατήγιον ἐπὶ
¹ ἀποκτείνει F. (VM Par. 3017): ἀποκτείνει U Bad., P
 corrected: ἀποκτείνῃ Re. (other mss.): ἀποκτενεῖ Cobet.

^a Cf. Or. 2. 10 n. Members of Libanius' family, as above,
 296

ORATION XIX, 43-47

he does not receive the same treatment as they. 44. Moreover, if the future victims really are some of those who destroyed the statues, the punishment they deserve is death, not just financial. And if no one can say that this is the case, what are they being punished for? Obviously, only for their curial station and their lives. And if one should resort to execution even if he can complain of no one's personal responsibility, this will be a punishment for their social status, not for their crime, and the duty which even now is regarded as one to evade will become even more terrifying.

45. The indication of all this is that you must cease from your anger. If anyone mentions to you Diocletian, Eugenius, the usurper willy-nilly, the drunken march upon Antioch from Seleuceia, and my grandfather and Brasidas, and how they and some others were executed without trial or hearing simply because they were some of the leading members of the city, then he is mentioning to you behaviour which you ought not to copy.^a 46. You cannot, I repeat, cannot compare a Theodosius with a Diocletian. It was to his advantage, too, not to whet the sword, but in fact after such a blood bath, despite his exceptional ability, he ruined his great achievements by his faults, and the result is that the very mention of his name excites dislike in the hearers and induces them to shy away. 47. Rather you should be reminded of the clemency employed by Constantius towards the misconduct of the cities. After the death of Theophilus which that fine were executed and part of their property confiscated in Diocletian's punishment, *cf. Or. 1. 3, 125; Or. 51. 30; Ep. 1154.*

LIBANIUS

τῷ Θεοφίλου θανάτῳ, ὃν οὐκ ἄξιον ἐκείνος τῶν τρό-
πων ἐδέξατο χρηστὸς ἄρχων ὑπὸ χαλκῶν πέντε
κατενεχθεῖς ἐν ἀμίλλαις ἀρμάτων, τότε οὖν ἤλ-
γησε μὲν τὴν καρδίαν ὁ Κωνσταντίος, τιμωρίας δὲ
πρὸς αὐτὸν μνημονεύων, ὅπως μετριώτατα χρήσε-
ται τῷ πράγματι πολλάκις εἶπε, καὶ ἐκείνος οὐκ ἠτί-
μασε τὰς ἐντολάς, οὐδὲ πλείους ἢ προσῆκε μητέρες |

R 646 ἐθρήνησαν.

48. Ἄλλὰ Θεόφιλος ἔθνησκεν, ἐρεῖ τις, τότε, τὸ
δὲ νῦν ὕβρις εἰς βασιλέων¹ εἰκόνας. ἐγὼ δέ, ὡς
καὶ ἐκείνο μὲν ὕβρις εἰς βασιλέα παρήσω νῦν, ἐπι-
|δείξω δὲ ὡς ἐν ὁμοίοις αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἐγένετο. F 407
Ἐδεσσα² γὰρ ἡ πόλις, μεμφάμενοί τι τῶν πρὸς αὐ-
τοὺς χαλκῆν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ καθελόντες, εἶτα ἄραντες
πρηνῆ κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς διδα-
σκαλείοις νόμον ἔτυπτον ἱμάντι τά τε νῶτα καὶ τὰ
μετὰ τοῦτο κάτω, προστιθέντες ὡς ὅτῳ πληγαὶ
τοιαῦται προσήκουσι, πλείστον ἀπέχοι βασιλείας.
49. ταῦτα μαθὼν ὁ Κωνσταντίος οὐκ ἔπεσεν εἰς
ὀργὴν, οὐκ ἐζήτησε δίκην, οὐδενὶ χεῖρῳ κατέστησε
τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐκ ἂν ἐκόλασε γεράνους
διὰ τὴν κλαγγήν, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐκείνους. ταῦτα καὶ
τὰ τοιαῦτα οὕτως εἶναι ἐδόκει καλά τε καὶ ἐπαίνων
ἄξια ὥστε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολέ-

¹ βασιλέων F. (V): βασιλέως Re. (other mss.).

² Ἐδεσσα Par. 3014, Morel, F.: Ἐμεσσα other mss.:
Ἐμεσσα Re.

^a *Consularis Syriae*, lynched A.D. 354, cf. *Or.* 1. 103, *Amm. Marc.* 14. 7. 6 ff. Liebeschuetz (p. 58) suggests that these χαλκεῖς were smiths from the arms factories.

^b Cf. *Or.* 1. 106 ff., *Amm. Marc.* 15. 13. Seeck 282 (i), *PLRE* (s.v. Musonianus) 611.

ORATION XIX, 47-49

governor suffered at the hands of five copper-smiths ^a at the chariot races quite contrary to his deserts, Constantius sent here Strategius as prefect,^b and, though sore at heart, when he spoke to him of punishment, he repeatedly insisted that he should go about the business with the utmost moderation. Nor did Strategius disregard these instructions, nor yet did any more matrons than was proper go into mourning.

48. "Ah, but what took place then," it will be objected, "was the murder of Theophilus. Now we are concerned with an outrage against the imperial statues." Now I will ignore the fact that that incident also was an outrage against an emperor, and will demonstrate that, in precisely similar circumstances to these, Constantius remained true to himself. In the city of Edessa,^c the inhabitants, resenting some treatment they had received, cast down his bronze statue, turned it face down, lifted it up, as they do with children in school, and administered a thrashing to the back and back-side, commenting also that anyone visited with such a whipping was far removed from imperial dignity.^d

49. When Constantius heard of this, he did not fly into a temper, he sought no punishment, nor did he humble the city in any way. He refused to punish them, any more than he would have punished cranes for their clatter. This and such-like behaviour seemed so noble and praiseworthy, that by his moderation his slackness in military matters was dis-

^c Cf. Or. 20. 27, where the phrase *ἐν τοῖς ὀμόροις τῆ Συρία* confirms the reading of Par. 3014 here.

^d The traditional method of punishing schoolboys, as shown in Greek and Roman art.

LIBANIUS

R 647 μους ἐκρύπτετο ῥαθυμία, καὶ | Περσῶν καθ' ἕκα-
 στον ἔτος αἰεί τι παρασπωμένων καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν
 μεῖζω ποιούντων τοῖς ἡμετέροις χωρίοις ὅμως εἶχε
 τοὺς συνευχομένους αὐτῷ καὶ ζῆν βουλομένους ὑπὸ
 τῇ ἐκείνου περὶ τὰς πόλεις πραότητι. 50. ἅπαντα
 μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον τοῦτο κοσμεῖν δύνатаι, δια-
 φερόντως | δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. τὸ γὰρ πάντα F 408
 ποιεῖν ἐπιτρεπούσης τῆς τύχης εἶναι τὸ ἐπισχῆσον
 καὶ διακωλύσον μέγα μέρος εἰς εὐφημίαν τε καὶ
 δόξαν. εἴτ' ἀκούειν περὶ ἑτέρου ταῦτα μᾶλλον
 ἐθελήσεις ἢ παρέχειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ σεαυτοῦ
 λέγειν; μηδαμῶς, ὦ γενναῖε, μηδενὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα
 παραχώρει νίκης.

51. Ἄλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ περὶ ποίας
 πόλεως ὁ λόγος ἐστί, σκόπει. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ
 οὐδεμίαν περιοπτέον οὐδὲ τὴν σμικροτάτην οὐδὲ
 τὴν ἐν σκοπέλω κειμένην. ἀπάσης γὰρ δὴ μέλει
 θεοῖς καὶ εἰσιν ἐκείνων κτήματα. εἶποι¹ δ' ἂν ἴσως
 τις ὡς οὐ μεγάλη τὰ τοιαῦτα ζημία, ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ
 τοῦ φαυλοτάτου χορευτοῦ σιωπῶντος. 52. ἀλλ'
 οὐ περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐνὶ γέ τι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν οὔτε
 ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἢ πρὸς τοσοῦτον μὲν ἐκτέταται μῆκος
 ὡς μὴ εἶναι ῥάδιον ἐκ πυλῶν εἰς πύλας ἐλθεῖν, τοι-
 αύτην δὲ καὶ οὕτω πολλὴν περικεῖται γῆν ὥστε |

R 648 πάντα μὲν φέρειν, αὐτῇ δὲ ἀποχρῆν. πηγαὶ δὲ οὐ
 μικραὶ μὲν αἰ εἴσω τειχῶν | οὐδὲ ὀλίγαι, ταῖς δὲ F 409
 ἀπὸ τῆς Δάφνης ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ θεούσαις οὐ πολλὰς
 ἀντιθήσεις. 53. καὶ μὴν χειμῶν τε πρῶτος καὶ θέρος
 ἀνέμοις ἠδιστον ἀγορά τε ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνθεὶ
 παρέχουσα τοῖς ὄρωσιν ὠνῆς ἐπιθυμίαν, πολὺ δὲ τὸ

¹ εἶποι F. : εἶπε Re. (mss.).

^a Cf. Or. 18. 206.

ORATION XIX, 49-53

guised. Every year the Persians nibbled away bits of our territories and increased theirs at our expense,^a but he still had his devotees to wish him long life because of his clemency towards the cities. 50. This can be a credit to any man, but especially to those in authority. When fortune allows omnipotence, it redounds greatly to a man's praise and renown that there should be some restraint and some moderating influence. Then will you want this said of another rather than let mankind say it of you? Never, noble Sire, withdraw your claim to victory in this sphere in favour of any man.

51. But, in addition to these remarks, consider the kind of city it is of which I speak. In the first place, no city should be overlooked, not even the smallest, nor one perched on a cliff-top.^b The gods' concern is for every one, and they are their possessions. It might be said that in such cases it would be no great loss as, for instance, in a chorus when the worst member stays quiet. 52. But of our city you can neither say nor think any such thing, for it extends over such a great area that it is hard to travel from one gate to another, and it has such an extent of fertile land surrounding it that it produces everything and is self-sufficient. The fountains inside the city walls are no small ones, nor are they few in number, and there are not many that you can compare with those flowing from Daphne to the city. 53. Besides, the winter is mild, the summer most pleasantly tempered by the breezes. Our daily market flourishes and induces in the beholders a wish to purchase. The produce imported from every

^b Cf. Phocyl. *fr.* 4 (quoted by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 36. 13).

LIBANIUS

πανταχόθεν εἰς αὐτὴν μετοικιζόμενον, ἣ δὲ δέχεταιί τε ἀσμένῃ καὶ θεραπεύει καὶ οὐκ ἔα μέμψασθαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα. 54. τὴν ἰσχὺν δὲ τὴν διὰ πάντων τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ μὲν πόλεμοι πρὸς τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν πολεμηθέντες ἐπέδειξαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ὧ πέρασ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐπέθηκε διδάξας διώκειν τοὺς φεύγειν μεμαθηκότας διὰ χρόνου Ῥωμαίοις ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦς. 55. μὴ οὖν ἄλλο τι νομίσης νῦν ἢ περὶ τῶν ὄλων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, εἴπερ ὑπὲρ πόλεως ἔστιν ἢν ὁ Μῆδος ἢ μὴ εἶναι βούλοιτ' ἂν ἢ πράττειν κακῶς, ὡς τὰ αὐτοῦ βέλτιον παρὰ τοῦτο ἔξοντα. μὴ τοίνυν συναγωνίση ταῖς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιθυμίαις. μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Κέλσου περι-
 F 410 υβρίσης. εἰ γὰρ | σὺ | ζητήσεις τι πλέον, ἐκεῖνω τὸ R 649
 μέτρον ἡμέληται, καὶ¹ τιμῶν ἀνὴρ ἄξιος.

56. Ἄλλὰ μικρὸν οἱ τεθνηκότες πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀθυμίαν. σὺ δὲ μηδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμωρίαν ἀγνοεῖ, τὴν φυγὴν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, τὴν πολλὴν ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν, παίδων, γεγηρακότων, ὧν ἀφ' ἐκάστου πολλὰ δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν ὄνων, κατὰ τῶν ὀρέων, κατὰ τῶν καμήλων. ὧν ὁ μισθὸς διπλάσιος τῇ χρεῖα τῶν μισθουμένων, ὁ δὲ τήμερον ἐγκαλῶν τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ τῶν ταῦτὸ ποιούντων τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔστιν. 57. ἐπείγονται δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰς ἑτέρας πόλεις, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀγρούς, καὶ κενὴ μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις, αἱ δὲ πρὶν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν δεῦρο ἄγουσι καθ' ἐκάστην πύλην ὁδοὶ τὰκ τῆς πόλεως πολλαχῆ μερί-

¹ καίτοι conj. Re. ("probabiliter, nisi ἀνάξιος scribendum est," F.).

^a A summary of the praises of Antioch described in *Or.* 11, 302

ORATION XIX, 53-57

side is plentiful : it receives it gladly and looks after it and allows no complaint against its regulations.^a 54. Of the over-all strength of the city many wars against the Persian empire have given us proof,^b—and not least, that which the late Emperor Julian completed, when he taught those trained to flight to become pursuers, and at long last he gave back to the Romans their proper function.^c 55. So do not think your deliberations now to be concerned with anything else than the well-being of the empire, since they deal with a city which the Persians would want either out of existence or in distress, since their own ends would then be furthered. Do not then further the desires of the barbarians, nor yet slight the abilities of Celsus, for if you go to excess, then his moderation is ignored ; and yet he is a man deserving of honour.

56. “ Those who have been put to death are a small matter as compared with your discomfiture.” But, Sire, do not ignore the damage to follow—the mass exodus of men, women, children and old people, from each of whom come tears over their asses, mules and camels. And the price of hiring these is doubled because of the need of the hirers, and if a man today reproaches another for hiring them, tomorrow he will be one of those doing the same thing. 57. They hurry off, either to other towns, or to their estates, and the city is practically empty. The roads, which used to bring here the produce of the countryside through every gate, now disperse the city-dwellers far and wide. They believe that, if frequently recurring in Libanius, especially in arguments *ad misericordiam* (e.g. Or. 1. 2).

^b Cf. Or. 11. 177 ff.

^c Cf. Or. 18. 208 ff., 24, 39.

LIBANIUS

ζουσιν. οἴονται γὰρ μένοντες μὲν ἀπολείσθαι ξι-
 φῶν ἐπελθόντων, διασπαρέντες δὲ ἢ δύναιτο ἕκα-
 στος τυχεῖν ἂν ἴσως ἀσφαλείας. 58. καιρὸς δὲ τοῖς
 λησταῖς οἶος οὐχ ἕτερος, χρημάτων μὲν κομιζο-
 μένων, ῥαστώνης δὲ οὔσης εἰς σφαγὴν. φέρει δὲ
 R 650 ὁ ποταμὸς | νεκροὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὓς ἐμβαλ-
 λόντων τῶν πεφονευκώτων δέχεται. καὶ στενο-
 χωρία μὲν ἐν ἀγροῖς, ὀλιγανθρωπία δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει,
 ὥστ' εἶναι βραχὺ τοῖς σιτοποιοῖς τὸ ἔργον. 59.
 δακρύουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν οὐπω τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντες τῷ
 μήπω, | οἱ δ' ἀπελθόντες τῷ πόθῳ. νοσήματα δὲ F 411
 ἰατρῶν σπάνει¹ νικᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀποθανῶν πατρῶν
 ἐστέρηται μνημάτων. λιμὸς δὲ ἐν οὐ λιμῷ διὰ τὸ
 πλήθος τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ καθημένων. ἄρχοντες δὲ
 ἄχθονται μὲν ταῖς μεταναστάσεσι, κωλύσαι δὲ οὐκ
 ἔχουσι τῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγνοίᾳ· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν τρέ-
 μοντα τὸ μηδὲν ἔσεσθαι λυπηρὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγγυήσα-
 σθαι δύναιντο. ἔστι δ' οὖν οὐδέτερος ἔξω φόβου,
 οὔτε ὁ μένων οὔτε ὁ πορευόμενος. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος
 τὸ μεμενηκέναι δέδοικε. τὸ οὖν χρόνον τοσοῦτον
 τοσοῦτω συνεζηκέναι φόβῳ πόσῃν ἔχει τὴν δίκην;
 ἐλπίς γὰρ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ μὴ γενησομένου τῆς
 ἄνευ προσδοκίας πληγῆς ἀλγεινότερον. 60. πολ-
 λοις ἀπόλωλε χρήματα, βασιλεῦ, πολλοῖς θεράπαι-
 ναι ἐν οὐ φορητοῖς καμάτοις, πολλαῖς μητράσιν ἐκ
 τῶν γονάτων ἐξέπεσε τὰ παιδιά, πολλοὺς ἄνδρας
 ἤρπασε ληστῶν κύματα, πολλοὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ
 ταφήν προσαφηρέθησαν. ἑτέρα γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἢ
¹ σπάνει conj. Re., F. (U, correction in P): σπάνιν Re.
 text (other mss.): σπάνις Morel, Savile.

^a Cf. Or. 1. 252 (cited Introduction, p. 237 n.).

^b This exodus is the contrary of conditions prevailing in

ORATION XIX, 57-60

they stay, they will die at the thrust of the sword, but, if they scatter wherever they can, they perhaps stand a chance of safety. 58. For highwaymen there never was such a heaven-sent opportunity; they get the money, and have a free hand to murder. The river carries the bodies of their victims down to the sea, receiving them when the murderers throw them in. On the country estates there is hardly room to move, while there are so few people left in town that the bakers are on short time. 59. Those who have not yet left town weep that they have not done so; those who have, weep in their longing for it.^a Epidemics are rife because of the lack of doctors. The dying are robbed of the family tomb. There is famine in the midst of plenty because of the crowds of squatters everywhere.^b The governors resent the migrations, but in the uncertainty about the future, they cannot stop them. They cannot guarantee the panic-stricken citizens that no harm will come to them. So in neither case, whether he stays or goes, is anyone free from fear. Indeed, in the latter case, he is already afraid to stay. So what a punishment is involved in having lived so long wedded to such fear! The expectation of death, even if it never comes about, is more painful than the unexpected blow. 60. Many persons, Sire, have lost their money or their maid-servants in their intolerable distress: many a mother has had her child fall from her lap; many a man has been stripped by the hordes of bandits, and has been robbed of life and burial too. Our city has changed entirely—to Antioch since A.D. 382; the city had then been a place of refuge for squatters, the hungry peasantry. Hence the unusual feature of the bakers on short time now.

LIBANIUS

R 651 πόλις ἢ τό γε ἀληθέστερον, οὐδέ πόλις. | κέκλει-
 ται¹ μὲν | θέατρον ἐκεῖνο, κέκλειται¹ δὲ ἵππόδρομος. F 41¹
 οὐ κόρην ἄγεται νυμφίος, οὐ δάδες ἄπτονται γά-
 μοις, οὐχ ὑμέναιος ἄδεται. ἐξῆλθον αὐλοὶ πάντες,
 ἐξῆλθον σύριγγες, ἐξῆλθον ἄσματα. οὐ σκῶμμα,
 οὐκ ἄστεϊον, οὐ συμπόσιον. οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς τῶν
 ἡδονῆν φερόντων καὶ χάριν ἴδοι τις ἂν² ἐν αὐτῇ.
 61. καταλέλυνται μὲν αἱ περὶ τοὺς λόγους διατρι-
 βαί, καταλέλυνται δὲ αἱ περὶ τὰ γράμματα διδα-
 σκαλία. διδάσκει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μαυθάνει. νο-
 σοῦντων μὲν ἢ χροῖα, οὐκ ἔρρωμένων δὲ ἢ φωνῆ,
 πεπλανημένων δὲ ἢ γνώμη, καὶ τις ἐπ' ἄλλον ὄρ-
 μήσας λόγον ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀπηνέχθη.

62. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν βοηθοῦντά μου τοῖς
 λόγοις ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν Περσικὴν
 πρεσβείαν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους
 πόλιν τὴν <τῶν>³ πρὸς ἔω μεγίστην ἐν μίσει τε τῷ
 παρά σοῦ καὶ κολάσεσιν αἰσχύνῃν ἐχούσαις τῷ
 τρόπῳ τῆς πόλεως. νομίσας οὖν μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀθεεὶ
 γεγενῆσθαι γίγνου πρᾶος καὶ μὴ στέρησῃς τὴν ἡμε-
 τέραν ὣν Παφλαγόνων τισὶ μεταδέδωκας ὀλίγοις
 ὀλίγην οἰκοῦσι πόλιν ἢ καὶ φυλῆς μιᾶς τῶν ὀκτω-
 καίδεκα τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν λείπεται.

63. Καλόν, καλόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σὲ τούτοις
 σεμνύνεσθαι καὶ παῖδας σοὺς καὶ ταῦτα φιλοτιμίαν

¹ κέκλεισται Re. (IM Bad., correction in C).

² ἂν F. (V, ins. I); om. Re. (other mss.).

³ τὴν mss., om. Re.: τὴν before μεγίστην Re. (Bad., ins. I), om. F.: <τῶν> ins. Re., F.

^a Cf. Or. 23. 20, 34. 14.

^b Cf. Or. 20. 47.

^c Including the withdrawal of civic amenities, as in § 60;

ORATION XIX, 60-63

be more accurate, it is not a city at all. The theatre there is shut : so is the race course. No bridegroom takes his bride back home, no torch is lit for the marriage, no marriage song is sung. All the flutes and pipes and songs have left us. There is no jest, no witticism, no drinking party. Absolutely nothing can be seen here that is conducive to pleasure and enjoyment. 61. The classes of rhetoric have melted away^a ; so have the elementary classes. There is no one to teach and no one to learn. There is the pallor of illness, the voice of invalids, the mind of bewilderment. If they start on one topic, they fly off at a tangent to another.

62. I believe that heaven also assists my pleas, and has brought into Roman territory an embassy from Persia.^b It would not be right for them to see the greatest city of the East visited with your displeasure and with punishments that bring shame upon the life of the city.^c So consider that this too has not been brought about without gods' aid, and be lenient. Do not deprive our city of the privilege which you granted a few Paphlagonians who inhabit a wretched little town^d that cannot match any one of the eighteen wards that make up our city.^e

63. It is a fine thing, Sire, a very fine thing for you to pride yourself on this, and your sons too,^f and the transfer of metropolitan status to Laodicea, Theodoret. *H.E.* 5. 20.

^a Jones, *LRE* iii. 348, identifies this with the formation of the province of Honorias from areas of Bithynia and Paphlagonia. This was founded and named in honour of Honorius (born Sept. A.D. 382) : *v. R.E.* viii. 2277.

^e *Cf. Or.* 24. 26 n. (Vol. I, pp. 508 f.).

^f Arcadius was already Augustus, the infant Honorius not yet so.

LIBANIUS

τε | καὶ διδαχὴν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καιροῖς F 41
 ὁμοίοις προσφέρεσθαι. φέρων μὲν γὰρ δυσκολίας
 ὁ χρόνος οὐ παύσεται, μέγα δὲ ἐκείνοις οἶμαι μὴ
 τὸν συμβουλευσόντα ζητεῖν οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ
 R 652 φύσαντος | ἔχουσι τὴν παραίνεσιν.

64. Λύε δὴ τὴν πολλὴν συμφορὰν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ
 ταῖς φυγαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς ἐξίσωσον τὴν τῆς
 καθόδου φαιδρότητα. κομισάσθω τις τὸν παρ-
 θενῶνα, κομισάσθω τὸ δωμάτιον, φιλησάτω τὰς
 πρώτας θύρας, τὰς δευτέρας, τὰς ἐπ' ἐκείναις, ἀπο-
 λαυσάτω τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς ὕπνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατα-
 κείμενος. 65. πολλῶν μὲν ἀκήκοας ἐγκωμίων¹ τῶν
 μὲν σθένει ῥητόρων, τῶν δὲ καὶ μανία ποιητῶν
 εἰργασμένων ἐν οἷς πατρῴαι τε ἀρεταὶ καὶ σαὶ
 καὶ ὄπλα καὶ στρατηγίαι καὶ μάχαι καὶ νῆκαι καὶ
 τὸ παρὸν δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο, καθ' ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφ-
 ἔστηκας ἐκόντων ὑπὸ σὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἰόντων.
 ποιήσον δὴ καλλίους τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα λόγους τῷ
 καλλίῳ τοῖς παροῦσι δὴ τούτοις ποιῆσαι τὴν
 ὑπόθεσιν. ὄντων γὰρ ἐκείνων μεγάλων ἔνι τι πλεόν
 ἐν τούτοις ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ νυνὶ λόγος. |

66. Νεῦσον τοίνυν, ὦ θεία κεφαλή, καὶ ποιήσας F 41
 μοι τὸ γῆρας εὐδαιμον τῷ περὶ ὧν ἀφίγμαι κατωρ-
 θωκέναι χρηστὴν ἀγγελίαν φέροντα τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ
 πολίταις ἀπόπεμψον.

¹ ἐγκωμίων Morel, F. (Par. 3014): ἐγκωμία Re. (other mss.).

ORATION XIX, 63-66

for this to be a stimulus and object-lesson to them as to how to deal with similar situations. Time will not cease to bring its disillusionments, but, I feel, it will be of great importance not to have to seek out counsellors, since they have their inspiration in the family and in their father.

64. Relieve us, then, Sire, of our grave distress, and equate with our exile and our lamentation the gloriousness of our restoration. Let us recover our boudoirs and our bedrooms. Let us kiss our front doors, the inner doors, and those thereafter, and let us enjoy our sleep of nights as we lie down in our own beds. 65. You have heard many panegyrics composed by the strength of oratory and the inspiration of poetry. In them your father's virtues^a and your own loom large, as do your wars and campaigns, your battles and victories, and this your present state, whereby you are set over all others, now that the barbarians of their own free will acknowledge your sway.^b Ennoble the orations which will follow hereafter by ennobling the theme of this address of mine. Great though those achievements may be, there is something higher still in the subject of my present discourse.

66. Consent then, most hallowed majesty, and bless my old age with the successful attainment of the object of my coming, and dismiss me as the bearer of good tidings to my fellow citizens.

^a Count Theodosius, *PLRE* (3), 902 ff. Cf. *Pan. Lat.* 12. 5. 2.

^b Athanaric; cf. § 16 n.

XX

ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΔΙΑΛΛΑΓΑΙΣ

- R 653 1. Ὁ μὲν πολλάκις προείπον, ὡς οὐτ' ἔσται τῇ F ii.
πόλει δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἅ τε ἦν ἐν τῇ τιμωρία
πεπαύσεται, δέδεικται πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅπου γε
καὶ πόλιν ὑπήρξέ μοι προσειπεῖν ἦν οὐκ ἐξῆν πρότε-
ρον· ἐπεὶ δὲ δίκαιον τοῖς εὖ πεποικηκόσιν ἀποδοῦναι
χάριν, δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦτο ποιεῖ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἡ πόλις
τῆς μὲν δι' ἔργων ἀμοιβῆς ἀπολελειμμένη, τῇ δὲ
διὰ λόγων, αὕτη¹ γὰρ ἂν εἴη μόνη, χρωμένη. δοκεῖ
δέ μοι καὶ | τοῖς θεοῖς ὕμνος ἅπας εὖ ἔχων ἅπαντος F 42.
ἀναθήματος εἶναι τιμιώτερος, ὡς δηλοῖ Πίνδαρος ὁ
Θηβαῖος μειζόνων παρὰ τοῦ Πυθίου τετυχηκῶς ἢ
οἱ πλείστον χρυσίον ἐκείσε κεκομικότες. 2. αἰσχύ-
νομαι μὲν οὖν τοῖς κατὰ τῆς ἐμαντοῦ ῥηθησομένοις
R 654 λόγοις, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτο | φυγόντα σῶσαι τὸ
προσῆκον τῷ περὶ τῆς χάριτος λόγῳ, φράσω τὰ
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας βουλόμενος μὲν ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν
τι περὶ αὐτῆς ἄμεινον, τῆς ἀνάγκης δὲ ταύτῃ ἀγού-
σης ἔρω.

¹ αὕτη Re., F. : αὐτή MSS.

• Cf. Pausan. 9. 23. 3; Eustathius (*Biographi Graeci*,
310

ORATION 20
TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS,
AFTER THE RECONCILIATION

1. I OFTEN foretold that the city would suffer no further harm and that there would be an end put to the business of punishment. This has been demonstrated to all mankind, not least by the fact that I have been able to speak of her as a city, which I could not do before. However, since it is right to return thanks to one's benefactors, the city of Antioch does so through me and, finding it impossible to make due exchange by deeds, she uses the method of words—the only one left to her. Every hymn well done is, I feel, more precious to the gods than any offering, as is proved by Pindar the Theban,^a who received a greater reward from the Pythian than any who had bestowed there vast treasures of gold. 2. Ashamed as I am of the tale I have to tell against my native city, it is impossible for me, if I seek to evade the issue, to preserve the elements appropriate to a speech of thanks. Hence I shall speak the plain truth. For all my desire to be able to tell a pleasanter tale about her, I shall say my say in the way that necessity dictates.

ed. Westermann, pp. 92 ff.). Special privileges for Pindar's descendants at Delphi, Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 13.

LIBANIUS

3. Ἐγένετο φαύλη περὶ βασιλέα χρηστὸν ἢ ἡμετέρα πόλις μετὰ μὲν τὴν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνάγνωσιν ἀποσειομένη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καταφεύγειν, τῶν γὰρ ἀδικουμένων ἀφαιρεῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν δῆπου ταυτὶ τὰ ῥήματα. λαβοῦσα δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πονηρὰ συμμορία πλείους ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν προσλαβοῦσα καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἔτι πλείους καὶ πάλιν ἄλλους συνέχεαν μὲν τὰν τῷ κοινῷ βαλανείῳ νόμῳ διατεταγμένα, κινήθentes δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὧν ἔδρασαν ἐπὶ μείζω καὶ παρανομώτερα προσπίπτουσι μὲν οὕτω σφοδρῶς τῇ τοῦ ἀρχontos κικκλίδι καὶ ταῖς μετ' ἐκείνην θύραις, ὥστε δεῖσαι τοὺς ὑπηρέτας μὴ καὶ | ῥή- F 4⁴
ξαντες αὐτὰς ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν, οἷα τοιοῦτοι καιροὶ πεποιήκασι πολλαχοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντες κατέχεαν μὲν τῶν ἑαυτῶν κεφαλῶν ὕβρεις, οὕτω γὰρ ἄμεινον εἰπεῖν, ἄς οὐδ' ἐν καπηλείῳ τῶν τις
R 655 ἀγοραίων | ἐφ' ἕτερον τῶν ἴσων. 4. τούτῳ δὲ ὄντι τοσοῦτῳ τὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπέθηκαν δραμόντες ἐπὶ σέ τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν καὶ τέκνα,¹ χερσί τε καὶ κάλοις ταῦτα δείξαντες χαμαί. καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εἶλκον οἱ μὲν ὄλους, οἱ δὲ διεσπασμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἠδίκουν, οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ἀγγελοῦντες ἦσαν πεφρικότες οἷα σφᾶς δεή-

¹ τέκνα <καὶ> χερσί F.

^a Cf. Or. 19. 25 ff. Again the responsibility for protest is placed on Christians (τὸν θεόν).

^b The claque, as shown by Browning, *J.R.S.* 1952. The δικαστήριον is the headquarters of the *consularis* (δικαστής), cf. Or. 19. 28.

^c For the activities of the mob outside the baths cf. Or.

3. Our city let herself down towards a good emperor when, after the recital of the imperial rescript, it tried to shake off the bonds of discipline by having recourse ostensibly to the god,^a for obviously such words could not remove any of its grievances. An unscrupulous gang found the start for this in the courtroom,^b and gained more support outside its doors, and yet more and more again. The official regulations for the public baths ^c they turned upside down, and spurred on by their own actions to worse excesses still, they attacked the railings of the governor's house, and then its doors, so violently that the servants were scared that they would break them down and murder him, as has often occurred elsewhere on such occasions. However, failing in this, they heaped upon their heads ^d insults—to employ a euphemism—insults which none of the market people would apply to one of their own kidney even at their stalls. 4. That was bad enough, but they set the seal upon it by their actions, rushing to the attack against the statues of yourself, your wife and children,^e and revealing them cast down to the ground by hands and ropes. Even that was not enough; they dragged them along, either whole or smashed to bits. Such were their crimes, and messengers went to inform the emperor of it, in fear and trembling for the news

22. 6. For the narrative of the sequence of events *cf.* Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 426 ff.

^a A play on language, as noted by Scholiast on V: κεφαλὰς ἐνταῦθα τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτοὺς λέγει, emphasized by ἐαυτῶν. Thus the pun is (a) their sovereign heads, (b) their own persons.

^e *Cf.* Sozom. *H.E.* 7. 23, Theodoret, *H.E.* 5. 20. Libanius rarely mentions the princes by name, their mother (Flaccilla) never.

LIBANIUS

σει μηνύειν. ἡ πόλις δὲ ἐθρηνεῖτο παρὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεθεαμένων. 5. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες, ἡ¹ μὲν ἤξειν λόχον² ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν παραπιπτόντων φόνῳ, ἡ δὲ οὐ κτενεῖν μὲν, δι' ἀρπαγῆς δὲ τὰ πάντων ἔξειν,³ ἑτέρα δὲ⁴ ψήφος ἐπήγε δημίων δεξιαῖς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν τὸ βουλευθῆναι, ἀπολέσθαι δὲ μοῖραν οὐ μικρὰν τῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. |

6. Πῶς οὖν οὗτος; παιδεύει μὲν τιμωρία τινὲ τὴν F 42: ἴασιν ἐχούση δυναμένην⁵ τὸ πεπαυμένον τῇ λύτῃ πάλιν ἐλεύθερον τῶν λυπούντων ποιῆσαι καὶ μὴ ἀμιλλάσθων ἵπποι, μηδ'⁶ εἰς θέατρον ἴτω μήτε ὁ τέρπων μήτε ὁ τερπόμενος καὶ μικρᾶς ὀνόματι πόλεως ἡ μεγάλη κεκλήσθω καὶ τῆς ἐκ βαλανείων ἀπεχέσθω τρυφῆς, ὧν οὐδὲν ἄλυπον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνίων κρίσιν πέμπει μὲν οἷς συνήδει δικαιοσύνην, ἐλέγχου δὲ ποιήσας κυρίου ὅμως⁷ αὐτῷ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐφύλαξεν R 656 | ὅπως ὅποσον ἀφήσει ἅπασιν εἶη καταφανές. 7. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀποροῦντες ἀρνήσεως ἔκειντο ἐν τῷ οἰκῆματι καὶ παρήσαν οἱ τούτων οἰκεῖοι διὰ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου φιλημάτων τὴν μετ' ὀδυρμῶν χαριζόμενοι χάριν. ἔπειθ', ὅπερ ἥλιος ἐργάζεται νικῶν ἀκτίσι νέφη, φῶς ἦκεν ἐπιστολῆς ἀπελαύνον τὸ σκότος, καὶ πᾶν μὲν στυγνὸν ἐξεκεχωρήκει, πᾶν δὲ εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἄγον εἰσεληλύθει καὶ προσηγορίαν τε τὴν πρὶν αὐθις εἶχομεν καὶ θεαμάτων εἶδη καὶ λούσασθαι δὴ καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς γῆν ἡ πόλις καὶ τὴν

¹ ἡ Cobet, F. (T): αἱ Re. (other mss.).

² λόχον Re., F.: λόγον mss. ³ ἤξειν Cobet.

⁴ δὲ F. (V): om. Re. (other mss.). | ψήφον M.

⁵ δυναμένην Re. (PU): -μένη F. (other mss.).

⁶ μηδ' F. (conj. Sintenis): μήτ' Re. (mss).

⁷ ὅμως Re., F.: ὡς mss. (om. V).

^a Cf. Or. 19. 62, Jo. Chrys. Hom. 17 (P.G. xlix. 176).

they had to tell, and the city was filled with the lamentations of those who had seen such enormities. 5. It was expected either that a regiment would come to massacre all in its path, or else, even though bloodshed were avoided, that it would loot and take possession of all private property. Yet another opinion had it that the council would be put to death at the hands of the executioners, along with no small number of the populace.

6. How, then, does our emperor behave? He schools us by a punishment which involves the ability to cure; and this cure, by its discomfort, can once again rid the lately afflicted portion of the sources of discomfiture. So he proclaimed, "There are to be no horse races: no one is to go to the theatre, either to give or to partake of enjoyment. The great city is to have the title of a petty town, and it is to keep away from the luxury of the baths."^a None of this is without discomfort. He also sent to try individual cases men^b whom he knew to be people of integrity, and while giving them full judicial powers, he yet reserved for himself the possible means of allowing all to see the extent of his leniency. 7. The prisoners could make no denial: they lay in jail and their relatives went to see them for the last embrace before their execution, doing them this mournful service. Then, just as the sun's rays dispel the gloom, a despatch arrived with a light that banished the darkness. All our miseries had vanished, and everything conducive to our happiness returned. Once more we had our former title and our various entertainments and our baths, and our city had its own lands restored,

^b Caesarius, *mag. off.*, and Ellebichus, *mag. mil.*, cf. *Or.* 21-22.

LIBANIUS

αὐτοῦ τροφήν ὁ πένης. 8. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐνὶ τινι λέγεται | λῦσαι θάνατον καὶ Ἡρακλῆς μιᾷ F 425
τινι γυναικί, σοὶ δὲ περὶ ὅλην τοῦτο πέπρακται πόλιν· ἦν ὅστις ἀναβεβιωκέναι λέγοι, καλῶς ἂν λέγοι. τοσοῦτον εἴργαστο δρασμὸν ὁ φόβος οὐ σοῦ φεύγειν ἀναγκάσαντος, τῆς δὲ προσηκούσης τιμωρίας τοῦ δέους.¹ ὁ παύσας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μεστήν αὐθις σωμάτων ἀπέφηνας τὴν πόλιν.

9. Γνοίη δ' ἂν τις, ἡλίκα δέδωκεν, εἰ λογίσαιτο πόσος ἂν ἦν αὐτῷ λόγος ἐπιθέντι τὴν ὀφειλομένην δίκην, ἦν εἴ τις ἠτιάσατο λαβόντα συκοφάντης ἂν ἦν. ἦν δ' ἂν ἡ προσήκουσα δίκη πολὺ μὲν αἶμα, πολλοὶ δὲ νεκροί, δήμευσις τῶν ὄντων, ἐκβεβλήσθαι τῆς οἰκείας² καὶ μηδ' ἀποθανόντι μετεῖναι πατρῶων μνημάτων. 10. εἰ δὴ τις ἐπελαμβάνετο R 657
τούτων, τὸ στόμα ἂν ἐνεφράττετο | τοῦτο μὲν ταῖς βλασφημίαις, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς εἰκόσιν οὕτω πολλαῖς. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὸν ἄτοπον ἐκεῖνον ἦν ἂν τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν· ἄνθρωπε, τῶν ῥημάτων οὐκ ἀκήκοας; τοὺς ἐλκομένους οὐκ εἶδες; εἰ γὰρ περὶ μόνον τὸν νεώτερον τῶν παίδων ταῦτ' ἦν ἡσεληγημένα, φέρειν ἔδει· εἰ δὲ πρόσκειται μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, τούτῳ δὲ ἡ τεκούσα, τῇ τεκούσῃ δὲ ἐγώ, καὶ τὸ δὴ τούτων ἀφορητότερον ἐμοί, τὸν ἱππέα τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν αὐτῷ ἵππῳ κατενεγκόντες, ὥσπερ ἐν ἱπ|πο- F 742

¹ τοῦ δέους Re., F. (V, C corrected): τὸ δέος Morel (other mss.).

² οἰκείας Re., F.: οἰκίας Morel (mss.).

^a For organized poor relief cf. § 38 below. The Christian church daily maintained 3000 poor in Antioch, Jo. Chrys. *Hom. in Matth.* 66 (P.G. lvii. 658). See also Liebeschuetz, p. 129.

ORATION XX, 7-10

and the poor,^a their food. 8. Asclepius, so it is said, freed a single individual from death: Hercules did the same for a single woman,^b but you have done that for a whole city, for people would be quite right to speak of her restoration to life. Panic had caused such an exodus, not under any compulsion from you to do so, but from fear of condign punishment. In putting a stop to that, Sire, you revealed the city once more with its full quota of inhabitants.

9. You may recognize the extent of his generosity if you consider how much reason he would have had for imposing the penalty due, and if anyone had criticized him for imposing it, that would have been sheer humbug. The proper punishment would be mass executions and killing, confiscation of property, exile from one's own land, and a ban even on the dead having anything to do with the family tombs. 10. Indeed, if anyone complained of this, his mouth would be stopped by the thought of those insults, and the treatment meted out to all those statues. In fact, to such an idiot the emperor could rejoin, "Sir, did you not hear those words? did you not see them pulling down the statues? If such outrages as this had been committed against my younger son only, I would have had to bear it. But if, besides him, my elder son was the victim, and besides him, his mother, and besides her, myself, and—most intolerable of all for me—if they have demolished the equestrian statue of my father,^c horse and all, hacking it as though they were in a cavalry charge,

^b Asclepius and Hippolytus, *cf.* *Or.* 13. 42 (Vol. I, p. 26 n.).
Heracles and Alcestis, *v.* Eurip. *Alc.*

^c Honorius, Arcadius, Flaccilla and Count Theodosius.
For the demolition of the equestrian statue *cf.* *Or.* 19. 30.

LIBANIUS

μαχία τρώσαντες, ἀμφοτέρους ἐγέλων ὡς οὐκ ὄν-
τος τοῦ χαλεπανοῦντος ὑπὲρ τοιούτων κακῶν οὐδὲ
καταλελειμμένου τοῦ ληψομένου δίκην, πόσους δέοι
καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ὑβρισμένων ἀποθανεῖν;

11. Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν θανάτῳ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοιούτων
τιμωρίαν ἀμεμπτον διότιπερ ἔννομον, τὸ δὲ μὴ τοι-
αύτης δεηθῆναι δίκης ἡμερον καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄλως τινὰ
λαβεῖν νουθετοῦντος, τὸ δὲ μηδὲ τηλικαύτην πράου-
τε καὶ πειρωμένου τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς ὅσον οἶόν τε
ἀφομοιοῦν ἑαυτόν. τί γὰρ δὴ τὸ 'κείνων; 12. ἄνω-
θεν μὲν ἅπαντα καθορῶσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δ' αὖ
R 658 τοῖς ἐπὶ | γῆς καὶ λεγομένοις καὶ πραττομένοις
ἀδικήματα πολλά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅταν δι' αὐ-
τοὺς ἄνθρωποι πράττωσι κακῶς, ἀδικεῖσθαι τε λέ-
γουσι παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ βλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
οὐδενὸς ἀπέχονται ῥήματος. εἶδον ἐγὼ τινας καὶ
λίθους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφιέντας. οἱ δ' ἐν τοσαύτῃ¹ δυ-
νάμει τοῦ λαβεῖν δίκην εἰ βουληθείεν ὄντες, οὐ
βούλονται. εἰ δ' ἅπασιν εἶποντο τοῖς τοιούτοις αἱ
δίκαι, πάντα ἂν ἦν καθ' ἡμέραν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων
πλέα καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἐξήρκουν οἱ ζῶντες πρὸς τὰς
ταφάς. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ κρείττους F 421
εἶναι δεικνύουσι τῷ μηδὲ δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι θυμῷ
πολλάκις. 13. οὕτως οὖν ἠγεῖτο θεοῖς ἴσος ὄντως
ὁ βασιλεὺς φανεῖσθαι καὶ διοτρεφῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς, εἰ
μὴ τιμωρίας ἠδοίτο ταῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. καὶ
τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζει βασιλικώτερον καὶ ᾧ μᾶλλον ἂν
ἀρχὴ διασώζοιτο. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἀγαπάται τὸ
κρατοῦν οὔτε ἀπὸ τροπαίων οὔτε ἀπὸ πόλεων ἢ
λαμβανομένων ὀπλοῖς ἢ ποιουμένων σπονδὰς οὔτε

¹ τοσαύτη F. (MSS.): τοιαύτη Re.

^a Or. 19. 11 n.

ORATION XX, 10-13

and made fun of them both, just as though there was no one to resent such wickedness and none left to punish it, how many should be put to death for each one of their outrages ? ”

11. So there could be no complaint against the imposition of the death penalty for such misconduct, for it is quite legal. But to have no recourse to such a penalty denotes clemency. The application of some general punishment would be a corrective ; to omit even that signifies a gentleness which attempts to equate itself with the gods to the very utmost.^a For how do the gods go on ? 12. They observe everything from on high, and listen to it, but in what is said and done on earth, many crimes are committed, especially when men get into a mess through their own fault and say that the gods have wronged them. They glare up at the heaven and abstain from absolutely no kind of abuse. Why ! I have even seen people hurl stones to heaven ! Though the gods have such power to punish if they see fit, they still refrain. If punishment automatically followed on such misdeeds, the whole world would be full of men dying every day, and those left alive would not be enough to bury them. As things are, they reveal their divine attributes by the simple fact of their repeated refusal to exercise their wrath, even when it is justified. 13. In this way, then, the emperor believed that he would reveal himself as a peer of the gods, truly nurtured of the divine, if he did not delight in merited punishments. He thinks this more imperial, and the means by which an empire may be more safely preserved. For the ruling power gets its popularity not so much from its trophies, from cities either taken in war or received into alliance,

LIBANIUS

ἀπὸ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν οὔτε ἀπὸ νόμων θέσεως οὔτε ἀπὸ σοφίας οὔτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ δικάζειν ἀκριβείας, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγνώμην ἐν ἀμαρτίαις νέμειν.

14. Ἄ μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς οὗτος ἐπιστάμενος οἷς εἶχεν ἐγκαλεῖν τὰ μέγιστα πρὸ τῶν τῆς ταραχῆς¹ χρόνων, τούτων² ἐξὸν κτεῖναι φείσασθαι ἄπο τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς. τοῖς μὲν³ καὶ πλήξασι καὶ ἐλκύσασι
 R 659 τὸν Σκύθην καὶ καταποντίσασι | τὸν νεκρόν, ὧν καθ' ἕκαστον ἠδικεῖτο βασιλεύς, τῆς μέμψεως <δ'> ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν εἰκότως ἐρχομένης τὸ μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμισυ τὴν ὄργην ἐδέξατο τὴν μέχρι τῶν οὐ δεδομένων ἄρτων, ἔπειτ' ἦν, ὃ πρότερον, καὶ ἡ λῆψις καὶ ἡ δόσις, καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἕκαστος οὔκαδ' ἤρχετο, οἱ ἀπεκτονότες τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προστεθεικότες. 15. ἕτερον τοίνυν πολὺ θαυ|μα- F 428 στότερον. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ πολλάκις συνελθόντας καὶ ἐν τοιαύταις βουλαῖς διατρίβαντας καὶ οἶα περὶ τοιούτων εἰκός, τὰ μὲν εἰρηκότας, τὰ δὲ ἀκηκοότας καὶ δὴ καὶ μαντεῖοις ἠνωχληκότας λαβῶν ὁμολογοῦντας ἀκούσας ψήφῳ πρὸς θάνατον ἀγομένους ἀφήκεν ἕως ἕξεστι βιωσομένους τιμήσας τὸν ταῦτα εἰς μέσον ἀγαγόντα θεὸν τῷ τὸ ξίφος οὔτως ἐγγὺς ὄν ἐπισχεῖν.

16. Διὰ τοιαύτης τοίνυν φιλανθρωπίας ἡκων καὶ

¹ ταραχῆς F. : ἀρχῆς Re. (mss.).

² τούτους VM.

³ Corrupt. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς. τοῖς μὲν . . . mss., editors. ἀπὸ . . . ἀρετῆς seems to be a gloss derived from § 13 which has usurped the true reading. Read: φείσασθαι. ἐπετίμησε γὰρ τοῖς καὶ πλήξασι . . . τῆς μέμψεως <δ'>.

^a Reading corrupt in mss. The translation is that of the suggestion in the critical note.

^b Cf. Or. 19. 22.

^c The canon of corn supply for Constantinople was established by Constantine himself (cf. C. Th. 14. 16. 2 of A.D. 416).

ORATION XX, 13-16

from the multitudes of its soldiery, or from its legislation, wisdom and scrupulous administration of justice, as from its grants of pardon in their misdeeds.

14. It seems to me that our emperor was fully aware of this ; though he could have executed those **against whom he could have brought the most serious charges in the period before the present disturbances**, he spared them.^a When the Scyth was attacked and lynched,^b and his body thrown into the sea—every single one of these actions being a crime against his majesty—he reproved those responsible for them ; and though his reproof naturally applied to the whole civic community, for just half a day it experienced his wrath, which was confined to the stopping of the bread distribution. Thereafter things were as they had been before ^c : the distribution took place, and the bread was received, and everyone made his way home with it, those who had committed the murder and the other outrages too. 15. There is yet a more remarkable instance. He arrested the seditious gang who had often assembled to conspire against the imperial house and spent their time in such plots, uttering or listening to the statements usually made on such occasions,^d and who had even resorted to sorcery, and they confessed. However, having heard their confessions, just as they were being led to the execution to which they had been sentenced, he released them, to live their normal span of life. By withholding the sword which loomed so close he honoured the god who had brought all this to light.

16. After pursuing such a course of humanity and His regulations on *annonae civicae* referred to, *ibid.* 17. 9, 10, 12.

^a Cf. Or. 19. 21 n.

R 660 πολλῇ τῇ περὶ αὐτὴν μελέτῃ κεχρημένος καὶ προσ-
 ηγορίαν | ἐντεῦθεν κτησάμενος οὐκ ἔμελλες οὔτε
 ἐκείνην καταλύσειν οὔτε ταύτην ἐξελέγξειν ἀλλὰ
 συμφωνοῦντα σαυτῷ παρέξεσθαι τὸν χρόνον καὶ
 τῶν προτέρων οὐ χεῖρω δείξειν τὰ δεύτερα. ἐπαι-
 νῶν δῆπου σὺ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων
 τὸ σεσωκέναι πόλεις ἐμέμψω πολλάκις ἐκατέρων
 τὸ διεφθαρκέναι πόλεις καὶ ὧν δὴ βελτίους ἀμ-
 φοτέρους εἶναι μὴ προσθέντας τὰ σκυθρωπότερα.
 καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἐγγὺς θεῶν βασιλεὺς τοιαῦτα μὲν
 θαυμάζων, τοιαῦτα δὲ αἰτιώμενος;

17. Ἔδει καὶ τὸν τειχίσαντα στρατιώταις τε καὶ
 ὄπλοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχειν ἐν τῇ
 ψυχῇ τάγαθὸν τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν ὑπηκόων
 | χωρεῖν αὐχένας. οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἂν¹ οὐμὸς πατήρ F 429
 τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ ποτε σῶμα ὑπεδέξατο καὶ
 R 661 τῇ τετμημένῃ κεφαλῇ | συγκατέθραψεν² οὐκ ὀφει-
 λούση δίκην. 18. σκόπει δέ· πεντακοσίων τις ἦρ-
 χεν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ ταύτῃ στρατιωτῶν οἷς ἔργον ἦν
 βαθὺ ποιεῖν τοῖς αὐτῶν πόνοις τῷ λιμένι τὸ στόμα.
 τούτους ἔδει καὶ περὶ ἄρτον ᾧ θρέψονται τῆς νυκτὸς
 ταλαιπωρεῖν, ὡς μὴ εἶναι καθεύδειν. ταῦθ' οἱ
 πεντακόσιοι μὴ δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὠθοῦσιν εἰς βασι-
 λέως προσηγορίαν τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κτείνειν ἀπει-
 λούντες οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον. ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐγγυτέρω δια-
 κρουόμενος θάνατον ἤγετο στένων πινόντων ἐκ τῶν
 ἀγρῶν ἄχρι μέθης τῶν περὶ τὸν λιμένα κεκακω-

¹ οὐκ ἂν F. (U, insertions in PI.): before ποτε, conj. Re.: οὐ γὰρ ἂν conj. Cobet: om. Re. text. (other mss.).

² συγκατέθραψεν conj. Re., Cobet, F.: συγκατέσκαψεν Re. text (mss.).

ORATION XX, 16-18

concerning himself so much with the practice of it, and winning a name therefrom, you were not likely to do away with the habit or prove your title false. Rather you set the times in harmony with yourself, and show your later actions to be not inferior to your previous ones. Indeed, while singing the praises of the Spartans and of the Athenians for saving cities,^a you often blamed them both for destroying cities, and you certainly thought both would have been better without the addition of their atrocities. Then, an emperor who expresses such admiration and disapproval is obviously close to the divine.

17. That emperor ^b who set a wall of armed soldiery to defend the Roman empire ought to have been endowed also with the virtue of an unwillingness wantonly to attack the persons of his subjects. For then my father would never have had to recover his father's body and bury it with the severed head that never deserved the punishment. 18. Just imagine it! There was a commander of a battalion of 500 soldiers stationed in Seleuceia here. Their duty was to work on deepening the harbour mouth, and they had to do night fatigues to bake the bread for their rations, and so they could get no sleep. The battalion found this intolerable, and forced their commander to adopt the imperial title, threatening to murder him if he refused. He evaded the death which loomed the nearer and was led on lamenting, while his men, after their privations at the harbour, went on a drinking bout and got thoroughly drunk with the stuff from the farms.

^a *Cf. Or. 19, 13.*

^b Diocletian, and the revolt of Eugenius, *Or. 19, 45 n.*

μένων. 19. εἰσπεσόντων δὲ δεῦρο περὶ ἡλίου δύσιν τῶν οὐδὲ οὐ¹ γῆς ἦσαν διὰ τὸν οἶνον εἰδόντων μοχλοὺς τοῖς δόρασιν ἀντιτάξαντες οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες, ἔκοινωνουν δὲ ἄρα καὶ γυναιῖκες τοῦ ἔργου, περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον τὸ τέλος ἐπέθηκαν καὶ ἦν οὐδείς ὃς οὐκ ἔκειτο. τούτους τοίνυν τοὺς | τῆς μὲν F 430
 παραχῆς² οὐ κεκοινωνηκότας, τοὺς δ' ἀμαρτόντας |

R 662 κατενεγκόντας καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν οὐ βουλομένους μὲν γεγενῆσθαι, γεγονὸς δὲ σβέσαντας ἀπεστέρησε τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ πρῶτων, ὡσπερ αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν Σελεύκειαν. ἡδικῆκει δὲ οὐδετέρα οὐθ' ὄθεν ὠρμήθησαν οὐθ' οὐ διεφθάρησαν. ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐδόκει δεῖν τοὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρας πόλεως³ ἀπολωλέναι. 20. καὶ πλείστων δὴ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον λέγεται δακρύων τετυχηκέναι κάλλους τε καὶ μεγέθους τοῦτο πεποιηκότων. εἰ δ' ἐῴκει σοὶ καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῇ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐνεκάλεσε καθαρευούση τῆς αἰτίας, τὴν δ' ἡμετέραν κἂν ἐστεφάνωσεν ἐφ' οὕτω ταχεῖα νίκη.

21. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐκεῖνα μένει τε καὶ μνημονεύεται καὶ μνημονευθήσεται καὶ λήθην οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσειε χρόνος, οὕτω καὶ τὰ σὰ δὴ ταῦτα μνήμης ἀθανάτου τε τεύξεται⁴ καὶ οὔτε τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀνοίας ἀνήκοος οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἔσται, οἷός τε | ἡμῖν ἐφ' οἷοις γεγένησαι πᾶν τὸ ἐπιγιγνώμενον εἴσεται.

22. Νικᾶς δὲ οὐ τοῦτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς παῖδα δόξαντα εἶναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς γε

¹ οὐ F. (Par. 3017): ἦ V: οἱ Re. (other mss.).

² παραχῆς conj. Re., F.: ἀρχῆς Re. text (mss.).

³ πόλεως <πρώτους> conj. Re., F.

⁴ τε τεύξεται F.: τετεύξεται CAPVTU: τεύξεται Re. (other mss.).

ORATION XX, 19-22

19. About sunset they made their entry into the city here, without the slightest idea of where on earth they were because of the drink taken, and the citizens of that time opposed their spears with crowbars. Why, even the women joined in, and early in the night they had the job finished, *and not a man of them was left alive*. Well, these people who had had no part in the uprising and who had crushed the rebels, who never wanted such an incident to occur and had quelled it when it did—these people he robbed of the foremost members of their council, as, for that matter, he did in Seleuceia also. Neither city, not the one from which they had marched out nor the one where they were slain, had committed any crime, but for all that it was decreed that the civic heads of each should be put to death. 20. The story goes that my grandfather in particular was much lamented, for both his handsome features and physique. If that emperor had been only a little like you, Sire, he would have brought no accusation against Seleuceia, since it was free from guilt, and our own city he would even have crowned after such a quick victory.

21. Those events linger on. They are remembered and will continue to be remembered, and no lapse of time can cause them to be forgotten. Similarly, these actions of yours also will achieve immortal fame, and there will be no man unacquainted with our stupidity, and all posterity will know of your generosity to us who so little deserve it.

22. You excel not just him, but also Alexander, the reputed son of Zeus,^a as regards clemency, at

^a Cf. *Or.* 18. 297 (Vol. I, p. 479 n.).

