THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

II
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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, Ph.D.

LATE OF GIRTON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN BRYN MAWR COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA

IN THREE VOLUMES
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THE

ORATIONS AND SATIRES

OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION VI
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

The Sixth Oration is a sermon or rather a scolding addressed to the New Cynics, and especially to one of their number who had ventured to defame the memory of Diogenes. In the fourth Christian century the Cynic mode of life was adopted by many, but the vast majority were illiterate men who imitated the Cynic shamelessness of manners but not the genuine discipline, the self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια) which had ennobled the lives of Antisthenes, Diogenes and Crates. To the virtues of these great men Julian endeavours to recall the worthless Cynics of his day. In the two centuries that had elapsed since Lucian wrote, for the edification of degenerate Cynics,¹ the Life of the Cynic Demonax, the dignified and witty friend of Epictetus, the followers of that sect had still further deteriorated. The New Cynics may be compared with the worst type of mendicant friar of the Middle Ages; and Julian saw in their assumption of the outward signs of Cynicism, the coarse cloak, the staff and wallet, and long hair, the same hypocrisy and greed that characterised certain of the Christian monks of his day.² The resemblances

² 224 c.
between the Christians and the Cynics had already been pointed out by Aristides,¹ and while in Julian's eyes they were equally impious, he has an additional grievance against the Cynics in that they brought discredit on philosophy. Like the Christians they were unlettered, they were disrespectful to the gods whom Julian was trying to restore, they had flattered and fawned on Constantius, and far from practising the austerities of Diogenes they were no better than parasites on society.

In this as in the Seventh Oration Julian's aim is to reform the New Cynics, but still more to demonstrate the essential unity of philosophy. He sympathised profoundly with the tenets of Cynicism, and ranked Diogenes with Socrates as a moral teacher. He reminds the Cynics whom he satirises that the famous admonition of Diogenes to "counter-mark"² or "forge" a new coinage is not to be taken as an excuse for license and impudence, but like the Delphic precept "Know Thyself" warns all philosophers to accept no traditional authority, no convention that has not been examined and approved by the reason of the individual. His conviction that all philosophical tenets are in harmony if rightly understood, gives a peculiar earnestness to his Apologia for Diogenes. The reference in the first paragraph to the summer solstice seems to indicate that the Oration was written before Julian left Constantinople in order to prepare for the Persian campaign.

¹ Aristides, Orations 402 D.
² The precise meaning of the phrase is uncertain; it has been suggested that it arose from the custom of altering or "countermarking" coins so as to adapt them for the regular currency; see 192 c, Oration 7. 208 D.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΤΣ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΤΣ ΚΤΝΑΣ

"Ἀνω ποταμῶν, τούτο δὴ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας. ἀνὴρ Κυνικὸς Διογένης φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολούτειν οὐ βουλεταί, σφόδρα ἐρρωμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ σφριγῶν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων, ὡς ἄν μὴ τι κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταύτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς τροπαῖς ἦδη προσίοντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν τοῦ πολύποδος κωμῳδεῖ καὶ φησὶ τὸν Διογένη τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ κενοδοξίας ἐκτετικέναι ἰκανὰς ὅσπερ ὑπὸ κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρέντα. οὔτω πόρρω ποὺ σοφίας ἐλαύνει, ὡστε ἐπίσταται σαφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τούτο δὲ ἄγνοεῖν ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦσι γοῦν, φάσιν, Ἀντισθένει μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάληπτον ἀρρωστίαν ξυφίδιον ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπὼν: εἰ φίλου θρήξεις ύπουργίας. οὔτως οὔδεν ὑέτο δεινὸν

ίκανὰς Naber addas.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

Behold the rivers are flowing backwards,¹ as the proverb says! Here is a Cynic who says that Diogenes ² was conceited, and who refuses to take cold baths for fear they may injure him, though he has a very strong constitution and is lusty and in the prime of life, and this too though the Sun-god is now nearing the summer solstice. Moreover he even ridicules the eating of octopus and says that Diogenes paid a sufficient penalty for his folly and vanity in that he perished of this diet ³ as though by a draught of hemlock. So far indeed is he advanced in wisdom that he knows for certain that death is an evil. Yet this even the wise Socrates thought he did not know, yes and after him Diogenes as well. At any rate when Antisthenes ⁴ was suffering from a long and incurable illness Diogenes handed him a dagger with these words, “In case you need the aid of

¹ A proverb signifying that all is topsy-turvy: cf. Euripides, Medea 413 ἄνω τοταμῶν ἱερῶν χαρῶν σαγαί.
² Of Sinope: he was the pupil of Antisthenes and is said to have lived in a jar in the Metroum, the temple of the Mother of the Gods at Athens; he died 323 B.C.
³ For the tradition that Diogenes died of eating a raw octopus cf. Lucian, Sale of Creeds 10.
⁴ A pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic sect.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ ἀλγεινὸν τοῦ θάνατον. ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς οἱ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐκεῖθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος σοφίας ἱσμεν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν ¹ τοῦ θάνατον, τὸ ρήγον δὲ χαλαστώτερον τοῦ νοσεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νοσῶν μαλακῶς ἔσθ’ ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ὡστε γίνεσθαι τρυφήν αὐτόχρησμα τὴν ἀρρωστίαν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἡ πλούσιος. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ Αὐτός ὑπὸ Δία τρυφώντας τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μᾶλλον ἡ τούτους αὐτοῦς υγιαίνοντας· καίτοι γε καὶ τότε λαμπρῶς ἐτρύφων. ὅθεν μοι καὶ παρέστη πρὸς τινας τῶν ἐπαίρων εἰπεῖν, ὅς τούτους ἁμεῖν ἦν οἰκείας γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ δεσπόταις, καὶ πένεισθαι τοῦ κρίμου γυμνότερος οὔσων ἡ πλούσεων ὦσπερ νῦν. ἡ γὰρ ἀν ἐπαύσαντο νοσοῦντες ἀμα καὶ τρυφῶντες. τὸ μὲν δὲ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοσηλεύσθαι τρυφηλῶς οὐτοσί τινας ἐν καλῷ ποιοῦνται· ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρίμου ἀνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος καρτέρον οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀθλωτέρου πράττει· ἀλγεὶ γοῦν ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεύορο οὖν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυνικῶν ὅπόσα διδασκάλων ἢκουσαμεν ἐν κοινῷ καταθῶμεν σκοπεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βίων ιοῦσι τούτον· οίς εἰ μὲν πεισθείειν, εὗ οἶδα, οὐδὲν οἳ γε νῦν ἑπιχειροῦντες 182 κυνίζειν ἐσονται χείρους· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μὲν τι λαμπρόν καὶ σεμνὸν ἑπιτηδεύσειαν, ὑπερφωνοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἡμέτερον, οὔτε τοῖς

¹ φαμεν Hertlein suggests, φασί MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

a friend.” So convinced was he that there is nothing terrible or grievous in death. But we who have inherited his staff know out of our greater wisdom that death is a calamity. And we say that sickness is even more terrible than death, and cold harder to bear than sickness. For the man who is sick is often tenderly nursed, so that his ill-health is straightway converted into a luxury, especially if he be rich. Indeed I myself, by Zeus, have observed that certain persons are more luxurious in sickness than in health, though even in health they were conspicuous for luxury. And so it once occurred to me to say to certain of my friends that it were better for those men to be servants than masters, and to be poor and more naked than the lily of the field\(^1\) than to be rich as they now are. For they would have ceased being at once sick and luxurious. The fact is that some people think it a fine thing to make a display of their ailments and to play the part of luxurious invalids. But, says someone, is not a man who has to endure cold and to support heat really more miserable than the sick? Well, at any rate he has no comforts to mitigate his sufferings.

Come now, let me set down for the benefit of the public what I learned from my teachers about the Cynics, so that all who are entering on this mode of life may consider it. And if they are convinced by what I say, those who are now aiming to be Cynics will, I am sure, be none the worse for it: and if they are unconvinced but cherish aims that are brilliant and noble, and set themselves above my argument not in

\(^1\) A proverb, but Julian may allude to Matthew 6. 28.
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ρήμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὖν ἐμπόδιον ὁ γε ἡμέτερος οὐσεὶ λόγος: εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λυχνείας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἢ' εἰπὼ ξυνελὼν ἐν βραχεῖ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδουλωμένοι τῶν λόγων ὅλωρορησεῖαι προσκαταγελάσαντες, ὡσπερ B ἐνίοτε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ κύνες τοῖς προπυλαίοις προσουρώσων, οὐ φροντίς Ἰπποκλείδης καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὁ τῶν κυνιδών ἦμιν μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῦντων. δεύορ οὖν ἀνωθέν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διεξέλθωμεν ἐφεξῆς τὸν λόγον, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ προσθήκον ἀποδιδόντες αὐτοῖς τε εὐκολότερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τοῦθ᾽ ὡσπερ διενοθημένοι καὶ σοι ποιήσωμεν εὐπαρακολούθητον. οὐκοῦν ἐπείδη τὸν κυνισμὸν εἴδος τῆς φιλοσοφίας C εἶναι συμβέβηκέναι, οὔτε φαυλότατον οὖν ἀτιμώτατον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐνάμιλλον, ὅλη πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ῥήτεον ἦμιν ἐστὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

Ἡ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων δόσις ἡμα χανοτάτῳ πυρὶ διὰ Προμηθέως καταπεμφθείσα 1 ἐξ ἡλίου μετὰ τῆς Ἐρμοῦ μερίδος οὐχ ἔτερον ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ νοῦ διανομήν· ὁ γὰρ τοί Προμηθεύς, ἡ πάντα ἐπιτροπεύονσα τὰ θιητὰ πρόνοια, πνεῦμα ἐνθερμόν ὡσπερ ὄργανον ὑποβάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἀπασι μετέδωκεν ἀσωμάτου λόγον· μετέσχε δὲ ἐκαστον ὡσπερ ἦδύνατο, τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα σώματα τῆς ἔξεως μόνον, τὰ φυτα δὲ ἥδη καὶ τῆς ζωῆς 2 τὰ ζῷα δὲ ψυχῆς, δὲ

1 καταπεμφθείσα Reiske would add.
2 τῆς ζωῆς Wright σώματος Hertlein, MSS. Petavius suspects corruption.
words only but in deeds, then my discourse will at any rate put no hindrance in their way. But if there are others already enslaved by greed or self-indulgence, or to sum it up briefly in a single phrase, by the pleasures of the body, and they therefore neglect my words or even laugh them down—just as dogs sometimes defile the front porticoes of schools and law-courts,—“’Tis all one to Hippocleides,”¹ for indeed we take no notice of puppies who behave in this fashion. Come then let me pursue my argument under headings from the beginning in due order, so that by giving every question its proper treatment I may myself more conveniently achieve what I have in mind and may make it more easy for you also to follow. And since it is a fact that Cynicism is a branch of philosophy, and by no means the most insignificant or least honourable, but rivalling the noblest, I must first say a few words about philosophy itself.

The gift of the gods sent down to mankind with the glowing flame of fire² from the sun through the agency of Prometheus along with the blessings that we owe to Hermes³ is no other than the bestowal of reason and mind. For Prometheus, the Forethought that guides all things mortal by infusing into nature a fiery breath to serve as an operative cause, gave to all things a share in incorporeal reason. And each thing took what share it could; lifeless bodies only a state of existence; plants received life besides,

¹ Herodotus 6.129; Hippocleides, when told by Cleisthenes that by his unbecoming method of dancing he had “danced away his marriage,” made this answer which became a proverb.
² An echo of Plato, *Philebus* 16c; cf. Themistius 338c.
³ *e.g.* eloquence, commerce, and social intercourse.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

άνθρωπος καὶ λογικὴς ψυχῆς. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ μίαν οἴονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἥκειν φύσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ οὐ καὶ κατ' εἶδος ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἄλλα μῆτω τούτο, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τούτῳ ἔξεταζόμεθα, πλὴν ἐκείνου χάριν, ὅτι, τὴν φιλοσοφίαν 183
eἰθ', ὡσπερ τινὲς υπολαμβάνουσι, τέχνην τεχνών καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, εἰτε ὤμολοισιν θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, εἰθ', ὡσπερ ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη, τὸ Γνώθι σαῦτον υπολάβοι τις, οὐδὲν διοίσει πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ μᾶλα οἰκεῖος ἑχοντα.

'Ἀρξώμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνώθι σαῦτον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ θεῶν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ παρακέλευσμα. οὐκοῦν ὁ γυμνώσκων αὐτὸν εἰσεται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, Β εἰσεται δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀρκέσει μόνον, ὡς ἔστων ἰσθος τοῦ ἀνθρωπος ψυχή χρωμένη σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἄλλα καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπελεύσεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐπειτα ἀνυχρεύσει τὰς δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκέσει αὐτῷ, ἄλλα καὶ, εἴ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ημῖν ἔστω κρείττον καὶ θεώτερον, ὡσπερ δὴ πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθόμενοι θεῶν τι εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο εἰνδρύσας ἐπιθυμοῦς τοῖς πάντες οὕρανῳ κοινῶς υπολαμβάνομεν. ἐπιθυμοῦ δὲ αὐθεὶς τὸς ἄρχας τοῦ σώματος σκέφτεται, εἴτε σύνθετον εἴτε ἀπλοῦν ἔστων εἴτε ὅδοι προβαίνων ὑπὲρ τε ἀρμονίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πάντων ἄπλως δὲν δεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν. ἐπιβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄρχας τεχνῶν

1 θεῷ Klimek, θεὸν Hertlein, MSS.
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and animals soul, and man a reasoning soul. Now some think that a single substance is the basis of all these, and others that they differ essentially according to their species. But this question we must not discuss as yet, or rather not at all in the present discourse, and we need only say that whether one regards philosophy, as some people do, as the art of arts and the science of sciences or as an effort to become like God, as far as one may, or whether, as the Pythian oracle said, it means "Know thyself," will make no difference to my argument. For all these definitions are evidently very closely related to one another.

However, let us begin with "Know thyself," since this precept is divinely inspired.¹ It follows that he who knows himself will know not only about his soul but his body also. And it will not be enough to know that a man is a soul employing a body, but he will also investigate the essential nature of the soul, and then trace out its faculties. And not even this alone will be enough for him, but in addition he will investigate whatever exists in us nobler and more divine than the soul, that something which we all believe in without being taught and regard as divine, and all in common suppose to be established in the heavens. Then again, as he investigates the first principles of the body he will observe whether it is composite or simple; then proceeding systematically he will observe its harmony and the influences that affect it and its capacity and, in a word, all that it needs to ensure its permanence. And in the next place he will also observe the first

¹ Cf. 188 B; Juvenal, Satires 11. 27; E caelo descendit γνώθι σεαυτόν,
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ἐνίων, υφ' ὅν βοηθεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν τὸ σῶμα, οἷον ἰατρικῆς, γεωργίας, ἑτέρων τοιούτων. οὐ μὴν D οὐδὲ τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περιττῶν τι παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα¹ πρὸς κολακείαν τοῦ παθητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπινενήσαι. προσ- λιπαρῆται μὲν γὰρ τούτως ἀποκνήσει αἰσχρὸν οἴδιμους τὸ τοιοῦτο, τὸ δοκοῦν ἑργάδες ἐν αὐτοῖς φεύγων τὸ δ' ὅλον ὅποια ἀπ' ἅκει καὶ ὀστίσιν ἅμοττει τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοήσει. σκότει δὴ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι πάσης μὲν ἐπιστήμης, πάσης δὲ τέχνης ἤγειται τε ἀμα καὶ τοὺς καθὸλον λόγους συνεληφε. τὰ τε γὰρ θεία διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης 184 ἡμῶν θείας μερίδος τὰ τε θνητὰ διὰ τῆς θνητοειδοὺς μοίρας πρὸς τούτως ἐπὶ προσήκειν ἐφ' ὅ το μεταξὺ τούτων ζῶν εἰδέναι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον θνητόν, τῷ παντὶ δὲ ἄθανατον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἑνα καὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ θνητῆς καὶ ἄθανατον μερίδος.

"Ὅτι μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅμοιο-
θαι οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τὴν ἐφικτὴν ἄνθρω-
ποῖς γνῶσιν τῶν ἄντων περιποίησασθαι, πρὸδηλον ἐντεῦθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλοῦτῳ χρημάτων τὸ θεῖον Β
μακαρίζομεν οὕδε ἐπ᾽ ἅλλῳ τινὶ τῶν νομίζομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὀπέρ "Ομηρὸς φησι

θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα ἱσασι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Δίος

'Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γεγονεὶ καὶ πλείονα ήδειν.

¹ ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.
² προσήκειν—ἀνθρωπον, Hertlein suggests, cf. Maximus of
Tyre 4. 7; ἐφ' ὅ τα μεταξὺ τοῦ ζῶν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον MSS.

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principles of certain arts by which the body is assisted to that permanence, for instance, medicine, husbandry and the like. And of such arts as are useless and superfluous he will not be wholly ignorant, since these too have been devised to humour the emotional part of our souls. For though he will avoid the persistent study of these last, because he thinks such persistent study disgraceful, and will avoid what seems to involve hard work in those subjects; nevertheless he will not, generally speaking, remain in ignorance of their apparent nature and what parts of the soul they suit. Reflect therefore, whether self-knowledge does not control every science and every art, and moreover whether it does not include the knowledge of universals. For to know things divine through the divine part in us, and mortal things too through the part of us that is mortal—this the oracle declared to be the duty of the living organism that is midway between these, namely man; because individually he is mortal, but regarded as a whole he is immortal, and moreover, singly and individually, is compounded of a mortal and an immortal part.

Further, that to make oneself like God as far as possible is nothing else than to acquire such knowledge of the essential nature of things as is attainable by mankind, is evident from the following. It is not on the score of abundance of possessions that we count the divine nature happy, nor on the score of any other of those things that are commonly believed to be advantages, but it is because, as Homer says, "The gods know all things";¹ and indeed he says also of Zeus, "But Zeus was older and wiser."²

ἐπιστήμη γάρ ἡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ διαφέρουσιν. ἦγείται σοφὸν δὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν καλῶν τὸ αὐτούς γνώ-
σκειν. ὁσφόροι τοὺς τῷ συμφώνῳ εἰς τὴν ὑσίαν, 
τοσοῦτον γνώσεις ἐκαυτοῦ ἠσχοντο βελτιώνων γνώ-
σιν. μηδεὶς οὖν ἡμῖν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολλὰ 
dιαρείτω μηδὲ εἰς πολλὰ τεμνέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ 
pολλὰς ἐκ μᾶς ποιεῖτω. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἠλήθεια μία, 
οὕτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μία. θαυμαστόν δὲ οὐδέν,
eἰ κατ’ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν πορευό-
μεθα. ἐπεὶ κἂν, εἰ τις θέλει τῶν ἐξών ἦ καὶ μὰ 
Διὰ τῶν πάλαι πολιτῶν ἐπανεκθεῖν εἰς Αθήνας,
dύνατο μὲν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ βαδίζειν, οδέουν δὲ 
οἴμαι διὰ γῆς ἡ ταῖς πλατείαις χρήσθαι λεωφόροις 
ἡ ταῖς ἀτραποῖς καὶ συντόμους ὁδοῖς· καὶ πλεῖν 
mέντοι δυνατὸν παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς, καὶ δὴ 
catὰ τὸν Πύλιον γέροντα τέμνοντα πέλαγος μέσον,
μὴ δὲ τούτῳ τις ἡμῖν προφερέτω, εἰ τινὲς τῶν κατ’ 
aυτὰς ἱόντων τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπεπλανήθησαν καὶ ἀλ-
lαχοῦ που γενόμενοι, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τῆς Κίρκης ἦ 
tῶν Λωτοφάγων ἡδονῆς ἡ δόξης ἡ τινὸς ἂλλον 
dελεασθέντες, ἀπελεύθησαν τοῦ πρόσω βαδίζειν 
cαὶ ἐφικνείσθαι τοῦ τέλους, τοὺς πρωτεύσαντας δὲ 
ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοπεῖτο, καὶ πάντα 
eύρησε σύμφωνα.

Οὐκοῦν ὃ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς τὸ Γυνὸθι σαυτὸν 
προαγορεύει, Ἦρακλείτος δὲ "ἐδίξησάμην ἔμεων-
tῶν," ἀλλὰ καὶ Πυθαγόρας οἱ τε ἀπ’ ἐκείνου 
μέχρι Θεοφράστου τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοθεῖ 
θεῷ φασί, καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

For it is in knowledge that the gods surpass ourselves. And it may well be that with them also what ranks as noblest is self-knowledge. In proportion then as they are nobler than we in their essential nature, that self-knowledge of theirs is a knowledge of higher things. Therefore, I say, let no one divide philosophy into many kinds or cut it up into many parts, or rather let no one make it out to be plural instead of one. For even as truth is one, so too philosophy is one. But it is not surprising that we travel to it now by one road, now by another. For if any stranger, or, by Zeus, any one of her oldest inhabitants wished to go up to Athens, he could either sail or go by road, and if he travelled by land he could, I suppose, take either the broad highways or the paths and roads that are short cuts. And moreover he could either sail along the coasts or, like the old man of Pylos,1 "cleave the open sea." And let no one try to refute me by pointing out that some philosophers in travelling by those very roads have been known to lose their way, and arriving in some other place have been captivated, as though by Circe or the Lotus-Eaters, that is to say by pleasure or opinion or some other bait, and so have failed to go straight forward and attain their goal. Rather he must consider those who in every one of the philosophic sects did attain the highest rank, and he will find that all their doctrines agree.

Therefore the god at Delphi proclaims, "Know Thyself," and Heracleitus says, "I searched myself";2 and Pythagoras also and his school and his followers down to Theophrastus, bid us become like God as far as possible, yes and Aristotle too. For what

1 Nestor; Odyssey 3. 174. 2 Heracleitus fr. 80.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ποτέ, τούτο ὁ θεός ἄει. γελοιοῦν οὖν ἂν εἰη τὸν θεὸν ἑαυτὸν μη εἰδέναι: κομιδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰσεται τῶν ἄλλων, εἰπερ ἑαυτὸν ἄγνοοῖν: πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐστιν, εἰπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τῶν ὀπωσδὲ ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας, εἰτε ἄθανάτων ἄθανάτους, εἰτε ἔπικήρους οὐ θυνήτας οὐδὲ ἐπικήρους, ἀιδίους δὲ καὶ μενούσας ἄει καὶ αἰ τούτως εἰσιν αἰτίαι τῆς ἀειγενεσίας. ἀλλ’ οὕτως μὲν ὁ θ

λόγος ἑστὶ μεῖζων.

"Ὅτι δὲ μία τε ἐστιν ἀλήθεια καὶ φιλοσοφία μία καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἐρασται ξύμπαντες ὧν τε ὑπεμνήσθην μικρὸ πρότερον ἄν τε ἐν δίκη νῦν εἴποιμι. ἀν τοῦνομα, τοὺς τοῦ Κυτέως ὁμιλητᾶς λέγω, οὐ τὰς πόλεις ἱδόντες ἀποδιδρασκόουσα τὸ λίαν ἀκραιφυς καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ κυνὸς ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὸν ὦσπερ οἴμαι παραπτάσμασιν Δ οἰκονομία καὶ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν γυναικα συνόδῳ καὶ παιδοτροφίᾳ, ἵνα οἴμαι ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγύθεν ἐπιστήσωσι φύλακα: ὅτι δὲ τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν κεφάλαιον τίθενται φιλοσοφίας, οὐ μόνον εἰ δι κατεβάλλοντο ξυγγραμμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον πεισθεῖς ἂν, εἰπερ ἐθέλους,
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

we are sometimes, God is always.\(^1\) It would therefore be absurd that God should not know himself. For he will know nothing at all about other things if he be ignorant of himself. For he is himself everything, seeing that in himself and near himself he keeps the causes of all things that in any way whatever have existence, whether they be immortal causes of things immortal, or causes of perishable things, though themselves not mortal or perishable; for imperishable and ever-abiding are the causes of perpetual generation for the perishable world. But this line of argument is too lofty for the occasion.

Now truth is one and philosophy is one, and they whom I just now spoke of are its lovers one and all; and also they whom I ought in fairness to mention now by name, I mean the disciples of the man of Citium.\(^2\) For when they saw that the cities of Greece were averse to the excessive plainness and simplicity of the Cynic's freedom of manners, they hedged him about with screens as it were, I mean with maxims on the management of the household and business and intercourse with one's wife and the rearing of children, to the end, I believe, that they might make him the intimate guardian of the public welfare.\(^3\) And that they too held the maxim "Know Thyself" to be the first principle of their philosophy you may believe, if you will, not only from the works that they composed on this very subject, but even more

\(^1\) Cf. *Oration* 4. 143 A.

\(^2\) Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, the founder of the Stoic school.

\(^3\) Julian seems to mean that Zeno and the Stoics could not accept without modification the manner of life advocated by the Cynic Crates.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

άλλα πολύ πλέον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τέλους. τὸ γὰρ ὀμολογουμένως ξῆν τῇ φύσει τέλος ἐποιήσαντο, οὔπερ οὐχ οἶόν τε τυχεῖν τὸν ἀγνοοῦντα, τίς καὶ ὁποῖος πέφυκεν ὁ γὰρ ἀγνώτω ὅστις ἐστίν, οὐκ εἶσεται δὴπουθεν ὅ, τι πράττειν ἑαυτῷ προσήκει, ὅπερ οὔδ' ὅ τὸν σίδηρον ἀγνοοῦν εἰσεται, εἰτε αὐτῷ τέμνειν εἰτε μὴ προσήκει, καὶ ὁτου δὲ τῷ σίδηρῳ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία μία τε ἐστι καὶ πάντες ὁς ἔποιη τὸν ἕνωσ ἐφιέμενοι ὅδοις ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαφόροις ἦλθον, ἀπόχρη τοσοῦτα ὑν ἐπείν. B ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ σκεπτέον ἐτί.  

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεστοίητο τοῖς ἄνδραῖς μετά τινος σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ παιδίας τὰ συγγράμματα, τούτοις ἐχρῆν ἐπόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἕκαστα ἕν διανοούμεθα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξετάζειν τὸν ἐναντίον καὶ, εἰ μὲν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὀμολογοῦντα, μήτω ψευδομαρτυρίῳ ἡμῖν ἐπισκηπτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἐξορίζειν αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ὅσπερ Ἀθηναίοι τὰ ψευδὴ γράμματα τοῦ Μητρόφου. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ὅς ἐφῆν, τοιοῦτον αἶ τε γὰρ Ο θρυλοῦμεν Διογένους τραγῳδίας Φιλίσκου τινὸς Ἀγουήτου λέγονται εἶναι, καὶ, εἰ Διογένους δὴ εἰ εἰν, οὐδὲν ἀτοπὸν ἐστὶ τὸν σοφὸν παίζειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτῳ πολλοῖ φαίνονται τῶν φιλοσόφων

1 οὔδ' ὁ Hertlein suggests, οὗτ MSS.
2 έτι Hertlein suggests, ἡ Ἱη Reiske, ἔστιν MSS.
3 δὴ Hertlein suggests, ἀ τ MSS.
from what they made the end and aim of their philosophic teaching. For this end of theirs was life in harmony with nature, and this it is impossible for any man to attain who does not know who and of what nature he is. For a man who does not know himself will certainly not know what it is becoming for him to do; just as he who does not know the nature of iron will not know whether it is suitable to cut with or not, and how iron must be treated so that it may be put to its proper use. For the moment however I have said enough to show that philosophy is one, and that, to speak generally, all philosophers have a single aim though they arrive at that aim by different roads. And now let us consider the Cynic philosophy.

If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purpose and not merely with a frivolous aim, it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by these and to try in each case to refute the opinions that I hold on the subject; and then, if they proved to be in harmony with those original doctrines, he could not attack me for bearing false witness; but if they proved not to be in harmony, then he could have barred my opinions from a hearing, as the Athenians barred spurious documents from the Metroum.¹ But, as I said, nothing of that sort exists. For the much-talked-of tragedies of Diogenes are now said to be the work of a certain Philiscus² of Aegina; though even if they were by Diogenes there would be nothing out of the way in a wise man's jesting, since many philosophers have been known to do so. For

¹ Cf. Oration 5. 159 b. ² Cf. Oration 7. 210 d, 212 a.
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ποιήσαντες· ἑγέλα τοι, φασί, καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁ ὀρὼν σπουδάζοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μὴ δὴ πρὸς τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπωμεν, ὡσπερ οἱ μανθάνειν τι σπουδαῖον ἦκιστα ἔρωτες, πόλει D παραβάλλοντες εὐδαιμονί, πολλῶν μὲν ἵερῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν πλῆρει, καὶ μυρίων ἔνδον ἵερων ἄγνων ἐν ἄγνως μενόντων χωρίως· αὐτὸν δὲ ἕνεκα πολλάκις τούτου, λέγο δὲ τοῦ καθαρεύειν τὰ εἴσω πάντα, τὰ περιττὰ καὶ βδελυγμα καὶ φαῦλα τῆς πόλεως ἀπεληλακόσιι,1 λοιπὰ δημόσια καὶ χαμαινυπεία καὶ καπηλείᾳ καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἶτα ἀχρὶ τούτου γενόμενοι εἴσω μὴ παρίσισι.2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐντυχῶν, εἶτα τοῦτο οἴηθεις εἶναι τὴν 187 πόλιν ἄθλοις μὲν ἀποφυγόν, ἀθλιώτερὸς δὲ κἀτοι μείνας, ἐξὸν ὑπερβαίνα μικρὸν ἵδειν τὸν Σωκράτη· χρήσομαι γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἑγὼ τοῦτο ῥήμασιν, φίλη τὴν Κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοιοτάτην εἶναι τοῖς Σει- ληνοῖς τούτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐρμογυλφεῖοις καθη- μένοις, οὐσίας ἔργαζονται οἱ δημιουργοὶ σύρ- ιγγας ἢ αὐλοῦς ἔχονται· οἱ διχάδε3 διοιχθέντες B ἔνδον φαίνονται ἀγάλματα ἔχοντες θεῶν. ὡς ἄν οὖν μὴ τοιοῦτον τι πάθωμεν, ὅσα ἐπαίξε ταύτα αὐτῶν ἐσπουδακέναι νομίσαντες· ἐστι μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν ἐκεῖνοις οὐκ ἄχρηστον, ὁ Κυνισμός δὲ ἔστιν

1 ἀπεληλακόν Naber, ἀπεληλάκας Hertlein, MSS.
2 παρίσισι Cobet, παρίσιν Hertlein, MSS.
3 οἱ διχάδε Hertlein suggests, cf. Symposium 215, οἱ δὲ MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

Democritus also, we are told, used to laugh when he saw men taking things seriously. Well then I say we must not pay any attention to their frivolous writings, like men who have no desire at all to learn anything of serious interest. Such men when they arrive at a prosperous city abounding in sacrifices and secret rites of many kinds, and containing within it countless holy priests who dwell in the sacred enclosures, priests who for this very purpose, I mean in order to purify everything that is within their gates, have expelled all that is sordid and superfluous and vicious from the city, public baths and brothels, and retail shops, and everything of the sort without exception: such men, I say, having come as far as the quarter where all such things are, do not enter the city itself. Surely a man who, when he comes upon the things that have been expelled, thinks that this is the city, is despicable indeed if he depart on the instant, but still more despicable if he stay in that lower region, when he might by taking but a step across the threshold behold Socrates himself. For I will borrow those famous phrases of Alcibiades in his praise of Socrates,¹ and I assert that the Cynic philosophy is very like those images of Silenus that sit in the shops of the statuaries, which the craftsmen make with pipes or flutes in their hands, but when you open them you see that inside they contain statues of the gods. Accordingly, that we may not make that sort of mistake and think that his jesting was sober earnest (for though there is a certain use even in those jests, yet Cynicism itself is something very different, as I

¹ Plato, Symposium 215.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

έτερον, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα δείξαι πειράσομαι: δεύτερο ἰδωμεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν, ὡσπερ αἱ ἐξιχνεύονσαι κύνες μεταθέουσι τὰ θηρία.

'Ἡγεμόνα μὲν οὖν οὐ θάδιον εὑρεῖν, ἐφ' ὅν ἀνενέγκαι χρῆ πρῶτον αὐτὸ, εἰ καὶ τινὲς ὑπὸ Καρπάνους 'Αντισθένην τοῦτο καὶ Διογένει προσήκειν, τοῦτο γοῦν ἐοικεν Οἰνόμαος οὐκ ἀτόπος λέγειν ὁ Κυνισμὸς οὔτε 'Αντισθενισμὸς ἐστιν οὔτε Διογενισμός. λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς, ὡσπερ οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἄγαθῶν ἡμῖν 1 αὐτίς κατέστη, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ βίου παράδειγμα τὸ μέγιστον 2 κατέλιπτεν ἀνθρώποις, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θείαν λήξιν πορευθέντων εὐφημείν ἐθέλουν πείθομαι μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τινὰς οὐκ ἐν "Ἐλλησὶ μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ βαρβάροις οὕτω φιλοσοφήσαι" 3 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φιλοσοφία κοινῆ πως ἐοικεν εἶναι καὶ φυσικώτατη καὶ δεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἥστινοσοῦν πραγματείας. ἄλλα ἀπόχρη μόνον ἔλεσθαι τὰ σπουδαία ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμία καὶ φυγῇ κακίας, καὶ οὔτε βίβλους ἀνελίξαι δεῖ μυρίας πολυμαθία γάρ, φασὶ, νόν οὐ διδάσκει οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιοῦτων παθεῖν, ὡσα καὶ οὐ πάσχουσιν οἱ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων ἱόντες, ἄλλα ἀπόχρη μόνον δύο ταῦτα τοῦ Πνθίου 188

1 Before αὕτις Cobet omits τις.
2 Before κατέλιπτεν Cobet omits οὕτος.
3 οὕτω φιλοσοφήσαι Reiske suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
shall presently try to prove), let us consider it in due course from its actual practice—and pursue it like hounds that track down wild beasts in the chase.

Now the founder of this philosophy to whom we are to attribute it, in the first instance, is not easy to discover, even though some think that the title belongs to Antisthenes and Diogenes. At least the saying of Oenomaus \(^1\) seems to be not without good grounds: “The Cynic philosophy is neither Antisthenism nor Diogenism.” Moreover the better sort of Cynics assert that in addition to the other blessings bestowed on us by mighty Heracles, it was he who bequeathed to mankind the noblest example of this mode of life.\(^2\) But for my part, while I desire to speak with due reverence of the gods and of those who have attained to their functions, I still believe that even before Heracles, not only among the Greeks but among the barbarians also, there were men who practised this philosophy. For it seems to be in some ways a universal philosophy, and the most natural, and to demand no special study whatsoever. But it is enough simply to choose the honourable by desiring virtue and avoiding evil; and so there is no need to turn over countless books. For as the saying goes, “Much learning does not teach men to have understanding.”\(^3\) Nor is it necessary to subject oneself to any part of such a discipline as they must undergo who enter other philosophic sects. Nay it is enough merely to hearken to the Pythian god when he enjoins these

\(^1\) Of Gadara, a Cynic philosopher whose date is probably the second century A.D.; cf. 199 A, 209 B, 210 D, 212 A.

\(^2\) Lucian, *Sale of Creeds* 8, makes Diogenes say that he had modelled himself on Heracles.

\(^3\) Heracleitus fr. 16, Bywater.
ΤΑ ΟΡΑΤΙΟΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ, ΒΩ

παραπονεύοντας ἀκούσαι, τὸ Γνῶθι σαῦταν καὶ Παρακάλου οὐ τὸ νόμισμα· πέφηνεν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρχηγὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὅσπερ οἶμαι τοῖς Ἑλληστῆς κατέστη τῶν καλῶν ἀπόστων αὖτις, ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινὸς ἠγεμόνι καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ βασιλεύς, ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεός, ὥν ἐπείδη μῆθες ἦν τι διαλαθεῖν, οὔδε ἡ Διογένειος ἐπιτηδεύσθη ἔλαθε. προῦτρεψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅσπερ τὸν ἄλλους ἐπεισὶν ἐντείνως τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἀλλ’ ἔργῳ Β διᾶδας κων ῥ καὶ βουλεῖται συμβολικῶς διὰ δυσών ὁνομάτων, Παρακάλου εἰπὼν τὸ νόμισμα· τὸ γὰρ Γνῶθι σαῦταν οὐκ ἐκεῖνῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφή καὶ λέγει, προκείται γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦ τεμένους. ηὐρήκαμεν δὴ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὃς τού καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος φησιν Ἰαμβλίχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν αὐτῇ, Ἀντισθένη καὶ Διογένη καὶ Κράτητα, οἷς τοῦ βίου σκοτὸς ἦν καὶ τέλος αὐτοῦς οἶμαι γνώναι καὶ τῶν κενῶν ὑπεριδεῖν δοξῶν, ἀληθείας δὲ, ἡ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπως ἥγεται, ὡς, φασίν, ἐπιδράζειόν τῇ διανοίᾳ, οἱ οἶμαι καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σωκράτης οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ Ζήνων ἕνεκα πάντα ὑπέμειναι πόνου, αὐτοῦς τε ἐθέλοντες γνώναι καὶ μὴ κεναῖς ἐπεσθαί δόξας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀνιχνεύσαι.

1 μόνον Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

two precepts, “Know Thyself,” and “Falsify the common currency.” 1 Hence it becomes evident to us that the founder of this philosophy is he who, I believe, is the cause of all the blessings that the Greeks enjoy, the universal leader, law-giver and king of Hellas, I mean the god of Delphi. 2 And since it was not permitted that he should be in ignorance of aught, the peculiar fitness of Diogenes did not escape his notice. And he made him incline to that philosophy, not by urging his commands in words alone, as he does for other men, but in very deed he instructed him symbolically as to what he willed, in two words, when he said, “Falsify the common currency.” For “Know Thyself” he addressed not only to Diogenes, but to other men also and still does: for it stands there engraved in front of his shrine. And so we have at last discovered the founder of this philosophy, even as the divine Iamblichus also declares, yes, and we have discovered its leading men as well, namely Antisthenes and Diogenes and Crates; 3 the aim and end of whose lives was, I think, to know themselves, to despise vain opinions, and to lay hold of truth with their whole understanding; for truth, alike for gods and men, is the beginning of every good thing; 4 and it was, I think, for her sake that Plato and Pythagoras and Socrates and the Peripatetic philosophers and Zeno spared no pains, because they wished to know themselves, and not to follow vain opinions but to track down truth among all things that are.

1 Cf. Oration 7. 208 d, 211 b, 211 c. 2 Apollo.
3 Of Thebes, the Cynic philosopher, a pupil of Diogenes; he lived in the latter half of the fourth century b.c.
4 Plato, Laws 730 b.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

Φέρε οὖν, ἐπειδή πέφηνεν οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιτη-
δεύσας Πλάτων, ἔτερον δὲ Διογένης, ἐν δὲ τι καὶ
ταύτων: εἰ γοῦν ἔροιτό τις τῶν σοφῶν Πλάτωνα "τὸ
Γνῶθι σαυτὸν πόσου νενόμικας ἄξιον;" εὐ οἴδα ὅτι
τοῦ παντὸς ἄν φήσεις, καὶ λέγει δὲ ἐν 'Αλκιβιάδη. Δ
δεύο δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο φράσον ἡμῖν, ὃ δαιμόνιε
Πλάτων καὶ θεῶν ἐκγονε "Τίνα τρόπον χρη
πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διακείσθαι δόξας," ταῦτά
τε ἐρεῖ καὶ ἐτὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὄλους ἡμῖν ἐπιτάξει
διαρρήθην ἀναγυώναι τὸν Κρίτωνα διάλογον, οὕ
φαίνεται παραίνων Σωκράτης μηδὲν φροντίζειν
ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων φησὶ γοῦν. " Ἀλλὰ τι ἡμῖν,
ὦ μακάριε Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης 189
μέλει;" εἰτα ἡμεῖς τούτων ὑπεριδόντες ἀποτει-
χίζειν ἀπλῶς οὕτωσι καὶ ἀποσταῖν ἀνδρᾶς ἀλλή-
λῶν ἐθέλομεν, οὐς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας συνήγαγεν
ἔρως ἢ τε τῆς δόξης ὑπεροψία καὶ ἡ πρὸς
τὸν ζῆλον τῆς ἀρετῆς ξύμπυνοια; εἰ δὲ Πλάτωνι
μὲν ἔδοξε καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὰ ἐργαζόμεθα,
Διογένει δὲ ἀπέχρη τὰ ἔργα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιος ἐστὶν
ὑφ' ύμῶν ἀκούειν κακῶς; ὥρα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο
αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ κρείττον ἐστὶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων
ἐξομνύμενος φαίνεται τὰ ξυγγράμματα. "Οὐ γάρ Β
ἔστι Πλάτωνος," φησί, "ξύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐσται, τὰ δὲ νῦν φερόμενα ἐστὶ Σωκράτους, ἀνδρὸς

26
And now, since it has become evident that Plato was not pursuing one aim and Diogenes another, but their end was one and the same: suppose one should inquire of the wise Plato: What value do you set on the precept "Know Thyself"? I am very sure that he would answer that it is worth everything, and indeed he says so in the Alcibiades.¹ Come then tell us next, divine Plato, scion of the gods, how one ought to be disposed towards the opinions of the many? He will give the same answer, and moreover he will expressly enjoin on us to read his dialogue the Crito,² where Socrates is shown warning us not to take heed of such things. At any rate what he says is: "But why, my dear good Crito, are we so concerned about the opinion of the multitude?" And now are we to ignore all this evidence, and without further question fence off from one another and force apart men whom the passion for truth, the scorn of opinion, and unanimity in zeal for virtue have joined together? And if Plato chose to achieve his aim through words, whereas for Diogenes deeds sufficed, does the latter on that account deserve to be criticised by you? Nay, consider whether that same method of his be not in every respect superior; since we see that Plato for himself forswore written compositions. "For" he says,³ "there are no writings by Plato nor ever will be, and what now pass current as his are the work of Socrates, the ever fair and

¹ Alcibiades i. 129 A.  
² Crito 44 c.  
³ Epistle 2. 314 c; Julian quotes from memory and slightly alters the original; Plato meant that in his dialogues he had suppressed his own personality in favour of Socrates.
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καλοῦ καὶ νέου." τί οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν τοῦ Διογένους σκοποῦμεν αὐτὸν τὸν Κυνισμόν, ὡστὶς ἐστὶν;

Οὐκοὖν ἐπειδὴ σῶματος μέρη μὲν ἐστὶν, οἷον ὄφθαλμοι, πόδες, χεῖρες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπισυμβαίνει, τρίχες, ὄνυχες, ῥύπος, τοιοῦτων περιττωμάτων γένος, ὃν ἀνεῖ σώμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀμήχανον εἶναι, πότερον οὐ γελοῖος ἐστιν ὁ μέρη Κ νομίσας ὄνυχας ἢ τρίχας ἢ ῥύπον καὶ τὰ δυσώδη τῶν περιττωμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ τιμώτατα καὶ σπουδαῖα, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητήρια καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἀττα συνεσεῖς ἢμῖν ἐστὶ μάλλον αἴτια, οἷον ὄφθαλμοι, ἀκοὰς; ὑποργεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς φρόνησιν εἴτε ἐγκατορφυρυμένη τῇ ψυχῇ, ὥς ἂν θάττον καθαρθεῖσα δύνατο τῇ καθαρᾷ χρήσθαι 1 καὶ ἀκινήτῳ τοῦ φρονεῖν δυνάμει, εἴτε, ὡσπερ τινὲς ὅρον ται, καθάπερ δι' ὅχετων τοιούτων εἰσφεροῦσι τῆς ψυχῆς. συλλέγουσα γὰρ, φασί, D τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήματα καὶ συνέχουσα τῇ μνήμῃ γεννᾶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας. ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐνθέον ἡ τέλειοι ἐμποδιζόμενον δὲ 2 ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ὃ τῶν έκτος ποιεῖτα τὴν ἀντίληψιν, οὔδ' ἂν δυνατὸν οἴμαι γενέσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὴν 3 ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῖς μὲν προσήκει.

Διόπερ ἐπανακτέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῆς κυκλῆς. φαίνονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτωι διμερῆ

1 τῇ καθαρᾷ χρήσθαι Hertlein suggests, τῇ γε ὡς ἀρχῇ MSS., corrupt.
2 δὲ Hertlein suggests.
3 τὴν Naber suggests.
ever young." Why then should we not from the practice of Diogenes study the character of the Cynic philosophy?

Now the body consists of certain parts such as eyes, feet and hands, but there are besides other parts, hair, nails, ordure, a whole class of accessories of that sort without which the human body cannot exist. Then is it not absurd for a man to take into account such parts, I mean hair or nails or ordure or such unpleasant accessories, rather than those parts that are most precious and important, in the first place, for instance, the organs of perception, and among these more especially the instruments whereby we apprehend, namely the eyes and ears? For these aid the soul to think intelligently, whether it be buried deep in the body and they enable it to purify itself more readily and to use its pure and steadfast faculty of thought, or whether, as some think, it is through them that the soul enters in as though by channels.¹

For, as we are told, by collecting individual perceptions and linking them through the memory she brings forth the sciences. And for my own part, I think that if there were not something of this sort, either incomplete in itself or perfect but hindered by other things many and various, which brings about our apprehension of externals, it would not even be possible for us to apprehend the objects of sense-perception. But this line of argument has little to do with the present question.

Accordingly we must go back to the divisions of the Cynic philosophy. For the Cynics also seem to

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tn philosophy nomoantes wsper 6' Aристотέλης kai Plátωn, theōrmatikn te kai praktikn, autò touto1 sunénete dhlonotai kai nohsantes, ós oikeioin estin anthropos fúsei práxei kai épisthēm. eî de tis fusihs tìn thewria2 èxeklivan, oudein touto prós tòv logon. epei kai Swkratès kai pleioves allloi thewria mén fai-
nontai xrhsámenvoi pollh, taúth de ouk allon xariv, allà tòs prάxeos: epei kai tò évnton gevnavi touto évomias, tò mafein ákrbois, tì B mèn ápodoitòn pschì, tì de sômati ápédosan de3 eikótis ëgevmonian men tò pschì, úpíreshìan de tò sômati. faiównontai dh ouv ëréthi évnthèdeusantes, ègkrátien, ántphian, élenutherian, èxó ëgevmenoi paútòs phônou, deilías, deisidaimonías. òll' ouv hmeis taúta úpèr autòn diavou'meða, paìxein de autous kai kubhein peri tois filutatous úpo-
lambánomen, ou'tos úpersevntas toù sômatos, C òws ò Swkratès éfhi légon orðhòs melethn einai thvatóu tìn philosophy. touto èkeinoi kath'
èkásth th méran évnthèdeusontes ou ëghlòtoî malloù hmn, òthloì de tines kai pauteidòs anóthtoi
dokouniv4 ònth touto de5 tou's tônous úpeimevna

1 autò touto Hertlein suggests, autòu MSS.
2 tìn thewrian Hertlein suggests, proò tìn thewrian MSS.,
thewrias Petavius.
3 de after ápédosan Hertlein suggests, te MSS.
4 dokouniv Hertlein suggests, dokouniv, MSS.
5 de Hertlein suggests, dh MSS.
6 toutous; ouv òs Hertlein suggests, toutous, òs MSS.
7 kai yap Hertlein suggests, kaitoi MSS.
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have thought that there were two branches of philosophy, as did Aristotle and Plato, namely speculative and practical, evidently because they had observed and understood that man is by nature suited both to action and to the pursuit of knowledge. And though they avoided the study of natural philosophy, that does not affect the argument. For Socrates and many others also, as we know, devoted themselves to speculation, but it was solely for practical ends. For they thought that even self-knowledge meant learning precisely what must be assigned to the soul, and what to the body. And to the soul they naturally assigned supremacy, and to the body subjection. This seems to be the reason why they practised virtue, self-control, modesty and freedom, and why they shunned all forms of envy, cowardice and superstition. But this, you will say, is not the view that we hold about them, for we are to think that they were not in earnest, and that they hazarded what is most precious in thus despising the body; as Socrates did when he declared, and rightly, that philosophy is a preparation for death. And since this was the aim that the Cynics pursued daily, we need not emulate them any more than the others, but we are to think them miserable beings and altogether foolish. But why was it that they endured those hardships? Surely not from ostentation, as you declared. For how could they win

1 Plato, Protagoras 314 A. 2 Phaedo 81 A.
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προσφερόμενοι σαρκίας; καί τοί δώδε αυτός ἐπανέφετης εἰς τοῦ γούν τουιτοῦ τρίβονα καὶ τὴν D κόμην, ὅσπερ αὐτὸς ἐγραφαί τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀπομιμοῦμενος εἰς ὧν μὴ δώδε αὐτὸς ἀξιώγαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις, τοῦτο εὐδοκιμεῖν οἴει παρὰ τῷ πλήθει; καὶ εἰς μὲν ἡ δεύτερος ἐπήνει τότε, πλεῖν δ' οὖν ἡ δέκα μυριάδες ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτιᾶς καὶ βδελυρίας διεστράφησαν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἀπόσιτοι γεγόνασιν, ἀρχαὶ αὐτοῦς οἱ θεράποντες ἀνέλαβον ὀσμαῖς καὶ μύροις καὶ πέμμασιν. οὕτως δ' ἐκεῖνος ἤρως ἔργῳ 191 κατεπλήξατο γελοίῳ μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτοις,

Οἶοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσίν,

οὔκ ἀγεννεῖ δὲ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ τις αὐτὸ κατὰ τὴν Διογένους ἐξηγήσατο σύνεσιν. ὅσπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φήσει, ὅτι τῷ θεῷ νομίζων λατρείαν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν τῷ τῶν δοθέντα χρησμὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα σκοπῶν ἐξετάζειν τὸν ἑλεγκτικὸν ἑσπάσατο βίον, τούτῳ καὶ Διογένης οἷμαι συνειδῶς ἐαυτῷ, πυθόχρηστον οὖσαν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἔργοις φέτο δεῖν ἐξελέγχειν πάντα καὶ μὴ δόξαις ἄλλως, τυχόν μὲν ἄληθεσί, τυχόν δὲ ζευνόσει προσπεποθήκαν. οὖκ οὖν οὔδὲ εἰ τῷ Πυθαγόρας ἔφη, οὔδὲ εἰ τῆς ἄλλος τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ παραπλήσιος, ἀξιόπιστος ἔδώκει τῷ Διογένει. τὸν γὰρ θεόν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ 1 οὐδένα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀρχηγὸν ἐπεποίητο. τὶ δὴ τοῦτο, Σ ἐρεῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδή; ἐγὼ σοι φράσω.

Τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώπως ὑπολαμβάνουσι κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἤκιστα τοῦτο ἐργάζε-

1 δὲ after ἀνθρώπων Hertlein suggests.
applause from other men by eating raw meat? Certainly you yourself do not applaud them for this. At any rate, when you imitate one of those Cynics by carrying a staff and wearing your hair long, as it is shown in their pictures, do you think that you thereby gain a reputation with the crowd, though you do not yourself think those habits worthy of admiration? One or two, indeed, used to applaud him in his own day, but more than ten times ten thousand had their stomachs turned by nausea and loathing, and went fasting until their attendants revived them with perfumes and myrrh and cakes. So greatly did that renowned hero shock them by an act which seems absurd to men "of such sort as mortals now are," though, by the gods, it was not ignoble, if one should explain it according to the intention of Diogenes. For just as Socrates said of himself that he embraced the life of cross-examining because he believed that he could perform his service to the god only by examining in all its bearings the meaning of the oracle that had been uttered concerning him, so I think Diogenes also, because he was convinced that philosophy was ordained by the Pythian oracle, believed that he ought to test everything by facts and not be influenced by the opinions of others, which may be true and may be false. Accordingly Diogenes did not think that every statement of Pythagoras, or any man like Pythagoras, was necessarily true. For he held that God and no human being is the founder of philosophy. And pray what, you will say, has this to do with the eating of octopus? I will tell you.

To eat meat some regard as natural to man, while others think that to follow this practice is not at all

1 *Iliad* 5. 304.
σθαὶ προσῆκειν ἀνθρώπῳ διανοοῦνται, καὶ πολὺς ο ἐθέλοντι οὐν σοι μὴ βαθμεῖν ἐσμοὶ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον βίβλων φανήσονται. τούτους Διογένης ἐξελέγχειν φέτος δείν. διενοὴθη γονὶ οὕτως: εἰ μὲν ἀπραγμα-
τεύτως ἐσθίων τις σάρκας, ὡσπερ οἴμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἔκαστον θηρίων, οἷς τούτο ἔνειμεν ἡ φύσις, D ἀβλαβῶς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνεπαλθῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὠφελείας ἐργαζόμεθα, κατὰ ψυχὴν εἶναι πάντως τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν ὑπέλαβον· εἰ δὲ τις ἐνέτειθεν γένοιτο βλάβη, οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἄνθρώπου τὸ ἔργον ἵσως ἔνόμισεν, ἀλλ’ ἀφεκτέον εἶναι κατὰ κράτος αὐτοῦ. εἰς μὲν οὖν ἄν εἰς 
τοιοῦτος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος ἱσως βιαστέρος λόγος, έτερος δὲ οἰκείοτέρος τῷ Κυνισμῷ, εἰ περὶ 
τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐτί σαφέστερον διελ-
θοῦμεν.

'Απάθειαν γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· τοῦτο δὲ 192 
ἰσων ἐστὶ τῷ θεῶν γενέσθαι. αἰσθανόμενοι οὖν 
ἰσων αὐτοῦ. Διογένης ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶν 
ἀπαθοῦς, ὅπο δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐδωδὴς μόνον θρα-
τομένου καὶ ναυτιώτου καὶ δόξη κενὴ μᾶλλον 2 
ἡ λόγος διδουλωμένου σάρκας γὰρ εἰσὶν οὐδὲν 
ἡττου, καὶ μυριάκις αὐτὰς ἐψήφη, καὶ ὑποτρίμ-
μασι μυρίως τις αὐτὰς καρυκεύσῃ καὶ ταύτῃς 
αὐτοῦ ἀφελέσθαι καὶ καταστήσαι παντάπασιν 
ἐξάντη τῆς δειλίας ὑφήθη χρήμαι. δειλία γὰρ ἔστιν, Β 
ἐν ἵσθι, τὸ γονὶ τοιοῦτον. ἐπὲ πρὸς τῆς Θεσμο-
φόρου εἰ σαρκῶν ἴψημένων ἀπτόμεθα, τοῦ χάριν

1 ἀναλώται Hertlein suggests, δείκνυται MSS.
2 μᾶλλον Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.
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appropriate for man, and this question has been much debated. And if you are willing to make the effort, you can see with your own eyes swarms of books on the subject. These Diogenes thought it his duty to refute. At any rate his own view was as follows. If one can eat meat without taking too much trouble to prepare it, as can all other animals to whom nature has assigned this diet, and can do it without harm or discomfort, or rather with actual benefit to the body, then he thought that eating meat is entirely in accordance with nature. But if harm came of it, then he apparently thought that the practice is not appropriate for man, and that he must abstain from it by all means. Here then you have a theory on this question, though perhaps it is too far-fetched: but here is another more akin to Cynicism, only I must first describe more clearly the end and aim of that philosophy.

Freedom from emotion they regard as the end and aim; and this is equivalent to becoming a god. Now perhaps Diogenes observed that in the case of all other foods he himself had no particular sensations, and that only raw meat gave him indigestion and nausea, and took this for a proof that he was enslaved to vain opinion rather than reason; for flesh is none the less flesh, even though you cook it any number of times or season it with any number of sauces. This, I say, was why he thought he ought to rid and free himself altogether of this cowardice; for you may be sure that this sort of thing is cowardice. And in the name of the Law-Giving goddess,¹ tell me why if we used cooked meats we do

¹ Demeter, who regulated the customs of civilised life, especially agriculture: her festival was the Thesmophoria.
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οὕχι καὶ ἄπλως αὐτὰς προσφερόμεθα, φράσον ἣμιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ἑτερον εἴπειν ἢ ὅτι οὕτω νεώμισται καὶ οὕτω συνειδήσημεθα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὶν μὲν ἐφηθήναι βδελυρὰ πέφυκεν, ἐφηθέντα δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀγνότερα. τί δὴτα ἐχρὴν πράττειν τὸν γε C παρὰ θεοῦ ταχθὲντα καθάπερ στρατηγοῦ τὰν μὲν ἐξελεῖν τὸ νόμισμα, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθεία κρίναι τὰ πράγματα; περιδεῖν αὐτὸν υπὸ ταύτης τής δόξης ἐνοχλούμενον, ὡς νομίζειν ὅτι κρέας μὲν ἐστιν ἐφηθὲν ἀγνὸν καὶ ἐδώδιμον, μὴ κατεργασθὲν δὲ υπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς μυσαρόν τον καὶ βδελυρόν; οὕτως εἱ μνήμων; οὕτως εἴ σπουδαῖος; ὃς τοσοῦτον ὀνειδίζων τῷ κενοδόξῳ, κατὰ σὲ φάναι, Διογένει, D κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ τῷ σπουδαιοτάτῳ θεράπουντι καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ τοῦ Πυθίου, τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδώδην κατεδήδοκας μυρίους ταρίχους,

'Ἰχθύς ὁρυθάσ τε φίλας θ' ὅτι χείρας ἱκοίτο,

Ἀγόπτιος γε ὅν, οὐ τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παμφάγων, οἷς πάντα ἐσθίειν νόμος ὡς λάχανα χόρτου γνωρίζεις οἴμαι τῶν Γαλαλαίων τὰ ρήματα. 193 μικροῦ με παρῆλθεν εἴπειν, ὅτι καὶ πάντες ἀνθρωποι πλησίον οἰκούντες θαλάττης, ἡδὴ δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν πόρρω, οὐδὲ θερμήναντες καταρροφοῦσιν εχίνους, ὀστρεὰ καὶ πάντα ἄπλως τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶτα εκείνους μὲν ὑπολαμβάνεις ξηλωτοὺς, ἅθλιον δὲ καὶ βδελυρῶν ἡγῇ Διογένη, καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὡς οὔδεν μᾶλλον ταύτα εκείνων ἐστὶ σαρκία· πλὴν

1 πως Hertlein suggests, ίσως MSS.
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not eat them in their natural state also? You can give me no other answer than that this has become a custom and a habit with us. For surely we cannot say that before meat is cooked it is disgusting and that by being cooked it becomes purer than it was by nature. What then was it right for him to do who had been appointed by God like a general in command to do away with the common currency and to judge all questions by the criterion of reason and truth? Ought he to have shut his eyes and been so far fettered by this general opinion as to believe that flesh by being cooked becomes pure and fit for food, but that when it has not been acted upon by fire it is somehow abominable and loathsome? Is this the sort of memory you have? Is this your zeal for truth? For though you so severely criticised Diogenes the vain-glorious, as you call him—though I call him the most zealous servant and vassal of the Pythian god—for eating octopus, you yourself have devoured endless pickled food, “Fish and birds and whatever else might come to hand.”¹ For you are an Egyptian, though not of the priestly caste, but of the omnivorous type whose habit it is to eat everything “even as the green herb.”² You recognise, I suppose, the words of the Galilaeans. I almost omitted to say that all men who live near the sea, and even some who live at a distance from it, swallow down sea-urchins, oysters and in general everything of the kind without even heating them. And then you think they are enviable, whereas you regard Diogenes as contemptible and disgusting, and you do not perceive that those shell-fish are flesh just as much as what he ate? Except perhaps that

¹ Odyssey 12. 331. ² Genesis 9. 3.
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ίσως ταῦτα ἑκείνων διαφέρει τῷ τὰ μὲν εἶναι μαλὰκα, τὰ δὲ σκληρότερα. ἀναιμος γοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ πολύπος ὦσπερ ἑκείνα, ἐμψυχα δὲ B ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ὀστρακόδερμα καθάπερ καὶ οὕτως ἦδεται γοῦν καὶ λυπεῖται, δι τῶν ἐμψύχων μάλιστα ἔστιν ἤδιον. ἐνοχλεῖτω δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἤ Πλατωνικὴ ταῦτα δόξα ἐμψυχα ύπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τὰ φυτά. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὔτι ἄλογον ὁ οὐδὲ παράνομον οὐδὲ ἀσύνηθες ὑμῖν ὁ γενναιός εἰργάσατο Διογένης, εἰ μὴ τῷ σκληρότερῳ καὶ μαλακωτέρῳ, ἠδοὺ τε λαιμοῦ καὶ ἀγδὰ τὰ τοιαύτα τις ἐξετάζοι, πρόδηλον οἶμαι τοῖς ὀπωσοῦν ἐπεσθαί λόγῳ δυναμένους. οὐκ ἀρα τὴν ἀμοφαγίαν βδελύττεσθε οἱ τὰ παραπτήσα ὑρώνες, οὐκ ἔτι C τῶν ἀναιμῶν μόνον ξώνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι τῶν αἵμα ἔχων των. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἰσως διαφερέσθε πρὸς ἑκείνου, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀπλῶς ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν φήσῃ χρήναι προσφέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' δὲ ύμεῖς καὶ πολλοὶς ἄλλοις ἀρτύσαντες ἡδονὴς ἑνεκα, τὴν φύσιν ὅπως βιάσησθε. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν ἔπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη.

Τῆς Κυνικῆς δὲ φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸς μὲν ἔστι D καὶ τέλος, ὦσπερ δὴ καὶ πάσης φιλοσοφίας, τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν εὖ τῷ ξῆν κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνει καὶ μέντοι καὶ ξώον πᾶσιν, ὅταν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἔκαστον ἀνεμποδιστῶς τυχάνη τέλος: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς τοῦτο ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονίας ὁρὸς, τὸ ἕχειν αὐτοὺς ὦσπερ πεφύκασι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι. οὕκοιν 194

1 οὔτι ἄλογον Hertlein suggests, οὗ χαλεπὸν MSS.
they differ in so far as the octopus is soft and shell-fish are harder. At any rate the octopus is bloodless, like hard-shelled fish, but the latter too are animate things like the octopus. At least they feel pleasure and pain, which is the peculiar characteristic of animate things. And here we must not be put out by Plato's theory¹ that plants also are animated by soul. But it is now, I think, evident to those who are in any way able to follow an argument, that what the excellent Diogenes did was not out of the way or irregular or contrary to our habits, that is if we do not in such cases apply the criterion of hardness and softness, but judge rather by the pleasure or distaste of the palate. And so it is not after all the eating of raw food that disgusts you, since you do the like, not only in the case of bloodless animals but also of those that have blood. But perhaps there is also this difference between you and Diogenes, that he thought he ought to eat such food just as it was and in the natural state, whereas you think you must first prepare it with salt and many other things to make it agreeable and so do violence to nature. I have now said enough on this subject.

Now the end and aim of the Cynic philosophy, as indeed of every philosophy, is happiness, but happiness that consists in living according to nature and not according to the opinions of the multitude. For plants too are considered to do well, and indeed all animals also, when without hindrance each attains the end designed for it by nature. Nay, even among the gods this is the definition of happiness, that their state should be according to their nature, and that they should be independent. And

¹ Timaeus 77 B.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὦν ἔτερωθί πον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην προσῆκει πολυπραγμονέας· οὐδὲ ἀτέσθος οὐδὲ πλάτανος οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ἄρχον ἢ φυτῶν χρυσά περιεργάζεται πτερὰ καὶ φύλλα, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἄργυρος ἐξεῖ τοὺς βλαστούς ἢ τὰ πλήκτρα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρᾶ, μάλλον δὲ ἀδαμάντινα, ἀλλ’ οἶς αὐτὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ φύσις ἐκόσμησε, ταῦτα εἰ ρωμαλέα καὶ πρὸς τάχος αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς ἀλκήν ὑπουργοῦντα προσγένοιτο, μάλιστα ἂν εὐ πράττειν νομίζοι καὶ εὐθυνεῖσθαι. Β πῶς οὖν οὐ γελοῖον, εἰ τις ἀνθρωπος γεγονὼς ἐξω πον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιεργάσαιτο, πλοῦτον καὶ γένος καὶ φίλων δύναμιν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαύτα τοῦ παντὸς ἥξια νομίζων; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἢ φύσις ὡσπερ τοῖς ἄρχους αὐτὸ τούτο ἀπέδωκε μόνον, τὸ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἐκείνους παραπλησίας, ὡστε μηδὲν πλέον πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἥρκει λοιπόν, ὡσπερ τὰ λουτᾶ ἦβα, C τοῖς σωματικῷς ἀρκεῖσθαι πλεονεκτήσασιν, ἐνταῦθα πον τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τὶ παραπλησία ψυχῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκέσπαρται ἄρχοις, ἀλλ’ εἰτε κατ’ οὕσιν διαφέρουσα εἰτε οὕσια μὲν ἀδιάφορος, ἐνεργεία δὲ μόνη κρέαττων, ὡσπερ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρὸν ἢ ἡ χρυσὸν τοῦ συμπεφυμένου τῇ ψάμμῳ λέγεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθῆς ὑπὸ τινῶν ἡμεῖς δὴ οὖν ἐπειδὴ σύνισθεν αὐτοῖς D οὐσὶ τῶν ἄρχων ἐπιστατέρως· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πρωταγόρου μύθον ἐκείνους μὲν ἡ φύσις ὡσπερ μήτηρ
so too in the case of human beings we must not be busy about happiness as if it were hidden away outside ourselves. Neither the eagle nor the plane tree nor anything else that has life, whether plant or animal, vainly troubles itself about wings or leaves of gold or that its shoots may be of silver or its stings and spurs of iron, or rather of adamant; but where nature in the beginning has adorned them with such things, they consider that, if only they are strong and serviceable for speed or defence, they themselves are fortunate and well provided. Then is it not absurd when a human being tries to find happiness somewhere outside himself, and thinks that wealth and birth and the influence of friends, and generally speaking everything of that sort is of the utmost importance? If however nature had bestowed on us only what she has bestowed on other animals, I mean the possession of bodies and souls like theirs, so that we need concern ourselves with nothing beyond, then it would suffice for us, as for all other animals, to content ourselves with physical advantages, and to pursue happiness within this field. But in us has been implanted a soul that in no way resembles other animals; and whether it be different in essence, or not different in essence but superior in its activity only, just as, I suppose, pure gold is superior to gold alloyed with sand,—for some people hold this theory to be true of the soul,—at any rate we surely know that we are more intelligent than other animals. For according to the myth in the Protagoras,¹ nature dealt with them very gener-

¹ Plato, *Protagoras* 321 A, B; Plato however says that the theft of fire by Prometheus saved mankind, and that later Zeus bestowed on them the political art.
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ἀγαν φιλότιμως καὶ μεγαλοδόρως προσηνέχθη, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἐκ Διὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐδόθη· τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐνταῦθα θετέον, ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ σπουδαιότατῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν.

Σκόπει δὴ, ταύτης εἰ μὴ μάλιστα τής προαιρέσεως ἢν Διογένης, διὸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἀνέδην παρείχεν, ἵνα αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ῥωμαλεωτερον καταστήσῃ, πράπτειν δὲ ἡξίου μόνον ὅποσα ἄν φανῇ τῷ λόγῳ πρακτεά, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπίπτοντας τῇ ψυχῇ θορύβους, οἷα πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει τούτῳ τὸ περικείμενον αὐτοῦ χάριν πολυπραγμονείν, οὐδὲ ἐν μέρει προσέτο. ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ ἄνὴρ οὖτω μὲν ἔσχεν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ σῶμα ὡς οὖντες οὐμα τῶν τῶν στεφανίτας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὕτω δὲ διετέθη τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡστε εὐδαιμονείν, ὡστε βασιλεύειν οὐδὲν ἐλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ὡς οἱ τότε εἰσθέσαν λέγειν Ἔλληνες, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, τὸν Πέρσην λέγοντες. ἀρά σοι μικρὰ φαίνεται ἄνηρ

'Απολις, ᾠκος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
οὐκ ὄβολον, οὐ δραχμήν, ἐχὼν 1 οὐδ' οἰκέτην,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μᾶζαν, ἢς Ἐπίκουρος εὐποροῦν οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φήσιν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας λόγον ἐλαττοῦσθαι,
πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔριζον, τοῦ δοκοῦστος δὲ Σ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονεστάτων εὐδαιμονεστέρων ἔσον καὶ ἔλεγεν ἔσην εὐδαιμονεστέρων. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,

1 ἐχὼν οὖδ' οἰκέτην Kaibel, οὐκ οἰκέτην ἐχὼν Hertlein, MSS.; Hertlein prints the second verse as prose.

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TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

ously and bountifully, like a mother, but to com-
penstate for all this, mind was bestowed on us by
Zeus. Therefore in our minds, in the best and
noblest part of us, we must say that happiness
resides.

Now consider whether Diogenes did not above all
other men profess this belief, since he freely exposed
his body to hardships so that he might make it
stronger than it was by nature. He allowed himself
to act only as the light of reason shows us that we
ought to act; and the perturbations that attack the
soul and are derived from the body, to which this
envelope of ours often constrains us for its sake to
pay too much attention, he did not take into account
at all. Thus by means of this discipline the man
made his body more vigorous, I believe, than that of
any who have contended for the prize of a crown in
the games: and his soul was so disposed that he was
happy and a king no less if not even more than the
Great King, as the Greeks used to call him in those
days, by which they meant the king of Persia. Then
does he seem to you of no importance, this man who
was "cityless, homeless, a man without a country,
owning not an obol, not a drachma, not a single
slave," 1 nay, not even a loaf of bread—and Epicurus
says that if he have bread enough and to spare he is
not inferior to the gods on the score of happiness.
Not that Diogenes tried to rival the gods, but he
lived more happily than one who is counted the
happiest of men, and he used actually to assert that
he lived more happily than such a man. And if you

1 Cf. Letter to Themistius 256 d; Nauck, Adespota
Fragmenta 6; Diogenes Laertius, 6. 38, says that this was a
favourite quotation of Diogenes; its source is unknown.
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ἐργα πειραθεὶς ἐκεῖνον τοῦ βλου καὶ οὐ τῷ λόγῳ αἰσθήσῃ.

Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐλέγξω-μεν. ἀρά σοι δοκεῖ τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώ-ποις ἡγεῖσθαι, τούτων δὴ τῶν πολυθρυλήτων, ἐλευθερίαν; πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσεις; ἔτει καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πλούτος καὶ γένους καὶ σώματος ἵσχυς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δίχα τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ήπιυχμείναι, τοῦ κτησαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἑστιν ἀγαθά; τίνα οὖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸν δούλου; ἀρα μὴ ποτὲ ἐκεῖνον, ἡν ἄν πρώμεθα δραχμῶν ἀργύριον τόσων ἢ μικρῶν δυνὸν ἢ χρυσίου στατήρων δέκα; ἐρεῖς δὴποθεῖν τοῦτο εἶναι ἄληθὸς δούλοιν. ἀρα δὶ αὐτὸ τούτο, ὅτι τὸ ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ πωλοῦντι κατα-

βεβλήκαμεν; οὕτω μεντάν εἰεν οἰκεῖαι καὶ ὁπό-

σους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λυτροῦμεθα. καίτοι καὶ

οἱ νόμοι τοῦτοι ἀποδεδώκασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν

σωθεῖσιν οἰκαδε, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπολυτροῦμεθα,

οὐχ ἦνα δουλεύσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἦνα ὅσον ἐλεύθεροι.

όρας ὥς οὐχ ἰκανόν ἑστιν ἀργύριον καταβαλεῖν ἐς

τὸ ἀποφήμα τοῦ λυτρωθέντα δούλου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος

ἑστιν ὡς ἄληθῶς δούλος, οὗ κύριος ἑστιν ἐτέρος

προσαναγκάσαι πράττειν ὃ,τι ἀν κελεύῃ, καὶ μὴ

βουλόμενον κόλασαι καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ

ποιητοῦ,


κακαίς ὄνυμησι πειλάζειν;

ὄρα δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ κύριοι πάντες ἡμῶν B

εἰσιν, οὐς ἀναγκαίοι ἡμῶν θεραπεύειν, ἢν μηδὲν

ἀλγῶμεν μηδὲ λυτρώμεθα κολαξομένοι παρ' αὐτῶν.
do not believe me, try his mode of life in deed and
not in word, and you will perceive the truth.

Come, let us first test it by reasoning. You think,
do you not, that for mankind freedom is the beginning
of all good things, I mean of course what people are
always calling good? How can you deny it? For
property, money, birth, physical strength, beauty and
in a word everything of the sort when divorced from
freedom are surely blessings that belong, not to him
who merely seems to enjoy them, but to him who is
that man's master? Whom then are we to regard as a
slave? Shall it be him whom we buy for so many silver
drachmas, for two minae or for ten staters of gold? 
Probably you will say that such a man is truly a
slave. And why? Is it because we have paid down
money for him to the seller? But in that case the
prisoners of war whom we ransom would be slaves.
And yet the law on the one hand grants these their
freedom when they have come safe home, and we on
the other hand ransom them not that they may
become slaves, but that they may be free. Do you
see then that in order to make a ransomed man a
slave it is not enough to pay down a sum of money,
but that man is truly a slave over whom another man
has power to compel him to do whatever he orders,
and if he refuse, to punish him and in the words of
the poet “to inflict grievous pains upon him”? Then
consider next whether we have not as many masters
as there are persons whom we are obliged to con-
ciliate in order not to suffer pain or annoyance from
being punished by them? Or do you think that the

1 Cf. 188 c, Plato, Laws 730 b.
2 The stater or Daric was worth about a sovereign.
3 Iliad 5. 766.
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η τούτο οίει κόλασιν μόνον, εἰ τις ἐπανατεινύμενος τὴν βακτηριάν καθίκοιτο τοῦ οἴκετου; καίτοι γε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ οἱ τραχύνατοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ πάντων ποιοῦσι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος ἀρκεῖ πολλάκις καὶ ἀπειλή. μήποτε οὖν, ὦ φίλε, Κ νομίσῃς εἶναι ἑλεύθερος, ἀχρίς οὐ γαστήρ ἀρχεῖ σοι καὶ τὰ ἐνερθὲν γαστρὸς οἱ τε τοῦ παρασχεῖν τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ταῦτα1 ἀποκολύσαι κύριοι, καὶ εἰ τούτων δὲ γένοιο κρέιττων, ἐως ἂν δουλεύῃς ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις, οὕτω τῆς ἑλευθερίας ἔθιγες οὐδὲ ἐγεύσω τοῦ νέκταρος,

Οὐ μα τὸν ἐν στέρνουσιν ἐμοῖς παραδόντα τετρακτύν.

καὶ οὐ τοῦτό φημι, ὡς ἀπερυθρίασαι χρὴ πρὸς Δ πάντας καὶ πράττειν τὰ μὴ πρακτέα· ἀλλ’ ὄν ἀπεχώμεθα καὶ δσα πράττομεν, μὴ διὰ τὸ τοὺς πολλοὺς δοκεῖν σπουδαῖα πῶς2 ἡ φαύλα, διὰ τούτο πράττομεν καὶ ἀπεχώμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ, τούτ’ ἐστὶ τῷ ψυ, ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἀπόρρητα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν κωλύει ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐπεσθαί δόξαις· ἀμείνοι γὰρ τούτο τοῦ παντάπασιν ἀπερυθρίαν· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἀνθρώ· 197 ποι φύσει πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οἰκείως· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἡ δὴ κατά νοῦν ξώντι καὶ τοὺς ὀρθοὺς εὑρεῖν τε δυναμένῳ καὶ κρῖναι λόγους προσήκει τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἐπεσθαί τοῖς νομιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὗ τε καὶ χείρον πράττεσθαι.

1 ταῦτά Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.
2 πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
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only sort of punishment is when a man lifts up his stick against a slave and strikes him? Yet not even the harshest masters do this in the case of all their slaves, but a word or a threat is often enough. Then never think, my friend, that you are free while your belly rules you and the part below the belly, since you will then have masters who can either furnish you the means of pleasure or deprive you of them; and even though you should prove yourself superior to these, so long as you are a slave to the opinions of the many you have not yet approached freedom or tasted its nectar, "I swear by him who set in my breast the mystery of the Four!" But I do not mean by this that we ought to be shameless before all men and to do what we ought not; but all that we refrain from and all that we do let us do not or refrain from, merely because it seems to the multitude somehow honourable or base, but because it is forbidden by reason and the god within us, that is, the mind. As for the multitude there is no reason why they should not follow common opinions, for that is better than that they should be altogether shameless, and indeed mankind is predisposed to the truth by nature. But a man who has attained to a life in accordance with intelligence and is able to discover and estimate right reasons, ought on no account whatever to follow the views held by the many about good and bad conduct.

1 An oath used by the Pythagoreans, who regarded the tetrad, the sum of the first four numbers, as symbolical of all proportion and perfection; cf. Aetios, Placita 1. 7. Pythagoras, Aureum Carmen 47, Mullach να μα τὸν ἀμετέρα ψυχὰ παραδόντα τετρακτύν.
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Οὔκοιν ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν θείοτερον, ὦ δὴ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησίν φαμεν καὶ λόγου τὸν σεγώμενον, οὐ κήρυξ ἐστὶν ὃ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς οὕτως λόγος προῖδων εἴξ ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, ἐτερον δὲ τι τοῦτῳ συνέξευκται ποικίλον καὶ παντοδαπόν, ὁργῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ξυμμυγές τι Β καὶ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, οὐ πρότερον χρῆ πρὸς τὰς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀτενῶς ὅρᾶν καὶ ἀδιατρέπτως, πρὶν ἀν τοῦτο δαμάσωμεν τὸ θηρίον καὶ πείσωμεν ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν θεῷ, μάλλον δὲ θείῳ. τοῦτο γὰρ πολλὸν τοῦ Διογένους ζηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες 1 ἐγένοντο παντορέκται καὶ μιαροὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ ἐνὸς κρείττους, ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, πρῶτον ἔργον ἔρω σοι Διογένους, ἐφ’ Ο ω γελάσονται μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰναι δοκεῖ σεμνότατον. ἐπειδὴ γάρ τὶς τῶν νέων ἐν ὄχλῳ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ Διογένους, ἀπέπαρδεν, ἐπάταξεν ἐκεῖνος τῇ βακτρίᾳ φας· εἶτα, ὦ κάθαρμα, μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ δημοσία τὰ τοιαῦτα θαρσεῖν πράξας ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῶν ἄρχῃ δόξης καταφρονεῖν; οὕτως ἥτιν το χρήμα πρότερον ἡδονῆς καὶ θυμοῦ κρείττουν γενέσθαι, πρὶν 2 ἐπὶ τὸ τελειότατον ἐλθεῖν τῶν παλαισμάτων, ἀποδυσάμενον πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ο πολλῶν δόξας αἱ μυρίων κακῶν αἰτιαί γίνονται τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Οὐκ οίσθα ὅτις τοὺς μὲν νέους τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπάγοισιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπ’ ἀλλοις τῶν

1 ζηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες Hertlein suggests, ζηλῶσαντες MSS.
2 πρὶν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τρίτον MSS.
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Since therefore one part of our souls is more divine, which we call mind and intelligence and silent reason, whose herald is this speech of ours made up of words and phrases and uttered through the voice; and since there is yoked therewith another part of the soul which is changeful and multiform, something composite of anger and appetite, a many-headed monster, we ought not to look steadily and unswervingly at the opinions of the multitude until we have tamed this wild beast and persuaded it to obey the god within us, or rather the divine part. For this it is that many disciples of Diogenes have ignored, and hence have become rapacious and depraved and no better than any one of the brute beasts. And to prove that this is not my own theory,¹ first I will relate to you something that Diogenes did, which the many will ridicule but to me it seems most dignified. Once when, in a crowd of people among whom was Diogenes, a certain youth made an unseemly noise, Diogenes struck him with his staff and said "And so, vile wretch, though you have done nothing that would give you the right to take such liberties in public, you are beginning here and before us to show your scorn of opinion?" So convinced was he that a man ought to subdue pleasure and passion before he proceeds to the final encounter of all ² and strips to wrestle with those opinions which to the multitude are the cause of evils innumerable.

Do you not know how people lure away the young from philosophy by continually uttering now one

¹ Euripides fr. 488; Misopogon 358 D.
² Cf. Oration 1. 40 b, 2. 74 c, notes.
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φιλοσόφων θρυλούντες; οί Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους χαρευταὶ γνήσιοι γότες εἶναι λέγονται καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ τετυφωμένοι καὶ φαρμακεῖς. τῶν Κυνικῶν εἶπο τις 198 γέγονε σπουδαῖος, ἐλεεινὸς δοκεῖ· μέμνημαι γοῦν ἐγὼ ποτέ τροφέως εἰπόντος πρὸς με, ἐπειδή τὸν ἐταίρον εἶδεν Ἰφικλέα αὐχμηρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν κόμην καὶ κατερρωγότα τὰ στέρνα ἰμάτιον τε παντάπασι φαίλον ἐν δεινῷ χειμῶνι τίς ἀρα δαίμων τοῦτον εἰς ταῦτην περιέτρεψε τὴν συμφορὰν, ὡς ἤς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐλεεῖνος, ἐλεεινότεροι δὲ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ, θρησκευτέροι σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ παιδεύσαντες ὡς ἐνεδέχετο σπουδαίως, ὁ δὲ οὖτω Β νῦν περιέρχεται, πάντα ἄφεις, οὐδὲν τῶν προσα- 

toῦντων κρέεττων; ἐκείνου μὲν ὅν ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τότε κατερρωγότα ἐν λέγετε ἱσθι 
tαῦτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄληθῶς κυνῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς 
dιανοούμενοις. καὶ οὗ τοῦτο δεινὸν ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' 

όρας ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγατάν πείθουσι καὶ πενίαν 
mισεῖν καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεύει χαὶ τοῦ 


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1 ταῦτα καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ ταῦτα MSS.
slander and then another against all the philosophers in turn? The genuine disciples of Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle are called sorcerers and sophists and conceited and quacks. If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity. For instance I remember that once my tutor said to me when he saw my fellow-pupil Iphicles with his hair unkempt and his clothes in tatters on his chest and wearing a wretched cloak in severe winter weather: "What evil genius can have plunged him into this sad state which makes not only him pitiable but even more so his parents who reared him with care and gave him the best education they could! And now he goes about in this condition, neglecting everything and no better than a beggar!"

At the time I answered him with some pleasantry or other. But I assure you that the multitude hold these views about genuine Cynics also. And that is not so dreadful, but do you see that they persuade them to love wealth, to hate poverty, to minister to the belly, to endure any toil for the body's sake, to fatten that prison of the soul, to keep up an expensive table, never to sleep alone at night, provided only that they do all this in the dark and are not found out? Is not this worse than Tartarus? Is it not better to sink beneath Charybdis and Cocytus or ten thousand fathoms deep in the earth than to fall into a life like this, enslaved to lust and appetite, and not even to these simply and openly, like the beasts, but to take pains so that when we act thus we may

1 Cf. Plato, Epistles 326 b.
2 An echo of Xenophon, Anabasis 7. 1. 29.
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λάθοιμεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκότῳ ταύτα ἐξεργαζόμενοι; καὶ τοι πόσῳ κρείττον ἀπέχει δια τοῦ Παντάπασιν θεω τούτων; εἰ δὲ μὴ βάδιον, οἱ Διογένεως νόμοι καὶ Κράτησ τοῦ τούτων οὐκ ἀτμιστέοι· ἐρωτα λύει λιμός, ἄν δὲ τούτῳ χρήσθαι μὴ δύνη, βρόχος. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι ταύτα ἐπέραζαν ἐκεῖνοι τῷ βίῳ διδόντες ὁδὸν εὐτελείας; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαζοφάγων, φησὶν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ τύραννοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ 199 τῶν δειπνούντων πολυτελῶς. καὶ ὁ Κράτης μέντοι πεποίηκεν ὁμοὶ εἰς τὴν Εὐτελείαν.

Χαίρε, θεά δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπτημα, Εὐτελίη, κλεινῆς ἐγγονε Σωφροσύνης.

ἐστώ δὴ μὴ κατὰ τῶν Οἰνόμαν ο κύων ἀναίδης μηδὲ ἀναίσχυντος μηδὲ ὑπεροπτῆς πάντων ὁμοί θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβῆς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ θείον, ἀστερ Ἔραγάνης· ἐπείσθη γοῦν Β ἐκεῖνος τῷ Πυθίῳ, καὶ οὐ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ πεισθέντι· εἰ δὲ, ὅτι μὴ προσήκει μηδὲ ἐθεράπευε τοὺς νεώς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδὲ τοὺς βασιλέας, οἶται τις ἀθέοτητος εἶναι σημεῖον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς νομίζει ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ λιβαντός, οὐ σπονδή, οὐκ ἀργύριον, θεν αὐτὰ πρίατο. εἰ δὲ ἐνόει περὶ θεῶν ὀρθῶς, ἠρκεῖ τούτῳ μόνῳ αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐθεράπευε τῇ ψυχῇ, διδοὺς οἶμαι τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ καθοσιώσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆν διὰ τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἀπερυθριάτῳ δὲ μη- Σ δαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ πρῶτερον μὲν αὐτῷ χειρόθες καταστησάτω τὸ παθηματικὸν

1 δύνη Hertlein suggests, cf. Diogenes Laertius 6. 5. 2; δύνασαι MSS.
2 ἐθεράπευε Hertlein suggests, ἐθεράπευσε MSS.

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be hidden under cover of darkness? And yet how much better is it to refrain altogether from all this! And if that be difficult the rules of Diogenes and Crates on these matters are not to be despised: "Fasting quenches desire, and if you cannot fast, hang yourself."¹ Do you not know that those great men lived as they did in order to introduce among men the way of plain living? "For," says Diogenes, "it is not among men who live on bread that you will find tyrants, but among those who eat costly dinners." Moreover Crates wrote a hymn to Plain Living: "Hail, goddess and Queen, darling of wise men, Plain Living, child of glorious Temperance."² Then let not the Cynic be like Oenomaus shameless or impudent, or a scorner of everything human and divine, but reverent towards sacred things, like Diogenes. For he obeyed the Pythian oracle nor did he repent of his obedience. But if anyone supposes that because he did not visit the temples or worship statues or altars this is a sign of impiety, he does not think rightly. For Diogenes possessed nothing that is usually offered, incense or libations or money to buy them with. But if he held right opinions about the gods, that in itself was enough. For he worshipped them with his whole soul, thus offering them as I think the most precious of his possessions, the dedication of his soul through his thoughts. Let not the Cynic be shameless, but led by reason let him first make subservient to himself the emotional part of his soul so that he may entirely do

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τῆς ψυχῆς μόριον, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἐξελείν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδὲ ὅτι κρατεῖ τῶν ἡδονῶν εἰδέναι. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀμενον ἐλθεῖν, εἰς τὸ καί, εἰ πάσχει 
tis τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅλως ἀγνοήσαι: τοῦτο ὅ ἦμῖν 
οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῶν γυμνασιῶν προσγίνεται. ἵνα ὧ 
μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ με ταῦτα ἄλλως λέγειν, ἐκ 
tῶν παιγνίων Κράτητος ὀλίγα σοι παραγράψω. D

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγαλλα τέκνα, 
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλύτε μοι εὐχομένως:
Χορτον ἀεὶ συνεχώς δότε γαστέρι, ἱτε μοι αἰεί
Χωρίς δουλοσύνης λιτὸν ἕθηκε βίον.

* * * * *

'Οφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ’ οὐκ ἑθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, κανθάρου 
ἔλβον 1
Μῦρμηκός τ’ ἀφενός χρήματα μαίομενος,
'Αλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγεί-
ρεῖν 2
Εὐφορον, εὐκτητον, τίμου εἰς ἄρετὴν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν Ἐρμῆν καὶ Μοῦσας Ἰλάσομ' 
ἀγνάς.
Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ’ ἄρεταῖς ὀσίασ.

εἰ χρή σοι περὶ τοῦτων γράφειν, ἐκὼ πλείων τοῦ Β 
ἀνδρός. ἐντυχῶν δὲ τῷ Χαίρωνει Πλουτάρχῳ τῶν 
Κράτητος ἀναγράφαντι βίον οὐδὲν ἐκ παρέργου 
μανθάνειν δεῦσε τὸν ἄνδρα.

'Αλλ’ ἐπανώμεν εἰπ’ ἐκεῖνο πάλιν, ὅτι χρή τὸν 
ἀρχόμενον κυνίζειν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτιμᾶν C

1 ἔλβον Wright, cf. 213B, ὅτον MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἀγείρεῖν Cobet, ἀγιεὶν Hertlein, MSS.

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away with it and not even be aware that he is superior to pleasures. For it is nobler to attain to this, I mean to complete ignorance whether one has any such emotions. And this comes to us only through training. And that none may think I say this at random I will add for your benefit a few lines from the lighter verse of Crates:¹ "Glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, ye Muses of Pieria, hearken to my prayer! Give me without ceasing victuals for my belly which has always made my life frugal and free from slavery. . . . To my friends make me useful rather than agreeable. As for money I desire not to amass conspicuous wealth, seeking after the wealth of the beetle or the substance of the ant; nay, I desire to possess justice and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, of great avail for virtue. If I may but win these I will propitiate Hermes and the holy Muses not with costly dainties but with pious virtues." If it be of any use to write for you about such things I could recite still more maxims by this same Crates. But if you will read Plutarch of Chaeronea, who wrote his Life, there will be no need for you to learn his character superficially from me.

But let me go back to what I said before, that he who is entering on the career of a Cynic ought first

¹ I.e. parodies such as the verses here quoted which parody Solon's prayer fr. 12, Bergk; cf. 213 b.
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πικρῶς καὶ ἐξελέγχειν καὶ μὴ κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζειν ὁ, τι μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν συτίων χαίρει, εἰ στρωμνήσ τεῖται μαλακῆς, εἰ τιμῆς ἢ δόξης ἐστὶν ἢττων, εἰ τοῦτο ξηλοὶ τὸ περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ, εἰ καὶ κενὸν εἶη, τίμιον ὄμως νομίζει. μηδὲ εἰς συμπεριφορὰν ἀχλων καθυφείσθω, ¹ γενέσθω δὲ τρυφῆς μηδὲ Γ ἀκρφ, φασὶ, τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἦς ἂν αὐτὴν παντελῶς πατήσῃ. τότε ἢδη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἂν προσπίπτῃ, θυγεὶν οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ταύρων ἀκοῦν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐξεστασθαι τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς νεμομένους ἀγελείν τὴν ἴσχυν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον, εἰθ' οὕτως ἐπιέναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης ἀμφισβητεῖν τοὺς προκατέχουσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἄξιωτέρους προϊστασθαι. ὅστις οὖν κυνίζειν ἐθέλει μήτε τὸν τρίβωνα μήτε τὴν πήραν μήτε τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀγαπάτω μόνον, ἵνα ὡσπερ ἐν κόμη βαδίζῃ κουρεῖων καὶ διδασκαλείων ἐνδείκνυ άκαρτος καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον ἀντὶ τοῦ σκῆπτρου καὶ τῆς ἐνστασιν ἀντὶ τῆς πῆρας τῆς κυνικῆς ύπολαμβανέτω φιλοσοφίας γνωρίσματα. παρρησία ὀὔ χρηστέον αὐτῷ πρότον ὁπόσον πέφυκεν ἀξίου ἐπιδειξιμένῳ, ὡσπερ οἶμαι Κράτης καὶ Διογένης, οἱ πᾶσαι μὲν ἀπειλὴν τύχης καὶ εἴτε παιδιὰν εἴτε παροινίαν χρὴ φάναι Β

¹ καθυφείσθω Hertlein suggests, καθείσθω MSS.
To the uneducated cynics
to censure severely and cross-examine himself, and without any self-flattery ask himself the following questions in precise terms: whether he enjoys expensive food; whether he cannot do without a soft bed; whether he is the slave of rewards and the opinion of men; whether it is his ambition to attract public notice and even though that be an empty honour he still thinks it worth while. Nevertheless he must not let himself drift with the current of the mob or touch vulgar pleasure even with the tip of his finger, as the saying is, until he has succeeded in trampling on it; then and not before he may permit himself to dip into that sort of thing if it come his way. For instance I am told that bulls which are weaker than the rest separate themselves from the herd and pasture alone while they store up their strength in every part of their bodies by degrees, until they rejoin the herd in good condition, and then they challenge its leaders to contend with them, in confidence that they are more fit to take the lead. Therefore let him who wishes to be a Cynic philosopher not adopt merely their long cloak or wallet or staff or their way of wearing the hair, as though he were like a man walking unshaved and illiterate in a village that lacked barbers' shops and schools, but let him consider that reason rather than a staff and a certain plan of life rather than a wallet are the mintmarks of the Cynic philosophy. And freedom of speech he must not employ until he have first proved how much he is worth, as I believe was the case with Crates and Diogenes. For they were so far from bearing with a bad grace any threat of

1 An echo of Euripides, Phoenissae 551, περιβλέπεσθαι τιμον, κενδυ μὲν οὖν,
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tosóutou ἀπέσχον τοῦ δυσκόλως ἐνεγκείν, ὡστε ἁλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ὁ Διογένης ἐπαιξεῖ, ο Ὀρατὴς δὲ ἐδημοσίευε τὴν οὐσίαν, εἶτα τὸ σῶμα βλαβείς ἐσκωπτεν ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ σκέλους καὶ τοῦ κυρτῶν ὀμών, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων ἐστίας ἄκλητος καὶ ἱ κεκλημένως, διαλλάσσον τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἄλληλοις, εἴποτε στασιάζοντας αἴσθοιτο, ἐπετίμα δὲ οὐ μετὰ πικρίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χάριτος, οὐχ ἡν ὁ συκοφάντεων δοκῇ τοὺς σωφρονισθέντας, ὥφελεν δὲ ἐθέλων αὐτοὺς τε ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ προηγούμενον αὐτοῖς τέλος· ἀλλ', ὁπερ ἔφην, ἐσκόπουν ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθαμονήσουσιν, ἐμελεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄλλων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ξυνίσαν οἴμαι φύσει κοινώνικόν καὶ πολιτικὸν ξύνον τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς συμπολιτευόμενους ὤφελησαν οὐ τοῖς παραδείγμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις. ὡς τοις οὖν ἤν ἐθέλη Ἰουνίκος εἶναι καὶ σπουδαῖος ἄνηρ, αὐτοῦ πρῶτερον ἐπιμελθεῖς, ὁπερ Διογένης καὶ Ὀρατὴς ἐξελαυνέτω μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαντα ἐκ πάσης τὰ πάθη, ὁρθό δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ καθ' ἑαυτῶν λόγῳ καὶ νῷ κυβερνάσθω. κεφάλαιον γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ οἴμαι, τούτο τῆς Διογένους φιλοσοφίας.

Εἰ δὲ ἐταῖρα ποτὲ προσήλθεν ὁ ἄνηρ· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο τυχῶν ἀπαξ ἢ οὔδε ἀπαξ ἐγένετο· ὅταν ἦμιν τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν Διογένη γένηται 208

1 Before κεκλημένος Cobet adds καί; cf. Oration 8. 250 C.
2 εὐθαμονήσουσιν Ἡρτλεϊν suggests, εὐθαμονήσωσιν MSS.
fortune, whether one call such threats caprice or wanton insult, that once when he had been captured by pirates Diogenes joked with them; as for Crates he gave his property to the state, and being physically deformed he made fun of his own lame leg and hunched shoulders. But when his friends gave an entertainment he used to go, whether invited or not,¹ and would reconcile his nearest friends if he learned that they had quarrelled. He used to reprove them not harshly but with a charming manner and not so as to seem to persecute those whom he wished to reform, but as though he wished to be of use both to them and to the bystanders.

Yet this was not the chief end and aim of those Cynics, but as I said their main concern was how they might themselves attain to happiness and, as I think, they occupied themselves with other men only in so far as they comprehended that man is by nature a social and political animal; and so they aided their fellow-citizens, not only by practising but by preaching as well. Then let him who wishes to be a Cynic, earnest and sincere, first take himself in hand like Diogenes and Crates, and expel from his own soul and from every part of it all passions and desires, and entrust all his affairs to reason and intelligence and steer his course by them. For this in my opinion was the sum and substance of the philosophy of Diogenes.

And if Diogenes did sometimes visit a courtesan—though even this happened only once perhaps or not even once—let him who would be a Cynic first satisfy us that he is, like Diogenes, a man of solid

¹ Thucydides 1. 118.
σπουδαῖος, ἃν αὐτῷ ἡ φανὴ καὶ τοιοῦτον τι ὑπάνεφος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, οὐ μεμψό-
μεθα οὐδὲ αἰτιασόμεθα. πρότερον μέντοι τὴν
Διογένους ἡμῖν ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐμάθειαν καὶ τὴν
ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἐλευ-
θερίαν, αὐτάρκειαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην,
εὐλάβειαν, χάριν, προσοχήν, ὡς μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδὲ
μάτην μηδὲ ἀλογως ποιεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτα τῆς
Διογένους ἐστὶν φιλοσοφίας οἰκεῖα· πατεῖτο τίφον,
καταπαιζέτω τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαία τῆς φύσεως
ἔργα κρυπτόντων ἐν σκότῳ· φημὶ δὲ τῶν περιτ-
τωμάτων τὰς ἐκκρίσεις· ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ἄγοραῖς
καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιτηθευόντων τὰ βιαίότατα καὶ
μηδὲν ἡμῶν οἰκεία τῇ φύσει, χρημάτων ἄρταγας,
νυκτοφαντίας, γραφαὶ ἄδικους, διώξεις ἄλλων
tοιοῦτων συρφετωδῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ
Διογένης εἴτε ἀπέπαρθεν εἴτε ἀπεπάτησεν εἴτε
ὄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιράξεν, ὡσπερ οὖν λέγουσιν,
ἐν ἄγορᾷ, τὸν ἑκείνου πατὸν τίφον ἔποιει, διδά-
κων αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλῷ φαύλοτερα καὶ χαλεπώ-
tερα τούτων ἐπιτηθεύσουσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν
πάσι κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδεῖν, πάντα
de ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐπιτηθεύτην.

