

Oration V.

Consular Address to the Emperor Jovian.

D 75 To praise you, O Emperor, on an occasion when you permit
H 63 A zealous persons to do so, and to make the present festival a pretext
H 63 B for a discourse, I leave to others whose task it is to pay court to
rulers in superficial fashion. I, however, have come today to
contribute to the festival not merely empty honor but something which
may be of value to the world. This indeed is the law of philosophy,
namely not to devise anything for the mere purpose of amusement, but
in all things to mingle the profitable with the ^lpleasing, just as the
gentler sort of physicians disguise the taste of their drugs with
sweet flavors. You yourself in the display of your wealth have one
kind of exhibition which is for display only, while the other both
H 63 C makes an impression and at the same time does not fail to be useful.

As for myself, Your Majesty, I must be all the more careful not
to bring you in return a gift which is too utterly deficient, since
you have restored to its place in the palace Philosophy, which is not
at all well treated by most people at the present time, so that it
takes its rightful place with a more suitable bearing, and you put
H 63 D command over words in no less honor than authority over the military
establishments. In just the same fashion the forefathers of your
imperial office promoted the founders of this art, Augustus namely
D 76 honored Arius, Tiberius Thrasyllus, the great Trajan Dio of the golden
tongue, the other ^lAntonines Epictetus--I omit the rest, except to
mention that he who not long ago took his surname from the same god
for whom you are named promoted the founder of my own family. You
H 64 A follow in the footsteps of these men, taking philosophy with you in

the eyes of all. And when philosophy is honored openly, it makes an open return of thanks, handing on to future time, as its creations, suitable discourses, and giving eternal memory to passing events, and providing frank advice at fitting occasions. These are the peculiar works and gifts of philosophy, and it is for these things that it has been called upon from the beginning of monarchy, and has not been judged useless, and is not indeed practised like the work of Silanius, on which, among the Greeks of ancient times, workmen and

H 64 B common people labored for hire.

But do you wish to know the contribution which is made by philosophy? It states that the ruler is law animate, divine law coming in due season from above, from everlasting goodness, an emanation of the nature of that goodness, a projection of its thought sent closer to earth. This law everywhere looks to that divine goodness and everywhere is intent upon its imitation; created by Zeus and

H 64 C nourished by Zeus, as Homer says, it shares with God all the rest of his epithets, Protector of Strangers, Guardian of Suppliants, God of Friendship, Fruitbringer, Giver of Good Things, Leader of Justice, Custodian of Tranquility, Lord of Happiness. These are the contributions which are paid to monarchs by philosophers who are worthy of

D 77 the title. The bold and brassy ones who attack the widow are, as Plato has it, not the creators of human happiness.

H 64 D What I mean, O Emperor, is that while the bringing of suitable offerings to you in return for your good-will towards philosophy requires more thought and time, we are equally anxious at present, as we celebrate this festival, to perform our duty zealously for both of you. For this is the sweet flavor that has been given to our discourse, first, that the festival makes the name of this year blessed, because this name records a coupled honor for both the

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by example

father and the son who is a comrade of his father's purple; and then that it shows that this present honor has been rendered more
H 65 A noble by yourselves, instead of itself contributing nobility to you. For one of you makes the festival the prize of his reign, while the other makes it the introduction to his; but common to you both is the fact that you are brought together on the road to better things. For both of you hoped before this for nothing of the sort, you having become Emperor after having been a private citizen, and he consul, when your beginnings had been in another direction. So one should especially admire your foresight because you turned to a great end an event which necessarily occurred in a different fashion.

Our discourse which thus far has addressed both of you in common will from this point venture to approach you alone, O
H 65 B Emperor; the young man will suffer you to claim things which he himself will come to possess in no less degree. I must resume what I was saying a little above, that the imperial office previously was owed to you because of your ancestral virtue, but that on the death of the elder of those who ruled before you, you hesitated to undertake the obligation, lest you seem hostile to the surviving member of the succession of Constantine, and held yourself back
D 78 until the present time, so as to be able to receive, without injuring anyone else, the ancestral debt which was owed to you.
H 65 C When Alexander departed this life in Babylon, the Macedonians found no proper heir for him, but they preferred the foolish Aridaeus to Ptolemy son of Lagus, like people who paid money for a deceased brother to the survivor, but did not give him the monarchy, whose only real successor was the man who understood how to preserve it. But our electors and soldiers gave first consideration to likeness

H 65 D of soul, rather than to physical relationship, and they declared as heir to the purple the inheritor of virtue; and this they did, not at leisure, or in time of peace, or allowing opportunity for the paying of court which is usual at this time, or for messages or for bribery, but as though in the height of war they bore their votes on their swords and their spears--an unsought opinion and an unprepared election, which the time decreed, and to which necessity impelled. And what was even more astonishing was that this took place in an assembly beyond our borders, beyond Roman territory, but on behalf of Roman territory and of the Roman Empire.