LIBANIUS

ἡμερότητα· | ὁ μὲν γε Θήβας, ἐπειδήπερ ἔλευθε- F 431
 ρίας ἦν ποτ' εἶχεν ἐπεθύμησεν ἢ πόλις, ἀνέσπασε
 πόλιν ψευδέσιν ἀγγελίαις ἀπατηθεῖσαν, ὃ καὶ εἰς
 ἀνὴρ πάθοι σύνεσιν ἔχειν δοκῶν· σὺ δ' οὐδ' ὅσον
 εἰς οἰκίδιον τοῦτο ἔδρασας ἡμέτερον. ὁ δὲ πλήν
 μιᾶς οἰκίας τῆς Πινδάρου τὴν ἄλλην καθελὼν πόλιν
 καὶ τούτῳ τιμήσας τὸν ποιητὴν καλλιῶν ἂν ἦν ὅλη
 τῇ πόλει τιμήσας τὸν ποιητὴν. ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ
 ἔπρεπε δοῦναι τοσοῦτον καὶ τῷ Πινδάρῳ λαβεῖν.
 μιᾶς δὲ οἰκίας ἐστῶσης ἐν πόλει κειμένη τί τὸ
 κέρδος ἢ τῇ πόλει παρ' ἐκείνης ἢ αὐτῇ γε ἐκείνη,
 ἦν οὐδ' ἂν οἰκεῖν ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τοιούτοις τοῖς περι
 αὐτὴν ἔχοι;

23. Ἄλλὰ μὴν πρὸς γε τὴν δοκοῦσαν Φιλίππου
 φιλανθρωπίαν περὶ τοὺς ἀλόντας Ἀθηναίων ὅτ'
 Ἄργαίον κατήγον, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀντειπεῖν ὡς οὐκ
 εἶη τοῦτο φιλανθρωπία. τοῦ θεραπεύειν γὰρ Ἀθη-
 R 664 ναίους ἀνάγκην ἔχων τὴν ἀσθένειαν | αὐτοῦ οὐς
 ἠδέως ἂν | ἐκόλασεν ἄκων ἀφήκε τὸ μηδὲν παρ' F 432
 Ἀθηναίων ὑστερον παθεῖν ὠνούμενος. οὐκοῦν οὐκ
 ἦν αἰχμαλώτους ἐλεοῦντος τὸ γιγνόμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ χώραν πειρωμένου ῥύεσθαι, πολὺ δέ, οἶμαι,
 τὸ μέσον φιλανθρωπίας καὶ φόβου. σὺ δὲ ποίους
 μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ποίους δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγούς,
 ποίας δὲ ναῦς, ποίας δὲ ἵππαγωγούς τριήρεις δεί-
 σειν ἔμελλες; οὕτως εἰλικρινὲς ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς
 φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδαμῶθεν αἰτίαν φαν-
 λοτέραν περιάψειε τῷ πράγματι.

24. Λείπεται κακείνος τῶν σῶν δὴ τοῦτο ὁ τῇ

^a In 335 B.C. Rumours of Alexander's death caused this
 326

least. He razed to the ground the city of Thebes, when, misled by false news, it tried to recover the liberty it once possessed ^a; but any seemingly sensible individual might be similarly misled. But you have not done this even to any shanty of ours. When he destroyed the whole town except for Pindar's house alone, and so did honour to the poet, he would have done better to honour the poet by sparing the whole city, for it would have been to his credit to grant so much and to Pindar's to receive it. But what is the profit for one house to stand in a ruined city, either for the city or for the house, when the owner cannot occupy it because of the desolation all round?

23. Moreover, with regard to the reputed generosity of Philip towards his Athenian prisoners when they tried to restore Argaeus, it was not difficult to retort that this was not generosity at all.^b His own insecurity forced him to court Athenians, and he reluctantly released them when he would gladly have punished them, so purchasing from Athens his immunity for the future. So the incident was due not to pity for the prisoners, but to an attempt to protect his own territory; and there is any amount of difference, in my opinion, between generosity and fear. But in your case, Sire, what sort of Athenians, or their commanders, ships or horse-transporters had you to fear? Here then is the quintessence of generosity, and nobody at all could affix any lesser title to the business.

24. Constantine, too, who built up a city with the abortive revolt by Thebes: *cf. Or. 15. 42* (Vol. I, p. 175 n.), 19. 13; *Diod. Sic. 17. 15*, *Dio Chrys. Or. 2*, p. 83 R.

^b *Cf. Or. 15. 42* (Vol. I, p. 174 n.), *Diod. Sic. 16. 3*.

Ῥώμη μὲν ὁμώνυμον ἐγείρας πόλιν, τὸ σχῆμα δὲ τὸ κείνης ἅπαν εἰς ταύτην εἰσαγαγών, εὐδοκιμῶν δὲ τῷ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἐνεγκεῖν ἀγροικισάμενόν τι. ῥήματα¹ μὲν γὰρ εὖ ποιῶν ἤνεγκεν, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν προσῆν οὐδὲ κατ' εἰκόνος² ὕβρις. καίτοι πολλαί γε εἰστήκεσαν ἐκείνῳ, αἷς οὐχ ὅπως χεῖρα ἐπήνεγκαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅσον εἰς βλέμμα παροιμίας ἔρχεται φαίνονται λελυπηκότες. οὐκοῦν ἐν-

R 665 ταῦθα | μὲν καὶ ῥήματα καὶ ἔργα, ἐκεῖ δὲ τοῦλαττον μόνον, τὰ ῥήματα. οὕτω τοῦ βραχυτέρου μὲν ἐκείνῳ κοινωνεῖς, κοινωνὸν δὲ ἐκείνον τοῦ μείζονος οὐκ ἔχεις. |

25. Ἐξεταζέσθω δὴ καὶ τοῖν ἀδελφοῖν οἷς πόλις F 433 ἢ Κίβαλις ὁ νεώτερος, ὃς ὕβρισμένος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει καθηρημένης ἤδη τῆς τυραννίδος οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ καλὸν τοῦτο νομίζων κακὸς ἂν εἴη. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν γράμματα ἐνὶ κἀνταῦθα, δεινότερον μὲν ἀγράφου ῥήματος, ἤττον δὲ ἔργου πάλιν. 26. καίτοι καὶ εἰκόνες ἐωρῶντο τοῦ ταῦτα ἀκηκότος. ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτὰς παρήεσαν οὔτε τιμῶντες οὔτε ἀτιμάζοντες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οἱ μὲν τυραννούμενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔγραφον καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀνάγκης τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότητος ἤτοι φανερώς κελεύοντος ἢ καὶ παραδηλοῦντος ὅτι βούλοιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὰ τοιαῦτα δίδοσθαι. οὐ δὴ δίκαιον ἐνόμιζε λαμβάνειν

¹ τι. ῥήματα Re., F.: τι ῥῆμα. τὰ (τα V) mss.

² εἰκόνος mss.: εἰκόνων Re., F.

^a Cf. Or. 19. 19 n.

^b Valens (born at Cibalis, Zos. 3. 36) and the revolt of Procopius, cf. Or. 19. 15 n.

ORATION XX, 24-26

name of a second Rome and introduced into it all the pomp of Rome,—he falls short of you in this matter, for all that he is famed for having borne with some rudeness from the Roman populace.^a For though he had the goodness to put up with their utterance, there was no action committed beyond that, nor yet any outrage against his statue. Yet though there were plenty of them erected in his honour, not only did they refrain from manhandling them, but they obviously refrained from abusing them even by any insolence of glance. Here, then, was a combination of words and deeds, there, the lesser offence only, that of the words. So you are on a par with him over the minor issue, but, as regards the major, you don't have him on a par with you.

25. And again, suppose a comparison is made with the younger of the imperial brothers who were born in Cibalis.^b He was lampooned in the capital, but, once the rebellion had been put down, he nursed no grievance. If anyone fails to regard this as a noble attitude, he would be a rogue. But, in the first place, even there it was a matter of the written word, and this, though more serious than the unwritten word, is again not so serious as actual deeds. 26. Moreover, his statues were to be seen, even though he heard those remarks, and yet they passed them by, treating them neither with respect nor with disrespect. The crux of the matter is that they wrote such stuff while they were under the control of a usurper, and the responsibility was not so much theirs as that of the compulsion exercised by their master who, either by direct order or by hints, indicated that he would like such treatment to be accorded him. So Valens did not think it

LIBANIUS

δίκην ὧν τινες ἐβιάσθησαν ἠνίκα ἐδούλευον. τὰ δ'
 R 666 εἰς σέ κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῶν καὶ | ἄρχοντα καὶ βασι-
 λεύοντα πεπραγμένα ἀφορμὴν μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν εἰς
 συγγνώμην οὐκ εἶχον, μίαν δὲ καταφυγὴν τὸ σέ
 πρὸς φιλανθρωπίαν πανταχοῦ καθέλκεσθαι.

27. Πρὸς τίνα δὴ σε λοιπὸν ἐξεταστέον ἢ πρὸς
 τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁμόροις τῇ Συρίᾳ δι' εἰκόνοσ καὶ αὐτὸν
 | ὕβρισμένον; ἀλλ' εἴ τις Ἔδεσσαν¹ καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ- F 434

νης ἑορτὰς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐνθυμηθεῖν
 νόμους καὶ ὡς παλαιόν τι τοῦτο διὰ πάντων βασι-
 λέων ἦκον καὶ δι' ἀρχαιότητα μᾶλλον ἡδονὴν φέρον
 ἢ λύπην, πολὺ τὸ οὐκ ἴσον τῶν περὶ τὰς εἰκόνας
 ἀμφοτέρων εὐρήσει καὶ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὕβρεως καὶ
 παιδιᾶς τὸ μέσον. 28. λέγεται δὲ καὶ σοφῶν ἀν-
 δρῶν ἐπιστήμη τοῦτο καταδεδεῖχθαι χαριζομένων
 τισὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαίμοσι καὶ ταῖς μετὰ παιδιᾶς
 λοιδορίαις ἐστιώντων ἐκείνους ὅπως ταύτῃ κεκο-
 ρεσμένοι μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζητῶσι,

R 667 καὶ ἀπιστεῖν γε οὐκ ἄξιον ὀρῶντα καὶ | σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
 κωμωδοῦντας ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς γε ἐν δόξῃ παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ὄντας ἀφορμὴν γιγνομένους τοῖς μετὰ δρό-
 μου σκώμμασι. καθ' ἕκαστον τοίνυν ἔτος τοιαῦτα
 θέοντες ἔχουσι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ πλή-
 θους αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν, οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ῥήμασι μόνον
 ἀλλ' ὅλως² ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἃ ποιεῖν ἡδίω δύναται τὴν
 ἑορτήν. κἂν ἄρχων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀνιαθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν
 τιμαυρίαν ἦ, μικρόψυχός τε εὐθύς καὶ σκαιὸς ἐνο-

¹ Ἔδεσσαν F. : Ἐμεσσαν Re. (mss.).

² ὅλως conj. Re., F. (UP) : ὄντως V : ὅμως other mss. :
 ὁμοίως Re. text.

ORATION XX, 26-28

proper to punish individuals for what they had been forced to do under duress. Our citizens, however, in their behaviour towards you, their lord and ruler and emperor, had no reason of themselves to expect pardon : their sole recourse lies in your general tendency towards humanity.

27. The only one left with whom comparison can be made is Constantius, who also suffered personal insult through his statue in the area bordering upon Syria.^a Yet if one bears in mind Edessa, the festivals there, the customs of the festivals, and the fact that this is an old-established procedure, applied to all emperors alike, and because of its antiquity more productive of pleasure than of pain, one will find that there is a great difference between the two incidents that concern the statues, all the difference in fact between insolence and fun. 28. They say that this practice was evolved by the understanding of wise men, even, when they sought to satisfy some of the gods in this way and feasted them with jocular abuse, for them to be satisfied with that and to make no further demands of the people. Indeed this cannot be disbelieved, when you see them poking fun at themselves and the notables among them providing occasion for a comic race and horse-play. They run this race every year, and have the immunity of the occasion and of the numbers of the participants, not just for what they say, but for absolutely everything that can make the festival more enjoyable. And if a governor becomes unjustifiably angry and engages on a campaign of punishment, then straight-

^a Cf. *Or.* 19. 48. For the temple of Zeus at Edessa, recently destroyed, cf. *Or.* 30. 22, 44 f.

LIBANIUS

μίσθη καὶ νόμων ἱερῶν ἀλλότριος. 29. ἀλλ' οὐχ
 ἡμῖν γε ἦν ἀπο|στροφὴ τις οὐδαμῶθεν οὐδ' αὖ τὸ F 435
 παραιτησόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ σιγῇ τῶν δεδρακότων
 ἢ κατηγορία τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐστίν. ὥστε σὺ
 μὲν ἐκείνῃ πάντως ἂν συνέγνωσ τῇ πόλει, τῇ δὲ οὐ
 πάντως ἂν ἐκείνος. οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἡμερον εἶναι
 δόξαντα τῇ γαλήνῃ παρελήλυθας.

30. Οἱ δὲ δὴ τὸν πατέρα τὸν Τίτου μηδέν σου
 ταύτῃ λείπεσθαι λέγοντες τὸν ἐν μὲν ταῖς εἰκόσιν
 ὅμοια πεπονθότα, κτείναντα δὲ οὐδένα τῇ παρ'
 ἑαυτοῦ ψήφῳ, τά τε περὶ τὸν σῆτον οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν
 ὄραν τά τε περὶ τοὺς ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἰκέτας, ὧν τὸ
 R 668 μὲν | αὐτοῖς ἐποίει λιμόν, τὸ δὲ ἀσεβείας ἀνάγκην.
 ὃ δὲ δὴ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡμάρτανον οὐκ αὐτῶν ἦν μᾶλλον
 ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἀγόντων, ὥστ' ἐκείνοι δίκην ὡς
 ἀληθῶς ὤφειλον ὧν Ἀλεξανδρέας ᾤοντο. 31. καὶ
 γὰρ ὅστις χαλεπὸν ἀποδιδράσκει δεσπότην, ἡδίκη-
 ται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο πεποιήκεν· ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἐβούλετο
 βιασθεῖς, ταῦτ' ἄγειν ἐπ' ἐκείνον δύναται' ἂν. ἐν
 αὐτοῖς οὖν οἷς ἐκόλαζε, τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν ἡμάρτανε·
 πῶς οὖν τοῦ μὴ κἂν¹ μείζοσιν ἐπαινοῖτ' ἂν εἰκότως;
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ποῖα σιτο|δεῖα; τίς λιμός; τίς ὤμότης F 436
 ὑπακούσαι καιρῷ δεομένῳ χρημάτων καὶ ποιῆσαι
 μείζω τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν καὶ τὸ μὴ περὶ τοῖς
 ὄλοις δεδοικέναι διὰ τούτου κερδᾶναι; 32. τὸ δὲ
 μέγιστον, οἱ μὲν ἀπεσφάγησαν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἐγκαθημένων τῇ πόλει στρατιωτῶν οὕτω δὴ
 πολλοὶ τινες, ὥστε καμεῖν τοῖς τύπτουσι τὰ ξίφη. |

¹ κἂν Re., F. (U): καὶ other mss.

^a For the blockade of Rome by the Flavians, Tac. *Hist.*
 3. 48; the suppliants at Taricheae, Josephus, *B.J.* 3. 10. 10.

ORATION XX, 28-32

away he is thought to be a petty-minded dunce, unacquainted with religious customs. 29. But for us there was no excuse at all, nor yet any palliation. In the silence of the offenders lies the condemnation of the offence. Thus, you would have pardoned that city in any case, but he would certainly not have pardoned ours. Thus in your calmness you have surpassed him, for all his reputed clemency.

30. Moreover, if people say that Titus' father was not inferior to you on this issue, since he suffered similar treatment with regard to his statues and executed no one by his own decree, they refuse to observe his actions concerning the corn supply and concerning the suppliants from Palestine.^a The first of these imposed famine upon them, the second the necessity to commit impiety. Their misconduct in consequence was not so much due to them as to those who drove them to it, so that these were really guilty of what the Alexandrines were thought to have committed. 31. Indeed, any runaway from a harsh master has suffered rather than committed injustice, for, if compelled to do what he did not wish, he could lay the responsibility for it on him. So in the actual punishments administered, Vespasian was at fault in minor matters. How could he reasonably meet with approval for not having adopted them in major ones? But here what shortage of food occurred? What famine? What brutality is there in complying with the critical need for money and in increasing the power of Rome and in profiting from the general security of the empire? 32. Last but not least, the Alexandrines were butchered by the soldiers billeted in the city, in such numbers that the swords became weary in

R 669 τί οὖν ἔδει ζητεῖν, ὃ πρὶν ἢ πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς στάσεως εἶχε; τούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον παρὰ τῶν τῆδε τόξων ἐγεγόνει. δυοῖν γὰρ δὴ σωματίων ἤψατο δύο βέλη βοηθοῦντα τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς οἰκία θορυβουμένη. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπεκτόνει, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἂν αἰτιαθείης, ὅς¹ οὐδὲ ἐν φόβῳ ζῆν ἔῃς, τοὺς ἐνίους δὲ οὐδὲ λέγειν ἄξιον. οὕτω δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἠττηται.

33. Τῶν τοίνυν εἰρημένων μοι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μάντιν ἐποίει με, οὐχ ὁ Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς οὐδ' ἄλλος τις θεῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ἐκείνην ἡ πόλις ἦν ἐν φόβῳ τῷ τῆς δίκης καὶ πολλὸς ἦν ὁ τῶν ὀλέθρων κατάλογος, ἐγὼ δὴ² διὰ πάσης ἐρχόμενος θαρρεῖν τε ἐκέλευον καὶ τρέμοντας ἔπαυον καὶ πᾶν ἀκριβῶς ἔλεγον τὸ μέλλον προορῶν, ὥστε τοῖς κακοθηεστέροις ἐπήει πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγειν ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐξ ὀρνίθων | ἡμῖν ἀφίκται καὶ ποιεῖ νῦν ὃ F 437
πάλαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὁ Κάλχας ὁ Θεόστορος. |

R 670 34. τότε οὖν εἶναι μάντις οὐκ ἀπηρνούμην, θορυβούντων δὲ παρὰ σοῦ τε μάντις ἔλεγον γεγενῆσθαι καὶ βλέπειν ἑμαυτὸν εἰς αἰτὸν ἕνα σὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον ἐκ τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων ὄρᾶν.³ ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πορευόμενον ἐπ' ἔργον ἐκόντα ἢ καὶ πεμπόμενον ὅστις ἦδει καλῶς τὴν Ἡρακλέους φύσιν, λέγων ὅτι καὶ κατορθώσει, μάντις ἂν ἦν ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλεῖ κατειργασμένων εἰς τὸ

¹ αἰτιαθείης F. (Par. 3017) : αἰτιαθείς V : αἰτιαθῆς Re. (other mss.) | ὅς F. (UP) : om. Re. (other mss.).

² δὴ conj. Sintenis, F. : δὲ Re. (mss.).

³ ὄρᾶν F. (UP, I corrected) : ἐρεῖν Re. (other mss., Planudes).

^a Cf. Or. 19. 35.

^b Apollo.

^c Homer, Il. 1. 69.

the smiters' hands. So what need for an inquiry into the situation prevailing before the news of the revolt? For our emperor, however, nothing like that happened through the archers stationed here. An arrow or two certainly caused one or two casualties in defence of the house of one of our notables, which was the scene of disturbance.^a Thus, though Vespasian was responsible for a massacre by the agency of his troops, no one could lay that charge against you, for you refuse even to let us be terrorized, and the odd one or two are hardly worth mentioning. So Vespasian too falls far short of you.

33. Well, many of the things I have said have begun to make me something of a prophet, not by the doing of the son of Leto and Zeus^b or any other of the gods, but because after that disastrous occurrence, the city went in fear of punishment, and a long list of executions was expected, while I went through the whole town and told them to cheer up. I began to check their panic, and in my foreknowledge to tell the whole future accurately, so that my denigrators were moved to remark to one another, "Here is a fellow come to us from birds, who now behaves as Calchas, Thestor's son,^c did long ago among the Achaeans." 34. At the time, then, I did not deny that I was a prophet, but as they kept up their clamour, I asserted that I had got my gift of prophecy from you, that I gazed upon one single eagle, yourself, and that I saw from past events what was not yet revealed. In Heracles' case, too, when he set out upon some labour, either of his own free will or even at another's volition, anyone with a thorough knowledge of his character would, in predicting his success, be a prophet moved to foretell the future as a

LIBANIUS

προειπεῖν κινούμενος. 35. μαντεύεται δὲ καὶ Ἄγαμέμνων κακὸν ἔσεσθαι Τρωσὶ τὰς Ἀχιλλέως διαλλαγὰς εἰδὼς τὰς πρὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐκείνου πεπορθημένας πόλεις, μαντεύεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀχιλλεὺς περὶ τε τῆς Ἑκτορος ἀριστείας καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸν ζητήσῃ τὰ πράγματα. καὶ περὶ Ἀριστείδου δὲ τοῦ Λυσιμάχου μετὰ τοὺς φόρους ἀργυρολόγου πλέοντος ἦν ἂν μοι τὸ τῶν μάντεων ποιεῖν, προ-
 R 671 λέγειν ὡς | μεθ' ὁμοίας ἐπάνεισι πενίας. 36. καὶ νῦν τοίνυν ἐβῶν, ὅτι ταῦτα βασιλεὺς εἴσεται μὲν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ὡς μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον τοῖς αὐτόπταις γεγενημένοις ἡμῖν, αὐχένα δὲ οὐδένα ὑποθήσει σιδήρῳ. | καὶ εἶπετο δὴ τούτοις ἐξέτασίς τε πονη- F 438
 ρῶν ἔργων, δεῖ γὰρ τό γε ἀληθὲς ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ δικασταὶ τοῦτ' ὄντες ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐκέκληντο, καὶ γράμματα λύσιν ἔχοντα τῶν προτέρων. ἐν οἷς ἐνεστιν ὄραν λάμπουσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν φύσιν, ὅταν ἀπολογῆται μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἡδίκηκότων κακίας, φάσκη δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλοτρίαν τε εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταχέως μεταπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ πραότερα καὶ τούτου πλείω λόγον ἔχειν ἢ τοῦ τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν.
 37. Χρηστὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ φιλόδωρος χαρίζεται καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ δήμῳ τὸ καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων ἰκετεῖαις πεπρᾶχθαι τι τῶν ἐπιεικιστέρων. ἐπεὶ ἔγωγε πέπεισμαι ταῦτ' ἂν γενέσθαι τὰναντία βουλομένων οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ πλείω μὲν ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο τῇ καὶ νῦν πολλὰ καρπουμένη πόλει
 R 672 δακρύων τε εἵνεκα καὶ | τῶν ἄλλων ἅ τὴν βοήθειαν

¹ ταῦτ' Cobet, F. (mss. except BM) : ταῦτα Re. (BM).

result of Heracles' past exploits. 35. Agamemnon^a also foretells that his reconciliation with Achilles will be a black day for Troy, for he knows the cities Achilles had sacked before he fell out with him. Achilles,^b too, personally foretells of Hector's prowess, and says that the turn of events will demand his presence. Also, about Aristeides son of Lysimachus, when he sailed as collector for the tribute, I could play the seer and foretell that he would return as poor a man as he left.^c 36. Now, indeed, I began to exclaim, "The emperor will have such exact knowledge of all this that we, the actual eyewitnesses, could not better him, and he will set the steel to no man's throat." And there followed upon this the investigation into acts of treason,—yes, we must admit to the truth. Judges, who really lived up to their title, were appointed, and instructions sent, rescinding the earlier ones. And in them we can see our emperor's character illumined when he speaks in self-defence, in consequence of the misconduct of the guilty, and asserts that wrath is foreign to his nature, and so he quickly reverts to a policy of clemency, setting more store by this than he does by punishment.

37. In his goodness and generosity he obliges both the Senate and People of the capital with the performance of acts of clemency in response to their entreaties, for I am convinced that the result would have been the same, had not only they but the whole of mankind opposed it. For all that, I pray that blessings in greater abundance light upon that city which now enjoys so many blessings, both for its tears

^a Homer, *Il.* 9. 115 ff.

^b *Ibid.* 1. 240 ff.

^c Plutarch, *Aristid.* 24.

LIBANIUS

εἶχεν, ἴστωσαν μέντοι χάριν ἠτηκότες ἢν ἔδωκεν ἂν τῇ γῆ καὶ μηδενὸς ἐπαγγέλλοντος. οἱ δ' αὐτοὺς μὲν ἔδειξαν καλῶς καὶ ὥς | εἰσιν εὖ πράττειν ἄξιοι, F 439 βασιλέα δὲ παρεκάλουν ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὸς αὐτόν.

38. Δηλοῖ δ' οἴός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ τῶν¹ φιλανθρώπων διατριβῇ. διελὼν γὰρ ἃ δίδωσι, χωρὶς ἕκαστον ἀπαριθμεῖ, τὰς οὐσίας, τὰ θεάματα, τὰ λουτρά, τοὺς ἐξεληλαμένους, οἷς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ λόγος, τὴν τὰ αὐτῆς ἀπειληφυῖαν ἀρχήν, ἔχων ἐν δυοῖν, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο, ῥήμασι περιλαβεῖν τὴν δόσιν. ὁ δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἀνθέων βραδέως ἀπαλλαττόμενοι, μακρηγορεῖ καὶ μόλις ἐξέρχεται καὶ δέδοικεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πενομένων, ὡς ἴσον ὄν ἀπορεῖν καὶ τεθνάναι. 39. διὰ τοῦτο τῷ ζῆν προσέθηκε τὸ καὶ ἐν οἷς εἶχον ζῆν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ δι' ἀδίκων θανάτων ἐπὶ τὰς τιμῶν ἦκον οὐσίας, ἣ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ὠφέλεια R 673 νῦν τε καὶ | ἐς αἰὲ τῶν αἰὲ τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων διδασκομένων μὴ τῶν ὄντων ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς κεκτημένους μηδὲ κέρδη τὰ τοιαῦτα νομίζειν.

40. Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἴσων ἔτυχεν ἂν καὶ οὐ τοσαύτη πόλις ἐν τοιούτοις ἀμαρτήμασιν εἰδότος ὅτι καθάπερ ἐν σώματι κἂν τὸ μικρότατον ἀφέλης τὸ πᾶν ἐζημίω|κας, οὕτω κἂν τῇ μορφῇ τῇ διὰ τῶν F 440

¹ <περὶ> τῶν conj. Re. and F.

^a μέγα συνέδριον is also used to describe the Senate of Constantinople in Libanius' narrative of Julian's humanity, Or. 18. 154 f. Here he is unusually complimentary in his references to the institutions of the capital,—reasonably enough, considering the recent crisis.

^b Cf. Or. 21. 21 ff. According to Jo. Chrys. Hom. 21

and other efforts to assist us,^a but they should realize that they have asked a favour he would have granted the world even without any asking. They showed up nobly and proved that they deserve to prosper, but they commended to the emperor a course of action which he had decided for himself, before even they suggested it.

38. He shows his mettle in the recital of his acts of generosity. Categorizing his gifts, he lists each one separately^b—property, shows, baths, refugees, those whose life is in hazard, the restoration of the city authorities to their position—though he could, if he so wished, have embraced the whole grant in a couple of sentences. However, like people who reluctantly turn their backs on a flower garden, he dwells on this theme and is reluctant to leave it, expressing his fear for the poor, for whom deprivation and death, he feels, come to the same thing.^c

39. Hence he has dealt with not just their lives, but with the circumstances of their lives. Some persons, by illegal executions, have gained possession of people's property; but the assurance we have from this both now and for the future is that the powers that be should learn not to expel the rightful owners or to regard such conduct as a source of gain.

40. A city of less importance also might have been treated equally well after such misconduct, for he realizes that, as in the human body, if the smallest portion is removed, harm is done to the whole, the

(*P.G.* xlix. 220), Theodosius entrusted Bishop Flavianus with the task of delivering the news of the amnesty. He sent an official message ahead of him.

^c Thus the municipally organized poor relief was restored (*cf.* § 7 above). *Cf.* Liebeschuetz, pp. 127 ff.

LIBANIUS

πόλεων ποθουμένου τοῦ τέως μένοντος,¹ εἶτα ἀπολωλότος. νῦν δὲ δυοῖν μὲν ἦδε δευτέρα, τρισὶ δὲ ἴση, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περίεστι. 41. καὶ γέγονας οἰκιστῆς διὰ τῆς σωτηρίας οὐ λίθους ἐπὶ λίθους διὰ τεκτόνων τιθεὶς οὐδ' ἐναρμόττων ξύλα οὐδ' ἐπάγων κέραμον οὐδ' εἰς πόνον καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι μερίζων τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἐτῶν εἰς τὸ πᾶν δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γνώμης τε ἡμέρου καὶ γραμμάτων ὀλίγων καὶ τοῦ κρείττων θυμοῦ γενέσθαι. 42. καὶ νῦν ἅπαντ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῶν πρὸ τῆς Ἰουῦς, τὰ τῶν ἐκείνην ζητούντων, τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὰ Σελεύκου, τὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνῳ ἀρξάντων σὰ γίνονται, τὸ μῆκος, τὸ πλάτος, τὰ ἱερά, τὰ ἴδια, τὰ δημόσια, στοῶν κάλλος, ἀγορῶν φαιδρότης, βουλευτήρια, R 674 θέατρα, | λουτρά. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων οἴχεται τῇ στάσει, τὴν δ' οὐσαν σὴν ἢ συγγνώμη πεποίηκεν. 43. ὁ γὰρ εἰκότως ἂν ἀνελὼν φεισάμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος χώραν ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἀνήρηκεν εἰσάγεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅστις ἀνθρωποῦ ποταμοῦ ῥύμης ἐξήρπασε, πατήρ ἂν εἰκότως εἶναι τοῦ σεσωσμένου δοκοίη. ὅταν οὖν τις ἐπαινῇ βασιλέας | ἐξ ὧν ἔδο- F 441 σαν τῇ γῇ πόλεων, ἔξεστιν ἑτέρῳ τήνδε παρὰ σοῦ δεδόσθαι λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἔκτορα τῇ Τροίᾳ τὸν ἐν τῇ μονομαχίᾳ πεσόντα παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος δεδόσθαι τοῦ γε ἀναστήσαντος· ὥστε σέ μῃδ' ἂν

¹ μένοντος Re. text (mss., Planudes): μὲν ὄντος conj. Re., F.

^a Comparisons with others loom large in the praises of Antioch, cf. *Or.* 11. 270, 15. 59. The two cities are Rome and Constantinople, the other three, Alexandria, Trèves, Milan, cf. *Auson. Ord. Nob. Urb.* 2-5.

^b Commonplace, cf. *Jo. Chrys. Hom.* 21 (*P.G.* xlix. 217).

same happens in the organization by cities, that what has existed for a time and has then been destroyed is always missed. As it is, our city is inferior to two only, is on a par with three others, and is superior to the rest.^a 41. By preserving it, you have become its founder,^b not by having builders lay stone upon stone, fitting timbers together or roofing it with tiles, nor yet by dividing up the year into work and leisure, nor by requiring many years to finish the whole job, but simply in consequence of your gentle disposition, a few decrees and your control over your temper. 42. Now, all that was achieved by the inhabitants who preceded the time of Io, or by those who searched for her, by Alexander, Seleucus or succeeding rulers, becomes your own—the length and breadth of the city, its temples, its buildings private and public, its fine colonnades and handsome markets, its council chambers, theatres and baths. What they had achieved has vanished in the riots; your forgiveness has made the existing city yours. 43. For anyone who might reasonably have destroyed it and yet spares it, steps into the position of its founder simply because of the destruction he has not wrought, just as the rescuer of a man from a flowing river could properly be regarded as a father to the man he has saved. So whenever emperors are praised for the cities they have given the world, somebody else can retort that our city has been a gift from you. Indeed, when Hector fell in single combat he was given to Troy by Apollo who raised him up.^c Thus no one could blame you

The reigning monarch is compared with the legendary and historical founders of Antioch, for whom *cf. Or. 11. 44 ff. (Io), 72 ff. (Alexander and Seleucus).* ^c Homer, *Il. 7. 272.*

LIBANIUS

ὄνομα τῇ πόλει μεταθέντα¹ ἐκ τῆς σῆς οἰκίας μηδένα ἂν αἰτιάσασθαι.

44. Καὶ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐν πολλοῖς οἷς ἡμαρτήκαμεν ὀρθῶς εἶδομεν τὸ τοιαῦτα περὶ δευτέρας προσηγορίας, οἷάπερ ἀκήκοας, εἰπεῖν. δεῖ τοίνυν σε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις οἰκιστὴν πεφηνότα σαυτοῦ τε ἔργον τὴν χειμασθείσαν νομίσαι καὶ τῷ μὴ διαφθεῖραι προσθεῖναι προσθήκας τῆς σῆς τύχης ἀξίας, οἷαις δὴ καὶ τὴν Δάφνην καλλίω κατέστησας βασιλεία παλαιὰ τοῖς νέοις ἀποκρύψας. δεχέσθω δὴ τι καὶ τὸ ἄστυ παραπλήσιον, εἴτ' ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βούλει τῇ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἴτ' ἐν τῷ πρό ταύτης ὠκισμένῳ χωρίῳ. παρακαλῶ δέ σε² | ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους, ἀλλ' ὅπως καὶ μαθεῖν ἡμῖν ἐγγένοιτο εἴτε ἔτι ἐραστήν ἐκεῖνον ἔχομεν εἴτε ἤδη πέπαυται. |

45. Σὺ δὲ κρείττων μὲν γένοιο τῆς παροιρίας, F 442
φυλάττοις δὲ τὸ γενόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπάδος, δι' ἣν ὡς ἥδιστα μὲν ἑώρας τὰς ἐνθένδε πρεσβείας ὄραν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι τρόπον τὴν ἀφροστηκυῖαν δοκῶν, εὐφραίνου δὲ τῷ τε πυνθάνεσθαι τῷ τε ἀκούειν τι περὶ ἡμῶν. μέγα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ λῆξαι τὴν ὀργήν, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι μείζον τὸ μὴ τὸν ἔρωτα λῆξαι. τῷ προτέρῳ τοίνυν τιμῆσας τίμησον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ. 46. θεοῦ δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸ τρίτον παρασχεῖν, τὸ τῆσδέ σ' ἐπιβῆναι καὶ χώρας καὶ πόλεως· πάλιν δ' αὖ τοῦδε μείζον

¹ μεταθέντα conj. Re., F. (P corrected): μεταθεῖναι Re. text (mss.). ² σε conj. Re., F.: ἔτ' Re. text (mss.).

^a Theodosius intervened to protect the cypresses in Daphne, *Or.* 1. 255, 262. *C. Th.* 10. 1. 12. For building 342

ORATION XX, 43-46

even if you changed the city's name and gave it one from your own family.

44. Indeed, in all our many errors, we were right in this much at least, in conceiving an address to you upon the renaming of the city in the terms you have heard. You, who by your conduct have shown yourself to be our founder, must regard our storm-tossed city as your creation, and besides not destroying it, you must make additions to it worthy of your station, such as those with which you have beautified Daphne,^a by the eclipse of the old palace with a new one. So let the city also obtain some similar edifice, whether you wish it to be in the island beyond the river ^b or in the built-up district facing it. I invite you to this task, Sire, not just for the sake of its size and beauty, but also that we may learn whether we still have our erstwhile admirer, or whether he has ceased to be such.

45. I trust that you will rise superior to our disorderliness, and cherish the outcome of that bright and heavenly day when you beheld with the utmost pleasure the embassies from here, thinking to behold, in a manner of speaking, in those there present your rebellious city, and were pleased to ask questions and to hear something about us. Important as it may be that you should abate your anger, it is far more important that you should not abate your affection. Thus, having honoured us with the first, honour us, Sire, with this second also. 46. It would be a divine revelation if you were to provide us with yet a third,—to set foot in our land and our city,—and even more so, if you would do so with projects in Antioch at the time *cf.* Downey, *Antioch*, p. 434.

^b *Cf.* *Or.* 11. 203 ff.

LIBANIUS

τὸ σὺν τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ. τότε ἡμῶν, τότε καὶ πρὸς βίαν δώσεις τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔπωνυμίαν. λέγω δὲ βίαν, ὅση δὴ γένοιτ' ἂν παρ' ὑπηκόων σωφρονούντων· ὡς καλὸν τά γε τοιαῦτα βασιλέα καὶ R 676 προσαναγκάζειν. 47. ἡμᾶς | μὲν οὖν ἐκ τούτων προσερεῖ τις εὐδαίμονας ἔνδον τε σοῦ καθημένου καὶ βουλὰς βουλευόντος σωτηρίου καὶ τῷ πεδίῳ τὰ πολέμια μελετῶντός τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν παιδεύοντος καὶ γιγνομένου τε καὶ ποιούντος βελτίους Πέρσας τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν παρέχοντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀσφάλειαν δραμοῦσιν. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ πολέμου δεήσειεν, ἕξεις καὶ τοὺς ἀόπλους ἡμᾶς συναγωνιστάς, ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, | ὅσοι τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι καὶ ὅσοι τὴν γῆν F 443 ἐργάζονται καὶ ὅσοι δεσπότης ὑπηρετοῦσι. 48. τίς οὖν ἢ παρὰ τῶνδε τῶν γυμνῶν συντέλεια; τοὺς θεοὺς ἕκαστοι τούτων καλέσουσιν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀκριβοῦς, τὸν Ἄρη, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, τοὺς ἄλλους ὧν ταῖς γνώμαις ἐκβαίνει τὰ τῶν πολέμων τέλη, μεμνημένοι τῶν τε λελυμένων κινδύνων τῆς τε ἀνεπίστου ταύτης σωτηρίας, αἰτοῦντες τοὺς ἐναντίους, εἴ τινες ἄρα φανεῖεν, εἰς δέος τε πίπτειν καὶ τρόμον καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ διώξεως ἐρᾶν. ὅσην δὲ ἐν πολέμου πράγμασι ἐχουσιν εὐχαὶ ῥοπήν, ὀρώμεν ἐν ταῖς ποιήσεσι.

49. Καὶ μήτοι νομίσης παρὰ τῆσδε μόνης τοῦτο ἕξειν τάγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐστὶ τὸ βασιλευόμενον, τοσοῦτον τὸ συνευξόμενον. τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν δίκαιον ἔστι δήπου καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ συνάχθονται τε πληττομέναις καὶ συγχαίρουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀμεί- 344

ORATION XX, 46-49

the young prince. Then, then indeed, you will be forced to grant us the renaming of our city after your son^a; and by force, I mean that which would be applied by loyal subjects, for the application of this kind of compulsion, at least, upon an emperor is a good thing. 47. So we shall be called happy as a result of this, if you are settled among us, exercising your thoughts for our preservation, participating in the battle manoeuvres on the plain and schooling your army, improving both yourself and it, and letting the Persians thank their lucky stars as they scurry to the security afforded by peace.^b Anyway, should there be need for war, you will have us to support you, unarmed though we may be, men, women, children, all the inhabitants of the city, all the workers of the soil, and all subservient to their masters. 48. The contribution to be made by these unarmed folk will be that they will all, from the bottom of their hearts, invoke Ares, Athena and the rest of the gods by whose counsels the issues of war are decided. They will remember the dangers from which they have been preserved and this their unhoped-for salvation, praying that the enemy, should they dare to put in an appearance, may be cast into fear and trembling, and be more desirous of flight than of pursuit. And the influence that prayers can have on the fortunes of war, we can observe in poetry.

49. And do not think that you will have this blessing from our city alone: all the empire you rule will be united in prayer on your behalf. The bond of brotherhood, to be sure, exists in cities too, and they sympathize with one another in their afflictions

^a Arcadius Augustus.

^b *Cf. Or. 19. 62.*

LIBANIUS

R 677 νοσι. | καὶ ὡσπερ ὁ μέρει πόλεως λυμηνάμενος καὶ τὸ μηδὲν πεπονθὸς ἠγίακεν, οὕτως ὁ μιᾷ πόλει λελύπηκεν ἀπάσας. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅτω τι χρηστὸν εἰς μίαν γεγένηται, πάσας οὗτος ἀνηρτήσατο. ἀπὸ τοσοῦτων οὖν στομάτων εὐχὴν πόσον τι χρὴ νομίζειν δυγήσεσθαι; |

50. Οὕτως οὐ φιλάνθρωπά σοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ F 444
 λυσιτελοῦντα πέπρακται. καὶ φύσει γε τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἢ μὲν ἀρετὴ συμφέρον· καίτοι καὶ εἰ μηδὲν κέρδος ἔμελλεν ἐντεῦθεν ἀκολουθήσειν, αὐτὸ γε σὺ δήπουθεν τὸ καλὸν τιμήσειν ἔμελλες, τὸ καλὸν δέ, οἶμαι, τὸ μὴ πικρῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν οὖσιν ἀνθρώποις. εἰς μὲν γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦτο οὐκ εἰσέρχεται, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἄτης οὐκ ἐνὶ καθαρεῦσαι τὴν γῆν. θεῖος δέ τις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἄξιος, ὃς ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἐκείνης ἐπηρείαις τοῖς παραπεσοῦσιν οὐκ ἐπέθετο.

51. Καὶ νῦν οὗτος πανταχοῦ πολὺς ὁ λόγος, οἷα μὲν τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, οἷα δὲ τὰ παρὰ σοῦ. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἐν θεῶν συλλόγοις μνήμην ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι καὶ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐγκώμια λέγεσθαι, Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν ἄς δεῖ σοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐλθεῖν γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι. Καλλιόπη δὲ τὸ μὲν δράσει μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὑπὲρ δὲ R 678 τῆς | ἑαυτῆς πόλεως ἀποδώσει καὶ δευτέραν ἀμοιβὴν ἔρωτα τοῖς σοῖς υἱέσι παιδείας ἐνθεῖσα καὶ μουσικῆς.

^a Cf. Or. 2. 47. This passage is perhaps the source of the proverb ascribed to Libanius (Apostol. 15. 81d = *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 648: *συγχαίρειν χρὴ τοῖς φίλοις καλῶς πράττουσιν*).

^b Homer, *Il.* 19. 91.

^c The patrons of eloquence and poetry: linked with Calliope, the tutelary deity of Antioch, Or. 31. 40, cf. Or. 1. 102 f. The pagan terminology of the whole peroration culminates in this emphatic assertion of the virtues of

and rejoice with them in their prosperity.^a He who injures one part of a city, afflicts also the portion which has not been touched: similarly, whoever injures one city injures them all. So, too, anyone responsible for any benefit towards one city binds all to himself, and when prayers rise from so many lips, what must we think their effect will be?

50. Hence your actions have been not just humane, but also advantageous to yourself. The fact of the matter is bound to be something like this. Virtue is profitable; but even if no advantage were likely to accrue from it, you would certainly respect goodness for itself, and goodness, I feel, involves bearing no resentment against those who err, since they are but human. Though this does not enter into the kingdom of heaven, it is impossible to purge the earth of the consequences of infatuation.^b A man is held to be divine and deserving of high praise, if he does not attack those who have fallen by the wayside in the mischief which it causes.

51. And now the tale is told everywhere and at length, both of what I and of what you have done. Even in the councils of the gods, I believe, there is mention of us both, and some of them—the Muses, Hermes and Apollo^c—utter words of praise, while others express their opinions upon the gifts which you should receive from them. Calliope, in company with her sisters, will bring them to pass, and on behalf of her own city she will make a double repayment by instilling into your sons the love of learning and of music.

the Hellenic *παιδεία*, as a counterblast to the Christian propaganda current following the reconciliation; *cf. Or. I. 253* (cited Introduction, p. 237).

XXI

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΟΝ ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΟΝ¹

- R 678 1. Ἐπειδὴ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι ταῖς παρὰ σοῦ τὸ F ii. 44
 ἔργον ἠκολούθησεν, ὧ γενναῖε Καισάριε, καλῶς ἂν
 ἔχοι καὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ προστεθῆναι τὸ
 ἔργον. ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν ταῖς σαῖς πάσῃ² προθυμία τῇ
 πόλει βοηθήσειν ὅσηπερ ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν ἕκαστος,
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς | ἐμαῖς τὸ λόγον ἔσεσθαι παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῖς F 450
 πράγμασι πειρώμενον καὶ τοὺς ἐσομένους διδά-
 σκειν οἷος ἡμῖν ἐν οἷῳ καιρῷ γεγένησαι. βουλοί-
 μην δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τι τῶν τετελεσμένων ἄξιον καὶ
 δύναμιν τοσαύτην εἰς τὸν λόγον παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν
- R 679 λαβεῖν ὅσηπερ αὐτὸς ἔσχηκας | εἰς τὸ περισῶσαι
 τὴν πόλιν. 2. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄχλος, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ μὲν
 ἄνδρες, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες, πολλὴ δὲ νεότης, πολὺ
 δὲ γῆρας, ἀφ' οὐπερ πρότερον ἐποιούντο χωρίου
 τὰς ἰκετείας, ἀπὸ τούτου νῦν καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς δε-
 δομένοις εὐφημίας. ἄς ἦν μὲν σε κάλλιον παρόντα
 δέχεσθαι μετὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὀρώντα καὶ τὴν τῶν σω-
 μάτων κίνησιν, φοιτᾶ δὲ ἴσως οὐ μικρὸν τί σοι καὶ
 διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. 3. ἐγὼ δὲ κεκοινώνηκα μὲν
 ἐκείνοις τῶν ἡδίστων ἡμῖν βοῶν πρᾶγμα νῦν πρῶ-
 τον πεποιηκῶς τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦτο πειθούσης, ὃ δ'

¹ πρὸς PIBM, Macarius: εἰς F. (other mss.). μάγιστρον om.
 B., Macarius.

² <τὸ> πάσῃ F.

ORATION 21
TO CAESARIUS,
MASTER OF OFFICES ^a

1. SINCE your promises have been translated into action, noble Caesarius, it would be but right for action to follow upon those promises that I too have made. In your promises there was a readiness to assist our city with all the enthusiasm to be expected of any of her own citizens: in mine there was the rendering of a factual account to try to inform posterity of your services to us in our hour of need. I could wish to make my narrative worthy of your accomplishments, and to get from the Muses such inspiration for my oration as you showed in saving the city. 2. The thronging crowd of men, women, children and the aged now utter praises for the gifts bestowed upon them from the very same place where they had previously uttered prayers. It would be nicer for you to receive them in person, and to see the physical movements that accompany their voices, but perhaps no small part of this reaches you even through messengers. 3. I have joined them in the cries which gladden our hearts, and have been induced by your generosity now for the first time to perform an action which, though impossible

^a *PLRE* 171 (6).

LIBANIUS

οὐκ ἔνι μὲν γενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γένοιτο δ' ἂν παρ' ἔμοῦ, τοῦτ' ὤθηθην δεῖν προσθεῖναι χάριν εἰδὼς τοῖς θεοῖς τοῦ δόξης σοι μέλειν ἀντὶ χρημάτων. ἐκείνως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶχον ἀμείβεσθαι, νῦν δέ, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὅσον ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ἀποδοίην ἄν τι.

4. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων τῶν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων βούλοιτό τις, ὧ παρόντες, | μεμνήσθαι καὶ τῆς [τε]¹ ἐν παισὶ σωφρο- F 481
σύνης, εἴτ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐκ παίδων ἐξῆλθεν, ἀνδρίας τε ἐν οἷς ταύτης ἔδει καὶ γνώμης καὶ τῶν εἰς παρρησίαν ἀπασῶν ἀφορμῶν καὶ ὡς ἑτέρους ἔχων
R 680 φοβεῖν αὐτὸς ἄληπτος ἦν | ἅπασι καὶ ὡς τῆς βασιλείας ἄλλοτε ἄλλων οὐσης δι' ἴσων αὐτὸς ἐπαίνων διηκόνει τοῦ αἰεὶ κρατοῦντος ἐν κέρδει ποιουμένου τῆν Καισαρίου φύσιν—εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων ἀπτοίμεθα νῦν, κατεγνωκέναι τῶν παρόντων δόξομεν ὡς οὐκ ἀποχρώντων εἰς λόγον· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ,² δόξομεν τιμᾶν τὴν βοήθειαν³ τῷ μηδὲν ἐπεισάγειν. οἴων τοίνυν ἀπολελεύκαμεν ἐν ζέοντι τῷ κλύδωνι λέγωμεν.

5. Τοῦ κακοῦ ἀρξαμένου μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ὀλίγης, προβάντος δὲ εἰς πολλοὺς τοῦ κεκινημένου τὸ μήπω πρὸς ὁμοίαν ταραχὴν ἐπισπωμένου καὶ ῥημάτων μὲν ἐκδραμόντων δίκην ἐχόντων θάνατον, ἔργων δὲ προστεθέντων οὕτω δεινῶν ὡς μικρὸν εἶναι τὰν τοῖς ῥήμασι, εἰκόνων χαλκῶν καθελκομένων ὕβρει

¹ [τε] suggested by Re. and F.

² τούτων <ἐσθήσομεν> conj. F.

³ τιμᾶν τὴν βοήθειαν F. (mss., except C Mo.): δικαίως (δικαίων Re.) τιμᾶν ἐξ ἧν νῦν εὐηγετήμεθα (εὐηγετούμεθα Re.) παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δεῖσθαι τιως εἰς βοήθειαν Re. (C marg., Mo.).

^a For the sequence of events cf. *Or.* 19. 25 ff., Downey, pp. 426-433.

for the majority of people, could perhaps come from me. I felt that I should add this contribution, for I am grateful to the gods that you are more interested in fame than in material things. Otherwise I could not make any repayment but, as it is, even though it is not as much as you deserve, I would at least be making some return.

4. So, gentlemen, if we wish to give an account of all that he has done throughout his life—of his good behaviour as a child, and then, childhood left behind him, of his courage, whenever courage was needed, and of his resolution, his general affability, the manner in which, despite his capacity to inspire fear in others, he personally remained beyond the reach of criticism, and of the way in which, with different emperors on the throne at different times, he continued in his administrative duties, praised by all alike, since each successive emperor valued his abilities so highly—if we deal with all this now, we shall give the impression of disparaging our present theme as being insufficient for our narration. If, however, we confine ourselves to this alone, we shall be regarded as honouring his assistance without the intrusion of any additional matter. So let me recount the benefits we have enjoyed in this seething tide of disaster.

5. The trouble began with a few outcries, but the disturbance extended to a larger number of people and incited to like disorder that section of them which was as yet unaffected. Words were blurted out, for which death was the penalty, and were capped by actions so dreadful that the implications of the words were of minor importance.^a The bronze statues were forcibly torn down and were dragged

LIBANIUS

καὶ τῶν | μὲν ὄλων ἐλκομένων διὰ παντὸς ὁμοίως F 452
τόπου, τῶν δὲ καὶ κατατετμημένων εἰς μέλη, τοι-
ούτων τοίνυν ἡσεβημένων καὶ τῶν τετολμημένων
R 681 τῆς πόλεως | ἀπάσης κοινῶν γεγενημένων τῷ τοὺς
μὲν δρᾶσαι, τοὺς δὲ μὴ κωλύσαι, τὴν γὰρ δὴ γνώ-
μην ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰτίαν ἦγον, δρα-
μόντων τοίνυν τῶν ταῦτα μηνυσόντων βασιλεῖ καὶ
τῆς πόλεως φόβῳ κεκενωμένης ὡς τῶν μενόντων
πάντων ἀπολουμένων πέμπεται μετὰ τοῦ ταῖς δυ-
νάμεσιν ἐφεστηκότος οὗτος ἐπὶ βασάνῳ τε καὶ
κρίσει τῶν πεπραγμένων. 6. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα
οὐκ εἰδότες οἰχήσεσθαι τοὺς τε οὐκ ἀποδράντας
τοὺς τε τοῦτο πεπονηκότας, ἀλώσεσθαι γάρ, ἔλε-
γον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤττον, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἀμφοτέροι δὲ
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐθρήνουν, ἐγὼ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν
αὐτόν, τοὺς μὲν ταῦτά μοι φρονούντας καὶ τὸ βέλ-
τιστον¹ προσδοκῶντας ἐπήνουν, τοὺς δὲ θορυβου-
μένους ἔπαυον ὅστις εἶη διδάσκων. 7. νῦξ μὲν οὖν
ἐκείνη πολλὰς μὲν φροντίδας, ὀλίγον δὲ εἶχε τὸν
ὑπνον. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες | μάντις ἐνηγγυῶντο F 453
τὸ τέλος λέγοντες εἰς ὅπερ ἦκεν ἤξειν, ἦν οἶόν τε
μὴ πλήττειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ κυκᾶν τοὺς τε δεῦρο μετ-
οικούντας ὅσοι τε ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως ὀνόματι, γε-
R 682 νομένης δὲ ἡμέρας τῶν μὲν | ἄλλων οὐ πολὺς εὐθύς
ὁ λόγος, τὴν βουλὴν δὲ ἡ αἰτία περιόστατο. καὶ
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγους ἐδέχετο² μὲν ἢ τοῦ στρα-
τηγοῦ καταγωγῆ, πικρὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικα-

¹ βέλτιστον Re. (CAI Ia): βέλτιον F. (other mss.).

² λόγους ἐδέχετο F. (correction in I) (λ. ἐδέξατο conj. Sievers):
λόγους. ἠλέγγετο mss., Re. (who punctuates περιόστατο καὶ):
λόγους ἠλέγγετο Morel.

ORATION XXI, 5-7

along in their entirety through every place alike, or else were hacked to pieces. In such acts of sacrilege and outrage the whole city bore some responsibility; though one section perpetrated the deed, the rest had not prevented it, and their attitude laid them open to the same charge as the actual malefactors. Couriers were sent in haste to inform the emperor, and the city suffered a panic evacuation, since it was believed that all who stayed would be executed.^a Then Caesarius here was sent, in company with the master of the soldiery,^b to conduct an inquiry and examination into what had taken place. 6. Well, people unacquainted with him began to say that that would be the finish for those who had not decamped and for those who had,—for they would certainly be arrested. Some less, others more loudly, together they began to lament their fate. I, however, being not unacquainted with him, commended those who felt the same as myself and were optimistic in outlook, and I tried to check the more clamorous by explaining the kind of person he was. 7. That night, then, gave us plenty of food for thought but precious little sleep. Not even if all the prophets in creation had backed me up with declarations that things would turn out as they actually have done, could they possibly have stopped upsetting themselves and setting both our non-citizen residents and the members of our citizen body into a turmoil, and when day dawned, there was not much immediate concern with the rest: it was the city council around which the blame was centred. The general's headquarters was the scene of pleas on their behalf, but no harsh measures were

^a Cf. Or. 23.

^b Ellebichus, cf. Or. 22.

LIBANIUS

ζόντου, ὃ τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἡμέρας¹ ἐποίει πραοτέραν. ἡμέρα δευτέρα καὶ δικαστήριον καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ τοῖς δεθείσιν ὁ δῆσας τά γε εἰς λύπην προσόμοιος.

R 683 8. δύσεσθαι δὲ | μέλλοντος ἡλίου καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀσχολίας οὔσης ἄνω,² κάτω δὲ ὄχλου περὶ τὰς θύρας ἔρχομαι μὲν, ὡς δ' ἂν μὴ ἐνοχλοῖην, ἀπεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὸ τοῦ Πινδάρου ποιεῖ καὶ δι' ἀναβολῆς τῶν | ἐπειγόντων συγγίνεταί μοι παρακαθ- F 454
ισάμενος ἀπτόμενός τε τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐν τῷ τοῦτο ποιεῖν παρέχων ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς στεροῖτο τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπέχρη. δεινὸν δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων, οὐ τὸ τῆς οἰκείας³ ἔκπεσεῖν, οὐ τὸ τῶν ὄντων, οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ δεσμὸς οὐδ' εἰς γῆρας καὶ τελευτήν αὐτόματον προΐων. 9. πολλῶν δέ μοι ρεόντων δακρύων οὐκ ὀλίγα τῆς βελτίονος ἦν ἐλπίδος. ἐπῆγει τε ἅμα ταῦτα καὶ προσετίθει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐ τὸ γῆρας, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ταύτῃ τιμῶν, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἂν ἐτίμα πρὸ ἐμοῦ, οὐδ' αὖ ἀποδιδούς ἄς ὠφείλε χάριτας, οὐ γὰρ ὠφείλεν οὐδ' ἦν ὃ τι προεισηνήκετο παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ', οἶμαι, βέλτιστος ὢν καὶ τὰ καλὰ μὲν ἀξιῶν αἰδεῖσθαι, τῶν καλῶν δ' ἡγούμενος τοὺς λόγους ἀνεπήδα τε φαινομένου

R 684 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | ἅπασιν ἐκόσμη καὶ δι' ὧν αὐτὸς τε ἔσομαι ῥάων καὶ ποιήσω τοὺς δέδεμένους παρ- εἶχε. 10. παρ' οὗς ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ παρ' αὐτοῦ καταβὰς ἀπειρηκότηας καὶ κειμένους ἀφώνους σκοποῦντας

¹ ἡμέρας F. (BM) : νυκτὸς Re. (other mss.).

² Two pages missing in A : resumes § 26 τὴν ἡμε]τέραν.

³ οἰκείας Re., F. (I) : οἰκίας Morel (other mss.).

^a Cf. Ep. 868. Chrysostom also gives a similar account of the scene at the inquiry, *Hom.* 13 (P.G. xlix. 135 ff.).

^b Fr. 279.

