THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

II
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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 “countermark”\(^2\) 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.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΤΣ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΤΣ ΚΥΝΑΣ

"Ανω ποταμῶν, τούτο δή τό τῆς παροιμίας. ἀνὴρ Κυσικὸς Διογένης φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολου-τεῖν οὐ βούλεται, σφόδρα ἐρρωμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ σφριγῶν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων, ὡς ἄν μή τι κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς τροπαῖς ἣδη προσιόντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐδώδην τοῦ πολύποδος κωμῳδεῖ καὶ φησὶ τὸν Διογένη τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ κενοδοξίας ἐκτετεικέναι ἰκάνας1 δίκας ὡσπέρ ὕπο κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρέντα. οὕτω πόρρω που σοφίας ἐλαύνει, ὡστε ἐπίσταται σαφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τούτο δὲ ἀγνοεῖν ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦσι γοῦν, φασὶν, Ἀντισθέει μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάλητον ἀρρωστίαν ξιφίδιον ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπών· εἰ φίλου Β ἁρήζεις ὑποργίας. οὕτως οὐδὲν ᾧτο δεινὸν

ικάνας Naber adda.
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 πτωταμῷν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαὶ.
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 τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλ' ἦμεῖς οἱ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐκεῖθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος σοφίας ἵσμεν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν ¹ τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ ρίγον δὲ χαλεπώτερον τοῦ νοσεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νοσῶν μαλακῶς ἔσθ' ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ἀπόκειται καὶ ἐὰν εἰς ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τέ σε κὰν ἡ πλούσιοι. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ αὐτὸς νὴ Δία τρυφώντας τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μάλλον ἢ τούτους αὐτοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας· καὶ δοξῆς γε καὶ τὸ παραστῆσαι πρὸς τινας τῶν ἑταίρων εἰπεῖν, ὃς τούτους ἅμα ὑποκρίνεται γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεσπόταις, καὶ πένεισθαι τοῦ κρίνου γυμνότηρος οὖσιν ἡ πλούσεως ἀστρεφέν τυόν. ἦ γὰρ ἀν ἐπαύσαντο νοσοῦντες ἁμα καὶ τρυφῶντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοση- ¹

D leúesθαι τρυφηλῶς οὐτοσὶ τινας ἐν καλῷ ποιοῦνται· ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρίνου ἀνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος καρτερῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀθλῶτερον πράττει; ἀλγεῖ γοὺν ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεύορ οὖν ἦμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυνικῶν ὑπόσα διδασκάλων ἴκουσαμεν ἐν κοινῷ καταθέσαμεν σκοπεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου οὐσὶ τούτον· οἷς εἰ μὲν πεισθεῖν, εὔ οἶδα, οὐδὲν οἳ γε νῦν ἐπιχειροῦντες κυνίζειν ἔσονται χείρους· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μὲν τι λαμπρὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι, ὑπερφωνοῦντες τὸν λόγον τὸν ἡμέτερον, οὕτι τοῖς

¹ φαμεν Hertlein suggests, ἐφι 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

βήμαιν ἄλλα τοὺς ἔργοις, οὔδεν ἐμπόδιον ὅ γε ἡμέτερος οὐσί αἶγος· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λυχνείας ἢ μαλαικίας ἢ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἤν εἰπὼ ἐξελὼν ἐν βραχεῖ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδουλωμένου τῶν λόγων ὁλογρήσειαν προσκαταγελάσαντες, ὡσπέρ B ἐνίοτε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ κύνες τοῖς προπολαῖοις προσουροῦσι, οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῆ καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδῶν ἢμῖν μέλει τὰ τοιαύτα πλημμελοῦντων. δεύρο οὖν ἀνωθεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διεξέλθομεν ἐφεξῆς τῶν λόγων, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ προσήκοιν ἀποδίδοντες αὐτοῖ τε εὐκολότερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τοῦθ ὡσπέρ διενοήθημεν καὶ σοι ποιήσωμεν εὐπαρακολούθητον. οὐκοῦν ἐπείδη τὸν κυνισμὸν εἶνος τις φιλοσόφιας C εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, οὕτι φαντάτατον οὐδὲ ἀτιμότατον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐναμιλλοῦν, ὅλιγα πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ῥήτεον ἢμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

Ἡ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις ἀμα φανοτάτῳ πυρὶ διὰ Προμηθέως καταπεμφθείσα 1 ἐξ θλίου μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμοῦ μερίδος οὐχ ἑτερὸν ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ νοῦ διανομῆν· ὁ γὰρ τοι Προμηθέως, ἡ πάντα ἐπιτροπεύουσα τὰ θυτα πρόνοια, πνεῦμα ἑνθέρμων ὡσπέρ ὀργανὸν ὑποβάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἀπασὶ μετέδωκεν ἀσωμάτων λόγων· μετέσχε δὲ ἐκαστὸν ὡσπέρ ἡδύνατο, τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα σώματα τῆς ἑξεως μόνον, τὰ φυτὰ δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῆς ζωῆς 2 τὰ ζῷα δὲ ψυχῆς, ὦ δε

1 καταπεμφθείσα Reiske would add.
2 τῆς ζωῆς Wright σώματος Hertlein, MSS. Petavius suspects corruption.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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 fire 2 from the sun through the agency of Prometheus along with the blessings that we owe to Hermes 3 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 16 c; cf. Themistius 338 c.
3 e.g. eloquence, commerce, and social intercourse.
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άνθρωπος καὶ λογικὴς ψυχῆς. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ μίαν οἴονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἡκεῖν φύσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ κατ’ εἰδὸς ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἀλλὰ μὴτο τούτο, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τοῦτο ἐξε- 
ταξέσθω, πλὴν ἐκείνου χάριν, ὅτι, τὴν φιλοσοφίαν 183 
ei\\th, ὥσπερ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τέχνην τεχνών 
καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, εἴτε ὁμολόγων θεῶν ἠκατὰ 
τὸ δυνατόν, εἰς, ὥσπερ ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη, τὸ Γνώθι 
σαυτὸν ὑπολάβοι τίς, οὐδὲν διοίςει πρὸς τὸν 
λόγον ἀπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἀλληλα 
καὶ μᾶλα οἰκεῖος ἔχοντα.

'Αρχώμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνώθι σαυτόν, 
ἐπειδὴ καὶ θείον ἔστι τούτῳ τὸ παρακλησίμα. 
οὐκοῦν ὁ γυμνώσκων αὐτὸν εἰσεῖται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, B 
ei\\se, δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ 
ἀρκέσει μόνον, ὡς ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπός ψυχῆς χρωμένη 
σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπ-
ελεύσεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐπείτα ἀνυχρεύσει τὰς 
δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ μόνον ἀρκέσει αὐτῷ, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἶ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἔστι κρείττον καὶ 
θεώτερον, ὥσπερ δὴ πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθό-
μενοι θείον τι εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐνδόρο-
σθαι πάντες οὐρανῶ κοινὸς υπολαμβάνομεν. ἐπιῶν 
dὲ αὐθεὶς τὸ ἄρχας τοῦ σώματος σκέψεται, εἴτε 
sύνθετον εἴτε ἀπλοῦν ἐστίν εἴτε ὁδῷ προβαίνων 
ὑπὲρ τε ἀρμονίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως 
καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς δὲν δεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν. 
ἐπιβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄρχαίς τεχνῶν

1 θεό Klinek, θεόν Hertlein, MSS.
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. 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

... καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Δίδος

'Αλλὰ Ζεὺς πρὸτερος γεγονεὶ καὶ πλείονα ὑδει...
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

¹ Odyssey 4. 379. ² Iliad 13. 355.
επιστήμη γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ διαφέρουσιν. ἦγείται C
gὰρ ἴσως καὶ αὐτοὶς τῶν καλῶν τὸ αὐτοῦς γινώ-
sκειν· ὥσφι δὴ κρείττονες ἡμῶν εἰσὶ τὴν ὑσίαν,
tοσοῦτο γρόντες ἐαυτοὺς ἵππους βελτίων γνώ-
sιν. μηδεὶς οὖν ἡμῖν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολλὰ
dιαρείτω μηδὲ εἰς πολλὰ τεμνέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ
pολλαὶ ἐκ μιᾶς ποιεῖτο. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀλήθεια μία,
οὕτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μία· θαυμαστὸν δὲ οὐδὲν,
eἰ κατὰ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτὴν πορεύο-
μεθα. ἐπεὶ κἂν, εἰ τις θέλει τῶν ξένων ἦ ναὶ καὶ μὰ D
Δίῳ τῶν πάλαι πολιτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθῆνας,
dύνατο μὲν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ βαδίζειν, ὀδεύων δὲ
οἶμαι διὰ γῆς ἢ ταῖς πλατείαις χρήσθαι λεωφόροις
ἡ ταῖς ἀτραποῖς καὶ συντόμης ὁδοῖς· καὶ πλεῖν
μέντοι δυνατὸν παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιλάους, καὶ δὴ καὶ
κατὰ τὸν Πύλιον γέροντα δεξιοτέρον εἰς τὸν Ἁθῆνας
μὴ δὲ τούτο τις ἡμῖν προφερέτω, εἰ τινὰς τῶν κατ'
αὐτὰς ἱόντων τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπεπλανήθησαν καὶ ἀλ-
lαχοῦ ποὺ γενόμενοι, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τῆς Κύρκης ἢ 185
τῶν Δαυτοφάγων ἡδονῆς ἡ δόξας ἢ τινῶς ἄλλου
dελεάσθεντες, ἀπελεύθησαν τοῦ πρόσω βαδίζειν
καὶ ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ τέλους, τοὺς πρωτεύοντας δὲ
ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοπεῖτο, καὶ πάντα
εὐρῆσε σύμφωνα.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς τὸ Γυνὸθι σαυτὸν
προαγορεύει, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ "ἐδιζησάμην ἐμεωυ-
tὸν," ἀλλὰ καὶ Πυθαγόρας οἱ τε ἀπ' ἐκείνου
μέχρι Θεοφράστου τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι
θεῷ φασὶ, 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.
ποτέ, τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ἄει. γελοίου οὖν ἂν εἶη τὸν
θεόν ἑαυτὸν μὴ εἴδεναι: κομιδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἴσεται
τῶν ἄλλων, εἰπερ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοοίη πάντα γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἑστιν, εἰπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτῷ
ἐχει τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας, εἰτε ἀθανάτων
ἀθανάτων, εἰτε ἐπικήρουν οὐ θυντάς οὐδὲ ἐπική-
ρους, ἀδίκους δὲ καὶ μενούσας ἄει καὶ αἱ τούτων
εἰσὶν αἰτίαι τῆς ἀειγενεσίας. ἄλλ’ ὦτος μὲν ὁ Σ
λόγος ἔστι μείζων.

"Οτι δὲ μία τε ἑστιν ἀλήθεια καὶ φιλοσοφία μία
καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἑρασταὶ ξύμπαντες ὑπὲρ ὑπεμνή-
σθην μικρῷ πρότερον ὑπὸ τὸ ἐν δίκῃ νῦν εἴποιμι ἂν
τοῦνομα, τοῦ τοῦ Κιτέως ὁμιλητᾶς λέγω, οὗ τὰς
πόλεις ἱδόντες ἀποδιδρασκούσας τὸ λίαν ἀκραι-
φνῆς καὶ καθαρῶν τῆς ἑλευθερίας τοῦ κυνὸς ἐσκέ-
pασαν αὐτῶν ὁσπερ οἴμαι παραπετάσμασιν Δ
οἰκονομία καὶ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν
γυναῖκα συνόδῳ καὶ παιδοτροφίᾳ, ὑπὸ οἴμαι ταῖς
πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ἐγνύθην ἐπιστήσωσι φύλακα: ὅτι
dὲ τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν κεφάλαιον τίθενται φιλοσοφ-
ίας, οὐ μόνον εἰς δὲ κατεβάλλοντο ἕμμαρμάτων
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῦτον πεισθεῖς ἂν, εἰπερ ἑθέλουσ,
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

we are sometimes, God is always. 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. 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. 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·
tὸ γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ζην τῇ φύσει τέλος ἐποιή-
sαντο, οὔτε οὐχ ἦν τε νυχτὶ τὸν ἀγνοοῦτα,
tὸ καὶ ὅποιος πέφυκεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγνώθν ὃστις
ἐστίν, οὐκ εἰσεται δῆποθεν ὦ, τι πράττειν ἕαυτῷ
προσήκει, ὅστερ οὔ δὲ ¹ τὸν σίδηρον ἀγνοοῦν
eισεται, εἰτε αὐτῷ τέμνειν εἰτε μὴ προσήκει, καὶ
ὃτον δὲ τῷ σίδηρῳ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
πράττειν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία μία τέ ἐστι καὶ
πάντες ὅσ ἔπως εἰπεῖν ἐνὸς τινος ἐφίεμενοι ὥδε ἐπὶ
tοὐτοὶ διαφόροι ἦλθον, ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα νῦν εἴπειν. Β
ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ σκέπτεν ἐτί.²

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεποίητο τοῖς ἀνδράσι μετά τινος
σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ παιδίας τὰ συγγράμματα,
tοῦτοις ἔχρην ἐπόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐκαστὰ ὧν
dιανοούμεθα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξετάζειν τὸν
ἐναντίον καὶ, εἰ μὲν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁμολο-
gούντα, μήτως ψευδομαρτυρῶν ἢμῶν ἐπισκήπτειν,
eἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἔξορίζειν αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ὅστερ
Ἀθηναίοι τὰ ψευδή γράμματα τοῦ Μητρόφου.
ἐπεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὡς ἔφη, τοιοῦτον ἀλὶ τε γὰρ Σ
θυρυλούμεναι Διογένους τραγῳδῖαι Φιλίσκου τινὸς
Αἰγυπτίου λέγονται εἶναι, καὶ, εἰ Διογένους δῆ ³
εἶεν, οὐδὲν ἀτοπὸν ἔστι τὸν σοφὸν παῖζειν, ἐπεὶ
καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ φαίνονται τῶν φιλοσόφων

¹ οὔ δὲ Hertlein suggests, οὔ δὲ MSS.
² ἦτὶ Hertlein suggests, ἦτὶ Reiske, ἦτὶ MSS.
³ δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

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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. 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 Philiscus 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

πωίσαντες· ἐγέλα τοι, φασί, καὶ Δημόκριτος ὅρων σπουδάζοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μὴ δὴ πρὸς τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπωμεν, ὡσπερ οἱ μανθάνειν τι σπουδαῖον ἥκιστα ἔρωτες, πόλει D παραβάλλοντες ευδαίμονι, πολλάν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλὰν δὲ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν πλήρει, καὶ μυρίων ἐνδοὶ ἱερῶν ἁγιῶν ἐν ἁγνὸις μενόντων χαιρεῖσι· αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐνεκά πολλάκις τούτοις, λέγω δὲ τοῦ καθαρεύειν τὰ εἰσῳ πάντα, τὰ περὶ τὰ καὶ βδελυγμα ταὶς πόλεως ἀπελθηκόσι,1 λοιπαὶ δημοσία καὶ χαράκτητεια καὶ κατηγορία καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς ταὶς τοιαῦται· εἰτὰ ἄχρι τούτων γενόμενοι εἰσὼ μὴ παρίσισι.2 ὥσ τέν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐντυχόν, εἰτὰ τοῦτο ὠρθοὶς εἶναι τὴν 187 πόλιν ἄθλοις μὲν ἀποφυγῶν, ἀθλιῶτερος δὲ κατό μείνας, εἴδον ὑπερβάντα μικρὸν ἵδειν τὸν Σωκράτη· χρήσομαι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐγὼ τοὺς ρήμασιν, οἷς Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπαίνῳ Σωκράτη· φημὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὀμοιοτάτην εἶναι τοῖς ἦλθοις τοῦτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐρμογλυφεῖσις καθήμενοις, οὕστινας ἑργάζονται οἱ δημιουργοὶ σύριγγας ἢ αὐλοὶς ἐχοντας· οἱ διχάδε3 διουχθέντες ἤν ἐνδον φαίνονται ἀγάλματα ἐχοντες θεῶν. ὡς ὅπων μὴ τοιοῦτον τι πάθωμεν, ὥσα ἐπάιξε ταύτα αὐτῶν ἐσπουδακέναι νομίσαντες· ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν ἐκείνως οὐκ ἀχριστον, ὁ Κυνισμὸς δὲ ἐστιν

1 ἀπελθηκόσι Naber, ἀπελθηκάσι Hertlein, MSS.
2 παρίσισι Cobet, παρίσισι Hertlein, MSS.
3 οἱ διχάδε Hertlein suggests, cf. Symposium 215, οἱ δὲ MSS.

20
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

éteron, ós autíka mála deizai piérásoynai dévro idomn éphézhis ápò twv érgwn, ósper ai exikhneúonai kúnes metaçéousai tâ thêria.

'Hgymenâ mén ouv ouём rádion evreîn, épôv anâneýgkai xhrî prôtov autô, eȋ kal tinves upo-C lamvbánousin 'Antisûneï toûto kai Díogénei prósikeivan. toûto gouv ëoikev Oívýmiovs ouk átopos légein. ó Kvnìcwçs oupte 'Antisûneîcîs ëstiv oupte Díogénymîs. légyouei mën gar oi yenvnatióreoi tnvn kynôn, sti kal ó megas 'Hraklîs, ósper ouv tîv nèlaln vànáthwv hâm ¹ autios katésth, outv de kai toûto toû biouv parâdeigmâ to mérguston ² katélîstev anvtrôpou. égô de úptp tîvn theôn kai tîv eîs theian lêxîn porév-théntovn evphiûmeîn épêlwv péîthomai mën kai pro D toûto tînas ouk ev ÒEllhîs mînon, allla kal bârbârois ouîw filoûsofîsîs ³ autê gáρ ò filoûsofía koînê pws ëoikev éînai kal fûzîkwtatê kai deîsthai ouî hêstwsoyn pragmatelâs. allla ápôkhre mînon élêsâi tâ spoudaîa ârêthês épî-thûmîa kai fûghî kakhîs, kai ouîte bîblîous vànelîzai deî mûrias. polumathia gáρ, fasî, vûo ou didâskheî ouîte állo tî tîv nèlaln pâtheîn, òsê kai ofa pásxousin oî diâ tîv nèlaln aîréseîn iôntes, allla ápôkhre mînon dúo tâûta tîv Pûthîou 188

¹ Beîfore autîos Cobet omits tîs.
² Before katélîstev Cobet omits ouîs.
³ ouîw filoûsofîsîs 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 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. 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." 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

παραίνοντος ἀκούσαι, τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ 
Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα· πέφηνεν οὖν ἡμῖν 
ἀρχήγος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὅσπερ οἶμαι τοῖς Ἐλλησι 
κατέστη τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων αἴτιος, ὁ τῆς 
Ἑλλάδος κοινὸς ἔγιμων καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ βα-
σιλεύς, ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεός, ὃν ἐπείδή μὴ θέμις ἦν 
τι διαλαθεῖν, οὐδὲ ἡ Διογένους ἐπιτηδειότης ἔλαβε. 
προὔτρεψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὖν ὅσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους 
ἐπεσιν ἐντείνων τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἄλλ' ἔργον 
διδάσκων ὁ, τι βούλεται συμβολικὸς διὰ δυνῶν 
ὄνομάτων, Παραχάραξον εἰπὼν τὸ νόμισμα· τὸ 
γὰρ Γνώθι σαυτὸν οὔκ ἐκεῖνον μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ 
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔφη καὶ λέγει, πρόκειται γὰρ οἶμαι 
tοῦ τεμένους. ἑυρήκαμεν δὴ τὸν ἀρχήγητον 
tῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὁς ποῦ καὶ ὁ δαίμονιος φησιν Ἰάμ-
βλιχος, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν αὐτῇ, 
'Ἀντισθένει καὶ Διογένει καὶ Κράτητα, ὁς τοῦ 
βίου σκοτὸς ἦν καὶ τέλος αὐτοῦς οἴμαι γνῶναι 
kαὶ τῶν κενῶν ὑπεριδεῖν δοξῶν, ἀληθείας δὲ, ἢ 
πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπως 
ἡγεῖται, ὁλῇ, φασίν, ἐπιδράξασθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ, Σ 
ἣς οἶμαι καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σω-
κράτης οὗ τε ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ Ζήνων ἕνεκα 
pάντα ὑπέμειναι πόνου, αὐτοὺς τε ἐθέλοντες 
γνῶναι καὶ μὴ κεναῖς ἐπεσθαί δόξαις, ἄλλα τὴν 
ἐν τοῖς οὕσιν ἀληθείαν ἀνιχνεύσαι.

1 μόνον Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον MSS.
two precepts, “Know Thyself,” and “Falsify the common currency.” 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. 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; 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; 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, ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν οὐκ ἀλλο μὲν ἑπίτη- 
δεύσας Πλάτων, ἔτερον δὲ Διογένης, ἐν δὲ τι καὶ 
ταύτων· εἰ γοῦν ἔροιτό τις τῶν σοφῶν Πλάτωνα "τὸ 
Γνώθι σαυτὸν πόσου νενόμικας άξιον·;" εὖ οἶδα ὅτι 
τοῦ παντὸς ἄν φήσεις, καὶ λέγει δὲ ἐν Ἀλκιβιάδη. 

δὲν ὅτι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο φράσον ἡμῖν, ὃ δαίμονε 
Πλάτων καὶ θεῶν ἔκγγον "Τίνα τρόπον χρῆ 
πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διακεῖσθαι δόξας," ταυτά 
τε ἐρεῖ καὶ ἐτι πρὸς τοῦτοις ὅλου ἡμῶν ἑπιτάξει 
διαρρήδην ἀναγρῶναι τὸν Κρίτωνα διάλογον, οὗ 
φαίνεται παραινῶν Σωκράτης μηδὲν φροντίζειν 
ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων· φησὶ γοῦν. "'Ἀλλὰ τι ἡμῖν, 
ὡς μακάρις Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης 189 
μέλει;" εἰτα ἡμεῖς τούτων ὑπεριδόντες ἀποτει- 
χίζειν ἀπλῶς οὕτως καὶ ἀποσπάν ἀνδρᾶς ἀλλή-
λῶν ἐθέλομεν, οὐδὲ ὃ τῆς ἁλθείας συνήγαγεν 
ἐρως ἡ τῆς δόξης ὑπεροψία καὶ ἡ πρὸς 
τῶν ξῆλον τῆς ἀρετῆς ξύμπνοια; εἰ δὲ Πλάτωνι 
μὲν ἐδοξε καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, 
Διογένεω δὲ ἀπέχρη τὰ ἔργα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιος ἔστιν 
ὑφ’ ἦμῶν ἀκούειν κακῶς; ὅρα δὲ μὴ καὶ τούτο 
αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ κρείττον ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων 
ἐξομνύμενος φαίνεται τὰ ξυγγράμματα. "Οὐ γὰρ Ὁ 
ἔστι Πλάτωνος," φησὶ, "ξύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οὐδ’ 
ἔσται, 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

καλοῦ καὶ νέου." τί οὖν ἥμεις οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων
tου Διογένους σκοποῦμεν αὐτὸν τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ,
όστις ἔστιν;

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ σώματος μέρη μὲν ἔστιν,
οἷον ὀφθαλμοί, πόδες, χεῖρες, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπι-
συμβαίνει, τρίχες, ὄνυχες, ρύπος, τοιούτων περιτ-
τωμάτων γένος, δόν ἂνει σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀμή-
χανον εἶναι, πότερον οὐ γελοῖος ἔστιν ὁ μέρη C
νομίσας ὄνυχας ἢ τρίχας ἢ ρύπον καὶ τὰ δυσώδη
tῶν περιττωμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ τιμώτατα καὶ
σπουδαία, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητήρια καὶ τούτων
αὐτῶν ἄττα συνέσεως ἡμῶν ἐστὶ μᾶλλον αἴτια,
οἷον ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἀκοὰς; ὑποργεῖ γὰρ τάτα
πρὸς φρόνησιν εἶτε ἐγκαταργομυγμένη τῇ ψυχῇ,
ός ἂν θάττων καθαρθείσα δύνατο τῇ καθαρᾷ
χρῆσθαι 1 καὶ ἀκινήτῳ τοῦ φρονεῖν δυνάμει, εἴτε,
διὸτερ τινὲς οὖνται, καθάπερ δὲ χεῖτων τοιούτων
eἰσφερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς. συνλέγουσα γὰρ, φασὶ, D
τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήματα καὶ συνέχουσα τῇ
μνήμης γεννᾶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὴ τι
τοιοῦτον ἡν ἐνθέου ἡ τέλειον ἐμποδίζομενον δὲ 2
ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ὁ τῶν ἐκτὸς
ποιεῖται τῇ ἀντίληψιν, οὐδ' ἂν δυνατόν οἴμαι
γενέσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τῇ 3 ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλ'
οὕτως μὲν ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῖς νῦν προσήκει.

Διότερ ἐπανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῆς κυνικῆς.
φαίνονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτωι διμερή

1 τῇ καθαρᾷ χρῆσθαι Hertlein suggests, τῇ γε ἡς ἀρχῇ MSS.,
corrupt.
2 δὲ Hertlein suggests.
3 τῇ Naber suggests.

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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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tην φιλοσοφίαν νομίσαντες ὀστερὸν Ἄριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, θεωρηματικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπονεῖτε δηλούντες καὶ νομίσαντες, ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος φύσει πράξει καὶ ἐπιστήμη. εἰ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς τὴν θεωρίαν ἐξέκλιναν, οὔτεν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον. εἶπε καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι θεωρίας μὲν φαίνονται χρησάμενοι πολλῇ, ταύτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἂλλον χάριν, ἄλλα τῆς πράξεως· εἶπε καὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνώναι τοῦτο ἐνόμισαν, τὸ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τὸ Β μὲν ἀποδοτέον ψυχῆ, τὶ δὲ σώματι ἀπέδοσαν δὲ εἰκότως ἤγεμον μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὑπηρεσίαν δὲ τῷ σώματι. φαίνονται δὴ οὐν ἄρετὴν ἕπιτηδεῦσαντες, ἐγκράτειαν, ἄτυφιαν, ἐλευθερίαν, ἐξω γενόμενον παντὸς φθόνον, δειλίας, δεισιδαιμονίας. ἀλλ' οὖς ἡμεῖς ταύτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διανοοῦμενα, παίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ κυβερνεῖν περὶ τῶν φιλάτοις ὑπολαμβάνομεν, οὕτως ὑπεριδόντας τοῦ σώματος, Κ ὡς ο Σωκράτης ἐφή λέγων ὀρθῶς μελέτην εἶναι θανάτου την φιλοσοφίαν. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύοντες οὐ ζηλωτοί μᾶλλον ἡμῖν, ἀθλιοὶ δὲ τινες καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόητοι δοκοῦσιν· ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ τοὺς πόνους ὑπεμειναν τούτους; ὥσ παντὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπηνοοῦντο ὡμά

1 αὐτοὶ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, αὐτοὶ MSS.
2 τὴν θεωρίαν Hertlein suggests, τὸς τὴν θεωρίαν MSS., θεωρίας Petavius.
3 δὲ after ἀπέδοσαν Hertlein suggests, τῇ MSS.
4 δοκοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, δοκοῦσιν, MSS.
5 δὲ Hertlein suggests, δῇ MSS.
6 τοῦτος; οὔχ ὡς Hertlein suggests, τοῦτος, ὡς MSS.
7 καὶ γὰρ Hertlein suggests, καίτοι MSS.
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 precious⁴ in thus despising the body; as Socrates did when he declared, and rightly, that philosophy is a preparation for death.² 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 σαρκία; καίτοι οὔδε αὐτός ἐπαινέσθης εἰ, τοῦ γοῦν τοιοῦτον τρίβωνα καὶ τήν Δ κόμην, ὥστερ αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀπομιμοῦμενος εἰθ’ ὃ μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιώγαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις, τούτο εὐδοκίμειν οἷς παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει; καὶ εἰς μὲν ἥ δεύτερος ἔπηνε τότε, πλεῖν δ’ οὖν ἢ ἡ δέκα μυριάδες ὕπο τῆς ναυτίας καὶ βδελυγίας διεστράφησαν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἀπόσιτοι γεγονόμησιν, ἀρχις αὐτοὺς οἱ θεράποντες ἀνέλαβον ὁσμαῖς καὶ μύροις καὶ πέμμασιν. οὖτως ὁ κλειόδος ἤρως ἔργον 191 κατεπλήξατο γελοῖον μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις,

Οἱ οὖν βροτοὶ εἰσιν,

οὐκ ἀγενεῖ δὲ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ τις αὐτὸ κατὰ τὴν Διογένους ἐξηγήσατο σύνεσιν. ὥστερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φήσα, ὅτι τῷ θεῷ νομίζουν λατρεῖαν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν τῷ τῶν δοθέντα χρησμὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα σκοπῶν ἐξετάξειν τὸν ἐλεγκτικὸν ἑσπάσατο βίον, τούτο καὶ Διογένης οἶμαι συνειδώς ἑαυτῷ, πυθόχρηστον οὔσαν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἑργοῖς ὅτε δεῖ εἰς ἐξελέγχειν πάντα καὶ μὴ δοξάζῃ ἄλλως, τυχόν μὲν ἀληθείᾳ, τυχόν δὲ ψευδείᾳ προστεπούθειναι. οὐκον οὔδε εἰ τι Πυθαγόρας ἔφη, οὔδε εἰ τις ἄλλος τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ παραπλήσιος, ἀξιοπιστῶς ἔδοξε τῷ Διογένει. τὸν γὰρ θεὸν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ 1 οὔδενά τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀρχηγῶν ἐπεποίητο. τὶ δὴ τοῦτο, ὁ ἐρείς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδὴν; ἐγὼ σοὶ φράσω.

Τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώπως ὑπολαμβάνοντι κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡκιστὰ τοῦτο ἐργάζεται 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.
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σθαί προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ διανοοῦνται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τούτου ἀνάλωται 1 λόγος. ἔθελοντι οὖν σοι μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ἐσμοὶ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον βίβλου φανῆσονται. τούτους Διογένης ἔξελέγχειν φέτο δείν. διενόθη γοῦν οὕτως: εἰ μὲν ἀπραγμα-


tεύτως ἐσθίων τις σάρκας, ὁσπερ οἴμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστὸν θηρίων, οἷς τούτο ἐνειμεν ἡ φύσις, Δ ἄβλαβδὸς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὠφελείας ἐργάζοντο, κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι πάντως τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν ὑπέλαβεν: εἰ δὲ τις ἐνέτειθεν γένοιτο βλάβη, οὐχὶ τούτῳ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἔργον ἰσως ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλ’ ἄφεκτέων εἶναι κατὰ κράτος αὐτοῦ. εἰς μὲν οὖν ἄν εἰὴ τοιοῦτος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος ἰσως βιαώτερος λόγος, ἔτερος δὲ οἰκειότερος τῷ Κυνηγῷ, εἰ περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἔτι σαφέστερον διελ-


θοίμη.

'Απάθειαν γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· τούτῳ δὲ 192 ἰσον ἐστὶ τῷ θεόν γενέσθαι. αἰσθανόμενος οὖν ἰσως αὐτοῦ Διογένης ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἀπαθοῦς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐδωδὴς μόνον θρατ-


tομένου καὶ ναυτιώτος καὶ δόξη κενὴ μᾶλλον 2 ἡ λόγῳ διδουλωμένου σάρκες γὰρ ἐσιν οὐδὲν ἤττον, κἂν μυριάκις αὐτὰς ἐψήσῃ, κἂν ὑποτριμ-


μασί μυρίως τις αὐτὰς καρυκεύῃ καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ καταστήσαι παντάπασιν ἐξάντη τῆς δειλίας φήμης χρήναι. δειλία γὰρ ἐστιν, Β εὑ ἱσθι, τὸ γοῦν τοιοῦτον. ἔτει πρὸς τῆς Θεσμο-


φόρου εἰ σαρκῶν ἱψημένων ἀπτόμεθα, τοῦ χάριν

1 ἀνάλωται Hertlein suggests, δειλίναι MSS.

2 μᾶλλον Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.

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TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

οὐχὶ καὶ ἀπλῶς αὐτὰς προσφερόμεθα, φράσον ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἐχεις ἑτερον εἴπειν ἢ ὅτι οὔτω νενομισται καὶ οὔτω συνειδήσεμεθα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὶν μὲν ἐψηθήναι βδελυρὰ πέφυκεν, ἐψηθέντα δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀγνότερα. τί δὴτα ἐχρὴν πράττειν τὸν ἔ C παρὰ θεοῦ ταχθέντα καθάπερ στρατηγὸν πᾶν μὲν ἐξελείν τὸ νόμισμα, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ κρίναι τὰ πράγματα; περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ταῦτας τῆς δόξης ἐνοχλούμενον, ὡς νομίζειν ὦτι κρέας μὲν ἐστὶν ἐψηθέν ἁγνὸν καὶ ἐδώδιμον, μὴ κατεργασθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς μυσαρὸν πῶς καὶ βδελυρὸν; οὔτως εἰ μὴν ἡμῖν; οὔτως εἰ σπουδαίοις; ὃς τοσοῦτον ὀνειδίζων τῷ κενοδόξῳ, κατὰ σὲ φάναι, Διογένει, Δ κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ τῷ σπουδαιοτάτῳ θεράπουτι καὶ ὑπηρέτη τοῦ Πυθίου, τὴν τοῦ πολύτοπος ἐδώδιμη κατεδήδοκας μυρίους ταρίχους,

Ἰχθὺς ὀρινθᾶς τε φίλας θ' ὅτι χεῖρας ἱκοιτο,

Διγύπτιος γε ὅν, οὐ τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παριφάγων, οἷς πάντα ἐσθείν νόμος ὡς λάχανα χόρτον γνωρίζεις οἴμαι τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰ ρήματα. μικρὸν με παρῆλθεν εἴπειν, ὅτι καὶ πάντες ἀνθρώποι πλησίον οἴκουντες θαλάττης, ἥδη δὲ τινς καὶ τῶν πόρρω, οὔτε θερμήναις καταρροφοῦσιν ἔχινωσ, ὥστε καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴτε ἐκείνους μὲν ὑπολαμβάνεις ἥγετος, ἄθλιον δὲ καὶ βδελυρὸν ἥγη Διογένης, καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὡς οὔδὲν μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἐστὶ σαρκία. πλὴν

1 πῶς Hertlein suggests, ἰσως MSS.
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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

1. Stoic παρέχει υπερ έκεινον καὶ δεν έστι τα μην είναι
μαθηκα, τα δε σκληρότερα. ᾄναιμος γον' 
ςτι και πολύπους ώσπερ έκεινα, ἐμψυχα δε Β
ςτι και τα ὄστρακόδερμα καθαπερ και οὔτος
̣' ἦδεται γον' και λυπεῖται, θ των ἐμψυχων
μάλιστα έστιν ίδιον. ἐνοχλεῖτω δε μηδεν ἡμᾶς
Πλατωνική τανῦν δόξα ἐμψυχα ὑπολαμβάνουν 
και τα φυτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι μεν οὗτι άλογον 1 οúde
παράνομον οὔδε ἀσύνηθες ύμων ὁ γενναῖος εἱργα-
σαντο Διογένης, ει μη τῷ σκληρότερῳ και μαλα-
κωτέρῳ, ἦδον τε λαμην και ἁγδια τα τοιαῦτα
τις έξετάζοι, πρόδηλον οίμαι τοις ὀπωσοῦν ἐπε-
σθαι λόγῳ δυναμένοις. οὐκ ἀρα την ᾶμοφαγίαν
βδελύττεσθε οι τα παρατλήσα δρόντες, οὐκ ετί
των ἀναιμών μόνοιν ξάφον, ἀλλα και ετι τῶν αἴμα
ἐχόντων. και τούτῳ δε ἴσως διαφέρεσθε πρός
έκεινον, ότι ο μεν ἄπλως ταῦτα και κατὰ φύσιν
ϕήθη χρήναι προσφέρεσθαι, ἀλος δε υμεῖς και
πολλοῖς ἀλλοις ἀρτύσαντες ἥδονης ένεκα, την 
ϕύσιν ὅτως βιάσησθε. και δὴ τούτῳ μεν ετὶ 
τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη.

2. Τῆς Κυνικῆς δὲ φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸς μὲν ἐστὶν 
και τέλος, ώσπερ δη και πάσης φιλοσοφίας, τὸ 
evδαμονείν, τὸ δε εὐδαμονείν ἐν τῷ ξήν κατὰ 
φύσιν, ἀλλα μὴ πρὸς τάς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας. ἐπεὶ
καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνει και μέντοι 
καὶ ξάφος πᾶσιν, ὅταν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν έκαστον 
ἀνεμπόδιστος τυγχάνῃ τέλοις: ἀλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς 
θεοὶς τούτῳ έστιν εὐδαμονίας ὅρος, τὸ ἐχειν 
αὐτοὺς ώσπερ πεφύκασι και έαυτῶν εἶναι. οὐκων 194

1 οὔτι άλογον Hertlein suggests, οὐ χαλεπῶν 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 theory\(^1\) 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 happi-
ness, that their state should be according to their
nature, and that they should be independent. And

\(^1\) Timaeus 77 b.
καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ἐτέρωθι ποὺ τὴν εὐδαι-
μονίαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην προσήκει πολυπραγμονεῖν.
οὔδε ἅτε ὑπερὶ πλάτανος οὔδε ἄλλο τὶ τῶν ὀντῶν
ξών ἢ φυτῶν χρυσά περιεργάζεται πτερὰ καὶ
φύλλα, οὔδε ὅπως ἀργυροῦς ἔξει τοὺς βλαστοὺς
ἡ τὰ πλήκτρα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρᾶ, μάλλον δὲ
ἀδιαμάντινα, ἀλλ’ οἷς αὐτὰ ἔξ ἄρχης ἡ φύσις
ἐκόσμησε, τάντα εἰ ρωμαλέα καὶ πρὸς τάχος αὐ-
τοὶ ἡ πρὸς ἄλκην ὑπουργοῦντα προσγένοιτο,
μάλιστα ἃν εὐ πράττειν νομίζοι καὶ εὐθυνέσθαι. Β
πῶς οὖν οὐ γελοῖον, εἰ τις ἀνθρωπὸς γεγονὼς ἔξω
ποὺ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιεργάσατο, πλουτὸν καὶ
γένος καὶ φίλων δύναμιν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ
τοιαῦτα τοῦ παντὸς ἄξια νομίζων; εἰ μὲν οὖν
ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις ὁσπερ τοῖς ξώσις αὐτὸ τοὔτο
ἀπέδωκε μόνον, τὸ σῶματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἔχειν
ἐκείνους παραπλησίας, ὡστε μηδὲν πλέον πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν, ἢρκει λοιπὸν, ὡσπερ τὰ οὐσία ζῷα, ὡ
τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀρκεῖσθαι πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἐν-
tαύθα ποὺ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῷ παραπλησίᾳ ψυχῆ τοῖς ἀλ-
λοις ἐκεῖσται ξώσις, ἀλλ’ εἴτε κατ’ οὐσίαν δια-
φέρουσα εἴτε οὐσία μὲν ἀδιάφορος, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ
μόνη κρείττων, ὡσπερ οἱμαὶ τὸ καθαρὸν ἡδη
χρυσόν τοῦ συμπεφυμένου τῇ ψάμμῳ λέγεται
γὰρ καὶ οὕτος ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθῆς
ὑπὸ τινῶν ἥμεις δὴ οὖν ἐπειδὴ σύνισμεν αὐτοῖς
οὐσὶ τῶν ξών ἐνυποτέρους· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ Πρω-
tαγόρου μῦθον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἡ φύσις ὁσπερ μὴτηρ
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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἀγαν φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλοδόρως προσηνέχθη, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἐκ Διὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐδόθη τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐνταῦθα θετέον, εἰ τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ σπουδαιοτάτῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν.

Σκότει δὴ, ταύτης εἰ μὴ μάλιστα τῆς προαιρέσεως ἢν Διογένης, δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἀνέδην παρείχεν, ἵνα αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως ρωμαλεότερον καταστήσῃ, πράττειν δὲ ἥξιον μόνον ὅποσα ἃν φανῇ τῷ λόγῳ πρακτέα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπίπτοντας τῇ ψυχῇ θορύβους ὀνα πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει τούτῳ τὸ περικελμένον αὐτοῦ χάριν πολυπραγμονεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν μέρει προςέτο. ὥπο δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ ἄνηρ οὗτος μὲν ἔσχεν ἄνδρειον τὸ σῶμα ὡς οὔδες οὕμαι τῶν τούς στεφανίτας ἀγωνισάμενον, οὕτω δὲ διετέθη τῇ ψυχῇ, ὥστε εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὥστε βασιλεύειν οὔδεν ἐλαττον, εἰ μή καὶ πλέον, ὡς οἱ τότε εἰσθέσαν λέγειν Ἑλληνες, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, τῶν Πέρσην λέγοντες. ἀρά σοι μικρὰ φαίνεται ἄνηρ

'Απολις, ἀοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
οὐκ ὀβολόν, οὐ δραχμήν, ἔχων ὁ οὐδ' οἰκέτην,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μᾶζαν, ἡς Ἐπίκουρος εὐπορῶν οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φησιν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας λόγον ἐλαττοῦσθαι,
πρὸς μέν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔριξων, τοῦ δοκοῦντος δὲ Σ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονεστάτου εὐδαιμονεστέρον ξῶν καὶ ἐλεγεν ξῆν εὐδαιμονεστέρον. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,

1 ἔχων οὖθ' οἰκέτην Kaibel, οὐκ οἰκέτην ἔχων 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 compensate 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.
Τρίπτεν αυτῶν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐλέγξω-μεν. ἄρα σοι δοκεῖ τῶν πάντων ἁγαθῶν ἀνθρώ-πων ἤγεισθαι, τούτων δὴ τῶν πολυθρυλητῶν, ἐλευθερίαν; πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσεις; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πλούτος καὶ γένος καὶ σώματος ἱσχύς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δίχα τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ηὐτυχημέναι, τοῦ κτησαμένου δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαθά; τίνα οὖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸν δούλον; ἄρα μὴ ποτὲ ἐκείνων, ἵνα ἄν πρώμεθα δραχμῶν ἁργυρίου τόσων ἢ μινῶν δυνῶν ἢ χρυσίου στατήρων δέκα; ἐρεῖς δὴ ποὺθεν τούτων εἶναι ἀληθῶς δούλον. ἄρα δὲ αὐτὸ τούτο, ὅτι τὸ ἁργυρίον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ πωλοῦντι κατα-βεβλήκαμεν; οὔτω μεντάν εἰεν οἰκεῖται καὶ ὑπό-σους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λυτρούμεθα. καίτοι καὶ οἱ νόμοι τούτοις ὑποδέδωκασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σωθεῖσιν οἰκαδε, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπολυτρούμεθα, οὖν ἵνα δουλεύσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὅσιν ἐλεύθεροι. ὥρας ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἐστὶν ἁργυρίου καταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἀποφήμαι τοῦ λυτρωθέντα δούλου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς δούλος, οὗ κύριος ἐστιν ἑτέρος προσαναγκάσαι πράττειν ὀτι ἂν κελεύῃ, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον κόλασαι καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, κακαῖς ὀδύνησι πελάξειν; ὥρα δὲ τὸ μετὰ τούτο, εἰ μὴ κύριοι πάντες ἡμῶν ἢ σωτεύειν, οὔς ἀναγκαῖον ἢ μὴ ἑτέρος ἔστιν ἡμῶν θεραπεύειν, ἢν μὴ δὲν ἄλγῳμεν μηδὲ λυτρωμέθα κολαζόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν.
TO THE UNEDESUATED CYNICS

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,¹ 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 ² 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"?³ Then consider next whether we have not as many masters as there are persons whom we are obliged to conciliate 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 τοῦτο οἶει κόλασιν μόνου, εἰ τις ἐπανατεινομένους
tὴν βαλτηρίαν καθίκουτο τοῦ οἰκέτου; καίτοι γε
τουοῦτον οὐδὲ οἱ τραχύτατοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ
πάντων ποιοῦσι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος
ἀρκεῖ πολλάκις καὶ ἀπειλῆ. μῆποτε οὖν, οἰ φίλε, Σ
νομίσῃς εἶναι ἔλευθερος, ἄχρις οὐ γαστήρ ἀρχεῖ
σου καὶ τὰ ἐνερθὲν γαστρὸς οἷς τοῦ παρασχεῖν
tὰ πρὸς ἥδονην καὶ ταῦτὰ ἀποκολύσαι κύριοι,
καὶ εἰ τοῦτον δὲ γένοι κρεῖττων, ἐως ἀν δουλεύῃ
ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις, οὕτω τῆς ἔλευθερίας
ἐδιγες οὐδὲ ἐγεύσω τοῦ νέκταρος,

Οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐν στέρνουσιν ἔμοις παραδόντα
tετρακτύν.

καὶ οὐ τοῦτό φημι, ὡς ἀπερυθριάσαι χρῆ πρὸς Δ
πάντας καὶ πράττειν τὰ μὴ πρακτέα; ἀλλ' ἄν
ἀπεχώρεθα καὶ ὅσα πράττομεν, μὴ διὰ τὸ τοῖς
πολλοῖς δοκεῖν σπουδαία πῶς ἦν φαῦλα, διὰ
τοῦτο πράττομεν καὶ ἀπεχώρεθα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ
λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ, τούτ' ἐστὶ τῷ ψυ, ταῦτ' ἐστιν ἀπόρρητα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν κωλύει
tαῖς κοιναῖς ἐπεσθαί δόξαις ἄμεινον γὰρ τοῦτο
τοῦ παντάπασιν ἀπερυθριῶν ἔχουσι γὰρ ἀνθρω-
ποι φύσει πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν οἰκεῖως; ἀνθρὶ δὲ ἦδη
κατὰ νοῦν ξύντι καὶ τοὺς ὅρθους εὐφέσιν τε δυνα-
μένω καὶ κρῖναι λόγους προσήκει τὸ παράπταν
οὐδὲν ἐπεσθαί τοῖς νομιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν
ev tê kai χεῖρον πράττεσθαι.

1 ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.
2 πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
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 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 των ἀμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ παραδόντα τετρακτύν.

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Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέν ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν θειότερον, ὁ δὲ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν φαμεν καὶ λόγον τὸν συγώμενον, οὐ κήρυξ ἐστὶν ὁ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς οὕτως λόγος προῖν ἐξ ὄνομάτων καὶ ρημάτων, ἢτερον δὲ τι τούτῳ συνέξευκται ποικίλον καὶ παντοδαπόν, ὧραγ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ξυμμυγές τι Β καὶ πολυκέφαλον θηρίων, οὐ πρότερον χρή πρὸς τὰς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀτενῶς ὅραν καὶ ἀδιατρέπτως, πρὶν ἀν τούτῳ δαμάσωμεν τὸ θηρίων καὶ πείσωμεν ὑπακούσαι τῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ θείῳ. τούτῳ γὰρ πολλοὶ τοῦ Διογένους ξηλωτάλ ἐάσαντες 1 ἐγένοντο παντορέκται καὶ μιαροὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ ἑνός κρείττους, ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, πρῶτον ἔργον ἔρω σοι Διογένους, ἐφ’ ο’ γελάσονται μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ σεμνότατον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τις τῶν νέων ἐν οὐρα, παρόντως καὶ τοῦ Διογένους, ἀπέπαρδεν, ἐπάταξεν ἐκεῖνος τῇ βακτρίᾳ φάς· εἶτα, ὁ κάθαρμα, μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ δημοσία τὰ τοιαῦτα θαρσεῖν πράξας ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῶν ἀρχὴ δόξης καταφρονεῖν; οὕτως ἔστω χρήμα πρότερον ἢδονής καὶ θυμοῦ κρείττουν γενέσθαι, πρὶν 2 ἐπὶ τὸ τελειώτατον ἐλθεῖν τῶν παλαισμάτων, ἀποδυσάμενον πρὸς τὰς τῶν Δ πολλῶν δόξας αἱ μυρίων κακῶν αἵτια γίνονται τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Οὐκ οὖσα ὡτός τοὺς μὲν νέους τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπάγουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπ’ ἀλλοις τῶν

1 ξηλωταλ ἐάσαντες Hertlein suggests, ξηλωσαντες 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; Misopognon 358 d.
² Cf. Oration 1. 40 b, 2. 74 c, notes.

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dφιλοσόφων θρυλούντες; οἱ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους χορεύται γνήσιοι
gόητες εἶναι λέγονται καὶ σοφωτάς καὶ τετυφω-
μένου καὶ φαρμακεῖς. τῶν Κυνικῶν εἴ ποὺ τις 198
γέγονε σπουδαῖος, ἐλεεινὸς δοκεῖ· μέμνημαι γοῦν
ἐγὼ ποτὲ τροφέως εἰπόντος πρὸς με, ἔπειδὴ τὸν
ἐταῖρον εἶδεν Ἰφικλέα αὐχμηρὰν ἐχοντα τὴν
κόμην καὶ κατερρωγότα τὰ στέρνα ἰματίων τε
παντάπασι φαίλον ἐν δεινῷ χειμῶν. τίς ἄρα
dαίμων τοῦτον εἰς ταύτην περιέτρεψε τὴν συμ-
φοράν, ὃς ἔστε αὐτὸς μὲν ἐλεεινὸς, ἐλεεινότεροι δὲ
οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ, θρέψαντες σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ
παιδεύσαντες ὡς ἐνεδέχετο σπουδαίως, ὃ ὅτε οὕτω Β
νῦν περιέρχεται, πάντα ἄφεις, οὐδὲν τῶν προσα-
τούντων κρείττων; ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ ὀδῖ
ὀπώς τότε κατερρωγότα τὸν πολλοὺς
dιανοούμενος. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο δεινὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλ
ὀρᾶς ὅτι καὶ πλούτον ἀγαπᾷν πειθοῦσι καὶ πενίαν
μισεῖν καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεύειν καὶ τοῦ
σώματος ἐνέκα πάντα υπομένειν πόνον καὶ
πιαίνειν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμὸν καὶ τράπεζαν
παρατίθεσθαι πολυτελῆ καὶ μηδέποτε ύπκτωρ
καθεύδειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα δράν ἐν
τῷ σκότῳ λανθάνουτα; τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Ταρ-
τάρου χείρον; οὐ βέλτιον ἔστιν ὡτο τὴν Χάρυβδιν
καὶ τὸν Κώκυτον καὶ μυρίας ὀργυίας κατὰ γῆς
dύναι, ἣ πεσεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον βίον αἰδοίοις καὶ
γαστρὶ δουλεύοντα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀπλῶς
ῶστερ τὰ θηρία, πράγματα δὲ ἐχεῖν, ὡς ἂν καὶ

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 ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενοι; καὶ τοῖς πόσῳ κρείττον ἀπέχεσθαι παντάπασιν D αὐτῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ βάδιον, οἱ Διογένους νόμοι καὶ Κράτης ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐκ ἀτιμαστέοι· ἔρωτα λύει λιμός, ἀν δὲ τούτω χρησθαὶ μὴ δύνῃ,1 βρόχος. οὐκ οἴσθα, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐπέραζαν ἐκεῖνοι τῷ βίῳ διδόντες ὅδον εὐτελείας; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαζοφάγων, φησίν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ τύμανοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ 199 τῶν δειτυνοῦντων πολυτελῶς. καὶ ὁ Κράτης μέντοι πεποίηκεν ὑμνὸν εἰς τὴν Εὐτελείαν.

Χαῖρε, θεὰ δεσποτίνα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἁγάπημα, Εὐτελή, κλεινῆς ἐγγονε Ἐφροσύνης.

ἐστῶ δὴ μὴ κατὰ τῶν Οὐνόμαων ὁ κύων ἀναίδης μηδὲ ἀναίσχυντος μηδὲ ὑπερόπτης πάντων ὁμοῦ θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβῆς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὡσπερ Διογένης· ἐπείσθῃ γοῦν B ἐκεῖνος τῷ Πυθίῳ, καὶ οὐ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ πεισθέντι· εἰ δὲ, ὅτι μὴ προσήξῃ μηδὲ ἐθεράπευεν τῶν νεὼς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδὲ τῶν βασιλέων, οἶται τις ἀθέσπτης εἶναι σημεῖον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς νομίζειν ἣν γὰρ ὑπέδεικτός τοι τοιοῦτος, οὐ λιβανωτός, οὗ σπουδή, οὐκ ἀργύριον, θεν αὐτὰ πρῶιτο. εἰ δὲ ἐνόει περὶ θεῶν ὀρθῶς, ἥρκει τούτῳ μόνῳ αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐθεράπευε2 τῇ ψυχῇ, διὸς οἴμαι τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ καθοσιώσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἀπερυθριάτῳ δὲ μη- C δαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον μὲν αὐτῷ χειρότερες καταστησάτω τὸ παθηματικὸν

1 δύνη Hertlein suggests, cf. Diogenes Laertius 6. 5. 2; δύναται 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 scouter 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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ής ψυχής μόριον, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδὲ ὅτι κρατεῖ τῶν ἥδωνῶν εἰδέναι. εἰς τούτῳ γὰρ ἀμενον ἐλθεῖν, εἰς τὸ καὶ εἰ πάσχει τις τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅλως ἀγνοήσας τοῦτο δὲ ἦμῶν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῶν γυμνασίων προσχύνεται. ἵνα δὲ μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ με ταύτα ἄλλος λέγειν, ἐκ τῶν παγνίων Κράτητος ὀλίγα σοι παραγράψω. D

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπιόν ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλίτε μοι εὐχόμενον.
Χόρτον ἀεὶ συνεχῶς δότε γαστέρι, ἢτε μοι αἰεὶ
Χωρίς δουλοσύνης λιτῶν ἥθηκε βίον.

*       *       *       *

'Ωφέλιμον δὲ φίλους, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ’ οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, κανθάρου
ὁλβον

Μύρμηκος τ’ ἀφενος χρήματα μαίόμενος,

'Αλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγείρειν

Εὐφορον, εὐκτητον, τίμον εἰς ἀρετὴν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν 'Ἐρμῆν καὶ Μοῦσας ἰλάσου'
ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀρεταῖς ὀσίαις.

εἰ χρή σοι περὶ τούτων γράφειν, ἔχω πλείων τοῦ Β
ἀνδρός. ἐντυχῶν δὲ τῷ Χαιρωνεὶ Πλούταρχῳ τὸν
Κράτητος ἀναγράφαντι βίον οὐδὲν ἐκ παρέργου
μανθάνειν δεῦσει τὸν ἄνδρα.

'Αλλ’ ἐπαινῶμεν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο πάλιν, ὅτι χρή τὸν
ἀρχόμενον κυνίζειν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτιμᾶν C

1 ὁλβον Wright, cf. 213B, οἶτον MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀγνεῖν Hertlein, MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIUS, VI

πικρός καὶ ἐξελέγχειν καὶ μὴ κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζειν ὅ, τι μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν συμφ. χαίρει, εἰ στρωμνῆς δεῖται μαλακῆς, εἰ τιμῆς ἡ δόξης ἐστὶν ἤττων, εἰ τούτο ξηλὸς τὸ περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ, εἰ καὶ κενὸν εἶν, τίμιον ὅμως νομίζει. μηδὲ εἰς συμπεριφοράν ὀχλων καθυφείσθω,¹ γενέσθω δὲ τρυφῆς μηδὲ Δ ἀκρφ, φασί, τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἐως ἂν αὐτὴν παντελῶς πατήσῃ. τότε ἤδη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἂν προσπίπτῃ, θυγεῖαν οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἔπει καὶ τῶν ταύρων ἀκούν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἁγέλης καὶ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς νεμομένους ἁγελαῖν τὴν ἴσχυν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' ὁλίγον, εἰθ' οὕτως ἐπιέναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἁγέλης ἀμφισβητεῖν τοὺς προκατέχουσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἀξιωτέρους προϊστάσθαι. ὅστις οὖν κυνίζειν θέλει μὴτε τὸν τρίβωνα μῆτε τὴν πήραν μῆτε τὴν βακτηρίαι καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀγαπάτω μόνον, ἵνα ὀστερ ἐν κόμῃ βαδίζῃ κουρεῖν καὶ διδασκαλεῖν ἐνδεικνύει ἄκαρτος καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον ἀντὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου καὶ τὴν ἐνστασιν ἀντὶ τῆς πῆρας τῆς κυνικῆς ὑπολαμβανέτω φιλοσοφίας γνωρίσματα. παρρησία δὲ χρηστέον αὐτῷ πρότον ὑπόσου πέφυκεν ἂξιος ἐπιδειξαμένῳ, ὅσπερ οἷμαι Κράτης καὶ Διογένης, οἱ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀπειλῆν τύχης καὶ εἶτε παιδίαν εἶτε παροινίαν χρῆ φάναι Β

¹ καθυφείσθω Hertlein suggests, καθελθὼ MSS.
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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 τίμιον, κενόν μὲν οὖν,
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

tosóhtoan ápeíchou toú dúskólosw énegekeív, óste álouvs méν úpto tòw katapouti-stòw ò Diougénhs épaiže, ó Krátths dé édhemosióne tìn ouúian, eíta tò sówma blabéveis éskwppetn eautòw eis tìn χωλóteta toú skéloous kai tò kurtòv tòw òmòw, époreúeto dé épti tás tòw filòwv éstias áklytos kai kkeklhménous, diállássow tòus oíkeiostátous allhlóis, eíptote stasíaótontas aisóthouto, épetíma dé ou métà pikria, allh métà chárítos, oux Ína C συκοφántewv dokh tòus swfrnnsnthetvas, òfleivn dé éthloun auvtous te ékeívous kai touvs akóumntas.

Kai ou touto ñv tò prophyóumevn auvtow téloś' all', ópter éfhn, éskópeton òptws auvtow méven evdaimonhsouvni,2 émеле dé auvtow tòw allhwn tosoútov òson xyníewan oimai fúsei koivnìkon kai politikón xòwv tòn ánfrwpon éinai, kai touvs sympoliteunómenous òfélhshen ou tòis para伴随ymasì mónon, allh kai touis lógoiws. òstatis oivn ãn éthelh D Kynikos éinai kai spoudaíos ánhr, auvtow pròterow épimelhthéseis, óster Diougénhs kai Krátths éxelanvneto mév tìs fuvhès āpantà ek páusis tà páthi, òrhò dé épitréפאs tà kath' eautòv lógov kai nǐ kuvbernásth. kefálaion gar ñv, òws evγw oimai, touto tìs Diougénous filosofías.

Ei dé étaíra potè prosēlthev ò ánhr' kaitoi kai touto tuchòn ápax ì ouðe ápax égéneto: ótan ãmín tò òllla kata tòv Diougénh genvtai 202

1 Before kekllhménous Cobet adds kai; cf. Oration 8. 250C.
2 evdaimonhsouv C Hertlein suggests, evdaimonhsouv 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.
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σπουδαίος, ἂν αὐτὸς ¹ φανὴ καὶ τοιούτον τι δράν ² φανερός ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, οὐ μεμψό-
μεθα οὔδε αἰτιασόμεθα. πρῶτον μέντοι τὴν
Διογένους ἠμῶν ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐμάθειαν καὶ τὴν
ἀγχύνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἐλευ-
θερίαν, αὐτάρκειαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην,
εὐλάβειαν, χάριν, προσοχὴν, ὡς μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδὲ
μάτῃς μηδὲ ἀλόγως ποιεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς Β
Διογένους ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας οἶκεία· πατεῖτω τύφον,
καταπαιξέτω τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαία τῆς φύσεως
ἐργα κρυπτῶντων ἐν σκότῳ· φημὶ δὲ τῶν περιτ-
τωμάτων τὰς ἐκκρίσεις· ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀγοραίς
καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιτηθευόντων τὰ βιαιότατα καὶ
μηδὲν ἠμῶν οἰκεία τῇ φύσει, χρημάτων ἀρταγάς,
συκοφαντίας, γραφὰς ἁδίκους, διώξεις ἄλλων
τοιούτων συρφετωδῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ
Διογένης εἶτε ἀπέπαρδεν εἶτε ἀπεπάτησεν εἶτε C
ἀλλο τι τοιούτον ἐπράξεν, ὡσπερ οὖν λέγουσιν,
ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τῶν ἐκείνων πατῶν τύφον ἔποιει, διδά-
κών αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλῷ φαυλότερα καὶ χαλεπώ-
tερα τούτων ἐπιτηθεύσοι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἢμῶ
πάσι κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδενὶ,
πάντα δὲ ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐπιτηθεύσεται.

'Ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν τοῦ Διογένους ζηλωταί τὸ βάστον
καὶ κονφότατον ἐλόμενοι τὸ κρείττον οὐκ ἔδο
σύ τε ἐκείνων εἶναι σεμνότερος ἐθέλων ἀπεπλανή-

¹ αὐτῆ Cobet, οὕτω Hertlein, MSS.
² δράν, Petavius, φῶν Hertlein, MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

...
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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σπουδαῖον· πόθεν; πολλοὺ γε καὶ δει· 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 παραχρῆμα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπνευστὶ
tὸ δὴ λεγόμενον συνεῖραντες· ἔστι γὰρ πάρεργον
ἡμέραιν δυοῖν, ὡς ἱσασίν αἱ Μοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ
καὶ σὺ ² αὐτός· παραμενέτω μὲν σοι ὅπόσα
πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεις, ἡμῖν δὲ σὺ μεταμελήσει τῆς
eἰς τὸν ἀνδρά εὐφημίας.