'Αλλ' οἱ νῦν τοῦ Διογένους ζηλωταί τὸ ῥάστον
καὶ κουφότατον ἐλόμενοι τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ εἶδον·
σὺ τε ἑκείνων εἶναι σεμνότερος ἔθελων ἀπεπλανηθή.

1 αὐτῷ Cobet, οὕτω Hertlein, MSS.
2 ὑπάνεφος Petavius, ὑπάνε Hertlein, MSS.
worth, and then if he see fit to do that sort of thing openly and in the sight of all men, we shall not reproach him with it or accuse him. First however we must see him display the ability to learn and the quick wit of Diogenes, and in all other relations he must show the same independence, self-sufficiency, justice, moderation, piety, gratitude, and the same extreme carefulness not to act at random or without a purpose or irrationally. For these too are characteristic of the philosophy of Diogenes. Then let him trample on vaingloriousness, let him ridicule those who though they conceal in darkness the necessary functions of our nature—for instance the secretion of what is superfluous—yet in the centre of the market-place and of our cities carry on practices that are most brutal and by no means akin to our nature, for instance robbery of money, false accusations, unjust indictments, and the pursuit of other rascally business of the same sort. On the other hand when Diogenes made unseemly noises or obeyed the call of nature or did anything else of that sort in the market-place, as they say he did, he did so because he was trying to trample on the conceit of the men I have just mentioned, and to teach them that their practices were far more sordid and insupportable than his own. For what he did was in accordance with the nature of all of us, but theirs accorded with no man’s real nature, one may say, but were all due to moral depravity.

In our own day, however, the imitators of Diogenes have chosen only what is easiest and least burdensome and have failed to see his nobler side. And as for you, in your desire to be more dignified
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ὅσον τοσοῦτον τῆς Διογένους προαίρεσιν, ὡστε αὐτὸν ἐλεεινὸν ἐνόμισα. εἰ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἡπίστεις ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς λεγομένους, δυ οἱ πάντες "Ελληνες τότε ἐθαύμασαν μετὰ Σωκράτη καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐπὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, οὐ γέγονεν ἀκροατῆς ὁ τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου καὶ συνετώτατον Ζήνωνος καθηγεμών, οὓς οὐκ εἰκός ἦν ἀπαντας ἀπατηθήναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς οὗτο φαύλου, ὅποιον σὺ διακωμφεῖς, ὁ βέλτιστο, ἵσως ἃν τι πλέον 203 ἐσκόπησας περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορρωτέρω προῆλθες τῆς ἐμπειρίας τάνδρος. τίνα γάρ οὐκ ἐξεπλήξε τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἢ Διογένους καρτερία, βασιλικῆς οὔκ ἔξω μεγαλοψυχίας ὅσα, καὶ φιλοπονία; ἐκάθενδεν ἀνήρ ἐπὶ στυβάδος ἐν τῷ πίθῳ βέλτιου ἢ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους ὄρφοις ἐν τῇ μαθαικῇ κλίνῃ, ἦσθε τὴν μάζαν ἥδιον ἢ σὺ νῦν τὰς Σικελικὰς ἐσθήτεις τραπέζας, ἐλούσωτο ψυχρὸ ¹ Β τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ἀέρα ἔφτανον ἀντὶ τῶν θεοῖν, ὅσι σὺ ἀπομάτη, φιλοσοφῶτατε. πάνω σοι προσήκει κωμφεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι κατεργάσω τὸν Ἐρέξην, ὡς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἢ τὸν Δαρείον, ὡς ὁ Μακεδών Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰ σμίκρα τὰς Βίβλους ἀνελλήτων ἐμελέτας ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ πολυπράγμονες, ἔγνως ἀν, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος ἀγασθῆναι λέγεται τὴν Διογένους μεγαλοψυχίαν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι σοι τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ,

¹ ψυχρὸ Naber, θερμὸ Hertlein, MSS.
than those early Cynics you have strayed so far from Diogenes' plan of life that you thought him an object of pity. But if you did not believe all this that I say about a man whom all the Greeks in the generation of Plato and Aristotle admired next to Socrates and Pythagoras, a man whose pupil was the teacher of the most modest and most wise Zeno,—and it is not likely that they were all deceived about a man as contemptible as you make him out to be in your travesty,—well, in that case, my dear sir, perhaps you might have studied his character more carefully and you would have progressed further in your knowledge of the man. Was there, I ask, a single Greek who was not amazed by the endurance of Diogenes and by his perseverance, which had in it a truly royal greatness of soul? The man used to sleep in his jar on a bed of leaves more soundly than the Great King on his soft couch under a gilded roof; he used to eat his crust with a better appetite than you now eat your Sicilian courses; he used to bathe his body in cold water and dry himself in the open air instead of with the linen towels with which you rub yourself down, my most philosophic friend! It becomes you well to ridicule him because, I suppose, like Themistocles you conquered Xerxes, or Darius like Alexander of Macedon. But if you had the least habit of reading books as I do, though I am a statesman and engrossed in public affairs, you would know how much Alexander is said to have admired Diogenes' greatness of soul. But you care little, I suppose, for any of these things. How should you

1 Cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration 6. 12, Arnim.
2 A proverb; Sicily was famous for good cooking; cf. Plato, Republic 404 D; Horace, Odes 1. 1. 18, "Siculae dapes."
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σπουδαίων· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεί· γυναικῶν ἀθλίων τεθαύμακας φιλονεικῶν ¹ βίον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος τι πλέον ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἐμὸν μᾶλλον ἢ σὸν ἐστὶ κέρδος· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν περαινομεν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα περὶ τῶν τουούτων ἀπνευστὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον συνείραντες· ἐστὶ γὰρ πάρεργον ἡμέραιν δυνῶν, ὡς ἵσασιν αἱ Μοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ σο ² αὐτὸς· παραμενέτω μὲν σοι ὡπόσα πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεις, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ μεταμελήσει τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀνδρὰ εὐφημίας.

¹ φιλονεικῶν Hertlein suggests, φιλῶν νέκρων, MSS.
² σο Reiske adds, παραμενέτω μὲν σοι Reiske conjectures, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

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care? Far from it! You admire and emulate the life of wretched women.

However, if my discourse has improved you at all you will have gained more than I. But even if I accomplish nothing at the moment by writing on such a great subject thus hastily, and, as the saying is, without taking breath— for I gave to it only the leisure of two days, as the Muses or rather you yourself will bear me witness—then do you abide by your former opinions, but I at any rate shall never regret having spoken of that great man with due reverence.

1 Demosthenes, De Corona 47.
2 Demosthenes, De Corona, 308, cf. Vol. I. Oration 5. 178 D.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

The Seventh Oration is directed against the Cynic Heracleios, who had ventured to recite before an audience when Julian was present a myth or allegory in which the gods were irreverently handled. Julian raises the question whether fables and myths are suitable for a Cynic discourse. He names the regular divisions of philosophy and decides that the use of myths may properly be allowed only to ethical philosophers and writers on theology: that myth is intended always as a means of religious teaching and should be addressed to children and those whose intellect does not allow them to envisage the truth without some such assistance. In Sallust’s treatise On the Gods and the World he gives much the same account of the proper function of myths and divides them into five species, giving examples of each. “To wish to teach the whole truth about the gods to all produces contempt in the foolish, because they cannot understand, and lack of zeal in the good; whereas to conceal the truth by myths prevents the contempt of the foolish and compels the good to practise philosophy.”¹ This is precisely the opinion of Julian as expressed

¹ Murray’s translation of Sallust in Four Stages of Greek Religion, New York, 1912.
in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Orations. Though both Julian and Sallust explain the myths away they are never rationalistic, and never offer the least excuse for scepticism. Julian's explanation of the Semele myth,\(^1\) which makes Semele an inspired prophetess and not the mother of Dionysus, tends to the greater glory of the god. The conclusion is that Heracleios should not have used myth at all, but in any case he used the wrong sort and wrote in the wrong spirit. He should have used such a myth as that composed by Prodicus the sophist on the Choice of Heracles at the Crossroads, an allegory which is more than once cited by Julian and was a favourite illustration in later Greek literature.\(^2\)

To show Heraclius what he might have written with propriety Julian adds a parable of his own modelled on that of Prodicus. In this he himself plays the part of a second Heracles, and takes the opportunity to vilify Constantius and point out his own mission of reformer and restorer of order and religion to the Empire. Throughout the parable there are striking resemblances with the First Oration of Dio Chrysostom, and Asmus\(^3\) has made a detailed comparison of the two writers to prove that Julian wrote with Dio before him. In many of these parallels both Julian and Dio can be traced to a common classical source, usually Plato, but there is no doubt that Julian was thoroughly familiar

\(^1\) Oration 7, 219.  
\(^2\) Cf. Vol. I, Oration 2. 56 d.  
\(^3\) Asmus, Julian und Dion Chrysostomus, 1895; cf. Praechter, Archiv fur Geschichte der Philosophie 5. Dion Chrysostomus als Quelle Julians. Julian only once mentions Dio by name, Oration 7, 212 c.
with the work of Dio and often used the same illustrations. Themistius\textsuperscript{1} however uses the Prodicus myth in much the same words as Dio, and it is imitated also by Maximus of Tyre.\textsuperscript{2}

In conclusion Julian praises the earlier Cynics and criticises the later, in much the same words as he had used in the Sixth Oration.

\begin{itemize}
\item [1] Themistius, 280 A.
\end{itemize}
ΙΟΤΑΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΤΝΙΚΟΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΤ ΠΩΣ ΚΥΝΙΣΤΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΤΩ ΚΤΝΙ ΜΤΘΟΤΣ ΠΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ

"Η πολλὰ γίνεται ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς κωμῳδίας ἀκηκόοτι μοι πρόην ἐπήλθεν ἐκβοήσαι, ὡσπερ παρακληθέντες ἡκροώμεθα κυνὸς οὐτὶ τορὸν οὐδὲ γενναῖον ὑλακτοῦντος, ἀλλὰ ὡσπερ αἱ τίτθαι μύθους ἁδοντος καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ὑγίως διατιθεμένου. παραχρῆμα μὲν οὖν ἐπηλθὲ μοι διαναστάντι διαλύσασθαι τὸν σύλλογον ἐπεὶ δὲ Β' ἐχρῆν ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ κωμῳδουμένων Ἦρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου παρὰ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἀκούειν, οὗ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνειλεγμένων χάριν ὑπέμεινα, μάλλον δὲ, εἰ χρῆ τι καὶ νεανικῶτερον εἰπεῖν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκείν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας μᾶλλον ἡ διανοίας εὕσεβοις καὶ Λελογισμένης, ὡσπερ αἱ πελειάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν ῥηματίων σοβηθεῖς ἀναπτύναι. ἐμενον δὲ ἐκεῖνο πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εἰπὼν

Τέτλαθι δὴ, κράδη, καὶ κύντερον ἀλλο ποτ' ἔτλης,
ἀνάσχοι καὶ κυνὸς ληροῦντος ὀλίγου ἡμέρας

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HOW A CYNIC OUGHT TO BEHAVE, AND WHETHER IT IS PROPER FOR HIM TO COMPOSE MYTHS

"Truly with the lapse of time many things come to pass!"¹ This verse I have heard in a comedy and the other day I was tempted to proclaim it aloud, when by invitation we attended the lecture of a Cynic whose barking was neither distinct nor noble; but he was crooning myths as nurses do, and even these he did not compose in any profitable fashion. For a moment my impulse was to rise and break up the meeting. But though I had to listen as one does when Heracles and Dionysus are being caricatured in the theatre by comic poets,² I bore it to the end, not for the speaker's sake but for the sake of the audience, or rather, if I may presume to say so, it was still more for my own sake, so that I might not seem to be moved by superstition rather than by a pious and rational sentiment and to be scared into flight by his miserable words like a timid dove. So I stayed and repeated to myself the famous line "Bear it my heart: yea thou didst of yore endure things yet more shameful."³ Endure for the brief fraction of a day even

¹ Eupolis fr. 4. ² Cf. Misopogon 366 c. ³ Odyssey 20. 18.

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μόριον, οὐ πρῶτον ἀκούεις τῶν θεῶν βλασφημομένων, οὐχ οὖτω τὰ κοινά πράττομεν καλῶς, οὐχ οὖτω τῶν ἱδίων ἐνεκα σοφρονοῦμεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εὐτυχεῖς ἐσμεν, ὥστε τὰς ἄκοις 205 καθαρὰς ἔχειν ὅ τὸ τελευταῖον γοῦν τὰ ὀμματα μὴ κεχράνθαι τοῖς παντοδαποῖς τούτοι τοῦ σιδηροῦ γένους ἀσεβήμασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅσπερ ἐνδεέις ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἀνέπλησεν οὐκ εὐσφαγῷν ὁ κύων ῥημάτων τὸν ἀριστον τῶν θεῶν ὁνομάσας, ὡς μήτοτε ὥφελε μήτ’ ἐκεῖνος εἰπτεῖν μήτε ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαι, δεῦρο πειραθῶμεν αὐτὸν ἐφ’ ὑμῶν διδάξαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τῷ κυρὶ λόγους Β μᾶλλον ἡ μύθους προσήκει γράφειν, εἶτα ὁποίας καὶ τίνας χρή ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διασκευὰς τῶν μύθων, εἰ τι ᾧρα καὶ φιλοσοφία προσδεῖται τῆς μυθογραφίας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ύπερ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐλαβείας ὁλίγα διαλέξομαι τοῦτο γάρ μοι καὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς παρόδου γέγονεν αἴτιον καὶ περ ὑμῶν ὅσπερ ἀλλὸ τι τῶν ἐπαχθῶν καὶ σοφιστικῶν τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον παρατηρησάμενοι. μικρὰ δὲ C ύπερ τοῦ μύθου καθάπερ τινὰ γενεαλογίαν ἵσως οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον ἐμοὶ τε φάναι ὑμῖν τε ἀκούσαι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὁπόθεν ηὐρέθη καὶ ὅστις ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ψεύδος πιθανός συν-θείναι πρὸς ὥφελειαν ἡ ψυχαγωγία τῶν ἀκροε-μένων, οὐ μᾶλλον εὗροι τις ἄν ἡ εἰ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε τὸν πρῶτον πταρόντα ἣ χρεμψάμενον ἀναζητεῖν. εἰ δέ, ὅσπερ ἱππεῖς ἐν Ἐθράκῃ καὶ Θακταλίῳ, D
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a babbling Cynic! It is not the first time that thou hast had to hear the gods blasphemed! Our state is not so well governed, our private life is not so virtuous, in a word we are not so favoured by fortune that we can keep our ears pure or at any rate our eyes at least undefiled by the many and various impieties of this iron race. And now as though we had not enough of such vileness this Cynic fills our ears with his blasphemies, and has uttered the name of the highest of the gods in such wise as would he had never spoken nor I heard! But since he has done this, come, let me in your presence try to teach him this lesson; first that it is more becoming for a Cynic to write discourses than myths; secondly, what sort of adaptations of the myths he ought to make, if indeed philosophy really needs mythology at all; and finally I shall have a few words to say about reverence for the gods. For it is with this aim that I appear before you, I who have no talent for writing and who have hitherto avoided addressing the general public, as I have avoided all else that is tedious and sophistical. But perhaps it is not unsuitable for me to say and for you to hear a few words about myth in general as a sort of genealogy of that kind of writing.

Now one could no more discover where myth was originally invented and who was the first to compose fiction in a plausible manner for the benefit or entertainment of his hearers, than if one were to try to find out who was the first man that sneezed or the first horse that neighed. But as cavalry arose in Thrace and Thessaly¹ and archers and the lighter

¹ Ἰππεῖς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ ὀράκη was a well-known proverb; cf. Oration 2. 63 c, d.

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tοξόται δὲ καὶ τὰ κουφότερα τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ Κρήτῃ καὶ Καρία ἀνεφάνη,1 τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας ἀκολουθοῦντων οἷς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἑκαστὰ τιμᾶται, μάλιστα παρὰ τούτων αὐτὰ καὶ πρῶτον ήγρήσθαι τῶν ἀγελαίων ἐνίκεο ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὸ γε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μύθος 206 εὑρήμα, καὶ διαμένει εἰς ἑκείνου μέχρι καὶ νῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς πολιτευόμενον τὸ πράγμα ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, αὐλὸς καὶ κιβάρα, τέφρεως ἐνεκα καὶ ψυχαγωγίας. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ 2 ὀρισθεὶς ὑπτασθαι καὶ νεῖν οἱ 3 ἱχθύεις αἱ τε ἐλαφοὶ θεῖν ἐπειδή πεφύκασιν οὐδὲν τοῦ διδαχθῆναι προσδέονται, κἂν ὄση τις κάν καθεῖρξη, πειρᾶται ὅμως χρὴσθαι τούτως τοῖς μορφοῖς, πρὸς δὲ σύνοιδεν αὐτοῖς πεφυκόσι, ταῦτα τὰ ξόα, οὕτως οἶμαι καὶ το τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐκ ἄλλο τι τὴν Β. ψυχὴν ἔχον ἡ λόγον καὶ ἐπιστὴμὴν ὡσπερ ἐγκαθειργμένην, ὅ δὴ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ δύναμιν, ἐπὶ τὸ μανθάνειν τε 4 καὶ ξητεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς πρὸς οἰκειότατον ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἔργων, τρέπεται καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν εὔμενης θεοῦ ταχέως ἔλυσε τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἡγαγε, τούτῳ πάρεστιν εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμην, τοῖς δεδεμένοις δὲ ἑτὶ, καθάπερ οἴμαι Ἦξιον νεφέλη τινὶ 5 ἀντὶ τῆς θεοῦ λέγεται παραπάνυσασθαι, τούτους ἀντ' ἀληθοῦς ψευδῆς 6 ἐντετήκη δόξα· γίνεται γὰρ

1 After Karla Reiske suggests ἀνέφανη.
2 5 οἱ Cobet adds.
3 4 τἐ Hertlein suggests, τὶ MSS.
4 5 Ἦξιον νεφέλη τινὶ Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
5 6 ποῖτεοις ἀντ' ἀληθοῦς ψευδῆς Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS., εὐντετέκη Wright, τέτηκε Hertlein, MSS.
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sort of weapons in India, Crete and Caria—since the customs of the people were I suppose adapted to the nature of the country,—just so we may assume about other things as well, that where anything is highly prized by a nation it was first discovered by that nation rather than by any other. On this assumption then it seems likely that myth was originally the invention of men given to pastoral pursuits, and from that day to this the making of myths is still peculiarly cultivated by them, just as they first invented instruments of music, the flute and the lyre, for their pleasure and entertainment. For just as it is the nature of birds to fly and of fish to swim and of stags to run, and hence they need not be taught to do so; and even if one bind or imprison these animals they try none the less to use those special parts of themselves for the purpose for which they know they are naturally adapted; even so I think the human race whose soul is no other than reason and knowledge imprisoned so to speak in the body—the philosophers call it a potentiality—even so I say the human race inclines to learning, research and study, as of all tasks most congenial to it. And when a kindly god without delay looses a man’s fetters and brings that potentiality into activity, then on the instant knowledge is his: whereas in those who are still imprisoned false opinion instead of true is implanted, just as, I think, Ixion is said to have embraced a sort of cloud instead of the goddess.¹ And hence they produce wind-eggs² and monstrous

¹ i.e. Hera; cf. Pindar, Pythian 2. 20 foll.; Dio Chrysostom 4. 130, Arnim.
² Cf. Plato, Theaetetus 151 E.
ΤΟΙΟΤΟΟΝ ΠΡΟΒΑΪΝΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ 207 ΕΛΛΗΣΙΝ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ, ΕΙΛΚΡΟΘΑΝ ΕΝΤΕΘΕΝ ΟΙ ΠΟΙΝΤΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΝΟΥ, ΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΘΟΥ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΪΔΑΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΆΝΔΡΑΣ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΘΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΣΙΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΤΙΝΑ. ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΑΡ ΕΠΙΚΡΥΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΙΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ, ΟΤΑΝ Ο ΛΕΓΩΝ ΤΟ ΦΑΝΕΡΩΣ ΕΙΣΕΙΝ ΕΥΛΑΒΗΤΑΙ, ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΥΦΟΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ Β ΑΠΕΧΘΕΙΑΝ. ΩΤΩ ΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΙΟΔΟΣ ΑΥΤΟ ΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΟΣ· ΩΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ 'ΑΡΧΙΛΟΧΟΣ ΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ Χ' ΧΙΘΜΑΤΑ ΤΙ ΠΕΡΙΘΕΙΣ ΤΗ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙ, ΜΥΘΟΥΣ ΟΥΚ ΟΛΙΓΑΚΙΣ ΕΧΡΗΣΤΑΤΟ ΟΡΩΝ, ΩΣ ΕΙΚΟΣ, ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΥΤΟ-

1 αὐτοῖς Wright, αὐτῷ Hertlein, MSS.
2 προσαρτῶσι Hertlein suggests, προσαρτᾷ MSS.
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births, mere phantoms and shadows so to speak of true science. And thus instead of genuine science they profess false doctrines, and are very zealous in learning and teaching such doctrines, as though forsooth they were something useful and admirable. But if I am bound to say something in defence of those who originally invented myths, I think they wrote them for childish souls: and I liken them to nurses who hang leathern toys to the hands of children when they are irritated by teething, in order to ease their suffering: so those mythologists wrote for the feeble soul whose wings are just beginning to sprout, and who, though still incapable of being taught the truth, is yearning for further knowledge, and they poured in a stream of myths like men who water a thirsty field, so as to soothe their irritation and pangs.¹

Then when the myth was gaining ground and coming into favour in Greece, poets developed from it the fable with a moral, which differs from the myth in that the latter is addressed to children and the former to men, and is designed not merely to entertain them but conveys moral exhortation besides. For the man who employs fable aims at moral exhortation and instruction, though he conceals his aim and takes care not to speak openly, for fear of alienating his hearers. Hesiod, for instance, seems to have written with this in view. And after him Archilochus often employed myths,² adorning and as it were seasoning his poetry with them, probably because he

¹ The whole passage echoes Plato, Phaedrus 251.
² Cf. Archilochus fr. 86, 89; Archilochus used the beast-fable or parable; Julian here ignores his own distinction and uses the wider term 'myth.' Hesiod used myth as well as fable.
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θεσιν, ἥν μετήι, τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαγωγίας ἐνδεῶς ἐχουσαν, σαφῶς δὲ εἰγνωκώς, ὅτι στερομένη μῦθον ποιήσει ἐποτοίῳ μόνον ἐστίν, ἐστήρηται δὲ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἑαυτῆς, οὐ γὰρ ἐτί λειπται ποιήσεις, ἡδύματα ταύτα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἐδρέψατο, καὶ παρέθηκέ γε αὐτοῦ τούτου χάριν, C ὅπως μὴ σιλλογράφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητής νομισθείη.

Ο ὃ δὲ τῶν μῦθων "Ομήρος ἢ Θουκυδίδης ἢ Πλάτων, ἢ δ', τι βούλει καλεῖν αὐτόν, Λίσσωπος ἦν ὁ Σάμιος, δούλος τὴν τύχην μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν προσέρειν, οὐκ ἄφρων μὴν οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀνήρ. ὃ γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὐ μετεδίδον παρησίας, τοῦτο προσήκον ἦν ἐσκιαγραφημένος τὰς συμβουλὰς καὶ πεποικιλμένας ἤδυν καὶ χάριτι παραφέρειν, ὡσπερ οἴμαι τῶν ἰατρῶν οἱ μὲν ἔλευθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττονσιν, εάν δὲ ἀμα τις οἰκέτης γένηται τὴν Δ τύχην καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἰατρός, πράγματα ἐχει κολακεύειν ἃμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷ κυνὶ προσήκει ταύτης τῆς δουλείας, λεγέτω, γραφέτω, παραχωρεῖτω τῆς μυθολογίας αὐτῷ πᾶς ὅστισοι, εἰ δὲ μονὸς εἶναι φησιν ἔλευθερος, ἐπὶ τι χρήσται τοῖς μῦθοις, οὐκ οἶδα. πότερον ἢν τὸ πικρὸν καὶ δάκρυον τῆς συμβουλῆς ἤδυν καὶ χάριτι κεράσας ἃμα τε ὀνήσῃ καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὸ προσλαβεῖν τι παρὰ τοῦ ὄνιμαμένου κακῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ λίων δουλοπρεπὲς. ἀλλ' ἀμείνων ἀν τις διδαχθεῖ ἡ τὰ πράγματα ἄκουσαν αὐτὰ μηδὲ

1 τὴν τύχην Cobet, οὐ τὴν τύχην Hertlein, MSS.
2 μὴν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.
saw that his subject matter needed something of this sort to make it attractive, and he well knew that poetry without myth is merely versification\(^1\) and lacks, one may say, its essential characteristic, and so ceases to be poetry at all. Therefore he culled these sweets from the Muse of Poetry and offered them to his readers, in order that he might not be ranked merely as a writer of satire but might be counted a poet.

But the Homer of myths, or their Thucydides, or Plato, or whatever we must call him, was Aesop of Samos, who was a slave by the accident of birth rather than by temperament, and he proved his sagacity by this very use of fable. For since the law did not allow him freedom of speech, he had no resource but to shadow forth his wise counsels and trick them out with charms and graces and so serve them up to his hearers. Just so, I think, physicians who are free-born men prescribe what is necessary, but when a man happens to be a slave by birth and a physician by profession, he is forced to take pains to flatter and cure his master at the same time. Now if our Cynic also is subject to this sort of slavery, let him recite myths, let him write them, and let everyone else under the sun leave to him the rôle of mythologist. But since he asserts that he alone is free, I do not know what need he has of myths. Does he need to temper the harshness and severity of his advice with sweetness and charm, so that he may at once benefit mankind and avoid being harmed by one whom he has benefited? Nay, that is too much like a slave. Moreover, would any man be better taught by not

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\(^1\) Plato, *Phaedo* 61 b.
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tà ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅνοματα κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα; ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν
deinos τὸν Φαέθοντα τι1 δέον ὄνομάσαι; τι δὲ Β
χραίνειν οὐκ εὐαγγὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως
'Ἡλίου; τίς δὲ ὁ Πάν καὶ τίς ὁ Ζεύς τῶν χαμάι
ἐρχομένων ἀνθρώπων ἡξίως καλεῖσθαι, ἵν' ἐκείθεν ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς μεταθῶμεν ἡμῶν τὰς διανοίας; καίτοι,
ei καὶ τούτο οἶνον τε ἤν, ἀμεινὸν ἦν αὐτοὺς ὄνομά-
σαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἡ γὰρ οὖν οὖτω κρείττων
ἡν εἰπεὶν ἀνθρωπικὰ θεμένους ὅνοματα; μᾶλλον
de οὖνθεθέμενου, ἤρκει γὰρ δισαπερ ἡμῖν οἱ γονεῖς C
ἐθευτὸ. ἀλλ' εἰ μῆτε μαθεῖν ἐστι ράνον 2 διὰ τοῦ
πλάσματος μῆτε τῷ Κυνικῷ πρέπον πλάστεν τὰ
τοιαῦτα, τοῦ χάριν οὖν ἐφευσάμεθα τοῦ πολυτε-
λοῦς ἀναλώματος, πρὸς δέ δὴ καὶ ἐφθείραμεν τὸν
χρόνον πλάστοντες καὶ συντιθέντες μυθάρα, εἶτα
λογογράφουντες καὶ ἐκμαθάνουντες;
'Ἀλλ' ἱσως δ' οἷον λόγος οὐ φησι δεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν
ἀληθῶν καὶ μὴ πεπλασμένων τὰ ψευδή καὶ πε-
πλασμένα παρὰ τοῦ κυνὸς, ὥ μόνῳ τῆς ἔλευθερίας
μέτεστιν, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἄδεσθαι συλλόγοις, ἡ
συνήθεια δὲ οὖτω3 γέγονεν ἀπὸ Διογένους ἀρξαμένη
καὶ Κράτητος ἀχρὶ τῶν ἑφεξῆς. οὔδεν οὖνδαμοῦ
παράδειγμα τοιοῦτον εὐρήσεις' ἐκείνο γὰρ ἀφίημι
tέως, ὅτι τῷ Κυνικῷ τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράττοντι

1 τὶ δέον ὄνομάσαι; τὶ Reiske, δέον ὄνομάσαι, τὸν Hertlein
MSS.

2 ράνον Hertlein suggests, ράδιον MSS.

3 οὖτω Hertlein suggests, αὐτῷ MSS.
hearing facts as they really are, or called by their real names, like the comic poet who calls a spade a spade?\(^1\) What need to speak of Phaethon instead of So-and-so? What need sacrilegiously to profane the title of King Helios? Who among men that walk here below\(^2\) is worthy to be called Pan or Zeus, as though we should ascribe to those gods our human understanding? And yet if indeed this were possible it would have been better to give the men their own names. Would it not have been better to speak of them thus and to bestow on them human names, or rather not bestow, for those that our parents gave us were enough? Well then if it is neither easier to learn by means of fiction, nor appropriate for the Cynic to invent that sort of thing at all, why did we not spare that wasteful expense,\(^3\) and moreover why did we waste our time in inventing and composing trivial myths and then making stories of them and learning them by heart?

But perhaps you will say that though reason asserts that the Cynic, who alone of men can claim to be free, ought not to invent and compose lying fictions instead of the unvarnished truth and then recite these in public assemblies, nevertheless the custom began with Diogenes and Crates, and has been maintained from that time by all Cynics. My answer is that nowhere will you find a single example of such a custom. For the moment I do not insist on the fact that it in no wise becomes a Cynic who must “give a new stamp to the common currency”\(^4\)

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2. Iliad 5. 442; Hesiod, Theogony 272.
4. Cf. Oration 6. 188 A, B.
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tὸ συνθεία προσέχειν οὕδαμὼς προσήκει, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ ποιητέον εὐρύσκειν 209 οὐκοθεν, ἀλλ' οὐ μανθάνειν ἔξωθεν. εἰ δ' 'Αντι-
σθένης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὁσπέρ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐνια
dιὰ τῶν μύθων ἀπήγγελλε, μήτι1 τοῦτο σὲ ἐξα-
πατάτω· καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν ὑστερον ὑπὲρ τούτον σοι
dιαλέξομαι.2 νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνο μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν
φράσον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνοια τίς
ἔστι καὶ βίος οὐκ ἄνθρωπινος, ἀλλὰ θηριώδης
ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐδὲν καλὸν, οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον
οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν νομιζοῦσης; δοῤῥὴ γὰρ ἀν ὑπολα-
βεῖν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος. εἰ τί
σοι τοῦ ταῦτα γοῦν ἐπελθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνως
ἀν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφωνία καὶ τῷ
κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς οἷς
ἐγραφέν ὁ ἀνήρ. τοιοῦτον δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πράγμα-
τος, ὡστε ἀνυρήσθαι μὲν ἀπασαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
θεοὺς εὐλάβειαν, ἡτιμᾶσθαι δὲ πᾶσαν ἄνθρωπίνην
φρόνησιν, νόμον δὲ μὴ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ καλῷ καὶ
dικαίῳ πεπατήσαται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦς ἐκ τῶν Ω
θεῶν ἦμιν ὡσπέρ ἐγγραφέντας ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὡς
ὃν πάντες ἀδιδάκτως εἶναι θείον τι πεπείσθηκα
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τε οἷμαι σπεύδειν
οὗτο διατιθέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὡσπέρ
οἷμαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὰ βλέποντα, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ εἴ
καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐξελαύνοιτο νόμος ιερὸς ἄν φύσει
καὶ θείος, ο ὁ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων πάντη καὶ πάντως

1 μήτι Cobet, μήτοι Hertlein, MSS.
2 diæléxomai Cobet, δηηγήσομαι Spanheim, Hertlein, V illegible.
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to pay any attention to custom, but only to pure reason, and he ought to discover within himself what is right for him to do and not learn it from without. And do not be misled by the fact that Antisthenes the disciple of Socrates, and Xenophon too, sometimes expressed themselves by means of myths; for I shall have something to say to you on this point in a moment. But now in the Muses' name answer me this question about the Cynic philosophy. Are we to think it a sort of madness, a method of life not suitable for a human being, but rather a brutal attitude of mind which recks naught of the beautiful, the honourable, or the good? For Oenomaus would make many people hold this view of it. If you had taken any trouble to study the subject, you would have learned this from that Cynic's "Direct Inspiration of Oracles" and his work "Against the Oracles," in short from everything that he wrote. This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence for the gods, to bring dishonour on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honour and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as it were engraved on our souls by the gods, and have impelled us all to believe without teaching that the divine exists, and to direct our eyes to it and to yearn towards it: for our souls are disposed towards it as eyes towards the light. Furthermore, suppose that one should discard also that second law which is sanctified both by nature and by God, I mean the law that bids us keep our hands altogether and utterly from the property of

1 Cf. Oration 6. 187 c.
ΤΟΙΟ ΤΟΙ ΑΛΩΝΤΑΙ Β ΠΑΟΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙΝ

παίσμενοι Cobet, πολεμουμένοι Hertlein, MSS.

2 ἀρα περιπατοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ἀναστρέφονται καὶ περιπατοῦσιν Cobet, ἀναπατοῦσιν MSS.
others, and permits us neither by word or deed or in the inmost and secret activities of our souls to confound such distinctions, since the law is our guide to the most perfect justice—is not this conduct worthy of the pit? And ought not those who applauded such views to have been driven forth, not by blows with wands, like scapegoats, for that penalty is too light for such crimes, but put to death by stoning? For tell me, in Heaven's name, how are such men less criminal than bandits who infest lonely places and haunt the coasts in order to despoil navigators? Because, as people say, they despise death; as though bandits were not inspired by the same frenzied courage! So says at any rate he who with you counts as a poet and mythologist, though, as a Pythian god proclaimed to certain bandits who sought his oracle, he was a hero and divinity—I mean where, speaking of pirates of the sea, he says: "Like pirates who wander over the sea, staking their lives." What better witness can you require for the desperate courage of bandits? Except indeed that one might say that bandits are more courageous than Cynics of this sort, while the Cynics are more reckless than they. For pirates, well aware as they are how worthless is the life they lead, take cover in desert places as much from shame as from the fear of death: whereas the Cynics go up and down in our midst subverting the institutions of society, and that not

1 The pit or chasm at Athens into which the bodies of criminals were thrown; cf. Xenophon, Hellenica 1. 7. 20.
2 For the ceremony of driving out the scapegoat see Harrison, Prolegomena to Greek Religion 97; Frazer, Golden Bough, Vol. 3, p. 93.
3 i.e. Homer.
4 Odyssey 3. 73.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

καὶ καθαρωτέραν, ἄλλα τῷ χείρονα καὶ βδελυρωτέραν ἐπεισάγειν πολιτείαν.

Τὰς ἀναφερομένας δὲ εἰς τὸν Διογένη τραγῳδίας, οὕτως μὲν καὶ ὀμολογουμένως 1 Κυνικοῦ τινος συγγράμματα, ἀμφισβητουμένας δὲ κατὰ τὸν τοῦτο μόνον, ἐιτε τοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦ Διογένους, εἰςών, Δ εἰτε τοῦ μαθητοῦ Φιλίσκου, τὰς οὐκ ἄν ἐπελθὼν βδελύξαιτο καὶ νομίσειεν ὑπερβολὴν ἀρρητοργίας οὐδὲ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἀπολελεῖθαι; ταῖς Οἶνομάδω δὲ ἐνυχών ἔγραψε γὰρ καὶ τραγῳδίας τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρητῶν ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὐκέθ' ο, τι φῶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἄξιως ἐχὼ, καὶ τὰ Μαγνητῶν κακὰ, καὶ τὸ Τερμέριον, καὶ πάσαν ἀπλῶς αὐτοῖς ἔπιφθεγξωμαι τὴν τραγῳδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατύρου καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ τοῦ μίμου, οὔτω πᾶσα μὲν αἰσχρότης, πᾶσα δὲ ἀπόνοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐκείναις τῷ ἀνδρὶ πεφιλοτέχνηται καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τούτων τις ἄξιοι τὸν Κυνισμὸν ὁποῖος τὸς ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἐπιδείξαι, βλασφημῶν τοὺς θεοὺς, ὠλακτῶν πρὸς ἀπαντας, ὀπερ ἔφην ἀρχόμενος, ἵτω, χαιρετῶ, 2 γην πρὸς γῆς, ὅποι βούλιοτο. εἰ δ', ὀπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη Διογένει, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλὴν τρέποιτο, τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν, ὀπερ ξηλώσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων Διογένης καὶ Κράτης φαίνονται, τοῦτο ἤδη τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον ἐγωγε φαίην ἀν ἀνδρὶ καὶ

1 ὀμολογουμένως Cobet, ὀμολογουμένας Hertlein, MSS.
2 χαιρετῶ Hertlein suggests, χαιρέτω MSS.
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by introducing a better and purer state of things but a worse and more corrupt state.

Now as for the tragedies ascribed to Diogenes, which are, and are admitted to be, the composition of some Cynic—the only point in dispute being whether they are by the master himself, Diogenes, or by his disciple Philiscus,—what reader of these would not abhor them, and find in them an excess of infamy not to be surpassed even by courtesans? However, let him go on to read the tragedies of Oenomaus—for he too wrote tragedies to match his discourses—and he will find that they are more inconceivably infamous, that they transgress the very limits of evil; in fact I have no words to describe them adequately, and in vain should I cite in comparison the horrors of Magnesia,¹ the wickedness of Termerus² or the whole of tragedy put together, along with satiric drama, comedy and the mime: with such art has their author displayed in those works every conceivable vileness and folly in their most extreme form.

Now if from such works any man chooses to demonstrate to us the character of the Cynic philosophy, and to blaspheme the gods and bark at all men, as I said when I began, let him go, let him depart to the uttermost parts of the earth whithersoever he pleases. But if he do as the god enjoined on Diogenes, and first “give a new stamp to the common currency,” then devote himself to the advice uttered earlier by the god, the precept “Know Thyself,” which Diogenes and Crates evidently followed in their actual practice, then I say that this is wholly worthy of one who desires to be a

¹ A proverb; cf. Archilochus fr. 27, Bergk.
² A robber whom Theseus killed; Plutarch, Theseus 11.
στρατηγεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλοντι. τὶ δὲ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ἄρ' ἵσμεν; ὅτι τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτῶ δόξης ἐπέταξεν ὑπερορᾶν καὶ παραχαράτευν οὐ τὴν θὰ λήθειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμισμα. τὸ δὲ Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν ἐν ποτέρα θησόμεθα μοίρα; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ νομίσματος; ὡς τοῦτο γε αὐτὸ τῆς θὰ λήθειας εἶναι κεφάλαιον θήσομεν καὶ τρόπον εἰρήσθαι τοῦ Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα διὰ τῆς ¹ Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν ἀποφάσεως; ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὰ νομίζομεν παντάπασιν ἀτιμάζασε, ἐπ' αὐτὴν δὲ ἤκον τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὧν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς νομίζομενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὄντως ὅσι θῆσεται, ὅτις οἱ μοι καὶ ὁ γνώνς δ' ἑαυτὸν ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀκριβῶς εἴσεται καὶ οὕς ὅπερ νομίζεται. πότερον οὐν οὐχ ὁ Πύθιος ἀληθής τέ ἐστι θεὸς, καὶ Διογένης τοῦτο ἐπέπειστο σαφῶς, ὡς γε αὐτῶ πεισθείς ἀντὶ φυγάδος ἀπεδέχθη οὐ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μείζων, ἀλλ', ὡς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτῶ τῷ καταλύσαυτι τὸ Περσῶν κράτος καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλέους ἀμιλλωμένῳ πράξεσιν, ὑπερβάλλεσθαι δὲ τῶν Ἀχιλλέα φιλωτιμουμένῳ ξηλωτός; οὕτως οὐν ὁ Διογένης ὁποῖος τις ἦν τά τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τά πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μὴ διὰ 212 τῶν Οἰνομάου λόγων μηδὲ τῶν Φιλίσκου τραγῳδῶν, αἰς ἐπιγράφας τὸ Διογένους ὄνομα τῆς θείας πολλά ποτε κατεψεύσατο κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅν ἐδρασεν ἔργων ὁποῖος τις ἦν γνωρίζεσθω.

¹ Ἡλθεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τί πρὸς Δίος; ὡν τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς θεάσθηται; τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίων

1 tῆς Cobet, tῆς τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.
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leader and a philosopher. For surely we know what the god meant? He enjoined on Diogenes to despise the opinion of the crowd and to give a new stamp, not to truth, but to the common currency. Now to which of these categories shall we assign self-knowledge? Can we call it common currency? Shall we not rather say that it is the very summary of truth, and by the injunction "Know Thyself" we are told the way in which we must "give a new stamp to the common currency"? For just as one who pays no regard whatever to conventional opinions but goes straight for the truth will not decide his own conduct by those opinions but by actual facts, so I think he who knows himself will know accurately, not the opinion of others about him, but what he is in reality. It follows then, does it not? that the Pythian god speaks the truth, and moreover that Diogenes was clearly convinced of this since he obeyed the god and so became, instead of an exile, I will not say greater than the King of Persia, but according to the tradition handed down actually an object of envy to the man who had broken the power of Persia and was rivalling the exploits of Heracles and ambitious to surpass Achilles. Then let us judge of the attitude of Diogenes towards gods and men, not from the discourses of Oenomaus or the tragedies of Philiscus—who by ascribing their authorship to Diogenes grossly slandered that sacred personage—but let us, I say, judge him by his deeds.

Why in the name of Zeus did he go to Olympia? To see the athletes compete? Nay, could he not have seen those very athletes without trouble both at

1 i.e. Alexander.
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tous autous kai Panathenaios theasathai diha pragmaton oion te tis; alla etheloun ekei tois kratistrois syngeneisti twn 'Ellhnou; ou gar B 'Isthmounde epoittai; ouk an oun eurous allln aitian he tis eis ton theon therapeias. eis de ouk eixe-
plagni ton keraunon oude egeo ma tous theous pollon pollakis peirathes diosemyon exeiplagnh.
alla' omos outhe de ti tous theous pefricka kai filw kai sebw kai axomai kai panthi aploos ta
toiauta pro autous paschon, osaper an tis kai ola proes agathous destopsais; proes didaskalous,
pros pateras, proes kheadmonas, proes pantas aploos ta
toiauta, osite olignon deixi upo ton swn rhma-
ton prefyn ezaesth. touto men ouv ouk oid' onytma tropou epelthen isosos simpaisthai deon
epresi.

Dionyhnis de kai penis oin kai xhrmaton endehs
eis 'Olympian ebadiex, 'Aleoxandron de keiv
ekelene par' eauton, ei to pistroi o Dian. ou
preteiv enomyiez eauto mou foitain enti ta ierai D
ton theon, to basilikotatpo de kai' eauton
enti tin eauton synousiai. de proes 'Arxidamov
gyrafene, ou basiliakai paraivanveis eisin; ou
moun de en tois logous hyn o Dionyhnis theosebhs,
alla gar kai en tois ereghs. elomyenon gar auton
oikein tas 'Athnas episthe to daimnon eis tin
Korinthen apthyagen, afebeis upo tov priamenou
tin pilin oukei' wnhth dein eklipeis epitpeistos 213
gar autov tois theois melen eis te tin Korinthen ou

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the Isthmian games and the Panathenaic festival? Then was it because he wished to meet there the most distinguished Greeks? But did they not go to the Isthmus too? So you cannot discover any other motive than that of doing honour to the god. He was not, you say, awestruck by a thunderstorm. Ye gods, I too have witnessed such signs from Zeus over and over again, without being awestruck! Yet for all that I feel awe of the gods, I love, I revere, I venerate them, and in short have precisely the same feelings towards them as one would have towards kind masters ¹ or teachers or fathers or guardians or any beings of that sort. That is the very reason why I could hardly sit still the other day and listen to your speech. However, I have spoken thus as I was somehow or other impelled to speak, though perhaps it would have been better to say nothing at all.

To return to Diogenes: he was poor and lacked means, yet he travelled to Olympia, though he bade Alexander come to him, if we are to believe Dio.² So convinced was he that it was his duty to visit the temples of the gods, but that it was the duty of the most royal monarch of that day to come to him for an interview. And was not that royal advice which he wrote to Archidamus? Nay, not only in words but in deeds also did Diogenes show his reverence for the gods. For he preferred to live in Athens, but when the divine command had sent him away to Corinth, even after he had been set free by the man who had bought him, he did not think he ought to leave that city. For he believed that the gods took care of him, and that he had been sent to Corinth,

¹ Plato, Phaedo 63 c.
² Dio Chrysostom, Oration 4. 12, Arnim.
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μάτην οὖδὲ κατὰ τινα συντυχίαν, τρόπον δὲ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰσπεπέμφθαι, ὅρων τὴν πόλιν τρυφώσαν τῶν 'Αθηναίων μᾶλλον καὶ δεομένην μείζονος καὶ γενναιοτέρου σωφρονιστοῦ.

Τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Κράτητος μουσικα καὶ χαρίεντα φέρεται πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς πρὸς τους θεοὺς ὁσιότητος τε καὶ εὐλαβείας; ἀκονε γοῦν αὐτὰ παρ ἡμῶν, εἰ σοι μὴ σχολὴ γέγονε μαθεῖν B εξ ἐκείνων αὐτά.

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Περιδῆς, κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένω.
Χόρτων ἐμὴ συνεχὴ δότε γαστερί, καὶ δότε χώρις
Δουλοσύνης, ἢ δὴ λιτὸν ἔθηκε βίον.

* * * *

Ὡφελίμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔθελω συνάγειν κλυτά, καὶ θάρου ὀλβον
Μύρμηκος τ' ἀφενος χρήματα μαϊόμενος,
Αλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγείρειν ¹

Εὐφορον, εὐκτητον, τίμιον εἰς ἄρετίν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν 'Ερμῆ καὶ Μοῦσας ἱλάσομ' ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάναισ τρυφεραίς, ἀλλ' ἄρεταίς ὀσίας. D

ὅρας ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐφημῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ ως σὺ βλασφημῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ήχετο; πόσαι γὰρ ἔκατομβαι
τῆς ὀσίας εἰσὶν ἀντάξια, ἦν καὶ σαμυόμοις Ἑὐριπίδης ὀρθῶς ὑμησεν εἰπὼν

'Οσία πότνα θεῶν, ὀσία;

¹ ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀσίνῃ Hertlein, MSS.

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not at random or by some accident, but by the gods themselves for some purpose. He saw that Corinth was more luxurious than Athens, and stood in need of a more severe and courageous reformer.

To give you another instance: Are there not extant many charming poems by Crates also which are proofs of his piety and veneration for the gods? I will repeat them to you if you have not had time to learn this from the poems themselves:

"Ye Muses of Pieria, glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, grant me this prayer! Give me food for my belly from day to day, but give it without slavery which makes life miserable indeed.

. . . . Make me useful rather than agreeable to my friends. Treasure and the fame thereof I desire not to amass; nor do I crave the wealth of the beetle and the substance of the ant. But justice I desire to attain, and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, precious for virtue. If I attain these things I will worship Hermes and the holy Muses, not with costly and luxurious offerings, but with pious and virtuous actions." ¹

You see that, far from blaspheming the gods as you do, he adored and prayed to them? For what number of hecatombs are worth as much as Piety, whom the inspired Euripides celebrated appropriately in the verses "Piety, queen of the gods, Piety"? ²

¹ Cf. Oration 6. 199 d. ² Bacchae 370.
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ἡ τούτο σε λέληθεν, ὅτι πάντα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ σμικρά, μετὰ τῆς ὀσίας τοῖς θεοῖς προσαγόμενα τὴν ἱσθ/ν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἐστηρημένη δὲ τῆς ὀσίας ὡς ἐκατόμβη μὰ θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἢ τῆς Ὁλυμπιάδος χιλιόμβη ἀνάλωμα μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλο δὲ 214 οὐδὲν; ὡστε οἵμας γιγνώσκων ὁ Κράτης αὐτὸς τε διὰ μόνης ἢς εἶχεν ὀσίας τοὺς θεοὺς ἐτίμα σῶν εὐφημία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκε μὴ τὰ δαπανήματα τῆς ὀσίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀσίαν ἐκείνων προτιμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις. τοιοῦτο δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε τῶδε γενομένῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἀκροατήρια συνεκροτεῖτην 1 οὐδὲ ὡστε ὦι σοφοὶ δὲ εἰκόνων καὶ μύθων τοῖς φίλοις συνεγγυνέσθην 2 λέγεται γὰρ ὑπ᾽ Εὐριτίδου καλὸς

Ἀπλοῦσ ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφι

σκιαγραφίας γάρ φησί τὸν ψευδή καὶ ἄδικον δείσθαι. τῆς οὖ ν ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῖς τῆς συννοσίας ἐγίνετο; τῶν λόγων ἤγειτο τὰ ἔργα, καὶ οἱ τὴν πενίαν τιμῶντες αὐτοῖ πρῶτοι φαίνονται 3 καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ὑπεριδόντες, οἱ τὴν ἀτυφίαν ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτοι τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἥσκουν διὰ πάντων, οἱ τὸ τραγικὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων ἐξαιροῦντες βίων ὄκουν αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τὰς ἁγορὰς ἢ τὰ τῶν θεῶν τεμένη, τῇ τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ρημάτων διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπολέμουν, ἐργοὺς ἐλέγχοντες, οὐ λόγω βοῶντες, ὅτι τῷ Διὶ συμβασιλεύειν ἐξεστὶν οὐδενὸς ἢ σμικρῶν πάνω

1 συνεκροτεῖτην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεκροτεῖτων MSS.
2 συνεγγυνέσθην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεγγυνέσθον MSS. 3 φαίνονται Hertlein suggests, φαίνοντο MSS.
Or are you not aware that all offerings whether great or small that are brought to the gods with piety have equal value, whereas without piety, I will not say hecatombs, but, by the gods, even the Olympian sacrifice\(^1\) of a thousand oxen is merely empty expenditure and nothing else?\(^2\) This I believe Crates recognised, and so with that piety which was his only possession he himself used to honour the gods with praises, and moreover taught others not to honour expensive offerings more than piety in the sacred ceremonies. This then was the attitude of both those Cynics towards the gods but they did not crowd audiences together to hear them, nor did they entertain their friends with similes and myths, like the wise men of to-day. For as Euripides well says,\(^3\) "Simple and unadorned is the language of truth." Only the liar and the dishonest man, he says, have any use for a mysterious and allusive style. Now what was the manner of their intercourse with men? Deeds with them came before words, and if they honoured poverty they themselves seem first to have scorned inherited wealth; if they cultivated modesty, they themselves first practised plain living in every respect; if they tried to expel from the lives of other men the element of theatrical display and arrogance, they themselves first set the example by living in the open market places and the temple precincts, and they opposed luxury by their own practice before they did so in words; nor did they shout aloud but proved by their actions that a man may rule as the equal of Zeus if he needs nothing or very little and so is not

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\(^1\) i.e. in honour of Olympian Zeus.

\(^2\) Cf. Themistius 182 A.

\(^3\) Phoenissae 472.
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dεόμενον οὐδὲ παρενοχλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἐπετήμων δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσιν, ἤνικα ἔξων οἱ πταῖσαντες, οὐκ ἀποθανόντας ἐβλασφήμουν, ἤνικα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οἱ μετριώτεροι σπένδονται τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ ο̣ γ̣ε̣ ἀληθινός κῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδένα, καν τὸ σωμάτιον αὐτοῦ τις πατάξῃ, καὶ τὸν θυσίαν περιέλκῃ, καὶ λοιδορηταί καὶ βλασφημη, διότι τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐχθρᾶς γίνεται πρὸς ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνει τὴν πρὸς ἐτέρως ἐχὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν, καθάπερ οἴμαι πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐχθρός, οὐδὲ γὰρ βλαβερός, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτὸ βαρύτατον ἐπιτιθεῖσθαι τίμημα την τοῦ κρείττονος ἀγνοιαν ἔρημος λείπεται τῆς ἐκείνου προστασίας.

'Αλλ' εἰ μὲν νῦν μοι προοικεῖτο περὶ Κυνισμοῦ γράφειν, εἴπον ἂν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐτί τὰ παριστάμενὰ Β μοι τῶν εἰρημένων ἵσως οὐκ ἐλάττων νῦν ὁ ἄποδιδόντες το συνεχές τη προαιρέσει περί τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι χρῆ τους πλαττομένους τῶν μῦθων ἐφεξῆς σκοπῶμεν. ἵσως δὲ ἤγειται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐκείνη, ὡποίᾳ τινὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκου ἢ μυθογραφία. φαίνονται γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν θεολόγων ποιήσαντες, ὡσπερ 'Ορφεὺς μὲν ὁ παλαιότατος ἐνθέως φιλοσοφήσας, οὐκ ὀλγοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνων οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ Ἐνεσφῶν φαίνεται καὶ Αντισθένης καὶ Πλάτων προσχρησάμενοι πολλαχοῖ τοῖς μῦθοις, ώστ' ἢμιν πέφημεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸν Κυνικὸ, φιλοσόφῳ γοῦν τινὶ προσήκειν ἢ μυθογραφία.

1 ἐπιτιθέλεις Ηέρτλειν suggests, ἐπιτιθέλεις MSS.
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hampered by his body; and they reproved sinners during the lifetime of those who had offended but did not speak ill of the dead; for when men are dead even their enemies, at least the more moderate, make peace with the departed. But the genuine Cynic has no enemy, even though men strike his feeble body or drag his name in the mire, or slander and speak ill of him, because enmity is felt only towards an opponent, but that which is above personal rivalry is usually loved and respected. But if anyone is hostile to a Cynic, as indeed many are even to the gods, he is not that Cynic's enemy, since he cannot injure him; rather he inflicts on himself the most terrible punishment of all, namely ignorance of one who is nobler than himself; and so he is deserted and bereft of the other's protection.

Now if my present task were to write about the Cynic philosophy, I could add many details about the Cynics, not less important than what I have said already. But not to interrupt my main theme, I will now consider in due course the question what kind of myths ought to be invented. But perhaps another inquiry should precede this attempt, I mean to what branch of philosophy the composition of myths is appropriate. For we see that many philosophers and theologians too have employed it, Orpheus for instance, the most ancient of all the inspired philosophers, and many besides of those that came after him. Nay what is more, Xenophon as we know and Antisthenes and Plato often introduced myths, so that it is obvious that even if the use of myth be not appropriate for the Cynic, still it may be so for some other type of philosopher.
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Μικρὰ οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν θῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰτὲ μορίων εἰτὲ ὁργάνων προορητέον.⁴ ἦστι γὰρ οὗ μέγα τὸ διαφέρον ὅποτέρως ἂν τις τῷ πρακτικῷ καὶ τῷ φυσικῷ τῷ λογικῷ προσαρμιθῇ ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ὦμοίως φαινεῖται κατ' ἀμφότερα. τριῶν δὴ τούτων ἄθις ἕκαστον εἰς τρία τέμνεται, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τρίτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν γυμνομένων καὶ ἀπολλυμένων καὶ τῶν ἄιδίων μὲν, σωμάτων δὲ ὦμοις θεωριάν, τὸ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῖς ἡ ὄψια ἕκαστον τοῦ πρακτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἑνὰ ἄνδρα, ἡθικόν, οἰκονομικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ μίαν οἰκίαν, πολιτικόν δὲ τὸ περὶ πόλιν· ἔτι μέντοι τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀποδεικτικὸν διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων βιαστικόν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν 216 φαινομένων ἐνδόξων παραλογιστικόν. ὄντων δὴ τοσοῦτων τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν, εἰ μὴ τί με λέληθη· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα στρατιώτην μὴ λιαν ἐξακριβοῦν μὴδέ ἐξοικυζέων τὰ τουίτα, ἀτε οὐκ ἐκ βιβλίων ἀσκήσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προστυχούσης αὐτὰ ἔξεσι ἀποφθεγγόμενον ἐσεσθε γοῦν μοι καὶ οὐκέτας μάρτυρες, εἰ τὰς ἡμέρας λογισαισθε,³ πόσαι τινὲς εἰσιν αἱ μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἐναγχος ἡμῶν γενομένης ἀκροάσεως ὡς τῶν τε ἡμῶν ἀσχολῶν πλήρεις· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, εἰ καὶ Β τί παρελειπται παρ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι νομίζω γε μηδὲν ἐνδείκνυ τινὲς ὁ προστιθέεις οὐκ ἐχόδος, ἀλλὰ φίλος ἐστάι.

¹ προορητέον Reiske, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
² τῷ πρακτικῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ τε ἡθικῷ MSS.
³ λογισαισθε Cobet, λογισαισθε Hertlein, MSS.

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I must first then say a few words about the subdivisions or instruments of philosophy. It does not make much difference in which of two ways one reckons logic, whether with practical or natural philosophy, since it is equally necessary to both these branches. But I will consider these as three separate branches and assign to each one three subdivisions. Natural philosophy consists of theology, mathematics, and thirdly the study of this world of generation and decay and things that though imperishable are nevertheless matter, and deals with their essential nature and their substance in each case. Practical philosophy again consists of ethics in so far as it deals with the individual man, economics when it deals with the household as a unit, politics when it deals with the state. Logic, again, is demonstrative in so far as it deals with the truth of principles; polemic when it deals with general opinions; eristic when it deals with opinions that only seem probabilities. These then are the divisions of philosophy, if I mistake not. Though indeed it would not be surprising that a mere soldier should be none too exact in these matters or not have them at his fingers' ends, seeing that I speak less from book-knowledge than from observation and experience. For that matter you can yourselves bear me witness thereto, if you count up how few days have elapsed between the lecture that we lately heard and to-day, and moreover the number of affairs with which they have been filled for me. But as I said if I have omitted anything—though I do not think I have—still if anyone can make my classification more complete he will be "no enemy but my friend." ¹

¹ Plato, Timaeus 54 a.
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Τούτων δὴ τῶν μερῶν οὔτε τῷ λογικῷ προσήκει τῆς μυθογραφίας οὔτε τοῦ φυσικοῦ τῷ μαθηματικῷ, μόνον δὲ, εἰπερ ἄρα, τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τῷ πρὸς ἑνα γινομένω καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ τῷ τελεστικῷ καὶ μυστικῷ φιλεῖ γὰρ Οἡ φύσις κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνὸς εἰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοὰς ρίπτεσθαι ῥήμασιν. ὅπερ δὲ δὴ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἡ ἀπόρρητοι φύσις ὀφελεῖν πέφυκε καὶ ἀγνοομένην θεραπεύει γοῦν οὐ ψυχὰς μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματα, καὶ θεῶν ποιεὶ παρουσίας. τούτ' οἶμαι πολλάκις γίγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν μύθων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοὰς οὔ Dδυναμένας τὰ θεία καθαρῶς δέξασθαι δὲ αἰνυμάτων αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς μύθων σκηνοποιίας ἐγχέται.

Φανεροῦ δὲ ἡ ἡ γενομένου τίνι καὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφίας εἰδει καὶ μυθογραφεῖν ἐσθ' οτε προσήκει' πρὸς γαρ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυρεῖ τούτως ἡ τῶν προλαβόντων ἀνδρῶν προαίρεσις. ἔτει καὶ Πλάτωνι πολλὰ μεμυθολόγηται περὶ τῶν ἐν ὧδου πραγμάτων θεολογοῦντι καὶ πρὸ γε τοῦτον τῷ τῆς Καλλιόπης, Ἀντισθένει δὲ καὶ Ξενοφόντι 217καὶ αὐτῷ Πλάτωνι πραγματευομένοις θηκάς τινας ὑποθέσεις οὐ παρέρριτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἐμμελείας ἡ τῶν μύθων ἐγκαταμέμβηκε γραφή, οὗς σ' 2ἐχρήν, εἰπερ ἐβούλου, μμούμενον ἀντί μὲν Ἡρακλέους μεταλαμβάνειν Περσέως ἡ Θησέως

1 τοῦ φυσικοῦ τῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ φυσικῷ οὔτε MSS.
2 τ' ἐχρήν Hertlein suggests, ἐχρήν MSS.
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Now of these branches of philosophy, logic has no concern with the composition of myths; nor has mathematics, the sub-division of natural philosophy; but they may be employed, if at all, by that department of practical philosophy which deals with the individual man, and by that department of theology which has to do with initiation and the Mysteries. For nature loves to hide her secrets, and she does not suffer the hidden truth about the essential nature of the gods to be flung in naked words to the ears of the profane. Now there are certain characteristics of ours that derive benefit from that occult and unknown nature, which nourishes not our souls alone but our bodies also, and brings us into the presence of the gods, and this I think often comes about by means of myths; when through riddles and the dramatic setting of myths that knowledge is insinuated into the ears of the multitude who cannot receive divine truths in their purest form. It is now evident what branch and what sort of philosophy may properly on occasion employ myths. And to support my argument I call to witness the authority of those philosophers who were the first to use myths. Plato for instance in his theological descriptions of life in Hades often uses myths, and the son of Calliope before him. And when Antisthenes and Xenophon and Plato himself discuss certain ethical theories they use myths as one of the ingredients, and not casually but of set purpose. Now if you too wished to use myths you ought to have imitated these philosophers, and instead of Heracles you should have introduced the name of

1 Heracleitus fr. 123, Diels; cf. Themistius 69 b.
2 Orpheus.
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tινάς ὄνομα καὶ τῶν ’Αντισθένειον τύπου ἐγχαράττειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς Προδίκου σκηνοποιίας ἀμφί τῶν ἁμφοῖν τούτοις θεοίν ἐτέραν ὁμοίαν εἰσάγειν εἰς Β τὸ θέατρον.

’ﺈπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν μύθων ἐπεμνήσθην, φέρε νῦν ὁποίοις εἶναι χρῆ τοὺς ἐκατέρω τῶν μερῶν ἀρμόττοντας αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἰδεῖν πειραδῶμεν, οὐκέτι μαρτύρων παλαιῶν ἐν πᾶσι προσδέμονοι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ νέοις ἱχνεύσιν ἀνδρός, ὅν ἐγὼ μετὰ τοὺς θεοῖς ἐξ ἰσης ’Αριστοτέλει καὶ Πλάτωνι ἄγαμαι τε τέθητά τε. φησὶ δὲ οὐχ C ὑπὲρ πάντων οὕτος, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν τελεστικῶν, οὗ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Ὁρφεὺς ὁ τὰς ἀγωτάτας τελετάς καταστησάμενος. τὸ γάρ ἐν τοῖς μύθοις ἄπεμφαίοις αὐτῷ τούτῳ προσδοποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὃς γὰρ μᾶλλον παράδοξόν ἐστι καὶ τερατῶδες τὸ αἰνιγμα, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἐοικε διαμαρτύρεσθαι, μὴ τοῖς αὐτóθεν λεγομένοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ λεληθοῦτα περιεργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι, πρὶν ἂν ὑπὸ θεοὶς ἱγε- D μόσιν ἐκφανῆ γενόμενα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν τελέση, μᾶλ- λον δὲ τελειώσῃ νοῦν καὶ εἰ δή, τι κρεῖττον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει τοῦ νοῦ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ τάγαθος μοιρά τις ὀλίγη τὸ πᾶν ἀμερίστως ἔχουσα, τῆς ψυχῆς πλήρωμα καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ συνέχουσα
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Perseus or Theseus, let us say, and have written in the style of Antisthenes; and in place of the dramatic setting used by Prodicus,¹ in treating of those two gods² you should have introduced into your theatre another setting of the same sort.

But since I have mentioned also the myths that are suited to initiation, let us ourselves independently try to see what sort of myths they must be that suit one or the other of those two branches of philosophy;³ and no longer need we call in the aid of witnesses from the remote past for all points, but we will follow in the fresh footprints of one⁴ whom next to the gods I revere and admire, yes, equally with Aristotle and Plato. He does not treat of all kinds of myths but only those connected with initiation into the Mysteries, such as Orpheus, the founder of the most sacred of all the Mysteries, handed down to us. For it is the incongruous element in myths that guides us to the truth.⁵ I mean that the more paradoxical and prodigious the riddle is the more it seems to warn us not to believe simply the bare words but rather to study diligently the hidden truth, and not to relax our efforts until under the guidance of the gods those hidden things become plain, and so initiate or rather perfect our intelligence or whatever we possess that is more sublime than the intelligence, I mean that small particle of the One and the Good which contains the whole indivisibly, the complement of the soul, and in the One and the Good comprehends the whole of soul itself

¹ i.e. in his allegory the Choice of Heracles; Xenophon, Memorabilia 2. 1. 2; Julian, Oration 2. 56 D.
² i.e. Pan and Zeus; cf. 208 B.
³ i.e. ethics and theology; cf. 216 B.
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πᾶσαν αὐτήν διὰ τῆς ὑπερεχούσης καὶ χωριστῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑξηρημένης παρουσίας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἐπιθῆλθε μοι βασκεύοντι μανήν: τὸν βοῦν δὲ ἐπιτίθημι τῇ γλώττῃ: περὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων γὰρ οὐδὲν χρῆ λέγειν. ἀλλὰ μοι θεόν μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ ἤμων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡσοι τέως ἐστὶ τοῦτον ἀμύντοι, τὴν οὔνσιν δούειν.

Τπέρ δὲ ὅν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκούσαί θέμες καὶ ἀνεμέσθην ἀμφοτέροις ἔστι, πᾶς λόγος ὁ προφερόμενος έκ τε λέξεως καὶ διανοίας σύγκειται. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος λόγος τίς ἐστιν, ἐκ δυοῖν τούτοις συγκεῖσται. σκο-πῶμεν δὲ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν. ἔστιν ἀπλῆ τις ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ διάνοια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα προάγεται, τὰ παραδείγματα δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἐστὶ πολλά. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπλοῖν ἔστι καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖται ποικιλίας, τὸ δ᾽ ἐσχηματισμένον ἔχει δια-φορὰς ἐν ἐαυτῷ πολλάς, ὅν, εἰ τί σοι τῆς ῥητο-ρικῆς ἐμέλησεν, οὐκ ἄξιότερος εἰ. τούτων δὴ τὸν κατὰ διάνοιαν σχημάτων ἀρμότει τῷ μόθῳ τὰ πλείστα: πλὴν ἔμοιγε οὐθ᾽ ύπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν οὐθ᾽ ύπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων ἔστι τὰ γε νῦν ρήτεον, ἀλλ᾽ ύπὲρ δυοῦ, τοῦ τε σεμνοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τοῦ ἀπεμφαίοντος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ Κ τὴν λέξιν γίνεται. μορφοῦται γάρ πως καὶ σχη-ματίζεται παρὰ τῶν μὴ προφερομένων εἰκῆ μηδ᾽ ἀστερ χειμάρρους ἐλκόντων συρφετοὺς ρημάτων ἐκ τῆς τριόδου: ἀλλὰ τοῖν δυοῖν τούτοις, ὅταν μὲν ύπὲρ τῶν θείων πλάττωμεν, σεμνὰ χρῆ πάνι

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through the prevailing and separate and distinct presence of the One. But I was impelled I know not how to rave with his own sacred frenzy when I spoke like this of the attributes of great Dionysus \(^1\); and now I set an ox on my tongue: \(^2\) for I may not reveal what is too sacred for speech. However, may the gods grant to me and to many of you who have not as yet been initiated into these Mysteries to enjoy the blessings thereof!

And now to confine myself to what is lawful for us, both for me to say and for you to hear. Every discourse that is uttered consists of language and the thought to be expressed. Now a myth is a sort of discourse and so it will consist of these two. Let us consider them separately. In every discourse the thought is of two kinds, either simple or expressed in figures of speech; and there are many examples of both kinds. The one is simple and admits of no variety, but that which is embellished with figures has in itself many possibilities of variation with all of which you are yourself familiar if you have ever studied rhetoric; and most of these figures of thought are suited to myth. However I need not now discuss all or indeed many of them, but only two, that in which the thought is dignified and that in which it is paradoxical. The same rules apply also to diction. For this is given a certain shape and form by those who do not express themselves carelessly or sweep in the refuse of language from the highways like a winter torrent. And now to consider these two types. When we invent myths about sacred things our language must be wholly

1 Cf. Oration 4. 144 A.
2 A proverb for mysterious silence; cf. Theognis 815; Aesch. Ag. 36.
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tά ρήματα εἶναι καὶ τήν λέξιν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ καλὴν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πρεπωδεστά-
tην, τῶν αἰσχρῶν δὲ μηδὲν καὶ βλασφήμων ἢ D
dυσσεβῶν, ὅπως μὴ τῷ πλήθει τῆς τοιαύτης ἁρχηγοί θρασύτητος γενώμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
πρὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἥσε-
βηκέναι προλάβωμεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπεμφαίον
εἶναι χρὴ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας λέξεις, ἀλλὰ σεμνὰ
πάντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴ καὶ θεία καὶ
καθαρὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας εἰς δύναμιν
ἐστοχασμένα: τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμ-
φαίον τοῦ χρησίμου γιγνόμενον χάριν ἐγκριτεόν,
ὡς ἃν μὴ τινὸς ύπομνήσεως ἔσχεθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι
deόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ
μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λανθάνον μῶσθαι καὶ πολυ-
πραγμοτειν ὑφ’ ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμηθεῖν.
ιδοὺ γὰρ ἐγώγε πολλῶν ἡκουσα λεγόντων ἄνθρω-
pων μὲν τὸν Διονύσου, ἐπείπερ ἐκ Σεμέλης ἐγένετο,
θεοὶ δὲ διὰ θεουργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς, ὥσπερ τὸν B
δεσπότην `Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἁρετῆς εἰς
tὸν Ολυμποῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνήχθαι τοῦ Διός.
ἀλλ’, ὥ ταῦτα, εἰποῦν, οὐ ἔμμειτε τοῦ μύθου φανερῶς
ἀνυπτομένου. τοὺς γὰρ ἡ γένεσις ἔστιν ὥσπερ
`Ἡρακλέους, οὕτω δὴ καὶ Διονύσου, ἔχουσα μὲν
tὸ κρείττων καὶ ὑπερέχουν καὶ ἔξηρημένον, ἐν τῷ
μετρίῳ δὲ ὄμως ἐτὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
μένουσα καὶ ποὺς ἀφομοιομένη πρὸς ἡμᾶς; `Ἡρα-
κλῆς δὲ λέγεται παιδίον γενόσθαι καὶ κατὰ
μικρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα τὸ θείου ἐπιδοῦναι, καὶ

1 ὁ Cobet, ὁ Hertlein, MSS.
dignified and the diction must be as far as possible sober, beautiful, and entirely appropriate to the gods; there must be nothing in it base or slanderous or impious, for fear we should lead the common people into this sort of sacrilegious rashness; or rather for fear we should ourselves anticipate the common people in displaying impiety towards the gods. Therefore there must be no incongruous element in diction thus employed, but all must be dignified, beautiful, splendid, divine, pure, and as far as possible in conformity with the essential nature of the gods. But as regards the thought, the incongruous may be admitted, so that under the guidance of the gods men may be inspired to search out and study the hidden meaning, though they must not ask for any hint of the truth from others, but must acquire their knowledge from what is said in the myth itself.¹ For instance I have heard many people say that Dionysus was a mortal man because he was born of Semele, and that he became a god through his knowledge of theurgy and the Mysteries, and like our lord Heracles for his royal virtue was translated to Olympus by his father Zeus. "Nay, my good sir," said I, "do you not perceive that the myth is obviously an allegory?" For in what sense do we regard the "birth" of Heracles, yes, and of Dionysus as well, since in their case birth has superior and surpassing and distinctive elements, even though it still falls within the limits of human nature, and up to a certain point resembles our own? Heracles for instance is said to have been a child, even as we are; his divine body grew gradually; we are informed that he was instructed

¹ Cf. Oration 5, 170 B.C.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

φοιτήσαι διδασκάλοις ἱστόρηται, καὶ στρατεύσα-θαι λέγεται καὶ κρατήσαι πάντων, καμένιν δὲ ὀμος κατὰ τὸ σῶμα. καίτοι αὐτῷ ταύτα μὲν ύπήρξε, μειξόνως δὲ ἡ κατ’ ἀνθρωπον. ὅτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνους ἀποπνύγων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ παραταττόμενος τὰ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεῖα, θάλπη καὶ κρυμοῦς, εἶτα τοῖς ἀπορωτά-τοις καὶ ἀμαχωτάτοις, ἐνδεία λέγω τροφῆς καὶ ἔρημα, καὶ τὴν δ’ αὐτοῦ πορείαν ὅμαί του πελάγους ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς κύλικος, ἢν ἔγω νομίζω μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡ κύλικα εἶναι, βαδίσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης νεόμικα. τὶ γὰρ ἀπορον ἣν Ἡρακλεί; τὶ δ’ οὖν ὑπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ θείῳ καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ σώματι, τῶν λεγομένων τούτων στοιχείων δουλευόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ δημιουργίᾳ καὶ τελεσιουργῷ τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ καθαροῦ νοῦ δυνάμει; ὄν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιστήσας αὐτῷ φύλακα τὴν θεον ταύτην, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου προέμενος αὐτῷ, τῷ κόσμῳ σωτῆρα ἐφύτευσεν, εἰτ’ ἐπανήγαγε διὰ τοῦ κεραυνίου πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ τῷ θείῳ συνθήματι τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς ἰκεῖν παρ’ ἑαυτὸν τῷ παιδὶ κελεύσας. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐμοὶ τὲ καὶ ὑμῖν ἱλεως Ἡρακλῆς εἰς.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς ∆ιονύσου θρυλομομένης μὲν γενέσεως, οὕσης δὲ οὐ γενέσεως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίας ἐκφάντασες Β κατὰ τί τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς προσέοικεν; ἡ μήτηρ

1 κατὰ Cobet, καὶ Hertleim, MSS.
2 Cf. Oration 4. 149 B,

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by teachers;¹ they say that he carried on wars and defeated all his opponents, but for all that his body had to endure weariness. And in fact all this did in his case occur, but on a scale greater than human. For instance, while still in swaddling clothes he strangled the serpents and then opposed himself to the very elements of nature, the extremes of heat and cold and things the most difficult and hardest to contend with, I mean lack of food and loneliness;² and then there is his journey over the sea itself in a golden cup,³ though, by the gods, I do not think it was really a cup, but my belief is that he himself walked on the sea as though it were dry land.⁴ For what was impossible to Heracles? Which was there of the so-called elements that did not obey his divine and most pure body since they were subdued to the creative and perfecting force of his stainless and pure intelligence? For him did mighty Zeus, with the aid of Athene goddess of Forethought, beget to be the saviour of the world, and appointed as his guardian this goddess whom he had brought forth whole from the whole of himself; and later on he called him to his side through the flame of a thunderbolt, thus bidding his son to come to him by the divine signal of the ethereal rays of light. Now when we meditate on this, may Heracles be gracious to you and to me!

As for the commonly received legend about the birth of Dionysus, which was in fact no birth but a divine manifestation, in what respect was it like the birth of men? While he was still in his mother's

¹ Cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration 1. 61, Arnim. ² Cf. 230 B. ³ Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 2; Athenaeus 11. 470. ⁴ This is perhaps a passing sneer at the Christians and need not be taken too seriously.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

αὐτὸν κύουσα, φασὶν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἡρας ξηλοτυποῦ-
σης ἐξαπατηθεῖσα τὸν ἑραστὴν ἐξελιπάρησεν
ηκεῖν, ὥς παρὰ τὴν γαμετὴν εἰσῆθε φοιτᾶν, πρὸς
ἐαυτῆν· εἶτα οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον τὸ σωμάτιον τῶν
κτυπημάτων ¹ τοῦ Διὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ κατε-
φλέγετο. πάντων δὲ όμοι πυρομένων, Ἐρμῆ
κελεύσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρπάσαι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τεμῶν
tὸν αὐτὸν μηρὸν ἐρράπτει· εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν, ἦνικα
ἐτελεσφορήθη τὸ βρέφος, ἀδίνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς
νύμφας ἔρχεται· τὸ Δίῳ δάμα δὲ αὐταὶ τῷ
μηρῷ προσεπάδουσας τὸν διθύραμβον ἡμῖν εἰς
φῶς προήγαγον· εἶτα ἐμάνη, φασίν, ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ
tῆς Ἡρας, ἔπαυσε δ' αὐτῷ τὴν νύσον ἡ Μήτηρ
tῶν θεῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦν αὐτικὰ θεὸς. εἰποντο γοῦν οὗ
Δίκαια αὐτῷ καθάπερ Ἡρακλεὶ οὐδὲ Ἰδέως οὐδὲ
Τελαιμών οὐδ' "Τλας οὐδ' "Αβδηρος, ἀλλὰ Σάτυροι
καὶ Βακχαὶ καὶ Πάνες καὶ δαιμόνων στρατιά. Οἱ
ὁράς ὅπως ἀνθρωπική μὲν ἡ σπορὰ διὰ τῶν
κεραυνῶν, ὃς ἀποκύψεις ἀνθρωπικοτέρα, ἀμφοῖν
de τοῖν εἰρημένοι προσομοιότερα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις
tὰ ἔργα; τὶ οὖν οὗ καταβάλλοντες τὸν λήρον
ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τούτων ἵσμεν, ὡς Σεμέλη
σοφὴ τὰ θεῖα; πάλι γὰρ ἦν Κάδμου τοῦ Φοίνικος,
tούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ

Πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὅδοις μακάρων ἐδάσαν
λέγων. αἰσθέσθαι οὖν μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου 221
πρώτῃ παρ' "Ελλησι καὶ τὴν ἔσομένθην ἐπιφάνειαν

¹ σωμάτιον ἐν τῶν κτυπημάτων Friederich; Hertlein approves
but would omit ἐν; δωμάτιον ἐν τῶν κτυπημάτων Hertlein, MSS.,
tο δωμάτιον ἐν κτύπημα τῶν Reiske, ἐνσκψαντος Arnoldt.

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womb she, as the story goes, was beguiled by jealous Hera to entreat her lover to visit her as he was wont to visit his spouse. And then her frail body could not endure the thunders of Zeus and began to be consumed by the lightning. But when everything there was being devoured by flames, Zeus bade Hermes snatch Dionysus forth, and he cut open his own thigh and sewed the babe therein. Then in due course when the time was ripe for the child's birth, Zeus in the pangs of travail came to the nymphs, and they by their song over the thigh "Undo the stitching" brought to light for us the dithyramb. Whereupon the god was driven mad by Hera, but the Mother of the Gods healed him of his sickness and he straightway became a god. And he had for followers not, like Heracles, Lichas for instance or Iolaus or Telamon or Hylas or Abderos, but Satyrs, Bacchanals, Pans and a whole host of lesser divinities. Do you perceive how much of human there is in this generation through the fire of a thunderbolt, that his delivery is even more human, and that his deeds, even more than these two that we have mentioned, resemble those of human beings? Now why do we not set aside all this nonsense and recognise herein first the fact that Semele was wise in sacred things? For she was the daughter of Phoenician Cadmus, and the god himself bears witness to the wisdom of the Phoenicians when he says "The Phoenicians too have learned many of the roads travelled by the blessed gods." I think then that she was the first among the Greeks to perceive

1 Cf. Euripides, Bacchae 279 foll. 2 Cf. Pindar fr. 85.
3 Cf. Oration 4. 134 A.
4 An oracular verse from an unknown source.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

αὐτοῦ όντι εἰς μακρὰν προαγορεύσασα κινήσαι μὲν θάττων ἡ προσήκον ἣν τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅργιων, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη τὸν εἰμαρμένον περιμεῦναι χρόνον, εἶτα ἀναλωθήναι πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ῥυέντος ἐπὶ αὐτήν. ἑπεὶ δὲ εἴδε ὁ Διὸς κοινῆς πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐνδούναι ἄρχην καταστάσεως ἑτέρας καὶ μεταβαλεῖν¹ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ νομάδικοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἡμερώτερον, ἐξ Ἰφιδών ὁ Β. Διόνυσος αὐτοπποί ἐβαίνετο δαίμον, ἐπιφοιτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἄγων μεθ᾽ εαυτοῦ στρατιὰν πολλὴν δαίμονιν πινῶν² καὶ δίδον ἀνθρώποις κοινῆ μὲν ἀπασί σύμβολον τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ἡμερίδος φυτὸν, ὥστε οὐ μοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐξημερωθέντων αὐτοῖς τοῦ περὶ τοῦ βίου, Ἐλλήνως τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτὸ ταύτης ἄξιωσαί, μητέρα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσεπείν τὴν Σεμέλην διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν, ἄλλως τὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῶντος αὐτήν, ἀτε πρώτην ἱερό-φαντιν τῆς ἔτι μελλούσης ἐπιφοιτήσεως.

Ωὕσης δὲ, ὡς ἂν τις ἀκριβῶς σκοπῶν ἐξετάσεις, τῆς ἱστορίας τοιαύτης, οἱ τῶν Διόνυσου ὡς τοῖς ποτ' ἑστὶ θεων ξητοῦντες τάλληθες ἔχουν ὡς ἐφη σι μῆδον διεσχέσασαν, αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν τε οὕσιαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ κύσιν καὶ τὸν ἀγέννητον αὐτοῦ τόκον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ³ ... ἐν τῷ παντὶ, καὶ τὰλλα ἐφεξῆς ὡς τοῦ ξητείῶν ἣν ἄξια,⁴ φράζειν δὲ γ' ὧν ῥάδια ἐμοί,

¹ μεταβαλεὶν Hertlein suggests, μεταβάλλειν MSS.
² τινῶν Hertlein suggests, τινὰ MSS.
³ κόσμῳ ... κατ ... γωματ ... εἰν V, lacuna MSS.
⁴ ἄξια, φράζειν δὲ γ' ὧν ῥάδια ἐμοί Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.

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that there was to be before long a visible manifestation of this god, and that she foretold it, and then that, sooner than was fitting, she gave the signal for certain of the mystic rites connected with his worship, because she had not the patience to wait for the appointed time, and thus she was consumed by the fire that fell upon her. But when it was the will of Zeus to bestow on all mankind in common a new order of things, and to make them pass from the nomadic to a more civilised mode of life, Dionysus came from India and revealed himself as very god made visible, visiting the cities of men and leading with him a great host of beings in some sort divine; and everywhere he bestowed on all men in common as the symbol of his manifestation the plant of "the gentle vine"; and since their lives were made more gentle by it the Greeks as I think gave it that name; and they called Semele the mother of Dionysus because of the prediction that she had made, but also because the god honoured her as having been the first prophetess of his advent while it was yet to be.

Now since this is the historical truth of these events if they are accurately considered and examined, those who sought to discover what sort of god Dionysus is worked into a myth the truth which is as I said, and expressed in an allegory both the essential nature of the god and his conception in his father Zeus among the intelligible gods, and further his birth independently of generation in this our world. . . . in the whole universe, and in their proper order all those other facts which are well worth

1 ἡμερί = the vine; ἡμερός = gentle.
2 Here follows a lacuna of several words.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τυχόν μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ἐτι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ Δ ἀκριβές, τυχόν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοντι τὸν κρύφιον ἄμα καὶ φανερὸν θεὸν ὁσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ προβάλλειν ἄκοαις ἀνεξετάστοις καὶ διανοίας ἐπὶ πάντα μάλλον ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τετραμμένας.

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἵστον Διόνυσος αὐτός, ὃ καὶ προσεύχομαι τὰς τε ἐμάς καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας ἐκβασκεύσαι φρένας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθὴ τῶν θεῶν γνώσιν, ὡς ἄν μὴ πολὺν ἀβάσκευτοι χρόνον τῷ θεῷ μένοντες ὅποσά ὁ Πενθεύς ἑπαθομεν, ἵστως 222 μὲν καὶ ζῶντες, πάντως δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ σώματος. ὅτω γὰρ ἄν μὴ τὸ πεπληθυσμένον τῆς ζωῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνοείδους καὶ ἐν τῷ μεριστῷ παντελῶς ἀδιαμέτρητον ὀλῆς τε ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμυγχός προὔπαρχούσης οὐσίας τοῦ Διονύσου τελεσιουργηθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνθεον βασκείας, τούτῳ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πολλὰ ρυθμαὶ τὴν ζωῆν, ρυθμαὶ δὲ διεσπάσθαι καὶ διασπασθείσαι οἶχεθαι τὸ δὲ ρυθμαὶ καὶ διασπασθείσαι μὴ προσέχων τις τοῖς ρήμασιν ὑδάτων μηδὲ Λύνον μήρινθον ἀκροάσθων, ξυνιέτω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα τρόπον ἄλλον, ὃν Πλάτων, ὃν Πλοτίνος, ὃν Πορφύριος, ὃν ὁ δαιμόνιος Ἰάμβλιχος. ὅσ δὲ ἄν μὴ ταύτη ποιῆ, γελάσεται μὲν, ἵστω μέντοι

1 Πενθεύς ἐπαθε MSS.; Hertlein would omit ἐπαθε.
2 ἄν Hertlein would add.
3 τελεσιουργηθῇ Hertlein suggests, τελεσιουργηθεῖ MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

studying but too difficult for me at any rate to describe; partly perhaps because I am still ignorant of the precise truth about them,¹ but perhaps also because I am unwilling to exhibit as in a theatre this god who is at once hidden and manifest, and that, too, to ears that have not sought after truth and to minds disposed to anything rather than the study of philosophy.

However let Dionysus himself decide about these things, though I do indeed implore him to inspire my mind and yours with his own sacred frenzy for the true knowledge of the gods, so that we may not by remaining too long uninspired by him have to suffer the fate of Pentheus, perhaps even while we are alive, but most certainly after death has freed us from the body. For he in whom the abundance of life has not been perfected by the essential nature of Dionysus, uniform and wholly indivisible as it is in the divisible world and pre-existing whole and unmixed in all things, he I say who has not been perfected by means of the Bacchic and divine frenzy for the god, runs the risk that his life may flow into too many channels, and as it flows be torn to shreds, and hence come to naught. But when I say "flow" or "torn to shreds" no one must consider the bare meaning of the words and suppose that I mean a mere trickle of water or a thread of linen, but he must understand these words in another sense, that used by Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry and the inspired Iamblichus. One who does not interpret them thus will laugh at them no doubt, but let me assure him that it will be a

¹ Cf. Plato, Republic 382 d.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

Σαρδώνιον γελῶν ἔρημος ὄν ἂεὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώσεως, ὡς ἀντάξιον οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶσαν ὦμοι μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτροπεύσαι τὴν βαρβάρων Σ ἔγωγε θείμην ἂν, οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην Ἡλιον. ἀλλὰ μὲ πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡστὶς θεῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐβάκχευσεν οὐ προελόμενον.

Oὕ δὲ ἐνεκεν ἐφῃν αὐτά· κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαίνοντες ὡστὶν οἱ μῦθοι γίγνονται περὶ τῶν θείων, αὐτόθεν ἡμῖν ὡστὲρ βοῶσι καὶ διαμαρτύρουνται μὴ πιστεύειν ἄπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεληθὸς σκοτείν καὶ διερεύνασθαι. τοσοῦτῷ δ᾽ ἔστι κρείττων ἐν τούτοις τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἀπεμφαίον, ὡσὶ διὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνον καλοὺς λίαν καὶ μεγάλους καὶ ἁγαθοὺς, ἀνθρώπως δὲ ὁμοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς D κίνδυνοι νομίσαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπεμφαίοντων ὑπεριδόντας τῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λεγομένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπερέχουσαν πάντα τὰ ὄντα καθαρὰ νόησιν ἐλπὶς ἀναδραμεῖν.

Ἄντιαι μὲν οὐν αὐταὶ τοῦ τῆς τελεστικῆς καὶ 223 μυσταγωγοῦν φιλοσοφίαν τὰ μὲν ῥήματα παντὸς μᾶλλον εὐαγγὴ καὶ σεμνὰ προφέρεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀλλοιοτέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν τοιούτων. ὦ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπανορθώσεως ἐνεκα τοὺς λόγους πλάττων καὶ μῦθος παράγων δράτω ¹ τοῦτο μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάλιν

¹ δράτω τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον τῷ MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

Sardonic laugh, since he will be forever deprived of that knowledge of the gods which I hold to be more precious than to rule over the whole world, Roman and barbarian put together, yea, I swear it by my lord Helios. But again some god or other and no choice of my own has made me rave with this Bacchic frenzy.

To go back then to what led me to say all this. Whenever myths on sacred subjects are incongruous in thought, by that very fact they cry aloud, as it were, and summon us not to believe them literally but to study and track down their hidden meaning. And in such myths the incongruous element is even more valuable than the serious and straightforward, the more so that when the latter is used there is risk of our regarding the gods as exceedingly great and noble and good certainly, but still as human beings, whereas when the meaning is expressed incongruous there is some hope that men will neglect the more obvious sense of the words, and that pure intelligence may rise to the comprehension of the distinctive nature of the gods that transcends all existing things.

These then are the reasons why that branch of philosophy which is connected with initiation and the doctrines of the Mysteries ought by all means to be expressed in devout and serious language, while as regards the thought the narrative may be expounded in a style that has stranger qualities. But one who is inventing tales for the purpose of reforming morals and inserts myths therein, does so not for men but for those who are children whether in years

1 A proverb for forced laughter, cf. Odyssey 22. 302; Plato, Republic 337 A.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

...
or intelligence, and who on all accounts stand in need of such tales. If, however, you took us for children, me, for instance, or Anatolius here, and you may reckon with us Memmorius also and Sallust and add if you please all the others in due order, then you need a voyage to Anticyra.¹ For why should one pretend to be polite? Tell me, I ask, in the name of the gods, and of myth itself, or rather in the name of Helios the King of all the universe, what have you ever accomplished, great or small? When did you ever champion one who was resisting oppression and had right on his side? When did you ever comfort the mourner and teach him by your arguments that death is not an evil either for him who has suffered it or for his friends? What youth will ever give you the credit for his temperance, and say that you have made him show himself sober instead of dissolute, and beautiful not merely in body but far more in soul? What strenuous discipline have you ever embraced? What have you ever done to make you worthy of the staff of Diogenes or still more, by Zeus, of his freedom of speech? Do you really think it so great an achievement to carry a staff and let your hair grow, and haunt cities and camps uttering calumnies against the noblest men, and flattering the vilest? Tell me in the name of Zeus and of this audience now present, who are disgusted with philosophy because of men of your sort, why was it that you visited the late Emperor Constantius in Italy but could not travel as far as Gaul? And yet if you had come to me you would at any rate have associated with one who was better able to

¹ Hellebore, supposed to be a cure for madness, grew at Anticyra; hence the proverb: cf. Horace, Satires 2. 3. 166.
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dυνάμενω πλησιάζειν ἔμελλες ἀνθρώπῳ. τί δὲ 224 καὶ τὸ περιφοιτᾶν πανταχοῦ καὶ παρέχειν πράγματα ταῖς ἡμιόνοις; ἀκούω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τοῖς τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐλαύνουσιν, οἱ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἢ τοὺς στρατιώτας πεφρίκασι. χρῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ξύλοις ἀκούω τινὰς ὑμῶν χαλεπώτερον ἢ τοὺς ξέφεσιν ἕκεινοι. γέγυνεσθε οὖν αὐτοῖς εἰκότως φοβερότεροι. πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν ἐθέμην ἐγὼ τούτο τὸ ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἔσοι καὶ γράψειν. Β ἀποτακτιστάς τινὰς ὑνομάζουσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλλιαῖοι: τοῦτον οἱ πλείους μικρὰ προέμενοι πολλὰ πάνω, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα πανταχόθεν ξυνκομίζουσι, καὶ προσκύνωνται το τιμᾶσθαι καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι. τοιοῦτον τί καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἔστι, πλὴν ἱσως τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι. τούτο δὲ οὐ παρ’ ὑμᾶς γίγνεται, παρ’ ἡμᾶς δὲ συνετώτεροι γὰρ ἐσμέν τῶν ἀνοητῶν ἕκεινων ἱσως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρόσχημα τοῦ φορολογεῖν εὐπροσώπως, οποῖον οὐκ ἔκεινοι, ἢν λέγουσιν οὐκ οἰδ’ ὅτως ἔλεησθην, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα γε πάντα ἔστιν ὑμῖν τε κάκεινος παραπλήσια. καταλελοίπατε τὴν πατρίδα δωσὲρ ἔκεινοι, περιφοιτᾶτε πάντη καὶ τὸ στρατοπεδον διωχλήσατε μᾶλλον ἔκεινων καὶ ἱταμωτέρον οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοῦμενοι, ὑμείς δὲ καὶ ἀπελαυνόμενοι. καὶ τὶ χρηστὸν ἐκ τούτων ὑμῖν ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις; ἀνηλθεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, εἶτα ὁ Σερηνιανὸς, εἰτὰ ὁ Χύτρων, εἰτὰ οὐκ οἶδα παιδάριον δ’, τὶ ἔσθων καὶ εὐμηκὲς, εἰτὰ σύ, καὶ μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἄλλοι διὸς τοσοῦτοι.

1 τοῖς ξύλοις Hertlein would add; Naber suggests βάπτροις.
2 προσκύνωνται Hertlein suggests, προσὴν οἷμαι MSS.
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comprehend your language. What do you gain by travelling about in all directions and wearing out the very mules you ride? Yes, and I hear that you wear out the mule drivers as well, and that they dread the sight of you Cynics even more than of soldiers. For I am told that some of you belabour them more cruelly with your staffs than do the soldiers with their swords, so that they are naturally more afraid of you. Long ago I gave you a nickname and now I think I will write it down. It is "monks," a name applied to certain persons by the impious Galilaeans. They are for the most part men who by making small sacrifices gain much or rather everything from all sources, and in addition secure honour, crowds of attendants and flattery. Something like that is your method, except perhaps for uttering divine revelations: but this is not your custom, though it is ours; for we are wiser than those insensate men. And perhaps too there is this difference that you have no excuse for levying tribute on specious pretexts as they do; which they call "alms," whatever that may mean. But in all other respects your habits and theirs are very much alike. Like them you have abandoned your country, you wander about all over the world, and you gave more trouble than they did at my headquarters, and were more insolent. For they were at any rate invited to come, but you we tried to drive away. And what good have you, or rather, what have the rest of us derived from all this? First arrived Asclepiades, then Serenianus, then Chytron, then a tall boy with yellow hair—I don't know his name—then you, and with you all

1 Or "solitaries"; the word also means "heretic"; but Julian evidently alludes to Christian monks who lived on charity.
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tί οὖν ἐκ τῆς ύμετέρας ἀνέδου γέγονεν ἁγαθόν, ὡς λύστοι; τίς ἤσθετο πόλις ἢ τίς ὁδότης τῆς ύμετέρας παρρησίας; οὐκ ἀφρόνως μὲν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴλεσθε τῇν ἑπτῇ τοῦ οὐδὲ ἱδεῖν ὑμᾶς θέλοντα βασιλέα πορείαν, ἀνελθόντες δὲ ἀφρονέστερον αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμαθέστερον καὶ μανιωδέστερον ἐχρήσασθε, κολακεύσαντες ἀμαὶ ὑλακτήςαντες καὶ βιβλία δόντες καὶ ταῦτα προσαχθήναι 1 προσ- 225 λιπαρήσαντες; οὐδένα ὑμῶν οἷμαι ἡγὸ τοσαυτάκις εἰς φιλοσόφου φανίσαι, ὀσάκις εἰς ἀντιγραφέως, ὡστε ὑμῖν Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ Λύκειον ἀντὶ τῆς Ποικίλης τε ἢ τῶν βασιλείων τὰ πρόθυμα.

Οὐκ ἀπάξετε ταῦτα; οὐ καταβαλεῖτε νῦν γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, οτε ὑμῖν οὔδεν ἔστι πλέον ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης καὶ τῆς Βακτρίας; πῶς δὲ καὶ γέγονελ υφ’ ὑμῶν εὐκαταφρόνητος ἢ φιλοσοφία; τῶν ῥητορικῶν οἱ δυσμαθέστατοι καὶ οὐδὲ Β ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἐρμοῦ τὴν γλώτταν ἐκκαθαρθήναι δυνάμενοι, φρενωθήναι δὲ οὔδε πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς σὺν τῷ Ἐρμῷ, τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀγοραίου καὶ περιτρεχοῦσις ἄρπάσαντες ἐντρέχειας’ οὔδε γὰρ ἐν παρομία περιφερόμενον αὐτὸ γεγυγώκουσι το δὲ βότρυν πρὸς βότρυν πεπαίνεται ὥρμωσιν ἐτί τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ. Βακτηρία, τρίβων, κόμη, τὸ ἐντεύθεν ἀμαθία, θράσος, Σ ἱταμότης καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὴν σύντομον, φασίν, οὖν καὶ σύντονον ἐπὶ τὴν

1 προσαχθήναι Hertlein suggests, πραχθήναι MSS.

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twice as many more. And now, my good sirs, what good has come from your journey? What city or individual has had any experience of your alleged freedom of speech? Was it not foolish of you to choose in the first place to make this journey to an Emperor who did not even wish to set eyes on you? And when you had arrived, did you not behave even more foolishly and ignorantly and insanely in flattering and barking at me in the same breath, and offering me your books, and moreover imploring that they should be taken to me? I do not believe that any one of you ever visited a philosopher's school as diligently as you did my secretary: in fact the entrance to the Palace stood for you in place of the Academy and the Lyceum and the Portico.

Have done with all this nonsense! At any rate lay it aside now if not before, when you can get no advantage from your long hair and your staff. Shall I tell you how you have caused philosophy to be lightly esteemed? It is because the most ignorant of the rhetoricians, those whose tongues not King Hermes himself could purify, and who could not be made wise by Athene herself with the aid of Hermes, having picked up their knowledge from their industry in frequenting public places,—for they do not know the truth of the current proverb, "Grape ripens near grape"—then all rush into Cynicism. They adopt the staff, the cloak, the long hair, the ignorance that goes with these, the impudence, the insolence, and in a word everything of the sort. They say that they are travelling the short and ready road to virtue. I would that you

1 A proverb to express emulation; cf. Juvenal 2. 81.
2 Plutarch, Erotici p. 759, says this of the Cynics; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7. 121.
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ἀρετὴν ἴέναι ὃ ὠφελοῦ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν μακρὰν ἐπο- 

τεύεσθε: ῥᾴδιν ἄν δι’ ἐκείνης ἡ διὰ ταύτης ἦλθε
tε. οὐκ ἴστε, ὅτι μεγάλης ἔχουσιν αἱ σύντομοι τὰς
χαλεπότητας; καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς λεωφόροις ὃ μὲν

τὴν σύντομον ἔλθειν δυσθεὶς ῥᾴδιν ἐκπερείσθη ἡ τὴν
κύκλῳ, οὔκετι μέντοι τὸ ἀνάπαυλιν ὁ κύκλῳ πορευ-

θεῖς ἔλθοι ἄν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐπίτομον, οὕτω δὴ 
καὶ ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τέλος τέ ἔστι καὶ ἀρχῇ μία

γνωριμία τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀφομοιώθησαι τοῖς θεοῖς:

ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν γνωρίσαι, τέλος. δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς
κρείττονας ὀμοιότης.