ORATION XXI, 7-10

taken by the two inquisitors, and in consequence the night was less troubled than the day had been. The second day dawned, and the judicial examination began. Arrests were made, and the arresting officers looked just as dejected as the prisoners.^a 8. Just before sunset, he was busy upstairs, with a large crowd gathered below at his doors. I made my way there, but started to retire, not wishing to be a nuisance. However, he saw me and, in Pindar's words,^b set aside his pressing duties and gave me an interview. He sat me down at his side, clasped my arm, and by so doing gave me encouragement to believe that none of those arrested would lose his life, and that indeed was enough for me. No other punishment held such terrors—not exile, confiscation of property, or imprisonment itself, even though it should last until old age and natural death.^c 9. I shed many a tear, but there were plenty of grounds for hope. He commended my tears, and added his own. In this, I feel, he was not showing respect for my years—he might have honoured many before me—nor again was he repaying some kindness he owed me, for he owed me none, and I had not done anything for him before this either. It was, I believe, a case of an excellent man who wanted to reverence goodness and believed that eloquence was part of it. Thus, on my appearance he jumped to his feet, and showed me every mark of esteem, and in particular inspired in me a feeling of confidence for me to transmit to the prisoners. 10. On leaving him, I went down to see them, and found them in despair, lying

^a On imprisonment in the penal system *cf.* *Or.* 45 (Introduction).

LIBANIUS

ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀπενέγκαιεν ἔσχον τε καὶ παρε-
 μυθησάμην | λέγων τε τὰ τοῦδε καὶ διδάσκων ὡς F 455
 ἔνι καὶ βιῶναι. ὥστ' εἰ φαίην τὸ¹ τοὺς τοσοῦτους
 ἐξειλικύσθαι τελευτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦδε, τὰ ὄντα ἂν εἶην
 εἰρηκῶς. εὐφραϊνε δὲ καὶ τῷ λέγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἅ
 πρὸς τὸν ἡδικοημένον ἔμελλεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. τὰ δὲ
 ἦν ὅτι τῷ βασιλεῖ κάλλιον μὴ λαβεῖν ἢ λαβεῖν
 δίκην, εἴ γε τὸ μὲν ἡδονὴν ἔχει ταχέως παυομένην,
 τὸ δὲ δόξαν οὐ δυναμένην λῆξαι. 11. τοῖς μὲν οὖν
 ἐκ τούτων ὁ δεσμὸς ἐλαφρὸς οὐ δεχομένων τῶν
 ὑποσχέσεων ἀλαζονείας ὑποψίαν, οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἀνήρ
 ὁ μὴ πράξων ἡδὲ κατεπηγγελμένος ἐλέγχεται,
 ποιῶν δὲ τῇ πόλει ταχείαν τῆς συμφορᾶς τὴν
 ἀπαλλαγὴν, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε ἦν δεηθέντα τῶν θεῶν
 πτερῶσαι τὰ ζεύγη, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐποίησεν, ἢ εἰ τὸ
 τῶν Βορέου παίδων αὐτόν² ποθεν λαβεῖν, τοῦτ' ἂν
 R 685 ἐκείνου μᾶλλον, | ἢ εἰ παραπλήσιον ἵππον τῷ³ παιδί
 τῆς Γοργόνας, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐδέξατο. 12. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ
 ἦν παρ' | ὅτου ταῦτα ἐγένετ' ἂν, πόνου συνέχειαν F 456
 φύσει πτερῶν ῥήθη δεῖν ἐξισῶσαι καὶ τὰ παρ-
 ἔχοντα δὴ τὴν⁴ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τρυφὴν πάντα ῥύψας
 καὶ χαίρειν ἀφείς καὶ κουφότατον ἀπεργασάμενος
 ὡς οἶόν τε τὸ φέρον ἀναβὰς παντὶ τῷ τάχει τῶν
 ὀρέων ἐχρήτο προσόντος τοῦ παρὰ τῆς μᾶστιγος.
 13. καὶ τὸ μὲν προπέμψον τοσοῦτον ἦν, ἦν δὲ ἄρα
 τοῦδε τὸ πλεόν γυναικες, αἱ δὴ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον,

¹ τὸ om. F. (BM Vat. 64).

² αὐτόν F. (V): αὐτὸς Re. (other mss.).

³ τῷ F. (corrections in PI): τῇ Re. (other mss.).

⁴ τὴν Re., F.: τῶν mss.

^a A double-edged remark: Caesarius was a Christian.

^b So Pindar, *Ol.* 1. 124 ff. (the wooing of Hippodameia).

ORATION XXI, 10-13

silent and wondering how to do away with themselves. I kept them from this and encouraged them by telling them what he had said and explaining that their lives could still be saved. So if I were to say that all these men were snatched from death by him, I would be speaking the simple truth. He cheered us also by telling us of the report he was going to send on our behalf to the emperor we had wronged—namely, that it was more creditable for the emperor to forgo punishment than to exact it, since punishment brings a mere transitory pleasure, forgoing it brings a renown that can never fade. 11. As a result their imprisonment was lightened, for no suspicion of vainglory attached itself to his promises, and he stands revealed as never a man to promise something he knew he could not fulfil. In his efforts to ensure a speedy end to our city's troubles, could he, by his pleas to the gods,^a have got wings for his chariot, he would have done so^b; could he have somehow got the offspring of Boreas for his steeds,^c then he would have preferred this course; or if he could have had a horse like the Gorgon's offspring,^d he would have taken that. 12. But, as there were no means of bringing this about, he thought that his continued efforts must attain the speed of flight, and so he jettisoned all means of easy living while travelling, and bade them farewell: he stripped the carriage that bore him and made it as light as he could, mounted it, and got the utmost speed out of his mules by instant application of the whip. 13. A great crowd was there to see him off, mostly composed of women. These women, indeed,

^a Homer, *Il.* 20, 223 ff.

^b Pegasus: Hesiod, *Theog.* 280.

LIBANIUS

τριάκοντα δὴ σταδίου τοῖς αὐτῶν αὐταὶ καλύ-
 ψασαι σώμασιν ἔξω τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔμενον, ὁ δέ,
 ἔστι γὰρ σῶφρων καὶ εἰδὼς ἅ διωθεῖσθαι κάλλιον,
 καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις ἀξιώων
 ἔχειν πέμψας μὲν οὐκ ἀπήλασε¹ τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲ
 R 686 ἐλύπησε, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἑσπέρας αὐτῆς | τοῦτο ποιή-
 σας, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν, εἰς γίγνομαι δὴ τῶν ἀνα-
 στρεψάντων καὶ αὐτός. 14. καὶ ὡς ἑκαθήμην πρὸς
 ταῖς ἔμαντοῦ θύραις, βοῆς ἀκούομεν ἰκετεῖαν
 ἐχούσης. εἰκάσας οὖν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐξιέναι τὸν ἄνδρα,
 πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναβὰς ἀσθενῆς ὁ γέρων τὰ
 πρῶτα μὲν εἰπόμην, εἶτα παρήλαυνον, ἔπειτα πολὺ
 τὸ μέσον ἔμαντοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ποιήσας ἀνέμενον,
 δακρύσας δὲ ἦκοντος, τοῦτο | δὴ τὸ πολλάκις μοι F 457
 πεπραγμένον, πολλὰ διεκωλύθην εἰπεῖν τοῖς παρὰ
 τοῦδε λόγοις ἔχουσι μάλισθ' ἅ γ' ἂν ἐβουλόμην.
 15. ἐντεῦθεν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαθεύδομεν, ὁ δ' ἠπέιγετο
 καὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἑσπέρας ἠπτετο Καππαδοκίας
 ὀρίων, εἶτα τῶν μετ' ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τῆς ἕκτης ἡμέρας
 μετὰ μέσσην ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ λανθάνοντα
 τοὺς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ τὸ μὲν ἠγούμενον μὴ
 R 687 εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἐπόμενον ἐν | δυοῖν καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῇ
 τοῦ σώματος διὰ τῶν πόνων δαπάνῃ. 16. πόνοι
 γὰρ δὴ πόνοις συνήπτοντο καὶ τὸ διστὰν εἰς ἀνά-
 παυλαν ἦν οὐδέν, οὐ σίτος, οὐκ ὄψον, οὐ ποτόν,
 οὐχ ὕπνος, οὐκ ἐπιθυμία κλίνης. ὃς οὕτως εἶχετο
 τοῦ πρόσω ὥστε καὶ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν ὀρέων
 ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς τε περὶ ταῦτα τάχεσιν ὡς βραδυτη-
 σιν ἐπιτιμᾶν· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ὑπόδημα ἔλυσεν οὐδ' ἀνα-
 358

ORATION XXI, 13-16

occupied the city also, and for thirty stades beyond it they waited until evening, packing the road so that it could not be seen. He, being a man of prudence and well aware of the sort of situation not to get involved in, preferred his honours to come from his actions, and he did not send anyone to disperse the crowd and so hurt their feelings. He let the coming of evening disperse them, and when the time came, I myself was one of those who sent them back home. 14. And as I sat at my door, I heard a cry of entreaty. Thus I guessed, correctly, that he was about to leave, and once more, old and ailing though I may be, I mounted my horse and followed him at first, then rode past him, and finally, putting a good distance between him and me, I waited for him. I wept as he came up—a thing I had done often enough before—but was prevented from making a long address by the message he gave, which contained all I could wish for. 15. Thereafter, while we retired to rest, he hurried on his way. The second evening, he reached the borders of Cappadocia, and then of the next province and so on, until by the afternoon of the sixth day he presented himself before the emperor. He escaped the gaze of everyone, for he had no one to ride ahead, and his suite consisted of two persons only, in a state of complete physical exhaustion. 16. For toil followed toil with no interval for rest, with no bread to eat, no dessert, no drink, no sleep and no desire for bed. He was so eager to proceed that he fidgeted at the changes of mules, and however speedily this was managed, he still complained of delay. He did not undo his

¹ ἀπήλασε F. (MSS. except ILa Vat. 64): ἀπήλαυσε Re. (ILa): ἠπειλήσε Vat. 64.

LIBANIUS

ξυρίδα ἀφείλκυσε οὐδ' ἐγυμνώθη τῆς ἐνθένδε ἐσ-
θῆτος πρὶν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς βασιλέα λόγοις τῆς ἡμέρας
τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναλώσας ἤκεν ἐπὶ λουτρόν. ὡς τὰ γε
διὰ πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ παραθέων | ἠρίθμει, καὶ κά- F 458
ματος οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο¹ κατεβίβασεν, ὃν γε
οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις. τί ποτ' οὖν ἦν τὸ τοῦτο ποιοῦν;
σφοδρά τις ἐπιθυμία λῦσαι μὲν τῇ βουλῇ τὸν δε-
R 688 σμόν, λῦσαι δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν | ἀτιμίαν. ἔωκει γὰρ
οὐχ ἑτέροις ἐπικουροῦντι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν ῥυομένω.

17. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς γνώμης τοιαῦτα, μάταιον δὲ
ὄρμη πᾶσα μὴ προσλαβοῦσα τὴν Τύχην. τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἂν κινοίη, τὸ δ' ἀποστερεῖ² τοῦ τέλους· μὴ γὰρ
δὴ συμπνέοντος τοῦ δαίμονος πόσον ἂν τι εἶη παρ'
αὐτοῦ τοῦ βουλευέσθαι; ὡς δήτοι καὶ κυβερνήτης
ἅπας σώζειν μὲν ἂν θέλοι τὴν ναῦν, σώζει δὲ οὐχ
ἅπας, ἀλλ' οἷς συμπράττει τὰ πνεύματα. τοῦτο
δ' ἂν εἶη τῆς Τύχης. 18. καὶ νῦν τοίνυν τῷ βου-
λομένῳ ταχέως διαδραμεῖν παρ' ἐκείνης³ καὶ τὸ
δεδυνῆσθαι μηδενὸς τῶν ὑποσκελίζειν εἰωθότων
παρηνωχληκότος, οἷα πολλὰ ἂν ἐξ ὀχήματος συμ-
πέσοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ὄντων μὲν τῶν
τροχῶν, ὄντων δὲ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, οὕτω πάντα
κρείττω τοῦ τι παθεῖν ἤρχετο πληττόμενα | μὲν F 459
R 689 τοῖς πεφυκόσι λυμαινεσθαι, | κρατούμενα δὲ ὑπ'
οὐδενός. 19. καίτοι τὸν ἀπερισκέπτως τῇ τοῦ

¹ τοῦτο F. (CPV): τούτῳ other mss., Re. text (conj. τούτων ἔν τι).

² ἀποστερεῖ F. (La, Macarius): ἀποστεροίη Re. (I): ἀποστεροῖ other mss.

³ ἐκείνης Re., F.: ἐκείνοις I: ἐκείνου La: ἐκείνῳ Morel (other mss.).

ORATION XXI, 16-19

shoes, or take off his breeches, or change from the garments he wore on leaving here, until, after spending the rest of the day in making his report to the emperor, he finally retired to his bath. As he ticked off the stages in passing throughout his whole journey, no fatigue caused him to dismount for that purpose, nor did the cities he passed through. What then caused him to behave so? Simply his urgent desire to relieve the council of its arrest and the city of its disgrace. It was not so much as if he was helping other people as rescuing himself.

17. Such then was his resolve, but all his energy would have been in vain had it not had the backing of Fortune.^a She may set some things moving, but others she robs of their objective. Without this divine connivance, what would the plans of men be worth? Every helmsman, to be sure, wants to save his ship, but not all do—only those who have the winds to help them. That is where Fortune comes in. 18. So now, he wanted a speedy journey and Fortune provided the means. He experienced no trouble from the usual kind of set-back and the many accidents which can occur when travelling by carriage.^b Its wheels were as though composed of adamant, and the body that rested on them too, and so everything went on beyond the reach of accidents, experiencing the usual alarms and excursions but overcome by none. 19. Yet when anyone

^a For Fortune in the religion of Libanius cf. Misson, *Le paganisme de Libanius* (Louvain, 1914), *passim*.

^b A not inconsiderable risk for travellers: e.g. Obodianus, envoy of Antioch in A.D. 361/2, fell and broke an arm, and could not complete his mission, *Ep.* 698; in A.D. 391 Cimon, Libanius' son, was to die in consequence of a similar fall, *Or.* 1. 278 ff.

LIBANIUS

τάχους ἐπιθυμία χρώμενον πολλὴν ἐφέλκεσθαι καὶ τὴν βλάβην ἀνάγκη. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐνίκα τὰ νικώμενα, καθάπερ δι' ἀέρος οὐδὲν ἐφαπτόμενα τῆς γῆς πορευόμενα. οὐκοῦν συμμαχία μὲν τῆς Τύχης διὰ τούτων δηλοῦται, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρχε μὴ τῶν ἄλλων συμβουλομένων¹ θεῶν. ὁμόνοια μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονεῖν, στάσις δὲ καὶ τὸ διαφέρεισθαι πόρρω μὲν οὐρανοῦ, πόρρω δὲ τοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν οἰκοῦντος χοροῦ. οὕτως ἔτρεχες δρόμον ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐπαινούμενον καὶ ἦν ἐβούλοντο πόλιν συνδιέσωζες, καὶ ἧς ἐκήδοντο κηδόμενος ἐφαίνου.

20. Ὡς γὰρ δὴ κατέθηκε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν βασιλεῖ τὰ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἔχοντα γράμματα καὶ κελεύοντος ἀνεγίνωσκε καὶ τοῖς μανείσιν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν σωθῆναι, γονάτων τε εὐθύς ἤπτετο καὶ περὶ δόξης ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους καὶ οἶα ἂν ἐξ ἑκατέρου συμβαίῃ, τοῦ τε κολάσαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ. ἔλεγε δ' ἄρα καὶ κεκολάσθαι τὴν πόλιν διδάσκων ὡς αὐτοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπώλλυσαν τῇ φυγῇ πάσχοντες ἃ ὅπως μὴ πάθοιεν ἐφευγον, ἀποροῦντες στέγης, ἀποροῦντες τροφῆς, οὐκ ἔχοντες | ἰατρὸν ἀντιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς F 460
R 690 εὐπόρου ἠθήσκοντας τοὺς | εὐπόρους καλοῦντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τὰ τῶν κακούργων ξίφη <καὶ>² τῶν

¹ συμβουλομένων Re. (B).

² <καὶ> F.

^a Christians constantly criticized the pagan myths which depicted the gods at war. Rationalizing pagans sought to rebut them by allegorical interpretations of the stories in Homer and Hesiod. Libanius' use of this sentiment here is the more appropriate since Caesarius was Christian.

^b Libanius naturally refrains from mentioning the initiative of Bishop Flavianus, who had left Antioch to intercede

ORATION XXI, 19-20

recklessly indulges his desire for speed, much harm must of necessity result. Nevertheless such vulnerability triumphed: it was as if his progress was through the air, with no foot set on the ground. So the support of Fortune is here demonstrated, and it would not have been provided without the consent of the other gods. There is harmony among them and a unanimity of purpose: faction and quarrels are far removed from heaven, and from the company of its inhabitants. Thus you ran a course that had the approval of the gods^a; you assisted them in the preservation of the city they wanted to save, and you were seen to care for her which was the object of their care.

20. For as he placed before the emperor's feet the report containing the charge, and began to read it at his bidding, and we, in our criminal lunacy, had no possible means of salvation, he embraced the emperor's knees with no more ado and took up the theme of his reputation and the consequences of either course of action, of imposing or refraining from punishment.^b He told him, in fact, that the city had been punished already, and explained how the citizens had themselves done away with themselves, by suffering in their flight all that they had fled to avoid, without shelter, without food, with no doctor to combat the consequences of their misery. In this account he showed how the wealthy were dying because of their wealth, since they brought upon themselves the knives of brigands and had the

with the emperor immediately after the riots (*Jo. Chrys. Hom. 3; P.G. xlix. 47 ff.*), and had been in Constantinople for some days before Caesarius reported (*Hom. 21; P.G. xlix. 211 ff.*).

LIBANIUS

ἰχθύων τὰς γαστέρας ἀντὶ ταφῆς ἔχοντας. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ἀκοῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θρήνον ὀρμήσας τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων δεήσεις ἔφθασε τοῖς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δάκρυσιν, ἐν οἷς ἦν τῶν λυπηρῶν ἡ λύσις.

21. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὰ¹ σὲ περιφανῆ ποιοῦντα, Καισάριε, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τὸ νῦν. σεσώσμεθα γὰρ τῇ βασιλέως ψήφῳ, ἔρχεται δέ τι σωτηρίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην. ἄλλου μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἦν τοῦ μὴ κατὰ σὲ τὸν τρόπον χαρίσασθαι θυμῷ μεγάλῳ λόγοις προσερεθίζουσι καὶ νῆ Δία γε οὐκ ὄντα μέγαν ποιῆσαι τηλικούτον πικραῖς τε κατηγορίαις καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αἴρουσιν ὀνόμασι φόβῳ τε τῶν ὁμοίων, εἰ μὴ τὸ σπέρμα τις ἀνέλοι· σοῦ δ' ἦν ἀκούειν πραότητος ἐπαίνους καὶ σοφίαν ὄραν ἀφαιροῦσάν τι τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ λογισμοὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων φειδοῦς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐγγυωμένους σωφροσύνην. 22. φιλῶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ῥήτορα τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ βοηθοῦντα, ἀλλ' οὔτε² τοσ- F 461 οὔτον ἦν τὸ κινδυνευόμενον, ποῦ γὰρ ἴσον ἡμεῖς καὶ Μιτυληναῖοι; τό τε πᾶν ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔστησεν, R 691 ἀλλ' ἴσμεν ἐφ' ὅποσον ἤκεν ἡ δίκη. | νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἀφίικται τὸ φάρμακον.

23. Σκοπῶμεν δὴ κὰν τῷ κεκομικότι τὰς διαλλαγὰς τῇ πόλει ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν ἐπίκουρον αὐτόν. ὃς γὰρ ἐγένετ' ἂν τῇ πόλει λυσιτελέστερος ἑτέρου, τοῦτον ὅπως οἶσει τὴν φιλτάτην ἡμῖν ἐπιστολήν ἔπραξεν, ὃς ἄνευ τε βαρύτητος ἔμελλε τῇ βουλῇ

¹ τὰ σὲ Re. : σὲ τὰ F. (mss.). ² οὔτε F. : οὐ τι Re. (mss.).

^a Cf. Or. 23. 1 ff.

^b Cf. Jo. Chrys. Hom. 21. 4 (P.G. xlix. 219).

bellies of fish for their tombs.^a At such a recital, the emperor began to lament and by his own tears, which involved relief from our troubles, he anticipated requests from the rest.^b

21. There is much that makes you a man of mark, Caesarius,—our present situation in particular. We have been saved by the emperor's decision, but some part of our salvation can be referred to your resolve. Another man perhaps, unlike you in character, would have heaped fresh fuel on the fire of his wrath or even, by heaven, have fanned it from a tiny flame with bitter accusations and with exaggerated terminology and fear of a recurrence if the seed were not destroyed. From you, however, there could be heard the praises of clemency, and your wisdom could be seen to reduce the extent of our offence somewhat, and your reasoning to guarantee the good conduct of the majority by sparing the offenders. 22. I fully approve of the Athenian orator who aided Mitylene,^c but the issues at stake were not nearly so great. How can Mitylene be set on a par with us? Besides, he did not bring the whole matter to an end; we know the extent of the punishment exacted. But in the present instance the cure has been applied to the whole citizen body.

23. Let us observe, then, our supporter himself in the person of the man who brought the news of the reconciliation to the city, for he ensured that the bearer of the despatch which blessed us all should be one of the utmost possible assistance to her—a man who was likely to conduct himself before our city

^a Diodotus in 427 B.C. (Thuc. 3. 41 ff.) opposed Cleon's proposal for the mass extermination of the Mitylenaeans after their revolt, but even so one thousand were executed.

LIBANIUS

συνέσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνης λόγους ἀνέξεσθαι πρὸς τῷ καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ δίκαιον ἐνεῖναι τῷ πράγματι. τίς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἐκαρπώσατο τὰ γράμματα τοῦ μόνου τῶν ἵππους¹ ἐλαυνόντων μιμησαμένου τὰ Καισαρίου | πτερά;

24. Ἐδει μὲν οὖν ὄρος τε ἡμῶν εἶναι καὶ ποταμὸν χρυσίον, ὥσπερ Λυδοῖς, φέροντα, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς μὴ μείζω βούλεσθαι τοῦ δύνασθαι, νῦν δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ μέτρου τοὺς ἐν τοιαύτῃ μεταβολῇ. σέ δὲ μακαρίζω μὲν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοίας, F 462 μακαρίζω δὲ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνον φίλτρου, μακαρίζω δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως, μακαρίζω δὲ τοῦ τὰ² τοιαῦτα μὲν εἰργάσθαι, τοιαῦτα δὲ σεαυτῷ συνειδέναι. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι βελτίονος ἐλπίδος ὑπάρχει τοῖς τοιοῦτοις εἶναι καὶ ζῶσι καὶ ἀπιούσι, κἄν τί ποθεν προσβάλλῃ δυσχερές, ὧν πεποιήκεν ἡ μνήμη τὴν λύσιν ἐπαγγέλλεται. 25. καλὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνδρὶ συνειπόντα κινδύνου σαφοῦς ἐξαρπάσαι καὶ τὸ νηὶ ναῦν ἐπαμύνασαν ἀποκρούσασθαι ληστὰς, σοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀφ' ἐνὸς σώματος ἢ δέκα ἢ εἴκοσιν ἢ δις τοσούτων ἢ φιλοτιμία, ἀλλ' ὅσων οὐδ' ἀριθμῆσαι ῥάδιον. ὅτῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἔνι καὶ σεσωκέναι πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τι γε τοσαύτην οὐδ' οὕτως ἀρχαίαν οὐδ' οὕτω πολλοῖς ἀνθοῦσαν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. μάρτυρες δὲ τοῦ γέμειν αὐτὴν ἀγαθῶν οἱ προστιθέντες τῷ πλήθει καθ' ἡμέραν ταῖς μεταναστάσεσι. 26. καὶ ὅταν δὴ

¹ τοὺς before ἵππους Re. (B), bracketed F.

² τὰ Re.: τε Morel (mss.), bracketed F.

^a Chrysostom (*Hom.* 21; *P.G.* xlix. 220) asserts that this courier was sent by Theodosius to save Bishop Flavianus from the excessive rigours of his enforced return. The messenger arrived on Palm Sunday. Despite all Libanius' eloquence, the whole context of the incident is Christian.

ORATION XXI, 23-26

council without heavy-handedness and endure what it had to say, as well as having the best qualifications for the mission. For who could more properly have gained profit from the message than the one courier who had emulated Caesarius in his winged course? ^a

24. Well, we ought to have a mountain and a river of gold, as the Lydians had,^b for our desire not to exceed our capacity. As it was, those who had experienced such vicissitudes were unable to attain the happy mean. You I congratulate upon the emperor's favour, upon your affection for him, upon your good sense, upon the performance of all you have done, and upon your consciousness of such performance. Men such as you may have high hopes both in this life and beyond; and should any discordant element arise, memory promises the disappearance of anything this causes. 25. It is indeed a fine thing for one to be a man's advocate and to rescue him from certain danger, or for one ship to help another in repelling pirates, but your claim to fame comes not from one person, or ten, or twenty, or twice as many, but from a number that almost defies accounting. Should anyone boast even of saving a city, yet it certainly was not a city of our size and antiquity, or one with such abundance of good things. And witnesses to its fullness of good things are to be found in those people who are daily added to its numbers by leaving their home town to come and live here.^c 26. And whenever men in

^b Mount Tmolus and river Pactolus: for the gold produced there and exploited by the Lydian kings *cf.* Hdt. 5. 101, *Or.* 11. 263.

^c The immigration into Antioch, commended here and in *Or.* 11. 164 ff., is usually deplored by Libanius (*cf.* *Or.* 10).

LIBANIUS

- τινες ἐν συνουσίᾳ σεμνύνωσιν ἑαυτοὺς μνήμη καλῶν πράξεων, σοὶ τὸ νικᾶν ὑπάρξει λέγοντι τὴν ἡμετέραν.
- R 698 ἢ σὺ μὲν ἴσως οὐκ | ἐρεῖς ἔργον ὑπερήφανον σιωπῆ
 κοσμῶν, ἡμᾶς | δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι παῦσει λέγοντας F 4
 τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας, τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς ποιούν-
 τας λόγον ἀθάνατον παισὶ πατέρων παραδιδόντων
 ἃ τε ἐπλημμελήσαμεν ἃ τε ἐδείσαμεν ὧν τε ἀπε-
 λαύσαμεν. 27. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ὀρθώσῃ τίποτε τῶν
 ἡμετέρων ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς δεόμενον, τὰ σὰ τοῦτον
 ἐξηλωκέναι ἐροῦμεν, εἰ δὲ ἀμελείᾳ πρόοιτο κακόν
 τι, εἰς μίμησιν τῶν <σῶν>¹ καλῶν τοῦτον ἡγησό-
 μεθα. καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἢ διήγησις εἰς μέσον
 ἤξει νῦν μὲν ταῦτα πολλῶν λεγόντων, νῦν δὲ τοῦ
 μᾶλλον μεμνημένου τὸν ἥττον ἐπανορθούντος. 28.
 πολλαὶ μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ χρηστέ, πανηγύρεις ἄτε καὶ
 παλαιότατοις οὔσι καὶ πρεσβυτέροις τοῦ τὴν Ἰῶ
 βοῦν ποιήσαντος ἔρωτος. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκείνην
 ζητοῦντας οἱ τὸ ὄρος οἰκοῦντες πόλιν τινὰ ἐπ' αὐ-
 τοῦ κεκτημένοι φαίνονται ξενίσαντες. ἐν οὖν ταύ-
 ταις δὴ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀσόμεθα μὲν τὸν ἐν ἐκάστη
 R 694 τιμώμενον θεόν, ἀσόμεθα δὲ καὶ μεθ' ἐκάστους | σέ
 τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ σοῦ. 29. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ βασιλεὺς
 φροντίζειν ὃ τι ἂν σοι δοὺς δόξειε πᾶν ὅσον ἦν
 ἄξιον δεδωκέναι. καὶ μοι | δοκεῖς διὰ πολλῶν F 4
 σχημάτων ἀφιγμένος ἐπὶ τὸ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τετιμη-
 μένον προῖων ἤξειν, τὸν ὑπατον. καθ' ἕκαστον οὖν
¹ τῶν <σῶν> conj. Re., F.

^a Notably the Olympia, as in *Or.* 11. 268.

^b For the legend of the founding of a city, Ione, near the site of the future Antioch by Triptolemus in his search for the wandering Io, cf. *Or.* 11. 44-53. It is used as commendation of the city both to Julian in A.D. 363 (*Or.* 15. 79) and to Theodosius himself after these riots (*Or.* 20. 42).

ORATION XXI, 26-29

company put on airs at the recollection of their noble deeds, you will be able to outdo them all by mentioning our city. Or else, perhaps, you will say nothing and enhance your peerless action with modest silence ; yet there is nothing which will stop us recounting the extent of your kindness and making the story of it eternal. Fathers will pass down to their children the story of our misdeeds, our fears and our joys. 27. And if ever anyone directs aright any of our actions when it requires a man of merit, we will say that he has emulated you, and if, by lack of consideration, he proposes something wrong, we will direct him to imitate your noble deeds. The narration of what you have done will come to the fore, either when many speak of it, or when anyone with a good memory corrects his more forgetful fellow. 28. We have many festivals,^a my good friend, for we have a very long history that goes back beyond the passion that transformed Io into a cow.^b Indeed, the dwellers on the mountain, who had a city of a sort upon it, are known to have given hospitality to those who came in search of her. In these festivals, then, we shall sing the praises of the god honoured in each of them, and after them recite the praises of yourself and what you have done. 29. The emperor, I believe, is considering what gift he can bestow upon us so as to be thought to have given you your full due. You, I believe, will crown your varied career of service by advancing to the attainment of that office which emperors too honour by their acceptance—the consulship.^c In every stage

^a This prophecy was fulfilled in A.D. 397. For the prestige of such a nomination *cf. Or. 12. 12.*

LIBANIUS

τῶν σχημάτων ἕξεις δήπου καὶ σοφιστῶν ἐπαίνους
μεγάλων ὄντως ἐν οἷς περὶ σοῦ λέγουσι γιγνομένων.
αὐτῶν δέ γε τῶν λεγομένων κεφάλαιον ἃ τήνδε
μέλλοντα τὴν πόλιν ἐπικλύσειν ἔστησας.

30. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν χαλκῶν ἐμνημονεύομεν εἰ-
κόνων οὐκ ὄν ἐπαγγεῖλαί τι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
σεμνότερον, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν οἷός τις ἀνὴρ τὸ σῶμα
δεικνύουσι, ψυχῆς δὲ εἶδος τοῖς ἔργοις μνηύεται.
ὅστις οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπέδειξεν ἄριστον, ἐν τῷ καλλίονι
καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἔσομένοις φαίνεται καὶ τὸ μὲν
πολλαῖς κινεῖται τύχαις, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ κρεῖττον ἢ τι
τοιούτου παθεῖν ἐν βεβαίῳ κείμενον. 31. τὰ τε οὖν
ἄλλα πάντα εἰρήσεται τὸν χρόνον καὶ οἶα πρὸς τὸν
τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἄγγελον τουτονὶ διελέχθης, ὅτι ὦ
σὺ δείξας σεαυτὸν ἐν οὐκ ὀλίγαις ὁδοῖς, φάνηθί μοι
νῦν, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε, θάπτων, εἰ δὲ μή, μήτι γε βρα-
δύτερος. ὡς ἔγωγε κάμνω τοῖς τῆς Ἀντιοχείας

R 695 κακοῖς, ἢ γυναικὸς | νόσω πιεζομένης οὐδὲν δια-
φέρει. | ἐν δὴ τῷ σῶ τάχει κακείνοις τὰ τῆς τῶν F 465

ἀνιαρῶν λύσεως. 32. εἰ δὴ τοῖς ὀφείλουσι χάριν
ἕξεστι πρὶν ἐκτίσαι τὴν χάριν ἑτέραν αἰτῆσαι, τῶν
παρ' ἡμῖν οἰκοδομουμένων καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, ὦ θαυ-
μάσιε, γενοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν γεωργούντων καὶ
ποίησον ἀμφοτέροις λαμπροτέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ
μηδέτερον τῶν ἀναλωμάτων φύγης, ὅπως ἡμῖν μὲν
ὡς περὶ πολίτου διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ

¹ τὰ F. (V) : om. Re. (other mss.).

^a A conventional symbol of reconciliation or of recogni-
tion of favours received, presented (*e.g.*) to Datianus (*Ep.*
1184. 8) and Ellebichus (*Or.* 22. 41). Offended emperors

ORATION XXI, 29-32

of that career, then, you will certainly receive the praises of sophists, who really attain greatness in the orations which they deliver about you. And in these very orations, pride of place is taken by your achievement in halting the disastrous flood that nearly overwhelmed our city.

30. So we made suggestions for the erection of bronze statues, for no higher mark of esteem can be solicited from the emperor, but these only show what a man is like in his physical appearance. The bent of his character is indicated by his actions. So anyone who shows himself a man of excellence is revealed in the better part of him to future generations too: statues can be upset by many mishaps, but this, based upon sure foundation, is above experiencing any such accident. 31. So the story will be related for all time, as will the instructions you gave to this bearer of good tidings. "You, who have proved your mettle on many a long road, now, if you please, show yourself more speedy still, if possible, but, failing that, no slower than before. I am sorely grieved by the evils of Antioch, which is exactly like a woman afflicted by illness. In your speed, then, lies the relief of their discomfort." 32. If those who owe a debt of gratitude may ask a second favour before repaying the first, then do you, admirable sir, yourself become one of those to build a residence in our midst, and become one of the land-owners too.^a By both means increase our city's fame, and do not evade the expenditure on either project. Thus in our conversations among ourselves, and with others too, we may speak of you are similarly asked to visit the city, *Or.* 15. 86 (Julian), 20. 46 (Theodosius).

LIBANIUS

πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξείη, σοὶ δ' ὁπότε εἴης ἐνθάδε, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦτο γένοιτο, διαιτᾶσθαι τε ἐν οἰκείοις καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν φορᾷ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐστιᾶν.

33. Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς μὲν ἴσως ἡ τελευταῖα δηλουμένη τῷ τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμῷ, τάχα δ' ἂν τύχοιμι τότε λόγου παρὰ τῶν δυναμένων λέγειν, οἷς ἀφορμὴ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἢ κτήσις ἦν ἐκτησάμην μάλα δὴ φίλων σαφῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ καὶ πλέον τι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν
 F 466 ἔξουσι μέγιστον τοῦτο τῶν | ἐμῶν τιθέμενοι καὶ R 696
 τὴν γε ἀπόδειξιν ἐξ ὧν εἴληφα ποιούμενοι. σὺ δέ, ὦ μεγάλων ἔργων δημιουργέ, πατήρ τε ἡμῶν γένοιο καὶ τοιούτων υἱέων, ὡς ἐξισοῦσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τῇ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος.

ORATION XXI, 32-33

as our own citizen ; and whenever you are in residence here, which I trust will be often, you will be able to spend your time among your own folk and feast your friends on the produce of your farms.

33. For me, perhaps, because of my tale of years, death reveals itself close at hand, but, when I am gone, I may perhaps be spoken of by those who have ability in speaking. For them their theme will be the friendships, the very firm friendships, I have possessed. Here too they will have yet more to say of you, asserting your friendship to be the most important of my possessions, and proving their case by the favours I have received. And may you, who have wrought mighty deeds, become the father of a family among us, and of such a family that their virtues may equal those of their sire.

XXII

ΠΡΟΣ¹ ΕΛΛΕΒΙΧΟΝ

- R ii. 1 1. Εἰσὶ τινες, οἳ τοῦθ' ἐν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀν- F ii. 41
θρώπῳ νομίζουσι χρήματα καὶ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο κὰν δι' ἐπιτορκίας τουτὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἀποκνοῦ-
σιν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πείσονται τι κακὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὕστε-
ρον, οὐκ ἀποτρέπονται. ἕτεροι δέ γε βούλουτ' ἂν
ἐπαινεθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι
χρήματα κεκτηῆσθαι καὶ τοῦθ' ὁμολογοῦντες οὐκ
αἰσχύνονται. οἳ δὲ | τοῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἴσην ἔχου- F 472
σιν ἐπιθυμίαν, προσποιῶνται δὲ μηδὲν ἐπαίνων
δεῖσθαι. 2. κακοὺς τοίνυν ἀμφοτέρους ἡγούμενος
ὅσοι τε τὸ πλουτεῖν πρὸ ἐπαίνων ποιῶνται καὶ
ὅσοι μείζον ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐπαίνους οὐ φασιν οὐ-
τως ἔχειν, ἀνδρας ἀρίστους ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς μήτ'
ἀγνοοῦντας ὅσον ἐστὶν ἔπαινος χαίρειν τε τῷ πράγ-
ματι λέγοντας, ὥστε καὶ ἐπαγγέλλειν παρὰ τῶν
δυναμένων λέγειν. ὦν ἓνα τοῦτον² εἰδὼς τὸν θαυ-
μαστόν Ἑλλέβιχον | νῦν οὐκ αἰτοῦντι τοῦτο παρέξω
πρότερον ἡττηκῶτι δεδωκῶς. οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ
¹ πρὸς Re. (mss. except BPaV, Macarius): εἰς F. (BPaV).
² τοῦτον F. (C, PI corrected): τούτων Re. (other mss.):
τουτονὶ Cobet.

^a Libanius had been on friendly terms with Ellebichus at

ORATION 22
TO ELLEBICHUS

1. SOME people think that the greatest single blessing for man lies in money and wealth, and so they do not shrink from its acquisition, even by perjury, but even if they have to suffer some evil in consequence, they are not deterred. Others, though, would prefer to be praised rather than to get all the money in the world, and they are not ashamed to confess it. Others, again, are possessed of an equal desire for the same object, but profess that they have no need of praise. 2. Well, I think that both those who think more of wealth than of praise and those who think praise to be of greater importance and yet deny that it is, are wrong. The best men, I feel, are those who, though not unaware of the value of praise, do not bother about it, so that they actually invite it from those qualified to utter it. Of these I know that our admirable Ellebichus is one, and now I will provide him with it unsolicited, though previously I had conferred it upon him at his request.^a In my opinion, he has remained silent through his conviction at least from A.D. 383, when he was appointed *magister militum* (*Ep.* 2). The panegyric here mentioned was delivered in A.D. 385 (*Or.* 1. 232: *ἐποίησα λόγον αἰτήσαντι στρατηγῶ*). He was, unlike Caesarius, a pagan. Cf. Seeck 167; *PLRE* 277.

LIBANIUS

διὰ τὸ πεπεισθαί με τὰ παρόντα ἐπαινέσαι σεσιγη-
κέναι τε καὶ μὴ τὸ πρότερον πρὸς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι.
3. ἀηδὲς μὲν οὖν παρελθόντων μεμνησθαι κακῶν·
ἃ γὰρ μηδὲ συμβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδει, σιγᾶσθαι,
φαίη τις ἂν, προσήκεν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἂν τις
ἴδοι τὴν βοήθειαν καλῶς μὴ τῶν δεινῶν ἃ τῆς βο-
θείας ἔχρηζε πρὸ αὐτῆς εἰρημένων, τῆς ἀνάγκης
ἣ μνήμη δήπου γίννεται. |

4. Χρημάτων ἐδέησε βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων F 479
σωτηρίαν καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῷ μὲν εἰς ἔτος δέκατον,
τῷ παιδὶ δὲ πέμπτον τῆς βασιλείας προϊούσης.
νόμος δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χρόνοις χρυσὸν ἰέναι
παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς στρατιώταις.
τῶν τοίνυν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων γραμμάτων ἀν-
R ii. 3 εγνωσμένων ἔδει | μὲν ἡδεῖαν τότε¹ ἀνθρώποις γε-
νέσθαι τὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ προθυμίαν περὶ τὴν εἰσφορὰν
τοσαύτην, ὥστ' εὐθυμίαν ἐνεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν
ἐνταῦθα ἐτοιμότητα, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἦκον ἀτοπίας
ὥστ' ἐξέπεσόν τε αὐτῶν καὶ φρονεῖν οὐκέτ' εἶχον,
ἃ μὲν ἔδει δοῦναι καθορῶντες, ἃ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων
ἦν ἔχειν οὐδὲ λογιζόμενοι. 5. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
ἐγγὺς τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος ὀμμάτων
φωνὴν ἔρρηξαν στασιαστικὴν, σχῆμα μὲν ἔχουσαν
ικετείας, ἔργον δὲ ἀπειθείας. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς

¹ τότε | τοῖς conj. Cobet.

^a Sources which mention this demand are Jo. Chrys. *Hom.*
3. 7, 5. 3, 8. 4 (*P.G.* xlix. 58, 73, 102), Sozom. *H.E.* 7. 23,
Zos. 4. 41, Theodoret, *H.E.* 5. 20 (who calls it a new tax).
Libanius alone connects it with imperial anniversaries (which
fell in A.D. 388, in fact). This should imply *aurum coro-*
narium. However, his comment that it was ear-marked for
military donatives implies no less that the levy would be
collatio lustralis. Neither tax was new. Browning (*op. cit.*

ORATION XXII, 2-5

tion that I commended his present attitude and has not made overtures to me. 3. The recital of troubles past is an unpleasant business. It could be said that it is proper to leave unmentioned events which ought never to have happened at all. Yet since none could see in its true light the support we have received without a preliminary account of the troubles that made it necessary, obviously a recital of our dire situation is called for.

4. The emperor needed money for the maintenance of the empire, especially since his reign was approaching its tenth anniversary and his son's its fifth. Normally on such occasions a donative is handed by the rulers to their soldiery.^a So when the decrees about this money were published, people should then have been pleased to hear them, and should have shown such eagerness to contribute that their readiness in the matter brought good cheer to the emperor. Instead their attitude was so wrongheaded that they lost control of themselves and behaved like lunatics. They concentrated on the payment they had to make and never gave a thought to what they could get in return for it. 5. First of all, near the throne and the gaze of the governor^b they broke out into disorderly cries. Ostensibly it was a cry of supplication, but, in reality, one of disobedience.

pp. 14 f.) suggested that it was an extraordinary demand for both (so Downey, p. 427, also). Since veterans and other classes not normally liable to either impost are among the protesters, Petit, Ste-Croix (followed by Liebeschuetz, p. 164) identify it with a superindiction of tribute. Libanius, composing this oration in or after A.D. 388, the year of imperial anniversaries (cf. § 42 below), confused the issue with these references, deliberately or not.

^b *i.e.* the *consularis*, at the *dikasterion*.

LIBANIUS

μεγίστοις κακοῖς τοὺς θεοὺς εἰώθαμεν καλεῖν δεόμενοι βοηθεῖν, οὕτω τότε τὸν θεὸν οἱ βοῶντες σφᾶς ἐλεεῖν, ὡς εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἀξίως ἐλέου | παρὰ τῶν F 474
 γραμμάτων ἀφιγμένοι. 6. ὄντος δὲ οὐδὲ τούτου φορητοῦ πολὺ δεινότερον τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. μετὰ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου στοὰν ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ τὴν βοήν ἐπιτείναντες καὶ γυμνωθέντες τῶν χλαμύδων καὶ τὸ οὐπω κεκινημένον ταῖς δεξιαῖς κινουῦντες παρακαλοῦντες εἰς κοινωνίαν ὧν ἐτόλμων, ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ
 R ii. 4 τὸ πλησιάζον¹ βαλανεῖον κάλους ὧν ἐξήρτηντο | τὰ τὸ φῶς ἐν νυκτὶ παρέχοντα μαχαίραις ἐξέκοπτον² δεικνύντες ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει κόσμον ταῖς αὐτῶν βουλήσεσιν ὑποχωρεῖν καὶ ὡς ὁ μὲν νόμος οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνοις δοκοῦν μέγα. 7. τοιούτου τοίνυν ἀσθέντος προοιμίου μετὰ ῥημάτων ἐτέρων ἂ κέρδος ἂν ἦν μοι μὴ ἀκηκοένας, τὸ μὲν τὰ εἰωθότα ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ ταραττεῖν καὶ συγχεῖν τὰν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις μικρὸν τε καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς αὐτῶν ἀνδρίας³ ἠγγήσαντο, βλέψαντες δὲ εἰς τὰς πολλὰς τὰς ἐν ταῖς σανίσιν εἰκόνας βλασφημίας πρὸ λίθων ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀφέντες ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς ῥηγνυμέναις ἐγέλων, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀντεχούσας ἠγανάκτουν. 8. ἔπειθ' ἠγούμενοι τὰς ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ | τιμιωτέρας καὶ τὴν F 475

¹ πλησιάζον] πλησίον conj. Cobet.

² ἐξέκοπτον F. (CAPIV): ἀπέκοπτον Re. (other mss.).

³ ἀνδρίας F. (mss.): ἀνδρείας Re.

^a In addressing a pagan official here Libanius makes no bones about imputing blame to Christians. The parallel passage in *Or.* 21. 5 is much more muted.

^b The *chlamys*, although part of official dress (*Or.* 30. 15, *C. Th.* 14. 10. 1), is also a civilian garment (*Or.* 45. 18).

^c Cf. *Or.* 16. 41 (Vol. I, p. 237 n.).

ORATION XXII, 5-8

In our times of dire trouble we usually call upon the gods and beg them to help us. In the same way on that occasion the rowdies called upon their god to pity them for reaching such a pitiable plight because of these decrees.^a 6. This was intolerable enough, but there was much worse to follow. With remarks like these they trooped out to the colonnade in front of the courtroom, raised their clamour anew and stripped off their jackets.^b That section of the populace which was as yet unaffected they began to stir into action by their gesticulations, and they egged them on to participate in their own misconduct. They proceeded to the bath near by, and used their knives to cut the ropes, from which were suspended the lamps that give us our light of a night-time,^c and they made it plain that good order in the city must give place to their own whims, that law meant nothing and that their decisions were the ones to count. 7. This, then, was the sort of prelude that was performed, along with other expressions which it would have done me good not to have heard. The adoption of their usual techniques, rioting and disturbances in the factories,^d they considered paltry and unworthy of their manliness. Instead, they cast their eyes on the many portraits on the panels, and hurled at them first insults and then stones. They roared with laughter at those they shattered and lost their temper with those that stood up to this. 8. Then they took it into their heads that bronze statues were of more account, and that mis-

^a As with the murder of Theophilus in A.D. 354, *Or.* 19. 47. Here the scene moves from the old town area to the environs of the palace where the portraits and statues would normally be placed.

LIBANIUS

- εἰς ἐκεῖνας παροινίαν ἀφορητοτέραν δραμόντες ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἅμα σχοινίοις περιθέντες τοῖς αὐχέσι καταβαλόντες εἴλκον, οἱ μὲν οὐ διατεμόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ
- R ii. 5 τοῦτο ποιήσαντες. | καίτοι περὶ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἴσως ἂν εἴποιεν τὸ χρυσίον, Ἀρκαδίῳ δὲ τί ἂν τις¹ ἐγκαλέσειε; τῷ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον τί; τῇ δὲ τούτων μητρί; τῷ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πατρί; περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς μετεῖχον τῶν περὶ τὴν φοράν. 9. παραδόντες τοίνυν τοῖς παιδαρίοις ἐν τοῖς οὕτως αἰδεσίμοις παίζειν ἐχώρουν αὐτοὶ μετὰ πυρὸς ἐπ' οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς ἀδικοῦντος μὲν οὐδέν, δοκοῦντος δὲ τοῖς οὐ βουλομένοις ἀκούειν τῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔκαον, τὰ δὲ διεννοοῦντο, ὧν ἦν τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ εἰ μὴ τόξα τε καὶ τοξότας ἰδόντες ἔδεισαν, κρεῖττον ἂν ἦν ἢ κωλυθῆναι τὸ πῦρ ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ῥέον. περὶ τοίνυν τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας μετὰ μελὸς τε εἰσῆει τοὺς μανέντας καὶ κοινὸς ἦν ὁ φόβος τῶν τε ἡδικοῦντων τῶν τε οὐχ ἁμαρτόντων, | ὡς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κακοῖς κοιναὶ τῶν πόλεων αἰ^{F 476} δίκαι καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοίως ἐπέρχεται τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις τοὺς τε πόρρω τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. 10. ἤδη δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐξεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων | δηλούντων ἃ δεῖ προσδοκᾶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν δαίμονας αἰτιωμένων, τῶν δὲ ἀλλήλους, πάντων δ' ἑαυτοὺς θρηνοῦντων καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ στέγας ἐν ἐδόκει μόνον ἔχειν τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἢ φυγὴ καὶ τὸ ζητεῖν ἄλλην γῆν. 11. τοῦ μὲν οὖν λεῶ τὸ πλεῖον μετανίστατο, τὴν
- R ii. 6
- ¹ τί ἂν τις Cobet, F. (V): τί τις IMPa: τί τίς Re. (other MSS.).

^a Cf. Or. 19. 34 f.

ORATION XXII, 8-11

conduct towards them was more intolerable, and so they rushed upon them. They slung ropes around their necks, hauled them down and began to drag them along, some without chopping them up, others doing just that. Yet though they might perhaps talk of the gold in connection with his father, what accusation could anyone make against Arcadius? or against his younger brother? or their mother? or the emperor's father? It cannot be said of them that they had any part in this tax demand. 9. However, they left the urchins to make sport with such revered objects, and themselves went with fire to attack the house of one who was guilty of no wrong-doing but yet was held to be so by these people who refused to listen to the decrees. They started to set fire to some places, and had designs on others, the palace among them, and had they not seen the bowmen and their bows^a and got into a panic, the fire would have extended far and wide, and would have been too great to stop. Well, about mid-day a change of mind came over the lunatics, and guilty and innocent alike experienced a common fear, for in such troubles the punishment inflicted on cities is universal, and wrath is visited without distinction on both the ringleaders and the utterly blameless. 10. The couriers had already left and the march of events showed the shape of things to come. Some began to put the blame on the supernatural,^b others on one another: all began to bewail themselves, their wives, children and homes, and it seemed that there was but one means of salvation, to flee and seek another land. 11. So the greater part of the populace began to depart, but the administration

^a Cf. *Or.* 19. 29, *Jo. Chrys. Hom.* 21. 3 (*P.G.* xlix. 214 f.).

LIBANIUS

βουλὴν δὲ τὸ ἄρχον ἀπειλαῖς ἐπειρᾶτο κατέχειν. νέοι δὲ οἱ περὶ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲν πρὸς οὐδένα εἰπόντες ἐκποδῶν εὐθύς ἦσαν. οἰομένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἦξιεν ἐκεῖθεν λόγον ἔχοντα τὴν τιμωρίαν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἄλλος ἔφασκε, δειναὶ δὲ πᾶσαι, καὶ περὶ τάφους¹ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ φροντίς, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπέγνωσαν ὡς ἐμπρησμοῦ τά τε ἄψυχα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀναλώσοντος. |

12. Οὕτω δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπτηχότων καθάπερ ἐν προσ- F 477
δοκίᾳ βροντῆς ἢ σεισμῶ πάντα κινουντι ἔρχεται
Φήμη, ἢ θεὸς ἧς πόρρω τὸ ψεῦδος, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ-
τον ἀγγέλλουσα δικαστὴν ἡμῖν ἀφίξεσθαι. καὶ
τοῦτ' εὐθύς τὴν τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐλπίδα τῇ παρ-
R ii. 7 εχοῦση τι βέλτιον εἰς | ἔλαττόν τε ἤγε καὶ τὰν ταῖς
ψυχαῖς ἐποίει κουφότερα καὶ τις ἐσθίων τε ἐμει-
δίασε καὶ μετέλαβεν ὕπνου καθαρεύοντος πηδη-
μάτων, καὶ περὶ ἀγρῶν τις ἤρετο τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τολ-
μήσας εἰπεῖν ἑαυτοῦ πρότερον τῷ φόβῳ τοῦτο
κεκωλυμένος, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷς ἤκουσε πιστεύων μεθ'
ἡδονῆς ἕτερον ἐδίδασκεν, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπιστῶν παρὰ τοὺς εἰδέναί τι δοκοῦν-
τας ἤρχετο. καὶ πολὺς πανταχοῦ τε καὶ παρὰ
πᾶσιν Ἑλλέβιχος ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν ἀγοραῖς, ἐν στοαῖς,
ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν βαδίζουσιν, ἐν καθημένοις, ἐν
νέοις, ἐν πρεσβυτέροις, ἐν ἀνδράσιν, ἐν γυναιξίν,
ἐν ἐλευθέροις, ἐν δούλοις, ἐφ' οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤρ-
χετό τι τῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν τύχης. 13. ἐμπεπλη-
κῶς δ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν | πόλιν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἦκε μὲν F 478
ἐπὶ τὰ προάστεια ταχέως, ἦκε δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία,
προὔβη δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους ἅπασιν ποιῶν ἐλαφρό-
¹ τάφου Cobet.

^a Cf. Or. 23.

^b Hesiod, Op. 763 f.

ORATION XXII, 11-13

with threats tried to restrain the councillors. The students who attended me for their lessons removed themselves forthwith, with never a word to anybody.^a I thought that some account of our punishment would come from the capital, but various people told various stories of what it would be—all of them gruesome—, and most of us began to concern ourselves about our funerals. Some, however, even despaired of that, for they believed that both our persons and the lifeless fabric of the city would be consumed in flames.

12. While we cowered thus, as though in dread of a thunderbolt or an earthquake that would lay all in ruins, there came Rumour, that goddess from whom falsehood is far removed,^b to tell us that Ellebichus here would come to be our judge. This immediately, by the hope of some alleviation, caused our expectation of trouble to diminish and lightened our spirits. Men raised a smile at their meals and enjoyed a sleep free from nightmares; they began to inquire about their estates, even daring to speak of them as their own, though fear had prevented them doing so before. One, confident in what he had heard, gladly began to inform another, while yet another, incredulous because of the magnitude of the good news, would make his way to those he thought did know something. Everywhere the name of Ellebichus was on everyone's lips, in their homes, the markets, the colonnades, the back streets, whether they were walking or seated, young or old, men or women, free men or slaves, for slaves too were personally involved in what befell their masters. 13. This tale filled the city and quickly spread to the suburbs and to the plains beyond; it advanced to the hill-tops, and

LIBANIUS

τερα τὰ παρόντα καὶ ὅσοι κινδύνων μὲν ἦσαν ἐκτός, τοῖς δὲ τῶν κινδυνευόντων ἐβαρύνοντο κακοῖς. ἐωρᾶτο τοίνυν ἡ γνώμη τοῦ τὸν δικαστὴν ἀπεσταλκότος ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ τὴν ψήφον ἐγκε-
 R ii. 8 χειρισμένου, | καὶ ἐδόκει μήποτ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ θανα-
 τούσῃ χρῆσασθαι τῇ τοῦδε κεφαλῇ, ἣν ἦδει πρὸς οὐ τὰ τοιαῦτα πεφυκυῖαν. 14. ἦν οὖν ἀκούειν πολλῶν οὐ βοώντων μὲν, οὕτως δὲ λεγόντων σωτηρίας γε εἶναι ταῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τοῦ μὴ διὰ τραχήλων διαδραμεῖσθαι ξίφη τὸ τὸν δεῖνα ἦξειν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν, τὸν ἦδιστα μὲν, εἴ τι σώζοι τὸν κινδυνεύοντα, τοῦτο ἀκουσόμενον, ἀλγήσοντα δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων ἀπωλείαις, δείξοντα δὲ ὡς βούλοιτ' ἂν εἰς ἐπιεικές τι τελευτήσαι τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν χαλεπότητα.

15. Τί δὴ τούτων αἴτιον τῶν ἐλπίδων; καὶ πόθεν αὐταῖς ἡ γένεσις; τὰ μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης αὐτῷ βεβιωμένα καὶ τούτων γε μάλιστα τὰν τῷ τῆς δυνάμειως χρόνῳ, ὃν ἡμερότητι κοσμήσας, ὃ F 479
 R ii. 9 καιοσύνης δόξαν ἐν | ἐξουσία τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν ἠνέγκατο, δεινὸν εἶναι νομίζων εἰ ταῖς μὲν παρ' ἐτέρων βλάβαις χαλεπανοῦμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐτέρους τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀξιώσομεν. 16. εἶ ποίων τοίνυν διατελῶν πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας ποίων ἀμείνους ταῖς τιμωρίαις μᾶλλον ἢ διαφθειρῶν ἀνέσχεν ἡμῶς τότε βαπτιζομένους. <τοὺς>¹ μήπω

¹ <τοὺς> conj. Re., F.

^a Cf. Jo. Chrys. *Hom.* 17 (P.G. xlix. 171), who, with more precision than Libanius here, records the arrival of
 384

ORATION XXII, 13-16

lightened the present misery of all, even of those who, though beyond the reach of danger, were grieved at the troubles of those who were not.^a Indeed, the attitude of him who had sent the inquisitor was deduced from that of his commissioner. It was felt that he would never have employed the person of Ellebichus upon a bloody assize, since he knew that it was uncharacteristic of him. 14. So you could hear many persons, not shouting it aloud, yet simply saying that it was a sign of our preservation and for us not to have the sword slicing through our throats, that there should come to judgement such and such a man who would be most pleased to hear it said that he could save the life of one in peril, who would grieve at the death of sinners, and who would show that he wanted to bring to some reasonable conclusion the rigours of the times.

15. What then was responsible for these hopes, and whence did they originate? Why! it was the manner of his life up to that day, and especially during his period of command which he adorned by his clemency—as indeed he saw that our supreme emperor had done—, and which had won him a reputation for just dealing when he had it in his power to behave very differently. He thought it shameful for us to resent ill-treatment at the hands of others and yet want to inflict the same upon them.