¹ φιλονεικῶν Hertlein suggests, φιλῶν νεκρῶν, MSS.
² σὺ 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.
IN THE UNITED STATES COURT.

away, for love of a woman, and, you know, it's not something you can just ignore.

However, if I'm going to be frank, I don't think I have the strength or the wisdom to

speak on such a delicate subject. But I will try to explain what I mean. My friend Mr. B.

Jones has always been a mentor to me and he has taught me that

never to lose faith in my abilities. So, if I can say anything, it's that I hope to

work towards making a positive difference in this great and noble

endeavor.
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 Asmus³ 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

with the work of Dio and often used the same illustrations. Themistius\(^1\) however uses the Prodicus myth in much the same words as Dio, and it is imitated also by Maximus of Tyre.\(^2\)

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

\(^1\) Themistius, 280 A.
\(^2\) Maximus of Tyre, Dissertation 20.
Η πολλά γίνεται ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ· τούτο ἐκ τῆς κωμῳδίας ἀκηκοότι μοι πρὸ ἑπὶ ἔπιθλθεν ἐκβοή-
σαι, ὅτινικα παρακληθέντες ἥκροώμεθα κυνὸς
οὔτι τορὸν οὐδὲ γενναίον ὑλακτοῦντος, ἀλλ’ ὁσπερ
αἱ τίθαι μίθους ἄδοντος καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ὑγίως
dιατιθεμένου. παραχρήμα μὲν οὖν ἐπῄλθέ μοι
dιαναστάντι διαλύσαι τὸν σύλλογον· ἐπεὶ δὲ Β
ἐχρὴν ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ κωμῳδουμένων Ἡρακλέους
καὶ Διονύσου παρὰ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἄκουειν, οὐ τῶν
λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνειληγμένων χάριν ὕπε-
μενα, μάλλον δὲ, εἰ χρῆ τι καὶ νεανικότερον
eἰπεῖν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ
dεισιδαιμονίας μᾶλλον ἡ διανοίας ἐὑπεθοῦς καὶ
λελογισμένης, ὡσπερ αἱ πελειώδες, ὑπὸ τῶν ῥή-
ματων σοβηθεῖς ἀναπτήναι. ἔμενον δὲ ἐκεῖνο
πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εἰπὼν

Τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἀλλο ποτ’
ἐτής,
ἀνάσχου καὶ κυνὸς ληρούντος ὀλίγου ἡμέρας
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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 πρώτον ἀκούεις τῶν θεῶν βλασφημομένων, οὐχ οὔτω τὰ κοινὰ πράττομεν καλῶς, οὐχ οὔτω τῶν ἱδίων ἑνεκα σοφρονοῦμεν, οὐ μὴν οὔδε εὐνυχεῖς ἔσμεν, ὡστε τὰς ἄκοας 205 καθαρὰς ἔχειν ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον γοῦν τὰ ὅμματα μὴ κεχράνθαι τοῖς παντοδαποῖς τούτοις τοῦ σιδηροῦ γένους ἀσεβήμασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐνδεεῖς ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἀνέπλησεν οὐκ εὐσαγων ὁ κύων ῥημάτων τὸν ἁριστον τῶν θεῶν ὄνομάσας, ὥς μὴ τοτε ὧφελε μὴ ἐκεῖνοι εἶπεῖν μὴτ ἡμεῖς ἁκούσαι, δεῦρο πειραθὼμεν αὐτὸν ἐφ ἵμον διδάξαι, πρώτον μὲν ὅτι τῷ κυρὶ λόγους Β μᾶλλον ἡ μύθους προσήκει γράφειν, εἴτε ὅποιας καὶ τίνας χρή ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διασκεδᾶς τῶν μύθων, εἰ τι ἄρα καὶ φιλοσοφία προσδεῖται τῆς μυθογραφίας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐλαβείας ὅλγα διαλέξουμεν τοῦτο γάρ μοι καὶ τῆς εἰς ὅμιος παρόδου γέγονεν αἴτιον καίπερ οὐκ ὅντι συγγραφικῷ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ πλῆθει λέγειν ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπαχθῶν καὶ σοφιστικῶν τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον παραιτησάμενω. μικρὰ δὲ Σ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου καθάπερ τινὰ γενεαλογίαν ἵσως οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον ἐμοὶ τε φᾶναι ἵμοι τε ἁκούσαι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἄρχῃν ὁπόθεν ἡρέθη καὶ ὅστις ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ἴθεος πιθανῶς συνθεότα τῶν ὕψεις ἔφέλειαν ἡ ψυχαγωγία τῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὐ μᾶλλον εὗροι τις ἢ ἔτι τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεις τοῦ πρῶτον πταρόντα ἢ χρεμψάμενον ἀναζητεῖν. εἰ δὲ, ὡσπερ ἅπασες ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Θησαλίᾳ, 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 'Πρεσιν ἐν Θησαλίᾳ καὶ ὁρακη was a well-known proverb; cf. Oration 2. 63 c, d.
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tοξόται δὲ καὶ τὰ κοινότερα τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ Κρήτῃ καὶ Καρίᾳ ἀνεφάνη, τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας ἀκολουθοῦντων οἷμαι τῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων, οὕτω τις ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἐκαστὰ τιμᾶται, μάλιστα παρὰ τούτων αὐτὰ καὶ πρῶτον ἤργησαν τῶν ἀγελαίων ἐοικεν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὸ γε ἡ ἀρχὴς ὁ μύθος εὑρημα, καὶ διαμένει ἡ ἑκείνην μέχρι καὶ νῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς πολυτευμένου τὸ πράγμα ὁσπέρ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, αὐλός καὶ κιθάρα, τέρψεως ἔνεκα καὶ ψυχαγωγίας. ὁσπέρ γὰρ οἱ ὁρίζει ὑπτασθαι καὶ νεῖν οἱ ἵχθυες αἳ τε ἔλαφοι θεῖν ἐπειδὴ πεφύκασίν οὐδὲν τοῦ διδαχθῆναι προσδέωντα, κἂν δησὶ τις κἂν καθείρξῃ, πειρᾶται ὁμοίως χρύσαθαν τούτως τοῖς μορφοῖς, πρὸς ἄ συνοιδεν αὐτοῖς πεφυκός, ταυτὶ τὰ ξῶα, οὕτως οἰμαί καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐκ ἄλλο τι τὴν θυγην ἐχον ἡ λόγον καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὁσπέρ ἠγκαθειργημένην, δὴ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ δύναμιν, ἐπὶ τὸ μανθάνειν τε καὶ ἔλεγεν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς πρὸς οἰκειότατον ἐαυτῷ τῶν ἔργων, τρέπεται καὶ ὅστις μὲν εὐμενὸς θεὸς ταχέως ἐλύει τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἡγαγε, τούτῳ πάρεστιν εὑρῆς ἐπιστήμην, τοῖς δεδεμένοις δὲ ἔτι, καθάπερ οἰμαί Ἰεῖων νεφέλη τινι ἄντι τῆς θεοῦ λέγεται παραναπαύσαται, τούτῳ ἄντι ἀλήθος γυνός ἡ ἐντυτήκη δόξα ἡ γίνεται γὰρ

1 After Karia Reiske suggests ἀνέφανη.
2 οἱ Cobet adds.
3 οἱ Cobet adds.
4 τε Hertlein suggests, τι MSS.
5 Ἰεῖων νεφελὴ τινι Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
6 τούτως ἄντι ἀλήθος γυνός Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS., ἐντυτήκη Wright, τέτηκε Hertlein, MSS.
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-eggs\(^2\) and monstrous

\(^1\) i.e. Hera; cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 2. 20 foll.; Dio Chrysostom 4. 130, Arnim.

\(^2\) Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 151 E.
εντεύθεν αυτοῦς τὰ ὑπηρεία καὶ τερατώδη ταιτερίτι τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης οἴνον εἰδωλα ἄττα καὶ σκιαῖ, πράττοντι γούν πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἁληθῶν ἐπιστήμης τὰ ψεύδη καὶ διδάσκουσί γε μάλα προθυμωσ καὶ μανθάνουσιν ὡσπερ οἴμαι χρηστῶν τι καὶ θαυμαστῶν. εἰ δ’ οἷος χρῆ τί καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς μόνους τὸ πρῶτον πλασάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι, Δ δοκούσι μοι ταῖς τῶν παιδίων ψυχαῖς, ὡσπερ αἱ τίθαν περὶ τὰς ὀδοντοφυίας κηρουσίων αὐτοῖς σκύτικα ἀττα προσαρτῶσι ταῖν χειρὰν, ἵνα αὐτῶν παραμυθήσωσται τὸ πάθος, οὔτω δὲ καὶ οὔτω τῷ ψυχαρίῳ πτεροφυίνι καὶ ποθοῦντε ἀμέν εἰδέναι τι, διδάσκεσθαι δὲ οὕτω τάληθη δυναμένῳ ταῦτα ἐποχετεύειν, ὡσπερ ἀρδόντες ἀρουραν διψῶσαν, ἵνα ὃς οἴμαι αὐτῶν τὸν γαργαλισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην παραμυθήσωσται.

Τοῦ δὲ τοιούτου προβαίνοντος καὶ παρὰ τοῦ 207 Ἐλλησίων εὐδοκιμοῦντος, εἰλήκοσαν εντεύθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ τῶν αἰνῶν, ὅσ τὸν μύθου διαφέρει τῷ μῇ πρὸς παίδας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄνδρας πεποιηθαὶ καὶ μὴ γυναγωγίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραίνεσιν ἐχειν τινα. Βούλεται γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος παραίνειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, όταν ὁ λέγων τὸ φανερὸς εἰπὼν εὐλαβῆται, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀκούντων ὑφορώμενος Β ἀπέχθειν. οὔτω τοι καὶ Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸ φαίνεται πεποιηκός· ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτου Ἀρχίλοχος ὡσπερ ἆνυσμα τὶ περιτεθεὶς τῇ ποιήσει, μῦθοις οὐκ ὀλιγάκις ἐχρήσατο ὅρων, ὡς εἰκός, τὴν μὲν ὑπό-

1 αὐτοῖς Wright, αὐτῷ Hertlein, MSS.
2 προσαρτῶσι Hertlein suggests, προσάρτῶν 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 frmr. 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, ἵν μετήπε, τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαιρωγίας ἐνδεῶς ἐχονσαν, σαφῶς δὲ ἐγνωκώς, ὅτι στερομένη μῦθον ποίησις ἐποποιεῖν μόνον ἔστιν, ἐστέρηται δὲ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἑαυτῆς, οὐ γὰρ ἐτί λειτηται ποίησις, ἠδύσματα ταύτα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἐδρέφατο, καὶ παρέθηκε γε αὐτοῦ τούτου χάριν, οὔπως μὴ σηλλογράφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητής νομισθείη.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν μῦθων "Ομήρος ἢ Ὀμυκύδιδης ἢ Πλάτων, ἢ δ', τι βούλει καλεῖν αὐτὸν, Αἰσωπὸς ἢν ὁ Σάμιος, δούλος τῆν τύχην μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν προαιρεσίν, οὐκ ἄφρον μὴνοι 2 οὔδε κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄνήρ. ὁ γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὐ μετεδίδον παραστάσεις, τοῦτο προσήκον ἦν ἐσκειαγραφημένας τὰς συμβουλὰς καὶ πεποικιλμένας ἣδυν καὶ χάριτι παραφέρειν, ὡσπερ οἶμαι τῶν ἱατρῶν οἱ μὲν ἔλευθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττουσιν, εάν δὲ ἄμα τις οἰκέτης γενηται τὴν D τύχην καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἱατρός, πράγματα ἔχει κολακεύειν ἄμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷ κυνὶ προσήκει ταύτης τῆς δουλείας, λεγέτω, γραφέτω, παραχωρεῖτω τῆς μυθολογίας αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁστισσόν, εἰ δὲ μόνος εἶναι φησιν ἔλευθερος, ἐπὶ τί χρήσεται τοῖς μῦθοις, οὐκ οίδα. πότερον ἢν τὸ πικρὸν καὶ δάκνον τῆς συμβουλῆς ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι κεράσας ἄμα τε ὀνήσῃ καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὸ προσλαβεῖν τι παρὰ τοῦ ὄνυμανένου κακῶν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ λίαν δουλοπρεπές. ἀλλ' ἀμενοὶ ἄν τις διδαχθεῖν μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀκοῦν αὐτὰ μηδὲ

1 τὴν τύχην Cobet, οὔ τὴν τύχην Hertlein, MSS.
2 μὴν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.

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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 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

1 Plato, Phaedo 61 b.

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tā ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄνοματα κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τῆς σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα; ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν δεῖνος τὸν Φαέθοντα τὶ 1 δέον ὄνομάσαι; τί δὲ Β χράινειν οὐκ εὐαγγὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου; τὸς δὲ ο Ἡλίος καὶ τὸς ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων ἀνθρώπων άξιος καλεῖσθαι, ἵν' ἐκείθεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μεταθάνειν ἡμῶν τὰς διανοίας; καίτοι, εἰ καὶ τούτῳ οἷν τε ἦν, ἀμεινον ην αὐτοὺς ὄνομάσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω κρείττῳ ἡν εἰπεὶν ἀνθρωπικά θεμένος ὄνοματα; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ θεμένος, ἥρκει γὰρ ὅσπερ ἡμῖν οἱ γονεῖς C ἔθεντο. ἀλλ' εἰ μήτε μαθεῖν ἐστι βάνον 2 διὰ τοῦ πλάσματος μήτε τῷ Κυνικῷ πρέπον πλάττειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐφεισάμεθα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς ἀναλώματος, πρὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐφθείραμεν τὸν χρόνον πλάττοντες καὶ συντιθέντες μυθάρια, εἶτα λογογραφοῦντες καὶ ἐκμανθάνοντες;

’Αλλ' ἵσως ὁ μὲν λόγος οὐ φησὶ δεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν καὶ μὴ πεπλασμένον τὰ ψευδή καὶ πε- πλασμένα παρὰ τοῦ κυνός, ὅ μόνῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μέτεστιν, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἄδεσθαι συλλόγοις, ἡ συνήθεια δὲ οὕτω 3 γέγονεν ἀπὸ Διογένους ἀρξαμένη καὶ Κράτητος ἀχρι τῶν ἐφεξῆς. οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ παράδειγμα τοιοῦτον εὑρήσεις; ἐκείνο γὰρ ἀφίμμεν τέως, ὅτι τῷ Κυνικῷ τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράττοντι

1 τὶ δέον ὄνομάσαι; τὶ Reiske, δέον ὄνομάσαι, τὸν Hertlein MSS.
2 βάνον Hertlein suggests, βάδιον MSS.
3 οὕτω 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? 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 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, 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”.

1 Literally a boat: a proverb; Anonym. Com. Gr. Fray. 199.  
2 Iliad 5. 442; Hesiod, Theogony 272.  
3 An echo of Plutarch, Antonius 28: τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ὡς Ἀντίφων ἔπει, ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον.  
4 Cf. Oration 6. 188 A, B.
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tῇ συνηθείᾳ προσέχειν οὔδαμῶς προσήκει, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ ποιητέον εὐρύσκειν 209 οὐκοθεν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μανθάνειν ἔξωθεν, εἰ δ’ Ἀντι-
σθένης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὄστερ ὁ Ἐνοφῶν ἐνα διὰ τῶν μύθων ἀπήγειλε, μὴτι1 τοῦτο σε ἐξα-
πατάτω· καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν ύστερον ύπὲρ τούτον σοι διαλέξομαι.2 νῦν δὲ ἐκείνῳ μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν
φράσων ύπὲρ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνοια τίς ἔστι καὶ βίος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θηριώδης
ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐδὲν καλὸν, οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ἄγαθὸν νομίζουσιν; δοῦ ἡ γὰρ ἂν ὑπολα-
βείν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος. εἰ τί
σοι τοῦ ταῦτα γοῦν ἐπελθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνως
ἀν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφονίᾳ καὶ τῷ
κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς ὁς
ἐγραφεν ὁ ἀνήρ. τοιοῦτον δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πράγμα-
τος, ὡστε ἀνερήσθαι μὲν ἀπασαν τὴν πρὸς τῶν
θεῶν εὐλάβειαν, ἡτιμᾶσθαι δὲ πάσαν ἀνθρωπίνη
φρόνησιν, νόμον δὲ μὴ τὸν ὁμοῦν ὄντος καλὸ
καὶ δικαίω πεπατήσαται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦς ἐκ τῶν
θεῶν ἡμῖν ὄστερ ἐγγραφέντας ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὃν
πάντες ἀδιδάκτως εἶναι θείον τι πεπείσμηθα
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορὰν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τε οἶμαι σπεῦδε
οὕτω διατιθέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὄστερ
οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὰ βλέποντα, πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ εἰ
καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐξελαύνοιτο νόμος ἰερὸς ἀν φύσει
καὶ θείος, ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πάντη καὶ πάντως

1 μὴτι Cobet μῆτιο Hertlein, MSS.
2 διαλέξομαι Cobet, διηγῆσομαι 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\(^1\) 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.
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άπέχεσθαι κελεύων καὶ μὴτε ἐν λόγῳ μὴτε ἐν ἑργῷ
μὴτε ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς λανθανοῦσαι τῆς ψυχῆς ἄν

ενεργείαις ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπουν συγχεῖν, ὡσπερ ἡμῖν
καὶ τῆς τελειοτάτης ἐστὶν ἡγεμόνες·

ἀρ’ οὐκ ἔστι βαράθρου τὸ πράγμα ἄξιον; ἀρ’ οὐ
tοὺς ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντας ὡσπερ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς

ἐχρῆν οὐθόσχοις παιομένους ἑλαίνεσθαι·
kουφοτέρα γάρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἄδικοις ἡ ἥμια·

λίθοις δὲ βαλλομένους ἀπολώλειν; διαφέρουσι

γάρ οὔτε τί, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εἰπέ μοι, τῶν ἐπ’

ἐρωτίς ἀρσενικῶν καὶ κατελείφοις τὰς

ἀκτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς καταπλέουσι;
kαταφρονοῦντες θανάτου, φασίν· ὡσπερ οὐ

κακείνους συνομαρταύσης ταυτής τῆς ἀπονοίας.

φησί γοῦν ὃ καθ’ ὑμᾶς μὲν ποιητής καὶ μυθολόγος,

ὡς δὲ ὁ Πύθιος λησταῖς χρωμένοις ἀνείλεν, ἥρως

καὶ δαίμων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ληξιμένων τὴν θάλατταν

Οἶα τε ληστῆρες, ὑπερ ἀλα τοί τ’ ἀλώνται

Ψυχᾶς παρθέμενοι.

τί οὖν ἐτι ἑτερον ξητεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν

ληστῶν μάρτυρα; πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἄνδρεωτέρους

ἀν εἶπο τις τῶν τοιοῦτων κυνῶν ἐκέινων τοὺς

ληστάς, ἱταμωτέρους δὲ τῶν ληστῶν ἐκείνων τοὺς

κύνας τουτούσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνειδότες αὐτοῖς

οὐτο μοχθηρον τὸν βίον οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ τοῦ

θανάτου δέος ἢ τὴν αἰσχύνη τὰς ἑρωτίς προ-

βάλλονται, οἱ δ’ ἃρα περιπατοῦσιν εἰν τῷ μέσῳ 

C
tὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα συγχέοντες, οὐχὶ τῷ κρείττονα

1 παιομένου Cobet, πολεμουμένου Hertlein, MSS.

2 ΄αρα περιπατοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ἀναστρέφοντα καὶ

περιπατοῦσιν Cobet, ἀναπατοῦσιν MSS.

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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? 1 And ought not those who applauded such views to have been driven forth, not by blows with wands, like scapegoats, 2 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 3 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." 4 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.
καὶ καθαρωτέραν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χείρονα καὶ βδελυγμένου ϑεραν ἔπεισάγεις πολιτείαν.

Τὰς ἀναφερομένας δὲ εἰς τὸν Διογένη τραγῳδίας, οὕτως μὲν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως ὁ Κυνικὸς τῶν συγγράμματα, ἀμφισβητομένως δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο ὁμόν, εἶτε τοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦ Διογένους, εἰςίν, δὲ εἶτε τοῦ μαθητοῦ Φιλάκου, τίς οὐκ ἄν ἐπελθὼν βδελύγατο καὶ νομίσεις ὑπερβολὴν ἀρρητοργίας οὐδὲ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἀπολελείφθαι; ταῖς Ὁινομᾶν δὲ ἐνυχών ἐγραψε γὰρ καὶ τραγῳδίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρητῶν ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὐκέθ' ὑ, τι φῶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἄξιως ἔχω, καὶ τὰ Μαγνητῶν κακά, καὶ τὸ Τερεμέριον, κὰν πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθέγξωμαι τὴν τραγῳδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατυροῦ καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ τοῦ μίμου, οὕτω πᾶσα μὲν αἰσχρότης, πᾶσα δὲ ἀπόνοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐκείναις τῷ ἄνδρι πεφιλοτέχνηται καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦτων τις ἄξιοι τῶν Κυνισμῶν ὁποῖος τὶς ἔστων ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξαι, βλασφημῶν τοὺς θεοὺς, ὑλακτῶν πρὸς ἀπαντας, ὀπερ ἔφην ἀρχόμενος, ἵτω, χαρείτω, γὴν πρὸ γῆς, ὑπο βουλοῖτο· εἰ δ', ὀπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη Διογένει, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλὴν τρέποιτο, τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ὀπερ ἔξηλωσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων Διογένης καὶ Κράτης φαίνονται, τοῦτο ἥδη τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιοι ἐγώγες φαῖνην ἄν ἄνδρι καὶ

1 ὁμολογουμένως Cobet, ὁμολογουμένας Hertlein, MSS.
2 χαρείτω Hertlein suggests, χαρείτω MSS.
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 Termerus\(^2\) 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

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\(^1\) A proverb; cf. Archilochus \textit{fr.} 27, Bergk.

\(^2\) A robber whom Theseus killed; Plutarch, \textit{Theseus} 11.
στρατηγεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἑθέλοντι. τί δὲ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ἄρ' ἰσμεν; ὅτι τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτῷ δόξης ἐπέταξεν ὑπερορᾶν καὶ παραχαράττειν οὐ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμισμα. τὸ δὲ Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν ἐν ποτέρα θησομέθα μοίρα; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ νομίσματος; ἡ τούτῳ γε αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀλήθειας εἶναι κεφάλαιον θήσομεν καὶ τρόπον εἰρήσθαι τοῦ Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα διὰ τῆς 1 Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν ἀποφάσεως; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὰ νομιζόμενα παντάπασιν ἀτιμάσας, ἐπι αὕτην δὲ ἤκου τὴν Ἀλήθειαν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἕαυτον τοῖς νομιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὄντως οὕσι θήσεται, οὕτως οἴμαι καὶ ὁ γνωσὶς Δ ἕαυτὸν ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀκριβῶς εἰσεται καὶ οὕχ ὅπερ νομίζεται. πότερον οὖν οὐχ οἷος Πύθιος ἀληθῆς τὸ ἐστὶ θεός, καὶ Διογένης τούτῳ ἐπέπειστο σαφῶς, ὅσ γε αὐτῷ πεισθεῖς ἀντὶ φυγάδους ἀπεδείχθη οὐ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μείζων, ἀλλ', ὡς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτῷ τῷ καταλύσαυτι τὸ Περσῶν κράτος καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλέους ἀμελλωμένης πράξεως, ὑπερβάλλονται δὲ τῶν 'Αχιλλέα ψυχοτιμούμενος ἄνθρωπος; οὕτως οὖν ὁ Διογένης ὀποίος τις ἦν τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τα πρὸς ἀνθρώπος μὴ διὰ 212 τῶν Οἰνομάνοι λόγων μηδὲ τῶν Φιλίσκου τραγῳδιῶν, αἱ ἐπιγράφας τὸ Διογένους ῥώμα τῆς θείας πολλὰ ποτὲ κατεψύχατο κεφαλής, ἀλλὰ διὰ οὖν ἐδρασεν ἐργὸν ὅποιος τῷ τὴν γνωρίζεσθα. Ἡλθεν εἰς 'Ολυμπίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Δίως; ὅποις ἄγωνυστάς θεάσηται; τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίοις

1 τῆς Cobet, τῆς 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\(^1\) 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 Panathenaiois teasaasthai dixa proagmaton oion te iven; alla etheleyn ekei tois kratistous synegensthai twn 'Ellhnon; ou gar B 'Isthmoudo efoudwv; ouk av oivn eurous allhen aitian h twn eis tois theon therapeian. ei 3 ouk exepitlagnh tov keravnwv oudev egw ma tous theous tollon pollakis peiradeis diossemwv exepitlagnh. all oimos outw hte ti tous theous pefrwka kal philo kal sebw kai azaomai kai panv aplovs ta toianta proa autous paschow, oasaper avn tis kai ala proa agathous despotas; prois didaskalous, prois pateras, prois kheidemones, prois panata aplovs ta toianta, oisste oligno deiv upo tovwn swn reh- C ton prhnh exanisth. touto mewn ouv ouk olh dntina trpon epelithn isos symbasthai deon erreth.

Diogenvhs de kai penhis gwn kai xrpmatwn enndeis eis 'Olimpian ethadizei, 'Alexandron de hekein ekelune par' eauton, ei tw pistor o 'Dion. outw prptew enoumez eauto mev foitun epi ta iepa 'D tov theon, tpo basilikowtato de kath eauton epif tovnu synousian. de proa 'Arxidamov ngrafev, ou basilikal paraineseis eisiv; ou mwnon de ev tois logous hiv o Diogenvhs theosebhs, alla gar kai ev tois ergois. elomevnon gar auton oikein tas 'Athnas epieidh to daimwmon eis tivn Kowntov aphyagev, afedeis upo tov pramewn tivn polin oikei 'ohthe deiv ekllpew epeteistou 213 gar autou tois theous mel ein eis te tivn Kowntov ou
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 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. 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.
μάτην οὐδὲ κατά τινα συντυχίαν, τρόπον δὲ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰσπεπέμφθαι, ὅρων τὴν πόλιν τρυφῶσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων μᾶλλον καὶ δειμένην μείζονος καὶ γενναιοτέρου σωφρονιστοῦ.

Τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Κράτητος μουσικὰ καὶ χαριέντα φέρεται πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀσιότητος τε καὶ εὐλαβείας; ἀκούς γοῦν αὐτὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν, εἰ σοὶ μὴ σχολὴ γέγονε μαθεῖν Β ἐξ ἑκείνων αὐτά.

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὁλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσας Πιερίδες, κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένως.
Χῶρον ἐμῇ συνεχῇ δότε γαστέρι, καὶ δότε χωρίς
Δουλοσύνης, η δὴ λιτῶν ἔθηκε βίον.

* * * *

'Ωφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, καὶ
θάρων ὅλβουν
Μύρμηκος τ' ἀφενός χρήματα μαίόμενος,
'Αλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλούτων ἀγεί-

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Εὐφορον, εὐκτητὸν, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν 'Ερμῆν καὶ Μοῦσας ἰλάσομ' ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὀσίαις. D

ὁρᾶς ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐθημῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ ὡς σὺ βλασ-

φημῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἦχετο; πόσαι γὰρ ἐκατόμβαι

τῆς ὀσίας εἰσὶν ἀντάξιαι, ἦν καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος Ἑὐρ-
πίδης ὀρθῶς ὑμητὲς εἴτ' ὑπὸν

'Οσία πότνα θεῶν, ὀσία;

1 ἀγεῖρειν Cobet, ἀσιᾶν Ηертлеин, 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

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ἡ τούτο σε λέληθεν, ὅτι πάντα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ, μετὰ τῆς ὁσιάς τοὺς θεοὺς προσαγόμενα τὴν ἱσθν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἐστερημένη δὲ τῆς ὁσιάς οὐχ ἐκατόμβη μᾶθεοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χιλιόμβη ἀνάλωμα μόνον ἔστιν, ἀλλο δὲ 214 οὐδέν; ὅπερ οἷς γιγνώσκων ὁ Κράτης αὐτὸς τε διὰ μόνης ἢ εἰχεν ὁσιάς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐτίμα σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκε μὴ τὰ δαπανήματα τῆς ὁσιάς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁσιάν ἐκείνων προτιμάν ἐν ταῖς ἁγιστείαις. τοιούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε τόδε γενομένῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀκροατήρια συνεκροτεῖτιν ¹ οὐδὲ ὁσπερ οἱ σοφοὶ δὲ εἰκόνων καὶ μῦθον τοῖς φίλοις συνεγγυνέσθην ² λέγεται γὰρ ὑπ’ Εὐριπίδου καλῶς

Ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀλήθειας ἐφυσκιαγραφίας γὰρ φησὶ τὸν ψευδή καὶ ἀδικον δεῖσθαι. τὸς οὖν ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῖς τῆς συνουσίας ἐγίνετο; τῶν λόγων ὡγεῖτο τὰ ἔργα, καὶ οἱ τὴν πενίαν τιμῶντες αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι φαίνονται ³ καὶ τῶν πατρίων χρημάτων ὑπεριδόντες, οἱ τὴν ἄτυφιαν ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτοι τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἡσκοῦν διὰ πάντων, οἱ τὸ τραγικὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑξαιροῦντες βίων οἷκων αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τὰς ἁγοράς ἢ τὰ τῶν θεῶν τεμένη, τῇ τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ῥημάτων διὰ τῶν ἑργῶν ἐπολέμουν, ἑργοὶς ἐλέγχοντες, οὐ λόγω βοῶντες, ὅτι τὸ Διὸ συμβασιλεύειν ἐξεστὶν οὐδενὸς ἢ σμικρῶν πάνιν

¹ συνεκροτεῖτιν Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεκροτεῖτον MSS.
² συνεγγυνέσθη Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεγγυνεσθον MSS.
³ φαϊνονται Hertlein suggests, ἐφαίνοντο MSS.

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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

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

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

\(^3\) *Phoenissae* 472.
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deómenon oude parenvoxloumenon upo tou somatos, epitimion de tois amartanosin, hnikas ezon oi ptaııantes, ouk apothanontas elasphimous, hnikas D kai toin exbrun oi metrioteroi stenountai tois aptelousin. echei de o ge alithinos kwn exbrun oudena, kai to sornat ion autou tis patazei, kai ton unoma perielen, kai loidoretai kai elasphimh, didi to mev ths exbras ginetai proı antipalou, to de uperbaion then proı eteron amillan einoia timasaith filiei kai tis 215 eteron exh proı auton, kathaper oimi polloi proı toues theous, ekeinoi mev ouk estin exbrros, oude yar elasberos, autos de autou barutaton epitihes1 thymha tihn tou kreettonous agnoiai erimhos leipetai ths ekeinou prostatias.

'Alli ei mev vun moi prokeito peri Kuvissou grafei, eipon an uper tou tou eti ta paristamenaa B moi tou eirhmenon isos ouk elattow vun de apodidoutes to syneches tih proairesi peri tou toto pou einai xrho tou plattomeneus tou mou thon efexhs skopomeven. isos de hgeitai kai tauntis tihn egekhresos ekein, opoia tini filosofhia prosikhon i muugraphia. faioynetai yar polloi kai tou filosofwn autou kai tou theolagon pouhsantes, osopep 'Orfeis mev o palaitatatos elvtheis filosofhhas, ouk olignoi de kai tou mel ekeiwn ouv mou alla kai Elefufoi faioynetai kai 'Antiothe-C vhs kai Platon prosxhriasmemoi pollhchoi tis mydois, oso hmin pehney, eia kai m hyster Kuvikos, filosofh goyn tini proshekies h muugraphia.

1 epitihes Hertlein suggests, epitihes 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 ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἶτε μορίων εἶτε ὄργανων προφητευόν. 1 ἔστι γὰρ οὐ μέγα τὸ διαφέρον ὅποτέρως ἂν τις τὰ πρακτικὰ 2 καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὸ λογικὸν προσαρθημένα ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ὁμοίως φαίνεται κατὰ ἀμφότερα. τριῶν δὴ τούτων αὕθες ἐκαστὸν εἰς τρία τέμνεται, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τρίτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν γυνομένων καὶ ἀπολλυμένων καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων μέν, σωμάτων δὲ ὅμως θεωριάν, τί τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸς καὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία ἐκαστὸν τοῦ πρακτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕνα ἄνδρα, θηλικὸν, οἰκονομικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ μίαν οἰκίαν, πολιτικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ πόλιν· ἐτί μέντοι τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀποδεικτικὸν διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων βιαστικὸν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν 216 φαινομένων ἐνδόξων παραλογιστικὸν. ὄντων δὴ τοσοῦτων τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν, εἰ μὴ τί με λέληθε· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστῶν ἄνδρα στρατιώτην μὴ λιαν ἐξακριβῶν μηδὲ ἐξουσιάζων τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἄτε οὐκ ἐκ βιβλίων ἀσκήσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προστυχοῦσης αὐτὰ ἑξεῖσθαι ἀποφθέγγομεν· ἔσεσθε γοῦν μου καὶ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, εἰ τὰς ἡμέρας λογισαίσθε, 3 πόσαι τινὲς εἰσίν αἱ μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἐναγχος ἡμῖν γενομένης ἁκροάσεως ὅσων τε ἡμῖν ἀσχολῶν πλήρεις· ἀλλ’, ὅπερ ἐφη, εἰ καὶ Β τι παραλέπειται παρ’ ἐμοῦ· καίτοι νομίζω γε μηδὲν ἐνδείκνυμι· πλὴν ὁ προστιθέεις οὐκ ἔχθρός, ἀλλὰ φίλος ἐσται.

1 προφητευόν Reiske, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 τὰ πρακτικὰ Hertlein suggests, τὰ τε ἡθικὰ MSS.
3 λογισαῖσθε Cobet, λογισαῖσθε 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 ῥήματος, μόνον δὲ, εἰπέρ ἄρα, τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τῷ πρὸς ἔνα γινομένῳ καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ τῷ τελεστικῷ καὶ μυστικῷ: φιλεῖ γὰρ θ' ή φύσις κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀποκεκρυμένου τῆς τῶν θεων οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνοῖς εἰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοᾶς ῥήμασιν. οπέρ δὲ δὴ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἡ ἀπόρρητος φύσις ὄφελει πέφυκε καὶ ἀγνοομένη: θεραπεύει γοῦν οὐ ψυχάς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματα, καὶ θεῶν ποιεῖ παρουσίας· τοῦτ' οίμαι πολλάκις γέγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν μύθων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοᾶς οὐ Δ ἀνυπαρθένας τὰ θεῖα καθαρῶς δεξασθαι δι' αἰνιγμάτων αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς μύθων σκηνοποιίας ἐγχένται.

Φανεροῦ δὲ ἦδη γενομένου τῶν καὶ ποιῶν φιλοσοφίας εἰδεί καὶ μυθογραφεῖν οὐδ' ἢπερ προσήκει· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυρεῖ τούτων ἡ τῶν προλαβόντων ἀνδρῶν προαίρεσις. ἔπει καὶ Πλάτωνι πολλὰ μεμυθολόγηται περὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδου πραγμάτων θεολογοῦντι καὶ πρὸ γε τούτῳ τῷ τῆς Καλλιόπης, Ἀντισθένει δὲ καὶ Ἑνοφώντι 217 καὶ αὐτῷ Πλάτωνι πραγματευομένοις ἡθικάς τινας ὑποθέσεις οὐ παρέργος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ἐμμελείας ἡ τῶν μύθων ἐγκαταμεμφέται γραφή, οὔς σ᾽ ἔχρην, εἰπερ ἑβούλου, μμούμενον ἀντὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέους μεταλαμβάνειν Περσέως ἡ Θησέως

1 τοῦ φυσικοῦ τῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ φυσικῷ οὔτε MSS.
2 σ᾽ ἔχρην Hertlein suggests, ἔχρην 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\(^2\) 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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tivòs ónoma kai tòv 'Antisthéneión tîpou èghxarát-
tein, ánti dé tìs Prodikou skhnopoiías ámfì tòv
ámfow toútou theóin ètèran ómòian eiságew eìs B
 tô théatròv.

'Estev dè kai tòv telenstikôn múðwv èpemvá-
sthn, fère vûn ópooious èivai xhrá tòu èkatérw
tòv meròwv ármòttontas áu'tow ka'b' èautoùs ìdeíw
peiradòmew, úukèti mártýrwn palaïwv èn pàsì
großeìmenoi, èptòmenoi dè néow èkheivì ánndòs, òn
ègò méta toús theóus ès ÿíshs 'Aristotéleì kai
Plátowv àgamaì te téthia te. fheòi dè ouì C
úsper pàntwv óutos, èllì úspèr tòw telenstikôn,
oud parèdókon èmìv 'Orphèvs ò tás ágmáta
telestas katasthsámenos. tô gàr èn toís múðwos
ápemfáion au'tò toútò ðroodopoièi pròs tìn
álhèies. òssh gàr màllwv parádaxèon èstì kai
teratádes tò aìnvìma, tòsoútw màllwv èoike
diámmartúresthai, ùh toís au'tóthen légoménois
pistteùvein, èllà tà lelèthota periergházešhai kai
ùh pròteron àfístassthai, pròn òn ùpò theòs ìggê-
mòsìn èkfanì genvómena tòù èn èmìw telenhs, màll-
lon dè telenwsh vouì kai eì dhî, ti kreetòw èmìw
ùpárxhe toù vouì, au'tòu toû ènòs kai tágathov moîrà
tis òlígh tò pàn àmerístowùs èxousa, òhìs pùchhs
plèromà kai èn tò ènì kai àgathì sùnèxousa
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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, in treating of those two gods 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; 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 one 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. 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.
4 Iamblichus; cf. Oration 4. 157 D.
5 Cf. Oration 5. 170.
πάσαν αυτὴν διὰ τῆς ύπερεχούσης καὶ χωριστῆς αυτοῦ καὶ ἐξηγημένης παρουσίας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ἐπήλθε· μοι βασκέυοντι μανῆναί τὸν βοῶν δὲ ἐπιτίθημι τῇ γλώττῃ ἑπὶ τῶν ἄρρητων γὰρ οὐδὲν χρὴ λέγειν. ἀλλὰ μοι θεοὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ὑμῶν δὲ τοὺς πολλοῖς, ὥσοι τέως ἐστὲ τούτων ἀμήτου, τὴν ὀνήσιν δοίεν.

Τπέρ δὲ ὁν ἐπτεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι θέμας καὶ ἀνεμέσητον ἀμφότεροι ἐστὶ, πᾶς λόγος ὁ προφερόμενος ἐκ τε λέξεως καὶ διανοίας σύγκειται. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ μύθος λόγος τίς ἐστιν, ἐκ δυοῦν τούτων συγκείσεται. σκο-πῶμεν δὲ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν. ἐστιν ἀπλὴ τις ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ διάνοια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα προάγεται, τὰ παραδείγματα δὲ ἀμφότεροι ἐστὶ πολλά. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖται ποικιλίας, τὸ δ’ ἐσχηματισμένον ἔχει διά-φορας ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλάς, ὅπως, εἰ τί σοι τῆς ρητο-ρικῆς ἐμέλησεν, οὐκ ἄξιονες εἰ. τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν σχημάτων ἀρμόττει τῷ μύθῳ τὰ πλείστα: πλὴν ἐμοίγε οὐθ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν οὐθ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τὰ γε νῦν ῥητέου, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ δυοῦ, τοῦ τε σεμνοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τοῦ ἀπεμφαίοντος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ Σ τὴν λέξιν γίνεται. μορφοῦται γὰρ πως καὶ σχῆ-ματιζεται παρὰ τῶν μὴ προφερομένων εἰκῇ μῆδ’ ὁσπερ χειμάρρους ἐλκόντων συρφετοὺς ρημάτων ἐκ τῆς τριόδου. ἀλλὰ τοῖν δυοῦν τούτων, ὅταν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν θείων πλάττωμεν, σεμνὰ χρὴ πάνυ
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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; and now I set an ox on my tongue: 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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tà ρήματα εἶναι καὶ τὴν λέξιν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ καλὴν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πρεπωδεστᾶτην, τῶν αἰσχρῶν δὲ μηδὲν καὶ βλασφήμων ἡ Δυσσεβῶν, ὅπως μὴ τῷ πλήθει τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγοῖ θρασύτητος γενόμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεούς ἱσεβηκέναι προλάβωμεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπεμφαίνον εἶναι χρῆ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας λέξεις, ἀλλὰ σεμνὰ πάντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρέπη καὶ θεία καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας εἰς δύναμιν ἐστοχασμένα: τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαίνον τοῦ χρησίμου γυγνόμενον χάριν ἐγκριτέον, ὡς ἂν μὴ τίνος ὑπομνήσεως ἐξοθεν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ δέομενοι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λανθάνον μῶσθαι καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὑφ’ ἤγερμός τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμηθεῖν. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἔγγυεν πολλῶν ἦκουσα λεγόντων ἀνθρωπον μὲν τὸν Δίονυσον, ἐπείπερ ἐκ Σεμέλης ἐγένετο, θεον δὲ διὰ θεουργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς, ὡσπερ τὸν Β δεσπότην Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς τὸν Ἐλμυτον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνὰχθαι τοῦ Διός. ἀλλ’ ὡς τάν, εἶπον, οὗ ἐνυπέτο τοῦ μῦθου φανεροῦ αἰνυττομένου. τοῦ γὰρ ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶν ὡσπερ Ἡρακλέους, οὐτω δὴ 1 καὶ Διονύσου, ἔχουσα μὲν τὸ κρείττον καὶ ὑπερέχον καὶ ἐξηρμενέου, ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ δὲ ὀμῶς ἐτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως μένουσα καὶ ποις ἀφομοιουμένη πρὸς ἡμᾶς; Ἡρακλῆς δὲ λέγεται παιδίου γενόσθαι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα τὸ θείου ἐπιδοῦναι, καὶ

1 δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
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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.
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φοιτήσαι διδασκάλοις ἱστόρηται, καὶ στρατεύσα
thai λέγεται καὶ κρατήσαι πάντων, καμείν δὲ ὁ
μως κατὰ τὸ σῶμα. καίτοι αὐτῷ ταύτα μὲν ὑπήρξε, μειζόνως δὲ ἡ κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπουν. Ὁτε γὰρ ἐν
tοῖς σπαργάνοις ἀποτυφύγων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ
πρὸς αὐτὰ παραταττόμενος τὰ τῆς φύσεως
ςτοιχεία, θάλπη καὶ κρυμών, εἰτα τοῖς ἀπορωτά-
tοις καὶ ἀμαχωτάτοις, ἐνδείᾳ λέγω τροφῆς καὶ
ἐρημία, καὶ τήν δὲ αὐτοῦ πορείαν οἶμαι τοῦ
πελάγους ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς κύλικος, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω
μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ κύλικα εἶναι, βαδίσαι δὲ
αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης νεόμικα.
τὶ γὰρ ἀπορον ἢν Ἦρακλεί; τὶ δ’ ὅν πηκούσεν
αὐτοῦ τῷ θείῳ καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ σώματι, τῶν
λεγομένων τουτῶν στοιχείων δουλεύοντων αὐτοῦ
τῇ δημιουργικῇ καὶ τελεσίουργῇ τοῦ ἀχράντου
καὶ καθαροῦ νοῦ δυνάμει; ὃν ὁ μέγας Ζεύς διὰ
tῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιστήσας αὐτῷ φύλακα
τὴν θεοῦ ταύτην, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου προέμενος αὐτοῦ,2
τῷ κόσμῳ σωτῆρα ἐφύτευσεν, εἰτ ἐπαινήγαγε διὰ
tοῦ κεραυνίου πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὕπο τῷ θείῳ
συνθήματι τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς ἥκειν παρ’ ἑαυτὸν
τῷ παιδὶ κελεύσας. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐμοὶ
tε καὶ ύμῖν ἔλεως Ἦρακλῆς εἰς.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς Διονύσου θρυλουμένης μὲν γενέσεως,
οὕσης δὲ οὐ γενέσεως, ἀλλὰ δαίμονια ἐκφάνσεως Β
κατὰ τί τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς προσέοικεν; ἦ μὴνρ

1 κατὰ Cobet, καὶ Hertlein, MSS.
2 Cf. Oration 4. 149 ν,
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.
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αὐτοῦ κύουσα, φασίν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἡρας ξηλοτυποῦσ᾿ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα τῶν ἑραστήν ἐξελιπάρησεν ἥκειν, ὡς παρὰ τὴν γαμετὴν εἰσθε φοιτάν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν· εῖτα οὐκ ἄνασχόμενον τὸ σωμάτιον τῶν κτυπημάτων 1 τοῦ Διὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ κατεφλέγετο. πάντων δ᾿ ὀμοῦ πυρωμένων, Ἐρμῆς κελεύσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρπάσαι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τεμὼν τῶν αὐτοῦ μηρὸν ἔρράπτει· εἶτα ἐκείθεν, ἥνικα ἐτελεσφορῆθη τὸ βρέφος, ἀδίνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Κυνομερας ἔρχεται· τὸ Δώδε ῥάμμα δὲ αὐταῖ τῷ μηρῷ προσεπάδουσαι τῶν διδύραμβον ἥμιν εἰς φῶς προήγαγον· εἶτα ἐμάνη, φασίν, ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἡρας, ἔπαυσε δ` αὐτῷ τὴν νόσου ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν, δ` ἐὶ τὴν αὐτίκα θεὸς. εἴποντο γοῦν οὗ Δίκαις αὐτῷ καθάπερ Ἡρακλεὶ οὐδὲ Ἰδέως οὕδε Τέλαμῶν οὐδ"Τλας οὐδ" Ἀβδηρεσ, ἀλλὰ Σάτυροι καὶ Βακχαὶ καὶ Πάνες καὶ δαιμόνων στρατιά. Ὠρᾶς δόπως ἀνθρωπικὴ μὲν ἡ σπορὰ διὰ τῶν κεραυνῶν, ἡ δ` ἀποκύψις ἀνθρωπικοτέρα, ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῷ εἰρημένῳ προσομοιότερα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις τὰ ἔργα; τὰ οὖν οὗ καταβάλλοντες τῶν λόρου ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τούτων ἱσμεν, ὡς Σεμέλης σοφὴ τὰ θεῖα; παῖς γὰρ ἦν Κάδμου τοῦ Φοίνικος, τούτως δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ.

Πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὄδοις μακάρων ἐδάσαν λέγων. αἰσθέσθαι οὖν μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου 221 πρώτῃ παρ΄ Ἐλλησι καὶ τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπιφάνειαν

1 σωμάτων ἐν τῶν κτυπημάτων Friederich; Hertlein approves but would omit ἐν; δωμάτων ἐν τῶν κτυπημάτων Hertlein, MSS., τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν κτύπημα τῶν Reiske, ἐνσκήφαντος Arnoldt.
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.
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αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν προαγορεύσασα κινήσαι μὲν θάττον ἡ προσήκον ἢ τινά τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὀργῶν, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη τὸν εἰμαρμένον περιμεῖναι χρόνον, εἶτα ἀναλωθήναι πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ῥύεντος ἐπ' αὐτὴν. ἔπει δὲ ἐδέδοκτο τῷ Δίῳ κοινῆ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐνδοῦν ἄρχην καταστάσεως ἐτέρας καὶ μεταβαλεῖν¹ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ νομαδικοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἡμερώτερον, ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ Β. Δίονυσος αὐτοππος ἐφαίνετο δαίμων, ἐπιφοιτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἀγων μεθ' εαυτοῦ στρατιάν πολλὴν δαιμονίων τινῶν² καὶ διδοὺς ἀνθρώποις κοινῆ μὲν ἀπασι σύμβολον τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ἡμερίδος φυτὸν, ὡς ὦ μοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐξημερωθέντων αὐτοῖς τῷ περὶ τοῦ βίου, "Ελλήνες τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτὸ ταύτης ἄξιόνται, μητέρα δ' αὐτοῦ προσεπεῖν τὴν Σεμέλην διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῶντος αὐτὴν, ἅτε πρῶτην ἱερὸ-φαντίν τῆς ἔτη μελλούσης ἐπιφοιτησεσώς.

Οὕσης δὲ, ὡς ἂν τις ἀκριβῶς σκοπῶν ἔξετάσσει, τῆς ἱστορίας τοιαύτης, οἱ τὸν Δίονυσον ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ξητοῦτες τάληθες ἔχουν ως ἐφην εἰς μύθον διεσκεύασαν, αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν τε οὕσιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς νοστὶς παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ κύσιν καὶ τὸν ἀγένητον αὐτοῦ τόκου ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ³ . . . . ἐν τῷ παντὶ, καὶ τάλλα ἐφεξῆς ὅσα τοῦ ἦπείν ἡν ἄξια,⁴ φράζειν δὲ γ' οὐ ράδια ἐμοὶ,
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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;¹ 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.² . . . in the whole universe, and in their proper order all those other facts which are well worth

¹ ἰμερής = the vine; ἱμερός = gentle.
² Here follows a lacuna of several words.
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tuχὸν μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ἐτι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ Δ ἀκριβές, tuχὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοντι τὸν κρύφιον ἀμα καὶ φανερὸν θεῖον ὡςπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ προβάλλειν ἀκοαῖς ἀνεξετάστοις καὶ διανοίας ἐπὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τετραμμέναις.

'Αλλ' ύπερ μὲν τούτων ἵστω Δίονυσος αὐτός, ὃ καὶ προσεύχομαι τάς τε ἐμᾶς καὶ τάς ὑμετέρας ἐκβασκεύσαι φρένας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθή τῶν θεῶν γνώσιν, ὡς ἂν μὴ πολὺν ἀβάκχευτοι χρόνον τῷ θεῷ μένοντες ὅποσα ὁ Πενθεύς πάθωμεν, ἴσως 222 μὲν καὶ ξώντες, πάντως δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ σώματος. ὁτῷ γὰρ ἂν ἡ το πεπληθυσμένον τῆς ζωῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνοείδους καὶ ἐν τῷ μεριστῷ παντελῶς ἀδιαιρέτου ὅλης τε ἐν πάσιν ἀμμυγοὺς προὐπαρχοῦσης οὐσίας τοῦ Διονύσου τελεσιουργηθη 3 διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐθέου βακχείας, τούτῳ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πολλὰ ῥυὴνει τῆς ζωῆς, ῥυείσαι δὲ διεστάσθαι καὶ διαστασθέσαι οὔχεσθαι τὸ δὲ ῥυείσαι καὶ διαστασθέσαι μὴ προσέχων τις τοῖς ρήμασιν ὑδάτιον μηδὲ λίνων μήρινθον ἀκροάσθω, ξυνείτω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα τρόπουν ἄλλον, ἢν Πλάτων, ἢν Πλωτίνος, ἢν Πορφύριος, ἢν ὁ δαιμόνιος Ἰάμβλιχος. ὅσδ' ἂν μὴ ταύτῃ ποιῆ, γελάσεται μὲν, ἵστω μέντοι

1 Πενθεύς ἔπαθε MSS. ; Hertlein would omit ἔπαθε.
2 ὃν Hertlein would add.
3 τελεσιουργηθη Hertlein suggests, τελεσιουργηθεὶ MSS.

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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.
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Σαρδώνιον γελῶν ἔρημος ὅν ἂν τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώσεως, ἦς ἀντάξιον οὔδε τὸ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτροπεύεσαι τὴν βαρβάρων Σ ἔγαγε θείμην ἃν, οὗ μᾶ τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην Ἡλίου, ἀλλὰ μὲ πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡστὶς θεῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐβάκχευσεν οὐ προελόμενον.

Οὐ δὲ ἐνεκεν ἐφην αὐτά: κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαίνοντες ὅταν οἱ μῦθοι γίγνονται περὶ τῶν θείων, αὐτόθεν ἡμῖν ὡσπερ βοῶσι καὶ διαμαρτύρονται μὴ πιστεύειν ἄπλως, ἀλλὰ τὸ λέληθος σκοτεῖν καὶ διερευνάσθαι. τοσοῦτῳ δ᾽ ἐστὶν κρεῖττον ἐν τούτοις τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἀπεμφαίων, ὡς δὲ μὲν ἐκεῖνον καλοὺς λαοῦς καὶ μεγάλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὅμως τοὺς θεοὺς Δ κίνδυνος νομίσαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπεμφαίωντων ὑπεριδόντας τῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λεγομένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξηρμηνεύην αὐτῶν ουσίαν καὶ ὑπέρεχουσαν πάντα τὰ ὅντα καθαρὰν νόησιν ἔλπις ἀναδραμεῖν.

Ἀλλαὶ μὲν οὖν αὐταὶ τοῦ τῆς τελεστικῆς καὶ 223 μυσταγγώνοι τοιοῦτοι πιστοὶ μᾶλλον εὐαγγὴ καὶ σεμνὰ προφέροντε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀλλοιστέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν τοιούτων. ὃ δὲ τῇς τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπανορθώσεως ἐνεκα τοὺς λόγους πλάττον καὶ μύθους παράγων δράτω ὁ τούτῳ μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παῖδας

1 δράτω τούτῳ Hertlein suggests, πρᾶτον τῷ MSS.
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Sardonic laugh,¹ 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.

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ητοι καθ' ἡλικίαιν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν, πάντως δὲ τῶν
λόγων τούτων δεομένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς σοι
παίδες ἐφάνημεν εἴτε ἔγω εἴτε Ἀνατόλιος οὕτοςι, Β
συγκαταρίθμην δὲ τούτω καὶ τὸν Μεμμόριον καὶ
tὸν Σαλουστίον, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ
tοὺς ἄλλους ἔξης, Ἀντικύρας σοι δεῖ· τί γὰρ ἂν
ἀκκίζοιτό τις; ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
tοῦ μύθου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ κοινῆ πάντων βασιλέως
'Ηλίου, τί σοι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν πεποίηται ἔργον;
tίνι παρέστης ἀγωνιζομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου; τίνα
ἐθεράπευσας πενθοῦντα, τῷ λόγῳ διδάξας, ὅτι C
µὴ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μῆτε τῷ παθῶντι μῆτε τοῖς
οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ; τίς δ' αἰτιάσεται σε τῆς ἔαυτοῦ
µειρακίσκος σοφροσύνης, ὅτι πεποίηκας αὐτὸν
ἐξ ἀσῶτου σώφρονα καὶ καλὸν οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνου,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν φαινοθαί; τίνα
dὲ ἄσκησιν ἐποιήσω τοῦ βίου; τί δὲ σοι ἄξιον
τῆς Διογένους βακτηρίας ἢ ναὶ µὰ Δία τῆς
παρρησίας πεποίηται; ἔργον οἰεὶ µέγα βακτηρίαν
λαβεῖν ἢ τρίχας ἀνείναι, καὶ περινοστεῖν τὰς D
πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ τοὺς µὲν βελτίσ-
tοις λοιδορεῖσας, τοὺς δὲ χειρίστους θεραπεύειν;
εἰπὲ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ πρὸς τούτων τῶν ἀκρω-
μένων, οὔ δὲ ὑμᾶς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκτρέπονται,
ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς µὲν τὸν µακαρίτην Κωνστάντιον
εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἥλθες, οὐκέτι µέντοι καὶ µέχρι τῶν
Γαλλῶν; καίτοι πορευθέντες πρὸς ἡµᾶς, εἰ µηδὲν
ἄλλο, ἐξυπνάει γοῦν σοι τῆς φωνῆς µᾶλλον

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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. 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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dynaméon phlogiázein émellees anbropoú. tì de 224
cal to perifoníaan pantachou kai parék晨ν πρά-
γματα taíz hmiónois; ákoúo de éγoγε kai tois
tas hmiúones élaýnousin, oí málloν umás h tois
stratióttas pefríkasi: xhrízthai gar autois tois
xúlois ἃ ákoúo tivnas umów xalepóstεron h tois
xiβεσεν ékeívou. gýnyeste othn autois éικótwos
foβeróstεron. pálai meν othn umás éθémen enw
toto to ónoma, nuni de auto éouka kai gráfev. B
apotaktísθas tivnas ónomaζουσιν oí duvsebes
Galiλaioi: toúnto oí pleious mikra pròmevnoi
polla páνu, mállon de tì pànta pantachóthe
xugkomízoun, kai pròske étuθai
doruforéσθαι kai theraπénθσθαι. toιουτόν
τι kai το υμέτερον ἔργον ἐστί, πλῆν ἰσως τον
χριματίζεσθαι. τοτό de oth par' umás gýnyetai,
par' hmiás de συνετώτεροι γάρ ἐσμεν τῶν ἀνοήτων
ékeínou. ἰσως de kai diā to méthεν umín einai prò-
σχημα τοῦ φορολογεῖν εὐπροσώπως, ὅποιον C
ékeínou, ἴνa λέγουσιν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ἐλεμονυσθην,
tà d' álla ge pánta ἐστίν umín te kákeínous
paraplῆσθ. καταλελοίπατε τὴν πατρίδα ὁσπερ
ékeíνοι, περιφοιτάτε pàntη kai tò stratò-
pedon diwχλισατε mállon ékeíνων kai ἰταμω-
terou oí men γάρ καλούμενοι, ύμεις de kai
ἀπελανυνόμενοι. kai tì xchristou eκ tòuτων umín
ēγένετο, mállon de kai hmiás tois álllois; ἀνήλ-
θεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, εἶτα ὁ Σερνιανός, εἶτα ὁ
Χύτρων, εἶτα οὖκ οἶδα παιδάριον δ', τι ξανθῶν kai
eύμηκες, εἶτα σ', kai meβ' umōν állloì diò tosoútoī.

1 tois xúlois Hertlein would add; Naber suggests βάπτροις.
2 pròske éntai Hertlein suggests, προσήν οἶμαι MSS.
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 nick-name and now I think I will write it down. It is "monks," 1 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 ὑμετέρας ἀνόδου γέγονεν ἀγαθόν, ὅ λῦστοι; τίς ἥσθετο πόλις ἢ τίς ιδιότης τῆς ὑμετέρας παρρησίας; οὐκ ἀφρόνοις μὲν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴλεσθε τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς θέλουτα βασιλεά πορείαν, ἀνελθόντες δὲ ἀφρονέστερον αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμαθέστερον καὶ μανιωδέστερον ἔχρησασθε, κολακεύσαντες ἃμα καὶ ὑλακτήσαντες καὶ βιβλία δόντες καὶ ταύτα προσαχθήναι 1 προσ- 225 λυπαρήσαντες; οὐδένα ὑμῶν οἶμαι ἐγώ τοσαυτάκις εἰς φιλοσοφοῦ φοιτήσαι, ὦσάκις εἰς ἀντιγραφέως, ὥστε ὑμῖν Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ Λύκειον ἀντὶ τῆς Ποικίλης τε ἢ τῶν βασιλείων τὰ πρόθυρα.

Οὐκ ἀπάξετε ταῦτα; οὐ καταβαλεῖτε νῦν γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ὅτε ὑμῖν οὐδέν ἐστι πλέον ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης καὶ τῆς Βακτερίας; πῶς δὲ καὶ γέγονεν υφ᾿ ὑμῶν εὐκαταφρόνητος ἡ φιλο- σοφία; τῶν ῥητορικῶν οἱ δυσμαθέστατοι καὶ οὐδέ Β ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἔρμον τὴν γλώτταν ἐκκαθαρθῆναι δυνάμενοι, φρενωθήναι δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς σὺν τῷ Ἔρμῃ, τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀγοραίοι καὶ περιτρεχόνης ἠρπάζαντες ἐντρεχέλας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν παροιμίᾳ περιφερόμενον αὐτὸ γεγυώσκουσιν ὅτι βότρυς πρὸς βότρυν πεπαίνεται· ὀρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Κυνισμὸν Βακτη- ρία, τρίβων, κόμης, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀμαθία, θράσος, C ἱταμότης καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὴν σύντομον, φασίν, ὀδὸν καὶ σύντομον 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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ἀρετήν ἴέναι ὁφελον καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν μακρὰν ἐπορεύεσθε· ῥάον ἕν δὲ ἐκεῖνης ἢ διὰ ταύτης ἤλθετε. οὐκ ἵστε, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχουσιν αἱ σύντομοι τὰς χαλεπότητας; καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς λεωφόροις ὁ μὲν τὴν σύντομον ἐλθεὶν ὑμνηθεὶς ῥάον ἐκπερείσθη ὧ τὴν κύκλῳ, οὐκέτι μεντοί τὸ ἀνάπαλιν ὁ κύκλῳ πορευθεὶς ἠλθοί ἐν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐπότομον, οὕτω δὴ ἡ καὶ ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τέλος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἁρχῇ μία γνώμαι τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀφοµοιωθήσαται τοῖς θεοῖς· ἁρχῇ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν γνώμαι, τέλος, δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας ὁμοιότης.