"Ὅστις οὖν Κυνικὸς ἐίναι ἐθέλει, πάντων ὑπερ-

ιδῶν τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων

dοξῶν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέστραπται

πρότερον. ἐκεῖνο τὸ χρυσὸν οὐκ ἔστι χρυσόν,

οὐχ ἢ ψάμμος ψάμμος, εἰ πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τις

αὐτὰ ἐξετάζοι καὶ τῆς ἀξιᾶς αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψειεν

αὐτῷ τιμητὴ γενέσθαι. γὴν γὰρ αὐτὰ οἶδεν 226

ἀμφότερα. τὸ σπανιώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ῥᾴν ἀν-

θρώπων εἶναι κενοδοξίας ταῦτα καὶ ἀμαβίας νενο-

μικεν ἔργα: τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἄν τοῖς

ἐπαινομένοις ἢ ψευδομένοις τίθεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ

φύσει φέυγει τὰς περιττὰς τροφὰς: ἀποστρέ-

φεται δὲ τὰ ἀφροδίσια. βιαζομένου δὲ τοῦ

σῶματος, οὗ δόξῃ προστέθηκεν οὐδὲ περιμένει τὸν

μάγειρον καὶ τὰ ὑποτρίμματα καὶ τὴν κνίσαν,

οὔδὲ τὴν Φρύγην οὐδὲ τὴν Δαύδα οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ

dεῖνος 3 περιβλέπεται γαμέτην οὐδὲ τὸ θυγατριον B

οὔδὲ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν

1 ἴέναι Cobet, πορευομέθα Hertlein suggests, lacuna V.
2 ἡ Cobet, ἃ Hertlein, MSS.
3 τοῦ δεῖνος Cobet, τοῦ de Hertlein, MSS.
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were going by the longer! For you would more easily arrive by that road than by this of yours. Are you not aware that short cuts usually involve one in great difficulties? For just as is the case with the public roads, a traveller who is able to take a short cut will more easily than other men go all the way round, whereas it does not at all follow that he who went round could always go the short cut, so too in philosophy the end and the beginning are one, namely, to know oneself and to become like the gods. That is to say, the first principle is self-knowledge, and the end of conduct is the resemblance to the higher powers.

Therefore he who desires to be a Cynic despises all the usages and opinions of men, and turns his mind first of all to himself and the god. For him gold is not gold or sand sand, if one enquire into their value with a view to exchanging them, and leave it to him to rate them at their proper worth: for he knows that both of them are but earth. And the fact that one is scarcer and the other easier to obtain he thinks is merely the result of the vanity and ignorance of mankind. He will judge of the baseness or nobility of an action, not by the applause or blame of men but by its intrinsic nature. He avoids any excess in food, and renounces the pleasures of love. When he is forced to obey the needs of the body he is not the slave of opinion, nor does he wait for a cook and sauces and a savoury smell, nor does he ever look about for Phryne or Lais or So-and-so's wife or young daughter or serving-maid. But as far as possible he satisfies his body's needs
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προστυχόντων ἀποτλήσας τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ σῶματος καὶ τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρωσάμενος, ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ὄλυμπου κορυφῆς ἐπιβλέπει τοὺς ἄλλους.

'Ατης ἐν λειμῶνι κατὰ σκότον ἠλάσκοντας,
ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ἀπολαύσεων ὑπομένοντας ὅσα οὐδὲ παρά τὸν Κωκυτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θρυλοῦσιν οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν. η σύντομος ὁδὸς ἐστιν αὐτῇ. δεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄθρως ο ἐκστίναι εἰς τὸν καὶ γρώναι, ὅτι θείος ἐστί, καὶ τὸν νόην μὲν τὸν εἰς τὸν ἀτρύτως καὶ ἀμετακινήτως συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ καθαροῖς νοημασίας, ὀλγωρεῖν δὲ πάντη τοῦ σῶματος καὶ νομίζως αὐτό κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον κοπρίων ἐκβλητότερον, ἐκ τοῦ ὀστοῦ—δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληροῦν, ἔως ἃν ὁ θεὸς ὀστερὸν ὄργανον τὸ σῶματι χρήσθαι ἐπιτάττῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς φασὶ ταύτη. 1 ἐπανάξω δὲ ὅθεν ἐξεβην. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς μύθους προσήκει πρὸς παῖδας ἢτοι τῷ φρονεῖν, καὶ ἀνδρεῖς ὅσιν, ἡ καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν παιδαρίους ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἐξεταστέον ὅπως μήτε εἰς θεοὺς μήτε εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλημμελές ἢ, καθάπερ ἐναγχος, δυσσεβές τι ῥηθειν καὶ προσέτε τοῦτο ἐν ἀπασίν ἀκριβῶς βασανιστέον, εἰ πιθανός, εἰ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυγής, εἰ μύθος ἐστίν ἀληθῶς ὁ πλαττόμενος. ἐπεὶ τὸ γε λῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένον ό μύθος ἐστὶ σός. 2 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἐνεανεύσων. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν μύθος

1 ὡς φασὶ ταύτη Cobet, cf. Oration 4. 148 B, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 σός: Hertlein suggests; σός, ὡς ἱψης MSS.
with whatever comes to hand, and by thrusting aside all hindrances derived from the body he contemplates from above, from the peaks of Olympus, other men who are "Wandering in darkness in the meadow of Ate," and for the sake of a few wholly trifling pleasures are undergoing torments greater than any by the Cocytus or Acheron such as the most ingenious of the poets are always telling us about. Now the true short cut to philosophy is this. A man must completely come out of himself and recognise that he is divine, and not only keep his mind untiringly and steadfastly fixed on divine and stainless and pure thoughts, but he must also utterly despise his body, and think it, in the words of Heracleitus, "more worthless than dirt." And by the easiest means he must satisfy his body's needs so long as the god commands him to use it as an instrument.

So much for that, as the saying is. Now to go back to the point at which I digressed. Since, as I was saying, myths ought to be addressed either to those who though grown men are children in intelligence, or to those who in actual years are mere children, we must take pains to utter in them no word that is offensive to gods or men or anything impious, as was done recently. And moreover we must in all cases apply careful tests to see whether the myth is plausible, closely related to the matter discussed and whether what is invented is really a myth. Now what you composed lately is not your own myth though you boasted that it was. Nay, your myth was an old one and you did

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1 Empedocles, fr. 21, Diels.  
2 Heracleitus, fr. 96, Diels.  
3 Cf. Oration 4. 148 b.  
4 223 a.
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ἐστι παλαιός, ἐφήμριος ὁ  ἐφήμριος ὁ τέρος, ὅπερ ὁμαί ποιεῖν εἰδῶθασιν οἱ τῇ τροπικῇ χρώμενοι τῶν νομιμῶν κατασκευή. πολὺς δὲ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Πάριος ἔστι ποιητής. ἔοικας οὖν οὐδὲ πεποιηκὼς μῦθον, ὁ ξυνετώτατε, μάτην νεανιευθαί: καίτοι τούτο τίτθης έργον ἐστὶν εὐτραπέλου. Πλουτάρχου δὲ εἰ τὰ μυθικὰ διηγήματα τῶν σῶν ἐσω χειρῶν ἄφικτο, οὕτως ἀν ἐλελήθησε σε, τίνι διαφέρει πλάσαι τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς μύθον καὶ τὸν κείμενον ἐφαρμόσαι πράγμασιν οἰκείοις. ἀλλ' Βίνα μὴ σε τὴν σύντομον ὄρεινον βίβλους ἐμβαλῶν μακραίς καὶ δυσελκτοὺς ἐπίσχος μικρὰ καὶ πεδήσω: οὐ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Δημοσθένους ἀκήκοας μῦθον, ὑν ἐποίησεν ὁ Παναγιεύς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἤνικα ὁ Μακεδών ἔξυπτεί τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ῥήματα. ἔχρην οὖν τι τοιοῦτο πλάσαι: ἡ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν έργον ἢν εἰπεῖν μυθάριον τι τοιοῦτον; ἀναγκάσεις δὲ με καὶ μυθοποιὸν γενέσθαι.

Πλουσίου ἀνδρὸς πρόβατα ἡν πολλὰ καὶ ἀγέλαι Σ Βοῶν καὶ αἰτόλια πλατέ αἰγῶν, ἵπποι δὲ αὐτῷ πολλάκις μυρίαι ἔλος κάτα Βουκολέουτο, καὶ ποιμένες δοῦλοι τε καὶ ἐλέυθεροι μισθωτοί, καὶ Βουκόλοι Βοῶν καὶ αἰγῶν αἰτόλιοι καὶ ἱπποφόρβοι τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πλείστα κτήματα. τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ πατήρ ἀπελελοίπει, πολλαπλάσια δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεκτήσατο,1 πλουτεῖν θέλων

1 ἐπεκτήσατο Naber, ἐκτήσατο Hertlein, MSS.
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but adapt it to fresh circumstances, as I believe people are in the habit of doing who use tropes and figures of thought. The poet of Paros ¹ for instance is much given to this style. It seems then that you did not even invent your myth, my very clever friend, and that yours was an idle boast. Though in fact the thing is done by any nurse with an inventive turn. And if the mythical tales of Plutarch had ever fallen into your hands you would not have failed to observe what a difference there is between inventing a myth from the beginning and adapting to one's own purpose a myth that already exists. But I must not detain you even for a moment or hinder you on your way along that short cut to wisdom by making you embark on books that are long and hard to read. You have not even heard of the myth by Demosthenes which he of the Paeanian deme addressed to the Athenians when the Macedonian demanded that the Athenian orators be given up. You ought to have invented something of that sort. In Heaven's name was it too hard for you to relate some little myth of the kind? You will force me too to become a myth-maker.

A certain rich man ² had numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and "ranging flocks of goats" ³ and many times ten thousand mares "grazed his marsh-meadows." ⁴ Many shepherds too he had, both slaves and hired freedmen, neatherds and goat-herds and grooms for his horses, and many estates withal. Now much of all this his father had bequeathed to him, but he had himself acquired

¹ Archilochus. ² Constantine. ³ Iliad 2, 474. ⁴ Iliad 20, 221.
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ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην ἐμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἰθεῶν ὀλίγων. ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτῶ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ D καὶ νίκες εξ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες, οἷς ἐκείνοις διανεῖμας τὴν ωὐσίαν ἐπείτα ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς οἰκονομίας πέρι διδάξας, οὐδ' ὅπως ἄν τις δύνατο τὰ τοιαῦτα κτᾶσθαι μὴ παρόντα ή παρόντα διαφυλάττειν. ἔστο γὰρ ύπὸ ἀμαθίας ἀρκεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐ μᾶλα ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοιαύτης τέχνης, ἀτε μὴ λόγῳ προσεληφὼς αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ συνηθεῖς τῳ καὶ πείρα μᾶλλον, ὡσπερ οἱ φαύλοι τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνον ἱσομενοί τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅθεν καὶ διαφεύγει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτούς. ἀρκεῖν οὖν νομίσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νικῶν πρὸς τὸ φυλάξαι τὴν ωὐσίαν οὐδὲν ἐφροντίσεν ὅπως ἔσονται σπουδαίοι. τὸ δὲ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἱρεῖ προτὸν μὲν τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικημάτων. ἐπιθυμῶν γὰρ ἐκαστὸς ὡσπερ ὁ πατὴρ πολλὰ ἔχει καὶ μόνος πάντα ἐπὶ τὸν κέλαι ἐτράπετο. τέως μὲν B οὖν τούτῳ ἐτράπτετο. προσαπέλαυνος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔνωτοι, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ παιδευθέντες καλῶς, τῆς τῶν παιδῶν ἅνωλάς τε καὶ ἀμαθίας. εἶτα ἐπίμπλατο φόνων πάντα, καὶ ἡ τραγική κατάρα ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος εἰς ἔργον ἤγετο. τὰ πατρὸς γὰρ ἡθικτῶ σιδήρω διελάγχανον, καὶ ἦν πάντα ἀκοσμίας πλήρης. πατρὸς μὲν ἵπτα κατεσκάπτετο παρὰ τῶν παιδῶν ὀλυγωρηθέντα πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀποσυληθέντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, δ' ἐτέθειτο C

1 αὐτῷ τῶν Klimek, αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Hertlein, MSS.

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many times more, being eager to enrich himself whether justly or unjustly; for little did he care for the gods. Several wives he had, and sons and daughters by them, among whom he divided his wealth before he died. But he did not teach them how to manage it, or how to acquire more if it should fail, or how to preserve what they had. For in his ignorance he thought that their mere numbers would suffice, nor had he himself any real knowledge of that sort of art, since he had not acquired his wealth on any rational principle but rather by use and wont, like quack doctors who try to cure their patients by relying on their experience only, so that many diseases escape them altogether. Accordingly since he thought that a number of sons would suffice to preserve his wealth, he took no thought how to make them virtuous. But this very thing proved to be the beginning of their iniquitous behaviour to one another. For every one of them desired to be as wealthy as his father and to possess the whole for himself alone, and so attacked the brother that was his neighbour. Now for a time they continued to behave thus. And their relatives also shared in the folly and ignorance of those sons, since they themselves had had no better education. Then ensued a general slaughter, and heaven brought the tragic curse to fulfilment. For "by the edge of the sword they divided their patrimony" and everything was thrown into confusion. The sons demolished the ancestral temples which their father before them had despised and had stripped of the votive offerings

1 Cf. Plato, *Charmides* 156 E.
2 The curse of Oedipus on his sons; cf. Euripides, *Phoenissae* 67; Plato, *Alcibiades* 2. 138 c; Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 817, 942.
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παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ. καθαίρομενον δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνωκοδομεῖτο παλαιὰ καὶ νέα μνήματα, προαγο- ρεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης, ὅτι ἀρα πολλῶν αὐτοῖς δεῖσθαι μνημάτων οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῖς ἀλίγον ἐμελε τῶν θεῶν.

Πάντων οὖν ὁμοίοι φυρομένων καὶ ξυντελομένων γάμων τε οὐ γάμων καὶ βεβηλουμένων ὁμοί τοῖς θείοις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τῶν Δία ἔλεος ὑπῆλθεν. Δ εἶτα ἀπίδον πρὸς τὸν "Ἡλίων· ὁ παῖ, εἰπεν, οὐρανοὶ καὶ γῆς ἀρχαιότερον ἐν θεοῖς βλάστημα, μυθικακεῖν ἔτι διανοῆς τῆς ὑπεροφίας ἀνδρὶ ἀνθάδει καὶ τολμηρῷ, ὅς σε ἀπολιπὼν αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει αἰτίοις ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικοῦτων παθημάτων; ἡ νομίζεις, ὅτι μὴ χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ μηδ' ἀγανάκτεις μηδ' ἐπὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τοὺς οίστοις θήγεις, ἐλαττον εἰναι ταύτης αἰτίος αὐτῷ τῆς ἐμφορᾶς, ἔρημον αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφεὶς; ἀλλ', ἔφη, καλώ- μεν τὰς Μοίρας, εἰ τῇ βοηθητέος ὁ ἀνήρ ἔστιν. αἰ δὲ ὑπῆκουσαν αὐτίκα τῷ Δίῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν "Ἡλίως, ἀστερὶ ἐννοῶν τι καὶ λογιζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐν ἔαυτῳ, προσῆχεν εἰς τὸν Δία πήξας τὰ ομμάτα. τῶν Μοιρῶν δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη. Κωλύτευος, ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, ἡ Ὀσιότης ξυν τῇ Δίκῃ. σὸν οὖν ἐργὸν ἔστιν, ἐπείπερ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσας ὑπεικαθεῖν αὐταῖς, Β πεῖσαι καὶ ἐκείνας. ἀλλ' ἐμαὶ γάρ εἰσιν, ἔφη, θυγατέρες, καὶ ἄξιον δὴ ἐρέσθαι αὐτάς· τί τοίνυν,

1 γένει αἰτίος Cobet, γένει καὶ παισὶν αἰτίος Hertlein, MSS.

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that had been dedicated by many worshippers, but not least by his own ancestors. And besides demolishing the temples they erected sepulchres both on new sites and on the old sites of the temples, as though impelled by fate or by an unconscious presentiment that they would ere long need many such sepulchres, seeing that they so neglected the gods.

Now when all was in confusion, and many marriages that were no marriages were being concluded, and the laws of god and man alike had been profaned, Zeus was moved with compassion and addressing himself to Helios he said: “O my son, divine offspring more ancient than heaven and earth, art thou still minded to resent the insolence of that arrogant and audacious mortal, who by forsaking thee brought so many calamities on himself and his race? Thinkest thou that, though thou dost not show thine anger and resentment against him nor whet thine arrows against his children, thou art any less the author of his destruction in that thou dost abandon his house to desolation? Nay,” said Zeus, “let us summon the Fates and enquire whether any assistance may be given the man.” Forthwith the Fates obeyed the call of Zeus. But Helios who was as though absorbed in thought and inward debate yet gave constant heed and fixed his eyes on Zeus. Then spoke the eldest of the Fates: “O our father, Piety and Justice both restrain us. Therefore it is thine to prevail on them also, since thou hast ordered us to be subservient to them.” And Zeus made answer, “Truly they are my daughters, and it

1 The Christian churches were so called because they were built over the tombs of the martyrs. 2 i.e. between cousins.
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ο ποτνία, φατόν; ἀλλὰ τούτου μέν, εἰπέτην, ο πάτερ, αὐτὸς εἰ κύριος. σκόπει δὲ ὡς 'ἐν ἀνθρώπους ὁ πονηρὸς οὔτος τῆς ἀνοσοιουργίας ζῆλος μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπικρατήσῃ.1 πρὸς ἀμφότερα, εἰπέν, ἐγώ σκέψομαι. καὶ αἱ Μοίραι πλησίον παροῦσαι πάντα ἐπέκλωθον, ὃς ὁ πατὴρ ἐβουλεύτο. Κ

Δέσιν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρχεῖα πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηνᾶν τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον, ἐφη: ξυγγενὲς δὲ ἡ αὐτῶν ἀρὰ παρερμίμενον ποὺ καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἀδελφιδοὺς ἐκεῖνον τοῦ πλουσίον καὶ ἀνεψιός τῶν κληρονόμων τοῦτο, ἐφη, σὸν ἐστὶν ἔκγονον. ὄμοσον οὖν τὸ ἔμον τε καὶ τὸ σὸν2 σκήπτρον, ὡς ἡ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι διαφερόντως αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιμανεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ θεραπεύσειν τῆς νόσου. ὅρας γὰρ ὡς οὖν ὑπὸ κατνοῦ ῥύπου τε ἀναπέπλησται καὶ λεγνύος, κάδυνός τε τὸ ὑπὸ σοῦ σπαρέν ἐν αὐτῷ πῦρ ἀποσβῆναι, ἡ μὴ σὺ γε δύσεις ἀλκήν. σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ τε ξυγχωρόν καὶ αἱ Μοίραι κόμιζε οὖν αὐτὸ καὶ τρέφε. ταῦτα ἀκοῦσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ηλίως ηὗ-φράνθη τε ἡ σθείς τῷ βρέφει, σωζόμενον ἐτὶ καθορῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σπανθῆρα μικρόν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐντεύθεν ἐτρεφεῖν ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον, ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ θ᾽ αἴματος ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ

Ἐκ τ’ ἀνδροκτασίης.

ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν ἀμήτορα, τὴν παρθένον ἁμα τῷ Ἁλίῳ τὸ παιδά-ριον ἐκτρέφειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράφη καὶ νεανίας ἐγένετο

Πρῶτον ὑπηνύτης, τοῦτερ χαριεστάτη ἡ βῆ,

1 ἐπικρατήσῃ Hertlein suggests, ἐπικρατήσῃ MSS.
2 τὸ σὸν Hertlein suggests, σὸν MSS.

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is meet that I question them. What then have ye to say, ye venerable goddesses?" "Nay, father," they replied, "that is as thou thyself dost ordain. But be careful lest this wicked zeal for impious deeds prevail universally among men." "I will myself look to both these matters," Zeus replied. Then the Fates approached and spun all as their father willed.

Next Zeus thus addressed Helios: "Thou seest yonder thine own child." (Now this was a certain kinsman of those brothers who had been cast aside and was despised though he was that rich man's nephew and the cousin of his heirs.) "This child," said Zeus, "is thine own offspring. Swear then by my sceptre and thine that thou wilt care especially for him and cure him of this malady. For thou seest how he is as it were infected with smoke and filth and darkness and there is danger that the spark of fire which thou didst implant in him will be quenched, unless thou clothe thyself with might. Take care of him therefore and rear him. For I and the Fates yield thee this task." When King Helios heard this he was glad and took pleasure in the babe, since he perceived that in him a small spark of himself was still preserved. And from that time he reared the child whom he had withdrawn "from the blood and noise of war and the slaughter of men." And father Zeus bade Athene also, the Motherless Maiden, share with Helios the task of bringing up the child. And when, thus reared, he had become a youth "With the first down on his chin, when youth has all its charms," he learned

1 Julian himself. 2 Iliad 9. 231. 3 Iliad 11. 164. 4 Iliad 24. 348.
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κατανοήσας τῶν κακῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὅποσον τι περὶ τοὺς ἐυγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἐγερόμενε,
ἐδέησε μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν πάρταρον προέσθαι πρὸς
tὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡλιος Β
εὐμενῆς ὄν μετὰ τῆς Προνοιας Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπνοῦν τινὰ
cαὶ κάρον ἐμβαλὼν τῆς ἐπινοιας ταύτης ἀπήγαγεν,
αὐτὸς ἀνεγερθεὶς ἀπεισών εἰς ἐρημίαν. εἶτα ἐκεῖ
λίθον τινὰ ἐφύρων μικρὸν ἀνπαίσατο καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐσκόπεω, τάνα τρόπον ἐκφεύξεται τῶν τοσοῦ-
tων κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος. ἧδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντα
ἔφαϊνε τὸ μοχθῆρα, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τέως. Ὁ
Ἐρμῆς οὖν αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν οἰκείως πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἤπειρα ἡλικιώτης νεανίσκος φανεὶς ἠσπά-
sατο τῇ φιλοφρόνῳ καὶ, Δεύρο, εἶπεν, ἤγεμών σοι
ἐγὼ ἐσμαι λειοτέρας\(^1\) καὶ ὁμαλεστέρας ὁδὸν
τουτί τὸ μικρὸν ὑπερβάντη τὸ σκολιόν καὶ ἀπὸ-
tομὸν χώριον, οὗ πάντας ὀρᾷς προσπταίοντας καὶ
ἀπώντας ἐντεύθεν ὑπίσω. καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀπήν
ὄχετο μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἔχων παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ
ἐξίφος τε καὶ ἀστίδα καὶ δόρου,
γυμνὰ δὲ αὐτῷ
tέως ἦν τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. πεποιθῶς οὖν αὐτῷ
προῆγεν εἰς τὸ πρὸς ὀλὰς λείας ὁδὸν καὶ ἀθρύπτον
καθάρας τὲ πάνῳ καὶ καρπῶν βριθοῦσης ἀνθεί
τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὅσα ἐστὶ θεοῖς φίλα, καὶ
dενδρεῖ Κιττοῦ καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρρίνης. ἀγαγοῖν
dὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, Ἐπὶ
tοῦτον, ἐφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατήρ πάντων
κάθηται τῶν θεῶν. ὅρα οὖν· ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὁ
μέγας κύδυνος· ὅπως αὐτὸν ὡς εὐαγεστάτα
προσκυνήσεις, αἰτήσῃ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὅ, τι ἂν

\(^1\) λειοτέρας, Klinek, λείας Hertlein, MSS.
\(^2\) δόρυ Hertlein suggests, μάχαραν MSS; cf. 231 c.

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the numerous disasters that had befallen his kinsmen and his cousins, and had all but hurled himself into Tartarus, so confounded was he by the extent of those calamities. Then Helios of his grace, aided by Athene, Goddess of Forethought, threw him into a slumber or trance, and so diverted him from that purpose. Then when he had waked from this he went away into the desert. And there he found a stone and rested for a while thereon, debating within himself how he should escape evils so many and so vast. For all things now appeared grievous to him and for the moment there was no hope anywhere. Then Hermes, who had an affinity for him, appeared to him in the guise of a youth of his own age, and greeting him kindly said, "Follow me, and I will guide thee by an easier and smoother road as soon as thou hast surmounted this winding and rugged place where thou seest all men stumbling and obliged to go back again." Then the youth set out with great circumspection, carrying a sword and shield and spear, though as yet his head was bare. Thus relying on Hermes he went forward by a road smooth, untrodden and very bright, and overhung with fruits and many lovely flowers such as the gods love, and with trees also, ivy and laurel and myrtle. Now when Hermes had brought him to the foot of a great and lofty mountain, he said, "On the summit of this mountain dwells the father of all the gods. Be careful then—for herein lies the greatest risk of all—to worship him with the utmost piety and ask of him whatever thou wilt. Thou wilt choose,

1 i.e. as the god of eloquence.
2 Plato, Republic 618 b.
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έθέλησεν ἐλοiu δε, ὁ παῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα. ταῦτα 231 εἰπὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν Ἑρμῆς πάλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐβούλετο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πυθέσθαι, τί ποτε αἰτήσασθαι χρῆ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ πλησίον οὖν ταῦτα οὐ κατείδεν, Ἕνδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς, ἐφη, καλὴ δὲ ὁμογενὴς ἡ ξυμβολὴ, αἰτώμεθα οὖν ἀγαθὴ τύχη τὰ κράτιστα καὶ περὶ ὑπὸ σαφῶς τὸν πατέρα τῶν θεῶν ὄρωτες. Ὡς Ζεὺς πάτερ ἢ δ', τι σοι φίλον ὅνομα καὶ ὅπως ὀνομάζεσθαι, δείκνυε μοι τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ φέρουσαν ὅδον ἀνώ. κρείττονα γάρ μοι τὰ ἐκεῖ Β φαίνεται χωρία παρὰ σὲ μαντευομένῳ τὸ παρὰ σοι κάλλος ἀπό τῆς ἐν τούτοις οἶδεν τεπορεύμεθα τέως ἀγαθαῖς.

Εὐξαμένω ταῦτα εἶπε ὑπὸς τοῖς εἶπε ἐκστασις ἐπήλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἑλιον. ἐκπλαγεῖς οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ὑπὸ τῆς θέας, Ἀλλὰ σοι μὲν, εἶπεν, ὁ θεὸν πάτερ, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τούτων ἐνεκα πάντων ἑαυτὸν γέρων ἀναθήσω. οἱ περιβαλών ἡ τοῖς γόνατι τοῦ Ἑλίου τὰς χειρὰς ἀπρίξ εἶχετο σῶξειν ἑαυτὸν δεόμενος. ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔκέλευεν πρῶτον ἀνακρίνειν αὐτῶν, ὅπόσα ἐκόμισαν ὦπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐῴρα τὴν ἐνεργίδα καὶ τὸ ἔξοδο μετὰ τοῦ δόρατος, Ἀλλὰ ποῦ σοι, ἐφη, ὁ παῖ, τὸ Γοργόνειον καὶ τὸ κράνος; ὁ δὲ, Ἐκεῖνα, εἰπε, μόνον ἐκτησάμην οὔδεις γὰρ ἢν ὁ ἦμπτοιν ἐν τῇ τῶν συγγενῶν οἴκια παρερρυμένῳ. Ἡσθιοῦ οὖν, εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἑλίος, ὅτι σε πάντως χρῆ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε. ἐνταῦθα ἐδείτο D

1 περιβαλῶν Cobet, περιβάλλων Hertlein, MSS.

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my child, only what is best.” So saying Hermes once more became invisible, though the youth was fain to learn from him what he ought to ask from the father of the gods. But when he saw that he was no longer at his side he said, “The advice though incomplete is good nevertheless. Therefore let me by the grace of fortune ask for what is best, though I do not as yet see clearly the father of the gods. Father Zeus—or whatever name thou dost please that men should call thee by,—show me the way that leads upwards to thee. For fairer still methinks is the region where thou art, if I may judge of the beauty of thy abode from the splendour of the place whence I have come hither.”

When he had uttered this prayer a sort of slumber or ecstasy came over him. Then Zeus showed him Helios himself. Awestruck by that vision the youth exclaimed, “For this and for all thy other favours I will dedicate myself to thee, O Father of the Gods!” Then he cast his arms about the knees of Helios and would not let go his hold but kept entreating him to save him. But Helios called Athene and bade her first enquire of him what arms he had brought with him. And when she saw his shield and sword and spear, she said, “But where, my child, is thy ægis\(^2\) and thy helmet?” “Even these that I have,” he replied, “I procured with difficulty. For in the house of my kinsfolk there was none to aid one so despised.” “Learn therefore,” said mighty Helios, “that thou must without fail return thither.” Thereupon he entreated him

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1 Cf. Aeschylus, Agamemnon 160.
2 Literally “the Gorgon’s head,” which formed the centre of the ægis or breastplate of Athene; cf. 234\(^a\).
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μὴ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐκείσε πάλιν, ἄλλα κατέχειν, ὡς οὐκέθ’ ὅποιον ἐπανήγγειλαν, ἀπολούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεί κακῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐλπίδησε δακρύων, Ἀλλὰ νέως εἶ, ἐφη, καὶ ἀμύντος. ἢθε οὖν παρ’ ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἂν ὑποτεθήκη ἄσφαλῶς ταί ἐκεί διάγως’ χρὴ γὰρ σ’ ἀπίεναι καὶ καθαίρειν ἐκείνα πάντα τὰ ἀσβησμάτα, παρακαλεῖν δὲ ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος εἰστήκησε σιωπῇ. καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος ἐπὶ τινα σκοπιῶν ἀγαγῶν αὐτὸν, ἢς τὸ μὲν ἄνω φωτὸς ἢν πλῆρες, τὸ δὲ ὑποκάτω μυρίας ἀλύσος, δι’ ἢς ὁστερ. δι’ ὑδατὸς ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς δικυνεῖτο τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐγῆς Ἡλίου, Ὀρᾶς, εἰπε, τὸν ἀνεψιόν τὸν κληρονόμον; καὶ ὁς, Ὀρῶ, ἐφη. Τί δὲ; τοὺς βουκόλους τοιοῦτοι καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας; καὶ τοῦτος ὅραν εἶπεν ὁ νεανίσκος. Ποταπὸς οὖν Β τίς σοι ὁ κληρονόμος φαίνεται; ποταπὸ δ’ αὖ οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι; καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος. Ὁ μὲν μοι, ἐφη, δοκεῖ νυστάζειν τὰ πολλά καὶ καταδυνάμενος1 λεληθότως ἠδυπαθεῖν, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ ὀλίγον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀστείον, τὸ πλήθος δὲ μοχθηρὸν καὶ θηριώδης. ἐσθεὶς γὰρ καὶ πιπράσκει τὰ προβάτα καὶ ἀδικεῖ διττῇ τὸν δεσπότην. τὰ τε γὰρ ποίμνα αὐτοῦ φθείρει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἀποφέρων ἀμισθὸν εἶναι φησὶ καὶ ὀδύρεται. Ως καίτοι κρείττον ὑπὸ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπαίτειν ἐντελεῖς ἢ φθείρειν τὴν ποίμνην. Ἀν οὖν, ἐφη, σὲ ἑγὼ μετὰ ταντηοί τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιστάσθησαι τοῦ

1 καταδύναμενος Naber thinks corrupt, but cf. Letter to the Athenians 285 A.

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not to send him to earth again but to detain him there, since he would never be able to mount upwards a second time but would be overwhelmed by the ills of earth. But as he wept and implored Helios replied, "Nay, thou art young and not yet initiated. Return therefore to thine own people that thou mayst be initiated and thereafter dwell on earth in safety. For return thou must, and cleanse away all impiety and invoke me to aid thee, and Athene and the other gods." When Helios had said this the youth remained silent. Then mighty Helios led him to a high peak whose upper region was filled with light but the lower with the thickest mist imaginable, through which, as through water, the light of the rays of King Helios penetrated but faintly. "Thou seest," said Helios, "thy cousin the heir?" 1 "I see him," the youth replied. "Again, dost thou see yonder herdsmen and shepherds?" The youth answered that he did. "Then what thinkest thou of the heir's disposition? And what of his shepherds and herdsmen?" "He seems to me," replied the youth, "to be for the most part asleep, sunk in forgetfulness and devoted to pleasure; and of his shepherds a few are honest, but most are vicious and brutal. For they devour or sell his sheep, and doubly injure their master, in that they not only ruin his flocks but besides that they make great gain and return him but little thereof, while they declare with loud complaint that they are defrauded of their wages. And yet it were better that they should demand and obtain their full pay than that they should destroy the flock." "Now what if I and Athene here," said

1 Constantius.
Δίος, ἀντὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τοῦτον πάντων ἐπι-τροπον τοῦτον καταστήσω--; πάλιν ἑνταῦθα ὁ νεανίσκος ἀντείχετο καὶ πολλὰ ἤκετενεν αὐτοῦ μένειν. ὁ δὲ, Μὴ λιαν ἀπειθής ἐσο, φησί, μὴ ποτὲ

σ’ ἀπεχθήρω, ὡς νῦν ἐκπαγ’ ἐφίλησα.

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ἦλλα, ὁ μέγιστε, εἶπεν, Ἡλιὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, σὲ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν Δία, χρῆσθέ μοι πρὸς ὃ, τι βουλέσθη. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Ἐρμής ἄφνω φανεῖς ἐποίησε τοῦ νεανίσκου ἑαραλεώτερον. ἦδη γὰρ διενοεῖτο τῆς τε ὀπίσω πορείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνῃ διατριβῆς ἱσχῆκεν τὸν ἡγεμόνα. καὶ Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μάνθανε, εἶπεν, ὃ λῶστε, πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμὸν βλά-ςτημα. τοῦτον, ἔφη, τὸν κληρονόμον οἱ βελτιστοὶ μὲν οὐκ εὐφραίνουσι τῶν ποιμένων, οἱ κόλακες δὲ καὶ οἱ μοχθηροὶ δούλων καὶ ὑποχειριον πεποίηται. συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν μή 233 φιλεῖσθαι, παρά δὲ τῶν νομίζομένων φιλεῖν1 εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἀδίκεισθαι. σκόπει οὖν ὅπως ἐπαν-ελθὼν μὴ πρὸ τοῦ φίλου θήσει τὸν κόλακα. δευτέραν ἀκούε μοι παραίνεσιν, ὁ παί. νυστάζων οὗτος ἐξαπατᾶται τὰ πολλὰ: σὺν δὲ νήφε καὶ γρηγόρει, μὴ σε διὰ τῆς τοῦ φίλου παρρησίας ο κόλαξ ἐξαπατήσας λάθοι,2 χαλκεῖς οί τες γέμων καπνὸ καὶ μαρίλης, ἔχων ἱμάτιον λευκὸν καὶ τα ἐπόσωτα τῷ ψυμβίῳ κεκρισμένον, εἶτα αὐτῷ δοίης γῆμαι τίνα τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων, τρίτης ἐπάκονε μοι παραινέσεως, καὶ μᾶλα ἱσχυρῶς φύλαττε σαυτόν, αἰδοῦ δὲ καὶ ἦμᾶς μόνων, ἀνδρῶν

1 φιλεῖν Cobet, φιλῶν Hertlein, MSS.
2 λάθοι Hertlein suggests, λάθη MSS.
Helios, “obeying the command of Zeus, should appoint thee to govern all these, in place of the heir?” Then the youth clung to him again and earnestly entreated that he might remain there. “Do not be obstinate in disobedience,” said Helios, “lest perchance I hate thee beyond measure, even as I have loved thee.” Then said the youth, “Do thou, O most mighty Helios, and thou, Athene,—and thee too, Father Zeus, do I call to witness,—dispose of me as ye will.” Then Hermes suddenly appeared once more, and inspired him with greater courage. For now he thought that he had found a guide for the journey back, and for his sojourn on earth. Then said Athene, “Attend, good youth, that art born of myself and of this god, thy noble sire! The most virtuous of the shepherds do not please this heir, for flatterers and profligates have made him their slave and tool. Thus it is that he is not beloved by the good, and is most deeply wronged by those who are supposed to love him. Be careful then when thou returnest that he make thee not his flatterer rather than his friend. This second warning also do thou heed, my son. Yonder man slumbers, and hence he is often deceived, but do thou be sober and vigilant, lest the flatterer assume the frankness of a friend and so deceive thee; which is as though a smith covered with smoke and cinders should come wearing a white garment and with his face painted white, and thus induce thee to give him one of thy daughters in marriage. My third warning to thee is this: do thou very zealously keep watch over thyself, and reverence us in the first

1 Iliad 3. 415. 2 Peter 1. 5. 8; Thessalonians 1. 5. 6. 3 An echo of Plato, Republic 495 E.
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de ὥστις ἴμιν προσόμοιος ἔστιν, ἀλλον δὲ μηδένα. ὀρᾶς ὅπως τούτον τὸν ἦλιθιον ἔβλαψεν αἰσχύνη καὶ τὸ λιαν ἄγαν εἶναι καταπλήγηα; Καὶ οἱ μέγας Ἡλίου αὐθίς τὸν λόγου δια-

dεξάμενος ἐπείν. Ἐξόμενος φίλους ὡς φίλος οὐ χρώ, μηδὲ αὐτοὶς ὀικέτας μηδὲ θεράποντας νόμιζε, πρὸσιθι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρως τε καὶ ἀπλούστατα καὶ γενναίως, μὴ λέγων μὲν ἀλλὰ, φρονοῦν δὲ ἔτερα περὶ αὐτῶν. ὀρᾶς οτι καὶ τούτον τὸν κληρονόμον τούτῳ ἐπέτριψεν, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπίστια; φίλει τους ἁρχομένους ὡσπερ ἴμις σέ: τὰ πρὸς ἴμᾶς ἱγεῖσθω σοι τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων: ἐσμεν γάρ σου καὶ εὐρυγεῖλ καὶ φίλοι καὶ σωτῆρες. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος διεξύθη καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἄπαντα ὄν ὁς θείως πεθόμενος. Ἀλλ’ ἵθι, ἐφη, πορεύου μετὰ ἀγαθῆς ἐξίσοντος. ἴμις γάρ σοι πανταχοῦ συνεσύμβα ἐγώ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἐρμῆς ὅδε καὶ σὺν ἴμιν μεν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Ὁλύμπω καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν ἄρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν πανταχοῦ τὸ θείου γένους, ἐχειν τα τὰ πρὸς ἴμᾶς ὅσιοι ἢς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πιστῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους φιλάνθρωπος, ἄρχων αὐτῶν καὶ ἱγού-

μενον ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα’ ἀλλὰ μῆτε ταῖς σεαυτοῦ μῆτε ταῖς ἐκείνων πρὸς ἴμᾶς ἔπιθυμιάς δουλεύων ὑπεικά-

θης. ἔχων οὖν τὴν πανοπλίαν, ἢν ἐκόμισας πρὸς ἴμᾶς, ἀπιθε προσλαβὼν ταύτην μὲν τὴν δᾶδα παρ’ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα σοι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φώς λάμπῃ μέγα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιποθῆς τῶν τῆς, τανυσίδε δὲ Ἁθηνᾶς τῆς καλῆς το τε Γοργόνειον

1 ταῖς ἐκείνων Cobet, ἐκείνων ταῖς Hertlein, MSS. 2 τὴν πανοπλίαν Hertlein suggests, πανοπλίαν MSS.

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place, and among men only him who resembles us, and no one besides. Thou seest how false shame and excessive timidity have injured this foolish man.”

Then mighty Helios took up the tale and said, “When thou hast chosen thy friends treat them as friends and do not regard them as thy servants and attendants, but let thy conduct towards them be generous, candid, and honourable: say not one thing about them while thou thinkest another. Thou seest that it was treachery to his friends that destroyed this heir. Love thy subjects even as we love thee. Prefer our worship to all other blessings. For we are thy benefactors and friends and preservers.” At these words the youth became calm and showed plainly that he was already obedient in all things to the gods. “Come,” said Helios, “now depart with good hope. For everywhere we shall be with thee, even I and Athene and Hermes here, and with us all the gods that are on Olympus or in the air or on earth and the whole race of gods everywhere, so long as thou art pious towards us and loyal to thy friends, and humane towards thy subjects, ruling them and guiding them to what is best. But never yield to thy own passions or become the slave of theirs. Keep the armour that thou hast brought hither, and depart, but first receive from me this torch so that even on earth a great light may shine for thee and that thou mayst not long for the things of earth. And from fair Athene here receive an
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καὶ τὸ κράνος: πολλὰ γὰρ, ὅρας, ἔστιν αὐτῇ, καὶ
dίδωσιν ὑς ἀν ἐθέλη. δῷσει δὲ σοι καὶ Ἐρμῆς Β
χρυσὴν ὁμφόν. ἐξεποιεὶς τῇ πανοπλίᾳ κοσμη-
θεὶς ταύτη διὰ πάσης μὲν γῆς, διὰ πάσης δὲ
θαλάττης, ἀμετακίνητος τοῖς ἁμέτεροις πειθόμενοι
νόμοις, καὶ μηδεὶς σε μήτε ἀνδρῶν μήτε γυναικῶν,
mήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν ξένων ἀναπείση τὸν
ἐντολῶν ἐκλαθέσθαι τῶν ἁμέτερων. ἐμμένου γὰρ
αὐταίς ἥμιν μὲν ἑσθι φίλος καὶ τίμως, αἰδοῖς
dὲ τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἥμων ὑπηρέταις, φοβερὸς δὲ
ἀνδρώτοις πονηροῖς καὶ κακοδαίμονιν. ἢσθι δὲ Σ
σεαυτῷ τὰ σαρκία δεδόσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας
ἐνεκα ταύτης. Βουλόμεθα γὰρ σοι τὴν προ-
γονικὴν οἰκίαν αἰδοῖ τῶν προγόνων ἀποκαθήρα.
μέμνησο ὦν, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἅθανατον ἑχει καὶ
ἐκγενοὺς ἁμέτεραν, ἐποίμενος τε ἥμιν ὅτι θεὸς
ἑσθι καὶ τὸν ἁμέτερον ὁσει σὺν ἥμιν πατέρα.
Τοῦτο εἶτε μὴθὸς εἰτε ἀληθῆς ἔστι λόγος οὐκ
οἴδα, τὸ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεποιημένον, τίνα βούλει:
tὸν Πάνα, τίνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Δία, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, 2

δως ἐσμέν ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐγὼ δὲ
ὁ Πάν; ὁ τοῦ γελόου Ψευδόπανος, γελοιοτέρου
μέντοι νὴ τὸν Ἀσκληπίου τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον
ἡ Διὸς ἀνθρώπου. ταύτα οὐκ ἐστίν ἀτεχνῶς
ἐκ μαινομένου 3 στόματος οὕτι τὴν ἐνθεοῦ, ἀλλὰ
tὴν ἐκπληκτον μανίαν; οὐκ οἴσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ
Σαλμωνεὺς ἐδωκεν υπὲρ τοῦτον τοῖς θεοῖς δίκην,
ὅτι ἀνθρώπου ὅν ἐπεχείρει Ζεὺς εἶναι; τὸ δὲ
ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον υπὲρ τῶν ὀνομασάντων

1 τῶν ἐντολῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐντολῶν MSS.
2 τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, τοῦτον MSS.
3 μαινομένου Hertlein suggests, τοῦ μαινομένου MSS.

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aegis and helmet. For as thou seest she has many, and she gives them to whom she will. And Hermes too will give thee a golden wand. Go then thus adorned in full armour over sea and land, steadfastly obeying our laws, and let no man or woman or kinsman or foreigner persuade thee to neglect our commands. For while thou dost abide by them thou wilt be loved and honoured by us and respected by our good servants and formidable to the wicked and impious. Know that a mortal frame was given to thee that thou mightest discharge these duties. For we desire, out of respect for thy ancestor to cleanse the house of thy forefathers. Remember therefore that thou hast an immortal soul that is our offspring, and that if thou dost follow us thou shalt be a god and with us shalt behold our father.”

Now whether this be a fable or a true narrative I cannot say. But in your composition, whom do you mean by Pan, and whom by Zeus unless you and I are they, that is, you are Zeus and I am Pan? What an absurd counterfeit Pan! But you are still more absurd, by Asclepius, and very far indeed from being Zeus! Is not all this the utterance of a mouth that foams with morbid rather than inspired madness?¹ Do you not know that Salmoneus² in his day was punished by the gods for just this, for attempting, though a mortal man, to play the part of Zeus? Then too there is the account in Hesiod’s poems of those who styled them-

¹ Plato, *Phaedrus* 244 foll.
² *Odyssey* 11. 235; Pindar, *Pythian* 4. 143; Salmoneus was destroyed by a thunder-bolt for imitating the thunder and lightning of Zeus.
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ἐαυτούς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὑόμασιν, Ὦρας τε καὶ Διὸς, εἴ μὴπ ω καὶ νῦν ἀκήκοας, ἔχω σοι συγγνώ-ναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαιδοτριβῆθησι καλῶς οὐδὲ ἐτυχὲς καθηγεμόνος, ὅποιον περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐγὼ τουτού τοῦ φιλοσόφου, μεθ' ὃν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔλθον ὑπ' ἄνδρι τελεσθησόμενος, ὃν νενόμικο τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν πάντων διαφέρειν. Β ὦ δὲ με πρὸ πάντων ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν νομίζειν ἡγεμόνας ἐῤῥάζασκεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τι προὔργου πεποίηκεν, αὐτὸς ἀν εἰδεῖ καὶ πρὸ τούτου γε οἱ βασιλεῖς θεοῦ· τοιτὶ δὲ ἔξηρε τὸ μανιώδες καὶ θραύ, καὶ ἐπειράτο με ποιεῖν ἐμαυτὸν σωφρονέστερον. ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ, ὡς ὀσθα, τοῖς ἐξωθεὶ τλεονεκτῆμασιν ἐπτερω-μένους ὑπέταξα ὡμοὶ ἐμαυτὸν τῷ καθηγεμόνι οὐ καὶ τοῖς ἑκείνου φίλοις καὶ ἡλικιώταις καὶ συμφοιτηταίς, καὶ ὅν ἢκουν ἑπαινομένου παρ' αὐτοῦ, τούτων ἔσπευδον ἀκροατὴς εἶναι, καὶ βιβλία ταῦτα ἀνεγίγνωσκον, ὅποσα αὐτὸς δοκι-μάσευεν.

Οὕτως ἡμεῖς ὑπ' ἡγεμόσι τελοῦμενι, φιλο-σόφῳ μὲν τῷ τα τής προπαθείας με τελε-σαντι, φιλοσοφητάτῳ δὲ τῷ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας δείξαντι, σμικρὰ μὲν διὰ τὰς ἔξωθεν ἡμῶν προσπεσοῦσας ἀσχολίας, ὡμοὶ δὲ οὖν ἀπε-λαύσαμεν τῆς ἀρθῆς ἀγωγῆς, οὐ τὴν σύντομον, ἢν σὺ φῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν κύκλῳ πορευόμενος καίτοι ὑπ' τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν οἶμαι ὅτι σου συντομωτέραν ἐτραπόμην. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς,

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selves by the names of the gods, even of Hera and of Zeus, but if you have not heard of it till this moment I can excuse you for that. For you have not been well educated, nor did fate bestow on you such a guide to the poets as I had—I mean this philosopher 1 now present: and later on I arrived at the threshold of philosophy to be initiated therein by the teaching of one 2 whom I consider superior to all the men of my own time. He used to teach me to practise virtue before all else, and to regard the gods as my guides to all that is good. Now whether he accomplished anything of real profit he himself must determine, or rather the ruling gods; but at least he purged me of such infatuate folly and insolence as yours, and tried to make me more temperate than I was by nature. And though, as you know, I was armed 3 with great external advantages, nevertheless I submitted myself to my preceptor and to his friends and comppeers and the philosophers of his school, and I was eager to be instructed by all whose praises I heard uttered by him, and I read all the books that he approved.

Thus then I was initiated by those guides, in the first place by a philosopher who trained me in the preparatory discipline, and next by that most perfect philosopher who revealed to me the entrance to philosophy; and though I achieved but little on account of the engrossing affairs that overwhelmed me from without, still for all that I have had the benefit of right training, and have not travelled by the short road as you say you have, but have gone all the way round. Though indeed I call the gods to witness, I

1 Maximus of Ephesus. 2 Iamblichus. 3 Literally “winged.”

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ei μὴ φορτικῶν εἴπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς προθύροις ἐστηκα, σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν προθύρων εἰ πόρρω. "σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς ἡ τοῖς σοῖς ἀδελφοῖς —, ἀφελῶν δὲ τὸ δύσφημον τὸ λειτόμενον αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ παν ἡμῶν αὐτὸ ἀνάσχον πράς λεγόμενον, — τίς μετουσία; πᾶσιν ἐπιτιμᾶς αὐτὸς 236 οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπαίνον πράττον, ἐπαινεῖς φορτικῶς ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ῥήτορῶν, οἵς διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὑρεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὃ, τι φῶσιν, ἡ Δῆλος ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἡ Δητώ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, εἶτα κύκνοι λυγυρῶν ἄδοντες καὶ ἐπηχοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμῶνες τε ἐνδροσοι μαλακῆς πόας· καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις, ἦ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέουν ὀβικα καὶ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτὸ καὶ τινες εἰκόνες τουάται. τοῦ τούτο Ἰσοκράτης Β ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἐποίησε λόγοις; τοῦ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἀνδρῶν, οἳ ταῖς Μοῦσαις ἐτελοῦντο γυμνῶς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ νῦν; ἀφίημι δὲ τὰ ἔξης, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἄπεχθανόμενος ἀμα τοῖς τὲ φαυλοτάτοις τῶν Κυνικῶν καὶ τῶν ῥήτορῶν προσκρούσαμι· ὡς ἐμοιγε πρὸς τὰς κρατίστους τῶν Κυνικῶν,
believe that the road I took was really a shorter road to virtue than yours. For I, at any rate, if I may say so without bad taste, am standing at the entrance, whereas you are a long way even from the entrance. “But as for virtue, you and your brethren—,”¹ omit the ill-sounding phrase and fill in the blank yourself! Or rather, if you please, bear with me when I “put it mildly”²—“what part or lot have you in it?” You criticise everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise; your praises are in worse taste than those of the most ignorant rhetoricians. They, because they have nothing to say and cannot invent anything from the matter in hand, are always dragging in Delos and Leto with her children, and then “swans singing their shrill song and the trees that echo them,” and “dewy meadows full of soft, deep grass,” and the “scent of flowers,” and “the season of spring,” and other figures of the same sort.³ When did Isocrates ever do this in his panegyrics? Or when did anyone of those ancient writers who were genuine votaries of the Muses, and not like the writers of to-day? However, I omit what I might add, lest I should make them also my enemies, and offend at once the most worthless Cynics and the most worthless rhetoricians. Though indeed I have nothing but friendly feelings for the really virtuous Cynics, if

¹ A direct quotation from Demosthenes, De Corona 128; the word omitted by Julian is καθαρμα = “off-scourings,” or “outcast,” addressed by Demosthenes to Aeschines.
² An echo of Xenophon, Anabasis 1. 5. 14.
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eί τις ἄρα ἔστι νῦν τοιούτως, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενναίους ῥήτοράς ἐστι φίλα 1 πάντα. τῶν μὲν θή τοιούτων λόγων, εἰ καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπιρρέῃ: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς οὐχὶ λέγειν ἑθέλων τις ἐκ πάνυ δαφιλοῦς ἀντήλησεν ἀν πίθου τῆς προ-κειμένης ἡμῖν ἀσχολίας ἐνεκεν ἀφέξομαι. μικρὰ δὲ ἐτὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσθεῖς ὥσπερ ὀφλήματι τὸ ἐνδειν ἐπὶ ἄλλο τι τρέψομαι, ταυτηνὶ τὴν ξυγ- γραφῆν αὐτοῦ ποιν πληρώσας.

Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εὐλάβεια περὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα, τίς δὲ ἡ Πλάτωνος; ποταπὸς δὲ ᾗς ἐν τούτοις 'Αριστοτέλης; ἢρ' οὔκ ἄξιον αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν; ἢ τῶν μὲν Σάμων οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ τοιούτων γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ όπῆ τὸ ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι φορεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν οὔτε τὸ ὅρκῳ χρῆσθαι προπετῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν. εἰ δὲ νῦν λέγομι, ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἁγιυπτον ἐπορεύθη καὶ 237 Πέρσας εἰδε καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἐπειράθη τὰ μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν ἐποπτεύεται καὶ τελεσθήναι παντοῖας πανταχοῦ τελετάς, ἐρῶ μὲν ὅσας ἀγνω- στά σοι, γνώριμα μέντοι καὶ σαφῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκονε· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέος, ὁ Πρώταρχε, πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστι κατ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγιστὸν φόβου. καὶ νῦν τὴν μὲν Ἁφροδίτην, ὡς ἐκεῖνη φίλον, ταύτη προσαγορεῦσαι· τὴν δ' ἥδουν οἶδα ὡς Β ἔστι ποικίλου· ταύτα ἐν Φιλήβῳ λέγεται, καὶ τοιαύτα ἐτερα πάλιν ἐν Τιμαῖω· πιστεύειν γὰρ

1 φιλα Cobet, φιλικά Hertlein, MSS.

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indeed there be any such nowadays, and also for all honest rhetoricians. But though a vast number of illustrations of this sort flow into my mind—for anyone who desired to use them could certainly draw from an ample jar—I shall refrain because of the present pressure of business. However I have still somewhat to add to my discourse, like the balance of a debt, and before I turn to other matters let me complete this treatise.

I ask you then what reverence for the names of the gods was shown by the Pythagoreans and by Plato? What was Aristotle’s attitude in these matters? Is it not worth while to pay attention to this? Or surely no one will deny that he of Samos was reverent? For he did not even allow the names of the gods to be used on a seal, nor oaths to be rashly uttered in the names of the gods. And if I should go on to say that he also travelled to Egypt and visited Persia, and everywhere endeavoured to be admitted to the inner mysteries of the gods and everywhere to be initiated into every kind of rite, I shall be saying what is familiar and obvious to most people, though you may not have heard of it. However, listen to what Plato says: “But for my part, Protarchus, I feel a more than human awe, indeed a fear beyond expression, of the names of the gods. Now therefore I will address Aphrodite by whatever name pleases her best; though as for pleasure, I know that it has many forms.” This is what he says in the Philebus and he says the same sort of thing again in the Timaeus. For he says that we

1 A proverb for wealth; cf. Theocritus 10. 13.
2 Pythagoras.
3 Philebus 12 c.
4 Timaeus 40 D; Julian fails to see that Plato is not speaking seriously.
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άπλως άξιοί καὶ χωρίς ἀποδείξεως λεγομένους, ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν φασίν οἱ ποιηταί. ταῦτα δὲ παρέθηκα, μὴ ποτὲ σοι παράσχῃ πρόφασιν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τῶν Πλατωνικῶν πολλοῖς, ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρων ὅν φύσει τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἀτιμάσαι δόξαν. ἐκεῖ γάρ ὦν οἱ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ὁ Τίμαιος ταῦτα θέλειν ήκιστα ὅν εἴρων. καίτοι τουτό γέ ἐστιν οὖν ύψιοί τὰ λεγόμενα ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ τούς λέγοντας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται. δούλει δὴ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πάνσοφον ὑπαγορεύσω σειρῆνα, τοῦ τοῦ λογίου τύτου Ἐρμοῦ, τοῦ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις φίλοις; ἐκεῖνος ἀξιοί τοὺς ἐπερωτώντας ἡ θετεῖν όλως ἐπιξειροῦντας, εἰ θεοὶ εἰσίν, οὖν ς ἀνθρώπους ἀποκρίσεως τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ός τὰ θηρία κολάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἀνεγνώ-κεις τὸν συστατικὸν 2 αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὃς ὅσπερ τῆς Πλάτωνος, οὕτω δὴ 3 καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς προνεγραπτό, ἔγγος ἀν πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι τά πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὔσεβεῖς εἶναι καὶ μεμνημονεύται πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τετελέσθαι τᾶς ἀγιωτάτας τελετᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων ἥχηθαι τοῖς εἰσότοι τοῦ περιπάτου βαδίζουσι προηγορεύτω. 4

Σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἥμιν μὴ τὸν Διογένη προβαλὼν 238 ὅσπερ τὶ μορμολυκεῖον ἐκφοβήσεις. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἐμνήθη, ψάλτω τὸν προτρεπόμενον μνηθήναι, Γελοίοι, εἴπεν, ὡ νεανίσκε, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τελώνας οὐε ταύτης ἐνεκα τῆς τελετῆς κοινωνή-

1 δῆτα Cobet adds, lacuna Hertlein, MSS. 2 συστατικὸν Cobet, ἐστατικὸν V, Hertlein, ἐστατικὸν Reiske, εὐστατικὸν Spanheim. 3 δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS. 4 προηγορεύτω Cobet, προηγορεύτω Hertlein, MSS. 5 ἐκφοβησεῖ Cobet, ἐκφοβησεῖς Hertlein, MSS.
ought to believe directly and without proof what we are told, I mean what the poets say about the gods. And I have brought forward this passage for fear that Socrates may furnish you with an excuse,—as I believe he does to many Platonists because of his natural tendency to irony,—to slight the doctrine of Plato. For it is not Socrates who is speaking here, but Timaeus, who had not the least tendency to irony. Though for that matter it is not a sound principle to enquire who says a thing and to whom, rather than the actual words. But now will you allow me to cite next that all-wise Siren, the living image of Hermes the god of eloquence, the man dear to Apollo and the Muses? Well, he declares that all who raise the question or seek to enquire at all whether gods exist ought not to be answered as though they were men but to be chastised as wild beasts. And if you had read that introductory sentence which was inscribed over the entrance to his school, like Plato’s, you would most surely know that those who entered the Lyceum were warned to be reverent to the gods, to be initiated into all the mysteries, to take part in the most sacred ceremonies, and to be instructed in knowledge of every kind.

And do not try to frighten me by bringing forward Diogenes as a sort of bogey. He was never initiated, they tell us, and replied to some one who once advised him to be initiated: "It is absurd of you, my young friend, to think that any tax-gatherer, if only he be initiated, can share in the rewards of the just in the next world, while Agesilaus and

1 Aristotle.
δὲ καὶ Ἑπαμεινώνδαν ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ κείσεσθαι. τοῦτο, ὁ νεανίσκε, βαθὺ λίαν ἐστὶ καὶ δεόμενον ἐξηγήσεως, ως ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μείζονος, ὥποιας ᾦ μὲν αὐταὶ δοῦν αἱ θεῖα τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. νομίζω δὲ αὐτὴν ἥδη καὶ δεδόσθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ Διογένης ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν περίστασιν τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν αὐτῶν, εἰτὰ εἰς τὰς ἐντολὰς βλέπων τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ συνιέσὶς ὅτι τὸν μυστηρίου ἐχρῆν πολιτογραφήθηναι πρότερον καὶ Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ C φύτει, τῷ νόμῳ γε γενέσθαι, τοῦτο ἔφυγεν, οὐ τὸ μυθῆθαι, νομίζουν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου πολιτοτην, καὶ ταῖς φλαῖς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαις, αἱ τῶν ὠλον κοινῆ κόσμου ἐπιτροπεύονσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ταῖς τὰ μέρη κατανειμάρεινας αὐτοῦ, διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἄξιῶν συμπολιτεύεσθαι. τὸ τε νόμιμον οὐ παρέβη αἰδοί τῶν θεῶν, καῖτο τάλλα πατῶν καὶ παραχαράττων αὐτῶν τε όυκ ἐπανήγαγεν, οἶεν D ἀσμενος ἥλευθέρωτο. τί δ' ἦν τοῦτο; τὸ πόλεως μιᾶς δουλεύσαι νόμοις ἑαυτὸν τε ὑποθέεται τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν Ἀθηναίῳ γενομένῳ. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐμέλλει τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκεν εἰς Ὁλυμπίαν βαδίξων, ὁ τῷ Πυθίῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὡσπερ Ἀκράτης. φησι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πυθίων ἀικον παρ' ἑαυτῷ, οἶεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὄρμη

1 ὥποιας Hertlein suggests, ὥποιο MSS.
2 συνιέσις Hertlein suggests, συνιές MSS.

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Epameinondas are doomed to lie in the mire." ¹

Now this, my young friend, is a very hard saying and, I am persuaded, calls for more profound discussion. May the goddesses themselves grant us understanding thereof! Though indeed I think that has already been bestowed by them. For it is evident that Diogenes was not impious, as you aver, but resembled those philosophers whom I mentioned a moment ago. For having regard to the circumstances in which his lot was cast, and next paying heed to the commands of the Pythian god, and knowing that the candidate for initiation must first be registered as an Athenian citizen, and if he be not an Athenian by birth must first become one by law, it was this he avoided, not initiation, because he considered that he was a citizen of the world; and moreover such was the greatness of his soul that he thought he ought to associate himself with the divine nature of all the gods who in common govern the whole universe, and not only with those whose functions are limited to certain portions of it. And out of reverence for the gods he did not transgress their laws, though he trampled on all other opinions and tried to give a new stamp to the common currency. And he did not return to that servitude from which he had joyfully been released. What servitude do I mean? I mean that he would not enslave himself to the laws of a single city and submit himself to all that must needs befall one who had become an Athenian citizen. For is it likely that a man who in order to honour the gods journeyed to Olympia, and like Socrates embraced philosophy in obedience to the Pythian oracle,—for

¹ Diogenes Laertius 6. 39.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

πρὸς φιλοσοφιαν ἐγένετο. παριέναι τῶν ἀνακτό-

ρων εἶσο καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ ἐξέκλινε

tὸ ὑποθείναι νόμοις ἐαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον ἀποφήναι

πολιτείας; ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴ μὴ ταύτην αὐτήν εἶπε τὴν

αἰτίαν, ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων δὲ τὴν παραιρομένην ὑ

σμικρά τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σεμνότητος; ἵσως μὲν

ἀν τὶς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Πυθαγόρα μάλιστα ἐπισκῆ-

ψευειν, οὐκ ὅρθως λογιζόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ῥήτεον

πάντα ἑστὶν, αὐτῶν τε οἶμαι τούτων, ὅν θέμις

φάναι, ἐνια πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σιωπητέον εἶναι

μοι φαίνεται. φανερὰ δὲ ὄμως ἑστὶ καὶ τούτων ἡ Ἡ

αἰτία. κατανοήσας γὰρ ἀμελοῦντα μὲν τῆς περὶ

τῶν βίων ὀρθότητος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεμνησθαί μέγα

φρονοῦντα τὸν παρανοοῦντα αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα, σω-

φρονίζων ἄμα καὶ διδάσκων αὐτῶν, ὅτι τοῖς 2 μὲν,

οῖς ἀξίως τοῦ μυθήναι βεβίωται, καὶ μὴ μνη-

θείσων οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀκεραίους φυλάττουσι,

C τοῖς δὲ μοχθηροῖς οὐδὲν ἑστὶ πλέον, κἂν εἴσω τῶν

ἱερῶν εἰςφρήσωσι περιβόλων. ἢ γὰρ οὐ ταύτα

καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης προαγορεύει, ὡστὶς χειρα μὴ

καθαρὸς καὶ οὐνια μὴ χρῆ, τοῦτοι ἀπαγορεύων

μὴ μυεῖσθαι;

Τῇ πέρᾳ ἡμῖν ἑσται τῶν λόγων, εἰ ταύτα μὴ πω

σε πείθει;

1 μέγα φρονοῦντα Cobet, μεγαλοφρονοῦντα Hertlein, MSS,

2 τοῖς Naber, τούτοις Hertlein, MSS.

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he says himself that at home and in private he received the commands of that oracle and hence came his impulse to philosophy— is it likely I say that such a man would not very gladly have entered the temples of the gods but for the fact that he was trying to avoid submitting himself to any set of laws and making himself the slave of any one constitution? But why, you will say, did he not assign this reason, but on the contrary a reason that detracted not a little from the dignity of the Mysteries? Perhaps one might bring this same reproach against Pythagoras as well, but the reasoning would be incorrect. For everything ought not to be told, nay more, even of those things that we are permitted to declare, some, it seems to me, we ought to refrain from uttering to the vulgar crowd. However the explanation in this case is obvious. For since he perceived that the man who exhorted him to be initiated neglected to regulate his own life aright, though he prided himself on having been initiated, Diogenes wished at the same time to reform his morals and to teach him that the gods reserve their rewards without stint for those whose lives have earned them the right to be initiated, even though they have not gone through the ceremony, whereas the wicked gain nothing by penetrating within the sacred precincts. For this is what the hierophant proclaims, when he refuses the rite of initiation to him “whose hands are not pure or who for any reason ought not!”

But where would this discourse end if you are still unconvinced by what I have said?

1 Diogenes like Socrates claimed that he had a δαιμόνιον, a private revelation to guide his conduct; cf. 212 D.
3 This was the πρόρρησις or praefatio sacrorum; cf. Livy 45. 5.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VIII

The Eighth Oration is a "speech of consolation" (παραμυθητικὸς λόγος), a familiar type of Sophistic composition. In consequence of the attacks on Sallust by sycophants at court, and moreover jealous of his friendship with Julian, Constantius ordered him to leave Gaul. In this discourse, which was written before the open rupture with Constantius, Julian alludes only once and respectfully to his cousin. But Asmus thinks he can detect in it a general resemblance to the Thirteenth Oration of Dio Chrysostom, where Dio tries to comfort himself for his banishment by the tyrant Domitian, and that Sallust was expected to appreciate this and the veiled attack on Constantius. Julian addresses the discourse to himself, but it was no doubt sent to Sallust.

After Julian's accession Sallust was made prefect in 362 and consul in 363. He was the author of a manifesto of Neo Platonism, the treatise On the Gods and the World, and to him was dedicated Julian's Fourth Oration.¹

¹ cf. vol. i. p. 351.
ΙΟΤΑΙΑΝΟΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΕΠΙ ΤΗΙ ΕΞΟΔΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΥ
ΠΑΡΑΜΤΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΤΤΟΝ

'Αλλ' εί μή καὶ πρὸς σὲ διαλεχθεῖν ὁσα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν διελέξθην, ἐπειδὴ σὲ βαδίζειν ἐπιθύμην χρήναι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐλαττοῦν ἔχειν οἴσομαι πρὸς παραψυχήν, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πεπορίσθαι τινὰ βραστών ἐμαυτῷ νομίζω, ἣς σοὶ γε οὐ μεταδέδωκα. κοινωνήσαντας γὰρ Β ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν μὲν ἀλγειών, πολλῶν δὲ ἡδέων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων, ἐν πράγμασιν ἰδίως τε καὶ δημοσίως, οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, κοινὸν1 εὑρίσκεσθαι χρή τῶν παρόντων, ὡς εἰρήνικα, τὸ τότε, ἣν ἤ̄, παιδίων ἀκός. ἀλλὰ τὸς ἄν ἡμῖν ἢ τὴν Ὁρφεώς μιμήσατο2 λύραν ἢ τοὺς Σειρήνων αὐτηχόνας3 μέλεσιν ἢ τὸ νηπενθῆς ἐξεύροι φάρμακον; εἴτε λόγος ἢ ἔκεινο πλήρης Αἰγυπτίων διηγημάτων, εἰδ' ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐτοιμοῦσιν ἐνυφήνας τὰ Τρωίκα τάθη, οὐτοῦ τῆς 'Ελένης παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μαθούσης, οὐχ ὅσα 'Ελληνες καὶ Τρώες ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ ποταποῦ εἶναι χρή τοὺς λόγους, οὖ τὰς μὲν

1 κοινὸν Wright, κοινὸν Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἄν—μιμήσατο Hertlein suggests, μιμήσει MSS.
3 αὐτηχόνας Hertlein suggests, αὐτηχός MSS.

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A CONSOLATION TO HIMSELF
UPON THE DEPARTURE OF
THE EXCELLENT SALLUST

Ah, my beloved comrade, unless I tell you all that I said to myself when I learned that you were compelled to journey far from my side, I shall think I am deprived of some comfort; or rather, I shall consider that I have not even begun to procure some assuagement for my grief unless I have first shared it with you. For we two have shared in many sorrows and also in many pleasant deeds and words, in affairs private and public, at home and in the field, and therefore for the present troubles, be they what they may, we must needs discover some cure, some remedy that both can share.

But who will imitate for us the lyre of Orpheus, who will echo for us the songs of the Sirens or discover the drug nepenthe? 1 Though that was perhaps some tale full of Egyptian lore or such a tale as the poet himself invented, when in what follows he wove in the story of the sorrows of the Trojans, and Helen had learned it from the Egyptians; I do not mean a tale of all the woes that the Greeks and Trojans inflicted on one another, but rather tales such as

1 Odyssey 4. 227; a sophistic commonplace; cf. 412 D, Themistius 357 A; Julian seems to mean that the nepenthe was not really a drug but a story told by Helen.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

άλγηδόνας ἀφαίρήσουσι τῶν ψυχῶν, εὐφροσύνης δὲ καὶ γαλήνης αὕτιοι καταστήσουται. καὶ γάρ
πως ἐοικεν ἥδων καὶ λύπη τῆς αὐτῆς κορυφῆς ἐξήθησαι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀλλήλαις ἀντιμεθῆ-241
στασθαί. τῶν προσπιττόντων δὲ καὶ τὰ λιαν ἐργώδη φασών οἱ σοφοὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι φέρειν οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς δυσκολίας τῆς εὐπάθειαςν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν μέλιταν ἐκ τῆς δριμυτάτης πόας τῆς
περὶ τὸν 'Τμητῶν φυμένης γλυκείαν ἀπιμάσθαι δρόσου καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος εἰναι δημιουργόν. ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὁσα μὲν ὑγιεία καὶ ὅμορφα
καθεστηκαν, ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται σιτίων, ὡς καὶ τὰ δυσχερὴ δοκοῦντα πολλάκις ἐκένοις οὐκ
αὔξαβὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὕτης
γένοις ὅσοι δὲ ποηρῶς ἔχει φύσει καὶ τροφῇ
καὶ ἐπιτηδεύει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν πάντα βίον νοσή-
λευμένοις, τούτοις καὶ τὰ κουφότατα βαρυτάτας
eἰώθε προστιθέναι βλάβας. οὔκοιν καὶ τῆς δια-
νοίας ὅσοι μὲν οὔτως ἐπεμελήθησαν, ὡς μὴ
παμπονήρως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὑγιαίνει μετρίως, εἰ
καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν 'Ἀντισθένους καὶ Σωκράτους
ῥώμην μηδὲ τὴν Καλλισθένους ἀνδρείαν μηδὲ C
τὴν Πολέμωνος ἀπάθειαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε δύνασθαι
tὸ μέτρον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰρεῖσθαι, τυχὸν ἂν
καὶ ἐν δυσκολωτέροις εὐφραίνοιτο.

Ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς πεῖραν ἐμαυτοῦ λαμβάνων,
ὅτως πρὸς τὴν σὴν πορείαν ἔχω τε καὶ ἔξω,
tοσοῦτον ὀδυνηθην, ὅσον ὅτε πρῶτον τὸν ἐμαυτὸν
καθηγεμόνα κατέλιπον οίκου πάντων γὰρ ἄθροως
εἰσῆι μὲ μνήμη, τῆς τῶν πόνων κοινωνίας, ὅν
ἀλλήλοις συνδεδεμέγκαμεν, τῆς ἀπλάστου καὶ
they must be that will dispel the griefs of men's souls and have power to restore cheerfulness and calm. For pleasure and pain, methinks, are connected at their source and succeed each other in turn. And philosophers assert that in all that befalls the wise man the very greatest trials afford him as much felicity as vexation; and thus, as they say, does the bee extract sweet dew from the bitterest herb that grows on Hymettus and works it into honey. Even so bodies that are naturally healthy and robust are nourished by any kind of food, and food that often seems unwholesome for others, far from injuring them, makes them strong. On the other hand, the slightest causes usually inflict very serious injuries on persons who by nature or nurture, or owing to their habits, have an unsound constitution and are lifelong invalids. Just so with regard to the mind: those who have so trained it that it is not altogether unhealthy but moderately sound, though it do not indeed exhibit the vigour of Antisthenes or Socrates, or the courage of Callisthenes, or the imperturbability of Polemon, but so that it can under the same conditions as theirs adopt the golden mean, they, I say, will probably be able to remain cheerful in more trying conditions.

For my part, when I put myself to the proof to find out how I am and shall be affected by your departure, I felt the same anguish as when at home I first left my preceptor. For everything flashed across my mind at once; the labours that we shared and endured together; our unfeigned and candid conversation; our innocent and upright intercourse;

1 Plato, *Phaedo* 60 b. 2 Cf. *Oration* 2. 101 A. 3 Mardonius.
καθαρὰς ἐντεύξεως, τῆς ἁδόλου καὶ δικαίας δ ὀμιλιάς, τῆς ἐν ἀπασί τοὺς καλοὺς κοινοτραγίας, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἵσορρόπον τε καὶ ἀ-μεταμελήτου προθυμίας τε καὶ ὀρμής, ὡς μετ’ ἀλλήλων εὔσημων πολλάκις ἵσον θυμὸν ἐχοντες, ὀμότροποι καὶ ποθεῖνοι φίλοι. πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰσήκε με μνήμη τοῦ Οἰωθῆς ὂς Ὀδυσσεύς· εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκεῖνο παραπλησίος, ἐπεὶ σὲ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Ἐκτορα θεός ἐξήγαγεν ἑξὼ βελῶν, ὅποι οἱ συκοφάνται πολλὰκις ἀφήκαν ἔπὶ σε, 242 μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἐμὲ, διὰ σοῦ τρώσαι βουλόμενου, ταύτη μὲ μόνον ἀλώσιμον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ τοῦ πιστοῦ φίλου καὶ προθύμου συνασπιστοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀρποφασίστον κοινονοῦ τῆς συνουσίας στερήσειαν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαττον οἴμαι σὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἀλγεῖν ἤ ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅτι σοὶ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἔλαττον μέτεστιν, ἄλλα καὶ πλέον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δεδιέναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς, μή τι πάθη. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἔμων ἔθημαι τὰ σά, καὶ σοῦ δὲ ὀμοίως ἐχοντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡσόμην. οὖθεν εἰκότως καὶ μάλα δάκνομαι, ὅτι σοὶ, τῶν ἄλλων ἑνεκα λέγειν δυναμένως.

Οὐδὲν μέλει μοι· τὰμα γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει,
Μόνος εἰμι λύπης αὐτίων καὶ φρουτίδος.  

ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἐξ ἴσης, ὡς ἑοίκε, κοινωνοῦμεν, σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀλγών μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄει ποθῶν τὴν σὴν συνουσίαν καὶ τῆς φιλίας μεμυημένος, ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς. μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγουμένως;

1 μόνος—φροντίδος Brambs regards as a verse; Hertlein prints as prose.

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our co-operation in all that was good; our equally-matched and never-repented zeal and eagerness in opposing evildoers. How often we supported each other with one equal temper! How alike were our ways! How precious our friendship! Then too there came into my mind the words, "Then was Odysseus left alone." For now I am indeed like him, since the god has removed you, like Hector, beyond the range of the shafts which have so often been aimed at you by sycophants, or rather at me, since they desired to wound me through you; for they thought that only thus should I be vulnerable if they should deprive me of the society of a faithful friend and devoted brother-in-arms—one who never on any pretext failed to share the dangers that threatened me. Moreover the fact that you now have a smaller share than I in such labours and dangers does not, I think, make your grief less than mine; but you feel all the more anxiety for me and any harm that may befall my person. For even as I never set your interests second to mine, so have I ever found you equally well disposed towards me. I am therefore naturally much chagrined that to you who with regard to all others can say, "I heed them not, for my affairs are prosperous," I alone occasion sorrow and anxiety. However this sorrow it seems we share equally, though you grieve only on my account, while I constantly feel the lack of your society and call to mind the friendship that we pledged to one another—that friendship which we ever cemented afresh, based as it was, first and foremost, on virtue,

1 Iliad 17. 720.  
2 Iliad 11. 401.  
3 Iliad 11. 163.  
4 Iliad 17. 242.  
5 Nauck, Adespota fragmenta 430.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

ἐπείτα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἣν ἐγὼ μὲν σοι, σὺ δὲ ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς παράσχεις, ἀνακραθήσετε ἄλληλοις ὁμολογήσαμεν, σὺ ὥρκοις οὐδὲ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις ταῦτα πιστοῦμενοι, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεσεὺς καὶ ὁ Πειρίθους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ταῦτα νοοῦντες καὶ προαιρούμενοι κακὸν μὲν δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν τινὶ τοσοῦτον δὲώ λέγειν ἀπέσχομεν, ὡστε οὔδε ἐβουλευσάμεθα ποτε μετὰ ἄλληλων· χρηστὸν δὲ εἰ τι ἑγέρον ἡ βεβούλευται κοινῆ παρ' ἡμῶν, τούτο ἄλλους εἰπεῖν μελήσει.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ἄλγῳ τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐ φίλου μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ συνεργοῦν πιστοῦν, δοιά δὲ ὁ 243 δαίμων, καὶ πρὸς όλιγον ἀπαλλαττόμενος, οἶμαι καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν μέγας τῆς ἀρετῆς κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἐμοιγε συνομολογήσειν ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνον γνωρίζομεν, λέγω δὲ τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. φησὶ γοῦν ὃτι Χαλεπώτερον ἑφαίνετο μοι ὅρθως τὰ πολιτικά διοικεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ φίλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἑταίρων πιστῶν οἶον τε εἶναι πράττειν, οὔτ' εὑπορεῖν τούτων ἐὼν πολλῇ ῥάστωνῃ. καίτοι τοῦτο γε ἐὰν Πλάτωνι μεῖζον ἑφαίνετο τοῦ διορύττειν τῶν Ἀθώ, τί Β χρή προσδοκᾶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλέον ἀπολειπομένους τῆς ἐκεῖνον συνέσεώς τε καὶ γνώμης ἡ κείνος τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς χρείας μόνον ἐνεκα, ἣν ἀντιδιδότες ἄλληλοις ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ βὰν εἰχομεν πρὸς τὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀντιταττομένων ἡμῶν πραττόμενα, ἄλλα1 καὶ τῆς μόνης ἀεὶ μοι θαλπωρῆς τε

1 ἄλλα Reiske supplies, lacuna Hertlein: after πραττόμενα several words are lost.

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and secondly on the obligations which you continually conferred on me and I on you. Not by oaths or by any such ties did we ratify it, like Theseus and Peirithous, but by being of the same mind and purpose, in that so far from forbearing to inflict injury on any citizen, we never even debated any such thing with one another. But whether anything useful was done or planned by us in common, I will leave to others to say.

Now that it is natural for me to be grieved by the present event, on being parted for ever so short a time—and God grant that it may be short!—from one who is not only my friend but my loyal fellow-worker, I think even Socrates, that great herald and teacher of virtue, will agree; so far at least as I may judge from the evidence on which we rely for our knowledge of him, I mean the words of Plato. At any rate, what he says is: "Ever more difficult did it seem to me to govern a state rightly. For neither is it possible to achieve anything without good friends and loyal fellow-workers, nor is it very easy to obtain enough of these." ¹ And if Plato thought this more difficult than digging a canal through Mount Athos,² what must we expect to find it, we who in wisdom and knowledge are more inferior to him than he was to God? But it is not only when I think of the help in the administration that we gave one another in turn, and which enabled us to bear more easily all that fate or our opponents brought to pass contrary to our purpose; but also because I am destined soon to be bereft also of what has ever

¹ Julian quotes from memory and paraphrases Epistle 7. 325 c.
² This feat of Xerxes became a rhetorical commonplace.
καὶ τέρψεως ἐνδεχὴς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι εἰς μέλλων, εἰκότως δάκνωμαι τε καὶ δέδηγμαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καρδιὰν. ἐς τίνα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται μοι λοιπὸν εὕνουν ἀποβιλέψαι φίλον; τίνος δὲ ἀνασκέσαι τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ καθαρᾶς παρρησίας; τίς δὲ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει μὲν ἐμφρόνως, ἐπιτιμήσει δὲ μετ’ εὐνοίας, ἐπιρρώσει δὲ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ χωρίς αὐθάδειας καὶ τύφου, παρρησιάσεται δὲ τὸ πικρὸν ἀφελῶν τῶν λόγων, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν φαρμάκων Δ ἀφαιροῦντες μὲν τὸ λίαν δυσχερὲς, ἀπολείποντες δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χρῆσιμον; ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς φιλίας ὀφέλος ἐκαρπωσάμην. τοσοῦτων δὲ ὅμοι ἐστερημένος, τίνων ἄν εὐπορήσαμι λόγων, οἱ μὲ, διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον σὰ τε μῆδε σὴν τε ἀγανοφροσύνην αὐτὴν προέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν κινδυνεύοντα, πεισοῦσιν ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ φέρειν ὅσα δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενναῖως; εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ ἔοικεν αὐτῷ νοὸν ὁ μέγας 244 αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω νυώ βουλεύσασθαι. τὰ ποτὲ οὖν ἄρα χρῆ διανοθέντα καὶ τίνας ἐποδᾶς εὐρόντα πεῖσαι πρῶς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυ-βουμένην τὴν ψυχῆν; ἄρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμώλξιδος εἰσὶ μιμητέοι λόγοι, λόγω δὲ τὰς ἐκ Ἐράκης ἐποδᾶς, ὡς Ἀθήναζε φέρων ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ τῆς ὀδύνης ἱάσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπάδειν ἥξιον τὸ καλὸν Χαρμίδη; ἢ τούτους μὲν ἀτε δὴ μείξονας καὶ περὶ μείξονον οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ.
been my only solace and delight, it is natural that I am and have been cut to the very heart.\(^1\) For in the future to what friend can I turn as loyal as yourself? With whose guileless and pure frankness shall I now brace myself? Who now will give me prudent counsel, reprove me with affection, give me strength for good deeds without arrogance and conceit, and use frankness after extracting the bitterness from the words, like those who from medicines extract what is nauseating but leave in what is really beneficial?\(^2\) These are the advantages that I reaped from your friendship! And now that I have been deprived of all these all at once, with what arguments shall I supply myself, so that when I am in danger of flinging away my life out of regret for you and your counsels and loving kindness,\(^3\) they may persuade me to be calm and to bear nobly whatever God has sent?\(^4\) For in accordance with the will of God our mighty Emperor has surely planned this as all else. Then what now must be my thoughts, what spells must I find to persuade my soul to bear tranquilly the trouble with which it is now dismayed? Shall I imitate the discourses of Zamolxis\(^5\)—I mean those Thracian spells which Socrates brought to Athens and declared that he must utter them over the fair Charmides before he could cure him of his headache?\(^6\) Or must we leave these alone as being, like large machinery in a small theatre, too lofty for

\(^1\) Aristophanes, Acharnians 1; cf. 248 D.
\(^2\) A commonplace; Plato, Laws 659 E; Julian, Caesars 314 c; Dio Chrysostom 33. 10; Themistius 63 B, 302 B; Maximus of Tyre 10. 6.
\(^4\) Demosthenes, De Corona 97; cf. Julian, Epistle 53. 439 D.
\(^5\) Cf. Caesars 309 c note.
\(^6\) Plato, Charmides 156 D.
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μικρὸς μηχανᾶς μεγάλας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἐμπρόσθεν Β ἔργων, ὧν ἐπιθύμεθα τὰ κλέα, φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ὥσπερ ἐκ λειμῶνος δρεφάμενοι ποικίλον καὶ πολυείδους ἀνθῆ τὰ κάλλιστα συνθαγωγήσομεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς διηγήμασι, μικρὰ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῖς προστίθεντες; ὥσπερ γὰρ οἴμαι τοῖς λίαν γλυκέσιν οἱ παρεγχέντες οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅποι᾽ ἄττα φάρμακα τὸ προσκορές αὐτῶν ἀφαίρούσιν, οὕτω τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἐνα προστίθεμεν τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξ ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ὁχλον ἐπεισάγειν, C οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ περιττὴν ἀδολεσχίαν ἀφαίρειται.

Τῇ πρώτῃ; τῇ δ᾽ ἐπείτα; τῇ δ᾽ ἱστότιον καταλέξω;

πότερον ὡς ὁ Σκηπτίων ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῶν Δαίλιων ἀγαπήσας καὶ φιληθεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἵσω ξυγῷ παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνον πάλιν, ἢδεως μὲν αὐτῷ συνήν, ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδέν, δυν μὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖνος πύθοιτο καὶ φήσεων εἶναι πρακτέοιν; οὗτοι οἴμαι καὶ λόγον παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπὸ φθόνον τὸν Σκηπτίωνα λοιδο- ῥοῦσιν, ὡς ποιητὴς μὲν ὁ Δαίλιος εἰν τῶν ἔργων, Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ τοῦτων ὑποκριτῆς. αὐτὴ τοῦ καὶ ημῶν ἡ φήμη πρόσκειται, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχε- ραίνων 2 χαίρω δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆ πλέον. τὸ γὰρ τὸς ὀρθῶς ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου γνωσθεῖσι πεισθῆναι μείζονος ἁρετῆς 3 δ᾽ Ζήνων ποιεῖται γνώρισμα τοῦ γνώναι 245 τίνα αὐτῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ δέοντα, τὴν Ἡθοδοὺν μεθαρμόττων ῥήσιν.

Οὕτως μὲν πανάριστος, δὲ εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται

1 πολυειδοὺς Cobet, πολυειδοὺς Hertlein, MSS.
2 οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχεραίνω χαίρω δὲ Hertlein suggests, cf. 37 B, 255 D; kal χαίρω γε MSS.
3 ἁρετῆς Hertlein suggests, τῆς ἁρετῆς MSS.

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our purpose and suited to greater troubles; and rather from the deeds of old whose fame we have heard told, as the poet says,¹ shall we gather the fairest flowers as though from a variegated and many-coloured meadow, and thus console ourselves with such narratives and add thereto some of the teachings of philosophy? For just as, for instance, certain drugs are infused into things that have too sweet a taste, and thus their cloying sweetness is tempered, so when tales like these are seasoned by the maxims of philosophy, we avoid seeming to drag in a tedious profusion of ancient history and a superfluous and uncalled-for flow of words.

“What first, what next, what last shall I relate?”² Shall I tell how the famous Scipio, who loved Laelius and was loved by him in return with equal yoke of friendship,³ as the saying is, not only took pleasure in his society, but undertook no task without first consulting with him and obtaining his advice as to how he should proceed? It was this, I understand, that furnished those who from envy slandered Scipio with the saying that Laelius was the real author of his enterprises, and Africanus merely the actor. The same remark is made about ourselves, and, far from resenting this, I rather rejoice at it. For to accept another’s good advice Zeno held to be a sign of greater virtue than independently to decide oneself what one ought to do; and so he altered the saying of Hesiod; for Zeno says: “That man is best who follows good advice” instead of “decides all things for himself.”⁴ Not that the alteration is to my


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λέγων ἀντὶ τοῦ νοήσῃ πάνθ᾽ ἐαυτῷ. ἐμὸι δὲ οὖ διὰ τοῦτο χαρίεν εἶναι δοκεῖ: πείθομαι γὰρ ἀληθεστερον μὲν Ἡσίοδου λέγειν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἄμεινον Πυθαγόραν, δὲ καὶ τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρέσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι κοινά τὰ φίλων ἔδωκε τῷ βίῳ, οὐ δὴπο τὰ χρήματα λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ νοοῦ καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως κοινωνίαν, ὡσθ᾽ ὅσα μὲν εὔρες αὐτός, οὔδὲν ἔλαττον ταῦτα τοῦ πεισθέντος ἐστὶν, ὅσα δὲ τῶν σῶν ὑπεκρινάμην, τούτων αὐτῶν εἰκότως τὸ ἔσον μετέχεις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀποτέρου μᾶλλον ἂν φαίνηται, καὶ θατέρῳ προσήκει, καὶ τοῖς βασικάνοις οὕδεν ἐσται πλέον ἐκ τῶν λόγων.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπανιτεύον ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν Δαίλιον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνήριτο μὲν ἡ Καρχηδὼν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἀπαντᾶ τῆς 'Ρώμης C ἐγεγονεὶ δοῦλα, πέμπει μὲν Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν Δαίλιον· ἀνήγετο δὲ ἐκεῖνος εὐαγγέλια τῇ πατρίδι φέρων· καὶ ὁ Σκηπτικὸς ἠχθετο μὲν ἀπολειπόμενος τοῦ φίλου, οὐ μὴν ἀπαραμύθητον αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος φέτο. καὶ τὸν Δαίλιον δὲ δυσχεραίνειν εἰκὸς, ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἀνήγετο, οὐ μὴν ἀφόρητον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συμφοράν. ἐπειδὴ Κάτων ἀπολιπὼν οἰκοι τοὺς αὐτοῦ συνῆθεις, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Δημόκριτος οὔδενα παραλαβόντες κοινωνὸν τῆς ὀδοῦ, καίτοι πολλοὺς οἰκοι τῶν φιλτάτων D ἀπολιμπάνοντες, ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ Περικλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμου οὐκ ἄγων τὸν Ἀναζαγόραν, καὶ τὴν Εὐβοιαν παρεστήσατο ταῖς μὲν ἐκεῖνον Βουλαῖς, ἐπεπαιδευτο γὰρ ὡς ἐκεῖνῳ, τὸ σώμα δὲ οὐκ ἐφελκόμενος ὠσπερ ἄλλο τί τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὰς 24

1 καὶ θατέρῳ Hertlein suggests, θατέρῳ MSS.
liking. For I am convinced that what Hesiod says is truer, and that Pythagoras was wiser than either of them when he originated the proverb and gave to mankind the maxim, "Friends have all things in common." And by this he certainly did not mean money only, but also a partnership in intelligence and wisdom. So all that you suggested belongs just as much to me who adopted it, and whenever I was the actor who carried out your plans you naturally have an equal share in the performance. In fact, to whichever of us the credit may seem to belong, it belongs equally to the other, and malicious persons will gain nothing from their gossip.

Let me go back now to Africanus and Laelius. When Carthage had been destroyed and all Libya made subject to Rome, Africanus sent Laelius home and he embarked to carry the good news to their fatherland. And Scipio was grieved at the separation from his friend, but he did not think his sorrow inconsolable. Laelius too was probably afflicted at having to embark alone, but he did not regard it as an insupportable calamity. Cato also made a voyage and left his intimate friends at home, and so did Pythagoras and Plato and Democritus, and they took with them no companion on their travels, though they left behind them at home many whom they dearly loved. Pericles also set out on his campaign against Samos without taking Anaxagoras, and he conquered Euboea by following the latter's advice, for he had been trained by his teaching: but the philosopher himself he did not drag in his train as though he were part of the

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1 Diogenes Laertius 8. 10; Pythagoras persuaded his disciples to share their property in common. 2 Cf. Livy 27. 7.
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μάχας. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκούντα, φασίν, Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀπέστησαν συνουσίας. ἀλλ' ἐφερεν ὡς ἀνήρ ἐμφρων δι' τὴν ἀνοιαν τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πράσω. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῇ πατρίδι καθάπερ μητρὶ δικαίως μὲν οὗ, χαλεπῶς δὲ ὡμὸς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτῶν, εἰκεὶν ἔφετο χρήμα, ταῦτα, ὡς εἰκός, λογιζόμενοι: ἀκούειν δὲ χρή τῶν ἔξης ὡς τοῦ Περίκλεους αὐτῶν. 'Εμοί πόλις μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ πατρίς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φίλοι θεοί καὶ δαίμονες καὶ πάντες ὁσοί καὶ ὅποιον2 σπουδαίοι. χρή Β δὲ καὶ τὴν οὖν3 γεγόναμεν τιμᾶν, ἐπειδὴ τούτο θεῖος ἐστὶ νόμος, καὶ πείθεσθαι γε οἷς ἀν ἐπιτάττῃ καὶ μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ, ὃ φησιν ἡ παροιμία, πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν: ἀπαραίτητον γὰρ ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐνηγὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης. οὐ μὴν ὑδρυτέον οὔδὲ θρηνητέον ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιτάττει τραχύτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πράγμα λογιστέον αὐτό. νῦν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῶν 'Ἀναξαγόραν ἃφ' ἡμῶν κελεύει, καὶ Ο τὸν ἀριστοῦν οὐκ ὁψομεθα τῶν ἑταίρων, δι' ὅν ἠχθόμην μὲν τῇ νυκτί, ὅτι μοι τὸν φίλον οὐκ ἐδείκνυν, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἠλίῳ χάριν ἠπιστάμην, ὅτι μοι παρεῖχεν ὅραν οὐ μάλιστα ἦρων. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὄμματά σοι δέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὁ Περίκλεις, μόνον ὡσπερ τοῖς θηρίοις,4 οὐδὲν ἀπεικός ἐστι σε διαφερόντως ἄχθεσθαι· εἰ δὲ σοι ψυχήν ἐνέ-

1 ὅν Hertlein would add.
2 ὅποιον Cobet, ὅπου Hertlein, MSS.
3 τὴν οὗ Hertlein suggests, oὗ MSS.
4 θηρίοι Cobet, ὅρνισιν Hertlein, MSS.
equipment needed for battle. And yet in his case too we are told that much against his will the Athenians separated him from the society of his teacher. But wise man that he was, he bore the folly of his fellow-citizens with fortitude and mildness. Indeed he thought that he must of necessity bow to his country's will when, as a mother might, however unjustly, she still resented their close friendship; and he probably reasoned as follows. (You must take what I say next as the very words of Pericles.1)

"The whole world is my city and fatherland, and my friends are the gods and lesser divinities and all good men whoever and wherever they may be. Yet it is right to respect also the country where I was born, since this is the divine law, and to obey all her commands and not oppose them, or as the proverb says kick against the pricks. For inexorable, as the saying goes, is the yoke of necessity. But we must not even complain or lament when her commands are harsher than usual, but rather consider the matter as it actually is. She now orders Anaxagoras to leave me and I shall see no more my best friend, on whose account the night was hateful to me because it did not allow me to see my friend, but I was grateful to daylight and the sun because they allowed me to see him whom I loved best.2 But, Pericles, if nature had given you eyes only as she has to wild beasts, it would be natural enough for you to feel excessive grief. But since she has

1 Cobet rejects this sentence as a gloss; but Julian perhaps echoes Plato, Menexenus 246 c.
2 This a very inappropriate application to Pericles of the speech of Critoboulos in Xenophon, Symposium 4. 12; cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 49.
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πνευσε καὶ νοῦν ἐνῆκεν, ύψ’ οὗ τὰ μὲν τολλὰ τῶν γεγενημένων καίτερ οὗ παρόντα νῦν ὄρας διὰ τῆς μνήμης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων οὐ λογισμὸς ἀνευρίσκων ὡσπερ ὀμμασίων ὀράν προσβάλλει τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων οὗ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ὁμμάτων ἡ φαντασία μόνον ἀποτυπομένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κρίνειν καὶ καθορᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω καὶ μυριάσι σταδίων ἀποκισμένα τῶν γενομένων παρὰ πόδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν 247 δείκνυσιν ἑαυτοστέρον, τί χρῆ τοσοῦτον ἀναίσθαι καὶ σχέτλιως φέρειν; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ μοι,

Νοῦς ὁρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει

φησὶν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὕτως ἐξει χρῆμα καὶ τάχει χρώμενον ἀμηχάνω, ὡς ὧν ὅταν τινὰ τῶν δαιμόνων Ὡμηρὸς ἑθέλη κεχρημένον ἀπίστων πορείας ἐπιδείξαι τάχει,

"Ὡς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἄξιη νόσος ἀνέρος

φησί. τοῦτῳ τοις χρώμενοις ρᾶστα μὲν Ἀθήνηθεν Β ὅψει τῶν ἐν Ἰωνία, ρᾶστα δὲ ἐκ Κελτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Θράκη, καὶ τῶν ἐν Κελτῶς ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Ἰλλυρίων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὡσπερ τοῖς φυτοῖς οὔκ ἐνι σώζονται τὴν συνήθη χώραν μεταβάλλουσιν, ὅταν ἡ τῶν ἁριῶν ἡ κράσις ἐναντία, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει τότον ἐκ τόπον μεταβάλλουσιν ἡ διαφθείρεσθαι παντελῶς ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἀμείβειν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι πέρι ὧν ὀρθῶς πρόθεν ἐγνώκεσαν, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τὴν εὐνοιαν Σ ἀμβλυτέραν ἔχειν εἰκός, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν

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breathed into you a soul, and implanted in you intelligence by means of which you now behold in memory many past events, though they are no longer before you: and further since your reasoning power discovers many future events and reveals them as it were to the eyes of your mind; and again your imagination sketches for you not only those present events which are going on under your eyes and allows you to judge and survey them, but also reveals to you things at a distance and many thousand stades removed more clearly than what is going on at your feet and before your eyes, what need is there for such grief and resentment? And to show that I have authority for what I say, 'The mind sees and the mind hears,' says the Sicilian; and mind is a thing so acute and endowed with such amazing speed that when Homer wishes to show us one of the gods employing incredible speed in travelling he says: 'As when the mind of a man darts swiftly.' So if you employ your mind you will easily from Athens see one who is in Ionia; and from the country of the Celts one who is in Illyria or Thrace; and from Thrace or Illyria one who is in the country of the Celts. And moreover, though plants if removed from their native soil when the weather and the season are unfavourable cannot be kept alive, it is not so with men, who can remove from one place to another without completely deteriorating or changing their character and deviating from the right principles that they had before adopted. It is therefore unlikely that our affection will become blunted, if indeed we do not love and

1 The Attic stade = about 600 feet.
2 Epicharmus fr. 13.
3 Iliad 15. 80.
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καὶ στέργειν ἐπεται γὰρ ύβρις μὲν κόρῳ, ἔρως δὲ ἐνδείᾳ. καὶ ταῦτῃ τοίνυν ἔξομεν βέλτιον, ἐπιτευνομένης ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας, καθέξομεν τε ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς έαυτῶν διανοίαις ἰδρυμένους ὀσπερ ἀγάλματα. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, αὕτης δὲ ἐκείνος ὅφεται ἐμὲ· κολύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ άμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους, ὃν ὑμιλήσας καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μορφὴς τύπωμα, στέρνα τε ἐξεικασμένα πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον σώματος· καίτοι καὶ τούτο κολύει τυχόν οὐδὲν ταῖς διανοίαις ἡμῶν ἐμφαίνεσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὁμίλιας καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ὡς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετ' ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμοῦσως ὑμνοῦντες παιδείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπιτρωπεύοντα νὸν τὰ θυντὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτη- δεμάτων διεξόντες, ὡσα γε ἡμῖν ἔπηε 1 ἐν καρφ τοῦτον μεμημένους· ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες, τούτοις τρεφόμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις τυχόν οὐκ ὄνειραν νυκτέρων 2 ἱνδάλμασι προσέξομεν οὐδὲ κενὰ καὶ μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νῷ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράςεως αἰσθησις διακει- μένη. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὕτην παραληψόμεθα τὴν αἰ- σθησιν ὑπουργεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ἀλλ' Ἡ ἀποφυγόν αὕτην ὅ νοος ἐμμελετήσει τούτοις πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεθίσμον τῶν ἀσωμάτων

1 ἔπηε: Reiske adds.
2 νυκτέρων Cobet, νυκτερίνων Hertlein, MSS.
cherish each other the more for the separation. For ‘wantonness attends on satiety,’ but love and longing on want. So in this respect we shall be better off if our affection tends to increase, and we shall keep one another firmly set in our minds like holy images. And one moment I shall see Anaxagoras, and the next he will see me. Though nothing prevents our seeing one another at the same instant; I do not mean our flesh and sinews and “bodily outline and breasts in the likeness” of the bodily original—though perhaps there is no reason why these too should not become visible to our minds—but I mean our virtue, our deeds and words, our intercourse, and those conversations which we so often held with one another, when in perfect harmony we sang the praises of education and justice and mind that governs all things mortal and human: when too we discussed the art of government, and law, and the different ways of being virtuous and the noblest pursuits, everything in short that occurred to us when, as occasion served, we mentioned these subjects. If we reflect on these things and nourish ourselves with these images, we shall probably pay no heed to the ‘visions of dreams in the night,’ nor will the senses corrupted by the alloy of the body exhibit to our minds empty and vain phantoms. For we shall not employ the senses at all to assist and minister to us, but our minds will have escaped from them and so will be exercised on the themes I have mentioned and aroused to comprehend and associate with things incorporeal.

