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INTRODUCTION

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

¹ The chief sources for the life of Julian are his Orations, his Letter to the Athenians, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Orations and Epistles of Libanius.
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of Asia Minor, and he was deeply influenced by Maximus of Ephesus, the occult philosopher, Libanius of Nicomedia, the fashionable sophist, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator, the only genuine philosopher among the sophists of the fourth century A.D.

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

¹ fr. 89. ² Epistle, 33.
INTRODUCTION

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

The eunuchs and courtiers who had surrounded Constantius were replaced by sophists and philosophers, and in the next six months Julian set on foot numerous economic and administrative reforms. He had long been secretly devoted to the Pagan religion, and he at once proclaimed the restoration of the Pagan gods and the temple worship. Christianity he tolerated, and in his brief reign of sixteen months the Christians were not actively persecuted. His
treatise *Against the Christians*, which survives only in fragments, was an explanation of his apostasy. The epithet "Apostate" was bestowed on him by the Christian Fathers. Meanwhile he was preparing—first at Constantinople then at Antioch, where he wrote the *Misopogon*, a satire on the luxury and frivolity of the inhabitants—for a campaign against Sapor, a task which he had inherited from Constantius. In March, 362 he left Antioch and crossed the Euphrates, visited Carrhae, memorable for the defeat of Crassus, then crossed the Tigris, and, after burning his fleet, retired northwards towards Armenia. On the march he fought an indecisive battle with the Persians at Maranga, and in a skirmish with the retreating enemy he was mortally wounded by a javelin (January 26th, 363). His body was carried to Tarsus by his successor the Emperor Jovian, and was probably removed later to Constantinople. The legend that as he died he exclaimed: Γαλιλαίε νενίκηκας, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!" appears first in the Christian historian Theodoret in the fifth century. Julian was the last male descendant of the famous dynasty founded by Constantius Chlorus.

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

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

¹ 352 A.
INTRODUCTION

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

1 236 A.
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The _Vossianus_ (V), Leyden, 13th or 14th cent. (contains also the _Letters_ of Libanius), is the only reliable MS. of Julian, and was once complete except for a few _Letters_. Where pages are lost from _V_ a group of inferior MSS. are used, _Marcianus_ 366 (M), 251 (Mb), both 15th cent., five _Monacenses_ (at Munich), and several _Parisini_ (at Paris). Cobet’s contributions to the text are in _Mnemosyne_ 8, 9, 10 (old series 1859-1861) and 10, 11 (new series 1882-1883). A. Papadoulos Kerameus published in _Rheinisches Museum_, 1887, six new _Letters_ discovered on the island of Chalcis.

Editions:—


Literature:—


¹ The text of the present edition is Hertlein’s, revised.
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THE ORATIONS OF
THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION I
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION I

Julian’s training in rhetoric left its mark on all his writings, but technically speaking his work as a Sophist is comprised in the three panegyrics (Orations 1–3) and the prose “Hymns” (Orations 4–5). Oration 1 was considered his masterpiece and was used as a model by Libanius. It was written and probably delivered in 355 A.D., before Julian went to Gaul. The excuse of being an amateur is a commonplace (τόπος) in this type of epideictic speech. He follows with hardly a deviation the rules for the arrangement and treatment of a speech in praise of an emperor (βασιλικός λόγος) as we find them in Menander’s handbook of epideictic oratory written in the third century A.D. The speech is easily analysed. First comes the prooemium to conciliate the audience and to give the threads of the argument, then the praises of the emperor’s native land, ancestors, early training, deeds in war (ὅ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος) and in peace (ὅ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγος), and the stereotyped contrasts with the Persian monarchs, the Homeric heroes, and Alcibiades. In the two last divisions the virtues of Plato’s ideal king are proved to have been displayed by Constantius, his victories are exaggerated and his
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defeats explained away. Then comes a description of the happy state of the empire and the army under such a ruler, and the panegyric ends abruptly without the final prayer ($\epsilon\nu\chi\eta$) for the continuance of his reign, recommended by Menander. This peroration has evidently been lost. The arrangement closely resembles that of Oration 3, the panegyric on the Empress Eusebia, and the "Evagoras" of Isocrates, which Julian frequently echoes. Julian's praises were thoroughly insincere, a compulsory tribute to a cousin whom he hated and feared.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΣΙΟΝ

Πάλαι με προθυμούμενον, ὁ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, τήν σὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πράξεις ὑμῆςαι καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας ὁπως ἀνήρηκαι, τῆς μὲν λόγῳ καὶ πειθοῖ τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποστήσας, τῆς δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατῆσας, τὸ μέγεθος εἰργῇ τῶν πράξεων, οὐ τὸ βραχὺ λειψθήναι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἔργων δεινόν κρίνοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ παντελῶς τῆς ὑποθέσεως διαμαρτεῖν δόξαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν ποίησιν διατρίβουσιν οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν εἰ ῥαδίως ἔξεστιν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῶν σοὶ πραξθέντων: περίεστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λέγεων μελέτης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις συνηθείας τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐν δίκῃ. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν τοιούτου μέρους κατωλυμήσαν, ἄρμησαν δ’ ἐφ’ ἐτερον παιδείας εἰδὸς καὶ λόγων ξυγγραφῆν οὐ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένην οὐδ’ ἐς θεάτρα παντοδαπὰ τολμῶσαν ἀποδύσεθαι, πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἔχοιεν ἄν εἰκότως εὐλαβεστέρως. ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἄδηλον τοῦτ’ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς Μοῦσαι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιπρομένους τὴν ποίησιν γράφειν ἀφθονον
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS

I have long desired, most mighty Emperor, to sing the praises of your valour and achievements, to recount your campaigns, and to tell how you suppressed the tyrannies; how your persuasive eloquence drew away one usurper’s \(^1\) bodyguard; how you overcame another \(^2\) by force of arms. But the vast scale of your exploits deterred me, because what I had to dread was not that my words would fall somewhat short of your achievements, but that I should prove wholly unequal to my theme. That men versed in political debate, or poets, should find it easy to compose a panegyric on your career is not at all surprising. Their practice in speaking, their habit of declaiming in public supplies them abundantly with a well-warranted confidence. But those who have neglected this field and chosen another branch of literary study which devotes itself to a form of composition little adapted to win popular favour and that has not the hardihood to exhibit itself in its nakedness in every theatre, no matter what, would naturally hesitate to make speeches of the epideictic sort. As for the poets, their Muse, and the general belief that it is she who inspires their verse, obviously gives them unlimited

\(^1\) Vetranio. \(^2\) Magnentius.
ΤΟΙΟΙ ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΡΗΤΟΡΩΝ ΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΧΝΗ ΤΗΝ ΎΨΗΝ ΠΑΡΕΣΧΕΝ ΑΔΕΙΑΝ, ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΠΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΑΦΕΛΟΜΕΝΗ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΕΙΝ ΟΥΔΑΜῶΣ ἈΠΑΓΩΡΕΥΣΑΣΑ, ΟΥΔΕ ἈΙΣΧΥΝΗΝ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ Τῼ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΙ ΤΟ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ ἔΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΥΚ ἈΞΙΟΥΣ ἘΠΑΙΝΟΥ ΚΡΙΝΑΣΑ. ΆΛΛΟΙ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ἘΠΕΙΔΑΝ ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΜΥΘΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΠΩ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΒΕΝΕΙΝ ἘΠΙΝΟΘΕΝΤΑ ΦΕΡΩΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΞΥΝΘΕΝΤΕΣ, Τῼ ΞΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΨΥΧΑΓΩΓΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΠΛΕΟΝ ΘΑΥΜΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ ἈΠΟΛΑΥΣΑΙ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΕΝ Τῼ ΔΥΝΑΣΘΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΙΚΡῶΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΣ ΔΙΕΛΘΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ἈΦΕΛΕΙΝ ΤῶΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ Τῼ ΛΟΓΩ, ΚΑΙ ΟΛΩΣ ἈΝΤΙΤΆΤΤΕΙΝ Τῼ ΤῶΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤῶΝ ΦΥΣΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ΤῶΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ.

ἘΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΔΡΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΧΡΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ, ἩΓΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΥΣΑΝ ἩΣΥΧΙΑΝ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΜΕΛΕΤΗΤΩΣ ΧΟΥΣΩΙ ΤῶΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ, ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΩΝ ΣΕ ΤΟΥΝ ΕΥΚΩΜΙΩΝ ἘΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ, ὙΝ ΜΙΚΡῶΝ ΠΡΟΣΒΕΝΕΙΝ ΕΜΥΘΣΘΗΝ. ἘΠΕΙ ΔΕ ἌΠΑΝ ΤΟΥΝΑΣΤΙΝ Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ἈΠΑΙΝΕΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤῶΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤῶΝ ἈΠΛΗΝ ΔΗΓΗΣΙΝ ΟΥΔΕΝΟΣ ἘΠΕΙΣΑΚΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΗΝ, ἘΣΟΧΕ ΚΑΜΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙΝ, ΤΟΥ ἈΞΙΩΝ ΔΗΓΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΤῶΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΑΝΕΦΙΚΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΛΑΒΟ΢ΙΝ ᾅΔΗ ΦΑΝΕΝΤΟΣ. ἈΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΡΟΝ ΣΧΕΔΟΝ ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΣΕ ἘΝ ΜΕΤΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΙΖΕΙΝ ὝΜΝΟΥΣΙΝ, ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ἈΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΒΡΑΧΕΙ ΤΟΛΜΗΝΤΕΣ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΕΡΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ἘΠΙΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΤῶΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ ΑΡΚΕΙΝ ΦΗΣΗΝ.
license to invent. To rhetoricians the art of rhetoric allows just as much freedom; fiction is denied them, but flattery is by no means forbidden, nor is it counted a disgrace to the orator that the object of his panegyric should not deserve it. Poets who compose and publish some legend that no one had thought of before increase their reputation, because an audience is entertained by the mere fact of novelty. Orators, again, assert ¹ that the advantage of their art is that it can treat a slight theme in the grand manner, and again, by the use of mere words, strip the greatness from deeds, and, in short, marshall the power of words against that of facts.

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

¹ Isocrates, Panegyricus, 42 c.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ei τούτων τής άξιας μη διαμάρτοιεν. άξιον δέ άγα- θαι τήν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων, οὐκ οί ούν σῶν ἐπαίνων ἤψιντο. οί μὲν γάρ, ὅπως μηδὲν ύπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν σοι πραχθέντων ἁμαυρωθεῖ, τῶν μέγιστον ὑποδύναι πόνον ἐτόλμησαν, οί δέ, ὅτι τῷ παντὸς διαμαρτήσειν ἦλπίζουν, τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην ἐν μέρει προφήναν, ἀμεινὸν τῷ τῆς Β σιωπῆς ἀκινδύνου γέρως κρίναντες κατὰ δύναμὶ σοι τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἀπάρξασθαι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ὅν ἐτύγχανον τῶν τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικοὺς ἀγαπάντων λόγους, ἐχοῦν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχεσθαί τῆς υποθέσεως, τὴν ἱσθαν εὐνοιαν ἀπαι- τήσαντα τῆς υπαρχούσης ἡδὴ σοι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ δεηθέντα τῶν λόγων ἀκροατὴν εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι, οὔχι δὲ ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀπαραίτητον κριτὴν κατα- στήσας. ἔπει δὲ ἐν ἀλλοις μαθήμασι τραφέντες καὶ παιδευθέντες, καθάπερ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ νόμοις, ἀλλοτρίων κατατολμᾶν ἔργων δοκοῦμεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς, μικρά μοι δοκεῖ χρήναι καὶ περὶ τούτων δηλῶσαι, οἰκειοτέραν ἀρχὴν προθέντα τοῦ λόγου.

Νόμος ἐστὶ παλαιὸς παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου φιλοσο- φίαν ἀνθρώπος φήμαντος οὐτωσὶ κείμενος· ἀπαν- τας πρὸς τὴν ἁρετὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν βλέποντας ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν ἡγομονίαις, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον μικροῖς καὶ μείζονι τοῦ καλοῦ πάντως ἐφίσεθαι. πάντων δὲ ὅτι κάλλιστον ἁρετὴν, τίς ἁν ἡμῖν τῶν οὖν ἐχόν- των ἀμφισβητήσει; ταύτης τοῖνυν ἀντέχεσθαι διακελεύεται τοὺς μὴ μάτην τούτη περιοίσοντας
Yet one can but admire the zeal of all who have made you the theme of a panegyric. Some did not shrink from the tremendous effort to secure every one of your achievements from the withering touch of time; others, because they foresaw that they could not compass the whole, expressed themselves only in part, and chose to consecrate to you their individual work so far as they were able. Better this, they thought, than "the reward of silence that runs no risk." 1

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

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

1 Simonides, fr. 66. Horace, Odes 3. 2. 25.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

toûnoma, prosoûkou oûdeûn autoûs ophterisaménous. tauûta ñ de diágorafou o nómos oûdemían ñdean epi-
táttei logwv, oude' ñsper ek tîwos tragikês 
mîxhavnês, físoi, chrînai proaigarofeîi tois ñtuny-
chânouaî steûdeîn ñen prôs thn ñretîn, ñpofoeûgen
de thn poïhria, allâ pollaís odoís ñpî toûto 
dídwsî chrîshsai tûv boulhêtnti muîeîshsai thn èkei-
nou fûsîn. kai ñgr paraínvese agâçhòn kai logwv 
protreptikîn chrîsîn kai to met' eunoiâs eîpîplêt-
tew tois ñmarchîmaswî èpîaneîn te au tâ kaloûs 
prachhtnta kai ñgeiû, ótan ñ kairôs, tâ mu' B 
toiâuta tûw èrgwv. èfîshs de kai 1 taîs allâis 
îdeais, ei tis êtheloi, prôs tê bêtîstou tûw logwv 
chrîshsai, èpi panteî de oîmai kai logw kai prâxei 
muînshsai protstâttou, òpî toûtûn ûfexouswv 
euvwvax, òvn deu tûxywswv eîpptóntes, ëneiû de oudeûn 
ò tî mu' prôs ñretîn kai filosofîan anoiôsousi. 
tâ men ouvn ñk toû nómu tauta kai toiâuta éteta. 

'îmeîs de ëra tî pote ëdrasomeâ, eîrõhîmevnu men 
tâ dôkeîn poîeiîshsai prôs õrîvtn thn eunwgmìan, toû C 
gêvous de ñdî tûw èpâiûwv diâ toûs ouk òrbhôs 
metiôntas õpôptou kathêtstos deiwv, kai kolla-
keîas ãgevnouûs, all' ou ñmarturîas ãlhthouv tûn 
ôrîstov èrgwv evnai nomiosthntos; ëh dîlon ñtì ñh 
perî tûn èpâiwnûmenov ñrethì òpeîstoukôtes èpi-
dôsomen ìavtoûs tharrhoûntes tois ëgkoomîois; tîs 
âvn ouvn ëmîvñ õrîch kai tâxîs tûw logwv gêvouîo 
kallîstht; ëh dîlon õs ñ tûw prôgôwv ñrethî, di' ñv 
ùphîrûxe soi kai tî toûouto gênêshsai; trôfis

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

And now, what am I to do? What embarrasses me is the fact that, if I praise you, I shall be thought simply to curry favour, and in fact, the department of panegyric has come to incur a grave suspicion due to its misuse, and is now held to be base flattery rather than trustworthy testimony to heroic deeds. Is it not obvious that I must put my faith in the merit of him whom I undertake to praise, and with full confidence devote my energies to this panegyric? What then shall be the prelude of my speech and the most suitable arrangement? Assuredly I must begin with the virtues of your ancestors through which it was possible for you to come to be what you are. Next I think it will be proper to describe
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dε οἴμαι καὶ παίδειας ἐξῆς προσήκει μνησθῆναι, ἣπερ σοί τὸ πλείστον εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀρετήν συνεισηγήκατο, ἐφ' ἀπασι δὲ τούτως ὀσπερ γνωρίσματα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν τὰς πράξεις διελθεῖν, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτίθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἔξεις δηλῶσαι, ἢθεν ὀρμόμενος τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐδρασάς καὶ ἐβουλεύσω. τούτῳ γὰρ οἴμαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων διοίσεων τὸν λόγον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἴστανται, ἀποχρήν οἴμενοι πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐφημίαν τὸ τούτων μνησθῆναι, ἐγώ δὲ οἴμαι δεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸν πλείστον λόγον ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ' ὅν ὀρμόμενος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἠλθες, τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλείστα τῶν ἔργων, σχεδόν δὲ πάντα, τύχη καὶ δορυφόροι καὶ στρατιωτῶν φάλαγγες καὶ τάξεις ἰππέων

1 συγκατορθοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα μόνον τέ ἐστι τοῦ δράσαντος, καὶ ὁ ἐκ τούτων ἐπαίνος ἀληθῆς καθεστῶς ἰδίος ἐστὶ τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὐκ-οὖν ἐπειδὴ ταῦθ' ἤμιν σαφῶς διώρισται, τῶν λόγων ἄρξομαι.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπαίνων νόμος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τῆς πατρίδος ἢ τῶν προγόνων ἄξιοι μεμνήσθαι. ἐγώ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τίνα χρή πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν πατρίδα σήμερον ἐθνῇ γὰρ μυρία περὶ ταύτης ἀμφισ-βητεῖ πολὺν ἢδη χρόνον. καὶ ἢ μὲν βασιλεύονσα τῶν ἀπάντων πόλις, μήτηρ οὖσα σῆ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης παρασχοῦσα, ἐξαίρετον αὐτῆς φησιν εἶναι τὸ γέρας, οὐ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐφ' ἀπάντων τῶν αὐτοκρα-τόρων δικαίους χρωμένην. λέγω δὲ ὅτι, κἂν ἀλλα-

1 ἰππέων καὶ πεζῶν MSS.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

The rules of panegyric require that I should mention your native land no less than your ancestors. But I am at a loss what country I ought to consider peculiarly yours. For countless nations have long asserted their claim to be your country. The city\(^1\) that rules over them all was your mother and nurse, and in an auspicious hour delivered to you the imperial sceptre, and therefore asserts her sole title to the honour, and that not merely by resorting to the plea that has prevailed under all the emperors.

\(^1\) Rome.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

χόθεν τυγχάνωσι, τά μετέχειν ἀπαντας ἢδη τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἡμῖν καταδειχθέσων ἔθεσι καὶ νόμως χρήσθαι πολίται γεγόνασιν· οὐκοιν οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὅς ὁκ  ἑκοῦσα τῇ σῇν μητέρᾳ καὶ θρεψαμένη βασιλικῶς καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκγόνων ἀξίως. ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Βοσπόρῳ πόλις, ὅλου τοῦ γένους τοῦ Κωνσταντίων ἐπώνυμος, πατρὶς μὲν οὐκ εἶναι φησὶ, γεγονέναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἴσσεται, εἰ ταύτης γούν τις αὐτήν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συγγενείας ἀφαιροῦτο. Ἰλλυριοὶ δὲ, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς γέγονας, οὐκ ἀνέβουν του καλλίστου τῶν εὐτυχημάτων στερόμενοι, εἰ τις ἄλλην σοι πατρίδα προσνέμοι. 6 ἀκοῦν δὲ ἐγὼ γιναι καὶ τῶν ἐφών ἦδη τινὰς λέγειν, ὅτι μὴ δίκαια δρόμεν ἀφαιροῦμενοι σφᾶς τὸν ἑπὶ σοὶ λόγον· αὐτοὶ γάρ φασι τὴν τήθην ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ σοῦ προπέμψει γάμον. καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπαντει οἱ λοιποὶ προφάσεις ἐπι- νοοῦντες μικρὰς ἡ μείζονς αὐτοῖς σε εἰσποιεῖν ἐκ παντὸς ἐγνώκασιν. ἐχέτω μὲν οὗ τὸ γέρας ἢν αὐτὸς ἐθέλεις, καὶ ἢν ἄρετὼν μητέρα καὶ διδάσκαλον πολλάκις ἐπαινὸν εὖρηκας, τυγχάνοντο δὲ ἐκάστη κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν αἱ λοιπαὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν ἀπάσας

1 γεγόνασιν· οὐκοίν ὡς MSS, οὐκοίν ἀλλ' ὡς M, οὐκοίν οὕτως, ἀλλ ὡς Hertlein suggests.
2 ἐγγόνων Wright, ἐγγόνων MSS, Hertlein.
3 se Schaefer adds.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

I mean that, even if men are born elsewhere, they all adopt her constitution and use the laws and customs that she has promulgated, and by that fact become Roman citizens. But her claim is different, namely that she gave your mother birth, rearing her royally and as befitted the offspring who were to be born to her. Then again, the city on the Bosporus which is named after the family of the Constantii, though she does not assert that she is your native place, but acknowledges that she became your adopted land by your father’s act, will think she is cheated of her rights if any orator should try to deprive her of at least this claim to kinship. Thirdly, the Illyrians, on whose soil you were born, will not tolerate it if anyone assign you a different fatherland and rob them of the fairest gift of fortune. And now I hear some even of the Eastern provinces protest that it is unjust of me to rob them of the lustre they derive from you. For they say that they sent forth your grandmother to be the consort of your grandfather on the mother’s side. Almost all the rest have hit on some pretension of more or less weight, and are determined, on one ground or another, to adopt you for their own. Therefore let that country\(^1\) have the prize which you yourself prefer and have so often praised as the mother and teacher of the virtues; as for the rest, let each one according to her deserts obtain her due. I should be glad to praise them all, worthy as they are of glory and honour, but I am

\(^1\) Rome.
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ἐθέλουμ' 1 ἂν ἄξιας οὕσας δόξης 2 καὶ τιμῆς, ὅκυρω δὲ μὴ διὰ τὸ μῆκος, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ λίαν οἰκεῖα τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἄλλοτρια φανῆ. τῶν μὲν οὐν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπαίνους διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ, τῆς Ρώμης δὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτός, ὁ βασιλεύς, συλλαβῶν ἐν βραχεῖ Κ καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀρετῆς προσεπτῶν, τῷ δοῦναι τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ἐγκωμίων, τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων λόγους ἀφήρησαι. τί γὰρ λέξομεν ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῆς τοιούτου ἔτερον; τί δὲ άλλος τις εἴπειν ἔχει; ὡστε μοι δοκῶ σεβόμενος ἐκότως τὴν πόλιν τούτῳ τιμᾶν αὐτὴν πλέον, τῷ παραχωρεῖν σοι τῶν ἐὼς αὐτῆς λόγων.

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς σής ἵσως ἄξιον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν βραχεί διελθεῖν. ἀπορεῖν δὲ έσοικα κἂνταῦθα, πόθεν ἄρχεσθαι χρή. πρόγονοι τε γὰρ εἰσὶ σοι καὶ πάπποι καὶ γονεῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί καὶ ξυγγενεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀπαντεῖς, αὐτοὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν ἄρχην ἐνυόμος ἢ παρὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων εἰσποιηθέντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τί δεὶ λέγειν, Κλαυνίδου μησθέντα, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκεῖνον ἑναργῇ παρέχειν καὶ γνώριμα πάσι τεκμήρια, τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν 3 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον οἰκούντας βαρβάρους ἀναμμυνήσκοντα, καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἄρχην ὀσίως ἁμα καὶ δικαίως ἐκτῇ- σατο, καὶ τὴν ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῆς διαίτης λιτότητα, καὶ τὴν ἄφελειαν τῆς ἐσθήτος ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ὀρωμένην ἐτὶ; τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πάππων τῶν σῶν ἐστὶ μὲν τούτων νεώτερα, λαμπρὰ δὲ οὐ μεῖον

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

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

1 Constantius Chlorus and Maximianus.
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ékeínon. ἐτυχον μὲν γὰρ ἀμφω τῆς ἀρχῆς δι' ἀρετὴν ἀξίω κριθέντε, γενομένω δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγ-μάτων οὕτω πρὸς τε ἄλληλους εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεταδόντα τῆς βασιλείας εὐσεβῶς, ὡσθ' ὁ μὲν ὀμολόγησε μηδὲν τούτον πῶς τε κρείττον βεβουλεύσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα σωτήρια τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξευρών, οἱ δὲ τὴν μετ' ἄλληλων κοινωνίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆν, εὔπερ οἶνον τῇ ἡν, ἐκάστῳ περιγενεμένην ἡγάπην. οὕτω δὲ διακε-μενοι τάς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔργων ἔδρον τὰ κάλλιστα, σεβόμενοι μὲν μετὰ τὴν κρείττονα φύσιν τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντα, τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δὲ πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ούκ ἔλαυνοντες μόνον πάλαι κατοι-κοῦντας καὶ νεμομένους καθάπερ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδεώς τὰ ἡμέτερα, φρούρια δὲ ἐπιτειχίζοντες αὐτοῖς τοσαύτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην τοῖς υπη-κόοις κατέστησαν, ὅσην οὕδε εὔξασθαι τὸτε ράδιον ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἄξιον ἐν παρέργῳ λέγειν. τὴς δὲ ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλους τὸ μέγιστον σημεῖον παραληπέειν οὐδαμῶς εὐλογον, καὶ ἄλλως προσήκον τῷ λόγῳ. κοινωνίαν γὰρ τὴν καλλιστὴν τοῖς αὐτῶν παιδῶν ἐπινοησάντες τῶν σών πατέρων τοὺς γάμους ἤμουσαν. προσῆκε δὲ οἴμαι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν βραχεὶ διελθεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς φανῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς κληρονόμος. τὴν μὲν οὖν βασι-λείαν ὅπως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κατέσχε τελευτῆν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκείνου τῇ κρίσει καὶ τῶν οὐτροπέδων ἀπάντων τῇ ψήφῳ πατήρ ὁ σος, τὶ χρὴ νῦν περι-

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

1 Diocletian. 2 Constantine and Fausta.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

εργάζεσθαι; τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ῥώμην ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν λόγων ἀν τις γνωρίσει. τυραννίδας γὰρ, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλείας ἐννόμοις καθαρών τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπήλθεν ἀπασαν. τοσαύτην δὲ εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρέστησεν, ὡς οἱ μὲν στρατευόμενοι τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς καὶ τὰς χάριτας μεγαλοψυχίας ἐτι μεμημένοι καθάπερ θεόν διατελοῦσι σέβομενοι τὸ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰσημέρων πλῆθος, οὐχ οὗτοι τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἀπαλλαγήναι βαρύτυτος εὐχόμενοι, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήναι, τὴν κατ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ νίκην ἐπηνύχωσο. ἔπελ δὲ ἀπάντων κύριος κατέστη, ὡσπερ εὐξείας ἄπληστίας τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος πολλῆς ἀπορίας χρημάτων ὑστῆς καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῶν βασιλείων ἐν μυχοῖς συνελημένου, τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀφελῶν ἐπέκλυσεν ἀθρόως τῷ πλοῦτῷ πάντα, πόλιν τε ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἐτεσι δέκα, τοσοῦτῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν μείζονα, ὡς τῆς Ὑφόμης ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖ, ἢς τὸ δευτέραν τετάχθαι μακρὸ βέλτιον ἐμοίηνε φαίνεται ἢ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν πρώτην νομίζεσθαι. καλὸν ἦσως ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν ἀοιδίμων Ἀθηνῶν μνησθῆναι, ὡς ἐκείνων ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν τῶν πάντα ἥρων διετέλει. βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὃν καὶ κύριος πάντων, στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων ἔξιον καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνος τυχισμῶν μετ' ἑπιγράμματος ἐγάνυστο πλέον ἢ τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἄξιωσεις. ἀμειβόμενος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν πόλιν, πυρῶν μεδίμνους δίδωσι πολλάκις μυρίοις καθ’ ἐκαστον ἔτος δωρεὰν καρποῦσθαι, ἢ δὲν ὑπήρχε τῇ πόλει μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

1 Maxentius. 2 Constantinople. 3 Pindar fr. 46
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eīnai, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ τῶν βελτίστων.

Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν ἐργῶν τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ πραχθέντων, ὅν τε ἐπεμνήσθην καὶ ὃσα διὰ τὸ μήκος παραλιπέτειν δοκῶ, πάντων ἀριστον ἐγὼγε φαίνῃ ἀν, οἴμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας ὀμολογήσεις, τὴν σὴν γένεσιν καὶ τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν· ἐξ ἦς ὑπάρχει τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ τὸ πρὸς ὅλων ἀπολαύσαι τῆς ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ’ ὅς οἶν τέ ἐστιν πλείονα χρόνων. δοκεῖ γοῦν ἄρχειν ἐκείνοις εἰσέτη. καὶ Κύρῳ μὲν οὖχ ὑπήρχε τούτο. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ὁ παῖς ὀφθη λακρόνος, ὡστε ὁ μὲν ἐκαλείτο πατήρ, ὃ δὲ ἐπωνομάσθη δεσπότης. σὲ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐν ἄλλως πολλοῖς κρείττονα σαφῶς τε οἶδα, καὶ δηλῶσω τοῦ καιροῦ φανέντος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. ἐκείνῳ δὲ προσήκειν καὶ τούτου νομίζω μεταδόντι σοι τῆς ἀρίστης τροφῆς, ὑπὲρ ἂν ἦδη λέγειν πειράσομαι, μητρὸς καὶ ἄδελφῳν τῶν σῶν ἐπιμνησθεῖς.

Τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας τοσοῦτον περιήν καὶ κάλλους σώματος καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς, ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλῃ γυναικὶ ῥαδίως ἄν τις ἑξεύροι. ἐπεὶ καὶ Πέρσῳ ἄκοιν τὸν ὑπὲρ Παρυσάτιδος λόγον, ὅτι μόνῃ γεγονεν ἄδελφῃ καὶ μήτηρ καὶ γαμεῖτι καὶ πᾶσι βασιλεῖσι. ἀλλ’ ἦν γε αὕτῃ τοῦ γῆμαντος ἄδελφῃ τῇ φύσει, νόμος δὲ ἐδίδου γαμεῖν ἄδελφην τῷ Πέρσῃ. τὴν σὴν δὲ μητέρα κατὰ τοὺς παρ’ ἦμιν νόμους ἀχράντους καὶ καθαρὰς τὰς οἰκεῖοτητας ταύτας

1 te Cobet, εδ MSS, Hertlein.
of wheat, so that while she enjoyed plenty, he won applause and reverence from the best of men.

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

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

¹ Herodotus 3. 89. ² Constantine II. and Constans.
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φυλάττομεν συνέβαινεν τὸν μὲν εἶναι παῖδα, γαμετὴν δὲ έτέρου, καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἄλλου, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐνὸς μητέρα. ὅποι δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συγκατεργάσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Γέτας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην τοῖς ὁπλοῖς κρατήσας ἀσφαλῆ παρεσκεύασεν, ὁ δὲ ἐτήρησεν ἄβατον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρατεύων ἐκεῖνοι πολλάκις, ἔως ἐπέτρεπον οἱ μικρὸν ὠστερον τῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀδικημάτων δίκην ὑποσχόντες. πολλῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκεῖνος περιφανῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' ὅς ἂν τις αὐτοὺς δικαίως ἐπαινεῖν ἔχοι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν περιουσίας οὕσης, οὐδέν ἐστι τοιοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐφ' ὃ μακρὸς ἦν τις αὐτοὺς εἰκότως σεμνοῦν, ὡς στὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν δὲ ἐκγονοὶ γεγόνασιν. ἀλλ' ἱνα μὴ μακρότερα περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων τῶν ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς σοὶς καὶ τῶν ἄναλῶσι πόλιοι, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν ὡς ἡμῖν ἄξιον, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ δει μὴ δὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, μακρὸ τῶν προσγόνων ἐπιδείξω σε σεμνότερον.

Φήμας μὲν δὴ καὶ μαντείας καὶ ὄψεις τὰς εν τοῖς ὑπνοις, καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα θυρελείν εἰὼθασιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὸ λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανῆ πραξάντων, Κύρον καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκιστοῦ πόλεως καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ εἰ τὶς ἄλλος τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, ἐκὼν ἄφιημι.

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

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

¹ Maximianus.
² Constans.
⁴ Romulus,
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dokei γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ταῦτα τῆς ποιητικῆς ἐξουσίας εἶναι. καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ὑπάρξαντα σοι γένεσιν ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ βασιλικὰ καὶ τὸ λέγειν εὔθεσε. ἄλλο ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐν τοῖς παισίν ἀγωγής ὁ καιρὸς ὑπομέμνηκεν, ἔδει σοι τῆς βασιλικῆς τροφῆς δήποθεν, ὡς μὲν σῶμα πρὸς ἵσχυν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ εὐεξίαν καὶ κάλλος ἀσκήσει, τὴν ψυχήν δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν ἐμμελῶς παρασκευάσει. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ θάδιον διὰ τῆς ἀνεμένης ὑπάρχειν διαίτης, θρυπτούσης μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, ἀσθενεστέρας δὲ ἐργαζομένης πρὸς τε τοὺς κινδύνους τὰς γνώμας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους τὰ σώματα. οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν ἔδει γυμναστικῆς, τῷ σῶματι, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ τῇ τῶν λόγων ἐκόσμεις μελέτη. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀξίου διελθεῖν ἁρχὴ γάρ τις αὐτή τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεων γέγονε. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιμελείας τῆς περὶ τὴν ἵσχυν οὐ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἀρμόζου ἡσκήσας, ἢκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν ὑπολαβῶν τῶν τὰς παλαιότατας κατειληφότων τὴν ἁρμονισμένην εὐεξίαν, μέλλοντι τῶν ἀληθῶν ἀγώνων μεθέξεων, ὑπονοῦ τε ἐλαχίστοι σειμένῳ καὶ τροφῆς οὐ πολλῆς, καὶ ταύτης οὔτε κατὰ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ ποιότητα πάντως ὁρισμένης οὔτε κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ὅν χρῆ προσφέρεσθαι, τῆς ἡπιτυχούσης δὲ, ἐπειδὰν αἱ πράξεις τὸν καιρὸν ἐνδόσιν. οὕτω φοῦν δείν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια πρὸς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι, στρατιωτικὰ, χορείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕππλοις, δρόμον τὸν ἐν τούτοις, τὴν ἵππικην τέχνην, οἷς ἀπασι διατετέλεκας ἐξ

1 καὶ Wyttenbach adds.
2 ποιεῖσθαι Wyttenbach, ποιεῖσθαι εἶναι δὲ MSS, Hertlein,
I feel that poetic license accounts for them all.
And it is foolish even to state that at the hour of your birth all the circumstances were brilliant and suited to a prince. And now the time has come for me to speak of your education as a boy. You were of course bound to have the princely nurture that should train your body to be strong, muscular, healthy, and handsome, and at the same time duly equip your soul with courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom. But this cannot result from that loose indulgence which naturally pampers body and soul, weakening men’s wills for facing danger and their bodies for work. Therefore your body required training by suitable gymnastics, while you adorned your mind by literary studies. But I must speak at greater length about both branches of your education, since it laid the foundation of your later career. In your physical training you did not pursue those exercises that fit one merely for public display. What professional athletes love to call the pink of condition you thought unsuitable for a king who must enter for contests that are not make-believe. Such a one must put up with very little sleep and scanty food, and that of no precise quantity or quality or served at regular hours, but such as can be had when the stress of work allows. And so you thought you ought to train yourself in athletics with a view to this, and that your exercises must be military and of many kinds, dancing and running in heavy armour, and riding. All these you have
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ἀρχής ἐν καὶρῷ χρώμενος· καὶ κατώρθωταὶ παρὰ σοὶ τούτων ἐκαστὸν ὡς παρ’ οὔδειν τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλιτῶν. οὐκοῦν ὦ μέν τις ἐκεῖνων, πεζὸς ὁ τῆς ἀγαθός, τὴν ἱππικὴν τέχνην ἣγνώσεν, ὦ δε, ἐπι- στάμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱππικοῖς, ὅκνει πεζὸς εἰς μάχην ἰέναι. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπάρχει σοὶ τῶν μὲν ἰππέων ἀρίστῳ φαίνεσθαι παραπλησίως ἐκεῖνος σταλέντι, μετασκευασμένῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὁπλίτας κρατεῖν ἀπάντων ρώμη καὶ τάχει καὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν κονφότητι. ὅπως δὲ μή τὰς ἀνέσεις ῥαθύμους εἶναι μηδ' ἀνευ τῶν ὅπλων ποιεῖσθαι συμβαίνῃ, ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύειν ἡσκησας. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐκουσίων πόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἀκουσίους εὖ ἔχειν παρεσκεύασας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ἡγεῖτο μὲν ἡ τῶν λόγων μελέτη καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις μαθήματα. ὅπως δὲ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀγύμναστος ἢ μηδὲ καθάπερ ἄσματα καὶ μῦθοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπακούῃ λόγους, ἔργων δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ πράξεων ἀπειροῦσα τόν τοσούτον διαμείνῃ χρόνον, καθάπερ ὁ γενναῖος ἥξιόσε Πλάτων οἴονεὶ πτερὰ τοῖς παισὶ χαρίζο- μενον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζοντα1 ἅγειν εἰς τὰς μάχας, θετάς ἐσομένους ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀγωνιστὰς ἤχρην καταστήναι, πατέρα τὸν σὸν διανοηθέντα φαίνῃ ἄν εἰκότως τοῖς Κελτῶν ἔθνεσιν ἐπιστήσαι σε φύλακα καὶ βασιλέα, μειράκιον ἕτη, μᾶλλον δὲ παιδα κομιδὴ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε συνέσει καὶ ρώμη τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοις ἀνδράσιν

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

Your mind, meanwhile, was trained by practice in public speaking and other studies suitable to your years. But it was not to be wholly without the discipline of experience, nor was it for you to listen merely to lectures on the virtues as though they were ballads or saga stories, and so wait all that time without actual acquaintance with brave works and undertakings. Plato, that noble philosopher, advised 1 that boys should be furnished as it were with wings for flight by being mounted on horseback, and should then be taken into battle so that they may be spectators of the warfare in which they must soon be combatants. This, I make bold to say, was in your father's mind when he made you governor and king of the Celtic tribes while you were still a youth, or rather a mere boy in point of years, though in intelligence and endurance you could already hold your own with men of parts.

1 Republic 467 E.
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...
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Your father wisely provided that your experience of war should be free from risks, having arranged that the barbarians should maintain peace with his subjects. But he instigated them to internal feuds and civil war, and so taught you strategy at the expense of their lives and fortunes. This was a safer policy than the wise Plato’s. For, by his scheme, if the invading army were composed of infantry, the boys could indeed be spectators of their fathers’ prowess, or, if need arose, could even take part. But supposing that the enemy won in a cavalry engagement, then, on the instant, one would have to devise some means to save the boys, which would be difficult indeed. But to inure the boys to face the enemy, while the hazard belongs to others, is to take counsel that both suffices for their need and also secures their safety.

It was in this way then that you were first trained in manliness. But as regards wisdom, that nature with which you were endowed was your self-sufficing guide. But also, I think, the wisest citizens were at your disposal and gave you lessons in statecraft. Moreover, your intercourse with the barbarian leaders in that region gave you an acquaintance at first hand with the manners, laws, and usages of foreigners. Indeed, when Homer set out to prove the consummate wisdom of Odysseus, he called him “much-travelled,” and said that he had come to know the minds of many peoples and visited their cities, so that he might choose what was best in every one and be able to mix with all sorts and conditions of men. Yes, even Odysseus, who never ruled an
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ποικίλων ἠθόν ἐμπειρίας χρεία: τὸν δὲ πρὸς
tοσαῦτην ήγεμονίαν τρεφόμενον οὐκ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ
ποι χρὴν διδάσκεσθαι οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν,
καθάπερ ὁ Κύρος, παίζοντα μμείσθαι οὐδὲ
χρηματίζειν τοῖς ἡλιξί, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνον λέγουσιν,
ἂν ἐθνεσιν ὁμλεῖν καὶ δήμοις, καὶ στρατιωτῶν
tάγμασιν ἐπιτάττειν ἀπλῶς τὸ πρακτέον ὅλως δὲ
οὐδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθαι τούτων, δὲν ἐχρὴν ἀνδρα
gενόμενον ἐπ’ ἀδείας πράττειν.

Οὐκοὖν ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἐδιδάχθης
καλῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἠπειρον μετιῶν τοῖς
Παρθενίων καὶ Μήδων ἔθνεσιν ἀντετάχθης
μόνος. ὑποτυφομένου δὲ ἡδὴ τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μέλλοντος ἀναρριπτίζεσθαι,
tαχέως καὶ τούτου κατέγνωσ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ
τὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν ἱσχὐν ἐμμηῆς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
ὁραν τοῦ θέρους έθισας καρτερεῖν τὸ σῶμα.
πυθάνομαι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων
Ἤλληνοις οὕτως εὐφυῶς μεταβολὰς ἐνεγκεῖν, ὡς
καὶ μμήσασθαι πρῶτον1 μὲν τὴν τῶν Δακεδαι-
μονίων ἐγκράτειαν, ἐπειδὴ Σπαρτιάταις αὐτῶν
ἐδεδώκει, έίτα Θηβαίους, καὶ Θράκας ύστερον, καὶ
ἔπι τέλει τὴν τῶν Περσῶν τρυφήν. ἂν ἐκεῖνος
μὲν τοῖς χωρίοις συμμεταβάλλων καὶ τὸν τρόπον
ἀνεπίμπλατο πολλῆς δυσχερείας καὶ τὸ πάτριον
ἐκινδύνευε παντελῶς ἀποβαλεῖν, σὺ δὲ τῆς

1 πρῶτον Cobet adds.

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empire, needed experience of the many and divers minds of men. How much more necessary that one who was being brought up to guide an empire like this should not fit himself for the task in some modest dwelling apart; neither should he, like young Cyrus in his games, play at being emperor, nor give audiences to his playmates, as they say 1 Cyrus did. Rather he ought to mix with nations and peoples, and give orders to his troops definitely indicating what is to be done, and generally he should be found wanting in none of those things which, when he comes to manhood, he must perform without fear.

Accordingly, when you had gained a thorough knowledge of the Celts, you crossed to the other continent and were given sole command against the Parthians and Medes. There were already signs that a war was smouldering and would soon burst into flame. You therefore quickly learned how to deal with it, and, as though you took as model the hardness of your weapons, steeled yourself to bear the heat of the summer season. I have heard say that Alcibiades alone, among all the Greeks, was naturally so versatile that when he cast in his lot with the Spartans he copied the self-restraint of the Lacedaemonians, then in turn Theban and Thracian manners, and finally adopted Persian luxury. But Alcibiades, when he changed his country changed his character 2 too, and became so tainted with perversity and so ill-conditioned that he was likely to lose utterly all that he was born to. You, however, thought it your duty to maintain your severity of

1 Herodotus 1. 114.
2 Cf. Aeschines Against Ctesiphon 78. Horace Epistles 1. 11. 27.
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ἐγκρατοῦς διαίτης ὅου δεῖν ἐχεσθαι πανταχοῦ, ἔθιζον δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς. Ὁ ᾱδιος ήμεγκας ἡ τὴν ἐκ Γαλατῶν εἰς Παρθναίους ἀνοδὸν ἡ τῶν πλουσίων οἱ ταῖς ὀραίς τὴν οίκησιν συμμεταβάλλοντες, εἰ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν βιασθεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ θεὸς εὐμενῆς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν παρασκευάζειν ἐθέλων, κύκλῳ σε περισαγαγεῖν καὶ ἐπιδειξαί τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ὄρους καὶ πέρατα καὶ φύσιν χωρῶν καὶ μέγεθος χώρας καὶ δύναμιν ἔθνων καὶ πλῆθος πύλεων καὶ φύσιν δήμων καὶ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῶν ἐκείνον τὴν περιουσίαν ὑπολειφθαί χρῆ τὸν πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν τρεφόμενον. τὸ μέγιστον δὲ μικρὸν με διέγυρον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τούτων ἀπάντων ἀρχεῖν ἐκ παίδων διδασκόμενος, ἀρχεσθαί κρείττον ἐμαθεῖς, ἀρχὴ τῇ πασῶν ἀρίστη καὶ δικαιοτάτη, φύσει τε καὶ νόμω, σαυτὸν ὑποτιθεῖσιν πατρὶ γὰρ ὑπῆκους ἀμα καὶ βασιλεῖ; ὁν εἰ καὶ θάτερον ὕπηρχεν ἐκείνῳ μόνον, ἀρχεῖν αὐτῷ πάντως προσῆκον ἦν. καὶ τοι τίνα ποτ' ἃν τις ἐξεύροι βασιλικὴν τροφὴν καὶ παιδεῖαν ἀμείωντα τυπῆς πάλαι γενομένην; οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οὔτε τοῖς Ἑλλήνων, ἐποτὲ δὴ δοκοὺσιν ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς τῆς τῶν βασιλέων μεταλαβεῖν, οὔτω τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἐπαιδευον, οὔτε τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ Καρχη-
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Life wherever you might be, and by hard work inuring your constitution to change, you easily bore the march inland from Galatia to Parthia, more easily in fact than a rich man who lives now here, now there, according to the season, would bear it if he were forced to encounter unseasonable weather. I think Heaven smiled on you and willed that you should govern the whole world, and so from the first trained you in virtue, and was your guide when you journeyed to all points, and showed you the bounds and limits of the whole empire, the character of each region, the vastness of your territory, the power of every race, the number of the cities, the characteristics of the masses, and above all the vast number of things that one who is bred to so great a kingship cannot afford to neglect. But I nearly forgot to mention the most important thing of all. From a boy you were taught to govern this great empire, but a better thing you learned, to be governed, submitting yourself to the authority that is the best in the world and the most just, that is to say nature and law. I mean that both as son and subject you obeyed your father. Indeed, had he been only your father or only your king, obedience was his due.

Now what rearing and education for a king could one find in history better than this? Consider the Greeks. Not thus did the Spartans train the Heracleidae, though they are thought to have enjoyed the best form of government, that of their kings. As for the barbarians, not even the Cartha-
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dóνιοι, βασιλευόμενοι διαφερόντως, τῆς ἀρίστης ἐπιμελείας τῶν ἄρξουντα. σφῶν ἡξίους. ἄλλα πάσιν ἵνα κοινὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ παιδεύματα, καθάπερ ἅδελφοις τοῖς πολίταις ἄρξειν τε καὶ ἀρχηγεσθαι μέλλουσι, καὶ οὐδὲν διάφορον προσῆν εἰς παιδείας λόγον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἄλλων. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ εὐθές ἀπαιτεῖν μὲν ἀρετῆς μέγεθος ἀνυπέρβλητον παρὰ τῶν ἄρχοντων, προνοεῖν δὲ μηδέν, ὅπως ἑσονται τῶν πολλῶν διαφέροντες; καὶ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις, ἀπασίν ἐν κοινῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης προκειμένης, τὸ τὴν ἐπιμελείαν τῶν ἠθῶν ὁμοίαν γίγνεσθαι παρὰ συνομούν τὸν Δυκιόργων δὲ τοῖς ἀφ᾿ Ἡρακλέους ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάττοντα μηδεμίαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τῶν νέων εὑρόντα σφόδρα ἀν τις εἰκότως μέμψαιτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντας Δακεδαιμονίους ἀθλητὰς ἄρετης καὶ τροφίμους κέστο δεῖν εἶναι, τῆς ἰσης ἡξίονν ἐχρῆν τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας τοὺς ἰδιώτας τοῖς ἄρξουσιν. ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη κατὰ μικρὸν παραδυνόμενη συνήθεια ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνέτεκεν ὑπεροψίαι τῶν κρείττονων ὀλος γὰρ οὐδὲ κρείττονας νομιστέοι τοὺς οὔ δι᾿ ἀρετὴν πρωτεύειν

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

¹ cf. Xenophon Rep. Lac. 15. 7.
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λαχόντας. τούτο δὲ οἷμαι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας χαλεπωτέρους ἀρχὴναι τοῖς βασιλεύσι παρεῖχε πολλάκις. χρήσαιτο δ’ ἄν τις σαφεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῶν ῥηθέντων τῇ Λυσάνδρῳ πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ ἄλλοις πλεῖστοι, ἐπὶδώ τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

Ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τὰ πρὸς ἀρέτην ἀρκοῦντος παρασκευάζουσα, εἰ καὶ μηδέν διαφέρον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐδίδου τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ὑπάρχειν παρεῖχεν ἀνδράσιν. Καρχηδονίων δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπαίνειν ἄξιον. ἐξελαύνοντες γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων οἱ γονεῖς τοὺς παιδὰς ἐπέταττον εὐπορεῖν διὰ τῶν πόνων τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀναγκαίων, τὸ δράν τι τῶν δοκοῦντων αἰσχρῶν ἀπαγορεύοντες. τὸ δὲ ἦν, οὗ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελεῖν τῶν νέων, ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν2 πειράσθαι τι δρῶντα3 προστάτειν. πέφυκε γὰρ οὗ τρυφὴ μόνον ἢθος διαφθείρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείξις δίατα, ἐφ’ ὅν οὕτω τὸ κρίνειν ὁ λόγος προσλαβὼν ἔπεται ταῖς χρείαις ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναπειθόμενος, ἀλλως τε εἰ καὶ τούτου μὴ κρατοῦν τοὺς πάθους, πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἐκ παῖδων συνεθιζόμενος καὶ τινὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἐμπορίῶν καὶ καπηλείας τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρὼν τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδῶν μαθῶν, ὑπὲρ ὃν οὐ λέγειν μόνον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀκούειν

1 τὰ Wyttenbach adds.
2 λαθεῖν Cobet, τὸ λαθεῖν MSS, Hertlein, τοῦ λαθεῖν Schaefer.
3 τι δρῶντα Spanheim, ἵδρωτα MSS, Hertlein,
my opinion, is the reason why the Spartan kings often found their subjects hard to govern. In proof of what I say one might quote the rivalry of Lysander and Agesilaus, and many other instances, if one should review the history of the Spartan kings.

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

ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρόντος ἐκείνους προσήκειν. δεῖξο δὲ μόνον τῆς τροφῆς1 τὸ διαφέρον, ἡ χρησάμενος κάλλει καὶ βόμη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη διηνέγκας, διὰ μὲν τῶν πότων τὴν εὐεξίαν περιβαλόμενος, διὰ δὲ τῶν νόμων τὴν σωφροσύνην κατακτησάμενος,2 καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι ῥωμαλεωτέρῳ διὰ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τῇ ψυχῇ δ’ αὖ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καρτερίαν δικαιότερα χρόνεμον, τὰ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως ἀγαθὰ συναὐξών ἐκ παινός, τὰ δὲ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐξωθήν ἀεὶ προσλαμβάνων· καὶ δεόμενος3 μὲν οὐδενός, ἐπαρκῶν δ’ ἄλλοις καὶ χαριτόμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ οὐσί πᾶς λαβοῦν τὴν ἀποθήκην τῷ Δυνάμενε παραπλησίως, ἐνέθεστερον μὲν ἀπολαύσει αὐτὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ σωφρονεστάτως, τοῦ τρυφῶν δὲ παρέχων ἄλλοις χορηγοῖαν, καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους σωφρονεῖν παρέχων σαυτὸν μιμεῖσθαι, ἄρχων μὲν πρῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως τῶν ἄλλων, ἄρχομενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σωφρόνως καὶ ὡς εἰς τῶν πολλῶν τὸν ἀπαντα διετέλεις χρόνον. παίδι δὲ οὖν αὐτοὶ καὶ μειρακίως ταῦτά τε υπῆρχε καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα, περὶ ἰδίαν χρόνων μακρότερον ἃν εἰς τοῦ καιροῦ.

1 τροφῆς MSS, Cobet, διατροφῆς V, Hertlein.
2 κατακτησάμενος Cobet κτησάμενος MSS, Hertlein, κατα- χρησάμενος V.
3 δεόμενος MSS, Cobet, ἐνδεόμενος Hertlein.
or learns it from those of greater experience, leaves many scars on the soul; and even a respectable citizen ought to be free from all this, not a king or general alone.

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

1 Gyges.
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Γενόμενος δὲ ἐφ’ ἡλικίας, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ δαίμονος μάλα ὀλβιαν παρασχόντος, οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τὸν τάφον ἐκόσμεις, γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς ἀποτίνων τὰ χαριστήρια, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τῷ μόνος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ξύντος μὲν ἔτι καὶ πιεζομένου τῇ νόσῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμήρας, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὰς μεγίστας τιμὰς καταστήσας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔξαρκει καὶ τὸ μυσθῆμα. καλοῦσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐφ’ αὐτὰς αἱ πράξεις ὑπομιμνήσκονται τῆς ῥώμης, τῆς εὐφυχίας, εὐβουλίας τε ἁμα καὶ δικαιότητος, οῖς ἁμαχος ὀφθης καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς πατρῴους σοι φίλους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καταστησάμενος· πλὴν εἰ που βιασθεῖς ὡς τῶν καιρῶν ἀκών ἔτερους ἔξαρματεῖν οὐ διεκώλυσας· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνδρεῖως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῆς προὔπαρχούσης ἄξιος τοῦ γένους δόξης καταστησάμενος. τοῖς μὲν δ’ ὁμονοίας τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον συγγέγονας, ἀστασίαστον μὲν τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάττων καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς συνάρχοντας θεραπεύων ἀεὶ, τοὺς φίλους δὲ τῆς ἱσηγορίας 1 μεταδίδοις καὶ τῆς παρρησίας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἅγαθῶν ἀφθόνως, κοιμοῦνδ’ μὲν ἀπασὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μεταδίδοις δὲ ὃν ἐκαστὸς ἐνδεχὴς δόξει. καὶ τούτων μάρτυσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους εἰκότως ἃν τις χρῆσαιτο, καὶ τὰ πράγματα δὲ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι

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

1 At Nicomedia 337 A.D.  
2 Isocrates, Evagoras 1.  
3 Constans and Constantine.
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tīs πρὸς ἐκείνους συνονοσίας ικανὰ δηλώσα εἶναι τήν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου παντὸς.

Ῥητέον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἦδη τῶν πράξεων ἀναθέμενοι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐξευον λόγον. Πέρσαι τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης πάλαι κρατήσαντες καὶ τῆς Ἑυρώπης τὰ πολλὰ καταστρέψαμενοι, μικροῦ δὲω φάναι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην περιβαλόμενοι κύκλῳ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἄρχην ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀφήρησαν, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγίας ἔργον γενόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ παιγμοι, χαλεπῶς φέροντες ¹ τὸ δουλεύειν, ὡς ἐκείνων ᾠσθοντο τετελευτηκότα, τῶν διαδόχων ἀποστάντες Μακεδόσι τε εἰς τὴν ἀντίπαλον δύναμιν ἀδείς καταστησαν καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ λειτουρμὸν τῆς Μακεδόνων ἄρχης κατακτησάμενοι ἀξióμαχοι διὰ τέλους ἐδοξα σαναίς ουκομένων τὰ αἰσχρά, πολλάς καὶ σοφρόνων αὐτοκρατóρων ἀναμαχεσαμένων τὰ πταίσματα; τί δὲ χρῆ τῶν δευτέρων ἀτυχημάτων μεμνήσαθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Κάρου πράξεων, ὀσπερ μετὰ τᾶς συμφορᾶς ἡρέθη στρατηγὸς; ² ἀλλ' οἱ τὴν βαυμαστὴν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀγαπωμένην εἰρήνην ἐπιτάξαντες ἐκείνως ἄγειν, οἱ πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντες, οὐχ ο μὲν καίσαρ καθ' αὐτῶν συμβαλὼν αἰσχρῶς ἀπήλλαξεν; ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης ἀρχοῦτος καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς ἡγεμονίας

¹ φέροντες πρὸς MSS.
² ὀσπερ... στρατηγὸς MSS.
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themselves are sufficient to demonstrate the policy of your whole life.

But I must postpone the description of your personal qualities and go on to speak of your achievements. The Persians in the past conquered the whole of Asia, subjugated a great part of Europe, and had embraced in their hopes I may almost say the whole inhabited world, when the Macedonians deprived them of their supremacy, and they provided Alexander's generalship with a task, or rather with a toy. But they could not endure the yoke of slavery, and no sooner was Alexander dead, than they revolted from his successors and once more opposed their power to the Macedonians, and so successfully that, when we took over what was left of the Macedonian empire, we counted them to the end as foes with whom we must reckon. I need not now remind you of ancient history, of Antony and Crassus,\(^1\) who were generals with the fullest powers, or tell how after long-continued dangers we succeeded in wiping out the disgrace they incurred, and how many a prudent general retrieved their blunders. Nor need I recall the second chapter of our misfortunes and the exploits of Carus\(^2\) that followed, when after those failures he was appointed general. Among those who sat on the throne before your father's time and imposed on the Persians conditions of peace admired and welcomed by all, did not the Caesar\(^3\) incur a disgraceful defeat when he attacked them on his own account? It was not till the ruler of the whole world\(^4\) turned his attention to

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\(^1\) Defeated at Carrhae B.C. 53: the Roman standards were recovered by Augustus B.C. 20.  
\(^2\) Emperor 282-283 A.D.  
\(^3\) Galerius Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian, was defeated in Mesopotamia, 296 A.D., by Narses.  
\(^4\) Diocletian.
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άπώσις ἐκείνης τρέψαντος καὶ προκαταλαβόντος B τὰς εἰσβολὰς στρατεύμασι καὶ καταλόγοις ὀπλι-
tῶν παλαιῶν καὶ νεολέκτων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς
παρασκευαῖς, δεδιότες μόλις τὴν εἰρήνην ἡγάπη-
σαν. ἢν οὐκ οἷδ' ὅπως περιόντος τοῦ πατρὸς τού
σοῦ συγχέαντες καὶ συνταράξαντες, τῆς μὲν παρ'
ἐκείνου τιμωρίας διήμαρτον, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον παρασκευαὶς τῶν βίων μεταλλάξαντος:
σοὶ δὲ ὑπέσχον τὴν δίκην ύστερον τῶν τετολμη-
μένων. μέλλων δὲ ἔτι δὴ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἀγώνων γενομένων σοι πολλάκις ἀπτεσθαί τοσοῦ-
tον ἀξιῶ σκοπεῖν τοὺς ἄκρωσμένους, ὅτι τοῦ
τρίτου μορίου τῆς ἀρχῆς καθεστῶς κύριος οὐδα-
μός πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔρρωσθαι δοκοῦντος, οὐχ
οπλοῖς, οὐκ ἀνδράσι τοῖς στρατευμονέοις, οὐδενὶ
tῶν ἄλλων, ὥσα πρὸς τηλικοῦτον πόλεμον ἐχρῆν
ἐπιρρεῖν ἁθόνα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἁδελ-
φῶν σοι δὲ ἁσθητοτοῦν αἰτίας τὸν πόλεμον
ἐλαφρυνόντων καὶ οὐκ ἔστων οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀναίσ-
χυτος οὐδὲ βάσκανος συκοφάντης, δὲ οὐκ αἰτιώ-
tατοι γενέσθαι σὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμονοίας
φήσεις ὁντος δὲ οἴμαι τοῦ πόλεμου καθ' αὐτοῦ
δυσχεροῦς, τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων πρὸς τὴν μετα-
βολὴν διεταράττετο, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν σφῶν
ήγερνα ποθεὶν ἐκβοῶντες, ὡμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν ἑθέλ-
οντες καὶ ἀλλὰ μυρία ἄτοπα καὶ δυσχερὴ παντα-
χόθεν ἀναφυόμενα χαλεπωτέρας τὰς υπὲρ τοῦ
πολέμου παρεῖχεν ἐλπίδας: Ἄρμενιοι παλαιοὶ
σύμμαχοι στασιάζοντες καὶ μοῦρα σφῶν οὐ φαύλη
Πέρσαις προσθέμενοι, τὴν ὁμορον σφῖς λῃσταῖς
κατατρέχοντες καὶ ὀπερ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐφαι-
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them, directing thither all the forces of the empire, occupying all the passes with his troops and levies of hoplites, both veterans and new recruits, and employing every sort of military equipments, that fear drove them to accept terms of peace. That peace they somehow contrived to disturb and break during your father's lifetime, but they escaped punishment at his hands because he died in the midst of preparations for a campaign. It was left for you later on to punish them for their audacity. I shall often have to speak of your campaigns against them, but this one thing I ask my hearers to observe. You became master of a third of the empire,¹ that part in fact which seemed by no means strong enough to carry on a war, since it had neither arms nor troops in the field, nor any of those military resources which ought to flow in abundantly in preparation for so important a war. Then, too, your brothers, for whatever reason, did nothing to make the war easier for you. And yet there is no sycophant so shameless and so envious as not to admit that the harmony existing between you was mainly due to you. The war in itself presented peculiar difficulties, in my opinion, and the troops were disaffected owing to the change of government; they raised the cry that they missed their old leader and they wished to control your actions. Nay, more; a thousand strange and perplexing circumstances arose on every hand to render your hopes regarding the war more difficult to realise. The Armenians, our ancient allies, revolted, and no small part of them went over to the Persians and overran and raided the country on their borders.

In this crisis there seemed to be but one hope of

¹ The provinces of the East.
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νετο μόνον σωτήριον, τὸ σὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχεσθαι καὶ θουλεύεσθαι, τέως οὐχ ὑπήρχε διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν Παιονία συνθήκας, ὃς αὐτὸς παρὼν οὕτω διόκησας, ὡς μηδεμιὰν ἀφορμὴν ἐκείνοις παρασχεῖν μέμψεως. μικροὶ μὲ ἔλαθεν ἦν τῶν πράξεων ἁρχὴ διαφυγοῦσα καλλίων ἀπασῶν ἢ ταῖς καλλίσταις ἐξ ἴσης θαυμαστή. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτων πραγμάτων θουλεύμενον μηδὲν ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τὸ πλέον ἐχεῖν ἐκῶν συγχωροῖς, σωφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας μέγιστον ἂν εἶη σημεῖον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν πατρίδαν οὐσίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς νεμόμενον ἐκατὸν ταλάντων, κείσθω δὲ, εἰ βουλεῖ, τοσοῦτων ἄλλων, εἴτε ἐχὼν πεντήκοντα ὡς ἐλαττοῦν ἴγατηση δὴ, καὶ μικροὶ παντελῶς ἁργυρίου τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁμόνοιαν ἀνταλλαξάμενος, ἐπαίνων ἄν ἐδόκει καὶ τιμῆς ἄξιοι ὡς χρημάτων κρείττων, ὡς εὐβουλος φύσει, ξυνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὡς καλὸς κἀγαθὸς. οδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἁρχῆς οὕτω μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ σωφρόνοις δοκῶν βεθουλεύσθαι, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἑπιμελείας αὐτῶς μείξωνα μὴ προσθεῖναι πόνον, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁρχῆς προσόδων ἐκῶν ὑφίσσεθαι ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ῥωμαιῶν ἀπάντων εἰρήνης, πόσων ἐπαίνων ἀξίων κρινεῖ τις; οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἐνεστὶν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς καλῶς μὲν, ἀλυσιτελῶς δὲ· λυσιτελὲς μὲν γὰρ

1 ᾧ Schaefer adds.
2 πεντήκοντα μναὶς Reiske, Cobet, μνᾶς MSS.
3 ἀλυσιτελῶς δὲ· λυσιτελὲς Petavius, Wyttenbach, Hertlein, ἀλυσιτελὲς MSS.

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safety, that you should take charge of affairs and plan the campaign, but at the moment this was impossible, because you were in Paeonia\(^1\) making treaties with your brothers. Thither you went in person, and so managed that you gave them no opening for criticism. Indeed, I almost forgot to mention the very first of your achievements, the noblest of all, or at any rate equal to the noblest. For there is no greater proof of your prudence and magnanimity than the fact that, in planning for interests of such importance, you thought it no disadvantage if you should, of your own free will, concede the lion’s share to your brothers. Imagine, for instance, a man dividing among his brothers their father’s estate of a hundred talents, or, if you prefer, twice as much. Then suppose him to have been content with fifty minae less than the others, and to raise no objection, because he secured their goodwill in exchange for that trifling sum. You would think he deserved all praise and respect as one who had a soul above money, as far-sighted, in short as a man of honour. But here is one whose policy with regard to the empire of the world seems to have been so high minded, so prudent, that, without increasing the burdens of administration, he willingly gave up some of the imperial revenues in order to secure harmony and peace among all Roman citizens. What praise such a one deserves! And certainly one cannot, in this connection, quote the saying, “Well done, but a bad bargain.” Nothing, in my opinion,

\(^2\) Regularly in Greek for Pannonia.

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οὐδέν, ὁ, τι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ καλὸν, ἐμοιγε φαίνεται. ὁλως δὲ εἰ τινι καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν δοκεῖ, κρινέτω μὴ πρὸς ἁργύριον σκοπῶν μηδὲ προσόδους χωρίων ἀπαριθμούμενοι, καθάπερ οἱ φιλάργυροι γέροντες υπὸ τῶν κωμωδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐλκόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν. φιλονεικῶν μὲν γὰρ υπὲρ τῶν ὀρίων καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχων ἐκείνων ἁν ἥρξε μόνων δὲν ἐλαχεῖν, εἰ καὶ πλέον ἔχων ἀπτήνυ ὑπερορῶν δὲ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ καταφρονίσας ἥρχε μὲν ἀπάσης μετὰ τῶν ἁδελφῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ τοῦ λαχῶντος μέρους, ἀπολαύων μὲν τελείας τῆς τιμῆς, μετέχων δὲ ἔλαττον τῶν ἐτ' αὐτὴ πόνων.

'Ἀλλ' ὑπέρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὕθες ἔξεσται διὰ μακροτέρων δηλῶσαι. ὅπως δὲ τῶν πραγ- μάτων ἐπεμελήθης, τοσούτων κύκλω περιστάντων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν κινδύνων καὶ παντοδαπῶν πραγμάτων, θορύβου, πολέμου ἀναγκαίου, πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμάχων ἀπο- στάσεως, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, ὅσα ἀλλα τότε δυσχερὴ κατελάμβανεν, ἵσως ἤδη διελθεῖν ἄξιον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ σοι τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης ὁμοιότητος διόκητο, παρῆν δὲ οἱ καίρος τοῖς πράγ- μασιν ἐπιτάττων βοηθεῖν κινδυνεύουσι, πορείαις ταχείαις χρησάμενοι ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Παίονιον ἐν Σύροις ὥφθης, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δείξαι ἄραδιον· ἀρκεῖ

1 πραγμάτων θορύβου Wyttenbach, θορύβου πραγμάτων MSS, Hertlein. 2 ἀναγκαίου Capps suggests, γενιαλού MSS, Hertlein. 3 πορείαις ταχείαις Capps suggests, πορέλας μὲν τάχει MSS, Hertlein. 4 ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Petavius, ἀθρώς ἐκ MSS, Hertlein.
can be called a good bargain if it be not honourable as well. In general, if anyone wish to apply the test of expediency alone, he ought not to make money his criterion or reckon up his revenues from estates, like those old misers whom writers of comedy bring on to the stage, but he should take into account the vastness of the empire and the point of honour involved. If the Emperor had disputed about the boundaries and taken a hostile attitude, he might have obtained more than he did, but he would have governed only his allotted share. But he scorned and despised such trifles, and the result was that he really governed the whole world in partnership with his brothers, but had the care of his own portion only, and, while he kept his dignity unimpaired, he had less than his share of the toil and trouble that go with such a position.

On that subject, however, I shall have a chance later to speak in more detail. This is perhaps the right moment to describe how you controlled the situation, encompassed as you were, after your father's death, by so many perils and difficulties of all sorts—confusion, an unavoidable war, numerous hostile raids, allies in revolt, lack of discipline in the garrisons, and all the other harassing conditions of the hour. You concluded in perfect harmony the negotiations with your brothers, and when the time had arrived that demanded your aid for the dangerous crisis of affairs, you made forced marches, and immediately after leaving Paeonia appeared in Syria. But to relate how you did this would tax my powers of description, and indeed for those who know the
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dε τοις ἐγνωκόσιν ἢ πείρα. ὅπως δὲ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τὴν σὴν ἀθρόως ἀπαντα μεταβαλόντα καὶ μεταστάντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπικρεμασθέντων ἡμᾶς ἀπῆλλαξε φόβων, ἀμείνους δὲ μακρῷ τὰς ύπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων παρέσχεν ἐλπίδας, τὰς ἄν ἀρκεσεῖ τῶν ἀπάντων εἴπετε; τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων, πλησίον γενομένου μόνον, ἐπέπαντο τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ μεθειστήκει πρὸς κόσμον, Ἀρμενίων δὲ οἱ προσθέμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐθὺς μετέστησαν, σοῦ τοὺς μὲν αὐτίους τῆς φυγῆς τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐκέινης ἄρχοντι παρ’ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγόντος, τοῖς φεύγουσι δὲ τὴν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν καθοδον ἄδεη παρασκευάσαντος. οὕτω δὲ φίλανθρωπως τοῖς τε παρ’ ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένοις ἄρτι χρησαμένου καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς μετὰ τοῦ σφῶν ἄρχοντος κατεληλυθόσι πρᾶσις ὁμιλοῦντος, οἱ μὲν, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, αὐτοὺς ἀπωλοφύραντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην τῆς πρόσθεν ἡγάτων μᾶλλον δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες ἐμπρόσθεν ἔργω σωφρονεῖν ἐφασαν ἐκμαθεῖν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ μὴ μεταστῆναι τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἄξιας τυγχάνειν. τοσαύτῃ δὲ ἐχερήσῳ περὶ τοὺς κατελθόντας ύπερβολὴ δωρέων καὶ τιμῆς, ἄστε μηδὲ τοῖς ἕχθιστοις σφῶν εὐ πράττουσι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμωμένοις ἀχθέσθαι μηδὲ βασκαίνειν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐν βραχεὶ καταστησάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐξ’ Ἀραβίας ληστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς πρεσβείαις τρέψας, ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς ἦλθες, ύπὲρ ὅν οὐ χεῖρον ἐν βραχεὶ προειπτεῖν.
facts their own experience is enough. But who in the world could describe adequately how, at the prospect of your arrival, everything was changed and improved all at once, so that we were set free from the fears that hung over us and could entertain brighter hopes than ever for the future? Even before you were actually on the spot the mutiny among the garrisons ceased and order was restored. The Armenians who had gone over to the enemy at once changed sides again, for you ejected from the country and sent to Rome those who were responsible for the governor’s exile, and you secured for the exiles a safe return to their own country. You were so merciful to those who now came to Rome as exiles, and so kind in your dealings with those who returned from exile with the governor, that the former did, indeed, bewail their misfortune in having revolted, but still were better pleased with their present condition than with their previous usurpation; while the latter, who were formerly in exile, declared that the experience had been a lesson in prudence, but that now they were receiving a worthy reward for their loyalty. On the returned exiles you lavished such magnificent presents and rewards that they could not even resent the good fortune of their bitterest enemies, nor begrudge their being duly honoured. All these difficulties you quickly settled, and then by means of embassies you turned the marauding Arabs against our enemies. Then you began preparations for the war, about which I may as well say a few words.

1 Tiranus, King of Armenia, was now, 337 A.D., deposed and imprisoned by Sapor. His son, Arsaces, succeeded him in 341. Julian is describing the interregnum. Gibbon, chap. 18, wrongly ascribes these events to the reign of Tiridates, who died 314 A.D.
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Τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τῆς πρόσθεν τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένοις ἀνέισθη τοὺς πόνους, τοῖς λειτουργοῦσι δὲ κουφοτέρας τὰς λειτουργίας ¹ παρασχούσης, τοῦ πολέμου δὲ χρημάτων καὶ σιτηρείσι καὶ χορηγίας λαμπρᾶς δεομένου, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἰσχύος καὶ ρώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπειρίας τῶν στρατευομένων, ὑπάρχοντος δὲ οὐδένος σχεδὸν τῶν τοιούτων, αὐτὸς ἔξηγε καὶ κατέστησας, τοῖς μὲν ἐν ² ἡλικία στρατεύεσθαι λαχοῦσιν ἀποδείξας τῶν πόνων μελέτην, παπαπλησίαν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίως ἵππικὴν καταστησάμενος δύναμιν, τῷ πεζῷ δὲ ἐπιτάξας τῶν πόνων ἔχεσθαι καὶ ταύτα οὐ ρήμασι μόνον οὐδὲ ἔξ ἐπιτάγματος, μελετῶν δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ συνασκούμενος καὶ δεικνύων ἔργῳ τὸ πρακτέον, πολέμων ἐργάτας ἅφην κατέστησας. χρημάτων δὲ ἐπενόεσθι πόρους, οὐκ αὐξών τοὺς φόρους οὐδὲ τὰς συντάξεις, καθάπερ 'Αθηναῖοι πρόσθεν, εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον καταστήσας, ἐμμένων δὲ οἷμαι τοῖς ἀρχαιοὶ πλῆν εἰ ποὺ πρὸς βραχὺ καὶ πρὸς καῖρον ³ ἔχρην αἰσθέσθαι δαπανηρότερον τῶν λειτουργημάτων. ἐν τοσαύτῃ δὲ ⁴ τοῖς στρατευομένους ἔγος ἀφθονία, ὡς μῆτε ὑβρίζειν τὸ κόρῳ μῆτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας πλημμελεῖν ἄναγκασθήναι. ὅπλων δὲ καὶ ὑποπων παρασκευὴν καὶ νεῶν τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάντων τὸ πλῆθος σιωπῆ κατέχω. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρασκευής τέλος εἰχε

¹ ἀς λειτουργίας Reiske adds. ² ἐν Reiske adds. ³ καῖρον Cobet, ἐκκαῖρον MSS, Hertlein. ἀκαῖρον V, ἀκαριαῖον Hertlein conjectures. ⁴ δὲ Wright, τε Schaefer, Hertlein.
The previous period of peace had relaxed the labours of the troops, and lightened the burdens of those who had to perform public services. But the war called for money, provisions, and supplies on a vast scale, and even more it demanded endurance, energy, and military experience on the part of the troops. In the almost entire absence of all these, you personally provided and organised everything, drilled those who had reached the age for military service, got together a force of cavalry to match the enemy's, and issued orders for the infantry to persevere in their training. Nor did you confine yourself to speeches and giving orders, but yourself trained and drilled with the troops, showed them their duty by actual example, and straightway made them experts in the art of war. Then you discovered ways and means, not by increasing the tribute or the extraordinary contributions, as the Athenians did in their day, when they raised these to double or even more. You were content, I understand, with the original revenues, except in cases where, for a short time, and to meet an emergency, it was necessary that the people should find their services to the state more expensive. The troops under your leadership were abundantly supplied, yet not so as to cause the satiety that leads to insolence, nor, on the other hand, were they driven to insubordination from lack of necessaries.

I shall say nothing about your great array of arms, horses, and river-boats, engines of war and the like. But when all was ready and the time had come to
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καὶ ἔδει χρῆσθαι τοῖς προρρηθείσιν εἰς δέον, ἐξεύγυντο μὲν ὁ Τίγρης σχεδίᾳ πολλάκις, ἡρθή δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούρια, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἔτολμησεν ἀμύναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθομένῃ, πάντα δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἤγετο τάκεινον ἀγαθά, τῶν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἕλεναι τομλόντων, τῶν θρασυνομένων δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑποσχόντων. τὸ μὲν δὴ κεφάλαιον τῶν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσβολῶν τοιούτον. καθ' ἐκαστον γὰρ ἐπεξεῖναι τίς ἄν ἄξιος ἐν βραχεί λόγῳ δυνηθείη, τῶν μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν δὲ τὰς ἀριστείας ἀπαριθμούμενος; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἱσώς εἰπεῖν οὐ χαλεπῶν, ὅτι πολλάκις τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκεῖνον περαιώθη τί ἑν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίψας ἠρῶν, λαμπρὸς ἐπανήεις τοῖς τροπαίοις, τὰς διὰ σὲ πόλεις ἔλευθέρας ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ χαριζόμενος εἰρήνην καὶ πλοῦτον, πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τῶν πάλαι ποθομένων διδοὺς ἀπολαύειν, νίκης κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τροπαίων ἐγειρομένων κατὰ τῆς Παρθναίων ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀναινδρίας, δὲν τὸ μὲν ἐπεδείξαντό τὰς σπουδὰς λύσαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συγχέαντες, τὸ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀμύνεσθαι.

Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ με τούτων μὲν ἰδέως μεμνησθαί τῶν ἔργων, ὅκυρειν δὲ ἐκείνα, περὶ ἅ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις πλεονεκτήσαι παρέσχεν ἢ τύχη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ χώρα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσλαβοῦσα ῥοπήν, ὡς αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ

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

But lest anyone should suppose that, while I delight in recalling exploits like these, I avoid mentioning occasions when luck gave the enemy the advantage—or rather it was the nature of the ground combined with opportunity that turned
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ἐπαίνον καὶ τιμὴν φέροντα, καὶ ύπὲρ τούτων πειρασμαί δηλῶσαι διὰ βραχέων, οὐ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελέστατον ἐμαυτῷ τους λόγους πλάττων, 23 τὴν ἀλήθειαν δὲ ἀγαπῶν ἐν πάσιν. ἂς εἴ τις ἐκών ἀμαρτάνοι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν αἰσχύνην οὐδαμῶς ἐκφεύγει, προστίθησι δὲ τοῖς ἐπανομημένοις τὸ δοκεῖν μηδ' ύπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εὐ ἀκούειν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν· οἱ παθεῖν εὐλαβησόμεθα. δεῖξει δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς, εἰ μηδαμοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τετίμηκεν. οὐκούν εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι πάντες ἀν μέγιστον φίλειαν πλεονέκτημα τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν πρὸ τῶν Σιγγάρων πόλεμον. ἔγω δὲ ἐκείνην Β τὴν μάχην ἵπταν μὲν ἐνεγκεῖν τοὺς στρατοπέδους τὰ δυστυχήματα, δείχαι δὲ τὴν σην ἀρετὴν περιγενομένην τής ἐκείνων τύχης φαίνην ἀν εἰκότως, καὶ ταῦτα στρατοπέδῳ χρησάμενον ἑβασεὶ καὶ τολμηρῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πύργου ρώμην οὐχ ὀμοίως ἐκείνος συνήθει. ὅπως δὲ ἐκαστὸν ἐπτράχθη, διηγησόμαι. θέρος μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀκμάζον ἐτί, συνήθει δὲ ἐς ταῦτα τὰ στρατόπεδα πολὺ πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας. ἐκπληττόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολέμοι τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἰσχίαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πλῆθει θαυμαστὸι φανέντες, ἢρχετο μὲν οὕδεις τῆς μάχης, τῶν μὲν εἰς χειρὰς ἵναι πρὸς οὕτω παρεσκευασμένην δύναμιν ὁκνούντων, τῶν δὲ περιμενόντων ἐκείνως ἀρχεῖν, ὅπως ἀμυνόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐν πᾶσιν, οὐχὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ πολέμοι μετὰ τὴν

1 χρησαμένον Hertlein suggests, χρησάμενον V, χρησαμένην MSS.

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the scale—and that I do so because they brought us no honour or glory but only disgrace, I will try to give a brief account of those incidents also, not adapting my narrative with an eye to my own interests, but preferring the truth in every case. For when a man deliberately sins against the truth he cannot escape the reproach of flattery, and moreover he inflicts on the object of his panegyric the appearance of not deserving the praise that he receives on other accounts. This is a mistake of which I shall beware. Indeed my speech will make it clear that in no case has fiction been preferred to the truth. Now I am well aware that all would say that the battle we fought before Singara\(^1\) was a most important victory for the barbarians. But I should answer and with justice that this battle inflicted equal loss on both armies, but proved also that your valour could accomplish more than their luck; and that although the legions under you were violent and reckless men, and were not accustomed, like the enemy, to the climate and the stifling heat. I will relate exactly what took place.

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

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

 tolerated. The last of the barley

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up to their spirits and the horses en
to, they did not to get and put them to drive

proceeded to bothe and then the soldiers

ative, for the horse of one of the army

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from the horses of the army

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seeming to the horses of the army, and

then the horses of the army, and the

of the horses of the army, andific

from the horses of the army, and

If Hertlein suggests, κελεύοντος MSS.

2 τὸ πολλὰς Cobet, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.

3 τὸ Cobet, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.  

4 ἀγωνισαμένους Rouse suggests, ἀγωνισαμένους MSS, Hertlein.

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

1 Sapor.
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μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν αὐτῆς, καὶ εἰ τιμεῖξον ἔξωθεν προσπίπτοι, καὶ τούτου πάντως κρατήσοντας. ταχέως οὖν ἐκατὸν μεταξὺ στάδια διαδραμῶντες ἐφεστήκεσαν ἥδη Παρθυναῖοι εἰς τὸ C τεῖχος καταπεφευγόσιν, ὁ πρότερον ἥδη πεποίητο σφίσιν ὠσπερ στρατόπεδον. ἐσπέρα δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτόθεν ξυνερρήγυντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος αἱροῦσιν εὐθέως τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κτείναντες·

γενόμενοι δὲ εἰσώ τῶν ἐρυμάτων πολύν μὲν ἡρίστευν χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δίψους ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη καὶ λάκκοις ὑδατος ἐντυχόντες ἐνδοῦ, τὴν καλλίστην νίκην διέφθειραν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίωσι παρέσχον ἀναμαχέσασθαι τὸ πταῖσμα. τούτῳ τέλος τῆς Μάχης ἐκείνης γέγονε, τρεῖς μὲν ἢ τέταρας ἀφελομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, Παρθυναῖοι δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Βασιλείᾳ τρεφόμενον, ἀλώντα πρότερον, καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτῶν παμπληθεῖς ξυνδιαφθειράσης. τούτοις δὲ ἀπασὶ δρωμένους ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐπειρῶν ἡγεμόνοι οὐδὲ ὄναρ παρῆν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέσχε τῇ φυγῆ πρὶν ἢ κατὰ νῦν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποίησατο· αὐτὸς δὲ διέμενες ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπάσης, συμμετέχουν μὲν τοῖς κρατοῦσι τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων, τοῖς πονοῦσι δὲ ἐπαρκοὺς διὰ ταχέων. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐφυχίας εἰς τοσοῦτον τὸν ἀγώνα μετέστησας, ὡστε αὐτούς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβοῦσας ἀσμένως ἀποσώζεσθαι, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐπομένου σου, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας· οὕτω τὸ δέος πᾶσιν ἀνήκας τῆς φυγῆς. ποιον οὖν B

1 διαδραμῶντες Naber, δραμῶντες MSS, Hertlein.
2 τοὺς ὑπὲρ MSS, Cobet (τοὺς ἀμυνομένους) ὑπὲρ Hertlein.
and if any greater obstacle met them from some fresh quarter, they felt that they would overcome it as well. Accordingly they ran at full speed for about one hundred stades, and only halted when they came up with the Parthians, who had fled for shelter into a fort that they had lately built to serve as a camp. It was, by this time, evening, and they engaged battle forthwith. Our men at once took the fort and slew its defenders. Once inside the fortifications they displayed great bravery for a long time, but they were by this time fainting with thirst, and when they found cisterns of water inside, they spoiled a glorious victory and gave the enemy a chance to retrieve their defeat. This then was the issue of that battle, which caused us the loss of only three or four of our men, whilst the Parthians lost the heir to the throne \(^1\) who had previously been taken prisoner, together with all his escort. While all this was going on, of the leader of the barbarians not even the ghost was to be seen, nor did he stay his flight till he had put the river behind him. You, on the other hand, did not take off your armour for a whole day and all the night, now sharing the struggles of those who were getting the upper hand, now giving prompt and efficient aid to those who were hard-pressed. And by your bravery and fortitude you so changed the face of the battle that at break of day the enemy were glad to beat a safe retreat to their own territory, and even the wounded, escorted by you, could retire from the battle. Thus did you relieve them all from the risks of flight. Now what fort was taken

\(^1\) Sapor's son.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ήλω φρούριον; τίς δὲ ἐπολιορκήθη πόλις; τίνος δὲ ἀποσκευής οἱ πολέμιοι κρατήσαντες ἐσχον ἐφ' ὅτῳ σεμνύνωνται μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον;

'Ἀλλ' ἵσως, φήσει τις, τὸ μηδέποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἦττον ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εὐτυχὲς καὶ εὐδαιμον ἦγητέον, τὸ δὲ ἀντιστῆναι τῇ τύχῃ ῥωμαλεώτερον καὶ μὲν έξονος ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει σημεῖον.

Τίς μὲν γὰρ ἁγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ἐν εὐδίᾳ τὴν ναῦν κατευθύνων, γαλήνης ἀκριβοὺς κατεχοῦσης τὸ πέλαγος; τίς δὲ ἤνίοχος ἄρματος δεξίος ἐν ὀμαλῷ καὶ λείῳ χωρίῳ εὐπεθεὶς καὶ πράσιος καὶ ταχεῖς ἵππους ξευξάμενος, εἶτα ἐν τούτοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῇ τέχνῃ; πόσῳ δὲ ἀμείων νεὼς μὲν ἱδυντήρ ὁ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα προμαθῶν καὶ προαιρηθόμενος καὶ πειραθείς γε τοῦτον ἐκκλίναι, εἶτα δὲ ἀσδηπτοῦν αἰτίας ἐμπεσὼν καὶ διασώσας ἀπαθὴ τὴν ναῦν αὐτὸ, φόρτῳ; ἄρματος δὲ ἐπιστάτης ὁ καὶ πρὸς χωρίων ἀγωνιζόμενος τραχύτητα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους μετατιθεῖς ἀμα καὶ βιαζόμενος, ὡς τὶ πλημμελῶσιν; ὅλως δὲ συνεμιὰν ἄξιον τέχνην μετὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς σκοπεῖν. οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς ἀμείων ὁ Κλέων Νικίου, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πύλον ἡπτύχησεν, οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδὲς τῶν τύχη μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη κρατοῦντων. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μή καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν σὴν ἀμείων καὶ δικαιοτέραν τῆς τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρατίστην φήσαμι, ἀδικεῖν ἃν εἰκότως

1 ἤγητέον Schaefer, ἤγεῖ τὸ δὲ Cobet, Hertlein, ἤγείτο δὲ V, M, ἤγῃ τὸ δὲ MSS.
2 καὶ Reiske, δ καὶ MSS.

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

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

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

dοκούνη, τὴν μὴ παρασχοῦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσθέσθαι τὸ πλεονέκτημα. χρὴ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥηθέντων κρινοῦντα ¹ τὸ μὲν ἐλάττωμα τῇ τοῦ πυνίους ἀνανταγωγίστῳ ρώμη λογίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἵσον καταστῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπολαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αἰσθέσθαι συμφορῶν, ἀγνοῆσαι δὲ τὰ κατορθώματα τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης ἔργον λογίζεσθαι.

'Αλλ' ὅπως μὴ μακρότερα περὶ τούτων λέγων τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειζόνων καιρὸν ἀναλώσω, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο περιστὰν ἡμᾶς τῶν πραγμάτων πλῆθος διεξεῖναι ² καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ὅπως ἀπασίων ἀντισχῶν τυράννων μὲν πλῆθος, βαρβάρων δὲ ἐτρέψω δυνάμεις. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπ᾿ ἐξόδους ἤδη, ἐκτὸν που μάλιστα μετα τῶν πόλεμον ἔτοσ, οὐ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, ἢκε δὲ ἀγγέλλων τις, ὡς Γαλατία μὲν συμφεστῶσα τὸ τυράννῳ ἀδελφῷ τῷ σῷ ἐβουλευσέ τε καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν φόνον, εἴτα ὡς Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία κατεῖληται, τὰ δὲ ἐν Ὕλλυροῖς στρατόπεδα ταραχωδῶς ἔχει καὶ βασιλέα σφῶν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τέως στρατηγὸν ἀντίσχειν ἔθελοντα πρὸς τὴν ἀμαχὸν δοκοῦσαν τῶν τυράννων φοράν. ἵκετευε δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος χρήματα πέμπει καὶ δύναμιν τὴν βοηθήσουσαν, σφόδρα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεδώσαν καὶ τρέμουν, μὴ πρὸς τῶν τυράννων κρατηθεῖσα. καὶ τέως μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο τὰ προσήκοντα δράσειν, οὐδαμῶς αὐτῶν ἀξιῶν

¹ κρινοῦντα Cobet, κρινοῦτα MSS, Hertlein.
² διεξιέναι Reiske, lacuna Hertlein following Petavius.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

About six years had passed since the war I have just described, and the winter was nearly over, when a messenger arrived with the news\(^1\) that Galatia\(^2\) had gone over to the usurper, that a plot had been made to assassinate your brother and had been carried out, also that Italy and Sicily had been occupied, lastly that the Illyrian garrisons were in revolt and had proclaimed their general\(^3\) emperor, though for a time he had been inclined to resist what seemed to be the irresistible onset of the usurpers.\(^4\) Indeed, he himself kept imploring you to send money and men to his aid, as though he were terribly afraid on his own account of being overpowered by them. And for a while he kept protesting that he would do his duty, that for his part he had no pretensions to the throne, but

\(^1\) cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 169.  
\(^2\) Gaul.  
\(^3\) Vetranio.  
\(^4\) Demosthenes, *De Corona* 61.
The Orations of Julian, I

τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπίτροπον δὲ οἶμαι πιστοὺ καὶ φύλακα
παρέξειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος· ἐμελλε δὲ οὐκ εἰς
μακρὰν ἅπιστος φανεῖσθαι καὶ δίκην ύφέξειν
καῦτοι φιλάνθρωπον. ταῦτα πυθόμενος οὐκ φού
δεῖν ἐν ῥαστώνῃ πολλῇ τὸν χρόνον ἀναλίσκειν
μᾶτην. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ πόλεις
μηχανημάτων καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ σίτου καὶ τῆς
ἀλλης παρασκευῆς ἐμπλήσας, καὶ ἀπὸν ἀρκέσειν
τοῖς τῇ προσεδόκησας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 27
tυράννους ὀρμᾶν ἐβουλεύουν.

Πέρσαι δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν καίρὸν τοῦτον
παραφυλαξάντες, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τῇ Συρίᾳ
ληψόμενοι, πᾶσαν ἐξαναστήσαντες ἠλικίαν καὶ
φύσιν καὶ τύχην ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ὄρμηντο, ἄνδρες,
μειράκια, πρεσβύται καὶ γυναικῶν πλήθος καὶ
θεραπόντων, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ὑποργιῶν χάριν, ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ πλείστον
ἐπόμενον. διενοῦντο γὰρ ὡς καὶ τὰς πόλεις
καθέζοντες καὶ τῆς χώρας ἡδη κρατήσαντες
κληρούχους ἤμιν ἐπάγειν. 3 κενᾶς δὲ ἀπέφηνεν
αὐτοῖς τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς σῆς
tὸ μέγεθος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς πολυρκίαν κατέ-
στησαν, ἐπετειχίζετο μὲν ἡ πόλις κύκλῳ τοῖς
χώμασιν, ἐπέρρει δὲ ὁ Μυγδόνιος πελαγίζων τὸ
περὶ τὸ τείχει χωρίον, καθάπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, φασὶ,
tὴν Αὔγουστον. προσήγετο δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν ταῖς
ἐπάλξει τὰ μηχανήματα, καὶ ἐπιπλεῖν ἄλλοι

1 καύτοι Reiske, καὶ MSS, Hertlein. Petavius omits καὶ.
2 παρασκευῆς V, παρασκευῆς ἀπάσης MSS.
3 ἐπάγειν Hertlein suggests, ἐπάξοντες Wyttenbach, ἐπάξονσι
V, ἐπάξοντι MSS.