"Ὅστις οὖν Κυνικὸς εἶναι ἐθέλει,—πάντων ὑπεριδῶν τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοξῶν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέστραπται πρότερον· ἐκεῖνο τὸ χρυσὸν οὐκ ἐστὶ χρυσόν, οὐχ ἡ ψάμμος ψάμμος, εἰ πρὸς ἁμοιβὴν τὴν αὐτὰ ἐξετάζοι καὶ τὴς ἀξίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψει ἀυτῷ τιμητὴ γενέσθαι· γὰρ γὰρ αὐτὰ οἶδεν 226 ἀμφότερα. τὸ σπανιώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ῥάον ἀνθρώπων εἰναι κενοδοξίας ταῦτα καὶ ἁμαθίας νενόμικεν ἔργα· τὸ αἰσχρὸν ὠς καλὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἐπανομομένοις ἡ ψευδομένοις τίθεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ φύσει· φεύγει τάς περιττὰς τροφὰς· ἀποστρέφεται δὲ τὰ ἀφροδίσια. βιαζομένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ δόξη προστέθηκεν οὐδὲ περιμένει τὸν μάγειρον καὶ τὰ ὑποτρίμματα καὶ τὴν κνίσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν Φρύνην οὐδὲ τὴν Λαίδα οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ δείνος 3 περιβλέπεταν γαμητήν οὐδὲ τὸ θυγάτριον Β οὐδὲ τὴν θεράπαιναν· ἀλλ' ὡς εἰν μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν

1 ίέναι Cobet, πορευόμεθα Hertlein suggests, lacuna V.
2 ὡς Cobet, ἐκ Hertlein, MSS.
3 τοῦ δείνος Cobet, τοῦ δὲ 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 ἀποπλήσας τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρωσάμενος, ἀνώθεν ἐκ τῆς Ὄλυμπου κορυφῆς ἐπιβλέπει τοὺς ἄλλους.

"Ἀτης ἐν λειμῶνι κατὰ σκότον ἥλακοντας,
ὑπὲρ ὅλων παυτάπασιν ἀπολαύσων ὑπομένοντας ὡσα οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν Κωκυτόν καὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θρυλοῦσιν οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ σύντομος ὡδὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ. δεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄθροῶς Ο ἐκστήναι ἐαυτὸν καὶ γυνώναι, ὅτι θεῖος ἐστί, καὶ τὸν νοῦν μὲν τὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀτρύπτως καὶ ἀμετακινήτως συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ καθαροῖς νόμαις, ὀλυγώρειν δὲ πάντη τοῦ σώματος καὶ νομίζειν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον κοπρίων ἐκβλητότερον, ἐκ τοῦ βάστου δὲ αὐτοῖ ταῖς θεραπείαις ἀποπληροῦν, ἐὼς ἀν ὁ θεὸς ὦσπερ ὀργάνῳ τὸ σώματι χρήσθαι ἐπιτάττῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς φασί ταῦτη. ἓπανάξω δὲ ὡθεῖ ἔξεβην. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς μύθους προσήκει πρὸς παῖδας ἦτοι τῷ φρόνειν, καὶ ἀνδρεὶς ὅσιν, ἢ D καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἕλκιαν παιδαρίους ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἐξεταστέον ὡς μήτε εἰς θεοὺς μήτε εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλημμελεῖς ἢ, καθάπερ ἑναγχος, δυσσεβές τι ρηθείη καὶ προσεῖε τοῦτο ἐν ἀπασίν ἀκριβῶς βασανίστεον, εἰ πιθανός, εἰ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυῆς, εἰ μύθος ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ πλαττόμενος. ἐπεὶ τὸ γε νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένον οὐ μύθος ἐστὶ σῶς. 2 καίτοι τοῦτο γε ἐνεανιεύσω· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν μύθος ὡς φασί ταῦτη Cobet, cf. Oration 4. 148 b, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

1 ἵππος Hertlein suggests; σῶς, ἵππος MSS.

2 σῶς. Hertlein suggests; σῶς, ἵππος MSS.

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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

1 Empedocles, fr. 21, Diels.  2 Heracleitus, fr. 96, Diels.  3 Cf. Oration 4. 148 b.  4 223 A.
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ἐστι παλαιὸς, ἐφήμρωσας δὲ αὐτὸν σὺ πράγμασιν 227 ἑτέροις, ὥσπερ οἷμα ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ τῇ τροπικῇ χρώμενοι τῶν νομιμάτων κατασκευή· πολὺς δὲ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Παρίος ἔστι ποιητὴς. ἔσοικας οὖν οὐδὲ πεποιηκὼς μῦθον, ὦ ξυνετῶτατε, μάτην νεανιεῦσθαί· καίτοι τούτο τίθης ἔργον ἔστιν εὐτραπέλου. Πλουτάρχου δὲ εἰ τὰ μυθικὰ διηγήματα τῶν σῶν ἔσω χειρῶν ἀφίκτω, οὐκοῦτ' ἀν ἐλελήθη αὐτῷ τῇ τινι διαφέρει πλάσαι τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς μῦθον καὶ τὸν κείμενον ἐφαρμόσαι πράγμασιν οἰκείοις. ἀλλ' Ἡνα μὴ σὲ τὴν σύντομον ὀδεύοντα βίβλιος ἐμβαλὼν μακραῖς καὶ δυσελίκτως ἐπίσχοχ μικρὰ καὶ πεδῆσων σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Δημοσθένους ἀκήκοας μῦθον, ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ Παιανεύς πρὸς τοὺς Ἱληναίους, ἥνικα ὁ Μακεδών ἔξητει τοὺς Ἱληναίους ῥήτορας. ἔχρην οὖν τι τοιοῦτο πλάσαι· ἡ πρὸς τῶν θεών ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν μυθάριον τι τοιοῦτον; ἀναγκάσεις δὲ μὲ καὶ μνθοποιοῦν γενέσθαι.

Πλουσίῳ ἀνδρὶ πρόβατα ἦν πολλὰ καὶ ἀγέλαις βοῶν καὶ αἰτόλια πλατέ Αἰγῶν, ἵπποι δὲ αὐτῷ πολλάκις μυρίαι ἔλος κατὰ Βουκολέουτο, καὶ ποιμένες δοῦλοι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροὶ μισθωτοί, καὶ Βουκόλοι βοῶν καὶ Αἰγῶν αἰτόλιοι καὶ ἱπποφόρβοι τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πλείστα κτήματα. τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ πατὴρ ἀπελελοίπει, πολλαπλάσια δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεκτήσατο,1 πλουτεῖν θέλων

1 ἐπεκτήσατο Naber, ἐκτήσατο Hertlein, MSS.
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

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\(^1\) Archilochus.  
\(^2\) Constantine.  
\(^3\) \textit{Iliad} 2, 474.  
\(^4\) \textit{Iliad} 20, 221.
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ἐν δίκη τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην ἐμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν 1
θεῶν ὀλίγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ D
καὶ νεῖσις εἰς αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες, οἰς ἐκεῖνος
dιανείμας τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπειτα ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν
αὐτοὺς οἰκονομίας πέρι διδάξας, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἂν τις
dύνατο τὰ τοιαύτα κτάσθαι μὴ παρόντα ἢ πα-
ρόντα διαφυλάττειν. ἤστο γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας
ἀρκεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐ μᾶλα
ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοιαύτης τέχνης, ἀτε μὴ λόγῳ
προσεληφθῶς αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ συνήθεια τινὶ καὶ
πείρα μᾶλλον, ὃσπερ οἱ φαύλοι τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐκ
τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνον ἴσομενοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἤθεν
καὶ διαφεύγει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτοὺς.
ἀρκεῖν οὖν νομίσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νείσων πρὸς τὸ
φυλάξαι τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισεν ὅπως
ἐσονται σπουδαίοι. τὸ δὲ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἦρξε πρά-
tον μὲν τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἁδικημάτων. ἐπιθυμῶν
γὰρ ἐκαστὸς ὡσπερ ὁ πατὴρ πολλὰ ἐχειν καὶ
μόνος πάντα ἐπὶ τὸν πέλας ἐτράπετο. τέως μὲν B
οὐν τούτο ἐτράπτετο. προσατέλαυνον δὲ καὶ οἱ
ἐγγεγεινεῖς, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ παιδευθέντες καλῶς, τῆς
τῶν παῖδων ἀνοίας τε καὶ ἀμαθίας. εἶτα ἐπὶ-
μπλατο φόνων πάντα, καὶ ἡ τραγικὴ κατάρα ὑπὸ
tοῦ δαιμόνος εἰς ἐργον ἤγετο· τὰ πατρῴα γὰρ
θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ διελάγχαυν, καὶ ἦν πάντα ἀκοσμίας
πλήρῃ· πατρῴα μὲν ἰερὰ κατεσκάπτετο παρὰ τῶν
παῖδων ὀλυγωρηθέντα πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρῶς
καὶ ἀποσυληθέντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἀ 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.
pαρά πολλόν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ. καθαίρουμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνωκοδομείτο παλαιά καὶ νέα μνήματα, προαγορέυοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης, ὅτι ἄρα πολλῶν αὐτοῖς δεῖσθε μνημάτων οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον ἐμελε τῶν θεῶν.

Πάντων οὖν ὁμοίοι φυσικοὺς καὶ ξυντελουμένους γάμουν τε οὐ γάμων καὶ βεβηλουμένους ομοί τοῖς θείοις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τὸν Δία ἐλεός ὑπῆλθεν. Δέ εἶτα ἀπτιδῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἡλιοῦν ὦ παῖ, εἰπεν, οὖρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἀρχαιότερον ἐν θεοῖς βλάστημα, μνησικακείν ὑπὶ διανοή τῆς ὑπερφύσης ἀνδρὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τολμηρῷ, ὡς σε ἀπολίπτων αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει αἰτίου, ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων; ἢ νομίζεις, ὅτι μὴ χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἀνανακτεῖς μηδὲ ἕπι τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τούς οἴστους θήγεις, ἐλαττον εἰναι ταύτης αἰτίους αὐτῷ τῆς ἐμφορᾶς, ἔρημον αὐτοῦ τῆν οἰκίαν ἀφεῖς; ἄλλ', ἐφη, καλῶ-μεν τὰς Μοῖρας, εἰ τῇ βοηθητέοις ὁ ἀνήρ ἐστίν. αἱ δὲ ὑπήκουσαν αὐτίκα τῷ Διῗ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἡλιοῦς, ὅσπερ ἐννοῶν τι καὶ λογιζόμενος αὐτός ἐν ἐαυτῷ, προσέχειν εἰς τὸν Δία πῆξας τὸ ὀμματα. τῶν Μοῖρων δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη. Κωλύσον, ἐφη, ὁ πάτερ, ἡ Ὀσιότης ξύν τῇ ∆ίκῃ. σὸν οὖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ πέρ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσας ὑπεικαθεῖν αὐταῖς, Β πεῖσαι καὶ ἐκείνας. ἄλλ', ἐμαί γάρ εἰςω, ἐφη, θυγατέρῃς, καὶ ἄξιον δὴ ἔρεσθαι αὐτάς· τί τοίνυν,
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; ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν μὲν, εἰπέτην, ὁ πάτερ, αὐτὸς εἰ κύριος. σκόπει δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀνθρώ- 
ποις ὁ πονηρὸς οὔτοι τῆς ἀνοσιούργίας ξῆλος μὴ 
παντάπασιν ἐπικρατήσῃ.1 πρὸς ἀμφότερα, εἶπεν, 
ἐγὼ σκέφτομαι. καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι πλησίον παροῦσαι 
πάντα ἐπέκλεψον, ὡς ὁ πατήρ ἐβούλετο.

Δέχεται δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρχεῖαι πρὸς τὸν "Ἡλίον" τούτῳ 
τὸ παιδίον, ἔφη. ἔσχηκεν δὲ ἤν αὐτῶν ᾠρὰ παρεσ- 
ριμένον ποι καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἀδέλφιδος ἐκεῖνον 
τὸ πλουσίον καὶ ἀνεψίς τῶν κληρονόμων τοῦτο, 
ἔφη, σῶν ἐστὶν ἔκγονον. ὁμοσών οὖν τὸ ἐμὸν τε 
καὶ τὸ σὸν2 σκῆπτρον, ἡ μὴ ἐπιμεληθεσθαι δια- 
φερόντως αὐτὸ καὶ ποιμανεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ θερα- 
πεύσειν τῆς νόσου. ὅρας γὰρ ὅπως οἶνον ὑπὸ 
κατυγός ἔστη τὸ ἀναπέπλησται καὶ λεγώνοι, 
κάθυνος τε τὸ ὑπὸ σοῦ σπαρέν ἐν αὐτῷ πτῦρ ἀπο- 
σβήναι, ἦν μὴ σὺ γε δύσκαι ἄλκην. σοὶ δὲ ἔγὼ 
τὸ ἔσχηκεν καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι κόμιζε οὖν αὐτὸ καὶ 
τρέφε. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς "Ηλίος ἡν- 
φράνθη τε ἡσθεὶς τῷ βρέφει, σωζόμενον ἐτε καθο- 
ρῶν ἐν αὐτῷ στινθήρα μικρὸν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ 
ἐντεῦθεν ἐτρέφεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον, ἐξαγαγὼν

ἔκ θ’ αἴματος ἐκ τῆς κυδομοῦ

"Εκ τ’ ἀνδροκτασίης.

ὁ πατήρ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν ’Αθηνᾶν τὴν 
ἀμήτορα, τὴν παρθένου ἀμα τῇ Ἡλίῳ τὸ παιδά- 
ριον ἐκτρέφειν. ἔπει δὲ ἐτράφη καὶ νεανίᾶς ἔγέ- 
νετο

Πρώτον ὑπηνήτης, τοῦτος χαριεστάτη ἦβη,

1 ἐπικράτησε. Hertlein suggests, ἐπικράτηση MSS.
2 τὸ σὸν Hertlein suggests, σὸν MSS.
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.”¹ (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.² 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.”³ 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,”⁴ he learned

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κατανοήσας τῶν κακῶν τὸ πλήθος, ὅποιον τι περὶ
tous ἐνυγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἔγερνει, ἐδέση μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τάρταρον προέσθαι πρὸς
tὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς. ἔπει δὲ "Ηλιος Β ἐὑμενῆς ὅν μετὰ τῆς Προνοιας Ἀθηνᾶς ὕπνου τινὰ καὶ κάρον ἐμβαλὼν τῆς ἐπινοιας ταύτης ἀπῆγαγεν, αὐθίς ἀνεγερθεῖς ἀπεισὼν εἰς ἐρημίαν. εἰτα ἔκει
λίθον τινὰ εὐρῶν μικρὸν ἀνεπάσατο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσκοπε, τῶν τρόπων ἐκφεύξεται τῶν τοσοῦ-
tων κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος. ἥδη γὰρ αὐτὸ πάντα ἐφαίνετο μοχθηρά, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τέως. Κ Ἐρμῆς οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠσπερ ἡλικιωτῆς νεανίσκος φανεὶς ἡστα-
σατό τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ, Δεύριο, εἶπεν, ἤγεμον σοι ἐγὼ ἕσομαι λειτέρας καὶ ὁμαλεστέρας ὀδοὶ
tουτί τὸ μικρὸν ὑπερβάντι τὸ σκολιῶν καὶ ἀπό-
tομον χωρίον, οὗ πάντας ὅρασ προσπταίοντας καὶ ἀπίοντας ἐντεύθεν ὀπίσω. καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀπιῶν ὄχετο μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἔχων παρ’ ἑαυτῷ
ἔφος τε καὶ ἁστίδα καὶ δόρυ, γυμνὰ δὲ αὐτῷ
tέως ἦν τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. πεποιθός οὖν αὐτῷ
D προῆγεν εἰς τὸ πρόσω διὰ λείας ὀδοῦ καὶ ἀθρύπτουν
καθαρὰς τε πάνω καὶ καρποῖς βριθούσῃς ἀνθεί
τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὃσα ἐστὶ θεοὶ φίλα, καὶ
dενδρεῖ κιττοῦ καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρρίνης. ἅγιον
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι μέγα καὶ ψηλὸν ὄρος, Ἐπὶ
tούτου, ἐφι, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατήρ πάντων
κάθηται τῶν θεῶν. ὅρα ὅν τε ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὁ
μέγας κύνδυνος. ὅπως αὐτὸν ὃς εὐαγέστατα
προσκυνήσεις, αἰτήσῃ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ο, τι ἀν

1 λειτέρας, Klimek, 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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έθελησεν έλυον δέ, ὃ παῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα. ταῦτα 231 εἰπὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν Ἑρμῆς πάλιν. ὁ δὲ ἔβούλετο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πυθόμεθα, τί ποτε αἰτήσασθαί χρῆ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ πλησίον ὄντα ὑπὸ κατείδευ, Ἐνδείχθης μὲν, ἐφή, καλὴ δὲ ὀμοιώς ἦ τομβουλή, αἰτῶμεθα οὖν ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ περὶ οὕτω σαφῶς τὸν πατέρα τῶν θεῶν ὅρωντες. Ἡ Ζεύ πάτερ ἦ, τι σοι φίλον ὄνομα καὶ ὡς ὄνομάζεσθαι: δεῖκνυς μοι τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ φέρουσαν ὃδον ἀνώ. κρέατον γὰρ μοι τὰ ἐκεῖ Β φαίνεται χωρίᾳ παρὰ σὲ μαντευομένῳ τὸ παρὰ σοὶ κάλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις θεὸν τεπορεύμεθα τέως ἀγαλάξας.

Εὐξαμένῳ ταῦτα εἶτε ὑπὸ τις εἴτε ἐκατασίες ἐπῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ δείκνυσιν αὐτόν τὸν Ἡλιον. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ὑπὸ τῆς θέας, Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μέν, εἶπεν, ὃ θεῶν πάτερ, τῶν τὸ ἄλλον καὶ τούτων ἑνεκα πάντων ἐμαυτόν φέρων ἀναθῆσο. Ο περιβάλον ὁ δὲ τοῖς γόναις τοῦ Ἡλίου τὰς χεῖρας ἀπριξ εἰχέτο σώζειν ἑαυτὸν δεόμενος. ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκέλευς πρῶτον ἀνακρίνειν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκόμισεν ὤπλα. ἔπει δὲ ἐώρα τὴν τας ἀπόστικα καὶ τὸ ἔξος μετὰ τοῦ δόρατος, Ἀλλὰ τοῦ σοι, ἐφη, ὃ παῖ, τὸ Γοργόνειον καὶ τὸ κράνος; ὁ δὲ, Καὶ ταύτα, εἶπε, μόνος ἐκτησάμην οὔδεις γὰρ ἢν ὁ ἐμπυνοῦν ἐν τῇ τῶν συγγενῶν οἰκίᾳ παρερρυμένῳ. Ἡρεῖ οὖν, εἶπεν ὃ μέγας Ἡλίος, ὃς οτε 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 aegis 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

2 Literally “the Gorgon’s head,” which formed the centre of the aegis or breastplate of Athene; cf. 234 A.
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μὴ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε πάλιν, ἀλλὰ κατέχειν, ὡς οὐκέθ᾽ ύστερον ἐπανήξοντα, ἀπολούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐλπίδει αἰκρύσων, Ἄλλα νέος εἰ, ἐφη, καὶ ἀμύητος. ἦθεν οὖν παρ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἂν μνημείας ἁσφαλῶς τε ἐκεῖ διάγως· χρῆ γὰρ σ᾽ ἀπίεναι καὶ καθαίρειν ἐκεῖνα πάντα τὰ ἀσέβήματα, παρακαλεῖν δὲ ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος εἰστήκη σειτῆ. καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλίως ἐπὶ τινα σκοπινὰν ἀγαγόντων αὐτὸν, ἦς τὸ μὲν ἄνω φωτὸς ἣν πλῆρες, τὸ δὲ ὑποκάτω μυρίας ἁχλύσος, δι᾽ ἦς ὥστερ.δι᾽ ὑδατὸς ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς δικνεῖτο τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐγῆς Ἡλίου, Ὀρᾶς, εἰπὲ, τὸν ἀνεψιόν τὸν κληρονόμον; καὶ ὦ, Ὀρῶ, ἐφη. Τι δὲ; τοὺς βουκόλους τουτούς καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας; καὶ τούτους ὅραν εἰπὲν ὁ νεανίσκος. Ποταπὸς οὖν Β τίς σοι ὁ κληρονόμος φαίνεται; ποταπὸ ὃ αὐτὸ ὁι ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι; καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ὁ μὲν μοι, ἐφη, δοκεὶ νυστάξειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καταδυναμενοι1 λεληθῶτως ἠδυπαθεῖν, τῶν ποιμένων δέ ὀλίγοις ὅπνε ἐστὶ τὸ ἁστεῖον, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ μοχθηρὸν καὶ θηριῶδες. ἐσθίει γὰρ καὶ πιτράσκει τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἄδικει διττή τὸν δεσπότην. τὰ τε γὰρ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ φθείρει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἀποφέρων ἁμισθον εἶναι φησὶ καὶ ὀδύρεται. Ο καίτοι κρείττον ἂν τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπαίτεων ἐντελείς ἢ φθείρει τὴν ποίμνην. Ἄν οὖν, ἐφη, σὲ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταυτησὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιτάττων τοῦ

1 καταδυναμενοι 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.
Διός, ἀντὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τοῦτον πάντων ἐπιτροποῦν τοῦτον καταστήσω--; πάλιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ νεανίσκος ἀντείχετο καὶ πολλὰ ἰκέτευν αὐτοῦ μένειν. ὁ δὲ, Μη λιαν ἀπειθής ἐσο, φησί, μὴ ποτὲ

σ’ ἀπεχθήρω, ὡς ὑνὶν ἐκπαγῇ ἐφίλησα.

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, 'Αλλ', ὃ μέγιστε, εἶπεν, "Ὡς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, σὲ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν Δία, χρῆσθέ μοι πρὸς ὃ, τι βούλεσθε. πάλιν οὖν Δ ὁ Ἐρμής ἀφνων φανεῖς ἐποίησε τὸν νεανίσκον θαρραλεώτερον. ἥδη γὰρ διενείτο τῆς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πορείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείστε διατριβῆς ἑρηκέναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μάνδανε, ἐπεν, ὃ λῦστε, πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμὸν βλάστημα. τοῦτον, ἐφι, τὸν κληρονόμον οἱ βέλτιστοι μὲν οὐκ ἐυφραίνουσι τῶν ποιμένων, οἱ κόλακες δὲ καὶ οἱ μοχθηροὶ δούλον καὶ ὑποχείριον πεποίηται. συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ μὲν τὸν ἐπτεικῶν μὴ φιλεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων φιλεῖν1 εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικεῖσθαι. σκότει οὖν ὅπως ἐπανελθὼν μὴ πρὸ τοῦ φίλου θῆσει τὸν κόλακα. δευτέραν ἀκούειν μου παραίνεσιν, ὃ παλ. νυστάζων οὕτως ἐξαπατᾶται τὰ πολλά· οὖ δὲ νῆφε καὶ γρηγόρει, μὴ σε διὰ τῆς τοῦ φίλου παρρησίας ὁ κόλαξ ἐξαπατῆσαι λάθοι,2 χαλκεῦσιν οἶα τὶς γέμων καπνὸν καὶ μαρίλης, ἔχων ἰμάτιον λευκὸν καὶ τὰ βρόσωπα τὸ ψιμυθίῳ κεχρισμένος, εἰτα αὐτῷ δοίης ἡμᾶί τινα τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων, τρίτης ἐπάκονε μου παραίνεσεος, καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς φύλαττε σαυτόν, αἰδοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀνδρῶν

1 φιλεῖν Cobet, φιλῶν Hertlein, MSS.
2 λάθοι Hertlein suggests, λάθη MSS.
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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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dē ᾧστις ἡμῖν προσόμοιος ἔστιν, ἀλλον δὲ μηδένα. ὃρας ὅπως τοῦτον τὸν ἡλίθιον ἔβλαψεν αἰσχύνη καὶ τὸ λίαν ἁγαν εἶναι καταπλῆγα; Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος αὐθίς τὸν λόγον δια-δεξάμενος εἶπεν. Εἷλομενος φίλους ὡς φίλοις ὑπὲρ, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς οἰκέτας μηδὲ θεράτον ταῦτα νῷμεν, πρόσθε ὁτά τοὺς ἠλευθέρως τε καὶ ἀπλούστατα καὶ γενναῖους, μὴ λέγον μὲν ἄλλα, φρονῶν δὲ ἐτερα περὶ αὐτῶν. ὅρας ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν κληρονόμον τοῦτο ἐπέτρυφεν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀπίστια; φίλες τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς σέ. τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγεῖσθω σοι τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων; ἐσμέν γάρ σου καὶ ἐνεργεῖσαι καὶ φίλοι καὶ σωτῆρες. ἀκούσας ταύτα ὁ νεανίσκος διεχύθη καὶ δῆλος ἢν ἀπαντᾷ ἢδη τοῖς θεοῖς πειθόμενος. Ἄλλ' ἵνα, ἐφη, πορεύου μετὰ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος. ἡμεῖς γάρ σοι πανταχοῦ συνεσομέθα ἐγὼ τε καὶ Ἁθηνᾶ καὶ Ἐρμῆς ὦδε καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες οἳ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ ὅι περὶ τῶν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάν πανταχοῦ τὸ θεῖον γένος, ἔως ἂν τὰ τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅσιος ἦς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πιστὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους φιλάνθρωπος, ἀρχον αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγοῦ-μενος ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα; ἀλλὰ μήτε ταῖς σεαυτοῦ μήτε ταῖς ἑκείνων ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύων ὑπεικά-θης. ἐξών οὖν τὴν πανοπλίαν, ἢν ἐκόμισας πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀπίθανον προσλαβὼν ταύτην μὲν τὴν δάκτα παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα σοι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φῶς λάμπῃ μέγα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιποθής τῶν τῆς, ταυτῆς δὲ Ἁθηνᾶς τῆς καλῆς τὸ τε Γοργόνειον

1 ταῖς ἑκείνων Cobet, ἑκείνων 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, ὀρᾶς, ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, καὶ διδὼσιν ὑς ἀν ἑθέλῃ. δῶσει δὲ σοι καὶ Ἐρμῆς Β χρυσὴν ῥάβδον. ἔρχον οὖν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ κοσμη-θείς ταύτη διὰ πάσης μὲν γῆς, διὰ πάσης δὲ θαλάττης, ἀμετακινήτως τοῖς ἥμετέροις πειθόμενοι νόμοις, καὶ μηδεὶς σε μήτε ἀνδρῶν μήτε γυναικῶν, μήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν Ἕδων ἀναπείσῃ τῶν ἐντολῶν 1 ἐκλαθέσθαι τῶν ἥμετέρων. ἐμμένων γὰρ αὐταῖς ἡμῖν μὲν ἔσῃ φίλος καὶ τίμως, αἰδόιοι δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμῶν ὑπηρέταις, φοβεροὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπως πονηροὶ καὶ κακοδαίμονις. ὦσθι δὲ Σ σεαυτῷ τὰ σαρκία δεδόσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας ἑνεκα ταυτησί. Βουλόμεθα γὰρ σοι τὴν προ-γονικὴν οἰκίαν αἰδοὶ τῶν προγόνων ἀποκαθήραι, μέμνησό σου, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ἔχεις καὶ ἐκγονὸν ἥμετέραν, ἐπόμενος τε ἡμῖν -ὅτι θεὸς ἔσῃ καὶ τὸν ἥμετερον οὐχι σὺν ἡμῖν πατέρα.

Τοῦτο εἶτε μῦθος εἶτε ἀληθῆς ἐστὶ λόγος ὅπι οἶδα. τὸ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεποιημένον, τίνα βούλεις τὸν Πάνα, τίνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Δία, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, 2 ὁ ὅσ' ἐσμέν ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐγώ δὲ ὁ Πάν; ὁ τοῦ γελοίου Ψευδόπανος, γελοιοτέρου μέντοι νῆ τῶν Ἀσκληπίων τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Διὸς ἀνθρώπου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀτεχνῶς ἐκ μανιμένου 3 στόματος οὕτω τῇ ἐνθεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκπληκτοί μανίᾳ; οὐκ οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Σαλμωνεύς ἐδώκεις ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς δίκην, 23 ὅτι ἀνθρώπως ἢν ἐπεχείρει Ζεὺς εἶναι; τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁνομασάντων

1 τῶν ἐντολῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐντολῶν MSS.
2 τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, τοῦτο MSS.
3 μανιμένου Hertlein suggests, τοῦ μανιμένου 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? Do you not know that Salmoneus 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.
ΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΜΑΣΙΝ, ὩΡΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΩΣ, ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΝΙ ΑΚΗΚΟΑΣ, ΕΧΩ ΣΟΙ ΣΥΓΓΝΩΜΑ ΝΑΙ: ΟΥΔΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΑΙΔΟΤΡΙΒΗΘΗΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΤΥΧΕΣ ΚΑΘΗΓΕΜΩΝΟΣ, ΟΠΟΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΣ ΕΓΩ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ, ΜΕΘ ΔΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΘΥΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ ᾿ΗΛΘΟΝ ὩΠ' ΑΝΔΡΙ ΤΕΛΕΥΘΡΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ΌΥ ΝΕΝΟΜΙΚΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤ' ΕΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ. Β Ὅ ΔΕ ΜΕ ΠΡΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ἈΡΕΤΗΝ ἈΣΚΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ ἈΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΛΩΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ ἩΓΕΜΟΝΑΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝ.ΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΤΙ ΠΡΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΕΝ, ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΝ ΕΙΔΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΓΕ ΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΙ ΔΕ ΕΞΗΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΜΑΝΙΩΔΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΣΥ, ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΡΑΤΟ ΜΕ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ. ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΚΑΙΠΕΡ, ὩΣ ΟΙΣΘΑ, ΤΟΙΣ ΕΞΩΘΕΝ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΚΤΗΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΠΠΕΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΥΠΕΤΑΞΑ ΟΜΟΣ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΘΗΓΕΜΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ἩΛΙΚΙΩΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΦΟΙΝΗΤΑΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ἩΚΟΥΝ ἘΠΑΙΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΑΡ' ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΣΠΕΥΔΟΝ ΆΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΑΝΕΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΟΝ, ὈΠΟΣΑ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΕΙΕΝ.

ΟΥΤΩΣ ἩΜΕῖΣ ὩΦ' ἩΓΕΜΟΣΙ ΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΜΕ ΤΕΛΕΣΑΝΤΙ, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΤΑΤΩ ΔΕ ΤΟΤΑ ΠΡΟΘΥΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΔΕΙΞΑΝΤΙ, ΣΜΙΚΡΑ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΕΞΩΘΕΝ ἩΜῖΝ ΠΡΟΣΠΕΣΟΥΣΑΣ ἈΣΧΟΛΙΑΣ, ΟΜΟΣ ΔΟΥΝ ἩΠΕΙ- ΛΑΥΣΑΜΕΝ ΤΗΣ ὈΡΘΗΣ ἈΓΩΓΗΣ, ΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΝ, ᾿ΗΝ ΣΥ ΦΗΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΠΟΡΕΥΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΝΗ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΝ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΟΣΙΝ ΣΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΩΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΤΡΑΠΟΜΗΝ. ΕΓΩ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΗΣ,
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... 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 compeers 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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εἶ μὴ φορτικῶν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς προθύροις ἑστηκα, σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν προθύρων εἰ πόρρω. οὐ δὲ ἀρετῆς ἢ τοῖς σοῖς ἀδελφοῖς — ἀφελῶν δὲ τὸ δύσφημον τὸ λειτύριον αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτὸ ἀνάσχοι πράσῳ λεγόμενον, — τὸς μετουσία; πᾶσιν ἐπιτιμᾶς αὐτὸς 236 οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπαίνῳ πράττων, ἐπανεῖς φορτικῶς ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ῥήτωρων, οἷς διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὐρεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων θ', τι φῶς, ἡ Δήλος ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἡ Δητώ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, εἶτα κύκνοι λυγυρῶν ἄδοντες καὶ ἐπιχεύοντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμώνες τε ἐνδροσοῦ μαλακῆς πόσα· καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις, ἢ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων ὀδὴ καὶ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτὸ καὶ τινὲς εἰκόνες τοιαῦται. ποῦ τοῦτο Ἰσοκράτης Β ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικῶς ἐποίησε λόγοις; ποῦ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ταῖς Μοῦσαις ἐτελεύτατο γηγησίως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὀστερ ὦ νῦν; ἀφίημι δὲ τὰ ἔξης, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀπεχθανόμενος ἀμα τοῖς τε φαυλοτάτοις τῶν Κυνικῶν καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων προσκρούσαιμι· ὡς ἐμοίγε πρὸς τε τούς 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 καθάρμα = “off-scourings,” or “outcast,” addressed by Demosthenes to Aeschines.
² An echo of Xenophon, Anabasis 1. 5. 14.
εἰ τις ἄρα ἔστι νῦν τοιοῦτος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
gενναίους ῥήτοράς ἔστι φίλα ¹ πάντα. τῶν μὲν θ
δὴ τοιούτων λόγων, εἰ καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος εἰπρεῖ:
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσον οὐχὶ λέγειν ἔθέλων τις ἐκ
πάνυ δαφίλους ἀντήλησεν ἀν πίθου τῆς προ-
κειμένης ἥμιν ἁσχολίας ἕνεκεν ἀφέξομαι. μικρὰ
δὲ ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ προσθεῖς ὡσπερ ὀψλήματι τὸ
ἐνδέον ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο τι τρέψομαι, ταυτὴν τὴν ξυγ-

γραφὴν αὐτοῦ ποι πληρώσας.

Τὸς οὖν ἢ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εὐλάβεια περὶ τὰ
tῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα, τὶς δὲ ἡ Πλάτωνος; ποταπὸς
dὲ ἦν ἐν τούτοις Ἀριστοτέλης; άρ′ οὐκ ἀξιον αὐτὸ
ἰδεῖν; ἢ τὸν μὲν Σάμων οὖδεὶς ἀντερεὶ τοιοῦτον
gενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ ὀνόμα τα θεῶν ἐν τῇ
σφραγὶ διὸ φορεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν οὔτε τὸ ὅρκῳ χρῆσθαι
προπετῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν. εἰ δὲ νῦν
λέγομι, ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἀγαμπτόν ἐπορεύθη καὶ 237
Πέρσας εἰδε καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἐπειράθη τὰ
μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν ἐποπτεύεται καὶ τελεσθήμα
παντοῖας πανταχοῦ τελετάς, ἐρῶ μὲν ἰσοὶς ἀγνο-
στά σοι, γνώριμα μέντοι καὶ σαφῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς.
ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκουε· τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν δέος, ὡ
Προταρχε, πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστι
κατ’ ἀνδρωπον, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγίστον φόβου.
kαὶ νῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, ὅτῃ ἐκεῖνη φίλον,
tαύτῃ προσαγορεύω· τὴν δὲ ἥδην οἶδα ὡς Ἐρ
ἔστι ποικίλον· ταύτα ἐν Φυλήβρῳ λέγεται, καὶ
tοιαύτα ἔστερα πάλιν ἐν Τιμαῖῳ· πιστεύειν γὰρ

¹ φίλα Cobet, φιλικά Hertlein, MSS.
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 ἄξιοι καὶ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως λεγομένοις, ὡς ὑπέρ τῶν θεῶν φασίν οἱ ποιηταί. ταῦτα δὲ παρέθηκα, μὴ ποτὲ σοι παράσχῃ πρόφασιν, ὡσπερ οἴμαι τῶν Πλατωνικῶν πολλοῖς, ὁ Σωκράτης εἰρων ὄν φύει τὶν Πλατωνικὴν ἀτιμάσαι δόξαν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐχ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ᾿ ὁ Τίμαιος ταῦτα C λέγει ἠκιστὰ ὄν εἰρων. καίτοι τοῦτο γε ἐστὶν οὐχ ὑγιὲς μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται. Βούλει δὴτα 1 τὸ μετὰ τούτο τὴν πάνσοφον ὑπαγορεύσω σειρῆνα, τον τοῦ λογίου τύπον Ἐρμοῦ, τὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς Μοῦσαις φίλον; ἐκεῖνος ἄξιοι τοὺς ἐπερωτώντας ἡ ξητείαν ὅλως ἐπιχειροῦντας, εἰ θεοὶ εἰσίν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀποκρίσεως τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ᾿ ὡς τὰ θερία κολάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἀνεγνώ- 

κεῖς τὸν συστατικὸν 2 αὐτοῦ λόγου, ὃς ὡσπερ τῆς Πλάτωνος, οὕτω δὴ 3 καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς προνγέγραπτο, ἕγγος ἄν πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὑσεβεῖς εἶναι καὶ μεμυήθαι πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τετελέσθαι τὰς ἀγιωτάτας τελετὰς καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων ἤρθαι τοῖς εἰσο τοῦ περιπάτου βαδίζοντι προηγόρευτο. 4

Σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἡμῖν μὴ τὸν Διογένη προβαλῶν 238 ὡσπερ τι μορμολυκεῖον ἐκφοβήσεις. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἐμνήθη, φασίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν προτρεπόμενον μυθήναι, Γελοῖον, εἶπεν, ὦ νεανίσκε, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τελώνας οἴει ταύτης ἐνεκα τῆς τελετῆς κοινωνήσεως τοῖς σύσιοι τῶν ἐν ἄδου καλῶν, Ἀγγείλαον

1 δὴτα Cobet adds, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 συστατικὸν Cobet, ἀστατικὸν V, Hertlein, ἐνστατικὸν Reiske, ἐφιστατικὸν Spanheim. 3 δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
4 προηγόρευτο Cobet, προηγόρευστο Hertlein. MSS.
5 ἐκφοβῆσεις Cobet, ἐκφοβῆσης Hertlein, MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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.

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dē kal Ἑπαμεινώνδαν ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ κείσεσθαι. τούτο, ὃ νεανίσκε, βαθὺ λίαν ἐστὶ καὶ δεόμενον ἐξηγήσεως, ὡς ἐματῶν πείθω, μείζονος, ὅποιας 1 Β ἥμιν αὐταὶ δοῖεν αἱ θεαὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. νομίζῳ δὲ αὐτὴν ἧδη καὶ δεδόσθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ Διογένης οὐχ, ὡσπερ ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτε, δυσσεθῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι, ὃν μικρὸ πρόσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, προσόμοιος. ἀπι- δῶν γὰρ εἰς τὴν περίστασιν τὴν καταλαβόνταν αὐτόν, εἶτα εἰς τὰς ἐντολὰς βλέπων τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ συνιεῖς 2 ότι τὸν μυσώμενον ἔχρην πολιτογραφήθηκαι πρότερον καὶ Ἀθηναίοιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ C φύσει, τῷ νόμῳ γε γενέσθαι, τούτῳ ἔφυγεν, οὗ τὸ μυθῆκην, νομίζῃν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου πολιτην, καὶ ταῖς ὅλαις τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαις, αἱ τὸν ὅλον κοινῆ κόσμου ἐπιτροπεύουσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ ταῖς τὰ μέρη κατανεμάμενας αὐτοῦ, διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀξίων συμπολιτεύεσθαί. τὸ τε νόμιμον οὐ παρέβη αἰδοὶ τῶν θεῶν, καίτοι τὰλλα πατῶν καὶ παραχαράττων αὐτόν τε ὡς ἐπανήγαγεν, οἴθεν 1 ἃσμενος ἠλευθέρωτο. τῷ δ’ ἦν τούτῳ; τὸ πόλεως μιᾶς δουλεύσατο νόμοις εἰαύτων τε ὑποθεῖναι τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν Ἀθηναίοις γενομένῳ. πῶς γὰρ ὡς ἐμελλεν τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν βαδίζον, τῷ Πυθίῳ πεισθεῖς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὡσπερ Σωκράτης φησὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πυθίου οἰκος πατ’ ἑαυτῷ, οἶθεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὀρμὴ

1 ὅποιας Hertlein suggests, ὅποια MSS.
2 συνιεῖς Hertlein suggests, συνιεῖς MSS.
Epameinondas are doomed to lie in the mire.”

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.
πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο· παριέναι τῶν ἀνακτῶν εἰσῷ καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ ἔξεκλινε τὸ ὑποθείναι νόμοις ἐαυτὸν καὶ δούλον ἀποφήναι πολιτείας; ἀλλὰ διὰ τί μὴ ταύτην αὐτὴν ἐπε τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων δὲ τὴν παραιρουμένην οὐ σμικρὰ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σεμνότητος; ἵσως μὲν ἀν τις τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Πυθαγόρας μάλιστα ἐπισκήψεως, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λογιζόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ῥητέον πάντα ἐστὶν, αὐτῶν τε οἶμαι τούτων, ὅν θέμις φάναι, ἐνια πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σιωπητέον εἶναι μοι φαίνεται. φανερὰ δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἡ Β. αἰτία. κατανοήσας γὰρ ἀμελοῦντα μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ὀρθότητος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεμυθθαί μέγα φρονοῦντα ἀναγνώσκομαι τὸν παρακαλοῦσαν αὐτό τοιαῦτα, σω-φρονίζον ἄμα καὶ διδάσκων αὐτόν, ὅτι τοῖς 2 μὲν, οῖς ἄξιος τοῦ μνηθῆναι βεβίωται, καὶ μὴ μνη-θείσον οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀκεραίους φυλάττουσι. Ω τοῖς δὲ μοχθηροὶς οὐδέν ἐστὶ πλέον, κἂν εἰσὶν τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσφρήσθωσι περιβόλων. ἢ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης προαγορεύει, ὡστεις χείρα μὴ καθαρὸς καὶ ὄντως μὴ χρή, τοῦτος ἀπαγορεύων μὴ μνεῖσθαι;

Τά πέρας ὡς ἡμῖν ἐσται τῶν λόγων, εἴ ταῦτα μῆπω σε πεθεῖ;
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.
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.
IOTAIANOT KAIΣAROΣ
EPI THI EΞOΔΩI TOT ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΙΟΥ
PΑΡΑΜΤΟΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ EΙΣ EΑΤΤΟΝ

'Αλλ' ει μη και προς σε διαλεξθείν δοσ προς ἐμαυτὸν διελέξθην, ἐπειδή σε βαδίζειν ἐπιθυμην χρήναι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐλαττον ἔχειν οἴσομαι πρὸς παραψυχήν, ὥ φίλε ἑταίρε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πεπορίσθαι τινά βασίλευσθην ἐμαυτῷ νομίζω, ἣς σοὶ γε οὐ μεταδέδοικα. κοινονήσαντας γὰρ Β ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλους πολλών μὲν ἀλγείων, πολλῶν δὲ ἤδεων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων, εὖ πράγμασιν ἰδίοις τε καὶ δημοσίοις, οὐκοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, κοινὸν1 εὐρίσκεσθαι χρὴ τῶν παρόντων, ὅποιά ποτ' ἄν ἣ, παῖδιον ἀκος. ἀλλὰ τίς ἄν ἡμῖν ἢ τὴν Ὀρφέως μιμήσατο2 λύραν ἢ τοῖς Σειρήνων ἀντηχήσεις 3 μέλεσιν ἢ τὸ νηπενθὲς ἐξεύροι φάρμακον; εἴτε λόγος ἢν ἐκεῖνο πλῆρης Αἰγυπτίων διηγημάτων, εἶδ' ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, εὖ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐνυφήμας τὰ Τρωϊκα. πάθη, ο οὗτο τῆς Ἐλένης παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μαθοῦσης, οὐχ ὅσα Ἐλληνες καὶ Τρώες ἀλλήλους ἐδρασαν, ἀλλὰ ποταποῦς εἶναι χρή τοὺς λόγους, οὐ τὰς μὲν

1 κοινὸν Wright, κοινὸν Hertlein, MSS.
2 οὖν—μιμήσατο Hertlein suggests, μιμήσαται MSS.
3 ἀντηχήσεις Hertlein suggests, ἀντηχήσει 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? 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

ἀλγηδόνας ἀφαιρήσουσι τῶν ψυχῶν, εὐφροσύνης
dὲ καὶ γαλήνης αἵτιοι καταστήσουται. καὶ γάρ
πως ἐοικεν ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη τῆς αὐτῆς κορυφῆς
ἐξήθθαι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀλλήλαις ἀντιμεθη-
στασθαι. τῶν προσπιτῶντων δὲ καὶ τὰ λίαν
ἔργωδη φασὶν οἱ σοφοὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχουν φερέω
οὐκ ἐλάττωνα τῆς δυσκολίας τὴν εὐπάθειαν, ἐπεῖ
cαὶ τὴν μέλιταιν ἐκ τῆς δριμυτάτης πόας τῆς
περὶ τὸν Ἐμπττὸν φυομένης γιλκεῖαν ἀκμάσθαι
dρόσον καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος εἶναι δημιουργών. ἄλλα
καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὅσα μὲν ὑγιεῖα καὶ ῥωμαλέα
καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται σετίαν,
καὶ τὰ δυσχερή δοκοῦντα πολλάκις ἐκένοις ούκ
ἀβλαβὴ μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἵσχυος αἵτια
gέγονεν ὅσοι δὲ πονηρῶς ἔχει φύσει καὶ τροφῆ
καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν πάντα βιῶν νοση-
λευμένους, τούτοις καὶ τὰ κοινὸτα βαρυτάτας
eἰσθε προστιθέναι βλάβας. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς δια-
νοίας ὅσοι μὲν οὕτως ἐπεμελήθησαν, ὡς μὴ
παμπονηρῶς ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ὑγιαίνους μετρίας, εἰ
cαὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντισθένους καὶ Σωκράτους
ῥώμην μηδὲ τὴν Καλλισθένους ἀνδρείαν μηδὲ C
τὴν Πολέμωνος ἀπάθειαν, ἀλλ’ ὥστε δύνασθαι
tὸ μέτρου ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰρέσθαι, τυχὸν ἄν
καὶ ἐν δυσκολωτέροις εὐφραίνουτο.

Ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς πείραν ἐμαντοῦ λαμβάνων,
ὅτε, ρός πρὸς τὴν σὴν πορείαν ἔχω τε καὶ ἔξω,
tοσοῦτον ὀδυνῆθην, ὅσον ὅτε πρῶτον τὸν ἐμαντοῦ
καθηγεμόνα κατέληπτον οίκου· πάντων γὰρ ἄθροως
εἰσήμεν με μνήμη, τῆς τῶν πόνων κοινωνίας, ὧν
ἀλλήλοις συνδιηνέγκαμεν, τῆς ἀπλάστου καὶ

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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\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

καθαρὰς ἐντεῦξεως, τῆς ἁδόλου καὶ δικαίας Θ
ὅμιλας, τῆς ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς καλῶς κοινοπραγίας,
tῆς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἱσορρόπου τε καὶ ἀ-
μεταμελήτου προθυμία τε καὶ ὀρμής, ὡς μετ'
ἀλλήλων ἐστημεν πολλάκις ἴσον θύμον ἔχοντες,
ὁμότροποι καὶ ποθεινοὶ φίλοι. πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς
εἰσῆκε με μνήμη τοῦ Οἰωθη ζ Ὅδυσεύς εἰμὶ
γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκεῖνο παραπλήσιον, ἔπει σὲ μὲν
κατὰ τὸν Ἐκτορα θεὸς ἐξῆγαγεν ἔξω βελῶν,
ὸν οἱ συκοφάνται πολλάκις ἄφηκαν ἐπὶ σὲ, 242
μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἐμέ, διὰ σοῦ τρῶσαι βουλόμενοι,
tαύτη μὲ μόνον ἀλώσιμον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ
tου πιστοῦ φίλου καὶ προθύμου συνασπιστοῦ
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀπροφασίστου κοινονὸ
tῆς συνουσίας στερήσειαν. οὖ μὴν ἔλαττον οἴμαι
σὲ διὰ τούτο ἀλγεῖν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅτι σοι τῶν
πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἔλαττον μέτεστιν, ἄλλα
καὶ πλέον ὕπερ ἐμοῦ δεδείναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
κεφαλῆς, μή τι πάθη. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς
οὐκ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐθέμην τὰ σά, καὶ σοῦ
δὲ ὅμοιως ἔχοντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡσθόμην. δὴν
εἰκότως καὶ μάλα δάκνομαι, ὅτι σοι, τῶν ἄλλων
ἐνεκα λέγειν δυναμένοι

Οὐδὲν μέλει μοι· τὰμὰ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει,
Μόνος εἰμὶ λύπης αὐτίος καὶ φροντίδος.¹

ἄλλα τούτου μὲν ἐξ ἱσθῆς, ὡς ἐοίκε, κοινωνοῦμεν,
σο μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀλγῶν μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ αἰ τοῦ
τὴν σὴν συνουσίαν καὶ τῆς φιλίας μεμνημένος,
ἡν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγομένως,

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!\(^1\) How alike were our ways! How precious our friendship! Then too there came into my mind the words, "Then was Odysseus left alone."\(^2\) For now I am indeed like him, since the god has removed you, like Hector,\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) 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.
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έπειτα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἢν ἐγὼ μὲν σοὶ, σὺ δὲ ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς παρέσχες, ἀνακραδέντες ἄλληλοις ὁμολογήσαμεν, σὺς ὅρκοις οὐδὲ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις ταῦτα πιστοῦμενοι, ὡσπερ ὁ Θεσεύς καὶ Θηβαίοι Περίθους, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἧν ἀεὶ ταῦτα νοοῦντες καὶ προαιροῦμενοι κακὸν μὲν δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν τινι τοσοῦτον δὲ ἔργαν ἀπέσχομεν, ὡστε οὐδὲ ἐβουλευσάμεθα ποτε μετὰ ἄλληλους· χρηστὸν δὲ εἰ τί γέγονεν ἢ βεβούλευται κοινὴ παρ' ἡμῶν, τούτῳ ἄλλοις εἰπέν μελήσει.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ἀλγὼ τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐ φίλον μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ συνεργοῦν πιστοῦν, δοῖ ὡς ὁ 243 δαίμον, καὶ πρὸς ὅλιγον ἀπαλλαττόμενος, οἴμαι καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀρετῆς κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἐμοίγε συνομολογήσειν ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνον ἐνεργίζομεν, λέγω δὲ τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων, τεκμαίρομενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φησὶ γενέν ὅτι Χαλεπωτερόν ἐφαίνετό μοι ὅρθως τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄρευ φίλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἑταίρων πιστῶν οἰόν τε εἶναι πράττειν, οὔτε εὑπορεῖν τούτων ἐχῶν πολλὴ βραστοῦν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῦτο γε εἰ Πλάτωνι μεῖζον ἐφαίνετο τοῦ διορύττειν τὸν Ἀθω, τῷ Βχρῇ προσδοκῶν ἡμᾶς υπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλέον ἀπολειπομένους τῆς ἐκεῖνον συνεσέως τε καὶ γνώμης ἡ 'κείνος τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς χρείας μόνον ἐνεκα, ἢν ἀντιδίδοτες ἄλληλοις ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ῥαὸν εἰχόμεν 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 ένδεης οὐκ εἰς μακράν ἔσεσθαι Σμέλλων, εἰκότως δάκνωμαὶ τε καὶ δέδηγμαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καρδίαν. ἡ τίνα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται μοι λοιπῶν εὖνοιν ἀποβλέψαι φίλον; τίνος δὲ ἀνα- 
σχέσθαι τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ καθαρὰς παρρησίας; τίς 
δὲ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει μὲν ἐμφρόνως, ἑπιτιμήσει 
δὲ μετ’ έννοιας, ἑπιρρώσει δὲ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ χωρίς 
αὐθαδείας καὶ τύφου, παρρησιάσεται δὲ τὸ πικρὸν 
άφελῶν τῶν λόγων, οὐσπερ οἱ τῶν φαρμάκων Σ 
ἀφαιροῦντες μὲν τὸ λίαν δυσχερές, ἀπολείποντες 
δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χρήσιμον; ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς 
φιλίας ὀφέλος ἐκαρπωσάμην. τοσοῦτων δὲ ὁμοῦ 
ἐστηρήμενος, τίνων ἀν εὐπορήσαιμι λόγων, οἱ μὲ, 
διὰ τὸν σοὺ πόθον σὰ τε μήδεα σῆν τε ἀγανοφρο-
σύνην αὐτὴν προέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν κινδυνεύοντα, 
πείσουσιν ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ φέρειν ὅσα δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς 
γενναῖς; εἰς ταύτῳ γὰρ ἐοικεν αὐτῷ νὸῦν ὁ μέγας 244 
αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦθ’ οὕτω νυσὶ βουλεύσασθαι. τὸ 
ποτε οὖν ἄρα χρὴ διανοηθέντα καὶ τίνας ἐπιθά 
εὑρόντα πείσαι πράως ἐχεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυ-
βομένην τὴν ψυχήν; ἄρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλξεδὸς 
eἰσὶ μιμητέοι λόγοι, λέγω δὲ τὰς ἐκ Θράκης 
ἐπιθάς, ὡς Ἀθήναζε φέρων ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ 
τῆς ὁδύνης ἱάσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπάδειν ἡξίου τῷ 
καλῷ Χαρμίδῃ; ὃ τούτοις μὲν ἄτε δὴ μείξονας 
καὶ περὶ μείξονον οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ

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been my only solace and delight, it is natural that I am and have been cut to the very heart. 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? 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, they may persuade me to be calm and to bear nobly whatever God has sent? 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—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? 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.
μικρὸς μηχανᾶς μεγάλας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθέν Β ἑργών, ὥν ἐπιθύμεθα τὰ κλέα, φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ὥσπερ ἐκ λειμῶνος δρεφάμενοι ποικίλον καὶ πολυείδους ἀνθή τὰ καλλίστα ψυχαγωγήσομεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς διηγήμασι, μικρὰ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες; ὥσπερ γὰρ οἴμαι τοῖς λιαν γλυκέσιν οἱ παρεγχέντες οὐκ οἴδ᾽ ὁποί᾽ ἀττα φάρμακα τὸ προσκορὲς αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦσιν, οὕτω τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔνα προστιθέμενα τὸ δοκεῖν εἶ ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ὄχλον ἐπεισόγειν, οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ περιττήν ἀδολεσχίαν ἀφαίρεται.

Τί πρῶτον; τί δ᾽ ἐπείτα; τί δ᾽ ὑστάτιον καταλέξω;

πότερον ὡς ὁ Σκηπτῖον ἐκείνος, ὁ τὸν Δαίλιον ἀγαπᾶσας καὶ φιληθεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἵστῳ ἕνω ἀργό παρ’ ἐκείνον πάλιν, ἥδεως μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆν, ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδέν, διὸ μὴ πρότερον ἐκείνος πιθοῖτο καὶ φήσειν εἶναι πρακτέον; ὦθεν οἴμαι καὶ λόγον παρέσχετο τοῖς ὑπὸ φθόνον τὸν Σκηπτίωνα λοιδοροῦσιν, ὡς ποιητής μὲν ὁ Δαίλιος εἶ οἱ τῶν ἑργῶν, Ἄφρικανός δὲ τοῦτον ὑποκρυθησ. αὐτὴ τοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἡ φήμη πρόσκειται, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχεραῖνων χαῖρω δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ πλέον. τὸ γάρ τοῖς ὅρθως ὑπ᾽ άλλου γνωσθεῖσι πεισθῆναι μείζονος ἀρετῆς δὲ Ζήνων ποιεῖται γνώρισμα τοῦ γνώναι 245 τινα αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτοῦ τὰ δέοντα, τὴν Ἡνώδουν μεθαρμόττων ῥήσιν, 

Οὕτως μὲν πανάριστος, δὲ εἰ ἐπτόντι πιθηται

1 πολυειδοῦς Cobet, πολυτελοῦς Hertlein, MSS.
2 οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχεραῖν χαῖρω δὲ Hertlein suggests, cf. 37 B, 255 D; καὶ χαῖρω γε MSS.
3 ἀρετῆς Hertlein suggests, τῆς ἀρετῆς 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 νοήματι πάνθ᾽ ἑαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ
διὰ τούτῳ χαρίεν εἶναι δοκεῖ· πείθομαι γὰρ ἀληθε-
στερον μὲν Ἡσίόδου λέγειν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἄμεινον
Πυθαγόραν, ὃς καὶ τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρέσχε τὴν
ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἔδωκε τῷ
βίῳ, οὗ δήποτε τὰ χρήματα λέγων μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ
θὴν τῶν νοῶν καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως κοινωνίαν, ὡς
ὅσα μὲν εὕρες αὐτὸς, οὐδὲν ἐλαττὸν ταῦτα τοῦ
πεισθέντος ἑστὶν, ὡς δὲ τῶν σῶν ὑπεκρινάμην,
tούτων αὐτὸν εἰκότως τὸ ἵσον μετέχεις. ἄλλα
ταῦτα μὲν ὁποτέρου μᾶλλον ἄν φαίνηται, καὶ
θατέρῳ προσήκει, καὶ τῶν βασικάνων οὐδὲν ἐσται
πλέον ἐκ τῶν λόγων.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἔπαντεὶ οὗ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν
Δαίλιον. ἔπειδή γὰρ ἀνήρητο μὲν ἡ Καρχηδόν
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἀπὰντα τῆς Ῥώμης C
ἐγείρονε δοῦλα, πέμπει μὲν Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν
Δαίλιον· ἄνήγετο δὲ ἔκεινος εὐαγγέλια τῇ πατρίδι
φέρων· καὶ ὁ Σκητήνων ἤχθετο μὲν ἀπολειτόμενος
tοῦ φίλου, οὐ μὴν ἅπαραμύθητον αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος
φητο. καὶ τὸν Δαίλιον δὲ δισχεραῖνει εἰκός,
ἔπειδὴ μόνος ἄνηγετο, οὐ μὴν ἀφρήττων ἐποιεῖτο
tὴν συμφοράν. ἔπλει καὶ Κάτων ἀπολιπῶν ὦκιο
τῶν αὐτοῦ συνήθεις, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων
καὶ Δημόκριτος οὐδένα παραλαβόντες κοινωνον
tῆς ὀδοῦ, καίτοι πολλοὶς ὦκιοι τῶν φιλτάτων D
ἀπολιπμένοντες. ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ Περικλῆς
ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμου ὦκὶ ἀγων τοῦ Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ τὴν
Εὐβοιαν παρεστῆσατο ταῖς μὲν ἐκείνου βουλαῖς,
ἐπεπαίδευτο γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐκείνῳ, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὐκ ἐφελ-
κόμενος ὀσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαῖων 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."¹ 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 ² 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

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 ἀκοῦτα, φασίν, Ἀθηναίοι

τῆς πρὸς τὸν διδασκαλοὺν ἀπέστησαν συνουσίας.

