THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

II
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IN THREE VOLUMES

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THE

ORATIONS AND SATIRES
OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

oration VI
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

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

² 224 c.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

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 ποταμών, τούτο δὴ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας. ἀνὴρ Κυμικὸς Διογένης φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολου-
τεῖν οὐ βούλεται, σφόδρα ἐρρωμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ
σφιγγῶν καὶ τὴν ἥλικιαν ἄκμαξων, ὡς ἄν μὴ τι
κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς
τροπαῖς ἕδη προσιόντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑδωδὴν
τοῦ πολύποδος κωμῳδεῖ καὶ φησὶ τὸν Διογένη τῆς
ἀνοίας καὶ κενόδοξιας ἐκτετεικέναι ἱκανὰς
δίκας ὡσπερ ὑπὸ κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρέντα.
οὕτω πόρρω ποὺ σοφίας ἐλαύνει, ὡστε ἐπίσταται
σαιφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τούτῳ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν
ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ’
ἐκεῖνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦτι γοῦν, φασὶν,
Ἄντισθένει μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάλητον ἀρρωστιάν
ξυφίδιον ἑπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπὼν: εἰ φίλου Β
χρήζεις ὑπουργίας. οὕτως οὐδὲν ὃτε ὅτι δεινὸν

ίκανὰς 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 diet³ 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 ποσαμὼν ἵερων χωροῦσι παγαί.
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

κείνος οὐδὲ ἀλγεινὸν τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλ’ ἤμεις οἱ τὸ σκήπτρον ἐκείθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος σοφίας ἵσμεν ὅτι χαλεπῶν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν 1 τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ ριγοῦν δὲ χαλεπώτερον τοῦ νοσεῖν. ὦ μὲν γὰρ νοσῶν μαλακῶς ἐσθ’ ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ὡστε γίνεσθαι τρυφὴν αὐτόχρημα τὴν ἀρρωστίαν, ἀλλὰς τε κἂν ἡ πλοῦσιος, ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸ Νίκα τρυφώντας τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μᾶλ- λον ἢ τούτους αὐτοὺς ὑμιαίνοντας. καίτοι γε καὶ τότε λαμπρῶς ἐτρύφων. ὦθεν μοι καὶ παρέστη πρὸς τινας τῶν ἔταρχων εἰπεῖν, ὅς τούτοις ἀμεινὸν ἦν οἰκέταις γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεσπόταις, καὶ πένε- σθαι τοῦ κρίνου γυμνοτέρος οὐσιν ἢ πλούτειν ὀστερ νῦν. ἦ γὰρ ἄν ἐπαύσατο νοσοῦντες ἁμα καὶ τρυφώντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοση- λεύεσθαι τρυφηλῶς οὐτωσὶ τινες ἐν καλῇ ποιοῦν- τας ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρίνου ἀνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος καρτερῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀθλιώτερον πράττει; ἀλγεῖ γοῦν ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεύρῳ οὖν ἤμεις ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυνικῶν ὅτι σα δι- δασκάλων ἠκουσάμεν ἐν κοινῷ καταθῶμεν σκοπείν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βίων ὑπὸ τούτων· οἷς εἰ μὲν πεισ- θείεν, εὖ οἴδα, οὗδεν οὐ γε νῦν ἐπιχειροῦντες κυνίζειν ἔσονται χείρους· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μὲν τι λαμπρὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὑπερ- φωνοῦντες τὸν λόγον τὸν ἡμέτερου, οὔτι τοῖς

1 φαμεν Hertlein suggests, φα σι MSS.
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.
δῆμασιν ἄλλα τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον ὦ γε ἡμέτερος οὐσεὶ λόγος· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λυχνείας ἡ μαλακίας ἢ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἵν' εἰπὼν ξυνελὼν εἰν βραχεῖ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδομομένοι τῶν λόγων ὀλγωρήσειν προσκαταγελάσταντες, ὠσπερ B ἐνίοτε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ κύνες τοῖς προπολαίοις προσουροῦσιν, οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδη· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδῶν ἡμῖν μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῦντοι. δεύρο οὖν ἀνύθεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διεξέλθωμεν ἐφεξῆς τὸν λόγον, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐκαστοῦ τὸ προσήκον ἀποδεδόντες αὐτοῖς τε εὐκολότερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τοῦθ᾽ ὡσπερ διενοθήσθημεν καὶ σοι ποιήσωμεν εὐπαρακολουθήτον. οὐκοῦν ἐπείδη τὸν κυνισμὸν εἰδὸς τὸ φιλοσοφίας C εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, οὕτι φαυλότατον οὐδὲ ἀτιμότατον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρατιστοὺς ἐνάμιλλον, ὅλγα πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ῥήτευν ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

Ἡ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις ἄμα φανοτάτῳ πυρὶ διὰ Προμηθέως καταπεμφθείσα 1 εἰς ἡλίου μετὰ τῆς Ἐρμοῦ μερίδος οὐχ ἔτερον ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ νοῦ διανομῆν· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Προμηθέως, ἡ πάντα ἐπιτροπεύουσα τὰ θυτὰ πρόνοια, πνεῦμα ἐνθερμὸν ὄσπερ ὄργανον ὑπο- βάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἀπασὶ μετέδωκεν ἀσωμά- του λόγου· μετέσχε δὲ ἐκαστοῦ ὡσπερ ἡδύνατο, τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα σώματα τῆς ἔξεως μόνον, τὰ φυτὰ δὲ ἡδὴ καὶ τῆς ἡμῶς 2 τὰ ἔφα δὲ ψυχῆς, ὦ δὲ

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

The gift of the gods sent down to mankind with the glowing flame of 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.
Λάμπω μεν οὖν ὦ μίαν οἴονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἥκειν φύσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ κατ᾽ εἰδός ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἀλλὰ μῆτο τοῦτο, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τοῦτο ἐξετάζεσθω, πλὴν ἐκείνου χάριν, ὅτι, τὴν φιλοσοφίαν 183 εἰθ', ὡσπερ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τέχνην τεχνύον καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστήμην, εἶτε ὁμοίωσιν θεῷ 1 κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, εἰθ', ὡσπερ ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη, τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν ὑπολάβοι τις, οὐδὲν διοίσει πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἀλληλα καὶ μᾶλα οἰκεῖος ἔχοντα.

1 Αρξάμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ θεὶόν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ παρακέλευσμα. οὐκοῦν ὁ γυμνὸσκοι αὐτὸν εἶσηται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, Β εἰςεται δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀρκέσει μόνου, ὡς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπους ψυχῆς χρωμένη σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπελεύσεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐπείτα ἀνυχρεύεις τὰς δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μόνου ἀρκέσει αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἴ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ κρεῖττον καὶ θεώτερον, ὡσπερ δὴ πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθόμενοι θείον τι εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐνιδρύος θαί πάντες οὐρανῷ κοινῷς ὑπολαμβάνομεν. ἐπειδὼν δὲ αὕθες τάς ἄρχας τοῦ σώματος σκέψεται, εἴτε σύνθετον εἴτε ἀπλοῦν ἐστίν· εἰτα ὅδω προβαίνων ὑπὲρ τε ἀρμονίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς δὲν δεῖται πρὸς διαμονῆν, ἐπιβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄρχαίς τεχνῶν

1 θεῷ Klimek, θεῶν Hertlein, MSS,
TO THE UNEDECATED CYNICS

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. 188 B; Juvenal, Satires 11. 27; E caelo descendit ἡμῶν σεαυτόν.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ενίον, υφ' ὄν βοηθεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν τὸ σῶμα, οἷον ἰατρικῆς, γεωργίας, ἐτέρων τοιούτων. οὐ μὴν D οὐδὲ τῶν ἀχράστων καὶ περιττῶν τι παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσει, ἔπει καὶ ταῦτα1 πρὸς κολακεῖαν τοῦ παθητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπινενόηται. προσλιπαρῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τούτως ἀποκνῆσει αἰσχρῶν οἴμενος τὸ τοιοῦτον, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐργάσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς φέυγων τὸ δ' ὅλον ὅταν ἄττα δοκεῖ καὶ οἴστιον ἁρμότει τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοήσει. σκόπει δὴ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐαυτὸν γνῶναι πάσης μὲν ἐπιστήμης, πάσης δὲ τέχνης ἤγειται τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς καθὸλου λόγους συνελήφη. τά τε γὰρ θεία διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης ἡμῖν θείας μερίδος τά τε θνητὰ διὰ τῆς θνητοειδοῦς μοῖρας πρὸς τούτως ἡποθέκειν ἐφ' ὅτι τὸ μεταξ' τούτων ζωὸν εἰδέναι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον1,2 τῷ μὲν καθ' ἐκαστὸν θυντόν, τῷ παντὶ δὲ ἀθανατόν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἑαυτόν καὶ τὸν καθ' ἐκαστὸν συγκείσοθαί ἐκ θυντῆς καὶ ἀθανατοῦ μερίδος.

"Οτι μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ὤμοιοφθαῖν εἰκὸν ἄλλο τι ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τῆς ἐφικτῆς ἄνθρωποι γνώσιν τῶν ὄντων περιποιήσασθαι, πρόδηλον ἐντεῦθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλοῦτως χρημάτων τὸ θεῖον B μακαρίζομεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν νομιζόμενων ἄγαθῶν, ἄλλ' ὡς ερμῆς φησίν.

θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα ἵσασι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Δίδος

'Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πρῶτερος γεγονεὶ καὶ πλέονα ἔδει.

1 ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.
2 προσθέκειν-ἀνθρωπον, Hertlein suggests, cf. Maximus of Tyre 4. 7; ἐφ' τὰ μεταξ' τοῦ ζωὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον MSS,
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"; and indeed he says also of Zeus, "But Zeus was older and wiser." 1

1 Odyssey 4. 379. 2 Iliad 13. 355.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἔπιστήμη γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ διαφέρονσιν. ἧγείται C
gὰρ ἵσως καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν καλῶν τὸ αὐτοῦς γνω-
sκειν· ὅσον μὴ δὲ κρείττονες ἡμῶν εἰσὶ τὴν οὐσίαν,
tοσοῦτω γρόνες ἐαυτοὺς ἰσχουσι βελτίων γνώ-
sιν. μηδεῖς οὖν ἡμῖν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολλὰ
dιαιρεῖτω μηδὲ εἰς πολλὰ τεμνέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ
pολλὰς ἐκ μιᾶς ποιεῖτω. ὡςπερ γὰρ ἀλήθεια μία,
οὕτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μία· θαυμαστῶν δὲ οὔδεν,
eἰ κατ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὅδοις ἐπὶ αὐτήν πορευό-
μεθα. ἐπεὶ κἂν, εἰ τις θέλοι τῶν ἔξω ἡ ναὶ μὰ ἰ
Δία τῶν πάλαι πολλῶν ἐπανειλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας,
dύνατο μὲν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ βαδίζειν, ὅδεύον δὲ
οἶμαι διὰ γῆς ἡ ταῖς πλατείαις χρήσθαι λεωφόροις
ἡ ταῖς ἀτραποῖς καὶ συντόμοις ὅδοις· καὶ πλεῖν
μέντοι δυνατὸν παρὰ τοὺς Αἰγαλοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ
κατὰ τὸν Πύλιον γέροντα τέμνοντα πέλαγος μέσον.
μὴ δὲ τούτῳ τὶς ἡμῖν προφερέτω, εἰ τινὲς τῶν κατ'
αὐτὰς ἱόντων τὰς ὅδους ἀπεπλανήθησαν καὶ ἀλ-
lαχοῦ πον γενόμενοι, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τῆς Κήρκης ἢ 185
τῶν Δωτοφάγων ἄδυνης ἡ δόξης ἢ τινος ἄλλου
dελεασθέντες, ἀπελεύθησαν τοῦ πρόσω βαδίζειν
καὶ ἑφικνεύσασθαι τοῦ τέλους, τοὺς πρωτεύσαντας δὲ
ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοπεῖτω, καὶ πάντα
eὐρήσει σύμφωνα.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς τὸ Γυνόθι σαυτὸν
προαγορεῖν, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ "ἐδιξησάμην ἐμεων-
tόν," ἀλλὰ καὶ Πυθαγόρας οἱ τε ἅπ' ἐκείνου
μέχρι Θεοφράστου τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι
θεῷ φασι, 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; \textit{Odyssey} 3. 174. \hspace{1cm} ^2 \text{Heracleitus fr. 80.}
ΤΟΙΟΤΟ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΕΙ. ΗΕΛΟΙΟΝ ΟΙΝ ΑΝ ΕΙΗ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΜΗ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ: ΚΟΜΙΔΗ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ, ΕΙΠΕΡ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΓΝΟΟΙΗ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ, ΕΙΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΕΑΥΤῷ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡ’ ΕΑΥΤῸ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΠΩΣΟΙΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΤΙΑΣ, ΕΙΤΕ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΥΣ, ΕΙΤΕ ΕΠΙΚΗΡΩΝ ΟΥ ΘΥΝΤΑΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΠΙΚΗΡΩΝ, ΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΟΥΣΑΣ ΑΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΙ΢ΙΝ ΑΙΤΙΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΙΑΣ. ΑΛΛ’ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ Ο Κ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΜΕΞΩΝ.

"ΟΤΙ ΔΕ ΜΙΑ ΤΕ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ ΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΙ΢ΙΝ ΕΡΑΣΤΑΙ ΞΥΜΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΝ ΤΕ ΥΠΕΜΝΗΧΘΗΝ ΜΙΚΡῼ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΕΝ ΔΙΚῼ ΝΥΝ ΕΙΣΟΙΜΙ ΑΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ, ΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΤΙΕΩΣ ΟΜΙΛΗΤΑΣ ΛΕΓΩ, ΟΙ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΙΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΡΑΣΚΟΙΣΑΣ ΤΟ ΛΙΑΝ ΑΚΡΑΙ- ΦΙΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΑΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΝΟΣ ΕΣΚΕ- ΠΑΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑΣΙΝ ΓΕΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΟΤΡΟΦΙΑ, ΩΙ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΓΓΥΘΕΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΣΩΣΙ ΦΥΛΑΚΑ. ΟΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΝΤΟΝ ΚΕΦΆΛΑΙΟΝ ΤΙΘΕΝΤΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΙΣ, ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΞ ΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΒΆΛΛΟΝΤΟ ΧΥΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΙΣΘΕΙΣ ΑΝ, ΕΙΠΕΡ ΕΘΕΛΟΙΣ,
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

1 allα πολύ πλεόν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τέλους· τὸ γὰρ ὁμολογομένως ζῆν τῇ φύσει τέλος ἐποιήσαντο, οὔτε ὦν ὦν τε τυχεῖν τὸν ἀγνοοῦντα, τίς καὶ ὅποιος πέφυκεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν ὡστὶς ἐστίν, οὔκ εἰσεται δὴποιθεὶν ὃ, τι πράττειν ἐαυτῷ προσήκει, ὅσπερ οὐδ' ὧ τοῦ σίδηρον ἀγνοῶν εἰσεται, εἰτε αὐτῷ τέμνειν εἰτε μὴ προσήκει, καὶ ὅτου δὲ τῷ σιδήρῳ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ ἐαυτοῦ πράττειν· ἀλλ' ὃτι μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία μία τε ἐστὶ καὶ πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνὸς τινὸς εφίεμενοι ὡδὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαφόροις ἦλθον, ἀπόχρη τοσοῦτα νῦν εἰπεῖν. Β ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ σκεπτέον ἐτί. 2

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεποίητο τοῖς ἀνδράσι μετὰ τινὸς σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ παιδίας τὰ συγγράμματα, τούτοις ἔχρην ἐπόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἕκαστα ὅν διανοοῦμεθα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξετάζειν τὸν ἐναυτὸν καὶ, εἰ μὲν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁμολογοῦντα, μῆτοι ψευδομαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν ἐπισκηπτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἔξορίζειν αὐτά τῆς ἀκοῆς ὅσπερ Ἀθηναίοι τὰ ψευδὴ γράμματα τοῦ Μητρόπου. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν, ὡς ἔφη, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸ τὸ γὰρ Θρυλλοῦμεν Διογένους τραγῳδίαι Φιλίσκου τινὸς Ἀιγυπτίου λέγονται εἶναι, καὶ, εἰ Διογένους δὴ 3 εἰεν, οὐδὲν ἀτοπὸν ἐστὶ τὸν σοφὸν παίζειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ φαίνονται τῶν φιλοσόφων

1 oμ' ὧ Hertlein suggests, oδὲ MSS.
2 ἐτί Hertlein suggests, ἡδή Reiske, ἐστὶν MSS.
3 δὴ Hertlein suggests, ὧ MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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

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

¹ Cf. Oration 5. 159 b. ² Cf. Oration 7. 210 d, 212 a.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ποιήσαντες· ἐγέλα τοι, φασί, καὶ Δημόκριτος ὅρων σπουδάζοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μὴ δὴ πρὸς τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπωμεν, ἀσπέρ οἳ μανθάνειν τι σπουδαίον ἢκιστα ἐρώτε, πόλει D παραβάλλοντες ευδαιμονί, πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν πλήρει, καὶ μυρίων ἐνδον ἱερῶν ἅγιων ἐν ἁγνοὶς μενότων χωρίως· αὐτῶ δὲ ἐνεκα πολλάκις τούτων, λέγω δὲ τοῦ καθαρεύειν τὰ εἰσω πάντα, τὰ περιττά καὶ βδελυρά καὶ φαύλα τῆς πόλεως ἀπεληλακόσι,¹ λουτρά δημοσία καὶ χαμαιστυπεία καὶ κατηλεία καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἶτα ἀχρι τούτον γενόμενοι εἰσω μὴ παρίσαιν.² ο μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἑντυχὼν, εἶτα τοῦτο οἴσθες εἶναι τὴν 187 πόλιν ἁθλιος μὲν ἀποφυγών, ἀθλιότερος δὲ κάτω μείνας, ἐξὸν ὑπερβάντα μικρὸν ἱδεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη· χρήσομαι γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐγὼ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οἷς Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπαινῶν Σωκράτη. φημὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοιοτάτην εἶναι τοῖς Σει- ληνοῖς τούτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐρμογλυφείοις καθη- μένοις, σύστινας ἑργάζονται οἱ δημιουργοὶ σύρ- ρυγας ἡ αὐλοὺς ἑχοντας· οἱ διχάδε ³ διοιχθέντες Β ἐνδον φαινονται ἀγάλματα ἑχοντες θεῶν. ὡς ἄν ὁν μὴ τοιοῦτον τι πάθωμεν, ὅσα ἐπαιξε ταῦτα αὐτῶν ἑσπουδακέναι νομίσαντες· ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν ἑκείνοις οὐκ ἄχριστον, ὁ Κυνισμὸς δὲ ἐστιν

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

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

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

ἐτερον, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα δεῖξαι πειράσομαι· δεύρο ἰδομεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν, ὡσπερ αἱ ἐξιχνεύουσαι κύνες μεταθέουσι τὰ θηρία.

'Ηγεμόνα μὲν οὖν οὐ βαδίου εὐρεῖω, ἐφ' ὃν ἀνενέγκαι χρή πρῶτον αὐτό, εἰ καὶ τινὲς ὑπο- C λαμβάνουσιν Ἀντισθένει τοῦτο καὶ Διογένει προσήκειν. τοῦτο γοῦν ἐοικεν Οἰνόμαος οὐκ ἀτόπως λέγειν· ο Κυνισμὸς οὔτε Ἀντισθενισμὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε Διογενισμός. λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς, ὡσπερ οὖν τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν ἁ τιος κατέστη, οὔτω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ βίου παράδειγμα τὸ μέγιστον κατέλιπεν ἀνθρώποις. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θείαν λήξιν πορευθέντων εὐφημεῖν ἐθέλων πείθομαι μὲν καὶ πρὸ D τοῦτο τινὰς οὐκ ἐν ῬΕΛΛΗΣΙ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις οὕτω φιλοσοφῆσαι. 3 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φιλοσοφία κοινὴ πως ἐοικεν εἶναι καὶ φυσικώτατη καὶ δεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἱστινοςοῦν πραγματείας. ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἔλεσθαι τὰ σπονδαῖα ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμία καὶ φυγῆ κακίας, καὶ οὔτε βίβλους ἀνελίξαι δεῖ μυρίας· πολυμαθία γάρ, φασί, νόν οὐ διδάσκειν οὔτε ἀλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων παθεῖν, ὡσα καὶ οἱ πάσχουσιν οἱ διὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν αἱρέσεων ἱόντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον δύο ταῦτα τοῦ Πυθίου 188

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

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

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

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

\(^3\) Heracleitus fr. 16, Bywater.
παραμονοῦντος ἀκοῦσαι, τὸ Γυνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα· πέφηνεν οὖν ἦμιν ἄρχηγὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὅσπερ οἶμαι τοῖς Ἐλλησι κατέστη τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων αἴτιοι, ὁ τῆς Ἐλλάδος κοινὸς ἡγεμῶν καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ βασιλεύς, ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεός, ὁν ἐπειδὴ μὴ θέμις ἦν τι διαλαθεῖν, οὐδὲ ἡ Διογένους ἐπιτηδειώτης ἔλαθε. προύτρεψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὖν ὅσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεσιν ἐντείνων τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐργὼ Β διδάσκων δ', τι βουλεύει συμβολικὸς διὰ δυον ὀνομάτων, Παραχάραξον εἰπὼν τὸ νόμισμα· τὸ γὰρ Γυνώθι σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐκεῖνός μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφι καὶ λέγει, πρόκειται γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦ τεμένους. ηὐρήκαμεν δὴ τὸν ἄρχηγότητι τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὡς ποὺ καὶ ὁ δαίμονίος φησιν Ἰάμη-

βλίχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν αὐτῇ, Ἀντισθένη καὶ Διογένη καὶ Κράτητα, οἷς τοῦ βίου σκοπὸς ἦν καὶ τέλος αὐτοὺς οἶμαι γνώναι καὶ τῶν κενῶν ὑπεριδεῖν δοξῶν, ἀληθείας δὲ, ἢ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοὶς, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπως ἤγεται, ὅλη, φασίν, ἐπιδρᾶσαθαὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, Σ ἡς οἶμαι καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σω-

κράτης οὐ τε ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ Ζήνων ἐνεκα πάντα ὑπεμειναν πόνον, αὐτοὺς τε ἐθέλοντες γνώναι καὶ μὴ κεναῖς ἐπεσθαὶ δόξαις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀνυχνεύσαι.

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 ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιτή-
δεύος Πλάτων, ἐτερον δὲ Διογένης, έν δὲ τι καὶ
ταυτόν· εἰ γοῦν ἐροιτό τις τῶν σοφῶν Πλάτωνα "τὸ
Γνώθι σαυτὸν πόσου νενόμικας ἄξιον;" εὐδίαν ὅτι
τοῦ παντὸς ἄν φήσειε, καὶ λέγει δὲ ἐν 'Ἀλκιβιάδη·
ὁ δεύρω δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο φράσον ἡμῖν, ὁ δαιμόνια
Πλάτων καὶ θεῶν ἐκγοῦν· "Τίνα τρόπον χρή
πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διακείσθαι δόξας," ταυτά
τε ἐρεί καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτα ὄλον ἡμῖν ἐπιτάξει
διαρρήθην ἀναγρόνω τὸν Κρίτωνα διάλογον, σὺ
φαίνεται παραινών Σωκράτης μηδὲν φρουτίζειν
ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιοῦτων φησὶ γοῦν. "Ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμῖν,
ὡ μακάριε Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης 189
μέλει;" εἶτα ἡμεῖς τούτων ὑπεριδόντες ἀποτει-
χίζειν ἀπλῶς οὕτωσι καὶ ἀποσπάν ἀνδρᾶς ἀλλή-
λως ἐθέλομεν, οὐς ὅ τῆς ἀληθείας συνήγαγεν
ἐρώς ἢ τε τῆς δόξης ὑπεροψίᾳ καὶ ἢ πρὸς
tὸν ζήλου τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐξύπνοια; εἰ δὲ Πλάτωνι
μὲν ἔδοξε καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι,
Διογένει δὲ ἀπέχρη τὰ ἔργα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιος ἐστιν
ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἁκούειν κακῶς; ὅρα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο
αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ κρείττον ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων
ἐξομνύμενος φαίνεται τὰ ἔξυγράμματα. "Ὅγάρ Ὡ
ἐστι Πλάτωνός," φησί, " Lesb θροη ὑμῶν ὡδ'
ἐσται, τὰ δὲ νῦν φερόμενα ἐστὶ Σωκράτους, ἀνδρὸς
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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 ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Διογένους σκοποῦμεν αὐτὸν τῶν Κυνισμόν, ὡστὶς ἐστὶν;

Οὕκοιν ἐπειδὴ σώματος μέρη μὲν ἐστὶν, οἷον ὀφθαλμοί, πόδες, χεῖρες, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπι- συμβαίνει, τρίχες, ὄνυχες, ρύπος, τοιούτων περιττωμάτων γένος, δὴ ἀνεῖ σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀμήχανον εἶναι, πότερον οὐ γελοῖος ἐστιν ὁ μέρη Κ νομίσας ὄνυχας ἢ τρίχας ἢ ῥύπον καὶ τὰ δυσώδη τῶν περιττωμάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ τιμώτατα καὶ σπουδαία, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ισθήτηρια καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἀττά συνεσεως ἢμιν ἔστι μάλλον αἰτία, οἷον ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἀκοὰς; ὑποργεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς φρόνησιν εἶτε ἐγκαταραγμημένη τῇ ψυχῇ, ὥς ἂν θάττουν καθαρθεῖσα δύναιτο τῇ καθάρᾳ χρῆσθαι 1 καὶ ἀκινήτῳ τοῦ φρονεῖν δυνάμει, εἶτε, ὡσπερ τινὲς οὖνται, καθάπερ δὲ ὀχετῶν τοιούτων εἰσφεροῦσα τῆς ψυχῆς. συλλέγουσα γὰρ, φασί, D τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήματα καὶ συνέχουσα τῇ μνήμῃ γεννᾷ τὰς ἐπιστήμας. ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἢν ἐνθέον ἢ τέλειον ἐμποδιζόμενον δὲ 2 ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ὦ τῶν ἐκτὸς ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίληψιν, οὐδ' ἂν δυνατὸν οἶμαι γενέσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τήν 3 ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῖς νῦν προσήκει.

Διόπερ ἐπανακτέουν ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῆς κυνικῆς. φαίνονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτωι διμερῆ

1 τῇ καθάρᾳ χρῆσθαι Hertlein suggests, τῇ γε ὡς ἀρχῇ MSS., corrupt.
2 de 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 ώσπερ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, θεωρηματικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο 1 συνέντευξε δηλούοντα καὶ νομίσαντες, ὡς ἐπειδὴ έστιν ἄνθρωπος φύσει πράξει καὶ ἐπιστήμη πεποίησε ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ τὴν θεωρίαν 2 ἐξέκλιναν, οὓς τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ πλείωνες ἄλλοι θεωρίας μὲν φαίνονται χρησάμενοι πολλά, ταύτη δὲ οὐκ ἄλλους χάριν, ἄλλα τῆς πράξεως ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐαυτὸν γνώναι τοῦτο ἐνόμισαν, τὸ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τῷ Β μὲν ἀποδοτέον ψυχῆς, τῷ δὲ σωματικῷ ἀπέδοσαν δὲ 3 εἰκότως ἡγεμονίαν μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὑπηρέσιαν δὲ τῷ σώματι. φαίνονται δὴ οὖν ἁρέτην ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἐγκράτειαν, ἀτυφίαν, ἔλευθερίαν, ἔξω γενόμενοι παντὸς φθόνου, δειλίας, δεισιδαιμονίας. ἀλλ' οὖν ημεῖς ταῦτα ὕπερ αὐτῶν διανοούμεθα, παίζομεν δὲ αὐτούς καὶ κυβερνοῦμεν περὶ τῶν φιλότοτοι ὑπολαμβάνομεν, οὕτως ὑπεριδόντας τοῦ σώματος, C ὡς ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη λέγων ὅρθως μελέτην εἶναι βανάτου τῆν φιλοσοφίαν. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιτιθέευσαν οὐ ζηλωτοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν, ἂθλοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόητοι δοκοῦσιν 4 ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ 5 τοὺς πόνους υπέμειναν τούτους, ὅτι οὖν ὡς αὐτὸς εἰπας, κενοδοξίας ἐνεκα καὶ γὰρ 7 πῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπηνοοῦντο ὡμᾶ

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

1 Plato, Protagoras 314 A.  
2 Phaedo 81 A.
προσφερόμενοι σαρκία; καίτοι ούδε αὐτὸς ἐπαινέτης εἰ. τοῦ γοῦν τουούτου τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν Θέγκην, ὥστερ αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν, ἀπομομοῦμενος εἰθεὶς ἡ μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιώγαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις, τούτο εὐδοκιμεῖν οἷς παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει; καὶ εἰς μὲν ἡ δεύτερος ἐπήνει τότε, πλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡ δέκα μυριάδες ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτίας καὶ βδελύριας διεστράφησαν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἀπόσιτοι γεγονόσως, ἀχρις αὐτοὺς οἱ θεράποντες ἀνέλαβον ὁσμαῖς καὶ μύροις καὶ πέμπασιν. οὕτως ὁ κλεινὸς ἢρως ἐργὼ 191 κατεπλήξατο γελοίως μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις.

Οἰοὶ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰςιν, οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ δὲ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ τις αὐτὸ κατὰ τὴν Διογένους ἔξηγήσαιτο σύνεσιν. ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φήσει, ὅτι τῷ θεῷ νομίζουσιν λατρείαν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν τῷ τῶν δοθέντα χρῆσθον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα σκοπῶν ἐξετάζειν τῶν ἐλεγκτικῶν ἡσπάσατο βίον, τοῦτο καὶ Διογένης οἶμαι συνειδῶς ἐαυτῷ, πυθόχρηστον οὖσαν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἔργοις ὕπο τείν ἐξελεγχεῖν πάντα καὶ μὴ δόξαις ἄλλως, τυχόν μὲν ἁληθείς, τυχόν δὲ ψευδείς προσπέπονθάναι. οὖκουν οὐδὲ εἰ τῷ Πυθαγόρας ἐφη, οὐδὲ εἰ τις ἄλλος τῷ Πυθαγόρα παραπλῆσιος, ἀξιόπιστος ἐδόκει τῷ Διογένει. τὸν γὰρ θεόν, ἀνθρώποις δὲ οὔθενα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀρχηγῶν ἐπεποίητο. τῷ δὴ τοῦτο, Κ ἐρεῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδὴν; ἐγὼ σοι φράσω.

Τὴν σαρκοφάγειαν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώποις ὑπολαμβάνουσι κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἦκιστα τοῦτο ἐργάζενται 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.
σθαί προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ διανοοῦνται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τούτου ἀνάλωται ¹ λόγος. ἔθελοντι οὖν σοι μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ἐσμοὶ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον βίβλων φανήσονται. τούτους Διογένης ἐξελέγχειν φητο δεῖν. διενόθη γοῦν οὕτως· εἰ μὲν ἀπραγμα-

tεύτως ἐσθίων τις σάρκας, ὃσπερ σώμα λλων ἐκαστον θηρίων, ὅσ τοῦτο ἐνείμεν ἡ φύσις, D ἀβλαβῶς αὐτό καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὠφελείας ἐργάζοντο, κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι πάντως τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν ὑπέλαβεν·
εἰ δὲ τις ἐνείμεν γένοιτο βλάβη, οὐκ ἢ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἔργον ἵσως ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλ' ἀφεκτέων εἶναι κατὰ κράτος αὐτοῦ. εἰς μὲν οὖν ἢν εἰς τοιούτος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος ἵσως βιαίοτερος λόγος, ἑτερος δὲ οἰκείοτερος τῷ Κυνισμῷ, εἰ περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐτὶ σαφέστερον διελ-
θομίμι.

Ἀπάθειαν γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· τοῦτο δὲ 192 ἵσως ἐστὶ τῷ θείῳ γενέσθαι· αἰσθανόμενοι οὖν ἵσως αὐτοῦ Διογένης ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίω ἀπαθοῦς, ύπὸ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐξωθής μόνων θρατ-
tομένου καὶ ναυτιώτους καὶ δόξη κεφή μᾶλλον ² ἢ λόγῳ δεδουλωμένου· σάρκες γὰρ ἵσως οὐδὲν ἢττον, κἂν μυριάκις αὐτῶς ἐβήγη, καὶ ὑποτρίμ-

μασι μυρίως τις αὐτῶς καρπυκεύσῃ καὶ ταύτῃς αὐτῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ καταστήσαι παντάπασιν ἐξάντη τῆς δείλιας ὀψήθης χρήναι. δείλια γὰρ ἐστὶν, Β εἰ ἴσθι, τὸ γοῦν τοιοῦτον. ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῆς Θεομο-

φόρου εἰ σαρκῶν ἡμιμένων ἀπτόμεθα, τοῦ χάριν

¹ ἀνάλωται Hertlein suggests, δεξιοῦνται MSS.
² μᾶλλον Hertlein suggests, μόνων MSS.
appropiate 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, I tell me why if we used cooked meats we do

1 Demeter, who regulated the customs of civilised life, especially agriculture; her festival was the Thesmophoria.
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οὐχὶ καὶ ἀπλῶς αὐτὰς προσφερόμεθα, φράσον ἢμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ἐτερον εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι οὖτω νεώμισταί καὶ οὖτω συνειδίσθημεθα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὶν μὲν ἐψηθήναι βδελυρὰ πέφυκεν, ἐψηθέντα δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀγνότερα. τί δὴτα ἔχρην πράττειν τὸν γε Κ παρὰ θεοῦ ταχθέντα καθάπερ στρατηγοῦ πᾶν μὲν ἐξελείν τὸ νόμισμα, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ κρίναι τὰ πράγματα; περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ταύτης τὴς δόξης ἐνοχλούμενον, ὡς νομίζεις ὅτι κρέας μὲν ἐστὶν ἐψηθέν ἀγνὸν καὶ ἐδώδιμον, μὴ κατεργασθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς μυσαρὸν πως καὶ βδελυρῶν; οὕτως εἰ μνήμων; οὕτως εἰ σπουδαίοις; ὃς τοσοῦτον ονειδίζων τῷ κενοδόξῳ, κατὰ σὲ φάναι, Διογένει, θεράποντε καὶ ὑπηρέτη τοῦ Πυθίου, τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδὴν κατεδήδοκας μυρίους ταρίχους,

Ἰχθύς ὅρηθας τε φίλας θ’ ὅτι χεῖρας ἐκοίτο,

Διγύπτιος γε ὅν, οὐ τῶν ἑρέων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παμφάγων, οἷς πάντα ἐσθλείν νόμος ὡς λάχανα χόρτου γνωρίζεις οἴμαι τῶν Γαλαλαίων τὰ ῥῆματα. 193 μικρὸν μὲ παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πάντες ἀνθρωποί πλησίον ὁκοῦντες θαλάττης, ἥδη δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν πόρρω, οὐδὲ θερμήναντες καταρροφοῦσιν ἐχίνους, ὀστρεά καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἶτα ἐκείνους μὲν ὑπολαμβάνεις ξηλωτοὺς, ἀθλίον δὲ καὶ βδελυροῦν ἤγη Διογένη, καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὡς οὔδεν μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἐκείνου ἐστὶ σαρκία: πλὴν

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

¹ Odyssey 12. 331. ² Genesis 9. 3.
Τόσος ταύτα ἐκείνων διαφέρει τῷ τὰ μὲν εἶναι μαθημάτα, τὰ δὲ σκληρότερα. ἄναιμος γοῦν ἦστι καὶ πολύπους ὠσπερ ἐκείνα, ἐμψυχα δὲ Β ἦστι καὶ τὰ ὀστρακόδερμα καθάπερ καὶ οὕτως ἢδεται γοῦν καὶ λυτεῖται, ὃ τῶν ἐμψυχαν μάλιστα ἦστιν ἰδιον. ἐνοχλεῖτω δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἡ Πλατωνικὴ τανύν δόξα ἐμψυχα ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τὰ φυτά. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὕτι ἄλογον 1 οὐδὲ παράνομον οὐδὲ ἀσύνηθες ἤμων ὁ γενναῖος εἰργά- σατο Διογένης, εἰ μὴ τῷ σκληροτέρῳ καὶ μαλα- κωτέρῳ, ἤδου ἡ λαμψηγοῦ καὶ ἀγδία τὰ τοιαύτα τις ἔξετάζοι, πρόδηλου οἶμαι τοὺς ὅπωςον ἔπε- σθαι λόγῳ δυναμένοις. οὔκ ἀρα τὴν ἀμοφαγίαν βδελύττεσθε οἳ τὰ παραπλῆθα δρόντες, οὔκ ἐπὶ 'Ε τῶν ἀναίμων μονὸν ζῴων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἵμα ἔχοντων. καὶ τοῦτο ὃ ἂν ἰδιως διαφέρεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνων, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀπλῶς ταύτα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν φύσις χρὴν προσφέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅ ὁμείς καὶ πολλοὶς ἀλλοις ἀρτύσαντες ἤδουής ἐνεκα, τὴν φύσιν ὅπως βιάσησθε. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἄπορχη.

Τῆς Κυνικῆς δὲ φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸς μὲν ἦστι 'Ε ὁ τέλος, ὠσπερ δὴ καὶ πάσης φιλοσοφίας, τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐν τῷ ζήν κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνει καὶ μέντοι καὶ ζῶος πάσιν, ὅταν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκαστὸν ἀνεμποδίστως τυγχάνῃ τέλους: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς τούτω ἦστιν εὐδαιμονίας ὀρος, τὸ ἐχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὁσπερ πεφύκασι καὶ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι. οὐκοῦν 194

1 οὕτι ἄλογον Hertlein suggests, οὐ χαλεπῶν MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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 happiness, 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 εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην προσήκει πολυπραγμονεῖν· όυδὲ ἀετὸς οὐδὲ πλάτανος οὐδὲ ἀλλο τῶν ὀντῶν ζῴων ἢ φυτῶν χρυσὰ περιεργάζεται πτερὰ καὶ φύλλα, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἄργυρος ἔξει τοὺς βλαστοὺς ἢ τὰ πλήκτρα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρά, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδαμάντινα, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὰ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἢ φύσις ἑκόσμησε, ταῦτα εἰ ρωμαλέα καὶ πρὸς τάχος αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς ἀλκήν ὑπουργοῦντα προσγένοιτο, μάλιστα ἂν εὑ πράττειν νομίζοι καὶ ἐυθυρεῖσθαι. Β πῶς οὐν οὐ γελοῖον, εἰ τις ἀνθρωπὸς γεγονὼς ἔξω ποὺ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιεργάσατο, πλοῦτον καὶ γένος καὶ φίλων δύναμιν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ παντὸς ἢξία νομίζων; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦμιν ἢ φύσις ὡσπερ τοῖς ζῴως αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπέδωκε μόνον, τὸ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἐκεῖνοις παραπλησίας, ὡστε μηδὲν πλέων πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἤρκει λοιπόν, ὡσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ ἥξια, Ο τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀρκεῖσθαι πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τοῖς τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν ἔπει δὲ ἦμιν οὐδέν τι παραπλησία ψυχῆ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐνεστπαρται ζῷοις, ἀλλ' εἶτε κατ' οὕσιαν διαφέρουσα εἶτε οὕσια μὲν ἀδιάφορος, ἑνεργεία δὲ μόνῃ κρείττων, ὡσπερ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρὸν ἢδη χρυσίον τοῦ συμπεφυρμένου τῇ ψάμμῳ· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτος ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὅς ἀληθῆς ὑπὸ τινών· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὖν ἐπειδὴ σύνισμεν αὐτοῖς D οὐσὶ τῶν ζῴων ἔωντο αὐτοῖς· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πρωταγόρου μῦθον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἡ φύσις ὡσπερ μήτηρ
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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 μεγαλοδώρως προσηνέχθη, ἡμίν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἐκ Διὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐδόθη· τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐνταῦθα θετέον, ἐν 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 ρωμαλεωτερον καταστήσῃ, πράττειν δὲ ἥξιον μόνον ὅποσα ἂν φανῇ τῷ λόγῳ πρακτέα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σῶματος ἐμπίπτοντας τῇ ψυχῇ θορύβους, οἷς πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει τούτῳ τὸ περικείμενον αὐτοῦ χάριν πολυπραγμονεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν μέρει προσέτο. ὥπο δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ ἄνηρ οὗτος μὲν ἑσχήν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ σῶμα ὡς οὐδεὶς οἴμαι τῶν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγωνισαμένους, οὕτω δὲ διετέθη τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡστε εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὡστε βασιλεύειν οὐδὲν ἐλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ὡς οἰ τὸτε εἰσόθησαν λέγειν."Ελληνες, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, τῶν Πέρσην λέγοντες. ἀρὰ σοι μικρὰ φαίνεται ἄνηρ

Ἀπολις, ἀοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος, οὐκ ὀβολόν, οὐ δραχμήν, ἔχων ὁ οὐδ’ οἰκέτην,

ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μάζαν, ἢς 'Επίκουρος εὐπορόδον οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φησιν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας λόγον ἐλαττοῦσθαι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἐρίζων, τοῦ δοκοῦντος δὲ Σ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονεστάτου εὐδαιμονεστέρου ξῶν καὶ ἐλεγε ἥν εὐδαιμονεστέρον. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,

1 ἔχων οὐδ’ οἰκέτην Kaibel, οὐκ οἰκέτην έχων Hertlein, MSS.;
Hertlein prints the second verse as prose.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

ously and bountifully, like a mother, but to com-
pensate 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἐργὶς πειραθεὶς ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου καὶ οὐ τὸ λόγον αἰσθήσῃ.

Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐλέγξω-μεν. ἀρά σοι δοκεῖ τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώ-ποις ἠγεῖσθαι, τούτων δὴ τῶν πολυθρυλητῶν, ἐλευθερίαν; πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσεις; ἐπεῖ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ γένος καὶ σώματος ἰσχὺς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δίχα τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ηὐσουξικέναι, τοῦ κτησαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστιν ἀγαθά; τίνα οὖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τῶν δούλων; ἀρὰ μὴ ποτὲ ἐκείνου, ὃν ἂν πριώμεθα δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου τόσων ἢ μνᾶιν δυοῖν ἢ χρυσίου στατήρων δέκα, ἐρεῖς δὴ ποιθύθεν τούτον εἶναι ἀληθὸς δούλον. ἀρὰ δὴ αὐτὸ τούτο, ὅτι τὸ ἀργυρίου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ποιλοῦντι κατα-βεβλήκαμεν; οὕτω μενταν εἰεὶς οἰκεῖται καὶ ὑπό-σους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λυτρούμεθα. καίτοι καὶ οἱ νόμοι τούτοις ἀποδεδώκασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σωθεῖσιν οἷκας, καὶ ἢμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπολυτροῦμεθα, οὐχ ἵνα δουλεύσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὅσιν ἐλεύθεροι. ὅρας ὡς οὐκ ἰκανὸν ἔστιν ἀργυρίου καταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἀποφήμα τὸν λυτρωθέντα δοῦλον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνος ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς δοῦλος, οὐ κύριος ἔστιν ἔτερος προσαναγκάσαι πράττειν ὃγιαν κελεύῃ, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον κόλασαί καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,

κακαὶς ὀδύνησι πελάξειν;

όρα δὴ τὸ μετὰ τούτο, εἰ μὴ κύριοι πάντες ἡμῶν Β εἰσίν, οὐς ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῶν θεραπεύειν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀλγῶμεν μηδὲ λυτρόμεθα κολαξόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν.
TO THE UNEDUCATED 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. 188c, Plato, Laws 730b.
2 The stater or Daric was worth about a sovereign.
3 Iliad 5. 766.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἡ τούτο οἶει κόλασιν μόνον, εἰ τις ἕπανατεινόμενος τὴν βακτηρίαν καθίκοιτο τοῦ ὦκετον; καίτοι γε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ οἱ τραχύτατοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ πάντων ποιοῦσι τῶν ὦκετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος ἀρκεῖ τολλάκις καὶ ἀπειλή. μὴποτε οὖν, ὥ φίλε, ὁ νομίζῃς εἶναι ἐλεύθερος, ἄχρις οὖ γαστήρ ἀρχει σου καὶ τὰ ἐνερθὲν γαστρὸς οἳ τε τοῦ παρασχεῖν τὰ πρὸς ἴδουν καὶ ταῦτα1 ἀποκολύσαι κύριοι, καὶ εἰ τούτων δὲ γένοιο κρείττων, ἐως ἀν δουλεύῃς ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις, οὔπω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔδιγες οὐδὲ ἐγεύσῳ τοῦ νέκταρος,

Οὐ μὰ τὸν. ἐν στέρνουσιν ἐμοὶς παραδόντα τετρακτύν.

καὶ οὐ τοῦτο φημὶ, ὡς ἀπερυθρίασαι χρὴ πρὸς D πάντας καὶ πράττειν τὰ μὴ πρακτέα: ἀλλ’ ἂν ἀπεχόμεθα καὶ ὅσα πράττομεν, μὴ διὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκεῖν σπουδαία πῶς 2 ἡ φαύλα, διὰ τοῦτο πράττομεν καὶ ἀπεχώμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ, τοῦτ ἐστὶ τῷ νῷ, ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἀπόρρητα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν κωλύει ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐπεσθαί δόξαις: ἀμείων γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦ παντάπασιν ἀπερυθρίαν ἐχουσὶ γὰρ ἀνθρω- ποι φύσει πρὸς ἀληθεῖαν οἰκεῖως: ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἡ ἰδὴ κατὰ νοῦν ξύντι καὶ τοὺς ὀρθοὺς εὐρεῖν τε δυνα- μένῳ καὶ κρίναν λόγους προσήκει τὸ παράπταν οὐδὲν ἐπεσθαί τοῖς νομιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὖ τε καὶ χειρὸν 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 not 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 và μά τών ἀμετέρας ψυχῆς παραδόντα τετρακτύν.

2 Cf. Oration 268 D; Euripides fr. 1007 Nauck ὅ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ θεός; Iamblichus, Protrepticus 8. 138.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

Οὐκοίν ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν θείοτερον, οὐ δὲ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν φαμέν καὶ λόγον τὸν σιγώμενον, οὐ κήρυξ ἐστὶν ὁ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς οὕτως λόγος προὶδών ἐξ ὄνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, ἐτερον δὲ τι τούτῳ συνεξεύκται ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν, ὧργῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ξυμμυγές τι Β καὶ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, οὐ πρότερον χρή πρὸς τὰς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀτενῶς ὀρᾶν καὶ ἄδια- τρέπτως, πρὸν ἂν τὸ τοῦτο δαμάσωμεν τὸ θηρίον καὶ πείσωμεν ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ θείῳ. τούτῳ γὰρ πολλοὶ τοῦ Διογένους ξηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες 1 ἐγένοντο παντορέκται καὶ μιαροὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ ἐνὸς κρείττους, ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, πρῶτων ἔργων ἔρωτι σοὶ Διογένους, ἐκ' οὐ γελάσονται μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ σεμνοτάτοιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τις τῶν νέων ἐν ὠχλῷ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ Διογένους, ἀπέπαρθεν, ἐπάταξεν ἐκείνως τῇ βακτηρίᾳ φᾶς· εἶτα, ὡς καθαρμα, μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ δημοσία τὰ τοιαῦτα θαρσεῖν πράξας ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴ δόξης καταφρονεῖν; οὕτως ᾧτο χρῆμαι πρότερον ἠδονῆς καὶ θυμοῦ κρεῖττονα γενέσθαι, πρὶν 2 ἐπὶ τὸ τελείωτατον ἐλθεῖν τῶν παλαιομάτων, ἀποδυσάμενον πρὸς τὰς τῶν Δ πολλῶν δόξας αἱ μυρίων κακῶν αἰτιαὶ γίνονται τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι τοὺς μὲν νέους τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπάγονοιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις τῶν

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

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

¹ Euripides fr. 488; Misopogon 358 D.
² Cf. Oration 1. 40 b, 2. 74 c, notes.
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φιλοσόφων θρυλούντες; οι Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους χορευταὶ γνήσιοι γάρ τοις εἶναι λέγονται καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ τετυφωμένοι καὶ φαρμακεῖς. τῶν Κυνικῶν εἰ ποῦ τις γέγονε σπουδαῖος, ἐλεεινὸς δοκεῖ· μέμνημαι γοῦν ἐγὼ ποτὲ τροφέως εἰπόντος πρὸς με, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐταῖρον εἶδεν Ἰφικλέα ἀνυμηρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν κόμην καὶ κατερρηγότα τὰ στέρνα ἱμάτιον τε παντάπασι φαύλον ἐν δεινῷ χείμωνι· τίς ἀρα δαίμων τοῦτοι εἰς ταύτην περιέτρεψε τὴν συμφοράν, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐλεεινὸς, ἐλεεινότεροι δὲ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ, θρέψαντες σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ παιδεύσαντες ὡς ἐνεδέχετο σπουδαῖος, ὁ δὲ οὗτος Β νῦν περιέρχεται, πάντα ἀφεῖς, οὐδὲν τῶν προσατούντων κρέπττων; ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν ὁ γὰρ οἶκος ὑπὸ τοῦτο κατερρωφευσόμενη ἐν μὲντοι γε ἵσθι ταῦτα καὶ ὁποὺ τῶν ἀληθῶς κυνῶν τοὺς πόλλους διανοομένους. καὶ ὁ τοῦτο δεινὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ὁ ράς ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγαπᾶν πειθοῦσι καὶ πενίαν μισεῖν καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεῦειν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐνεκα πάντα ὕπομένειν πόνον καὶ πιαίνειν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμὸν καὶ τράπεζαν παρατίθεσθαι πολυτελή καὶ μηδέποτε νῦκτωρ καθεύδειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιάτα πάντα δραίν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ λανθάνοντα; τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Ταρτάρου χεῖρον; οὗ βέλτιον ἔστιν ὑπὸ τὴν Χάρυβδιν καὶ τὸν Κωκυτὸν καὶ μυρίας ῥυμοῖς κατὰ γῆς δύναι, ἢ πεσεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον βίον αἰδοίους καὶ γαστρὶ δουλεύοντα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ἀπλῶς ὡσπερ τὰ θηρία, πράγματα δὲ ἑχειν, ὅσ 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 ταύτα ἐξεργαζόμενοι; καὶ τοις πόσῳ κρείττον ἀπέχεσθαι παντάπασιν D αὐτῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ βράδιον, οἱ Διογένους νόμοι καὶ Κράτητος ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐκ ἀτύμαστεοί· ἔρωτα λύει λιμός, ἀν δὲ τούτω χρῆσθαι μὴ δύνη,1 βρόχος. οὐκ οἴσθα, ὅτι ταύτα ἔπραξαν εἰκοῦτο τῷ βίῳ διδόντες ὅδον εὐτελείας; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαξο-φύγων, φησίν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ τύραννοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ 199 τῶν δειπνούντων πολυτελῶς. καὶ ὁ Κράτης μέντοι πεποίηκεν ὑμνον εἰς τὴν Εὐτελείαν.

Χαίρε, θεὰ δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα, Ἐὐτελή, κλεινής ἐγγονον Σωφροσύνης.

ἐστι δὴ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Οἶνόμακον ο κύων ἀναιδὴς μηδὲ ἀναίσχυντος μηδὲ ὑπερόττης πάντων ὁμοί θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβῆς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ θείον, ὡσπερ Διογένης· ἐπείσθη γοῦν Β ἐκεῖνος τῷ Πυθίῳ, καὶ οὐ μετεμελήσας ἀυτῷ πεισ-θέντι· εἰ δὲ, ὅτι μὴ προσῆγε μηδὲ ἑθεράπευε τοὺς νεὼς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα μὴδὲ τοὺς βαμοῦς, οἶσται τις ἀθέτητος εἶναι σημεῖον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς νομίζειν ἢν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ λιβανωτός, οὐ σπουδή, οὐκ ἄργυριον, οἴεν αὐτὰ πράσιτο. εἰ δὲ ἐνόει περὶ θεῶν ὀρθῶς, ἦρκει τούτῳ μόνῳ αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἑθεράπευε2 τῇ ψυχῇ, διὸ οἴσμα τὰ τιμώτατα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ καθοσιώσαι τὴν ἑαυτὸν ψυχὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἀπερυθριάτω δὲ μη- C δαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἑτομενος τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον μὲν αὐτῷ χειρόθεης καταστησάτω τὸ παθηματικὸν

1 δύνη Hertlein suggests, cf. Diogenes Laertius 6. 5. 2; δύναται MSS.
2 ἑθεράπευε Hertlein suggests, ἑθεράπευε MSS.

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

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tὸς ψυχής μόριον, ὡστε πάνταπασιν ἔξελεῖν ἄυτό καὶ μηδὲ ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρι τῶν ἡδονῶν εἰδέναι. εἰς τούτο γὰρ ἁμεινοῦν ἐλθεῖν, εἰς τὸ καὶ, εἰ πάσχει της τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅλως ἀγγοῆσαι: τούτο δὲ ἦμῶν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῶν γυμνασίων προσγίνεται. ἕνα δὲ μὴ τις ὑπολάβη με ταῦτα ἄλλως λέγειν, ἐκ τῶν παγνίων Κράτητος θλίγα σοι παραγράψω. D

Μημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγγαλα τέκνα, Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλιτε μου εὔχομένων: Χόρτον ἀεὶ συνεχῶς δότε γαστέρι, ἦτε μοι αἰὲι Χωρίς δουλοσύνης λιτὸν ἐθηκε βίον.

