

Themistius, Oration IV

D 59  
H 49a

To the Emperor Constantius

H 49b

The people of Egypt, in addition to paying the usual worship to Athena in Saïs, manifest their special admiration of her by celebrating a yearly festival, which they call the lighting of the lamps.<sup>1</sup> When the time comes for the people of Egypt to celebrate the festival, most of them put the lamps in boats and sail along the Nile to Saïs, and when they come to the temple where the statue of the goddess stands, they hold the various observances which ~~the~~ <sup>custom</sup> ordains, and they light the lamps out of doors near the tents and the outskirts of the sacred enclosure, and Saïs is brilliant<sup>a</sup> with holy fire throughout that whole night. Such persons as are ill or must observe caution with regard to the voyage, so that it seems better for them to stay where they are, do not come to Saïs but honor Athena at home; and calculating the time of the festival, they all light the lamps in their own cities and sing hymns and render their praises. And it is because of these people that Herodotus says that the festival does not take place in Saïs alone, but in all Egypt.

H 49c

D 60

H 49d

While I honor those who sail on a long journey for a pious purpose, I honor not less those who do homage to the goddess at their hearths, not only because they thus multiply the festival and in bringing it to themselves, spread it to many cities and men, but even more for this reason, that the goddess does not exist only in the statue or dwell only in the temple, but everywhere on earth and sea, wherever her power extends and penetrates. So if you agree with this feeling--and you do agree with it, for you could not reject it, however fine your language-- you should also<sup>so</sup> approve of a man who has come to this same

H 50a opinion; who, when it was in his power to mount a high four-wheeled carriage and to yoke mules to it, now at one place and now at another, or rather relays of mules, some between the shafts and others harnessed beside them, and to be carried along on high continually, night and day, through Thrace and Paeonia and Illyricum and all the other provinces as far as Italy, not observing the Pleiades or late-setting Bootes, like Odysseus on his raft<sup>2</sup>--for the clouds

H 50b at this season do not permit men in these regions to see the stars--but buffeted by ice and winds and snow, with hands and feet wrapped in felt and sheepskins, with his voyage and his vessel not guided by one pilot but by countless drivers making uncouth noises with which they urge on the beasts, cracking their whips and driving them along, to keep them from sticking in the mud; and, when he has barely reached the temple there, where at once on his arrival he ought to sing

H 50c hymns to the god and to make the holy sacrifices, would be unable to do any of these things, but would have instead to lie on a pallet trembling and ill and needing to get the ingenious medicines of the physicians, with which the winter

D 61 may be driven from his limbs. When a man has been liable to suffer these things, but has preferred to remain at home and to please and propitiate the god on the spot with the sacrifices which are available to him, not with his body deadened by chill or his mind made ignorant by lack of intellectual activity, but with the one healthy and whole and the other keen and sharpened by study, does this

H 50d man seem to you less pious and less wise in divine matters than those Egyptians who light the lamps,<sup>3</sup> and does it seem to you that he understands the power of the god the less because he is not in precisely that one city or precisely that one place, in which one can touch the god and lay hold of it and listen to it when it speaks? This indeed is the error of men who trust to their eyes

Plut. Alc. I, 120<sup>6</sup>  
 Resp. 525c  
 Resp. 687a, 687b  
 Resp. 687c  
 Resp. 687d, 687e  
 Resp. 687f, 687g

alone, and suppose that only that is real which they can lay hold of with their hands; but the exact truth is that not only each god, but each man as well, exists in that place in which he is able to be of service and to produce useful work. Do you not see this sun, how, in whatever part of the heavens it shines, it is guardian over all things? And how, even though its form, while enormous, is not everywhere, its power and its rays are everywhere, both on land and sea and in the islands and on the mainland and in the mountains and the meadows and in the rivers and springs, and close to all living creatures and close to all plants? Its saving power is poured over all of them.