1 Theognis 153. τικεῖ τοι κόρος ὑβριν, όταν κακῷ ὀλβος ἔπηται.
2 Euripides, Phoenissae 165, μορφῆς τῦτων στέρνα τ’ ἐξηκασμέα. 3 Nauck, Ἀδεσποτα τραγ. frug. 108.
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διεγειρόμενος· νῷ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνεσιμη, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀποφυγόντα καὶ διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὔδὲ δεόμενα τόπον ὅραν τε καὶ αἴρειν πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοις ἀξίωσι βεβίωται τῇ τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ συμπατήμενοι.

'Αλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς, ἀτε δὴ μεγαλόφρων ἀνήρ καὶ τραφεῖς ἐλευθέρως ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πόλει, οὐ σκηνοτέρους ἐψυχαγώγης λόγοις αὐτῶν· ἐγὼ δὲ γεγονὼς ἐκ τῶν οίκων νῦν βροτοῖ εἰσίν ἀνθρωπικότεροι ἐμαυτῶν θέλω καὶ παράγω λόγοις, καὶ τὸ λιαν πικρὸν ἀφαιρώ τῇ λύπῃ, πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀεὶ μοι προσπεπτόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος δυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἀτόπων φαντασμάτων ἔφαρμόζειν τινὰ παραμυθιάν πειρόμενος, ὃστερ ἐπωδήν θηρίου δήγματι δάκνοντος αὐτὴν ἔσω τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας. ἐκεῖνο τοῦ πρώτου ἔστι μοι τῶν φαινομένων δυσχερῶν. νῦν ἐγὼ μόνος ἀπολειψόμεθα καθαρὰς ἐνδέχεσθαι ὁμίλιας καὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι τέως ὅταν διαλέξομεθα θαρρῶν ὁμοίως. πότερον οὖν οὐδὲ ἐμαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι βαδίων ἐστὶ μοι; ἀλλ' ἀφαιρήσεται με τις καὶ τὴν ἐνυφαίαν καὶ προσαναγκάσει νοεῖν ἑτερα καὶ θαυμάζειν παρ' ἀ διούλομαι; ἡ τούτο μὲν ἔστι τέρας ἡδη καὶ προσόμοιον τῷ γράφειν ἐφ' ὦδας καὶ τῷ λίθῳ ἔγεν καὶ τῷ ἰπταμένων ὀρνίθων ἐρευνᾶν ἵχνη τῆς πτήσεως; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδή τούτων ἡμάς ὀυδ' ἄφαιρεται, συνεσόμεθα δήποτεν αὐτοὶ πως ἑαυτοῖς, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται τῷ χρηστῶν οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα τῷ κρείττον
TO SALLUST

For by the mind we commune even with God, and by its aid we are enabled to see and to grasp things that escape the senses and are far apart in space, or rather have no need of space: that is to say, all of us who have lived so as to deserve such a vision, conceiving it in the mind and laying hold thereof."

Ah, but Pericles, inasmuch as he was a man of lofty soul and was bred as became a free man in a free city, could solace himself with such sublime arguments, whereas I, born of such men as now are,\(^1\) must beguile and console myself with arguments more human; and thus I assuage the excessive bitterness of my sorrow, since I constantly endeavour to devise some comfort for the anxious and uneasy ideas which keep assailing me as they arise from this event, like a charm against some wild beast that is gnawing into my very vitals\(^2\) and my soul, And first and foremost of the hardships that I shall have to face is this, that now I shall be bereft of our guileless intercourse and unreserved conversation. For I have no one now to whom I can talk with anything like the same confidence. What, you say, cannot I easily converse with myself? Nay, will not some one rob me even of my thoughts, and besides compel me to think differently, and to admire what I prefer not to admire? Or does this robbery amount to a prodigy unimaginable, like writing on water or boiling a stone,\(^3\) or tracing the track of the flight of birds on the wing? Well then since no one can deprive us of our thoughts, we shall surely commune with ourselves in some fashion, and perhaps God will suggest some alleviation. For it is not likely that he who entrusts himself to God will be utterly

\(^1\) Iliad 5. 304. \(^2\) Cf. 243 c. \(^3\) Two familiar proverbs.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

παντάπασιν ἀμεληθήναι καὶ καταλειφθήναι παντελῶς ἔρημον· ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς χεῖρα ἐν ὑπερέσχε καὶ θάρσος ἐνδίδωσι ¹ καὶ μένος ἐμπνεῖ Β καὶ τὰ πρακτέα τίθησιν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ τῶν μη πρακτέων ἀφίστησιν. εἰπέτο τοι καὶ Σωκράτει δαιμονία φωνῆ κολύουσα πράττειν ὡς μὴ χρείαν ἢν· φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως· τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρει τῆκεν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐννοιὰς ἡμῶν ἐγείροντος, ὅταν ἐπιστρέψας ὃ νοῦς εἰς εαυτὸν αὐτῷ τε πρότερον ἐνυγγένηται καὶ τῷ θεῷ δὲ εαυτοῦ μόνου, κολύνομενος ὑπ’ οὗδενός. οὐ γὰρ Αἴκοης ὃ νοῦς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ θεὸς φωνῆς πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι τὰ δέοντα· ἀλλ’ αἰσθήσεως ἐξο πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ μετουσία γίνεται τῷ νῷ τίνα μὲν τρόπον καὶ ὅπως οὐ σχολῇ μὴν ἐπεξείναι, τὸ δ’ ὃτι γίνεται δὴλον ² καὶ σαφεῖς οἱ μάρτυρες, οὐκ ἀδοξοῖ τινὲς οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἄξιοι τάττεσθαι μερίδι, ἀλλὰ Δ τῶν ἀπενεγκαμένων ἐπὶ σοφία τὰ πρωτεῖα. ³

Οὐκοῦν ἐπιεικὴς χρῆ προσδοκᾶν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν παρέσεσθαι πάντως καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς αὐτοῖς συνέσεσθαι, τὸ λέαν δυσχερές ἀφαιρέτεον ἐστὶ τῆς λύπης. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν 'Ὀδυσσέα μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καθειργμένον ἐπτὰ τοὺς πάντας ἐνιαυτοὺς, εἰτ’ ὀδυρόμενον, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἑπαίνῳ καρτερίας, τῶν θρήνων δὲ οὐκ ἄγαμαι. τῷ γὰρ ὀφελοῦσ πόντου ἔπε ² ⁵ εὐθυνετὰ δέρκεσθαι καὶ λείβειν δάκρυα; τὸ

¹ ἐνδίδωσι Hertlein suggests, δίδωσι MSS.
² δήλον Cobet, δῆλοι Hertlein, MSS.
³ πρωτεῖα Cobet, πρώτα Hertlein, MSS.

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neglected and left wholly desolate. But over him God stretches his hand, endues him with strength, inspires him with courage, and puts into his mind what he must do. We know too how a divine voice accompanied Socrates and prevented him from doing what he ought not. And Homer also says of Achilles, “She put the thought in his mind,” implying that it is God who suggests our thoughts when the mind turns inwards and first communes with itself, and then with God alone by itself, hindered by nothing external. For the mind needs no ears to learn with, still less does God need a voice to teach us our duty: but apart from all sense-perception, communion with God is vouchsafed to the mind. How and in what manner I have not now leisure to inquire, but that this does happen is evident, and there are sure witnesses thereof—men not obscure or only fit to be classed with the Megarians—but such as have borne the palm for wisdom.

It follows therefore that since we may expect that God will be present with us in all our doings, and that we shall again renew our intercourse, our grief must lose its sharpest sting. For indeed in the case of Odysseus too, who was imprisoned on the island for all those seven years and then bewailed his lot, I applaud him for his fortitude on other occasions, but I do not approve those lamentations. For of what avail was it for him to gaze on the fishy sea and shed

1 Iliad 9. 420. 2 Iliad 1. 55.
3 The Megarians on inquiring their rank among the Greeks from the Delphic oracle were told that they were not in the reckoning at all, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ οὐδὲ ἐν ἀριθμῷ; cf. Theocritus 14. 47.
4 Cf. Dio Chrysostom 13. 4, Arnim.
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δέ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ' ἀπαγορεύσαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα μέχρις ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι πόνων καὶ κινδύων, τούτῳ ἔμοι γε φαίνεται μείζον ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον. οὐ δὴ δίκαιον ἐπαινεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς, μὴ μμεισθαί δὲ, οὐδὲ νομίζειν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὁ θεὸς προθύμως συνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ νῦν περιόφηται Β τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄραν ἀντιποιομένους, δὲ ήπτερ ἄρα κάκεινος ἔχαρεν" οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τὸν Νιρέα μᾶλλον ἐχρὴν ἀγαπάσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἱσχύν, ἀπέιρῳ γὰρ ὅσῳ Δαιστρυγόνες καὶ Κύκλωπες ήσαν αὐτοῦ κρείττους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, οὔτω γὰρ ἀν ἐμείνειν ἀπόρθητος Τροία. τί δὲ δεὶ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτοῦ ἐπιζητοῦντα τὴν αἰτίαν, δὲ Ἰν 'Οδυσσέα φησιν ὁ ποιητής θεοφιλῆ, αὐτοῦ γε ἑξῆν ἀκούειν; Ζ

Οὔνεκ' ἐπηθής ἐσσι καὶ ἀγχίνους καὶ ἐχέφρων.

δὴλον οὗν ὡς, εἰπὲρ ἡμῖν ταῦτα προσγένοιτο, τὸ κρείττον οὐκ ἐλλείψει τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα πάλαι ποτὲ Δακεδαιμονίος χρησμὸν καλούμενος τε καὶ ἀκλήτος ὁ θεὸς παρέσται.

Τούτων ἐμαυτὸν ψυχαγωγήσας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὸ D μέρος ἀπειμὶ πάλιν, ὁ δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ μικρὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δόξαν δὲ ὅμως οὐκ ἀγεννῆς. Ὁμήρου τοῦ φασὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, οὐ δῆπον συνώντος, ἀλλὰ κηρύττοντος ὡσπερ Ἀχιλλέα καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Ἀιαντας ἀμφω καὶ τὸν

1 πόνων Hertlein suggests, φόβων MSS.
Never to abandon hope and despair of one's fate, but to play the hero in the extremes of toil and danger, does indeed seem to me more than can be expected of any human being. But it is not right to praise and not to imitate the Homeric heroes, or to think that whereas God was ever ready to assist them he will disregard the men of our day, if he sees that they are striving to attain that very virtue for which he favoured those others. For it was not physical beauty that he favoured, since in that case Nireus would have been more approved; nor strength, for the Laëstrygons and the Cyclops were infinitely stronger than Odysseus; nor riches, for had that been so Troy would never have been sacked. But why should I myself labour to discover the reason why the poet says that Odysseus was beloved by the gods, when we can hear it from himself? It was "Because thou art so wary, so ready of wit, so prudent." It is therefore evident that if we have these qualities in addition, God on His side will not fail us, but in the words of the oracle once given of old to the Lacedaemonians, "Invoked or not invoked, God will be present with us."

Now that I have consoled myself with these arguments I will go back to that other consideration which, though it seems trivial, nevertheless is generally esteemed to be not ignoble. Even Alexander, we are told, felt a need for Homer, not, of course, to be his companion, but to be his herald, as he was for Achilles and Patroclus and the two Ajaxes and

1 *Odyssey* 5. 84  
2 *Iliad* 2. 673.  
3 *Odyssey* 10. 119 foll.  
4 *Odyssey* 13. 332.  
5 Cf *Oration* 6. 201 c; Thucydides 1. 118.
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'Αντίλοχου. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπερορῶν ἀεὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἐφιεμένος δὲ τῶν ἀπόντων οὐκ ἡγάπα τοῖς καθ' ἐαυτὸν οὖν ἢκεῖτο τοῖς δοθείσι· καὶ εἶπερ ἐτυχέν Ὁμήρου, τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἵσως ἅν 251 ἐπόθησε λύραν, ἣ τοῖς Πηλέως ἑκείνος ἐφύμησε γάμοις, οὐ τῆς Ὁμήρου συνέσεως τούτῳ πλάσμα νομίσας, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖς ἔργον ἐνυφαυθὲν τοῖς ἐπεσον, ὡσπερ όμαί τό

'Ἡως μὲν κροκόπτεπλος ἐκάδυατο πᾶσαν ἑπ' άιαν καὶ

'Ἡλίως δ' ἀνόρουσε καὶ

Κρήτη τις γα' ἔστι, καὶ ὅσα τοιαύτα φασίν οἱ ποιηταί, δῆλα καὶ ἐναργῇ τὰ μὲν ὄντα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, τὰ δὲ γνώριμα.

'Αλλὰ τῷ μὲν εἴτε μέγεθος ἁρτῆς ὑπερέχον1 Β καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἁγαθῶν οὐδαμῶς ἐλάττων σύνεσις εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ψυχήν ἔξηγεν, ὡστε μειζόνων ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρέγεσθαι,2 εἰθ' ὑπερβολή τις ἀνδρείας καὶ θάρσους εἰς ἀλαξοεῖιαν ἄγουσα3 καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδειαν βλέπουσα, ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν ἐν καῳδὸ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ψέγειν αὐτῶν, εἰ τις ἄρα καὶ ταύτῃς ὑπολαμβάνει τῆς μερίδος προσῆκειν ἑκείνῳ. ἥμεις δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἁγαπῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἥκιστα μεταποιοῦμενοι στέργομεν μὲν, ὅτιταν ὁ κήρυξ

1 ὑπερέχον Naber, ὑπάρχον Hertlein, MSS.
2 ὁρέγεσθαι Petavius, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
3 ἄγουσα Cobet, βέπουσα Hertlein, . . . ουσα V.

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Antilochus. But Alexander, ever despising what he had and longing for what he had not, could never be content with his contemporaries or be satisfied with the gifts that had been granted to him. And even if Homer had fallen to his lot he would probably have coveted the lyre of Apollo on which the god played at the nuptials of Peleus;¹ and he would not have regarded it as an invention of Homer’s genius but an actual fact that had been woven into the epic, as when for instance Homer says, “Now Dawn with her saffron robe was spread over the whole earth”;² and “Then uprose the Sun”;³ and “There is a land called Crete”;⁴ or other similar statements of poets about plain and palpable things partly existing to this very day, partly still happening.

But in Alexander’s case, whether a superabundance of virtue and an intelligence that matched the advantages with which he was endowed exalted his soul to such heights of ambition that he aimed at greater achievements than are within the scope of other men; or whether the cause was an excess of courage and valour that led him into ostentation and bordered on sinful pride, must be left as a general topic for consideration by those who desire to write either a panegyric of him or a criticism; if indeed anyone thinks that criticism also can properly be applied to him. I on the contrary can always be content with what I have and am the last to covet what I have not, and so am well content when my praises are uttered by a herald who has been an eyewitnes and comrade-in-arms in all

¹ Iliad 24. 63. ² Iliad 8. 1. ³ Odyssey 3. 1. ⁴ Odyssey 19. 172.
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ἐπαινή, θεατὴς τε καὶ συναγωνιστὴς πάντων ἡμῶν γεγονός, μὴ τοὺς λόγους παραδεξάμενος εἰς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν εἰκῆ πεπλασμένος· ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φιλεῖν ὁμολογῶν μόνων, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα σιωπη
dότερος ὑπὸ καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρα τελεσθέντων.

'Ενταῦθα ὑπέρχετοι μοι καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενον, Δ ὡς οὐκ εἰς Ἰλλυρίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θράκας ἀφίζη καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκεῖνην οἰκούν
tας "Ελληνας, ἐν οἷς γενομένῳ μοι καὶ τραφέντι πολὺς ἐντετήκεν ἐρως ἄνδρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων καὶ 
pόλεων. ἦσως δὲ οὐ φαίλος οὔδε ἐκεῖνων ἐναπο
λέειται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρως ἡμῶν, οἷς εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι 
tὸ λεγόμενον ἀσπάσιος ἔλθων ἀν γένοιο, δικαλαν 252 
ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιδίδουσι αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὅν ἡμᾶς ἀπολέ
λοιπας ἐνθάδε. καὶ τούτο μὲν οὖν ὃς εὐχόμενος· 
ἐπεὶ τὸ γε ιέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ταχέως 
ἀμεινον· ἀλλ᾽ ὃς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτ' ἔξων 
οἷς ἀπαραμβῃται οὔδε ἀψυχαγωγῆται ἐννοῶ, 
συγχαίρων ἐκεῖνοις, ὅτι σὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ὑπονται. 
Κελτοὶ γὰρ ἐμαυτοῦ ζῆν διὰ σὲ συντάττω, ἄνδρα 
eis tòv πρῶτος τῶν Ἕλληνων τελοῦντα καὶ κατ' 
eυνομίαν καὶ κατὰ ἄρετὴν τὴν ἀλλήν, καὶ δητορεῖαν Β 
ἀκρον καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρον, ἴς Ἕλληνες 
μόνοι τὰ κράτιστα μετεληθήσατι, λόγῳ τάληθες, 
ὀστερ οὖν πέφυκε, θηρεύσαντες, οὖκ ἀπίστους 
μύθους οὐδὲ παραδόξῳ τεράτεια προσέχειν ἡμᾶς, 
ὀστερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐάσαντες.
that I have done; and who has never admitted any statements invented at random out of partiality or prejudice. And it is enough for me if he only admit his love for me, though on all else he were more silent than those initiated by Pythagoras.

Here however I am reminded of the report current that you are going not only to Illyria but to Thrace also, and among the Greeks who dwell on the shores of that sea. Among them I was born and brought up, and hence I have a deeply rooted affection for them and for those parts and the cities there. And it may be that in their hearts also there still remains no slight affection for me: I am therefore well assured that you will, as the saying is, gladden their hearts by your coming, and there will be a fair exchange, since they will gain in proportion as I lose by your leaving me here. And I say this not because I wish you to go—for it were far better if you should return to me by the same road without delay—but the thought in my mind is that even for this loss I shall not be without comfort or consolation, since I can rejoice with them on seeing you just come from us. I say "us," since on your account I now rank myself among the Celts, seeing that you are worthy to be counted among the most distinguished Greeks for your upright administration and your other virtues; and also for your consummate skill in oratory; in philosophy too you are thoroughly versed, a field wherein the Greeks alone have attained the highest rank; for they sought after truth, as its nature requires, by the aid of reason and did not suffer us to pay heed to incredible fables or impossible miracles like most of the barbarians.

1 The Propontis.  
2 Sallust was a native of Gaul.
'Αλλὰ καὶ τούτο μὲν ὅτι ποτὲ ἔχει, ταῦτα ἀφείσθω. σὲ δὲ προπέμπειν ήδη γὰρ ἄξιον μὲτ' εὐφημίας: ἄγω μὲν θεός εὐμενής, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δὲν πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος Κ eύνους, ἄγω τε διὰ γῆς ἀσφαλῶς. κἂν πλεῖν δὲν, στορευνύσθω τὰ κύματα: πᾶσι δὲ φανεῖν φίλος καὶ τίμως, ἧδς μὲν προσίων, ἀλγείνος δὲ ἀπολείπων αὐτοῖς: στέργων δὲ ἡμῖν ἡκίστα ποθήσειας ἀνδρὸς ἑταίρου καὶ φίλου πιστοῦ κοινωνίαν. εὐμενή δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σου θεὸς ἀποφύγει καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν διδοίη, καὶ τὴν Θ οίκαδε παρ' ἡμῖν πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ παρασκευάζοι καὶ ταχεῖαν.

Ταῦτα σοι μετὰ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεύχομαι, καὶ ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις

Οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαίρε, θεοί δὲ τοι ὁλβία δοίειν, Νοστήσαι οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
TO SALLUST

However, this subject also, whatever the truth about it may be, I must lay aside for the present. But as for you—for I must needs dismiss you with auspicious words—may God in His goodness be your guide wherever you may have to journey, and as the God of Strangers and the Friendly One ¹ may He receive you graciously and lead you safely by land; and if you must go by sea, may He smooth the waves! ² And may you be loved and honoured by all you meet, welcome when you arrive, regretted when you leave them! Though you retain your affection for me, may you never lack the society of a good comrade and faithful friend! And may God make the Emperor gracious to you, and grant you all else according to your desire, and make ready for you a safe and speedy journey home to us!

In these prayers for you I am echoed by all good and honourable men; and let me add one prayer more: "Health and great joy be with thee, and may the gods give thee all things good, even to come home again to thy dear fatherland!" ³

¹ These are regular epithets of Zeus.
² Theocritus 7. 57.
³ Odyssey 24. 402; and 10. 562.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER
INTRODUCTION

On the strength of his Aristotelian "Paraphrases" Themistius may be called a scholar, though hardly a philosopher as he himself claimed. Technically he was a Sophist: that is to say he gave public lectures (ἐπὶδείκειος), wrote exercises after the Sophistic pattern and went on embassies, which were entrusted to him solely on account of his persuasive charm. But he insisted that he was no Sophist, because he took no fees¹ and styled himself a practical philosopher.² He was indifferent to the Neo-Platonic philosophy,³ and, since Constantius made him a Senator, he cannot have betrayed any zeal for the Pagan religion. From Julian's Pagan restoration he seems to have held aloof, and, though Julian had been his pupil, probably at Nicomedia, he did not appoint him to any office. Under the Christian Emperor Theodosius he held a prefecture. There is no evidence for a positive coolness, such as Zeller⁴ assumes, between Themistius and Julian, and we know too little of their relations to assert with some critics that the respectful tone of this letter is ironical.⁵ It was probably written after Julian had

¹ Themistius 260 C, 345 C.
² 245 D.
³ 33, 295 B.
⁴ Vol. 5, p. 742.
⁵ Libanius Epistle 1061 mentions an Oration by Themistius in praise of Julian, but this is not extant.

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become Emperor, though there is nothing in it that would not suit an earlier date; it is sometimes assigned to 355 when Julian was still Caesar. The quotations from Aristotle are appropriately addressed to Themistius as an Aristotelian commentator.
'Εγώ σοι βεβαιώσαι μέν, άσπερ οὖν γράφεις, τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ σφόδρα εὐχόμαι, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ διαμάρτω, μείζονος οὕσης τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἣν ὑπέρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς σεαυτόν ποιή· καὶ μοι πάλαι μὲν οἰομένῳ πρὸς τὴν 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκον, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος γέγονεν ἀρετὴ διαφέρων, εἶναι Β τὴν ἁμαλλαν φρίκῃ τις προσήκει καὶ δέος θαυμαστόν, μὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀπολειπεσθαι παντελῶς τῆς ἀνδρείας δόξω, τοῦ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὁλίγον ἑφίκωμαι. εἰς ταῦτα ἄφορῶν ἀνεπειθόμην τὴν σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν διαιτημάτων ἕνα τῶν θείων ἐμεμνήμην καὶ τῶν φίλων ὡμῶν προσάδειν ἥξιον, άσπερ οἱ τὰ βαρέα φορτία φέροντες ἐν ταῖς φόδαις ἑπικουφιζόσσων αὐτοῖς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν. σὺ δὲ μοι νῦν μείζον ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς ἔναγχος ἐπιστολῆς τὸ δέος καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐδειξας, δέ τιν θαυτὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετάχθαι με τῇ μερίδι λέγων, ἐν ἦ πρῶτον Ἦρακλῆς καὶ Διώνυσος ἐγενέσθην φιλοσοφοῦντες ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντες καὶ πᾶσαν

1 διαιτημάτων Naber, διηγημάτων Hertlein, MSS.
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I earnestly desire to fulfil your hopes of me even as you express them in your letter, but I am afraid I shall fall short of them, since the expectations you have raised both in the minds of others, and still more in your own, are beyond my powers. There was a time when I believed that I ought to try to rival men who have been most distinguished for excellence, Alexander, for instance, or Marcus;¹ but I shivered at the thought and was seized with terror lest I should fail entirely to come up to the courage of the former, and should not make even the least approach to the latter's perfect virtue. With this in mind I convinced myself that I preferred a life of leisure, and I both gladly recalled the Attic manner of living, and thought myself to be in sweet accord with you who are my friends, just as those who carry heavy burdens lighten their labour by singing.² But by your recent letter you have increased my fears, and you point to an enterprise in every way more difficult. You say that God has placed me in the same position as Heracles and Dionysus of old who, being at once philosophers and

¹ The Emperor Marcus Aurelius.
² Apparently an echo of Dio Chrysostom, Oration 1. 9, Arnim.
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σχεδὸν τῆς ἐπιτολαξούσης κακίας ἀνακαθαίρο- 254
μενοί γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. κελεύεις δὲ πᾶσαν
ἀποσεισάμενον σχολής ἐννοιαν καὶ ῥαστώνης
σκοπεῖν, ὡς τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἄξιως ἀγωνιούμεθα·
eίτα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν νομοθετῶν μέμησαι, Σόλωνος,
Pittakou, Λυκούργου, καὶ τοῦτων ἀπάντων μεί-
ξουα χρήναι παρ’ ἡμῶν λέγεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν
dίκῃ νῦν περιμένειν. τούτοις ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις
ἐντυχὼν ἐξεπλάγην μικρόν· σοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμ-
βανον οὐδαμῶς θεμιτοῦ κολακεύειν ἡ ψευδεσθαί,
éματῷ δὲ συνειδῶς φύσεως μὲν ἔνεκα διαφέρου
οὐδὲν ὑπετε ἔξι ἀρχῆς ὑπερ ἄπραξαν, φιλο-
sοφίας δὲ ἐρασθέντι μόνον τάς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ σιγῶ
τύχας, αἰ μοι τὸν ἐρωτα τοῦτον ἀτελῆ τέως
ἐφύλαξαν· οὐκ εἶχον οὕν ὁ, τι χρή περὶ τῶν
tοιοῦτων λόγων συμβαλεῖν, ἔως ἐπὶ νοῦν ἡγαγε
ὁ θεός, μὴ ποτε ἀρὰ προτρέπειν ἐθέλεις διὰ τῶν
C ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων δείξαι τὸ μέγαθος, οἷς
ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ ζῶντα παραβεβλή-
σθαι τὸν ἀπάντα χρόνον.
Τοῦτο δὲ ἀποτρέποντός ἐστι πλέον ἡ πρὸς τῶν
βίου παρομοίωντος. ὁστερ γὰρ εἶ τις τὸν πορθμῶν
τὸν παρ’ ὕμιν πλέον καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτον ῥαδίως οὐδὲ
εὐκόλως ὑφιστάμενος ἀκούοι παρὰ τὸν μαντικὴν
ἐπαγγελλομένου τέχνην, ὡς χρείων αὐτὸν τὸν
D Αἰγαίον ἀναμετρῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς ἔξω
θαλάσσης ἀψασθαί, καὶ “Νῦν μὲν” ὀρᾶς ὁ προ-
φήτης λέγοι “τείχη καὶ λιμένας, ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος

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kings, purged almost the whole earth and sea of the evils that infested them. You bid me shake off all thought of leisure and inactivity that I may prove to be a good soldier worthy of so high a destiny. And besides those examples you go on to remind me of law-givers such as Solon, Pittacus, and Lycurgus, and you say that men have the right to expect from me now greater things than from any of these. When I read these words I was almost dumb-founded; for on the one hand I was sure that it was unlawful for you as a philosopher to flatter or deceive; on the other hand I am fully conscious that by nature there is nothing remarkable about me—there never was from the first nor has there come to be now,—but as regards philosophy I have only fallen in love with it (I say nothing of the fates that have inter-vened 1 to make that love so far ineffectual). I could not tell therefore how I ought to interpret such expressions, until God brought it into my mind that perhaps by your very praises you wished to exhort me, and to point out how great are those trials to which a statesman must inevitably be exposed every day of his life.

But your method is more likely to discourage than to make one eager for such an existence. Suppose that a man were navigating your strait,2 and were finding even that none too easy or safe, and then suppose some professional soothsayer should tell him that he would have to traverse the Aegaean and then the Ionian Sea, and finally embark on the outer sea. "Here," that prophet would say, "you see towns and harbours,

1 Euripides, Orestes 16.
2 The Bosporus; Themistius was probably at Constantinople.
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ούδε σκοπιαίν ούδε πέτραν ὤψει, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ ναῦν πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσεπείν τοὺς ἐμ- πλέοντας, καὶ τῆς γῆς ὄψε ποτὲ ἀψάμενος, τῷ θεῷ πολλάκις προσεύξῃ, πρὸς αὐτῷ γοῦν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου τυχεῖν ὄρμου καὶ τῆν τε ναῦν σῶν 255 παραδούναι καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπαθεῖς τοῖς οἰκείοις κακών παραστῆσαι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ μητρὶ γῇ δοῦναι, τούτῳ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἵσως ἄδηλον ἔσται σοι μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἥμερας· ἀρ’ οίει τούτων ἀκούσαντα τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων πόλιν γ’ ἀν 1 οἰκεῖν ἐλέσθαι πλησίον θαλάσσης, οὐχὶ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπόντα πλούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμπορίας ἀγαθοῖς περιγιγμένοις, γυνώριμων πολ- λῶν, ἕνικής φιλίας, ἱστορίας θυνῶν καὶ πόλεων Β ὑπεριδόντα σοφῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, ὅσ κελεύει λαθεῖν βιώσαντα; καὶ σὺ δὲ ἐοίκας τούτῳ καταμαθῶν προκαταλαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς ταῖς εἰς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον λοιδορίας καὶ προεξαίρειν τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην. φης γὰρ ποι σχολήν ἐπανέν ἀπράγμονα καὶ διαλέξεις ἐν περιπάτοις προσήκειν ἐκείνῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐ καλῶς Ἐπίκουρῷ Σ ταῦτα ἑδόκει, πάλαι καὶ σφόδρα πέιθομαι: εἰ δὲ πῶς ὅντινον ἐτί πολιτείαν προτρέπειν ἄξιον, καὶ τὸν ἴττων πεφικότα καὶ τὸν οὕτω τελέως δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἵσως διαπορήσαι χρή, λέγομεν γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη τολμοῦσ μὲν οὐ σφόδρα εὐφύως 2 ἑχοντας ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ βῆματος,

1 γ’ ὑ Hertlein suggests, γοῦν MSS.
2 εὐφύῶς Reiske adds.
but when you arrive there you will see not so much as a watch-tower or a rock, but you will be thankful to discern even a ship in the distance and to hail her crew. You will often pray to God that you may, however late, touch land and reach a harbour, though that were to be the last day of your life. You will pray to be allowed to bring home your ship safe and sound and restore your crew unscathed to their friends, and then to commit your body to mother earth. And this indeed may happen, but you will not be sure of it until that final day." Do you think that such a man after being told all this would choose even to live in a sea-port town? Would he not bid adieu to money-making and all the advantages of commerce, and caring little for troops of friends and acquaintances abroad, and all that he might learn about nations and cities, would he not approve the wisdom of the son of Neocles who bids us "Live in obscurity"? Indeed, you apparently perceived this, and by your abuse of Epicurus you tried to forestall me and to eradicate beforehand any such purpose. For you go on to say that it was to be expected that so idle a man as he should commend leisure and conversations during walks. Now for my part I have long been firmly convinced that Epicurus was mistaken in that view of his, but whether it be proper to urge into public life any and every man, both him who lacks natural abilities and him who is not yet completely equipped, is a point that deserves the most careful consideration. We are told that Socrates dissuaded from the statesman's profession many who had no great natural talent, and

1 Epicurus; his advice was λαθὲ βιώσας.
2 Literally "from the βῆμα," i.e. the stone on the Pnyx from which the Athenian orator addressed the people.
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καὶ Γλαῦκωνα ἔκεινον, Ἐνοφῶν λέγει τὸν δὲ τοῦ Κλεινίου παίδα πειραθήναι μὲν ἐπισχεῖν, οὐ Δ δυνηθήναι δὲ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ νεανίσκου τῆς ὀρμῆς. ἦμεις δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας καὶ ἐνυνέντας αὐτῶν προσαναγκάσομεν, ταραέων ὑπέρ τηλικοῦτων ἔργων κελεύουσε, διὶ οὐκ ἀρετὴ μόνον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ προαιρέσεις ὀρθὴ κυρία, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τύχη κρατοῦσα πανταχὸν καὶ βιαζομένη ῥέτειν ἕπερ ἀν ἔθελῃ τὰ πράγματα; Χρύσιππος δὲ δοκεῖ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ νομισθῆναι δικαίως, ἀγνοήσας δὲ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας αἰτίας τοιαύτας ἤξωθεν τοῖς πρακτι-256 κοῖς παρεμπιπτοῦσας οὐ σφόδρα ὀμολογούμενα λέγειν οἷς ὁ χρόνος ἡμᾶς διὰ μυρίων ἑναργῶς διδάσκει παραδειγμάτων. τοῦ γὰρ εὐτυχῆ καὶ μακάριον Κάτωνα φήσομεν; τοῦ δὲ Δίωνα τὸν Σικελιώτην εὐδαιμονα; οἷς τοῦ μὲν ἀποδανεῖν ἐμελεν ἵσως οὐδὲν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λέπτειν ἀτελεῖς τᾶς πράξεις, ἐφ’ δὲ ἵς ἀρχῆς ὄρμησαν, καὶ σφόδρα Β ἐμελε, καὶ πάντα ἀν εἰλοντο παθεῖν ὑπέρ τούτου. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις εἰ μὲν εὐσχήμονως ἔφερον, ὡσπερ οὖν λέγεται, τὴν τύχην παραμυθίαν ἔσχον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μικρᾶν, εὐδαιμονες δὲ οὐκ ἀν λέγοντο τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων δυναμητικότες, πλὴν ἵσως διὰ τὴν Στωικὴν ἐνυστασίν πρὸς ἄν ῥητέον, ὡς οὐ ταὐτῶν ἐστίν ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ φύσει τὸ ξῖδον εὐδαιμονίας ὀρέγεται, κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ κατ’ Κ

1 καὶ Γλαῦκωνα . . . λέγει· τὸν δὲ Wyttenbach, Γλαῦκωνα δὲ ἔκεινον ὡς Ἐνοφῶν λέγει, καὶ τὸν Hertlein, MSS.

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Glaucen too, Xenophon tells us; and that he tried to restrain the son of Cleinias also, but could not curb the youth’s impetuous ambition. Then shall we try to force into that career men who are reluctant and conscious of their deficiencies, and urge them to be self-confident about such great tasks? For in such matters not virtue alone or a wise policy is paramount, but to a far greater degree Fortune holds sway throughout and compels events to incline as she wills. Chrysippus indeed, though in other respects he seems a wise man and to have been rightly so esteemed, yet in ignoring fortune and chance and all other such external causes that fall in to block the path of men of affairs, he uttered paradoxes wholly at variance with facts about which the past teaches us clearly by countless examples. For instance, shall we call Cato a fortunate and happy man? Or shall we say that Dio of Sicily had a happy lot? It is true that for death they probably cared nothing, but they did care greatly about not leaving unfinished the undertakings which they had originally set on foot, and to secure that end there is nothing that they would not have endured. In that they were disappointed, and I admit that they bore their lot with great dignity, as we learn, and derived no small consolation from their virtue; but happy one could not call them, seeing that they had failed in all those noble enterprises, unless perhaps according to the Stoic conception of happiness. And with regard to that same Stoic conception we must admit that to be applauded and to be counted happy are two very different

1 Memorabilia 3. 6. 1. 2 Alcibiades.
3 The Stoic philosopher.
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ἐκεῖνην μακαριστὸν τέλος τοῦ κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐπαυ-νετοῦ. ἦκιστα δὲ φιλεῖ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἢ βεβαιό-
tῆς τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολιτείᾳ
ζώντας οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἀνευ ταύτης ἀναπνεῖν τὸ
δὴ λεγόμενον **. ** 1. ἀληθῶς θεωροῦντες εἰτε καὶ
πεποίηκασι καὶ στρατηγὸν λόγῳ,2 καθάπερ οἱ
τὰς ἱδέας εἰτε καὶ ζευγάρως ξυνιθέντες, ἐν τοῖς
ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἱδρύσατι ποι τῶν τυχαίων
ὑπεράνω πάντων, ἢ τὸν Διογένους ἐκεῖνον

'Απολιν, ἀοικον, πατρίδος ἐστερημένου, . . .
oὐκ ἔχοντα μὲν εἰς ὃντι παρ’ αὐτῆς εὐ πάθη καὶ
tούναντίον ἐν τίνι σφαλῇ τούτον δὲ δὲν ἡ συνή-
θεια καλεῖν εἰσθε καὶ "Ομήρος πρῶτος,

'Ωι λαοὶ τ’ ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν,
πῶς ἂν τὶς ἔξω τύχης ἀπαγαγων τὴν θέσιν φύ-
λάσσοι; πάλιν δ’ ὁ αὐτὸν ὑποτιθεὶς ταύτη πόσης 257
αὐτῷ δὲῖν οὐσεται παρασκευὴς 3 καὶ φρονήσεως
πηλίκης ὅστε πᾶς ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα Ροπᾶς, καθάπερ
πνεύματος κυβερνήτην, εὐσχημόνως φέρειν;
Οὐκ ἐστὶ θαυμαστὸν ἀντιτάξασθαι προσπολε-
μούσῃ μόνον αὐτῆ, πολὺ δὲ θαυμασιώτερον 4 τῶν
ὑπαρξάντων παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀξίων φανῆναι.
τούτως ὁ μέγιστος ἐάλω βασιλεὺς ὁ τὴν 'Ασίαν

1 After λεγόμενον several words are lost.
2 λόγῳ Reiske, λόγοι Hertlein, MSS.
3 παρασκευὴς Hertlein would read, τῆς παρασκευῆς MSS.
4 θαυμασιώτερον MSS.; Hertlein following Cobet reads
θαυμαστότερον but in later Preface would restore MSS. reading.
things, and that if every living thing naturally desires happiness,\(^1\) it is better to make it our aim to be congratulated on the score of happiness rather than to be applauded on the score of virtue. But happiness that depends on the chances of Fortune is very rarely secure. And yet men who are engaged in public life cannot, as the saying is, so much as breathe unless she is on their side . . . and they have created a merely verbal idea of a leader who is established somewhere above all the chances of Fortune in the sphere of things incorporeal and intelligible, just as men define the ideas, whether envisaging them truly or falsely imagining them. Or again they give us the ideal man, according to Diogenes “The man without a city, without a home, bereft of a fatherland,”\(^2\) that is to say, a man who can gain nothing from Fortune, and on the other hand has nothing to lose. But one whom we are in the habit of calling, as Homer did first, “The man to whom the people have been entrusted and so many cares belong,”\(^3\) how I ask shall we lead him beyond the reach of Fortune and keep his position secure? Then again, if he subject himself to Fortune, how great the provision he will think he must make, how great the prudence he must display so as to sustain with equanimity her variations in either direction, as a pilot must sustain the variations of the wind!

Yet it is nothing wonderful to withstand Fortune when she is merely hostile, but much more wonderful is it to show oneself worthy of the favours she bestows. By her favours the greatest of kings, the conqueror\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1. 10. 6.
\(^3\) *Iliad* 2. 25. \(^4\) Alexander.
Καταστρεφόμενος Δαρείου καὶ Ἑρέβου χαλεπῶς Βῆτερος καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζῶν φανείς, ἔπειδή τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς κατέστη κύριος, τούτῳς ἀλόντες τοῖς βέλεσιν ἅρδην ἀπόλολοντο Πέρσαι, Μακεδόνες, ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμος, Συρακούσιοι, τὰ Δακεδαι-μονίων τέλη, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἕπτ' ἄυτος αὐτοκράτορες μυρίοι. πολὺ μῆκος ἄν γένοιτο πάντας ἀπαριθμομένῳ τοὺς διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ μῖκας καὶ τρυφῆν ἀπολομένους· ὅσοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δυσπραγιῶν ἐπικλυσθέντες δοῦλοι μὲν ἄντ' ἐλευ-θέρων, ταπεινοὶ δὲ ἄντι γενναίων καὶ σφόδρα εὐτελείς ἀντὶ τῶν πρόσθεν σεμνῶν ἀπασιν ὀ-φθησαν, τί με χρὴ νῦν ὡσπερ ἐκ δελτων ἡμεγρά-φοντα καταλέγειν; εἰ γὰρ ωφελέν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώ-πων βίος ἀπορείν παραδειγμάτων τοιούτων. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐστίν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιτο ποτε τῶν τοιούτων εὐδείς παραδειγμάτων, ἐὼς ἂν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμένῃ γένος.

"Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἔγαγ ἦμος τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ πλεῖστον Δ ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις κρατεῖν νενόμικα, λέγομαι ἂν ὧδη σοι τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων Νόμων, εἰδότι μὲν καὶ διδάξαντι με, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ ὡσπερ τοῦ μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ποιούμενος παραγέγραφα σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ὡδὲ πὼς ἔχουσαν. "Θεὸς μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώπων διακυβερνώσι εἴμπαντα. ἡμερότερον μὴν τούτως συγχωρήσαι τρίτων δεῖν ἐσεθαι τέχνην." 258 εἶτα ὁποῖον εἶναι χρῆ τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ Βασιλέα θείον ὑπογράφων Ἐνώσκων ὁ Κρόνος ἄρα, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, φησί, διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεία φύσις

1 θείον Hertlein suggests, θεόν MSS.
of Asia was ensnared, and showed himself more cruel and more insolent than Darius and Xerxes, after he had become the master of their empire. The shafts of her favours subdued and utterly destroyed the Persians, the Macedonians, the Athenian nation, Spartan magistrates, Roman generals, and countless absolute monarchs besides. It would be an endless business to enumerate all who have fallen victims to their wealth and victories and luxury. And as for those who, submerged by the tide of their misfortunes, from free men have become slaves, who have been humbled from their high estate after all their splendour and become poor and mean in the eyes of all men, what need now to go through the list of them as though I were copying it from a written record? Would that human life afforded no such instances! But it does not nor ever will lack such, so long as the race of man endures.

And to show that I am not the only one who thinks that Fortune has the upper hand in practical affairs, I will quote to you a passage from that admirable work the Laws of Plato. You know it well and indeed taught it to me, but I have set down the speech which runs something like this, and offer it as a proof that I am not really indolent. "God governs all things and with God Fortune and Opportunity govern all human affairs: but there is a milder view that Art must needs go with them and must be their associate." ¹ He then indicates what must be the character of a man who is the craftsman and artificer of noble deeds and a divinely inspired king. Then he says: "Kronos therefore, as I have already related, knew that human

¹ *Laws* 709b.
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οὐδὰμὴν οὐδεμία ἱκανὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διοικοῦσα αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα μῆς οὐχ ὑβρεώς τε καὶ ἀδικίας μεστοῦσθαι, ταὐτ' οὖν διανοούμενος ἐφίστη τότε Β βασιλέας καὶ ἀρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θειότερον καὶ ἀμείνονοις, δαίμονας, οἷον νῦν ἡμεῖς δρόμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ ὅσων ἠμερὸι εἰσιν ἀγέλαυ· οὐ βοῦς βοῶν οὐδὲ αἴγας αἰγῶν ἀρχοντας ποιούμεν αὐτοῖς τινάς, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἀμεινὸν ἐκεῖνων γένος, ταὐτὸν δῆ καὶ ὁ θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὅσον γένος ἀμεινὸν ἡμῶν ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαίμονων, ὅ διὰ πολλῆς μὲν αὐτοῖς ῥαστώνης, διὰ πολλῆς δ' ἡμῶν, ἐπιμελο- Μενον ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰδῶ καὶ δὴ ἀφθονίαν δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαίμονα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀληθεία χρόμενος, ὅσων πόλεων μὴ θεός, ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχεῖ θυντός, οὐκ ἔστιν κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάψυξις, ἀλλὰ μεινθαὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴεται πάση μηχανῆ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἡμῶν θανασίας ἐνεστὶ, τούτῳ πειθομένος δημοσία καὶ ἱδία τὰς τε οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖν, τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομῆς ὀνομάζοντας νόμον, εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπος εἰς ἡ ὀλυγαρχία τις ἡ δημοκρατία ψυχὴν ἔχουσα ἥδονων καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ὀρεγομένην καὶ πληροῦσθαι τούτων δεομένην ἄρξει δὴ πόλεως 259 τινὸς ἢ ἴδιώτου καταπατήσας τούς νόμους, οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρίας μηχανῆ.
nature when endowed with supreme authority is never in any case capable of managing human affairs without being filled with insolence and injustice; therefore, having regard to this he at that time set over our cities as kings and governors not men but beings of a more divine and higher race, I mean demons; thus doing as we do now for our flocks and domestic herds. We never appoint certain oxen to rule over other oxen or goats to rule over goats, but we are their masters, a race superior to theirs. In like manner then God, since he loves mankind, has set over us a race of beings superior to ourselves, the race of demons; and they with great ease both to themselves and us undertake the care of us and dispense peace, reverence, aye, and above all justice without stint, and thus they make the tribes of men harmonious and happy. And that account is a true one which declares that in our day all cities that are governed not by a god but by a mortal man have no relief from evils and hardships. And the lesson is that we ought by every means in our power to imitate that life which is said to have existed in the days of Kronos: and in so far as the principle of immortality is in us we ought to be guided by it in our management of public and private affairs, of our houses and cities, calling the distribution of mind 'law.' But whether the government be in the hands of one man or of an oligarchy or democracy, if it have a soul that hankers after pleasure and the lower appetites and demands to indulge these, and if such a one rule over a city or individual having first trampled on the laws, there is no means of salvation.”

1 A play on words: διανομή and νόμος are both connected with νομος = "to distribute.”  
2 Laws 713-714; Julian condenses and slightly alters the original.
Ταύτην ἐγώ σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ἐξεπίτευξε ὅλην παρέγραψα, μή με κλέπτειν ὑπολάβης καὶ κακουργεῖν μύθους ἀρχαίους προφέροντα, τυχόν μὲν ἐμφερῶς, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῶς πάντη ἐξυγκείμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ γε ἀληθὴς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγος τῇ φησιν; ἀκούεις ὅτι, κἂν ἀνθρωπὸς τις ἤ τῇ φύσει, θείον εἶναι χρῆ τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ δαιμόνα, πάν ἀπλως ἐκβαλόντα τὸ θυντὸν καὶ θηρίωδες τῆς ψυχῆς, πλὴν ὡσα ἀνάγκη διὰ B τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραμένειν σωτηρίαν; ταύτα εἴ τις ἐνυοῦν δέδοικεν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐλκομενος βίον, ἀρά σοι φαίνεται τὴν Ἐπικούρειον θαυμάζειν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὸ προάστειον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν1 καὶ τὰς μυρίνας καὶ τὸ Σωκράτους δωμάτιον; ἀλλ' οὖν ἐστὶν ὅπου γε ἐγὼ ταύτα προτιμήσας τῶν πόνων ὀφθην, ἣδιστα ἄν σοι τοὺς ἐμαυτὸ πόνους διεξήλθον καὶ τὰ ἐπικρεμασθέντα παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐνεγγενῶν, ὅτε τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἡρχόμην παιδείας, δείματα, C εἰ μὴ σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἡπίστασο. τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνία πρὸς τὸν καὶ γένει προσηκόντα καὶ φίλα μᾶλλον οἰκειον ὅντα μοι πραξθέντα πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ξένου μικρά παντελῶς γνωρίμου μοι γενομένου, τοῦ σοφιστοῦ φημί, λέληθεν οὐδέν σε. ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐχ ὑπέστην τῶν φιλῶν ἔνεκα; καίτοι Καρτερίῳ μὲν οἰσθ' ὅπως συνηράμην πρὸς τὸν ἑταίρον D ἦμιν ἀφικόμενος Ἀράξιον ἀκλητος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεσσόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τῆς θαυμασίας Ἀρετῆς κτημάτων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐπεπόνθει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων Ἀθηνῶν Cobet, Ἀθηναίων Hertlein, MSS.

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I have purposely set down the whole of this speech for you lest you should think that I am cheating and defrauding by bringing forward ancient myths which may have some resemblance to the truth, but on the whole are not composed with regard to truth. But what is the true meaning of this narrative? You hear what it says, that even though a prince be by nature human, he must in his conduct be divine and a demi-god and must completely banish from his soul all that is mortal and brutish, except what must remain to safeguard the needs of the body. Now if, reflecting on this, one is afraid to be constrained to adopt a life from which so much is expected, do you therefore conclude that one admires the inaction recommended by Epicurus, the gardens and suburbs of Athens and its myrtles, or the humble home of Socrates? But never has anyone seen me prefer these to a life of toil. That toil of mine I would willingly recount to you, and the hazards that threatened me from my friends and kinsfolk at the time when I began to study under you, if you did not yourself know them well enough. You are well aware of what I did, in the first place, in Ionia in opposition to one who was related to me by ties of blood, but even more closely by ties of friendship, and that in behalf of a foreigner with whom I was very slightly acquainted, I mean the sophist. Did I not endure to leave the country for the sake of my friends? Indeed, you know how I took the part of Carterius when I went unsolicited to our friend Araxius to plead for him. And in behalf of the property of that admirable woman Arete and the wrongs she had suffered from her neighbours, did I
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οὐκ εἰς τὴν Φωνίαν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφικόμην ἐν οὐδὲ ὀλοις μησὶ δύο, ἀσθενοῦς ἦδη μοι παντελῶς ὄντος τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς πρότερον κακοπαθείας ἀρρωστίαιν; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ τελευταῖον πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα γενομένης ἦμιν ἀφίξεως, ὦτε περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὡς ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ πολλοί, κινδυνεύων ἐγὼ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ παρέμενον, ὅποιας ἐγγραφοὶ ἐπιστολᾶς πρὸς σὲ 260 νῦν ὑπομνήσθητι, μῆτοτε ὀδυρμῶν πλήρεις, μῆτι μικρὸν ἡ ταπεινῶν ἡ λιαν ἀγεννέσ ἐχούσας. ἀπόνω δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα πάλιν, ὦτε με φεύγειν ἐνόμιζον πάντες, οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἔορτῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν ἡδίστην ἐφὴν εἶναι τὴν ἄμοι-βήν ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον

χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἐκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων ἐφην ἀντηλλάχθαι; οὖτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἔστιας τὴν 'Ελλάδα λαχῶν ἐγανύμην, οὐκ ἀγρόν, οὐ κῆπον, οὗ δωμάτιον ἐκεὶ κεκτημένοις.

Ἀλλὰ ὅσως ἔοικα ἐγὼ τὰς μὲν δυσπραγίας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς φέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρεάς ἀγεννής τις εἶναι καὶ μικρός, ὃνες ἀγαπῶν τὰς 'Ἄθηνας μᾶλλον τοῦ ὕπνου περὶ ἡμᾶς ὅγκου, τὴν σχολὴν δήπουθεν ἐκείνην ἐπαινῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πράξεων τούτου αἰτιώμενος τὸν βίον; C ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτὲ χρῆ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμεινὸν κρίνειν, οὐκ εἰς ἀπραξίαν καὶ πράξειν βλέποντας, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὸ

'Ἐρδοι δ' ἐκαστὸς ἑντιν' εἰδείη τέχνην.

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not journey to Phrygia for the second time within two months, though I was physically very weak from the illness that had been brought on by former fatigues?\footnote{1} Finally, before I went to Greece, while I was still with the army and running what most people would call the greatest possible risks, recall now what sort of letters I wrote to you, never filled with complaints or containing anything little or mean or servile. And when I returned to Greece, when everyone regarded me as an exile, did I not welcome my fate as though it were some high festival, and did I not say that the exchange to me was most delightful, and that, as the saying is, I had thereby gained “gold for bronze, the price of a hundred oxen for the price of nine”?\footnote{2} So great was my joy at obtaining the chance to live in Greece instead of in my own home, though I possessed there no land or garden or the humblest house.

But perhaps you think that though I can bear adversity in the proper spirit, yet I show a poor and mean spirit towards the good gifts of Fortune, seeing that I prefer Athens to the pomp that now surrounds me; because, you will doubtless say, I approve the leisure of those days and disparage my present life because of the vast amount of work that the latter involves. But perhaps you ought to judge of me more accurately, and not consider the question whether I am idle or industrious, but rather the precept, “Know thyself,” and the saying, “Let every man practise the craft which he knows.”\footnote{3}

\footnote{1}{We know nothing more of the events here mentioned.}  \footnote{2}{A proverb derived from Iliad 6. 236, where Glaukos exchanges his golden armour for the bronze armour of Diomede.}  \footnote{3}{Aristophanes, Wasps 1431.}
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Μεῖξον ἐμοιγε φαίνεται τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡ κατ’ ἄνθρωπον καὶ φύσεως δεῖσθαι δαιμονιστέρας βασιλεύς, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγε· καὶ νῦν Ἰ Αριστοτέλους εἰς ταύτῳ συντείνοντα παραγράφῳ λόγον, οὗ γλαύκα Ἀθηναίων ἄγων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελῶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐπιδεικνύ-μενος, φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρ. ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συγ-γράμμασιν: "Εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἀριστον θείῃ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι, πῶς ἔσει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δει βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὅποιοὶ τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβερον. ἀλλὰ οὖ παραδώσει κύριοι ὅποι τοῖς τέκνοις; ἀλλ’ 261 οὐκ ἔτι βάδιον τοῦτο πιστεύσαι: χαλεπῶν γὰρ καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ἡ κατ’ ἄνθρωπίνην φύσιν." ἔξης δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ νόμον λεγομένου βασιλεῶς διέξελθών, ὡς 1 ἐστὶν ὑπηρέτης καὶ φύλαξ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τούτον οὐδὲ βασιλεὰ καλῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτείας 2 οἰόμενος, προστίθησιν: "Περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ’ Β ἐστὶ καθ’ ἴνα ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλη-σιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, δοκεῖ τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἐνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίων φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι." εἶτα μετ’ ὁλίγον φησὶν: "atican ὡν τὸν νοῦν κελεύον ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους; ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπον κελεύων

1 ως Klimek, ως Hertlein, MSS.
2 τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτείας Hertlein suggests, cf. Aristotle Politics 3. 16, 1287 a, τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος MSS.

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To me, at any rate, it seems that the task of reigning is beyond human powers, and that a king needs a more divine character, as indeed Plato too used to say. And now I will write out a passage from Aristotle to the same effect, not "bringing owls to the Athenians," 1 but in order to show you that I do not entirely neglect his writings. In his political treatises he says: "Now even if one maintain the principle that it is best for cities to be governed by a king, how will it be about his children? Ought his children to succeed him? And yet if they prove to be no better than anybody else, that would be a bad thing for the city. But you may say, though he has the power he will not leave the succession to his children? It is difficult indeed to believe that he will not; for that would be too hard for him, and demands a virtue greater than belongs to human nature." 2 And later on, when he is describing a so-called king who rules according to law, and says that he is both the servant and guardian of the laws, he does not call him a king at all, nor does he consider such a king as a distinct form of government; and he goes on to say: "Now as for what is called absolute monarchy, that is to say, when a king governs all other men according to his own will, some people think that it is not in accordance with the nature of things for one man to have absolute authority over all the citizens; since those who are by nature equal must necessarily have the same rights." 3 Again, a little later he says: "It seems, therefore, that he who bids Reason rule is really preferring the rule of God and the laws,

1 A proverb; cf. "bringing coals to Newcastle."
2 Aristotle, Politics 3. 15. 1286B.
3 Ibid. 3. 16. 1287A.
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προστίθησι καὶ θηρία. ἢ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦ- ΄τον καὶ ὁ θυμὸς δὲ 1 διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρᾶς· διότερ ἄνευ ὀρέξεως ὁ νοῦς νόμος ἑστίν.” ὀρᾶς, ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐστεκεν ἐνταῦθα σαφῶς ἀπ' ἑτούντι καὶ κατεγνωκότι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. φησὶ γὰρ ὦτω ἰδαὶ τούτο λέγων· οὐδεμιᾶν ἀξιόχρεων εἶναι φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πρὸς τοσαύτην τύχην ὑπεροχῆν· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν παίδων τὸ κοινὸ τοῖς πολίταις συμφέρον προτιμᾶν ἀνθρωπόν γε ὅντα ῥάδιου ὑπολαμβάνει, καὶ πολλῶν ὦμοιων ἁρχειν οὗ δίκαιον εἶναι φησὶ, καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τὸν κολοφώνα τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις νόμον μὲν εἶναι φησὶ τῶν νοῦν χωρίς ὀρέξεως, ὃ μόνῳ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπιτρέπειν χρὴναί, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὕδεν. ὃ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦς, κἄν ὄσιν ἀγαθοί, συμπέπλεκται θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμία, θηρίος χαλεποτάτοις. ταῦτα ἐμὸι δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀκρῶς 262 ὀμολογεῖν, πρότον μὲν ὅτι κρεῖττονα χρῆ τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι τῶν ἀρχοντῶ, οὐκ ἐπιτηθεύσει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει διαφέροντα· ὅπερ εὐρεῖν ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὗ ῥάδιον 2 ... καὶ τρίτον ὅτι πάση μηχανή κατὰ δύναμιν νόμοις προσεκτέον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα κειμένους οὐδὲ ως ἐοικε νῦν τεθείσιν ὅπ' ἀνδρῶν οὗ πάντῃ κατὰ νοῦν βεβιωκότων, ἀλλ' ὅστις μᾶλλον τῶν νοῦν καθαρθεῖς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰς τὰ παρόντα ἄφορῶν ἀδικήματα οὐδὲ εἰς Β

1 ὅς Hertlein would add.
2 Several words indicating the second point enumerated seem to have been lost.

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but he who bids man rule, adds an element of the beast. For desire is a wild beast, and passion which warps even the best men. It follows, therefore, that law is Reason exempt from desire.” You see the philosopher seems here clearly to distrust and condemn human nature. For he says so in so many words when he asserts that human nature is in no case worthy of such an excess of fortune. For he thinks that it is too hard for one who is merely human to prefer the general weal of the citizens to his own children; he says that it is not just that one man should rule over many who are his equals; and, finally, he puts the finishing stroke 1 to what he has just said when he asserts that “law is Reason exempt from desire,” and that political affairs ought to be entrusted to Reason alone, and not to any individual man whatever. For the reason that is in men, however good they may be, is entangled with passion and desire, those most ferocious monsters. These opinions, it seems to me, harmonise perfectly with Plato’s; first, that he who governs ought to be superior to his subjects and surpass them not only in his acquired habits but also in natural endowment; a thing which is not easy to find among men; . . . thirdly, that he ought by every means in his power to observe the laws, not those that were framed to meet some sudden emergency, or established, as now appears, by men whose lives were not wholly guided by reason; but he must observe them only in case the lawgiver, having purified his mind and soul, in enacting those laws keeps in view not merely the crimes of the moment

1 Cf. Plato, Theaetetus 153.
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tās parestreptōsas tūxas τίθησι τούς νόμους, ἄλλα
tēn tῆς πολιτείας φύσων καταμαθῶν καὶ τὸ
dīkaioν οἶόν ἔστι τῇ φύσει καὶ ποταπὸν ἔστι
tādikēma tebēamēnos tῇ φύσει, εἰθ’ ὁσα δυνατῶν
ἔστιν ἐκείθεν ἐνταῦθα μεταφέρων καὶ τιθεὶς νόμους
toῖς πολιταῖς κοινοῖς, οὕτε εἰς φιλίαν οὕτε εἰς
ἐχθραν ἀφορμῶν οὕτε εἰς γείτονα καὶ ξυγγενῆ. Ο
κρείσσον δὲ, εἰ μηδὲ τοῖς καθ’ ἑαυτόν ἀνθρώποις,
ἄλλα τοῖς ύστερον ἢ ἐξενος γράψας ἀποπέμποι
νόμους, ἔχων γε οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐλπίζων πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἐξειν ἰδιωτικὸν συνάλλαγμα. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα
tὸν σοφὸν ἀκούοι μετὰ τῶν φίλων συμβουλευσά-
μενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀναρέσεως τοῖς μὲν
eὐπορίας ἀφορμὴν, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχύνης αἰτίαν παρα-
σχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸν ἰδίον ἐλευ-
θερώσαντα. οὕτως οὐ βάδιον ἔστι τᾶς τουαύτας D
ἐκφυγεῖν κήρας, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ νοῦν παράσχη τις
ἀπαθῆ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

"Α δεδιῶς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἰκότως ἐπαινὼ τὸν ἐμ-
προσθέν βίον, καὶ σοὶ πειθόμενος μάλιστα ταῦτα
ἐγὼ διανοοῦμαι, οὖχ ὅτι μοι τὸν ζῆλον πρὸς
ἐκείνους μόνον ἐφῆς προκεισθαί τοὺς ἀνδρας,
Σόλωνα καὶ Δυκαῦργον καὶ Πιττακὸν, ἄλλα καὶ
ὅτι μεταβηναι με φης ἐκ τῆς ὑποστέγου φιλο-
σοφίας πρὸς τὴν ὑπαίθριον. ὕστερον οὖν, εἰ τῷ 263
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ῥγίειας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ γυμ-
ναξόμενος μετρίως οἰκαδε προύληγες, ὅτι "Νῦν
ἥκεις εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ μεταβεβηκας ἐκ τῆς ἐν
tῷ δωματίῳ παλαιόστρας ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Δίως,
οὖ θετάς ἐξεις τοὺς τε ἀπανταχόθεν "Ελληνας

1 οἶόν Hertlein suggests, ο MSS.
or immediate contingencies; but rather recognises the nature of government and the essential nature of justice, and has carefully observed also the essential nature of guilt, and then applies to his task all the knowledge thus derived, and frames laws which have a general application to all the citizens without regard to friend or foe, neighbour or kinsman. And it is better that such a lawgiver should frame and promulgate his laws not for his contemporaries only but for posterity also, or for strangers with whom he neither has nor expects to have any private dealings. For instance, I hear that the wise Solon, having consulted his friends about the cancelling of debts, furnished them with an opportunity to make money, but brought on himself a disgraceful accusation.  

So hard is it to avoid such fatalities, even when a man brings a passionless mind to the task of governing.

And since this sort of thing is what I dread, it is natural that I should often dwell on the advantages of my previous mode of life, and I am but obeying you when I reflect that you said not only that I must emulate those famous men Solon, Lycurgus and Pittacus, but also that I must now quit the shades of philosophy for the open air. This is as though you had announced to a man who for his health's sake and by exerting himself to the utmost was able to take moderate exercise at home: "Now you have come to Olympia and have exchanged the gymnasium in your house for the stadium of Zeus, where you will have for spectators Greeks who have

1 Before Solon's measure to cancel debts was generally known, some of his friends borrowed large sums, knowing that they would not have to repay them.
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καὶ πρῶτος γε τοὺς σαυτοῦ πολίτας, ὑπὲρ όν ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρή, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὕς ἐκπλήξας χρέων, φοβερωτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα τὸ γε εἰς σὲ νῦν ἥκον ἑπιδείξαντα,” κατέβαλες ἀν εὐθέως καὶ τρέμειν ἐποίησας πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας· οὕτω κἀκε νῦν νόμιζε διατεθήναι τοῖς Β τοιούτοις λόγοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἶτε ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκα νῦν εἶτε ἐν μέρει σφάλλομαι τοῦ προσηκοντος εἶτε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνω, διδάξεις αὐτίκα μάλα.

Τπέρ δὲ όν ἀπορήσαι μοι πρὸς τὴν ἑπιστολὴν Σ τὴν σήν παρέστη, ὥ φίλη κεφαλῆ καὶ πάσης ἐμοιγε τιμῆς ἀξία, βούλομαι δηλώσαι· σαφέστερον γάρ ποι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἑπιθυμῶ μαθεῖν. ἔφησθα ὅτι τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξει παρὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπαινεῖς βίον, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν σοφὸν ἐκάλεις μάρτυρα, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τῷ πρᾶττειν εὐ τιθέμενον, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν σκοποῦντα τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ βίον καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ζωῆς, διαπορείν ἀττα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐν ἄλλους προτιμᾶν, ἐπαινεῖς δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἀρχιτεκτόνας. τούτους δὲ αὐτῶς μὲν Δ εἶναι φής τοὺς βασιλέας, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἰρήκεν οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προστεθεῖσαν λέξιν, πλέον δὲ θάτερον εἰ ὧν παραγέγραφας ἂν τις νοησει. τὸ γάρ “Μάλιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοήσεως ἀρχιτεκτόνας” εἰς τοὺς νομοθέτας καὶ
come from all parts, and foremost among them your own fellow-citizens, on whose behalf you must enter the lists; and certain barbarians will be there also whom it is your duty to impress, showing them your fatherland in as formidable a light as lies in your power.” You would have disconcerted him at once and made him nervous before the games began. You may now suppose that I have been affected in the same manner by just such words from you. And you will very soon inform me whether my present view is correct, or whether I am in part deceived as to my proper course or whether indeed I am wholly mistaken.

But I should like to make clear to you the points in your letter by which I am puzzled, my dearest friend to whom I especially am bound to pay every honour: for I am eager to be more precisely informed about them. You said that you approve a life of action rather than the philosophic life, and you called to witness the wise Aristotle who defines happiness as virtuous activity, and discussing the difference between the statesman’s life and the life of contemplation, showed a certain hesitation about those lives, and though in others of his writings he preferred the contemplative life, in this place you say he approves the architects of noble actions. But it is you who assert that these are kings, whereas Aristotle does not speak in the sense of the words that you have introduced: and from what you have quoted one would rather infer the contrary. For when he says: “We most correctly use the word ‘act’ of those who are the architects of public affairs by virtue of their intelligence,”¹ we must suppose that what he

Aristotle, *Politics* 7. 3. 1325b.

¹
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toûs politikou̱s filosofoûs kalâ pántas áplôs
toûs vó te kai lógo práttontas, ou̱li de eis toûs
autourγou̱s kalâ toûn politikôn prâxeow érgâtas 264
ei̱rî̱hâsan vno̱mî̱têon. òis ou̱k aπó̱χhê monôno̱ enu̱̱̱-
mêthî̱nai kai katanô̱sai kai to prakteón toûs
âllōs frâ̱sai, prôsî̱kei de aûtoûs èkâstas meta-
cheîriârittenai kai prâttein ón òi nómoi dialoρeî̱nou̱
kalâ pollâkis òi kaiρoi prôsanaká̱̱ou̱si, plê̱n
eî μη τòn arχîtektôna kaloûmen, katá̱πer' tî̱lî̱μô
ton 'Hraklêa kalalî̱n eiω̱theîn en tî̱ poûî̱sî̱ “mêgâ-
λwv èpî̱i̱sotora èrγov,” autourγôtaton apâ̱ntovn
geneî̱menvn.

Eî de toût' àlhêson ù̱̱polalambānomen ÿ̱̱ kalâ monôno̱ B
en tî̱̱ prâttein tâ koînâ fâmèn eu̱dai̱mònas toûs
kury̱î̱sûs1 òntas kalâ basîleû̱ntas polłôv, tî̱̱ pote
perî̱ sò̱krâ̱ntous èroû̱men; Pû̱dâγôrân de kai
Dêmôkrtûn kalâ toûn Klaξômê̱nou̱ Anaξâγôrân
î̱sos diá tî̱n thêòriâ̱n kai̱ aλlo̱ fî̱sèi̱s eu̱dai̱-
mònas. Soû̱krâ̱ntûs de tî̱n thêòriâ̱n parâi̱si̱sâmèno̱
kalâ toûn praktekî̱n âγapî̱̱̱sa̱s bî̱no̱ ou̱dè tî̱̱s ga-
metî̱s ÿ̱î̱̱ tî̱̱s aûtoû̱ kury̱î̱s ou̱dè toû̱ pâi̱dî̱s. ÿ̱̱pô̱û C
ge dû̱nûn ÿ̱̱ tî̱̱rî̱w̱̱ pollêtî̱n èkeî̱wv krapetî̱n ú̱̱̱ρî̱̱̱χv̱̱;
âρ' ou̱n ou̱k ÿ̱̱̱ èkeî̱wv praktekî̱s, èpêî̱ mî̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱̱ hî̱̱ κury̱î̱s;
èγw mên ou̱n 'Aleξândrou̱ fê̱mî̱ meî̱zaî̱a
 tô̱n Soû̱frônî̱sî̱kou̱ katergâ̱sasî̱sî̱, tî̱n Plâ̱tô̱nòs
aûtoû̱ soôfî̱an ânatiβî̱eis, tî̱n Ě̱nôphî̱ntos sî̱̱̱râ-
thî̱mî̱aî̱, tî̱n 'Antî̱sî̱̱̱νî̱os ânê̱rî̱eî̱aî, tî̱n 'Ere-
trî̱kê̱n filo̱sofî̱an, tî̱n Meγâri̱kê̱n, tôn Kê̱βhî̱ta,

1 en tî̱ prâtteî̱n ... toûs kury̱î̱ous Hertlein suggesta, toûs en
tî̱ prâtteî̱n ... kury̱î̱ous MSS.

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says applies to lawgivers and political philosophers and all whose activity consists in the use of intelligence and reason, but that it does not apply to those who do the work themselves and those who transact the business of politics. But in their case it is not enough that they should consider and devise and instruct others as to what must be done, but it is their duty to undertake and execute whatever the laws ordain and circumstances as well often force on them; unless indeed we call that man an architect who is "well versed in mighty deeds,"¹ a phrase which Homer in his poems usually applies to Heracles, who was indeed of all men that ever lived most given to do the work himself.

But if we conceive this to be true, or that only those are happy who administer public affairs and who are in authority and rule over many, what then are we to say about Socrates? As for Pythagoras and Democritus and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, you will perhaps say that they were happy in another sense of the word, because of their philosophic speculations. But as for Socrates who, having rejected the speculative life and embraced a life of action, had no authority over his own wife or his son, can we say of him that he governed even two or three of his fellow-citizens? Then will you assert that since he had no authority over any one he accomplished nothing? On the contrary I maintain that the son of Sophroniscus² performed greater tasks than Alexander, for to him I ascribe the wisdom of Plato, the generalship of Xenophon, the fortitude of Antisthenes, the Eretrian³

¹ Odyssey 21. 26. ² The father of Socrates. ³ This school was founded by Phaedo in Elis and later was transferred by Menedemus to Eretria.
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tον Σιμμίαν, τὸν Φαίδωνα, μυρίους ἄλλους· καὶ Δ
οὔπω φημὶ τὰς γενομένας ἡμῖν ἐνθέντες ἀποικίας,
τὸ Δύκειον, τὴν Στοάν, τὰς 'Ακαδημείας. τὰς ὧν
ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν 'Αλέξανδρον νῖκην; τὰς πόλεις
ἄμεινον νικήθη; τὰς αὐτοῦ γέγονε βελτίων ἰδιώ-
τις ἀνήρ; πλουσιώτεροι μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ ἄν
εὐροὶς, σοφώτερον δὲ οὐδένα οὐδὲ σωφρονεστερον
αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζόνα καὶ
ὑπερόπτην. δοσὶ δὲ σώζονται νῦν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας,
διὰ τὸν Σωκράτη σώζονται. καὶ τούτο οὐκ ἔγω
μόνος, 'Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρότερος ἐοικεὶν ἐννοήσας 265
ἐπείν, ὅτι μὴ μείων αὐτῷ προσήκει φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ
θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ τοῦ καθελόντος τὴν Περσῶν
dύναμιν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τούτο ἑκεῖνος ὅρθως ἐν
νοησαί· νικὰν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρείας ἐστὶ μάλιστα καὶ
τῆς τύχης, κείσθω δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς ἐντρεχούς
tαὐτῆς φρονήσεως, ἀλληθεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας
ἀναλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον τῆς τελείας ἔργῳ
ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσειν ἀν τὶς εἰκότως, πότερον Β
χρῆ τὸν τοιούτου ἄνδρα ἢ θεὸν καλεῖν. εἰ γὰρ
ὁρθῶς ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἐκαστὸν
ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων γνωρίζεσθαι, τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν ὁ
γνωρίσας θείος τις ἀν εἰκότως νομίζοιτο.

1 πρότερος Ηερτλινς suggests, πρότερον MSS,
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and Megarian ¹ philosophies, Cebes, Simmias,² Phaedo and a host of others; not to mention the offshoots derived from the same source, the Lyceum, the Stoa and the Academies. Who, I ask, ever found salvation through the conquests of Alexander? What city was ever more wisely governed because of them, what individual improved? Many indeed you might find whom those conquests enriched, but not one whom they made wiser or more temperate than he was by nature, if indeed they have not made him more insolent and arrogant. Whereas all who now find their salvation in philosophy owe it to Socrates. And I am not the only person to perceive this fact and to express it, for Aristotle it seems did so before me, when he said that he had just as much right to be proud of his treatise on the gods as the conqueror ³ of the Persian empire. And I think he was perfectly correct in that conclusion. For military success is due to courage and good fortune more than anything else or, let us say, if you wish, to intelligence as well, though of the common everyday sort. But to conceive true opinions about God is an achievement that not only requires perfect virtue, but one might well hesitate whether it be proper to call one who attains to this a man or a god. For if the saying is true that it is the nature of everything to become known to those who have an affinity with it, then he who comes to know the essential nature of God would naturally be considered divine.

¹ The Megarian school founded by Euclid was finally absorbed by the Cynics.
² Simmias and Cebes were Pythagoreans; cf. Plato, Phaedo, where they discuss with Socrates.
³ Alexander; Julian seems to be misquoting Plutarch, Moralia 78D.
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'Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐσόκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρηματικὸν ὀρμήσαντες βίον τούτῳ παραβάλλειν τῶν πρακτικῶν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραίτηταμένου καὶ σοῦ τὴν σύγκρισιν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθης, Ἄρειος, Κ. Νικόλαος, Θασυλλος καὶ Μουσάνιον μιμημονεύσω. τούτων γὰρ οὐχ ὅτως τις ἦν κύριος τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἄρειος, ὥς φασί, καὶ διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Αἰγυπτίου ἐπιτροπεύσαι παρητήσατο, Θασυλλος δὲ Τιβέριῳ πικρῷ καὶ φύσει χαλκῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγεγένομεν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογήσατο, δείξας ὅστις ἦν, ὅφελεν ἂν εἰς τέλος αἰσχύνην ἀναπάλλακτον, οὔτως αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὄνησεν ήτο πολιτεία, Νικόλαος δὲ πράξεως μὲν οὐ μεγάλων αὐτοῦργος γέγονε, γνώριμος δὲ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τούς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ Μουσάνιος εἰς ὅν ἔπαιθεν ἀνδρείως καὶ τῇ Δ' ἦνεγκεν ἐγκρατῶς τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἀμύθητα γέγονε γνώριμος, ἵσως οὐκ ἔλαττον εὐδαιμονῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τάς μεγάλας ἐπιτροπευσάντων βασιλείας. Ἄρειος δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Αἰγυπτίου παραιτησάμενος ἐκὸν 266 αὐτῶν ἀπεστείρει τοῦ κρατίστου τέλους εἰ τοῦτοτίμητον. οὐ δὲ αὐτὸς ἦμων ἀπρακτος εἰ, μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε ἔθνους Ἦ πόλεως ἄρχων; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν φαίη νοῦν ἔχων ἀνήρ. ἔξεστι γὰρ σοι φιλοσοφοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποφήμαντι, εἰ δὲ μή, τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας μεῖζονα τῶν βίων ἐνεργετῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ὁμοῦ βασιλέως. οὐ μικράς γὰρ μερίδος ὁ φιλόσοφος Β.
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But since I seem to have harked back to the life of contemplation and to be comparing it with the life of action, though in the beginning of your letter you declined to make the comparison, I will remind you of those very philosophers whom you mentioned, Areius, Nicolaus, Thrasyllus and Musonius. So far from any one of these governing his own city, Areius we are told refused the governorship of Egypt when it was offered to him, and Thrasyllus by becoming intimate with the harsh and naturally cruel tyrant Tiberius would have incurred indelible disgrace for all time, had he not cleared himself in the writings that he left behind him and so shown his true character; so little did his public career benefit him. Nicolaus did not personally do any great deeds, and he is known rather by his writings about such deeds; while Musonius became famous because he bore his sufferings with courage, and, by Zeus, sustained with firmness the cruelty of tyrants; and perhaps he was not less happy than those who administered great kingdoms. As for Areius, when he declined the governorship of Egypt he deliberately deprived himself of the highest end, if he really thought that this was the most important thing. And you yourself,—may I ask, do you lead an inactive life because you are not a general or a public speaker and govern no nation or city? Nay, no one with any sense would say so. For it is in your power by producing many philosophers, or even only three or four, to confer more benefit on the lives of men than many kings put together. To no trivial province

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προέστηκεν, ούδε, καθάπερ ἔφης, συμβουλὴς ἐστὶ μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκεῖνος κύριος, οὔτε ἡ πρᾶξις εἰς λόγον αὐθίς αὐτῷ περιόσταται, ἐργὸν δὲ βεβαιῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φαινόμενον τοιοῦτος, ὅποιος θύελεται τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι, πιθανότερος δὲν εἰς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ἀνυσιμῶτερος τῶν εἰς ἑπτάγματος ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς πράξεως παρορμοῦτων.

'Αλλ' ἐπαντεύον εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπεραντεύον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μείζονα ἰσως οὐσαν τοῦ δεόντως. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὥστε μήτε τὸν πόνον φεύγων μήτε τὴν ἡδονὴν θηρεύων μήτε ἀπραγμοσύνης καὶ βαστώνης ἐρώτων τῶν ἐν τῇ πολλεῖα δυσχεραῖν βίων ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἐφην εἰς ἀρχὴς, οὔτε παίδειαν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδῶς τοσαῦτην οὔτε φύσεως ήπεροχὴν, καὶ προσέτι δεδιώς, μή ψιλοσφίαν, ἡς ἐρῶν οὐκ ἑφικόμην, εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους οὔτε ἄλλως εὐδοκιμοῦντα διαβάλλω, πύλαι τε εἰγραφὸν ἑκεῖνα καὶ νῦν τὰς παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἑπταμήσεις ἀπελησάμην εἰς δύναμιν.

Διδοῖν δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἁρίστην τύχην καὶ φρονήσων ἄξιαν τῆς τύχης, ὥσ ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος τὸ γε πλέον καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τῶν ψιλοσιφόντων ἀπάσῃ μηχανήν 1 Βοσθητέος εἶναι 267 μοι δοκῶ, προτεταγμένος ὑμῶν καὶ προκινήσεοι. εἰ δὲ τι μεῖξον ἡγαθὸν τῆς ἡμέτερας παρασκευῆς καὶ ἡς ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς παράσχει, χαλεπαίνειν οὐ χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔδεν ἐμαυτῷ

1 ἀπάσῃ μηχανή follows ὑμῶν in MSS.; Hertlein suggests present reading.
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is the philosopher appointed, and, as you said yourself, he does not only direct counsels or public affairs, nor is his activity confined to mere words; but if he confirm his words by deeds and show himself to be such as he wishes others to be, he may be more convincing and more effective in making men act than those who urge them to noble actions by issuing commands.

But I must go back to what I said at the beginning, and conclude this letter, which is perhaps longer already than it should be. And the main point in it is that it is not because I would avoid hard work or pursue pleasure, nor because I am in love with idleness and ease that I am averse to spending my life in administration. But, as I said when I began, it is because I am conscious that I have neither sufficient training nor natural talents above the ordinary; moreover, I am afraid of bringing reproach on philosophy, which, much as I love it, I have never attained to, and which on other accounts has no very good reputation among men of our day. For these reasons I wrote all this down some time ago, and now I have freed myself from your charges as far as I can.

May God grant me the happiest fortune possible, and wisdom to match my fortune! For now I think I need assistance from God above all, and also from you philosophers by all means in your power, since I have proved myself your leader and champion in danger. But should it be that blessings greater than of my furnishing and than the opinion that I now have of myself should be granted to men by God through my instrumentality, you must not resent my words. For being conscious or no good
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συνειδῶς ἀγαθῶν πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι μηδὲ
οἴσομαι τὰ μέγιστα ἔχειν ἔχων τε ὁυδὲν, ὡς
ὄρας αὐτός, εἰκότως βοῶ καὶ μαρτύρομαι μὴ
μεγάλα παρ ἡμῶν ἀπαίτειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τὸ Β
πάν ἐπιτρέπειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν τε ἐλλειμ-
μάτων εἶν ἄν ἀνεύθινος καὶ, γενομένων ἀπάντων
δεξιῶν, εὐγνώμων ἂν καὶ μέτριος εἶν, οὐκ
ἀλλοτρίως ἐμαυτὸν ἔργοις ἐπιγράφων, τῷ θεῷ
δὲ, ὡσπερ οὖν δίκαιον, προσανατεθεικώς ἀπαίτα
αὐτὸς τε εἰσομαι καὶ ὑμᾶς προτρέπω τήν χάριν
εἰδέναι.

1 τε Hertlein suggests, ὡς MSS.
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thing in me, save this only, that I do not even think that I possess the highest talent, and indeed have naturally none, I cry aloud and testify¹ that you must not expect great things of me, but must entrust everything to God. For thus I shall be free from responsibility for my shortcomings, and if everything turns out favourably I shall be discreet and moderate, not putting my name to the deeds of other men,² but by giving God the glory for all, as is right, it is to Him that I shall myself feel gratitude and I urge all of you to feel the same.

¹ Demosthenes, De Corona 23. ² Cf. Caesars 323 B.
LETTER TO THE MINISTERS

[Text not legible due to the image quality]
LETTER TO THE SENATE AND
PEOPLE OF ATHENS
INTRODUCTION

Of the manifestoes addressed by Julian to Rome, Sparta, Corinth, and Athens, defending his acceptance of the title of Emperor and his open rupture with Constantius, the last alone survives. It was written in Illyricum in 361, when Julian was on the march against Constantius, and is the chief authority for the events that led to his elevation to the Imperial rank. Julian writes to the Athenians of the fourth Christian century as though they still possessed the influence and standards of their forefathers. He was well known at Athens, where he had studied before his elevation to the Caesarship and he was anxious to clear himself in the eyes of the citizens. For the first time he ventures to speak the truth about Constantius and to describe the latter's ruthless treatment of his family. His account of the revolution at Paris is supplemented by Ammianus 20, Zosimus 3. 9, and the Epitaph on Julian by Libanius.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΗΜΟΙ

Πολλῶν εἰργασμένων τῶν προγόνων υμῶν, ἐφ’ ὅσι οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον τότε ἔξην, ἀλλὰ καὶ υμῖν νῦν ἔξεστι φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τε ἀπάσης τής Ἐλλάδος κοινῆς καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἡγούντατο μόνη πρὸς τέτοιος Ἐλληνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὔδεν ἔστι τηλικοῦτον ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθία τοσάτη, πρὸς ἡν οὐκ ὈΚ ἔνεστι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμιλληθῆναι πόλεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ μεθ’ υμῶν καὶ αὐταί, τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἰδίαν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ ἤνα μη μεμιμημένος ἑπείτα ἀντιπαραβάλλων ἢ προτιμᾶν ἔτερας ἔτεραν ἐν οἷς διαμφισβητοῦσι νομισθεῖν ἡ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν, ὡσπερ οἱ ρήτωρες, ἐνδεότερον ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἐλατουμένας, τοῦτο θέλω φράσαι μόνον ὑπὲρ υμῶν, ὅ C μηδὲν ἀντίπαλον ἔχομεν ἐξευρεῖν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλληνιοι, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης εἰς ἡμᾶς παραδεδομένον. ἀρχόντων μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ βία τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ δικαίοσύνης παρείλεσθε,
LETTER TO THE SENATE AND
PEOPLE OF ATHENS.

Many were the achievements of your forefathers
of which you are still justly proud, even as they
were of old; many were the trophies for victories
raised by them, now for all Greece in common,
now separately for Athens herself, in those days
when she contended single-handed against all the
rest of Greece as well as against the barbarian:
but there was no achievement and no display of
courage on your part so prodigious that other
cities cannot in their turn rival it. For they too
wrought some such deeds in alliance with you, and
some on their own account. And that I may not by
recalling these and then balancing them be thought
either to pay more honour to one state than to another
in the matters in which they are your rivals, or
to praise less than they deserve those who proved
inferior, in order to gain an advantage, after the
manner of rhetoricians, I desire to bring forward on
your behalf only this fact to which I can discover no-
thing that can be set against it on the part of the other
Greek states, and which has been assigned to you by
ancient tradition. When the Lacedaemonians were
in power you took that power away from them not
by violence but by your reputation for justice; and
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cαι τὸν Ἀριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον οἷς παρ' ύμῖν ἑθρέψαυτο νόμοι. καίτοι γε ταῦτα οὕτως ὄντα λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια διὰ λαμπροτέρων οἴμαι τῶν ἑργῶν ὀμος ἐπιστῶσασθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόξαι δίκαιου ἱσώς ἂν τῷ καὶ ψευδῷς συμβαίη, καὶ τυχον οὐ παράδοξον ἐν πολλοῖς φαύλοις ἕνα γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον. ἣ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ παρὰ Μηδίως ὑμεῖται τις Δηιόκης Ἀβαρίς τε ἐν Ἄπερβορέως καὶ Ἀνάχαρις ἐν Σκύθαις; ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦτο ἡν θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς ἀδικωτάτοις γεγονότες ἔθνεσι τὴν δίκην ὀμως ἐπίμησαν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθῶς, ὅ δὲ τῆς χρείας χάριν πλαττομενος. δήμοι δὲ ὅλον καὶ πόλιν ἐραστὰς ἑργῶν καὶ λόγων δικαίων ἔξω τῆς παρ' ύμῖν οὐ ράδιον εὑρεῖν. βούλομαι δὲ ύμᾶς ἐνὸς τῶν παρ' ύμῖν πολλῶν γε οἴνως ἑργῶν ὑπομνῆσαι. Θεμιστοκλέος γὰρ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι διανοομένου λάθρα καταφλέξαι τὰ νεώρια τῶν Ἐλλήνων, εἶτα μὴ τολμῶντος εἰς τὸν δήμον ολέγειν, ἐνὶ δὲ ὢμολογοῦντος πιστεύσει τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ὀντερ ἀν ὁ δήμος χειροτονήσας προέλθηται, προβάλετο μὲν ὁ δήμος τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὅ δὲ ἀκούσας τῆς γνώμης ἐκρυψε μὲν τὸ ῥηθέν, ἐξήνεγκε δὲ εἰς τὸν δήμον, ὡς οὐτε λυσιτελέστερον οὔτε ἀδικώτερον εἶν τι τοῦ βουλεύματος οἷος...
it was your laws that nurtured Aristides the Just. Moreover, brilliant as were these proofs of your virtue, you confirmed them by still more brilliant actions. For to be reputed just might perhaps happen to any individual even though it were not true; and perhaps it would not be surprising that among many worthless citizens there should be found one virtuous man. For even among the Medes is not a certain Deioces 1 celebrated, and Abaris 2 too among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharsis 3 among the Scythians? And in their case the surprising thing was that, born as they were among nations who knew nothing of justice, they nevertheless prized justice, two of them sincerely, though the third only pretended to do so out of self-interest. But it would be hard to find a whole people and city enamoured of just deeds and just words except your own. And I wish to remind you of one out of very many such deeds done in your city. After the Persian war Themistocles 4 was planning to introduce a resolution to set fire secretly to the naval arsenals of the Greeks, and then did not dare to propose it to the assembly; but he agreed to confide the secret to any one man whom the people should elect by vote; and the people chose Aristides to represent them. But he when he heard the scheme did not reveal what he had been told, but reported to the people that there could be nothing more profitable or more dishonest than that advice.

1 The first King of Media; reigned 709-656 B.C.
2 A priest of Apollo whose story and date are uncertain.
3 A Scythian prince who visited Athens at the end of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations 5. 32; Lucian, Anacharsis.
4 The story is told in Plutarch, Themistocles.
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ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο παραχρῆμα καὶ παρητή-

σατο, πάνω γε νὴ Δία μεγαλοψύχως καὶ ἄν

έχον τρόπον ἄνδρας ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῇ φρονιμω-

tάτῃ θεῶ τρεφομένους.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ ταῦτα παρ’ ὑμῖν μὲν ἢν πάλαι,

σώζεται δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐτὶ τῆς τῶν

προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὀσπερ ἐμπύρευμα τι σμικρόν,

εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς οὗκ εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραττο-

μένων ἀφορᾶν οὐδὲ εἰ τὸ ὀσπερ δι’ ἀέρος ἰπτά-

μενος διὰ τῆς γῆς ἑβάδισεν ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει

καὶ ἀτρύτῳ ρώμῃ, σκοπεῦν δὲ ὅτῳ ταῦτα μετὰ

tοῦ δικαίου κατεύργασται, κάτα ἀν μὲν φαίνεται 270

ἔως δίκη πράττων, ἱδία τε αὐτῶν ἴσως καὶ

dημοσίᾳ πάντες ἑπανεῖτε, τῆς δίκης δὲ ὅλγω-

ρήσας ἀτιμᾶζοτο ἄν παρ’ ὑμῶν εἰκότως. οὐδὲν

gὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὅτι τὸ δικαίον ἀδελφὸν φρονήσει.

τοὺς οὖν ἀτιμᾶζοντας τούτο δικάιος ἀν καὶ

ὡς εἰς τὴν παρ’ ὑμῖν θεῶν ἀσέβοντας ἐξελαύνοιτε.

Βούλομαι οὖν ὑμῖν τὰ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι

μὲν ἀπαγγείλαι δὲ ὅμως, ὅπως, εἰ τι λέλθθεν εἰκὸς

Β
dὲ ἐνα καὶ ὅσα μάλιστα τοῖς πάσι γνωσθῆναι

προσὴκει’ ὑμῖν τε καὶ δι’ ὑμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις

:"Ελλῆσι γένοιτο γνώριμα. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑπολάβῃ

με λῃστὴν ἡ φλυαρεῖν, εἰ περὶ τῶν πᾶσιν ὁσπερ

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς γεγονότων οὐ πάλαι μόνον, ἄλλα

cal μικρῷ πρότερον, ποιεῖσθαί τινας ἐπιχειρή-

σαιμι λόγους: οὐδένα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν Βούλομαι

tῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, λανθάνειν δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλα εἰκόσ.
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Whereupon the city at once voted against it and rejected it, very nobly, by Zeus, and as it behoved men to do who are nutured under the eyes of the most wise goddess.¹

Then if this was your conduct of old, and from that day to this there is kept alive some small spark as it were of the virtue of your ancestors, it is natural that you should pay attention not to the magnitude merely of any performance, nor whether a man has travelled over the earth with incredible speed and unwearied energy as though he had flown through the air; but that you should rather consider whether one has accomplished this feat by just means, and then if he seems to act with justice, you will perhaps all praise him both in public and private; but if he have slighted justice he will naturally be scorned by you. For there is nothing so closely akin to wisdom as justice. Therefore those who slight her you will justly expel as showing impiety towards the goddess who dwells among you. For this reason I wish to report my conduct to you, though indeed you know it well, in order that if there is anything you do not know—and it is likely that some things you do not, and those in fact which it is most important for all men to be aware of—it may become known to you and through you to the rest of the Greeks. Therefore let no one think that I am trifling and wasting words if I try to give some account of things that have happened as it were before the eyes of all men, not only long ago but also just lately. For I wish none to be ignorant of anything that concerns me, and naturally everyone cannot know

¹ Athene.
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άρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον τῶν C ἐμαυτοῦ.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ὀθέντερ καὶ Κωνσταντῖῳ τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ὀρμηταί, φανερόν. τὸ γὰρ ἡμετέρω πατέρε γεγόνατον ἀδελφῶ πατρόθεν. οὗτος δὲ πλησίον ἡμᾶς ὄντας συγγενεῖς ὁ φίλανθρωπότατος οὗτος Βασίλειος οῖα εἰργάσατο, ἐξ μὲν ἀνεψιοὺς ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν, ἕαυτον δὲ θείον, καὶ προσέτει κοινών ἐτερον τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς Θείον ἀδελφόν τε ἐμὸν τὸν προσβύτατον ἀκρίτους κτείνας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἑτερον ἀδελφόν ἐμὸν ἑθελήσας μὲν κτεῖναι, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλὼν φυγῆν, ἀφ’ ἢς ἐμὲ μὲν ἀφήκεν, ἐκείνου δὲ ὅλῳ πρότερον τῆς σφαγῆς ἔξεδυσε 2 τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα, τί με δεῖ νῦν ὄσπερ ἐκ τραγῳδίας τὰ ἀρρητα ἀναμετρεῖσθαι; μετεμελήσα γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασὶ, καὶ ἐδήχθη δεινῶς, ἀπαίδευν τε ἐντεύθεν νομίζει 271 δύστυχεῖν, τὰ τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς εὐτυχῶς πράττειν ἐκ τούτων ὑπολαμβάνειν ταῦτα ἔθρυλουν οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλήν τότε καὶ τὸν μακριτὴν ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλον, τούτῳ νῦν πρῶτον ἀκούοντα τὸ ὄνομα: κτείνας γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ τῶν πατρων μεταλαχεῖν εἰάσε τάφων οὐδὲ τῆς εὐαγγοῦς ήξίωσε μνήμης.

"Οπερ οὖν ἐφη, ἔλεγον τοσαύτα καὶ δὴ καὶ Β ἐπείθον ἡμᾶς, 3 ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπατηθεῖς εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ βίᾳ καὶ ταραχαῖς εἰδας ἀτάκτου καὶ

1 τὸν ἐμὸν Hertlein suggests, ἐμὸν MSS.
2 ἔξεδυσε Hertlein suggests, ἐρρύσατο οὐδὲ Cobet, ἐρρύσατο MSS. 3 ἡμᾶς Hertlein, Reiske suggest, ἡμᾶς MSS.

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every circumstance. First I will begin with my ancestors.

That on the father's side I am descended from the same stock as Constantius on his father's side is well known. Our fathers were brothers, sons of the same father. And close kinsmen as we were, how this most humane Emperor treated us! Six of my cousins and his, and my father who was his own uncle and also another uncle of both of us on the father's side, and my eldest brother, he put to death without a trial; and as for me and my other brother,¹ he intended to put us to death but finally inflicted exile upon us; and from that exile he released me, but him he stripped of the title of Caesar just before he murdered him. But why should I "recount," as though from some tragedy, "all these unspeakable horrors?"² For he has repented, I am told, and is stung by remorse; and he thinks that his unhappy state of childlessness is due to those deeds, and his ill success in the Persian war he also ascribes to that cause. This at least was the gossip of the court at the time and of those who were about the person of my brother Gallus of blessed memory, who is now for the first time so styled. For after putting him to death in defiance of the laws he neither suffered him to share the tombs of his ancestors nor granted him a pious memory.

As I said, they kept telling us and tried to convince us that Constantius had acted thus, partly because he was deceived, and partly because he yielded to the violence and tumult of an undis-

¹ Gallus.
² Euripides, Orestes 14, τι τέρρητ ἀναμετρήσωσθαλ με δεῖ;
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taraphodous strateumatos. tosausta hemin epipheon en agriru tui toon en Kappadokia katakekleismenos, oudeina eowtes proselthein, ton men apd tis en Trallesei 1 phyghis anakaleasamenoi, eme de koumou meirakion eti toon didaskaleiwn apagontes. pois an etnaththa frasaimi peri twn O ex eniautoi, ou's en allortirh kthmati dianontes, 2 wostper oi paradoi Peraias en tois phouriouis tporoumenoi, mpedos hemin prosiinotos xevou mide twn palai gnoiriwv epitrepomenvon tivdws wos hemas foitan, diezomev apokakeleismenoi pantos men mathmatos spoudaiou, paskis de eleutheras entueuxes, ev tais lamprai oiketelais trefoimenoi kai tois hemw autwv doulwos wostper etairoi D synagmenakoimenoi; proshei yap oudeis oude eptrepeto toon hlikiwton.