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

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

1 Nisibis.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

dieuoýnto tois teîchesin, ἀλλοι δὲ ἐβαλλον ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων τοὺς ἁμυνομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τεῖχῶν ἤμυνον καρτερῶς τῇ πόλει. μεστὰ δὲ ἦν ἀπαντὰ σωμάτων καὶ ναναγίων καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ βελῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταδυομένων, τῶν δὲ, ἑπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς βίας κατενεχθέντα κατέδυ, κοντειομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ἀσπίδες μὲν ἐπενήχοντο βαρβάρων παμπληθεῖς καὶ νεῶν σέλματα¹ συντριβομένων ἐπ’ αὐταῖς τῶν μηχανημάτων. βελῶν πλῆθος ἐπιυπαχόμενον μικρὸν δεῖν ἐπεῖδεν ἀπαν τὸ μεταξὶ τοῦ τεῖχους καὶ τῶν χωμάτων. ἐτέραπτο δὲ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς λύθρον, καὶ κύκλω τὸ τεῖχος ἐπήχον οἰμογαί βαρβάρων ὀλλύντων μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὀλλυμένων² δὲ πολυτρόπως καὶ τιτρωσκομένων ποικίλους τραύμασι.

Τῆς ἀν ἄξιως τῶν δρωμένων διηγοῖτο; πῦρ μὲν ἐνίετο ταῖς ἀσπίσισι, ἐξεπιττον δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἡμίκαιντοι πολλοί, ἀλλοι δὲ ἀποδιδράσκουτες τὴν φλόγα τὸν ἐκ τῶν βελῶν οὐκ ἀπέφευγον κίνδυνον· ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἔτι νηχόμενοι τὰ νότα προωθέντες ἐς βυθὸν κατεῦνοτο, οἱ δὲ ἐξαιλόμενοι τῶν μηχανημάτων πρὶν ὑδατος ἄψασθαι βληθέντες οὐ σωτηρίαν, κοντότερον δὲ εὐρὸν τοῦ θάνατον. τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ νεῖν εἰδότας ἀκλέστερον τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπολλυμένους τῆς ἀν ἄξιώσει εἰριθμοῦ καὶ μνήμης; ἐπιλείψει με, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν εἰ πᾶσιν ἐπεξελθεῖν βουλοίμην, ὁ χρόνος· τὸ

¹ σέλματα Reiske, ἐρματα MSS, Hertlein. Reiske suggests συντριβομένων. ἐπ’ αὐταῖς δὲ μηχανημάτων καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος.
² ὀλλυμένων Cobet, ἀπολλυμένων MSS, Hertlein.
³ εὐρὸν τὸν Cobet, ἐνυροντο Hertlein, εὐρον τὸν V, εὑραντο MSS.

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plan was that one force should sail to attack the walls while the other kept shooting on the city's defenders from the mounds. But the garrison made a stout defence of the city from the walls. The whole place was filled with corpses, wreckage, armour, and missiles, of which some were just sinking, while others, after sinking from the violence of the first shock, floated on the waters. A vast number of barbarian shields and also ship's benches, as a result of the collisions of the siege-engines on the ships, drifted on the surface. The mass of floating weapons almost covered the whole surface between the wall and the mounds. The lake was turned to gore, and all about the walls echoed the groans of the barbarians, slaying not, but being slain\(^1\) in manifold ways and by all manner of wounds.

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

\(^1\) cf. *Iliad*, 4. 451. \(\deltaλλυντων\) \(τε\) \(καλ\) \(δλλυμένων\).
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

κεφάλαιον δὲ ἀκούειν ἀπόχρη. ταῦτην ἡλίους ἐπείδη τὴν μάχην ἀγνωστὸν ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ταῦτα τὴν παλαιὰν ἀλαζονείαν ἦλεγξε τῶν Μήδων τύφων ὑπὸ κενῶν ταῦτα τῆς Ξέρξου παρασκευῆς ὑπιστομένης τέως τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ τοσαύτη γενομένη τέλος ἐσχεν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπονείδιστον, ἐναργήστερον τῶν δοκοῦντων εἶναι γνωρίμων ἡμῖν κατέστησεν. ὁ μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο πλεῖν καὶ πεζεύειν ἀπεναντίον τῇ φύσει μαχόμενος καὶ, ὅσπερ οὖν ὕετο, κρατῶν ἡπείρου φύσεως καὶ θαλάττης ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος ἦττατο σοφίας καὶ ρώμης στρατιωτῶν οὐ τρυφῶν μεμελετηκότων οὐδὲ δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως ἀρχεθαί καὶ πονεῖν εἰ-δότων. ὁ δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐκείνου καταδεέστερος, ἐμπληκτός δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τοὺς Ἀλωάδας υπερβαλλόμενος μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ πλησίον ὁρὸς ἐγνωκὸς ἄμφικαλύψαι τῇ πόλει, ἔπαφεις δὲ ποταμῶν ἰδὺματα καὶ τὰ τείχη διαλύσας οὐδὲ ἀτείχίστον τῆς πόλεως περιγενόμενος ἐσχεν ἐφ' ὅτῳ σεμνώνται, καθάπερ ὁ Ξέρξης ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐμβαλὼν τῇ φλόγῃ. ἐπανήγει δὲ τετάρτῳ μηνῶν ἀναλώσας χρόνον μυριάς πολλαίς ἤττον ἀπάγων τὸ σράτευμα, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἡγάπησεν ὁ πρόσ-θεν ἀφόροιτος δοκῶν, τὴν σὲν ἁσχολίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πραγμάτων ταραχὴν ὃσπερ ἔρυμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενος σωτηρίας.

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

Such were the trophies and victories that you

1 Sapor.
2 Odyssey 8. 49.
νίκας, ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἄκμητας ἢγες τὸ στρά
tεμα, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν ἐμπλήσαι τροπαίων ἐγνωκῶς. ἔμοι δὲ ἀρκεῖ1 τὰ πρόσθεν ρηθέντα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν εἶχον σεμνότερον, πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἀποφήμαι σε τῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς αὐτῆς σοι μετασχόντων τῦχης συνέσει καὶ ρώμη κρατοῦντα. τὸ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς ὡσάσθαι μὲν τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν, οὐ πόλιν οὐδὲ φρούριον, ἀλλ' οὕτω στρατιώτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου προέμενον, Β πολιορκία δὲ τέλος ἐπιθείναι λαμπρὸν καὶ οἶνον οὐτω πρόσθεν ἠκούσαμεν, τίνι χρὴ τῶν ἐμπροσ-
θεν παραβαλεῖν ἔργων; περιβόητος γέγονεν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς τόλμα, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτη-
σεν εἰς συμφοράς· λαμπρὰ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πλα-
tαιέων πολιορκίαν γενόμενα, ἐχρήσαντο δὲ οἱ
deίλαιοι γνωριμώτεροι τοῖς δυστυχήσαι. τί χρὴ
Μεσσήνης καὶ Πύλου μεμνῆσθαι, οὔτε ἀγωνισαμέ-
νων καρτερῶς οὔτε ἀλόντων ἔνν βία; Συρακοῦσιοι
dὲ τῶν σοφῶν ἐκεῖνων ἀντιτάξαντες ταῖς παρα-
σκευαῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως καὶ τῷ καλῷ κάγαθῳ
στρατηγῷ τῷ πλέον ὤναντο; οὐχ ἐάλωσαν μὲν
tῶν ἄλλων αἴσχου, ἐσώζοντο δὲ καλὸν ὑπόμνημα
tῆς τῶν ἐλόντων πράοτητος; Ἀλλ' εἰ πᾶσας
ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλοίμην, αἱ πρὸς τὰς
ὕποδεεστέρας οὐ κατηρκεσαν παρασκευάς, πόσας
οἱ εἰ μοι βίβλους ἄρκεσεν; τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ ἵσως
ἀξίων μισθῶν πάλαι ποτὲ χρησμαμένης τὐχὴ
tοιαύτη, Γαλατῶν οἴμαι καὶ Κελτῶν ἐς ταύτο D
left behind you in Asia, and you led your troops to Europe in perfect condition, determined to fill the whole world with the monuments of your victories. Even if I had nothing more wonderful to relate about you, what I have said is enough to demonstrate that in good sense and energy you surpass all those in the past whose fortune was the same as yours. Indeed to have repulsed the whole strength of Persia and remain unscathed, not to have lost so much as a soldier from the ranks, much less a town or fort, and finally to have brought the siege to so brilliant and unprecedented a conclusion,—what achievement I ask in the past could one compare with this? The Carthaginians were famous for their daring in the face of danger, but they ended in disaster. The siege of Plataea shed lustre on its citizens, but all that their valour could do for those unhappy men was to make their misfortunes more widely known. What need to quote Messene or Pylos, since there the defeated did not make a brave defence nor was a vigorous assault necessary to subdue them? As for the Syracusans, they had their famous man of science 1 to aid them against the armaments of Rome and our illustrious general, 2 but what did he avail them in the end? Did they not fall more ignominiously than the rest, and were only spared to be a glorious monument of their conqueror's clemency? But if I wished to reckon up all the states that could not withstand armaments inferior to their own, how many volumes do you think would suffice? Rome, however, I ought perhaps to mention, because long ago she had just such a fortune, I mean when the Galatians and

1 Archimedes.  
2 Marcellus 212 B.C.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

πνευσάντων καὶ φερομένων ἐπ’ αὐτὴν καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἐξαίφνης. κατέλαβον μὲν γὰρ τὸν λόφον ἐκεῖνον, οὐ τὸ τοῦ Δίως ἀφίδρυται βρέτας; γέρροις δὲ καὶ τισὶ τοιούτοις οἰονεὶ τείχει φραξά-μενοι, πολυπραγμονοῦντων οὐδὲν προσιέναι τῶν πολεμίων βία τολμώντων, ἐκράτησαν.

Ταῦτῃ παραβαλεῖν ἄξιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τὴν 30 ἠναγχος τῷ τέλει τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἔργοις οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν ὡσαί πᾶλαι γεγόνασι. τίς γὰρ ἐγὼν κυκλομένην μὲν ὑδασὶ πόλιν, ὁ λόφοις δὲ ἐξωθεὶν καθάπερ δικτύως περιβληθεῖσαν, καὶ ποταμὸν ἐπαφιέμενοι οἰονεὶ μηχάνημα, συνεχῶς ῥέοντα καὶ προσρηγμύμενον τοῖς τείχεσι, τάς τε ὑπέρ τῶν ὑδάτων μᾶχας καὶ ὡσαὶ περὶ τῷ τείχει κατενε-χθέντι γεγόνασιν; ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀπόχρη καὶ ταῦτα· τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ ἐστὶ μακρῷ σεμνότερα. καὶ τυχῶν οὐδαμῶς εὐλογοῦν ἀπαξ ἐλόμενον ἀπάντων ἐς δύναμιν μυθῳδᾶται τῶν σοι πραξθέντων, ἀκμαζουσῶν ἐτί τῶν πράξεων, ἀφεῖναι τὴν διήγησιν. ὡσα μὲν οὖν ἐτὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προσκαθήμενοι, ὅν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμ-νῆθην, περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διφκῆσας, πρεσβείας πέμπων καὶ ἀναλίσκων χρὴματα καὶ στρατόπεδα τὰ προσκαθήμενα τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐν Παιονίᾳ ἐκ-πέμπων, τοῦ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τὸν πρεσβύτην ὕπο

1 πόλιν Reiske, τὴν πόλιν MSS.
2 γεγόνασιν; Wright, γεγόνασιν. Hertlein.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

Celts 1 conspired together, and without warning poured down on the city like a winter torrent. 2 The citizens occupied the famous hill 3 on which stands the statue of Jupiter. There they intrenched themselves with wicker barricades and such like defences, as though with a wall, while the enemy offered no hindrance nor ventured to approach to attack at close quarters, and so they won the day.

It is with this siege that the recent one may well be compared, at least in the issue of its fortunes; for the actual occurrences could not be paralleled in all history. For who ever heard of surrounding a city with water, and from without throwing hills about it like nets, then hurling at it, like a siege-engine, a river that flowed in a steady stream and broke against its walls, or of fighting like that which took place in the water and about the wall where it had fallen in? For my purpose, this is, as I said, evidence enough. But what remains to tell is far more awe-inspiring. And perhaps, since I have undertaken to record, as far as possible, all that you accomplished, it is not fair to break off my narrative at the point where you were at the very height of your activity. For even while you were occupied by the interests I have just described, you arranged your affairs in Europe, despatching embassies, spending money, and sending out the legions that were garrisoning Paeonia against the Scythians, all of which was with the intention of preventing that feeble old man 4 from being overpowering by the

1 The Galatians, i.e. the Gauls, and Celts are often thus incorrectly distinguished, cf. 34 c. 36 b. 124 a.
2 390 b.c. under Brennus.
3 The Capitoline.
4 Vetricius.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

tοῦ τυράννου προνοῶν, πῶς ἂν τις ἐν βραχεί λόγῳ
παραστήσαι δύναιτο καὶ πάνω σπουδάζων;

'Επει δὲ, ἢδη σου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὄρμημένου,
οὐκ οἶδα παρ’ ὅτου δαιμόνων ἐξαιρεθεὶς τὸν νοῦν καὶ
tὰς φρένας ὁ τέως πιστὸς μενεῖν φύλαξ ἐπαγγελλο-
μενος καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατοπέδοις καὶ τοῖς
ἀλλοὶς ἀπασίν ύπὸ σοῦ περισσόμενοι εἰρήνην
ἀμολόγησε τῷ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιωτάτῳ
καὶ πολεμῷ κοινῇ μὲν ἀπάντων, ὁπὸς εἰρήνης
μέλει καὶ τὴν ὀμόνοιαν ἐκ παντὸς στέργονσιν, ἵδια
δὲ σοὶ καὶ πλέον τῶν ἀλλῶν' οὔτε ἐδείσας τῆς
παρασκευῆς τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε ἀπίστων ἀνδρῶν
ἐυμμαχίαν πλέον ἔχειν ὑπέλαβες τῆς ἐμφρονος
gνώμης. ἐγκαλῶν δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, τῷ μὲν ἀπιστίαν,
tῶ δὲ πρὸς ταύτη πράξεων ἐναγών καὶ παρανόμων
tολμήματα, τὸν μὲν εἰς δίκην καὶ κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
στρατοπέδων προκάλεις, τοῦ δὲ κριτὴν ὑπελάμ-
βανες εἶναι τοῦ πόλεμου. ἄλλα ἐπειδή πρῶτον ὁ
καλὸς καὶ συνετὸς ἀπῆμα πρεσβύτης, εὐχερέστε-
ρον παιδαρίου τινὸς μετατιθέμενος τὰ δόξαντα καὶ
ὁν εὐ πάθοι δεόμενος μετὰ τήν χρείαν ἐπιλήσιμων
παρῆν δὲ ἀγών ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγας καὶ τάξεως
ἰππέων, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πείθοι, βιασομένος σε ὁπίσω
πάλιν ἀπιέναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπρακτον οὐδὲν ἐκ-
πλαγείς, ὅτι τῶν σύμμαχον καὶ στρατηγὸν μενεῖν
ἐπαγγελλόμενον πολέμων εἴδες ἐξ ἴσης ἄρχειν
ἐθέλοντα, καίτοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατευμάτων

1 πλέον ἔχειν Hertlein suggests, πλέον MSS.
2 σε Hertlein adds.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

1 Magnentius.  2 Vetranio.  3 Magnentius.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ελαττούμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντες εἴποντο, πρὸς πλήθει B
κρατοῦντα διαγωνίζεσθαι τολμηρὸν μὲν ίσως, σφαλερὸν δὲ πάντως 1 ὑπολαβὼν καὶ κρατήσαντι τῇ μάχῃ διὰ τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα τοὺς καίροις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄγριον τύραννον, ἐβουλεύσω καλῶς μόνον εἶναι σὸν θέλων τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ παρῆς ἔτι τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τοῦ τέως συνάρχοντος, συνήσει δὲ ὀπλήτης δήμος στύλθων τοὺς ὀπλοὺς, τὰ ξύφη γυμνὰ καὶ τὰ ὄρατα προτείνοντες, δειλῶ μὲν φρικώ-

des καὶ δεινῶν θέαμα, εὐφύχῳ δὲ καὶ θαρραλέῳ καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς γέγονας ὀφελοὺς γενναίον. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδῆ πρὸτον ἦρξο τῶν λόγων, συγῆ μὲν ἐπέσχε, πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ὀφρημένων πάντων, τὸ στράτευμα· δάκρυα δὲ προυχεῖτο πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ὄψαν, συγῆ καὶ ταῦτα ὀρέωτες, ὦς μῆτις αἰσθηταί. τὴν εὖνοιαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδείκνυστο καὶ 2 διὰ τῆς ὅψεως, πάντες δὲ τῷ σφόδρᾳ ὀρμῆσθαι τῶν λόγων ἀκούειν. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς δημηγορίας συνενθού-

diωντες τῷ λόγῳ πάντες ἐπεκρότουν, εἴτε αὐθίς ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡσύχαζον. τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἀναπειθόμενοι σὲ 3 μόνον ἐκάλουν βασιλέα, μόνον ἄρχειν ἡξίουν ἀπάντων, ἡγεῖσθαι σφῶν ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων, ἀκολουθήσειν ὀμολόγουν, ἀπολαμβάνειν ἡξίουν τῆς ἄρχης τὰ γνωρίσματα. σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν χεῖρα προσάγειν φῶν δεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφελέσθαι ξυν βία· ὁ δὲ ἄκων μὲν καὶ μόλις, εἴξας δὲ ὀμῶς ὄψε ποτε, φασὶ, τῇ

1 πάντως Hertlein suggests, ἄλλως MSS, cf. 222 A 353 c.
2 καὶ Hertlein adds.
3 σὲ Reiske adds.
yours. For you had not brought your whole force with you, since you decided that to fight it out with such odds against you might be courageous but was in every way hazardous, even if you won the battle, because of that other savage usurper \(^1\) who was lying in wait for a favourable opportunity \(^2\) when you should be in difficulties. You therefore made a wise resolve in preferring to achieve success single-handed, and you mounted the platform with him who for the moment was your colleague in empire. He was escorted by a whole host of hoplites with glittering weapons, \(^3\) presenting drawn swords and spears, a sight to make a coward shake with fear, though it inspired and supported one so brave and gallant as yourself. Now when first you began to speak, silence fell on the whole army and every man strained his ears to hear. Many shed tears and raised their hands to heaven, though even this they did in silence, so as to be unobserved. Some again showed their affection in their faces, but all showed it by their intense eagerness to hear your words. When your speech reached its climax, they were carried away by enthusiasm and burst into applause, then eager to miss no word they became quiet again. Finally, won by your arguments, they hailed you as their only Emperor, demanded that you alone should rule the whole empire, and bade you lead them against your adversary, promising to follow you and begging you to take back the imperial insignia. You, however, thought it beneath you to stretch out your hand for them or to take them by force. Then against his will and with reluctance, but

\(^1\) Magnentius. \(^2\) Demosthenes, *De Chersoneso* 42. \(^3\) Euripides, *Andromache* 1146.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Θετταλική πειθανάγκη, προσήγε σοι περιελόμενος τὴν ἁλουργίδα. οἶος τις ἐνταῦθα γέγονας τοσούτων μὲν ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ χρημάτων ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ γεγονός κύριος, τὸν πολέμον δὲ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς έργοις, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελόμενος καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρατήσας;

'Αρ', οὐ τούτῳ μὲν ἀμείνων καὶ δικαιότερον προσηνέχθης ἢ Κύρος τῷ πάππῳ, τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὰς τιμὰς διεφύλαξας οὐδὲν οὔδεν ἀφελόμενος, προσθείς δὲ οἶμαι δωρεὰς πολλοῖς; τίς δὲ σ', εἰδὲν ἡ πρὸ τοῦ κρατήσας σκυθρωπῶν λίιν ἡ μετὰ τοῦθ', ύπερηδόμενον; καίτοι πῶς ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν ἐστὶ σε δημηγόρουν ἀμα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα χρηστὸν καὶ γενναίον ὀπλήτην προσαγορεύοντας; δεὶ πάλαι μὲν ἀπορραγεῖν τὸ στρατηγεῖον καὶ τὸν βήματος ἐς ταύτων πάλιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἡξίωσας σχῆμα, μιμούμενος οἶμαι Ὄδυσσεα καὶ Νέστορα καὶ τοὺς ἔξελόντας Ἐκαρχιδόνα Ἐρμαιῶν στρατηγοὺς, οὗ φοβερωτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἂει κατέστησαν. Δημοσθένους δὲ καὶ οὔτε τούτον ἐξήλωκε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἵσχυν αἰδούμενος, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δημηγορίας οὐποτ' ἄν ἀξιώσαμι τῷ σῷ παραβάλειν τάκεινον θέατρα. οὗ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐδημηγόρουν οὔδὲ ὑπὲρ τοσούτων κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ἦ.

1 σ' Reiske adds. 2 ἰῶς Hertlein suggests. 3 στρατηγεῖον Cobet, Hertlein στρατήγιον MSS. 4 After τῷ Petavius adds σῷ.
yielding at last to what is called Thessalian persuasion,¹ he took off the purple robe and offered it to you. What a heroic figure yours was then, when, in a single day, you became master of all those races, those legions, all that wealth, when you stripped of his power and took prisoner one who, if not in fact yet in intention, had shown that he was your enemy!

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

¹ A proverb for necessity disguised as a choice, cf. 274 c
² Aeschines, Ctesiphon 74. 18.
ἐπαγγειλάμενοι, ἀπήσαν οἷμαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, τοῦ δήμου θορυβήσαντος, ὡχροὶ καὶ τρέμοντες, ὡσπερ οἱ δεῖλοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ὤψει στρατηγοῦ παραταττόμενοι. καὶ οὔδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἐτέρῳ πραξθὲν πώποτε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἑθνῶν κτήσιν ἐκ δικαστηρίου, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τῆς δίκης οὐσίας οὐχ, ὥσ τοι τελεῖ εὐκαταφρόνητος, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς μὲν στρατείαις γνώριμοι, πρεσβύτην δὲ ἦδη καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου δοκοῦντα προσελπίζειν καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκείνων ἀρχεῖν λαχόντα πολὺν ἦδη χρόνον. τίς οὖν ἡ ῥώμη γέγονε τῶν λόγων; τίς δὲ ἡ πειθῶ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἐπικαθήμενη, 1 παυτοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων συνειλεγμένων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ισχύσασα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ νίκην παρασχεῖν τῷ μεγέθει μὲν ἐνάμιλλον ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν περιγυνομέναις, εὐαγή δὲ καὶ καθαρὰν, ὡσπερ ιερέως ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντος, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλέως ἐς πόλεμον, ἔργον γενομένην; καίτοι γε μὴν ταύτης εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως μακρό ψευτομένην καὶ Πέρσαι θρυλοῦσι, τοὺς Δαρείου παῖδας τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁρχῆς διαφερομένους δίκη τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ τῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιτρέψαι κρίσει. σοὶ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἁδελφοὺς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἄγων γέγονεν οὔδὲ εἰς ἐχαίρεις. 2

1 Ἡ Cobet, Ἡ Reiske adds, Hertlein.
2 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἰσχύσασα Cobet, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἰσχύσε Schaefer, Hertlein, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἰσχύσαι MSS.

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

¹ From the description of the oratory of Pericles, Eupolis fr. 94: πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν· οὕτως ἔκχληκε καὶ μόνος τῶν βητόρων· τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἄκρωμένοις.
Cf. 426 B,
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

dē oίμαι τῷ κοινῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἶναι σοι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μόνος ἀπάντων γενέσθαι κύριος· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν ἢ παράνομον οὐδὲν εἰργασμένον, ἀπιστον δὲ τῇ γνώμη θανέντα ἐν ἐλέγχοις, οὐ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐκείνου δείξουσι.

Ταύτην ἐκδέχεται στρατεία λαμπρά τὴν δημηγορίαν καὶ πόλεμος ἱερὸς, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἱεροῦ χωρίου, ὅποιον τὸν Φωκικὸν ἀκούομεν συστήναι 2 κατὰ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ φόνου πολιτῶν μυρίων, ὅν τοὺς μὲν ἀνηρήκει, τοὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε συλλαβεῖν, ὕστερ οίμαι δεδίως μὴ τις αὐτὸν πολιτην μοχθηρὸν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βάρβαρον ὑπολάβη φύσει. τὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν ἀδικήματα οὐδενὸς ὁντα τῶν κοινῆς τολμηθέντων αὐτῷ φαυλότερα καὶ ἐλάττωνος ἄξιοιν φὸν δεῖν φροντίδος οὔτω σοι τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἔδοξε καὶ δοκεὶ τίμια.

Πότερον οὖν χρὴ τῶν ἀδικήματων ἀπάντων 34 μεμνησθαι ὅν εἰς τε 3 τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' ἰδιὰν ἔδρασε, κτείνας μὲν τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δεσπότην ἀνδράποδον γὰρ ἢν τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων, τῆς ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν λείας λείψανον δυστυχεῖς περισσω-ζόμενον ἀρχεῖν δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν, ὃ μηδὲ ἐλευθέρω προσήκον ἦν νομισθήναι μὴ τούτῳ παρ' 

1 ἐν Reiske adds, ἐλέγχου σοι V.
2 συστήναι Petavius, Cobet, ενστήναι Schaefer, Hertlein, στῆναι MSS.
3 ὅν εἰς τε Schaefer, ὅν τε εἰς Hertlein, εἰς V, ἐς MSS.

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

After your harangue there followed a brilliant campaign and a war truly sacred, though it was not on behalf of sacred territory, like the Phocian war, which we are told was waged\(^1\) in the days of our ancestors, but was to avenge the laws and the constitution and the slaughter of countless citizens, some of whom the usurper\(^2\) had put to death, while others he was just about to kill or was trying to arrest. It was really as though he was afraid that otherwise he might be considered, for all his vices, a Roman citizen instead of a genuine barbarian. As for his crimes against your house, though they were quite as flagrant as his outrages against the state, you thought it became you to devote less attention to them. So true it is, that, then as now, you rated the common weal higher than your private interests.

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

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1 Demosthenes, *De Corona* 230, a favourite common-place.
2 Magnentius.
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ήμὼν λαβόντι· καὶ ὃς ¹ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἤγουν καὶ ἀποκτίνως καὶ δουλεύων αἰσχρῶς τῷ πλήθει καὶ κολακεύων τὴν εὐταξίαν διέφθειρε· καὶ ὃς τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους ἔτιθει νόμους, τὴν Β ἡμίσειαν εἰσφέρειν, θάνατον ἀπειλῶν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι, μηνυτὰς δὲ εἶναι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν οἰκετῶν· καὶ ὅπως ἡμάκαζε τοὺς ὑπὲρ δεομένους τὰ βασιλικὰ κτήματα πρῖσαθαι; ἐπιλείψει με τάκεινον διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος ἀδικήματα καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς καταλαβούσης τὸ μέγεθος. ἀλλὰ τῆς παρασκευής τῆς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἦν κατέβαλε μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχρήσατο δὲ Ε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἰσχὺν τὸς ἀν2 ἁξίως παραστήσει; Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται, ἔθνη καὶ τοῖς πάλαι φανέντα δυσανταγώνιστα, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιρρέονταν καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἀνυπόστατος Ἰταλοὶς καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖς, ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἄσιας ἀψάμενα τῷ κρατεῖν τοῖς ἐνόπλοις ἀγωσίων, ἄκοντες3 ἡμῶν ὑπῆκουσαν, ἐς τε4 τοὺς καταλόγους τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐγγράφονται καὶ τέλη παρέχονται λαμπρὰ παρὰ τῶν σῶν προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς κατειλεγμένα· εἰρήνης δὲ μακρᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐκ ταύτης ἀγάθων ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπιδούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας πρὸς Δ πλοῦτον καὶ εὐανδρίαν, καὶ ἄδελφοις τοῖς σοῖς στρατιώτας καταλέξαι πολλοὺς παρέσχοντο, τέλος δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ βίᾳ καὶ οὐ γνώμη πανδημείαςυνεστρατεύοντο. ἤκολούθουν δὲ αὐτῶ κατὰ τὸ εὐγγενὲς ξύμμαχοι προθυμότατοι Φράγγοι καὶ

¹ ὃς Hertlein adds. ² ἀν Schaefer adds. ³ ἄκοντες Reiske, Hertlein, ἄλαντες MSS. ⁴ τε Wytenbach adds.

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

¹ Gauls.  ² Demosthenes, De Corona 153.
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Σάξονες, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ῥήμων καὶ περὶ¹ τὴν ἐσπερίαν θάλατταν ἐθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα. καὶ πόλις πᾶσα καὶ φρούριον πρόσοικον Ῥήμω τῶν 35 ἐνοικούντων φυλάκων ἐξερημωθέντα προδέδωτο μὲν ἀφύλακτα πάντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξεπέμπτο παρασκευασμένον λαμπρῶς τὸ στράτευμα: πᾶσα δὲ ἐόκει πόλις Γαλατική στρατοπέδῳ παρασκευαζόμενῳ πρὸς πόλεμον· καὶ πάντα ἢν ὅπλων καὶ παρασκευῆς ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν πλήρη. συρρέοντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπανταχόθεν τῶν Β ἐκείνου ξυμμάχων καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα πάλαι κατελεγμένοις στρατιώταις ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθόντων, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐφάνη τολμηρός, ὅσον ἐδείσεν οὐδὲ ἐξεπλάγη τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμώνα. σκηπτῆς ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ὁ φερόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων, σκηπτῆς ἀφόρητος ἔργῳ καὶ ἀρρητος λόγῳ. τοῦτον ἐδείσαν Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Πάινοις καὶ Ὁράκες καὶ Σκύθαι, τοῦτον οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἴκοντες ἀνθρωποὶ ἐφ' αὐτῶν ὀρμήσαντες πάντως ὑπέλαβον, τοῦτῳ πολεμήσειν ἤδη περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ Πέρσαις C παρασκευάζοντο. ὃ δὲ μικρὰ μὲν ἐνομίζει εἶναι τὰ παρόντα καὶ πόνον οὗ πολὺν τῆς σῆς συνεσέως καὶ βύσμης κρατήσαν, τοὺς Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐσκότει πλοῦτος καὶ Περσῶν τὴν πολυτέλειαν· τοσοῦτον² αὐτῷ περὶ ἅνοιας καὶ θράσεις ἐκ μικροῦ παντελῶς περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους πλεονεκτήματος, οὐς ἀφυλάκτους ὅλη τῇ στρατιᾷ λοχήσας ἐκτεινεν. οὕτω τὸ πράττειν εὔ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀρχή πολλάκις γέγονε τοῖς ἀνοίητοις μειζόνων συμφορῶν.

¹ περὶ Hertlein suggests. ² [καλ] τοσοῦτον Hertlein, 90
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kinship, the Franks and Saxons, the most warlike of the tribes who live beyond the Rhine and on the shores of the western sea. And since every city and every fortified place on the banks of the Rhine was shorn of its garrison, that whole region was left with no defence against the barbarians, and all that splendidly organised army was despatched against us. Every town in Galatia was like a camp preparing for war. Nothing was to be seen but weapons of war and forces of cavalry, infantry, archers, and javelin men. When these allies of the usurper began to pour into Italy from all quarters and there joined the troops who had been enrolled long before, there was no one so bold as not to feel terror and dismay at the tempest that threatened. It seemed to all as though a thunderbolt had fallen from the Alps, a bolt that no action could avert, no words describe. It struck terror into the Illyrians, the Paeonians, the Thracians, the Scythians; the dwellers in Asia believed it was directed entirely against themselves, and even the Persians began to get ready to oppose it in their country's defence. But the usurper thought his task was easy, and that he would have little difficulty in baffling your wisdom and energy, and already fixed his covetous gaze on the wealth of India and the magnificence of Persia. To such an excess of folly and rashness had he come, and after a success wholly insignificant, I mean the affair of the scouts whom, while they were unprotected by the main army, he ambushed and cut in pieces. So true it is that when fools meet with undeserved success they often find it is but the prelude to greater misfortunes. And so, elated by

1 Gaul. 2 351 A.D. 3 Demosthenes, Olynthiac 1. 23.
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ἀρθείς γὰρ ὁ δείλαιος ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ταύτης μετέώρος κατέλυπε μὲν τὰ προκείμενα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐρυμνα χωρία, ἐς Νωρίκους δὲ καὶ Παῖονας ἀφυ- λάκτως ᾦει, δεῖν αὐτῷ τάχους, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὄπλων οὐδὲ ἀνδρείας οἰόμενος.

"Ο δὴ καταμαθῶν ἐπανήγες ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν τὸ στράτευμα, εἶπετο δὲ ἐκεῖνος, διώκειν, οὐχί δὲ καταστρατηγείσθαι νομίσας, ἐώς εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἀμφῳ κατέστητε. τῶν πεδίων δὲ τῶν πρὸ τῆς Μύρσης ὀφθέντων, ἐτάπτοντο μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως ἔπειδος ἀκατέρου πεζοὶ τε τε ἐν μέσῳ, ἐχὼν δὲ αὐτός, ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῷ λαιῷ τοὺς πολέμιους ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἐτρέψω μὲν εὐθέως καὶ διέλυσας τὴν φάλαγγα οὔδε τὴν ἀρχὴν συγκειμένην ὀρθῶς, ἀτε ἀνδρός ἀπείρου πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιᾶς αὐτῆς κοσμήσαντος. οὐ δὲ τέως διώκειν ὑπολαμβάνου, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικόμενος, ἐφευγε καρτερῶς ἐκπλαγεῖς τὸν κτύπον τῶν ὄπλων, οὔδὲ τῶν ἐνναλίων παιὰνα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπαλαλα- ξόντων ἀδεώς ἀκούν. διαλυθείσης δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τις τάξεως συνιστάμενοι κατὰ λόχους πάλιν τὸν ἄγωνα συνέβαλον, αἰσχυνόμενοι μὲν ὀφθηναι φεύγοντες καὶ τὸ τέως ἀπιστοῦ ἀπασὶ ἀνδρῶποι ἐφ’ αὐτῶν δείξαι συμβαίνων, στρατιώ- την Κελτῶν, στρατιώτην ἑκ Γαλατίας τὰ νῦτα τοῖς πολεμίοις δείξαντα. οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἀπεγνωκότες, εἰ πταίσειαν, ἢ κρατεῖν ἢ θυμησκειν δράσαντές τι δεινὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξιον. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ξῦν τῷ τυράννῳ τοσούτον πε-

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

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

1 In Pannonia 353 A.D. 2 Gallic.
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ρήν θράσους¹ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε πολλὴ προθυμία.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ὅλων κρατήσαντες, αἰδούμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, παροξυνόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι κατορθωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ τέως ἀπίστων ἔργων, τέλος ἄξιον τοῖς προὔπηργημένοις ἐπιθείναι φιλοτιμούμενοι πάντα ὑπέμενοι ἡδέως πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄρτι τῆς παρατάξεως ἀρχομένης, συνιόντες πάλιν ἔργα τόλμης ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ θυμοῦ γενναία, οἱ μὲν ὁδούμενοι περὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ λαμβανόμενοι τῶν ἀσπίδων, καὶ τῶν ἵππεών ὁπόσους ἦπειροι τρωθέντες ἀπεσειώντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο. ταῦτα ἔδρων οἱ ξὺν τῷ τυράννῳ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐπι-βρίσαντες· καὶ ἴνα ὁ πόλεμος ἐξ ἕσης, ἔως οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν ἵππεών πλήθος, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν βάλλουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπελαιύνουσιν τοὺς ἦππους, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκτεινὼν, ἐδώκον τὸ ἀπανταρ καρτερὸς, τινάς μὲν πρὸς τὸ πεδίῳ ὁμομακότας φεύγειν, οὐν ἢ νυξ ὠλίγους ἄπεσωσε μόλις, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν κατηνέχθη, καθάπερ βοῶν ὄ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλη συνελαυνό-μενοι. τοσαῦτα ἐκεῖνο τὸ στράτευμα τῆς τυράννου δειλίας, οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνῳ ὀνήσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῆς αὐτοῦ, μάτην ἀπέλαυσε.

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

¹ θράσους Wyttenbach, Cobet, θράσος MSS, Hertlein. πρὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ Hertlein suggests, καὶ πρὸς . . . τοῦ MSS.
of the usurper's troops in the face of dangers and their great eagerness to come to close quarters!

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

The trophy that you set up for that victory was far more brilliant than your father's. He led an
δοκοῦντας ἄγων ἐκράτει γέροντος δυστυχώς. σὺ δὲ ἡβώσαν καὶ ἀκμάζουσαν ὑ τοῖς κακοῖς μόνον ὡς ἔδρα, τῇ νεότητι δὲ πλέον, τῇ τυραννίδα παρεστήσω, τοῖς ύπὸ σοῦ παρασκευασθεῖσι στρατοπέδοις παραταξάμενος. τίς γὰρ εἰπτεῖν ἔχει τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐπιτικὴν δύναμιν καὶ σκευὴν τῶν ὅπλων τοιαύτην ἐπινοῆσαντα καὶ μιμησάμενον; ἡ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐγγυμνασάμενος διδάσκαλος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπλων χρήσεως ἀμάχον. ὑπὲρ ἣς εἰπτεῖν τολμῆσαντες πολλοί τῆς ἀξίας διήμαρτον, ώσθε ὅσοι τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες ύστερον ἰδεῖν ἡυτύχησαν τὰς ἀκοὰς σαφῶς ἀπιστοτέρας ἐγνωσαν εἶναι τῶν ὁμμάτων. ἀπειρον γὰρ ἤγες ὑπόεων πλῆθος, καθάπερ ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπίπων ὁχουμένους, ὅς συνηρμοστὸ τὰ μέλη κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων καρπῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγκώνας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὠμοὺς, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἐκ τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὰ νῶτα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦν ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὤψιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ κυνῆμαι καὶ μηρόι μηδὲ ἄκροι πόδες τῆς σκευὴς ταύτης ἐρήμοι λείπονται. συναρμοζόμενον δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς θώραξι διὰ τινών ἐκ κρίκον λεπτοῦ πεποημένων οἰονεὶ υφασμάτων οὐδὲν ἄν ὀφθεὶ τοῦ σώματος γυμνὸν μέρος, ἀτε καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς υφάσμασι τούτοις σκεπομένων πρὸς τὸ καὶ καμπτομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς δακτύλοις. ταύτα

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

All this I desire to represent in words as vividly as

1 Licinius. 2 cf. Oration 2. 57 c.

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ο λόγος παραστήσαι μὲν σαφῶς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἀπο-
λειπόμενος δὲ θεατὰς τῶν ὀπλῶν τοὺς μαθεῖν τι
πλέον ἐθέλοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκροατὰς τῆς ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν διηγήσεως ἄξιοι γενέσθαι.

'Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον διεληλύ-
θαμεν, ληγούσης ἡδη τῆς ὁπώρας, ἀρ' ἔνταυθα τὴν
διήγησιν πάλιν ἀφήσομεν; ἢ πάντως τὸ τέλος
ἀποδοῦνα τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ποθοῦσιν1 ἄξιοιν; ἐπέλαβε
μὲν ὁ χειμών καὶ παρέσχε διαφυγεῖν τὴν
tιμορίαν τῶν τυράννων. κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν λαμπρὰ
καὶ βασιλικῆς ἄξια μεγαλοψυχίας· άδεια δὲ
πάσιν ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ταξαμένοις μετὰ τοῦ τυράννου,
πλὴν εἰ τις ἀνοσίων ἐκεῖνω φόνων ἐκοινώνει
ἀπελάμβανον τὰς οἰκίας ἀπαντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα
καὶ πατρίδας οἱ μηδὲ ὄψεθαί τι τῶν φιλτάτων
ἀυτοῖς ἑλπίζοντες. ὑπεδέχομαι τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἐπανερχόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐκεῖθεν πολίτας
κατάγον φεύγοντας οἴμαι τὴν τῶν τυράννων
ωμότητα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καρδὸς ἐκάλει στρατεύεσθαι,
pάλιν ἐφειστήκεις δεινὸς τῷ τυράννῳ. ὁ δὲ προ-
βάλλετο τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυσχωρίας, καὶ τοῖς ὀρεσὶ
toῖς ἐκεῖ καθάπερ θηρίων ἐναποκρύψας τὰς
dυνάμεις αὐτῶς οὐδὲ ὑπαίθριος ἑτόλμα στρατεύειν.
ἀναλαβὼν δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πλησίον πόλιν
τρυφῶσαν καὶ πολυτελῆ, ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ
tρυφαῖς ἔτριβε τὸν χρόνον, ἀρκέσειν μὲν αὐτῷ
πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὀρῶν τὴν δυσχωρίαν μόνον
οἴμενος. ἀκόλαστος δὲ ὃν φύσει κερδαίνειν θέτο
τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εν τοσούτοις κακοῖς,

1 toῖς ποθοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ποθοῦσιν MSS.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

Now that I have told the story of this first campaign, which was fought at the end of the autumn, shall I here break off my narrative? Or is it altogether unfair to withhold the end and issue of your achievements from those who are eager to hear? Winter overtook us and gave the usurper a chance to escape punishment. Then followed a splendid proclamation worthy of your imperial generosity. An amnesty was granted to those who had taken sides with the usurper, except when they had shared the guilt of those infamous murders. Thus they who had never hoped even to see anything that they held dear, recovered their houses, money, and native land. Then you welcomed the fleet which arrived from Italy bringing thence many citizens who, no doubt, had fled from the usurper’s savage cruelty. Then when the occasion demanded that you should take the field, you again menaced the usurper. He however took cover in the fastnesses of Italy and hid his army away there in the mountains, wild-beast fashion, and never even dared to carry on the war beneath the open heavens. But he betook himself to the neighbouring town\(^1\) which is devoted to pleasure and high living, and spent his time in public shows and sensual pleasures, believing that the impassable mountains alone would suffice for his safety. Moreover, intemperate as he was by nature, he thought it clear gain to be able to indulge his appetites at so dangerous a crisis, and

\(^1\) Aquileia.
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dηλὸς τε ἦν λίαν πεπιστευκὸς ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντα ἔχειν, ἀποτείχιζομένης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας τοῖς ὅρεσι, πλὴν ὅσον ἦς ἡμισείας ἡ θάλασσα τεναγώδης οὕσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἔλεσιν ἐμφερῆς ἀβατον καὶ νήτη στρατῷ πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καθίστησιν. ἀλλ' ἐνικεῖν οὐδὲ ἐν ἡ φύσις πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην τοὺς ἀκολάστοις καὶ δειλοῖς ἔρµα μηχανήσασθαι, πάντα ὑποχωρεῖν φρονήσει μετὰ ἀνδρείας ἐπιούσῃ παρασκευάζονσα. πάλαι τε ἡμῖν ἐξηύρε τὰς τέχνας, δι' ὅν εἰς εὐπορίαν τῶν τέως δοξάντων ἀπόρων κατέστημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔργων τὸ πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαινόμενον ἐπιτελούμενον πρὸς ἀνδρὸς σώφρονος. ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἔργους, ὃ βασιλεὺς, δεῖξας εἰκότως ἄν ἀποδέχοι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγους.

'Εστράτευες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπαίθριος, καὶ ταῦτα πλησίον παρούσης πόλεως ὡς φαύλης, τοῖς στρατευόμενοις δὲ όυκ ἦς ἐπιτάγματος τὸ πονεῖν καὶ κυνδυνεύειν, ἦς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐδρασ παρεγχυών ἀτραπον μὲν ἐξηύρε αὐγοστων τοῖς πᾶσι, πέμψας δὲ ἀξιόμαχον τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπάσης ὀπλιτῶν μοίραν, εἶτα ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἔγνως αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑφεστώτας, αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἤγες τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κύκλῳ περιέχων πάντων ἐκράτησις. ταῦτα ἐδρατό πρὸ τῆς ἔω, ἤγγελτο δὲ πρὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ τυράννῳ ἅμιλλαῖς ἵππικαις καὶ

1 After φαινόμενον Reiske thinks ἐπέδειξε has fallen out.

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

For you conducted the campaign under the open skies, and that though there was a city of some importance near at hand, and moreover you encouraged your men to work hard and to take risks, not merely by giving orders, but by your own personal example. You discovered a path hitherto unknown to all, and you sent forward a strong detachment of hoplites chosen from your whole army; then when you had ascertained that they had come up with the enemy, you led forward your army in person, surrounded them, and defeated his whole force. This happened before dawn, and before noon the news was brought to the usurper. He was attend-
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πανηγυρεὶς προσκαθημένως καὶ τῶν παρόντων οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντι. τίς μὲν οὖν γέγονεν ἐκ τίνος, καὶ ποταπὴ γνώμην εἰχεν ὑπέρ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ ὅπως ἐκλιπὼν ἐφυγε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν, τοὺς φόνους καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἀδικίας ἐκκαθαρώμενος, οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἄν εἰς λόγον διηγεῖσθαι. ἔμελλε δὲ βραχείας ἀνοκωχῆς τυχῶν οὐδέν τι μεῖον τῶν ἐμπρόσθεν δράσειν. οὕτως οὐδὲν πρὸς πονηρίαν ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπος ἀνόσιος ¹ ἔξηγε καθάρσιον διὰ τοῦ σώματος. ἀφικόμενος γὰρ εἰς Γαλατίαν ὁ χρήστος οὔτος καὶ νόμοις ἄρχων τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ γέγονε χαλεπώτερος, ως, εἰ τις πρότερον αὐτὸν διαφυγὼν ἐλελήθη τιμωρίας τρόπος ὦμότατος, τοῦτον ἐξευρὼν θέαμα κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἁθλῶν πολίτων παρεῖχε συμφοράς. ἀρματος ζῶντας ἐκδήσας καὶ μεθεὶς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἦνιόχους ἔλκεων ἄν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς ἐφεστηκὼς καὶ θεώμενος τὰ δρώμενα: καὶ τις τοιούτως ἐτέροις αὐτὸν ψυχαγωγών τὸν πάντα διετέλει χρόνον, ἐως αὐτὸν καθάπερ Ὀλυμπιωνίκης περὶ τῷ πρώτῳ παλαισματι καταβαλὼν δίκην ἐπιθείναι τῶν τετολμημένων ἄξιαν κατηγάκασας ωσαντα διὰ τῶν στέρνων τὸ αὐτὸ ξίφος, ὃ πολλῶν πολιτῶν ἐμίανε φόνοι. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς νίκης ² ἀμέινοι καὶ δικαιοτέραν οὕποτε γενέσθαι φημὶ οὐδὲ ἐφ᾽ ἕ μᾶλλον τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐφράνθη γένος, τοσαύτης ὁμότητος καὶ πικρίας ἀφεθέν ὄντως ἑλεύθερον, εὐνομία δὲ ἦδη γανύμενον, ἦς τέως

¹ ἀνόσιος Cobet, ἀλλ' οὐ θέος V, ἀλλ' ὁ θέος MSS.
² νίκης MSS, Cobet, δίκης M, Hertlein.
ing a horse-race at a festival, and was expecting nothing of what took place. How his attitude changed, what was his decision about the crisis, how he abandoned the town and in fact all Italy, and fled, thus beginning to expiate his murders and all his earlier crimes, it is not for this speech to relate. Yet though the respite he gained was so brief, he proceeded to act no less wickedly than in the past. So true is it that by the sufferings of the body alone it is impossible for the wicked to cleanse their souls of evil. For when he reached Galatia, this ruler who was so righteous and law-abiding, so far surpassed his own former cruelty that he now bethought himself of all the ruthless and brutal modes of punishment that he had then overlooked, and derived the most exquisite pleasure from the spectacle of the sufferings of the wretched citizens. He would bind them alive to chariots and, letting the teams gallop, would order the drivers to drag them along while he stood by and gazed at their sufferings. In fact he spent his whole time in amusements of this sort, until, like an Olympic victor, you threw him in the third encounter and forced him to pay a fitting penalty for his infamous career, namely to thrust into his own breast that very sword which he had stained with the slaughter of so many citizens. Never, in my opinion, was there a punishment more suitable or more just than this, nor one that gave greater satisfaction to the whole human race, which was now really liberated from such cruelty and harshness, and at once began to exult in the good government that we enjoy to this day.

1 Gaul.

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

3 355 A.D.
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ἀπολαύσομεν καὶ ἀπολαύσαιμέν γε ἐπὶ πλέον, ὡς πάντα ἄγαθ＇ή πρόνοια.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ποδοῦντι μὲν ἐπεξελθέαν ἀπασὶ τοῖς σοι πραχθεῖσιν, ἀπολειπομένῳ δὲ συγγνώμην εἰκότως, ὃς μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, παρέξεις, εἰ μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα μημονεύοιμι ἀπὸ τε Διογένου παρασκευασθέντων καὶ έξ' ¹ Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτήν πλευσάντων, μῆτε ως τῶν Πυρηναίων ὅρῶν ἐκράτησας ναυσὶν ἐπέκτεινας ἐπ' αὐτὰ στράτευμα, μῆτε τῶν ἐναγχός σοι πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πραχθέντων, μῆτ' εἰ τι τοιοῦτον ἐτερον τῶν πάλαι γεγονός λέληθε τοὺς πολλοὺς. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀντίόχου πόλιν ἐαυτὴν σοῦ ² ἐπώνυμον ἐπονομάζουσαν ἀκούω πολλάκις. ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, πλουτεῖ δὲ ἦδη καὶ πρὸς ἀπασαν εὐπορίαν ἐπιδεδωκε διὰ σὲ λιμένας εὐόρμους τοῖς καταίρουσι παρασχόντα· τέως δὲ οὐδὲ παραπλέιν ἀσφαλὲς οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον ἐδόκειν οὕτως ἢν πάντα σκοπέλων τινῶν καὶ πετρῶν ύφάλων ἀνάπτεα τῆς θαλάσσης τῇς δρόπος τοῖς ὁμᾶς. στοῖς δὲ καὶ κρήνας καὶ ὀσά τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν υπάρχων διὰ σὲ γέγονεν οὐδὲ νομαξεῖν ἄξιον. ὁπόσα δὲ τὴν πατρώς πόλει προστέθεικας, τεῖχος μὲν αὐτὴν κύκλῳ περιβαλὼν ἀρξάμενον τότε, τὰ δοκοῦντα δὲ οὔκ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν ³ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων εἰς ἀθάνατον ἀσφάλειαν κατατείχες, τὶς τὸν ἀπαριθμήσαιτο; ἐπιλείψει με τοῦτων ἐκαστὸν ὁ χρόνος Β διηγούμενον.

¹ ἐξ Reiske, τῶν ἐξ MSS.
² πόλιν ἐαυτὴν σοι ᾿Wyttenbach, ἐπώνυμον σοι ᾿Reiske, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον MSS, Hertlein.
³ ἔχειν Hertlein suggests,
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Long may we continue to enjoy it, O all-merciful Providence!

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

¹ Seleucus son of Antiochus. ² Constantinople.
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Σκοπείν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀξίων ἦδη τῶν ῥηθέντων, εἰ μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς βελτίστης ἐξεως ἀπαντα γέγονε· τούτῳ γὰρ ἦδη καὶ τῶν λόγων ἄρχόμενος μάλιστα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἤξιον. οὐκοῦν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὁπως προσηνέχθης, ὁμονοῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διετέλεσα τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον, ἄρχόμενος μὲν προθύμως, συνάρχων δὲ ἐκείνους σωφρόνως, πάλαι ό τε εἶρηται καὶ νῦν ἄξιούσθω μνήμης. τούτῳ δὲ ὅστις μικρὰς ἀρετῆς ἐργον ὑπέλαβεν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Κύρου τὸν Καμβύσου σκοπῶν ἐπανείτω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μειράκιον ἐτί κομιδῆ νέον δῆλος ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενος ἄρχοντος, ὁ δὲ ἀφείλετο τὴν ἄρχην τὸν πάππου. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν ἐστὶν οὔτως ἡλίθιος, ὅστις οὐκ οἰεται σε, μηδὲν ἐκείνων μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ φιλοτιμία λειτόμενον, οὔτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ σωφρόνως τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς προσενενέχθαι. Παρασχούσης γὰρ τῆς τύχης τῶν καίρων, ἐν δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίας ἐχρῆν μεταποιηθῆναι, πρῶτος ἀρμῆθης, πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ πρὸς τὰναντία ἐξμπείθειν ἐπιχειροῦντων· ῥάστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον διοικησάμενος ἐλευθεροῦν ἐγνως τῆς ἄρχης τὰ κατειλημμένα, δικαιοτάτην μὲν καὶ οἷαν οὔτω πρόσθεν ἔλαβε 42 πρόφασιν πόλεμος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχθρας

1 οὔτως Reiske adds. 2 ἐν Reiske adds.
The time has now come when it is proper to consider whether your career, so far as I have described it, is at every point in harmony with virtue and the promptings of a noble disposition. For to this, as I said at the beginning of my speech, I think it right to pay special attention. Let me therefore mention once more what I said some time ago, that to your father you were dutiful and affectionate, and that you constantly maintained friendly relations with your brothers, for your father you were ever willing to obey, and as the colleague of your brothers in the empire you always displayed moderation. And if anyone thinks this a trifling proof of merit, let him consider the case of Alexander the son of Philip, and Cyrus the son of Cambyses, and then let him applaud your conduct. For Alexander, while still a mere boy, showed clearly that he would no longer brook his father's control, while Cyrus dethroned his grandfather. Yet no one is so foolish as to suppose that, since you displayed such modesty and self-control towards your father and brothers, you were not fully equal to Alexander and Cyrus in greatness of soul and ambition for glory. For when fortune offered you the opportunity to claim as your right the empire of the world, you were the first to make the essay, though there were many who advised otherwise and tried to persuade you to the contrary course. Accordingly, when you had carried through the war that you had in hand, and that with the utmost ease and so as to ensure safety for the future, you resolved to liberate that part of the empire which had been occupied by the enemy, and the reason that you assigned for going to war was most
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τιθέμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄξιον προσαγορεύειν τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ βάρβαρος ἦν ἡγεμόνι ἐαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσας βασιλέα καὶ χειροτονήσας στρατηγόν. τῶν ἄδικημάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ ὧν ἐδρασεν εἰς οἰκίαν τὴν σὴν οὐχ ἦδυ μοι πολλάκις μεμνήσθαι. ἀνδρειοτέραν δὲ τῆς τῆς πράξεως τὸν ἐπεὶ ἔχοι; ἐφ’ ἡς δὴ θλος μεν ἢν ὑποτυχόντι τῶν ἔργων ὁ κύδυνος. ὑπέμενες δὲ οὐδὲν κέρδους χάριν οὐδὲ κλέος ἀείμνηστον ἀντωνούμενος, ὑπὲρ οὐ καὶ ἀποθυμίσκειν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ πολλάκις τολμῶσιν, οἴον πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν δόξαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποδιδόμενοι, οὐδὲ μὴν δ’ ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρχης μείζονος καὶ λαμπροτέρας, ὃτι μηδὲ νέω σοι τούτων ἐπιθυμήσαι συνέβη, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν στέργων τῆς πράξεως πάντα ὑπομένειν ὄνοι δεῖν πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἄρωμαιον βάρβαρον βασιλεύοντα καὶ νόμων κύριον καὶ πολιτείας καθεστώτα καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εὐχὰς ποιούμενον τὸν τοσοῦτος ἀσεβήμασιν ἐνοχον καὶ φόνοις. τῆς παρασκευῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ λαμπρότης καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος τίνα οὐχ ἰκανὸν ἐκπλήξα; καὶ τοῖς Ξέρξην μὲν ἀκούω τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἑξαναστήσαντα χρόνον ἐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δέκα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνου παρασκευάζονοι, εἴτε ἐπαγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς χιλίαις τριήρεις διακοσίας ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν οἴμαι τῶν χωρίων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτῶς ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυτηγησάμενος ἤγειρας τῶν στόλον, πλῆθει νεὼν ἐκείνοιν ὑπερβαλλόμενοι. τῇ τύχῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄξιν συμβαλεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις,

1 Hertlein suggests δ.
just and such as had never before arisen, namely your detestation of those infamous men. Civil war one could not call it, for its leader was a barbarian who had proclaimed himself emperor and elected himself general. I dislike to speak too often of his evil deeds and the crimes that he committed against your house. But could anything be more heroic than your line of action? For should you fail in your undertaking the risk involved was obvious. But you faced it, and you were not bidding for gain, nay nor for undying renown, for whose sake brave men so often dare even to die, selling their lives for glory as though it were gold, nor was it from desire of wider or more brilliant empire, for not even in your youth were you ambitious of that, but it was because you were in love with the abstract beauty of such an achievement, and thought it your duty to endure anything rather than see a barbarian ruling over Roman citizens, making himself master of the laws and constitution and offering public prayers for the common weal, guilty as he was of so many impious crimes and murders. Who could fail to be dazzled by the splendour of your armament and the vast scale of your expenditure? And yet I am told that Xerxes, when he mustered all Asia against the Greeks, spent no less than ten years in preparing for that war. Then he set out with twelve hundred triremes, from the very spot, as I understand, where you gathered your fleet together, having built it in rather less than ten months, and yet you had more ships than Xerxes. But neither his fortune nor his achievements can properly be compared with yours.
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Τὴν δὲ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ δαπανήματα μεγαλοπρέπειαιν μὴ πολὺ λίαν ἔργον ἢ φράξειν, οὔτε ὅποσα ταῖς πόλεσι πάλαι στερομέναις ἀπεδίδουσ ἀπαρθημούμενος ἐνοχλήσω τὰ νῦν. πλούτουσι μὲν γὰρ ἄπασαι διὰ σὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμιπροσθὲν ἐνδειξὶς οὐσαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ τῶν ἱδίων ἐκαστὸς οἰκὶς διὰ τᾶς κοινᾶς τῶν πόλεων ἐνετηρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἱδιώτας ἄξιον ὅρωσῖν μεμνησθαι, ἐλευθερίῶν σὲ καὶ μεγαλόδωρων βασιλεᾶ προσαγορεύοντα, ὡς πολλοὶς μὲν στερομένοις πάλαι τῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων, τοῦ πατρῷοι κλήρου συμφορᾶ περιπεπτωκότος ἐν δίκῃ καὶ παρὰ δίκην, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἑγένοι κύριος, τοῖς μὲν καθάπερ δικαστῆς ἀγαθὸς τὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθὲν ἀμαρτήματα διορθωσάμενος κυρίως εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας παρέσχες, τοῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴς κριτῆς γενόμενος ταῦτα μὲν ὅν ἀφήρηντο πάλιν ἐχαρίσω, ἀρκεῖν οἴομενος τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς τιμωρίαν τοῖς παθοῦσιν ὡσα δὲ αὐτῶς οἰκοθεῖν χαριζόμενος πλουσιωτέρους ἀπέφηνας πολλοὺς τῶν πάλαι δοξάστων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίᾳ σεμνύνεσθαι, τῇ χρὴ νῦν ὑπομιμησκοῦντα περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν δοκεῖν; ἄλλως τε καὶ πᾶσιν ὅντος καταφανοῦς, ὅτι μηδεὶς πώποτε πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου τοσαῦτα βασιλείας τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις διανέμων ὕφθη. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὁ τῶν φίλων πλοῦτος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμης ὑποπτος ἐφάνη μᾶλλον καὶ φοβερότερος, ἄλλοι

1 ἐπὶ τῶν Cobet, διὰ τῶν Wytttenbach, Hettlein, τῶν V, τῶν MSS.

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I fear that it is beyond my powers to describe the magnificence of your outlay for other purposes, nor will I risk being tedious by staying now to count up the sums you bestowed on cities that had long been destitute. For whereas, in the time of your predecessors, they lacked the necessaries of life, they have all become rich through you, and the general prosperity of each city increases the welfare of every private household in it. But it is proper that I should mention your gifts to private persons, and give you the title of a generous and open-handed Emperor; for since there were many who long ago had lost their property, because, in some cases justly, in others unjustly, their ancestral estates had suffered loss, you had no sooner come into power, than like a just judge you set right in the latter cases the errors committed by men in the past, and restored them to the control of their property, while in the former cases you were a kindly arbiter, and granted that they should recover what they had lost, thinking that to have suffered so long was punishment enough. Then you lavished large sums from your privy purse, and increased the reputation for wealth of many who even in the past had prided themselves on their large incomes. But why should I remind you of all this and seem to waste time over trifles? Especially as it must be obvious to all that no king except Alexander the son of Philip was ever known to bestow such splendid presents on his friends. Indeed some kings have thought that the wealth of their friends gave more grounds for suspicion and alarm
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δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐγένειαν ὑπιδόμενοι πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὑρεθηκώτας προπηλακίζοντες ἢ καὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἁρδήν τὰς οἰκίας κοινῆ μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι συμφορῶν, ἵδια δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνοσίων ἔργων αἰτιώτατοι κατέστησαν. οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο δὲ ἦδη τινὲς τοὺς σώματος ἀγαθοῖς, ὑγιείᾳ φημὶ καὶ κάλλει καὶ εὐεξίᾳ, βασκαίνοντες· ἵνα τε ἀρετὴν ἐν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν γενομένην οὕτω ἀκούων ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἤν ἀδίκημα τοῦτο, καθάπερ ἀνδροφονία καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ προδοσία, τὸ δοκεῖν ἀρετῆς μεταποιηθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα τυχὸν ἀληθῶς οὐ βασιλέων φήσει τις, πονηρῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνελευθέρων τυράννων ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. ἐκείνο δὲ ἦδη τὸ πάθος οὐ τῶν ἄνοιητων μόνον, ἀλλ' τινῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ πράων ἄνδρῶν ἄφάμενον, τὸ τοῖς φίλοις ἀχθεσθαι πλέον ἔχουσι 1 καὶ πολλάκις ἐλαττοῦν ἐθέλειν καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τίς ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐτολμησε; τούτο καὶ Κύρόν φασι τὸν Πέρσην γάμβρου δύναται βασιλέως παρὰ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ παθεῖν ἄχθομενον τῇ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῆ, καὶ Ἀγγείλαος δὲ δήλος ἢ ἄχθομενος τιμωμένω παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ 2 Β Δυσάνδρως.

Τούτους οὖν 2 πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενοι ἀρετῆ, τοῖς πλουτοῦσι μὲν τὸ πλοῦτειν ἀσφαλέστερον ἢ πατὴρ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ κατέστησας, εὐγε-

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

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

¹ Cyaxares.
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νείας δὲ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων προνοεῖς καθάπερ ἀπάσης πόλεως οἰκιστῆς καὶ νομοθέτης· καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἁγαθοῖς πολλὰ μὲν προστίθεις, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἄρχης χαρίζομενος, δὴλος εἰ τῷ μεγέθει μὲν τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων δωρεὰς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, τῇ βεβαιώτητι δὲ τῶν ἀπαξ δοθέντων τὰς παρὰ τῶν δήμων χάριτας ἀποκρυπτόμενος. τούτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ μάλα εἰκότως συμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ’ οἷς συνύσασιν αὐτοῖς ἀπολειφθείσιν ἁγαθοῖς, τοῖς κεκτημένοις βασκαίνουσιν, ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐστὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ οία οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης μακρῷ σεμνότερα, οὐκ ἐστιν ὅτου δεόμενος τῷ κεκτημένῳ φθονήσειν. D δὴ καὶ σαυτῷ μάλιστα πάντων ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκὼς χαίρεις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἁγαθοῖς, εὐφραίνει δὲ σε σαὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων κατορθώματα· καὶ τιμᾶς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν ἐχαρίσω, τὰς δὲ ἡδὴ μέλλεις, ὑπέρ δὲ ἐνίων βουλεύῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη σοι πόλεως μιᾶς οὐδὲ ἐθνοὺς ἐνὸς οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἄρχας καὶ τὰς ἐπ’ αὐταῖς τιμᾶς διανέμειν ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ καὶ βασιλέας ἐλοικο κοινωνοῦν, ὑπέρ ἢς τοσοῦτον ὑπομένας πόνου τὸ τῶν τυράννων γένος ἀνήρκας, οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῶν σαυτοῦ κατορθωμάτων ἐργον ὑπέλαβες. καὶ ὅτι μὴ χρείᾳ μᾶλλον ἡ τῷ χαίρειν πάντα
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and you take thought that your subjects shall be well-born, as though you were the founder and law-giver of every single city. Those to whom fortune has been generous you still further enrich, and in many cases men owe all their wealth to your generosity, so that in amount your gifts clearly surpass those of other princes, while, in security of ownership of what has once been given, you cast into the shade any favours bestowed by democracies.¹ And this is, I think, very natural. For when men are conscious that they lack certain advantages, they envy those who do possess them, but when a man is more brilliantly endowed by fortune than any of his fellows, and by his own initiative has won even higher dignities than fate had assigned him, he lacks nothing, and there is none whom he need envy. And since you realise that in your case this is especially true, you rejoice at the good fortune of others and take pleasure in the successes of your subjects. You have already bestowed on them certain honours, and other honours you are on the point of bestowing, and you are making plans for the benefit of yet other persons. Nor are you content to award to your friends the government of a single city or nation, or even of many such, with the honours attaching thereto. But unless you chose a colleague ² to share that empire on whose behalf you had spared no pains to exterminate the brood of usurpers, you thought that no act of yours could be worthy of your former achievements. That you reached this decision not so much because it was necessary as because you

¹ An echo of Demosthenes, Against Leptines 15.
² Gallus 351 A.D.; then Julian 355 A.D.
δωρούμενος ἐπὶ ταύτην ὀρμησάς τὴν γνώμην, ἀπασιν οἶμαι γνώριμον γέγονε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀγώνων κοινωνόν ὑμᾶς εἶλον, τῆς τιμῆς δὲ τῶν οὐ μετασχόντα τῶν πόλεων ἥξιωσας μεταλαβεῖν μόνον, ὅτε μηδὲν ἐτί φοβηρὸν ἐδόκει. καὶ τῆς μὲν οὔδὲ ἔπ’ ὀλίγον ἀφελῶν δῆλος εἰ, τῶν πόλεων δὲ οὔδὲ ἔπὶ σμικρὸν κοινωνεῖν ἄξιοις. πλὴν εἰ ποὺ δέοι πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπόμενον σοι στρατεύεσθαι. πότερον οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων μαρτύρων τινῶν καὶ τεκμηρίων τῷ λόγῳ προσδεῖ; ἡ δὴ λογικὴ πρὸ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μὴ ψευδεῖς ἐπεισάγει λόγους; ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔδὲν ἐτὶ πλέον ἄξιον ἐνδιατρίβειν.

Σωφροσύνης δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σής καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσην εὐνοιαν τοὺς υπηρκόοις ἑνεργάσω, βραχέα διελθεῖν ἵσως οὐκ ἄτοπον. τίς γὰρ σ’ ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ἀπαντῶν τοσαῦτην ἐκ παίδων τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης ἐπιμέλειαν ἐσχηκότα, ὅσην οὔδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν ἐμπροσθεν; καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐν παισὶ σωφροσύνης μάρτυς ὁ πατήρ γέγονεν ἄξιόχρεως, σοι τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας μόνῳ, ὅτι γε οὔδὲ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἑκείνου παίδων τῆς δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀπαντεῖς αἰσθανόμεθα, καθάπερ πολέμου τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούοντος, ἀλλ’ οὐ βασιλέως τῶν νόμων ἄρχοντος, αἰεὶ σοι προσφερομένου τῷ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει. τίς γὰρ σ’ ἔγνω μεῖζον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας φρονήσαντα; τίς δὲ ἐπιρθέντα

1 σ’ Hertlein suggests. 2 σ’ Hertlein suggests.
take pleasure in giving all that you have to give, is, I suppose, well known to all. For you chose no colleague to aid you in your contests with the usurpers, but you thought it right that one who had not shared in the toil should share in the honour and glory, and that only when all danger seemed to be over. And it is well known that from that honour you subtract not even a trifling part, though you do not demand that he should share the danger even in some small degree, except indeed when it was necessary for a short time that he should accompany you on your campaign. Does my account of this call for any further witnesses or proofs? Surely it is obvious that he who tells the tale would not be the one to introduce a fictitious account. But on this part of my subject I must not spend any more time.

A few words about your temperance, your wisdom, and the affection that you inspired in your subjects, will not, I think, be out of place. For who is there among them all who does not know that from boyhood you cultivated the virtue of temperance as no one had ever done before you? That in your youth you possessed that virtue your father is a trustworthy witness, for he entrusted to you alone the management of affairs of state and all that related to your brothers, although you were not even the eldest of his sons. And that you still display it, now that you are a man, we are all well aware, since you ever behave towards the people and the magistrates like a citizen who obeys the laws, not like a king who is above the laws. For who ever saw you made arrogant by prosperity? Who ever saw you up-
τοῖς κατορθώμασι τοσοῦτοις καὶ τηλικοῦτοις ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ γενομένοις; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φιλίτππον φασίν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Περσῶν καθεῖλε δύναμιν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν πρὸς ὅγκον μεῖζον καὶ λίαν ἐπαχθή τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπεροψίαν μεταβάλειν, ἀλλὰ ἦδη καὶ τοῦ φύσαντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπάσης φύσεως. ἦξίον γὰρ νῦν Ἄμμωνος, ἀλλ' οὗ Φιλίτππον νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ὁσοὶ μὴ κολακεύειν μηδὲ δουλεύειν ἥπισταντο τῶν ἐαλωκότων πικρότερον ἐκολάξοντο. ἀλλὰ σοῦ γε τῆς εἰς τὸν πατέρα τιμῆς ἄρα ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα μεμνήσθαι; διὸ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον σεβόμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις διετέλεις ἀνακηρύττων καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν ἢρωα. τῶν φίλων δὲ, ἄξιοῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄχρις ὀνόματος μόνον τῆς τιμῆς, πολὺ δὲ πλέον διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων βεβαιοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τούνομα· ἐστὶν οὖν ἁρα τις τὸς μεμφόμενος ἀτιμίαν ἢ ξημίαν ἢ βλάβην ἢ τινα μικρὰν ὑπεροψίαν ἢ μεῖζον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν οὐδαμῶς εἰπέων ἤχου τοιούτου οὐδέν. τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν γηραιοὶ σφόδρα, ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου παραμείναντες, τὰς ἐπιμελείας τῶν κοινῶν συναπέθεντο τοῖς σώμασι, παισιν ἢ φίλοις ἢ τισὶ πρὸς γένους τοὺς κλήρους παραπέμποντες· ἀλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ τὰς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύσαντες, ἀφέσεως ἐντίμου τυχόντες, ξὼσιν ὄλβιοι· τιμὲς δὲ καὶ μετήλλαξαν, εὐδαίμονες παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους εἶναι

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

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἀπασίν ὃν καὶ γεγονός τοιοῦτος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἤδονῆς ἀπάσης, ἢ πρόσεστιν ονείδος καὶ μικρὸν, καθαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν διεφύλαξας. μόνον δὲ οἶμαι σὲ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατώρων, σχεδὸν δὲ πλὴν σφόδρα ὀλίγων καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀνδράσι μόνον παράδειγμα πρὸς σωφροσύνην παρασχεῖν κάλλιστον, καὶ γυναίξι δὲ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας κοινωνίας. ὅσα γὰρ ἐκείναις ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τοῦ γνησίους φύεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιμελομενοι, ταῦτα ὁ λόγος ἀπαγορεύει ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις παρὰ σῳ. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἕχων ἔτι πλείονα λέγειν ἀφίημι.

Ὡς φρονήσεως δὲ ἡξιον μὲν ἐπαινοῦν διελθεῖν οὐδαμῶς εὐχερέσ, μικρὰ δὲ ὅμως καὶ ὑπὲρ ταῦτης ῥητέου. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐργα τῶν λόγων οἶμαι πιστότερα. οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν εἰκὸς τοσαῦτην ἄρχην καὶ δύναμιν μὴ παρὰ τῆς ἴσης διοικουμένην καὶ κρατουμένην φρονήσεως πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος ἀφικέσθαι καὶ κάλλος πράξεων ἀγαπητὸν δὲ, εἰ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μόνον δίχα φρονήσεως ἐπιτρεπομένη ἐπὶ πολὺ μένει. ήν ἀνθίσαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ προσεχόντα πρὸς βραχὺ ράδιον, διαφυλάξαε δὲ τὰ δοθέντα ἀγαθὰ δίχα φρονήσεως οὐ λίαν εὐκολον, μᾶλλον

1 γνησίους MSS, Cobet, γνησίως V, Hertlein.
2 M and Petavius omit πρὸς . . . ἐπιτρεπομένη.
3 μένει Wytenbach, μένει MSS, Hertlein, ἐπὶ πολὺ μένειν V and Spanheim omit.

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

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

Your wisdom it is by no means easy to praise as it deserves, but I must say a few words about it. Your actions, however, are more convincing, I think, than my words. For it is not likely that this great and mighty empire would have attained such dimensions or achieved such splendid results, had it not been directed and governed by an intelligence to match. Indeed, when it is entrusted to luck alone, unaided by wisdom, we may be thankful if it last for any length of time. It is easy by depending on luck to flourish for a brief space, but without the aid of wisdom it is very hard, or rather I might say impossible, to preserve the blessings that have been
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dè ἀδύνατον ἵσως. ὅλως δὲ εἰ χρῆ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἑναργές φράζειν τεκμήριον, πολλῶν καὶ γνωρίμων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. τὴν γὰρ εὐβουλίαν C ὑπολαμβάνομεν τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθῶν καὶ συμφερόντων ἐξευρίσκειν τὰ κράτιστα. σκοπεῖν οὖν ἢξιον ἐφ᾽ ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς, εἰ μὴ τοῦθ᾽ εὖ ἐστὶ τῶν σοι πραξθέντων. οὐκοῦν ὅπου μὲν ἢν ὀμονοίας χρεία, ἔχαρις ἔλαττούμενος, ὅπου δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἔχριν βοηθεῖν, τὸν πόλεμον ἀνείλου1 προθυμότατα. καὶ Περσῷ μὲν τὴν δύναμιν καταστρατηγήσας οὐδένα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀποβαλῶν διέφθειρας, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους δὲ πόλεμον διελὼν τοῦ μὲν ἐκράτησας ταῖς δημηγορίαις, καὶ τὴν μετ᾽ ἐκείνου δύναμιν ἀκέραιοι καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθῆ προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησας μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς συνέσεως ἢ διὰ τῆς ῥώμης τῶν τοσούτων τοῖς κοινοῖς αἰτίων συμφορῶν. Βούλομαι δὲ σαφέστερον περὶ τούτων εἰπῶν ἀπασὶ δεξάι, τίνι μάλιστα πιστεύσας 2 τοσούτως σαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦσι πράγμασιν οὐδενὸς ὅλως διήμαρτες. εὐνοιαν οἷς δεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπάρχειν τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἐρυμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον. ταύτῃ δὲ ἐπιτάττοντα μὲν καὶ κελεύοντα καθάπερ εἰσφοράς καὶ φόρους κτήσασθαι παντελῶς ἄλογον. λείπεται δὴ λοιπὸν, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἀρμηνας, τὸ πάντας εὐ ποιεῖν καὶ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν θείαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύσιν πράως

1 ἀνείλου Hertlein suggests, Cobet, cf. 94 D 95 A, εἶλο V, εἴλου MSS.
2 πιστεύσας καὶ MSS.

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

1 Vetranio.
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μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ὅργην, τῶν τιμωριῶν δὲ ἀφαιρεῖ-θαι τὰς χαλεπότητας, πταίσασι δὲ οἷμαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιεικῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως προσφέρεσθαι. ταύτα πράττων, ταύτα θαυμάζων, ταύτα τοῖς ἀλλοις προστάττων μιμεῖσθαι τὴν 'Ῥώμην μὲν, ἐτὶ τοῦ τυράννου κρατοῦντος τῆς Ἰταλίας, διὰ τῆς γερουσίας εἰς Παιονίαν μετέστησασ, προθύμους δὲ εἰχεῖς τὰς πόλεις πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας.

Τῶν στρατευμάτων δὲ τὴν εὐνοιαν τὸν ἀξίως διηγήσατο; τάξις μὲν ἰππεύων πρὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Μύρσῃ παρατάξεως μεθειστήκει, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκράτησας, πεζῶν κατάλογοι καὶ τέλη λαμπρά. ἄλλα τὸ μικρὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου δυστυχῆ τελευ-τήν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ γενόμενον κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἑδειξη στρατοπέδων τὴν εὐνοιαν, τὸν θρασυνόμενον καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐρημίας καὶ τὴν γυναικείαν ἀλουργίδα περιβαλόμενον ὡσπερ τίνα λύκον1 ἔξαιρης δια-σπασμένων. ὡς τις δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γέγονας τῇ πράξει, καὶ ὡς πράψω ἀπασί καὶ φιλανθρώπως τοῖς ἐκείνους γνωρίμους προσηνέχθης, ὡςοι μηδὲν ἡλέγχωντο ἐκείνως συμπράξαντες, πολλῶν ἐφε-στικότων τῇ κατηγορίᾳ συνοφαντῶν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνουν φιλίαν ὑποπτεύει μόνον κελεύνωτο, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπάσης ἀρετῆς τίθεμαι τούτο2 κεφάλαιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δικαίως φημὶ καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἐμφρόνως πεπράχθαι. ὡς τις δὲ ἀλλοις ἡγεῖται καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀληθοὺς ὑπολήψεως καὶ τῆς σῆς γνώμῃς διήμαρτε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐλεγχθέντας δίκαιοι ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, σώζεσθαι, 49

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

As for the affection of your armies, what description could do it justice? Even before the battle at Myrsa, a division of cavalry came over to your side,\(^1\) and when you had conquered Italy bodies of infantry and distinguished legions did the same. But what happened in Galatia\(^2\) shortly after the usurper's miserable end demonstrated the universal loyalty of the garrisons to you; for when, emboldened by his isolated position, another\(^3\) dared to assume the effeminate purple, they suddenly set on him as though he were a wolf and tore him limb from limb.\(^4\) Your behaviour after that deed, your merciful and humane treatment of all those of his friends who were not convicted of having shared his crimes, and that in spite of all the sycophants who came forward with accusations and warned you to show only suspicion against friends of his, this I count as the culmination of all virtue. What is more, I maintain that your conduct was not only humane and just, but prudent in a still higher degree. He who thinks otherwise falls short of a true understanding of both the circumstances and your policy. For that those who had not been proved guilty should be protected was

\(^1\) Under Silvanus.  \(^2\) Gaul.  \(^3\) Silvanus.  \(^4\) 355 A.D.
υπόπτους δὲ τὰς φιλίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φευκτὰς ὁμάδως φὸν δεῖν κατασκευάζειν, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοίας ἐς τοῦτο μεγέθους ἄρθεῖς καὶ πρᾶξεων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ τετολμηκότος νήπιον κομιδὴ τῆς πατρῴας οὐδὲν ἐλασιας μετα- σχεῖν ζημίας. οὕτω σοι πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ἡ πρᾶξις βέπουσα τελείας ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει γνώρισμα. * * *
of course just, and you thought you ought by no means to make friendship a reason for suspicion and so cause it to be shunned, seeing that it was due to the loyal affection of your own subjects that you had attained to such power and accomplished so much. But the son of that rash usurper, who was a mere child, you did not allow to share his father's punishment. To such a degree does every act of yours incline towards clemency and is stamped with the mint-mark of perfect virtue * * * * *.¹  

¹ The peroration is lost.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION II

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

\(^1\) 56 b and 101 d.  \(^2\) 74 d.
Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φησιν ἡ ποίησις, ὅποτε ἔμηνυσε καὶ διηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεθεῖναι μὲν ταῖς χεροῖς τὴν αἰχμὴν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, ψαλτήριον δὲ ἀρμοσάμενον καὶ κιθάραν ἄδειν καὶ ἔμνευτο τῶν ἡμιθέων τὰς πράξεις, καὶ ταύτην διαγωγὴν τῆς ἡσυχίας ποιεῖσθαι, εὔ μάλα ἐμφρόνως τοῦτο διανοηθέντα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ παροξὺνευν ὁ βασιλέα λίαν αὐθάδες καὶ ἄγριον τυχὼν δὲ οὔδὲ ἐκεῖνης ἀπολύεται τῆς μέμψεως οἱ τῆς Θέτιδος, ὁτι τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἐργῶν εἰς φόδας καταχρῆται καὶ κρούματα, ἐξὸν τότε μὲν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ μὴ μεθιέναι, αὕτης δὲ ἐφ ἡσυχίας ὑμνεῖν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἄδειν τὰ κατορθώματα. οὐ μὴν οὔδὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα φησιν ὁ πατὴρ ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων μετρίως καὶ πολιτικῶς προσευχῆβηνα τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἀλλ’ ἀπειλῇ τε χρήσθαι καὶ ἐργοὶς ὑβρίζειν, τοῦ γέρως ἀφαιρούμενον. συνάγον δὲ αὐτοῦς ἔς ταύταν ἀλλήλοις ἔπε τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταμελομένους, τὸν μὲν τῆς Θέτιδος ἐκβοῶντα.

'Ατρέιδη, ἦ ἢ ἀρ τὸ τόδ’ ἀμφοτέροισίν ἄρειν ἢ Ἐπλετο, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί,
THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS,

OR, ON KINGSHIP

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

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

1 Agamemnon. 

2 Iliad 19. 56.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

eίτα ἐπαρώμενον τῇ προφάσει τῆς ἀπεχθείας καὶ Β
ἀπαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐκ τῆς μὴνιδος Ξυμφοράς, τὸν
βασιλέα δὲ αἰτιώμενον Δία καὶ Μοῖραν 1 καὶ
Ἐρινύν, δοκεὶ μοι διδάσκειν, ὡστερ ἐν δράματι
τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀνυδρᾶσιν οἶνον εἰκόσι χρώμενος,
ὅτι χρή τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας μηδὲν ὑβρεῖ πράττειν
μηδὲ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς ἀπαν χρῆσθαι μηδὲ ἐφίεναι
τῷ θυμῷ, καθάπερ ἵππῳ θρασεῖ χήτει χαλινοῦ
καὶ ἤμιόχου φερομένῳ, παρανεῖν δὲ αὐ τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς ὑπεροφιάν βασιλικὴν μὴ δυσχεραίνειν,
C
φέρειν δὲ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πράσως τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις,
ἡμη μὴ μεταμελεῖας αὐτοῖς ὁ βίος μεστὸς ἦ.

Ταύτα κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἐννοοῦν, δο φίλε βασιλεῦ, καὶ
σὲ μὲν ὅρῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τὴν Ὀμηρικήν παναίν
ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ ἐθέλοντα πάντως κοινῇ μὲν 2
ἀπαντασ ἁγαθὸν τι δρᾶν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἱδίᾳ τιμᾶς καὶ
γέρα ἀλλα ἐπὶ ἀλλοις παρασκευάζοντα, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ
ὁμαῖ κρείττονα τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέως εἶναι
ἐθέλοντα, ὡστε ὁ μὲν ἡτίμαξε τοὺς ἀρίστους, σὺ
δὲ ὁμαί καὶ τῶν φαύλων πολλοῖς τῆς συγγνώμης
νέμεις, τὸν Πιττακὸν ἐπαινῶν τοῦ λόγου, δς τὴν
συγγνώμην τῆς τιμωρίας προτίθει, αἰσχυνοίμην
ἀν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ Πηλέως φαινοίμην εὐγνωμονέστερος
μηδὲ 3 ἐπαινοίμην εἰς δύναμιν τὰ προσόντα σοί, οὕτι
φημὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄλουργῆ χλαίναν, οὐδὲ μὰ Δία
πέπλους παμποικίλους, γυναικῶν ἔργα Σιδώνιων,
οὐδὲ ἵππων Νισαιών κάλλη καὶ χρυσοκολλήτων
ἀρμάτων ἀστράπτουσαν αἰγλην, οὐδὲ τὴν Ἰουδῶν

1 Μοῖραν Hertlein suggests, Μοῖρας MSS.
2 μὲν Hertlein suggests, κοινῇ τε MSS, cf. 43 d, 51 d.
3 μηδὲ Hertlein suggests, και MSS.
THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

¹ Republic 577 e. ² Iliad 6. 289. ³ Herodotus 7. 40; horses from the plain of Nisaea drew the chariot of Xerxes when he invaded Greece.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

λίθον εὐανθή καὶ χαρίεσσαν. καίτοι γε εἰ τις ἐθέλοι τούτοις τὸν νοῦν προσέχων ἐκαστὸν ἄξιον λόγον, μικρὸν πάσαν οἴμαι τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἀποχετεύσας ἔτι δεήσεται λόγον, καὶ οὐκ ἀπο-χρήσει σοι μόνω τὰ ξύμπασι ποιηθέντα τοῖς ἡμιθέους ἐγκώμια. ἀρξώμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκῆπτρου πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς· τί γὰρ δὴ φησιν ὁ ποιήτης ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλων τῆς B τῶν Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνδείξασθαι;

ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων 'Αγαμέμνων Ἐστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἡφαιστος κάμε τεῦχων,
καὶ ἐδωκε Δί, ὁ δὲ τῷ τῆς Μαίας καὶ ἕαντο παιδί, Ἐρμείας δὲ ἀνὰξ δῶκε Πέλοπι,¹ Πέλοψ δὲ
δῶκ' Ἀτρέι ποιμένι λαῷ.
 Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θυνήκων ἔλιπτε πολύαρπν Ὑνέστη·
Αὐτὰρ ὦγ' αὐτὲ Ὑνέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δῶκε φορὴ,,
Pολλήσιν νήσοις καὶ Ἀργηὶ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.

Ἀυτὴ σοι τῆς Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας ἡ γενεαλογία, εἰς τρεῖς οὐδὲ ὅλας μένομα γενεάς· τὰ γε μὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυγγενείας ἦρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ Κλαυδίου, μικρὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διαλπούσῃς τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῷ πάππῳ τῷ σὸ διαδέχεσθον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς μητρὸς πατὴρ τῆν Ῥώμην διψκει καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν Διβύην τε ἐπ' αὐτή, καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν, οὔτε φαυλωτέραν τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Μυκηναίας

¹ [, ὁ δὲ] Πέλοπι Reiske, Hertlein.
nor the precious stone of India, so beautiful and lovely to look upon. And yet if one should choose to devote his attention to these and think fit to describe every one of them, he would have to draw on almost the whole stream of Homer's poetry and still he would be short of words, and the panegyrics that have been composed for all the demi-gods would be inadequate for your sole praise. First, then, let me begin, if you please, with your sceptre and your sovereignty itself. For what does the poet say when he wishes to praise the antiquity of the house of the Pelopids and to exhibit the greatness of their sovereignty?

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

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

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

Here then you have the genealogy of the house of Pelops, which endured for barely three generations. But the story of our family began with Claudius; then its supremacy ceased for a short time, till your two grandfathers succeeded to the throne. And your mother's father 2 governed Rome and Italy and Libya besides, and Sardinia and Sicily, an empire not inferior certainly to Argos and Mycenae. Your

1 Iliad 2. 101.  
2 Maximianus.
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δυναστείαν, ὦ γε μήν τοῦ πατρὸς γεννήτωρ Γαλατίας ἐθνὶ τὰ μαχιμώτατα καὶ τοὺς Ἑσπερίους Ἰβηρᾶς καὶ τὰς ἑντὸς Ὀκεανοῦ νήσους, αἳ τοσοῦτῳ μείζονς τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ὀρωμένοι εἰσίν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς εἰσοδοθένθης ἢ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ὑπερχεομένη. ταύτας δὲ ὅλας τὰς χώρας καθάρας ἀπέφηναν πολεμίων, κοινὴ μὲν ἑπιστρατεύοντες, εἰ ποτὲ τούτῳ δεησεῖτε, ἐπιφοιτώντες δὲ ἐστίν ὅτε καὶ κατ᾽ ἴδιαν ἐκαστος τῶν ὀμόρων βαρβάρων ὤμβριν τε καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐξέκοπτον, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐκοσμοῦντο. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ τὴν μὲν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ μοίραν μάλα εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως ἐκτίσατο, περιμείνας τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτήν τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδας ὑπενεχθέντα δουλείας ἔπαυσε χαλεπῆς, καὶ ἦρξε Β συμπάντων τρεῖς ύμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ παιδίας προσελόμενος ξυνάρχοντας. ἀρ’ οὖν ἄξιον μέγεθος δυνάμεως παραβαλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ χρόνον καὶ πλῆθος βασιλευσάντων;1 ἡ τούτῳ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ἀρχαῖον, μετιτέον δὲ ἔπι τὸν πλούτον καὶ θαυμαστεῖον σου τὴν χλαμύδα ξινὴ τῇ πόρτῃ, ἀ δὴ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ διατριβήν παρέσχεν ἡδεῖαν; λόγου τε ἄξιωτέον πολλοῦ τὰς Τρώος ἢππους, αὖ τρισχίλιαι οὐσαί ἔλος κάτα θουκολέοντο, καὶ τὰ φῶρα τὰ ἐντεύθεν; ἡ τοὺς Ἐρακίους ἢππους εὐλαβησόμεθα λευκοτέρους μὲν τῆς χίόνος, θείν δὲ ὁκυτέρους τῶν χειμερινῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄρματα; καὶ ἐχομέν σε ἐν τούτοις

1 [τῶν] βασιλευσάντων Hertlein,
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father's father\(^1\) ruled the most warlike of all the tribes of Galatia,\(^2\) the Western Iberians\(^3\) and the islands that lie in the Ocean,\(^4\) which are as much larger than those that are to be seen in our seas as the sea that rolls beyond the pillars of Heracles is larger than the inner sea.\(^5\) These countries your grandfathers entirely cleared of our foes, now joining forces for a campaign, when occasion demanded, now making separate expeditions on their own account, and so they annihilated the insolent and lawless barbarians on their frontiers. These, then, are the distinctions that they won. Your father inherited his proper share of the Empire with all piety and due observance, waiting till his father reached his appointed end. Then he freed from intolerable slavery the remainder, which had sunk from empire to tyranny, and so governed the whole, appointing you and your brothers, his three sons, as his colleagues. Now can I fairly compare your house with the Pelopids in the extent of their power, the length of their dynasty, or the number of those who sat on the throne? Or is that really foolish, and must I instead go on to describe your wealth, and admire your cloak and the brooch that fastens it, the sort of thing on which even Homer loved to linger? Or must I describe at length the mares of Tros that numbered three thousand, and "pastured in the marsh-meadow”\(^6\) and the theft that followed?\(^7\) Or shall I pay my respects to your Thracian horses, whiter than snow and faster than the storm winds, and your Thracian chariots? For in your case also we can extol all

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\(^1\) Constantius Chlorus.  
\(^2\) Gaul.  
\(^3\) Julian is in error; according to Bury, in Gibbon, Vol. 2, p. 588, Spain was governed by Maximianus.  
\(^4\) The Atlantic.  
\(^5\) The Mediterranean.  
\(^6\) *Iliad* 20, 221.  
\(^7\) *Iliad* 5, 222.
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ἐπαίνειν, οίκιαν τε οἶμαι τῇν Ἀλκίνου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μενέλεω δῶματα καταπληξάμενα καὶ τῶν τοῦ πολύφρονος Ὀδυσσέως παίδα καὶ τοιαύτα ληρεῖν ἀναπείσαντα τοῖς σοῖς παραβαλεῖν ἀξιώσομεν, μή δ' ποτε ἁρα ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τούτοις δοκῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπωσόμεθα τὴν φλυαρίαν; ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ τὶς ἡμᾶς μικρολογίας καὶ ἀμαθίας τῶν ἀληθῶς καλῶν γραψάμενος ἔλη. οὐκοὖν ἀφέντας χρῆ τοῖς Ὀμηρίδαις τὰ τοιαύτα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τούτων ἐγγυτέρω πρὸς ἀρετήν, καὶ δὴ μείζωνα ποιεῖ προμήθειαν, σώματος ρώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐμπειρίας, θαρροῦνται1 ἦναι.