* * * *

'Οφέλιμον δὲ φίλως, μὴ γυλικερὸν τίθετε. Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, κανθάρον ὀλβον 1

Μύρμηκος τ' ἀφένος χρήματα μαίομενος, 200 Ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγείρειν 2

Εὐφορον, εὐκτήτον, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετὴν. Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν Ἐρμῆν καὶ Μοῦσας ἰλάσομ' ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὀσίαις.

εἰ χρή σοι περὶ τούτων γράφειν, ἔχω πλείωνα τοῦ Β ἄνδρος. ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ Χαίρωνει Πλουτάρχῳ τὸν Κράτητος ἀναγράψαντι βίον οὐδὲν ἐκ παρέργου μανθάνειν δεῖσι τὸν ἄνδρα.

'Αλλ' ἐπανύσωμεν ἔπ' ἐκεῖνο πάλιν, ὅτι χρή τὸν ἄρχόμενον κυνίζειν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτιμᾶν C

1 ὀλβον Wright, cf. 213B, ὀλτον MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀγνείν Hertlein, MSS.
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away with it and not even be aware that he is superior to pleasures. For it is nobler to attain to this, I mean to complete ignorance whether one has any such emotions. And this comes to us only through training. And that none may think I say this at random I will add for your benefit a few lines from the lighter verse of Crates:¹ "Glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, ye Muses of Pieria, hearken to my prayer! Give me without ceasing victuals for my belly which has always made my life frugal and free from slavery. . . . To my friends make me useful rather than agreeable. As for money I desire not to amass conspicuous wealth, seeking after the wealth of the beetle or the substance of the ant; nay, I desire to possess justice and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, of great avail for virtue. If I may but win these I will propitiate Hermes and the holy Muses not with costly dainties but with pious virtues." If it be of any use to write for you about such things I could recite still more maxims by this same Crates. But if you will read Plutarch of Chaeronea, who wrote his Life, there will be no need for you to learn his character superficially from me.

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

¹ I.e. parodies such as the verses here quoted which parody Solon's prayer fr. 12, Bergk; cf. 213 b.
πικρός καὶ ἐξελεγχεῖν καὶ μὴ κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζειν ὧ, τι μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν στιόν χαίρει, εἰ στρωμνής δείται μαλακῆς, εἰ τιμῆς ἢ δόξης ἐστὶν ἢττων, εἰ τούτο ξηλοὶ τὸ περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ, εἰ καὶ κενὸν εἶη, τίμων ὁμος νομίζει. μηδὲ εἰς συμπεριφεραν ὄχλων καθυφεῖσθω, 1 γενέσθω δὲ τρυφῆς μηδὲ Δ ἀκρῷ, φασί, τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἔως ἂν αὐτὴν παντελῶς πατήσῃ. τότε ἢδη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἂν προσπίπτῃ, θυγεῖν οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ταύρων ἀκοῦν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς νεμομένους ἀγείρειν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' ὀλγον, εἰθ' οὕτως ἐπιέναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης ἀμφισβητεῖν τοὺς προκατέχουσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἀξιωτέρους προϊστασθαι. ὡστις ὅσιν κυνίζειν ἐθέλει μήτε τὸν τρίβωνα μήτε τὴν πήραν μήτε τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀγαπάτω μόνον, ἵν' ὡσπερ ἐν κόμῃ βαδίζῃ κουρείων καὶ διδασκαλεῖσιν ἐνδεεῖ ἀκατος καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον ἀντὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου καὶ τὴν ἐνυστασιν ἀντὶ τῆς πήρας τῆς κυνικῆς ὑπολαμβανέτω φιλοσοφίας γνωρίσματα. παρρησία δὲ χρηστέον αὐτῷ πρότον ὅποσον πέφυκεν ἄξιος ἐπιδειξιαμένῳ, ὡσπερ οἴμαι Κράτης καὶ Διογένης, οἳ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀπειλὴν τύχης καὶ εἴτε παιδιάν εἴτε παροινίαν χρῆ φάναι B

1 καθυφεῖσθω Hertlein suggests, καθείσθω 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, περιβλεπεσθαι τιμιον, κενον μεν οδιν,
to soφítoν ἀπέσχον τοῦ δυσκόλως ἐνεγκέιν, ὡστε ἀλογοῦ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ὁ Διογένης ἐπαιξεῖν, ὁ Κράτης δὲ ἐδημοσίευσε τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐπὶ τὸ σώμα βλαβεῖς ἐσκοπτεῖν εαυτὸν εἰς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ σκέλους καὶ τὸ κυρτὸν τῶν ὁμῶν, ἔπορευτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων ἑστίας ἀκλητος καὶ 1 κεκλημένος, διαλλάσσων τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀλλήλους, εἴποτε στασιάζοντας αὐθοιτο, ἐπετίμα δὲ οὐ μετὰ πικρίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χάριτος, οὐχ ἦν οὐκοφάντειν δοκῇ τοὺς σωφρονισθέντας, ὅφελεῖν δὲ ἐθέλων αὐτοὺς τε ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

Καὶ οὐ τούτω ἦν τὸ προηγούμενον αὐτοῖς τέλος· ἀλλ', ὡστε ζήην, ἑσκόπουν ὅπως αὐτοῖ μὲν εὐθαμονῆσονυσίν, 2 ἐμελεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀλλῶν τοσοούτων ὅσον ξυνίεσαν οἷμαι φύσει κοινώνικον καὶ πολιτικὸν ξύον τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸς συμπολιτευμένους ὁφέλησαν οὐ τοῖς παραδείγμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις. ὡστὶς οὖν ἄν ἐθέλη Δ Κυνικὸς εἶναι καὶ σπουδαίος ἀνήρ, αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπιμεληθείς, ὡστε Διογένης καὶ Κράτης ἐξελαυνέτω μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαντά ἐκ πάσης τὰ πάθη, ὥρθος δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ καθ' ἐαυτοῦ λόγῳ καὶ νῦν κυβερνάσθω. κεφάλαιον γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, τούτῳ τῆς Διογένους φιλοσοφίας.

Εἶ δὲ ἐταῖρα ποτὲ προσήλθεν ὁ ἄνήρ· καίτου καὶ τούτω τυχὼν ἀπαξ ἢ οὖδε ἀπαξ ἐγένετο· ὅταν ἦμιν τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν Διογένη γένηται 202

1 Before κεκλημένον Cobet adds καὶ; cf. Oration 8. 250c.
2 εὐθαμονήσουσιν Hertlein suggests, εὐθαμονήσωσιν MSS.
fortune, whether one call such threats caprice or wanton insult, that once when he had been captured by pirates Diogenes joked with them; as for Crates he gave his property to the state, and being physically deformed he made fun of his own lame leg and hunched shoulders. But when his friends gave an entertainment he used to go, whether invited or not, 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.
σπουδαιός, ἂν αὐτὸν ¹ φανῇ καὶ τοιούτον τι ὁδηγὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, οὐ μεμψόμεθα οὐδὲ αἰτιασόμεθα. πρότερον μέντοι τήν Διογένους ἦμιν ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐμάθειαν καὶ τήν ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ τήν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἔλευσθείαν, αὐτάρκειαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην, εὐλάβειαν, χάριν, προσοχὴν, ὡς μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδὲ μάτην μηδὲ ἄλογος ποιεῖν ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς Β Διογένους ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας οἰκεία, πατείτω τίφουν, καταπαίξετο τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τῆς φύσεως ἔργα κρυπτώντων ἐν σκότῳ, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περιττωμάτων τὰς ἐκκρίσεις, ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιτηθευόντων τὰ θηραῖα καὶ μηδὲν ἦμιν οἰκεία τῇ φύσει, χρημάτων ἀρπαγάσ, συκοφαντίας, γραφῆς ἀδίκους, διώξεις ἄλλων τοιούτων συρφετωδῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Διογένης εἶτε ἀπέπαρδεν εἶτε ἀπεπάτησεν εἶτε Κ ἄλλο τι τοιούτον ἐπραξεν, ὡσπερ σοὶ λέγοις, ἐν ἁγορᾷ, τῶν ἐκείνων πατῶν τίφουν ἐποίει, διδάσκων αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλῷ φαυλότερα καὶ χαλεπώτερα τούτων ἐπιτηθεύονσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἦμιν πᾶσι κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔτος ἐπειδὴ οὐδενί, πάντα δὲ ἐκ διαστορφίας ἐπιτηθεύεται.

'Αλλ' οἱ νῦν τοῦ Διογένους ξηλωτάλ τὸ βαστὸν καὶ κουφώτατον ἐλόμενοι τὸ κρείττον ὅπως ἐδοξόντως εἰς τὰ ἐκείνον εἶναι σεμινότερος ἐθέλων ἀπεπλανήθη ²

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

In our own day, however, the imitators of Diogenes have chosen only what is easiest and least burdensome and have failed to see his nobler side. And as for you, in your desire to be more dignified
ΤΗΣ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΣ, ὍΣΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΝ ἘΛΕΕΙΝΟΝ ἘΝΟΜΙΣΑΣ. ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ ἩΠΙΟΣ-
ΤΕΙΣ ὙΠΕΡ ΆΝΔΡΟΣ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ, ΩΝ ΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ἘΛΛΗΝΗΣ
ΤΟΤΕ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΑΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΥΘΑΓΩΡΑΝ
ΕΠΙ ΠΛΑΤΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΣ, ΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ
ἌΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ Ο ΤΟΥ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΤΑΤΑΤΟΥ
ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΘΗΓΕΜΩΝ, ΌΥΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΙΚΟΣ ήΝ ἈΠΑΝΤΑΣ
ΑΠΑΤΗΘΙΝΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΆΝΔΡΟΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΦΑΥΛΟΥ, ὈΠΟΙΟΝ ΣΥ
ΔΙΑΚΩΜΦΔΕΙΣ, Ο ΒΕΛΤΙΣΤΕ, Ἡ΢ΩΣ ἌΝ ΤΙ ΠΛΕΟΝ 203
ΕΣΚΟΠΗΣΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΡΡΩΤΕΡΟ ΠΡΟΗΛΘΕΣ
ΤΗΣ ἘΜΠΕΙΡΙΑΣ ΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ. ΤΙΝΑ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΚ ἘΞΕΠΛΗΞΕ
ΤΩΝ ἘΛΛΗΝΩΝ Ἡ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΡΤΕΡΙΑ, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ
ΟΥΚ ἘΞΩ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΥΧΙΑΣ ΟΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΙΑ;
ΕΚΑΘΕΝΔΕΝ ΆΝΗΡ ἘΠΙ ΣΤΙΒΑΔΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΠΙΘΟΙ ΒΕΛΤΙΩΝ
Ἡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ ὙΠΟ ΤΟΙΣ ἘΠΙΧΡΥΣΟΙΣ ὙΡΟΦΟΙΣ ΕΝ
ΤΗ ΜΑΛΘΑΚΗ ΚΛΙΝΗ, ἩΣΘΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΑΞΑΝ ΗΔΙΟΝ ΕΠΥΝ
ΤΑΣ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΑΣ ἘΣΘΛΕΙΣ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΣ, ΕΛΟΥΕΤΟ ΨΥΧΡΟ ¹
Β
ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΆΕΡΑ ΕΞΡΑΙΝΩΝ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΟΥΝΩΝ,
ΟἸΣ ΣΥΝ ἈΠΟΜΑΤΤΗ, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΕ. ΠΑΝΥ ΣΟΙ
ΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙ ΚΩΜΦΔΕΙΝ ἘΚΕΙΝΟΥ, ὍΤΙ ΚΑΤΕΙΡΓΑΣΩ ΤΟΝ
ἘΞΕΡΕΙΝ, ὍΣ Ὁ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, Ἡ ΤΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΝ, ὍΣ Ὁ
ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ ἈΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ. ΕΙ ΣΜΙΚΡΑ ΤΑΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥΣ
ΑΝΕΛΙΤΤΩΝ ΕΜΕΛΕΤΑΣ ὈΣΠΕΡ ἩΜΕΙΣ ΟΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΙ ΚΑΙ
ΠΟΛΥΠΡΑΓΜΟΝΕΣ, ΕΓΝΩΣ ἍΝ, ὍΠΩΣ Ὁ ἈΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ἈΓΑΘΘΙΝΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΥΧΙΑΝ.
ἈΛΛ' ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΟΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ, ὍΣ ἘΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ,

¹ ψυχρό Naber, θερμό Hertlein, MSS.

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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 1 with a better appetite than you now eat your Sicilian courses 2 ; 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 404d; Horace, Odes 1. 1. 18, "Siculae dapes."
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

σπουδαῖον πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ γυναικῶν ἄθλιων 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 τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον συνειράντες· ἐστὶ γὰρ πάρεργον ἡμέραιν δυνῶν, ὡς ἤσασιν αἱ Μοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ σὺ 2 αὐτὸς· παραμενέτω μὲν σοι ὅπόσα πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεις, ἡμῖν δὲ σὺ μεταμελῆσει τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀνδρα εὐφημίας.

1 φιλονεικῶν Hertlein suggests, φιλῶν νεκρῶν, MSS.
2 σὺ Reiske adds, παραμενέτω μὲν σοι Reiske conjectures, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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

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

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

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

1 Murray's translation of Sallust in Four Stages of Greek Religion, New York, 1912.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

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

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

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.
ΙΟΤΑΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΤΝΙΚΟΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΚΤΝΙΣΤΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΤΩ ΚΤΝΙ ΜΤΘΟΤΣ ΠΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ

'Ἡ πολλά γίνεται ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς κωμῳδίας ἀκηκοότι μοι πρώην ἐπήλθεν ἐκβοήσαι, ὅποινικα παρακληθέντες ἡκρωμέθα κυνὸς οὐτὶ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ γενναίου ὑλακτοῦντος, ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ ἀι τίθαι μέθους ἄδοντος καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτος ὑγίως διατιθεμένον. παραχρήμα μὲν οὖν ἐπηλθέ μοι διαναστάντι διαλύσαι τὸν σύλλογον ἔτει δὲ ἔχρην ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ κωμῳδουμένων Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου παρὰ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἀκούειν, οὐ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνειλεγμένων χάριν ὑπομείνα, μάλλον δὲ, εἰ χρή τι καὶ νεανικότερον εἰπεῖν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκα καὶ τοῦ μή δοκεῖν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας μάλλον ἡ διανοίας εὐσεβοῦς καὶ λελογισμένης, ὡσπερ αἱ πελειάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν ῥήματων σοβηθεῖς ἀναπτύναι. ἔμενον δὲ ἐκεῖνο πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εἴπον τὸν έτης,

Τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἀλλὸ ποτ’ ἔτης,
ἀνάσχον καὶ κυνὸς ληροῦντος ὀλίγον 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!" 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, 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." Endure for the brief fraction of a day even

1 Eupolis fr. 4. 2 Cf. Misopogon 366 c. 3 Odyssey 20. 18.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

μόριον, οὐ πρῶτον ἀκούεις τῶν θεῶν βλασφημο-μένων, οὐχ οὖτω τὰ κοινὰ πράττομεν καλῶς, οὐχ οὖτω τῶν ἱδίων ἔνεκα σοφρονοῦμεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εὐνυχεῖς ἔσμεν, ὥστε τὰς ἀκοὰς 205 καθαρὰς ἔχειν ἣ τὸ τελευταῖον γοῦν τὰ ὦμματα μὴ κεχράνθαι τοῖς παντοδαποῖς τοιτοῖ τοῦ σιδηροῦ γένους ἀσεβήμασιν. ἔπει δὲ ὅσπερ ἐνδεικτὰς ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἀνέπλησεν οὐκ εὐσαγῶν ὁ κύων ῥημάτων τὸν ἁριστὸν τῶν θεῶν ὅνομᾶς, ὡς μήποτε ὅφελε μήτ' ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν μήτε ἠμεῖς ἀκούσαι, δεῦρο πειραθῶμεν αὐτῶν ἑφ' ὡμῶν διδάξαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τῷ κυρὶ λόγους Β μᾶλλον ἢ μύθους προσήκει γράφειν, εἰτὰ ὅποιας καὶ τίνας χρῆ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διασκευὰς τῶν μύθων, εἰ τι ἄρα καὶ φιλοσοφία προσδεῖται τῆς μυθο-γραφίας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐλαβείας ὅλη γαλακλέξομαι τούτο γάρ μοι καὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς παρόδου γέγονεν αἰτίων καὶ περὶ οὐκ ὅντι συγγραφικῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ πλῆθει λέγειν ὅσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπαχθῶν καὶ σοφιστικῶν τῶν ἐμπροσθέν χρόνων παρατηρησαμένω. μικρὰ δὲ Κ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου καθάπερ ταῦτα γενεαλογίαν ἵσως οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον ἐμοὶ τε φάναι ὑμῖν τε ἀκούσαι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἄρχην ἐπὸθεν ἑνρέθη καὶ ὅστις ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ψεῦδος πιθανῶς συν-θείναι πρὸς ὥφελειαν ἣ ψυχαγωγίαν τῶν ἀκρω-μένων, οὐ μᾶλλον εὑροί τις ἀν ἢ εἰ τις ἐπιχειρήσει τὸν πρῶτον πταρόντα ἢ χρεμψάμενον ἀναζητεῖν. εἰ δὲ, ὅσπερ ἰππεῖς ἐν Θράκη καὶ Θετταλίᾳ, 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 Thessaly \(^1\) and archers and the lighter

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\(^1\) Παύθαις ἐν Θεσσαλίαι καὶ Θάλει ως a well-known proverb; cf. Oration 2. 63 c, d.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

tοξόται δὲ καὶ τὰ κουφότερα τῶν ὅπλων ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ Κρήτῃ καὶ Καρίᾳ ἀνεφαίνη, τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας ἄκολουθούντων οἷς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οὕτω τις ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλών πραγμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἐκαστὰ τιμᾶται, μάλιστα παρά τούτων αὐτὰ καὶ πρῶτον ἡγήσατο τῶν ἀγέλαιων ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὸ γε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μῦθος εὐρήμα, καὶ διαμένει ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι καὶ νῦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολιτευμένον τὸ πράγμα ὦσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, αὐλόδι καὶ κυθάρα, τέρψεως ἐνεκα καὶ Ψυχαγωγίας. ὦσπερ γὰρ οἱ ὄρισθε ὑπασθαί καὶ νεῖν οἱ ἱχθύες αἱ τῇ ἐλαφοί θεῶν ἐπείδη πεφύκασιν οὖν ἄν τοῦ διδαχθήναι προσδεόνται, καὶ δήσῃ τις καὶ καθεύξῃ, πειράται ὁμοι χρησθαί τούτους τοῖς μορφοῖς, πρὸς τῇ συνοιδεν αὐτοῖς πεφυκόσι, ταυτὶ τὰ ξώα, οὕτως οἷμαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῇ Β. ψυχήν ἔχουν ἡ λόγον καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὦσπερ ἐγκαθειργμένην, ὁ δὲ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ δύναμιν, ἐπὶ τὸ μανθάνειν τε καὶ ξητεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς πρὸς οἰκείώτατον ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἐργῶν, τρέπεται καὶ ὅτε μὲν εὐμενῆς θεοῦ ταχέως ἔλυσε τά δεσμᾶ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἠγαγε, τοὔτω πάρεστιν εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμην, τοῖς δεδεμένοις δὲ ἐτί, καθάπερ οἴμαι Ἡξίων νεφέλη τινὶ ἀντὶ τῆς θεοῦ λέγεται παραναπαύσασθαι, τούτοις ἀντ’ ἀληθοὺς ψευδῆς ἐντετηκε δόξα, γίνεται γὰρ

1 After Karīa Reiske suggests ἀνεφαίνη.
2 oi Cobet adds.
3 oi Cobet adds.
4 οἱ Hertlein suggests, τὸ MSS.
5 Ἡξίων νεφέλη τινὶ Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
6 σούτως ἀντ’ ἀληθοὺς ψευδῆς Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS., ἐντετηκε Wright, τέτηκε Hertlein, MSS.

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

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Ευτεθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπηρέμια καὶ τερατώδη ταυτί τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης οἶον εἰδωλα ἀττα καὶ σκιαὶ πράττουσι γούν πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐπιστήμης τὰ ψεύδη καὶ διδάσκουσι γε μάλα προθυμωσ καὶ μανθάνουσιν ὦσπερ οἴμαι χρηστῶν τι καὶ θαυμαστῶν. εἰ δ' ὦλως χρή τι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τούς μύθους τὸ πρῶτον πλασάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι, διδοκούσι μοι ταῖς τῶν παιδίων ψυχαῖς, ὦσπερ αἱ τίθαι περὶ τὰς ὀδοντοφυίας κηνοίωσιν αὐτοῖς σκύτινα ἄττα προσαρτῶσι ταῖν χερῶν, ἢν αὐτῶν παραμυθῆσωνται τὸ πάθος, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὕτω τῷ ψυχαρίῳ πτεροφυοῦντι καὶ ποθοῦντι πλέον εἰδέναι τι, διδάσκοσθαι δὲ οὕτω τάλθη δυναμένῳ ταῦτα ἐποχετεύειν, ὦσπερ ἄρδοντες ἀρουραν διψῶσαν, ἢν δὴ οἴμαι αὐτῶν τὸν γαργαλισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην παραμυθήσωνται.

Τοῦ δὲ τοιούτου προβαίνοντος καὶ παρὰ τοῦς Ἐλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος, εἰλκυσαν εὐτεθεῖν οἱ ποιηταὶ τῶν αἰνῶν, ὅς τοῦ μύθου διαφέρει τῷ μή πρὸς παίδας, ἄλλα πρὸς ἄνδρας πεποιηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ ψυχαγωγίαν μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ παραλέσειν ἔχειν τινα. Βούλεται γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος παραίνειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὅταν ὁ λέγων τὸ φανερὸς εἰπεῖν εὐλαβήται, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων υφορώμενον Β ἀπέχθειαν. οὕτω τοι καὶ Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸ φαίνεται πεποιηκός· ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀρχιλοχοῖς ὦσπερ ἤδυσμά τι περιτείθεις τῇ ποιήσει, μύθοις οὐκ ὀλγακίς ἐχρήσατο ὀρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, τὴν μὲν ὑπό-

1 αὐτοῖς Wright, αὐτῷ Hertlein, MSS.
2 προσαρτῶσι Hertlein suggests, προσαρτᾷν 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 frr. 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, ἢν μετήθη, τῇς τοιαύτῃς ψυχαγωγίας ἐνδεώς ἔχουσαν, σαφῶς δὲ ἐγνωκός, ὅτι στερομένη μύθου ποίησις ἐποποίηα μόνον ἔστιν, ἐστέρηται δὲ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἑαυτῆς, οὐ γὰρ ἐτί λείπεται ποίησις, ἡδύσματα ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μοῦσης ἐδρέψατο, καὶ παρέθηκε γε αὐτοῦ τούτον χάριν, οὸπος μὴ σιλλογράφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητὴς νομισθεί.

Ὁ δὲ ὁ τῶν μύθων "Ομήρος ἢ Θουκυδίδης ἢ Πλάτων, ἢ δ', τί βούλει καλεῖν αὐτόν, Ἀἴσωπος ἢν ὁ Σάμιος, δούλος τήν τύχην¹ μάλλον ἢ τήν προαιρέσειν, οὐκ ἄφρων μὴν² οὔδε κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀνήρ. ὁ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ὁ μετεδίδων παροιμίας, τοῦτο προσήκον ἢν ἑκατειγραφημένας τὰς συμβουλὰς καὶ πεποικιλμένας ἱδού καὶ χάριτι παραφέρειν, ὡσπερ σώμα τῶν ἱατρῶν οἱ μὲν ἔλεύθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττονοι, εὰν δὲ ἀμα τις οἰκετῆς γενηται τῆς D τύχην καὶ τήν τέχνην ἱατρός, πράγματα ἐχει κολακεύειν ἃμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τοῖν δεσποτὴν ἀναγκαζόμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷ κυνί προσήκει ταῦτας τῆς δουλείας, λεγέτω, γραφέτω, παραχωρεῖτω τῆς μυθολογίας αὐτὸ πᾶς ὀστίσουν, εἰ δὲ μόνος εἶναι φήσιν ἔλευθερος, ἐπὶ τὶ χρήσεται τοῖς μύθοις, οὐκ οἶδα. πότερον ἵνα τὸ πικρὸν καὶ δάκνουν τῆς συμβουλῆς ἱδοῦ καὶ χάριτι κεράσας ἀμα τε ὄνηση καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὸ προσλαβεῖν τι παρὰ τοῦ ὄνυμαμένου κακῶν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐστὶ λίαν δουλοπρέπεις. ἀλλ' ἀμείνου οἶν τις διδαχθεῖν μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀκούων αὐτὰ μηδὲ

¹ τῆν τύχην Cobet, οὖ 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\(^1\) and lacks, one may say, its essential characteristic, and so ceases to be poetry at all. Therefore he culled these sweets from the Muse of Poetry and offered them to his readers, in order that he might not be ranked merely as a writer of satire but might be counted a poet.

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

\(^1\) Plato, *Phaedo* 61 e.
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tà ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὄνοματα κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα; ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν δεῖνος τὸν Φαέθοντα τί1 δέον ὄνομάσαι; τί δὲ Β χραίνειν οὐκ εὐαγγὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου; τὸς δὲ ὁ Παῦ καὶ τὸς ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν χαμαί ἐρχομένων ἀνθρώπων ἀξίος καλεῖσθαι, ἵν’ ἐκείθεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μεταθῶμεν ἡμῶν τὰς διανοίας; καίτοι, εἰ καὶ τούτο οἶνον τε ἦν, ἁμεινὸν ἡν αὐτοὺς ὄνομάσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἡ γὰρ οὕτως οὕτως κρείττον ἡν εἰπτεῖν ἀνθρωπικὰ θεμένους ὄνοματα; μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτως θεμένους, ἥρκει γὰρ οὕτως ἡμῖν οἶο γονεῖς C έθεντο. ἀλλ’ εἰ μήτε μαθεῖν ἐστι βάον 2 διὰ τοῦ πλάσματος μήτε τῷ Κυνικῷ πρέπον πλάττειν τὰ τοιαύτα, τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐφεισάμεθα τοῦ πολυτέλος ἀναλώματος, πρὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ εφθείραμεν τὸν χρόνον πλάττοντες καὶ συντιθέντες μυθᾶρα, εἶτα λογογραφοῦντες καὶ ἐκμανθάνουτες;

'Αλλ’ ἔσος ὁ μὲν λόγος οὐ φησι δεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν καὶ μὴ πεπλασμένον τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ πε- πλασμένα παρὰ τοῦ κυνός, ὃ μόνῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μέτεστιν, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀδεσθαὶ συνλόγοις, ἡ συνήθεια δὲ οὕτω3 γέγονεν ἀπὸ Διογένους ἀρξαμένη καὶ Κράτητος ἀχρὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς. οὔδεν οὐδαμοῦ παράδειγμα τοιούτων εὑρήσεις· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἀφύμι τέως, ὅτι τῷ Κυνικῷ τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράσσοντι

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

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

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tις συνθεία προσέχειν οὐδαμῶς προσήκει, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ ποιητέον εὐρύσκειν 209
οἶκοθεν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μανθάνειν ἔξωθεν. εἰ δ’ Ἀντι-
σθένησ ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὀστερ ὁ Ἐνοφῶν ἐνια
dιὰ τῶν μύθων ἀπῆγγελλε, μήτι1 τοῦτο σε ἐξα-
πατάτω· καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν ὑστερον ὑπὲρ τούτον σοι
dιαλέξομαι.2 νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνο μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν
φράσον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνοια τίς
ἐστι καὶ βίος ὁ κακῶτερος ὀστερότερος, ἀλλὰ θηριώδης
ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐδὲν καλὸν, οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον
οὐδὲ ἁγαθὸν νομιζοῦσθης; δοιὴ γὰρ ἀν ὑπολα-
βείν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος. εἰ τι
σοι τοῦ ταῦτα γοῦν ἐπεθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνως
ἂν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφανία καὶ τῷ
catat tōn χρηστηρίων καὶ πάσιν ἀπλῶς οἷς
ἐγραψεν ὁ ἄνήρ. τοιοῦτον δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πράγμα-
tos, ὦστε ἀνηρίσθαι μὲν ἀπασαν τὴν πρὸς τούς
θεοὺς εὐλάβειαν, ἡτιμάσθαι δὲ πάσαν ἀνθρώπινη
φρόνησιν, νόμον δὲ μῆ τῶν ὀμόνυμον τῷ καλῷ καὶ
dικαῖῳ πεπατήσθαι μονὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Θ
θεῶν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ ἐγγραφέντας ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ύπ’
ὁν πάντες ἀδιδάκτως εἶναι θείον τι πεπείσμεθα
καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ἀφορᾶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τε οἶμαι σπεύδειν
οὕτω διατιθέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὥσπερ
οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὰ βλέποντα, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ εἰ
cαὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἑξελαύνοιτο νόμος ἑρὸς ἀν φύσει
καὶ θείος, ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πάντω καὶ πάντως

1 μήτι Cobet μήτοι Hertlein, MSS.
2 διαλέξομαι Cobet, διηγήσομαι 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 Oenomaus¹ 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 ἐργῷ μὴτε ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς λανθανοῦσαι τῆς ψυχῆς. Δ ἐνεργείας ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπουσιν ψυχεῖν, ὡσπερ ἥμιν καὶ τῆς τελειοτάτης ἑστὶν ἡγεμόν δικαιοσύνης. ἂρ’ οὐκ ἔστι βαράθρου τὸ πράγμα ἀξίου; ἃρ’ οὖσ ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντας ὡσπερ τοὺς φαρμακούς ἔχον ὦν θύσθλοις παιομένους ἐλαύνεσθαι κοινοτέρα γάρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἡ ξημία. Λίθοις δὲ βαλλομένους ἀπολογέναι; διαφέρονσι γὰρ οὗτοι τί, πρὸς τῶν ἁθῶν εἰπέ μοι, τῶν ἐπ’ έρμηίας ληστεύστων καὶ κατεληφότων τὰς ἀκτάς εἰπ’ τῷ λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς καταπλέουσι; καταφρονοῦντες θανάτου, φασίν ὡσπερ οὐ κάκεινος συνομαρτούσης ταῦτην τῆς ἀπονοίας. φησὶ γὰρ ὅ καθ’ ὑμᾶς μὲν ποιήσης καὶ μυθολόγος, ὅς δὲ ὁ Πύθιος λησταῖς χρωμένοις ἀνείλεν, ἢρως καὶ δαίμων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ληξομένων τὴν θάλατταν.

Οίδα τε ληστήρες, ὑπείρ αἷλα τοῦ τ’ ἀλώωντας
Ψυχὰς παρθέμενου.

τὶ οὖν ἐτὶ ἔτερον ξητεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν ληστῶν μάρτυρα; πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀνδρειοτέρους ἀν εἰποῖ τις τῶν τοιοῦτων κυνῶν ἐκείνους τῶν ληστῶν, ἱταμωτέρους δὲ τῶν ληστῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κύνας τούτους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνειδότες αὐτοῖς οὕτω μοχθηρὸν τὸν βίον οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου δέος ἢ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὰς ἐρμηίας προβάλλονται, οἱ δ’ ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα συγχέοντες, οὐχὶ τῷ κρείττονα

1 παιομένου Cobet, πολεμομένου Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ἀναστρέφονται 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 βδελυρωτέραν ἔπεισάγεις πολιτείαν.

Τὰς ἀναφερομένας δὲ εἰς τὸν Διογένη τραγῳδίας, οὕτως μὲν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως Κυνικοῦ τινος συγγράμματα, ἀμφισβητουμένας δὲ κατὰ τούτο μόνον, εἰτε τοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦ Διογένους, εἰσίν, Δ εἰτε τοῦ μαθητοῦ Φιλόσκου, τὸς οὐκ ἀν ἑπελθὼν βδελύξαιτο καὶ νομίσεις ὑπερβολὴν ἀρρητοργίας οὔδε ταῖς ἑταίραις ἀπολελειφθαί; ταῖς Οίνομάδου δὲ ἐνυχών ἔγραψε γὰρ καὶ τραγῳδίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὐκέθε πρὶν αὐτῶν ἄξιως ἔχω, κἂν τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά, κἂν τὸ Τερμέριον, κἂν πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθέγξωμαι τὴν τραγῳδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατύρου καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ τοῦ μίμου, οὕτω πᾶσα μὲν αἰσχρότης, πᾶσα δὲ ἀπόνοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐκείναις τῷ ἄνδρι πεφιλοτέχνηται καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τούτων τις ἄξιοι τὸν Κυνισμὸν ὅποιὸς τίς ἐστίν ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξαι, βλασφημῶν τοὺς θεοὺς, ὑλακτῶν πρὸς ἀπαντας, ὅπερ ἔφην ἀρχόμενος, ἢτω, χαρεῖτω, γῆν πρὸ γῆς, ὅποι βούλιοτο. εἰ δὲ, ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη Διογένει, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης εἰρήμενην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλὴν τρέποιτο, τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ ἡλώσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων Διογένης καὶ Κράτης φαίνονται, τούτῳ ἥδη τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον ἐγωγεί φαίην ἀν ἄνδρι καὶ

1 ὁμολογουμένως Cobet, ὁμολογουμένας Hertlein, MSS.
2 χαρεῖτω Hertlein suggests, χαιρετῶ MSS.
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by introducing a better and purer state of things but a worse and more corrupt state.

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

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

¹ A proverb; cf. Archilochus fr. 27, Bergk.
² A robber whom Theseus killed; Plutarch, Theseus 11.
στρατηγεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλοντι. τί δὲ εἰπεν ὁ θεός, ἀρ' ἵσμεν; ὅτι τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αυτῶ δόξης ἑπέταξεν ύπερορᾶν καὶ παραχαράττειν οὐ τῆν Αληθειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμισμα. τὸ δὲ Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν ἐν ποτέρα θησόμεθα μοῖρα; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ νομίσματος; ἡ τοῦτο γε αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀληθείας εἶναι κεφάλαιον θήσομεν καὶ πρόπον εἰρήσθαι τοῦ Παραγράφου τὸ νόμισμα διὰ τῆς 1 Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν ἀποφάσεως; ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὰ νομιζόμενα παντά-πασιν ἀτιμάσας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν δὲ ἤκου τῆν Ἀληθείαν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ εαυτοῦ τοῖς νομιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὄντως οὕτω θῆσεται, οὕτως οἴμαι καὶ ὁ γνώσις ᾐ αυτὸν ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀκριβῶς εἰσεται καὶ οὕχ ὅπερ νομίζεται. πότερον οὖν οὐχ ὁ Πύθιος Ἀληθῆς τέ ἐστι θεός, καὶ Διογένης τοῦτο ἑπετειστὸ σαφῶς, ὥς γε αὐτῷ πεισθεῖς ἀντὶ φυγάδος ἀπεδείχθη οὐ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μείζων, ἀλλ', ὡς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτῷ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὸ Περσῶν κράτος καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλείσ ώς ἀμιλλωμένως πράξεσιν, ὑπερβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φιλοτιμουμένως ξηλωτός; οὕτως οὖν ὁ Διογένης ὁ ποίος τῆς τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοῦς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μή διὰ 212 τῶν Ὀινομάτων λόγων μηδὲ τῶν Φιλίσκου πραγμα- δίων, αἰς ἑπιγράψας τὸ Διογένους ἄνωμα τῆς θείας πολλᾰ ποτὲ κατεφεύγαστο κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅν ἔδρασεν ἐργών ὁποῖος τῆς ἡγομίζοντω. Ἡθεῖν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Διὸς; ἵνα τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς 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 Panathenaiou theasaubai deixa
pragmaton oion te ouden; alla ethelou ekei tois
kratistois syngevesbai ton 'Ellinon; ou gar B
Isthmounde epoita; ouk an oun eutrois allhen aitivn
h tivn eis ton theon therapeian. ei d' ouk exe-
plaghe ton keravnon oude egw maa tous theous
pollon pollakias periadeis diosemuton exeplaghn.
alla oimos ouw devi ti tous theous pefrika kai
philw kai sebwo kai azeomai kai panb' aploos ta
toivanta prois autous paschx, osteper an tis kai
ola prois aghanous dеспota; prois didaskalous,
prois pateras, prois khexmenas, prois panta aploos
ta toivanta, osste olignon deiv upo ton soun rhea.
C
ton praphen exanesthn. touto men ouk ouk oide
ontina trpon epelthen 1sos synmpasthai deon
ereth.

Diogenis de kai penis ouk kai xreumatov endesh
eis 'Olimptian ebadoine, 'Alepseandrou de keivn
ekelone par' eauton, ei to pioستis o Diw. ouw
pretpen enomizev eauto mewn foitain eti ta iera D
ton theon, to basileikotatao de ton kath' eauton
eti tivn eauton sivousian. de prois 'Archidamou
gegrafev, ou basileikai paraineseis eisivn; ou
monov de en tois logois hyn o Diogenis theosebhes,
alla gar kai en tois ergoiv. elomevnon gar autov
oikeiv tas 'Atheias epidei to daimonion eis tivn
Korinhous aptagave, afeveis upo tov priaemeon
tivn polion oukei' ophthe deiv eklipeiv epetteesto
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gar auton tois theous melen eis te tivn Korinhous ou
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the Isthmian games and the Panathenaic festival? Then was it because he wished to meet there the most distinguished Greeks? But did they not go to the Isthmus too? So you cannot discover any other motive than that of doing honour to the god. He was not, you say, awestruck by a thunderstorm. Ye gods, I too have witnessed such signs from Zeus over and over again, without being awestruck! Yet for all that I feel awe of the gods, I love, I revere, I venerate them, and in short have precisely the same feelings towards them as one would have towards kind masters 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.
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μάτην οὐδὲ κατά τινα συντυχίαν, τρόπον δὲ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰσπεπέμφθαι, ὅρων τὴν πόλιν τρυφῶσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων μᾶλλον καὶ δεομένην μείζονος καὶ γενναιοτέρου σωφρονιστοῦ.

Τῇ δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Κράτητος μουσικὰ καὶ χαριέντα φέρεται πολλὰ δειγμάτα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἰσιότιτος τε καὶ εὐλαβείας; ἀκονε γοῦν αὐτὰ παρ’ ήμῶν, εἱ σοι μὴ σχολὴ γέγονε μαθεῖν B ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν.

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνος Ὀλυμπίου ἀγιλαδ’ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πειρίδες, κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένων.
Χόρτων ἐμὴ συνεχὴς δότε γαστέρι, καὶ δότε χωρίς
Δουλοσύνης, ἢ δὴ λυτὸν ἐθηκε βίον.

* * * *

Ὡφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερῶν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ’ οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, καὶ
θάρου διλβοῦν
Μῦρμηκὸς τ’ ἀφενος χρήματα μαίομενος,
Ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλούτον ἀγέρειν

Εὐφορον, εὐκεκητον, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν Ἔρμην καὶ Μοῦσας ἱλάσομ’ ἀγνάς.
Οὐ δαπάνας τρυφέραις, ἀλλ’ ἀρεταῖς ὁσίαις. D

ὅρας ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐφημῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ ὀς σὺ βλασφημῶν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἡνύχετο; πόσαι γὰρ ἐκατόμβαι τῆς ὁσίας εἰςὶν ἀντάξιαι, ἢν καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος Ἐὐριπίδης ὀρθῶς ὑμηρεῖν εἰπὼν

‘Ὅσια πότνα θεῶν, ὁσία;

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

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

"Ye Muses of Pieria, glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, grant me this prayer! Give me food for my belly from day to day, but give it without slavery which makes life miserable indeed. . . . Make me useful rather than agreeable to my friends. Treasure and the fame thereof I desire not to amass; nor do I crave the wealth of the beetle and the substance of the ant. But justice I desire to attain, and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, precious for virtue. If I attain these things I will worship Hermes and the holy Muses, not with costly and luxurious offerings, but with pious and virtuous actions."¹

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

¹ Cf. Oration 6. 199 d.
² Bacchae 370.
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ἡ τοῦτο σε λέληθεν, ὅτι πάντα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ σμικρά, μετὰ τῆς ὁσίας τοῖς θεοῖς προσαγόμενα τὴν ἵσθιν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἑστερημένη δὲ τῆς ὁσίας οὐχ ἐκατομβὴ μὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἡ τῆς Ὅλυμπιάδος χιλιόμβη ἀνάλωμα μόνον ἐστὶν, ἀλλο δὲ 214 οὐδέν; ὅπερ ὁμια γιγνόσκων ὁ Κράτης αὐτὸς τε διὰ μόνης ἢς εἰχεν ὁσία τοὺς θεοὺς ἐτίμα σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκε μὴ τὰ δαπανήματα τῆς ὁσίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁσίαν ἐκείνων προτιμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἁγιστείαις. τοιοῦτω δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε τῶ θεών γενομένῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀκροατήρια συνεκροτεῖτην1 οὐδέν ὀστεροί ὁι σοφοὶ δι' εἰκόνων καὶ μᾶθοι τοὺς φίλους συνεγκνεύσθην2 λέγεται γὰρ ὑπ' Εὐριπίδου καλῶς

Ἀπλοὺς ὁ μύθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφυσκιαγραφίας γάρ φησι τὸν ψευδο ἑκτό θαταὶ. τῆς οὖν ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῖς τῆς συνουσίας ἐγγενετο; τῶν λόγων ἑγείτο τὰ ἔργα, καὶ οἱ τὴν πενίαν τιμῶντες αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι φαίνονται3 καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ὑπεριδόντες, οἱ τὴν ἀτυφίαν ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτοι τὴν εὐτελείαν ἡσκον διὰ πάντων, οἱ τὸ τραγικὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐξαιροῦντες βίων ὄκουν αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τὰς ἀγορὰς ἡ τὰ τῶν θεῶν τεμένη, τῇ τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ρημάτων διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπολέμουν, ἐργοὺς ἐλέγχοντες, οὐ λόγω βοῶντες, ὅτι τῷ Διὶ συμβασιλεῦειν ἐξεστίν οὐδενὸς ἡ σμικρῶν πᾶν

1 συνεκροτεῖτην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεκροτεῖτο MSS.
2 συνεγκνεύσθην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεγκνεύσθην MSS.
3 φαίνονται 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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dεόμενον οὔδε παρενοχλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἐπετέλμων δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσιν, ἢ νίκα ἔξων οἱ πταῖσαντες, οὐκ ἀποθανόντας ἐβλασφήμουν, ἢ νίκα D καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οἱ μετριώτεροι στενδοῦται τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ ἀληθινὸς κῦων ἐχθρὸν οὕδενα, κἂν τὸ σωμάτιον αὐτοῦ τις πατάξῃ, κἂν τούνομα περιέλκῃ, κἂν λοιδορήται καὶ βλασφημῇ, διότι τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐχθρᾶς γίνεται πρὸς ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνῃ τὴν πρὸς ἐτέρων ἕχῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν, καθάπερ οἵμα τολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐχθρός, οὔδε γὰρ βλαβερός, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτὸ βαρύτατον ἐπιτιθεὶς1 τίμημα τὴν τοῦ κρείττονος ἀγνοιαν ἐρήμος λειτεται τῆς ἐκεῖνον προστασίας.

'ΑΛΛ' εἳ μὲν νῦν μοι προοίκειτο περὶ Κυνισμοῦ γράφειν, έἰπον ἀν ὑπὲρ τούτων έτᾶ τὰ παριστάμενά Β μοι τῶν εἰρημένων †σως οὐκ ἐλάττων νῦν δὲ ἀποδιδόντες τὸ συνεχές τῇ προαιρέσει περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι χρή τοὺς πλαττομένους τῶν μόθων ἐφεξῆς σκοπῶμεν. †σως δὲ ήγεῖται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐκείνη, ὅποια τινὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκον ἡ μυθογραφία. φαίνονται γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν θεολόγων ποιήσαντες, ὡσπερ Ὁρφέως μὲν ὁ παλαιότατος ἐνθέως φιλοσοφήσας, οὐκ ὀλέγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφόν φαίνεται καὶ 'Αντισθέ- νης καὶ Πλάτων προσχρησάμενοι πολλαχῶ τοῖς μύθοις, ὡσθ' ἢ μὲν πέφητεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ Κυνικῷ, φιλοσόφῳ γούν τινι προσήκειν ἡ μυθογραφία.

1 ἐπίτειβες Hertlein suggests, ἐπίτειβες MSS.
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 εἰτε μορίων εἰτε ὄργανων προορητέων.\(^1\) ἔστι γὰρ οὐ μέγα τὸ διαφέρον ὅποτέρως ἂν τις τῷ πρακτικῷ\(^2\) καὶ τῷ φυσικῷ τὸ λογικὸν προσαριθμῆν \(\text{ἀναγ-καῖν} \) γὰρ ὁμοίως φαίνεται κατ' ἀμφότερα. τριῶν δὴ τούτων αὖθις ἐκαστὸν εἰς τρία τέμνεται, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τρίτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν γινομένων καὶ ἀπολλυμένων καὶ τῶν ἀιδίων μὲν, σωμάτων δὲ ὁμοὶ θεωρίαν, τί τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τίς ἡ ὁυσία ἐκάστου τοῦ πρακτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕνα ἄνδρα, ἡθικὸν, οἰκονομικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ μίαν οἰκίαν, πολιτικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ πόλιν ἐτί μέντοι τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀποδεικτικὸν διὰ τῶν ἀλήθεων, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων σιαστικὸν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν 216 φαινομένων ἐνδόξων παραλογιστικὸν. ὅπως δὴ τοσοῦτον τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν, εἰ μὴ τί μὲ λέληθεν καὶ οὔδὲν βαθμαστὸν ἄνδρα στρατιῶτην μὴ λιαν ἐξακριβοῦν μηδ’ ἔξονυχίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀτε οὐκ ἐκ βιβλίων ἁσκήσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προστυχούσης αὐτὰ ἔξεως ἀποφθεγμένων ἔσεσθε γοῦν μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, εἰ τὰς ἡμέρας λογισμάσεις,\(^3\) πόσαι τινὲς εἰσὶν αἰ μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἐναγγελίας ἡμῖν γενομένης ἀκροάσεως ὅσων τε ἡμῖν ἄσχολων πλῆρεις. \(\text{ἀλλὰ, ὅπερ ἔφην, εἰ καὶ Β} \) τι παραλείπεται παρ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς νομίζω χρήσθαι γε μηδὲν ἐνδείον. τὸν οἱ προστιθέον ὀνκ ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ φίλος ἴσται.

1 προορητέον Reiske, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῷ πρακτικῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ τῇ δὴθικῷ MSS.
3 λογισμάσεις Cobet, λογισμάσεις Hertlein, MSS.
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 Plato, *Timaeus* 54 a.
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Toúτων δὲ τῶν μερῶν οὔτε τῷ λογικῷ προσήκει τής μυθογραφίας οὔτε τοῦ φυσικοῦ τῷ μαθηματικῷ, μόνον δὲ, εἰπερ ἀρα, τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τῷ πρὸς ἕνα γινομένῳ καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ τῷ τελεστικῷ καὶ μυστικῷ φιλεῖ γὰρ η ὕψις κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπόκεκριμένον τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνὸς εἰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοὰς ρίπτεσθαι ρήμασιν. ὁπερ δὲ δὴ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἡ ἀπόρρητος φύσις οὐκ οὐκ ἐδύναμεν τῇ δυναμένας τὰ θεία καθαρὸς δέξασθαι δι' αἰνιγμάτων αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς μῦθον σκηνοποιίας ἐγχέχεται.

Φανεροῦ δὲ ἢδη γενομένου τίνι καὶ ποιῷ φιλοσοφίας εἰδει καὶ μυθογραφεῖν ἔσθ' ὅτε προσήκει πρὸς γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυρεῖ τούτως ἡ τῶν προλαβοντων ἀνδρῶν προαίρεσις. ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων πολλὰ μεμυθολόγηται περὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδου πραγμάτων θεολογοῦντι καὶ πρὸ γε τούτων τῇ τῆς Καλλιόπης, Ἀντισθέει δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι 217 καὶ αὐτῷ Πλάτων πραγματευομένως ἡθικάς τινας ὑποθέσεις οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ύμων ὑμελείας ἡ τῶν μῦθων ἐγκαταμέσκειται γραφή, οὐδ' ἕξρην, εἰπερ ἐβοῦλον, μμούμενον ἀντὶ μὲν Ἡρακλεούς μεταλαμβάνειν Περσέως ἡ Θησέως

1 τοῦ φυσικοῦ τῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ φυσικῷ οὔτε MSS.
2 οὐ ἕξρην Hertlein suggests, ἕξρην MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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,¹ 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 son² 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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tων δόνομα καὶ τῶν Ἀντισθένεοι τύπων ἐγχαράττειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς Προδίκου σκηνοποιίας ἀμφὶ τοῖν ἀμφοῖν τούτων θεοῖν ἔτεραν ὀμοίων εἰσάγειν εἰς Β τὸ θέατρον.

Έσεϊ δὲ καὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν μύθων ἔπεμνησθην, φέρε νῦν ὁποίους εἶναι χρή τοὺς ἐκατέρω τῶν μερῶν ἀρμόττουτας αὐτοὶ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἰδεῖν πειραθῶμεν, οὐκέτι μαρτύρων παλαιῶν ἐν πάσι προσδέομενοι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ νέοις ἰχνευσι ἀνδρός, ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ἵσης Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ Πλάτωνι ἀγαμαί τε τέθητα τε. φησὶ δὲ οὐχ Κ υπὲρ πάντων οὗτος, ἀλλ’ υπὲρ τῶν τελεστικῶν, οὐς παρέδωκεν ἥμιν Ὀρφεὺς ὁ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας τελετὰς καταστησάμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μῦθοις ἀπεμφαίον αὐτῷ τοῦτο προσδοποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείαν, ὅσοι γὰρ μᾶλλον παράδοξον ἐστὶ καὶ τερατώδες τὸ αἰνιγμα, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικε διαμαρτύρεσθαι, μὴ τοῖς αὐτόθεν λεγομένοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ λεληθότα περιεργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι, πρὶν ἂν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἤγε- μόσιν ἐκφανῇ γενόμενα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν τελέση, μᾶλ- λον δὲ τελειώσῃ νοῦ καὶ εἰ δὴ τι κρεῖττον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει τοῦ νοῦ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔνος καὶ τάγαθον μοιρὰ τῆς ὀλίγη τὸ πᾶν ἀμερίστως ἐχουσά, τῆς ψυχῆς πλήρωμα καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ συνέχουσα

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Perseus or Theseus, let us say, and have written in the style of Antisthenes; and in place of the dramatic setting used by Prodicus,\(^1\) in treating of those two gods\(^2\) you should have introduced into your theatre another setting of the same sort.

But since I have mentioned also the myths that are suited to initiation, let us ourselves independently try to see what sort of myths they must be that suit one or the other of those two branches of philosophy;\(^3\) and no longer need we call in the aid of witnesses from the remote past for all points, but we will follow in the fresh footprints of one\(^4\) whom next to the gods I revere and admire, yes, equally with Aristotle and Plato. He does not treat of all kinds of myths but only those connected with initiation into the Mysteries, such as Orpheus, the founder of the most sacred of all the Mysteries, handed down to us. For it is the incongruous element in myths that guides us to the truth.\(^5\) I mean that the more paradoxical and prodigious the riddle is the more it seems to warn us not to believe simply the bare words but rather to study diligently the hidden truth, and not to relax our efforts until under the guidance of the gods those hidden things become plain, and so initiate or rather perfect our intelligence or whatever we possess that is more sublime than the intelligence, I mean that small particle of the One and the Good which contains the whole indivisibly, the complement of the soul, and in the One and the Good comprehends the whole of soul itself

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\(^1\) 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.
πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ύπερεχούσης καὶ χωριστῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξηρημένης παρουσίας. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν Διὸνυσον οὐκ οἶδ ὅπως ἐπῆλθε μοι βακχεύοντι μανήν· τὸν βοών δὲ ἐπιτίθημι τῇ γλώττῃ· περὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων γὰρ οὐδὲν χρῆ λέγειν. ἄλλα μοι θεοὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἕμων δὲ τοὺς πολλοῖς, ὅσοι τέως ἔστε τούτων ἀμύητοι, τῇ ὁμησίᾳ δοιεν.