'Eventheren egw men mogis afeltheni dia tois theous eutukhws, o de adelphos o emos eis tin aulhn kathierkhe dusuctukhws, eiper tis allas toin potopote. kai gar e i peri toin tropon agrion kai traxu toin ekteinon katefanh, touto ek tis orieion trofhs synupkith. dikaiois ouv oimai kai tautein exhein tin aitian o tautei hemin prods bien metaudos tis trophis, hsi eme men oi theoi dia tis filosophias katharon apfevarian 272 kai eixant, to de oudeis enedokev. euvthas gar apdr toin agridin es ta basileia paralewonti.

1 apd tis en Trallesei phyghis Hertlein suggests, apd tara phyghis V, apd tara phyghis Petavius.
2 dianontes Hertlein suggests, dianagontes MSS.
ciplined and mutinous army. This was the strain they kept up to soothe us when we had been imprisoned in a certain farm\(^1\) in Cappadocia; and they allowed no one to come near us after they had summoned him from exile in Tralles and had dragged me from the schools, though I was still a mere boy. How shall I describe the six years we spent there? For we lived as though on the estate of a stranger, and were watched as though we were in some Persian garrison, since no stranger came to see us and not one of our old friends was allowed to visit us; so that we lived shut off from every liberal study and from all free intercourse, in a glittering servitude, and sharing the exercises of our own slaves as though they were comrades. For no companion of our own age ever came near us or was allowed to do so.

From that place barely and by the help of the gods I was set free, and for a happier fate; but my brother was imprisoned at court and his fate was ill-starred above all men who have ever yet lived. And indeed whatever cruelty or harshness was revealed in his disposition was increased by his having been brought up among those mountains. It is therefore I think only just that the Emperor should bear the blame for this also, he who against our will allotted to us that sort of bringing-up. As for me, the gods by means of philosophy caused me to remain untouched by it and unharmed; but on my brother no one bestowed this boon. For when he had come straight from the country to the court, the moment that Constantius had invested him with

\(^1\) The castle of Macellum.
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ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν ἀλουργῆς ἴματιον, αὐτίκα φθονεῖν ἀρξάμενος οὐ πρῶτον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιελεῖν τὸ πορφυροῦ ἴματιον ἄρκεσθείς, καίτοι τῷ ἥν γοῦν ἄξιος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειος. ἀλλ’ ἔχρην αὐτὸν καὶ τούτου στέρεσθαι. ξυγχωρῶ, λόγον γε πάντως ὑποσχόντα πρότερον, Β ὁσπερ τοὺς κακοῦργους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει τῷ δήσαντι κτείνειν, τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας δὲ τιμᾶς, ἂς εἶχον, καὶ γενομένους ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἰδιώτας ἀκρίτοις φησὶ δεῖν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. τί γὰρ, εἰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἴχεν ἀποφήναι τοὺς αἰτίους; ἐδέδοντο γὰρ αὐτῷ Κ τισκων ἐπιστολαὶ, Ἡράκλεις, ὡσα ἔχουσαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας, ἐφ’ αἷς ἐκεῖνος ἀγανακτήσας ἀκρατέστερον μὲν καὶ ἢκιστα βασιλικῶς ἐφῆκε τῷ θυμῷ, τοῦ μέντοι μηδὲ ἥν ἄξιον οὔδὲν ἐπετράχει. πῶς γὰρ; σὺν οὐτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπασικοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἅμα καὶ ἃπαθάριοις ὁ νόμος, ἀμένεσθαι τοὺς ἄδικας ὑπάρχοντας; ἀλλ’ ἰσως μὲν ἠμύνατο πικρότερον. οὐ μὴν ἐξω πάντη τοῦ εἰκότος· τὸν γὰρ ἐχθρὸν ὑπ’ ὄργης εἰκός τι καὶ ποιεῖν, εἰρηται καὶ πρόσθεν. ἀλλ’ εἰς D χάριν ἐνὸς ἀνδρογύνου, τοῦ κατακομμαστοῦ, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιτρόπου τὸν ἀνεψιόν, τὸν καῖσαρα, τὸν τῆς ἄδελφης ἄνδρα γενόμενον,
the purple robe he at once began to be jealous of him, nor did he cease from that feeling until, not content with stripping him of the purple, he had destroyed him. Yet surely he deserved to live, even if he seemed unfit to govern. But someone may say that it was necessary to deprive him of life also. I admit it, only on condition that he had first been allowed to speak in his own defence as criminals are. For surely it is not the case that the law forbids one who has imprisoned bandits to put them to death, but says that it is right to destroy without a trial those who have been stripped of the honours that they possessed and have become mere individuals instead of rulers. For what if my brother had been able to expose those who were responsible for his errors? For there had been handed to him the letters of certain persons, and, by Heracles, what accusations against himself they contained! And in his resentment at these he gave way in most unkingly fashion to uncontrolled anger, but he had done nothing to deserve being deprived of life itself. What! Is not this a universal law among all Greeks and barbarians alike, that one should defend oneself against those who take the initiative in doing one a wrong? I admit that he did perhaps defend himself with too great cruelty; but on the whole not more cruelly than might have been expected. For we have heard it said before \(^1\) that an enemy may be expected to harm one in a fit of anger. But it was to gratify a eunuch,\(^2\) his chamberlain who was also his chief cook, that Constantius gave over to his most inveterate enemies his own cousin,

\(^1\) Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 41.

\(^2\) Eusebius; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 14. 11; 22. 3.
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tov tis adelphihs patera, ou kai autos proteron
hen agagomenos tin adelphi, prods ev auta
tosauta theow omogwv on uphrixe dikai, keinai
paredeke tois echthstoi: eme de afike mogis
etpa monwv olwv elksas tiche kakeise kal
poisamosenos emfroun, oste, ei me thew tis 273
ethelhas me sot尼亚 tina kalh en agathin
to thnikauta moi parekhex eumenh Evseblia
ou de eih tas cheiras autou tite diefynou.
kaltoi ma tou theou ou de onar moi faneis adelphi
etprafhei kal gar oude surnh autou oude
efohten oude ebadihoun par auton, oligakis de
egrason kal utper olgyon. los ou olaphyn B
ekteithen asmenos eporeumh eni tin tis
mptres estian patrofi gar oude uphrixe moi oude
ekektymh ek tosoytwn, osen eikos ein patera
ekthesis twn emon, ouk elaichthn bholon, ouk an-
drapodon, ouk oikian o gar toi kalos Kownstani-
tios eklyronomersen auti emou tina patrofi
ousian apasan, emoi te, oter efh, oude gry metedwke
auths: alla kal tis adelphi tomod tov patrofi
edwkei oliga, pantwv auton afelomemos tov
mptrow.
"Osa men oun etprafhe pros me priw onomatos C
men metadoynai moi tov semnotato, ergh de
eis pikrotati kal xalepota gyn embalein dou-
leian, ei kal me pantta, ta pleista goun omws
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the Caesar, his sister's husband, the father of his niece, the man whose own sister he had himself married in earlier days,¹ and to whom he owed so many obligations connected with the gods of the family. As for me he reluctantly let me go, after dragging me hither and thither for seven whole months and keeping me under guard; so that had not some one of the gods desired that I should escape, and made the beautiful and virtuous Eusebia kindly disposed to me, I could not then have escaped from his hands myself. And yet I call the gods to witness that my brother had pursued his course of action without my having a sight of him even in a dream. For I was not with him, nor did I visit him or travel to his neighbourhood; and I used to write to him very seldom and on unimportant matters. Thinking therefore that I had escaped from that place, I set out for the house that had been my mother's. For of my father's estate nothing belonged to me, and I had acquired out of the great wealth that had naturally belonged to my father not the smallest clod of earth, not a slave, not a house. For the admirable Constantius had inherited in my place the whole of my father's property, and to me, as I was saying, he granted not the least trifle of it; moreover, though he gave my brother a few things that had been his father's, he robbed him of the whole of his mother's estate.

Now his whole behaviour to me before he granted me that august title ²—though in fact what he did was to impose on me the most galling and irksome slavery—you have heard, if not every detail, still the

¹ The sister of Gallus was the first wife of Constantius.
² The title of Caesar.
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ἀκηκόατε ἰ πορευομένου δὴ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, ἀγαπητῶς τε καὶ μόνις ἀποσωζόμενου, συκοφάντης τις ἀνεφάνη περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον, ὅσ τοῖς ἐκεῖ πράγματα ἔρραθεν ὡς νεώτερα διανοούμενοι; ἵστε δὴ ἦπτοθεν ἀκοῇ τὸν Ἀφρικαίον καὶ τὸν Μαρίνου σύντοι ὕμας οὐδὲ ὁ Φηλίξ ἔλαθεν οὐδὲ ὁσα ἐπράχθη περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλ’ ὡς τούτῳ αὐτῷ κατεμηνύθη τὸ πράγμα, καὶ Δυνάμις ἐξαιφνησι, ἀλλὸς συκοφάντης, ἐκ Κελτῶν ἤγιγιεν ὅσον οὕτω τὸν Σιλονανὸν αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἀναφανεῖσθαι, δείγος παντάπασι καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐτίκα ἔπ’ ἐμὲ πέμπει, καὶ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κελεύσας ὑποχωρήσας πάλιν ἐκείθεν ἐκάλει παρ’ ἑαυτόν, 274 οὕτω πρότερον τεθεαμένοις πλὴν ἅπαξ μὲν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, ἅπαξ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀγωνισμένης Εὐσεβίας, ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ θαρρήσαιμι. καίτοι τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πόλιν ἄξ φύκησα μηνῶν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέσχετο μεθέασον πάλιν. ἀλλ’ ὁ θεοὶ ἔχθροι ἀνδρόγυνος, ὁ πιστὸς αὐτοῦ κατακομματίς, ἐλαθὲ μου καὶ ἀκον εὐεργέτης γενόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἐλάθας ἑντυχεὶν με πολλάκις αὐτῷ, τυχὸν μὲν οὐδὲ Β έθέλοντι, πλὴν ἅλλα τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁκνεῖ γὰρ ὡς ἂν μὴ τῶν συνηθείας ἐγγενομένης ἡμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπείτα ἀγαπηθείν καὶ πιστὸς ἀναφανεῖς ἐπιτραπεῖν τι.

Παραγενόμενον δὴ με τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτίκα διὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν

1 ἀκηκόατε Cobet, ἤκουσατε Hertlein, MSS.
2 δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.
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greater part. As I was saying, I was on my way to my home and was barely getting away safely, beyond my hopes, when a certain sycophant turned up near Sirmium and fabricated the rumour against certain persons there that they were planning a revolt. You certainly know by hearsay Africanus and Marinus: nor can you fail to have heard of Felix and what was the fate of those men. And when Constantius was informed of the matter, and Dynamius another sycophant suddenly reported from Gaul that Silvanus was on the point of declaring himself his open enemy, in the utmost alarm and terror he forthwith sent to me, and first he bade me retire for a short time to Greece, then summoned me from there to the court again. He had never seen me before except once in Cappadocia and once in Italy, —an interview which Eusebia had secured by her exertions so that I might feel confidence about my personal safety. And yet I lived for six months in the same city as he did, and he had promised that he would see me again. But that execrable eunuch, his trusty chamberlain, unconsciously and involuntarily proved himself my benefactor. For he did not allow me to meet the Emperor often, nor perhaps did the latter desire it; still the eunuch was the chief reason. For what he dreaded was that if we had any intercourse with one another I might be taken into favour, and when my loyalty became evident I might be given some place of trust.

Now from the first moment of my arrival from Greece, Eusebia of blessed memory kept showing me

1 Gaudentius. 2 A town in Illyricum.
3 For the account of this alleged conspiracy cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 3. 4 Cf. Oration 1. 48 c; 2. 98 c, D.
5 At Milan. 6 Milan. 7 Eusebius.
ευνούχων η μακαρίτις Εὐσεβία καὶ λίαν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο. μικρὸν δὲ ὑστεροῦ ἐπελθόντος τούτου· καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ τὰ περὶ Σιλουανὸν ἐπέπρακτο. Ο Λουτον ἔσοδός τε εἰς τὴν αὐλήν διδοταί, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἡ Θετταλικὴ περιβάλλεται πειθανάγκη.

ἀρνομένον γὰρ μου τὴν συνουσίαν στερεώς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, οἱ μὲν ὁσπερ ἐν κουρεῖῳ συνελθόντες ἀποκείρουσι τὸν πόλινα, χλανίδα δὲ ἀμφιενώνουσι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν, ὡς τὸτε ὑπελάμβανον, πάνυ γελοῦν οὐδὲν γὰρ μοι D τοῦ καλλωπισμοῦ τῶν καθαρμάτων ἠρμοζεν· ἐβάδιζον δὲ οὐχ ὁσπερ ἐκεῖνο περιβλέπον καὶ σοβῶν ἅν εἰς γῆν βλέπων, ὁσπερ εἴδισμην ὑπὸ τοῦ θρέψαντος με παιδαγωγοῦ. τὸτε μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς παρέσχον γέλωτα, μικρὸν δὲ ὑστεροῦ ὑποψίαν, εἰτα ἀνέλαμψεν ὁ τοσοῦτος φθόνος.

'Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα χρῆ μὴ παραλείπειν ἐκεῖνα, πῶς ἐγὼ συνεχώρησα, πῶς ἐδεχόμην ὁμωρόφιος ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι, οὐς ἠπιστάμην παντὶ μὲν μου λυμηναμένους τῷ γένει, ὑπώπτευον δὲ οὐκ εἰς 275 μακρὰν ἐπιβουλεύσοντας καὶ ἐμοί. πηγάς μὲν οὖν ὅποσα ἄφηκα δακρύων καὶ θρήνους οἶνος, ἀνατέινων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν τὰς χεῖρας, ὅτε ἐκαλούμην, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἱκετεύων σώζειν τὸν ἱκέτην καὶ μὴ ἐκδιδόναι, πολλοὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἑορκότας εἰςί μοι μάρτυρες, αὕτη δὲ ἡ θέος πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι καὶ θάνατον ἠτησάμην παρ' αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸ τῆς τότε Β

1 περιβλέπων... σοβῶν Hertlein suggests, περιβλέποντες... σοβούντες MSS.
2 ἐδεχόμην Naber, δὲ εἰλόμην Hertlein, MSS.
3 ὁμωρόφιος Cobet, ὁμωρόφιος Hertlein, MSS.
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the utmost kindness through the eunuchs of her household. And a little later when the Emperor returned—for the affair of Silvanus had been concluded—at last I was given access to the court, and, in the words of the proverb, Thessalian persuasion 1 was applied to me. For when I firmly declined all intercourse with the palace, some of them, as though they had come together in a barber's shop, cut off my beard and dressed me in a military cloak and transformed me into a highly ridiculous soldier, as they thought at the time. For none of the decorations of those villains suited me. And I walked not like them, staring about me and strutting along, but gazing on the ground as I had been trained to do by the preceptor 2 who brought me up. At the time, then, I inspired their ridicule, but a little later their suspicion, and then their jealousy was inflamed to the utmost.

But this I must not omit to tell here, how I submitted and how I consented to dwell under the same roof with those whom I knew to have ruined my whole family, and who, I suspected, would before long plot against myself also. But what floods of tears I shed and what laments I uttered when I was summoned, stretching out my hands to your Acropolis and imploring Athene to save her suppliant and not to abandon me, many of you who were eyewitnisses can attest, and the goddess herself, above all others, is my witness that I even begged for death at her hands there in Athens rather than

1 Cf. Oration 1. 32 A. The origin of the proverb is obscure; cf. Cicero, Letter to Atticus 9. 13. 2 Mardonius.
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όδοι. ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐ προῦδωκεν ἢ θεὸς τῶν ἵκετην οὖδὲ ἐξέδωκεν, ἔργοις ἐδείξεν ἡγήσατο γὰρ ἀπανταχοῦ μοι καὶ παρέστησεν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς φύλακας, εἰ Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης ἀγγέλους λαβοῦσα.

Συνέβη δὲ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον. ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ Μεδιό-
λανον ἄκουσον ἐν τινὶ προαστεῖα. ἐνταῦθα ἐπεμπέν 
Εὐσέβια πολλάκις πρὸς μὲ φιλοφρονομένη καὶ 
γράφει κελεύσοντα καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὑπὲρ ὅτιν καὶ ἄν 
ἀλλοίος, ἵνα ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιστολήν, Σ 
μάλλοι δὲ ἰκετηρίαν ὅρκους ἔχουσαν τοιοῦτοις. 
Οὕτω παινίν κρῆσαι κληρονόμοις: οὕτω τὰ καὶ 
τὰ θεός σοι δοίη, πέμπε με ὅποιά τε τὴν ταχι-
στην, ἐκεῖνο υπειδόμην ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλές εἰς 
τὰ βασιλεία πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος γυναῖκα γράμ-
ματα εἰσπέμπειν. ἰκέτευσα δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς νῦκτωρ 
δηλώσαμι μοι, εἰ χρῆ πέμπειν παρὰ τὴν βασιλέα 
τὸ γραμματεῖον· οἱ δὲ ἐπηπείλησαν, εἰ πέμψαμι, 
θάνατον αἰσχυστὸν, ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα γράφω, D 
καλὸ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπαντας μάρτυρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ 
γράμματα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέσχον εἰσπέμψας. εἰς ἐκεί-


1 ἐδείξεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεδείξεν MSS.

2 τριακοστὸν Hertlein suggests, τριακοσιοστὸν MSS.
my journey to the Emperor. That the goddess accordingly did not betray her suppliant or abandon him she proved by the event. For everywhere she was my guide, and on all sides she set a watch near me, bringing guardian angels from Helios and Selene.

What happened was somewhat as follows. When I came to Milan I resided in one of the suburbs. Thither Eusebia sent me on several occasions messages of good-will, and urged me to write to her without hesitation about anything that I desired. Accordingly I wrote her a letter, or rather a petition containing vows like these: "May you have children to succeed you; may God grant you this and that, if only you send me home as quickly as possible!" But I suspected that it was not safe to send to the palace letters addressed to the Emperor's wife. Therefore I besought the gods to inform me at night whether I ought to send the letter to the Empress. And they warned me that if I sent it I should meet the most ignominious death. I call all the gods to witness that what I write here is true. For this reason, therefore, I forbore to send the letter. But from that night there kept occurring to me an argument which it is perhaps worth your while also to hear. "Now," I said to myself, "I am planning to oppose the gods, and I have imagined that I can devise wiser schemes for myself than those who know all things. And yet human wisdom, which looks only to the present moment, may be thankful if, with all its efforts, it succeed in avoiding mistakes even for a short space. That is why no man takes thought for things that are to happen thirty years hence, or for things that are already past, for the one
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ton. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ὃν ἄρχαι τινὲς εἰσίν ἣδη καὶ σπέρματα. φρόνησις δὲ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκιστον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶν βλέπουσα μηνύει τε ὅρθως καὶ πράττει τὸ λαὸν αὑτοῖς γὰρ εἰσίν αὐτὸ καθάπερ τῶν ὄντων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων. οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ Β τῶν παρόντων ἐπιστασθαι. τέως μὲν οὖν ἔδοκεν μοι κατὰ τούτο συνετωτέρα τῆς ἐμπροσθεν ἡ δευτέρα γνώμη. σκοπῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ δίκαιον εὐθέως ἔφην. Εἶτα σὺ μὲν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τι τῶν σῶν κτημάτων ἀποστεροῖς σὲ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ χρήσεως ἢ καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοι καλοῦμενοι, καὶ ἑπιτος τῆς καὶ Σ πρόβατον καὶ βοῦν, ἀνθρωπος δὲ εἶναι βουλόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀγελαιῶν οὐδὲ τῶν συρφετῳδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ μετρίων ἀποστερεῖς σεαυτοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις ἔφ᾽ ὧ, τι ἀν ἐθέλωσι χρήσασθαι σοι; ὥρα μή πρὸς τῷ λίιαν ἀφρόνως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλογώρως πράττης. ἢ δὲ ἀνδρεία ποῦ καὶ τίς; γελοίον. ἔτοιμος γοῦν εἰ καὶ θωπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεύσαι δέει τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔξω ἀπαντά καταβαλλεῖν καὶ τοῖς Θ ἐπιτρέψαι πράττειν ως βούλονται, διελόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἡξίου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοι πράττειν ως ἄν ἐνδέχηται, τὸ δὲ ὀλον ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνοις ποιεῖσθαι, κεκτήσθαι δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἄρπάζειν, τὰ
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is superfluous, the other impossible, but only for what lies near at hand and has already some beginnings and germs. But the wisdom of the gods sees very far, or rather, sees the whole, and therefore it directs aright and brings to pass what is best. For they are the causes of all that now is, and so likewise of all that is to be. Wherefore it is reasonable that they should have knowledge about the present." So far, then, it seemed to me that on this reasoning my second determination was wiser than my first. And viewing the matter in the light of justice, I immediately reflected: "Would you not be provoked if one of your own beasts were to deprive you of its services, \(^1\) or were even to run away when you called it, a horse, or sheep, or calf, as the case might be? And will you, who pretended to be a man, and not even a man of the common herd or from the dregs of the people, but one belonging to the superior and reasonable class, deprive the gods of your service, and not trust yourself to them to dispose of you as they please? Beware lest you not only fall into great folly, but also neglect your proper duties towards the gods. Where is your courage, and of what sort is it? A sorry thing it seems. At any rate, you are ready to cringe and flatter from fear of death, and yet it is in your power to lay all that aside and leave it to the gods to work their will, dividing with them the care of yourself, as Socrates, for instance, chose to do: and you might, while doing such things as best you can, commit the whole to their charge; seek to possess nothing, seize nothing, but accept simply what is vouchsafed

\(^1\) An echo of Plato, *Phaedo* 62 c; cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 297 A.
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διδόμενα ἰὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀφελῶς ¹ δέχεσθαι. ταύτην ἑγὼ νομίσας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρέπει· 277 πουσαν ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ γνώμῃ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἑσῆμαι χαῖτη· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιβουλὰς εὐλαβούμενος τὰς μελλοῦσας εἰς αἰσχρόν καὶ προὔπτον ἐμβαλεῖν ἑαυτὸν κίνδυνον δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο μοι θορυβῶδες· εἶξαι καὶ ὑπήκουσα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομά μοι ταχέως καὶ τὸ χαλανίδιον περιεβλήθη τοῦ καίσαρος· ἣ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δουλεία καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπικρέμα

1 ἀφελῶς Cobet, ἀσφαλῶς Hertlein, MSS.

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to you by them." And this course I thought was not only safe but becoming to a reasonable man, since the response of the gods had suggested it. For to rush headlong into unseemly and foreseen danger while trying to avoid future plots seemed to me a topsy-turvy procedure. Accordingly I consented to yield. And immediately I was invested with the title and robe of Caesar.¹ The slavery that ensued and the fear for my very life that hung over me every day, Heracles, how great it was, and how terrible! My doors locked, warders to guard them, the hands of my servants searched lest one of them should convey to me the most trifling letter from my friends, strange servants to wait on me! Only with difficulty was I able to bring with me to court four of my own domestics for my personal service, two of them mere boys and two older men, of whom only one knew of my attitude to the gods, and, as far as he was able, secretly joined me in their worship. I had entrusted with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends, a certain physician² who had been allowed to leave home with me because it was not known that he was my friend. And this state of things caused me such alarm and I was so apprehensive about it, that though many of my friends really wished to visit me, I very reluctantly refused them admittance; for though I was most anxious to see them, I shrank from bringing disaster upon them and myself at the same time. But this is somewhat foreign to my narrative. The following relates to the actual course of events.

¹ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 8.
² Oreibasius; cf. Letter 17.

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Τριακοσίους ἐξήκοντά μοι δοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνος ἀνατετραμμένον ἔστειλε, μεσοῦντος ἥδι τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὡσ ἀρχοντα μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκείσε στρατοπέδων ἢ τοῖς ἐκείσε στρατηγοῖς ὑπακούοντα.1 ἑγέγραπτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑνετε-ταλτο διαρρήθην ὡσ τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ παραφυλάττειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ νεώτερον τι πράξαιμ. τοὺτων δὲ ὃν ἑφη τρόπον γενομένων, περὶ τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερινὰς ἐπιτρέπει μοι βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ 278 στρατόπεδα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περιοίσοντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς καὶ τοῦτο ἐίρητο καὶ ἑγέγραπτο, ὅτι τοῖς Γάλλοις οὕτως βασιλέα δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνος εἰκόνα κο-μιούντα.

Οὐ κακῶς δὲ, ὃς ἀκηκόατε, τοῦ πρώτου στρα-τηγηθέντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πραξθέντος σπου-δαίου, πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸν Β ἑσχατον κατέστην κίνδυνον. οὕτε γὰρ ἄθροίζειν ἐξῆν μοι στρατόπεδον· ἐτεροὺς γὰρ ἢν ὁ τούτον κύριος· αὐτὸς τε ἔξω ὁλίγοις ἀποκεκλεισμένοις, εἰτα παρὰ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων αἰτηθές ἐπικου-ρίαν, ὡς εἶχον τὸ πλείστου ἐκείνους δοὺς, αὐτὸς 2 ἀπελεύθην μόνος. ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὡς ὀὕτως ἐπράχθη τότε. ὅσ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀρχῶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενόμενος αὐτῷ παρρήθη καὶ ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἁρχῆς, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπιτίθειος δόξας, ἔγωγε Σ ἐνομίσθην ἥκιστα σπουδαῖος καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγὸς, ἀτε πράον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ μέτρουν. οὐ

1 ὑπακούοντα Hertlein suggests, ὑπακούοντα MSS.
2 αὐτὸς MSS., Cobet, [αὐτὸς] Hertlein.
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Constantius gave me three hundred and sixty soldiers, and in the middle of the winter despatched me into Gaul, which was then in a state of great disorder; and I was sent not as commander of the garrisons there but rather as a subordinate of the generals there stationed. For letters had been sent them and express orders given that they were to watch me as vigilantly as they did the enemy, for fear I should attempt to cause a revolt. And when all this had happened in the manner I have described, about the summer solstice he allowed me to join the army and to carry about with me his dress and image. And indeed he had both said and written that he was not giving the Gauls a king but one who should convey to them his image.

Now when, as you have heard, the first campaign was ended that year and great advantage gained, I returned to winter quarters, and there I was exposed to the utmost danger. For I was not even allowed to assemble the troops; this power was entrusted to another, while I was quartered apart with only a few soldiers, and then, since the neighbouring towns begged for my assistance, I assigned to them the greater part of the force that I had, and so I myself was left isolated. This then was the condition of affairs at that time. And when the commander-in-chief of the forces fell under the suspicions of Constantius and was deprived by him of his command and superseded, I in my turn was thought to be by no means capable or talented as a general, merely because I had shown myself mild and moderate. For I thought I ought not

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1 355 A.D.  2 At Vienne.  3 Marcellus.
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γὰρ ἵμην δεῖν ἔνθα μαθηματικὸν ὀνὸν παραστρατηγεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ τῶν λίαν ἐπικινδύνων ἔφορων ἢ δέον γενέσθαι παρορόμενον ἢ καὶ τὴν ἄρχην μὴ δέον γενέσθαι γιγνόμενον. ἀπαξ ἦν καὶ δεύτερον οὐ καθηκόντως μοι τινων χρησματικῶν, ἐμαυτὸν φύσην Δ χρῆναι τιμᾶν τῇ σιωπῇ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χλανίδα περιέφερον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦτον γὰρ τὸ τηνκάντα διενούμην ἀποπεφάνθαι κύριος.

'Εξ ὁν ὁ Κωνστάντιος νομίσας ὅλον μὲν ἐπιδώσεως, οὐκ εἰς τοσούτον δὲ μεταβολῆς ἤξειν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πράγματα, δίδωσι μοι τῶν στρατοπέδων τὴν ἑγεμονίαν ἤρος ἄρχη, καὶ στρατεύω μὲν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σιτοῦ, πολλῶν πάντως Γερμανῶν περὶ τὰς πεπορθημένας ἐν Κελ- 279 τοίς πόλεις ἀδέως κατοικοῦντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων πέντε που καὶ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν, τείχή τά διεξεσμένα δίχα τῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν ἑλασσόμων φρουρίων. ἦς δ' ἐνέμοντο γῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ 'Ρήνου πάσης οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μέγεθος ὀπόσου ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόμενος ἀχρί τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ περιλαμβάνει τριακόσια δὲ ἀπείχον τῆς ἴδιος τοῦ 'Ρήνου στάδια οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκούντες ἐσχατοί, τριπλάσιον δὲ ἢ ἐτὶ τοῦτον πλάτος τὸ καταλείφθην ἐρημῶν ὑπὸ τῆς λεγαλείας, ἔνθα Β οὐδὲ νέμειν ἐξίν τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ πόλεις τινὲς ἐρημον τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων, αἰς οὔπω παρθέκουν οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐν τούτοις οὐσαν κατα- λαβὸν ἐγὼ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλιν τε ἀνέπλαβον τὴν

1 ὅλον Hertlein suggests, ὅλῳ MSS.
to fight against my yoke or interfere with the general in command except when in some very dangerous undertaking I saw either that something was being overlooked, or that something was being attempted that ought never to have been attempted at all. But after certain persons had treated me with disrespect on one or two occasions, I decided that for the future I ought to show my own self-respect by keeping silence, and henceforth I contented myself with parading the imperial robe and the image. For I thought that to these at any rate I had been given a right.

After that, Constantius, thinking that there would be some improvement, but not that so great a transformation would take place in the affairs of Gaul, handed over to me in the beginning of spring the command of all the forces. And when the grain was ripe I took the field; for a great number of Germans had settled themselves with impunity near the towns they had sacked in Gaul. Now the number of the towns whose walls had been dismantled was about forty-five, without counting citadels and smaller forts. And the barbarians then controlled on our side of the Rhine the whole country that extends from its sources to the Ocean. Moreover those who were settled nearest to us were as much as three hundred stades from the banks of the Rhine, and a district three times as wide as that had been left a desert by their raids; so that the Gauls could not even pasture their cattle there. Then too there were certain cities deserted by their inhabitants, near which the barbarians were not yet encamped. This then was the condition of Gaul when I took

1 357 A.D.
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Ἀγριππίναν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήμα, πρὸς μηνῶν ἑαυτοῦ νυμφὸν ἡμῶν, χαῖρες, καὶ τείχος Ἀργείων πλησίον πρὸς τοὺς υπουρεῖοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βοσέγου, καὶ ἐμαχεσάμην ὅτι τοιαύτη μάχη. ἦν τῶν θεῶν δόντων μοι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πολεμίων ἀιχμάλωτον, οὐκ ἐφθάνῃσα τοῦ κατορθώματος Κωνσταντίων, καίτοι εἰ μὴ θριαμβεύειν ἔξεν, ἀποσφάτειν τὸν πολέμιον κύριον ἦν, καὶ μέντοι διὰ πάσης αὐτοῦ ἁγίων τῆς Κελτίδος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιδεικνύειν καὶ ὀσπερ ἐντυφαῖ τοῦ Χνοδομαρίου ταῖς συμφοραῖς. τούτων οὐδὲν ψήθην δεῖν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Κωνστάντιον αὐτοῦ εὐθέως ἀπέρεμψα, τότε ἀπὸ τῶν Κουάδων καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπανύντα. συνέβη τοῖνυν, ἐμὸν μὲν ἀγωνισμένον, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὀδευσάντος μόνον καὶ φιλίως ἐντυχόντος τοῖς παροικοῦσι τὸν Ἰστρον ἔθνεσιν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον θριαμβεύσαι.

Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο δεύτερος ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀπελήλαντο τῆς Γαλατίας οἱ βάρβαροι, πλεῖσται δὲ ἀνελήφθησαν τῶν πόλεων, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίδος ναῦς ἀνήχθησαν. ἐξακούσαν νηῶν ἀνήγαγον στόλων, ὡς τὰς τετρακοσίας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυπηγησάμενοι πάσας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν Ῥήμαν, ἐργον οὐ μικρὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους καὶ παροικοῦντας πλησίον βαρβάρους. ὁ γοῦν Φλωρέντιος οὕτως φέτο τοῦτο ἀδυνατον, ὡστε ἀργύρου διοχελίας

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it over. I recovered the city of Agrippina\(^1\) on the Rhine which had been taken about ten months earlier, and also the neighbouring fort of Argentoratum\(^2\) near the foot-hills of the Vosges mountains, and there I engaged the enemy not ingloriously. It may be that the fame of that battle has reached even your ears. There though the gods gave into my hands as prisoner of war the king\(^3\) of the enemy, I did not begrudge Constantius the glory of that success. And yet though I was not allowed to triumph for it, I had it in my power to slay my enemy, and moreover I could have led him through the whole of Gaul and exhibited him to the cities, and thus have luxuriated as it were in the misfortunes of Chnodomar. I thought it my duty to do none of these things, but sent him at once to Constantius who was returning from the country of the Quadi and the Sarmatians. So it came about that, though I had done all the fighting and he had only travelled in those parts and held friendly intercourse with the tribes who dwell on the borders of the Danube, it was not I but he who triumphed.

Then followed the second and third years of that campaign, and by that time all the barbarians had been driven out of Gaul, most of the towns had been recovered, and a whole fleet of many ships had arrived from Britain. I had collected a fleet of six hundred ships, four hundred of which I had had built in less than ten months, and I brought them all into the Rhine, no slight achievement, on account of the neighbouring barbarians who kept attacking me. At least it seemed so impossible to Florentius that he had promised to pay the barbarians a fee of two

\(^1\) Cologne. \(^2\) Strasburg. \(^3\) Chnodomar.
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λίτρας ἐπέσχετο μισθὸν ἀποτίσειν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὑπὲρ τῆς παροδοῦ, καὶ ὁ Κωνστάντιος ὑπὲρ τούτου μαθῶν ἐκοινώσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς δόσεως· ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν 1 Β κελεύσας, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχρὸν μοι φανεῖν. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἦν αἰσχρὸν, ὅτιν Κωνσταντῖφ toio- τον ἐφάνη, λίαν εἰσῆλθοι ἑρατεύειν τοὺς βαρβάρους; ἐδόθη μήν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς στρατεύσας, ἀμυνότων μοι καὶ παρεστώτων τῶν θεῶν, ὑπεδέξαμην μὲν μοῦραν τοῦ Σαλίων εἴποιν, Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξῆλασα, πολλὰς βοῶς καὶ γύναια μετὰ παιδαρίων συλλαβῶν. οὔτω δὲ πάντας ἐφόβησα καὶ παρεσκεύασα καταπτήξω τήν ἐμὴν ἐφοδον, ὅστε παραχρήμα λαβεῖν ὀμήρους καὶ τῇ C σιτοπομπίᾳ παρασχεῖν ἀσφαλῇ κομίδην.

Μακρὸν ἔστι πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ καθ’ έκαστον ὁμάφειν, ὡσα ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐπραξα τέταρσι τὰ κεφάλαια δέ τρίτον ἑπεραιώθην καῖσαρ ἐτὶ τῶν ‘Ῥήνων’ δισμυρίους ἀπήτησα παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὲρ τῶν ‘Ῥήνων’ ὄντας αἰχμαλώτους· ἐκ δυοῦν ἀγώνων καὶ μᾶς πολιορκίας χιλίους ἐξελὼν ἐξω- γρησα, οὔ τὴν ἀχρηστὸν ἡμίκιαν, ἀνδρας δὲ ἡβῶν- τας· ἐπεμψα τῷ Κωνσταντῖφ τέτταρας ἀριθμοὺς D τῶν κρατίστων πεζῶν, τρεῖς ἄλλους τῶν ἐλαττό- νων, ἅπερν τάματα δυν τὰ ἐντιμώτατα· πόλεις ἀνέλαβον νῦν μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἑθείόντων πάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἀνειλίφειν ἐλάττους ὀλίγης τῶν τεσσαρά- κοντα. μάρτυρας καλῶ τῶν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς πολιούχους τέ καὶ ὁμογνίους υπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ πίστεως, ὅτι τοιοῦτος

1 ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν Horkel, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πρός με, πράττειν Hertlein, MSS.

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thousand pounds weight of silver in return for a passage. Constantius when he learned this—for Florentius had informed him about the proposed payment—wrote to me to carry out the agreement, unless I thought it absolutely disgraceful. But how could it fail to be disgraceful when it seemed so even to Constantius, who was only too much in the habit of trying to conciliate the barbarians? However, no payment was made to them. Instead I marched against them, and since the gods protected me and were present to aid, I received the submission of part of the Salian tribe, and drove out the Chamavi and took many cattle and women and children. And I so terrified them all, and made them tremble at my approach that I immediately received hostages from them and secured a safe passage for my food supplies.

It would take too long to enumerate everything and to write down every detail of the task that I accomplished within four years. But to sum it all up: Three times, while I was still Caesar, I crossed the Rhine; twenty thousand persons who were held as captives on the further side of the Rhine I demanded and received back; in two battles and one siege I took captive ten thousand prisoners; and those not of unserviceable age but men in the prime of life; I sent to Constantius four levies of excellent infantry, three more of infantry not so good, and two very distinguished squadrons of cavalry. I have now with the help of the gods recovered all the towns, and by that time I had already recovered almost forty. I call Zeus and all the gods who protect cities and our race to bear witness as to my behaviour towards
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γέγονα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὧν ἂν εἰλήμην ἐγὼ υἱῶν περὶ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. τετίμηκα μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὡς οὐδεὶς καὶ σάρων οὐδένα τῶν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοκράτωρων. οὐδὲν γοῦν εἰς τὴν τήμερον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐγκαλεῖ μοι, καὶ ταύτα παρρησιασαμένω πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ γελοίους αἰτίας ὁργῆς ἀναπλάττει. Δουππικίων, φησὶ, καὶ τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κατέσχες· οὓς εἰ καὶ κτεῖνας ἥμην ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἐμοιγε 
φανερῶς, ἔχρην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παθόντων ὀργὴν ἀφείναι τῆς ὀμονοίας ἐνεκα. τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι διαθέεις ὡς παραχώδεις φύσει καὶ πολεμο- ποίους κατέσχον, πολλὰ πάνυ δαπανῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, ἀφελόμενος δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνως. ὀράτε, πῶς ἐπεξεύρισκε 
τούτοις ὁ Κωνστάντιος νομοθετεί. ὁ γὰρ χαλεπαίνων ὑπὲρ τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἀρ' οὐκ ὑνειδίζει μοι καὶ 
kατεγελά τῆς μωρίας, ὅτι τὸν φονέα πατρός, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνεψιων, ἀπάσης ὡς ἔτος εἰπεῖν τῆς κοινῆς ἥμων ἐστίας καὶ συγγενείας τῶν δήμων εἰς 
tοῦτο ἑθεράπευσα; σκοπείτε δὲ ὅτι καὶ γενό- μενος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐτι θεραπευτικῶς αὐτῷ προσηνέχθην ἐξ ὧν ἐπέστειλα.

Καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ὅποιός τις γέγονα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἰσεσθῆ. αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων κληρονομήσω μὲν αὐτῶς τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐξεργασθήσεται δὲ ἐτέρως τὰ πλείστα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰκέτευον, εἰ ταύτα D

1 δ' after ἀφελόμενος Hertlein suggests.
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Constantius and my loyalty to him, and that I behaved to him as I would have chosen that my own son should behave to me.¹ I have paid him more honour than any Caesar has paid to any Emperor in the past. Indeed, to this very day he has no accusation to bring against me on that score, though I have been entirely frank in my dealings with him, but he invents absurd pretexts for his resentment. He says, “You have detained Lupicinus and three other men.” And supposing I had even put them to death after they had openly plotted against me, he ought for the sake of keeping peace to have renounced his resentment at their fate. But I did those men not the least injury, and I detained them because they are by nature quarrelsome and mischief-makers. And though I am spending large sums of the public money on them, I have robbed them of none of their property. Observe how Constantius really lays down the law that I ought to proceed to extremities with such men! For by his anger on behalf of men who are not related to him at all, does he not rebuke and ridicule me for my folly in having served so faithfully the murderer of my father, my brothers, my cousins; the executioner as it were of his and my whole family and kindred? Consider too with what deference I have continued to treat him even since I became Emperor, as is shown in my letters.

And how I behaved to him before that you shall now learn. Since I was well aware that whenever mistakes were made I alone should incur the disgrace and danger, though most of the work was carried on by others, I first of all implored him, if

¹ Cf. Isocrates, To Demonicus 14
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πράττειν αυτῷ φαίνοιτο καὶ πάντως ἐμε προσαγαρεύειν καίσαρα δεδομένον εἰς, ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ σπουδαίους δούναι μοι τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας· οὐ δὲ πρότερον ἐδωκε τοὺς μοχθηροτάτους. ὡς δὲ ἦν μὲν εἰς ὁ πονηρότατος καὶ μάλα ἀσμένος ὑπήκουσεν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἥξιον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρὰ διδόσων ἄκων ἐμοί καὶ μάλα ἀγαθὸν Ἀλεξάνδριον, ὅς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐθείας αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὑποττος. οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς ἔγω τοὺς τοιούτως, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τρόπον καὶ κατανόησας τῷ μὲν ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιστεύοντα, τῷ δὲ οὕτως προσέχοντα, τῆς δὲξίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἴψαμενος·

Τούτων, ἐφη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ μοι συνήθης οὐδὲ γέγονεν ἐμπροσθεν ἐπιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ φήμης, σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἑταίρους ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φίλους νομίζω, τοὺς πάλαι γνωρίμοις ἐπὶ ἱσης τιμῶν. οὐ μὴν δικαίον ἢ τούτοις ἐπιτετράφθαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἢ τὰ τούτων ἡμῖν συγκινδυνεῦσαι. τί οὖν ἰετεύω; γραττοὺς ἡμῖν δός ὅστερ νόμους, τίνων Β ἀπέχεσθαι χρῆ καὶ ὅσα πράττειν ἐπιτρέπεις.

δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον ἐπαινέσεις, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα κολάσεις, εἰ καὶ δ', τι μάλιστα νομίζω μηδένα ἀπειθήσειν.

"Οσα μὲν οὐν ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Πεντάδιος αὐτίκα καινωτομεῖν, οὐδὲν χρῆ λέγειν' ἀντέπραττον δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς πάντα, καὶ γίνεται μοι δυσμενῆς ἐκεῖθεν. εἰτ' ἄλλων λαβῶν καὶ παρασκευάζας δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, Παύλου, Παύλου, Γαυδεντίου, τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπὶ C

1 ἀσμένος Hertlein suggests, ἀσμένως MSS.
2 βλέπων...κατανόησας Horkel, κατανόησας...βλέπων Hertlein, MSS.
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he had made up his mind to that course and was altogether determined to proclaim me Caesar, to give me good and able men to assist me. He however at first gave me the vilest wretches. And when one, the most worthless of them, had very gladly accepted and no one of the others consented, he gave me with a bad grace an officer who was indeed excellent, Sallust, who on account of his virtue has at once fallen under his suspicion. And since I was not satisfied with such an arrangement and saw how his manner to them varied, for I observed that he trusted one of them too much and paid no attention at all to the other, I clasped his right hand and his knees and said: "I have no acquaintance with any of these men nor have had in the past. But I know them by report, and since you bid me I regard them as my comrades and friends and pay them as much respect as I would to old acquaintances. Nevertheless it is not just that my affairs should be entrusted to them or that their fortunes should be hazarded with mine. What then is my petition? Give me some sort of written rules as to what I must avoid and what you entrust to me to perform. For it is clear that you will approve of him who obeys you and punish him who is disobedient, though indeed I am very sure that no one will disobey you."

Now I need not mention the innovations that Pentadius at once tried to introduce. But I kept opposing him in everything and for that reason he became my enemy. Then Constantius chose another and a second and a third and fashioned them for his purpose, I mean Paul and Gaudentius, those notorious sycophants; he hired them to attack me and
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εμὲ μισθωσάμενος συκοφάντας, Σαλούστιον μὲν ὡς ἐμοὶ φίλον ἀποστήναι παρασκευάζει, Δουκι-λιανὸν δὲ δοθήναι διάδοχον αὐτίκα. καὶ μικρὸν ύστερον καὶ Φλωρέντιος ἦν ἕχθρὸς ἐμοὶ διὰ τὰς πλειονεξίας, αἰς ἡναντιοῦμην. πείθουσιν οὔτοι τὸν Κωνστάντιον ἀφελέσθαι με τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄπαντων, ἵνα τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ξηλοτυπίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων κινζόμενον, καὶ γράφει γράμματα στὸ

πολλῆς μὲν ἄτιμίας εἰς ἐμὲ πλήρη, Κελτοῖς δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἀπειλοῦντα: μικρὸν γὰρ δὲν φαίναι τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀπὰν ἀδιακρίτως τὸ μαχιμῶτατον ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκελευσθεῖν, ἐπίταξας τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον Λούππικίνῳ τε καὶ Γίντονιῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὡς ἂν πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθεὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν.

Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι τίνα τρόπον τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴποιμ᾽ ἂν ἔργα πρὸς υμᾶς; διευνοοομὴν μάρτυρες 283 δὲ αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν ἀπορρίφας τὴν βασιλικὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἡσυχαζῶν, πράττειν δὲ οὖδὲν ὅλως. ἀνέμενον δὲ Φλωρέντιον παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λούππικίνῳ ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν περὶ τὴν Βίενναν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Βρεταννίαις. ἣν τούτῳ θόρυβος πολὺς ἦν περὶ πάντας τῶν ἱδιῶτας καὶ B τῶν στρατιώτας, καὶ γράφει τις ἀνώνυμον γραμματεῖον ¹ εἰς τὴν ἀστυγείτονα μοι πόλιν πρὸς τοὺς Πετουλάντας τοῦτον καὶ Κελτοῖς· ὄνομάζεται δὲ οὔτω τὰ τάγματα· ἐν ὧ πολλὰ μὲν ἐγέραρπτο κατ᾽ ἑκεῖνου, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαλλίας προδοσίας ὄντος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἄτιμαν ὁ τὸ γραμματείον συγγράφας ἀπωδύρετο. τούτῳ κομισθεὶν ἐκίνησε πάντας, οὗ τὰ Κωνσταντίου μάλιστα ἐφρόνουν, ἐπιθέσθαι μοι κατὰ τὸ καρ.

¹ γραμματεῖον Horkel adds, δελτον Nabor.
then took measures to remove Sallust, because he was my friend, and to appoint Lucilianus immediately, as his successor. And a little later Florentius also became my enemy on account of his avarice which I used to oppose. These men persuaded Constantius, who was perhaps already somewhat irritated by jealousy of my successes, to remove me altogether from command of the troops. And he wrote letters full of insults directed against me and threatening ruin to the Gauls. For he gave orders for the withdrawal from Gaul of, I might almost say, the whole of the most efficient troops without exception, and assigned this commission to Lupicinus and Gintonius, while to me he wrote that I must oppose them in nothing.

And now in what terms shall I describe to you the work of the gods? It was my intention, as they will bear me witness, to divest myself of all imperial splendour and state and remain in peace, taking no part whatever in affairs. But I waited for Florentius and Lupicinus to arrive; for the former was at Vienne, the latter in Britain. Meanwhile there was great excitement among the civilians and the troops, and someone wrote an anonymous letter to the town near where I was,¹ addressed to the Petulantes and the Celts—those were the names of the legions—full of invectives against Constantius and of lamentations about his betrayal of the Gauls. Moreover the author of the letter lamented bitterly the disgrace inflicted on myself. This letter when it arrived provoked all those who were most definitely on the side of Constantius to urge me in the strongest terms to send away the troops at once, before similar letters

¹ Julian was at Paris.
Τερώτατοι, ὡς ἦδη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκπέμψαμε, πρὶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἄριθμοὺς ὁμοία ῥιφῆμα, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις παρῆν τῶν δοκοῦντων εὔνως ἔχειν ἐμοί, Νεβρίδιος δὲ, Πεντάδιος, Δεκέντιος, ὥς παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο Κωνστάντιον. λέγοντος δὲ μον χρῆμα περιμένειν ἐτὶ Δουπτικίων καὶ Φιλωρέντιου, οὔδεὶς ἴκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πάντες τοῦντιόν ὦτι δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ βούλομαι ταῖς προλαβοῦσαι ύποψίαις ὀστήρα ἀπὸδειξῖν καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦτο διαφέρειν. εἶτα προσέθεσαν ὡς Νῦν μὲν ἐκπεμφθέντων αὐτῶν σὸν ἑστι τὸ ἔργον, ἀφικομένου δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους λογεῖται Κωνστάντιος, σὺ δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενήσῃ. γράψαι δὴ 1 με ἑπιεισάγαγμόν τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸν πείθηται μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνους, ὅπερ ἐξετεῖ καὶ μὴ πεισθῆναι, βιάζομαι δὲ ὅς ἄν ἐξή, τοῦ πείθειν οὐδὲν προσέρχεται: οὐκ' οὐδὲ ὁ βιάσθεντες τῶν πεπεισμένων εἰςίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκασθέντων. ἐσκοποῦμεν ἐνταῦθα, πολῶν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦς χρῆ 284 βαδίζειν, διπτῆς οὐσίας. ἐγὼ μὲν ἡξίων ἐτέραν τραπῆναι, ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀναγκαζούσιν ἐκλέψῃ λέναι, μὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸ γενόμενον ὀστῆρα ἀφορμὴν τινα στάσεως τοῖς στρατιῶταις παράσχῃ καὶ ταραχῆς τινος αὐτίου γένηται, εἰτα στασιάζειν ἀπαξ ἀρξάμενοι πάντα ἀθρόως ταράξοντες. ἐδοκεῖ τὸ δέος ὁ παντάπασιν ἄλογον εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

'Ἡλθε τὰ τάγματα, ὑπηνύνησα κατὰ τὸ νεομισμένον αὐτοῖς, ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ προπέμψα: μίαν Β

1 δὴ Hertlein would add.
could be scattered broadcast among the rest of the legions. And indeed there was no one there belonging to the party supposed to be friendly to me, but only Nebridius, Pentadius, and Decentius, the latter of whom had been despatched for this very purpose by Constantius. And when I replied that we ought to wait still longer for Lupicinus and Florentius, no one listened to me, but they all declared that we ought to do the very opposite, unless I wished to add this further proof and evidence for the suspicions that were already entertained about me. And they added this argument: "If you send away the troops now it will be regarded as your measure, but when the others come Constantius will give them not you the credit and you will be held to blame." And so they persuaded or rather compelled me to write to him. For he alone may be said to be persuaded who has the power to refuse, but those who can use force have no need to persuade as well; then again where force is used there is no persuasion, but a man is the victim of necessity. Thereupon we discussed by which road, since there were two, the troops had better march. I preferred that they should take one of these, but they immediately compelled them to take the other, for fear that the other route if chosen should give rise to mutiny among the troops and cause some disturbance, and that then, when they had once begun to mutiny, they might throw all into confusion. Indeed such apprehension on their part seemed not altogether without grounds.

The legions arrived, and I, as was customary, went to meet them and exhorted them to continue their march. For one day they halted, and till that time
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ήμέραν ἐπέμεινεν, ἀχρις ἡς οὐδὲν ἤδειν ἐγὼ τῶν βεβουλευμένων αὐτοῖς· ἠστι Ζεὺς, Ἡλιος, Ἀρης, Ἄθηνα καὶ πάντες θεοί, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετό μου τις τοιαύτη ὑπόνοια ἀχρὶ δείλης αὐτής· οὐφις δὲ ἢδη περὶ ἦλιον δυσμᾶς ἐμηνύθη μοι, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ βασίλεια περιείληπτο, καὶ ἔβοιν πάντες, ἔτι φροντίζοντός μου τί χρή ποιεῖν καὶ οὕτω σφόδρα πιστεύοντο· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔτι τῆς γαμετῆς ζώσης οἱ μοι ἀναπαυσόμενοι ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὑπέρθην ἀνελθὼν. εἰτα ἐκείθεν· ἀνεπέπτατο γὰρ ὁ τοῖχος· προσεκύνησα τὸν Δία. γενομένης δὲ ἔτι μείζονος τῆς βοής καὶ θορυβουμένων πάντων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ήτέμεν τὸν θεὸν δούναι τέρας. αὐτάρ ὁ γ' ἡμῖν δείξα καὶ ἴνωγει πεισθήναι καὶ μὴ προσεναυτιοῦθαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῇ προθυμία. γενομένων ὃμως ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτων τῶν σημείων, οὐκ ἐξ' ἐτοίμως, ἀλλ' ἀντέσχον εἰς ὅσον ἡδυνάμην, καὶ οὕτε τὴν πρόσρησιν οὕτε τὸν στέφανον προσιέμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτε εἰς ὅν 1 πολλῶν ἡδυνάμην κρατεῖν οὐ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι θεοὶ τοὺς μὲν παρώξυνον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐθελον τὴν γνώμην, ὥρα ποιν τρίτη σχεδον οὐκ οἴδα οὕτως μου στρατιώτου δόντως μανιάκην περιεθέμην καὶ ἢλθον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, ἐνδοθεν ἄπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἵσασιν οἱ θεοὶ, στένων τῆς καρδίας. καίτοι χρήν δὴπουθεν πι- 285 στείνοντα τῷ φήμαντι θεῷ τὸ τέρας θαρρεῖν· ἀλλ'

1 ὃν Cobet, τῶν Hertlein, MSS.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

I knew nothing whatever of what they had determined; I call to witness Zeus, Helios, Ares, Athene, and all the other gods that no such suspicion even entered my mind until that very evening. It was already late, when about sunset the news was brought to me, and suddenly the palace was surrounded and they all began to shout aloud, while I was still considering what I ought to do and feeling by no means confident. My wife was still alive and it happened, that in order to rest alone, I had gone to the upper room near hers. Then from there through an opening in the wall I prayed to Zeus. And when the shouting grew still louder and all was in a tumult in the palace I entreated the god to give me a sign; and thereupon he showed me a sign 1 and bade me yield and not oppose myself to the will of the army. Nevertheless even after these tokens had been vouchsafed to me I did not yield without reluctance, but resisted as long as I could, and would not accept either the salutation 2 or the diadem. But since I could not singlehanded control so many, and moreover the gods, who willed that this should happen, spurred on the soldiers and gradually softened my resolution, somewhere about the third hour some soldier or other gave me the collar and I put it on my head and returned to the palace, as the gods know groaning in my heart. And yet surely it was my duty to feel confidence and to trust in the god after he had shown me the sign; but I was terribly ashamed and ready to

1 Odyssey 3. 173
ητέομεν δὲ θεοῖν φήναι τέρας, αὐτὰρ δὲ γ' ἡμῖν
deiže καὶ ἡνάγει.

2 i.e. the title of Augustus.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ήσυχώμην δεινῶς καὶ κατεδυόμην, εἰ δόξαμι μὴ πιστῶς ἄχρι τέλους ὑπακούσαι Κωνσταντίῳ.

Πολλῆς οὖν οὕσης περὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα κατηφείας, τούτων εὐθὺς οἱ Κωνσταντῖνος φίλοι τὸν καρδόν ἀρπάσαι διανοηθέντες ἐπιβουλήν μοι βάπτουσιν αὐτίκα καὶ διένειμαν τοῖς στρατιώταις χρήματα, δυοῖν θάτερον προσδοκόντες, ἥ διαστήσειν ἄλλη-λοις ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι 1 μοι φανερῶς. Β αὐσθόµενος τις τῶν ἐπιτεταγµένων τῇ προόδῳ τῆς ἐµῆς γαμετῆς λάθρα πραττόμενον αὐτὸ ἔµοι μὲν πρῶτον ἐµῆσθεν, ὡς δὲ ἔωρα μὲ μηδὲν προσε-
χοντα, παραφρονήσας ὀσπέρ οἱ θεόληπτοι δηµο-
σία βοῶν ἢξατο κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. Ἀνδρεῖς στρατιώται καὶ ξένοι καὶ πολῖται, μὴ προδότε
τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. εἶτα ἐµπίπτει θυµός εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντες εἰς τὰ βασιλεῖα μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἔθεον. καταλαβώντες δὲ μὲ ξόντα καὶ Σ χαρέντες ὀσπέρ οἱ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων ὀφθέντας 
φίλους ἄλλος ἄλλοθινει περιέβαλλον καὶ περιε-
πλεκόν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀµῶν ἐφερον, καὶ ἦν πῶς τὸ 
πράγµα θέας ἄξιον, ἐνθουσίασµῷ γὰρ ἐφκεῖ. ὡς 
δὲ μὲ ἀπανταχόθεν περιέσχον, ἐξήτουν ἀπαντᾶς 
τοὺς Κωνσταντῖνος φίλους ἐπὶ τιµωρία. πηλίκον 
ἡγούσιάµην ἀγώνα σώσαι βουλόµενος αὐτούς, Δ 
ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες.

Ἀλλὰ δὴ τὰ μετὰ τούτο πῶς πρὸς τὸν 
Κωνστάντιον διεπραξάµην; οὕτω καὶ τῆµερον 
ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαῖς τῇ δοθεῖση

1 ἐπιθήσεσθαι Cobet, ἐπιθέσθαι Hertlein, MSS.

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sink into the earth at the thought of not seeming to obey Constantius faithfully to the last.

Now since there was the greatest consternation in the palace, the friends of Constantius thought they would seize the occasion to contrive a plot against me without delay, and they distributed money to the soldiers, expecting one of two things, either that they would cause dissension between me and the troops, or no doubt that the latter would attack me openly. But when a certain officer belonging to those who commanded my wife’s escort perceived that this was being secretly contrived, he first reported it to me and then, when he saw that I paid no attention to him, he became frantic, and like one possessed he began to cry aloud before the people in the market-place, “Fellow soldiers, strangers, and citizens, do not abandon the Emperor!” Then the soldiers were inspired by a frenzy of rage and they all rushed to the palace under arms. And when they found me alive, in their delight, like men who meet friends whom they had not hoped to see again, they pressed round me on this side and on that, and embraced me and carried me on their shoulders. And it was a sight worth seeing, for they were like men seized with a divine frenzy. Then after they had surrounded me on all sides they demanded that I give up to them for punishment the friends of Constantius. What fierce opposition I had to fight down in my desire to save those persons is known to all the gods.

But further, how did I behave to Constantius after this? Even to this day I have not yet used in my letters to him the title which was bestowed on me.
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μοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπωνυμία κεχρημαί, καίσαρα
de ἐμαυτοῦ γέγραφα, καὶ πέπεικα τοὺς στρατιώτας
όμισαί μοι μηδενός ἐπιθυμήσεν, εἰπερ ἦμιν
ἐπιτρέψειεν ἀδεῶς οἰκεῖν τὰς Γαλλίας, τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις συναινέσας. ἀπαντὰ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ 286
τάγματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἱκε-
τεύοντα περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦμιν ὅμοιοιας.
ο δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπεβαλεν ἦμιν τοὺς βαρβάρους,
ἐχθρον δὲ ἀνηγόρευσε μὲ παρ᾽ ἐκείνους, καὶ
μισθοὺς ἐτέλεσεν, ὅπως τὸ Γαλλικὸν ἔθνος πορθη-
θεῖη, γράφων τε ἐν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παραφυλάττεαι
τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Γαλλίων παρεκδέευτο, καὶ περὶ Β
τοὺς Γαλλικὸς ὅρους ἐν ταῖς πλησίον πόλεισιν
ἐῖς τριακοσίας μυριάδας μεδίμνων πυρῶν κατ-
eργασμένων ἐν τῇ Βρυγαντίᾳ, τοσοῦτον ἐτερον
περὶ τὰς Κόττιας Ἀλπεῖς ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ στρατεύσων
ἐκέλευσε παρασκευασθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ λόγου,
σαφῆ δὲ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἃς γέγραφεν ἐπιστολάς
ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κομισθεῖσας ἐδεξάμην, καὶ
τὰς τροφὰς τὰς παρασκευασμένας κατέλαβον
καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ταύρον. πρὸς τούτων ἔτι Σ
νῦν μοι ὡς καίσαρι 1 γράφει, καὶ οὐδὲ συνη-
σεθαι πώποτε πρὸς με ὑπέστη, ἀλλ᾽ Ἐπίκτητον
τινα τῶν Γαλλιῶν 2 ἐπίσκοπον ἔπεμψεν ὡς πιστά
μοι περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρέχοντα,
καὶ τοῦτο θρυλεῖ δι᾽ ὅλων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν,
ὡς οὐκ ἀφαιρησόμενος τοῦ ξῆν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς
τιμῆς οὐδὲν μημονεύει. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὄρκους

1 ὡς καίσαρι Hertlein suggests, καίσαρι MSS.
2 Athanasius says that Epictetus was bishop of Centum-
cellae; hence Petavius suggests Κέντουμκκελλῶν for τῶν
Γαλλιῶν.

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by the gods, but I have always signed myself Caesar, and I have persuaded the soldiers to demand nothing more if only he would allow us to dwell peaceably in Gaul and would ratify what has been already done. All the legions with me sent letters to him praying that there might be harmony between us. But instead of this he let loose against us the barbarians, and among them proclaimed me his foe and paid them bribes so that the people of the Galls might be laid waste; moreover he wrote to the forces in Italy and bade them be on their guard against any who should come from Gaul; and on the frontiers of Gaul in the cities near by he ordered to be got ready three million bushels of wheat which had been ground at Brigantia,¹ and the same amount near the Cottian Alps, with the intention of marching to oppose me. These are not mere words but deeds that speak plain. In fact the letters that he wrote I obtained from the barbarians who brought them to me; and I seized the provisions that had been made ready, and the letters of Taurus. Besides, even now in his letters he addresses me as “Caesar” and declares that he will never make terms with me; but he sent one Epictetus, a bishop of Gaul,² to offer a guarantee for my personal safety; and throughout his letters he keeps repeating that he will not take my life, but about my honour he says not a word. As for his oaths, for my part I think they should, as the proverb says, be written in ashes,³ so little do they inspire belief. But my honour I will not give

¹ Bregentz, on Lake Constance.
² Epictetus was bishop of Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia); see critical note.
³ cf. “Write in dust” or “write in water.”
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αυτοῦ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας ὀλίμας δεῖν εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, οὕτως εἰς τι στοιχεῖον τῆς τιμῆς δὲ οὐ τοῦ Δ καλοῦ καὶ πρέσπος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν φίλων ἐνεκα σωτηρίας ἀντέχομαι καὶ οὕτω φημὶ τὴν πανταχοῦ γῆς γυμναζόμενην πικρίαν.

Ταῦτα ἐπεισέ με, ταῦτα ἐφάνη μοι δίκαια. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάντα ὀρώσι καὶ ἀκούσων ἀνεθέμην θεοῖς. εἶτα θυσάμενος περὶ τῆς ἔξοδον καὶ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς στρατιώταις περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε πορείας ἐμελλὼν διαλέγεσθαι, 287 ὑπὲρ τῇ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ πολὺ πλέον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων ἁνθρώπων ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ τῆς Κελτῶν ἑθνοῦς, ὃ δὲ ᾖθη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξέδωκεν, οὐδὲ τῶν προγυνικῶν φεισάμενος τάφων, ὃ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους πάνυ θεραπεύων, φόβῃ δεῖν ἔθνη τε προσλαβεῖν τὰ δυνατῶτα καὶ χρημάτων πόρους δικαιοτάτων ἐξ ἀργυρείων καὶ χρυσείων, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀγαπήσεις ἔτι νῦν γοῦν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν, εἰσὼ τῶν νῦν ἐχομένων μένειν, εἰ δὲ Β πολεμεῖν διανοοῖτο καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας γνώμης χαλάσεις, ὃ, τι ἄν ἦ τοὺς θεοῖς φίλου πάσχειν ἡ πράττειν, ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἀνανδρία ψυχῆς καὶ διανοίας ἀμαθία ἡ πλήθει δυνάμεως ὠσθενε-στερον αὐτοῦ φανήσαι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλήθει κρατήσεις, οὐκ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας ἐστὶν εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Καλλιαῖς περιμένοντα με καὶ τὸ ξῆν ἀγαπῶντα καὶ διακλίνοντα τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπανταχόθεν περικόψας C 288
up, partly out of regard for what is seemly and fitting, but also to secure the safety of my friends. And I have not yet described the cruelty that he is practising over the whole earth.

These then were the events that persuaded me; this was the conduct I thought just. And first I imparted it to the gods who see and hear all things. Then when I had offered sacrifices for my departure, the omens were favourable on that very day on which I was about to announce to the troops that they were to march to this place; and since it was not only on behalf of my own safety but far more for the sake of the general welfare and the freedom of all men and in particular of the people of Gaul,—for twice already he had betrayed them to the enemy and had not even spared the tombs of their ancestors, he who is so anxious to conciliate strangers!—then, I say, I thought that I ought to add to my forces certain very powerful tribes and to obtain supplies of money, which I had a perfect right to coin, both gold and silver. Moreover if even now he would welcome a reconciliation with me I would keep to what I at present possess; but if he should decide to go to war and will in no wise relent from his earlier purpose, then I ought to do and to suffer whatever is the will of the gods; seeing that it would be more disgraceful to show myself his inferior through failure of courage or lack of intelligence than in mere numbers. For if he now defeats me by force of numbers that will not be his doing, but will be due to the larger army that he has at his command. If on the other hand he had surprised me loitering in Gaul and clinging to bare life and, while I tried to avoid the danger, had attacked me on all sides, in
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κατέλαβε, κύκλω μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ στόμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδων, τὸ παθεῖν τε οἷμαι τὰ ἐσχάτα προσήν καὶ ἐτι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη σωμαίας ἐλάττων ξημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσι.

Ταύτα διανοηθείς, ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναίοι, τοῖς τε συστρατιώταις τοῖς ἔμοις διήλθον καὶ πρὸς κοινοὺς τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολῖτας γράφω. θεοὶ δὲ οἱ πάντων κύριοι συμμαχιάν ἠμῶν τὴν Δ ἔαντων, ὡσπερ ὑπεστησαν, εἰς τέλος δοῦν καὶ παράσχοιεν ταῖς Ἀθηναίων υφ᾽ ἡμῶν τε εἰς ὅσον δύναμις εὐ παθεῖν καὶ τοιούτους σχεῖν ἐσ ὡς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἱ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτὰς αἰδέσονται καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν.

1 αἰδέσονται Cobet, εἰσονται Hertlein, MSS.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

the rear and on the flanks by means of the barbarians, and in front by his own legions, I should believe have had to face complete ruin, and moreover the disgrace of such conduct is greater than any punishment—at least in the sight of the wise.¹

These then are the views, men of Athens, which I have communicated to my fellow soldiers and which I am now writing to the whole body of the citizens throughout all Greece. May the gods who decide all things vouchsafe me to the end the assistance which they have promised, and may they grant to Athens all possible favours at my hands! May she always have such Emperors as will honour her and love her above and beyond all other cities!

¹ Demosthenes, Olynthisae 1. 27.
LETTER TO THE AMERICANS

From the very first page of the Declaration of Independence, we are told that the colonists had no quarrel with the British Crown, but that their struggle was for freedom and self-governance. The Founding Fathers believed that the natural rights of man could not be negated by any king or government. They were not motivated by any desire for revenge or hatred, but by a desire for liberty and justice. The war was not for riches or power, but for the very survival of the American people. They were willing to go to war, and to die, if necessary, to achieve their goal. This is the true story of the American Revolution, and it is a story that should never be forgotten.
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER
TO A PRIEST
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO A PRIEST
INTRODUCTION

Julian was Supreme Pontiff, and as such felt responsible for the teachings and conduct of the priesthood. He saw that in order to offset the influence of the Christian priests which he thought was partly due to their moral teaching, partly to their charity towards the poor, the pagans must follow their example. Hitherto the preaching of morals had been left to the philosophers. Julian’s admonitions as to the treatment of the poor and of those in prison, and the rules that he lays down for the private life of a priest are evidently borrowed from the Christians.

This Fragment occurs in the Vossianus MS., inserted in the Letter to Themistius,¹ and was identified and published separately by Petavius. It was probably written when Julian was at Antioch on the way to Persia.

¹ p. 256 c, between τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον and καὶ πεποίηκασι.
ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐ προσιόντας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν θεοῦ δαιμόνων τεταγμένων φύλον, ὃς ἂν τὰ πολλὰ παροιστρούμενοι τῶν ἀθέων ἀναπείθονται θανάταν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὅταν ἀπορρήξωσι τὴν ψυχὴν βιαίως. εἰς δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας ἀντὶ τῶν πόλεων διώκουσιν, ὃντος τάνθρωπον φύσει πολιτικοῦ ξόφου καὶ ἡμέρου, δαίμοσιν ἐκδεδομένῳ ποιηροῖς, ὃς ἂν εἰς ταύτην ἄγονται τὴν μισανθρωπίαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ κλοιοὺς ἔξηγον, οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων. οὗτος παρα-χόθεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κακὸς συνελαίνει δαίμων, ὃ δεδώκασιν ἐκόντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἀποστάντες τῶν ἁιδίων καὶ σωτήρων θεῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἄπορχη τοσαύτα εἰπειν' ὅθεν δ' ἐξέβην εἰς τοῦτο ἐπανήξω.
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER
TO A PRIEST

..... ONLY\(^1\) that they chastise, then and there, any whom they see rebelling against their king. And the tribe of evil demons is appointed to punish those who do not worship the gods, and stung to madness by them many atheists are induced to court death in the belief that they will fly up to heaven when they have brought their lives to a violent end. Some men there are also who, though man is naturally a social and civilised being, seek out desert places instead of cities, since they have been given over to evil demons and are led by them into this hatred of their kind. And many of them have even devised fetters and stocks to wear; to such a degree does the evil demon to whom they have of their own accord given themselves abet them in all ways, after they have rebelled against the everlasting and saving gods. But on this subject what I have said is enough, and I will go back to the point at which I digressed.

\(^1\) The beginning is lost: Julian has apparently been describing the functions of good demons, and now passes on to the demons whose task is to punish evil-doers; cf. *Oration* 2. 90 b.
Δικαιοπραγίας οὖν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους εὐθυλοῦν ὅτι μελήσει τοὺς ἐπιτρόποις τῶν πόλεων, πρέποι δ' ἂν καὶ υμῖν εἰς παραίνεσιν τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἱεροὺς ὄντας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς νόμους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἱερατικὸν βίον εἶναι χρὴ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ σεμνότερον, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τούτον καὶ διδακτέον ἐγγυέται δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, οἱ βελτίων· έγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὐχομαί καὶ πάντας, ἔλπίζω δὲ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσει καὶ σπουδαίους· ἐπηγνώσονται γὰρ οἰκείους ὄντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς λόγους.

Ἀσκητέα τοῖνυν πρὸ πάντων ἡ φιλανθρωπία· ταύτη γὰρ ἐπεται πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, έξαιρετον δὲ δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἡ παρὰ τῶν B θεῶν εὐμένεια. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δεσπόταις συνδιατιθέμενοι περὶ τε φιλίας καὶ σπουδάς καὶ ἐρωτας ἀγαπώνται πλέον τῶν ὁμοδοῦλων, οὐτω νομιστέοι φύσει φιλανθρωπον δν τὸ θεῖον ἀγαπάν τούς φιλανθρώπους τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ φιλανθρωπία πολλὴ καὶ παντοία· καὶ τὸ πεφεισμένος κολάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ C τῷ βελτίων τῶν κολαζομένων, ὡσπερ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τὰ παιδία, καὶ τὸ τὰς χρείας αὐτῶν ἐπινορθοῦν, ὡσπερ οἱ θεοί τὰς ἡμετέρας. ὅρατε ὅσα ἤμων δεδώκασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθᾶ, τροφᾶς παντοίας καὶ ὄποσας οὐδὲ ὅμοι πᾶσι τοῖς ξίφοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτέχθημεν γυμνοὶ, ταῖς τε τῶν ξίφων ἡμᾶς θρίξιν ἐσκέπασαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυσικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δένδρων. καὶ οὐκ ἤρκεσεν ἄπλως οὐδὲ αὐτοσχεδίως, καθάπερ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐφή τοὺς χιτω—D 298
LETTER TO A PRIEST

Though just conduct in accordance with the laws of the state will evidently be the concern of the governors of cities, you in your turn will properly take care to exhort men not to transgress the laws of the gods, since those are sacred. Moreover, inasmuch as the life of a priest ought to be more holy than the political life, you must guide and instruct men to adopt it. And the better sort will naturally follow your guidance. Nay I pray that all men may, but at any rate I hope that those who are naturally good and upright will do so; for they will recognise that your teachings are peculiarly adapted to them.

You must above all exercise philanthropy, for from it result many other blessings, and moreover that choicest and greatest blessing of all, the good will of the gods. For just as those who are in agreement with their masters about their friendships and ambitions and loves are more kindly treated than their fellow slaves, so we must suppose that God, who naturally loves human beings, has more kindness for those men who love their fellows. Now philanthropy has many divisions and is of many kinds. For instance it is shown when men are punished in moderation with a view to the betterment of those punished, as schoolmasters punish children; and again in ministering to men’s needs, even as the gods minister to our own. You see all the blessings of the earth that they have granted to us, food of all sorts, and in an abundance that they have not granted to all other creatures put together. And since we were born naked they covered us with the hair of animals, and with things that grow in the ground and on trees. Nor were they content to do this simply or off-hand, as Moses bade men take
LETTER TO A PRIEST

νας λαβείν δερματίνους, ἀλλ' ὀράτε ὡς ἐγένετο
tῆς Ἐργάνης Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ δῶρα. ποίον οὖν
χρήται ξών; ποίον ἑλαίῳ; πλὴν εἰ τισιν ἥμεις
καὶ τούτων μεταδίδομεν, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ
μεταδιδόντες. τί δὲ τῶν θαλαττίων σίτῳ, τί δὲ
tῶν χερσαίων τοῖς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆται; χρυσὸν
οὔπω λέγω καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, ὅσ πᾶσιν οἱ
θεοὶ ξαπλούτους ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν, οὐχ ἵνα ονείδος
αὐτῶν περιορῶμεν περισσοτέρως τοῖς πένητας,
ἀλλὰ τε ὅταν καὶ ἐπιείκεις τινες τύχωσι τὸν
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τρόπον, οἷς πατρῴς μὲν κλῆρος οὐ γέγονεν, ὅπο
δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας ἥκιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντες χρημάτων
πένηταν. τούτους ὀρῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
ονείδιξουσιν. αὐτοὶ δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ τῆς
τούτων πενίας, ἢ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν κεκτημένων
ἀπληστία καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ
ἀληθοὺς ὑπολήψεως αἰτία γίνεται καὶ προσέτι
τοῖς θεοῖς ονείδους ἁδίκου. τί γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦμεν, Β
ἵνα χρυσὸν ὥσπερ τοῖς Ῥόδιοις ὁ θεὸς ὑστὸ τοῖς
πένησιν; ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ταχέως ἡμεῖς
ὑποβαλόμενοι τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ προθέντες παν-
tαχοῦ τὰ ἀγγεία πάντας ἀπελάσομεν, ἵνα μόνοι
τὰ κοινὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάσωμεν δόρα. θαυμάσειε
δ' ἂν τις εἰκότως, εἰ τοῦτο μὲν ἄξιοίμεν ὅτε
πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλυσίτελες πάντη, τὰ

1 ἄξιοίμεν Hertlein suggests, ἄξιοίμεν MSS.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

cloths of skins, but you see how numerous are the gifts of Athene the Craftswoman. What other animals use wine, or olive oil? Except indeed in cases where we let them share in these things, even though we do not share them with our fellowmen. What creature of the sea uses corn, what land animal uses things that grow in the sea? And I have not yet mentioned gold and bronze and iron, though in all these the gods have made us very rich; yet not to the end that we may bring reproach on them by disregarding the poor who go about in our midst, especially when they happen to be of good character—men for instance who have inherited no paternal estate, and are poor because in the greatness of their souls they have no desire for money. Now the crowd when they see such men blame the gods. However it is not the gods who are to blame for their poverty, but rather the insatiate greed of us men of property becomes the cause of this false conception of the gods among men, and besides of unjust blame of the gods. Of what use, I ask, is it for us to pray that God will rain gold on the poor as he did on the people of Rhodes? For even though this should come to pass, we should forthwith set our slaves underneath to catch it, and put out vessels everywhere, and drive off all comers so that we alone might seize upon the gifts of the gods meant for all in common. And anyone would naturally think it strange if we should ask for this, which is not in the nature of things, and is in every way unprofitable, while we do

1 Genesis 3. 21.
2 Pindar, Olympian Ode 7. 49; this became a Sophistic commonplace. Cf. Menander (Spengel) 3. 362; Aristides 1. 807; Libanius 31. 6, Foerster; Philostratus, Imagines 2. 270.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

δυνατὰ δὲ μὴ πράττομεν. τίς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μεταδι-

dόνα τοίς πέλας ἐγένετο πένης; ἐγὼ τοις πολλάκις
tοῖς δεόμενοι προέμενος ἐκτησάμην αὐτὰ παρὰ
θεῶν1 πολλαπλάσια καίτερ ὃν φαύλος χρημα-
tιστῆς, καὶ οὐδέποτε μοι μετεμέλησε προεμένῳ.
kαὶ τὰ μὲν υἱὸν ὁν εἰπομι: καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν εἴη
παντελῶς ἄλογον, εἰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἄξιωσαμι
βασιλικαῖς παραβάλλεσθαι χορηγίαις: ἀλλ' ὅτε Θ
ἐτί ἐτύγχανον ἰδιώτης, σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ τούτῳ
ἀποβάν τολλάκις. ἀπεσώκη τοῖς τέλειοι ὁ κλήρος
τῆς τῆθης, ἐχόμενος ὑπ' ἄλλων βιαίως ἐκ βραχέων
ἀν εἰχον ἀναλίσκοντι τοῖς δεόμενοι καὶ μετα-
dιδόντι.

Κοινωνητέον οὖν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπασιν ἀνθρώ-
ποίς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιεικέσιν ἔλενθεριότερον,
tοῖς δὲ ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν ὅσον ἐπαρκέσαι τῇ
χρείᾳ. φαίνη δ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι
καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς2 ἔσθήτος καὶ τροφῆς ὅσιον ἄν εἴη
μεταδιδόναι: τῷ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ ὧ τῷ τρόπῳ
δίδομεν. διόπερ οἴμαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
καθειργμένους ἄξιωτεόν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας,
οὐδὲν γὰρ κολύσει τὴν δίκην ἢ τοιαύτη φιλαν-
θρωπία. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, πολλῶν ἀπο-
κεκλεισμένων ἐπὶ κρίσει, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὀφλησόντων,
tῶν δὲ ἀθώων ἀποφανθησόμενον, μὴ διὰ τοὺς
ἀναιτίων οἰκτῶν τινα νέμειν καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς,
ἀλλὰ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐνεκα καὶ περὶ τοὺς οὖν Ἐν
ἡδικηκότας ἀνθλεώς καὶ ἀπανθρώπως διακείσθαι.

1 παρὰ θεῶν Hertlein suggests, παρ' αὐτῶν MSS.
2 πονηροὶς Hertlein suggests, πολέμωτοι MSS.

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not do what is in our power. Who, I ask, ever became poor by giving to his neighbours? Indeed I myself, who have often given lavishly to those in need, have recovered my gifts again many times over at the hands of the gods, though I am a poor man of business; nor have I ever repented of that lavish giving. And of the present time I will say nothing, for it would be altogether irrational of me to compare the expenditure of private persons with that of an Emperor; but when I was myself still a private person I know that this happened to me many times. My grandmother's estate for instance was kept for me untouched, though others had taken possession of it by violence, because from the little that I had I spent money on those in need and gave them a share.

We ought then to share our money with all men, but more generously with the good, and with the helpless and poor so as to suffice for their need. And I will assert, even though it be paradoxical to say so, that it would be a pious act to share our clothes and food even with the wicked. For it is to the humanity in a man that we give, and not to his moral character. Hence I think that even those who are shut up in prison have a right to the same sort of care; since this kind of philanthropy will not hinder justice. For when many have been shut up in prison to await trial, of whom some will be found guilty, while others will prove to be innocent, it would be harsh indeed if out of regard for the guiltless we should not bestow some pity on the guilty also, or again, if on account of the guilty we should behave ruthlessly and inhumanly to those also who have done no wrong. This too, when I consider it,
LETTER TO A PRIEST

ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐννοοῦντι μοι παντάπασιν ἁδικὸν καταφαίνεται. Ξένιον ὁνομάζομεν Δία, καὶ γιγνώμεθα τῶν Σκυθῶν κακοξενώτεροι. πῶς οὖν ὁ βουλόμενος τῷ Ξενίῳ θύσαι Δὶ φοιτᾷ πρὸς τὸν νεόν; μετὰ ποταποῦ συνειδότος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ πρὸς γὰρ Δίως εἴσιν ἄπαντες

Πτωχοὶ τε ἔξινοι τε: δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε;

Πῶς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἐταίρεων θεραπεύων Δία, ὅρῶν C τοὺς πέλας ἐνδεεῖς χρημάτων, εἶτα μηδ' ὅσον δραχμῆς μεταδίδοις, οἴεται τὸν Δία καλῶς θεραπεύειν; ὅταν εἰς ταύτα ἀπίδω, παντελῶς ἁχανής γίνομαι, τὰς μὲν ἑπωνυμίας τῶν θεῶν ἀμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡσπερ έικόνας γραπτᾶς ὅρων, ἐργῷ δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδέν τοιούτον ἐπιτηδεύμενον. ὁμόγειοι λέγονται παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὶ καὶ Ζεὺς ὁμόγνιος, ἔχομεν δὲ ὡσπερ πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς συγγενεῖς· ἀνθρωπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἐκὼν καὶ ἄκων τὰς ἐστὶ συγγενής, εἰτε, καθάπερ λέγεται παρὰ τινων, ἐξ ἐνός τε καὶ μᾶς γενόναμεν πάντες, εἰθ' ὀπωσοῦν ἀλλας, ἀθρώς ὑποστησάντων ἡμᾶς τῶν θεῶν ἀμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅχ' ἐνα καὶ μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἀμα καὶ πολλάς. οἱ γὰρ ἐνα καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες οὐκ οἱ τί ήσαν ἀμα καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ πολλάς ὑποστήσαν· καὶ γὰρ δι' τρόπων τὸν τε ἑνα καὶ τὴν μίαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπων τους πολλοὺς τε καὶ τὰς πολλάς. εἰς τε τὸ διάφορον

1 ὑποστήσαν Reiske would add.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

seems to me altogether wrong; I mean that we call Zeus by the title "God of Strangers," while we show ourselves more inhospitable to strangers than are the very Scythians. How, I ask, can one who wishes to sacrifice to Zeus, the God of Strangers, even approach his temple? With what conscience can he do so, when he has forgotten the saying "From Zeus come all beggars and strangers; and a gift is precious though small"? 1

Again, the man who worships Zeus the God of Comrades, and who, though he sees his neighbours in need of money, does not give them even so much as a drachma, how, I say, can he think that he is worshipping Zeus aright? When I observe this I am wholly amazed, since I see that these titles of the gods are from the beginning of the world their express images, yet in our practice we pay no attention to anything of the sort. The gods are called by us "gods of kindred," and Zeus the "God of Kindred," but we treat our kinsmen as though they were strangers. I say "kinsmen" because every man, whether he will or no, is akin to every other man, whether it be true, as some say, that we are all descended from one man and one woman, or whether it came about in some other way, and the gods created us all together, at the first when the world began, not one man and one woman only, but many men and many women at once. For they who had the power to create one man and one woman, were able to create many men and women at once; since the manner of creating one man and one woman is the same as that of creating many men and many women. And 2

1 Odyssey 6. 207.
2 The connection of the thought is not clear, and Petavius thinks that something has been lost.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν ἑθῶν ¹ καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ἐστὶ µεῖζον καὶ τιµωτέρον καὶ κυριώτερον, εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήµην, ἡ παραδεδοταὶ διὰ τῶν ἁρχαίων ἡµῶν θεουργῶν, ὥστε Ἄινος Ἐ

εἰς ὅπερ ποῦ τὸ τῶν ἁνθρώπων βλαστήσει εὐνός. καὶ οὕτως οὐν συγγενεῖς γενόµεθα πάντες, εἰ µὲν εἰς ἑνός καὶ µιᾶς, ἐκ δυοῖν ἁνθρώποι ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλαὶ, εἰ δὲ, καθάπερ οἱ θεοὶ φασὶ καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ἐπιµαρτυροῦντων τῶν ἑργῶν, ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πάντες γεγονότες. ὅτι δὲ πολλοῦς ἀµα ἁνθρώπους γενεύθαι µαρτυρεῖ τὰ Ἕ ἑργά, ὅθεν δὲ ἁρκεῖσει τοσοῦτον ἐπεῖν, ὡς µὲν καὶ µιᾶς οὐδὲν οὔτε τοὺς νόµους εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραλλάξαι οὔτε ἀλλας τὴν γῆν ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἐµπλησθῆναι πάσαν, οὔδὲ εἰ τέκνα ² ἀµα πολλὰ καθάπερ αἱ σὺς ἐτίκτων αὐτοῖς αἰ γυναῖκες. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἁνθρῶς φυτεύσαντων τῶν ³ θεῶν, ὅπερ τρόπον ὃ εἰς, οὕτως θεοὶ πλείονος προ-

ηλθον ἁνθρώποι τοῖς γενεάρχαις θεοὶ ἀποκληρω-
κέντες οἱ καὶ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δηµ-


ουργοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαµβάνοντες εἰς αἰῶνος.

Κάκεινο δ' ἄξιον ἐννοεῖν, ὅσοι παρὰ τῶν ἐµπρο-

σθεν ἀνάλογωτα λόγοι περὶ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικὸν εἶναι ἴον τῶν ἁνθρώπων. ἥµεις οὖν οἱ ταῦτα εἰπόντες καὶ διατάξαντες ἀκοινωνίτως πρὸς τοὺς

¹ ἑθῶν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαθῶν Petavius, ἰδίων MSS.
² τέκνα Hertlein would add.
³ φυτεύσαντων τῶν Hertlein suggests, νεοσάντων MSS.

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one must have regard to the differences in our habits and laws, or still more to that which is higher and more precious and more authoritative, I mean the sacred tradition of the gods which has been handed down to us by the theurgists of earlier days, namely that when Zeus was setting all things in order there fell from him drops of sacred blood, and from them, as they say, arose the race of men. It follows therefore that we are all kinsmen, whether, many men and women as we are, we come from two human beings, or whether, as the gods tell us, and as we ought to believe, since facts bear witness thereto, we are all descended from the gods. And that facts bear witness that many men came into the world at once, I shall maintain elsewhere, and precisely, but for the moment it will be enough to say this much, that if we were descended from one man and one woman, it is not likely that our laws would show such great divergence; nor in any case is it likely that the whole earth was filled with people by one man; nay, not even if the women used to bear many children at a time to their husbands, like swine. But when the gods all together had given birth to men, just as one man came forth, so in like manner came forth many men who had been allotted to the gods who rule over births; and they brought them forth, receiving their souls from the Demiurge from eternity.¹

It is proper also to bear in mind how many discourses have been devoted by men in the past to show that man is by nature a social animal. And shall we, after asserting this and enjoining it, bear

¹ Julian here prefers the Platonic account of the creation in the Timaeus to the Biblical narrative.
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πλησίον ἔξομεν; ἐκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἡθῶν τε καὶ ἑπτηδευμάτων ἐκαστος ἡμῶν ὀρμώμενοι εὐλαβείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, χρηστότητος τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους, 293 ἀγνείας τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργα πληροῦτω, πειρώμενος δὲ ἀεὶ τι περὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβεῖς διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τινος ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὰ ιερά τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τιμῆς καὶ ὁσιότητος, σεβόμενος ὥσπερ ἄν εἰ παρόντας ἔόρα τοὺς θεοὺς. ἀγάλματα γὰρ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ πυρὸς ἀσβέστου φυλακὴν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα οἱ πατέρες ἐθεντὸ τῆς παρουσίας τῶν θεῶν, οὐχ ἵνα ἐκεῖνα θεοὺς νομίσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα B δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμῶν δυναταὶ εἰς σώματι σωματικῶς ἐδει ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἀσωματοί δὲ εἰςν αὐτοῖς πρῶτα μὲν ἐδειξαν ἡμῖν ἀγάλματα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τῶν θεῶν γένους περὶ πάντα τῶν οὐρανῶν κύκλῳ περιφερόμενον. δυναμένης δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀποδίδοσθαι τῆς θεραπείας σωματικῶς· ἀπροσδεῖ γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει 2 ἐτερον ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξηπρέθη γένος ἀγαλμάτων, εἰς ὁ τὰς θεραπείας ἐκτελοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς εὑμενεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς καταστήσωμεν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βασιλεῶν θεραπεύοντες εἰκόνας, οὐδὲν δεομένων, ὃμως ἐφέλκονται τὴν εὐνοιαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ θεῶν θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, δεομένων οὐδὲν D τῶν θεῶν, ὃμως πείθουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπαμένειν σφιστ

1 σωματικῶς Petavius, Hertlein approves, σωματικὰς MSS.
2 ἐτερον Hertlein suggests, δεύτερον Reiske, τρίτον MSS.
ourselves unsociably to our neighbours? Then let everyone make the basis of his conduct moral virtues, and actions like these, namely reverence towards the gods, benevolence towards men, personal chastity; and thus let him abound in pious acts, I mean by endeavouring always to have pious thoughts about the gods, and by regarding the temples and images of the gods with due honour and veneration, and by worshipping the gods as though he saw them actually present. For our fathers established images and altars, and the maintenance of undying fire, and, generally speaking, everything of the sort, as symbols of the presence of the gods, not that we may regard such things as gods, but that we may worship the gods through them. For since being in the body it was in bodily wise that we must needs perform our service to the gods also, though they are themselves without bodies; they therefore revealed to us in the earliest images the class of gods next in rank to the first, even those that revolve in a circle about the whole heavens. But since not even to these can due worship be offered in bodily wise—for they are by nature not in need of anything\(^1\)—another class of images was invented on the earth, and by performing our worship to them we shall make the gods propitious to ourselves. For just as those who make offerings to the statues of the emperors, who are in need of nothing, nevertheless induce goodwill towards themselves thereby, so too those who make offerings to the images of the gods, though the gods need nothing, do nevertheless thereby persuade them to help and

\(^1\) cf. St. Paul, *Acts* 17. 25, “neither is he worshipped with men’s hands, as though he needed anything.”
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καὶ κήδεσθαι· δείγμα γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἄλθως ὀσίότητος ἡ περὶ τὰ δυνατὰ προθυμία, καὶ ὁ ταύτην πληρῶν εὑρήλον ὅτι μειζόνως ἐκείνην ἀποδίδωσιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ὀλγώρων, εἶτα προσποιούμενος τῶν ἀδυνάτων ὁρέγεσθαι δῆλος ἐστιν οὐκ ἐκείνα μεταδιώκον, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα παρο-ρῶν· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ μηδενὸς ὁ θεὸς δεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσοιστέων· οὐδὲ γάρ τῆς διὰ λόγων εὐφημίας δεῖται. τί οὖν; εὑλογον αὐτὸν ἀπο-στερῆσαι καὶ ταύτης; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ Β τῆς διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν εἰς αὐτὸν γιγνομένης τιμῆς, ἡς ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐναντίο τρεῖς οὐδὲ τρισχίλιοι, πᾶς δὲ ὁ προλαβὼν αἰών ἐν πάσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἔθεσιν.

'Αφορώντες οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα μή C τοι νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἰσὶν μηδὲ ξῦλα, μηδὲ μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἰναί ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθον καὶ χαλκὸν λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βα-σιλέας, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας βασιλέων. ὡστε οὖν ἐστι ϕιλοβασιλεύως ἤδεως ὅρα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Εἰ-κόνα, καὶ ὡστε ἐστὶν ϕιλόταις ἤδεως ὅρα τὴν τοῦ D παιδός, καὶ ὡστες φιλοπάτωρ τὴν τοῦ πατρός. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὡστες ϕιλόθεος ἤδεως εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμε-νος ἁμα καὶ φρίττων ἔξω ἀφανοῖς ὁρῶντας εἰς αὐ-τὸν τοὺς θεοὺς. εἰ τὰς οὖν ὁμηταί δεῖν αὐτὰ μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι διὰ τὸ θεῶν ἀπαξ εἰκόνας κληθήναι, 310
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to care for them. For zeal to do all that is in one's power is, in truth, a proof of piety, and it is evident that he who abounds in such zeal thereby displays a higher degree of piety; whereas he who neglects what is possible, and then pretends to aim at what is impossible, evidently does not strive after the impossible, since he overlooks the possible. For even though God stands in need of nothing, it does not follow that on that account nothing ought to be offered to him. He does not need the reverence that is paid in words. What then? Is it rational to deprive him of this also? By no means. It follows then that one ought not to deprive him either of the honour that is paid to him through deeds, an honour which not three years or three thousand years have ordained, but all past time among all the nations of the earth.

Therefore, when we look at the images of the gods, let us not indeed think they are stones or wood, but neither let us think they are the gods themselves; and indeed we do not say that the statues of the emperors are mere wood and stone and bronze, but still less do we say they are the emperors themselves. He therefore who loves the emperor delights to see the emperor's statue, and he who loves his son delights to see his son's statue, and he who loves his father delights to see his father's statue. It follows that he who loves the gods delights to gaze on the images of the gods, and their likenesses, and he feels reverence and shudders with awe of the gods who look at him from the unseen world. Therefore if any man thinks that because they have once been called likenesses of the gods, they are incapable of being destroyed, he is, it
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παντελῶς ἀφρών εἰναὶ μοι φαίνεται. χρὴν γὰρ
dήπουθεν αὐτὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ 295
dὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀν-
θρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ ἀμαθοῦς φθαρῆναι δύναται.
tὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ξύντα ἀγάλματα κατασκευα-
σθέντα τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, οἱ περὶ τὸν
οὐρανὸν κύκλῳ φερόμενοι θεοί, μένει τὸν ἅλι
χρόνον ἁίδια. μηδέις οὖν ἀπιστεῖτος θεοὶ ὄρῳ
καὶ ἀκούων, ὡς ἐνύβρισαν τινες εἰς τὰ ἀγάλματα
καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς. ἀρ' οὖν ἀνθρώπους χρηστοὺς
ἀπέκτειναν πολλοί, καθάπερ Σωκράτη καὶ Δίωνα B
καὶ τὸν μέγαν 'Εμπεδότιμον; δὴν εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι μᾶλ-
λον ἐμέλησε τοῖς θεοῖς. ἀλλ' ὅρατε, ὅτι καὶ τούτων
φθαρτῶν εἰδότες τὸ σῶμα συνεχόρθησαν εἰς τῇ
φύσει καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι, δίκην δὲ ἀπήτησαν
ὑστερον παρὰ τῶν κτεινάντων. δὴ δὴ συνέβη
φανερὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἱεροσύλων.

Μηδεῖς οὖν ἀπατάτω λόγους μηδὲ ταραττέτω
περὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὅνειδίζοντες C
tὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν 'Ἰουδαίων ἡ προφήται, τὶ περὶ
tοῦ νεῶν φήσουσι τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν τρίτον ἀνατρα-
pέντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; ἡγὼ δὲ εἰπον οὐκ
ὅνειδίζων ἐκείνους, ὅσ γε τοσοῦτοι ύστερον χρό-
νος ἀναστήσασθαι διενοήθην αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ
κληθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ θεοῦ· νυνὶ δὲ ἐχρησάμεθν
αὐτῷ δεῖξαι Βουλόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων D
οὐδὲν ἀφθαρτον εἰναι δύναται καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα
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seems to me, altogether foolish; for surely in that case they were incapable of being made by men's hands. But what has been made by a wise and good man can be destroyed by a bad and ignorant man. But those beings which were fashioned by the gods as the living images of their invisible nature, I mean the gods who revolve in a circle in the heavens, abide imperishable for all time. Therefore let no man disbelieve in gods because he sees and hears that certain persons have profaned their images and temples. Have they not in many cases put good men to death, like Socrates and Dio and the great Empedotimus? And yet I am very sure that the gods cared more for these men than for the temples. But observe that since they knew that the bodies even of these men were destructible, they allowed them to yield to nature and to submit, but later on they exacted punishment from their slayers; and this has happened in the sight of all, in our own day also, in the case of all who have profaned the temples.

Therefore let no man deceive us with his sayings or trouble our faith in a divine providence. For as for those who make such profanation a reproach against us, I mean the prophets of the Jews, what have they to say about their own temple, which was overthrown three times and even now is not being raised up again? This I mention not as a reproach against them, for I myself, after so great a lapse of time, intended to restore it, in honour of the god whose name has been associated with it. But in the present case I have used this instance because I wish to prove that nothing made by man can be inde-

1 Of Syracuse, whose claim to be immortal was accepted by the Sicilians.
γράφοντες ἐλήρουν προφηταί, γραδίοις ψυχροῖς ὀμιλοῦντες. οὖδὲν δὲ οὐμαί κωλύει τὸν μὲν θεόν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν σπουδαίων προφητῶν οὐδὲ ἠξηγητῶν τυχεῖν. αἰτιον δὲ, ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ψυχήν οὐ παρέσχον ἀποκαθήραι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθῆμασιν οὐδὲ ἀνοίξαι μεμυκτά λιαν τὰ ὄμματα οὐδὲ ἀνακαθήραι τὴν ἐπικείμενην αὐτοῖς ἄχλον, 296 ἀλλ’ οἷον φῶς μέγα δι’ ὀμίχλης οἱ ἀνθρώποι βλέποντες οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ εἰλικρινῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνο νευμακότες οὐχὶ φῶς καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ πάντων ὄντες ἀθέται βοῶσι μέγα. Φρίττετε, φοβεῖσθε, πῦρ, φλόγες, θάνατος, μάχαιρα, ῥομμαία, πολλοῖς ὄνομασι μίαν ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν βλαστικήν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἱδία βέλτιον παραστήσαι, πόσῳ Β φαιλότερον τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν οὕτοι γεγονόσι ποιητῶν οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν θεόν λόγων διδάσκαλοι.