H 51b

Whoever supposes that he can enjoy this benefit everywhere, and that he need not return thanks anywhere, would be ridiculous and almost impious; and he would not remember that those who are especially anxious to raise their eyes toward this god first turn them on water, and try to strengthen their eyes against his image and give them support lest they be filled with the unmixed flash all at once and enjoy darkness instead of light. Perhaps in my case, my friends, you will not be annoyed with my discourse, when there must be exercise and

H 51c

study, with images and mirrors, before the real sight can be gazed upon. What the reason for this is, I shall explain to you. My eyes are insatiable, and they cannot endure, nor do they enjoy, merely to look upon the surface, but they try as much as possible to penetrate to the depth of what is seen. When they make an attempt without having had exercise and training, they linger over the forms and the colors, on the outside, and are unable to reach and lay hold upon the things within.

Now the imperial beauty, which I have set out to gaze upon, and for which I have prepared myself to be a fitting spectator, has a certain fine brilliance

phased, 992

Resp. 516a  
D 62

Resp. 518b

Resp. 601a  
605a  
477d  
669a  
251a

H 51d externally, but it is much more extraordinary and indescribable and we must look closely into this to see with how great loveliness and grace it is filled. For in it there is, as Homer says,<sup>4</sup> a love of men, not deceptive or treacherous, however, but divine and pure, whose name, in one word, is humanity. In it there is desire for temperance. Truth lives quietly in it, gentleness dwells in it, justice shines from it, many other august and holy and divine beauties appear in it. For a man who has not previously purified himself sufficiently and cleansed his vision with the remedies of philosophy, to cast his eyes on these at random, on the spur of the moment, is neither holy nor seemly.

H 52a

Permit me to dwell for a little on the contemplation of this mirror.

H 52b

The brilliant and very clear mirror of that beauty is both yourselves and the whole City. And whoever gazes at this mirror sufficiently will find his effort worth while for the contemplation of true beauty of form, for it is to such a degree that there are everywhere conspicuous in it, and shining forth from it, the tokens of this beauty, which sheds loveliness on each man and on the whole City, august and royal and majestic and venerable. And since, as Aeschylus says,<sup>5</sup> there has now come to the lips what should have been said before, and since I am celebrating the festival with you from its very beginning, I do not consider that I am still far removed from the imperial feast. Indeed the remark which was made in the early part of this discourse concerning remaining at home, which alleged as an excuse Sais and the Egyptians, was ridiculous, for one could have pointed out that this "home" was the shrine itself of the Emperor, in which, by sacrificing and obtaining good omens, a man would accomplish something much more satisfactory to himself than by prostrating himself before the Emperor's robe and the Emperor's feet.

H 52c

Leop. 79.12

Resp. 432d

Have you not, my friends, rendered this shrine <sup>6</sup> select before all others, and taken care to make it perfect as though it were an ancestral hearth? For it, there come to this temple all the offerings which can be made by the whole earth. Thus the Egyptians send gifts to the Emperor every year, and the Syrians bring offerings, and the Assyrians and the Ionians and the Aeolians and nearly all mankind. These offerings are ships loaded with wealth; and whatever is the best that nature has produced and whatever is the most skilful that art has wrought, regularly comes together to this shrine, one thing from one place and one from another, and is collected here. In this temple there stand perfect likenesses of the Emperor himself, just as, I believe, in Delphi there are images not of Apollo alone, but of Zeus as well. But while the Amphictyons were originally ~~the~~ founders and creators of Delphi, when a certain shepherd <sup>d</sup> on Parnassus was seized by the prophetic power, at a later time the Alcmaeonidae, when they drove the Pisistratids from Athens, let out the work for hire. Of this temple, <sup>7</sup> however, the father and creator is the same as in the <sup>c s</sup> ~~case~~ of the Emperor. For the man who produced him also created this.

Thus like a man who loves a brother very dearly, he <sup>8</sup> is bound by love for this temple as though it were a kinsman, and he is ever contriving something so that it may be more rich and more famous. And he <sup>e</sup> feels that all the people who dwell here are dedicated to himself, and he makes them such; and those whom he has chosen as attendants and priests he greatly honors and considers to be of the same rank as himself. And of your chorus alone is he the first leader and the chief, and the sacred throne is established in his father's council-chamber; in this he does not disdain to sit and to act as advocate. Wherefore, while at present other men perform the rites for him only in his capacity of

H 53c

Emperor, he himself wishes you to perform them for him as though he were one of equal rank. And whenever it is necessary for him to celebrate the mystic rites outside the temple, like the Athenians when they were fighting against the Mede, far from Eleusis, in the triremes, he chooses certain men, selected from the roster, to take part in the ceremonies and tries to make all of them, through this small group, participants in the festival.