ἀλλ' ἔφερεν ὃς ἀνήρ ἐμφρών ἄνι τὴν ἀνοιαν τῶν

αὐτῶν πολιτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πράως. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῇ πατρίδι καθάπερ μητρὶ δικαίως μὲν οὐ,

χαλεπῶς δὲ ὦμος ἐχούσῃ πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτῶν, εἰκεῖν φέτο χρήναι, ταῦτα, ὡς εἰκός,

λογιζόμενος ἀκούειν δὲ χρή τῶν ἔξης ὡς τοῦ

Περικλέους αὐτοῦ. 'Εμοί πόλις μὲν ἔστι καὶ

πατρίς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φίλοι θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες

καὶ πάντες ὁσοὶ καὶ ὁποιοῦν ἂν πουδαίοι. χρή Β

dὲ καὶ τὴν οὐ3 γεγόναμεν τιμᾶν, ἐπειδὴ τούτῳ

θεόσ ἐστί νόμος, καὶ πείθεσθαι ὥς καὶ ὁ παροιμία,

πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. ἀπαραίτητον γὰρ ἐστὶ

τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν γονὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης. οὐ μὴν ὄντεον

οὔδὲ θρηνητέον ἐφ' οἴς ἐπετάττει τραχύτερον,

ἀλλὰ τὸ πράγμα λογιστέον αὐτό. δὴν ἀπαλλάτ-

tεσθαι τὸν 'Ἀναξαγόραν ἃφ' ἡμῶν κελεύει, καὶ Ο

tὸν ἀριστόν οὐκ ὄψομεθα τῶν ἑταίρων, δι' ὅν

ἡχόμην μὲν τῇ νυκτὶ, ὅτι μοι τὸν φίλον οὐκ

ἐδείκνυε, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ χάριν ἡπιστάμην,

ὅτι μοι παρεῖχεν ὅραν οὐ μάλιστα ἤρων. ἀλλ'

ei μὲν ὁμματά σοι δέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὁ Περίκλεις,

μόνον ὡσπερ τοῖς θηρίοις, οὔδὲν ἀπεικός ἐστὶ

σὲ διαφερόντως ἀχθεσθαί· εἰ δὲ σοι ψυχῇ ἐνέ-

1 ᾧν Hertlein would add.
2 ὁποιοῦν Cobet, ὁποιοῦ Hertlein, MSS.
3 τὴν οὗ Hertlein suggests, οὗ MSS.
4 θηρίοι Cobet, ὁρνισίων 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 ἐνήκεν, υφ’ οὐ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ
tῶν γεγευμένων καὶ περ ὑπὸ παρόντα νῦν ὅρας
dιὰ τῆς μνήμης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων
ὁ λογισμὸς ἀνευρίσκων ὦσπερ ὀμμασίων ὡρὰν
προσβάλλει τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων οὐ τὰ
πρὸ τῶν ὁμιμάτων ἡ φαντασία μόνον ἀποτυπο-
μένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κρίνειν καὶ καθορᾶν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰ πόρρω καὶ μυρίας σταδίων ἀπωκισμένα
tῶν γενομένων παρὰ πόδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀθαλμῶν
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dεικνύσιν ἑαυργέστερον, τὶ χρή τοσοῦτον ἀναίσθαναι
καὶ σχετικῶς φέρειν; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ
λόγος ἐστὶ μοι,

Νοῦς ὁρὴ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει
φησὶν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὔτως ὡξυ χρήμα καὶ τάχει
χρώμενον ἀμηχάνω, ὡς θ’ ὅταν τινὰ τῶν δαιμόνων
Ομήρος ἐθέλῃ κεχρημένον ἀπίστω πορείας ἐπι-
δείξαι τάχει,

'Ὡς δ’ ὁτ’ ἀν αἶξη νόος ἀνέρος
φησὶν τὸ τοιχῖνος ῥάστα μὲν Ἀθηνηθείν Β
ὁμεῖ τὸν ἐν Ἰωνία, ῥάστα δὲ ἐκ Κέλτων τὸν ἐν
Ἰλλυρίοις καὶ Ἡράκη, καὶ τὸν ἐν Κέλτωσ ἐκ
Θράκης καὶ Ἰλλυρίων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’, ὀσπερ τοῖς
φυτοῖς οὐκ ἐν σώζεσθαι τὴν συνῆθη χώραν μετα-
βάλλουσιν, ὅταν ἢ τῶν ἀρόνων ἢ γράφας ἐναντία,
καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει τόπων ἐκ τόπου
μεταβάλλουσιν ἡ διαφθείρεσθαι παντελῶς ἢ τῶν
τρόπων ἀμείβειν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι περὶ ὣν ὅρθος
πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεσαν, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν С
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 stades¹ 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;² 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.’³ 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.
καὶ στέργειν ἔπεται γὰρ ὑβρις μὲν κόρῳ, ἐρως δὲ ἐνδείας. καὶ ταύτη τοίνυν ἐξομεν βέλτιον, ἐπιτεινομένης ἥμιν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοιας, καθέξομεν τε ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν διανοιαῖς ἱδρυμένους ὀσπερ ἀγάλματα. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, αὐθίς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑπεταί ἐμὲ κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ ἀμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους. δ' οὐχὶ σαρκία καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μορφῆς τύπωμα, στέρνα τε ἐξεικασμένα πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον σῶματος· καίτοι καὶ τούτο κωλύει τυχόν οὐδὲν ταῖς διανοιαῖς ἥμῶν ἐμφαίνεσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἁρετὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ὡς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετ' ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμούσως ὑμνοῦντες παιδείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα νοῦν τὰ θυντα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ 248 νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἁρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτη- δευμάτων διεξάγοντες, ὡσα γε ἡμῖν ἔπηε' ἐν καρδιᾷ τοῦτον μεμημένους. ταύτα ἐννοοῦντες, τούτοις τρεφόμενοι τοὺς εἰδώλους τυχόν οὐκ ὠνεύρων νυκτέρων ἰνδάλμασι προσέξομεν οὖδὲ κενά καὶ μάταια προσβαλεὶ τῷ νῦ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράσεως αἰσθήσις διακει- μένης. οὖδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παραληψόμεθα τὴν αἰ- σθησιν ὑπουργεῖν ἥμιν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ἀλλ' Ἄποφυγον αὐτὴν ὁ νοῦς ἐμμελετήσει τούτοις πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεθισμὸν τῶν ἀσωμάτων

1 ἐπηεί: Reiske adds.
2 νυκτέρων Cobet, νυκτερίνων Hertlein, MSS.

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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. τικτεὶ τοι κόρος ἕβριν, ὅταν κακὸν ὀλβὸς ἔπηται.
2 Euripides, Phoenissae 165, μορφὴς τύπωμα στέρνα τ' ἐγκασμένα.
3 Nauck, Adespota trag. frug. 108.
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diegeiropomenos

... γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνεσεν, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀποφυγόντα καὶ διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μάλλον δὲ οὐδὲ δεόμενα τόπου ὅραν τε καὶ αἴρειν πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοις ἄξιως βεβίωται τῆς τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ 

... ἐν προσπεπτόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος 

dυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἀτόπων φαντασμάτων ἔφαρ

... μόζειν τινὰ παραμυθίαν πειρόμενον, ὅστερ ἐπικριτὴν 

... δήν θηρίου δήγματι δάκνυστος αὐτὴν ἔσω τὴν 

... καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας. ἐκεῖνο τοι πρῶτον 

... ἐστὶ μοι τῶν φαινομένων δυσχερῶν. νῦν ἐγὼ 

... μόνος ἀπολελείψομαι καθαρᾶς ἐνδεικτικής ὀμιλίας καὶ 

... ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ μοι τέως ὅτω 

... διαλέξομαι θαρρῶν ὀμοίως, πότερον οὐν οὐδὲ 

... ἐμαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι πάντων ἀρσίμοις ἐστὶ μοι; ἀλλὰ ἄφαρ

... ρήσεται μὲ τις καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν καὶ προσαναγκάσει 

... νοεῖν ἑτερα καὶ θαυμάζειν παρ' Ἀμβούλωμα; ἦ 

... τούτῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τέρας ἢδη καὶ προσόμοιον τῷ 

... γράφειν ἐφ' ὦδας καὶ τῷ λόθῳ ἔστιν καὶ τῷ 

... ὀρνίθων ἔρευναν ἱχνῆς τῆς πτήσεως; ὥσιν 

... ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἀφαιρεῖται, 

... συνεσέμβαν δὴπονθεῖν αὐτοῖς πως ἑαυτοῖς, ἰσως δὲ 

... καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται τῷ ἠρηστῶν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῇ 

... ἐκδόσις ἄνδρα ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτρέψαντα τῷ κρείττονι

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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, 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 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, 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.
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παντάπασιν ἀμεληθῆναι καὶ καταλειφθῆναι παντελῶς ἔρημον· ἂλλ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς χείρα ἐν ὑπερέσχε καὶ θάρσος ἐνδίδωσι ¹ καὶ μένος ἐμπνεῖ B καὶ τὰ πρακτέα τίθησιν ἔτη νυν καὶ τῶν μη πρακτέων ἀφίστησιν. εἰπέτο τοι καὶ Σωκράτει δαιμονία φωνῆ κολύουσα πράττειν ὅσα μὴ χρεῶν ἦν· φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρός ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως· τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήκεν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας Ἰμῶν ἐγείροντος, ὅταν ἐπιστρέφατι τὸ νοῦς εἰς ἑαυτόν αὐτῷ τε πρότερον ἐξυγενηται καὶ τῷ θεῷ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μονου, κωλυόμενος ὑπ' οὔδενος. οὐ γὰρ C ἀκοὴς ὁ νοῦς δείται πρὸσ τὸ μαθεῖν οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ θεὸς φωνῆς πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι τὰ δέοντα· ἂλλ' αἰσθήσεως ἐξω· πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ μετουσία γίνεται τῷ νῷ τίνα μὲν τρόπον καὶ ὅπως οὐ σχολῆ μὴν ἐπεξείναι, τὸ δ' ὅτι γίνεται δῆλον ² καὶ σαφεῖς οἱ μάρτυρες, οὐκ ἀδοξοὶ τινὲς οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἄξιοι τάττεσθαι μερίδι, ἀλλὰ D τῶν ἀπενεγκαμένων ἐπὶ σοφία τὰ πρωτεῖα.³

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδή χρῆ προσδοκᾶν καὶ θεοῦ ἠμῶν παρέσεσθαι πάντως καὶ ἠμῶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς συνεσθαι, το λέον δυσχερῆ ἀφαίρετον ἐστὶ τῆς λύπης. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν 'Οδυσσέα μόνου ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καθεργημένον ἐπτὰ τοὺς πάντας ἐνιαυτοὺς, εἰτ' ὁδυρόμενον, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐπανώ καρπηρίας, τῶν θρήνων δὲ οὐκ ἄγαμαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄφελος πόντον ἐπὶ 250 ἰχθυόεντα δέρκεσθαι καὶ λείβειν δάκρυα; τὸ

¹ ἐνδίδωσι Hertlein suggests, δίδωσι MSS.
² δῆλον Cobet, δῆλοι Hertlein, MSS.
³ πρωτεῖα Cobet, πρῶτα Hertlein, MSS.

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neglected and left wholly desolate. But over him God stretches his hand,\(^1\) 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,"\(^2\) 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,\(^3\)—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

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\(^1\) 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, ὡμεῖς ὁι Μεγαρεῖς οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ οὐδὲ ἐν ἀριθμῷ; cf. Theocritus 14. 47.
\(^4\) Cf. Dio Chrysostom 13. 4, Arnim.
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δὲ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ' ἀπαγορεύσαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα μέχρις ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι πόνων καὶ κινδύνων, τούτῳ ἐμοιγε φαίνεται μείζον ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπος. οὐ δὴ δίκαιον ἑπατείν μὲν αὐτούς, μὴ μιμεῖσθαι δὲ, οὐδὲ νομίζειν, ὡς ἐκείνους μὲν ὁ θεὸς προθύμως συνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ νῦν περιοίσται Β τῆς ἀρετῆς ὅρων ἀντιποιομένους, δι' ἕκαστο τὰ κάκεινοι ἔχαρεν οὐ γάρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεῖ τοι τὸν Νιρέα μάλλον ἔχριν ἀγα- πᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἰσχύν, ἀπείρῳ γὰρ ὅσῳ Δαιστρυγόνες καὶ Κύκλωπες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ κρείτ- τους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, οὗτῳ γὰρ ἀν ἐμείνεν ἀπόρθητος Τροία. τὶ δὲ δεὶ πράγματα ἐχεῖν αὐτὸν ἑπιζητοῦντα τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν 'Οδυσσέα φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς θεοφίλη, αὐτοῦ γε ἔξω ἀκούειν; C

Οὐνεκ' ἐπτηθῆς ἐσσι καὶ ἀγχίνους καὶ ἐχέφρων.

dήλον οὖν ως, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ταῦτα προσγένοιτο, τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ ἐπλείψῃ τὰ παρ' ἕαυτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα πάλαι ποτὲ Δακεδαιμονίους χρησμὸν καλούμενος εἷς καὶ ἀκλήτου ὁ θεὸς παρέσται.

Τούτων ἐμαυτὸν ψυχαγωγῆσας ἐπ' ἑκεῖνο τὸ D μέρος ἀπειµὶ πάλιν, δ' δοκεὶ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ μικρὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δόξαν δὲ ὅμως οὐκ ἀγεννές. Ὁμηρὸν τοῦ φασὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον, οὐ δῆπον συνόντος, ἀλλὰ κρυύττοντος ὅσπερ 'Αχιλ- λέα καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Αἴαντας ἀμφω καὶ τὸν

1 πόνων Hertlein suggests, φόβων MSS.
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tears? 1 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 2 would have been more approved; nor strength, for the Laëstrygous 3 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.” 4 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.” 5

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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

'Αντίλοχον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπερορῶν ἀεὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἐφίμενον δὲ τῶν ἀπόντων οὐκ ἡγάπα τοῖς καθ’ ἐαυτὸν οὔδε ἦρκείτο τοῖς δοθείσι καὶ εἴπερ ἐτυχεὶν Ὅμηρου, τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἅπασαν ἐπιθύμησεν ἡμέραν, ἣ τοῖς Πηλέως ἐκείνος ἐφύμνησε γάμοισιν, οὐ τῆς Ὅμηρου συνέσεως τούτο πλάσμα νομίσας, ἀλλ’ ἀληθεῖς ἐργάν ἐμφανθέν τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ὥσπερ ὅμαι τὸ

'Ἡώς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκάθαντο πᾶσαν ἐπ’ αἶαν καὶ

'Ἡλιός δ’ ἀνόροισε καὶ

Κρῆτη τις γαῖ’ ἐστὶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαύτα φασίν οἱ ποιηταί, δήλα καὶ ἐναργῇ τὰ μὲν ὄντα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐτί, τὰ δὲ γνωρίμενα.

'Αλλὰ τῷ μὲν εἴτε μέγεθος ἀρετής ὑπερέχον ὡς καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῶς ἑλάττων σύνεσις εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ψυχήν ἐξῆγεν, ὡστε μειξόνων ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρέγεσθαι, εἰθ’ ὑπερβολὴ τις ἀνδρείας καὶ θάρσους εἰς ἀλαξοεῖαν ἄγονα 3 καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδειαν βλέπουσα, ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν ἐν καυχῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαίρειν ἡ ψέγειν αὐτῶν, εἰ τις ἁρὰ καὶ ταύτης ὑπολαμβάνει τῆς μερίδος προσήκειν ἐκείνῳ. ἤμεις δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαπῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἥκιστα μεταποιούμενοι στέργομεν μὲν, ὡπόταν ὁ κήρυξ

1 ὑπερέχον Naber, ὑπάρχον Hertlein, MSS.
2 ὁρέγεσθαι Petavius, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
3 ἄγονα Cobet, ἰεπούσα Hertlein, ... ouσα Β.
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; 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”; and “Then uprose the Sun”; and “There is a land called Crete”; 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 eyewitness 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, θεαθής τε καὶ συναγωνιστής πάντων ἡμῶν γεγονός, μή τοὺς λόγους παραδεξάμενος εἰς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν εἰκῇ πεπλασμένους. ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φιλεῖν ὀμολογών μόνον, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα σιωπηλότερος διν καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρα τελεσθέντων.

'Ενταῦθα ὑπέρχεται μοι καὶ τὸ θυρόλυμνον, δῶς οὐκ εἰς Ἰλλυρίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ἐθνικὰς ἀφίξῃ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θαλατταν ἐκείνην οἰκοῦντας Ἑλλήνας, ἐν οἷς γενομένῃ μοι καὶ τραφέντι πολὺς ἐντετήκεν ἔρως ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων καὶ πόλεων. ἦσθι δὲ οὐ φαύλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἐναπολέειται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔρως ἡμῶν, οἷς εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι τὸ λεγόμενον ἀσπάσιος ἔλθων ἄν γένοιο, δικαίως 252 ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιδίδουσι αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ δὲν ἡμᾶς ἀπολέλοιπας ἐνθάδε. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὐχ ὃς εὐχόμενος ἐπεὶ τὸ γε οἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ταχεώς ἄμεινον ἀλλ᾽ ὃς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ᾽ ἔξων οὐκ ἀπαραμυθήτωσι οὐδὲ ἀψυχαγωγήτωσ ἐννοῶ, συγχαίρων ἐκείνως, ὅτι σὲ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ὄψονται. Κελτοὶ γὰρ ἐμαυτοὺς ἢδη διὰ σὲ συντάττω, ἀνδρα ἐις τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελεύτατα καὶ κατ᾽ εὐνομίαν καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν τήν ἄλλην, καὶ ῥητορεῖαν Ἄκρον καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπειροῦν, ὡς Ἑλλήνες μόνοι τὰ κράτιστα μετεληθύθαι, λόγῳ τάληθες, ὡστερ οὐν πέφυκε, θηρεύσαντες, οὐκ ἀπίστως μύθοις οὐδὲ παραδόξῳ τερατείᾳ προσέχειν ἡμᾶς, ὡστερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔσταντε.
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.
ΤΑ ΟΡΑΤΙΟΝΑ ΔΟΥΛΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΛΙΓΟΥΜΟΥΣ, ΑΧΙΤΙΚΗΣ

'Αλλά καὶ τὸ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ἔχει, ταῦτα ἀφεῖσθαί: ὥς δὲ προτέρισθεν ἡ ἡ γὰρ ἄξιον μετ' εὐφημίας: ἀγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενής, ὅτι ποτ' ἂν δὲν πορεύοιτι, Ἑνὸι δὲ υποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος Κ Εὐνοῦς, ἀγοι τε διὰ γῆς ἁψαλῶς: καὶ πλεῖν δὲν, στορεινύσθω τὰ κύματα: πάσι δὲ φανείς φίλος καὶ θύμως, ἦδος μὲν προσίων, ἀλγείνος δὲ ἀπολείπων αὐτοὺς: στέργων δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡκιστα ποθήσειας ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου καὶ φίλου πιστοῦ κοινωνιῶν. εὐμενὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σοι θεὸς ἀποφῆμεννε καὶ τὰ ἅλλα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν διδοῖ, καὶ τὴν Δ ὁμάδης παρ' ἡμᾶς πορείαν ἁψαλῆ παρασκευάζοι καὶ ταχείαν.

Ταύτα σοι μετὰ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεύχομαι, καὶ ἐτι πρὸς τούτους

Οὐλὲ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρι, θεόλ δὲ τοι ὅλβια δοῖεν,
Νοστῆσαι 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 (ἐπιδείξεις), 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 fees and styled himself a practical philosopher. He was indifferent to the Neo-Platonic philosophy, 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 Zeller 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. It was probably written after Julian had

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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.
INTRODUCTION

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.

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'Εγώ σοι βεβαιώσαι μέν, ὃσπερ ὑπὶ γράφεις, τὰς ἐπίδας καὶ σφόδρα εὐχομαι, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ διαμάρτω, μείζονος οὔσης τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἢν ὑπέρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντάς καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς σεαυτὸν ποιή· καὶ μοι πάλαι μὲν οἰομένῳ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῦ Μάρκου, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος γέγονεν ἀρέτῃ διαφέρων, εἰναι Β τὴν ἁμιλλαν φρίκη τις προσήκει καὶ δέος θαυμαστόν, μὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι παντελῶς τῆς ἀνδρείας δόξῳ, τοῦ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐφίκωμαι. εἰς ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ἀνεπειθόμην τὴν σχολήν ἑπαίνειν, καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν διαιτημάτων¹ αὐτὸς τε ἁδέως ἐμεμνήμην καὶ τοῖς φίλοις υἱῶν προσάδειν ἥξιον, ὡσπερ οἱ τὰ βαρέα φορτία φέροντες ἐν ταῖς φύλασι ἐπικουφίζουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ταλαντωρίαν. σὺ δὲ μοι νῦν μείζον ἐποίη- σας διὰ τῆς ἐναγχος ἐπιστολῆς τὸ δέος καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐδειξας, ἐν ταύτῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετάχθαι με τῇ μερίδὶ λέγων, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἐγενέσθην φιλοσοφοῦντες ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντες καὶ πᾶσαν

¹ διαιτημάτων Naber, διηγημάτων Hertlein, MSS.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

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,
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

σχεδον της ἑπιστολαξούσης κακίας ἀνακαθαίρον-254
μενοι γην τε καὶ θάλατταν. κελεύεις δὲ πᾶσαν
ἀποσεισάμενον σχολής ἐννοιαν καὶ ῥαστώνης
σκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀξίως ἀγωνιούμεθα·
eίτα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν νοµοδετῶν μέµνησαι, Σόλωνος,
Πιττακοῦ, Λυκοῦργου, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μεί-
ζουν χρῆναι παρ' ἧμον λέγεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν
dίκη νῦν περιμένειν. τούτοις ἐγὼ τὸς λόγοις
ἐντυχῶν ἐξεπλάγην μικροί: σοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάµ-
βανον οὐδαμῶς θεμιτὸν κολακεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι,
ἐμαντῷ δὲ συνειδῶς φύσεως μὲν ἕνεκα διαφέρον
οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐξ ἄρχής οὔτε νῦν ὑπάρξαν, φιλο-
σοφίας δὲ ἐρασθέντι μόνον τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ συγω
τύχας, αἳ μοι τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον ἀτελῆ τέως
ἐφύλαξαν· οὐκ εἰχον οὖν ὁ, τι χρῆ περὶ τῶν
tοιούτων λόγων συμβαλεῖν, ἡώς ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔγραγεν
ὁ θεὸς, μὴ ποτὲ ἄρα προτρέπειν ἔθελες διὰ τῶν C
ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων δεῖξαι τὸ μέγεθος, οἷς
ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ ξώντα παραβεβλη-
σθαί τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον.
Τούτῳ δὲ ἀποτρέποντός ἐστι πλέον ἢ πρὸς τῶν
βίον παρορμώντος. ὡσπερ γὰρ εἰ τις τὸν πορθμὸν
tὸν παρ' ὑμῖν πλέον καὶ οὐδὲ τούτον ῥαδίως οὐδὲ
εὐκόλως ύφιστάμενος ἀκούοι παρά τοῦ μαντικῆς
ἐπαγγελλομένου τέχνην, ως χρεῶν αὐτῶν τὸν D
Αἰγαίον ἀναμετρήσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς ἔξω
θαλάσσης ἀψασθαι, καὶ "Νῦν μὲν" ὀρᾶς ὁ προ-
φήτης λέγει "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 intervened 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.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

οὐδὲ σκοπιάν οὐδὲ πέτραν ὤψει, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ ναῦν πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσειπεῖν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, καὶ τῆς γῆς ὤψε ποτὲ ἀψάμενος, τῷ θεῷ πολλάκις προσεύξῃ, πρὸς αὐτῷ γοῦν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου τυχεῖν ὄρμου καὶ τῆν τε ναῦν σῶαν 255 παραδούναι καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπαθεῖς τοῖς οἰκείοις κακῶν παραστῆσαι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ μητρὶ γῆ δοῦναι, τούτῳ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἵσως ἀδήλων ἔσται σοι μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἡμέρας· ἀρ’ οἷς τούτων ἀκούσαντα τῶν λόγων ἐκεῖνον πόλιν γ’ ἄν 1 οἰκεῖν ἐλέσθαι πλησίον θαλάσσης, οὐχὶ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπόντα πλοῦτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμπορίας ἀγαθοῖς περιγυμνομένοις, γυνωρίμων πολλῶν, ἔξεικῆς φιλίας, ἱστορίας ἑθῶν καὶ πόλεων Β ὑπεριδόντα σοφῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, ὃς κελεύει λαθεῖν βιώσαντα; καὶ σὺ δὲ ἐσκας τούτῳ καταμαθῆνα προκαταλαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς ταῖς εἰς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον λοιδορίας καὶ προεξαιρέῳ τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην. φῆς γὰρ που σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν ἀπράγμων καὶ διαλέξεις ἐν περιπάτοις προσήκειν ἐκεῖνω. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐ καλὸς Ἐπίκουρῳ C ταῦτα ἔδοκει, πάλαι καὶ σφόδρα πείθομαι· εἰ δὲ πάνθ’ οὕτων ἐπὶ πολιτείαν προτρέπειν ἄξιον, καὶ τὸν ἤττον πεφικότα καὶ τὸν ὀὕτω τελέως δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἵσως διαπορήσαι χρῆ. λέγομεν γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη πολλοὺς μὲν οὐ σφόδρα εὐφυῶς 2 ἔχουται ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ βήματος,

1 γ’ ὡς Hertlein suggests, γοῦν MSS.
2 εὐφυῶς 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 descry 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 ¹ 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 profession² many who had no great natural talent, and

¹ Epicurus; his advice was λαθὲ βιώσας.
² Literally “from the Θῆμα,” i.e. the stone on the Pnyx from which the Athenian orator addressed the people.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

cal Γλαύκωνα ἐκεῖνον, Ἑνοφόνων λέγει τὸν ἐς τοῦ Κλεινίου παῖδα πειραθῆναι μὲν ἐπισχεῖν, οὐ δινηθῆναι δὲ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ νεαρόσκου τῆς ὀρμῆς. ἦμεις δὲ καὶ ἀκούτας καὶ ἐγνώτας αὐτῶν προσαναγκάσομεν, θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ τηλικοῦτοις ἐργων κελεύστε, ὅπως οὐκ ἄρετὴ μόνον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ προαίρεσις ὀρθή κυρία, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τύχη κρατουσα πανταχοῦ καὶ βιαζομένη ἰῶτειν ὕπερ ἀν ἔθελη τὰ πράγματα; Χρύσιππος δὲ δοκεῖ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ νομίσθηναι δικάιος, ἀγνοῆς δὲ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ ἀὐτόματον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας αἰτίας τοιαύτας ἔξωθεν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς παρεμπτυοῦσας οὐ σφόδρα ὁμολογούμενα λέγειν οἷς ὁ χρόνος ἦμας διὰ μυρίων ἐναργῶς διδάσκει παραδειγμάτων. τοῦ γὰρ εὐτυχῆ καὶ μακάριον Κάτωνα φήσομεν; τοῦ δὲ Δίωνα τὸν Σικελίωτὴν εὐδαιμονα; οἷς τοῦ μὲν ἀποθανέων ἐμελεὶ ἴσως οὐδέν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λείπειν ἀτελεῖς τὰς πράξεις, ἐφ' ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀρμητον, καὶ σφόδρα Β ἐμελεῖ καὶ πάντα ἂν εἴλοντο παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ἑκεῖνοις εἰ μὲν εὐσχημόνως ἐφερον, ὅπως ποῦν λέγεται, τὴν τύχην παραμυθίαν ἔσχον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μικράν, εὐδαιμονε 

1 kal Γλαύκωνα... λέγει... τὸν ἐς Wytenbach, Γλαύκωνα δὲ ἐκεῖνον ὡς Χειφόφων λέγει, καὶ τὸν Hertlein, MSS. 208
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Glaucun too, Xenophon \(^1\) tells us; and that he tried to restrain the son of Cleinias \(^2\) 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 \(^3\) 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.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

ekeînēn makaristōn tēlos tōu kai ἀρετῆν ἐπαυ-

νετοῦ. ἦκιστα δὲ φίλει ὑς εὐδαίμονίας ἡ βεβαιό-

tis tē tūchī πιστεύειν, kai tōus ēn politēĩa

ζωντας οὐκ ἐνεστὶν ἀνευ ταύτης ἀναπνεῖν τὸ
dὴ λεγόμενον 1 ἀληθῶς θεωροῦντες εἴτε καὶ

πεποιήκασι καὶ στρατηγὸν λόγῳ, 2 καθάτεροi τὰς

ἰδέας εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς ἐξυπνίετες, ἐν τοῖς

ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἱδρύσθαι πον τῶν τυχαίων

ὑπεράνω πάντων, ἡ τῶν Διογένους ἑκεῖνον

' Ἀπολλω, ἄοικων, πατρίδος ἐστερημένον, D

οὐκ ἔχοντα μὲν εἰς ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς εὔ πάθη καὶ

τούμαντίον ἐν τίνι σφαλῇ τοῦτον δὲ δεν ἡ συνή-

θεία καλεῖν εἴωθε καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρος πρῶτος,

' Οἱ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν,

πῶς ἂν τις ἔξω τūchῆς ὑπαγαγών τὴν θέσιν φύ-

λάσσοι; πάλιν δ' ὁ αὐτῶν ὑποτιθεὶς ταῦτη πόσης 257

αὐτῷ δεῖν οὐσεῖαι παρασκευῆς 3 καὶ φρονήσεως

πηλίκης ὅστε τὰς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ῥοπᾶς, καθάπερ

πνεύματος κυβερνήτην, εὐσχημόνως φέρειν;

Οὐκ ἕστι θαυμαστὸν ἀντιτάξασθαι πρὸς πολε-

μούσῃ μόνον αὐτῇ, πολὶ δὲ θαυμασιώτερον 4 τῶν

ὑπαρξάντων παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον φανῆναι. 

toûtois ὁ μέγιστος ἐάλω βασιλεὺς ὁ τὴν Ἀσιαν

1 After leγόμενον several words are lost.
2 λόγῳ Reiske, λόγοι Hertlein, MSS.
3 παρασκευῆς Hertlein would read, τῆς παρασκευῆς MSS.
4 θαυμασιώτερον MSS.; Hertlein following Cobet reads θαυμαστότερον but in later Preface would restore MSS. reading.
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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

1 Cf. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 1. 10. 6.
2 Cf. Oration 6. 195B, note. 3 Iliad 2. 25. 4 Alexander.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

catastrophemenos Δαρείου καὶ Ἐρέξου χαλεπώς. Βερος καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζών φανείς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς κατέστη κύριος, τούτοις ἀλόντες τοὺς βέλεσιν ἄρδην ἀπόλολοντο Πέρσαι, Μακεδόνες, ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμος, Συρακούσιοι, τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τέλη, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτοκράτορες μυρίοι. τολὺ μήκος ἄν γένοιτο πάντας ἀπαριθμοῦμένῳ τοὺς διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ μέκας καὶ τρυφὴν ἀπολομένους· ὦ σοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δυσπραγίων ἐπικλυσθέντες δούλου μὲν ἄντ’ ἔλευ-θέρων, ταπεινοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ γενεαῖν καὶ σφόδρα εὐτελεῖς ἀντὶ τῶν πρόσθεν σεμνῶν ἀπασιν ὁ- φθησαι, τὶ μὲ χρῆ νῦν ὁσπέρ εἰ δέλτουν μεταγράφοντα καταλέγουμεν; εἰ γὰρ ὀφελεῖν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἀπορεῖν παραδειγμάτων τοιούτων. ἀλλ’ ὦστε ἐστὶν οὔτ’ ἄν γένοιτο ποτὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνδείξαν παραδειγμάτων, ἐως ὅσ ὅ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμένη γένος:

"Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ πλείστον Δἐν τοὺς πρακτεῖν κρατεῖν νενόμικα, λέγομι’ ἄν ὡδὴ σοι τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων Νόμων, εἴδοτι μὲν καὶ διδάξαντι με, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ ὀσπέρ τοῦ μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ποιούμενον παραγέγραφα σοι τὴν ῥῆσιν ὂδε πως ἔχουσαι. "Θεὸς μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώ-πινα διακυβερνῶσι ξύμπαντα. ἵμαρστερον μὴν τούτως συγχωρήσαι τρίτων δεῖν ἐπεσθαί τέχνην." 258 εἶτα ὅποιον εἶναι χρῆ τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ Βασιλέα θείον ὁ πο-γράφων. "Γινώσκον ὁ Κρόνος ἀρα, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, φησὶ, διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσις

1 θείον Hertlein suggests, θεὸν 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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οὐδὰμὴ οὐδεμία ἱκανὴ τά ἀνθρώπινα διοικοῦσα αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα μὴ οὐχ ὑβρεῶς τε καὶ ἁδικίας μεστοῦσθαι, ταῦτ' οὖν διανοούμενος ἐφίστη τότε Β βασιλέας καὶ ἄρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θειοτέρον καὶ ἀμείωνος, δαίμονας, οἷον νῦν ἡμεῖς δρῶμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ ὅσων ἡμερί εἰσιν ἀγέλαι. οὐ βοῦς βοῶν οὐδὲ αἴγας αἰγῶν ἄρχοντας ποιούμεν αὐτοῖς τινας, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἀμεινὸν ἑκεῖνων γένος. ταῦτ' ὃ καὶ ὁ θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὑπὸ γένους ἀμεινὸν ἡμῶν ἐφίστη τό τῶν δαίμονων, διὰ πόλλης δ' ἡμῖν, ἐπιμελεῖ-μενον ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰεδὸ καὶ δὴ ἁφθονίαν δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαίμονα τά τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὁ λόγος ἀληθεία χρώμενος, ὡς τό-λεων μὴ θεός, ἀλλὰ τις ἄρχει θυτός, οὐκ ἐστὶ κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάψυξις· ἀλλὰ με-μείωθαι δεῖν ἡμῖν οἴεται πάση μηχανῇ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἡμῖν Δ ἀθανασίας ἔνεστι, τούτῳ πειθομένοις δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἱδίᾳ τάς τε οἰκήσεις καὶ τάς πόλεις διοικεῖν, τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομῆν ὄνομαξόντας νόμον. εἴ δὲ ἀνθρώπος εἰς ὧς ὀλιγαρχία τις ἡ δημοκρατία ψυχὴν ἔχουσα ἡδονῶν καὶ ἑπιθυμίων ὀρεγομένην καὶ πληρούσθαι τούτων δεομένην ἀρξεὶ δὴ τῶν ἡμῶν 259 τινος ἡ ἴδιωτον καταπατήσας τοὺς νόμους, οὐκ ἐστὶ 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 νόμω = "to distribute."  
2 Laws 713–714; Julian condenses and slightly alters the original.
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Ταύτην ἐγώ σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ἐξεπίτηδες ὅλην παρέγγραψα, μὴ με κλέπτειν ὑπολάβης καὶ κακουργεῖν μύθους ἀρχαίους προφέροντα. τυχὸν μὲν ἐμφερῶς, οὐ μὴν ἄληθῶς πάντη ἐξυγκειμένους. ἀλλ’ ὅ γε ἄληθής ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγος τῇ φησιν; ἀκοῦεις ὅτι, κἂν ἄνθρωπός τις ἦ τῇ φύσει, θείον εἰνάι χρὴ τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ δαιμονία, πᾶν ἀπλως ἐκβαλόντα τὸ θυμόν καὶ θυρωδεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς, πλὴν ὅσα ἀνάγκη διὰ B τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραμένειν σωτηρίαν; ταύτα εἰ τὶς ἐννοῶν δέδοικεν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐλκόμενος βίον, ἀρά σοι φαίνεται τὴν 'Επικούρειον θαυμάζειν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὸ προάστειον τῶν 'Αθηνῶν1 καὶ τὰς μυρίνας καὶ τὸ Σωκράτους δωμάτιον; ἀλλ’ ὅσιν ὅποι γε ἐγώ ταύτα προτιμήσας τῶν πόνων ὄφθην. ἤδιστα ἂν σοι τοὺς ἐμαυτὸς πόνους διεξῆλθον καὶ τὰ ἐπικρεμασθέντα παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἡγεῖμενὸν, ὅτε τῆς παρ’ ὑμῖν ἥρχομεν παιδείας, δείματα, Κ εἰ μὴ σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἡπίστασο. τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν καὶ γένει προσήκοντα καὶ φιλία μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον ὄντα μοι πραχθέντα πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος ξένου μικρὰ παντελῶς γνωρίμου μοι γεγομένου, τοῦ σοφιστοῦ φημί, λέληθεν οὐδὲν σε. ἀποδημίας δὲ ὅσιν ὑπέστην τῶν φίλων ἑνεκα; καίτοι Καρτερίῳ μὲν οἰσθ’ ὅπος συνηράμην πρὸς τοῦ ἑταῖρον D ἡμῖν ἀφικόμενος 'Αράξιον ἄκλητος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεσμόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τῆς θαυμασίας 'Αρετῆς κτημάτων καὶ ὁν ἐπεπόνθει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων 'Αθηνῶν Cobet, 'Αθηναίων 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 ὦψε ὅλοις μησὶ δύο, ἀσθενοὺς ήδη μοι παντελῶς ὄντος τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς πρῶτης κακοπαθείας ἀρρωστίαν; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ τελευταῖον πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένης ἡμῖν ἀφίξεως, ὥστε περὶ τῶν ἑσχάτων, ὡς ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ πολλοὶ, κινδυνεύων ἑγὼ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ παρέμενον, ὅποιας ἔγραφον ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς σ' ἐν 260 νῦν ὑπομνήσθητι, μήτοτε ὄδυρμῶν πλῆρεις, μήτε μικρῶν ἢ ταπεινῶν ἡ λιαν ἀγεννές ἔχοντας. ἀπινὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, ὅτε με φεύγειν ἐνόμιζον πάντας, οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἑορτῇ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς τύχης ἐπαινῶν ἰδίον τῇ ἕφην εἶναι τὴν ἀμοιβήν ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον

χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβου' ἐνεαβαίνῳν ἕφην ἀντηλλάχθαι; οὕτως ἄντι τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἔστιας τὴν Ἑλλάδα λαχῶν ἐγανύμην, οὐκ ἄγρόν, οὐ κῆτον, οὐ δωμάτιον ἐκεῖ κεκτημένος.

'Αλλὰ ἵσως έοικα ἑγὼ τὰς μὲν δυσπραγίας οὐκ ἀγεννὸς φέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρεὰς ἀγεννής τις εἶναι καὶ μικρῶς, ὅ νε ἀγαπῶν τὰς Ἀθηνῶς μᾶλλον τοῦ νῦν περὶ ἡμᾶς ὅγκου, τὴν σχολὴν δὴπουθεν ἐκείνην ἐπαινῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλήθος τῶν πράξεων τούτων αἰτιώμενος τὸν βίον; Κ ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε χρῆ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμεινὸν κρῖνειν, οὐκ εἰς ἀπραξίαν καὶ πράξεις βλέποντας, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὸ Γυναῖκα σαυτόν καὶ τὸ

"Ερδοὶ δ' ἐκαστὸς ἦντιν' εἰδείη τέχνην.
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? 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”? 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.” 3

1 We know nothing more of the events here mentioned.  
2 A proverb derived from Iliad 6. 236, where Glaukos exchanges his golden armour for the bronze armour of Diomede.  
3 Aristophanes, Wasps 1431.
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Μεῖξον εμοίγε φαίνεται τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡ κατ’ ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ φύσεως δείςθαι δαιμονιστέρας βασιλεύς, ὡστερ οὖν καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγε· καὶ νῦν Δ’ Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ταύτῳ συντείνωντα παραγράψω λόγον, οὐ γάλακτα Ἀθηναίοις ἄγων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελῶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενος, φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἄνηρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συγγράμμασιν: “Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς ἀριστον θεία τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι, τῶς δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δὲ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοι τίνες ἐτυχον, βλαβερῶν. ἀλλὰ οὐ παραδόσει κύριος ὅν τοῖς τέκνοις; ἀλλ’ 261 οὐκ ἐτὶ ῥάδιον τοῦτο πιστεύσαι: χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ἡ κατ’ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν.”

ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ νόμον λεγομένου βασιλέως διεξελθὼν, ὡς 1 ἐστὶν υπηρέτησα καὶ φύλαξ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲ βασιλέα καλὼν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοιούτον εἴδος πολιτείας 2 οἰκόμενος, προστίθησιν: “Περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὐτὴ δ’ Β’ ἐστὶ καθ’ ἣν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς, δοκεῖ τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἐνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολίτων’ τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις φύσι πόλει ἀυτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαίον εἶναι.” εἶτα μετ’ ὅλιγον φησὶν. “Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νοῦν κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεόν καὶ τοὺς νόμους: ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπὸν κελεύων

1 ὡς Klimek, ὡς Hertlein, MSS.
2 τὴν τοιούτον εἴδος πολιτείας Hertlein suggests, cf. Aristotle Politics 3. 16, 1287 a, τὸ τοιούτον εἴδος 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,” 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.” 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.” 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- C
tον καὶ ὁ θυμὸς δὲ ἔδιαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἀνδρας. διὸ περ ἄνευ ὅρεξεως ὁ νοῦς νόμος ἐστίν.”

ὁρᾶς, ὁ φιλόσοφος ἔοικεν ἑνταῦθα σαφῶς ἀπι-
στοῦντι καὶ κατεγνωκότι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.

φησι γὰρ οὐτω ρήματι τούτο λέγον. οὐδεμίαν
ἀξίοχρεον εἶναι φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πρὸς τοσαύτην
τύχης ὑπεροχήν. οὐτε γὰρ τῶν παίδων τὸ κοινῷ

τοῖς πολιταῖς συμφέρον προτιμᾶν ἀνθρωπόν γε

οὕτα ῥάδιον ὕπολαμβάνει, καὶ πολλῶν ὁμοίων
ἀρχεῖν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι φήσι, καὶ τέλος ἑπιθέεις τὸν
κολοφῶνα τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις νόμον μὲν εἶναι

φήσι τὸν νοῦν χωρίς ὅρεξεως, ὁ μόνῳ τὰς

πολιτείας ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆναι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐδενὶ.

ὁ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς νοή, κἀν ὅσιν ἀγαθοὶ, συμπέπλεκ-
tαι θυμῷ καὶ ἑπιθυμίᾳ, θηρίοις χαλεπωτάτοις.

ταῦτα ἐμὸι δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀκρως

262 ὁμολογεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κρείττονα χρῆ τῶν

ἀρχομένων εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὐκ ἐπιτηθεῦσει

μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει διαφέροντα. ὁπερ εὑρέιν

ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐ τράδιον 2 ... καὶ τρίτον ὅτι πάσῃ

μηχανῇ κατὰ δύναμιν νόμοις προσεκτέον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ

παραχρήμα κειμένοις οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὅικε νόιν τεθηεῖσιν

ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν οὐ πάντῃ κατὰ νοῦν βεβιώκοτον, ἀλλ’

ὅστις μᾶλλον τὸν νοῦν καθαρθεῖς καὶ τὴν ψυχήν

οὐκ εἰς τὰ παρόντα ἀφορῶν ἄδικήματα οὐδὲ εἰς B

1 ὡς 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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tàς παρεστώσας τύχας τίθησι τούς νόμους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας φύσιν καταμαθών καὶ τὸ
dίκαιον οἶδ' ἐστι τῇ φύσει καὶ ποταπὸν ἐστὶ
tάδίκημα τεθεαμένος τῇ φύσει, εἰδ' ὁσα δυνατῶν
ἔστιν ἐκείθεν ἐνταῦθα μεταφέρων καὶ τιθέσι νόμους
τοῖς πολίταις κοινοῖς, οὕτε εἰς φιλίαν οὕτε εἰς
ἐχθραν ἀφορῶν οὕτε εἰς γείτονα καὶ εὐγγενῆ' Ο
κρείσσον δέ, εἰ μηδὲ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνθρωποι,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς ύστερον ἢ ξένους γράψας ἀποτελήσω
νόμους, ἔχων γε οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐπίτευχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἐξειν ἰδιωτικῶν συνάλλαγμα. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα
τὸν σοφὸν ἀκοῦσα μετὰ τῶν θυλῶν συμβουλευσά-
μενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀναρέσεως τοῖς μὲν
εὐπορίας ἀφορμὴν, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχὺς αἰτίαν παρα-
σχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸν ἁμον ἑλευ-
θερώσαντα. οὕτως οὐ βαδίζων ἐστι τὰς τοιαύτας
ἐκφυγεῖν κῆρας, κἂν τὸν αὐτοῦ νοῦν παράσχη τις
ἀπαθὴ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

'Α δεδιώς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἰκότως ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἔμ-
προσθεν βίον, καὶ σοι πειθομένους μάλιστα ταῦτα
ἐγὼ διανοοῦμαι, οὐχ ὅτι μοι τὸν ζήλον πρὸς
ἐκείνους μονὸν ἐφής προκείσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας,
Σόλωνα καὶ Δυκοῦργον καὶ Πιττακὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὅτι μεταβῆναι με φῆς ἐκ τῆς ὑποστέγου φιλο-
σοφίας πρὸς τὴν ὑπαίθριον. ἀδικερ οὖν, εἰ τῷ 263
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις υγιείας ἐνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ γυμ-
ναζομένῳ μετρίῳς οὐκαδε προϋλεγες, ὅτι "ἕν
ηκεῖς εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ μεταβέβηκας ἐκ τῆς ἐν
tῷ δωματίῳ παλαιότερα ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Δίως,
οὗ θεατὰς ἐξεις τοὺς τε ἀπανταχόθθεν "Ελληνας

1 οἶδ' Hertlein suggests, ὁ 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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cal. πρώτους γε τοὺς σαυτοῦ πολίτας, ὑπὲρ ὅν ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρῆ, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὓς ἐκπλήξαι χρέων, φοβερωτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα τὸ γε εἰς σὲ νῦν ἥκον ἐπιδείξατα, 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 τοὺς προσήκοντος εἶτε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνω, διδάξεις αὐτίκα μάλα.

Τπέρ δὲ ων ἀπορήσαι μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Σ τὴν σὴν παρέστη, ὡς φίλη κεφαλή καὶ πάσης ἔμοιγε τιμῆς ἄξια, Βούλομαι δηλώσαι σαφέστερον γάρ πως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμῶ μαθεῖν. ἔφησα ὅτι τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξιν παρὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπαινεῖς βίον, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν σοφὸν ἐκάλεις μάρτυρα, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τῷ πράττειν ἐν τιθέμενον, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν σκοποῦντα τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ζωῆς, διαπορείν ἀττα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐν ἄλλους προτιμᾶν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονας. τούτους δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν D εἶναι φῆς τοὺς βασιλέας, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἰρήκειν οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προστεθείσαν λέξιν, πλέον δὲ θάτερον εἶ ὅν παραγέγραφας ἀν τις νοῆσει. τὸ γὰρ "Μάλιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἔξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοίασις ἀρχιτέκτονας" εἰς τοὺς νομοθέτας καὶ
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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.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

tou8 politikous filosofous kai panta8 aplad8
tou8 v6 te kai logov prattontas, ou8i de eis tou8
autourgous kai tou8 politikon traxeon ergatas 264
eiristhai nomistou8. Ois ou8 apoxh6 monon enuth-
methina kai katanosei kai to praktik6 tou8
allous frasai, proshkei de autous ekastax meta-
chezesthai kai prattan ov oi nomoi diagorou8n
kai pollakias oi kairol prosoanagak6usi, plh
ei me tov arxitektona kaloumen, kathaper’Omenos
ton ‘Hrapklea kaleyin eiv6then en t6 poishe1 “megala-
lwv eptisvora ergwv,” autourgotaton apantwort
gevomenon.

Ei de tout’ alhthes upolambano memoira kai monon B
en to prattei t6 koiv6 fahem eudaimonias tou8
kuriou8,1 ou8tas kai basileu6ntas pollo8, t6 pote
perl’ Swkrateus ergume; Pudagor6n de kai
Demokritou kai ton Klazomeniou Ana6agor6n
isos dia t6n theorian kai6 allo ph6seis eudai-
monias. Swkrateis de t6n theorian paraistameno
kai t6n praktikon aghp6sas bl6n ou8de t6s
nymetis hyn t6s autou8 kuriou8 ou8de t6n paide6;
ht6ou8 O
ge dyvou8 hyn tr6wv politev6n ekeiv6n kratein uph6xen;
a’ ovn ou8 hyn ekeivnos praktik6s, enpel mhdenos hyn
kuriou8; en6w men ou8 ‘Alekandrou fhm6 meizoon
ton Swfroniskou katerygasasthai, t6n Platonou8
autou8 sofian anattideis, t6n ‘Eunof6ntos strat-
tgyan, t6n ‘Antwtheneous andreian, t6n ‘Ere-
trik6n filosofian, t6n Megarik6n, t6n Kebeta,

1 en t6 prattei . . . tou8 kuriou8 Hertlein suggests, tou8 en
 t6 prattei . . . kuriou8 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," 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 Sophroniscus performed greater tasks than Alexander, for to him I ascribe the wisdom of Plato, the generalship of Xenophon, the fortitude of Antisthenes, the Eretrian

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, τον Φαίδωνα, μυρίους ἄλλους· καὶ Δ
οὐπω φημὶ τᾶς γενομένας ἡμῖν ἐνθέν' ἀποκιάς,
tὸ Δύκειον, τὴν Στοάν, τὰς Ἀκαδημείας. τὶς οὖν
ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου νίκην; τὶς πόλεις
ἀμεινον φικήθη; τὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονε βελτίων ἰδιώ-
tῆς ἀνήρ; πλουσιωτέρους μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἀν
eὐροις, σοφώτερον δὲ οὕδενα οὔδε σωφρονιστέρου
αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζόνα καὶ
ὑπερόπτην. ὅσοι δὲ σώζονται νῦν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας,
dιὰ τὸν Σωκράτη σώζονται. καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐγὼ
μόνος, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρώτοσ
1 ἐοικεν ἐννοήσας 265
eἰπεῖν, ὅτι μὴ μειὸν αὐτῷ προσήκει φρονεῖν ἔπει τῇ
θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ τοῦ καθελόντος τὴν Περσῶν
dύναμιν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τούτῳ ἐκεῖνος ὅρθως ἐννο-
νησαί: νικᾶν μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρειας ἐστὶ μάλιστα καὶ
tῆς τύχης, κεῖσθω δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς ἐντρεχοῦς
tαύτης φρονήσεως, ἀλθεῖ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας
ἀναλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον τῆς τελείας ἐργῶν
ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσειν ἀν τὶς εἰκότως, πότερον Β
χρῆ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀνδρὰ ἡ θεὸν καλεῖν. εἰ γὰρ
ὄρθως ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἐκαστοῦ
ὐπὸ τῶν οἰκείων γνωρίζεσθαι, τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν ὁ
γνωρίσας θείος τις ἀν εἰκότως νομίζοιτο.

1 πρώτοσ Hertlein suggests, πρώτοσ MSS,
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 any-
thing 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 ἐσίκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρηματικὸν ὀρμήσαντες βίον τούτῳ παραβάλλειν τῶν πρακτικῶν, ἡ λαχείας παρατησάμενον καὶ σοῦ τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτῶν ἑκείνων, ὅν ἐπεμνήσθησ, Ἀρείου, Κ. Νικόλαου, Ὁρασύλλου καὶ Μουσώνιον μυημονεύσω. τούτων γὰρ οὐχ ὅταν τις ἦν κύριος τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀρείου, ὡς φασί, καὶ διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀγιάστου ἐπιτροπεύεσαι παρηγήσατο, Ὁρασύλλου δὲ Τιβέρῳ πικρῷ καὶ φύσει χαλεπῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγενόμενος, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν καταλειφθέτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογήσατο, δεῖξας ὅστις ἦν, ὥφλεν ἡν εἰς τέλος αἰσχύνην ἀναπάλλακτον, οὕτως αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ὁμήσει ἡ πολιτεία, Νικόλαος δὲ πράξεων μὲν οὐ μεγάλων αὐτουργοῦ γέγονε, γυνώριμος δὲ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ Μουσώνιος εἰς ὅν ἔπαθεν ἀνδρείως καὶ νη Δί ήμεγεκέν ἐγκρατῶς τὴν τῶν τυράννων ὁμότητα γέγονε γυνώριμος, ἵσως οὐκ ἔλαττον εὐδαιμονῶν ἑκείνων τῶν τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιτροπευσάντων βασιλείας. Ἀρείος δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Ἀγιάστου παρατησάμενος ἐκὸν 266 αὐτοῦ ἀπεστείρετο τοῦ κρατίστου τέλους εἰ τοῦτ' ἐκέντροι. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ἀπρακτός εἰ, μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε ἐθνοὺς ἡ πόλεως ἀρχῶν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἃν φαίη νοῦν ἔχων ἀνήρ. ἔξεστι γὰρ σοι φιλοσόφους πολλοὺς ἀποφήμαντι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας μείζωνα τὸν βίον ἐνεργεῖται τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ὁμοῦ βασιλεώς. οὐ μικρᾶς 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

προέστηκεν, οὔτε, καθάπερ ἐφης, συμβουλής ἔστι μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκείνους κύριος, οὔτε ἡ πράξεις εἰς λόγον αὐθείς αὐτῷ περισταται, ἔγραφ δὲ βεβαιῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φαινόμενοι τιοῦτος, ὁποῖους βουλεῖται τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι, πιθανότερος δὲν εἶ Ï καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ἀνυσιμῶτερος τῶν εὖ ἐπιτάγματος ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις παρορ-προ- ὁμών των.

'Αλλ' ἐπανειτέον εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπεραντέον τῆν ἐπιστολὴν μείζων ἰσως ὕσαν τοῦ δέοντος. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὃτι μῆτε τὸν πόνον ἰσώ θηνέων μῆτε ἀπαγο- μοσύνης καὶ βαστώνης ἑρῶν τὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δυσχεραίνω βίων ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην εἰς ἀρχὴν, οὔτε παιδείαν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδῶς τοσαύτην οὔτε φύσεως ὑπεροχήν, καὶ προσετί δεδιώς, μὴ φιλοσφίαι, ἢς ἑρῶν οὐκ ἐφικόμην, εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους οὔτε ἄλλως εὐδοκιμοῦσαν διαβάλλω, πῶλαι τε ἔγραφον ἐκεῖνα καὶ νῦν τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμήσεις ἀπελυ- σάμην εἰς δύναμιν.

Διδοῖ θεοί τὴν ἀριστή τύχην καὶ φρόνησιν ἄξιαν τῆς τύχης, ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν ἔκ τοῦ κρείττονος τὸ γε πλέον καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων ἄπασῃ μηχανῇ ἰ βοηθητέος εἶναι 267 μοι δοκῶ, προτεστηγμένως ὑμῶν καὶ προκινδυνεύων. εἰ δὲ τι μείζων ἰγαθὸν τῆς ἡμέτερας παρασκευῆς καὶ ἢς ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δι' ἡμῶν οί θεοὶ παράσχοι, χαλεπαίνων οὐ χρῆ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὖδὲν ἐμαυτῷ

1 ἄπασῃ μηχανῇ follows υμῶν 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 of no good
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συνειδώς ἄγαθὸν πλὴν τούτο μόνον, ὅτι μηδὲ σῶμα τὰ μέγιστα ἔχειν ἔχων τε ὁυδὲν, ὡς ὅρας αὐτὸς, εἰκότως βοῶ καὶ μαρτύρομαι μὴ μεγάλα παρ ἡμῶν ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τὸ Β πάν ἐπιτρέπειν οὕτω γὰρ ἔγω τῶν τε ἔλλειμ·

μάτων εἴην ἃν ἀνεύθυνος καὶ, γενομένων ἀπάντων

dεξιῶν, εὐγνώμων ἃν καὶ μέτριος εἴην, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίους ἐμαυτὸν ἔργοις ἐπιγράφων, τῷ θεῷ

dέ, ὡσπερ οὗν δίκαιον, προσανατεθεικώς ἀπαντῶ

αὐτὸς τε εἰσομαι καὶ ὑμᾶς προτρέπω τὴν χάριν
eἰδέναι.

1 τὸ Hertlein suggests, γε 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 testify\(^1\) 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.
S&W

Hampshire, January 1, 1876.

I am glad to hear from you and to learn that you have been in good health. I hope you will return to your studies and work. I think you will find that Litchfield has some books that you may want to read. I have been thinking about returning to school, but I believe I will wait until I have more money.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. Smith
LETTER TO THE SENATE AND
PEOPLE OF ATHENS
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.
Πολλῶν εἰργασμένων τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον τότε ἔξην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν νῦν ἔξεστι φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐγγυρμεῦ\-

νων τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τε ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἔγωγνόσατο μόνη πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους "Ἐλληνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδέν ἐστὶ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθία τοσαῦτη, πρὸς ἢν οὐκ Ἐνεστὶ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμιλληθήναι πόλεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ αὐταῖ, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ ἣν μὴ μεμιμημένος ἑπείτα ἀντιπαραβάλλων ἢ προτιμῶν ἐτέρας ἐτέραν ἐν οἷς διαμφισβητούσι νομισθεῖν ἢ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν, ὡσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες, ἐνδεέστερον ἑπαίνεων τὰς ἐλαττουμένας, τούτο ἐθέλοι φράσαι μόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὡς ὁ ἐπεὶν ἀντίπαλον ἔχομεν ἐξευρέων παρὰ τοὺς ἄλ-

λοις "Ἐλληνων, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης εἰς ἦμᾶς παραδεδομένον. ἀρχόντων μὲν Ἀλκεδαιμονίων οὐ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ δικαιοσύνης παρείλθεθε,
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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 nothing 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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καὶ τὸν 'Αριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον οἱ παρ' ύμῖν ἑθρέφαντο νόμοι. καίτοι γε ταῦτα οὕτως ὄντα λαμπρὰ τεκμῆρια διὰ λαμπροτέρων οἶμαι τῶν ἔργων ὁμος ἐπιστῶσασθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόξαι δίκαιον ἱσως ἄν τῷ καὶ ψευδὸς συμβαίη, καὶ τυχῶν οὐ παράδοξον εἰν πολλοὶς φαύλοις ἐνα γενέσθαι σπουδαίον. ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ παρὰ Μῆδοις ὑμεῖταί τις Δηνόκης 'Αβαρίς τε ἐν Ἐπερβορέοις καὶ Ἀνάχαρσις εἰν Σκύθαις; ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς τοῦτο ἑν ψαμμαστόν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς ἄδικωτάτοις γεγονότες ἔθεσε τὴν δίκην ὁμος ἐπίμησαν, τῷ μὲν ἀληθῶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρείας χάριν πλαττόμενος. δήμον δὲ ὅλον καὶ πόλιν ἐραστὰς ἔργων καὶ λόγων δικαίων ἔξω τῆς παρ' ύμῖν οὐ ράδιον εὑρεῖν. βουλομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐνὸς τῶν παρ' ύμῖν πολλῶν γε ὄντων ἔργων ὑπομνήσαι. Θεωστοκλέους γὰρ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι διανοούμενον λάθρα καταφλέξαι τὰ νεώρια τῶν Ἐλλήνων, εἰτὰ μὴ τολμῶντοι εἰς τῶν δήμων Σλέγειν, ἐνὶ δὲ ὁμολογοῦντος πιστεύσει τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ὀντερ ἀν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονήσας προελητησ, προβάλετο μὲν ὁ δῆμος τοῦ 'Αριστείδην τοῦ δὲ ἀκούσας τῆς γνώμης ἔκρυψε μὲν τὸ ῥηθέν, ἔξηνεγκε δὲ εἰς τῶν δήμων, ὡς οὔτε λυσιτελέστερον οὔτε ἄδικωτερον εἰη τι τοῦ βουλεύματος καὶ
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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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Whereupon the city at once voted against it and rejected it, very nobly, by Zeus, and as it behoved men to do who are nurtured 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 Σ ἐμαυτοῦ.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ὀθενπερ καὶ Κωνσταντῖῳ τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ὀρμη-
tαι, φανερόν. τῷ γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ πατέρε γεγονατον ἀδελφῶ πατρόθεν. οὕτω δὲ πλησίον ἡμᾶς ὤντας
συγγενεῖς ὁ φίλανθρωπότατος οὕτος Βασίλειος
οία εἰργάσατο, εξ μὲν ἀνεψιοῦ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ
ἐαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν,1 εαυτοῦ δὲ θείον,
καὶ προσέτε κοινών ἐτερον τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς 
θείον ἀδελφὸν τε ἐμὸν τὼν προσβύτατον ἀκρίτους
κτείνας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἐτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν ἑθελήσας
μὲν κτείναι, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλλὼν φυγὴν, ἀφ' ἦς
ἐμὲ μὲν ἀφήκεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὀλύγῳ πρότερον τῆς
σφαγῆς ἔξεδυσε2 τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνωμα, τὶ
με δὲι νὰν ὀστὲρ ἐκ τραγῳδίας τὰ ἀρρητὰ
ἀναμετρεῖσθαι; μετεμελῆσε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασὶ,
καὶ ἐδήχθη δεῖνως, ἀπαίδευν τε ἐντεῦθεν νομίζει
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δύστυχεϊν, τὰ τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Πέρσας
οὐκ εὐτυχῶς πράττειν ἐκ τούτων ὑπολαμβάνει
ταῦτα ἔθρυλουν οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλήν τότε καὶ
τὸν μακαρίτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλον, τοῦτο
νὰν πρῶτον ἀκούοντα τὸ ὄνομα: κτείνας γὰρ
αὐτόν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ τῶν πατρων
μεταλαχεῖν εἰς τὰ φῶν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐαγοῦς ἥξιώσε
μνήμης.

"Οπερ οὖν ἐφῆν, ἔλεγον τοσαῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ Β
ἐπείθον ἡμᾶς,3 ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπατηθεῖς εἰργάσατο,
τὰ δὲ βίᾳ καὶ ταραχαῖς εἰξας ἀτάκτον καὶ

1 τὸν ἐμὸν Hertlein suggests, ἐμὸν MSS.
2 ἔξεδυσε Hertlein suggests, ἔρρυσατο οὐδὲ Cobet, ἔρρυσατο 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, 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?" 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 ταρρητ' ἀναμετρησασθαλ με δει;
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taraχόδους στρατεύματος. τοσάτα ἡμῶν ἐπηδον ἐν ἀγρῷ τυι τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κατακεκλεισμένοις, οὐδένα ἐώντες προσελθεῖν, τόν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι ¹ φυγῆς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι, ἐμὲ δὲ κομιδὴ μειράκιον ἐτί τῶν διδασκαλείων ἀπαγόντες. πῶς ἂν ἐνταῦθα φράσαμι περὶ τῶν ο ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, οὐς ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κτήματι διάγοντες, ² ὦσπερ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τηροῦμενοι, μηδὲν ἡμῶν προσίοντος ξένου μηδὲ τῶν πάλαι γυνώμων ἐπιτρεπομένου τινὸς ὡς ἡμᾶς φοιτῶν, διεξάιμεν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι παντὸς μὲν μαθήματος σπουδαίον, πάσης δὲ ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως, ἐν ταῖς λαμπράις οἰκετελίαις τρεφόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δούλωις ὦσπερ ἐταῖροις D συγγυμναζόμενοι; προσθεί γὰρ οὔδεις οὔδε ἐπετρέπτετο τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν.

Ἐντεύθεν ἐγὼ μὲν μόνις ἀφεῖθην διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐτυχῶς, ὃ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὃ ἐμὸς εἰς τὴν αὐλῆν καθελχθη δυστυχῶς, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τι περὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀγριον καὶ τραχὺ τὸν ἑκεῖνον κατεφάνη, τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς ὅρειον τροφῆς συνηνυξήθη. δίκαιος οὖν οἷμαι καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν αὐτίαν ὃ ταύτης ἡμῶν πρὸς βίαν μεταδείκνυς τῆς τροφῆς, ἢς ἐμὲ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καθαροὶ ἀπέφυγαν 272 καὶ ἐξάντη, τῷ δὲ οὔδεις ἐνέδωκεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρίων ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθόντι.