Τίνι δὴποτε οὐν τῶν ὕπτ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ὑμνουμένων σειρήνος εἰξομεν; ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τοξότης παρ' αὐτῷ Πάνδαρος, ἀνήραπιστος καὶ χρημάτων ἤττων, ἄλλα καὶ ἁσθενής τὴν χείρα καὶ ὀπλάτης φαῖλος, Τεῦκρος τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μηριώνης, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πελειάδος τῷ τόξῳ χρόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἠρίστευε μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ἐδείτο δὲ ὡσπερ ἐρύματος καὶ τειχίου. ταῦτα τοι καὶ προβάλλεται τὴν ἀστιδα, οὕτι τὴν οἰκείαν, τάδελφοῦ δὲ, καὶ στοχάζεται καὶ θῆσυχίαν τῶν πολεμίων, γελοιοῦ ἀναφανείς στρατιώτης, ὃς γε ἐδείτο μείζωνος φύλακος καὶ οὐκ ἐν Β τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐποείτο τῆς σωτηρίας τὰς ἐλπίδας. σὲ δὴτα ἐθεασάμην, ὁ φίλε βασιλεῦ, ἀρκτοὺς καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας συχνοὺς καταβάλλοντα

1 θαρροῦντα Cobet, θαρροῦντως MSS, Hertlein.

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

And now which one of those heroes to whom Homer devotes his enchanting strains shall I admit to be superior to you? There is the archer Pandaros in Homer, but he is treacherous and yields to bribes ²; moreover his arm was weak and he was an inferior hoplite: then there are besides, Teucer and Meriones. The latter employs his bow against a pigeon ³ while Teucer, though he distinguished himself in battle, always needed a sort of bulwark or wall. Accordingly he keeps a shield in front of him,⁴ and that not his own but his brother's, and aims at the enemy at his ease, cutting an absurd figure as a soldier, seeing that he needed a protector taller than himself and that it was not in his weapons that he placed his hopes of safety. But I have seen you many a time, my beloved Emperor, bringing down bears and panthers and lions with the weapons

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 69 foll. ² *Iliad* 4. 97. ³ *Iliad* 23. 870. ⁴ *Iliad* 8. 266.
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tois afiimerenous beleisi, xromenon de pros thran kal pайдiai тοξω, epit de tis parataxeis astis esti sou kai thora kai kranos kai ouk an kata-
deisaima ton 'Axyllieta tois 'Hfaiosteious lamb-
prunomenon kai apopieiromenon auton kai ton
opton,

Ei ois efarmosseie kai en trexoi aglaia gunia:
anakruntte gair eis apantaas thn sth empeirian
ta katorthomata.

Tin ge mhn ippikein kai tin ev tois drómois
koufotita arai sou parabalaiin a'xion ton
prosthein tois aramenous onoma kai doxan
meizona; h to mev oude nyrrhto pws; armaet
zar okhronto kai oupw poloi a'zunx: tachei de
ostis deixgeke, toufro pros se yegonev amphi-
ristos krisis: tazin de koumhtai kai falangga
diataxai kalos dokei Mevestheus kraitostos, kai
touto dia thn hlikian o Puloios oih yfetai th
empeirias. Alla ton men oi polémoi polakias
tas tazies synefaraxan, kai oude epit tov teixous
isxoun antechis paratattomeno sou de muryias
mahaxi xenmizontai kai polêmioi polloi men
bar-
barois, ouk elastos de touton tois oikothen afer-
toiv kai synephimównois to thn arxhyn sfetereis-
saivn proeloimenin aarraghy exeinev o fálagy
kal
adiáutos, ouv' epit smikron éndoussa. Kai oti
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mhn lhrhos tauta mhdé prospoihisis longon ths
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hurled by your hand, and using your bow both for hunting and for pastime, and on the field of battle you have your own shield and cuirass and helmet. And I should not be afraid to match you with Achilles when he was exulting in the armour that Hephaistos made, and testing himself and that armour to see

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

for your successes proclaim to all men your proficiency.

As for your horsemanship and your agility in running, would it be fair to compare with you any of those heroes of old who won a name and great reputation? Is it not a fact that horsemanship had not yet been invented? For as yet they used only chariots and not riding-horses. And as for their fastest runner, it is an open question how he compares with you. But in drawing up troops and forming a phalanx skilfully Menestheus ² seems to have excelled, and on account of his greater age the Pylian ³ is his equal in proficiency. But the enemy often threw their line into disorder, and not even at the wall ⁴ could they hold their ground when they encountered the foe. You, however, engaged in countless battles, not only with hostile barbarians in great numbers, but with just as many of your own subjects, who had revolted and were fighting on the side of one who was ambitious of grasping the imperial power; yet your phalanx remained unbroken and never wavered or yielded an inch. That this is not an idle boast and that I do not make a

¹ Iliad 19. 385. ² Iliad 2. 552. ³ Nestor: Iliad 2. 555. ⁴ The building of a wall with towers, to protect the ships, is described in Iliad 7. 436 foll.
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ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀληθείας κρείττων, ἐθέλω τοῖς παροῦσι διεξελθεῖν. γελοιοῦν γὰρ οἶμαι πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν σῶν ἔργων διηγεῖσθαι καὶ ταύτῶν ἄν πάθοιμι φαύλω καὶ ἀκόμψφ θεατῆ τῶν Φειδίου δημιουργμάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν Φειδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντι διεξεῖναι περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀκροτόλει παρθένου καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Πίσαίοις Δίος. εἰ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκφέροντι τὰ σεμνότατα τῶν ἔργων, ἵσως ἀν ἀποφύγοιμι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, καὶ οὐκ ἔσομαι ταῖς διαβολαίς ἐνοχος· ὡστε ἦδη θαρροῦντα χρῆ λέγειν.

Καὶ μοι μὴ τις δυσχεράνθη πειραμένω πράξεων ἀπτεσθαί μειζόνων, εἰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου συνεκθέοι μήκος, καὶ ταύτα θέλοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ βιαζόμενον, ὅπως μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἢ τῶν λόγων ἀσθένεια περιχεομένη διαλυμήνηται· καθάπερ δὴ τὸν χρυσόν φασι τοῦ Θεσπιᾶσιν Ἐρωτος τοῖς πτεροῖς ἐπιβληθέντα τῇ ἀκρίβειαν ἀφελείν τῆς τέχνης. δεῖται γὰρ ἀληθῶς τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς σάλπιγγος τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνου ἔργα. δὴλου δὲ ἐσται χρωμένους ἢμῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν λόγων, ὄντερ ἔξ ἀρχῆς προφήμεθα. ἐφαίνετο δὲ τῶν βασιλέως ἔργων πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων πολλή ξυγγένεια, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφαμεν ἀπάντητων προφέρειν ἐν ὧ μᾶλστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκατός διήγεγκε, καὶ ὅπως ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν δὴ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ βασιλικῶτερος, εἰ ποι τοῦ μεμνήμεθα τῶν ἐν προοιμίῳ ῥηθέντων, ἐπεδείκνυμεν, ἐσται δὲ καὶ μάλα αὕτης καταφανες. νῦν δὲ, εἰ βούλεσθε, τὰ περὶ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς
pretension in words that goes beyond the actual facts, I will demonstrate to my hearers. For I think it would be absurd to relate to you your own achievements. I should be like a stupid and tasteless person who, on seeing the works of Pheidias should attempt to discuss with Pheidias himself the Maiden Goddess on the Aeropolis, or the statue of Zeus at Pisa. But if I publish to the rest of the world your most distinguished achievements, I shall perhaps avoid that blunder and not lay myself open to criticism. So I will hesitate no more but proceed with my discourse.

I hope no one will object if, when I attempt to deal with exploits that are so important, my speech should become proportionately long, and that though I desire to limit and restrain it lest my feeble words overwhelm and mar the greatness of your deeds; like the gold which when it was laid over the wings of the Eros at Thespiae¹ took something, so they say, from the delicacy of its workmanship. For your triumphs really call for the trumpet of Homer himself, far more than did the achievements of the Macedonian.² This will be evident as I go on to use the same method of argument which I adopted when I began. It then became evident that there is a strong affinity between the Emperor’s exploits and those of the heroes, and I claimed that while one hero excelled the others in one accomplishment only, the Emperor excels them all in all those accomplishments. That he is more kingly than the king himself³ I proved, if you remember, in what I said in my introduction, and again and again it will be evident. But now let us, if you please, consider

¹ By Praxiteles. ² Alexander. ³ Agamemnon.

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πολέμους ἀθρήσωμεν. τίνας οὖν ὁμήρος δια-
φερόντως ὑμινθεν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων;
αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι τῶν ἔποι τὰ καριώτατα.
Τίς τ’ ἀρ τῶν ὥρ’ ἀριστος ἐγν, σύ μοι ἐννέπε, 55
Μοῦσα,
'Ἀνδρῶν ἢδ’ ἵππων, οὐ ἄμ'' Ἀτρείδαισιν ἐποντο.
'Ἀνδρῶν μὲν μέγ’ ἀριστος ἐγν Τελαμώνιος Άιας,
'Οφρ' 'Ἀχίλευς μήνιεν’ ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦν.
καὶ αὗθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τελαμώνιου φησίν.
Ἀιας, ὑς περὶ μὲν εἴδος, περὶ δ’ ἔργ’ ἐπέτυκτο,
Τῶν ἀλλων Δαναόν μετ’ ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. B
’Ελλήνων μὲν δὴ τούτους ἀρίστους ἀφίχθαι φησί,
τῶν δὲ ἄμφι τοὺς Τρώας' 'Εκτορα καὶ Σαρπινδόνα.
βούλεσθε οὐν αὐτῶν τὰ λαμπρότατα ἐπιλεξάμενοι
περιαθρώμεν τὸ μέγεθος; καὶ γὰρ πως ἐς ταυτὸν
τις τῶν βασιλέως ἦν. C
τοῖς τοῦ πολεμῶν τοῦ Πηλεώς μάχη καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ τείχος
τῶν ’Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος. Άιας τε ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος
τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς τῶν ἱκρίων ἱσως ἄν
τυχχάνοι τινὸς ἄξιας εἰκόνος. ἔθελον δὲ ὑμῖν
διηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μάχην, ἣν ἥγοντι
σατο βασιλεύς ἐναγχος. ίστε δε .ordinal 2 .ordinal 1 ὁ πόλεμος
ἐξερράγη, καὶ ὅτι ξὺν δίκη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλείονος
ἐπιθυμία διεπολεμήθη. κωλύει δὲ ὑπὸ ὑπομη-
σθήναι δ’ ὅλιγων.
’Ἀνὴρ ἀπιστος καὶ θρασὺς τῆς οὐ προσηκούσης
ὀρεχθεὶς ἡγεμονίας κτείνει τῶν ἀδελφῶν βασιλέως D

1 [toû] βασιλέως Hertlein.

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

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

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

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

A rash and traitorous man 3 tried to grasp at power to which he had no right, and assassinated the

1 Iliad 2. 761 foll. 2 Odyssey 11. 550 3 Magnentius.
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καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνόν, καὶ ἢρετο λαμπραῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τοὺς Ποσειδῶνα μυρησόμενος καὶ ἀποφανῶν οὐ μῦθον τὸν Ὀμήρου λόγον, παντὸς δὲ ἀληθῆ μᾶλλον, ὃς ἐφή περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Τρεῖς μὲν ὄρεξατ’ ἱών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἵκετο τέκμωρ,

Διγάς,

καὶ ὃς ἔντευθεν τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ὑποζεύξας τοὺς ἱπποὺς διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐφέρετο.

Γηθοσύνη δὲ θάλασσα διϊστατό· τοι δ’ ἐπέτουν Ἄρμφα μάλ’, οὐδ’ ὑπένερθε διαίνετο χάλκεος ἀξίων,

ατε οὐδενὸς ἐμποδῶν ὅντος, πάντων δὲ ἔξιστα-μένων καὶ ὑποχωροῦντων ἐν χαρμον. οὐκοιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πολέμιον οὐδὲ ἀντίπαλον φέτος καταλυτεσθαί, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν κατείργησεν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ μὴ ἔπι τοῦ Τίγρητος στήναι ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς. εἴπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ὀπλίτης, ἵππεις δὲ οὐχ ἤπτους, ἀλλ’ οἴπερ ἁλκιμοί, Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἀβδρες Γερμανῶν τε οἱ πρόσοικοι Ῥήνῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἂν εἴτε Ὀκεανὸν χρή καλέων εἴτε Ἀτλαντικὴν θάλατταν εἴτε ἄλλῃ τινὶ χρῆσθαι προσωνυμία προσήκων, οὐκ ἱσχυρίζομαι· πλὴν ὅτι δὴ αὐτῇ προσοικεῖ δύσμαχα καὶ ρώμη διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων ἑθῶν γείνα βαρβάροιν, οὐκ ἁκοῦ μόνον, ἦπερ δὴ τυγχάνει πίστις οὐκ ἄσφαλῆς, ἀλλ’ αὐτῇ πείρα τούτῳ ἐκμαθῶν οἶδα. τούτων δὴ τῶν ἑθῶν ἐξαναστήσας οὐκ ἔλαττον

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Iliad 13. 20.
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πλήθος τῆς οἰκοθεν αὐτῷ ξυνεπισπομένης στρατιάς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον εὔπετο πολὺ καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμφυλουν, τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον οὔτω γὰρ καλεῖν ἄξιον ὁπόσον Ῥωμαίων βία καὶ οὐ γνώμη ξυνηκολούθησεν, ἐοίκος ἐπικούροις καὶ μισθοφόροις, ἐν Καρδίς εὔπετο τάξει καὶ σχήματι, δύσανον μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, βαρβάρῳ καὶ ξένῳ, μέθη καὶ κραιπάλη τὴν δυναστείαν περιφρονήσαντι καὶ ἀνελομένῳ, ἄρχοντι δὲ, ὡσπέρ ἦν ἄξιον τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων προοιμίων καὶ προοιμίων ἀρξάμενον. ἦγεῖτο δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτι κατὰ τὸν Τυφώνα, ὅτι ἡ ποιητικὴ τερατεία φησὶ τῷ Διῷ χαλεπαύνουσαν τὴν Γῆν ὁδίναι, οὔτε ὡς γιγάντων ὁ κρατίστος, ἀλλ' οἶναν ὁ σοφὸς ἐν μῦθοις Πρόδικος τὴν Κακίαν δημιουργεῖ πρὸς τὴν 'Αρετήν διαμιλλωμένην καὶ ἐθέλουσαν τὸν τοῦ Δίδος ἀναπείθεων παῦδα, ὅτι ἄρα αὐτῷ μᾶλιστα πάντων τιμητέα εἶν. προάγων δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προιφέρετο τὰ τοῦ Καπανέως, 57 βαρβαρίζων καὶ ἀνοηταίων, οὕτως μὲν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τῇ ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς πίσυνος οὔτε ἄλκῃ τοῦ σώματος, τῷ πλήθει δὲ τῶν ξυνεπομένων βαρβάρων, οἷς δὴ καὶ λειᾶν ἀπαντα προθήσειν ἠπείλει, ταξιαρχὸν ταξιάρχῳ καὶ λοχαγῷ λοχαγῷ καὶ στρατιώτην στρατιώτῃ τῶν ἔξ ἐναντίας αὐταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς καὶ κτήμασιν, οὔτε τὸ σώμα ἀφείς ελεύθερον. αὐξεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ

1 ξυνεπισπομένης Cobet, ξυνεπομένης V Hertlein ξυνεφεπο-μένης MSS.
2 (τὴν) 'Αρετήν Hertlein, ἀρετήν MSS.
3 βαρβαρίζων MSS., Hertlein, βατταρίζων Cobet, cf. Plato, Theaetetus 175 c.

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

1 The Carians were proverbially worthless; cf. 320 d.
2 Hesiod, *Theogony*.
3 Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2. 1. 2.
4 Heracles.
5 Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 440; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1182.
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βασιλεώς1 δεινότης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσχωριῶν εἰς τὰ πεδία κατάγει γανύμενον καὶ οὐ ξυνιέντα, δρασμὸν δὲ ἀτεχνώς καὶ οὐ στρατηγίαν τὸ πράγμα κρίνοντα. ταύτα τοι καὶ ἀλίσκεται, καθάπερ ὀρνιθὲς καὶ ἵχθυς δικτύοις. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ ἐσ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Παύνων ἦλθε καὶ ἐδόκει λάθου ἐνταῦθα διαγωνίζεσθαι, τότε δὴ βασιλεὺς τούς τε ἰππέας ἐπὶ κέρως τάττει χωρίς ἐκατέρου.

Τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσὶν αἰχμοφόροι, θώραξιν ἑλατοῖς καὶ κράνεσιν ἐκ σιδήρου πεποιημένοις σκεπόμενοι κυνηγίς τε τοῖς σφυροῖς εὐ μᾶλα περιμερισμέναι καὶ περιγονατίδες καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς ἑτερα τοιαύτα ἐκ σιδήρου καλύμματα: αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ὡσπερ ἀνδριάντες ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπων φέρόμενοι, οὐδὲν ἀσπίδας δεόμενοι. τούτοις εὔπετο τῶν ἄλλων ἰππέων πλῆθος ἀσπίδας φέροντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν τοξεύοντες. πεζῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν ὀπλήτης ἦν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνάπτων ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἐξόπισθεν δὲ οἱ σφεν- δονήται καὶ τοξόται καὶ ὄποσον ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλει γυμνὸν ἀσπίδας καὶ θώρακος. οὐτὼς κοσμηθείσης τῆς φάλαγγος, μικρὰ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως προελθόντος ἀπαν τὸ πολέμιον συνετετάρακτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαττε τὴν τάξιν.2 ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν ἰππεύων καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντων φεύγει μὲν αἰσχρῶς ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν αἰσχυν ἀρπάσας, λεῖπε δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἰππαρχὸν καὶ χιλιάρχοις καὶ ταξιάρχοις πάνυ πολλοὺς καὶ

1 [τοῦ] βασιλεῶς Hertlein, cf. 55 b.
2 τὴν τάξιν Hertlein suggests, τάξιν MSS.
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this attitude by the Emperor's clever strategy, and led his army out from the narrow passes to the plains in high spirits and little knowing the truth, since he decided that the Emperor's march was merely flight and not a manoeuvre. Thus he was taken unawares, like a bird or fish in the net. For when he reached the open country and the plains of Paeonia, and it seemed advantageous to fight it out there, then and not before the Emperor drew up his cavalry separately on both wings.

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

Καὶ τέως μὲν ἔχαιρε τῆς πρώτης πείρας οὐκ ἀποσφαλείς οὐδὲ ἀμαρτήσας, τότε δὲ ἐφεστῶσας ἔξω δίκη ποινὰς ἀπαιτεῖται τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ ἄπιστον τιμωρίαν ἐσπράττεται. πάντων γὰρ ὁπόσοι τοῦ πολέμου τῷ τυράννῳ συνεφθησαντε, μὲν οἱ θάνατος, δήλη δὲ ἡ φυγὴ καὶ ἄλλων μεταμέλεια: ἰκέτευον γὰρ πολλοὶ, καὶ ἔτυχον ἀπαντεῖς συγγνώμης, βασιλέως τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος ὑπερβαλλομένου μεγαλοφροσύνη. ο μὲν γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ Πάτροκλος ἐπεσεν, οὐδὲ πιτράκειν ἀλόντας ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἥξιος, ἀλλὰ ἰκέτευοντας περὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἐκτεινεν; δὲ ἐκήρυττεν ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐξαρνουμένοις τὴν ἔννομοζήν, οὔθεν ταῦτα μόνον ἡ φυγῆς ἢ τινος ἄλλης τιμωρίας ἀφαίρων τὸν φόβον, ὡσπερ δὲ ἐκ τινος ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἄλης δυστυχοῦσι τῆς ἔξω τῷ τυράννῳ βιοτῆς κατάγειν σφᾶς ἐπ' ἀκεραίοις τοῖς πρόσθεν ἥξιοι. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδίκης τεῦξεται λόγοι. 

Ἐκείνῳ δὲ Ἡδῆς ῥητέου, ὡς ὀυτε ἐν τοῖς κειμένος ἡν ὀυτε ἐν τοῖς φεύγωσιν ὁ παιδοτρίβης τοῦ τυράννου. τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ ἐξπίσαι συγγνώμην εὐλογον οὗτοι μὲν ἀδίκα διανυθέντα, ἀσεβη δὲ ἐργασάμενον, φόνων τε ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, πολλῶν μὲν ἰδωτῶν, πάντων δὲ σχεδὸν

1 μὲν Reiske adds.
command of all these the real author \(^1\) of that monstrous and unholy drama, who had been the first to suggest to him that he should pretend to the imperial power and rob us of our royal privilege.

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

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

\(^1\) Marcellinus.
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οτόσοι τού βασιλείου γένους μετείχον ἢψάμενοι, οὕτι ξὺν δείματι οὐδὲ ἂν τὶς ἐμφύλιοιν φόνον διανοηθεὶν δρῶν, παλαμναίοις τινὰς καὶ μιᾶστο- ρας δεδίως καὶ ύφορώμενος ἐκ τοῦ μιᾶςματος, ἀλλὰ ὡσπερ τισὶ καθαρσίους καίνοις καὶ ἀτόποις τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀπονηπτόμενοι ἄνδρα ἐπ’ ἄνδρι καὶ γυναίκας ἐπὶ τοὺς φιλτάτοις ἀποκτινὼς εἰκότως ἀπέγνω τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ταῦτα εἰκὸς μὲν αὐτὸν διανοηθήναι, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐχειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἵσμεν ὃ, τι ποτε παθὼν ἢ δράσας ὕχετο ἀιστος, ἀφαντός. ἀλλ’ εἴτε αὐτὸν δαίμων τιμωρός ἔνναρ- πάσας, καθάπερ ὁμιρός φησι τὰς τοῦ Πανδάρεω θυγατέρας, ἐπὶ γῆς ἂγει πέρατα ποινὰς ἀπαιτήσων τῶν διανοημάτων, εἴτε αὐτὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὑποδεξά- μενος ἐστιάν κελεύει τοὺς ἰχθὺς, οὕτι πω δήλον. ἀχρε μὲν γὰρ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς καὶ ὠποικία οἱ λόχοι συνετάττοντο πρὸς φάλαγγα θρασὺς ἢν ἐν Β μέσων ἀναστρεφόμενος; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπράχθη τὰ τῆς μάχης, ὡσπερ ἡν ἄξιοι, ἀφανῆς ὕχετο οὐκ οἶδα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἡ δαιμόνων κρυφθεῖς, πλὴν ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄμεινοι ταῖσ τῦχας εὐδηλον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐθεὶς ἐμελλε φανεῖς ἐπ’ ἐξουσίας υβρίζων ἀδεῶς εὐδαιμονήσειν, ὡς ὕετο, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ παν- τελές ἄφανισθεὶς τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν αὐτῷ μὲν

1 Πανδάρεω Β, Naber, cf. Odyssey 20, 66, Τυνδάρεω MSS., Hertlein. 2 ἐπράχθη MSS., Hertlein, ἐταράχθη Naber.

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

¹ Odyssey 20. 66. ² The Drave.
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δυστυχί, πολλοὶς δὲ ὄφελιμον καὶ πρὸς ἔπα- 
νόρθωσιν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν μηχανοποιοῦν τῆς ὁλης ὑποθέσεως πλείονος ἁξιωθέντα λόγου, μέση τῇ C 
πράξει1 παρελόμενα τὸ ξυνεχὲς τῆς διηγήσεως, ἐνταῦθα ποὺ πάλιν ἄφετεα. ἐπανιτέων δὲ ὀθεντερ ἔξηλθον καὶ ἀποδοτέον τὸ τέλος τῆς 
μάχης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ξύν τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν δειλία 
καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πίπτει φρονήματα, ἂλλ' 
ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῖς διεφθάρη, οὐ 
κακία σφῶν, ἀπειρία δὲ καὶ ἀμαθία τοῦ τάπτο-

καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάσης ἐλπίδος μεῖζον, τῶν μὲν 
οὐχ ὑφιεμένων όσ τὸ παντελὲς τοῖς κρατοῦσι, 
τῶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν τελέως τῇ νίκῃ φιλοτιμομένων, 
ξυμμυγής τε ἧρετο τάραχος καὶ βοή καὶ κτύπος 
τῶν ὄπλων, ξιφῶν τε ἀγνωμένων ἀμφὶ τοὺς κράνεσι 
καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων περὶ τοὺς δόρασιν. ἀνὴρ δὲ 
ἀνθρί ξυνίστατο, καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰς ἀσπίδας 
αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔφεσιν ὀθύοντο2 μικρὰ τοῦ παθεῖν 
φροντίζοντες, ἀπαντά δὲ εἰς τὸ δρᾶσαι τί δευτοῦ 
τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν θυμὸν τρέποντες, τοῦ μὴ 
καθαρὰν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ ἄδακρων παρασχεῖν τὴν 
νίκην καὶ τὸ ἀποθνῄσκειν ἀνταλλαγμένοι. καὶ 
ταῦτα ἔδρων οὐ πεξοὶ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀσοὶς τῶν ἵππεων ὑπὸ τῶν θραυμάτων 
ἀχρεία παντελῶς ἐγεγόνει τὰ δόρατα.3 ξυστοὶ 
δὲ εἰςν εὐμήκεις, οὓς συγκαταγγύντες καὶ 
ἀποτηδώντες εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο. 

1 μέση τῇ πράξει V, Hertlein, μισητής πράξεως Reiske, 
μέση τῆς πράξεως MSS. 2 Naber suggests ὄθουν ὀθύοντο. 
3 After δόρατα Petavius, Hertlein omit σφῶν.

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

Now though it would be well worth while to devote more of my speech to this man who was the author of that whole enterprise, yet it breaks the thread of my narrative, which had reached the thick of the action. So I must leave that subject for the present, and going back to the point where I digressed, describe how the battle ended. For though their generals showed such cowardice, the courage of the soldiers was by no means abated. When their line was broken, which was due not to their cowardice but to the ignorance and inexperience of their leader, they formed into companies and kept up the fight. And what happened then was beyond all expectation; for the enemy refused altogether to yield to those who were defeating them, while our men did their utmost to achieve a signal victory, and so there arose the wildest confusion, loud shouts mingled with the din of weapons, as swords were shattered against helmets and shields against spears. It was a hand to hand fight, in which they discarded their shields and attacked with swords only, while, indifferent to their own fate, and devoting the utmost ardour to inflicting severe loss on the foe, they were ready to meet even death if only they could make our victory seem doubtful and dearly bought. It was not only the infantry who behaved thus to their pursuers, but even the cavalry, whose spears were broken and were now entirely useless. Their shafts are long and polished, and when they had broken them they
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καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ἀντείχουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ τε ἵππείς ἔβαλλον ἐκ τόξων πόρρωθεν ἐφιππαζόμενοι ¹ καὶ οἱ θωρακοφόροι πυκναίς ἐπʼ αὐτούς ἤχρωντο ταῖς ἔπελάσεσιν ἀτε ἐν τεδίῳ καθαρῷ καὶ λείῳ νύξ τε ἐπέλαβεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἀπέφευγον ἁσμενοί, οἱ δὲ ἐδίωκον καρτέρως ἀχρὶ τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱρόσων αὐταῖς ἀποσκευαίς καὶ ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ κτήνεσιν. ἀρξα-μένης δὲ, ὅπερ ἐφη, ἀρτι τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολε-μίων καὶ τῶν διωκόντων οὐκ ἀνεντων, ἐπὶ τὸ λαιῶν ὕθονται, ἦναπερ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐὰν τοὺς κρατοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος, καὶ ἐπλήσθη νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ὑπτων οὐκ ἁρμᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι Ὁ Δρᾶος ἐφῄει Σκαμάνδρῳ, οὔτε ἂν εὔμενης τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ός τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξωθείν καὶ ἀπορριπτείν τῶν ρεματῶν, τοὺς ξόντας δὲ ἐνγκαλύπτειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν ἀσφαλῶς ταῖς δίναις. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Τρώς τυχὼν μὲν ὑπὸ εὔνοιας ἔδρα, τυχὼν δὲ οὔτως ἔχων μεγέθους, ὡς ῥάδιον παρέχειν βαδί-ζειν τε ἐθέλοντι καὶ νηχομένῳ τὸν πόρον ἐπεὶ καὶ γεφυροῦται μᾶς ἐμβληθεῖσας εἰς αὐτὸν πτελέας, ἀπας τε ἀναμορμύρων ἀφρό καὶ αἴματι πλάξ όμοις Ἀχιλῆς, εἰ χρῆ καὶ τοῦτο πιστεύ-σαι, βιαῖτερον δὲ οὐδὲν εἰργάζετο· καὶ ἐπιλά-βόντος ὅλιγον καύματος ἀπαγορεύει τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἔξομνυται τὴν ἐπικουρίαν. Ἡ ομήρου δὲ ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο παῖγνιον, καὶνοῦν καὶ ἄτοπον μονομαχίας τρόπων ἐπινοῆσαντος. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰλλα

¹ ἐφιππαζόμενοι Hertlein suggests, ἀφιππαζόμενοι MSS.

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

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

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δήλος ἐστιν Ἀχιλλεὶς χαριζόμενος, καὶ ὀσπέρ θεστὰς ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα μόνον ἁμαχόν καὶ ἀνυπόστατον ἐπάγει τοῖς πολεμίοις, κτείνοντα μὲν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, τρεπόμενον δὲ ἀπαξιαπλῶς πάντας φωνῇ καὶ σχῆματι καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων ταῖς προσβολαῖς, ἀρχομένης τε οἶμαι τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ ἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ταῖς ἡσυχίας, ὡς εἰς τὸ τείχος ἄσμενοι ξυνελέγησαν οἱ διαφυγόντες. ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι πολλοὶ ἔπεσε διηγούμενος καὶ θεῶν ἀναπλάττων μᾶχας καὶ ἐπικοσμών μύθοις τὴν ποιήσιν δεικάζει τοὺς κριτᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει δικαίαν φέρειν καὶ ἀγεννηφώφοιροι. ὡς θεοί δὲ ἐθέλει μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους ἐξαπατάσθαι τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐξωθήνει ἐπιφερομένων πλασμάτων, ὁ ὀσπέρ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ ἀρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρωμάτων ὁ Ἀρεσπαγήτης ἐστῶ κρίτης, καὶ οὐκ εὐλαβησόμεθα τὴν κρίσιν. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατιώτην ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸν Πηλέως, ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀναπειθόμενοι. κτείνει μὲν ἄνδρας εἰκοσι,

Ζωοῦς δὲ ἐκ ποταμοῦ δυόδεκα λέξατο κούρους,
Τοὺς ἔξηγε θύρας τεθητότας ἥπιτε νεβροὺς,
Ποιήν Πατρόκλου Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος.

tosav'thun men to i ngekev ei tta prâgmata ton
' Achaton in vikhe thn rhothe, osste oude meizeva
fobon tòs polémous evêbaleu oude apogruvei es
to pantelelês ùpere sfôn epithei. kai ùpere toûton

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

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

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

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

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

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1 For eight words the text is hopelessly corrupt.
2 Iliad 21. 27.
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ἀρ' ἐτέρου τινὸς μάρτυρος δεησόμεθα τὸν Ὄμηρον παραλληπτόντες; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνη-
σθήναι, ἃ πεποίηκεν εἰκεῖνος, ὅπηνικα ἐπὶ τὰς ναὸς ἠλθεν ὁ Πρίαμος φέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λύτρα; ἐρωμένον γὰρ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑπὲρ ἱ
ὡν ἀφίκτω τοῦ τῆς Θέτιδος νυὲς

Ποσσήμαρ μέμονας κτερεῖζέμεν Ἐκτορά δίον,
τά τε ἄλλα διέξεισι καὶ πέρι τοῦ πολέμου φησὶ.

Τῇ δὲ δυσδεκάτῃ πολεμίζομεν, εἴπτερ ἀνάγκη.

οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλειν ὁκνεὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν
tὸν πόλεμον. ὥ δὲ ἀγεννὴς καὶ δείλος τύραννος
ὁρη τε ύψηλα προτείνετο τῆς αὐτοῦ φυγῆς καὶ
ἐξουκοδομήσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρούρια οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν
tόπων όχυρότητι πιστεύει, ἄλλα ἱκετεύει συγγνώ-
μης τυρχάνειν. καὶ ἔτυχεν ἁν, εἴπτερ ἢν ἄξιος
cαὶ μὴ ἐφωράθη πολλάκις ἀπιστοῖς καὶ θρασὺς,
ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις προστίθεις ἀδικήματα.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ μὴ δόξη τις τῶν
dιηγουμένων προσέχειν ἔθελοι μηδὲ ἔπεσιν εὐ
πεποιημένοις, ἐς αὐτὰ δὲ ὅραν τὰ ἔργα, κρινέτω.
ἐξῆς δ', εἰ βούλεσθε τὴν Αἰαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν
cαὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τῶν 'Αχαιῶν ἀντιθεῖναι
μάχην τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἔργοις. δὴ Ἰ
Μυγδόνιος ποταμὸν κάλλιστος τὴν αὐτοῦ προσ-

1 [τὰς] ὑπὲρ Reiske, Hertlein.
2 πολεμίζομεν Cobet, MSS., πολεμίζομεν V, Hertlein,
πολεμίζομεν M.
3 ἂν Reiske adds.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Iliad 24. 657.
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tίθησι φήμην, οὐση δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως ἐπωνύμω· γέγονε δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἔτερον ὄνομα βάρ-
βαρον, σύνεθες τοὺς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τῇ δια βαρβάρους ἐπιμεθᾶς· ταύτην δὴ τὴν πόλιν
στρατὸς ἀμήχανος πλήθει Παρθναίων ξύν Ἰνδοῖς
περιέσχεν, ὅπηνικα ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον βαδίζειν
προὔκειτο· καὶ ὅπερ Ἡρακλεῖ φασίν ἐπὶ τὸ
妾ναίον ἰόντι θηρίον συνενεχθῆναι, τὸν θαλάττιον
καρκίνον, τοῦτο ἦν ὁ Παρθναίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς
ἡπείρου Τίγρητα διαβᾶς καὶ περιετείχίζων 1 τὴν
πόλιν χώμασιν· εἶτα εἰς ταύτα δεχόμενος τὸν
Μυγδόνιον λίμνην ἀπέφηνε τὸ περὶ τῷ ἀστεὶ
χωρίῳ καὶ ὅπερ νῆσον εἰς αὐτῇ συνείχε τὴν
πόλιν, μικρὸν ύπερχοσύνων καὶ ύπερφαινομένων
τῶν ἐπάλξεων. ἐπολιόρκηε δὲ ναῦς τε ἐπάγον καὶ
ἐπὶ νεῶν μηχανάς· καὶ ἦν οὐχ ἡμέρας ἔργον,
μηνων δὲ οἴμαι σχέδον τι τεττάρων. οἱ δὲ ἐν
tῷ τείχει συνεχῶς ἀπεκρουόντο τοὺς βαρβάρους
καταπιμπράντες τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς πυρφόροις·
ναύς δὲ ἀνέιλκον πολλάς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους, ἀλλαῖ
dὲ καταέγγυντο ὑπὸ ρώμης τῶν ὑφιεμένων ὀργάνων
καὶ βάρους τῶν βελῶν. ἐφέροντο γάρ εἰς αὐτὰς
λίθοι ταλάντων ὀλκής Ἀττικῶν ἐπτά. καὶ
ἐπειδὴ συννᾶς ἡμέρας ταύτῃ ἐδράτο, ῥήγυνται
μέρος τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων εἰσρεῖ 2
πλήμμυρα, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τοῦ τείχους μέρος οὐκ
ἐλάσσον πῆχεων ἐκατόν συγκατηνέχθη.

'Ενταῦθα κοσμεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ Περσικοῦ

1 περιετείχίζων Hertlein suggests, cf. 27 b, ἐπετείχίζων MSS.
2 εἰσρεῖ Cobet, ἐκρεῖ MSS., Hertlein.

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

Thereupon he arrayed the besieging army in the

1 Nisibis.
2 Sapor becomes the ally of Magnentius as the crab was the ally of the Hydra in the conflict with Heracles.
3 400 lbs. in all.
4 150 feet.
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τρόπον. διασώζονσι γὰρ καὶ ἀπομμούνται τὰ Περσικὰ ōὐκ ἄξιοντες, ἐμὸλ δοκεῖν, Παρθναιοὶ νομίζεσθαι, Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιούμενοι. ταῦτα τοι καὶ στολή Μηδικὴ χ λίνσι. καὶ ἐσ μάχας ἑρχονται ὁμοίως ἐκείνως ὅπλοις τε ἀγαλ- λόμενοι τοιούτοις καὶ ἐσθῆμασιν ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἀλουργέσι. σοφίζονται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀφεστάναι Μακεδόνων, ἀναλαβένω δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχαίου βασιλείαν προσήκουσαν, ὦκουν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξην μμούμενον ἐπὶ τινος χειροποιή- του καθήςτο γηλόφου, προῆγε1 δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ξύν τοῖς θηρίοις. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπετο, καὶ ἐφερεν ἐκ σιδηροῦ πῦργων τοξοτῶν πλήρεις. ἤγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἢππεῖς οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ οἱ τοξόται, ἔτερον ἢππέων πλήθος ἀμήχανον. τὸ πέζον γὰρ σφιν ἀχρείον ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ καθέστηκεν οὐτε ἐντίμου μετέχον τάξεως οὐτε ὁν σφιν ἐν χρεία, πεδιάδος οὐσικς καὶ ψυλῆς τῆς χώρας ὀπόσην νέμονται. ἔοικε γὰρ ἐτη τὰ τοιαύτα πρὸς τᾶς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας τιμής καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀξιόνται. ὦς οὖν ἀχρείον τῇ φύσει οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν νόμων πολυορίας ἀξιόνται. συνέβη δὲ οὐτῶ καὶ περὶ τὴν Κρῆτην καὶ Καρίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ μυρίοις ἔθνεσι τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατασκευασθῆναι. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ Ἀρταλῶν οὐσα πεδιὰς ἢππεύσιν ἔναγωυίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμμελετῶν ἐπιτίθεεις ἀφάνῃ. τὰ γὰρ ἐτη τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ἀτε ἐς ἀντιπάλους παντόδαποὺς καταστάντα, εὐβουλία καὶ τύχῃ περιγενόμενα,

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

1 Elephants.
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εἰκότως ἐς ἀπαν εἶδος ὀπλων τε καὶ παρασκευὴς ἀλλὰς ἡμιόσθη.

'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ᾦς οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἄν εἴποιεν οἱ ταῖς τῶν ἑπαίνων τέχναις καθάπερ νόμοις ἑπιτεταγμένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τὸ σοι προσῆκει καὶ τούτων, ἐν καρφὶ σκέψομαι, τὰ γε μὴν οὐνείδη τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπολύομαι. φημὶ γὰρ ὡς οὔτε ἐγὼ τῶν τεχνῶν μεταποιοῦμαι οὔτε ὅστις μὴ τισιν ὁμολόγησεν ἐμμενείν ἀδικεῖ μη φυλάττων ταῦτα· τυχὼν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν εὐπρεπῶν παραίτησεων. ἀλλ' οὗ γὰρ ἄξιον μακρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν δέον ἀπαρτῶν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀποπλανῶσθαι τῆς υποθέσεως. ἐπαναβῶμεν οὖν αὐθίς εἰς ἰχνος καὶ οὗθεν ἐξέβην.

'Επειδὴ γὰρ οἱ Παρθυναῖοι κοσμηθέντες ὀπλοῖς αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ἱπποῖ ξύν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς θηρίοις προσήγουν τῷ τείχει, λαμπροὶ ταῖς ἐξπίσιν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα ἀναρτασόμενοι, καὶ ἐδέδω τὸ σφόν τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν τῷ σημείῳ, ἤθοντο ξύμπαντες, αὐτοῖς τις ἐθέλων πρώτος ἐσαλέσθαι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οὐχεσθαί φέρων τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κλέος· εἶναι τε οὐδὲν ἐτόπαζον δέος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπομενεῖν σφὼν τὴν ὀρμὴν τοὺς ἐνδον. Παρθυναῖοι μὲν τοσοῦτον περιήν ἐλπίδος. οἱ δὲ πυκνῶτεν τε εἶχον τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τεῖχους, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεστῶτος ὄποσον ἦν ἀχρείον πλῆθος

1 παρασκευής ἀλλὰς Cobet, MSS., παρασκευής (ἀλλοτε) ἀλλὰς Reiske, Hertlein.
2 ἀναρτασόμενοι Hertlein suggests, διαρτασάμενοι V, διαρτασόμενοι MSS.

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

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

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

1 *Iliad* 12. 438; cf. 71 b
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ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέστησαν ἀναμίξαντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῦραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι προσήλαυνον καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀφίετο βέλος, βεβαιοτέραν εἶχον τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κατ᾽ ἄκρας ἀἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἔπαινον μᾶστιξι καὶ ἵμασσον τὰς πλευράς τοῖς κέντροις, ἐὼς ἐποιήσαντο σφῶν κατὰ νῦτον τὰ χώματα· ἐπετείητο δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνα πρότερον πρὸς τὸ ἐπέχειν τοῦ Μυγδονίου τὰς ἐκροὰς, ἤλυς τε ἢν περὶ τὸ χωρίον εὐ. μάλα βαθεῖα ἵουδὲ αὐτοῦ παντελῶς ὄντος ὑπὸ τῆς ὦλης 1 καὶ διὰ τὸ πίεραν εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ στέγεις δύνασθαι φύσει τὰς λιβάδας. ἢν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ παλαιὸν ἔρμα τῇ πόλει τάφρος ἕυρεια, καὶ εἰν αὐτῇ βαθύτερον συνειστήκει τέλμα. ἀποτομέων δὲ ἢδη τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ταύτης καὶ διαβαίνεις πειρωμένων, ἐπεξήγαγαν 2 πολλοὶ μὲν ἕνδοθεν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐβαλλον τοῖς λύθοις· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν πολὺς ἐγένετο φῶνος, φυγῇ δὲ ἔτρεπον τοὺς ἱπποὺς ξύμπαντες, τῷ μόνον ἐθέλερν καὶ ἤλυον τὴν γημάμην διὰ τοῦ σχῆματος. ἐπιστρεφόντων γὰρ ἐπιπτον εὐθέως καὶ κατέφερον τοὺς ἱππέας· βαρεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς μάλλον ἐνείχοντο τῷ τέλματι. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα γίνεται φῶνος, ὅσος ὀὔπω πρόσθεν ἐν πολυρκίᾳ τοιαύτη 3 γέγονεν.

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

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

1 The text here is corrupt.
οἰόμενοι τῷ ξένῳ τῆς μάχης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ὄμματος διεφθαρτο, ὡς μὴ καθορᾶν βαρύτερον μὲν ἄν ἱππον τὸ θηρίον, φέρον δὲ ἅχθος οὐχ ἱππῶν δυνῶν ἡ πλείων, ἀμαξῶν δὲ οἶμαι συχνῶν, τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ σιδηρῶν πύργων. ταῦτα δὲ ἢν ἄπαντα πρὸς τὸ χωρίον χειροποίητον γεγονός τέλμα κωλύματα, καὶ ἢν αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ φανερά· οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς εἰς μάχην ἴναι, ἀλλὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἕνδον παρασκευα-ζεσθαι. προσῆγον δὲ ἐν τάξει μέτρων διεστώτες ἀλλήλων ἵππων, καὶ ἐφίκει τεῖχε τῶν Παρθυναίων ἡ φάλαγξ· τὰ μὲν θηρία¹ τοὺς πύργους φέροντα, τῶν ὀπλίτων δὲ ἀναπληροῦντων τὰ ἐν μέσῳ. ταχθέντες δὲ οὕτως οὐ μέγα ὀφέλος ἦσαν τῷ βαρβάρῳ· παρεῖχον γὰρ ἱδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τεῖχους θεωμένοις. ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο διακορέως οἴονει λαμπρὰς καὶ πολυτελοὺς πομπῆς περιπο-μένης, λίθους ἐκ μηχανῶν ἁφιέντες καὶ τῶν βάλλοντες ἐς τὴν τειχομαχίαν προκαλοῦντο τῶν βαρβάρων. φύσει δὲ οὕτως εἰς ὅργην ἰξύρ-ροποι καὶ δεινῶν ποιούμενοι τὸ γέλοιον ὀφλῆσαι καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν ὁπίσω τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀπρακτον, ἐγκελευομένου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως, προσῆγον τῷ τείχει καὶ ἐβάλλοντο πυκνοῖς² τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς τοξεύμασι· καὶ ἑτρώθη τῶν θηρίων τινὰ καὶ ἀπέθανεν κατενεχθέντα ³ ὑπὸ τῆς ἱλνος. δείσαντες δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπῆγγον ὁπίσω πάλιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

1 τὰ μὲν θηρία corrupt, Hertlein.
2 πυκνοῖς Cobet, πυκνῶς MSS., Hertlein.
3 κατενεχθέντα Reiske, εἰσενεχθέντα MSS., Hertlein.
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likely to overawe us by that novel sort of fighting. For surely they had not been stricken so blind as not to see that an elephant is heavier than a horse, since it carries the load, not of two horses or several, but what would, I suppose, require many waggons, I mean archers and javelin men and the iron tower besides. All this was a serious hindrance, considering that the ground was artificially made and had been converted into a bog. And this the event made plain. Hence it is probable that they were not advancing to give battle, but rather were arrayed to overawe the besieged. They came on in battle line at equal distances from one another, in fact the phalanx of the Parthians resembled a wall, with the elephants carrying the towers, and hoplites filling up the spaces between. But drawn up as these were they were of no great use to the barbarian. It was, however, a spectacle which gave the defenders on the wall great pleasure and entertainment, and when they had gazed their fill at what resembled a splendid and costly pageant in procession, they hurled stones from their engines, and, shooting their arrows, challenged the barbarians to fight for the wall. Now the Parthians are naturally quick-tempered, and they could not endure to incur ridicule and lead back this imposing force without striking a blow; so by the king's express command they charged at the wall and received a continuous fire of stones and arrows, while some of the elephants were wounded, and perished by sinking into the mud. Thereupon, in fear for the others also, they led them back to the camp.
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'Ως δὲ καὶ ταύτης ὁ Παρθυναῖος ἠμαρτε τῆς πείρας, τοὺς τοξότας διελὼν εἰς μοίρας διαδεχεσθαί τε ἀλλήλους κελεύει καὶ συνεχῶς βάλλειν πρὸς τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, ὥς μὴ δυνηθεῖεν ἀποικοδομῆσαι καὶ ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν πόλιν ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ αἱρήσειν λαθῶν ἢ βιασάμενος τῷ πλῆθει τοὺς ἐνδον ἡλικία. ἀλλὰ μάταιοι γὰρ ἀπέφηνεν ἡ βασιλέως παρασκευὴ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ διανόημα. κατὰ νότον γὰρ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔτερον τείχος εἰργάζετο· ὁ δὲ φίλος τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι ἤχυεσιν ἢ τὰ θεμέλια χρωμένους μέλλειν ἐτι. ἥμερα δὲ ὅλη καὶ νυκτὶ συνεχῶς ἐργασαμένων ἐστε ἐπὶ τέταρα πήχεις ἤφουσ· ἡγείρετο, καὶ ἐωθεὶ ὡφθη λαμπρὸν καὶ νεουργῆς, ἐκεῖνων οὐδὲ ἀκαρῆ χρόνον ἐνδιδόντων, διαδεχομένων δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἄκουστον ἐς τοὺς ἐφεστώτας τῷ κειμένῳ τείχει, τούτο ἔξεπτης ἐδεινὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. οὗ μὴν ἀπῆγεν εὐθὺς τὴν στρατιὰν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐθίς τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήται παλαισμασι. δρᾶσας δὲ οἷμαι καὶ παθῶν παραπλήσια ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὅπισώ, πολλοῦς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δήμους ἀπολέσας, πολλὰ δὲ ἀναλώσας περὶ τοῖς χώμασι καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ σώματα, σατράπας δὲ ἄνελῶν συχνοὺς, ἄλλον ἄλλο ἐπαιτιώμενος, τὸν μὲν ὁτι μὴ καρτερῶς ἐπεποίητο τὰ χώματα, ἔξε δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλύσθη παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ρευμάτων, τὸν δὲ ὃς φαύλως

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

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

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ἀγωνισάμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλας ἐπάγων οἰτίας ἐκτεινεν. ἔστι γὰρ εὐ μάλα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βαρβάρους σύνηθες ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τὰς οἰτίας τῆς δυσπραγίας ἀποσκευά-ζεσθαι, ὅ δι καὶ τότε δράσας ἀπὶῶν ἤχετο. καὶ ἀγεὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ἐκ τοῦτο, καὶ οὗτε ὁρκων οὕτε συνθηκῶν ἐδέσσεν, ἀγαπᾶ δὲ οἶκοι μένων, εἰ 67 μὴ στρατεύοιτο βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ δίκην ἀπαιτοῖν τοῦ θράσους καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας.

'Αρά γε ἄξιον ταύτην παραβαλεῖν τὴν μάχην ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τοῦ τείχους; ἄθρείτε δὲ ὡδε ἡ τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὸ διάφορον λογί-ζεσθε. Ἑλληνῶν μὲν Ἁλραντε καὶ οἱ Δαπίθαι καὶ Μενεσθεὺς τοῦ τείχους εἶξαν καὶ περιείδου τὰς πύ-λας συντριβομένας ὑφ’ Ἐκτορος καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἔπιβεβηκότα τὸν Σαρπηδόνα. οἱ δὲ οὕδε διαρ-ραγέντος αὐτομάτως τοῦ τείχους ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο Παρθυαίους ξὺν Ἰνδοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἐπιβάς τῶν νεῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων ὡσπερ ἐρύματος πεζὸς διαγωνίζεται, οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν τείχων ἐναυμάχουν, τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐπάλξεων εἶξαν καὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐνίκων ναυσί τε ἐπίοντας καὶ πεζῇ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὐ ποιῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα καὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, ὑπηνέχθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτό γε φασὶ τῶν ἔργον 178
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fighting under the walls he had not distinguished himself; and others he executed for one offence or another. This is in fact the regular custom among the barbarians in Asia, to shift the blame of their ill-success on to their subjects. Thus then the king acted on that occasion, and afterwards took himself off. And from that time he has kept the peace with us and has never asked for any covenant or treaty, but he stays at home and is thankful if only the Emperor does not march against him and exact vengeance for his audacity and folly.

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

Σχεδὼν γὰρ μοι τοῦτο φαίνεται τὸ γενναίοτατον τῶν ἐργον Ἑκτορος, καὶ οὐχὶ Πλαύκου τέχνης  ἑνεὶναι οὐδὲ σοφωτέρας ἐπινοιας δείται. Ὄμηρου σαφῶς διδάσκοντος, ὥς Ἀχιλλέως μὲν φαινετος εἶδοτο εὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν.

Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ τοῖς Τρωσίων ἐπικειμένου καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καταδιώξαντος Ἐκτορα ὑπαγε Ζεὺς, ἵνα ἀποσώξωτο καθ ἡσυχίαν. προσπαίζων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ καταγελῶν τῆς δειλίας ὑπὸ τῇ φηνῷ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἡδὴ καθημένῳ τῆν Ἰρίν ἦκειν ἥφη παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς φραξουσαν Ὁφρ' ἀν μὲν κεν ὁρᾶς 'Αγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν Θύμοντ᾽ ἐν προμάχοισιν, ἕναιροντα στίχας ἀν-


dρῶν,

Τόφρ' ὑπόεικε μάχης.

πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς οὔτως ἀγεννὴ καὶ δειλὰ παρανεῖν τοῦ Δία, ἀλλὰς τε οὖδὲ μαχομένῳ, ξὺν πολλῇ δὲ ἐστῶτι βαστώνῃ; καὶ ὀπισθ' δὲ τοῦ Τυδέως, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πολλὴν ἐκ τοῦ κράὼς ἀναπτούσης φλόγα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκτείνει, φεύγειν δὲ ἡμάγκαζε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας, πόρρω τε ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέ-


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1 ἡ Reiske adds.
2 τέχνης Reiske, τέχνη cant. Hertlein, τέχνη MSS.
struction of that wall which Homer tells us the Achaeans built only the day before, on the advice of the pricely orator\(^1\) of Pylos "to be an impregnable bulwark for the ships and the army."\(^2\)

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

"He shrank back into the crowd of men."\(^3\)

Again, when Agamemnon attacked the Trojans and pursued them to the wall, Zeus stole away\(^4\) Hector so that he might escape at his leisure. And the poet is mocking him and ridiculing his cowardice when he says that as he was sitting under the oak-tree, being already near the gate, Iris came to him with this message from Zeus:

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

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

\(^1\) Nestor. \(^2\) *Iliad* 14. 56. \(^3\) *Iliad* 20. 379. 
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παραπώς ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν μετὰ τῶν Τρωάδων. καίτοι εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἰκέτευε πρὸ τοῦ
νεὼ ξὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, πολὺν ἄν εἰχε λόγον. προσ-
ήκει γὰρ οἷμαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα
καθάπερ ἱερέα καὶ προφήτην θεραπεύειν ἀεὶ ξὺν
κόσμῳ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηδὲν ὁλυγορεῖν μηδὲ ἐτέρῳ
μᾶλλον προσήκειν ἥγεισθαι μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, ᾠ-
άξιον αὐτοῖς νομίζοντα τὸ διακόνημα.

Οἷμαι γὰρ τὴν Πλάτωνος μικρὰ παρατρέψας
λέξιν ὅσα ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, ὅσ ὅτι ἂν, μᾶλλον
dὲ βασιλεί, ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς
εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μή ἐν ἄλλως ἀνθρώποις
αιροῖται, ἔξ ὅν εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων πλανά-
σθαι ἀναγκάζεται αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνον πράγματα,
tούτῳ ἁρίστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ξῆν. εἰ δὲ
ἐπιτρέποι μηδεὶς μεταγράφειν2 μηδὲ ἐκτρέπειν
μηδὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦνομα, ἄλλα ὡσπερ ἱερὸν
ἀρχαίον κελεύοι μένειν ἐάν ἀκίνητον, οὖδε οὐτοῖς
ἄλλο τι διανοεῖσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ἔροῦμεν. τὸ γάρ
εἰς ἑαυτὸν3 οὐ δὴποι τὸ σῶμα φησιν οὐδὲ τὰ
χρήματα οὐδὲ εὐγένειαν καὶ δόξαν πατέρων χαῦτα
γὰρ αὐτοῦ μέν τινος οἰκεῖα κτῆματα, οὐ μὴν ἐστὶ
ταῦτα αὐτὸς. ἅλλα νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν,4 φησί, καὶ
tὸ ὅλον τὸν ἐν ἑμῖν θεὸν5 δ ὅθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρωθι

1 ἡν Hertlein adds.
2 μεταγράφειν Cobet, παραγράφειν MSS., Hertlein.
3 εἰς ἑαυτὸν Cobet, cf. Menexenus 247 ε σεαυτὸν Hertlein,
suggests ἑαυτὸν, σεαυτὸν V, σεαυτ㎝ MSS.
4 νοῦν—φρόνησιν Hertlein suggests, τφ—φρονήσει MSS.
5 τὸν—θεὸν Hertlein suggests, τφ—θεό MSS. Hertlein
suspects corruption.

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

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

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1 *Menexenus* 247 e.
2 Plato says \(\varepsilon\iota\;\varepsilon\alpha\upsilon\nu\tau\delta\nu\;\alpha\nu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota\) “who depends on himself.”
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κυριώτατον ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχής εἴδος ἔφη, καὶ ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸν δαίμονα θεὸς ἐκάστῳ δέδωκε, τούτο ὁ δι' ἕκαμεν οἶκεῖν μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπ' ἄκρο τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐνυγγέειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἴρειν. ἐς τούτο γὰρ έοικεν ἐπιτάττεων ἀνηρτήσθαι χρῆναι ἐκάστῳ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οὐ τὰ μὲν ἂλλα βλάπτειν καὶ κολύειν ἑθέλοντες πολλάκις ἐδυνῆθησαν: ἥδη δὲ τινες καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰ παρέίλοντο. τούτο δὲ ἀκώλυτον μόνον καὶ ἀπαθές ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ χέιρονος τὸ κρεῖττον βλάπτεσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ οὐτὸς ἐκείθεν ὁ λόγος. ἀλλ' ἐοικα γὰρ καταφορτίζειν ἡμᾶς τοὺς τοῦ Πλάτωνος λόγοις μικρὰ ἐπιπάττων τῶν ῥημάτων ὡσπερ ἅλων ἢ χρυσοῦ ψήγματος. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡδίω τὴν τροφὴν, ὁ δὲ εὐπρεπὴς μᾶλλον παρέχει τὴν θέαν. ἀμφότερα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Πλάτωνος λόγοις καὶ γὰρ αἰσθήσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἡδίως τῶν ἅλων καὶ θρέψαι ψυχὴν ἐξ ἡδονῆ καὶ καθήραν θαυμαστοῖς ὡστε οὐκ ἀποκινητέον οὐδὲ εὐλαβητέον τὸν ψόγον, εἰ τις ἄρα καταμέμφοντο τὴν ἀπληστίαν, καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ἐπιδραττόμεθα ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις οἱ λίχνοι τῶν ἐδωδίμων ἂπαντων, οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τὸ μή τῶν προκειμένων ἁφασθαι. τούτο γὰρ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐοικε συμβαίνειν, ἑσταῖνον ἄμα καὶ δόγματα ἔδειν καὶ πρὶν ἢ μετρίως ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ προτέρου λόγου μέσον ὑποτεμομένως φιλοσόφων ἐξηγεῖσθαι ῥή-

1 [ὡς] ἡδίω Hertlein, μᾶλλον V adds.

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

¹ Timaeus 90 a. ² Apology 30 d. ³ Republic 354 b.
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σεις. πρὸς δὴ τούς τὰ τοιαύτα καταμεμφομένους εἰρηταὶ μὲν ἥδη καὶ πρότερον καὶ αὐθίς δὲ ἵσως λελέξεται.

Νῦν δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀποδόντες τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπανάγωμεν ὁσπερ οἱ προεκθέοντες ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις. ἐλέγετο δ᾽ οὐν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν τινὰ φησι Πλάτων τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κτήσιν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς θαυμασίοις διώρισται νόμοις. ὁσπερ οὖν, εἰ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν λέγειν: "Ὅτως ἀνδρὶ ἐς νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός, ἐξ ὡς ἦν ἡ κακῶς πραξάντων ἢ καὶ πασχόντων πλανᾶσθαι ἀναγκάζεται, τούτῳ ἀρισταὶ παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ξῆν," οὐ παρατρέπει τὴν λέξιν οὐδὲ παραποιεῖ, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ ὅρθως καὶ ἐρμηνεύει: οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ λέξεως τὸν θεόν παραλαμβάνει οὐκ ἀδικεῖ. εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν δαίμονα, ὅντα μὲν ἀπαθὴ τῇ φύσει καὶ θεῷ ἴσην, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνατλάντα καὶ ὑπομείναντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα κοινωνίαν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν τε καὶ φθείρεσθαι φαντασίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς παρασχόντα, τοῦ παντὸς ἑκείνους προϊσταται βίον τῷ γε εὐδαιμονίᾳ μέλλοντι, τι χρῆ προσδοκᾶν αὐτὸν ύπὲρ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀμυγδοὺς γηνίω σώματι διανοηθήναι νοῦ, ὃν δὴ καὶ θεόν εἶναι φαμεν καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμίας ἐπιτρέπειν τοῦ βίου χρῆναι παραίνοιμεν πάντα ἰδιώτην τε καὶ βασιλέα.

1 τοῖς πολλοῖς Hertlein suggests, πολλοῖς MSS, ἰδιώτην τε Hertlein suggests, τε ἰδιώτην MSS,
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philosophers. I have had occasion before now to reply to those who make such criticisms as these, and perhaps I shall have to do so again.

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

¹ δαίμων, cf. 69 A.
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tón ge ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ οὐ νόθον οὕδε ψευδώνυμον, συνιέντα μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰσθανόμενον διὰ συγγένειαν, ύφιέμενον δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἐμφρονα; ἀνόητον γὰρ καὶ μᾶλα αὐθάδες τὸ μὴ καθάπαξ ἐς δύναμιν πείθεσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελομένους. τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα χαίρειν ὑποληπτέον τὸν θεόν. οὐ μήν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐννόμου θεραπείας ἀποστατέον οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τιμῆν ὑπεροπτέον τοῦ κρείττονος, θετέον δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς μοίρᾳ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν κρατίστην. ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁσίότης τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐκγονος. αὐτῇ δὲ ὅτι τοῦ θεοτέρου ψυχῆς εἶδους ἐστίν, οὐδένα λέληθε τῶν ὁσοὶ τὰ τοιαύτα μεταχειρίζονται.

Ταῦτα τοι καὶ ἐπαϊνόμεν τὸν Ἑκτορα σπένδειν μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν λύθρον ἢξιοῦμεν δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἀστυ λέναι μηδὲ ἀπολείπειν τὴν μάχην μέλλοντα γε οὗ στρατηγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἐπιτελεῖν ἔργον, διακόνου δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτου, Ἰδαίου τινὸς ἢ Ταλθυβίου τάξιν ἀναληψόμενον. ἂλλ' ἔοικε γὰρ, ὅπερ ἐφαμεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πρόφασις εὐπρεπῆς 1 εἶναι φυγῆς τούτο. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε τῷ Τελαμωνίῳ ξυνιστατο πεισθεῖς τῇ φήμῃ τοῦ μάντεως, ἀσπασίως διελύθη καὶ ἐδωκε δόρα, τὸν θάνατον ἐκφυγῶν ἄσμενος. 2 καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν, φεύγουσιν ἐπεται B

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

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

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

1 Ajax.
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θρασέως, αιτίος δὲ ἐστὶν ὀυδαμοῦ νίκης καὶ τροπῆς, πλὴν ὅτε

πρῶτος ἐσῆλατο τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν

ξὺν τῷ Σαρπίδωνι. πότερον οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες τηλικοῦτον ἔργον βασιλέως εὐλαβησομεθα τὸν ἁγώνα, μή ποτε ἄρα μικρὰ μεγάλοις καὶ φαύλα σπουδῆς ἄξιοις μείζονος παρατιθέναι δόξωμεν, ἣ τολμήσομεν καὶ πρὸς τηλικοῦτον ἔργον ἀμιλλάσθαι; οὐκοῦν ἔκεινο μὲν ἢν τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμοῖος, ἐν οὔδε ὅλῳ τῷ πρὸ μεσημβρίας χρόνῳ συντελεσθέν, ὁποίους ἢμῖν τοὺς χάρακας ἐννομοῖς κατασκευάζομεν. τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Άλπεων τεῖχος παλαιὸν τε ἢν φρούριον, καὶ αὐτῷ χρῆται μετὰ τὴν φυγήν ὁ τύραννος, ὥσπερ ἐρυμά τι νεοργῆς ἀποφήμας καὶ ἀξιόλογον φρουρᾶν ἀπολιτῶν ἐρρωμένων ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁς πορρωτάτω πορεύεται, ἐμενε δὲ ἐν τῇ πλησίον πόλει. ἔστι δὲ Ἰταλῶν ἐμπόριον πρὸς θαλάττη μάλα εὐδαιμον καὶ πλούτῳ βρύνον. φέρουσι γὰρ ἐνευθεῖαν φορτία Μυσοὶ καὶ Παίωνες καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὁπόσοι τὴν μεσόγαιαν κατοικοῦσιν, Ἐνετοὶ δὲ οἴμαι τὸ πρόσθεν ὀνομάζοντο. νῦν δὲ ἦδη Ρωμαίων τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντων τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀνόμα σώζουσι βραχεία προσθήκη γράμματος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας· ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ σύμβολον χαρακτῆρ εἰς, ὀνομάζουσι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ, καὶ χρώνται ἀντὶ τοῦ βῆτα πολλάκις προσπνεύσεως οἴμαι τινὸς ἕνεκα καὶ ἤδιστητος τῆς

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

"He was the first to leap within the wall of the Achaean" 1

together with Sarpedon. Shall I therefore shrink from competition as though I could not cite on behalf of the Emperor any such exploit, and must therefore avoid seeming to compare the trivial with the important and things of little account with what deserves more serious consideration, or shall I venture to enter the lists even against an achievement so famous? Now that wall was to protect the beach, and was a palisade such as we are wont to construct, and was completed in less than a morning. But the wall that was on the Alps was an ancient fort, and the usurper used it after his flight, converting it into a defence as strong as though it had been newly built, and he left there an ample garrison of seasoned troops. But he did not himself march all the way there, but remained in the neighbouring city. 2 This is a trading centre of the Italians on the coast, very prosperous and teeming with wealth, since the Mysians and Paeonians and all the Italian inhabitants of the interior procure their merchandise thence. These last used, I think, to be called Heneti in the past, but now that the Romans are in possession of these cities they preserve the original name, but make the trifling addition of one letter at the beginning of the word. Its sign is a single character 3 and they call it "oo," and they often use it instead of "b," to serve, I suppose, as a sort of breathing,

1 Iliad 12. 438.  
2 Aquileia.  
3 "v".
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γλώττης. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξύμπαν ἔθνος οὐδὲ ἐπονομάζεται· τῇ πόλει δὲ ἀετός, ὡς φασίν, οἰκιζομένη δεξιός ἐκ Διὸς ἵππαμενός τὴν αὐτοῦ φήμην χαρίζεται. οἰκεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς ποσὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὀργῇ δὲ ἐστὶ ταῦτα παμμεγέθη 1 καὶ ἀπορρώγες ἐν αὐτοῖς πέτραι, μόλις ἀμάξῃ μιᾷ καὶ ὁρικῷ ξεύγει τὴν ὑπέρβασιν βιαζομένους ξυγχωροῦντα, ἀρχόμενα μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης, ἢν δὴ τὸν Ἰόνιον εἶναι φαμεν, ἀποτείχίζοντα δὲ τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τε Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Γαλατῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ Τυρρηνῶν πέλαγος ἀναπαυόμενα. Ἡ Ρωμαίοι γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης ἐκράτουν· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ τε τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἔθνος καὶ Λίγνες τινές καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γαλατῶν οὐ φαύλη μοῖρα· τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα σφῶν ὀνόματα σῶξειν οὐ διεκόλυσαν, τῷ κατῳ δὲ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ξυγχωρεῖν κατημάκασαν, καὶ νῦν ὅποσα μὲν εἴσῳ τῶν Ἀλπεων κατοικεῖται, ἐστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὸν Τυρρηνὸν καθήκοντα, ταὐτῇ κοσμεῖται τῇ προσωπικῇ· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων τῶν πρὸς ἐστέραν Γαλάται νέμονται, καὶ Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον, ἵνα Ῥήμου τέ εἰςιν αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ αἱ τῶν Ἰστροῦ πλησίον παρὰ τοῖς γεώτοσι βαρβάροις· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐω ταῦτα δὴ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὧχυρον ἔφαμεν, ἰσαπερ οἱ τύραννος τὴν φρούραν κατεσκευάσατο. οὐτω δὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄπανταχόθεν ὄρεσί τε συνεχομένης λίαν δυσβάτος καὶ θαλάσσῃ τεναγώδει, ἀτε ἐσρεόντων ποταμῶν μυρίων, οί ποιούσιν ἐλος προσεοικὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἔλεσι, τὸ ξύμπαν

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

1 Because of this favourable omen the city was called Aquileia, "the city of the Eagle."
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tῆς ἐκείνης θαλάττης πέρας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐλαβε καὶ ἐβιάσατο τὴν ἄνωδον.

Καὶ ἵνα μὴ διατρίβειν δοκῶ αὐθίς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν δυσχωρίων διαλεγόμενος, καὶ ὡς οὔτε στρατόπεδον ἢν οὔδε χάρακα πλησίου καταβαλέσθαι, οὔτε ἐπάγειν μηχανὰς καὶ ἐλεπόλεις, ἀνύδρου δεινῶς ὅντος καὶ οὔδε μικρὰς λιβάδας ἔχοντος τοῦ πέριξ χωρίου, ἐπ' αὐτὴν εἴμι τὴν αἴρεσιν. καὶ εἰ βουλέσθη τὸ κεφάλαιον ἄθροῶς ἔλευ τοῦ λόγου, ὑπομνήσθητε τῆς τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ἰουδοὺς πορείας, οὐ τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην κατάκοκον, ἐφ' ἢν οὔδε τῶν ὀρνύθων ἢν τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἀναπτήματι, ὅπως ἐάλω, καὶ οὔδεν πλέουν ἀκοῦειν ἐπιθυμήσετε. πλὴν τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπεβαλε πολλοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐξελῶν τὴν πέτραν, οὗ ἡμέτερος ἄρχων καὶ στρατηγὸς οὔδε χιλιαρχον ἀποβαλῶν ἢ λοχαγὸν τινα, ἀλλ' οὔδε ὀπλίτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου, καθαρὰν καὶ ἄδακρυν περιεποιήσατο τὴν νίκην. "Εκτὸς δὲ οἴμαι καὶ Σαρπηδῶν πολλοῖς ἐκ τοῦ τείχισματος κατέβαλον, ἐντυχόντες δὲ ἀριστεύοντι. Πατρόκλω ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεὼν κτείνεται, ὁ δὲ ἐφευγεν αἰσχρῶς οὐδὲ ἀνελόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φίλου. οὔτως οὔδεν ἔπειν ὑψῆ, ῥώμη δὲ μάλλον σωμάτων ἥρασιμόμενοι τὴν ἐς τὸ τείχος πάροδον ἐτόλμων. Βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐ μὲν ἄλκης ἔργων ἑστὶ καὶ θυμοῦ χρῆται τοὺς ὀπλοὺς καὶ κρατεῖ ἔπαυλία, οὗ δὲ μόνον

1 κατέβαλον Reiske, ἐβαλον MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἔπαυλία Hertlein suggests, εὐβουλία Wyttenbach, εὐμβουλία MSS.

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

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

1 Alexander.
2 A hill fort in Sogdiana where the Bactrian chief Oxyartes made his last stand against Alexander, 327 B.C.
3 cf. 77 B.C., Plutarch, de Fort. Rom. c. 4.
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ἐδέησε γνώμης, ταύτη κυβερνᾶ καὶ κατεργάζεται πράγματα τοσαύτα, ὅπόσα οὐδ' ἂν ὁ σίδηρος ἔξελείν ἵσχύσειν.1

'Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος φερόμενος ἦκε πάλαι ποθῶν τῇν ἕξυνειν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τῇν εὐβουλίαν, ἀποδοτέον. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὄλγα πάλαι2 διεληλύθαμεν ὅπόσα δὲ ἦμιν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἥρωων ἑκεῖνων ἑχεῖν ἔξυγγειαν, D μεγάλα μικρόφι εἰκάζοντες, δι' ὅμοιότητα διήλ-

θομεν.3 δῆλον δὲ ἀποβλέψαντι πρὸς τὸ τῆς παρα-

σκευῆς μέγεθος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς περιουσίαν.

τὸτε γὰρ ἦ τε Ἑλλάς ἐκεκίνητο. ἔξυμπασα καὶ Ἡρακλών μοῖρα καὶ Παιόων τὸ τε τοῦ Πριάμου ἔξυμπαν ὑπόκοιον,

"Ὅσον Λέσβος ἐσώ Μάκαρος ἔδος ἐντὸς ἐέργηει

Καὶ Φρυγίν' καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων.

τὰ δὲ νῦν ἕθην συνιόντα βασιλεί καὶ συμπολε-

μοῦντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἀντιτάξαμένους
catariathmein μῆ λήρος ἡ καὶ φλυναρία περιτῆ καὶ

λίαν ἄρχαιον.4 ὅσο δὲ μείζοναί συνιοῦσαι

dynámeis, τοσοῦτο τὰ ἔργα προφέρειν εἰκός, ὡστε

ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ἑκεῖνων ὑπεραίρειν. πλήθει

γε μὴν ποὺ ποτε ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ

1 Hertlein suggests ἐκτελεῖν, but cf. Phoenissae 516, ἔξελείν MSS. οὔδ' ἄν—ἰσχύσειν Hertlein suggests, οὔδε—ἰσχύσει MSS.

2 πάλαι Hertlein suggests, ἀπαντά MSS.

3 διήλθομεν Reiske, δηλούμεν MSS., Hertlein.

4 ἄρχαιον Reiske, ἄρχαιος Hertlein, ὦθολος λίαν ἄρχαιος Cobet, ἄρχαιος MSS.

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

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

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

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

¹ Julian refers to the triumph of Constantius over Vetranio, described in Or. 1. 31 foll. and echoes Euripides, Phoenissae 516, πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖται λόγος ὅ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειν ἢν. Themistius, Or. 2, 37 b quotes these verses to illustrate the same incident.
² Isocrates, Evagoras 65, Panegyricus 83. ³ Iliad 24. 544.
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μᾶς ἐμάχοντο πόλεως ξυνεχῶς, καὶ οὔτε Τρῶες ἑπελάσαι τοὺς 'Αχαιοὺς ἐπικρατοῦντες ἥδυναντο; οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἔξελεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέψαι τῶν Πριαμίδων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἵσχυνον, δεκαέτης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλώθη χρόνος. βασιλεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἀγώνες· καὶ γὰρ ἀνεγράφῃ Γερμανοῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ 'Ῥήμου πολεμῶν, τά τε ἐπὶ τῷ Τύγρητι ξεύγματα καὶ τής Παρθενίων δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ἐλεγχος οὐ φαίλος, οὔτε ὑπέμενον ἀμύνα τῇ χώρᾳ πορθομένη, ἀλλὰ περιεδόν ἄπασαν τιμῆσαν τὴν εἰσιν Ἱγρητος καὶ Δύκου, τὸν γε μὴν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον πραχθέντων ὃ τε ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἐκπλους καὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Ἦριδανοῦ τε αἰ προκαταλήψεις τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἀπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις ἀφελόμεναι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τρίτον πάλαισμα περὶ ταῖς Κοπτίαις Ἀλπεσιν, δὴ βασιλεῖ μὲν παρέσχεν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδεάτην ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἱδονήν, τῶν δὲ ἦττηθέντα δίκην ἐπιθείειν δικαίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἔξειργασμένων πάντων ἄξιαν κατηγάκασε.

Τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέως ἔργων ἐν βραχεῖ διεξαλύθαμεν, οὔτε κολακεία προστιθέντες καὶ αὔξειν ἐπιχειροῦντες τυχὸν οὐδενὸς διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε πόρρωθεν ἐλκοντες καὶ βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἔργων τὰς ὁμοιότητας, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς

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

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city, and the Trojans when they prevailed were not able to drive away the Greeks, nor were the Greeks strong enough, when they won a victory, to destroy and overthrow the power and the royal sway of the house of Priam, and yet the time they spent over it was ten years long. But the Emperor's wars and undertakings have been numerous. He has been described as waging war against the Germans across the Rhine, and then there was his bridge of boats over the Tigris, and his exposure of the power and arrogance of the Parthians ¹ was no trivial thing, on that occasion when they did not venture to defend their country while he was laying it waste, but had to look on while the whole of it was devastated between the Tigris and the Lycus. Then, when the war against the usurper was concluded, there followed the expeditions to Sicily and Carthage, and that stratagem of occupying beforehand the mouth of the Po, which deprived the usurper of all his forces in Italy, and finally that third and last fall ² at the Cottian Alps, which secured for the Emperor the pleasure of a victory that was sure, and carried with it no fears for the future, while it compelled the defeated man to inflict on himself a just penalty wholly worthy of his misdeeds.

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

¹ cf. Oration 1. 22. 28.
² In wrestling the third fall was final: the phrase became proverbial, cf. Plato, Phaedrus 256 b, Aeschylus, Eumenides 592, Julian, Or. 1. 40 b.
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μύθους ἐξηγούμενοι τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀναλύοντες ἐς λόγους πιθανοὺς καὶ ἐνδεχομένους τὰ πλάσματα ἐκ μικρᾶς πάνυ τῆς ὑπονοίας ὁρμώμενοι καὶ 75 ἀμυνδρᾶς λίαν παραλαβόντες τὰς ἀρχὰς πειρώνται ἐξυπείθειν, ὡς δὴ ταύτα γε αυτὰ ἔκεινων ἐθελόντων λέγειν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἰ τίς ἐξέλοι τῶν Ὀμήρου μόνον τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ὑμάματα, ἐνθείῃ δὲ τὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἐναρμόσειες, οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἐκείνους ἢ τούτον πεποίησθαι δόξει τὰ 1 τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἔπη.

'Αλλ' οὕτως μὴ τὰ ύπέρ τῶν ἔργων μόνον ἀκούοντες τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τῶν 2 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἔλαττον ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνητε βασιλέα περὶ τὰ Β σεμνότερα καὶ ὄν ἄξιον μείζονα ποιεῖσθαι λόγου, δημηγορίῶν φημι καὶ ἑυμβουλιῶν, καὶ ὁπόσα γνώμη μετὰ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως κατευθύνει, ἀθρείτε ἐν Ὁδυσσεί καὶ Νέστορι τοῖς ἐπαινομένωι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, καὶ ἢν τι μεῖον ἐν βασιλεί καταμανθάνητε, τοῖς ἐπαινέταις τοῦτο λογίζεσθε, πλέον δὲ ἔχοντα δικαίως ἄν 3 αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἀποδεχομέθα. ούκοιν ὁ μὲν, ὑπηρίκα χαλεπαίνειν καὶ στασιάζειν ἥρχοντο περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου κόρης, λέγειν ἑπιχειρῶν οὐτω δὴ τι πείθει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος, ὡστε Κ ὁ μὲν ἀκόσμως διέλυσε τὸν ἔπλλογον, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ περιμεένας ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἔτι δὲ αὐτὰ δρῶν καὶ ἀφορῶν ἐς τὴν θεωρίδα, στέλλει τοὺς κήρυκας ἐπὶ τὴν 'Αχιλλέως σκηνήν, ὡσπερ οἶμαι δεδιώς μὴ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιλαβόμενοι καὶ

1 Before τῆς Hertlein, Reiske omit ἔπερ.
2 τῶν Hertlein adds. 3 ἄν Hertlein adds.

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

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

¹ Briseis, Iliad 1. 247.
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ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ πάθους μεταγνοή καὶ ἀποφύγοι τὴν ἀμαρτᾶδα· ο ὅ δέ ἐκ τῆς Ἰδαίης ῥήτωρ πολύτροπος πείθειν ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς διαλαγάς Ἀχιλλέα καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ διδοὺς, μυρία δὲ ἔπαγγελλόμενος, οὐτω τῶν νεανίσκον παρώξυνεν, ὡστε πρότερον οὐ¹ βουλευσάμενον τὸν ἀπόπλοιν νῦν² παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ θαυμαστὰ τῆς συνέσεως δείγματα αἱ τε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρακλήσεις καὶ η τειχοποιία τοῦ Νέστορος, πρεσβυτικὸν λίαν καὶ ἀτομὸν ἐπινόημα. οὔκενον οὐδὲ ὀφελοῦ ήν πολὺ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ μηχανήματος· ἀλλὰ ἠττώντο τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιτελεσάντες, καὶ μᾶλα εἰκότως. τότε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τῶν νεῶν ὄφον προβεβλήσθαι καθάπερ ἑρμα γενναῖον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠγεθόντο σφῶν³ προκείμενον καὶ ἀποκοδομοῦμενον⁴ τεῖχος τάφρῳ βαθεία καὶ πασχάλοις ὄξει διηλούμενον,⁵ κατερραθύμουν καὶ ύφίεντο τῆς ἀλκῆς τὸ τειχίσματι πεποιθότες. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐκείνοις μέμφοιτο καὶ ἐπιδεικνύοι διαμαρτάνονται, οὐτὸς ἔστι βασιλέως ἀξίωρεως ἐπανύτητος· ὡστις δὲ οἱμαὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀξίως μνησθείη, οὐ μάτῃν οὐδὲ αὐτομάτῳς οὐδὲ ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ γενομένων, προβουλευθέντων δὲ ὀρθῶς καὶ διοικηθέντων, οὗτος ἀρκοῦντως ἐπαινεῖ τὴν βασιλέως ἑγχύνοιαν.

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

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¹ πρότερον οὐ Hertleing suggests, οὐ πρότερον MSS.
² νῦν Cobet adds.
³ ἠγεθόντο σφῶν Cobet, ἠγεθόντο τὸ MSS., Hertlein.
⁴ ἀποκοδομοῦμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀποκοδομοῦμεν MSS.
⁵ διηλούμενον Hertlein suggests, διηλούμενον MSS.
⁶ τὰς Reiske adds.
he would forget his anger, and, once free from that passion, would repent and avoid his error. Again, the far-travelled orator from Ithaca, when he tried to persuade Achilles to make peace, and offered him many gifts and promised him countless others, so provoked the young warrior that, though he had not before planned to sail home, he now began to make preparations.1 Then there are those wonderful proofs of their intelligence, their exhortations to battle and Nestor's building of the wall, a cowardly notion and worthy indeed of an old man. Nor in truth did the Achaeans benefit much from that device. For it was after they had finished the wall that they were worsted by the Trojans, and naturally enough. For before that, they thought that they were themselves protecting the ships, like a noble bulwark. But when they realised that a wall lay in front of them, built with a deep moat and set at intervals with sharp stakes, they grew careless and slackened their valour, because they trusted to the fortification. Yet it is not anyone who blames them and shows that they were in the wrong who is therefore a fit and proper person to praise the Emperor. But he who, in a worthy manner, recounts the Emperor's deeds, which were done not idly or automatically, or from an irrational impulse, but were skilfully planned beforehand and carried through, he alone praises adequately the Emperor's keen intelligence.

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

1 Iliad 9. 260.
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βουλευτήρια μακροτέρας δεῖται τῆς ξυγγραφῆς. ἐνὸς δὲ ἵσως ἐπακούειν οὐ χαλεπῶν. καὶ μοι πάλιν ἐννοήσατε τὸν Λαέρτου, ὅποτε ὀρμημένους ἐκπλεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔπεχει τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον μετατίθησι τὴν προθυμίαν, καὶ 1 βασιλέως τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις ξύλλογον, ὡς ἐν πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ ὑπὸ μειρακίων παιδικὰ φρονείν ἀναπειθόμενος ὀμολογιῶν ἐπελανθάνετο καὶ πίστεων, καὶ τῷ μὲν σωτηρί καὶ ἐνεργήτη δυσμενῆς ἦν, σπουδᾶς δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς ὑμῖν ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος βασιλεῖ πόλεμος, στρατόν τε ἦγειρε καὶ ἔπε τοῖς ὅριοις ἀπήντα τῆς χώρας, κωλύσαι τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ταυτὸν ἦλθον ἀμφοτέρω τῷ στρατεύ- ματε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βῆμά τε ύψηλὸν ἔρετο καὶ αὐτὸ περιέσχεν ὀπλιτῶν δήμος καὶ ἀκοντισ- τῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἱππεῖς τε ἐνσκυνασάμενοι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ σημεία τῶν τάξεων ἀνήει τε ἐπ' αὐτὸ βασιλεύς μετὰ τοῦ τέως ἐνυάρ- χοντος οὐτε αἴχμην φέρων οὐτε ἀσπίδα καὶ κράνος, ἀλλὰ ἐσθῆτα τὴν συνήθη. καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶ τοῖς τῶν δορυφόρων ἐιπτετο, μόνος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰστήκει πεποίθησ τῷ λόγῳ σεμνοῖς ἡρμοσμένῳ. ἐργάτης γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἄγα- θός, οὐκ ἀποσμιλεὺν οὐδὲ ἀπονυχίζων τὰ ῥή- ματα οὐδὲ ἀποτομεύων τὰς περιόδους καθά-

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

¹ Iliad 2. 188.
² Vetranio; Themistius, Or. 2. 37 b, who in a panegyric on Constantius describes this oratorical triumph.
³ Demosthenes, De Corona 262, ἥν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἄκηρυκτος...πόλεμος.
ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩ γὰρ ἐσικευ, ἐπεὶ λούσατο φῶγοι τε,
Εὐδέμεναι μαλακῶς: ἢ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γεροντῶν.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸν ἤδεως ἄν τοὺς ρηθέντας λόγους
dιεξῆλθον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸν καταλάβοι οὗτοι
cαλῶν ἀπτόμενον λόγον· αἵδεως δὲ οἴμαι κατείργη
cαὶ οὖκ ἐπιτρέπει μετατιθέναι καὶ ἐξερμνυέων
ἐσ υμᾶς τοὺς λόγους. ἀδικοιόν γὰρ ἄν διαφθείρων

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

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

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

¹ The victory of Archidamus over the Arcadians Xenophon, Hellenica 7. 1. 32.
² cf. Oration 1. 32 A.
³ Odyssey 24. 253.
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καὶ ἔλεγχόμενος αἰσχυνομήν, еἰ τις ἀρα τὸ βασιλέως ἀναγνώσεις ξύγγραμμα ἢ τότε ἀκούσας ἀπομνημονεύοι καὶ ἀπαιτοῖν οὐ τὰ νοήματα μόνον, ὅσαι δὲ ἀρεταῖς ἐκεῖνα κοσμεῖται κατὰ τὴν πάτριον φωνῆν ἐξυγκείμενα. τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν ὁμήρῳ τὸ δέος πολλαῖς μὲν ύπερτον γενεαῖς τοὺς λόγους διηγομένως, λιπότοιν δὲ ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲν ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἐσ τοὺς ξυλλόγους ῥηθέντων, καὶ σαφῶς οἱ καὶ πιστεύοντι, οτι ἄμεινον τὰκεί-

νων αὐτὸς ἔξαγγελεῖ καὶ διηγήσεται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον μιμεῖσθαί καταγέλαστον καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐλευθέρας ψυχῆς καὶ γενναίας. τὰ μὲν δὴ θαυ-

μαστὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὁπόσων ὁ πολὺς ὁμίλος θεα-

τὴς τε ἐγένετο καὶ διασώζει τὴν μυήμην ἔξω εὑρη-

μά, ἀτε ἐστὸ τὸ τέλος ἀφορῶν καὶ τῶν εὐ ἢ κακῶς ἀποβάντων κριτῆς καθεστώς καὶ ἐπαινέτης οὐ μάλα ἄστείος, ἀκηκόατε πολλάκις τῶν μακαρίων σοφιστῶν καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ γένους πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν μουσῶν ἐπιπνεομένου, ὅστε ἤμας τούτων ἑνεκα καὶ διωχλήκαμεν, μακροτέρους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι λόγους· καὶ γὰρ ἐστε λίαν αὐτῶν ἢδη διακορεῖς καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ὁτα πλήρη, καὶ οὐ μή ποτε ἐπιλέπωσιν οἱ τούτων ποιηταί, πολέμους ἕμυνοντες καὶ νίκας ἀνακηρύττοντες λαμπρὰ τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίασι κήρυκας· παρέσχεσθε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τῶν ἁγδρῶν τούτων ἀ-

φθονίαν, ἀσμένως ἐπακούσετε. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμα-

στὸν. εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων ὑπολήψεις ἀγαθῶν

1 ἄμεινον Petavius, Cobet, ἀρα Hertlein, MSS., ἀρα κακείνων cant. and fl. 2 τὸ Reiske adds.

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

¹ Latin; of which Julian had only a slight knowledge. The fourth century Sophists were content with Greek. Themistius never learned Latin, and Libanius needed an interpreter for a Latin letter, Epistle 956.
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πέρι καὶ φαύλων ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἐγγυγενεῖς, καὶ Δ ἀπαγγέλλουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν διανοήματα, ᾧ ὅσπερ ἐσθήτι ποικὴ 2 τοῖς ὑνόμασι σκιαγραφήσατε καὶ διαπλάσατε ἡδόστοις ῥυθμοῖς καὶ σχήμασιν ώσ ὃ ὑ τι καὶ νόν εὐρόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς φέρουσιν ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀσμενοὶ παραδέχεσθε, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε ὅσεθε όρθῶς ἐπανεῖν, τούτως τε ἀποδιδόσθαι τὸ προσηκόν φατε, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν ὑσως ἅληθες, τυχῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχει, ἀγνοούμενον πρὸς ὑμῶν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἀν ὀρθῶς ἤγγιστο.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίον ἐνενόησα Σωκράτη, 79 ὅστε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀκοῇ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶ κλέος τῆς σοφίας παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκβοηθεύον ταῦτα ἐπανοῦντα 3 οὐδὲ εὐδαιμονικαὶ καὶ μακρῖσιν ὀμολογοῦντα τοὺς πολλὴν κεκτημένους χωραν, πλειστα δ' ἐθνη καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνων, πλειοὺς δὲ ἐτι καὶ μείζους βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Ἀθων διορίττειν δυναμένους καὶ σχεδία τὰς ἤπειρους, ἐπειδὰν ἐθέλωσι διαβαίνειν, συνάπτοντας καὶ ἐθνη καταστρεφο- μένους καὶ αἰρόντας νῆσους καὶ σαγηνεύοντας Μ καὶ λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα καταθύνοντας. οὐτε οὖν Ἐρέξεν ἐκείνος ἐπήνει ποτε οὔτε ἄλλον τινὰ Περσῶν ἢ Λυδῶν ἢ Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἕλληνων στρατηγόν, πλὴν σφόδρα ὁλίγων, ὁπόσους ἔπιστατο χαίροντας ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι ἀνδρεῖαν μετὰ σωφρο- σύνης καὶ φρόνησιν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης στέργοντας.

1 & Reiske adds.
2 ἐσθήτι ποικὴ MSS., Cobet, ἐσθήτα ποικὴν Hertlein.
3 ἐπανοῦντα Reiske, εὐδαιμονοῦντα MSS., Hertlein.