16. So he continually bestowed benefits on many persons and no few cities and, rather than destroying those who had suffered reverses under arms, he improved them by correction. So he sustained us as we were then fast sinking. Those who had not the monks from their mountain retreats to intercede for Antioch before the commissioners.

LIBANIUS

μεθεστηκότας κατέσχε καὶ τοὺς, εἶπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠλπίζετο, πάντως ἂν αὐτοὺς πλάνοις δόντας ἔπεισεν ὑπομεῖναι τὴν παρουσίαν. 17. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως εἶχεν, ᾤοντο μὲν οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμαρτηκότες δι' ἐρήμης μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν πυλῶν ἄφασθαι,¹ δι' ἐρήμου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου τῆς πόλεως μέρους ἤξειν ἄχρι τῆς καταγωγῆς, οἱ δ' ὅσονπερ ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀγαθῶν² διαδραμόντες, οἱ μεμενηκότες, | ἦγον αὐτὸν ὑπ' εὐφημιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναμίξαν- F 480
τες ἱκετείας. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπήλανε μὲν φιλανθρωπία,

R ii. 10 διὰ δὲ τῶν παρὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς | ἐδείκνυ τὸν κατεγνω-
κότα ποιῶν ὅπερ οἱ παιδοτρίβαι πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ
εἰκὸς ἠττημένους, ὡς δὴ τῆς διδαχῆς προδεδομέ-
νης αὐτοῖς. 18. καὶ οὗτος τοίνυν ὡς ἐπὶ προδεδομέ-
νων αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν
ἐπαίνων οὕτω μὲν εἶχε τὴν γνώμην, οὕτω δὲ ἐχρή-
το τῇ χειρὶ. ἦν γὰρ δὴ πολὺν ἡμῶν ἐμβεβληκῶς
ἔρωτα τῷ βασιλεῖ πυκνοῖς τε καὶ μακροῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν ἐγκωμίοις ληρεῖν μὲν ἅπαντας λέγων τοὺς ἐτέ-
ρας πόλεως μεμνημένους, εἶναι γὰρ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ
τοσαύτην ἀγαθῶν σύνοδον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔχειν, τοῦ
δὲ ἐπιδεῖσθαι καὶ πολλὰς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχειν
εὐδοκιμεῖν, τὸν δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως οὐ καλῶς
αὐταῖς ἔχειν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν ἐπιζεῖν θυμόν,
τὴν δὲ ἀναισθητῶς διακείσθαι, τὴν δ' ἔστερηθῆσθαι
Χαρίτων, τὴν δὲ ἀργῶς ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τῇ φωνῇ
λυπεῖν, τὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι φέρειν βασιλέως καθ-

R ii. 11 ἔδραν, τῇδε δὲ μόνη τά τε | ἀπὸ τῆς Τύχης ὑπάρχειν
ὅσα τε εἰς ἀρετὴν ἔρχεται. ἐκείνον δὲ εἰδέναι τε

¹ ἄφασθαι F. (V, correction in I): ἄφασθαι Re. (other mss.).

² ἀγαθῶν: σταθμῶν conj. Re. ("probabiliter," F.).

ORATION XXII, 16-18

yet taken their departure he restrained, and those who, unless he personally were expected, would certainly have given themselves up to flight, he induced to stay and await his presence. 17. Because this was the case, people of faulty judgement believed that the road would be deserted of spectators when he reached the gates, and that the first quarter of the city would be deserted when he passed through it right to his headquarters. Actually, those who had stayed behind went out as far as they used to do in the times of prosperity past, and escorted him into the city with acclamation mingled with entreaty. In his kindness he did not repulse them, but by the gestures of his hand he showed disapproval of them, in this acting as trainers do towards those who have suffered unexpected defeat, feeling that their training has gone for nothing. 18. He too then adopted such an attitude and employed such gestures, as if the praises he had lavished upon us had gone for nothing because of our actions. He had, in fact, inspired in the emperor a great love for us, by the many long eulogies he had spoken of us. He used to say that all those who mentioned other cities were talking nonsense, for in none of them was there such a concourse of blessings. One they might have, but they lacked another : many might have good claims to fame otherwise, but the general behaviour of the city was by no means perfect. In one, tempers would flare : in another, the attitude was boorish ; or it lacked grace, or was not go-ahead, or it had an irritating accent, or it was incapable of supporting an imperial residence. Here alone, he said, were all the advantages of Fortune and the qualities conducive to virtue. The emperor, while knowing the

καὶ οὐκ | εἰδέναι τῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀγγελ- F 481
 λόντων μὲν γὰρ ἀκούειν, οὐδέπω δὲ αὐτὴν¹ ἰδεῖν,
 εἶναι² δὲ οὐκ ἴσον ὦτα καὶ ὄμματα. καὶ παρεκάλει
 δὴ πρὸς τὴν ὡς ἡμᾶς ὁδὸν προστιθεὶς τῇ πόλει τὴν
 Δάφνην, ἣν ἔχειν τε μουσικὸν θεὸν καὶ πέμπειν
 ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν λόγων ἐπιθυμίαν. 19.
 διεμέμεφτο μὲν οὖν τὴν πολλὰ μὲν ἐπηγγελμένην,
 τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐπιδεδειγμένην καὶ λόγους καλοῦς ἔρ-
 γοις χείροσιν ἀνελοῦσαν, ἔχων δέ, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο,
 δίκην ἦν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν οὐδ' οὕτως ἕτερος γί-
 νεται οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιούντων τὰς αἰτίας ἐξέβαλλε³
 τὸ φίλτρον, ἀλλ' ἡγάπα τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κατηγορεῖ.
 δειπνοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀκούομεν οὐ δειπνήσαι μᾶλλον
 ἢ τῇ διανοίᾳ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ σχήματα τῆς πόλεως
 παραβάλλοντα τὰ δεύτερα τοῖς ἀμείνοσι.

R ii. 12 20. Τίνα δὴ τὰπὶ τούτοις; εἰσεκαλεῖτο μὲν οὐπερ
 ὁ δικαστῆς κατήγετο τῶν τε ἀρξάντων | οὐκ ὀλίγον
 τῆς τε βουλῆς ὅποσον οὐκ ἐπεφεύγει, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο
 πρατότερα τις ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην ἀρχὴ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τοῖς
 τε παρακαθημένοις, κελεύοντος δὲ ἕκαστον αὐτὸν
 ἀποφαίνειν δίκαιον ἦν μὲν τις ἐκάστω καὶ λόγος,
 τὸ πλεόν δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν δάκρυσιν τῶν μὲν
 ὄδυρο|μένων νεότητα καὶ τὸ μήπω πατέρας γε- F 482
 γενῆσθαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ πατέρας τε εἶναι καὶ παῖδας
 γενναίους τρέφειν, τῶν δὲ γῆρας γονέων, τῶν δὲ
 λειτουργίας ἀρχὴν μὲν δεξαμένας, ποθοῦσας δὲ τε-

¹ αὐτὴν F. (mss.): αὐτὸν Re. ² εἶναι Re., F.: εἰδέναι mss.
³ ἐξέβαλλε Re., F. (CA, P before correction): ἐξέβαλε
 other mss.: ἐξέβάλετο Morel (om. τὸ).

^a The phrase is repeated from *Or.* 30. 45,

^b For Apollo and the legend of Daphne *cf.* *Or.* 11. 94 ff.

^c *Cf.* *Or.* 21. 7 for the location of this commission. Libanius,

brightest star in his crown, yet knew it not, for he heard of it from the reports of others, but had never yet seen it himself, and there was no comparison between hearing and seeing.^a Ellebichus used to invite the emperor to come here, and he spoke not merely of the city itself, but also of Daphne, the possessor of the god of music,^b from which there emanated into the city the desire for eloquence. 19. So he reproached the city which had shown so much promise and yet given such a poor account of itself, ruining its fine eloquence with unworthy deeds: yet though he had it in his power, if he so wished, to exact any punishment he wished, not even so did he alter, nor yet did he lose his affection for us because of those responsible for the crimes, but even while accusing us he maintained his liking for us. I am told that at dinner he did not so much dine as reflect upon the situation of the city, comparing this outcome with its better days.

20. And the next step was that he summoned to his judge's lodging many of the ex-magistrates and all the councillors who had not fled.^c This was a rather auspicious beginning to the investigations, both because of the location and because of his assessors. He bade each man prove his innocence, and though each had some argument to adduce, salvation generally lay in their tears, as some bewailed their youth, and the fact that they had no children to their name, and some lamented that they were parents and were bringing up noble sons, others bewailed their aged parents, or the civic duties now begun and needing completion, yet another his as one of the *honorati*, sits in attendance upon the commissioners (*infra*, § 23).

λευτήν, ἑτέρου γυναικὸς χηρείαν καὶ τὴν ἔσομένην
περὶ τὸ μνήμα διατριβήν. ὁ δὲ γενναῖος οὕτοισι
τοῖς τε ἐκείνων ἐξουσίαν ἔδεδώκει δάκρυσι καὶ τοῖς
ἐκάστου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ προσέθηκεν οὐκ ἀγνοῶν

R ii. 13 τὸ τοιοῦτον | εἴργεται τὰ παρόντα ὑβρίζεσθαι διὰ
τῶν ὀδυρμῶν ἡγουμένοις. 21. καὶ ἡ μὲν κρηπίς
οὕτω καλὴ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ
πράγματος εἰς ἀκμὴν καὶ δέξεσθαι¹ τὸ δικαστήριον
τῆς ἐπιούσης τὴν κρίσιν εἰρημένον² χαρίζεται μὲν
κάνταυθα τὸ³ μήτε ἐν μέσαις νυξὶ μήτε ἐν πρώταις
ἀλεκτρονύων ὤδαῖς ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον, ὡς αὐτῶν
γε ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν καιρῶν ἐχόντων εἰς ἔκπληξιν
ἀφορμάς, μικρὸν δὲ τὴν ἀκτῖνα φθάσας, ὥστ' αὐτῶ⁴
καὶ λαμπάδας νόμου μᾶλλον ἢ χρείας εἶναι, τὰς

R ii. 14 θύρας ἐξελθὼν ἔργω | φιλανθρώπῳ πᾶν ἀπέκρυψε |
τοιοῦτον παράδειγμα. 22. μήτηρ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐν F 483
τοῖς κρινομένοις ἐνὸς νέου τε καὶ καλοῦ καὶ πολλῶν
μὲν πρεσβείαις, ἀπάσαις δὲ λαμπρυνόμενον λει-
τουργίαις, τοῖς πράγμασι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρ-
κέσαντος γυμνώσασα μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν, λύσασα δὲ
τὴν γεγηρακυῖαν τρίχα, προσδραμοῦσα τῷ στήθει
καὶ περιθεῖσα τούτῳ μετὰ τῶν χειρῶν τοὺς τοιού-
τους πλοκάμους ἤτει μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ἐλεεινὸν βοῶσα,
δάκρυα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνης ἔρρει κατὰ τῶν ποδῶν
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνου κατὰ τῆς ἐκείνης
κεφαλῆς. ἀφείλκυσε δὲ αὐτὴν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
αὐτὸς ἀπέώσατο, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τῷ
μήκει τῆς ἰκετείας ὥστ' ἔδόκει κρείττων εἶναι

¹ δέξεσθαι Cobet, F. (V): δέξασθαι Re. (other mss.).

² εἰρημένον Cobet, F. (mss. except Par. 3016): εἰρημένου
Re. (Par. 3016). ³ τὸ F. (V): om. Re. (other mss.).

ORATION XXII, 20-22

wife's widowhood and her future sojourn at his tomb. This noble man gave full licence to their tears and shed tears of his own at those of every one, for he knew full well how many judges prevent such things either by blows or by threats of blows, since they feel that the case is jeopardized by reason of these laments. 21. Such was the first step, so fine and humane. As the affair proceeded to a climax, and once it had been announced that the case would be heard in court next day, here too he was kind enough not to take his seat either at midnight or at first cock-crow—times which in themselves give cause enough for terror.^a He went from his doors just before sun-rise, so that the lamps attending him were conventional rather than necessary, and with an act of humanity he made every such precedent pale into insignificance. 22. Among those to be examined was a fine young man who had won renown in many embassies and all forms of public service, and had taken his father's place in fulfilling civic duties. His mother, then, bared her head and loosed her aged hair, ran to his bosom, took her hair in her hands and clasped it about him, pleading for her son with pitiful cries. Her tears flowed over the general's feet, his over her head. No one dragged her away, nor yet did he himself repulse her.^b He so devoted himself to her long-drawn prayers that he seemed to

^a Nocturnal inquisitions always carried with them the implication of an official reign of terror, *cf.* Amm. Marc. 28. 1. 54.

^b Chrysostom gives an account of the same incident, *Hom.* 17 (*P.G.* xlix. 173).

⁴ ὄστ' ἀντῶ conj. Re., F. (ὄστ' ἀντῶ correction in C): ἐν ἀντῶ Morel (Par. 3016): ταῦτῶ Re. text (other mss.).

LIBANIUS

φύσεως ἀνθρωπείας, καὶ πανταχόθεν εὐχαὶ σώζε-
σθαί οἱ τῆν¹ παῖδα τοιούτῳ τε ὄντι πρὸς ἀτυχοῦν-
τας καὶ πᾶν τραχύ τε καὶ ἀπηνὲς τῆς γνώμης
ἐξέληλακότι. 23. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδίκαζον, ἡμεῖς δὲ
προσηδρεῦομεν. ὁ δὲ ἐδόκει τισὶν οὐχ αὐτοῦ ποι-
εῖν εἰς ὁμολογίαν ἕκαστον τοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας σπέρ-

R ii. 15 ματος κατακλείων | ἀπειλῶν ἐτέρους βασανίσειν²
τοὺς ταῦτα κατεροῦντας, εἰ μὴ συγχωροῖεν ἐκεῖνοι.
καὶ ἅμα πολλοὺς τῶν πέλας ἐκίνει νεύμασι τὸν
κρινόμενον εἰς ὁμολογίαν ἐνάγειν, ᾧ δὴ | μάλιστα F 484

ἠγανάκτουν οἱ πεισόμενοι³ νομίζοντες εἶναι κάλλιον
ἐν ἀρνήσει τι παθεῖν ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλέγξαντας.
τοῦτο δὲ ἦν οὐκ ἀχένας εἰς τομὴν ἐτοιμάζοντος
τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὴν σωτηρίαν δέ, οἶμαι, λαμπροτέραν
ποιούντος. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον εἰς ἔλεγχον φωνὴ μάρ-
τυρος καὶ ἡ τοῦ φεύγοντος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν
ἐκείνης ἴσως ἂν τις εὐρεθείη καὶ λόγος, τὴν δ' οὐκ
ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο. 24. ταῦτα [αὐτὰ] αὐτῷ⁴ τὸ τοῖς
ἑαυτῶν στόμασιν ὁμολογεῖν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς αἰτια-
θέντας ἐδύνατο, οἱ τὴν μὲν παρούσαν ἡμέραν ὀριεῖν
αὐτοῖς ἠγοῦντο τὸν βίον, ἠγνοεῖτο γὰρ ἐφ' ὅτῳ
R ii. 16 ταῦτα, τὸ | δὲ ἔμελλε φανεῖσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ ὄχλου
μόνον οὐχ ὁρᾶν ἠγουμένου τὴν δεινὴν ἐκείνην ἔξ-
οδον ὁ μὲν ἀποκτενῶν⁵ οὐδεὶς, δεσμὸς δὲ καὶ δη-
μεύσεις χρημάτων καὶ οὐδὲν ὀξύ περι ταῦτα,⁶ καὶ

¹ τὴν F. (P corrected): τὸν Re. (other mss.).

² βασανίσειν conj. Re., F. (V): βασανίζειν Re. text (other mss.).

³ πεισόμενοι conj. Boissonade, F.: πιθόμενοι I: πειθόμενοι Re. (other mss.).

⁴ [αὐτὰ] F.: om. V: αὐτὰ αὐτῷ om. B: ταῦτα αὐτὰ αὐτῷ om. Morel (Par. 3016): ταῦτα δ' PI.

⁵ ἀποκτενῶν F. (-κτένων AILMo.BM): ἀποκτείνων Re. (CPVPar.).

⁶ ταῦτα F.: ταύτην Re. (mss.).

ORATION XXII, 22-24

be superhuman. From every side there rose prayers for the preservation of his daughter, since he so conducted himself to people in distress and had expelled all harshness and severity from his mind. 23. So they began the assize and we acted as assessors. Some were of the opinion that he behaved in a manner foreign to his nature in confining every one to an admission about the origin of the crime by threatening to hold an examination of other persons who would give him this information, should they not agree. At the same time he nodded to many of the bystanders to attempt to get the man in the dock to make a confession. At this the prospective victims became most annoyed since they thought it nobler to meet their fate with staunch denial than by convicting themselves out of their own mouths. Yet his action was not that of one who was preparing for the emperor throats to be cut, but rather, I feel, of one who made their preservation the more remarkable, for there is no comparison, as regards proof, between the voice of a witness and that of the defendant himself. Against the first some plea could perhaps be devised, but against this last no one could complain. 24. That was the real point of his insistence upon a confession of guilt out of the defendants' own mouths. They began to think that that day would be their last, for they were unaware of the purpose of this procedure. As it happened, its revelation was imminent. The populace thought that they were almost witnessing that dread outcome, but there was no one to play the executioner. Imprisonment and confiscation of property were the only penalties imposed—and there was nothing very severe in this, either—and the city retained its

LIBANIUS

εἶχε τὴν βουλήν ἢ πόλις, ἣν οὐκ ἔχειν ἠγάειτο. οἱ¹
 γὰρ ἦσθη, οὗτός τε καὶ ὁ κοινωνός, ἀποκτείναι F 485
 κυρίω, ψήφω² βασιλέως ἐφυλαξάτην τὴν τομὴν (τὸ
 μὲν) αὐτῶν³ ἐν τῇ κρίσει στήσαντες, τὰ δ' ἐφεξῆς τῇ
 βασιλείᾳ τηρήσαντες. 25. τοιαῦτα τοίνυν ὑπηρε-

R ii. 17

τηκότες τῇ δίκῃ καὶ οὐ ποιήσαντες ἐλάττω τοσ-
 οῦτοις οἴκοις τὴν πόλιν, ταῦτά μὲν βουλευθέντες,
 ταῦτά δὲ ἐπαινέσαντες πάσης ἔριδος ἀπηλλαγμένη
 βοήθειαν βεβοηθηκότες μέσοι | μὲν ἐγενέσθη πλῆ-
 θους τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου τί τῶν ἀπάντων οὐ
 φθεγγομένου καινὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰωθυίαις δεήσεσιν
 εὐρίσκοντος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χρόνος τῶν ἰκετειῶν πολὺς
 καὶ περὶ δύσιν ἤλιος, σιγὴν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπέταξεν
 οὔτε ῥάβδοις οὔτε ψιλαῖς ταῖς χερσίν.

26. Ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ τὴν δίκην πόνου διάδοχος
 ἕτερος ἦν ὁ περὶ τὴν στάσιν. καὶ περιεργεῖτο πολ-
 λοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι, πλείοσι δὲ γυναιξὶ μόνον οὐ προσ-
 πιπτούσαις ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἀδείας, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τά
 τε λεγόμενα μετ' εὐμενείας προσίετο καὶ ὦν ἦδει
 πολλὴν | ἐσομένην τὴν ἰσχύν, ὑπέβαλλεν ἰκετευό- F 486
 μένος τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν τοῦτο ποιούντων ἰκετεῶν
 ποιῶν ἅπαν εἶναι τὸ περὶ ταῦτα τοῦ κρατούντος.

27. εἶτα μέντοι καὶ τὸν πορευόμενον, ἐδόκει γὰρ
 δεῖν τὸν μὲν καθῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ βαδίζειν, ἐκόσμη
 τῷ⁴ τὰς γλώσσας ἐπ' ἐκείνον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μετα-
 φέρειν καὶ ἐδέετο μετὰ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων δικα-

¹ οἱ F. (PBMV, A marg.): οὐ Re. (other mss.).

² ψήφω <δὲ> conj. Re., Cobet.

³ τὴν τομὴν del. Cobet. | <τὸ μὲν> conj. Re., Cobet, F. |
 αὐτῶν Re., F. (C): αὐτῶν other mss.

⁴ τῷ F. (ILMo.): τε Re. (Par. 3016): τὸ other mss.

^a For Chrysostom's account of the activities of the com-

ORATION XXII, 24-27

council it thought it had lost.^a Both he and his colleague had the powers of life and death, but they reserved any death-sentence for the emperor's decision and, confining their activity to the investigation, they awaited the emperor's instructions for the next step.^b 25. Such then were the services they rendered to justice. They did not diminish the city by so many households, but with the same desire, the same commendations, they provided aid free from all rancour. They were surrounded by the crowd in front of the court-house which uttered cries of every kind and devised fresh pleas, besides their usual ones. The time taken up by these supplications was a long one. The sun was near its setting, but no one ordered silence, either with their staffs or with their bare hands.

26. The business of the trial was succeeded by another, to do with the riot. He was surrounded by many men and more women—women who almost mobbed him in their freedom to do so. He personally attended to their statements with kindness, and made suggestions which he knew would be very effective. By receiving their pleas and joining his own with theirs he ensured that the emperor's will on the matter was paramount. 27. Then, again, he honoured his colleague who was travelling back,^c for it had been decided that one should stay and the other should go, by referring their pleas to him, and so a judge joined the wrongdoers by pleading with a

mission *cf. Hom. 13 (P.G. xlix. 136-139)*. He saw the councillors taken in chains through the market place.

^b Chrysostom, *Hom. 17 (P.G. xlix. 174)*.

^c Caesarius' hurried return to Constantinople, *cf. Or. 21. 11 ff.*

LIBANIUS

R ii. 18 στής | δικαστοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ποιῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ καταμόνας.

28. Καὶ τίς πώποτε ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον ἐώρακεν ἢ ἀκήκοε; πῶς δ' οὐ μακαρίζειν τοὺς τοῦδε τοκέας μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄξιον ἢ τῇ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ τοσοῦτοις ἐφεστηκέναι σώμασιν, ὃ πολλῶν τε γενένηται πρότερον καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρων ἔσται. δάκρυα δὲ τοιαῦτα στρατηγῶν οὐδενὶ σύννοιδεν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐδ' οὕτω μεθ' ἡδονῆς εἶδεν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς πανταχοῦ τε καὶ ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον στρατηγόν. πρὸς γὰρ αὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργον αὐτῷ πέπρακται καλὸν μεταξὺ τῶν τε δεδικασμένων καὶ τῆς ἅπαντα λυούσης ψήφου. 29. ἔγνωστο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐδόκει δεῖν δεδέσθαι τὴν βουλήν, οὐ δ' ἦσαν, στενόν τε λίαν τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἐπῆν ὀροφή. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς στενότητος εὐθύς ἐλύπει κατα-

R ii. 19 πατεῖν τε ἀλλήλους ἀναγκάζοντα | καὶ καιρὸν ἅπαντα χεῖρω ποιοῦντα τὸν ὕπνου, τὸν τροφῆς, | τὸν ἔξω τούτων. εἴτε γὰρ οὐδεὶς εἰσίοι¹ τῶν F 487 φίλων, ἀνιαρὸν ταῖς τε εἰσόδοις τὸ χωρίον λυπηρότερον, εἴτε ὄμβρος ἐπιγένοιτο, τὸ σώσον οὐκ ἦν. καὶ ἦν δὴ τινων ἀκούειν ὡς φθῆσεται τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἔλεον, εἴ τις ἄρα ἔσται, τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου. 30. ἔδει δὴ παρὰ τοῦ ταῦτα ἐψηφισμένου τὸ καὶ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ χρῆσθαι, τοῖχος δὲ εἰς ἀμφοῖν, εὐρέσθαι ἢ ἀπολωλέναι. πάλιν τοίνυν το² τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμᾶν αἰτεῖν τῆς τοῦδε φύσεως μόνης προκαλουμένης, οἶμαι, θαρρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπαγγέλ-

¹ εἰσίοι F. (V): εἰσῆι Re. (other mss.).

² τὸ conj. Re., F. (CPV, inserted in A): om. Re. text (other mss.).

ORATION XXII, 27-30

judge, in some matters in public, in others also in private.

28. Who has ever seen or heard of such a man? We should surely count his parents blessed more properly because of these actions than because of his office and command over so many persons. That is something that many people before have had, and others in future will have. But no one can testify to such tears in any military commander, nor yet has he beheld a commander everywhere and at all times borne with such pleasure in the hearts of the men he governs. For besides all else, in the interval between the court proceedings and the decree which gave us total release he performed a noble deed.

29. In accordance with an earlier decision, it was decided that the council must be arrested, but the place where they were was very restricted and lacked a roof. Thus hardship immediately resulted from the cramped quarters, forcing them to trample upon each other and interfering with their sleep and their meals, and the rest. If none of their friends came to visit, that was discouraging, and if they did, the place became more uncomfortable because of it, while if it rained, there was no protection. You could hear the remark passed that the conditions of their confinement would do their work before the emperor's pardon arrived, if ever it should. 30. From the person who had made the original decision they had to obtain permission for the use of the city-hall, which was separated by a single party wall, or else they would die. Here again, that we should dare make such a request was due solely to his generous character, for it induced us, I feel, to take our courage in both hands and suggest measures whereby

LIBANIUS

λειν, ἐν οἷς ἦν τι τῶν λυπηρῶν ἀφελεῖν. ὁ δ' εὐθύς βουλευσάμενος εὗρεν ὅπως τοῖς μὲν ἂ βούλοιντο ἔσται, ῥῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ μηδὲν κατὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων. 31. εἰπὼν οὖν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μέ-

R ii. 20 νειν, | εἰ παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα ὑπηρετούντων ἕτερόν τι γένοιτο, ἔφη κἄν εἰδῆ, οὐκ εἴσεσθαι.¹ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μετέδωκεν, οὐ θέατρον ὑπωρόφιον, στοαὶ δὲ τέτταρες αὐλὴν αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ποιούσαι εἰς κῆπον | βεβιασμένην, ἀμπέλους (ἔχοντα),² συκᾶς, δένδρα ἕτερα, λαχάνων εἶδη, τέρψιν τοῖς δυσκόλοις ἀντίπαλον, δι' ἣν καὶ ἐγέλασάν που καὶ ἔσκωψαν καὶ προὔπιον καὶ ὕμνον ἦσαν καὶ οὐ τύχης εἰσὶν ἐπελάθοντο κλινῶν τε ἀπολαύοντες αἰς πολὺ πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὸ μέσον, καὶ τραπεζῶν οἴων³ πρὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς, λόγων τε ἐν βίβλοις παντοδαπῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγων οὓς αἱ βελτίους ποιοῦσιν ἔριδες. 32. τοῦ δὴ⁴ τὰ δεινὰ μὴ λίαν εἶναι δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ μηδένα προδιαφθαρῆναι τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δωρεᾶς μὴ ἡλίω, μὴ ὄμβρῳ, μὴ λύπῃ, μὴ δάκρυσι καὶ τοῦ δεδέσθαι τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μὴ δεδέ-

R ii. 21 σθαι καὶ | τοῦ τὰ τῶν οὐκ ἐν μεγάλοις ἐγκεκλημένων ἔχειν ἐν τηλικούτοις ἐγκλήμασι, τούτων δὴ τῶν ὄνειράτων, οὕτω γὰρ ἄμεινον προσειπεῖν, οὗτος αἴτιος, οὗτος δοτήρ, οὗτος χορηγός. 33. οὗτος μὴ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζων⁵ ἐπέδειξεν ἄπα-

¹ κἄν εἰδῆ, οὐκ εἴσεσθαι. τοῦτ' Cobet, F.: καὶ ὁ ἦδει που κείσεσθαι τοῦτ' BM: καὶ εἰ δεῖ σοῦ κείσθαι τοῦτ' Morel (Par. 3016): καὶ ἦδη σ + lacuna + τοῦτ' V: καὶ εἶδη σου κείσεσθαι τοῦτ' Re. (other mss.).

² <ἔχοντα> conj. Re., F.

³ οἴων <οὐ> F. (V). ⁴ δὴ conj. Re., F.: δὲ Re. text (mss.).

ORATION XXII, 30-33

some of the distress might be alleviated. He immediately went into conference and devised means for them to get what they wanted, without himself uttering any word against his instructions. 31. So he stated that he stood by these same instructions, but that, if any alteration were made by his subordinates in charge, he would turn a blind eye, even if it were brought to his notice. This allowed them the use of the city-hall where there was a covered theatre, and four colonnades with a central courtyard which had been turned into a garden with vines, figs and other trees, and different kinds of green-stuff. It gave them relaxation to offset their discomfort, and in consequence they raised a laugh or a joke, offered a toast or sang a song, forgetting their plight. They enjoyed beds with plenty of room between them and fare such as they had had before their arrest, books of literature of various kinds and the literary discussions about them which are the product of first-class argumentation. 32. He, then, was the cause, the donor, the sponsor of the fact that the disaster did not become too disastrous, and that none should prevent the emperor's generosity by dying of sun-stroke or exposure, of grief or tears. He was responsible for their simultaneous arrest and freedom from arrest, and that, despite the seriousness of the charges, they were treated like those charged of minor offences, and for all these dream-like happenings, for such it is proper to describe them. 33. Without conducting a rigorous inquisition into every detail, he proved in its entirety his good sense

⁵ ἐξέρáζων conj. Re. (*Animadv.*), F. (V): ἐξέρáζειν Re. text (other mss.).

LIBANIUS

σαν αὐτοῦ¹ τὴν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν σοφίαν οἷς ἔπραξεν ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς, ἃς οὐ τῶν ἰκετευσάντων περὶ
 R ii. 22 | τὸν Βόσπορον ἠγγήσομαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ χώραν ταῖς ἰκετεῖαις τούτου² δεδωκότος. |

34. Μνήμης δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦπεισόδιον ἄξιον ἐν F 489
 μεγάλῳ δὴ τιμὴν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἔχον οὐκ εἰς βου-
 λεύοντα μὲν πεπραγμένον, γένει δὲ τῇ πόλει προσ-
 ἤκοντα, μυρία μὲν ἐν δίκαις ἠγωνισμένον, πολλῶν
 δὲ λόγων εἰς κάλλος συγκειμένων πατέρα, πατὴρ
 δὲ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀμείνω τοῖς ἀρχομένοις φανέντα τοῖς
 πρώτοις, τοῖς δευτέροις, τοῖς τρίτοις. ἐπὶ τούτου
 βέλος ἀφῆκε συκοφάντης, οἷα δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης τέχ-
 νης τὰ βέλη, καὶ ἡ σιγὴ πονηρὸς λόγος ἐκαλείτο.

35. ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἀντέστησεν ὁ μισῶν ἀδικίαν οὗτος
 τῷ συκοφάντῃ μὲν αὐτόν, τῷ ψεῦδει δὲ τὴν ἀλή-
 θειαν, τῇ κακίᾳ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν, τῇ πικρίᾳ δὲ τὴν
 χρηστότητα, καὶ ὅπερ αὐτὸ καὶ δίκαιον ἦν, τοῦτ' εἶχε
 τὴν νίκην, τὸ δίκαιον. ὁ δὲ τῷ τε διαφυγόντι συν-
 ἔχαιρε καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτῷ, τῷ μὲν τοῦ διαπε-
 φευγέναι, τῇ πόλει δὲ τοῦ μὴ δι' ὄν ἐνδοξὸς ἐστὶ
 τοιούτου στερηθῆναι πολίτου, αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ κακῶν
 R ii. 23 ἀνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἐξαρπάσαι, καθάπερ | Ἀθηναῖ τῆς
 Στυγὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα.

36. Εἶεν. τουτὶ μὲν τοσοῦτον ἀγαθόν, ποῖος δέ
 τις ἦν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως γράμμασιν;
 ὁποῖός περ ἡμῶν ἕκαστος, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἦσθη μᾶλλον
 τῆς τοῦδε | ψυχῆς. ὅς μετήνεγκε μὲν αὐτόν ἀπὸ F 490

¹ αὐτοῦ Re. (MSS.): αὐτοῦ F.

² τούτου Re. (MSS.): τούτων F.

^a One of the usual periphrases to describe Constantinople, a name he increasingly avoids with advancing years. For

ORATION XXII, 33-36

in the matter of the trial by his acts to ensure the subsequent reconciliation. For this, I shall continue to believe, our advocates up by the Bosphorus^a are not so much responsible as he who gave room for their pleas.

34. A further interlude worthy of narration involved a benefaction on an important matter, not bestowed on an ordinary councillor, but on one who is connected with the city by birth, who had engaged in countless legal battles and had been father of many beautifully composed orations,^b and in his periods of office had shown himself better than a father to those whom he governed in his first, second and third terms of office. An informer launched an attack upon him—the usual method of attack for such gentry—and his silence was described as a poor defence. 35. But here Ellebichus, this hater of wrong, opposed himself to the informer, truth to falsehood, virtue to vice, goodness to rancour, and, as was but right, right won the day. And he congratulated the man he acquitted, the city and himself—him, upon his acquittal, the city, upon her retention of such a citizen who brought her fame, and himself, upon rescuing a good man from evil, as Athena had rescued Heracles from the Styx.^c

36. Well! so much for that boon. Now what was his attitude like on the arrival of the messages^d that relieved the city? He behaved like any one of us, for none felt more joy within him than he did. He

the advocates of Antioch there *cf. Or. 20. 37*. Libanius, naturally, does not mention Flavianus.

^b *Cf. Or. 18. 14* (*πατήρ τῶν λόγων*).

^c When Heracles went to bring up Cerberus, Homer, *Il.* 8, 362 ff., *Od.* 11, 625 f.

^d For the imperial letter of pardon *cf. Or. 20. 7, 37 ff., 21. 21*.

LIBANIUS

- τῆς θοίνης ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἤδη τείνων, ὡς
 φασιν, ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα τὴν δεξιάν, εὗξατο δὲ
 ταχέως μὲν ἀπελθεῖν¹ τὴν ἐσπέραν, ταχέως δὲ
 R ii. 24 ἀναφανῆναι | τὴν ἡμέραν. ἦει δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
 δικαστήριον οὐκ ἴσω τῷ προσώπῳ, τοσοῦτον ἦν
 ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἄνθος, ἐγάννυτο δὲ οὐχ ἦττον τῇ σωτη-
 ρία τῆς πόλεως ἢ εἰ τηλικαύτην ἐτύγγανε δι' ὄπλων
 ἐλών. 37. ἐξαλημιμένων δὴ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις
 τῶν χαλεπωτέρων στὰς οὐπερ πρότερον, εὐφημί-
 αῖς ἐστεφανοῦτο παρὰ πολὺ πλειόνων ἢ πρότερον
 ἤδη τῶν καταδεδυκότων ἀναδύντων θεόντων εἰς
 τὰ πινάκια. δάκρυα δὲ κἀνταῦθα οὐκέτι θρηνοῦν-
 των, ἀλλ' ἠδομένων. οἶδε γὰρ καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴ κα-
 κῶν ἄγειν εἰς ὄδυρμόν ἀνθρωπον, ὥσπερ αὐτὸ καὶ
 τότε. μεστή μὲν δαιτυμόνων ἢ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐαυ-
 τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κίωνων ἐστιώντων, δάκρυα δὲ
 ἔρρει κατὰ τῶν ἐκπωμάτων οὐ φόβου τοῦτο ποι-
 οῦντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μηκέτι | φοβεῖσθαι. ἦν δὲ τοῖς F 491
 μὲν πίνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ πίνειν ἢ τέρψις, τοῖς δὲ ὀρώσιν
 ἐκ τοῦ ταῦτα ὄραν. 38. ὦν εἰς καὶ οὗτος, ὃς μετὰ
 τὰς πολλὰς παραινέσεις αἰς ἐπηνώρθου τὴν πόλιν,
 ἐνόμισεν εὐὲ ἔχειν ὡς ἐνῆν κοινωνῆσαι τῆς εὐωχίας
 καὶ παριῶν τοὺς κατακειμένους οὐκ ἐξανισταμέ-
 R ii. 25 νους, οὐ γὰρ εἶα, τοῖς | καθ' ἐκάστους² ῥήμασιν
 ἠδίουσ τὰς φιάλας ἐποίει τὸ μὲν ὕψος τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ὑποχωρῆσαι κελεύσας, πρέποντα δὲ τῷ καιρῷ αὐ-
 τὸς αὐτὸν καταστήσας, ὥστε καὶ ἰχθύν ποθεν ἐπὶ
 γέλωτι τῶν παρακειμένων ἀρπάσας, ἐπεὶ γέλωτα
 τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀπέδωκε. 39. τοιαύτην ἐπορευθήη
¹ ἀπελθεῖν conj. Re. (*Animadv.*), F.: ἐπελθεῖν Re. text
 (MSS.).
² ἐκάστους F. (IV, correction in P): ἐκάστου Re. (other
 MSS.).

ORATION XXII, 36-39

betook himself from his meal to read them just when, so I am told, he was stretching out his hand to the food before him. He prayed for the speedy passing of the night and the speedy dawning of the day. Then he went to the same courthouse, but not with the same expression on his face—such was his gaiety now: he rejoiced at the preservation of the city just as much as if he had taken such a one by force of arms. 37. Our disgrace was erased by the decrees, and he stood where he had stood before, and was garlanded with praise by many more people than before, since they who had been plunged into the depths now emerged and hurried to look at the notice-boards. Here again tears flowed, not tears of lamentation, but of joy; the ending of troubles can cause a man to weep, and that happened on this occasion. The city was filled with revelry^a; the inhabitants feasted themselves in the middle of the colonnaded streets, and tears ran down over their tankards, not from fear, but from relief from fear. The drinkers got joy of their drinking, the observers, of what they observed. 38. He too was one of their number, for after many exhortations by which he sought to correct the city he thought it right that he should be able to share in their jollifications. He passed among the diners: they did not rise to him, for he would not let them. With a few words to each of them, he made their cups the sweeter, and he bade his high office take second place and comforted himself in keeping with the occasion. Why! he even filched a fish from one of the dishes by way of a joke, and having so raised a laugh, handed it back. 39. Such then was the tour

^a Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom.* 21 (*P.G.* xlix. 220).

LIBANIUS

πορείαν καὶ τοιούτων μετασχῶν ἔλθῶν ἤριστα πάντων ἀρίστων ἐκείνο γλυκύτερον ἄξιον αὐτὸν τῶν πολλῶν εἰκόνων ἐπιδεικνύς, ἄς διὰ παντὸς ἔξεστιν ἰδεῖν τοῦ ἄστεος ἔλκούσας ὡς αὐτὰς¹ τοὺς παριόντας καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ τριχὶ καὶ ὄμματι καὶ παρειᾷ καὶ χροιά. 40. κὰν² ταύταις ἴδοι τις ἂν τὸν τρόπον τῆς πόλεως· ἀντὶ γὰρ ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον τῶν πολλῶν τῶν πρότερον ἔχειν ἐν ἐκάστη φυλῇ καὶ ταύταις³ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐβούλοντο,⁴ | ὅπως ἐν μὲν F 492

R ii. 26 ταῖς παρουσίαις αὐτοῦ τε ἀπολαύοιεν καὶ | τοῦ δευτέρου, ἀπόντος δὲ μὴ τοιούτου παντὸς στέροιτο.

41. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τε εὐχόμεθα καὶ συνεῖναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, καλῶν δὲ ἐξαιφνης ὡς ἑαυτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὃν ἡμῖν ἐδεδώκει, τῷ τιμᾶν μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐθέλειν σκοπεῖν εὐφρανεν ἡμῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐρωμένου δὲ ἀποστερῶν ἡνία, παρ' ὃν οἱ μὲν ἦλθον ἰσχυρότατά σφισι ποιήσοντες τὰ⁵ δίκαια, οἱ δὲ ἀρκεῖν ἠγούμενοι τὸ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἰδεῖν, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὀρῶσιν ἀπέχρη τὸ ὅποτε βουλευθεῖεν εἶναι ἐλθοῦσιν ἰδεῖν.

42. ἀποδότω τοίνυν ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν διὰ πολλῶν εὐεργέτην, τὸν τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης μιμητήν, τὸν ὥσπερ ἐκείνος⁶ τοῖς θεοῖς, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπό-

R ii. 27 μενον ἐκείνω, τὸν τῆς παιδὸς | παῖδας ὀψόμενον εὐοκίας αὐτῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἢ τῆσδε μέτεστι τῆς

¹ αὐτὰς Re., F. (CBV): αὐτὰς Morel (other mss.).

² κὰν F.: καὶ Re. (mss.).

³ ταύταις F.: ταυτησὶ mss., Re. (conj. ἐαυτῆς). Read ταυτῆ?

⁴ ἐβούλοντο F. (P corrected): ἐβούλετο Re. (mss.).

⁵ τὰ conj. Re., F. (BM): om. Re. text (other mss.).

⁶ ἐκείνος F. (V): ἐκείνον Re. (other mss.).

he made, and such the revelry in which he shared. Then he went and dined, and that was the most enjoyable dinner he ever had had. He proved himself worthy of the many statues, which can be seen throughout the whole city, attracting to themselves the gaze of passers-by, citizen and stranger alike, by their hair, their eyes, their cheeks and colouring. 40. In them, too, you may see the city's reactions. In return for the many past benefits received, they wanted to keep the man in each ward of the city^a by these means also, so that when he is present they may enjoy the company both of him and of his duplicate, and in his absence that they may not be entirely deprived of such a personage.

41. So we pray to retain his person, his company and his conversation, but the emperor has suddenly summoned to his presence the man he had bestowed on us. By honouring him and wishing to confer with him upon high matters of state, he has pleased our city, but he has distressed us by depriving us of the object of our affections. Some of us have visited him to strengthen their legal claims, some have thought it enough simply to see him, many too, who have not seen him, find it sufficient to be able to go and do so whenever they like. 42. Then let the emperor restore to us our constant benefactor,^b who imitates his imperial resolve, and follows him as he himself follows the gods. Let him be restored to us to see his daughter's children like himself, by

^a Cf. *Or.* 11. 231, 19. 62, 24. 26 (Vol. I, p. 509 n.).

^b This peroration indicates a date of composition in A.D. 388 or later, since Ellebichus' recall (which occurred in that year) is not in the immediate past. His daughter was evidently married and settled in Antioch.

LIBANIUS

πόλεως, ἐν τοῖς τόκοις προθυμότερον καὶ παρούσης
καὶ βοηθούσης μεμνημένης, οἷον ἐν οἴῳ καιρῷ περὶ F 493
τὸ κτήμα τὸ ἐκείνης Ἑλλέβιχος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέδειξεν.

^a Artemis, associated with Eileithyia of childbirth, cf.
Or. 5. 27. She is associated with Antioch by a festival in

ORATION XXII, 42

the more eager presence and help in childbirth of Artemis,^a who shares in the life of this city, when she remembers the kind of man Ellebichus proved himself to be in such a crisis in defence of her own possession.

Meroe, a suburb of the city, held in the month Artemisios (May), *ibid.* 42 ff.



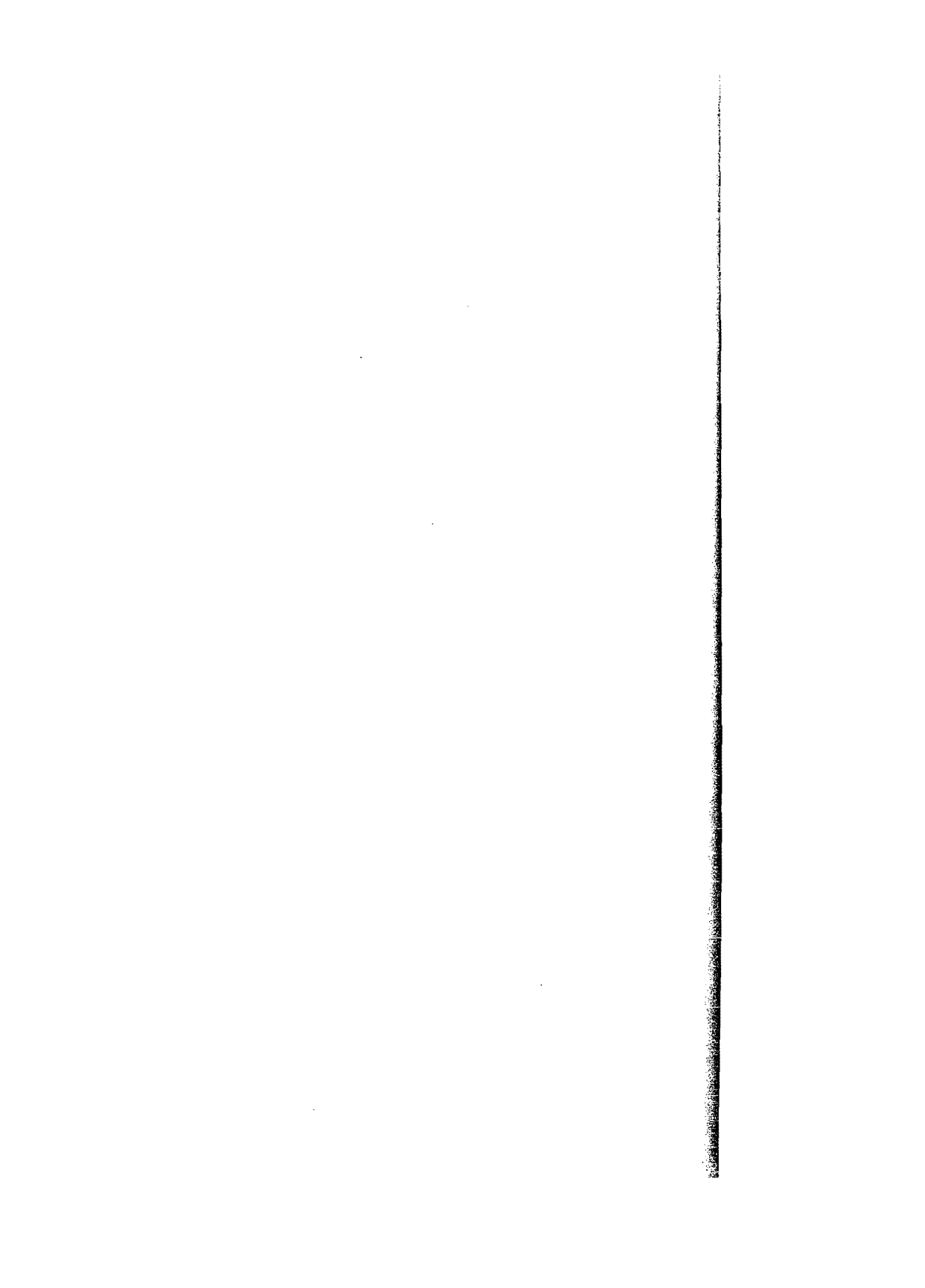
ON THE CITY COUNCILS

ORATION 48

TO THE CITY COUNCIL

ORATION 49

TO THE EMPEROR,
FOR THE CITY COUNCILS



INTRODUCTION

In these orations, Libanius again speaks in support of his city council, but in very different tones from those used hitherto. In almost all of his earlier orations, whether of the reign of Theodosius or before, his councillors had been presented as innocent victims of pressures from without. Now, however, in a significant shift of attitude he defends the council as an institution while bitterly criticizing its members who, far from being innocent victims, are themselves responsible for the drastic and, as he clearly implies, sudden deterioration in the status and membership of the order. The arguments previously deployed in their interest, as in *Oration 2*, are here used against them, indicative of the sharp change which had occurred in the relationship between the council and its sophist.

Libanius had a generation previously painted a glowing picture of the urban society of Antioch, and had then given a brief account of the composition of the city council.^a It appears as an harmonious body administering the affairs of an harmonious civic society, and comprises three sections, each directed by "generals" appointed by the order as

^a *Or.* 11. 144 : τρία γὰρ (ἡ βουλή) αὐτὴν διελοῦσα τέλη τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν καθ' ἕκαστον τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνατέθεικε, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἔπεται στρατηγοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους πονεῖν.

LIBANIUS

a whole, the rank and file dutifully following such a lead. To judge from this eulogy, this type of organization is something new and unusual for an eastern city, and it bears obvious resemblances to that of the new Senate in Constantinople, a body composed of three or four classes, each of which has duties defined according to the wealth of its members.^a Hence, when Julian in A.D. 362 directed two hundred new members into the council of Antioch it is tempting to assume that he proposed to add a fourth panel to the nominal roll of six hundred who constituted the three existing panels.^b It is known that about the same time a fourth panel was *certainly* being enrolled in the council at Tarsus.^c However, Julian's campaign was a failure from the very start and by A.D. 381, the date of *Or.* 2, so far from any fourth panel surviving, the humbler members in the existing panels were under the severest pressure, and by the time of these two orations their condition had deteriorated further. Moreover, the *πρώτοι* in the council are now asserted to be the ruination of the *δευτέροι* and the *τρίτοι* (*Or.* 48. 40)—a rôle which had previously been reserved for officials and *honorati*.

These *πρώτοι* among the decurions are to be identified with the *principales* of the Codes, where their emergence to a position of privilege and authority over their fellows is clearly observable in this period. An unofficial convention, long established

^a *Ep.* 252. 5 (A.D. 359), three classes: *Ep.* 1277. 3-4 (A.D. 364), four classes.

^b Julian, *Misop.* 367 c. He also allocates 3000 κληροί for these, *ibid.* 370 d.

^c *Ep.* 1393. 5: ταῦτα διαλέγου τοῖς τὸν τέταρτον χορὸν οὐ καλῶς συντιθείσι.

ORATIONS XLVIII, XLIX

in social practice, is now transformed into an officially recognized and organized part of the system of administration, since the central government, deferring both to its own needs and to the pressures and aspirations of this select group in municipal society, creates a new kind of caste system by the grant of special duties, privileges and status. Whereas, in Libanius' boyhood, he can speak of the *curia* as a unity, in his later years, both to him and to the legislators, a great gap exists between the *principales* and the *curiales*.^a Admittedly, the central government had, in the first half of the century, attempted to check such separatist tendencies. Under Constantine the *principales* were barred from the allocation of certain duties, a task to which they evidently aspired, and even in the last years of Constantius an attempt is made to counter the growing practice of differentiating between different sections of the order by banning the imposition of physical punishment upon *curiales* in general.^b

By contrast, by A.D. 373 at the latest, the *principales* are found controlling all allocations of duties^c; and an edict of A.D. 371 specifically gives them

^a Compare *C. Th.* 12. 1. 39 (A.D. 349), "primarii et curiales" with 12. 1. 85 (A.D. 381), "principales vel decuriones."

^b *Ibid.* 11. 16. 4 (A.D. 328): "extraordinariorum munerum distributio non est principalibus committenda"; *ibid.* 12. 1. 47 (A.D. 359; cf. 12. 1. 39 above): "Oppidaneis ordinibus consulentes dudum iussimus ab iniuriis corporalibus tutam esse ordinis dignitatem."

^c *C. Th.* 8. 15. 5: "officiales atque municipes qui exactiones quascumque susceperint, eos etiam quibus vel discussionis indago vel negotium censuale mandatur, insuper principales, a quibus distributionum omnium forma procedit, curatores etiam lex ista contineat."

LIBANIUS

immunity from corporal punishment, and dangles before them the prospect of an honorary *comitiva*.^a By these means under Valens the *principales* had been elevated far above the rank and file of their fellows, and though the accession of Theodosius sees some reversion to the notion of equality of treatment for all decurions, especially with regard to immunity from punishment by the cat-o'-nine-tails, inside a dozen years this privilege is once more reserved solely for these municipal magnates,^b who very soon are acknowledged by the central administration as being on a par with the imperially appointed *curator* or *defensor*.^c The gap so quickly established between decurion and *principalis* can best be judged by consideration of the monetary fines imposed on the Donatists in Africa in A.D. 412^d—for a senator, 30 pounds of gold, for a *clarissimus* or a *principalis*, 20 pounds, for a decurion or a *negotiator* or a *plebeius*, 5 pounds. Sectional aspirations and social practice here moved in parallel with administrative convenience and, as so often, were finally embodied in legal form.

The *principales* had thus assumed the position of an executive committee responsible for the allocation to the members of the municipal order of duties required for the maintenance of local society, in the interest both of the imperial administration and of the community as a whole. By definition they had themselves completed the full progression of the

^a 12. 1. 75 : " liberumque sit corpus eorum ab his iniuriis, quas honoratos non decet sustinere. honorem etiam eis excomitibus addi censemus . . . "

^b 12. 1. 80 of A.D. 380 ; *ibid.* 85 of A.D. 381 ; *ibid.* 126 of A.D. 392. ^c 8. 5. 59 of A.D. 400. ^d 16. 5. 52.

ORATIONS XLVIII, XLIX

liturgies, but the official recognition of their status quickly engendered an attitude more than ever before élitist and exclusive. Their rapacity and arrogance were notorious,^a the improper use of the powers of recommending nomination to or exemption from the municipal order was obnoxious,^b and their allocation of the liturgies among its existing members secured for themselves the description of *potentes*, with all the perquisites implied thereby, and was used to depress the status of the lesser decurions still further.^c Particularly vulnerable was the decurion of the lower grade who was allocated any duty of tax collection at this time of financial stress, since he was made personally responsible for making good any deficiency out of his own property, usually after a flogging by the governor's agents.

In consequence there occurred allegedly enforced sales of curial land, as in *Or.* 47 ; and it follows from the present orations that the *principales*, who made the allocation, were themselves prominent purchasers of such property from the victims. Certainly the recent legislation which had placed some limi-

^a e.g. Salvian, *de Gub. Dei*, 5. 4 (Migne, *P.L.* liii. 98) : "quot curiales, tot tyranni." Cf. Jo. Chrys. *Hom. in Matt.* 61. 3 (Migne, *P.G.* lviii. 591-592). Theodoret, *H.R.* 14 (Migne, *P.G.* lxxxii. 1413), who tells of Letoïus.

^b e.g. Julian, *Misop.* 369 c ff. ; *C. Th.* 12. 1. 140 ; 148 (A.D. 395).

^c *C. Th.* 12. 1. 173 (A.D. 410) ; cf. *Lib. Or.* 32. 8 : ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸν Κίμωνα λειτουργῆσαι πολλάκις καὶ ἐβουλήθην καὶ εὐξάμην, καιρὸν δὲ ἀναμένειν ὥμην δεῖν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἀναβιώναι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ γενέσθαι τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην. ἐκέينو μὲν γὰρ ἦν λειτουργεῖν, τὸ δὲ νῦν ἀπολωλέναι. οὕτω κακῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχει ἄλλαις τε οὐκ ὀλίγαις αἰτίαις καὶ τῷ τῶν λειπομένων τοὺς ἰσχυρότερους πορθεῖν τὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων. *Ep.* 1496.

LIBANIUS

tation upon the decurion's right to sell his land is indicative of the scale upon which this was now taking place under duress, and the experience of the next generation was to make clear that the law was aimed particularly at such acquisitions by the *principales*.^a It must, however, be admitted that, although almost every method of curial evasion as listed in the Codes may receive confirmation in the writings of Libanius, the orator's viewpoint is far from impartial. The Codes make it clear that the desire of the depressed decurions to get out of the council was no less than that of the *principales* to get them out, and that they were only too often willing victims. The methods of escape comprise both social ascent and descent: immunity from curial obligation is sought not only by obtaining the status of senator, official, government agent, advocate or sophist, but also that of cleric, monk, client to one of the *potentes*, or mere run-away, and a successful escape required a deliberate act of choice on the part of the alleged victim, and no less deliberate persistence in this course of action.

The extent of the decline may be gauged by the numbers cited by Libanius. The distinction is presented with all the exaggeration of formal rhetoric—from six hundred to sixty (*Or.* 48. 4; *cf.* 2. 33), from twelve hundred to twelve (*Or.* 49. 8)—a fact which renders the final figure suspect in each case.^b However, there is no doubt of the suddenness and the seriousness of the decline which had made the curial

^a *C. Th.* 12. 3. 1; 2 (A.D. 386; 423).

^b Petit (p. 323) suggests that the councillors numbered 60, including 12 *principales*. This is highly unlikely, *cf.* Liebeschuetz, p. 181.

ORATIONS XLVIII, XLIX

organization of the *Antiochicus* completely out of date. What remains in doubt is the distinction between the original numbers cited, which must be regarded as a matter of fact. The solution appears in *Or.* 48. 3, where Libanius asserts that in time past the council actually consisted of six hundred councillors who performed their services from their property and were full members, and that a supplementary group of six hundred performed as ordered tasks with their persons. These clearly had never been, however aspiring, full members of the council,^a and they had apparently vanished completely well before the 380s. Presumably they had not survived the reign of Constantine, and for the first time, there was no obvious source of recruitment to the *curia* from below.

With regard to the composition of these orations, it has been taken as self-evident by commentators other than Sievers and Liebeschuetz that they constitute an example of Libanius' practice of composing "doublets." Seeck, Foerster, Paek and Petit place both speeches after the death of the prefect Cynegius and the appointment of his successor Tatianus in the summer of A.D. 388, as indicated in *Or.* 49. 1 and 31. Liebeschuetz dates this oration more precisely to A.D. 391,^b but places *Or.* 48 in the year 384/5, following Sievers' identification of the person mentioned in *Or.* 48. 27 as Cynegius, and so placing the date of composition as earlier than his journey as prefect through the East. Textual difficulty in the passage (*cf.* note *ad loc.*) and the

^a *Cf.* Jones, *Greek City*, p. 180, for municipal services performed by persons below the status of decurion.