H 53a

What I wish to say is that we who marshal this solemn procession here do not find him less gracious than those who have hastened to [the presence of] his own purple robe. Where he himself presides and leads, the chorus needs no additional ornament from other sources, for he is sufficient to adorn it by his mere presence; but where the chorus sets out like a swarm of bees, without a true leader, there is need of many assistants, lest it buzz about at random and wander wherever it will. Enough of this.

H 54a

D65

Suppose that I had said the following to you by way of excuse at the beginning, my fellow-celebrants and fellow-worshippers, when the messengers came announcing the festival, namely that, if I had left the City, I should have been powerless to speak and could not have succeeded in making myself of any service; for winter does not allow me to sing like the nightingales, but the heron maltreats the eloquent Hermes. But permitted to remain here, I could become the teacher of the chorus, and we could sing in competition with the hymn-writers of Italy, and if the hymn seems pleasing to you, we shall make this our gift to the Emperor. He will take pleasure in it, I am sure, and will find it more gracious and sweeter than Agamemnon did the breastplate of Kinyras;<sup>9</sup> for he is not less a lover of learning than a lover of war, and he does not honor the gifts of the Muses less than those of Hephaistos. I do not tell you this by way of divination, for I know that on a former occasion

H 54b

Pl. Tim. 24c-d

Pl. Lysis 216d

the city, by your decree, did not send a golden crown of refined gold, such as are most of them that come to him from many places, but a crown which I myself wove, gathering fresh flowers from the meadows of Plato and Aristotle;<sup>10</sup> and I exhibited it to the Senate and the people in this very assembly hall, and he rejoiced in it as in no other gift, and made much of it; and the bronze statue of myself came from that song. So if I had offered you this excuse, I am sure that you would have held me tightly and clung to me even more than the people of Aegina to the statue of the goddess of Growth.<sup>11</sup>

H 54c

And now matters have come to pass in this fashion through my own slowness and delay, and you have made even a greater contribution to the festival. For you not only send sacred ambassadors, as though to Delos, but you go about yourselves at home wearing crowns, and you are glad and festive, not reclining at royal tables, not entertained by cup-bearers and attendants and cooks, but enjoying the philosophy which is dear to the Emperor. I do not hesitate to call it dear to the Emperor because, when it had already abandoned mankind, he laid hold of it and established it among yourselves, and he rendered it so precious and so widely renowned that there are many who covet it and seek it and are ready to receive it and care for it. For it is really the nature of things, it seems, for that which is held in honor to be practised, and for that which is scorned to be neglected.<sup>12</sup>

H 54d

D 65

But perhaps your chorus needs no teacher for its hymn to the Emperor; for you are ever studying such things, since you have holy days set aside for such study, and there are not a few of these in every year, on which you meet and gather at the innermost sanctuary, in holy dress, and together practise your praises in secret. In this case, then, I am so clever and so conceited

H 55a

H 55b

that since I say nothing with any skill except the words which I have learned from you, I am endeavoring to be taken for a master instead of a pupil. And since I have said that the Senate is the child and the nursling of Constantine, and that it is its duty to care for his son, and to make provision for him since it is born of the same father, and other things which you have loudly applauded, I have escaped<sup>e</sup> detection when I have contrived to put together my discourses from the same source.