H 66 A And to you alone is it possible, in assuming the rule, to offer, as judges or witnesses, all mankind--as judges your friends, as witnesses the enemy. That the Persians elected you, not less than the Romans, they showed by casting away their arms as soon as they heard the proclamation, and by soon becoming timid before the men over whom they had earlier exulted. It is thus they say that the Theban Epaminondas once served as a soldier among the other hoplites, while others served as Boiotarchs, but when the phalanx was hard pressed by the Thessalians, he was declared Boiotarch out of the very line of battle, and the enemy at once took to flight, H 66 B fearing, when he was general, a man to whom they had paid no attention when he was a soldier. It was not Thebans and Thessalians who voluntarily caused your election--for they chose him unwillingly--but the meeting of West and East, as it was right for the man who was destined to rule the whole earth to allow no part of it to be without a share in the voting. While you set out for war a spear-bearer, you returned Emperor, not through the neighing of a horse, like Darius, nor from having made an offering to a dog, like Psammetichus, nor because a jealous woman thrust you forward to

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H 66 C rule, but because the most hostile races reached the same judgment
Il.7, and made the same decision--"they both fought in battle which
301 devours the heart and likewise parted from each other united in
friendship"--not exchanging belts for swords, but mixing the same
earth, and making the cause of the war the occasion for peace.

H 66 D Having, by necessity, accepted the entire realm at one time,
you kept it free from bloodshed better than those who inherited it
by birth. The reason was that neither did you assume that anyone
would be hostile to you, nor did you fear anyone as being superior
to you; and of the two statements of Plato you confirmed the second,
namely that monarchies are free from faction when men rule who
are fit to rule, but are far from desiring to do so. For when you
passed from a rank which was by no means among the first to one
which was the highest of all, you neither forgot those who had

H 67 A been your comrades nor bore a grudge toward those who had formerly
been your superiors nor scorned those who had once been inferior to
you; but although you were so far superior to all in your position
you preserved the same principles with respect to all, because you
understood accurately that kingship is to be considered the ultimate
state of virtue, not of happiness, and you showed that Darius the son
of Hy^Saspes was of small account in the magnificence of the return
which he made.

D 80 Then, perceiving that the foundation of a monarch's safety is

H 67 B the justice of those who surround him, you assembled the best men
from every side, bringing some back to court, choosing others, and
liberating still others. And now your palace is protected by the
prudence of Nestor, the freedom of Diomedes, and by Chrysanthes the
son of Cyrus and by Artabazes the son of Xerxes.

D 81

for all men; and in this you imitate God, who made a proper feeling of piety a common element of human nature, while he made the manner of the worship a matter of the wish of the individual. The man who

H 68 B

applied force in this respect takes away the power which God granted.

And for this reason, while the laws of ^{Cherops} ~~Cheops~~ and those of Cambyses scarcely lasted as long as those who made them, God's law, and your own, remain unmoved for all time, namely that the soul of each man is free for the path of worship which it chooses. This law no

confiscation of money, no stake, no fire, has ever overpowered;

but though it may come to pass that you take the body and kill it, the soul will take its departure, taking with it the mind, which

H 68 C

is free according to this law, even though something may have been extorted from its tongue.