^b *Cf.* Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, Appendix II, pp. 270 ff.

LIBANIUS

complications of chronology render such an interpretation hazardous.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The manuscript density for these two orations is low, consisting of twelve for *Oration 48* and seven for *Oration 49*, with no representative of the tradition which is normally provided by V. For the constitution of the text the major manuscripts for *Oration 48* are CAPIBM, with Mo. (employed by Reiske) as the best representative of a nucleus attached to the same branch as C (*viz.* Laur. LVII 27, Patmius 471, Vat. gr. 939, Mutinensis LXXXI). U appears as a twin of BM. The earliest of these is A (of the tenth century) antedating all the rest by three centuries. For *Oration 49*, the relevant manuscripts are CAPIBM, with the addition of U. Of the excerptors, Macarius draws upon *Oration 48*, Planudes upon *Oration 49*.

Both orations first appeared in full in the Venice edition of 1754 by Bongiovanni; editions by Reiske and Foerster have followed. *Oration 48*, however, was known a century earlier, even though it remained unpublished, since Valesius cites § 36 in his notes on Ammianus (28. 2), to illustrate the fate of Marathocupreni.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

These orations are important in the general studies of the history of the councils, *e.g.* in A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, and *Later Roman Empire*, and in Declareuil, *Quelques Problèmes d'histoire et des institutions municipales etc.* (1911). Detailed studies

ORATIONS XLVIII, XLIX

of their contents appear in Pack (*op. cit.* pp. 30 ff., 121 ff.), Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale* (*passim*), Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* (Oxford, 1972), *passim*, but especially pp. 270 ff.

XLVIII

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ

R ii. 526 1. Ὅσοις μὲν πρὸς ὅσους ἐχρησάμην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν F iii.
 παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὧ βουλή, λόγοις οὐ πρὸς 428
 τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔχοντας τὰς ἀρχὰς μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὸν ἄριστον, οὐθ'
 ὑμᾶς οὐτ' ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἓνα ἀγνοεῖν ἠγοῦ-
 μαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ δύναμιν ἔχοντάς τινας οἷς ἐπαρ-
 ρησιαζόμεν ἑλύπουν, δεινότερον ὅμως ἐδόκει μοι
 τοῦ παθεῖν τι κακὸν εἰπόντα ἃ προσήκεν ἢ μετὰ
 τῆς σιωπῆς ἀσφάλεια· ἐπεὶ δ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
 αὐτῶν διαλεχθῆναι καιρός, | οὐδὲ τοῦτο παρήσω F 429
 τῶν ἀτόπων εἶναι νομίζων ἑτέρους μὲν ἀξιοῦν εὖ
 ποιεῖν ἡμῖν τὴν βουλήν, αὐτὴν δὲ μὴ πείθειν τῶν
 αὐτῆς προνοηθῆναι.

2. Ἐλπίζω μὲν οὖν ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι μοι χαλεπούς,
 εἰ καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἔχουσαν κομίζων ἤκω γνώμην.
 πεφύκασι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τῶν σὺν μέμψεσιν ὠφε-
 λίμων προκρίνειν τὰς μετὰ βλάβης χάριτας. ἀλλ'
 R ii. 527 οὔτε πρὸς | ἄλλους ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος οὔτε νῦν πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς, ὡς τοῦ μὲν μισουμένου καὶ δίκας ἐθέλοντος
 λαβεῖν ἐκεῖνο ἂν ἦν, τοῦ δὲ τιμῶν τετυχηκότος καὶ

^a Or. 47. 2, 52. 1 begin with similar sentiments.

ORATION 48
TO THE CITY COUNCIL

1. I BELIEVE, gentlemen, that neither you nor any other person can be unaware of the numerous pleas that throughout my career I have directed on your behalf to so many people, not simply to the holders of office under the emperors but also to this, our most excellent of emperors. And if, by the frank expression of my opinions, I ever distressed persons of influence, it still seemed to me that the safety of silence was more odious than the troubles in store for me for saying what was right.^a However, circumstances now require me to address you on your own account, and here too I will not be negligent, for I consider it quite absurd to require others to act on behalf of our city council and yet not to induce it to have some regard for itself.

2: Now, I expect you to be annoyed with me, even though I come as the bearer of good counsel. People naturally prefer compliments, though detrimental, to good advice accompanied by reproof.^b But I have never behaved so towards others, nor will I now do so towards you: such conduct would be that of a curmudgeon and of a rancorous disposition, while

^b Cited by Macarius, with title *τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ βουλήν*.

LIBANIUS

δικαίως ἂν ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδόντος τοῦτο. καὶ δοῖεν μὲν οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἔχοντες θεοὶ τῆς τε παραινέσεως ὄνησίν τινα γενέσθαι καὶ πεισθῆναι τοὺς ἀκούοντας τῶν ὠλιγωρημένων ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ μάταιόν μοι τὴν συμβουλήν ἀποδείξετε, κέρδος ἔμοιγε ἰκανὸν τὸ συμβεβουλευκέναι.

3. Ἦν, ὅτ' ἦν ἡμῶν ἡ βουλή πολλή τις, ἄνδρες ἑξακόσιοι. οὗτοι μὲν ἐλειτούργουν τοῖς οὖσι, ἕτεροι δὲ τοσοῦτοι τὸ κελευόμενον ἐποίουν τοῖς σώμασι. τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ δεινὸς βασιλείας σῶον ὑπῆρχε τῇ πόλει, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐκέτι πολλῶν πολλαχόθεν ὀλέθρων τῇ βουλῇ λυμνη- F 430
μένων. ὥστε ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀεὶ τι τοῦ πληρώματος ἀφαιρούμενον διήρχετο. καὶ τὰ τούτων ἦν ὄραν ἑτέροισι γεωργοῦντας τό τε καταλειπόμενον ἀσθενέστερον ἐγίνετο διχόθεν, τῷ μῆτ' ἀριθμῷ τοσοῦτον ὅσον περ πρότερον εἶναι καὶ τῷ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτοῖς εἰς ἔλαττον ἵεναι. 4. καὶ τί με χρὴ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις εἰρημένα πολλάκις αὐτὸν διεξιέναι; πολλῶν γὰρ στομάτων οὗτος ὁ

^a Cf. *Or.* 35. 2 (also addressed to members of the city council).

^b The reduction from 600 to 60 is resumed from *Or.* 2. 33, where the rhetorical pattern is emphasized by the addition of οὐδὲ μὲν οὖν ἐξ παρ' ἐνοίσι. The reduction from 1200 to 12 appears in *Or.* 49. 8—this numerical discrepancy leading Sievers to his conclusion that *Or.* 48 and 49 were of different dates. Petit (pp. 54 ff.) identified the original 600 as the decurions proper, performing *munera patrimonii*, the additional 600 as *curiales* performing *munera personalia*, noting that the distinction between decurion and *curialis* nowhere appears in *C. Th.* He further concluded (pp. 322 ff.) that the total membership of the *curia* in A.D. 388 was 60, 12 being *principales*. This ignores the rhetorical pattern

422

ORATION XLVIII, 2-4

mine is that of one who enjoys respect and makes a proper return for it. And may the gods who keep our city^a grant that there be some profit from my advice and that my hearers be induced to redress their neglectfulness. At all events, even if you prove my counsel to be in vain, it will be profit enough for me to have offered it.

3. Once, when our council was a large one, it consisted of 600 members. These served it with their property, but as many again performed their ordained tasks with their persons.^b This laudable situation for our city lasted intact until the reign of a certain emperor,^c but thereafter it was no longer so, for many destructive forces of various origins adversely affected the council. Thus every year part of its personnel was progressively removed, and one could see other people farming their estates, while the remainder became weaker for two reasons, first that its numbers were declining from the previous level, secondly that their property was decreasing.

4. What need is there now for me to relate the arguments you have often put forward in the courts?^d This lament has been thought suitable for many a man to of the decline in all three speeches. Liebeschuetz (pp. 220 f., following Jones, *G.C.* p. 180 n.) sees the second now defunct group of 600 as liable to plebeian rather than curial liturgies. Their duties had by the late 4th century been allocated to the *collegia* or *corpora*—the tradesmen's guilds.

^c Petit (pp. 54 ff.) identified this emperor with Diocletian, but this cautious periphrasis is more often applied to Constantine, who is certainly alluded to in *Or.* 49. 2, where these destructive forces are more precisely described.

^d *i.e.* before the provincial governor, *Or.* 54. 74. The councillor's job in combating curial evasion is to report any instance to the governor, who only then sets in motion the means to counter it.

LIBANIUS

θρήνος ἡξίωται. τὰς μὲν οὖν συμφορὰς οὐ κακῶς
 τετραγωδήκατε, περὶ δὲ τὴν τουτωνὶ τῶν κακῶν
 ἐπανόρθωσιν οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ σπουδῇ τε καὶ προθυμίᾳ
 R ii. 528 κεκρημένους ὑμᾶς | εὐρίσκω. μετὰ γὰρ δὴ τὸ
 εἰπεῖν· οἰχόμεθα, ἀπολώλαμεν, ἦμεν ἑξακόσιοι ἢ,
 νῆ Δία γε, δις τοσοῦτοι, νῦν δ' οὐδὲ ἑξήκοντα,
 μικρὰς συλλαβὰς προσθέντος ἑνός τινος περὶ τοῦ
 δεῖν γενέσθαι τινὰς τῆς βουλῆς παρὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἀπήλθετε καὶ δεδώκατε πολλοῖς περὶ ὑμῶν λέγειν
 εἰκότως ὡς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ φασὶ μὲν δεῖσθαι προσ-
 θήκης, ὅπως δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ἔσται ποιούσι μένειν τε
 αὐτοῖς¹ βουλόμενοι τὴν τῶν ὄδυρμῶν ὑπόθεσιν, ἵν'
 εἴη καὶ ἀδικοῦσι συγγνώμη, καὶ ἅμα δεδιότες μὴ
 κοινωνοὺς λάβωσι τῶν λημμάτων ἢ καὶ τινες αὐτῶν
 ἰκανώτεροι φανέντες μείζω κατακτῆσονται δυνα-
 στείαν. 5. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι τὸν
 λόγον, ἐκείνο δὲ οἶδα, ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ κακία, ῥαθυ-
 |μία γε νωθρὰς ἐποίει τὰς βοηθείας. πολλάκις, F 431
 ἐρεῖτε, περὶ τούτων εἰρήκαμεν, τὸν πεισόμενον δὲ
 οὐκ εἶχομεν. οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐχρῆν, περὶ τοιούτου
 διείλεχθε πράγματος οὐδὲ ἅπαντι τῷ τόνῳ οὐδὲ
 ἀπάσῃ <τῇ>² ῥώμῃ οὐδὲ ἄραντες τὴν φωνὴν οὐδὲ εἰς
 γόνυ πεσόντες οὐδὲ ἀφέντες δάκρυα οὐδ' οἷς³ ἡμεί-
 ψασθε δηλώσαντες ὅτι οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐτέ-
 ρων ὁδοὺς ἤξετε. οἷα πολλὰ πεποιηκέναι πολλάκις
 Γαλάτας τούτους ἀκούομεν, οἱ ἐπειδὴ λέγοντες οὐκ
 εἶχον πείθειν Κωνστάντιον, πρηγεῖς καταπεσόντες
 R ii. 529 ἔκλαον⁴ καὶ ἅμα | τῶν τε ποδῶν εἴλκοντο καὶ

¹ αὐτοῖς Re., F. : αὐτοῖς Bongiovanni (mss.).

² <τῇ> Re., F. : om. Bong. (mss.).

³ οἷς Re., F. : ὡς Bong. (mss.).

⁴ [οὐκ εἶχον πείθειν] ἔκλαον conj. Sintenis, F. : οὐκ εἶχον πεί-
 θειν ἔλκειν mss. : ὡς εἶχον, ἐπεχείρουν, and ὅν οὐκ εἶχον πείθειν,
 424

ORATION XLVIII, 4-5

utter. Well, though you have made no bad recital of your woes, for the correction of these troubles I find that you have employed no great eagerness or zeal. For after exclaiming, "We're ruined! We're done for! We used to be 600,—twice that number, in fact. Now we're not even 60," someone or other adds a few words about the need for the governor to appoint some councillors, off you go, and you allow many people to say of you, with good reason, "They are just going through the motions! They say they need more members, but their actions are designed to prevent it. They want the excuse for their complaints to continue, so that they can be forgiven even when in the wrong. They are afraid, too, of having some people to share their perquisites, or even of some more suitable than themselves emerging to gain greater influence." 5. I do not agree with this argument, but this much I do know, that slackness, if not malice, has rendered efforts of assistance vain. You will tell me, "We have often spoken about it, but we found no one who would believe us." No, because you did not speak as you should have done on such an issue: you did not do so with full intensity and vehemence: you neither raised your voices nor cast yourselves at their knees, neither did you shed tears nor, in your replies, make it clear that you would not put up with it but would rather proceed on the paths taken by others. This, we are told, was the line of conduct that the Galatians here persisted in: when they could not persuade Constantius by argument, they fell flat on their faces and set up cries of lamentation, and at

*τοῦτον ἐπεχείρουον ἔλκειν conj. Re. (Animadv. and edit.): καταπε-
σόντες <οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἐκέλευον> ἔλκειν conj. Cobet.*

LIBANIUS

ἐδέοντο, ἕως αὐτοῖς ὑπήρξεν ὑπὲρ οὗ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. 6. ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ὅτε ἔναγχος ἐπέμπετε τὴν πρεσβείαν, τοῦτο ἐπηγγείλατε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν ἵππων καὶ χρυσίου καὶ γῆς καὶ σίτου καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ἐκόμιζεν ὁ πρεσβεύων γράμματα καὶ ἦν τοῦ φορτίου ταῦτα οὐ μικρὸν μέρος, περὶ δὲ τοῦ κεκενωσθαι μικροῦ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τῶν δικαίων βουλεύειν οὐδὲ γρῦ. καίτοι τίς εἶχε πόνον | τοῖς πολ- F 432
λοῖς τοῦτο προσθεῖναι; τῷ δ' ἂν ἀδικεῖν ἐδόξατε χεῖρας ὀρέγοντες τῇ βουλῇ; 7. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, βραχὺ φροντίζετε τούτων ὧν μάλιστα προσῆκε. διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσα πρόφασις ἀρκεῖ τοῖς βουλομένοις πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν λειτουργιῶν. οὗτος ὀπλίτης, καὶ σιω-
R ii. 530 πᾶται. ἐκεῖνος φέρει τὰς βασιλέως ἐντολάς, | ἄπτεται δὲ οὐδεῖς. ἕτερος ἀρχοντι παρήδρευκεν. ἀφεῖται. διατρίβει τις ἐν τῷ πωλεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῖς δικαζομένοις φωνήν. τὴν πατρώαν τάξιν οὗτος ὑπερεπήδησε. προσκρούειν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τοῖς τούτων κηδομένοις. 8. καὶ τί δεινὸν ποιοῦντα τὰ δίκαια πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐχθρόν τινα ἐπισπασσασθαι; πῶς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκείνων ὀργὴν φοβῆ, ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀδικίαν οὐ δέδοικας; ἢ κἂν εἰ τὴν

^a For the embassies of Antioch of this period cf. Petit, pp. 418 f., Pack, *Studies*, pp. 123 f., Liebeschuetz, pp. 265 ff. This embassy seems to be that of *Ep.* 850-852, 864-868.

^b Cf. *Or.* 49. 7, where the same complaint is made.

^c For these methods of curial evasion, and measures taken to prevent it, cf. Jones, *LRE* 740 ff. Enlistment is, for Libanius, the least commendable form of evasion (cf. § 42, *Or.* 49. 19: the best known example is, of course, Ammianus). Under Constantius he had been known to befriend and support individual *agentes-in-rebus*, but the expansion of numbers (*Or.* 2. 58) in Theodosian times made the situation more serious. The demand for the position of

426

ORATION XLVIII, 5-8

the same time clutched his feet and pleaded with him, until they gained their objective. 6. But you, even on the despatch of your recent embassy,^a made no reference to this matter. Our envoy took a message that dealt with horses, gold, land, corn and such like, and this made up the bulk of the message he bore, but about the almost total emptying of the City Hall and about suitable candidates for the council—never a word! Yet what trouble would it have been to have included this item with all the rest? Who would have thought you wrong in extending a helping hand to the council?^b 7. The fact is, in my opinion, that you have little interest in subjects that you really should be interested in. Hence any excuse is enough for those who want to rid themselves of civic obligations. This one is a serving soldier, and not a word is said about him. Another is an imperial courier; nobody claims him. Yet another has been a governor's assessor. He is excused.^c If somebody makes a career of hiring his vocal powers out to litigants, he escapes from his ancestral station.^d Those who are distressed at this are bound to take offence. 8. And what harm is there in attacking enemies, if one does one's duty towards one's birth-place? How comes it that you are scared of their resentment, but have no fears about this injury? If assessor also seems to have increased in these years (*cf.* the anonymous of *Or.* 62; also Tisamenus).

^a As advocate. This method was checked (*e.g.*) by *C. Th.* 12. 1. 46, 87 (of A.D. 358 and 381), but it remained a well-trodden way of escape. Even though not an official post, its close connection with the administration gave it influence. Libanius had often petitioned for his pupils to be registered in the governors' courts, and his own son Cimon unsuccessfully tried this method.

LIBANIUS

μητέρα τυπτομένην ἑώρας, εἰστήκεις ἂν οὐδένα ἀμύνων τρόπον, ὅπως εἴης τῷ παίοντι κεχαρισμένος; ταχέως μὲντ' ἂν ἔγνωσ μείζονι σαυτὸν ὑποθεῖς κινδύνῳ, τῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, τὸν ἐλάττω φυγῶν, τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 9. ὃν ἔδειξατε πολλάκις οὐ φοβηθέντες καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πολλῷ τούτου βραχυτέροις. ἵνα γὰρ ἵππος ὑμῶν ἀνθ' ἵππου καὶ ἡνίοχος ἀνθ' ἡνιόχου γένηται καὶ πλεον ἄργύριον δοθῆ τοῖς γῆρας | θεραπεύουσι τυχὸν καὶ μείνη F 433
παρὰ τοῖς εἰρηνοφύλαξι ὁ τῶν κορνηφόρων μισθός, τί μὲν οὐ λέγεται; τί δὲ οὐκ ἀκούεται;¹ δεινὸν δὲ οὐδέν, κἂν ἐξωσθῆναι δέη, κἂν εἰς τὸ οὔκημα
R. ii. 531 ἐλθόντα | καθῆσθαι. καὶ πληγὰς δὲ οἰδᾶ που γεγενημένας. εἶτ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι κούφος οὗτος ὁ φόβος, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἀφόρητος; καὶ τίνα ἂν ἔχοι λόγον;

10. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, ὅταν ταῦτα λέγητε, κακίαν ἀρχόντων λέγετε. τετυχήκαμεν δέ, ὡς ἅπαντες ἴσασι, καὶ βελτίστων χαιρόντων τῇ τῶν πολιτευομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς προθυμία. οἱ οὐκ ἔμελλον δήπου χαλεπῶς ὑμῶν ἔξειν τῇ κρηπίδι τῶν πραγμάτων βοηθεῖν προαιρουμένοις. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐν

¹ λέγετε Cobet. | ἀκούετε Cobet (B).

^a *Alimenta* were provided by the *curia* (Or. 11. 134). Those in Antioch were temporarily withdrawn after the Riots of the Statues, to be restored with the emperor's pardon. They were subsidized—and evidently could be embezzled.

^b The only mention of an *eirenophylax* in Antioch. At Elusa the position was coveted by decurions, and was therefore probably profitable; cf. *Ep.* 53, 101-102. The position was abolished in A.D. 409, *C. Th.* 12. 14. 1.

^c Not surprisingly, since the floggings were becoming increasingly reserved for the lesser decurions.

^d An odd statement in an oration of A.D. 388/9, con-

ORATION XLVIII, 8-10

you saw your mother being assaulted, would you stand there without raising a finger to defend her, just to curry favour with her assailant? In that case, you would soon have recognized that, in seeking to avoid the lesser danger that originates from men, you are laying yourself open to the more serious one from the gods. 9. And you have often shown that you have no fear of that, even in matters more ephemeral than this. For you to get one horse or a jockey instead of another, for a bigger sum to be given for old-age relief,^a for the constables' pay to stay in the hands of the justices of the peace,^b every possible argument, every possible allegation is bandied about. And it is of little consequence, even if a councillor has to be demoted, or go to jail and stay there. There are times, I know, when floggings have taken place, too. This fear causes you no qualms in minor issues^c: is it intolerable, then, in the case of matters of more importance? What justification could there be for that?

10. Moreover, in such statements, you are stating that the governors are at fault. But, as everyone knows, we have been fortunate in having excellent governors who welcome the councillors' enthusiastic support for the council.^d They certainly would not be likely to be annoyed with your resolve to support the very basis of society. But, between siding his denunciations of Lucianus, Eustathius and Eutropius (*Or.* 56, 54, 4), as Liebeschuetz (p. 273) implies. However, as Liebeschuetz himself points out (pp. 184 f.), the governor rarely takes the initiative in curial recruitment: this lies with the *principales*, the object of criticism here. The governors, who at least act when they receive recommendations from the *curia*, are therefore to be commended, in comparison with these back-sliders.

LIBANIUS

ὁμοίοις ἄρχουσιν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὅμοιοι, ῥάθυμοι. καὶ προσγελάτε δὴ τοῖς τῆς ἀδείας ταύτης ἀπολαύουσιν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος βουλόμενος ταύτης ἀπολευκέναι δοκεῖν. 11. πρῶην τις ἐνεχθεὶς χορηγὸς ἐγγυητὴν καταστήσας ἀπέδρα. πῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς; τὸν μὲν ἐγγυητὴν ἀδικοῦντα οὐδέν, ἐξηπάτητο γάρ, καθείρξαντες εἴχετε, καὶ ὁ θυμὸς πολὺς καὶ αἰ ἀπειλαὶ δεινὰ καὶ διασπώμεθα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἐξεγγυηθέντα ἠκούομεν ἀρχὴν πριάμενον τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας ἀγρὸν αὐτῇ προσθεθεικότα συλλέγειν τὴν τιμὴν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς | κακοῖς. 12. τί οὖν οἱ πάντα F 439
 R ii. 532 σεῖοντες ὑμεῖς καὶ θανάτου τὸν | ἐγγυητὴν ἄξιον εἶναι κρίνοντες; εἰρήνην ἤγετε πρὸς τὸν ἡδίκηκότα καὶ διαπηδήσαντα τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον; καὶ οὔτε βασιλεὺς τούτων ἠκούσεν οὐδέν οὔτε ὑπαρχος οὔτε ἄλλος ἀρχόντων οὐδὲ εἰς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ὦν μάλιστ' ἂν εὗξασθε συμβεβηκότων οὕτω διετέθητε. ἤδη δὲ τις αὐτὸν καὶ νοῦν ἔχειν ἔφησε. 13. καὶ πρότερόν γε τούτου δρασμὸς ἕτερος διὰ θαλάττης, πρᾶγμα καινότατον. ἐκ Σελευκείας ἀνήγετό τις ἐπιστησόμενος Ἴωσιν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, οἶμαι, ζεύγους, ἀλλ' ἐδεδίει τὴν γῆν. καὶ οὗτος τοίνυν δεινὰ ποιεῖν τότε δόξας καὶ τὴν βουλήν ἀδικεῖν ἐπανῆκε φίλος οὐδέν τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν φοβηθεὶς, οὐδέ

^a On this passage cf. Petit, pp. 59 f. Since the duty is allocated by the council and the guarantee given to the council, the procedure is outside the governor's sphere until he receives formal complaint.

^b τὴν γῆν has a double meaning: (i) by this desertion he had betrayed his country; (ii) he could more easily have been stopped on an overland journey and restored to his

ORATION XLVIII, 10-13

you and the governors, it is not a case of birds of a feather : you are just like yourselves, idle. You poke fun at those who enjoy this security, but every one of you wants to be thought to have enjoyed it. 11. Just recently someone was appointed to manage the shows, found a guarantor, and decamped. And what did you do ? You had the guarantor arrested, though he had done no wrong, for he had been let down, and you had him kept in prison. Tempers ran high ; threats were bandied about, and there were calls to tear him apart. But a little while later we were told that the bail-jumper had purchased an office at the cost of his family home, with the estate thrown in, and was recovering the price by his misconduct as governor.^a 12. And what did you do—you, who were moving heaven and earth against the guarantor and saying that he deserved to be executed ? You made peace with the rascal who had taken such a jump from the city council to the magistrate's chair ! Neither the emperor, nor the prefect, nor any other magistrate heard a single word about it. You behaved as though things had turned out exactly to your liking, and it was even said that he was a sensible fellow. 13. And even before this, there was another instance of desertion—by sea, that time—quite a novelty. The fellow set sail from Seleuceia to go as governor to Ionia,—not that he had no carriage, I think, but he was afraid of the land.^b Well, he at the time was held to be a rascal and guilty of misconduct towards the council, but he came back your friend and had no worries curial duties before he reached the protection of this governorship. Having thus become an *honoratus*, he could throw his weight about in the council chamber.

LIBANIUS

γάρ ἦν οὐδέν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ὁ δρασμὸς ἤκουε κακῶς, δι' ὧν δ' ἄν τις ἐγένετο καὶ δίκη, παρεωρῶντο. ὁ δὲ μάλα σεμνὸς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσῆει.

14. Τοιαῦτα τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν βουλήν μιμουμένων τὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων. καὶ γὰρ Ἀπαμέων οἱ βουλευόντες πολλὰ τοιαῦτά εἰσι κεχαρισμένοι, βέλτιον γὰρ οὕτως εἰπεῖν ἢ πεπρακότες. οἱ τὸν μὲν Δία φασὶν αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ προσέτι γε καὶ δεδιέναι πάντα ἐγγύθεν ὀρώντα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλιν οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ποιοῦντες ἐλάττονα. ἔχω δέ τι τοιοῦτον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βουλευόντων εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πανοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ F 435
 R. ii. 533 ἐφῆναν | αὐτοῖς τοῖς παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀτελῆ πεποιηκότων τόκοις εἰς περιουσίαν ἐπιδόντα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤξιουν ὑμᾶς ὄντας Ἀντιοχεῖς ἡγεμόνας εἶναι τοῦ προσήκοντος τοῖς περιοίκοις μᾶλλον ἢ κείνοις ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τηλικούτοις.

15. Καὶ μὴν κακείνῳ γε ἀκούω πολλάκις ἐνταυθοῖ λεγόμενον ὡς εἶη νόμος βασιλέως ἐνδοξοτάτου πάντας ὧν οἱ πάπποι βουλευταί, δεῖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τετάχθαι, κἄν ὧσι θυγατριδοῖ. καὶ ὄμνυτέ γε τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν νόμον καὶ παρ' ὅτῳ κέοιτο προστίθετε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπιστῶ. διὰ τί οὖν μὴ ἦκεν εἰς μέσον; διὰ τί μὴ δέδεικται; διὰ τί μὴ ἀνέγνωσται;

^a For the factories as centres of social gossip *cf.* Or. 8. 4, 31. 25.

^b For Zeus Olympios in Apamea, and an Olympic festival there, *cf.* Ep. 663, 668 of A.D. 361. The passage may be adduced in support of Liebeschuetz's dating, since the temple of Zeus, destroyed by Deinias and the monks, is 432

ORATION XLVIII, 13-15

about any reactions from you—for there were none. For all that his desertion was ill spoken of in the factories,^a the people who might have secured some redress turned a blind eye to it. And he used to strut into the council chamber, as large as life.

14. Such is your attitude towards the council, in this following the lead of our neighbours. For the councillors at Apamea have granted—that is a nicer way of putting it than saying “sold”—many such favours. They claim to reverence Zeus,—indeed, to fear him, since he beholds everything from near by—but they have no shame in diminishing the god’s city.^b I can cite something similar in the case of the councillors in Cyprus, too. They, by an illegal grant of immunity, made a rascally, treacherous, foxy fellow into a millionaire: he came to affluence by the very interest he squeezed out of those who granted him his immunity.^c I expected you, as Antiochenes, to set an example of duty to our neighbours rather than to follow their lead, especially in important matters like this.

15. What is more, I often hear the statement made here that there is a law of a most renowned emperor,^d that all those whose grandparents were councillors must take up their position in the council, even if they are in the female line of descent. You take your oath that this law exists, and you go on to say in whose bureau it lies, and I don’t disbelieve you. But why has it not been published? Why not dis-
apparently still in existence (*cf. Or. 30, Introduction, p. 97*).

^a For similar condemnation of usury *cf. Or. 62. 68 ff.*

^d Julian (*C. Th. 12. 1. 51; cf. E.L.F. No. 99*). Foerster, however, identified the emperor with Theodosius himself.

LIBANIUS

διὰ τί μὴ τὸ βουλευτήριον σωμάτων ἐνέπλησεν;
 εἰ γὰρ ἔστι μὲν ὁ νόμος, εἰσὶ δὲ ὑμῖν γλῶτται, ἔστι
 δὲ ὦτα τοῖς ἄρχουσι, τί τὸ κωλύον τὴν βουλήν τὰ
 αὐτῆς κομίσασθαι; ὅτι, φαίην ἄν, ἡ πενία τῆς βου-
 λῆς τοὺς μὲν ὑμῶν οὐ λυπεῖ, τοὺς δὲ τέρπει, τοῖς
 δὲ καὶ λυσιτελεῖ. 16. διὰ τοῦτο νέοι πολλοὶ τῆνδε
 ἀφέντες παρ' ἄλλοις λειτουργοῦσιν, εἴτα ἀναστρέ-
 φουσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς |
 μικρᾶς ἐκείνης δαπάνης ἔχοντες, μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ F 436
 τῶν κεφαλῶν τὸ συνέδριον φέροντες, δεσπότηαι τῶν
 R ii. 534 ὑμετέρων υἰέων οὐδενὶ μὲν δικαίω, | πῶς γὰρ τῶν
 τὰ δίκαια πεποιηκότων οἱ ἡδικηκότες καὶ τῶν με-
 γάλα ἀνηλωκότων οἱ μικρά; δεσπότηαι δ' οὖν¹ διὰ
 τὰ κακῶς δοκοῦντα καὶ νενικηκότα κἂν τοῖς δικα-
 στηρίοις ἑστηκότας αὐτοὶ καθήμενοι τοὺς ὑμετέ-
 ρους ὀρώσι. τούτων τοίνυν οὐδέν ἄν ἦν εἴ τις ὑμῶν
 ἤθελε χρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν νόμος κείται,
 οἱ δὲ τρυφῶσιν.

17. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσσεσθαι τινὰ φατε χρόνον ἀποδι-
 δόντα ταῖς βουλαῖς τὰ ὀφειλόμενα. καὶ τί τοῦτ'²
 ἀναμένειν ἔδει παρὸν ἔχειν; καίτοι τινὲς ἀπολο-
 γοῦνται τῆς Ἰουλιανοῦ μεμνημένοι βασιλείας ἐν
 ἧ τινὰς εἰς βουλήν ἐνέγραφον. καὶ οὐκ ἠλεγχόμεθα,
 φασίν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἄργοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν καὶ
 R ii. 535 τότε ἐκράτουν αἱ | ἄδικοι χάριτες καὶ διεκλάπησαν
 οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν δικαίως ἄν ἐγγραφέντων, ἔασω.

¹ δ' οὖν Re., F. (P.): δοῦναι Bong. (other mss.).

² τοῦτ' F. (mss. except IM): τοῦτο Bong. (IM): τοῦτον Re.

^a Cf. Plato, *Resp.* 600 D; Themist. *Or.* 21. 254 a.

^b The *honorati* and the *principales* (*C. Th.* 12. 1. 109 of A.D. 385) had the privilege of attending the governor's court hearings as *παρκαθήμενοι*. The ordinary decurions stood in attendance.

ORATION XLVIII, 15-17

played? Why not read aloud? Why has it not filled the city hall with members? For if the law exists, and you have tongues and the governors have ears, what is stopping the council from claiming its own? Simply this, I suggest,—that the poverty of the council either does not distress, or it pleases or it even profits some of you. 16. Hence many young men turn their backs on our council and perform their civic duties elsewhere, and then they return with an immunity from such obligations gained at that small expense. They practically rule the roost over the council chamber,^a and lord it over your children, quite improperly—for how could defaulters and penny-pinchers properly do so with the generous contributors who have done their duty? But lord it they do, none the less, because of your perverse decisions that have won the day, and in the courts they sit on the bench and see your sons standing there.^b None of this would occur if any of you were willing to apply the law. As it is the law lies dormant, and they live in the lap of luxury.

17. You say that a time will come when the councils will regain all they should have. But what is the point of waiting for it, when you can have it? Yet some people recall the reign of Julian when they set about enrolling new members,^c and they defend themselves by saying, "We were not found idle in the exercise of our powers." Leaving aside the fact that even then illicit influence was rife and many who should properly have been enrolled wriggled out

^a Cf. *Or.* 18. 146 ff. for the programme; for the evasions cf. Julian, *Misop.* 367 c ff.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό γε τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα
τινὲς ἐβούλοντο μηδένα ἐγγράφειν, ἐξήν ἄν. εἰ γὰρ
ὁ μὲν ὡς μεγάλα εὐεργετῶν τοῦτο ἐδίδου, δέχε-
σθαι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἤξιον, πονηρόν τ' ἄν ἦν καὶ δίκης
ἄξιον, καὶ σαφῆς ἢ προδοσία καὶ κεκολάσθαι χρῆν.

18. μὴ οὖν ἄ τοῦ τῆς | τιμωρίας ἦν φόβου, ταῦτ' F 437
εἰς τὴν γνώμην ἀνάφερε. τίς γὰρ ἄν ἤνεγκε τὸν
ἐκείνου θυμὸν ἔχοντα τὸ δίκαιον, εἰ ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς
τῆς Ἰουλιανοῦ κεφάλαιον ἦν ὀρθωθῆναι τὰς βουλὰς,
τοῦτό τις ἐνεπόδιζε καὶ κωλυτὴν αὐτὸν ἐποίει τοῦ
μεγίστου πράγματος καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μάλιστα αὐτῷ
φιλοτιμείσθαι παρῆν; μὴ οὖν μοι τὴν ἀνάγκην
ἀντὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως λέγε, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ νῦν, ἡνῖκα
ἀδελῆς τὸ ράθυμειν, τοῦτο ποιεῖται.

R ii. 536 19. Καὶ τί τὸ κέρδος, φήσει τις, ἄν ὁ μὲν βασι-
λεὺς ἐπινεύσῃ, τὸ δὲ ἀντικροῦον | γένηται καὶ
τούτῳ¹ τὸ δόγμα λυθείη; οἶδα ὅθεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος.
τὸν Ἀπρώνιον ἐννοεῖτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκηδόνος
μέχρι τῶν πρὸς Κιλικίαν ὄρων ἄρχοντα καὶ ὡς
ἠλέησε τὰς βουλὰς καὶ ὡς ἐμήνυσε βασιλεῖ τὴν
περὶ αὐτὰς τύχην καὶ ὡς ἤτησεν ἴασιν καὶ ὡς εἰπὼν
ἔπεισε καὶ ὡς ἐγένετό τι τὸ μεταπεῖθον. 20. ἀλλὰ
πρῶτον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις κόσμος οὐ μικρός, ταῖς τε
βουλαῖς τῷ τε Ἀπρωνίῳ, τὸ τὰς μὲν μὴ σιωπῆσαι,
τὸν δὲ συναλγῆσαι. ἔπειτα χρῆ νομίζεῖν τινὰς τῶν
φυγῆν² βουλευόντων μεμενηκέσαι γνόντας ὡς οὐ

¹ τούτῳ conj. Re., F.: τοῦτο Re. text (mss.).

² φυγῆν Cobet, F.: φυγεῖν Re. (mss.): φυγεῖν βουλευσαμένων
conj. Re.

^o Cf. *PLRE* 89. Apronius was vicar of the diocese of Pontica (cf. § 21). The emperor in question, in the absence
436

of it, it is common knowledge that, however much people may have wanted to make no new enrolment, such a course was impossible. For if the emperor had made this offer as a great concession, and people refused to accept it, it would have been a criminal act deserving of punishment, and barefaced treason was bound to be penalized. 18. So don't claim what was due to the fear of punishment as an example of your own attitude. Who could have endured the emperor's justifiable wrath if he tried to block the most fundamental item of Julian's legislation, the reform of the councils, or attempted to prevent his finest achievement, for which he could claim the utmost credit? So don't mention compulsion to me instead of intention. The present situation apart, idleness is your practice whenever you can get away with it.

19. "But what is the good," I will be asked, "if the emperor gives his consent and something occurs to hinder it?", thus rendering his decree ineffective. I know the origin of this argument. You have in mind Apronius, who governed from Chalcedon to the Cilician frontier,^a and how he took pity on the councils, informed the emperor of their critical situation and asked for some relief: he convinced him by his arguments but something occurred to cause a change of policy. 20. But, in the first place, considerable credit should be given both to the councils and to Apronius, in that they refused to hold their peace and he shared their concern. Secondly, it is to be believed that some of those who were planning their escape finally stayed when they of any of the customary laudations of Theodosius, is presumably Valens.

LIBANIUS

παντάπασιν ἡμέληνται παρὰ τῷ κρατοῦντι τῶν πόλεων αἱ βουλαί. | εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πε- F 438
 φύλακταί γε τῇ σπουδῇ τῇ περὶ ταῦτα ταῖς βου-
 λαῖς τὰ πρὸς αὐτὰς δίκαια, γράμμαθ' ἃ ἤκεν εἰς τὸ
 βασιλείον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων λόγων ζητοῦντα ἐπι-
 κουρίαν. 21. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὃ μὲν
 εὐθύς ἤκεν εἶσαι, βουλευέσθαι δὲ τοῖς Βαλεντι-
 R ii. 537 νιανῶ | δόξασιν ἀμῦναι ταῖς βουλαῖς. ὃ οὐκ ἂν
 ἔτ' ἦν ἐν μετεώρω τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ βουλῶν τὰ τινῶν
 μιμησαμένων. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀφικνεῖτο
 γράμματα ταῦτα¹ δέόμενα καὶ πόλεως ἐκάστης
 ἑώρα τὴν ρίζαν κεκακωμένην καὶ γῆ τε καὶ θά-
 λασσα ταῦτα² ὠδύρετο, πᾶν τὸ μαχόμενον ἡττᾶτο
 ἂν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἰκετευόντων. νῦν δὲ τοῖς οὐ
 δεηθεῖσι τὰ τῶν δεηθέντων βέβλαπται. ὥστ' εἰκὸς
 ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐγκαλοῖεν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πόντον ὡς παρ'
 ὑμᾶς³ ὧν ἔχρηζον ἀτυχήσαντες, καὶ μᾶλλον γε
 ἡμῖν ἢ ἄλλοις, ὅσῳπερ ἐν μείζονι τάξει τὸ τῆς
 Ἀντιοχείας ὄνομα.

22. Πρὸς τοίνυν τούτοις κακῆϊνο ἂν τις ὑμῖν⁴
 ἐπιτιμήσειεν, ὅτι πλέοντας καθ' ἕκαστον ἕαρ ὀρών-
 τες τῶν ἔτι βουλευόντων ἢ βεβουλευκότων γε παῖ-
 δας τοὺς μὲν εἰς Βηρυτόν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην οὔτε
 ἄχθεσθε οὔτε | ἀγανακτεῖτε οὐδ' ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας F 439
 εἰσιόντες φθέγγεσθε τὰ εἰκότα. καίτοι τίς οὔτω
 βραδὺς τὴν γνώμην ἢ λίαν παῖς ἢ Κρόνος ὡς μὴ

¹ ταῦτα Re., F.: ταῦτα Bong. (mss.).

² ταῦτα Re., F.: ταῦτα Bong. (mss.).

³ ὑμᾶς Bong. (mss.): ἡμᾶς Re., F.

⁴ ὑμῖν F. (mss.): ὑμῶν Bong., Re.

ORATION XLVIII, 20-22

realized that the city councils had not been entirely ignored by their emperor. And, even if this possibility is discounted, the councils, in consequence of the enthusiastic support the matter received, yet have had preserved for them a statement of their claims, in the shape of despatches requesting assistance, submitted to Court following their arguments. 21. One suggestion is that he gave up his original idea and intended to aid the councils by means of Valentinian's decrees, but the business would not still be hanging fire if the councils generally had followed the line taken by some of them. If despatch after despatch arrived, all with the same plea, and if the emperor had seen the root of every city damaged, and if land and sea alike had raised the same lament, all opposition would have been crushed by the mass of the suppliants. As it is, those who complain have been let down by those who do not, and so the inhabitants of Pontus could justifiably reproach us also, for failing to receive from you here the support they required, and they could reproach us more than anyone else, since the name of Antioch is the more exalted.

22. And, moreover, you are open to reproof on the following grounds. Every spring you see the sons of present, or past, members of the council sailing off to Berytus or to Rome,^a and you are not angry or annoyed, nor do you seek audience with the governors and complain as you should. But who is so dull-witted, such a booby or simpleton^b as to be incapable of competitive studies is not simply educational, but, as here, a combination of educational and political grievances.

^b Proverbially the reign of Cronos was the golden age of primitive simplicity (*cf.* Hesiod, *Op.* 108 ff.), the *Saturnia*

LIBANIUS

δύνασθαι μαθεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται τούτοις τὸ πλεῖν; οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν τι δράσαντες παρὰ τοὺς νόμους εἰς Φοινίκην πλέουσιν οὔτε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν, ἵν' ἀφ' ἑκατέρας φωνῆς ἔχοιεν τὴν βουλὴν | ὠφελεῖν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀφορμὴν εἰς τὸ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκδύναι τοὺς νόμους μὲν ἔχοιεν οὗτοι, τὴν γλῶτταν δὲ ἐκείνοι. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθησάν γε ἐλπιδος. ἀλλ' ἴσμεν οὐδὲ δικαίως ἂν ὄντες οὐ καθεστᾶσι¹ νῦν. 23. ἔδει τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, εἰδότας ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ ταῦτα, βοηθεῖν. καὶ τίς ἂν ἦν λόγος εὐπρεπῆς τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν· τί μοι νομοθετεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, περὶ παιδείας; πολλαὶ γὰρ ὁδοὶ ταύτης, καὶ πορεύσομαί γε τούτων ἦν ἂν ἐθέλω; σοὶ δ' ἐξῆν ἀντειπεῖν ὅτι ὁ ταύτας ἐρχόμενος τὰς ὁδοὺς μονονουχὶ βοᾷ δρασμὸν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι. τῷ γὰρ ἐν ταυταισὶ ταῖς πόλεσι πολιτευομένῳ μάταιον ἐκείνοιον ἐκάτερον ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, σμικρόν. ἔδειξαν δὲ οἱ σφόδρα εὐδοκιμήσαντες ἀπ' οὐδετέρου τούτων εἰς ὄνομα ἐλ-
 F 440 θόντες. | ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τίνων; ἐκείνων² ἂ νῦν | ὑβρισταί R ii. 53
 τε καὶ προπεπηλάκισται οὐ χεῖρω γενόμενα τὴν φύσιν, πῶς γὰρ ἂν; ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς σεμνοὺς τουτουσὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἀξιούντας εἰδέναι τὰς ἑαυτῶν. ὅστις οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπέιγεται, ταῦτα³ δ' ἂν

¹ καθεστᾶσι Re., F.: καθιστάσι Bong. (mss.).
² ἀπὸ τίνων; ἐκείνων Re., F.: ἀπὸ τινων ἐκείνων Bong. (mss.).
³ ταῦτα Re., F.: ταῦτα Bong. (mss.).

ORATION XLVIII, 22-23

able of understanding what their trip implies for them? It is out of no concern for justice or to avoid any inadvertent breach of the laws that they set sail for Phoenicia, nor do they sail to the other place so as to assist the council by their proficiency in both languages; their concern is to have their legal or linguistic qualifications as a means of getting out of membership of council. Nor have they been deceived in their ambition. We know what their status should rightly be and what it now is. 23. So you, aware that this is detrimental to the council, should have rendered assistance. It may be said, "And what reasonable argument has the opposition to the proponents of arguments like this? 'Why, Sir, are you laying down the law to me about my education? There are many ways of approaching it, and I shall take whichever one I like.''" You could have countered with the argument that the one who proceeds by such ways practically shouts it aloud that they are methods of evasion from the council. For a councillor in these cities either of these courses is useless or, if not that, unimportant. This is proved by their most notable citizens who have employed neither of these methods to achieve renown. Well, what methods did they employ? Those that are now held up to scorn and insult, not because there has been any actual defect in them, for that would be impossible,^a but because of these pompous snobs who refuse to acknowledge their own home town. So whoever embarks on the study of law, and I would stupidity, cf. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 929, *Wasps*, 1480 (schol. ad loc. κρόνους · ἀρχαίους, μωρούς, λήρους, ἀναισθητούς).

^a i.e. the study of Greek rhetoric, and particularly that of Libanius himself.

LIBANIUS

εἶποιμι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐτέρων, κέκραγεν οὗτος οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐράν, τῶν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν φυομένων.

24. Οὐκοῦν καὶ σὲ δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἢ ἐμφράξεις¹ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἢ πάλιν ἕξεις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. πολλὰ δ' ἂν ἐξεύροιεν φροντίδες. τὸ δ' οὖν προχειρότατον, ὃ πατήρ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἢ ὃ ἐπίτροπος ἢ ὃ ἔφηβος αὐτὸς² ὁμολογησάτω, κὰν ἐπ' ἄκρον³ ἐκείνοι ἀφίκηται, μήτοι τῶν γε ὀφειλομένων ἀποστερήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν. τί τοιοῦτον δεδράκατε, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐμελλήσατε;

25. τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ τινὰ βουλὴν ἄδουσιν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῦ σοφιστοῦ χειρῶν ἀφελκύσασαν νεανίσκους ἐν λειτουργούσιν ἔχειν ὥστε ἐκείνοις μεταμέλειν τοῦ τε πλοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ἀνηλωμένων. τοῦτο πολλαῖς ἂν ὑπῆρξε πόλεσιν ἐφ' ὅσας ἢ τοῦ ταῦτα συμπράξαντος ἄρ-

R ii. 540 χοντος ἐγίνετο | πρόνοια. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐβουλήθη- F 441

σαν, ὥσπερ οὐνοῦδὲ ὑμεῖς. αἰδεῖσθε γὰρ τοὺς λόγους. τὴν πόλιν δὲ οὐ; τὴν βουλὴν δὲ οὐ; τὴν γῆν δὲ ἢ τικτομένους ἐδέξατο, τὸ βουλευτήριον δὲ τουτὶ τὸ δι' ὑμᾶς ἄθλιον οὐκ αἰδεῖσθε, ἐν ᾧ ποτε τὰς λειτουργίας ἤρπαζον οἱ ἑξακόσιοι;

26. Νόμοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν συνηγόρων κεῖνται, κὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθῃ τις, γέλως πολὺς. ὑμεῖς δὲ κειμένους μὲν μὴ παραβαίνετε, διδάσκετε δὲ τοὺς λῦσαι κυρίου ὡς ἀμείνους αὐτοῖς ἐστι νόμους ἀντὶ

¹ ἐμφράξεις conj. Re., Cobet, F. (PB): ἐμφράξις Bong., Re. text (other mss.).

² αὐτὸς conj. Re., F.: οὗτος Bong., Re. text (mss.).

³ ἄκρον Re., F.: ἄκρων Bong. (mss.).

^a Cf. § 3 above.

ORATION XLVIII, 23-26

say the same for the others too, proclaims that he is not enamoured of the study itself but of the results that it produces.

24. So you too must consider means either of barring the ways or of reclaiming these persons for the council chamber. Consideration could devise plenty of methods. The handiest, anyway, is for the father, or guardian, or the lad himself to enter the court and guarantee that, even if he reaches the top in both those professions, he will not deprive the city of what is due to it. What such course have you taken, or even thought of taking? 25. They tell the tale of a council in Phoenicia which fetched back youngsters from Rome, snatching them from their teacher's very hands and holding them for the performance of their duties so that they rued their sailing and the money spent by Tiber's side. It would have been open to many cities to do this—to all that enjoyed the consideration and support of a governor in this action. But they refused, just as you do, too. You, of course, have a high regard for education. But none for your city? none for its council? none for the land that welcomed you upon your appearance in the world, or for this city hall which, because of you, has been brought so low, where once upon a time its 600 members^a used to snatch at the chance to perform duties of state?

26. "Ah!" you say, "but there are laws to protect lawyers.^b If you tackle any of them, you make a fool of yourself." Then don't break existing laws: just demonstrate to those who have the power to repeal them that they must enact better laws instead

^b On advocacy as a means of curial evasion cf. Liebeschuetz, pp. 242 ff., and on § 7 above.

LIBANIUS

τούτων θετέον, οἱ βουλήσονται μᾶλλον αὐξηθῆναι πόλεις ἢ τοὺς ἐνίων οἴκους. πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη νόμοι περὶ τούδε τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ ἐτέθησαν καὶ λέλυνται, καὶ δεινὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων τεθέντων ἀναιρεθέντων τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνων ταῦτὸ παθεῖν. |

R ii. 541 27. Ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἐρᾷ τε¹ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ μήπω δεῦρ' ἤκειν ἐζημιῶσθαί φησιν. ἐβελήσει τοίνυν κοσμησάμενος τὴν ἡμετέραν νόμον τιθεὶς σωτήρα μὲν τῶν βουλῶν, τὸ σπέρμα δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰληφότα. πεμπέσθω τοίνυν πρεσβεία. πάντως δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις ὑμῖν εἰσὶ τινες τῇ διακονίᾳ πρόποντες. ἀλλ' οὔτε αἰρήσεσθε πρέσβεις οὔτε ἀποστελεῖτε. περιέσται γὰρ τῶν βουλομένων, ἂν ἄρα τινὲς βουλευθῶσι, τὸ νοσοῦν. |

28. Ἦκω δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν κολοφῶνα τῶν κα- F 442
κῶν. οἱ γὰρ διὰ τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω μεταβολὴν τοῦδαφός τε τῆς πόλεως προσκυνεῖν ὄντες δίκαιοι καὶ πανταχόθεν μείζω τὰ ταύτης ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ μὲν ὄντα μικρὰ διατηρεῖν, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ τὰ ἀπόντα προσκτᾶσθαι καὶ μηδὲ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως

¹ ἐρᾷ τε conj. F., assuming preceding lacuna: αἴρεται mss.; edd.: ἰμείρεται Sievers.

^a A corrupt and disputed passage. The dating of the speech to A.D. 384 relies heavily upon it and the identification of this man. Reiske identified him with Arcadius, Foerster with Theodosius, Sievers and Liebeschuetz with Cynegius (ppO A.D. 384-388). Neither the existence of a lacuna (assumed by Foerster himself) nor the specific reference to the emperor, which Liebeschuetz, objecting to the expression ὁ ἀνὴρ, asserts is necessary for Foerster's interpretation, is essential. The whole of § 26 deals implicitly

ORATION XLVIII, 26-28

of these, intended for the increase of the communities rather than that of individual households. There have been plenty of laws about this province made and repealed before now, and if laws that have been passed for the good of the cities have been repealed, there is nothing wrong in those, that are not, suffering the same fate.

27. "But the man is fond of us^a: he says that it is a blow to him that he has not yet visited us. He will be ready to show his respect for our city by passing a law to protect the city councils, the inspiration for which comes from us." Then send an embassy. Surely in your small number there are some fit to undertake the service. But you will neither choose nor send envoys, for any volunteers, if there really be any, will find their ailments too much for them.

28. And now I come to the worst trouble of all. Those persons who, because of the improvement in their circumstances, should properly worship the very soil of the city and do their very utmost to increase her fortunes, maintain the little that she has, and try to get for her what she has not, and who ought to do no less than Erechtheus in a similar with the legislator, the emperor. Moreover, even Julian is referred to as *ὁ ἄνθρωπος* (*Or.* 16. 18); and the phrase *ὁ ἀνὴρ* is paralleled, with specific reference to Theodosius, in *Or.* 1. 220: (Richomer) *λέγεται . . . ποιῆσαι ἑρώντά μου τὸν ἄνδρα μᾶλλον ἑρᾶν φάναι τε καὶ τῆς δεύρο ἐπιθυμῆν ὁδοῦ ἐμοῦ χάριν*. This desire of Theodosius to visit Antioch had been canvassed in the intervening period, and especially in A.D. 387, *cf. Or.* 20. 44 f., Jo. Chrys. *Hom. de Stat.* 21 (*P.G.* xlix. 214). Similarly the reluctance of the *principales* to act as envoys had been well illustrated since then, as Libanius knew to his cost in the case of Thrasydaeus, *Or.* 32. 2 ff. This passage cannot, therefore, bear the weight of the interpretation placed upon it.

LIBANIUS

ἐν ὁμοίοις λείπεσθαι καιροῖς αὐτοὶ σύμβουλοι βουλευταῖς γεγένηται πέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην τοὺς ἑαυτῶν.

R ii. 542 οἱ δὲ εἰς | τὸν λιμένα κατέβησαν εἰδόντων, παρ-
αινούντων, παρακαλούντων, ἐπαινούντων, ἴσως τι
καὶ προστιθέντων ἀργύριον τῷ παρὰ τῶν γονέων.

29. εἴτ' ἐρωτῶσι τοὺς ἐπαναπλέοντας τῶν ἐμπόρων
εἰ τῶν λαμπόντων εἰσίν, εἰ τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων, εἰ
φίλοι γεγόνασιν σφισιν οἱ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγοντες, εἰ
δι' ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ἀρχαὶ πλησίον. κὰν ἀκούσωσι
τι τοιοῦτον οἶον βούλουτ' ἄν, εὐθυμία (καὶ)¹ κρό-
τος καὶ γεγόνασιν ἡδίους. κὰν ἢ δῆλον αὐτοῖς, ὡς
οὐς ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ παῖδας, ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἔσον-

R ii. 543 ται | καὶ θεραπεύσουσιν υἱεῖς πατέρων τοῖς αὐτῶν
πατράσι δεδουλευκότων, θύουσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ συγ-
χαίρουσιν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπεσταλκόσι καὶ τοῖς
ἀπεσταλμένοις καὶ λέγουσι δὴ σαφῶς ὡς ἐπαν-
ήξουσι τῇ βουλῇ φοβεροί. 30. οἷς δὲ καὶ θυγατέρες
εἰσὶ, συνοικίζουσι² μὲν αὐτὰς στρατιώταις,³ μέμ-
φεται δὲ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς | τοὺς γάμους, τοῖς βουλευ- F 443
ουσι δὲ τίκτουσι παῖδας αἱ δούλαι. εἶτα ἐξελέλυ-
θεν οὐσία τῆς βουλῆς δι' ὑμεναίων καὶ Ῥώμης.
ὁ δὲ τοιαῦτα εἰργασμένος πατὴρ διὰ τε τοὺς κη-
δεστὰς διὰ τε τὰς ἐλπίδας τίμιος. ὃν ἐχρῆν ἅπασι

¹ <καὶ> F.

² συνοικίζουσι F.: συνοικοῦσι Bong., Re. (mss.).

³ αὐτὰς στρατιώταις F.: αὐταὶ στρατιώταις Bong., Re.
(AIM): αὐταῖς στρατιώται CMO.PB, A marg.

^a *i.e.* they should be prepared to sacrifice their own children for the sake of their country. For Erechtheus' sacrifice of his daughter *cf.* Eurip. *Erechtheus* fragg. (Nauck² 464 ff.), and the story in Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 98 ff.

^b *Cf.* Or. 2. 54. The offenders criticized here are pagans (θύουσι τοῖς θεοῖς).

ORATION XLVIII, 28-30

crisis,^a—these are the very people who have counselled our councillors to send their sons to Rome. The lads go down to the harbour, with their connivance, advice, encouragement and approval, and at times with a present of money above and beyond that from the parents. 29. Then they enquire of the merchants who are on the voyage home whether they have become people of importance and renown. Are the leading men in Rome their friends? Have they any prospect of office with their aid? And if they are told something of the sort that tickles their fancy, there is cheering and applause, and they are as pleased as Punch. And even if it is clear to them that their own children in the council will be under their thumb, and will kow-tow to the children of parents who were once their fathers' slaves, they sacrifice to the gods,^b congratulate themselves, the senders and the sent, and openly declare that they will come back somebody to be reckoned with by the council. 30. Those who have daughters, too, marry them off to soldiers, and none of you disapproves of the marriages: meanwhile slave women bear children to our city councillors.^c Then the property of the council vanishes through the attractions of marriage and of Rome. And the parent who has behaved so is respected by reason of his in-laws and his prospects, though he deserves to be oppressed

^a Cf. *Or.* 2. 36, 28. 21, 49. 2 for the unwritten rule of curial intermarriage, and its breach. Ironically, Libanius' aunt had become the wife of a military officer (*Or.* 47. 28), and his own son Cimon was born of a union with a slave or freedwoman (cf. *Or.* 1. 145, 195; *PLRE* 92 f. (s.v. Arabius). For legislation regulating this practice, *C. Th.* 4. 64. 5).

LIBANIUS

φορτίοις πιέζεσθαι καὶ μηδ' ἀναπνεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡδικομένων μηδένα δίκης τε εἵνεκα¹ καὶ ὅπως εἶη τοῖς οὐπὼ τῇ βουλῇ λυμαινομένοις παράδειγμα.