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

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

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οσους δὲ ἀγχύνους ἢ δεινοὺς ἢ στρατηγικοὺς ἢ κομψοὺς καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανούς ἑώρα, σμίκρ' ἄττα μόρια κατανειμαμένους ἀρετῆς, οὐδὲ τούτους ἐς ἀπαν ἐπῆμεν. ἔπεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ κρίσει σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν δήμος ἀρετὴν θεραπεύοντες, τὰ κλεινὰ δὲ οἴμαι ταῦτα καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ μὲν ὅλγον τινός, οἱ δὲ οὕδενδος αξία λέγοντες.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ύμῖν ταύτη τῇ ἐννοδοκεί, δεός οὐ φαίλον με ἐχει περὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν λόγων καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, μὴ ποτε ἄρα τούς μὲν παιδιὰν ἀποφήμητε, σοφίστην δὲ ἐμὲ γελοῖον καὶ ἄμαθη, μεταποιούμενον τέχνης, ἃς σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἔχειν ὀμολογῶ, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ πρὸς ύμᾶς ὀμολογητέον ἔστι τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἐπαίνους διεξίοντι καὶ δὴ ἀκούειν ἄξιον ύμῖν οἴεσθε, εἰ καὶ ἀγροικότεροι καὶ ἐλάττους μακρῷ τῶν ῥηθέντων τοῖς πολλοῖς φαίνοντο. εἰ δὲ, ὅπερ ἐμπροσθεν ἐφήν, ἀποδέχεσθε τοὺς ἐκείνους ποιητάς, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνεῖται τὸ δεός εἰ μάλα. οὐ γὰρ πάντα ύμῖν ἀτοπος φανοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν μὲν οἴμαι φαυλότερος, κατ' ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ἐξεταζόμενος οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπόβλητος οὐδὲ ἀτόποις ἐπιχειρῶν. ύμῖν δὲ ἵσως οὐ ράδιον σοφοῖς καὶ θείοις ἀπιστεῖν ἀνδράσιν, οὐ δὴ λέγουσι πολλὰ μὲν ἐκαστὸς ιδία, τὸ κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν λόγων ἀρετῆς ἐπαίνος. ταύτην δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ φασιν ἐμφύσθαι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαιμόνα καὶ βασιλικὴν καὶ ναὶ μᾶ Δία πολιτικὴν καὶ στρατη-

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

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

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

γικήν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ πλουσίαν γε ἀληθῶς
οὐ τὸ Κολοφώνιον ἔχουσαν χρυσίον

Οὕδ' ὅσα λαίνοσ οὕδ' ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔργε λ
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, ὅτε ἦν ὅρθα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
πράγματα, οὐδὲ ἐσθήτα πολυτελῆ καὶ ψήφους Ἰω-
δικᾶς καὶ γῆς πλέθρων μυριάδας πάνυ πολλὰς,
ἀλλ' ὅ πάντων ἀμα τούτων καὶ κρείττον καὶ
θεοφιλέστερον, ὅ καὶ ἐν ναυαγίαις ἐνεστὶ διασώ-
σασθαί καὶ ἐν ἁγορᾶ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ
ἐπ' ἔρημίας, ὑπὲρ ηὐσταίς μέσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τυράννων
βιαίων.

"Ολως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἑστὶν ἐκείνου κρείττον, τὸ
βιασάμενον καθέξιον καὶ ἀφαιρήσεται τὸν ἑχοντα
ἀπαξ. ἕστι γὰρ ἀτεχνός ψυχὴ τὸ κτήμα τούτο
τοιοῦτον, ὅποιον οἶμαι τὸ φῶς ἡλίω. καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν
τοῦδε νεὼς μὲν καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλοὶ πολλάκις
ὑφελόμενοι καὶ διαφθείραντες ἐχούσητο, δόντες μὲν
ἄλλοι τὴν δίκην, ἄλλοι δὲ ωλυγωρηθέντες ὡς οὐκ
ἀξίου κολάσεως εἰς ἑπανόρθωσιν φερούσης· τὸ
φῶς δὲ οὗδεις αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς
συνόδοις ἡ σελήνη τῶν κύκλων ὑποτρέχουσα, οὐδὲ
εἰς αὐτὴν δεχομένη τὴν ἀκτίνα καὶ ἡμῖν
πολλάκις, τούτῳ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐκ μεσημβρίας
νῦκτα δεικνύσα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαι-
ρεῖται φωτὸς τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἐναντίας ἱσταμένην
περιλαμπτὸν καὶ μεταδίδους αὐτῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ
φύσεως οὐδὲ τὸν μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν τούτων
κόσμου ἐμπλήσας αὐγῆς καὶ ἡμέρας. οὐκοῦν
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generalship, and generous and truly wealthy, not because it possesses the Colophonian\(^1\) treasures of gold,

"Nor all that the stone threshold of the Far-Darter contained within," \(^2\)

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

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

\(^1\) The gold work of Colophon was proverbial for its excellence. Cf. Aristophanes, \textit{Cocalus} fr. 8.
\(^2\) \textit{Iliad} 9. 404.
\(^3\) \textit{Iliad} 22. 156.
\(^4\) First used by Archilochus, \textit{fr.} 74, in a description of an eclipse of the sun.
οὐδὲ ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς ἀρετής μεταδίδοις ἄλλῳ τῷ μεταδοθέντι μείον ἔχων ἐφάνη ποτὲ οὕτω θείῳν ἔστι κτῆμα καὶ πάγκαλον, καὶ οὐ ψευδής ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, ὅστις ποτὲ ἀρα ἢν ἕκεῖνος ὁ θεῖος ἀνήρ: πάς γὰρ ὁ τε ύπὸ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς χρυσὸς ἀρετής οὐκ ἄνυταξιος. θαρροῦντες οὖν ἥδη πλουσίουν καλῶμεν τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα, οἱμαὶ δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εὐγενῆ καὶ βασιλέα μοῦν τῶν ἅπαντων, εἶ τῷ ξυνδοκεῖ. κρείττων μὲν εὐγένεια φαυλότητος γένους, κρείττων δὲ ἀρετῆς διαθέσεως οὐ πάντη σπουδαίας. καὶ μὴ τις οἶεσθω τῶν λόγων δύσεριν καὶ βλαιον εἰς τὴν συνήθειαν ἀφορῶν τῶν ὄνομάτων φαςὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τούς ἐκ πάλαι πλουσίοις εὐγενεῖς. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀτοποι μάγειρον μὲν ἡ σκυτέα καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία κεραμέα τινὰ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς τέχνης ἢ καὶ ἀλλοθέν ποδεν ἀθροίσαντα μὴ δοκεῖν εὐγενῆ μηδὲ ύπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπονομάζεσθαι τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα, εἰ δὲ ο τούτου παῖς διαδεξάμενος τὸν κλήρου εἰς τοὺς εἰκόνους διαπορθμέουσει, τοῦτος δὲ ἢδη μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς Πελοπίδαις ἢ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἀμικλάσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅστις προγόνων ἄγαθῶν ἐφυ, αὐτός δὲ ἔπι τὴν ἑναντίαν τοῦ βίου ῥοπὴν κατηνέχθη, δικαίως ἄν μεταποιοῦστο τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους εὐγενείας, εἰ 1 μὴ δὲ ἐς τοὺς Πελοπίδας ἐξῆν ἐγγράφεσθαι τοὺς μὴ φέρουτας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑμῶν τοῦ γένους τὰ γυνώρίσματα. λόγχη δὲ λέγεται περὶ τήν Βουωτίαν τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς ἐντυπωθήναι παρὰ τῆς τε-

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

¹ Plato, Laws 728 a. ² Horace, Epistles 1. 1. 106. ³ One shoulder was white as ivory. ⁴ The Sparti, sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.
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κοῦσης καὶ θρεψαμένης αὐτοῦς βῶλου, καὶ τὸ ἑυτεύθεν ἔπὶ πολὺ διασωθῆναι τούτο τῷ γένει σύμβολον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν οὐδὲν οἴόμεθα δειν ἐγκεχαράξθαι τοιούτου, δὴ τῶν πατέρας ἦμων ἀκριβῶς κατερεῖ καὶ ἀπελέγξει τὸν τόκον γνήσιον; ὑπάρχειν δὲ φασι καὶ Κελτοῖς ποταμῶν ἀδέκαστον κριτὴν τῶν ἐκγόνων1 καὶ οὐ πείθουσιν αὐτὸν οὔτε αἱ μητέρες ὀδυρόμεναι συγκαλύπτειν αὐταῖς καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν ἁμαρτᾶδα οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τῶν γαμετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων2 ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει δειμαίνοντες, ἀτρεκῆς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἁγευθῆς κριτῆς. ἦμᾶς δὲ δεκάζει μὲν πλοῦτος, δεκάζει δὲ ἵσχυς καὶ ὃρα σώματος καὶ δυναστεία προγόνων ἐξωθεν ἐπισκιάζουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει διορᾶν οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπειν ἐς τὴν ψυχήν, ἣπερ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων χέρων διαφέροντες εἰκότως ἢν κατ’ αὐτό τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ποιοίμεθα κρίσιν. καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν εὐστοχία φύσεως οἱ πάλαι θαυμαστὴ χρώμενοι, καὶ οὔκ ἐπίκτητον ὄσπερ ἥμεις ἔχουσε τὸ φρονεῖν, οὔτε πλαστῶς, ἀλλ' αὐτοφυὸς φιλοσοφοῦντες, τούτο κατανοήσαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦ Δίδω ἀνειπεῖν ἐκγόνον3 καὶ τῷ τῆς Δήδας υἱεῖ, Μίνω τε οἴμαι τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν τῶν Κυνῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιωθαι φήμης καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἄλλους ἐκγόνους ἀνεκήρυττον πολλοὺς διαφέροντας τῶν φύσει πατέρων. ἔβλεπον γὰρ ἐς τὴν ψυχήν αὐτήν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλ' οὔκ ἐς πλοῦτον βαθὺν

1 ἐκγόνων MSS., cf. 82 A B, ἐγγόνων Hertlein.
2 ἐκγόνων MSS., ἐγγόνων Hertlein.
3 ἐκγόνων MSS., Cobet, ἐγγόνων Hertlein.
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clod of earth that bore and reared them, and that hence the race long preserved that distinguishing mark. And can we suppose that on men's souls no mark of that sort is engraved, which shall tell us accurately who their fathers were and vindicate their birth as legitimate? They say that the Celts also have a river\(^1\) which is an incorruptible judge of offspring, and neither can the mothers persuade that river by their laments to hide and conceal their fault for them, nor the fathers who are afraid for their wives and sons in this trial, but it is an arbiter that never swerves or gives a false verdict. But we are corrupted by riches, by physical strength in its prime, by powerful ancestors, an influence from without that overshadows and does not permit us to see clearly or discern the soul; for we are unlike all other living things in this, that by the soul and by nothing else, we should with reason make our decision about noble birth. And it seems to me that the ancients, employing a wondrous sagacity of nature, since their wisdom was not like ours a thing acquired, but they were philosophers by nature, not manufactured,\(^2\) perceived the truth of this, and so they called Heracles the son of Zeus, and Leda's two sons also, and Minos the law-giver, and Rhadamanthus of Cnossus they deemed worthy of the same distinction. And many others they proclaimed to be the children of other gods, because they so surpassed their mortal parents. For they looked at the soul alone and their actual deeds, and not at wealth piled high and hoary with age, nor at the

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καὶ χρόνῳ πολίον, οúde δυναστείαν ἐκ πάππων τινῶν καὶ ἐπιπάππων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἱκουσαν· καίτοι

γε ὑπήρχε τισιν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀδόξων γενέσθαι πατέρων· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἢς ἐτίμων τε καὶ ἑθεράπευν ἄρετής αὐτῶν ἐνομίζοντο τῶν θεῶν παῖδες. δήλον δὲ ἐνθέντε· ἄλλων γὰρ οúde ἐἶδότες τοὺς φύσει γονέας ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνήπτου τὴν ἕμην, τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἄρετὴ χαριζόμενοι. καὶ οὐ πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὡς ἄρα ἐκεῖνοι ύπ' ἀμαθίας ἐξαπατώμενοι ταῦτα τῶν θεῶν κατεψεύδοντο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς ἢν ἐξαπατηθῆναι θεῶν ἦ δαιμόνων, σχῆμα περιτιθέντας ἀνθρώπινα καὶ μορφᾶς τοιαύτας, ἀφανῇ μὲν αἰσθῆσι καὶ ἀνέφικτον κεκτημένων αὐτῶν φύσιν, νcharset='el'] ἃ δὲ ἀκριβεῖ διὰ ἄυγγέειαν μόλις προσπίπτουσαν· οὕτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν θεῶν τοῦτο παθεῖν εὐλογοῦν ἐκείνους, Ἡλίου μὲν ἐπιφημίζοντας Ἀιήτην νίέα, Ἐωσφόρου δὲ ἔτερον, καὶ ἄλλως ἄλλων. ὁπερ δὲ ἔφην, χρὴ περὶ αὐτῶν πειθομένους ἢμᾶς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἐξέτασιν· καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν ἄν ὅσιν ἀγαθοὶ πατέρες καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐμφερής, τοῦτον ὄνομάξειν θαρροῦντως εὐγενῆ· ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν πατέρων ὑπῆρξεν ἄρετής ἐνδέα, αὐτὸς δὲ μετεποίηθη τοῦτον τοῦ κτήματος, τοῦτον δὲ νομιστέον πατέρα τῶν Διὰ καὶ φυτουργόν, καὶ οúdeν μεῖον αὐτῷ δοτέον ἐκείνων, οὐ γεγονότες πατέρων ἀγαθῶν τοὺς σφῶν τοκέας ἐξήλωσαν· ὅστις δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γέγονε μοιχηθήρος.
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power that had come down to them from some grandfather or great-grandfather. And yet some of them were the sons of fathers not wholly inglorious. But because of the superabundance in them of that virtue which men honoured and cherished, they were held to be the sons of the gods themselves. This is clear from the following fact. In the case of certain others, though they did not know those who were by nature their sires, they ascribed that title to a divinity, to recompense the virtue of those men. And we ought not to say that they were deceived, and that in ignorance they told lies about the gods. For even if in the case of other gods or deities it was natural that they should be so deceived, when they clothed them in human forms and human shapes, though those deities possess a nature not to be perceived or attained by the senses, but barely recognisable by means of pure intelligence, by reason of their kinship with it; nevertheless in the case of the visible gods it is not probable that they were deceived, for instance, when they entitled Aeetes "son of Helios" and another\(^1\) "son of the Dawn," and so on with others. But, as I said, we must in these cases believe them, and make our enquiry about noble birth accordingly. And when a man has virtuous parents and himself resembles them, we may with confidence call him nobly born. But when, though his parents lack virtue, he himself can claim to possess it, we must suppose that the father who begat him is Zeus, and we must not pay less respect to him than to those who are the sons of virtuous fathers and emulate their parents. But when a bad man comes of good parents, we ought to

\(^1\) Memnon.
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tούτον τοῖς νόθοις ἐγγράφειν ἄξιον· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ μοχθηρῶν φύντας καὶ προσομοίους τοῖς αὐτῶν το- 
κεύσιν οὔποτε εὐγενεῖς φατέουν, οὐδὲ εἰ πλούτοιεν 
tαλάντοις μυρίοις, οὐδὲ εἰ ἀπαριθμοῦντο προγόνους 
dυνάστας ἣ ναὶ μὰ Δία τυράννους εἰκοσιν, οὐδὲ εἰ 
νίκας Ὀλυμπιακὰς ἢ Πυθικὰς ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν 
ἀγώνων, αἰ δὴ τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων εἰσὶ λαμπρότεραι,
ἀνελομένους ἐχοιεν δείκνυσθαι πλεῖους ἢ Καίσαρ
ὁ πρῶτος, ὀρύγματά τε 1 τὰ Ἀσσύρια καὶ τὰ Βαβυ-
λωνίων τείχη πυραμίδας τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὰς 
Ἀγυπτιῶν, καὶ ὥσα ἄλλα πλούτοι καὶ χρημάτων 
kαὶ τρυφῆς γέγονε σημεία καὶ διανοίας ὑπὸ 
φιλοτιμίας ἀναφλεγομένης καὶ ἀπορομμένης 2 εἰς 
ὁ,τι τῷ πλούτῳ χρήσεται, εἶτα ἐς τοῦτο τὰς τῶν 
χρημάτων εὐπορίας καταβαλλομένης. εὖ γὰρ 
δὴ ἔστε, ως οὔτε πλούτος ἀρχαῖος ἢ νεωστὶ ποθεν 
ἐπιρρέων βασιλέα ποιεῖ οὔτε ἀλουργεῖς ἴματιον 
οὔτε τιάρα καὶ σκήπτρον καὶ διάδημα καὶ θρόνος 
ἀρχαῖος, ἀλλ' οὔδε ὀπλίται πολλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς 
μυρίοι, οὔδὲ εἰ πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ βασιλέα σφῶν 
tούτον ὁμολογοῦειν συνελθόντες, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀρετὴν 
οὗτοι χαρίζονται, ἀλλὰ δυναστεῖαν μὲν οὐ μᾶλα 
ἐνυψάθαι τῷ λαβόντι, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τοῖς παρα-
σχομένοις. δεξάμενος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος αἴρεται μετέ-
ωρος ἐπίπταν, οὔδὲν διαφέρων τοῦ περὶ τὸν Φαέ-
θοντα μῦθον καὶ πάθους, καὶ οὔδὲν ἔτερον δεὶ παρα-
δειγμάτοις πρὸς πίστιν τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦ βίου παντὸς 
ἀναπεπλησμένου τοιοῦτων παθημάτων καὶ ἐπ' αὐ-
tοῖς λόγοι. ὑμῖν δὲ εἰ θαυμαστὸν δοκεῖ τὸ μή

1 te Hertlein adds.  2 kal ἀπορομμένης Hertlein suggests.
enrol him among the bastards, while as for those who come of a bad stock and resemble their parents, never must we call them well-born, not even though their wealth amounts to ten thousand talents, not though they reckon among their ancestors twenty rulers, or, by Zeus, twenty tyrants, not though they can prove that the victories they won at Olympia or Pytho or in the encounters of war—which are in every way more brilliant than victories in the games—were more than the first Caesar's, or can point to excavations in Assyria\footnote{cf. Oration 3. 126.} or to the walls of Babylon and the Egyptian pyramids besides, and to all else that is a proof of wealth and great possessions and luxury and a soul that is inflamed by ambition and, being at a loss how to use money, lavishes on things of that sort all those abundant supplies of wealth. For you are well aware that it is not wealth, either ancestral or newly acquired and pouring in from some source or other, that makes a king, nor his purple cloak nor his tiara and sceptre and diadem and ancestral throne, nay nor numerous hoplites and ten thousand cavalry; not though all men should gather together and acknowledge him for their king, because virtue they cannot bestow on him, but only power, ill-omened indeed for him that receives it, but still more for those that bestow it. For once he has received such power, a man of that sort is altogether raised aloft in the clouds, and in nowise differs from the legend of Phaethon and his fate. And there is no need of other instances to make us believe this saying, for the whole of life is full of such disasters and tales about them. And if it seems surprising to you that the title of king,
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dikaios metapoiheisbai tis kalhs tauths kai theofilois epomumiais tois polllhs men gis kai ethnou apieiron arxontas, gnomye de autexousioi dhia nou kai phoniseous kai toin tautin xunepomeinon aretou tis prostychonta krinoantas. Iaste oude leuvtherous ountas, ou monon ei tis paronta oidenos sfisun empodon onotos ecoi kai emforoin tois exousias, allla kai ei tou epistratateunonton kratoivn kai epiwtes anuvostatai tines kai 1 amaxoi fan

ounto. Ei de apostei tis umon to lojw tede, mala emfanon martrwn ouk uporismoi, Embh

ynon omou kai barbastoun, ois maxhas pollassa kai ischuras lian maheasmenoi kai nevnikoutes ethn mev ektono kai autous forous aptagein katnang

kazon, edoulenon de aischion ekieinon hdonh kai

trufh kai akolasia kai ubrei kai adikia. Touitous de oude ischuros an faie vouen echon

anhp, ei kai epifainoito kai epilamptoi megethos

tois ergois. Monos gar esti toioitous o meta

arethis anbrieios kai megalofron ostis de hteun

mene hdonon, akrotar de orhhs kai epibimwion

pantouwn, kai upo smikron apageuein anagn

kazoemnos, ointos de oude ischuros oude anbrieios

anbropihni ischun epitrepptein de isos autw kata

tous taurovs h tous leoantae h tais paradaleis tis

vras gamusbai, ei me kai tautin apobalwv
nathaper oi kphines allotrioi efestoike ponois,

autos hiv malthesos aichmhtis kai deilos kai

akolaustos. Toioitous de and oih monon alethous

edehs plouton kathesthkevn, allla kai tou polubi

mhton kai semoun kai agaphto, ex ou pantoabad

1 tines kai Hertlein suggests, tines sophra kai MSS.

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

¹ Iliad 17, 20. ² Homeric phrase: Iliad 17. 588.
κρεμάμεναι ψυχαί πράγματα ἐξουσί μυρία καὶ πόνους, τοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν κέρδους ἐνεκα πλεῖν τε ὑπο-
μένουσαι καὶ καπηλεύειν καὶ ληστεύειν καὶ ἀναρ-
πάξειν τὰς τυραννίδας. ξώσι γὰρ ἂεί μὲν κτώμενοι,
ἀεὶ δὲ ἐνδεέσθ, οὔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων φημὶ σετίων καὶ 
ποτῶν καὶ ἑσθημάτων: ἀρισταί γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦ-
τος πλοῦτος εὖ μᾶλα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ οὐκ 
ἐστιν αὐτοῦ στέρεσθαι οὔτε τούς ὀρμοθας οὔτε τοὺς 
ιχθὺς 1 οὔτε τὰ θηρία, άλλ’ οὔδε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς 
σώφρονας: ὅσοις δὲ ἐνοχλεί χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία 
καὶ ἔρως δυστυχῆς, τούτους δὲ ἀνάγκη πεινὴν διὰ 
βίου καὶ ἀθλίωτερον ἀπαλλάττειν μακρὸ τῶν τῆς 
ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ἐνδεόμενων. τούτοις μὲν γὰρ 
ἀποπλήσαι τὴν γαστέρα πολλὴ γέγονεν εἰρήνη 
καὶ ἀνοκώχη τῆς ἄλγηδόνως, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὔτε 
ἡμέρα πέφηνεν ἀκέρδης ἤδεια, οὔτε εὐφροσύνη τὸν 
λυσιμελῆ καὶ λυσιμέριμνον ὑπὸν έπάγουσα 
pαῦλαν ἐνεποίησε τῆς ἐμμαυνούς λύπτης, στροβεῖ 
δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ στρέφει τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκλογιζόμενοι 
καὶ ἀπαριθμομένου τὰ χρήματα: καὶ οὐκ 
exaireitai tois andron tis epitubiasm tis kai tis ep' 
aut'h talaipotrias 2 oude o Tantala kai Midon 
ploutos perigeneomenos oude h megisth kai 
chalepotaista daimwnon turyanis prosgevenomenh. 
η 
γὰρ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε Δαρείου τὸν Περσῶν μονάρχην, 
οὗ παντάπασι μοχθηρὸν ἀνθρωπον, δυσέρωτα δὲ 
αισχρῶς εἰς χρήματα καὶ νεκρῶν θῆκας ύπὸ τῆς 
ἐπιθυμίας διορύττειν 4 καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπιτάττειν 

1 ιχθύς Hertlein suggests, ιχθύas MSS., cf. 59 A, ιχθύas V. 
2 talaipotrias Hertlein suggests, λοιδοπλας MSS. 
3 μονάρχην Cobet, μονάρχην μισοτων MSS., Hertlein sug-
gests μονάρχων μισθωτῶν, ἡ μισθωτὸν Reiske, μονάρχου V. 
4 After διορύττειν Cobet omits ἀναπειθόμενον.
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desire, on which hang the souls of men of all sorts, so that they undergo countless toils and labours for the sake of daily gain, and endure to sail the sea and to trade and rob and grasp at tyrannies. For they live ever acquiring but ever in want, though I do not say of necessary food and drink and clothes; for the limit of this sort of property has been clearly defined by nature, and none can be deprived of it, neither birds nor fish nor wild beasts, much less prudent men. But those who are tortured by the desire and fatal passion for money must suffer a lifelong hunger, and depart from life more miserably than those who lack daily food. For these, once they have filled their bellies, enjoy perfect peace and respite from their torment, but for those others no day is sweet that does not bring them gain, nor does night with her gift of sleep that relaxes the limbs and frees men from care bring for them any remission of their raging madness, but distracts and agitates their souls as they reckon and count up their money. And not even the wealth of Tantalus and Midas, should they possess it, frees those men from their desire and their hard toil therewith, nay nor to gain "the most great and grievous tyranny of heaven," should they become possessed of this also. For have you not heard that Darius, the ruler of Persia, a man not wholly base, but insatiably and shamefully covetous of money, dug up in his greed even the tombs of the dead and

1 Plato, Laws 832 a.  
2 Odyssey 20. 56.  
3 Euripides, Phoenissae 506 and fr. 252, Nauck.  
4 Of Queen Nitocris, Herodotus 1. 187.
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φόρους; ὁθὲν αὐτῷ τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα γέγονε κατὰ πάντας ἄνθρωπος. ¹ ἐκάλουν γὰρ αὐτὸν Περσῶν ὦν γυνώριμοι ὀτιπέρ Ἀθηναίοι τὸν Σάραμβουν.

Ἀλλ' ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὡσπερ ὄδοι τινος κατ-ἀντοὺς ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἀφείδος ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῆς καταρρήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κολάζειν τῶν ἄνδρῶν τοὺς τρόπους, ὡστε οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτῷ περαιτέρω φοιτάν. ἀπαίτητέον δὲ εἰς δύναμιν τοῦ ἄγαθον ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ οὐκ ὄλγωρος θεραπείας θεῶν, εἰτα ἐς τοὺς τοκέας ζῶντας τε οἷμαι καὶ τελευτῆσαντας ὅσιος καὶ ἐπιμελής, ἀδελφός τε εὐνους, καὶ ὁμογνώς θεὸς αἰ δούμενος, ἰκέται καὶ ξένος πρῶς καὶ μείλιχος, τοῖς μὲν ἄγαθοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρέσκειν ἔθελον, τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμελόμενοι ἐν δίκῃ καὶ ἔπ' ὠφελεία: ἄγαπᾶ δὲ πλοῦτον, ὡστε τὸν χρυσὸ καὶ ἀργύρῳ βριθόμενον, φίλων δὲ ἀληθοῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἀκολακεύτου θεραπείας μεστῶν ἄνδρεῖς μὲν φύσει καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς, πολέμῳ δὲ ἱκίστα χάρων καὶ στάσιν ἔμφυλου ἄπεχθαιρῶν, τοὺς γε μὴν ἐκ τινος τύχης ἐπιφυμομένους ή διὰ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν ἄνδρεῖς ὑφιστάμενος καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ἐγκρατῶς, τέλος τε ἑπάγων τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ οὐ προτερον ἑφιστάμενος, πρὶν ἀν ἐξέλη τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὑποχείριον C αὐτῷ ποιήσηται. κρατιῆας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν

¹ ἄνθρωπος: Cobet, ἄνθρωπος ἐκφανέ: Hertlein, ἐκφανὲς V, M, ἐμφανὲς MSS.

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exacted the most costly tribute? And hence he acquired the title\(^1\) that is famous among all mankind. For the notables of Persia called him by the name that the Athenians gave to Sarambos.\(^2\)

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

\(^1\) "Huckster" (κάπηλος) Herodotus 3. 89.
\(^2\) Or Sarabos, a Plataean wineseller at Athens; Plato; Gorgias 518 B; perhaps to be identified with the Vinarius Exaeramlms in Plautus, Asinaria 436; cf. Themistius 297 d.
\(^3\) A saying of Alexander, cf. Themistius 203 c; Stobaeus, Sermones 214; Isocrates, To Nicocles 21.
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ἐπανει τὸ ξῖφος φόνων, μίασμα κρίνων τῶν οὐκ ἀμυνόμενον ἐτί κτείνειν καὶ ἀναίρεῖν. φιλό-
πονος δὲ ὃν φύσει καὶ μεγαλόψυχος κοινωνεῖ
μὲν ἀπασί τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἔχειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ
πλέον ἄξιοῖ, μεταδίδωσι δὲ ἐκείνοις τῶν κινδύ-
νων τὰ ἐπαθλα, χαίρων καὶ γεγνήθως οὕτω τὸ
πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ
ἐπαύλεις κόσμω πολυτελεῖ κατεσκευασμένας,
ἀλλὰ τῷ πυλλοῦς μὲν εὐ ποιεῖν δύνασθαι, χαρι-
ζεθαί δὲ ἀπασίν ὅτου ἀν τύχωσιν εὐδεῖς ὄντες:
τούτων αὐτὸν ὦ γε ἀληθινὸς ἄξιοι βασιλεῖς.
φιλόπολις 1 δὲ ὃν καὶ φιλοστρατιώτης τῶν μὲν
καθάπερ νομέως ποιμνίων ἐπιμελεῖται, προνοοῦ
ἀποὺς ἀν αὐτῷ θάλλῃ καὶ εὐθηνητὰ τὰ θρέμματα
dαψίλως καὶ ἀπαράχου τῆς νομῆς ἐπιμπλάμενα,
tούς δὲ ἐφορᾷ καὶ συνέχει, πρὸς ἀνδρεῖαν καὶ
ῥώμην καὶ πραότητα γυμνάζων καθάπερ σκύλα-
κας εὐφυεῖς καὶ γενναίους τῆς ποίμνης φύλακας,
ἐργάζει ἐπὶ κοινωνίας καὶ ἐπικούρους τῷ
πλήθει νομίζων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἀρπακτήρας τινας
οὐδὲ λυμεών τῶν ποιμνίων καθάπερ οἱ λύκοι
καὶ κυνῶν οἱ φαυλότατοι, οὗ 2 τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως
καὶ τροφῆς ἐπιλαδόμενοι ἀντὶ σωτηρίων καὶ
προαγονιστῶν άνεφάνησαν αὐτοὶ δηλήμονες:
οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπυνηλοὺς ἀνέξεται εἶναι καὶ ἀργοὺς
καὶ ἀπολέμους, ὅπως ἄν μὴ φυλάκων ἐτέρων
οἱ φρουροὶ δέωνται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς 3
ἄρχουσιν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τούτῳ μάλιστα πάντων, ἐστι
δὲ ὅπου καὶ μόνου ἀπόχρη σωτηρίων ἐπιτήδευμα

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

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

¹ Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 15; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* i. 28.
² *Republic* 416 a.
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πρὸς πόλεμον· πόνων δὲ ἀπάντων ἀδεεὶς¹ καὶ ἀτεράμονας, οὔτι ῥαθύμους ἐργάσεται, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι μὴ μέγα ὀφελος φύλακος τὸν πόνον φεύγουσι καὶ οὗ δυναμένου καρτερεῖν οὔδε ἀντέχειν πρὸς κάματον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ παραινῷ μόνον οὔδε ἑσπαινῷ τοὺς ἄγαθους προθύμως καὶ χαριζομένος ἡ κολάζων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ ἀπαράντητος ξυμπείθει καὶ βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτῶν τοιούτων ἐπιδεικνύων, ἠπεχόμενος μὲν ἡδονῆς ἀπάσης, χρημάτων δὲ οὔδεν οὔτε σμικρὸν οὔτε μεῖζον ἐπιθυμοῦ καὶ ἀφαιροῦμενος τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὕπνῳ τε εἰκὼν ὅλιγα καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὔδεὶς οὔδενὸς εἰς οὔδεν ἄξιος καθεύδων ἄνηρ ἢ καὶ ἐγκαθηγοροῦ τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἐμφερῆς. πειθομένους δὲ αὐτῶν ἔξει καλῶς αὐτῷ τε οἴμαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, εἰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις πειθόμενοι νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ὀρθοῖς ξυνεπόμενοι διατάγμασι δῆλος εἰς, καὶ ὅλως τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ἀποδοῦσ τῷ φύσει βασιλικῷ καὶ ἤγεμονικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ θυμοειδεὶ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ. καὶ καρτερεῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπομένειν τὸν τε ἐπὶ στρατίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς κάματον ὀπόσα τε κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξηνρέθη γυμνάσια μελέτης ἐνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὀθνείους ἀγώνας, πῶς ἄν τις μάλιστα πείσας εἰη,² ἡ δῆλον ὡς αὗτος ὀρώμενος καρτερὸς καὶ ἀδαμάντινος; ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἠδιστὸν θέαμα στρατιώτη πονουμένῳ σώφρων αὐτοκράτωρ, συνεφαπτόμενος ἐργον καὶ προθυ-

¹ ἀδεεὶς Reiske, ἐνδεεὶς MSS., Hertlein.
² πείσας εἰη Naber, cf. 272 D 281 A, πείσειν Hertlein, πεισθεῖν MSS.

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

¹ Plato, Laws 808 b.
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μούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσι φοβεροῖς φαιδροῖς καὶ ἀδείᾳ καὶ ὅπου λιῶν θαρ-
ροῦσι σεμνὸς καὶ ἐμβριθής. πέφυκε γὰρ ἐξομο-
οῦσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐλα-
βείας πέρι καὶ θράσους. προνοπτέον δὲ αὐτῶ-
τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ μεῖν ὅπως ἀφθονον τὴν τροφὴν
ἐχωσι καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἐνδέωνται. B
πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πιστότατοι τῶν ποιμνίων φρου-
ροὶ καὶ φύλακες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀναγκαζομένοι
ἀγριοί τε έἰσι τοῖς νομεύσι καὶ αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν
ιδόντες περιυλκτοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν προβάτων
ἀπέσχοντο.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων ὁ γενναῖος, πόλει
de σωτηρ καὶ κηδεμῶν, οὔτι τοὺς ἐξοθέν μόνον
ἀπείρων κινδύνως οὐδὲ ἀντιπαττόμενος ἢ καὶ
eπίστρατεύων βαρβάρως γείτοσιν στάσιν δὲ
ἐξαιρῶν καὶ έθη μοχθηρὰ καὶ τρυφήν καὶ ἀκο-
λασίαν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν παρέξει ραστώνην.
ὕβριν δὲ ἐξείρησι καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν
καὶ ἐπίθυμιαν ἀμέτρου κτήσεως τὰς 1 ἐκ τοὺτων
ἀναφυμένας στάσεις καὶ ἔριδας εἰς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν
teleutώσας οὐδὲ τὴν ἄρχην ἀνέξεται φύσιν, γενο-
μένας δὲ ὃς ἦν τάχιστα ἄφαντες ᾧ δὲ
καὶ ἐξελάσει τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως.

1 Λέγεται δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδεὶς
ὕπερβας τὸν νόμον καὶ βιασάμενος, οὐ 3 μᾶλλον ἡ
tῶν πολεμίων τις τὸν χάρακα.

φύλαξ δὲ ὅν ἀγάθος τῶν νόμων, ἀμείνων ἐστὶν ἐτυχουργός, εἰ
ποτὲ καιρὸς καὶ τὔχη καλοῖν καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ
πείθει τὸν τοιοῦτον ψευδὴ καὶ κύβδηλον καὶ νόθον

1 Before τὰς Hertlein omits καὶ.
2 ἄφαντες Cobet, ἄφαντες MSS., Hertlein,
3 οὐ Hertlein adds.

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calm in what seems to be a dangerous situation, but on occasion stern and severe whenever they are over confident. For in the matter of caution or boldness the subordinate naturally imitates his leader. And he must plan as well, no less than for what I have mentioned, that they may have abundant provisions and run short of none of the necessaries of life. For often the most loyal guardians and protectors of the flock are driven by want to become fierce towards the shepherds, and when they see them from afar they bark at them and do not even spare the sheep.\footnote{Republic 416 A.}

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

\footnote{Republic 416 A.}
tois keiménois ἐπεισάγειν νόμον, οὗ μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ δούλειον καὶ ἁγεννεῖ ἐπεισάγαγεῖν ἑπτέρμα. δίκης δὲ αὐτῷ μέλει καὶ θέμιδος, καὶ οὔτε γονεῖς οὔτε ξυγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι πείθουσι καταχαρίσασθαι σφιν καὶ προδούναι τὸ ἐνδικον. υπολαμβάνει γὰρ ἄπαντων εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα κοινὴν ἐστίαν καὶ μητέρα, πρεσβυτέραν μὲν καὶ σεμνοτέραν τῶν Πατέρων, φιλτέραν δὲ ἄδελφον καὶ ξένων καὶ φίλων. ἡς ἀποσυλῆσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ βιάσασθαι μείζον ἀσέβημα κρίνει τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν παρανομίας. ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐκγνωστὸς τῆς δίκης, ἱερὸν ἁνάθημα καὶ θεῖον ἀληθῶς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, ὃν οὐδαμῶς ὃ γε ἐμίφρων ἀνήρ περὶ σμικροῦ ποιήσει τοῦ ἀτιμάσει ἀλλὰ ἐν δίκῃ πάντα δρῶν τοὺς μὲν ἁγάθους τιμήσει προ- θύμως, τοὺς μοχθηροὺς δὲ ὡς δύναμιν Ιάσθαι καθάπερ ἱατρὸς ἁγαθὸς προδμυσέσται.

Διττῶν δὲ οὖν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποφαινόντων ἐλπίδας ἀμείνους καὶ οὐ πάντη τὴν θεραπείαν ἀπεστραμμένων, τῶν δὲ ἱνάτα πλημμελούντων τοῦτοις δὲ οἱ νόμοι θάνατον λύσιν τῶν κακῶν ἐπενόησαν, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἕκε- νων μᾶλλον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀλλον ὅφελειαν διετές Κ δ’ ἀνάγκη τὰς κρίσεις γίγνεσθαι. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν ἰασίμων αὐτῷ προσήκειν ὑπολήψεται τὴν τε ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀφεξεῖται δὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν μᾶλα ἐρρωμένως, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐκών ἄφαιστο κρίσεως, ἐφ’ ἡ θάνατος ἡ ξημία παρὰ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ὁφληκόσι τὴν δίκην

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

But there are two kinds of error, for in one type of sinner may dimly be discerned a hope of improvement, nor do they wholly reject a cure, while the vices of others are incurable. And for the latter the laws have contrived the penalty of death as a release from evil, and this not only for the benefit of the criminal, but quite as much in the interest of others. Accordingly there must needs be two kinds of trials. For when men are not incurable the king will hold it to be his duty to investigate and to cure. But with the others he will firmly refuse to interfere, and will never willingly have anything to do with a trial when death is the penalty that has been ordained by the laws for the
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προηγόρευται. ¹ νομοθετών δὲ υπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων ύβριν μὲν καὶ χαλεπότητα καὶ πικρίαν τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀφαιρήσει, ἀποκληρώσει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου βάσανος οὐ φαύλην τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς παρασχομένων δικαστήριον, ² οἷς μηδὲν αὐθαδῶς μηδὲ ὀρμὴ τινὶ παντελῶς ἀλόγῳ χρόμενοι, ἐν ἡμέρας μορίῳ σμικρῷ θυελευσάμενοι, τυχὸν δὲ οὔδε βουλή δόντες, ύπὲρ ἀνδρὸς πολίτου τὴν μελαίναν οἴσουσι ψῆφον. αὐτῷ δὲ οὔτε ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ξίφος εἰς πολίτου, κἂν ἀδικῆ τὰ ἔσχατα, φόνον οὔτε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κέντρου ὑπείναι χρῆ, ὅπου καὶ τὴν τῶν μελιτῶν ὀρθῶν βασιλεύουσαν καθαρὰν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πλήκτρον γενομένην. ¹¹λλ' οὐκ εἰς μελίττας βλεπτένοι, εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ οἴμαι τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα οὔπερ εἶναι χρῆ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀρχοντα προφήτην καὶ υπηρέτην. οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὲν ἄγαθὰ γέγονε παντελῶς τῆς ἐναντίας ἀμικτα φύσεως καὶ ἐπ' ὀφελεία κοινῆ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, τούτων δὲ αὐτὸς ἢν τε καὶ ἔστι δημιουργός· τὰ κακὰ δὲ οὔτ' ἐγέννησεν οὔτ' ἐπέταξεν εἶναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, περὶ δὲ τὴν γῆν Β στρεφόμενα καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν ἀποκλιναν σταλείσαν τῶν ψυχῶν διαλαβόμενα κρίνειν ἐπέταξε καὶ διακαθαίρειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσὶ σωτήρες καὶ ἐπίκουροι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ἀλλοι δὲ ἀπαραίτητοι κριταί, τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὄξειαν καὶ δεινὴν ἐπάγουσες δίκην ὡς τε ἀνθρόποις καὶ ἀπολυθεῖσι τῶν σωμάτων,

¹ προηγόρευται Hertlein suggests, προαγορεύται MSS.
² δικαστήριον Hertlein suggests, τὸ δικαστήριον MSS.

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

1 Plato, Theaetetus 176a.

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οἱ δὲ ὦσπερ δήμου τιμωροὶ τίνες καὶ ἀποτλήσται τῶν δικασθέντων, ἐτερον τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀνοητῶν δαιμόνων τὸ φύλον. ἔδη μιμητέον τῷ γενναίῳ καὶ θεοφίλει, καὶ μεταδότεον τολλοῖς μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἄρετῆς¹ διὰ φιλίας ἐς ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν προσληψεῖν.² ἀρχὰς δὲ ἐπιτρεπτέον οἰκείας ἐκάστου τῇ φύσει καὶ προαιρέσει, τῷ μὲν ἀνδρόδει καὶ τολμηρῷ καὶ μεγαλοθυμῷ μετὰ ἔννεεσως στρατιωτικὰς, ἵνα εἰς δέον ἐχῇ τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ, τῷ δικαίῳ δὲ καὶ πράῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ πρὸς οἴκτον εὐχερῶς ἐπικλωμένῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν τὰς ἁμφὶ τὰ συναλλάγματα, βοηθεῖας τοῖς ἀνθευστέροις καὶ ἀπλούστεροις μηχανώμενοι καὶ πένησι πρὸς τοὺς ἵσχυροις καὶ ἀπατεώναι καὶ πανουργοῖς καὶ ἐπαιρομένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς τὸ βιάζεσθαι καὶ ὑπεροφανὶ τῆς δίκης, τῷ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κεκραμένῳ μείζονα εὖ³ τῇ πόλει τιμήν καὶ δύναμιν περιθετέον, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων κρίσεις, οἷς ἐπεται τιμωρίᾳ καὶ κόλασις ἐνδικοῖ ἐπὶ ὄφελεία τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπτων ⁴ ὀρθῶς ἃν καὶ ἐμφρόνως λογίζοιτο. κρίνας γὰρ ὁ τοιούτος ἀδεκάστως ἀμα τοῖς συνέδροις παραδώσει τῷ δημῷ τὰ γνωσθέντα ἐπιτελεῖν, οὔτε διὰ θυμοῦ μέγεθος οὔτε διὰ μαλακίας ψυχῆς ἁμαρτάνων τού φύσει δικαίον. κινδυνεύει δὲ ὁ κράτιστος ἐν πόλει τοιούτος τις εἶναι, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἁμφοτέροις ἐχῶν ἀγαθά, τὰς δὲ οἰον κῆρας ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος

1 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἄρετῆς Reiske, ἄρετῆς MSS., Hertlein.
2 κοινωνίαν προσληψεῖσιν. Reiske, κοινωνιὰν, MSS., Hertlein.
3 μείζονα ἐν Hertlein suggests, μείζονα τε ἐν MSS.
4 ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων Reiske, ἀδικουμένων, MSS., Hertlein.

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


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ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν εἰρημένων ἐκφεύγων. ἐφορὼν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπαντά καὶ κατευθύνων καὶ ἄρχων ἀρχόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων καὶ διοικήσεως τεταγμένους καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς ύπὲρ ἀπάντων βουλής κοινωνοῦτας ἀγαθούς τε εἶναι καὶ ὃ, τι μάλιστα αὐτοῦ παραπλησίους εὑξεται γενέσθαι. αἰρήσεται δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὔδε ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὔτ' ἐθελήσει φαυλότερος εἶναι κριτής τῶν λιθογνωμόνων καὶ τῶν βασανιζόντων τὸ χρυσίον ἡ τὴν πορφύραν. τούτοις γὰρ οὐ μία ὄδος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀπόχρη, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες οἴμαι τῶν πανουργεῖν ἐθελόντων ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτεχνήματα εἰς δύναμιν ἀπασίν ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ ἀντέστησαν ἐλέγχους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τέχνης. δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς κακίας ὑπολαμβάνων, ὡς ἐστὶ ποικίλη καὶ ἀπατηλὴ καὶ τούτῳ ἐστὶ χαλεπώτατον τῶν ἐκείνης ἔργων, ὅτι δὴ πρεσβεῖα πολλάκις ἄρετὴν ὑποδομομένη καὶ ἐξαπατᾶ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ὀξύτερον ὁρᾶν ἡ καὶ ἀποκάμνοντας τῷ μῆκει τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν ἐξέτασιν, τὸ παθεῖν τι τοιούτων ὀρθῶς φυλάξεται. ἔλομενος δὲ ἀπαξ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔχουν τούτοις ἐπιτρέψει τὴν τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἀρχόντων αἴρεσιν.

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

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

¹ Plato, Laws 937 d.
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ἀπόσουσι τοὺς φύλαξι καὶ ἐπικούροις σφῶν, μισθὸν καὶ ἐσθήτα τὴν ἀναγκαίαν. οἰκοδομήματα δὲ Ἀσσύρια καὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ δαπανήρας λειτουργίας χαίρειν ἐάσαντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολλῇ τῶν ὑπὸ γλώττης, ἐνδοθεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐπευχόμενοι, οὕτι πλαστῶς οὐδὲ ὑπὸ γλώττης, ἐνδοθεν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀγαθά. φθάνονσι δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς εὐχάς, καὶ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὰ θεία δόντες οὐτὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστήρησαν. εἰ δὲ τὸ χρεῶν βιάζοντο κακῷ τῷ περιπεσεῖν, τούτων δὲ τῶν θρυλουμένων ἀνηκέστων, χορευτήν τε αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο καὶ συνέστου, καὶ αὐτῷ κλέος καθ' ἀπαντας ἤγειραν ἀνθρώπους. ταύτα ἐγὼ τῶν σοφῶν ἄκούσα πολλάς, καὶ με δο λόγος ἱσχυρὸς πείθει. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐς ύμᾶς αὐτῶν διεξῆλθον, μακρότερα μὲν τυχὸν ἱσως τοῦ καιροῦ φθεγγόμενος, ἐλάττωνα δὲ οἵμαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ὑπὸ γέγονι τῶν τοιοῦτων λόγων ἐπακούειν ἐν φροντίδι, οὕτος ὦτι μὴ ψευδόμαι σαφῶς ἐπίσταται. ἐτέρα δὲ ἐστὼν αὐτία τοῦ μήκους τῆς μὲν εἰρημένης ἤττον ἀναγκαία, προσεχεστέρα δὲ οἵμαι τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἴληκον ύμᾶς εἶναι χρῆ.

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

In the first place, then, let me remind you briefly of what I said before, when I broke off my discourse for the sake of this digression. What I said was that, when serious-minded people listen to sincere panegyrics, they ought not to look to those things
λάκις μεταδίδωσιν, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἔξεις καὶ τὴν ἄρετήν, ἢς μόνοις μέτεστι τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φύσει σπουδαίοις. εἰτα ἐντεύθεν ἐλόντες τοὺς ἔξης επεραίνομεν λόγους, ὡς πρὸς κανόνα τινὰ καὶ στάθμην ἀπευθύνοντες, τούς τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἐπαίνους ἐναρμόττειν ἔχρην. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος ἀρμονία πρὸς τοῦτο γέγονε τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ὅλβιος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οὖντως εὐδαιμον, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οἱ μεταλαβόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἁρχῆς. ὅστις δὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετο, τῶν πλέον ἀπολειφθέντων ἀμείνων καὶ εὐτυχέστερος, οἱ δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες παντελῶς ἢ καὶ τὴν ἑναντίαν τραπόμενοι δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ μοχθηροὶ, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν μεγίστων αὑτοῖς συμφορῶν.

Εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταῦτη τῇ ξυνδοκεί, ὃρα ἐπεξεύρεναι τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀ τεθαυμάκαμεν. καὶ ὅπως μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸν λόγον καθ' αὐτὸν ἵοντα, καθάπερ ἵππον ἀνταγωνιστῷ στερόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, κρατεῖν καὶ ἀποφέρειν τὰ νικητήρια, πειράσομαι, τῇ ποτε διαφέρετον ἀλλήλων ὡς τε ἡμέτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν σοφῶν ῥήτόρων ἐπαινος, δεῖξαι. οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν τὸ προγόνων γενέσθαι δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων θαυμάζουσι μάλα, ὁλβίων καὶ εὐδαιμόνων μακαρίους ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐκγόνους: τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους οὔτε ἐνενόησαν οὔτε ἐσκέψαντο, τίνα τρόπον διατελοῦσιν τοὺς ἁγαθοῖς ἀρχηγοῖς εὐρωμενοι.

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

And now if you are in any way of my opinion, it is time to proceed to those achievements that we have so admired. And lest any should think that my argument is running alone, like a horse in a race that has lost its competitor and for that reason wins and carries off the prizes, I will try to show in what way my encomium differs from that of clever rhetoricians. For they greatly admire the fact that a man is born of ancestors who had power or were kings, since they hold that the sons of the prosperous and fortunate are themselves blest. But the question that next arises they neither think of nor investigate, I mean how they employed their
kaîtou ge tòutò ἵν τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐκείνης τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν·
εἰ μὴ τις καὶ πρὸς τούνομα δυσχεραῖνε, τὴν κτήσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφρόνους χρήσεως ἀγαθήν καὶ φαύλην ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας γίγνεσθαι συμβαίνειν· ὅστε οὐ μέγα, καθάπερ ὦνται, τὸ βασιλέως πλούσιον καὶ πολυχρύσου γενέσθαι, μέγα δὲ ἄληθῶς τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν πατρίαν ὑπερβαλλόμενον ἀμεμπτον αὐτὸν τοῖς γενιαμένοις παρασκεύει εἰς ἄπαν.

'Βούλεσθε οὖν εἰ τούτῳ ὑπάρχει βασιλεῖ καταμαθεῖν; παρέξομαι δὲ ὑμῖν ἑγὼ μαρτυρίαν πιστῆν, καὶ με οὖν αἱρήσετε ψευδομαρτυρίων, εὗ οἴδα· 94 ὑπομνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὅπως τοῦ λεγομένου ἤνειτε, εἰ τε οὐτω ἄγοι, αὐτικὰ μάλα ἤνειστε ἐννοησάντες πρῶτον μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγαπά διαφερόντως, οὗτος πρᾶσον ὅπλαν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις οὔδε τῇ φύσει πλέον ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ διδοὺς, ἤπτώμενος δὲ οἴμαι τῆς θεραπείας καὶ οὐκ ἔχων, ὅτι μέμφοιτο, δῆλος ἢν εὖνοις ὄν. Β καὶ αὐτὸν σημείον τῆς γνώμης, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Κωνσταντίῳ ταύτῃ ἐξείλε τὴν μοίραν, ἢν αὐτῷ πρότερον προσήκειν ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν, εἰθ' ὅτι τελευτὸν τοῦ βίου, τὸν πρεσβύτατον καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀφεῖς σχολὴν ἁγιοτας, τούτοι δὴ ἅσχολον ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπέτρεπε τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἕξυμπαντα. γενόμενος δὲ ἔγκρατης ἀπάντων οὕτω

1 ψευδομαρτυρίων Cobet, ψευδομαρτυρίων Hertlein, V, M, ψευδομαρτυρίας MSS.
2 ὑμᾶς Hertlein suggests, ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς MSS.

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

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

1 Constantine II.  
2 Constans.
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toîς ἀδελφοῖς δικαίως ἀμα καὶ σωφρόνως προση-νέχθη, ὥστε οἱ μὲν οὔτε κληθέντες οὔτε ἀφικό-μενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον καὶ διεμάχοντο. Τούτῳ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινον οὐδὲν οὔδε ἐμέμφυντο. ἑπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στάσις τέλος εἰχεν οὐκ εὔνυχές, ἐξὸν μεταποιεῖσθαι πλείων, ἐκὼν ἀφήκη, τῆς αὐτῆς ἄρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνων πολλά τε ἔθνη καὶ
ὅλιγα δείσθαι, περικεῖσθαι δὲ, οἴμαι, φροντίδας
μείζονας ὅτα πλείων ἀνάγκη τημελεῖν καὶ
κήδεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρυφῆς ὑπολαμβάνει τὴν
βασιλείαν εἶναι παρασκευὴν οὔδε, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν
χρημάτων εἰς πότους καὶ ήδονάς οἱ καταχρώμενοι
μείζονων εὐπορίαν προσόδων ἐπινοοῦσιν, οὔτω
χρήναι τὸν βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἀνα-
ρείσθαι πόλεμον, δὴ τι μὴ τῶν ἁρχομένων τῆς
ὡφελείας ἐνεκα. οὐκοῦν ἔκεινυ μὲν ἔχειν τὸ
πλέον ἕυγχωρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ ἄρετῆς ἔλαττον
ἔχων τῷ κρατίστῳ πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπέλαβε. καὶ
ὅτι μὴ δέει μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκείνου παρασκευῆς τὴν
ἡσυχίαν ἡγάτα, τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἐμφανές ἔστω ὁ
μετὰ ταύτα ἐξυμπεσόν πόλεμος. ἐχρήσατο γοῦν
πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου δυνάμεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς
ὕστερον. πάλιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκείνοι μὲν ποῦ τὸ
νικᾶν τεθαυμάκασιν· ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺ πλέον τὸ ἔών
δίκη μὲν ἀνελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, διενεγκεῖν δὲ

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

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when he had become master of the whole, he behaved to his brothers at once so justly and with such moderation, that, while they who had neither been summoned nor had come of themselves quarrelled and fought with one another, they showed no resentment against Constantius, nor ever reproached him. And when their feud reached its fatal issue, though he might have laid claim to a greater share of empire, he renounced it of his own free will, because he thought that many nations or few called for the exercise of the same virtues, and also, perhaps, that the more a man has to look after and care for the greater are the anxieties beset him. For he does not think that the imperial power is a means of procuring luxury, nor that, as certain men who have wealth and misapply it for drink and other pleasures set their hearts on lavish and ever-increasing revenues, this ought to be an emperor’s policy, nor that he ought ever to embark on a war except only for the benefit of his subjects. And so he allowed his brother 2 to have the lion’s share, and thought that if he himself possessed the smaller share with honour, he had the advantage in what was most worth having. And that it was not rather from fear of his brother’s resources that he preferred peace, you may consider clearly proved by the war that broke out later. For he had recourse to arms later on against his brother’s forces, but it was to avenge him. 3 And here again there are perhaps some who have admired him merely for having won the victory. But I admire far more the fact that it was with justice that he undertook the

1 Constantine II was slain while marching against Constans.  
2 Constans.  
3 Constans was slain by the soldiers of Magnentius.
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ἀνδρείως καὶ μάλα ἐμπείρως, ἐπιθείσης δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς τύχης δεξίων χρήσασθαι τῇ νίκῃ σωφρόνως καὶ βασιλικῶς, καὶ ὅλως ἀξίου τοῦ κρατεῖν φανήσαι.

Βούλεσθε οὖν καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς Β δικαστηρίοις ὄνομαστὶ καλὸμεν τοὺς μάρτυρας; καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐδεὶς πῶς πόλεμος συνέστη πρότερον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰτροῖαν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν οὔδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Μακεδόσιν, οὔπερ δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἐν δίκη γενέσθαι, τοσαύτην ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ παῖδι ποὺ δῆλον, τοὺς μὲν γε Λιαν ἀρχαίων ἄδικημάτων τιμωρίας σφόδρα νεαράς ὥστε εἰς ἕγγονος γενομένης, ἄλλα εἰς τὸν ἀφελόμενον καὶ ἀποστερήσαντα τὴν ἀρχήν τοὺς τῶν ἄδικησάντων ἀπογόνους. Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ ὀρμήτο

tίσασθαι Ἡλένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰτρῶς ἐστράτευε γυναῖκα μίαν ἐκδικεῖν ἔθελον. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἦν νεαρὰ τὰ ἄδικήματα, ἦρχε δὲ οὖ κατὰ Δαρείου οὐδὲ Πρίαμου ἀνὴρ εὐγενής καὶ τυχὸν δὴ ἀρετὴν ἡ κατὰ γένος προσηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιωθείς, ἄλλα ἀναιδής καὶ τραχύς βάρβαρος τῶν ἑαλωκότων οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἔπραξε καὶ ὡσ γραφεῖ, οὕτε ἤδυ μοι λέγειν οὔτε ἐν καὶ ἀργῷ· ἐν δίκῃ δὲ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπολέμησεν, ἀκηκόατε. τῆς δὲ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα σημεία, πιστότερα δὲ, οἴμαι, τὰ ἔργα τῶν

1 νεαρᾶς Hertlein suggests, νεωτέρας MSS.

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

Now do you wish that, as though I were in a law-
court, I should summon before you by name witnesses
of this also? But it is plain even to a child that no
war ever yet arose that had so good an excuse, not
even of the Greeks against Troy or of the Mace-
donians\(^1\) against the Persians, though these wars, at
any rate, are thought to have been justified, since
the latter was to exact vengeance in more recent
times for very ancient offences, and that not on sons or
grandsons, but on him\(^2\) who had robbed and de-
prived of their sovereignty the descendants of those
very offenders. And Agamemnon set forth

"To avenge the strivings and groans of Helen,"\(^3\)
for it was because he desired to avenge one woman
that he went to war with the Trojans. But the
wrongs done to Constantius were still fresh, and he\(^4\)
who was in power was not, like Darius or Priam, a man
of royal birth who, it may be, laid claim to an empire
that belonged to him by reason of his birth or his
family, but a shameless and savage barbarian who not
long before had been among the captives of war.\(^5\)

But all that he did and how he governed is neither
agreeable for me to tell nor would it be well-timed.
And that the Emperor was justified in making war on
him you have heard, and of his skill and courage
what I said earlier is proof enough, but deeds are, I

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1 Under Alexander.  
2 Darius III.  
3 Iliad 2. 356.  
4 Magnentius.  
5 cf. Oration 1. 34 a.
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λόγων. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενόμενα καὶ ὅπως ξίφους μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέσσεν ἐτὶ, οὐδὲ εἰ τις ἀδικημάτων μειξόνων εἰχεν ὑποψίαν, οὐδὲ εἰ τῷ πρὸς τὸν τύραννον οἰκειοτέρα γέγονε φιλία, οὐδὲ μὴν εἰ τις ἑκείνῳ χαριζόμενος φέρειν τῇ ἡξίου κηρύκιον καὶ ἐλοιδόρεῖτο βασιλεῖ, τῆς προπετείας ἀπέτισε δίκην, ὅτι μὴ τᾶλα μοχθηρὸς ἦν, ἐννοίσατε δὴ πρὸς φιλίου Διός. ποταπὸν δὲ χρήμα λοιδορία; ὡς θυμοδακές ἁληθῶς καὶ ἀμύττου ψυχῆν μᾶλλον ἢ σίδηρος χρῶτα; οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸν ᾑΟδυσσέα παρώξυνεν εἰς δύναμιν ἀμύνασθαι λόγῳ τε καὶ ἕργῳ. διηνέχθη γοῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου πρὸς τὸν ξενοδόκου καὶ ένος, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδὼς, ὅτι

"Αφρων ... καὶ οὕτιδανὸς πελεὶ ἄνηρ,
"Οστὶς ξενοδόκῳ ἔριδα προφερήσῃ βαρείαν,
καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀχιλλέα τὸν Θέτιδος καὶ ἄλλους δὲ τινας οὐ φαύλους οὐδὲ ἄγεννεις ἀνθρώπους. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπήρχεν, οἷμαι, Σωκράτει καὶ σπανίος τιὸν ἐκείνου ἕξιλωταῖς, εὐδαίμονιν ἁληθὸς καὶ μακάριος γενομένοις, τὸν ἐσχατον ἀποδύσασθαι χιτῶνα τῆς φιλοτιμίας. φιλοτίμον γὰρ δεινῶς τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἐοικὲν ἐμφύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ταῖς γενναίαις ψυχαῖς: ἄχθονται γὰρ ὡς ἐναντιωτάτῳ σφίσι λοιδορία, καὶ τοὺς ἀπορρίπτοντας εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ 1 τῶν V, τῶν τῆς MSS.

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

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

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

1 Alcinous. 2 Odyssey 8. 209. 3 Dioscorides in Athenaeus 507 d; Tacitus Hist. 4. 6; cf. Milton Lycidas,

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
"(That last infirmity of noble mind)."

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toiaúta ρήματα μισοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐπάγοντας τὸν σύδηρον καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας φόνον, διαφόρος τε αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι φύσει καὶ οὐ νόμῳ, εἶ γε οἱ μὲν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ τιμῆς ἔρωσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἀφαιροῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μηχανοῦν- ται βλασφημίας ψευδεῖς. τούτων καὶ Ἡρακλεά
φασὶ καὶ ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς ἀκράτορας τοῦ πάθους
gενέσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐτε περὶ ἐκεῖνων τῷ λόγῳ
πειθομαι, καὶ βασιλέα τεθέαμαι σφόδρα ἐγκρατῶς
tὴν λοιδορίαν ἀποτρεψάμενον,1 οὕτι φαυλότερον 97
ἐργον, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῦ Τροίαν ἔλειν καὶ
φάλαγγα γενναίαν τρέψασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις
καὶ οὐ μέγα οἶεται οὐδὲ ἄξιον ἐπαίνων τοσούτων,
ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶν, ὅταν ἐν τινὶ τοιαύτῃ ξυμφορᾷ
γενηται, κρινέτω, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ σφόδρα ληρεῖν
dόξομεν, ὡς ἐγὼ πειθομαι.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὃν καὶ γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετὰ
tὸν πόλεμον εἰκότως οὐ μόνον ἔστι ποθενὸς τοῦς
φίλους καὶ ἀγαπητὸς, πολλοὶς2 μὲν τιμῆς καὶ
dυνάμεως καὶ παρρησίας μεταδιδοῦσι, χρήματα δὲ
αὐτοῖς ἀφθονὰ χαρίζομενος καὶ χρῆσθαι ὅπως τις
βούλεται τῷ πλούτῳ ἐξυγχωρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
πολεμίοις τοιοῦτος ἐδόκει. τεκμήριοι δὲ ἤμων
ἔμφασις καὶ τοῦτο γεγράφω· ἀνδρεῖς, τῆς γερον-
σίας ὁτιπέρ ὀφέλος, ἀξιώσει καὶ πλοῦτῳ καὶ
ξυνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων, ἀστερὲ ἡ λιμένα
catafereúgonentes tìn toútov deξιάν, ἐστίας τε

1 ἀποτρεψάμενον Hertlein suggests, δεξάμενον Petavius, τρεψάμενον MSS.
2 πολλοὶς fl., Hertlein prefers, πολλὲς MSS.

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

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

¹ A proverb, cf. Euripides, Andromache 368.
² Aristophanes, Frogs 84.
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λιπόντες καὶ οἶκους καὶ παίδας Παιονίαν μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, τὴν μετὰ τούτον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν φιλτάτων συνουσίαν ἠσπάσαντο, ἵλη τε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἵππεων ξὺν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄγουσα τοῦτῳ τοῦ κυνδύνου ξυμμετέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ τῆς εὐνυχίας ἥξιοι. καὶ ταῦτα ἦπαντα ἐδράτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἣν ἔπι τοῦ Δράου ταῖς ἡςιν ὁ πρόσθεν λόγος παρέστησεν. ἐντεύθεν γὰρ ἡ δι βεβαιῶς ἐθάρρυν, τέως δ’ ἐδόκει τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἐπικρατεῖν, πλεονεκτήματος τινος περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους τοὺς βασιλέως γενομένου, ὁ δὴ ἐκείνον τοὺς ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀφρόνα καὶ ἐξετάρατε τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ἐφικνεῖσθαι οὐδὲ διορᾶν τὴν στρατηγίαν. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ γεγονὼς καθάπερ ἄγαθός νεώς κυβερνήτης, ἐξαπίθης νεφῶν παρείσης λαίλαπος, εἶτα ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σείοντος τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀπείρους δεινοῦ καὶ ἄτοπον κατέλαβε δέος, ὁ δὲ ἡ ἡδὸν ἐγείρει καὶ γαίνεται, γαλήνην ἀκριβῆ καὶ νυνεμίαν ἐλπίζων. λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν συνταράττων τὴν γῆν παύειν τὰ κύματα. καὶ ἡ τύχη δὲ τοὺς ἀνοίχτους ἐξαπάτα καὶ σφάλλει περὶ τοῖς μείζονι, μικρὰ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσα, τοῖς ἐμφροσί δὲ τὸ βεβαιῶς ψαρσεῖν υπὲρ τῶν μειζώνων, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἑλάττωσιν αὐτοὺς διαταράσσῃ, παρέχει. τούτῳ Δακεδαμώνιοι παθόντες ἐν Πύλαις οὐκ ἀπηγο- ρευσαν οὐδὲ ἐδείσαν τὸν Μίθδον ἐπιφερόμενον.

1 tovs Hertlein suggests, τοῦ MSS.
homes and children, preferred Paeonia\(^1\) to Rome, and to be with him rather than with their dearest. Again, a division of the choicest of the cavalry together with their standards, and bringing their general\(^2\) with them, chose to share danger with him rather than success with the usurper. And all this took place before the battle on the banks of the Drave, which the earlier part of my speech described to you. For after that they began to feel perfect confidence, though before that it looked as though the usurper's cause was getting the upper hand, when he gained some slight advantage in the affair of the Emperor's scouts,\(^3\) which indeed made the usurper beside himself with joy and greatly agitated those who were incapable of grasping or estimating generalship. But the Emperor was unperturbed and heroic, like a good pilot when a tempest has suddenly burst from the clouds, and next moment, the god shakes the depths and the shores. Then a terrible and dreadful panic seizes on those who are inexperienced, but the pilot begins to rejoice, and is glad, because he can now hope for a perfect and windless calm. For it is said that Poseidon, when he makes the earth quake, calms the waves. And just so fortune deceives the foolish and deludes them about more important things by allowing them some small advantage, but in the wise she inspires unshaken confidence about more serious affairs even when she disconcerts them in the case of those that are less serious. This was what happened to the Lacedaemonians at Pylae,\(^4\) but they did not despair nor fear the onset of the Mede because they had lost

\(^1\) Pannonia. \(^2\) Silvanus, cf. *Oration* 1. 60. \(^3\) cf. *Oration* 1. 35 c. \(^4\) Thermopylae.
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triakosións Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων περὶ
tὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος προέμενοι· τοῦτο
Ῥωμαίοι πολλάκις παθόντες μείζονα κατώρθουν
ὕστερον· ὁ δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐννοῶν καὶ λογιζό-
μενος οὐδαμῶς ἐσφάλη τῆς γνώμης.

'Αλλ' ἐπείπερ ἅπαξ ἐκών ὁ λόγος ἐς τοῦτο
ἀφίκται καὶ τὴν εὐνοιαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἐν
tέλει καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, οὕτε δὴ ἐξυμφυλάττουσιν
αὐτῷ τὴν ἄρχην καὶ ἀπείργουσι τοὺς πολεμίους,
dιηγεῖται βούλεσθε ὑμῖν ἐναργῆς εἴπω τεκμήριον
χθες που ἢ καὶ πρόθυν γενόμενον· ἀνήρ τῶν ἐπι-
tαχθέντων τοῖς ἐν Γαλατίᾳ στρατοπέδοις· ἵστε
ἰσώς καὶ τούνομα καὶ τὸν τρόπον· ὁμηρον φιλίας
καὶ πίστεως ἀπελίπετε οὐδὲν δεομένῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν
παίδα· εἶτα ἢν ἀπιστότερος τῶν λεόντων, οἷς οὐκ
ἐστι, φησί, πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁρκία πιστά, ἀρπάζων
te ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰ χρήματα καὶ διανέμων τοῖς
ἐπιοῦσι βαβάροις καὶ ὁσπέρ λύτρα καταβαλλό-
μενος, ἔξον τῷ σιδήρῳ παρασκευάζειν καὶ οὐ τοῖς
χρήμασι ποιεῖται τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους
ὑπήγετο διὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς εὐνοιαν καὶ τέλος
ἐκ τῆς γνωσικωνίτιδος ἀνελόμενος ἀλουργεῖς
ἰμάτιον γελοίος ἀληθῶς τύραννος καὶ τραγικὸς
ἀντώς ἀνεφάνη. ὦνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς
μὲν εἶχον πρὸς τὴν ἀπιστίαν, θῆλυν δὲ οὐχ
ὑπομένοντες ὅραν ἐνυδεδυκότα στολὴν τῶν δείλαιον

1 ["Ομηρος] ὅρκια Hertlein.
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three hundred Spartans and their king\(^1\) at the entrance into Greece. This often happened to the Romans, but they achieved more important successes later on. Wherefore, since the Emperor knew this and counted on it, he in no way wavered in his purpose.

But seeing that my argument has, of its own accord, once reached this point and is describing the affection that the Emperor inspires in the common people, the magistrates, and the garrisons who aid him to protect the empire and repulse its enemies, are you willing that I should relate to you a signal proof of this, which happened, one may say, yesterday or the day before? A certain man\(^2\) who had been given the command of the garrisons in Galatia—you probably know his name and character—left his son behind him as a hostage for his friendship and loyalty to the Emperor, though not at the Emperor’s request. Then he proved to be more treacherous than “lions who have no faithful covenants with man,”\(^3\) as the poet says, and plundered the cities of their wealth and distributed it among the invading barbarians, paying it down as a sort of ransom, though he was well able to take measures to win security by the sword rather than by money. But he tried to win them over to friendliness by means of money. And finally he took from the women’s apartments a purple dress, and showed himself truly a tyrant and tragical indeed. Then the soldiers, resenting his treachery, would not tolerate the sight of him thus dressed up in women’s garb,\(^4\) and they set on the miserable wretch and tore him limb from limb,\(^5\) nor would they

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1 Leonidas.  
2 Silvanus.  
3 *Iliad* 22. 262.  
4 Euripides, *Bacchae* 822.  
5 cf. *Oration* 1. 48 c.
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ἐπιθέμενοι ὑπαράττοσιν, οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς σελήνης κύκλον ἀρξαί σφῶν ἀνασχόμενοι. τούτο μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῆς τῶν φυλάκων εὐνοίας ὑπήρξε βασιλεὺς τὸ γέρας, ἀρχής ἀμεμφόος καὶ δικαια ἀμοιβή θαυμαστή. ὥστε δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῇ γέγονε ποθεῖτε ἀκούειν· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τούτῳ ὑμᾶς λέληθεν, ὅτι μήτε ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα χαλεπὸς μήτε ἐς τοὺς φίλους ὑποπτός καὶ δεινὸς εἴλετο γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα πράως εἴχε καὶ εὐμενῆς πάσιν ἦν καίτοι πολλῶν συνοφαντεῖν ἐθέλοντων καὶ διηρ- μένων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖκ αὑτίους τὰ κέντρα. πολλῶν δὲ τυχόν ἀληθῶς ἐνόχων ὄντων ταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποψίαις, ὁμοίως ἀπασίν ἦν πρᾶξιν τοῖς οὖκ ἐξελεγχθείσιν 1 οὐδὲ ἀποφανθείσι κοινωνόσ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ ἐξαγόστων βουλευμάτων. τὴν δὲ ἐς τὸν τοῦ παρανομήσαντος παῖδα καὶ πατήσαν- τος πίστιν καὶ ὅρκαι θείως ἄρα βασιλικῶν ἀληθῶς καὶ θείων φύσομεν, ἦ μᾶλλον ὑπο- δεξόμεθα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα χαλεπαίνοντα καὶ πικραίνομεν τῶν Τρώων οὐ τοῖς ἐνυπεξεθούσι μόνον τῷ Πάριδι καὶ καθυστέρον τὸν Μενέλαο τὴν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κυνωμένοις ἔτι καὶ ὅν τυχόν οὐδὲ αἱ μητέρες τῶτ' ἐγεγόνεσαί, ὅποτε ἐκείνος τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐνενόει; εἰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὄμον τις οἷται καὶ τραχύκαὶ ἀνάθρωπον ἥκιστα βασιλεὺ πρέπει, τὸ πράον δὲ οἷμα καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἄρμότειν ἥκιστα μὲν χαίροντι τιμωρίαις, ἀχθομενῷ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων εἰμφοραῖς, ὅπως ἂν γίγνωσται, εἴτε

1 ἐξελεγχθείσιν Hertlein suggests, ἐλεγχθείσιν MSS.
endure either that the crescent moon\(^1\) should rule over them. Now it was the affection of his garrison that gave the Emperor this guerdon, a wonderful recompense for his just and blameless rule. But you are eager to hear how he behaved after this. This too, however, you cannot fail to know, that he chose neither to be harsh towards that man’s son\(^2\) nor suspicious and formidable to his friends, but in the highest possible degree he was merciful and kindly to them all, though many desired to bring false accusations\(^3\) and had raised their stings to strike the innocent. But though many were perhaps really involved in the crimes of which they were suspected, he was merciful to all alike, provided they had not been convicted or proved to be partners in the usurper’s monstrous and abominable schemes. And shall we not declare that the forbearance shown by him towards the son of one who had broken the laws and trampled on loyalty and sworn covenants was truly royal and godlike; or shall we rather approve Agamemnon, who vented his rage and cruelty not only on those Trojans who had accompanied Paris and had outraged the hearth of Menelaus, but even on those who were yet unborn, and whose mothers even were perhaps not yet born when Paris plotted the rape? Anyone therefore who thinks that cruelty and harshness and inhumanity ill become a king, and that mercy and goodness and human kindness befit one who takes no pleasure in acts of vengeance, but grieves at the misfortunes of his subjects, however they may arise, whether from their

\(^1\) His Oriental dress suggested Persian rule, symbolised by the crescent.
\(^2\) cf. *Oration* 1. 49 a.
\(^3\) cf. *Oration* 1. 48 c, d.
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κακία σφῶν καὶ ἄμαθία, εἴτε ἐξωθεὶν παρὰ τὴς τύχης ἐπάγοιντο, δηλός ἐστι τούτῳ διδοὺς τὰ νικητῆρια. ἔνυσετε γὰρ, ὡς περὶ τὸν παίδα γέγονε τοῦ φύσαντος ἀμείνων καὶ δικαιότερος, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνους φίλους πιστότερος τοῦ τὴν φιλίαν ὁμολογήσαντος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντᾷς προείπτο, ὁ δὲ ἀπέσωσεν ἀπαντας. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκείνος ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγνωκὼς τρόπον ἀτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατανοήσας σφόδρα ἐπίστευεν, ἀσφαλῶς μὲν οἱ τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς, βεβαιῶς δὲ ὅρμεῖν τὰ τῶν φίλων, συνίει μὲν ὅρθῶς, πολλάκις δὲ ἢν πανούργος καὶ μοχθηρὸς καὶ δυστυχῆς, πολέμιος ἐθέλων εἶναι τῷ τοιοῦτῷ καὶ ὅν σφόδρα ἄγαθὸν καὶ διαφερόντως πρᾶον ἡπίστατο μισῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύον καὶ ἀφαιρώ-μενος δὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐχρήν. εἰ δὲ, ἀνελπίστου μὲν οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς σωτηρίας τυγχανούσης, χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ ἀδυνάτου τῆς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν, τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὁμος προέλετο, ὁ μὲν ἢ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μοχθηρὸς καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ ἀγριώτερος τῶν θηρίων, ὁ δὲ ἦμερος καὶ πρᾶος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, τοῦ μὲν νηπίου κατελεύσας τὴν ἠλικίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεγχθεῖσι πράως ἔχων, τοῦ δὲ υπεριδῶν καὶ καταφρονήσας τῶν πονηρευμάτων. ὁ γὰρ ἃ μηδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις διὰ μέγεθος δὲν αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ἀδικημάτων ἐλπίζει ἐνυγχωρῶν εἰκότως ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ

1 ἐγνωκὼς τρόπον—κατανοήσας Hertlein suggests, ἐγνωκὼς—
tὸν τρόπον κατανοήσας MSS. 2 τῆς Hertlein adds.
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own wickedness and ignorance or aimed at them from without by fate, will, it is evident, award to the Emperor the palm of victory. For bear in mind that he was kinder and more just to the boy than his own father; and to the usurper’s friends he was more loyal than he who acknowledged the tie of friendship. For the usurper forsook them all, but the Emperor saved them all. And if the usurper, knowing all this about the Emperor’s character, since he had for a long time been able to observe it, was entirely confident that his son was safely at anchor and his friends securely also, then he did indeed understand him aright, but he was many times over criminal and base and accursed for desiring to be at enmity with such a man, and for hating one whom he knew to be so excellent and so surpassingly mild, and for plotting against him and trying to rob him of what it was a shame to take from him. But if, on the other hand, his son’s safety was something that he had never hoped for, and the safety of his friends and kinsfolk he had thought difficult or impossible, and he nevertheless chose to be disloyal, this is yet another proof that he was wicked and infatuated and fiercer than a wild beast, and that the Emperor was gentle and mild and magnanimous, since he took pity on the youth of the helpless child, and was merciful to those who were not proved guilty, and ignored and despised the crimes of the usurper. For he who grants what not one of his enemies expects, because the guilt that is on their conscience is so great, beyond a doubt carries off the prize for virtue; for while he tempers justice with
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νικηφόρος, τὴν δίκην μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον καὶ πραό-
τερον μετατιθεῖσ, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενος
τοὺς τὸ μέτριον ἐπιτιθέντας ταῖς τιμωρίαις, ἀνδρεία
dὲ διαφέρων τῷ μηδένα πολέμιον ἁξίωχρεων ὑπο-
lαμβάνειν, φρονήσων δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῷ συγ-
cαταλύει τὰς ἐχθρὰς καὶ οὐ παρατέμπειν εἰς
τοὺς παῖδας οὔδε εἰς ἐγγόνους προφάσει τῆς
ἀκριβοῦς δίκης καὶ τοῦ βούλεσθαι ἡ ἐπιεικῶς μᾶλα
πίτυος δίκην τῶν πονηρῶν ἀφανίζειν τὰ σπέρματα.
ἐκεῖνων γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τόδε, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ
tὴν εἰκόνα παλαιὸς ἀπέφηνε λόγος. ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς
βασιλεὺς μιμούμενος ἄτεχνῶς τὸν θεὸν οἴδε μὲν
καὶ ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἐσμένες μελιττῶν ἐξιπταμένους,
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δρυμωτάτου ξύλου τὸν γλυκὸν καρπὸν
φυόμενον, σὺναὶ φημὶ τὰ χαρίεντα, καὶ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν
tὴν σίδην καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ἀλλῶν φυόμενα ἀνόμοια
tois γεννᾶτι καὶ ἀποτίκτουσιν. οὕκουν οἴεται
ταύτα χρήναι πρὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς διαφθείρειν, ἄλλα
περιμένειν τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἀπω-
σαιμένους τῶν πατέρων τὴν ἀνοίαν καὶ τὴν μωρίαν
ἀγαθοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ σωφροσί, ξηλωτᾶς δὲ γενο-
μένους τῶν πατρῴων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ύφέξειν ἐν
καιρῷ τὴν δίκην, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις ἔργοις καὶ ξυμ-
φοράς παρασαλωθέντας.

Ἀρ’ οὖν ὑμῶν ἰκανός δοκούμεν ἐκτετελεκέναι
τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἔπαινον; ἢ ποθεῖτε ἰκούειν ὑμεῖς καὶ
τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ὡς οὐ μόνον
ἐστὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀήττητος, ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἀἰσχρὰς
ἐπιθυμίας ἐὰν πῶς, οὔτε οἰκίας καλῆς οὔτ’

1 βούλεσθαι Hertlein suggests, βούλεσθαι περ MSS.
THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

¹ A proverb; the pine when cut down does not send up shoots again.  
² Herodotus 6. 37.
ἐπαύλεως πολυτελοῦς οὔτε ὀρμών σμαραγδίνων ἐπιθυμήσας ἀφείλετο βία ἢ καὶ πειθοῖτος κεκτημένους, ἀλλ' οὔδε γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρας οὔδε θεραπαίνης, οὔδε ὅλως τὴν ἁδικον ἀφροδίτην ἠγάπησε, καὶ ὡς οὔδε διὰ ὃραι φύσεων ἁγαθῶν τὴν ἁμέτρου ἀπαιτεῖ πλησμονήν, οὔδε αὐτῷ θέρους ὠρα τοῦ κρυστάλλου μέλει, οὔδε μεταβάλλει πρὸς τὰς Δ ὠρας τὴν οἰκησιν, τοῖς πονουμένοις δὲ ἢ οἱ πάρεστι τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρεσιν ἀντέχων καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρύσος καὶ πρὸς τὰ θάλπη τὰ γενναία; τούτων δὲ εἰ μὲ κελεύοντε φέρειν ὑμῖν ἐμφανῆ τὰ τεκμήρια, γνώριμα μὲν ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσω, μακρὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ διωλύγιος, ἐμοὶ τε οὖ σχολὴ τὰς μοῦσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον θεραπεύειν, ἀλλ' ὠρα λοιπὸν πρὸς ἔργον τρέπεσθαι.
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never coveted a fine house or a costly palace or a necklace of emeralds, and then robbed their owners of them either by violence or persuasion; and that he has never coveted any free-born woman or handmaid or pursued any dishonourable passion; and that he does not even desire an immoderate surfeit of the good things that the seasons produce, or care for ice in summer, or change his residence with the time of year; but is ever at hand to aid those portions of the empire that are in trouble, enduring both frost and extreme heat? But if you should bid me bring before you plain proofs of this, I shall merely say what is familiar to all, and I shall not lack evidence, but the account would be long, a monstrous speech, nor indeed have I leisure to cultivate the Muses to such an extent, for it is now time for me to turn to my work.¹

¹ His campaign in Gaul.
ORATION III
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION III

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

\(^1\) cf. Quintilian 3. 7. 10. on the Gratiarum actio.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΤΣΕΒΙΑΣ
ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Τι ποτε ἄρα χρῆ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων μεγάλα καὶ πέρα¹ μεγάλων, οὕτω φημὶ χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς οὗ τι ἄν τύχῃ τις παρὰ τοὺς πέλας εὐ παθῶν· εἶτα τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀποτίνειν οὔτε ἐπιχειροῦντος οὔτε διανοουμένων, ῥαθύμως δὲ καὶ ὀλγώρως ἔχοντων πρὸς τὸ τὰ δύνατὰ ποιεῖν καὶ διαλύεσθαι τὸ ὀφλημα; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι φαύλους καὶ μοχθηροὺς ύμιστέους; οὔδενος γὰρ οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ἕλαττον μισοῦμεν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ οὐκεῖξομεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν εὖ παθόντες περὶ τοὺς εὑρηγέτας ὅσιν ἀχάριστοι· ἔστι δὲ οὕτως ἀχάριστος μόνων, ὅστε εὐ παθῶν δρᾶ κακῶς ἢ λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις σιωτᾶ καὶ ἀποκρύπτει, λήθη παραδίδους καὶ ἀφανίζω τὰς χάριτας. καὶ τῆς μὲν θηριώδους ἐκείνης καὶ ἀπανθρώπου μοχθηρίας σφόδρα ὀλίγα καὶ εὐαρίθμητα κομιδῆ τὰ παραδείγματα· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀποκρύπτουσι τὸ δοκεῖν εὐ παθεῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ,τι βουλόμενοι· φασὶ δὲ ὄμως θωπείας τινὸς καὶ ἀγεννοῦς κολακείας τὴν δόξαν ἐκκλίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ

¹ πέρα Cobet, ὑπὲρ MSS., Hertlein.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPRESS EUSEBIA

What, pray, ought we to think of those who owe things of price and beyond price—I do not mean gold or silver, but simply any benefit one may happen to receive from one's neighbour—suppose that they neither try nor intend to repay that kindness, but are indolent and do not trouble themselves to do what they can and try to discharge the debt? Is it not evident that we must think them mean and base? Far more I think than any other crime do we hate ingratitude, and we blame those persons who have received benefits and are ungrateful to their benefactors. And the ungrateful man is not only he who repays a kindness with evil deeds or words, but also he who is silent and conceals a kindness and tries to consign it to oblivion and abolish gratitude. Now of such brutal and inhuman baseness as the repayment with evil the instances are few and easily reckoned; but there are many who try to conceal the appearance of having received benefits, though with what purpose I know not. They assert, however, that it is because they are trying to avoid a reputation for a sort of servility and for base flattery. But though I
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toûtous 1 μὲν ὅτι μηδὲν ύγιὲς λέγουσι σαφῶς
eidōs ὁμως ἄφημι, καὶ κείσθω διαφεύγειν αὐτούς,
kαθάπερ οἴονται, κολακείας οὐκ ἄληθῆ δόξαν,
pολλοῖς ἀμα πάθεσιν ἐνόχους φανέντας καὶ
νοσήμασιν αἰσχίστοις πάνω καὶ ἀνελευθέροις. ἦ
γάρ οὐ συμίεντες ἀναίσθητοι λίαν εἰσίν, δὲν οὐδ-
αμός ἀναίσθητον εἶναι χρῆν, ἦ συμίεντες ἐπι-
λήσμονες ὅν ἔχρην εἰς ἀπαντα μεμνῆσθαι τὸν
χρόνον. μεμημένου δὲ καὶ ἀποκνοῦντες δὲ ἀσθη-
ποτοῦν αἰτίας δειλοὶ καὶ βάσκανοι φύσει καὶ
ἀπλῶς ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις δυσμενεῖς, οἳ γε οὐδὲ
tοῖς εὐεργέταις πρᾶοι καὶ προσηθεῖς ἐθέλοντες
eῖναι, εἰτα, ἃν μὲν δὲν λοιδορήσαι ποι καὶ δακεῖν,
όσπερ τὰ θηρία ὅργιλου καὶ ὅξην βλέπουσιν
όσπερ δὲ ἀνάλομα πολυτελὲς φεύγοντες τὸν
ἀληθινὸν ἐπαινοῦν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτως, αὐτίωνται τὰς
ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων εὐφημίας, ἕξον ἐκεῖνο
ἐξετάζειν μόνον, εἰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶσι καὶ
περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦνται τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαί-
νοις χαρίζοντες. οὐδὲ γάρ τοῦτο ἐνεστών εἶπεῖν,
ὡς ἀνωθελὲς χρῆμα ἡ εὐφημία όυτε τοῖς ὑπὲρ δὲν
γέγονεν οὕτε αὐτοῖς ἀλλοις, ὅπωσοι τὴν ἴσην
ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τῶν βίου τάξιν εἰληχότες τῆς ἐν ταῖς
πράξεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀπελεύθησαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
ἀκούσμα τε ἐστιν ἤδυ καὶ προθυμοτέρους παρέχει
περὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν ἔργων τοὺς
dὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ξηλοῦν ἐκεῖνα πειθοὶ καὶ βία παρ-
ώρμησεν ὀρῶντας ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν προλαβόντων

1 toûtous Cobet, oðtoi MSS., Hertlein.
know well enough that what they say is all insincere, nevertheless I let that pass, and suppose we assume that they, as they think, do escape an undeserved reputation for flattery, still they at the same time appear to be guilty of many weaknesses and defects of character that are in the highest degree base and illiberal. For either they are too dense to perceive what no one should fail to perceive, or they are not dense but forgetful of what they ought to remember for all time. Or again, they do remember, and yet shirk their duty for some reason or other, being cowards and grudging by nature, and their hand is against every man without exception, seeing that not even to their benefactors do they consent to be gentle and amiable; and then if there be any opening to slander and bite, they look angry and fierce like wild beasts. Genuine praise they somehow or other avoid giving, as though it were a costly extravagance, and they censure the applause given to noble actions, when the only thing that they need enquire into is whether the eulogists respect truth and rate her higher than the reputation of showing their gratitude by eulogy. For this at any rate they cannot assert, that praise is a useless thing, either to those who receive it or to others besides, who, though they have been assigned the same rank in life as the objects of their praise, have fallen short of their merit in what they have accomplished. To the former it is not only agreeable to hear, but makes them zealous to aim at a still higher level of conduct, while the latter it stimulates both by persuasion and compulsion to imitate that noble conduct, because they see that none of those
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tinēs ἀπεστερήθησαν ὁ μόνον δοῦναί τε καὶ λαβεῖν ἔστι δημοσία καλὸν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς διδόναι καὶ περιβλέπειν, ὅτι όσοι ὁπτί πλείστοι τὸ δοθὲν εἰσονται, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀπειρο-κάλον· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ὑποσχῶν ¹ τὸ χείρε ὑποδέχειτ’ ἂν τις ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, μὴ παντάπασιν ἀποσεισάμενοι αἰδῶ καὶ ἐπιείκειαι τοῦ τρόπου.

Αρκεσίλαος δὲ καὶ διδόν τὸν λαβόντα ἐπειρατό λαθεῖν· συνίει δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῆς πράξεως τοῦ δράσαντα. ἐπαινῶν δὲ ξηλωτῶν μὲν ἀκροατὰς ὡς πλείστοις εὗρεῖν, ἀγαπητῶν δὲ οἴμαι καὶ ὀλίγους. καὶ ἐπῆνει δὲ Σωκράτης πόλλοις καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀγησίλαον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Κύρον τὸν Πέρσην, οὕτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκείνου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑσ πυ νεστράτευτο ἐπὶ βασιλέα ³ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦσις ἐξουγγράφων οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο. έμοι δὲ θανυστὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ, εἰ τοὺς ἀνδρας μὲν τοὺς καλοὺς τε κάγαθος ⁴ προθύμως ἐπαινεσῶμεθα, γυναῖκα δὲ ἀγαθὴν τῆς εὐφημίας οὐκ ἀξιώσαμεν, ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν μεῖον αὐταῖς ἦπερ τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσήκειν ὑπο-λαμβάνοντες. ἣ γὰρ εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ συνετὴν καὶ οἰαν νέμειν ⁵ ἐκάστω τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄξιαν καὶ θαρραλέαν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ ἐλευθερίου καὶ πάντα ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐκεῖνη ὑομενοι χρήναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἶτα ⁷ τῶν

¹ ὑποσχῶν Cobet, ὑποσχεῖν MSS., Hertlein.
² τὸν ὑ Cobet, Naber ὑ MSS., Hertlein.
³ ἐπὶ βασιλέα Cobet, [ἐφ’ Ἐλλάδα] Hertlein.
⁴ καλοὺς τε κάγαθος Cobet, καλοὺς MSS., Hertlein.
⁵ οἶαν νέμειν Hertlein suggests, νέμειν MSS.
⁶ ἐκεῖνη Petavius, ἐκεῖνη MSS., Hertlein.
⁷ εἶτα Cobet adds.
who have anticipated them have been deprived of that which alone it is honourable to give and receive publicly. For to give money openly, and to look anxiously round that as many as possible may know of the gift, is characteristic of a vulgar person. Nay no one would even stretch out his hands to receive it in the sight of all men, unless he had first cast off all propriety of manner and sense of shame. Arcesilaus indeed, when offering a gift, used to try to hide his identity even from the recipient. But in his case the manner of the deed always made known the doer. For a eulogy, however, one is ambitious to obtain as many hearers as possible, and even a small audience is, I think, not to be despised. Socrates, for instance, spoke in praise of many, as did Plato also and Aristotle. Xenophon, too, eulogised King Agesilaus and Cyrus the Persian, not only the elder Cyrus, but him whom he accompanied on his campaign against the Great King, nor did he hide away his eulogies, but put them into his history. Now I should think it strange indeed if we shall be eager to applaud men of high character, and not think fit to give our tribute of praise to a noble woman, believing as we do that excellence is the attribute of women no less than of men. Or shall we who think that such a one ought to be modest and wise and competent to assign to every man his due, and brave in danger, high-minded and generous, and that in a word all such qualities as these should be hers,—shall we, I say,

1 Plutarch, Moralia 63 d.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγκωμίων ἀφαιρησόμεθα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν ψόγον δεδοκιτῶς; "Ομηρὸς δὲ οὐκ ὑσχύνετο τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐπαινέσας οὔδὲ τὴν Ἀλκίνοον γαμετὴν, οὔδὲ εἰ τις ἀλλή διαφερόν-

τως ἁγαθὴ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ὑρετῆς μετέποιηθη. οὐκον οὔδὲ ἐκεῖν ἡ τής ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ δίημαρτεν εὐφημίας. πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις παθεῖν μὲν εὖ καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἁγαθοῦ, σμικροῦ τε ὀμοίως καὶ μεῖζονος, οὔδεν ἔλαττον παρὰ γυναῖκός ἢ παρὰ ἀνδρὸς δεξόμεθα, τὴν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀποτίνειν ὁκνήσομεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δείσθαι καταγέλαστον εἶναι φῶςι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ γενναῖον, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὄδυσσεα τὸν σοφὸν ἀγεννῆ καὶ δειλὸν, ὅτι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἱκέτευν θυγατέρα παῖζον-


c

ςαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λειμῶνος ἔξιν ταῖς ὀμήλεξι παρ-

θένους παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ἁστ. μὴ ποτε οὖν οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς τοῦ Δίος ἀπόσχωνται παῖδος, ἢν "Ομηρὸς φησιν ἀπεικασθείσαν παρ-

θένω καλὴ καὶ γενναία Ὄδυσσει μὲν ἡγήσασθαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια φεροῦσης ὁδοῦ, συμβουλοῦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἕνα καὶ διδάσκαλον γενομένην, δὲν ἐχρῆν εἶσο παρελθόντα δρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, καθάπερ τινὰ ρήτορα ἐξιν τέχνης τέλειου ἰσαί βασιλίδος ἐγκώ-


mou, ἀνωθέν αὐτῷ τοῦ γένους ἀρξαμένην, ἐχει δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ύπὲρ τοῦτων ἔπτη τὸν τρόπου τούτῳ.