H 55c

Perhaps, again, some one will bring against me an accusation<sup>a</sup> of impiety, because I have made public ~~your~~<sup>the</sup> mysteries, ~~to you,~~<sup>to you,</sup> But they are not mysteries, unless they may be said to be the mysteries not of yourselves alone but of the whole earth and sea, namely everything that these brought together and used, in cooperation with your father, for your creation. In this way even the Ethiopians and the Indians and the Cimmerians whom Homer describes,<sup>13</sup> living in the ocean beyond the course of the sun, would be initiates of the mysteries. For all these assisted the Emperor and helped him to complete the travail, and all of them agree that we especially, more than other men, are united to the race of Constantine, and that our happiness and our welfare are hung from nothing else but the chains which bind us to him, just as, I think, while the other stars derive various benefits from the sun, one one thing, another something else, the moon depends upon it for both its light and its brilliance. Thus we have not had our good-will toward him thrust upon us, but it is a natural bond, justly, I think, and we ourselves are loved in turn to the same degree.

R. C. C. 409a  
D 67  
H 55i

H 56a

And so the tragedy says somewhere<sup>14</sup> that it gives much pleasure to a man, after he has been saved, to remember the labors which have gone before. Remember, I beg you, the time when the tyranny broke out in the West, and there

rose up another at the same time in Illyricum,<sup>15</sup> how the whole Empire was alert and in suspense as to what would happen, and the City was grievously smitten by terror and its heart fluttered and its tongue trampled, and although it tried to conceal its fear it was betrayed by its behavior, as it changed color and was sorely troubled, and knew not what to do, until the great Emperor, having cleared and fortified the East, came to it gently and stretched out his hand to it in its trouble and made it be of good cheer; and a little later he sent to it as captive one of the rebels<sup>16</sup> though how could one call him a captive? For he was not captured in battle, but was caught by eloquence, and he did not shed his old skin, as snakes do, but put off his purple robe, which did not become his age, while the Emperor, that marvellously skilful man, preserved his old age<sup>17</sup> for him, especially by this form of victory, because he was won by the most beautiful of weapons.

H 56b .

82. Leqq. 830e

H 56c

When the City had received, in victory through eloquence, a presage of victory through arms, it took courage a little and drew breath; but when it learned that this tyrannous and murderous man<sup>18</sup> had raised his hand against the Emperor who was marching against him and that he was concentrating all his attention on the City, and that this infatuated man was <sup>h</sup>threatening spoils and slavery and rebellion, against this City which was the nearest in kinship and the most closely related of the masters against whom he burst out in his madness and drunkenness, it did not put an end to its turmoil and jealous anger

D 68

H 56d

until it saw with its own eyes all those things turned on his head. To the City which, <sup>in</sup> most of all cities, can share the Emperor's fortune, to which it rushed to join itself, what could be a clearer sign of true and natural goodwill?

When he had made quite sure of them, the Emperor joyfully announced to you these things and his other victories, and was gracious enough to describe them in writing, somewhat as Timotheos did to the Athenians, and Chabrias and Iphicrates, those generals who were accountable to the people, describing the lands of the enemy and their rivers and shallows and wooded valleys and trenches and palisades and the attacks of the infantry and the <sup>v</sup>victories of the cavalry, <sup>e</sup>especially making you, by his account, see the Rhine bridged and the Chaones and the Iazyges despoiled and the presumptuous German tribes paying the penalty for their wanton insolence.

And thus I speak the truth when I say that the Emperor is not only in the place in which he can be seen, but while he is encamped among the Celts he compels the Persians to sue for peace. I myself not long ago saw in Antioch men who had come from Susa and Ecbatana with heralds' wands and ancient writings on rolls of white linen, which writings begged the governor to make a treaty with the Achaemenids and sought the Emperor's pledge. I consider this a mightier victory than if they had lately been overcome in battle and their land had been cut up, while we took their fortresses and made them prisoners. For in that case they would have blamed Fortune and would have threatened to fight again; but now, by voluntarily bowing before us, they confess that they have been defeated by our desire and our resolution. In olden times it was only at length that Darius asked Alexander for peace--and came close to not doing that--even though he had been defeated first at Granicus and later at Issus in Cilicia; but when our Emperor transferred his forces from the streams of the Tigris to the western ocean, the Babylonians could not bear to have this threat so far removed from them.