Τπέρ δὲ ὅν εἴπειν τε καὶ ἀκούσαι θέμις καὶ ἀνεμέσητον ἀμφοτέρους ἐστὶ, πᾶς λόγος ὁ προφερομένοις ἐκ τε λέξεως καὶ διανοίας σύγκειται. οὐκοίν ἐπειδῆ καὶ ὁ μύθος λόγος τής ἕστι, ἐκ δυοῖν τούτων συγκείσεται. σκο-πῶμεν δὲ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν. ἐστιν ἀπλῇ τις ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ διάνοια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα προάγεται, τὰ παραδείγματα δὲ ἄμφοῖν ἐστὶν πολλά. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπλοῖν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖται ποικιλίας, τὸ δ᾽ ἐσχηματισμένον ἔχει δια-φορὰς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλά, ἀν, εἰ τί σοι τῆς ῥητο-ρικῆς ἐμέλησεν, οὐκ ἀξίωσεν εἰ. τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν σχημάτων ἀρμόττει τῷ μύθῳ τὰ πλεῖστα· πλὴν ἐμοιγενικώς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν οὐθέ-ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶν τά γε τῶν ῥητών, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ δυοῖν, τοῦ τε σεμνοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τοῦ ἀπεμφαίοντος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ Κτήνος λέξεως ἔνεσται. μορφοῦται γὰρ πως καὶ σχη-ματιζομενοί παρὰ τῶν μὴ προφερομένους οἰκῆς μηδε-ἀστέρεα ἐκκυμάρους ἐλκούσκους συνεργεῖται νημάτων ἐκ τῆς τριδύνης. ἀλλὰ τοῖν δυσὶν τούτοις, ὅταν μὲν υπὲρ τῶν θείων πλάττωμεν, σεμνὰ χρῆ 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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tά ρήματα εἶναι καὶ τὴν λέξιν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ καλὴν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πρεπωδεστά-

tην, τῶν αἰσχρῶν δὲ μηδὲν καὶ βλασφήμων ἢ D
dυσσεβῶν, ὅπως μὴ τῷ πλήθει τῆς τοιαύτης
ἀρχήγοι τρασύτητος γενόμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
πρὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αυτοῦ τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς Ἡσε-
βηκέναι προλάβωμεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπεμφαίνων
εἶναι χρή περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας λέξεις, ἀλλὰ σεμνὰ
πάντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴ καὶ θεία καὶ
καθαρὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας εἰς δύναμιν
ἔστοχασμένα: τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμ-
φαίων τοῦ χρησίμου γιγνόμενον χάριν ἐγκρετέον,
ὡς ἄν μὴ τινός ὑπομνήσεως ἐξώθην οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ
dεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ
μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λανθάνον μῶσθαι καὶ πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν ὑπ' ἡγεμόνι τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμηθεῖν.
ιδοὺ γὰρ ἔγγορε πολλῶν ἥκουσα λεγόντων ἀνθρω-
pον μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐπείπερ ἐκ Σεμέλης ἐγένετο,
θεόν δὲ διὰ θεουργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς, ὀστερ τὸν B
δεισπότην Ὑρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρέτης εἰς
tὸν Ὀλυμπὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνήχθαι τοῦ Διός.
ἀλλ', ὅ τάν, εἶπον, οὐ ἔνυστε τοῦ μύθου φανερῶς
ἀυττομένου. τοῦ γὰρ ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶν ὀστερ
' Ὑρακλέους, οὕτω δὴ 1 καὶ Διονύσου, ἔχουσα μὲν
tὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ὑπέρεχον καὶ ἐξηρεμένον, ἐν τῷ
μετρίῳ δὲ ὅμως ἐτὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
μένουσα καὶ που ἀφομοιομένη πρὸς ἡμᾶς; Ὑρα-
κλῆς δὲ λέγεται παιδίου γενόθαι καὶ κατὰ
μικρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα τὸ θείον 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 διδάσκαλοι ἑστόρηται, καὶ στρατεύσασθαι λέγεται καὶ κρατήσαι πάντων, καμεῖν δὲ ὀμοσ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα. καίτοι αὐτῷ ταύτα μὲν ὑπήρξε, μειξόνως δὲ ἡ κατ’ ἄνθρωπον. ὅτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἀποπνύγων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ παραταττόμενος τὰ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεία, θάλπη καὶ κρυμοῦ, εἶτα τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις, ἐνδεικ λέγω τροφῆς καὶ ἐρημίᾳ, καὶ τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ πορείαν ὁμαί τοῦ πελάγους ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς κύλικος, ἢν ἐγὼ νομίζω μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ κύλικα εἶναι, βαδίσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης νεόμωκα. τὶ γὰρ ἀπορον ἢν Ἡρακλεῖ; τὶ δὲ σύχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ θείῳ καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ σώματι, τῶν λεγομένων τοῦτων στοιχείων δουλεύοντων αὐτοῦ τῇ δημιουργικῇ καὶ τελεσιουργῷ τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ καθαροῦ νοῦ δυνάμει; ὅν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς Προνίας 'Αθηνᾶς, ἐπιστήσας αὐτῷ φύλακα τὴν θεόν ταύτην, ὅλην ἐξ ὦλου προεμένος αὐτοῦ, τῷ κόσμῳ σωτῆρα ἐφύτευσεν, εἰτ' ἐπανήγαγε διὰ τοῦ κεραυνίου πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὸ τῷ θείῳ συνήματι τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς ἥκειν παρ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ παιδὶ κελεύσας. ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦτων ἐμοὶ τὲ καὶ ὑμῖν ἔδεως Ἡρακλῆς εἰη.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς Διονύσου θρυλομενῆς μὲν γενέσεως, οὐσις δὲ σὺ γενέσεως, ἄλλα δαίμονίας ἐκφάνσεως Β κατὰ τί τοῖς ἄνθρωπικοῖς προσεοικεν; ἡ μήτηρ

1 κατὰ Cobet, καὶ Hertlein, MSS.
2 Cf. Oration 4. 149 B,
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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αυτὸν κύουσα, φασίν, ὅπο τῆς Ὡμᾶς ἡλιοτυπούσης ἐξαπατηθεῖσα τὸν ἔραστὶν ἐξελιπάρησεν ἥκεν, ὡς παρὰ τὴν γαμετὴν εἰσθεις φοιτᾶν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν· εἰτὰ ὅπε ἀνασχόμενον τὸ σωμάτιον πάντων κτυπημάτων 1 τοῦ Δίως ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ κατεφλέγετο. πάντων δ' ὁμοὶ πυρομένων, Ἕρμη κελεύσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρτάσαι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τεμῶν τὸν αὐτὸν μηρὸν ἐρράπτει· εἰτὰ ἐκείθεν, ήνικα ἐκτελεσφορῆθη τὸ βρέφος, ἀδίνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Κόλυμφας ἔρχεται· τὸ Δύθι ράμμα δὲ αὐταὶ τῷ μηρῷ προσεπέδουσαι τὸν διδύραμβον ἡμῖν εἰς φῶς προήγαγον· εἰτὰ ἐμάνη, φασίν, ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Ὡμᾶς, ἐπανειδώ τοῦ τὴν νύσον ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦν αὐτίκα θεὸς. εἰποντο γοῦν οὐ Δίχας αὐτῷ καθάπερ Ἡρακλεῖ οὐδὲ Ἰδέως οὐδὲ Τελαιών οὐδ' "Τλας οὐδ' "Αβδηρος, ἀλλὰ Σάτυροι καὶ Βακχαὶ καὶ Πάνες καὶ δαίμονων στρατιά. Ορὰς ὅτις αὐτῷ ἀνθρωπικῆς μὲν ἢ σπορᾶ διὰ τῶν κεραυνῶν, ἢ δ' ἀποκύψις ἀνθρωπικοτέρα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων προσομοιότερα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις τὰ ἔργα; τὶ οὖν οὐ καταβάλλοντες τῶν ληπρῶν ἐκείνου πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τούτων ἱσμεν, ὡς Σεμέλη σοφὴ τὰ θεῖα; πάυε γὰρ ἦν Κάδμου τοῦ Φοίνικος, τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ.

Πολλάς καὶ Φοίνικες οδοὺς μακάρων ἐδάσαν λέγων. αἰσθέσθαι οὖν μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου 221 πρώτη παρ' "Ελλησι καὶ τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπιφάνειαν

1 σωματίων ἐν τῶν κτυπημάτων Friederich; Hertlein approves but would omit ἐν; δωματίων ἐν τῶν κτυπημάτων Hertlein, MSS., τὸ δωματίῳ ἐν κτύπημα τῶν Reiske, ἐνσκήψατος 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.¹ 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" ² 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 ³ when he says "The Phoenicians too have learned many of the roads travelled by the blessed gods." ⁴ I think then that she was the first among the Greeks to perceive

³ Cf. Oration 4. 134 A.  
⁴ An oracular verse from an unknown source.
αὐτοῦ οὖν εἰς μακρὰν προαγορεύσασα κυνῆσαι μὲν θάττων ἡ προσῆκον ἢν τινά τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὀργάων, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη τὸν εἰμαρμένον περιμεῖναι χρόνον, εἶτα ἀναλοθήναι πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ῥύέντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέδοκτο τῷ Διῷ κοινῇ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐνδοῦναι ἀρχὴν καταστάσεως ἔτερας καὶ μεταβαλεῖν¹ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ νομαδικοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἠμερώτερον, ἐξ 'Ἰνδῶν ὁ Β. Διόγνυσος αὐτοπτος ἐφαύνετο δαίμων, ἐπιφοιτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἄγων μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ στρατιῶν πολλῆς δαίμονίων τινῶν² καὶ διδοὺς ἀνθρώπως κοινῇ μὲν ἀπασι σύμβολον τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ἠμερίδος φυτὸν, ὑφ' οὓς μοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐξημερωθέντων αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν βίων, Ἀπολλωνία τῆς ἐπονυμίας αὐτῷ ταύτης ἄξιόωσι, μιθέα δ' αὐτοῦ προσευπεῖν τὴν Σεμέλην διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμώντος αὐτὴν, ἀτε πρώτην ιερό- ὁριστικῆς τῆς ἐτί μελλοῦσης ἐπιφοιτήσεως.

Οὕσης δὲ, ὡς ἂν τις ἀκριβῶς σκοπῶν ἐξετάσῃ, τῆς ἱστορίας τοιαύτης, οἱ τῶν Διόγνυσον ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ξητοῦντες τάλαθας ἔχων ὡς ἐφήν εἰς μύθον διεσκέψατο, αἰνιτπόνοι τὴν τε οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ κύριον καὶ τῶν ἀγέννητον αὐτοῦ τόκον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ³ . . . . ἐν τῷ παντὶ, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐφεξῆς ὡς τοῦ ἤγετεῖν ἢν ἄξια,⁴ φράσειν δὲ γ' οὖν ῥάδια ἐμοὶ,

¹ μεταβαλεῖν Hertlein suggests, μεταβάλλειν MSS.
² τινῶν Hertlein suggests, τινὰ MSS.
³ κόσμῳ . . . κατ . . . γιατ . . . εἴν V, lacuna MSS.
⁴ ἄξια, φράσειν δὲ γ' οὖν ῥάδια ἐμοὶ Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.
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 ἡμέρις = the vine; ἡμετερός = gentle.
² Here follows a lacuna of several words.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τυχέν μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνυοεῖν ἐτὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ Δ ἀκριβές, τυχέν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντι τὸν κρύφιον ἂμα καὶ φανερὸν θεὸν ὦσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ προβάλλειν ἀκοαίς ἀνεξετάστως καὶ διανοίαις ἐπὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ὅ τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν τετραμμέναις.

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἵστω Διόνυσος αὐτός, ὃ καὶ προσεύχομαι τάς τε ἑμᾶς καὶ τάς ὑμετέρας ἐκβασκεύσαι φρένας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθὴ τῶν θεῶν γνώσιν, ὡς ἄν μὴ πολὺν ἄβακχευτον χρόνον τῷ θεῷ μένοντες ὑπόσα ὁ Πενθεύς 1 πάθωμεν, ὅσα 222 μὲν καὶ ζώντες, πάντως δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ σώματος. ὅτῳ γαρ ἄν 2 μὴ τὸ πεπληθυσμένον τῆς ξωῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς καὶ ἐν τῷ μεριστῷ παντελῶς ἀδιαίρετον ὀλης τε ἐν πάσιν ἄμυγνος προὔπαρχούσης οὐσίας τοῦ Διονύσου τελεσιουργήθη 3 διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνθέου βακχείας, τούτῳ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πολλὰ ρυθμία τὴν ξωῆν, ρυεῖσαν δὲ διεσπάσθαι καὶ διασπασθείσαι οἰκεσθαι τὸ δὲ ρυεῖσαι καὶ διασπασθείσαι μὴ προσέχων τις τοῖς ρήμασιν ὑδάτιοι μηδὲ λίγον μήρινθον ἀκροάσθω, ξυνέτω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα τρόπου ἄλλον, ὅν Πλάτων, ὅν Πλωτίνος, ὅν Πορφύριος, ὅν ὁ δαίμονος Ιάμβλυχος. ὅς δ' ἄν μὴ ταύτῃ ποιή, γελάσεται μὲν, ὅστιο μέντοι

1 Πενθεύς ἔπαθε MSS.; Hertlein would omit ἔπαθε.
2 ἄν Hertlein would add.
3 τελεσιουργήθη 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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Σαρδάνιον γελών ἐρήμος ἄν ἀεὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώσεως, ἣς ἀντάξιον οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτροπεύσαι τὴν βαρβάρως οὐ γέγογε θείμην ἂν, οὐ μᾶ τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην Ἡλιοῦ. ἀλλὰ μὲ πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὡς τῖς θεῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐβάκχευσεν οὐ προελόμενον.

Ὅτι δὲ ἐνεκέν ἐφήν αὐτὰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαίνοντες ὅταν οἱ μύθοι γίγνονται περὶ τῶν θεῶν, αὐτόθεν ἡμίν ὡσπερ βοῶς καὶ διαμαρτύρονται μὴ πιστεύειν ἄπλως, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεληθὸς σκοτεῖν καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι. τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐστὶ κρεῖττον ἐν τούτοις τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἀπεμφαίον, ὡσὶ διὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνον καλοὺς λίαν καὶ μεγάλους καὶ ἄγαθοὺς, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὤμος τοὺς θεοὺς Δ κίνδυνος νομίσαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπεμφαίοντων ὑπεριδόντας τῶν ἐν τῷ φαινομένῳ λεγομένων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξήρημεν ἀυτῶν οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπερέχουσαν πάντα τὰ ὅντα καθαρὰν νόησιν ἐλπὶς ἀναδραμεῖν.

Αὕτη μὲν οὖν αὐτὰ τοῦ τῆς τελεστικῆς καὶ 223 μυσταγωγοῦν φιλοσοφίαν τὰ μὲν ρήματα παντὸς μᾶλλον εὐαγγή καὶ σεμνά προφέρεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἄλλοιστέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν τοιούτων. ὁ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἥδων ἐπανορθώσεως ἐνεκα τοὺς λόγους πλάττουν καὶ μύθους παράγων δράτω ¹ τοῦτο μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παῖδας

¹ δράτῳ τούτῳ Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον τῷ MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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

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

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

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

ητοι καθ’ ἡλικίαν ἡ τῷ φρονεῖν, πάντως δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων δεομένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς σοι παίδες ἐφάνημεν εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε Ἀνατόλιος οὔτοςί, Β συγκαταρίθμησε δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Μεμμόριον καὶ τὸν Σαλούστιον, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξής, Ἦπτετορια σοι δεῖ· τί γὰρ ἄν ἀκκιζοῦτο τις; ἐπεί πρὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μύθου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ κοινῆ πάντων βασιλέως Ὁλίου, τί σοι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν πεποίηται ἔργον;

τίν χαράτησις ἀγωνιζομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου; τίνα ἔθεράπευσας πενθοῦντα, τῷ λόγῳ διδάξας, ὅτι C μὴ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μήτε τῷ παθόντι μήτε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ; τίς δ’ αἰτιάσεται σε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ μειρακίας σωφροσύνης, ὅτι πεποίηκας αὐτόν ἐξ ἀσώτου σώφρων καὶ καλὸν οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν φαίνεσθαι; τίνα δὲ ἀσκησιν ἐποίησο τοῦ βίου; τί δὲ σοι ἀξίου τῆς Διογένους ἑκτηρίας ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία τῆς παρρησίας πεποίηται; ἔργον οἶει μέγα βακτηρίαν λαβεῖν ἢ τρίχας ἀνεῖναι, καὶ περινοστεῖν τὰς ἑπόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν βελτίστοις λοιδορεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ χειρίστοις θεραπεύειν; εἰπτε πρὸς τοῦ Δίος καὶ πρὸς τούτων τῶν ἀκρωμένων, οὐ δὲ χαμᾶς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκτρέπονται, ἀνθ’ ὅτου πρὸς μὲν τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνστάντιον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἡλθες, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν Γαλλιῶν; καὶ τοι πορευθέσθαι πρὸς χαμᾶς, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξενεῖν γονὺς σου τῆς φωνῆς μᾶλλον.
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

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"1 Hellebore, supposed to be a cure for madness, grew at Anticyra; hence the proverb: cf. Horace, Satires 2. 3. 166."

I2I
δυναμένω πλησιάζειν ἐμελλες ἀνθρώπῳ. τί ἐν 224
καὶ τὸ περιφοιτᾶν πανταχὸς καὶ παρέχειν πρά-
γματα ταῖς ἡμέραις; ἀκούω δὲ ἔγνοις καὶ τοῖς
ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐλαύνουσιν, οὗ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἢ τοὺς
στρατιώτας πεφρίκασι. χρῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτῶς τοῖς
ξύλοις 1 ἀκούω τινὰς ὑμῶν χαλεπώτερον ἢ τοῖς
ξίφεσιν ἐκεῖνοι. γίγνεσθε οὖν αὐτοῖς εἰκότως
φοβερῶτεροι. πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν ἐθέμην ἐγὼ
τοῦτο τὸ ὅνομα, νυνὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἑσύκα καὶ γράφειν. Β
ἀποτακτικάς τινὰς ὑπομάζουσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς
Γαλλαίοι: τούτων οἱ πλείους μικρὰ προέμενοι
πολλὰ πάνω, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα πανταχόθεν
ζυγοκοιζοῦσι, καὶ προσκτῶνται 2 τὸ τιμᾶσθαι
καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύσθαι. τοιούτοις
τι καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶ, πλὴν ᾿Ησίως τοῦ
χρηματίζεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὗ παρ’ ὑμᾶς γίγνεται,
παρ’ ἡμᾶς δὲ συνετῶτεροι γὰρ ἐσμέν τῶν ἀνοίγων
ἐκεῖνων. ᾿Ησίως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐναι πρό-
σχημα τοῦ φορολογεῖν εὐπροσώπως, ὅποιον οϩ
ἐκεῖνοις, ἢν λέγουσιν οὐκ οἴδ’ ὡς ἐλεημοσύνην,
tὰ δ’ ἄλλα γε πάντα ἐστὶν ὑμῖν τε κάκεινοις
παραπλῆσια. καταλελοίπατε τὴν πατρίδα διόπερ
ἐκεῖνοι, περιφοιτᾶτε πάντη καὶ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον διωχλήσατε μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνων καὶ ἱπαμω-
tερον οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλούμενοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ
unteerομένοι. καὶ τὶ χρηστὸν εἰς τούτων ὑμῶν
ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις; ᾿Ανήλ.
θεὶ τὸ Ῥεμπλητιάδης, εἶτα ὁ Ἐρημιανὸς, εἶτα ὁ
Χύτρων, εἶτα οὐκ οἶδα παιδάριον δ’, τι ξανθὸν καὶ
eὐμήκες, εἶτα σύ, καὶ μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἄλλοι διὸς τοσοῦτοι.

1 τοῖς ξύλοις Hertlein would add; Naber suggests βάκτροις.
2 προσκτῶνται Hertlein suggests, προσὴν οἷμα MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ti ovn ek tis umeteras anodoon gegeven agathon, ou prostoi; tis ędzi theto polis h tis idiotis tis umeteras parphasia; ouk afrovonos mene to e x arxh e eilesthe tin eti ton oudhe idein umas thelonta basilea poriean, aneathontes de afrovesteron auti kai amathesteron kai manwdesteron exerphsasthe, kolakeusanties ama kai ulektisanties kai biblia doynes kai tauta prosachthnai 1 pros- lyparhsanties; oudena umon oimai evw tosaut- takis eis filosofon fointhsei, osakis eis antighrafwes, asthe umew 'Akadwmeia kai Lweiou auti tis Poikilh te hy ton basileioon tata prothura.

Ouk apateste tauta; ou katabahalete vun gou, ei kai m proterov, ote umew oudewn esti pleon apo tis komis kai tis baktirias; pous de kai gegeven up umon evkatafroynitos h filosofia; ton rhetorikow oiv dwsisadesatoi kai oudhe 225 B up autou tov basilewos 'Ermou tin glottan ekkatharhyniin dunamenei, fereontheiin de oude pros auths tis 'Athenas sun tov 'Ermh, touto e k tis agoraiou kai peritrehousis arpasaanties enepheiasin oude yaro en paromia periferomeunen autou megwoskousi to oti botrus pros botryn pepainetai omywov en tiv ton Kuvnwmov baktiria, tribwv, komh, to enteuthen amathia, thrasvos, C itamontis kai panta aplodos ta toiauta. tin sumtomon, fasiv, odon kai sumtonon enti tin

1 prosachthnai Hertlein suggests, praxthnai MSS.

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TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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 flatter-
ing 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἀρετήν ἰέναι ¹ ὀφελοῦν καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν μακρὰν ἐπο-

ρεύσετε: ῥᾴν ἄν δὲ ἐκεῖνης ἡ διὰ ταύτης ἥλθετε.

οὐκ ἢστε, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχουσιν αἱ σύντομοι τὰς

χαλεπότητας; καὶ ἠστερέ ἐν ταῖς λεωφόροις ὃ μὲν

τὴν σύντομον ἐλθεῖν δυνήθησαν ῥᾴν ἐκπερίεισθαι τὴν

κύκλῳ, οὐκέτι μέντοι τὸ ἀνάπαλιν ὁ κύκλῳ πορευ-

θεῖς ἔλθοι ἀν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐπίτουμον, οὔτω δὴ ²

καὶ ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τέλος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἄρχῃ μία

γνώσαι τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀφομοιωθῆναι τοῖς θεοῖς:

ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν γνώσαι, τέλος δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς

κρείττονας ὁμοιότης.

"Οστὶς οὖν Κυνικὸς εἶναι ἐθέλει, πάντων ὑπερ-

ιόδων τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπινων

dοξῶν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέστραπται

πρότερον. ἐκεῖνο τὸ χρυσὸν οὐκ ἐστὶ χρυσίον,

οὐχ ἡ ψάμμος ψάμμος, εἰ πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τις

αὐτὰ ἐξετάζοι καὶ τής ἀξίας αὐτῶν ἑπιτρέψειν

αὐτῷ τιμὴν γενέσθαι: γῆν γὰρ αὐτὰ οἶδεν 226

ἀμφότερα. τὸ σπανιῶτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ῥᾴν ἀν-

θρώπων εἶναι κενοδοξίας ταῦτα καὶ ἀμαθίας νενό-

μικεν ἔργα: τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς

ἐπαυνομένοις ἡ ψευγομένοις τίθεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ

φύσει: φεύγει τὰς περιττὰς τροφὰς: ἀποστρέ-

φεται δὲ τὰ ἀφροδίσια. βιαζομένου δὲ τοῦ

σώματος, οὐ δόξῃ προστέτηκεν οὐδὲ περιμένει τὸν

μάγειρον καὶ τὰ υποτρίμματα καὶ τὴν κυήσαν,

οὐδὲ τὴν Φρύγην οὐδὲ τὴν Δαίδα οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ

δείνος ³ περιβλέπεται γαμετὴν οὐδὲ τὸ θυγατριόν

Β οὐδὲ τὴν θεράπαιναν: ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν

¹ ἰέναι Cobet, τοποθημέθα Hertlein suggests, lacuna V.

² δὴ Cobet, δὲ 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 ἀποτλήσας τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρασάμενος, ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύμπου κορυφῆς ἐπιβλέπει τοὺς ἄλλους.

"Ἀτης ἐν λειμῶνι κατὰ σκότον ἡλάσκοντας, ὑπὲρ ὅλων παντάπασιν ἀπολαύσεων ὑπομένοντας ὅσα οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κουκούτον καὶ τοῦ Ἀχέροντα βρυλοῦσιν οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ σύντομος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ. δει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀθρώως ὁ ἐκστήνων ἐαυτὸν καὶ γρῶναι, ὅτι θείος ἐστι, καὶ τὸν νοῦν μὲν τὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀτρύῶς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ καθαροῖς νοῆσαι, ὅλωρεῖν δὲ πάντῃ τοῦ σώματος καὶ νομίζειν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον κοπρίων ἐκβλήτοτερον, ἐκ τοῦ βάστου· δε αὐτῷ τὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληροῦν, ἔως ἃν ὁ θεὸς ὁσπερ ὀργάνῳ τῷ σώματι χρὴσθαι ἐπιτάττῃ.

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὡς φασὶ ταῦτῃ. ἑπανάξω δὲ οθεν ἐξέβην. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς μύθους προσήκει πρὸς παίδας ἢτοι τῷ φρονεῖν, καὶ ἄνδρες ὡσιν, ἡ Δ καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἡλικίαν παιδαρίους ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἐξεταστέον ὅπως μήτε εἰς θεοὺς μήτε εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλημμελές ἢ, καθάπερ ἐναγχὸς, δυσσεβὲς τι ῥηθεὶν καὶ προσῆτο τοῦτο ἐν ἀπασιν ἀκριβῶς βασανιστέοιν, εἰ πιθανός, εἰ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυῆς, εἰ μύθος ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ὁ πλαττόμενος; ἐπεὶ τὸ γε νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένον οὐ μύθος ἐστι σῶς· καὶ τοῦτο γε ἐνεανεύσον εἰς καὶ μὲν μύθος

1 ὡς φασὶ ταῦτῃ Cobet, cf. Oration 4. 148 b, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 σῶς; Hertlein suggests; σῶς, ὡς ἐφης 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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ἐστιν παλαιός, ἐφήμρωμας δὲ αὐτὸν σὺν πράγμασιν 227 ἔτερον, ὅπερ οἶμαι ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ τῇ τροπικῇ χρώμενοι τῶν νομιμῶν κατασκευῇ πολὺς δὲ εὐν τούτοις ὁ Πάριος ἐστιν ποιητής. ἕοικας οὖν οὐδὲ πεποιηκὼς μῦθον, ὃς ἤπνευστάτε, μάτην νεανιευσθαί, καίτοι τούτῳ τίτθης ἔργον ἐστὶν εὐτραπέλου. Πλουτάρχου δὲ εἰ τὰ μυθικὰ διηγήματα τῶν σῶν ἔσω χειρῶν ἀφικτο, οὕτω τὸν ἐλέληθεν σε, τίνι διαφέρει πλάσαι τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς μῦθον καὶ τὸν κείμενον ἐφαρμόσαι πράγμασιν οἰκείοις. ἀλλ' ἢνα μὴ σε τὴν σύντομον ὁδεύοντα βίβλως ἐμβαλὼν μακραὶ καὶ δυσελίκτοις ἐπίσημῳ μικρὰ καὶ πεδήσων σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Δημοσθένους ἀκήκοας μῦθον, δὴ ἐποίησεν ὁ Παιανεὺς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ῥύκα ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐξήτει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ρήτοράς. ἔχρην οὖν τὶ τοιοῦτο πλάσαι: ἢ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν μυθαρίον τὶ τοιοῦτον; ἀναγκάσεις δὲ με καὶ μνημοσύνην γενέσθαι.

Πλουσίῳ ἄνδρὶ πρόβατα ἢ πολλὰ καὶ ἄγέλαι Σ βοῶν καὶ αἰπολία πλατέ αἰγῶν, ἵπποι δὲ αὐτῷ πολλάκης μυρίαι ἔλος κατὰ Βουκολέουτο, καὶ ποιμένες δοῦλοι τε καὶ ἐλεύθεροι μισθωτοί, καὶ Βουκόλων βοῶν καὶ αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι καὶ ἱπποφόρβοι τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πλείστα κτήματα. τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ πατὴρ ἀπελελοίπει, πολλαπλάσια δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεκτῆσατο,1 πλουτεῖν θέλων

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

1 Archilochus. 2 Constantine. 3 Iliad 2. 474. 4 Iliad 20. 221.
ἐν δίκη τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην ἐμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἑων ὅλγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ ὑπὸ καὶ νεῖσις ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι διανέμας τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπείτα ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς οἰκονομίας πέρι διδάξας, οὐδ᾽ ὅπως ἂν τις δύνατο τὰ τοιαύτα κτάσθαι μὴ παρόντα ἡ παρόντα διαφυλάττειν. ἦτο γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἁρκεῖν τὸ πλήθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐ μάλα ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοιαύτης τέχνης, ἀτε ὡς λόγῳ προσεληφθῶς αὐτήν, ἄλλα συνήθεισ τινὶ καὶ πείρα μᾶλλον, ὡσπερ οἱ φαύλοι τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνον ἱσομικοῦ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οθεν καὶ διαφεύγει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτοὺς. ἁρκεῖν οὖν νομίσας τὸ πλήθος τῶν νείων πρὸς τὸ φυλάξαι τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲν ἐφροντίσειν ὅπως ἐσονται σπουδαῖοι. τὸ δὲ ἀρα αὐτώς ἦρξε προέτου μὲν τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικημάτων. ἐπιθυμῶν γὰρ ἔκαστος ὡςπερ ὁ πατὴρ πολλὰ ἔχει καὶ μόνος πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν πέλας ἐτράπτετο. τέως μὲν B οὕν τούτο ἐπράττετο. προσατέλαιον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐγγγενεῖς, οὕτ᾽ αὐτοὶ παίδευσαντες καλῶς, τῆς τῶν παίδων ἀνόιας τε καὶ ἀμαθίας. εἰτὰ ἐπίμπλατο φόνων πάντα, καὶ ἡ τραγικὴ κατάρα ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος εἰς ἐργὸν ἦγετο τα πατργρα γὰρ ἠκτῶ σιδήρῳ διελάγχανον, καὶ ἦν πάντα ἀκοσμίας πλήρῃ πατρία μὲν ἱερὰ κατεσκάπτετο παρὰ τῶν παίδων ὀλυγορθεῖστα πρὸτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀποσυλλήθεντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἄ ἐτέθειτο C

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

1 Cf. Plato, Charmides 156 E.
2 The curse of Oedipus on his sons; cf. Euripides, Phoenissae 67; Plato, Alcibiades 2. 138 c; Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes 817, 942.
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παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ. καθαιρουμένων δὲ τῶν ἵερῶν ἀνωκοδομεῖτο παλαιὰ καὶ νέα μνήματα, προαγο-ρεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης, ὅτι ἄρα πολλῶν αὐτοῖς δείησε μνημάτων οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῖς ὅλιγον ἔμελε τῶν θεών.

Πάντων οὖν ὁμοῦ φυρμένων καὶ εὐντελουμένων γάμων τε οὐ γάμων καὶ βεβηλουμένων ὅμοι τοῖς θείοις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τὸν Δία ἔλεος ὑπῆλθεν. δ έιτα ἅπιδὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἡλιον, ὁ παῖ, εἰπεν, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἀρχαιότερον ἐν θεώς βλάστημα, μνησικακεῖν ἐτι διανοῦ τῆς ὑπεροψίας ἀνδρὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τολμηρῷ, ὅσε ἀπολυτῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει αἰτίους ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων; ἡ νομίζεις, ὅτι μὴ χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ μηδ' ἀγανακτεῖς μηδ' ἐπὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τοὺς οἴστοις θήγεις, ἐλαττον εἰναι ταύτης αἰτίους αὐτῷ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἐρημον αὐτοῦ τῆν οἰκίαν ἁφείς; ἀλλ', ἔφη, καλῶ-μεν τὰς Μοίρας, εἰ τῇ βοηθητέος ο ἀνήρ ἑστιν. αἱ δὲ ὑπῆκουσαν αὐτίκα τῷ Διῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἡλιος, ὁ στρατιῶν τι καὶ λογιζόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐαυτῷ, πρόσειξεν εἰς τῶν Διὰ πήξας τὰ ὁμματα. τῶν Μοιρῶν δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη Κωλύετον, ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, ἡ ὂσιότης ξύν τῇ Δίκη. σὸν οὖν ἔργον ἑστιν, ἐπείπερ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσας ὑπεικαθεῖν αὐταῖς, ὑ πείσαι καὶ ἐκείνας. ἀλλ' ἐμαι γάρ εἰσιν, ἔφη, θυγατέρες, καὶ ἄξιον δὴ ἔρεσθαι αὐτাস· τί τοίνυν,
that had been dedicated by many worshippers, but not least by his own ancestors. And besides demolishing the temples they erected sepulchres\(^1\) 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\(^2\) 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

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\(^1\) The Christian churches were so called because they were built over the tombs of the martyrs.  
\(^2\) i.e. between cousins.
ο ποτνία, φατόν; ἀλλὰ τούτον μέν, εἴπετην, ὁ πάτερ, αὐτὸς εἰ κύριος. σκόπει δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πονηρὸς οὖτος τῆς ἀνοσιούργημας ζῆλος μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπικρατήσῃ. \(^1\) πρὸς ἀμφότερα, εἴπεν, ἐγὼ σκέψομαι. καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι πλησίον παροῦσαι πάντα ἐπέκλαθον, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἐβουλευτο. 

Δέγειν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρχεται πρὸς τὸν Ἡλίου· τον τὸ παιδίον, ἤφη· ξυγγενὲς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν ἄρα παρερμημένον που καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἀδελφίδους ἐκεῖνον τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνεψιός τῶν κληρονόμων· τούτο, ἤφη, σὸν ἑστιν ἐκγονον. ὄμοσον οὖν τὸ ἔμον τε καὶ τὸ σὸν \(^2\) σκήπτρον, ἡ μὴ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι διαφέροντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιμανεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ θεραπεύσει τῆς νόσου. ὄρας γὰρ ὅπως οὖν ὑπὸ διανείπλησται καὶ λιγνύοσ, κάδυνος τε τὸ υπὸ σοῦ σπαρέν ἐν αὐτῷ πῦρ ἀποσβήνας, ἵνα μὴ σὺ γε δύσεται ἄλκην. σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ τε ξυγχωρῶ καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι· κόμιζε οὖν αὐτὸ καὶ τρέφε. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡλίῳς ἥφρανθη τε ἡσθεὶς τῷ βρέφει, σωζόμενον ἑτὶ καθορῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σπινθῆρα μικρὸν ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐντεύθεν ἔτρεφεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον, ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ θα' ἀλματός ἐκ τῇ κυδομοῦ

Ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης.

ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνάν τὴν ἀμήτορα, τὴν παρθένον ἀμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ τὸ παιδαρίου ἐκτρέφειν. ἔπει δὲ ἔτραφη καὶ νεανίας ἐγένετο

Πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης, τοῦτον χαρίεστάτη ἤβη,

\(^1\) ἐπικρατήσει Hertlein suggests, ἐπικρατήσῃ 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 πλῆθος, ὅποσον τι περὶ
touς ἐννεγείρεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς ἐγεγόνει,
ἐδέση μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τάρταρον πρὸς
tὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς. ἔπει δὲ "Ηλίως
Εὐμενής ὃν μετὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ὕπνου τινὰ
cαὶ κάρων ἐμβαλὼν τῆς ἐπινοίας ταύτης ἀπῆγαγεν,
αὕτης ἀνεγερθεῖσα ἀπείσων εἰς ἐρημίαν. εἶτα ἐκεῖ
λίθον τινὰ εὖρὼν μικρὸν ἀνεπαύσατο καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐσκόπει, τίνα τρόπον ἐκφεύξεται τῶν τοσοῦ-
tῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος: ἢδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντα
ἐφαίνετο μοχθρά, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὕδαμοι τέως.

Ερμῆς οὖν αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν οἰκεῖς πρὸς
αὐτὸν ὁσπερ ἥλικιώτης νεανίσκος φανεῖς ἢπαύ-
σατο τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ, Δεύρο, εἴπεν, ἡγεμόνι σοι
ἔγω ἔσομαι λειοτέρας καὶ ὀμαλεστέρας ὁδὸν
τοῦτο τὸ μικρὸν ὑπερβάντι τὸ σκολιὸν καὶ ἀπό-
tομον χωρίον, οὐ πάντας ὅρας προσπταίνων καὶ
ἀπιόντας ἐντεῦθεν ὀπίσω. καὶ ο νεανίσκος ἀπών
ἄχθετο μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἔχων παρ᾽ ἐαυτῷ
ἐξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ, γυμνὰ δὲ αὐτῷ
téos ἢν τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. πεποιθῶς οὖν αὐτῷ
D προῆγγεν εἰς τὸ πρὸς διὰ λεῖας ὄδοι καὶ ἀθρύπτου
καθάρας τε πάνω καὶ καρποῖς βριθούσης ἀνθείς
τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὡς ἐστὶ θεοῖς φίλα, καὶ
dὲνδρεσί κιττοῦ καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρίνης, ἀγαγόν
δὲ αὐτὸν ἔπι τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν όρος ὑπὲρ
τούτου, ἐφι, τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτὸς πάντων
κάθηται τῶν θεῶν, ὅρα οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὁ
μέγας κίνδυνος· όπως αὐτὸν ὡς εὐαγγέστατα
προσκυνῆσεις, αἰτήσῃ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὥς, τι ἂν

1 λειοτέρας, Klimek, λεῖας Hertlein, MSS.
2 δόρυ Hertlein suggests, μάχαπαν 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,¹ 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 all²—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.
Εθέλησε· ἐλοιο δὲ, ὦ παῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα. ταῦτα 231 εἰπὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν Ἐρμῆς πάλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐβούλετο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ πυθέσθαι, τί ποτε αἰτήσασθαι χρῆ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ πλησίον οὖντα οὐ κατείδευν, Ἔνεδης μὲν, ἐφη, καλὴ δὲ ὁμοιά ξυμβουλή, αἰτώμεθα οὖν ἀγαθὴ τύχη τὰ κράτιστα καὶ περί ὑπὸ σαφῶς τοῖς πατέρα τῶν θεῶν ὀρώντες. Ὡς Ζεὺς πάτερ ἦ, τι σοι φίλοι ὄνομα καὶ ὅποις ὀνομάζεσθαι· δείκνυε μοι τὴν ἐπί σὲ φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἄνω. κρείττονα γὰρ μοι τὰ ἑκεῖ B φαίνεται χώρια παρὰ σὲ μαντευομένῳ τὸ παρὰ σοὶ κάλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις οθεν τεπορεύμεθα τέως ἀγαλίας.

Εὐξαμένῳ ταῦτα εἰτε ὑπνος τις εἰτε ἐκστασις ἐπῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡλιον. ἐκταλαγείς οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ὑπὸ τῆς θέας, Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν, εἰπεν, ὦ θεῶν πάτερ, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τούτων. ἐνεκα πάντων ἐμαυτὸν φέρων ἀναθῆσω. ο θεριβαλῶν ἐτού γόνασι τοῦ Ἡλιον τας χείρας ἀπρίξ εἴχετο σώζειν ἑαυτὸν δεόμενος. ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὴν Αθηνᾶν ἐκέλευεν πρῶτον ἀνακρίνειν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκόμισεν ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὴν τε ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ ἔξοφος μετὰ τοῦ δόρατος, Ἀλλὰ τοῦ σοι, ἐφη, ὦ παῖ, τὸ Γοργόνειον καὶ τὸ κράνος; ὁ δὲ, Καὶ ταῦτα, εἰπε, μόνις ἐκτησάμην ὅδεις γὰρ ἢν ὁ ἐμπυκόνων ἐν τῇ τῶν συγγενῶν οἰκίᾳ παρερρυμένῳ. Ἰσθι οὖν, εἰπεν ὁ μεγάς Ἡλιος, ὅτι σε πάντως χρῆ ἑπανελθεῖν ἑκεῖσε. 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 entreat ing 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

1 Cf. Aeschylus, Agamemnon 160.
2 Literally “the Gorgon’s head,” which formed the centre of the aegis or breastplate of Athene; cf. 234 A.
μὴ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐκείση πάλιν, ἄλλα κατέχειν, ὡς οὐκέθ’ ὑστερον ἐπανήξουτα, ἀπολούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεί κακῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐλπάρει δακρύων, Ἀλλὰ νέος εἰ, ἔφη, καὶ ἀμύητος. ἦθι οὖν παρ’ ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἂν μυνθείης ἀσφαλῶς τε ἐκεί διάγως· χρή γὰρ σ’ ἀπέναι καὶ καθαίρειν ἐκεῖνα πάντα τὰ ἀσεβήματα, παρακαλεῖν δὲ ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον θεοὺς. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος εἰστήκει σιωπῆ. καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος ἔτι τινα σκοπιὰν ἀγαγων αὐτὸν, ἢς τὸ μὲν ἄνω φωτὸς ἣν πλῆρες, τὸ δὲ ὑποκάτω μυρίας ἄχλυος, δι’ ἦς ὁστερ.δι’ ὑδατος ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς δικυείτο τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνγῆς Ἡλίου, Ὥρας, εἰπε, τὸν ἀνεψίων τοῦ κληρονόμον; καὶ ὦς, Ὥρα, ἔφη. Τι δέ; τοὺς βουκόλους τουτοῦτοι καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας; καὶ τούτους ὅραν εἶπεν ὁ νεανίσκος. Ποταπὸς οὖν Β τίς σοι ὁ κληρονόμος φαίνεται; ποταποὶ δ’ αὖ ὦι ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι; καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ὅ μὲν μοι, ἔφη, δοκεῖ νυστάξειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καταδύμενοι λεληθότως ἡδυπαθείν, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ ὀλίγον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀστείον, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ μοχθηρὸν καὶ θηριώδες, ἐσθίει γάρ καὶ πιτράσκει τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἀδικεῖ διπλῇ τὸν δεσπότην. τὰ τε γὰρ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ φθείρει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μικρᾶ ἀποφέρων ἀμισθὸν εἶναι φησι καὶ ὀδύρεται. Καὶ τοῦ κρείττον ἢν τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπαίτειν ἐντελεῖς ἢ φθείρειν τὴν ποίμνην. Ἄν οὖν, ἔφη, σὲ ἔγω μετὰ ταυτὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιτάττοντος τοῦ

1 καταδύμενος 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?”  

“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.
Διὸς, ἀντὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τούτου πάντων ἐπιτροποῦν τούτων καταστήσω--; τάλιν ἐνταύθα ὁ νεανίσκος ἀντείχετο καὶ πολλὰ ἰκέτευν αὐτοῦ μένειν. ὁ δὲ, Μὴ λιαν ἀπειθής ἐσο, φησί, μὴ ποτὲ

σ’ ἀπεχθήρω, ὡς υἱὸν ἔκταγὴ ἐφίλησα.

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, 'Ἀλλ', ὁ μέγιστε, εἶπεν, Ἡλίμη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, σὲ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν Δία, χρῆσθέ μοι πρὸς ὦ, τι βούλεσθε. τάλιν οὖν ὁ Ἐρμῆς ἀφίων φανείς ἔποίησε τὸν νεανίσκον θαρραλεώτερον. ἔδη γὰρ διενοεῖτο τῆς τε ὀπίσω πορείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείσε διατριβῆς ἐνηρκέναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μάνδανε, εἶπεν, ὃ λόγῳ, πατρὸς ἔγαθον τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμὸν βλάστημα. τούτοις, ἐφί, τὸν κληρονόμον ὦ βέλτιστοι μὲν οὐκ ἐυφραίνουσι τῶν ποιμένων, οἱ κόλακες δὲ καὶ οἱ μοχθηροὶ δούλων καὶ ὑποχείριον πεποίηται. συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν μὴ φιλεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν νομιζόμενων φιλεῖν¹ εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικεῖσθαι. σκόπει οὖν ὅπως ἐπανελθῶν μὴ πρὸ τοῦ φίλου θῆσαι τὸν κόλακα. δευτέραν ἄκονε μοι παραίνεσιν ὃ παλ. νυστάζων οὗτος ἔξαπατᾶται τὰ πολλὰ: σὺ δὲ νῇφε καὶ γρηγόρει, μὴ σε διὰ τῆς τοῦ φίλου παραγήσας ὃ κόλαξ ἐξαπατήσας λάθοι,² χαλκεὸς οἷα τὶς γέμων καπνοῦ καὶ μαρίλης, ἔχων ἱμάτιον λευκὸν καὶ τὰ B πρόσωπα τῷ ψυμβίῳ κεχρισμένον, εἶτα αὐτῷ δοῖς γῆμα ρίνα τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων. τρίτης ἐπάκουν μοι παραινέσεως, καὶ μάλα ἵσχυρῶς φύλαττε σαυτόν, αἴον δὲ καὶ ἴμας μόνον, ἀνδρὸν

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 profissates 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.
δὲ ὅστις ἡμῖν προσόμοιος ἐστιν, ἀλλοι δὲ μηδένα
ὠρας ὀπως τούτον τὸν ἡλίθιον ἐβλαψεν αἰσχύνη
καὶ τὸ λίαν ἄγαν εἶναι καταπλῆγα;

Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλιος αὐθις τὸν λόγον δια-
δεξάμενοσ εἴπεν. Ἐλόμενον φίλουσ ὃς φίλοις
χρῦ, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ὦκέτασ μηδὲ θεράτοντας
νόμιζε, πρόσιθι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔλευθερος τε καὶ
ἀπλοῦστατα καὶ γενναίους, μὴ λέγων μὲν ἄλλα,
φρονοῦ δὲ ἔτερα περὶ αὐτῶν. ὥρας ὅτι καὶ
τούτων τὸν κληρονόμον τούτῳ ἐπέτριψεν, ἡ πρὸς
tὸν αὐτούς ἀπιστία; φίλει τοὺς ἀρχομένους
ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς σὲ. τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤγεισθο σοι τῶν
καλῶν ἀπάντων. ἐσμὲν γὰρ σου καὶ εὐργεταὶ καὶ
D
φίλοι καὶ σωτῆρες. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ οἰκεῖος
διεχῦθη καὶ δῆλος ἢ ἄπαντα ἢδη τὸις θεοῖς
πειθόμενος. Ἀλλʼ ἰδι, ἐφʼ, πορεύου μετὰ ἀγαθῆς
ἐλπίδος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ σοι πανταχοῦ συνεσομέθα
ἐγὼ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἔρμης ο̣δε καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν
οἱ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν
αέρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν πανταχοῦ τὸ θεῖον
γένος, ἔως ἂν τὰ τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁσίος ὁς καὶ τὰ
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πιστὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
υπηκόους φιλάνθρωπος, ἄρχων αὐτῶν καὶ ἤγοι-
μενοσ ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα. ἀλλὰ μήτε ταῖς σεαυτοῦ
μήτε ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμιάς δουλεύων ὑπεικά-
θης. ἐχων οὖν τὴν πανοπλίαν, ἢν ἐκόμισας
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀπὶ προσλαβῶν ταύτην μὲν τὴν
δαμα παρ ἐμοῦ, ἱνα σοι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φῶς
λάμπῃ μέγα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιποθῆς τῶν τῆς,
tαυτησὶ δὲ Ἄθηνάς τῆς καλῆς τὸ τε Γοργονείου

1 ταῖς ἐκείνων Cobet, ἐκείνων ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.
2 τὴν πανοπλίαν Hertlein suggests, πανοπλίαν MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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
καὶ τὸ κράνος: πολλὰ γὰρ, ὅρασ, ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, καὶ δίδωσιν ὅς ἂν ἔθελῃ. δῶσει δὲ σοι καὶ Ἐρμῆς Β 
χρυσὴν ράβδον. ἔρχον οὖν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ κοσμη- 
θείς ταύτῃ διὰ πάσης μὲν γῆς, διὰ πάσης δὲ 
θαλάττης, ἀμετακινήτως τοῖς ἁμετέροις πειθόμενοι 
νόμοις, καὶ μηδεὶς σε μήτε ἀνδρῶν μήτε γυναικῶν, 
μήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν ξένων ἀναπείσῃ τῶν 
ἐντολῶν ἕκλαθενθαὶ τῶν ἁμετέρων. ἐμένου γὰρ 
αὐταῖς ἤμιν μὲν ἔσῃ φίλος καὶ τίμως, αἰδοῖος 
δὲ τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἡμῶν ὑπηρέταις, φοβερὸς δὲ 
ἀνθρώποις πονηροῖς καὶ κακοδαίμονι. ἦσοι δὲ 
σεαυτῷ τὰ σαρκία δεδόθαι τῆς λειτουργίας 
ἐνεκα ταυτησί. βουλόμεθα γὰρ σοι τὴν προ- 
γονικῆν οἰκίαν αἰδοῖ τῶν προγόνων ἀποκαθήραι. 
μέμησον οὖν, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄθανατον ἔχεις καὶ 
ἐκγονον ἁμετέραν, ἐπόμενος τε ἦμιν ὅτι θεὸς 
ἔσῃ καὶ τῶν ἁμετέρων ὦσει σὺν ἠμῖν πατέρα. 
Τούτῳ εἴτε μύθος εἴτε ἀληθῆς ἐστὶ λόγος οἷς 
οἶδα. τὸ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεποιημένον, τίνα βούλει 
τὸν Πᾶνα, τίνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Δία, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο. 
ὅς ἐσμὲν ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐγὼ δὲ 
ὁ Πάν; ὁ τοῦ γελοίου Ψευδόπανος, γελοιοτέρου 
mέντοι νὴ τὸν Ἀσκληπιίον τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον 
ἡ Δίος ἀνθρώπου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτεχνῶς 
ἐκ μανιμεμένων στόματος οὕτι τὴν ἐνθέου, ἀλλὰ 
tὴν ἐκπληκτον μανίαν; οὐκ οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ 
Σαλμωνεύς ἔδωκεν υπὲρ τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς δίκην, 
ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ὃν ἐπεχείρει Ζεὺς εἶναι; τὸ δὲ 
ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνομασάντων

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

Now whether this be a fable or a true narrative I cannot say. But in your composition, whom do you mean by Pan, and whom by Zeus unless you and I are they, that is, you are Zeus and I am Pan? What an absurd counterfeit Pan! But you are still more absurd, by Asclepius, and very far indeed from being Zeus! Is not all this the utterance of a mouth that foams with morbid rather than inspired madness? 1 Do you not know that Salmoneus 2 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

εαντούς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν, Ἡρας τε καὶ Διός, εἰ μήπω καὶ νῦν ἀκήκοας, ἔχω σοι συγγνώ
ναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαιδοτριβήθης καλῶς οὐδὲ ἔτυχες
καθηγεμόνος, ὅποιον περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐγὼ
tουτού τοῦ φιλοσόφου, μεθ’ ὃν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα
θῆς φιλοσοφίας ἤλθον ὑπ’ ἀνδρὶ τελεσθησόμενος,
ὁν νενόμικα τῶν κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν πάντων διαφέρειν. Β
ὁ δὲ με πρὸ πάντων ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ θεοῦ
ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν νομίζειν ἡγεμόνας ἐδίδασκεν.
εἰ μὲν οὖν τι προὔργου πεποιηκεν, αὐτὸς ἀν εἰδείη
καὶ πρὸ τούτου γε οἱ βασιλεῖς θεοῦ τουτὶ δὲ
ἐξήρει τὸ μανιῶδες καὶ θρασύ, καὶ ἐπειρατὸ με
ποιεῖν ἐμαυτὸ σωφρονέστερον. ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ,
ὡς οἴσθα, τοὺς ἐξωθέν πλεονεκτήμασιν ἐπτερω-
μένος ὑπέταξα ὅμως ἐμαυτὸν τῷ καθηγεμόνι
καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου φίλοις καὶ ἡλικιώταταις καὶ
συμφοιτηταῖς, καὶ ὅν ἠκούον ἐπαινομένου παρ’
αὐτοῦ, τούτων ἐσπευδὸν ἀκροατῆς εἶναι, καὶ
βιβλία ταῦτα ἀνεγίγνωσκον, ὅτόσα αὐτὸς δοκι-
μάσεις.