Προσήκει δὲ οὐ τὰ τῶν θεῶν μόνον ἀγάλματα προσκυνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς· εὐλογον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ιερέας τιμᾶν ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ διακονοῦντας ἡμῖν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, συνεπισχύοντας τῇ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς τῶν ἁγαθῶν δόσει· Σ προθύουσι γὰρ πάντων καὶ ὑπερεύχονται. δίκαιον οὖν ἀποδιδόναι πάσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ἢ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχονσι ταῖς τιμάσ. εἰ δὲ τις οἴεται τοῦτο ἐπ’ ἱσης χρὴνα νέμειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχονσι, ἐπεὶ
structible, and that those prophets who wrote such statements were uttering nonsense, due to their gossipping with silly old women. In my opinion there is no reason why their god should not be a mighty god, even though he does not happen to have wise prophets or interpreters. But the real reason why they are not wise is that they have not submitted their souls to be cleansed by the regular course of study, nor have they allowed those studies to open their tightly closed eyes, and to clear away the mist that hangs over them. But since these men see as it were a great light through a fog, not plainly or clearly, and since they think that what they see is not a pure light but a fire, and they fail to discern all that surrounds it, they cry with a loud voice: "Tremble, be afraid, fire, flame, death, a dagger, a broad-sword!" thus describing under many names the harmful might of fire. But on this subject it will be better to demonstrate separately how much inferior to our own poets are these teachers of tales about the gods.

It is our duty to adore not only the images of the gods, but also their temples and sacred precincts and altars. And it is reasonable to honour the priests also as officials and servants of the gods; and because they minister to us what concerns the gods, and they lend strength to the gods' gift of good things to us; for they sacrifice and pray on behalf of all men. It it therefore right that we should pay them all not less, if not indeed more, than the honours that we pay to the magistrates of the state. And if any one thinks that we ought to assign equal honours to them and to the magistrates of the state, since the latter
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κάκεινοι τρόπον τινά τοῖς θεοῖς ἱερατεύομαι, φύλακες ὄντες τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ τά γε τῆς εὐνοίας παρὰ πολὺ χρῆ νεμεῖν τούτοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δ’ Ἀχαίοι καίπερ πολέμοιν ὄντα τὸν ιερέα προσέταττον αἰδεῖσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἰμείσις δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους αἴδούμεθα τοὺς εὐχομένους ὑπὲρ ἣμῶν καὶ θύονται.

'Αλλ' ἐπείπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποθομένην ἀρχὴν ἔληλυθεν, ἄξιον εἰναι μοι δοκεῖ διελθεῖν ἐφεξῆς, ὧποιος τις ἄν ὁ ιερεὺς αὐτὸς τε δικαῖως τιμηθήσεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι ποιήσει.1 τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον ὁ χρῆ σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἔως ἃν ιερεὺς τις ὀνομάζηται, 297 τιμὰν αὐτὸν χρῆ καὶ θεραπεῦει, εἰ δὲ εἰπ̄ πονηρός, ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ιερωσύνην ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφανθέντα περιορᾶν εἴς δὲ προθύει καὶ κατάρχεται καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς τὸ τιμώτατον τῶν θεῶν κτῆμα προσβλεπτέος ἐστὶν ἦμῖν μετὰ αἴδοὺς καὶ εὐλαβείας. ἀτοποὶ γὰρ, εἰ τοὺς μὲν λίθους, εἴ ὁν καὶ βωμοὶ πεποίηται, διὰ τὸ καθιερώσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαπῶμεν,2 ὅτι μορφὴν ἔχουσι καὶ σχῆμα πρέποι, εἰς ἣν εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένου λειτουργίαν. Β. ἀνδρὰ δὲ καθωσιωμένον τοῖς θεοῖς ὤκε ὀνησόμεθα χρῆναι τιμᾶν. ἵσως ὑπολήψεται τις ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνοντα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς

1 καὶ—ποιήσει Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.
2 ἀγαπῶμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαπῆσομεν MSS.
also are in some sort dedicated to the service of the gods, as being guardians of the laws, nevertheless we ought at any rate to give the priests a far greater share of our good will. The Achaeans, for instance, enjoined on their king\textsuperscript{1} to reverence the priest, though he was one of the enemy, whereas we do not even reverence the priests who are our friends, and who pray and sacrifice on our behalf.

But since my discourse has come back again to the beginning as I have so long wished, I think it is worth while for me to describe next in order what sort of man a priest ought to be, in order that he may justly be honoured himself and may cause the gods to be honoured. For as for us, we ought not to investigate or enquire as to his conduct, but so long as a man is called a priest we ought to honour and cherish him, but if he prove to be wicked we ought to allow his priestly office to be taken away from him, since he has shown himself unworthy of it. But so long as he sacrifices for us and makes offerings and stands in the presence of the gods, we must regard him with respect and reverence as the most highly honoured chattel\textsuperscript{2} of the gods. For it would be absurd for us to pay respect to the very stones of which the altars are made, on account of their being dedicated to the gods, because they have a certain shape and form suited to the ritual for which they have been fashioned, and then not to think that we ought to honour a man who has been dedicated to the gods. Perhaps someone will object—"But suppose he does wrong and often fails to offer to the gods their sacred

\textsuperscript{1} Agamemnon; \textit{Iliad} l. 23.

\textsuperscript{2} cf. Plato, \textit{Phaedo} 62 c; \textit{Letter to the Athenians} 276 B.
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tous theous osion; evw dh phmi xrhmai ton mev
toiouton exelegchein, iva mu tounrds an evochl
tous theous, eis d an exelegxh tis, mu atimazein.
oide gar eulogon epilabomewn tauntis tis C
afomh os tou ton monon, alla kai ton epithei-
deion timasai tivn tivn prosoafareisthai. Esto
toivn osterp airchon, outw de kai iereus pias
aidesimos, eteide kai upofasio esti theou tou
Didymaiou toiauthe.

"Osoi eis ariptiiras atassalhisi vnoi
'Anthanotov r exou apofoilia, kai geraesow
'Antia bouleounisin adelisidheusi logismois.
Ouketo olhn biotou diekterowsin atartpon,
"Osoi per makaresin elwishedanto theisw,
"On keinoi theosepton elon therapida timh,
kai talon evn allous o theos fhesi

Panta mev therapontas emous olhhs kakot-
titos—,
kai fhesin uper tou ton dinh epitthesin autois.

Polla de eirmemewn tou touton para tou theou,
di don enestei mathontas opow xrh timan kai
therapeuEin tous iereas, eirhesetai moi dia plei-
onon evn allous: apoxh de vyn, oti me skediazou
midein, epideixai tivn te ek tou theou proorrhsein
kai to epitagma ton autou logon ikanon
hgoymenos. eI tis ouv azipistovn utelithfen
eme didaskalov ton tou touton, aideasteis ton

1 exelegxh Hertlein suggests, exelegxh MSS.
rites?" Then indeed I answer that we ought to convict a man of that sort, so that he may not by his wickedness offend the gods; but that we ought not to dishonour him until he has been convicted. Nor indeed is it reasonable that when we have set our hands to this business, we should take away their honour not only from these offenders but also from those who are worthy to be honoured. Then let every priest, like every magistrate, be treated with respect, since there is also an oracle to that effect from the Didymaean god: "As for men who with reckless minds work wickedness against the priests of the deathless gods and plot against their privileges with plans that fear not the gods, never shall such men travel life's path to the end, men who have sinned against the blessed gods whose honour and holy service those priests have in charge." And again in another oracle the god says: "All my servants from harmful mischief——;" and he says that on their behalf he will inflict punishment on the aggressors.

Now though there are many utterances of the god to the same effect, by means of which we may learn to honour and cherish priests as we ought, I shall speak on this subject elsewhere at greater length. But for the present it is enough to point out that I am not inventing anything offhand, since I think that the declaration made by the god and the injunction expressed in his own words are sufficient. Therefore let any man who considers that as a teacher of such matters I am worthy to be believed

1 Apollo.
2 An oracle from an unknown source: these verses occur again in Epistle 62. 451 a.
3 Sc. I will protect.
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θείντ εκείνῳ πειθέσθω καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν θεῶν τιμάτω διαφερόντως· ὅποιον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι χρή, πειράσομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκα σοῦ· τούτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ νῦν ἡπιστάμην, ἀμα μὲν τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, ἀμα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν μαρτυροῦντων, ὅτι τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην διαθήσῃ Καλῶς, ὥσα γε εἰς προαιρέσει ἢκεὶ τὴν σὴν, οὐδὲν ἐτολμήσα σοι μεταδοθήκαι τοσοῦτον πράγματος· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχῃς ἐντεύθεν διδάσκειν τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐλογότερον καὶ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ως οὐκ οἶκοθεν αὐτά νοεῖς καὶ πράττεις μόνον, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ σύμφθημον σεαυτῷ, δοκοῦντ' γε εἶναι διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρχιερεά μέγιστον, ἄξιον μὲν οὖν δαμώδως πράγματος τοσοῦτον, βουλόμενον δὲ εἶναι καὶ προσευχόμενον ἄεί τοῖς θεοῖς· εὖ γὰρ ἰσθι, Δ. μεγάλας ἥμιν οἱ θεοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ἐλπίδας ἐπανηγγέλλονται. πειστέον δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντως. ἀγευδεῖν γὰρ εἰόθασιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἔκεινον μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίδε· οἱ δὲ διὰ περιουσίαν δυνάμεως οἴοι τε ὅντες καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ περιγενέσθαι παραχῆς καὶ τὸ ἀτακτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄλλοκοτον ἑπανορθοῦν ἀρ' οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον, ὅπως δὲρηται τὰ μαχόμενα, χορισθείς μὲν τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς, γῆς δὲ γενομένον τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος, ἰκανοὶ παρασχεῖν ἔσονται ταύθ' ὀσπερ ἑπηγείλαντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχειν ἔδοσαν.
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show due respect to the god and obey him, and honour the priests of the gods above all other men. And now I will try to describe what sort of man a priest himself ought to be, though not for your especial benefit. For if I did not already know from the evidence both of the high priest and of the most mighty gods that you administer this priestly office aright—at least all matters that come under your management—I should not have ventured to confide to you a matter so important. But I do so in order that you may be able from what I say to instruct the other priests, not only in the cities but in the country districts also, more convincingly and with complete freedom; since not of your own self do you alone devise these precepts and practise them, but you have me also to give you support, who by the grace of the gods am known as sovereign pontiff, though I am indeed by no means worthy of so high an office; though I desire, and moreover constantly pray to the gods that I may be worthy. For the gods, you must know, hold out great hopes for us after death; and we must believe them absolutely. For they are always truthful, not only about the future life, but about the affairs of this life also. And since in the superabundance of their power they are able both to overcome the confusion that exists in this life and to regulate its disorders and irregularities, will they not all the more in that other life where conflicting things are reconciled, after the immortal soul has been separated from the body and the lifeless body has turned to earth, be able to bestow all those things for which they have held out hopes to mankind? Therefore since we know that the gods
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οἱ θεοί τοῖς ἱερεύσι τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ἐγγύους αὐτοὺς ἐν πάσι τῆς ἀξίας τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσωμεν, ὅτι Β πρὸς τὰ πλήθη χρῆ λέγειν δείγμα τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἐκφέροντας βιον.

Αρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, οὔτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν ὡς παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρὼσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ὀρωμένοις δὲ ύφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πάσης αὐγῆς ὅμμα κρείττων ἄχρι τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἡμῖν λογισμῶν διατετακόσιν. οὗτοι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος οὔτος ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τολλῶν μὲν εἰρημένοις λόγον, ἐμοὶ δὲ δήτα ἀπόχρη καὶ ένα παραθεμένον δύο δι' ἐνὸς παραστήσας, τὸς μὲν ὀρόσιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντα, πῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν εὐφραίνονται:

Πάντη Φοιβείη τέταται ταυνσίσκοτος ἀκτῖς·
Καὶ τε διὰ στερεῶν χωρεὶ θοῦν ὄμμα πετράων, Καὶ διὰ κυνάνθες ἀλὸς ἔρχεται, οὐδὲ ἐλθεί
Πληθὺς ἀστερόσεσα παλινδίνητος ιόῦσα
Οὐρανὸν εἰς ἀκάμαντα σοφῆς κατὰ θεσμὸν ἀνάγκης,
Οὐδ' ὅσα νερτερίων ὑπεδέξατο φύλα καμόντων
Τάρταρος ἀχλυόεντος ὑπὸ ζόφον άιδος εἴσω.

Εὐσεβείσιν δὲ βροτοῖς γάνυμαι τόσον, ὀσον
Ὀλυμπο.

"Οσοὶ δὲ λίθου καὶ πέτρας ἀπασά μὲν ψυχή, ὁπλυ δὲ πλέον ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖοτερον ἐχει καὶ συγγενέστερον πρός τούς θεοὺς, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ βάσων καὶ ἐνεργείστερον δι' αὐτῆς

1 ἀχλυόεντος Hertlein suggests; ἀχλυόεσσαν MSS.

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have granted to their priests a great recompense, let us make them responsible in all things for men’s esteem of the gods, displaying their own lives as an example of what they ought to preach to the people.

The first thing we ought to preach is reverence towards the gods. For it is fitting that we should perform our service to the gods as though they were themselves present with us and beheld us, and though not seen by us could direct their gaze, which is more powerful than any light, even as far as our hidden thoughts. And this saying is not my own but the god’s, and has been declared in many utterances, but for me surely it is sufficient, by bringing forth one such utterance, to illustrate two things in one, namely how the gods see all things and how they rejoice in god-fearing men: “On all sides extend the far-seeing rays of Phoebus. His swift gaze pierces even through sturdy rocks, and travels through the dark blue sea, nor is he unaware of the starry multitude that passes in returning circuit through the unwearied heavens for ever by the statutes of necessity; nor of all the tribes of the dead in the underworld whom Tartarus has admitted within the misty dwelling of Hades, beneath the western darkness. And I delight in god-fearing men as much even as in Olympus.”

Now in so far as all soul, but in a much higher degree the soul of man, is akin to and related to the gods, so much the more is it likely that the gaze of the gods should penetrate through his soul easily and

1 Euripides, fr. 488 Nauck; cf. 197 c, 358 d, 387 b, 391 this phrase became a proverb; cf. Lucian, Hermotimus 789.
2 An oracle from an unknown source.
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χωρεῖν τῶν θεόν τὸ ὅμια. θέα¹ δὲ τὴν φιλαν- Β
θρωπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γάννυθαι φάσκοντος τῇ τῶν
eὐσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν διανοίᾳ ὅσον Ὁλύμπῳ τῷ καθα-
ρωτάτῳ. πῶς² ήμῖν οὕτως οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς
ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξόφου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου
μετ' εὐσεβείας αὐτῷ προσίσταντων; οἴδε μὲν γὰρ καὶ
touς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ κατακεκλεισμένους· οὔδὲ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐκτὸς πίπτει δυνάμεως·
ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβείς τοῦ Ὁλυμπίου ἀντὶ Κ
τοῦ Ταρτάρου. διόπερ χρῆ μάλιστα τῶν τῆς
eὐσεβείας ἐργῶν ἀντέχεσθαι προσίστασιν μὲν τοῖς
θεοῖς μετ' εὐλαβείας, αἰσχρῶν μηδὲν μήτε λέγονται
μήτε ἀκούονται. ἀγνεύειν δὲ χρῆ τοὺς ἱερέας οὐκ
ἐργὼν μόνων ἀκαθάρτων οὔδὲ ἀσελγῶν πράξεων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ ἀκροαμάτων τοιούτων.
ἐξελατέα τοῖνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπάχθη
σκόμματα, πάσα δὲ ἀσελγὴς ὁμιλία. καὶ ὅπως
εἰδέναι ἔχεις ὅ βουλομαι φράζειν, ἱερωμένος τῆς
μῆτε Ἀρχίλοχον ἀναγινωσκέτω μῆτε Ἰππώνακτα
μῆτε ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα γραφόντων.
ἀποκλινέτω καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας ὡσα τῆς
tοιαύτης ἰδέας: ἀμείων μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάντως
πρέποι δ' ἄν ἡμῖν ἢ φιλοσοφία μόνη, καὶ τούτων
οἱ θεοῦς ἑγεμόνας προστησάμενοι τῆς ἐαυτῶν
παιδείας, ὡστερ³ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλης οἳ τε ἀμφὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ζήωνα.
προσεκτεῖν μὲν γὰρ οὕτε πάσων οὔτε τοῖς πάντων
dόγμαιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ὡσα 301

¹ θέα Brambs, MSS., θεφ Reiske, Cobet, Hertlein.
² πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
³ ὡστερ Hertlein suggests, ὡσπ MSS.
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effectively. And observe the love of the god for mankind when he says that he delights in the disposition of god-fearing men as much as in Olympus most pure and bright. How then shall he not lead up our souls from the darkness and from Tartarus, if we approach him with pious awe? And indeed he has knowledge even of those who have been imprisoned in Tartarus—for not even that region falls outside the power of the gods,—and to the god-fearing he promises Olympus instead of Tartarus. Wherefore we ought by all means to hold fast to deeds of piety, approaching the gods with reverence, and neither saying nor listening to anything base. And the priests ought to keep themselves pure not only from impure or shameful acts, but also from uttering words and hearing speeches of that character. Accordingly we must banish all offensive jests and all licentious intercourse. And that you may understand what I mean by this, let no one who has been consecrated a priest read either Archilochus or Hipponax 1 or anyone else who writes such poems as theirs. And in Old Comedy let him avoid everything of that type—for it is better so—and indeed on all accounts philosophy alone will be appropriate for us priests; and of philosophers only those who chose the gods as guides of their mental discipline, like Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle, and the school of Chrysippus and Zeno. For we ought not to give heed to them all nor to the doctrines of all, but only to those philosophers and those of their doctrines that make

1 Hipponax of Ephesus, a scurrilous poet who wrote in choliambics (the skazon) and flourished about the middle of the sixth century b.c.; cf. Horace, Epodes 6. 12.
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εὐσεβείας ἐστὶν ποιητικὰ καὶ διδάσκει περὶ θεοῦ πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εἰσίν, εἰτα ὡς προνοοῦσι τῶν τῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐργάζονται μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν κακῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώ- πους οὔτε ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ὅποια γράφοντες οἱ μὲν παρ' ἥμιν ποιηταὶ κατεφρονήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προφητὶς διατεταμένως συγκατασκεύαζοντες ὑπὸ Β τῶν ἀθλίων τούτων τῶν προσνειμάντων ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις θαυμάζονται.

Πρέποι δὲ ἂν ἥμιν ἱστορίας ἐντυγχάνειν, ὅτι συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεποιημένοις τοῖς ἐργοῖς: ὅσα δὲ ἐστιν ἑν ἱστορίᾳ εἴδει παρὰ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἀπηγγελμένα πλάσματα παρατητήτεον, ἐρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁδὸς πᾶσα τοῖς ἑρωμένοις ἀρμόττει, τετάχθαι δὲ χρῆ καὶ ταύτας, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀνά- γνωσμα πάν ἑρωμένῳ πρέπει. ἐγγίνεται γὰρ τις τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐγείρει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, εἰτα ἐξαιρεθη-

Μήτε Ἐπικούρειος εἰσίτω λόγος μὴτε Πυρρώ-

νειος ἢ ὅτι μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνηρίκασιν, ὡστε ἐπιλείπειν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα D τῶν βιβλίων. ὦμοις οὐδὲν κωλύει τύπου χάριν ἐπιμνησθῆναι μὲν καὶ τοῦτων, ὅποιων χρῆ μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερεάς ἀπέχεσθαι λόγων, εἰ δὲ λόγων, πολυ πρότερον ἐννοιῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἴμαι ταύτῶν ἑστὶν

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men god-fearing, and teach concerning the gods, first that they exist, secondly that they concern themselves with the things of this world, and further that they do no injury at all either to mankind or to one another, out of jealousy or envy or enmity. I mean the sort of thing our poets in the first place have brought themselves into disrepute by writing, and in the second place such tales as the prophets of the Jews take pains to invent, and are admired for so doing by those miserable men who have attached themselves to the Galilaeans.

But for us it will be appropriate to read such narratives as have been composed about deeds that have actually been done; but we must avoid all fictions in the form of narrative such as were circulated among men in the past, for instance tales whose theme is love, and generally speaking everything of that sort. For just as not every road is suitable for consecrated priests, but the roads they travel ought to be duly assigned, so not every sort of reading is suitable for a priest. For words breed a certain sort of disposition in the soul, and little by little it arouses desires, and then on a sudden kindles a terrible blaze, against which one ought, in my opinion, to arm oneself well in advance.

Let us not admit discourses by Epicurus or Pyrrho; but indeed the gods have already in their wisdom destroyed their works, so that most of their books have ceased to be. Nevertheless there is no reason why I should not, by way of example, mention these works too, to show what sort of discourses priests must especially avoid; and if such discourses, then much more must they avoid such thoughts. For an error of speech is, in my
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ἀμάρτημα γλώττης καὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην χρῆ μάλιστα θεραπεέων, ὡς καὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐκείνης συνεξαμαρτανούσης. ἐκμανθάνειν χρῆ τοὺς ὦμοιοι τῶν θεών εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ καλοὶ πεποιημένοι παλαιοὶ καὶ νέοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους πεφρατέοι ἐπιστασθαί τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροὶς ἀδομένους. οὶ πλείστοι γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἱκετευθέντων ἐδόθησαν, ὦλγοι δὲ τινες 302 ἐποιήθησαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ὡπ' πνεύματος ἐνθέου καὶ ψυχῆς ἀβάτου τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεῶν τιμῇ συγκείμενοι,

Ταῦτα γε ἄξιον ἐπιτηθεῦναι καὶ εὐχεσθαι πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἱδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, μάλιστα μὲν τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, εἴ δὲ μὴ, πάντως ὄρθον γε1 καὶ δείλης· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογον ἅθυτον ἄγειν ἡμέραν ἢ νῦκτα τῶν ἱερωμένου, ἀρχῇ δὲ ὄρθροι μὲν ἡμέρας, Β ὢσία δὲ νυκτὸς· εὐλογον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅταν ἐξωθεν τῆς ἱερατικῆς ὅντες τυγχάνωμεν λειτουργίας· ὡς τὰ γε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὥσα πάτριος διαγορεύει νόμος, φυλάττειν πρέπει, καὶ οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἐλαττῶν τι ποιητέοι αὐτῶν· ἄλλα γὰρ ἐστὶ τα τῶν θεῶν· ὥστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν, ἢν αὐτοὺς ἰλασκῶμεθα διὰ τοῦτο πλέον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἤμεν αὐτοψυχαὶ μόναι, τὸ σώμα δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἡμῖν διώχλει, καλῶς ἄν εἰχὲν ἕνα τινὰ τοὺς ἱερεύνοις ἀφορίζεων βίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕς ἱερεύνοις ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ 2 ἱερεὶ προσῆκει μόνον, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν καρόν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτηθευτέον,

1 γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.
2 τφ Wright, ὅς Hertlein, MSS. The meaning is not clear and Petavius suspects corruption.

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opinion, by no means the same as an error of the mind, but we ought to give heed to the mind first of all, since the tongue sins in company with it. We ought to learn by heart the hymns in honour of the gods—and many and beautiful they are, composed by men of old and of our own time—though indeed we ought to try to know also those which are being sung in the temples. For the greater number were bestowed on us by the gods themselves, in answer to prayer, though some few also were written by men, and were composed in honour of the gods by the aid of divine inspiration and a soul inaccessible to things evil.

All this, at least, we ought to study to do, and we ought also to pray often to the gods, both in private and in public, if possible three times a day, but if not so often, certainly at dawn and in the evening. For it is not meet that a consecrated priest should pass a day or a night without sacrifice; and dawn is the beginning of the day as twilight is of the night. And it is proper to begin both periods with sacrifice to the gods, even when we happen not to be assigned to perform the service. For it is our duty to maintain all the ritual of the temples that the law of our fathers prescribes, and we ought to perform neither more nor less than that ritual; for eternal are the gods, so that we too ought to imitate their essential nature in order that thereby we may make them propitious.

Now if we were pure soul alone, and our bodies did not hinder us in any respect, it would be well to prescribe one sort of life for priests. But since what he should practise when on duty concerns the individual priest alone, not priests absolutely, what
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tί δὲ τῷ ἱερατεύειν ἀνθρώπῳ λαχώντι συγχωρητέον, ὅταν ἐκτὸς ἡ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λειτουργίας; οἷμαι δὲ χρὴ ναὶ τὸν ἱερέα πάντων ἀγνεύσαντα θύκτα καὶ ἦμέραν, εἶτα ἄλλην ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῦκτα καθηράμενον οἷς διαγορεύουσιν οἱ θεσμοὶ καθαρμοῖς οὕτως εἰσῳ φοιτῶντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μένειν ὅσας ἀν ἦμέρας ὁ νόμος κελεύῃ. τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἀλ λίν εἰσὶν ἐν Ρώμῃ, παρ' ἄλλους δὲ ἄλλως. εὐλογον οὖν οἷμαι μένειν ἀπάσας ταύτας τὰς ἦμέρας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφούντα, καὶ μήτε εἰς οἰκίαν βαδίζειν μήτε εἰς ἁγοράν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ 303 ἄρχοντα πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὅραν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ θείον θεραπείας αὐτὸν ἐφορώντα πάντα καὶ διατάττοντα, πληρώσαντα δὲ τὰς ἦμέρας εἶτα ἐτέρῳ παραχωρείν τῆς λειτουργίας. επὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπων τρεπομένῳ βίον ἔξεστο καὶ βαδίζειν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλον καὶ εἰς ἐστίασιν ἀπαντῶν παρακληθέντα, μὴ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν Β. βελτίστων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἁγορᾶν παρελθεὶν οὐκ ἄτοπον διλυγάκις, ἡγεμόνα τε προσεπείν καὶ ἔθνους ἄρχοντα, καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγως δεομένοις ὡς ἐνδέχεται βοηθῆσαι.

Πρέπει δὲ οἷμαι τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἐνδον μὲν, ὅτε λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτι χρῆσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτη, τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ ἔξω τῇ συνήθει δίχα πολυ-

1 τῷ Hertlein suggests, ὃς MSS.

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should we concede to a man who has received the office of priest, on occasions when he is not actually engaged in service in the temples? I think that a priest ought to keep himself pure from all contamination, for a night and a day, and then after purifying himself for another night following on the first, with such rites of purification as the sacred laws prescribe, he should under these conditions enter the temple and remain there for as many days as the law commands. (Thirty is the number with us at Rome, but in other places the number varies.) It is proper then, I think, that he should remain throughout all these days in the sacred precincts, devoting himself to philosophy, and that he should not enter a house or a marketplace, or see even a magistrate, except in the precincts, but should concern himself with his service to the god, overseeing and arranging everything in person; and then, when he has completed the term of days, he should retire from his office in favour of another. And when he turns again to the ordinary life of mankind, he may be allowed to visit a friend's house, and, when invited, to attend a feast, but not on the invitation of all but only of persons of the highest character. And at this time there would be nothing out of the way in his going occasionally to the market-place and conversing with the governor or the chief magistrate of his tribe, and giving aid, as far as lies in his power, to those who have a good reason for needing it.

And it is in my opinion fitting for priests to wear the most magnificent dress when they are within the temple performing the services, but when they are outside the sacred precincts to wear ordinary dress,
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teleias: οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογοῦν τοῖς δεδομένοις ἦμιν ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τύφων μάταιον. ὅθεν ἀφεκτέον ἦμιν ἐσθήτος πολυτελε-στέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ κόμπου ἡ καὶ πάσης ἀπλώς ἀλαξοείας. οἱ γοῦν θεοὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἀγασθέντες Ἀμφιαράοι σωφροσύνην, ἔπειδὴ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκείνου κατεδίκασαν φθοράν εἰδὼς τε αὐτὸς συνεστρατευτο καὶ ἦν ἀφενκτο αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἀπέφηγαν αὐτὸν ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς λήξιν θείαν. πάντων γοῦν τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ταῖς Θηβαῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων πρὶν κατεργάσασθαι σή-ματα γραφόντων καὶ ἐγειρόντων τὰ τρόπαια κατὰ τῆς συμφόρας 1 τῶν Καδμείων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὁμιλητῆς ἁσύμα μὲν ἐπεστρατευεν ἐχῶν ὅπλα, πραότητα δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην ὡς καὶ 2 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο. διόπερ οἶμαι χρῆ καὶ τοὺς ιερέας ἦμᾶς τὰ περὶ τὰς ἑσθήτας σωφρονεῖν, 3 ἱνα τυγχάνωμεν εὐμενῶν τῶν θεῶν· ὡς οὐ μικρά γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνομεν δημοφύμενοι τὰς ιερὰς ἑσθήτας καὶ δημοσιεύοντες καὶ παρέχοντες 304 ἀπλῶς περιβλέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡσπερ τι θαυμαστόν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο 4 συμβαίνει, πολλοὶ πελάξουσιν ἦμιν οὐ καθαροί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χραίνεται τὰ τῶν θεῶν σύμβολα. τὸ δὲ καὶ ἦμᾶς

1 κατὰ τῆς συμφόρας Ηρτλείν suggests, καὶ τὰς συμφόρας MSS.
2 ὡς καὶ Ηρτλείν would add.
3 ἦμᾶς—σωφρονεῖν Κοβέτ suggests, lacuna Ηρτλείν, MSS.
4 εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο Ηρτλείν suggests, εἰπερ ἐκ τοῦτο MSS.
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without any extravagance. For it is not rational that we should misuse, in empty conceit and vain ostentation, what has been given to us for the honour of the gods. And for this reason we ought in the market place to abstain from too costly dress and from outward show, and in a word from every sort of pretentiousness. For consider how the gods, because they admired the perfect moderation of Amphiaraus, after they had decreed the destruction of that famous army—and he, though he knew that it would be so, went with the expedition and therefore did not escape his fated end,—the gods I say transformed him completely from what he had been, and removed him to the sphere of the gods. For all the others who were in the expedition against Thebes engraved a device on their shields before they had conquered the enemy, and erected trophies to celebrate the downfall of the Cadmeans; but he, the associate of the gods, when he went to war had arms with no device; but gentleness he had, and moderation, as even the enemy bore witness. Hence I think that we priests ought to show moderation in our dress, in order that we may win the goodwill of the gods, since it is no slight offence that we commit against them when we wear in public the sacred dress and make it public property, and in a word give all men an opportunity to stare at it as though it were something marvellous. For whenever this happens, many who are not purified come near us, and by this means the symbols of the gods are polluted. Moreover

1 Cf. Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes; Euripides, Phoebisae 1118

\( \delta \) μαντις 'Αμφιάραος οὐ σημεῖα τεχνὸν
\( \chiβρισμένον, \) ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἀσημία ὑπλα. 333
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αὐτοὺς ὦν χειρατικὸς ἰερέων ἔσθητα περικείσθαι πόσης ἐστὶ παρανομίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως εἰς τοὺς θεούς; εἰρήσεται μὲν ὦν ἢμῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ἐτέκνειας· νῦν ὁ δὲ τύπῳ πρὸς σε γράφω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Τοῖς ἀσελγέσι τούτοις θεάτροις τῶν ἱερέων μὴ δεὶς μηδαμοῦ παραβάλλετο μηδὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· πρέπει γὰρ οὐδαμῶς. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἴον τε ἦν ἐξελάσαι παντάπασιν αὐτὰ τῶν θεάτρων, ὅστε αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Διονύσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα, πάντως ἂν ἐπειράθη αὐτὸ προθύμως κατασκευάσαι. νῦν δὲ οὗμενος τὸ τοῦτο οὔτε δυνατον οὔτε ἄλλος, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν φανεῖ, συμφέρον ἄν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, ταύτης μὲν ἀπεσχόμην παντάπασι τῆς φιλοτιμίας· ἀξιός δὲ τούς ἱερεὰς ὑποχωρήσαι καὶ ἀποστήναι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσελγείας. μὴ δεὶς ὦν ἱερεὺς εἰς θεάτρον εἰσίτω, μὴ δὲ ἐχέτω φίλον θυμελικὸν μηδὲ ἀρµατηλάτην, μηδὲ ὀρχηστής μηδὲ μῖρος αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτω· τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἄγωσιν ἐπιτρέπτω μόνον τῷ βουλομένῳ παραβάλλειν, ὅν ἀπηγορεύτω μετέχειν οὐκ ἀγνοίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέας ταῖς γυναιξίν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν εἰσὼ τῶν θεάτρων συντελεῖται, ὡς ἀφεκτέων τούτων ἐστὶν ὦν ἱερεύσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖσιν ἱερεύσι.

Ἡν μὲν οὖν ὅσος πρὸ τοῦτον εἰρήσθαι καλῶν, ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως χρῆ τοὺς ἱερεὰς ἀποδεικνύειν· οὐδὲν δὲ ἀτοπον εἰς τούτο μοι τοὺς λόγους λήξαι. ἐγὼ 305

1 ἐν ἄλλοις Cobet would add; cf. 298 A.
2 ἐχέτω Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
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what lawlessness it is, what arrogance towards the gods for us ourselves when we are not living the priestly life to wear the priestly dress! However, of this too I shall speak more particularly in another place; and what I am writing to you at the moment is only a mere outline of the subject.

No priest must anywhere be present at the licentious theatrical shows of the present day, nor introduce one into his own house; for that is altogether unfitting. Indeed if it were possible to banish such shows absolutely from the theatres so as to restore to Dionysus those theatres pure as of old, I should certainly have endeavoured with all my heart to bring this about; but as it is, since I thought that this is impossible, and that even if it should prove to be possible it would not on other accounts be expedient, I forebore entirely from this ambition. But I do demand that priests should withdraw themselves from the licentiousness of the theatres and leave them to the crowd. Therefore let no priest enter a theatre or have an actor or a chariot-driver for his friend; and let no dancer or mime even approach his door. And as for the sacred games, I permit anyone who will to attend those only in which women are forbidden not only to compete but even to be spectators. With regard to the hunting shows with dogs which are performed in the cities inside the theatres, need I say that not only priests but even the sons of priests must keep away from them?

Now it would perhaps have been well to say earlier from what class of men and by what method priests must be appointed; but it is quite appropriate that my remarks should end with this. I say
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φημι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βελτίστους καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φιλοθεωτάτους, ἐπείτα φιλανθρωποτάτους, εάν τε πένητες ὃσιν εάν τε πλούσιοι· διάκρισις ἕστω πρὸς τούτο μηδ' ἢτισθον ἀφανοὺς καὶ ἐπιφανοὺς· ὅ γὰρ διὰ πραότητα λεληθὼς οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀφάνειαν δίκαιος ἐστι κωλύσθαι. κἂν πένης οὐν ἢ τις δημότης ἔχων ἐν ἐαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τὸ τε φιλόθεον καὶ τὸ φιλανθρωπὸν, ἱερεὺς ἀποδεικνύσθω. δεῖγμα δὲ Β τοῦ φιλοθέου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγοι, τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δὲ, εἰ καὶ εξ ὀλίγων εὐκόλως κοινωνεῖ τοὺς δεομένους καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως, εὐ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσους ἄγ ὀδὸς τε ἢ.

Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τοῦτο, καὶ τὴν ιατρείαν ἐντεῦθεν ποιητέον. ἐπεὶ δὴ γὰρ οἶμαι συνεβη τοὺς πένητας ἀμελεῖσθαι παρορμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαΐοι κατανοήσαντες ἐπέθεντο ταῦτα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ χείριστον τῶν ἔργων διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων ἐκράτυναν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἷο τὰ παιδία διὰ τὸ πλακοῦντος ἐξαπατώντες τὸ καὶ δῆς καὶ τρίς προέσχαι πείθουσιν ἄκολονθεὶν ἐαυτοῖς, εἴθ', ὅταν ἀποστῆσωσι πόρρω τῶν οἰκείων, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδοντο, καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἀπαντα τῶν ἔξης βίων πικρόν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλίγον

1 εὐδοκιμοῦντος Hertlein suggests, καλλιστον δοκοῦντος Reiske, δοκοῦντος MSS.
2 γὰρ Hertlein would add.

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that the most upright men in every city, by preference those who show most love for the gods, and next those who show most love for their fellow men, must be appointed, whether they be poor or rich. And in this matter let there be no distinction whatever whether they are unknown or well known. For the man who by reason of his gentleness has not won notice ought not to be barred by reason of his want of fame. Even though he be poor and a man of the people, if he possess within himself these two things, love for God and love for his fellow men, let him be appointed priest. And a proof of his love for God is his inducing his own people to show reverence to the gods; a proof of his love for his fellows is his sharing cheerfully, even from a small store, with those in need, and his giving willingly thereof, and trying to do good to as many men as he is able.

We must pay especial attention to this point, and by this means effect a cure. For when it came about that the poor were neglected and overlooked by the priests, then I think the impious Galilaeans observed this fact and devoted themselves to philanthropy. And they have gained ascendancy in the worst of their deeds through the credit they win for such practices. For just as those who entice children with a cake, and by throwing it to them two or three times induce them to follow them, and then, when they are far away from their friends cast them on board a ship and sell them as slaves, and that which for the moment seemed sweet, proves to be bitter for all the rest of their lives—by the same method, I say, the Galilaeans
γλυκύ, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοῖς τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν ἦστι γὰρ ὡσπερ τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείστους ἐνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα. * * *
also begin with their so-called love-feast, or hospitality, or service of tables,—for they have many ways of carrying it out and hence call it by many names,—and the result is that they have led very many into atheism. . . . 1

1 The conclusion is lost, and may have been suppressed by Christian copyists.
INTRODUCTION

The Caesars, otherwise entitled in the MSS. Symposium or Kronia (Latin Saturnalia) was written at Constantinople in 361 and was probably addressed to Sallust, to whom Julian had sent his lost work the Kronia. The interlocutor in the proœmium is almost certainly Sallust.

"Caesar" was in Julian's time a Roman Emperor's most splendid title, and was regularly used by the barbarians when they referred to the Emperor. The idea and the working out of the satire is Lucianic and there are echoes here and there of Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, but Julian is neither so witty nor so frivolous as Lucian. In speaking of the gods he allows himself a licence which is appropriate to the festival, but would otherwise seem inconsistent with the admonitions addressed to priests in the Fragment of a Letter. His conception of the State and of the ideal ruler is Greek rather than Roman.

1 cf. Oration 4. 157 c.
2 306 A.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΣΤΙΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΚΡΟΝΙΑ

'Επειδὴ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς παίζειν ἔστι γὰρ Κρόνια: γελοῖον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τερπνὸν οἶδα ἑγώ, τὸ μὴ καταγέλαστα φράσαι φροντίδος έοικεν εἶναι ἄξιον, ὁ φιλότης.

Εἶτα τίς οὖτω παχύς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡστε καὶ παίζειν πεφροντισμένα; ἐγὼ φύμην τὴν παιδιὰν ἁνεσίν τε εἶναι ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν φροντίδων.

'Ορθῶς γε σὺ τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐμοὶ δὲ Β οὐ ταύτη ἔοικεν ἀπαντῶν τὸ χρῆμα. πέφυκα γὰρ οὐδαμὸς ἐπιτήδειος οὔτε σκώπτειν οὔτε παραφεῖν οὔτε γελοιάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρῆ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, βούλει σοι ἐν παιδιάς μέρει μύθον διεξ- ἐλθὼ πολλὰ ἐσώς ἔχοντα ἀκοῆς ἄξια;

Δέγοις ἄν καὶ μᾶλα ἀσμένῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς Σ οὐκ ἀτιμάξω τοὺς μύθους οὐδὲ παντάπασιν ἔξελαύνω τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντας, ἀκόλουθός σοί τε καὶ φίλοι τῷ σῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ κοινῷ, Πλάτωνι διανοούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐν μύθοις ἐσπούδασται.
THE CAESARS

"It is the season of the Kronia,\(^1\) during which the god allows us to make merry. But, my dear friend, as I have no talent for amusing or entertaining I must methinks take pains not to talk mere nonsense."

"But, Caesar, can there be anyone so dull and stupid as to take pains over his jesting? I always thought that such pleasantries were a relaxation of the mind and a relief from pains and cares."

"Yes, and no doubt your view is correct, but that is not how the matter strikes me. For by nature I have no turn for raillery, or parody, or raising a laugh. But since I must obey the ordinance of the god of the festival, should you like me to relate to you by way of entertainment a myth in which there is perhaps much that is worth hearing?"

"I shall listen with great pleasure, for I too am not one to despise myths, and I am far from rejecting those that have the right tendency; indeed I am of the same opinion as you and your admired, or rather the universally admired, Plato. He also often conveyed a serious lesson in his myths."

\(^1\) Better known by its Latin name Saturnalia. Saturn is the Greek Kronos.
Δέγεις ναί μὰ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.
Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μῦθος;
Οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὑποίους Αἴσωπος ἑποίη- 307
σεν, ἀλλ' εἴτε πλάσμα λέγοις Ἐρμοῦ: πεπυ-
σμένος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκείθεν σοι φράσω: εἴτε καὶ
τὰληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει εἴτε μέξις τίς ἔστιν ἁμφότιν,
αὐτό, φασὶ,¹ δείξει τὸ πράγμα.
Τοιτί μὲν οὖν ἦδη μυθικῶς ἁμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς
ἐξείργασται σοι τὸ προοίμιον· ἀλλὰ μοι τὸν
λόγον αὐτὸν, ὑποίος ποτὲ ἔστιν, ἦδη διέξελθε.
Μανθάνοις ἀν.
Θύον ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει Β
τοὺς θεούς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ² τοὺς καίσαρας.
κλῖναί δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμένοι τοῖς μὲν
θεοῖς ἄνω κατ’ αὐτό, φασί, οὐρανοῦ τὸ μετέωρον,
Οὐλυμπόντι, ὃδε φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλές αἰεί.
λέγεται γὰρ μεθ’ Ἠρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε
καὶ ὁ Κυρίων, ὃ δὴ χρή καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὀνόματι,
τῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς
ἐκεῖσε παρεσκευάστο τὸ συμπόσιον· ὑπ’ αὐτὴν δὲ Σ
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετεώρον τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδοκτο
τοὺς καίσαρας δειπνεῖν. ἄνειχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τοῖς
σωμάτων κοινάτης, ἀπερ ἐτύγχανον ἥμισ-
σμένοι, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλῖναί μὲν
οὖν ἐκείνο τέταρτες, εὐτρεπεῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις
θεοῖς. ἐβένοι μὲν ἢν ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου στιλβοῦσθα
καὶ πολλὴν ἐν τῷ μέλαιν καὶ θείαν αὐγὴν κρυ-
πτούσθη, ὡστε οὐδείς οἶδα τε ἢν ἀντιβλέπειν.

¹ φασὶ Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, ἐπιδεξεί MSS.
² αὐτοῦ Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation
"By Zeus, that is true indeed!"
"But what is your myth and of what type?"
"Not one of those old-fashioned ones such as Aesop\(^1\) wrote. But whether you should call mine an invention of Hermes—for it was from him I learned what I am going to tell you—or whether it is really true or a mixture of truth and fiction, the upshot, as the saying is, will decide."
"This is indeed a fine preface that you have composed, just the thing for a myth, not to say an oration! But now pray tell me the tale itself, whatever its type may be."
"Attend."

At the festival of the Kronia Romulus gave a banquet, and invited not only all the gods, but the Emperors as well. For the gods couches had been prepared on high, at the very apex, so to speak, of the sky,\(^2\) on "Olympus where they say is the seat of the gods, unshaken for ever."\(^3\) For we are told that after Heracles, Quirinus also ascended thither, since we must give Romulus the name of Quirinus in obedience to the divine will.\(^4\) For the gods then the banquet had been made ready there. But just below the moon in the upper air he had decided to entertain the Emperors. The lightness of the bodies with which they had been invested, and also the revolution of the moon sustained them. Four couches were there made ready for the superior gods. That of Kronos was made of gleaming ebony, which concealed in its blackness a lustre so intense and divine that no one

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\(^1\) *i.e.* not a fable with a moral nor an animal fable.

\(^2\) Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 B.

\(^3\) Odyssey 6. 42.

\(^4\) Cf. *Oration* 4. 149 B, 154 D.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

επάσχε δὲ ταύτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἔβενον ἐκείνην τὰ Δ ὄμματα δὲ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνος, ὅτερ οἶμαι πρὸς ἦλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δίσκῳ τις ἀτενέστερον προσβλέπῃ. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἦν ἀργύρου μὲν στελπνοτέρα, χρυσίου δὲ λευκοτέρα. τούτῳ εἶτε ἠλεκτρον χρή καλείν εἶτε ἀλλο τι λέγειν, οὐ σφόδρα εἰχὲ μοι γνωρίμως ο Ἑρμῆς φράσαι. χρυσοθρόνω δὲ παρ’ ἐκάτερον ἐκαθεζέσθην ἡ τε μὴτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ. Ἡρα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Δία, 308 Ῥέα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνον. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνος ἐπεξήν τῷ λόγῳ, μείζον εἶναι λέγων αὐτὸ καὶ νῦ θεατό, ἀκοή δὲ καὶ ῥήμασιν οὐτε προσιθηναι ράδιον οὐτε παραδεχθῆναι δυνατόν. οὐχ οὕτω τις ἔσται καὶ φανεῖται μεγαλόφωνος, ἀςτε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκείνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους, ὅποσον ἐνιπρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὀψεi.

Παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεών ἐκάστω Β θρόνος ἡ κλίνη κατὰ προσβείαν. ἦριξε δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ὁ Ομήρος ὅρθως ποιῶν ἔφη, δοκεῖν μοι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἀκήκοώς, ἔχειν ἐκαστον τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἐφ’ οὐ πάντως αὐτῷ βέμις καθήσαι στερεῶς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως: ἔτει καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πάτρως ἔξανιστάμενοι ταράττουσιν οὐδαμῶς τὰς καθέδρας οὐδὲ μεταβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ υφαρπάζουσιν ἀλλήλων, γνωρίζει Σ δὲ ἐκαστὸς τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ. πάντως οὖν κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τοῦ Διονύσου καλὸν καὶ νέου καὶ

1 ἐκαθεζέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἐκαθεζέστον V., ἐκαθεζέστην MSS.

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could endure to gaze thereon. For in looking at that ebony, the eyes suffered as much, methinks, from its excess of radiance as from the sun when one gazes too intently at his disc. The couch of Zeus was more brilliant than silver, but paler than gold; whether however one ought to call this "electron,"¹ or to give it some other name, Hermes could not inform me precisely. On either side of these sat on golden thrones the mother and daughter, Hera beside Zeus and Rhea beside Kronos. As for the beauty of the gods, not even Hermes tried to describe it in his tale; he said that it transcended description, and must be comprehended by the eye of the mind; for in words it was hard to portray and impossible to convey to mortal ears. Never indeed will there be or appear an orator so gifted that he could describe such surpassing beauty as shines forth on the countenances of the gods.

For the other gods had been prepared a throne or couch, for everyone according to seniority. Nor did any dispute arise as to this, but as Homer said,² and correctly, no doubt instructed by the Muses themselves, every god has his seat on which it is irrevocably ordained that he shall sit, firmly and immovably fixed; and though they rise on the entrance of their father they never confound or change the order of their seats or infringe on one another's, since every one knows his appointed place.

Now when the gods were seated in a circle, Silenus, amorous, methinks, of Dionysus ever fair and

¹ Cf. Martial 8. 51. 5: "Vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo"; it is often uncertain whether electron means amber, or a combination of ¾ gold and ¼ silver.

² This is not in our Homer, but Julian may have in mind Iliad 11. 76.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

tò πατρὶ τῷ Δίῳ παραπλησίου πλησίον αὐτοῦ, προφεύς τις οἶα καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθήστο, τᾶ τε Δ' ἄλλα φιλοπαιγμονα καὶ φιλόγελων καὶ χαριτοδότην¹ ὁματα τῶν θεῶν εὐφραίνων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ σκῶπτειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιάζειν.

'Ως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καισάρων συνεκεκρότητον² συμπόσιον, εἰς'ηε πρῶτος Ἰουλίους Καίσαρα, ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος ἔρισαι τῷ Διὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς δὲν ὁ Σειληνὸς βλέψας, "Ὅρα, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ, μῆ σε ὁ ἀνήρ οὔτος ὑπὸ φιλάρχιας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοηθῇ.· καὶ γὰρ, ὡς ὀρᾶς, ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ καλὸς· ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστὶ 309 προσόμοιο. παίζοντος ἔτι τοιαῦτα τὸν Σειληνὸ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῷ, Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμείβων, ὡσπέρ οἱ χαμαίλεοντες, χρώματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὤχρινων, αὕτω δὲ ἐρυθρῶς γινόμενος, εἶτα μέλας καὶ ζοφωδῆς καὶ συννεφής· ἀνέλει ὁ αὕτης εἰς Ἀφροδίτην B καὶ Χάριτας, εἰναὶ τε ἱθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὄμματων ὁποῖς ἐστιν ο μέγας Ἡλίος· οὐδένα γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων³ ἀντιβλέπειν ἥξιον. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς, Βαβαί, ἐφῆ, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τούτου θηρίου· τί ποτ' ἀρά δεινὸν ἡμᾶς εργάσεται; ἔρισαι, εἶπε, ληρῶν, ὁ 'Απόλλων· ἐγὼ γάρ αὐτὸν τοὐτῷ Ζήνωνι παραδοὺς αὐτίκα χώμα ἀποφανῶ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' ἰθι, εἶπεν, ὁ θόνος, ἐπιμελήθητε τοῦμοι θρέμματος. ο δὲ

¹ χαριτοδότην Spanheim, cf. 148 D, χαριτοδότην Hertlein, MSS.
² συνεκεκρότητο Hertlein suggests, συνεκροτείτο MSS.
³ ἀπαντῶντων Spanheim, πάντων Hertlein, MSS.

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ever young, who sat close to Zeus his father, took his seat next to him on the pretext that he had brought him up and was his tutor. And since Dionysus loves jesting and laughter and is the giver of the Graces, Silenus diverted the god with a continual flow of sarcasms and jests, and in other ways besides.

When the banquet had been arranged for the Emperors also, Julius Caesar entered first, and such was his passion for glory that he seemed ready to contend with Zeus himself for dominion. Whereupon Silenus observing him said, "Take care, Zeus, lest this man in his lust for power be minded to rob you of your empire. He is, as you see, tall and handsome, and if he resembles me in nothing else, round about his head he is very like me." While Silenus, to whom the gods paid very little attention, was jesting thus, Octavian entered, changing colour continually, like a chameleon, turning now pale now red; one moment his expression was gloomy, sombre, and overcast, the next he unbent and showed all the charms of Aphrodite and the Graces. Moreover in the glances of his eyes he was fain to resemble mighty Helios, for he preferred that none who approached should be able to meet his gaze. "Good Heavens!" exclaimed Silenus, "what a changeable monster is this! What mischief will he do us?" "Cease trifling," said Apollo, "after I have handed him over to Zeno here, I shall transform him for you straightway to gold without alloy. Come, Zeno," he cried, "take charge of my nursling." Zeno obeyed, and thereupon, by reciting over Octavian a few of his

1 Silenus is usually represented as bald.
2 Suetonius, Augustus 16.
3 The Stoic philosopher.
Τρίτος ἑπεισέδραμεν αὐτοῖς Τιβέριος σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσυρὸς, σῶφρον τε ἁμα καὶ πολεμικοῦν βλέπων. ἑπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὄφθησαν ὅτειλαί κατὰ τὸν νότον μυρίαν, καυτήρες τινας καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπὰ δ καὶ μόλωπες ὑπὸ τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ἀμότητος ψυραὶ τινας καὶ λειχήνες οἶνον ἐγκεκαυμέναι. ἐἰθ’ ὁ Σειληνὸς

'Αλλοιός μοι, ξείνε, φάνης νέον ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν εἶπὼν ἕδοξεν αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαιότερος. καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος πρὸς αὐτόν, Τί δήτα, εἶπεν, ὁ παππίδιον σπουδάζεις; καὶ ὃς, Ἐξεπληξὲ μὲ ὁ γέρων οὐτοσί, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἔφη, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἐκλαθόμενον ἐμαυτοῦ τὰς Ομηρικὰς προβαλέσθαι μούσας. ἀλλὰ σε, εἶπεν, ἔλξει τῶν ὃτων 310 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματιστὴν τινα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμώξων μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ νησιδρίῳ τὰς Καπρέας αἰνητόμενος τῶν ἀθλιῶν ἀλιέα ψηχέτω. ταῦτα ἔτι παιξόντων αὐτῶν, ἑπεισέρχεται θηρίον πονηρόν. εἶτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπεστρέφαν τὰ ὀμματα, κατὰ αὐτὸν δίδωσιν ἡ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἰ ἃ ἔρρησαν ἐἰς Β
doctrines, in the fashion of those who mutter the incantations of Zamolxis, he made him wise and temperate.

The third to hasten in was Tiberius, with countenance solemn and grim, and an expression at once sober and martial. But as he turned to sit down his back was seen to be covered with countless scars, burns, and sores, painful welts and bruises, while ulcers and abscesses were as though branded thereon, the result of his self-indulgent and cruel life. Whereupon Silenus cried out, “Far different, friend, thou appearest now than before,” and seemed more serious than was his wont. “Pray, why so solemn, little father?” said Dionysus. “It was this old satyr,” he replied, “he shocked me and made me forget myself and introduce Homer’s Muse.” “Take care,” said Dionysus, “he will pull your ear, as he is said to have done to a certain grammarian.” “Plague take him,” said Silenus, “in his little island”—he was alluding to Capri—“let him scratch the face of that wretched fisherman.” While they were still joking together, there came in a fierce monster. Thereupon all the gods turned away their eyes from the sight, and next moment Justice handed him over to the Avengers who

1 Julian probably alludes to the influence on Augustus of Athenodorus the Stoic.
2 A deity among the Thracians, who according to one tradition had been a slave of Pythagoras; cf. Herodotus 4. 94; Plato, Charmides 156 d; Julian 8. 244 A.
3 Cf. Plato, Gorgias 525 d, e; Republic 611 c; Tacitus, Annals 6. 6; Lucian, Cataplus 27.
4 Odyssey 16. 181; there is a play on the word πάροιθεν which means also “in front.”
5 i.e. Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, Tiberius 56, 70.
6 Suetonius, Tiberius 60. 7 Caligula.
Τάρταρον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἐσχεν ὁ Σειληνός ύπερ αὐτοῦ φράσαι. τοῦ Κλαυδίου δὲ ἐπεισεδθόντος, ὁ Σειληνός ἀρχεται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἀδειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου 1 κολακεύων δῆθεν τὸν Κλαυδίου. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρίων ἀπιδῶν Ἀδικεῖς, ἐπεν, ὁ Κυρίων, τὸν ἀπόγονον ἀγὼν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον δίχα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλλαντος. ἀλλ’ ἵθι, ἐπε, πέμψεν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνος, εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Μεσσαλίαν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκείνων δίχα τούτῃ τῆς τραγῳδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικρὸν δὲ φάναι, καὶ ἀρπηχθ. ἐπεισερχεται λέγοντι τῷ Σειληνῷ Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέφας ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Οὔτος, ἐπεν, ἐπὶ σὲ παρασκευάζεται. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, Ἀλλ’ ἔγγοιτα αὐτόν, ἐπεν, ἀποστεφανώσω, ὅτι μὴ πάντα μιμεῖται μηδὲ ἐν οἷς μιμεῖται γίγνεται μονὴ μυθής δικαίος. ἀποστεφανωθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωκυτὸς εὐθέως ἠρπασεν.

'Επὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ συνέτρεχον, Δ. Βίνδικες, Γάλβαι, Ὄθωνες, Βιτέλλιοι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Τοῦτων, ἐπε, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμήνος 2 πόθεν ἐξηρῆκατε, ὁ θεός; τυφόμεθα γούν ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ. φείδεται γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταύτη τὰ θερία. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπιδῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σέραπιν καὶ τὸν Ὀὐσπτασιανὸν 311 δείχας, Πέμπε, ἐπε, τὸν σμικρινὸν τούτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλούπτου ταχέως, ἱνα τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ τῶν παῖδων δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον

1 Δήμου Cobet, δήμου Hertlein, MSS., Δημοσθένους Spanheim. 2 τὸ σμήνος Hertlein suggests, τὸν δήμου MSS.
THE CAESARS

hurled him into Tartarus. So Silenus had no chance to say anything about him. But when Claudius came in Silenus began to sing some verses from the *Knights* of Aristophanes, toadying Claudius, as it seemed, instead of Demos. Then he looked at Quirinus and said, "Quirinus, it is not kind of you to invite your descendant to a banquet without his freedmen Narcissus and Pallas." Come," he went on, "send and fetch them, and please send too for his spouse Messalina, for without them this fellow is like a lay-figure in a tragedy, I might almost say lifeless." While Silenus was speaking Nero entered, lyre in hand and wearing a wreath of laurel. Whereupon Silenus turned to Apollo and said, "You see he models himself on you." "I will soon take off that wreath," replied Apollo, "for he does not imitate me in all things, and even when he does he does it badly." Then his wreath was taken off and Cocytus instantly swept him away.

After Nero many Emperors of all sorts came crowding in together, Vindex, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, so that Silenus exclaimed, "Where, ye gods, have ye found such a swarm of monarchs? We are being suffocated with their smoke; for brutes of this sort spare not even the temple of the gods." Then Zeus turned to his brother Serapis, and pointing to Vespasian said, "Send this niggard from Egypt forthwith to extinguish the flames. As for his sons, bid the

1 *Knights* 1111 foll.
2 Their riches were proverbial, cf. Juvenal 1. 109; 14. 32.
4 An allusion partly to the smoke of civil war, partly to the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline under Vitellius; the temple was restored by Vespasian; Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 81.
μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς πανδήμου, τὸν νεώτερον δὲ τῷ Σικελικῷ θηρίῳ παραπλησίως κλοιοὺ δήσουν. παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τούτους γέρων ὁφθήναι καλός· λάμπει γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ τὸ κάλλος· ἐνυχεῖν πράττοντος, χρηματίσαι δικαίοτατος. ἥδεσθ' τούτον ὁ Σει- ληνὸς καὶ ἀπεστώπησεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἐρμής, Ὡπέρ δὲ τούτον, ἑπεν, οὕδεν ἦμῖν λέγεις; Ναι μὰ Δί', ἔφη, μέμφομαι γε ὑμῖν τῆς ἀνισότητος. τῷ γὰρ φοινίκω θηρίῳ τρὶς πέντε νείματε ἐναυτοὺς ἕνα μόλις ἐδοκατε τούτῳ βασιλεύσαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ μέμφου, ἑπεν ὁ Ζεὺς· εἰσάξω γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς καγαθοὺς. εὐθέως οὖν ὁ Τραϊανὸς εἰσήρχετο φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων τὰ τρόπαια, τό τε Γετικών καὶ τὸ Παρθικόν. ἴδοι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, λαυθάνειν τε ἁμα καὶ ἀκούεσθαι βουλόμενος, Ὄρα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Δίι σκοπεῖν, ὅτις ὁ Γαυμήδης αὐτῷ φρουρήσεται.

Μετὰ τούτοις ἐπεισέρχεται βαθείαν ἔχων τὴν ὑπήνην ἀνήρ σοβαρὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ μουσικὴν ἐργαζόμενος, εἰς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τούτοις δὲ ἴδοιν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Τι δὲ ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ σοφιστὴς δοκεῖ; μῶν Ἀντίνου τὸν ἐπισκόπεϊ; φρασάτω τις αὐτῷ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ μειράκιον ἐνθάδε καὶ παυσάτω τοῦ λήρου καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτῶν. ἐπὶ τούτους ἀνήρ εἰσέρχεται 317 σώφρων, οὐ τὰ ἐς Ἀφροδίτην, ἄλλα τὰ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἴδοιν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Βασιλεῖ τῆς σμικρολογίας· εἰς εἰναὶ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν διαπριόντων τὸ κύμινον ὁ πρεσβύτης οὗτος. ἐπεισελθούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ξυνωρί-
eldest sport with Aphrodite Pandemos and chain the younger in the stocks like the Sicilian monster." Next entered an old man, beautiful to behold; for even old age can be radiantly beautiful. Very mild were his manners, most just his dealings. In Silenus he inspired such awe that he fell silent. "What!" said Hermes, "have you nothing to say to us about this man?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "I blame you gods for your unfairness in allowing that blood-thirsty monster to rule for fifteen years, while you granted this man scarce one whole year." "Nay," said Zeus, "do not blame us. For I will bring in many virtuous princes to succeed him." Accordingly Trajan entered forthwith, carrying on his shoulders the trophies of his wars with the Getae and the Parthians. Silenus, when he saw him, said in a whisper which he meant to be heard, "Now is the time for Zeus our master to look out, if he wants to keep Ganymede for himself."

Next entered an austere-looking man with a long beard, an adept in all the arts, but especially music, one who was always gazing at the heavens and prying into hidden things. Silenus when he saw him said, "What think ye of this sophist? Can he be looking here for Antinous? One of you should tell him that the youth is not here, and make him cease from his madness and folly." Thereupon entered a man of temperate character, I do not say in love affairs but in affairs of state. When Silenus caught sight of him he exclaimed, "Bah! Such fussing about trifles! This old man seems to me the sort of person who would split cumin seed."  

1 Titus. 2 Domitian. 3 Phalaris of Agrigentum. 4 Nerva. 5 Hadrian. 6 Antoninus Pius. 7 A proverb for niggardliness; cf. Theocritus 10, 50.
δος, Βηρον καὶ Λουκίου, δεινὸς ὁ Σειληνὸς συνεστάλη. παίζειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐλθεὶν οὐδ’ ἐπισκόπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βηρον, καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον τὰ περὶ τὸν νῦν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν ἀμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσήκειν ἐπένθησεν, ἀλλὰς τε οὔδε κοσμίαν οὕςαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν συναπολλυμένην περιείδειν, ἔχων καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαίου κηδεστήν, ὅσ τῶν τε κοινῶν ἀν προσῆτε κρεῖττον καὶ καὶ τοῦ παΐδος αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἄν ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ. καίπερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ἑδίετο τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν γε μὴν νίεα οὔδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίσας ἄξιον ἀφήκεν C ἐπιτυπτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν οὐ δυνάμενος ἵστασθαι1 καὶ παρομαρτεῖν τοῖς ἠρωσιν.  

'Επεισέρχεται Περτίναξ τῷ συμποσίῳ τὴν σφαγὴν ὕπυρόμενον. ἡ Δίκη δὲ αὐτῶν κατελεύσασα, 'Ἀλλ’ οὐ χαρήσωσιν, εἰπεν, οἱ τοῦτων αἴτιοι καὶ σύ δὲ, ὁ Περτίναξ, ἡδίκεαι κοινωνῶν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἢν ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Δ Σεβῆρος, ἀνὴρ πικρίας γέμων καὶ2 κολαστικός. Ὄπερ τοῦτον δὲ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνὸς, οὔδὲν λέγω- φοβοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λιαν ἀπηνεῖ καὶ ἀπαραι- τητον. ὡς δὲ ἐμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια3 συνεισέναι, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκώλυσεν ὁ Μίνως. ἐπιγνος δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον ἀφήκε, τὸν

1 ἵστασθαι Cobet, ἵστασθαι Hertlein, MSS.
2 καὶ before κολαστικός Hertlein suggests.
3 παιδάρια Cobet, MSS., παιδάρια Hertlein, V., m.

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Next entered the pair of brothers, Verus¹ and Lucius.² Silenus scowled horribly because he could not jeer or scoff at them, especially not at Verus; but he would not ignore his errors of judgment in the case of his son³ and his wife,⁴ in that he mourned the latter beyond what was becoming, especially considering that she was not even a virtuous woman; and he failed to see that his son was ruining the empire as well as himself, and that though Verus had an excellent son-in-law who would have administered the state better, and besides would have managed the youth better than he could manage himself. But though he refused to ignore these errors he reverenced the exalted virtue of Verus. His son however he considered not worth even ridicule and so let him pass. Indeed he fell to earth of his own accord because he could not keep on his feet or accompany the heroes.

Then Pertinax came in to the banquet still bewailing his violent end. But Justice took pity on him and said, “Nay, the authors of this deed shall not long exult. But Pertinax, you too were guilty, since at least so far as conjecture went you were privy to the plot that was aimed at the son of Marcus.” Next came Severus, a man of excessively harsh temper and delighting to punish. “Of him,” said Silenus, “I have nothing to say, for I am terrified by his forbidding and implacable looks.” When his sons would have entered with him, Minos kept them at a distance. However, when he had clearly discerned their characters, he let the younger⁵ pass, but sent away the elder⁶ to atone

¹ Verus was the family name of Marcus Aurelius.
² Lucius Verus. ³ Commodus. ⁴ Faustina.
⁵ Geta. ⁶ Caracalla.
δὲ προσβύτερον τιμωρίαν ἔπεμψε τίσοντα. Μα-
κρίνος ἐνταῦθα φυγᾶς μαίρονος· εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς
'Εμέσης παιδάριον πόρρω ποὺ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλαύ-
νετο περιβόλων. ὁ γὲ μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐν ἐσχάτοις που καθῆστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν
ποτνιώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων αὐτοῦ
ἐπεν. Ω μῶρε καὶ μέγα νήπιε, τηλικοῦτος ὁν
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἥρχη τῶν σεαυτοῦ, τὰ χρήματα δὲ
ἐδίδους τῇ μητρί καὶ οὐκ ἐπείσθης, ὅσῳ κρεῖττον Β
ἀναλίσκειν ἢν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἡ θησαυρίζειν.
'Αλλ' ἐγόγγει, εἶπεν ἡ Δίκη, πάντας αὐτοὺς, ὅσοι
μεταίτισι γεγόνασι τούτων, κολασθησομένους
παραδόσω. καὶ οὕτως ἀνείθη τὸ μειράκιον. ἐπὶ
τούτῳ παρῆλθεν εἰσώ Γαλλίηνος μετὰ τοῦ πα-
τρός, ὁ μὲν τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἤχων,
ὁ δὲ στόλῃ τε καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακωτέρα
οὕσπερ αἰ γυναίκες. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς μὲν
ἐκεῖνόν,

Τὸς οὗτος ὁ λευκολόφας,
Πρόσαρ δὲ ἤγείται στρατοῦ;
ἔφη, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Γαλλίηνον,

'Οσ καὶ χρυσοῦν ἔχων πάντη τρυφῇ ὑπὸ κούρη
τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Ζεὺς εἶπε τῆς ἐκείσε θούνης ἐκβήναι.

Τούτως ἐπεισέρχεται Κλαύδιος, εἰς ὃν ἀπι-
δόντες ὁ θεὸς πάντες ἡγασθησάν τε αὐτῶν τῆς
μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ ἐπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τῆν
ἀρχὴν, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίσαντες οὕτω φιλοπάτρι-
δος ἀνδρός ἐπὶ πλείστων εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγε-
μονία. τούτως ἐπεισέρχεται Ἀὐρηλιανὸς ὕσπερ
ἀποδιδάσκοι τοὺς εἶργοντας αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ

1 εἶπεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεῖτεν MSS,
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for his crimes. Next Macrinus, assassin and fugitive, and after him the pretty boy from Emesa\textsuperscript{1} were driven far away from the sacred enclosure. But Alexander the Syrian sat down somewhere in the lowest ranks and loudly lamented his fate.\textsuperscript{2} Silenus made fun of him and exclaimed, “O fool and madman! Exalted as you were you could not govern your own family, but gave your revenues to your mother:\textsuperscript{3} nor could you be persuaded how much better it was to bestow them on your friends than to hoard them.” “I however,” said Justice, “will consign to torment all who were accessory to his death.” And then the youth was left in peace. Next entered Gallienus and his father,\textsuperscript{4} the latter still dragging the chains of his captivity, the other with the dress and languishing gait of a woman. Seeing Valerian, Silenus cried, “Who is this with the white plume that leads the army’s van?”\textsuperscript{5} Then he greeted Gallienus with, “He who is all decked with gold and dainty as a maiden.”\textsuperscript{6} But Zeus ordered the pair to depart from the feast.

Next came Claudius,\textsuperscript{7} at whom all the gods gazed, and admiring his greatness of soul granted the empire to his descendants, since they thought it just that the posterity of such a lover of his country should rule as long as possible. Then Aurelian came rushing in as though trying to escape from those who would detain him before the judgment seat of Minos.

\textsuperscript{1} Heliogabalus; cf. Oration 4. 150 D, note.
\textsuperscript{2} Alexander Severus was assassinated in 235 A.D.
\textsuperscript{3} Mammaea.
\textsuperscript{4} Valerian died in captivity among the Persians.
\textsuperscript{5} Euripides, Phoenissae 120.
\textsuperscript{6} Slightly altered from Iliad 2. 872.
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. Oration 1. 6 D.
Μίνων: πολλαί γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαι καὶ τῶν ἄδικων φόνων, καὶ ἔφευγε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς ἀπολογούμενος. ὁ λοις δὲ οὐμὸς δεσπότης αὐτῷ 314 πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα βοηθῶν, οὕς ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτο αὐτῷ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, Ἄλλ' ἀπέτισε τὴν δίκην, ἤ λέληθεν ἢ δοθείσα Δελφοῖς μαντεία.

Ἄικε πάθη τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰδεία γένοιτο;

Τούτῳ συνεισέρχεται Πρόβος, ὃς ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις ἀναστήσας ἐν οὐδὲ δόλως ἐνιαυτοῖς ἔπτα Β καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ σωφρόνως ὀικουμήσας, ἄδικα δὲ πεποιθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθέων, ἐτιμάτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ τοὺς φονέας αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐκτίσσαι. σκόπτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ὤμως ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, καὶ τοί πολλῶν αὐτῷ συντάν παρακλεπτομένων· ἄλλ', 'Εατε, ἐφη, νῦν γοῦν δε' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἔξης φρενωθήματι. οὐκ οἰσθα, ὁ Πρόβη, ὅτι τὰ πικρὰ Σ φάρμακα μηγύντες οἱ ἱατροὶ τῷ μελικράτῳ προσ-φέροντο; σὺ δὲ αὐστηρός ἦσθα λίαν καὶ τραχὺς ἄει εἰκὼν τε οὐδαμοῦ πέποιθας οὐν ἄδικα μέν, εἰκότα δὲ ὦμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτε ἵππων οὔτε βοῶν ἀρχεῖν οὔτε ἡμίόνων, ἥκιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων, μῆ τι καὶ τῶν κεχαρισμένων αὐτοῖς ἐγγυγιοῦντα, ὡσπερ ἐσθ' ὅτι τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν οἱ ἱατροὶ μικρὰ ἐνδιδόσασιν, ἢν ἐν τοῖς μείζωσιν ἔχοσιν αὐτοὺς Ἥ πειθομένους. Τι τούτο, εἰπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ὁ παπ-πία; φιλόσοφος ἤμων ἀνεφάνης; οὐ γὰρ, ὁ παί,
For many charges of unjustifiable murders were brought against him, and he was in flight because he could ill defend himself against the indictments. But my lord Helios who had assisted him on other occasions, now too came to his aid and declared before the gods, "He has paid the penalty, or have you forgotten the oracle uttered at Delphi, 'If his punishment match his crime justice has been done'?"  

With Aurelian entered Probus, who in less than seven years restored seventy cities and was in many ways a wise administrator. Since he had been unjustly treated by impious men the gods paid him honours, and moreover exacted the penalty from his assassins. For all that, Silenus tried to jest at his expense, though many of the gods urged him to be silent. In spite of them he called out, "Now let those that follow him learn wisdom from his example. Probus, do you not know that when physicians give bitter medicines they mix them with 'honey'? But you were always too austere and harsh and never displayed toleration. And so your fate, though unjust, was natural enough. For no one can govern horses or cattle or mules, still less men, unless he sometimes yields to them and gratifies their wishes; just as physicians humour their patients in trifles so that they may make them obey in things more essential." "What now, little father," exclaimed Dionysus, "have you turned up as our philosopher?"

1 Cf. Oration 4. 155 b.  
2 An oracular verse ascribed to Rhadamanthus by Aristotle, Nic. Ethics 5. 5. 3; attributed to Hesiod, Fragments 150 Goettling; it became a proverb.  
3 Plato, Laws 659 e; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 b.
Τὸς διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἱ τε 315
Κάρος ἀμα τοῖς παιδίν εἰσφρῆσαι βουληθεὶς εἰς
τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελῆλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ
Διοκλητιανός, ἄγων μεθ' ἀντίον Μαξιμιανός τε τῷ
dύο καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον Κωνστάντιον, ἐν κόσμῳ
προῆγεν. ἔχοντο δὲ ἀλλήλων τὸ χείρε, καὶ
ἐβάδιζον οὐκ ἐξ ἱστη, ἀλλ' οἱ χωρὸς τἰς ἂν περὶ
αὐτῶν, τῶν μὲν ὁσπερ δορυφοροῦντοι καὶ προθεῖν Β
αὐτοῦ βουλομένου, τοῦ δὲ εἰργοτούς νομεῖν γὰρ
ἡξίον πλεονεκτεῖν. ὡς δὲ ξυνίει κάμνοντος ἐαυτοῦ,
δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀπαντὰ, ὁς ἀφερεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅμων
 αὐτὸς εὐλυτος ἐβάδιζεν. ήγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ
pολλῶν πάνω καθήσαται. δεινῶς δὲ ὄντα τὸν
Μαξιμιανὸν ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σειληνός ἐπισκόπτευν
μὲν οὐκ ἡξίον, τὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκ εἰσεδέχετο Σ
συσσίτιον, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἡν
παντοῖαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀσέλγης, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοπράγ-
μων καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ
συνώδον. ἐξῆλασεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ Δίκη ταχέως.
εἶτα ἀπῆλθεν οὐκ οἶδα ὅποι γῆς ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ
 αὐτὸ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρμοῦ πολυτραγμονῆσαι. τούτῳ
dὲ τῷ παναρμονίῳ τετραχόρδῳ παραφύτεις δεινόν
"Why, my son," he replied, "did I not make a philosopher of you? Do you not know that Socrates also, who was so like me,\(^1\) carried off the prize for philosophy from his contemporaries, at least if you believe that your brother\(^2\) tells the truth? So you must allow me to be serious on occasion and not always jocose."

While they were talking, Carus and his sons tried to slip into the banquet, but Justice drove them away. Next Diocletian advanced in pomp, bringing with him the two Maximians and my grandfather Constantius.\(^3\) These latter held one another by the hand and did not walk alongside of Diocletian, but formed a sort of chorus round him. And when they wished to run before him as a bodyguard he prevented them, since he did not think himself entitled to more privileges than they. But when he realised that he was growing weary he gave over to them all the burdens that he carried on his shoulders, and thereafter walked with greater ease. The gods admired their unanimity and permitted them to sit far in front of many of their predecessors. Maximian was so grossly intemperate that Silenus wasted no jests on him, and he was not allowed to join the emperors at their feast. For not only did he indulge in vicious passions of all sorts, but proved meddlesome and disloyal and often introduced discord into that harmonious quartette. Justice therefore banished him without more ado. So he went I know not whither, for I forgot to interrogate Hermes on this point. However into that harmonious symphony of

\(^2\) A reference to the oracle of Apollo which declared that Socrates was the wisest man of his times.
\(^3\) Cf. *Oration* I. 7 A, B.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχῶδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Δ
dύο οὐδὲ τῶν προθύρων ἀψασθαί τῆς τῶν ἡρώων
ἀγορᾶς ἢ Δίκη συνεχώρησε, Δικίνων δὲ μέχρι τῶν
προθύρων ἐλθόντα, πολλὰ καὶ άτοπα πλημ-
μελοῦντα ταχέως ὁ Μένως ἦξηλασεν. ὁ Κω-
νσταντῖνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰςω καὶ πολὺν ἑκαθέσθη
χρόνον, εἶτα μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰ παιδία. Μαγνεντίῳ
γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἰσόδος, ὅτι μηδὲν υγίεως ἐπετράχει, 316
καίτοι πολλὰ ἔδοκε πεπράξαθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καλὰ· οἱ
θεοὶ δὲ ὀρῶντες, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῷ
πεποίηται διαθέσεως, εἰὼν αὐτῶν οἰμάζειν ἀπο-
τρέχοντα.

Οὔσης δὲ τοιαύτης τῆς ἁμφὶ τὸ δεῖπνων παρα-
σκευῆς, ἐπόθουν μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ θεοὶ, πάντα γὰρ
ἔχονσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἡρώων ἔδοκε τῷ Ἐρμῆ
διαπειρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῷ Δίῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης
ἡν. ἐδείτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος ἦδη τινὰ μετάγειν
ἐκείθεν παρ’ ἑαυτῶν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐκ
ἄνεξομαί, ὁ Κυρίνε: διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνων παρεκάλεις; σοῦ
τοῦν, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ, δέομαι, εἰ τινὰ τοῦτων
ἐγνωκας ἁγεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἥκειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
κέλευε. τί γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινὴ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἀποτειρώ-
μενοι τῷ βελτίων τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν ὁ τῆς
Ἀλκμήνης ἔδοκε τῷ Δίῳ καὶ ἐπεισελθόντος οὗ
αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἡρωσιν οὔτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε ἄλλος τις
ὑπανίστατο· καταλαβὼν δὲ σχολάζουσαν καθέ-
δραν, ἦν τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπετοίητο ἑαυτῷ,
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπελήλατο διὰ τὴν ἄδελφοκτονίαν,
four there crept a terribly harsh and discordant strain. For this reason Justice would not suffer the two\(^1\) so much as to approach the door of that assembly of heroes. As for Licinius, he came as far as the door, but as his misdeeds were many and monstrous Minos forthwith drove him away. Constantine however entered and sat some time, and then came his sons.\(^2\) Magnentius\(^3\) was refused admission because he had never done anything really laudable, though much that he achieved had the appearance of merit. So the gods, who perceived that these achievements were not based on any virtuous principle, sent him packing, to his deep chagrin.

When the feast had been prepared as I have described, the gods lacked nothing, since all things are theirs. Then Hermes proposed to examine the heroes personally and Zeus was of the same mind. Quirinus thereupon begged that he might summon one of their number to his side. "Quirinus," said Heracles, "I will not have it. For why did you not invite to the feast my beloved Alexander also? Zeus, if you are minded to introduce into our presence any of these Emperors, send, I beg of you, for Alexander. For if we are to examine into the merits of men generally, why do we not throw open the competition to the better man?" Zeus considered that what the son of Alcmena said was only just. So Alexander joined the company of heroes, but neither Caesar nor anyone else yielded his place to him. However he found and took a vacant seat which the son\(^4\) of Severus had taken for himself—he had been

\(^1\) i.e. the two Maximians, the colleagues of Diocletian.
\(^2\) Constantine II, Constans and Constantius.
\(^3\) Cf. Oration 1. 31, 33 foll.
\(^4\) Caracalla.
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ένεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός ἐπισκόπτων τῶν Κυρίνων, Ὡρα, εἶπε, μὴ ποτὲ οὖτοι ἐνὸς εἰσὶν1 ἀντάξιοι τοιτοῦ τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρίνος, οἶμαι πολλοὶ εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὖτω δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐμοὶ τεθαυμάκασιν ἐγγονοῖ, ὡστε μόνον αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων, ὅσοι γεγονόσιν ἡγεμόνες ἔνοι, ὄνομάζουσι καὶ νομίζουσι μέγαν. οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς γεγονότων οἴονται μείζονα τούτον, ἵσως μὲν ὑπὸ φιλανθία τι παθόντες, ἵσος δὲ καὶ οὖτως ἔχουν εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποτελομένων. ταῦτα μάλιστα λέγων ὁ Κυρίνος ἡρωβία, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀγωνίας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογονῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ που τὰ δευτερεία λαβόντες οἰχονται.

Μετὰ τούτῳ ὁ Ζεύς ἤρετο τοὺς θεοὺς, ποτέρον 317 χρή πάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγων καλεῖν ἂ, καθάτερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἄγωσι γνέται, ὁ τοῦ πολλὰς ἀνελομένου νίκας κρατήσας, ἐνὸς περιγενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἐλαττὸν δοκεῖ κακεῖνων γεγονέναι κρείσσον, οἱ προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τοῦ κρατηθέντος δὲ ἑττοὺς ἐγένοτο. καὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ἡ τοιαύτη σφόδρα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν ἐξέτασις. ἐκήρυττεν οὖν ὁ Ἐρμής παριέναι Καῖσαρα καὶ τὸν Ὑκταμιανὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Τραῖανὸν δὲ ἐκ τριτῶν, ὡς πολεμικότατος. εἶτα γεγομένης σιωπῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος βλέψας εἰς τὸν Δία θαυμάζειν ἐφι, πολεμικοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγων τοιούτω καλομένους, οὐδένα μέντοι φιλόσοφον. Ἔμοι δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἡττῶν εἰσόν οἱ τοιούτοι φίλοι. καλεῖτε οὖν εἰσόν καὶ τὸν C

1 ἐνὸς εἰσον ἀντάξιοι Naber, ἐνὸς δὲν οὐκ ἀντάξιοι Hertlein, MSS.; V omits οὐκ.

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expelled for fratricide. Then Silenus began to rally Quirinus and said, "See now whether all these Romans can match this one Greek." 1 "By Zeus," retorted Quirinus, "I consider that many of them are as good as he! It is true that my descendants have admired him so much that they hold that he alone of all foreign generals is worthy to be styled 'the Great.' But it does not follow that they think him greater than their own heroes; which may be due to national prejudice, but again they may be right. However, that we shall very soon find out by examining these men." Even as he spoke Quirinus was blushing, and was evidently extremely anxious on behalf of his descendants and feared that they might come off with the second prize.

Then Zeus asked the gods whether it would be better to summon all the Emperors to enter the lists, or whether they should follow the custom of athletic contests, which is that he who defeats the winner of many victories, though he overcome only that one competitor is held thereby to have proved himself superior to all who have been previously defeated, and that too though they have not wrestled with the winner, but only shown themselves inferior to an antagonist who has been defeated. All the gods agreed that this was a very suitable sort of test. Hermes then summoned Caesar to appear before them, then Octavian, and thirdly Trajan, as being the greatest warriors. In the silence that followed, Kronos turned to Zeus and said that he was astonished to see that only martial Emperors were summoned to the competition, and not a single philosopher. "For my part," he added, "I like philosophers just as well.

1 Cf. Plato, Laws 730 d; Julian, Misopogon 353 d.
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Μᾶρκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάρκος κληθεὶς παρῆλθε, σεμνὸς ἀγαν, ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχων τὰ τὸ ὄμματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τι συνεσταλμένον, κάλλος δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ δεικνύον, ἐν δὲ παρεῖχεν ἕαυτον ἀκομψὸν καὶ ἀκαλλωπιστὸν ἡ τε γαρ ὑπήνη βαθείᾳ παντάπασιν ἢν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἔματα λιτά καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν τροφῶν ἢν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διαγνόστατον καὶ διαφανέστατον ὥσπερ αὐτὸ ὁμαι τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον φῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ οὕτως ἢν εἴη τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων, ὁ Διούνσως ἐπεν, Ὡ βασιλεὺς Κρόνε καὶ Ζεὺς πάτερ, ἀρα ἄξιον ἐν θεοῖς ἄτελες εἶναι τι; τῶν δὲ οὐ φαμένων, Εἰσάγωμεν οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἐραστὴν ἐνθαλι, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἀλλ' οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶσο φοιτᾶν, ἐπεν, ἀνδρὶ μὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα ξηλωτιν. Γιγνέσθω τοῖνυν, ἐπεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διούνσως, αὐτοῖς ἡ κρίσις. Ἀλλ', εἰ τούτο δοκεῖ ταύτη, καλόμεν 318 ἀνδρὰ οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μὲν, ἡδονῆ δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσεις χειροπήστερον. ἦκέτω οὖν ἄχρι τῶν προθύρων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεδοκτο καὶ τούτο, τίνα χρῆ πρόπον αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλάσθαι, γνώμη προντεδή. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἕρμης ἥξιον λέγειν ἔκαστον ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἕαυτος, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ψήφον. οὐ μὴν ἔδοκε ταύτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀληθείας γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανο- τητος οὐδ' αἰμυλίας ἐν θεοῖς ἐλεγχον καὶ ἔξετασιν. Βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφότεροις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἄμα προάγειν ἐπὶ πλεον αὐτοῖς τὴν συνυσίαν, Οὐδὲν, ἐπει, καλύπτει λέγειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι, μικρὰ τοῦ ὑδατος ἐπιμετρήσαντας, εἶτα ύστερον
THE CAESARS

So tell Marcus¹ to come in too.” Accordingly Marcus was summoned and came in looking excessively dignified and showing the effect of his studies in the expression of his eyes and his lined brows. His aspect was unutterably beautiful from the very fact that he was careless of his appearance and unadorned by art; for he wore a very long beard, his dress was plain and sober, and from lack of nourishment his body was very shining and transparent, like light most pure and stainless. When he too had entered the sacred enclosure, Dionysus said, “King Kronos and Father Zeus, can any incompleteness exist among the gods?” And when they replied that it could not, “Then,” said he, “let us bring in here some votary of pleasure as well.” “Nay,” answered Zeus, “it is not permitted that any man should enter here who does not model himself on us.” “In that case,” said Dionysus, “let them be tried at the entrance. Let us summon by your leave a man not unwarlike but a slave to pleasure and enjoyment. Let Constantine come as far as the door.” When this had been agreed upon, opinions were offered as to the manner in which they were to compete. Hermes thought that everyone ought to speak for himself in turn, and then the gods should vote. But Apollo did not approve of this plan, because he said the gods ought to test and examine the truth and not plausible rhetoric and the devices of the orator. Zeus wished to please them both and at the same time to prolong the assembly, so he said, “There is no harm in letting them speak if we measure them a small allowance of water,² and then later on we can

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¹ Marcus Aurelius.
² A reference to the water-clock, clepsydra.
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ἀνερωτάν καὶ ἀποπειράσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας. Καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων, Ἀλλ', ὅπως μὴ, νομίσατε αὐτὸ νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραϊανός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαν ἐκροφήσουσιν ἰὸν ὑδάρω, εἶτα ἀφελοῦνται τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ ὁ Ποσειδών, ὦν τοῦμον ὑδατος, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πῶματος ἐρασταί τῷ ἄνδρε ἐγενέσθην. ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοιγαρών ὁ ἀμπέλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν πηγῶν ἄξιόν ἐστί σοι δεδείναι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς δηχθεὶς ἐσιώπα, καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐκ τούτοι τῶν νοῦν προσεῖχεν. Ἐρμής δὲ ἐκήρυττεν:

"Αρχεί μὲν ἀγῶν
tῶν καλλίστων
ἀθλων ταμίας,
καὶ ρὸς δὲ καλεῖ
μηκέτι μέλλειν.
ἀλλὰ κλύνοντες
tὰν ἀμετέραν
κήρυκα βοῶν
οἱ πρὶν βασιλῆς,
ἐθνεα πολλὰ
δουλωσάμενοι
καὶ πολέμοισι
δαίον ἔγχος
θῆξαντες, ὁμοῦ
γνώμης τε μέγαν
πιθυτόφρονα νοῦν,
ἐτ', ἐς αὐτίπαλον
ἐστασθε κρίσιν,

1 ἐκροφήσουσι Hertlein suggests, ἐκροφήσωσι MSS.
2 ἀφελοῦνται Hertlein suggests, ἀφέλωνται MSS.
cross-examine them and test the disposition of each one.” Whereupon Silenus said sardonically, “Take care, or Trajan and Alexander will think it is nectar and drink up all the water and leave none for the others.” “It was not my water,” retorted Poseidon, “but your vines that these two were fond of. So you had better tremble for your vines rather than for my springs.” Silenus was greatly piqued and had no answer ready, but thereafter turned his attention to the disputants.

Then Hermes made this proclamation:

“The trial that begins
Awards to him who wins
The fairest prize to-day.
And lo, the hour is here
And summons you. Appear!
Ye may no more delay.
Come hear the herald’s call
Ye princes one and all.
Many the tribes of men
Submissive to you then!
How keen in war your swords!
But now ’tis wisdom’s turn;
Now let your rivals learn
How keen can be your words.
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οἷς τε φρόνησιν
tέλος ὀλβίστης
θέσθαι βιοτής,
οἷς τ’ ἀντιβίους
cακὰ πόλλ’ ἔρξαι
καὶ χρηστὰ φιλοὺς
tέκμαρ βιότου
νευόμιστο καλοῦ,
oἷς θ’ ἥδιστην
ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχειν
tέρματα μόχθων
daίτας τε γάμους τ’,
ὀμμασι τερπνά,
mαλακάς τε φέρειν
ἐσθήτας ὅμοι
λιθοκολλήτοις
περὶ χείρας ἀκρας
ψελίοισι φάνη
μακαριστότατον.
νίκης δὲ τέλος
Ζηνὶ μελῆσαι.

Τοιαύτα τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο: Δ καὶ πῶς συνέδραμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλήρος φιλοπροτία. τούτο ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐποίησε γαῖρον καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἐδέησε δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ φεύγειν τὴν κρίσιν ὁ 'Ἀλέξανδρος' ἀλλὰ παρα-θαρύσιοι αὐτῶν ὁ μεγάς 'Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσχε. δεύ-τερος δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνον λέγειν ἔλαχεν 'Ἀλέξανδρος' ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξεστοι κλήροι τοῖς ἐκάστῳ χρόνῳς 320 συμπροφήλθων. ἦρξατο οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ὡδί. Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Ζεύ καὶ θεοὶ, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτη
Wisdom, thought some, is bliss
Most sure in life's short span;
Others did hold no less
That power to ban or bless
Is happiness for man.
But some set Pleasure high,
Idleness, feasting, love,
All that delights the eye;
Their raiment soft and fine,
Their hands with jewels shine,
Such bliss did they approve.
But whose the victory won
Shall Zeus decide alone.”¹

While Hermes had been making this proclamation
the lots were being drawn, and it happened that the
first lot favoured Caesar's passion for being first. This
made him triumphant and prouder than before. But
the effect on Alexander was that he almost withdrew
from the competition, had not mighty Heracles
encouraged him and prevented him from leaving.
Alexander drew the lot to speak second, but the
lots of those who came next coincided with the
order in which they had lived. Caesar then began
as follows: “It was my fortune, O Zeus and ye

¹ In this doggerel made up of tags of anapaestic verse,
Julian reproduces in the first five and last two verses the
proclamation made at the Olympic games. The first three
verses occur in Lucian, Demonax 65.
συνέβη πόλει μετὰ τοσούτως ἄνδρας, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ὅσων οὐ πώποτε ἄλλη πόλις ἐβασίλευε βασιλεῦεν, ταῖς δὲ ἀγαπητῶν τὸ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κοιμίσασθαι. τὸν γὰρ πόλις ἀπὸ τρισχίλιων ἄνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλως ἔτεσιν ἐξακοσίους ἐπὶ γῆς ἠλθεί πέρατα τοῖς ὕπλοις; ποιὰ δὲ ἐθνὴ τοσούτως ἄνδρας ἀγαθῶς τε καὶ πολεμικοὺς παρέσχετο καὶ νομοθετικοὺς; θείοις δὲ ἐτίμησαν οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὲ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικά τίμη πόλει γενόμενος οὐ τοὺς κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πώποτε παρῆλθον τοῖς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν μὲν πολλῶν εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὔδεις ἀντιποιήσητει μοι τῶν πρωτεῖν· εἰ δὲ 'Αλέξανδρος οὕτως οὐλμᾶ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἄξιοι παραβάλειν; ἵσως τὰ Περσικά, ὡσπερ οὐχ ἐορακὼς ἐγγεγειμένα μοι τοσαῦτα κατὰ Πομπήιον τρόπαια; καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις στρατηγὸς γέγονε, Δαρείος ἢ Πομπήιος; ποτέρῳ δὲ ἀνδρειότερον ἡκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὖν μαχιμῶτα τῶν Δαρείων πρῶτον ὑπακούοντων ἐθνῶν ἐν τῇ D Καρὸν μοίρα Πομπήιος εἴχεν ἐπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἑυρώπης, οὐ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον ἐπάγοντας ἐπέρεαντο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους, Ἰταλοὺς, Ἰλλυριοὺς, Κελτοὺς. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἀρα τοῖς Γετικοῖς ἔργοι 'Αλέξανδρος τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάτων καθαίρεσιν; οὕτος ἀπαξ ἐπεραιώθη τῶν Ἰστρον, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥήνου Γερμανικὸν αὐτὸ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔργον. τούτῳ δὲ ἀντέστη μὲν 376
other gods, to be born, following a number of great men, in a city so illustrious that she rules more subjects than any other city has ever ruled; and indeed other cities are well pleased to rank as second to her. What other city, I ask, began with three thousand citizens and in less than six centuries carried her victorious arms to the ends of the earth? What other nations ever produced so many brave and warlike men or such lawgivers? What nation ever honoured the gods as they did? Observe then that, though I was born in a city so powerful and so illustrious, my achievements not only surpassed the men of my own day, but all the heroes who ever lived. As for my fellow-citizens I am confident that there is none who will challenge my superiority. But if Alexander here is so presumptuous, which of his deeds does he pretend to compare with mine? His Persian conquests, perhaps, as though he had never seen all those trophies that I gathered when I defeated Pompey! And pray, who was the more skilful general, Darius or Pompey? Which of them led the bravest troops? Pompey had in his army the most martial of the nations formerly subject to Darius, but he reckoned them no better than Carians, for he led also those European forces which had often repulsed all Asia when she invaded Europe, aye and he had the bravest of them all, Italians, Illyrians, and Celts. And since I have mentioned the Celts, shall we compare the exploits of Alexander against the Getae with my conquest of Gaul? He crossed the Danube once, I crossed the Rhine twice. The German conquest again is all my doing. No one opposed Alexander, but I had to

1 Cf. Oration 1. 8 c.  
2 Darius III.  
3 Cf. Oration 2. 56 c.
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οὐδὲ εἰς, ἐγὼ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλους ἂγωνισάμην. 321
πρῶτος ἐσπαίμασα Ῥωμαϊῶν ἐπιβήναι τῆς ἐκτὸς
θαλάσσης. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἵσως τὸ ἔργον οὐ θαυ-
μαστόν. καίτοι τὴν τὸλμαν καὶ ταύτην ἄξιον
θαυμάσαι ἂλλα τὸ μεῖζὸν μου, τὸ ἀποβήναι τῆς
νεὸς πρῶτον καὶ τούς Ἐλβετίους σιωπῶ καὶ τὸ
tῶν Ἰβήρων ἔθνος. οὖνδεν ἢτι τῶν Γαλατικῶν
ἐπεμνήσθην, πλεῖν ἡ τριακοσία ὑπαγαγόμενος
πόλεως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ διακοσίας
μυριάδας. ἄντων δὲ τούτων μοι τοιούτων ἔργων,
ἔκεινο μεῖζὸν ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἔχρην γάρ Β
με καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦς διαγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας
καὶ κρατεῶν τῶν ἀράχων καὶ ἀνικήτων Ῥωμαίων.
εἴτε οὖν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξεων, τρίς
tοσαντάκις παρετάξαμην, ὡσάκις ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου κομπάξουσιν οἳ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμι
ποιούντες, εἴτε πλήθει πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ
τῆς Ἄσιας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ
πλείστα κατεστρεφάμην. Ἀλεξάνδρος Ἀἰγυπτίων
ἐπῆλθε 2 θεωρῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ συμπόσια συγκροτῶν
κατεπολέμησα. τὴν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατήσαι πρα-
τητα βούλεσθε ἐξετάσαι τὴν παρ' ἐκατέρω; ἐγὼ
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέγγυω, ἔπαθον γοῦν ὕπ'
aὐτῶν ὅσα ἐμέλησε τῇ Δίκῃ; ο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. ἐτὶ οὖν D
μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτεῖων ἁμφισβητεῖν οἷος τε ἔσοχ;
καὶ οὐκ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺ παραχωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν
ἀλλῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάσεις με λέγειν, ὅτες σὺ μὲν
ἔχρησι τικρῶς Θεβαῖοι, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς Ἐλβετίοις

1 πλεῖν Cobet, πλεῖόν Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἐπῆλθε Hertlein suggests, περιῆλθε Cobet, παρῆλθε MSS.
content Against Ariovistus. I was the first Roman who ventured to sail the outer sea.\footnote{The "inner" sea was the Mediterranean.} Perhaps this achievement was not so wonderful, though it was a daring deed that may well command your admiration; but a more glorious action of mine was when I leapt ashore from my ship before all the others.\footnote{Caesar, De Bello Gallico 4. 25, ascribes this to the standard-bearer of the tenth legion.} Of the Helvetians and Iberians I say nothing. And still I have said not a word about my campaigns in Gaul, when I conquered more than three hundred cities and no less than two million men! But great as were these achievements of mine, that which followed was still greater and more daring. For I had to contend against my fellow citizens themselves, and to subdue the invincible, the unconquerable Romans. Again, if we are judged by the number of our battles, I fought three times as many as Alexander, even reckoning by the boasts of those who embellish his exploits. If one counts the cities captured, I reduced the greatest number, not only in Asia but in Europe as well. Alexander only visited Egypt as a sight-seer, but I conquered her while I was arranging drinking-parties. Are you pleased to inquire which of us showed more clemency after victory? I forgave even my enemies, and for what I suffered in consequence at their hands Justice has taken vengeance. But Alexander did not even spare his friends, much less his enemies. And are you still capable of disputing the first prize with me? Then since you will not, like the others, yield place to me, you compel me to say that whereas I was humane towards the Helvetians you treated the Thebans...
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οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνων κατέκαυσας τὰς πόλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκείων πολιτῶν κεκαιμένας πόλεις ἀνέστησα. καὶ τοιούτων ἡ μυρίων Γραικῶν κρατήσας καὶ πεντεκαῖδεκα μυρίάδας ἐπιφερομένας ὑποστήναι. πολλὰ εἶπεῖν ἔχων 322 ἐτί περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τούδε, τῷ μὴ σχολὴν ἀγειρὴκιστα τὸ λέγειν ἐξεμελέτησα. διότερ χρή συγγνώμην ὡμᾶς ἔχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ ῥηθέντων τὴν ἵσην καὶ δικαίαν ἔξετασιν ποιομένους ἀποδίδοναι μοι τὸ πρωτείον.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι βουλομένου, μόγις καὶ πρότερον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καρτερῶν οὐκέτι κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ταραχῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας. Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰπεῖν, ὁ Ζεύς καὶ Β θεοὶ, μέχρι τῶν ἀνέξομαι σωπῆ τῆς θρασύτητος τῆς τούτων; πέρας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστων, ὡς ὀρᾶτε, οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτῶν ἐπαίνων οὔτε τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ βλασφημῶν. ἔχρην δὲ ἵσως μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφότερον φείδεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἴναι πώς ἀμφότερα δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῆνε τό τάμα διασύρειν ἀλλὰς τε καὶ μιμῆθην αὐτῶν γενόμενον.