De σποινα μὲν πρότα κιχήσαισαν εὐν μεγάροισιν,

Ἀρίτη δ' ὄνωμ' ἔστὶν ἐπώνυμον, ἐκ δὲ τόκην

Τῶν αὐτῶν, οὖπερ τέκον Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα.

1 αὐτῷ Cobet, αὐτῷ MSS., Hertlein.

2 [τῷ] τέχνη Hertlein.
then rob her of the encomium due to her good deeds, from any fear of the charge of appearing to flatter? But Homer was not ashamed to praise Penelope and the consort of Alcinous \(^1\) and other women of exceptional goodness, or even those whose claim to virtue was slight. Nay nor did Penelope fail to obtain her share of praise for this very thing. But besides these reasons for praise, shall we consent to accept kind treatment from a woman no less than from a man, and to obtain some boon whether small or great, and then hesitate to pay the thanks due therefor? But perhaps people will say that the very act of making a request to a woman is despicable and unworthy of an honourable and high-spirited man, and that even the wise Odysseus was spiritless and cowardly because he was a suppliant to the king’s daughter \(^2\) as she played with her maiden companions by the banks of the river. Perhaps they will not spare even Athene the daughter of Zeus, of whom Homer says \(^3\) that she put on the likeness of a fair and noble maiden and guided him along the road that led to the palace, and was his adviser and instructed him what he must do and say when he had entered within; and that, like some orator perfect in the art of rhetoric, she sang an encomium of the queen, and for a prelude told the tale of her lineage from of old. Homer’s verses about this are as follows:

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

\(^1\) Arete. \(^2\) Nausicaa. \(^3\) Odyssey 7. 20. \(^4\) Odyssey 7. 54.
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ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος οἷμαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ ὡσα ἔδρασάν τε καὶ ἐπαθον εἰπὼν, καὶ ὡπώς αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς, τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολομένου νεὸν καὶ νυμφίου, ἐγημὲ τε καὶ ἐτίμησεν,

ὡς οὕτως ἔτι χθονὶ τίτειται ἄλλη,
καὶ ὅσων τυγχάνει

'Εκ τε φίλων παίδων ἐκ τ' αὐτοῦ Ἄλκινώοιο, ἔτι δὲ οἷμαι τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμον, οἷς καθάπερ θεόν ὅρῳσι πορευμένην διὰ τοῦ ἀστεος, τέλος ἐπέθηκε ταῖς εὐφημίαις ξηλωτον ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ,

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι νόον γε καὶ αὐτὴ ἰδεῦται ἐσθλοῦ λέγων, καὶ ὡς κρίνοις εὑ ἡπίστατο, οἷς ὅν τ' εὖ φρονέσθη, καὶ διαλύει τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλή- ματα τοῖς πολίταις ἀναφυόμενα ξύν δίκη. ταύτην δὴ οὖν ἰκετεύσας εἰ τύχους εὑνο, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη,

'Ελπωρὴ τοι ἐπείτα φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέουσαι
Οἶκον ἐς ψυρόφουν

ὁ δ' ἐπείσθη τῇ ξυμβουλῇ. ἀρ' οὖν ἔτι δεησόμεθα μειζόνων εἰκόνων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἐναργεστέρων, ὡστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακευμὸν δοκεῖν ὑποψίαν; οὐχὶ δὲ ἢδη μιμοῦμεν τὸν σοφὸν ἐκεῖνον καὶ θεόν ποιητὴν ἐπαινέσομεν Εὐσεβίαν τὴν ἀρίστην, ἐπιθυμοῦντες μὲν ἐπαινον αὐτῆς ἄξιον διεξελθεῖν, ἀγαπῶντες δὲ, εἰ καὶ μετρίως τυγχάνοιμεν οὕτω καλῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐπιτηδειμά-
Then he goes back and begins with Poseidon and tells of the origin of that family and all that they did and suffered, and how when her father perished, still young and newly-wed, her uncle married her, and honoured her

"As no other woman in the world is honoured,"

and he tells of all the honour she receives

"From her dear children and from Alcinous himself,"

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

"For indeed she too has no lack of excellent understanding,"

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

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

And he was persuaded by her counsel. Shall I then need yet greater instances and clearer proofs, so that I may escape the suspicion of seeming to flatter? Shall I not forthwith imitate that wise and inspired poet and go on to praise the noble Eusebia, eager as I am to compose an encomium worthy of her, though I shall be thankful if, even in a moderate degree, I succeed in describing accomplishments so many and
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ton; καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκεῖνη, σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ πραότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας ἢ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἄνδρα φιλίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἐγγεγενεῖς τιμῆς. προσήκει δὲ οὕτω καθάπερ ἱχνεσιν ἐπόμενον τοῖς ἦδη βιθεισιν οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ξύν εὐφημίας τάξιν, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνη, πατρίδος τε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ πατέρων μνημονεύοντα, καὶ ὅπως ἐγήματο καὶ φίτιν, καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι τρόπον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς πατρίδος πολλὰ σεμνὰ λέγειν ἔχων, τὰ μὲν διὰ παλαιότητα παρῆσεν μοι δοκῶ· φαίνεται γὰρ εἶναι τῶν μῦθων οὐ πόρρω ὅποιον δὴ τι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Μουσῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς εἶν ὅπουθεν ἐκ τῆς Πιερίας, ὡς τὲ ἐξ Ἐλικῶνος εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπὸν ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τὸν πατέρα κληθεῖσαι. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τοιούτον ἔτερον, μῦθῳ μᾶλλον ἡ λόγῳ προσήκου, ἀπολειπτέον· ὁλίγα δὲ εἰπεῖν τῶν οὐ πάσιν γνωρίμων τυχὸν οὐκ ἀτοπον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λόγον. Μακεδόνων γὰρ οἰκίσαι φασὶ τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνους, Τημένου παῖδας, οἱ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν λήξει νεμόμενοι καὶ στασιάζουντες τέλος ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἀποκίαι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ φιλοτιμίας· εἰτα ἐλόντες τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ γένους ὀλβίον ἀπολιπόντες 2 βασι-
so admirable? And I shall be thankful if I succeed in describing also those noble qualities of hers, her temperance, justice, mildness and goodness, or her affection for her husband, or her generosity about money, or the honour that she pays to her own people and her kinsfolk. It is proper for me, I think, to follow in the track as it were of what I have already said, and, as I pursue my panegyric, so arrange it as to give the same order as Athene, making mention, as is natural, of her native land, her ancestors, how she married and whom, and all the rest in the same fashion as Homer.

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

¹ Eusebia belonged to a noble family of Thessalonica, in Macedonia; she was married to Constantius in 352 A.D.
² Near Mount Olympus. ³ Herodotus 8. 137.
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λείς ἐκ βασιλέων διετέλουν καθάπερ κλήρον τήν τιμήν διαδεχόμενοι. πάντας μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐπαίνειν οὔτε ἄλθησε οὔτε οἴμαι ραδιόν. πολλῶν δὲ ἄγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων καὶ καταλιπόντων Ἐλληνικοῦ τρόπου μυνεία πάγκαλα, Φιλιππος καὶ ὁ τοῦτο παῖς ἅρτη διηνεκάτην πάντων, ὅσοι πάλαι Μακεδονίας καὶ Θράκης ἠρξαν, οἴμαι δὲ ἔγγογε καὶ ὅσοι Λυδῶν ἡ Μῆδων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, πλην μόνον τοῦ Καμβύσου παιδός, δε ἐκ τῶν Μῆδων ἢ Πέρσας τὴν βασιλείαν μετεστήσεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπειράθη τὴν Μακεδόνων αὐξῆσαι δύναμιν, καὶ τῆς Ἐυρώπης τὰ πλείστα καταστρεψάμενος ὅρον ἐπονήσατο πρὸς ἑν μὲν καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τὴν θάλατταν, ἀπ’ ἄρκτων δὲ οἴμαι τὸν Ἰστρὸν καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τὸ Ὀρικὸν ἔθνος. ὁ τοῦτον δὲ αὐ παῖς ὑπὸ τὸ Σταγειρίτη σοφὸς τρεφόμενο τοσοῦτον μεγαλοψυχία τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διήνεγκε καὶ προσέτι τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ τῇ θαρραλεότητι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ύπερβαλλόμενος, ὡστ’1 οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῷ ζήν υπελάμβανεν, εἰ μὴ ξυμπάντων μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πάντων δὲ ἔθνων κρατήσειν. οὕκοιν τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν ἐπῆλθε σύμπασαν καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ ἀνίσχυτα πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἠλιον προσεκύνει, ἀφρημένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐυρώπην, ὅπως τὰ λειτόμενα περιβαλλόμενος γῆς τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάττης κύριος γένοιτο, τὸ χρεών ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατέλαβε. Μακεδόνες δὲ ἀπάντων ἦρξον, ὅν ὑπ’ ἐκείνῳ κτησάμενοι πόλεων καὶ ἔθνων ἐτύχον. ἄρ’ οὖν ἐτι χρη διὰ μειζόνων

1 ὡστ’ Hertlein suggests.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

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

¹ Cyrus.  ² A town on the coast of Illyria. ³ Aristotle; "who bred Great Alexander to subdue the world." Milton, Paradise Regained 4. ⁴ i.e. of Greeks.
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tekmērīsōn δηλοῦν, ὡς ἔνδοξος μὲν ἡ Μακεδονία D καὶ μεγάλη τὸ πρόσθεν γένοιτο; ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ κράτιστον ἢ πόλις ἐκείνη, ἂν ἀνέστηςαν, πεσόντων, οἶμαι, Θετταλῶν, τῆς κατ’ ἐκεῖνων ἐπώνυμου νίκης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἐτι δέομαι μακρότερα λέγειν.

Εὐγενείας γε μὴν τί ἄν ἔχομεν ἐτί πράγματα ἐπιξητούντες φανερώτερον καὶ ἐναργές μάλλον τεκμήριόν; θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἑστὶν ἄνδρὸς ἀξίου νομισθέντος τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ἔτους ἄρχην ἄρχειν,1 πάλαι μὲν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βασιλεῖαν ἀτεχνῶς ὠνομαζομένην, μεταβαλοῦσαν δὲ διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς χρωμένους τῇ δυνάμει τὸ ὄνομα· νῦν δὲ ἡδὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπίλειποὺσης, ἑπειδὴ πρὸς μοναρχίαν τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μεθέστηκε, τιμὸν καθ’ αὐτὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντῶν στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχύν ἀντίρρητος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας οὐν ἄθλον ἀποκειμένη καὶ γέρας ἄρετῆς ἡ πίστεως ἡ τινὸς εὖνοιας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας περὶ τοὺς τῶν ὄλων ἀρχόντως ἢ πράξεως λαμπρᾶς, τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔχουσιν ἁγαθὸς οἶλον ἁγαλμα καὶ κόσμος ἐπιτιθεμένη· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ὄνομάτων τε καὶ ἔργων, ὅπωσα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης πολιτείας διασώζει τινὰ φαύλην καὶ ἄμυδρὰν εἰκόνα, ἡ παντάπασιν ὑπεριδόντες διὰ τὴν ἰσχύν κατέγνωσαν, ἡ προσέμενοι γε διὰ βίον καρποῦνται τὰς ἑπτωνυμίας γένος δὲ, οἶμαι, ταύτης οὕτε τὴν ἄρχην ὑπερείδον, χαίρουσι τε2 καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν τυχχάνοντες· καὶ οὕτε C

1 ἄρχειν Hertlein adds.
2 οὕτε—τε Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—δὲ MSS.

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necessary to show by stronger proofs that Macedonia was famous and great of old? And the most important place in Macedonia is that city which they restored, after, I think, the fall of the Thessalians, and which is called after their victory over them.\textsuperscript{1} But concerning all this I need not speak at greater length.

And of her noble birth why should I take any further trouble to seek for clearer or more manifest proof than this? I mean that she is the daughter of a man who was considered worthy to hold the office that gives its name to the year,\textsuperscript{2} an office that in the past was powerful and actually called royal, but lost that title because of those who abused their power. But now that in these days its power has waned, since the government has changed to a monarchy, the bare honour, though robbed of all the rest, is held to counterbalance all power, and for private citizens is set up as a sort of prize and a reward of virtue, or loyalty, or of some favour done to the ruler of the empire, or for some brilliant exploit, while for the emperors, it is added to the advantages they already possess as the crowning glory and adornment. For all the other titles and functions that still retain some feeble and shadowy resemblance to the ancient constitution they either altogether despised and rejected, because of their absolute power, or they attached them to themselves and enjoy the titles for life. But this office alone, I think, they from the first did not despise, and it still gratifies them when they obtain it for the year. Indeed there is no private citizen or emperor, nor has ever

\textsuperscript{1} Thessalonica. \textsuperscript{2} The consulship.

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idioti ούδεις οὔτε βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἢ γέγονεν, ὦς οὐ ξηλωτόν ἐνόμισεν ὑπατος ἐπονομασθήναι. εἰ δὲ, ὅτι πρώτος ἔτυχεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ γέγονεν ἁρχηγὸς τῷ γένει τῆς εὐδοξίας, ἐλαττῶν τις ἐχειν αὐτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολαμβάνει, λίαν ἐξαπατόμενος οὐ μανθάνει· τῷ παντὶ γὰρ οἷμαι κρείττον ἐστι καὶ σεμνότερον ἁρχὴν παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις περιφανείας τοσαύτης ἢ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν προ-
γόνων. ἔτει καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης οἰκιστήν γενέσθαι κρείττον ἡ πολίτην, καὶ λαβεῖν ὅτι οὐν ἁγαθὸν τὸν δοῦναι τῷ παντὶ καταδεύστερον. λαμβάνει δὲ ἐόικαςι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων οἱ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πολίται παρὰ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ἀφορμᾶς τινὰς πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. ὅστις δὲ ἀπο-
didωσι πάλιν ἐς ἐαυτὸ προγόνοις τε καὶ πατρίδι μείζωνα τιμῆς ὑπόθεσιν, λαμπρότεραν μὲν ἐκεῖνην καὶ σεμνότεραν, τοὺς πατέρας δὲ εὐδοξότερους ἀποφαίνων, οὕτοι οὐδενὶ δοκεῖ καταλπεῖν ἐν εὐγενείας λόγον ἀμιλλανέοι οὐδὲ ἐστιν ὅστις ἐκεῖνον φῆσει κρείττον γεγονέναι ἔς ἁγαθῶν μὲν γὰρ ἁγαθὸν φῦναι χρῆ. ὁ δὲ ἐς εὐδοξίων εὐδοξότερος γενόμενος, ἐς ταῦτον ἁρετῆ τῆς τύχης πνεούσης, οὕτος οὐδενὶ διδώσῳ ἀπορεῖν, εἰ τῆς εὐγενείας εἰκότως μεταποιεῖται.

Εὐσεβία δὲ, περὶ ἡς ὁ λόγος, παῖς μὲν ὑπάτου γέγονεν, γαμετῆ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλείως ἀνδρείου, σῴφρονος, συνετοῦ, δικαίου, χρηστοῦ καὶ πράου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου, ὃς ἐπειδὴ πατρίφαν οὕσαν αὐτῷ

2 δοκεῖ καταλπεῖν Hertlein suggests, καταλπεῖν V, M, κατα-
λεῖπεi MSS.
been, who did not think it an enviable distinction to be entitled consul. And if there be anyone who thinks that, because he I spoke of was the first of his line to win that title and to lay the foundations of distinction for his family, he is therefore inferior to the others, he fails to understand that he is deceived exceedingly. For it is, in my opinion, altogether nobler and more honourable to lay the foundations of such great distinction for one's descendants than to receive it from one's ancestors. For indeed it is a nobler thing to be the founder of a mighty city than a mere citizen and to receive any good thing is altogether less dignified than to give. Indeed it is evident that sons receive from their fathers, and citizens from their cities, a start, as it were, on the path of glory. But he who by his own effort pays back to his ancestors and his native land that honour on a higher scale, and makes his country show more brilliant and more distinguished, and his ancestors more illustrious, clearly yields the prize to no man on the score of native nobility. Nor is there any man who can claim to be superior to him I speak of. For the good must needs be born of good parents. But when the son of illustrious parents himself becomes more illustrious, and fortune blows the same way as his merit, he causes no one to feel doubt, if he lays claim, as is reasonable, to be of native nobility.

Now Eusebia, the subject of my speech, was the daughter of a consul, and is the consort of an Emperor who is brave, temperate, wise, just, virtuous, mild and high-souled, who, when he acquired the
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τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκτήσατο, ἀφελομένος τοῦ βία λαβόντος, γάμου τε ἐδειτο πρὸς παιδῶν γένεσιν, οὗ κληρονομήσουσι τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ταῦταν ἄξιαν ἐκρίνε τῆς κοινωνίας γεγονὼς ἥδη σχεδὸν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης κύριος. καίτοι πῶς ἀν τις μείζονα μαρτυρίαν ἐπιζητήσει τῇςδε; οὐ μόνον πέρι τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς, ὅσα χρὴν οἴμαι τὴν βασίλεια τοσοῦτῳ συνιούσαν, καθάπερ φερνήν οἴκοθεν ἐπιφερομένην, κομίζειν ἀγαθά, παιδείαν όρθήν, σύνεσιν ἐμμελῆ, ἀκριβῶς καὶ ὧραν σώματος καὶ κάλλος τοσοῦτον, ὡστε ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰς ἄλλας παρθένους, καθάπερ οἴμαι περὶ τῇ σελήνῃ πληθούσῃ οἱ διαφανεῖς ἀστέρες κατανγαζόμενοι κρύπτουσι τὴν μορφὴν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲν1 ἔξαρκειν δοκεῖ πρὸς κοινωνίαν βασιλείας, πάντα δὲ ἁμαρτανοῦσαν ἄγαθάδε, διανοοῦσαν ἐν γενήθηκεν, εἰς ταῦτα συνεληλυθότα πόρρωθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐφελκυσάμενα μᾶλὰ ὀξύνοι ἤγε τῶν νυμφῶν. κάλλος μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γένους βοηθείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν οἴμαι στερόμενον οὐδὲ ἰδιωτὴν ἀκόλουθον ἵσχυς πείθειν τὴν γαμήλιον ἀνάγαι λαμπάδα, ἄμφω δὲ ἁμαρτανοῦσαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πολλάκις, ἀπολευθεροῦσαν δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν τρόπων ἀρμονίας καὶ χάριτος οὐ λιάν ἐφάνη ξηλωτά.

Ταῦτα ἐπιστάμενον σαφῶς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σώφρονα φαίνει ἄν εἰκότως πολλάκις βουλευσάμενον ἐλέσθαι τὸν γάμον, τὰ μὲν οἴμαι πυνθα-

1 οὐδὲν MSS., οὐδὲ εὖ V, Hertlein.
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throne that had belonged to his ancestors, and had won it back from him who had usurped it by violence, and desired to wed that he might beget sons to inherit his honour and power, deemed this lady worthy of his alliance, when he had already become master of almost the whole world. And indeed why should one search for stronger evidence than this? Evidence, I mean, not only of her native nobility, but of all those combined gifts which she who is united to so great an Emperor ought to bring with her from her home as a dowry, wit and wisdom, a body in the flower of youth, and beauty so conspicuous as to throw into the shade all other maidens beside, even as, I believe, the radiant stars about the moon at the full are outshone and hide their shape.¹ For no single one of these endowments is thought to suffice for an alliance with an Emperor, but all together, as though some god were fashioning for a virtuous Emperor a fair and modest bride, were united in her single person and, attracting not his eyes alone, brought from afar that bridegroom blest of heaven. For beauty alone, if it lacks the support of birth and the other advantages I have mentioned, is not enough to induce even a licentious man, a mere citizen, to kindle the marriage torch, though both combine have brought about many a match, but when they occur without sweetness and charm of character they are seen to be far from desirable.

¹ Ἀπερές μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν ἄψι ἀποκρύπτοις φάεννον εἴδος, Sappho fr. 3.
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νόμενον, ὅσα χρήν δι᾽ ἀκοῆς περὶ αὐτῆς μαθεῖν, τεκμαιρόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν ὑπὲρ ἢς τὰ μὲν ἀλλα τί δεὶ λέγοντας διατρίβειν, καθάπερ οὐκ ἔχοντας ὃδιον ἐγκώμιον τῆς, ὑπὲρ ἢς ὁ λόγος, διελθεῖν; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἵσος οὔτε εἶπεῖν οὔτε ἐπακούσαι πολὺ καὶ ἐργώδες, ὅτι δὴ γένος μὲν αὐτῆς σφόδρα Ἑλληνικὸν, Ἑλληνῶν τῶν παντὶ, καὶ πόλις ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Μακεδονίας, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπὲρ τε Εὐάδνην τὴν Καπανέως καὶ τὴν Ῥεταλῆν ἐκείνην Λαοδάμειαν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοὺς καὶ νέοις καὶ ἕτει νυμφίους τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι δαιμόνων βίως βασικάνων ἡ μοιρῶν νήμασι τοῦ ζῆν ὑπερείδου διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, ἡ δὲ, ἐπειδή τὸ χρεών τὸν κουρίδιον αὐτῆς ἀνδρὰ κατέλαβε, τοῖς παισὶ προσκαθημένη τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη κλέος αὐτῆς εἰργάσατο, ὡστε τὴ μὲν Πηνελόπῃ περιόντως ἐτι καὶ πλανωμένου τοῦ γῆ- μαντος, προσήζει τὰ μειράκια μηνιστευόμενα ἐκ τε Ἰθάκης καὶ Σάμου καὶ Δουλιχίου, τῇ δὲ ἄνηρ μὲν ουδεὶς καλὸς καὶ μέγας ἢ ἱσχυρὸς καὶ πλοῦσιος ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ὑπεμείνε στοτε· τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐαυτῷ συνοικεῖν ἄξιαν ἐκρίνει, καὶ ἔδρασε τὸν γάμον λαμπρῶς μετὰ τὰ τρόπαια, ἐθνή καὶ πόλεις καὶ δήμους3 ἐστιῶν.

Εἰ δὲ τις ἄρα ἐκείνων ἐπακούειν ποθεῖ, ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐκαλεῖτο μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἡ νύμφη,

1 τῆς Cobet adds.
2 Before ὑπὲρ Horkel and Hertlein omit ὑπὲρ.
3 δήμουs Naber, μούσας MSS., Hertlein.
marriage, partly making enquiries about all that was needful to learn about her by hearsay, but judging also from her mother of the daughter's noble disposition. Of that mother why should I take time to say more, as though I had not to recite a special encomium on her who is the theme of my speech? But so much perhaps I may say briefly and you may hear without weariness, that her family is entirely Greek, yes Greek of the purest stock, and her native city was the metropolis of Macedonia, and she was more self-controlled than Evadne the wife of Capaneus, and the famous Laodameia of Thessaly. For these two, when they had lost their husbands, who were young, handsome and still newly-wed, whether by the constraint of some envious powers, or because the threads of the fates were so woven, threw away their lives for love. But the mother of the Empress, when his fate had come upon her wedded lord, devoted herself to her children, and won a great reputation for prudence, so great indeed, that whereas Penelope, while her husband was still on his travels and wanderings, was beset by those young suitors who came to woo her from Ithaca and Samos and Dulichium, that lady no man however fair and tall or powerful and wealthy ever ventured to approach with any such proposals. And her daughter the Emperor deemed worthy to live by his side, and after setting up the trophies of his victories, he celebrated the marriage with great splendour, feasting nations and cities and peoples.

But should any haply desire to hear of such things as how the bride was bidden to come from Macedonia

1 Euripides, *Suppliants* 494.
2 The wife of Protesilaus.
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tis de hyn o tis pompihs topos, armatow kai
ippow kai ochymatow pantodapow xrysoi kai
argyro kai choreialkou meta tis arisths tekhns
eirygasmewn, istow paiidikow сфрда аkouymatow
epitymwn kathaper gar oima kitharidou tivos
deziou tivn tekhyn estw de, ei boilei, Terpsandros
outos h o Methymnaios ekeinos, dhn dhn logos exei
daimonia pompih xristamewn xilomousosteron tou
deiphinou tuchewn h twn xympleonton, kai ep tivn
Lakonikh akran kumishtinai thelege gar oima
tous durytuchew naftas osa ekeinos apd tis tekhyn
eirygastato, autihs de ekeinh ypereorw kai
oudemian oran epoiounto tis mouistikhs eih dh our
sis toin androin ekeinoi toin kratitiston epilezame
menos kai apodous toin peri to swna kosome tiv
tekhyn preptona einta eis theatro paragaio
pantodapw androw kai xynaiakow kai paiidw
fuisei te kai hlixia kai tois allous epiteudeiasm
diaforontow, ouk an oieiste tous mev paiides kai
tovn androw kai xynaiakow 1 opoioi toioutoi eis
tiv eshteta kai tivn kitharan apoiblepontas eke
petylhxh thein wpros tivn ophw, toin androw de
tovs amatheterous kai xynaiakow plh xfordra
olhwn apan to plhtheta idouh kai lusth krinein
ta kroumata, mouistikow de andra, tous nymous
exepistamewn tivn tekhyn, ouste mignume tiv meli
tiv idoush xwv faiilos anechetai, duxherainev
te 3 kai eis 4 touz topous tivs mouistikhs diaftheirou

1 toin before xynaiakow Hertlein omits.
2 nymous Hertlein suggests, logous MSS.
3 te Hertlein suggests, de MSS. 4 eis [tis] Hertlein.
with her mother, and what was the manner of the cavalcade, of the chariots and horses and carriages of all sorts, decorated with gold and silver and copper of the finest workmanship, let me tell him that it is extremely childish of him to wish to hear such things. It is like the case of some player on the cithara who is an accomplished artist—let us say if you please Terpander or he of Methymna\(^1\) of whom the story goes that he enjoyed a divine escort and found that the dolphin cared more for music than did his fellow-voyagers, and was thus conveyed safely to the Laconian promontory.\(^2\)

For though he did indeed charm those miserable sailors by his skilful performance, yet they despised his art and paid no heed to his music. Now, as I was going to say, if some one were to choose the best of those two musicians, and were to clothe him in the raiment suited to his art, and were then to bring him into a theatre full of men, women and children of all sorts, varying in temperament and age and habits besides, do you not suppose that the children and those of the men and women who had childish tastes would gaze at his dress and his lyre, and be marvellously smitten with his appearance, while the more ignorant of the men, and the whole crowd of women, except a very few, would judge his playing simply by the criterion of pleasure or the reverse; whereas a musical man who understood the rules of the art would not endure that the melodies should be wrongly mixed for the sake of giving pleasure, but would resent it if the player did not preserve

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1 Arion. 2 Taenarum.
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cal ei taís árrmóniaiws µή deóntwos χρότο µηδὲ époménos tois nómois tíhs álłthèws kai théias moušikís; òròw de épìmenonta tois xomísðeîsi kai ou kîbðêlou yðònv, katharâv de kai àkhratôn tois ðeataís énergássámevn âpeîsi tôttou épainwvn kai ékplhptómevn, òtî ðê sín téchnh múdën ádikovn tás Moúsas té Ôeátwv ësìghégon. tôvn de tîn álðougyâda kai tîn kîðâran épainwvnta lîrneîn oísetai kai ánontâînv; kai ei diâ plêionov1 tà toiaúta diìgeítai, léxei te ðêðísth kosmîwn kai épîleâînvn tô fàûlôn kai ángenvs tôw ðíygý- 
mâtovn, yèlloóstéron xomízêti tôw ápopotmènêvn tôs kényhrôs épîxerónvntov, kâðâûper ðîmâi fâsî tôv Mûrômkiôtôv àntitattómevn tô Ôeídôn téchnh. 
oûkôn ouûdê ðîmîs ëkóntes aûtvous taútwis úpô-
thîsîmevn tàis aítâis, ðîmâîwv polûteîlón kai 
dôrwn pàntoîwv ðömwn te kai stefánwv katâ-
loghvn tôv èk bâsiléwv makrûn tiva tôttou 
àdôntes, ouûdê òsì áptímtwv ði dîmî ðêxîûmevn kai 
chârîntes, ouûdê ðîsâ kâta ðîn ðôdôn èkeínhn lâmrptrâ 
kai ðêlîwta ñègonve kai èmnîsðh. àllî èpêîdh 
tôv bâsiléwv eìsw pârhîlêve kai tíh èpînwvmíâs 
taútwis ðêiwôth, tí prôtwv èrgov èkeínhn ñègonve, 
kai àusîs deûterov, kai èp' àuvû tvítov, kai vôllâ 
dê múlâ tô ënteûvên; ou gàr, ëî sfôðra lêngwv 
èðêîmi kai makras ùpèr tôttwv bîblwv ëvsìg-
thênav, àrkkêiwev ùpólàmbâînv tê plîhve tôv 
èrgov, ðîsâ èkeínhn frôñwsw kai práâttâ kai

1 diâ plêionov Hertlein suggests, métâ plêionov MSS.
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the modes of the music and did not use the harmonies properly, and conformably to the laws of genuine and inspired music? But if he saw that he was faithful to the principles of his art and produced in the audience a pleasure that was not spurious but pure and uncontaminated, he would go home praising the musician, and filled with admiration because his performance in the theatre was artistic and did the Muses no wrong. But such a man thinks that anyone who praises the purple raiment and the lyre is foolish and out of his mind, while, if he goes on to give full details about such outward things, adorning them with an agreeable style and smoothing away all that is worthless and vulgar in the tale, then the critic thinks him more ridiculous than those who try to carve cherry-stones,¹ as I believe is related of Myrmecides ² who thus sought to rival the art of Pheidias. And so neither will I, if I can help it, lay myself open to this charge by reciting the long list of costly robes and gifts of all kinds and necklaces and garlands that were sent by the Emperor, nor how the folk in each place came to meet her with welcome and rejoicing, nor all the glorious and auspicious incidents that occurred on that journey, and were reported. But when she entered the palace and was honoured with her imperial title, what was the first thing she did and then the second and the third and the many actions that followed? For however much I might wish to tell of them and to compose lengthy volumes about them, I think that, for the majority, those of her deeds will be sufficient that more conspicuously

¹ Literally seeds or small beads.
² Famed for his minute carving of ivory.
σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἑπιείκειάν τε καὶ ἑλευθερίαττα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐξεμαρτύρησε. Καὶ λαμπρότερον, ἣ νῦν ὁ παρὼν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος δηλοῦν ἑπιχειρεῖ καὶ ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς πάλαι διὰ τῶν ἑργῶν ἐγνωκότας. οὐ μὴν ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνον δυσχέρεσ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον ἐφάνη, πάντελος ἄξιον ὑπὲρ ἄπαντων ὑποσιωπήσαι, πειράσθαι δὲ εἷς δύναμιν φράξειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς μὲν φρονήσεως ποιεῖσθαι σημείον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς πάσης, ὅτι τὸν γῆμαντα διέθηκεν οὕτω περὶ αὐτῆς, ὥστε πρὸ ὧν ἄξιον γυναῖκα καλῆν καὶ γενναίαν.

"Ὡστε ἑγώνε θὰ Πηνελόπης πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νομίσας ἑπαίνων ἄξια τούτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα θαυμάζω, ὅτι δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα λίαι ἐπείθε στέργειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτῆς ὑπερορῶντα μὲν, ὡς φασί, δαιμονίων γάμων, ἀτιμάζοντα δὲ οὐ μεῖον τὴν τῶν Φαίακων ἐνγεγένειαν. Καίτοι γε ἐνοχὸν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι ἑρωτικὸς, Καλυψῶ καὶ Κάρη καὶ Ναυσικάα καὶ ἴνα αὐταῖς τὰ βασίλεια πάγκαλα, κήπων τινῶν καὶ παραδείσων ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυτευμένων μάλα ἀμφιλαβέσαι καὶ κατασκεύοις τοῖς δέντροις, λειμώνες τε ἄνθεσι ποικίλοις καὶ μαλακῇ τῇ πόλι βρύοντες·

Κρῆναί ὁ ἐξείης πίσερες ρέον ὑδατι λευκῷ καὶ ἑτερήλει περὶ τὴν οἰκίαιν ἡμερίς ἡβώσασα σταφυλῆς οἶμαι τῆς γενναίας, βρεθομένη τοίς βότρυσι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξιν ἐτερα τοιαῦτα, πλὴν ὥσον πολυτελέστερα, ἀτε οἶμαι ποιητὰ ἔως τέχνη, τῆς τῶν αὐτοφυῶν ἔλαττον μετείχε χάριτος καὶ ἤπτου εἶναι ἑδοκεὶ ἐκεῖνων ἔρασμα. τῆς

1 ἡβώσα Cobet, ἡβώσα MSS., Hertlein.
witnessed to her wisdom and clemency and modesty and benevolence and goodness and generosity and her other virtues, than does now the present account of her, which tries to enlighten and instruct those who have long known it all from personal experience. For it would not be at all proper, merely because the task has proved to be difficult or rather impossible, to keep silence about the whole, but one should rather try, as far as one can, to tell about those deeds, and to bring forward as a proof of her wisdom and of all her other virtues the fact that she made her husband regard her as it is fitting that he should regard a beautiful and noble wife.

Therefore, though I think that many of the other qualities of Penelope are worthy of praise, this I admire beyond all, that she so entirely persuaded her husband to love and cherish her, that he despised, we are told, unions with goddesses, and equally rejected an alliance with the Phaeacians. And yet they were all in love with him, Calypso, Circe, Nausicaa. And they had very beautiful palaces and gardens and parks withal, planted with wide-spreading and shady trees, and meadows gay with flowers, in which soft grass grew deep: "And four fountains in a row flowed with shining water."

And a lusty wild vine bloomed about her dwelling, with bunches of excellent grapes, laden with clusters. And at the Phaeacian court there were the same things, except that they were more costly, seeing that, as I suppose, they were made by art, and hence had less charm and seemed less lovely than those that were of natural growth. Now to all

1 *Odyssey* 5. 70. 2 The cave of Calypso.
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τρυφής δὲ αὖ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ προσέτι τῆς περὶ τὰς νήσους ἐκεῖνας εἰρήνης καὶ ἰσυχίας τίνα οὐκ ἂν ἦττηθήναι δοκεῖτε ¹ τοσοῦτος ἀνατλάντα πόνους καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἔτι ύφορώμενον δεινότερα ² πείσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐν θαλάσσῃ τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῆς, πρὸς ἐκατόν νεανίσκους ἡβόωνται εὐ μάλα μόνον ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλοντα, ὅπερ οὐδὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐκεῖνῳ ποτὲ συνηνέχθη; εἰ τις οὖν ἔροιτο τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παίζων ὡδὲ πως· τί ποτε, ὦ σοφώτατε ῥήτορ ἡ στρατηγὴ ἢ ὅ τι χρή σε ὀνομάζειν, τοσοῦτος ἐκών ὑπέμεινας πόνους, ἐξόν εἶναι ὀλβιον καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τυχὼν δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατον εἰ τι χρῆ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις Καλυψοῦς πιστεῦειν, σὺ δὲ ἐλόμενος τὰ χείρω πρὸ τῶν βελτίων τοσοῦτος σαυτῷ προστεθείκας πόνους, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Σχερίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἐθελήσας, ἐξόν ἐκεῖ που παυσάμενον τῆς πλάνης καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπηλλάξθαι· σὺ δὲ ἣμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔγνως στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἄθλους δὴ τινάς καὶ ἀποδημίαν ἑτέραν ἐκτελεῖν οὕτι τῆς πρόσθεν, ὡς γε τὸ εἰκός ἀπονοτέραν οὐδὲ κουφοτέραν. τί δὴ οὖν οἴεσθε πρὸς ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον εἶπεῖν ἔχειν; ἄρ' οὖχ ὅτι τῇ Πηνελόπῃ συνεῖναι ἐθέλων τοὺς ἄθλους αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς στρατείας χαρίεντα διηγήματα φέρειν ὑπέλαβε; ταῦτα τοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πεποίηκεν αὐτῷ παραινοῦσαν μεμνῆσθαι πάντων, ὅν τε εἰδὲ 114 θεαμάτων καὶ δὲν ἦκουσεν ἀκουσμάτων,

ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τῇ εὔπησθα γυναικί,

¹ δοκεῖτε Hertlein suggests, εἰκὸς Reiske δοκεῖ MSS.
² δεινότερα Hertlein suggests, δεινότατα MSS.
that luxury and wealth, and moreover to the peace and quiet that surrounded those islands, who do you think would not have succumbed, especially one who had endured so great toils and dangers and expected that he would have to suffer still more terrible hardships, partly by sea and partly in his own house, since he had to fight all alone against a hundred youths in their prime, a thing which had never happened to him even in the land of Troy? Now if someone in jest were to question Odysseus somewhat in this fashion: "Why, O most wise orator or general, or whatever one must call you, did you endure so many toils, when you might have been prosperous and happy and perhaps even immortal, if one may at all believe the promises of Calypso? But you chose the worse instead of the better, and imposed on yourself all those hardships and refused to remain even in Scheria, though you might surely have rested there from your wandering and been delivered from your perils; but behold you resolved to carry on the war in your own house and to perform feats of valour and to accomplish a second journey, not less toilsome, as seemed likely, nor easier than the first!" What answer then do you think he would give to this? Would he not answer that he longed always to be with Penelope, and that those contests and campaigns he purposed to take back to her as a pleasant tale to tell? For this reason, then, he makes his mother exhort him to remember everything, all the sights he saw and all the things he heard, and then she says: "So that in the days to come thou mayst tell it to thy wife."  

1 cf. Misopogon 342a. In both passages Julian evidently echoes some line, not now extant, from Menander, Duskolos.

2 Odyssey 11. 223.
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φησίν. ο ὁ δὲ οὐδενὸς ἐπιλαθόμενος, ἑπεδῆ πρῶτον ἀφίκετο καὶ τῶν μειρακίων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια κωμαξόντων ἐκράτει ξὺν δίκη, πάντα ἄθροῶς αὐτῇ διηγεῖτο, ὅσα τε ἐδρασε καὶ ὅσα ἀνέτλη, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο ὑπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν ἀναπειθόμενος ἐκτελεῖν διενορρήτο ἄπορρητον δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐδὲ ἐν, ἀλλ' ἥξιον κοινωνιν γέγνεσθαι τῶν βουλευμάτων καὶ ὁ,τι πρακτέοι εἰς συννοεῖν καὶ συνεξευρίσκειν. ἀρα τούτῳ ὑμῖν τῆς Πνευμόνης ὄλγων ἐγκώμιον δοκεῖ, ἢ ἥδη 1 τις ἄλλη τῆς ἐκείνης ἄρετῆς ὑπερβαλλομενὴ γαμετή τε οὕσα βασιλείως ἀνδρείου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου καὶ σωφρονος τοσαύτην εὐνοιαν ἑνεποίησεν αὐτῆς τῷ ὑμίματι, συγκερασαμενή τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἐρώτων ἐπιπνεομενὴ φιλία τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἄρετῆς καθ᾽ ἄπερραθα θείων ἐπιφερομενήν ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς καὶ γενναίαις ψυχαῖς; δύο γὰρ δὴ τώδε τινὲ πίθω 2 φιλίας ἐστον, ὃν ἂ πετρός ἄρυσαμεν ἔρομπαμάτων τε αὐτῷ γέγονεν κοινωνι καὶ πρᾶδον ὅντα φύει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ χρήστον καὶ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἄ πέφυκε παρακαλεῖ μᾶλλον πρεποῦντος καὶ πρὸς συγγνώμην τὴν δίκην τρέπει. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἐχοι, ὅτω γέγονεν ἡ βασιλεία ἢδε ἐν δίκη τυχόν ἢ καὶ παρὰ δίκην αἰτία τιμωρία καὶ κολασεως μικρὰς ἢ μείζονος. Ἀθήνησι μὲν οὖν φασίν, ὅτε τοὺς πατρίους ἔθεσιν ἔχρωντο καὶ ἐξὼν τοὺς ὅικείους πειθόμενοι νόμους μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον οἰκούντες πόλιν, εἰ ποτὲ τῶν δικαζόντων

1 ἥδη Horkel, εἰ δὴ MSS.
2 πίθω Bruno Friederich, πειθώ τε καὶ ἰδέα MSS., Hertlein, τε καὶ ἰδέα Cobet omits.
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And indeed he forgot nothing, and no sooner had he come home and vanquished, as was just, the youths who caroused in the palace, than he related all to her without pause, all that he had achieved and endured, and all else that, obeying the oracles, he purposed still to accomplish.¹ And from her he kept nothing secret, but chose that she should be the partner of his counsels and should help him to plan and contrive what he must do. And do you think this a trifling tribute to Penelope, or is there not now found to be yet another woman whose virtue surpasses hers, and who, as the consort of a brave, magnanimous and prudent Emperor, has won as great affection from her husband, since she has mingled with the tenderness that is inspired by love that other which good and noble souls derive from their own virtue, whence it flows like a sacred fount? For there are two jars,² so to speak, of these two kinds of human affection, and Eusebia drew in equal measure from both, and so has come to be the partner of her husband’s counsels, and though the Emperor is by nature merciful, good and wise, she encourages him to follow yet more becomingly his natural bent, and ever turns justice to mercy. So that no one could ever cite a case in which this Empress, whether with justice, as might happen, or unjustly, has ever been the cause of punishment or chastisement either great or small. Now we are told that at Athens, in the days when they employed their ancestral customs and lived in obedience to their own laws, as the inhabitants of a great and humane city, whenever the

¹ Odyssey 23. 284. ² cf. Iliad 24. 527; Oration 7. 236 c.
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aι ψήφοι κατ' ίσον γένοιτο τοῖς φεύγονσι προς τοὺς διώκοντας, την τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένην τῷ τῆς δίκην ὄφλησειν μέλλοντι ἀπολύειν ἀμφό τῆς αἰτίας, τὸν μὲν ἐπάγοντα τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι συκοφάντην, τὸν δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦ δοκεῖν ἑνοχον εἶναι τῷ πονηρεύματι. τούτων δὴ φιλάνθρωπον οὐτα καὶ χαρίζεται τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τῶν δικών, ὡς βασιλεὺς κρίνει, σωζόμενον πράοτερον αὐτὴ καθιστησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ φιεύγων παρ' ὀλίγον ἔλθῃ τὴν ἵσην ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις λαχεῖν, πείθει, τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δέσιν προσθείσα καὶ ἱκετηρίαι, ἀφεῖναι πάντως τῆς αἰτίας. ὁ δὲ ἐκών ἐκόντι τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεται τα τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐ, καθάπερ "Ομηρός φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον παρὰ τῆς γαμετῆς ὁμολογεῖν ὃ, τι ξυγχωροῖν, δίδωσιν ἑκὼν ἄκοντι γε θυμῷ. καὶ τυχόν οὐκ ἀτοπον χαλέψοις καὶ μόλις τὰ τοιαῦτα ξυγχωρεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν καὶ ἀλαζῶν. ἀλλ' οὔδε γὰρ εἴ σφοδρα ἐπιτίθευοι τινές εἰσὶ πάσχειν κακῶς καὶ κολάξεσθαι, τούτων ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσθαι χρεών. ὁ δὴ καὶ ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ δε ξυγνοουσα κακὸν μὲν οὔδεν ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτὲ οὔτε κόλασιν οὔτε τιμωρίαι ἐπαγαγεῖν οὐχ ὀπως βασιλεία τινὸς ἡ πόλει, ἀλλ' οὔδε οἰκία μιὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. προσθείναι δ' ἂν ἐγὼγε θαρρῶν εὐ μάλα, ὅτι μηδὲν

1 φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον—ὁμολογεῖν Cobet, φησιν, ἐκβιαζόμενος—ὁμολογεῖ MSS., Hertlein, ἐκβιαζόμενον V, ὁμολογεῖν V, M.
2 ξυγχωρεῖ Reiske.
3 ἀλλ' οὔδε Hertlein suggests.
4 ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτὲ οὔτε Hertlein suggests, οὔτε ήτησεν ἄλλω ποτὲ τινι οὔτε MSS.

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votes of the jurymen were cast evenly for defendant and plaintiff, the vote of Athene was awarded to him who would have incurred the penalty, and thus both were acquitted of guilt, he who had brought the accusation, of the reputation of sycophant, and the defendant, naturally, of the guilt of the crime. Now this humane and gracious custom is kept up in the suits which the Emperor judges, but Eusebia’s mercy goes further. For whenever the defendant comes near to obtaining an equal number of votes, she persuades the Emperor, adding her request and entreaty on his behalf, to acquit the man entirely of the charge. And of free will with willing heart he grants the boon, and does not give it as Homer says Zeus, constrained by his wife, agreed as to what he should concede to her “of free will but with soul unwilling.”

And perhaps it is not strange that he should concede this pardon reluctantly and under protest in the case of the violent and depraved. But not even when men richly deserve to suffer and be punished ought they to be utterly ruined. Now since the Empress recognises this, she has never bidden him inflict any injury of any kind, or any punishment or chastisement even on a single household of the citizens, much less on a whole kingdom or city. And I might add, with the utmost confidence that I am speaking the absolute truth, that in the case of no man or woman is it possible to charge her with any misfortune that has happened, but all the benefits that she

1 The traditional founding of the ancient court of the Areopagus, which tried cases of homicide, is described in Aeschylus, Eumenides. Orestes, on trial at Athens for matricide, is acquitted, the votes being even, by the decision of Athene, who thereupon founds the tribunal, 485 foll.

2 Iliad 4. 43.
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ψευδός φημι, ὡς οὗτος ἐφ' ένος ἄνδρος ἢ γυναικός μᾶς ἐστιν αὐτὴν αἰτιάσθαι ξυμφορᾶς τῷ τῆς τυχούσης, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ὦσα καὶ οὔστωνας δρᾶ καὶ ἐδρασεν, ἣδεως ἃν ὦμ᾽ τὰ πλείστα ἐξαριθμησάμην καθ' ἐκαστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, ὡς ὥδε μὲν τὸν πατρὸν δι' ἐκείνην νέμεται κλῆρον, ἐκείνος δὲ ἀπηλλάγη τιμωρίας, ὅφλησας τοῖς νόμοις, ἄλλος συκοφαντίαν διέφυγε, παρ' ὅλογον ἔλθων κινδύνου, τιμῆς δὲ ἐτυχὼν καὶ ἀρχῆς μυρίου. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν ἐστιν ὅστις ἐμὲ ψευδεσθαι τῶν ἀπαντῶν φήσει, εἰ καὶ ὄνομαστὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας μὴ καταλέγοιμι. ἀλλ' ὅκνῳ, μὴ τισιν ἐξονειδίζειν δόξῳ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ οὖν ἔπαινον τὸν ταύτης ἀγαθῶν, κατάλογον δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συγγράφειν ἀτυχημάτων. τοσούτων δὲ ἔργων μηδὲν παρασχέσθαι μηδὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς άγειν τεκμήριον κενὸν πως εἴναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαιν άγεί τὸν ἔπαινον. οὔκοιν ἐκείνα παρατησάμενοι, ὅποσα γ' ἐμοὶ τε εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίφθονον ταύτῃ τε ἀκούειν καλὰ λέγοιμ' ἀν ἡδή.

'Επειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ γῆμαντος εὐνοιαν τηλαυγέστατον προσώπου, κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν Πύθαρον, ἀρχομένῃ τῶν ἔργων ἐθετο, γένοις τε ἄπαν καὶ ξυγγενεῖς εὐθὺς ἐνέπλησε τιμῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἢδη γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐπὶ μειζονων τάτοσα πράξεων καὶ ἀποφήνασα μακαρίους καὶ ἡμλογοὺς βασιλεῖ τ' ἐποίησε φίλους καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας τῆς παρούσης ἐδοκε τὴν ἀρχῆν. καὶ

1 άγεῖ Cobet, άγεί MSS., Hertlein.
confers and has conferred, and on whom, I would gladly recount in as many cases as possible, and report them one by one, how for instance this man, thanks to her, enjoys his ancestral estate, and that man has been saved from punishment, though he was guilty in the eyes of the law, how a third escaped a malicious prosecution, though he came within an ace of the danger, how countless persons have received honour and office at her hands. And on this subject there is no one of them all who will assert that I speak falsely, even though I should not give a list of those persons by name. But this I hesitate to do, lest I should seem to some to be reproaching them with their sufferings, and to be composing not so much an encomium of her good deeds as a catalogue of the misfortunes of others. And yet, not to cite any of these acts of hers, and to bring no proof of them before the public seems perhaps to imply that they are lacking, and brings discredit on my encomium. Accordingly, to deprecate that charge, I shall relate so much as it is not invidious for me to speak or for her to hear.

When she had, in the beginning, secured her husband's good-will for her actions like a "frontage shining from afar," to use the words of the great poet Pindar,\(^1\) she forthwith showered honours on all her family and kinsfolk, appointing to more important functions those who had already been tested and were of mature age, and making them seem fortunate and enviable, and she won for them the Emperor's friendship and laid the foundation of their present

\(^1\) *Olympian Ode* 6. 4. Pindar says that, as though he were building the splendid forecourt of a house, he will begin his Ode with splendid words.
γὰρ εἰ τῷ δοκοῦσιν, ὅσπερ οὖν ἀληθές, δι’ αὐτοῦς τίμιοι, ταύτη γε οἷμαι προσβήσει τὸν ἔπαινον· δηλοῦ γὰρ ὅτι μὴ τῇ τοῦ γένους κοινωνίᾳ μόνον, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἅρετη φαίνεται νέμουσα· οὐ μειξον οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τις ἔγκώμιον ἔρει. περὶ μὲν τούσδε γέγονε τοιάδε. ὅσοι δὲ ἄγνωτες ἔτι διὰ νεότητα τοῦ γνωρισθῆναι καὶ ὀπωσοῦν ἐδέοντο, τοὺς ἐλάττονας διένειμε τιμᾶς. ἀπέλυπε δὲ οὐδὲν ἑυρεγετοῦσα ξύμπαντας. καὶ οὐ τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς μόνον τοσάντα ἐδρασεν ἀγαθά, ξενίαν δὲ ὅτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνης πατέρας ὑπάρξασαν ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀνόητον ἀφῆκε τοὺς κτησαμένους, τιμᾶ δὲ οἷμαι καὶ τούτους καθάπερ ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνόμισε φίλους, ἀπασιν ἐνείμε τῆς φιλίας ἐστάθλα θαυμαστά.

Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ μοι τεκμηρίων καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τὸν λόγον ὅρῳ δεόμενον, αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν τούτων ἐκεῖνω1 μάρτυρα καὶ ἐπαινέτην παρέξομαι· ἀλλ’ ὅπως μου μὴ ποτε ὑπιδόμενοι τὴν μαρτυρίαν πρὶν ἐπακούσαι τῶν λόγων διαταράττησθε, ὡμωμέν ὑμῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν ψεῦδος οὐδὲ πλάσμα ἐρῶ· ὑμεῖς δὲ κἂν ἀνωμότῳ ἐπιστεύσατε πάντα οὐ κολακείας ἑνεκα λέγειν.2 ἔχω γὰρ ἡδή τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄπαντα τὰ ἀγαθά, αὐτῆς γε οἷμαι καὶ ταύτης3 ἐξυπροθυμουμένης, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἂν τις κολακεύων ἄπαντα ἄφειη

1 ἐκεῖνω Hertlein suggests, ἐκεῖνων MSS.
2 κἂν—ἐπιστεύσατε πάντα—λέγειν Cobet, καὶ—πιστεύσετε πάντα—λέγοντι MSS., πάντως V, Hertlein, πιστεύσατε V.
3 αὐτῆς γε—ταύτης Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ τε—αὐτῆς MSS.
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prosperity. And if anyone thinks, what is in fact true, that on their own account they are worthy of honour, he will applaud her all the more. For it is evident that it was their merit, far more than the ties of kinship, that she rewarded; and one could hardly pay her a higher compliment than that. Such then was her treatment of these. And to all who, since they were still obscure on account of their youth, needed recognition of any sort, she awarded lesser honours. In fact she left nothing undone to help one and all. And not only on her kinsfolk has she conferred such benefits, but whenever she learned that ties of friendship used to exist with her ancestors, she has not allowed it to be unprofitable to those who owned such ties, but she honours them, I understand, no less than her own kinsfolk, and to all whom she regards as her father's friends she dispensed wonderful rewards for their friendship.

But since I see that my account is in need of proofs, just as in a law-court, I will offer myself to bear witness on its behalf to these actions and to applaud them. But lest you should mistrust my evidence and cause a disturbance before you have heard what I have to say, I swear that I will tell you no falsehood or fiction; although you would have believed, even without an oath, that I am saying all this without intent to flatter. For I already possess, by the grace of God and the Emperor, and because the Empress too was zealous in my behalf, all those blessings to gain which
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ρήματα, ὡστε, εἰ μὲν πρὸ τοῦτων ἔλεγον, ἵσως ἔχρην ὀρρωδεῖν τὴν ἁδικὸν ὑποψίαν νῦν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ γεγονὼς τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἀπομημονεύον τῶν ἐκεῖνης εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἐργῶν παρέξομαι ύμῖν εὐγνωμοσύνης. μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ σημείου, μαρτύριον δὲ ἀληθείς τῶν ἐκεῖνης ἐργῶν. πυθάνομαι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου, ἐως ἐτὶ δορυφόρος ἢν τοῦ Περσῶν μονάρχου, τῷ Σαμίῳ ἔγραψε περὶ τὴν Αὐγούστου συμβαλεῖν φεύγοντι τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαβόντα φοινικίδα τινὰ δώρον, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει, τὴν Σαμίων ὑστερον ἀντιδοῦναι τυραννίδα, ὁπινικα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κύριος κατέστη. εἰ δὴ οὐν καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ μὲν παρ᾽ αὐτῆς, οτὲ ἐτὶ ζην ἕξιν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, τὰ μέγιστα δὲ δὲ αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ γενναίου καὶ μεγαλόφρονος βασιλέως λαβῶν ὀμολογοίην τοῦ μὲν ἀντιδοῦναι τὴν ἑσπερίαν ἐκφράσθαι· ἔχει γὰρ, οἶμαι, συμπάντα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἴμιν χαρισμένου λαβοῦσα· τῷ βούλεσθαι δὲ τὴν μνήμην ἀθάνατον αὐτὴ τῶν ἐργῶν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ταύτα ἀπαγγέλλειν τυχῶν οὐκ ἀγνωσμονετέρος φανοῦμαι τοῦ Πέρσου, εἰπερ εἰς τὴν γνώμην ὄρῶντα χρή κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ οὐχ ὅτι παρέσχεν ἢ τύχη πολλαπλάσιον ἀποτίσαι τὸ εὐεργέτημα.

Τί ποτε οὖν ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον εἰ ταθεῖν φημί καὶ ἀνθ᾽ ὅτου τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον ὑπόχρεων ἐμαυτὸν
a flatterer would leave nothing unsaid, so that, if I were speaking before obtaining these, perhaps I should have to dread that unjust suspicion. But as it is, since this is the state of my fortunes, I will recall her conduct to me, and at the same time give you a proof of my own right-mindedness and truthful evidence of her good deeds. I have heard that Darius, while he was still in the bodyguard of the Persian monarch,\(^1\) met, in Egypt, a Samian stranger\(^2\) who was an exile from his own country, and accepted from him the gift of a scarlet cloak to which Darius had taken a great fancy, and that later on, in the days when, I understand, he had become the master of all Asia, he gave him in return the tyranny of Samos. And now suppose that I acknowledge that, though I received many kindnesses at Eusebia’s hands, at a time when I was still permitted to live in peaceful obscurity, and many also, by her intercession, from our noble and magnanimous Emperor, I must needs fall short of making an equal return; for as I know, she possesses everything already, as the gift of him who was so generous to myself; yet since I desire that the memory of her good deeds should be immortal, and since I am relating them to you, perhaps I shall not be thought less mindful of my debt than the Persian, seeing that in forming a judgment it is to the intention that one must look, and not to an instance in which fortune granted a man the power to repay his obligation many times over.

Why, then, I say that I have been so kindly treated, and in return for what I acknowledge that I am her

\(^1\) Cambyses.

\(^2\) Syloson, Herodotus 3. 139; cf. Julian, Epistle 29; Themistius 67 A, 109 d.
ΤΑ ΟΡΑΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ, ΙΙΙ

εἶναι χάριτος ὁμολογῶ τῇδε, σφόδρα ῥωμησθε ἄκοψειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασίλεως οὐτοσὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ παιδῶς νηπίου γεγονὸς ἦπιος πᾶσαν ὑπερβάλλετο φιλοτιμίᾳ, κινδύνων τε ἐξαρπάσας τηλικούτων, οὐς οὐδὲν ἀν ἤβων ἀνήρ εὐ μῆλα διαφύγοι, μὴ θείας τύνοι καὶ ἀμηχάνου σωτηρίας τυχῶν, εἰτὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καταληφθείσαν καθάπερ ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίᾳ παρὰ τοὺς δυναστῶν ἀφείλετο ξὺν δίκη καὶ ἀπετέφηνεν ἄθις πλούσιον. καὶ ἄλλα ἀν ἑχομιν περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴπειν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἥγα πολλὰς ἄξια χάριτος, ύπερ δὲν τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον εὐνοῦν ἐμαυτὸν ἔκεινός καὶ πιστῶν παρέχων οὐκ οἴδα ἐκ τίνος αἰτίας πραγματέως ἔχοντος. Β Ἡσθόμην ἔναγχος. ή δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἦκουσεν ἀδικήματος μὲν οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν, ματαίας δὲ ἄλλως ύποψίας, ἕξιον διελέγχειν καὶ μὴ πρότερον προσέθηκεν μηδὲ ἐνδέχεσθαι ψευδὴ καὶ ἄδικον διαβολὴν, καὶ οὐκ ἄνηκε ταύτα δεομένη πρὶν ἐμὲ ἦγαγεν ἐς ὑψὸν τὴν βασιλείας καὶ τυχεὶν ἐποίησε λόγον· καὶ ἀπολυμένῳ πάσαν αἰτίαν ἄδικον συνήσθη, καὶ οἶκας ἐπιθυμοῦσι πάλιν ἀπείναι πομπῆν ἀσφαλῆ παρέσχεν, ἐπιτρέψαι Σ πρῶτον τὸν βασιλέα ἐμπείσασα. δαίμονος δὲ, ὁσπερ οὖν ἔωκει μοι τὰ πρόσθεν μηχανήσασθαι, ἢ τινος ἐνυπνίας ἀλλοκότοι τὴν ὅδὸν ταύτην ὑποτεμομένης, ἐποψόμενον πέμπει τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ταύτην αὐτήσασα παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀποδημοῦσις ἦδη τὴν χάριν, ἐπειδῆ με λόγοις ἐπέπτυστο χαίρειν καὶ παιδεία τὸ χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ἐκυμνοῦσα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸτε μὲν αὐτῇ
debtor for all time, that is what you are eager to hear. Nor shall I conceal the facts. The Emperor was kind to me almost from my infancy, and he surpassed all generosity, for he snatched me from dangers so great that not even "a man in the strength of his youth" \(^1\) could easily have escaped them, unless he obtained some means of safety sent by heaven and not attainable by human means, and after my house had been seized by one of those in power, as though there were none to defend it, he recovered it for me, as was just, and made it wealthy once more. And I could tell you of still other kindnesses on his part towards myself, that deserve all gratitude, in return for which I ever showed myself loyal and faithful to him; but nevertheless of late I perceived that, I know not why, he was somewhat harsh towards me. Now the Empress no sooner heard a bare mention, not of any actual wrong-doing but of mere idle suspicion, than she deigned to investigate it, and before doing so would not admit or listen to any falsehood or unjust slander, but persisted in her request until she brought me into the Emperor’s presence and procured me speech with him. And she rejoiced when I was acquitted of every unjust charge, and when I wished to return home, she first persuaded the Emperor to give his permission, and then furnished me with a safe escort. Then when some deity, the one I think who devised my former troubles, or perhaps some unfriendly chance, cut short this journey, she sent me to visit Greece, having asked this favour on my behalf from the Emperor, when I had already left the country. This was because she had learned that I delighted in literature, and she knew that that place is the home of culture. Then

\(^1\) Iliad 12. 382 ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ µᾶλ’ ἡμῶν.
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καὶ πρῶτῳ γε, ὡς εἰκὸς, βασιλεῖ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά διδόναι τὸν θεὸν ἡνίχόμην, ὅτι μοι τὴν ἁληθινὴν ποθοῦντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντι πατρίδα παρ-έσχον ἵδειν· ἐσμὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ περὶ τὴν Ὀράκην καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν οἰκούντες ἔγγονοι, καὶ ὅστις ἦμων μὴ λίαν ἀγνώμων, ποθεὶ προσειπεῖν τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτὴν ἀσπάσασθαι. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔμοι πάλαι μὲν ἦν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ποθεῖν, καὶ ὑπάρξαι μοι τοῦτο ἐβουλόμην μᾶλλον ἢ πολὺ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν φημὶ ἐξυπνίχαι πρὸς χρυσίον πλῆθος ὀσούνδορον ἐξεταζομένην καθέλκειν τὸν ἔναγ安全 καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ σώφρονι κρυτῇ οὐδὲ ἐπ’ ὀλίγου ῥοπῆς ἐπιστῆσαι.

Παυδείας δὲ ἐνεκα καὶ φιλοσοφίας πέπονθεν οἴμαι νῦν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραπλησίων τι τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων μυθολογήμασι καὶ λόγοις. λέγονσι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι τὸν Νείλον παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰ τ’ ἀλλα σωτηρα καὶ ἐνεργήτην τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀπείρων αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς θορᾶν, ὅποταν ἔλιος διὰ μακρῶν τινῶν περιόδων ἀστροὺς γενναίους συνελθῶν ἡ συγγε-νὸμενος ἐμπλῆση τὸν ἀέρα πυρὸς καὶ ἐπιφλέγη τὰ σύμπαντα. οὐ γὰρ ἴσχύει, φασίν, ἀφαινεῖ-σαι οὐδὲ ἔξαιναλώσαι τὸν Νείλον τὰς πηγάς. οὐκ-ον οὐδὲ εἶ Ἔλληνων παντελῶς οὐχεῖται φιλοσοφία, οὐδὲ ἐπέλυτε τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην οὐδὲ τὴν Κόρινθον· ἥκιστα δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων τῶν πηγῶν ἐκεῖ τὸ Ἀργος πολυβάσιον πολλαῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος περὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον Μάσητα· τὴν Περήνην

1 τούτων Reiske adds.
indeed I prayed first, as is meet, for the Emperor, and next for Eusebia, that God would grant them many blessings, because when I longed and desired to behold my true fatherland, they made it possible. For we who dwell in Thrace and Ionia are the sons of Hellas, and all of us who are not devoid of feeling long to greet our ancestors and to embrace the very soil of Hellas. So this had long been, as was natural, my dearest wish, and I desired it more than to possess treasures of gold and silver. For I consider that intercourse with distinguished men, when weighed in the balance with any amount whatever of gold, drags down the beam, and does not permit a prudent judge even to hesitate over a slight turn of the scale.

Now, as regards learning and philosophy, the condition of Greece in our day reminds one somewhat of the tales and traditions of the Egyptians. For the Egyptians say that the Nile in their country is not only the saviour and benefactor of the land, but also wards off destruction by fire, when the sun, throughout long periods, in conjunction or combination with fiery constellations, fills the atmosphere with heat and scorches everything. For it has not power enough, so they say, to evaporate or exhaust the fountains of the Nile. And so too neither from the Greeks has philosophy altogether departed, nor has she forsaken Athens or Sparta or Corinth. And, as regards these fountains, Argos can by no means be called "thirsty,"¹ for there are many in the city itself and many also south of the city, round about Mases,² famous of old. Yet Sicyon, not Corinth,

¹ Iliad 4. 171. ² The port of Argolis.
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δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυών ἔχει καὶ οὐχ ἡ Ἐρμώνος. τῶν Ἅρηνὸν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐπιχώρια τὰ νάματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἤξωθεν ἐπιρρεῖ καὶ ἐπι-φέρεται τίμια τῶν ἐνδον οὐ μεῖον οἱ δὲ ἀγαπώσι καὶ στέργουσι, πλουτεῖν ἐθέλοντες οὐ μόνον διὰ σχεδὸν ὁ πλούτος ζηλωτῶν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ποτε ἄρα πεπόνθαμεν; καὶ τίνα νῦν περαινεῖν διανοούμεθα λόγον, εἰ μὴ τῆς φίλης Ἑλλάδος ἔπαινον, ἢς οὐκ ἐστὶ μνησθέντα μὴ πάντα θαυμάζεως; ἀλλ᾽ οὐ φήσει τις τυχών ὑπομνησθεὶς τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ταῦτα ἔθελεν ἡμᾶς ἢ άρχής διελθείς, καθάπερ δὲ τοὺς Κορυβαντὶωντας ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν ἐπεγειρομένους χορεύειν καὶ πηδᾶν οὐδὲν ξυν λόγῳ, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς μνήμης τῶν παιδικῶν ἄνακινθέντας ἁσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐμκώμιοι. πρὸς δὴ τούτον ἀπολογείσθαι χρεών ὑδε πως λέγοντα· ὁ δαμόνει, καὶ τέχνης ἀληθῶς γενναίας ἡγεμόν, σοφὸν μὲν χρῆμα ἐπινοεῖς, οὐκ ἑφεῖς οὔδε ἐπιτρέπων τῶν ἐπαινομένων οὔδε ἐπὶ σμικρῶν μεθεσθαί, ἀτε αὐτὸς οἶμαι ξυν τέχνη τοῦτο δρῶν. ἡμῖν δὲ τῶν ἐρωτα τούτον, ὅν σὺ φής αἰτίου εἶναι τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀταξίας, ἐπειδὴ προσγέγονεν, οἶμαι, παρακελεύεσθαι μὴ σφόδρα ὀκνεῖν μηδὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπτόμεθα λόγων δείξαι ἐθέλοντες, ὅσον ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία γέγονε τιμῶσα τὸ φιλοσοφίας òνομα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ὁδὰ ὀντινά μοι τρόπον ἐπικείμενον ἀγαπήσαντι μὲν

1 περαίνειν διανοούμεθα Hertlein suggests, διαπεραινεῖν οἴόμεθα MSS.
2 ἢς Horkel adds.
3 ἀπτόμεθα Cobet, ἡπτόμεθα V, ἡπάμεθα MSS., Hertlein.

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possesses Peirene itself. And Athens has many such streams, pure and springing from the soil, and many flow into the city from abroad, but no less precious than those that are native. And her people love and cherish them and desire to be rich in that which alone makes wealth enviable.

But as for me, what has come over me? And what speech do I intend to achieve if not a panegyric of my beloved Hellas, of which one cannot make mention without admiring everything? But perhaps someone, remembering what I said earlier, will say that this is not what I intended to discuss when I began, and that, just as Corybants when excited by the flute dance and leap without method, so I, spurred on by the mention of my beloved city, am chanting the praises of that country and her people. To him I must make excuse somewhat as follows: Good sir, you who are the guide to an art that is genuinely noble, that is a wise notion of yours, for you do not permit or grant one to let go even for a moment the theme of a panegyric, seeing that you yourself maintain your theme with skill. Yet in my case, since there has come over me this impulse of affection which you say is to blame for the lack of order in my arguments, you really urge me, I think, not to be too much afraid of it or to take precautions against criticism. For I am not embarking on irrevelant themes if I wish to show how great were the blessings that Eusebia procured for me because she honoured the name of philosophy. And yet the name of philosopher which has been, I
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εὗ μάλα τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐρασθέντι δεινῶς τοῦ πράγματος, ἀπολειφθέντι δὲ οἷκοι ὀντινα τρόπων ὄνομα ἐτύγχανε μόνον καὶ λόγος ἔργου στερόμενος. ἦ δὲ ἐτίμα καὶ τούνομά· αἰτίαν γὰρ δὴ ἀλλην οὔτε αὐτὸς εὐρίσκω οὔτε ἄλλου τοῦ πυθέσθαι δύναμαι, δι' ἣν οὕτω μοι πρόθυμος γέγονε βοηθὸς καὶ ἀλεξίκακος καὶ σωτερα, τὴν τοῦ γεγεναίου βασιλέως εὔνοιαν ἀκέραιον ἥμων καὶ ἀσινὴ μένειν ξινὸν πολλῷ πόνῳ πραγματευσαμένη, ἣς μεῖξον ἁγαθὸν οὔποτε ἐγώ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νομίσας ἐδάλων, οὐ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸν ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ἀργύρου πλῆθος, ὁπόσος νῦν ἔστιν ὑπ' αὐγας ἥλιον, καὶ εἰ ποτε ἄλλον προσγένοιτο, τῶν μεγίστων ὅρων αὐταίς, οἴμαι, πέτραις καὶ δέντρεσι μεταβαλλόντων εἰς τῆς τῆς φύσιν, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς μεγίστην οὔδε ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὔδέν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνης ταύτα μοι γέγονε πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα οὔδες ἂν ἠλπίσεν, οὐ σφόδρα πολλῶν δεομένω γε οὔδε ἐμαυτὸν ἑλπίσι τοιαύταις τρέφοντι.

Εὐνοιαν δὲ ἀληθινὴν οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς χρυσίον ἀμείψαθαι, οὐδὲ ἂν τις αὐτὴν ἐντεύθεν πρόκειτο, θεία δέ τινι καὶ κρείττον μοίρα ἀνθρώπων ἁγαθῶν συμπροθυμομένων παραγγέλνεται. 1 ὁ δὴ καὶ ἐμοί παρὰ βασιλέως παιδι μὲν ὑπήρχε κατὰ θεόν, ὅλγον δὲ οἴχεσθαι δεῖςαν ἀπεσώθη πάλιν τῆς βασιλίδος ἀμυνούσης καὶ ἀπειρούσης τὰς ψευδεῖς καὶ ἀλλοκότους ὑποψίας. ἃς ἐπείδὴ παντελῶς ἐκείνη διέλυσεν, ἐναργεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῷ βίῳ τῶμοι χρωμένη,

1 παραγγέλνεται Reiske, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.
know not why, applied to myself, is really in my case nothing but a name and lacks reality, for though I love the reality and am terribly enamoured of the thing itself, yet for some reason I have fallen short of it. But Eusebia honoured even the name. For no other reason can I discover, nor learn from anyone else, why she became so zealous an ally of mine, and an averter of evil and my preserver, and took such trouble and pains in order that I might retain unaltered and unaffected our noble Emperor's good-will; and I have never been convicted of thinking that there is any greater blessing in this world than that good-will, since all the gold above the earth or beneath the earth is not worth so much, nor all the mass of silver that is now beneath the sun's rays or may be added thereto,¹ not though the loftiest mountains, let us suppose, stones and trees and all were to change to that substance, nor the greatest sovereignty there is, nor anything else in the whole world. And I do indeed owe it to her that these blessings are mine, so many and greater than anyone could have hoped for, for in truth I did not ask for much, nor did I nourish myself with any such hopes.

But genuine kindness one cannot obtain in exchange for money, nor could anyone purchase it by such means, but it exists only when men of noble character work in harmony with a sort of divine and higher providence. And this the Emperor bestowed on me even as a child, and when it had almost vanished it was restored again to me because the Empress defended me and warded off those false and monstrous suspicions. And when, using the evidence of my life as plain proof, she had completely

¹ *Iliad* 9. 380.
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καλοῦντός τε αὐθίς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπῆκουν, ἀρά ἐνταῦθα κατέλυμεν, ὡς οὐκέτι πολλῆς βοηθείας, ἀτε οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐν μέσῳ δυσχεροῦσι οὐδὲ υπόπτου, δεόμενοι; καὶ πῶς ἂν ὁσια δρόφην οὕτως ἑναργῇ καὶ σεμνὰ σωπῶν καὶ ἀποκρύπτων; κυριουμένης τε γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐμὸι τοῦ βασιλέως ταυτησί τῆς γνώμης διαφέροντως ηὐ- φραίνετο καὶ συνεπῆχε μονισκόν, θαρρείς κελεύωνσα καὶ μῆτε τὸ μέγεθος δεῖσαντα τῶν διδομένων ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν, μῆτε ἄγροικῷ καὶ αὐθάδει

1 χρησάμενον παρρησία φαύλως ἀτιμᾷ σατυροῦς τοῦ τοσαῦτα ἐργασαμένου ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἄναγκαιαν αἰτησιν. ἐγὼ δὲ υπῆκουν οὕτι τοῦτό γε ἠδέως σφόδρα υπομένων, ἀλλὰς δὲ ἀπειθεῖν χαλεπῶν ὄν σφόδρα ἠπιστάμεν. οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἔξιθ πράττειν ὁ,τι ἂν ἐθέλωσι σὺν βίᾳ, ἦ πον δεόμενοι δυσωπεῖν καὶ πείθειν ἄρκουσιν. οὐκόν ἐπειδὴ μοι πεισθέντι γέγονε καὶ μεταβαλόντι ἐσθήτα καὶ θεραπείαν καὶ διατριβάς τὰς συνήθεις καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν δὲ αὐθήν καὶ διάιταιν πάντα ὅγκου πλέα καὶ σεμνότητος ἐκ μικρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ φαύλων τῶν πρόσθεν, ἐμὸι μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνθείας ἡ ψυχὴ διεταράττετο, οὕτι τὸ μέγεθος ἐκπληττομένῳ τῶν παρόντων ἄγαθῶν, σχεδὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδὲ μεγάλα ταῦτα ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς χρωμένοις μὲν ὀρθῶς σφόδρα ὦφελίμους, ἀμαρτάνουσι δὲ περὶ τὴν χρήσιν βλαβέρας καὶ οἴκους καὶ πόλεις πολλαῖς μυρίων αἰτίας ἵμμορφῶν. παραπλήσια

1 [Λιαν] αὐθάδει Hertlein.
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cleared me of them, and I obeyed once more the Emperor's summons from Greece, did she ever for-sake me, as though, now that all enmity and suspicion had been removed, I no longer needed much assistance? Would my conduct be pious if I kept silence and concealed actions so manifest and so honourable? For when a good opinion of me was established in the Emperor's mind, she rejoiced exceedingly, and echoed him harmoniously, bidding me take courage and neither refuse out of awe to accept the greatness \(^1\) of what was offered to me, nor, by employing a boorish and arrogant frankness, unworthily slight the urgent request of him who had shown me such favour. And so I obeyed, though it was by no means agreeable to me to support this burden, and besides I knew well that to refuse was altogether impracticable. For when those who have the power to exact by force what they wish condescend to entreat, naturally they put one out of countenance and there is nothing left but to obey. Now when I consented, I had to change my mode of dress, and my attendants, and my habitual pursuits, and my very house and way of life for what seemed full of pomp and ceremony to one whose past had naturally been so modest and humble, and my mind was confused by the strangeness, though it was certainly not dazzled by the magnitude of the favours that were now mine. For in my ignorance I hardly regarded them as great blessings, but rather as powers of the greatest benefit, certainly, to those who use them aright, but, when mistakes are made in their use, as being harmful to many houses and cities and the cause of countless disasters. So I felt

\(^1\) The title of Caesar.
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dè ἐπεπονθείν ἀνδρὶ σφόδρα ὑπείρως ἡμιοχικῆς ἐχοῦτι καὶ οὐδὲ ἐθελήσατι ταύτης μεταλαβεῖν τῆς τέχνης, κατὰ ἀναγκαζομένῳ καλοῦ καὶ γενναίῳ κομιζείν ἄρμα ἡμίχου, πολλὰς μὲν ξυνορίδας, πολλὰ δὲ, οἴμαι, τέτρωρα τρέφοντος καὶ ἀπασι μὲν ἐπιβεβηκότος, διὰ δὲ ἑνναιό-

τητα φύσεως καὶ ρώμην ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἐχοῦ-

tος οἴμαι τᾶς ἡμῖας πάντων ἐγκράτως, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇς μιᾶς ἀντυγος βάινοι, οὐ μὴν ἀεὶ γε ἑπ' 

αὐτῆς μένοντος, μεταφερομένου δὲ πολλάκις 

ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἀμείβοντος δίφρον ἐκ δίφρον, εἶ 

ποτε τοὺς ὑποὺς πονομένους ἢ καὶ ὑβρίσαντας 

ἀἴσθοτο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἀρμασι τοῦδε κεκτημένου 

tέτρωρον ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας καὶ θράσους ὑβρίζου, 

πιεζόμενον τῇ συνεχεὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ 

θράσους οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπιλαθόμενον, ἀγριαῖνον 

dὲ ἀεὶ καὶ παροξυνόμενον υπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπὶ 

C 

tὸ μᾶλλον ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν, 

οὐ δεχόμενου ἀμῶς γε τῇ περούσσατα, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ 

καὶ αὐτὸν ὀργῇ τὸν ἡμίχον διὰ τέλους χαλεπαίνου 

ἡ, τὸ γε ἑλαττον, στολὴν γοῦν ἡμιοχικὴν ἀνθρωπον 

φοροῦντα· οὔτως ἐστὶν ἀλώγιστον φύσει. ὁ δὲ, 

ὀίμαι, παραμυθούμενος αὐτοῦ τῇν ἀνοιῶν ἀνδρά 

ἐπέστησε, δοὺς φορεῖν τοιαύτην ἐσθήτα καὶ 

σχῆμα περιβαλὼν ἡμίχον σεμνοῦ καὶ ἐπιστή-

μονος, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἄφρων εἰη παντελῶς καὶ ἀνόητος, 

χαίρει καὶ γέγγηδε καὶ μετέωρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰματίων 

cαθὔπερ πτερῶν ἐπαιρεται, συνέσεως δὲ εἰ καὶ

1 dè Hertlein adds.
2 ἀμῶς γε τῇ — τὸν ἡμίχον Reiske, ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμίχον MSS., Hertlein.
3 φοροῦντα Hertlein suggests, φέροντα MSS.
4 φορεῖν Hertlein suggests, φέρειν MSS.

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like a man who is altogether unskilled in driving a chariot, and is not at all inclined to acquire the art, and then is compelled to manage a car that belongs to a noble and talented charioteer, one who keeps many pairs and many four-in-hands too, let us suppose, and has mounted behind them all, and because of his natural talent and uncommon strength has a strong grip on the reins of all of them, even though he is mounted on one chariot; yet he does not always remain on it, but often moves to this side or that and changes from car to car, whenever he perceives that his horses are distressed or are getting out of hand; and among these chariots he has a team of four that become restive from ignorance and high spirit, and are oppressed by continuous hard work, but none the less are mindful of that high spirit, and ever grow more unruly and are irritated by their distress, so that they grow more restive and disobedient and pull against the driver and refuse to go in a certain direction, and unless they see the charioteer himself or at least some man wearing the dress of a charioteer, end by becoming violent, so unreasoning are they by nature. But when the charioteer encourages some unskilful man, and sets him over them, and allows him to wear the same dress as his own, and invests him with the outward seeming of a splendid and skilful charioteer, then if he be altogether foolish and witless, he rejoices and is glad and is buoyed up and exalted by those robes, as though by wings, but, if he has

1 To illustrate the skill and, at the same time, the difficult position of Constantius as sole Emperor, Julian describes an impossible feat. The restive teams are the provinces of the Empire, which had hitherto been controlled by two or more Emperors.
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ετπ′ σμικρόν μετέχοι καὶ σώφρονος νοῦ, σφόδρα εὐλαβεῖται,

μέπως αὐτὸν τε τρώση σὺν θ’ ἄρματα ἄξη,
καὶ τῷ μὲν ἡμίχωρ ἥμισι, αὕτῳ δὲ αἴσχρας καὶ
ἀδόξου συμφοράς αἰτίως γένηται. ταῦτα ἐγὼ
ἐλογιζόμην ἐν νυκτὶ βουλεύον καὶ δι’ ἥμερας κατ’
ἐμαυτὸν ἐπισκοποῦμενος, σύννυσι ὃν ἅε ἢ καὶ
σκυθρωπός. ὁ γενναῖος δὲ καὶ θεῖος ἀληθῶς αὐτο-
κράτωρ ἀφήρει τι πάντως τῶν ἀλγειών, ἔργοις
καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενοι. τέλος δὲ τὴν
βασιλίδα προσεπείπεν κελευ̇ν, θάρσος τε ἣμῖν
ἔνιδιόν καὶ τοῦ σφόδρα πιστεύει γενναίον εὐ
μάλα παρέχων γνώρισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειδῆ πρώτον
ἐσ ὤφιν ἐκείνης ἥλθον, ἐδόκουν μὲν ὅσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ
cαθιδρυμένον ἁγαλμα σωφροσύνης ὀρᾶν αἰῶνος δὲ
ἐπείχε τὴν ψυχῆν, καὶ ἐπεπηκτὸ μοι κατὰ γῆς τὰ
ὄμματα συχνὸν ἐπιεικῶς χρόνου, ἐως ἐκείνη
θαρρεῖν ἐκελευ̇ν. καὶ Τὰ μὲν, ἔφη, ἦδη παρ’ ἡμῶν
ἐχεις, τὰ δὲ καὶ εἶχες σὺν θεῷ, μόνον εἰ πιστῶς καὶ
δίκαιος εἰς ἡμᾶς γένους. τοσαῦτα ἤκουσα σχέδου̇ν
οὖδε γὰρ αὐτὴ πλείονα 1 ἐφθέγξατο, καὶ ταῦτα
ἐπισταμένη τῶν γενναιῶν ῥητόρων οὖδε ἐν φαυλο-
tέρους ἀπαγγέλλειν λόγους. ταῦτης ἐγὼ τῆς
ἐντεῦξεως ἀπαλλαγεὶς σφόδρα ἑθαύμασα καὶ
ἐξεπεπλήγμην, ἐναργῶς δοκῶν ἀκηκοέναι σωφρο-
ungης αὐτῆς φθεγγομένης. οὕτω πρᾶυν ἢν αὐτῇ
φθέγμα καὶ μείλιχον, ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἄκοαις ἐγκαθιδρυ-
μένοιν.

Βούλεσθε οὖν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔργα καὶ
οὐα ἐδρασὲν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ καθ᾿ ἐκαστὸν λεπτούρ-

1 πλείονα Hertlein suggests, πλεῖον MSS.
even a small share of common sense and prudent understanding, he is very much alarmed "Lest he both injure himself and shatter his chariot withal," and so cause loss to the charioteer and bring on himself shameful and inglorious disaster. On all this, then, I reflected, taking counsel with myself in the night season, and in the daytime pondering it with myself, and I was continually thoughtful and gloomy. Then the noble and truly godlike Emperor lessened my torment in every way, and showed me honour and favour both in deed and word. And at last he bade me address myself to the Empress, inspiring me with courage and giving me a very generous indication that I might trust her completely. Now when first I came into her presence it seemed to me as though I beheld a statue of Modesty set up in some temple. Then reverence filled my soul, and my eyes were fixed upon the ground for some considerable time, till she bade me take courage. Then she said: "Certain favours you have already received from us and yet others you shall receive, if God will, if only you prove to be loyal and honest towards us." This was almost as much as I heard. For she herself did not say more, and that though she knew how to utter speeches not a whit inferior to those of the most gifted orators. And I, when I had departed from this interview, felt the deepest admiration and awe, and was clearly convinced that it was Modesty herself I had heard speaking. So gentle and comforting was her utterance, and it is ever firmly settled in my ears.

Do you wish then that I should report to you what she did after this, and all the blessings she

1 Iliad 23. 341.  
2 Iliad 3. 217.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

gούντες ἀπαγγέλλωμεν; η τά γε ἐντεῦθεν ἄθρόως ἐλόντες, καθάπερ ἐδρασεν αὐτή,1 πάντα ὁμού δυνησθόμεθα; ὅπουσος μὲν εὗ ἐποίησε τῶν ἐμοῦ γνωρίμων, ὅπως δὲ ἐμοὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν γάμον ἥμοσεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰσως ποθεῖτε καὶ τὸν κατάλογον ἀκούειν τῶν δώρων,

ἐπὶ ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῦ τάλαντα

cαὶ λέβητας ἐὔκοσιν. ἀλλ' ὁμοὶ σχολὴ περὶ τῶν τουιοῦτων ἄδολεσχείν ἐνὸς δὲ ἰσως τῶν ἐκείνης δῶρων τυχὸν οὐκ ἄχαρι καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπομημονεῦσαι, ὁ μοι δοκῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠθῆναι2 διαφερόντως. βιβλίους γὰρ φιλοσόφους καὶ ξυγ- γραφέοιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ρητόρων πολλῶν καὶ ποιη- τῶν, ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ὅλιγας οἴκοθεν ἐφεροῦν, ἐλπίδι καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ πάλιν οἰκαδέ ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ψυχαγωγούμενος, ἐδωκεν ἄθροώς τοσ- αύτας, ὡστε ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀποπλήσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν σφόδρα ἀκορέστως ἐχοντος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνας3 συνουσίας, μουσεῖον δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀποφήναι βιβλίων ἐκετη τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Κελτίδα. τούτοις ἐγὼ προσκαθημένοις συνεχῶς τοῖς δῶροις, εἶ ποτε σχολὴν ἄγοιμι, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως ἐπιλαν- θάνομαι τῆς χαρισμάτως. ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατευ- ομένως μοι ἐν γε τι πάντως ἐπεται οἶδον ἐφόδιον τῆς στρατείας πρὸς αὐτότπτο πάλαι ξυγκείμενον. πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν4 ἐμπειρίας υπομνήματα ἐξὸν τέχνη γραφέντα τοῖς ἀμαρτοῦσι

1 αὐτὴ Hertlein suggests, αὐτὴ MSS.
2 [σφόδρα] ἠθῆναι Hertlein.
3 ἐκείνα Reiske, ἐκείνα MSS., Hertlein.
4 παλαιῶν [ἐργῶν] Hertlein.

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conferred on me, and that I should give precise details one by one? Or shall I take up my tale concisely as she did herself, and sum up the whole? Shall I tell how many of my friends she benefited, and how with the Emperor’s help she arranged my marriage? But perhaps you wish to hear also the list of her presents to me: “Seven tripods untouched by fire and ten talents of gold,” \(^1\) and twenty caldrons. But I have no time to gossip about such subjects. Nevertheless one of those gifts of hers it would perhaps not be ungraceful to mention to you, for it was one with which I was myself especially delighted. For she gave me the best books on philosophy and history, and many of the orators and poets, since I had brought hardly any with me from home, deluding myself with the hope and longing to return home again, and gave them in such numbers, and all at once, that even my desire for them was satisfied, though I am altogether insatiable of converse with literature; and, so far as books went, she made Galatia \(^2\) and the country of the Celts resemble a Greek temple of the Muses. And to these gifts I applied myself incessantly whenever I had leisure, so that I can never be unmindful of the gracious giver. Yes, even when I take the field one thing above all else goes with me as a necessary provision for the campaign, some one narrative of a campaign composed long ago by an eye-witness. For many of those records of the experience of men of old, written as they are with the greatest skill, furnish to those who, by reason of their

\(^1\) Iliad 9. 122. \(^2\) Gaul.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

dià τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς θέας ἐναργῆ καὶ λαμπράν εἰκόνα φέρει τῶν πάλαι πραχθέντων, ὦφ' ἦς ὥθη καὶ νέοι πολλοὶ γερόντων μυρίων πολιόν μᾶλλον ἐκτήσαιτο τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰς φρένας, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τοῦ γῆρως ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μόνον, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, δι' ἢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔχει τι λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφότερον, τοῖς οὗ ῥαθύμοις τῶν νέων ἐδωκεν. ἔστι δὲ οὐμαί τις ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ παιδαγωγία πρὸς ὑθος γευναίον, εἰ τις ἐπίστατο τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας καὶ λόγους καὶ πράξεις, οἶον ἀρχέτυπα προτιθέμενος δημιουργός, πλάτειν ἦδη πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν τοὺς 1 λόγους. δὲν εἰ μὴ παμπληθεῖς ἀπολειψθεὶς, τυγχάνοι δὲ καὶ ἔπτ' ὅλυγον τῆς ὁμοιότητος, οὐ σμικρὰ ἀν ὀναίτο, εἰ ἱστε. ο δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλάκις ἐννυνοῦν παιδιάν τε οὐκ ἀμουσον ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦμαι καὶ στρατευόμενος καθάπερ σιτία φέρειν ἀναγκαία καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλω· μέτρων δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φερομένων ὁ καιρὸς.

'Αλλὰ μὴ ποτε οὐκ ἐκείνων χρή νῦν τὸν ἐπαινοῦν γράφειν οὐδὲ ὁσα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ γένοιτ' ἀν ἐνθένδε, ὅπόσον δὲ τὸ δῶρον ἄξιον καταμαθότας χάριν ἀποτίνειν τυχὼν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίαν τοῦ δοθέντος τῇ χαρισμένῃ. λόγων γὰρ ἀστείων καὶ παντοδαπῶν θησαυροὺς τὸν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις δεξά-

1 Before τοὺς Klimek omits πρὸς.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

youth, have missed seeing such a spectacle, a clear and brilliant picture of those ancient exploits, and by this means many a tiro has acquired a more mature understanding and judgment than belongs to very many older men; and that advantage which people think old age alone can give to mankind, I mean experience (for experience it is that enables an old man "to talk more wisely than the young" 1), even this the study of history can give to the young if only they are diligent. Moreover, in my opinion, there is in such books a means of liberal education for the character, supposing that one understands how, like a craftsman, setting before himself as patterns the noblest men and words and deeds, to mould his own character to match them, and make his words resemble theirs. And if he should not wholly fall short of them, but should achieve even some slight resemblance, believe me that would be for him the greatest good fortune. And it is with this idea constantly before me that not only do I give myself a literary education by means of books, but even on my campaigns I never fail to carry them like necessary provisions. The number that I take with me is limited only by particular circumstances.

