unhelpful column of 5s—the section numbers have to be sought out in the text, where they are not typographically salient (nor, indeed, are they salient in the apparatus). A more fundamental weakness stems from the use (already noted) of a separate apparatus to record a selection of **B**'s readings. The rationale is that **B** has been subjected to later editing, and variants that reflect the editorial intervention are not primary evidence for the text. But the selection of variants for relegation sometimes seems capricious. At 4.2.5–6 (261.12) the presence of a rhetorical question in **A** but not **B** is reported 'om. **B**'; at 4.8.9 (264.5) the presence of a rhetorical question in **B** but not **A** is evidence of **B**'s 'souci pédagogique' (p. xxviii), and **B**'s reading is not reported in the main apparatus at all. The end result is to make determining the state of the text in **B** unnecessarily hard work. At 1.42.3 (226.7–8), for example, P. prints *πρὸς ἔχθραν τινῶν ἢ χάριν ἢ δι' ὀργήν*, reporting '*δι'* om. **A**' in the general apparatus; one has to add in the report of **B** in the special apparatus (confusingly truncated after the last *ἢ*) to discover that P.'s text is a methodologically questionable hybrid of **A** (*πρὸς ἔχθραν τινῶν ἢ χάριν ἢ ὀργήν*) and **B** (*ἢ πρὸς χάριν ἢ δι' ἔχθραν τινῶν ἢ δι' ὀργήν*).

Despite my reservations, I have found P.'s work both enlightening and stimulating, and I am in no doubt that this is the most important edition of the treatise that has appeared to date.

University of Leeds MALCOLM HEATH

THEMISTIUS' PRIVATE SPEECHES

R. J. PENELLA: *The Private Orations of Themistius*. Pp. xiii + 258. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2000. Cased, £35. ISBN: 0-520-21821-3.

The career of Themistius, pagan spokesman for Christian eastern emperors—and for Julian too—for more than thirty years from the 350s to the 380s, is among antiquity's great political success stories. Yet only relatively recently (e.g. Dagron's major article, *Travaux et Memoires* 3 [1968], 1–242) has this remarkable figure become a focus of scholarly study, in part because his message lay hidden in three untranslated Teubner volumes (edd. H. Schenkl, G. Downey, and A. F. Norman [Leipzig, 1965–74]) of elegant, discursive, and allusive Attic Greek (the Julian speech may survive in Arabic). The position is now much improved: the entire corpus is available in Italian (tr. R. Maisano [Turin, 1995]), the public speeches in German (tr. H. Leppin and W. Portmann [Stuttgart, 1998]), two (*Orr.* 8, 10) also in English (P. Heather and J. Matthews, *The Goths in the Fourth Century* [Liverpool, 1991]), with a further selection (*Or.* 1, the *Letter of Constantius*, *Orr.* 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 34) newly published (P. Heather and D. Moncur [Liverpool, 2001]). P.'s translation, with succinct but informative introduction and commentary, of the little-studied 'private orations' (*Orr.* 20–34) is a welcome complement.

These speeches will, however, disappoint those seeking insights into the 'real' Themistius. They differ from *Orr.* 1–19 chiefly in being non-imperial, a miscellaneous dossier (pp. 7–9) which includes apologetics and polemics (e.g. *Orr.* 21, 23, 29), rhetorical (*Orr.* 25, 27) and philosophical (*Orr.* 26, 28) programmatics, philosophical discourses (*Orr.* 22, 32, 33), and some autobiographical matter (*Orr.* 20, 24). In P.'s

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view (see also his essay in [edd.] T. Hägg and P. Rousseau, *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2000], Chapter IX), many of the 'private' speeches—the term goes back to Schenkl—in fact carry a public agenda: praise of agriculture (*Or.* 30) is probably linked to Theodosius' Visigothic treaty of 382, not the retirement hobby of T.'s father Eugenius, *Or.* 34 continues the public defence (and imperial panegyric) in 17 and 31 of T.'s brief urban prefecture, while the missing portion of *Or.* 33 probably included a panegyric for the consulship of Constantius II in 360. This view might reasonably be pushed further: *Or.* 22 on friendship, for example, a virtuoso piece with sustained hunting image and concluding allegory on the choice of Herakles, is addressed to an audience accustomed to hearing speeches, but not philosophical ones (265a–b), although P. is rightly reluctant to identify the 'leader of the chorus' singled out for address (266c–d).