H 57d But to return to the point whence we were diverted to this subject, it is reasonable that it is among you that the Emperor takes pleasure and feels pride, exhibiting his crowded trophies and the rewards of his victories, since he does this among people who really rejoice with him from the depth of their feelings. For those who chiefly share the enjoyment of welfare with him must of necessity rejoice with him in his success. When he honors it, the City tries to honor him in return, and to praise him in turn by means of the benefits which it has received from him, just as, I think, men return honor to a god

H 58a by means of the sacrifices and dedications which they have received from him. Thus the hippodrome is full of chariots for every victory and every trophy, and because of the multitude of the joyful announcements we spend the whole of our time in celebrations, and to us alone has it happened that festivals are not times of repose, but we actually lack rest.

H 58b And since Alexander was mentioned a little before in our discourse, Pella derived no common benefit from Alexander's good fortune, and had no common enjoyment of it, but although he conquered so much territory for himself, he did not make his native city the greater by one acre; but our City, which is of the same age as his imperial dignity, has, as is natural, grown along with our Emperor. For I have learned how the father at the same time both clothed his City with its wall and his son with the purple cloak.<sup>19</sup> Thus it is right that while tripling his realm he<sup>20</sup> increases the City which is of the same age as his imperial power, not extending the circuit-wall, but contriving to add something to the City's beauty, both seeking more abundant springs of water,

H 58c and building baths which bear his name, whose size you can now see, while it is expected that their beauty will match their size,<sup>21</sup> and encircling the City

D 70 with a covered colonnade like a luxurious girdle, and creating the royal market-place like a headdress woven of gold and ornamental strips. And among all things the greatest token of his love and vehement passion is that while he himself takes the least possible <sup>e</sup>enjoyment in luxury, barring his own soul to pleasures, he shares with us lawful enjoyments gathered from all sides.

H 58d Thus the things which among other people are only coveted sights, or things which are merely spoken of, exist among us to surfeit and satiety, and for this reason our City has become all the more temperate, for the things which other men covet because of their absence and their scarcity, among us are neither much sought after nor prized.

H 59a And is it not another mark of a man who looks far ahead and deep into the object of his love, that he has chosen to be Emperor with him a man who must of necessity love the Fair City as well as he does?<sup>22</sup> His parents were united here and it was here that he was conceived and born. The City acted as mid-wife at his birth and the City reared and instructed him and made him worthy of sharing the rule with the Emperor, treading with equal steps with the Emperor, equally wise, bearing arms with him, fighting side by side with him, helping him, needing no guard, but himself the guard and bulwark of the man who chose him. Wherefore this man who was already very close to him in blood he made even closer by alliance through marriage,<sup>23</sup> and he bound him to the City with the strongest bond, making even closer his kinship with the founder.

H 59b

D 71 And since my discourse has set out to gather examples for you of the Emperor's good will, listen to it, I beg you by the Graces, straining your understanding tightly, otherwise it will escape you, covering itself, in its caution, with darkness and obscurity, as though with a mist. For our lover is held by such an irresistible spell that not only has he brought together from

H 59c all living men the elements of the City's well-being, but he has collected from those who departed long ago everything that is considered good. And not even this seems sufficient and satisfactory to him, but ah! how extraordinary and what a marvel is it, my good friends, that he recalls the very souls of those wise and revered men of old for the service of the City, and raises them from their tombs. Do you not think, indeed, that this is sheer magic and inspired frenzy? And indeed no other labor of our lover has been more carefully chosen or is dearer to the gods. And I shall relate this to you more clearly, so that you may understand what I say, and not be bewildered.

H 59d Now the soul of a wise man I understand to be his wisdom and his intellect and his discourse; and the memorials of these souls are books and writings, in which their remains lie as though in tombs. These memorials in the treasure-house of memory, ruined, like buildings, by only a little lack of care and in danger of being completely destroyed and extinguished, and of obliterating, in the process, the souls which lay within them, he commanded to burn with new life; and he placed a chief over the work and supplied ample means for the undertaking. And this work is being done for you not by metal-workers and builders and stonemasons, but by the craftsmen of the art of Cadmus and Palamedes who are skilled in the transfer of a withered intellect from its old habitation to a freshly made and newly built one.<sup>24</sup> And in a little while there will live again, for the public service of all of you, the all-wise Plato; there will live again Aristotle as well, and the orator of Paiania,<sup>25</sup> and the son of Theodorus<sup>26</sup> and the son of Olorus.<sup>u 27</sup> And even if the public glories of these men have been in danger, their private honors find security and safety with individual men without recourse to law, and the abundance of their virtue is