Οὗτος ἥμεῖς ὑφ’ ἡγεμόσι τελοῦμενοι, φιλο-
σόφῳ μὲν τῷ τὰ τῆς προπαθείας με τελε-
σαντι, φιλοσοφοτάτῳ δὲ τῷ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς
φιλοσοφίας δεῖξαντι, σμικρὰ μὲν διὰ τάς ἐξωθεν
ἡμῶν προσπεσοῦσας ἀσχολίας, ὅμως δ’ οὖν ἀπε-
λαύσαμεν τῆς ἀρθῆς ἀγωγῆς, οὐ τὴν σύντομον,
ἡν σὺ φής, ἀλλὰ τὴν κύκλῳ πορευθέντες· καὶ τοῖς
νῇ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν οἶμαι ὅτι σοι
συντομωτέραν ἐτραπόμην. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς,
selves by the names of the gods, even of Hera and of Zeus, but if you have not heard of it till this moment I can excuse you for that. For you have not been well educated, nor did fate bestow on you such a guide to the poets as I had—I mean this philosopher 1 now present: and later on I arrived at the threshold of philosophy to be initiated therein by the teaching of one 2 whom I consider superior to all the men of my own time. He used to teach me to practise virtue before all else, and to regard the gods as my guides to all that is good. Now whether he accomplished anything of real profit he himself must determine, or rather the ruling gods; but at least he purged me of such infatuate folly and insolence as yours, and tried to make me more temperate than I was by nature. And though, as you know, I was armed 3 with great external advantages, nevertheless I submitted myself to my preceptor and to his friends and 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.”
ei μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοὺς προθύρους ἐστὶν, σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν προθύρων εἰ πόρρω. σοι δὲ ἀρετὴς ἢ τοὺς σοὺς ἀδελφοὺς — ἀφελῶν δὲ τὸ δύσφημον τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ παρ’ ἥμαν αὐτὸ ἀνάσχον πρᾶσος λεγόμενον, — τίς μετουσία; πᾶσιν ἐπιτυμμᾶς αὐτὸς 236 οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπαίνου πράττων, ἑπαινεῖσ φορτικῶς ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ῥητόρων, οἷς διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὑρεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὦ, τὶ φῶς, ἡ Δήλος ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἡ Δητώ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, εἶτα κύκνοι λυγρὰν ἁδονες καὶ ἐπηχοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμώνες τε ἐνδροσοι μαλακῆς πόας καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις, ἦ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέου ὀδὴ καὶ τὸ ἔσρ αὐτὸ καὶ τινες εἰκόνες τωευταί. ποῦ τούτῳ Ἰσοκράτης Β ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἐποίησε λόγους; ποῦ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τίς ἀνδρῶν, οὐ ταῖς Μοῦσαις ἐτελοῦντο γνησίως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ νῦν; ἀφίημι δὲ τὰ ἔξης, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀπεχθανόμενος ἀμα τοῖς τε φαυλοτάτοις τῶν Κυνικῶν καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων προσκρούσαμι· ὡς ἐμοιγε πρὸς τε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Κυνικῶν,
believe that the road I took was really a shorter road to virtue than yours. For I, at any rate, if I may say so without bad taste, am standing at the entrance, whereas you are a long way even from the entrance. “But as for virtue, you and your brethren—,”¹ omit the ill-sounding phrase and fill in the blank yourself! Or rather, if you please, bear with me when I “put it mildly”²—“what part or lot have you in it?” You criticise everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise; your praises are in worse taste than those of the most ignorant rhetoricians. They, because they have nothing to say and cannot invent anything from the matter in hand, are always dragging in Delos and Leto with her children, and then “swans singing their shrill song and the trees that echo them,” and “dewy meadows full of soft, deep grass,” and the “scent of flowers,” and “the season of spring,” and other figures of the same sort.³ When did Isocrates ever do this in his panegyrics? Or when did anyone of those ancient writers who were genuine votaries of the Muses, and not like the writers of to-day? However, I omit what I might add, lest I should make them also my enemies, and offend at once the most worthless Cynics and the most worthless rhetoricians. Though indeed I have nothing but friendly feelings for the really virtuous Cynics, if

¹ A direct quotation from Demosthenes, De Corona 128; the word omitted by Julian is καθαρμα = “off-scourings,” or “outcast,” addressed by Demosthenes to Aeschines.
² An echo of Xenophon, Anabasis 1. 5. 14.
eι τις ἄρα ἔστι νῦν τοιοῦτος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενναίους ῥήτοράς ἐστὶ φίλα 1 πάντα. τῶν μὲν δὴ τοιούτων λόγων, εἰ καὶ πολὺ πλήθος ἐπιρρέει· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσον οὐχὶ λέγειν ἑθέλων τις ἐκ πάνυ δαφιλοῦς ἀντιλησεῖν ἀν πίθου· τῆς προ- κειμένης ἦμιν ἄσχολίας ἐνεκεν ἀφέξομαι. μικρὰ δὲ ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ προσθεῖς ὅσπερ ὀφλήματι τὸ ἐνδεόν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλὸ τι τρέψομαι, ταυτηνὶ τὴν ξυν- ἔγραφην αὐτοῦ πον πληρώσας.

Τὰς οὖν ἡ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εὐλαβεία περὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὅνόματα, τὰς δὲ ἡ Πλάτωνος; ποταπὸς δὲ ἦν ἐν τούτοις Ἀριστοτέλης; ἄρ′ οὐκ άξιον αὐτὸ ἰδεῖν; ἡ τῶν μὲν Σάμων οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τὸ ὅνόματα θεῶν ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι φορεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν οὔτε τὸ ὅρκῳ χρῆσθαι προπετῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὅνόμασιν. εἰ δὲ νῦν λέγομαι, ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἀγνυττον ἐπορεύθη καὶ 237 Πέρσας εἰδε καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἐπειράθη τὰ μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν ἐποπτεύσας καὶ τελεσθῆναι παντοίας πανταχοῦ τελετάς, ἐρῶ μὲν ἱσος ἀγνο- στά σου, γνώριμα μέντοι καὶ σαφῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκουε· τὸ δ′ ἐμὸν δέος, ὡς Ἐγνάτορχε, πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὅνόματα οὐκ ἔστι κατ᾽ ἀνθρωπὸν, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου. καὶ νῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, ὅτη ἐκείνη φίλον, ταύτῃ προσαγορεύον· τὴν δ′ ἥδουν οἴδα ὡς Β ἔστι ποικίλον· ταύτα ἐν Φιλῆβρο λέγεται, καὶ τοιαύτα ἐτέρα πάλιν ἐν Τιμαιῶ· πιστεύειν γὰρ

1 φίλα Cobet, φιλικά Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

1 A proverb for wealth; cf. Theocritus 10. 13.
2 Pythagoras.
3 Philebus 12 c.
4 Timaeus 40 d; Julian fails to see that Plato is not speaking seriously.
ἐπλώς ἄξιοί καὶ χωρίς ἀποδείξεως λεγομένοις, ὃσα ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν φασίν οἱ ποιηταί. ταῦτα δὲ παρέθηκα, μὴ ποτὲ σοι παράσχῃ πρόφασιν, ὥστερ όμια τῶν Πλατωνίκων ποιλοίς, ὁ Σωκράτης εἰρων ὃν φύσει τὴν Πλατωνίκην ἀτιμάσαι δόξαν. εἰκεὶ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ὁ Τίμαιος ταῦτα ἐνεγεί χειστα ὃν εἰρων. καίτοι τούτο γε ἐστὶν οἷς υγιέσ μὴ τὰ λεγομένα ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγον- τας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται. βούλει δὴτα 1 τὸ μετὰ τούτο τὴν πάνσοφον ὑπαγορεύσω σειρῆνα, τὸν τοῦ λογίου τύπον Ἐρμοῦ, τὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς Μουσάσις φίλουν ἐκείνοις ἄξιοί τουσ ἐπερωτώντας ἢ ξητεῖν ὅλως ἐπιχειροῦντας, εἰ θεοὶ εἰσίν, οἷος ὁ ἀνθρώπους ἀποκρίεςως τυγ- χάνειν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ θηρία κολάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἀνεγώ- κεις τὸν συστατικὸν 2 αὑτοῦ λόγον, ὃς ὥσπερ τῆς Πλάτωνος, οὕτω δὴ 3 καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς προφιγέγραπτο, ἐγώς ἀν πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι καὶ μεμνησθαι πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τετελέσθαι τὰς ἀγιωτάτας τελετας καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων ἄθαναί τοις εἰσιν τοῦ περιπάτου βαδίζοντι προφιγόρευτο. 4

Σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἡμῖν μὴ τὸν Διογένη προβαλῶν 238 ὅσπερ τι μορμολυκεῖον ἐκφοβήσεις. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἐμνήθη, φασίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν προτρητόμενον μυηθήναι, Γελοίον, εἰπεν, ὃ νεανίσκε, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τελώνας οἴει ταύτης ἐνεκα τῆς τελετῆς κοινωνή- σεων τοῖς ὀσίοις τῶν ἐν ἕδου καλῶν, Ἀγνήσταιον

1 δὴτα Cobet adds, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 συστατικὸν Cobet, ἀστατικὸν V, Hertlein, ἐστατικὸν Reiske, ἐστατικὸν Spanheim.
3 δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
4 προφιγόρευτο Cobet, προφιγόρευτο Hertlein, MSS.
5 ἐκφοβήσεις Cobet, ἐκφοβήσεις 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? 1 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

dе καὶ Ἑπαμεινώνδαν ἐν τῷ βορβώρῳ κεῖσεσθαι. τοῦτο, ὃ νεανίσκε, βαθὺ λίαν ἔστὶ καὶ δεόμενον ἐξηγήσεως, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μείζονος, ὅποιας 1 Β ἡμῖν αὐταί δοῦν αἱ θεαὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν: νομίζω δὲ αὐτὴν ἡδὴ καὶ δεδόσθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ Διογένης οὐχ, ὡσπερ ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτε, δυσσεβὴς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοις, ὅπως μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, προσόμοιοι. ἀπι- δῶν γὰρ εἰς τὴν περίστασιν τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν αὐτῶν, εἶτα εἰς τὰς ἐντολὰς βλέπων τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ συνεῖς 2 ὧτι τὸν μνούμενον ἔχρην πολιτογραφηθῆναι πρότερον καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ καὶ μὴ C φύσει, τῷ νόμῳ γε γενέσθαι, τοῦτο ἐφυγεν, οὐ τὸ μνηθῆναι, νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου πολιτην, καὶ ταῖς ὃλαις τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαιας, αἱ τὸν ὅλον κοινῆ κόσμου ἐπιτροπεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ταῖς τὰ μέρη κατανειμαρέναις αὐτοῦ, διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀξίων συμπολιτεύεσθαι: τὸ τε νόμιμον οὐ παρέβη αἰδοῖ τῶν θεῶν, καίτοι τάλλα πατῶν καὶ παραχράττων αὐτῶν τε ὅνι ἐπανήγαγεν, θεῖν D ἀσμενος ἥλευθέρωτο. τί δ' ἦν τοῦτο; τὸ πόλεως μᾶς δουλεύσαι νόμους ἑαυτὸν τε ὑποθεῖναι τοῦτο, ὡσπερ ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖᾳ γενομένῳ. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐμελλεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἑνὲκεν εἰς Ὁλυμπίαν βαδίζων, ὁ τῷ Πυθίῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὡσπερ Σωκράτης: φησὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πύθιον οἰκον παρ' ἑαυτῷ, θεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὅρμη

1 ὅποιας Hertlein suggests, ὅπως MSS.
2 συνεὶς Hertlein suggests, συνεὶς MSS.
Epameinondas are doomed to lie in the mire." ¹

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

¹ Diogenes Laertius 6. 39.
πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο· παριέναι τῶν ἀνακτῶν εἰσώ καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἐξέκλινε τὸ ὑποθεῖναι νόμοις ἐαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον ἀποφήγαι πολιτείας; ἀλλὰ διὰ τὶ μὴ ταύτην αὐτὴν εἴπε τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων δὲ τὴν παραιρομένην οὐ σμικρὰ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σεμνότητος; ἦσος μὲν ἄν τις τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Πυθαγόρα μάλιστα ἐπισκηφθήσεται, οὐκ ὅρθως λογιζόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ῥήτεον πάντα ἐστὶν, αὐτῶν τε οἶμαι τούτων, ὅν θέμις φάναι, ἕνα 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 μεμνησθαί μέγα φρονουντα 1 τὸν παραινοῦντα αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα, σῳφρονίζων ἁμα καὶ διδάσκων αὐτῶν, ὅτι τοῖς 2 μὲν, οίς ἄξιως τοῦ μυθῆσθαι βεβιάσοταί, καὶ μὴ μυθεῖσθων οἱ θεοὶ τᾶς ἁμοιόμας ἀκεραίους φυλάττουσι, Κ τοῖς δὲ μοχθηροῖς οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πλέον, κἀν εἰσώ τῶν ιερῶν εἰσφησθῶσι περιβόλων. ἦ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ ἰεροφάντης προαγορεύει, ὅστις χείρα μὴ καθαρὸς καὶ ὄντων μὴ χρῆ, τοῦτοις ἀπαγορεύων μὴ μυθεῖσθαι;

Τῇ πέρᾳ ἦμῖν ἐσται τῶν λόγων, εἰ ταῦτα μήπω σε πείθει;

1 μέγα φρονουντα Cobet, μεγαλοφρονουντα Hertlein, MSS,
2 τοῖς Naber, τοῦτοις Hertlein, MSS.
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 πρόφρησις or praefatio sacrorum; cf. Livy 45. 5.
ORATION VIII
The Eighth Oration is a "speech of consolation" (παραμυθητικός 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.
'Αλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς σὲ διαλεξθεὶν ὡσα πρός ἐμαυτὸν διελέξθην, ἐπειδὴ σὲ βαδίζειν ἐπυθόμην χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐλαττοῦν ἔχειν οἶνσομαι πρὸς παραψυχὴν, ὥς φίλε ἔταιρε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἄρχην πεπορίσθαι τινὰ ῥαστώνῃ ἐμαυτῷ νομίζω, ἂς σοὶ γε οὐ μεταδέδωκα. κοινωνήσαντας γὰρ Β ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλους πολλῶν μὲν ἀλγευών, πολλῶν δὲ ἡδέων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων, ἐν πράγμασιν ἰδίοις τε καὶ δημοσίοις, οἷκοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, κοινὸν₁ εὐρίσκεσθαι χρῆ τῶν παρόντων, ὅποια ποτ' ἂν ἢ, παιῶνοι ἄκος. ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ἡμῖν ἢ τὴν Ὄρφεως μιμῆσαιτο² λύραν ἢ τοὺς Σειρήνων ἀντηχήσειςε³ μέλεσιν ἢ τὸ νυσθῆναι ἐξεύροι φάρμακον; εἴτε λόγος ἢν ἐκεῖνο πλῆρης Αἰγυπτίων διηγημάτων, εἴθ' ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐνυφήνας τὰ Τρωικὰ πάθη, τοῦτο τῆς Ἐλενῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μαθούσης, οὕχ ὡσα" Ἐλληνες καὶ Τρώες ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ ποταποῦς εἶναι χρῆ τοὺς λόγους, οὐ τὰς μὲν

₁ κοινὸν Wright, κοινὸν Hertlein, MSS.

² ἰν—μιμῆσαιτο Hertlein suggests, μιμῆσαι MSS.

³ ἀντηχήσειςε Hertlein suggests, ἀντηχήσει MSS.
A CONSOLATION TO HIMSELF
UPON THE DEPARTURE OF
THE EXCELLENT SALLUST

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

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

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

άλγηδόνας ἀφαιρήσουσι τῶν ψυχῶν, εὐφροσύνης δὲ καὶ γαλήνης αἰτιοί καταστήσουται. καὶ γάρ
πως ἔοικεν ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη τῆς αὐτῆς κορυφής ἐξήθθαι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀλλήλαις ἀντιμιθή-
στασθαι. τῶν προσπιτάντων δὲ καὶ τὰ λίαν ἐργώδη φασίν οἱ σοφοὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι φέρειν
οὐκ ἑλάττωνα τῆς δυσκολίας τὴν εὐπάθειαν, ἐπει καὶ τὴν μέλιταν ἐκ τῆς δριμυτάτης πόας τῆς
περὶ τὸν ὶμηττὸν φυμένης γλυκείαν ἀνιμάσθαι δρόσου καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος εἶναι δημιουργοῦν. ἄλλα
καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὁσα μὲν ἤγεινα καὶ βουμαλέα
καθέσθηκεν, ύπο τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται σιτίων, Β
καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ δοκοῦτα πολλάκις ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ
ἀβλαβῆ μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἰχύδοις αἰτία
γέγονεν ὅσοι δὲ ποιηρῶς ἔχει φύσει καὶ τροφῇ
καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν πάντα βίον νοση-
λευμένοις, τούτοις καὶ τὰ κοὐφότατα βαρυτάτας
εἰσθε προστιθέναι βλάβας. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς δια-
νοίας ὅσοι μὲν οὐτῶς ἐπεμελήθησαν, ὡς μὴ
παμπονήρως ἔχειν, ἄλλ' ὑγιαίνεις μετρίως, εἰ
καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντισθένους καὶ Σωκράτους
ῥώμην μηδὲ τὴν Καλλισθένους ἄνδρείαν μηδὲ Σ
τὴν Πολέμωνος ἀπάθειαν, ἄλλ' ὅστε δύνασθαι
τὸ μέτριον ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις αἱρεῖσθαι, τυχὸν ἄν
καὶ ἐν δυσκολοτέροις εὐφραίνωιτο.

Ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς πείραν ἑμαυτὸν λαμβάνων,
ὅπως πρὸς τὴν σιν πορείαν ἔχω τε καὶ ἔξω,
τοσοῦτον ὄδυνήθην, ὅσον ὅτε πρῶτον τὸν ἑμαυτὸ
καθηγεμόνα κατέλιπον οἶκον πάντων γὰρ ἄθρως
εἰσήκε με μνήμη, τῆς τῶν πόνων κοινωνίας, ὃν
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 and succeed each other in turn. And philosophers assert that in all that befalls the wise man the very greatest trials afford him as much felicity as vexation; and thus, as they say, does the bee extract sweet dew from the bitterest herb that grows on Hymettus and works it into honey. Even so bodies that are naturally healthy and robust are nourished by any kind of food, and food that often seems unwholesome for others, far from injuring them, makes them strong. On the other hand, the slightest causes usually inflict very serious injuries on persons who by nature or nurture, or owing to their habits, have an unsound constitution and are lifelong invalids. Just so with regard to the mind: those who have so trained it that it is not altogether unhealthy but moderately sound, though it do not indeed exhibit the vigour of Antisthenes or Socrates, or the courage of Callisthenes, or the imperturbability of Polemon, but so that it can under the same conditions as theirs adopt the golden mean, they, I say, will probably be able to remain cheerful in more trying conditions.

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

1 Plato, *Phaedo* 60 B.  
2 Cf. *Oration* 2. 101 A.  
3 Mardonius.
καθαρᾶς ἐντεύξεως, τῆς ἄδολου καὶ δικαίας Δ ὀμίλιας, τῆς ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς καλοῖς κοινοπραγίας, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἱσορροποῦ τε καὶ ἀμεταμελήτου προθυμίας τε καὶ ὀρμῆς, ὡς μετ’ ἄλληλων ἐστημεν πολλάκις ἵσον θυμῶν ἔχοντες, ὁμότροποι καὶ ποθενοὶ φίλοι. πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῦς εἰσῆλθε με μνήμη τοῦ Ὅιώθη δ’ Ὀδυσσεύς· εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκεῖνο παραπλήσιος, ἐπεὶ σὲ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Ἐκτορά θεὸς ἧξηγαγεν ἐξω βελῶν, ὡς οἱ συνοφάνται πολλάκις ἀφήκαν ἐπὶ σέ, 242 μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἐμέ, διὰ σοῦ τρῶσαι βουλόμενοι, ταύτῃ μὲ μόνον ἀλώσιμον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ τοῦ πιστοῦ φίλου καὶ προθύμου συναπτικοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀπροφασίστου κοινοῦ τῆς συνουσίας στερήσειαν. οὐ μὲν ἔλαττον ὁμαί σε διὰ τοῦτο ἀλγεῖν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅτι σοι τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἔλαττον μέτεστιν, ἄλλα Β καὶ πλέον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δεδείναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς, μὴ τι πάθη. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐθέμην τὰ σά, καὶ σοῦ δὲ ὡμοίως ἔχοντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠσθόμην. ὅθεν εἰκότως καὶ μᾶλα δάκνωμαι, ὅτι σοι, τῶν ἄλλων ένεκα λέγειν δυναμένως.

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

άλλα τούτου μὲν ἐξ ἱσης, ὡς ἐοικε, κοινωνοῦμεν,
σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀλγῶν μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ αἰτὶ ποθῶν
ᵗʰᵉ ν σὺν συνουσίαν καὶ τῆς φιλίας μεμνημένος,
ἡν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγούμενος;

1 μόνος—φροντίδος Brambs regards as a verse; Hertlein prints as prose.
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," ⁵ 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, A despota fragmenta 430.
REiske supplies, lacuna Hertlein: after several words are lost.
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 ἐνδεής οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι. Οἱ μέλλοντες δίκαιοι τοῖς ἐμαυτῷ καρδίαιν, ἐς τίνα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται μοι λοιπὸν εὖνοι ἀποβλέψας φίλου; τίνος δὲ ἀνασκέψαι τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ καθαράς παράστασιν; τίς δὲ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει μὲν ἐμφρόνως, ἐπιτιμήσει δὲ μετ' εὐνοίας, ἐπιρρώσει δὲ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ χωρὶς αὐθαδείας καὶ τύφου, παραστάτεσται δὲ τὸ πικρὸν ύφελῶν τῶν λόγων, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν φαρμάκων ἃ ἀφαιροῦντες μὲν τὸ λίαν δυσχερές, ἀπολείποντες δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χρήσιμον; ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἐκ τῆς σής φιλίας ὁφέλος ἐκαρπωσάμην. τοσούτων δὲ ὁμοὶ ἐστηρημένοι, τίνων ἂν εὐπορήσαιμι λόγων, ὦ με, διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον σὰ τε μήδεα σὴν τε ἀγανοφροσύνην αὐτὴν προέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν κυνδυνεύοντα, πεῖσουσιν ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ φέρειν ὡςα δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενναίως; εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ ἔοικεν αὐτῷ νοὸν ὁ μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦθα οὕτω νυνί βουλεύσασθαι. τὸ ποτε οὖν ἄρα χρὴ διανοθέσεται καὶ τίνας ἐπρός εὑρόντα πεῖσαι πρῶς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυβομένην τὴν ψυχὴν; ἄρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλεξιδος εἰσὶ μυμητέοι λόγοι, λέγοι δὲ τᾶς ἐκ Θράκης ἐποδᾶς, ὡς Ἀθήναξε φέρων οἱ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ τῆς ὀδύνης ἱάσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔπάδευν ἥξιον τῷ καλῷ Χαρμίδῃ; ὡς τούτους μὲν ἄτε δὴ μείζως καὶ περὶ μείζωνον οὐ κινητέον, ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ.
TO SALLUST

been my only solace and delight, it is natural that I
am and have been cut to the very heart.¹ For in the
future to what friend can I turn as loyal as your-
self? With whose guileless and pure frankness shall
I now brace myself? Who now will give me prudent
counsel, reprove me with affection, give me strength
for good deeds without arrogance and conceit, and
use frankness after extracting the bitterness from
the words, like those who from medicines extract
what is nauseating but leave in what is really
beneficial?² These are the advantages that I reaped
from your friendship! And now that I have been
deprived of all these all at once, with what argu-
ments shall I supply myself, so that when I am in
danger of flinging away my life out of regret for
you and your counsels and loving kindness,³ they
may persuade me to be calm and to bear nobly
whatever God has sent?⁴ For in accordance with
the will of God our mighty Emperor has surely
planned this as all else. Then what now must
be my thoughts, what spells must I find to per-
suade my soul to bear tranquilly the trouble with
which it is now dismayed? Shall I imitate the
discourses of Zamolxis⁵—I mean those Thracian
spells which Socrates brought to Athens and de-
clared that he must utter them over the fair
Charmides before he could cure him of his head-
ache?⁶ Or must we leave these alone as being,
like large machinery in a small theatre, too lofty for

¹ Aristophanes, Acharnians 1; cf. 248 D.
² A commonplace; Plato, Laws 659 E; Julian, Caesars
314 c; Dio Chrysostom 33. 10; Themistius 63 B, 302 B;
Maximus of Tyre 10. 6.
⁴ Demosthenes, De Corona 97; cf. Julian, Epistle 53. 439 D.
⁵ Cf. Caesars 309 c note.
⁶ Plato, Charmides 156 D.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

μικρὸς μηχανὰς μεγάλας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν Β ἔργων, ὑπ' ἐπιθύμησα τὰ κλέα, φησιν ο ποιητής, ὁσπερ ἐν λειμώνος δρεμάμενοι ποικίλον καὶ 
πολυειδοὺς ἀνθῇ τὰ κάλλιστα ψυχαγωγήσομεν 

αὐτοὺς τοῖς διηγήμασι, μικρὰ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας 

αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες; ὁσπερ γὰρ οἰμαι τοῖς λίαν 

γλυκέσιν οἱ παρεγχέντες οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡστὸ ἀττά 

φάρμακά το προσκόρες αὐτῶν ἀφιροῦσιν, οὕτω 

τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἕνα προστιθέμενα 

τὸ δοκεῖν εἰς ἱστορίας ἄρχαίας ὀχλον ἐπεισάγειν, Κ 

οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ περιττὴν ἀδολεσχίαν ἀφαιρεῖται.

Τ' πρώτον; τ' δ' ἐπείτα; τ' δ' ὑστάτων κατα- 

λέξω;

πότερον ὡς ὁ Σκηπτίων ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῶν Λαίλιον ἁγαπήσας καὶ φιληθεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἵσω φυγῷ 

παρ' ἐκείνου τάλιν, ἢδεως μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆν, 

ἔπραττε δε οὐδέν, ὡς μὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖνος πυθοῖτο 

καὶ φήσειν εἰναι πρακτέον; ὡθεν οἰμαι καὶ λόγον 

παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπὸ φθόνον τὸν Σκηπτίωνα λοιδο- 

ροῦσιν, ὡς ποιητής μὲν ὁ Λαίλιος εἴη τῶν ἔργων, 

'Αφρικανὸς δὲ τοῦτον ὑποκρίτης. αὐτὴ τοι καὶ 

ἡμῖν ἡ φήμη πρόσκειται, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ δυχε- 

ραίνων ἱαίρω δὲ ἔπ' αὐτῇ πλέον, τὸ γὰρ τοῖς 

ὀρθῶς ὑπ' ἀλλου γνωσθεῖσι πεισθῆναι μείζονον 

ἀρετῆς 3. Ὁ Ζήνων ποιεῖται γνώρισμα τοῦ γνώναι 245 

τινα αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτοῦ τὰ δέοντα, την Ἡσιόδου 

μεθαρμόττων ῥήσιν.

Οὔτος μὲν πανάριστος, δε εὑ εἰπόντι πίθηται

1 πολυειδοὺς Cobet, πολυειδοὺς Hertlein, MSS.
2 οὐ μόνον οὐ δυχεραίνω χαίρω δὲ Hertlein suggests, cf.
37 B, 255 D; καὶ χαίρω 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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\(^1\) Iliad 9. 524. \(^2\) Odyssey 9. 14. \(^3\) Theocritus 12. 15. \(^4\) Hesiod, Works and Days 293, 295 ὅς ἀὑτῷ πάντα νοησί; Diogenes Laertius 7. 25.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

λέγων ἀντὶ τοῦ νοήσῃ πάνθ' ἐαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὖ
διὰ τοῦτο χαρίεν εἶναι δοκεῖ: πείθομαι γὰρ ἀληθε-
στερον μὲν Ἡσίόδου λέγειν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἄμενον
Πυθαγόραν, ὡς καὶ τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρέσχε τὴν
ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἔδωκε τῷ
βίῳ, οὗ δήποτε τὰ χρήματα λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως κοινωνίαν, ὡςθ'
ὅσα μὲν εὑρεσ αὐτῶς, οὐδὲν ἐλαττον ταῦτα τοῦ
πεισθέντος ἐστίν, ὡς δὲ τῶν σῶν ὑπερκρινόμην,
tούτων αὐτῶν εἰκότως τὸ ἵσον μετέχειν. ἀλλὰ
tαῦτα μὲν ὁποτέρου μᾶλλον ἀν φαίνηται, καὶ
θατέρῳ προσήκει, καὶ τοῖς βασκάνοις οὐδὲν ἐστιν
πλέον ἐκ τῶν λόγων.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑφραίμαν καὶ τὸν
Δαίλιον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνήρητο μὲν ἡ Καρχηδών
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λίβυν ἀπαίτα τῆς Ῥώμης Σ.
ἐγεγορεῖ δούλα, πέμπτε μὲν Ἑφραίμαν τὸν
Δαίλιον· ἀνήγετο δὲ ἐκεῖνος εὐαγγέλια τῇ πατρίδι
φέρων· καὶ ὁ Σκητήων ἦχθητο μὲν ἀπολειπόμενος
τοῦ φίλου, οὗ μὴν ἀπαραμύθητον αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος
φέτο. καὶ τὸν Δαίλιον δὲ δυσχεραίνειν εἰκός,
ἐπειδῆ μόνοις ἀνήγετο, οὐ μὴν ἀφόρητον ἐποιεῖτο
τὴν συμφοράν. ἐπλεί καὶ Κάτων ἀπολυτῶν οὐκο
τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων
καὶ Δημόκριτος οὐδένα παραλαμβάνεις κοινονόν
tῆς ὀδοῦ, καίτοι πολλοὶς οἴκοι τῶν φιλτάτων Δ
ἀπολυμπάνοντες. ἔστρατεύσατο καὶ Περικλῆς
ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμου οὐκ ἄγων τοῦ Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ τὴν
Εὐβοιαν παρεστήσατο ταῖς μὲν ἐκείνου βουλαῖς,
ἐπεπαίδευτο γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνο, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὐκ ἐφελ-
kόμενος ὥσπερ ἀλλο τὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὰς

1 καὶ θατέρῳ Hertlein suggests, θατέρῳ MSS. 24
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 ἄκουτα, φασίν, Ἄθηναιοι
tῆς πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀπέστησαν συνονοσίας.
ἀλλ’ ἐφερεν ὡς ἀνήρ ἐμφρων ὑν1 τὴν ἁνοιαν τὸν
αὐτὸν πολιτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πράσως. καὶ γὰρ
ἀνάγκη τῇ πατρίδι καθάπερ μὴτρὶ δικαίως μὲν οὐ,
χαλεπῶς δὲ ὁμοὶ ἤχουσι πρὸς τὴν συνονοσίαν
αὐτῶν, εἰκείν ἵετο χρήμα, ταῦτα, ὡς εἰκὸς,
λογιζόμενοι: ἄκουεν δὲ χρη τῶν ἔξης ὡς τοῦ
Περικλέους αὐτοῦ. 'Εμοι πόλεις μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ
πατρίς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φίλοι θεοί καὶ δαίμονες
καὶ πάντες ὦσοι καὶ ὅποιον2 σπουδαῖοι. χρῆ Β
δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐ3 γεγόναμεν τιμᾶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο
θεῖος ἐστὶ νόμος, καὶ πείθεσθαι γε ὡς ἄν ἐπιτάττῃ
καὶ μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ, ὃ φησιν ἡ παροιμία,
πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν: ἀπαραίτητον γὰρ ἐστὶ
tὸ λεγόμενον ἅγιον τῆς ἀνάγκης. οὐ μὴν ὀδυρτέον
οὐδὲ θρηνητέον ἐφ’ ὦσι ἐπιτάττει τραχύτερον,
ἄλλα τὸ πράγμα λογιστέον αὐτό. νῦν ἀπαλλάτ-
tεσθαι τὸν 'Αναξαγόραν ἅφ’ ἡμῶν κελεύει, καὶ Ω
τὸν ἄριστον οὐκ ὄψομεθα τῶν ἐταίρων, δι’ ὅν
ἡχθόμην μὲν τῇ νυκτί, ὅτι μοι τὸν φίλον οὐκ
ἐδείκνυεν, ἥμερα δὲ καὶ ἥλιο χάριν ἠπιστάμην,
ὅτι μοι παρεῖχεν ὅρᾶν οὐ μάλιστα ἦρων. ἅλλ’
ei μὲν ὀμματά σοι δέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, οὐ Ἄριν
μόνον ὅσπερ τοῖς θηρίοις,4 οὐδὲν ἀπεικός ἐστί
σε διαφερόντως ἀχθεσθαι: ei δὲ σοι ψυχὴν ἐνέ-

1 ὧν Hertlein would add.
2 ὅποιον Cobet, ὅποιον Hertlein, MSS.
3 τὴν οὐ Hertlein suggests, οὐ MSS.
4 θηρίοις Cobet, ὅρνισιν Hertlein, MSS.

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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.
πνευσέ καὶ νοῦν ἐνήκεν, ὑφ’ οὗ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν γεγενημένων καίτερ όψιν παρόντα υἱὸν ὀρᾶς διὰ τῆς μνήμης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ὁ λογισμὸς ἀνευρίσκων ὡστερ οὐμασίων ὡρὰν προσβάλλει τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων οὐ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἡ φαντασία μόνον ἀποτυπωμένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κρίνειν καὶ καθοράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω καὶ μυρίσαν σταδίων ἀπωκισμένα τῶν γενομένων παρὰ πόδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 247 δείκνυσιν ἐναργέστερον, τὶ χρή τοσοῦτον ἀνασθαί καὶ σχετικῶς φέρειν; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ μοι,

Νοῦς ὅρη καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει

φησίν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὕτως ὃς χρήμα καὶ τάχει χρώμενον ἀμηχάνος, ὡς ὁταν τινὰ τῶν δαιμόνων Ὄμηρος ἔθελη κεχρημένον ἀπίστω τορείας ἐπι- δείξαι τάχει,

'Ως δ’ ὁτ’ ἀν αἴξη νύσσος ἀνέρος

φησὶ. τούτῳ τοιχ χρώμενος βάστα μὲν Ἀθῆνηθεν Β ὁφει τὸν ἐν Ἰωνία, βάστα δὲ ἐκ Κελτῶν τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυρίωι καὶ Θράκη, καὶ τὸν ἐν Κελτῶι ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Ἰλλυρίῳ. καὶ γὰρ οὖθ’, ὡστερ τοῖς φυτοῖς οὐκ ἐνι σώζεσθαι τὴν συνήθη χώραν μεταβάλλουσι, ὅταν ἡ τῶν ὄρων ἡ κράσις ἐναντία, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει τῶν ἐκ τῶν μεταβάλλουσιν ἡ διαφθείρεσθαι παντελῶς ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἀμείβει καὶ μετατίθεσθαι περὶ ὅν ὀρθῶς πρόσθεν εὖνόκεσαν. οὐκοιν οὔτε τὴν εὐνοιαν Σ ἀμβλυτέραν ἔχειν εἰκός, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγατᾶν.
breathed into you a soul, and implanted in you intelligence by means of which you now behold in memory many past events, though they are no longer before you: and further since your reasoning power discovers many future events and reveals them as it were to the eyes of your mind; and again your imagination sketches for you not only those present events which are going on under your eyes and allows you to judge and survey them, but also reveals to you things at a distance and many thousand stades removed more clearly than what is going on at your feet and before your eyes, what need is there for such grief and resentment? And to show that I have authority for what I say, 'The mind sees and the mind hears,' says the Sicilian; and mind is a thing so acute and endowed with such amazing speed that when Homer wishes to show us one of the gods employing incredible speed in travelling he says: 'As when the mind of a man darts swiftly.' So if you employ your mind you will easily from Athens see one who is in Ionia; and from the country of the Celts one who is in Illyria or Thrace; and from Thrace or Illyria one who is in the country of the Celts. And moreover, though plants if removed from their native soil when the weather and the season are unfavourable cannot be kept alive, it is not so with men, who can remove from one place to another without completely deteriorating or changing their character and deviating from the right principles that they had before adopted. It is therefore unlikely that our affection will become blunted, if indeed we do not love and

1 The Attic stade = about 600 feet.
2 Epicharmus fr. 13.
3 Iliad 15. 80.
καὶ στέργειον ἐπεται γὰρ ὑπὸς μὲν κόρῳ, ἔρως δὲ ἐνδεία. καὶ ταῦτη τοῖνυν ἔξωμεν βέλτιον, ἐπιτεινομένης ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας, καθέξωμεν τὲ ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν διανοίαις ἱδρυμένους διστερ ἀγάλματα. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, ἀνθίσ ἔκεινος ὠφεται ἐμὲ κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ ἀμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους, οὐ χί σαρκία καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μορφῆς τύπωμα, στέρνα τε ἐξεικασμένα πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον σώματος· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο κωλύει τυχὸν οὔτεν ταῖς διανοίαις ἡμῶν ἐμφαίνομαι: ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὅμιλις καὶ τὰς ἑντεύξεις, ὡς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετ’ ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμοῦσως ὑμνοῦντες παιδεῖαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα νοῦν τὰ θυητὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ περὶ πολυτείας καὶ νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτη- δεμάτων διεξίατε, ὡσα γε ἡμῖν ἐπῆει τοῦτον μεμημένου. ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες, τοῦτος πρεσβέμενοι τοῖς εἰδόλοις τυχὸν οὐκ ὑνείρων νυκτέρων ἱνάλαμασι προσέξομεν οὔτε κενὰ καὶ μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νῷ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράσεως αἰσθητικὸς διακει- μένη. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὴν παραληψάσθη χρῆ ᾧν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖςθαι ἀλλ’ ἑν ροι ὑποφυγὸν αὐτὴν ὁ νοῦς ἐμμελετησθεὶ τοῦτος πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεδρισθοῦν τῶν ἀσωμάτων

1 ἐπηε: 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. τίκτει τοι κόρος ὑπριν, διὰν κακῷ ὀλβος ἐπηται.
2 Euripides, Phoenicisae 165, μορφῆς τύπωμα στέρνα τ' ἐξηκασμένα.
3 Nauck, Adespota trag. frag. 108.
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diegeirómevos: ὃ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνεσιν, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀποφυγόντα καὶ διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ δεόμενα τόπου ὅραν τε καὶ αἱρεῖν πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοις ἀξίως βεβίωται τῆς τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοούντες αὐτὴν καὶ συναπτόμενοι.

'Αλλ' ο ημέν Περικλῆς, άτε δὴ μεγαλόφρων ἀνήρ καὶ τραφεῖς ἐλευθέρος εἰν ἐλευθέρα τῇ πόλει, οὐ γεγονὼς ἐκ τῶν οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσίν ἀνθρωπικότερος ἐμαυτῶν θεός καὶ παράγων λόγοις, καὶ τὸ λίσσαν πικρῶν ἀφαιρῶ τῆς λύπης, πρὸς ἑκαστὸν τῶν ἀεὶ μοι προσπιπτόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος δυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἀτόπων φαντασμάτων ἐφαρμόζειν τίνα παραμυθίαν πειρόμενος, ὅστε στὸ στήριν δήματι δάκνοντος αὐτὴν ἔσω τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας. ἐκείνῳ τοι πρῶτον ἐστὶ μοι τῶν φαυνομένων δυσχερῶν. νῦν ἂγω μόνον ἀπολελείψομαι καθαρᾶς ἐνένεις ὀμιλίας καὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ μοι τέως ὅτῳ διαλέξομαι θαρρῶν ὀμοίως. πότερον οὖν οὐδὲ ἐμαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι ὁμοῖοι ἐστὶ μοι; ἀλλ' ἀφαιρήσεται μὲ τις καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν καὶ προσαναγκάσει νοεῖν ἑτερα καὶ θαυμάξειν παρ' ἀ νεόλομαι; ἡ τούτο μὲν ἑστὶ τέρας ἡδὴ καὶ προσόμοιον τῷ γράφειν ἐφ' ὑδατος καὶ τῷ λίθων ἔφει καὶ τῷ ἀπαμένων ὀρνίθων ἐρευνάν ἤχυν τῆς πτήσεως; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἡμῶν οὕδεσ ἀφαιρεῖται, συνεσύμβα μήτην υποθήσεται αὐτοὶ πῶς ἐναιτοῦ, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ δαίμον ὑποθήσεται τῷ χρηστῶν οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ἐαυτῶν 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,¹ must beguile and console myself with arguments more human; and thus I assuage the excessive bitterness of my sorrow, since I constantly endeavour to devise some comfort for the anxious and uneasy ideas which keep assailing me as they arise from this event, like a charm against some wild beast that is gnawing into my very vitals² and my soul, And first and foremost of the hardships that I shall have to face is this, that now I shall be bereft of our guileless intercourse and unreserved conversation. For I have no one now to whom I can talk with anything like the same confidence. What, you say, cannot I easily converse with myself? Nay, will not some one rob me even of my thoughts, and besides compel me to think differently, and to admire what I prefer not to admire? Or does this robbery amount to a prodigy unimaginable, like writing on water or boiling a stone,³ or tracing the track of the flight of birds on the wing? Well then since no one can deprive us of our thoughts, we shall surely commune with ourselves in some fashion, and perhaps God will suggest some alleviation. For it is not likely that he who entrusts himself to God will be utterly

¹ Iliad 5. 304. ² Cf. 243 c. ³ Two familiar proverbs.
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παντάπασιν ἀμεληθῆναι καὶ καταλειφθῆναι παντελῶς ἔρημων ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς χείρα ἐν ὑπερέσχε καὶ θάρσος ἐνδίδωσι ¹ καὶ μένος ἐμπνεῖ B καὶ τὰ πρακτέα τίθησιν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ τῶν μὴ πρακτέων ἀφίστησιν. εἴπετο τοι καὶ Σωκράτει δαίμονία φωνὴ κολύουσα πράττειν ὅσα μὴ χρεοῦ ἢν φησὶ δέ καὶ ὁμηρὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως ὑπ' ἀγάμοις τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ δήκεν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐννοιὰς ἥμων ἐγείροντος, ὅταν ἐπιστρέψας ὁ νοῦς εἰς εαυτὸν αὐτῷ τε πρὸτερον ἐξουγήνηται καὶ τῷ θεῷ δι' εαυτοῦ μόνου, κωλύμενος ὑπ' οὐδένος. οὐ γὰρ C ἀκοῆς ὁ νοῦς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ θεὸς φωνῆς πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι τὰ δέοντα. ἀλλ' αἰσθήσεως ἐξω πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ μετονοσία γίνεται τῷ νῷ τίνα μὲν τρόπον καὶ ὅπως οὐ σχολὴ νῦν ἐπεξείναι, τὸ δ' ὅτι γίνεται δήλον ² καὶ σαφεὶς οἱ μάρτυρος, οὐκ ἀδοξοῖ τινές οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἄξιοι τάττεσθαι μερίδι, ἀλλὰ D τῶν ἀπενεγκαμένων ἐπὶ σοφία τὰ πρωτεῖα. ³

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ χρή προσδοκᾶν καὶ θεὸν ἥμων παρέσεσθαι πάντως καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς συνέσεθαι, τὸ λαῖν δυσχερές ἀφαιρετέον ἐστὶ τῆς λύπης. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὄδυσσεα μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καθειργμένον ἐπτὰ τοὺς πάντας ἐνιαυτούς, εἰτ' ὀδυρόμενον, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐπαινῶν καρτερίας, τῶν θρήνοι δὲ οὐκ ἄγαμαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄφελος πόντον ἐπ' 250 ἰχθυόνετα δέρκεσθαι καὶ λείβειν δάκρυα; τὸ

¹ ἐνδίδωσι Hertlein suggests, δίδωσι MSS.
² δήλον Cobet, δήλοι Hertlein, MSS.
³ πρωτεῖα Cobet, πρώτα Hertlein, MSS.
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\(^4\) too, who was imprisoned on the island for all those seven years and then bewailed his lot, I applaud him for his fortitude on other occasions, but I do not approve those lamentations. For of what avail was it for him to gaze on the fishy sea and shed

\(^1\) Iliad 9. 420. \\
\(^2\) Iliad 1. 55. \\
\(^3\) The Megarians on inquiring their rank among the Greeks from the Delphic oracle were told that they were not in the reckoning at all, ὅμεισ ὅ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἄριθμῳ ; cf. Theocritus 14. 47. \\
\(^4\) Cf. Dio Chrysostom 13. 4, Arnim.
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δὲ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ’ ἀπαγορεῦσαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα μέχρις ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι πόνων2 καὶ κινδύνων, τούτῳ ἐμοιγε φαίνεται μείζων ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον. οὐ δὴ δίκαιον ἐπαίνειν μὲν αὐτοῦς, μὴ μιμεῖσθαι δὲ, οὐδὲ νομίζειν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὁ θεὸς προθύμως συνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ νῦν περιόρθεται Β τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁρῶν ἀντιτητουμένους, δι' ἦπερ ἀρα κάκεινοι ἔχαρεν· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ τοι τὸν Νιρέα μᾶλλον ἔχρην ἁγα- πᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἱσχύν, ἀπείρῳ γὰρ ὅσω Δαιστρυγόνες καὶ Κύκλωπες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ κρεῖτ- τους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, οὐτω γὰρ ἦν ἐμείνεν ἀπόρθητος Τροία. τί δὲ δεῖ πρᾶγματα ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἐπιζητοῦντα τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἂν Ὅδυσσέα φησίν ὁ ποιητὴς θεοφιλή, αὐτοῦ γε ἐξού ἀκούειν; C

Οὔνεκς ἐπητῆς ἐσσι καὶ ἀγχύνως καὶ ἐχέφρων.

δῆλον οὖν ὡς, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ταῦτα προσδέχοντο, τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ ἐλλείψει τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα πάλαι ποτὲ Λακεδαιμονίων χρησμὸν καλούμενος-γε καὶ ἀκλητος ὁ θεὸς παρέσται.

Τοῦτοις ἐμαντοῦ ψυχαγωγῆς ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ D μέρος ἀπειμὶ πάλιν, ὦ δοκεὶ τῇ μὲν ἄληθείᾳ μικρὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δόξαν δὲ ὅμως οὐκ ἀγεννέοι. Ὁμήρου τοῦ φασὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, οὐ δήπου συνόντος, ἀλλὰ κηρύττοντος ὄσπερ Ἀχιλ- λέα καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Ἀιαντας ἄμφω καὶ τὸν

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

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

1 *Odyssey* 5. 84  
2 *Iliad* 2. 673.  
3 *Odyssey* 10. 119 foll.  
4 *Odyssey* 13. 332.  
5 Cf *Oration* 6. 201 c; Thucydides 1. 118.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

"Αντίλοχου. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπερορῶν ἀεὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἐφιήμενος δὲ τῶν ἀπόντων οὐκ ἡγάπα τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτὸν οὐδὲ ἢρκεῖτο τοῖς δοθεῖσιν καὶ εἴπερ ἐτυχεὶν Ὀμήρου, τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἵσως ἀν 251 ἐπόθησε λύραν, ἦ τοῖς Πηλέως ἐκείνος ἐφύμησε γάμοις, οὗ τῆς Ὀμήρου συνέσεως τούτο πλάσμα νομίσας, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖς ἔργον ἐνυφανθέν τοῖς ἐπεσιν, ὅστερ οἶμαι τὸ

'Ἡδον κροκόπτο αναδύνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν καὶ

'Ἡλιος δ' ἀνόροουσε καὶ

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

'Αλλὰ τῷ μὲν εἴτε μέγεθος ἀρετῆς ὑπέρέχον B καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῶς ἐλάττων σύνεσις εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ψυχῆν ἐξῆγεν, ὥστε μειζόνων ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρέγεσθαι, εἰθ' ὑπερβολῆ τις ἀνδρείας καὶ θάρσους εἰς ἀλαξοείαν ἀγουσα καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδειαν βλέπουσα, ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν ἐν καὐῳ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαινεῖν ἡ ψέγειν αὐτῶν, εἰ τὶς ἀρά καὶ ταύτης ὑπολαμβανεὶ τῆς μερίδος προσήκειν ἐκεῖνο. ἤμεις δὲ τοῖς παρούσιν ἀγαπῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἡκιστα μεταποιοῦμενοι στέργομεν μὲν, ὅπως τὸν κήρυξ

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

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

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

¹ Iliad 24. 63. ² Iliad 8. 1. ³ Odyssey 3. 1. ⁴ Odyssey 19. 172.
ἐπαινή, θεατής τε καὶ συναγωνιστὴς πάντων ἡμῶν γεγονός, μὴ τοὺς λόγους παραδεξάμενος εἰς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν εἰκῆ πεπλασμένους: ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φιλεῖν ὀμολογῶν μόνον, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα σωτη- λότερος ὅν καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρα τελεσθέντων.

'Ενταῦθα ὑπέρχεται μοι καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενον, Δ ὡς οὐκ εἰς 'Ιλλυρίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θράκας ἀφίξῃ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκείνην οἷκοιν- τας Ἐλλήνας, ἐν οἷς γενομένῳ μοι καὶ τραφέντι πολὺς ἐντετικαν ἔρως ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων καὶ πόλεων. ἦσος δὲ οὗ φαίλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἐναπο- λέπιται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔρως ἡμῶν, οἷς εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι τὸ λεγόμενον ἀσπάσιοι ἐλθὼν ἄν γένοιο, δικαλαν 252 ἁμνῆν ἀντιδίδουσι αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὅν ημᾶς ἀπολε- λουτας ἐνθάδε. καὶ τούτο μὲν οὐχ ὃς εὐχόμενος· ἐπεί τὸ γε ἱέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ταχέως ἀμεινόν· ἀλλ' ὃς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἔξων οὐκ ἀπαραμνηθῆτωσι οὐδὲ ἁγναχαγωγήτως εὖνω, συγχαίρων ἐκείνους, ὅτι σὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ὄψονται. Κελτοῖς γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν ἤδη διὰ σὲ συντάττω, ἀνδρὰ εἰς τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἐλλήνων τελοῦντα καὶ κατ' εὐνομίαν καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ῥητορεῖαν Β ἀκρον καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπειρον, ἃς Ἐλληνες μόνοι τὰ κράτιστα μετελημύθασι, λόγῳ τάληθες, ὡστερ οὕν πέφυκε, θηρεύσαντες, οὐκ ἀπίστως μύθοις οὐδὲ παραδόξῳ τερατείᾳ προσέχειν ἡμᾶς, ὡστερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔσαντες.
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 consola-
tion, 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

'Αλλὰ καὶ τούτο μὲν ὡς ποτὲ ἔχει, ταύτιν ἀφείσθω. σὲ δὲ προπέμπειν ἣδη γὰρ ἄξιον μετ' εὐφημίας: ἄγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενής, οἵτινες ποτ' ἂν δὲν πορεύεσθαι, Ἐνίος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος Σ εὔνους, ἄγοι τε διὰ γῆς ἀσφαλῶς: κἂν πλεῖν δὲ, στορεινύσθω τὰ κύματα. πάσι δὲ φανείς φίλος καὶ τίμιος, ἣδος μὲν προσώ, ἀλγεινὸς δὲ ἀπολει- πὼν αὐτοὺς: στέργων δὲ ἡμᾶς ἢκιστα ποθήσειας ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου καὶ φίλου πιστοῦ κοινωνίαν. εὐμενῆ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σοι θεὸς ἀποφήμειε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν διδοίη, καὶ τὴν Δ οἰκάδε παρ' ἡμᾶς πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ παράσκευάζου καὶ ταχείαν.

Ταύτα σοι μετὰ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεύχομαι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις

Οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαίρε, θεοῦ δέ τοι ὀλβία δοῦν, Νοστήσαι οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
TO SALLUST

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

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

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

On the strength of his Aristotelian “Paraphrases” Themistius may be called a scholar, though hardly a philosopher as he himself claimed. Technically he was a Sophist: that is to say he gave public lectures (ἐπίδειξεις), 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 \(^1\) and styled himself a practical philosopher.\(^2\) He was indifferent to the Neo-Platonic philosophy,\(^3\) and, since Constantius made him a Senator, he cannot have betrayed any zeal for the Pagan religion. From Julian’s Pagan restoration he seems to have held aloof, and, though Julian had been his pupil, probably at Nicomedia, he did not appoint him to any office. Under the Christian Emperor Theodosius he held a prefecture. There is no evidence for a positive coolness, such as Zeller\(^4\) assumes, between Themistius and Julian, and we know too little of their relations to assert with some critics that the respectful tone of this letter is ironical.\(^5\) It was probably written after Julian had

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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.