Problems overlap with those of the imperial speeches—difficulty in dating, determining context, gauging tone (e.g. irony: *Orr.* 21, 25, 29). Characteristic hallmarks recur—the centrality of philosophy and its value in public service (e.g. *Orr.* 26, 28), independence of the formulae of Menander Rhetor (e.g. *Or.* 20, funeral oration for Eugenius, cf. Heather in Mary Whitby [ed.], *The Propaganda of Power: the Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* [Leiden, 1998], pp. 128–9, on *Or.* 1), ready allusion to the classics, especially Homer, attention-catching illustrative detail, and anecdote. New interests and emphases also emerge—agriculture, parental affection, extended treatment of Aristotelian themes (*Orr.* 22 on friendship and 32 on moderation of emotion, particularly love of children)—but the consistency of T.'s persona even outside the imperial and senatorial forum is the most significant revelation of this part of the corpus. So, seeking to gain a position among the orators of Nicomedia in the early 340s, T. presents himself as a Socrates among the sophists, distinguishing his own 'free and independent' oratory (*Or.* 24.301c), much as he was later to introduce his style to Constantius as 'free and truthful' (*Or.* 1.1a). In 24, T.'s happy union of rhetoric and philosophy gives place to flattery of the Nicomedians' innate good qualities, as the virtues of his imperial patrons subsequently elicited praise. Sometimes we catch a more personal and defensive note, suggestive of Libanius—*Or.* 23 responding to those who called him a sophist, and its companion piece, *Or.* 29—but more light is shed on T.'s politicking by Libanius' letters to him than by these public defences (see Heather in Whitby, cited above, pp. 133–5).

P. proposes a date (p. xiii) for all but five (*Orr.* 22, 25, 27, 28, 32) of the speeches, locating them over the span of T.'s career from the 340s to his retirement *c*. 385. But the only works which certainly (on *Or.* 30, see above) belong late are those relating to his controversial and short-lived urban prefecture in the 380s (*Orr.* 31, 34, and 17, the last an 'imperial' speech, translated in an appendix). If *Or.* 25 does not refer to Valens (p. 25), there is a twenty-year hiatus after *c*. 361, when T.'s first patron Constantius II died, plugged, however, by the 'public' orations 5, 6, 8, 10, 14–16. P. is perhaps overcautious in rejecting an early date for *Or.* 27, delivered in T.'s native Paphlagonia (333c–d) and criticizing a young man more concerned with where he studies than with his teachers. T. cites his own student days in Pontus, where he was sent by his father: the admiring reference to Eugenius, the Paphlagonian context, and the educational focus perhaps sway the balance towards a period before T. became immersed in the grander business of Constantinopolitan politics.

The translation is accurate, fluent, and intelligent, often dividing or reordering sentences to bring out sense, but seldom misrepresenting. In my view *Dem. Const.* 23a (on Themistius' father) 'For a person who utters this man's name, it is enough to point to consummate philosophy' is better understood by Moncur (2001) 'to

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pronounce whose name is enough to reveal philosophy's topmost peak', but such cases are few. P. rightly takes a critical approach to the Teubner text, with changes (often rejection of emendations) justified in the footnotes. Decisions are judicious, though sometimes tricky (e.g. *Dem. Const.* 19b ἡμετέρας/ὑμετέρας).

King's College London MARY WHITBY

TRANSLATED TEXTS FROM LATE ANTIQUITY

A. F. NORMAN: *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*. (Translated Texts for Historians, 34.) Pp. xxii + 198, map. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. Paper, £9.95. ISBN: 0-85323-595-3.

M. EDWARDS: *Neoplatonic Saints. The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students*. (Translated Texts for Historians, 35.) Pp. lx + 150, maps. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. Paper, £9.95. ISBN: 0-85323-615-1.

M. WHITBY: *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*. (Translated Texts for Historians, 33.) Pp. lxiii + 390, maps. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. Paper, £9.95. ISBN: 0-85323-605-4.

F. R. TROMBLEY, J. W. WATT: *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*. (Translated Texts for Historians, 32.) Pp. lv + 170, maps. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. Paper, £9.95. ISBN: 0-85323-585-6.

After delivering a lecture, I was once asked, 'Do you give all your papers in the personal voice?' From the professor's tone I gathered that this was a bad thing. He declared that he would rather die than write or speak about himself. It is a good thing for those of us who like to be entertained that ancient writers were more open about themselves. These four volumes give a remarkable insight into the views and values of late antiquity. *The Translated Texts for Historians* needs no eulogy as every late antique and early medieval student is vastly grateful for this series, which gradually is making swathes of rather inaccessible literature more widely available, not simply by translating, or sometimes retranslating, them but also by providing the historical and literary background to the texts.

The general introduction of the Libanius volume and the introductory remarks to each speech are lucid and concise, yet extremely informative. After reading the speeches themselves, one understands the circumspect nature of the title, since although Antioch is a focus, we also learn a great deal of what life was like for Libanius. His voice comes through very clearly and it is disturbingly unhappy in places. At the end of *On the Magical Practices* we hear him complain that no one cares about him and that the city, which is so magnificently praised in the first speech of this volume, has no regard for her famous son, but rather wishes him dead (p. 131). It is

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