But perhaps I ought not now to be writing a panegyric on books, nor to describe all the benefits that we might derive from them, but since I recognise how much that gift was worth, I ought to pay back to the gracious giver thanks not perhaps altogether different in kind from what she gave. For it is only just that one who has accepted clever discourses of all sorts laid up as treasure in books, should sound a

1 Euripides, Phoenissae 532.
μενον ουκ άδικον δια σμικρών και φαύλων ρημά-
tων ίδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀγροίκως ἀγαν ξυγκειμένων ἰδειν εὐφημίαν. ούδε γὰρ γεωργὸν φήσεις εὐγνώ-
μονα, ὃς καταφυτεύειν μὲν τὴν φυταλίαν ἁρχό-
μενος κλῆματα ἦτει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων, εἶτα ἐκ-
τρέφων τὰς ἁμπέλους δίκελλαι καὶ αὖθις σμινύῃν,
καὶ τέλος ἦδη κάλαμον, ὃ χρὴ προσδεδέσθαι καὶ
ἐπικείσθαι τὴν ἁμπελοῦ, ίνα αὐτὴ τε ἀνέχηται
καὶ οἱ βότρνες ἐξηρτημένοι μηδαμοῦ φαύσις τῆς
βώλου, τυχόντα δὲ ὅτι ἐδείτο μόνον ἐμπίπλασθαι
τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς χάριτος οὔτε τῶν βυτρύων οὔτε
τοῦ γλεύκους μεταδίδοντα τοῖς, ¹ ὅν πρὸς τὴν
γεωργίαν ἔτυχε προθύμων. οὔκοιν οὐδὲ νομέα
ποιμῶν οὐδὲ βουκολῶν οὐδὲ μὴν αἰτολίων ἐπιεικῆ
καὶ ἁγαθὸν καὶ ἐνυγνώμονα φῆσει τις, ὅς
τοῦ μὲν χειμὼν ὅτε αὐτῷ στέγης καὶ πόσα
ἐδείτο τὰ βοσκῆματα, σφόδρα ἐτύγχανε προθύμων
τῶν φίλων, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ ξυμποριζόντων καὶ
μεταδίδοντων τροφῆς ἀφθόνου καὶ καταγωγῶν,
ὁρος δὲ οὐμαί καὶ θέρους φανέντος μάλα γενναίως
ἐπιλαθόμενον δὲν εὐ πάθοι, οὔτε τοῦ γάλακτος οὔτε
τῶν τυρῶν οὔτε ἄλλου τοῦ μεταδίδοντα τοῖς ² ὑφ’ ὅν
αὐτῷ διεσώθη ἀπολόμενα ἀν ἄλλως τὰ θρέμματα.
"Ὅστις οὖν λόγους ὅποιουσοίν τρέφον νέος
μὲν αὐτός καὶ ἠγεμόνων πολλῶν δεόμενος, τροφῆς
dὲ πολλῆς καὶ καθαρᾶς τῆς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν
γραμμάτων, εἶτα ἀθρόως πάντων στερηθείν ³ ἀρα

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¹ τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.
² τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.
³ στερηθείν Cobet, δεπθεί MSS., Hertlein.
strain of eulogy if only in slight and unskillful phrases, composed in an unlearned and rustic fashion. For you would not say that a farmer showed proper feeling who, when starting to plant his vineyard, begs for cuttings from his neighbours, and presently, when he cultivates his vines, asks for a mattock and then for a hoe, and finally for a stake to which the vine must be tied and which it must lean against, so that it may itself be supported, and the bunches of grapes as they hang may nowhere touch the soil; and then, after obtaining all he asked for, drinks his fill of the pleasant gift of Dionysus, but does not share either the grapes or the must with those whom he found so willing to help him in his husbandry. Just so one would not say that a shepherd or neatherd or even a goatherd was honest and good and right-minded, who in winter, when his flocks need shelter and fodder, met with the utmost consideration from his friends, who helped him to procure many things, and gave him food in abundance, and lodging, and presently when spring and summer appeared, forgot in lordly fashion all those kindnesses, and shared neither his milk nor cheeses nor anything else with those who had saved his beasts for him when they would otherwise have perished.

And now take the case of one who cultivates literature of any sort, and is himself young and therefore needs numerous guides and the abundant food and pure nourishment that is to be obtained from ancient writings, and then suppose
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

υμίν μικράς δείσθαι θορθέλας δοκεῖ ἡ μικρῶν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι ἄξιος ὁ πρὸς ταύτα συλλαμβανόμενος; καὶ τυχόν ὦν χρὴ πειρᾶσθαι χάριν ἀποτίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς προσβυμίας καὶ τῶν ἔργων; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε τὸν Θαλήν ἐκείνου, τῶν σοφῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον μυθεῖν,1 οὐ τὰ ἐπαίνοιμενα ἀκηκόαμεν; ἐρομένων γὰρ τινος: ὑπὲρ ὅν ἔμαθεν ὁπόσον τινὰ χρὴ καταβαλεῖν μισθόν ὀμολογῶν, ἔφη, τι2 παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν τὴν ἄξιαν ἡμῖν ἐκτίσεις. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις διδάσκαλος μὲν αὐτὸς ὦν γέγονε, πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν δὲ καὶ ὅτι- οῦν συνηνέγκατο, ἀδικοὶτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθείσιν ὀμολογίας, ἢν δὴ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἀπαιτῶν φαίνεται. εἴεν. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν χαρίευν καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ δῶρον· χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίον οὐτε ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ λαβεῖν οὔτε ὑμᾶς δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἠδέως ἄν ἐνοχλήσαιμι.

Δόγον δὲ ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν θέλω μάλα δὴ τι3 ὑμῖν ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνομεν ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀδολεσχίας· τυχόν δὲ4 οὐδὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἕκροασθε ἐξὺν ἡδονή ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ σφόδρα ἀμαθοῦς λόγων, πλάττειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τεχνάζειν εἰδότος, φράζοντος δὲ ὅπως ἄν ἐπὶ τάληθες· ὁ δὲ δὴ λόγος σχεδὸν τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ. φήσουσι γὰρ, οἴμαι, πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν μακαρίων

1 μυθεῖον Petavius adds. 2 τι Horkel, τὸ MSS. Hertlein. 3 τι Cobet, τινὸς MSS., Hertlein. 4 δὲ MSS., Cobet, γὰρ V, M, Hertlein.
that he should be deprived of all these all at once, is it, think you, slight assistance that he is asking? And is it slight payment that he deserves who comes to his aid? But perhaps he ought not even to attempt to make him any return for his zeal and kind actions? Perhaps he ought to imitate the famous Thales, that consummate philosopher, and that answer which we have all heard and which is so much admired? For when someone asked what fee he ought to pay him for knowledge he had acquired, Thales replied "If you let it be known that it was I who taught you, you will amply repay me." Just so one who has not himself been the teacher, but has helped another in any way to gain knowledge, would indeed be wronged if he did not obtain gratitude and that acknowledgement of the gift which even the philosopher seems to have demanded. Well and good. But this gift of hers was both welcome and magnificent. And as for gold and silver I neither asked for them nor, were they in question, should I be willing thus to wear out your patience. But I wish to tell you a story very well worth your hearing, unless indeed you are already wearied by the length of this garrulous speech. Indeed it may be that you have listened without enjoyment to what has been said so far, seeing that the speaker is a layman and entirely ignorant of rhetoric, and knows neither how to invent nor how to use the writer's craft, but speaks the truth as it occurs to him. And my story is about something almost of the present time. Now many will say, I suppose,
σοφιστών ἀναπειθόμενοι, ὅτι ἅρα μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα
πράγματα ἀναλεξάμενοι ὡς δὴ τι σεμνὸν ἕμων ἀπαγγέλλω. τούτῳ δὲ οὐ φιλονεικοῦντες πρὸς
τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ἐμὲ τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀφαι-
ρεῖσθαι δύσης ἐθέλουτε ἵσως ἢ ἐπιτευχεῖ· ἵσας
γὰρ σαφῶς, ὅτι μὴτε ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι βούλομαι
τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ παρατιθεῖσιν, μὴτε
ἀλλως ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἐκείνους ἐθέλω· ἀλλ' οὐκ
οἶδα ὅτι τοῦ ἰσότον μεγάλα λέγειν ἐκ παντὸς
ὅρεγομενοι χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τάκεινων
ζηλωῦντας καὶ δὴ αὐτίας ἄγουσιν ὡς καθαιροῦντας
τὴν τῶν λόγων ἵσχυν. μόνα γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐργῶν
ζηλωτά φασι καὶ σπουδής ἀξία καὶ πολλῶν
ἐπαίνων ὁπόσα διὰ μέγεθος ὑδη τισῶν ἀπιστα
ἐφάνη, ὅποια δὴ τινα τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας
ἐκεῖνης γυναικός, ἢ μεταβαλοῦσα καθάπερ ὑειθρὸν
ἐντελεῖς τὸν διὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ποταμῶν ῥέουσαν
βασίλεια τε φιλοδόμησεν ὑπὸ γῆς πάγκαλα καὶ
μεθύκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν χωμάτων αὕθες. ὑπὲρ γὰρ δὴ
ταύτης πολὺς μὲν λόγος, ὡς ἔναυμάχει ναυσὶ
τροσχίσας, καὶ πεζῇ παρετάττετο μυριάδας
ὀπλιτῶν τριακοσίας ἄγουσα, τὸ τε ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
τεῖχος φιλοδόμει πεντακοσίων σταδίων μικρὸν
ἀπόθεου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅρυγματα καὶ
ἄλλα πολυτελῆ καὶ δαπανηρὰ κατασκευάζομεν
ἐκεῖνης ἔργα γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Νέτωκρις δὲ
tαύτης νεωτέρα καὶ Ῥοδογούνη καὶ Τώμυρις καὶ
persuaded by the accomplished sophists, that I have collected what is trivial and worthless, and relate it to you as though it were of serious import. And probably they will say this, not because they are jealous of my speeches, or because they wish to rob me of the reputation that they may bring. For they well know that I do not desire to be their rival in the art by setting my own speeches against theirs, nor in any other way do I wish to quarrel with them. But since, for some reason or other, they are ambitious of speaking on lofty themes at any cost, they will not tolerate those who have not their ambition, and they reproach them with weakening the power of rhetoric. For they say that only those deeds are to be admired and are worthy of serious treatment and repeated praise which, because of their magnitude, have been thought by some to be incredible, those stories for instance about that famous woman \(^1\) of Assyria who turned aside as though it were an insignificant brook the river \(^2\) that flows through Babylon, and built a gorgeous palace underground, and then turned the stream back again beyond the dykes that she had made. For of her many a tale is told, how she fought a naval battle with three thousand ships, and on land she led into the field of battle three million hoplites, and in Babylon she built a wall very nearly five hundred stades in length, and the moat that surrounds the city and other very costly and expensive edifices were, they tell us, her work. And Nitocris \(^3\) who came later than she, and Rhodogyne \(^4\)

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2. The Euphrates.  
3. Herodotus 1. 185; Oration 2. 85 c.
4. Rhodopis ? wrongly supposed to have built the third pyramid.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

μυρίος δή τις ἐπιρρέει γυναικῶν ὁχλος ἀνδριξομένων οὐ λίαν εὐπρεπῶς. τινὰς δὲ ἦδη διὰ τὸ κάλλος περιβλέπτουσι καὶ ὀνομαστὰς γενομένας οὐ σφόδρα εὐτυχῶς, ἐπειδὴ ταραχῆς αἴτια καὶ πολέμων μακρῶν ἔδνεσι μυρίοις καὶ ἀνδράσιν, ὡς δὲν εἰκός ἢ τοσαύτης χώρας ἀθροίζεσθαι, γενέσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὡς μεγάλων αἰτίας ὑμνοῦσι πράξεων. ὡστὶς δὲ τοιοῦτον οὕδεν εἴπειν ἔχει, καταγέλαστος εἶναι δοκεῖ ἢτέ οὐκ ἐκπλήττειν οὐδὲ θαυματοποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σφόδρα ἐπιχειρῶν. Βούλεσθε οὖν ἐπανερωτῶμεν αὐτούς, εἴ τις αὐτῶν γαμετὴν ἢ θυγατέρα οἱ τοιαύτην εὑχεται γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Πηνελόπην; καίτοι ἐπὶ ταύτης οὐδὲν "Ομηρος εἴπειν ἐσχε πλέον τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς φιλανδρίας καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἐκυρὸν ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὸν παίδα· ἐμελε δὲ ἄρα οὐτε τῶν ἄγρῳν ἐκείνη οὔτε τῶν ποιμνίων· στρατηγίαν δὲ ἡ δημηγορίαν οὕδε ἄναρ εἰκός ἢ ἐκείνη παραστήναι ποτε· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε λέγειν ἔχρην εἰς τὰ μειράκια,

ἂντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρῆδεμνα πρῴως ἐφθέγγετο. καὶ οὐκ ἀπορῶν "Ομηρος οἶμαι τηλικοῦτων ἐργῶν οὐδὲ ὀνομαστῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶς γυναικῶν ταύτην ὑμνήσε διαφερόντως· ἐξήν γοῦν αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς ᾿Αμαξώνος φιλοτίμως πάνω στρατεύαν διηγησαμένῳ τὴν ποίησιν ἀπασαν ἐμπλῆσαι τοιοῦτων διηγημάτων τέρπειν εὐ μάλα καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τείχους 128

1 eikós Reiske adds.
and Tomyris,\(^1\) aye and a crowd of women beyond number who played men's parts in no very seemly fashion occur to my mind. And some of them were conspicuous for their beauty and so became notorious, though it brought them no happiness, but since they were the causes of dissension and long wars among countless nations and as many men as could reasonably be collected from a country of that size, they are celebrated by the orators as having given rise to mighty deeds. And a speaker who has nothing of this sort to relate seems ridiculous because he makes no great effort to astonish his hearers or to introduce the marvellous into his speeches. Now shall we put this question to these orators, whether any one of them would wish to have a wife or daughter of that sort, rather than like Penelope? And yet in her case Homer had no more to tell than of her discretion and her love for her husband and the good care she took of her father-in-law and her son. Evidently she did not concern herself with the fields or the flocks, and as for leading an army or speaking in public, of course she never even dreamed of such a thing. But even when it was necessary for her to speak to the young suitors, "Holding up before her face her shining veil"\(^2\) it was in mild accents that she expressed herself. And it was not because he was short of such great deeds, or of women famous for them, that he sang the praises of Penelope rather than the others. For instance, he could have made it his ambition to tell the story of the Amazon's\(^3\) campaign and have filled all his poetry with tales of that sort, which certainly have a wonderful power to delight and charm. For

\(^1\) Herodotus 1. 205.  \(^2\) Odyssey 1. 334.  \(^3\) Penthesilea.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

μὲν ἀφεσιν, καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ παυμαχίαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς νεώριος πόλεμον, ἄνδρός τε ἐπ’ αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοῦ μάχην ἐπεισάγειν οὐκοθεν διενοέτο τῇ ποιῆσει καὶ κακὸν τι λέγειν ἐπιθυμῶν τούτο δὲ εἶπερ ἢ, ὡσπερ οὖν φασὶ, σεμνότατον, ὄλγωρως οὕτω παρέληπε. τὸ ποτε οὖν ἄν τις αὐτίου λέγοι τοῦ 'κείνην μὲν ἐπαν- νεῖν προθύμως, τούτων δ’ οὖδ’ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μυημο- εῖνειν; ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκείνης ἁρετὴν καὶ σωφρο- σύνην πολλὰ ἴδια τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὰ συμβαίνει, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς τούτων φι- λοτιμίας ὄφελος μὲν οὖν δὲ ἐν, συμφοραὶ δὲ ἁνή- κεστοι. ἀτε δὴ ὅν οἱμαῖ σοφὸς καὶ θέειος ποιητής ταύτην ἐκρίνειν ἁμείνω καὶ δικαιοτέραν τὴν εὐ- φημίαν. ἀρ’ οὖν ἔτι προσήκου ἐνλαβηθήματι τοσοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιουμένοις, μὴ τις ἄρα μικροὺς ὑπολάβη καὶ φαύλους;

Ἐγὼ δὲ ύμῖν καὶ τὸν γενναῖον ἐκείνον Σ

Τοῦτον Περικλέα τὸν πάνυ, τὸν 'Ολύμπιον,

μάρτυρα ἁγαθὸν ἦδη παρέξωμαι. κολάκων γὰρ

δή, φασί, ποτὲ τὸν ἄνδρα περιεστῶς δῆμος

dieλαγχανον τοὺς ἑπαίνους, ο μὲν οτὶ τὴν Σάμον

ἐξείλεν, ἀλλος δὲ ὅτι τὴν Εὔβοιαν, τινὲς δὲ

ἡδὴ τὸ περιπλέσκει τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἠςαν δὲ

οὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μεμημένου, τινὲς δὲ τῆς πρὸς

tὸν Κύμωνα φιλοτιμίας, σφόδρα ἁγαθὸν πολίτην

1 τούτων δ’ οὖδ’ Hertlein suggests, τούτων δὲ MSS.
2 πολλὰ ἴδια τε Hertlein suggests, πολλὰ τε ἴδια MSS.
3 προσήκου Hertlein suggests, προσήκευ MSS.

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as to the taking of the wall and the siege, and that battle near the ships which in some respects seems to have resembled a sea-fight, and then the fight of the hero and the river,\(^1\) he did not bring them into his poem with the desire to relate something new and strange of his own invention. And even though this fight was, as they say, most marvellous, he neglected and passed over the marvellous as we see. What reason then can anyone give for his praising Penelope so enthusiastically and making not the slightest allusion to those famous women? Because by reason of her virtue and discretion many blessings have been gained for mankind, both for individuals and for the common weal, whereas from the ambition of those others there has arisen no benefit whatever, but incurable calamities. And so, as he was, I think, a wise and inspired poet, he decided that to praise Penelope was better and more just. And since I adopt so great a guide, is it fitting that I should be afraid lest some person think me trivial or inferior?

But it is indeed a noble witness that I shall now bring forward, that splendid orator Pericles, the renowned, the Olympian. It is said\(^2\) that once a crowd of flatterers surrounded him and were distributing his praises among them, one telling how he had reduced Samos,\(^3\) another how he had recovered Euboea,\(^4\) some how he had sailed round the Peloponnesus, while others spoke of his enactments, or of his rivalry with Cimon, who was reputed to be a most excellent citizen and a

\(^1\) Achilles and the Scamander; *Iliad* 21. 234 foll., *Oration* 2. 60 c.
\(^2\) Julian tells, incorrectly, the anecdote in Plutarch, *Pericles* 38.
\(^3\) 440 B.C.
\(^4\) 445 B.C.
καὶ στρατηγὸς εἶναι δόξαντα γενναίον. ὁ δὲ τούτοις μὲν οὔτε ἀχθόμενος οὔτε γανύμενος δήλος ἢν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἥξιόν τῶν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων ἐπαίνειν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιτροπεύσας τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὐδενὶ θανάτου γέγονεν αἰτιος, οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον μέλαν τῶν πολιτῶν τις περιβαλόμενος Περικλέα γενέσθαι ταύτης αἰτίον αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐφη. ἂλλον τού, πρὸς φιλίου Δίως, δοκοῦμεν ύμῖν μάρτυρος δεῖσθαι, ὅτι μέγιστον ἀρετῆς σημεῖον καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐπαίνων άξιον τὸ μηδένα κτεῖναι τῶν πολιτῶν μηδὲ ἀφελέσθαι τὰ χρήματα μηδὲ ἀδίκῳ φυγῇ περιβαλεῖν; ὥστε δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συμφορὰς αὐτῶν ἀντιτάξας καθάπερ ἱατρὸς γενναίος οὐδαμῶς ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτῷ τὸ μηδενὶ νοσήματος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἶ μὴ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν ἱφτό καὶ θεραπεύοι, οὐδὲν άξιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης έργον ὑπέλαβεν, ἄρα ύμῖν δοκεῖ τῶν ὦσιν ἐπαίνων ἐν δίκῃ τυγχάνειν; καὶ οὐδὲν προτιμήσωμεν οὔτε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν, ύφ' ἢς ἔξεστι μὲν αὐτῇ δρᾶν ὅτι ἄν ἔθέλῃ, θέλει δὲ ἀπασι τάγαθά; τούτῳ ἐγὼ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἐπαίνου ποιούμαι, οὐκ ἄπορῶν ἄλλων θαυμασίων εἰναι δοκοῦσιν καὶ λαμπρῶν διηγημάτων.

Εἰ γὰρ δὴ τις τὴν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπὴν ὑποπτεύσειεν ὡς ματαίαν οὖσαν προσποίησιν καὶ ἠλαξονείαν κενὴν καὶ αὐθάδη, οὕτω τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἔναγχος ἐπιτιθῆμαι γενομένην αὐτῇ τὴν εἰς τὴν

1 χρόνον Cobet adds.
distinguished general. But Pericles gave no sign either of annoyance or exultation, and there was but one thing in all his political career for which he claimed to deserve praise, that, though he had governed the Athenian people for so long, he had been responsible for no man's death, and no citizen when he put on black clothes had ever said that Pericles was the cause of his misfortune. Now, by Zeus the god of friendship, do you think I need any further witness to testify that the greatest proof of virtue and one better worth praise than all the rest put together is not to have caused the death of any citizen, or to have taken his money from him, or involved him in unjust exile? But he who like a good physician tries to ward off such calamities as these, and by no means thinks that it is enough for him not to cause anyone to contract a disease, but unless he cures and cares for everyone as far as he can, considers that his work is unworthy of his skill, do you think that in justice such a one ought to receive no higher praise than Pericles? And shall we not hold in higher honour her character and that authority which enables her to do what she will, since what she wills is the good of all? For this I make the sum and substance of my whole encomium, though I do not lack other narratives such as are commonly held to be marvellous and splendid.

For if anyone should suspect that my silence about the rest is vain affectation and empty and insolent pretension, this at least he will not suspect, that the visit which she lately made to Rome,\(^1\) when the Emperor was on his campaign and

\(^1\) 357 A.D.
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Ῥώμην, ὅποτε ἐστρατεύετο βασιλεὺς ζεύγμασι καὶ Κναυσί τοῦ Ῥήμον διαβας ἄγχον τῶν Γαλατίας ὀρίων, ψευδῆ καὶ πεπλασμένην ἄλλως ὑποπτεύσει. ἐξήν ἐδὴ οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, διηγομένῳ ταῦτα τοῦ δήμου με- μνησθαι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας, ὅπως αὐτὴν ὑπεδέχετο σὺν χαρμοῦ, προθύμως ὑπαντώντες καὶ δεξιούμενοι καθάπερ νόμος βασιλέα, καὶ τῶν ἁναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς ἐλευθερίον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ὅπόσα τε ἐνείμε τῶν φυλῶν τοῖς ἐπιστάταις καὶ ἐκατοντάρχαις τοῦ πλῆθους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἐμοιγε τῶν τοιούτων οὔτε ἐδοξῇ ποτὲ ξηλωτὸν οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλω πρὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν πλοῦτων. καὶ τοιοῦτοι χρημάτων ἐλευθερίος ὑπαντῶν ἐκτάσεις δαπάνης μετέχουσα τίνος ἀρετῆς· ἀλλ' οἵμαι κρεῖτ- τον ἐπιτείκειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ὡς δὴ ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῆς λέγων πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἄλλους, ἀνὴρ δὴ καὶ ἑρμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πραχθέντα παρεῖχον μάρτυρα. εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι τῇ ἐμήν εὐγνωμοσύνῃ ξηλοῦν ἐπι- χειρήσειαν, πολλοὺς ἔχει τῇ ἴδῃ καὶ ἔχει τοὺς ἐπαινεῖτας.

1 μὲ Cobet adds.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

had crossed the Rhine by bridges of boats near the frontiers of Galatia, is a false and vain invention. I could indeed very properly have given an account of this visit, and described how the people and the senate welcomed her with rejoicings and went to meet her with enthusiasm, and received her as is their custom to receive an Empress, and told the amount of the expenditure, how generous and splendid it was, and the costliness of the preparations, and reckoned up the sums she distributed to the presidents of the tribes and the centurions of the people. But nothing of that sort has ever seemed to me worth while, nor do I wish to praise wealth before virtue. And yet I am aware that the generous spending of money implies a sort of virtue. Nevertheless I rate more highly goodness and temperance and wisdom and all those other qualities of hers that I have described, bringing before you as witnesses not only many others but myself as well and all that she did for me. Now if only others also try to emulate my proper feeling, there are and there will be many to sing her praises,
ORATION IV
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

In the fourth century A.D. poetry was practically extinct, and hymns to the gods were almost always written in prose. Julian's Fourth Oration is, according to the definition of the rhetorician Menander, a φυσικός θυμος, a hymn that describes the physical qualities of a god. Julian was an uncritical disciple of the later Neo-Platonic school, and apparently reproduces without any important modification the doctrines of its chief representative, the Syrian Iamblichus, with whom begins the decadence of Neo-Platonism as a philosophy. Oriental superstition took the place of the severe spiritualism of Plotinus and his followers, and a philosophy that had been from the first markedly religious, is now expounded by theurgists and the devotees of strange Oriental cults. It is Mithras the Persian sun-god, rather than Apollo, whom Julian identifies with his "intellectual god" Helios, and Apollo plays a minor part among his manifestations. Mithras worship, which Tertullian called "a Satanic plagiarism of Christianity," because in certain of its rites it recalled the sacraments of the Christian church, first made its appearance among the Romans in the first century B.C.¹

¹ Plutarch, Pompeius 24. For a full description of the origin and spread of Mithraism see Cumont, Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, 1896, 1899, Les Mystères de Mithra, 1902, and Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain, 1909 (English translation by G. Showerman, 1911).
hospitably received at first than the cults of Isis and Serapis and the Great Mother of Pessinus, it gradually overpowered them and finally dominated the whole Roman Empire, though it was never welcomed by the Hellenes. For the Romans it supplied the ideals of purity, devotion and self-control which the other cults had lacked. The worshippers of Mithras were taught to contend against the powers of evil, submitted themselves to a severe moral discipline, and their reward after death was to become as pure as the gods to whom they ascend. "If Christianity," says Renan, "had been checked in its growth by some deadly disease, the world would have become Mithraic." Julian, like the Emperor Commodus in the second century, had no doubt been initiated into the Mysteries of Mithras, and the severe discipline of the cult was profoundly attractive to one who had been estranged by early associations from the very similar teaching of the Christians.

Julian followed Plotinus and Iamblichus in making the supreme principle the One (έν) or the Good (τὸ ἄγαθόν) which presides over the intelligible world (νοητὸς κόσμος), where rule Plato's Ideas, now called the intelligible gods (νοητοὶ θεοί). Iamblichus had imported into the Neo-Platonic system the intermediary world of intellectual gods (νοεροὶ θεοί). On them Helios-Mithras, their supreme god and centre, bestows the intelligence and creative and unifying forces that he has received from his transcendentual counterpart among the intelligible gods. The third member of the triad is the world of sense-perception governed by the sun, the visible counterpart of Helios. What distinguishes Julian's
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triad\(^1\) from other Neo-Platonic triads is this hierarchy of three suns in the three worlds: and further, the importance that he gives to the intermediary world, the abode of Helios-Mithras. He pays little attention to the remote intelligible world and devotes his exposition to Helios, the intellectual god, and the visible sun. Helios is the link that relates the three members of the triad. His "middleness" (\(\mu\varepsilon\sigma\omicron\omicron \tau\eta\varsigma\)) is not only local: he is in every possible sense the mediator and unifier. \(\mu\varepsilon\sigma\omicron\omicron \tau\eta\varsigma\) is the Aristotelian word for the "mean," but there is no evidence that it was used with the active sense of mediation before Julian. A passage in Plutarch however seems to indicate that the "middleness" of the sun was a Persian doctrine: "The principle of good most nearly resembles light, and the principle of evil darkness, and between both is Mithras; therefore the Persians called Mithras the Mediator" (\(\mu\varepsilon\sigma\iota\tau\eta\varsigma\)).\(^2\) Naville has pointed out the resemblance between the sun as mediator and the Christian Logos, which Julian may have had in mind. Julian's system results in a practically monotheistic worship of Helios, and here he probably parts company with Iamblichus.

But though deeply influenced by Mithraism, Julian was attempting to revive the pagan gods, and if he could not, in the fourth century, restore the ancient faith in the gods of Homer he nevertheless could not omit from his creed the numerous deities whose temples and altars he had rebuilt. Here he took advantage of the identification of Greek,

\(^2\) Concerning Isis and Osiris 46.
Roman, and Oriental deities which had been going on for centuries. The old names, endeared by the associations of literature, could be retained without endangering the supremacy of Helios. Julian identifies Zeus, Helios, Hades, Oceanus and the Egyptian Serapis. But the omnipotent Zeus of Greek mythology is now a creative force which works with Helios and has no separate existence. Tradition had made Athene the child of Zeus, but Julian regards her as the manifestation of the intelligent forethought of Helios. Dionysus is the vehicle of his fairest thoughts, and Aphrodite a principle that emanates from him. He contrives that all the more important gods of Greece, Egypt and Persia shall play their parts as manifestations of Helios. The lesser gods are mediating demons as well as forces. His aim was to provide the Hellenic counterpart of the positive revealed religion of Christianity. Hence his insistence on the inspiration of Homer, Hesiod, and Plato, and his statement\(^1\) that the allegorical interpretations of the mysteries are not mere hypotheses, whereas the doctrines of the astronomers deserve no higher title.

The Oration is dedicated to his friend and comrade in arms Sallust who is probably identical with the Neo-Platonic philosopher, of the school of Iamblichus, who wrote about 360 the treatise *On the Gods and the World*. Cumont calls this “the official catechism of the Pagan empire,” and Wilamowitz regards it as the positive complement of Julian’s pamphlet *Against the Christians*. Julian’s Eighth Oration is a discourse of consolation, \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\nu\theta\gamma\tau\iota\kappa\sigma\), for the departure of Sallust when Constantius recalled him from Gaul in 358.

\(^1\) 148 v.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΗΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΛΟΤΣΤΙΟΝ

Προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω τοῦ λόγου τούδε μάλιστα μὲν ἄπασιν,
όσσα τε γαίαν ἐπὶ πνεύει τε καὶ ἔρπει,¹ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ μετείληφεν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἄπαντων ἐμαυτῷ· καὶ γάρ εἰμι τοῦ βασίλεως ὀπαδὸς Ἡλίου. τούτου δὲ ἔχω μὲν οὐκοι πάρ' ἐμαυτῷ τὰς πίστεις ἀκριβεστέρας· ὁ δὲ μοι θέμις εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀνεμέσητον, ἐντετηκέ μοι δεινὸς έκ παίδων τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόθος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς οὕτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον ἐκ παιδαρίου κομιδὴ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξιστάμην, ὡστε οὐκ εἰς αὐτῶν μόνων ἀτενεῖς ὀρᾶν ἐπεθύμουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἳ ποτε νῦκτωρ ἀνεφέλου καὶ καθαρὰς αἰθρίας οὐσης προέλθοιμι, πάντα ἀθρώς ἀφεῖς τοῖς οὐρανίοις προσεῖχον κάλλεσιν, οὐκέτι ξυπνεῖς οὐδὲν εἴ τις λέγοι τι πρός με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ τι πράττοιμι προσέχων. ἐδόκουν τε περιεργότερον ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πολυπράγμων τις εἶναι, καὶ

¹ Iliad 17. 447.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS
DEDICATED TO SALLUST

What I am now about to say I consider to be of
the greatest importance for all things "That breathe
and move upon the earth," and have a share in
existence and a reasoning soul and intelligence,
but above all others it is of importance to myself.
For I am a follower of King Helios. And of this
fact I possess within me, known to myself alone,
proofs more certain than I can give. But this at
least I am permitted to say without sacrilege, that
from my childhood an extraordinary longing for
the rays of the god penetrated deep into my soul;
and from my earliest years my mind was so com-
pletely swayed by the light that illumines the
heavens that not only did I desire to gaze in-
tently at the sun, but whenever I walked abroad
in the night season, when the firmament was clear
and cloudless, I abandoned all else without exception
and gave myself up to the beauties of the heavens;
nor did I understand what anyone might say
to me, nor heed what I was doing myself. I was
considered to be over-curious about these matters

1 As opposed to the unreasoning soul, ἀλάγος ψυχή, that
is in animals other than man. Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus,
and Porphyry allowed some form of soul to plants, but this
was denied by Iamblichus, Julian, and Sallust.

2 He refers to his initiation into the cult of Mithras.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

μέ τις ἡδὴ ἀστρόμαντων ὑπέλαβεν ἀρτι γενειήτην. 131 καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὕποτε τοιαύτη βίβλος εἰς ἐμὰς ἀφίκτο χειρας, οὔδε ἡπιστάμην ὦ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ χρῆμα πτω τότε.1 ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα ἐγὼ φημι, μείζω ἔχων εἰπεῖν, εἰ φράσαιμι ὅπως ἐφρόνουν τὸ τηρικαύτα περὶ θεῶν; λήθη δὲ ἐστώ τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνου. τοῦ2 δὲ ὅτι μὲ τὸ οὐράνιον πάντη περιήγητο σημεῖα τῇ τῷ θέαν, ὡστε ἡδὴ καὶ τῆς σελήνης τῆς ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ κίνησιν ἥκείδουν, οὐδενὶ πω ἀνταὐχῶν τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα φιλοσοφοῦντων, ἐστώ μοι τὰ ῥηθέντα σημεῖα. ξηλῶ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ γιό τῆς εὐποτίας καὶ εἰ τῷ τὸ σῶμα παρέσχε θεὸς ἐξ ἱεροῦ καὶ προφητικοῦ συμπαγένοις εἰπέρματος ἀναλαβόντι σοφίας ἀνοίξαι θησαυροῦς· οὐκ ἀτιμάζω δὲ ταύτην, ἢς ἡξιώθην αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε μερίδος, ἐν τῷ κρατοῦντι καὶ βασιλεὺσάρι τῆς γῆς γένει τοῖς κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ χρόνοις γενόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἡγούμαι,3 εἰπέρ χρὴ πεῖθεσθαι τοῖς σοφίσσι, ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τοῦτον κοινὸν πατέρα. τοῖς τοῦτον κοινὸν πατέρα. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων γεννάν καὶ ἡλίος,4 ψυχὰς οὐκ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν σπέρμων 5 εἰς γήν,6 ἐφ' ὧ τί δὲ χρῆμα δηλοῦσιν

1 πω τότε Cobet, πάποτε MSS, Hertlein.
2 τοῦ Reiske, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.
3 ἡγοῦμαι Petavius, ἡγοῦμαι κοινότερον μὲν MSS, Hertlein.
4 Aristotle, Physica 2. 2. 194 b ; cf. 151 d.
5 σπέρμων Hertlein suggests, σπέρμων MSS.
6 Plato, Timaeus 42 d.
and to pay too much attention to them, and people went so far as to regard me as an astrologer when my beard had only just begun to grow. And yet, I call heaven to witness, never had a book on this subject come into my hands; nor did I as yet even know what that science was. But why do I mention this, when I have more important things to tell, if I should relate how, in those days, I thought about the gods? However let that darkness\(^1\) be buried in oblivion. But let what I have said bear witness to this fact, that the heavenly light shone all about me, and that it roused and urged me on to its contemplation, so that even then I recognised of myself that the movement of the moon was in the opposite direction to the universe, though as yet I had met no one of those who are wise in these matters. Now for my part I envy the good fortune of any man to whom the god has granted to inherit a body built of the seed of holy and inspired ancestors, so that he can unlock the treasures of wisdom; nor do I despise that lot with which I was myself endowed by the god Helios, that I should be born of a house that rules and governs the world in my time; but further, I regard this god, if we may believe the wise, as the common father of all mankind.\(^2\) For it is said with truth that man and the sun together beget man, and that the god sows this earth with souls which proceed not from himself alone but from the other gods also; and for what purpose, the souls reveal by

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1 When he was still a professed Christian.

2 i.e. not only prophets and emperors but all men are related to Helios.
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αὐταὶ τοῖς βίοις, οὖς προαιροῦνται. κάλλιστον ἡμῶν, εἰ τῷ ξυνηνέχθῃ καὶ πρὸ τριγυνίας ἀπὸ πολλῶν πάνω προπατόρων ἐφεξῆς τῷ θεῷ δουλεύσαι, μεμπτὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅστις, ἐπεγνωκὼς ἐαυτὸν D τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτε ἑράποντα φύσει, μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων ἦ ξῦν ὁλόγοις αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσι τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ ἔστοτον.

Φέρε ὦν, ὅπως ἂν ὦν τε ὦμεν, ὑμνήσομεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔορτήν, ἢν ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις ἐπετησίος ἀγάλλει θυσίαις. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, εἰδα, χαλεπὸν καὶ τὸ ξυνεῖνα περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ὁπόσος τίς ἔστιν ὁ ἀφανής ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λογισμαμένο, 132 φράσας δὲ ἱσως ἀδύνατον, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐλαττον ἐθελήσεις τῆς. ἐφικέσθαι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς ἅξιαν εἰδα ὅτι τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδεὶς ἄν δύναιτο, τοῦ μετρίου δὲ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὸ κεφάλαιων ἐστὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι φράζειν δυνάμεως. ἀλλ' ἔμοινη τούτου παρασταῖη βοηθός ὁ τε λόγιος ἐξ Ερμῆς ξῦν ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ τε Μουσηγήτης Ἀπόλλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Β αὐτῷ προσήκει τῶν λόγων, καὶ δοῖεν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὁπόσα τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα λέγεσθαι τε καὶ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῶν ἐπαίνων; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅθεν προῆλθε καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν διελθόντες, ὁπόσαι φανεραὶ ὅσαι τ' ἀφανεῖς, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσεως, ἢν κατὰ πάντας ποιεῖται τοὺς κόσμους, οὐ παντά-

1 cf. Oration 7. 237 c. 2 cf. 144 A, 149 C.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

the kind of lives that they select. Now far the best thing is when anyone has the fortune to have inherited the service of the god, even before the third generation, from a long and unbroken line of ancestors; yet it is not a thing to be disparaged when anyone, recognising that he is by nature intended to be the servant of Helios, either alone of all men, or in company with but few, devotes himself to the service of his master.

Come then, let me celebrate, as best I may, his festival which the Imperial city adorns with annual sacrifices. Now it is hard, as I well know, merely to comprehend how great is the Invisible, if one judge by his visible self, and to tell it is perhaps impossible, even though one should consent to fall short of what is his due. For well I know that no one in the world could attain to a description that would be worthy of him, and not to fail of a certain measure of success in his praises is the greatest height to which human beings can attain in the power of utterance. But as for me, may Hermes, the god of eloquence, stand by my side to aid me, and the Muses also and Apollo, the leader of the Muses, since he too has oratory for his province, and may they grant that I utter only what the gods approve that men should say and believe about them. What, then, shall be the manner of my praise? Or is it not evident that if I describe his substance and his origin, and his powers and energies, both visible and invisible, and the gift of blessings which he bestows throughout all the worlds, I shall compose an

1 Rome. 2 At the beginning of January; cf. 156 c. 3 Julian distinguishes the visible sun from his archetype, the offspring of the Good. 4 i.e. the intelligible world, νοητός, comprehended only by pure reason; the intellectual, νοερός, endowed with intelli-
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C

πασιν ἀπάδοντα ποιησόμεθα τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἐγκώμια; ἀρκτέον δὲ ἐνθένδε.

Ὁ θεῖος οὗτος καὶ πάγκαλος κόσμος ἀπ᾿ ἀκρας ἀψίδως οὐρανοῦ μέχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλότου συνεχόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ἐξ ἀιδίου γέγονεν ἀγέννητος ἐς τε τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον ἀιδίος, οὐχ ὑπ᾿ ἄλλου τοῦ φρουροῦμενος ἡ προσεχώς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος, οὐ τὸ κεφαλαιών ἔστων ἀκτίς ἄελιον, βαθμῷ δὲ ὡσπερ δευτέρῳ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου, προσβυτέρως δὲ ἐτι διὰ τῶν πάντων βασιλέα, περὶ δὲ πάντα ἐστὶν. οὗτος τοῖς, εἴτε τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ νοῦ καλεῖν αὐτὸν θέμις εἴτε ἱδέαν τῶν ὄντων, δὴ φημὶ τὸ νοητὸν ξύμπαν, εἴτε ἐν, ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ πως προσβύτατον, εἴτε ὁ Πλάτων εἰώθην ὀνομάζειν τάγαθον, αὕτη δὴ οὖν ἡ μονοειδής τῶν ὁλων αἰτία, πάσι τοῖς οὕσιν ἐξηγησόμενη κάλλους τε καὶ τελειότητος ἐνώσεως τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμηχάνου, κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῆς μένουσαν πρωτουργὸν οὐσίαν μέσον ἐκ μέσον τῶν νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν αἰτίων “Ἡλιον θεὸν μέγιστον ἀνέφηνεν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ πάντα Ὀμοίων ἑαυτῷ· καθάπερ καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος οἶται Πλάτων, “Τούτον τοῖς,” λέγων, “新京 ὁ ἐγὼ, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ

D

1 ἀγέννητος Hertlein suggests, ἀγεννητὸς MSS.
2 Pindar fr. 107, and Sophocles, Antigone 100 ἀκτίς ἄελιον.

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encomium not wholly displeasing to the god? With these, then, let me begin.

This divine and wholly beautiful universe, from the highest vault of heaven to the lowest limit of the earth, is held together by the continuous providence of the god, has existed from eternity ungenerated, is imperishable for all time to come, and is guarded immediately by nothing else than the Fifth Substance¹ whose culmination is the beams of the sun; and in the second and higher degree, so to speak, by the intelligible world; but in a still loftier sense it is guarded by the King of the whole universe, who is the centre of all things that exist. He, therefore, whether it is right to call him the Supra-Intelligible, or the Idea of Being, and by Being I mean the whole intelligible region, or the One, since the One seems somehow to be prior to all the rest, or, to use Plato's name for him, the Good; at any rate this uncompounded cause of the whole reveals to all existence beauty, and perfection, and oneness, and irresistible power; and in virtue of the primal creative substance that abides in it, produced, as middle among the middle and intellectual, creative causes, Helios the most mighty god, proceeding from itself and in all things like unto itself. Even so the divine Plato believed, when he writes, "Therefore (said I) when I spoke of this, and thirdly the world of sense-perception ἀἰσθητός. The first of these worlds the Neo-Platonists took over from Plato, Republic 508 foll.; the second was invented by Iamblichus.

¹ Though Aristotle did not use this phrase, it was his theory of a fifth element superior to the other four, called by him "aether" or "first element," De Coelo 1. 3 270 b, that suggested to Iamblichus the notion of a fifth substance or element; cf. Theologumena Arithmeticae 35, 22 Ast, where he calls the fifth element "aether."
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άγαθοῦ ἐκγονοῦ, διὸ τὰγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ, ὅτιπερ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρὸς τε νοῦν καὶ τὰ νοοῦμενα, τούτο τούτων ἐν τῷ ὀρατῷ πρὸς τε ὤψιν καὶ τὰ ὀρῴμενα.” ¹ ἔχει μὲν δὴ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ταύτην ὀίμαι τὴν ἀναλογίαν πρὸς τὸ ὀρατὸν, ἦπερ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἀλήθεια.² αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ξύμπας, ἀτέ δὴ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου τῆς ἱδέας Β τὰγαθοῦ γεγονός ἐκγονοῦ, ὑποστὰσ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν μόνιμον οὐσίαν ἐξ ἁλίδιον καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς παρεδὲξατο δυναστείαν, δὶν τὰγαθὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς νοητοῖς αἴτιον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς τοῖς νοεροῖς νέμων. ἐστὶ δ’ αἴτιον ὀίμαι τὰγαθὸν τοῖς νοητοῖς θεοῖς κάλλους, οὐσίας, τελειότητος, ἐνώσεως, συνέχον αὐτὰ καὶ περιλάμπουν ἀγαθοειδεὶ δυνάμει ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς “Ἡλίος δίδωσιν, ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὰγαθοῦ τεταγμένος, εἰ καὶ συμπροῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ συνυπέστησαν, ὅπως οἶαμι καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθειδὴς αἴτία προκαθηγομένῃ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν ἀπαντα κατὰ νοῦν εὐθύνῃ.

ʿΑλλὰ καὶ τρίτος ὁ φαινόμενος οὕτως δίσκος ἐναργῶς αἴτιος ἐστὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ ὑσυν ἐφαμεν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς τῶν μέγαν

¹ Republic 508 b.
² ἀλήθεια Hertlein suggests, ἀλήθεια MSS.
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understand that I meant the offspring of the Good which the Good begat in his own likeness, and that what the Good is in relation to pure reason and its objects in the intelligible world, such is the sun in the visible world in relation to sight and its objects." Accordingly his light has the same relation to the visible world as truth has to the intelligible world. And he himself as a whole, since he is the son of what is first and greatest, namely, the Idea of the Good, and subsists from eternity in the region of its abiding substance, has received also the dominion among the intellectual gods, and himself dispenses to the intellectual gods those things of which the Good is the cause for the intelligible gods. Now the Good is, I suppose, the cause for the intelligible gods of beauty, existence, perfection, and oneness, connecting these and illuminating them with a power that works for good. These accordingly Helios bestows on the intellectual gods also, since he has been appointed by the Good to rule and govern them, even though they came forth and came into being together with him, and this was, I suppose, in order that the cause which resembles the Good may guide the intellectual gods to blessings for them all, and may regulate all things according to pure reason.

But this visible disc also, third in rank, is clearly, for the objects of sense-perception the cause of preservation, and this visible Helios is the cause

1 Julian conceives of the sun in three ways; first as transcendental, in which form he is indistinguishable from the Good in the intelligible world, secondly as Helios-Mithras, ruler of the intellectual gods, thirdly as the visible sun.

2 133 d–134 A is a digression on the light of the sun.
"Ἡλιον, τοσοῦτων αὕτιος¹ καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος ὁδε τοῖς φανεροῖς. τοῦτων δ' ἐναργείς αἰ πίστεις ἡ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἁμανη σκοποῦντι.² φέρε δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς οὐκ εἶδος ἐστιν ἀσώματον τι θεῖον τοῦ κατ' ἐνέργειαν διαφανοῦς; αὐτὸ δὲ ὦ, τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ διαφανές, πᾶσι μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν συνυποκείμενον τοῖς στοιχείοις καὶ ἐν αὐτῶν προσ- εχές εἴδος, οὐ σωματοειδές οὐδὲ συμμεγνύμενον οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας σῶματι προσέμενον ποιότητας. οὐκοιν ἰδίαιν αὐτοῦ θέρμην ἔρεις,³ οὐ τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῆς ψυχρότητα, οὐ τὸ σκληρὸν, οὐ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀποδώσεις, οὐδ' ἀλλην τινά τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄφην διαφοράν, οὐκοιν οὐδὲ γεύσιν οὐδὲ ὀδυμήν, ὁψει δὲ μόνον ὑποπίπτει πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ τοιαύτη φύσις ἀγομένη. τὸ δὲ φῶς εἰδός ἐστι ταύτης οἶνον ἀλής ὑπεστρωμένης καὶ παρεκτεινο- μένης τοῖς σώμασιν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντος ἀσωμάτου ἀκρότης ἄν εἴη τις καὶ ὄσπερ ἄνθος ἀκτίνες. η μὲν οὐν τῶν Φοινίκων δόξα, σοφῶν τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐπιστημόνων, ἄχραντον εἶναι ἐνέρ- γειαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθαροῦ νοῦ τὴν ἀπανταχῇ προϊόνσαν αὐγήν ἑφη οὐκ ἀπάδει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος, εἴπερ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀσώματον; εἰ τις αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πηγὴν ὑπολάβοι σῶμα, νοῦ δὲ ἐνέργειαν ἄχραντον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔδραν ἐλλαμπομένην, ἢ

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¹ After τοσοῦτων Hertlein suggests αὕτιος.
² cf. 138 b.
³ Aristotle, De Anima 418 a.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

for the visible gods\(^1\) of just as many blessings as we said mighty Helios bestows on the intellectual gods. And of this there are clear proofs for one who studies the unseen world in the light of things seen. For in the first place, is not light itself a sort of incorporeal and divine form of the transparent in a state of activity? And as for the transparent itself, whatever it is, since it is the underlying basis, so to speak, of all the elements, and is a form peculiarly belonging to them, it is not like the corporeal or compounded, nor does it admit qualities peculiar to corporeal substance.\(^2\) You will not therefore say that heat is a property of the transparent, or its opposite cold, nor will you assign to it hardness or softness or any other of the various attributes connected with touch or taste or smell; but a nature of this sort is obvious to sight alone, since it is brought into activity by light. And light is a form of this substance, so to speak, which is the substratum of and coextensive with the heavenly bodies. And of light, itself incorporeal, the culmination and flower, so to speak, is the sun's rays. Now the doctrine of the Phoenicians, who were wise and learned in sacred lore, declared that the rays of light everywhere diffused are the undefiled incarnation of pure mind. And in harmony with this is our theory, seeing that light itself is incorporeal, if one should regard its fountainhead, not as corporeal, but as the undefiled activity of mind\(^3\) pouring light into its own abode: and this is

\(^1\) i.e. the stars.

\(^2\) De Anima 419\(a\); Aristotle there says that light is the actualisation or positive determination of the transparent medium. Julian echoes the whole passage.

\(^3\) Mind, νοῦς, is here identified with Helios; cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia 1. 19. 9. Sol mundi mens est, "the sun is the
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toû pantaos ou'ranov tò méson eîlîchev, òthe ev epi-
lámptousa pàsìs ìs ìn eutòviaì plêroì toûs ou-
ranìous kúklous, pànta de periâmpeî theìw kai
àkrantw fwtì. tâ méntoi èn tois theòs èrgha
proîonta par' autòu metrìwos ge1 ìmàv òlìghw
pròteron eîrìhtai2 kai rìthìsetai met' òlìghon. òsà
de òròmeven aut'h pròton òfhe ìvòma mónon èstìw
èrghon tètpòmenon, eì ìh pròsołâboi òh tòu òfòs
ìmholìcìnì boîtheia.n. òrata.n de òlwos eîh án tì
ìh fwtì pròton òsper ùlì teçvnìth pròsaxèavn,
ìv ìmàw tò eìdòs dèxìhtai; kai gar tò òrìsìon
àplòs òutiawì keçumènon èstì mèn òrìsììon, ou
ìmàw átagama ou'dè eìkòw, prìv án ò teçvnìthè aut'h
perìthì tìn mòrfèn. oukòwv kai òsà péfukev
òrâshtai ìh xìw wòtì toìs òròsi pròsagòmena
tòu òrata.n eînai pantaçàsiw èstérhìtai. dìda.ou'
oùn toìs te òròsi tò òrâv toìs te òròmev>nòs tò
òrâshtai dûvò fúseis ènergeìa mà têleìovì, òfìwv kai
òrátov ai de têleìòtètes eîdè tè eîsi kai ou'sìa.

'Alìa tòuto mèn 'ìsws lêpòterov ò de
parakolouîhmen ìumìpantes, àmâtheîs kai ìdiò-
tai, philòsofoi kai lògìwv, tìna èn tò pàntì
dûnavìn anîsìçwv ìchei kai kàtaduûmenos ò theòs;
nûkta kai ìmèrav èrghìzetai kai mèbhìstìmì
fànerwos kai tòpètì tò pàv. kàtòi tîn tòuto

1 ge Hertlein suggests, te MSS.  2 133 b.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

assigned to the middle of the whole firmament, whence it sheds its rays and fills the heavenly spheres with vigour of every kind and illumines all things with light divine and undefiled. Now the activities proceeding from it and exercised among the gods have been, in some measure at least, described by me a little earlier and will shortly be further spoken of. But all that we see merely with the sight at first is a name only, deprived of activity, unless we add thereto the guidance and aid of light. For what, speaking generally, could be seen, were it not first brought into touch with light in order that, I suppose, it may receive a form, as matter is brought under the hand of a craftsman? And indeed molten gold in the rough is simply gold, and not yet a statue or an image, until the craftsman give it its proper shape. So too all the objects of sight, unless they are brought under the eyes of the beholder together with light, are altogether deprived of visibility. Accordingly by giving the power of sight to those who see, and the power of being seen to the objects of sight, it brings to perfection, by means of a single activity, two faculties, namely vision and visibility.\(^1\) And in forms and substance are expressed its perfecting powers.

However, this is perhaps somewhat subtle; but as for that guide whom we all follow, ignorant and unlearned, philosophers and rhetoricians, what power in the universe has this god when he rises and sets? Night and day he creates, and before our eyes changes and sways the universe. But to which of

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1 Julian echoes Plato, *Republic* 507, 508.
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tων ἄλλων ἀστέρων ὑπάρχει; πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐκ τούτων ἡδή καὶ περὶ τῶν θειστέρων πιστεύομεν, ὡς ἀρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἁμαρτήκατε ἐπὶ πρὸς σε θεῶν γένη τῆς ἀγαθοποιοῦσα ἀποπληροῦταν παρ’ αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, ὦ πᾶς μὲν ὑπείκει χορὸς ἀστέρων, ἐπεταί δὲ ἡ γένεσις ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων κυβερνομένη προμηθείας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλάνητες

1. Ωτι περὶ αὐτῶν ὠστρεί ταυτελεά χορεύοντες ἐν τῶι ὁρισμένοις πρὸς αὐτοῦ διαστήμασιν ἀρμοδίωτα πέραντα κύκλῳ, στηριγμοὺς τινας ποιούμενοι καὶ πρόσω καὶ ὁπίασο πορείαν, ὡς οἱ τῆς σφαιρικῆς ἐπιστήμην τας θεωρίας ὀνομάξουσι τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς φαινόμενα, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς τελείης αὐξηται καὶ λήγει φῶς, πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἡλίου πάσχον, πᾶσι πον δῆλον. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκότως καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τὸν ἱσμάντων ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς διακόσμησιν ὑπολαμβάνομεν

C. Ἀνάλογον ἔχει τῇ τοιαύτῃ τάξει;

Δάββωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀπαντών τὸ μὲν τελεσιουργὸν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀποφαινέων ὀρᾶν τὰ ὀρατικά τελειοὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς: τὸ δὲ δημιουργικὸν καὶ γόνιμον 2 ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἕμπασι μεταβολῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐν ἐνὶ πάντων συνεκτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰς κινήσεις πρὸς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφωνίας, τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐξ αὐτοῦ 3 μέσου, τὸ δὲ τοῖς νοεροῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνδρύσθαι βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πλανωμένους μέσης τάξεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταύτα περὶ τινα

1 cf. 146 D.
2 157 C.
3 αὐτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐαυτοῦ MSS.

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the other heavenly bodies does this power belong? How then can we now fail to believe, in view of this, in respect also to things more divine, that the invisible and divine tribes of intellectual gods above the heavens are filled with power that works for good by him, even by him to whom the whole band of the heavenly bodies yields place, and whom all generated things follow, piloted by his providence? For that the planets dance about him as their king, in certain intervals, fixed in relation to him, and revolve in a circle with perfect accord, making certain halts, and pursuing to and fro their orbit,¹ as those who are learned in the study of the spheres call their visible motions; and that the light of the moon waxes and wanes varying in proportion to its distance from the sun, is, I think, clear to all. Then is it not natural that we should suppose that the more venerable ordering of bodies among the intellectual gods corresponds to this arrangement?

Let us therefore comprehend, out of all his functions, first his power to perfect, from the fact that he makes visible the objects of sight in the universe, for through his light he perfects them; secondly, his creative and generative power from the changes wrought by him in the universe; thirdly, his power to link together all things into one whole, from the harmony of his motions towards one and the same goal; fourthly, his middle station we can comprehend from himself, who is midmost; and fifthly, the fact that he is established as king among the intellectual gods, from his middle station among the planets. Now if we see that these powers, or

¹ *i.e.* the stationary positions and the direct and retrograde movements of the planets.
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τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν ὅρῳμεν θεῶν ἢ τοσαύτα ἐτερα, μή τοι τούτῳ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεούς ἠγεμονίαν προσνείμωμεν· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔδεν αὐτῷ κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξω τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας, ἢς καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδίδωσι τοῖς πᾶσι, μαρτυράμενοι τοὺς τε Κυπρίων ἱερέας, οἱ κοινοὺς ἀποφαίνουσι βωμοὺς Ἡλίῳ καὶ Διῷ, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐτι τὸν Ἀσπόλλωνες συνεδρεύοντα τῷ θεῷ τῷ δὲ παρακαλέσαντες μάρτυρα· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος

Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀίδης, εἰς Ἡλίῳ ἐστὶ Σάραπισί· κοινὴν ὑπολάβωμεν, μάλλον δὲ μίαν Ἡλίου καὶ Διὸς ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς δυναστεῖαν ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Πλάτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως φρόνιμον θεῶν Ἀίδην ὑμοίρασι. καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον καὶ Σάραπιν, τὸν Ἀίδην δηλούντι καὶ νοερόν, πρὸς ὃν φησιντὸν ἀνω πορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀριστὰ βιωσάντων καὶ δικαίωτα. μὴ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ὑπολάβῃ τούτων, ὃν οἱ μυθοὶ πείθουσι φρίττειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρᾶσον καὶ μείλιχων, ὃς ἀπολύει παντελῶς τῆς γενέσεως τὰς ψυχὰς, οὐχὶ δὲ λυθεῖσας αὐτὰς σώμασιν ἑτέροις προσηλοῖ κολάζων καὶ πραττόμενος δίκας, ἀλλὰ πορεύον ἄνω καὶ ἀνατείνων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ νεαρὰ παντελῶς ἔστιν ἡ δόξα, προὐλαβον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ποιητῶν,

1 Cratylus 403 B. 2 Phaedo 83 D. 3 144 A, B, 149 C.
powers of similar importance, belong to any one of the other visible deities, let us not assign to Helios leadership among the gods. But if he has nothing in common with those other gods except his beneficent energy, and of this too he gives them all a share, then let us call to witness the priests of Cyprus who set up common altars to Helios and Zeus; but even before them let us summon as witness Apollo, who sits in council with our god. For this god declares: "Zeus, Hades, Helios Serapis, three gods in one godhead!"¹ Let us then assume that, among the intellectual gods, Helios and Zeus have a joint or rather a single sovereignty. Hence I think that with reason Plato called Hades a wise god.² And we call this same god Hades Serapis also, namely the Unseen³ and Intellectual, to whom Plato says the souls of those who have lived most righteously and justly mount upwards. For let no one conceive of him as the god whom the legends teach us to shudder at, but as the mild and placable, since he completely frees our souls from generation: and the souls that he has thus freed he does not nail to other bodies, punishing them and exacting penalties, but he carries aloft and lifts up our souls to the intelligible world. And that this doctrine is not wholly new, but that

¹ This oracular verse is quoted as Orphic by Macrobius, Saturnalia 1. 18. 18; but Julian, no doubt following Iamblichus, substitutes Serapis for Dionysus at the end of the verse. The worship of Serapis in the Graeco-Roman world began with the foundation of a Serapeum by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria. Serapis was identified with Osiris, the Egyptian counterpart of Dionysus.

² Phaedo 80 d; in Cratylus 403 Plato discusses, though not seriously, the etymology of the word "Hades."

³ 'Αιδής, "Unseen."
"Oμηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, εἴτε καὶ νοοῦντες οὗτος εἴτε καὶ ἑπτυνοία θεία καθάπερ οἱ μάντεις ἐνθουσιάσωντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐνθεύδων γίγνομον. ο μὲν γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν Ἱπερίωνος ἐφή καὶ Θείας, μόνον οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνιττόμενος τοῦ πάντων ὑπερέχοντος αὐτὸν ἐγγιόνον γνῆσιον φῦναι: ο γὰρ Ἱπερίων τὸς ἄν ἐτέρος εἰς παρὰ τούτον; ἡ Θεία δὲ αὐτὴ τρόπον ἔτερον οὐ τὰ θειότατον τῶν ὄντων λέγει; μὴ δὲ συνδυασμῶν μηδὲ γάμους ὑπολαμβάνωμεν, ἀπίστα καὶ παράδοξα ποιητικῆς μουσῆς ἀδύρματα. πατέρα δέ αὐτοῦ καὶ γεννήτορα νομίζωμεν τῶν θειότατον καὶ ὑπέρτατον οἰκίας μὲ τὰς ἄλλος εἴς τοῦ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ περὶ δὲ πάντα καὶ οὐ ἕνεκα πάντα ἐστίν; "Ομηρός δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἱπερίωνα καλεῖ, καὶ δείκνυσι γε αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης κρείττον. ο γὰρ τοῖς Ζεὺς, ὅς ἐκεῖνος φησιν, ἀπάντων ὅν κύριος τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζει: ἐν δὲ τῷ μύθῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τούδε λέγοντος, ὅτι ἄρα διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν Ὄδυσσεως ἐταίρων ἀπολείψει τὸν "Ὀλυμπον,  

Αὐτῇ κεν γαϊ̣ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ τε θαλάσσῃ, 

οὐδὲ ἀπειλεῖ δεσμὸν οὐδὲ βλαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δίκην 

φησιν ἐπιθήσειν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἄξιοὶ 

φαίνειν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἀρ' οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων πρὸς 

τὸ αὐτεξούσιον καὶ τελεσιουργὸν εἰναὶ φησι τὸν

1 ἐγγιόνον MSS, ἐγγιόνον V, Hertlein. 
2 δὲ τὸς ἄλλος Hertlein suggests, δὲ τὸς ἄν eις MSS. 
3 Iliad 8. 480 ; Odyssey 1. 8.  
4 Odyssey 12. 383.
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Homer and Hesiod the most venerable of the poets held it before us, whether this was their own view or, like seers, they were divinely inspired with a sacred frenzy for the truth, is evident from the following. Hesiod, in tracing his genealogy, said that Helios is the son of Hyperion and Thea, intimating thereby that he is the true son of him who is above all things. For who else could Hyperion be? And is not Thea herself, in another fashion, said to be most divine of beings? But as for a union or marriage, let us not conceive of such a thing, since that is the incredible and paradoxical trifling of the poetic Muse. But let us believe that his father and sire was the most divine and supreme being; and who else could have this nature save him who transcends all things, the central point and goal of all things that exist? And Homer calls him Hyperion after his father and shows his unconditioned nature, superior to all constraint. For Zeus, as Homer says, since he is lord of all constrains the other gods. And when, in the course of the myth, Helios says that on account of the impiety of the comrades of Odysseus he will forsake Olympus, Zeus no longer says, “Then with very earth would I draw you up and the sea withal,” nor does he threaten him with fetters or violence, but he says that he will inflict punishment on the guilty and bids Helios go on shining among the gods. Does he not thereby declare that besides being uncon-

1 Theogony 371; cf Pindar, Isthmian 4. 1.
2 Hyperion means “he that walks above.”
3 They had devoured the oxen of the sun; Odyssey 12. 352 foll.
4 Iliad. 8. 24; Zeus utters this threat against the gods if they should aid either the Trojans or the Greeks.
"Ηλιον; ἐπὶ τὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ θεοὶ δέονται, πλὴν εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀφανὸς ἑναστράπτων ὁ ἐφαμέν ἁγαθὸν ἀποπληρωτικὸς τυγχάνοι; τὸ γὰρ

'Ἡλιόν τ’ ἀκάμαντα βοῶτις πότνια" Ἡρη
Πέμψεις ἐπὶ Ὀμειανοί ροδᾶς ἀέκοντα νέεσθαι 1
πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ φησὶ νομισθῆναι τὴν νῦκτα διὰ τινα χαλεπὴν ὁμίχλην. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ θεὸς ποιεῖ, καὶ ἄλλοθι τῆς ποιῆσεως φησίν, 2

ἡέρα δ’ "Ἡρη

Πότνα πρόσθε βαθείαν.

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν χαίρειν ἑάσωμεν· ἔχει γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θείου πολὺ καὶ τάνθρωπων ἢ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐσθῆκεν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς διδάσκειν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἔκεινα ἦδη διέλθωμεν.

Ὁ περὶ γῆν τότος ἐν τῷ γένεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, τὸς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν ἀμιδότητα δωροῦμενος αὐτῷ; ἃρ’ οὖν οὐ τῶν μέτρων ὀρισμένως συνέχων, ἀπειρον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν σῶματος οὐχ οἶνον τ’ ἢν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἀγένητος ἐστι μηδὲ αὐθυπόστατος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας εἰ πάντως ἐγίνετο τι συνεχῶς, ἀνελύτῳ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν μηδέν, ἐπέλευσεν ἀν τῶν γυνομένων ἡ οὐσία. τὴν δὴ τοιαύτην φύσιν ὁ θεὸς ὁδὲ μέτρῳ κινοῦμενος προσιόν μὲν ὀρθοὶ καὶ ἐγείρει, πόρρω δὲ ἢπιῶν ἐλαττοὶ καὶ φθείρει, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτός ἀεὶ ξωποιεῖ κινών καὶ ἐποχετεύον αὐτῇ τὴν ξωὴν· ἢ δὲ ἀπόλειψις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πρὸς θάτερα μετάστασις αἰτία γίνεται φθοράς 138

1 Iliad 18. 239. 2 Iliad 21. 6.

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ditioned, Helios has also the power to perfect? For why do the gods need him unless by sending his light, himself invisible, on their substance and existence, he fulfils for them the blessings of which I spoke? For when Homer says that "Ox-eyed Hera, the queen, sent unwearied Helios to go, all unwilling, to the streams of Oceanus," he means that, by reason of a heavy mist, it was thought to be night before the proper time. And this mist is surely the goddess herself, and in another place also in the poem he says, "Hera spread before them a thick mist." But let us leave the stories of the poets alone. For along with what is inspired they contain much also that is merely human. And let me now relate what the god himself seems to teach us, both about himself and the other gods.

The region of the earth contains being in a state of becoming. Then who endows it with imperishability? Is it not he who keeps all together by means of definite limits? For that the nature of being should be unlimited was not possible, since it is neither uncreated nor self-subsistent. And if from being something were generated absolutely without ceasing and nothing were resolved back into it, the substance of things generated would fail. Accordingly this god, moving in due measure, raises up and stimulates this substance when he approaches it, and when he departs to a distance he diminishes and destroys it; or rather he himself continually revivifies it by giving it movement and flooding it with life. And his departure and turning in the

1 Julian now describes the substance or essential nature, ὄντος, of Helios, 137 D–142 B.
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tois philousoin. adei mene ouin e par' auton ton
agathon dosis oun kateisw epi tewn gin' allote
yap allh dechetai ta toiauta xorxia pro to mihte
tewn genesin epileipewn mihte tou synthesous potete
ton theon elattov o plleoun eu poiesai ton pathton
kosmon. yap tauntotois wosteper tis ouisia, ouw
de kai tis energeias en tois theois kal pro ge ton
allon parata to basilei ton olon Hleir, de kai
tewn kinhsin aploustatun uper apantas poieita
tous tou panti tewn enantian pheromoun. o de kai
auto tis prois tous allous uperokhias auton
smeiou poieita o kleinos Aristotelis. alla
kai parata ton allon noeroun theon ouk amudrai
kathkousin eis ton kosmon tisde dynamis. eita
ti touto; me yap apokeleomev tous allous toutes
thn hgemonian omologontes dedosxhai; polu de
pleoun ek ton emfanwv axiosumev uper ton afanwv
pisteuein. wosteper yap tas endidomenhas apasiv
ekieithen dynamis eis tewn gin outhis fainetai
teleisionergon kai synarmoxewv prois te eauton kai
to paw, ouwh de noristheo kai en tois afanesis
auton tas synousias exhein prois allhlas, hgem-
mova men ekiein, symphiwousas de prois autin
tas allas ama. etpei kai, ei meson efamev en
mesois idrwsai ton theon tois noerois theois,
potaphtis h mesahtis estin dwn av xerh meson

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other direction is the cause of decay for things that perish. Ever does his gift of blessings descend evenly upon the earth. For now one country now another receives them, to the end that becoming may not cease nor the god ever benefit less or more than is his custom this changeful world. For sameness, as of being so also of activity, exists among the gods, and above all the others in the case of the King of the All, Helios; and he also makes the simplest movement of all the heavenly bodies\(^1\) that travel in a direction opposite to the whole. In fact this is the very thing that the celebrated Aristotle makes a proof of his superiority, compared with the others. Nevertheless from the other intellectual gods also, forces clearly discernible descend to this world. And now what does this mean? Are we not excluding the others when we assert that the leadership has been assigned to Helios? Nay, far rather do I think it right from the visible to have faith about the invisible.\(^2\) For even as this god is seen to complete and to adapt to himself and to the universe the powers that are bestowed on the earth from the other gods for all things, after the same fashion we must believe that among the invisible gods also there is intercourse with one another; his mode of intercourse being that of a leader, while the modes of intercourse of the others are at the same time in harmony with his. For since we said that the god is established midmost among the midmost intellectual gods, may King Helios himself grant to us to tell what is the nature of that middleness

\(^1\) i.e. The sun, moon and planets; the orbits of the planets are complicated by their direct and retrograde movements.

\(^2\) cf. 133 d.
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αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεῖν ὁ Ἑλιὸς δοιή.

Μεσότητα μὲν δὴ φαμεν οὖ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις D θεωρομένην ἵσον ἀφεστῶσαν τῶν ἄκρων, οἶνον ἐπὶ χρωμάτων τὸ ξανθὸν ἢ φαιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ τὸ χλιαρόν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνωτικὴν καὶ συνάγουσαν τὰ διεστῶτα, ὁποῖαν τινὰ φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐξορίζων αὐτῆς παντελῶς τὸ νεῖκος. τίνα οὖν ἐστιν, ἃ συνάγει, καὶ τίνων ἐστὶ μέσος; φημὶ δὴ οὖν ὅτι τῶν τε ἐμφανῶν καὶ περικοσμίων θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄυλων καὶ νοητῶν, οἵ περὶ τάγαθὸν εἰσίν, ὡσπερ πολυπλασιαζομένης ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀνευ προσθήκης τῆς νοητῆς καὶ θείας οὐσίας. ὥς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ μέση της, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων κραθείσα, τελεία δὲ καὶ ἁμηγῆς ἀφ’ ὅλων τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ ἀφανῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου νοερὰ καὶ πάγκαλος οὐσία, καὶ ὁποῖαν τινὰ χρὴ τὴν μεσότητα νομίζειν, εἴρηται. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἐκαστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἵν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ’ εἰδὴ τὸ μέσον τῆς οὐσίας, ὅτως ἔχει πρός τε τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταία,¹ τῷ νῷ κατίδωμεν, εἰ καὶ B

¹ τὰ τελευταία Hertlein suggests, τελευταία MSS.
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among things of which we must regard him as the middle.

Now "middleness" we define not as that mean which in opposites is seen to be equally remote from the extremes, as, for instance, in colours, tawny or dusky, and warm in the case of hot and cold, and the like, but that which unifies and links together what is separate; for instance the sort of thing that Empedocles means by Harmony when from it he altogether eliminates Strife. And now what does Helios link together, and of what is he the middle? I assert then that he is midway between the visible gods who surround the universe and the immaterial and intelligible gods who surround the Good— for the intelligible and divine substance is as it were multiplied without external influence and without addition. For that the intellectual and wholly beautiful substance of King Helios is middle in the sense of being unmixed with extremes, complete in itself, and distinct from the whole number of the gods, visible and invisible, both those perceptible by sense and those which are intelligible only, I have already declared, and also in what sense we must conceive of his middleness. But if I must also describe these things one by one, in order that we may discern with our intelligence how his intermediary nature, in its various forms, is related both to the highest and the lowest, even though it is

1 Julian defines the ways in which Helios possesses μεσότης, or middleness; he is mediator and connecting link as well as locally midway between the two worlds and the centre of the intellectual gods; see Introduction, p. 350.
2 cf. Empedocles, fr. 18; 122, 2; 17, 19 Diels.
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. μὴ πάντα διελθεῖν ράδιον, ἀλλὰ οὐν τὰ δυνατὰ φράσαι πειραθῶμεν.

Ἐν παντελῶς τὸ νοητὸν οὐκ ἐρωτόπαρχον, τὰ\(^1\) δὲ πάντα ὅμοιον συνειληφὼς ἐν τῷ ἐνί. τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐν ἑστὶ ξῆφον ὄλον δὲ ὅλου ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ πλήρες, τέλειον ἐκ μερῶν τελείων;\(^2\) ταύτης οὖν τῆς διπλῆς ἐνοείδους τελειότητος φημὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ νοητῷ πάντα ἐν ἑνὶ συνεχούσῃ, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τελείαν συναγομένης ἐνώσεως; ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου μέση τελειότητος ἐνοείδης ἐστιν, ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἱδρυμένη θεοῖς. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τούτο συνοχῇ τὶς ἑστὶν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τῶν θεῶν κόσμῳ πάντα πρὸς τὸ ἐν συντάττουσα. τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν ὑπερανάν φαίνεται κύκλῳ πορευομένη τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐσία,\(^3\) ἡ πάντα συνέχει πᾶ μέρη καὶ σφίγγει πρὸς αὕτη συνέχουσα τὸ φῦσει σκέδαστον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρέον ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων; δύο δὴ ταύτας τὰς\(^4\) οὐσίας συνοχῆς αἰτίας, τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς φαινομένην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὁλίος εἰς ταὐτὸ συν- ἀπτεί, τῆς μὲν μιμοῦμενος τῆς συνεκτικῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς, ἢτα ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθὼν, τῆς δὲ τελευταίας προκατάρχων, ἡ περὶ τὸν ἐμφανῆ θεωρεῖται κόσμων. μὴ ποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ

1 ἡ Hertlein suggests, τὰ τὰ MSS.
2 Plato, Timaeus 33 A.
3 cf. 139 c; Oration 5. 165 c, 166 d, 170 c.
4 τὰς Hertlein suggests.

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not easy to recount it all, yet let me try to say what can be said.

Wholly one is the intelligible world, pre-existent from all time, and it combines all things together in the One. Again is not our whole world also one complete living organism, wholly throughout the whole of it full of soul and intelligence, "perfect, with all its parts perfect"? Midway then between this uniform two-fold perfection—I mean that one kind of unity holds together in one all that exists in the intelligible world, while the other kind of unity unites in the visible world all things into one and the same perfect nature—between these, I say, is the uniform perfection of King Helios, established among the intellectual gods. There is, however, next in order, a sort of binding force in the intelligible world of the gods, which orders all things into one. Again is there not visible in the heavens also, travelling in its orbit, the nature of the Fifth Substance, which links and compresses together all the parts, holding together things that by nature are prone to scatter and to fall away from one another? These existences, therefore, which are two causes of connection, one in the intelligible world, while the other appears in the world of sense-perception, King Helios combines into one, imitating the synthetic power of the former among the intellectual gods, seeing that he proceeds from it, and subsisting prior to the latter which is seen in the visible world. Then must not the

1 cf. 167 d. In Timaeus 58 a it is the revolution of the whole which by constriction compresses all matter together, but Julian had that passage in mind. In Empedocles it is the Titan, Aether, i.e. the Fifth Substance, that "binds the globe." fr. 38 Diels.
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αὐθυπόστατον πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ὑπάρχον, τελευταῖον δ' ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινόμενοις μέσην ἔχει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως οὐσίαν αὐθυπόστατον Ἡλίου, ἀφ' ἢς κάτεισιν οὐσίας πρωτουργοῦ εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἡ περιλάμπουσα τὰ σύμπαντα αὐγή; πάλιν δὲ κατ' ἀλλο σκοποῦντι εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦντες δημιουργικοὶ θεοί. μέσην ἄρα καὶ τούτων τὴν ἀφ' Ἡλίου καθήκουσαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον δημιουργίαν θετέον. ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς πολὺ μὲν Β καὶ ὑπέρπληρες ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, φαίνεται δὲ ζωῆς γονίμου καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅν πλήρης. πρόδηλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου τῆς ζωῆς μέσον ἔστιν ἀμφότερος, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα: τὰ μὲν γὰρ τελείοι τῶν εἴδών, τὰ δὲ ἑργάζεται, τὰ δὲ κοσμεί, τὰ δὲ ἀνεγείρει, καὶ ἐν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν, ὃ δίχα τῆς ἀφ' Ἡλίου δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως εἰς φῶς πρόεισι καὶ γένεσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις εἰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἁχράντων καὶ καθαρὰν ἀνυλον οὐσίαν νοῆσαιμεν, οὐδένος ἔξωθεν αὐτῇ προσιόντος οὐδὲ ἐνυπάρχοντος ἀλλοτρίου, πλήρη δὲ τῆς οἰκείας ἁχράντου καθαρότητος, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ
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unconditioned also, which exists primarily in the intelligible world, and finally among the visible bodies in the heavens, possess midway between these two the unconditioned substance of King Helios, and from that primary creative substance do not the rays of his light, illumining all things, descend to the visible world? Again, to take another point of view, the creator of the whole is one, but many are the creative gods 1 who revolve in the heavens. Midmost therefore of these also we must place the creative activity which descends into the world from Helios. But also the power of generating life is abundant and overflowing in the intelligible world; and our world also appears to be full of generative life.

It is therefore evident that the life-generating power of King Helios also is midway between both the worlds: and the phenomena of our world also bear witness to this. For some forms he perfects, others he makes, or adorns, or wakes to life, and there is no single thing which, apart from the creative power derived from Helios, can come to light and to birth. And further, besides this, if we should comprehend the pure and undefiled and immaterial substance 2 among the intelligible gods—to which nothing external is added, nor has any alien thing a place therein, but it is filled with its own unstained

1 Plato in Timaeus 41 Α, distinguishes "the gods who revolve before our eyes" from "those who reveal themselves so far as they will." Julian regularly describes, as here, a triad; every one of his three worlds has its own unconditioned being (αυθεναστατον); its own creative power (δημιουργια); its own power to generate life (γενημου της ζωης); and in every case, the middle term is Helios as a connecting link in his capacity of thinking or intellectual god (νοεπος).

2 Julian now describes the three kinds of substance (ουσια) and its three forms (ειδη) in the three worlds.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

κόσμῳ περὶ τὸ κύκλῳ φερόμενον σῶμα πρὸς πάντα ἀμυγή τὰ στοιχεῖα λίαν εἰλικρινή καὶ καθαρὰν φύσιν ἄχραντον καὶ δαίμονίου σῶματος, εὐρήσομεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰλίου λαμπρὰν καὶ ἀκήρατον οὕσιαν ἀμφοῖν μέσην, τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἄνου καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀισθητοῖς ἄχραντος καὶ ἀμύγνως πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν καθαράς εἰλικρινείας. μέγιστον δὲ τοῦτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ φῶς, δ' μάλιστα ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ γῆν φέρεται, συμμίγνυται τινὶ μηδὲ ἀναδέχεται ρύπουν καὶ μίασμα, μένει δὲ πάντως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὕσιν ἄχραντον καὶ ἀμόλυντον καὶ ἀπαθές.

"Ετι δὲ προσεκτέον τοῖς ἅυλοις εἶδεσι καὶ νοητοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, οὐσα περὶ τὴν ὑλήν ἐστὶν ἢ περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἀναφανήσεται πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μέσου τὸ νοερὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἰλίου εἰδῶν, ύφ᾽ ὅν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑλήν εἰδὴ βοηθεῖται μήποτε ἀν δυνηθέντα μήτε εἰναι μήτε σώζεσθαι μή παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὴν οὕσιαν συνεργούμενα. τι γάρ; οὐχ οὐτὸς ἐστὶ τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ συγκρίσεως τῆς ὑλῆς αἷτιος, οὐ νοεῖν ήμῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρεχών, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅραν ὀμμασίν; ἡ γάρ τοι τῶν
purity—and if we should comprehend also the pure and unmixed nature of unstained and divine substance, whose elements are wholly unmixed, and which, in the visible universe, surrounds the substance that revolves,\(^1\) here also we should discover the radiant and stainless substance of King Helios, midway between the two; that is to say, midway between the immaterial purity that exists among the intelligible gods, and that perfect purity, unstained and free from birth and death, that exists in the world which we can perceive. And the greatest proof of this is that not even the light which comes down nearest to the earth from the sun is mixed with anything, nor does it admit dirt and defilement, but remains wholly pure and without stain and free from external influences among all existing things.

But we must go on to consider the immaterial and intelligible forms,\(^2\) and also those visible forms which are united with matter or the substratum. Here again, the intellectual will be found to be midmost among the forms that surround mighty Helios, by which forms in their turn the material forms are aided; for they never could have existed or been preserved, had they not been brought, by his aid, into connection with being. For consider: is not he the cause of the separation of the forms, and of the combination of matter, in that he not only permits us to comprehend his very self, but also to behold him with our eyes? For the distribution of

\(^1\) i.e. the visible heavenly bodies.
\(^2\) Helios connects the forms (Plato’s Ideas) which exist in the intelligible world, with those which in our world ally themselves with matter; cf. Oration 5. 171 b.
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ἀκτίνων εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον διανομῆ καὶ ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐνωσις τὴν δημιουργικὴν ἐνδείκνυται διά-

κρισιν τῆς ποιήσεως.

Πολλὰν δὲ οὕτων ἐτὶ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ
tῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἃ δὴ ὅτι μέσος ἐστὶ τῶν
tε νοητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν παρίστησιν,
ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῦ μετίωμεν ἐμφανὴ λήξειν.
πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τῶν τελευταίων
cόσμον ἢ τῶν ἥλιακῶν ἀγγέλων οἶνον ἐν παραδείγ-
mατι τὴν ἱδέαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐχοῦσα: μετὰ
tαύτην δὲ ἢ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γεννητικῆς, ἂς τὸ μὲν C
tιμωτέρων οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστέρων ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν,
tὸ δὲ ὑποδεέστερον ἐπιτροπεύει τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ
ἀιδίου περιέχουν αὐτῆς ἐν ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἀγέννητον
αἰτίαν. ἀπαντά μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ
θεοῦ τοῦτε διελθεῖν οὐδὲ εἴ τῷ δοῖν νοῆσαι αὐτὰ́
ὁ θεὸς οὕτως δυνατόν, ὅπου καὶ τὰ πάντα περιλαβεῖν
tῷ νῷ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἀδύνατον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ διελθήθαμεν, ἐπιθετέον ὁσπέρ
σφραγίδα τῷ λόγῳ τόδε μέλλοντας ἐφ’ ἐτερα μετα-
βαίνειν οὐκ ἐλάττονος τῆς θεωρίας δεόμενα. τίς
οὖν ἡ σφραγίς καὶ οἶνον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τὰ πάντα
περιλαμβάνουσα ἢ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ
νόησις, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν θείῃ βουλομένοις ἐν
βραχεῖ συνελείν τὴν τε αἰτίαν, ἀφ’ ἦς προῆλθε,
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his rays over the whole universe, and the unifying power of his light, prove him to be the master workman who gives an individual existence to everything that is created.

Now though there are many more blessings connected with the substance of the god and apparent to us, which show that he is midway between the intelligible and the mundane gods¹ let us proceed to his last visible province. His first province then in the last of the worlds is, as though by way of a pattern, to give form and personality to the sun's angels.² Next is his province of generating the world of sense-perception, of which the more honourable part contains the cause of the heavens and the heavenly bodies, while the inferior part guides this our world of becoming, and from eternity contains in itself the uncreated cause of that world. Now to describe all the properties of the substance of this god, even though the god himself should grant one to comprehend them, is impossible, seeing that even to grasp them all with the mind is, in my opinion, beyond our power.

But since I have already described many of them, I must set a seal, as it were, on this discourse, now that I am about to pass to other subjects that demand no less investigation. What then that seal is, and what is the knowledge of the god's substance that embraces all these questions, and as it were sums them up under one head, may he himself suggest to my mind, since I desire to describe in a

¹ i.e. the heavenly bodies.
² These angels combine, as does a model, the idea and its hypostazisation; cf. 142 A, Letter to the Athenians 275 B. Julian nowhere defines angels, but Porphyry as quoted by Augustine, De civitate Dei 10, 9, distinguished them from daemons and placed them in the aether.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

καὶ αὐτὸς ὁστὶς ἄστι, τίνων τε ἀποπληροὶ τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον. ῥητέοιν οὐν ὡς ἐξ ἐνός μὲν προ- ἴλθε τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἀφ’ ἐνός τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς" Ἡλιος, τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν μέσος ἐν μέσων τεταγμένος κατὰ παντοῖαν μεσότητα, τὴν ὀμόφρονα καὶ φίλην καὶ τὰ διεστώτα συνάγουσαν, εἰς ἐνσωσίν ἄγων τὰ τελευταία τοῖς πρώτοις, τελειότητος καὶ συνοχῆς καὶ γονίμων ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς οὐσίας τὰ μέσα ἐχὼν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ τε αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ παντοῖον ἀγαθῶν προηγουμένος,¹ οὐ μόνον δι’ ἦς αὐτὸς αὐγῆς περιλάμπει κοσμῶν καὶ φαιδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀγγέλων ² ἑαυτῷ συνυποστήσας καὶ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων περιέχων, ἔτι τε Β πρὸ ταῦτης τῶν ἀιδίων σωμάτων τὴν ἀγήρω καὶ μόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς αἰτίαν.

"Α μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἑκρῆν εἰπεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτε, καίτοι τῶν πλείστων παραλειφθέντων, εἰρηταὶ ὁμοὶ οὐκ ὠλίγα· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐνεργεῖον κάλλος τοσοῦ- τον ἔστιν, ὡστε εἶναι τῶν περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ θεωρομένων ὑπερβολῆν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πέφυκε τὰ θεῖα προϊόντα εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς πληθύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ περίον καὶ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς, ὁρὰ τι δράσομεν, οὐ

¹ προηγουμένος V, προκαθηγούμενος MSS, Hertlein.
² cf. 141 B.

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brief summary both the cause from which he proceeded, and his own nature, and those blessings with which he fills the visible world. This then we must declare, that King Helios is One and proceeds from one god, even from the intelligible world which is itself One; and that he is midmost of the intellectual gods, stationed in their midst by every kind of mediateness that is harmonious and friendly, and that joins what is sundered; and that he brings together into one the last and the first, having in his own person the means of completeness, of connection, of generative life and of uniform being: and that for the world which we can perceive he initiates blessings of all sorts, not only by means of the light with which he illumines it, adorning it and giving it its splendour, but also because he calls into existence, along with himself, the substance of the Sun's angels; and that finally in himself he comprehends the ungenerated cause of things generated, and further, and prior to this, the ageless and abiding cause of the life of the imperishable bodies.¹

Now as for what it was right to say about the substance of this god, though the greater part has been omitted, nevertheless much has been said. But since the multitude of his powers and the beauty of his activities is so great that we shall now exceed the limit of what we observed about his substance,—for it is natural that when divine things come forth into the region of the visible they should be multiplied, in virtue of the superabundance of life and life-generating power in them,—consider what I have to do. For now I must strip for a plunge into this

¹ i.e. the heavenly bodies; cf. Fragment of a Letter 295 A.
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πρὸς ἀχανὲς πέλαγος ἀποδυόμεθα, μόνις καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι λόγον. τολμητέον δ’ ὁμοὶ τῷ θεῷ θαρροῦντα καὶ πειρατέον ἀφασθαὶ τοῦ λόγον.

Κοινὼς μὲν δὴ τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσήκειν ὑποληπτέον. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὸ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐσία θεοῦ, δύναμις δὲ ἀλλο, καὶ μὰ Δία τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα ἐνέργεια. πάντα γὰρ ἀπερ βούλεται, ταῦτα ἐστὶ καὶ δύναται καὶ ἐνέργει: οὐτε γὰρ ὁ μὴ ἐστὶ βούλεται, οὐτε ὁ βούλεται δράν οὐ σθένει, οὐθ’ ὁ μὴ δύναται ἐνέργειν ἑθέλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἀνθρώ- πον οὐχ ὡδε ἔχει· δικτη γὰρ ἐστι μαχομένη φύσις εἰς ἐν κεκραμένη ψυχής καὶ σώματος, τῆς μὲν θείας, τοῦ δὲ σκοτεινοῦ τε καὶ ζωφόδους· έοικέ τε εἶναι μάχη τις καὶ στάσις. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὄριστο- τέλης φησὶ 1 διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο μῆτε τὰς ἡδονὰς ὀμολο- γεῖν μὴτε τὰς λύπας ἀλλήλαις ἐν ἡμῖν· τὸ γὰρ θατέρα, φησί, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν φύσεων ἥδι τῇ πρὸς ταύτην ἀντικειμένη πέφυκεν ἀλγειῶν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδέν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον2 οὐσία γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπ- άρχει τῶγαθὰ καὶ διηνεκῶς, οὐ ποτὲ μὲν, ποτὲ δ’ οὐ. πρῶτον οὖν οσατερ ἐφαμεν, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ παραστῆσαι βουλόμενοι, ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν εὐρή- σαι καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν νομι- στέον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ λόγος ἐοικεν ἀντιστρέφει, ὡσα καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργειῶν ἐφεξῆς σκοποῦμεν, ταῦτα οὐκ ἐργα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσίαν νομιστέον. εἰσὶ γὰρ τοι

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2 toioutoi Hertlein suggests, tootai MSS.
fathomless sea, though I have barely, and as best I might, taken breath, after the first part of this discourse. Venture I must, nevertheless, and putting my trust in the god endeavour to handle the theme.

We must assume that what has just been said about his substance applies equally to his powers. For it cannot be that a god's substance is one thing, and his power another, and his activity, by Zeus, a third thing besides these. For all that he wills he is, and can do, and puts into action. For he does not will what is not, nor does he lack power to do what he wills, nor does he desire to put into action what he cannot. In the case of a human being, however, this is otherwise. For his is a two-fold contending nature of soul and body compounded into one, the former divine, the latter dark and clouded. Naturally, therefore, there is a battle and a feud between them. And Aristotle also says that this is why neither the pleasures nor the pains in us harmonise with one another. For he says that what is pleasant to one of the natures within us is painful to the nature which is its opposite. But among the gods there is nothing of this sort. For from their very nature what is good belongs to them, and perpetually, not intermittently. In the first place, then, all that I said when I tried to show forth his substance, I must be considered to have said about his powers and activities also. And since in such cases the argument is naturally convertible, all that I observe next in order concerning his powers and activities must be considered to apply not to his activities only, but to his substance also. For verily there

1 The powers and activities of Helios are now described, 142 d–152 a.
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θεοὶ συγγενεῖς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συμφεῖς, τὴν ἄχραντον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κορυφουμένου, πληθυνόμενοι μὲν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ ἐνοείδως ὄντες. ἀκονὲ δὴ πρὸ τῶν ὁσα φασίν οἱ τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐχ ὀσπερ ὑποτι καὶ βοές ὅροντες ἡ τι τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀμαθῶν ζώων, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀφανῆ πολυπραγμονοῦντες φύσιν ἔτι δὲ πρὸ τούτων, εἰ σοι φίλον, περὶ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ἐκ μυρίων τὸ πλῆθος ὀλίγα θέασαι.