31. "Ἢδη τοίνυν τις ὑμῶν καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὡς ἀνεπίφθονον εἶ τις ὀρέγοιτο βελτίονος σχήματος. τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὴν πολιτείαν καθ' ἣν ζῶμεν κινούντων. εἰ γὰρ ἐν ᾧ μὲν τις ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τέτακται, τοῦτο καταλείψει, ζητήσῃ δέ τι μείζον, ζητῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀδικήσῃ, ὁ μὲν στρατιώτης | ἔξει τοῦ ταξίαρχου τὴν τάξιν, τὴν τοῦ στρατηγού δὲ ὁ ταξίαρχος. ἔσται δὲ ὁ μὲν ναύτης ἀντὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου, ὁ δὲ χορευτῆς ἀντὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου, ὁ δ' οἰνοχόος τὴν κύλικα ρίψας κατακλινεῖς πιέται μετὰ τοῦ δεσπότου. 32. διὰ τί δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν τάξιν λελοιπότας ἀποτυμπανίζουσιν οἱ στρατηγοί; ῥάδιον γὰρ κἀκείνοις εἰπεῖν ὡς τὸ μὴ μάχεσθαι τοῦ κινδυνεύειν ἄμεινον. ἴσμεν τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πολεμουμένους καὶ δοκοῦντας θάνατον ὀφείλειν τὴν δίκην. | τοῦ χάριν; εἶποι ἂν F 44 ὁ πηδήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν· τὸ γὰρ κρατεῖν τοῦ κρατεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ προστάττειν τοῦ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν αἰρετώτερον εἶναι. 33. τηροῦντα μὲν οὖν τὴν τάξιν ἥτις ἂν ἦ λαμπρὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς εἶναι καὶ καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον, τὸ δ' ἀφορμὴν ποιεῖσθαι λαμπρότητος τὴν εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἀδικίαν ποῦ καλόν; τὸ γὰρ δι' ἀδικίας κτηθὲν πῶς ἂν εἶη δίκαιον; ἀνάγκη γὰρ εὐοικεῖναι τῇ ρίζῃ τὸν καρπὸν. ὁ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ μὴ βουλευεῖν ἀδικῶν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοῦτο φεύγειν ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἡκων ἴστω τὸ καλὸν τοῦτο κακὸν

¹ εἵνεκα conj. Re., F. : εἶναι Bong., Re. text (mss.).

ORATION XLVIII, 30-33

by every burden, and none of those whom he has wronged should allow him a moment's respite, both as punishment and as a signal warning to those who so far have not desecrated the council.

31. However, some of you before now have made some such comment on the subject, that no one can cavil at anybody who is ambitious of a better station. This is simply to undo the social order in which we live. If a man deserts the position in which he is lawfully put and seeks something higher, and does no wrong in the seeking, then the private will become the colonel, and the colonel the general. The sailor will take the helmsman's place, the dancer in the chorus that of the director, and the butler throws away his cup, settles himself at table and drinks with his master. 32. Why then do generals have deserters flogged to death? It is easy enough for deserters to claim that it is better not to fight than to risk their lives. We know that rebels fight against the emperors and are held to deserve the death penalty.^a "Why, pray?" would be the question of the fellow who has leapt straight into office: for ruling is much preferable to being ruled, giving orders better than carrying them out. 33. So goodness and happiness consist in a man's maintenance of his station, whatever it may be, and gaining fame in it, but how can it be good to make misconduct towards the laws his pathway to fame? How can what is unjustly got possibly be just? Like fruit, like root must ever be the case, and any who behaves unjustly by evading his curial station and comes to office as a result of this evasion may be assured that this good name

^a Pack (p. 122) saw this as referring to the suppression of the usurpation of Maximus in A.D. 388.

〈ἔχων〉¹ τῷ κακῶς ἐσχηκέναι. 34. φέρε, εἴ τις ἀρρωστούση μητρὶ πένητι μίαν ἐχούση καταφυγὴν τὸν υἱὸν παρακαθῆσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοίη, χωρήσας δὲ ἐπὶ δένδρα καὶ κήπους καὶ ἄνθη τρυφῶν ἐνταῦθα διάγοι κᾶτα ὡς κακὸς περὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν κρίνοιτο, τοῦτον, εἰπέ μοι, σώσει τὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ἐκείνης ταύτην ἡδὶ τὴν διατριβὴν εἶναι; ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἐν τοῦτο ἑώρας, τὴν τέρψιν, ἃ δὲ ἀδικήσεις οὐκ εἶδες;² οὐδ' ὡς ἄμεινον ἦν τοῦ κυλιנדεῖσθαι ἐν ἄνθεσι τὸ ἀσθενούσης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μητρός;

R ii. 545 35. Οὐ δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ σκοπεῖν, εἰ τὸ μὴ βουλευεῖν |
 τοῦ βουλευεῖν ἀπονώτερον, ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ βουλευεῖν τοῦ
 μὴ βουλευεῖν εὐσεβέστερον. εἰ δ' οὗτοι δόξουσί τι
 | λέγειν, τί μὴ τοὺς ληστὰς θαυμάζομεν οἱ ταῖς F 448
 σφαγαῖς τὰς ὁδοὺς κεκλείκασιν, ἀφέντες ὁ νῦν ποι-
 οῦμεν, τὸ σκοπεῖν ὅθεν ἂν ἀσφάλεια τοῖς ὁδοιπό-
 ροις εἴη; καὶ γὰρ τούτοις δοτέον τὰ αὐτῶν οὕτω
 μεῖζω ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα αὐτοὺς τὰ ξιφίδια βοῶν
 τε ἀπαλλάττει καὶ ἀρότρου καὶ σπορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλ-
 λων τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν πόνων καὶ ταχέως φέρει τὸ
 πλουτεῖν. 36. ἀλλ' ἴσμεν δὴ τὴν τε κώμην ἐκεί-
 νην καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γένος ὡς ἐξεκόπη μέχρι τῶν
 ἐν γάλακτι παιδίων προελθόντος τοῦ πυρός, προ-
 νοηθέντος, οἶμαι, τοῦ τότε βασιλέως ὅπως μὴ πάλιν
 ἀναφύσεται τὸ δεινὸν ἐκείνο γένος. διὰ τοῦτο φέ-
 ρουσαι ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αἱ μητέρες τὰ τέκνα ταῖς τῶν
 δημίων χερσὶν ἐωθοῦντο μετ' ὀργῆς εἰς τὴν φλόγα.

¹ 〈ἔχων〉 conj. Re., F.: ὄν conj. Sintenis.

² ἀδικήσεις οὐκ εἶδες; Re. (mss. except BM): ἡδίκεις οὐκ εἶδες F. (BM).

^a Marathocupreni, punished so by Valens in A.D. 369.
450

ORATION XLVIII, 33-36

is bad because it has been badly got. 34. Why! if you refuse to sit at the bedside of your poor, ailing mother, whose sole solace lies in her son, and instead make your way to woodlands, gardens and flowers, and have a good time there, and then are judged as basely neglectful of the mother that bore you, tell me, will the fact that these pursuits are more pleasant than such attendance save you? You black-guard, you had eyes for one thing only, your own enjoyment: did you not foresee your baseness? or that care for your ailing mother was better than lolling among flowers?

35. This then should not be our concern, whether the evasion of civic duty is less burdensome than its performance, but whether the performance is more responsible than the evasion. If the arguments of these people hold good, why don't we follow the lead of the bandits who have closed the highways by the murders they commit, and give up our present activities of ensuring protection for wayfarers? Indeed we ought to allow them to increase their possessions in this way, for it is their daggers that rescue them from their oxen, their plough, the seed-time and all the labours of the land and quickly bring them wealth. 36. But we know how that village and its entire population was cut down, right to the babes at the breast, and how it was consumed by fire, since the ruling emperor took pains, I feel, to ensure that that terrible brood should never sprout again.^a Hence the mothers, with their babies in their arms, were angrily thrust by the hands of executioners into Valesius was able to cite this passage of Libanius in his explanatory note on the passage of Ammianus (28. 2. 11), a century before the first publication of the speech.

LIBANIUS

εἰ δὲ τὸ αὐτῶν ἐποιοῦν οὗτοι καὶ ἐγεώργουν, οὐτ' ἂν ἐπλούτου κακῶς οὐτ' ἂν ἀπέθνησκον. οὕτω δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος. γιγνέσθω τις εὐδαίμων δίκαιος ὢν, ἀδικῶν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἰσχύων ἴστω δίκην ὀφείλων τῆς ἰσχύος. ἦν εἰ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ¹ δύνασθαι μὴ διδοίη, μειζόνως κακοδαίμων ἢ εἰ ὑπεσχῆκει τὴν δίκην.

37. Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο παρελθεῖν πολλὴν ἔχον αἰτίαν. | οὐ βοηθεῖτε τοῖς βοηθείας δεομένοις, οἷς F 44 πάρεστι <τὸ>² δύνασθαι. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πωλοῦσι τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπορία συμμάχων, ὑμεῖς δὲ πράως φέρετε τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν πράσεων ὡς δὴ οὐδὲν τοῦ κακοῦ μετέχοντες. καὶ οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ χεῖριστον, R ii. 546 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν μὲν αὐτοὶ καταβάλλετε | τὴν τιμὴν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἐν δυνάμει προξενεῖτε καὶ κολακεύετε τὰς ἐκείνων τραπέζας τοῖς τῶν βουλευόντων κτήμασι. κὰν ἀγρόν τις αὐτῶν τοῦ βουλευόντος θαυμάση καὶ διὰ τοῦ θαυμάζειν εἰς τὸ ἐρᾶν προέλθη, ταχὺ τὸ ἔργον προσετέθη, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἠνάγκασται πωλεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἔτοιμον ἀγοράζειν. 38. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο καταπράξαντες ἠριστευκέναι τε νομίζουσι καὶ μέγα τεῖχος αὐτοῖς προστεθεικέναι³ τὴν τῶν ἔωνημένων χάριν. εἴτ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ὀσημέραι φοιτῶσι καὶ παρακολουθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἵππων φάτνας κὰν ἂ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἔστι ποιεῖν ἐπιταχθῶσι, γεγήθασιν. οἱ μισθοὶ δὲ τούτων φαγεῖν, πιεῖν, μεθυ-

¹ ἦν εἰ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ F. (PB) : ἠνίκα τ' (τὲ IM, Bong.) αὐτῷ τῷ (τε I) Bong., Re. (other mss.).

² <τὸ> Macarius, conj. Re., F.

³ περιτεθεικέναι F.

^a Cf. Or. 32. 8, 49. 8. In C. Th. 12. 3. 1 (of A.D. 386) the sale of curial land is forbidden, except with the governor's

ORATION XLVIII, 36-38

the flames. But if they did their duty and tilled their land, they would not amass ill-gotten gains, nor would they be executed. So surely in the present instance. Good luck to the man who abides by the law, but if he does not, and gains power thereby, he should realize that he ought to be punished for his power. And if, by reason of his very influence, he remains unpunished, then he is more ill-starred than if he had paid the penalty.

37. Yet another matter, that gives much cause for complaint, should not remain unmentioned. You, who have the ability to do so, provide no assistance to those who need it. Rather, they sell their possessions through lack of supporters, and you view such sales with equanimity, for you, of course, have no part in their troubles. And that is not the worst of it, either^a: in some cases, you personally put down the money, in others you stand in for persons of influence and curry favour at their tables by means of the property of the councillors. If any of them admires a councillor's estate, and proceeds from admiration to desire, it is no sooner said than done: the councillor is forced to sell, and he is all in readiness to buy. 38. And those who have managed the affair think they have done a fine job, and believe that they have gained for themselves considerable additional protection, in the shape of the purchasers' support. Then they haunt their doors every day, escort them to the stables and are cock-a-hoop, even if bidden to perform any menial service. And their reward for this is to be dined and wined, to get permission (*ibid.* 2 of A. D. 423 explicitly names the *principales* as the guilty parties in such sales). For the continuance of such sales cf. *Or.* 47. 18, 22, 34; 52. 33.

σθῆναι, βιασθῆναι τοὺς καταδεεῖς. κὰν ἡ Τύχη
τινὰ αὐτῶν ἐξάγη τῆς πόλεως, πεσόντες εἰς γόνυ
καὶ δεηθέντες μένειν ἀπεστέρησαν τῶν παρὰ τῆς
Τύχης τὴν πόλιν. εἶπ' εὐθύς παρακαλοῦσιν οἰκο-
δομεῖν. εἶθ' ἡ κύων ἐμιμήσατο τὴν δέσποιναν¹ F 447
οἰκοδομουμένη καὶ αὐτή. τουτὶ δὲ ἔσμος κακῶν
ἀπάσαις τέχναις. αἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν κήπων τῶ ἄστει
παραμυθίαι διολώλασι, καὶ πανταχοῦ λίθοι καὶ ξύλα
καὶ τέκτονες.

R II. 547 39. Εἶτα θαυμάζετε τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰ ταῦτα εἰ-
δότες ὑβρίζουσι; τί δαὶ | αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν;
αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τεταπεινω-
κότας; ὄραθ' ὡς ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἱ τιμαὶ τῇ βουλῇ διε-
φθάρησαν. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ δικάζων δύναιτο τὸν τοῦ
δεῖνος αἰδεῖσθαι κόλακα τὸν προπεπωκότα αὐτῶ τὰ
τῶν ὁμοσκῆνων δένδρα, τὸν καταπολεμοῦντα τὴν
βουλὴν ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι τέτακται; 40. οὐδὲ ταῦ-
ρον ἴδοι τις ἂν ἠδέως πηροῦντα τὰς βοῦς τοῖς κέρα-
σιν οὐδὲ κριὸν ἀναρρηγνύντα τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς ἄρνας
οὐδὲ ἀλεκτρούνα τῇ τῶν νεοττῶν ἐπιτιθέμενον
ἀσθενείᾳ· οὐ τοῖνον οὐδ' ἐν βουλῇ τοὺς πρώτους
ἀπολλύντας τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους. ὁ κακὸν
μέν ἐστι τοῖς προδιδόμενοις, κακὸν δὲ τοῖς προ-
διδούσιν. ἐν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῖς δοκοῦσι κέρδεσιν ἡ
βλάβη. ἢ πόθεν οἶεσθε τὸν δῆμον οὕτως ἐπῆρθαι
καὶ ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ παροινεῖν; ἐὼ τὰ ἄλλα. ἀλλὰ
ἔναγχος οἷας ἀφῆκαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ φωνάς, ἐπεὶ |
¹ δέσποιναν conj. Re., Cobet, F.: δεσποτείαν Bong., Re.
text (mss.).

^a Proverbial, cf. *Or.* 18. 133 (Vol. I, p. 366 n.).

^b e.g. the *angariae* of *Or.* 50. For the nuisances attendant on such redevelopment cf. *Or.* 2. 54 ff., 50. 31; and for the affront to sentiment, *Or.* 46. 44.

ORATION XLVIII, 38-40

drunk and to oppress the needy. And should Fortune send any of their patrons from the city, they fall at their knees, beg them to stay and swindle the city of Fortune's gift. And then they straight-away invite them to build; and—like bitch copying mistress^a—they go in for building themselves. This involves a swarm of troubles for all the tradesmen,^b and the amenities enjoyed by the city from its gardens are ruined: everywhere there is masonry, timbers and builders.

39. And then you are surprised that the governors, when they know all this, insult you! What should they do, then? Respect and honour people who have abased themselves? Just see how you have ruined the council's prestige. How could a magistrate have any respect for the lackey of any Tom, Dick or Harry, one who has made him a present of his comrades' orchards and who behaves as an enemy of the council of which he personally has been set as a member. 40. You would not enjoy seeing a bull goring his cows, a ram butting his lambs or a cockerel attacking his poor little chicks. Nor should you in the council enjoy seeing the highest class of members destroying those of the second and third class.^c This is bad for the betrayed, and for the betrayers, for in the seeming gain itself disaster lies. Or how do you think it is that the commons gives itself such airs and behaves with such outrage and insubordination? Aside from all else, just consider the abuse they recently uttered in the theatre when

^a On the three classes in the *curia* cf. *Or.* 11. 144, 49. 8 ff., and Introduction, p. 411 f. The subject is discussed by Petit (pp. 85 f.), Liebeschuetz (pp. 170 ff.), and Norman (*J.R.S.* xlviii, pp. 79 ff.).

LIBANIUS

μη χρυσίον εὐθέως εἶχε τῆς τραγωδίας ἀηδῆς ὑπο- F 449
κριτῆς. ἤλπιζον γὰρ ὑμᾶς σιγῇ καὶ ταῦτα οἴσειν
οὐ κακῶς ἐλπίζοντες. οὐκουν ἐγρύξατε.

41. Γένεσθε τοίνυν ἀμείνους μὲν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν,
ὅμοιοι δὲ τοῖς πατράσιν οἷς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ
καταπλήττειν ὑπῆρχε. γένεσθε τοῖς πενεστέροις
τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λιμένες καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ τὰ συμ-
φέροντα καὶ ζητεῖτε καὶ πράττετε. καὶ τὸ ἐνός
τινος ἀγαθὸν κοινὸν κεκρίσθω καὶ τὸ δυσχερὲς ὡς-
αὐτῶς. ὡς νῦν γε ἐπιχαίρομεν ἀλλήλοις,¹ καὶ οἱ
μὲν πιέζουσιν, οἱ δὲ καταρῶνται. μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἔστω
φοβερῶτερον τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα κακοῦν μηδ' αὐτὸς
ὁ θάνατος.

R ii. 548 42. Ἄλλ' ἀγέσθω τις | ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευεῖν, κἂν
μέλλῃ τό τινος λυπήσειν βαλλάντιον. οὐχ ὄρατε
τὸν Λητόιον ὡς καλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διηγεῖται πολλά-
κις, τὸν Μακρέντιον, τὸν Μάτερνον, τὸν Ἰουλιανόν,
πολλοὺς ἄλλους, τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων πρὸς τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς μάχας ἅς οὐκ ἀζημίους μὲν, καλὰς δὲ
καὶ οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν; τί τοιοῦτον ἔστιν ὑμῖν εἰς
φιλοτιμίαν ἐπαῖρον²; περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑμετέρων³ ἐν
συνουσίαις διατρίψετε; τίνος μνημονεύοντες ἀμεί-
νους εἶναι δόξετε; νίκας μὲν Ὀλυμπικὰς οὐκ F 449
ἐρεῖτε οὐδὲ αἰχμαλώτους καὶ λάφυρα· εἰ δὲ μήτε
ἐκεῖνα μήτε ταῦτα, τῷ ποτε χρήσεσθε;

43. Μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, μὴ μέχρι παντὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμαρ-

¹ ἀλλήλοις cōnj. Re., F.: ἄλλοις Bong., Re. text (mss.).

² ἐπαῖρον Re., F.: ἐταῖροι Bong. (mss.).

³ ὑμετέρων F. (M): ἡμετέρων Bong., Re. (other mss.).

^a Cf. Or. 49. 19, Ep. 1365. In A.D. 363, during the campaign of curial recruitment instituted by Julian, he had been instrumental in recalling to the council the three
456

ORATION XLVIII, 40-43

some miserable actor did not get a gold piece for his performance on the spot. They expected that you would put up even with this in silence, and their expectation was not ill-founded. You never made a murmur!

41. So reform yourselves: be like your fathers who had it in them even to inspire alarm in the governors. Be for the poorer members of the council havens of refuge, and with unanimity of purpose seek the proper course and act upon it. Let the individual's good fortune be regarded as the good fortune of all alike; similarly, his ill-fortune. As things are we exult over one another. One section is oppressive: the other curses them for it. Let nothing be more fearsome to you than to harm your native city, not even death itself.

42. Let there be recruitment to the position of councillor, even if it is likely to hurt the pocket of one or two people. Don't you see Letoïus and the fine stories he often tells of himself—of Macrentius, Maternus, Julianus and a host of others, and the battles on their account that he fought against the generals, battles that he regarded as honourable, though he did not emerge unscathed? ^a What such example can you show to spur you to rival this? On which of your number will you dilate in your clubs? What can you call to mind for you to be thought superior? You will not cite Olympic victories nor yet the prisoners and spoils of war: and failing the one and the other, what on earth can you use?

43. So don't, don't remain content with your misfugitive decurions here named, who had enlisted and were serving as army officers.

LIBANIUS

τημένων μένετε, ἀλλὰ ἄλις μὲν δρυός, ἀποθέμενοι
δὲ τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην μαλακίαν δείξατε πάλιν τὴν
βουλήν ἀνθοῦσαν.

^a Proverbial, *cf. Paroem. Gr.* (ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin),

ORATION XLVIII, 43

takes for all time. Enough is enough ^a! Cast off this excessive slackness and reveal the council in its prime once again.

i, p. 42 (=Zenob. 2. 40, *et al.*), of the progress of man from his primitive acorn-eating state.

XLIX

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΩΝ

R ii. 570 1. Τὸ μὲν σόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέρος καὶ τοῦ μετὰ σέ F iii.
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν ἐφεστηκότος, ἐπανήκουσιν εἰς
 τὰ πρόσθεν αἱ βουλαὶ καὶ τὸν αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἔχουσι,
 παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ βουλευέειν κεκώλυται τοῦτο
 πρὸς ἔργον ἐλθεῖν, ὥστε σέ μὲν δικαίως ἂν ἅπαντες
 ἐπαινοῖμεν καὶ τὸν ὑπαρχον, ἐκείνους δὲ καὶ μι-
 σοῖμεν καὶ κακοὺς ἠγοῖμεθα καὶ διδόντας δίκην
 ἠδέως ἂν ἴδοιμεν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο, τάχ'
 ἂν ἡ τιμωρία παύσειε τὰ νῦν ἐναντιούμενα τῇ παρὰ
 σοῦ ταῖς βουλαῖς βοηθεία. τούτων οὖν εἵνεκα καὶ F 453
 τοῦ μαθεῖν ἅπαντας ὡς τοῖς σοὶ δοκοῦσιν εὐθὺς
 ἀκολουθεῖν ἄξιον, ὀργῇ τῇ προσηκούσῃ φαίνου χρώ-
 μενος κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἀξιούντων ἄρχεσθαι. ὡς
 δ' ἂν γένοιτό σοι σαφὲς τὸ ἵκείνων κακούργημα,
 μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενος διηγῆσομαι.

2. Ἦνθουν αἱ βουλαὶ πάλαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπά-
 σαις, καὶ ἦν ἡ τε γῆ τῶν βουλευόντων καὶ τῶν γε
 οἰκίῶν αἱ βελτίους καὶ χρήματα ἦν ἐκάστῳ καὶ
 παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐγάμου καὶ ἦν εὐδαιμον τὸ βουλῆς

^a Or. 49 F. Or. 50 Re.

^b The praetorian prefect (τὸν νῦν ὑπαρχον, Tatianus, § 31),
 sharply distinguished from his Christian predecessor, Cyn-
 egius, named in § 3.

^c Cf. Or. 2. 35 f., 48. 30 n.

ORATION 49 ^a
TO THE EMPEROR,
FOR THE CITY COUNCILS

1. As far as concerns you, Sire, and the official who, subordinate to yourself, is in charge of all other governors,^b the city councils have returned to their pristine state and possess their full complement of members ; but this has been prevented from being put into practice by those who actually hold the position of councillor. Thus, while rightly commending the prefect and yourself, we should loathe them, regard them as rascals and gladly see them punished. If this were to happen, the punishment perhaps would put an end to the opposition that your efforts to assist the city councils encounter. So for their sake and so that all may know that your decrees must be followed without delay, use, for all to see, your well-merited anger against those who refuse to be subjects. And that their misconduct may be made clear to you, I will begin my account with a brief recapitulation of recent history.

2. In times past the councils used to flourish in every city. The land and better-class houses used to belong to the councillors, and every one of them had money : they would intermarry, and to be a member of the council was to be well-to-do.^c That

LIBANIUS

R ii. 571 μετασχεῖν. οὕτω τοίνυν ἐχούσας αὐτὰς παραλα-
 βῶν τις βασιλεὺς χεῖρους ἐποίησεν | ἄλλοις τε οὐκ
 ὀλίγοις καὶ τῇ γε ὑφ' αὐτοῦ πεποιημένη πόλει.
 τεθνεῶτος τοίνυν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἤδη πεφυ-
 τευκότος τὸν Περσικὸν τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ-
 τον πράγματα ταῖς βουλαῖς ἐλυμήνατο καθ' ἕκα-
 στον αὐτὰς ἔτος ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἄγοντα τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν
 Τίγρητα πεμπομένων βουλευτῶν ταῖς ἐκεῖ βλάβαις
 τὰ πατρῶα πωλούντων. οἱ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν
 ἤκοντες ἐωνοῦντο ραδίως γεωργοῦντες τὰ βασι-
 λεια. 3. τοῦτ' εὖξατο λῦσαι τὸ κακὸν Ἰουλιανὸς
 ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτ' ἔλυσε δυνηθεῖς, οἷς ἦν κτήματα
 καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἐγγράφων πλήν κομιδῆ τινων
 ὀλίγων. τῆς οὖν ἐκείνου τελευτῆς ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἄλλοις
 τὰς βουλάς ἀπενεγκούσης, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς πολὺ F 454
 φαυλότερα καὶ πολλῆς ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτηρίων ἐφ'
 ἑτέρους βίους γιγνομένης τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τῶν πό-
 λεων τεταπεινωμένων τῷ τῶν βουλῶν σχήματι
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀκολουθούντων ἠλγησας μὲν ἀξίως τοῦ
 πράγματος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τὸν Κυνήγιον ἔτ' ἐπὶ
 R ii. 572 τῶν δεήσεων τεταγμένον ᾤθησας | ἐκπέμψαι δεῖν
 τοῦτο μόνον ἔργον ἔξοντά τε καὶ ἰασόμενον, πρὶν

¹ ταῦτ' Bong., Re., F. : ταῦτα mss.

^a Constantine.

^b For the beginning of the Persian war under Constantine and its continuance under Constantius *cf.* *Or.* 18. 206 ff., 59. 66 ff.

^c On the distress caused both in Antioch and in Euphratensis by the Persian wars of Constantius' reign *cf.* *Or.* 17. 19, and Liebeschuetz, pp. 162 f. The duty of provisioning the fortress at Callinicum then (*Ep.* 21) is matched by the duty

ORATION XLIX, 2-3

was their situation when a certain emperor took them over, but by various acts of policy, not least by the foundation of his new capital, he brought them low.^a And after his death, when he had already sown the seeds of the Persian war,^b the troubles connected with this war wrought havoc with the councils, and every year caused a deterioration in them, since councillors sent to the Tigris were forced,^c by the losses there incurred, to sell their family property. And purchasers flocked in from heaven knows where, since they were comfortably reaping the harvest of office in the imperial administration. 3. It was the emperor Julian's prayer to remove this evil, and remove it he did when he came to power, for, with very few exceptions, he enrolled men of substance in every city.^d His death reduced the councils to their previous situation, or rather to one far worse: desertions of the council chamber for other kinds of career became common, and the cities were abased, since the other classes took their cue from the situation to be found in the councils. So you were rightly displeased at the state of affairs, Sire, and thought to send out Cynegius, at the time officer in charge of petitions, with this as his sole duty, to rectify the situation.^e However, before of provisioning Barbalissos in more recent years (*cf. Or. 28. 16*).

^a *Cf. Or. 18. 146 ff., 48. 17. C. Th. 12. 1. 52-54 (E.L.F. Nos. 119, 120, 127).*

^e Cynegius (*PLRE 235 (3)*), *Quaestor Sacri Palatii* in A.D. 383 (*ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων τεταγμένον*), was appointed Praetorian Prefect in the next year, engaged on this mission of curial recruitment. For his meeting with Libanius in Antioch *cf. Or. 1. 231*, and for a discussion of the various shifts of policy during this tour of the East *cf. Petit, Byzantion, xxi, pp. 295 ff.*

LIBANIUS

δὲ ἢ τοῦτο πραχθῆναι, γενόμενον ὑπαρχον ἐκέλευες μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου χωρεῖν ἔχοντα καὶ τοῦτο ἐν προνοίᾳ μηδένα ἀφίεναι παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ γεγενῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ χείρων τῆς προσδοκίας φανείς καὶ μεγάλα μὲν ἀπειλήσας, δείξας δὲ ἅ κὰν αἰσχυνθεῖη τις εἰπεῖν, ἀπτόμενος μὲν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος, ἐν δὲ ματαίοις θορύβοις ἰστάμενος, οὕτω μὲν εἶδε τὸν Νεῖλον, οὕτω δὲ πάλιν τὸν Βόσπορον, φρονῶν μὲν ὡς δὴ τι πεποιηκῶς, πεποιηκῶς δὲ οὐδέν.

4. Κακείνῳ μὲν ἂν τις ἐγκαλέσειε ῥαθυμίαν, περὶ δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν τί τις ἂν φήσειε τῶν ὀλίγων οὐ βουλευθέντων γενέσθαι πλειόνων; τί γὰρ ἦν δὴ τῶν τοῦτο βουλομένων; ἰκετεῦσαι, δακρῦσαι, δεηθῆναι, πεσεῖν εἰς γόνυ, βοῆσαι τὰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων, αὐτοῦ μένειν εἰπεῖν εἰ μὴ τις ἔλκων ἐκβάλῃ. | τούτων | οὐδὲν παρὰ τῶν ὀλίγων, ἀλλ' ἐκλήθη τις, F 452 καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγγὺς καὶ ῥήματα οὐ πολλά, καὶ ἢ ἄφεις εἶπετο καὶ οἶδε ἄφωνοι. 5. ἔτι τοίνυν πολλοὺς μὲν πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ καιροῦ παρέϊσαν συναγωνιζομένους, πολλοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον πόσων, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ὑμῶν ἀφικνουμένων γραμμάτων ἀπάσας ἀναιρούντων τοῖς ἀδίκως φεύγουσι | τὰς καταφυγὰς. τὰ μὲν γέ φησιν ἤρξας καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀξιοῖς λειτουργεῖν; οὐκοῦν αὐτὸς μὲν κάθευδε, διὰ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ποίει. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰ πατὴρ ἢ θυγατέρων μόνων; ἄνδρα τινὰ πεί-

^a By his growing concentration upon the suppression of pagan rituals, which stimulated violent reaction.

^b e.g. in the cases of Eutropius (*Or.* 4. 20) and Silvanus (*Or.* 38. 20).

ORATION XLIX, 3-5

any action was instituted, he was appointed Praetorian Prefect and you ordered him to go on circuit as far as the Nile, one item of his programme being to excuse no one from curial duty on the grounds of past service in the administration. He most obviously fell short of what was expected of him and, for all his bombast, the results he produced were hardly worth the mention. Although he tackled the business during his tour, he became the centre of pointless disturbances,^a and such was the background of his trip to the Nile and of his return to the Bosporus. He put on the air of having done something special, whereas he had done nothing.

4. He could be criticized for inefficiency, but what is one to say of the councillors, that handful who refused to increase their numbers? What was the behaviour to be expected of people who really wanted that to happen? Why! pleading, weeping and prayer, falling at his knees, crying aloud their protestations of injury, and threatening not to budge unless forcibly thrown out. Our handful did none of this, but when a recruit was nominated, up popped a lawyer, and after the exchange of a word or two, a notice of release followed—and they stayed dumb throughout.^b 5. Besides, both before this opportunity and after it they have allowed many of their cronies to get away, despite the many dispatches emanating from you, Sire, that deprive illegal absconders of all means of escape. One dispatch states, "Have you been a governor, and is that the reason for your refusal to perform civic duties? Then stay in retirement yourself and do your duty by means of your son. You have no children? or daughters only? Then get some man to undertake the title and the

LIBANIUS

σας ὑπελθεῖν τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον πάλιν αὐτὸς κάθειυδε τοσοῦτον μόνον τῇ πόλει παρέχων, ἀναλίσκων. ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν πολλαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τούτων γε ἐν ἑτέραις ἕτερα καλλίω μείζω τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχοντα τῆς σπουδῆς ἢ περὶ τὰς βουλὰς κέχρησαι. 6. ταυτὶ δὲ λέγει τί; εἰ καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀρχῶν ἀφίξαι καὶ κήρυκες ἡγοῦντό σου καὶ ῥαβδοῦχοι καὶ μαστιγοφόροι καὶ ἡμεροδρόμοι καὶ στρατιῶταί τινες καὶ σοι τροφή γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως οἴκου, ἤξεις ὁμως οἱ σε καθίστησι οὐ πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ τούτων γονεῖς. κἂν εἴπῃς τὰς ἀρχάς, οὐδὲν ὠφελούσαν βοήθειαν κέκληκας. 7. καὶ τὰ μὲν παρ' ὑμῶν τοιαῦτα, τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀντὶ τοῦ πέμπειν μὲν τοὺς στεφανώσσοντας τὴν οὕτω τῶν βουλῶν ἐπιμελουμένην κεφαλὴν, ἔχουσαι δὲ εὐθύς τῶν | ἀποδοδομένων, μὴ συγχωρεῖν F 45 δὲ τοῖς ἀρχουσι μέλλειν μηδ' ἀναβολαῖς χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων τεθηραμένοις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζειν ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν δικαίως¹ κεκριμένοις καὶ φόβους ἐφιστάναι τῇ περὶ ταῦτα νωθεῖα, ἀντὶ δὴ τοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ ἔτι πλείω τοὺς μὲν R ii. 575 εἶων ζῆν ἐν οἴσπερ | ἔζων, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν οὔτε μείζον οὔτε ἔλαττον ἐφθέγγαντο μεγάλας εἰς τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντες. ἀλλ' ὧν οὐ γιγνομένων παρ' ὑμῶν ἐσχετλιάζον ἄν, ταῦτ' ἔχειν ἔξον οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν, ἀλλ' οὐ διδόντων μὲν δεινὰ

¹ δικαίως F. : δικαίοις Bong., Re. (mss.).

^a The legislation here mentioned is that of *C. Th.* 12. 1. 106-111, 118, whereby decurions were admitted into the Senate without being freed from the membership and obligations of their city council. By this shift of policy, sons or substitutes are no longer acceptable for the performance of

466

ORATION XLIX, 5-7

actual performance, and once again retire, and for the service of the city provide just the expenses." This is the gist of many of your rescripts. In others there are more notable statements still, which provide more important indication of your support for the councils. 6. Their contents are as follows: "Even if you have proceeded through a string of offices, and if heralds preceded you, and lictors, attendants, couriers and soldiers, and if you have been paid from the imperial purse, you will still go to the station where your father and mother and their forebears set you. And if you mention your offices, you call upon a source of aid that avails you nothing."^a 7. Such is the policy you have instituted, but theirs, instead of sending envoys to crown the head^b that shows such concern for the councils, instead of claiming immediately what has been restored to them and not allowing the governors to dally or to oblige with dilatoriness those persons who are the target of the rescripts, instead of forcing them to abide by your just decisions and causing them alarm for any slackness on this issue—instead of doing all this and yet more, they proceeded to allow some to live in the manner they used to live before, while against others they uttered no word of complaint, whether serious or not, although they had good grounds for frankness. They would complain when the concession was not forthcoming from you, but they refused to keep it when they could. When you did not make them a concession, they curial duties in their place, and *honorati* remain eligible for the liturgies.

^b The *aurum coronarium* was required in A.D. 388, on the occasion of the imperial anniversaries.

LIBANIUS

πάσχειν ἔλεγον, διδόντων δὲ οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο, ἀλλ' ὦν χρήζειν ἔλεγον, ταῦτ' εἰς χεῖρας ἴοντα ἀπεώθουν.

8. Καὶ παράδοξον μὲν τὸ ρηθέν, ἔχει δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὅμοιον ποιούσιν ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις πένης αἰτήσας παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς θησαυρόν, ἔπειτα γῆν ὀρύττων εὐρῶν φεύγοι τὸ δῶρον. τί δὴ τὸ τούτων αἴτιον; ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις τούτοις εἰσὶν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, μεγάλαι τινὲς δυνάμεις αἱ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι τούτοις τὰ κείνων προστιθεῖσαι, τὰ τε ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι κέρδη τὰ τούτων αὔξει. κὰν τοῖς ἀμελουμένοις ἂν δικαίως ἂν ἐτύγχανε προνοίας, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς βουλευόντας τοῖς οὖσιν ἢ παραίτησις. καὶ πολὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ θρήνος. | ὄρας τοὺς ἐστη- F 457
κότας ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐαριθμήτους τοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων δώδεκα; τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ βουλή. ταῦτα μόνα τὰ πρὸς τοιαῦτα¹ πράγματα ἀγόμενα

R ii. 576 σώματα. δι' ἡμῶν τὰν τῆ πόλει, | δι' ἡμῶν τὰν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, δι' ἡμῶν τὰ μείζω, δι' ἡμῶν τὰ ἐλάττω, δι' ἡμῶν τὰ κουφότερα, δι' ἡμῶν τὰ βαρύτερα. διὰ τοῦτο τῶν αἰτῶν ὀνομάτων ἀκούεις. 9. ταύτην τὴν ὀλόφυρσιν τὰ δικαστήρια δέχεται συγγνώμην μὲν φέροντα τοῖς ὀλιγωρουμένοις, συγγνώμην δὲ φέροντα τοῖς κακουρουμένοις. βουλόμενοι δὲ ταύτης τε ἀπολαύειν τῆς ἀποστροφῆς καὶ ἐν μόνοις σφίσιν ἴστασθαι τὰ λήμματα δεδίασι μὴ τι τῶν ἀρχαίων αἱ βουλαὶ κομίσωνται, καὶ τὸ τὰς βουλάς ἀναστήναι παρ' ὑμῶν ζητοῦντες, ὅπως αἰεὶ κείσονται πράττουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν προσποιοῦνται

¹ τοιαῦτα Bong., Re. (mss.): τοσαῦτα F.

^a The *principales*, cf. Or. 48. 40.

^b Cf. Or. 48. 3, and Introduction, p. 416 f.

ORATION XLIX, 7-9

claimed to be ill-used : when you did, they would not apply it. What they said they needed came into their hands, and they rejected it.

8. What I have said is barely credible, and the full story is no different. Their behaviour is just like that of a poor man who prays for a treasure from Zeus, and then finds it while he is digging his land and runs away from what has been given him. What then is the reason for this? In this small number, Sire, are some very influential,^a who wreak havoc on the weaker members, imposing their own burdens upon them, and the perquisites of curial rank swell their own wealth. One of the sins of omission that deserve to be rectified is the consolation for the existing members derived from the fact that their membership is not large. Every day the lament rises, " You see us standing here? You can almost count us on the fingers of your hands—twelve instead of twelve hundred.^b This forms the council. These are the only persons to deal with such important duties. By means of us, and us alone, is conducted the administration in the city and in the countryside, and the management of matters great and small, and the performance of duties light and heavy. That is the reason why you always hear the same names." 9. This is the lament that the courts accept when they bring pardon to the neglected and wronged. In their desire to enjoy this resource and to have the perquisites reserved to themselves alone, the councillors are afraid that the councils may recover any of their former privileges. They ask of you the restoration of the councils, but they act for their permanent humiliation,—or rather they pretend that the first is their objective, but their real

LIBANIUS

ζητεῖν, τὸ δ' ὄντως ἐθέλουσι. 10. δεῖ τοῖς λουσο-
μένοις πυρός. ἕξεστιν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν
δεῖνα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι. δεῖ τοῦ θρέφοντος ἵπ-
πους ἡδονὴν παρέξοντας δρόμοις. εἰσὶν ὧν ἂν τις
λαβόμενος ἀναθείη τὴν λειτουργίαν, οἱ δ' αὐτοὺς¹
γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ προσεῖπον. εἶτα τοῦ παρόντος
καιροῦ κατηγοροῦσιν ὡς τὰς βουλὰς καταδύσαντος
αὐτοὶ καταδύσαντες καὶ καταποντίσαντες καὶ κε-
κωλυκότες αὐτὰς ἀναβιῶναι. σὺ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο
ἐβουλήθης, | οὗτοι δὲ τὸναντίον. 11. τὸν οὖν | F 458

R ii. 577 πονηρὸν ταῖς βουλαῖς καιρὸν πεποιήκασιν, ὥστ' εἴ
τινα δεῖ δοκεῖν ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τῶν βουλῶν, τοὺς
τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν φυλάττοντας ὅσον αὐτοῖς τηρήσει
τὸ κερδαίνειν νομιστέον. οἱ προδεδώκασιν μὲν τὰς
αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τὰς βουλὰς, προδεδώκασιν δὲ τὰς ὑφ'
ὑμῶν εὐρημένας ταῖς βουλαῖς ὠφελείας. οἱ δὲ
πατρίδας κακοῦντες πῶς οὐκ ἂν καὶ γονέας; οἱ δὲ
ἐκείνους τίνοσ φείσασιν² ἂν; τίς γὰρ ἂν εἴη² τοῖς
γε τοιούτοις φίλος; οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων τοιοῦτοι
ποιῶν μὲν ἀπόσχονται² ἂν ἀναθημάτων; ποίῶν δ' ἂν
τάφων; τίνοι δ' ἂν συνήθει συνοδοιποροῦντες ἔχοντί
γε χρυσίον οὐκ ἂν, εἴπερ ἐξείη,³ κτείναντες ἀφέλοιτο;

12. Καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κοινὸν τὸ κακόν, ἕαν
τε Πάλτων εἴπης ἕαν τε Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν δεικ-
νῦσαν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεκρὸν ἕαν τε Βαλανέας
ἕαν τε τὴν ἡμετέραν. μέτρῳ μὲν γὰρ διαφέρουσιν,
ἢ δ' αὐτῇ πανταχοῦ νόσος.

¹ αὐτοὺς conj. Re. : αὐτοὺς edd. (mss.).

² ἂν εἴη F. : ἂν τι Bong. (mss.) : ἂν ἦ Re.

³ ἐξείη F. : ἐξῆη Planudes, Bong., Re. (mss.).

^a Cf. Or. 2. 34. The heating of the baths and the pro-
vision of horses for the races were among the most important
and expensive liturgies of the decurion of this highest class.

ORATION XLIX, 9-12

intention is the other. 10. Fire is needed for the bathers. They can call upon one person or another for this, but they refuse.^a Someone is needed for the upkeep of horses to provide entertainment at the races : several people could be claimed and the duty imposed on them, but they nominate themselves, and are bare-faced about it. Then they decry the present state of affairs as being the ruin of the councils, whereas they personally are responsible for their ruin and their wreck and the prevention of their revival. This was what you intended,—but not they. 11. They have caused this disastrous state of affairs for the councils, and so if anybody should be thought to be the enemy of the councils, they must be so regarded—the protectors of just so much of them as will maintain their personal gain. They, in betraying the councils, have betrayed their native cities, and they have betrayed the programme of assistance that you devised for the councils. And if they harmed their cities, they would surely harm their parents too, and if them, whom would they spare ? Who could be the friend of such as these ? When they behave like this for money's sake, would they keep their hands off temple offerings or tombs ? If they were travelling with some companion who had a gold piece, would they not kill him and rob him of it, if they had the chance ?

12. And this evil, Sire, is universal, whether you mention Paltus or Alexandria where the body of Alexander is to be seen, whether Balaneae or our own city.^b They may differ in size, but the same ailment afflicts them all.

^b Paltus and Balaneae were two of the smaller cities of Syria.

LIBANIUS

13. Καίτοι φήσουσι λέγεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι κατάλογον τῶν ἀποδράντων καὶ τῶν ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς πολλοῖς τρόποις πεποηκότων. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς

R ii. 578 τοιούτοις γράμμασι, τῶν | μὲν ἀπειλαῖς οὐδένα κρύπτειν ἐώντων, τῶν δὲ φόβῳ πάντα εἰς μέσον ἀγόντων. οἱ γενναῖοι δὲ οὔδε τοῦ πράγματος εἰς κρίσιν ἤκουτος | νῦν μὲν σιωπῇ, νῦν δὲ τῷ μηδὲν F 459 ἰσχυρὸν εἰπεῖν ἐθέλησαι τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι τὴν βουλήν συνέπραξαν μαλακῶς συνηγωνισμένοι, ὡς μηδὲν ὄνειράτων τὸ πρᾶγμα διαφέρειν. σπεύραντες δὲ τοιαύτας χάριτας ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀπελθόντες ἀμῶσι τῆς προδοσίας τοὺς μισθοὺς δεχόμενοι γελῶντες¹ πρὸς τοὺς διαφυγόντας ὡς ἄριστα προὔδοσαν. οἱ δ' εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ τῆ μὲν αὐτοῦ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενος ἕκαστος, βεβαιοτέραν δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀτέλειαν τῇ κρίσει. 14. γνοίης δ' ἂν ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, διὰ τῶν τριῶν τῶν ἐκ μὲν ἑκατὸν τῇ βουλῇ δεδομένων, ἐφ' ᾧ τίς τῶν εἰς φρονούντων οὐκ ἠγανάκτησε, τρεῖς ἐκ τοσούτων; τὸ βουλευεῖν δὲ καὶ τούτων διὰ τούτους ἀποσεισαμένων, τῶν τούτους

R ii. 579 βοηθούντων | ἐν πλούτῳ παῖδας οὐ κεκτημένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χάριτας τοιαύτας δυναμένων λαμβάνειν. εἶτα τίς αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄρχων; καὶ ἦν² εἰς ποιῶν χαλεπὸς τοῖς ἀφεικόσιν, ἐν οἷς ἀφείντο³ τῶν ἀφέντων τὴν ἀδικίαν ἰδῶν. 15. τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀμυνοῦντων αὐτοῖς δύναμιν ἄξιον, φησὶν, ὑφορᾶσθαι. ἀλλ'

¹ γελῶντες Bong., Re. (mss.): λέγοντες F.

² αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄρχων; καὶ ἦν conj. Re. (*Animadv.*), approved F.: εἶτα καθήπετό τις αὐτῶν ἀρχων Re. (edit.): αὐτῶν ἀρχων καὶ ἦν mss. ³ ἀφείντο conj. Re., F.: ἀφείτο Bong., Re. text (mss.).

ORATION XLIX, 13-15

13. However, they will say that they recite to the governors a list of absconders and of persons who by various manner of means have rendered themselves immune. But this is not attributable to them but to the governors and to the secretarial staff, since the governors, by their fulminations, allow no one any concealment, and the staff in alarm bring every instance to light. But these fine fellows, once the matter comes to judgement, either by their silence or by their refusal to present a forceful case, have, by their feeble support of it, acted in collusion with those who are in default towards the council, so that the business is nothing more than an illusion. After sowing such favours broadcast in the courts they go off and reap the harvest, when they receive the rewards for their treachery and jokingly tell the absconders what a good job they have made of this betrayal. And these stay as they were, every one of them indulging his appetites and with his immunity further confirmed by the verdict. 14. You can recognize the truth of my statements from the fact that three people out of a hundred have been enrolled into the council—and for any sensible person the deplorable fact is that they were but three out of so many. And even those three, assisted by these people, managed to avoid membership, for they were aided and abetted by persons wealthy and childless, and therefore able to obtain such favours. What was the governor's attitude towards them then? He was justifiably angry with those who had granted the remission, since he saw in the circumstances of their release the unscrupulousness of those who had secured it. 15. "Yes! The influence of their protectors," it is remarked, "is deservedly suspect."

LIBANIUS

εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθές, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνο λέ-
 γειν ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ τῶν κλεπτόντων ἑαυτοῦς
 ὀνόματα τοῖς ἄρχουσι φανερά καθίσταται. εἰ γὰρ
 οὐκ ἀδεές, οἱ κηδόμενοι τούτων οὐδ' ἂν τοῖς ὀνό-
 μασιν ἐλύπουν οὐς¹ ἐφοβοῦντο. οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐν
 τοῖς | δευτέροις ἐχαρίζοντο τοῖς συμμάχοις ἢ διὰ F 460
 R ii. 580 τοῦ | σπέρματος ἐλύπουν. οὕτως ὅταν αὐτῶν τὸ
 τῶν ὀνομάτων ποιῶσιν ἐξαπατῶσιν. ἀλλὰ μήν,
 ὅταν ὡς ἔδεισαν λέγωσι τὴν τῶν ταῦτα οὐ βουλο-
 μένων ἰσχύν, ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν
 κακοί. οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἡδικηκέναι ταύτη δεικνύουσι,
 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς ἡδικήκασιν λέγουσιν. 16. ἐν
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς δειλοῖς ὧν οἱ μὲν λείπουσι τὰς τάξεις,
 οἱ δ' οὐδὲ μετέχουσιν αὐτῶν, τοιαῦτα κρινομένοις
 λέγειν· δειλὸν γὰρ με ἢ μήτηρ ἔτεκε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
 λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔδυνήθη. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν πεποιηκέναι
 φήσει καὶ συμπαρατάξασθαι, τὸ δ' ἔργον καὶ τὰ
 ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης οὐκ ἐνεγκέων. ἀπορήσει² δ' οὐδ'
 ὅστις ἱερῶν χρημάτων οὐδ' ὅστις ἄπτεται τάφων
 αἰτίας ἀφ' ἧς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἤκεν, ἀλλ' ὀδυροῦνται τὴν
 πενίαν, ὥσπερ αὐ καὶ ὁ προδότης. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς
 τοῖς τοιοῦτοις σώζεται, τὴν δίκην δὲ ὑπέχων εἴ-
 σεται μόνην οὔσαν σωτηρίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς αἰτίας
 ἐλέγχῳ.

17. Καὶ νῦν μὴ τις λεγέτω τὸν φόβον, ἀλλ' εἰ
 μὴ προεῖται τὴν βουλήν μηδὲ κακὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπέ-
 δεῖξε. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα λυπήσειν ἔμελλε καὶ τινας
 πειράσασθαι δυσχεροῦς, τό γε πρὸς τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν
 δίκαιον πρότερον ἔδει πεποιηθῆσαι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς

¹ οὐς conj. Re., F. : οἰς Bong., Re. text (mss.).

² ἀπορήσει F. : ἀπορήσειε Bong., Re. (mss.).

ORATION XLIX, 15-17

But if that is true, they cannot possibly assert that they are responsible for revealing to the governors the names of those who spirit themselves away. If the procedure involved an element of risk, those in charge of this business would certainly not irritate those whom they feared by submitting these names, for the obligation they conferred by their subsequent support would not counterbalance their initial offence. So when they claim responsibility for producing that list, they are employing a subterfuge. Moreover in stating that they feared the influence of the opposition, they confess that they are neglectful of their own, for in this they reveal not their innocence of misconduct but the reason for their misconduct.

16. Even cowards who either desert the ranks or do not join them at all could, at their court-martial, use some such argument as, "I was a coward when my mother bore me: I couldn't handle a weapon," or else assert that, though he has done so and joined the ranks, he could not face action and the hurly-burly of fighting. Nor will any who rifles the treasures of the gods or the tombs of the dead lack an excuse for resorting to such actions, but they lament their poverty, as the traitor does, too. But no one is saved by such arguments. As he suffers the punishment, he will come to learn that his sole salvation lies in disproving the charge.

17. So now let no one talk to me of fear, but let him say whether or not he has betrayed the council and revealed himself a rogue. For even if the probability was that he would annoy someone and experience some unpleasant consequences, he ought to think more of doing his duty than of life itself.

LIBANIUS

αὐτῆς. καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις εἰδότες τὸν συμβησό-
 μενόν σφισιν εἰ μάχοιντο θάνατον ὅμως μάχονται
 καὶ μυρίοις θηήσκοντες τραύμασι μετὰ τοῦ χαίρειν
 ἀπέρχονται. σὺ δὲ | ποίαν αἰχμὴν ἢ ποῖον βέλος F 461
 ἢ <τίνα>¹ σφενδόνην ἢ τίνα δείσας ἀσπίδα τὴν τοῦ
 R ii. 581 δικαίου τάξιν ἔλιπες; οὐ μέμψεως ἦν ὁ φόβος | καὶ
 ῥημάτων ὀλίγων; δῶμεν δ' ὅτι καὶ θανάτου, τί
 οὖν; οὐ κέρδος ὁ τοιοῦτος θάνατος; ἢ σὺ γε οὐκ
 οἶσθα τοὺς λαμπροὺς ἐκείνους θανάτους τοὺς ὑπὲρ
 τῶν πατρίδων;

18. Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὡς κίνδυνον ἐνεγκούσης ἂν
 τῆς τοῦ δικαίου φυλακῆς. τὸ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἂν
 ἔσχεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐμὸς πάππος τὸν Ἀργύριον τῆς
 βουλῆς εἶναι ποιῶν νέον τε ὄντα καὶ ξένον καὶ μικρὰ
 κεκτημένον ἔπαθέ τι κακόν, πρᾶγμα ποιῶν λυπη-
 ρὸν τῷ τότε ἄρχοντι, λυπηρὸν δὲ τῷ τότε σοφιστῇ
 τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ νευμάτων ἄγοντι, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε
 αἰτούντων χάριν εἶξεν οὔτε ἀπειλούντων ἔπηξεν,
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐλειτούργει, τῷ δ' οὐδὲν δεινὸν οὐδα-
 μόθεν ἦν. 19. εἶεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἀρχαῖον, ἀλλ'
 οὗτοσὶ Λητούσιος, ἠνίκα ἐβούλευε, φαίη δ' ἂν τις
 αὐτὸν καὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦ παιδός, οὐ τρεῖς ἀποδράντας
 αἰθῆς βουλευτὰς ἀπέφηνε, λόχων ἠγῆσαμένους ἀν-
 θρώπους καὶ στρατιώταις ἐπιτάξαντας καὶ μετ'
 ἐκείνων τὸ πολὺ τῆς γῆς ἐπελθόντας καιροῖς κα-
 λουσίην ὑπακούοντας; καίτοι ταῦτα ποιῶν ἦδει
 κινήσων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατηγὸν δούλον ὀργῆς καὶ

¹ <τίνα> F.

^a Probably Ulpianus, cf. *Or.* 36. 10 (*PLRE* 973 (i)); certainly not, as suggested by Foerster, Zenobius.

^b Argyrius became *Syriarch* in A.D. 332 (*Or.* 10. 10). For his municipal career v. *J.H.S.* lxxiv (1954), pp. 44 ff.

ORATION XLIX, 17-19

Many a time and often men have realized that death awaited them if they went into battle, but they go into battle just the same, suffer countless wounds, and gladly depart this life. But you—what spear, what arrow, what slingbolt or what shield were you afraid of, that you deserted the side of the right? Was not your fear that of reproof, of a few mere words? But grant that it was the fear of death; what of it? Is not death in such a cause clear gain? Or have you never heard of all those heroes who have died a glorious death for their country?

18. These comments of mine imply that the defence of the right would have involved danger. But this would not have been the case. My grandfather suffered no harm when he made a councillor of Argyrius, a young foreigner with little property, for all that his action was annoying to the then governor and to the then professor who had directed the city as he liked.^a Despite this, he did not give way to their requests for favour nor did he cower at their threats. Argyrius went on to perform his civic services,^b and my grandfather came to no harm at all.

19. Well! That may be ancient history. But what about Letoïus here? When he was a member of the council^c—and it could be said that, by reason of his son, he still is—did he not re-nominate three absconders as councillors, although they had been battalion commanders in charge of troops and with them had traversed the length and breadth of the world as the needs of the time required? He knew that in doing so he would bring down upon himself a general who was a slave to his temper and full of

^a Cf. Or. 31. 47, 48. 42 n.

LIBANIUS

μεστὸν φορᾶς. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκεῖνος ἔχων τοὺς ἄλλους πολιτευομένους κακῶς καὶ γράμματα τὰ κείνων τῷ μὴ καὶ | τὰ τοῦδε προσλαβεῖν εἶχεν οὐδέν. F 462

R ii. 582 καίτοι διὰ πότου | καὶ τραπέζης αὐτὸν ἐκλύσειν ἤλπιζε. καὶ ἅμα προπίνων αὐτῷ φιλοτησίαν καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἤτει τὴν προσθήκην, ὃ δ' ἔπιδε μὲν, δοῦναι δὲ ἅ μὴ καλὸν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο καὶ διετέλεσε μισούμενος μὲν, παθῶν δὲ οὐδέν. 20. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ νῦν φόβῳ ταῦτα συγκεχώρηται οὐδὲ τῷ νομίζειν, εἰ μὴ βλαΐσαιεν τὰς βουλὰς, ἀπολεισθαι, ἀλλ' ἦδεςαν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ συνοίσοντο¹ τὰς βουλὰς ἔχειν ὡς ἔχουσιν.

21. Ἔστι τοίνυν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοιοῦτός τις λόγος, ὡς εἰ καὶ σφόδρα αὐτοὺς βουλευεῖν ἀναγκάσουσιν, ἔστι τὸ λῦσον καὶ πάλιν αὐτοῖς δῶσον τὸ μὴ βουλεύειν ὥστ' αὐτοῖς γέλωτα τὴν περὶ τοῦτο εἶναι πραγματείαν. ἔστι δὲ πᾶν τοῦτο ψεῦδος. τὸν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δικαίων ἅ περὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν εἰλημμένον καὶ κρίσει καὶ ψήφῳ τῆς βουλῆς γεγεννημένον καί, τὸ ἔτι μείζον, τοῖς ὑμετέροισι νόμοις τί τὸ λῦσον ἂν εἶη; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐδέν. 22. εἰ δὲ δεῖ συγχωρησάμενα πάντα ἂν γενέσθαι χρημάτων, τό γε δικαίους εἶναι περὶ τὴν βουλήν τούτοις γε ἐσώζετ' ἂν, εἰ δι'

R ii. 583 αὐτοὺς ἐγγραφέντες | ἐτέρωθεν ἐξηλείφοντο. θήρασον αὐτός, κράτησον, εἰσένεγκε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, γενοῦ χρήστης δίκαιος. ἂν δ' ἀδικῇ τις ἄλλος, τό γε σὸν οὐκ ἐν | αἰτία. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν F 463

τις ἀρρωστῶν δῆλος ἢ πάντως τεθνήξων,² ἀμελεῖται

¹ συνοίσον τὸ Re., F.: συνοίσοντα Bong. (mss.).