¹ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι φυγῆς Hertlein suggests, ἀπὸ τρὰ φυγῆς V, ἀπὸ τρὰ φυγῆς Petavius.
² διάγοντες Hertlein suggests, διαγαγόντες MSS.

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ciplined and mutinous army. This was the strain they kept up to soothe us when we had been imprisoned in a certain farm 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.
Απείδη πρώτον αυτῷ περιέθηκεν ἄλωργης ἰμάτιον, αὐτίκα φθονεῖν ἀρξάμενος οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιέλειν τὸ πορφυρῷν ἰμάτιον ἀρκεσθεὶς. καίτοι τοῦ ξῆν γοῦν ἄξιος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύειν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτηδείος. ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν καὶ τούτοι στέρεσθαι. ξυγχωρῶ, λόγον γε πάντως ὑποσχόντα πρότερον, Β' ὀστερ τοὺς κακοῦργους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει τῷ δῆσαντι κτεῖνειν, τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας δὲ τιμᾶς, ὅσ ἐἰχον, καὶ γενομένους ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἴδιοτὰς ἀκρίτους φησὶ δεῖν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. τί γὰρ, εἰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰχεν ἀποφήναι τοὺς αἰτίους; ἐδέδοντο γὰρ αὐτῷ Σ τυχῶν ἐπιστολαί, Ἡράκλεις, ὅσα ἔχουσαι καὶ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ἀλὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγανακτήτης ἀκρατέστερον μὲν καὶ ἴκιστα βασιλικῶς ἐφήκε τῷ θυμῷ, τοῦ μέντοι μηδὲ ξῆν ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐπετράχει. πῶς γὰρ; οὐχ οὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπως ἀπασι κοινὸς Ἐλλησιών ἁμα καὶ βαρβάρως ὁ νόμος, ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικίας ὑπάρχοντας; ἀλλ' ἰσος μὲν ἢμύνατο πικρότερον. οὐ μὴν ἔξω πάντη τοῦ εἰκότος· τὸν γὰρ ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐικός τι καὶ ποιεῖν, εἰρήνη καὶ πρόσθεν. ἀλλ' εἰς D χάριν ἐνὸς ἀνδρογύνου, τοῦ κατακοιμητοῦ, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιτρόπου τῶν ἀνεψιών, τὸν καίσαρα, τὸν τῆς ἄδελφης ἄνδρα γενόμενον,
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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 that an enemy may be expected to harm one in a fit of anger. But it was to gratify a eunuch, 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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tον τῆς ἀδελφίδος πατέρα, οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον ἦν ἀγαγόμενος τῆς ἀδελφῆς, πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸ τοσαῦτα θεών ὁμογενῶν ὑπήρχε δίκαια, κτεῖναι παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· ἐμὴ δὲ ἀφῆκε μόνης ἐπτὰ μηνῦ ὅλων ἔλκυσας τῆς κάκεισε καὶ ποιησάμενος ἔμφρουρον, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις 273 ἔθελήσας με σωθῆναι τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν τὸ τηνικαῦτα μοι παρέσχεν εὐμενὴν Εὐσεβίαν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰς χειρὰς αὐτοῦ τότε διεφυγόν. καίτοι μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδ' ὄναρ μοι φανείς ἀδελφὸς ἐπετράχει καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνήν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἐφοίτων οὐδὲ ἐβάδιζον παρ' αὐτόν, ὅλγακις δὲ ἔγραφον καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅλγων. ὡς οὖν ἀποφυγὼν Β ἐκείθεν ἄσμενος ἐπορεύμην ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἑστίαν· πατρᾷν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχέ μοι οὐδὲ ἐκεκτήμην ἐκ τοσοῦτων, ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν πατέρα κεκτήσθαι τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐκ ἔλαχιστὴν βόλον, οὐκ ἀνδράποδον, οὐκ οἰκίαν· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ καλὸς Κωνστάντιος ἐκληρονόμησεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν ἀπασαν, ἐμοὶ τε, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲ γρῦ μετέδωκεν αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ μόνῳ τῶν πατρῴων ἐδωκεν ὅλγα, πάντων αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενος τῶν μητρῶν.

"Οσα μὲν οὖν ἐπραξὲ πρὸς με πρὶν ὀνόματος Σ μὲν μεταδοῦναι μοι τοῦ σεμνοτάτου, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς πικροτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἐμβαλεῖν δουλείαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, τὰ πλείστα γοῦν ὃμως

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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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άκηκόατε¹ πορευομένου δή² λοιπόν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, ἀγαπητῶς τε καὶ μόνις ἀποσεομένου, συκοφάντης τις ἀνεφάνη περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον, ὅτα τοῖς ἑκεῖ πράγματα ἔρρατεν ὡς νεώτερα διανουμένου. ἧστε δὲ δὴ θυμοῦθεν ἄκοψι τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν Μαρίνον σύκουν ὡμᾶς οὐδὲ ὁ Φήλιξ ἠλάθεν οὕτε ὡς ἐπράξη περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ' ὡς τούτῳ ἀυτῷ κατεμνύθη τὸ πράγμα, καὶ Δυνάμιος ἐξαιφνης, ἀλλος συκοφάντης, ἐκ Κελτῶν ἤγγειλεν ὅσον οὕτω τὸν Σιλονανὸν αὐτῷ πολέμου ἀναφανείσθαι, δείσας παντάπασι καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐπ' ἐμεί τέμπει, καὶ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κελεύσας ὑποχωρήσαι πάλιν ἐκείθεν ἐκάλει παρ' ἑαυτὸν, 274 οὕτω πρότερον τεθεαμένος πλὴν ἀπαξ μὲν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, ἀπαξ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀγωνισμένης Εὐσεβίας, ὡς ἄν ύπερ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ θαρρήσαιμι. καίτοι τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πόλιν ἐξ ὕκησα μηνῶν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέσχετο μὲ θεώσεσθαι πάλιν. ἀλλ' ὁ θεοὶς ἐχθρὸς ἀνδρόγυνος, ὁ πιστὸς αὐτοῦ κατακοιμησθης, ἐλάθε μου καὶ ἂκοιν εὐεργέτης γενόμενος· οὗ γὰρ ἔλαθεν ἐντυχεῖν με πολλάκις αὐτῷ, τυχὼν μὲν οὐδὲ Β ἐθέλοντι, πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκείνος ἤν ὅκνει γὰρ ὡς ἄν μὴ τινος συνηθείας ἐγγενομένης ἡμῶν πρὸς ἄλλην ἕπειτα ἀγαπηθεῖν καὶ πίστος ἀναφανεὶς ἐπιτραπεῖν τι.

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

¹ ἀκηκόατε Cobet, ἡκοῦσατε Hertlein, MSS.
² δή 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 ἡ μακαρίτις Εὐσεβία καὶ λίαν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο. μικρὸν δὲ ύστερον ἐπελθόντος τούτου·
καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ τά περὶ Σιλουανοῦ ἐπέτραπτο. Οὐκ ἄνω τοῦ ἐπεσδός τε εἰς τὴν αὐλήν διδοταί, καὶ τὸ
λεγόμενον ἡ Θετταλικὴ περιβάλλεται πειθανάγκη.
ἀρνουμένον γάρ μου τὴν συνουσίαν στερεῶς ἐν
tοῖς βασιλείσις, οἱ μὲν ὦσπερ ἐν κουρεῖφ συνελ-
θόντες ἀποκείρουσι τὸν πόγωνα, χλαύδα δὲ
ἀμφιενύουσι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν, ὡς τὸτε ὑπελάμ-
βανον, πάνυ γελοίον στρατιώτην· οὐδὲν γάρ μοι Δ
τοῦ καλλωπισμοῦ τῶν καθαρμάτων ἠρμοζεν·
ἐβάδιζον δὲ οὐχ ὦσπερ ἑκεῖνον περιβλέποντας καὶ
σοβῶν ἀλλ' εἰς γῆν βλέπον, ὦσπερ εἰθίσμην
ὑπὸ τοῦ θρέφαντος με παιδαγωγοῦ. τὸτε μὲν οὖν
αὐτοῖς παρέσχον γέλωτα, μικρὸν δὲ ύστερον ὑπο-
ψίαν, εἶτα ἀνέλαμψεν ὁ τοσοῦτος φθόνος.

'Αλλ' ἐνταῦθα χρῆ μὴ παραλεῖπεν ἑκεῖνα, πῶς
ἐγώ συνεχώρησα, πῶς ἐδεχόμην ὁμωρόφιος 3
ἐκεῖνος γενέσθαι, οὐς ἐπιστάμην παντὶ μὲν 
μου λυμηναμένους τῷ γένει, ὑπόπτευον δὲ οὖν 
εἰς 275 
μακραν ἐπιθυμεύσοντας καὶ ἐμοὶ. τηγάς μὲν 
οὖν ὀπόσας ἀφῆκα δακρύων καὶ θρήνους οἴουν,
ἀνατέινων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν τὰς
χείρας, οτὲ ἐκαλούμην, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἰκετεύων
σώζειν τὸν ἴκετήν καὶ μὴ ἔκδοδέναι, πολλοὶ
tῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐρωκότες εἰςὶ μοι μάρτυρες, αὕτη
de ἡ θέδος πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι καὶ θάνατον
ἡτησάμην παρ' αὐτής Ἀθηνῆς πρὸ τῆς τότε B

1 περιβλέπον... 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 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 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 eyewitnesses 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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όδου. ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐ προὐδωκεν ἢ θεὸς τῶν
ικήτην οὖδὲ εξέδωκεν, ἔργοις ἐδειξεν ἡγήσατο
γὰρ ἀπανταχόμοι καὶ παρέστησεν ἀπανταχόθεν
τοὺς φύλακας, ἐξ Ἦλιου καὶ Σελήνης ἀγγέλους
λαβοῦσα.

Συνέβη δέ τι καὶ τοιούτων. ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸ Μεδιό-
λανον ἄκουν ἐν τινὶ προαστείῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἐπεμπέν
Εὐσεβία πολλάκις πρὸς μὲ φιλοφρονομένη καὶ
γράφει κελεύουσα καὶ ἥκερειν, ὕπερ ὅτου ἄν
dέομη, γράφας ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιστολῆν, Ε
μᾶλλον δὲ ἰκετηρίαν ὅρκους ἔχουσαν τοιούτων:
Οὕτω παίσα ἐκῆρσαι κληρονόμοις, οὕτω τὰ καὶ
tὰ θεοὶ σοι δοῖς, πέμπτε μὲ οὔκ δὲ τὴν ταχι-
στὴν, ἐκεῖνο ὑπειδόμην ὡς οὐκ ἄσφαλες εἰς
tὰ βασιλεία πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος γυναῖκα γράμ-
mata εἰσπέμπειν. ἵκετευσα δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς νῦκτωρ
dηλώσαι μοι, εἰ χρη πέμπτεν παρὰ τὴν βασιλίδα
tὸ γραμματεῖον· οἱ δὲ ἐπητεῖλησαν, εἰ πέμψαιμι,
θάνατον αἰσχυντόν. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα γράφω, D
καλὸ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπαντας μάρτυρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ
grάμματα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέσχον εἰσπέμψαι. εξ ἐκεί-
nης δὲ μοι τῆς νυκτὸς λογίσομος εἰσήλθεν, οὐ καὶ
ὑμᾶς ἵς ἀξίων ἀκούσαι. Νῦν, ἐφη, ἐγὼ τοῖς
θεοῖς ἀντιτάττεσθαι διανοοῦμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαντοῦ
βουλεύεσθαι κρείττον νεομίκα τῶν πάντα εἰδό-
tων. καίτιοι φρόνησις ἀνθρωπίνῃ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
ἀφορώσαι μόνον ἀγαπητῶς ἀν τύχοι καὶ μόνις τοῦ 276
πρὸς ὄλην ἀναμαρτήτων. διότερ οὐδεὶς οὐθ ὑπὲρ
tῶν εἰς τριακοστὸν ἐτῶν βουλεύεται οὗτε ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἡδῆ γεγονότων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδύνα-

1 ἐδειξεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεδειξεν MSS.
2 τριακοστὸν Hertlein suggests, τριακοσιοστὸν MSS.

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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 ἀρχαὶ τινὲς εἰσὶν ἡδη καὶ σπέρματα. φρόνησις δὲ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκιστον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πάν βλέπουσα μηνύει τε ὤρθως καὶ πράττει τὸ λαὸν αἴτιοι γὰρ εἰσὶν αὐτοὶ καθάπερ τῶν ὀντῶν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων. οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ Ὁ τῶν παρόντων ἐπίστασθαι. τέως μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει μοι κατὰ τοῦτο συνετωτέρα τῆς ἐμπροσθεν ἡ δευτέρα γνώμη. σκοπῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ δίκαιον εὐθέως ἔφην. Εἴτα σὺ μὲν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τι τῶν σῶν κτημάτων ἀποστεροῖ σε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ χρήσεως ἢ καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοι καλούμενοι, κὰν ἵππος τύχῃ καὶ Σ πρόβατον κὰν θηρίον, ἀνθρωπὸς δὲ εἶναι θυελλόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἄγελαιων οὐδὲ τῶν συρφετωδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ μετρίων ἀποστερεῖς σεαυτοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις ἔφ' ὦ, τι ἀν ἐθέλωσι χρῆσασθαί σοι; ὡρα μὴ πρὸς τῷ λίαν ἀφρόνως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλογόρως πράττης. ἢ δὲ ἀνδρεία ποῦ καὶ τίς; γελοιοῦν. ἐτοιμὸς γοῦν εἰ καὶ θωπεύσαι καὶ κολακεύσαι δέει τοῦ θανάτου, ἐξὸν ἀπαντα καταβαλεῖν καὶ τῶν θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πράττειν ὡς βοῦλονται, διελόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἥξιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοι πράττειν ὡς ἄν ἐνδέχηται, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐπ' ἐκείνως 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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didómea dé par' autoín aphélós 1 dêxeisbain. taut-
tn égō nomísas óuk ásphalh mónon, allá pré-
pousan ándri metríw gnómn, épexe kai tá tōn
thetai éstímaive tautí. to gár épitboulías éyla-
boúmeno tás melloúsas eis aíghtron kai protptton
émbalein éautón kíndunon deínos éfaínëto moi
thorvbòdes: eixai kai úptíkon. kai to mé
ōnoma moi tachéw kai to xlañidion perieblhth

1 áphelós Cobet, ásphalós Hertlein, MSS.
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. 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 physician 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 ἔξηκοντά μοι δοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνος ἀνατετραμμένον ἐστειλε, μεσοῦντος ἦδη τοῦ χειμώνος, όυκ ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκείσε στρατοπέδων ἢ τοῖς ἐκείσε στρατηγοῖς ὑπακούοντα. ¹ ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνετε-ταλτο διαρρήθην οὗ τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ παραφυλάττειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ νεώτερον τι πράξαιμ. τούτων δὲ ὃν ἔφην τρόπον γενομένων, περὶ τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερινὰς ἐπιτρέπει μι δαίζειν εἰς τὰ 278 στρατόπεδα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περιοισοῦντι τὴν ἕαυτον· καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ τοῦτο εἴρητο καὶ ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι τοῖς Γάλλοις οὐ βασιλέα δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὴν ἕαυτον πρὸς ἐκείνους εἰκόνα κο-μιόντα.

Οὐ κακῶς δὲ, ὡς ἀκηκόατε, τοῦ πρώτου στρα-τηγηθέντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πραξθέντος σπου-δαίον, πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια πάλιν ἐπανελθῶν εἰς τὸν Β ἔσχατον κατέστην κίδυνον. οὐτὲ γὰρ ἄθροίζειν ἔξην μοι στρατόπεδον· ἐτερος γὰρ ἢν ὁ τούτον κύριος· αὐτὸς τε ἦν ὅλιγοις ἀποκεκλεισμένος, εἰτα παρὰ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων αἰτηθεὶς ἐπικου-ρίαν, ὃν εἶχον τὸ πλείστον ἐκείνοις δοὺς, αὐτὸς ἡ ἀπελείφθην μόνος. ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὡς οὔτως ἐπράξθη τότε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχων ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενομένοις αὐτῶ παρρήθη καὶ ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἄρχης, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπιπεμίστους δόξας, ἔγορας C ἐνομίζοντα ἥκιστα σπουδαῖοι καὶ δευτοῦ στρατηγός, ἄτε πράοιν ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ μέτρουν. οὐ

¹ ὑπακούοντα Hertlein suggests, ὑπακούοντα MSS.
² αὐτός MSS., Cobet, [αὐτός] 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

1 355 A.D.  2 At Vienne.  3 Marcellus.
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γάρ ὅμως δεῖν ἵνα μαθεῖ παραστρατηγεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποῦ τι τῶν λίαν ἐπικυδύνων ἔώρων ἢ δέον γενέσθαι παρορόμενον ἢ καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν μὴ δέον γενέσθαι γιγνόμενον. ἀπαξ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον οὐ καθηκόντως μοι τινων χρησαμένων, ἐμαυτοῦ φύσην χρὴν εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν τὴν χλανίδα περιέφερον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τούτων γὰρ τὸ τημικαύτα διενούμην ἀποπεφάνθαι κύριος.

'Εξ ὠν ο Κουστάντιος νομίσας ὀλίγον μὲν ἐπιδώσειν, οὐκ εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεταβολῆς ἥξειν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πράγματα, διδώσει μοι τῶν στρατοπέδων τὴν ὑγεμονίαν ἢρος ἁρχῇ καὶ στρατεύω μὲν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σιτοῦ, τολλῶν πάνω Γερμανῶν περὶ τὰς πετορθημένας ἐν Κελ-

279 τοῖς πόλεις ἄδεως κατοικοῦντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων πέντε ποικ. καὶ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστι, τείχη τὰ διηρπασμένα δίχα τῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων φρουρίων. ἦς δ' ἐνέσχον τὸ ὑπὲρ τάδε τοῦ 'Ῥήνου πάσης οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μέγεθος ὁπόσον ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόμενος ἄχρι τοῦ Ὀμειανοῦ περιλαμβάνει τριακόσια δὲ ἀπείχον τῆς ἴδιος τοῦ 'Ῥήνου στάδια οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκούντεσ ἐσχάτοις, τριπλάσιον δὲ ἢ ἐντούτοις πλάτος τὸ καταλειφθέν ἔρημον υπὸ τῆς λεγασίας, ἐνθὰ Β

οὖδὲ νέμειν ἐξῆς τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ πόλεις τινὲς ἐρημοῦ τῶν ενοικοῦντων, αἰς οὕτω παράκολου ἡ βάρβαροι. ἐν τούτοις οὔσαν κατά-

καθών ἐγὼ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλιν τε ἀνέλαβον τὴν

1 ὀλίγον Hertlein suggests, ὀλίγῳ 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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'Αγριππίναν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήμα, πρὸς μηνῶν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν δέκα, καὶ τεῖχος Ἀργεντώπορα πλησίον πρὸς ταῖς ὑπορείαις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βοσέγου, καὶ ἐμαχεσάμην οὐκ ἀκλεώς. ἦσας καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅφικετό ἡ θυσία του ἐκαύτη μάχη. ἔνθα τῶν θεῶν δόντων μου τῶν βασιλεά τῶν πολεμών αἰχμαλωτών, οὐκ ἐφθάνησα τοῦ κατορθώματος Κωνσταντίων, καίτοι εἰ μὴ θριαμβεύειν ἐξῆς, ἀποσφάττει τὸν πολέμων κύριον. ημῖν, καὶ ἱπτημὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄγων τῆς Κελτίδος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπίδεικνυεῖν καὶ ὅσπερ ἐντυρφάν τοῦ Χνυδοματίου ταῖς συμφοραῖς. τοῦτων οὐδὲν ψήθην δειν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Κωνστάντιον αὐτοῦ εὐθέως ἀπέπεμψα, τότε ἀπὸ τῶν Κονάδων καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπανότατα. συνέβη τοῖνυν, ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀγωνισμένου, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὀδευσάντως μόνον καὶ φιλίως ἐντυχόντος τοῖς παροικοῦσι τὸν Ἰστροῦ ἔθνεσιν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον θριαμβέυσαι.

Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο δεύτερος ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀπελήλαντο τῆς Παλατίας οἱ βάρβαροι, πλείσται δὲ ἀνελήφθησαν τῶν πόλεων, παμπληθεῖσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίδος ναῦς ανηρχθῆσαν. ἔξακοσίων νηῶν ἀνήγαγον στόλου, διὰ τας τετρακοσίας εἰς οὐδὲ ὁλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυπηγησάμενοι πάσας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν Ῥήμαν, ἔρχον οὖ μικρὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους καὶ πολεοκοῦντας πλησίον βαρβάρους. ὁ γοῦν Φλωρέντιος οὕτως ἠθέτει τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, ὅστε ἀργύρου δισχιλίας

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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.
Λίτρας ὑπέσχετο μισθὸν ἀποτίσειν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὑπὲρ τῆς παρόδου, καὶ ὁ Κωνστάντιος ὑπὲρ τοῦτον μαθῶν ἐκοινώσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς δόσεως, ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτῷ πράττειν. Β κελεύσας, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχρὸν μοι φανεῖν. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἤν αἰσχρὸν, ὅτιν Κωνσταντίῳ τοιοῦτον ἐφάνη, λιῶν εἰσαχῆτο θεραπεύειν τοὺς βαρβάρους; ἐδόθη μὴν αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἄλλο ἐπ' αὐτοῦς στρατεύσας, ἀμυνότων μοι καὶ παρεστῶτον τῶν θεῶν, ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοίραν τοῦ Σαλίων ἔθνους, Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα, πολλὰς βοῶς καὶ γύναια μετὰ παιδαρίων συλλαβῶν. οὕτω δὲ πάντας ἑφόβησα καὶ παρεσκευάσα καταπτήξας τὴν ἐμὴν ἑφοδόν, ὡστε παραχρῆμα λαβεῖν ὀμῆρους καὶ τῇ Συτοπομπίᾳ παρασχεῖν ἀσφαλῆ κομίδην.

Μακρὸν ἔστι πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ καθ' ἐκαστὸν γράφειν, ὥσα ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐπραξα τέταρτοι τὰ κεφάλαια δὲ τρίτον ἔπερασθηνν καίσαρ ἐτὶ τῶν 'Ῥήνων' δισμυρίους ἀπήτησα παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὲρ τῶν 'Ῥήνων οὖντας αἰχμαλώτους' ἐκ δυοῦν ἀγώνων καὶ μᾶς πολιορκίας χιλίους ἔξελων ἐξωγηρήσα, οὐ τὴν ἀχρηστὸν ἡμικιάν, ἄνθρας δὲ ἱδώντας ἐπεμψα τὸν Κωνσταντίῳ τέτταρας ἀριθμοὺς τῶν κρατιστῶν πεζῶν, τρεῖς ἄλλους τῶν ἐλαιττων, ἵππεον τάματα δύου τὰ ἐντιμῶτα: πόλεις ἀνέλαβον νῦν μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐθελοῦντων πάσας, τότε δὲ ἀνειλήφειν ἐλάττους οὐ λίγω τῶν τεσσαρακοντα. μάρτυρας καλώ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς πολιούχους τε καὶ ὁμογνῖους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς προαίρεσεως εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ πίστεως, ὧτι τοιοῦτος ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτῷ πράττειν Horkel, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πρὸς με, πράττειν Hertlein, MSS.

1 ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτῷ πράττειν Horkel, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πρὸς 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, ὅτι ἂν εἰλήμην ἐγὼ ὑπὸ περὶ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. τετίμηκα μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὡς οὐδεὶς καὶ σάραν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐμπροσθεὶν αὐτοκρατόρων. οὐδὲν γοῦν εἰς τὴν τήμερον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐγκαλεῖ μοι, καὶ ταῦτα παρρησιασαμένῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ γελοίους αἰτίας ὄργης ἀναπλάττει. Δουππικίων, φησί, καὶ τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κατέσχες· οὐς εἰ καὶ κτέινας ἡμὴν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἐμοιγε

281 ἐβελντο, ἐχρήν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παθόντων ὄργην ἀφεῖναι τῆς ὁμονοίας ἔνεκα. τούτους δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι διαθείς ὡς παραχώδεις φύσει καὶ πολεμο-

ποιούς κατέσχον, πολλὰ πάνω δαπανῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, ἀφελόμενος δ’ ὁ Κωστάντιος νομοθετεί. ὁ γὰρ χαλεπάνων ὑπὲρ τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἄρ’ οὐκ ὑπείδηξε μοι καὶ κατεγελά τῆς μωρίας, ὅτι τὸν φονέα πατρός, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνεψιῶν, ἀπάσης ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐστίας καὶ συγγενείας τὸν δήμων εἰς τοῦτο ἑθεράπευσα; σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὅπως καὶ γενό-ο

μενος αὐτοκράτωρ ἑτὶ θεραπευτικῶς αὐτῷ προση-

νέχθην ἐξ ὧν ἐπέστειλα.

Καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ὅποιόν τις γέγονα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἰσεσθε. αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων κληρονομήσω μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τῶν κίνδυνων, εξεργασθήσεται δὲ ἐτέρους τὰ πλείστα, πρῶτον μὲν ἱκέτευον, εἰ ταῦτα 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. 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 αὐτῷ φαίνοιτο καὶ πάντως ἐμὲ προσαγορεύειν καίσαρα δεδογμένον εἰς, ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ σπουδαίους δοῦναι μοι τοὺς ὑποργοῦντας. ὦς δὲ ὁ μὲν εἰς ὁ πονηρὸτατος καὶ μάλα ἁμενος 1 υπήκουσε, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἥξιον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρα διδωσιν ἀκών ἐμοὶ καὶ μάλα ἀγαθὸν Σαλούστιον, ὅσ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὑποπτος. οὐκ ἀρκεθεὶς ἐγὼ τῶν τοιούτω, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ κατανόησας 2 τῷ μὲν ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιστεύοντα, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ ὅλως προσέχοντα, 282 τῆς δέξιας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἱψάμενος.

Τούτων, ἐφη, οὐδεὶς ἔστι μοι συνήθης οὐδὲ γέγονεν ἐμπροσθεν ἐπιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ φήμης, σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἐτάργους ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φίλους νομίζω, τοὺς πάλαι γνωρίμοις ἐπὶ ἴσης τιμῶν. οὐ μὴν δικαίον ἡ τούτως ἐπιτετράφθαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἡ τὰ τούτων ἡμῖν συγκινδυνεύσαι. τί οὖν ἴσετεύω; γραπτοὺς ἡμῖν δόσ ὁστερ νόμους, τίων Β ἀπεχεσθαι χρῆ καὶ ὅσα πράττειν ἐπιτρέπεις. δῆλον γὰρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον ἐπαινέσεις, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα κολάσεις, εἰ καὶ δ’, τὶ μάλιστα νομίζω μηδένα ἀπειθήσειν.

"Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Πεντάδιος αὐτίκα καινοτομεῖν, οὐδὲν χρῆ λέγειν ἀντέπραττον δὲ ἔγω πρὸς πάντα, καὶ γίνεται μοι δυσμενῆς ἐκεῖθεν. εἰτ’ ἄλλοι λαβῶν καὶ παρασκευάσας δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, Παύλου, Γαυδέντιον, τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπ’ C

1 ἁμενος Hertlein suggests, ἁμενως 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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εμε μισθωσάμενος συκοφάντας, Σαλούστιον μεν ὡς ἐμοὶ φίλον ἀποστήναι παρασκευάζει, Δουκιλιανόν δὲ δοθήναι διάδοχον αὐτίκα. καὶ μικρὸν ὑστερον καὶ Φλωρέντιος ἦν ἐχθρὸς ἐμοὶ διὰ τὰς πλεονεξίας, ἀις ἡγατιοῦμην. πείθονσι οὕτῳ τὸν Κωνστάντιον ἀφελέσθαι με τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀπάντων, ἵσως τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ξηλοτύπιας τῶν κατορθωμάτων κινζόμενον, καὶ γράφει γράμματα δ πολλῆς μὲν ἀτιμίας εἰς ἐμὲ πλήρη, Κελτοίς δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἀπειλοῦντα: μικροῦ γὰρ δέω φάναι τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀπαν ἀδιακρίτως τὸ μαχιμῶταν ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπιτάξας τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Λουπτικίνῳ τε καὶ Γιντωνίῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὡς ἀν πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθεὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν.

'Ἐνταύθα μέντοι τίνα τρόπον τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴποιμι' ἂν ἔργα πρὸς ὑμᾶς; διενούμην' μάρτυρες 283 δὲ αὐτοῖς πάσαν ἀπορρίφας τὴν βασιλικὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἡσυχάζειν, πράττειν δὲ οὕτω δῶς, ἀνέμενον δὲ Φλωρέντιον παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λουπτικίνῳ· ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν περὶ τὴν Βίενναν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Βρεττανίαις. ἐν τούτῳ θόρυβος πολὺς ἦν περὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ γράφει τις ἀνόψυκτον γραμματείου εἰς τὴν ἀστυνεῖτονα μοι πόλην πρὸς τοὺς Πετουλάντας τουτούς καὶ Κελτοὺς. οὐνομάζεται δὲ οὕτῳ τὰ τάγματα· ἐν τῷ πολλὰ μὲν ἐγέργατο κατ' ἐκείνου, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαλλίων προδοσίας ὀδυρμοί· καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀτιμίαν ὁ τὸ γραμματείου συγγράφας ἀπώδυρετο. τούτῳ κομισθεὶν ἐκίνησε πάντας, οὐ τὰ Κωνσταντίου μάλιστα ἐφρόνουν, ἐπιθέσθαι μοι κατὰ τὸ καρπ.
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, 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.
TERÓTATOU, ὅπως ἦδη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκπέμψαιμι, πρὶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἁριθμοὺς ὁμοίως ῥηθήναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις παρῆν τῶν δοκοῦντων εὕνως ἔχειν ἐμοί, Νεβρίδιος δὲ, Πεντάδιος, Δεκέντιος, ὁ παρ’ αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο Κωνστάντιον. λέγοντος δὲ μοι χρῆναι περιμένειν ἔτι Δουπτικίνων καὶ Φλωρέντιον, οὐδεὶς ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ’ ἔλεγον πάντες τούγαντιον ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἀν μὴ βούλομαι ταῖς προλαβούσαις ὑποψίαις ὀστὲρ ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦτον διαστῆναι. εἰτα προσέθεσαν ως Νῦν μὲν ἐκπεμφθέντων αὐτῶν σὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀφικομένοι δὲ τούτων οὐ σοὶ τούτῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος λογεῖται Κωνστάντιος, σὺ δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενήσῃ. γράψαι δὴ 1 μὲ ἐπείσαν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐβιάσαντός τε πεῖθεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνος, ὅπερ ἔξεστι καὶ μὴ πεισθῆναι, βιάζεσθαι δὲ οὐς ἂν ἔξεσθαι, τού πείθειν οὐδὲν προσδέονται: οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ οἱ βιασθέντες τῶν πεπεισμένων εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκασθέντων. ἐσκόπούμεν ἐνταῦθα, ποῖαν ὅδον αὐτοὺς χρῆ 284 βαδίζειν, διττῆς οὐσῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν ἥξιον ἔτεραν τραπῆμαι, οἱ δὲ αὐθεὶς ἀναγκάζοντοι ἐκεῖνην ἴναι, μὴ τοῦτον αὐτὸ γενόμενον ὀστὲρ ἀφορμήν τινα στάσεως τοῖς στρατιώτασι παράσχῃ καὶ ταραχῆς τίνος αὐτοῦ γένηται, εἰτα στασιάζειν ἀπαξ ἀρξάμενοι πάντα ἀθρόως ταράξωσιν. ἐδοκεῖ τὸ δέος οὐ παντάπασιν ἀλογοῦν εἰναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ἅλθε τὰ τάγματα, υπήντησα κατὰ τὸ νενομισμένον αὐτοῖς, ἐχεσθαι τῇς ὀδοῖ προύτρεψα: 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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ημέραν ἐπέμεινεν, ἀχρίς ἦς οὐδὲν ἦδειν ἐγὼ τῶν ἱερατευμένων αὐτοῖς· ἵστω Ζεὺς, Ἡλιος, Ἀρής, Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πάντες θεοί, ὡς οὐδὲ ἔγγυς ἀφίκετο μοῦ τις τοιαῦτα ὑπόνοια ἀχρὶ δείλης αὐτῆς· ὄφιας δὲ ἡ ἠδὴ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἐμηνύθη μοι, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ βασίλεια περιείληπτο, καὶ ἔβοιν πάντες, ἐτι φροντίζοντός μου τί χρῆ ποιεῖν καὶ οὕτω σφόδρα πιστεύοντος· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐτι τῆς γαμετῆς ξώσης οὐκ ἀναπαυσόμενος ἵδια ἀπὸ τὸ πλησίον ὑπερφόν ἀνεκλώ. εἶτα ἐκείθεν· ἀνεπέπτατο γὰρ ὁ τοῖχος· προσεκύνησα τὸν Δία. γενομένης δὲ ἐτι μείζονος τῆς βοῆς καὶ θορυβωμένων πάντων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἦτέομεν τὸν θεὸν δούναι τέρας. αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἡμῶν δείξε καὶ ἱνώγει πεισθήναι καὶ μὴ προσεναυτιούσθαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῇ προθύμῳ. γενομένων ὡμοὶ ἔμοι καὶ τούτων τῶν σημείων, οὐκ ἔστα ἐτοίμως, ἀλλ' ἀντέσχον εἰς ὅσον ἰδυνάμην, καὶ οὕτε τῇ πρόσρησιν οὕτε τῶν στέφανον προσιέμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτε εἰς ὅν ἡ πόλις ἰδυνάμην κρατεῖν οὔ τε τούτο βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι θεοὶ τοὺς μὲν παρώξινον, ἔμοι δὲ ἔθελον τῇ γυνώμη, ὥρα ποὺ τρίτῃ σχέδων οὐκ οἶδα οὕτως μοι στρατιώτου δόντος μανιάκην περιεθέμην καὶ ἠλθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, ἐνδοθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἦσασιν οἱ θεοὶ, στένων τῆς καρδίας. καίτοι χρῆν δὴ ἠπούθεν πι-285 στεύοντα τῷ φήναντι θεῷ τὸ τέρας θαρρεῖν· ἀλλ' 1 ὁν Cobet, τῶν Hertlein, MSS.

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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 sign¹ 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 salutation² 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 θεῶν φήναι τέρας, αὐτὰρ ὃ γ᾽ ἡμῖν
deiže kal ἡνώγει.

² i.e. the title of Augustus.
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ἦσχυνόμην δεινῶς καὶ κατεδυόμην, εἰ δόξαμι μὴ πιστῶς ἄχρι τέλους ὑπακούσαι Κωνσταντίῳ.

Πολλής οὖν οὔσης περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατηφέιας, τούτων εὐθὺς οἱ Κωνσταντίου φίλοι τὸν καιρὸν ἀρπάσαι διανοηθέντες ἐπιβουλήν μοι βάπτουσιν αὐτίκα καὶ διένειμαν τοῖς στρατιώταις χρήματα, δυοῖν θάτερον προσδοκῶντες, ἣ διαστήσειν ἄλλη-λους ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι 1 μοι φανερῶς. Β αἰσθόμενός τις τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ προδῷ τῆς ἔμης γαμετής λάθρα πραττόμενον αὐτὸ ἔμοι μὲν πρώτον ἐμήνυσεν, ὡς δὲ ἑώρα μὲ μηδὲν προσέ-χοντα, παραφρονήσας ὥσπερ οἱ θεοληπτοὶ δημο-σία βοᾶν ἤξιτο κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. Ὁ Ἀνδρες στρατιώται καὶ ξένοι καὶ πολίται, μὴ προδότε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. εἶτα ἐμπίπτει θυμὸς εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντες εἰς τὰ βασίλεια μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔθεον. καταλαβόντες δὲ με ξόντα καὶ ο ἱαρέντες ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων ὀφθέντας φίλους ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιέβαλλον καὶ περιέ-πλεκον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμον ἐφερον, καὶ ἦν πῶς τὸ πράγμα θέας ἄξιον, ἐνθουσιασμὸ γὰρ ἔφεκε. ὡς δὲ μὲ ἀπαντὰχόθεν περιέσχον, εξήτουν ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς Κωνσταντίου φίλους ἐπὶ τιμωρία. πηλίκον ἤγονισάμην ἀγώνα σῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῦς. Ὁ ἱσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες.

'Αλλὰ δὴ τὰ· μετὰ τοῦτο πῶς πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντίου διεπραξάμην; οὔτω καὶ τήμερον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολαῖς τῇ δοθείσῃ

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 ἐμαυτῶν γέγραφα, καὶ πέπεικα τοὺς στρατιώτας
ὁμόσαι μοι μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμήσειν, εἰπὲρ ἦμῖν
ἐπιτρέψειέν ἀδεῶς οἰκεῖν τὰς Γαλλίας, τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις συνανύσασ. ἀπαντά τά παρ' ἐμοί 286
tάγματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψαν ἑπιστολάς, ἱκε
tεύοντα περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦμῖν ὁμονοίας.
ο δὲ αὐτὶ τούτων ἐπέβαλεν ἦμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους,
ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἀνηγόρευσέ με παρ’ ἐκείνους, καὶ
μισθούς ἐπέλεσεν, ὅπως τὸ Γαλλικόν ἔθνος πορθῇ
θείη, γράφον τε ἐν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλία παραφυλάττειν
tοὺς ἐκ τῶν Γαλλίων παρεκδέεστο, καὶ περὶ Β
τοὺς Γαλλικοὺς ὄρους ἐν ταῖς πλησίον πόλεσιν
eἰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας μεδίμνων πυρὸν κατε
ιχνασμένου ἐν τῇ Βρυγαντίᾳ, τοσοῦτον ἔτερον
περὶ τὰς Κόπτιας Ὀλπείς ὡς ἐπ’ ἐμὲ στρατεύσων
ἐκέλευσε παρασκευασθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ λόγοι,
σαφῆ δὲ ἐργα. καὶ γὰρ ἃς γέγραψαν ἑπιστολάς
ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κοιμοθείας ἐδεξάμην, καὶ
τὰς τροφὰς τὰς παρασκευασμένας κατέλαβον
καὶ τὰς ἑπιστολὰς Ταύρον. πρὸς τούτοις ἦτι Ὁ
νῦν μοι ὡς καλσαρὶ 1 γράφει, καὶ οὐδὲ συνθῆ-
σεοθαί πώποτε πρὸς μὲ ὑπέστη, ἀλλ’ Ἐπικτητοῦ
τινα τῶν Γαλλίων 2 ἐπίσκοπον ἔπεμψεν ὡς πιστὰ
μοι περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρέξοντα,
καὶ τοῦτο θρύλει δ’ ὄλων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἑπιστολῶν,
ὡς ὦκ ἀφαιρησόμενος τοῦ χῦν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς
tιμῆς οὐδὲν μιμονεύει. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὅρκους

1 ὡς καλσαρὶ Hertlein suggests, καλσαρὶ MSS.
2 Athanasius says that Epictetus was bishop of Centum-
celleae; hence Petavius suggests Κεντούμκελλαν for τῶν
Γαλλίων.

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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 Gauls 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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άυτοῦ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας ὁμαί δεῖν εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, οὕτως εἰς πιστοῖς τῆς τιμῆς δὲ οὐ τοῦ Δ καλοῦ καὶ πρέπουτος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν φίλων ἐνεκα σωτηρίας ἀντέχομαι καὶ οὕτω φημὶ τῇ πανταχοῦ γῆς γυμναζόμενην πικρίαν.

Ταύτα ἐπεισὲ με, ταύτα ἐφάνη μοι δικαια. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάντα ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούσωσι ἀνεθέμηθεν θεοῖς. εἶτα θυσάμενος περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἑρῶν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἦ τοῖς στρατιώταις περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε πορείας ἐμέλλον διαλέγεσθαι. 287 ὑπὲρ τῇ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ πολὺ πλέον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ τῇ τῆς Κελτῶν ἔθνους, ὃ δὲ ἦδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξέδωκεν, οὔδὲ τῶν προγονικῶν φεισάμενος τάφων, ὃ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους πάνυ θεραπεύων, φήθην δεῖν ἐθνὴ τῇ προσλαβεῖν τὰ δυνατότατα καὶ χρημάτων πόρους δικαιοτάτων εὖ ἅργυρεῖν καὶ χρυσεῖν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀγαπῆσειν ἔτι νῦν γοῦν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὀμόνοιαν, εἰςω τῶν νῦν ἐχομένων μένειν, εἰ δὲ Β πολεμεῖν διάνοιγο τοῖς μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας γνώμης χαλάσειν, ὃ, τι ἄν ἦ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον πάσχειν ἐν πράττειν, ὃς αἰσχύνῃ ἀνανδρίᾳ ψυχῆς καὶ διανοίας ἀμαθία ἡ πλῆθει δυνάμεως ἄσθενεστερον αὐτοῦ φανήναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλῆθει κρατῆσειν, οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας ἔστιν εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις περιμένουτα με καὶ τῷ ξῆν ἀγαπῶντα καὶ διακλίνοντα τῶν κίνδυνον ἀπανταχόθεν περικόψας εἰ 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
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

κατέλαβε, κύκλῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ στόμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευτῶν, τὸ παθεῖν τε οἶμαι τὰ ἔσχατα προσῆν καὶ ἔτι ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη οὐδεμᾶς ἐλάττων ἀλήθειας τοῖς γε σώφροσι.

Ταῦτα διανοηθεῖς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς τε συστρατιώτας τοὺς ἐμοῖς διήλθον καὶ πρὸς κοινοὺς τῶν πάντων Ἕλληνων πολίτας γράφω. θεοὶ δὲ οἱ πάντων κύριοι συμμαχίαν ἤμιν τὴν Δ ἐαυτῶν, ὡσπέρ ὑπέστησαν, εἰς τέλος δοεῖν καὶ παράσχοιεν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ύφ᾽ ἡμῶν τε εἰς ὅσον δύναμις εὖ παθεῖν καὶ τοιούτους σχεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἱ μᾶλλον καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτὰς αἰδέσονται καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν.

1 αἰδέσονται: Cobet, εἰσονταί Hertlein, MSS.
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, Olynthiac 1. 27.
LETTER TO THE AMERICANS

...
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.
...πλὴν ἢν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπίδωσιν ἀτακτούντας τινας, αὐτίκα μᾶλα κολάζουσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐ προσιόντας τοὺς θεοῖς ἔστι τὸ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τεταγμένου φύλου, ὡς ὁν οἱ Β πολλοὶ παροιστρούμενοι τῶν ἅθεων ἀναπείθονται ἦθατῶν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅταν ἀπορρήξωσι τὴν ψυχὴν βιαίως. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰς ἔρημίας ἀντὶ τῶν πόλεων διώκουσιν, ὡς ταῦθρότων φύτει πολιτικοῦ ἕφοι καὶ ἡμέροι, δαιμοσιν ἐκδεδομένου πονηροῖς, ὧν ὡς εἰς ταύτην ἅγουν τὴν μπανθρωπίαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ δεσμά καὶ κλοον ἔξηγοις οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων. οὕτω παυταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κακὸς συνελαύνει δαιμόν, ὁ δεδώκασιν ἐκόντες εαυτούς, ἀποστάντες τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σωτηρῶν θεῶν. ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων Σ ἀπόχρη τοσαύτα εἰπεῖν. ὅθεν δ᾽ ἔξεβην εἰς τούτο ἐπανήξω.
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER
TO A PRIEST

* * * * * * * * *

.... ONLY¹ 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.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

Δικαιοπραγίας οὖν τής μέν κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους εὐθυλοῦν ὅτι μελήσει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τῶν πόλεων, πρέποι δʹ ἄν καὶ ὑμῖν εἰς παραίνεσιν τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἱεροὺς ὄντας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς νόμους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἱερατικὸν βίον εἶναι χρῆ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ σεμνότερον, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοῦτον καὶ διδακτέον ἔσονται δὲ, ὡς εἰκὸς, οἱ βελτίων· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὐχομαι καὶ πάντας, ἐλπίζω δὲ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσει καὶ σπουδαίους· ἐπιγνωσοῦνται γὰρ οἰκείους ὄντας εαυτοῖς τοὺς λόγους.

Ἀσκητέα τοῖς πρὸ πάντων ἡ φιλανθρωπία· ταῦτη γὰρ ἔπεται πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἔξαιρέτον δὲ δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἡ παρὰ τῶν Β θεῶν εὐμένεια. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς εαυτῶν δεσπόταις συνδιατίθεμενοι περὶ τε φιλίας καὶ σπουδὰς καὶ ἔρωτας ἁγαπῶνται πλέον τῶν ὁμοδούλων, οὕτω νομιστέον φύσει φιλανθρωπον ὅν τὸ θείον ἁγαπᾶν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ φιλανθρωπία πολλή καὶ παντοίᾳ· καὶ τὸ πεφεισμένοις κολάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ C τῷ βελτίων τῶν κολαζομένων, ὡσπερ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τὰ παιδία, καὶ τὸ τὰς χρείας αὐτῶν ἐπιυποθοῦν, ὡσπερ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας. ὅρατε ὅσα ἡμῖν δεδώκασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἁγαθά, τρωφὰς παντοίας καὶ ὁπόσας οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτέχθημεν γυμνοὶ, ταῖς τε τῶν θριῶν ἡμᾶς ẓριζέν ἐσκέπασαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυμένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δεύδρων. καὶ οὖν ἠρκεσεν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ αὐτοσχεδίως, καθάπερ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἔφη τοῖς χιτῶ- 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 λαβεῖν δερματίνους, ἀλλ' ὅρατε ὅσα ἐγένετο τῆς 'Εργάνης Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ δῶρα. τοῖον οἷνῳ χρῆται ξῦνον; τοῖον ἐλαῖῳ; πλὴν εἴ τις εἰς ἢμεῖς καὶ τούτων μεταδίδομεν, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ μεταδίδοντες. τί δὲ τῶν θαλαττῶν σίτῳ, τί δὲ τῶν χερσαίων τοῖς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆται; χρυσὸν οὔτω λέγω καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, οἷς πᾶσιν οἱ θεοὶ ξαπλοῦτοι ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν, οὐχ ἦνα ὄνειδος αὐτῶν περιορώμεν περινοστούντας τοὺς πένητας, ἀλλὰς τε ὅταν καὶ ἑπικεκεὶς τίνες τύχωσι τὸν 290 τρόπον, οἷς πατρῴοις μὲν κλῆρος οὐ γέγονεν, ὑπὸ δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας ἡκιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντες χρημάτων πένονται. τούτους ὄρωντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὄνειδίζουσιν. αὗτοι δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ τῆς τούτων πενίας, ἢ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν κεκτημένων ἀπληστία καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀληθοὺς ὑπολήψεως αὕτη γίνεται καὶ προσέτι τοῖς θεοῖς ὄνειδους ἁδίκον. τί γὰρ ἀπαίτούμεν, Β' ἣνα χρυσὸν ὅσπερ τοῖς Ῥωδίοις ὁ θεὸς ὑπῆρ τοῖς πένησιν; ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ταχέως ἡμεῖς ὑποβαλόμενοι τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ προθέντες πανταχοῦ τὰ ἀγγεία πάντας ἀπελάσομεν, ἦνα μόνοι τὰ κοινὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάσωμεν δῶρα. θαυμάσεις δ' ἂν τίς εἰκότως, εἰ τοῦτο μὲν ἄξιοίμεν ὅτε πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς πάντη, τὰ

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

cloths of skins,¹ 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?² 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

...
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 ἄδικον κατα-φαίνεται: Ξένιον ὑπομίζομεν Δία, καὶ γιγνόμεθα
tῶν Σκυθῶν κακοξενωτέρου. πώς οὖν ὁ βουλό-
μενος τῷ Ξενίῳ θύσαι Δίῳ φοιτᾷ πρὸς τῶν νεών;
μετὰ ποταποῦ συνειδότος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ

πρὸς γὰρ Δίως εἰσίν ἀπαντεῖς
Πτωχοί τε ξείνοι τε: δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε;

Πώς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἐσταιρείων θεραπεύων Δία, ορῶν C
tοὺς πέλας ένδεείς χρημάτων, εἰτά μηδ' ὅσον
dραχμῆς μεταδίδους, οἴεται τὸν Δία καλῶς θερα-
πεύειν; ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα ἀπίδω, παντελῶς ἀχανῆς
gίνομαι, τὰς μὲν ἐπωνυμίας τῶν θεῶν ἄμα τῷ
cόσμῳ τῷ ἥξ' ἀρχῆς ὅσπερ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ὅρῶν,
ἐργὴ δὲ υφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπιτηδευόμενον,
ὁμόγενοι λέγονται παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὶ καὶ Ζεῦς ὁμό-
γειος, ἔχομεν δὲ ὅσπερ πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς
συγγενεῖς· ἀνθρωπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἐκών καὶ
άκων πάς ἀπο συγγενείς, εἰτε, καθάπερ λέγεται

παρὰ τινων, ἦς ἐνός τε καὶ μᾶς γενόμανεν πάντες,
eἰθ' ὅπωσώσιν ἄλλως, ἀνθρώπως ὑποστησάντων ἡμᾶς
tῶν θεῶν ἄμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἥξ' ἀρχῆς, ὃς ἐνα καὶ
μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἄμα καὶ πολλάς. οὐ γὰρ ἐνα
καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες οὐδὲ τε ἡςαν ἄμα καὶ πολλοὺς
καὶ πολλάς ὑποστήσαι.1 καὶ γὰρ ὃν τρόπον τὸν

tε ἐνα καὶ τὴν μίαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοὺς
πολλοὺς τε καὶ τὰς πολλὰς. εἰς τε τὸ διάφορον

1 ὑποστήσαι 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.

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LETTER TO A PRIEST

ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν ἐθὼν καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ἔστι μεῖζον καὶ τιμωτέρον καὶ κυριώτερον, εἰς τήν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἥ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῶν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεύς Β ἐκόσμη τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἴματος ἱεροῦ πεσοῦν, εἰς ὅν ποὺ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσει γένος. καὶ οὕτως οὐν συγγενεῖς γινόμεθα πάντες, εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ μιᾶς, ἐκ δυοῦν ἀνθρώπων ὄντες οἱ πόλλοι καὶ πολλαὶ, εἰ δὲ, καθάπερ οἱ θεοὶ φασι καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντων τῶν ἐργῶν, ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πάντες γεγονότες. ὅτι δὲ πόλλοις ἁμα ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ τὰ Σ ἐργα, ἤθησται μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ δι᾿ ἀκριβείας, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρκεσεὶ τοσοῦτων εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν καὶ μιᾶς οὕτως οὕτως τοὺς νόμους εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραλλάξαι οὕτω ἀλλως τὴν γῆν υφ’ ἑνὸς ἐμπλησθῆναι πάσαν, οὐδὲ εἰ τέκνα ἁμα πόλλα καθάπερ αἱ σύνες ἐτικτον αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπους φυτεύσαντων τῶν θεῶν, ὅπερ τρόπων ὁ εἰς, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖονς προ- ἴλθον ἀνθρώποι τοῖς γενεάρχαις θεοῖς ἀποκληρωθέντες, οἱ καὶ προήγαγον αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δημο- ουργοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες ἐξ αἰῶνος.

Κάκεινο δ’ ἂξιον ἔννοεῖν, ὅσοι παρὰ τῶν ἐμπρο- σθεν ἀνάλωνται λόγοι περὶ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικῶν εἰναι ζῷον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἥμεις οὖν οἱ ταύτα εἰπόντες καὶ διατάξαντες ἀκοινωνίτως πρὸς τοὺς

1 ἐθὼν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαθῶν Petavius, ἥθων MSS.
2 τέκνα Hertlein would add.
3 φυτεύσαντων τῶν Hertlein suggests, νεοσάντων MSS.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

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 ἦθῶν τε καὶ ἑπιτηθιδεματών ἐκαστοῦς ἡμῶν ὀρμῶμενος ἐυλαβείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, χρηστότητος τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους, 293 ἁγνείας τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τῆς ἐυσεβείας ἐργα πληροῦσα, πειρόμενοι δὲ ἀεί τι περὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβῶν διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μετά τινος ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἁγάλματα τιμῆς καὶ ὁσιότητος, σεβόμενος ὡσπερ ἄν εἰ παρόντας ἑώρα τοὺς θεοὺς. ἁγάλματα γὰρ καὶ βωμοῦς καὶ πυρὸς ἀσβέστου φυλακὴν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα οἱ πατέρες ἔθεντο τῆς παρουσίας τῶν θεῶν, οὐχ ἢν ἔκεινα θεοὺς νομίσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢν Β δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν. ἑπειδή γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἄντοτα ἐν σώματι σωματικῶς ἐδεί ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἀσώματοι δὲ εἰςν αὐτοί. πρῶτα μὲν ἐδείξαν ἡμῖν ἁγάλματα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν θεῶν γένος περὶ πάντα τῶν ὀυρανῶν κύκλῳ περιφερόμενον. δυναμένης δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀποδίδοσθαι τῆς θεραπείας σωματικῶς· ἀπροσδέδω γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσεως ἐτερον ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξηπρέθη γένος ἁγαλμάτων, εἰς ὁ τὰς θεραπείας ἐκτελοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς εὑμενεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς καταστήσομεν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βασιλεῶν θεραπεύοντες εἰκόνας, οὐδέν δεομένων, ὅμως ἐφέλκουν τὴν εὐνοίαν εἰς ἑαυτούς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ θεῶν θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἁγάλματα, δεομένων οὐδέν D τῶν θεῶν, ὅμως πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπαμύνειν σφίσι

1 σωματικῶς Petavius, Hertlein approves, σωματικάς MSS.
2 ἐτερον Hertlein suggests, δεύτερον Reiske, τρίτον MSS.
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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—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 κηδεσθαιν δείγμα γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁσιότητος ἡ περὶ τὰ δυνατὰ προθυμία, καὶ ὁ ταύτῃ πληρῶν εὐθύλην ὑποδίδουν ὁτι μειζόνως ἐκείνην ἀποδίδουσιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑλικῶν ἐκτὸς προσποιούμενος τῶν ἀδυνάτων ὀρέγεσθαι δῆλος ἐστιν οὐκ ἐκείνα μεταδίδοντες, ἀλλὰ ταύτα παρορῶν όνδε γάρ, εἰ μηθενὸς ὁ θεὸς δεῖται, διὰ τούτο οὖν duly αὐτῷ προσοιστείν οὖν γάρ τῆς διὰ λόγων ἐφημίας δεῖται. τί οὖν; εὐλογον αὐτὸν ἀποστερησαι καὶ ταύτης; οὖνδαμός. οὖν ἀρα οὖν Ἔ τῆς διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἰς αὐτὸν γιγαντέμενης τιμῆς, ἢς ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐναντιοτρείς οὖν τρισχίλιοι, πάσι δὲ ὁ προλαβὼν αἰών ἐν πάσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐθνεσιν.

Αφορώντες οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα μή C τοι νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἶναι μηδὲ ξύλα, μηδὲ μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ οὖν τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθοι καὶ χαλκὸν λέγουμεν, οὐ μὴν οὖν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλέας, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας βασιλέων. δασιας οὖν ἐστὶ φιλοποιεῖσθαι ἴδες ὅρᾳ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα, καὶ ὅστις ἐστὶν φιλόπαις ἴδες ὅρᾳ τῆς τοῦ Π παιδός, καὶ ὅστις φιλοπότωρ τῆς τοῦ πατρός. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις φιλόθεος ἴδες εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμεθα ἀμα καὶ φρίττων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὁρῶντας εἰς αὐ- τοὺς θεοὺς. εἰ τις οὖν οἴεται δεῖν αὐτὰ μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι διὰ τὸ θεῶν ἅπαξ εἰκόνας κληθήναι.
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 εἰναι μοι φαίνεται. χρὴν γὰρ
dήπουθεν αὐτὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ 295
dὲ ὑπ’ ἄνδρος σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀν-
θρώπου ποιηροῦ καὶ ἀμαθοῦς φθαρῆται δύναται.
tὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ζῶντα ἀγάλματα κατασκευα-
σθέντα τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, οἱ περὶ τῶν
οὐρανῶν κύκλῳ φερόμενοι θεοὶ, μένει τὸν ἄεὶ
χρόνον ἄίδια. μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπιστεῖτω θεοὶ ὅρῶν
καὶ ἀκούων, ὡς ἐνύβρισάν τινες εἰς τὰ ἀγάλματα
καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς. ἀρ’ οὐκ ἀνθρώπους χρηστοὺς
ἀπέκτειναν πολλοί, καθάπερ Σωκράτη καὶ Διόνυς Β
καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἐμπεδότιμον; δὲν εὐ οἶδ’ ὅτι μᾶλ-
λον ἐμέλησε τοῖς θεοῖς. ἀλλ’ ὅταν, ὅτι καὶ τούτων
φθαρτῶν εἰδότες τὸ σῶμα συνεχόρθησαν εἰς τῇ
φύσει καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι, δίκην δὲ ἀπήτησαν
ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν κτεινάντων. δὴ δὴ συνέβη
φανερῶς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἱεροῦλων.

Μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπατάτω λόγοις μηδὲ ταραττέτω
περὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὑνειδίζουτες Σ
τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ προφήται, τὶ περὶ
tοῦ νεῶ φησοῦν τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τρίτον ἀνατρα-
pέντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον οὐκ
ὑνειδίζων ἐκεῖνος, ὅσ γε τοσοῦτος ὕστερον χρό-
νος ἀναστῆσασθαι διενοῆθην αὐτῶν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ
κληθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ θεοῦ· νυνὶ δὲ ἐχρησάμεν
αὐτῷ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων D
οὐδὲν ἀφθαρτον εἴναι 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.
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gράφοντες ἐλήρουν προφήται, γραδίοις ψυχροῖς ὀμιλούντες. οὐδὲν δὲ σοιμάν κολύει τὸν μὲν θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν σπουδαίων προφητῶν οὐδὲ ἐξηγητῶν τυχεὶν. αὐτίον δὲ, ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν οὐ παρέσχεν ἀποκαθῆραι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασιν οὐδὲ ἀνοίξαι μεμνημόνει κλάν τὰ ὁμάτα οὐδὲ ἀνακαθῆραι τὴν ἐπικείμενην αὐτοῖς ἀχλῶν, 296 ἀλλ’ οἶον φῶς μέγα δι’ ὀμίχλης οἱ ἄνθρωποι βλέπουντες οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ εἰλικρινῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ ἔκεινο νεομικότεν οὐχὶ φῶς καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ πάντων ὄντες ἀδέατοι βοῶσι μέγα. Φρίττετε, φοβεῖσθε, πῦρ, φλόξ, θάνατος, μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία, πόλλοις ὄνομασι μίαν ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν βλαστικήν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἴδια βέλτιον παραστήσαι, πόσῳ Β φαυλότεροι τῶν παρ’ ἦμιν οὕτως γεγονόσι ποιητῶν οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγων διδάσκαλοι.

Προσήκει δὲ οὐ τὰ τῶν θεῶν μόνον ἀγάλματα προσκυνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς· εἰλογον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τιμᾶν ὡς λειτούργους θεῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ διακοινούντας ἢμιν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, συνεπισχύοντας τῇ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἠμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσει: C προσβούοι, γὰρ πάντων καὶ ὑπερέχονται. δικαιον οὖν ἀποδιδόναι πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς οὕκ ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ἦ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἁρχοῦσι ταῖς τιμαῖς. εἰ δὲ τις οἴεται τοῦτο ἐπ’ ἱσης χρῆναι νέμειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἁρχοῦσιν, ἀπει

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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 τρόπου τινα τοις θεοῖς ἰερατεύονσι, φύλακες οὗτος τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε τῆς εὐνοίας παρὰ πολὺ χρὴ νέμειν τούτοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δ' Ἀχαῖος καὶ πολέμων οὗτος τὸν ιερέα προσέτατον αἴδεισθαι τῷ βασιλεὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔδὲ τοὺς φίλους αἰδοῦμεθα τοὺς εὐχομένους ὑπὲρ ἢμῶν καὶ θύοντας.

Ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποθομένην ἀρχὴν ἐλήλυθεν, ἀξίων εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ διελθεῖν ἐφεξῆς, ὅποιος τις ἄν ὁ ιερεύς αὐτὸς τε δικαῖως τιμηθήσεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι ποιήσει.\(^1\) τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον οὐ χρῆ σκοπεῖν οὔδὲ ἐξετάξειν, ἀλλὰ ἔως ἂν ἰερεύς τις ὁνομάζῃ, 297 τιμᾶν αὐτὸν χρῆ καὶ θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ εἶν πονηρός, ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ιερωσύνην ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφανθέντα περιορᾶν· ἐως δὲ προθύει καὶ κατάρχεται καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς τὸ τιμωτάτον τῶν θεῶν κτῆμα προσβλεπτέος ἔστιν ἦμῖν μετὰ αἴδοις καὶ εὐλαβείας. ἀπόποινα γὰρ, εἰ τοὺς μὲν λίθους, ἐξ ὧν οἱ βωμοὶ τετοίημεθα, διὰ τὸ καθερώθηκα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαπῶμεν,\(^2\) ὅτι μορφὴν ἔχουσι καὶ σχῆμα πρέπον, εἰς ἄν εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι λειτουργίαι, Β' ἀνδρὰ δὲ καθωσιομένον τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ ἐνθομέθα χρὴν τιμᾶν. ἵσως ὑπολήψεται τις ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνουτα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς

\(^1\) καὶ—ποιῆσε Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.

\(^2\) ἀγαπῶμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαπηθομεν 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\(^1\) 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\(^2\) 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

\(^1\) Agamemnon; *Iliad* 1. 23.

\(^2\) cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 62c; *Letter to the Athenians* 276 B.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

tous theous osoioun; egow de phi mou xrhvai tovt men
toiouton exelgechein, uma mi pounhros ou enoxhli
tous theous, eous d an exelgechem 1 tis, mi atimazein.
oúde gar eulogon epilaboménous taúth tis C
áfomhcs ou toúton moun, alla kai tón epithei-
deion tímastei twn timhν prósafairésthai. Estw
toínn άσπερ áρχon, oútw de kai iereus paș
aidésimos, epithe kai apófasis esti theou tou
Dívumaiou toiáuth:

"Ossou ἐς αρητήρας ἀπασθαλίσα νόοι
'Αθανάτων ῥέξου' ἀποφώλια, καὶ γεράεσσων
'Αντία βουλεόνουν ἀδεισιθδοίσι λογίμοις,
Οὐκέθ' ὀλην βιότοι διεκπέρωσιν ἀταρπόν, D
"Οσσοι περ μακάρεσσιν ἐλωβήσαντο θεοίσιν,
'Ων κείνοι θεόσεπτον ἕλον θερατήδα τιμῆν,
kai pálw en allous o theos phsou

Pántas men theráptountas émois ólois kakó-
titos—,
kai phsion ὑπὲρ toúton díkhn épisthēseis autois.

Pollasson dè eirhmevwn toioútwv para tou theou,
d' an éneste mathontas óptos χρη timaın kai
therapeuèin tovs ieréas, eirhsetαι moi dìa pleio-
ównen en allous: ἀπόχρη dè nūn, ὅτι μή σχεδιάζω
mēdev, ἐπιδείξαι τήν τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν B
kai to építagma tôn autoù lógon ikanh
ηγούμενος. ei tis ouv axióptiston upelilféven
emè didáskalou tôn toioútwv, aideotheis tôn

1 exelgechē Hertlein suggests, exelýchη 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:1 “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.”2 And again in another oracle the god says: “All my servants from harmful mischief——;” 3 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

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1 Apollo.
2 An oracle from an unknown source: these verses occur again in Epistle 62. 451 a.
3 Sc. I will protect.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

θεόν ἐκείνῳ πειθέσθω καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν θεῶν τιμάτω διαφερόντως· ὅποιον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι χρή, πειράσομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἐντεκά σοῦ· τούτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ νῦν ἥπιστάμην, ἀμα μὲν τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, ἀμα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν μαρτυροῦντων, ὅτι τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην διαθήσῃ C καλῶς, ὃσα γε εἰς προάρεσιν ἦκει τὴν σήν, οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησά σοι μεταδοθεῖν τοσοῦτον πράγματος· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχεις ἐντεύθεν διδάσκειν τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐλογότερον καὶ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ὡς οὐκ ἐκοθεὶν αὐτὰ νοεῖς καὶ πράττεις μόνος, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ σύμψηφον σεαυτῷ, δοκούντα γε εἶναι διὰ τούς θεούς ἀρχιερεία μέγιστον, ἀξιον μὲν οὐδαμῶς πράγματος τοσοῦτον, βουλόμενον δὲ εἶναι καὶ προσευχόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς· εὖ γὰρ ἔσθι, D μεγάλας ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπίτιδας ἐπαγγέλλονται. πειστέον δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντως. ἄφενεδειν γὰρ εἰώθασιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὸδε. οἱ δὲ διὰ περιουσίαν δυνάμεως οἷοὶ τε ὄντες καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ 299 βίῳ τούτῳ περιγενέσθαι παραχῆς καὶ τὸ ἀτακτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄλλοκοτον ἑπανορθοῦν ἄρ' οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον, ὅποι δὲ ἡγεῖται τα μαχόμενα, χαρισθεῖσης μὲν τῆς ἄθανάτου ψυχῆς, γῆς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος, ἰκανοὶ παρασχεῖν ἐσονται ταῦθ' ὅσαπερ ἐπηγείλαντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχειν ἔδοσαν 320
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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 θεοὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς ἀμοιβὰς, ἐγγὺς οὗτος ἐν πάσι τῆς ἄξιας τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσωμεν, ὅπερ Β πρὸς τὰ πλῆθη χρὴ λέγειν δείγμα τῶν ἐαυτῶν ἐκφέροντας βίον.

Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἢμῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν ὡς παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρῶσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ὀρωμένοις δὲ ὧ ἢμῶν καὶ τὸ πάσης αὐγῆς ὠμμα κρείττον ἀχρὶ τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἦμῖν λογισμῶν διατετακόσιν. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἑμὸς ὁ λόγος οὐτὸς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐ θεοῦ, διὰ πολλῶν μὲν εἰρημένοις λόγοι, έμοι δὲ δήτα ἀπόχρη καὶ ἕνα παραθεμένον δύο δὲ ἐνός παραστήσαι, πῶς μὲν ὀρῶσιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντα, πῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν εὐφραίνονται.

Πάντη Φοιβείη τέταται ταυνοισκόπος ἀκτίς.
Καὶ τε διὰ στερεῶν χωρεί θοῦν ὄμμα πετρῶν, D
Καὶ διὰ κυανῆς ἄλος ἔρχεται, οὐδὲ εἰ ὕθει
Πληθὺς ἀστερόεσσα παλινδήνητος ἱόνσα
Οὐρανον εἰς ἀκάμαντα σοφῆς κατὰ θεσμὸν ἀνάγκης,
Οὐδ' ὅσα νερτερίων ὑπεδέξατο φύλα καμόντων
Τάρταρος ἀχλυόνεντος 1 ὑπὸ θόφουν ἄιδος εἰσὼν. 300
Εὐσεβὲσιν δὲ βροτοῖς ἡγάνυμαι τόσον, ὄσον
Οὐλίμπῳ.

"Οσω δὲ λίθων καὶ πέτρας ἀπασα μὲν ψυχή,
πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκείοτερον ἔχει
καὶ συγγενέστερον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, τοσοῦτο
μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ ρᾶν καὶ ἐνεργέστερον δι' αὐτῆς

1 ἀχλυόνεντος Hertlein suggests; ἀχλυόνεσσαν 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." 2

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 θεῶν τὸ ὄμια. θέα¹ δὲ τὴν φιλαν-θροπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γάνυσθαι φάσκοντος τῇ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν διανοίᾳ ὡςον 'Ολυμπῷ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ. πῶς² ἡμῖν οὕτως οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζόφου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου μετ' εὐσεβείας αὐτῶς προσιόντων; οἴδε μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ κατακεκλεισμένους· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐκτὸς πίπτει δυνάμεως· ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβεῖς τὸν 'Ολυμπὸν ἄντι Ο τοῦ Ταρτάρου. διόπερ χρῆ μάλιστα τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐργῶν ἀντέχεσθαι προσιόντας μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς μετ' εὐλαβείας, αἰσχρὸν μηδὲν μὴτε λέγοντας μὴτε ἀκούοντας. ἀγνεύειν δὲ χρῆ τοὺς ἑρέας οὐκ ἐργον μόνον ἀκαθάρτων οὔδε ἀσελγῶν πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρημάτων καὶ ἀκροαμάτων τοιούτων. ἐξελάτεια τοῖνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπαχθῆ σκόμματα, πάσα δὲ ἀσελγὴς ὀμιλία. καὶ ὅτως εἰδέναι ἔχῃς ὁ Βούλομαι φράζειν, ἱερωμένος τις μὴτε Ἀρχίλοχον ἀναγινωσκέτω μὴτε Ἰππώνακτα Δ μὴτε ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα γραφόντων. ἀποκλινέτω καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας οὔσα τῆς τοιαύτης ἱδέας· ἀμείνων μὲν γὰρ· καὶ πάντως πρέποι δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ φιλοσοφία μόνη· καὶ τούτων οἱ θεούς ἑγεμόνας προστησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν παιδείας, ὡσπερ³ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης οἱ τε ἄμφι Χρύσιτππον καὶ Ζήνωνα. προσεκτέων μὲν γὰρ οὕτε πᾶσιν οὕτε τοῖς πάντων δύσμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνως μόνον καὶ ἐκείνων, ὡςα 301

1 θέα Brambs, MSS., θεφ Reiske, Cobet, Hertlein.
2 πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
3 ὡσπερ Hertlein suggests, ὡσπερ 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 Hipponax¹ 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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eυσεβείας ἐστὶ ποιητικά καὶ διδάσκει περὶ θεῶν προτὸν μὲν ὁς εἰσίν, εἶτα ὁς προσούσι τῶν τῆς, καὶ ὁς ἐργάζονται μὲν οὔδε ἐν κακῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ὅποια γράφοντες οἱ μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν ποιηταὶ κατεφρονήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προφῆται διατεταμένως συγκατασκευάζοντες ὑπὸ Β τῶν ἁθλίων τοῦτων τῶν προσνειμάντων ἑαυτῶν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις θαυμάζονται.

Πρέπει δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἱστορίας ἐντυγχάνειν, ὅποια συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεποιημένοις τοῖς ἐργοῖς: ὅσα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ἱστορίας εἶδει παρὰ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἀπηγγελμένα πλάσματα παραιτητέον, ἐρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαύτα. καθάπερ γὰρ οὔδε ὃδος πᾶσα τοῖς ἰερωμένοις ἀρμόττει, τετάχθαι δὲ χρῆ καὶ ταῦτας, οὔτως οὔδε ἀνα- γνωσμα πάν ἰερωμένῳ πρέπει. ἐγγίνεται γὰρ τῆς τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐγείρει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, εἶτα ἐξαίφνης ἀνάπτει δεινήν φλόγα, πρὸς ἣν οἴμαι χρῆ πόρρω- θεν παρατετάχθαι.

Μήτε Ἐπικουρείος εἰσίτω λόγος μήτε Πυρρώ- νειος: ἢδη μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνηρίκασιν, ὡστε ἑπιλείπειν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα θυμισθήναι μὲν καὶ τούτων, ὅποιον χρῆ μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερεάς ἀπέχεσθαι λόγων, εἰ δὲ λόγων, πολὺ πρότερον ἐννοιῶν. οὔδε γὰρ οἴμαι ταύτῶν ἐστὶν

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men god-fearing, and teach concerning the gods, first
that they exist, secondly that they concern them-
selves 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 cir-
culated among men in the past, for instance tales
whose theme is love, and generally speaking every-
thing 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 χρή μάλιστα θεραπεύειν, ὡς καὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐκείνης συνεξαμαρτανούσης. ἐκμανθάνειν χρή τοὺς ὠμοὺς τῶν θεῶν εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ καλοὶ πεποιημένοι παλαιοὶ καὶ νέοις; οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους περατέον ἑπιστασθαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἄδομένους. οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἱκετευθέντων ἐδόθησαν, ὡμοὶ δὲ τίνες 302 ἑποιήθησαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ πνεύματος ὑθέου καὶ πυχῆς ἅβατον τοῖς κακοῖς ἔπι τῇ τῶν θεῶν τιμῇ συνεκιμενοί,

Ταῦτα γε ἄξιον ἐπιτιθεῖειν καὶ εὔχεσθαι πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἱδία καὶ δημοσία, μάλιστα μὲν τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντως ὄρθρον γε1 καὶ δείλης: οὔτε γὰρ εὐλογον ἀθυτὸν ἄγεων ἡμέραν η νύκτα τῶν ἱερωμένων, ἀρχὴ δὲ ὄρθρος μὲν ἡμέρας, Β ὡσια δὲ νυκτός. εὐλογον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπαρχεσθαι τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅταν ἐξωθεν τῆς ἱερατικῆς ὑντες τυγχάνωμεν λειτουργίας· ὡς τὰ γέ εν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅσα πάτριοι διαγορεύει νόμος, φυλάττειν πρέπει, καὶ οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἐλαττῶν τι ποιητέον αὐτῶν· ἀλλα ἐρ' ἐστι τά τῶν θεῶν ὅστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν, ὅ' αὐτοὺς ἱλασκώμεθα διὰ τοῦτο πλέον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμεν αὐτοψυχικαὶ μόναι, τὸ σῶμα δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἡμῖν διώχλει, καλὸς ἄν εἰχεν ἐνα τινὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφορίζειν βίον· ἐπει δὲ οὖν ἱερεύσιν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ 2 ἱερεὶ προσήκει μόνον, δ δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτιθεντέον,

1 γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.
2 τό Wright, ὡς 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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tí dé toī 1 ieratēvein anvrōpōf laχónti svnhxora-
riōteiv, ὅταν ἐκτὸς ἡ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λειτουργίας;
oīmait dé chrí̂nai tōn hērēa pántωn ἀγνεύ̂santa π
νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, εἶται ἀλλήν ἐπ' αὐτῆν νύκτα
καθηράμενον οἰς διαγορεύοντοι οἱ θεσμοὶ καθαρ-
μοῖς οὕτως εἰσώ φοιτῶντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μένειν ὅσας
ἀν ἡμέρας ὁ νόμος κελεύ̂η. τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ αἱ
παρὶ ἡμῖν εἰσίν ἐν 'Ῥόμη, παρ' ἄλλων δὲ ἄλλως.
eυλόγον οὖν οἴμαι μένειν ἀπάσας ταῦτας τᾶς
ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφεῖντα, καὶ μῆτε
eis οἰκίαν βαδίζειν μῆτε εἰς ἀγορᾶν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ 303
ἀρχοντα πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὅραν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
dὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον θεραπεῖας αὐτῶν ἐφορώντα
πάντα καὶ διατάττοντα, πληρώσαντα δὲ τᾶς
ἡμέρας εἶτα ἑτέρῳ παραχωρεῖν τῆς λειτουργίας.
ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τρεπομενόν βίον ἔξεστω
καὶ βαδίζειν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου καὶ εἰς ἐστίασιν
ἀπαντάν παρακληθέντα, μὴ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν Β
βελτίστων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀγοράν παρελθεῖν
οὐκ ἀτοπον ὀλγάκις, ἠγεμόνα τε προσεπεῖν καὶ
ἐθνοὺς ἀρχοντα, καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγος δεομένοις ὅσα
ἐνδέχεται βοηθῆσαι.

Πρέπει δὲ οἴμαι τοῖς ἱερεύσων ἐνδον μὲν, ὅτε
λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτι χρή̂σθαι μεγαλοπρεπε-
στάτῃ, τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ ἔξω τῇ συνήθει δῖξα πολυ-

1 τῷ Hertlein suggests, ὡς 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,
LETTER TO A PRIEST

teleías: ouè δὲ γὰρ εὐλογοῦν τοῖς δεδομένοις ἥμιν ἐπὶ
tιμῇ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τύφων
μάταιον. οἴεν ἀφεκτέον ἥμιν ἐσθήτος πολυτελε- Κ
στέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ κόμπου ὤ καὶ πάσης
ἀπλῶς ἀλαξονείας. οἱ γοῦν θεοὶ τὴν τοσαύτῃ
ἀγασθέντες Ἀμφιαράου σωφροσύνην, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ
στρατεύματος ἐκείνου κατεδίκασαν φθορὰν εἰδῶς
tε αὐτὸς συνεστρατεύετο καὶ τὴν ἀφεκτὴν αὐτῷ
dιὰ τοῦτο τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἀπέφηναν αὐτὸν ἀλλοῦ
ἐξ ἀλλοῦ καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς λῆξιν θείαν. πάν-
tων γοῦν τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ταῖς Ὑῆβαις
ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων πρὶν κατεργάσασθαι ση-
ματα γραφόντων καὶ ἐγειρόντων τὰ τρόπαια
κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν Καδμείων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν
ὀμιλητὴς ἁσήμα μὲν ἐπιστρατευεῖν ἔχων ὅπλα,
πραότητα δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην ὡς καὶ ἕπο τῶν
τολεμίων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο. διόπερ οἴμαι χρῆ καὶ
tοὺς ἱερεάς ἡμάς τὰ περὶ τᾶς ἐσθήτας σωφρονεῖν;
ίνα τυγχάνωμεν εὐμενῶν τῶν θεῶν· ὡς οὐ μικρὰ
γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἑξαμαρτάνομεν δημούμενοι τᾶς
ἱερᾶς ἐσθήτας καὶ δημοσιεύοντες καὶ παρέχοντες 304
ἀπλῶς περιβλέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡσπερ τι
θαυμαστῶν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο 4 συμβαίνει, πολλοὶ
πελάξοισιν ἥμιν οὐ καθαροὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χραί-
νεται τὰ τῶν θεῶν σύμβολα. τὸ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς

1 κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς Hertlein suggests, καὶ τὰς συμφορᾶς
MSS.
2 ὡς καὶ Hertlein would add.
3 ἡμᾶς—σωφρονεῖν Cobet suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
4 εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, εἰπερ ἐκ τοῦτον 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, Phoenissae 1118

ο μάντις Ἀμφιάραος οὐ σημαίνει ἐχων
ὑβρισμέν', ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἅσημα ὑπέλα.

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LETTER TO A PRIEST

αὐτοὺς οὖν ιερατικῶς ἔσταται ιερέων ἔσθήτα περικείσθαι πόσης ἐστὶ παρανομίας καὶ κατα-
φρονήσεως εἰς τοὺς θεούς; εἰρήσεται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦτων ἐν ἄλλοις ¹ δεί ἀκριβείας· 
νυνὶ δὲ ὡς τύπῳ πρὸς σε γράφω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Τοῖς ἀσελγεῖσι τούτοις θεάτρωι τῶν ιερεῶν Β 
μηδεὶς μηδαμοῦ παραβαλλέτω μηδὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν 
εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· πρέπει γὰρ οὖν ὅταν 
καὶ εἰ μὲν οἶνον τε ἡν ἐξελάσαι παντάπασιν αὐτὰ 
τῶν θεάτρων, ὥστε αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ 
Διονύσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα, πάντως ἀν ἐπειράθην 
αὐτὸ προθύμως κατασκευάσαι. νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ εἶ 
τοῦτο οὔτε δυνατὸν οὔτε ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν 
φανεί, συμφέρον ἄν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, ταύτης μὲν 
ἀπεσχόμην παντάπασι τῆς φιλοτιμίας· ἀξιῶ δὲ 
τοὺς ιερεῖς ὑποχωρήσαι καὶ ἀποστῆναι τῷ δήμῳ 
τῆς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσελγείας. μηδεὶς οὖν ιερεῖς 
eἰς θεάτρων εἰσὶν, μηδὲ ἐχέτω ² φίλον θυμελικὸν 
μηδὲ ἀρματηλάτην, μηδὲ ὀρχηστὴς μηδὲ μίρος 
αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτω· τοῖς ιεροῖς ἄγωσιν 
ἐπιτρέπω μόνον τῷ βουλομένῳ παραβάλλειν, D 
ὡς ἀπηγορεύται μετέχειν οὐκ ἄγωσις μόνον, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ θέας ταῖς γυναιξίν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν 
κυνηγεσίων τι δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσι 
εἰσὶ τῶν θεάτρων συντελεῖται, ὡς ἀφεκτέον 
tούτων ἐστὶν οὐχ ιερεύς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 
pαισὶν ιερεῖς;

¹ Εἰ ἄλλοις Cobet would add; cf. 298 A.
² ἐχέτω Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

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LETTER TO A PRIEST

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, ἐάν τε πένητες ὄσιν ἑάν τε πλούσιοι· διάκρισις ἕστω πρὸς τοῦτο μηδὲ ἠτίσον ἄφανες καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς· ὁ γὰρ διὰ πραότητα λεληθὼς οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἄφανειαν δίκαιος ἔστι κοιλύεσθαι. κἂν πένης οὖν ἦν τὰς ἰδμότητι ἔχων ἐν έαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τὸ τε φιλόθεον καὶ τὸ φιλανθρωπον, ἱερεῖς ἀποδεικνύονθω. δείγμα δὲ Β τοῦ φιλόθεου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαντάς εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγοι, τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δὲ, εἰ καὶ εἴς ὀλγών εὐκόλως κοινωνεῖ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως, εἰ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσους ἂν οἶός τε ἦ.

Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καὶ τὴν ἰατρείαν ἐντεύθεν ποιητέον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἷμαι συνέβη τοὺς πένητας ἀμελεῖσθαι παραφρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κατανοήσαντες ἐπέθεντο ταῦτα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ χείριστον τῶν ἑργῶν διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκράτυναν. ὥσπερ γὰρ 2 οἱ τὰ παιδία διὰ τὸ πλακούντος ἐξαπατώντες τῷ καὶ δῖς καὶ τρῖς προέσχοι πείθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν εάντοις, εἴθε, ὅταν ἀποστήσωσι πόρρω τῶν οἰκείων, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδοντο, καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἀπαντά τῶν ἔξης βίον πικρὸν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλγὸν

1 εὐδοκιμοῦντος Hertlein suggests, καλλιστὸν 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 αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι διὰ δὸ τῆς λεγομένης παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τού νομα παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείστος 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.\(^1\) The interlocutor in the pro-\(\_\)emium\(^2\) 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

ΣΤΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΚΡΟΝΙΑ

'Επειδὴ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς παίξειν ἔστι γὰρ Κρόνια·
γελοίον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς τερπνὸν οἶδα ἐγώ, τὸ μὴ
καταγέλαστα φράσαι φροντίδος ἔοικεν εἰναι ἄξιον,
ὁ φιλότης.

Εἶτα τίς οὔτω παχὺς ἔστι καὶ ἄρχαῖος, ὁ
Καίσαρ, ὥστε καὶ παίξειν πεφροντισμένα; ἐγὼ
ὡς μὴν τὴν παιδιὰν ἀνεσίν τε εἰναι ψυχῆς καὶ
ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν φροντίδων.

'Ορθῶς γε σὺ τούτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐμοὶ δὲ Ὡ
οὐ ταύτη ἔοικεν ἀπαντᾷν τὸ χρῆμα. τέρφυκα γὰρ
οῦδαμός ἐπιτήδειος οὔτε σκόππειν οὔτε παρφαίδειν
οὔτε γελοιάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρὴ τῷ νόμῳ πειθεῖν
τοῦ θεοῦ, βούλει σοι έν παιδιᾷς μέρες μῦθον διέξ-
έλθω πολλὰ ὅσως ἔχοντα ἀκοὴς ἄξια;

Δέγοις ἄν καὶ μᾶλα ἀσμένω, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς Σ
οὐκ ἀτιμάξω τοὺς μῦθους οὐδὲ παντάπασιν
ἐξελαύνω τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντας, ἀκόλουθά σοι
τε καὶ φίλῳ τῷ σῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ κοινῷ,
Πλάτωνι διανοούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ πολλά
ἐν μῦθοις ἐσπούδασται.
"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 pleasantry 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 ναὶ μᾶ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.
Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μύθος;
Οὕ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὁποίους Αἴσωτος ἐποίη- 307
σεν, ἀλλ' εἴτε πλάσμα λέγους Ἐρμοῦ' πεπυ-
σμένος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν σοι φράσω' εἴτε καὶ
tάληθες οὕτως ἔχει εἴτε μίξις τὰς ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν,
αὐτὸ, φασὶ,1 δείξει τὸ πράγμα.

Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἦδη μυθικὸς ἁμά καὶ ῥητορικῶς ἐξειργασταί 
σοι τὸ προοίμιον ἀλλὰ μοι τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν, ὁποίος 
ποτὲ ἐστὶν, ἦδη διεξέλθη.

Μανθάνοις ἂν.

Θύου τὸ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει Β 
tοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς2 τοὺς καίσαρας.
κλίναι δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμέναι τοῖς 
μὲν θεοῖς ἄνω κατ' αὐτὸ, φασίν, οὐρανὸν τὸ μετέωρον,

Οὐλυμπόντι, ὅτι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

λέγεται γὰρ μεθ' Ἡρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκείσε 
kαὶ ὁ Κυρίνος, δὴ δὴ χρῆ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὄνοματι,
tῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς 
ἐκείσε παρεσκευάστο τὸ συμπόσιον. ὑπ' αὐτὴν δὲ C 
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετεώρον τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδοκτο 
tοὺς καίσαρας δειπνεῖν. ἁνείχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε 
tῶν σωμάτων κοινότητος, ἀπερ ἐτύγχανον ἡμι-
σμένοι, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλίναι μὲν 
οὖν ἐκείνῳ τέταρτῃ, εὐτρεπεῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις 
θεοῖς. ἐβένου μὲν ἢν ἢ τοῦ Κρόνου στιλβοῦσα 
kαὶ πολλὴν ἐν τῷ μέλαιν καὶ θείαν αὐγήν κρυ-
pτούσης, ώστε οὐδεὶς οἶος τε ἢν ἀντιβλέπειν.

1 φασὶ Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, ἐπιδεξεί MSS.
2 αὐτοῖς Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation
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"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 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, on "Olympus where they say is the seat of the gods, unshaken for ever." 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. 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.
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έπασχε δὲ ταύτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐβενοῦ ἐκείνην τὰ D ὄμματα δὲ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνος, ὅπερ οἶμαι πρὸς ἣλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δύσκῳ τις ἀτενεστερον προσβλέπῃ. ἢ δὲ τοῦ Δίως ἦν ἀργύρου μὲν στειλπνοτέρα, χρυσίου δὲ λευκοτέρα. τούτῳ εἶτε ἥλεκτρον χρῆ καλεῖν εἶτε ἄλλο τι λέγειν, οὐ σφόδρα εἰχὲ μοι γνωρίμως ὁ Ἐρμῆς φράσαι. χρυσοδρόνῳ δὲ παρ’ ἐκάτερον ἑκαθεξέσθην ἢ τε μῆτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ.” Ἡρα μὲν παρὰ τῶν Δία, 308 Ῥέα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνον. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐπεξεῖ δυ λόγω, μεῖζον εἶναι λέγον αὐτὸ καὶ ψυθεθόν, ἀκοῆ δὲ καὶ ῥήμασιν οὐτὲ προοιμῆται ράδιον οὐτὲ παραδεχὴται Δυνατῶν. οὐχ οὖτω τις ἔσται καὶ φανεῖται μεγαλόφωνος, ὡστε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκεῖνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους, ὄποσον ἔπιπρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὀψεi.

Παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἑκάστῳ Β θρόνος ἢ κλίνῃ κατὰ προσβείαν. ἥριζε δὲ οὐδεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὅπερ ὁμηρὸς ὅρθως ποιῶν ἔφη, δοκεῖν μοι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἀκηκοῶς, ἔχειν ἑκαστὸν τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἐφ’ οὐ πάντως αὐτῷ θέμις καθήσαται στερεῶς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως. ἔτει καὶ πρὸς τὴν παροισίαν του πατρὸς ἐξαισιστάμενοι ταράττουσιν οὐδαμῶς τὰς καθέδρας οὐδὲ μεταβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ υφαρπάζουσιν ἄλληλων, γνωρίζει C δὲ ἑκαστὸς τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ. πάντως οὖν κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐρωτικός ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τοῦ Διονύσου καλὸν καὶ νέον καὶ

1 ἑκαθεξέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἑκαθεξέτον V., ἑκαθεξέτην 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 \(\frac{3}{4}\) gold and \(\frac{1}{4}\) silver.

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

tò patrì tò Óì παραπλησίου πλησίου αυτοῦ, τροφεύς τις οία καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθήστο, τά τε Óì 
ἀλλα φιλοπαιγμονα καὶ φιλόγελων καὶ χαρι-
tοδότην¹ ὑπά τον θεὸν εὐφραίνων καὶ δή καὶ τῷ 
σκόπτειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιάζειν.

'Ως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καυσάρων συνεκεκρότητο² 
συμπόσιον, εἰσῄει πρῶτος Ἰουλίως Καίσαρ, ὕπο 
φιλοτιμίας αὐτῶ βουλόμενος ἔρισαι τῷ Óì περὶ 
τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς δὲ ὁ Σειληνὸς βλέψας, "Ορα, 
ἐπεν, ὁ Ζεύς, μὴ σε ὁ ἀνήρ ὅπος ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας 
ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοθῇγ. καὶ γάρ, 
ὡς ὅρας, ἔστι μέγας καὶ καλὸς: ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ 
μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστὶ 

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προσόμοιοι. παίξων ἐτι τοιαύτα τοῦ Σειληνὸ 
καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῶ, 
'Οκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμείβων, ὅσπερ 
i ἕχαμαίλεντες, χρώματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὄχριν, 
ἀνθίς δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γινόμενος, εἰτα μέλας καὶ ζοφο-
δῆς καὶ συννεφῆς· ἀνέτο ὃ αὖθις εἰς Ἀφροδίτην B 
καὶ Χάριτας, εἰναὶ τε ἥθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν 
ὁμμάτων ὅποιος ἔστιν ὁ μέγας Ἡλιός: οὐδένα 
gάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων ³ ἀντιβλέπειν ἤξίου. καὶ 
ὁ Σειληνὸς, Βασαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντόδαποῦ τοῦτον 
θηρίον τί ποτ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται;
Παῦσαι, εἰπε, ληρῶν, ὁ Ἀττόλλων· ἔγω γὰρ 
αὐτὸν τοῦτον Ζήνων παραδοὺς αὐτῆς ὑμῖν 
ἀποφανῶ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' ἤθι, εἰπεν, ὃ Α 
Ζήνων, ἐπιμελήθητι τοῦμοι θρέματος. ὁ δὲ

¹ χαριτοδότην Spanheim, cf. 148 D, χαριτότην Hertlein, MSS. 
² συνεκεκρότητο Hertlein suggests, συνεκροτεῖτο MSS. 
³ ἀπαντῶντων Spanheim, πάντων Hertlein, MSS.
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 ἐπεισόδιαμεν αὐτοῖς Τεθέριος σεμώς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσυρός, σώφρον τε ἄμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὡφθησαν ὁπειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μυρία, καυτηρές τινες καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπὰ D καὶ μῶλωπες ὑπὸ τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ἀμότητος ψυρᾶ τινες καὶ λειχῆνες οἶνον ἐγκεκαμέναι. εἰθ’ ὁ Σειληνὸς

'Αλλοιοῦσαν, ξείνε, φάνης νέον ἡ τὸ πάροιπεν εἰπὼν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαῖότερος. καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος πρὸς αὐτῶν, Τί δήτα, εἶπεν, ὃ παππίδιον σπουδάζεις; καὶ ὃς, 'Εξέπληξε μὲ ὁ γέρων οὔτος, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἐφη, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἐκλαθόμενον ἐμαυτοῦ τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς προβαλέσθαι μούσας. ἀλλὰ σε, εἶπεν, ἔλξε τῶν ὠτῶν 310 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ γραμματιστὴν τίνα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμώξουν μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ νησυνὴρ τὰς Καπρέας αἰνητόμενος τῶν ἀθλιῶν ἀλιέα ψηχέτω. ταύτα ἐτὶ παιζόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπεισόδηται θηρίον πονηρὸν. εἶτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπέστρεφαν τὰ ὄμματα, κατὰ αὐτῶν δίδωσιν ἡ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἱ δὲ ἔρριψαν εἰς B
doctrines,¹ in the fashion of those who mutter the incantations of Zamolxis,² 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.³ Whereupon Silenus cried out, “Far different, friend, thou appearest now than before,” ⁴ 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.”⁵ “Plague take him,” said Silenus, “in his little island”—he was alluding to Capri—“let him scratch the face of that wretched fisherman.” ⁶ While they were still joking together, there came in a fierce monster.⁷ 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 πάροιθει which means also “in front.”
⁵ i.e. Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, Tiberius 56, 70.
⁶ Suetonius, Tiberius 60.
⁷ Caligula.
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Τάρταρον. οὔδὲν οὖν ἔσχεν ὁ Σειληνὸς υπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσαι. τοῦ Κλαυδίου δὲ ἐπεισελθόντος, οὐ Σειληνὸς ἀρχεται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἀδειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου ἱεραὶ κολακεύων δῆθεν τὸν Κλαυδίου. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρίων ἀπίδων Ἀδικεῖς, εἰπεν, ὁ Κυρίων, τὸν ἀπόγονον ἀγὼν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον δίχα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλλαντος. ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἰπεν, πέμψω ἔτ' ἐκεῖνος, εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Μεσσαλιάν, ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνων δίχα τοιτή τῆς τραγῳδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικροὺ δὲω φάναι, καὶ ἄψυχον. ἐπεισερχεται λεγοντι τῷ Σειληνῷ Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέψας ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Οὐτος, εἰπεν, ἐπὶ σὲ παρασκευάζεται. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼγε αὐτὸν, εἰπεν, ἀποστεφανώσω, ὅτι μὲ μὴ πάντα μιμεῖται μηδὲ ἐν οἷς μὲ μιμεῖται γίγνεται μον μιμητῆς δίκαιος. ἀποστεφανωθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωκυτὸς εὐθέως ἠρπασεν.

Ἐπὶ τοῦτο πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ συνέτρεχον, ΔΒίνδικες, Γάλβαι, Ὡθωνεῖς, Βιτέλλιοι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς, Τοῦτων, εἰπε, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμῆνος πόθεν εξηνορίκατε, ὁ θεοί; τυφόμεθα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ φείδεται γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταύτα τὰ θηρία. καὶ ὁ Ζεῦς ἀπίδων πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σέραπιν καὶ τὸν Οὐσποστασιανὸν 311 δείξας, Πέμπε, εἰπε, τὸν σμικρὴν τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταχεώς, ἵνα τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ τῶν παίδων δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον

1 Δήμων Cobet, δήμων Hertlein, MSS., Δημοσθένους Spanheim. 2 τὸ σμῆνος Hertlein suggests, τὸν δήμον MSS.
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 Coebyrus 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.
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μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης τῆς πανδήμου, τὸν νεώτερον δὲ τῷ Ζικελίκῳ θηρίῳ παραπλησίως κλοιῷ δήσουν. παρήλθεν ἔπὶ τούτων γέρων οὕρηναι καλός· λάμπει γαρ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆρᾳ τὸ κάλλος· ἐνυχεῖν πράοτατος, χρηματίσαι δικαιότατος. ἥδεσθη τούτοις ο Σειλήνος καὶ ἀπεστώπησεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἑρμής, Ὁ πέρ δὲ τούτοις, εἶπεν, οὔδεν ἡμῖν λέγεις; Ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη, μέμφομαι γε ὡμῖν τῆς ἀνισότητος. τῷ γὰρ φονίκῳ θηρίῳ τρίς πέντε νείματε ἐναυτοὺς ἕνα μόλις ἐδόκατε τούτῳ βασιλεύσαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέμφω, εἶπεν ὁ Ζεύς: εἰσάξω γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πόλλοις κάγαθοις. εὐθέως οὖν ὁ Τραϊάνος εἰσῆρχετο φέρων ἔπὶ τῶν ὀμῶν τὰ τρόπαια, τὸ τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν. ἱδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σειλήνος ἔφη, λαυθάνειν τε ἁμα καὶ ἀκούεσθαι βουλόμενος,"Ορα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Δί σκοπεῖν, ὅταν ὁ Γανυμήδης αὐτῷ φρουρήσεται.

Μετὰ τούτοις ἐπεισέρχεται βαθεῖαν ἔχων τὴν ὑπήνην ἀνήρ σοβαρὸς τὰ τε ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ μουσικὴν ἐργαζόμενος, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τούτοις δὲ ἱδὼν ὁ Σειλήνος ἔφη. Τί δὲ ὡμῖν οὕτος ὁ σοφιστὴς δοκεῖ; μὸν Ἀντίνου τηδε περισκοπεῖ; φρασάτω τις αὐτῷ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ μειράκιον ἐνθαδὶ καὶ παυσάτω τοῦ λήρου καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτῶν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνήρ εἰσέρχεται 31: σῶφρων, οὐ τὰ ἐς Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἱδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειλήνος ἔφη, Βασίλει τῆς σμικρολογίας· εἰς εἰναι μοι δοκεῖ τῶν διαπριόντων τὸ κύμων ὁ πρεσβύτης οὕτος. ἐπεισελθοῦσα 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.
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δος, Βήρου καὶ Λουκίου, δεινός ὁ Σειληνός συνεστάλη. παίζειν γὰρ οὔκ εἶχεν οὔδ' ἐπισκόπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βήρου, καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον τὰ περὶ τὸν νῦν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν ἀμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσήκειν ἐπένθησεν, ἀλλὰς τε οὐδὲ κοσμίας οὔσαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχήν συναπαλλυμένην περιείδειν, ἔχων καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαίου κηδεστίαν, δὲ τῶν τε κοινῶν ἄν προύστη κρείττον καὶ καὶ τοῦ παῖδος αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἄν ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ. καίτερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ἴδειτο τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν γε μὴν νιέα οὐδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίσας ἄξιον ἀφῆκεν. Κ ἐπιτυπτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γην οὐ δυνάμενος ἵστασθαι καὶ παρομαρτεῖν τὸς ἥρωσιν.

'Επεισέρχεται Περτίναξ τῷ συμποσίῳ τῆς σφαγῆς ὀδυρόμενος. ἡ Δίκη δὲ αὐτῶν κατελείςασα, 'Αλλ' οὐ χαρήσουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ τούτων αἰτιοί καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ Περτίναξ, ἡδίκες κοινωνῶν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅσον ἔπτι τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἦν ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Δ. Σεβήρος, ἀνὴρ πυκνὸς γέμων καὶ κολαστικὸς. Τπέρ τοῦτον δὲ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, οὐδὲν λέγω- φοβοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λίγαν ἀπηνεῖς καὶ ἀπαραί- τητον. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια τοῦτον συνεισέναι, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκόλυσεν ὁ Μίνως. ἐπιγένους δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον ἀφῆκε, τὸν

1 ἵστασθαι Cobet, ἵστασθαι Hertlein, MSS.
2 καὶ before κολαστικὸς Hertlein suggests.
3 παιδάρια Cobet, MSS., παιδάρια Hertlein, V., m.
Next entered the pair of brothers, Verus and Lucius. 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 son and his wife, 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 younger pass, but sent away the elder to atone

1 Verus was the family name of Marcus Aurelius.  
2 Lucius Verus.  
3 Commodus.  
4 Faustina.  
5 Geta.  
6 Caracalla.
Δ' πρεσβύτερον τιμωριάν ἐπέμψε τίσοντα. Μα-
κρίνος ἐνταῦθα φυγᾶς μαίρονος· εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς
'Εμέσης παιδάριον πόρρω ποὺ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλαύ-
νετο περιβόλων. ο' γε μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐν ἐσχάτοις που καθήστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφοράν
ποτνώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἑπίσκοπτοι αὐτοῦ
ἐπεύχοντα σφὶς αὐτὸν ἐπένν' Μώρε καὶ μέγα νῆτις, τηλικοῦτος διὸ
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἢρχες τῶν σεαυτοῦ, τὰ χρήματα δὲ
ἐδίδοις τῇ μητρὶ καὶ οὐκ ἑπείσθης, ὅσο κρεῖττον Β
ἀναλίσκειν ἣν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἢ θησαυρίζειν.
'Αλλ' ἔγογε, εἴπεν ἡ Δίκη, πάντας αὐτοὺς, ὅσοι
μεταίτιοι γεγόνασι τούτων, κολασθησομένους
παραδόσοι. καὶ οὕτως ἀνείθη τὸ μειράκιον. ἐπὶ
τούτῳ παρῆλθεν εἰςω Γαλλιηνὸς μετὰ τοῦ πα-
τρός, ὁ μὲν τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔχων,
ὁ δὲ στολὴ τε καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακωτέρα
ὡσπέρ αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς μὲν
ἐκεῖνοιν,

Τῆς οὕτως ὁ λευκολόφας,
Πρόπαρ δὲ ἠγείραι στρατοῦ;
ἔφη, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Γαλλιηνὸν,

'Ος καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντη τρυφῇ ἢπει κούρη
tούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς εἴπε τῆς ἑκεῖσθε θοῦντος ἐκβείναι.
Τούτων ἑπεισέρχεται Κλαύδιος, εὶς ὅν ἀπε-
δόντες οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἡγάσθησαν τε αὐτοῦ τῆς
μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ ἑπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τὴν
ἀρχήν, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζαντες οὕτῳ φιλοπάτρι-
δος ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ πλείστον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγε-
μονίᾳ. τούτων ἑπισεόραμεν Λύρηλαιαν ὡσπέρ
ἀποδιδάσκων τοὺς εἰργοῦτας αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ

1 εἴπεν Hertlein suggests, ἑπείτεν MSS,
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. \textit{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, \textit{Phoenissae} 120.
\textsuperscript{6} Slightly altered from \textit{Iliad} 2. 872.
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. \textit{Oration} 1. 6 D.
Μίνωι: πολλαί γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαι τῶν ἄδικων φόνων, καὶ ἔφευγε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς ἀπολογούμενος. Ἡλικὸς δὲ οὐμὸς δεσπότης αὐτῷ πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα βοήθων, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτο αὐτῷ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, 'ΑΛΛ' ἀπέτισε τὴν δίκην, ἥ λέληθεν ἡ δοθεῖσα Δελφοῖς μαντεία.

Αἴκε πάθη τὰ τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἱδεία γένοιτο;

Τούτῳ συνεισέρχεται Πρόβος, ὃς ἐβδομηκοντα πόλεις ἀναστήσας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλος ἐναιστὸς ἐπτὰ Β καὶ πολλὰ πάνω σωφρόνως οἰκουμήσας, ἄδικα δὲ πεπουθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθεων, ἐτιμάτο τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ τούς φονέας αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐκτίσαμεν σκόπτειν δὲ αὐτῶν ὅμως ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπειράτο, καίτοι πολλῶν αὐτῷ σιωπἀν παρακελευομένων· ἄλλ', 'Εάτε, ἐφ' οὐν γοῦν δὲ αὐτοῦ τούς ἐξῆς φρενωθήναι. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὃς Πρόβε, ὅτι τὰ πικρά Σ φάρμακα μιγνύντες οἱ ἱατροὶ τῷ μελικράτῳ προσφέροντι; σὺ δὲ αὐστηρός ἦσθα λίαν καὶ τραχὺς αἰέ εἰκὼν τε οὐδαμοῦ πέπουθας οὐν ἄδικα μὲν, εἰκότα δὲ ὅμως. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὔτε ἵππων οὔτε βοῶν ἄρχειν οὔτε ἡμίόνων, ἤκιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων, μὴ τι καὶ τῶν κεχαρισμένων αὐτοὺς ἐμφανισάτα, ὥσπερ ἐσθ' ὅτε τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν οἱ ἱατροὶ μικρὰ ἐνδιδόσαν, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς μείζονις ἔχωσιν αὐτοὺς ἔπεθομένους. Τῇ τούτῳ, εἰπὲν ὁ Διόνυσος, ὃς παπ- πία; φιλόσοφος ἦμιν ἀνεφάνης; οὐ γὰρ, ὃς παῖ,
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 1 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’?” 2

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’? 3 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 639 E; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 B.
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εφη, καὶ σὺ φιλόσοφος ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ γέγονας; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ζοικῶς ἐμοί, τὰ πρωτεία κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπηνέγκατο τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τάδελφοι πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐστὶν ἁφευνή; ἦν τοίνυν ἡμᾶς μη πάντα γελοία λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδαία.

'Ετι διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὦ τε 315 Κάρος ἀμα τοῖς παιδίν εἰσφέρῃσαι βουληθεῖς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελήλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ Διοκλητιανός, ἁγὼν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ Μαξιμιανὸν τε τῷ δύο καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον Κωνστάντιον, ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγεν. εἰχοντο δὲ ἄλληλων τῷ χείρῳ, καὶ ἔβαδιξον οὐκ ἔξ ἴσης, ἀλλ’ οία χορὸς τις ἦν περὶ αὐτῶν, τῶν μὲν ὁσπερ δορυφοροῦντων καὶ προθεῖν Β αὐτῶν βουλομένων, τοῦ δὲ εἰργοτός: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥξιον πλεονεκτεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐκυνίει κάμνοντὸς ἑαυτοῦ, δόσα αὐτοῖς ἀπαντά, σὰ ἐφερεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅμων αὐτῶς εὐλυτος ἐβάδιξεν. ἡγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὅμονοιαν, καὶ ἑπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολλῶν πάνω καθῆσαι. δεινῶς δὲ ὄντα τὸν Μαξιμιανὸν ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σελενός ἐπισκόπτεω μὲν οὐκ ἥξιον, τὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκ εἰσεδέχετο Σουσσίτων, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἦν παντοίαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀσέλγης, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοπράγμων καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ συνωδῶν. ἐξῆλασεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ Δίκη ταχέως. εἶτα ἀπήλθεν οὐκ οἴδα ὅποι γῆς: ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ αὐτὸ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρμοῦ πολυτραγμονῆσαι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ παναρμονίῳ τετραχόρδῳ παραφύεται δεινῶν
"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,\textsuperscript{1} carried off the prize for philosophy from his contemporaries, at least if you believe that your brother\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{2} A reference to the oracle of Apollo which declared that Socrates was the wisest man of his times.
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. \textit{Oration} 1. 7 A, B.
καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχώδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Δ ἄρα ὑπὸ τῶν προβύρων ἀψασθαί τῆς τῶν ἤρων ἁγορᾶς ἡ Δίκη συνεχώρησε, Δικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν προβύρων ἐλθόντα, πολλὰ καὶ ἀτοπα πλημμελοῦντα ταχέως ὁ Μίνως ἔξηλασεν. ὁ Κων-σταντῖνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰσώ καὶ πολὺν ἐκαθέσθη χρόνον, εἶτα μετ’ αὐτῶν τὰ παιδία. Μαγνεντίφο γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἰσόδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγίες ἐπετράχει, 316 καίτοι πολλὰ ἐδόκει πεπραξθαι τῷ ἄνδρι καλὰ· οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ὀρῶντες, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῶ ἐπετοίηται διαθέσεως, εἰὼν αὐτῶν οἰμάζειν ἀποτρέχοντα.

Οὔσης δὴ τοιαύτης τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ δείπνον παρα-σκευῆς, ἐπόδουν μὲν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ, πάντα γὰρ ἔχουσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἤρων ἐδόκει τῷ Ἐρμῆ διαπερασθαι, καὶ τῷ Διῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἦν. ἔδειτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος ἦδη τινὰ μετάγειν ἐκείθεν παρ’ ἐαυτὸν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶπεν, Ὁυκ Β ἀνέξομαι, ὁ Κυρίνε· διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον παρεκάλεις; σοῦ τοῖνυν, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ, δέομαι, εἰ τίνα τούτων ἔγνωκας ἀγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἦκειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κέλευε. τί γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινῆ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἀποτειρώ-μενοι τῷ βελτίων τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν ὁ τὴς Ἀλκμήνης ἐδόκει τῷ Διῷ καὶ ἑπεισελθόντος Σ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἢρωσιν οὔτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε ἄλλος τις ὑπανίστατο· κακαλαβῶν δὲ σχολάζουσαν καθέ-δραν, ἢν ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπεποίητο ἑαυτῷ, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπελήλατο διὰ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίαν,
four there crept a terribly harsh and discordant strain. For this reason Justice would not suffer the two 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. Magnentius 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 of Severus had taken for himself—he had been

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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.
ἐνεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων τῶν Κυρίνου, "Ορα, εἶπε, μὴ ποτὲ οὖντο ἐνὸς εἰσὶν1 ἀντάξιοι τοῦτοι τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μᾶ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρίνος, οὐμαί πολλοὺς εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὔτω δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐμοὶ τεθαυμάκασιν ἐγγονοὶ, ὡστε μόνον αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων, ὅσοι γεγόνασι ηγεμόνες ξένοι, ὑνομάζουσι καὶ νομίζουσί μέγαν. οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς γεγονότων οἶονται μείζονα τούτον, ἵσως μὲν ὑπὸ φιλανθίας τι παθόντες, ἵσως δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔχων εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποτειρώμενοι. ταῦτα μάλιστα λέγων ὁ Κυρίνος ἡμιθρία, καὶ δῆλος ἢ ἄγονιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ ποὺ τὰ δευτερεία λαβόντες οἴχωνται.

Μετὰ τούτῳ ὁ Ζεὺς ἤρετο τοὺς θεοὺς, πότερον 317 χρῆ πάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγωνα καλεῖν ἃ, καθάτερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνοῖς ἄγωσι γίνεται, ὁ τοῦ πολλάς ἀνελο-μένου νῖκας κρατήσας, ἐνὸς περιγενόμενον, οὐδὲν ἐλαττὸν δοκεῖ κάκεινων γεγονέναι κρείσσωσι, οἱ προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τοῦ κρατηθέντος δὲ ἤττους ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐδόκει πάσιν ἡ τοιαύτη σφόδρα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν ἐξέτασις. ἐκήρυττεν οὕν ὁ Ἐρμής παριέαν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ὀκταβιανὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ, Τραϊανὸν δὲ ἐκ τριτῶν, ὡς πολεμικώτατος. εἰτα γενομένης σιωπῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος βλέψας εἰς τὸν Δία θαυμάζειν ἐφη, πολεμικοῦς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας ὥραν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγωνα τούτοι καλουμένους, οὐδένα μὲντοι φιλό-σοφον. Ἑμοὶ δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐχ ὡς τότε εἰσὶν οἱ τοιούτοι φίλοι. καλείτε οὕν εἰσὶν καὶ τὸν C

1 εἰς εἰσιν ἀντάξιοι Naber, εἰς εἰσιν οὐκ ἀντάξιοι Hertlein, MSS.; V omits οὐκ.
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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Μάρκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οὐ Νάρκος κληθεὶς παρῆλθε, σεμνὸς ἄγαυ, ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχων τὰ τὸ ὢματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τὶ συνεσταλμένον, κάλλος δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτο δεικνύων, ἐν δὲ παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν ἀκομφον καὶ ἀκαλλωπιστὸν ἦ τε γαρ ὑπήνη βαθεῖα παντάπασιν ἢν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια λιτὰ καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν τροφῶν ἢν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διανυστατον καὶ διαφανεστατον οὕσπερ αὐτὸ ὤμαι τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ εἰλικρινεστατον φῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος ἢν εἰσώ τῶν ἱερῶν περὶβόλων, ὁ Διόνυσος εἰπεν, Ὁ βασιλεύ Κρόνε καὶ Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀρα ἄξιον ἐν θεοῖς ἀτελέως εἶναι τι; τῶν δὲ ὁ φαμένων, Εἰσάγαγέν οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἐραστὴν ἐνθαλ. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἀλλ' ὁ θεμιτὸν εἰσώ φοιτᾶν, εἰπεν, ἀνδρὶ μη τὰ ἡμέτερα ξηλώντι. Γυγνέσθω τοῖνυν, εἰπεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διόνυσος, αὐτοῖς ἢ κρίσις. Ἀλλ', εἰ τούτῳ δοκεῖ ταύτη, καλῶμεν ἀνδρὰ οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μὲν, ἣδονὴ δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει χειροπεθέστερον. ἢκέτω οὖν ἄχρι τῶν προθύρων ὁ Κωσταντῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεδοκτό καὶ τούτῳ, τίνα χρή πρόπον αὐτοῖς ἀμμαλάσθαι, γνώμη προντέθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἐρμής ἡξίου λέγειν ἐκαστὸν ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ψήφον. οὐ μὴν ἔδοκε ταύτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καλῶς ἐχειν· ἀληθείας γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανο- τητος οὐδ' αἰμυλίας ἐν θεοῖς ἔλεγχον καὶ ἔξετασιν. Βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφότερος χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀμα προάγει επὶ πλεον αὐτοῖς τὴν συνοισίαν, Οὐδέν, εἰπε, κωλύει λέγειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι, μικρὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιμετρήσαντας, εἰτα ύστερον
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So tell Marcus\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) Marcus Aurelius.

\(^2\) A reference to the water-clock, *clepsydra.*
άνερωτάν καὶ ἀποπειράσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας. Καὶ ὁ Σειληνὼς ἐπισκόπτων, Ἀλλ' ὅπως μη, νομίσαντες αὕτω νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραῖσινος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄπαν ἐκροφήσουσιν 1 τὸ ὕδωρ, εἴτε ἀφελοῦνται 2 τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν, Οὐ τούμον ὕδατος, εἴπεν, ἄλλα τοῦ ὑμετέρου πῶματος ἐρασταῖ τῷ ἄνδρε ἐγενέσθην. ύπέρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοιχαροῦν Δ ἀμπέλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐμὸν πηγῶν ἄξιόν ἐστὶ σοι δεδεῖναι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὼς δηχθεῖς ἐσίωτα, καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνιομένοις ἵκ τούτον τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχεν. Ἐρμῆς δὲ ἐκήρυττεν.

1 ἐκροφήσουσι Hertlein suggests, ἐκροφήσωσι MSS.
2 ἀφελοῦνται Hertlein suggests, ἀφέλωνται MSS.
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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
τέλος ὀλβίστης
θέσθαι βιοτής,
οἷς τ’ ἀντιβίους
κακὰ πόλλα ἐρξαί
καὶ χρηστὰ φιλους
tέκμαρ βιότον
νεόμιστο καλοῦ,
οἷς θ’ ἥδιστην
ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχειν
τέρματα μόχθων
δαίτας τε γάμους τ’,
δύμασι τερπνά,
μαλακάς τε φέρειν
ἐσθήτας ὁμοῖ
λυθοκολλήτως
περὶ χείρας ἀκρας
ψελώσει φάνῃ
μακαριστότατον.
νίκης δὲ τέλος
Ζηνὶ μελήσει.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ 'Ερμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο. Οὐκαὶ πως συνεδράμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλήρος φιλοπρωτία. τούτω ἔκεινοι μὲν ἐποίησε γαύρον καὶ σοβαρότερον ἐδέσμευσε δὲ διὰ τούτο μικρὸν καὶ φεύγειν τῇν κρίσιν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος. ἀλλὰ παραθαρρύνων αὐτῶν ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσχη. δεύτερος δὲ ἐπ’ ἔκεινοι λέγειν ἔλαχεν 'Αλέξανδρος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξης οἱ κλήροι τοὺς ἐκάστου χρόνους 320 συμπροῆλθον. ἦρξατο οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ὡδή. 'Εμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεοὶ, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτῃ

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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.”

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 τοσούτους ἄνδρας, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ὅσων οὐ πώποτε ἄλλη πόλις ἐβασίλευεν, ταῖς δὲ ἀγαπητοῖς τὸ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κομίσασθαι. τῖς γὰρ πόλεις ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων ἄνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδὲ ὄλοις ἔτεσιν ἔξακοσίοις Β ἐπὶ γῆς ἦλθε πέρατα τοῖς ὁπλοῖς; ποιὰ δὲ ἔθνη τοσούτους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε καὶ πολεμικοὺς παρέσχετο καὶ νομοθετικοῖς; θεοὺς δὲ ἐτίμησαν οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὴ τοσαῦτῇ καὶ τηλικά τοῦτο πόλει γενόμενοι οὐ τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πώποτε παρῆλθον τοῖς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν μὲν πολιτῶν εἰ οἶδα ὡς οὔδες ἀντιποιήσεται μοι τῶν πρωτείων εἰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος Κ ὁλμᾶ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμῶι ἀξίων παραβαλεῖν; ἵσως τὰ Περσικά, ἀστερικοὶ οὐχ ἐστις ἐηγγερμέναι μοι τοσάντα κατὰ Πομπηίου τρόπαια; καίτοι τὸις δευτεροῖς στρατηγὸς γέγονε, Δαρείος ἢ Πομπῆιος; ποτέρω δὲ ἄνδρειότερον ἠκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὖν μαχιμάτα τῶν Δαρείῳ πρῶτον ὑπακούοντων ἐθνῶν ἐν τῇ Δ Καρῷ μοίρᾳ Πομπῆιος εἶχεν ἐπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἑβρώτης, οὔ τιν 'Ασίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον ἐπάγουσαν ἐτρέφαντο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρειοτάτους, Ἰταλοῦς, Ἰλλυρίους, Κελτοὺς. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἀρα τοῖς Γετικοῖς ἔργοις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάτομεν καθαίρεσιν; οὕτως ἀπαξ ἐπεραίωθη τῶν Ἰστρον, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥήνον. Γερμανικοὶ αὖ τούτῳ 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.\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) but he reckoned them no better than Carians,\(^3\) 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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οὐδὲ εἰς, ἐγὼ πρὸς Ἀριστείαν ἠγωνισάμην. 321
πρῶτος ἐτόλμησα Ῥωμαίοιν ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐκτὸς
θαλάσσης, καὶ τούτῳ ἦν ἵσως τὸ ἔργον οὐ θαυ-
μαστόν. καίτοι τὴν τόλμην καὶ ταύτην ἄξιον
θαυμάζειν ἀλλὰ τὸ μείζον μου, τὸ ἀποβηναι τῆς
νεῶς πρῶτον καὶ τοὺς Ἐλβετίους σιωπῆ καὶ τὸ
tῶν Ἰβηρῶν ἔθνος. οὔδενδος ὦτι τῶν Γαλατικῶν
ἐπεμνήσθην, πλεῖν ἡ τριακοσίαν ὑπαγαγόμενος
πόλεως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ ὦκ ἐλάσσονς ἡ διακοσίας
μυριάδας. οὔτων δὲ τούτων μοι τοιούτων ἔργων,
ἐκεῖνο μείζον ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἔχρη γάρ Β
με καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαγωνιζέσθαι τοὺς πολίτας
καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀράχων καὶ ἀνικήτων Ῥωμαίων.
εἴτε οὐν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξεων, τρίς
τοσαυτάκις παρεταξάμην, ὡσάκις ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-
δρον κομπάξουσιν οἱ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμι-
ποιούντες, εἴτε πλήθει πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ
tῆς Ἀσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ Β
πλείστα κατεστρεφάμην. Ἀλέξανδρος Αἰγυπτιοῦ
ἐπῆλθε Ῥωμαίοιν, ἐγὼ δὲ συμπόσια συγκροτῶν
κατεπολέμησα. τὴν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι πρά-
τητα βουλέσθη ἐξέτάσαι τὴν παρ' ἐκατέρω; ἐγὼ
καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους συνέγων, ἐπαθὼν γοῦν ὑπ'
αὐτῶν ὡσα ἐμέλησε τῇ Δίκῃ ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. έτι οὖν Β
μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀμφισβητεῖν οἶοσ τε ἔση;
καὶ οὐκ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺ παραχωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν
ἀλλών, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάσεις με λέγειν, διὸς σὺ μὲν
ἐχρῆσθω πικρῶς Θηβαίοις, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς Ἐλβετίοις

1 πλεῖν Cobet, πλεῖον Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἐπῆλθε Hertlein suggests, περιήλθε Cobet, παρῆλθε MSS.

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contend against Ariovistus. I was the first Roman who ventured to sail the outer sea.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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

\(^1\) The "inner" sea was the Mediterranean.