Πρῶτη δὴ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, δι' ἢς ὀλὴν δι' ὀλῆς τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν, τὰς ἀκρότητας αὐτῆς εἰς ἐν καὶ ταυτὸ συνάγων, ἀποφαίνει μᾶν. ὀσπερ γὰρ περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐστὶ κόσμων ἐναργῶς κατανοήσαι, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς εἰλημμένον ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν μέσῳ, τῶν ἁκρῶν σύνδεσμον, τούτῳ οὐκ ἂν τὶς εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων αἰτίας κεχωρισμένης, ἢ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχουσα τὴν ἄρχην οὐκ ἐστὶ γένεσις, οὕτω διατετάχθαι νομίσειν, ὡστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνως τὰς ἁκρας αἰτίας κεχωρισμένας πάντη τῶν σωμάτων ὑπὸ τινον μεσοτήτων εἰς ταυτὸ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου συναγομένας ἐνοῦσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν; συντρέχει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἢ τοῦ Διὸς δημιουργική δύναμις, δι' ἢν ἔφαμεν καὶ πρῶτερον ἱδρύσθαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἀποδεδείχθαι κοινὴ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλων δὲ αὐτῶν ἑμαρτυρόμεθα τῶν λόγων, ὃν εἰκὸς δὴπουθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς έαυτοῦ φύσεως αμείνου εἰδέναι.
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are gods related to Helios and of like substance who sum up the stainless nature of this god, and though in the visible world they are plural, in him they are one. And now listen first to what they assert who look at the heavens, not like horses and cattle, or some other unreasoning and ignorant animal, but from it draw their conclusions about the unseen world. But even before this, if you please, consider his supra-mundane powers and activities, and out of a countless number, observe but a few.

First, then, of his powers is that through which he reveals the whole intellectual substance throughout as one, since he brings together its extremes. For even as in the world of sense-perception we can clearly discern air and water set between fire and earth, as the link that binds together the extremes, would one not reasonably suppose that, in the case of the cause which is separate from elements and prior to them—and though it is the principle of generation, is not itself generation—it is so ordered that, in that world also, the extreme causes which are wholly separate from elements are bound together into one through certain modes of mediation, by King Helios, and are united about him as their centre? And the creative power of Zeus also coincides with him, by reason of which in Cyprus, as I said earlier, shrines are founded and assigned to them in common. And Apollo himself also we called to witness to our statements, since it is certainly likely that he knows better than we about his own nature. For he too abides with

1 cf. 148 c, Timaeus 47 A, Republic 529 b, where Plato distinguishes mere star-gazing from astronomy.
2 Timaeus 32 b; Plato says that to make the universe solid, "God set air and water between fire and earth."
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σύνεστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Ἡλίω καὶ ἐπικοινωνεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων καὶ τὸ μόνιμον τῆς οὐσίας καὶ κατὰ ταύτα ὅν τῆς ἐνεργείας.

'Αλλὰ καὶ τὴν Διουσίου μεριστὴν δημιουργίαν ούδαμον φαίνεται χωρίζων ὁ θεὸς Ἡλίων τούτῳ δὲ αὐτήν ὑποτάττων ἀεὶ καὶ ἀποφαίνων σύνθρονον ἐξήγητης ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καλλίστων διανοημάτων. πάσας δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχουν ὁ θεὸς ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς καλλίστης νοερᾶς συγκράσεως Ἡλίων Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Μουσηγήτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλην ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς εὐταξίας ζωὴν συμπληρῶ, γεννᾶ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, ἐχει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου παρ' ἑαυτῷ.

'Αλλὰ πολλὰς μὲν ἀν τις καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τὸν θεὸν τόνδε δυνάμεις θεωρῶν οὕτω ἀν ἐφίκειτο πασῶν ἀπόχρη δὲ τῆς μὲν χωριστής καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν αἰτίων, αἱ κεχωρισμέναι τῆς φανερᾶς προσπάρχουσ' δημιουργίας, ἵσην Ἡλίω καὶ Διὰ τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ μίαν C ὑπάρχουσαν τεθεωρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων μετὰ τοῦ διαιωνίου καὶ κατὰ ταύτα μονίμου ξὺν Ἀπόλλωνι τεθεαμένοις, τὸ δὲ μεριστὸν τῆς

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1 διὰ τὴν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τὴν MSS.
2 cf. 144 c.

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Helios and is his colleague by reason of the singleness of his thoughts and the stability of his substance and the consistency of his activity.

But Apollo too in no case appears to separate the dividing creative function of Dionysus¹ from Helios. And since he always subordinates it to Helios and so indicates that Dionysus² is his partner on the throne, Apollo is the interpreter for us of the fairest purposes that are to be found with our god. Further Helios, since he comprehends in himself all the principles of the fairest intellectual synthesis, is himself Apollo the leader of the Muses. And since he fills the whole of our life with fair order, he begat Asclepios³ in the world, though even before the beginning of the world he had him by his side.

But though one should survey many other powers that belong to this god, never could one investigate them all. It is enough to have observed the following: That there is an equal and identical dominion of Helios and Zeus over the separate creation which is prior to substances, in the region, that is to say, of the absolute causes which, separated from visible creation, existed prior to it; secondly we observed the singleness of his thoughts which is bound up with the imperishableness and abiding sameness that he shares with Apollo; thirdly, the dividing

¹ cf. 144 C. 179 A; Proclus on Plato, Timaeus 203 E, says that because Dionysus was torn asunder by the Titans, his function is to divide wholes into their parts and to separate the forms (εἰδη).
² Julian calls Dionysus the son of Helios 152 C, D, and the son of Zeus, Oration 5. 179 B.
³ cf. 153 B, where Asclepios is called "the saviour of the All," and Against the Christians 200 A.
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δημιουργίας μετὰ τοῦ τὴν μεριστὴν ἐπιτροπεύον- 
tos οὐσίαν Διουνύσου, τὸ δὲ τῆς καλλίστης 
συμμετρίας καὶ νοερᾶς κράσεως περὶ τὴν τοῦ 
Μουσηγέτου δύναμιν τεθεωρήκοσι, τὸ συμπλη-
ρούν δὲ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς ὀλής ζωῆς ξύν Ἀσκλη-
πιῷ νουσί.

Τοσαύτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προκοσμίων αὐτοῦ 
δυνάμεων, ἔργα δὲ ὁμοταγή ταῦτας ὑπὲρ τὸν 
ἐμφανὴ κόσμον ἢ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀποπλήρωσις.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ γνήσιος ἐκγόνος τάγαθοῦ, παρα-
dεξάμενος παρ’ αὐτοῦ τελείαν τὴν ἁγαθὴν μοίραν,
αὐτὸς ἅπασι τοῖς νοεροῖς διανέμει θεοίς, ἁγαθο-
εργοῦ καὶ τελείαν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς τὴν οὐσίαν. ἐν 
mὲν δὴ τούτῳ. δεύτερον δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ 
tοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς καὶ ἁσωμάτωι 
eἰδεσὶ τελειοτάτη διανομή. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει 
φαινομένης οὐσίας γονίμου γεννᾶν ἐφιερμένης ἐν τῷ 
καλῷ καὶ ὑπεκτίθεσθαι τὸν τόκον, ἔτι ἀνάγκη 
προηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κάλλει τοῦτο αὐτῷ 
dιαιωνίως καὶ ἂεὶ ποιοῦσαν ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν,
eἰσαθίς δὲ οὐ, καὶ ἄπτε μὲν γεννῶσαν, αὐθίς δὲ 
ἀγονον. ὥσα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ποτὲ καλά, ταῦτα ἐν 
toῖς νοητοῖς ἂεὶ. ῥήτεον τοῖνυν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν τοῖς 
φαινομένοις αἰτίας γονίμου προκαθηγεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐν 
tῷ νοερῷ καὶ διαιωνίῳ κάλλει τόκον ἁγέννητον, ὅν 
ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἔχει περὶ ἑαυτῶν ὑποστήσας, ὃ καὶ 
tὸν τέλειον νοῦν διανέμει, καθάπερ ὀμμασῖν ἐνδι-

1 ἐκγόνος MSS, ἐγγόνος V, Hertlein.

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part of his creative function which he shares with Dionysus who controls divided substance; fourthly we have observed the power of the leader of the Muses, revealed in fairest symmetry and blending of the intellectual; finally we comprehended that Helios, with Asclepios, fulfils the fair order of the whole of life.

So much then in respect to those powers of his that existed before the beginning of the world; and co-ordinate with these are his works over the whole visible world, in that he fills it with good gifts. For since he is the genuine son of the Good and from it has received his blessed lot in fulness of perfection, he himself distributes that blessedness to the intellectual gods, bestowing on them a beneficent and perfect nature. This then is one of his works. And a second work of the god is his most perfect distribution of intelligible beauty among the intellectual and immaterial forms. For when the generative substance 1 which is visible in our world desires to beget in the Beautiful 2 and to bring forth offspring, it is further necessary that it should be guided by the substance that, in the region of intelligible beauty, does this very thing eternally and always and not intermittently, now fruitful now barren. For all that is beautiful in our world only at times, is beautiful always in the intelligible world. We must therefore assert that the ungenerated offspring, in beauty intelligible and eternal, guides the generative cause in the visible world; which offspring 3 this god 4 called into existence and keeps at his side, and to it he assigns also perfect reason.

1 The sun. 2 Plato, Symposium 206 b τόκος ἐν καλέ. 3 i.e. Intellectual Helios. 4 i.e. Intelligible Helios.
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douσ διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ὅψιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς¹ διὰ τοῦ νοεροῦ παραδείγματος, ὁ προτείνει πολὺ φανότερον τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς, πᾶσιν οἷμαι τοῖς νοεροῖς τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι παρέχει. έτέρα πρὸς ταῦτα ρέινει ἑνεργεία θαυμαστὴ φαίνεται C περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ὁλιον ἡ τοῖς κρείτ- τοσι γένεσιν ἑνδιδομένη μοῖρα βελτίων, ἀγγέλους,² δαίμοσιν, ἡρωὶ ψυχαῖς τε μερισταῖς, ὅποσα μένουσιν ἐν παραδείγματος καὶ ιδέας λόγῳ, μήποτε ἐαυτὰς διδοῦσαι σώματι. τὴν μὲν οὖν προκόσμιον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεις τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑργά τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑμνοῦντες" Ὁλιον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμῖν οἶνον τε τὴν ἐφικέσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ εὐφημίας σπεύδοντες, διεληλύθαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅμματα, φησίν, ἀκοῆς ἐστὶ πιστότερα, καὶ τοι τῆς νοῆσεως ὅντα γε ἀπιστότερα καὶ ἀσθενέστερα, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμφανοὺς αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας αἰτησάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν πειραθῶμεν.

Τπέστη μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ φαινόμενος ἐξ αἰῶνος κόσμος, ἔδραν δὲ ἔχει τὸ περικόσμιον φῶς ἐξ αἰῶνος, οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν, τότε δὲ οὗ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἀεὶ δὲ ὡσαύτως. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ταύτην τὴν

¹ νοητοῖς Petavius adds.
² cf. 141 B, Letter to the Athenians 275 B.
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For just as through his light he gives sight to our eyes, so also among the intelligible gods through his intellectual counterpart—which he causes to shine far more brightly than his rays in our upper air—he bestows, as I believe, on all the intellectual gods the faculty of thought and of being comprehended by thought. Besides these, another marvellous activity of Helios the King of the All is that by which he endows with superior lot the nobler races—I mean angels, daemons, heroes, and those divided souls which remain in the category of model and archetype and never give themselves over to bodies. I have now described the substance of our god that is prior to the world and his powers and activities, celebrating Helios the King of the All in so far as it was possible for me to compass his praise. But since eyes, as the saying goes, are more trustworthy than hearing—although they are of course less trustworthy and weaker than the intelligence—come, let me endeavour to tell also of his visible creative function; but let first me entreat him to grant that I speak with some measure of success.

From eternity there subsisted, surrounding Helios, the visible world, and from eternity the light that encompasses the world has its fixed station, not shining intermittently, nor in different ways at different times, but always in the same manner. And

1 Plato, Laws 713 d defines daemons as a race superior to men but inferior to gods; they were created to watch over human affairs; Julian, Letter to Themistius 258 b echoes Plato’s description; cf. Plotinus 3. 5. 6; pseudo-Iamblichus, De Mysteriis 1. 20. 61; Julian 2. 90 b.

2 i.e. the individual souls; by using this term, derived from the Neo-Platonists and Iamblichus, Julian implies that there is an indivisible world soul; cf. Plotinus 4. 8. 8 ἡ μὲν ὀλη (ψυχή) . . . αἳ δὲ ἐν μέρει γενόμεναι.
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diaiównon φύσιν ἀχρις ἐπινοίας ἑθελήσει εχρονικῶς κατανοῆσαι, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ἡλιον ἀθρόως καταλάμποντα βάστα ἂν γυναῖ, πῶσον αἰτίος ἡστι δι’ αἰώνοις ἀγαθῶν τῷ κόσμῳ. οἴδα μὲν οὖν καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν μέγαν καὶ μετὰ τούτον ἄνδρα τοῖς χρόνοις, οὗτος μὴν τῇ φύσει κατα-
δεέστερον τὸν Χαλκιδεὰ φημί, τὸν Ἰάμβλιχον· ὃς ἠμᾶς τὰ τῇ ἄλλα περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐμύησεν, ἀχρις ὑπο-
θέσεως τῷ γεννητῷ προσχρωμένους καὶ οἰονεὶ χρονικῆν τινα τὴν ποίησιν ὑποτιθεμένους, ἵνα τὸ μέγεθος τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένων ἔργων ἐπι-
νοηθείη. πλὴν ἀλλ’ ἐμοιγε τῆς ἔκεινων ἀπολει-
πομένῳ παντάπασι δυνάμεως οὐδαμῶς ἡστι παρα-
κινδυνεύτεον, ἔπειπέρ ἀκίνδυνον οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ μέχρι 
ψιλῆς ὑποθέσεως χρονικῆν τινα περὶ τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέσθαι ποίησιν ὁ κλεινὸς ἡρως ἐνόμισεν Ἰάμ-
βλιχος. πλὴν ἀλλ’ ἔπειπέρ ὁ θεὸς εξ αἰωνίου 
προῆλθεν αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ προήγαγε πάντα 
ex αἰώνοις, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφανῶν τὰ φανερὰ βουλήσει 
θεῖα καὶ ἀρρήτῳ τάχει καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δυνάμει 
πάντα ἀθρόως ἐν τῷ νῦν ἀπογεννήσας χρόνῳ, 
ἀπεκληρώσατο μὲν οἶνον οἰκειοτέραν ἔδραν τὸ 
μέσον οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἵσα διανέμη 
tάγαθα τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ προελθοῦσι 
θεοῖς, ἐπιτροπεὺς δὲ τὰς ἐπτὰ καὶ τὴν ὑγόνην
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if one desired to comprehend, as far as the mind may, this eternal nature from the point of view of time, one would understand most easily of how many blessings for the world throughout eternity he is the cause, even Helios he King of the All who shines without cessation. Now I am aware that the great philosopher Plato,¹ and after him a man who, though he is later in time, is by no means inferior to him in genius—I mean Iamblichus ² of Chalcis, who through his writings initiated me not only into other philosophic doctrines but these also—I am aware, I say, that they employed as a hypothesis the conception of a generated world, and assumed for it, so to speak, a creation in time in order that the magnitude of the works that arise from Helios might be recognised. But apart from the fact that I fall short altogether of their ability, I must by no means be so rash; especially since the glorious hero Iamblichus thought it was not without risk to assume, even as a bare hypothesis, a temporal limit for the creation of the world. Nay rather, the god came forth from an eternal cause, or rather brought forth all things from everlasting, engendering by his divine will and with untold speed and unsurpassed power, from the invisible all things now visible in present time. And then he assigned as his own station the mid-heavens, in order that from all sides he may bestow equal blessings on the gods who came forth by his agency and in company with him; and that he may guide the seven spheres ³ in the heavens and the eighth

¹ Timaeus 37 c; when the Creator had made the universe, he invented Time as an attribute of “divided substance.”
² For Julian’s debt to Iamblichus cf. 150 b, 157 b, c.
³ Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Helios, Aphrodite, Hermes, Selene are the seven planets; cf. 149 d. Though Helios guides the others he is counted with them.
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οὐρανοῦ κυκλοφορίαν, ἐνάτην τε οἷμαι δημιουργήταιν τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορὰ συνεχεῖ διανοιῶς ἀνακυκλουμένην γένεσιν. οἱ τε γὰρ πλάνητες εὐδηλὸν ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν χορεύουσες μέτρον ἔχουσιν τῆς κινήσεως τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸνδε τοιάνδε περὶ τὰ σχῆματα συμφωνίαν, ὁ τε ὅλος οὐρανὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα συναρμοζόμενος ἔαυτοῦ τὰ μέρη θεῶν ἐστίν ἐξ Ἡλίου πλήρης. ἔστι γὰρ ο θεὸς οδε πέντε μὲν κύκλων ἄρχων κατ' οὐρανόν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιδῶν ἐν τρισὶ τρεῖς γεννᾷ τὰς χάριτας· οἱ λειτόμενοι δὲ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης εἰσὶ πλάστηγγες. ἀξίωντον ἴσως λέγω τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, ὡσπερ δέον μόνον τὰ συνήθη καὶ γνωρίμα λέγειν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐστίν, ὡς ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι, παυτελῶς ξένον. οἱ Διὸςκουροὶ τίνες ύμῖν εἰσίν, ὁ σοφώτατοι καὶ ἀβασανίστως τὰ πολλὰ παραδεχόμενοι; οὐχ ἐτερῆμεροὶ λέγονται, διότι μὴ θέμις ὀρᾶσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας; ὑμεῖς ὅπως ἀκούστε εὐδηλῶν ὅτι τῆς χθες καὶ τῆμερον. εἶτα τί νοεῖ τούτο, πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν Διοσκοῦρων; ἐφαρμόσωμεν αὐτὸ φύσει

1 Odyssey 11, 303; Philo Judaeus, De Decalogo 2. 190, τῶν τε οὐρανῶν εἰς ἡμισφαίρια τῷ λόγῳ διχῇ διανείμαστε, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς τὸ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκούρους ἐκάλεσαν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐτερημέρου ἔως αὐτῶν προστερατευσάμενοι διήγημα.
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sphere also, yes and as I believe the ninth creation too, namely our world which revolves for ever in a continuous cycle of birth and death. For it is evident that the planets, as they dance in a circle about him, preserve as the measure of their motion a harmony between this god and their own movements such as I shall now describe; and that the whole heaven also, which adapts itself to him in all its parts, is full of gods who proceed from Helios. For this god is lord of five zones in the heavens; and when he traverses three of these he begets in those three the three Graces. And the remaining zones are the scales of mighty Necessity. To the Greeks what I say is perhaps incomprehensible—as though one were obliged to say to them only what is known and familiar. Yet not even is this altogether strange to them as one might suppose. For who, then, in your opinion, are the Dioscuri, O ye most wise, ye who accept without question so many of your traditions? Do you not call them “alternate of days,” because they may not both be seen on the same day? It is obvious that by this you mean “yesterday” and “to-day.” But what does this mean, in the name of those same Dioscuri? Let me apply it to some

1 i.e. the fixed stars; cf. Iamblichus, Theologumena arithmeticae 56. 4 ἡ περιέχουσα τὰ πάντα σφαῖρα ὁγδόν, “the eighth sphere that encompasses all the rest.”

2 The Graces are often associated with Spring; Julian seems to be describing obscurely the annual course of the sun.

3 Necessity played an important part in the cult of Mithras and was sometimes identified with the constellation Virgo who holds the scales of Justice.

4 For the adoption of the Dioscuri into the Mithraic cult see Cumont. Julian does not give his own view, though he rejects that of the later Greek astronomers. Macrobius, Saturnalia 1. 21. 22 identifies them with the sun.
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tivì kai πράγματι, κενδιν 1 ἵνα μηδέν μηδὲ ἀνόητον B λέγωμεν. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν εὑρομεν ἀκριβῶς έξετά-ζοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ὑπέλαβον εἰρήσθαι τινες πρὸς τῶν θεολόγων ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς τὰ δύο λόγον ἔχει τινά· τῶς γὰρ ἐστιν ἐπερήμερον αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν οὐδὲ ἐπινοήσαι ράδιον, ἡμέρας ἐκάστης ἀνεπαισθήτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν φωτισμὸν αὐτῶν παραυξήσεως γνωμήν. σκεφώμεθα δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ ὃν αὐτοὶ κανονομείν ἵσως τῷ δοκοῦμεν. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνοι μετέχειν ὀρθῶς ἄν ῥηθεὶσιν, C ὀπόσοις ἵσως ἐστίν ο τῆς ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡλίου πορείας χρόνος ἐν ἑν καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί. ὄρατω τις οὖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐπερήμερον τοῖς κύκλοις ἐφαρμόζει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς τροπικοῖς. ὑπολήψεται τις· οὐκ ἵσων ἐστίν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕα φαίνονται, καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀντίσκιοι οἰκονομη γῆν ἀμφιτέρως ἀμφότεροι, τῶν δὲ οἱ θάτερον ὄροντες οὐδαμῶς ὀρῶσι θάτερον.

'Αλλ’ ἵνα μὴ πλεῖω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγων D διατρίβω, τὰς τροπὰς ἐργαζόμενοι, ὡσπερ ἵσμεν, πατήρ ὅρῶν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀπολείπων δὲ οὐδαμῶς τοὺς πόλους 'Ωκεανοῦ ἂν ἐη, διπλῆς ἡγεμῶν οὐσίας. μῶν ἀσαφές τι καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν, ἐπείπερ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτὸ καὶ "Ομηρος ἐφη·'

'Ωκεανοῦ, ὡσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται,2 θυντῶν τε θεῶν θ’, ὡς ἂν αὐτῶς φαίη, μακάρων;

1 κενδιν Hertlein suggests, καυλν Mb, κοινον MSS.
2 Iliad 14. 246.
natural object, so that I may not say anything empty and senseless. But no such object could one find, however carefully one might search for it. For the theory that some have supposed to be held by the theogonists, that the two hemispheres of the universe are meant, has no meaning. For how one could call each one of the hemispheres "alternate of days" is not easy to imagine, since the increase of their light in each separate day is imperceptible. But now let us consider a question on which some may think that I am innovating. We say correctly that those persons for whom the time of the sun's course above the earth is the same in one and the same month share the same day. Consider therefore whether the expression "alternate of days" cannot be applied both to the tropics and the other, the polar, circles. But some one will object that it does not apply equally to both. For though the former are always visible, and both of them are visible at once to those who inhabit that part of the earth where shadows are cast in an opposite direction,¹ yet in the case of the latter those who see the one do not see the other.

However, not to dwell too long on the same subject; since he causes the winter and summer solstice, Helios is, as we know, the father of the seasons; and since he never forsakes the poles, he is Oceanus, the lord of two-fold substance. My meaning here is not obscure, is it, seeing that before my time Homer said the same thing? "Oceanus who is the father of all things" : yes, for mortals and for the

¹ i.e. the torrid zone. On the equator in the winter months shadows fall due north at noon, in the summer months due south; this is more or less true of the whole torrid zone; cf. ἄμφισκιος which has the same meaning.
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ἀληθῶς. ἐν γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ὅ μη 148 τῆς 'Ωκεανοῦ πέφυκεν οὐσίας ἔκγονον. ἄλλα τί τούτο πρὸς τοὺς πόλους; βούλει σοι φράσω; καίτοι σιωπᾶσθαι κρείσσον ἦν εἰρήσεται δὲ ὅμως.

Δέγεται γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἐτοίμως ἀποδέχονται, ὁ δίσκος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστροφας φέρεσθαι πολὺ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς υψηλότερος· καὶ οὔτω δὴ 1 τῶν μὲν πλανωμένων οὐχ ἔξει τὸ μέσον, τριῶν δὲ τῶν κόσμων κατὰ τὰς τελεστικὰς ὑποθέσεις, εἰ χρῆ τὰ Β τοιαῦτα καλεῖν ὑποθέσεις, ἄλλα μὴ ταῦτα μὲν δόγματα, τὰ δὲ τῶν σφαιρικῶν ὑποθέσεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεῶν ἡ δαμόνων μεγάλων δὴ τινῶν ἀκοῦσαντες φασιν, οἱ δὲ ὑποτίθενται τὸ πιθανὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα σύμφωνίας. αἰνεῖν μὲν ὧν ἄξιον καὶ τούσδε, πιστεύειν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ὅτι ἑλτικών εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ παῖξον καὶ σπουδάζων ἄγαμαι τε καὶ τεθαύμακα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ, φασί.

Πολὺ δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἑφην πλῆθος ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν C οὐρανῶν θεῶν, οὓς κατενόησαν οἱ τῶν οὐρανῶν μὴ παρέργως μηδὲ ὅσπερ τὰ βοσκήματα θεωροῦντες. 2 τοὺς τρεῖς γὰρ τετρακῆ τέμνων διὰ τῆς τοῦ κρό-

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1 ὤ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.
2 cf. 143 b and note.
blessed gods too, as he himself would say; and what he says is true. For there is no single thing in the whole of existence that is not the offspring of the substance of Oceanus. But what has that to do with the poles? Shall I tell you? It were better indeed to keep silence; but for all that I will speak.

Some say then, even though all men are not ready to believe it, that the sun travels in the starless heavens far above the region of the fixed stars. And on this theory he will not be stationed midmost among the planets but midway between the three worlds: that is, according to the hypothesis of the mysteries, if indeed one ought to use the word "hypothesis" and not rather say "established truths," using the word "hypothesis" for the study of the heavenly bodies. For the priests of the mysteries tell us what they have been taught by the gods or mighty daemons, whereas the astronomers make plausible hypotheses from the harmony that they observe in the visible spheres. It is proper, no doubt, to approve the astronomers as well, but where any man thinks it better to believe the priests of the mysteries, him I admire and revere, both in jest and earnest. And so much for that, as the saying is.

Now besides those whom I have mentioned, there is in the heavens a great multitude of gods who have been recognised as such by those who survey the heavens, not casually, nor like cattle. For as he divides the three spheres by four through the zodiac,

1 For the affectation of mystery cf. 152 B, 159 A, 172 D.
2 Plutarch, Demosthenes 4, quotes this phrase as peculiarly Platonic; cf. Plato, Laws 676 A.
3 Literally "life-bringer," Aristotle's phrase for the zodiac.
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φόρον κύκλου πρὸς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν κοινωνίας τοῦτον αὖθις τὸν ἐφοφόρον εἰς δώδεκα θεῶν δυνάμεις διαμεῖν, καὶ μέντοι τούτων ἐκαστὸν εἰς τρεῖς, ὅστε ποιεῖν ἐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα. ἔνθεν οἷμαι καθήκωσι ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ἐκ οὗ ὑμᾶν τριπλῆ χαρίτων δόσις, ἐκ τῶν κύκλων, οὐς ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ τετραχῇ τέμνων τὴν τετραπλῆν ἐπιπέμπει τῶν ὥρων ἀγαλαίαν, αἱ δὴ τὰς τροπὰς ἔχουσι τῶν καίρων. κύκλων τοι καὶ ἂν Χάριτες ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων μυμοῦνται. χαριτοδότης Ἡλίω συμβασίλευεν. τί οὖν ἐπὶ σοι τὸν Ὀμνὸν λέγω καὶ τάλλα θεῶν ὄνοματα, τὰ πάντα Ὡμόν προσήκοντα; συνήκαν γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ὅν ὁ θεὸς ὀδὸ ἐγγάζεται, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἀγαθοῖς τελειωσάμενοι καὶ μεταδοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν νοητῶν κάλλους, ἀρξάμενοι τε ἐκεῖθεν ὅλον τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ μέρη τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀδρα δόσει. πᾶσαν γὰρ ἐπιτροπεῖ 3 κίνησιν ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ κόσμου λήξεως φύσιν τε καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ πᾶν ὁ, τι ποτὲ ἐστι, πάντα πανταχοῦ τελειοῦται. τὴν δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν τῶν θεῶν εἰς μίαν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐνωσιν συντάξας Ἐθνῶν Προνοία παρέδωκεν, ἢν ὁ μὲν μῦθος φησιν ἐκ τῆς

1 χαριτοδότης Spanheim, χαριτότης Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἄδρα Hertlein suggests, ἀνδρῶν MSS.
3 ἐπιτροπεῖ Wvright, ἐπιτροπεῖ Ηrtlein, MSS, lacuna Petavius.

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which is associated with every one of the three, so he divides the zodiac also into twelve divine powers; and again he divides every one of these twelve by three, so as to make thirty-six gods in ¹ all. Hence, as I believe, there descends from above, from the heavens to us, a three-fold gift of the Graces: I mean from the spheres, for this god, by thus dividing them by four, sends to us the four-fold glory of the seasons, which express the changes of time. And indeed on our earth the Graces imitate a circle ² in their statues. And it is Dionysus who is the giver of the Graces, and in this very connection he is said to reign with Helios. Why should I go on to speak to you of Ἑως ³ and of the other names of gods, which all belong to Helios? For from his works men have learned to know this god, who makes the whole heavens perfect through the gift of intellectual blessings, and gives it a share of intelligible beauty; and taking the heavens as their starting-point, they have learned to know him both as a whole and his parts also, from his abundant bestowal of good gifts. For he exercises control over all movement, even to the lowest plane of the universe. And everywhere he makes all things perfect, nature and soul and everything that exists. And marshalling together this great army of the gods into a single commanding unity, he handed it over to Athene Pronoia ⁴ who,

² There is a play on the word κύκλος, which means both “sphere” and “circle.”
³ The Egyptian sun-god, whose worship was introduced first into Greece and later at Rome.
⁴ Athene as goddess of Forethought was worshipped at Delphi, but her earlier epithet was προνοία “whose statue is
ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΣ, ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΟΛΗΝ ΕΞ ΟΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΧΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΕΝ
ΑΥΤῂ, ΤΑΥΤῂ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΘΟΥ, ΌΤΙ ΜΗ ΕΚ
ΤΟΥ ΑΚΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ, ΟΛΗΝ ΔΕ ΕΞ ΟΛΟΥ· ΕΠΕΙ
ΤΑΛΛΑ ΓΕ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ 'ΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ
ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΦΗΜΗ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΑΥΤῸ
ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥ ΚΑΙΝΟΤΟΜΟΥΜΕΝ,
ΕΙΠΕΡ ΟΡΘΩΣ ΑΚΟΥΟΜΕΝ·

"ΙΚΕΤΟ Δ' ΕΣ ΠΥΘΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΓΛΑΥΚΏΠΑ ΠΡΟΝΟΙῂΝ.
ΟΥΤΩΣ ΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΙΣ ΕΦΑΙΝΕΝΤΟ 'ΑΘΗΝᾲ Κ
ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΣΥΝΘΡΟΝΟΣ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ Τῂ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΜΕΝῂ
ΜΗΔΕΝ 'ΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ. ΜΗ ΠΟΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΙᾲ
ΜΟΙΡᾲ ΤΟΥΤΟ "ΟΜΗΡΟΣ· ΗΝ ΓΑΡ, ΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΣ, ΘΕΟΛΗΠΤΟΣ,
ΑΠΕΜΑΝΤΕΥΣΑΤΟ ΠΟΛΛΑΧΟΥ ΤῂΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ·

ΤΙΟΙΜΗΝ Δ' ΩΣ ΤΙΕΤ' 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙῂ ΚΑΙ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ,¹
ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΔΗΠΟΥΘΕΝ, ΌΣΠΕΡ ΕΎΣΙΝ Ο ΑΥΤῸΣ ΗΛΙῂ;
ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ Δ' 2 Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕŬΣ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΟΥΝΩΝΕΙ
ΔΙΑ ΤῂΣ ΑΠΛΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤῸΝ ΝΟΗΣΕΩΝ 'ΗΛΙῂ, ΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΝ ΝΟΜΙΣΤΕΟΝ ΑΠ' ΑΥΤΟŬ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΞΑ-
ΜΕΝῂΝ ΤῂΝ ΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΟΥΣΙ’Ν ΤΕ ΑΥΤΟŬ ΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΝΟΗΣῂΝ
ΣΥΝΑΠΤΕΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ 'ΗΛΙΟΥ ΘΕΟŬΣ Αῂ ΤῂΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕῂ ΤῸΝ ΟΛΟΥ 'ΗΛΙῂ ΔΙΧΑ ΣΥΝΧῂΣΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ

1 Ἰλιάδ 8. 538; 13. 827.
2 δ' Ηέρτλεϊν ἀδδίς.

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as the legend says, sprang from the head of Zeus, but I say that she was sent forth from Helios whole from the whole of him, being contained within him; though I disagree with the legend only so far as I assert that she came forth not from his highest part, but whole from the whole of him. For in other respects, since I believe that Zeus is in no wise different from Helios, I agree with that ancient tradition. And in using this very phrase Athene Pronoia, I am not innovating, if I rightly understand the words: “He came to Pytho and to grey-eyed Pronoia.”

This proves that the ancients also thought that Athene Pronoia shared the throne of Apollo, who, as we believe, differs in no way from Helios. Indeed, did not Homer by divine inspiration—for he was, we may suppose, possessed by a god—reveal this truth, when he says often in his poems: “May I be honoured even as Athene and Apollo were honoured”—by Zeus, that is to say, who is identical with Helios? And just as King Apollo, through the singleness of his thoughts, is associated with Helios, so also we must believe that Athene has received her nature from Helios, and that she is his intelligence in perfect form: and so she binds together the gods who are assembled about Helios and brings them without confusion into unity with Helios, the King of the All: and she distributes and in front of the temple”; cf. Aeschylus, Eumenides 21, Herodotus 8. 37; late writers often confuse these forms. Julian applies the epithet πρόβοια to the mother of the gods 179 A, and to Prometheus 182 D; cf. 131 C.

1 This verse was quoted from an unknown source by Eustathius on Iliad 1. p. 83. “The Grey-eyed” is a name of Athene.

2 On Athene cf. Oration 7. 230 A; Against the Christians 235 C.
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ένωσιν, αὐτῆν δὲ τὴν ἀχαράντων καὶ καθαράν ξωὴν ἀπ' ἀκρας ἄψιδος οὐρανοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ κύκλων ἀχρὶ τῆς Σελήνης νέμουσαν ἐποχετεύειν, ἢν ἡ θεὸς ἦδε τῶν κυκλικῶν οὐσαν σωμάτων ἐσχάτην ἐπιλή-ρωσε τῆς φρονήσεως, ὑφ' ἢς ἡ Σελήνη τά τε ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν θεωρεῖ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ ὑφ' ἐαυτὴν κοσμοῦσα τὴν ὑλὴν τοὺς εἶδεσιν ἀναίρει τὸ θηρι-όδες αὐτῆς καὶ παραχώδεις καὶ ἀτακτον. ἀνθρώ-ποις δὲ ἀγαθὰ δίδωσιν Ἀθηνᾶ σοφίαν τὸ¹ τε νοεῖν καὶ τὰς δημιουργικὰς τέχνας. κατοικεὶ δὲ τὰς ἀκροτόλειας αὐτῆς δὴπουθεν καταστησαμένη τὴν πολιτικὴν διὰ σοφίας κοινωνίαν. ὅλην ἑτὶ Β περὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἢν συνεφάπτεσθαι τῆς δημιουρ-γίας τὰ θεὸς Φοινίκων ὀμολογοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι. ἔστι δὴ οὖν αὐτὴ σύγκρασις τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας αὐτῶν ἑτὶ φιλία καὶ ἐνωσις. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὐσα καὶ συμπερι-θέουσα καὶ πλησιάζουσα πληροὶ μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐκρασίας, ἐνδίδωσι δὲ τὸ γόνυμον τῇ γῆ, προμη-θουμένη καὶ αὐτῇ τῆς ἀειγενεσίας τῶν ζώων, ἢς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἡλίος ἔχει τὴν πρωτουργὸν αἰτίαν, Ἀφροδίτη δὲ αὐτῷ συναίτιος, ἡ θέλγουσα μὲν τὰς Ψυχὰς ἢμῶν σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ, καταπέμπουσα δὲ εἰς γῆν ἐξ αἰθέρος αὐγάς ἤδιστας καὶ ἀκηράτους

¹ τὸ Hertlein adds.
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is the channel for stainless and pure life throughout the seven spheres, from the highest vault of the heavens as far as Selene the Moon: ¹ for Selene is the last of the heavenly spheres which Athene fills with wisdom: and by her aid Selene beholds the intelligible which is higher than the heavens, and adorns with its forms the realm of matter that lies below her, and thus she does away with its savagery and confusion and disorder. Moreover to mankind Athene gives the blessings of wisdom and intelligence and the creative arts. And surely she dwells in the capitol of cities because, through her wisdom, she has established the community of the state. I have still to say a few words about Aphrodite, who, as the wise men among the Phoenicians affirm, and as I believe, assists Helios in his creative function. She is, in very truth, a synthesis of the heavenly gods, and in their harmony she is the spirit of love and unity.² For she ³ is very near to Helios, and when she pursues the same course as he and approaches him, she fills the skies with fair weather and gives generative power to the earth: for she herself takes thought for the continuous birth of living things. And though of that continuous birth King Helios is the primary creative cause, yet Aphrodite is the joint cause with him, she who enchants our souls with her charm and sends down to earth from the upper air rays of light most sweet and stainless, aye,

¹ cf. 152 d. Julian derives his theory of the position and functions of the moon from Iamblichus; cf. Proclus on Plato, Timaeus 258 f.
² cf. 154 A, and Proclus on Plato, Timaeus 155 F, 259 b, where Aphrodite is called “the binding goddess” συνιστικήν, and “harmoniser” συναρμοστικήν.
³ i.e. as the planet Venus.
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αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσίου στιλπνοτέρας. ἐτὶ ἐπιμετρῆσαι ¹ βούλομαι τῆς Φοινίκων θεολογίας: εἰ δὲ μὴ μάτην, ὁ λόγος προϊὼν δεῖξε. οἱ τὴν "Εμεσαν" ² οἰκούντες, ιερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μόνιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀζίζου συγκαθιδρύουσιν. αἰνίτεσθαί φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, παρ' οὗ καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἐλάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Μόνιμος μὲν Ἐρμής εἰη, Ἀζίζος δὲ Ἀρης, Ἡλίου πάρεδροι, πολλὰ καὶ ἄγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύοντες τόπῳ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαύτα ἔστι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐπιτελούμενα μέχρι τῶν τῆς γῆς προῆκε τελευταῖων όρων: ὡσά δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν Σελήνην ἐργάζεται, μακρὸν ἀν εἰη τὰ πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι. πλὴν ώς ἐν κεφαλαῖῳ καὶ ταύτα ῥητέον. οἴδα μὲν οὖν ἔγνως καὶ πρότερον μνημονεύσας, ὄσπρικα ἰξίουν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἀφανῆ περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σκοπεῖν ὦσίας, ὁ λόγος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖ με καὶ νῦν ἐν τάξει περὶ αὐτῶν δηλῶσαι.

Καθάπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἔχειν ἔφαμεν τὴν ἠγεμονίαν Ἡλίου, πολὺ περὶ τὴν ἀμέριστον ὦσίαν ἕνατον πλήθος ἐνοείδως ἔχοντα τῶν θεῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ἢ δὴ τὴν κύκλῳ διαμονίαν Β

¹ ἐπιμετρῆσαι Hertlein suggests, μετριάσαι MSS.
² Ἐμεσαν Spanheim, cf. 154 b, Ἐδεσαν MSS.

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more lustrous than gold itself. I desire to mete out to you still more of the theology of the Phoenicians, and whether it be to some purpose my argument as it proceeds will show. The inhabitants of Emesa,¹ a place from time immemorial sacred to Helios, associate with Helios in their temples Monimos and Azizos.² Iamblichus, from whom I have taken this and all besides, a little from a great store, says that the secret meaning to be interpreted is that Monimos is Hermes and Azizos Ares, the assessors of Helios, who are the channel for many blessings to the region of our earth.

Such then are the works of Helios in the heavens, and, when completed by means of the gods whom I have named, they reach even unto the furthest bounds of the earth. But to tell the number of all his works in the region below the moon would take too long. Nevertheless I must describe them also in a brief summary. Now I am aware that I mentioned them earlier when I claimed³ that from things visible we could observe the invisible properties of the god’s substance, but the argument demands that I should expound them now also, in their proper order.

I said then that Helios holds sway among the intellectual gods in that he unites into one, about his own undivided substance, a great multitude of the gods: and further, I demonstrated that among the gods whom we can perceive, who revolve

¹ cf. Caesars 313 A, Misopogon 357 c. Emesa in Syria was famous for its temple to Baal, the sun-god. The Emperor Heliogabalus (218–222 A.D.) was born at Emesa and was, as his name indicates, a priest of Baal, whose worship he attempted to introduce at Rome.
² The "strong god," identified with the star Lucifer.
³ 133 d, 138 b.
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Igtivev mala evdaimona poreian, apedeikynuev arxhynon kai kuriou, evndidonta mev to gonymon yphi sei, 1 plhronynta de tov olyn ourapwv ouster per thes fainomenhs aughis outw de kai myriwv agathon afannon allov, teleioymene de eku autou kai ta parata ton allon emfannon theon agath a chorygou meva, kai pro ye tou twv autous ekinevous yp to thes aporrhtou kai theias autou teleioymenous energeias outw de kai peri ton en genvesei topon theous twn espihebhekinei nomysteon yp to tov basilewv 'Hlouv C synexhomenous, oit then tetraplhn ton stoixeion kubhrenwtes fusin, peri as esthrikvta tauta psycha meta ton trewv kresttwnon enoikoudi genvwn. autais de taia meristtai psycha isosw agathon estin autios, krisin te autais proteunon kai dike kateuvwnon kai apokathairoi lamproritpi; then elhn de oux ontos fusin, evndidois anwthein autu to gonymon, kinei kai anazwperi; alla kai taia meristtai fusesein ou thes eis telos poreias ontos estin alhboi autios; anvardwpon gar yp to anvardwpon genvasathai fhsin 'Aristoteleis kai iliov. 2 taivtwn dhe ouv kai epi ton alloan apantwv, osa ton meristton esti fusewon erga, peri tou basilewv 'Hlouv prosthkei diavoseiasai. ti de; oux hymon ombrous kai anemous kai ta en tois metarosious ginomeva tw dittw thes anathumaseos oion ylh xromenos o theos ontos ergazetai; thermaiwn gar 152 then yhn atmidia kai kapwv elkei, xinetai de ek

1 to gonymon yphi sei Marcilius, cf. 150 b, 151 c, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.
2 Physics 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 131 c.

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eternally in their most blessed path, he is leader and lord; since he bestows on their nature its generative power, and fills the whole heavens not only with visible rays of light but with countless other blessings that are invisible; and, further, that the blessings which are abundantly supplied by the other visible gods are made perfect by him, and that even prior to this the visible gods themselves are made perfect by his unspeakable and divine activity. In the same manner we must believe that on this our world of generation certain gods have alighted who are linked together with Helios: and these gods guide the four-fold nature of the elements, and inhabit, together with the three higher races, those souls which are upborne by the elements. But for the divided souls also, of how many blessings is he the cause! For he extends to them the faculty of judging, and guides them with justice, and purifies them by his brilliant light. Again, does he not set in motion the whole of nature and kindle life therein, by bestowing on it generative power from on high? But for the divided natures also, is not he the cause that they journey to their appointed end? For Aristotle says that man is begotten by man and the sun together. Accordingly the same theory about King Helios must surely apply to all the other activities of the divided souls. Again, does he not produce for us rain and wind and the clouds in the skies, by employing, as though it were matter, the two kinds of vapour? For when he heats the earth he draws up steam and smoke, and from these there arise not only the

1 cf. 145 c. 2 cf. 145 c. 3 i.e. their ascent after death to the gods.

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tou'tow ou tâ metârsia monon, allâ kai ãsa ëpî 

γῆs pâth, symkrâ kai megalâ.

Tî ouv periî tîn avtîwv ëpëxejimw makrótêra, 
êxîn ëpî to péras ëdê bâdîjewn ùmwnhânta prô-
teroun ãsa ëdowkev ãntwrôpous "Hlmos âgathâ; 
gynô-

mevou ãrâ ëx avtîwv trebômêtha par' êkeinou. tâ 

mên ouv theiotera kai ãsa tâs ëvychâis dîdowin 
apolùwv avtâs toû sômatoj, êita êpanâgôw ëpî 
tâs toû theou synghenieîs oustâs, kai to leppâv kai 
eûtovon tîs theias ãvghis ouin ëkhrma tîs eis tîn 

gênesin ãsphantouj didômewon kathódou tâs ëvychâis 

ùmnejsw te allhous âzjwv kai uf' ëmoww pistevè-

sthw mâllwv ë deiavusw. tâ de ãsa gnôrima 
péfuke tois páswv ouk ãkpetêon ëpëxeleuwn. 
ouranov fêsi Plâtôn2 ëmîn gênêsthai sofías dídâ-

skalow. ênâmêde ãrâ arîthmou katevnojâmen 

fywv, ës to diaférôn ouk allhsw ë diâ tîs ëlîou 

periôdou katevnojâmen. fêsi toi kai avtôs 

Plâtôn ëmêran kai nûkta prôteron. êita ek touj 

fwtos tîs selýnhs, ð dê dijodâi tî ãthw taûtî 

par' ëlîou, metâ toûto prôjilhômen ëpî plêu tîs 

toiaûthn synèsewos, âpantáchoj tîs prôs toûn 

theôn touûn stojaxjâmenoi synwfwîas. õper avtôs 

pou fêswv,3 ãs ãra to géwos ëmoww épîpovun ou fûse 

theoî ëleûhânteis ëdowkav ëmîn tîn Dîounvou kai 
tâs Mousséas synxhoreuntâs. êfânîn de ëmîn "Hlmos

1 pepl Hertlein suggests, ëpî MSS.
2 Republic 529, 530; Epînomis 977 ë.
3 Laws 653 c, d, 665 ë.
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clouds but also all the physical changes on our earth, both great and small.

But why do I deal with the same questions at such length, when I am free at last to come to my goal, though not till I have first celebrated all the blessings that Helios has given to mankind? For from him are we born, and by him are we nourished. But his more divine gifts, and all that he bestows on our souls when he frees them from the body and then lifts them up on high to the region of those substances that are akin to the god; and the fineness and vigour of his divine rays, which are assigned as a sort of vehicle for the safe descent of our souls into this world of generation; all this, I say, let others celebrate in fitting strains, but let me believe it rather than demonstrate its truth. However, I need not hesitate to discuss so much as is known to all. Plato says that the sky is our instructor in wisdom. For from its contemplation we have learned to know the nature of number, whose distinguishing characteristics we know only from the course of the sun. Plato himself says that day and night were created first. And next, from observing the moon's light, which was bestowed on the goddess by Helios, we later progressed still further in the understanding of these matters: in every case conjecturing the harmony of all things with this god. For Plato himself says somewhere that our race was by nature doomed to toil, and so the gods pitied us and gave us Dionysus and the Muses as playfellows. And we recognised that Helios is their common lord,

\[i.e.\text{ as a unit of measurement; } Timaeus 39\textbf{b}, 47\textbf{a}.\]

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toûtw koiνος ἥγεμών, Διονύσου μὲν πατὴρ ὑμνοῦμενος, ἥγεμὼν δὲ Μουσῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ συμβασιλεύων Ἀπόλλων οὐ πανταχοῦ μὲν ἀνήκε τῆς γῆς χρηστήρεια, σοφίαν δὲ ἐδωκεν ἀνθρώποις ἐνθεον, ἐκόσμησε δὲ ιεροῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς τὰς πόλεις θεσμοῖς; οὕτος ἤμερωσε μὲν διὰ τῶν Ἕλληνικῶν ἀποικίων τὰ πλείστα τῆς οἰκουμένης, παρεσκέυασε δὲ ρᾷν ὑπακούσαι Ὀρμαιόις ἤχουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ γένος μόνον Ἕλληνικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσμοὺς ιεροὺς καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐπιστίαν εξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος Ἕλληνικὴν καταστησαμένους τε καὶ φυλάξασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτως καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν κόσμον οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἁριστά πολιτευσαμένων πόλεων καταστησαμένους φαυλότερον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν, ὅσα γε ἐν χρήσει γεγονασι πολιτείαι, κρέσσωνα: ἀνθ' ὧν οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγνων τὴν πόλιν Ἕλληνίδα γένους τε καὶ πολιτείαν.

Τί ἐτι σοι λέγω, πῶς τῆς υγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας B πάντων προσνύστε τὸν σωτήρα τῶν ὅλων ἀπογεννήσας Ἀσκληπιόν, ὅπως δὲ ἀρετὴν ἐδοκε παντοῖαν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀθηνᾶς συγκαταπέμψας ἡμῶν, κηδεμόνα μονον οὐχὶ νόμον θέμενος, πρὸς μηδὲν ἐτερον χρῆσθαι τῇ μίξει ἢ πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν1 τοῦ ὁμοίου; διά τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὰς περιόδους αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ φυόμενα καὶ τὰ παντοδαπῶν ζωῆς φύλα κινεῖται πρὸς ἀπογέννησιν τοῦ ὁμοίου. ἡ τι χρῆ τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φῶς σεμνύναι;

1 γένιητιν Μαυ, γένεσιν MSS, Hertlein.
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since he is celebrated as the father of Dionysus and the leader of the Muses. And has not Apollo, who is his colleague in empire, set up oracles in every part of the earth, and given to men inspired wisdom, and regulated their cities by means of religious and political ordinances? And he has civilised the greater part of the world by means of Greek colonies, and so made it easier for the world to be governed by the Romans. For the Romans themselves not only belong to the Greek race, but also the sacred ordinances and the pious belief in the gods which they have established and maintain are, from beginning to end, Greek. And beside this they have established a constitution not inferior to that of any one of the best governed states, if indeed it be not superior to all others that have ever been put into practice. For which reason I myself recognise that our city is Greek, both in descent and as to its constitution.

Shall I now go on to tell you how Helios took thought for the health and safety of all men by begetting Asclepios to be the saviour of the whole world, and how he bestowed on us every kind of excellence by sending down to us Aphrodite together with Athene, and thus laid down for our protection what is almost a law, that we should only unite to beget our kind? Surely it is for this reason that, in agreement with the course of the sun, all plants and all the tribes of living things are aroused to bring forth their kind. What need is there for me to glorify his beams and his light? For surely

1 cf. 144 c: Against the Christians 200, 235 B.C. Asclepios plays an important part in Julian's religion, and may have been intentionally opposed, as the son of Helios-Mithras and the "saviour of the world," to Jesus Christ.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

νῦξ γοῦν ἀσέληνός τε καὶ ἀναστρόφος ὅπως ἐστὶ φοβερά, ἄρα ἐννοεῖ τις, ὅν ἐντεῦθεν, ὅπόσον ἔχομεν ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἥλιον τὸ φῶς, τεκμηρηται; τούτο δὲ αὐτὸ συνεχές παρέχων καὶ ἀμεσολάβητον νυκτὶ ἐν ὦς χρή τόποις ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης τοῖς ἄνω, ἐκεχειρίαν ἤμιν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς τῶν πόνων δίδωσιν. οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο πέρας τοῦ λόγου, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξείναι τις ἐθελήσειε τὰ τοιαύτα. ἐν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν κατὰ τῶν βίων, ὁ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο ἱερόντες ἔχομεν, ἥττοι παρὰ μόνου τέλειον, ἢ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τελειούμενον.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστὶν ἄρχηγος καὶ τῆς πόλεως. οἰκεὶ γοῦν αὐτῆς οὐ τὴν ἀιρότητιν μόνον μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων πατὴρ ἔμνιμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ τῷ Παλλαντίῳ λόφῳ καὶ Ἡλίῳ αὐτὸς τοῦτο τὸ¹ κοινὸν ὄνομα πάσι καὶ γνώριμον. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ πάντη καὶ πάντα προσήκομεν οἱ Ῥωμυλίδαι τε καὶ Αἰνεάδαι, πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἐρῶ βραχέα τὰ γνωριμώτατα. γέγονε, φασίν, εἰς Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείας, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ὑπουργὸς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συγγενῆς. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κτίστην ἤμων τῆς πόλεως Ἀρεώς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκε παίδα, πιστομένη τὸ παράδοξον τῶν λόγων διὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπακολουθησάντων σημείων. ὑπέσχετο γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασί, μαξων θῆλεια λύκος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ὁρῆς Ἀξιός λεγόμενος

¹ τὸ Hertlein suggests.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

everyone knows how terrible is night without a moon or stars, so that from this he can calculate how great a boon for us is the light of the sun? And this very light he supplies at night, without ceasing, and directly, from the moon in those upper spaces where it is needed, while he grants us through the night a truce from toil. But there would be no limit to the account if one should endeavour to describe all his gifts of this sort. For there is no single blessing in our lives which we do not receive as a gift from this god, either perfect from him alone, or, through the other gods, perfected by him.

Moreover he is the founder of our city. For not only does Zeus, who is glorified as the father of all things, inhabit its citadel together with Athene and Aphrodite, but Apollo also dwells on the Palatine Hill, and Helios himself under this name of his which is commonly known to all and familiar to all. And I could say much to prove that we, the sons of Romulus and Aeneas, are in every way and in all respects connected with him, but I will mention briefly only what is most familiar. According to the legend, Aeneas is the son of Aphrodite, who is subordinate to Helios and is his kinswoman. And the tradition has been handed down that the founder of our city was the son of Ares, and the paradoxical element in the tale has been believed because of the portents which later appeared to support it. For a she-wolf, they say, gave him suck. Now I am aware that Ares, who is called

1 Rome.  2 This refers to the famous temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline; cf. Oration 1.  29 d. The three shrines in this temple were dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva and Juno, but Julian ignores Juno because he wishes to introduce Aphrodite in connection with Aeneas.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

υπὸ τῶν οἰκουντῶν τῇν "Ἐμεσαν¹ Σύρων Ἡλίου ἐπομπεύει, καίπερ εἰδῶς καὶ προειπών ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ. τοῦ χάριν δὲ ὁ λύκος Ἀρει μᾶλλον, οὕτι δὲ Ἡλίῳ προσήκει; καίτοι λυκάβαντα φασίν ἀπὸ τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον ὀνομάζει δὲ αὐτῶν οὐχ Ὁμηρος μόνον οὐδὲ οἱ γνώριμοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων τούτο τὸ ὄνομα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεός· διανύσω γάρ φησιν

'Oρχηθμῷ λυκάβαντα δυνδεκάμηνα κέλευθα.

βούλει οὖν ἔτι σοι φράσῳ μεῖζον τεκμήριον, ότι ἄρα ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν οἰκιστῆς οὐχ ὑπ’ Ἀρεως κατεπέμφθη μόνον, ἀλλ’ ἵσως αὐτῷ τῆς μὲν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευῆς συνεπελάβετο δαί- μων ἄρηίος καὶ γενναίος, ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπιφοιτήσαι τῇ Σιλβίᾳ λουτρά τῇ θεῷ φερούση, τὸ δὲ ὅλου ἐξ Ἡλίου κατῆλθεν ἡ ψυχή τοῦ θεοῦ Κυρίνου· πειστέον γάρ οἴμαι τῇ φήμῃ. σύνοδος ἀκριβῆς τῶν τὴν ἐμφανὴ κατανειμαμένων βασιλείαν Ἡλίου τε καὶ Σελήνης ὃσπερ οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν κατήγαγεν, οὕτω καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ὁυ² ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐδέξατο, τὸ θυητὸν ἀφανίσασα πυρὶ κεραννίῳ τοῦ σώματος. οὕτω προδήλως ἡ τῶν περιγείων

¹ "Ἐμεσαν Spanheim, Ἐδεσσαν MSS, Hertlein; cf. 150 c.
² ὁυ Marcilius, ἦν MSS, Hertlein.

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Azizos by the Syrians who inhabit Emesa, precedes Helios in the sacred procession, but I mentioned it before, so I think I may let that pass. But why is the wolf sacred only to Ares and not to Helios? Yet men call the period of a year "lycabas," \(^1\) which is derived from "wolf." And not only Homer \(^2\) and the famous men of Greece call it by this name, but also the god himself, when he says: "With dancing does he bring to a close his journey of twelve months, even the lycabas." Now do you wish me to bring forward a still greater proof that the founder of our city was sent down to earth, not by Ares alone, though perhaps some noble daemon with the character of Ares did take part in the fashioning of his mortal body, even he who is said to have visited Silvia \(^3\) when she was carrying water for the bath of the goddess, \(^4\) but the whole truth is that the soul of the god Quirinus \(^5\) came down to earth from Helios; for we must, I think, believe the sacred tradition. And the close conjunction of Helios and Selene, who share the empire over the visible world, even as it had caused his soul to descend to earth, in like manner caused to mount upwards him whom it received back from the earth, after blotting out with fire from a thunderbolt \(^6\) the mortal part of his body. So clearly did she who creates earthly matter,

\(^1\) Julian accepts the impossible etymology "path of the wolf"; Lycabas means "path of light," cf. lux.

\(^2\) Odyssey, 14. 161. The word was also used on Roman coins with the meaning "year."

\(^3\) Silvia the Vestal virgin gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus, whose father was supposed to be Mars (Ares).

\(^4\) Vesta, the Greek Hestia, the goddess of the hearth.

\(^5\) The name given to Romulus after his apotheosis; cf. Caesars 307 b.

\(^6\) For the legend of his translation see Livy 1. 16; Plutarch, Romulus 21; Ovid, Fasti 2. 496; Horace, Odes 3. 3. 15 foll.
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δημουργὸς ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἄκρως γενομένη τὸν ἥλιον ἐδέξατο εἰς γῆν πεμπόμενον διὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Προνοίας τὸν Κυρίνον, ἀνυπτάμενον τε αὖθις ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτίκα Ἡλιον.

"Ετι σοι βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φράσω τεκμήριον τοῦ Νόμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον; ἀσβεστὸν ἐξ ἡλίου φυλάττουσι φλόγα παρθένοι παρ’ ἡμῖν ἱερὰ κατὰ τᾶς διαφόρους ὠρας, αἱ δὴ τὸ γενόμενον1 περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ φυλάττουσιν. ἔτι τούτων μεῖξον ἔχω σοι φράσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τούδε τεκμήριον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειστάτου βασιλέως ἔργον. οἱ μῆνες ἀπασὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἔστοι εἰπεὶν ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἀριθμοῦνται, μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι Β πρὸς τὰς ἡλίους κινήσεις ἐκάστου μετροῦμεν ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς ἡμέρας. εἰ σοι μετὰ τούτο φαίην, ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν τιμῶμεν καὶ ἄγομεν Ἡλίω τετραετηρικοὺς ἄγωνας, ἐρῶ νεώτερα· βέλτιον δὲ ᾕσος εὖ τι τῶν παλαιοτέρων προθεῖναι. τοῦ γὰρ ἐνιαυσιαίου κύκλου τὴν ἄρχην ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ποιοῦμενοι, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἱσημερίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκμήν τοῦ θέρους, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ φθίνουσαν ἡδὴ τῆν ὀπώραν, Ἡλίου τὰς ἐμφανεστάτας ὑμνοῦσι Κ

1 After γενόμενον Hertlein omits ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

she whose place is at the furthest point below the sun, receive Quirinus when he was sent down to earth by Athene, goddess of Forethought; and when he took flight again from earth she led him back straightway to Helios, the King of the All.

Do you wish me to mention yet another proof of this, I mean the work of King Numa?¹ In Rome maiden priestesses ² guard the undying flame of the sun at different hours in turn; they guard the fire that is produced on earth by the agency of the god. And I can tell you a still greater proof of the power of this god, which is the work of that most divine king himself. The months are reckoned from the moon by, one may say, all other peoples; but we and the Egyptians alone reckon the days of every year according to the movements of the sun. If after this I should say that we also worship Mithras, and celebrate games in honour of Helios every four years, I shall be speaking of customs that are somewhat recent.³ But perhaps it is better to cite a proof from the remote past. The beginning of the cycle of the year is placed at different times by different peoples. Some place it at the spring equinox, others at the height of summer, and many in the late autumn; but they each and all sing the praises of the most visible gifts of Helios. One nation celebrates the season best

¹ To Numa Pompilius, the legendary king who reigned next after Romulus, the Romans ascribed the foundation of many of their religious ceremonies. ² The Vestal virgins. ³ The Heliaia, solis agon, was founded by the Emperor Aurelian at Rome in 274 A.D.; but the "unconquerable sun," sol invictus, had been worshipped there for fully a century before Aurelian’s foundation; see Usener, Sol invictus, in Rheinisches Museum, 1905. Julian once again, Caesars 336 c calls Helios by his Persian name Mithras.
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dwreás, ὃ μὲν τις τῆς τῆς ἐργασίας ἐνδιδομένην εὐκαιρίαν, ὄτε ἡ γῆ θάλλει καὶ γαυρία, φυσικῶν ἄρτι τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων, γίνεται δὲ ἑπιτήδεια πλεῖσθαι τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄηδες καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ φαιδρότερον μεθίσταται, οἳ δὲ τὴν τοῦ θέρους ἐτίμησαν ὄραν, ὡς ἀσφαλῶς τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἐχοντες θαρρήσαι γενέσεως, τῶν μὲν σπερμάτων ἤδη συνελεγμένων, ἀκμαίας δὲ ὑπόσης τῆς ὀπώρας ἤδη καὶ τεπανομένων τῶν ἐπικειμένων καρπῶν τοῖς δένδροις. ἄλλοι δὲ τούτων ἔκτι κομψότεροι τέλος ἐνιαυτοῦ ὑπέλαβον τὴν τελειοτάτην τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων ἀκμὴν καὶ φθίσιν· ταύτα τοῖς καὶ φθινούσης ἤδη τῆς ὀπώρας ἄγουσι ταῦτα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν νουμηνίας. οἵ δὲ ἦμετεροι προπάτορες ὁπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως τοῦ Νόμα μειζόνως ἔτι τὸν θεὸν τούτον σεβόμενοι τὰ μὲν τῆς χρείας ἀπέλιπτον, ἀπειράτοι φύσει θεῖοι καὶ περιττοὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, αὐτὸν δὲ εἶδον τούτων τὸν αἴτιον καὶ ἄγειν ἔταξαν συμφώνως ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς νουμηνίας, ὅποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡλίος αὕθις ἐπανάγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφεῖς τῆς μεσημβρίας τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ὀσπερ περὶ νύσσαν τὸν ἀγακόρεστα κάμψας ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦστον πρὸς τὸν βορρᾶν ἔρχεται μεταδώσων ἡμῖν τῶν ἐπετείων ἁγαθῶν. οἵ δὲ τοῦτο άκριβῶς ἐκεῖνοι διανοηθέντες οὕτως ἐνεστήσαντο τὴν ἐπετείων νουμηνίαν, ἐνθέντ' ἀν τις κατανοήσεις, οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι καθ' ἣν ἠμέραν ὁ θεὸς τρέπεται, καθ' ἣν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμφανῆς γίνεται χωρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡ

1 ᾧν Hertlein, Naber suggest, ἡμέραν MSS, cf. Epistle 444. 425 c.
adapted for work in the fields, when the earth bursts into bloom and exults, when all the crops are just beginning to sprout, and the sea begins to be safe for sailing, and the disagreeable, gloomy winter puts on a more cheerful aspect; others again award the crown to the summer season, since at that time they can safely feel confidence about the yield of the fruits, when the grains have already been harvested and midsummer is now at its height, and the fruits on the trees are ripening. Others again, with still more subtlety, regard as the close of the year the time when all the fruits are in their perfect prime and decay has already set in. For this reason they celebrate the annual festival of the New Year in late autumn. But our forefathers, from the time of the most divine king Numa, paid still greater reverence to the god Helios. They ignored the question of mere utility, I think, because they were naturally religious and endowed with unusual intelligence; but they saw that he is the cause of all that is useful, and so they ordered the observance of the New Year to correspond with the present season; that is to say when King Helios returns to us again, and leaving the region furthest south and, rounding Capricorn as though it were a goal-post, advances from the south to the north to give us our share of the blessings of the year. And that our forefathers, because they comprehended this correctly, thus established the beginning of the year, one may perceive from the following. For it was not, I think, the time when the god turns, but the time when he becomes visible to all men, as he travels from south to north,

1 The Attic year began with the summer solstice.
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μεσημβρίας ἐς τὰς ἅρκτους ἐταξαν οὗτοι τὴν ἑορτὴν. οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶς ἢ τῶν κανόνων λεπτότης γνώριμος, οὔς ἐξηήγουν μὲν Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Ἀγάπτιοι, "Ἰππαρχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐτελειώσαντο, κρίνοντες δὲ αἰσθήσει τοῖς φαινομένοις ἥκολούθουν.

Οὐτω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων, ώς ἔφην, ἔχοντα κατενοηθή. πρὸ τῆς νουμηνίας, εὐθέως μετὰ τῶν τελευταίων τοῦ Κρόνου μήνα, ποιοῦμεν Ἡλίῳ τὸν περιφανέστατον ἀγώνα, τὴν Σ ἑορτὴν Ἡλίῳ καταφημίζαντες ἀνικήτῳ, μεθ' ὧν οὐδὲν θέμις δὴν ὁ τελευταῖος μὴν ἔχει σκυθρωπῶν μὲν, ἀναγκαίων δ' ὁμος, ἐπιτελεσθῆναι θεαμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Κρονίοις οὕσι τελευταίοις εὐθὺς συνάπτει κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὰ Ἡλίαια, ἀ δῆ πολλάκις μοι δοίεν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑμνῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτελέσας θεοῖ, καὶ πρὸ γε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὀλων ὁ Ἡλίος, ὁ περὶ τὴν τάγαθον γόνιμον οὕσιν ἐξ αἰδίου προελθὼν μέσου εἰς μέσους τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, συνοχῆς τε αὐτοὺς πληρώσας καὶ κάλλους μυρίου καὶ περιουσίας γονίμου καὶ τελείου νοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀθρόως τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἁχρόνως, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν ἐλλάμπων εἰς τὴν ἐμφανὴ μέσην τοῦ παντὸς
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that they appointed for the festival. For still unknown to them was the nicety of those laws which the Chaldaeans and Egyptians discovered, and which Hipparchus \(^1\) and Ptolemy \(^2\) perfected: but they judged simply by sense-perception, and were limited to what they could actually see.

But the truth of these facts was recognised, as I said, by a later generation. Before the beginning of the year, at the end of the month which is called after Kronos, \(^3\) we celebrate in honour of Helios the most splendid games, and we dedicate the festival to the Invincible Sun. And after this it is not lawful to perform any of the shows that belong to the last month, gloomy as they are, though necessary. But, in the cycle, immediately after the end of the Kronia \(^4\) follow the Heliaia. That festival may the ruling gods grant me to praise and to celebrate with sacrifice! And above all the others may Helios himself, the King of the All, grant me this, even he who from eternity has proceeded from the generative substance of the Good: even he who is midmost of the midmost intellectual gods; who fills them with continuity and endless beauty and superabundance of generative power and perfect reason, yea with all blessings at once, and independently of time! And now he illumines his own

\(^1\) A Greek astronomer who flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. His works are lost.

\(^2\) Claudius Ptolemy an astronomer at Alexandria 127–151 A.D.

\(^3\) i.e. December.

\(^4\) The festival of Saturn, the Saturnalia, was celebrated by the Latins at the close of December, and corresponds to our Christmas holidays. Saturn was identified with the Greek god Kronos, and Julian uses the Greek word for the festival in order to avoid, according to sophistic etiquette, a Latin name.
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οὐρανοῦ φερομένην ἔδραν οἰκείαν εἰς άιδίον, καὶ μεταδίδον τῷ φαινομένῳ παντὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν σύμπαντα πληρώσας τοσοῦτον θεῶν ὀπόσων αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ νοερὸς ἤχει, περὶ αὐτὸν ἀμερίστως πληθυνομένων καὶ ἐνοείδῶς αὐτῷ συνημμένων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην τόπουν διὰ τῆς ἁειγενεσίας συνέχων καὶ τῶν ἐνδιδομένων ἐκ τοῦ κυκλικοῦ σώματος ἁγαθῶν, ἐπιμελόμενος τοῦ τε ἱκνοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἱδία τε τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ὡσπερ οὗν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰς ἁιδίουν ψυχήν ὑπέστησεν, ὁπαρὸν ἀποφήμας αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα τε οὖν, ὁσα μικρὸ πρόσθεν νυξάμην, δοῖν, καὶ ἐτι κοινῇ μὲν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἁιδοτητα μετ’ εὐνοίας χορηγῶν φυλάττοι, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰ πράξαι τά τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ θεῖα δοῖσῃ, ἐφ’ ὄσον βιώναι συμχωρεῖ, ξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐμπολυτεῖσθαι τῷ βίῳ δοῆς ἐφ’ ὅσον αὐτῷ τε ἐκεῖνως φίλον ἡμῖν τε λοίλιαν καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς συμφέρον Ἦρωμαιον πράγμασιν.

Ταῦτά σοι, οἱ Φίλε Σαλούστιε, κατὰ τὴν τριπλήν τοῦ θεοῦ δημουργίαν ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα νυξίν ὡς οἴον τε ἢν ἐπελθόντα μοι τῇ μνήμῃ καὶ γράφαι πρὸς σε ἐτόλμησα, ἐπεί σοι καὶ τὸ πρότερον εἰς τὰ Κρόνια γεγραμμένον ἡμῖν οὐ παντάπασιν

1 τοῦ τε Hertlein suggests, τε τοῦ MSS.
visible abode, which from eternity moves as the centre of the whole heavens, and bestows a share of intelligible beauty on the whole visible world, and fills the whole heavens with the same number of gods as he contains in himself in intellectual form. And without division they reveal themselves in manifold form surrounding him, but they are attached to him to form a unity. Aye, but also, through his perpetual generation and the blessings that he bestows from the heavenly bodies, he holds together the region beneath the moon. For he cares for the whole human race in common, but especially for my own city, even as also he brought into being my soul from eternity, and made it his follower. All this, therefore, that I prayed for a moment ago, may he grant, and further may he, of his grace, endow my city as a whole with eternal existence, so far as is possible, and protect her; and for myself personally, may he grant that, so long as I am permitted to live, I may prosper in my affairs both human and divine; finally may he grant me to live and serve the state with my life, so long as is pleasing to himself and well for me and expedient for the Roman Empire!

This discourse, friend Sallust, I composed in three nights at most, in harmony with the three-fold creative power of the god, as far as possible just as it occurred to my memory: and I have ventured to write it down and to dedicate it to you because you thought my earlier work on the Kronia was not

1 Rome.  2 See Introduction, p. 351.  3 For the threefold creative force cf. Proclus on Timaeus 94 cd. Here Julian means that there are three modes of creation exercised by Helios now in one, now in another, of the three worlds; cf. 135 B.C.  4 This work is lost.

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άπόβλητον ἐφάνη. τελειοτέροις δ’ εἰ βούλει περὶ
tῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστικωτέροις λόγοις ἐπιστήσαι,
ἐντυχών τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θείου γενομένοις Ἰαμβλί-
χον περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων συγγράμμασι τὸ τέλος
ἐκείσε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐρήσεις σοφίας. δοιῇ δ’
ό μέγας "Ηλιος μηδὲν ἔλαττόν με τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ
γνώναι, καὶ διδάξαι κοινῇ τε ἄπανται, ἰδιὰ δὲ τοὺς
μανθάνειν άξίους. ἔως δὲ μοι τοῦτο δίδωσιν οὐ
θεός, κοινῇ θεραπεύωμεν τὸν τῷ θεῷ φίλον
Ἰαμβλίχον, θεον καὶ νῦν ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἔτη
νῦν ἔλθοντα διεληλύθαμεν. ἐκεῖνον δὲ εὑ οἴδα
ός οὐδεὶς ἔρει τι τελειότερον, οὐδὲ εἰ πολλὰ πάνω
προσταλαπωρήσας καινοτομήσειν ἐκβιβάζεται
γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, τῆς ἀληθεστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ φωνῆσως.

ἡν μὲν οὖν ἵσως μάταιον, εἰ διδασκαλίας χάριν
ἐποιούμην τοὺς λόγους, αὐτῶν 1 μετ’ ἐκεῖνον τι
συγγράφειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ύμνον ἔθέλων διελθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ
χαριστήριον ἐν τούτῳ τότου ὑπελάμβανον τοῦ 2
περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ φράσαι κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν
ἐμῆν, οὐ μάτην οἴμαι πεποιήσθαι τοὺς λόγους
τούσδε, τὸ

Καὶ δύναμιν δ’ ἔρθειν ἑρ’ ἀθανάτωσι θεοῖσιν 3
οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εὐ-
φημίων τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδεχόμενος. εὑχομαι
οὖν τρίτον ἀντὶ τῆς προθυμίας μοι ταύτης εὐμενῆ
γενέσθαι τῶν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων "Ηλιον, καὶ

1 αὐτῶν Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ MSS.
2 τοῦ Hertlein suggests, τὸ M, τῷ MSS.
3 Hesiod, Works and Days 336.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

wholly worthless. But if you wish to meet with a more complete and more mystical treatment of the same theme, then read the writings of the inspired Iamblichus on this subject,¹ and you will find there the most consummate wisdom which man can achieve. And may mighty Helios grant that I too may attain to no less perfect knowledge of himself, and that I may instruct all men, speaking generally, but especially those who are worthy to learn. And so long as Helios grants let us all in common revere Iamblichus, the beloved of the gods. For he is the source for what I have here set down, a few thoughts from many, as they occurred to my mind. However I know well that no one can utter anything more perfect than he, nay not though he should labour long at the task and say very much that is new. For he will naturally diverge thereby from the truest knowledge of the god. Therefore it would probably have been a vain undertaking to compose anything after Iamblichus on the same subject if I had written this discourse for the sake of giving instruction. But since I wished to compose a hymn to express my gratitude to the god, I thought that this was the best place in which to tell, to the best of my power, of his essential nature. And so I think that not in vain has this discourse been composed. For the saying “To the extent of your powers offer sacrifice to the immortal gods,” I apply not to sacrifice only, but also to the praises that we offer to the gods. For the third time, therefore, I pray that Helios, the King of the All, may be gracious to me

¹ i.e. his treatise On the Gods, which is not extant.
δούναι βίον ἄγαθον καὶ τελειοτέραν φρόνησιν καὶ θείον νοῦν ἀπαλλαγήν τε τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκ τοῦ βίου πραοτάτην ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, ἀνοδόν τε ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ μονὴν παρ’ αὐτῷ, ὁ μάλιστα μὲν αἷδιον, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μεῖζον εἴη τῶν ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ πολυνετεῖς περιόδους.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

in recompense for this my zeal; and may he grant me a virtuous life and more perfect wisdom and inspired intelligence, and, when fate wills, the gentlest exit that may be from life, at a fitting hour; and that I may ascend to him thereafter and abide with him, for ever if possible, but if that be more than the actions of my life deserve, for many periods of many years!
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The cult of Phrygian Cybele the Mother of the Gods, known to the Latin world as the Great Mother, Magna Mater, was the first Oriental religion adopted by the Romans. In the Fifth Oration, which is, like the Fourth, a hymn, Julian describes the entrance of the Goddess into Italy in the third century B.C. In Greece she had been received long before, but the more civilised Hellenes had not welcomed, as did the Romans, the more barbarous features of the cult, the mutilated priests, the Galli, and the worship of Attis. They preferred the less emotional cult of the Syrian Adonis. In Athens the Mother of the Gods was early identified with Gaia the Earth Mother, and the two became inextricably confused. But Julian, in this more Roman than Greek, does not shrink from the Oriental conception of Cybele as the lover of Attis, attended by eunuch priests, or the frenzy of renunciation described by Catullus. But he was first of all a Neo-Platonist, and the aim of this hymn as of the Fourth Oration is to adapt to his philosophy a popular cult and to give its Mysteries a philosophic interpretation.

1 For the Attis cult see Frazer, Attis, Adonis and Osiris; for the introduction of the worship of Cybele into Italy, Cumont, Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain.
2 See Harrison, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens.
3 Catullus 63.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The Mithraic religion, seeking to conciliate the other cults of the empire, had from the first associated with the sun-god the worship of the Magna Mater, and Attis had been endowed with the attributes of Mithras. Though Julian's hymn is in honour of Cybele he devotes more attention to Attis. Originally the myth of Cybele symbolises the succession of the seasons; the disappearance of Attis the sun-god is the coming of winter; his mutilation is the barrenness of nature when the sun has departed; his restoration to Cybele is the renewal of spring. In all this he is the counterpart of Persephone among the Greeks and of Adonis in Syria. Julian interprets the myth in connection with the three worlds described in the Fourth Oration. Cybele is a principle of the highest, the intelligible world, the source of the intellectual gods. Attis is not merely a sun-god: he is a principle of the second, the intellectual world, who descends to the visible world in order to give it order and fruitfulness. Julian expresses the Neo-Platonic dread and dislike of matter, of the variable, the plural and unlimited. Cybele the intelligible principle would fain have restrained Attis the embodiment of intelligence from association with matter. His recall and mutilation symbolise the triumph of unity over multiformity, of mind over matter. His restoration to Cybele symbolises the deliverance of our souls from the world of generation.

Julian follows Plotinus in regarding the myths as allegories to be interpreted by the philosopher and

1 5. 1. 7; 3. 6. 19; 1. 6. 8; cf. Plato, Theaetetus 152c; and Plutarch, On Isis and Osiris, ὁ μῦθος . . . λόγον τινὸς ἐμφασὶς ἐστὶν ἀνακλῶντος ἐπ' ἄλλα τὴν διάνοιαν.
the theosophist. They are riddles to be solved, and the paradoxical element in them is designed to turn our minds to the hidden truth. For laymen the myth is enough. Like all the Neo-Platonists he sometimes uses phrases which imply human weakness or chronological development for his divinities and then withdraws those phrases, explaining that they must be taken in another sense. His attitude to myths is further defined in the Sixth and Seventh Orations. The Fifth Oration can hardly be understood apart from the Fourth, and both must present many difficulties to a reader who is unfamiliar with Plotinus, Porphyry, the treatise On the Mysteries, formerly attributed to Iamblichus, Sallust, On the Gods and the World, and the extant treatises and fragments of Iamblichus. Julian composed this treatise at Pessinus in Phrygia, when he was on his way to Persia, in 362 A.D.

1 Cf. 206 D. Myths are like toys which help children through teething.
Αρά γε χρῆ φάναι καὶ υπὲρ τούτων; καὶ υπὲρ τῶν ἄρρητων γράψουμεν καὶ τὰ ἁνέξοιστα ἔξοισομεν ἕνας καὶ τὰ ἁνεκλάλητα ἐκλαλῆσομεν; τόσ μὲν ο Ἀττις ἦτοι Γάλλος, τις δὲ ἡ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀγνείας ταυτησὶ τρόπος ὀπτοῖς, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ χάριν οὗτος ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεδείχθη, παραδοθεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοστάτων Φρυγῶν, παραδεχθείς δὲ πρῶτον ὑπ τῇ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τούτων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων, ἔργοις διδαχθέντων, ὡς μὴ καλῶς ἔτωθασαν ἑπὶ τῷ τελοῦντα τὰ ὀργία τῆς Μητρός; λέγονται γὰρ οὗτοι περινβρίσαι καὶ ἀπελάσαι τοῦ Γάλλον ὡς τὰ θεῖα καινοτομοῦντα, οὐ δειγνέστε ὀποῖόν τι τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρήμα καὶ ὡς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δηὸ καὶ Ρέα καὶ Δημήτηρ. εἶτα μῆνις τὸ ἐν-τεῦθεν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ θεραπεία τῆς μῦνιδος. ἦ γὰρ

1 ἔξοισομεν Cobet adds, ἁνέξοιστα καὶ MSS, Hertlein,
2 οὗτος! Hertlein suggests, οὗτωσι MSS.
HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Ought I to say something on this subject also? And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable? Who is Attis or Gallus, who is the Mother of the Gods, and what is the manner of their ritual of purification? And further why was it introduced in the beginning among us Romans? It was handed down by the Phrygians in very ancient times, and was first taken over by the Greeks, and not by any ordinary Greeks but by Athenians who had learned by experience that they did wrong to jeer at one who was celebrating the Mysteries of the Mother. For it is said that they wantonly insulted and drove out Gallus, on the ground that he was introducing a new cult, because they did not understand what sort of goddess they had to do with, and that she was that very Deo whom they worship, and Rhea and Demeter too. Then followed the wrath of the goddess and the

1 The Phrygian god of vegetation who corresponds to the Syrian Adonis. His name is said to mean "father," and he is at once the lover and son of the Mother of the Gods. His death and resurrection were celebrated in spring.
2 The generic name for the eunuch priests of Attis.
3 The Phrygian Cybele, the Asiatic goddess of fertility; the chief seat of her worship was Pessinus in Phrygia.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

εν πάσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἥγεμον γενομένη τοῖς "Ελλησίων, ἡ τοῦ Πυθίου πρόμαντις θεοῦ, τήν τής Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἠλάσκεσθαι· καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μητρῷον, οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφυλάττετο τὰ γραμματεῖα. μετὰ δὴ τούς "Ελληνας αὐτὰ Ῥωμαίοι παρεδέξαντο, συμβουλεύσαντος καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πυθίου ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον ἄγειν ἐκ Φρυγίας τῆς θεοῦ σύμμαχον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἱσώς κωλύει προσθεῖναι μικρὰν ἱστορίαν ἐνταῦθα. μαθόντες γὰρ τὸν χρησμὸν στέλλοντι οἱ τῆς θεοφιλοῦσιν οἰκήτορες Ῥώμης προσβείειν αἰτήσον- σαν παρὰ τῶν Περγάμου Βασιλέων, οὗ τότε ἐκράτουν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἀγιώτατον ἀγαλμα. λαβόν- τες δὲ ἤγον τὸν ἱερὸν φόρτων ἐνθέντες εὐρείας φορτίδι πλεῖν εὐπετῶς δυναμένη τὰ τοσαῦτα πελάγη. περαιωθείσα δὲ Αὐγαῖοι νε τε καὶ Ἰονιόν, εἶτα περιπλεύσασα Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸ Τυρρηνὸν πέλαγος ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐκβολᾶς τοῦ Τύβριδος κατῄγετο· καὶ δῆμος ἐξεχείτο τῆς πόλεως συν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ὑπῆντων ἐν μὴν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖαν πάσαι καὶ πάντες ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν ναῦν οὕριοδ- ρομούσαν ἀποβλέπουσας, καὶ περὶ τὴν τρόπιν


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HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

propitiation of her wrath. For the priestess of the Pythian god who guided the Greeks in all noble conduct, bade them propitiate the wrath of the Mother of the Gods. And so, we are told, the Metroum was built, where the Athenians used to keep all their state records.1 After the Greeks the Romans took over the cult, when the Pythian god had advised them in their turn to bring the goddess from Phrygia as an ally for their war against the Carthaginians.2 And perhaps there is no reason why I should not insert here a brief account of what happened. When they learned the response of the oracle, the inhabitants of Rome, that city beloved of the gods, sent an embassy to ask from the kings of Pergamon3 who then ruled over Phrygia and from the Phrygians themselves the most holy statue4 of the goddess. And when they had received it they brought back their most sacred freight, putting it on a broad cargo-boat which could sail smoothly over those wide seas. Thus she crossed the Aegean and Ionian Seas, and sailed round Sicily and over the Etruscan Sea, and so entered the mouth of the Tiber. And the people and the Senate with them poured out of the city, and in front of all the others there came to meet her all the priests and priestesses in suitable attire according to their ancestral custom. And in excited suspense they gazed at the ship as she ran before a fair wind, and about her keel they could discern the foaming wake as she cleft the

1 i.e. after the middle of the fifth century B.C.; before that date the records were kept in the Acropolis.
2 In 204 B.C.; cf. Livy 29. 10 foll.; Silius Italicus 17. 1 foll.; Ovid, Fasti 4. 255 foll. tells the legend and describes the ritual of the cult.
3 The Attalids.
4 A black meteoric stone embodied the goddess of Pessinus.
Τὸ ἄπεσκόπουν τὸ ῥόθιον σχιζομένων τῶν κυμάτων· εἰτα εἰσπλέουσαν ἐδεξιοῦντο τῇ ναίν προσκυνοῦντες ἔκαστος ὡς ἐνυχε προσεστῶς πόρρωθεν. ἦ δὲ ὦσπερ εὐνεῖξασθαι τῷ Ρωμαίων ἐθέλουσα ἄμφος, ὅτι μὴ ἠξόανον ἀγονσίν ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ἀγυχον, ἔχει δὲ ἀκα ὅναμιν τινα μείζον καὶ θειοτέρων ὁ δὴ παρά τῶν Φρυγῶν λαβόντες ἐφερον, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Τύβριδος ἡψατο, τὴν ναίν ἰςτησιων ὦσπερ ριξωθεῖσαν ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τὸν Τύβριδος. εἶκον δὴ οὖν πρὸς ἀντίον τὸν ροῦν, ἦ δὲ οὖχ εἴπετο. ὃς ¹ βραχέσι δὲ ᾑντετυχηκότες οὐθεὶν ἐπειρῶντο τῇ ναίν, ἦ δὲ οὐκ οἶκεν ὀθούντων. πᾶσα δὲ μηχανή προσήγητο τὸ ᾑντεύθεν, ἦ δὲ οὐχ ἤττον ἀμετακινητὸς ἦν· ὥστε ἐμπιπτεῖ κατὰ τῆς ἱερωμενής τὴν παναγεστάτην ἱερωσύνην παρθένου δεινή καὶ ἀδίκος ὑποψία, καὶ τὴν Κλώδιαν ἦτιώντο τούτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ σεμνῇ παρθένῳ· μὴ παντάπασιν ἀχραντον μηδὲ καθαρῶν φυλάττειν ἐαυτὴν τῇ θεῶ· ὦγιέσθαι οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ μηνίειν ἐμφανὼς· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἦδη τοὺς πᾶσιν εἶναι τὸ χρήμα δαιμονιώτερον. ἦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἴδοις ὑπετῆμηπλατο πρὸς τε τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν· οὕτω πάνω πόρρῳ ἐτύγχανε τῆς αἰσχρᾶς καὶ παρανόμου πράξεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔωρα τὴν αἰτίαν ἦδη καθ’ ἐαυτῆς ἐξισχύουσαν, περιελούσα τὴν ζονην καὶ περιθεία τῆς νεώς τοῖς ἀκροῖς, ὦσπερ ἦν ἐπίπτυναιας τινὸς ἀποχωρεῖν ἐκέλευν ἀπαντας, εἰτα ἐδείτο τῆς θεοῦ μὴ περιδείν αὐτὴν ² ἀδίκοις ἐνεχομένην βλασφημίαις.

¹ ὥς Petavius adds.
² αὐτὴν Hertlein suggests, αὐτὴν MSS.
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waves. And they greeted the ship as she sailed in and adored her from afar, everyone where he happened to be standing. But the goddess, as though she desired to show the Roman people that they were not bringing a lifeless image from Phrygia, but that what they had received from the Phrygians and were now bringing home possessed greater and more divine powers than an image, stayed the ship directly she touched the Tiber, and she was suddenly as though rooted in mid-stream. So they tried to tow her against the current, but she did not follow. Then they tried to push her off, thinking they had grounded on a shoal, but for all their efforts she did not move. Next every possible device was brought to bear, but in spite of all she remained immovable. Thereupon a terrible and unjust suspicion fell on the maiden who had been consecrated to the most sacred office of priestess, and they began to accuse Claudia— for that was the name of that noble maiden—of not having kept herself stainless and pure for the goddess; wherefore they said that the goddess was angry and was plainly declaring her wrath. For by this time the thing seemed to all to be supernatural. Now at first she was filled with shame at the mere name of the thing and the suspicion; so very far was she from such shameless and lawless behaviour. But when she saw that the charge against her was gaining strength, she took off her girdle and fastened it about the prow of the ship, and, like one divinely inspired, bade all stand aside: and then she besought the goddess not to suffer her to be thus implicated

1 Claudia, turritae rara ministra deae. "Claudia thou peerless priestess of the goddess with the embattled crown." —Propertius 4. 11. 52. 2 A matron in other versions.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

βοώσα δὲ ὄσπερ τι κέλευσμα, φασί, ναυτικῶν, Δέσποινα Μήτερ εἴπερ εἰμὶ σώφρων, ἐποῦ μοι, ἔφη. καὶ δὴ τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐκίνησε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶλκυσεν ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸς τὸν ρόην· καὶ δύο ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις ἐδείξεν ἡ θεὸς οἴμαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. ὡς οὔτε μικροῦ τίνος τίμιον ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπήγγυον ἕφορτον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον, οὔτε ὡς ἀνθρώπινον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ὡντως θείον, οὔτε ἄψυχος γῆν, ἀλλὰ ἐμπνεον τι χρῆμα καὶ δαιμόνιον. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐδείξεν αὐτοῖς ἡ θεός: ἐτερον δὲ, ὡς τῶν πολιτῶν οὔδὲ εἰς λάθοι ἂν αὐτὴν χρηστὸς ἢ φαύλος ὅυ. κατωρθώθη μέντοι καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτίκα Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ὡστε τὸν τρίτον ὕπερ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῆς μόνον Καρχηδόνος γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰ καὶ τισιν ἀπίθανα δόξει καὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσῆκειν οὐδὲν οὔδὲ θεολόγῳ, λεγέσθω μὴ μεῖν, κοινὴ μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἱστοριογράφων ἄναγραφειν, σοζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ Ῥώμη. καίτοι μὲ οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι φήσουσιν αὐτὰ τινές τῶν λίαν σοφῶν υἱόν τι ἐναι γραδίνων οὐκ ἀνεκτούσ. ἔμοι δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεῦειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢ τουτοῦτα τοὺς κομψοῖς, ὃν τὸ ψυχάριον δριμὺ μὲν, ύμίν δὲ οὔδε ἐν βλέπει. 2

Τὸπερ δὲ δὲν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ ἡλθέ μοι παρ’ αὐτὸν ἃρτι

1 ἐπήγγυον Hertlein suggests, ἐπήγγυον τὸν MSS.
2 Plato, Republic 519 ἀ δριμὺ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον.
HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

in unjust slanders. Next, as the story goes, she cried aloud as though it were some nautical word of command, "O Goddess Mother, if I am pure follow me!" And lo, she not only made the ship move, but even towed her for some distance up stream. Two things, I think, the goddess showed the Romans on that day: first that the freight they were bringing from Phrygia had no small value, but was priceless, and that this was no work of men's hands but truly divine, not lifeless clay but a thing possessed of life and divine powers. This, I say, was one thing that the goddess showed them. And the other was that no one of the citizens could be good or bad and she not know thereof. Moreover the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians forthwith took a favourable turn, so that the third war was waged only for the walls of Carthage itself.¹

As for this narrative, though some will think it incredible and wholly unworthy of a philosopher or a theologian, nevertheless let it here be related. For besides the fact that it is commonly recorded by most historians, it has been preserved too on bronze statues in mighty Rome, beloved of the gods.² And yet I am well aware that some over-wise persons will call it an old wives' tale, not to be credited. But for my part I would rather trust the traditions of cities than those too clever people, whose puny souls are keen-sighted enough, but never do they see aught that is sound.