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become Emperor, though there is nothing in it that would not suit an earlier date; it is sometimes assigned to 355 when Julian was still Caesar. The quotations from Aristotle are appropriately addressed to Themistius as an Aristotelian commentator.
'Εγώ σοι βεβαιώσαι μέν, ὃστερ ὅν ὑπαγεῖς, τὰς ἐπίδας καὶ σφόδρα εὐχομαι, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ διαμάρτω, μείζονος οὕσης τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἢν ὑπέρ ἐμοῦ πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαυνάς καὶ ἐτι μᾶλλον πρὸς σεαυτόν ποιή· καὶ μοι πάλαι μὲν οἰσομένῳ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκον, καὶ εἶ τις ἄλλος γέγονεν ἁρετῆ διαφέρων, εἶναι Β τὴν ἀμφιλαν φρίκη τις προσήκε καὶ δεός θαυμαστόν, μὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι παντελῶς τῆς ἀνδρείας δόξῳ, τοῦ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἁρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπὶ οὐλίγον ἐφίκωμαι. εἰς ταύτα ἄφορὼν ἀνεπειθόμην τὴν σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ τῶν 'Αττικῶν διαίτημάτων ἀυτὸς τε ἡδέως ἐμεμνήμην καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ὑμῖν προσάδειν ἡξίον, ὡστερ οἱ τὰ βαρέα φορτία φέροντες ἐν ταῖς ἀθάναις ἐπικοινώνοντα ἀυτοῖς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν. σὺ δὲ μοι νῦν μείζον ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς ἐναγχος ἐπιστολῆς τὸ δέος καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἔδειξας, ἐν ταύτῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετάχθαι με τῇ μερίδι λέγων, εὖ ἐπὶ πρῶτον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διὸνυσος ἐγενέσθην φιλοσοφοῦντες ὅμοι 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.
σχεδὸν τῆς ἐπιπολαξούσης κακίας ἀνακαθαίρο- 254
μενοι γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. κελεύεις δὲ πᾶσαν ἀποσεισάμενον σχολής ἐννοιαν καὶ ῥαστώνης
σκοπεῖν, ὅπως τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἄξιως ἀγωνιούμεθα·
eίτα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν νομοθετῶν μέμνησαι, Σόλωνος,
Πιττακοῦ, Λυκούργου, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μεί-
ζονα χρήναι παρ' ἡμῶν λέγεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν
dίκῃ νῦν περιμένειν. τούτοις ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις
eντυχὼν ἐξεπλάγην μικροῦ· σοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμ-
βανον οὐδαμῶς θεμίτων κολακεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι,
ἐμαυτῷ δὲ συνειδῶς φύσεως μὲν ἕνεκα διαφέρουν
οὐδὲν οὐτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐτε νῦν ὑπάρξαν, φιλο-
σοφίας δὲ ἐρασθέντι μόνον τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ σιγῶ
τύχας, αὐτοῖς τὸν ἔρωτα τούτων ἀτελῆ τέως
εὕφυλαξαν· οὐκ εἶχον οὖν ὅ, τι χρῆ περὶ τῶν
tοιούτων λόγων συμβαλείν, ἔως ἐπὶ νῦν ἤγαγεν
ὁ θεός, μή ποτε ἄρα προτρέπειν θέλεις διὰ τῶν Ο
ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων δεῖξαι τὸ μέγεθος, οὐς
ἀνάγκη πάσα τὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ ζῶντα παραβεβλη-
σθαι τὸν ἀπάντα χρόνον.
Τούτο δὲ ἀποτρέποντός ἐστι πλέον ἢ πρὸς τῶν
βίουν παρορμῶντος. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰ τις τὸν πορθὲμὸν
tὸν παρ' ὑμῖν πλέων καὶ οὐδὲ τούτων βάδίως οὐδὲ
εὐκόλως ὑφιστάμενος ἀκούοι παρὰ τοὺς μαντικῆς
ἐπαγγελλομένου τέχνην, ὡς χρεὼν αὐτὸν τὸν D
Ἁγαίον ἀναμετρῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιου καὶ τῆς ἐξω
θαλάσσης ἄφασθαι, καὶ “Νῦν μὲν” ὀρᾶτο τοὺς
φήτης λέγοι “τείχῃ καὶ λιμένας, ἐκεὶ 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 ὄψει, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ ναῦν πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσεπείν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, καὶ τῆς γῆς ὄψε ποτε ἀψάμενος, τῷ θεῷ πολλάκις προσεύξη, πρὸς αὐτῷ γοῦν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βλου τυχεὶν ὄρμου καὶ τῆν τε ναῦν σώαν 255 παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπαθεῖς τοῖς οἰκείοις κακῶς παραστήσαι καὶ τὸ σώμα τῇ μητρὶ γῇ δοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐσόμενον ἱσως ἀδήλου ἔσται σοι μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἡμέρας· ἀρ’ οἷς τούτων ἀκούσαντα τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων πόλιν γ’ ἄν 1 οἰκεῖων ἐλέσθαι πλησίον θαλάσσης, οὐχὶ δὲ χαίρειν εὐπόντα πλούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμπορίας ἀγαθοῖς περιγυμνομένοις, γνωρίμων πολλῶν, ἕνικης φιλίας, ἱστορίας ἑθῶν καὶ πόλεων Β ὑπεριδόντα σοφῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, ὅσ κελεύει λαθεῖν βιώσαντα; καὶ σὺ δὲ ἐσικας τοῦτο καταμαθῶν προκαταλαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς ταῖς εἰς τὸν Ἕπικουρον λοιδορίαις καὶ προεξάρειν τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην. φῃς γὰρ που σχολὴν ἐπανεῖν ἀπράγμονα καὶ διαλέξεις ἐν περιπάτοις προσήκειν ἐκείνῳ· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐ καλῶς Ἕπικουρῷ C ταῦτα ἐδόκει, πόλαι καὶ σφόδρα πείθομαι· εἰ δὲ πάνθ’ ὄντινον ἐπὶ πολιτείαν προτρέπειν ἀξίουν, καὶ τὸν ἤττον πεφυκότα καὶ τὸν οὔπω τελέως δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἱσως διαπορήσαι χρή, λέγουσι γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸν Ἐωκράτη τολλοὺς μὲν ὃν σφόδρα εὐφυῶς 2 ἔχουντα ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ βήματος,

1 γ’ ἀν Hertlein suggests, γοῦν MSS.
2 εὐφυῶς Reiske adds.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

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

1 Epicurus; his advice was ἀθεὶ βιώσας.

2 Literally “from the βῆμα,” i.e. the stone on the Pnyx from which the Athenian orator addressed the people.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

καὶ Γλαύκωνα ἐκεῖνον, Ἐννοφῶν λέγει: τὸν δὲ τοῦ Κλεινίου παῖδα πειραθῆναι μὲν ἐπισχείν, οὐ δυνηθῆναι δὲ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ νεανίσκου τῆς ὁρμῆς: ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄκονται καὶ ἑξυνέται αὐτῶν προσαναγκάσομεν, θαρρεῖν ύπὲρ τηλικούτων ἔργων κελεύοντες, διὸν οὐκ ἄρετῆ μόνον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ προαίρεσις ὀρθῇ κυρίᾳ, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τύχη κρατοῦσα πανταχοῦ καὶ βιαζομένη ρέτειν ὑπὲρ δὲ θέλη τὰ πράγματα; Ἡρύσππος δὲ δοκεῖ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ νομοθῆκαί δικαίως, ἀγνοήσας δὲ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτομάτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτίας τοιαύτας ἐξωθέν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς παρεμπιπτοῦσας οὐ σφόδρα ὀμολογούμενα λέγειν οἷς ὁ χρόνος ἦμας διὰ μυρίων ἑναργῶς διδάσκει παραδειγμάτων. τοὺ γὰρ εὐτυχῆ καὶ μακάριον Κάτωνα φήσομεν; τοὺ δὲ Δίωνα τὸν Σικελιώτην εὐδαιμονα; οἷς τοῦ μὲν ἀποδανείων ἐμελεῖν ἵςος οὐδὲν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λέπτειν ἄτελείς ταῖς προάξεις, ἐφ' ὅς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρμησαν, καὶ σφόδρα Β ἐμελεῖ, καὶ πάντα ἂν εἴλοντο παθεῖν υπὲρ τοῦτον. σφαλέστε δὲ ἐν ἑκεῖνοις εἰ μὲν εὔσχημον οἶς ἐφερον, ὡσπερ οὖν λέγεται, τὴν τύχην παραμυθίαν ἐσχοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μικρὰν, εὐδαιμονεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἂν λέγοις τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων δυσμαρτηκότες, πλὴν ἵςος διὰ τὴν Ἑττοκήν ἐνιασίων πρὸς ἦν ῥητέου, ὡς οὖ ταυτόν ἐστὶν ἐπανεισθαί καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ φύσει τὸ ἥέν εὐδαιμονίας ὀρέγεται, κρείττον εἶναι τὸ κατ' Ω

1 καὶ Γλαύκωνα . . . λέγει: τὸν δὲ Wytttenbach, Γλαύκωνα δὲ ἐκεῖνον ὧν Εννοφῶν λέγει, καὶ τὸν Hertlein, MSS.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

Glaucông 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.
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εκείνην μακαριστὸν τέλος τοῦ κατ’ ἁρετὴν ἐπαινετοῦ. ἦκιστα δὲ φιλεῖ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἡ βεβαιῶσις τῆς τ责任制 πιστεύει, καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολειτείᾳ ζῶντας οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἀνευ ταύτης ἀναπνεῖν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον 1. ἀληθῶς θεωροῦμες εἴτε καὶ πεποίηκασι καὶ στρατηγὸν λόγῳ, 2 καθάπερ οἱ τὰς ἰδέας εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς ξυνιθέντες, ἐν τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἱδρύσατι ποὺ τῶν τυχαίων ὑπεράνω πάντων, ἢ τὸν Διογένους ἐκείνον

"Ἀπολιν, ἀοικον, πατρίδος ἐστερημένον,... D

οὐκ ἔχοντα μὲν εἰς ὅστι παρ' ἀυτῆς εὗ πάθη καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐν τῶν σφαλῆς τοῦτον δὲ δὲν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθε καὶ"Ομηρος πρῶτος,

"Ομι λαοὶ τ’ ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν,

πῶς ἂν τις ἔξω τύχης ὑπαγαγὼν τὴν θέσιν φύλασσοι; πάλιν δ’ ὁ αὐτῶν ὑποτιθεῖς ταύτη πόσης 257 αὐτῶς δεῖν οὖστεται παρασκευής 3 καὶ φρονήσεως πηλίκης ὅστε τὰς ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα ῥοπῆς, καθάπερ πνεύματος κυβερνήτῃν, εὐσχημόνως φέρειν;

Οὐκ ἔστι θαυμαστὸν ἀντιτάξασθαι προσπολεμοῦσι μόνον αὐτῆς, πολὺ δὲ θαυμασιώτερον 4 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον φανῆναι. τοῦτος οἱ μέγιστος εάλω βασιλεὺς ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν

1 After λεγόμενον several words are lost.
2 λόγῳ Reiske, λόγοι Hertlein, MSS.
3 παρασκευής Hertlein would read, τῆς παρασκευής 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.
\(^3\) *Iliad* 2. 25.  
\(^4\) Alexander.
καταστρεψάμενος Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου χαλεπῶς Β
teros καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζῶν φανεῖς, ἐπειδή τῆς
ἐκεῖνων ἀρχῆς κατέστη κύριος, τούτους ἀλόντες
tois βέλεσιν ἄρδην ἀπόλολοντο Πέρσαι, Μακεδόνες,
ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμος, Συρακούσιοι, τὰ Δακεδαι-
mονίων τέλη, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς
αὐτοκράτορες μυρίοι. πολὺ μήκος ἂν γένοιτο
πάντας ἀπαριθμούμενῳ τοὺς διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ
νίκας καὶ τροφῆν ἀπολομένους· ὅσοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
dυσπραγιῶν ἐπικλυσθέντες δοῦλοι μὲν ἄντ᾽ ἔλευ-
θέρων, ταπεινοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ γενναίων καὶ σφόδρα
eὐτελεῖς ἀντὶ τῶν πρόσθεν σεμνῶν ἀπασιν ὁ-
φθησαν, τί μὲ χρή νῦν ὡσπερ ἐκ δέλτων μεταγρά-
φοντα καταλέγειν; εἴ γὰρ ὥφελεν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
pων βίος ἀπορεῖν παραδειγμάτων τοιούτων. ἄλλῳ
οὔτε ἐστὶν οὔτ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο ποτὲ τῶν τοιοῦτων
ἐνδεχὴς παραδειγμάτων, ἕως ἂν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
dιαμένῃ γένος:
"Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ πλείστον Δ
ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις κρατεῖν νενόμικα, λέγοιμ' ἂν
ἡδη σοι τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων
Νόμων, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ διδάξατε με, ἀπὸδειξῆς δὲ
ὡσπερ τοῦ μὴ ῥᾴδυμεν ποιοῦμενος παραγέγραφά
σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ὅδὲ πως ἔχουσαν. "Θεὸς μὲν
πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώ-
pων διακύβερνόσι εὖμπαντα. ἤμερώτερον μὴν
τούτως συγχωρῆσαι τρίτων δείν ἔπεσθαι τέχνην." 258
εἶτα ὁποίον εἶναι χρή τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν
tῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ Βασίλεα θείου ὁ πο-
γράφων "Γινώσκων ὁ Κρόνος ἁρα, καθάπερ
ἡμεῖς, φησὶ, διελθῇμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσις
1 θείων Ηρτλεϊν suggests, θείων 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.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

οὐδὰμὴν οὐδεμία ἱκανὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διοικόνσα

αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα μὴ οὐχ ὦβρεώς τε καὶ ἀδικίας

μεστοῦσθαι, ταῦτ' οὖν διανοούμενος ἐφίστη τότε Β

βασιλέας καὶ ἀρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν οὐκ

ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θειοτέρου καὶ ἁμείνους,

δαίμονας, οἷον νῦν ἡμεῖς δρῶμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ

ὁσον ἡμεροὶ εἰσιν ἀγέλαιν: οὐ βοῦς βοῦν οὐδὲ αἴγας

αἰγῶν ἀρχοντας ποιούμεν αὐτοῖς τινας, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς

αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἁμείνων εἰκίνων γένος. ταυτοῦ

dὴ καὶ ὁ θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὁ γένος ἁμείνων ἡμῶν

ἐφίστη τοῖς τῶν δαίμονων, ὅ διὰ πολλὴς μὲν αὐ-

τοῖς ῥαστώνῃς, διὰ πολλῆς δ' ἡμῶν, ἐπιμελο-

μενον ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰδῶ καὶ δὴ ἀφθονίαν

δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαιμονα
tα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ

νῦν οὐτος ὁ λόγος ἀληθεία χρόμενος, ὅσων πό-

λευν μὴ θεός, ἀλλὰ τις ἄρχει θυητός, οὐκ ἐστι

κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάψυξις· ἀλλὰ μι-

μεῖσθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅλεται πάση μηχανὴ τὸν

ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ οὖν ᾧν ἡμῶν Δ

ἀθανασίας ἔνεστι, τοῦτῳ πειθομένους δημοσίᾳ

καὶ ἑδρὰς ταῖς τε οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖν,

τὴν τοῦ νόον διανομὴν ὀνομάζοντας νόμον. εἰ δὲ

ανθρώπος εἰς ἡ ὀλιγαρχία τῆς ἡ δημοκρατία

ψυχὴν ἔχουσα ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν ὀρεγομένην

καὶ πληροῦσθαι τούτων δεομένην ἀρξεί δὴ πόλεώς

τινος ἡ ἱδιότον καταπατήσας τοὺς νόμους, οὐκ

ἐστι σωτηρίας μηχανῆς.”
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.' ¹ 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.” ²

¹ A play on words: διανοητά and νόμος are both connected with νομοῦ = “to distribute.” ² Laws 713-714; Julian condenses and slightly alters the original.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

Ταύτην ἐγὼ σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ἐξετάτης ὅλην παρέγραψα, μή με κλέπτειν ὑπολάβης καὶ κακουργεῖν μύθους ἀρχαίους προφέροντα, τυχόν μὲν ἐμφερῶς, οὐ μὴν ἄληθῶς πάντῃ ξυγκεί-μένους. ἀλλ’ οὐ γε ἄληθῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγος τῇ φησιν; ἀκούεις ὅτι, κἂν ἀνθρωπός τις ἦ τῇ φύσει, θείον εἶναι χρῆ τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ δαί-μονα, πάν ἀπλως ἐκβαλόντα τὸ θεντὸν καὶ θηριώδες τῆς ψυχῆς, πλὴν ὅσα ἀνάγκη διὰ B τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραμένει σωτηρίαν; ταύτα εἰ τις ἐνυοῦν δέδοικεν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦν ἐκκό-μενος βίον, ἀρὰ σοι φαίνεται τὴν Ἐπικούρειον θεαμάζειν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὸ προάστειον τῶν Ἄθηνῶν 1 καὶ τὰς μυρίνας καὶ τὸ Σωκράτους δομάτιον; ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου γε ἐγὼ ταύτα προτιμᾷς τῶν πόνων ὀφθην. ἥδιστα ἂν σοι τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ πόνους διεξήλθον καὶ τὰ ἐπικρεμασθέντα παρὰ τῶν φιλῶν καὶ ἄνναγγελῶν, ὅτε τῆς παρ’ ὑμῖν ἥρχομην παιδείας, δείματα, C εἰ μή σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἡπίστασο. τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν καὶ γένει προσήκοντα καὶ φιλία μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον ὅντα μοι πραξθέντα πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος ξένου μικρὰ παντελῶς γνωρίμου μοι γενομένου, τοῦ σοφιστοῦ φημ., λέγηθεν οὐδὲν σε. ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐκ ὑπέστην τῶν φιλῶν ἔνεκα; καὶ τοιν Καρτε-ρίῳ μὲν οἴσθ’ ὅποις συνιηράμην πρὸς τὸν ἐταῖρον D ὑμῖν ἀφικόμενος Ἀράξιον ἄκλητος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τῆς θαυμασίας Ἀρετῆς κτημάτων καὶ ὄν ἐπεπόθει παρὰ τῶν γειτῶν ὧν Ἀθηνῶν Cobet, Ὀβναλὸν 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 Φουργίαν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφικόμην ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δύο, ἀσθενοῦς ἦδη μοι παντελῶς ὄντος τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς πρότερον κακοπαθείας ἀρρωστίαν; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ τελευταῖον πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένης ἡμῶν ἀφίξεως, ὅτε περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὡς ἀν εἰποιεῖν οἱ πολλοὶ, κινδυνεύων ἐγὼ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ παρέμενον, ὅποιας ἐγγραφὸν ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς σὲ 260 νῦν ὑπομνήσθητι, µήτοτε ὄδυρµῶν πλήρεις, µήτι µικρὸν ἢ ταπεινὸν ἢ λιαν ἀγεννὲς ἔχουσας. ἀπειδὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, ὅτε με φεύγειν ἐνόµιζον πάντες, σὺν ως ἐν ἑορτῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῆς τύχης ἐπαινῶν ἴδιστην ἐφὴν εἶναι τὴν ἄμοι-

βην ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον

χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἐκατόµβοι ἐννεαβοίων

ἐφὴν ἀντηλλάχθαι; οὔτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἐστίας τὴν Ἑλλάδα λαχών ἐγανύμην, οὐκ ἀγρόν, οὐ κῆπον, οὐ δωµατίων ἐκεὶ κεκτηµένος.

'Αλλὰ ἦσος ἐοικα ἐγὼ τὰς µὲν δυσπραγίας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς φέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης δώρεας ἀγεννῆς τις εἶναι καὶ µικρὸς, ὦ γε ἀγαπῶν τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς µᾶλλον τοῦ νῦν περὶ ἡµᾶς ὅγκου, τὴν σχολὴν δὴποθεῖν ἐκείνην ἐπαινῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πράξεων τούτων αἰτιώµενος τῶν βίων; Σ ἀλλὰ µὴ ποτὲ χρῆ περὶ ἡµῶν ἁµείνων κρίνειν, οὐκ εἰς ἀπραξίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν βλέποντας, µᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν καὶ τὸ

"Ερθοὶ δ' ἐκαστὸς ἶµιν εἰδεὶς τέχνην.

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not journey to Phrygia for the second time within two months, though I was physically very weak from the illness that had been brought on by former fatigues? 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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Μείζον εμοίγε φαίνεται το βασιλεύειν ἡ κατ' ἀνθρωπόν καὶ φύσεως δεῖσθαι δαιμονιωτέρας βασιλεύς, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγε· καὶ νῦν Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ταύτῳ συντείνοντα παραγράψῳ λόγον, οὐ γάρ τικ 'Αθηναίοις ἂγων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελῶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἄνηρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συγγράμμασιν· "Εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἄριστον θείῃ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἔχει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεὶ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὅποιοι τινὲς ἔτυχον, βλαβερὸν. ἀλλὰ οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὅν τοῖς τέκνοις; ἀλλ' 261 οὐκ ἔτι ῥάδιον τούτῳ πιστεῦσαι: χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ μείζονος ἁρετής ἡ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν." ἔχει δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ νόμον λεγομένου βασιλέως διεξελθόν, ὡς 1 ἐστὶν ὑπηρέτης καὶ φύλαξ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲ βασιλέα καλῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτειῶν 2 οἰόμενος, προστίθησιν. "Περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη ὡς Β' ἐστὶ καθ' ἦν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς, δοκεῖς τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἕνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν· τοὺς γὰρ ὁμοίους φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι." εἰτα μετ' ὀλίγουν φησίν. "Ο μὲν οὖν τὸν νόμον κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους· ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπον κελεύων

1 ὡς Klimek, ὡς Hertlein, MSS.
2 τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτειῶν Hertlein suggests, cf. Aristotle Politics 3. 16, 1287 a, τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος MSS.
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To me, at any rate, it seems that the task of reigning is beyond human powers, and that a king needs a more divine character, as indeed Plato too used to say. And now I will write out a passage from Aristotle to the same effect, not "bringing owls to the Athenians," 1 but in order to show you that I do not entirely neglect his writings. In his political treatises he says: "Now even if one maintain the principle that it is best for cities to be governed by a king, how will it be about his children? Ought his children to succeed him? And yet if they prove to be no better than anybody else, that would be a bad thing for the city. But you may say, though he has the power he will not leave the succession to his children? It is difficult indeed to believe that he will not; for that would be too hard for him, and demands a virtue greater than belongs to human nature." 2 And later on, when he is describing a so-called king who rules according to law, and says that he is both the servant and guardian of the laws, he does not call him a king at all, nor does he consider such a king as a distinct form of government; and he goes on to say: "Now as for what is called absolute monarchy, that is to say, when a king governs all other men according to his own will, some people think that it is not in accordance with the nature of things for one man to have absolute authority over all the citizens; since those who are by nature equal must necessarily have the same rights." 3 Again, a little later he says: "It seems, therefore, that he who bids Reason rule is really preferring the rule of God and the laws,

1 A proverb; cf. "bringing coals to Newcastle."
2 Aristotle, Politics 3. 15. 1286B. 3 Ibid 3. 16. 1287A.
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προστίθησι καὶ θηρία. ἦ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ὅσι διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας. διὸπερ ἄνευ δρέξεως ο νοὺς νόμος ἑστίν. ὁ ρόσι, ὁ φιλόσοφος έοικεν ἐνταῦθα σαφῶς ἀπιστούντι καὶ κατεγροκότι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. φησὶ γὰρ οὕτω θήματι τοῦτο λέγων οὐδεμίαν ἄξιόχρεον εἶναι φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πρὸς τοσαύτην τύχην ὑπεροχῆν οὔτε γὰρ τῶν παῖδων τὸ κοινὸς τοῖς πολίταις συμφέρου προτιμάν ἀνθρωπὸν γε ὅπως ῥάδιον ὑπολαμβάνει, καὶ πολλῶν ὁμοίων ἄρχειν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι φησι, καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεῖς τὸν κολοφώνα τοῖς ἐμπροσθέν λόγοις νόμον μὲν εἶναι φησι τὸν νοῦν χωρίς δρέξεως, ο ἂν τοῦτο τὸ πολιτεῖαν ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆναι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὔδενι. ὁ γὰρ εν αὐτοῖς νοῦς, καὶ ὅσιν ἄγαθοί, συμπτεπλεκταὶ θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, θηρίοις χαλεπωτάτοις. ταῦτα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀκρωσ ὁμολογεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κρείττονα χρή τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὐκ ἐπιτηθεῦσε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει διαφέροντα. ὅπερ εὑρεῖν ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐ πάντως ὅπως ῥάδιον ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα κειμένου οὐδὲ ὦς ἐοικε νῦν τεθείσων ὑπὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐ πάντη κατὰ νοὺν βεβιωκότων, ἀλλὰ ὅστις μᾶλλον τὸν νοῦν καθαρθεὶς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰς τὰ παρόντα ἄφορῶν ἀδικήματα οὐδὲ εἰς Β

1 ὅσι 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 stroke¹ to what he has just said when he asserts that “law is Reason exempt from desire,” and that political affairs ought to be entrusted to Reason alone, and not to any individual man whatever. For the reason that is in men, however good they may be, is entangled with passion and desire, those most ferocious monsters. These opinions, it seems to me, harmonise perfectly with Plato’s; first, that he who governs ought to be superior to his subjects and surpass them not only in his acquired habits but also in natural endowment; a thing which is not easy to find among men; . . . thirdly, that he ought by every means in his power to observe the laws, not those that were framed to meet some sudden emergency, or established, as now appears, by men whose lives were not wholly guided by reason; but he must observe them only in case the lawgiver, having purified his mind and soul, in enacting those laws keeps in view not merely the crimes of the moment

¹ Cf. Plato, _Theaetetus_ 153.
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tās paρesτώσας τύχας τίθησι των νόμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας φύσιν καταμαθῶν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οἶνόν ἕστι τῇ φύσει καὶ ποταπόν ἕστι τάδικημα τεθεαμένος τῇ φύσει, εἰθ’ ὁσα δυνατών ἕστιν ἐκείθεν ἐνταῦθα μεταφέρων καὶ τίθεις νόμους τοῖς πολίταις κοινοὺς, οὔτε εἰς φιλίαν οὔτε εἰς ἐχθραν ἀφορᾶν οὔτε εἰς γείτονα καὶ ξυγγενή. Ο κρείσσον δὲ, εἰ μηδὲ τοῖς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὕστερον ἡ ξένως γράψας ἀποτέμποι νόμους, ἔχων γε οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐλπίζων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξειν ἰδιωτικὸν συνάλλαγμα. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τὸν σοφὸν ἀκούων μετὰ τῶν φίλων συμβουλευσάμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀναρέσεως τοῖς μὲν εὐπορίας ἀφορμῆς, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχὺς αἰχμαὶ παρασχεῖν, καὶ ταύτα τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸν δήμον ἐλευθερώσαντα. οὔτως οὐ βάδιον ἑστὶ ταῖς τοιαύτας Δ ἐκφυγεῖν κῆρας, κἀν τὸν αὐτοῦ νοῦν παράσχῃ τις ἀπαθῆ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

Ἀ δεδιῶς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἰκότως ἐπαινό ὑμῖν πρὸς μαρτυρίαν τὸν ἐμπρόσθεν βίον, καὶ σοὶ πειθόμενος μάλιστα ταύτα ἐγὼ διανοοῦμαι, οὐχ ὅτι μοι τὸν ζηλὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνον ἔφης προκείσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας, Σόλωνα καὶ Δυκαύργων καὶ Πιττακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι μεταβηνάὶ με φής ἐκ τῆς ὑποστέγου φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὴν ὑπαίθριον. ἀσπέρ οὖν, εἰ τῷ 263 χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις υγιείας ἐνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ γυμναζόμενοι μετρίως οἴκαδε προϋλεγες, ὅτι "Νῦν ἥκεις εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ μεταβῆθηκας ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ παλαίστρας ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Δίως, οὐ θεατὰς ἐξεῖς τοὺς τε ἀπανταχόθεν Ἐλληνας

1 οἶν Hertlein suggests, ὃ 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.\(^1\) So hard is it to avoid such fatalities, even when a man brings a passionless mind to the task of governing.

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

\(^1\) Before Solon's measure to cancel debts was generally known, some of his friends borrowed large sums, knowing that they would not have to repay them.
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καὶ πρῶτος γε τοὺς σαυτοῦ πολίτας, ύπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρή, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὕς ἐκπλήξαι χρεών, φοβερωτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα τὸ γε εἰς σὲ νῦν ἥκον ἐπιδείξατα, κατέβαλε ἃν εὐθέως καὶ τρέμειν ἐποίησας πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας· οὕτω κἀκε νῦν νόμιζε διατεθήμαι τοῖς Βτοιοῦτοις λόγοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἰτέ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκα νῦν εἰτέ ἐν μέρει σφάλλομαι τοῦ προσήκοντος εἰτε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνω, διδάξεις αὐτίκα μάλα.

Τύρνη ὃς ᾧν ἀπορήσατι μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν C tήν σὴν παρέστη, ὃ φίλη κεφαλή καὶ πάσης ἔμουγε τιμῆς ἄξια, Βούλομαι δηλώσαι σαφέστερον γάρ τοὺς ύπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμῶ μαθεῖν. ἔφησθα ὅτι τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξει παρὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπαινεῖς βίον, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν σοφὸν ἐκάλεις μάρτυρα, τὴν εὐδαίμονίαν ἐν τῷ πράττειν εὐ τιθέμενον, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν σκοποῦντα τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ζωῆς, διαπορεῖν ἄττα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐν ἄλλοις προτιμᾶν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονας. τούτους δὲ αὐτῶς μὲν D εἶναι φῆς τοὺς Βασιλέας, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἰρήκειν οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προστεθείσαν λέξιν, πλέον δὲ θάτερον ἑξ ὃν παραγέγραφας ἃν τις νοῆσει· τὸ γὰρ "Μάλιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοιάσις 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.
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tous politikous filosofous kai pantas aplous
tous vedi te kai logw prattontas, oux de eis tous
autourghous kai tov politikon praxeow ergatas 264
eirhsetai nomosteon. Ois oux atoprh monon evthu-
methina kai katanosthai kai to praktok tois
allous frasiai, prosihek de autous ekasta meta-
xeirizesthai kai prattein don oi nomoi diathoreousi
kai polllkis oi kairoi prospanagkazousi, plhn
ei mh ton arkhitektona kaloudem, katastere" Omenos
ton Hreakleia kalein eixhein en tis poisisi "megan-
loun eteisstora erygou," autourghotas apantow
gevomeunov.

Ei de tout' allthes upolambanoen 6 kai monon B
en tis prattein ta koina famev evdaimonas tous
kuriou 1 duntas kai basilewontas pollon, tis poter
peris Sokrateous erotmen. Pundagorou de kai
Dhmokriton kai ton Klaizoméion Anaxagorou
isos dias tin theoria kath allo fiseis evdaim-
monas. Sokrathtis de tin theorian paraistmasen
kai ton praktiko agaphtas bion oude tis ga-
meths hyn tis autou kuriou oude ton paidos. Hptou C
ge duoyn h trion poleitwn ekeinw krathein uthrkev:
air sune oux h ekeinos praktikos, etpe mhdenos hyn
kuriou; egw men ou y Alexandrou phant meizouna
ton Sophroniskou kateragasthais, tin Platawnos
autw sophian anatidheis, tin Xenofwntos strat-
tignan, tin 'Antiswntan anordian, tin 'Ere-
trikh filosofian, tin Megarikh, ton Kebhta,

1 en tis prattein... tous kuriou Hertlein suggests, tous en
tis prattein... kuriou MSS.

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

But if we conceive this to be true, or that only those are happy who administer public affairs and who are in authority and rule over many, what then are we to say about Socrates? As for Pythagoras and Democritus and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, you will perhaps say that they were happy in another sense of the word, because of their philosophic speculations. But as for Socrates who, having rejected the speculative life and embraced a life of action, had no authority over his own wife or his son, can we say of him that he governed even two or three of his fellow-citizens? Then will you assert that since he had no authority over any one he accomplished nothing? On the contrary I maintain that the son of Sophroniscus ² performed greater tasks than Alexander, for to him I ascribe the wisdom of Plato, the generalship of Xenophon, the fortitude of Antisthenes, the Eretrian ³

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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tὸν Σιμμίαν, τὸν Φαίδωνα, μυρίους ἄλλους· καὶ Δ
οὐτῶν φημὶ τὰς γενομένας ἡμῖν ἐνθέντ' ἀποκιάσας,
tὸ Δύκειον, τὴν Στοάν, τὰς 'Ακαδημείας. τις οὖν
ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου νίκην; τις πόλεις
ἀμεινον ἀκήθη; τις αὐτοῦ γέγονε βελτίων ἰδιώ-
της ἀνήρ; πλουσιωτέρους μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἂν
eὐροῖς, σοφότερον δὲ οὐδένα οὐδὲ σωφρονέστερον
αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζώνα καὶ
ὑπερόπτην. οὐσὶ δὲ σώζονται νῦν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας,
dιὰ τὸν Ὀμηρότητα σώζονται. καὶ τούτο ὅσον ἐγὼ
μόνον, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρῶτερος ἐοικέν ἐννοήσας 265
eὔπειν, ὅτι μὴ μείον αὐτὸ προσήκει φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ
θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ τοῦ καθελόντος τὴν Περσῶν
dύναμιν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τούτο ἐκεῖνος ὅρθως ἐννο-
νοησαί· νικᾶν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρείας ἑστὶ μάλιστα καὶ
tῆς τύχης, κείσθω δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς ἐντεχοῦς
ταύτης φρονήσεως, ἀληθεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας
ἀναλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀρετής μόνον τῆς τελείας ἐργον
ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστήσειν ἃν τις εἰκότως, πότερον 

1 πρῶτερος Hertlein suggesta, πρῶτερον MSS,
and Megarian¹ 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 conqueror³ of the Persian empire. And I think he was perfectly correct in that conclusion. For military success is due to courage and good fortune more than anything else or, let us say, if you wish, to intelligence as well, though of the common everyday sort. But to conceive true opinions about God is an achievement that not only requires perfect virtue, but one might well hesitate whether it be proper to call one who attains to this a man or a god. For if the saying is true that it is the nature of everything to become known to those who have an affinity with it, then he who comes to know the essential nature of God would naturally be considered divine.

¹ The Megarian school founded by Euclid was finally absorbed by the Cynics.
² Simmias and Cebes were Pythagoreans; cf. Plato, Phaedo, where they discuss with Socrates.
³ Alexander; Julian seems to be misquoting Plutarch, Moralia 78D.
'Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἑοίκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρηματικὸν ὀρμήσαντες βίον τούτῳ παραβάλλειν τὸν πρακτικὸν, ἡξ ἄρχης παρατησαμένου καὶ σοῦ τὴν σύγκρισιν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὃν ἐπεμνήσθης, Ἄρειον, Οὐκόλαου, Θράσυλλου καὶ Μουσαύνου μυημονεύσω. τούτων γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως τις ἦν κύριος τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἄρειος, ὥς φασὶ, καὶ διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀγνίπτου ἐπιτροπεύεσαι παρηγήγατο, Ἐράσυλλος δὲ Τιβέριῳ πικρῷ καὶ φύσει χαλεπῷ τυράννῳ ἕγγεγενόμενος, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν καταλειψθέρτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογήσατο, δεῖξας ὅστις ἦν, ὅφελεν ἄν ἐκ τέλος αἰσχύνην ἀναπάλλακτον, οὕτως αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ὀνειρεύειν ἡ πολιτεία, Ὅικόλαος δὲ πρᾶξεως μὲν οὐ μεγάλων αὐτοῦργος γέγονε, γνώριμος δὲ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ Μουσαύνος εἰ δὲν ἔπαιθεν ἀνδρείως καὶ καὶ Ἕλεγχεν ἐγκρατώς τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἀμόνητα γέγονε γνώριμος, ἦσως οὐκ ἔλαττον εὐδαιμονῶν ἐκεῖνων τῶν τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιτροπευσάντων βασιλείας. Ἄρειος δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Ἀγνίπτου παρατησαμένος ἐκὸν 266 αὐτοῦ ἀπεστέρει τοῦ κρατίστου τέλους εἰ τοῦτο ἄφητο κυρίωτατον. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ἀπρακτὸς εἰ, μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε δημηγόρων μήτε ἔθνους ἡ πόλεως ἄρχων; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν φαίη νοῦν ἔχων ἀνήρ. ἔξεστι γὰρ σοι φιλοσόφους πολλὸν ἀποφήγαντι, εἰ δὲ μή, τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας μείζονα τῶν βίων ἐνεργετῆσαι τῶν ἁνθρώπων πολλῶν ὑμῶν βασιλέων, οὐ μικρὸς γὰρ μερίδος οἱ φιλόσοφοι B
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

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, ούδὲ, καθάπερ ἔφης, συμβουλῆς ἦστι μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κουσῶν ἐκείνως κύριος, ούδὲ ἡ πράξις εἰς λόγον αὐθίς αὐτῷ περισταται, ἔργῳ δὲ βεβαιῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φαινόμενος τοιοῦτος, ὅτοί δον βούληται τοὺς ἀλλοὺς εἶναι, πιθανότερος ἂν εἴη καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ἀνυσιμώτερος τῶν ἕξ ἐπιτάγματος ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις παρορ-βύστρως.

'Αλλ' ἐπανύτεον εἰς ἄρχην καὶ συμπεραντέον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μείζων ἵσως οὕτων τοῦ δέοντος. ἦστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι μήτε τὸν πόνον φεύγων μήτε τὴν ἥδονθν θηρεύων μήτε ἀπραγ-μοσὺν καὶ βαστώνης ἐρῶν τὸν ἐν τῇ πολυτείᾳ δυσχεραίνω βίον ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην εἷς ἄρχης, οὕτε παιδειαν ἐμαντῷ συνειδῶς τοσαῦτην οὕτε φύσεως ὑπεροχῆς, καὶ προσέτι δεδιώς, μὴ φιλοσφίας, ἢς ἐρῶν οὐκ ἐφικόμην, εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲ ἄλλως εὐδοκιμῶσαν διαβάλλω, πιλαι τε ἔγραφον ἐκείνα καὶ νῦν τὰς παρ' ὦμῶν ἐπιτιμήσεις ἀπελυ-σάμην εἰς δύναμιν.

Διδοῖη δὲ ὁ θεός τὴν ἄριστην τύχην καὶ φρόνησιν ἀξίαν τῆς τύχης, ὥς ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος τὸ γε πλέον καὶ παρ' ὦμῶν τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων ἀπάση μηχανή 1 Βοθητέως εἶναι 267 μοι δόκω, προτεταγμένος ὦμῶν καὶ προκινδυνεύων. εἰ δὲ τι μείζων ἄγαθον τῆς ἡμετέρας παρασκευής καὶ ἄντερ ἐμαντοῦ γνώμης ἐχὼ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δι' ὦμῶν ὁ θεὸς παράσχοι, χαλεπαίνειν οὐ χρή πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐμαντῷ

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

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

May God grant me the happiest fortune possible, and wisdom to match my fortune! For now I think I need assistance from God above all, and also from you philosophers by all means in your power, since I have proved myself your leader and champion in danger. But should it be that blessings greater than of my furnishing and than the opinion that I now have of myself should be granted to men by God through my instrumentality, you must not resent my words. For being conscious or no good
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συνειδῶς ἀγαθὸν πλὴν τούτο μόνον, ὅτι μηδὲ σίομαι τὰ μέγιστα ἔχειν ἔχων τὲν οὐδὲν, ὡς ὀρᾶς αὐτὸς, εἰκότως βοῶ καὶ μαρτύρομαι μὴ μεγάλα παρ’ ἣμῶν ἀπαίτειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τὸ Β πᾶν ἐπιτρέπειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν τε ἐλλειμμάτων εἰπὲν ἄν ἀνεύθυνος καὶ, γενομένων ἀπάντων δεξιῶν, εὐγνώμων ἄν καὶ μέτριος εἰς, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίους ἐμαυτὸν ἔργοις ἐπιγράφων, τῷ θεῷ δέ, ὡσπερ οὖν δίκαιον, προσανατεθεικὼς ἀπαίτα αὐτὸς τε εἰσομαί καὶ ὡμᾶς προτρέπω τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι.

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

¹ Demosthenes, De Corona 23. ² Cf. Caesars 323 B.
LETTER TO THE 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.
Πολλοὶ εἰργασμένων τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ἐφ᾽
ois ouk ekéinouς μόνον τότε ἔξην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν
νῦν ἔξεστι φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐγγερμέ-
νων τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τε ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῆ
καὶ κατ’ ἵδιαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς
ηγονύσατο μόνη πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλληνας
καὶ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδὲν ἔστι τηλικοῦτον
ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθία τοσαύτη, πρὸς ἣν οὐκ Β
ἐνεστὶ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμιλληθῆναι πόλεσιν.
τὰ μὲν γὰρ μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ αὐταί, τὰ δὲ κατ'
ἵδιαν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ ἣν μὴ μεμιμημένος ἐπείτα
ἀντιπαραβάλλων ἢ πρωτιμᾶν ἔτερας ἔτεραν ἐν οἷς
διαμφισβητοῦσι νομοθείην ἢ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν,
ὡσπερ οἱ ρήτορες, ἐνδεέστερον ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἐλατ-
τουμένας, τούτο ἐθέλω φράσαι μόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὦ C
μηδὲν ἀντίπαλον ἔχομεν ἐξευρεῖν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλ-
λοις Ἐλλησιν, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης εἰς ἴμας
παραδεδομένον. ἀρχόντων μὲν Ἰακεδαιμονίων οὐ
βίᾳ τὴν ἄρχην, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ δικαιοσύνης παρείλησθε,
LETTER TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS.

Many were the achievements of your forefathers of which you are still justly proud, even as they were of old; many were the trophies for victories raised by them, now for all Greece in common, now separately for Athens herself, in those days when she contended single-handed against all the rest of Greece as well as against the barbarian: but there was no achievement and no display of courage on your part so prodigious that other cities cannot in their turn rival it. For they too wrought some such deeds in alliance with you, and some on their own account. And that I may not by recalling these and then balancing them be thought either to pay more honour to one state than to another in the matters in which they are your rivals, or to praise less than they deserve those who proved inferior, in order to gain an advantage, after the manner of rhetoricians, I desire to bring forward on your behalf only this fact to which I can discover 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 Ἄριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον οἱ παρ’ ύμῖν ἔθρέψαντο νόμοι. καὶ τοι γε ταῦτα οὕτως οντα λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια διὰ λαμπροτέρων οἶμαι τῶν ἔργων ὀμως ἐπιστῶσασθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόξαι δίκαιον ἵσως ἂν τῷ καὶ ψευδός συμβαίη, καὶ τυχὸν οὐ παράδοξον εὐ πολλοῖς φαύλοις ἕνα γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον. ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ παρὰ Μηδίως ὑμνεῖται τις Δηνόκης Ἀβαρίς τε ἐν Ἠπερβορεοῖς καὶ Ἀνάχαρις ἐν Σκύθαις; ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦτο ἦν θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς ἀδικωτάτοις γεγονότες ἔθνεσι τὴν δίκην ὀμως ἐτίμησαν, τῷ μὲν ἄληθῶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρείας χάριν πλαττομενος. δήμου δὲ ὅλου καὶ πόλιν ἐραστάς ἔργων καὶ λόγων δικαίων ἐξώ τῆς παρ’ ύμῖν οὐ ράδιον εὑρεῖν. βούλομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐνδὲ τῶν παρ’ ύμῖν πολλῶν γε ὄντων ἔργων ὑπομνῆσαι. Θεωστοκλέους γὰρ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι διανοούμενον λάθρα καταφλέξαι τὰ νεώρια τῶν Ἐλλήνων, εἶτα μὴ τολμῶντος εἰς τὸν δήμον λέγειν, ἐνὶ δὲ ὁμολογοῦντος πιστεύειν τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ὁπερ ἄν ὁ δήμος χειροτονήσας προέλθηκα, προβάλετο μὲν ὁ δήμος τὸν Ἄριστείδην ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τῆς γνώμης ἐξερυθρῇ μὲν τὸ ῥηθέν, ἐξῆγε καὶ δὲ εἰς τὸν δήμον, ὡς οὔτε λυσιτελέστερον οὔτε ἀδικωτέρον εἶν τι τοῦ βουλεύματος· καὶ
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.
\(^{4}\) The story is told in Plutarch, *Themistocles*. 

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ή πόλις ἀπεβησάτο παραχρῆμα καὶ παρητή-
σατο, πάνυ γε νὴ Δία μεγαλοψύχως καὶ δυ
ἐχρήν τρόπον ἄνδρας ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῇ φρονιμω-
tάτῃ θεῷ τρεφομένους.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ ταῦτα παρ’ ὑμῖν μὲν ἦν πάλαι,
σώζεται δὲ εἴς ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔτι τῆς τῶν
προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὦσπερ ἐμπύρευμα τι σμικρῶν,
εἰκός ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραττο-
μένων ἀφορᾶν οὐδὲ εἰ τις ὦσπερ δι’ ἀέρος ἰπτά-
μενος διὰ τῆς γῆς ἑβάδισεν ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει
καὶ ἄτρυโท ῥώμη, σκοπεῖν δὲ ὅτῳ ταῦτα μετὰ
tοῦ δικαίου κατείργασταί, κατὰ ἂν μὲν φαίνεται 270
ἐξὺν δίκη πράττων, ἱδία τε αὐτῶν ὦσως καὶ
dημοσία πάντες ἐπαινεῖτε, τῆς δίκης δὲ ὀλυγω-
ρῆσας ἀτιμάζοιτο ἂν παρ’ ὑμῶν εἰκότως. οὐδὲν
γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ὡς τὸ δίκαιον ἀδελφὸν φρονήσει.
tοὺς οὖν ἀτιμάζοντας τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν καὶ
ὡς εἰς τὴν παρ’ ὑμῖν θεὸν ἀσεβοῦτας ἐξελάνυοιτε.
βούλομαι οὖν ὑμῖν τὰ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι
μὲν ἀπαγγείλαι δὲ ὄμως, ὅπως, εἰ τὶ λέληθεν εἰκὸς
δὲ ἐνα καὶ ὅσα μάλιστα τοῖς πᾶσι γνωσθῆναι
προσήκειν ὑμῖν τε καὶ δι’ ὑμῶν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς
"Ελλησι γένοιτο γνώριμα. μηδεῖς οὖν ὑπολάβῃ
με ληρεῖν ἢ φιλαρεῖν, εἰ περὶ τῶν πᾶσιν ὦσπερ
ἐν ὄφθαλμοῖς γεγονότων οὖ πάλαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον, ποιεῖσθαί τινας ἐπιχειρή-
σαιμί λόγους: οὐδένα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαι
tῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, λανθάνειν δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλα εἰκός.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

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

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

¹ Athene.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον τῶν Σ ἐμαυτοῦ.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ὀθεντερ καὶ Κωνσταντῖῳ τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ὁμητήται, φανερῶν. τῷ γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ πατέρει γεγόνατον ἀδελφῷ πατρόθεν. οὕτω δὲ πλησίον ἡμᾶς ὤντας συγγενεῖς ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος οὗτος Βασίλειος διὰ εἰργάσατο, ἐξ μὲν ἀνεψιον ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ τὸν ἑμῶν, ἐαυτοῦ δὲ θείον, καὶ προσέτι κοινῷ ἐτερον τοὺς πρὸς πατρὸς Δ θείον ἀδελφὸν τε ἐμὸν τὸν προσβύτατον ἀκρίτους κτείνας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἐτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν ἠθέλησας μὲν κτείναι, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλὼν φυγήν, ἀφ᾽ ἣς ἐμὲ μὲν ἀφήκεν, ἐκείνου δὲ ὅλῳ ρπότερον τῆς σφαγῆς ἔξεδυε' τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὤνομα, τί με δεὶ νῦν ὅσπερ ἐκ τραγῳδίας τὰ ἄρρητα ἀναμετρεῖσθαι; μετεμελήσε γὰρ αὐτῶ, φασί, καὶ ἐδήχθη δεινῶς, ἀπαιδιαν τε ἐντεῦθεν νομίζει 271 δυστυχεῖν, τα τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Πέρσας ὦν εὐτυχῶς πράττειν ἐκ τοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνει. ταῦτα ἐθύλων οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τότε καὶ τὸν μακαρίτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλον, τοῦτο νῦν πρῶτον ἀκούοντα τὸ ὄνομα· κτείνας γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ τῶν πατρῴων μεταλαχεῖν εἰςα ῥάτων οὐδὲ τῆς εἰσαγοὺς ἦξίωσε μνήμης.

"Ὅπερ οὖν ἔφην, ἔλεγον τοσαῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ Β ἐπειθοῦν ἡμᾶς; 3 ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπατηθεῖσι εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ βία καὶ παραχαῖς εἰδις ἀτάκτον καὶ

1 τῶν ἐμῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐμῶν MSS.
2 ἔξεδυε Hertlein suggests, ἐρρύσατο oúde Cobet, ἐρρύσατο MSS. 3 ἡμᾶς Hertlein, Reiske suggest, ἡμᾶς MSS.

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every circumstance. First I will begin with my ancestors.

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

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

¹ Gallus.
² Euripides, Orestes 14, τι ταρρητ' ἀναμετρήσασθαλ με δει;
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taraxódoous strateúmatos. tosaúta ἡμῖν ἐπήδουν ἐν ἀγρῷ τυι τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κατακεκλεισμένου, οὐδένα ἐώντες προσελθείν, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι ¹ φυγῆς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι, ἐμὲ δὲ κομιδὴ μειράκιον ἐτί τῶν διδασκαλεῖων ἄπαγόντες. πῶς ἄν ἐνταῦθα φράσαι μι περὶ τῶν Ο ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, οὐς ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κτήματι διάγοντες, ² ὡσπέρ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τηροῦμενοι, μηδενὸς ἡμῖν προσιόντος ξένου μηδὲ τῶν πάλαι γνωρίμων ἐπιτρεπόμενον τινὸς ὡς ἡμᾶς φοιτῶν, διεξόμεν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι παντὸς μὲν μαθῆματος ὁποιαὶ, πάσης ὑδραθαι ἐντεύξεως, ἐν ταῖς λαμπραῖς ὀικετείαις τρεφόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δούλως ὡσπέρ ἐταίρως Δ συγγεμαζόμενοι; προσήκε γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὔδὲ ἐπετρέπτετο τῶν ἠλικιωτῶν.

Ἐντεύθεν ἐγὼ μὲν μόνις ἀφελθήν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐτυχῶς, ὡς μὲν ἀδελφὸς ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καθείρχθε δυστυχῶς, εἰπέρ τις ἀλλος τῶν πώποτε καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι περὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀγριον καὶ τραχύ τὸν ἐκείνου κατεφάνη, τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς ὀρείου τροφῆς συνηψῆθη. δικαίοις οὖν οἶμαι καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ ταύτης ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαιν μεταδοῦσ τῆς τροφῆς, ἢς ἐμὲ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ διά τῆς φιλοσοφίας καθαρῶν ἀπέφημαν 272 καὶ ἔξαντε, τῷ δὲ οὔδεὶς ἐνεδοκεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθόντι

¹ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι φυγῆς Hertlein suggests, ἀπὸ τρά φυγῆς V, ἀπὸ τρά 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.
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ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν ἀλουργεῖς ἰμάτιον, αὐτίκα φθονεῖν ἀρξάμενος οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιελεῖν τὸ πορφυροῖν ἰμάτιον ἀρκεσθείς. καὶ τοῦ ζην γοῦν ἀξίων, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύειν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειος. ἄλλ' ἔχρην αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτον στέρεσθαι. ξυγχωρῶ, λόγον γε πάντως υποσχόντα πρότερον, Β ὀσπέρ τοὺς κακούργους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει τῷ δήσαντι κτείνειν, τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας δὲ τιμᾶς, ἂς εἰχον, καὶ γενομένους ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἰδιώτας ἀκρίτους φησὶ δεῖν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. τι γὰρ, εἰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰχέν ἀποφῆναι τοὺς αἰτίους; ἐδέδοντο γὰρ αὐτῷ Σ τινῶν ἐπιστολαῖ, Ἰράκλεις, ὅσας ἔχουσαι καὶ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας, ἕφ' αἰσ ἔκεινος ἀγανακτήσας ἀκρατέστερον μὲν καὶ ἤκιστα βασιλικῶς ἐφήκε τῷ θυμῷ, τοῦ μέντοι μηδὲ ζην ἀξίων οὐδὲν ἐπετράχει. πῶς γὰρ; οὐχ οὐτός ἐστιν ἄνθρώποις ἀπασικοῦσα Ἑλλησσιν ἀμα καὶ βαρβάρους ὁ νόμος, ἀμώνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικίας ὑπάρχουσας; ἄλλ' ἵσως μὲν ἢμύνατο πικρότερον, οὐ μὴν ἔξω πάντη τοῦ εἰκότος. τὸν γὰρ ἔχρην ὑπ' ὀργῆς εἰκός τι καὶ ποιεῖν, εἴρηται καὶ πρόσθεν. ἄλλ' εἰς Χάριν ἐνός ἄνδρογύνου, τοῦ κατακοιμιστοῦ, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιτρόπου τῶν ἀνεψιὼν, τὸν κάσαρα, τὸν τῆς ἄδελφῆς 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 before¹ that an enemy may be expected to harm one in a fit of anger. But it was to gratify a eunuch,² his chamberlain who was also his chief cook, that Constantius gave over to his most inveterate enemies his own cousin,

¹ Cf. Demosthenes, Against Meidias 41.
² Eusebius; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 14. 11; 22. 3.
Τον της ἀδελφίδις πατέρα, οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτερον ἦν ἀγαγόμενος τῇν ἀδελφῆν, πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς τοσαῦτα θεῶν ὁμογένων ὑπάρχει δίκαια, κτείναι παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐχθρίστοις· ἐμὲ δὲ ἄφηκε μόνης ἐπτὰ μηνῶν ὅλουν ἐλκύσας τὴδε κἀκεῖσε καὶ ποιησάμενος ἐμφρονοῦν, ὅστε, εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις 273 ἐθελήσας μὲ σωθῆναι τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν τὸ τηνικαύτα μοι παρέσχεν εὐμενῆ Εὐσεβίαν, οὐδὲ ἂν ἔγω τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ τότε διεφύγον. καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲ ὄναρ μοι φανεῖς ἀδελφὸς ἐπετράχει καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνῆν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἐφοίτων οὐδὲ ἐβάδιζον παρ’ αὐτῶν, ὁλγάκης δὲ ἐγραφῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων. ὡς οὖν ἀποφυγὼν Β ἐκεῖθεν ἀσμενὸς ἐπορευόμην ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐστίαν· πατρὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπήρχε μοι οὐδὲ ἐκεκτήμην ἐκ τοσοῦτων, ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν πατέρα κεκτήσαθα τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐκ ἐλαχιστὴν βῶλον, οὐκ ἀνδράποδον, οὐκ οἰκίαν· ὁ γὰρ τοις καλὸς Κωνστάντιος ἐκληρονόμησεν ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίαν οὐσίαν ἀπασαν, ἐμοὶ τε, ὅπερ ἔφη, οὐδὲ γρὺ μετέδωκεν αὐτῆς; ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ μῷ τῶν πατρίων ἐδωκεν ὀλίγα, πάντων αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος τῶν μητρῶν.

“Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐπηράξε πρὸς μὲ πρὸν ὀνόματος Σ μὲν μεταδοῦναί μοι τοῦ σεμνοτάτου, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς πικροτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἐμβαλεῖν δουλείαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, τὰ πλείστα γοῦν ὅμως
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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 λοιπον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν, ἀγαπητῶς τε καὶ μόνις ἀποσοφομένου, συκοφάντης τῆς ἀνεφάνη περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον, ὅσ τοῖς ἐκεῖ πράγματα ἔρραφεν ὡς νεώτερα διανοουμένου. Ἰστε D δήποτεν ἀκοῇ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν Μαρίνον, οὔκοιν ύμᾶς οὔδε ὁ Φῆλιξ ἔλαθεν οὔδὲ ὁ σα ἐπράξῃ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τούτῳ αὐτῷ κατεμνύθη τὸ πράγμα, καὶ Δυνάμιος ἔξαιφῆς, ἄλλος συκοφάντης, εἴ Κελτῶν ἠγγείλεν δὲν οὔτω τὸν Σιλουανὸν αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἀναφανεῖσθαι, δεῖσας παντάπασι καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐτικά ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ πέμπτε, καὶ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κελεύσας ὑποχωρήσαι πάλιν ἔκειθεν ἐκάλει παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ, 274 οὔτω πρότερον τεθεαμένοι πλὴν ἀπαξ μὲν ἐν Καππαδοκία, ἀπαξ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλία, ἀγωνισμένης Εὐσεβίας, ὡς ἀν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ θαρσήσαιμι. καίτοι τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πόλιν δὲς ἄκησα μηνῶν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέσχετο μὲ θεάσεσθαι πάλιν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ θεὸς ἐχθρὸς ἀνδρόγυνοι, ὁ πιστὸς αὐτοῦ κατακοιμησθής, ἐλαθέ μου καὶ ἄκων εὐεργετῆς γενόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθεν ἐπιχεῖν μὲ πολλάκις αὐτῷ, τυχὸν μὲν οὔδὲ Β ἐθέλοντε, πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὀκνεῖ γὰρ ὡς ἀν μὴ τινὸς συμπελει ἐγγευμένης ἡμῶν πρὸς ἄλληλοις ἐπητεῖα ἀγαπηθεῖν καὶ πίστος ἀναφανεὶς ἐπιτραπεῖν τί.

Παραγενόμενον δὴ με τότε πρὸτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτικά διὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν

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

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

1 Gaudentius. 2 A town in Illyricum.
3 For the account of this alleged conspiracy cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 3. 4 Cf. Oration 1. 48 c; 2. 98 c, D.
5 At Milan. 6 Milan. 7 Eusebius.
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eunoûxovn ἡ μακαρίτις Εὐσεβία καὶ λίαν ἐφελο-
φρονεῖτο. μικρὸν δὲ ύστερον ἐπελθόντος τούτουν·
καὶ γάρ τού καὶ τά περὶ Σιλουανὸν ἐπέπρακτο. Ο
λοιπὸν εἰσόδος τε εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν διδοταί, καὶ τὸ
λεγόμενον ἡ Θετταλική περιβάλλεται πειθανάγκη.
ἀρνομένου γάρ μου τὴν συνουσίαν στερεῶς ἐν
τοῖς βασιλείοις, οἱ μὲν ύστερ ἐν κουρεῖῳ συνελ-
θόντες ἀποκείρουσι τὸν πόρωνα, χλαύδα δὲ
ἀμφιενύουσι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν, ὡς τότε ὑπελάμ-
βανον, πάνυ γελοῦν στρατιώτην· οὐδὲν γάρ μου D
τοῦ καλλωπισμοῦ τῶν καθαρμάτων ἠμοζεν.

ἐβάδιζον δὲ οὐκ ύστερ ἐκεῖνοι περιβλέπον καὶ
σοβῶν 1 ἀλλ' εἰς γῆν βλέπων, ὡσπερ εἰθίσμην
ὑπὸ τοῦ θρέψαντός με παίδαγωγοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν
αὐτοῖς παρέσχον γέλωτα, μικρὸν δὲ ύστερον ὑπο-
ψίαν, εἶτα ἀνέλαμψεν ὁ τοσοῦτος φθόνος.

Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα χρῆ μὴ παραλείπειν ἐκεῖνα, πῶς
ἐγὼ συνεχώρησα, πῶς ἐδεχόμην 2 ὄμωρόφιος 3
ἐκεῖνοις γενέσθαι, οὐς ἦπιστάμην παντὶ μὲν μου
λυμηναμένους τῷ γένει, ὑπώπτευον δὲ οὐκ εἰς 275
μακρὰν ἐπιβουλευόσοντας καὶ ἐμοί. πηγὰς μὲν
οὖν ὅποσα ἀφῆκα δακρύων καὶ θρήνους οἴους,
ἀνατεῖνων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν παρ’ ὕμιν τὰς
χείρας, ὅτε ἐκαλούμην, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίον ἰκετεύων
σώζειν τὸν ἱκέτην καὶ μὴ ἐκδιδόναι, πολλοὶ
tῶν παρ’ ὕμιν ἐρακότες εἰσὶ μοι μάρτυρες, αὐτὴ
dὲ ἡ θεος πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι καὶ θάνατον
ἡτησάμην παρ’ αὐτῆς Ἀθῆνησι πρὸ τῆς τότε B

1 περιβλέπον... σοβῶν Hertlein suggests, περιβλέποντες...
σοβούντες MSS.
2 ἐδεχόμην Naber, δὲ εἰλόμην Hertlein, MSS.
3 ὄμωρόφιος Cobet, ὄμωρόφιος 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 ἣγήσατο γὰρ ἀπανταχοῦ μοι καὶ παρέστησεν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς φύλακας, ἐξ Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης ἀγγέλους λαβοῦσα.

Συνέβη δὲ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον. ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸ Μεδιώ- λανον ὄκουν ἐν τινὶ προαστεῖῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἐπεμπεν Ἑυσεβία πολλάκις πρὸς με φιλοφρονομένη καὶ γράφειν, κελεύουσα καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἦν δέωμαι. γράφας ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιστολήν, Σ μᾶλλον δὲ ἱκετηρίαν ὅρκους ἔχουσαν τοιούτους: Οὐτοὶ παῖσι χρῆσαι κληρονόμοι. οὕτω τά καὶ τά θεός σοι δοῦν, πέμπε με ὅπικα τὴν ταχι- στήν, ἐκεῖνο ὑπειδόμην ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος γυναίκα γράμματα εἰσπέμπειν. ἰκέτευσα δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς νῦκτωρ δηλώσαι μοι, εἰ χρὴ πέμπειν παρὰ τὴν βασιλίδα τὸ γραμματείον· οἱ δὲ ἐπηπείλησαν, εἰ πέμψωμι, θάνατον ἀνεχθῶν. ὡς δὲ ἄληθὶ ταύτα γράφω, ὃ καλὸ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπανταὶ μάρτυρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ γράμματα διὰ τὸ τοῦτο ἐπησχοῦν εἰσπέμψαι. εἰς ἐκεί- νης δὲ μοι τῆς νυκτὸς λογίσμος εἰσήλθεν, οὐ καὶ ὅμοι ἵσως ἄξιον ἀκούσαί. Νῦν, ἐφην, ἐγὼ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀντιτάττεσθαι διανοοῦμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ βουλεύομαι κρεῖττον νεόμικα τῶν πάντα εἰδό- των. καὶ τοῖς φρόνησις ἀνθρωπίνῃ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀφοροῦσα μόνον ἁγαπητῶς ἂν τόξοι καὶ μόνις τοῦ 276 πρὸς ὅλιγον ἀναμαρτῆτον. διότερ οὐδεὶς οὔθ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τριακοστὸν ἢ τριακοστὸν 2 ἢ τῶν ἢ ἢδη γεγονότων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδύνα- 1 ἔδειξεν Hertlein suggests, ἔδειξεν MSS. 2 τριακοστοῦν Hertlein suggests, τριακοστοῦν 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 δὲν ἀρχαὶ τινὲς εἰσιν ἡδὴ καὶ σπέρματα. φρόνησες δὲ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μήκιστον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πάν ἐπέτους μηνύει τε ὀρθῶς καὶ πράττει τὸ λαὸν αἴτιοι γὰρ εἰσιν αὐτοὶ καθάπερ τῶν ὄντων, ούτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων. οὐκοὖν εἰκὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ Β τῶν παρόντων ἐπίστασθαι. τέως μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει μοι κατὰ τοῦτο συνετωτέρα τῆς ἐμπροσθεν ἡ δευτέρα γνώμη. σκοπῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ δίκαιον εὐθέως ἐφην. Εἶτα σὺ μὲν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τί τῶν σῶν κτη-

μάτων ἀποστερώθη σε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ χρήσεως ἡ καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοι καλούμενοι, κἂν ἵππος τύχη κἂν C πρόβατον κἂν βοῦλιον, ἀνθρωπὸς δὲ εἶναι βουλό-

μενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀγελαίων οὐδὲ τῶν συρφετωδῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ μετρίων ἀποστερεῖς σεαυ-

τού τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις ἐφ' ὦ, τι ἂν ἑθέλωσι χρήσασθαι σοι; ὥρα μὴ πρὸς τῷ λίαν ἀφρόνως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλογώρως πράττησ. ἢ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῦ καὶ τῆς; γελοἰ-

ον. ἐτοίμος γοῦν εἰ καὶ θωπεύσαι καὶ κολακεύσαι δεῖ τοῦ θανάτου, ἐξον ἀπαντα καταβαλεῖν καὶ τοῖς D θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πράττειν ὡς βούλονται, διελόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἥξιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοι πράτ-

τευ ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχηται, τὸ δὲ ὅλων ἐπ' ἑκείνοις ποιεῖσθαι, κεκτήσθαι δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀρπάζειν, 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, 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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didómeva dé par' autóv ἀφελῶς 1 déxeštaí. ταῦτην ἐγὼ νομίσας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρέ πουσαν ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ γνώμην, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐσῆμαινε ταῦτην γὰρ ἐπιβουλὰς εὐλαβοῦμεν τὰς μελλοῦσας εἰς αἰσχρὸν καὶ προϊττον ἐμβαλεῖν εαυτὸν κίνδυνον δεινὸς ἐφαίνετο μοι θορυβώδες· εἶξαι καὶ ὑπῆκουσα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομά μοι ταχέως καὶ τὸ ἠλανίδιον περιεβλήθη τοῦ καίσαρος· ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ δουλεία καὶ τὸ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπικρεμάμενον δέος Ἡράκλει τὸν καὶ ὅν κλείθρα Ἑθυρῶν, ἑυρὼν, τῶν οἰκετῶν αἱ χεῖρες ἐρευνώμεναι, μὴ τίς μοι παρὰ τῶν φίλων γραμματίδιον κομίζη, θεραπεία ἕξενή· μόλις ἡ δυνατία ὁ οἰκέτας ἐμαυτῷ τέταρτας, παιδάρια μὲν δύο κομιδῆ μικρά, δύο δὲ μείζονας, εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἰκείοτερὸν μεθεραπεύοντος εἰσαγαγεῖν, δὲν εἰς μοι μόνος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς συνειδῶς καὶ ός ἐνεδέχετο λάθρα συμπράττων· ἐπετίστευτο δὲ τῶν βιβλίων μου τὴν φυλακῆν, ὅν μόνος τῶν ἐμὸι πολλῶν ἐσῶρων καὶ φίλων πιστῶν, εἰς νικότος, ὅτι φίλος ἢν ἐλελήθη, συναπαδήμησεν. οὔτω δὲ ἐδεδίων ἐγὼ ταῦτα καὶ ψοφοδεῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτά, ὡστε καὶ βουλομένους εἰσίνει τῶν φίλων πολλῶν παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ μᾶλ' ἄκων ἐκόλυν, ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμῶν, ὅκυν δὲ ἐκείνος ταὶ καὶ ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι συμφορῶν αἰτίος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξωθεῖν ἐστι, τάδε δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασι.
to you by them.” And this course I thought was not only safe but becoming to a reasonable man, since the response of the gods had suggested it. For to rush headlong into unseemly and foreseen danger while trying to avoid future plots seemed to me a topsy-turvy procedure. Accordingly I consented to yield. And immediately I was invested with the title and robe of Caesar.¹ The slavery that ensued and the fear for my very life that hung over me every day, Heracles, how great it was, and how terrible! My doors locked, warders to guard them, the hands of my servants searched lest one of them should convey to me the most trifling letter from my friends, strange servants to wait on me! Only with difficulty was I able to bring with me to court four of my own domestics for my personal service, two of them mere boys and two older men, of whom only one knew of my attitude to the gods, and, as far as he was able, secretly joined me in their worship. I had entrusted with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends, a certain physician² who had been allowed to leave home with me because it was not known that he was my friend. And this state of things caused me such alarm and I was so apprehensive about it, that though many of my friends really wished to visit me, I very reluctantly refused them admittance; for though I was most anxious to see them, I shrank from bringing disaster upon them and myself at the same time. But this is somewhat foreign to my narrative. The following relates to the actual course of events.

¹ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 8.
² Oribasius; cf. Letter 17.
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Τρικοσίους ἔξηκοντά μοι δοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ τῶν Κέλτων ἔθνος ἀνατετραμμένον ἐστειλε, μεσοῦντος ἥδι τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥν ἀρχοντα μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκείσε στρατοπέδων ἢ τοῖς ἐκείσε στρατηγοῖς ὑπακούοντα. ¹ ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνετε- ταλτο διαρρήθην ὡς τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ παραφυλάττειν, ὡς ἄν μὴ νεώτερον τι πράξαιμι. τούτων δὲ ὃς ἐφην τρόπον γενομένων, περὶ τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερινὰς ἐπιτρέπει μοι βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ 278 στρατόπεδα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περιοίσουτι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ καὶ τοῦτο εἴρητο καὶ ἐγέγραπτο, ὃτι τοῖς Γάλλοις ὃν βασιλέα δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἰκόνα κο- μιόντα.

Οὐ κακῶς δὲ, ὃς ἀκηκόατε, τοῦ πρῶτον στρα- τηγηθέντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πραχθέντος σπου- δαίου, πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸν Β ἔσχατον κατέστην κίνδυνον. οὐτε γὰρ ἀθροίζειν ἐξῆν μοι στρατόπεδον· ἔτερος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τούτον κύριος· αὐτὸς τε ἦν ὁλίγοις ἀποκεκλεισμένοις, εἰτὰ παρὰ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων αἰτηθεὶς ἐπικου- ρίαν, ὃν εἰχον τὸ πλείστον ἐκείνοις δοὺς, αὐτὸς ἀπελείφθη μόνος. ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὡς οὐτως ἐπράξθη τότε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατόπεδων ἄρχων ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενόμενοι αὐτῷ παρρέθη καὶ ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἁρχῆς, ὃν σφόδρα ἐπιτίθειος δόξας, ἐγὼνε Σ ἐνομίσθην ἦκιστα σπουδαῖος καὶ δεώνος στρατηγός, ἄτε πράξων ἐμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ μέτρων. οὐ

¹ ὑπακούοντα Hertlein suggests, ὑπακούοντα MSS.
² αὐτὸς MSS., Cobet, [αὐτὸς] Hertlein.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

Constantius gave me three hundred and sixty soldiers, and in the middle of the winter ¹ 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,² 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-chief³ of the forces fell under the suspicions of Constantius and was deprived by him of his command and superseded, I in my turn was thought to be by no means capable or talented as a general, merely because I had shown myself mild and moderate. For I thought I ought not

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¹ 355 A.D.  ² At Vienne.  ³ Marcellus.
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γὰρ ὃμην δεῖν ἥγιομαχεῖν οὔτε παραστρατηγεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποὺ τῶν λιαν ἐπικινδύνων ἐώρων ἢ δέον γενέσθαι παρορῷμενον ἢ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δέον γενέσθαι γυνὸμενον. ἀπάξ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον οὐ καθηκόντως μοὶ τινων χρησαμένων, ἐμαυτὸν φύθην Δ ἱρήναι τιμᾶν τῇ σωτη, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χλανίδα περιέφεροι καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα· τούτων γὰρ τὸ τηνικαῦτα διενούμην ἀποπεφάνθαι κύριος.

'Εξ ὄν ο Κωνστάντιος νομίσας ὁλίγον1 μὲν ἐπιδώσειν, οὐκ εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεταβολὴς ἦξειν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πράγματα, δίδωσι μοι τῶν στρατοπέδων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἱρός ἀρχῆς καὶ στρατεύω μὲν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, πολλῶν πάνω Γερμανῶν περὶ τὰς πεπορθημένας ἐν Κελ- 279 τοῖς πόλεισ ἀδεῶς κατοικουτῶν, τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων πέπτε ποὺ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐστὶ, πείχῃ τὰ διηρημασμένα δίχα τῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν ἑλασσόνων φρουρίων. ἦς δ’ ἐνέμοντο γῆς ἐπὶ τάς Τῆς Ρήνου πάσης οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μέγεθος ὀπόσου ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόμενος ἀχρὶ τοῦ Ὀμειανοῦ περιλαμβάνει· τριακόσια δὲ ἀπείχουν τῆς γόνος τῶν Ρήνου διάδικια οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκοῦν- τες ἐσχάτοι, τριπλάσιον δὲ ἦν ἐτὶ τούτου πλάτος τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τῆς λειλασίας, ἔνθα Β οὐδὲ νέμειν ἔξην τοὺς Κελτοὺς τὰ βοσκῆματα, καὶ πόλεις τινὲς ἔρημοι τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων, αἰς οὐπώ παρφίκουν οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐν τούτως οὖσαν κατα- λαβὸν ἐγὼ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλιν τε ἀνέλαβον τὴν

1 ὁλίγον Hertlein suggests, ὁλίγῳ MSS.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

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 spring¹
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,
neat 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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''Αγρυπνίας ἐπὶ τῷ Ἁρμίῳ, πρὸς μηνῶν ἕαλωκυλῶν ποὺ δέκα, καὶ τεῖχος Ἀργεντορᾶ πλησίον πρὸς ταῖς ὑπορείαις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βοσέγου, καὶ ἐμαχεσά-μην οὐκ ἄκλεως. ισως καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἄφικετο ἡ Σ τοιαύτη μάχη. ἔνθα τῶν θεῶν δόντων μοι τῶν βασιλέα τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμάλωτον, οὐκ ἐφθόνησα τὸν κατορθώματος Κωνστάντιώ. καὶ τοις εἰ μὴ θριαμβεύειν ἔξειν, ἀποσφάττειν τὸν πολέμου κύριος ἦν, καὶ μέντοι διὰ πάσης αὐτὸν ἅγων τῆς Κελτίδος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιδεικύνειν καὶ ὅσπερ ἐντυρφᾶν τοῦ Χνοδομαρίου ταῖς συμφοραῖς. τούτων οὐδὲν φήθην δεῖν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Κωνστάντιον αὐτοῦ εὐθέως ἀπέπεμψα, τότε ἀπὸ τῶν Κουάδων καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπανόντα. συνέβη τοίνυν, ἐμὸν μὲν ἀγωνισαμένου, ἐκείνου δὲ ὀδεύ- σαντος μόνον καὶ φιλίως ἐντυχόντος τοῖς παροικοῦσι τὸν Ἰστροῦ ἔθνεσι, οὐχ ἡμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου θριαμβεύσαι.

Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τούτο δεύτεροι ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀπελήλαντο τῆς Γαλατίας οἰ βάρβαροι, πλείσται δὲ ἀνελήφθησαν τῶν πόλεων, παμπληθείς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίδος ναύς ἀνή- χθησαν. ἕξακοσίων νηῶν ἀνήγαγον στόλον, ὅλην τὰς τετρακοσίας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυπη- γησάμενοι πάσας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν Ἅρμιον, ἔργον οὐ μικρὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους καὶ παροικοῦντας πλησίον βαρβάρους. ο γοῦν Φλωρέντιος οὕτως ἠτὸ τοῦτο ἄδυνατον, ὡστε ἀργύρου δισχιλίας

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it over. I recovered the city of Agrippina\textsuperscript{1} on the Rhine which had been taken about ten months earlier, and also the neighbouring fort of Argentoratum,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1} Cologne. \textsuperscript{2} Strasburg. \textsuperscript{3} Chnodomar.
λίτρας ὑπέσχετο μισθὸν ἀποτίσειν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὑπὲρ τῆς παράδου, καὶ ὁ Κωνστάντιος ὑπὲρ τούτον μαθῶν ἐκοινώσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς δόσεως· ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν 1 Β κελεύσας, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχρῶν μοι φανεῖν. τῶς δὲ οὐκ ἦν αἰσχρῶν, ὅπου Κωνσταντίῳ τουτοῦν ἑφάνη, λιῶν εἰσόθην θεραπεύειν τοὺς βαρβάρους; ἐδόθη μὴν αὐτοῖς οὖν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς στρατεύσας, ἀμυνόντων μοι καὶ παρεστῶτων τῶν θεῶν, ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοῦραν τοῦ Σαλίων έθνος, Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα, πολλὰς βούς καὶ γύναια μετὰ παιδαρίων συλλαβῶν, οὖτω δὲ πάντας ἐφόβησα καὶ παρεσκευάσας καταπτήξαι τὴν ἐμὴν ἑφόδου, ὡστε παραχρῆμα λαβεῖν ὀμὴρος καὶ τῇ Σ σιτοπομπία παρασχεῖν ἀσφαλῆ κομίδην.

Μακρόν ἐστι πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν γράφειν, ὡσα ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐπραξα τέτταρας τὰ κεφάλαια δὲ τρίτον ἐπεραιώθην καίσαρ ἐτὶ τὸν 'Ῥήνον' δισμυρίον ἀπήτησα παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπὲρ τὸν 'Ῥήνον οὐς αἰχμαλωτοὺς ἐκ δυὸν ἀγώνοι καὶ μᾶς πολιορκίας χιλίους ἐξελὼν ἐξώγησα, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἥλικιαν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἡβούντας ἔπεμψα τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ τέτταρας ἀριθμοὺς τῶν κρατίστων πεζῶν, τρεῖς ἄλλους τῶν ἐλαττών, ἱππεῶν τάγματα δύο τὰ ἐντιμότατα: πόλεις ἀνέλαβον νῦν μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐθελῶντων πάσας, τότε δὲ ἀνειλήφειν ἐλάττους ὀλίγοι τῶν τεσσαράκοντα. μάρτυρας καλῶ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς πολιούχους τε καὶ ὀμογνίους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ πίστεος, ὅτι τοιοῦτος

1 ἐπέστειλε πρὸς μὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν Horkel, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲ, πράττειν Hertlein, MSS.
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
γέγονα περὶ αὐτὸν, οἶνον ἂν εἰλόμην ἐγὼ υἱὸν περὶ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. τετίμηκα μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδεὶς καυσάρων οὐδένα τῶν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων. οὐδὲν γοῦν εἰς τὴν τῆμερον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐγκαλεῖ μοι, καὶ ταύτα παρρησιασμένω πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ γελοίους αἴτιας ὀργῆς ἀναπλάττει. Λοιπον, ἡμεῖς, καὶ τρεῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις κατέσχεσάν τις εἴς καὶ κτείνας ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἐμοίῳ φανερῶς, ἔχρην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παθόντων ὀργήν ἀφεῖναι τῆς ὁμονοίας ἔνεκα. τούτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι διαθεῖς ὡς ταραχώδεις φύσει καὶ πολεμο-ποιούσι κατέσχον, πολλὰ πάνω δαπανῶν εἰς αὐτοῦς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, ἀφελόμενοι δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνων. ὅρατε, πῶς ἐπεξείμανεν τούτος ὁ Κωνστάντιος νομοθετεί. ὁ γὰρ χαλεπαίνων ὑπὲρ τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἀρ’ οὐκ ὀνειδίζει μοι καὶ κατεγέλα τῆς μωρίας, ὅτι τὸν φωνέα πατρός, ἄδελφῳ, ἀνεψιῶν, ἀπάσης ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐστίας καὶ συγγενείας τῶν δήμων εἰς τούτο ἑθεράπευσα; σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὅτις καὶ γενόμενοι αὐτοκράτωρ ἐτὶ θεραπευτικῶς αὐτὸ προσηνέχθην εἴ δ’ ὑπὲστείλα.

Καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ὅποιος τις γέγονα περὶ αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν εἰσεσθῇ. αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων κληρονομήσω μὲν αὐτός τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐξεργασθῆσεται δὲ ἐτέρους τὰ πλείστα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰκέτευον, εἰ ταύτα 

1 d’ after ἄφελόμενος 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
πράττειν αὐτῷ φαίνοιτο καὶ πάντως ἐμὲ προσα-
γορεύειν καίσαρα δεδομένον εἰς, ἀνδρὰς ἀγαθοὺς
καὶ σπουδαίους δοῦναί μοι τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας: ο
δὲ πρότερον ἔδωκε τοὺς μοχθηροτάτους. ὡς δὲ ο
μὲν εἰς ὁ πονηρότατος καὶ μάλα ἄσμενος ὑπήκου-
σεν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἤξιον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρὰ δίδωσιν ἄκο
ἐμοῖ καὶ μάλα ἀγαθὸν Σαλοῦστιον, ὃς διὰ τὴν
ἀρετὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὑποττος. οὐκ ἄρ-
κεσθεὶς ἐγὼ τοῦ τοιοῦτος, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὸ
dιάφορον τοῦ τρόπον καὶ κατανόησας τῷ μὲν ἄγαν
αὐτὸν πιστεύοντα, τῷ δὲ οὐδ’ ὀλὸς προσέχοντα, 282
τῆς δεξιὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἄψαμενος.
Τούτων, ἐφη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ μοι συνήθης οὐδὲ
γέγονεν ἐμπροσθεν ἐπιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ
φήμης, σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἐταίρους ἐμαυτοῦ κα
φίλους νομίζω, τοῖς πάλαι γνωρίμοις ἐπ’ ἱσχυ
τιμῶν. οὐ μὴν δικαίον ἢ τούτως ἐπιτετράφθαι τὰ
ἐμὰ ἢ τὰ τούτων ἡμῖν συγκινδυνεύσαι. τι οὖν
ἐκεῖνω; γραπτοὺς ἡμῖν δος ὡσπερ νόμους, τίνων Β
ἀπέχεσθαι χρῆ καὶ ὁσα πράττειν ἐπιτρέπεις.
δήλων γὰρ, ὅτι τῶν μὲν πειθόμενον ἐπαινέσεις, τῶν
δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα κολάσεις, εἰ καὶ δ’, τι μάλιστα
νομίζω μηδένα ἀπειθήσειν.
"Osα μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησεν ο Πεντάδιος αὐτίκα
καυνοτομεῖν, οὐδὲν χρῆ λέγειν ἀντέπραττον δὲ
ἐγὼ πρὸς πάντα, καὶ γίνεται μοι δυσμενῆς ἐκεῖθεν.
εἰτ’ ἄλλον λαβὼν καὶ παρασκευάζας δεύτερον καὶ
τρίτον, Παῦλον, Γαυδέντιον, τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπ’ Σ

1 ἄσμενος Hertlein suggests, ἄσμενος 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
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἐµὲ µισθωσάµενος συκοφάντας, Σαλούστιον µὲν ὡς ἐµοὶ φίλον ἀποστήναι παρασκευάζει, Λουκιλιανὸν δὲ δοθήναι διάδοχον αὐτίκα. καὶ µικρὸν ύστερον καὶ Φλωρέντιος ἦν ἔχθρος ἐµοὶ διὰ τὰς πλεονεξίας, αἰς ἡναντιούµην. πείθουσιν οὕτω τὸν Κωνστάντιον ἀφελέσθαι µε τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀπάντων, ἵσως τι καὶ ύπὸ τῆς ξηλωτυπίας τῶν κατορθωμάτων κυνιζόµενον, καὶ γράφει γράµµατα δ πολλής µὲν ἀτιµίας εἰς ἐµὲ πλήρη, Κελτοῖς δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἀπειλοῦντα: µικρὸ γὰρ δὲω φάναι τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀπαν ἀδιακρίτως τὸ µαχιµῶτατον ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπιτάξας τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον Λοµηπτικίῳ τε καὶ Γεοτωνίῳ, ἐµοὶ δὲ ὡς ἄν πρὸς µηδὲν ἑναντιωθεὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν.

Ἐνταῦθα µέντοι τίνα τρόπον τὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔποιµ ἄν ἔργα πρὸς ὑµᾶς; διενοούµην µάρτυρες 283 δὲ αὐτοί· πάσαν ἀπορρίψας τὴν βασιλικὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἑσυχάζειν, πράττειν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως, ἀνέµενον δὲ Φλωρέντιον παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λοµηπτικίων· ἦν γὰρ ὁ µὲν περὶ τὴν Βίενναν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Βρετανίαις. ἐν τούτῳ θόρυβος πολὺς ἦν περὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιότας καὶ Β τούς στρατιώτας, καὶ γράφει τις ἀνώνυµον γραµµατεῖον 1 εἰς τὴν ἀστυγείτονα µοι πόλιν πρὸς τοὺς Πετούλαντας τούτους καὶ Κελτοὺς· ὁνοµάζεται δὲ οὕτω τὰ τάγματα· ἐν ὧ πολλὰ µὲν ἐγέγραπτο κατ’ ἐκεῖνον, πολλοὶ δὲ υπὲρ τῆς Γαλλίαν προδοσίας ὀδυρµοῖ καὶ µέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐµὴν ἀτιµίαν ὁ τὸ γραµµατεῖον συγγράφας ἀπωδύρετο. τούτῳ κοµίσθην ἐκίµησε πάντας, οὗ τὰ Κωνστάντιον µάλιστα ἐφρόνουν, ἐπιθέσθαι µοι κατὰ τὸ καρ.

1 γραµµατεῖον Horkel adds, δἐλτον Naber.
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.
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τερώτατον, ὡς θή νεός στρατιώτας ἐκπέμψαμεν, πρὸς καὶ εἰς τό ἄλλον ἀριθμὸν ὅμοια ῥιφήμα. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις παρῆν τῶν δοκοῦντων εὑνοὺς ἔχειν ἐμοί, Νεβρίδιος δὲ, Πεντάδιος, Δεκέντιος, ὁ παρ’ αὐτῷ πεμφθείς ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο Κωνστάντιον. λέγοντος δὲ μου χρῆμα περιμένειν ἐτί Δουπλικίων καὶ Φλωρέντιον, οὗδεις ἦκουσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐλεγον πάντες τοῦναντίον ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ βουλομαι ταῖς προλαβοῦσαι ὑποψίαις ὀσπερ ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τεκμηρίου τοῦτο διασφείναι. εἰτα προσέθεσαν ὡς Νῦν μὲν ἐκπεμφθέντων αὐτῶν σὸν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον, ἀφικομένου δὲ τούτων οὐ σοὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους λογεῖται Κωνστάντιος, σὺ δὲ ἐν αὐτίᾳ γενήσῃ. γράψαι δὴ 1 με ἐπείσαν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐβιάσαντο πεῖθεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὀσπερ ἐξετίκ καὶ μὴ πεισθῆ-ναι, βιάζεσθαι δὲ ὦς ἀν ἐξ, τού πείθειν οὐδεν προσδέονται: οὐκον οὐδὲ οἱ βιασθέντες τῶν πεπεισμένων εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκασθέντων. ἐσκοποῦμεν ἐνταῦθα, ποίαν ὅδον αὐτοὺς χρῆ Β 284 βαδίζειν, διττὴς οὐσίας. ἐγὼ μὲν ἡξίον ἐτέραν τραπήναι, οἱ δὲ αὐθίς ἀναγκάζοσιν ἐκείνην ἑναί, μὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸ γενόμενον ὀσπερ ἀφορμὴν τινα στάσεως τοῖς στρατιώτας παράσχα καὶ ταραχῆς τίνος αὐτίου γένηται, εἰτα στασιάζειν ἀπαξ ἀρξά-μενοι πάντα ἀθρόως ταράξοσιν. ἐδοκεῖ τὸ δεός οὐ παντάπασιν ἀλογον εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

'Ἡλθε τὰ τάγματα, ὑπήντησα κατὰ τὸ νενομι- σμένον αὐτοῖς, ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ προʊτρεψα: μίαν Β

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

The legions arrived, and I, as was customary, went to meet them and exhorted them to continue their march. For one day they halted, and till that time
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ήμέραν ἐπέμεινεν, ἀχρίς ἣς οὐδὲν ἤδειν ἐγὼ τῶν Βεβούλευμένων αὐτοῖς. ἱστὼ Ζεὺς, Ἡλίος, Ἀρης, Ἀθήνα καὶ πάντες θεοί, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐγγύς ἀφίκετό μού τις τοιαύτη ὑπόνοια ἄχρι δείλης αὐτῆς. ὅψις δὲ ἦδη περὶ ἠλίου δυσμᾶς ἐμηνύθη μοι, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ βασιλεία περιείληπτο, καὶ ἐβόων πάντες, ἐτι φροντιζόντος μου τί χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ οὔτω σφόδρα πιστεύοντος: ἐτυχὼν γὰρ ἐτὶ τῆς γαμετῆς ξώσης θανὰν ἀναπαυσόμενος ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὑπερφον ἀνελθὼν. εἶτα ἐκείθεν· ἀνεπέπτατο γὰρ ὁ τοῖχος· προσεκύνησα τὸν Δία. γενομένης δὲ ἐτὶ μείξονος τῆς βοής καὶ θορυβούμενοι πάντων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἦτέομεν τὸν θεὸν δοῦναί τέρας. αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἡμῶν δείξε καὶ ἰνώγει πεισθήναι καὶ μὴ προσεναιτιούσθαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῇ προθυμίᾳ. γενομένων ὀμοι καὶ τούτων τῶν σημείων, οὐκ D εἰς ἐτόιμως, ἀλλ' ἀντέσχον εἰς ὅσον ἦδυνάμην, καὶ οὔτε τὴν πρόσρησιν οὔτε τὸν στέφανον προστέμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε εἰς ὧν ἔτη πολλῶν ἦδυνάμην κρατεῖν οἱ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι θεοί τούς μὲν παρώξυνον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐθέλον τὴν γνώμην, ὥρα τοῦ τρίτη σχεδὸν οὐκ οἶδα οὔτινος μοι στρατιώτου δόντος μανιάκην περιεθέμην καὶ ἠλθὸν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία, ἐνδοθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἰσασίν οἱ θεοί, στένων τῆς καρδίας. καίτοι χρῆν δὴποιεῖν πτ-285 στεύοντα τῷ φήμαντι θεῷ τὸ τέρας βαρρεῖν· ἀλλ'

1 ὃν Cobet, τῶον 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 sign and bade me yield and not oppose myself to the will of the army. Nevertheless even after these tokens had been vouchsafed to me I did not yield without reluctance, but resisted as long as I could, and would not accept either the salutation 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

2 i.e. the title of Augustus.
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ήσυχωμήν δεινός καὶ κατεδυμήν, εἰ δόξαμι μὴ πιστῶς ἄχρι τέλους ὑπακούσαι Κωνσταντίῳ;

Πολλὴς οὖν οὕσης περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατηφείας, τούτων εὐθὺς οἱ Κωνσταντίου φίλοι τὸν καιρὸν ἀρπάσαι διανοηθέντες ἐπιβουλήν μοι βάπτουσιν αὐτίκα καὶ διένειμαν τοὺς στρατιώτας χρήματα, δυσὶν θάτερον προσδοκώντες, ἥ διαστήσειν ἄλλη- λους ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι¹ μοι φανερῶς. Β αὐσθόμενός τις τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ προδῷ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμητῆς λάθρα πραττόμενον αὐτὸ ἔμοι μὲν πρῶτον ἐμήνυσεν, ὡς δὲ ἐώρα με μηδέν προσέ- χοντα, παραφρονήσας ὅσπερ οἱ θεόληπτοι δημο- σία βοῶν ἥξιοτο κατὰ τὴν ἀγορᾶν. "Ἄνδρες στρατιώται καὶ ξένοι καὶ πολίται, μὴ προδῶτε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. εἶτα ἐμπίπτει θυμὸς εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντες εἰς τὰ βασίλεια μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν έθεον. καταλαβόντες δὲ με ξώντα καὶ Σ χαρέντες ὅσπερ οἱ τούς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων ὁφθέντας φίλους ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιέβαλλον καὶ περιέ- πλεκον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμῶν ἐφερόν, καὶ ἦν πως τὸ πρᾶγμα θέας ἄξιον, ἐνθουσιασμὸ γὰρ ἐφέκει. ὡς δὲ με ἀπανταχόθεν περιέσχον, ἐξήτου ἄπαντας τοὺς Κωνσταντίου φίλους ἐπὶ τιμωρία. πηλίκων ἤγωνισάμην ἄγωνα σῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτούς, ἔ ἱσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες.

'Αλλὰ δὴ τὰ μετὰ τούτο πώς πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντίου διεπραξάμην; οὐπώ καὶ τῆμερον ἐν taῖς 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 παρά τῶν θεών ἐπωνυμία κεχρημαί, καίσαρα δὲ ἐμαυτὸν γέγραφα, καὶ πέπεικα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁμόσαι μοι μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμήσειν, εἰπέρ ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἀδεώς οἰκεῖν τὰς Γαλλίας, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις συναινέσας. ἀπαντά τὰ παρ’ ἐμοὶ 286 τάγματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἱκετεύοντα περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν ὁμονοίας. οὐ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπεβαλεν ἡμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἀνηγόρευσε με παρ’ ἐκείνους, καὶ μισθοῦς ἔτελεσεν, ὡς τὸ Γαλλικοῦ ἔθνος πορθηθεὶς, γράφων τε ἐν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Γαλλικῶν παρεκκλείετο, καὶ περὶ Β τοὺς Γαλλικοὺς ὅρους ἐν ταῖς πλησίον πόλεσιν εἰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας μεδίμνων πυροῦ κατεργασμένου ἐν τῇ Βρυγαντίᾳ, τοσοῦτον ἔτερον περὶ τὰς Κοττίας Ἀλπεις ὡς ἐπ’ ἐμὲ στρατεύσων ἐκέλευσε παρασκευασθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ λόγοι, σαφῆ δὲ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἂς γέγραφεν ἐπιστολάς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κομισθείσας ἐδεξάμην, καὶ τὰς τροφὰς τὰς παρασκευασμένας κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ταύρου. πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι Σκύλου μοι ὡς καίσαρι ἑγράφει, καὶ οὔ δὲ σωφήσεθαι πῶς ποτέ πρὸς με ὑπέστη, ἀλλ’ Ἐπίκτητον τοῖς τῶν Γαλλικῶν ἐπίσκοπον ἔπεμψεν ὡς πιστὰ μοι περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρέξοντα, καὶ τούτο θρυλεῖ δὴ ὅλων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀφαιρησόμενος τοῦ ἔτους ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς οὐδὲν μημονεύει. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὅρκους

1 ὡς καίσαρι Hertlein suggests, καίσαρι MSS.
2 Athanasius says that Epictetus was bishop of Centumcellae; hence Petavius suggests Κεντομεκελλῶν for τῶν Γαλλικῶν.
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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, 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, 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, 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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αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας ὀίμαι δεῖν εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, οὕτως εἰσὶ πιστοὶ: τῆς τιμῆς δὲ οὖ τοῦ Δ καλοῦ καὶ πρέποντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν φίλων ἐνεκα σωτηρίας ἀντέχομαι: καὶ οὕτω φημὶ τὴν πανταχοῦ γῆς γυμναζομένην πικρίαν.

Ταύτα ἔπεισέ με, ταύτα ἐφάνη μοι δίκαια. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάντα ὅρωσι καὶ ἀκούσαν ἀνεθέμηθαν θεοίς. εἶτα θυσάμενος περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἔρων καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἦ τοῖς στρατιῶταις περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε πορείας ἐμελλὼν διαλέγομαι, 287 ὑπέρ τε τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ πολὺ πλέον ὑπέρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κελτῶν ἐθνοῦς, διὸ δήδη τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξέδωκεν, οὐδὲ τῶν προγονικῶν φεισάμενος τάφων, δ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως πάνυ θεραπεύων, φῆθην δεῖν ἐθνὴ τε προσλαβεῖν τὰ δυνατῶτα καὶ χρημάτων πόρους δικαιοτάτων εἰς ἄργυρεῖν καὶ χρυσεῖαν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀγαπήσειν ἔτι νῦν γοῦν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν, εἰςω τῶν νῦν ἐχομένων μένειν, εἰ δὲ Β πολεμίῳ διανοοῖτο καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας γνώμης χαλάσειν, ὃ, τι ἀν ἦ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλου πάσχειν ἢ πράττειν, ὡς αὐσχύος ἀνανδρίας δυναῖς καὶ διανοίας ἀραθία ἢ πλῆθει δυνάμεως ύστενε- στέρον αὐτοῦ φανήμαι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλήθει κρατήσειν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας ἐστὶν: εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις περιμένοντα με καὶ τὸ ξῆν ἀγαπῶντα καὶ διακλίνοντα τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπανταχόθεν περικόψας Ω 288
up, partly out of regard for what is seemly and fitting, but also to secure the safety of my friends. And I have not yet described the cruelty that he is practising over the whole earth.

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

Ταῦτα διανοηθείς, ἀνδρές Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς τε συστρατιώταις τοῖς ἐμοῖς διήλθον καὶ πρὸς κοινοὺς τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολίτας γράφω. θεοὶ δὲ οἱ πάντων κύριοι συμμαχίαν ἤμιν τὴν Δ ἔαυτῶν, ὡσπερ ὑπέστησαν, εἰς τέλος δοῦν καὶ παράσχοιεν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς ὕψ. ἢμῶν τε εἰς ὅσον δύναμις εὗ παθεῖν καὶ τοιούτους σχεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἱ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτάς αἰδέσονται καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν.

1 αἰδέσονται: Cobet, εἴσονται Hertlein, MSS.
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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, *Olynthiae* 1. 27.
As mentioned above, the analysis of the data has revealed some interesting trends. I believe this method is quite effective in handling such complex problems. However, further research is needed to validate these findings. The results show a consistent pattern across different datasets. I think this approach could be applied in various fields, including economics and environmental studies.

The data collected so far indicates a significant correlation between

...
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 ἃ ἡ λεγόμενον and καὶ πεποίηκασί.
. . . . . πλην ἢν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπίδωσιν ἀτακτοῦντας τινάς, αὐτίκα μάλα κολάξουσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐ προσίοντας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τεταγμένου φύλου, ὡς ὁι B πολλοὶ παροιστρούμενοι τῶν ἄθεων ἀναπείθονται θανατῶν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὅταν ἀπορρήξωσι τὴν ψυχὴν βιαίως. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας ἀντὶ τῶν πόλεων διώκουσιν, ὅτες ταύνθρωπον φύσει πολιτικοῦ ἡγουμ. καὶ ἡμέρου, δαίμοσιν ἐκδεδομένου πονηροῖς, ὡς ὁι εἰς ταύτην ἀγωνιαὶ τὴν μισανθρωπίαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ κλοοῦσε ἐξηύρουν, οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων. οὕτω παυταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κακὸς συνελαύνει δαίμων, φ δεδώκασιν ἐκόντες εαυτούς, ἀποστάντες τῶν ἁμίδων καὶ σωτήρων θεῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων C ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα εἰπεῖν. ὅθεν δ' ἐξέβην εἰς τοῦτο ἐπανήξω.
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER
TO A PRIEST

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

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

1 The beginning is lost: Julian has apparently been describing the functions of good demons, and now passes on to the demons whose task is to punish evil-doers; cf. Oration 2. 90 B.
Δικαιοπραγίας οὖν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους εὐθύλην ὅτι μελήσει τοῦ ἐπιτρόποι τῶν πόλεων, πρέποι δὲ ἂν καὶ ύμῖν εἰς παραίνεσιν τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἱεροὺς όντας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς νόμους. ἔπει δὲ τὸν ἱερατικὸν βίον εἶναι χρὴ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ σεμνότερον, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τούτον καὶ διδακτέον. ἔγον ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι καὶ πάντας, ἐλπίζω δὲ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσει καὶ σπουδαίους· ἐπιγνώσονται γὰρ οἰκείους όντας ἐαυτοῖς τοὺς λόγους.

Ἀσκῆτεα τοῖνυν πρὸ πάντων ἡ φιλανθρωπία· ταύτη γὰρ ἐπεται πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἡ παρὰ τῶν Ἱ ἁθῶν εὐμένεια. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δεσπόταις συνιδιατιθέμενοι περί τε φιλίας καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ ἔρωτας ἁγαπῶνται πλέον τῶν ὀμοδούλων, οὕτω νομιστεῖν φύσει φιλανθρωπον ὅν τὸ θέου ἁγαπᾶν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ φιλανθρωπία πολλῇ καὶ παντικαῖᾳ· καὶ τὸ πεφευσμένος κολάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ θ' ἑώς βελτίων τῶν κολαζομένων, ὡστερ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τὰ παιδία, καὶ τὸ τὰς χρείας αὐτῶν ἐπανορθοῦν, ὡστερ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας· ὅρατε ὅσα ἡμῖν διδάσκασιν έκ τῆς γῆς ἁγαθᾶ, τροφᾶς παντώσας καὶ ὀπόσας οὐδὲ ὀμοὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ξίφοις. ἔπει δὲ ἐτέχθημεν γυμνοῖ, ταῖς τε τῶν ξίφων ἡμᾶς θριξίν ἐσκέπασαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυσεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δένδρων. καὶ οὐκ ἠρκεσεν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ αὐτοσχεδίως, καθάπερ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἔφη τοὺς χιτῶν. —D 298.
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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
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νας λαβεῖν δερματίνους, ἀλλ' ὀρᾶτε ὅσα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἑργάνης Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ δῶρα. ποίον ὁνῷ χρῆται ξώον; ποίον ἐλαῖο; πλὴν εἰ τισίν ἡμεῖς καὶ τούτων μεταδίδομεν, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ μεταδίδοντες. τί δὲ τῶν θαλαττίων σίτῳ, τί δὲ τῶν χερσαίων τοῖς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆται; χρυσὸν οὔπω λέγω καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, οἷς πᾶσιν οἱ θεοὶ ξαπλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν, οὐχ ἴνα ὑνείδος αὐτῶν περιορώμεν περινοστοῦντας τοὺς πένητας, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τινὲς τύχοις τὸν 290 τρόπον, οἷς πατρῴοι μὲν κλῆρος οὐ γέγονεν, ὅποι δὲ μεγαλοψυχιᾶς ἡκιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντες χρημάτων πένυνται. τούτων ὀρῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑνείδιζοντων. αὐτοὶ δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰς τῇς τούτων πενίας, η δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν κεκτημένων ἀπληστία καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἄλθοις ὑπολήψεως αἰτία γίνεται καὶ προσέτι τοῖς θεοῖς ὑνείδους ἁδίκου. τι γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦμεν, Β ἴνα χρυσὸν ὡσπερ τοὺς Ῥοδίους ὁ θεός ὤσθε τοῖς πένησιν; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τούτο γένοιτο, ταχέως ἡμεῖς ὑποβαλόμενοι τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ προθέντες πανταχοῦ τὰ ἀγγεία πάντας ἀπελάσομεν, ἴνα μόνοι τὰ κοινὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάσωμεν δῶρα. θαυμάσεις δ' ἂν τις εἰκότως, εἰ τούτο μὲν ἄξιοιμεν ὁμοτε πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς πάντη, τὰ

1 ἄξιοιμεν Hertlein suggests, ἄξιοιμεν MSS.
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clothes 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.
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dunata de μη πράττομεν. τίς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μεταδι-

dοναι τοῖς πέλασ ἐγένετο πένης; ἐγὼ τοι πολλάκις

toῖς δεομένως προεμένους ἐκτησάμην αὐτὰ παρά

θεῶν 1 πολλαπλάσια καίπερ ὃν φαύλος χρημα-

tιστῆς, καὶ οὐδέποτε μοι μετεμέλησε προεμένω.

καὶ τὰ μὲν νῦν ὅπι ἀν εἰπομεν καὶ γὰρ ἄν εἰη

παντελῶς ἀλογοὺς, εἰ τοὺς ἴδιώτας ἀξιώσαμι

βασιλικάς παραβάλλεσθαι χορηγίαις ἀλλ' ὅτε Δ

ἐτί ἐτύχαυν ἴδιώτης, σύνοια ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο

ἀποβάν πολλάκις. ἀπεσώθη μοι τέλειος ὁ κλήρος

τῆς τήθης, ἐχόμενος ύπ' ἄλλων βιαίως εκ βραχέων

ὅν εἰχον ἀναλίσκοντι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μετα-

διδόντι.

Κοινωνητέον οὖν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπασίν ἀνθρώ-

ποίς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιεικέσιν ἔλευθερώτερον,

τοῖς δὲ ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν ὅσον ἐπαρκέσαι τῇ

χρείᾳ. φαίην δ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι

καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς 2 ἔσθήτος καὶ τροφῆς ὅσιον ἂν εἰη

μεταδιδόναι τῷ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ οὖ τῷ τρόπῳ

didomev. διότερ οἴμαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ

καθειργμένους ἀξιωτέον τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας.

οὐδὲν γὰρ κολύσει τὴν δίκην ἢ τοιαύτη φιλαν-

θρωπία. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἄν εἰη, πολλῶν ἀπο-

κεκλεισμένων ἔπι κρίσει, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὀφλησόντων,

τῶν δὲ ἀθόφων ἀποφανθησόμενων, μὴ διὰ τοὺς

ἀναιτίους οἰκτῶν τινα νέμει καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς,

ἀλλὰ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐνεκα καὶ περὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν Β

ἡδικηκότας ἀνήλεως καὶ ἀπανθρώπως διακαθεσθαι.

1 παρὰ θεῶν Hertlein suggests, παρ' αὐτῶν MSS.

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

We ought then to share our money with all men, but more generously with the good, and with the helpless and poor so as to suffice for their need. And I will assert, even though it be paradoxical to say so, that it would be a pious act to share our clothes and food even with the wicked. For it is to the humanity in a man that we give, and not to his moral character. Hence I think that even those who are shut up in prison have a right to the same sort of care; since this kind of philanthropy will not hinder justice. For when many have been shut up in prison to await trial, of whom some will be found guilty, while others will prove to be innocent, it would be harsh indeed if out of regard for the guiltless we should not bestow some pity on the guilty also, or again, if on account of the guilty we should behave ruthlessly and inhumanly to those also who have done no wrong. This too, when I consider it,
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ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐννοοῦντι μοι παντάπασιν ἄδικον καταφαίνεται. Ἐνείον ὄνομαζομεν Δία, καὶ γνωρίμεθα τῶν Σκυθῶν κακοξενώτεροι. πῶς οὖν ὁ βουλόμενος τῷ Ἐξεύφ θύσαι Διὸ φοιτᾷ πρὸς τῶν νεῶν; μετὰ ποταποῦ συνειδότος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ

πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰςιν ἀπαντες
Πτωχοῖ τε ξεινοὶ τε· δόσις δ' ὅληγη τε φίλη τε;

Πῶς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἐσαϊρεινον θεραπεύων Δία, ὅρων Κ τοὺς πέλας ἐνδεέις χρημάτων, εἶτα μηδ' ὅσον δραχμῆς μεταδίδουσι, οἴεται τὸν Δία καλῶς θεραπεύειν; ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα ἀπίδω, παντελῶς ἁχαίης γίνομαι, τὰς μὲν ἐπονυμίας τῶν θεῶν ἄμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ εἴ ἁρχής ὁ σπερέ εἰκονας γραπτάς ὅρων, ἐργὼ δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπιτηδευμένον, ὁμόγνως λέγονται παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὶ καὶ Ζεὺς ὁμόγνιος, ἔχομεν δὲ ὁσπερ πρὸς ἄλλοτρίους τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀνθρώπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἐκὼν καὶ ἀκών πᾶς ἐστὶ συγγενής, εἰτε, καθάπερ λέγεται παρὰ τινων, εἴ ἐνός τε καὶ μᾶς γενόναμεν πάντες, εἰ' ὅπωσον ἀλλως, ἀθρόως ὑποστησάντων ἡμᾶς τὸν θεῶν ἄμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ εἴ ἁρχής, ὅν εἴνα καὶ μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἄμα καὶ πολλασ. οἱ γὰρ ἑνὰ καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες δοὶ τε ἥσαν ἀμα καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ πολλασ ὑποστήσαι. ¹ καὶ γὰρ δι' τρόπον τὸν τε ἑνα καὶ την μίαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοὺς πολλοὺς τε καὶ τὰς πολλὰς. εἰς τε τὸ διάφορον

¹ ὑποστήσαι Reiske would add.
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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"? 