² τεθνήξων F. (IBM): τεθνήσων CAP: τεθνηξόμενος Bong., Re. (M marg.).

^a A practice criticized in *Or.* 52. 47 as occasioning corrupt favours, and banned by Cynegius as *ppO*.

ORATION XLIX, 19-22

truculence. And though the general had on his side the other councillors, who failed in their duty, and their written recommendations, he still did not get his way, since he did not have that of Letoïus as well. He hoped to get him to relent by wining and dining him, and as he was offering him a toast of friendship,^a he requested his letter of commendation as a bonus. Letoïus drank the toast but refused to make any improper concession, and so continued to be resented, but without suffering harm. 20. Nowadays, though, such concessions are not made from fear nor from the thought that they will be ruined if they do not do harm to the councils, but from their realization that it will be to their own personal profit for the councils to be in the situation they are now in.

21. But they employ the following argument also, that however much they compel them to join the council, there is a means of release that will once more give them immunity from it, so that to engage themselves in this business is ridiculous. All this is a downright lie. What possible means of release can there be for persons who have been claimed in accordance with the proper procedure on the matter, and who have become members of the council by its judgement and decree and, more to the point, by your imperial laws? None, surely. 22. But if we have to admit that money talks in everything, yet these people could maintain a correct attitude towards the council if those whom they enrolled obtained the deletion of their names from other sources. Hunt them out yourself, sir, get hold of them, pay your due to the council, and honour your debt, and if somebody is remiss, you at least are free from blame. If someone is sick and will obviously die in any

LIBANIUS

μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἀμελεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόνοι καὶ φροντίδες καὶ ἀγρυπνίαι καὶ φάρμακα, καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐδεμία τούτων ὄνησις ἔγνωσται, πᾶν δὲ ὅσον ἄξιον πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου πέπρακται. 23. ὀρῶμεν δέ τοι καὶ τὰς ἀσθενεστέρας τῶν πόλεων τειχιζούσας ἑαυτὰς καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισταμένας ὅτι τῶν μᾶλλον ἰσχυόντων ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶτα τὰ τεῖχη κατενεγκεῖν. ἄρα διὰ τοῦτο ζῶσιν ἀτείχιστοι; τί δ' οἱ τῶν ἀφυστέρων πατέρες οὐχὶ καὶ τούτους¹ ἐν οἷς οὐκ εἰσιν ἐλπίδες πέμπουσιν εἰς διδασκάλων δώσοντας μὲν χρήματα, ληψομένους δὲ οὐδέν; τί δὴ τὸ πείθον; τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν ἡμεληκέναι τῶν τῆς φύσεως νόμων μηδὲ παρέχειν λαβὴν τοῖς ἡδέως ἐπιτιμῶσιν ὅτι ἄρα τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐποίησαν <οὐχ>² ὧν ἦσαν κύριοι παρεσχημένοι. 24. καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε τῶν οἰκετῶν κλέπτειν μεμαθηκότας μαστιγοῦμεν καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὰς πληγὰς ἰᾶσθαι χρῶνται τῷ τρόπῳ κὰν τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἱ χεῖρες. ὁ δεσπότης δὲ εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸν οἰκέτην μετέβαλεν, ἀλλ' αὐτόν γε κατέστησεν ἀμεμπτον ταῖς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ πληγαῖς. τί δ' οἱ τοὺς | ὄνους ὑπὲρ τάχους παίοντες οὐχὶ καὶ τῆς βραδυτήτος μενούσης παίουσιν ὅμως τὸ δοκεῖν ἐλλείπειν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν φυλαττόμενοι; |

R ii. 584

25. Γίγνωσι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς F 464 ἀνὴρ, εἰ καὶ τηνάλλως πονήσεις καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα μένειν οὐκ ἐάσοντες γενήσονται. ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ τηνάλλως ἀκριβεῖ λόγῳ τοῦτο ἔστιν, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῷ τι τῷ πεπονηκέναι κέρδος ἦ. οἷον δὴ τι καὶ τοὺς

¹ τούτους F. : τούτων Bong., Re. (mss.).

² <οὐχ> F.

ORATION XLIX, 22-25

case, he is not neglected by his doctors or his family : they work and they worry, they keep watch at his bedside and dose him, and though they realize that there is not a bit of good to be got from all this, yet everything that can be done is done for him before he dies. 23. We see even the weaker cities walling themselves about, though they know full well that the first thing to be demolished by more powerful assailants is the walls. Do they therefore live un-walled? Why! don't the fathers of dunces send them to school, even though they are hopeless, to pay their fees and to get nothing from it? What induces them to do it? Their refusal to be thought to have neglected the laws of nature and to allow an opening to the critics who would readily reproach them with failing in their duty by not providing them with what they could have done. 24. Moreover, we flog those of our slaves who have learned how to steal, even though we know that under the actual correction of the lash they keep their character and their hands will again be engaged in the same activity : and even if the master is unable to reform his slave, at any rate he has rendered himself blameless by flogging him for each offence. And, as for the drivers who beat their asses to speed them up, if their slow pace continues, don't they yet continue to beat them, guarding against any seeming dereliction of duty on their own part?

25. So you, too, show yourself for us a man in your support of the council, even if your labour be in vain and there be those who will refuse it any permanence. And perhaps, to be precise, it is not in vain at all, since there is some profit to be won in the very performance of your labour, as, for instance, we see in

LIBANIUS

κλύδωνι διαφθειρομένους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ποιούντας. ἴσασι μὲν ὡς ὁ χειμὼν περιέσται τιθεῖς ὑπὸ τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ οὐδεμία τέχνη τοῦτ' ἐξαρπάσαι δυνήσεται, τὸ δ' ὅ τι δύναιντο βοηθεῖν οὐ προκαταλύουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς μελίττας μέντοι παύει τῆς ἐργασίας τὸ τοῖς πεπονημένοις τοὺς κηφήνας ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσθίουσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν.

26. Ἔτι τοίνυν οὐκ ἐκείνων ἢ τούτων αἱ λύσεις. ἦν γὰρ δὴ μὴ τοῦσδε λάβωσι συνεργούς, αἱ ἑκείνων συμμαχίαι σκιὰν ἤνεγκαν συμμαχίας. τὸ οὖν τι τὸν Φίλιππον δύνασθαι παρὰ Λασθένους ἔστι, παρ' Εὐθυκράτους ἔστι, παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι δούλας τὰς αὐτῶν ἐκείνου κατέστησαν δώροις, οὐχ ὅπλοις πολεμοῦντος. δῶρα δὴ καὶ τούτους ἀδικεῖν ἀναπέθει, καὶ μέχρῃς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀζήμιον τοῦτο ἦ, τρυγῶντες οὐ παύσονται. |

R ii. 585 27. Μάστιγι τοίνυν αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους ἀπόφηνον, F 465 ὅπερ αὖ καὶ τὸν Δία πεποιηκένας φησὶν | Ὅμηρος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐκόντες, ἄκοντες τὰς βουλὰς εὖ ποιούντων. ἄς σὺ μὲν ἀνορθοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐναντιοῦνται περὶ μὲν τοῦ πῶς ἂν ἵππος ἵππου καὶ ἡνίοχος ἡνιόχου καὶ ὄρχηστής ὄρχηστοῦ κρατήσῃε [καὶ]¹ σκοποῦντες καὶ βουλευόμενοι καὶ παντὸς ἀπτόμενοι καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου, τὰ δὲ τῶν βουλῶν ἐῶντες κατερρηκένας δεδιότες μὴ παύσης αὐτὰς ἀτυχεύσας, ἐπαινοῦντες πλοῦς βλαβεροὺς ταῖς ἀθλίαις νεότητα βεβουλευκώτων γενῶν ἄγοντας, τοὺς μὲν

¹ καὶ Bong., Re. (mss.), bracketed F.

^a The fifth-columnists who betrayed Olynthus to Philip, Diod. Sic. 16. 53 f.

ORATION XLIX, 25-27

the behaviour of those who perish in shipwreck. They know that the storm will win and will sink their vessel beneath the waves and that no device can rescue it, but they do not cease making every possible effort before that happens. Nor yet do the honey bees cease their activity because the drones attack what they have toiled upon, but the drones feast, and they work away.

26. Moreover, the remissions are due not so much to those intriguers as to these members. If they did not have these accomplices, the support obtained from them would be but a shadow. So Philip's domination is due to Lasthenes, Euthycrates ^a and all the rest who reduced their states to slavery while he fought with bribes, not arms. And it is bribes that induce these people to betray their trust: while ever they get away with it scot-free, they will not cease to collect their pickings.

27. So let them be seen as reformed by your lash, just as Homer says was done by Zeus,^b and let them work to their council's good, if not willingly, then against their will. While you try to reform the councils, they oppose them, and their attention is reserved for how one horse, one driver,^c one dancer can beat another: this is the object of their deliberations and to this end they apply their every word and action, and they let the councils collapse in ruins and are afraid that you will put a stop to their disastrous plight: they commend the travels overseas which, disastrous to the wretched councils, export young men of families that were once their members either

^b Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες, Homer, *Il.* 12. 37, 13. 812.

^c Cf. *Or.* 48. 9.

LIBANIUS

εἰς Φοινίκην, τοὺς δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ καλλιῶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν πεμπόντων ἐκείσε τῶν γονέων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι μὲν τὴν τούτων εὐγένειαν, ἀπαλλαγὴν δὲ βουλῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὀρώντων. 28. ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς τούτων τὸ ὦ Γῆ καὶ Ἥλιε λέγει οὐδ' εἴργει καταβαίνοντας εἰς λιμένα οὐδ' ἂ τὰς βουλάς ἐλεούντων ἦν λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγχαίρουσι καὶ συνεύχονται καὶ προπέμπουσι. καὶ τοσαῦται μὲν πρεσβείαι, φροντίς δὲ ἐλαττόνων, τῶν τηλικούτων δὲ οὐδεμία.

29. Καίτοι γε οὐκ ἦν τῆς σῆς ἀνάξιον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, φύσεως θεῖναι νόμον μὴ τοιαῦτα τοὺς τοιούτους μανθάνειν ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοὺς ἕξω τῶν βουλῶν ποιήσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν τὴν τῶν προγόνων ὁδὸν ἤξουσιν, οἷς ἦν | ἄρκουν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς F 466 Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς ταῖς πατρίσι βοηθεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔπασχε Φασγάνιος ἐκεῖνος δι' ἑρμηνέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι συγγιγνόμενος οὐδ' ἰλιγγιῶν ἑωρᾶτο, οὐδ' οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄκροι τῷ μὴ τὴν Ἰταλῶν γλώτταν εὐρίσκειν παρ' ἐκείνῳ χεῖρον τῇ πόλει τὰ πράγματα ἔχειν ἔφασκον, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνεῖχε τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ προῖων ἐνδοξότερος ἐγένετο καθ' ἐκάστην | ἡμέραν, ὥστ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων οὐχὶ Φασγάνιος μᾶλλον ἢ ὅσπερ ἦν ἠθέληεν εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τοι μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτον ἐπανελθόντες ἢ ὅδε ἐκείνους μένων ἐθαύμαζε.

R ii. 586

30. Δότωσαν τοίνυν οἶδε δίκην, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς πολλῆς εἰρωνείας καὶ μαθέτωσαν μὴ τὰ αὐτῶν
¹ ἡμῶν Re., F. : ἡμῶν Bong. (mss.).

^a For training in law and Latin cf. *Or.* 1. 214, 40. 7, 43. 3 ff., 48. 22, 28 ff., 62. 21.

^b A common expression of indignation in Libanius, cf. *Or.* 50. 16, 42. 6.

ORATION XLIX, 27-30

to Phoenicia or to Italy,^a not because their parents among us send them there for their improvement but because, well aware of their respectable origin, they see in such measures a means of being rid of council membership. 28. None of them exclaims, " Good heavens above !" ^b at this, nor does he try to stop them as they go down to the harbour, nor does he utter any word of pity for the councils. Rather, they congratulate them, wish them well and escort them on their way. And for all their embassies, their concern is for lesser matters : for things like this, it is non-existent.

29. Yet it would not be unworthy of you, Sire, to legislate that such people should not learn such things as will put them outside the council's reach, but rather such studies as will ensure that they follow in their ancestors' footsteps. Their ambitions were satisfied by assisting their home town by the Greek language. The renowned Phasganius ^c was not adversely affected by conversing with governors through interpreters, nor was he ever seen at a loss : nor yet did leading Romans assert that the administration of the city was less efficient because they found in him no acquaintance with Latin. His support of the council and the city and the daily increase of his fame, as time went on, was such that no governor but wished to be in Phasganius' position rather than his own. In fact, they on their return home felt more admiration for him than he, staying here, had for them.

30. So let these people, Sire, be punished for all their double-dealing. Let them learn how to pro-

^a Libanius' uncle, *cf. Or.* 1. 13, 86 ; 2. 11 ; 10. 11 ; 53. 4 ; 62. 30 (Seeck 234).

LIBANIUS

ἀδίκως, τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τῶν πόλεων δικαίως αὔξειν. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς πονηρευόμενοι πολεμοῦσι τοῖς συμφέρουσι τῶν πατρίδων,¹ δόντες δὲ δίκην παύσσονται τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα πωλεῖν. 31. πρῶτην τις ἠγγειλέ μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν μικρᾷ τινι πόλει· τὰ τ' ἔνδον καὶ τὰ [τε]² τῶν τειχῶν ἔξω διοικεῖν καὶ πολλὰς ἔχειν τὰς τάξεις καὶ προσηγορίας εἰσπράττοντα, τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ χρήμασι λοῦσθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ παρέχοντα, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ἀμφορέα λαβόντα βαλανέα γενέσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι θαῦμα τοῦτο ἐνεγκεῖν ὀρώντι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ | ταῦτα ἐρ- F 467
γαζόμενον. τούτῳ τοίνυν ἐξῆν ἂν ἔχειν κοινωνοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ταυτὶ τὰν τῷ βαλανείῳ διαφυγεῖν, εἰ μὴ κέρδος ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ μεμονώσθαι. νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ἐγέλασε, τὸ κακὸν δὲ ἔμεινεν, ἡ πόλις δὲ εἰς κώμης σχῆμα κατέβη. διόπερ ἐπαινεῖν ἔχω τὸν νῦν τοῦτον ὑπαρχον τρεῖς τινὰς ἀπὸ δικαζόντων τῶν³ θρόνων εἰς βουλήν μετενεγκόντα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἐπαινώ. τῇ γὰρ ἀρχῇ τὸ τέλος οὐχ ὠμολόγησεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ R ii. 587
τρεῖς ἂν ἐωράκει μόνους τῷ | δικαίῳ συναγωνιζόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅσους.

32. Σὺ⁴ τοίνυν ἀνθ' ἀπάντων γενοῦ ταῖς βουλαῖς, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, ταῖς οὐκ ἐλάττονος σπουδῆς ἀξίαις ἢ ὄσης αἰ δυνάμεις. αἰ μὲν γε ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν σωτηρίαν φέρουσιν, αἰ δ' εἶναι τι ποιούσι τὸ σωτηρίας ἀξίον. τῶν βουλῶν δὲ ὡς ἐδείκνυον διακειμένων

¹ πατρίδων Re., F. (C): πατρίων Bong. (other mss.).

² καὶ τὰ F.: καὶ τὰ τε Bong. (mss.): τὰ τε Re.

³ τῶν F. (I): transposed to ἀπὸ τῶν Re.: om. Bong. (other mss.).

⁴ ὅσους. σύ Re., F.: ὅσους οὐ. Bong. (mss.).

^a Recapitulates Or. 2. 34 ff.

^b Tatianus, ppO A.D. 388-392: cf. § 1 n. His curial
486

ORATION XLIX, 30-32

mote not their own unjust advantage, but the just and universal prosperity of the cities. For now they misconduct themselves with impunity and wage war against the interests of their countries, but if they are punished they will stop such venality. 31. Recently I was told of one and the same person who, in a small town, undertakes the administration of affairs both inside and outside the city limits, and holds many ranks and titles^a: he is collector of the revenue; at his own expense he has the duty of maintaining the baths for the local inhabitants, and, in his own person, he picks up the jug and becomes the bath attendant. The governor was much surprised to see the town councillor engaged on this task too. But he could have had plenty of partners, and moreover he could have avoided this job in the baths, if it were not to his advantage to be all on his own. As things are, the governor burst into laughter, the situation remained without remedy, and the place was reduced to the level of a village. Hence I can commend our present prefect^b for transferring three individuals from the magistrates' bench to the council, but my commendation is not without qualification, for the outcome did not match the beginning. If he supported what was right, he would not have seen just three but numbers beyond telling.

32. So, Sire, become the sole saviour of the councils, for they deserve no less support than do the armed services. These indeed bring protection for the cities, while the councils ensure that there is something that deserves protection. But when the legislation is as prolific as that of Cynegius (*v. C. Th.* 12. 1. 119-127).

LIBANIUS

οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὅτου καλὸν κινδυνεύειν ἔνι. τοσοῦτον ἐντεῦθεν αἰσχος κατακέχυται τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀμορφίας ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφικνουμένης. ποίησον δὴ πάλιν λαμπρὰ μὲν τὰ θέατρα τῷ πλήθει παρὰ τῶν διδόντων, λαμπρὰς δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὰς ἐπιδείξεις τῶν λόγων, ὡς νῦν γε οἱ μὲν οὐδ' εἰπόντες πορεύονται στένοντες, οἱ δ' ὅτι εἶπον ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτιμῶντες, καὶ μὴν, ὁ μέγιστόν | ἐστὶν ἀπάν- F 468
των, τὸ τῆς ῥητορικῆς σθένος, ἧ καὶ τὸ πραχθῆναι προσῆκον εὐρίσκεται καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐγκωμιάζεται. ταύτη τοίνυν μετὰ τῶν βουλῶν ἀπολωλέναι καὶ διεφθάρθαι συμβέβηκεν, ὥσπερ, ἠνίκα ἦσαν μεγάλοι, καὶ ταύτη τετιμῆσθαι τε καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς ἔραστὰς.

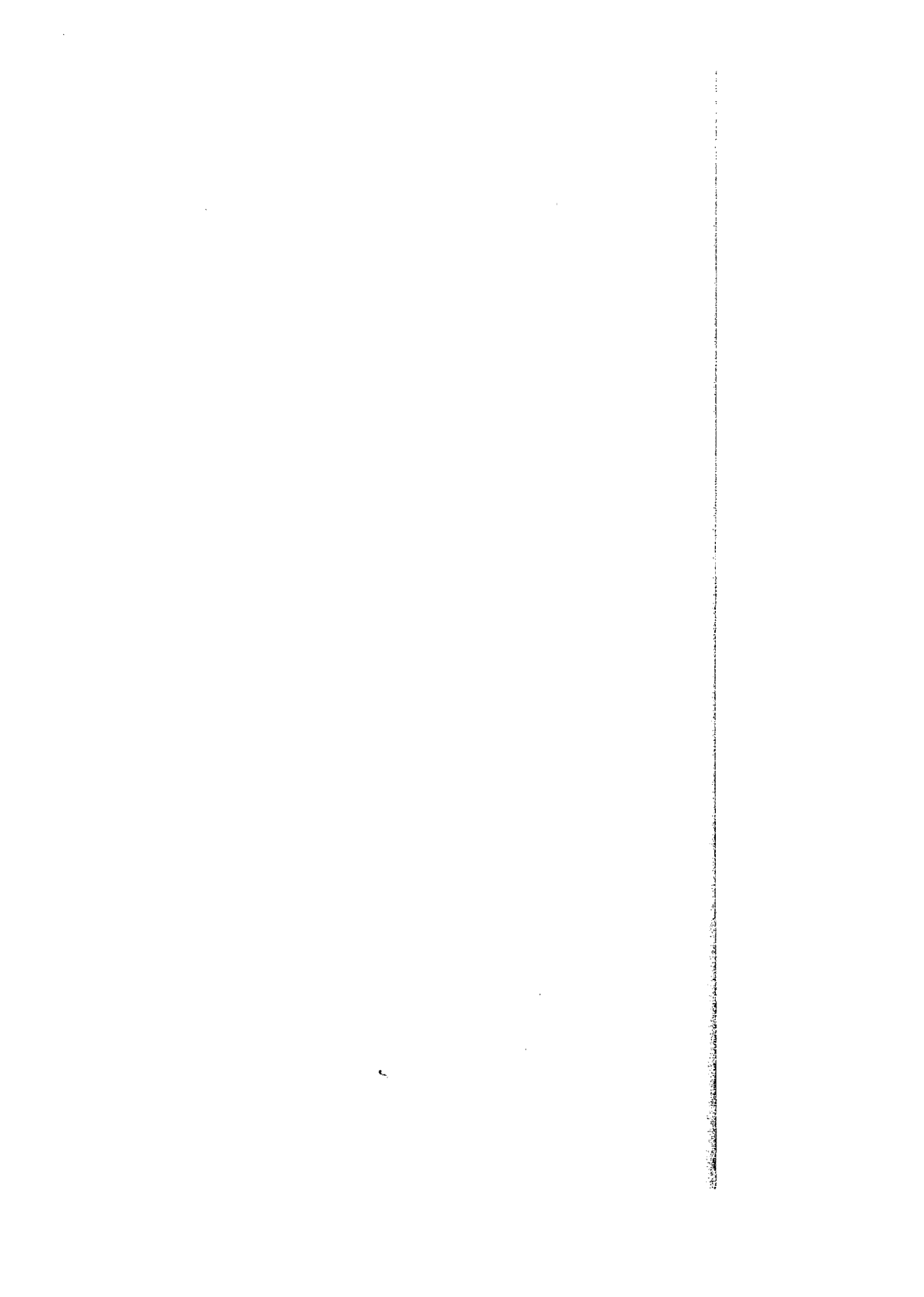
33. Βουλοίμην δ' ἂν σοι τὴν βασιλείαν μὴ μόνον στρατείαις¹ κεκοσμηθῆσθαι καὶ μάχαις καὶ τροπαίοις καὶ νίκαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ὧν ἡ Ἑλλὰς μήτηρ, ἧ, εἰ βούλει γε, ὧν πατέρες οἱ παῖδες τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ὡς οὖν ἐν τῷ ταῖς βουλαῖς βοηθεῖν βοηθήσων καὶ τοῖς νῦν ἀπερριμμένοις βιβλίοις, τῇ κατὰ τούτων οἷς βραχὺ τῶν δικαίων μέλει κολάσει δείξον ἄμφω τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπειληφότα, τά τε βουλευτήρια τά τε διδασκαλεῖα.

¹ στρατείαις F. : στραταίαις Re. (CAPI) : στρατιώταις Bong. (BM).

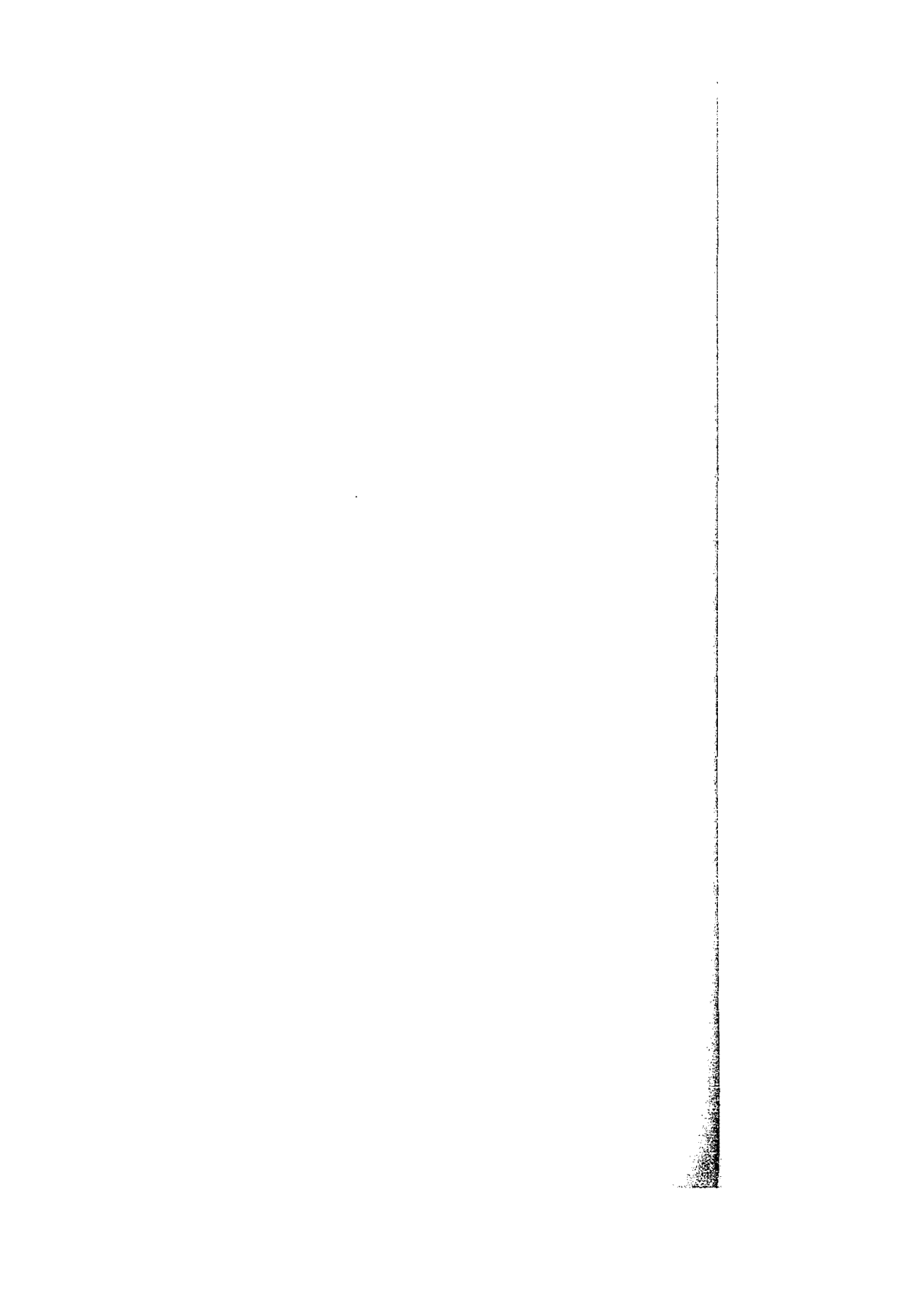
ORATION XLIX, 32-33

councils are in the situation I have described, there is nothing worth taking risks for, and in consequence such disgrace overwhelms the cities, since the degradation spreads from the council to every part of the community. So once again restore the prestige of our lecture rooms among the people by reason of the orators, and by this same act restore the prestige of the displays of oratory, for nowadays some people go their ways lamenting that they have not uttered a word, others reproach themselves that they have. And, most important of all, restore the power of rhetoric, whereby the right course of action is discovered, and the action praised. For it has been the lot of rhetoric to suffer ruin and destruction along with the councils, just as, when the councils were great, it too was held in honour and had many devoted to it.

33. My desire is that your reign should be renowned not merely for campaigns and battles, trophies and victories, but also for education and for the eloquence of which Greece is the mother, or, to put it in another way, the sons of Greece are the sires. Therefore, in aiding the councils, proffer aid also to the literature that is now cast aside and, by your correction of those who have scant regard for what is right, demonstrate that power has been recovered by both council chamber and school room.



ORATION 47
ON PROTECTION SYSTEMS



INTRODUCTION

IN this oration Libanius, himself a victim of the practice, inveighs against the recent and rapid growth of an organized system of protection run by army officers among the local peasantry. This he saw as detrimental to the established order of land tenure, fiscal obligation and judicial administration.

The activities of such officers are directed, first, against the big villages, evidently *vici publici*, which are occupied by free small-holders. These, relying upon military support, institute a reign of terror among their neighbours, intimidating the rural constabulary, and in consequence patronage becomes nothing more than an encouragement of wrong-doing, rather than a deterrent to it. The decurions responsible for the collection of the village tribute, unable to perform this duty, are forced to sell their estates to make up the deficiency. With such decurions lost to the order, the stability of the social order is prejudiced (§§ 4-10).

Secondly, estates owned by a single landlord fall under their influence. Here the tenants are finally induced to resist the master's demands after learning by experience that he is impotent to protect them, and they are assured of the support of this intrusive patron should the landlord resort to law to secure redress. This Libanius had discovered for himself

LIBANIUS

in the case of his Jewish tenants. The traditional system of land tenure is upset and, with it, the dispensation of justice, since in the inevitable court cases the civil governor connives with the military patron. To remedy this abuse the intervention of the emperor is necessary (§§ 11-18).

Libanius does not protest against patronage as such, but for him it must be based not on this new-fangled and illegitimate encroachment of the military, but on the traditional patron-client relationship of master and tenant. The landlord is the traditional patron and recourse to a military patron is a denigration of this status; only if he is incapable of fulfilling the duty should there be such recourse, and then by the landlord himself. With him as the middle man, the dangers of direct contact between the army and the peasantry are removed, the rights of property remain undiminished and, while the peasant is satisfied, a potential conflict between soldier and civilian is avoided (§§ 19-24). Sharply contrasted with the rapacity of present-day soldiery is the self-discipline of those of an earlier time, as Libanius proves by citing the example of his uncle by marriage, an eminent soldier who left the service as poor as he entered it. In the past, the military did not deliberately purpose the ruin of the established gentry,—a far different situation from that of the present day (§§ 25-34). The only remedy is for the emperor to enforce a law which he had himself ordained in the past to curb the depredations of these military “protectors.”

Several problems arise. First, the military patrons of the free peasants, as Libanius explicitly remarks (§ 4), receive as reward for their activities possession, not of the land itself, but of its produce.

ORATION XLVII

Also, in the case of the second type of village, they do not appear as the purchasers of the estate. There is no question, therefore, of any transfer of property to this patron who appears oddly content with produce in kind. However, the decurions are clearly the losers in both cases : in the first case, they must sell their estates to reimburse the treasury for the tribute, for the collection of which they are made personally responsible by their fellow decurions : in the second, they are deprived of the revenues of their own estates, and again are faced with the compulsion to sell. The question thus arises as to who the purchasers were. If the military are ruled out, as they certainly are, the only other sections of society with the fortune and interest to make such acquisitions of property are the *honorati* and the *principales*, who are closely allied to each other in the prejudices of Libanius. These are the real villains of the piece. It is their acquisitiveness which upsets the structure of the decurionate, as related in the *Orations on the City Council* and in *Oration 62*, and the activities of the military patron are a good stick with which to beat them. Hence his hostility towards the peasantry in this oration. Not only does he show resentment towards his own rebellious peasants for their treatment of himself, but he extends it towards others of the same kind whose recourse to the patronage of the military, so he asserts, finally results in the reduction in curial numbers. They are thus serving the ends of civilian potentates also, and these he detests almost as much as the military. Thus compassion for the oppressed peasant, whether imprisoned by the governor acting in collusion with these grasping potentates, as in

LIBANIUS

the *De Vincitis*, or suffering his arbitrary imposition of the corvées required by this select group, as in the *De Angariis*, is here quite absent. There they had been victimized by this class, and almost automatically assured of Libanius' support; now, they act in such a way as to serve its ends, and therefore incur his hostility.

Again, there is a note of *parti pris* in his account of the nature of patronage. His civilian outlook can conceive of no more justified patronage than that of the curial *dominus* over his *coloni* or that of the decurion over the freeholder. A plurality of patronage is, as he remarks, a contradiction in terms, so that the intrusion of an external patron, whether military, as here, or civilian, as that of "Mixidemus" in *Oration 39*, is a threat to his established order. He quite ignores the fact that the decurions, whose patronage he eulogizes, while far less effective in the support of their dependants than the intruders whom he censures, were in fact every bit as rapacious in their demands (*cf. Salvian, De Gub. Dei, 5. 8*). Moreover, the tartness of his comments, and especially those upon the excesses of his Jewish tenants, would seem to indicate that the consequences of this military intrusion had only recently been borne in upon him, and only then because of his personal discomfiture.

A further question which has been hotly debated concerns the status of Libanius' Jewish tenants. Zulueta regarded the phrase *Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν πάντων* in ethnic terms and found the locality of the estate in Palestine, since he traced a correlation between Libanius' description of them and the terms of *C.J.* 11. 51. 50, where the status of the *colonus* there was

ORATION XLVII

brought into line with that of other provinces.^a Juster rejected this correlation, and interpreted the phrase "proper Jews" as denoting a religious difference. Harmand's view that it is merely a derogatory term, occasioned by mortification at their impudent activities, is, however, the most obvious and the most acceptable. Moreover, in view of Libanius' poor health in these years, there is no question of finding the location of this estate outside the territory of Antioch.

Finally, there is the intractable problem of identifying the imperial constitution for the enforcement of which Libanius appeals (§ 35). Zulueta had regarded this as *C. Th.* 5. 17. 2^b of A.D. 386, and had dated the speech to the years A.D. 386–389. Unfortunately, this does not deal with patronage—only with fugitive *coloni*. Martroye (supported by Foerster III, 403 n.) identified the constitution with that of *C. Th.* 11. 24. 2 of A.D. 368/70.^c Here the overriding objection is that the law, though applicable to patronage, was passed by Valens, whereas Libanius makes Theo-

^a *C. J.* 11. 51. 50: addressed to Cynegius, ppO (A.D. 384–388) ". . . sancimus ut etiam per Palaestinas nullus omnino colonorum suo iure velut vagus ac liber exsultet, sed exemplo aliarum provinciarum ita domino fundi teneatur, ut sine poena suscipientis non possit abscedere. . . ."

^b *C. Th.* 5. 17. 2: "quisquis colonorum iuris alieni aut sollicitatione susceperit aut occultatione celaverit, pro eo qui privatus erit sex auri uncias, pro eo qui patrimonialis libram auri cogatur inferre."

^c *C. Th.* 11. 24. 2: "abstineant patrociniis agricolae subiugandi supplicio, si talia sibimet adiumenta commentis audacibus conquisierint. ii vero, qui propria patrocinia largiuntur, per singulos fundos, quotiens repperiti fuerint, xxv auri libras dare debeant et non quantum patroni suscipere consueverant, sed dimidium eius fiscus adsumat."

LIBANIUS

dosius responsible for it. Tillemont, followed by Paul Petit, looked to *C. Th.* 1. 29. 8 of A.D. 392,^a which he interpreted as the emperor's response to the arguments put forward in this speech—but an objection which appears insuperable is presented by the phrase *νόμου πάλαι περί τούτων κειμένου* (36), clearly to be identified with the Theodosian law of the previous section. Harmand, in view of this phrase, looked elsewhere, to find the solution in *C. Th.* 9. 33. 1 of A.D. 384^b—but unfortunately there is no mention here of any patronage, despite his best efforts. It appears that none of the surviving legislation can be equated with the legislation to which Libanius here appeals; and although it may be tempting to regard *C. Th.* 1. 29. 8 as the reaction of the government to Libanius' appeal, the case remains unproven.

From the internal evidence, the oration is to be placed in the reign of Theodosius and, from the reference to the settlement of the Gothic problem and the suppression of the usurpation of Maximus (§ 35), to the period after A.D. 388. The possibility of its attribution to the reign of Valens, canvassed by Gothofredus and Reiske, becomes more remote when the references to the emperor and his relations with the author are considered (*e.g.* §§ 38; 16). The commentators, with singular unanimity, would place it between A.D. 386 and 392, generally pre-

^a *C. Th.* 1. 29. 8: “. . . removeantur patrocina quae favorem reis et auxilium scelerosis inpertiendo maturari scelera fecerunt.”

^b *C. Th.* 9. 33. 1: “si quis contra evidentissimam iussionem suscipere plebem et adversus publicam disciplinam defendere fortasse temptaverit, multam gravissimam sustinebunt.”

ORATION XLVII

ferring an occasion, imprecisely defined, between A.D. 389 and 392. Significantly enough, the year A.D. 392 provides examples of imperial legislation upon the problems of patronage (e.g. *C. Th.* 1. 29. 8 : 12. 1. 128).

MANUSCRIPTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts number seven only, consisting of CAPIBM with the addition of Urbinas 125, itself closely allied with B and M. Short extracts are also preserved by Planudes and Macarius. The *editio princeps* was that of Gothofredus (Geneva, 1631), reprinted in his *Opera Juridica Minora* (Leiden, 1733), later editors being Reiske and Foerster. The oration has received the closest scrutiny, first from the point of view of the history of the colonate, from Gothofredus himself, Zulueta, *de Patrociniis Vicorum* (Oxford Studies in honour of P. Vinogradoff, 1909), Heitland, *Agricola*, Martroye, *Les Patronages d'agriculteurs et de vici aux IV^e et V^e siècles* (Rev. hist. de droit, 4th series, 1928), Pack, *Studies in Libanius*, Petit, *Vie municipale*, and Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*. An edition, with translation and detailed commentary, is given by L. Harmand in Libanius, *Discours sur les patronages*, Paris, 1955.

XLVII

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΣΙΩΝ

R ii. 499 1. Εἰ μή σε ἐωράκειν ἐν πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ, F iii.

μυρίοις δὲ πράγμασιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χαίροντά τε τοῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀγαθοῖς καὶ βουλόμενον μηδένα παρὰ μηδενὸς ἀδικεῖσθαι, τάχα ἂν ἐμαυτῷ παρήνευσα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τὸν οὐχ ἠδέως ἀκουσόμενον οὐκ ἂν ἐλύπουν οὐδ' ἠνώχλουν· ἐλπίδας δέ μοι τοῦ σοῦ παρέχοντος τρόπου καὶ χαριεῖσθαι μέσοι¹ τοῖς ῥηθησομένοις καὶ πείσειν καὶ δόξαν εὐ-

R ii. 500 νοίας | οἴσεσθαι χαίρων τε καὶ προθύμως ἐπὶ τὴν

συμβουλὴν ἤκω τὴν σὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὴν δόξουσαν εἶναι τοῦ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς εἰρημένοις δεδωκότος τῷ προσθεῖναι τὸ ἔργον, οὗ χωρὶς μάταιος ἂν ἦν ὁ λόγος. 2. τοὺς μὲν οὖν | χαλεπανοῦντας, οὗτοι δέ F 40
εἰσιν οἱ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων κακοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν μείζω ποιοῦντες, οἶδα, βασιλεῦ, πολλοὺς τε ὄντας καὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀργιεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ ζητήσειν παρ' ἐμοῦ τιμωρίαν οἶμαι, λήψεσθαι δὲ οὐδέποτε τῆς σῆς κεφαλῆς σωζομένης παρὰ τῶν τὸν σὸν βίον τεθναυμακότων θεῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐθέλησειν σε προδοῦναι τὸν σύμβουλον οὔτε βοηθεῖν

¹ μέ σοι conj. Re., F. : μοι Gothofred., Re. text (mss.).

^a This deferential introduction is most closely paralleled by that of Or. 52.

ORATION 47
ON PROTECTION SYSTEMS

1. HAD I not seen in the long space of time and in countless matters, Sire, your joy in the well-being of your subjects and your desire that none should suffer wrong at the hands of anyone, I would perhaps have counselled myself to keep silence and would not seek to upset or inconvenience my reluctant hearer.^a However, your good nature inspires me with the confidence that, by the remarks I am about to make, I will please you, carry conviction with you, and win for myself a name for loyalty, and so it is with pleasure and eagerness that I have come to outline a policy which will be regarded as yours rather than mine, since you give force to any words uttered by translating them into action, and without that argument would be in vain. 2. I am well aware, Sire, that the reaction of many influential persons will be hostile—persons who have achieved success by means of other people's misfortunes—, but I believe that, though they will be angry and will seek to revenge themselves upon me, they will never succeed in this, since your person is under the protection of the gods who have observed your career with admiration, for you will refuse to betray your counsellor and, if you try to assist me, you will not

LIBANIUS

πειρώμενον οὐκ ἀρκέσειν. τί οὖν δεῖ σιωπᾶν την-
άλλως φοβούμενον ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τοσαύτῃ;

3. Εὐ πράττειν μὲν οὖν βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ τοὺς
τῶν ὅλων ἄρχοντας δυνάμεων καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτοις
μερῶν καὶ ζῆν ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ καὶ τούτους κακείνους,
R ii. 501 οὐ μὴν | οὔτε κακὰ κερδαίνειν οὔτ' ἄλλοις τοῦ
πάντα τολμᾶν αἰτίους εἶναι. οἷα πολλὰ δρᾶται νῦν.
ἄκουε δῆ,¹ βασιλεῦ, καὶ διδάσκου.

4. Εἰσὶ κῶμαι μεγάλαι πολλῶν ἐκάστη δεσπο-
τῶν. αὗται καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰδρυμένους
στρατιώτας, οὐχ ἵνα μὴ πάθωσι κακῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα
ἔχωσι ποιεῖν. καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ἀφ' ὧν δίδωσιν ἢ γῆ,
R ii. 502 πυροὶ καὶ | κριθαὶ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν² δένδρων ἢ
χρυσὸς ἢ χρυσίου τιμῆ. προβεβλημένοι τοίνυν τὰς
τούτων χεῖρας οἱ δεδωκότες ἐώνηνται τὴν εἰς ἅπαν-
τα ἐξουσίαν. καὶ νῦν μὲν κακὰ καὶ πράγματα
παρέχουσι τοῖς ὁμόροις γῆν ἀποτεμνόμενοι, δένδρα
τέμνοντες, ἀρπάζοντες, θύοντες, κατακόπτον- F 40
τες, ἐσθίοντες. εἶθ' ὧν μὲν ἦν ταῦτα, κλάουσιν
ὀρώντες, οἱ δ' εὐωχούμενοι γελῶσι καὶ τοσοῦτ'
ἀπέχουσι τοῦ δεδιέναι μὴ τις ταῦτα πύθῃται, ὥστ'
ἀπειλαὶ προστίθενται τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ τὸ
μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφέξεσθαι. 5. δεινά σοι ταῦτα
φαίνεται, βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ μέγιστα ἀκήκοας,
εἴπερ αἰγῶν τε καὶ προβάτων μείζον αἱ θυγατέρες,
ὧν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέχονται. τί οὖν ἔτι δεῖ λέγειν
πληγὰς³ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ὡς γυναῖκες γυναῖκας⁴

¹ δῆ F. : δέ Goth., Re. (mss.).

² τῶν F. (mss.) : om. Goth., Re.

³ λέγειν πληγὰς Re., F. (M) : λέγειν (; Goth.) πληγαὶ Goth. (other mss.).

⁴ γυναῖκες " num delendum et λαβόμενοι scribendum ? " F. : γυναῖκας om. Goth.

ORATION XLVII, 2-5

prove incapable. So why should I hold my peace through idle fears in the midst of such security? ^a

3. For your commanders in chief ^b and for the officers of the regiments they command, both one and all, my wish is for them success and a happy life, but without making any illicit gain or causing others to behave with complete lack of scruple—misconduct such as is rife at present. Listen, Sire, and learn.

4. There exist large villages, belonging to many owners. ^c These have recourse to the soldiery stationed in them, not so as to avoid trouble but so as to be able to cause it. And the payment comes from the produce of the land—wheat, barley, the fruit of the trees, or else bullion or gold coin. So, protected by their arms, the donors have purchased for themselves complete licence. And now they inflict toil and trouble upon their neighbours by encroaching on their lands, cutting down the trees, looting, slaughtering and butchering the cattle, and feasting themselves on it. When the one-time owners bewail the sight, they make merry and laugh at them, and so far from showing fear that anybody should get to know of it, they cap their misdeeds with threats and the promise not to refrain from anything else at all.

5. A sorry tale this, Sire, you think: but you have not heard the worst of it yet, at least if their daughters are more important than goats or sheep—for they don't keep their hands off them either. So what need, then, to mention the beatings and the

^a For the risks attendant upon publicizing such abuses *cf. Or. 48. 1, 52. 1*. Libanius himself had been threatened with violence even under Julian when he pleaded the cause of the council, *cf. Or. 1. 126*. ^b The *magistri militum*.

^c These are villages of free peasant small-holders, at odds with others in neighbouring villages.

LIBANIUS

ἔλκουσι λαβόμεναι τῶν τριχῶν, καὶ ὡς φρέατα ἄχρηστα καθιστᾶσι τοῖς ἔχουσι τοῖς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβαλλομένοις καὶ ὡς ποταμῶν ἀποστεροῦσι καὶ διὰ τούτων (καὶ)¹ κήπων, τρέφοντες στρατιώτας οἱ μὲν πλείους, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους ἐν μέσαις ταῖς κώμαις καθημένους τὰ πολλὰ καὶ κοιμωμένους ἐπ' οἴνῳ πολλῷ καὶ κρέασιν, ὅπως εἴ τις τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀλγήσας ἀμύνοιτο, πληγὴ δ' εἰσέλθοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιώτῃν, εἶτα τοῦτ' ὄλεθρος εἴη τῷ | πατάξαντι μηδαμόθεν ὄντος αὐτῷ μηδενὸς λόγου; δεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑποσχεῖν ἐν ἀπάσῃ μέθῃ στρατιώτῃ πάντα ἀνεχόμενον καὶ μηδὲν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι τοὺς νόμους. 6. τοῦτο καὶ ληστὰς γεωργοὺς ἐποίησε, τοῦτ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέθηκε σίδηρον οὐ τὸν τῆ γῆ φίλον, ἀλλ' ὃς ἀποκτίννυσι. | τοῦ δύνασθαι F 407 γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὐξομένου διὰ τῶν ἐγκαθημένων στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὸ τολμᾶν ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνει τῶν φυλάκων τῆς χώρας κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τοὺς τοιούτους ὀρώντων καὶ οὐχ ὀρώντων, ἴσασι γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλῷ βοηθήσοντες τοῖς κειμένοις διὰ τὸν προστατήν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἔθεντο, πρέπει δέ, οἶμαι, τοῖς δικαίαις² ἐπικουρίαις ἐξαιρουμένοις εἰς ἄδειαν ἀδικουμένην ἀσθένειαν.

7. Ἡ προστασία δὲ αὕτη πᾶν τούναντίον ποιεῖ.
R ii. 504 ῥώμην δίδωσιν | εἰς τὸ κακοῦν ἑτέρους. ὧν εἰσι

¹ <καὶ> conj. Re., F.

² δικαίαις Re., F. : δικαίοις Goth. (mss.).

^a The excesses of the military here may be compared with those of the monks in *Or.* 30. 8, but with the important difference that, while the activities of the monks are spontaneous, those of the military are occasioned by other people.

^b The rôle of this village police in Syria is unknown. For

ORATION XLVII, 5-7

insults, how the women grab women by the hair and ill-treat them, how they make wells useless for their owners with the stuff they throw into them, or how they rob them of their flow of river water, and by this means of their gardens too, while they maintain soldiers, some more, some less, in the midst of their villages, and these for the most part loll about or doze after their fill of wine and meat, with the result that if any of the victims loses his temper or defends himself, and one of soldiers happens to be hit too, then it is death for the one who struck him, and not the slightest chance of an excuse for him. He must knuckle under to a soldier, however drunk, and put up with anything ; and the laws in this instance are a dead letter.^a 6. This is what has turned peasants into brigands ; this is what has put into their hands the steel—not the steel beloved of the land but that which kills. For, as their power grows by means of the military billeted among them, their recklessness also increases, and the local police ^b turn on such as these the proverbial blind eye,^c since they know that if they help the down-trodden victims it will cost them dear because of their protector. This in fact is the term they apply to those many rascals, though it is properly applicable, I feel, to those who, in the provision of legitimate assistance, succour the wronged and helpless, and make them secure.

7. This kind of protection, however, produces results exactly the reverse. It provides the motive force for injuring others—among them the collectors

its counterpart elsewhere *cf.* Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 98.

^a This proverb is not found in the Corpus, though well known enough from N.T. (Matthew 13. 13).

LIBANIUS

καὶ οἱ τὸν φόρον εἰσπράττοντες. οὓς ἐβουλόμην ἐν-
 ταῦθά μοι καὶ παρῆναι καὶ βοᾶν οἷα πεπόνθασι.
 πάντως δ' ἂν τοῦτο μετὰ δακρύων ἐγίγνετο παρ'
 ἀνδρῶν πενήτων ἐξ εὐδαιμόνων γεγενημένων. πῶς
 γενομένων δέη μαθεῖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ; ἔρχονται ἐπὶ
 τὰς κώμας ταύτας τὰς διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τετει-
 χισμένας οἱ κομιούμενοι τὸν φόρον ἔργον τοῦτο
 ἔχοντες καὶ λειτουργίαν. εἴτ' ἀπαιτοῦσι τὴν μὲν
 πρώτην πρᾶως καὶ βραχυτέρα τῇ φωνῇ, καταφρο-
 νούμενοι δὲ καὶ καταγελώμενοι μετὰ ἀγανακτῆ-
 σεως ἤδη καὶ μείζον φθεγγόμενοι καὶ οἶον εἰκὸς
 τοὺς τῶν δικαίων ἀτυχοῦντας. εἴτ' ἠπέιλησαν¹
 R ii. 505 τοὺς ἄρχοντας, μάτην | ἐλάττους ὄντας² τῶν τὰς
 κώμας καρπουμένων. εἴθ' ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπεσπά- F 408
 σαντο. οἱ δ' ἔδειξαν ὡς εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς λίθοι. | 8. λαμ-
 βάνοντες οὖν οἱ πράκτορες ἀντὶ καρπῶν τραύματα
 ἀναστρέφουσιν εἰς ἄστὺ τῷ περὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις αἵ-
 ματι δηλοῦντες ἃ πεπόνθασι. καὶ τὸν μὲν θυμού-
 μενον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἢ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν μισθὸν εἰληφότος
 δύναμις οὐκ ἔῃ, ἀκούουσι δὲ οἱ δυστυχεῖς ὅτι χρῆ
 καταβάλλειν ἢ μαστιγουμένους ἀπειπεῖν. οἱ δὲ
 οὔσης μὲν ἀνάγκης τοῦτο ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν
 ἀγρῶν ἀπεγνωκότες καὶ δεδιότες ἕτερα τραύματα,
 χρυσίου δ' οὐκ ὄντος οὐδ' ἀργυρίου πωλοῦσι μὲν
 θεραπαίνας θρηνοῦντες, πωλοῦσι δὲ ἀκολούθους,

¹ ἠπέιλησαν Re., F.: ἠπέιλησε Goth. (mss.). ² ὄντες Re.

^a The decurions, who were appointed by the city council and were personally responsible for the collection of the tribute and its delivery to the governor.

^b In A.D. 387 the *magister militum* (the *στρατηγός par excellence*) had his H.Q. in Antioch (Or. 21. 7, 22. 17). The term *στρατηγοί* here is therefore used as a general term for

ORATION XLVII, 7-8

of taxes, too.^a I wanted them here to support me and to complain of their sufferings. It would certainly be to the accompaniment of the tears of men who have been reduced from wealth to poverty. Do you want to know, Sire, how this comes about? Well, those whose task and duty it is, go to collect the tribute to these villages which are fenced and defended around by generals.^b Then they present their demands, nicely at first and in a tone of restraint, but, being met with contempt and ridicule, with increasing anger and raised voice, as is to be expected when people do not receive their proper due. Then they threaten the village headmen, but to no purpose since such are inferior to those who exploit the villages.^c Then they lay hands on them and arrest them, but the villagers reveal their armoury of stones. 8. So the gatherers collect wounds instead of tithes and make their way back to town, revealing what they have suffered by the blood on their clothes. They have none to take up the cudgels for them, for the influence of the person who has taken the protection money forbids this, and the poor devils are told that they must pay up or be flogged until they drop. Since they are forced to do so, and despair of any revenue from their estates and fear more wounds, and since they have no ready supply of gold or silver, they tearfully offer for sale their maidservants, their attendants, the his subordinate officers: the *dux* may be the chief of these but, from the nature of the day-to-day contact, these would most commonly be the commanders of the individual garrison units stationed in Antiochene territory.

^a The villages of Syria were renowned for size and prosperity, *Or.* 11. 230 ff. On the question of their administration *cf.* Liebeschuetz, pp. 119 ff.

LIBANIUS

- τροφέων υιούς, ἀντιλαμβανομένους τῶν τοῦ πω-
 λούντος γονάτων. 9. ἔρχονται δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀγρούς,
 οὐχ ὡς πρότερον μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἀλλ' ἀποδω-
 R ii. 506 σόμενοι μετὰ τῶν | ὠνησομένων. καὶ τράπεζα αὐ-
 τοῖς κοινῇ παρατίθεται, τὴν τιμὴν δὲ τῆς γῆς
 φόρον ὁ πεπρακὼς γιγνομένην ὄρᾳ. ἐξιὼν δὲ τῶν
 πατρῶων, ἔστι δ' οὐδ' καὶ παππῶων, βλέπων εἰς
 τοὺς ἐκείνων τάφους καὶ τιμῶν τοῖς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν
 φιλήμασι συγγνώμην ἔχειν ἀξιῶν ἀπέρχεται. εἶτα
 φροντὶς ὑπὲρ τροφῆς αὐτῷ τε καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ
 παισίν, εἶτα οὐδαμόθεν φαινομένης ἢ τοῦ προσαι-
 τεῖν ἀνάγκη. 10. οὕτω βουλευτῆς βουλῆς ἐξ-
 αλείφεται οὐ σπόγγου γράμματα ἀφαιροῦντος, ἀλλ'
 οὐκέτ' οὐσης οὐσίας. ταῦτ' ἐλάττους ποιεῖ τὰς
 βουλάς ἀντὶ μειζόνων, ταῦτ' ὀλίγους τοὺς καθ'
 ἐκάστην ἀντὶ πλειόνων. | ταυτὶ δὲ ζημία πόλεως F 409
 ὄλης. καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὖ πράττη, τούτῳ δὲ
 R ii. 507 χωλεύῃ τῷ μέρει, μικρὰ τὰ | ἄλλα καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖ
 τῆς βασιλείας τὰ πράγματα. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχο-
 μένων ἐκείνη καὶ αὔξεται καὶ τὸναντίον. οὐκοῦν
 βλάπτονται μὲν αἱ βουλαὶ ταῖς καλαῖς προστα-
 σίαις, βλάπτονται δὲ ταῖς βλάβαις τῶν βουλῶν αἱ
 πόλεις, πάλιν δὲ αὐ ταῖς¹ τούτων οἱ μάχιμοι. ὦν
 οὐκ ἀμελητέον σοι, βασιλεῦ, δι' ὧν ἔνι καὶ κρατεῖν
 καὶ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι καὶ φοβεῖν καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.

¹ αὐ ταῖς Re., F. : αὐταῖς Goth. (MSS.).

^a Foster-brothers, even though of servile station and com-
 monly employed as personal attendants, formed a respected

ORATION XLVII, 8-10

sons of their foster-parents,^a while they grasp the knees of the seller in entreaty. 9. They go to their farms, too, not, as before, with their children in family parties, but with the prospective purchasers to sell them. A common table^b is set out before them, but the seller sees the price of his land turn into tax money. On leaving his father's, sometimes his grandfather's estates, he gazes back at their tombs, kisses his hand to them in a final gesture, begs their pardon, and so departs. Then his concern is for the maintenance of himself, his wife and his children, and when none is anywhere forthcoming, the need to beg ensues.^c 10. So a councillor is erased from the council: no sponge wipes out his name: he no longer has the property. This is what reduces the councils instead of increasing them, and makes the numbers in every one less instead of more. And this is a loss to the whole town. Indeed, if it is otherwise successful, but things go wrong in this respect, all else suffers and especially the fortune of the empire, for its well-being or its ruin depends upon its subjects. So the town councils suffer harm because of this fine protection-system and the towns suffer harm because of that done to their councils, and the fighting forces again because of that done to the towns. And the fighting forces you must not ignore, Sire, for it is through them that you can inflict and not suffer defeat, inspire and not feel fear. So suppress such

and valued part of the family, which is here seen in a state of disintegration.

^b A bitter play on *κοινή*—the table common for family parties becomes the table common to the two participants in this transaction.

^c Cf. *Or.* 2. 54.

LIBANIUS

ἄνελε δὴ¹ τὰς τοιαύτας προστασίας ἅς εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν βούλουιτ' ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι.

11. Τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν προστάτην οὐ μόνον ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ πολλῶν εἰσι τῶν ἐχόντων ἐκάστου μέρος οὐ² πολὺ κεκτημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς εἰς ὁ δεσπότης. καὶ οὗτοι τὸν μισθωτὸν προστίθενται τῇ τοῦ δεσπότης ζημίᾳ τὸν μισθὸν πορίζοντες καὶ διδόντες ἐξ ὧν ἀποστεροῦσι. καίτοι καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν εἰσιν αἱ κῶμαι καὶ τῶν οἴων τε ὄντων χεῖρα ὀρέξαι λυπουμένοις. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὸ κακῶς ποιεῖν διώκοντες, οὐ τὸ παθεῖν φεύγοντες δυνάμεις τινῶν ἄνωσονται, αἷς χρώμενοι πολλοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος

R ii. 508 καὶ | πρὸς τοὺς | αὐτῶν κυρίους³ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς F 410

βουλομένης ἄγριον ἔστησαν ὀφθαλμὸν ὡς ἀνάγκης μὲν ὄντες ἕξω, γνώμη δὲ ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἀψόβητοι τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ πείθοιεν αὐτούς.⁴ 12. οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι ταῦτα τετολμηκότες ἔσχον ταχέως πολλοὺς τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας κακοῦ παραδείγματος γενομένους μιμητάς. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν γράφονται καὶ κατηγοροῦσι, τοῖς δ' εἰσὶ βοηθοῦντες καὶ λόγῳ.⁵ καὶ πλέον τῶν νόμων ἤνεγκεν ὁ βοηθῶν, ὥστ' εἶναι τὸ ὀρώμενον θέαμα ἔλεεινόν. τί τοῦτο; βοαὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν ἐχόντων, γλῶτται θρασεῖαι, πλήθος συνδικῶν, ἀγῶνες, δίκαι, νῆκαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς

¹ δὴ conj. Re., F.: δὲ Re. text (mss.).

² μέρος οὐ Re., F.: μέρος τοῦ Goth. (mss.).

³ αὐτῶν Re., F.: αὐτῶν Goth. (mss.). | κυρίους <ἐπισπέρχον-
τας> conj. Re., F., Harmand.

⁴ αὐτούς Goth., Harmand (AP): αὐτοὺς Re., F. (other mss.).

⁵ καὶ λόγῳ <καὶ ἔργῳ> conj. Re., F. (M): om. Goth., Harmand (other mss.).

ORATION XLVII, 10-12

a system of protection as this which our enemies would want us to have.^a

11. But the quest for a protector is not peculiar to those estates which belong to many landowners who each possess a small area, but also to those who have a *single owner*.^b These too have recourse to the hireling and pay the price, but at the owner's cost, and they provide their gifts from what they deprive him of. Yet these villages belong to men of standing, too, people capable of offering a protecting hand to the distressed. But, to be sure, it is in quest of committing mischief, not in avoidance of suffering it, that the villages buy the aid of certain individuals. They employ it over a long period of time, even against their landlords, though the land needs working; they look on them with wrathful eye, as if they work as they like, are beyond compulsion, and will not put a hand to the soil, unless they persuade themselves. 12. The first to behave with such impudence soon have plenty of followers to imitate their bad example. Then, the one party begins proceedings and files charges, but the others have protectors, even in argument. And the protector is more influential than the laws, so that what is to be seen is a pitiful spectacle—protests from the peasantry, the bandying of high words, a crowd of lawyers, legal arguments, decisions, and the winning of the case. And off goes the owner with head

^a Cf. *Or.* 30. 10 ff., where a similar combination of imperial self-interest and financial justice is adduced.

^b The inhabitants of this type of village are *coloni*, the landlords only too often decurions. The development of patronage of this kind seems to have been comparatively recent.

LIBANIUS

γῆν κύπτων ἀπηλθεν, οἱ δὲ ἔπονται τωθάζοντες.
οἶον δὴ τι καὶ τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς, βασιλεῦ, γεγένηται.

- R ii. 509 13. Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν πάνυ γῆν ἡμῶν πολὺν ἐργα-
ζόμενοι χρόνον, γενεᾶς | τέτταρας, ἐπεθύμησαν μὴ
ὄπερ ἦσαν εἶναι καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἀποσεισάμενοι
ζυγὸν ἡξίουν ὀρισταὶ τοῦ πῶς ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς χρη-
στέον εἶναι. ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες χρώμεθα δικα-
στηρίῳ. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ καθήμενος τίνες ὄντες εἰς
τίνα παροινούσιν ἐν τίνι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, τοὺς
μὲν ἔδῃσε διπλῶ δεσμῶ, τῷ τε οἰκῆματι καὶ σι-
δήρῳ, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὄντα φράσσοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀγε-
σθαι. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ χαλεπήνας | πρὸς ἐμέ F 41
μνησθέντα λύσεως ὄχετο ἀπιὼν ἐτέρωσε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ
τὸ τῶν πολλῶν πάλαισμα, τὸν οἶκον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ,
R ii. 510 καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῖς | δικαίοις ἀσπίδα. καὶ κρι-
θαὶ καὶ σῖτος καὶ νῆτται καὶ χιλὸς ἵπποις. 14. καὶ
ὁ μὲν προσέταξεν ἑᾶν¹ τοὺς λιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, ὁ
δὲ ὑπήκουσέ τε καὶ ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ δικάζων ὁ
μὲν οὐκ ἦν, ἦν, ὁ δ' ἦν, οὐκ ἦν, ἀντὶ δικαστοῦ
συνήγορος. τοιγαροῦν εἰλκεν ὑπὸ τὴν ψῆφον ἡμᾶς
καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πέμπων ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, τὸ
ἤδη βουλόμενος, τὸ μήπω μεμφόμενος, σπεύδων
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐχθρὰν τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν. καὶ οὕτως ἦν
δηλος τὸ δίκαιον προησόμενος τῇ χάριτι, ὥσθ' οἱ
¹ προσέταξεν ἑᾶν Re., F. : προσέταξε κᾶν Goth. (mss.).

^a Harmand (p. 192) assumed that the court hearing took place in the village. But disputes between landlord and tenant were conducted before the governor (*Or.* 45. 3 ff.), and the court was therefore held in Antioch. It may be presumed that the general's quarters were there, too. For

ORATION XLVII, 12-14

downcast, and they follow, jeering at him,—an experience, Sire, such as I personally have experienced.

13. For a long time now, four generations in fact, we have had as tenants working on land some real, proper Jews. They conceived the desire not to remain as they were, and, casting off their long-established yoke, they presumed to define how I should employ them. I refused to accept this and had recourse to the courts.^a The president of the court learned who they were, who was the victim of their insolence and who it was on whom they placed their hopes, and he had them arrested in a double bondage—in prison and in chains, and he commanded the summoning of witnesses to relate the facts. After making this pronouncement and losing his temper with me when I made mention of their release, he packed his bags and went off elsewhere. But they resorted to the usual trick and made for the general's quarters, their shield against the claims of justice. Then came the presents of barley and corn, and ducks, and fodder for the horses. 14. And the general ordained the release of these who had deserted their post, and the governor obeyed and promised to do so. And there the judge became what he was not and ceased to be what he was : instead of judge he became advocate. Anyway, day after day he tried to hale me into court, sending one messenger after another, demanding my presence immediately, reproving me for my non-attendance, zealous in promoting an unholy piece of favouritism. It was so obvious that he intended to sacrifice justice for influence that people problems concerning Libanius' Jewish tenants *cf.* Introduction, p. 496 f.

LIBANIUS

νυκτὸς ἐξιόντες παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτηδείων
 οἷς συντυγχάνοιεν ἔλεγον κεκρίσθαι μοι τὴν δίκην
 καὶ τὸ κράτος ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἀντιδίκων. 15. καὶ ὡς
 τοῦθ' οὕτως εἶχεν, ἐδείχθη τῆς ἐπιούσης. οἱ μὲν
 R ii. 511 γὰρ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὄντες ῥήτορες ἤκουον ὅτι | δεῖ
 σιωπᾶν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν, τῶν δὲ σὺν ἐκεί-
 νοις οὐδὲν ἦν ἀσθενὲς ἐν σκιαῖς τοῖς ἅπασιν. τῆς
 ψήφου δὲ τεθείσης οἶαν τὸ κράνος καὶ ὁ θώραξ
 ἤθελεν, αὐτὸν¹ ἐδίωκεν ὁ ἐψηφισμένος, οὐ γὰρ εἶα
 τὸ συνειδὸς ἡρεμεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εἰσιόντας οὐδὲν
 αἰτιωμένους ὦμνυ πάντας ὄρκους ἢ μὴν ὀρθὴν πε-
 ποιῆσθαι | τὴν κρίσιν. ἦττον γὰρ ἠγείτο κακὸν τὴν F 412
 εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν ἢ τὸ φθέγξασθαι τι τούτων
 ἂ σιγαῖσθαι βούλοιτ' ἂν ὁ στρατηγός. 16. ὃν
 ἠξίου ἐγωγε μᾶλλον δεδιέναι τὸ λυμαίνεσθαι τοῖς
 δικαίοις ἢ τὸ πυθέσθαι τινὰς ὡς αὐτὸς ταῦτα κελεύ-
 σειεν. ἂ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ δίκαια, τί ἂν αἰσχύνοιτο; εἰ
 δὲ ἄδικα, τί τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιθυμεῖ; εἰ δ' οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ
 τὸ δίκαιον ἐσώθη τῷ πλείοστα δὴ περὶ λόγους κάμ-
 νοντι καὶ γράμμασι δὴ παρὰ σοῦ κεκοσμημένῳ καὶ
 τὴν τῶν πεφοιτηκότων ἔξοντι λύπην, τί χρὴ περὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων οἷς οὐδὲν τούτων ἔστιν ὑπολαμβάνειν;
 R ii. 512 17. Ταυτὶ | μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν εἴρηται μοι τοῦ
 ταῖς ἀποστροφαῖς² ταυταισὶ ταῖς τῶν γεωργῶν
 πολλοὺς οἴκους διασειέσθαι. καθ' ἑκάστην γὰρ δὴ
 πόλιν τοιοῦτοι μὲν γεωργοί, τοιαῦται δὲ θύραι,³

¹ αὐτόν Re., F. : αὐτόν Goth. (mss.).

² ἀποστροφαῖς Re., F. (A) : ἀποτροφαῖς Goth. (other mss.).

³ θῆραι Harmand (M corrected).

^a These would be the official visitors, *honorati* like Libanius or *principales* at least, and would see this piece of chicanery as a precedent contrary to their own interests.

ORATION XLVII, 14-17

who left him one night told the friends of mine whom they met that my case had been decided and that my adversaries would gain the day. 15. And that this was the case was demonstrated next day, for the lawyers on our side were told that they must **keep mum, however strong their arguments, and that my opponents' supporters had a watertight case, though in every particular it was sheer humbug.** The verdict went as the helmet and cuirass dictated, but the judge who had given this verdict became his own accuser, for his conscience gave him no peace, and to his visitors,^a though they made no accusation, he tried to swear all kinds of oath that he really had given a straight verdict. His notion was that impiety towards the gods is less of an evil than the utterance of anything that the general would want hushed up. 16. I, for one, felt that the general showed more disquiet at the perversion of justice than at the spread of the news that it had been done at his order. But if it is justified, why should he feel ashamed? If it is not, why be so eager for such things? And if justice has not been preserved for me even, despite my long labours in the service of education,^b despite the receipt of honours by letters from yourself,^c and the support I shall have in the annoyance felt by my ex-pupils, what must be expected in the case of others who have none of these advantages?

17. Now, I have mentioned this as a demonstration of the damage done to many families by these desertions of peasants, for in every city there are such peasants, such doors to receive them, such pay-

^b Libanius' favourite form of self-commendation.

^c The honorary prefecture, *Or.* 2. 8, 30. 1, 45. 1 and notes.

LIBANIUS

τοιούτοι δὲ μισθοί, τοιαῦται δὲ συνθήκαι, τοιαῦτα δὲ κέρδη, τοιαῦται δὲ ζημίαι, τοιαῦται δὲ εὐφροσύναι, τοιαῦται δὲ κατήφειαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγρῶν οἷς ὁδὸς οὐκ ἔνι τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑβρίζειν, γυναικας καταλιπόντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τέκνα φέρονται πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχύοντας ἐκείνους, τοὺς τοιούτους πύργους, ἀπολαύσοντες τῆς παρανόμου δυνάμεως. κἂν ὁ κατηγορῶν γένηται τῶν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τις, αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν | τοῦ κατηγο- F 413
ρουμένου καταπαλαίσας τὸν αἰτιασάμενον ἀπήληθε.

R ii. 513 18. τίνος δὴ <παῦσαι>¹ ταυτασὶ τὰς διαδύσεις²; τίνος τηρῆσαι τοῖς ἐκδεξαμένοις³ τοὺς ἀγρούς; σὸν, βασιλεῦ, τὸ ἔργον. | παρὰ σοῦ προσήκει τὸ δῶρον ἔλθεῖν. σὸν καὶ παθεῖν τι καὶ ἰάσασθαι καὶ μὴ τὸν ζῆλον ἔρποντα περιδεῖν. μᾶλλον δὲ πολὺν μὲν ἤδη τοῦτο περιώπται χρόνον, δεῖ δὲ αὐτό που καὶ στήναι.

19. Ἐρῆσεται τοίνυν μέ τις ὑπὲρ τῶν γεωργῶν εἰ μὴ ἐξέσται βοηθείας ἑαυτοῖς πορίζειν. τὰς μὲν οὐκ ἀδίκους φαίην ἄν, τὰς δὲ κακὰς οὐδαμῶς. πρώτην μὲν τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἣ γένοιτ' ἄν εὐχαῖς τε καὶ θεραπειαῖς· ἔπειτα τὴν δι' ὑδάτων βλαπτόντων μὲν ἀπωθουμένων, μελλόντων δὲ ὠφελεῖν ἐπαγομένων. ἔστι καὶ τοὺς κυρίου τῶν κτημάτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς⁴ ποιῆσαι φιλανθρωποτέρους, ὡς τὰ μὲν ὀφείλουσιν ἀφεῖναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ δοῦναι, ἦν τ' αὖ δίκης που πρὸς ἀλλήλους δέωνται, τοῦτον

¹ <παῦσαι> F.: <ἀποφράττειν> conj. Re.

² διαδύσεις conj. Re., F.: διαλύσεις Goth., Re. text (mss.).

³ ἐκδεξαμένοις conj. Re., F.: ἐκλεξαμένοις Goth., Re. text (mss.).

⁴ αὐτοὺς Re., F.: αὐτοὺς Goth. (mss.).

ORATION XLVII, 17-19

ments, such agreements, such gains and such losses, such transports of joy and such depths of despair.^a Moreover, from the other estates those who do not have their way clear for such excesses, many of them deserting their wives and children, scuttle to those persons of influence, such towers of strength, to enjoy their illegal power to the full. And even if the accuser be a member of the general's train, he tells him that he will deal with the offender, and off he goes, leaving the accuser floored. 18. Whose job is it, then, to put a stop to evasions like this? and whose to preserve their estates for those who inherited them? The task is yours, Sire. It is proper that this bounty should come from you. It is for you to feel some concern and to provide the cure and not to ignore the growing spread of spite. In fact, this has already been ignored for long enough already; a stop must surely be put to it.

19. Well, I may be asked on behalf of the peasants, aren't they to be allowed to get help for themselves? Certainly, would be my reply, provided it is not illegal, but never any that is evil. First there is that from the gods, which may be gained by prayers and acts of worship. Then there is that from water: if it does harm, it is shut off, but if it is likely to be of assistance, it is let in. They can even make their masters more kindly disposed towards them, so as either to allow a remission of debts, or even to offer a grant and again, if they ever need to have recourse to law between each other, they should approach the

^a The father of the recent *consularis* Eutropius (*PLRE* 318 (3); Seeck 153 (v)) had been such a fugitive *colonus*, which adds spice to the statements here. For legislation concerning these *coloni* cf. *C. Th.* 5. 17.

LIBANIUS

R ii. 514 εἰσιέναι,¹ πλὴν εἴ τι δέοιτο μείζονος. | 20. πάσαις δὲ ἐπικουρίαις οὐ χρηστέον, κἂν ὧσιν οὐ κατὰ νόμον κἂν² ποιῶσί με τῶν ἐμῶν ἄκυρον. εἰσὶν ἡμῶν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πόλεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦν οὖν ἔριδι καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τινὶ πόλις ἐλαττουμένη πόλεως καλέσῃ συμμάχους τοὺς γείτονας βαρβάρους, ἀνεκτὸν <ἦ> καλὸν | τι³ ποιή- F 414
σει καὶ ἐπαίνων, ἀλλ' οὐ τιμωρίας ἄξιον; ἐμοὶ μὲν κἂν κατασκαφῆναι δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις γενέσθαι τάφος, ἵνα μὴ τοιαῦτα νικῶν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ κρατεῖν ἔδει προσθήκη τινί, ταύτην ἔνδοθεν ἔδει καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων εἶναι. 21. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἰκέτην ἄξιον δίκης ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν ἀξιοῦντα τυχεῖν εἰς τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα βλέπειν καὶ παραστάντα ἰκετεύειν τὸν οὐ κύριον ἀφέντα τὸν δεσπότην. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἅπας ἔτ' ἂν εἶη τοῦ δεσπότου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν μικρὸν μέρος τοῦ βεβοηθηκότος ποιῶ⁴ μερίζων μὲν τὴν εὐνοίαν, μερίζων δὲ τὰ τοῦ σώματος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον ἐχρήν λαμβάνειν μὲν δίκην, λαμβάνειν δὲ διὰ τοῦ δεσπότου· τὸ δὲ δι' ἄλλου κἂν ἀποστερηθῆσαι τοῦ δούλου πολλακίς τὸν δεσπότην καταπεφρονημένον ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἄλλου βοθηθείας.

22. Τί οὖν, φησίν, εἰ τῆς χρείας ἐλάττων ὁ τὸν

¹ εἰσιέναι F. : εἰδέναι Goth., Re. (mss.).

² κἂν F. : καὶ Goth., Re. (mss.).

³ <ἦ> conj. Re., F. : ἀνεκτὸν τι καὶ καλὸν Harmand (I marg.): καλὸν om. IBM.

⁴ ποιῶ conj. Re., F. : ποιῶ Goth., Re. text (mss.).

^a A prime need of the peasantry, besides that of protection from outside aggression, involves the security of their irrigation rights (contrast § 5). Yet another is the reasonable settlement of disputes. Indebtedness of peasant to landlord (Jo. Chrys. *Hom. in Matth.* 61, P.G. lviii. 591; Salvian, *de Gub. Dei*, 5. 8, P.L. liii. 101 ff.) is an economic factor

ORATION XLVII, 19-22

owner, unless some higher authority is required.^a 20. But they must not have recourse to assistance of every type, the illegal, for instance, or that which robs me of what is mine. We have cities on our frontier, Sire, facing the barbarians : if one city is worsted by another, and out of rancour or spite calls the near-by barbarians to be its allies,^b will its conduct be supportable or right, and will it deserve praise and not punishment ? In my opinion, it would deserve to be razed to the ground and become a tomb for its citizens, so as not to win a victory of this kind. If it had to gain the day by some additional support this ought to have come from within and from its own people. 21. Nor again is it right for a slave, if he demands justice for wrongs suffered, to look to any Tom, Dick or Harry, and to present himself before anyone who is not his owner and implore his aid, while ignoring his master. For he would no longer belong entirely to his master, but he would present his protector with the lion's share in any division of his loyalty and personal services. Certainly, it is right that he should secure justice, but he should secure it through his master. To do so through somebody else often means the master losing his slave altogether, since he is despised as a result of the assistance rendered by another.

22. "Well," it may be said, "what happens if most prominent at this time because of fiscal pressures exerted by the government, and is here skated over. Libanius' conception of the landlord (=decurion) as patron bears little relation to the facts.

^b A not impossible idea, canvassed by Themistius, *Or.* 8. 115 c, and at the level of the individual reiterated by the Greek fugitive at the court of Attila, Priscus, fr. 8 (*F.H.G.* (ed. Müller) 4. 86-88), and Salvian, *loc. cit.*

LIBANIUS

ἄγρον ἔχων εἶη καὶ δέοι δυνατωτέρας κεφαλῆς; ὁ
 R ii. 515 μὲν λεγέτω πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἐκείνος | δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον,
 καὶ σὺ μὲν ἐκείνου, τούτου δὲ ἐκείνος δεῖσθω. καὶ
 σύ τ' ἂν ὠφελοῖο ταύτη βλάβηται τ' ἂν οὐδ' ἐκεῖ-
 νος πεπηγυῖας τῆς περὶ ταῦτα τάξεως. οὐ γὰρ δὴ
 τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν γῆν τούτοις καὶ πόρρω τῶν
 πόλεων καὶ βουσί συζῶσιν ἐπέθοντ' ἂν καὶ συνέ-
 πραττον, τοῖς δὲ ἐκείνων κυρίοις οὐκ ἂν προσεῖχον
 οὐδ' ἂν τὸ μὲν παρ' ἐκείνων λαβεῖν ἡγοῦντο καλόν,
 | τὸ δὲ παρὰ τούτων οὐ καλὸν καὶ ταῦτα ἴσον ὄν. F 415
 ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὅμοιον τοὺς δεσπότας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐργα-
 ζομένων δοῦναι τοῖς δυναμένοις ἢ τοὺς ἐργάτας ἐπὶ
 τοῖς δεσπόταις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ βεβαιοῖ τὰ ὄντα τοῖς
 ἔχουσι, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἐὰν θαρρεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ σαθροῖς. 23.
 ἔτι τοίνυν ἔστι παρ' οὐκ ὀλίγοις τούτων καὶ τὸ
 δύνασθαι παρ' ὅτου καὶ τὸ βοηθεῖν ἄλλοις ἔστι.
 πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἱκανὸν¹ αὐτοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τούτοις
 R ii. 516 καὶ τοῖς τούτων | πράγμασιν [ἱκανὸν]² οἱ στρα-
 τηγοὶ κτώμενοι δι' αὐτῶν³ τὴν πλεονεξίαν; εἰ γὰρ
 δὴ διὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν, οὐχὶ καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν τὰ
 αὐτῶν ἔξειν ὦντο. βουλομένοις δ' ἦν κατὰ πρῶ-
 των, ἔπειτα καθ' ἑτέρων μυρίων, ὅπως ἐξείη δρᾶν
 ἂ πρότερον διῆλθον. διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς τὴν καλὴν
 μὲν, ἄοπλον δὲ κεκτημένους δύναμιν οὐδὲ ζῆν νο-
 μίζουσιν.

24. Οὐδὲν δεινόν, φησί, προσλαβεῖν κηδεμόνας.

¹ οὐχ ἱκανὸν Re., F. : οὐχὶ κᾶν Goth. (CAP) : οὐκ ἂν IBM.

² πράγμασιν ἱκανὸν mss. : ἱκανὸν om. Cobet, Harmand, bracketed F.

³ αὐτῶν Goth., Harmand (mss.) : αὐτῶν Re., F.

^a Reiske confessedly found the whole of the preceding section difficult to understand, and not without reason.

ORATION XLVII, 22-24

the landlord is incapable of doing the job, and some more powerful personage is needed ? ” Then let the peasant tell the master, and he tell this other. You, my man, make your request to him, and let him pass it on. You would get help in this way, and he would suffer no harm, since the order of precedence in such matters remains firmly fixed. It would surely not happen that officials would listen to and act in collusion with these farm-workers, these country bumpkins who have their oxen for company, and would pay no attention to their masters, or think it improper to take from the master and proper to take from the man, even though it amounts to the same thing. It is a different matter for the masters to make a contribution to these mandarins for the sake of their tenants and for the tenants to do so to their masters’ hurt. In the first case, the possessors are confirmed in their position ; in the second, their confidence is undermined and it is as though the rot has set in. 23. Moreover, not a few of these landlords have influence, too, and from it they can even assist others. Then, how is it that it is not sufficient for them, or rather for both the tenants and their estates, for the military commanders to attain their pre-eminence by their agency ? For, surely, if they attained it by means of the landlords, they never thought to employ their possessions as weapons against them too. But it was possible for them, when they wished to do so against the leading citizens, and then against a host of the rest, so as to be able to act in the manner I have described above. Hence they regard the possessors of a notable but non-military influence as simply non-existent.^a

24. No harm is done, so I am told, by acquiring

LIBANIUS

καὶ μὴν οὐ τοῦτ' ἐν¹ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῶν οἰκε-
τῶν ἐδείκνυτο. ταῦτὸ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν γεωρ-
γῶν εἰρήσθω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ λίαν ὧν εἰσιν ἀφήρη-
ται παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ δύνασθαι, βέλτιον ζῆν ἐν τῇ
'κεινῶν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι τῆς τύχης ἢ τοι-
αύτην ἀνεῖσθαι | δύναμιν καὶ τοὺς κεκτημένους F 416

R ii. 517 ἐλέγχειν, | ἐπεὶ καὶ γυνὴ δυοῖν ἀνδροῖν οὐσα δυνα-
τωτέρα ἂν εἴη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν συνησθείης ἐχούση τὸν
μὲν γάμῳ, τὸν δὲ μοιχείᾳ. καίτοι καὶ πλουσιώ-
τερον ἔστιν εἶναι τὸν μοιχὸν πολλαχοῦ, παρ' οὗ
πλείω τῇ γυναικὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἢ τοῦ λαβόντος αὐτὴν
μεθ' Ὑμεναίου. ἄρ' οὖν οἴσομεν λεγούσης ὡς οὐκ
ἴσον εἰς καὶ δύο οὐδὲ μέγας καὶ βραχὺς οὐδε
ῥαῖος καὶ ἄμορφος; οὕτω μὲν ὁ μάλιστα συνέχει
τὸν βίον, ὁ περὶ τοὺς γάμους νόμος, οἰχθήσεται.

25. Ἐρεῖ τοίνυν τις τοιοῦτον τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς
κολακευόντων λόγον ὡς ἐλάττω πρόσεισι τοῖς στρα-
τηγοῖς, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπισχῆσει τις τὸ ρεῦμα. καὶ τί
δεινὸν εἰ τὰ νῦν προσιόντα κακῶς παύσεται; οὐ
γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔστιν² ἄξιον σκοπεῖν, εἰ ἐλάττω λή-
φονται, ἀλλ' εἰ δικαιότερον ἐκεῖνο τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰ
πονηρᾶς δόξης ἀπαλλάττει τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατη-
γεῖν. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι κέρδος καὶ
τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, τοῖς μὲν μηκέτ' ἀδικεῖσθαι, τοῖς³
δὲ μηκέτ' ἀδικεῖν.

26. Ἀθυμήσουσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κωλυόμενοι ταῦ-
τα θερίζειν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ κλέπται καὶ οἱ τοιχω|ρύχοι F 417

¹ τοῦτ' <ὄν> ἐν F.

² ἔστιν edd. : ἐνι mss.

³ τοῖς conj. Re., F. (CIBM) : τοὺς Goth., Re. text (AF).

^a Cf. § 21.

ORATION XLVII, 24-26

fresh protectors. But it is not this that was demonstrated in my argument about the slaves^a; and let me make the same demonstration about the peasants, too. Suppose those, to whom they really belong, by will of the god are deprived of their power, it is better that they should live their lives in their masters' weakness and endure their lot rather than purchase such a power as this and show up the owners. Take the case of a woman: if she belonged to two men, she would have more influence, but you would not welcome her having one in marriage and the other in adultery. Yet it is often possible for the adulterer to be the richer man, and the woman might get from him more than she could from the man who took her in the bonds of matrimony. Are we going to let her get away with it, then, if she says that there is a difference between one and two, between the short and the tall, between the handsome and the ugly? If we do, the most binding link of society, the tie of marriage, will vanish.

25. Some of the toadies of the officials will put forward some such argument as this, that there will be a loss of income for the military commanders if this source is stopped. Well, what is wrong in stopping these present dishonest gains? What we ought to consider is not whether they will get less but whether such a situation is more honest than the present one, and whether it rids the generals of their ill repute, for there will be the same profit for the wrong-doer as for his victim—the discontinuance of wrong-doing, whether it be suffered or inflicted.

26. Another objection is that it will be bad for the morale of the generals not to be allowed to reap this harvest. Thieves too, burglars, pick-pockets,

LIBANIUS

καὶ οἱ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ οἱ τῶν τάφων ἀπτόμενοι
καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων πάντες οὗτοι διὰ τὰς
ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τιμωρίας ἄχθονται. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄχ-
θονται, οἱ νόμοι δὲ βοῶσιν ἃ ληφθέντες πείσσονται.
καὶ τὸ μὲν τολμᾶν οὐκ ἀναιροῦσιν ὅλως, αὐτοῦ δὲ
τοῦ τολμᾶν οὐ μικρόν. καὶ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀπο-
νενοημένος ὅστις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὑπομεῖναι ὅτι, ὦ βασι-

R ii. 518

λεῦ, | τοὺς κωλυτὰς τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνέλωμεν
νόμους, ἵνα μὴ λυπῶμεν τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκ ἐω-
μένους πλουτεῖν μηδ' εὐποριῶν δοκῶμέντισι φθονεῖν.
27. Μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὁδὸς ἀνε-
ώχθω κερδῶν κακῶν μηδὲ τὸ μὲν τούτων ὁράτω
τις, τῆς δὲ τῶν ὀλίγα κεκτημένων μερίδος ἀμε-
λείτω, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο σώζει Ῥωμαίους τὴν ἰσχὺν
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν¹ φόβον, εἰ καθ' ἡμέραν τε
καὶ νύκτα καινῶν δέη κιβωτῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ
τὸν ἐπιρρέοντα πλούτον, οὐ γὰρ πλούτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν
στρατηγικώτερος, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ καὶ τέχνῃ καὶ δόξης
ἔρωτι καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον ψόγον δεδιέναι θανάτου.

28. οὐδ' οὗτος ἂν εἰκότως ταύτην ἄρχοι τὴν ἀρ-
χήν, ὅτῳ πλήθος ἔνι ταλάντων ἑξαριθμεῖν, ἀλλ'
ὅτῳ λαφύρων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τροπαίων, οἷους
τοῖς πατράσιν ὑπήρχεν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὄραν. ὧν ὁ
πλείστον μὲν χρόνον, πλείστων δὲ ἡγησάμενος
στρατιωτῶν ἕνα μὲν μόλις ἀγρὸν ἐπρίατο, ἔτι² δὲ
τῶν οὐκ | ἐπαινουμένων, οἰκέτας δὲ εἶχεν ἑνδεκα, F 41E
ἡμιόνους δώδεκα, τρεῖς δὲ ἵππους, κύννας δὲ Λα-
καίνας τέτταρας, ἀλλ' ὅμως δέος μὲν αὐτοῦ ταῖς
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνώκει ψυχαῖς. τηθίδα δ' ἐμὴν |
R ii. 519 ἔγγημεν ἐπὶ μεγίστη προικί, ἔδνα δὲ ἦν τὸ κλέος.

¹ τὸν before τοῖς Goth., Re. (CAP): transposed F.: om. IBM.

grave robbers and the riflers of temple treasures all resent being punished for their respective offence, but for all their resentment, the laws proclaim what their punishment will be, if caught, and this, though it does not entirely remove the tendency towards crime, removes no small part of it. No one is so senseless as to venture to say "Sire, let us do away with the laws that check these rascalities, so as not to annoy those who are prevented from enriching themselves thereby, nor yet to appear to begrudge people their prosperity."

27. Not even for military officers should the way to base gain be opened, nor should we keep an eye on their interests while ignoring the class of small proprietors. This is not what keeps the Roman empire in safety and its enemies in fear, if day and night alike our commanders require fresh strong-boxes because of the money that pours in upon them. A commander becomes no more of a commander because of his wealth, but because of his ability and skill, and love of glory, and his fear of dishonour rather than death. 28. Nor yet would the man who can count his fortune in millions be the proper man to hold this command, but rather one who can list spoils of war, prisoners and trophies,—the sort of people our fathers had the good fortune to behold. One such, after commanding large forces over a long period, was hard put to it to purchase a single farm, and not one that was much esteemed, either. He had eleven slaves, a dozen mules, three horses and four Spartan hounds, but, for all that, the fear he inspired dwelt deep in the hearts of the barbarians. He married my aunt : she brought him a large dowry,

² *ἐτι* Re., F. : *τι* Goth. (MSS.).

LIBANIUS

ὁ δὲ γήμας οὐδὲ δειπνῶν ἐμεθύσκετο, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν οὔτε καλῶν οὔτε καλούμενος, ἀλλ' ἦρχε καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τοὺς δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαφθείρει τὸ ζῆν ἐν τοσοῦτοις ποιοῦν αὐτοὺς φιλοψύχους ἀντιφιλοτίμων καὶ πείθον φεύγειν ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν κινδύνων ἐπὶ τὰ παρέχοντα τρυφᾶν. 29. διὰ τοῦτο πάντας ὑμᾶς¹ οὐ πλούτου πορίζειν ἔδει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀφορμάς, ἀλλ' ἔργων μεγάλων ἐπιθυμητὰς ἀποφαίνειν. νῦν δὲ ἐν βλέπουσι,² χρήματα, καὶ πᾶσα πρόφασις τοῦτο δυναμένη ταχέως ἀρπάζεται, καὶ τηλικαυτὰ σφισιν ἔνδον ὄρη χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου προστιθεμένων ἄλλων ἄλλοις ἀναβέβηκεν, ὥστ' ἀπιστεῖν ἀκούοντας τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένων, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ὅσον ἔστιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑμετέροις³ θησαυροῖς, οὓς ἔδει γέμειν μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἢ <τοὺς>⁴ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς | ὄντων, F 419

R ii. 520 μικροῦ τοῦδαφος | ἅπαν ὀραῖται, τὸ κρυπτόμενον δὲ ὀλίγον. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀμφότερα εἰδότες οὐδὲν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους⁵ ἔλκετε, ἀλλὰ κειμένων ἀπέχεσθε καὶ ταῦτα ὄντος λογισμοῦ τοῦ παραινοῦντος ἀπτεσθαι. 30. ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἠρόμην αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον τοῦδε τοῦ θρόνου τί καὶ βούλεται τὸ πλήθος αὐτοῖς τούτων τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τίς ὁ νοῦς τῶν σωρῶν. οὔτε γὰρ θυγατέρας λέγοντες λέγοιεν ἄν

¹ ὑμᾶς conj. Re., F. : ἡμᾶς Goth., Re. text (mss.).

² ἐν βλέπουσι Cobet, F. : βλέπουσι conj. Re. : ἐμβλέπουσι Goth., Re. text (mss.).

³ ὑμετέροις conj. Goth., Re., F. (BM) : ἡμετέροις Goth. text (CAPI).

⁴ <τοὺς> conj. Re., F.

⁵ πολέμους Goth., F. (AP) : πολεμίους Re. (CIBM).

^a On this unexpected family connection of Libanius cf. Pack, *Studies*, pp. 8 f.

ORATION XLVII, 28-30

but his bride-gift was his fame.^a After marriage, he did not go in for drinking, even at dinner ; nor did he do so in the course of his command, either on issue or on receipt of an invitation, but he kept control of his belly no less than of his men. As for the generals of today ^b—what ruins them is precisely this life of plenty, which causes them to have more regard for their lives than for their reputations, and induces them to shun noble ventures and to make for what provides the means of loose living. 29. Hence you should not all ^c present the commanders with opportunities for making money, but you should show yourselves as desiring great deeds from them. As it is, they have eyes for one thing only—money ; any excuse which can provide it is eagerly seized, and such are the mountains of gold and silver mounting up for them at home, with one piled on top of another, that, upon being told by those in charge of this business, they hardly believe that they have as much as they do have. But in your treasuries, which, as being those of the state rather than of the officers in charge of them, ought to be full to overflowing, one can see practically the whole floor bare, and the amount contained is paltry. You are well aware of both facts, and yet you take from those people nothing for your wars : you keep clear of their deposits, even though commonsense demands that you should seize them. 30. I would like to ask them, here before your throne, what is their idea in amassing such fortunes, and what is the intention behind their piles of treasure. If they talk of their daughters,

^b Cf. Or. 2. 37 ff.

^c Emperors in general, including Theodosius. An appeal to imperial *esprit de corps*, as in Or. 24.

LIBANIUS

τι οὐθ' υἱοὺς οὔτε γάμους ἢ 'κείνων ἢ τούτων οὔτε καιρὸν εἰς ὑπάτους ἄγοντα οὐδ' ἄλλην ἄμεμπτον δαπάνην οὐδεμίαν. ἀναγκάζετ' οὖν ἐπ' ἐκείνην ἵεναι καὶ τὸν οὐ βουλόμενον, ἦν οὐδὲ ὄναρ ἐννοεῖν ἀσφαλές. οὕτως εἴ τις ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐλάττοσι ποιή-
σειεν, εὐεργέτης ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ πάντα δοίη.

31. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη νοσεῖν, πολλοὶ κρουνοὶ τούτοις ῥέουσιν ἀπὸ πολλῶν | τῶν πηγῶν ὀρμώμενοι καὶ πολλάκις ἕκα-
στον Μίδαυ ποιοῦντες καὶ Κινύραν καὶ τὰ τούτων. τοσοῦτον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν διδόντων, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἐξείη λαμβάνειν, τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ παρὰ τῆς τροφῆς¹ τῶν λόχων. οἷς ἐνὶ ζῶντα ποιεῖν τὸν οἰχόμενον ἐσθίειν τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ του τεθνεώτος ὀνόματι. 32. ὄντων δὲ τούτων μεγάλων εἰσὶ Πακτωλοὶ μείζονες, χρυσὸς ὁ δικαίως μὲν ἂν μείνας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μεθιστά-
μενος | δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ᾧ πένης τε καὶ F 420 ἀθυμότερος ὁ μάχιμος γίνεταί μέρη τε ὑποδη-
μάτων φορῶν καὶ χλαμύδος εἰδωλον. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς ἢ φορᾶ, ὥστ' ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς
R ii. 522 μάχας πεινῶντα σώματα. | 33. ἐξεύρηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σοφίσματα χρυσίτιδος γῆς οὐ χεῖρω. βραδυ-
τῆς τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τιμῆν οὐκ ἀρχαίαν μὲν, εἰσελ-
θοῦσαν δὲ ὅμως, εἶτα τοῦτ' ὀργὴν ἐποίησεν, εἶθ' αἱ

¹ τῆς τροφῆς conj. Re., F. : τῆ τροφῆ Goth., Re. text (mss.).

^a Along with Croesus and Midas, Cinyras of Paphos, king of Cyprus, was one of the legendary millionaires of Greece: cf. *Or.* I. 273, 25. 23 ff., 55. 21; Homer, *Il.* II. 20 f.

^b Pactolus, the Lydian "river of gold," cf. *Or.* 21. 24, 62. 66.

ORATION XLVII, 30-33

or their sons, or the weddings of either, or the career preliminary to the consulship, or any other type of legitimate expenditure—these would be mere nothings. So even if anyone baulks, force him to undertake an expenditure that he would not even dream of without alarm. So, anybody who brings you people down a peg or two would be doing us more of a good turn than if he gave us everything. 31. But if it is impossible to keep them from taking their pick, and if they needs must err, then there are many springs flowing for them, starting from many a source, which time and again turn every one of them into a millionaire.^a First, there is all that which their dependants offer so that they too can take their pickings. Then, there is what they can get from the regimental ration returns: here they can keep the dead alive and themselves draw rations in the dead man's name. 32. These are big enough, but there are bigger Bonanzas^b still—the gold that should properly stay in the hands of the men but yet finds its way into those of the commander. As a result the fighting man is pauperized, his morale lowered, as he wears his scraps of boots and his ghost of a uniform. And quite often the contribution he makes is from his belly, so that they lead into action starving bodies. 33. Other dodges too have been devised—each as good as a gold mine. The city council is slow with some honorarium which, though not of long standing, has yet made its début.^c This results in resentment, and the consequent

^a *τιμῆ*, payment (so Reiske), rather than prestige (as Harmand, pp. 42, 159), seems to be the point here. The refusal by the council to make this new-fangled contribution results only in further extortion.

LIBANIUS

καταλλαγαὶ χρήματα. χρήματα δὲ κάκειθεν· στρατιώτης ἀγοραῖον ἐρεθίζει σκώπτων καὶ κνίζων ῥήμασι καὶ λαμβανόμενος καὶ ἔλκων καὶ ἐπισπώμενος. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν ἄπτεται πως καὶ αὐτός, τῶν πεπραγμένων δὲ οὐκ ἴσων εἶναι δοκούντων, μὴ γὰρ εἶναι φωνήν ἢ χεῖρα τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατιώτην, ἀρπάζεθ' ὁ κατηναγκασμένος ἀλγήσαι καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ τὸ μὴ τυπτόμενος ἀποθανεῖν ὠνεῖται.¹ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ σπείρεται καὶ θερίζεται μικρὰ πρὸς τὸ ῥηθησόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἔστιν αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἀργυρος, ἄχθος καμήλων. καὶ παραλείπω τὰκ τῆς ὑμετέρας οἰκίας εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἰόντα. 34. τί οὖν δεῖ μετὰ τοσοῦτον ὄμβρον λημμάτων ἀθλίους ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους οἷς οὐδὲν ἐν

R ii. 523 πλὴν τῶν ἀγρῶν; τί δ' ἀσεβεῖ πόρῳ τὰ | αὐτῶν² ἐπὶ μείζον | ἄγουσι συμπράττειν; μᾶλλον δὲ πολ- F 421
λοὶ μὲν ἄδικοι, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ παρὰ τῶν δυνάμεων δίκαιοι, πολλῶ δὲ οὗτος ἀδικώτατος.³ πατήρ μοι κατέλιπεν ἀγρὸν ἢ μήτηρ ἢ οἱ τούτους τεκόντες ἢ ἐπριάμην αὐτός, ἐν ᾧ γεωργοὺς εἶχον σωφρονοῦντας τὴν Τύχην ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ φιλανθρωπίαις. εἶτα σὺ τούτους λαβὼν ἐκμαίνεις καὶ κινεῖς ἀνεπίστους πολέμους καὶ ποιεῖς ἀνθρώπους εὐγενεῖς ἀπόρους.

¹ ὠνεῖται conj. Re., F.: ὠνηται Goth., Re. text (mss.).

² αὐτῶν Re., F.: αὐτῶν Goth. (mss.).

³ ἀδικώτατος conj. Re., F.: ἀδικώτερος Goth., Re. text (mss.).

^a The situation is now different from that preceding the riots of A.D. 387. A military garrison is now found stationed in Antioch.

reconciliation in cash. Cash also comes from the following sources : a soldier provokes a market trader, employing abuse and verbal insult : he lays hands on him, manhandles and ill-treats him.^a Then he too perhaps has hands laid on him, but there apparently is no comparison between the actions : such persons must raise neither voice nor hand against the soldiery, and so this wretch, who is doomed to suffer, is arrested and thrown into the guard-room and purchases the right not to be flogged to death. Every day there occur plenty of such seed-times and harvests, but these are minor matters compared with the next item—the sale of office,^b the silver and the camel-loads in kind, not to mention all the sums that pass every single year from your palace to theirs. 34. After such a deluge of takings what need is there then to make unbearable the lives of such people who have nothing but their farms, or to act in concert with those who seek to increase their fortunes by unholy means? Not just that ! There are rogues in plenty, for not even the representatives of the authorities are just, but this fellow is far and away the biggest rogue of all. My father or mother, or their parents before them, left me an estate, or I bought it myself, and there I had decent, respectable tenants^c who had some pious regard for dame Fortune in the services they received from me, and then you get hold of them, and enrage them, and stir up conflicts unimaginable, and reduce gentlemen to penury.

^b The generals recommend promotions only after massive bribery.

^c A generalization which includes Libanius' own position as regards his Jewish tenants.

LIBANIUS

35. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐκόντες οὐκ ἂν ποτε χαλι-
νώσαιεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπληστίαν, τῆς σῆς δὲ δέεται
τὸ πρᾶγμα, βασιλεῦ, καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τύχης· σὺ
γὰρ μόνος ἂν ἱατρὸς κατασταίης ἔλκουσ οὐ φορη-
τοῦ. καὶ μήτοι νομίσης ἀκούσεσθαι παρ' ἐμοῦ
περὶ νόμου τοὺς μὲν ἐπισχῆσοντος, τοῖς δὲ βοηθή-
σοντος. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ γέγραπται καὶ κείμεται νομο-
θέτην ἔχων τὸν σβέσαντα μὲν τυραννίδα, στήσαντα
δὲ Σικυθικὴν φλόγα, καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστί μοι κατὰ
R ii. 524 τῶν πραττομένων | ὅτι μου συναγορεύει τῷ λόγῳ
διὰ τοῦ νόμου βασιλεὺς θεοεἰκελος, εἶπεν ἂν Ὀμη-
ρος, τῇ ψυχῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σώματι.

36. Τί οὖν νῦν ἐσπούδακα νόμου πάλαι περὶ τού-
των κειμένου; οὐ τὸ τεθῆναι νόμον, γελοῖον γάρ,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ γεγράφθαι μάτην. μάτην γὰρ δὴ γέ-
γραπται, μάτην, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, ὄντων μὲν τῶν προσ-
ιόντων, ὄντων | δὲ τῶν δεχομένων καὶ τῶν μὴ F 422
ζητούντων τοὺς συναγωνιουμένους καὶ τῶν τοῦτο
ποιούντων. ἃ γὰρ ἂν ἐδράτο μηδενὸς νόμου κωλύ-
οντος, ταῦτα κωλύοντος γίγνεται καὶ τό τε ἔργον
πολὺ τό τε ὄνομα πανταχοῦ. 37. δέομαι δὴ¹ σου
κυρῶσαι τῇ τῶν οὐ πεισθέντων τιμωρίᾳ τὸν νόμον.
ἢ τί τὸ κέρδος τῶν γραμμάτων, ὅταν μηδὲν δια-
φέρῃ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀνθρώπων παρ' ὧν γένοιτ'
ἂν οὐδέν; τουτί δὲ ζημία μὲν τοῖς βασιλευομένοις,
οὐ καλὸν δὲ τῷ θέντι τὸν νόμον τοῦ δόξαντος ὄντος

¹ δὴ F. (B): δέ Goth., Re. (other mss.).

^a On this legislation *cf.* Introduction, p. 497 f.

^b Theodosius himself, *cf.* Or. 50. 14; the usurper is Maximus, *cf.* Ep. 845. For the triumph over the Goths in A.D. 379 *cf.* Or. 24. 16 (Vol. I, p. 503 n.). A further triumph was celebrated in A.D. 386.

ORATION XLVII, 35-37

35. But these people would never of their own free will bridle their insatiable greed. It is a matter, Sire, that requires the intelligence and position that you possess, for you can be the only healer of an unendurable wound. And do not think to hear from me talk of a law ^a to restrain them and to assist their victims. It has already been drafted and is on the statute book, and its author ^b is the one who has suppressed tyranny and quenched the flame of Gothic ravages, and my greatest encouragement in the face of these malpractices is that, by means of the law, my speech has the support of an emperor who is, in Homer's words, "like unto a god," ^c not so much physically as spiritually.

36. Then why have I gone to so much trouble when there is a law long since laid down upon this matter? Not to ensure the passing of a law, for that would be ridiculous, but to ensure that one has not been enacted in vain. For it is enacted in vain—I repeat, in vain, Sire,—while ever there are people to make advances and people to receive them, and while there are those who seek no such partisan support and those who do. For all that would have occurred if there were no law to prevent it, is occurring when there is; the action is common-place, and its name is everywhere. 37. Then I beg you to enforce the law by punishing those who disobey it. What value is there in engraving laws when they are no different from the graven images of men,^d from which no action can come? It is harmful to the subjects and discreditable to the legislator for

^c Cf. *Or.* 16. 18 (Vol. I, p. 222 n.), *Ep.* 1492. Homer, *Il.* 9. 435, *Od.* 8. 256.

^d For a similar pun cf. *Or.* 35. 22.

LIBANIUS

ἀκύρου. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸν τοῦ δεῖνος ὑπερβὰς νόμον
 δώσει δίκην, ὁ δὲ σὸν ἀθῶος ἄπεισιν; καὶ τοῖς
 μὲν ἄλλοις ἐμμενεῖ τοῖς σοῖς, τούτου δὲ κρείττων
 R. ii. 525 ἔσται τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ γνώμης ὄντος καὶ | πορφύρας;
 38. δὸς δὴ νεῦρα τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ποιήσον αὐτὸν ὡς
 ἀληθῶς νόμον ἀντὶ ψιλῆς προσηγορίας. εἰ δὲ οὐκ
 ἐθελήσεις, ἐξάλειψον. τοῦ γὰρ κείμενον ὑπερ-
 οραῖσθαι βέλτιον τὸ μηδὲ κείσθαι. ἀλλὰ μήποτε
 τοῦτ' ἐπίδοιμι γιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός τε ἀθάνα-
 τος μετὰ τοῦ σοῦ σπέρματος μένοι καὶ τῇ τῶν ἡδι-
 κηκότων δίκη τὰ λοιπὰ βελτίω γένοιτο.

^a σὸν confirms § 35, that this law is of Theodosian origin.

^b Compare the terms in which he wishes for hereditary successors to Julian (*Or.* 13. 53, 18. 294), and of his lament (*Or.* 17. 32).

ORATION XLVII, 37-38

his decree to be invalidated. Is a man who transgresses the law ordained by some Tom, Dick or Harry to be punished, while any who transgresses a law of yours ^a gets off scot-free? And while he abides by the rest of your laws, is he to put himself above this one, although it emanates from the same resolve and the same imperial purple? 38. Put sinews into the law, then, and make it a real law instead of an empty title. If this is not your wish, then rescind it. Rather than having an existing law flouted, it is better for it not to exist at all. But I trust I may never see this happen, but that it, and your seed together, may last for ever,^b and that, by the punishment of the guilty, the future may be mended.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES: A

(Includes those contemporaries of Libanius to whom reference, whether by name or allusion, is made in the text. Numerals in brackets indicate identifications proposed. Arabic numerals=*PLRE*, Roman numerals=Seeck, *B.L.Z.G.*)

- Achantia (*PLRE* p. 8), 143
Adrianople, 39
Aegae, 135
Alexandria, 131, 277, 471
Andromachus (*PLRE* p. 64; Seeck p. 70), 11
Andronicus (3, p. 64; II, p. 7), 189
Antioch, 61 ff., 201 ff., 247 ff., 269 ff., 311 ff., 349 ff., 369 ff., 375 ff., 421 ff., 461 ff.
Apamea, 17, 433
Apronius (*PLRE* p. 89), 437
Arcadius (Aug.: 5, p. 99), 313, 317, 345, 377, 381
Archelaüs (1, p. 100; I, p. 83), 15
Archelaüs (3, p. 100; II, p. 84), 15
Argyrius, 477
Athens, 17, 19
Balaneae, 471
Beroea, 121, 213 ff.
Berytus, 287, 439
Bosporus, 271, 401, 465
Brasidas (*PLRE* p. 164; II, p. 97), 297
Caesarius (6, p. 171), 315, 349 ff., 395
Cappadocia, 359
Celsus (5, p. 194; III, p. 107), 251, 285, 303
Chalcedon, 437
Cibalis, 329
Cilicia, 135, 437
Constantine (Aug.: 4, p. 223), 105 f., 133, 279 f., 463
Constantinople, 133, 217, 277 ff., 321, 327, 337, 463
Constantius (Aug.: 8, p. 226), 19, 107, 135, 139, 297 ff., 331, 425 ff.
Cynegius (3, p. 235), 143, 463 ff.
Cyprus, 433; Cypriotes, 39
Daphne, 69, 165, 181, 301, 343, 389
Deinias (*PLRE* p. 246), 189, 199, 201, 219

LIBANIUS

- Diocles (=Diocletian Aug.: 2, p. 253), 297, 323
 Dionysion, 185
 Domnicus (*PLRE* p. 265), 15

 Edessa, 141, 299, 331
 Egypt, 19, 131, 219, 277
 Ellebichus (*PLRE* p. 277; Seeck p. 167), 265, 315, 353, 375 ff.
 Eugenius (I, p. 291), 297, 323
 Euphrates, 199, 219
 Eutropius (2, p. 317; IV, p. 151), 149

 Flaccilla (Aug.: *PLRE* p. 341), 313, 317, 381
 Flavianus (Bishop), 111, 115, 119, 287

 Galatians, 425 f.
 Gauls, 105
 Goth, v. Scythian
 Gratian (Aug.: 2, p. 401), 49, 277
 Greek, 51, 485, 489

 Hannibalianus (I, p. 407), 281
 Honorias, 307
 Honorius (Aug.: 3, p. 442), 313, 317, 381

 Ionians, 431
 Italy, 485

 Jews, 513 ff.
 Julian (Aug.: 29, p. 477; I, p. 188), 43, 69, 107, 137, 149, 279, 303, 435 f., 463
 Julianus, 457

 Julius (Constantius: 8, p. 226), 281
 Julius (2, p. 481; III, p. 193), 15

 Latin, 35, 439 f., 485
 Letoſus (I, p. 197), 457, 477 f.
 Libanius (I, p. 505), 11 ff., 101 ff., 161, 177, 195, 255, 263, 269 f., 297, 353 ff., 375 f., 393, 421, 477, 513 f., 525 f.
 Licinius (Aug.: 3, p. 509), 105

 Macrentius, 457
 Maiuma, 69, 181
 Marathocupreni, 451
 Maternus, 457
 Maxentius (Aug.: 5, p. 571), 105
 Maximus (Aug.: 39, p. 588), 277, 533
 Mede (*i.e.* Persian), 303
 Modestus (Domitius: 2, p. 605; Seeck p. 213), 49

 Neoterius (*PLRE* p. 623), 49
 Nile, 131 f., 219, 465

 Palestine, 189
 Paltus, 471
 Pannonian (Paeonian), 277
 Panolbius (I, p. 665), 17
 Paphlagonian, 307
 Persian, 107, 135 f., 141, 149, 271, 301 f., 307, 345, 463
 Phasganius (Seeck p. 234), 17, 485
 Phoenicia, 441 f., 485;
 Phoenician, 189

INDEX

- Pontus, 439
 Procopius (I, p. 742; III, p. 247), 277, 329
- Roman, 75, 105, 129, 273, 279 f., 303, 307, 323, 329, 333, 485, 525
- Rome, 105, 129, 131, 217, 279 ff., 329, 439, 443, 447
- Sapor (*PLRE* p. 803; Seeck p. 269), 15
- Scythian (*i.e.* Goth), 279, 283, 321, 533
- Seleuceia, 297, 323 f., 431
- Strategius (*PLRE*, s.v. Musonianus, p. 611; I, p. 282), 299
- Syria, 331
- Tatianus (I, p. 876; I, p. 285), 461, 487
- Theodosius (Aug.: 4, p. 904), 49, 61 ff., 101 ff., 161 ff., 195 ff., 253, 269 ff., 311 ff., 357 ff., 377, 381, 387 f., 445, 461 ff., 501 ff.
- Theodosius (Count: 3, p. 902), 309
- Theophilus (I, p. 907; I, p. 311), 297
- Thrace, 39
- Tiber, 443
- Tigris, 463
- Tisamenus (*PLRE* p. 916), 189, 195 ff.
- Ulpianus (I, p. 973), 477
- Valens (Aug.: 8, p. 930), 107, 277, 329 f., 437 f., 451
- Valentinian (Aug.: 7, p. 933), 107, 277, 329, 439
- Victor (4, p. 957; I, p. 312), 15

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES: B

(Names derived from religion, mythology, classical history and literature)

- Achaeans, 335
Achaemenids, 137
Achilles, 137, 337
Adrasteia, 38
Aeacus, 224
Agamemnon, 129, 337
Agave, 37
Alcestis, 317
Alcibiades, 121
Alexander, 275, 325, 341, 471
Alexandria, 333
Apollo, 335, 341, 347, 389
Ares, 345
Argaeus, 327
Aristeides, 337
Artemis, 407
Asclepius, 121, 135, 317
Ate, 346
Athena, 34, 129, 147, 345, 401
Athens, 261, 275; Athenian, 129, 323, 327, 365
Boreas, 357
Cadmeian (victory), 145
Cadmus, 37
Calchas, 335
Calliope, 48, 347
Celeus, 87
Charites, 386
Cinyras, 528
Cleinius, 121
Corinthian, 37
Creon, 37
Cronus, 438
Demosthenes, 23
Diodotus, 365
Dionysus, 147, 185
Eleusis, 129
Erechtheus, 445
Euripides, 37
Euthykrates, 483
Ge, 72, 484
Glauce, 37
Gorgon, 357
Greece, v. Hellas
Gyges, 85
Hector, 337, 341
Hecuba, 37
Helios, 72, 171, 295, 484
Hellas, 489; Hellenes, 129, 275

INDEX

- Heracles, 129, 317, 335, 401
 Hermes, 36, 261, 347
 Hippolytus, 37, 317
 Homer, 483, 533
 Horae, 86
 Hymenaeus, 522

 Ilion, *v.* Troy
 Io, 341, 369

 Lacedaemonians, 275, 323
 Laconian (hounds), 524
 Laius, 37
 Lasthenes, 483
 Leto, 335
 Lydians, 367
 Lysimachus, 337

 Macedonian, 275
 Marathon, 129
 Mede, 275
 Midas, 209, 432, 528
 Mitylene, 365
 Mormones, 134, 232
 Muses, 36, 265, 347, 349
 Mysians, 108

 Nemesis, 38, 271
 Niobe, 37

 Oedipus, 37
 Olympic (victories), 457

 Pactolus, 367, 528
 Palestine, 333
 Pan, 129
 Pegasus, 357
 Pentheus, 37
 Pheidias, 121
 Philip, 327, 483
 Pindar, 311, 327, 355
 Plato, 23
 Pythian, 311

 Rumour (PHEME), 383

 Salamis, 129
 Seleucus, 341
 Serapis, 131, 141
 Spartans, *v.* Lacedaemonians
 Styx, 401

 Thebes, 275, 327; Theban,
 311
 Thestor, 335
 Titus, 333
 Tmolus, 367
 Troy, 129, 341; Trojan, 337;
 (war), 39
 Tyche, 40, 46, 146, 264,
 360 f., 386, 454, 530

 Vespasian, 333 ff.

 Zeus, 147, 325, 335, 433,
 469, 483