I am sure, O Emperor, that it is because you perceive the reason for the establishment of this divine law that you have followed in its tracks as you have, namely because man is so constituted that he works more eagerly at things which are carried out in competition, while things which are not a matter of rivalry he does more listlessly; and a thing that meets no opposition fills us with yawning and laziness. The soul indeed is always roused

H 68 D

to eager labor by emulation. It is for this reason that you do not exclude the wholesome contest of worship, and it is for this reason that you do not blunt the spur of zeal in divine matters, and the struggle with one's fellows, and emulous desire. For

just as all the runners in a race strive toward the same judge, though not all go by the same course, but some in one way and others in another, and the beaten man is wholly without reward,

H 69 A

precisely so do you conceive the great and true president of the games, and you understand that the road which leads to him is not

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unique, but that one path is more difficult, and another more direct, one rough, and another smooth, and that nevertheless all of them stretch out to that single resting-place, and that our struggle and desire is of no other sort than that we all may not travel the same road. If, however, you leave one way, and wall off the others, you shut off the free play of the contest. This has been the nature of men from ancient times, and that saying that "one man worships the gods in one way and one in another" was

H 69 B

older than Homer. For it has perhaps never been pleasing to God for unison to exist among men in this respect. Nature, indeed, according to Heraclitus, likes to be hidden, and even more than nature the creator of nature, whom, for this reason, we revere and serve all the more, because knowledge of him is not readily accessible, or on the surface and thrown at our feet, nor is it possible to get knowledge of it without exertion and with little trouble. This law I think is not of less consequence than friendship with the Persians, for while because of the latter we are not at war with the barbarians, because of this law we shall live at

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H 69 C

peace with ourselves. We have been worse for each other than the Persians, and the persecution by both religions which have issued from the capital have been more grievous than their invasions. Time past has offered you clear examples of this, O Emperor most beloved of God. Do you allow the scale to remain as it is; do not drag down the balance in either direction, so that prayers on behalf of your reign may go to heaven from all sides.

D 83

Neither is your army, O Emperor, all made up of one and the same form. Some serve as infantry, others as cavalry; some fight with weapons and others with slings. Some are stationed about

H 69 D your person, others are merely in your vicinity, while others still are far away; some men are happy if they are known to your body-guard, while even this is impossible to others. All, however, are dependent upon you and your will, not only the soldiers but all the rest of mankind, your subjects who do not bear arms, namely the

H 70 A farmers, the men of letters, the ministers of state, the philosophers. Acknowledge that the creator of all things takes pleasure in this variety. He does not wish the Syrians to conduct their affairs in one way, the Greeks in another, the Egyptians in still another; and he does not wish the Syrians, for example, to be all the same, but they are already divided up into small groups. No one man, indeed, has exactly the same belief as the next, but one is of one sort and another of another. Why, then, do we try to force the impossible?

It is proper for our most divine Emperor to be loved by all men
H 70 B for his law, and especially by those to whom he not only grants liberty, but gives ordinances not less just than those of Empedocles--and not, in truth, that Empedocles of old times. He knows well, in fact, that to each human good there is allied some deception and quackery, and that quackery slips into magnificence, and beggary into piety; and for this reason, while he gives preference to some practices, he prohibits others, so that while he ~~de~~
~~lawful sacrifices he grants no license to magicians, establishing~~
~~lawful sacrifices he grants no license to magicians, establishing~~
H 70 C ~~lawful sacrifices he grants no license to magicians, establishing~~ throws open temples he closes jugglers' shops, and while he permits lawful sacrifices he grants no license to magicians, establishing exactly the same laws as Plato the son of Ariston; and I should have quoted his words to you, if they had not been longer than my time allows.

But I must return now to the festival. With this, though I consider it the most honorable of all festivals, I am still a little dissatisfied, because the Fair City has not shared my enjoyment of the ceremonies. Now, O noble city, you celebrate this festival with a sad countenance, and you perform your dances with regret, and although you take pleasure in your hope, you are more grieved because of the delay of your enjoyment. If you saw your lover dismounting and planting his footsteps in his home, what cries of joy would you not utter, with what shouts would you not fill the air, when you received, after the son, and after the nephew of Constantine, a man who is a very Constantine in all respects?

"He has the same feet, the same hands, and the glances of his eyes are the same." He has taken nothing from the fillet, he has not put on a curtailed robe; he maintains the same measure of good will toward you. The Athenians, when they defeated the Persians, celebrated ~~the~~ the mysteries with torches in their ships, and the Emperor, having celebrated the preliminary rites of initiation outside the temple, will perform the final ceremonies in the shrine. You see how heaven shares the city's eagerness, how it clears away the clouds, and spring begins to break before its time. Send, the while, the morning Star, the consul borne in arms, already like his father when just taken from the breast. How brave he is, how undaunted, how like him when he speaks! May God, who has made him share the office from which this year takes its name, make him also share the imperial robe.

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