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

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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ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν ἑθῶν¹ καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεῖζον καὶ τιμώτερον καὶ κυριώτερον, εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἡ παραδεδοταί διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῶν θεουργῶν, ὥσπερ Ζεὺς ἐκόσμη τὰ πάντα, σταγώνων αἵματος ιεροῦ πεσοῦσών, εἰς ὅν ποὺ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλάστησε ἡγένος. καὶ οὕτως οὖν συγγενεῖς γενόμεθα πάντες, εἰ μὲν εἰς ἐνὸς καὶ μίας, ἐκ δυοῦ ἀνθρώπων οὕτε οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλαὶ, εἰ δὲ, καθάπερ οἱ θεοὶ φασὶ καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ἐπίμαρτυρούντων τῶν ἐργῶν, ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πάντες γεγονότες. οὐτὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἀμα ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ τὰ ἐργα, ᾠνηθήσεται μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ δι’ ἀκριβείας, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρκεσεὶ τοσοῦτον εὔπειν, ὡς εἰς ἐνὸς μὲν καὶ μίας οὕτως οὕτε τοὺς νόμους εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραλλάξαι οὕτε ἀλλως τὴν γῆν υφ’ ἐνὸς ἐμπλησθῆναι πᾶσαν, οὐδὲ εἰ τέκνα² ἀμα πολλὰ καθάπερ αἱ σὺς ἐτίκτων αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναίκες. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀθρόως φυτευσάντων τῶν³ θεῶν, ὄντερ τρόπον ὁ εἰς, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖοις προ- ἦλθον ἀνθρώποι τοῖς γενεάρχαις. θεοῖς ἀποκληρω- θέντες, οἱ καὶ προήγαγον αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιο- ουργοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες εἰς αἰῶνος.

Κάκεινο δ’ ἀξίον ἐννοεῖν, ὅσοι παρὰ τῶν ἐμπρο- σθεν ἀνάλωνται λόγοι περὶ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικὸν εἶναι ξοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ταῦτα εἰπόντες καὶ διατάξαντες ἀκοινωνίτως πρὸς τοὺς

¹ ἑθῶν Hertlein suggests, ἄγαθῶν Petavius, ἣθῶν MSS.
² τέκνα Hertlein would add.
³ φυτευσάντων τῶν Hertlein suggests, νεωσάντων MSS.

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

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

¹ Julian here prefers the Platonic account of the creation in the Timaeus to the Biblical narrative.
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πλησίον ἔξομεν; ἕκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἡθῶν τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἕκαστος ἦμοι ὄρμῳμενος εὐλαβείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεούς, χρηστότητος τῆς εἰς ἄνθρωπον, 293 ἀγνείας τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργα πληροῦτω, πειρώμενος δὲ ἀδεὶ τι περὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβεῖς διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μετά τινος ἀποβλέπτων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τιμῆς καὶ ὀσίωτητος, σεβόμενος ὁσπέρ ἀν εἰ παρόντας ἐόρα τόσοι θεούς. ἀγάλματα γὰρ καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ πυρὸς ἀσβέστου φυλακὴν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα οἱ πατέρες ἔθεντο τῆς παρουσίας τῶν θεῶν, οὐχ ἵνα ἔκεινα θεοὺς νομίσωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα Β δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ ἥμας ἄντας ἐν σῶματι σωματικῶς ἕδει ποιεῖσθαι τῶν θεούς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἀσώματοι δὲ εἰςν αὐτοῦ· πρῶτα μὲν ἔδειξαν ἥμιν ἀγάλματα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν θεῶν γένος περὶ πάντα τῶν οὐρανῶν κύκλῳ περιφερόμενον. ὑπο-

υμένης δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀποδίδοσθαι τῆς θεραπείας σωματικῶς· ἀποροδείγματα γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει. ἔτερον ἕτερον 1 ἐπὶ γῆς ἔξηπρέθη γένος ἀγαλμάτων, εἰς ὅ τὰς θεραπείας ἐκτελοῦντες ἐαυτοῖς εὑμενεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς καταστήσομεν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βασι-

λέων θεραπεύοντες εἰκόνας, οὐδὲν δεομένων, ὃμος ἐφέλκονται τὴν εὐνοιαν εἰς ἐαυτοὺς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ θεῶν θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, δεομένων οὐδὲν ὃμος πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπαμύνειν σφίσι

1 σωματικως Petavius, Hertlein approves, σωματικας MSS.
2 ἔτερον 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—and 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."
καὶ κήδεσθαι· δείγμα γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀσιότητος ἡ περὶ τὰ δυνατὰ προθυμία, καὶ ὁ ταύτῃ πληρῶν εὐδηλον ὅτι μειξόνως ἐκεῖνη ἀποδίδωσιν, ὅ ὅ δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ὀλγωρῶν, εἶτα προσποιούμενος τῶν ἀδυνάτων ὀρέγεσθαι δῆλος ἐστιν ὡς ἐκεῖνα μεταδιώκον, ἀλλὰ ταύτα παρο-ρῶν· οὔδε γάρ, εἰ μὴν δὲν ὁ θεὸς δεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο οὔδεν αὐτῷ προσοιστέον· οὔδε γὰρ τῆς διὰ λόγων εὐφημίας δεῖται. τί οὖν; εὐλογον αὐτὸν ἀπο-στερήσαι καὶ ταύτης; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἄρα οὔδε Β τῆς διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἰς αὐτὸν γιγνομένης τιμῆς, ἡς ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς οὔδε τρισχίλιοι, πᾶς δὲ ὁ προλαβὼν αἰών ἐν πάσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἔθνεσιν.

Ἀφορώντες οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα μή C τοι νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἰναι μηδὲ ξύλα, μηδὲ μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἰναι ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ οὔδε τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθον καὶ χαλκὸν λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν οὔδε αὐτοὺς τοὺς βα-σιλέας, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας βασιλέων. οὕτως οὖν ἐστὶ φιλοβασιλεὺς ἱδέως ὅρα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰ-κόνα, καὶ ὡστε ἐστὶ φιλόπαιρ ἱδέως ὅρα τὴν τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ὡστε φιλοπάτορ τὴν τοῦ πατρός. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὡστε φιλόθεος ἱδέως εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμε-νος ἁμα καὶ φρίττων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὁρώντας εἰς αὐ-τὸν τοὺς θεοὺς. εἰ τις οὖν οἶται δεῖν αὐτὰ μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι διὰ τὸ θεὸν ἀπαξ εἰκόνας κληθῆναι, 310
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 ἂρρων εἶναι μοι φαίνεται. χρῆν γὰρ δήπουθεν αὕτα μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ 295
dὲ ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ποιηρὸ καὶ ἀμαθοῦς φθαρῆται δύναται.
tὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ζῶντα ἀγάλματα κατασκευασθέντα τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, οἱ περὶ τὸν ὀὐρανὸν κύκλῳ φερόμενοι θεοὶ, μένει τὸν ἄει χρόνον ἄδια. μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπιστεῖτο θεοὶ ὅρων καὶ ἀκούων, ὡς ἐνύξιον τινες εἰς τὰ ἁγάλματά καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς. ἀρ’ οὐκ ἀνθρώπους χρηστῶν ἀπέκτειναν πολλοί, καθάπερ Σωκράτη καὶ Δίωνα B καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἐμπεδότιμον; δὲν ἐν οiêu ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐμέλησε τὸς θεοὶ. ἄλλ’ ὅρατε, ὅτι καὶ τούτων φθαρτὸν εἰδότες τὸ σῶμα συνεχόρησαν εἰξαί τῇ φύσει καὶ ὑποχρῆσαι, δίκην δὲ ἀπήτθησαν ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν κτεινάντων. δ’ ὅτι συνέβη φανερῶς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἱεροσύλων.

Μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπατάτω λόγοις μηδὲ ταραττότω περὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὄνειδίζοντες C τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ προφηταὶ, τί περὶ τοῦ νεῶ φήσουν τοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶς τρίτον ἀνατρέποντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ ὄφελὲ νῦν; ἑγὼ δὲ εἰπον οὐκ ὄνειδίζων εἰκεῖνος, ὅσι τοσοῦτος ὕστερον χρόνος ἀναστήσασθαι διενοθήνην αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ θεοῦ μνεί δὲ ἐχρησάμην αὐτῷ δείξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων D οὐδὲν ἄφθαρτον εἶναι δύναται καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα
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seems to me, altogether foolish; for surely in that case they were incapable of being made by men’s hands. But what has been made by a wise and good man can be destroyed by a bad and ignorant man. But those beings which were fashioned by the gods as the living images of their invisible nature, I mean the gods who revolve in a circle in the heavens, abide imperishable for all time. Therefore let no man disbelieve in gods because he sees and hears that certain persons have profaned their images and temples. Have they not in many cases put good men to death, like Socrates and Dio and the great Empedotimus? And yet I am very sure that the gods cared more for these men than for the temples. But observe that since they knew that the bodies even of these men were destructible, they allowed them to yield to nature and to submit, but later on they exacted punishment from their slayers; and this has happened in the sight of all, in our own day also, in the case of all who have profaned the temples.

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

1 Of Syracuse, whose claim to be immortal was accepted by the Sicilians.
γράφοντες ἐλήρουν προφήται, γραδίοις ψυχροῖς ὀμιλοῦντες. οὔδεν δὲ οἴμαι κωλύει τὸν μὲν θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν σπουδαίων προφητῶν οὔδὲ ἕξηγητῶν τυχεῖν. αἰτιον δὲ, ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ψυχήν οὐ παρέσχου ἀποκαθηραί τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασιν οὔδὲ ἀνοίξαι μεμεικτὰ λίαν τὰ ὁμματα οὔδε ἀνακαθηραί τὴν ἐπικείμενην αὐτοῖς ἀχλῶν, 296 ἀλλ' οἷον φῶς μέγα δ' ὀμίχλης οἱ ἀνθρώποι βλέπουντες οὐ καθαρῶς οὔδὲ εἰλικρινῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκείνῳ νεομικότες οὐκί φῶς καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ πάντων ὄντες ἅθεατοι βοῶσι μέγα: Φρίττετε, φοβεῖσθε, πῦρ, φλόξ, θάνατος, μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία, πῦλλοι ὀνόμασι μίαν ἕξηγουμενοι τὴν βλαστικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἡδὰ βέλτιον παραστήσαται, πόσῳ Β' φαυλότεροι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὕτωι γεγόνασι ποιητῶν οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγων διδάσκαλοι.

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

It is our duty to adore not only the images of the gods, but also their temples and sacred precincts and altars. And it is reasonable to honour the priests also as officials and servants of the gods; and because they minister to us what concerns the gods, and they lend strength to the gods' gift of good things to us; for they sacrifice and pray on behalf of all men. It it therefore right that we should pay them all not less, if not indeed more, than the honours that we pay to the magistrates of the state. And if any one thinks that we ought to assign equal honours to them and to the magistrates of the state, since the latter
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κακείνων τρόπον τινά τοῖς θεοῖς ἱερατεύσοις, φύλακες ὄντες τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε τῆς εὐνοίας παρὰ πολὺ χρή νέμειν τούτοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δ'.Αχαίοι καὶ περιν πολέμων ὄντα τὸν ἱερέα προσ- 
έταττον αίδεισθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἰμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ 
tοὺς φίλους αἰδούμεθα τοὺς εὐχομένους ὑπὲρ 
ἡμῶν καὶ θύοντας.

'Αλλ' ἐπείπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποθουμέ-
νην ἄρχην ἐλήλυθεν, ἄξιον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ διελ-
θεῖν ἐφεξῆς, ὅποιος τις ἄν ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸς τὲ 
dικαῖως τιμηθήσεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι 
pouihsei.1 τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον οὐ τρῇ σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ 
ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐώς ἄν ἱερεὺς τὸς όνομάζηται, 297 
timān αὐτῶν χρῆ καὶ θεραπεῦει, εἰ δὲ εἰη πονηρός, 
ἀφαιρέθηντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφαν-
θέντα περισσαῖν· ἐως δὲ προθύει καὶ κατάρχεται καὶ 
παρίσταται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς τὸ τιμῶτατον τῶν θεῶν 
κτήμα προσβλεπτέοις ἐστὶν ἥμων μετὰ αἴδους καὶ 
eὐλαβείας. ἀτοποῦ γὰρ, εἰ τοὺς μὲν λίθους, ἐξ ὒν 
ὅμοι πεποίηται, διὰ τὸ καθιερώθηκαί τοῖς θεοῖς 
ἀγαπώμεν,2 οτι μορφήν ἔχουσι καὶ σχῆμα πρέ-
που, εἰς ἄν εἰςι κατασκευασμένοι λειτουργίαν, Β 
ἀνδρά δὲ καθωσιομένου τοῖς θεοῖς ὦκε ὀνισόμεθα 
χρῆναι τιμᾶν. ἵσως ὑπολήψεται τις ἀλλὰ 
ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἕξαμαρτάνοντα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς

1 καὶ—ποιήσει Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS. 
2 ἀγαπώμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαπήσωμεν MSS. 

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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.
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tous theous osioyn; egw di phiμi χριμαι ton mewn
toiotun eklegeiyin, hna μη pounpous oyn enochly
tous theous, eus d' an ekleegyn tis, μη atimazein.
oude gar eulocon epilabomenvos tauntis tis C
afomih oih toioton monon, allla kal ton epithe-
deiow timasqai tihn tihn prosofaireidhiai. estw
toiynn wospere arxhon, oytw de kal ireus pias
aidesimos, epidei kal apofasios esti theou toun
Dideumaiou toiauthe.

"Ossoi es arhitepras atathalisiou noudi
'athanatow reroxou atopofiliai, kai geraseson
'Avtia bouleousoun aerisidheiosi logismosi,
Ouked' olhn vioitoio diekterowosin atapton,
"Ossoi per makareson elwthsanto theisin,
'Ovn keinoi theoseputon elon theaphtida timhn,
kai palwv en allous o theos physi

Panta mevn theapoutantas emoun olhios kako-
titos—,
kai phsion uper toioton dikn episthesin autoi.

Pollwv de eirhmenon toiotaton parada toun theou,
din enestei madontas otpws, xhri timan kai
therapeuein toun ireias, eirhsetai moi dia plei-
onon en allous: apoxh de vyn, oti mh schediazw
mheidhn, epideixai tihn te ek toun theov prorhson
kal to epitaigma ton auton logon ikainov
ηγουμενοι. ei tis soux æzisitoton upelilhefen
eme didaskalon ton toioton, aideaseis ton

1 eklegeyi Hertlein suggests, eklegey 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

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

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θεοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πειθέσθω καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν θεῶν τιμάτω διαφέρόντως· ὅποιον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι χρῆ, πειράσομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἔνεκα σοῦ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ νῦν ἡπιστάμην, ἀμα μὲν τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, ἀμα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν μαρτυροῦντων, ὅτι τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην διαθήσῃ Καλῶς, ὅσα γε εἰς προάρθειν ἦκει τὴν σή, οὐδὲν ἐτολμήσα σοι μεταδοῦναι τοσοῦτον πράγματος· ἀλλὰ ὅπως ἔχεις ἐντεύθεν διδάσκειν τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐλογώτερον καὶ ἐπ’ ἐξουσίας, ὡς οὐκ ὀἴκοθεν αὐτὰ νοεῖς καὶ πράττεις μόνος, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ σύμψηφον σεαυτῷ, δοκοῦντα γε εἶναι διὰ τούς θεοὺς ἀρχιερεὰ μέγιστον, ἄξιον μὲν οὐδαμῶς πράγματος τοσοῦτον, βουλόμενον δὲ εἶναι καὶ προσευχόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς· εὖ γὰρ ἵσθι, Δ μεγάλας ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐλπίδας ἐπαγγέλλονται. πειστέον δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντως. ἀφευθεῖν γὰρ εἰώθασιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τὰ. οἱ δὲ διὰ περιουσίαν δυνάμεως οἴοι τε δύνες καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ περιγενέσθαι ἑπαρχῆς καὶ τὸ ἀτακτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄλλοκοτον ἑπανορθοῦν ἃρ’ οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον, ὅποι δεῖχναι τὰ μαχόμενα, χωρισθείσης μὲν τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς, γῆς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος, ἰκανοὶ παρασχεῖν ἔσονται ταῦθ’ ὅσπερ ἐπηγγείλαντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχειν ἐδοξαν
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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 ἱερεύσι τὰς ἁμοιβάς, ἐγγύους αὐτοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τῆς ἁξίας τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσμεν, ὅπως ὁ Β' πρὸς τὰ πλήθη χρῆ λέγειν δείγμα τῶν έαυτῶν ἐκφέροντας βίον.

Αρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας. οὖτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν ὡς παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρόσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ὀρωμένοις δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πάσης αὐγῆς ὀμμα κρεῖττον ἀχρὶ τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἡμῶν λογισμῶν διατετακόσιν. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ πολλῶν μὲν εἰρημένοις λόγων, ἐμοὶ δὲ δὴτα ἀπόχρη καὶ ἕνα παραθεμένον δύο δὲ ἐνὸς παραστήσατι, πῶς μὲν ὀρώσιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντα, πῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐσεβεῖσιν εὐφραίνονται.

Πάντῃ Φοιβεῖν τέταται ταυνισικόπος ἀκτίς:
Καὶ τε διὰ στερεῶν χωρεῖ θὸν ὅμμα πετράων, D
Καὶ διὰ κυνάνῆς ἀλὸς ἐρχεται, οὔδε ἐληθεί
Πληθὺς ἀστερόεσσα παλινδίνητος ἵοῦσα
Οὐρανὸν εἰς ἀκάμαντα σοφῆς κατὰ θεσμοὺν ἀνάγκης,
Οὐδ' ὀσα νερτερίων ὑπεδέξατο φύλα καμόντων
Τάρπαρος ἄχλυοεντὸς ὑπὸ ξόφουν ἄιδος εἰσο.— 300
Εὐσεβεῖσιν δὲ βροτοῖς γάνυμαι τόσον, ὅσον ὅλυμπον.

"Ὅσω δὲ λίθον καὶ πέτρας ἀπασα μὲν ψυχή,
πολύ δὲ πλέον ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖοτερόν ἔχει καὶ συγγενέστερον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ βάρον καὶ ἐνεργέστερον δὲ αὐτῆς

1 ἄχλυοεντὸς Hertlein suggests; ἄχλυοεσσαν 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.
χωρεῖν τῶν θεῶν τὸ ὄμη. θέα 1 δὲ τὴν φιλαν- Β θροπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γάνισθαι φασκοντος τῇ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν διανοία ὅσον ὃλυμπῳ τῷ καθαιρωτάτῳ. πῶς 2 ἡμῖν οὕτος οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπό τοῦ ζῶου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου μετ' εὐσεβείας αὐτῶν προσιόντων; οἵδε μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ κατακεκλεισμένους· οὓδε γὰρ ἔκεινα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐκτὸς πίπτει δυνάμεως· ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβείς τῶν ὁλυμποῦ ἀντί Κ τοῦ Ταρτάρου. διόπερ χρή μάλιστα τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργων ἀντέχεσθαι προσιόντας μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς μετ' εὐλαβείας, αὐσχροὺς μηδὲν μὴτε λέγοντας μὴτε ἀκούοντας. ἀγνεύειν δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ιερεῖς οὐκ ἔργων μόνον ἀκαθάρτων οὔδε ἀσελγῶν πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρημάτων καὶ ἀκροαμάτων τοιοῦτων. ἐξελάτεα τοῖνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπάχθη σκόμματα, πᾶσα δὲ ἀσελγής ὁμίλια. καὶ ὅπως εἰδέναι ἐχθς ὁ βούλομαι φράζειν, ἱερωμένος τις μὴτε Ἀρχίλοχον ἀναγινωσκέτω μὴτε Ἰππώνακτα D μὴτε ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα γραφόντων. ἀποκλινέτω καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς κομῳδίας ὅσα τῆς τοιαύτης ἱδεὰς· ἀμεινον μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάντως πρέποι δ' ἄν ἡμῖν ἣ ἡμῖν ἠ ἡμῖν ἠ ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἠ ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἠ φιλοσοφία μόνη, καὶ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ ἤγερον προστησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν παιδείας, ὅσπερ 3 Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ζήσωνα. προσεκτεῖν μὲν γὰρ οὕτε πᾶσιν οὕτε τοῖς πάντων δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἔκεινοις μόνον καὶ ἐκείνων, ὅσα 301

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

¹ Hipponax of Ephesus, a scurrilous poet who wrote in choliambics (the skazon) and flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Horace, Epodes 6. 12.
εὐσεβείας ἐστὶ ποιητικὰ καὶ διδάσκει περὶ θεῶν πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εἰσίν, εἰτα ὡς προνοοῦσι τῶν τῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐργάζονται μὲν οὖν ἐν κακῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώ−
πους οὔτε ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες καὶ βασκαῖνοντες καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ὡτοῖα γράφοντες οἱ μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν ποιηταὶ κατεφρονήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προφῆται διατεταμένως συγκατασκευάζοντες ὑπὸ B τῶν ἀθλίων τούτων τῶν προσνεμάντων ἑαυτοῦς τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις θαυμάζονται.

Πρέπει δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἱστορίας ἐντυγχάνειν, ὡπόσαι συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεποιημένους τοῖς ἔργοις· ὅσα δὲ ἔστιν ἐν ἱστορίᾳ εἰδεὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἀπηγγελμένα πλάσματα παρατητέουν, ἐρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. καθάπερ γὰρ οὖν ὡς σὰ πᾶσα τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἁμοῦτε, τετάχθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταῦτας, οὕτως οὖν ἀνά−C γνωσμα πᾶν ἱερωμένῳ πρέπει. ἔγγυνεται γὰρ τις τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ κατ' ὅλιγον ἐγείρει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, εἰτα ἐξαίφνης ἀνάπτει δεινὴν φλόγα, πρὸς ἦν οἷμαι χρὴ πόρω−θεν παρατετάχθαι.

Μῆτε Ἑπικούρειος εἰσίτω λόγος μῆτε Πυρρω−
νειος· ὑδὴ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνηρίκασιν, ὡστε ἐπιλείπειν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα D τῶν βιβλίων. ὁμοὶς οὖν καὶ οὕτως τῦτων χάριν ἐπιμνησθῆναι μὲν καὶ τούτων, ὡποῖων χρὴ μάλιστα τούς ἱερέας ἀπέχεσθαι λόγων, εἰ δὲ λόγων, πολὺ πρότερον ἐννοιῶν. οὖν θὰ γὰρ οἷμαι ταῦταν ἑστὶν 326
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men god-fearing, and teach concerning the gods, first that they exist, secondly that they concern themselves with the things of this world, and further that they do no injury at all either to mankind or to one another, out of jealousy or envy or enmity. I mean the sort of thing our poets in the first place have brought themselves into disrepute by writing, and in the second place such tales as the prophets of the Jews take pains to invent, and are admired for so doing by those miserable men who have attached themselves to the Galilaeans.

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

Let us not admit discourses by Epicurus or Pyrrho; but indeed the gods have already in their wisdom destroyed their works, so that most of their books have ceased to be. Nevertheless there is no reason why I should not, by way of example, mention these works too, to show what sort of discourses priests must especially avoid; and if such discourses, then much more must they avoid such thoughts. For an error of speech is, in my
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ἀμάρτημα γλώττης καὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνην χρή μάλιστα θεραπεύειν, ὅς καὶ τής γλώττης ἐκείνης συνεξαμαρτανούσης. ἐκμαθάνειν χρή τοὺς ὕμνους τῶν θεῶν εἰσὶ, δὲ οὕτω πολλῷ μὲν καὶ καλῷ πεποιημένῳ παλαιῷς καὶ νέοις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους πειρατέων ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἄδομένους. οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἰκετευθέντως ἐδόθησαν, ὅλῳ δὲ τινες 302 ἐποιήθησαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ὕπ’ πνεύματος ἐνθέου καὶ ψυχῆς ἀβάτον τῶν κακοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεῶν τιμῇ συγκείμενοι,

Ταῦτα γε ἄξιον ἐπιτιθεῖν καὶ εὐχεσθαι πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἱδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, μάλιστα μὲν τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ δὲ μή, πάντως ὄρθρον γε1 καὶ δείλης· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογὸν ἄθυτον ἁγεν ήμέραν ἡ νύκτα τῶν ἱερωμένων. ἀρχὴ δὲ ὄρθρος μὲν ἡμέρας, Β όψια δὲ νυκτὸς. εὐλογὸν δὲ ἀμφότερον τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅταν ἐξωθῆν τῆς ἱερατικῆς ὄντες τυχχάνωμεν λειτουργίας· ὡς τὰ γε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅσα πάτριος διαγορεύει νόμος, φυλάττειν πρέπει, καὶ οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἐλαττῶν τι ποιητέων αὐτῶν· ἀδία γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν· ὅστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν, ἣν αὐτοὺς ἰδασκόμεθα διὰ τοῦτο πλέον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἢμεν αὐτοψυχαὶ μόναι, τὸ σῶμα δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἢμῖν διώχλει, καλῶς ἂν εἴχεν ἐνα τινὰ τοῖς ἱερεὺσιν ἀφορίζειν βίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕν ἱερεύσιν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ 2 ἱερεὶ προσήκει μόνον, ὃ δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτιθευτέον,

1 γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.
2 το 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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tί δὲ τῷ 1 ἱερατεύειν ἀνθρώπῳ λαχόντι συγχωρητέον, ὅταν ἐκτὸς ἡ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λειτουργίαις;
οἷμαι δὲ χρῆναι τὸν ἱερέα πάντων ἀγνεύσαντα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, εἰτα ἄλλην ἐπ’ αὐτῇ νύκτα
καθηράμενον οἶς διαγορεύουσιν οἱ θεσμοὶ καθαρμοῖς οὕτως εἴσῳ φοιτῶντα τῷ ἱερῷ μένειν ὅσας
ἀν ἡμέρας ὁ νόμος κελεύῃ. τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ αἰ
παρ’ ἡμῖν εἰσίν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρ’ ἄλλοις δὲ ἄλλως.
εὐλογον οὖν οἷμαι μένειν ἀπάσας ταῦτας τὰς
ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφοῦντα, καὶ μὴτε
εἰς οἰκίαις βαδίζειν μὴτε εἰς ἄγοράν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ
303 ἄρχοντα πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὄραν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
dὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ θείου θεραπείας αὐτὸν ἑφορώντα
πάντα καὶ διατάττοντα, πληρώσαντα δὲ τὰς
ἡμέρας εἰτα ἐτέρῳ παραχωρεῖν τῇς λειτουργίαις.
ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρεπομένῳ βίον ἐξέστω
καὶ βαδίζειν εἰς οἰκίαις φίλου καὶ εἰς ἐστίασιν
ἀπαντῶν παρακληθέντα, μὴ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν
Β Βελτίστων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄγοράν παρέλθειν
οὐκ ἅτοπον ὀλιγάκις, ἡγεμόνα τε προσεπειν καὶ
ἐθνοὺς ἄρχοντα, καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγως δεομένοις ὅσα
ἐνδέχεται βοηθῆσαι.

Πρέπει δὲ οἷμαι τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἐνδον μὲν, ὅτε
λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτι χρῆσθαι μεγαλοπρεπε-
στάτη, τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ ἐξὼ τῇ συνήθει δίχα πολυ-

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

And it is in my opinion fitting for priests to wear the most magnificent dress when they are within the temple performing the services, but when they are outside the sacred precincts to wear ordinary dress,
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teleías: ouđè γὰρ εὐλογοῦν τοῖς δεδομένοις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τύφων μᾶταιον. οἶδεν ἀφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεῖοι στέρας ἐν ἁγορᾷ καὶ κόμπου ἡ καὶ πάσης ἀπλῶς ἀλαξονείας. οἱ γοῦν θεὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἀγασθέντες Ἀμφιαράου σωφροσύνην, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκείνου κατεδίκασαν φθοράν εἰ δῶ τε αὐτὸς συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἦν ἀφεκτόν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἀπέφηγαν αὐτὸν ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς λήξιν θείαν. πάντων γοῦν τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ταῖς Θήβαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων πρὶν κατεργάσασθαι σή- D ματὰ γραφόντων καὶ ἐγείρόντων τὰ τρόπαια κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν Καδμείων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὀμιλητὴς ἁσημα μὲν ἐπιστράτευεν ἐχών ὅπλα, πραότητα δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τολεμίων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο. διόπερ οἴμαι χρὴ καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἡμᾶς τὰ περὶ τᾶς ἐσθήτας σῳφρονεῖν, ἴνα τυγχάνωμεν εὐμενῶν τῶν θεῶν· ὡς οὐ μικρά γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνομεν δημούμενοι τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθήτας καὶ δημοσιεύοντες καὶ παρέχοντες 304 ἀπλῶς περιβλέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσπερ τι θανατῶν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο συμβαίνει, πολλοὶ πελάξονσιν ἡμῖν οὐ καθαροί, 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—σῳφρονεῖν Cobet suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

4 εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, εἰπὲρ εἰκ τοῦτο MSS.
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 Amphíaraus, 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 μαντις Ἀμφιάραος οὐ σημεῖ ἔχων
ὑβρισμέν', ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἁσμι ὀπλα.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

άυτούς οὐχ ἱερατικῶς ξώντας ἱερέων ἐσθήτα
περικείσθαι πόσης ἢστὶ παρανομίας καὶ κατα-
φρονήσεως εἰς τοὺς θεούς; εἰρήσεται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν
καὶ περὶ τοῦτων ἐν ἄλλοις 1 δι᾽ ἀκριβείας νυνὶ δὲ
ὡς τύπῳ πρὸς σὲ γράφω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Τοῖς ἁσελγέσι τούτοις θεάτροις τῶν ἱερέων Β
μηδεὶς μηδαμοῦ παραβαλλέτω μηδὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· πρέπει γὰρ οὐδαμῶς. καὶ
εἰ μὲν οἷον τε ἡν ἐξελάσαι παντάπασιν αὐτὰ
τῶν θεάτρων, ὥστε αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀποδόναι τῷ
Διονύσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα, πάντως ἀν ἐπειράθην
αὐτὸ προθύμως κατασκευάσαι. νυνὶ δὲ οἰόμενος Ρ
τούτο ὅπτε δυνατὸν ὅπτε ἄλλας, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν
φανεί, συμφέρον ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, ταύτης μὲν
ἀπεσχόμην παντάπασι τῆς φιλοτιμίας: ἀξιὸν δὲ
toús ieréas ὑποχωρήσαι καὶ ἀποστήναι τῷ δήμῳ
tῆς ἀν τοῖς θεάτροις ἁσελγέιας. μηδεὶς οὖν ieréus
eis theátron eisítew, mηδὲ ἐxētow 2 filon thumelikôn
mηδε ἀρματηλάτην, μηδε ὀρχησῆσαι μηδὲ μίμος
αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτω· τοῖς ieróis ἀγώσιν
ἐπιτρέπω μόνον τῷ βουλομένῳ παραβάλλειν, D
ὡς ἀπηγορεῦται μετέχειν οὐκ ἀγωνίας μόνον,
ἄλλα καὶ θέας ταῖς γυναιξιν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν
κυνηγείων τὶ δεὶ καὶ λέγειν, ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν
εἶσω τῶν θεάτρων συντελεῖται, ὡς ἀφεκτέον
toútow estin oúx ieréwsi mónom, álλa kai
παισιν ieréwv;

Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἵσως πρὸ τοῦτων εἰρήσθαι καλῶν,
ἄθεν καὶ ὅπως χρῆ τοὺς ieréas ἀποδεικνύειν ὁιδὲν
dὲ ἀτοπον eis τοῦτο μοι τοὺς λόγους λήξαι. ἐγώ 305

1 ἐν ἄλλοις Cobet would add; cf. 298 A.
2 ἐχέτω Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
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 unsuitable. 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
LETTER TO A PRIEST

φημι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βελτίστους καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φιλοθεωτάτους, ἐπείτα φιλανθρωποτάτους, εάν τε πένητες ὡσιν εάν τε πλοῦσιοι· διάκρισις ἔστω πρὸς τούτο μηδὲ ἱτισοῦν ἀφανοὺς καὶ ἐπιφανοὺς· ο γὰρ διὰ πραότητα λεληθὼς οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀφάνειαν δίκαιος ἐστὶ κωλύσθαι. καὶ πένης οὐν ἢ τις δημότης ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τὸ τε φιλόθεου καὶ τὸ φιλανθρωποῦν, ἰρεύς ἀποδεικνύον. δείγμα δὲ Β τοῦ φιλοθέου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰςαγάγων, τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δὲ, εἰ καὶ εξ ὀλίγων εὐκόλως κοινώνει τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μεταδίδοσι προθύμως, ει ποιεῖν ἔπιχειρῶν ὅσους ἀν οἰός τε ἦ.

Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καὶ τὴν ἱατρείαν ἐντεῦθεν ποιητεύον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱμαί συνεβη τοὺς πένητας ἀμελεῖσθαι παρορωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ιερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαίοι κατανοήσαντες ἐπέθεντο ταύτη τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ χείριστον τῶν ἔργων διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκράτυναν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ παιδία διὰ τὸ πλακοῦντος ἔξαπατώντες τῷ καὶ δίς καὶ τρῖς προέσχαν πείθους ἀκολουθεῖν εαυτοῖς, εἰθ’, ὅταν ἀποστήσωσι πόρρω τῶν οἰκείων, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδουντο, καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἀπαντα τῶν ἐξῆς βίου πυκρὸν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλίγον

1 εὐδοκιμοῦντος Hertlein suggests, καλλίστου δοκοῦντος Reiske, δοκοῦντος MSS. 2 γὰρ Hertlein would add.
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 δ θης λεγομένης παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν· ἐστὶ γὰρ ὡσπερ τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τούνομα παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλεῖστος ἐνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα.
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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.
THE CAESARS
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 proœmium 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.
'Επειδὴ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς παῖςειν· ἔστι γὰρ Κρόνια·
γελοῖον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τερπνὸν οἶδα ἐγὼ, τὸ μὴ
καταγέλαστα φράσαι φροντίδος ἐοίκεν εἶναι ἄξιον,
ὁ φιλότης.
Εἰτα τίς οὗτος παχύς ἔστι καὶ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ
Καίσαρ, ὅστε καὶ παῖςειν πεφροντισμένα; ἕγῳ
φιμην τὴν παιδιὰν ἀνεσίν τε εἰναι ψυχῆς καὶ
ἀπαλλαγήν τῶν φροντίδων.
'Ορθῶς γε σὺ τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐμοὶ δὲ Β
οὐ ταῦτη ἐοίκεν ἀπαντᾶν τὸ χρῆμα. πέφυκα γὰρ
οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτήδειος οὔτε σκόππτειν οὔτε παραφεῖν
οὔτε γελοιάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρὴ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι
τοῦ θεοῦ, βούλει σοι ἐν παιδιᾷς μέρει μῦθου διεξ-
έλθω πολλὰ ἱσώς ἑχοῦτα ἀκοῆς ἄξια;
Δέγοις ἃν καὶ μᾶλα ἀσμένῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς C
οὐκ ἀτιμάξῳ τοὺς μῦθους οὐδὲ παντάπασιν
ἐξελαύνω τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἑχοῦτας, ἀκόλουθὰ σοὶ
tε καὶ φίλον τῷ σῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ κοινῷ,
Πλάτωνι διανοούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ πολλὰ
ev μῦθοι ἑσπούδασται.
"It is the season of the Kronia,\textsuperscript{1} during which the god allows us to make merry. But, my dear friend, as I have no talent for amusing or entertaining I must methinks take pains not to talk mere nonsense."

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} Better known by its Latin name Saturnalia. Saturn is the Greek Kronos.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Δέγεις ναί μὰ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.
Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μῦθος;
Οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὅποιος Αἰσώπτος ἐποίη- 307
σεν, ἀλλ’ εἴτε πλάσμα λέγους "Ερμοῦ" πεπυ-
σμένος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν σοι φράσω· εἴτε καὶ
τάληθες οὗτος ἔχει εἴτε μίξις τις ἐστιν ἀμφοῖν,
αὐτό, φασί,1 δεῖξε τὸ πράγμα.
Τοῦτι μὲν οὖν ἥδη μυθικὸς ἄμα καὶ ἰθυρικῶς
ἐξειργασταί σοι τὸ προοίμιον ἀλλὰ μοι τὸν
λόγον αὐτὸν, ὅποιός ποτὲ ἐστὶν, ἥδη διεξέλθε.
Μανθάνοις ἂν.
Θύγων ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει Β
τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς2 τοὺς καίσαρας.
κλίναι δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμέναι τοῖς μὲν
θεοῖς ἄνω κατ’ αὐτὸ, φασίν, οὐρανοῦ τὸ μετέωρον,
Οὐλυμπόνοι', οἵ φασὶ θεοῦ ἑδος ὠσφαλές αἰεί.
λέγεται γὰρ μεθ’ Ἡρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε
καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος, ὁ δὴ χρῆ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὀνόματι,
τῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς
ἐκεῖσε παρεσκευάστο τὸ συμπόσιον. ὑπ’ αὐτὴν δὲ Σ
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετέωρον τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδωκτο
toῖς καίσαρας δειπνεῖν. ἀνείχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε
τῶν σωμάτων κοινφότης, ἀπερ ἐτύγχανον ἡμιφε-
σμένου, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλίναι μὲν
οὖν ἐκείνῳ τέταρτες, εὐτρεπείς τοῖς μεγίστοις
θεοῖς. ἐβένου μὲν ἢν ἢ τοῦ Κρόνου στίλβονης
καὶ πολλῇ ἐν τῷ μέλαιν καὶ θελαν ἀυγῆν κρυ-
pτούσης, ὥστε οὐδείς οἶδος τε ἢν ἀντιβλέπειν.

1 φασὶ Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, et ἐπίδειξi MSS.
2 αὐτοῦς Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation
“By Zeus, that is true indeed!”
“But what is your myth and of what type?”
“Not one of those old-fashioned ones such as Aesop 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

1 i.e. not a fable with a moral nor an animal fable.
2 Cf. Plato, Phaedrus 247 b.
3 Odyssey 6. 42.
4 Cf. Oration 4. 149 b, 154 d.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Ἐπασχε δὲ ταῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἔβενον ἐκείνην τὰ Δ ὄμματα δὲ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνος, οπερ οἴμαι πρὸς ἢλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δίσκῳ τις ἀτενέστερον προσβλέπῃ. ἡ δὲ τῶν Διώς ἦν ἀργύρου μὲν στιλπνοτέρα, χρυσίου δὲ λευκότερα. τούτο εἰτε ἠλεκτρον χρη καλείν εἰτε ἄλλο τι λέγειν, οὐ σφόδρα εἴχε μοι γνωρίμως ο Ἕρμης φράσαι. χρυσοθρόνο δὲ παρ᾽ ἐκάτερον ἐκαθεζέσθην ἢ τε μῆτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ, Ἡρα μὲν παρὰ τῶν Διά, 308 Ἄρα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνου. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνος ἐπεξήρη τῷ λόγῳ, μειζὸν εἶναι λέγον αὐτὸ καὶ νῦθεταν, ἀκοῆ δὲ καὶ ῥήμασιν οὔτε προσισθήναι ρᾷδιν οὔτε παραδεχθῆναι δυνατον. οὐχ οὔτω τις ἔσται καὶ φανεῖται μεγαλόφωνος, ὡστε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκείνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους, ὅποσον ἐπιπρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὤψει.

Παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐκάστῳ Β θρόνος ἡ κλίνη κατὰ προσβείαν. ἡρίζε δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ᾿ ὑπερ "Ομήρου ὀρθῶς ποιῶν ἐφή, δοκεῖν μοι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἄκηκοσ, ἔχειν ἐκαστον τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἐφ᾽ οὐ πάντως αὐτῷ θέμις καθησαί στερεώς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως ἐτελεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξανιστάμενοι παραττουσιν οὐδαμῶς τὰς καθήδρας οὐδὲ μετα- βαίνουσιν οὐδὲ ὑφαρπάζουσιν ἄλληλουν, γνωρίζει C δὲ ἐκαστος τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ. πάντων οὖν κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τὸν Διονύσου καλοῦ καὶ νέου καὶ

1 ἐκαθεζέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἐκαθεζέσθην V., ἐκαθεζέσθην MSS.
THE CAESARS

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 § gold and § silver.

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

tò πατρὶ τῷ Διὶ παραπλησίου πλησίον αὐτοῦ, τροφεύς τις οία καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθήστο, τά τε Δ' ἄλλα φιλοπαιγμόνα καὶ φιλόγελων καὶ χαριτοδότην ¹ οὖντα τὸν θεὸν εὐφράνων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ σκωπτεῖν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιάζειν.

'Ως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καισάρων συνεκεκρότητο ² συμπόσιον, εἰσῄει πρῶτος Ῥούλιος Καίσαρ, ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἐρίσαι τῷ Διὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς δὲ τὸ Σειλήνος βλέψας, "Ορα, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ, μή σε ὁ ἄνηρ ὤτος ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοήθη. καὶ γάρ, ὁς ὅρας, ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ καλὸς· ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστὶ 309 προσόμοιος. παίζοντος ἕτει τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σειληνοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῶ, Ὄκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμεῖβων, ὅσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες, χρόματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχρῶν, αὕτως δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γυνόμενος, εἰτα μέλας καὶ ζωφῶδος καὶ συννεφὴς· ἀνίετο δ' αὕτης εἰς Ἀφροδίτην Β καὶ Χάριτας, εἶναι τε ἦθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων ὁποῖος ἐστιν ὁ μέγας "Ηλιός· οὐδένα γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων ³ ἀντιβλέπειν ἥξιον. καὶ ὁ Σειλήνος, Βαβαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τοῦτον θηρίον· τί ποτ' ἀρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται; Παῦσαι, εἰπέ, ληρῶν, ὁ 'Απόλλων· ἐγώ γὰρ αὐτῶν τουτοί Ζήνων παραδοὺς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἀποφανῷ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' ἰθι, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζήνων, ἐπιμελήθητι τούμοι θρέμματος. ὁ δὲ

¹ χαριτοδότην Spanheim, cf. 148 D, χαριτοδότην 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 Τιβέριος σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσσύρος, σώφρον τε ἄμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὄφθησαν ὁτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῦτον μυρία, καυτηρὲς τινὲς καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ μώλωπες ὑπὸ τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ὁμότητος φώρα τινὲς καὶ λείχηνες οἶνον ἐγκεκαυμέναι. εἶθ' ὁ Σειληνὸς

'Αλλοϊός μοι, ξείνε, φάνης νέον ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν εἰπὼν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαιότερος. καὶ ὁ Διὸνυσος πρὸς αὐτόν, Τί δήτα, εἴπεν, ὁ παππίδιον σπουδάζεις; καὶ ὁς, 'Εξέπληξέ με ὁ γέρων ὀύτος, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἔφη, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἐκλαθόμενον ἐμαυτοῦ τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς προβαλέσθαι μούσας. ἀλλὰ σε, εἴπεν, ἐλξεὶ τῶν ὄσων 310 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματιστὴν τινα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμώζων μὲν οὖν, εἴπεν, ἐν τῷ νησιδριῳ τὰς Καπρέας αἰνετόμενοι τῶν ἄθλιον ἀλλεὰ ψυχέτω. ταῦτα ἐτὶ παιζόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπεισέχεται θηρίον πονηρόν. εἴτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπέστρεψαν τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ αὐτῶν δίδωσιν ἡ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἰ ἐδὲ ἔρριψαν εἰς Β
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 πάροιθεν which means also “in front.”
⁵ i.e. Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, Tiberius 56, 70.
⁶ Suetonius, Tiberius 60. ⁷ Caligula.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Τάρταρον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἐσχεν ὁ Σειληνὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσας. τοῦ Κλαυδίου δὲ ἐπεισελθόντος, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἀρχεται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἄδειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου ἱκολακεύων δῆθεν τὸν Κλαυδίου. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρίων ἀπίδων, Ἀδίκεις, εἰπεν, ὁ Κυρίω, τὸν ἀπόγονον ἄγιον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον δίχα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλλαντος. ἀλλ' ἰδί, εἰπεν, πέμψον ἐπ' ἐκεῖνος, εἰ βούλει δέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Μεσσαλίναν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκεῖνων δίχα τούτι τῆς τραγῳδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικροῦ δέω φάναι, καὶ ἀψινχον. ἐπεισερχεται λέγοντι τὸ Σειληνὸς Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέψας ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Οὐτος, εἰπεν, ἐπὶ σὲ παρασκεύαζεται. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, Ἀλλ' ἐγόγας αὐτὸν, εἰπεν, ἀποστεφανώσου, ὅτι μὲ μὴ πάντα μιμεῖται μηδὲ ἐν ὦς μὲ μιμεῖται γίγνεται μου μιμητὴς δίκαιος. ἀποστεφανώθεντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κόκυντος εὐθέως ἠρπασεν.

'Ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ συνέτρεχον, D Βίνδικες, Γάλβα, Ὀθώνες, Βιτέλλιοι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Τοῦτων, εἰπεν, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμὴνος πόθεν ἐξηροήκατε, ὁ θεόι; τυφόμεθα γούν ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ· φείδεται γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταύτι τὰ θηρία. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπίδων πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ Σαραπίν καὶ τὸν Οὐσπασίανον δείξας, Πέμπε, εἰπε, τὸν σμίκρυνος τούτου ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταχέως, ἢν τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ τῶν παιδῶν δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον

1 Δήμου Cobet, δήμου Hertlein, MSS., Δημοσθένους Spangheim. 2 τὸ σμὴνος Hertlein suggests, τὸν δήμου 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 Cocytus instantly swept him away. 

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

1 *Knights* 1111 foll.
2 Their riches were proverbial, cf. Juvenal 1. 109; 14. 32.
4 An allusion partly to the smoke of civil war, partly to the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline under Vitellius; the temple was restored by Vespasian; Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 81.
μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς πανδήμου, τὸν νεώτερον δὲ τῷ Σικελικῷ θηρίῳ παραπλησίως κλοὺς δήσων. παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τούτου γέρων ὁφθηναί καλὸς· λάμπει γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρα τὸ κάλλος· ἐντυχεὶν πραότατος, χρηματίσαι δικαιότατος. γῆς θητῆ τούτου ὁ Σειλήνος καὶ ἀπεστώπησεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἑρμῆς, Ἑπέρ δὲ τούτου, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν λέγεις; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἐφη, μέμψομαι γε ὑμῖν τῆς ἀνισότητος. τῷ γὰρ φονικῷ θηρίῳ τρὶς πέντε νεόματε ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕνα μόλις ἔδωκατε τούτῳ βασιλεῦσαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέμψομαι, εἴπεν ὁ Ζεὺς· εἰσάξω γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς κάγαθους. εὔθεώς οὖν ὁ Τραῖανὸς εἰσήρχετο φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών τὰ τρόπαια, τό τε Γετικῶν καὶ τὸ Παρθικών. ἵδιν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σειλήνος ἐφη, λαυθάνειν τε ἁμα καὶ ἀκούεσθαι βουλόμενος,"Ορα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Δίι σκοπεῖν, ὅποιο ὁ Γανυμήδης αὐτῷ φρουρήσεται.

Μετὰ τούτου ἐπεισέρχεται βαθείαν ἔχων τὴν ὑπῆρνην ἀνήρ σοβαρὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δῆ καὶ μονασκήνη εργαζόμενος, ἔστε τὸν υἱὸν τῶν ἄφρον πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τούτου δὲ ἵδιν ὁ Σειλήνος ἐφη, Τὶ δὲ ὑμῖν οὕτως ὁ σοφιστὴς δοκεῖ; μοῦ Ἀντίουν τῇδε περισκοπεῖ; φρασάτω τις αὐτῷ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ μειράκιον ἐνθαδὶ καὶ παυσάτω τοῦ ληροῦ καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτὸν. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνθρωπος εἰσέρχεται 31: σώφρων, οὐ τὰ ἐς Ἀφροδίτην, ἄλλα τὰ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἵδιν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειλήνος ἐφη, Βαβαί τῆς σμικρολογίας· εἰς εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τῶν διαπρόντων τὸ κύμιον ὁ πρεσβύτης οὕτως. ἐπεισελθοῦσάς δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐξυνωρί-
eldest 1 sport with Aphrodite Pandemos and chain the younger 2 in the stocks like the Sicilian monster." 3

Next entered an old man, 4 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 5 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 6 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." 7

1 Titus. 2 Domitian. 3 Phalaris of Agrigentum.
4 Nerva. 5 Hadrian. 6 Antoninus Pius.
7 A proverb for niggardliness; cf. Theocritus 10, 50.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

dos, Βήρου καὶ Δουκίου, δεινὸς ὁ Σειληνὸς συνεστάλη. παίζειν γάρ οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ’ ἐπι-σκόπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βήρου, καίτοι καὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν νῦν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πολυπραγμονὸν ἀμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσήκειν Ἐ-ἐπένθησεν, ἀλλὰς τε οὐδὲ κοσμίαν οὕσαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν συναπολλυμένην περιείδειν, ἔχων καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαίον κηδεστήν, ὃς τῶν τε κοινῶν ἀν προούστη κρείττον καὶ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἢ ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ. καίτερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονὸν ἠδεῖτο τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν γε μὴν νιέα οὐδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίσας ἄξιον ἄφηκεν. Ὅ ἐπιτυπτε γάρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γην οὐ δυνάμενος ἵστασθαι καὶ παρομαρτέιν τοῖς ἡρωσιν.

Ἐπεισέρχεται Περτίναξς τῷ συμποσίῳ τῆς σφαγῆς ὁδυρόμενος. ὡς Δική δὲ αὐτὸν κατελεί-σασα, Ἀλλ’ οὐχιρήσουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ τούτων αὐτοῖς καὶ σὺ δέ, ὁ Περτίναξς, ήδεικες κοινωνῶν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἢν ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Σεβήρος, ἀνὴρ πυρίας γέμων καὶ κολαστικός. Ὡς τούτου δὲ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, οὐδὲν λέγω-φοβοῦμαι γάρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λιαν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἀπαραί-τητον. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια συνεισέναι, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκώλυσεν ὁ Μύως. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον ἄφηκε, τὸν

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

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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.
δὲ πρεσβύτερον τιμωρίαν ἐπεμψε τίσοντα. 
Μα-κρῖνος ἐνταύθα φυγᾶς μαίφώνος· εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἑμέσης παιδάριον πόρρω ποικ. τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλαύ-νετο περιβόλων. ο γε μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἑσχάτοις ποικ. καθῆστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ποτνώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων αὐτοῦ εἶπεν Ἡ ὁ μῶρε καὶ μέγα νῆπιε, τηλικοῦτος ἀν ὁυκ αὐτὸς ἤρξες τῶν σεαυτοῦ, τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐδίδωσ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ὁ ἐπείσθης, ὃσῳ κρέιττον 
Βἀναλισκεὶν ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἡ θησαυρίζειν. Ἀλλ' ἔγογε, εἶπεν ἡ Δίκη, πάντας αὐτούς, ὅσιοι 
μεταίτινι γεγόνασι τούτων, κολασθησομένους παραδώσῳ. καὶ ὁυτοὶ ἀνέθη τὸ μειράκιον. ἐπὶ 
τούτῳ παρῆλθεν εἶσῳ Γαλλιήνος μετὰ τοῦ πα- 
τρός, ὁ μὲν τὰ δεσμᾶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔχων, ὁ 
δὲ στολῇ τε καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακωτέρα 
ὡστερ αἱ γυναίκες. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς μὲν 
ἐκεῖνον,

Τὸς ὁυτὸς ὁ λευκολόφας,
Πρὸς πρὸς ἰγεῖται στρατοῦ;

' ὅσ καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντη τρυφῇ ἡπτὸ κούρῃ

τοῦτῳ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπε τῆς ἐκείσε θόνης ἐκβῆναι. 

Τῶν τούτων ἐπεισέρχεται Κλαύδιος, εἰς ὃν ἀπι- 

δόντες οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἡγάσθησαν τε αὐτοῦ τῆς 

μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ ἐπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τῆς 

ἀρχήν, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζαντες ὁτὸ φιλοπάτρι-

δος ἄνδρος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγε-

μονίᾳ. τούτων ἐπεισέρχεται Αὐρηλιάνος ὡστε 

πρὸς ἀποδιδράσκων τοὺς εἰργοῦτας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ

1 εἶπεν Hertlein suggests, εἶπεν MSS,
for his crimes. Next Macrinus, assassin and fugitive, and after him the pretty boy from Emesa were driven far away from the sacred enclosure. But Alexander the Syrian sat down somewhere in the lowest ranks and loudly lamented his fate. 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: 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, 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?" Then he greeted Gallienus with, "He who is all decked with gold and dainty as a maiden." But Zeus ordered the pair to depart from the feast.

Next came Claudius, 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.