δὲ εἰς τό τοῦ ἠλθεν ἀναισχυντίας, ὦστε τολμήσαι C τὰ ἀρχέτυπα κωμωδεῖν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἔργων. ἔχρην δὲ, ὁ Καίσαρ, ὑπομνησθῆναι σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἀ τότε ἀφήκας, ἀκροώμενος τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ὁσα πεποίηται περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων. ἀλλ’ ο ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπήρε σε μετὰ τοῦτο, κολακευθεῖς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ, γενόμενος δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ D ἀπὸ Λιβύης θριαμβεύσαι, οὐ μέγα ἐργον,
cruelly. You burned their cities to the ground, but I restored the cities that had been burned by their own inhabitants. And indeed it was not at all the same thing to subdue ten thousand Greeks, and to withstand the onset of a hundred and fifty thousand men. Much more could I add both about myself and Alexander, but I have not had leisure to practise public speaking. Wherefore you ought to pardon me, but from what I have said and with regard to what I have not said, you ought, forming that decision which equity and justice require, to award me the first prize."

When Caesar had spoken to this effect he still wished to go on talking, but Alexander, who had with difficulty restrained himself hitherto, now lost patience, and with some agitation and combativeness: "But I," said he, "O Jupiter and ye other gods, how long must I endure in silence the insolence of this man? There is, as you see, no limit to his praise of himself or his abuse of me. It would have better become him perhaps to refrain from both, since both are alike insupportable, but especially from disparaging my conduct, the more since he imitated it. But he has arrived at such a pitch of impudence that he dares to ridicule the model of his own exploits. Nay, Caesar, you ought to have remembered those tears you shed on hearing of the monuments that had been consecrated to my glorious deeds.¹ But since then Pompey has inflated you with pride, Pompey who though he was the idol of his countrymen was in fact wholly insignificant. Take his African triumph: that was no great exploit, but the feeble-

¹ At Gades, on seeing a statue of Alexander; cf. Suetonius, Julius Caesar 7.
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όνομαστότατον ἐποίησεν ἢ τῶν τότε ὑπάτων μαλακία. τῶν δουλικῶν δὲ ἐκείνων πόλεμον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἅνδρας γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς χειρίστους τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄλλοι μὲν κατειργάσαντο, Κράσσοι καὶ Δούκιοι, τοῦνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφήν ἔσχε Πομπήιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσοικα ταύτης κατεπόλεμησε Δούκουλλος, ἑθριάμβευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτων Πομπήιος. εἰτ᾽ ἐκολάκευσαν 323 αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται καὶ Μέγαν ὄνομασαν, ὅντα τίνος τῶν πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ μείζονα; τί γὰρ ἐκεῖνῳ τοσούτον ἐπράξθη, ἥλικον Μαρίω ἢ Σκηπίωσι, τοὺς δύο ἡ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κυρίων τοῦτον Φουρίῳ, ὅς μικρῷ συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτου πόλιν ἀνέστησεν; οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλοτρίοις ἔργοις, ὡσπερ ἐν πολιτικὰς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ’ ἄλλων καταβληθείσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθείσαις ἔτε· Βρος ἄρχον ἐπεγράψῃ μικρὰ κοινάσας τὸν τοῖχον, οὕτω ταῖς ἄλλοτρίας ἐπεγράφησαν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημουργοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν καλλιστῶν ἡξιώθησαν ὄνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ κεκράτηκας Πομπήιον δακτύλῳ κυωμένου καὶ τάλλα ἀλώπεκος μᾶλλον ἤ λέουτος.
ness of the consuls in office made it seem glorious. Then the famous Servile War was waged not against men but the vilest of slaves, and its successful issue was due to others, I mean Crassus and Lucius, though Pompey gained the reputation and the credit for it. Again, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces were conquered by Lucullus yet for these also Pompey triumphed. Then he became the idol of the citizens and they called him 'the Great.' Greater, I ask, than whom of his predecessors? What achievement of his can be compared with those of Marius or of the two Scipios or of Furius, who sits over there by Quirinus because he rebuilt his city when it was almost in ruins? Those men did not make their reputation at the expense of others, as happens with public buildings built at the public expense; I mean that one man lays the foundation, another finishes the work, while the last man who is in office though he has only whitewashed the walls has his name inscribed on the building. Not thus, I repeat, did those men gain credit for the deeds of others. They were themselves the creators and artificers of their schemes and deserved their illustrious titles. Well then, it is no wonder that you vanquished Pompey, who used to scratch his head with his finger-tip and in all respects was more of a

1 Led by Spartacus 73-71 B.C.; Appian, Civil Wars I. 116-120.
2 Lucius Gellius; Plutarch, Crassus.
3 Licinius Lucullus the conqueror of Mithridates.
4 Caius Marius the rival of Sulla.
5 Furius-Camillus repulsed the Gauls 390 B.C.; cf. Oration 1. 29 D.
6 Cf. Letter to Themistius, 267 B.
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έπειδή γὰρ αυτὸν ἡ τύχη προὔδωκεν, ἢ τὸν ἐμ-
προσθεν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρειστήκει, ταξέως ἐκρά-
τησας μόνον. καὶ οτι δεινότητι μὲν οὐδεμιὰ
κρείττων ἐγένου, φανερὸν καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνδεῖα
γεγονὼς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔστι δὲ οὐ μικρὸν,
ὡς οἶσθα, τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ καὶ μάχη
συμβαλὼν ἡττήθησα. εἰ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπ’ ἀφρο-
σύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀρχεῖν οὔτε, ἦνικα ἔδει τρίβειν τὸν
πόλεμον, ὑπερτίθετο τὴν μάχην οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ
νικῶν ἐπεξεί, ὑπὸ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀμάρτήμασι
καὶ οὕτω ὑπὸ τοὺς οὐσὶς ἐσφάλη στρατηγήμασι.

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως παρε-
sκευασμένοι πρὸς τὴν ἡμέτεραν ἀλκήν ἐνέδοσαν,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ τὸν πράττειν ἄπλως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ
tὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἄνδρα ἁριστοῦ καὶ βασιλέα
προσῆκει μεταποιεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν
Ἤλληνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπήτητα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς
Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους ἐπανελάμβαν, οὐχὶ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα λυπεῖν βουλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κω-
λύνοντάς με διαβαίνειν καὶ δίκας ἀπαίτειν τὸν
Πέρσην ἐπικόπτων. οὐ δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ
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Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν
σεαυτοῦ παρασκευαζόμενος, οὐ τὸ γένοιτ’ ἄν χεῖρον
ἡ μαρώτερον; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠστερ διασύρω τῶν
μυρίων ἐμνημόνευσας Γραικῶν, ὦτι μὲν καὶ ὡμεῖς
ἐντεύθεν γεγονατε καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας
fuscas αἱ Γραικοὶ, κατέπειρεν ὁμος οὗ παρα-
dέχομαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον ἔθνος, Αἰτωλοὺς

1 γεγονὼς Petavius, Naber, γέγονας Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῇ νίκῃ before νικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. Oration i.
384
fox than a lion. When he was deserted by Fortune who had so long favoured him, you easily overcame him, thus unaided. And it is evident that it was not to any superior ability of yours that you owed your victory, since after running short of provisions—no small blunder for a general to make, as I need not tell you—you fought a battle and were beaten. And if from imprudence or lack of judgment or inability to control his countrymen Pompey neither postponed a battle when it was his interest to protract the war, nor followed up a victory when he had won, it was due to his own errors that he failed, and not to your strategy.

The Persians, on the contrary, though on all occasions they were well and wisely equipped, had to submit to my valour. And since it becomes a virtuous man and a king to pride himself not merely on his exploits but also on the justice of those exploits, it was on behalf of the Greeks that I took vengeance on the Persians, and when I made war on the Greeks it was not because I wished to injure Greece, but only to chastise those who tried to prevent me from marching through and from calling the Persians to account. You, however, while you subdued the Germans and Gauls were preparing to fight against your fatherland. What could be worse or more infamous? And since you have alluded as though insultingly to 'ten thousand Greeks,' I am aware that you Romans are yourselves descended from the Greeks, and that the greater part of Italy was colonised by Greeks; however on that fact I do not insist. But at any rate did not you Romans think it very important to have

1 At Dyrrhachium; Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*.
2 An echo of Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 206 D.
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λέγω τοὺς παροικοῦντας ἡμῖν, οὐ φίλους μὲν δὲ ἔχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησασθε περὶ πολλοῦ, πολεμοδέντας δε ὑμῖν ὡτερον δι’ ἀσδήποτε αἰτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὕπακούειν ὑμῖν ἤναγκάσατε; οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς γῆρας, ὡς ἂν εἶποι τις, τῆς Ἐλλάδος, καὶ οὐδὲ πάσης, ἀλλ’ ἐθνοὺς μικρῶν, ἣνικα ἠκμάζε τὸ Ἐλληνικόν, οὐδ’ ὅτι ἐστὶ γνωσκομένον, μικρὸν δὲο φάναι, μόνη ἀρκε- σαντες, τίνες ἂν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμάζοντας C καὶ ὁμοούντας τοὺς Ἐλληνας πολεμείν ὑμᾶς ἐδέησεν; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρου διαβάντος ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἔστε ὅπως ἐπτήξατε. εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κρατήσαι μικρὸν νομίζει καὶ τὸ τῆλικοῦτον ἔργον διασύρεις, ὀλγής πάντι τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Τάγητα ποταμὸν ὑπὸ Παρθναίων βασιλευμένης χώρας, ἔτη πλέον ἡ τριακόσια πολεμοῦντες, λέγε μοι, δι’ ἓν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; Βούλειι σοι φράσω; τὰ Περσῶν D ὑμᾶς εἰρξε βῆλη. φρασάτω δὲ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος 1 ο παιδοτρβηθεὶς ἐπὶ στρατηγία παρά σοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν οὐδὲ ἄλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς δέκα πρὸς τούτοις καὶ 'Ἰνδῶν γέγονα κύριος. εἰτ’ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, ὅσ’ ἂν παιδαρίου στρατηγῶν ἔργα ἐπραξά τηλίκαυτα, ὅστε τὴν μνήμην, καίπερ οὐκ ἄξιος ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ὑμηθέντων, ὅμως 2 συμπαραμένειν τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325 τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τούμου βασιλέως, οὐ θεράπων ἐγὼ καὶ ξηλωτὴς ἐγενόμην, Ἀχιλλεί μὲν ἀμιλ- λόμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, Ἡρακλέα δὲ θαυμάζων καὶ ἐπόμενος, ἀτε δὴ κατ’ ἱχνος θεοῦ ἀνθρωπος.

1 Ἀντώνιος Cobet rejects, since Julian prefers to substitute descriptive phrases for names.
2 ὅμως Cobet, ὅμως δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
as friends and allies one insignificant tribe of those very Greeks, I mean the Aetolians, my neighbours? And later, when you had gone to war with them for whatever reason, did you not have great trouble in making them obey you? Well then, if in the old age, as one may say, of Greece, you were barely able to reduce not the whole nation but an insignificant state which was hardly heard of when Greece was in her prime, what would have happened to you if you had had to contend against the Greeks when they were in full vigour and united? You know how cowed you were when Pyrrhus crossed to invade you. And if you think the conquest of Persia such a trifle and disparage an achievement so glorious, tell me why, after a war of more than three hundred years, you Romans have never conquered a small province beyond the Tigris which is still governed by the Parthians? Shall I tell you why? It was the arrows of the Persians that checked you. Ask Antony to give you an account of them, since he was trained for war by you. I, on the other hand, in less than ten years conquered not only Persia but India too. After that do you dare to dispute the prize with me, who from childhood have commanded armies, whose exploits have been so glorious that the memory of them—though they have not been worthily recounted by historians—will nevertheless live for ever, like those of the Invincible Hero, my king, whose follower I was, on whom I modelled myself? Achilles my ancestor I strove to rival, but Heracles I ever admired and followed, so far as a mere man may follow in the footsteps of a god.

1 Heracles.
"Osa μὲν οὖν ἔχρην, ὁ θεός, πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπολογήσασθαι καί τοι θερίττων ἄτιμη τινὶ υπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ εἰρήνης. εἰ δὲ τι πικρὸν ψή ήμῶν Β ἐσφράχθη, οὐτὶ παντάπασιν εἰς ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώ-πους, ἀλλὰ ἡ πολλὰκις καὶ ἔτι πολλοὶς προσ-κρούσαντας ἐτό καίρῳ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ πρε-πόντως χρησαμένους, ἡκολούθησε γοῦν ἄτιμη μὲν τοῖς διὰ τοῦ καίρον ἰξαμαρτηθεῖσιν ἡ μεταμέλεια, σώφρον πάνω καὶ τῶν ἐξημαρτηκότων σώτειρα δαίμων, τοὺς δὲ ὠσπερ φιλοτιμουμένους ἐτί Α τῷ πολλάκις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ προσκρούειν οὐδὲν ὑμην ἄδικον ποιεῖν κολάζων.

Ἡπεί δὲ εἴρητο καὶ τοῦτῳ στρατιωτικῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ λόγος, ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀκταβιανοῦ τὴν ὑδραίαν ἔφερεν ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θεράπτων, ἐπιμετρῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἔλασσον διὰ τὸν καίρον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ μυστικὰς αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑπερηφανίας. καὶ δὲ ἑπείδη συνῆκεν ὑπὸ ἀγχώνιας, δ ἀφεῖς τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, Ἡγὼ δὲ, εἰπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ θεὸς, τοῦ διασύρειν μὲν τα τῶν ἀλλῶν ἔργα καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖν ἀφέξωμαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τοῦ πάντα ποιήσωμαι λόγον. νέος προὔσην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πόλεως ὠσπερ οὕτος ο γενναῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, κατώρθωσα δὲ Γερμανικοῦς πολέμους ὠσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρ. 326 συμπλακεῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀγώνιν Ἀγριππον μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον κατεναμάχησα, Βρούτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους κατεπολέμησα, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα Σέξτου πάρεργον

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“Thus much, ye gods, I was bound to say in my own defence against this man; though indeed it would have been better to ignore him. And if some things I did seemed cruel, I never was so to the innocent, but only to those who had often and in many ways thwarted me and had made no proper or fitting use of their opportunities. And even my offences against these, which were due to the emergency of the time, were followed by Remorse, that very wise and divine preserver of men who have erred. As for those whose ambition it was to show their enmity continually and to thwart me, I considered that I was justified in chastising them.”

When Alexander in his turn had made his speech in martial fashion, Poseidon’s attendant carried the water-clock to Octavian, but gave him a smaller allowance of water, partly because time was precious, but still more because he bore him a grudge for the disrespect he had shown to the god. Octavian with his usual sagacity understood this, so without stopping to say anything that did not concern himself, he began: “For my part, Zeus and ye other gods, I shall not stay to disparage and belittle the actions of others, but shall speak only of what concerns myself. Like the noble Alexander here I was but a youth when I was called to govern my country. Like Caesar yonder, my father, I conducted successful campaigns against the Germans. When I became involved in civil dissensions I conquered Egypt in a sea-fight off Actium; I defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi: the defeat of Sextus, Pompey’s son, was a mere

1 Suetonius, *Augustus* 16; during the campaign against Pompey when the fleet of Augustus was lost in a storm, he swore that he would win in spite of Neptune.

2 Augustus was Julius Caesar’s nephew, and his son only by adoption.
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ὲθέμην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας. οὔτω δὲ παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροθῆ, ὡστε καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων παρρησίας ἱνεσχόμην, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν, ἀλλὰ εὐφραίνομενος ἔπι αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα Β καθάπερ παιδαγογὸν ἢ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδοῦμενος. "Αρειον δὲ καὶ φίλων καὶ συμβιωτήν ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ ὅλως οὐδέν ἐστιν υφ’ ἥμων εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀμαρτηθέν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων τὴν Ῥώμην ὅρων εἰς τὸν 1 ἐσχατον ἐλαύνουσαν πολλάκις κίνδυνον οὔτω διεθέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς, ὡστε εἰναι, εἰ μὴ δὴ ὑμᾶς, ὥθησι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντῆν. οὐ γὰρ C ταῖς ἀμέτρους ἐπιθυμίαις εἰκὼν ἐπικτάσθαι πάντως αὐτῇ διενοθήν, ὅρια δὲ διττά, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα; 2 Ἰστρον καὶ Εὐ- φότην ποταμοῦς ἐθέμην, εἶτα ὑποτάξας τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Ὁρακῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμετροῦντων ὑμῶν τῆς βασιλείας μοι τῶν χρόνων, οὐ πόλεμον ἄλλον εὔ τε ἄλλου περισσότους, ἀλλὰ εἰς νομοθετίαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τὴν D σχολὴν διετιθέμην, οὐδενὸς νομίζου τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χειρὸν βεβουλεύονθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρή καὶ ρήσαντα φάναι, κρείσσου τῶν πόλεως τηλικάτας ἤγεμονίας ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς στρατηγίαις ἐνεπέθανον, ἐξὸν λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζειν 3 καὶ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἑαυτοῖς, ὡσπερ οἱ φιλοπάργους δίκας κατασκευάζοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ πολεμοῦμενοι τῇ τρυφῇ 327 προσεῖχον, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τὴν

1 τὸν Hertlein would add.
2 ἀποδεδειγμένα Cobet, ἀποδεδομένα Hertlein, MSS.
3 ἡσυχάζειν Reiske adds.
incident in my campaign. I showed myself so gentle to the guidance of philosophy that I even put up with the plain speaking of Athenodorus, and instead of resenting it I was delighted with it and revered the man as my preceptor, or rather as though he were my own father. Areius I counted my friend and close companion, and in short I was never guilty of any offence against philosophy. But since I saw that more than once Rome had been brought to the verge of ruin by internal quarrels, I so administered her affairs as to make her strong as adamant for all time, unless indeed, O ye gods, you will otherwise. For I did not give way to boundless ambition and aim at enlarging her empire at all costs, but assigned for it two boundaries defined as it were by nature herself, the Danube and the Euphrates. Then after conquering the Scythians and Thracians I did not employ the long reign that you gods vouchsafed me in making projects for war after war, but devoted my leisure to legislation and to reforming the evils that war had caused. For in this I thought that I was no less well advised than my predecessors, or rather, if I may make bold to say so, I was better advised than any who have ever administered so great an empire. For some of these, when they might have remained quiet and not taken the field, kept making one war an excuse for the next, like quarrelsome people and their lawsuits; and so they perished in their campaigns. Others when they had a war on their hands gave themselves up to indulgence,

1 A Stoic philosopher; cf. pseudo-Lucian, Long Lives 21. 23; Suetonius, Augustus; Dio Chrysostom 33. 48.
2 Letter 51. 434 A; Letter to Themistius 265 c; Themistius 63 D.
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αἰσχρὰν τρυφὴν προτιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοοῦμενος οὐκ ἄξιον τῆς χείρονος ἐμαυτὸν μερίδος· ὅ, τι δ' ἄν ὑμῖν, ὦ θεοί, φαίνεται, τούτο εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἐμὲ δηπούθεν στέργειν.

Δίδοται μετὰ τούτον τῷ Τραϊανῷ τοῦ λέγειν ἡξουσία. ὁ δὲ, καὶ περ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὑπὸ ραθύμιας ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰσθεῖ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Β Σοῦρᾳ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἡ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυν αὐτοὶ τὸ τέ Τετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ἦττατο δὲ τὸ γῆρας ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαν αὐτῷ τοῖς Παρθικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σελληνός, 'Αλλ', ὃ μάταιε, ἐφι, εἰκοσι Βεβασίλευκας ἔτη, 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ οὕτωι δῶδεκα. τὶ οὖν ἀφεῖς αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν σαυτοῦ τρυφῆν τὴν τοῦ χρῶνον μέμφη στενότητα; παρεξυνθέσι οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκόμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν C ἔξω τοῦ δύνασθαι ρητορεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλοποσίας ἀμβλύτερος εαυτοῦ πολλάκις ἦν, 'Εγὼ δὲ, εἶπεν, ὃ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν ναρκῶσαν ὡσπερ καὶ διαλειμμένην ὑπὸ τε τῆς οἵκοι πολλῶν χρῶνον ἐπικρατησάσης τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὑβρεως, μόνος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰστρον D ἐτύλμησα προσλαβεῖν ἑθυν, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἔξειλον, οἱ τῶν πότωτο μαχιμῶτατοι γεγόνασιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃν ἔπεισα αὐτοὺς ὁ τιμῶμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς. Ζάμολξις. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι νομίζοντες έτοιμότερν αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοι ¹ ἡ ψηφίας ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. ἐπράξθη δὲ μοι τὸ

¹ ἄλλοι. Reiske adds.
THE CAESARS

and preferred such base indulgence not only to future glory but even to their personal safety. When I reflect on all this I do not think myself entitled to the lowest place. But whatever shall seem good to you, O ye gods, it surely becomes me to accept with a good grace."

Trajan was allowed to speak next. Though he had some talent for oratory he was so lazy that he had been in the habit of letting Sura write most of his speeches for him; so he shouted rather than spoke, and meanwhile displayed to the gods his Getic and Parthian trophies, while he accused his old age of not having allowed him to extend his Parthian conquests. "You cannot take us in," said Silenus; "you reigned twenty years and Alexander here only twelve. Why then do you not put it down to your own love of ease, instead of complaining of your short allowance of time?" Stung by the taunt, since he was not deficient in eloquence, though intemperance often made him seem more stupid than he was, Trajan began again. "O Zeus and ye other gods, when I took over the empire it was in a sort of lethargy and much disordered by the tyranny that had long prevailed at home, and by the insolent conduct of the Getae. I alone ventured to attack the tribes beyond the Danube, and I subdued the Getae, the most warlike race that ever existed, which is due partly to their physical courage, partly to the doctrines that they have adopted from their admired Zamolxis.¹ For they believe that they do not die but only change their place of abode, and they meet death more readily than other men undertake a journey. Yet I accomplished that task in a matter

¹ Cf. 309 c, Oration 8. 244 a and note.
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εργον τούτο ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἱσως που πέντε. πάντων
de ὀτι τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ1 γεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328
ὥθην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πράττατος καὶ οὔτε Καῖσαρ
οὕτοι περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσειν ἀν μοι οὔτ'
ἀλλος οὐδὲ εἰς, εὐδηλὸν ἐστὶν ποι. πρὸς Παρ-
θυαίουν δὲ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν, οὐκ
ψήνην δεῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὑπλοῖς: ἀδικοῦσι δὲ
ἐπεξήλθον οὔδεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας κωλυθεῖς, καίτοι
dιδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μῆ στρατεύεσθαι.
tούτων δὴ τοιούτων οὔτων, ἀρ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι B
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμὶ δίκαιοι, πράος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δια-
φερόντως γενόμενος, αἰδεσθεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ἐγγονον2 φιλοσοφίαν; τοιαύτα ὁ Τραίανδος εἶπὼν
ἐδόκει τῇ προτήτῃ πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δήλοι
πως ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστα ἁσθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ.
Τοῦ Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειληνὸς
ἡμέρα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, ’Ακούσωμεν, ἥφη, τοῦ C
Στωικοῦ τουτού, τί ποτε ἀρα τῶν παραδόξων
ἐκείνων ἑρεὶ καὶ τεραστίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀπο-
βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ’Αλλ’
ἐμοινε, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεὺ καὶ θεοὶ, λόγων οὐδὲν δεὶ καὶ
ἀγώνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοεῖτε τὰμά, προσήκου ἦν
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱστε καὶ λέληθεν
ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπάντων οὔδεν, αὐτοὶ μοι τιμᾶτε τῆς D
ἀξίας. ἐδοξε δὴ οὖν ὁ Μάρκος τὰ τε ἄλλα

1 ἐμαυτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐμοι MSS.
2 ἐγγονον Wright, ἐγγονον Hertlein, MSS.

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of five years or so. That of all the Emperors who came before me I was regarded as the mildest in the treatment of my subjects, is, I imagine, obvious, and neither Caesar here nor any other will dispute it with me. Against the Parthians I thought I ought not to employ force until they had put themselves in the wrong, but when they did so I marched against them, undeterred by my age, though the laws would have allowed me to quit the service. Since then the facts are as I have said, do I not deserve to be honoured before all the rest, first because I was so mild to my subjects, secondly because more than others I inspired terror in my country's foes, thirdly because I revered your daughter divine Philosophy?"

When Trajan had finished this speech the gods decided that he excelled all the rest in clemency; and evidently this was a virtue peculiarly pleasing to them.

When Marcus Aurelius began to speak, Silenus whispered to Dionysus, "Let us hear which one of his paradoxes and wonderful doctrines this Stoic will produce." But Marcus turned to Zeus and the other gods and said, "It seems to me, O Zeus and ye other gods, that I have no need to make a speech or to compete. If you did not know all that concerns me it would indeed be fitting for me to inform you. But since you know it and nothing at all is hidden from you, do you of your own accord assign me such honour as I deserve."

Thus Marcus showed that admirable as he was in other respects he was wise also beyond the rest,


"Adam the goodliest of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve."
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

θαυμάσιός τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφερόντως ἄτε οἴμαι διαγινώσκων,

Δέχειν θ' ὅπου χρή καὶ σιγάν ὅπου καλόν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετὰ τούτων λέγειν ἑπτετρετυνοφ. ὅ ὃ πρότερον μὲν ἐθάρρης τήν ἀγωνίαν, ὡς δὲ ἀπεβλεπεν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα, μικρὰ παντάπασιν εἰδὲ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ. δύο γὰρ τυράννους, 329 εἶ γε χρή τάλληθι φάναι, καθηρήκειν, τὸν μὲν ἀπόλεμον τε καὶ μαλακόν, τὸν δὲ ἀθλιόν τε καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆ,1 ἀμφότερον δὲ θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπως ἑχθίστω. τά γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἢν γελοία αὐτῶ. φόρους γὰρ ὡσπερ ἐπετελέκει,2 καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τρυφὴν ἀφεώρα. τόρρω δὲ εἰσήκηε τῶν θεῶν αὕτη περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς Σελήνης. ἐρωτικῶς τε οὖν εἰχὲν αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅλος πρὸς ἐκείνην βλέπων οὔδὲν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς Β νίκης.3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχρῆν καὶ αὐτῶν εἰπείν τι, Ταῦτη τούτων κρείττων, ἐφη, εἰμί, τοῦ Μακεδόνος μὲν, ὅτι πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυθικὰ γένη καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς βαρβάρους ἰγνοσάμην, Καίσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὀκταβιανὸ τῷ μῇ, καθάπερ οὕτω, πρὸς καλοὺς κάγαθους πολῖτας στασιάσας, τοὺς μιαρωτάτους δὲ καὶ πονηροτάτους τῶν τυράννων ἐπεξελθεῖν. Τραίνον δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀνδρα- 

1 ἀσθενὴ Sylburg adds.
2 After ἐπετελέκει Cobet suspects that several words are lost.
3 νίκης Cobet, MSS, δικης Hertlein, V, M.

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because he knew "When it is time to speak and when to be silent."  

Constantine was allowed to speak next. On first entering the lists he was confident enough. But when he reflected on the exploits of the others he saw that his own were wholly trivial. He had defeated two tyrants, but, to tell the truth, one of them 2 was untrained in war and effeminate, the other 3 a poor creature and enfeebled by old age, while both were alike odious to gods and men. Moreover his campaigns against the barbarians covered him with ridicule. For he paid them tribute, so to speak, while he gave all his attention to Pleasure, who stood at a distance from the gods near the entrance to the moon. Of her indeed he was so enamoured that he had no eyes for anything else, and cared not at all for victory. However, as it was his turn and he had to say something, he began:

"In the following respects I am superior to these others; to the Macedonian in having fought against Romans, Germans and Scythians, instead of Asiatic barbarians; to Caesar and Octavian in that I did not, like them, lead a revolution against brave and good citizens, but attacked only the most cruel and wicked tyrants. As for Trajan, I should naturally rank higher on account of those same glorious exploits against the tyrants, while it would be only fair to regard me as his equal on the score of that territory which he added to the empire, and I recovered; if indeed it be not more glorious to regain

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1 Euripides, fr. 417 Nauck.  
2 Maxentius.  
3 Licinius.
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tο ἀνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτήσασθαι. Μάρκος δὲ
οὕτωσι σιωπῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τῶν
πρωτείων ἐξισταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, 'Ἀλλ' ἢ
τοὺς 'Αδώνιδος κήπους ὡς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ὁ Κων-
σταντῖνε, σεαυτοῦ προφέρεις; τί δὲ, εἶπεν, εἰς
όσι λέγεις 'Αδώνιδος κήπους; οὔς αἱ γυναίκες, ἐφη, D
τῷ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν ὀστρακίωσ
ἐπαμησάμεναι γην λαχανίαν ἵλοσαντα δὲ
ταῦτα πρὸς ὅλγον αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ
ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἤρυθρίασεν, ἀντικρυς ἐπιγνοὺς
tοιοῦτον τὸ ἐαυτῷ ἐργον.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐφικεσαν περιμέ-
νειν, ὅτω θήσεθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων οἱ θεοὶ
ψήφων. οἱ δ' ὄντος δεῖν τὰς προαίρεσεις εἰς τοῦμ-
φανὲς τῶν ἀνδρῶν προάγει καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν
πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ὅν ἦ Ῥύχη μετεποιεῖτο τὸ
πλεῖστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρε-
στήκει πλὴν 'Οκταβιανοῦ μόνου. τούτον δὲ
ἐυγνώμονα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἶναι ἐλεγεν. ἐδοξέν οὖν
τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαν καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμή, καὶ
ἐδοσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ἀλέξανδρου πυθόσθαι, τῷ
νομίσευ τάλλοστον καὶ πρὸς τῆ βλέπων ἐργάσατο
καὶ πάθοι πάντα ὀσπερ δεδράκοι τε καὶ
πεπόνθοι. ὁ δὲ ἐφη, Τὸ πάντα νικάν. εἰτα,
εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, οἶει σοι τοῦτο πεποιήθαι; καὶ
μάλα, ἐφη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ Σειληνὸς τοιο-
στικῶς μᾶλα γελάσας, Ἀλλὰ ἐκράτουν γέ σου
πολλάκις αἰ ἡμέτεραι θυγατέρες, αἰνιττόμενοι τὰς
ἀμπέλους, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰν ὅτι τίνα μέθυσον C

1 οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ Hertlein suggests, οὐκ οὐκ MSS.
than to gain. As for Marcus here, by saying nothing for himself he yields precedence to all of us." "But Constantine," said Silenus, "are you not offering us mere gardens of Adonis as exploits?" "What do you mean," he asked, "by gardens of Adonis?" "I mean," said Silenus, "those that women plant in pots, in honour of the lover of Aphrodite, by scraping together a little earth for a garden bed. They bloom for a little space and fade forthwith." At this Constantine blushed, for he realised that this was exactly like his own performance.

Silence was then proclaimed, and the Emperors thought they had only to wait till the gods decided to whom they would vote the first prize. But the latter agreed that they must bring to light the motives that had governed each, and not judge them by their actions alone, since Fortune had the greatest share in these. That goddess herself was standing near and kept reproaching all of them, with the single exception of Octavian; he, she said, had always been grateful to her. Accordingly the gods decided to entrust this enquiry also to Hermes, and he was told to begin with Alexander and to ask him what he considered the finest of all things, and what had been his object in doing and suffering all that he had done and suffered. "To conquer the world," he replied. "Well," asked Hermes, "do you think you accomplished this?" "I do indeed," said Alexander. Whereupon Silenus with a malicious laugh exclaimed, "But you were often conquered yourself by my daughters!" by which he meant his vines, alluding to Alexander's love of wine and

καὶ φίλουνον σκῶπτων. καὶ ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ἀτε δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακουσμάτων, Οὔ τὰ ἀφυχα, ἐφη, νικάν: οὔδε γὰρ ἀγῶν ἦμιν ἐστὶ πρὸς ταῦτα: ἀλλὰ πάν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πάν δὲ θηρίων γένος. καὶ ὁ Σειλήνος ὁσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες εἰρωνικῶς μᾶλα, 'Ἰοῦ, Ἰοῦ, ἐφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν Δικηγκλίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦμιν ἐν ποτέρῳ σαυτὸν θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἄψυχων ἡ τῶν ἐμψυχῶν τε καὶ ξώντων; καὶ ὁ ὁσπερ ἀγανακτῆσας, Ἐυφήμει, ἐφη: ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θέος γενόμην, μᾶλλον δ' εἶπη, ἔπεπείσμην. Αὐτὸς οὖν, εἶπεν, ἢττήθης σαυτοῦ πολλάκις. 'Ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἠττᾶσθαι ὀμωνύμως λέγεται: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς 331 ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βαβαί τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἶπεν, ὅπως ἦμων τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεις. ἀλλ' ἦνικα, εἶπεν, ἐν 'Ἰνδοῖς ἐτρώθης καὶ ὁ Πευκέστης ἐκεῖτο παρὰ σὲ, σὺ δὲ ἐξῆγον ψυχορραγῶν τῆς πόλεως, ἀρα ἤπτων ἡσθα τοῦ τρώσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνων ἐνίκας; Οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἐφη, μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξεπόρθησα τὴν πόλιν. Οὔ σὺ γε, εἶπεν, ὁ μακάριε: σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσο κατὰ τὸν Ὄμηρον "Εκτορα ὀλυγοδρανέων καὶ ψυχορραγῶν" οἱ δὲ Β ἡγονιζομένοι καὶ ἐνίκων. Ἡγομένων γ' ἦμῶν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ Σειλήνος, Πῶς; οὐ γε 400
intemperate habits. But Alexander was well stocked with Peripatetic subterfuges, and retorted, “Inanimate things cannot conquer; nor do we contend with such, but only with the whole race of men and beasts.” “Ah,” said Silenus, “behold the chicanery of logic! But tell me in which class you place yourself, the inanimate or the animate and living?” At this he seemed mortified and said, “Hush! Such was my greatness of soul that I was convinced that I should become, or rather that I was already, a god.” “At any rate,” said Silenus, “you were often defeated by yourself.” “Nay,” retorted Alexander, “to conquer oneself or be defeated by oneself amounts to the same thing. I was talking of my victories over other men.” “No more of your logic!” cried Silenus, “how adroitly you detect my sophisms! But when you were wounded in India,¹ and Peucestes² lay near you and they carried you out of the town at your last gasp, were you defeated by him who wounded you, or did you conquer him?” “I conquered him, and what is more I sacked the town as well.” “Not you indeed, you immortal,” said Silenus, “for you were lying like Homer’s Hector in a swoon and at your last gasp. It was your soldiers who fought and conquered.” “Well but I led them,” said Alexander. “How so? When you were being carried away almost dead?” And then Silenus

¹ At the storming of the capital of the Mallians, probably the modern city Multan, in 326 B.C., cf. Plutarch, Alexander; Lucian, Dialogues of the Dead 14.
² Peucestes was wounded but saved Alexander’s life; Pliny 34. 8.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

"έφέρεσθε μικροῦ νεκροῖ; εἶτα ἦδε τῶν ἐξ Εὐρι-
πίδου"

Όμοιοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται,
"Οταν τρόπαιον πολεμίων στήσῃ στρατός.
καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ὁ παπτίδιον,
tοιαῦτα λέγων, μὴ σε οὕτως ὅποια τὸν Κλεῖτον C
ἐργάσηται.1 καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθρίάσας τε
άμα καὶ ὠστερ συγχυθείς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ
δύματα ἐσιώτα. καὶ οὔε μὲν οὔε ἔληξεν ὁ λόγος.
"Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο πάλιν τὸν Καῖσαρα, Σοὶ δὲ,
εἶπεν, ὁ Καῖσαρ, τίς ἐγένετο σκοπὸς τοῦ βίου;
Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἐφη, τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μήτε D
eiναι μήτε νομιζεσθαι2 δεύτερον. Τούτῳ, εἶπεν ὁ
Ἑρμῆς, ἀσαφὲς ἔστιν πότερον γάρ, εἶπε,3 κατὰ
σοφλαν ἢ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότητα ἢ πολε-
μικῇν ἐμπερίᾳ ἢ πολιτικῇν δύναμιν; 'Ἡν μὲν
οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἥδου μοί τῶν πάντων ἐν πάσιν
eiναι πρώτως τούτων δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπιτυχεῖν τὸ
dύνασθαι μέγιστον παρά τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολιτάις
ἐξήλωσα. Σὺ δὲ, εἶπεν, ἐδυνήθης μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν 332
ὁ Σεϊληνός. καὶ ὁς, Πάνω γε, ἐφη: κύριος γοῦν
αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. 'Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, εἶπεν, ἐδυ-
νήθης: ἀγαπηθήναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὖν οὖς τε
ἐγένος, καὶ τάτα πολλὰ μὲν ὑποκριμάμενος
ὁστερ ἐν δράματι καὶ σκηνῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ,
αἰσχρῶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντας κολακεύων. Εἶτα οὐκ
ἀγαπηθήναι δοκῶ, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ διώ-

1 τον Κλεῖτον ἐδρασεν ἐργάσηται MSS.; Hertlein suggests omission of ἐδρασεν.
2 μήτε εἶναι μὴτε νομιζεσθαί Hertlein suggests, εἶναι μὴτε
νομιζεσθαί MSS.
3 εἶπε Hertlein suggests; cf. 333 ν, εἶπε MSS.

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recited the passage in Euripides beginning "Alas how unjust is the custom of the Greeks, when an army triumphs over the enemy—"

But Dionysus interrupted him saying "Stop, little father, say no more, or he will treat you as he treated Cleitus." At that Alexander blushed, his eyes became suffused with tears and he said no more. Thus their conversation ended.

Next Hermes began to question Caesar, and said, "And you, Caesar, what was the end and aim of your life?" "To hold the first place in my own country," he replied, "and neither to be nor to be thought second to any man." "This," said Hermes, "is not quite clear. Tell me, was it in wisdom that you wished to be first, or in oratorical skill, or in military science, or the science of government?"

"I should have liked well," said Caesar, "to be first of all men in all of these; but as I could not attain to that, I sought to become the most powerful of my fellow-citizens." "And did you become so very powerful?" asked Silenus. "Certainly," he replied, "since I made myself their master." "Yes that you were able to do; but you could not make yourself beloved by them, though you played the philanthropic rôle as though you were acting in a stage-play, and flattered them all shamefully." "What!" cried Caesar, "I not beloved by the people? When

1 Andromache 693 foll.: the passage continues "Tis not those who did the work that gain the credit but the general wins all the glory." Cleitus was killed by Alexander at a banquet for quoting these verses.

DD 2
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ξαντὸς Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σὲ ἀπέκτειναν, ἐφιεῖ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ δήμος ἐγειφίσατο εἶναι ὑπάτους· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μισθὸν ἔωροι τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτοῖς οὕτως οὕτως ὑποκύπτοσαν προσεγγυγραμμένοι.

Δήξαντος δὲ καὶ τούδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Ὄκταβιανόν αὐθις ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐκίνησε. Σὺ δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἧμιν, τί κάλλιστον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι; καὶ ὁς, Βασίλευσαι, ἐφη, καλῶς. Τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ καλῶς; ὁ Ξεβαστῆς, φράσου, ἔπελ τούτο γε ἔστι καὶ τοὺς πονηροτάτους λέγειν. ὃ τε γοῦν καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασίλευεν καὶ ὁ τούτον μιαρώτερος Ἀγαθοκλῆς. Ἁλλ’ ἵστε, εἶπεν, ὅ θεος, ὁς προπέμπτων δ’ τοῦ θυγατριδοῦν ἥξαμην ἦμιν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καίσαρος, δεινότητα δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἐμήν. Πολλά, εἶπεν ὁ Ξειληνός, καὶ θεῶν ὄντως σωτήρων ἔργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὕτως ὁ κορυφαλάθος. Εἴτε διὰ τὸ τούτο, ἐφη, τὸ ὅνομὰ μοι γελοίον οὕτως ἔθου; Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπλατες ἦμιν, εἶπεν, ὅσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς νύμφας, ὁ Ξεβαστῆς, θεοῦς, διὸν ἐνα καὶ πρῶτον τούτου καὶ τοῦτον Καίσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὅκταβιανός ὅσπερ δυσ- 333 ὁπούμενος ἀπεσιώτυχεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος πρὸς τὸν Τραῖανόν βλέψας, Σὺ δὲ, εἶπε, τί διανοούμενος ἔπλατες ὅσπερ ἐπτραπέτας; Τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σωφρονεστέρον,

1 οὕτως V, Cobet, οὕτως Hertlein.

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they punished Brutus and Cassius!" "That was not for murdering you," replied Silenus, "since for that they elected them consuls! No, it was because of the money you left them. When they had heard your will read they perceived what a fine reward was offered them in it for such resentment of your murder."

When this dialogue ended, Hermes next accosted Octavian. "Now for you," he said, "will you please tell us what you thought the finest thing in the world?" "To govern well," he replied. "You must say what you mean by 'well,' Augustus. Govern well! The wickedest tyrants claim to do that. Even Dionysius, I suppose, thought that he govern well, and so did Agathocles who was a still greater criminal." "But you know, O ye gods," said Octavian, "that when I parted with my grandson I prayed you to give him the courage of Caesar, the cleverness of Pompey, and my own good fortune." "What a many things," cried Silenus, "that do need really saving gods have been jumbled together by this doll-maker!" "Why pray do you give me that ridiculous name?" asked the other. "Why," he replied, "just as they model nymphs did you not model gods, Augustus, and first and foremost Caesar here?" At this Octavian seemed abashed and said no more.

Then Hermes addressing Trajan said, "Now you tell us what was the principle that guided all your actions?" "My aims," he replied, "were the same

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1 This is not according to history. The Senate gave Brutus and Cassius proconsular power in their provinces.
2 Tyrant of Syracuse 405-367 B.C.
3 Tyrant of Syracuse 317-289 B.C.  4 Caius Caesar.
5 Julian refers to the custom of deifying the Emperors.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

eπτεν, ὧρέχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡπτήθης μὲν οὖν, 1 εἶπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἁγενεστέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
θυμοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἤττων ἦν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχρᾶς
ἵδινης καὶ ἐπονειδιστοῦ. Βάλλ’ εἰς μακαριαν, Β
εἶπεν ὁ Δίονυσος, ἐπεὶ σκόπτεις σὺ πάντας
άυτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγειν.
ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων εἰχὲ σοι χώραν τὰ σκώμματα
πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅπως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου.
δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι μοι πῶς ἀνήρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην
tετράγωνον ἀνεύ ψόγου τετυγμένος. ὁ Ἐρμής
dὲ βλέψας εἰς τὸν Μάρκον, Σοὶ δὲ, εἶπεν, ὁ
Βήρας, τί κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου τέλος εἶναι;
καὶ ὃς ἥρεμα καὶ σωφρόνος, Τὸ μμεισθαι, C
ἐφι, τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐδοξὲ μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἡ
ἀπόκρισις οὐκ ἁγεννής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς
ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἐρμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν, πεπεσμένοι ὅτι πάντα ὁ Μάρκος
ἀκολούθως ἔρει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδόκει
ταύτης μόνος δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, 'Αλλ’ οὗ μὰ τὸν Διό-
νυσον ἄνεξομα τούτου τοῦ σφιστοῦ. τί δὴποτε
γὰρ ἡσθίες, εἶπε, 2 καὶ ἐπίνες οὐχ ὡσπερ ἡμείς ἁμ-
βροσίας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἀρτὸν δὲ καὶ οἶνον; 'Αλλ’
ἐγωγε, εἶπεν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ οὖν ὁμὴν τοὺς θεοὺς μμει-
σθαι, ταύτης προσεφερόμην συτία καὶ ποτά: τὸ
σῶμα δὲ ἐτρεφον, ἵσως μὲν ψευδῶς, πειθόμενος
dὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα σῶματα δεῖται τῆς
ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμμάτων τροφῆς. πλὴν οὖν κατὰ
tαυτὰ γε ύμᾶς εἶναι μμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν
dιάνοιαν ὑπέλαβον. ὅλγον ὁ Σειληνὸς διαπορήσας 3 334

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, οὖν MSS. καὶ before σοῦ Cobet adds.
2 εἰπέ Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 D, εἰπὲ MSS.
3 διαπορήσας Reiske suggests to complete the construction.

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as Alexander’s, but I acted with more prudence.”

"Nay," said Silenus, “you were the slave of more ignoble passions. Anger was nearly always his weak point, but yours was pleasure of the vilest and most infamous sort.” “Plague take you!” exclaimed Dionysus, “You keep railing at them all and you don’t let them say a word for themselves. However, in their case there was some ground for your sarcasms, but now consider well what you can find to criticise in Marcus. For in my opinion he is a man, to quote Simonides, ‘four-square and made without a flaw.’”

Then Hermes addressed Marcus and said, “And you, Verus, what did you think the noblest ambition in life?” In a low voice he answered modestly, “To imitate the gods.” This answer they at once agreed was highly noble and in fact the best possible. And even Hermes did not wish to cross-examine him further, since he was convinced that Marcus would answer every question equally well. The other gods were of the same mind; only Silenus cried “By Dionysus I shall not let this sophist off so easily. Why then did you eat bread and drink wine and not ambrosia and nectar like us?” “Nay,” he replied, “it was not in the fashion of my meat and drink that I thought to imitate the gods. But I nourished my body because I believed, though perhaps falsely, that even your bodies require to be nourished by the fumes of sacrifice. Not that I supposed I ought to imitate you in that respect, but rather your minds.”

For the moment Silenus was at a loss as though he

1 Simonides fr. 5 Bergk.
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...πάντων δεξιοῦ πληγείς, Εἰρήται μὲν σοι τούτο, εἰπε, τυχὸν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἐμοὶ δὲ, ἐφη, φράσον, τί ποτε ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τὴν τῶν θεῶν μίμησιν; καὶ ὃς, Δεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων, εὔ ποιεῖν δὲ ὡς ὃ, τι μάλιστα πλείστους. Μῶν οὖν, εἰπεν, οὔδενὸς ἐδέου; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὔδενος, ἵσως δὲ τὸ σωμάτιον μου μικρῶν. δόξαν- 
τος οὖν καὶ τούτῳ ορθῶς εἰρηκέναι τοῦ Μάρκου, Β 
τὸ τέλος ἀπορούμενος ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπιφύεται τοῖς 
περὶ τὸν παιδὰ καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτῷ δοκοῦσιν 
οὐκ ὁρθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ λόγον πεποιηθᾶται, τὴν μὲν 
ὅτι ταῖς ἰρωίναις ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν 
ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἔμμησάμην, εἰπε, καὶ 
κατὰ τούτο τοὺς θεούς. Ὁμήρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειθόμη 
λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς, ὅτι ᾧρα, ὅστις ἁγαθὸς 
καὶ ἔχεφρων, τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κηδεῖαν περὶ 
δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δίος ἀπόφασιν ἔχων 
αἰτιώμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἄρεα, Πάλαι ἄν, εἰπεν, 
ἐβέβλησο τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ παιδᾶ σε 
ἐιναι ἡγάτων. ἀλλὸς τε καὶ οὐδὲ ἔμπις ἐγὼ 
τὸν παιδὰ πονηρὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ 
νεότης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μεγάλας ποιούμενη ῥοπᾶς 
ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἡνέχθη, οὐχὶ πονηρῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν 
ἐπέτρεψα, συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν λαβόντα πονηρὸν 
γενέσθαι. τὰ τε οὖν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποίηται 
καὶ ταῖς παιδᾶ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγιστοῦ Δίος, 
ἀλλὸς τε καὶ οὐδὲν καινοτομήσαντι. παισὶ 
τε γὰρ νόμιμον ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς διαδοχὰς, καὶ 408
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had been hit by a good boxer,\(^1\) then he said "There is perhaps something in what you say; but now tell me what did you think was really meant by 'imitating the gods.'" "Having the fewest possible needs and doing good to the greatest possible number." "Do you mean to say," he asked, "that you had no needs at all?" "I," said Marcus, "had none, but my wretched body had a few, perhaps." Since in this also Marcus seemed to have answered wisely, Silenus was at a loss, but finally fastened on what he thought was foolish and unreasonable in the Emperor's behaviour to his son and his wife, I mean in enrolling the latter among the deified and entrusting the empire to the former. "But in that also," said the other, "I did but imitate the gods. I adopted the maxim of Homer when he says 'the good and prudent man loves and cherishes his own wife,' \(^2\) while as to my son I can quote the excuse of Zeus himself when he is rebuking Ares: 'Long ago,' he says, 'I should have smitten thee with a thunderbolt, had I not loved thee because thou art my son.' \(^3\) Besides, I never thought my son would prove so wicked. Youth ever vacillates between the extremes of vice and virtue, and if in the end he inclined to vice, still he was not vicious when I entrusted the empire to him; it was only after receiving it that he became corrupted. Therefore my behaviour to my wife was modelled on that of the divine Achilles, and that to my son was in imitation of supreme Zeus. Moreover, in neither case did I introduce any novelty. It is the custom to hand down the succession to a man's sons, and all men desire to do so; as

\(^1\) Plato, *Protagoras* 339 \(\epsilon\) ὑπὲρ ὑπὸ ἀγαθῶν πόρτων πληγεῖς.

\(^2\) *Iliad* 9. 343.

\(^3\) A paraphrase of *Iliad* 5. 897.
τούτῳ ἀπαντεῖς εὐχορταί, τὴν τε γαμητὴν οὐκ ἔγιν πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐπίμησα, ἵσως δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀρξασθαί τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν εὐλογοῦν, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γενόμενον τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἐγγὺς ἀδίκιας. ἀλλ' ἔλαθον ἐμαυτῶν ἐγὼ μακρότερα ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς εἰδότας ύμᾶς, ὁ Ζεύ καὶ θεοὶ διότερ μοι τῆς προπετείας ταυτησι συγγνώμονες γένοισθε.

Παυσαμένου δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Κωνσταντίνου ὁ Ἑρμής ἤρετο, Σὺ δὲ τί καλὸν Β ένόμεσας; Πολλὰ, εἰπὲ, κτησάμενον πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, ταῖς τ' ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων ύποφρονῆται. ἀνακαγχάσας οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς μέγα, Ἀλλ' ἢ πρατεζίτης εἶναι, ἐφη, θέλων ἐλελήθεις σεαυτὸν ὑψοτείον καὶ κομμωτρίας βίον ζῶν; 1 ἡμέτερον δ' αὐτὰ πάλαι μὲν ἡ τε κόμη τὸ τε εἶδος, ἀτὰρ νῦν καὶ ἡ γνώμη σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. τούτον μὲν οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς πικρότερον πως καθηγαίτο.

Σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐφερον οἱ θεοὶ λάθρα C τὰς ψήφους. εἶτα ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ, κοινολογησάμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἑδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προσέταξε κηρύξαι τῷ Ἑρμῆ. ὁ δὲ ἐκήρυττεν, Ἀνδρέας οἱ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τουτοῖς τῶν ἀγώνα, κέφαλαι εἰσὶ καὶ κρίσεις τοιαύται γίνονται, ὡστε καὶ τὸν νικῶντα χαίρειν καὶ τὸν ἰττώμενον μὴ μέμφεσθαι. πορεύσεσθε οὖν, εἶπεν, ὅποιοι φίλων ἐκάστῳ, ὑπὸ θεοὺς ἑγεμόσι βιωσόμενοι D τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐλέεσθω δ' ἐκάστος ἑαυτὸ τῶν προστάτην τε καὶ ἑγεμόνα. μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα

1 ζῶν Cobet, ἀγὼν Reiske, ἅχων Hertlein, MSS.
for my wife I was not the first to decree divine honours to a wife, for I followed the example of many others. It is perhaps absurd to have introduced any such custom, but it would be almost an injustice to deprive one's nearest and dearest of what is now long-established. However, I forget myself when I make this lengthy explanation to you, O Zeus and ye other gods; for ye know all things. Forgive me this forwardness.”

When Marcus had finished his speech, Hermes asked Constantine, “And what was the height of your ambition?” “To amass great wealth,” he answered, “and then to spend it liberally so as to gratify my own desires and the desires of my friends.” At this Silenus burst into a loud laugh, and said, “If it was a banker that you wanted to be, how did you so far forget yourself as to lead the life of a pastrycook and hairdresser?” Your locks and your fair favour betokened this all along, but what you say about your motives convicts you.” Thus did Silenus sharply reprove Constantine.

Then silence was proclaimed and the gods cast a secret ballot. It turned out that Marcus had most of the votes. After conferring apart with his father, Zeus bade Hermes make a proclamation as follows: “Know all ye mortals who have entered this contest, that according to our laws and decrees the victor is allowed to exult but the vanquished must not complain. Depart then wherever you please, and in future live every one of you under the guidance of the gods. Let every man choose his own guardian and guide.”

1 Iliad 3. 55. 2 Kronos.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

tοῦτο ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ὀκταβιανὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀπρός εἰχετο τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου Μάρκος. πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν Καίσαρα κατελεήσας ὁ μέγας Ἀρης ἦ τε Ἀφροδίτη παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐκαλεσάτην. Τραίακις δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔθει ὡς ἐκεῖνο συγκαθεδούμενος. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, οὐχ εὐρίσκων 336 ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐγνύθεν τὴν Τρυφὴν κατιδών ἑδραμε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἢ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοῖς πήχει πέπλοις τε αὐτῶν ποικίλοις ἀσκήσασα καὶ καλωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐρφῶν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, "Ὅστις φθορεύς, ὅστις μαίφωνος, ὅστις ἐναγής καὶ βδελυρός, ἡτο θαρρῶν" Β ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τοιτι τῷ ὑδατι λυώσας αὐτίκα καθαρὸν, καὶ πάλιν ἔνοχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δῶσω τὸ στήθος πλήξαντι καὶ τὴν κεφάλην πατάξαντι καθαρῷ γενέσθαι," σφόδρα ἄσμενος ἐνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, συνεξαγαγὼν τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀγορᾶς τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπέτριβον δ' αὐτὸν τε κάκεινους οὐχ ἤττον τῆς ἀθεότητος οἱ παλαιναίοι δαίμονες, αἰμάτων συγγενῶν τινύμενοι δίκαια, ἐως ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Κωνστάντιον ἐδωκεν ἀναπτυέσαι.

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THE CAESARS

After this announcement, Alexander hastened to Heracles, and Octavian to Apollo, but Marcus attached himself closely to Zeus and Kronos. Caesar wandered about for a long time and ran hither and thither, till mighty Ares and Aphrodite took pity on him and summoned him to them. Trajan hastened to Alexander and sat down near him. As for Constantine, he could not discover among the gods the model of his own career, but when he caught sight of Pleasure, who was not far off, he ran to her. She received him tenderly and embraced him, then after dressing him in raiment of many colours and otherwise making him beautiful, she led him away to Incontinence. There too he found Jesus, who had taken up his abode with her and cried aloud to all comers: "He that is a seducer, he that is a murderer, he that is sacrilegious and infamous, let him approach without fear! For with this water will I wash him and will straightway make him clean. And though he should be guilty of those same sins a second time, let him but smite his breast and beat his head and I will make him clean again." To him Constantine came gladly, when he had conducted his sons forth from the assembly of the gods. But the avenging deities none the less punished both him and them for their impiety, and exacted the penalty for the shedding of the blood of their kindred,¹ until Zeus granted them a respite for the sake of Claudius and Constantius.²

¹ Introduction to Volume I. p. vii.
² Constantius Chlorus.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Σοι δὲ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ἐρμής, δέδωκα τὸν Ζ
πατέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγνώναι· σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
ἐντολῶν ἔχου, πείσμα καὶ ὅρμον ἀσφαλῆ ἔστὶ
tε σεαυτό παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἴδικὰ ἂν ἐνθένδε
ἀπιέναι δέ, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα
θέου εὐμενή καθιστάς σεαυτό.
THE CAESARS

"As for thee," Hermes said to me, "I have granted thee the knowledge of thy father Mithras. Do thou keep his commandments, and thus secure for thyself a cable and sure anchorage throughout thy life, and when thou must depart from the world thou canst with good hopes adopt him as thy guardian god."
THE GOSPEL

over, for the time of the Lord's
unto the testimony of the
that this was the
and was
throughout all
and
and that
of the Lord.

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MISOPOGON
OR, BEARD-HATER
INTRODUCTION

Julian came to Antioch on his way to Persia in the autumn of 361 and stayed there till March, 362. The city was rich and important commercially, but in Julian's eyes her glory depended on two things, the famous shrine of Apollo and the school of rhetoric; and both of these had been neglected by the citizens during the reign of Constantius. A Christian church had been built in Apollo's grove in the suburb of Daphne, and Libanius, Antioch's most distinguished rhetorician, was more highly honoured at Nicomedia. Julian's behaviour at Antioch and his failure to ingratiate himself with the citizens illustrates one of the causes of the failure of his Pagan restoration. His mistake was that he did not attempt to make Paganism popular, whereas Christianity had always been democratic. He is always reminding the common people that the true knowledge of the gods is reserved for philosophers; and even the old conservative Pagans did not share his zeal for philosophy. Antioch moreover was a frivolous city. The Emperor Hadrian three centuries earlier had been much offended by the levity of her citizens, and the homilies of Saint

1 cf. Libanius, Oration 29. 220, where he warns the people of Antioch that Caesarea had already robbed them of one sophist by the offer of a higher salary, and exhorts them not to neglect rhetoric, the cause of their greatness.

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Chrysostom exhibit the same picture as Julian's satire. His austere personality and mode of life repelled the Syrian populace and the corrupt officials of Antioch. They satirised him in anapaestic verses, and either stayed away from the temples that he restored or, when they did attend in response to his summons, showed by their untimely applause of the Emperor that they had not come to worship his gods. Julian's answer was this satire on himself which he addresses directly to the people of Antioch. But he could not resist scolding them, and the satire on his own habits is not consistently maintained. After he had left the city the citizens repented and sent a deputation to make their peace with him, but in spite of the intercession of Libanius, who had accompanied him to Antioch, he could not forgive the insults to himself or the irreverence that had been displayed to the gods.
'Ανακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ πολλὰ ἐπουθηθη μέλη χαράεντα· τρυφᾶν γὰρ ἔλαχεν ἐκ μοιρῶν 'Αλκαίῳ δ’ οὐκέτι οὗτος Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐδώκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἱδώνας τρέψαι: μοιχθεῖν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔχρωντο, κοιφότερα Β ποιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ δαίμων ἐδίδου τῇ εἰ στοὺς ἀδικοῦντας λοιπόν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει μὲν ὁ νόμος ἐπὶ ὀνόματος αἰτιάσθαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦμένους μὲν οὐδὲν, εἶναι δ’ ἐπιχειροῦντας δυσμενεῖς, ἀφαιρεῖται δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μουσικῆν ὁ νῦν ἔπικρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς παιδείας τρόποσ. αἰσχίνοι γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ νῦν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἢ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐδόκει τὸ πλούτειν ἀδίκως. οὐ μὴν Τ ψέφησον διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατῆς ἐκ μουσῶν ἐπικουρίας. ἔθεασάμην τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν

1 "The Discourse at Antioch" is an alternative title in the MSS.

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MISOPOGON
OR, BEARD-HATER

Anacreon the poet composed many delightful songs; for a luxurious life was allotted to him by the Fates. But Alcaeus and Archilochus of Paros the god did not permit to devote their muse to mirth and pleasure. For constrained as they were to endure toil, now of one sort, now of another, they used their poetry to relieve their toil, and by abusing those who wronged them they lightened the burdens imposed on them by Heaven. But as for me, the law forbids me to accuse by name those who, though I have done them no wrong, try to show their hostility to me; and on the other hand the fashion of education that now prevails among the well-born deprives me of the use of the music that consists in song. For in these days men think it more degrading to study music than once in the past they thought it to be rich by dishonest means. Nevertheless I will not on that account renounce the aid that it is in my power to win from the Muses. Indeed I have observed that even the

1 In the seventh century B.C. Alcaeus of Lesbos and Archilochus both suffered exile, and the latter fell in battle against Naxos. For the misfortunes of Alcaeus, cf. Horace, Odes 2. 13.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Ῥήνων βαρβάρως ἄγρια μέλη λέξει πεποιημένα παραπλησία τοῖς κρωσμοῖς τῶν τραχύ βουόντων όρνίθων ἱδονας καὶ εὐφραινομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν. εἶναι γὰρ οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοῖς φαύλοις 33b τὴν μουσικὴν λυπηροῖς μὲν τοῖς θεάτροις, σφίζει δ' αὐτοῖς ἥδιστοι. δ' ἡ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυννόησας εἰώθα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν λέγειν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰσμηνίας οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑσης μὲν ἐξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὄμοιας, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δῆτα ταῖς μούσαις ξόω καὶ ἐμαυτῷ.

Τὸ δ' ἄσμα πεζῆ μὲν λέξει πεποιηται, λοιδορίας δ' ἔχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μᾶ Δία: πῶς γὰρ; ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου· εἰς Β δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ξυγγραφέα. τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἐαυτὸν γράφειν εἶτε ἐπαίνους εἶτε ψόγους εἴργει νόμοι συμβ. ἐπαίνεϊν μὲν δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἐθέλων ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ πρότον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λίαν καλὸ καὶ εὐπρεπεῖ καὶ οὕτω ὑπὸ δυστροφίας καὶ δυσκολίας αὐτὸς προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τούτοις Σ πόγωνα, δίκας αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν δὲ μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλῶν. ταῦτα τοι διαθέσων ανέχομαι τῶν φθείρων ὁπέρ ἐν λόχᾳ τῶν θηρίων. ἔσθειν δὲ λάβρως ἢ πίνειν χανδὼν οὐ συγχωροῦμαι· δεί γὰρ οἶμαι προσέχειν, μὴ λάθω συγκαταφαγῶν 1 τὰς τρίχας

1 συγκαταφαγῶν Cobet, καὶ συγκαταφαγῶν Hertlein, MSS.

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barbarians across the Rhine sing savage songs composed in language not unlike the croaking of harsh-voiced birds, and that they delight in such songs. For I think it is always the case that inferior musicians, though they annoy their audiences, give very great pleasure to themselves. And with this in mind I often say to myself, like Ismenias—for though my talents are not equal to his, I have as I persuade myself a similar independence of soul—"I sing for the Muses and myself." 1

However the song that I now sing has been composed in prose, and it contains much violent abuse, directed not, by Zeus, against others—how could it be, since the law forbids?—but against the poet and author himself. For there is no law to prevent one's writing either praise or criticism of oneself. Now as for praising myself, though I should be very glad to do so, I have no reason for that; but for criticising myself I have countless reasons, and first I will begin with my face. For though nature did not make this any too handsome or well-favoured or give it the bloom of youth, I myself out of sheer perversity and ill-temper have added to it this long beard of mine, to punish it, as it would seem, for this very crime of not being handsome by nature. For the same reason I put up with the lice that scamper about in it as though it were a thicket for wild beasts. As for eating greedily or drinking with my mouth wide open, it is not in my power; for I must take care, I suppose, or before I know it I shall eat up some of my own hairs along with my crumbs

1 For Ismenias of Thebes cf. Plutarch, Pericles. The saying became a proverb; cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration 78. 420; Themistius 366 B; Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, “I have lived mihi et Musis in the University.”
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

tois ārtois. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν D ἥκιστα ἄλγω. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἐδικεῖν ὁ πόγον ὡσπέρ τὰ ἀλλα λυπηρόν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων καθαρὰ λείους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι γλυκερότερα χειλεῖς χείλη προσμάττειν, ὑπὲρ ἧδη τις ἔφη τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἔξω τῷ Παντὶ καὶ τῇ Καλλιόπῃ εἰς τὸν Δάφνιον ποιήματα. ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε δεῖν καὶ σχοινία πλέκειν ἐνθένδε· καὶ ἐτοιμός παρέχειν, ἣν μόνον ἐλκεῖν ὑμηθήτε καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀτριπτοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ μαλακὰς χεῖρας ἡ τραχύτης αὐτῶν δεινὰ ἐργάσηται. νομίζῃ δὲ μηδεῖς δυσχεραίνειν ἐμὲ τῷ σκώμματι. δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αἰτίαν 339 ὡσπέρ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένειον ἔχων, ἔξων οἶμαι λείον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ φιλόν, ὅποιον ὦ καλοί τῶν παῖ-
δων ἔχουσιν ἀπασι τε αἱ γυναῖκες, αἱς φόσει πρόσεται τὸ ἐράσμον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆρᾳ
ξηλούντες τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν υἱέας καὶ τὰς θυγα-
tέρας ὑπὸ ἀβρότητος βίου καὶ ἱσως ἀπαλότητος
τρόπου λείον ἑπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τὸν ἀνδρα
ὑποφαίνουτες καὶ παραδεικνύστες διὰ τοῦ μετώπου Β καὶ οὐχ ὡσπέρ ἢ μεῖτο ἐκ τῶν γυνάων.
'Εμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησε μόνον ἡ βαθύτης τοῦ
γενείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσεσθιν αὑχμός,
καὶ ὁλυγάκες κελρομαι καὶ ὄνυχξομαι, καὶ τοὺς
daktύλους ὑπὸ τοῦ καλάμου τὰ πολλὰ ἐχω
μέλανας. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων
μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι τὸ στῆθος δασὺ καὶ λάσιον ὡσπέρ

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MISOPOGON

of bread. In the matter of being kissed and kissing I suffer no inconvenience whatever. And yet for this as for other purposes a beard is evidently troublesome, since it does not allow one to press shaven "lips to other lips more sweetly"—because they are smooth, I suppose—as has been said already by one of those who with the aid of Pan and Calliope composed poems in honour of Daphnis. But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it! Well I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands." And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, when I might, I suppose, make it smooth and bare as handsome youths wear theirs, and all women, who are endowed by nature with loveliness. But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do.

But as though the mere length of my beard were not enough, my head is dishevelled besides, and I seldom have my hair cut or my nails, while my fingers are nearly always black from using a pen. And if you would like to learn something that is usually a secret, my breast is shaggy, and covered

1 Daphnis is the hero of bucolic poetry; Julian echoes Theocritus 12. 32 ὅς δὲ κε προσμάξῃ γλυκερώτερα χείλεσι χείλη. Odyssey 22. 151; cf. Zonaras 13. 12. 213, Dindorf.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

t ön λέοντων, οίτερ βασιλεύουσι τῶν θηρίων, οὔτε έποίησα λείων αὐτὸ πώς τητε διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρέπειαν, οὔτε ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος έιργασάμην λείων οὔτε μαλακόν. εἴπόν γ' ἂν ὑμῖν, εἰ τις ἦν μοι καὶ ἀκροχορδῶν ὥστερ τῷ Κικέρωνι, 1 νυνὶ δ' οὖκ ἔστι. καὶ εἰ 2 συγγινόσκετε, φράσω ὑμῖν καὶ 3 ἐτερον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὖκ ἀπόχρη τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίαιτα παγχάλεπος ἐπιτηδεύεται. εἰργῶ τῶν θεάτρων ἐμαυτῶν ὑπ' ἀβελτρίας, οὖν εἴσω τῆς αὐλῆς παραδέχομαι τὴν θυμέλην ἕξω τῇ νομονίας τοῦ ἔτους ὑπ' ἀνασοθρίας, ὥσπερ τινὰ φόρον ἢ D δασμόν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδιδοὺς ἄγροις ὀλίγα ἔχων οὖν ἐπιεικεὶς δεσπότης. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰσελθὼν τοὺς ἀφοσιουμένους ἐοίκα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὐδένα, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἀκούων μέγας, ὡς καθάπερ ὑπαρχὼς ἢ στρατηγὸς διά πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρξεὶ τῶν μίμων καὶ τῶν ἡνίχων ὅπερ ὑμεῖς ὀρῶντες ὀλίγῳ πρότερον

ἀναμμηνήσκεσθε νῦν ἡβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν. 4

Ἡν μὲν οὖν icious καὶ τοῦτο βαρὺ καὶ δείγμα 340 ἐναργεῖς μοχθηρίας τρόπον προστίθημι δὲ ἐγὼ τι καινότερον ἀεὶ μισώ τὰς ἱπποδρομίας, ὥστερ οἱ χρήματα ὄφληκτος τὰς ἀγοράς. ὀλίγακις οὖν εἰς αὐτὰς φοιτῶ ἐν ταῖς ἐνοταῖς τῶν θεῶν

1 Κικέρων Naber, cf. Plutarch, Cicero, Κιμων Hertlein, MSS.
2 εἰ Reiske, ἢ Hertlein, MSS.
3 ὑμῖν καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS.
4 ἀναμμηνήσκεσθε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Brambs identified as a fragment of Cratinus.

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MISOPOGON

with hair, like the breasts of lions who among wild beasts are monarchs like me, and I have never in my life made it smooth, so ill-conditioned and shabby am I, nor have I made any other part of my body smooth or soft. If I had a wart like Cicero,\(^1\) I would tell you so; but as it happens I have none. And by your leave I will tell you something else. I am not content with having my body in this rough condition, but in addition the mode of life that I practise is very strict indeed. I banish myself from the theatres, such a dolt am I, and I do not admit the thymele\(^2\) within my court except on the first day of the year, because I am too stupid to appreciate it; like some country fellow who from his small means has to pay a tax or render tribute to a harsh master. And even when I do enter the theatre I look like a man who is expiating a crime. Then again, though I am entitled a mighty Emperor, I employ no one to govern the mimes and chariot-drivers as my lieutenant or general throughout the inhabited world. And observing this recently, "You now recall that youth of his, his wit and wisdom."\(^3\)

Perhaps you had this other grievance and clear proof of the worthlessness of my disposition—for I keep on adding some still more strange characteristic—I mean that I hate horse-races as men who owe money hate the market-place. Therefore I seldom attend them, only during the festivals of the

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1 cf. Plutarch, Cicero, who says that Cicero had a wart on his nose.
2 \(i.e.\) the altar of Dionysus which was set up in the orchestra.
3 Cratinus, Eunide fr. 1; cf. Synesius, Epistle 129; Julian refers to Constantius, whom the people of Antioch now compare with him.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οὐδὲ διημερεύω, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ὦ τε ἀνέφιος ὦ ἐμὸς καὶ ὁ θεῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ὀμοπάτριος.

ἐξ δὲ τούς πάντας θεώμενος δρόμοις, οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀν τις ἔρων τοῦ πράγματος ἦνα λάς ἰθα Μή B μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἀσμενος ἀπαλ·

άττομαι.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐξω παντα: καίτοι πόστον ἐφηταὶ μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἄδικημάτων; τὰ δὲ ἐνδον ἄγρυπνοι νύκτες ἐν στυβάδι, καὶ ἄρρη παντὸς ἡττῶν κόρον πικρῶν ἥθος ποιή καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμιον. οὔ μὴν ἕμῶν ἀνέκα τοῦτο ἐπιτιθεῦται παρ’ ἐμοῖν; δεινὴ δὲ τις ἐκ παιδαρίου με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη καταλαβοῦσα τῇ γαστρί πολεμεῖν ἐπεισεν, οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπω πολλῶν ἐμπίπτασθαι σιτίων αὐτὴ. Σ ὀλυγιστάκις οὖν ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων ἐμέσαι συνέβη. καὶ μέμνημαι αὐτὸ παθῶν ἐξ ὀτού καίσαρ ἐγενό·

μὴν ἀπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησμονῆς. ἀξίων δὲ ὑπομνησθήναι διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ πάνω χαρίεντος, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἰκεῖοι.

"Επύγχανον ἐγὼ χειμάξων περὶ τὴν φίλην Π Λουκετίαν ὀνομάξουσι δ’ οὕτως οἱ Κελτοὶ τῶν Παρισίων τὴν πολύχυμη ἐστὶ δ’ οὐ μεγάλη νῆσος ἐγκεκομένη τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ πάσαν τείχος περιλαμβάνει, ἐξίλυμαι δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰσάγουσι γέφυρα, καὶ ὀλυγάκις ὁ ποταμὸς ἐλαττοῦται καὶ μείζων γίνεται, τὰ πολλὰ δ’ ἐστιν ὁποίος ὥρα θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος,

1 ὀλυγιστάκις Hertlein suggests, ὀλγάκις MSS.
2 περιλαμβάνει Cobet, καταλαμβάνει Hertlein, MSS.

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gods; and I do not stay the whole day as my cousin\textsuperscript{1} used to do, and my uncle\textsuperscript{2} and my brother and my father's son.\textsuperscript{3} Six races are all that I stay to see, and not even those with the air of one who loves the sport, or even, by Zeus, with the air of one who does not hate and loathe it, and I am glad to get away.

But all these things are externals; and indeed what a small fraction of my offences against you have I described! But to turn to my private life within the court. Sleepless nights on a pallet and a diet that is anything rather than surfeiting make my temper harsh and unfriendly to a luxurious city like yours. However it is not in order to set an example to you that I adopt these habits. But in my childhood a strange and senseless delusion came over me and persuaded me to war against my belly, so that I do not allow it to fill itself with a great quantity of food. Thus it has happened to me most rarely of all men to vomit my food. And though I remember having this experience once, after I became Caesar, it was by accident and was not due to over-eating. It may be worth while to tell the story which is not in itself very graceful, but for that very reason is especially suited to me.

I happened to be in winter quarters at my beloved Lutetia—for that is how the Celts call the capital of the Parisians. It is a small island lying in the river; a wall entirely surrounds it, and wooden bridges lead to it on both sides. The river seldom rises and falls, but usually is the same depth in the winter as

\textsuperscript{1} Constantius.
\textsuperscript{2} Count Julian who had been 'Governor of Antioch. cf. Letter 13.
\textsuperscript{3} Gallus his half-brother.
Τά Σατυρά του Ιουλιανού.

Γνώσην δὲ καὶ καθαρώτατον ὅραν καὶ πίνειν ἐθέλοντι παρέχων. ἂτε γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντας ὑδρεύεσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθένδε χρῆ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμών εἴκει πράστερος εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης 341 τοῦ ὀκεανοῦ στάδια γὰρ ἀπέχει - ὡν ἐννακοσίουν οὐ πλείω, καὶ διαδίδοται τυχὸν λεπτή τις αἵρα τοῦ ὕδατος, εἶναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάττιον τοῦ γλυκέος εἴτε οὖν ἐκ ταύτης εἴτε ἐκ τῶν ἀλλών αἰτίας ἄφανος ἐμοὶ, τὸ πράγμα ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, ἀλεεινότερον ἔχουσιν οἱ τὸ χωρίον οἰκούντες τοῦ χειμώνα, καὶ φύεται παρὰ αὐτοῖς ἀμπελως ἀγαθή, καὶ συκᾶς ἡ ἡ ἐστιν οὖν ἐμπαρασκεύασαντο, σκεπάζοντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμώνος ὄσπερ Β οἰμαίοις τῇ καλάμῃ τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ τοιούτοις τισῖν, ὁσα εἴσθεν εἴργεσθαι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπιγυμνόμενην τοῖς δεύδροις βλάβην. ἐγένετο δὴ οὖν ὁ χειμών τοῦ εἰσθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ παρέφερεν ὁ ποταμὸς ὄσπερ μαρμάρον πλάκας· ἄγετο δὲ ἔτη τοῦ Φρύγιον λίθον τῶν λευκῶν τούτω ἐφεξε μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα, μεγάλα καὶ ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχῶς ποιεῖν ἡ ἡ τοῦ πυροῦ ἐμελλε καὶ τὸ ὑσταμα γεφυροῦν. Κ ως ὁ οὐν ἐν τοῖς ἀγριώτεροι ἢν τοῦ συνήθους, ἐθάλπητο δὲ τὸ δωμάτιον οὐδαμῶς, οὔτε ἐκάθευδον, οὔτε εἰσθανεὶ τρόπον ὑπογαίους καμίνως τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεὶ θερμάνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτα ἔχον εὐτρεπῶς πρὸς τὸ παραδεξάσθαι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀλέαν συνέβη δ᾽ οἴμαι καὶ

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1 εἰσιν οἱ Cobet, τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῶν — κρύσταλλα Hertlein suggests, ἐφεξε μάλιστα τοῦ λευκοῦ τούτον τὰ κρύσταλλα, MSS.
3 ὑπογαίοις Naber, cf. Pliny Ep. 2. 17; ὑπὸ ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.

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MISOPOGON

in the summer season, and it provides water which is very clear to the eye and very pleasant for one who wishes to drink. For since the inhabitants live on an island they have to draw their water chiefly from the river. The winter too is rather mild there, perhaps from the warmth of the ocean, which is not more than nine hundred stades distant, and it may be that a slight breeze from the water is wafted so far; for sea water seems to be warmer than fresh. Whether from this or from some other cause obscure to me, the fact is as I say, that those who live in that place have a warmer winter. And a good kind of vine grows thereabouts, and some persons have even managed to make fig-trees grow by covering them in winter with a sort of garment of wheat straw and with things of that sort, such as are used to protect trees from the harm that is done them by the cold wind. As I was saying then, the winter was more severe than usual, and the river kept bringing down blocks like marble. You know, I suppose, the white stone that comes from Phrygia; the blocks of ice were very like it, of great size, and drifted down one after another; in fact it seemed likely that they would make an unbroken path and bridge the stream. The winter then was more inclement than usual, but the room where I slept was not warmed in the way that most houses are heated, I mean by furnaces underground; and that too though it was conveniently arranged for letting in heat from such a fire. But it so happened I suppose, because I was awkward then as now, and
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tότε διὰ σκαιότητα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπανθρωπίαν ἐβολολήμη γὰρ ἐθίζειν ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα ταύτης ἀνευδεώς ἔχοντα τῆς βοθείας. ὡς δὲ ὁ χειμῶν ἐπεκράτει καὶ ἀεὶ μείζων ἐπεγίνετο, θερμήναι δὲ μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ οἴκημα, δεδιώς κινήσας τὴν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ψυγότητα, κομίσαι δ' ἐξον ἐκέλευσα πῦρ κεκαμένον καὶ ἀνθρακας λαμπροὺς ἀποθέσθαι παντελῶς μετρίους. οἱ δὲ καίπερ οἴνες οὐ πολλοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν τοίχων ἀτμοὺς ἐκώσαν, ὡς δὲν κατέδαρθον. ἐμπιμπλαμένης δὲ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδέσσα μὲν ἀποπνυγῆναι, κομισθεὶς δ' ἔξω, τῶν ἱατρῶν 342 παρανοοῦντων ἀπορρύψα τῇ ἐντεθείσαι ἁρτὶ τροφῇ, οὕτως Μία πολλὴν οὗσαν, ἐξεβάλων, καὶ ἑγενόμην αὐτίκα ράον, ὡστε μοι γενέσθαι κουφότεραν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ὑπεραίας πράττειν ὁ, τιτπερ ἐθέλομεν.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἔγω καὶ ἐν Κέλτοις κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Μενάνδρου Δύσκολον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ πόνους προσετίθην. ἀλλ' ἡ Κέλτων μὲν ταύτα ράον ἔφερεν ἀγροικία, πόλεις δ' εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαρία καὶ πολυνάθρωπος εἰκότως ἀχθείας, ἐν ἦ πολλοὶ Β μὲν ὀρχησταί, πολλοὶ δ' αὐληταί, μέμοι δὲ πλείους τῶν πολιτῶν, αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἔστων ἄρχοντων. ἐρυθριάν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς ἀνανδροῖς, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀνδρείοις, ὡστερ ὑμεῖς, ἐσθεν κωμάζειν, νύκτωρ ἡδυπαθεῖν, ὁτι τῶν νόμων ὑπερροήτει μὴ
displayed inhumanity first of all, as was natural, towards myself. For I wished to accustom myself to bear the cold air without needing this aid. And though the winter weather prevailed and continually increased in severity, even so I did not allow my servants to heat the house, because I was afraid of drawing out the dampness in the walls; but I ordered them to carry in fire that had burned down and to place in the room a very moderate number of hot coals. But the coals, though there were not very many of them, brought out from the walls quantities of steam and this made me fall asleep. And since my head was filled with the fumes I was almost choked. Then I was carried outside, and since the doctors advised me to throw up the food I had just swallowed,—and it was little enough, by Zeus,—I vomited it and at once became easier, so that I had a more comfortable night, and next day could do whatever I pleased.

After this fashion then, even when I was among the Celts, like the ill-tempered man in Menander,¹ "I myself kept heaping troubles on my own head." But whereas the boorish Celts used easily to put up with these ways of mine, they are naturally resented by a prosperous and gay and crowded city in which there are numerous dancers and flute players and more mimes than ordinary citizens, and no respect at all for those who govern. For the blush of modesty befits the unmanly, but manly fellows like you it befits to begin your revels at dawn, to spend your nights in pleasure, and to show not only by

¹ cf. Oration 3. 113 C, note. Cobet thinks that the verse in Menander, Duskolos was αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαυτῷ προστίθημι τοὺς πόνους.
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λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι φοβεροὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀρχοντὰς ὡστε ὅστις ἀρχοντα ὑβρισεν οὕτος ἐκ περιουσίᾳ τοὺς νόμους κατεπάτησεν ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τούτους οὐφραίνομεν δὴλον ποιεῖτε πολλαχοῦ μὲν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν κρότων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βοῆς ὁ δήμος, οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῷ γνωριμώτεροι μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ ἑνομάξεσθαι παρὰ τάσιν ἄφ' ὅν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐφορτάς ἐδαπάνησαν Ἡ Σόλων ὁ 'Αθηναῖος ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα συνουσίας, καλὸ δὲ πάντας καὶ μεγάλου καὶ λείου καὶ ἀγένειοι, νέοι τῷ ὁμίοις καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐξήλωσεν θὴς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν Φαιάκων,

Εἶματά τ' ἐξημούβα λοετρά τε θερμά καὶ εὖνᾶς ἀντὶ τῆς ὀσίας ἀποδεχόμενοι.

"Τὴν δὴ σὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ σκαλιότητα τούτως ἀρμόσεις ὑπέλαβες; οὕτως ἀνόητον ἐστὶ σοι καὶ φαύλων, ὑ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθέστατε καὶ φιλαπεχθημονέστατε, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγεννεστάτων σώφρω τουτὶ ψυχάριον, δὴ σὺ κοσμεῖν καὶ καλλωπίζεις σωφροσύνη χρήναι νομίζεις; οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἡ σωφροσύνη δ',τι ποτ' ἐστιν οὐκ ἵσμεν, 348 δύναμι δ' αὐτὴς ἀκούοντες μόνον ἐργον οὐχ ὀρθοῖς. εἰ δ' ὁποιον σὺ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύεις ἐστιν, ἐπίστασθαι μὲν ὅτι θεοὶ χρή δουλεύειν καὶ νόμοις, ἐκ τῶν

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your words but by your deeds also that you despise the laws. For indeed it is only by means of those in authority that the laws inspire fear in men; so that he who insults one who is in authority, over and above this tramples on the laws. And that you take pleasure in this sort of behaviour you show clearly on many occasions, but especially in the market-places and theatres; the mass of the people by their clapping and shouting, while those in office show it by the fact that, on account of the sums they have spent on such entertainments, they are more widely known and more talked about by all men than Solon the Athenian ever was on account of his interview with Croesus the king of the Lydians.¹ And all of you are handsome and tall and smooth-skinned and beardless; for young and old alike you are emulous of the happiness of the Phaeacians, and rather than righteousness you prefer “changes of raiment and warm baths and beds.”²

“What then?” you answer, “did you really suppose that your boorish manners and savage ways and clumsiness would harmonise with these things? O most ignorant and most quarrelsome of men, is it so senseless then and so stupid, that puny soul of yours which men of poor spirit call temperate, and which you forsooth think it your duty to adorn and deck out with temperance? You are wrong; for in the first place we do not know what temperance is and we hear its name only, while the real thing we cannot see. But if it is the sort of thing that you now practise, if it consists in knowing that men must be enslaved to the gods and the laws, in behaving

¹ For Solon’s visit to Croesus at Sardis cf. Herodotus 1.29.
² Odyssey 8.249.
ΤΗΣ ΣΑΤΙΡΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ

ισον δὲ τοὺς ὀμοτίμους προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ύπεροχὴν φέρειν πρότερον, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προνοεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πλουτοῦντων ἡκιστα ἀδικήσωνται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου πράγματα ἔχειν, ὅποια εἰκὸς ἔστι σοι γενέσθαι πολλάκις, ἀπεχθείς, ὄργα, λοιδορίας, εἶτα καὶ ταῦτα φέρειν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σωφρονίζειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τις ἐργὸν θεῖον σωφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἡδονῆς οὐ λιῶν ἀπρεποῦς οὐδ' ἐπονείδιστον δοκοῦσθης ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἴδια σωφρονεῖν καὶ λάθρα τὸν δημοσία καὶ φανερῶς Α ἀκόλογον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερπόμενον τοῖς θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὐν ὄντως ἡ σωφροσύνη τοιούτων ἐστὶν, ἀπόλολας μὲν αὐτός, ἀπολλύεις δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὄνομα δουλείας οὗτε πρὸς θεοῦς οὔτε πρὸς νόμους· ἤδυ γὰρ ἐν πάσι τὸ ἔλευθερον.

"Ἡ δὲ εἰρωνεία πόση; δεσπότης εἶναι οὐ φῆς οὐδὲ ἀνέχῃ τοῦτο ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς, ὥστε ἢδη ἔπεισας τοὺς πλείστους ἑθάδας πάλαι Β γενομένους ἀφελεῖν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, δουλεύειν δὲ ήμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις ἀρχοῦν καὶ νόμοις. καίτοι πόσῳ κρέεττον ἢν ὄνομάζεσθαι μὲν σε δεσπότην, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐὰν ήμᾶς εῖναι ἔλευθερος, ὡ τὰ μὲν ὄνομα πράστατε, πικρότατε

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with fairness to those of equal rank and bearing
with mildness any superiority among them; in
studying and taking thought that the poor may
suffer no injustice whatever at the hands of the rich;
and, to attain this, in putting up with all the annoy-
ances that you will naturally often meet with, hatred,
anger, and abuse; and then in bearing these also
with firmness and not resenting them or giving way
to your anger, but in training yourself as far as possible
to practise temperance; and if again this also one
defines as the effect of temperance that one abstains
from every pleasure even though it be not excessively
unbecoming or considered blameworthy when openly
pursued, because you are convinced that it is impos-
sible for a man to be temperate in his private life
and in secret, if in public and openly he is willing to
be licentious and delights in the theatres; if, in
short, temperance is really this sort of thing, then
you yourself have ruined yourself and moreover you
are ruining us, who cannot bear in the first place
even to hear the name of slavery, whether it be
slavery to the gods or the laws. For sweet is liberty
in all things!

"But what an affectation of humility is yours!
You say that you are not our master and you will not
let yourself be so called, nay more, you resent the
idea, so that you have actually persuaded the major-
ity of men who have long grown accustomed to it, to
get rid of this word 'Government' as though it
were something invidious; and yet you compel us to
be enslaved to magistrates and laws. But how much
better it would be for you to accept the name of
master, but in actual fact to allow us to be free, you
who are so very mild about the names we use and so
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

dè tà èrγα; πρòs dè touτòs àπòknavies biαζο- 344
meνòs meν tòus plousiòus èn dikasthriòs metriá-
ζèiw, tòus pèntas dè eiργeis suκoφanτèiw. αφèiς
dè tìn skhòiν kai tòus miμòus kai tòus òrkhèstàs
àπòlòlèkas hèmòù tìn pòliν, òste oúdeν hèmòù
àγàthòν υπάρκει παρà soû plèn tòs ϒapòtòs,
hòs ànèxòmènòi hèmà èβδòmòn toutòi tò meν èu-
çhèthai pàntòs èpàllalhìñai tou τòsòttòu kàkòu
tòis pèri tòus tàfòus kàlìndòumènòs γràdòiòs
èvnèxwòρhòsámevèn, hèmèìs dè àuτò dià tòs hèmòù àuτòù
èutrapèliàs èxeìrìγhòsámevèhà bàllontèñs se toûs B
skòmìmàsìn òßper tòxeìμasì. sù dè, ò geγnàter,
pòs ànèxè tà Però̀wòn bèlìa, tà hèmèterà trèşas
skòmìmata;”

’Idòù, boúlòmai pàλìν àp’ àlìsè hèrìhès èμàntò
òìòdòrhìsasòthai. “Φòutìs eìs tà íèròa, dúsìkolè kai
dòstòpòtè kai pàntà moçòthòè. sùrreì dià sè tòa
plèòhè pròs tà tèmènè kai mèntòù kai oì plèiòun
tòw èn tèlèi, kai àpòdèxhòntai sè sùn bohì mètà
krótoù lìmìtròs èn toûs tèmènèsìn òßper èn toûs
thètòρòs. tì òhòn oùì àγàtòs oùì èpànìsì, àlì’ C
èpìxèirèìs èìνà soφòteròs tà tòiaùta tòu Pù-
thìòu, kai dèmìγgòreìs èn tò plèòhèi, kai kàthàtpò
tòw boòntòw pìkròs àuτò òhò tòutò lègòu, òòs
’Tòmèìs tòw òhòwò òñèkè èlìgòúìs èìs tà tèmènè
sùνèrìkhèthè, sùndràmòntè hèlì èìmè pòllhòs
àkòstòìa ànàpìmpłatè tà íèròa. pòrëtëì òhì àn-
dràsì sòφòsìs kekòsmìmènòs èùçhèthai sùnìh

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very strict about the things we do! Then again you harass us by forcing the rich to behave with moderation in the lawcourts, though you keep the poor from making money by informing. And by ignoring the stage and mimes and dancers you have ruined our city, so that we get no good out of you except your harshness; and this we have had to put up with these seven months, so that we have left it to the old crones who grovel among the tombs to pray that we may be entirely rid of so great a curse, but we ourselves have accomplished it by our own ingenious insolence, by shooting our satires at you like arrows. How, noble sir, will you face the darts of Persians, when you take flight at our ridicule?

Come, I am ready to make a fresh start in abusing myself. "You, sir, go regularly to the temples, ill-tempered, perverse and wholly worthless as you are! It is your doing that the masses stream into the sacred precincts, yes and most of the magistrates as well, and they give you a splendid welcome, greeting you with shouts and clapping in the precincts as though they were in the theatres. Then why do you not treat them kindly and praise them? Instead of that you try to be wiser in such matters than the Pythian god, and you make harangues to the crowd and with harsh words rebuke those who shout. These are the very words you use to them: 'You hardly ever assemble at the shrines to do honour to the gods, but to do me honour you rush here in crowds and fill the temples with much disorder. Yet it becomes prudent men to pray in orderly

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1 i.e. bringing false accusations, which was the trade of the sycophant or blackmailer.
2 Apollo who was worshipped at Daphne near Antioch.
παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτουμένων τὰ ἄγαθα. τούτων οὐκ ἦκροάσθε τὸν νόμον Ὄμηρον.

Συγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων—,

οὐδ' ὡς Ὅδυσσεύς ἐπέσχε τὴν Εὐρύκλειαν ἐκπεπληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γρηγ., χαίρε καὶ ἵσχεο μηδ' ὀλόνυξε;

tὰς δὲ δὴ Τρῳάδας οὕτω πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἡ τινά τῶν τούτων θυγατέρων ἡ νίεων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτῶν τὸν "Εκτορα· καίτοι τοῦτῳ φησὶν ὡς θεῷ τοὺς 345 Τρό̄δας εὔχεσθαι. εὐχομένας δὲ οὐκ ἐδείξεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει οὕτε γυναῖκας οὕτε ἀνδρᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι, φησί, χείρας ἀνέσχον, βαρβαρικῶν μὲν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ γυναῖξι πρέπον, οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡστερ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ποιούμενον. ἐπαινεῖτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς. Β ἀνθρώπους ἡμᾶς κολακεύετε. κάλλιστον δ' ἐστὶν οἴμαι μηδ' ἐκείνους κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν σωφρόνως."

Ἰδοὺ, πάλιν ἐγὼ τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτέων λεξείδια καὶ οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ συγχωρῶ φθέγγεσθαι ὡς ἐτυχεὶν ἄδεως καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους σκαίτητος καὶ ἐμαυτόν συκοφαντῶ. ταῦτα τις καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἂν λέγοι πρὸς ἀνδρᾶς οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ΘΕΟΥΣ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὡς τοῖς εὐνοὺς.
fashion, and to ask blessings from the gods in silence. Have you never heard Homer's maxim, "In silence, to yourselves"—or how Odysseus checked Eurycleia when she was stricken with amazement by the greatness of his success, "Rejoice, old woman, in thy heart, and restrain thyself, and utter no loud cry"? And again, Homer did not show us the Trojan women praying to Priam or to any one of his daughters or sons, nay not even to Hector himself (though he does indeed say that the men of Troy were wont to pray to Hector as to a god); but in his poems he did not show us either women or men in the act of prayer to him, but he says that to Athene all the women lifted up their hands with a loud cry, which was in itself a barbaric thing to do and suitable only for women, but at any rate it displayed no impiety to the gods as does your conduct. For you applaud men instead of the gods, or rather instead of the gods you flatter me who am a mere man. But it would be best, I think, not to flatter even the gods but to worship them with temperate hearts.'

See there I am again, busy with my usual phrase-making! I do not even allow myself to speak out at random fearlessly and freely, but with my usual awkwardness I am laying information against myself. It is thus and in words like these that one ought to address men who want to be free not only with respect to those who govern them but to the gods also, in order that one may be considered well-disposed towards them, "like an

1 Iliad 7. 195

τόφρονεὶς ἐκείς ἐνοχαίς Διὸς Κρονίωνι, ἰδακτι
σιγῇ ἐρέθερ, ἑμείς, ἵνα μὴ Τρώας γε πάθωνται.

2 Odyssey 22. 411.

3 Iliad 6. 301.
αὐτοῖς ὀστερ πατήρ ἦπιος νομοθείη, φύσει
πονηρός ὁν ὀστερ ἐγώ. ἀνέχοι τοῖνυν αὐτῶν
μισούντων καὶ λοιποροῦντας λάθρα ἢ καὶ φα-
νερῶς, ἐπειδὴ κολακεύειν ἐνόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
ἰεροῖς ὄρμη μᾶ 1 σε ἐπαινοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι
διενοθῆς ὅπως ἀρμόσει τῶν ἄνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς
ἐπιτηδεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ὑβίοις οὔτε τοῖς ἱθεσιν.
ἐξε. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τὸς ἀνέξεταί σου; καθεύδῃς
ὡς ἐπίπαν νῦκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἐστιν οὐδέν, ὅ σου D
τοῦ ἄγριον καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξηι θυμόν' ἀποκε-
kλεισταὶ δὲ πάση πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμία:
καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἥν
βίον εὐφραίνη καὶ πεποίησα τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας
ἡδονῆν. εἶτα ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα
ἀκούεις; ἔξω εἰδέναι χάριν τοὺς ὑπ' εὐνοιὰς ἐμ-
μελέστερον σὲ νοσθετοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις
ἀποψιλωσάτας μὲν τὰς παρειάς, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
σαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον δεικνύειν πάντα τῷ
dήμῳ τῷ φιλογέλωτι τὸδε θεάματα, μίμους, 346
ὄρχηστάς, ἡκιστα ἀισχυνομένας γυναίκας, παι-
dάρια περὶ κάλλους ἀμιλλώμενα ταῖς γυναικίν,
ἄνδρας ἀπεψιλωμένους οὐτὶ τὰς γυνάθους μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαν τὸ σῶμα, λειτουργοὶ τῶν γυναίκῶν
ὅπως φαίνουστο τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἐφορτᾶς, πανη-
γύρεις, οὗτι μὰ Δία τὰς ἱερὰς, ἐν αἷς χρη σωφρο-
νεῖν· ἀλις μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἔστιν, ὀστερ τῆς

1 ὅμη μιὰ Naber, ὑφαμενὸν Hertlein, MSS.
indulgent father," 1 even though one is by nature
an ill-conditioned person like myself: "Bear with
them then, when they hate and abuse you in secret
or even openly, since you thought that those who
applauded you with one accord in the temples were
only flattering you. For surely you did not suppose
that you would be in harmony with the pursuits
or the lives or the temperaments of these men. I
grant that. But who will bear with this other habit
of yours? You always sleep alone at night, and there
is no way of softening your savage and uncivilised
temper—since all avenues are closed to anything that
might sweeten your disposition,—and the worst of all
these evils is that you delight in living that sort of
life and have laid pleasure under a general ban. Then
can you feel aggrieved if you hear yourself spoken
of in such terms? No, you ought to feel grateful
to those who out of kindness of heart admonish
you wittily in anapaestic verse to shave your cheeks
smooth, and then, beginning with yourself, first
to show to this laughter-loving people all sorts
of fine spectacles, mimes, dancers, shameless women,
boys who in their beauty emulate women, and
men who have not only their jaws shaved smooth
but their whole bodies too, so that those who meet
them may think them smoother than women; yes
and feasts too and general festivals, not, by Zeus,
the sacred ones at which one is bound to behave
with sobriety. No, we have had enough of those,
like the oak tree in the proverb; 2 we are completely

1 Odyssey 5. 12.
2 The phrase δρύς καὶ πέτρα, literally, "the oak tree and
the rock" became a proverb for something hackneyed; cf.
Hesiod, Theogony 33, ἀλλὰ τίν μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρύν ἢ περὶ
πέτρην;
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

δρυός, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κόρος αὐτῶν. ἔθυσεν ὁ καίσαρ Β ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δίος ἀπαξ, εἶτα ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης, εἰς τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τρὶς ἐφεξῆς ἐβάδισεν· ἐπιλε-λησμαὶ γὰρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Δάφνης ὁσάκις εἰσῆλθον τέμενος, προδοθὲν μὲν ὀλυγορίᾳ τῶν φυλάκων, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἄθεων ἀνδρῶν τόλμαις ἀφαινοθέν. ἡ Ἔνιον ἦκε νομηνία, καὶ ὁ καίσαρ αὐθις εἰς Φιλίου Δίος· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἔορτη, καὶ ὁ καίσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἐρχεται τέμενος. ἐπὶ-σχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Δίος τᾶς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τις ἀνέξεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτώντος καίσαρος, ἐξὸν ἀπαξ ἢ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπιτελεὶν δε τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐκεῖνας, ὁπόσαι κοιναὶ μὲν εἰς παντὶ τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ ὃν ἐξεστὶ μετέχειν οὐ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις μόνον θεοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἃν ἐστιν ἡ πόλις πλήρης; ἡδονὴ δὲ πολλὴ καὶ χάριτες, ὁπόιας ἁν τις εὐφραίνοιτο διηνεκῶς καρπούμενος, ὁρὸν ὀρχομένους ἀνδρας καὶ παῖ- 

Δάρια καὶ γύναια πολλά.

"Ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα λογίσωμαι, μακαρίζω μὲν ὑμᾶς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἄχθομαι:

1 μόνον θεοῦ Hertlein suggests, θεοῦ MSS.
2 τοῖς δὲ Naber, ἃν Hertlein, MSS.

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surfeited with them. The Emperor sacrificed once in the temple of Zeus, then in the temple of Fortune; he visited the temple of Demeter three times in succession.” (I have in fact forgotten how many times I entered the shrine of Daphne, which had been first abandoned owing to the carelessness of its guardians, and then destroyed by the audacious acts of godless men.1) “The Syrian New Year arrived, and again the Emperor went to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One. Then came the general festival, and the Emperor went to the shrine of Fortune. Then, after refraining on the forbidden day,2 again he goes to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One, and offers up prayers according to the custom of our ancestors. Now who could put up with an Emperor who goes to the temples so often, when it is in his power to disturb the gods only once or twice, and to celebrate the general festivals which are for all the people in common, those in which not only men whose profession it is to have knowledge of the gods can take part, but also the people who have crowded into the city? For pleasure is here in abundance, and delights whose fruits one could enjoy continuously; for instance the sight of men and pretty boys dancing, and any number of charming women.”

When I take all this into account, I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, though I do

1 The Christians invaded the shrine of Apollo at Daphne and the priests of Apollo abandoned it to them. Julian destroyed the Christian Church there and restored the worship of Apollo.

2 Literally the “day not to be mentioned,” i.e. “unholy day,” nefandus dies, on which business was suspended.
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φίλα γάρ ἐστί μοι κατά τινα θεόν ἰσως ταύτα.
διότερ οὐδ’ ἀγανακτῶ, εὐ ἱστε, τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσί
μου τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει. προστίθημι δ’
αὐτὸς ὡσα δυνατὸν ἐστὶ μοι τοῖς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν
σκόμμασι μειῶσις ἐπικαταχέων ἐμαυτοῦ ταυτασὶ
tὰς λοιδορίας, δὴ ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ συνήκα, 347
ποταπὸν ξὲ ἄρχης τὸ τῆς τῆς πόλεως ἢδος,
καὶ ταύτα τῶν ἥλικιωτῶν τῶν ἔμων, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν
πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελέξας οὐδενὸς ἄριθμὸν ἐλάττω.
λέγεται τοῖς τοῖς ἐπώνυμοι τῆς τῆς πόλεως
βασιλέα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐπερ ἐπώνυμος ἤδος ἡ θάλασσα
συνάντησθι πεπολισται ¹ μὲν γάρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου,
τοῦνομα δὲ ἔχει ὑπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου παιδὸς δὲν ἦ
φασε δὲ υπερβολὴν ἀβρότητος καὶ τρυφῆς ἐρώτα
Β 
ἀεὶ καὶ ἐρώμενον τέλος ἀδικον ἐρωτα τῆς ἐαυτοῦ
μητρικὰς ἔρασθήμα: κρυπτείν δ’ ἔθελοντα τὸ
πάθος οὐ δύνασθαι, τὸ σῶμα δ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ
μικρὸν τηκῶμεν ἀφανὸς οὐχεσθαι, καὶ υπορρεῖν
tὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλαττὸν εἶναι τοῦ
συνηθῶς. ἐφεξῆ ὦ οἶμαι τὰ ² κατ’ αὐτὸν αἰνίγ-
ματι, σαφῆ μὲν οὐκ ἐχούσῃς αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου,
μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ αὐτῆς, ἢτις ποτὲ ἐστὶ, φαινομένης,
C ἐναρκοῦς δ’ οὕσης τῆς περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἀσθε-
νείας. ἐνθάδε μέγας ἄθλος ἰατρῷ προντεθῇ τῷ
Σαμίῳ τῆς νόσου, ἢτις ποτὲ ἐστὶν, ἐξευρεῖν.
ὁ δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐκ τῶν Ἄμηροι, τίνες ποτὲ εἰς

¹ πεπολισται: Cobet, Hertlein approves, πεπολισται MSS.
² τὰ Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.

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not reproach myself. For perhaps it is some god who has made me prefer my own ways. Be assured then that I have no grievance against those who quarrel with my way of life and my choice. But I myself add, as far as I can, to the sarcasms against myself and with a more liberal hand I pour down on my own head these abusive charges. For it was due to my own folly that I did not understand what has been the temper of this city from the beginning; and that too though I am convinced that I have turned over quite as many books as any man of my own age. You know of course the tale that is told about the king who gave his name to this city—or rather whose name the city received when it was colonised, for it was founded by Seleucus, though it takes its name from the son of Seleucus; they say then that out of excessive softness and luxury the latter was constantly falling in love and being loved, and finally he conceived a dishonourable passion for his own step-mother. And though he wished to conceal his condition he could not, and little by little his body began to waste away and to become transparent, and his powers to wane, and his breathing was feebler than usual. But what could be the matter with him was, I think, a sort of riddle, since his malady had no visible cause, or rather it did not even appear what was its nature, though the youth's weakness was manifest. Then the physician of Samos was set a difficult problem, namely to discover what was the nature of the malady. Now he, suspecting from the words of Homer what is

1 i.e. Antiochus. 2 cf. Plutarch, Demetrius.
3 i.e. Erasistratus.
4 The phrase occurs in Hesiod, Works and Days 66, but not in Homer.
ai γυιοβόροι μελεδώναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἀσθένεια σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀρρώστια ψυχῆς αὐτία γίγνεται τηκεδόνος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὅρῶν ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας καὶ συνηθείας οὐκ ἀναφρό-
διτον, ὅδ' ἐτράπη τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοσή-
ματος θήραν. καθίζει πλησίον τῆς κλίνης ἀφορᾶν ἐὰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειράκιον, παριέναι κελεύσας καλοὺς τε καὶ καλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξ-
μένουσι. ἡ δ' ὡς ἠλθεν, ἐπισκεψομενὴ δῆθεν αὐτόν, αὐτικὰ ἐδίδον τὰ συνήματα τοῦ πάθους ὁ λενίας, ἀσθμα τῶν θλιβομένων ἠφίει, ἐπέχειν γὰρ αὐτὸ κυνούμενον καίπερ σφόδρα ἑθέλων οὐχ ὦλος τε ἢν, καὶ παραχῇ ἢν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρωθημα. ταῦτα ὦρῶν ὁ ἰατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἑπίδα δεινῶς ἡ καρδία καὶ ἔξω λέητο. τοιαῦτα ἀττα ἐπασχεν ἐκείνης παροῦσης: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήλ-
θεν, ἐπιώτων ἄλλων, ἀτρέμας εἰχε καὶ ἡν ὅμοιος τοῖς οὕδεν πάσχουσι. συνιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος φράξει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὅσ ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλόπαις είναι παραχωρεῖν ἐφ' ὧν 
παίδι τῆς γαμετῆς. ὦ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἠρνήσατο-
τελευτήσατος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὸν ὠστερον, ἢν πρότερον διδομένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενῶς ἠρνήθη, μάλα κραταῖως μετεδώξει.
‘Αντιόχῳ μὲν ἰδὲ ταῦτα ἐποιήθη. τοῖς δ' ἀπ' Β ἐκείνου γενομένοις οὐ νέμεσις ξηλοῦν τὸν οἰκιστήν

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the nature of "cares that devour the limbs," and that in many cases it is not a bodily weakness but an infirmity of soul that causes a wasting of the body; and seeing moreover that the youth was very susceptible to love because of his time of life and his habits, he took the following way of tracking down the disease. He sat near the youth's couch and watched his face, after ordering handsome youths and women to walk past him, beginning with the queen\(^1\) herself. Now when she entered, apparently to see how he was, the young man at once began to show the symptoms of his malady. He breathed like one who is being choked; for though he was very anxious to control his agitated breathing, he could not, but it became disordered, and a deep blush spread over his face. The physician on seeing this laid his hand to his breast, and found that his heart was beating terribly fast and was trying to burst forth from his breast. Such were his symptoms while she was present; but when she had gone away and others came in he remained calm and was like a man in a normal state of health. Then Erasistratus saw what ailed him and told the king, and he out of love for his son said that he would give up his wife to him. Now the youth for the moment refused; but when his father died not long after, he sought with the greatest vehemence the favour which he had so honourably refused when it was first offered to him.\(^2\)

Now since this was the conduct of Antiochus, I have no right to be angry with his descendants when

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\(^1\) Stratonice.

\(^2\) In Plutarch's version Antiochus married Stratonice during his father's lifetime.
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η τὸν ἐπώνυμον. 1 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς εἰκός ἐστι διαδιδόσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὰς ποιότητας, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἐπίπαν ὠμοία τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἔξ ὅν ἐβλάστησε φύεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι εἰκός παραπλήσια τὰ θῆθα τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῖς προγόνοις. ἐγώ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγνων Ἀθηναίος Ἑλλήνων φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ C φιλανθρωποτάτους καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐπιεικῶς ἐν πᾶσιν εἶδον τοῖς Ἑλληνιν, ἔχω δ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ καὶ δεξιόι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἔνους, καθόλου μὲν Ἑλληνες πάντες, αὐτῶν δ’ Ἑλλήνων πλέον τοῦτο ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. εἰ δὲ εἰκεῖνοι διασώζουσιν εἰκόνα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀρετῆς, εἰκός δήποθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχει καὶ Σύροι καὶ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Παλαιοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένοις Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παλαιῶν ἔπ’ αὐταῖς Ἰστρον ταῖς γῆσιν D Μυσώι, θεῦν δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ μοι πᾶν ἀγροικον, αὐστηρόν, ἀδέξιον, ἀναφρόδιτον, ἐμένον τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἀμετακινήτως. δ’ ἔτι πάντα ἐστὶ δείγματα δεινῆς ἀγροικίας.

Αἰτούμαι τοῖνυν ὑπὲρ ἐμαντοῦ πρῶτον συγγενΐμην, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν νέμω τὰ πάτρια Ξηλοῦσιν, οúde ἐν οὐείδει προφέρομαι τὸ

Ψευσταί τ’ ὀρχησταί τε χοροιτυπήσιν ἀριστοὶ, 349 τούναντίον δὲ ἀντ’ ἐγκώμιον. ὑμῖν προσεῖναί

1 ἐπώνυμον Hertlein suggests, ὑμάνυμον MSS.
they emulate their founder or him who gave his name to the city. For just as in the case of plants it is natural that their qualities should be transmitted for a long time, or rather that, in general, the succeeding generation should resemble its ancestors; so too in the case of human beings it is natural that the morals of descendants should resemble those of their ancestors. I myself, for instance, have found that the Athenians are the most ambitious for honour and the most humane of all the Greeks. And indeed I have observed that these qualities exist in an admirable degree among all the Greeks, and I can say for them that more than all other nations they love the gods, and are hospitable to strangers; I mean all the Greeks generally, but among them the Athenians above all, as I can bear witness. And if they still preserve in their characters the image of their ancient virtue, surely it is natural that the same thing should be true of the Syrians also, and the Arabs and Celts and Thracians and Paeonians, and those who dwell between the Thracians and Paeonians, I mean the Mysians on the very banks of the Danube, from whom my own family is derived, a stock wholly boorish, austere, awkward, without charm and abiding immovably by its decisions; all of which qualities are proofs of terrible boorishness.

I therefore ask for forgiveness, in the first place for myself, and in my turn I grant it to you also since you emulate the manners of your forefathers, nor do I bring it against you as a reproach when I say that you are "Liars and dancers, well skilled to dance in a chorus"; 1 on the contrary it is in the

1 Iliad 24. 261.
Τότε καί ο Μητρώος, γρηγορός, γρηγορός ἐπομνήσατο, ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν καὶ τὰ πάντα ἔπειτα περιέχοντα πάντων.

Κλεπτοσύνη θ’ ὅρκῳ τε.

καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν σκαίοτητα καὶ τὴν ἁμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥάδως μαλάττεσθαι Β μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἕξαπατώσι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοαῖς εἰκεῖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργῳ οὐεὶδῆ. πότερα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ κουφότερα, θεοὶ ἵσωσ δήλου, ἐπείπερ ἄνθρωπων οὐδεὶς οἶδ' τε ἢμῖν ἑστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν βραβεύσαι: πεσόμεθα γὰρ ὑδαμῶς αὐτῷ διὰ φιλαντίαν, θαναμάζειν γὰρ εἰκώς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκαστον, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὅ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἑαυτία ᾤλοῦντε νέμων συγγνώμην εἰναι μοι δοκεῖ πράοτατος.

Ἔγιο δὲ ἐννοήσας εὐρίσκω καὶ ἄτερα δεινὰ ἑμαυτοῦ εὐργασμένοι. πόλει γὰρ προσιων ἑλευθέρα, τῶν αὐχμῶν τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένη, ὡσπερ οἱ κουρέων ἄπορούστες ἀκαρτος καὶ βαθυγένειος εἰσέδραμον ἐνόμισας ἂν Σμικρίνην ὅραν ἡ Θρασύλεοντα, δύσκολον πρεσβύτην ἡ στρατιώτην ἄνοητον, ἔξων φανήναι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παιδὰ ὥραιον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἥλικίαν, τὸν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἀβρότητα τοῦ προσώπου. D

"Οὐκ οἴσθα ἄνθρωπος ὠμλείν, οὐδ’ ἐπαινέτης.
place of a panegyric that I ascribe to you emulation of the practice of your forefathers. For Homer too is praising Autolycus when he says that he surpassed all men "in stealing and perjury."  

And as for my own awkwardness and ignorance and ill-temper, and my inability to be influenced, or to mind my own business when people beg me to do so or try to deceive me and that I cannot yield to their clamour—even such reproaches I gladly accept. But whether your ways or mine are more supportable is perhaps clear to the gods, for among men there is no one capable of arbitrating in our disagreement. For such is our self-love that we shall never believe him, since everyone of us naturally admires his own ways and despises those of other men. In fact he who grants indulgence to one whose aims are the opposite of his own is, in my opinion, the most considerate of men.

But now I come to ponder the matter I find that I have committed yet other terrible sins. For though I was coming to a free city which cannot tolerate unkempt hair, I entered it unshaven and with a long beard, like men who are at a loss for a barber. One would have thought it was some Smicrines he saw, or some Thrasycheon, some ill-tempered old man or crazy soldier, when by beautifying myself I might have appeared as a blooming boy and transformed myself into a youth, if not in years, at any rate in manners and effeminacy of features. "You do not know," you answer, "how to mix with people, and

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1 *Odyssey* 19. 396.

2 Smicrines is a typical name in New Comedy for an avaricious old man; Thrasycheon is said to have been used by Menander as the name of a boasting soldier, "miles gloriosus."
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ei toû Theognidous, oude miqh toû ãfomoioûmenou taîs petraiç polûtopon, all' ã legeomêni Mykô
vios âgronikiâ te kai âmabia kai âbêlteria prôs pántas ëpitidheûTai parâ sôu. léthâe
se oti1 polloû dei taûta eiâi Keltoî kai Òrâkes kai 'Illyrioi; ouch õrâs, òptosâ mev
en tî pôlei taûth kapheîa; su de âpevthâni 350
toûs kataûlois ou ëugwroûn òpôsou boulountai
pôlein avtous2 toû démrou tâ ëpitidheia kai toûs
ëpitidmuosin. oi de toûs kektiméous tîn gîn
aïtwntai. su de kai toû toux eîxhrous poiei
sautô tâ dikaiâ pôlein ãnagkâtovn. oi de en
tèlei tîs pôleos ãmfoîn metekhontes taîn ëx-
mîan, ðsper oîmai prôteron eîxhroun ðiðhthn
carptoûmenoi tâs ôfelleías, kai õs kektiménoi Ò
kai õs kapheleûntes, tâ vûn eikôtow laspoûntai
de ãmfooterou ãphrhménoi tâs ëtipkerdeías. o
de toûn ëveroûn ðmous ouk ëxhov meðhîn oude
kordakîzei aîtheita. su de soûn ãphroun paré-
chov oiei trêfeiav avtous èkanôs. èkeîno de soû
xarîen, oti oude òpous ìxhûs en tî pôlei petraiç
êstai skopeîs: ãllâ kai prôhî meðhîmenou
tivôs, õs oute ìxhûdovn oute òrûthov polllôv

1 se ðti—dei Cobet, ñe—dei Hertlein, MSS.
2 avtous Reiske, avtouis Hertlein, MSS.
you cannot approve of the maxim of Theognis,¹ for you do not imitate the polypus which takes on the colours of the rocks. Nay rather you behave to all men with the proverbial Myconian² boorishness and ignorance and stupidity. Are you not aware that we here are far from being Celts or Thracians or Illyrians? Do you not see what a number of shops there are in this city? But you are hated by the shopkeepers because you do not allow them to sell provisions to the common people and those who are visiting the city at a price as high as they please. The shopkeepers blame the landowners for the high prices; but you make these men also your enemies, by compelling them to do what is just. Again, those who hold office in the city are subject to both penalties; I mean that just as, before you came, they obviously used to enjoy profits from both sources, both as landowners and as shopkeepers, so naturally they are now aggrieved on both accounts, since they have been robbed of their profits from both sources. Then the whole body of Syrian citizens are discontented because they cannot get drunk and dance the cordax.³ You, however, think that you are feeding them well enough if you provide them with plenty of corn. Another charming thing about you is that you do not even take care that the city shall have shell-fish. Nay more, when someone complained the other day that neither shell-fish nor much poultry could be found in the market, you laughed very maliciously and said that a

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¹ Theognis 215 foll. advises men to imitate the adaptability of the polypus.
² Mykonos was an island in the Cyclades whose inhabitants were proverbial for poverty and greed.
³ The cordax was a lascivious dance.
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eύρισκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τωδαιστικὸν μᾶλα ἐγέρο- C

λασας, ἄρτων καὶ οἶνου καὶ ἑλαίου τῇ σώφροιν

πόλει δεῖν φάμενος, κρεὸν δ' ἦδη τῇ τρυφώσῃ

tὸ γὰρ καὶ ἰχθῦων καὶ ὀρνιθῶν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι

πέρα τρυφῆς εἶναι καὶ ἢς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκη

μυστήριοι μετήν ἀσελγείας. οὕτω δὲ οὐκ ἐν

ἡδονῇ κρέα υεια καὶ προβάτεια σιτεῖσθαι, τῶν

ὀστρίων ἀπτόμενος εὐ πράξει. ταῦτα ἐνόμισας

Θραξί νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαντοὶ πολῖταις ἢ τοῖς Ὑ

ἀνασθήτοις Γαλάταις, οἳ σε ἐπαιδετρίβησαν

καθ' ἡμῶν "πρῶνυν, σφενδάμνυν," οὐκέτι

μέντοι καὶ "Μαραθωνομάχον," ἀλλ' Ἀρανέα

μὲν ἡμισείας, ἀηδή δ' ἄνδρα παντάπασι καὶ

ἄνθρωπον ἄχαριν, οὐ κρείττον ἢν ὄδωδέναι μύρων

τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδίζουντός σου καὶ παῖδας ἴγείσθαι

καλούς, εἰς οὓς ἀποβλέψουσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ

χρονὸς γυναικῶν, ὁποίοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἵστανται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν;"

'Εμὲ δὲ ὑγρὸν βλέπειν ῥιπτοῦντα πανταχοῦ 351

tὰ ὄμματα, ὅπως ὑμῖν καλὸς, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν,

ἄλλα τὸ πρόσωπον ὄφθειν, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχω-

ρεῖ. ἔστι γὰρ, ὃς ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχῆς ἄληθῶν

κάλλος ὑγροτῆς βίου. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἔδι-

dασκέων εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ἐς διδασκάλου φωτώντα-

θέατρον δ' οὐκ εἶδον πρὶν μᾶλλον κομίσαι τῆς

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well-conducted city needs bread, wine and olive oil, but meat only when it is growing luxurious. For you said that even to speak of fish and poultry is the extreme of luxury and of profligacy such as was beyond the reach of even the suitors in Ithaca; and that anyone who did not enjoy eating pork and mutton would fare very well if he took to vegetables. You must have thought that you were laying down these rules for Thracians, your own fellow-citizens, or for the uncultured people of Gaul who—so much the worse for us!—trained you to be 'a heart of maple, a heart of oak,' though not indeed 'one who fought at Marathon' also, but rather to be half of you an Acharnian and altogether an unpleasant person and an ungracious fellow. Would it not be better that the market place should be fragrant with myrrh when you walk there and that you should be followed by a troop of handsome boys at whom the citizens could stare, and by choruses of women like those that exhibit themselves every day in our city?

No, my temperament does not allow me to look wanton, casting my eyes in all directions in order that in your sight I may appear beautiful, not indeed in soul but in face. For, in your judgment, true beauty of soul consists in a wanton life. I, however, was taught by my tutor to look on the ground when I was on my way to school; and as for a theatre, I never saw one until I had more hair on my chin

1 Plato, Republic 372 e.
2 The suitors of Penelope lived on pork and mutton.
3 Literally "pulse."
4 Aristophanes, Acharnians 180 uses these words to describe the older, more robust generation of Athenians.
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κεφαλής τὸ γένειον, ἐν ἑκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἠλικίας ἱδίᾳ μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν οὐδέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἡ τέταρτον, εὖ ἵστε. Πατρόκλῳ ἐπίθηρα φέρων ἄρχων Β ἐπέταττεν οἰκείος ὅποι ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖος· ἐτύγχανον δὲ ἰδιώτης ἦτο· σύγγρωτε οὖν ἐμοὶ· δίδωμι γὰρ ὁ ἄντ' ἐμοὶ δικαιότερον μοισήστε τὸν φιλαπεχθήμονα παιδαγωγὸν, ὃς μὲ καὶ τότε ἔλυπε μίαν ὄδὸν ἴναι διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς ἐστὶ μοι τῆς πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀπεχθείας, ἐνεργασάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ C καὶ ὀστερ ἐντυπώσας ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμὸν ἴμην ἔσοβολόμην τότε, ο ὃ δὲ ὡς δή τι χαρίεν ποιῶν μάλα προβόμως ἐνετίθει, καλῶν οἴμαι σεμνότητα τὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀνδρείαν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἶκεν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδὲ εὑδαίμονα ταύτη γίνεσθαι. Ἐφή δὲ μοι πολλάκις, εὖ ἵστε, ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ μοῦσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἔτι παιδαρίῳ κομιδῆ, Μή σε παραπειθέτω τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἠλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θέατρα φερόμενον ὄρχηθηναι D ποτὲ ταυτησὶ τῆς θέας. ἰπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς; ἔστι παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ δεξιώτατα πεποιημένη λαβὸν ἐπέξειθι τὸ βιβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἄκουες ὄρχηστάς; ἔα χαίρειν αὐτούς· ἀνδρικώτερον παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξιν ὄρχεῖται τὰ μειράκια· σὺ δ' ἔχεις κιθαρόδον τῶν Φήμων καὶ ὄδὸν τῶν Δημόδοκον.
than on my head,¹ and even at that age it was never on my own account and by my own wish, but three or four times, you must know, the governor who was my kinsman and near relative, “doing a favour to Patroclus,” ordered me to attend; it was while I was still a private individual.² Therefore forgive me. For I hand over to you instead of myself one whom you will more justly detest, I mean that curmudgeon my tutor who even then used to harass me by teaching me to walk in one straight path ³ and now he is responsible for my quarrel with you. It was he who wrought in my soul and as it were carved therein what I did not then desire, though he was very zealous in implanting it, as though he were producing some charming characteristic; and boorishness he called dignity, lack of taste he called sobriety, and not yielding to one’s desires or achieving happiness by that means he called manliness. I assure you, by Zeus and the Muses, that while I was still a mere boy my tutor would often say to me: “Never let the crowd of your playmates who flock to the theatres lead you into the mistake of craving for such spectacles as these. Have you a passion for horse races? There is one in Homer,⁴ very cleverly described. Take the book and study it. Do you hear them talking about dancers in pantomime? Leave them alone! Among the Phaeacians the youths dance in more manly fashion. And for citharode⁵ you have Phemius; for singer Demodocus. Moreover

¹ Xenophon, Symposium 4. 28.
² i.e. before he had been appointed Caesar. ³ cf. 352 c.
⁴ The chariot race in Iliad 23.
⁵ The citharode played and sang to the lyre: Phemius was at the court of Odysseus in Ithaca; Demodocus in Phaeacia.
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έστι καὶ φυτὰ παρ’ αὐτῷ πολλά τερπνότερα ἀκούσαι τῶν ὀρωμένων.

Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμὸν Φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα. 

καὶ ἡ δευτέρης τῆς Καλυψοῦς νήσος καὶ τὰ τῆς Κύρκης σπῆλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίουν κήπος· εὗ ἔσθι, τούτων οὐδὲν ὤγει τερπνότερον.

Ἀρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τούνομα ύμῖν φράσῳ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὡστὶς ὄν γένος ταῦτα ἔλεγε; βάρβαρος ἡθεοῦς καὶ θεῶς, Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος, ὁμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐέρην ἀναπείσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα στρατεύσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον τοῦτο δὴ πρὸ μηνὸν μὲν εἰκοσι προσκυνοῦμεν Β ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἀντ’ ἄδικήματος καὶ ὀνείδους, εὐνούχος ἦν, ὑπὸ τῶν τεθραμμένος πάππῳ, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἔμην ὡς ἀγάγοι διὰ τῶν Ὄμηρου καὶ Ἡσίοδου ποιημάτων. ἔπει δ’ ἐκείνῃ πρῶτον ἐμὲ καὶ μόνον τεκοῦσα μησίν ύστερον ὀλγοὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμήττως παρθένου πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἐκκλατεῖσα κόρῃ C καὶ νέα, μετ’ ἐνεαυτῶν ἔβδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθην. οὗτος εἶ ἐκείνου ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγων ἐς διδα- σκάλου μιᾶν ὀδόν ἀλλὰν ὅπῃ οὕτ’ αὐτὸς εἶδέναι

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there are in Homer many plants more delightful to hear of than those that we can see: 'Even so did I once see the young shoot of a date palm springing up near the altar of Apollo on Delos.' And consider the wooded island of Calypso and the caves of Circe and the garden of Alcinous; be assured that you will never see anything more delightful than these."

And now do you want me to tell you also my tutor's name and the nationality of the man who used to say these things? He was a barbarian, by the gods and goddesses; by birth he was a Scythian, and he had the same name as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Greece. Moreover he was a eunuch, a word which, twenty months ago, was constantly heard and revered, though it is now applied as an insult and a term of abuse. He had been brought up under the patronage of my grandfather, in order that he might instruct my mother in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. And since she, after giving birth to me her first and only child, died a few months later, snatched away while she was still a young girl by the motherless maiden from so many misfortunes that were to come, I was handed over to him after my seventh year. From that time he won me over to these views of his, and led me to school by one straight path; and since

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1 Odysseus thus refers to Nausicaa in Odyssey 6. 162.
2 i.e. Mardonius; it was a Sophistic mannerism to use such a periphrasis instead of giving the name directly; see vol. i. Introduction, p. xi.
3 Constantius was under the influence of the powerful eunuchs of his court; they had been expelled by Julian, but Mardonius was an exception to his class.
4 Basilina.
5 Athene.
Τὸ θέλων ουτ' ἐμοὶ βαδίζειν ἐνυγχαρών ἐποίησεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι με πᾶσιν ύμῖν. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, σπεισόμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ύμεῖς τὴν ἀπεχθειαν λύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἡπίστατο πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀφιξόμενον οὐτ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστα φοιτᾶν μέλλοιμι, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχων προσεδόκα, καὶ τοσάυτην Δ ἄρχην, ὡσην ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοί, πολλὰ ὁμοὶ βιασάμενοι, πείσθητε μοι, καὶ τὸν διδόντα καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον. ἐφ' ἂν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος ἔθελεν οὔτε ὅ διδοὺς τὴν τιμὴν ἢ χάριν ἢ ὁ, τι φίλου ύμῖν αὐτὸ ὀνομάζειν δοῦναι, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ὡς ἵσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἄληθῶς ἤρνειτο. καὶ δὴ τούτο μὲν ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς φίλον ἔχει τε καὶ ἔξει. τυχὼν δὲ τὸ παιδαγωγὸς εἰ προῦγων τοῦτο, πολλὴν ἄν ἐποίη- 353 σατο προμήθειαν, ὅπως ὅ, τι μάλιστα ύμῖν φανεῖν κεχαρισμένος.

Εἰτα οὔκ ἔξεστιν ἀποθέσθαι νῦν καὶ μεταμαθεῖν εἰ τι πρότερον ἡμῖν ἀγροῦκον ἢθος ἐνετράφη; Ἐθος, φασί, δευτέρη φύσις φύσει μάχεσθαι ὁ έργων, ἐτῶν τριάκοντα μελέτην ἀφεῖναι παγχάλε- πον ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ τοσάυτης ἐγχευομένην τῆς χαλεπότητος. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦδη πλεῖω τοῦτων ἑστίν. Εἰεν ἀλλὰ τι παθῶν αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀκροάσθαι Β περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικάζειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτο σε τὸ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὃς οὖδ' εἰ ἄρξεις ἡπίστατο. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων, ὃν καὶ ὑμεῖς 462
neither he himself desired to know any other nor allowed me to travel by any other path, it is he who has caused me to be hated by all of you. However, if you agree, let us make a truce with him, you and I, and make an end of our quarrel. For he neither knew that I should visit you nor did he anticipate that, even supposing I was likely to come here, it would be as a ruler, and that too over so great an empire as the gods bestowed on me; though they did not do so, believe me, without using great compulsion both towards him who offered and him who accepted it. For neither of us had the air of being willing; since he who offered that honour or favour or whatever you may please to call it, was unwilling to bestow it, while he who received it was sincere in steadily refusing it. This matter, however, is and shall be as the gods will. But perhaps if my tutor had foreseen this he would have exercised much forethought to the end that I might, as far as possible, seem agreeable in your eyes.

What then, you will ask, is it not possible even now for me to lay aside my character, and to repent of the boorish temper that was bred in me in earlier days? Habit, as the saying goes, is second nature. But to fight with nature is hard; and to shake off the training of thirty years is very difficult, especially when it was carried on with such painful effort, and I am already more than thirty years old. "Well and good," you answer, "but what is the matter with you that you try to hear and decide cases about contracts? For surely your tutor did not teach you this also, since he did not even know whether you would govern." Yes, it was that terrible old man who convinced me that I ought to do so;
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ὡς δέντα μάλιστα αἰτιώτατον τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὁρθώς ποιοῦντες εὐλλοιοδορεῖτε μοι, καὶ τούτον δ', εὐ ἱστε, ὅπερ ἀλλών ἐξηπατημένουν. ὅνοματα ἤκει πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολλάκις κωμῳδούμενα, Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος. ἐκεῖνοι οἱ γέρων οὗτοι πεισθεῖς ὑπὲρ ἀφροσύνης, ἐπειπτα ἐμὲ νέον εὐρών, ἐραστὴν λόγων, ἀνέπεισεν, ὡς, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκεῖνον ζηλωτῆς γενοίμην, ἀμείνων ἔσομαι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἱσώς οὐδὲν· οὐ γὰρ εἰναί μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀμιλλαν ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἕγα δὲ· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον δ', τι ποιῶ· πεισθεὶς οὐκέτι δύναμαι μεταβε- σθαι, καὶ ταύτα ἐθέλων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' οὐειδίξω δὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μὴ ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἄδειαιν ἀπάντων ἀδικημάτων· ὑπειισί δὲ μὲ ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὡσα ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξῆλθε ξένος, "Τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ο δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν πλέον ἡ διπλασίας τιμῆς ἄξιοι εἰκονιν· ο μὲν γὰρ ἐνός, ο δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιοι ἑτέρων, μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἄρχοσιν ἀδικίαν. ο δὲ καὶ συγκολάξων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχοσιν, ο 354 μέγας ἀνήρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὗτος ἀναγρευέ- σθω νικηφόρος ἀρετῆς. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τούτον ἔπαινον καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρὴ λέγειν καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὡσα ἄλλα ἀγαθά τις κέκτη-

1 πᾶσιν ἄδειαιν Cobet, πᾶσι πᾶσαν ἄδειαιν Hertlein, MSS.
and you also do well to help me to abuse him, since he is of all men most responsible for my way of life; though he too, you must know, had in his turn been misled by others. Theirs are names that you have often met when they are ridiculed in Comedy—I mean Plato and Socrates, Aristotle and Theophrastus. This old man in his folly was first convinced by them, and then he got hold of me, since I was young and loved literature, and convinced me that if I would emulate those famous men in all things I should become better, not perhaps than other men—for it was not with them that I had to compete—but certainly better than my former self. Accordingly, since I had no choice in the matter, I obeyed him, and now I am no longer able to change my character, though indeed I often wish I could, and I blame myself for not granting to all men impunity for all wrong-doing. But then the words of the Athenian stranger in Plato occur to my mind: “Though he who does no wrong himself is worthy of honour, he who does not allow the wicked to do wrong is worthy of more than twice as much honour. For whereas the former is responsible for one man only, the latter is responsible for many others besides himself, when he reports to the magistrates the wrong-doing of the rest. And he who as far as he can helps the magistrates to punish wrong-doers, himself being the great and powerful man in the city, let him I say be proclaimed as winner of the prize for virtue. And we ought to utter the same eulogy with regard to temperance also, and wisdom and all the other good qualities that such a man possesses, and which are such that he is able
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tai, δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι.”

Ταύτα ἐξίδασκε με νομίζων ἰδιότην ἔσεσθαι καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ προύγω ταύτην ἐκ Διός μοι τὴν Β τύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἧν νῦν ὁ θεὸς φέρων κατέστησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄρχων ἰδιώτου φαυλότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἐμαυτοῦ, οὐδὲν δέον, ύμῖν τῆς ἀγροκίας μεταδίδουσ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ. καὶ με ἔτερος τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομνησθέντα ἐμαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ύμᾶς, ὁς φησὶ δεῖν αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τους ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα τὰ πλῆθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅ ἀποβλέπουτα κοσμήται. μόνοι οὖν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ξὺν οἷον ἐπίτηδεύοντι νῦν τοῦτο πρὸς θάτερα περιέπει καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐν οὐνεῖδει. ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἐσμεν οἴδε παρ’ ύμῖν ξένου νεώλυδες, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολέμης ὑμέτερος, Ἐρμῆ φίλος καὶ ἐμοὶ, λόγων ἀγαθὸς δημιουργός, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐστι πρὸς τινα συμβόλαιον, οὐδὲ ἄλλην ὁδὸν βαδίζομεν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὀλιγάκις, οὐ πάντες, εἰς τὰ Δ θέατρα, πεποιημένοι τὸ δυσκλέεστατον τῶν ἑργῶν

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not only to have them himself but also to impart them to other men." 1

These things he taught me when he thought that I should be a private citizen. For he certainly did not foresee that there would be assigned to me by Zeus this lot in life to which the god has now brought me and has set me therein. But I, because I was ashamed to be less virtuous as a ruler than I had been as a private citizen, have unconsciously given you the benefit of my own boorishness, though there was no necessity. And another of Plato's laws has made me take thought for myself and so become hateful in your eyes: I mean the law which says that those who govern, and also the older men, ought to train themselves in respect for others and in self-control, in order that the masses may look to them and so order their own lives aright. Now since I alone, or rather in company with a few others, am now pursuing this course, it has had a very different result and has naturally become a reproach against me. For we here are only seven persons, strangers and newcomers in your city,—though indeed one of our number is a fellow-citizen of yours, a man dear to Hermes and to me, an excellent craftsman of discourses. 2 And we have business dealings with no man, nor do we go by any road that does not lead to the temples of the gods; and seldom, and then not all of us, do we go to the theatres, since we have adopted the most inglorious line of conduct and the most

1 Plato, Laws 730 d.
2 Julian refers to Libanius the famous rhetorician; with him were also Maximus of Ephesus, Priscus, Himerius and Oreibasius the physician.
kai ἐπονειδιστότατον ἥ τοῦ βίου τέλος: ἐπιτρέψουσέι μοι πάντως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοὶ φάναι τι τῶν παρ' οὕτων ἐπιπολαζόντων οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδείξαμην. ἐπὶ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτοῦς ἔταξαμεν, οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸ προσκρούειν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δεόν ἄρέσκειν καὶ θωπεύειν. ὁ δὲνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν δεῖνα. Τὰ τούτα, ὃ μόρε, πρὸς σὲ; κοινωνεῖν ἔξον μετ' εἰνοίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀφεῖς τὸ κέρδος ἤθραν ἐπαναρρή, καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν ὅρθὸς οἶει 355 ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαι ἔχρην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀδικουμένων οὔδεις αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, ὁ δ' ἀδικών εἰτα εἰργόμενος, ἀφεῖς μέμφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικουμένου, εἰς τοὺς ἀρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἀχθος.

Ἐξὸν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογιστίας ταῦτης ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δ' ἐκάστῳ πράττειν ὁ, τι ἄν ἐθέλη καὶ Β δυνάτος ἢ. τὸ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἡθὸς οἶμαι τοιοῦτον ἐστιν, ἐλεύθερον λίαν. σὺ δὲ οὖν ξυνεῖς ἁρχεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ φρονῆσεως ἄξιοις; οὐδ' ἀπέβλεψας ὅση καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὅνων ἐστίν ἐλευθερία παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμήλων; ἄγουσί τοι καὶ ταύτας οἱ μυθωτοὶ διὰ τῶν στοιῶν ὡσπερ τὰς νύμφας: οἱ γὰρ ὑπαίθριοι στενωτοὶ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῶν ὄδων οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δήποτε πεποίηται, τῷ χρή-

1 ἐπονειδιστότατον Hertlein suggests, ἐπονειδιστὸν MSS.
unpopular aim and end of life. The wise men of Greece will surely allow me to repeat some of the sayings current among you; for I have no better way of illustrating what I mean. We have stationed ourselves in the middle of the road, so highly do we prize the opportunity to collide with you and to be disliked, when we ought rather to try to please and flatter you. "So-and-so has oppressed So-and-so." "Fool! What business is it of yours? When it was in your power to win his good-will by becoming the partner in his wrong-doing, you first let the profit go, and incur hatred besides; and when you do this you think that you are doing right and are wise about your own affairs. You ought to have taken into account that, when men are wronged, not one of them ever blames the magistrates but only the man who has wronged him; but the man who seeks to do wrong and is prevented from it, far from blaming his proposed victim, turns his grievance against the magistrates.

"Then when it was in your power by the aid of this careful reasoning to refrain from compelling us to do what is just; when you might have allowed every man to do whatever he pleases and has the power to do,—for the temper of the city is surely like that, excessively independent—do you then, I say, fail to understand this and assert that the citizens ought to be wisely governed? Have you not even observed what great independence exists among the citizens, even down to the very asses and camels? The men who hire them out lead even these animals through the porticoes as though they were brides. For the unroofed alleys and the broad highways were certainly not made for the use of pack-asses,
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σθαὶ αὐταῖς τοὺς καυσθήλιους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖναι μὲν αὐτῷ δὴ τοῦτο κόσμου τινὸς ἐνεκα πρόκειται καὶ πολυτελείας, χρῆσθαι δὲ υπ᾽ ἐλευθερίας οἱ ὅνιοι Τὸ βούλονται ταῖς στοαῖς, εἴργει δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδεὶς ὤνειος, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέληται· οὕτως ἡ τόλμη ἐστὶν ἐλευθερία. σὺ δὲ ἄξιοις τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νεανίσκους ἄγειν ἡσυχῶς καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρο- νεῖν ὃ, τι σοὶ φίλοι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φθείρεσθαι ὅσων ἃν ἱδέως ἁκούσῃς. ¹ οἱ δὲ υπ᾽ ἐλευθερίας εἰώθασι κυμάζειν, ἀλὲ μὲν ἐπτεικῶς αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐρταῖς πλέον.

'Εδώκαν ποτε τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων Ῥω- μαίους Ταραντίνου δίκας, ὅτι μεθύοντες ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίους ὑβρίσαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔστε τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐδαι- μονέστεροι, ἀντὶ μὲν ὄλγων ἡμερῶν ὅλον εὐπα- θούντες ἐνιαυτόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἂν ξένων πρέσβεων εἰς αὐτούς ἐξυβρίζοντες τοὺς ἀρχοντάς καὶ τούτων εἰς τὰς ἑπὶ τοῦ γενεέου τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νοµίσμασι χαράγματα. εὐ γε, ὃ πολίται σῶ- 356 φρονεῖ, οἱ τε παίζοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν παίζοντων ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύοντες. δὴ λον γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὴν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἀκροαθαι τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων εὐ- φραίνει ταύτης ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς ὁμονοίας συνήδομαι, καὶ εὐ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ τόλμης ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥς ἐκεῖνο γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαίων οὐδὲ ξηλωτὸν εἴργει καὶ κολάζεις τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἀκόλαστον. Β παραιτεῖσθαι γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀποθραίειν τῆς ἐλευ- θερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἴ τις ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ λέγειν

¹ ἀκοῦσα Hertlein suggests, ἀκούσας MSS.
but they are provided merely for show and as an extravagance; but in their independence the asses prefer to use the porticoes, and no one keeps them out of any one of these, for fear he should be robbing them of their independence; so independent is our city! And yet you think that even the charming youths in the city ought to keep quiet and, if possible, think whatever you like, but at any rate utter only what is agreeable for you to hear! But it is their independence that makes them hold revels; and this they always do handsomely, but during the festivals they revel more than usual."

Once upon a time the citizens of Tarentum paid to the Romans the penalty for this sort of jesting, seeing that, when drunk at the festival of Dionysus, they insulted the Roman ambassadors. But you are in all respects more fortunate than the citizens of Tarentum, for you give yourselves up to pleasure throughout the whole year, instead of for a few days; and instead of foreign ambassadors you insult your own Sovereign, yes even the very hairs on his chin and the devices engraved on his coins. Well done, O wise citizens, both ye who make such jests and ye who welcome and find profit in the jesters! For it is evident that uttering them gives pleasure to the former, while the latter rejoice to hear jests of this sort. I share your pleasure in this unanimity, and you do well to be a city of one mind in such matters, since it is not at all dignified or an enviable task to restrain and chastise the licentiousness of the young. For if one were to rob human beings of the power to

1 In 272 B.C. the Romans took Tarentum.
2 The people of Antioch ridiculed the Pagan symbols, such as the figures of Helios, the sun-god, which Julian had engraved on his coinage.
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καὶ πράττειν ὅ, τι βούλονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὀρθῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς τούτο εἰδότες, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ πάντα ἑλευθέρους εἶναι, πρῶτον ἐπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν, ἵνα ὑμῖν ὡς λίαν ἑλεύθεραι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, εἰτα ἐκεῖναις ἑξυπεφηνήσατε ἀνάγειν τὰ παιδία, μὴ ποτε ὑμῖν ἀρχῆς πειρόμενα τραχυτέρας. Τ ἐπειτα ἀποφανθῆ δοῦλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια πρῶτον αἰδεύσαντες διδαχθῇ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὕπο δὲ τῆς οὐτοῦ κακῆς συνθείας εὐλαβέστερα γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ ἔστι άνδρας, ἀλλ' ἔστι άνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι σώφρονες καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ κόσμῳ λάθωσι διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι. τί οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες; ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἁγουσίων αὐτὰ δι' ἡδονῆς, ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατον εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτίμητον οὐκ ἀνθρώπως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θερίοις. ἐνθὲν οἱ μας συμβαίνει μάλα ὑμῖν εὐδαίμονες εἶναι πάσαν ἀρνομένοις δουλείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρξαμένοις πρῶτον, εἰτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τρίτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἀποτοί τε ἀν εἴημεν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορώντων οὕτως ἑλευθέραι τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐπεξείωντον ἁγανακτολήμεν καὶ χαλεπαίνοιμεν. εὖ γάρ ἵστε ὅτι 357 ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χ, φασίν, οὐδὲν ἡδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὔδὲ τὸ Κάππα. τί μὲν ἐστι τούτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔκουσαν χαλεπόν, τυχόντες δ' ἡμεῖς

1 ἀρξαμένοις before πρῶτον Hertlein suggests, Klimek ἀποστάσι τῆς for ἀπὸ τῆς.

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do and say what they please, that would be to take away and curtail the first principle of independence. Therefore, since you knew that men ought to be independent in all respects, you acted quite rightly, in the first place when you permitted the women to govern themselves, so that you might profit by their being independent and licentious to excess; secondly, when you entrusted to them the bringing up of the children, for fear that if they had to experience any harsher authority they might later turn out to be slaves; and as they grew up to be boys might be taught first of all to respect their elders, and then under the influence of this bad habit might show too much reverence for the magistrates, and finally might have to be classed not as men but as slaves; and becoming temperate and well-behaved and orderly might be, before they knew it, altogether corrupted. Then what effect have the women on the children? They induce them to reverence the same things as they do by means of pleasure, which is, it seems, the most blessed thing and the most highly honoured, not only by men but by beasts also. It is for this reason, I think, that you are so very happy, because you refuse every form of slavery; first you begin by refusing slavery to the gods, secondly to the laws, and thirdly to me who am the guardian of the laws. And I should indeed be eccentric if, when the gods suffer the city to be so independent and do not chastise her, I should be resentful and angry. For be assured that the gods have shared with me in the disrespect that has been shown to me in your city.

"The Chi," say the citizens, "never harmed the city in any way, nor did the Kappa." Now the meaning of this riddle which your wisdom has
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έξηγητών ἀπὸ τῆς ύμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχὰς ὁνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δ᾽ ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν, τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον. ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. Β ἐν μόνῳ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἡδίκησεν, ὅτι με καίσαρα ποιήσας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν· ὅς τά γε ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ἀρωμαίων πολλῶν δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Κωνστάντιων πειραθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐμὸι γὰρ ὁ ἄνήρ καὶ ἀνεψιός ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐλεῖτο τῆς ἡχθραν, εἶτα ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγώνα λίαν ἐβραβευσαν φιλανθρώπως, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερος Ο φίλος ἦ προσεδόκησεν ἔξειν μὲ πρὸν ἡχθρὸν γενέσθαι. τί οὖν οἴεσθέ με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν ἐγκαμίοις, ὃς ἀχθομαι τοῖς λοιδορομένοις αὐτῷ; Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Δίος καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλιόπης, ἢ τὸ σόφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπεγύμνωσεν. Ἐμοι μόνῳ Ἄριστον ἐπόθουν οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Γαλιλαίων; ἐλύπησα δ᾽ ἐγὼ τίνας Ἐμοισηνῶν πόρτοτε; ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς καὶ ὅλων δέω Θ φάναι πάντας, τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς εὐτύρους, τὸν ἰήμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθετάλ μοι τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἄπας ἂθεότητα προελάμενος,
invented is hard to understand, but I obtained inter-
preters from your city and I was informed that these
are the first letters of names, and that the former is
intended to represent Christ, the latter Constantius.
Bear with me then, if I speak frankly. In one thing
Constantius did harm you, in that when he had
appointed me as Caesar he did not put me to death.
Now for the rest may the gods grant to you alone
out of all the many citizens of Rome to have
experience of the avarice of many a Constantius, or
I should say rather, of the avarice of his friends. For
the man was my cousin and dear to me; but after
he had chosen enmity with me instead of friendship,
and then the gods with the utmost benevolence
arbitrated our contention with one another, I
proved myself a more loyal friend to him than he
had expected to find me before I became his enemy.
Then why do you think that you are annoying me
by your praises of him, when I am really angry with
those who slander him? But as for Christ you love
him, you say, and adopt him as the guardian of your
city instead of Zeus and the god of Daphne and
Calliope\(^1\) who revealed your clever invention? Did
those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire
to the tombs of the Galilaeans?\(^2\) But what citizens
of Emesa have I ever annoyed? I have however
annoyed many of you, I may almost say all, the
Senate, the wealthy citizens, the common people.
The latter indeed, since they have chosen atheism,
hate me for the most part, or rather all of them hate
me because they see that I adhere to the ordinances

\(^1\) There was a statue of Calliope in the market-place at
Antioch.
\(^2\) The people of Emesa burned the Christian churches and
spared only one, which they converted into a temple of
Dionysus.
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ὅτι τοῖς πατρίοις ὀρᾷ τῆς ἀγιοτείας θεσμοῖς προσκείμενοι, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κωλυόμενοι πολλοῦ πάντα πωλεῖν ἀργυρίου, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρχήστῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστερῶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέλει μοι τῶν τοιού- 358 των ἦττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων. εἶτα οὐκ εἰκότως ἔμαντο κατηγορῶ τοσαύτας ἀπεχθείας λαβᾶς παρασχόντος;

'Αλλ' ὁ 'Ρωμαίος Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχων πώγανος οὐκ οἶδα, παρ' ὄντων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλοπνευχία καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονούτων ἄξιος ἐπανεισθαί, προσιῶν τῇ τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ πλουσίᾳ πόλει τοὺς ἐφήβους ἱδὼν ἐν τῷ προ-

βαστίζω μετὰ τῶν ἄρχοντων ἐσταλμένους ὅσ ἐπὶ τίνα δορυφορίαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμῶν τοὺς προγόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποίησθαι: καὶ θάσσων ἀποβάς τοῦ ἰπποῦ προήγεν ἀμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχε-

ραίνων ὡς μηνυτᾶς γενομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Κάτων προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπείσατας ἐκδραμεῖν. ὄντος δ' ἐν τοιοῦτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ διαπορύντος ἥρεμα καὶ ἑρυθριώτως, ὁ γυμνασίαρχος προσδραμῶν,

'Ω ξένε, ἐφη, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἦν δ' οὔτος Κ ἀπελεύθερος Πομπηίου, κεκτημένος οὐσίαν πολ-

λήν πάνω· μέτρον δ' αὐτῆς εἰ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν· οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς
of the sacred rites which our forefathers observed; the powerful citizens hate me because they are prevented from selling everything at a high price; but all of you hate me on account of the dancers and the theatres. Not because I deprive others of these pleasures, but because I care less for things of that sort than for frogs croaking in a pond. Then is it not natural for me to accuse myself, when I have furnished so many handles for your hatred?

Cato the Roman, however,—how he wore his beard I do not know, but he deserves to be praised in comparison with anyone of those who pride themselves on their temperance and nobility of soul and on their courage above all,—he, I say, once visited this populous and luxurious and wealthy city; and when he saw the youths in the suburb drawn up in full array, and with them the magistrates, as though for some military display, he thought your ancestors had made all those preparations in his honour. So he quickly dismounted from his horse and came forward, though at the same time he was vexed with those of his friends who had preceded him for having informed the citizens that Cato was approaching, and so induced them to hasten forth. And while he was in this position, and was slightly embarrassed and blushing, the master of the gymnasium ran to meet him and called out "Stranger, where is Demetrius?"

Now this Demetrius was a freedman of Pompey, who had acquired a very large fortune; and if you want to know the amount of it,—for I suppose that in all

1 A proverb to express complete indifference.
2 The anecdote which follows is told by Plutarch in his Cato the Younger and also in his Pompeius.
3 Julian must have known that in Cato's day the Romans never wore beards.
tautn mouista ormojshai tihn akoin' eno ton eiponta frasw. Damosflo to Vthyno nepoi-ntai syngrammata toiauta, ev ois drepomevos ek bibliwv pollaw 1 eirgasato logous hdoystous D
vef filikof kai presbuterof filiei gar to yeras epanagwne audhis eis tihn ton veon fil-
koiv tous aflikeseitous theun oimai symbainai neous kai presbutais ex isis einai filomouous-
eivn. o de de Katou opsow aphtntise to ymova-
siarcha boulesite frasw; mh me loidorein upo-
labhte tihn poliv oin estin o logos emos.
ei tis afiktau periferomevna kai eis vmais akoin 359
Xairwnevus andros ek tou faylouv genous, o de
legenai para ton alazwov fylsofovan ou de
kai autos oin efikomwmen mevn, huxamw de upo
amabias koinwsiasai kai metascheivn. tauta oin
ekinwos efrazevn, ois o Katou apeakivato mev
oudev, bohsas de monon ola tis emplhkitos kai
anwthos anbropos, 'om tihn kakodaumwvoi polwos,
apiwos jheto.

Mh de thourmashte, touto e kai engi unai
passwv prois vmais, anaip aghrioteres exekwv kai B
braseuteros tosovtw kai aybadesteros, osoi
Keltol 'Romaivn. o mev gar exwse techleis
egyn hple hprwv amia tois politais trefovevos-
emod de Keltol kai Germaivnai kai drumos 'Erekwnios
emelen artw prwtov eis anbria telouti, kai
dietriva polwv ydiw chrwov, osper tis kynhgeth

1 ek bibliwv pollaw Hertlein suggests, ek twn pollaw MSS.
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that I am now telling you are most anxious to hear this,—I will tell you who has related the story. Damophilus of Bithynia has written compositions of this sort, and in them, by culling anecdotes from many books, he has produced tales that give the greatest delight to anyone who loves to listen to gossip, whether he be young or old. For old age usually revives in the elderly that love of gossip which is natural to the young; and this is, I think, the reason why both the old and the young are equally fond of stories. Well then, to return to Cato. Do you want me to tell you how he greeted the master of the gymnasium? Do not imagine that I am slandering your city; for the story is not my own. If any rumour has come round, even to your ears, of the man of Chaeronea, who belongs to that worthless class of men who are called by impostors philosophers,—I myself never attained to that class though in my ignorance I claimed to be a member of it and to have part in it,—well he, as I was saying, related that Cato answered not a word, but only cried aloud like a man stricken with madness and out of his senses, “Alas for this ill-fated city!” and took himself off.

Therefore do not be surprised if I now feel towards you as I do, for I am more uncivilised than he, and more fierce and headstrong in proportion as the Celts are more so than the Romans. He was born in Rome and was nurtured among Roman citizens till he was on the threshold of old age. But as for me, I had to do with Celts and Germans and the Hercynian forest from the moment that I was reckoned a grown man, and I have by now spent a long time

1 cf. Fragment of a Letter 299 c, note.  
2 Plutarch.  
3 cf. Caesar, Gallic War, 6. 24.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

...
MISOPOGON

there, like some huntsman who associates with and is entangled among wild beasts. There I met with temperaments that know not how to pay court or flatter, but only how to behave simply and frankly to all men alike. Then after my nurture in childhood, my path as a boy took me through the discourses of Plato and Aristotle, which are not at all suited for the reading of communities who think that on account of their luxury they are the happiest of men. Then I had to work hard myself among the most warlike and high-spirited of all nations, where men have knowledge of Aphrodite, goddess of Wedlock, only for the purpose of marrying and having children, and know Dionysus the Drink-Giver, only for the sake of just so much wine as each can drink at a draught. And in their theatres no licentiousness or insolence exists, nor does any man dance the cordax on their stage.

A story is told of them that not long ago a certain Cappadocian was exiled from here to that place, a man who had been brought up in your city in the house of the goldsmith—you know of course whom I mean,—and had learned, as he naturally did learn there, that one ought not to have intercourse with women but to pay attentions to youths. And when, after doing and suffering here I know not what, he went to the court of the king in that country, he took with him to remind him of your habits here a number of dancers and other such delights from this city; and then finally since he still needed a corylist¹—you know the word and the thing too—he

¹ We do not know what sort of performance was given by a corylist; he was evidently a mime and may have played with cups; κοτύλη = a pint-cup.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τούτο δ' ὑμεῖς ἵστε πρὸς τῷ ἐργῷ τὸ ὄνομα: καὶ
tούτου ἐνθένδε ἐκάλει πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς
παρ' ὑμῖν διαίτης. οἱ Κέλτοι δὲ τὸν μὲν κοτυ-
λιστὴν ἡγίστησαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα τὰ
βασίλεια, τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ ἐπιτραπέντας ἐπι-
δείκνυσθαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῆς τέχνης εἶσαν
οἰόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοὺς ἐοικέναι. καὶ
ἡν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐμοὶ καταγελαστό-
tατον τὸ θέατρον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλύγοι πολλῶν
κατεγέλων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔμω ὀλύγοις ἐνθάδε γελοίος
ὑμῖν ἀπασί τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν Σ
εἴην ἄδικος εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργομι,
διαφερόντως ἀσπασάμενος ἐκεῖνα. Κέλτοι μὲν
γὰρ οὗτοι με δι' ὁμοιότητα τρόπων ἡγίστησαν,
ὡστε ἐτόλμησαν ὅπλα μόνου ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἐδώκαν πολλά, καὶ
παραιτούμενον ὀλύγον καὶ ἐβιάσαντο λαβεῖν, καὶ
πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως οὐτίκουσαν. δ' ὅτι δὴ μέγιστον,
ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα,
καὶ ἐβῶν πάντες ἀνδρεῖον, συνετῶν, δίκαιον, οὐ
πολέμω μόνον ὀμιλῆσαι δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνη
D
χρήσασθαι δεξίον, εὐπρόσιτον, πράσον. ὑμεῖς δὲ
αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεώκατε νῦν ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι
παρ' ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατέτραπται,
σύνοιδα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνατρέπον ἐμαυτῷ οὐτὲ ἐκὼ
οὔτε ἄκων· εἶτα, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πώγωνος μον χρῆ
πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ ὁτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χί, πόθος δὲ
ὑμᾶς εἰσείσει τῷ Κάππα. καὶ ὑμῖν γε αὐτὸ οἱ

1 ἐπιδεἴκνυσθαι Hertlein would add.
invited him also from here, because of his longing and love for the austere mode of life that prevails with you. Now the Celts never made the acquaintance of the cotylist, since he was at once admitted into the palace; but when the dancers began to display their art in the theatre, the Celts left them alone because they thought that they were like men stricken with nympholepsy. And the theatre seemed to the men in that country highly ridiculous, just as it does to me; but whereas the Celts were a few ridiculing many, I here along with a few others seem absurd in every way to all of you.

This is a fact which I do not resent. And indeed it would be unjust of me not to make the best of the present state of things, after having so greatly enjoyed the life among the Celts. For they loved me so much, on account of the similarity of our dispositions, that not only did they venture to take up arms on my behalf, but they gave me large sums of money besides; and when I would have declined it, they almost forced me to take it, and in all things readily obeyed me. And what was most wonderful of all, a great report of me travelled thence to your city, and all men proclaimed loudly that I was brave, wise and just, not only terrible to encounter in war, but also skilful in turning peace to account, easy of access and mild-tempered. But now you have sent them tidings from here in return, that in the first place the affairs of the whole world have been turned upside down by me—though indeed I am not conscious of turning anything upside down, either voluntarily or involuntarily; secondly, that I ought to twist ropes from my beard, and that I war against the Chi and that you begin to regret the Kappa.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

πολιοῦχοι τῆς τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ διπλοῦν δοίεν, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὰς ἀστυνείτονας ἐσυκοφαν- 361
tήσατε πόλεις ἱερὰς καὶ ὁμοδούλους ἔμοι, ὥς δὴ
παρ' αὐτῶν εἶχα τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ξυνηθέντα, ὅτι εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἦ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν νιέας,
oὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη,
tους τάφους δὲ τῶν ἁθέων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας,
ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, δὲ δὴ δέδοται παρ' ἐμοῦ
πρόην, οὕτως ἐπαρθέντες τῶν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι
gενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπεξελθεῖν
tοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἢ βουλομένων ὁ
μοὶ ἦν.

Τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα: πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγειρομένους ἀρτὶ
tους βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψαν, οὗς ἡ προῖτης ἡμῶν
ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἡσυχάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεπεμψάμεθα
tὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, οἱ μὲν ἀφοσιώμενοι τὰ
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
λειψάνων ἡγανακτηκόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος C
τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ εἶτε θαδόντες εἶτε μὴ τὸ
πῦρ ἐνεῖσαν ἐκεῖνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιθημοῦσι τῶν ἐξόνων
φρικῶδες, ὑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἥδουῃ παρασχόν,

1 ἐνεῖσαν Hertlein suggests, ἰδεῖταν MSS.
MISOPOGON

Now may the guardian gods of this city grant you a double allowance of the Kappa! ¹ For besides this you falsely accused the neighbouring cities, which are holy and the slaves of the gods, like myself, of having produced the satires which were composed against me; though I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the tombs ² of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.

But now consider your own behaviour. Many of you overturned the altars of the gods which had only just been erected, and with difficulty did my indulgent treatment teach you to keep quiet. And when I sent away the body from Daphne, ³ some of you, in expiation of your conduct towards the gods, handed over the shrine of the god of Daphne to those who were aggrieved about the relics of the body, and the rest of you, whether by accident or on purpose, hurled against the shrine that fire which made the strangers who were visiting your city shudder, but gave pleasure to the mass of

¹ i.e. may they have two such rulers as Constantius.
² i.e. the sepulchres over which the Christian churches were built; cf. 357 C, note.
³ Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, had been buried in the grove of Daphne, and the priests of Apollo retired from it. When the church over his tomb was demolished by Julian he removed the body of St. Babylas to Antioch, and that night (October 22, 362 A.D.) the people of Antioch burned the temple of Apollo which Julian had restored. Cf. Johannes Chrysostomos, De S. Babyla et contra Julianum; and Libanius, Monody on the Temple of Apollo at Daphne.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

υπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλής ἀμεληθέν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀμελούμενον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν νεὼν ὁ θεός, ἐπεσήμην γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν Ἰλιον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὑπομνῆσαι βούλομαι καὶ ἄλλης ἀπεχείλας ἐμῆς, ἐπείτη, διὰτερ εἰώθα ποιεῖν Δ ἐπιεικῶς, ὑνείδισαι ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ύπὲρ ταύτης καὶ κατηγορῆσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γάρ πον μην τῷ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἀριθμούμενος. Δῶν οἶμαι τούτου ὑμεῖς προσαγορεύετε τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πάτριος ἔστιν ἐορτή, καὶ ἔδει σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντᾶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Δίδω ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔδραμον, οἴμονεστε, εὑράθη καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσεων. εἶτα ἀνέπλαττον παρ’ ἐμαυτῷ πομπῆς, ὡσπερ ὑνείρατα ὅρων, ἱερεία καὶ 362 σπουδὰς καὶ χοροὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμίματα καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπέστατα μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκῆ δ’ ἐσθήτι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένους. ὡς δὲ εἴσω παρῆλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὔτε θυμίματα κατέλαβον οὔτε πόπανον οὔτε ἱερείον. αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἑθαυμάσα καὶ φίλην ἔξω τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι, περιμένειν δ’ ύμᾶς, ἔμε δὴ τιμῶντας ὡς ἀρχιερέα, Ἡ τὸ σύνθημα παρ’ ἐμοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρόμην, τί μέλλει θύειν ἡ πόλις ἐνιαύσιον ἐορτὴν ἄγουσα τῷ θεῷ, ὁ
your citizens and was ignored and is still ignored by your Senate. Now, in my opinion, even before that fire the god had forsaken the temple, for when I first entered it his holy image gave me a sign thereof. I call mighty Helios to bear me witness of this before all unbelievers. And now I wish to remind you of yet another reason for your hatred of me, and then to abuse myself—a thing which I usually do fairly well—and both to accuse and blame myself with regard to that hatred.

In the tenth month, according to your reckoning,—Loos I think you call it—there is a festival founded by your forefathers in honour of this god, and it was your duty to be zealous in visiting Daphne. Accordingly I hastened thither from the temple of Zeus Kasios,¹ thinking that at Daphne, if anywhere, I should enjoy the sight of your wealth and public spirit. And I imagined in my own mind the sort of procession it would be, like a man seeing visions in a dream, beasts for sacrifice, libations, choruses in honour of the god, incense, and the youths of your city there surrounding the shrine, their souls adorned with all holiness and themselves attired in white and splendid raiment. But when I entered the shrine I found there no incense, not so much as a cake, not a single beast for sacrifice. For the moment I was amazed and thought that I was still outside the shrine and that you were waiting the signal from me, doing me that honour because I am supreme pontiff. But when I began to inquire what sacrifice the city intended to offer to celebrate the annual festival in honour of the god, the priest answered, “I have

¹ Kasios was the name of a mountain near Antioch where there was a temple of Zeus.
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iereus eipen: ego men hou ferox oikosei to theo xina iereion, h polis de t a vinn ovedein huptepistai.

'Entauitha o filapexhthmou egow prois thn bovlhn anepiekeis pavn dielechthin logous, oiv isos ouk atopon kai vinn mhnemonusai. "Weinon," ephn egow, "thn tosonthn polin outo twn theon oligwros exein, ois oudeemia paroukousa tais eschatiais tou Pontou kmhn vurios klhrous C

1. Hertlein suggests, &rnu MSS.
2. &na ge Hertlein suggests, &na MSS.

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brought with me from my own house a goose as an offering to the god, but the city this time has made no preparations."

Thereupon, being fond of making enemies, I made in the Senate a very unseemly speech which perhaps it may now be pertinent to quote to you. "It is a terrible thing," I said, "that so important a city should be more neglectful of the gods than any village on the borders of the Pontus." Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce on her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe, or if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city’s welfare not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one

1 cf. Themistius 332 d.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

δημόσια· νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἐνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γαλι-
λαίους, καὶ τρέφουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖναι τοὺς πέντε πολὺ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐργάζονται
θαῦμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δειμένους· ἐστὶ δὲ
tοιοῦτον οἴμαι τὸ πλεῖότων τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος;
ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτοὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
τιμῶν ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες πράττειν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον
ὑπολαμβάνετε· πρόσεισι δ' οὐδές τῶν δειμένων
Β τοῖς ἱεροῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν οἴμαι πόθεν διατραφή.
καὶ γενέθλια μὲν τὶς ἑστιῶν ἱκανῶς παρασκευάζει
dειπνῶν καὶ ἀριστῶν, ἔπλει πολυτελὴ τράπεζαν τοὺς
φίλους παραλαμβάνων· ἐνιαυσίων δ' ἐορτῆς οὕσης
οὔδεις ἐκόμισεν ἠλαίον εἰς λύχνου τῷ θεῷ οὔδὲ
σπονδὴν οὔδ' ιερεῖον οὔδὲ λαβανωτόν. ἐγὼ μὲν
οὖν όνοι, ὡστε ἂν τις ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
ὅρων παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποδέξατο, νομίζω δ' ἔγινεν μηδὲ
tοῖς θεοῖς ἄρέσκειν."

Τοιαύτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνημαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς
ἐμαρτύρησε μοι τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς μήποτε ὄφελεν,
ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προάστειον, ὃ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνον,
ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ξάλῃ τρέψας ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν κρα-
tούντων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὸ χείρε βιασάμενος.
ὑμῶν δ' ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀνοίητος. ἐχρῆν
γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὥσπερ οἴμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν
συνεισελθόντων ἐμοὶ, καὶ μη πολυπραγμονεῖν
μηδ' ἐπιτιμᾶν. ἄλλ' ὑπὸ προπτεείας ἐγὼ καὶ 

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.
of you allows his wife to carry everything out of his house to the Galilaeans, and when your wives feed the poor at your expense they inspire a great admiration for godlessness in those who are in need of such bounty—and of such sort are, I think, the great majority of mankind,—while as for yourselves you think that you are doing nothing out of the way when in the first place you are careless of the honours due to the gods, and not one of those in need goes near the temples—for there is nothing there, I think, to feed them with—and yet when any one of you gives a birthday feast he provides a dinner and a breakfast without stint and welcomes his friends to a costly table; when, however, the annual festival arrived no one furnished olive oil for a lamp for the god, or a libation, or a beast for sacrifice, or incense. Now I do not know how any good man could endure to see such things in your city, and for my part I am sure that it is displeasing to the gods also.”

This is what I remember to have said at the time, and the god bore witness to the truth of my words—would that he had not!—when he forsook your suburb which for so long he had protected, and again during that time of storm and stress\(^1\) when he turned in the wrong direction the minds of those who were then in power and forced their hands. But I acted foolishly in making myself odious to you. For I ought to have remained silent as, I think, did many of those who came here with me, and I ought not to have been meddlesome or found fault. But

\(^1\) Julian probably alludes to the riot which took place at Antioch on account of the famine in 354, when the populace killed Theophilus the Governor and were punished for the murder by Constantius.
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tῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὔ γὰρ δὴ νομιστέοιν ὑπ' εὔνοιας ἐμοῖ τότε εἰρήσθαι τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλ' ὦμαι δόξαι θηρεύων εὐλαβείας τε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας. ἀδόλου τούτῳ δ' ἐστὶν ὦμαι παγγέλοιος κολακεία· πολλὰ ὑμῶν μάτην κατέχεα. δίκαια τοῖνυν ἐργάζεσθε 364 μὲ τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκείνων ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἁγάλματος ἵχνεσιν ἐν ὄλγοις ὑμῶν κατέδραμον· ὦμείς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἰκανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα χαριεντίζεσθαι πολιτῶν. εὖ γὰρ ἰστε, πάντες οἱ λέγοντες κοινοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὁ ξίνη ἡδονὴ τῶν βλασφημῶν ἀκροασμένος, μετέχων τῆς ἰσης ἡδονῆς ἀπραγμόνεστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινωνός ἐστι τῆς αἰτίας.

Εἴρηται οὖν ὑμῖν δι' ἀλῆς καὶ ἥκροάται τῆς πόλεως ὀπόσα εἰς τούτοι πέπαικτα τῶν φαύλων πῶγωνα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα ὑμῖν καλὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξαντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίων ὑμῖν, ὅποιον ὦμείς ἀεί μὲν ζῆτε, ποθεῖτε δὲ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφημῶν, ἀς ἱδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεχέατέ μου ον παίζοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαύστοις, ἐμαυτοῦ προσκατ-492
I poured down all these reproaches on your heads to no purpose, owing to my headlong temper and a ridiculous desire to flatter,—for it is surely not to be believed that out of goodwill towards you I spoke those words to you then; but I was, I think, hunting after a reputation for piety towards the gods and for sincere good-will towards you, which is, I think, the most absurd form of flattery. Therefore you treat me justly when you defend yourselves against those criticisms of mine and choose a different place for making your defence. For I abused you under the god's statue near his altar and the footprints of the holy image, in the presence of few witnesses; but you abused me in the market-place, in the presence of the whole populace, and with the help of citizens who were capable of composing such pleasant witticisms as yours. For you must be well aware that all of you, those who uttered the sayings about me and those who listened to them, are equally responsible; and he who listened with pleasure to those slanders, since he had an equal share of the pleasure, though he took less trouble than the speaker, must share the blame.

Throughout the whole city, then, you both uttered and listened to all the jests that were made about this miserable beard of mine, and about one who has never displayed to you nor ever will display any charm of manner. For he will never display among you the sort of life that you always live and desire to see also among those who govern you. Next with respect to the slanders which both in private and publicly you have poured down on my head, when you ridiculed me in anapaestic verse, since I too have accused myself I permit you to employ that
Hermes, when determining to add to the number of the days, divided them into sixty ages, each lasting for the twelfth part of a day. The number of the ages is fifty-two, and five, and the age is called democos. The democos is divided into years, and the year into months, and the month into days. The democos is the period of time, the age the period of duration, and the year the period of measurement, and the day the period of life. At the end of the year, the age begins again, and at the end of the age, the eternity. The eternity is the period of eternity.
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method with even greater frankness; for I shall never on that account do you any harm, by slaying or beating or fettering or imprisoning you or punishing you in any way. Why indeed should I? For now that in showing you myself, in company with my friends, behaving with sobriety,—a most sorry and unpleasing sight to you—I have failed to show you any beautiful spectacle, I have decided to leave this city and to retire from it; not indeed because I am convinced that I shall be in all respects pleasing to those to whom I am going, but because I judge it more desirable, in case I should fail at least to seem to them an honourable and good man, to give all men in turn a share of my unpleasantness,1 and not to annoy this happy city with the evil odour, as it were, of my moderation and the sobriety of my friends.

For not one of us has bought a field or garden in your city or built a house or married or given in marriage among you, or fallen in love with any of your handsome youths, or coveted the wealth of Assyria, or awarded court patronage;2 nor have we allowed any of those in office to exercise influence over us, or induced the populace to get up banquets or theatrical shows; nay rather we have procured for them such luxurious ease that, since they have respite from want, they have had leisure to compose their anapaests against the very author of their well-being. Again, I have not levied gold money or demanded silver money or increased the tribute; but in

1 Demosthenes, Against Meidias 153 ἀποκ ναλε γὰρ ἄνδια καὶ ἀναισθησίᾳ.
2 προστασία is sometimes used of the Imperial protection of a municipal guild, and that may be Julian’s meaning here.

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πρὸς τοῖς ἐλλείμμασιν ἀνεῖται πᾶσι τῶν εἰθισμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ οἶμαι δ' ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέτρουν ἐχὼ ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ θεοῦς, ὅσ ἐμαυτὸν πεῖθω, τὸν εἰσαγγελέα, καλῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντα, διότι γέρων ὄν καὶ φαλακρὸς ἥρεμα τὰ πρόσω διὰ δυστροπίαν αἰσχύνεται κομᾶν ἐξόπλισθεν. Ο ὁσπερ "Ομήρος ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἄβαντας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκείνου φαυλοτέρους ἀνδρᾶς οἴκοι παρ' ἐμαυτῷ δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε δὲ νυνὶ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δὲ μοι θείος καὶ ὅμωνυμος ὁ δικαίοτατα μὲν ὑμῶν προούστη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοὶ ἔμενειν ἡμῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμπράττειν; οὐ προμηθέστατα δὲ πάσαις ἐπεξήλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις τῆς πόλεως; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν ἐδοκεὶ ταῦτα καλὰ, πράοτης ἀρχόντων μετὰ σωφροσύνης, φόμεθα τε D ὑμῖν ἰκανῶς διὰ τοῦτον καλοὶ φανείονται τῶν ἐπιτηθεμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ύμᾶς ἦ τε βαθύτης ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενέους καὶ τὸ ἀτημέλητον τῶν τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ παραβάλλειν τοῖς θεατροῖς καὶ τὸ ἄξιον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι σεμνοὺς καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ἦ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἡμῶν ἁγχολία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξογειν τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἐκόντες ύμῶν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366 οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ράδιον ἐν γῆρᾳ μεταθεμένω διαφυγείν τὸν λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱκτίνος μῦθου. λέγεται γάρ τοι τὸν ἱκτίνα φωνήν ἔχοντα παραπλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀρνισιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ χρεμετίζειν, ὁσπερ οἱ γενναῖοι τῶν ὑπόνων, εἰτα τοῦ

1 ἀλλὰ καὶ Reiske would add.
addition to the arrears, one-fifth of the regular taxes has been in all cases remitted. Moreover I do not think it enough that I myself practise self-restraint, but I have also an usher who, by Zeus and the other gods, is moderate indeed, as I believe, though he has been finely scolded by you, because, being an old man and slightly bald in front, in his perversity he is too modest to wear his hair long behind, as Homer made the Abantes wear theirs.\(^1\) Moreover I do not think it enough that I myself practise self-restraint, but I have also an usher who, by Zeus and the other gods, is moderate indeed, as I believe, though he has been finely scolded by you, because, being an old man and slightly bald in front, in his perversity he is too modest to wear his hair long behind, as Homer made the Abantes wear theirs.\(^1\) And I have with me at my court two or three men also who are not at all inferior to him, nay four or even five now, if you please.

And as for my uncle and namesake,\(^2\) did he not govern you most justly, so long as the gods allowed him to remain with me and to assist me in my work? Did he not with the utmost foresight administer all the business of the city? For my part I thought these were admirable things, I mean mildness and moderation in those who govern, and I supposed that by practising these I should appear admirable in your eyes. But since the length of my beard is displeasing to you, and my unkempt locks, and the fact that I do not put in an appearance at the theatres and that I require men to be reverent in the temples; and since more than all these things my constant attendance at trials displeases you and the fact that I try to banish greed of gain from the market-place, I willingly go away and leave your city to you. For when a man changes his habits in his old age it is not easy, I think, for him to escape the fate that is described in the legend about the kite. The story goes that the kite once had a note like that of other birds, but it aimed at neighing like a high-spirited

\(^1\) Iliad 2. 542. \(^2\) Julian, Count of the East.
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μὲν ἐπιλαβόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἔλειν ἰκανὸς ἀμφοῖν στέρεσθαι καὶ φαυλοτέραν τῶν ἄλλων ὅρνιθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὃ δὴ καὶ B αὐτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἀγροκιάς τε ἀμα καὶ δεξιότητος ἀμαρτείν. ἦδη γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸι συνορᾶτε, πλησίον ἐσμὲν ἕθελοντων θεῶν,

Εὗτε μοι λευκάλ μελαίνοις ἀναμεμίξονται τρίχες, ὁ Τήσιος ἐφή ποιητής.

Εἶπεν. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ Δίως ἄγοραίον καὶ πολιούχοι, ὑπόσχετε λόγον. ἥδικησθέ τι παρ’ ἐμοῦ κοινῇ πώποτε ἦ καὶ ἰδία, καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι C фаверώς διὰ τῶν ἀναπαίστων ἡμᾶς, ὡστερ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τῶν Δίονυσον ἔλκουσι καὶ περιφέρουσι, οὔτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἄγοραις ἐπιτρίβετε λοιδοροῦντες; ἦ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι χαλεπῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς κακῶς οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἵνα με καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἴντες ἀμύνησθε; τὶς οὖν ὑμῖν ἐστίν αἰτία τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσματος καὶ τῆς ἀπε- χθείας; ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰ δοῖδο δεινῶς οὐδένα ὑμῶν οὐδὲν D οὔδε ἀνίκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὔτε ἱδία τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ’ εἰπὼν. οὐδὲν φλαύρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσας, ὡς ἔδοξε μοι προσήκειν, καὶ μεταδοὺς χρηστοῦ τινος, ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπι- θυμοῦντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πολλοὺς εὐ ποιεῖν ἄνθρωποι. ἀδύνατον δ’ εὗ ἵστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

1 ἦ καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.
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horse; then since it forgot its former note and could not quite attain to the other sound, it was deprived of both, and hence the note it now utters is less musical than that of any other bird. This then is the fate that I am trying to avoid, I mean failing to be either really boorish or really accomplished. For already, as you can see for yourselves, I am, since Heaven so wills, near the age “When on my head white hairs mingle with black,” as the poet of Teos said.¹

Enough of that. But now, in the name of Zeus, God of the Market-place and Guardian of the City, render me account of your ingratitude. Were you ever wronged by me in any way, either all in common or as individuals, and is it because you were unable to avenge yourselves openly that you now assail me with abuse in your market-places in anapaestic verse, just as comedians drag Heracles and Dionysus on the stage and make a public show of them?² Or can you say that, though I refrained from any harsh conduct towards you, I did not refrain from speaking ill of you, so that you, in your turn, are defending yourselves by the same methods? What, I ask, is the reason of your antagonism and your hatred of me? For I am very sure that I had done no terrible or incurable injury to any one of you, either separately, as individuals, or to your city as a whole; nor had I uttered any disparaging word, but I had even praised you, as I thought I was bound to do, and had bestowed on you certain advantages, as was natural for one who desires, as far as he can, to benefit many men. But it is impossible, as you know well, both to remit all their taxes to the taxpayers

¹ Anacreon fr. 77, Bergk. ² cf. Oration 7. 204 b.
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rousi συγχωρείν ἀπαντα καί διδόναι πάντα τοῖς 367 εἰωθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὃταν οὖν φανῶ μηδὲν ἐλαττώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξεων, ὃσας εἰσεθεν ἡ βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ὡμῶν δ᾿ ἄνεις τῶν εἰσφορῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀρ’ οὖν αἰνίγματι τὸ πράγμα ἔσικεν;

'Αλλ’ ὀπόσα μὲν κοινῇ πρὸς πάντας πεποίηται τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, πρέποι δὲν σιωπᾶν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖν ὡσπερ ἔξετητης αὐτοπρόσωπος ἐπαίνους ἄδειν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἑπαγγειλάμενος πολλὰς καὶ ἀσελγεστάτας ὑβρεῖς καταχέα· τὰ δὲ ἴδια μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεποιημένα προπετῶς μὲν καὶ ἀνοίητως, ἦκιστα δὲ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἁξία ἀχαριστείσθαι, πρέποι δὲν οἴμαι προφέρειν ὡσπερ τυλά ἐμα ὀνείδη τοσοῦτος τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χαλεπώτερα, τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς ἀναφροδισίας, ὅσφ’ καὶ ἀληθεστερὰ ὑντα τῇ ψυχῇ μᾶλιστα προσῆκε. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπήνουν οὐ ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνεδέχετο μοι φιλοτίμως οὐκ ἀναμείνας τῆν πέιραν οὐδ’ ὅτως ἐξομέν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἕλληνων παίδας, ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ μοι Θράκιον, Ἔλληνα τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι μᾶλιστα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσομεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἔστω μοι τῆς προπετείας ὁνείδος. ἐπεῖτα προσβευσσαμένοις ὑμῖν παρ’ ἐμὲ καὶ αἰφικομένοις ὑστεροῖς οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων D 500

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and to give everything to those who are accustomed to receive gifts. Therefore when it is seen that I have diminished none of the public subscriptions which the imperial purse is accustomed to contribute, but have remitted not a few of your taxes, does not this business seem like a riddle?

However, it becomes me to be silent about all that I have done for all my subjects in common, lest it should seem that I am purposely as it were singing my praises with my own lips, and that too after announcing that I should pour down on my own head many most opprobrious insults. But as for my actions with respect to you as individuals, which, though the manner of them was rash and foolish, nevertheless did not by any means deserve to be repaid by you with ingratitude, it would, I think, be becoming for me to bring them forward as reproaches against myself; and these reproaches ought to be more severe than those I uttered before, I mean those that related to my unkempt appearance and my lack of charm, inasmuch as they are more genuine since they have especial reference to the soul. I mean that before I came here I used to praise you in the strongest possible terms, without waiting to have actual experience of you, nor did I consider how we should feel towards one another; nay, since I thought that you were sons of Greeks, and I myself, though my family is Thracian, am a Greek in my habits, I supposed that we should regard one another with the greatest possible affection. This example of my rashness must therefore be counted as one reproach against me. Next, after you had sent an embassy to me—and it arrived not only later than all the other embassies, but even later than
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tων ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ, πολὺ μὲν ἀνήκα χρυσίων, πολὺ δ' ἀργύριον, φόρους δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἱδία παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐπείτα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τὸν κατάλογον διακοσίοις βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φεισάμενος οὐδενός. ἐσκόπουν γὰρ ὅτες ἡ πόλις υμῶν ἐσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν υμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευσάντων τοὺς θησαυροὺς τους ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασάμενοι τὸ νόμισμα τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἐλομένους ἐχεῖν; υμεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνον μεν οὐ τοὺς δυναμένους εἴλεσθε, λαβὸμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε παραπλῆσια πόλει μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὐνομουμένη, πρέποντα δ' υμῶν ἄλλως τῷ τρόπῳ. βουλεύσθε ἑνὸς υμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτὴν ὠνομάσαντες, πρὸς προσγραφήναι τῷ κατάλογῳ, μετεώρον τῆς δίκης οὐσίας, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργία τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἄλλου ἀπ' ἁγορᾶς εἰλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν Β ἀπανταχοῦ μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ' υμῖν δὲ διὰ περιττῆς φρόνησιν ἀμειβομένων πρὸς χρυσίων συρβετῶν εὐποροῦντα μετρίας οὐσίας εἴλεσθε κοινωνῶν. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ἀνομασίας κακουργοῦντων υμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἀπαντα συνεχωρήσαμεν, διὸ τε εὖ εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν ἀπεστηρῆσαμεν, καὶ δὲν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκη παρ' υμῶν δυσχεραινόμεθα.

Καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἦν τῶν μικρῶν πάνυ καὶ οὕτως δυνάμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐκπολεμῶσαι τὸ δὲ δὴ 502
that of the Alexandrians who dwell in Egypt,—I remitted large sums of gold and of silver also, and all the tribute money for you separately apart from the other cities; and moreover I increased the register of your Senate by two hundred members and spared no man;¹ for I was planning to make your city greater and more powerful.

I therefore gave you the opportunity to elect and to have in your Senate the richest men among those who administer my own revenues and have charge of coining the currency. You however did not elect the capable men among these, but you seized the opportunity to act like a city by no means well-ordered, though quite in keeping with your character. Would you like me to remind you of a single instance? You nominated a Senator, and then before his name had been placed on the register, and the scrutiny of his character was still pending, you thrust this person into the public service. Then you dragged in another from the market-place, a man who was poor and who belonged to a class which in every other city is counted as the very dregs, but who among you, since of your excessive wisdom you exchange rubbish for gold, enjoys a moderate fortune; and this man you elected as your colleague. Many such offences did you commit with regard to the nominations, and then when I did not consent to everything, not only was I deprived of the thanks due for all the good I had done, but also I have incurred your dislike on account of all that I in justice refrained from.

Now these were very trivial matters and could not so far make the city hostile to me. But my greatest

¹ The Senatorship was an expensive burden.
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μέγιστον, εξ οὐ τὸ μέγα ἡρθη μίσος, ἀφικομένου
μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὴ δῆμοι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πυγόμενος
υπὸ τῶν πλούσιων, ἀφίκει φωνὴν πρῶτον ταύτῃν:
"Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ." τῆς ἑπιούσης
dιελέξθην ἐγὼ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ὑμῶν ἔπιχειρῶν
πείθειν, ὅτι κρείττον ἐστιν ὑπεριδόντας ἀδίκου Ἰ
κτήσεως εὑ ποίησαι πολλασ καὶ ξένους. οἱ δὲ
ἐπαγγελμένοι τοῦ πράγματος ἑπιμελῆσεσθαι
μηνὸν ἔξις τριῶν ὑπεριδόντων μοι καὶ περιμεῖναν-
tos οὕτως ὄλγωρως εἰχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς
οὐδεὶς ἂν ἤλπισεν. ἔπει δ' ἑώρων ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ
dήμου φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἄγορὰν οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδειας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωρομένην,
ἐτάξα μέτριον ἐκάστου τίμημα καὶ δήλον ἐποίησα
πάσιν. ἔπει δ' ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ
πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
πάντα· σίτου δ' ἐνδεώς εἰχον, ἀφορίας δεινῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἄρχῳ γενομένης, ἑδοξὲ μοι
πέμπτεν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ἰερὰν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις
τὰς περίξ, ἔνθεν εἰσήγαγον ὑμῖν μέτρων τετ-
παράκοντα μυρίαδας. ὡς δ' ἀνάλωτο καὶ τοῦτο,
πρότερον μὲν πεντάκις χελίους, ἐπτάκις χελίους δ' Β
ὐστερον, εἶτα νῦν μυρίους, οὐς ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶ
λοιπῶν ὄνομάξεων ἔως, ἀνάλισκον σίτου, πάν-
tας οἰκοθεν ἔχον. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου κωμισθέντα
μοι σίτον ἑδωκα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενος ἀργύριον
οὐκ ἔτη δέκα μέτρων, ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα το-

1 οὐκ ἐπὶ—μέτρων Hertlein suggests, οὐ κατὰ—μέτρα MSS.

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offence of all, and what aroused that violent hatred of yours, was the following. When I arrived among you the populace in the theatre, who were being oppressed by the rich, first of all cried aloud, "Everything plentiful; everything dear!" On the following day I had an interview with your powerful citizens and tried to persuade them that it is better to despise unjust profits and to benefit the citizens and the strangers in your city. And they promised to take charge of the matter, but though for three successive months I took no notice and waited, they neglected the matter in a way that no one would have thought possible. And when I saw that there was truth in the outcry of the populace, and that the pressure in the market was due not to any scarcity but to the insatiate greed of the rich, I appointed a fair price for everything, and made it known to all men. And since the citizens had everything else in great abundance, wine, for instance, and olive oil and all the rest, but were short of corn, because there had been a terrible failure of the crops owing to the previous droughts, I decided to send to Chalcis and Hierapolis and the cities round about, and from them I imported for you four hundred thousand measures of corn. And when this too had been used, I first expended five thousand, then later seven thousand, and now again ten thousand bushels—"modii" as they are called in my country—all of which was my very own property; moreover I gave to the city corn which had been brought for me from Egypt; and the price which I set on it was a silver piece, not for ten measures but for fifteen, that is to say, the same

1 The modius was a bushel measure.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

σούτων, δοσον ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον. εἶ δὲ τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρους ἢν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσματος, τί προσδοκῶν ἔδει τηνικάς, ἴνα, φησίν ὁ Βοιώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν C ἐπὶ δώματι; ἀρ' οὖ πέντε μόρις καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλικούτου χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου;

Τὶ οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ πλούσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν σίτων λάθρα ἀπέδουτο πλείονος, ἐβάρσαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦς ἱδίοις ἀναλώμασι· καὶ οὖχ ἡ πόλις μόνον ἐπὶ τούτῳ συρρεῖ, οἱ Δ πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν, δ' μόνον ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν πολὺ καὶ εὐώνου, ἀρτοὺς ὀμοῦμενοι. καίτοι τὰς μέμνηται παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθηνομένης τῆς πόλεως πεντεκαίδεκα μέτρα σίτου πραθέντα τοῦ χρυσοῦ; ταύτης ἔνεκεν ὑμῖν ἀπηχθήμας ἐγὼ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὀπώρας ἀποδόσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις σίτων ἄργυρον αὐτοῖς καὶ χρυσὸν ἐξαφνεῖς παρ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι. 370 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο καλῶς, ἐργασάμενοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λιμὸν ἀλοιπῆρα βρότειον, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπιτη- δεύοντας ἐξελέγχων. ἡ πόλις δ' ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ γέγονεν ἀρτῶν ἕνεκα μόνον, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς.

Συνήν μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὅτι μὴ Β πᾶσιν ἄρεσομι, πλὴν ἐμελεῖν οὐδὲν ἐμοί· τῷ γὰρ

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amount that had formerly been paid for ten measures. And if in summer, in your city, that same number of measures is sold for that sum, what could you reasonably have expected at the season when, as the Boeotian poet says, “It is a cruel thing for famine to be in the house.” ¹ Would you not have been thankful to get five measures for that sum, especially when the winter had set in so severe?

But what did your rich men do? They secretly sold the corn in the country for an exaggerated price, and they oppressed the community by the expenses that private persons had to incur. And the result is that not only the city but most of the country people too are flocking in to buy bread, which is the only thing to be found in abundance and cheap. And indeed who remembers fifteen measures of corn to have been sold among you for a gold piece, even when the city was in a prosperous condition? It was for this conduct that I incurred your hatred, because I did not allow people to sell you wine and vegetables and fruit for gold, or the corn which had been locked away by the rich in their granaries to be suddenly converted by you into silver and gold for their benefit. For they managed the business finely outside the city, and so procured for men “famine that grinds down mortals,” ² as the god said when he was accusing those who behave in this fashion. And the city now enjoys plenty only as regards bread, and nothing else.

Now I knew even then when I acted thus that I should not please everybody, only I cared nothing

¹ This does not occur in Hesiod or Pindar.
² A phrase from an unknown oracular source.
Τὸ πλήθει βοηθεῖν φῶν χρῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνομένοις ξένοις, ἐμοὶ τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῖν ἀρχόντων. ἐπεὶ δ’ οἴμαι συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπείναι, τὴν πόλιν δ’ εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ γνώμης μᾶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μυστικῶς, οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν. Ἀδραστεία πάντα ἐπιτρέψας ἐς ἀλλο ἔθνος οἰκήσομαι καὶ δῆμον ἔτερον, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσας ὅπως ἐναιπτοῖς ἐμπροσθεν C ἐννέα δίκαια δρῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰργάσασθε, φέρων μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν εἰς βοή τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτινωσάς τὸν ἀρχοντα, δίκην δ’ αὕτης ἀποτίνων ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὅν ὀργανομένος δικαίως ἔπραξεν οὐκέτι μετρίως.

Τπέρ τόν πρὸς θεῶν ἀχαριστοῦμεθα; ὅτι τρέφομεν ὑμᾶς οἴκοθεν, ὁ μέχρι σήμερον D ὑπῆρξεν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, καὶ τρέφομεν οὐτω λαμπρῶς; ὅτι τὸν κατάλογον ὑμῶν ἡξίσαμεν; ὅτι κλέπτοντας ἔλοντες οὐκ ἐπεξήλθομεν; ἐνὸς ἤ δύο βούλεσθε ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω, μή τις ὑπολάβῃ σχῆμα καὶ ῥητορεῖαν εἶναι καὶ προστοίησιν τὸ πράγμα; γῆς κλήρους οἴμαι τρισχίλιοις ἐφατε ἀστόρους εἶναι καὶ ἡτήσασθε λαβεῖν, λαβόντες

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about that. For I thought it was my duty to assist the mass of the people who were being wronged, and the strangers who kept arriving in the city both on my account and on account of the high officials who were with me. But since it is now, I think, the case that the latter have departed, and the city is of one mind with respect to me—for some of you hate me and the others whom I fed are ungrateful—I leave the whole matter in the hands of Adrasteia¹ and I will betake myself to some other nation and to citizens of another sort. Nor will I even remind you how you treated one another when you asserted your rights nine years ago; how the populace with loud clamour set fire to the houses of those in power, and murdered the Governor; and how later they were punished for these things because, though their anger was justified, what they did exceeded all limits.²

Why, I repeat, in Heaven’s name, am I treated with ingratitude? Is it because I feed you from my own purse, a thing which before this day has never happened to any city, and moreover feed you so generously? Is it because I increased the register of Senators? Or because, when I caught you in the act of stealing, I did not proceed against you? Let me, if you please, remind you of one or two instances, so that no one may think that what I say is a pretext or mere rhetoric or a false claim. You said, I think, that three thousand lots of land were uncultivated, and you asked to have them; and when you had got them

¹ The avenging goddess who is more familiarly known as Nemesis.
² In 354 A.D. there was a riot at Antioch in consequence of scarcity of food; Constantius sent troops to punish the citizens for the murder of Theophilus the Governor of Syria.
στάθην ἀνεφάνη σαφῶς. ἀφελόμενος δ' αὐτοῦς ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχόντων οἱ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμονήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, ἄν έσχον ἄτελεῖς, οὐς μάλιστα ἔχρην ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι, 371 ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἐνείμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοῦς τῆς πόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἄτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ὑμῖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἱπποτρωφόντες γῆς κλήρους ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιους, ἑπινοια μὲν καὶ οἰκονομία τοῦ θείου τοῦμοι καὶ ὁμοφύμοι, χάριτι δ' ἐμῇ, ὅσ τοὺς πανούργους καὶ κλέπτας οὕτω κολάζων εἰκότως ὑμῖν φαίνομαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ Β ἵστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ πράοτης αὐξεῖ καὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὁ λόγος οὗν μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα περιλείπταται πάλιν εἰς ὁπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἡθη τὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὐν ἔστι τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμέτερας ἐλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνε- τῶτερος· ὑμᾶς δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας C καὶ τιμῆς, ἡν ἐτιμήσατε δημοσία, τὰς ἀμοιβάς ἀποδόειν.
you all divided them among you though you did not need them. This matter was investigated and brought to light beyond doubt. Then I took the lots away from those who held them unjustly, and made no inquiries about the lands which they had before acquired, and for which they paid no taxes, though they ought most certainly to have been taxed, and I appointed these men to the most expensive public services in the city. And even now they who breed horses for you every year hold nearly three thousand lots of land exempt from taxation. This is due in the first place to the judgment and management of my uncle and namesake but also to my own kindness; and since this is the way in which I punish rascals and thieves, I naturally seem to you to be turning the world upside down. For you know very well that clemency towards men of this sort increases and fosters wickedness among mankind.

Well then, my discourse has now come round again to the point which I wished to arrive at. I mean to say that I am myself responsible for all the wrong that has been done to me, because I transformed your graciousness to ungracious ways. This therefore is the fault of my own folly and not of your licence. For the future therefore in my dealings with you I indeed shall endeavour to be more sensible: but to you, in return for your good will towards me and the honour wherewith you have publicly honoured me, may the gods duly pay the recompense!

1 cf. 340 A, 365 c.
I am flattered by your kind assurances, and I appreciate your kind words. I hope I have been able to provide you with the information you were looking for. Please let me know if there is anything else I can assist you with.
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