H 60a

*P. U. 156d  
Resp. 527d*

H 60b

D 72

itself sufficient to save them. All their attendants, whose own works are not enough to make them live on, the Emperor's forethought causes to become immortal, even though they be dead; and many interpreters and servers of Homer, and many worshipers of Hesiod, and Chrysipp<sup>u</sup>s himself and Zeno and Cleanthes, and whole choirs from the Lycaeum and the Academy, and to be brief, a countless array of men of ancient wisdom, not of the common variety which is tossed about in public, but rare and special, an array which is already fleeting and feeble, buried in darkness in past times--this does the Emperor's forethought call forth and raise up, as though from Hades, and such are the different and finer statues of the Muses which this foresight sets up for your benefit.

H 60c

H 60d

Do you perhaps not know how much more august and royal an ornament this is for you that the theatre and the famous hippodrome with their surrounding colonnades and do you not know that you can justly take more pride in it than in the harbors which are within the gates, by means of which the sea flows in and is joined to the very center of the market-place? All these things, I think, merely mean confusion and crowds and the labors of artisans; the sights are ancient and the sounds are meaningless. This ornament alone makes those who behold it better men, and the more intently one contemplates it and penetrates within it, the happier is he, by reason of the spectacle, when he departs.

H 61a

And for a time men profited by the spectacle in this City alone, since all good things from everywhere came to it, but nothing was sent out of it, save for earth and sand and rubbish; now, however, it is time for you to export and sell, though not, by Zeus, gold and wood and purple cloth, such as come from the mines and the mountains and the dye-factories, not<sup>r</sup> indeed wine-jars or vegetables or dried fruits. For it is natural, I think, for these things to be

D 73

H 61b

bought by superior men from their inferiors; but from the market which the Emperor had just established for you, the <sup>w</sup>ares to be carried away are virtue and prudence. And there will come to this market of yours, not merchants and sailors and the crowd of common people, but the elect and those who most love wisdom and the very flower of the Hellenes, and their purchases will be eloquence and learning. Now does it seem unnatural to you that the Muses accompany the Emperor on his campaigns and give him distinguished victories, in which Ares has no part?<sup>28</sup>

H 61c

Come now, I will disclose the proof of this to you. For it is right that he should not be passed over in silence by our discourses when he has come to the assistance of so many perished discourses; and he is worthy of praise for his new creation because he did not stop at that point at which other men do when they create a new order, and did not think it sufficient to furnish facilities for commerce and the heating of public baths, but the intention of his forethought went so far that wisdom was made your public wealth. Will the Emperor then be angry if I present my discourses to you before giving them to other men, and if I do not take them beyond the wall<sup>29</sup> save when the assembly, being gathered, has approved them as if they were ephebes and has set the public stamp upon them? For then they will really grow wings and attain their growth and rise into the air from the nest and soar and be able to fly to the Emperor himself, and from him to all earth and sea. And if any cawing crow croaks at them that while they pretend to be philosophers they are merely transformed into orators, they will be able to ward off the attack, with our help, and to prove that these crows have not tasted the song of Plato, if, that is, they do not know that Plato praises and writes hymns to the true king, when he speaks and writes outright, as follows, that life is at its best and

H 61d

H 62a

Le 99. 709e  
710c

happiest when there is a monarch who is young, temperate, with a good memory, brave, of a noble manner, and quick at learning.<sup>30</sup>

H 62b

If, however, we lack one of these epithets in our Emperor, if his temperateness is doubted, Hippolyt<sup>u</sup>s, to whom alone he can be compared in this respect, can have no honor; or if any one brings an accusation against his power of memory, it is against a man whose power of mind retains impressions more easily than fingers can sense carving; or if one doubts his courage, it is the courage of a man who, when ~~he could have made~~ <sup>it was not open to him to make</sup> peace with the rebels, as many advised him to do, put the freedom of the Roman people ahead of his own ease. What could anyone say concerning his nobility in the matter of

H 62c

expenditure? If anyone misses, in him, nobility in the other great traits of soul, let him think of those two men, and of the saving of the one and the punishment of the other; one of them,<sup>31</sup> who attacked him privately, he preserved and guarded because of the man's virtue in public affairs, while the fawning and flattery of the other<sup>32</sup> failed, not long ago, to save him from a baneful end because he attempted to make the pretence of good-will<sup>w</sup> a source of profit.