I am told that on this same subject of which I am

¹ In the Third Punic War, which began 149 B.C., Carthage was sacked by the Romans under Scipio.
² A relief in the Capitoline Museum shows Claudia in the act of dragging the ship.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

tōn tῆς ἀγιστείας καιρῶν, ἀκούω μὲν ἐγώγη καὶ
Πορφυρίῳ τινὰ πεφιλοσοφήσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ
μὴν οἴδα γε, οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον, εἰ καὶ συνενεχθήναι
ποι συμβαίνῃ τῷ λόγῳ. τὸν Γάλλον δὲ ἐγὼ τοὐ-
τοι καὶ τὸν Ἀττιν αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν ἐπινοῶ τοῦ
γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικοῦ νοῦ τῆς ἄχρι τῆς
ἐσχάτης ὠλης ἀπαντα γεννῶσαν οὐσίαν εἶναι,
ἐχουσάν τε ἐν ἑαυτῇ πάντας τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς
αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἐν
πάσι τὰ εἶδη, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτοις
αἰτίοις τὰ τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ τελευταίων, μεθ' ἃ
οὐδέν ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ τῆς στερῆσεως ὄνομα μετὰ ἀμυ-
δρᾶς ἐπινοίας. οὐσῶν δὴ πολλῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ πολ-
λῶν πάνω δημιουργῶν τοῦ τρίτου δημιουργοῦ, ὃς
τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐξηρημένους ἔχει καὶ
συνεχείς τὰς αἰτίας, ἡ τελευταία καὶ μέχρι γῆς
ὑπὸ περιουσίας τοῦ γονίμου διὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν παρὰ
τῶν ἀστρων καθήκουσα φύσις ὁ ξητούμενος ἐστὶν
Ἀττις. ἦσως δὲ ὑπὲρ οὐ λέγω χρῆ διαλαβεῖν
σαφέστερον. εἶναι τι λέγομεν ὑλὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐνυλὼν εἴδος. ἀλλὰ τούτων εἰ μὴ τις αἰτία
προτέτακται, λανθάνοιμεν ἄν ἑαυτοὺς εἰσάγωντες
τὴν Ἐπικούρειον δόξαν. ἀρχαῖν γὰρ δυνῶν εἰ
μηδέν ἔστι πρεσβύτερον, αὐτόματος τις αὐτᾶς
φορὰ καὶ τύχῃ συνεκλήρωσεν. ἀλλ' ὥρῳμεν,
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impelled to speak at the very season of these sacred rites, Porphyry too has written a philosophic treatise. But since I have never met with it I do not know whether at any point it may chance to agree with my discourse. But him whom I call Gallus or Attis I discern of my own knowledge to be the substance of generative and creative Mind which engenders all things down to the lowest plane of matter, and comprehends in itself all the concepts and causes of the forms that are embodied in matter. For truly the forms of all things are not in all things, and in the highest and first causes we do not find the forms of the lowest and last, after which there is nothing save privation coupled with a dim idea. Now there are many substances and very many creative gods, but the nature of the third creator, who contains in himself the separate concepts of the forms that are embodied in matter and also the connected chain of causes, I mean that nature which is last in order, and through its superabundance of generative power descends even unto our earth through the upper region from the stars,—this is he whom we seek, even Attis. But perhaps I ought to distinguish more clearly what I mean. We assert that matter exists and also form embodied in matter. But if no cause be assigned prior to these two, we should be introducing, unconsciously, the Epicurean doctrine. For if there be nothing of higher order than these two principles, then a spontaneous motion and chance brought them together.

1 i.e. the world of sense-perception.
2 Plotinus I. 8. 4 called matter “the privation of the Good,” στέρησις ἀγαθοῦ.
3 Helios; cf. Oration 4. 140 a. Attis is here identified with the light of the sun.
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φησί Περιπατητικός τις ἀγχόνους ὁσπερ ὡς περ ὡς ἔναρχος, τούτων αἰτιῶν ὅν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ κυκλικὸν σῶμα. γελοῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὑπέρ τούτων ξητῶν τε καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος ἁγνόησε γοῦν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωνήν. ὡσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀσώματον οὐσίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ νοητὴν ἐστὶν μὴ πολυπραγμονῶν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ φᾶς οὔτω ταύτα πεφυκέναι χρῆν δὲ δὴ πουθεν καὶ ἔπι τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος τὸ πεφυκέναι ταύτῃ λαμβάνοντα μηκέτι ξητεῖν τὰς αἰτίας, ἵστασθαι δὲ ἔπι αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἐκπίπτειν ὅν μὲν οὐδὲν φύσει καθ’ ἑαυτό, ἔχον δὲ ἄλλως κενὴν ὑπόνοιαν. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ μέμνημαι τοῦ Ἐνάρχου λέγοντος ἀκηκοῦσος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὄρθως ἢ μὴ ταύτα ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, τοῖς ἄγαν ἐφείσθω Περιπατητικὸς ὄνυχζειν, ὅτι δὲ οὐ προσηνώσες ἐμοὶ παντὶ που δήλον, ὅτπον γε καὶ τὰς Ἀριστοτελικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐνδεεστέρως ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνω, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐσ ταῦτο τοῖς Πλάτωνος ἄγοι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτα ταῖς ἐκ θεῶν δεδομέναις προφητείαις.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἵσως ᾧξιον πυθέσθαι, πῶς τὸ κυκλικὸν σῶμα δύναται τὰς ἀσωμάτους ἔχειν αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἴδων. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δίχα τούτων

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"But," says some acute Peripatetic like Xenarchus, "we see that the cause of these is the fifth or cyclic substance. Aristotle is absurd when he investigates and discusses these matters, and Theophrastus likewise. At any rate he overlooked the implications of a well-known utterance of his. For just as when he came to incorporeal and intelligible substance he stopped short and did not inquire into its cause, and merely asserted that this is what it is by nature; surely in the case of the fifth substance also he ought to have assumed that its nature is to be thus; and he ought not to have gone on to search for causes, but should have stopped at these, and not fallen back on the intelligible, which has no independent existence by itself, and in any case represents a bare supposition." This is the sort of thing that Xenarchus says, as I remember to have heard. Now whether what he says is correct or not, let us leave to the extreme Peripatetics to refine upon. But that his view is not agreeable to me is, I think, clear to everyone. For I hold that the theories of Aristotle himself are incomplete unless they are brought into harmony with those of Plato; or rather we must make these also agree with the oracles that have been vouchsafed to us by the gods.

But this it is perhaps worth while to inquire, how the cyclic substance can contain the incorporeal causes of the forms that are embodied in matter.

Julian here sums up the tendency of the philosophy of his age. The Peripatetics had been merged in the Platonists and Neo-Platonists, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator often speaks of the reconciliation, in contemporary philosophy, of Plato and Aristotle; cf. 235 c, 236, 366 c. Julian, following the example of Iamblichus, would force them into agreement; but the final appeal was to revealed religion. 2 i.e. aether, the fifth substance.
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υποστηναι την γενεσιν ουκ ενδεχεται, πρόδηλον εστι που και σαφες. του χαριν γαρ εστι τοσαυτα τα γιγνουμενα; ποθεν δε άρρεν και θελυ; ποθεν δε ή κατα γενος των ουντων εν ωρισμενοις ειδεσι διαφορα, ει μη τινες ειν εποψαρχοντες και προφεστωτες λογοι αιτιαι τε εν παραδειγματοις λογω προσφεστωσαι; προς άς ειπερ αμβλυωτομεν, ετι καθαιρωμεθα τα ομματα της ψυχης. καθαρισε δε ορθη στραφηαι προς εαυτον και κατανοησαι, πως μεν η ψυχη και ο ενυλος νους ωσπερ εκμαγειον τι των ενυλων ειδων και εικων εστιν. εν γαρ ουδεν εστι των σωματων η των περι τα σωματα γινομενων τε και θεωρουμενων ασωματων, ου την φαντασιαν ο νους ου δυναται λαβειν ασωματως, οπερ ουποτ' αν εποιησεν, ει μη τι ξυγγενες ειχεν αυτοις φυσει. ταυτα τοι και 'Αριστοτελης την ψυχην τοπον ειδων εφη, πλην ουκ ενεργεια, αλλα δυναμει. την μεν ουν τοιαυτην ψυχην και την επεστραμμενη προς το σωμα δυναμει ταυτα εχειν αναγκαιον ει δε τως άσχετος ειη και αμυγης ταυτη, τους λογους ουκετι δυναμει, πανται δε C

1 προφεστωτες Hertlein suggests, cf. 165 D, προφεστωτες MSS.

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For that, apart from these causes, it is not possible for generation to take place is, I think, clear and manifest. For why are there so many kinds of generated things? Whence arise masculine and feminine? (Whence the distinguishing characteristics of things according to their species in well-defined types, if there are not pre-existing and pre-established concepts, and causes which existed beforehand to serve as a pattern? 1) And if we discern these causes but dimly, let us still further purify the eyes of the soul. And the right kind of purification is to turn our gaze inwards and to observe how the soul and embodied Mind are a sort of mould 2 and likeness of the forms that are embodied in matter. For in the case of the corporeal, or of things that though incorporeal come into being and are to be studied in connection with the corporeal, there is no single thing whose mental image the mind cannot grasp independently of the corporeal. But this it could not have done if it did not possess something naturally akin to the incorporeal forms. Indeed it is for this reason that Aristotle himself called the soul the “place of the forms,” 3 only he said that the forms are there not actually but potentially. Now a soul of this sort, that is allied with matter, must needs possess these forms potentially only, but a soul that should be independent and unmixed in this way we must believe would contain all the

1 i.e. the causes of the forms that are embodied in matter have a prior existence as Ideas.
2 An echo of Plato, Theaetetus 191 c, 196 A; Timaeus 50 c.
3 De Anima 3. 4. 429 A; Aristotle quotes the phrase with approval and evidently attributes it to Plato; the precise expression is not to be found in Plato, though in Parmenides 132 B he says that the Ideas are “in our souls.”
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υπάρχειν ἐνεργεία νομιστέον. λάβωμεν δὲ αὐτὰ σαφέστερον διὰ τοῦ παράδειγματος, ὦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ ¹ πρὸς ἔτερον μὲν λόγον, ἐχρήσατο δ' οὖν ὅμως. τὸ παράδειγμα δὲ οὖν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν φέρω τοῦ λόγου καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀποδείξει χρῆ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν, ² ἀλλ' ἐπιβολὴ μόνη, περὶ γὰρ τῶν πρῶτων αἰτιῶν ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν γε ὁμοστοίχων τοῖς πρῶτοι, ἐπερ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ὡσπερ οὖν ἄξιον νομίζειν, καὶ ὃ 'Ἀττίς θεός. τί δὲ καὶ ποιῶν ἐστι τὸ παράδειγμα; φησὶ ³ ποιόν Πλάτων, τῶν περὶ τὴν μίμησιν διατριβοῦντων εἰ μὲν ἐθέλοι τις μυμείσθαι, ὡστε καθυφεστάναι τὰ μυθητα, ἐργόδη τε εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ νῆ Δία γε τοῦ ἀδυνάτου πλησίον μᾶλλον, εὑκολον δὲ καὶ ῥάδιαν καὶ σφόδρα δυνατῆν τὴν διὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν τὰ ὄντα μμουμένην. ὅταν οὖν τὸ κάτοπτρον λαβόντες περιφέρωμεν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὄντων ῥάδιως ἀπομαξάμενοι, δείκνυμεν ἐκάστου τούς τύπους. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παράδειγματος ἐπὶ τὸ εἰρημένον μεταβιβάσωμεν τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ἵν' ἢ τὸ μὲν κάτοπτρον ὁ λεγόμενος ὕπο Ἀριστοτέλους δυνάμει τόπος εἴδον.

Αὐτὰ δὲ χρῆ τὰ εἴδη πρότερον ύφεστάναι πάντως ἐνεργεία τοῦ δυνάμει. τῆς τοίνυν ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλες δοκεῖ, δυνάμει τῶν ὄντων ἐχούσης τὰ εἴδη, ποῦ πρῶτον ἐνεργεία θησόμεθα ταύτα; πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἐνύλοις; ἀλλ' ἐστὶ γε ταύτα φανερὸς τὰ τελευταία. λεύτηται

¹ 233 D. ² αὐτὸν Hertlein suggests, αὐτὸ MSS. ³ Sophist 235 A; cf. Republic 596 D.
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concepts, not potentially but actually. Let us make this clearer by means of the example which Plato himself employed in the Sophist, with reference certainly to another theory, but still he did employ it. And I bring forward the illustration, not to prove my argument; for one must not try to grasp it by demonstration, but only by apprehension. For it deals with the first causes, or at least those that rank with the first, if indeed, as it is right to believe, we must regard Attis also as a god. What then, and of what sort is this illustration? Plato says that, if any man whose profession is imitation desire to imitate in such a way that the original is exactly reproduced, this method of imitation is troublesome and difficult, and, by Zeus, borders on the impossible; but pleasant and easy and quite possible is the method which only seems to imitate real things. For instance, when we take up a mirror and turn it round we easily get an impression of all objects, and show the general outline of every single thing. From this example let us go back to the analogy I spoke of, and let the mirror stand for what Aristotle calls the “place of the forms” potentially.

Now the forms themselves must certainly subsist actually before they subsist potentially. If, therefore, the soul in us, as Aristotle himself believed, contains potentially the forms of existing things, where shall we place the forms in that previous state of actuality? Shall it be in material things? No, for the forms that are in them are evidently the last and lowest. Therefore it only remains to search
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dή λοιπὸν ἀύλους αἰτίας χητεῖν ἐνεργεία προτεταγμένας τῶν ἐνύλων, αἰς παρυποστάσαν καὶ συμπροελθοῦσαν ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, ὡσπερ ἐξ οὐντῶν τινῶν τὰ ἐσοπτρα, τοὺς τῶν εἰδῶν ἀναγκαίον λόγους, ἐνδιδόναι δὲ διὰ τῆς φύσεως τῇ τε ὤλῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐνύλους τούτοις σώμασιν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν σωμάτων ἵσμεν, ὡς ὅλη τις οὐσα τοῦ παῦτός, ἡ δὲ καθ’ ἐκαστον ἐνδο ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν μέρει, πρόδηλον ἐστὶ ποὺ καὶ σαφές, ἀλλ’ ἡ φύσις ἐνεργεία δίχα φαντασίας ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ψυχῆ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν προσέιληφεν. εἰ τοῖς ἡ φύσις καὶ ὅν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν φαντασίαν ἔχειν ὁμος ὁμολογεῖται τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνθ’ ὁτοῦ πρὸς θεῶν οὐχὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἔτι καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῇ ψυχῇ δώσομεν, ὅπου καὶ φανταστικὸς αὐτὸ γιγνόσκομεν ἥδη καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβάνομεν; ἐκτα τὶς οὗτως ἐστὶ φιλόνεικος, ὡς τῇ φύσει μὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐνύλους λόγους, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντας καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνεργεία, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει γε πάντας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ μὴ δοῦναι τοῦτο αὐτὸς; οὐκοῦν εἰ δυνάμει μὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ οὐκ ἐνεργεία τὰ ἑιδη, δυνάμει δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρώτερον καὶ δια-
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for immaterial causes which exist in actuality prior to and of a higher order than the causes that are embodied in matter. And our souls must subsist in dependence on these and come forth together with them, and so receive from them the concepts of the forms, as mirrors show the reflections of things; and then with the aid of nature it bestows them on matter and on these material bodies of our world. For we know that nature is the creator of bodies, universal nature in some sort of the All; while that the individual nature of each is the creator of particulars is plainly evident. But nature exists in us in actuality without a mental image, whereas the soul, which is superior to nature, possesses a mental image besides. If therefore we admit that nature contains in herself the cause of things of which she has however no mental image, why, in heaven's name, are we not to assign to the soul these same forms, only in a still higher degree, and with priority over nature, seeing that it is in the soul that we recognise the forms by means of mental images, and comprehend them by means of the concept? Who then is so contentious as to admit on the one hand that the concepts embodied in matter exist in nature—even though not all and equally in actuality, yet all potentially—while on the other hand he refuses to recognise that the same is true of the soul? If therefore the forms exist in nature potentially, but not actually, and if also they exist potentially in the soul,¹ only in a still purer sense and more completely separated, so that they can be comprehended and recognised;

¹ For the superiority of the soul to nature cf. De Mysteriis 8. 7. 270; and for the theory that the soul gives form to matter, Plotinus 4. 3. 20.
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κεκριμένως μᾶλλον, ὡστε δὴ καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ γινώσκεσθαι, ἐνεργεία δὲ οὐδ'αμοῦν πόθεν ἀναρτήσομεν τῆς ἀειγενεσίας τὰ πείσματα; ποὺ δὲ ἐδράσομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀιδιότητος κόσμου λόγους; τὸ γάρ τοι κυκλικὸν σῶμα ἐξ ὑποκειμένου καὶ εἰδοὺς ἑστίν. ἀνάγκη δὴ οὖν, εἰ καὶ μὴποτε ἐνεργεία ταῦτα δίχα ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε ἑπινοίαις ἐκεῖνα πρῶτα ὑπάρχοντα εἶναι τε καὶ νομίζεσθαι πρεσβύτερα. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ δέδοται τίς καὶ τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν αἰτία προηγομένη παντελῶς άνυλος ὑπὸ τὸν τρίτον δημιουργόν, ὅς ἦμων οὐ τούτων μόνον ἑστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ πέμπτου σώματος πατήρ καὶ δεσπότης· ἀποδιελόντες ἐκεῖνον τὸν 'Αττιν, τὴν ἄχρι τῆς ὤλης καταβαίνουσαν αἰτίαν, καὶ θεὸν γόνυμον 'Αττιν εἶναι καὶ Γάλλου πεπιστεύκαμεν, δὲν δὴ φησιν ὁ μύθος ἀνθήκει μὲν ἐκτεθέντα παρὰ Γάλλου ποταμοῦ ταῖς δίναις, εἰτα καλὸν φανέντα καὶ μέγαν ἁγαπηθήναι παρά τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐπιπρέψαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἀστερωτόν περιθεῖναι[1] πίλον. ἀλλ' εἰ τὴν κορυφὴν σκέπει τοῦ 'Αττιδος ὁ φαινόμενος οὐρανὸς οὕτωσι, τὸν Γάλλου ποταμὸν ἄρα μὴ ποτὲ χρῆ τὸν γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεσθαι[2] κύκλον; ἐνταῦθα γάρ φασι μέγιστο θαυμά τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἀπαθὴ τοῦ

2 αἰνίττεσθαι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust 250 τὸν γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεσται κύκλον: μαντεύεσθαι MSS.

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but yet exist in actuality nowhere at all; to what, I ask, shall we hang the chain of perpetual generation, and on what shall we base our theories of the imperishability of the universe? For the cyclic substance itself is composed of matter and form. It must therefore follow that, even though in actuality these two, matter and form, are never separate from one another, yet for our intelligence the forms must have prior existence and be regarded as of a higher order. Accordingly, since for the forms embodied in matter a wholly immaterial cause has been assigned, which leads these forms under the hand of the third creator—who for us is the lord and father not only of these forms but also of the visible fifth substance—from that creator we distinguish Attis, the cause which descends even unto matter, and we believe that Attis or Gallus is a god of generative powers. Of him the myth relates that, after being exposed at birth near the eddying stream of the river Gallus, he grew up like a flower, and when he had grown to be fair and tall, he was beloved by the Mother of the Gods. And she entrusted all things to him, and moreover set on his head the starry cap.

But if our visible sky covers the crown of Attis, must one not interpret the river Gallus as the Milky Way? For it is there, they say, that the substance which is subject to change mingles with the passion-

1 i.e. the fifth substance.
2 Helios; cf. 161 d. The whole passage implies the identification of Attis with nature, and of the world-soul with Helios; cf. 162 A where Attis is called "Nature." φύσις.
4 cf. 171 A; Sallust also identifies Gallus with the Milky Way, 4. 14. 25.
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πέμπτου κυκλοφορίαν. ἂν ρι τοι τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτᾶν τε καὶ χορεύειν τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἥλιακαις ἀκτῖσιν ἐμφερεὶ τῷ νοερῷ θεῷ, τῷ "Ἀττιδ. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ προϊόν ἦλθεν ἂν ρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὁ μῦθος αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἀντρον¹ κατελθεῖν ἐφη καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ, τὸ δύναρον αἰνιττόμενος τῆς ὕλης· καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλην αὐτὴν νῦν ἐφη, τὴν τελευταίαν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀσώματον, ἢ τῆς ὕλης προοφέστηκε.² λέγεται τοι καὶ πρὸς Ἡρακλείτον³

ψυχήσων θάνατος ὑγρῆσθι γενέσθαι·

τούτον οὖν τὸν Γάλλον, τὸν νοερὸν θεόν, τὸν τῶν εἰνύλων καὶ ύπὸ σελήνην εἰδῶν συνοχέα, τῇ προτεταγμένη τῆς ὕλης αἰτία συνιόντα, συνιόντα δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλον ἄλλη, ἄλλ' οἷον αὐτὸ εἰς ἐαυτὸ⁴ λέγομεν⁵ ὑποφερόμενοι.

Τῆς οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν; ἡ τῶν κυβερνώντων τοῦς ἐμφανεῖς νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν θεῶν πηγή, ἡ καὶ τεκοῦσα καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ μεγάλῳ Δίῳ θεῷ υποστᾶσα μεγάλη μετὰ τὸν μήγαν καὶ σὺν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημιουργῷ, ἡ πάσης μὲν κυρία ξωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενέσεως αἰτία, ἡ ράστα μὲν ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ ποιούμενα, γεννώσα δὲ δίχα πάθους καὶ δημιουργοῦσα τὰ ὄντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς· αὐτή καὶ παρθένος ὑμήτωρ καὶ Δίὸς σύνθωκος καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν ὄντως οὐσα πάντων. τῶν γὰρ νοητῶν

¹ cf. Porphyry, On the Cave of the Nymph 7; and Plato, Republic 514 a.
² προοφέστηκε Hertlein suggests, προεστῆκε MSS.
³ fr. 36, Diels.
⁴ ἐαυτὸ Shorey suggests, τοῦτο Hertlein, MSS.
⁵ λέγομεν Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

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less revolving sphere of the fifth substance. Only as far as this did the Mother of the Gods permit this fair intellectual god Attis, who resembles the sun’s rays, to leap and dance. But when he passed beyond this limit and came even to the lowest region, the myth said that he had descended into the cave, and had wedded the nymph. And the nymph is to be interpreted as the dampness of matter; though the myth does not here mean matter itself, but the lowest immaterial cause which subsists prior to matter. Indeed Heracleitus also says: “It is death to souls to become wet.” We mean therefore that this Gallus, the intellectual god, the connecting link between forms embodied in matter beneath the region of the moon, is united with the cause that is set over matter, but not in the sense that one sex is united with another, but like an element that is gathered to itself.

Who then is the Mother of the Gods? She is the source of the intellectual and creative gods, who in their turn guide the visible gods: she is both the mother and the spouse of mighty Zeus; she came into being next to and together with the great creator; she is in control of every form of life, and the cause of all generation; she easily brings to perfection all things that are made; without pain she brings to birth, and with the father’s aid creates all things that are; she is the motherless maiden, enthroned at the side of Zeus, and in very truth is the Mother of all the Gods. For having received

1 cf. 170 D, 179 D. 2 i.e., Zeus.
3 Hence she is the counterpart of Athene, cf. 179 a.

Athene is Forethought among the intellectual gods; Cybele is Forethought among the intelligible gods and therefore superior to Athene; cf. 180 a.
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υπερκοσμίων τε θεων δεξαμένη πάντων τὰς αἰτίας ἐν έαντῇ πηγῇ τοίς νοεροῖς ἐγένετο. ταύτην δὴ τὴν θεόν οὔσαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔρως μὲν ὑπήλθεν ἱπαθής 'Αττίδος· ἐθελούσια γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐστὶν οὐ τὰ ἐνυλα μόνον εἴδη, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τὰ τούτων αἰτία. τὴν δὴ τὰ γυνόμενα καὶ φθειρόμενα σώζουσαν προμήθειαν ἐρᾶν ὁ μύθος ἐφι τῆς δημιουργικῆς τούτων αἰτίας καὶ γονίμου, καὶ κελεύειν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τίκτειν μᾶλλον καὶ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἐπε- στράφθαι καὶ συνοικεῖν, ἐπίταγμα δὲ ποιεῖσθαι, μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀμα μὲν τὸ ἐνοείδες σωτηρίου διώκουσαν, ἀμα δὲ φεύγουσαν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην νεύσαν πρὸς ἐαυτὴν τε ἐκλείσειν, οὔσαν πηγήν μὲν τῶν δημιουργικῶν θεῶν, οὐ καθελκο- μένην δὲ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν οὔδε θελγομένην οὔτω γὰρ ἐμελλέν τοῦ μέγας 'Αττίς καὶ κρείττων εἰναι δημιουργός, ἐπείπερ ἐν πάσιν ἦ πρὸς τὸ κρείττον ἐπιστροφὴ μᾶλλον ἐστὶ δραστήριος τῆς πρὸς τὸ χείρον νεύσεως. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πέμπτον σῶμα τούτω δημιουργικῶτερον ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς καὶ θειότερον, τῷ μᾶλλον ἐστράφθαι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐπεὶ τοῦ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ αἰθέρος ἦ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, ψυχῆς ἀχράντου καὶ καθαρᾶς, ὡτοῖαν τὴν Ἡρακλέους ὁ δημιουργός εξεπεμψεν, οὔδεις ἃν εἴπειν κρείττον

1 τε Hertlein suggests. 2 τὰς Hertlein suggests. 3 μὲν Hertlein suggests, γε MSS. 4 κρείττων Hertlein suggests, κρείττον MSS.

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into herself the causes of all the gods, both intelligible and supra-mundane, she became the source of the intellectual gods. Now this goddess, who is also Forethought, was inspired with a passionless love for Attis. For not only the forms embodied in matter, but to a still greater degree the causes of those forms, voluntarily serve her and obey her will. Accordingly the myth relates the following: that she who is the Providence who preserves all that is subject to generation and decay, loved their creative and generative cause, and commanded that cause to beget offspring rather in the intelligible region; and she desired that it should turn towards herself and dwell with her, but condemned it to dwell with no other thing. For only thus would that creative cause strive towards the uniformity that preserves it, and at the same time would avoid that which inclines towards matter. And she bade that cause look towards her, who is the source of the creative gods, and not be dragged down or allured into generation. For in this way was mighty Attis destined to be an even mightier creation, seeing that in all things the conversion to what is higher produces more power to effect than the inclination to what is lower. And the fifth substance itself is more creative and more divine than the elements of our earth, for this reason, that it is more nearly connected with the gods. Not that anyone, surely, would venture to assert that any substance, even if it be composed of the purest aether, is superior to soul undefiled and pure, that of Heracles for instance, as it was when the creator sent it to earth. For that soul
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tolmήσει τότε μέντοι ἢν τε καὶ ἑδόκει μᾶλλον δραστήριος, ἢ ὁτε1 αὐτὴν ἐδωκεν ἐκεῖνη σώματι. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ νῦν Ἡρακλεὶ ὅλῳ πρὸς ὅλον κε- χωρηκότι τὸν πατέρα βάρων ἢ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια καθέστηκεν ἢ πρότερον ἢν, ὅτε ἐν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις σαρκία φορῶν ἐστρέφετο. οὕτως ἐν πᾶσι δρα- στήριοι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρείττον ἀπόστασις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον στροφῆς. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ μῦθος διδάξαι παρανεάσαι φησὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν τῷ Ἀττιδὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν καὶ μήτε ἀποχωρεῖν μήτε ἐράν ἄλλης. ὁ δὲ προῆλθεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς ζωῆς κατελθὼν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχρῆν παύσασθαι ποτε καὶ στῆναι τῇ ἀπειρίαν, Κορύβας μὲν ὁ μέγας Ἡλιος, ὁ σύνθρονος τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ συνδημιουργῶν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα καὶ συμπρομπηθούμενος καὶ οὐδὲν πράττων αὐτῆς δίχα, πέθει τῶν λέοντα μηνυτὴν γενέ- σθαι. τίς δὲ ὁ λέων; αἰθωνα δήποτεν ἀκουόμεν αὐτόν, αἰτίαν τοίνυν τὴν προφεστώσαν2 τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ πυρώδους, ἢ πολεμήσειν ἐμελλέ C τῇ νύμφῃ καὶ ξηλοτυπήσειν αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀττιν κοινωνίας εἰρηται δὲ ἡμῖν τίς ἡ νῦμφη; τῇ δὲ3 δημιουργική προμηθεία τῶν ὄντων ὑπορ- γησαὶ φησιν ὁ μῦθος,4 δηλαδή τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν·

1 ὁτε Shorey, ὁτε Hertlein, MSS.
2 προφεστώσαν Hertlein suggests, προεστώσαν MSS.
3 τῇ δὲ Hertlein suggests, τῇ MSS.
4 φησιν ὁ μῦθος Hertlein suggests, φησι MSS.

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of his both seemed to be and was more effective than after it had bestowed itself on a body. Since even Heracles, now that he has returned, one and indivisible, to his father one and indivisible, more easily controls his own province than formerly when he wore the garment of flesh and walked among men. And this shows that in all things the conversion to the higher is more effective than the propensity to the lower. This is what the myth aims to teach us when it says that the Mother of the Gods exhorted Attis not to leave her or to love another. But he went further, and descended even to the lowest limits of matter. Since, however, it was necessary that his limitless course should cease and halt at last, mighty Helios the Corybant,1 who shares the Mother's throne and with her creates all things, with her has providence for all things, and apart from her does nothing, persuaded the Lion2 to reveal the matter. And who is the Lion? Verily we are told that he is flame-coloured.3 He is, therefore, the cause that subsists prior to the hot and fiery, and it was his task to contend against the nymph and to be jealous of her union with Attis. (And who the nymph is, I have said.) And the myth says that the Lion serves the creative Providence of the world, which evidently means the

1 The Corybantes were the Phrygian priests of Cybele, who at Rome were called Galli.
2 The Asiatic deities, especially Cybele, are often represented holding lions, or in cars drawn by them. cf. Catullus 63. 76, juncta juga resolvens Cybele leonibus, "Cybele unharnessed her team of lions"; she sends a lion in pursuit of Attis, cf. 168 b; Porphyry, On the Care of the Nymph 3. 2. 287 calls the sign of the lion "the dwelling of Helios."
3 Iliad 10. 23 λέοντος αἰθώνος.
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εἰτα φωράσαντα καὶ μηνυτὴν γενόμενον αὐτίων γενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ τῆς ἐκτομῆς. ή δὲ ἐκτομὴ τῆς; ἐποχὴ τῆς ἀπειρίας: ἔστη γὰρ δὴ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἐν ὀρισμένοις τοῖς εἶδεν ὑπὸ τῆς δημιουργικῆς ἐπισχεθέντα προμηθείας, οὐκ άνευ τῆς τοῦ Ἀττιδος λεγομένης παραφροσύνης, ἢ τὸ μέτριον εξισταμένη καὶ υπερβαίνουσα καὶ διὰ τούτο ὀπτέρ έξασθενοῦσα καὶ οὐκέθα αὐτής εἶναι δυνάμενη. ¹ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑποστήναι τῶν θεῶν αὐτίαν οὐκ ἄλογον. σκόπει οὖν ἀναλ- λοίωτον κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀλλοίωσιν τὸ πέμπτον θεώμενος σῶμα περὶ τοὺς φωτισμοὺς τῆς σελήνης, ἵνα λοιπὸν ὁ συνεχῶς γιγνόμενος τε καὶ ἀπολλύ- μενος κόσμος γειτνιᾷ τῷ πέμπτῳ σώματι. περὶ τοὺς φωτισμοὺς αὐτής ἀλλοίωσίν τινα καὶ πάθη συμπλήρωτονα θεωροῦμεν. οὐκ ἄτοπον οὖν καὶ τὸν Ἀττιν τούτον ἦμιθεον τινα εἶναι: βούλεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τοῦτο: μᾶλλον δὲ θεον μὲν τῷ παντὶ: πρόεισι τε γὰρ εκ τοῦ τρότου δημιουρ- γοῦ καὶ ἐπανάγεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομήν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλως ῥέπειν καὶ ² νεύειν εἰς τὴν ὕλην δοκεῖ, θεῶν μὲν ἐσχατον, ἔξαρχον δὲ τῶν θείων γενῶν ἀπάντων οὐκ ἄν ἀμάρτοι τις αὐτῶν ὑπολαβών. ἦμιθεον δὲ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μῦθος φησι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρτεπτους αὐτοῦ θεοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος διαφοράν: δορυφο- ροῦσι γὰρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τῆς Μητρὸς δοθέντες οἱ Κορύβαντες, αἱ τρεῖς ἄρχικαὶ τῶν μετὰ θεῶν κρεισσόνων γενῶν ὑποστάσεις. ἀρχεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν

¹ A finite verb e.g. φαίνεται is needed to complete the construction                          ² καὶ Friederich, πέπεικε Hertlein, MSS.

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Mother of the Gods. Then it says that by detecting and revealing the truth, he caused the youth’s castration. What is the meaning of this castration? It is the checking of the unlimited. For now was generation confined within definite forms checked by creative Providence. And this would not have happened without the so-called madness of Attis, which overstepped and transgressed due measure, and thereby made him become weak so that he had no control over himself. And it is not surprising that this should come to pass, when we have to do with the cause that ranks lowest among the gods. For consider the fifth substance, which is subject to no change of any sort, in the region of the light of the moon: I mean where our world of continuous generation and decay borders on the fifth substance. We perceive that in the region of her light it seems to undergo certain alterations and to be affected by external influences. Therefore it is not contradictory to suppose that our Attis also is a sort of demigod—for that is actually the meaning of the myth—or rather for the universe he is wholly god, for he proceeds from the third creator, and after his castration is led upwards again to the Mother of the Gods. But though he seems to lean and incline towards matter, one would not be mistaken in supposing that, though he is the lowest in order of the gods, nevertheless he is the leader of all the tribes of divine beings. But the myth calls him a demigod to indicate the difference between him and the unchanging gods. He is attended by the Corybants who are assigned to him by the Mother; they are the three leading personalities of the higher races.

1 cf. Oration 4. 145 c.
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λεόντων, οὐ τὴν ἐνθερμον οὐςίαν καὶ πυρώδη κατανειμάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ σφῶν ἐξάρχου λέοντος αἵτιοι τῷ πυρὶ μὲν πρώτως, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐνθένδε θερμότητος ἐνεργείας τε κινητικῆς αἵτιοι καὶ τοῖς Ἀλλοις εἰσὶ σωτηρίας: περίκειται δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀντὶ τιάρας, ἐκείθεν ὤσπερ ἐπὶ γῆν ὀρμώμενος.

Οὔτος ὁ μέγας ἥμιν θεὸς "Ἀττις ἐστὶν" αὐταὶ τοῦ ἐπιλέως "Ἀττιδος αἱ θηρνούμεναι τέως φυγαὶ καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἀφανισμοὶ καὶ αἱ δύσεις αἱ κατὰ τὸ ἀντρον. τεκμήρια δὲ ἐστω μοι τοῦτον ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ὃ γίνεται. τέμνεσθαι γὰρ φασὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δένδρον καθ’ ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ ἦλιος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ἰσημερινῆς ἀψίδος ἐρχεται· εἴθ’ ἔξης περισαλπισμὸς παραλαμβάνεται· τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τέμνεται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλου· ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰλάρια, φασὶ, καὶ ἔρται. ὅτι μὲν οὐν στάσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ή θωμουμένη παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκτομῆ, πρόδηλον ἔξ ὅν ἰμικά ο μέγας "Ηλιος τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ψάυσας κύκλου, ὡν τὸ μάλιστα ὀρισμένον ἐστὶν: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἱσον ὀρισμένον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀνίσον ἀπειρόν τε καὶ ἀδιεξήλητον κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα τὸ δένδρον τεμνεται· εἴθ’ ἔξης γίνεται τὰ λοιπά, τὰ

1 A finite verb is needed to complete the construction. For the anacoluthon cf. 167 d.

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that are next in order to the gods. Also Attis rules over the lions, who together with the Lion, who is their leader, have chosen for themselves hot and fiery substance, and so are, first and foremost, the cause of fire. And through the heat derived from fire they are the causes of motive force and of preservation for all other things that exist. And Attis encircles the heavens like a tiara, and thence sets out as though to descend to earth.

This, then, is our mighty god Attis. This explains his once lamented flight and concealment and disappearance and descent into the cave. In proof of this let me cite the time of year at which it happens. For we are told that the sacred tree 1 is felled on the day when the sun reaches the height of the equinox. 2 Thereupon the trumpets are sounded. 3 / And on the third day the sacred and unspeakable member of the god Gallus is severed. 4 Next comes, they say, the Hilaria 5 and the festival. And that this castration, so much discussed by the crowd, is really the halting of his unlimited course, is evident from what happens directly mighty Helios touches the cycle of the equinox, where the bounds are most clearly defined. (For the even is bounded, but the uneven is without bounds, and there is no way through or out of it.) At that time then, precisely, according to the account we have, the sacred tree is felled. Thereupon, in

1 A pine sacred to Attis was felled on March 22nd; cf. Frazer, Attis, Adonis and Osiris, p. 222.
2 cf. 171 c, 175 a.
3 March 23rd.
4 March 24th was the date of the castration of the Galli, the priests of Attis.
5 On March 25th the resurrection of Attis and the freeing of our souls from generation (γένεσις) was celebrated by the feast of the Hilaria.
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μὲν διὰ τοὺς μυστικοὺς καὶ κρυφίους θεσμοὺς, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ \(^{1}\) ῥηθῆναι πάσι δυναμένους. ἡ δὲ ἐκτομή τοῦ δένδρου, τούτῳ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἱστορίᾳ προσήκει τῇ περὶ τοῦ Γάλλου, οὔδεν δὲ τοῖς μυστηρίοις, οἷς παραλαμβάνεται, διδασκόντων ἡμᾶς οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν συμβολικῶς, ὅτι χρῆ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ γῆς δρεψαμένους, ἀρετὴν μετὰ εὐσεβείας, ἀπενεγκεῖν τῇ θεῷ, σύμβολον τῆς ἐνταῦθα χρηστῆς πολιτείας ἐσόμενον. τὸ γὰρ τοι δένδρον ἐκ γῆς μὲν φύσει, σπείρει δὲ ὁσπέρ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν τῇ ἐστὶ καλὸν καὶ σκιὰν παρασχεῖν ἐν πυγεὶ, ἤθη δὲ καὶ καρπὸν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ προβαλεῖν καὶ χαρίσασθαι οὐτῶς αὐτῷ πολὺ τί γε τοῦ γονίμου περίεστιν. ἥμιν οὖν ὁ θεσμὸς παρακελεύεται, τοῖς φύσει μὲν οὐρανοῖς, εἰς γῆν δὲ ἐνεχθεῖσιν, ἀρετὴν μετὰ εὐσεβείας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ γῆ πολιτείας ἀμησαμένους παρὰ τὴν προγονικῆν καὶ ζωογόνου σπείρειν θεοῦ.

Εὐθύς οὖν ἡ σάλπηριξ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἐνδίδωσι τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῷ Ἀττίδι καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι ποτὲ οὐρανόθεν ἔπτηρον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔπεσομεν. μετὰ δὴ τὸ σύμβολον τούτῳ, ὅτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀττις ὑστησὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς ἐκτομῆς, ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύουσιν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπειρίαν καὶ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἧγεμόνας, \(^{2}\) ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὀρισμένον καὶ ἐνοείδες καὶ, εἰπέρ οἷον τῇ ἐστὶν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἀνατρέχειν ὁσπέρ γενομένου πάντως ἐπεσθαι χρῆ τὰ Ἰλαρία. τί γὰρ εὐθυμότερον, τί δὲ ἰλαρώτερον γένοιτο ἄν ψυχῆς ἀπειρίαν μὲν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ

1 καὶ διὰ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.
2 ἡγεμόνας Shorey, cf. 170 a, b, ἡμῶν Hertlein, MSS. 472
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their proper order, all the other ceremonies take place. Some of them are celebrated with the secret ritual of the Mysteries, but others by a ritual that can be told to all. For instance, the cutting of the tree belongs to the story of Gallus and not to the Mysteries at all, but it has been taken over by them, I think because the gods wished to teach us, in symbolic fashion, that we must pluck the fairest fruits from the earth, namely, virtue and piety, and offer them to the goddess to be the symbol of our well-ordered constitution here on earth. For the tree grows from the soil, but it strives upwards as though to reach the upper air, and it is fair to behold and gives us shade in the heat, and casts before us and bestows on us its fruits as a boon; such is its superabundance of generative life. Accordingly the ritual enjoins on us, who by nature belong to the heavens but have fallen to earth, to reap the harvest of our constitution here on earth, namely, virtue and piety, and then strive upwards to the goddess of our forefathers, to her who is the principle of all life.

Therefore, immediately after the castration, the trumpet sounds the recall for Attis and for all of us who once flew down from heaven and fell to earth. And after this signal, when King Attis stays his limitless course by his castration, the god bids us also root out the unlimited in ourselves and imitate the gods our leaders and hasten back to the defined and uniform, and, if it be possible, to the One itself.

After this, the Hilaria must by all means follow. For what could be more blessed, what more joyful than a soul which has escaped from limitlessness
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κλύδωνα διαφυγούσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναχθείσης; ὡν ἐνα καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ὄντα περιεδειπνημὸς ἢ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ βαδίζοντα πρόσω πλέον ἢ χρήν, πρὸς ἐαυτὴν δὲ ἐπέστρεψε, στήσαι τὴν ἀπειρίαν προστάξασα.

Καὶ μὴ τις ύπολάβῃ με λέγειν, ὅσ ταῦτα ἐπτράχθη ποτὲ καὶ γέγονεν, ὡσπερ οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ὥς τι ποιήσουσιν, ἢ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀμαρτήματα διορθομένων. ἄλλα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ὄντων ἄεὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἢτοι τῶν θεῶν υφηγουμένων ἡ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διερευνώμενοι, βέλτιον δὲ ἔσως εἴπειν ξητοῦντες ὑφ’ ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπείτα εὐρόντες ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὰς 1 μύθοις παραδόξοις, ὡς διὰ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπεμφαίνοντος τὸ πλάσμα φωραθέν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας προτρέψῃ, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις ἀρκούσης οἴμαι τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ διὰ τῶν συμβόλων μόνων ωφελείας, τοῖς δὲ περιττοῖς κατὰ τὴν φρονήσιν οὕτως μόνως ἐσομένης ὑφελεί- μου τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀληθείας, εἰ τις ἐξετάζων αὐτὴν υφ’ ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐροὶ καὶ λάβοι, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰνηγμάτων ὑπομνημά信息公开，ὃτι χρή τι περὶ αὐτῶν ξητεῖν, ἐς τέλος δὲ καὶ ὡσπερ κορυφῆν τοῦ πράγματος διὰ τῆς σκέψεως εὐρῶν πορευθεὶν, οὐκ

1 αὐτὰς Hertlein suggests, αὐτὰ MSS.
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and generation and inward storm, and has been translated up to the very gods? And Attis himself was such a one, and the Mother of the Gods by no means allowed him to advance unregarded further than was permitted: nay, she made him turn towards herself, and commanded him to set a limit to his limitless course.

But let no one suppose my meaning to be that this was ever done or happened in a way that implies that the gods themselves are ignorant of what they intend to do, or that they have to correct their own errors. But our ancestors in every case tried to trace the original meanings of things, whether with the guidance of the gods or independently—though perhaps it would be better to say that they sought for them under the leadership of the gods—then when they had discovered those meanings they clothed them in paradoxical myths. This was in order that, by means of the paradox and the incongruity, the fiction might be detected and we might be induced to search out the truth. Now I think ordinary men derive benefit enough from the irrational myth which instructs them through symbols alone. But those who are more highly endowed with wisdom will find the truth about the gods helpful; though only on condition that such a man examine and discover and comprehend it under the leadership of the gods, and if by such riddles as these he is reminded that he must search out their meaning, and so attains to the goal and summit of his quest¹ through his own researches; he must not

¹ 169 d–170 c is a digression on the value of myths, which the wise man is not to accept without an allegorising interpretation; cf. Oration 7. 216 c.
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aïdóì kai πίστει μᾶλλον ἀλλοτρίας δόξης ἢ τῇ σφετέρᾳ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείᾳ.

Τῇ οὖν εἶναι φαμεν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ; κατανοήσαντες ἄχρι τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐ τὸ νοητὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ταῦτα σώματα τῆς ἀπάθους ὤντα καὶ θείας μερίδος, ἄχρι τοῦτον θεοῦν ἐνόμισαν ἀκραίφνεις εἶναι τῇ γονίμῳ δὲ τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας τῶν τῆς παρυποστάσθην, ἐξ οἴσιον συμπροελθούσης τῆς ὑλής τοῖς θεοῖς, παρ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὑπέρτληρες αὐτῶν τῆς γονίμου καὶ δημουργικῆς αἰτίας ἡ τῶν ὄντων προμήθεια συνουσιωμένη τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξ οἴσιον, καὶ σύνθωκος μὲν οὕσα τῷ βασιλείᾳ Δύ, πηγὴ δὲ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄξων καὶ ἄγονον καὶ σκύβαλον καὶ τῶν ὄντων, οἶνον ἀν εἴποι τις, ἀποκάθαρμα καὶ τρύγα καὶ ὑποσταθμὴν διὰ τῆς τελευταίας αἰτίας τῶν θεῶν, εἰς ἣν αἰ πάντων οὐσία τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελευτῶσιν, ἐκόσμησε τε καὶ διωρθῶσατο καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μετέστησεν.

Ὁ γὰρ Ἀττίς οὕτως ἔχων τὴν κατάστικτον τοῖς άστροις τιάραν εὐδηλὸν ὅτι τὰς πάντων τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ὁρωμένας λήξεις ἀρχᾶς ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας· ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ἀκραίφνεις καὶ καθάρον ἢν ἄχρι γαλαξίουν περὶ τοῦτον δὲ ἣδη τῶν τόπων μεγυμένου πρὸς τὸ

1 τελευταίας αἰτίας Hertlein suggests, τελευταίας MSS.
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to be modest and put faith in the opinions of others rather than in his own mental powers.

What shall I say now by way of summary? Because men observed that, as far as the fifth substance, not only the intelligible world but also the visible bodies of our world must be classed as unaffected by externals and divine, they believed that, as far as the fifth substance, the gods are uncompounded. And when by means of that generative substance the visible gods came into being, and, from everlasting, matter was produced along with those gods, from them and through their agency, by reason of the superabundance in them of the generative and creative principle; then the Providence of the world, she who from everlasting is of the same essential nature as the gods, she who is enthroned by the side of King Zeus, and moreover is the source of the intellectual gods, set in order and corrected and changed for the better all that seemed lifeless and barren, the refuse and so to speak offscourings of things, their dregs and sediment: and this she did by means of the last cause\(^1\) derived from the gods, in which the substances of all the gods come to an end.

For it is evident that Attis of whom I speak, who wears the tiara set with stars, took for the foundation of his own dominion the functions of every god as we see them applied to the visible world. And in his case all is undefiled and pure as far as the Milky Way. But, at this very point, that which

\(^1\) In 167 D Attis was identified with the light of the moon; cf. Oration 4. 150 A; where the moon is called the lowest of the spheres, who gives form to the world of matter that lies below her; cf. Sallust, On the Gods and the World 4. 14. 23; where Attis is called the creator of our world.
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ἀπαθεῖς τοῦ παθητοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑλῆς παρυφισταμένης ἐκείθεν, ἢ πρὸς ταύτην κοινωνία κατάβασις ἐστιν εἰς τὸ ἀντρον, οὐκ ἀκουσίως μὲν γενομένη τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων Μητρὶ, λεγομένη δὲ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι. φύσει γὰρ ἐν κρείττονι τοὺς θεοὺς ὄντας οὐκ ἐκείθεν ἔπὶ τάδε καθέλκειν ἑθέλει τὰ βελτίω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν κρείττονων συγκαταβάσεως καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἁμείνονα καὶ θεοφιλεστέραν λήξιν. οὗτοι τοι καὶ τὸν Ἀττίν οὐ κατεχθραίνουσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἡ Μήτηρ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἀγανακτεῖ μὲν οὐκέτι, ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὴν συγκατάβασιν, ὡς κρείττων ὄν καὶ θεοίς ἔδωκεν ἐαυτὸν τῷ καταδεστέρῳ: στήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν πρόοδον καὶ τὸ ἀκόσμητον τοῦτο κοσμήσαντα διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἰσημερινὸν κύκλον συμπαθείας, ἦν ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος τῆς ὀρισμένης κινήσεως τὸ τελείοτατον κυβερνά μέτρον, ἐπανάγει πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡ θεοὶ ἀσμένως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔχει παρ᾽ ἑαυτῇ. καὶ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν, ὅτε μὴ ταῦτα τοῦτον εἴχε τὸν τρόπον, ὅπερ νῦν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ μὲν Ἀττίς ἐστὶν ὑπουργὸς τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ ἦνοχος, ἀεὶ δὲ ὀργὰ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀποτέμνεται τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς ὀρισμένης τῶν εἴδων αὐτίας. ἐπαναγόμενος δὲ ὅσπερ ἐκ γῆς τῶν ἄρχαίων αὖθις λέγεται δυναστεύειν σκῆπτρων, ἐκπεσῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐ̯-

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is troubled by passion begins to mingle with the passionless, and from that union matter begins to subsist. And so the association of Attis with matter is the descent into the cave, nor did this take place against the will of the gods and the Mother of the Gods, though the myth says that it was against their will. For by their nature the gods dwell in a higher world, and the higher powers do not desire to drag them hence down to our world: rather through the condescension of the higher they desire to lead the things of our earth upwards to a higher plane more favoured by the gods. And in fact the myth does not say that the Mother of the Gods was hostile to Attis after his castration: but it says that though she is no longer angry, she was angry at the time on account of his condescension, in that he who was a higher being and a god had given himself to that which was inferior. But when, after staying his limitless progress, he has set in order the chaos of our world through his sympathy with the cycle of the equinox, where mighty Helios controls the most perfect symmetry of his motion within due limits, then the goddess gladly leads him upwards to herself, or rather keeps him by her side. And never did this happen save in the manner that it happens now; but forever is Attis the servant and charioteer of the Mother; forever he yearns passionately towards generation; and forever he cuts short his unlimited course through the cause whose limits are fixed, even the cause of the forms. In like manner the myth says that he is led upwards as though from our earth, and again resumes his ancient sceptre and dominion: not that he ever lost it, or ever loses it now, but the myth says that he lost it on account of
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damôs oude ékpiptovn, ékpeșeĩ̂n dé aútôv leγó-
meνos diá tîn prôs tò patheînou súmumîxîn.

'Allê' ékeînou îsow aξîon prôsăporîsâi: dîttîs
γâr ōûsîs tîs îsîmêriaîs, ou tîn en taîs χêlaiûs,
tîn de en tî krîfî prôtipôsî. tîs oûn aîtîa
toûtov, fânerov dîmîusheîn. épeîdê γâr ħîmîn ó
ēlîos ârketai tòte plheîaîzîen âpô tîs îsîmêriaîs,
aûξoîînês õîmai tîs ħîmêras, êdoxeîn õûtov ò kaîròs
ârmodiôteros. êξw γâr tîs aîtîas, ὦ ï̃pheîs tòis
thèoîs eînai tò fîos súndromou, êcheîn oîkeîos πiș-
teveteû toîs âfeîhînai tîs ħeνîsèswos spîûdousî
tás ânaγγwûûs âkîtînas ħîlîou. sçôpei de ênâr-
yôs: êîlkeî méîn âpô tîs gîhîs pànta kâi prôka-
leîtai1 kâi bîlåstânîen poïeî tî ðîvîpìrîdî kâi
bâmâsticî thêrîmî, diakrînîw oîmai prôs âkraîn
leptôthta tâ sômata, kâî tâ ðîsî fûseî fêrômêna
kâtô kouîfîxei. tâ ðî tòiâuta tòû ħafanon
auîtoû dînâmewîn poînèteûn têkmêria. ò γâr en
toîs sômâsî dià tîs sômatoteiûûs thêrmîs õû tô
 tôto apêr̄gaîzîmenos pîwos ou dià tîs âfanoûs kâi
âsîmâtoû pànta kâi thêias kâi katharâs en taîs
âktîsîn îðrmênîs oûsîas êîlxeî kâi ânâxeî tâs
eûtûkheîcî ðùcîas; oûkôoun êpeîdê pêîhîwîn oîkeîon
mên toîs thêois tî fîos tûto kâî toîs ânaxîhînai
spîûdousîn, âûxeîtaî de en tî pàr hîmîn kôsîw
 tô toîoûtov, òste eînai tîn ħîmêran meîcî tîs
vûkîcîs, 'Hlîwîn tûî bâsîlwîs épîporînêesbî tûn
kriûn ârîzamênu: ðêdeîktau ðî kâi 2 ânaγγwûûn

1 prokaleîtaî Hertlein suggests, prôskaleîtaî MSS.
2 ðî kâî Hertlein suggests, ðê kâî V, kâî MSS.

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his union with that which is subject to passion and change.

But perhaps it is worth while to raise the following question also. There are two equinoxes, but men pay more honour to the equinox in the sign of Capricorn than to that in the sign of Cancer. Surely the reason for this is evident. Since the sun begins to approach us immediately after the spring equinox,—for I need not say that then the days begin to lengthen,—this seemed the more agreeable season. For apart from the explanation which says that light accompanies the gods, we must believe that the uplifting rays of the sun are nearly akin to those who yearn to be set free from generation. Consider it clearly: the sun, by his vivifying and marvellous heat, draws up all things from the earth and calls them forth and makes them grow; and he separates, I think, all corporeal things to the utmost degree of tenuity, and makes things weigh light that naturally have a tendency to sink. We ought then to make these visible things proofs of his unseen powers. For if among corporeal things he can bring this about through his material heat, how should he not draw and lead upwards the souls of the blessed by the agency of the invisible, wholly immaterial, divine and pure substance which resides in his rays? We have seen then that this light is nearly akin to the god, and to those who yearn to mount upwards, and moreover, that this light increases in our world, so that when Helios begins to enter the sign of Capricorn the day becomes longer than the night. It

1 Porphyry, On the Cave of the Nymph 22, says that Cancer and Capricorn are the two gates of the sun; and that souls descend through Cancer and rise aloft through Capricorn.

2 This seems to identify Attis with the sun’s rays.

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φύσει τὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς φανερὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τῆς ἀφανοῦς, ύφ’ ἂς παμπληθεῖς ἀνήχθησαν ψυχαὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀκολουθῆσασαι τῇ φανοτάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα ήλιοειδεί. τὴν γὰρ τοιαύτην τῶν ὁμμάτων αἴσθησιν οὐκ ἀγαπητὴν μόνον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς σοφίαν ὁδηγὸν ὁ δαίμονιος ἀνύμνησε Πλάτων. ¹ εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρρήτου μνυσταγώγιας ἄγαίμην, ἢν ὁ Χαλδαῖος περὶ τὸν ἑπτάκτινα θεοῦ ἐβάκχευσεν, ἀνάγων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς, ἄγνωστα ἐρῶ, καὶ μάλα γε ἄγνωστα τῷ συρφετῷ, θεουργοῖς δὲ τοῖς μακαρίοις γνώριμα: διόπερ αὕτα σωτήρω ταῦτα.

"Ὅπερ δὲ ἐλεγον, ὅτι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ἄλογως ὑποληπτέου, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα μετὰ εἰκότος καὶ ἀληθοῦς λόγου παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ θεσμῷ πρωτεθείσθαι, σημεῖον δὴ ² τούτω, ὅτι τὸν ἰσημερίδυν κύκλον ἡ θεοὶ αὐτὴ ³ κατενεύματο. τελεῖται γὰρ περὶ τὸν ξυγὸν Δηοί καὶ Κόρη τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ

¹ Phaedrus 250 D, Timaeus 47 A, Republic 507-508.
² δὴ Shorey, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
³ αὐτὴ Wright, αὐτὴ MSS., Hertlein.
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has also been demonstrated that the god's rays are by nature uplifting; and this is due to his energy, both visible and invisible, by which very many souls have been lifted up out of the region of the senses, because they were guided by that sense which is clearest of all and most nearly like the sun. For when with our eyes we perceive the sun's light, not only is it welcome and useful for our lives, but also, as the divine Plato said when he sang its praises, it is our guide to wisdom. And if I should also touch on the secret teaching of the Mysteries in which the Chaldean,¹ divinely frenzied, celebrated the God of the Seven Rays, that god through whom he lifts up the souls of men, I should be saying what is unintelligible, yea wholly unintelligible to the common herd, but familiar to the happy theurgists.² And so I will for the present be silent on that subject.

I was saying that we ought not to suppose that the ancients appointed the season of the rites irrationally, but rather as far as possible with plausible and true grounds of reason; and indeed a proof of this is that the goddess herself chose as her province the cycle of the equinox. For the most holy and secret Mysteries of Deo and the Maiden³ are celebrated when the

¹ Chaldean astrology and the Chaldean oracles are often cited with respect by the Neo-Platonists; for allusions to their worship of the Seven-rayed Mithras (Helios) cf. Damascius 294 and Proclus on Timaeus 1. 11.
² e.g. Iamblichus and especially Maximus of Ephesus who is a typical theurgist of the fourth century A.D. and was supposed to work miracles.
³ The Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone; the Lesser were celebrated in February, the greater in September.

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ἀπορρητα μυστήρια. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως γίνεται. χρὴ γὰρ καὶ ἀπίστωτα τῷ θεῷ τελεσθῆναι πάλιν, ἕνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ σκοτεινῆς δυσχερῆς πάθωμεν ἐπικρατοῦσῃ δυνάμεως. δὲ γοῦν Ἀθηναίοι τῇ Δημοτελοῦσι τὰ μυστήρια, εν αὐτῷ μὲν τῷ κρίῳ τὰ μικρὰ, φασί, μυστήρια, τὰ μεγάλα δὲ περὶ τὰς χηλὰς ὄντος ἦλιου, δι’ ἃς ἐναγχος ἔφην αἴτιας. μεγάλα δὲ ὑνωμάσθαι καὶ μικρὰ νομίζω καὶ ἄλλων ἔνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦτον ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἥπερ προσιόντος· διόπερ ἐν τούτοις ὅσον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν μόνον. ἄτε δὴ καὶ πάροντος τοῦ σωτηρὸς καὶ ἀναγωγοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ προτέλεια κατεβάλλοντο τῆς τελετῆς· εἶτα μικρὸν ύστερον ἀγνείαι συνεχεῖς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἁγιστείαι. ἀπίστωτος δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀντίχθονα ζώνην, καὶ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῷ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐπιτελεῖται τῶν μυστηρίων. ὥρα δὲ· ὅσπερ ἐνταῦθα τῷ τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον ἀποτελεῖται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις οἱ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἀπτόμενοι παναγεῖς εἰς, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐξάρχων ἱεροφάντης ἀπέστραπται πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν, ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἑπὶ ἀπειρον προόδου, τῆς ὁρισμένης δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ μενούσης καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνι συνεχομένης οὐσίας ῥημάτου τε καὶ καθαράς. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ὑπόχρη τοσαύτα.

Δεῖπτεται δὴ λοιπὸν, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἁγιστείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγνείας διεξελθεῖν, ἵνα καὶ

1 ἱερέων Hertlein suggests, ἱερῶν MSS.
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sun is in the sign of Libra, and this is quite natural. For when the gods depart we must consecrate ourselves afresh, so that we may suffer no harm from the godless power of darkness that now begins to get the upper hand. At any rate the Athenians celebrate the Mysteries of Deo twice in the year, the Lesser Mysteries as they call them in the sign of Capricorn, and the Great Mysteries when the sun is in the sign of Cancer, and this for the reason that I have just mentioned. And I think that these Mysteries are called Great and Lesser for several reasons, but especially, as is natural, they are called great when the god departs rather than when he approaches; and so the Lesser are celebrated only by way of reminder.¹ I mean that when the saving and uplifting god approaches, the preliminary rites of the Mysteries take place. Then a little later follow the rites of purification, one after another, and the consecration of the priests. Then when the god departs to the antipodes, the most important ceremonies of the Mysteries are performed, for our protection and salvation. And observe the following: As in the festival of the Mother the instrument of generation is severed, so too with the Athenians, those who take part in the secret rites are wholly chaste and their leader the hierophant forsweares generation; because he must not have aught to do with the progress to the unlimited, but only with the substance whose bounds are fixed, so that it abides for ever and is contained in the One, stainless and pure. On this subject I have said enough.

It only remains now to speak, as is fitting, about the sacred rite itself, and the purification, so that from

¹ Plato, Gorgias 497 c; Plutarch, Demetrius 900 b.
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ἐντεύθεν λάβωμεν εἰς τὴν υπόθεσιν εἰ τι συμβάλλεται. γελοίον δὲ αὐτίκα τούς πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνο φαίνεται κρεῶν μὲν ἀπτεσθαί δίδωσιν ὁ ἱερὸς νόμος, ἀπαγορεῦει δὲ τῶν σπερμάτων. οὐκ ἄψυχα μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταύτα δὲ ἐμψυχα; οὐ καθαρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταύτα δὲ αἵματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὐκ εὑχερῶν ὑψεῖ τε καὶ ἀκοῇ πεπληρωμένα; οὐ, τὸ μέγιστον, ἐκείνοις μὲν πρόσετι τὸ μηδένα ἐκ τῆς ἐδωδῆς ἀδικεῖσθαι, τούτοις δὲ τὸ καταθύεσθαι καὶ κατασφάττεσθαι τὰ ξῶα ἀλγοῦντά γε, ὥς εἰκός, καὶ τρυχόμενα; ταύτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν περιττῶν εἴποιεν ἀν ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἦδη κωμῳδοῦσι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ δυσσεβέστατοι. τὰ μὲν ὀρμενὰ φασιν ἐσθίεσθαι τῶν λαχάνων, παραίτευσθαι δὲ τὰς ρίζας, ὁσπερ γογγυλίδας. καὶ οὕκα μὲν ἐσθίεσθαι φασι, ροιάς δὲ οὐκέτι καὶ μήλα πρὸς τούτοις. ταύτα ἀκηκοῶς μινυριζόντων πολλῶν πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰρηκός 1 προτερον ἐνικα ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκ πάντων πολλὴν εἰσεσθαί τοῖς δεσπόταις θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν ἅπασι, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάριν, ὅτι μὲ μὴ περιείδεν ὡσπερ ἐν σκότῳ πλανώμενον, ἀλλὰ μοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόψασθαι οὕτω κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ψυχικὰς ἀλόγους ὀρμᾶς καὶ κινήσεις τῇ νοερᾷ καὶ προὐφεστώσῃ 2 τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν αἰτία τὰ περιττὰ καὶ μάταια. ἐπὶ νοῦν δὲ ἐδωκεν αὕτη λόγους τινὰς ἅπώς οὐκ ἀπάδοντας πάντη τῆς ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀληθούς ἡμᾶς καὶ

1 αὐτὸς εἰρηκός Hertlein suggests, εἰρηκός MSS.
2 προὐφεστώσῃ Hertlein suggests, προὐφεστώσῃ MSS.

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these also I may borrow whatever contributes to my argument. For example, everyone thinks that the following is ridiculous. The sacred ordinance allows men to eat meat, but it forbids them to eat grains and fruits. What, say they, are not the latter lifeless, whereas the former was once possessed of life? Are not fruits pure, whereas meat is full of blood and of much else that offends eye and ear? But most important of all is it not the case that, when one eats fruit nothing is hurt, while the eating of meat involves the sacrifice and slaughter of animals who naturally suffer pain and torment? So would say many even of the wisest. But the following ordinance is ridiculed by the most impious of mankind also. They observe that whereas vegetables that grow upwards can be eaten, roots are forbidden, turnips, for instance; and they point out that figs are allowed, but not pomegranates or apples either. I have often heard many men saying this in whispers, and I too in former days have said the same, but now it seems that I alone of all men am bound to be deeply grateful to the ruling gods, to all of them, surely, but above all the rest to the Mother of the Gods. For all things am I grateful to her, and for this among the rest, that she did not disregard me when I wandered as it were in darkness.¹ For first she bade me cut off no part indeed of my body, but by the aid of the intelligible cause ² that subsists prior to our souls, all that was superfluous and vain in the impulses and motions of my own soul. And that cause gave me, to aid my understanding, certain beliefs which are perhaps not wholly out of harmony

¹ cf. Oration 4. 131 a. ² Attis.
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εὐαγόρους ἐπιστήμης. ἀλλ' ἔωικα γάρ, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔχων ὁ τι φῶ, κύκλω περιτρέχειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πάρεστι μὲν καὶ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐπίστωτι σαφεῖς καὶ τη- λαυγείς αἰτίαι ἀποδοῦναι, τοῦ χάριν ἡμῖν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ προσφέρεσθαι ταῦτα, ὥν ὁ θείος εἰργεὶ θεσμός. καὶ τοιῆσον δὲ ἅντο μικρὸν ὑστεροῦν· ἄμεινον δὲ νῦν ὡσπερ τύπους τινὰς προθεῖναι καὶ κανόνας, οἷς ἐπόμενοι, κἂν τὶ πολλὰκις ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς παρέλθῃ τὸν λόγον, ἐξομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίναι.

Προσήκει δε πρῶτον ὑπομήνησαι διὰ βραχέων, τίνα τε ἐφαμεν εἶναι τὸν Ἀττιν καὶ τὶ τὴν ἐκ- τομῆν, τίνος τε εἶναι σύµβολα τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἄχρι τῶν Ἰλαρίων γυνόμενα καὶ τὶ βούλεσθαι τὴν ἀγνείαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀττις ἐλέγετο αἰτία τις οὕσα καὶ θεος, ὁ προσεχὼς δημιουργῶν τὸν ἐνυλον κόσμου, ὃς μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων κατιῶν ἵσταται ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλίου δημιουργικῆς κινήσεως, όταν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρως ὀρισμένης τοῦ παντὸς ὁ θεὸς γένηται περιφερείας, ἥ τῆς ἰσημερίας τοῦνομά ἐστι κατὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐκτομὴν δὲ ἑλέγομεν εἶναι τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν ἐποχήν, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλῳς ἡ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἀρχηγικωτέρας αἰτίας ἀνακλήσεως τε καὶ ἀναδύσεως συμβαίνειν. αὐτὴς δὲ τῆς ἀγνείας φαμὲν τοῦ σκόπον ἀνοδον τῶν ψυχῶν.

Οὐκοῦν οὖν ἔα πρῶτον σιτείσθαι τὰ κατὰ γῆς δυόμενα σπέρματα· ἐσχατον μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἡ γῆ. ἔνταθα δὲ φησίν ἀπελαθέντα καὶ Πλάτων τὰ κακὰ στρέφεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τῶν λογίων οἱ θεοὶ

1 δὲ Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.
2 ἦ Hertlein suggests, οὖ MSS.
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with the true and sacred knowledge of the gods. But it looks as though, not knowing what to say next, I were turning round in a circle. I can, however, give clear and manifest reasons in every single case why we are not allowed to eat this food which is forbidden by the sacred ordinance, and presently I will do this. But for the moment it is better to bring forward certain forms, so to speak, and regulations which we must observe in order to be able to decide about these matters, though perhaps, owing to my haste, my argument may pass some evidence by.

First I had better remind you in a few words who I said Attis is; and what his castration means; and what is symbolised by the ceremonies that occur between the castration and the Hilaria; and what is meant by the rite of purification. Attis then was declared to be an original cause and a god, the direct creator of the material world, who descends to the lowest limits and is checked by the creative motion of the sun so soon as that god reaches the exactly limited circuit of the universe, which is called the equinox because of its effect in equalising night and day.¹ And I said that the castration meant the checking of limitlessness, which could only be brought about through the summons and resurrection of Attis to the more venerable and commanding causes. And I said that the end and aim of the rite of purification is the ascent of our souls.

For this reason then the ordinance forbids us first to eat those fruits that grow downwards in the earth. For the earth is the last and lowest of things. And Plato also says² that evil, exiled from the gods,

¹ cf. 168 d–169 A, 171 c.
² Theaetetus 176 A; cf. Oration 2. 90 A.
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σκύβαλον αὕτω πολλαχοὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ φεύγειν ἐντεῦθεν παρακελεύονται.1 πρῶτον οὖν ἡ ξωγογονος καὶ προμηθὴς θεος οὐδὲ ἀχρὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων τροφῆς ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς κατὰ γῆς δυνομένοις χρησθαι, παραινοῦσα γε πρὸς τὸν οὗρανον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ύπὲρ τὸν οὗρανον βλέπειν. ενὶ τινὲς κέχρηνται σπέρματι, τοῖς λοβοῖς, οὐ σπέρμα μᾶλλον ἢ λάχανον αὕτω νομίζοντες εἶναι τῷ πεφυκέναι πῶς ἀναφερὲς καὶ ὅρθον καὶ οὐδὲ ἐρρίζωσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐρρίζωται δὲ ὡσπερ ἔκ δένδρων κιττοῦ τινος ἢ καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸς ἦρτηται καὶ καλάμης.2 ἀπηγόρευται μὲν οὖν ἡμῶν σπέρματι χρησθαι διὰ τούτο φυτῶν, ἐπιτέτραπται δὲ χρησθαι καρποῖς καὶ λαχάνοις, οὐ τοῖς χαμαίζηλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ γῆς αἱρομένοις ἀνω μετεώροις. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τῆς γογγυλίδος τὸ μὲν γεωχαρὲς ὡς χθόνιον ἐπιτάττει παραίτεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀναδυόμενον ἄνω καὶ εἰς υψὸς αἱρόμενον ὡς αὕτῳ τούτῳ καθαρὸν τυγχάνον δίδωσι προσενέγκασθαι. τῶν γοῦν λαχάνων ὀρμένοι μὲν συγχωρεῖ χρησθαι, ρίζαις δὲ ἀπαγορεύει καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐντρεφομέναις καὶ συμπαθοῦσαις τῇ γῇ. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν δένδρων μῆλα μὲν ὡς ἱερὰ καὶ χρυσὰ καὶ ἄρρητων ἄθλων καὶ τελεστικῶν εἰκόνας καταφθείρειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ καταναλίσκειν, ἄξιά γε ὡντα τῶν ἀρχετύπων χάριν τού

1 παρακελεύονται Wyttenbach, πολλαχοὶ παρακελεύονται Hertlein, MSS.
2 The construction of καὶ καλάμης is not clear; Petavius suspects corruption or omission.

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now moves on earth; and in the oracles the gods often call the earth refuse, and exhort us to escape thence. And so, in the first place, the life-generating god who is our providence does not allow us to use to nourish our bodies fruits that grow under the earth; and thereby enjoins that we turn our eyes towards the heavens, or rather above the heavens.¹ One kind of fruit of the earth, however, some people do eat, I mean fruit in pods, because they regard this as a vegetable rather than a fruit, since it grows with a sort of upward tendency and is upright, and not rooted below the soil; I mean that it is rooted like the fruit of the ivy that hangs on a tree or of the vine that hangs on a stem. For this reason then we are forbidden to eat seeds and certain plants, but we are allowed to eat fruit and vegetables, only not those that creep on the ground, but those that are raised up from the earth and hang high in the air. It is surely for this reason that the ordinance bids us also avoid that part of the turnip which inclines to the earth since it belongs to the under world, but allows us to eat that part which grows upwards and attains to some height, since by that very fact it is pure. In fact it allows us to eat any vegetables that grow upwards, but forbids us roots, and especially those which are nourished in and influenced by the earth. Moreover in the case of trees it does not allow us to destroy and consume apples, for these are sacred and golden and are the symbols of secret and mystical rewards. Rather are they worthy to be reverenced and worshipped for the sake of their archetypes.

¹ i.e. to the intelligible world and the One; cf. 169c.
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σεβεσθαί τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι· ροιάς δὲ ὡς φυτὸν χθόνιον παρητήσατο, καὶ τοῦ φοίνικος δὲ τὸν καρπὸν ὦσως μὲν ἀν τις εἴποι διὰ τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, ἐνθα πρῶτον ὁ θεσμὸς κατέστη· ἐμὸι δὲ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὡς ἱερὸν ἥλιον τὸ φυτὸν ἁγήρων τε ὅπι συγχωρήσαι καταναλίσκειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις εἰς τροφὴν σῶματος. ἐπὶ τούτους ἀπηγόρευται ἱχθύσιν ἀπασὶ χρήσθαι. κοινὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τούτο καὶ πρὸς Ἀγνυπτίους τὸ πρόβλημα. δοκεῖ δὲ ἐμοί γε δυνόν ἔνεκεν ἂν τις ἱχθύων μάλιστα μὲν ἀεὶ, πάντως δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις ἀποσχέσθαι, ἐνὸς μὲν, ὅτι τούτων, ἄ μὴ θύομεν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὔδε συτείσθαι προσήκει. δέος δὲ ἔσως υδέν, μὴ ποῦ τις ἐνταῦθα λίχνος καὶ γάστρις ἐπιλάβηται μου, ὡς ποὺ καὶ πρὸτερον ἥδη παθῶν αὐτὸ διαμνημονεύων, "Διὰ τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ θύομεν αὐτῶν πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς"; εἰπόντος ἀκούσας. ἀλλ' εἴχομεν τι καὶ πρὸς τούτο εἰπεῖν. καὶ θύομεν γε, ἔφην, ὃ μακάριε, ἐν τισὶ τελεστικαῖς θυσίαις, ὡς ἔππον Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ ξώδα, κύνας ἵσως "Ελληνες Ἐκάτη καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δέ· καὶ πολλὰ παρ' ἄλλους ἐστὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπαξ τοῦ έτους ἤ δὲς τοιαύτα θύματα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς τιμητήριοις, δὲν μόνον κοινωνεῖν ἄξιον καὶ τραπεζοῦν θεοῖς. τοὺς δὲ ἱχθύας ἐν ταῖς τιμητήριοις οὐ θύομεν, ὅτι μὴτε.
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And pomegranates are forbidden because they belong to the under-world; and the fruit of the date-palm, perhaps one might say because the date-palm does not grow in Phrygia where the ordinance was first established. But my own theory is rather that it is because this tree is sacred to the sun, and is perennial, that we are forbidden to use it to nourish our bodies during the sacred rites. Besides these, the use of all kinds of fish is forbidden. This is a question of interest to the Egyptians as well as to ourselves. Now my opinion is that for two reasons we ought to abstain from fish, at all times if possible, but above all during the sacred rites. One reason is that it is not fitting that we should eat what we do not use in sacrifices to the gods. And perhaps I need not be afraid that hereupon some greedy person who is the slave of his belly will take me up, though as I remember that very thing happened to me once before; and then I heard someone objecting: “What do you mean? Do we not often sacrifice fish to the gods?” But I had an answer ready for this question also. “My good sir,” I said, “it is true that we make offerings of fish in certain mystical sacrifices, just as the Romans sacrifice the horse and many other animals too, both wild and domesticated, and as the Greeks and the Romans too sacrifice dogs to Hecate. And among other nations also many other animals are offered in the mystic cults; and sacrifices of that sort take place publicly in their cities once or twice a year. But that is not the custom in the sacrifices which we honour most highly, in which alone the gods deign to join us and to share our table. In those most honoured sacrifices we do not offer fish, for the reason that we do not tend
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vémomev, μήτε τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, μήτε ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἀγέλαι καθάπερ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵχθυν. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ύφ' ἡμῶν βοηθοῦμενα τὰ ξύλα καὶ πληθύνουντα διὰ τούτο δικαίως ἂν ἡμῖν εἰς τε τὰς ἄλλας χρείας ἐπικουροῖ σα καὶ πρὸ γε τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τιμητηρίους θυσίας. εἰς μὲν δὴ λόγος οὗτος, δὲ ὁν οὐκ οἴμαι δεῖν ἵχθυν ἐν ἀγνείας καιρῷ προσφέρεσθαι τροφῆν. ἐτερος δὲ, ὅν καὶ μᾶλλον ἤγογμαι τοῖς προειρεμένοις ἠρμόζειν, ὅτι τρόπων τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ δεδυκότες εἶχαν ἀν χθονιώτεροι τῶν σπερμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀναπτήναι καὶ μετέωρος υπὲρ τῶν ἀέρα πρὸς αὐτὰς οὐρανοῦ πτήναι κορυφαῖς δικαίως ἄν ἀποστρέφοιτο πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, μεταθέοι δὲ καὶ μετατρέχοι τὰ τεινόμενα πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ σπεύδουντα πρὸς τὸ ἄνωτες καὶ, ἡ ποιητικώτερον εἴπω, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅρωντα. ὁμισών οὖν ἐπιτρέπει χρησθαι πλὴν ὀλύνων, οὐς ἱεροὺς εἶναι πάντη συμβέβηκε, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐξω τοῦ χοίρου. τούτων δὲ ὡς χθόνιον πάντη μορφή τε καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τῇ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ. περιττωματικός τε γὰρ καὶ παχὺς τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποκηρύττει τροφῆς. φίλον γὰρ εἶναι πεπίστευται θύμα τῶν χθονεύων θεῶν οὐκ ἀπεικότος. ἀθέατον γὰρ ἐστιν οὐρανοῦ τούτῳ τῷ ξύλῳ, οὗ μόνον οὐ βουλόμενου, ἀλλ` οὐδὲ πεφυκός ἀναβλέψαι ποτέ. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ

1 ποιητικώτερον Naber, τι καὶ ποιητικῶν Hertlein, MSS.
2 ὅμώντα Naber.

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fish, nor look after the breeding of them, and we do not keep flocks of fish as we do of sheep and cattle. For since we foster these animals and they multiply accordingly, it is only right that they should serve for all our uses and above all for the sacrifices that we honour most.” This then is one reason why I think we ought not to use fish for food at the time of the rite of purification. The second reason which is, I think, even more in keeping with what I have just said, is that, since fish also, in a manner of speaking, go down into the lowest depths, they, even more than seeds, belong to the under-world. But he who longs to take flight upwards and to mount aloft above this atmosphere of ours, even to the highest peaks of the heavens, would do well to abstain from all such food. He will rather pursue and follow after things that tend upwards towards the air, and strive to the utmost height, and, if I may use a poetic phrase, look upward to the skies. Birds, for example, we may eat, except only those few which are commonly held sacred,¹ and ordinary four-footed animals, except the pig. This animal is banned as food during the sacred rites because by its shape and way of life, and the very nature of its substance—for its flesh is impure and coarse—it belongs wholly to the earth. And therefore men came to believe that it was an acceptable offering to the gods of the under-world. For this animal does not look up at the sky, not only because it has no such desire, but because it is so made that it can never look upwards. These then are the reasons that have been given

¹ Porphyry, On Abstinence 3. 5, gives a list of these sacred birds; e.g. the owl sacred to Athene, the eagle to Zeus, the crane to Demeter.
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αὐτίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποχῆς δὲν ἀπέχεσθαι δεὶ εὑρήκεν ὁ θείος θεσμὸς· οἱ ξυνιέντες δὲ κοινούμεθα τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις θεοῖς.

'Ὑπὲρ δὲ ὃν ἐπιτρέπει χρήσθαι λέγομεν τοσοῦτον, ὡς οὐ πᾶσιν ἀπαντᾷ, τὸ δυνατὸν δὲ ὁ θείος νόμος τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει σκοπῶν ἐπέτρεψε χρήσθαι τούτοις τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐχ ἵνα πᾶσι πάντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρησάμεθα· τούτο μὲν γὰρ ἱσως οὐκ εὑρολον· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκείνῳ, ὦτῳ ἀρα πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τοῦ σώματος συγχωρεῖ· δύναμις, εἰτὰ τις περιουσία συντρέχει καὶ τρίτον ἡ προαιρεσις, ἢν ἐν τοῖς ίεροῖς οὕτως ἄξιον ἐπιτείνειν, οὕστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ὅρμαν καὶ προθυμεῖσθαι τοῖς θείοις ἀκολουθεῖν θεσμοῖς. ἐστι γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν ἀνυσιμώτερον αὐτὴ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, εἰ μείζονα λόγον αὐτῆς, ἄλλα μὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀσφαλείας ποιῆσαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα μείζονος καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας φαίνεται λεληθῶτως τῆς ὕφελείας μεταλαγχάνουν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ πάσαν ἐαυτὴν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅλα τὰ καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψασα τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἐπομένης οἴμαι τῆς ἀγιστείας καὶ πρὸ γε ταύτης τῶν θείων θεσμῶν ἡγουμένων, ὅντος οὐδενὸς λοιπὸν τοῦ ἀπειρογοντος καὶ ἐμποδίζοντος· πάντα γὰρ ἐστίν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πάντα περὶ αὐτούς υφέστηκε καὶ πάντα τῶν θεῶν ἐστι πλήρη· αὐτίκα μὲν αὐταῖς ἐλλάμπει τὸ θείου φῶς, θεωθεῖσαι δὲ αὐταὶ τόνον τινὰ καὶ

1 ἀπαντᾷ Hertlein suggests, ἀπαντᾶς MSS.
2 συγχωρεῖ Hertlein suggests, συγχωρεῖ MSS.

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by the divine ordinance for abstinence from such food as we ought to renounce. And we who comprehend share our knowledge with those who know the nature of the gods.

And to the question what food is permitted I will only say this. The divine law does not allow all kinds of food to all men, but takes into account what is possible to human nature and allows us to eat most animals, as I have said. It is not as though we must all of necessity eat all kinds—for perhaps that would not be convenient—but we are to use first what our physical powers allow; secondly, what is at hand in abundance; thirdly, we are to exercise our own wills. But at the season of the sacred ceremonies we ought to exert those wills to the utmost so that we may attain to what is beyond our ordinary physical powers, and thus may be eager and willing to obey the divine ordinances. For it is by all means more effective for the salvation of the soul itself that one should pay greater heed to its safety than to the safety of the body. And moreover the body too seems thereby to share insensibly in that great and marvellous benefit. For when the soul abandons herself wholly to the gods, and entrusts her own concerns absolutely to the higher powers, and then follow the sacred rites—these too being preceded by the divine ordinances—then, I say, since there is nothing to hinder or prevent—for all things reside in the gods, all things subsist in relation to them, all things are filled with the gods—straightway the divine light illumines our souls. And thus endowed with divinity they impart a
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ὁρμην ἐπιτιθέασι τῷ συμφύτῳ πνεύματι, τότε κ ὀπ' αὐτῶν στομούμενον ὥσπερ καὶ κρατυνομενον σωτηρίας ἐστὶν αὐτίου ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι. τὸ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν πᾶσας τὰς νόσους, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅτι τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εἶναι τροπῆς καὶ παραφορᾶς συμβέβηκεν, οὐδεὶς ὀστίς οἴμαι τῶν 'Ἄσκληπιαδῶν οὗ φήσει.¹ οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶσας φασίν, οἱ δὲ τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας καὶ ἱαθήναι χαλεπωτάτας μαρτυρεὶ δὲ τοῦτοι καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν λόγια, φημὶ δὲ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἀγιστείας ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ μόνον, ἂλλα καὶ τὰ σώματα βοηθείας πολλῆς καὶ σωτηρίας ἄξιονται, σώζεσθαι γὰρ σφισὶ καὶ τὸ "πικρᾶς ὅλης περιβλημα βρότειν" οἱ θεοὶ τοὺς υπεράγνους παρακελεύομενοι τῶν θεουργῶν κατεπαγγέλλονται.

Τὰς οὖν ἡμῶν υπολείπεται λόγος, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ νυκτὸς μέρει ταῦτα ἀπενεστὶ ξυνείραι² συγχρονηθείσων, οὐδὲν οὔτε προανεγρωκόσιν οὔτε σκεψαμένους περὶ αὐτῶν, ἂλλ' οὔτε προελομένους ὑπὲρ τοῦτων εἰπεῖν πρὶν ἡ τὰς δέλτους ταύτας αἰτῆσαι; μάρτυς δὲ ἡ θεὸς μοι τοῦ λόγου. ἂλλ', ὀπερ ἐφην, τῷ τὸ λειτόμενον ἡμῖν ὑμνήσαι τὴν θεόν μετὰ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου, ὥν δὴ καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐν ταύταις ἔθετο ταῖς ἀγιστείαις ὁ νόμος; ὀρῶ μὲν τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς πρὸς τὴν

¹ φήσει: Hertlein suggests, φήσειν MSS.
² Oration 6. 203 c ; Demosthenes, De Corona 308, συνελεῖ... ἀπενεστὶ.

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certain vigour and energy to the breath\(^1\) implanted in them by nature; and so that breath is hardened as it were and strengthened by the soul, and hence gives health to the whole body. For I think not one of the sons of Asclepios would deny that all diseases, or at any rate very many and those the most serious, are caused by the disturbance and derangement of the breathing. Some doctors assert that all diseases, others that the greater number and the most serious and hardest to cure, are due to this. Moreover the oracles of the gods bear witness thereto, I mean that by the rite of purification not the soul alone but the body as well is greatly benefited and preserved. Indeed the gods when they exhort those theurgists who are especially holy, announce to them that their "mortal husk of raw matter"\(^2\) shall be preserved from perishing.

And now what is left for me to say? Especially since it was granted me to compose this hymn at a breath, in the short space of one night, without having read anything on the subject beforehand, or thought it over. Nay, I had not even planned to speak thereof until the moment that I asked for these writing-tablets. May the goddess bear witness to the truth of my words! Nevertheless, as I said before, does there not still remain for me to celebrate the goddess in her union with Athene and Dionysus? For the sacred law established their festivals at the very time of her sacred rites. And I recognise the kinship of Athene and the Mother of the Gods

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1 cf. Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals* 736 b. 37, for the breath πνεῦμα, that envelops the disembodied soul and resembles aether. The Stoics sometimes defined the soul as a "warm breath," ἐνθέρμω πνεῦμα.

2 The phrase probably occurred in an oracular verse.
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Mētērā τῶν θεῶν διὰ τῆς προνοητικῆς ἐν ἐκατέρας ταῖς οὐσίαις ὁμοίοτητος τὴν συγγένειαν ἐπισκοπῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστήν δημιουργίαν, ἧν ἐκ τῆς ἐνυείδους καὶ μονίμου ζωῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Δίως ὁ μέγας Δίονυσος παραδεξάμενος, ἀτε καὶ προελθὼν εἶ ἐκείνου, τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀπασιν ἐγκατένειμεν, ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ βασιλεύων τῆς μεριστῆς συμπάσης δημιουργίας. προσηκεὶ δὲ σὺν τούτοις ὑμνῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἑπαφρόδιτον Ἑρμῆν καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν ὁ θεὸς οὕτος, ὅσοι λαμπάδας φασιν ἀνάπτειν Ἀττείδι τῷ σοφῷ. τις οὖν οὕτω παχὺς τὴν ψυχήν, ὅσι οὐ συνήσῃ, ὅτι δι᾽ Ἐρμοῦ μὲν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀνακαλεῖται πάντα πανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχοντα τὸ ἐνεκα τοῦ 1 πάντη καὶ πάντως ὁ τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ἰδιῶν ἑστων; Ἀττις δὲ οὐχ οὕτος ἑστων ὁ μικρὸ πρόσθεν ἀφρων, νῦν δὲ ἀκούων διὰ τὴν ἑκτομήν σοφός; ἀφρων μὲν ὅτι τὴν ὑλήν εἴλετο καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιτροπεύει, σοφός δὲ ὅτι τὸ σκῦβαλον τοῦτο εἰς κάλλος ἐκοσμήσει τοσούτον καὶ μετέστησεν, ὅσον οὐδεμι' ἀν μιμήσαιτο ἀνθρώπων τέχνη καὶ σύνεσις. ἀλλὰ τὶ πέρας ἔσται μοι τῶν λόγων; ἦ δὴλον ὡς ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ὑμνος θεοῦ;

"Ὤ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων μήτερ, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου σύνθωκε καὶ σύνθρονε Δίως, ὁ πηγὴ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, ὁ τῶν νοητῶν ταῖς ἄχραντοις οὐσίαις συνδραμοῦσα καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκ πάντων αἵτιαν παραδεξαμένη καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐνδιδοῦσα ζωγόνε θεὰ.

1 ἐνεκά του Shorey, ἐνεκα του Hertlein, MSS.
HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

through the similarity of the forethought that inhere
in the substance of both goddesses. And I discern also the divided creative function of Dionysus, which great Dionysus received from the single and abiding principle of life that is in mighty Zeus. (For from Zeus he proceeded, and he bestows that life on all things visible, controlling and governing the creation of the whole divisible world. Together with these gods we ought to celebrate Hermes Epaphroditus.¹ For so this god is entitled by the initiated who say that he kindles the torches for wise Attis. (And who has a soul so dense as not to understand that through Hermes and Aphrodite are invoked all generated things everywhere, since they everywhere and throughout have a purpose which is peculiarly appropriate to the Logos?²) But is not this Logos Attis, who not long ago was out of his senses, but now through his castration is called wise? Yes, he was out of his senses because he preferred matter and presides over generation, but he is wise because he adorned and transformed this refuse, our earth, with such beauty as no human art or cunning could imitate. But how shall I conclude my discourse? Surely with this hymn to the Great Goddess.

O Mother of gods and men, thou that art the assessor of Zeus and sharpest his throne, O source of the intellectual gods, that pursuest thy course with the stainless substance of the intelligible gods; that dost receive from them all the common cause of things and dost thyself bestow it on the intellectual

¹ The epithet means “favoured by Aphrodite.”
² In this rendering of λόγος (which may here mean “Reason”) I follow Mau p. 113, and Asmus, Julians Galiläerschrift p. 31.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

καὶ μῆτις καὶ πρόνοια καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν δημιουργεῖ, ὦ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον ἀγαπῶσα καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπίου ἐκτεθέντα περισσομενή καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ γῆς ἀντρον καταδυόμενον ἐπανάγουσα, ὁ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἡγουμένη θεοὶς, πάντων δὲ ἀποπληροῦσα τὸν αἰσθητῶν κόσμον, πάντα δὲ ἕμιν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθὰ χαρισμένη, δίδου πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονίαιν, Β ἢς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἡ τῶν θεῶν γνώσις ἐστί, κοινῆ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, μάλιστα μὲν ἀποτρίφασθαι τῆς ἀθεότητος τῆς κηλίδα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην εὐμενῆ συνδιακυβερνώσαν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἄρχής πολλὰς χιλιάδας ἐτῶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ καρπὸν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ σὲ θεραπείας ἀλῆθειαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν δόγμασιν, ἐν θεουργίᾳ τελείωτητα, πάντων ἔργων, οἷς προσεχόμεθα περὶ τάς πολιτικὰς καὶ στρατιωτικὰς πράξεις, ὁ ἄρετήν μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἀλυπῶν τε καὶ εὐδόκιμον μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἑλπίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ παρ᾽ ὑμᾶς πορείᾳ.

1 πράξεις Hertlein suggests, τάξεις MSS.
HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

gods; O life-giving goddess that art the counsel and the providence and the creator of our souls; O thou that lovolest great Dionysus, and didst save Attis when exposed at birth, and didst lead him back when he had descended into the cave of the nymph; O thou that givest all good things to the intellectual gods and fillest with all things this sensible world, and with all the rest givest us all things good! Do thou grant to all men happiness, and that highest happiness of all, the knowledge of the gods; and grant to the Roman people in general that they may cleanse themselves of the stain of impiety; grant them a blessed lot, and help them to guide their Empire for many thousands of years! And for myself, grant me as fruit of my worship of thee that I may have true knowledge in the doctrines about the gods. Make me perfect in theurgy. And in all that I undertake, in the affairs of the state and the army, grant me virtue and good fortune, and that the close of my life may be painless and glorious, in the good hope that it is to you, the gods, that I journey!
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