\(^2\) Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 4. 25, ascribes this to the standard-bearer of the tenth legion.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

φιλανθρώπως; σύ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέκαυσας τὰς πόλεις, ἑγὼ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πολιτῶν κεκαυ-
μένας πόλεις ἀνέστησα. καὶ τοιούτῳ ἢν μνημών Γραικῶν κρατήσαι καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα μυρι-
άδας ἐπιφερομένας ὑποστήναι. πολλά εἶπειν ἐχὼν 322 ἐτὶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τούδε, τῷ μὴ σχολήν ἀγειν ἤκιστα τὸ λέγειν ἑξεμελέτησα. διότερ χρῆ συγ-
γνώμην ὡς ἐχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ θηθέντων τὴν ἴσην καὶ δικαῖαν ἐξέτασιν ποιομένους ἀποδίδοναι μοι τὸ πρωτεῖον.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἐτὶ ὑπουλομένου, μόγις καὶ πρότερον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καρτερῶν οὐκέτι κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ταραχῆς καὶ ἀγωνιῶν, Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰπεῖ, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ Β
θεός, μέχρι τῶν ἀνέξομαι σωπῆ τῆς θρασύτητος τῆς τούτου; πέρας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὃς ὅρατε, ὃτε τῶν εἰς αὐτῶν ἐπαίνων οὔτε τῶν εἰς εἰμὲ βλασφημίων. ἐχρῆν δὲ ἵσως μάλιστα μὲν ἄμφοτὲν 
φείδεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἶναι πως ἄμφιτερα δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῆ· πλέον δὲ τοῦ τάμα δια-
σύρειν ἄλλως τε καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τούτῳ ἠλθὲν ἀναίσχυντια, ὡστε τολμῆσαι στὸ λέγεσθαι καὶ ἑρωτῆθη τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἐργῶν. ἐχρῆν 
de, ὁ Καίσαρ, ὑπομνησθῆναι σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἀ τότε ἀφῆκας, ἄκρωμενος τῶν ὑπομνη-
μάτων, ὅσα πεποίηται περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἑπιρρέει σε μετὰ τούτῳ, κολα-
κευθεὶς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν, 
γενόμενος δὲ οὔδεις οὐδαμοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄπο 
Ἀλβής θριαμβεύσαι, οὐ μέγα ἑργον,

1 οὕτω ταύτῳ Hertlein suggests, τί τοσοῦτον MSS.
THE CAESARS

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. 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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

"ονομαστότατον ἐποίησεν ἢ τῶν τότε ὑπάτων μαλακία. τῶν δουλικῶν δὲ ἐκείνων πόλεμον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνδρας γενόμενον, ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς χειρίστους τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄλλοι μὲν κατειργάσαντο, Κράσσοι καὶ Δούκιοι, τοῦνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔσχε Πομπήιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσοικα ταύτης κατεπολέμησε Δούκουλλος, ἑθριάμβευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων Πομπήιος. εἰτ' ἐκολάκευσαν 323 αὐτὸν οἱ πολίται καὶ Μέγαν ὄνομασαν, ὅταν τίνος τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ μεῖξον; τί γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοσοῦτον ἐπράξηθη, ήλίκων Μαρίῳ ἢ Σκητίσωι τοῖς δύο ἢ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κυρίων τούτων Φοιρῷ, ὅς μικρὸν συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτου πόλεως ἀνέστησεν; οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλοτρίοις ἑργοῖς, ὡσπερ ἐν πολιτικαῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ' ἄλλων καταβληθείσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθείσαις ἔτε. Βρος ἄρχων ἐπεγράφη μικρὰ κοινάσας τὸν τοῖχον, οὕτω ταῖς ἄλλοτρίαις ἐπεγράφησαν πράξεσιν ἄρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημουργοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν καλλίστων ἡξιώθησαν ὄνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ κεκράτηκας Πομπήιον δακτύλῳ κυωμένου καὶ τάλλα ἀλώπεκος μᾶλλον ἢ λέοντος.
ness of the consuls in office made it seem glorious. Then the famous Servile War\(^1\) was waged not against men but the vilest of slaves, and its successful issue was due to others, I mean Crassus and Lucius,\(^2\) though Pompey gained the reputation and the credit for it. Again, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces were conquered by Lucullus,\(^3\) 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\(^4\) or of the two Scipios or of Furius,\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) 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\(^7\) 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.  
έπειδή γάρ αυτὸν ἡ τύχη προύδωκεν, ἢ τὸν ἐµ-
προσθεν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρειστῆκε, ταχέως ἐκρά-
tῆσας μόνου. καὶ ὅτι δειωτῇ τε μὲν οὐδεµᾶ
κρείττων ἐγένου, φανερὸν καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ
γεγονός 1 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ µικρὸν,
ὡς οἶσθα, τούτο ἀµάρτηµα στρατηγοῦ· καὶ µάχη
συµβαλὼν ἡττήθη. εἰ δὲ Ποµηῖος ὑπ’ ἀφρο-
σύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἢ τοῦ µὴ δύνασθαὶ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀρχεῖν οὔτε, ἤνικα ἐδεί τρίβειν τῶν
πόλεµον, ὑπερετίθετο τὴν µάχην οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ 2
νικῶν ἐπεξῆς, ὑπὸ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀµάρτηµας
καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοὺς σοὶς ἐσφάλη στρατηγῆµας.

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλὸς καὶ φρονίµως παρε-
sκευασµένοι πρὸς τὴν ἡµετέραν ἀλκήν ἐνέδοσαν,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ τοῦ πράττειν ἀπλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ
tὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἄνδρα ἀµιστοῦ καὶ βασιλείᾳ
προσήκει µεταποιεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ µὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν
Ἐλλήνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπήτθησα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς
Ἐλληνικοὺς πολέµους ἐπανεξάχοµην, οὐχὶ τὴν
Ἐλλάδα λυτεῖν βουλόµενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κω-
λύοντάς µε διαβαίνειν καὶ δίκας ἀπαίτειν τῶν
Πέρσην ἐπικόπττων. σὺ δὲ τοὺς Γερµανοὺς καὶ
Γαλάτας κατεπολέµησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν
σεαυτοῦ παρασκευάζοµενος, οὐ τὶ γένοιτ’ ἃν χεῖρον
ἡ µιαρότερον; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡστερ διασύρων τῶν
µυρίων ἐµµηµόνευσας Γραικῶν, ὅτι µὲν καὶ ὑµεῖς
ἐντεῦθεν γεγόνατε καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας
ὡκησαν οἱ Γραικοὶ, καὶ περ εἰδῶς ὑµῶς οὐ παρα-
δέχοµαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁλίγον ἔθνος, Αἴτωλος

1 γεγονός Petavius, Naber, γέγονας Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῇ νίκῃ before νικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. Oration i.
59 D.
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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

λέγω τοὺς παροικοῦντας ἦμῖν, οὐ χίλους μὲν Β ἔχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησασθε περὶ πολλοῦ, πολεμοῦντας δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπεροῦν δι’ ἀσδήπτοτε αἰτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὑπακοῦειν ὑμῖν ἦναγκάσατε; οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ οὐδὲ πάσης, ἀλλ’ ἔθνους μικροῦ, ἣνικα ἤκμαζε τὸ Ἐλληνικόν, οὐδ’ ὃτι ἔστι γνωσικομένου, μικρὸν δὲω φάναι, μόγις ἀρκε- σαντες, τίνες ἂν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμάζοντας C καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας τοὺς Ἐλλήνας πολεμεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐδέσησθεν; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρον διαβάντος ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἦστε ὑπὸς ἐπιτίθεστε, εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κρατήσαι μικρὸν νομίζεις καὶ τὸ τῆλικοῦτον ἔργον διασύρεις,

δλίγης πάνω τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Τήγρητα ποταμὸν ὑπὸ Παρθανίων βασιλευμένης χώρας, ἐτη πλέον ἡ τριακόσια πολεμοῦντες, λέγε μοι, δὲ ἢν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; βούλειι σοι φράσσω; τὰ Περσῶν D ὑμᾶς εἰρήξε βελή. φρασάτω δὲ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν Ἄντωνιος οἱ παιδοτριβηθεῖσι ἐπὶ στρατηγία παρὰ σοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν οὐδε ὅλοις ἐναυτοῖς δέκα πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Ἰνδῶν γέγονα κύριος. εἰτ’ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, ὅτι καὶ παιδαρίῳ στρατηγῶν ἐργα ἐπραξα τήλικαῦτα, ὡστε τὴν μνήμην, καίπερ οὐκ ἄξιως ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ὑποθέντων, ὄμως συμπαραμένει τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325 τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τοῦμοῦ βασιλέως, οὐ θεράπων ἐγὼ καὶ ξηλωτῆς ἐγενόμην, Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἀμιλ- λόμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, Ἡρακλεά δὲ θαυμάζων καὶ ἐπόμενος, ἀτε δὴ κατ’ ἵχνος θεοῦ ἀνθρωπος.

1 Ἄντωνιος Cobet rejects, since Julian prefers to substitute descriptive phrases for names.
2 ὄμως Cobet, ὄμως 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.
"Οσα μὲν οὖν ἔχρην, ὦ θεοί, πρὸς τούτων ἀπολογήσασθαι καίτοι κρείττον ἢν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ: εἴρηται· εἰ δὲ τι πικρὸν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν Β ἐπτάχθη, οὔτι παντάπασιν εἰς ἀναίτιοις ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἡ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς προσκρούσαντας ἢ τῷ καίρῳ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ πρεπόντως χρησαμένους, ἠκολούθησε γούν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαμαρτηθεῖσιν ἡ μεταμελεία, σώφρων πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἐξημαρτηκότων σώτειρα δαίμον, τοὺς δὲ ὀσπερ φιλοτιμομυνέως ἐπὶ Τ τῷ πολλάκις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ προσκρούειν οὐδὲν ὅμην ἄδικον ποιεῖν κολάζων.

'Επεὶ δὲ εἶρητο καὶ τούτῳ στρατιωτικότερον ὁ λόγος, ἐπὶ τῶν 'Οκταβιανὸν τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐφερεν ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος θεράτων, ἐπιμετρὸν αὐτῷ τοῦ ὤδατος ἔλασσον διὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μνησικακῶν αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑπερηφανίας. καὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἴνθη συνῆκεν ὑπὸ ἀγχυνολας, Δ ἀφεὶς τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἴπεν, ὦ Ζεὺ καὶ θεοί, τοῦ διασύρειν μὲν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖν ἄφεξομαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τὸν πάντα ποιήσομαι λόγον. νέος προὔστην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πόλεως ὀσπερ υἱός του ἡ γενναῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, κατώρθωσα δὲ Γερμανικοὺς πολέμους χρυσόν ὀσπερ ὁ ἕμος πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Καῖσαρ. 326 συμπλακεῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀγώνιν Ἀγριππόν μὲν περὶ τὸ 'Ακτιον κατεναμάχησα, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους κατεπολέμησα, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα Σέξτον πάρεργον.
"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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐθέμη τής ἐμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας. οὗτω δὲ παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροῆθη, ὡστε καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνωδόρου παρρησίας ἡσσχόμην, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν, ἀλλὰ εὐφραίνομενος ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ἄλλα B καθάπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἡ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδούμενος. Ἀρειον δὲ καὶ φίλον καὶ συμβιωτὴν ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἐστιν ύφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀμαρτηθέν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων τῆς Ῥώμης ὅρων εἰς τὸν 1 ἔνσχατον ἐλαύνουσαν πολλάκις κίνδυνον οὕτω διεθέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς, ὡστε εἰναι, εἰ μὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἡ θεοῖ, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντίνην. οὐ γὰρ C ταῖς ἀμέτρους ἐπιθυμίαις εἰκόνων ἐπικτάσθαι πάντως αὐτῆς διενόηθην, ὥρια δὲ διιτά, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα, 2 Ἰστρον καὶ Ἔφοστην ποταμοὺς ἔθεμην. εἶτα ὑποτάξας τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρακῶν θεόν, ἐπιμετροῦντων ύμῶν τῆς βασιλείας μοι τὸν χρόνον, οὐ πόλεμον ἄλλον εἰς ἄλλου περισκόπουν, ἀλλὰ εἰς νομοθεταν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανόρθωσι τὴν D σχολὴν διετιθέμην, οὐδενὸς νομίζων τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χείρον βεβουλεῦσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρῆ θαρρήσαντα φάναι, κρείσσων τῶν πῶς τοῦτο τηλικαύτας ἡγεμονίας ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς στρατηγίαις ἐναπέθανον, ἔξον λοιπὸν ἡσυχάξειν 3 καὶ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἑαυτοῖς, ὡσπερ οἱ φιλοπράγμονες δίκας κατασκεύασαν τις ὃς ἐκ καὶ πολεμοῦμεν τῇ τρυφῇ 327 προσεἴχον, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τῆς

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.
αἰσχρὰν τρυφὴν προτιμῶντες, ἄλλα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἔγνυ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοούμενος οὐκ ἀξιόν τῆς χείρονος ἐμαυτὸν μερίδος· ὦ, τι δ' ἄν ύμῖν, ὦ θεῶ, φαίνεται, τοῦτο εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἐμὲ διήπουθεν στέργειν.

Δίδοται μετὰ τούτων τῷ Τραϊάνῳ τοῦ λέγειν ἐξουσία. ὦ δέ, καίτερ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας· ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰσθεὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Β Σωύρα γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἡ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς τὸ τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ἦττιάτο δὲ τὸ γῆρας ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαν αὐτὸ τοῖς Παρθικῶς πράγμασιν ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, 'Ἀλλ', ὁ μάταις, ἐφη, εἰκοσε Βεβασιλευκας ἔτη, 'Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὖτος δῶδεκα. τὶ οὖν ἄφεις αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν σαυτοῦ τρυφὴν τὴν τοῦ χρόνου μέμφη στενότητα; παροξυνθέοις οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκόμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν C ἔξω τοῦ δύνασθαι ῥητορεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλοτοσίας ἀμβλύτερος εαυτοῦ πολλάκις ἦν, 'Εγὼ δέ, εἴπειν, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ θεῶ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ταραλαβῶν ναρκῶσαν ὀσπερ καὶ διαλευκύννυν ὑπὸ τε τῆς οἰκος πολὺν χρόνον ἐπικρατησάσης τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὑβρεως, μόνος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰστρον D ἐτύλιμησα προσλαβεῖν έθνη, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἐξείλον, οἱ τῶν πῶτοτε μαχιμώτατοι γεγόνασιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅν ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς ὃ τιμόμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς· Ζά- μολξι. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνησκεῖν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι νομίζοντες ἐτοιμότερον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἡ ἄλλοι 1 τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἐπράξθη δὲ μοι τὸ

1 ἄλλοι Reiske adds.
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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐργον τούτο ἐν ἐμαυτοῖς ίσως που πέντε. πάντων
de δι των πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ1 γεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328
όφθην τοῖς υπηκόοις πράττατος καὶ οὔτε Καίσαρ
οὕτως ἐνεπερ οὕτων ἀμφισβητήσειν ἂν μοι οὔτε
ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἰς, εὐδηλόν ἐστι πον. πρὸς Παρ-
θυαίους δὲ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν, οὐκ
ἀμην δεῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὁπλοῖς. ἀδικοῦσὶ δὲ
ἐπεξήλθον οὐδέν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας κολυθεὶς, καίτοι
dιδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μή στρατεύεσθαι.
tούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἄρ’ οὖχι καὶ τιμᾶσθαι B
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμὶ δίκαιοι, πρᾶος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους δια-
φερόντως γενόμενοι, αἰδευθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ἐκγονον2 ψιλοσφιάν; τοιαύτα ὁ Τραϊάνδος εἶπὼν
ἔδοκει τῇ προκτῇ πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δὴ λοι
pως ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστα ἤσθεντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

Τοῦ Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειληνὸς
ηρέμα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, Ἀκούσωμεν, ἐφη, τοῦ C
Στωικοῦ τούτου, τί ποτε ἄρα τῶν παραδόξων
ἐκείνων ἐρεῖ καὶ τεραστίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀπο-
βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, Ἀλλ’
ἐμοῦς, εἰπεν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεῶν, λόγων οὐδὲν δεῖ καὶ
ἀγώνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἕγνωετε τὰμά, προσήκον ἂν
ἐμοί διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰστε καὶ λέλεκθεν
ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδέν, αὐτοὶ μοι τιμάτε τῆς D
ἀξίας. ἔδοξε δὴ οὖν ὁ Μάρκος τά τε ἄλλα

1 ἐμαυτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐμοῦ MSS.
2 ἐκγονον Wright, ἐγγονον Hertlein, MSS.

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of five years or so. That of all the Emperors who came before me ¹ 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

θαυμάσιος τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφερόντως ἄτε ὕμαι διαγινώσκων,

Δέγειν θ' ὑπὸν χρή καὶ σιγάν ὑπὸν καλὸν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντῖνῳ μετὰ τούτων λέγειν ἐπέτρεπτον. ὁ δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐθάρρης τὴν ἀγωνίαν, ὡς δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα, μικρὰ παντάπασιν εἰδε τὰ ἐαυτοῦ. δύο γὰρ τυράννους, 329 εἰ γε χρή τάλιθη φάναι, καθηρήκει, τὸν μὲν ἀπόλεμον τε καὶ μαλακόν, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον τε καὶ διὰ τὸ γήρας ἁσθενής,1 ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ θεοὶς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπως ἐχθίστω. τά γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἥν γελοῖα αὐτῷ· φόρους γὰρ ὄσπερ ἐτετελέκει,2 καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τρυφήν αἰφέωρα· πόρρω δὲ εἰστίκη τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆς περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς Σελήνης· ἐρωτικῶς τε οὕν εἰχεν αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅλος πρὸς ἑκείνην βλέπων οὐδὲν ἐμελεῖν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς Β νίκης.3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχρην καὶ αὐτὸν εἶπείν τε, ταύτῃ τούτων κρείττων, ἐφη, εἰμὶ, τοῦ Μακεδόνος μὲν, ὁτι πρὸς Ἁρμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυθικὰ γένη καὶ οὕχι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσίανοὺς βαρβάρους ὑγιονισάμην, Καίσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὀκταβιανὸ τῷ μῆ, καθάπερ οὕτω, πρὸς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς πολίτας στασιάσας, τοὺς μιαρωτάτους δὲ καὶ πονηροτάτοις τῶν τυράννων ἐπεξελθεῖν. Τραῖνον δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀνδρα-χαθήμασιν εἰκότως ἂν προτιμηθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἡν οὕτως προσεκτῆσατο χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν ἵσος ἂν ὄντως ἀπεικότως νομοθείμην, εἰ μὴ καὶ μείζον ἐστί

1 ἁσθενή Sylburg adds.
2 After ἐτετελέκει Cobet suspects that several words are lost.
3 νίκης Cobet, MSS, δίκης 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 was untrained in war and effeminate, the other 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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

tō ānaktīσασθαι toû κτήσασθαι. Márkos dê oûtoso sioptῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἥμιν τῶν πρωτεῖων ἔξισταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλ' ἡ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κῆπους ὡς ἔργα ἥμιν, ὁ Κων-
σταντῖνε, σεαυτῷ προφέρεις; τί δὲ, εἶπεν, εἰ εἶπον ὁς λέγεις Ἀδώνιδος κῆπους; ὁς αἰ γυναίκες, ἔφη, D
τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν ὀστρακίων ἐπαμησάμεναι γην λαχανίαν χλοῆσαντα δὲ ταύτα πρὸς ὅλων αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἡμυθρίασεν, ἀντικρὺς ἐπιγνός
toιοῦτον τὸ εαυτοῦ ἔργον.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐφίκεσαν περιμέ-
νειν, ὅτως θῆσονται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτεῖων οἱ θεοὶ
ψήφων. οἱ δ' ὄντο τοῖς δὲν τὰς προαρέσεις εἰς τοῖς-
φανὲς τῶν ἀνδρῶν προάγει καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν
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tεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ἂν ἡ Τύχη μετεποιητὸ τὸ
πλεῖστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῦσα παρει-
στήκει πλὴν Ὄκταβιανοῦ μόνου. τούτων δὲ
eὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἶναι ἔλεγεν. ἔδοξεν οὖν
τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι καὶ τούτῳ τῷ Ἔρμῃ, καὶ
ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πυθέσθαι, τί B
νομίσειε κάλλιστον καὶ πρὸς τὶ βλέπων ἔργασαι
tι καὶ πάθοι πάντα διατὰ δεδράκοι τε καὶ
πεπόνθαι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Τὸ πάντα υικᾶν. εἶτα,
eἶτεν ὁ Ἔρμης, οἴει σοι τοῦτο πεποίησθαι; καὶ
μάλα, ἔφη ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος. ὁ δὲ Σειληνὸς τωθα-
στικὸς μᾶλα γελᾶσας,' Ἀλλὰ ἐκράτουν γέ σου
πολλάκις αἱ ἡμέτεραι θυγατέρες, αἰνιτόμενος τὰς
ἀμπέλους, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον οἶα δὴ τινα μέθυσον C

1 οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ Hertlein suggests, οὐκ ἐκ 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 φίλοινον σκώπτων. καὶ οὗ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄτε δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακοσμάτων, Οὐ τὰ ἀψυχα, ἐφη, νυκαί νοῦδε γὰρ ἀγῶν ἦμιν ἐστὶ πρὸς ταῦτα: ἅλλα πάν μὲν ἀνθρώποι, πάν δὲ θηρίων γένος. καὶ οὗ Σειληνῶς ὅσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες εἰρωνικῶς μᾶλα, Ἰοῦ, Ἰοῦ, ἐφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν D κιγκλίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦμιν ἐν ποτέρον σαυτὸν θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἀψυχῶν ἢ τῶν ἐμψυχῶν τε καὶ ξώντων; καὶ οὗ ὅσπερ ἀγανακτήσας, Εὐφήμεια, ἐφη: ύπὸ γὰρ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θεὸς γενοίμην, μᾶλλον δ' εἶπε, ἐτεπείσμην. Αὐτὸς οὖν, εἰπεν, ἡττήθης σεαυτὸν πολλάκις. 'Αλλ' αὐτὸν έαυτοῦ, εἰπεν οὗ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι ὁμωνύμως λέγεται; ἐμοί δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς 331 ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βαβαί τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἰπεν, ὅπως ἦμοι τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεις. ἂλλ' ἦμικα, εἰπεν, εὖ Ἰνδοῖς ἐτρόθης καὶ οὗ Πευκέστης ἐκείτο παρὰ σέ, σὺ δὲ ἐξήγου ψυχορραγών τῆς πόλεως, ἀρα ἦπτων ἥσθα τοῦ τρόσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων ἐνίκας; Οὐκ ἐκείνων, ἐφη, μόνον, ἁλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξεπόρθησα τὴν πόλιν. Οὐ σύ γε, εἰπεν, οἱ μακάριε σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσο κατὰ τὸν Ὄμηρον "Εκτορά ὀλυγοδρανέων καὶ ψυχορραγῶν" οἱ δὲ Β ἠγωνίζοντο καὶ ἐνίκων. Ηγομένων γ' ἦμον, εἰπεν οὗ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ οὗ Σειληνῶς, Πῶς; οἶ 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 Peucestes\(^2\) 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


\(^2\) Peucestes was wounded but saved Alexander's life; Pliny 34. 8.
ἐφέρεσθε μικροῦ νεκροῖ; εἶτα ὡδὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἐὐριπίδου

Οἶμοι, καθ Ἕλλαδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται,
"Ποταν τρόπαιον πολεμίων στήσῃ στρατός.
καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ὁ παππίδιον,
τοιαῦτα λέγων, μὴ σε οὕτως ὑποία τὸν Κλείτον C
ἔργασηται.1 καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθρίασας τε
άμα καὶ ὁσπερ συνχυθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ
δύματα ἑσιώτα. καὶ ὄντε μὲν ὄντε ἑλήξεν ὁ λόγος.
Ο δὲ Ἐρμής ἤρετο πάλιν τὸν Καίσαρα, Σοὶ δὲ,
εἶπεν, ὁ Καίσαρ, τίς ἐγένετο σκοτὸς τοῦ βίου;
Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἐφὶ, τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μήτε D
eἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι2 δεύτερον. Τούτῳ, εἶπεν ὁ
Ἐρμής, ἀσαφὲς ἐστὶν πότερον γάρ, εἶπε,3 κατὰ
σοφίαν ἡ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινοτήτα ἡ πολε-
μικὴν ἐμπερίαν ἡ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν; Ἡν μὲν
οὖν, ἐφὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, ἥδυ μοι τῶν πάντων ἐν πᾶσιν
εἶναι πρώτως τούτου δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπιτυχεῖν τὸ
δύνασθαι μέγιστον παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις
ἐξήλωσα. Σὺ δὲ, εἶπεν, ἐδυνάμησθαι μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν 332
ὁ Σειληνός. καὶ ὥς, Πάνυ γε, ἐφὶ κύριοι γοῦν
αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. Ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν, εἶπεν, ἐδυ-
νάμησις ἀγαπηθῆναι δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶδο τε
ἐγένει, καὶ ταῦτα πολλὰ μὲν ὑποκρινόμενος
ὡσπερ ἐν δράματι καὶ σκηνή φιλανθρωπίαι,
αἰσχρώς δὲ αὐτοὺς πάντας κολλακεύων. Εἰτα ὥστε
ἀγαπηθῆναι δοκῶ, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ διώ-

1 τὸν Κλείτον ἐδρασεν ἐργάσηται MSS.; Hertlein suggests omission of ἐδρασεν.
2 μὴτε εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι Hertlein suggests, εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι MSS.
3 εἶπε Hertlein suggests; cf. 333 ν, εἶπε MSS.
recited the passage in Euripides\textsuperscript{1} 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

\textsuperscript{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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ξαντὸς Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἔπειδὴ σε ἀπέκτειναν, ἐφ' ὁδαῖ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ δήμοι ἐφηφίσατο εἶναι ύπατος· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἄργυρον, ἔπειθε τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μισθὸν ἐώρων τῆς ἀγανακτῆσεως αὐτοῖς οὕτως οὗτος τὸν τυχόντα προσεγγεγραμμένον.

Δῆξαντος δὲ καὶ τούδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Ὄκταβιανον ἄθις ὁ Ἐρμῆς ἐκίνει. Σὺ δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔρεις ἣμι, τί κάλλιστον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι; καὶ ὡς, Βασιλεύσαι, ἐφη, καλῶς. Τί δὲ ἔστι τὸ καλῶς; ὁ Σεβαστῆς, φράσον, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο γε ἔστι καὶ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις λέγειν. ὃτε γοὺς καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασιλεύειν καὶ ὁ τούτου μιαρῶτερος Ἀγαθοκλῆς. Ἀλλ' ἵστε, εἶπεν, ὁ θεός, ὡς προπέμπων Δ τὸν θυγατρίδον ηὐξάμην ὑμῖν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καῖσαρος, δεινότητα δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, τὐχην δὲ τὴν ἐμῆν. Πολλά, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, καὶ θεῶν ὡντως σωτήρων ἔργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὕτως ὁ κοροπλάθος. Εἶτα διὰ τὸ τοῦτο, ἐφη, τὸ ὠνομά μοι γελοίου οὕτως ἔθου; Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπλαττες ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, ὦστερ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς νύμφας, ὁ Σεβαστῆς, θεοὺς, δὲν ἐνα καὶ πρῶτον τούτῳ Καῖσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὄκταβιανὸς ὦστερ δυσ- 333 ὄπτουμενος ἀπεσιώτησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἐρμῆς πρὸς τὸν Τραίανὸν βλέψας, Σὺ δὲ, εἶπε, τὶ διανοούμενος ἐπραττες ὦσπερ ἐπρατ- ξας; Τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σωφρονέστερον,
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 governed 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

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.
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eiπεν, ὧρέχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡπτήθης μὲν οὖν,1 εἶπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἀγεννεστέρων. ο μὲν γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ πλείστον ἦττων ἤν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχρᾶς ἱδονῆς καὶ ἐπονειδίστοι. Ἄλλο εἰς μακαρίαν, Β εἰπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπεὶ σκόπτεις σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδέν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγεις. ἄλλον ἐπὶ ἐκείνων εἶχε σοι χῶραν τὰ σκώμματα· πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅπως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου. δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι μοι πῶς ἁνήρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην τετράγωνος ἀνευ ψόγου τετυγμένος. ὁ Ἐρμῆς δὲ Βλέψας εἰς τὸν Μάρκον, Σοι δέ, εἶπεν, ὁ Βῆρε, τί κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου τέλος εἶναι; καὶ ὃς ἠρέμα καὶ σωφρόνος, Τὸ μυμεῖσθαι, C ἔφη, τοὺς θεούς. ἐδοξε μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἡ ἀπόκρισις οὐκ ἀγεννής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἐρμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυπραγμονεῖν, πεπεσμένοι στὶ πάντα ὁ Μάρκος ἀκολούθως ἐρεί. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδόκει ταύτῃ μόνος δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μὰ τὸν Διό- νυσον ἀνέξομαι τούτου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. τὶ δὴποτε γὰρ ἡσθίες, εἰπε,2 καὶ ἐπινες οὐκ ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς ἁμ- βροσίας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἀρτον δὲ καὶ οἶνον; Ἀλλ᾽ ἠγγυγε, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἥπερ οὖν ὁμην τοὺς θεοὺς μμεί- σθαι, ταύτῃ προσφερόμην συτία καὶ ποτά· τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἔτρεφον, ἵσως μὲν ψευδώς, πειθόμενος δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ύμετέρα σώματα δεῖται τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων τροφῆς. πλὴν οὐ κατὰ ταύτα γε ύμᾶς εἶναι μμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ύπέλαβον. ὄλγον ὁ Σειληνός διαπορήσας3 334

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, οὖν MSS. καὶ before σὺ Cobet adds. 2 εἶπε Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 D, εἶπε 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.'" ¹ 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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

... ωσπερ υπὸ πύκτον δεξιοῦ πληγείς, Εἰρηταὶ μὲν
σοι τοῦτο, εἶπε, τυχὸν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἐμοὶ δὲ,
ἐφη, φράσον, τί ποτε ἐνόμιζε εἶναι τὴν τῶν
θεῶν μίμησιν; καὶ ὦς, Δεῖσθαι μὲν ὦς ἐλαχίστων,
εὖ ποιεῖν δὲ ὡς ὦ, τι μάλιστα πλεῖστος. Μῶν
οὖν, εἰπέν, οὐδενὸς ἔδειον; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, ἕγιγ μὲν
οὐδενός, ἵσως δὲ τὸ σωμάτιον μου μικρῶν.
δόξαν-
tοσο ὄν καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς εἰρηκέναι τοῦ Μάρκου, Β
τὸ τέλος ἀπορούμενος ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπιτύφυεται τοῖς
περὶ τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτῷ δοκοῦσιν
οὖν ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ λόγον πεποιήσθαι, τὴν μὲν
ὅτι ταῖς ἡρωίναις ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἐμμησάμην, εἶπε, καὶ
κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς θεοὺς. Ὅμηρο μὲν γὰρ ἐπειθὸμην
λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς, ὧτι ἀρα, ὡστὶ ἄγαθος
καὶ ἐχέφρων, τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κῆδεται. περὶ
dὲ τοῦ παιὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δίως ἀπόφασιν ἕχω
αἰτιώμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἄρεα, Πάλαι ἂν, εἰπεν,
ἐβέβλησον τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ παῖδα σε
εἰναι ἡγάτων. ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲ ώμην ἔγω
tὸν παῖδα πονηρὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ
νεότης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μεγάλας ποιομένη ῥοπᾶς
ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἡνέχθη, οὐχὶ πονηρῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
ἐπέτρεψα, συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν ἅβοντα πονηρὸν
γενέσθαι. τὰ τε ὄν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποιήσαί

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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 Ε ἀπερ ὑπὸ ἀγαθοῦ πόλεως πληγεῖς.
\(^2\) *Iliad* 9. 343.
\(^3\) A paraphrase of *Iliad* 5. 897.
TOVTOU TÒV SATIRES OF JULIAN

tóutò ápantes eúxontai, tìn te gametìn óuk 335
égw próitos, állass metà pollous álloûs étîmpasa.
ísos dé to mév árrxasbài tòn toioûton óuk
èstiw euîlogon, to dé éptî pollâov genvómenov toûs
oikeioutatóus ápostereív égûs ádikias. állass
èlathv émántov égw makrótera átopoloûmenov
pròs eîdótas úmàs, o Zêv kai theòi diôper moî
thís protetéias tauthíi suqenómmoves gênoishte.

Pausaménon dé kai toutê tou lógon, tôn
Konstantàtwon o 'Ermìs ërêto, Óun dé tî kalòn B
êmômuas; Pollà, eîpte, kthásaménon pollâ xará-
sasbài, tâis t' èpitwmuiais tâis éautov kai
tâis tòn filwv úpourugwnta. ânakaugrássas
ouv o Séilhnûs mèga. 'Alla hè pratézítis eînav,
èfh, thèloun èlelêtheis seauton èphoûwov kai
komwotrióias bión ëwòv; 1 ëmíttevò d' aúta pálai
mèn hè te kómy tò te eîdos, èpàr vûn kai h
xwómi soû kathegorèi. toutov mèn ouv o Séilhnûs
pikróterov pós kathîfato.

Sioptês dé genvóménhs ëferon oî theòi lábrâ C
tàs píftous. eîta ëgenvúnto pollâi tò G Márkow.
koupoloûsamévos dé o Zêv ëdíâ pròs tòn patërâ
prostètaxe khrûxai tò 'Ermìs. o dé ekhruttan,
'Andres oî parêlòntes èptî toutov tòn âghwâ,
vómov par' ëmuv eisí kai krisèis toiaútai
yînontai, òste kai tòn uikónta xârreîn kai tòn
âttómenov hî méymphesbài. gporëveshè ouv, eîptev,
òpôi filwv èkástow, upò theòis ëghemôsi biwôûmenoi D
òtò èntubhèvè. èlêswò d' èkástos èautô tòn
prostâtìn te kai ëghemôna. metâ tò khrûyma

1 òv Cobet, âgôv Reiske, íxôv Hertlein, MSS.

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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

tούτο ὁ μὲν 'Αλέξανδρος ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ὅκταβιανὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀπρέξ εἴχετο τοῦ Διός καὶ Κρόνου Μάρκος. πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν Καῖσαρα κατελεήσας ὁ μέγας Ἀρης ἢ τε Ἀφροδίτη παρ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαλεσάτην. Τραίανὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον ἔθει ὡς ἑκεῖνῳ συγκαθεδούμενος. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁὐχ εὐρίσκων 336 ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἔγνυθεν τὴν Τρυφὴν κατιδοῦν ἐδραμε πρὸς αὐτήν. ἢ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοῖς πήχεσι πέπλοις τε αὐτῶν ποικίλους ἀσκήσασα καὶ καλλωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐρὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, "Οστὶς φθορεύς, ὁς τις μιαφόνος, ὁς τις ἐναγῆς καὶ βδελυρὸς, ἵτω θαρρῶν. Β ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τοιτὶ τῷ ὑδατὶ λούσας αὐτίκα καθαρόν, κἂν πάλιν ἐνοχὸς τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δόσω τὸ στήθος πλήξαντι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι καθαρῶ γενέσθαι," σφόδρα ἄσμενος ἑνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, συνεξαγαγὼν τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀγορᾶς τοὺς παίδας. ἐπέτριβον δ᾽ αὐτὸν τε κάκεινους ὁὐχ ἤττον τῆς ἀθεότητος οἱ παλαιναῖοι δαίμονες, αἰμάτων συγγενῶν τινύμενοι δίκας, ἔως ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τῶν Κλαύδιον καὶ Κωνστάντιον ἐδωκεν ἀναπνεύσαι.

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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.
Τοι δὲ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ἐρμῆς, δέδωκα τὸν Κ πατέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγνώναι· σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἔχω, πείσμα καὶ ὅρμον ἀσφαλῆ ζωντι τε σεαυτῷ παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἣνικα ἂν ἐνθένδε ἀπείναι δέ, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα θεῶν εὐμενῆ καθιστάς σεαυτῷ.
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."
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.
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 πολλά ἐποιήθη μέλη χαρέντα· τρυφάν γὰρ ἔλαβεν ἐκ μοιρῶν Ἁλκαίῳ δ' οὐκέτι οὖν Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τὴν μοῦσαν ἐδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἱδονὰς τρέφαι: μοχθεὶν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔχρωντο, κοινοφόροι Β οἴοντες αὐτοῖς ὁσα ὁ δαίμων ἐδίδου τῇ εἰ στοὺς ἁδικοῦντας λοιδορία. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει μὲν ὁ νόμος ἐπὶ ὄνοματος αἰτίασθαι τοὺς ἁδικουμένους μὲν ὀνδέν, εἶναι δ' ἐπικειμένας δισμενεῖς, ἀφαιρεῖται δὲ τῇ ἐν τοῖς µέλεσι µουσικῆς ὁ νῦν ἐπικρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθεροῖς τῆς παιδείας τρόπος. αἰσχρον γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ νῦν µουσικῆν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἢ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐδόκει τὸ πλούτειν ἁδίκως. οὐ µὴν οὐφέξομαι διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατῆς ἐκ µουσῶν ἐπικουρίας. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν

1 "The Discourse at Antioch" is an alternative title in the MSS.

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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

Ῥήνον βαρβάρους ἀγρια μέλη λέξει πεποιημένα παραπλησία τοῖς κρωσμοῖς τῶν τραχύ βοώντων ὀρνίθων ἄδουντας καὶ εὐφραινομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν. εἶναι γὰρ οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοῖς φαύλοις 33ε τὴν μουσικὴν λυπηροῖς μὲν τοῖς θεάτροις, σφίσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἂδιστοι. δὲ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυννοῆσας εἰσῆκε πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν λέγειν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰσμηνίας οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱσης μὲν ἔξεις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὀμοίας, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πειθὼ, μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δὴτα ταῖς μοῦσαις ἢδω καὶ ἐμαυτῷ.

Τὸ δ’ ἄσμα πεζῇ μὲν λέξει πεποίηται, λοιδορίας δ’ ἔχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μᾶ Δία: πῶς γὰρ; ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου εἰς Β δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Ἐνυγγραφέα. τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἐμαυτὸν γράφειν εἴτε ἐπαίνους εἴτε ψόγους εἴργει νόμος οὐδεὶς. ἐπαινεῖν μὲν δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἐθέλων ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ πρὸτον ἄρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λίαν καλὸ μηδ’ εὐπρεπεῖ μηδ’ ὁραῖο ὑπὸ δυστροφίας καὶ δυσκολίας αὐτός προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τούτου C πόργωνα, δίκας αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ὡς έοικεν, οὔ- δενδ’ μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλῶν. ταύτ’ τοι διαθεόντων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν ὀστερὸν ἐν λόχη τῶν θηρίων. ἐσθίειν δὲ λάβρως ἣ πίνειν χανδὸν οὐ συγχωροῦμαι δεῖ 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."
τούς ἄρτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλείσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν Δ ἥκιστα ἄλγῳ. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἐσοκεν ὁ πώγων ὡσπερ τὰ ἄλλα λυπηρόν, οὔκ ἐπιτρέπων καθαρὰ λείως καὶ διὰ τούτο οἴμαι γλυκερότερα χείλεις χείλη προσμάττειν, ὅπερ ἤδη τις ἔφη τῶν ἐργασαμένων ξυν τῷ Πανί καὶ τῇ Καλλιόπῃ εἰς τὸν Δάφνιν ποιήματα. ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε δεῖν καὶ σχοινία πλέκειν ἐνθέντες· καὶ ἔτοιμος παρέχειν, ἢν μόνον ἔλκειν δυνηθῆτε καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀτριπτοὺς ύμῶν καὶ μαλακᾶς χειρᾶς ἡ τραχύτης αὐτῶν δεινᾶ ἐργάσηται. νομίζῃ δὲ μηδέσ ἄσχεραινεν ἐμὲ τῷ σκώμματι. δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αἰτίαν 339 ὡσπερ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένευον ἔχων, ἔσθω οἴμαι λείου αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ψιλόν, ὅποιον οἱ καλοὶ τῶν παῖ- δῶν ἔχουσιν ἀπασαὶ τε αἱ γυναῖκες, ἀλὼ ψόσει πρόσετι τὸ ἔρασμον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ ἐλούντες τοὺς ύμῶν αὐτῶν νίεας καὶ τὰς θυγα- τέρας ὑπὸ ἀβρότητος βίου καὶ ἱσως ἀπαλότητος τρόπου λείου ἐπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τῶν ἄνδρα ὕποφαινοντες καὶ παραδεικνύντες διὰ τοῦ μετώπου Β καὶ οὐχ ὡσπερ ἤμεις ἐκ τῶν γυνάθων.

'Εμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέκρισε μόνον ἡ βαθύτης τοῦ γενείου, ἄλλα καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσετιν αὐχμός, καὶ ὀλυγάκις κελρομαί καὶ ὀνυχίζομαι, καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ὑπὸ τοῦ καλάμου τὰ πολλὰ ἔχω μέλανα. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθέ τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι τὸ στήθος δασὺ καὶ λάσιον ὡσπερ
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 ὃς δὲ κε προσμάζῃ γλυκερώτερα χείλεσι  χείλη. 2 Odyssey 22. 151; cf. Zonaras 13. 12. 213, Dindorf.
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tῶν λεόντων, οὔπερ βασιλεύουσι τῶν θηρίων, οὔδε ἐποίησα λεῖον αὐτὸ πώς τοτε διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρότειναν, οὔδε ἄλλο τι μέρους τοῦ σώματος C εἰργασάμην λεῖον οὔδε μαλακόν. εἰπόν γ' ἂν ὑμῖν, εἰ τίς ἦν μοι καὶ ἀκροχορδῶν ὡσπερ τῷ Κικέρωνι.¹ νυνὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ εἰ² συγγνώσκετε, φράσω ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτερον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίαιτα παγχάλετος ἐπιτηδεύεται. εἰργὼ τῶν θεάτρων ἐμαυτὸν ὑπ' ἀβελητρίας, οὐδ' εἰσώ τῆς αὐλῆς παραδέχομαι τὴν θυμέλην ἐξω τῆς νουμηνίας τοῦ ἔτους ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, ὡσπερ τινὰ φόρον ἢ Δ δασμὸν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδιδοὺς ἀγροκός ὀλίγα ἔχον οὐκ ἐπιεικεὶς δεσπότης. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰςελθὼν τοῖς ἀφοσιουμένοις ἐοίκα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὐδένα, καὶ ταύτα βασιλεύς ἀκούων μέγας, δ' καθάπερ ὑπάρχῃ ἢ στρατηγὸς διὰ πᾶσας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρξεῖ τῶν μίμων καὶ τῶν ἑνίκων ὡσπερ ὑμείς ὄρωντες ὀλύγο πρότερον ἀναμμυνὴσκεσθε νῦν ἡβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.⁴

¹ Κικέρωνι Naber, cf. Plutarch, Cicero, Κῆλωνi Hertlein, MSS. ² εἰ Reiske, & Hertlein, MSS. ³ υἱῶν καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS. ⁴ ἀναμμυνὴσκεσθε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Brambs identified as a fragment of Cratinus.
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, 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 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." 

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

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, Eunidiae fr. 1; cf. Synesius, Epistle 129; Julian refers to Constantius, whom the people of Antioch now compare with him.
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οὐδὲ διημερεύω, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ο θεός καὶ ο θείος καὶ ο ἀδελφὸς ο ὀμοπάτριος.

εἴς δὲ τοὺς πάντας θεόμενος δρόμους, οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς ως ἂν τις ἐρῶν τοῦ πράγματος ἤ ναλ μὰ Δία μὴ Β μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενοι, ἄσμενος ἀπαλλάττομαι.

'Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἕξω ταῦτα: καίτοι πόστον εἰρηταί μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικημάτων; τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἀγρυπνοὶ νύκτες ἐν στυβάδι, καὶ τροφὴ παντὸς ἦττων κόρον τικρόν ἢθος ποιεὶ καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμων. οὐ μὴν ὑμῶν γ’ ἕπικα τὸν ὁμοίον ἐπιτηδευόμεθα παρ’ ἐμοί’ δεινὴ δὲ τις ἐκ παιδαρίου με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη καταλαβοῦσα τῇ γαστρί πολεμεῖν ἐπείσεξεν, οὖδὲ ἐπιτρέπει πολλῶν ἔμπιπτεσθαι σιτίων αὐτή. Τ’ ὀλυγιστάκις οὐν ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων ἐμέσαι συνέβη. καὶ μεμνημαι αὐτῷ παθὼν ἕξ ὅτου καίσαρ ἐγενό- μην ἀπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησμονῆς. ἥξιον δὲ ὑπομνησθήναι διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ πάνω χαρίεντος, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἰκεῖον.

'Ετύχανον ἐγὼ χειμάξων περὶ τὴν φίλην Δ Δουκετίαν ὄνομάξουσι δ’ οὔτως οἱ Κελτοὶ τῶν Παρισίων τὴν πολίχνην ἔστι δ’ οὐ μεγάλη νῆσος ἐγκειμένη τῷ ποτάμῳ, καὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν τεῖχος περιλαμβάνει,2 ξύλιναι δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀμφότερωθεν εἰσάγουσι γέφυραν, καὶ ὀλυγάκις ὁ ποταμὸς ἑλάττωται καὶ μείζων γίνεται, τὰ πολλὰ δ’ ἐστὶν ὅποιος ὧρα θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος,

1 ὀλυγιστάκις Hertlein suggests, ὀλυγάκις MSS.
2 περιλαμβάνει Cobet, καταλαμβάνει Hertlein, MSS.
gods; and I do not stay the whole day as my cousin\(^1\) used to do, and my uncle\(^2\) and my brother and my father’s son.\(^3\) 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

\(^1\) Constantius.
\(^2\) Count Julian who had been ‘Governor of Antioch. cf. Letter 13.
\(^3\) Gallus his half-brother.
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νῦν ήδιστον καὶ καθαρώτατον ὅραν καὶ πίνειν ἐθέλοντι παρέχων. ἂτε γάρ νήσου οἰκούντας ὤδρεύεσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθέντε χρῆ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμών ἐκεῖ πραώτερος εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης 341 τοῦ ὀκεανοῦ στάδια γάρ ἀπέχει ὅπως ἐννακοσίων οὐ πλεῖον, καὶ διαδίδοται τυχόν λεπτή τις αὐρα τοῦ ὑδάτος, εἶναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάττιον τοῦ γλυκέος. εἴτε οὖν ἐκ ταύτης εἴτε ἐκ τινος ἀλλῆς αἰτίας ἀφανοῦς ἐμοί, τὸ πραγμά ἐστι τοιοῦτον, ἀλεεινότερον ἔχουσιν οἱ τὸ χωρίων οἰκούντες τοῦ χειμῶνα, καὶ φύεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀμπελος ἀγαθή, καὶ συκὰς ἦδη εἰσὶν ὁ 1 ἐμπχανήσαυτο, σκεπαζόντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὡστερ Β ἰματίους τῇ καλάμῃ τοῦ πυρῶν καὶ τοιούτως πυών, ὅσα εἰσεθεν εἴργειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἄερος ἐπιγυρμένην τοῖς δευδροὶς βλάβην. ἐγένετο δὴ οὖν ὁ χειμών τοῦ εἰωθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ παρέφερεν ὁ πτωμὸς ὡστερ μαρμάρου πλάκας ἱπτε δήποτο τοῦ Φρύγιον λίθον τὸν λευκὸν τοῦτῳ ἐφικει μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα, 2 μεγάλα καὶ ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχῆ ποιεῖν ἦδη τὸν πῦρον ἐμελλε καὶ τὸ ἱέμα γεφυρών. ο ὦς οὖν ἐν τούτως ἀγριώτερος ἦν τοῦ συνήθους, ἐθάλπητο δὲ τὸ δωματίων οὐδαμῶς, ὡστε ἐκάθευδον, ὡστε εἰσέθει τρόπον ὑπογαίοις 3 καμίνως τὰ πόλλα τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεὶ θερμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔχον εὔτρεπτος πρὸς τὸ παράδεξασθαι τῆν ἐκ τοῦ πυρῶν ἀλέαν· συνέβη δ’ οἴμαι καὶ

1 εἰσίν οἱ Cobet, τινές εἰσίν οἱ Hertlein, MSS.
2 τοῦ—κρύσταλλα Hertlein suggests, ὢς ἐφικει μάλιστα τοῦ λευκοῦ τοῦτο τὰ κρύσταλλα, MSS.
3 ὑπογαίοις Naber, cf. Pliny Ep. 2. 17; ὑπὸ ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.

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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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tòte diá skaióttta tìn èmìn kai tìn eis èman tôu prótou, òs eikòs, àpànthrotiapìaì èboulòmhn ëgà èbìżein èman tôu ánèxèbhai tôn àéra taútns àneidèwos èxonta tís bòthetaías. òs ì òxìmòn èpekrátei kai àèì méizòn èpegyìneto, òbrihìì D mún ouò òs èptétrepha toòs úptéraiòs tô oikìma, dediwòs kínhìsai tìn èn toòs toìchòs úgròttta, kòmìsaì ð' èîdòn èkèlèusà pùr kekàmmènòn kai ànthragas lámprouhs àpòthèsthai pàntelòs metróus.
òi ì ì kàipter ònìtes òu pòllòi pámpplhètheis àpò tòw toìchòw àtìmòvs èkìnhìsan, òf' òn kàtédàrboùn. èmpàmpplìámènìs ì ì moì tís kefálìs èdèhsa mèn àpòpìvnhìì, kòmìsìeis ð' èxò, tôw ìattòw 342 paraînòúntwv àppòrhìsai tìn ènèthèìsìn àrò tòphìì, ouì mi tà Dìa pòllhìn ouòsan, èçèbalòn, kai ègenòmìn àúttìka râwou, òsste moì òenèsthai kòufoùrèan tìn nûktà kai tìs ùstèrailàs pràttèin ð' thìper ðèlòmì.

Oùtw ì ìn ouò ègò wà ìn Kèltòìs kata tòw tôw Ménavàndrou Íùskolòn àútòs èman òpò tòwv ìprosetèthìn. àllì' ì Kèltòn mún tàúta râwù èfèren àgronoìì, pòlis ð' èuðàìmòwv kai mákàrìa kai polvanànthròpòs eìkòtòwv âkhtetain, èn ì pòllòì B mún àrkhsstaì, pòllòì ð' àúltìtai, múmòì ì ì płeìous tòwv polìtwv, àidòw ð' óuk èstìn àrhóntòwv. èrúbhrìàìn ãàrì prèpèi tòis ànnándron, èppèi tòis ge àndrèìosì, ìstìter úmèìs, èwòbhn kòmàxèin, nûktòw ìdùpàthèin, òti tòwv nòmòwv èpèròráte ìì

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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, Duskelos was αὐτὸς δ’ ἐμαυτῷ προστίθημι τοὺς πόνους.
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λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις ενδείκνυσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι φοβεροί ήττα τοὺς ἀρχοντας· ὥστε ὅστις ἀρχοντα ὑβρίσειν οὔτος ἐκ περιουσίας τοὺς νόμους κατεπάτησεν ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐφραίνομενοι δῆλον ποιεῖτε πολλάχου μὲν, οὕτως ἣκιστα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν κρῶτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βοής ο ὅ χημος, οἱ δὲ τέλει τῷ γνωριμώτεροι μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ όνομάζεσθαι παρὰ πάσιν ἀφ’ δὲν εἰς τὰς τοιάντας ἑστάς ἐδαπάνησαι ἡ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα συνουσίας, καλοὶ δὲ πάντες καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ λείοι καὶ ἀγένειοι, νέοι τε ὁμώοι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ζηλωταὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν Φαιάκων,

Εἴματά τ’ ἐξημοιβάδα λοετρά τε θερμά καὶ εύνας ἀντὶ τῆς ὁσίας ἀποδεχόμενοι.

“Τὴν δὴ σὴν ἀγορικίαν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ σκαίοτητα τούτοις ἀρμόσεως ὑπέλαβες; οὐτὸς ἀνόητόν ἐστὶ σοι καὶ φαῦλον, ὃ πάντων ἀν-

θρώπων ἀμαθεστατε καὶ φιλαπεχθημονέστατε,

τὸ λεγόμενον υπὸ τῶν ἀγεννεστάτων σώφρον
tou τῷ ψυχάριον, ὃ δὴ σὺ κοσμεῖν καὶ καλλωπίζειν
σωφροσύνη χρήναι νομίζεις; οὐκ ὀρθὸς, ὅτι πρῶ-

τον μὲν ἡ σωφροσύνη δ’,τι ποτ’ ἐστιν οὐκ ἵσμεν.

>/',νομα δ’ αὐτῆς ἁκούοντες μόνον ἔργον οὗ τὸ ὅ χω

εἰ δ’ ὄποιον τὴ ὑπὲρ ἐπιτηδεύεις ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθαι

μὲν ὅτι θεοῖς χρὴ δουλεύειν καὶ νόμως, 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.
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ίσον δὲ τοῖς ὀμοτίμοις προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν 
τούτοις ὑπεροχήν φέρειν πρῶτερον, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 
καὶ προνοεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πλού-
τούντων ἥκιστα ἀδικήσουνται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων 
πράγματα ἔχειν, ὅποια εἰκός ἐστὶ σοι γενέσθαι 
πολλάκις, ἀπεχθείας, ὀργάς, λοιδορίας· εἶτα καὶ 
ταῦτα φέρειν ἐγκρατάς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν μηδὲ  
ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς 
ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σωφρονίζειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τις 
ἐργον θείος σωφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἴδου 
οὐ λίαν ἀπρεποῦς οὐδ' ἐπονειδίστων δοκοῦσι πὲ 
τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένοις ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδία σω-
φρονεῖν καὶ λάθρα τὸν δημοσία καὶ φανερὸς 
ἀκόλαστον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερπόμενον τοῖς 
θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὖν ὄντως ἡ σωφροσύνη τοιούτον 
ἔστιν, ἀπόλολας μὲν αὐτός, ἀπολλύεις δὲ ἡμᾶς 
οὐκ ἀνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὁνόμα δουλείας 
οὕτε πρὸς θεοῦς οὐτε πρὸς νόμους· ἢδυ γὰρ ἐν 
pᾶσι τὸ ἐλεύθερον.

"Η δὲ εἰρωνεία πόση; δεσπότης εἶναι οὐ φῆς 
οὐδὲ ἀνέχῃ τοῦτο ἀκούων, ἄλλα καὶ ἀγανάκτεις, 
ὡστε ἢδη ἑπεισας τοὺς πλείστους ἐθάδας πάλαι 
γενομένους ἀφελεῖν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ 
tὸ ὁνόμα, δουλεύειν δ' ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις ἀρχουσι 
καὶ νόμοις. καὶ τοι πόσῳ κρείττον ἢν ὁνομάζεσθαι 
mὲν σε δεσπότην, ἐργῷ δὲ ἐὰν ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐλευ-
θέρους, ὡ τὰ μὲν ὄνόματα πράοτατε, 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 annoyances 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 impossible 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 majority 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
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dè τὰ ἔργα; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀποκναίεις βιαζό- 344
μενος μὲν τοὺς πλουσίους ἐν δικαστηρίοις μετριά-
ζειν, τοὺς πένυτας δὲ εἰργεῖς συκοφαντεῖν. ἀφεὶς
dὲ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς μίμους καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς
ἀπολύλεκας ἠμῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε οὐδὲν ἠμῖν
ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχει παρὰ σοῦ πλῆν τῆς βαρύτητος,
ἡς ἀνεχόμενοι μὴν ἔβδομον τουτοῦ τὸ μὲν εὐ-
χεσθαι πάντως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ τοσοῦτον κακοῦ
toίς περί τοὺς τάφους καλινδουμένους γραδίους
ξυνεχωρῆσαμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς ἠμῶν αὐτῶν
ἐντραπελίας ἔξειργασάμεθα βάλλοντες σε τοῖς Β
σκόμμασιν ὁσπερ τοξεύμασι. σὸ δὲ, ὁ γεννάει,
πῶς ἀνέξη τὰ Περσῶν βέλη, τὰ ἡμέτερα τρέσας
σκόμματα;

'Ἰδοὺ, βούλομαι πάλιν ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχής ἐμαντῷ
λοιδορήσασθαι. "Φοιτᾶς εἰς τὰ ἱερά, δύσκολα καὶ
dύστροπε καὶ πάντα μοχθηρέ. συρρεῖ διὰ σὲ τὰ
πλήθη πρὸς τὰ τεμένη καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ πλείουσ
τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ ἀποδέχονται σε σὺν βοῇ μετὰ
κρότων λαμπρῶς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσιν ὁσπερ ἐν τοῖς
θεάτροις. τὶ οὖν οὐκ ἁγαπᾶς οὐδέ ἐπαίνεις, ἀλλ' Σ
ἐπισχεῖρες εἶναι σοφῶτερος τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ Πυθίου,
καὶ δημηγορεῖς ἐν τῷ πλῆθει, καὶ καθάπητ
τῶν βοῶντων πικρῶς αὐτῷ δὴ τοῦτο λέγουν, ὡς
Τρεῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκεν ὀλυνάκις εἰς τὰ τεμένης
συνέρχεσθε, συνδραμόντες δὲ δι' ἐμὲ πολλῆς
ἀκοσμίας ἀναπίπτατε τὰ ἱερά. πρέπει δ' ἀν-
δράσι σώφροσι κεκοσμημένος εὐχεσθαι σύγη

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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.
Τα όντων θεών αιτουμένοι τὰ ἀγαθά. τούτων οὐκ ἦκροάσθε τὸν νόμον Ὀμήρου.

Συγῆ ἐφ' ύμεῖον—
οὐδ' ὡς Ὁδυσσεύς ἔπεσχε τὴν Βυρύκλειαν ἐκτε-πληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γρηγῷ, χαίρε καὶ ἵσχει μηδ' ὄλοντε;

τὰς δὲ δὴ Τρῳάδας οὕτι πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἢ τινὰ τῶν τούτων θυγατέρων ἢ νιέων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἐκτορα· κἀτοι τούτῳ φησὶν ὡς θεῷ τοὺς 345 Τρῶας εὐχεσθαί· εὐχομένας δὲ οὐκ ἔδειξαν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει οὕτε γυναῖκας οὕτε ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι, φησί, χειρας ἀνέσχων, βαρβαρίκου μὲν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γυναιξὶ πρέπον, οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁστὲρ τὸ παρ' ὕμων ποιούμενον. ἔπαινείτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἄνθρωπος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς. Β ἄνθρωπος ἢμᾶς κολακεύσετε. κάλλιστον δ' ἔστιν οἴμαι μηδ' ἐκεῖνους κολακεύσειν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν σωφρόνως.

Ἰδοὺ, πάλιν ἔγιν πᾶ τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτεύω λεξείδια καὶ οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ συγχωρῶ φθέγγεσθαι ὡς ἐτυχεὶ ἄδεως καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνῆθους σκαῖρτητος καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ συγκοφαντῶ. ταῦτά τις καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἃν λέγοι πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Θ θεοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὅπως τὶς εὐνοῦς.
fashion, and to ask blessings from the gods in silence. Have you never heard Homer’s maxim, “In silence, to yourselves”\(^1\)—, 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”?\(^2\). 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,\(^3\) 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

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\(^1\) Iliad 7. 195
\(^2\) Odyssey 22. 411.
\(^3\) Iliad 6. 301.
αυτοῖς ὡσπερ πατήρ ἦτιος νομισθεὶς, φύσει ποιηρὸς ὅπερ ὡσπερ ἑγὼ, ἀνέχοι τοῖς αὐτῶν μισοῦντων καὶ λοιδοροῦντων λάθρα ἢ καὶ φανέρως, ἔπειδὴ κολακεύειν ἐνόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὀρμή μᾶ 1 σε ἐπαινοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι διευθήσεις ὅπως ἀρμόσει τῶν ἄνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς βίοις οὔτε τοῖς ἱθεῖς. εἶνεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τὸς ἀνέξεταί σου; καθεύθεις ὡς ἐπίπταν νῦκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἐστιν οὐδέν, ο σοῦ D τῶν ἄγριων καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμὸν ἀποκεκλεισταὶ δὲ πάση πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμίᾳ· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ζῶν βίου εὐφραίνῃ καὶ πεποίησαι τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας ἴδονην. εἶτα ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τοῦ τὰ τοιοῦτα ἀκούεις; ἐξὼν εἰδέναι χάριν τοῖς ὑπ' εὑρωλας ἐμελεστερόν σε νοθετοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἀποψίλωσαι μὲν τὰς παρείας, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον δεικνύειν πάντα τῷ δήμῳ τὸν φιλογέλωτι τῷ δεθέαματα, μίμους, 346 ὀρχηστάς, ἦκιστα αἰσχυνομένας γυναίκας, παιδαρία περὶ κάλλους ἀμιλλώμενα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἄνδρας ἀπεψιλωμένους οὕτι τὰς γυνάθους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπαν τὸ σῶμα, λείστεροι τῶν γυναικῶν ὅτως φαινοῦντο τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἑορτᾶς, πανηγύρεις, οὕτι μᾶ Δία τὰς ἱερὰς, ἐν αἷς χρῆ σωφρονεῖν ἁλικ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐστὶν, ὡσπερ τῆς

1 ὀρμή μιὰ Naber, ὅρφειον 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 35, ἀλλὰ τίν ποι ταῦτα περὶ δρύν ἡ περὶ πέτρην;
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δρυός, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κόρος αὐτῶν. ἔθυσεν ὁ καῖσαρ Β ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἅπαξ, εἰτα ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης, εἰς τὸ τῆς Δῆμητρος τρὶς ἐφεξῆς ἐβάδισεν. ἐπιλέλησμαι γὰρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Δάφνης ὀσάκις εἰσῆλθον τέμενος, προδοθέν μὲν ὀλυγρία τῶν φυλάκων, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνδρῶν τόλμαις ἀφαιρισθέν. ἢ Σύρων ἤκει νουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὐθίς εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς: εἰτα ἢ πάγκοινος ἐορτή, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπὶ- C σχῶν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Διὸς τᾶς εὐχάς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τῖς ἀνέχεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντο καῖσαρος, ἐξὸν ἅπαξ ἡ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπιτελεῖν δὲ τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐκείνας, ὀπόσαι κοιναὶ μὲν εἰς παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἃν ἐξεστὶ μετέχειν οὐ τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις μόνον θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄν  

1 μόνον θεοί Hertlein suggests, τοῖς θεοῖς MSS.  
2 τοῖς ὅν Naber, ἃν Hertlein, MSS.

"Ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα λογίσωμαι, μακαρίζω μὲν ὑμᾶς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἄχθομαι:  

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MISOPOGON

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 ἐστὶ μοι κατὰ τινὰ θείν ἱσως ταῦτα. διόπερ οὖδ’ ἀγανακτῶ, εὖ ἵστε, τοὺς δυσχεραίνουσί μοι τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει. προστίθημι δ’ αὐτὸς ὡσα δυνατὸν ἐστὶ μοί τοῖς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν σκόμμασι μειζόνως ἐπικαταχέον ἐμαυτὸν ταύτασι τὰς λοιδορίας, δι’ ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ συνήκα, 347 ποταπὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ τῆς τῆς πόλεως ἠθος, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἔμων, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελέξας οὔδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττων. λέγεται τοὺς ποτε τῶν ἐπώνυμον τῇς τῆς πόλεως βασιλέα, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπέρ ἐπώνυμος ἢ ἡ πόλις συναφικήθη· πεπόλισται 1 μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, τούνομα δὲ ἔχει ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου παιδός· διὸ δὴ

faci δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀβρότητος καὶ τρυφῆς ἔρωτα B

ἀεὶ καὶ ἐρώμενον τέλος ἀδικον ἑρωτα τῆς ἐαυτοῦ

μητρικὰς ἐρασθήναι· κρύπτειν δ’ ἐθελοντα τὸ

πάθος οὐ δύνασθαι, τὸ σώμα δ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ

μικρὸν τηκόμενον ἀφανὸς οἶχεσθαι, καὶ ὑπορρεῖν

τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλαττον εἶναι τοῦ

συνήθους. ἐφακε δ’ οἴμαι τὰ 2 κατ’ αὐτὸν αἰνίγ-

ματι, σαφῆ μὲν οὐκ ἐχοῦσης αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου,

μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ αὐτῆς, ἥτις ποτὲ ἐστὶ, φαινομένης, C

ἐναργοῦς δ’ οὖνς τῆς περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἀσθε-

νείας. ἐνθάδε μέγας ἄθλος ἱατρῷ προπέθη τῷ

Σαμίῳ τὴν νόσου, ἥτις ποτὲ ἐστὶν, ἕξευρεῖν. ὁ

δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου, τίνες ποτὲ εἰσιν

1 πεπόλισται: Cobet, Hertlein approves, πεπολίσται 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 χυμοβόροι μελεδῶναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἁσθένεια σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀρρώστια ψυχῆς αὕτη γίγνεται τηκεδόνος τῷ σῶματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὀρῶν ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας καὶ συνήθειας οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτου, ὄδου ἐτράπετο τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος θήραν. καθάγει πλησίον τῆς κλίνης ἄφορῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειρακίου, παριέσει κελεύσας καλοῦς τε καὶ καλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξαμένους. ἢ δ' ὡς ἠλθεν, ἑπισκεφομένη δήθεν αὐτὸν, αὐτίκα ἐδίδου τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ πάθους ὁ νεανίας, ἁσθμα τῶν θλιβομένων ἤφει, ἑπέχειν γὰρ αὐτὸ κυνούμενον καίτερ σφόδρα έθελων οὕς οἰόσ τε ἢν, καὶ παραχῇ ἢν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἔρθημα. ταύτα ὀρῶν ὁ ἰατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τὴν χείρα, καὶ ἐπὶ δεινώς ἡ καρδία καὶ ἔξω λέτο. τοιαύτα ἄττα ἐπασχεν ἐκείνης παρούσης: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήλθεν, ἐπιόντων ἄλλων, ἀτρέμας εἰχε καὶ ἢν ὅμοιος τοίς οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. συνιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ερασίστρατος φράζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ οὐκ ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλότατος εἶναι παραχωρείν ἐφ' ἐφ' παιδὶ τῆς γαμετῆς. ὃ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἡρυθρατελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὰν ὕστερον, ἢν πρότερον διδομένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενῶς ἡρυθῆ, μάλα κραταίως μετέδιώσει.

'Αντιοχὸς μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐποιήση. τοῖς δ' ἀπ' Β ἐκείνου γενομένους οὐ νέμεσις ξηλοῦν τὸν σκιστὴν

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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 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 τον ἐπώνυμον. 1 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς εἰκὸς ἐστὶ διαδίδοσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὰς ποιότητας, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἑπίπαν ὤμοια τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐξ δὲν ἐβλάστησε φύεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι εἰκὸς παραπλήσια τὰ ἡθη τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῖς προγόνοις. ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγνων Ἀθηναίους Ἐλλήνων φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ Σ φιλανθρωποτάτους: καίτοι τοῦτο γε ἐπιεικῶς ἐν πᾶσιν εἶδον τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς, ἔχον δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἔνοικος, καθόλου μὲν Ἐλληνες πάντες, αὐτῶν δ' Ἐλλήνων πλέον τοῦτο ἔχον μαρτυρεῖν Ἀθηναίους. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι διασώζουσιν εἰκόνα τῆς παλαίας ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀρετῆς, εἰκὸς δῆπονθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν καὶ Σύρως καὶ Ἀραβίους καὶ Κελτῶς καὶ Ὑπαξίν καὶ Παισίου καὶ τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους Ὑπαξίν καὶ Παίδων ἐπ' αὐταῖς Ἰστρον ταῖς ἡζοι D Μυσώς, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ μοι πάν ἀγροικον, αὐστηρον, ἀδέξιον, ἀναφρόδιτον, ἔμμενον τοῖς κριθείσιν ἀμετακινήτως. δὴ πάντα ἐστὶ δείγματα δεινῆς ἀγροίκιας.

Αἴτωμαι τοῖνυν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ πρότον συγγύμνῃ, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ὕμιν νέμω τὰ πάτρια ξηλώσιν, οὐδ' ἐν ὅνειδε προφέρομαι τὸ

Ψευσταὶ τ' ὀρχησταὶ τε χροιτυπήσιν ἁριστοι, 349 τοῦναντίων δὲ ἀντ' ἐγκωμίων. ὕμιν προσεῖναι

1 ἐπώνυμον Hertlein suggests, ὑμάρυμον 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.

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καὶ ἐμαντοῦ τὴν σκαῖροτητα καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ράδιος μαλάττεσθαι Β μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεόμενοι ἢ τοῖς ἐξαπατῶσι τὰ ἐμαντοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοαῖς εἰκεῖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργω ὑνείδη. πότερα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ κουφότερα, θεοῖς ἱσως δῆλον, ἐπείπερ ἀνθρώπων οὔδεις οἷς τε ἢμιν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν βραβεύσαι· πεισόμεθα γὰρ οὔδαμος αυτῷ διὰ φιλαυτίαν, θαυμάζειν γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκα- στον, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ο ὁ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐναντία ξηλοῦντι νέμων συγγνώμην εἰναί μοι δοκεῖ πράοτατος.

"Εγὼ δὲ ἐννοήσας εὐρίσκω καὶ ἔτερα δεινὰ Ε ἐμαντοῦ εἰργασμένον. πόλει γὰρ προσιῶν ἐλευ- θέρα, τῶν αὐχύμον τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένη, ὥσπερ οἱ κουρέων ἀπορουντες ἀκαρτος καὶ βαθυ- γένειος εἰσεδραμον ἐνόμισας ἂν Σμικρίνην ὅραν ἢ Ἡρασυλέοντα, δύσκολον πρεσβύτην ἢ στρατιώ- την ἀνόητον, ἔξων φανήσαι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παιδα ὥραιον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τῶν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἅβροτητα τοῦ προσώπου. D "Οὐκ οίσθα ἀνθρώπως ὀμιλεῖν, 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 Thrasyseleon, 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

1 *Odyssey* 19. 396.

2 Smicrines is a typical name in New Comedy for an avaricious old man; Thrasyseleon is said to have been used by Menander as the name of a boasting soldier, "miles gloriosus."

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eί τοῦ Θεόγνιδος, ούδε μιμή τοῦ ἀφομοιούμενον ταῖς πέτραις πολύποιν, ἀλλ' ἡ λεγομένη Μυκόνιος ἀγροικία τε καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ ἀβελτηρία πρὸς πάντας ἐπιτηδεύεται παρὰ σοῦ. λέληθε σε ὅτι¹ πολλοῦ δεῖ ταῦτα εἶναι Κελτοὶ καὶ Ὁράκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοί; οὐχ ὅρας, ὀπόσα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτη καπηλεία; σὺ δὲ ἀπεχθάνῃ τοῖς κατηλοίς οὐ ξυγχωρῶν ὀπόσον βούλονται πολεῖν αὐτοὺς² τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους τὴν γῆν αἰτιῶνται. σὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἑκροῦς ποιεῖ σαντῷ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει τῆς πόλεως ἀμφοῖν μετέχοντες ταῖς ζημίαις, ὃσπερ οἴμαι πρῶτον ἔχαριν διχόθεν καρπούμενοι τὰς ὄψεις, καὶ ὡς κεκτημένοι Β καὶ ὡς καπηλεύοντες, τὰ νῦν εἰκότως λυποῦνται δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀφηρημένοι τὰς ἐπικερδείας. οὐ δὲ τῶν Σύρων δήμος οὐκ ἔχων μεθύειν οὐδὲ κορδακίζειν ἁχθεῖν. σὺ δὲ σύτων ἀφθονον παρῆκαν οἴει τρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἰκανῶς. ἐκεῖνο δὲ σοῦ χαρίεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅπως ἰχθὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πετραῖος ἔσται σκοπεῖς: ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπῳ μεμφομένου των, ὡς οὔτε ἰχθυίων οὔτε ὀρνίθων πολλῶν

¹ σὲ ὅτι—δεὶ Cobet, σὲ—δεῖν Hertlein, MSS.
² αὐτοὺς Reiske, αὐτοῖς 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

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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eυρισκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τωθαστικῶν μάλα ἐγέ- C
λασάς, ἄρτου καὶ οἶνου καὶ ἔλαιου τῇ σώφροι
πόλει δεῖν φάμενος, κρεῶν ὦ ἡθῇ τῇ τρυφώσῃ
τὸ γὰρ καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνιθίων λόγον ποιεῖσθαι
πέρα τρυφῆς εἶναι καὶ ὃς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκη.
μηστήριοι μετήν ἀσέλγειας. ὅτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐν
ἡδονῇ κρέα θειά καὶ προβάτεια σιτείσθαι, τῶν
οὐσπρῶν ἀπτόμενος εὖ πράξει. ταῦτα ἐνόμισας
Θραξὶ νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαντοῖς πολίταις ἢ τοῖς D
ἀναίσθητοις Γαλάταις, οἱ σε ἑπαμυδρίβησαν
καθ' ἡμῶν "πρίνυνο, σφενδάμυνον," οὐκέτι
μέντοι καὶ "Μαραθωνομάχον," ἀλλ' Ἁχαρνέα
μὲν έξ ἡμισείας, ἄηδή δ' ἄνδρα παντάπασι καὶ
ἀνθρωπὸν ἀχαρῖν, οὐ κρείττον ἢν ἁδωδέναι μύρων
τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδιζοῦντος σου καὶ παῖδας ἤγεισθαι
καλοὺς, εἰς οὓς ἀποβλέψουσιν οἱ πολίται, καὶ
χρονὸς γυναικῶν, ὁποῖοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἱστανται καθ'
ἐκάστην ἡμέραν;"

Ἐμὲ δὲ ύγρὸν βλέπειν ῥιπτοῦντα πανταχοῦ 351
τὰ ὁμοτὰ, ὅπως ύμῖν καλὸς, οὕτι τὴν ψυχήν,
ἄλλα τὸ πρόσωπον ὀφθείνη, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχω-352
ρεῖ. ἐστὶ γὰρ, ὥς ύμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχῆς ἀληθινὸν
κάλλος ύγρότης βίου. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδί-
δασκεν εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ἐς διδασκάλου φιλοτώντα
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.\(^1\) 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\(^2\) would fare very well if he took to vegetables.\(^3\) 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’\(^4\) 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 ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἰδίᾳ μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτῶν οὐδέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἡ τέταρτον, εῦ ἵστε, Πατρόκλω ἐπίθρα φέρων ἄρχον Β ἐπέταττεν οἰκείοις ὁν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖοι· ἐτύγχανον δὲ ιδιώτης ἐτε· σύγγρωτε οὖν ἐμοὶ· δίδωμι γὰρ ὅν ἄντ' ἐμοὶ δικαίωτερον μυσήσετε τὸν ψιλαπεχθήμων παιδαγωγόν, ὦς με καὶ τότε ἐλύπει μίαν ὅδὸν ἴναι διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αὐτῶς ἔστι μοι τῆς πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀπεχθείας, ἐνεργασάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ C καὶ ὀφερ ἐντυπώσας ὀπερ ἐγὼ μὲν ὅπις ἐβουλόμην τότε, ὦ δὲ ὡς δὴ τὶ χαρίειν ποιῶν μάλα προθύμως ἐνετίθει, καλῶν οἶμαι σεμνότητα τὴν ἀγροκίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀνδρείαν δὲ τὸ μή εἰκεὶν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδ' εὐδαίμονα ταύτη γίνεσθαι. ἦφη δὲ μοι πολλάκις, εὐ ἵστε, ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ μούσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐτε παιδαρίῳ κομιδή, Μή σε παραπεθέτω τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θέατρα φερόμενου ἀρχηγὴν D ποτε ταυτησὶ τῆς θεᾶς. ἱπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς; ἐστὶ παρ' Ὄμηρο δεξιότατα πεποιημένης λαβὼν ἐπέξειθε τὸ βιβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἀκούεις ὀρχηστάς; ἕα χαίρειν αὐτούς· ἀνδρικῶτερον παρὰ τοὺς Φαίαξιν ὀρχεῖται τὰ μειράκια· σὺ δ' ἔχεις κιθαρώδον τὸν Φήμον καὶ φῶν τὸν 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 path³ 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 πολλὰ τερπνότερα ἀκούσαι τῶν ὀρωμένων.

Δήλω δὴ ποτὲ τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμὸν Φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα. 352 καὶ ἡ δευδρῆσσα τῆς Καλυψοῦς νήσος καὶ τὰ τῆς Κήρκης σπήλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίνου κήπος· εὖ ἵσθι, τούτων οὐδὲν ὄψει τερπνότερον.

Ἀρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τούνομα ὑμῖν φράσω τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὅστις ὄν γένος ταῦτα ἐλεγεί; ἐβάρβαρος ἡ θεός καὶ θεάς, Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος, ὀμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ξέρξην ἀναπείσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον τοῦτο δὴ πρὸ μηνῶν μὲν εἰκοσι προσκυνούμενον Β ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἀντ’ ἀδικήματος καὶ ὀνείδους, εὐνοῦχος ἦν, ὑπὸ τῶν τεθραμμένος πάππω, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγάγοι διὰ τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ποιημάτων. ἔπει δὲ ἐκείνη πρῶτον ἐμὲ καὶ μόνον τεκοῦσα μησὶν ὑστερον ὀλυγος ἐτελεύτησεν ύπὸ τῆς ἀμήτρος παρθένου πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἐκκλαπείσα κόρη Σ καὶ νέα, μετ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐβδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθην. οὕτως ἐξ ἐκείνου ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγων ἐς διδα-σκάλου μίαν ὀδόν ἄλλην δ’ οὕτ’ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι

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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

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.
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θέλων ούτ' ἐμοὶ βαδίζειν ἐνυγχαρών ἐποίησεν ἀπεκθάνεσθαι με πᾶσιν ύμιν. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, σπεισώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγώ τε καὶ ύμεῖς τὴν ἀπέχθειαν λύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἦπιστάτω πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀφίξομενον οὐτ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστα φοιτῶν μέλλομι, ὦτι καὶ ἄρχων προσεδόκα, καὶ τοσαύτην Δ ἄρχήν, ὅσην ἐδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ, πολλά ὀμοῦ βιασά-μενοι, πείσθητε μοι, καὶ τὸν διδόντα καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον. ἔφκει γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος ἐθέλειν οὔτε ὁ διδὼν τὴν τιμὴν ἢ χάριν ἢ ὁ, τι φίλον ύμῖν αὐτὸ ὀνομάζειν δοῦναι, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ως ἵσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἀληθῶς ἦρνείτο. καὶ δὴ τούτο μὲν ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς φίλον ἔχει τε καὶ ἔξει. τυχόν δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς εἰ προύγω τούτο, πολλὴν ἂν ἐποίη- 353 σατο προμήθειαν, ὅπως ὁ, τι μάλιστα ύμῖν φανεῖν κεχαρισμένος.

Εἶτα οὖν ἔξεστιν ἀποθέσθαι νῦν καὶ μεταμαθεῖν εἰ τι πρότερον ἡμῖν ἄγροικον ἢθος ἐνετράφη; Ἐθος, φασί, δευτέρη φύσις· φύσις μάχεσθαι δ' ἔργον, ἐτῶν τριάκοντα μελέτην ἄφεναι παγχάλε- πον ἄλλος τε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐγγενομένην τῆς χαλεπότητος· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦδη πλείω τούτων ἐστίν. Εἰεὶν· ἀλλὰ τὰ παθῶν αὐτὸς ἑπιχειρεῖς ἀκροάσθαι Β περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικάζειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτο σε ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὃς οὐδ' εἰ ἄρξεις ἦπιστατο. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων, ὅν καὶ ύμεῖς 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 δῆτα μάλιστα αἰτιώτατον τῶν ἔμων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὅρθως ποιοῦντες ξυλλοιδορεῖτε μοι, καὶ τούτον δ', εὖ ἵστε, ὅπ' ἄλλων ἐξηπατημένοι. ὁνόματα ἤκει πρὸς ὁμᾶς πολλάκις κωμῳδούμενα, Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος. ἐκείνοις ὁ γέρων οὗτος πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀφροσύνης, ἑπείτα ἐμὴ νέον εὗρών, ἑραστὴν λόγων, ἀνέπεισεν, ὡς, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκείνοις ἥγησί τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἰσως οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ εἴναι μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἁμιλλαν' ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἐγὼ δὲ· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὃ, τι ποιῶ· πεισθεὶς οὐκέτι δύναμαι μεταβε-σθαί, καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὅνειδίζων δὲ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μὴ ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἁδειαν ἀπάντων ἁδικημάτων· ὑπεισὶ δὲ με ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὅσα ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξήλθε ξένος, "Τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ μηδὲν ἁδικῶν, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἁδικοῦσιν ἁδικεῖν πλέον ή διπλασίας τιμῆς ἀξίων ἐκείνου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔνος, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἔτερων, μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἁδικίαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ συγκολάξων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὁ 354 μέγας ἀνήρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὕτως ἀναγορευέ-σθω νικηφόρος ἀρέτης. τῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων ἐπαινοῦ καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρὴ λέγειν καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τις κέκτη-

1 πᾶσιν ἁδειαν Cobet, πᾶσι πᾶσαν ἁδειαν Hertlein, MSS.

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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 ἀλλοις μεταδιδόναι.”

Ταῦτα ἐξίσου χρωμάτων ἰδιώτην ἔστησαν καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ προύγω ταῦτα ἐκ Δίως μοι τὴν Β τύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἣν νῦν ὁ θεός φέρων κατέστησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενος ἄρχων ἰδιώτου φαν- λότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐδὲν δέον, ὑμῖν τῆς ἀγροίκιας μεταδίδους τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ. καὶ με ἕτερος τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομνημάτα ἐμαυ- τοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅσ φησι δέων αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα τὰ πλῆθη πρὸς αὐτοῦς ὁ ἀποβλέποντα κοσμήται. μόνῳ οὖν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξ ἰδίου ἐπιτηδεύοντι νῦν τούτο πρὸς θάτερα περὶ ἐστὶν καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεκότως ἐν ὑπονίδει. ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἐμεν οἴδε παρ' ὑμῖν ξένω νεόλυδος, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολίτης ὑμέτερος, Ἑρμῆς φίλος καὶ ἐμοῖ, λόγων ἄγαθος δημιουργός, οὐς οὐδέν ἐστι πρὸς τινα συμβόλαιον, οὐδ' ἀλλην ὅδον βαδίζομεν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὄλγακις, οὔ πάντες, εἰς τὰ D θέατρα, πεποιημένοι τὸ δυσκλέστατον τῶν ἑργῶν
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.
καὶ ἑπονείδιστότατον ὁ τοῦ βιοῦ τέλος: ἐπιτρέψοι μοι πάντως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοὶ φάναι τι τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐπιπολαζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδειξίσαι· ἐπὶ τῆς μεστείας αὐτοῦ ἐτάξαμεν, οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸ προσκρούειν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δεόν ἄρεσκειν καὶ ἰθωπεύειν. ὦ δεῖνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν δείμα. Τί τούτῳ, ὦ μόρε, πρὸς σέ; κοινοῦειν ἔξον μετ’ εὐνοίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀφεῖς τὸ κέρδος ἔχθραν ἐπαναίρῃ, καὶ τούτῳ ποιῶν ὀρθῶς οἶει 355 ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαι ἔχρη, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀδικούμενοι οὐδεὶς αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικησαντα, ὃ δ’ ἀδικών εἶτα εἰργόμενος, ἀφεῖς μέμφεται τὸν ἀδικούμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἀρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἄχθος.

Ἔξον οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογιστίας ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἄναγκαζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δ’ ἐκάστῳ πράττειν ὦ, τι ἀν ἔθελῃ καὶ Β δυνατὸς ἦ· τό γὰρ τῆς πόλεως θὸς οἰμαί τοιοῦτον ἔστιν, ἐλευθερον λίαν· σὺ δὲ οὗ εἴποις ἄρχοσθαί αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρονήσεως ἄξιοις; οὐδ’ ἀπέβλεψας ὅση καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὅπων ἔστιν ἐλευθερία παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμήλων; ἀγορεῖ τοι καὶ τάς ταύτας οἱ μυστατοί διὰ τῶν στοὰν ὡσπερ τὰς νύμφας· οἱ γὰρ ὑπαιθριοὶ στενωτοὶ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῶν ὅδων οὐκ ἔπι τούτῳ δήποτε πεποίηται, τῷ χρῆ-
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,
σθαί αὐταὶς τοὺς καυθηλίους, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸ ἄγ᾽ τοῦτο κόσμου τινὸς ἐνεκα πρόκεισθαι καὶ πολυτελείας, χρῆμαῖε δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ οἱ ὅνοι ζβούλοντα ταῖς στοαῖς, εἴργει δ’ αὐτοὺς οὐδεῖς οὐδενός, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέλθηται οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρα. σὺ δὲ ἄξιοις τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νεανίσκους ἁγιαν ἡσυχίαν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρο- νεῖν ὅ, τι σοι φίλοι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φθέγγεσθαι ὅσων ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσῃς. ¹ οἱ δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἐλευθερίας εἰώθασι κυρίαξειν, ἀλὲ μὲν ἐπιεικῶς αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐορταῖς πλέον.

'Εδώκαν ποτε τῶν τοιούτων σκόμματῶν Ρω-μαίους Ταραντίνου δίκας, ὅτι μεθύουντες ἐν τοῖς Ἄπυς Ἰανυσίοις ὑβρίζουν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐδαι-μονεῖσθεν, ἀντὶ μὲν ὅλων ἥμερον ὅλον εὐπα-θεῖοντες ἐνιαυτὸν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξων πρέσβεων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξυβρίζοντες τοὺς ἁρχοντας καὶ τούτων εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ γενείου τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νυμίσσασι χαράγματα. εὐ γε, ὅ πολίται σῶ- 356 φρονεῖ, οἱ τε παίζοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν παιζόντων ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύοντες. δὴ λοις γὰρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὴν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἀκροάσθαι τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων εὐ- φραίνει. ταύτης ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς ὁμονοίας συνήδομαι, καὶ εὐ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ πόλις ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἐκεῖνο γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαίον οὐδὲ ξηλωτὸν εἰργεῖν καὶ κολάξειν τῶν νέων τὸ ἀκόλαστον. Β' παραιτεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐστι καὶ ἀποθραίειν τῆς ἐλευ-θερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἰ τις ἀφέλιοτο τοῦ λέγειν

¹ ἀκοβάς Hertlein suggests, ἀκοβαίας 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 πρᾶττειν ὅτι βούλονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὁρθῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς τοῦτο εἰδότες, ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐλευθέρους εἰναι, πρῶτον ἔπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν, ἵνα ὑμῖν ὡσι λίαν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, εἰτα ἐκεῖναις ἕνωχωρήσατε ἀνάγειν τὰ παιδία, μὴ ποτὲ ὑμῖν ἀρχῆς πειρόμενα τραχυτέρας C ἐπείτα ἀποφανθῇ δοῦλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια πρῶτον αἰδεύθαι διδαχθῇ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ὁυτὸς κακῆς συνηθείας εὐλαβέστερα γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἀνδρας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι σώφρονες καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ κόσμου λάθωσι διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι. τί οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες; ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἀγουσιν αὐτὰ δι' ἱδονῆς, δὴ μακαριώτατον εἰναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτίμητον οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ θερίους. ἐνθεν οἷμαι συμβαίνει μᾶλα ὑμῖν ευδαιμονείν εἰναι πάσαν ἀρνομένοις δουλείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρξαμένοις1 πρῶτον, εἰτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τρίτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἀτοποὶ τε ἄν εἰχεν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορώτων οὕτως ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐπεξεύνων τὴν ἀγανακτολήμεν καὶ χαλεπαῖνομεν. εὖ γὰρ ἵστε ὅτι 357 ἡμῆς εἰκοσιώντων οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἡμῖν ἀτυμίας παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χι, φασίν, οὐδὲν ἤδεικνυ ἡμῖν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα. τί μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αἰνίγμα ἔξωεν χαλεπόν, τυχόντες δὲ ἡμέις ἡμῶν ἀρξαμένοις before πρῶτον Hertlein suggests, Klimek ἀποστάσαι τῆς for ἀπὸ τῆς.
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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ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ύμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχὰς ὄνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δὲ ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν, τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον. ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. Β ἐν μόνον ὑμᾶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἤδικησεν, ὅτι με καίσαρα ποιήσας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν· ὅς τά γε ἄλλα ὑμῖν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν ὁδεύει οἱ θεοὶ Κωνστάντιων πειραθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἔμοι γὰρ ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ ἀνεψιός ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας εἶλετο τὴν ἔχθραν, εἶτα ἦμῖν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγώνα λίαν ἐβραβεύσαν φιλανθρώπως, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερος οἱ φίλοι δὲ προσεδόκησεν ἐξεῖν μὲ πρὶν ἔχθρον γενέσθαι. τὶ οὖν ὀφεσθε με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν ἐγκαμίοις, ὃς ἄχθομαι τοῖς λοιδορομένοις αὐτῷ; Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλιόπης, ἢ τὸ σόφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπεγύμνωσεν. Ἐμοί οὖν Χριστὸν ἐπόθουν οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Γαλιλαίων; ἔλυπησα δὲ ἐγὼ τίνας Ἐμοί θύμων πῶς τοῦτο πάρει; ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς καὶ ὀλγοῦ δὲ οἱ φάναι πάντας, τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν δήμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθετάλ μοι τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπας ἀθέοτητα προελάμβανος,
invented is hard to understand, but I obtained interpreters 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 who revealed your clever invention? Did those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire to the tombs of the Galilaeans? 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.
Τότε τοὺς πατρίους ὅρα τῆς ἀγιστείας θεσμοῖς προσκείμενοι, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κολυμνευοί πολλοὶ πάντα πωλεῖν ἀργυρίου, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστερῶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέλει μοι τῶν τοιούτων ἦττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων. εἴτε οὐκ εἰκότως ἔμαντο κατηγορῶ τοσάττας ἀπεχθείας λαβᾶς παρασχόντος; ἁλλ' ὁ Ρωμαίος Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχουν πώγανος οὐκ οἶδα, παρ' ὄντων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονοῦντων ἄξιοι ἐπανείσθαι, προσόντων τῇ τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ πλοῦσιᾳ πόλει τοὺς ἐφήβους ἱδών ἐν τῷ προ- 

Βαστείων μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἐπὶ τινα δορυφορίαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμῶν τοὺς προφόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποίησθαι καὶ θάσσον ἀποβᾶς τοῦ ἦππου προῆγεν ἁμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχεραίνων ὡς μὴν τὰς γενομένους αὐτοῖσι, ὅτι Κάτων προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπείσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν. ὅντος δὴ ἐν τοιοῦτος αὐτοῦ καὶ διαποροῦντος ἥρέμα καὶ ἐρυθριώντος, ὁ γυμνασίαρχος προσδραμὼν, Ὕξενε, ἐφή, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἢν δ' οὖνος Σάτυρος Παλαιέρος, κεκτημένος οὕσιαν πολλὴν πάνυ μέτρου δ' αὐτῆς εἰ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν οἴμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς

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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.
taútηn μάλιστα ὀρμήσατι τὴν ἀκοήν· ἔγω τὸν εἰπόντα φράσω. Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ Βιθυνῷ πεποίηται συγγράμματα τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενος ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν εἰργάσατο λόγους ἡδίστος D νέως φιληκόφω καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ φιλεὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆρας ἐπανάγειν αὕθες εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων φιληκοίν τους ἀφηλικεστέρους· οἴδεν οἷμαι συμβαίνει νέους καὶ πρεσβυτές ἐξ ἵσης εἶναι φιλομῦθους· εἰς. ὦ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὅπως ἀπτήνησε τῷ γυμνασίαρχῳ βούλεσθε φράσω; μὴ με λουδορεῖν ὑπολαβήτη τὴν πόλιν· οὐκ ἑστίν ο λόγος ἐμὸς. εἰ τις ἀφίκται περιφερομένη καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀκοὴ 359 Χαίρονεώς ἄνδρος ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου γένους, ὦ δὴ λέγεται παρὰ τῶν ἀλαζώνων φιλόσοφον· οὐ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔφικόμη μὲν, ἦξαμήν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας κοινωνίᾳ καὶ μετασχεῖν. ταῦτα οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρασεν, ὡς ὦ Κάτων ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν οὐδὲν, βοήσας δὲ μόνον οἷά τις ἐμπληκτὸς καὶ ἀνόητος ἀνθρωπος, ὁ τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως, ἀπιών ψχετο. 

Μὴ δὴ θαυμάσητε, τούτῳ εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ νυνὶ πάσχω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνήρ ἀγριώτερος ἐκεῖνον καὶ Β θρασύτερος τοσοῦτο καὶ αὐθαδέστερος, ὅσον οἱ Κέλτων Ἡρμαῖων. ὦ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε τεχθεὶς ἐγγὺς ἤλθε γῆρως ἀμά τοῖς πολίταις τρεφόμενος· ἐμοὶ δὲ Κέλτοι καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ δρυμοὶ Ἕρκυνιος ἐμελεῖν ἀρτὶ πρῶτον εἰς ἄνδρας τελοῦντι, καὶ διέτρυψα πολὺν ἥδη χρόνου, ὡσπερ τὶς κυνηγητῆς 1 ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν MSS.
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

ἀγρίουσ όμιλῶν καὶ συμπλεκόμενος θηρίοις, ἦθεσιν ἐνυπνικάνοις οὖτε θωπεύειν οὖτε κολακεύειν εἰδό-
σιν, ἀπλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐκ τοῦ ἵσον πάσιν προσφέρεσθαι. γέγονεν οὖν μοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ
παίδων τροφῆν ἣ τε ἐν μειράκιοις ὄδοις διὰ τῶν Ἐλατῶνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων οὐδαμῶς
ἐπιτηδείων δήμοις ἐνυπνικάνειν οἰομένους ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις 1 εἶναι, ἢ τε ἐν ἀνδράσιν
αὐτουργίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις καὶ θυμικο-
tάσις τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου τὴν γαμηλίαν Ἀρροδίτην
καὶ τὸν μεθυδότην Διώνυσον γάμον τε ἑνεκα
καὶ παιδοποιῶς οἴνου τε ὀπόσις ἐκάστω δύνα-
tῶν πόσεως ἵσασι μόνον. ἀσέλγεια δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν δ
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὔδε ὕβρις, οὔδε ἔλκει τις ἐκὼ
τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν κόρδακα.

Δέγεται τοι μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὡς ἐνθένδε ἐκείσθε
tῆς Καππαδόκης φυγάς, ἐν τῇ παρ’ ὑμῖν τραφεῖς
πόλει παρὰ τῷ χρυσοχώφι γνωρίζετε δήποτεν
ὅν λέγω· μαθὼν ὄποιο καὶ ἔμαθεν, ὡς οὐ δέον
ὄμιλείν γυναξίν, μειρακίοις δ’, ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκ
οίδα ὅποσα ἐνθάδε δράσας καὶ παθῶν, ἑπεὶ 360
παρὰ τὸν ἐκείσθε βασιλέα πράγμα ἀφικέτο, μνήμη
τῶν τῆς τοῦ πολλοῦ μὲν ὀρχηστὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπα-
γαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὰ ἐντείθεν ἀγαθὰ τοιαύτα, καὶ
δὴ καὶ τέλος ὃς ἐνεδήσεν ἐτὶ κοτυλιστοῦ·

1 ἐπιτηδείων—οἰομένους—εὐδαιμονεστάτοις Hertlein suggests,
ἐπιτηδείῳ δήμοις ἐνυπνικάνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτω
MSS.

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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; κοτώλη = a pint-cup.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

totto δ' ύμεις ίστε πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ὄνομα: καὶ
toūτον ένθένδε έκάλει πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς
παρ' ύμῖν διαίτης. οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ τοὺν μὲν κοτυ-
λιστὴν ἡγίστησαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτικά τὰ
βασίλεια, τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ ἐπιτραπέντας ἐπι-
δεικνύσθαι 1 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῆς τέχνης εἰσαγαγαί
οἰόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοὺς ἐνικέναι. καὶ
ἡν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπλησίως ἔμοι καταγελαστο-
tatov τὸ θέατρον. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγοι πολλῶν
κατεγέλων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔμων ὀλίγους ἐνθάδε γελοῖος
ύμῖν ἀπασί τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἄν C
eἶναι ἄδικος εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργομι,
diaφερόντως ἀσπασάμενος ἐκεῖνα. Κελτοὶ μὲν
γὰρ οὕτω με δὴ ὀμοιότητα τρόπων ἡγάπησαν,
ὅστε ἐτόλμησαν οὐχ ὅπλα μόνου ὑπὲρ ἐμὸν
λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἐδωκαν πολλά, καὶ
παρατουμένων ὀλίγου καὶ ἐβιάσατο λαβεῖν, καὶ
πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως ὑπῆκουσαν. δὲ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον,
ἐκείθεν εἰς ύμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα,
καὶ ἐβόων πάντες ἀνδρεῖον, συνετῶν, δίκαιον, οὐ
πολέμῳ μόνῳ ὀμιλῆσαι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνη
χρήσασθαι δεξιῶν, εὐπρόσιτον, πράσων. ύμεῖς δὲ
αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεόκατε νῦν ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μὲν, ότι
παρ' ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατέταπα:
σύνοιδα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνατρέπων ἐμαυτῷ οὐτε ἐκὼν
οὔτε ἄκων· εἰτὰ, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πῶγονος μον χρή
πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ ὃτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χῖ, πόθος δὲ
ύμᾶς εἰσείσθι τοῦ Κάππα. καὶ ύμῖν γε αὐτὸ οἱ

1 ἐπιδεικνύσθαι 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.
πολυώχοι τής τῇς πόλεως θεοὶ διπλοῦν δοῖεν, ότι πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἀστυνεῖτονας ἐσυκοφαν—361 τής τε πόλεως ἱερᾶς καὶ ὁμοδούλους ἐμοὶ, ὡς δὴ παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰη τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ξυντεθέντα, δν εὐ όἶδ’ ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἡ τοὺς εαυτῶν νίεας, οὗ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη, τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, δ’ δὴ δέδοται παρ’ ἐμοῦ πράγμα, οὗτως ἐπαρθέντες τῶν νοὸν καὶ μετέωροι γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἡ βουλομένῃ B μοι ἦν.

Τὰ δ’ ὑμέτερα: πολλοὶ μὲν ἑγειρομένους ἁρτὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψαν, οὐς ἡ πρόφητις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἡσυχάζειν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπεπεμψάμεθα τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, οἱ μὲν ἀφοσιοῦμενοί τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν λειψάνων ἱγανακτηκόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος C τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ εἰτε λαθόντες εἴτε μὴ τὸ πῦρ ἐνεῖσαν ἕκεινο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ἔνων φρικῶδες, ὑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἠδονὴν παρασχόν,  

1 ἐνεῖσαν Hertlein suggests, ἤδεισαν 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

υπό δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθέν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀμελοῦ-
μενον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς
ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν νεὼν ὁ θεός, ἐπεσήμηνε γὰρ
ἐσελθὼντι μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ τοῦτον
μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν "Ηλιον πρὸς τοὺς
ἀπιστοῦντας, ὕμας δὲ υπομνῄσαι βούλομαι καὶ
ἀλλὰ ἀπεχθέλας ἐμῆς, ἔπειτα, ὅπερ εἰῶθα ποιεῖν
ἐπιεικῶς, ὅνειδίσαι ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ
κατηγορῆσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γὰρ που μὴν τῷ παρ’ ὕμιν ἀριθμοῦ-
μένῳ. Δῶνον οὐμια τούτου ὑμᾶς προσαγορεύετε-
tοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πάτριος ἐστὶν ἔορτή, καὶ ἔδει
σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντᾶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τούτο ἔδραμον, οἶμένοις,
ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς φιλο-
tιμίας ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσεις. εἶτα ἀνέπλαττον παρ’
ἐμαυτῷ πομπῆς, ὥσπερ οὐείρατα ὅρων, ἱερεία καὶ
362 σπουδᾶς καὶ χοροὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμάματα καὶ
τοὺς ἐφήβους ἑκεῖ περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπέστατα
μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκῇ δ’ ἐσθήτη
cαὶ μεγαλοπρεπέι κεκοσμήμενος. ὡς δὲ εἶσω
παρῆλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὔτε θυμάματα κατέ-
λαβον οὔτε πόπανον οὔτε ἱερεῖον. αὐτίκα μὲν
οὖν ἑθαυμάσα καὶ φύμην ἐξω τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι,
περιμένειν δ’ ὕμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὴ τιμῶντας ὡς ἀρχιερεά, Β
τὸ σύνθημα παρ’ ἐμοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρομην, τι μέλλει
θύειν ἥ πόλις ἐνιαύσιον ἔορτήν ἀγοῦσα τῷ θεῷ, ὁ

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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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ιερεύς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἢκὼ φέρων οἴκοθεν τῷ θεῷ χήνα ιερεύον, ἡ πόλις δὲ τὰ νῦν οὐδὲν ἐντρέπτισται.

Ἑνταῦθα δὲ φιλαπεχθήμων ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἀνεπικεῖστι πάνυ διελέξθην λόγος, δὲν ἦσος οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ νῦν μημονεύσαι. "Δεινών," ἐφην ἐγώ, "τὴν τοσαύτην πόλιν οὐτω τῶν θεῶν ὀλυγόρως ἔχειν, ὡς οὐδεμία παροικοῦσα ταῖς ἐσχατιάς τοῦ Πόντου κώμη μυρίους κλήρους C γῆς ἱδίας κεκτημένη, τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπιστάσθη ἐορτῆς ἐναυσίον, ἐπειδή διεσκέδασαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν νεφέλην, μίαν ὄρνιν1 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐ προσάγει, ἣν ἔχρην μάλιστα μὲν καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς βουθυτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ βάδιον, ἐνα γε2 κοινῇ πάσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ ταύρον. ὑμῶν δ' ἐκαστὸς ἱδία μὲν εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα D καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς χαίρει δαπανώμενος, καὶ εὐ οἶδα πολλοὺς ὑμῶν πλείστα εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοῦ Μαῖομα χρήματα ἀπολέσαντας, ὑπὲρ δ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὕτως θυεῖ οὕτε ἱδία τῶν πολιτῶν οὕτε ἡ πόλις κοινῇ, μόνος δ' ὁ ιερεύς, ὃν οἶμαι δικαιότερον ἢν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ θεῷ παρ' ὑμῶν οὐκαδὲ ἀπίεναι μερίδας ἔχοντα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ιερεύσιν οἱ θεοὶ καλοκἀγαθία τιμῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύσει προσέταξαν καὶ λειτουργεῖν σφίσι τὰ εἰκότα· πρέπει δ' οἶμαι τῇ πόλει θύειν ἱδία καὶ 363

1 μίαν ὄρνιν Hertlein suggests, ὄρνιν MSS.
2 ἐνα γε Hertlein suggests, ἐνα 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

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1 cf. Themistius 332 d.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

dημόσιά· νυνὶ δὲ ύμων ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ
gυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφεύγει ἐνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γαλι-
λαίους, καὶ τρέφουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖνα
tοὺς πένητας πολὺ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐργάζονται
θαῦμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δεομένους· ἔστι δὲ
tοιοῦτον οἷμαι τὸ πλείστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος·
ήμεις δὲ αὐτοὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
tιμῶν ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες πράττειν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον
ὑπολαμβάνετε· πρόσεισι δ᾿ οὐδεὶς τῶν δεομένων Β
τοῖς ἱεροῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν οἷμαι πόθεν διατραφή,
καὶ γενέθλια μὲν τὶς ἐστὶν ἰκανῶς παρασκευάζει
δεῖπνον καὶ ἀριστον, ἐπὶ πολυτελὴ τράπεζαν τοὺς
φίλους παραλαμβάνων· ἐνιαυτὸν δ᾿ ἐορτῆς οὕσις
οὐδεὶς ἐκόμισεν ἑλαίον εἰς λύχνων τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ
σπονδὴν οὐδ’ ἱερεῖον οὐδὲ λιβανωτὸν. ἐγὼ μὲν
οὖν 1 οὐκ οἶδα, ὡς ὅτι τὰ ἄνθρωπον ἄγαθος Σ
ὁρῶν πάρ’ ύμῳ ἀποδέξατο, νομίζω δ’ ἔγογγε μηδὲ
τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκειν.”

Τοιαύτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνημαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς
ἐμαρτύρησε μοι τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς μῆπτοτε ὄφελεν,
ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προάστειον, δ’ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνων,
ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ξάλῃ τρέψας ἄλλαχοι τῶν κρα-
tούτων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὸ χείρε βιασάμενος.
ύμῖν δ’ ἀπηχόμην ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀνοητώς. ἔχρην
γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὡσπερ οἷμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν
συνεισελθόντων ἐμοί, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν
μὴ ἐπιτιμᾶν. ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ προπητείας ἐγὼ καὶ Δ

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 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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

tῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομι-
stέον ὑπ᾽ εὐνοίας ἐμοὶ τότε εἰρήσθαι τοὺς πρὸς
ύμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλ᾽ οἴμαι δόξαν θηρεύων εὐλαβείας
tε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας. ἀδόλου-
tούτο δ᾽ ἔστιν οἴμαι παγγέλων κολακεία· πολλὰ
ύμων μάτην κατέχεα. δίκαια τοίνυν ἐργάζεσθε 364
με τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκείνων ἀμινόμενοι καὶ
ἐναλλάττοντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ
πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἡχεῖσιν
ἐν ὀλίγους υμῶν κατέδραμον· ύμεῖς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἰκανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα
χαριεῖτίζεσθαι πολιτῶν. εὖ γὰρ ἰστε, πάντες
οἱ λέγοντες κοινοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοὺς
λόγους, καὶ ὁ ξὺν ἡδονή τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἀκροα-
σάμενος, μετέχοι τῆς ἱσης ἡδονῆς ἀπραγμο-
νέστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινωνός ἔστι τῆς αἰτίας.

Εἰρήται οὖν υμῶν δι᾽ ὅλης καὶ ἡκρόαται τῆς
πόλεως ὁπόσα εἰς τουτού πέπαινται τῶν φαιλοῦ
πώγων καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα υμῶν καλὸν
οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξαντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίον
υμῶν, ὅποιον ύμείς. ἀεὶ μὲν ξῆτε, ποθεῖτε δὲ ὀρῶν
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι. ὕπερ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφη-
μῶν, ὡς ἴδια τε καὶ δημοσία κατεχέστε μοι ὡς
παίξοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαύσοντος, ἐμαυτοῦ προσκατ-
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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
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ηγορήσας ύμιν ἐπιτρέπω χρήσθαι μετὰ μείζονος αὐτῷ παρρησίας, ὥς οὐδὲν ύμᾶς ἐγὼ διὰ τούτῳ πώποτε δεινὸν ἐργάζομαι σφάττων ἢ τύπτων ἢ δῶν ἢ ἀποκλείων ἢ κολάζων. τῶς γὰρ; ὅσ, ἐπείπερ ύμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξας μετὰ τῶν φίλων σωφρονοῦντα, φανερότατον ἢδεῖν ύμῖν καὶ ἀποδεστατον, οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξα καλὸν θέαμα, μεταστήμαι τῆς πόλεως ἐγώνα καὶ ὑποχρήσατο, πεπεισμένος μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὅτι πάντως ἐκεῖνος ἄρεσω, πρὸς οὐς πορεύομαι, κρίνων δ' αἱρετώτερον, εἰ διαμάρτουμι τοῦ δόξα γοῦν ἐκεῖνος καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἐν μέρει μεταδοῦναι πάντῃ τῆς ἀνδίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μη τὴν εὐδαιμονα τάς ἀποκνάσαι πόλων ὡσπερ ὑπὸ δυσωδίας τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς σωφροσύνης.

'Ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγρον οὐδὲ κῆπον ἐπριάτο 365 παρ' ύμῖν οὐδὲ οἰκίαν ἠκοδόμησεν οὐδὲ ἐγγεμπαρ' ύμῖν οὐδὲ ἐξέδωκεν εἰς ύμᾶς οὐδὲ ἠράσθημεν τῶν παρ' ύμῖν καλῶν, οὐδὲ ἐξελώσαμεν Ἀσούριον πλούτον οὐδὲ ἐνειμάμεθα τὰς προστασίας οὐδὲ παραδυναστεύειν ύμῖν ἤνεσχόμεθά τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει οὐδὲ ἐπείσαμεν τῶν δήμων εἰς παρασκευὰς δείτων ἢ θεάτρων, ὥστε ἅγων σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδέιας τοὺς ἀναπάστους εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους αὐτῷ τῆς εὐθυμίας ξυνέθηκεν, οὐδὲ ἑπεγράφαμεν χρυσὸν οὐδὲ ἦτησαμεν ἠργύρων οὐδὲ ἡξησαμεν φόρους: ἀλλὰ

1 τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests, τὴν πόλιν MSS.
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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 ἀποκαλεῖ γὰρ ἄδικα καὶ ἀναισθησία.
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 ἀνείται πάσι τῶν εἰθε- σμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ οἶμαι δ' ἔξαρκείν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ 1 μέτριον ἔχω ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ θεούς, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, τὸν εἰςαγγελέα, καλῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντα, διότι γέρων δὲν καὶ φαλακρὸς ἥρμα τὰ πρόσω διὰ δυστροπίαν αἰσχύνεται κομᾶν ἐξόπλισθεν, ὁ ὁσπερ ὁ Ὀμηρος ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἀβαντας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκεῖνον φαυλότερον ἀνδρᾶς οἶκοι παρ' ἐμαυτῷ δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε δὲ νυξ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δὲ μοι θείος καὶ ὁμώνυμος οὐ δικαιότατα μὲν ὑμῶν προούστη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοί ἔμυνεναι ἢμῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμμπραττεῖν; οὐ προμηθέστατα δὲ πάσαις ἐπεξήλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις τῆς πόλεως, ἢμῖν μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει ταῦτα καλά, πραότης ἄρχοντων μετὰ σωφροσύνης, φύμεθα τε ὁ ὑμῖν ἰκανός διὰ τούτων καλοὶ φανεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηθεμάτων. ἐπεί δὲ ὑμᾶς ἢ τε βαθύτης ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενέου καὶ τὸ ἀτημέλητον τῶν τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μῆ παραβάλλειν τοῖς θεατροῖς καὶ το ἄξιον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι σεμνούς καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ἢ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἢμῶν ἀσχολλα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἴργειν τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἐκόντες ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366 οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ῥάδιον ἐν γῆρα μεταθημένῳ διαφυγεῖν τὸν λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἴκτινος μύθου. λέγεται γὰρ τοῦ τοῦ ἴκτινα φωνὴν ἐχοῦντα παραπλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρνισιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ χρεμετίζειν, ὁσπερ οἴ γενναῖοι τῶν ῥπτῶν, εἴτε τοῦ

1 ἀλλὰ καὶ Reiske would add.

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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. 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, 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 ἐπιλαθόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἐλεῖν ἰκανὸς ἀμφοῖν στέρεσθαι καὶ φαντοτέραν τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνίθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὦ δὲ καὶ Β αὐτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἀγροκίας τε ἀμα καὶ δεξιότητος ἀμαρτεῖν. ἦδη γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτόι συνορᾶτε, πλησίον ἐσμὲν ἐθελόντων θεῶν,

Εὔτε μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνωις ἀναμεμίξονται τρίχες,

ὁ Τήνιος ἐφη ποιητής.

Εἰεν. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ Δίως ἀγοραίου καὶ πολιούχου, ὑπόσχετε λόγον. ἦδικησθέ τι παρ' ἐμοῦ κοινῇ πώποτε ἦ καὶ 1 ἰδία, καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦτον λαβεὶν οὐ δυνάμενοι C φανερῶς διὰ τῶν ἀναπαίστων ἡμᾶς, ὡσπερ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Δίονυσον ἐλκοῦσι καὶ περιφέρουσι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἁγοραῖς ἐπιτρίβετε λοιδοροῦντες; ἦ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι χαλεπὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς κακῶς οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἢνα με καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἵντες ἀμύνησθε; τίς οὖν ὑμῖν ἐστίν αὐτία τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσματος καὶ τῆς ἀπε-

χθείας; ἐγὼ γὰρ εὖ οἴδα δεινὸν οὐδένα ὑμῶν οὐδὲν D οὐδὲ ἀνίκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὔτε ἰδία τούς ἄνδρας οὔτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' εἰπὼν.οὐδὲν φλαύρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑπανείσας, ὡς ἐδοξέ μοι προσῆκειν, καὶ μεταδοὺς χρηστοῦ τινος, ὡς ἐκδόας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπι-

θυμοῦντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πολλοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους. ἀδύνατον δ' εὖ ἵστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

1 ἦ καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.
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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ρουσι συγχωρεῖν ἀπαντα καὶ διδόναι πάντα τοῖς 367 εἰωθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὅταν οὖν φανὼ μηδὲν ἐλαττώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξων, ὅσα εἰσέθεν ἡ βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ἕμεν δὲ ἅνεὶς τῶν εἰσφορῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀρ' οὖν αἰνίγματι τὸ πράγμα ἑοικεν;

Ἀλλ' ὅπόσα μὲν κοὐνή πρὸς πάντας πεποίηται τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ' ἑμοῦ, πρέποι αὐ νιῶταν, ἦν μὴ δοκοίην ὀσπέρ ἑκέπτητες αὐτοπρόσωπος ἑπαίνους ἄδεϊν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλάμενος πολλὰς καὶ ἀσελγεστάτας ὑβρεῖς καταχέαν· τὰ δὲ ἰδίᾳ μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεπουνέμανα προπετῶς μὲν καὶ ἀνοήτως, ἥκιστα δὲ ὑπ' ὑμῶν ἄξια ἀχαριστείσατο, πρέποι αὖ οἷμαι προφέρειν ὀσπέρ τινὰ ἐμὰ ὄνειδη τοσοῦτοι τῶν ἐμπροσθεὶς χαλεπῶτερα, τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς ἀναφροδισίας, ὡσα καὶ ἀληθέστερα ὄντα τῇ ψυχῇ μάλιστα προσήκει. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπιήνου θ ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνεδέχετο μοι φιλοτίμωσι οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὴν πείραν οὕτ' ὅτις ἔξομεν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἑλλήνων παῖδας, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ μοι Θράκιον, Ἑλληνα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι μάλιστα ἄλληλος ἀγαπήσωμεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἐστό μοι τῆς προπετείας ὄνειδος. ἐπειτα πρεσβευσάμενοι ὑμῖν παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἀφικομένους ὑστεροῖς οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων D 500
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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τῶν ἑπ’ Αἰγύπτῳ, πολὺ μὲν ἀνήκα χρυσίον, πολὺ δ’ ἀργύριον, φόρους δὲ παμπληθεὶς ἱδίᾳ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐπειτα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τὸν κατά-
λογον διακοσίως βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φει-
σάμενος οὐδενός. ἐσκόπων γὰρ ὅπως ἡ πόλις
ύμων ἔσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν ύμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευσάντων
tους θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασα-
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tέων τὸ νόμισμα τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἐλομένους
ἐχειν, ύμεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνον μεν οὔ τοις δυναμένους
ἐίλεσθε, λαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε
παραπλήσια πόλει μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὖνομομένη,
πρέποντα δὲ ύμῶν ἄλλος τῷ τρόπῳ. βουλευθε
ἐνὸς ύμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτὴν ὀνομάσαντες,
πρὶν προσγράφημαι τῷ καταλόγῳ, μετεώρον τῆς
dίκης οὗσης, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργία τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν.
ἄλλον ἀπ’ ἄγορᾶς εἰλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν Β
ἀπανταχοῦ μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ’ ύμῖν δὲ διὰ
περιττῆς φρόνησιν ἀμειβομένων πρὸς χρυσίων
συρφετῶν εὐποροῦντα μετρίας οὐσίας εἰλεσθε
κοινονῶν. πολλά τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ὀνομασίας
κακουργοῦντων ύμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἀπαντα
συνεχωρήσαμεν, ὃν τε εὑ εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν
ἀπεστερήθημεν, καὶ ὃν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκῃ παρ’
ύμῶν δυσχεραινόμεθα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν τῶν μικρῶν πάνυ καὶ οὕτως οὐ
δυνάμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐκπολεμᾶσαι τὸ δὲ δὴ
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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, ἄξιν τὸ μέγα ἡρθη μίσος, ἀφικομένου μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ δήμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πινυόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀφίκηκε φωνὴν πρῶτον ταύτην·

"Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ." τῆς ἐπιούσης διελέχθην ἐγὼ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν πείθειν, ὅτι κρείττον ἔστω ὑπεριδόντας ἄδικον κτήσεως εὐ ποιησάς πολλάς καὶ ἕνους. οἱ δὲ ἐπαγγειλάμενοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμελήσεσθαι μηνῶν ἕξις τριῶν ὑπεριδόντος μοι καὶ περιμείναντος οὕτως διλιγώρως εἰχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐλπίσειν. ἐπεί δ' ἐώρων ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ δήμου φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἄγορᾶν οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδείας, ἄλλ' ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωριμένην, ἔταξα μέτριον έκάστου τίμημα καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα πάσιν. ἐπεί δ' ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πάνυ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα· σῖτον δ' ἐνδεώς εἰχον, ἀφορίαν δεινῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἀνυμών γενομένης, ἔδοξε μοι πέμπτεν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ἰερὰν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις τὰς πέριξ, ἐνθεὶ εἰσήγαγον ὑμῖν μέτρων τετ- 

tαράκοντα μυριάδας. ὡς δ' ἀνάλωτο καὶ τοῦτο, πρότερον μὲν πεντάκις χελίους, ἐπτάκις χελίους δ' 

Β ὕστερον, εἶτα νῦν μυρίους, οὐς ἐπιχωρίον ἐστι λοιπῶν ὑμομάξειν μοδίους, ἀνάλισκον σῖτον, πάντας οἰκοθεν ἔχον. ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κομισθέντα μοι σῖτον ἐδωκα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενοι ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐπὶ 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 insatiable 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”\(^1\) 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

σούτον, δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον. εἶ δὲ τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρους ἵν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσματος, τί προσδοκάν ἔδει την καύτα, ἥνικα, φησίν ὁ Βοιώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπον γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν. οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὗ πέντε μόγις καὶ ἀγαπητὰς ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλικοῦτον χειμῶνος ἐπιγεγομένου; Tί οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ πλοῦσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν σῖτων λάθρα ἀπέδωστο πλείωνος, ἐβάρησαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀναλώμασι καὶ οὖν ἡ πόλις μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦτο συμμένει, οἱ Πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν, δὲ μόνον ἔστιν εὔρειν πολὺ καὶ εὐάνων, ἀρτους ὑνούμενοι. καὶ τοῖς μέμνητε παρ' ὑμῖν εὔθη-νουμένης τῆς πόλεως πεντεκαίδεκα μέτρα σῖτου πραθέντα τοῦ χρυσοῦ; ταύτης ἐνεκεν ὑμῖν ἀπηπ-εθόμην ἐγὼ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν ὁδον ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὀπώρας ἀποδόσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις σῖτων ἄργυρον αὐτοὺς καὶ χρυσὸν ἐξαίφθης παρ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι. 370 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο καλῶς, ἔργασάμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λιμῶν ἀλοιπήτηρα βρότειον, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπιτη- δεύοντας ἐξελέγχον. ἡ πόλις δ' ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ γέγονεν ἄρτων ἕνεκα μόνον, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς.

Συνίην μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὃτι μὴ B πᾶσιν ἀρέσοιμι, πλὴν ἔμελεν οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ 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.
THE SATIERES OF JULIAN

ἀδικουμένω πλήθει βοηθεῖν φίλην χρήναι καὶ
toῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις, ἐμοῦ τε ένεκα καὶ τῶν
συνόντων ἡμῶν ἀρχόντων. ἐπεὶ δ' οἴμαι συμβαί-
νει τοὺς μὲν ἀπίεια, τὴν πόλιν δ' εἰναι τὰ πρὸς
ἐμὲ γνώμης μᾶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἄχαριστοῦσιν Ἀδραστεία πάντα
ἐπιτρέψας ἐς ἀλλο ἔθνος οἰχήσομαι καὶ δῆμον ἔτε-
ρον, οὐδὲν ύμᾶς ὑπομνήσας ὅν ἐναντίον εὔπροσθεν C
ἐννέα δίκαια δρῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰργάσασθε,
φέρων μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν
ξιν βοή ῥὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτινων τῶν ἀρχόντα,
δίκην δ' αὖθις ἀποτίνων ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὅν ὀργι-
ζόμενος δικαίως ἔπραξεν οὐκέτι μετρίως.

Τπέρ τίνος οὖν πρὸς θεῶν ἄχαριστοῦμεθα;
οτι τρέφομεν ύμᾶς οἰκοθεν, ὁ μέχρι σήμερον D
ὑπῆρξαν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, καὶ τρέφομεν οὕτω
λαμπρῶς; ὅτι τὸν κατάλογον ύμῶν ἡυξήσαμεν;
ὅτι κλέπτοντας ἑλόντες οὐκ ἐπεξήγλομεν; ἐνὸς
ἡ δύο βούλεσθε ύμᾶς ὑπομνήσω, μη τις ὑπολάβῃ
σχῆμα καὶ ῥητορείαν εἶναι καὶ προσποίησιν τὸ
πρᾶγμα; γῆς κλήσους οἴμαι τρισχίλιους ἐφατε
ἀστόρους εἶναι καὶ ἡτήσασθε λαβεῖν, λαβόντες
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 Adrasteia 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.

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.
Δ' ενείμασθε πάντες οἱ μὴ δεόμενοι. τοῦτο ἐξετασθέν ἀνεφάνη σάφως. ἀφελόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχόντων οὐ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμονήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, ὃν ἔσχον ἀτελεῖς, οὐδὲ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι, 371 ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἕνειμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἀτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ὑμῖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἱπποτροφοῦντες γῆς κλήρους ἐγγὺς τρισχιλίους, ἕπινοια μὲν καὶ οἰκονομία τοῦ θείου τοῦμοῦ καὶ ὄμωνυμον, χάριτι δ' ἐμῆ, διὶ δὴ τοὺς πανούργους καὶ κλέπτας οὕτω κολάζων εἰκότως ὑμῖν φανόμαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ Β ἱστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ προφοτὴς αὑξεῖ καὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὅ λόγος οὖν μοι καὶ ἑνταῦθα περισσάτατο πάλιν εἰς ὁπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τῶν κακῶν αἰτίως γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἥθη τὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὖν ἔστι τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο καὶ οὐ τῆς ύμετέρας ἑλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνετῶτερος: ὑμῖν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας C καὶ τιμῆς, ἣν ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς 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.
Well meant, my recollection is that I fairly to the labor of assembling a variety of materials for the reception of such a compilation. As the means that have been given to the present...
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