H 62d

If, as I said, we lack one of these qualities in our Emperor, we can praise another thing, and that is not what the son of Ariston<sup>33</sup> supposed, either; for if he described kingly characteristics in general terms in his discourses, he lacked a real example, while god has permitted us to see the form in which these characteristics flash forth and shine, so that we are, as it were, not more flattering than the divine Plato, but happier, because all the things that he saw in dreams, we behold as a vision of reality.<sup>34</sup>

R. Polit. 278c

1. The cult is described by Herodotus, II, 59, 62.
2. Odyssey, V, 272.
3. Sc. "at home."
4. Iliad, XIV, 216.
5. Frag. 337, ed. Dindorf= 351 ed. Sidgwick, In the critical apparatus of his text of Themistius, Dindorf by mistake gives the number as 326.
6. By "shrine" or "temple" Themistius means the city of Constantinople itself. His usage is made plain both by the present passage and by an allusion in Or. XI, 152a H, p. 180, 20 ed. Dindorf.
7. Constantinople.
8. Constantius.
9. Iliad, XI, 19<sup>1</sup>ff.
10. This is Or. II; cf. C. Gladis, De Themistii Libanii Iuliani in Constantium orationibus (Diss., Breslau, 1907), p. 9.
11. Herodotus, V, 82 ff.
12. Plato, Rep., 551 A.
13. Odyssey, XI, 13 ff.

14. Eurip., Andromeda, fr. 133 Nauck.
15. Cf. Or., III, 44 a-b, 45 b-c H.
16. Vetric; cf. Or. III, 45 b-c H.
17. I.e. his old skin, which he would have shed like a snake.
18. Magnentius.
19. Constantius was made Caesar on 8 Nov. 324; the beginning of the work of building Constantinople is dated in 324 or 325; see A. <sup>F</sup>Brolet, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," Rev. de l'hist. des religions, CXXVII (1944), p. 61.
20. Constantius.
21. Themistius means that the baths are not yet finished; the progress of the work is such that their size is apparent, but since they are unfinished their full magnificence is not yet evident. On these baths, see further above, p. 000.
22. Julian, who was created Caesar 6 Nov. 355.
23. Julian was the son of Constantine's brother, and married Constantine's sister Helen.

23 a. In this and the two succeeding paragraphs Themistius alludes, in somewhat elliptical language, to the establishment of a scriptorium and public library at Constantinople by Constantius; see the detailed discussion of the passage by C. Wendel, "Die erste Kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel," Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, LIX (1942), pp. 193-209.

24. According to tradition, Cadmus brought some of the letters of the alphabet from Phoenicia to Greece, and Palamedes subsequently added other letters.
25. Demosthenes, who belonged to the deme of Paiania.
26. Isocrates.
27. Thucydides.
28. While Themistius' words might at first sight appear to indicate only that Constantius established a public library at Constantinople, further study of the passage (especially of the description of the benefits to be gained by strangers and visitors to the city) suggests that Themistius meant, though he did not say so specifically, that Constantius also established a university. <sup>See</sup> ~~In~~ the study by F. Dvornik, pp. 000-000.
29. I.e. of our home.
30. Plato, Laws, 709 E, 710 C; cf. Or. III, 46 a H. This was a favorite quotation of Themistius: cf. Or. VIII, 105 b-c, 119 d H.
31. Vetricio.
32. Probably Silvanus; cf. Seeck, art. "Silvanus," no. 4, R.E. III A, 125-126, and A. Piganiol, L'Empire chrétien, 325-395 (Paris, 1947), p. 93.
33. Plato.
34. Odyssey, XIX, 547; XX, 90.