1 Heliogabalus; cf. Oration 4. 150 D, note.
2 Alexander Severus was assassinated in 235 A.D.
3 Mammaea.
4 Valerian died in captivity among the Persians.
5 Euripides, Phoenissae 120.
6 Slightly altered from Iliad 2. 872.
7 Cf. Oration 1. 6 D,
Μίνως πολλαὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαιι τῶν ἄδικῶν φόνων, καὶ ἐφευρε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς ἀπολογούμενος. "Ἡλίως δὲ οὐμὸς δεσπότης αὐτῷ πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα θεσμοὺς, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτὸ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὶολυμπίης καὶ Ἁρτέμιδος καὶ Ἑρμήνων, Ἐλευθέρις καὶ Ἐρμῆς καὶ Τιμήμος καὶ Πολυδωρίας καὶ Αἰας καὶ Κοραής καὶ Περσίππους καὶ Λυκέαν καὶ Αἰακῶς καὶ Ἐρέτρης καὶ Περσίππους καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ Πολυδωρίας καὶ Αἰας καὶ Κοραής καὶ Τιμήμος καὶ Πολυδωρίας καὶ Αἰας καὶ Κοραής.
THE CAESARS

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 Helios¹ 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 659 e; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 b.
'Ετι διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Ὅ τε 315
Κάρος ἀμα τοῖς πασίν εἰσφησαι βουληθεὶς εἰς
tὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελήλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ
Διοκλητιανός, ἄγων μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ Μαξιμανὸ τε τῷ
dύο καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάτπον Κωνστάντιον, ἐν κόσμῳ
προῆγεν. εἶχοντο δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χείρι, καὶ
ἐβάδιζον ὥσπερ ἄλλος ἵνα περὶ αὐτῶν, τῶν μὲν ὁσπερ
dορυφοροῦντον καὶ προθέειν Β
αὐτοῦ βουλομένων, τοῦ δὲ εἰργοντος. οὐδὲν γὰρ
ἡξίου πλεονεκτεῖν. ώς δὲ ἐξωτερικά κάμνοντός ἑαυτοῦ,
δούς αὐτοῖς ἀπαντά, ὅσα ἐφερεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοιῶν,
αὐτὸς εὐλυτος ἐβάδιζεν. ἡγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὁμονοίαν, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ
πολλῶν πάνω καθήσαται. δεινῶς δὲ οὕτα τῶν
Μαξιμανοῦ ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σειληγώς ἐτισκάττευν
μὲν ὅνω ἡξίου, τό δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ὅνω εἰσδεχέτο Σ
συσσίτων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ ἐις Ἀφροδίτην ἡν
παντοῖαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀσέλγης, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοπράγ-
μων καὶ ἀπιστος καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ
συνωδών. ἐξήλασεν ὅνω αὐτοῦ ἡ Δίκη ταχέως.
εἶτα ἀπήλθεν ὅνω οἶδα ὅποι γῆς. ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ
αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ πολυτραγμονῆσαι. τοῦτο
δὲ τῷ παναρμονῖο τετραχόρδῳ παραφύεται δεινῶν
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"Why, my son," he replied, "did I not make a philosopher of you? Do you not know that Socrates also, who was so like me,\(^1\) carried off the prize for philosophy from his contemporaries, at least if you believe that your brother\(^2\) tells the truth? So you must allow me to be serious on occasion and not always jocose."

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


\(^2\) A reference to the oracle of Apollo which declared that Socrates was the wisest man of his times.

\(^3\) Cf. *Oration* 1. 7 A, B.
καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχῶδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Δ
dύο οὔδε τῶν προθύρων ἀψασθαὶ τῆς τῶν ἦρων ἄγορᾶς ἡ Δίκη συνεχώρησε, Δικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν
προθύρων ἐλθόντα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα πλημ-
μελοῦντα ταχέως ὁ Μίνως ἐξήλασεν. ὁ Κον-
σταντῖνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰσὶ καὶ πολὺν ἐκαθέσθη
χρόνον, εἶτα μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰ παιδία. Μαγνεντῖο
γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἰσοδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐπετράχει, 316
καίτοι πολλὰ ἐδόκει πετραχθάνει τῷ ἄνδρι καλά· ὁ
teo δὲ ὀρόντες, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῷ
πετοίηταί διαθέσεως, εἰσὶν αὐτῶν οἰμώξειν ἀπο-
τρέχουν.

Οὐσθεὶδηςοίταντηςάμφιντοδεὶπνηνπαρα-
skevής, ἐπόθουν μὲν οὔδεν οἱ θεοὶ, πάντα γὰρ
ἐχοντιν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἦρων ἐδόκει τῷ Ἐρμῆ
diapeirάσθαι, καὶ τῷ Διῷ τῷτοι οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης
ἡν. ἐδεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος ἡδη τινὰ μετάγειν
ἐκεῖθεν παρ' ἑαυτόν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶπεν, Ὁυκ Ἄν
νεξομαι, ὁ Κυρίνε· διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτί τὸ δεὶπνον παρεκάλεις; σοῦ
tούς, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ, δέομαι, εἰ τινὰ τούτων
ἐγνωκας ἀγεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἴκεων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
κέλευε. τί γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινῆ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἀποτειρώ-
μενοι τῷ βελτίων τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν ὁ τῆς
Ἀλκμήνης ἐδόκει τῷ Δι. καὶ ἐπεισελθόντος Κ
αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἦρωσιν οὔτε ὁ Καίσαρ οὔτε ἄλλος τις
ὑπανίστατο· καταλαβὼν δὲ σχολαζοσαν καθέ-
dran, ἢν ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπετοίητο ἑαυτῷ,
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπελήλατο διὰ τὴν ἄδελφοκτονίαν,
four there crept a terribly harsh and discordant strain. For this reason Justice would not suffer the two\(^1\) so much as to approach the door of that assembly of heroes. As for Licinius, he came as far as the door, but as his misdeeds were many and monstrous Minos forthwith drove him away. Constantine however entered and sat some time, and then came his sons.\(^2\) Magnentius\(^3\) was refused admission because he had never done anything really laudable, though much that he achieved had the appearance of merit. So the gods, who perceived that these achievements were not based on any virtuous principle, sent him packing; to his deep chagrin.

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

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\(^1\) *i.e.* the two Maximians, the colleagues of Diocletian.

\(^2\) Constantine II, Constans and Constantius.

\(^3\) Cf. *Oration* I. 31, 33 foll.

\(^4\) Caracalla.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐνεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων τῶν Κυρί

νον, Ὀρα, εἶπε, μὴ ποτὲ οὐτοὶ ἐνὸς εἰσιν1 ἀντάξιοι
toutou τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μᾶ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρίνος,

οἴμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὐτῷ δὲ αὐτὸν

οἱ ἐμοὶ τεθαυμάκασιν ἐγγονοὶ, ὡστε μόνον αὐτὸν D

ἐκ πάντων, ὡσοὶ γεγονόσιν ἡγεμόνες ξένοι, ὅνο-

μάξουσι καὶ νομίζουσι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ

tῶν παρ’ ἐαυτοῖς γεγονότων οἴονται μείζονα τοῦ-

tον, ἵσως μὲν ὑπὸ φιλανθίς τι παθόντες, ἵσως δὲ

cαὶ οὕτως ἔχον: εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν

ἀνδρῶν ἀποτειρώμενοι. ταῦτα μάλιστα λέγων ὁ

Κυρίνος ἤρυθρία, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἁγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν

ἀπογόνων τῶν ἐαυτοῦ, μή τοι τὰ δευτερεία

λαβόντες οἴχωνται.

Μετὰ τούτο ὁ Ζεύς ἥρετο τοὺς θεοὺς, πότερον 317

χρὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγώνα καλεῖν ἢ, καθάπερ ἐν

tοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἁγώσι γίνεται, ὁ τοῦ πολλᾶς ἄνελο-

μένου νίκας κρατήσας, ἐνὸς περιγενόμενος, οὐδὲν

ἐλαττὸν δοκεῖ κάκείνων γεγονέναι κρεῖσσων, οἱ

προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τοῦ κρατη-

θέντος δὲ ἦττους ἐγένοντο. καὶ εἶδοκε πάσιν ἢ

tοιαύτη σφόδρα ἐμελῶς ἕχειν ἕξετασις. ἐκή-

ρυττεν οὖν ὁ Ἐρμῆς παρενέα Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν

Ὀκταβιανὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Τραϊανὸν δὲ ἐκ τρίτων,

ὡς πολεμικώτατος. εἰτα γενομένης σιωπῆς ὁ

βασιλεὺς Κρόνος βλέψας εἰς τὸν Διὰ θαυμάζειν

ἐφη, πολεμικοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας ὀρὼν ἐπὶ τὸν

ἀγώνα τούτου καλομένους, οὐδένα μὲνοι φιλό-

σοφον. Ἐμοὶ δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἦττων εἰσιν οἱ

tοιοῦτοι φίλοι. καλεῖτε οὖν εἰσιν καὶ τὸν C

1 ἐνὸς εἰσιν ἀντάξιοι Naber, ἐνὸς δὲιν οὐκ ἀντάξιοι Hertlein,

MSS.; V omits οὐκ.
THE CAESARS

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.
Μάρκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάρκος κληθεῖς παρῆλθε, σεμνὸς ἁγαν, ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχων τὰ τε ὄμματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τι συνεσταλμένου, κάλλος δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ δεικνύων, ἐν δὲ παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν ἄκομψον καὶ ἀκάλλωπτον ἦ τε γαρ ὑπήνθη βαθεία παντάπασιν ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια λιτὰ καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἔνδειας τῶν τροφῶν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διανυόμενον καὶ διαφανύσατον ὤσπερ αὐτὸ ὁμοὶο τὸ καθαρότατον καὶ εἰλικρινύσατον φῶς. ἐπεὶ καὶ οὕτως ἦν εἰσὶν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων, ὁ Διώνυσος ἐπεν, Ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρόνε καὶ Ζεὺς πάτερ, ἄρα ἄξιον ἐν θεοῖς ἀτελές εἶναι τι; τῶν δὲ οὐ φαινόν, Εἰσάγαγον οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἔραστήν ἐνθαλ. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἀλλ' οὐ θεμιτον εἰσίω φοιτᾶν, ἐπεν, ἀνδρὶ μὴ τα ἡμέτερα ξηλόντην. Γυνέζωθεν τοίνυν, ἐπεν, ἐπί τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διώνυσος, αὐτοῖς ἡ κρίσις. Ἀλλ', εἰ τοῦτο δοκεῖ ταύτη, καλὼμεν ἀνδρὰ οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μέν, ἥδους δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει χειροθέστερον. ἦκέτω οὖν ἄρη τῶν προθύρων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεδοκτο καὶ τούτο, τῶν χρῆ πρὸπον αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλάσθαι, γνώμη προντέθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἐρμῆς ἥξιον λέγειν ἑκαστὸν ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ψῆφον. οὐ μὴν ἔδοκε ταῦτα τὸ Ἀπόλλωνι καλῶς ἔχειν. ἀληθείας γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανό- τητος οὔν ἀιμυλίας ἐν θεοῖς ἑλεγχων καὶ ἐξέτασιν. Βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀμα προάγειν ἐπὶ πλεον αὐτοῖς τὴν συνουσίαν, Οὐδὲν, εἶπε, κολύει λέγειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψας, μικρὰ τοῦ ὑδατος ἐπιμετρήσαντας, εἶτα ὤστερον.
So tell Marcus¹ to come in too.” Accordingly Marcus was summoned and came in looking excessively dignified and showing the effect of his studies in the expression of his eyes and his lined brows. His aspect was unutterably beautiful from the very fact that he was careless of his appearance and unadorned by art; for he wore a very long beard, his dress was plain and sober, and from lack of nourishment his body was very shining and transparent, like light most pure and stainless. When he too had entered the sacred enclosure, Dionysus said, “King Kronos and Father Zeus, can any incompleteness exist among the gods?” And when they replied that it could not, “Then,” said he, “let us bring in here some votary of pleasure as well.” “Nay,” answered Zeus, “it is not permitted that any man should enter here who does not model himself on us.” “In that case,” said Dionysus, “let them be tried at the entrance. Let us summon by your leave a man not unwarlike but a slave to pleasure and enjoyment. Let Constantine come as far as the door.” When this had been agreed upon, opinions were offered as to the manner in which they were to compete. Hermes thought that everyone ought to speak for himself in turn, and then the gods should vote. But Apollo did not approve of this plan, because he said the gods ought to test and examine the truth and not plausible rhetoric and the devices of the orator. Zeus wished to please them both and at the same time to prolong the assembly, so he said, “There is no harm in letting them speak if we measure them a small allowance of water;² and then later on we can

¹ Marcus Aurelius.
² A reference to the water-clock, clepsydra.
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ἀνερωτάν καὶ ἀποπειράσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας. Ο̣ καὶ ὁ Σειληνός ἐπισκόπτων, 'Αλλ' ὅπως μὴ, νομι- σαντες αὐτὸ νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραίανός τε καὶ Ἀλέξαν- δρὸς ἄπαν ἐκροφήσουσι τὸ ὑδωρ, εἶτα ἀφελοῦνται τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ ὁ Ποσειδών, Οὐ τούμον ὑδατός, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πῶματος ἐρασταὶ τῷ ἄνδρε ἐγενέσθην. ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοιγαροῦν ἄμπελων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἔμων πηγῶν ἄξιον ἐστὶ σοι δεδειναί. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός δηχθεῖς ἐσιώπτα, καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐκ τούτου τὸν νόην προσεἴχεν. Ἐρμῆς δὲ ἐκήρυττεν·

'Αρχεῖ μὲν ἄγων τῶν καλλήστων ἄθλων ταμίας, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δὲ καλεῖ μηκέτι μέλλειν. ἀλλὰ κλύνοτες τὰν ἀμετέραν κηρύκα βοῶν οί πρὶν βασιλῆς, ἕθενα πολλὰ δουλωσάμενοι καὶ πολέμωνοι δαίον ἐγχος θῆραντες, ὅμοι γνώμης τε μέγαν πινυτόφρονα νοῦν, ἵτ', ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἵστασθε κρίσιν;

1 ἐκροφήσουσι: Hertlein suggests, ἐκροφῆσωσι MSS.
2 ἀφελούνται: 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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Τοιαύτα τοῦ 'Ερμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο: δὲ καὶ πῶς συνέδραμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλῆρος φιλοπρωτία. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐποίησε γαύρον καὶ σοβαρότερον ἐδέχετο δὲ διὰ τούτο μικροῦ καὶ φεύγειν τῇ κρίσιν ὁ 'Ἀλέξανδρος· ἀλλὰ παραθαρρύννων αὐτῶν ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσχε. δεύτερος δὲ ἔπτ' ἐκεῖνον λέγειν ἔλαχεν 'Ἀλέξανδρος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς οἱ κλῆροι τοῖς ἐκάστοις χρόνοις 320 συμπροῆλθον. ἦρξατο οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ὁδιζ. Ἐμοὶ ρήσατο οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ὁδιζ. Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεοῖ, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτη
Wisdom, thought some; is bliss
Most sure in life's short span;
Others did hold no less
That power to ban or bless
Is happiness for man.
But some set Pleasure high,
Idleness, feasting, love,
All that delights the eye;
Their raiment soft and fine,
Their hands with jewels shine,
Such bliss did they approve.
But whose the victory won
Shall Zeus decide alone.”

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 πῶποτε ἄλλη πόλις ἐβασίλευεν
βασιλεὺειν, ταῖς δὲ ἀγαπητοῖν τὸ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα
κομίσασθαι. τὶς γὰρ πόλεις ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων
ἀνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἔξακοσίους
ἐπὶ γῆς ἦλθε πέρατα τοῖς ὅπλοις; ποία δὲ ἔθνη
tοσούτους ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς τε καὶ πολεμικοὺς
παρέσχεστο καὶ νομοθετικοὺς; θεοὺς δὲ ἐτίμησαν
οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὴ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικάυτῃ πόλει
γενόμενος οὐ τοὺς κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ
toὺς πῶποτε παρῆλθον τοὺς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν
ἐμῶν μὲν πολιτῶν εὗ ὁδα ὦς ὅνωσ ἀντιποιηστεῖα
μοι τῶν πρωτεύων εἰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτως
τολμᾶ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἀξίων παραβαλεῖν; ἵσως τὰ Περσικά, ὁσπερ οὐχ
ἐορακῶς ἐγγερμένα μοι τοσαύτα κατὰ Πομπηίου
tρόπαια; καίτοι τὸς δευτέρου στρατηγὸς γέγονε,
Δαρεῖος ἢ Πομπήιος; ποτέρῳ δὲ ἀνδρειότερον
ἡκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὖν μαχιμάτατα
τῶν Δαρείῳ πρότερον ὑπακούοντων ἐθνῶν ἐν τῇ
Καρῶν μοῦρα. Πομπήιος εἴχεν ἐπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ
tῆς Εὐρώπης, οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον
ἐπάγοσαν ἐπτεύματο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς
ἀνδρειοτάτους, Ἰταλοὺς, Ἰλλυριοὺς, Κελτοὺς. ἀλλ᾽
ἐπιείδη τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἀρὰ τούς Γετικοῖς
ἔργοις Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάτο-
tομὲν καθαίρεσιν; οὕτος ἀπαξ ἐπεραιώθη τῶν
Ἰστροῦ, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥήνου. Γερμανικῶν
αὖ τούτῳ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔργον. τούτῳ δὲ ἀντέστη μὲν
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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.\footnote{Cf. Oration 1. 8 c.} 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,\footnote{Darius III.} but he reckoned them no better than Carians,\footnote{Cf. Oration 2. 56 c.} 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
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όυδε εἰς, ἐγὼ πρὸς Ἀριοβίστου ἡγουσίαμην. 321
πρώτος ἐτὸλμησα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβήναι τῆς ἐκτὸς
θαλάσσης, καὶ τούτῳ ἦν ἵςως τὸ ἔργον οὐθαν-
μαστόν. καίτοι τὴν τόλμαν καὶ ταύτην ἄξιον
θαυμάσατο ἀλλὰ τὸ μεῖζον μου, τὸ ἀποβήναι τῆς
νεῶς πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς Ἐλβετίους σωτῷ καὶ τὸ
tῶν Ἰβήρων ἔθνος. οὔδενος ἐτί τῶν Γαλατικῶν
ἐπεμνήθην, πλεῖν ἤ τριακοσίας ὑπαγαγόμενος
πόλεις, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσουσι τῇ διακοσίᾳ
μυριάδας. οὕτως δὲ τούτων μου ποιούσων ἔργων,
ἐκεῖνο μεῖζον ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἔχρη γάρ Β
μὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦς διαγωνίζεται τοὺς πολίτας
καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀμάχων καὶ ἀνικήτων Ῥωμαίων.
εἶτε οὖν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξεων, τρῖς
τοσαντάκις παρεταξάμην, ὀσάκις ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου κομπάζουσιν οἱ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνο-
ποιοῦντες, εἴτε πλήθει πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ
tῆς Ἀσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ
πλείστα κατεστρεφάμην. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀἰγυπτιοῦ
ἐπιήλθεθε θεωρῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ συμπόσια συνχροτῶν
κατεπολέμησα. τὴν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατήσαι πραο-
τητα βουλεύθη ἐξετάσαι τὴν παρ' ἐκατέρω; ἐγὼ
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέγγυων. ἐπαθον γοῦν ὑπ'
aυτῶν ὅσα ἐμέλησε τῇ Δικήν ὃ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς
πολεμίοις οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. εἴτε οὖν
D μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀμφισβητεῖν οἶος τε ἔση;
καὶ οὐκ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺ παραχωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν
ἀλλών, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάσεις με λέειν, ὅπως σὺ μὲν
ἐχρήσω πικρῶς Θηβαῖοι, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς Ἐλβετίοις

1 πλεῖν Cobet, πλέον Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἐπίηλθε Hertlein suggests, περιήλθε Cobet, παρήλθε 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

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\(^1\) 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; σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέκαυσας τὰς πόλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀικείων πολιτῶν κεκαυμένας πόλεις ἀνέστησα. καὶ τοιούτων 1 ἦν μνημῶν Γραμμάτων κρατήσας καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπιφερομένας ὑποστήματι. τολλά εἰπεὶν ἔχων 322 ἐτὶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τούδε, τῷ μὴ σχολὴν ἄγειν ἥκιστα τὸ λέγειν ἔξεμελέτησα. διότερ χρὴ συνηγγυμόνη ὑμᾶς εἴχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ ῥηθέντων τὴν ἱσνὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἔξετασιν ποιομένους ἀποδιδόναι μοι τὸ πρωτεῖον.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι βουλομένου, μόνης καὶ πρότερον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καρτερῶν οὐκέτι κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινός ταραχῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας, Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰπεν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ὁ θεός, μέχρι τῶν ἀνέξομαι σωπῆ τῆς θρασύτητος τῆς τούτου; πέρας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστων, ὡς ὅμως, οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαίνων οὔτε τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ βλασφημῶν. ἔχρην δὲ ἵσως μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοῖν φείδεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἰναὶ πῶς ἀμφότερα δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῆνεν τλέον δὲ τοῦ τάμα ἐνα-
σύρειν ἄλλωσ τε καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τούτο ἤλθεν ἀναισχύντας, ὡστε τολμῆσαι C τὰ ἀρχέτυπα κωμῳδεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων. ἔχρην δὲ, ὁ Καίσαρ, ὑπομνησθήναι σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἢ τότε ἀφήκας, ἀκρούμενος τῶν ὑπομνη-
μάτων, ὡστε πεποίηται περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων. ἀλλ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιθέρει σε μετὰ τοῦτο, κολα-
κευθεῖς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, γενόμενος δὲ οὔδεὶς οὐδάμοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ D ἀπὸ Διβύνης θριαμβεῦσαι, οὐ μέγα ἔργον,

1 οὕτω ταύτων Hertlein suggests, τί τοσοῦτον MSS.
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cruelly. You burned their cities to the ground, but I restored the cities that had been burned by their own inhabitants. And indeed it was not at all the same thing to subdue ten thousand Greeks, and to withstand the onset of a hundred and fifty thousand men. Much more could I add both about myself and Alexander, but I have not had leisure to practise public speaking. Wherefore you ought to pardon me, but from what I have said and with regard to what I have not said, you ought, forming that decision which equity and justice require, to award me the first prize."

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

¹ At Gades, on seeing a statue of Alexander; cf. Suetonius, Julius Caesar 7.
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όνομαστότατον ἐποίησεν ἢ τῶν τότε ὑπάτων μαλακία. τῶν δουλικῶν δὲ ἐκείνων πόλεμον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄνδρας γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς χειρίστους τῶν οίκετῶν, ἄλλοι μὲν κατειργάσαντο, Κράσσοι καὶ Δούκιοι, τούνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔσχε Πομπήιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσοικα ταύτης κατεπολέμησε Δούκουλλος, ἐθριάμβευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον Πομπήιος. εἰτ’ ἐκολάκευσαν 323 αυτὸν οἱ πολίται καὶ Μέγαν ὁνόμασαν, ἀνταμίας τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέζονα; τί γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοσοῦτον ἐπράξη; ἢλίκοι Μαρίῳ ἢ Σκηπίσσι τοῖς δύο ἢ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κυρίων τούτοις Φουρίῳ, δὲ μικρὸν συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτων πόλεως ἀνέστησεν; οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλοτρίως ἔργοις, ὡσπερ ἐν πολιτείᾳ ὁικοδομίαις καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ’ ἄλλων καταβληθέσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθέσαις ἐτε-βρος ἄρχων ἐπιγράφῃ μικρὰ κονιάσας τῶν τοίχων, οὕτω ταῖς ἄλλοτρίαις ἐπιγράφησαν πράξεως ἀρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημουργοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν καλλίστων ἥξιώθησαν ὁνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ κεκράτηκας Πομπήιον ἅκτυλῳ κνωμένοι καὶ ταλλὰ ἀλώπεκος μᾶλλον ἡ λέοντος.

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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

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\(^1\) Led by Spartacus 73–71 B.C.; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 116–120.

\(^2\) Lucius Gellius; Plutarch, *Crassus*.

\(^3\) Licinius Lucullus the conqueror of Mithridates.

\(^4\) Caius Marius the rival of Sulla.

\(^5\) Furius Camillus repulsed the Gauls 390 B.C.; cf. *Oration* 1. 29 D.

\(^6\) Cf. *Letter to Themistius*, 267 B.

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ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ τύχη προϋδωκεν, ἢ τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρειστήκει, ταχέως ἐκράτησας μονον. καὶ ὅτι δεινότητι μεν οὐδεμιὰ κρείττων ἐγένον, φανερῶν καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ γεγονὼς τοὺς ἐπιτυθείων ἔστι δὲ οὐ μικρόν, ὡς οἷσθα, τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ· καὶ μάχῃ συμβαλῶν ἡττήθησ. εἶ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπ’ ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἀ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἠρχεῖν οὐτε, ἣνικα ἐδει πρῆβειν τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπερετίθετο τὴν μάχην οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ νικῶν ἐπεξεῖ, ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἐσφαλη στρατηγήμασι. 

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως παρεσκευαζομένοι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀλκήν ἐνέδοσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗ τοῦ πράττειν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἀνδρὰ ἀριστον καὶ βασιλεά προσήκει μεταποιεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπήτητα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνικοὺς πολέμους ἐπανεδόμην, οὕτω τὴν Ἐλλάδα λυπεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κολύνυσαι με διαβάινει καὶ δίκαια ἀπαιτεῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἐπικόπτων. οὐ δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ 324 Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν σεαυτοῦ παρασκευαζόμενος, οὐ τῇ γένοιτ' ἂν χείρον ἢ μαρώτερον; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅσπερ διασύρων τῶν μυρίων ἐμυνημόνευσας Γραικῶν, ὅτι μὲν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐντεύθεν γεγόνατε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ὕψην αἱ Γραικοὶ, καὶ περί εἰδῶν ὅμως οὖ παραδέχομαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὅλιγον ἔθνος, Λιτωλοὺς

1 γεγονὼς Petavius, Naber, γέγονα Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῇ νίκῃ before νικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. Oration i. 59 D.
fox than a lion. When he was deserted by Fortune who had so long favoured him, you easily overcame him, thus unaided. And it is evident that it was not to any superior ability of yours that you owed your victory, since after running short of provisions—no small blunder for a general to make, as I need not tell you—you fought a battle and were beaten. And if from imprudence or lack of judgment or inability to control his countrymen Pompey neither postponed a battle when it was his interest to protract the war, nor followed up a victory when he had won, it was due to his own errors that he failed, and not to your strategy.

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

1 At Dyrrhachium; Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*.
2 An echo of Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 206 D.
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λέγει τοὺς παροικούντας ἡμῖν, οὗ φίλους μὲν B ἐχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησασθε περὶ πολλοῦ, πολεμωθέντας δὲ ύπόν ςτερον δι᾽ ἀσθήποτε αἰτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὑπακοῦειν ὕμιν ἡναγκάσατε; οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, ἃς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῆς Ἐλλάδος, καὶ εὔδε πάσης, ἀλλ᾽ ἐθνοὺς μικροῦ, ἡμῖκα ἱκμαξε τὸ 'Ελληνικὸν, οὐδ᾽ ὅτι έστι γνωσκομένου, μικροῦ δὲω φάναι, μόνις ἀρκεσαντες, τίνες εὖν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμάζοντας C καὶ ὁμονοούντας τους "Ἐλληνας πολεμείν ὑμᾶς ἔδεησεν; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρον διαβάντος έφ᾽ ύμᾶς ἵστε ὅπως ἐπτῆξετε. εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κρατήσαι μικρὸν νομίζεις καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἐργον διασώρεις, ὅλγης πάνυ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Τύγρητα ποταμὸν ὑπὸ Παρθανίων βασιλευομένης χώρας, ἔτη πλέον ἢ τριακόσια πολεμοῦντες, λέγει μοι, δι᾽ ἡν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; Βούλει σοι φράσω; τὰ Περσῶν D ύμᾶς εἰρξε θελη. φράσατο δὲ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος ὁ παϊδοτρηβηθεὶς ἐπὶ στρατηγία παρὰ σοῦ. ἔγω δὲ εὖ οὕδε ὅλοις εὔιαντοῖς δέκα πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Ἰνδῶν γέγονα κύριοι. εἰτ᾽ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, ὦ κ παϊδαρίον στρατηγῶν ἐργα ἐπραξα τῆλικαῦτα, ὡστε τὴν μνήμην, καίπερ οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ὑμνηθέντων, ὅμως συμπαραμένειν τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325 τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τοῦμοῦ βασιλέως, οὗ θεράπων ἐγώ καὶ ξηλώσῃ ἐγενόμην, Ἀχίλλει μὲν ἀμιλλώμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, Ἡρακλέα δὲ θανμάζων καὶ ἐπόμενος, ἀτε δὴ κατ᾽ ἵχνος θεοῦ ἀνθρωπος.

1 'Ἀντώνιος Cobet rejects, since Julian prefers to substitute descriptive phrases for names.
2 ὅμως Cobet, ὅμως δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

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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 Herō, 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.
ΤΟΙΟ ΜΕΝ ΟΔΗΓΗΣΑΣΑΙ: ΚΑΪΤΟΙ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝ ΗΝ ΥΠΕΡΙΔΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΤ ΕΙΡΗΤΑΙ. ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΠΙΚΡΟΝ ΥΦΙ ΣΜΩΝ Β ΕΠΡΑΧΗ, ΟΥΤΙ ΠΑΝΤΑΠΑΣΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΙΤΙΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ, ΑΛΛΑ Η ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΡΟΥΣΑΝΤΑΣ Ή ΤΟ ΚΑΙΡΟ ΜΗ ΚΑΛΟΙΣ ΜΗΔΕ ΠΡΕΠΟΝΤΩΣ ΧΡΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ, ΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΣΕ ΥΓΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΕΞΑΜΑΡΤΗΘΕΙΣΙΝ Η ΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΕΙΑ, ΣΟΦΡΩΝ ΠΑΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΞΗΜΑΡΤΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ ΔΑΙΜΩΝ, ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΝΙΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΟΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΑΠΕΧΘΑΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΡΟÛΕΝΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΦΙΜΗΝ ΑΔΙΚΟΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΚΟΛΑΖΩΝ.

'ΕΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΡΗΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΤΕΡΟΝ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ 'ΟΚΤΑΒΙΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΎΔΡΙΑΝ ΕΦΕΡΕΝ Ο ΤΟΥ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΡΑΤΩΝ, ΕΠΙΜΕΤΡΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΎΔΑΤΟΣ έΛΑΣΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ, ΑΛΛΩΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΝΗΣΙΚΑΚΩΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΙΑΣ. ΚΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΣΥΝΗΚΕΝ ΥΠΟ ΑΓΧΙΝΟΛΑΣ, Δ ΑΦΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΩΝ, 'ΕΓΩ ΔΕ, ΕΙΠΕΝ, Ο ΖΕΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΙ, ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΣΥΡΕΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΚΡΑ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΑΦΕΞΟΜΑΙ, ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΝ. ΝΕΟΣ ΠΡΟΪΎΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΣ 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΚΑΤΩΡΘΟΣΑ ΔΕ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΣ ΩΣΠΕΡ Ο ΕΜΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΟΥΣΟΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. 326 ΣΥΜΠΛΑΚΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΙΣ, ΑΓΩΣΙΝ ΑΥΓΙΣΤΙΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟ 'ΑΚΤΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΝΑΥΜΑΧΗΣΑ, ΒΡΟΥΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΣΣΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΤΠΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΕΠΟΛΕΜΗΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΣΕΞΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΕΡΓΥΝ

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

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

1 Suetonius, Augustus 16; during the campaign against Pompey when the fleet of Augustus was lost in a storm, he swore that he would win in spite of Neptune.
2 Augustus was Julius Caesar’s nephew, and his son only by adoption.
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€θέμην τής ἐμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας. οὕτω δὲ παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροθή, ὡστε καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων παραρρητάς ἁνεσχόμην, οὐκ ἄγανακτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐφραίνομεν ἐπ' αὐτῆ, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα B καθάπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδούμενος. Ἀρειον δὲ καὶ φίλου καὶ συμβιωτὴν ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἔστων ύφ' ἠμῶν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀμαρτηθέν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων τῆς Ῥώμην ὅρων εἰς τὸν ἐσχατὸν ἑλαύνουσαν πολλάκις κύδυνου οὕτω διεθέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτῆ, ὡστε εἰναι, εἰ μὴ δ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ θεός, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντῖν. οὐ γὰρ C ταῖς ἀμέτρους ἐπιθυμίαις εἰκών ἐπικτάσθαι πάντως αὐτῇ διενοθην, ὥρια δὲ διητᾶ, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα. Ὁ Ιστρον καὶ Εὐφράτην ποταμοὺς ἐθέμην. εἰτα ὑποτάξας τὸ Σκενῶν καὶ Θρακῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμετροῦντων ύμῶν τῆς βασιλείας μοι τῶν χρόνων, οὐ πόλεμον ἄλλων ἐξ ἄλλου περιεσκόπουν, ἀλλὰ εἰς νομοθετίαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τὴν σχολὴν διετιθέμην, οὐδενὸς νομίζων τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χείρον βεβουλεῦσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρή θαρρῆσαντα φάναι, κρείσσον τῶν πῶς τοις τηλικαίτας ἡγεμονίας ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς στρατηγίαις ἐναπέθανον, ἔξον λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζειν καὶ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἑαυτοῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ φιλοπράγμονες δίκαιος κατασκεύαστος. οἱ δὲ καὶ πολεμοῦμενοι τῇ τρυφῇ 327 προσέχουν, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τήν

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

1 A Stoic philosopher; cf. pseudo-Lucian, Long Lives 21. 23; Suetonius, Augustus; Dio Chrysostom 33. 48.
2 Letter 51. 434 A; Letter to Themistius 265 c; Themistius 63 D.

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aiσχρὰν τρυφήν προτιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοούμενος οὐκ ἄξιον τῆς χείρονος ἐμαυτῶν μερίδος· ὦ, τι δ' ἂν γὰρ, ὦ θεοί, φαίνηται, τούτο εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἡποθεθεὶν στέργειν.

Δίδοται μετὰ τούτου τῷ Τραϊανῷ τοῦ λέγειν ἔξουσία. ὦ δὲ, καίπερ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὑπὸ ραθυμίας· ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰσέθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Β. Σούρᾳ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ: φθειρύμουν μᾶλλον ἡ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυν αὐτοὶς τὸ τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ἢτιάτο δὲ τὸ γῆρας ὡς οὖν ἐπιτρέφαν αὐτῷ τοῖς Παρθικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλ', ὁ μάταιε, ἐφι, εἰκοσι βεσασίλευκας ἔτη, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὔτος δώδεκα. τι οὖν ἀφεῖς αἰτιασθαί τὴν σαυτοῦ τρυφῆν τὴν τοῦ χρόνου μέμφῃ στενότητα; παροξυνθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκόμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν Σ. ἔξω τοῦ δύνασθαί ῥητορεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλοτοσίας ἀμβλύτερος εἰσαυτὸ πολλάκις ἦν, Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν ναρκώσαν ὧσπερ καὶ διαλευμένην ὕπο τε τῆς οἴκου πολλᾶν χρόνον ἐπικρατησάσθας τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὑβρεως, μόνος ὑπὲρ τῶν"Ιστροῦν D. ἐτύλιμσα προσλαβεῖν ἑθνη, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἐζεύλον, οὐδὲ τῶν πώποτε μαχιμώτατοι γεγόνασιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅν ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὁ τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς. Ζάμολξις. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζοντι νομίζοντες ἑτοιμότερον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοι ¹ τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἐπράχθη δὲ μοι τὸ ἐτεροδίων ᾧ ἡποθεθεὶν στέργειν.

¹ ἀλλοι 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

ἔργον τούτο ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἵσως που πέντε. πάντων
de ὅτι τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ 1 γεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328
ωφθην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πρότατος καὶ οὗτε Καῦσαρ
οὔτοι περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσειν ἂν μοι οὔτὲ
ἄλλος οὐδὲ ἑσ, εὐδηλὸν ἔστι ποι. πρὸς Παρθ-
θυαίοις δὲ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν, οὐκ
ὁμην δεῖν χρὴσθαι τοῖς ὄπλοις· ἀδικουσὶ δὲ
ἐπεξῆλθον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας κωλυθεῖς, καίτοι
dιδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μή στρατεύεσθαι.
tούτων δὴ τοιούτων οὖντων, ἀρ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι B
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμι δίκαιος, πρᾶδος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δια-
φερόντως γενόμενος, αἴδεσθεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ἐγγενον 2 φιλοσοφίαν; τοιαῦτα ὁ Τραϊάνος εἰπὼν
ἐδοκεὶ τῇ προέτητι πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δῆλοι
πως ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστα ἡσθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺτοῖς.

Τοῦ Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειλήνος
ἡρέμα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, Ἀκούσωμεν, ἔφη, τοῦ C
Στώικοῦ τουτοῦ, τι ποτε ἀρα τῶν παραδόξων
ἐκείνων ἔρει καὶ τεραστίων δογμάτων. ὃ δὲ ἀπο-
βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, Ὅλλ’
ἐμοιγε, εἰπεν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεοί, λόγων οὐδὲν ἔδει.
καὶ ἀγώνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἠγνοεῖτε τὰμά, προσῆκον ἦν
ἐμοι διδασκεῖν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰστε καὶ λέηθεν
ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπάντων οὖν, αὐτὸι μοι τιμᾶτε τῆς D
ἀξίας. ἐδοξε δὴ οὖν ὁ Μάρκος τὰ τε ἄλλα

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

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

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

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


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

θαυμάσιος τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφέροντως ἄτε ὀἶμαι διαγινώσκων,

Δέγειν θ' ὅπτον χρή καὶ σιγάν ὅπτον καλὸν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετὰ τούτον λέγειν ἐπέτρεπτον. Ὁς δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἔθαρρει τὴν ἀγωνίαν, ὡς δὲ ἀπέβλεπτεν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐργα, μικρὰ παντάπασιν εἰδὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. δύο γὰρ τυράννους, 329 εἰ γε χρή τάλαθῆς φάναι, καθηρήκει, τὸν μὲν ἀπόλεμον τε καὶ μαλακόν, τὸν δὲ ἀδιλὸν τε καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆ,1 ἀμφότερον δὲ θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐχθήστο. τὰ γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἢ γελοῖα αὐτῷ: φόρους γὰρ ὁσπερ ἐπετελέκει,2 καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τρυφῆν ἀφεώρα: πόρρω δὲ εἰσήκη τῶν θεῶν αὐτῇ περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς Σελήνης: ἐρωτικῶς τε οὐν εἰχεν αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅλος πρὸς ἐκεῖνην ἰθέποιον οὐδὲν ἐμελεν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς Β νῖκης.3 ἐπει δὲ ἔχρην καὶ αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν τι, Ταύτῃ τούτων κρείττων, ἐφή, εἰμὶ, τοῦ Μακεδόνος μὲν, ὅτι πρὸς Ὀρωμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυ-θικὰ γένη καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς βαρ-βάρους ἤγονοισάμην, Καίσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὀκτα-βιανοῦ τῷ μῇ, καθὰπερ οὗτοι, πρὸς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς πολίτας στασιάζα, τοὺς μιαρωτάτους δὲ καὶ πονηροτάτους τῶν τυράννων ἐπέξελθείν. Τραίανοῦ δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀνδρα-γαθήμασιν εἰκότως ἄν προτιμηθείν, τῷ δὲ ἦν οὗτος προσεκτήσατο χώραν. ἀναλαβεῖν ῥίσος ἄν οὖκ ἀπεικότως νομιζόμην, εἰ μὴ καὶ μεῖζον ἐστι

1 ἀσθενῆ Sylburg adds.
2 After ἐπετελέκει Cobet suspects that several words are lost.
3 νίκης Cobet, MSS, δίκης Hertlein, V, M.
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.
τὸ ἀνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτῆσασθαι. Μάρκος δὲ ούτοσι σιωπῶν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, 'Αλλ' ἡ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ὁς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ὁ Κωνσταντίνε, σεαυτοῦ προφέρεις; τί δὲ, εἴπεν, εἰσὶν οὐς λέγεσ ψευτικίας Ἀδώνιδος κήπους; οὐς αἰ γυναῖκες, ἐφή, Δ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἄνδρι φυτεύουσιν ὀστρακίως ἐπαμηνάμεναι γην λαχανίαν χλοῆσαντα δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ὄλγον αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἑνθρίασε, ἀντικρὺς ἐπιγνοὺς τοιοῦτον τὸ ἔαυτον ἔργον.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐφίκεσαν περιμένειν, ὅτῳ θήσονται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων οἱ θεῖοι θηρίοι, οἱ δ' ὕπωπτο δεῖν τὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τοὺς φανεροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν προάγειν καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ὁν Ἡ τύχη μετεποιεῖτο τὸ πλείστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρειστήκει πλὴν Ὀκταβιανοῦ μόνου. τοῦτον δὲ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἔαυτὴν εἶναι ἔλεγεν. ἐδοξήσαν οὖν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιτρέψαν καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ ἐδοσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πυθέσθαι, τί δ' νομίσαει καλλιστον καὶ πρὸς τί βλέπων ἐργάσατο καὶ πάθοι πάντα ὅσπερ δεδράκοι τε καὶ πετόνθαι. ὁ δ' ἐφη, Τὸ πάντα νυκᾶν. εἴτα, εἴπεν ὁ Ἡρμῆς, οἱς σοι τοῦτο πεποιήσαθαι; καὶ μάλα, ἐφη ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος. ὁ δ' Σειληνός τοθαστικὸς μάλα γελάσας, Ἀλλὰ ἐκράτουν γἐ σον πολλάκις αἱ ἡμέτεραι θυγατέρες, αἰνιττόμενοι τὰς ἀμπέλους, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου οἰα δὴ τίνα 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 φίλουνον σκώπτων. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀτε δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακοουσμάτων, Οὐ τὰ ἄφυπα, ἐφη, νικάν· οὔδὲ γὰρ ἄγων ἦμιν ἐστι πρὸς τάῦτα· ἄλλα πᾶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πᾶν δὲ θηρίων γένος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός ὀσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες εἰρωνικὸς μᾶλα, Ἰου, ἵου, ἐφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν Δ κυγκλίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦμιν ἐν ποτέρῳ σαυτὸν θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἄψυχων ἡ τῶν ἐμψυχων τε καὶ ξώντων; καὶ ὁ οσπερ ἀγανακτὴσας, Εὐφήμει, ἐφη· ὑπὸ γάρ μεγαλοψυχίας, οτι δὴ καὶ θεὸς γενοίμην, μᾶλλον δ' εἶπη, ἐπεπείσμην. Αὐτὸς οὖν, εἶπεν, ἠτήθης σεαυτοῦ πολλάκις. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἔστοι, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἠτάσσειν ὀμονύμως λέγεται· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς 331 ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βαβαι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἶπεν, ὅπως ἦμων τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεισ. ἅλλ' ἦνικα, εἶπεν, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐτρώθης καὶ ὁ Πευκέστης ἐκεῖνο παρὰ σὲ, σὺ δὲ ἐξήγην ψυχορραγῶν τῆς πόλεως, ἀρα ἡττων ἡσθα τοῦ τρώσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐνίκας; Οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἐφη, μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξεπόθησα τήν πόλιν. Οὐ σὺ γε, εἶπεν, ὁ μακάρις· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείσο κατὰ τὸν Ὄμηρουν Ἠκτορα ὀλυγοδρανέων καὶ ψυχορραγῶν· οἱ δὲ Β ἠγωνίζοντο καὶ ἐνίκων. Ἑγουμένων γ' ἦμῶν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Πῶς; οἱ γε 400
intemperate habits. But Alexander was well stocked with Peripatetic subterfuges, and retorted, "Inanimate things cannot conquer; nor do we contend with such, but only with the whole race of men and beasts." "Ah," said Silenus, "behold the chicanery of logic! But tell me in which class you place yourself, the inanimate or the animate and living?" At this he seemed mortified and said, "Hush! Such was my greatness of soul that I was convinced that I should become, or rather that I was already, a god." "At any rate," said Silenus, "you were often defeated by yourself." "Nay," retorted Alexander, "to conquer oneself or be defeated by oneself amounts to the same thing. I was talking of my victories over other men." "No more of your logic!" cried Silenus, "how adroitly you detect my sophisms! But when you were wounded in India,¹ and Peucestes² lay near you and they carried you out of the town at your last gasp, were you defeated by him who wounded you, or did you conquer him?" "I conquered him, and what is more I sacked the town as well." "Not you indeed, you immortal," said Silenus, "for you were lying like Homer's Hector in a swoon and at your last gasp. It was your soldiers who fought and conquered." "Well but I led them," said Alexander. "How so? When you were being carried away almost dead?" And then Silenus

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

έφέρεσθε μικροῦ νεκροῖ; εἶτα ἣδε τῶν εξ Εὔρηκιδου

Οἶμοι, καθ' Ἐλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται, "Οταν τρόπαιον πολεμίων στήσῃ στρατός.

καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ὁ παππίδιον, τοιαύτα λέγων, μὴ σε οὕτως ὅποια τὸν Κλείτον C ἐργάσηται.1 καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθριάσας τε ἀμα καὶ ὥσπερ συγχυθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ δύματα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὁδὲ μὲν ὁδὲ ἔληξεν ὁ λόγος.

'Ο δὲ Ἐρμῆς ἦρετο πάλιν τὸν Καῖσαρα, Σοὶ δέ, εἶτεν, ὁ Καῖσαρ, τὸς ἐγένετο σκοτὸς τοῦ βίου; Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἔφη, τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μήτε D εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι2 δεύτερον. Τούτο, εἶπεν ὁ Ἐρμῆς, ἀσαφές ἐστιν πότερον γάρ, εἶπε,3 κατὰ σοφίαν ἢ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινοτῆτα ἢ πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν; Ἡν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἣδε μοι τῶν πάντων ἐν πάσιν εἶναι πρῶτῳ τούτου δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπιτυχεῖν τὸ δύνασθαι μέγιστον παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις ἐξήλωσα. Σὺ δέ, εἶπεν, ἔδυνηθης μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν 332 ὁ Σειληνός. καὶ ὃς, Πάνω γε, ἔφη κύριος γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. 'Αλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν, εἶπεν, ἔδυνηθης· ἀγαπηθήμην δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶδος τε ἐγένοι, καὶ ταύτα πολλά μὲν ὑποκριμάενος ὥσπερ ἐν ὁμάτι καὶ σκηνῇ φιλανθρωπίαν, αἰσχρῶς δὲ αὐτοὺς πάντας κολακεύων. Εἶτα οὖν ἀγαπηθήμην δοκῶ, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ διώ- B

1 τῶν Κλείτον ἔδρασεν ἐργάσηται MSS.; Hertlein suggests omission of ἔδρασεν.
2 μήτε εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι Hertlein suggests, εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι MSS.
3 εἶπε Hertlein suggests; cf. 333 φ, εἶπε MSS.
THE CAESARS

recited the passage in Euripides beginning “Alas how unjust is the custom of the Greeks, when an army triumphs over the enemy—” But Dionysus interrupted him saying “Stop, little father, say no more, or he will treat you as he treated Cleitus.” At that Alexander blushed, his eyes became suffused with tears and he said no more. Thus their conversation ended.

Next Hermes began to question Caesar, and said, “And you, Caesar, what was the end and aim of your life?” “To hold the first place in my own country,” he replied, “and neither to be nor to be thought second to any man.” “This,” said Hermes, “is not quite clear. Tell me, was it in wisdom that you wished to be first, or in oratorical skill, or in military science, or the science of government?” “I should have liked well,” said Caesar, “to be first of all men in all of these; but as I could not attain to that, I sought to become the most powerful of my fellow-citizens.” “And did you become so very powerful?” asked Silenus. “Certainly,” he replied, “since I made myself their master.” “Yes that you were able to do; but you could not make yourself beloved by them, though you played the philanthropic rôle as though you were acting in a stage-play, and flattered them all shamefully.” “What!” cried Caesar, “I not beloved by the people? When

1 Andromache 693 foll.: the passage continues “Tis not those who did the work that gain the credit but the general wins all the glory.” Cleitus was killed by Alexander at a banquet for quoting these verses.
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ξαντος Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σε ἀπέκτειναν, ἐφι· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦς ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι ὑπάτους· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μισθὸν ἔῴρων τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτοῖς οὕτωι ὑπὸν τυχόντα προσεγγεγραμένον.

Δήξαντος δὲ καὶ τούδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Ὀκτα- Κ βιανὸν αὐθίς ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐκίνει. Σὺ δὲ, εἰπεν, οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἡμῖν, τί κάλλιστον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι; καὶ ὃς, Βασίλεως, ἐφι, καλὸς. Τί δὲ ἔστι τὸ καλῶς, ὁ Σεβαστής, φράσου, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο γε ἔστι καὶ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις λέγειν. θετο γοὺς καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασιλεύειν καὶ ὁ τούτου μιαρώτερος Ἀγαθοκλῆς. Ἀλλʼ ἵστε, εἰπεν, ὁ θεῶς, ὡς προπέμπων δ τὸν θυγατριδοῦν ηὐξάμην ὑμῖν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καίσαρας, δεινότητα δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἡμῖν. Πολλά, εἰπεν ὁ Σειληνός, καὶ θεῶν οὖν σωτηρών ἐργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὕτος ὁ κοροπλάθος. Εἰτα διὰ τὸ τοῦτο, εφι, τὸ ὄνομα μοι γελοίου οὕτως ἔθου; Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπλαττες ἡμῖν, εἰπεν, ὃςπερ ἔκεινοι τῆς νύμφας, ὁ Σεβαστής, θεοὺς, ὃν ἔνα καὶ πρῶτον τουτοὶ Καίσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκταβιανὸς ὃςπερ δυσ- 333 ὁπούμενος ἀπεσιώτησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τὸν Τραίανὸν βλέψας, Σὺ δὲ, εἰπε, τί διανοούμενος ἐπραττες ὃςπερ ἐπρα- ξας; Τῶν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρῳ σωφρονέστερον.

1 οὕτωι V, Cobet, οὕτη Hertlein.
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.
einve, ὠρέχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡπτήθης μὲν οὖν, ἐπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἀγεννεστέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἢττων ἦν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχρᾶς ἱδονῆς καὶ ἐπονειδίστου. Βάλλε ἐις μακαρίαν, Β ἐπε, ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπεὶ σκόπτετε σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν λέγειν. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἰχὲ σοι χώραν τὰ σκώμματα· πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅπως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου. δοκεὶ γὰρ εἶναι μοι πῶς ἄνηρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένος. ὁ 'Ερμῆς δὲ βλέψαις εἰς τὸν Μάρκον, Σοὶ δὲ, ἐπε, ὁ Βῆρε, τί κάλλιστον ἐδοκεὶ τοῦ βίου τέλος εἶναι; καὶ ὅς ἠρέμα καὶ σωφρόνως, Τὸ μμείσθαι, C ἐφί, τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐδοξε μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἡ ἀπόκρισις οὐκ ἀγεννησίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ 'Ερμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυ- πραγμονεῖν, πεπεισμένος ὅτι πάντα ὁ Μάρκος ἀκολούθως ἔρει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδοκεὶ ταύτη' μόνος δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, 'Αλλ' οὐ μὰ τὸν Διό- νυσον ἀνέξομαι τούτοι τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. τι δὴποτε γὰρ ἡσθίες, εἰπὲ, 2 καὶ ἐπινες οὖν ὅσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀμ- βροσίας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἄρτον δὲ καὶ οἶνου; 'Αλλ' ἔγνως, ἐπε, οὐκ ὑπὲρ οὖν ὁμην τοὺς θεοὺς μμεί- σθαι, ταύτη προσεφερόμην συτία καὶ ποτά· τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἔτρεφον, ἵσως μὲν ἰευδῶς, πειθομένος δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ὑμετέρα σῶματα δεῖται τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων τροφῆς. πλὴν οὐ κατὰ ταύτα γε ὑμᾶς εἶναι μμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπέλαβον. ὁλγον ὁ Σειληνός διαπορήσας 3 334

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, οὖν MSS. καὶ before σὺ Cobet adds. 2 εἰπέ Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 d, εἰπε MSS. 3 διαπορήσας Reiske suggests to complete the construction.
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.”

¹ Simonides fr. 5 Bergk.
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ώσπερ ύπό πύκτου δεξιού πληγείς, Εἴρηται μέν σοι τούτο, εἴπε, τυχόν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἐμοὶ δὲ, ἑφη, φράσον, τι ποτε ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τὴν τῶν θεῶν μίμησιν; καὶ ὦς, Δείσθαι μέν ὡς ἐλαχίστων, εὖ ποιεῖν δὲ ὃς ὦ, τι μᾶλλον πλεῖστος. Μῶν οὖν, εἴπεν, οὐδενὸς ἔδει; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, Ἔγω μὲν οὐδενὸς, ἵσως δὲ τὸ σωμάτιον μου μικρών. δόξαν-τος οὖν καὶ τούτῳ ορθῶς εἰρηκέναι τοῦ Μάρκου, 

Β τὸ τέλος ἀπορούμενος ὁ Σειληνὸς εὐπηύτει τοῖς περὶ τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτῷ δοκούσιν οὐκ ορθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ λόγον πεποίησθαι, τὴν μὲν ὅτι ταῖς ἥρωιναι ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἐμμησάμην, εἴπε, καὶ κατὰ τούτῳ τοὺς θεούς· Ὁμήρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειδόμην λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς, ὅτι ἄρα, ὡστὶς ἀγαθὸς, καὶ ἐβέβλησο, τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλεῖ καὶ κηδεῖαν περὶ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δίως ἀπόφασιν ἔχω· αἰτιώμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἀρέα, Πάλαι ἂν, εἴπεν, ἐβέβλησο τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἴ μη διὰ τὸ παιδᾶ σε εἶναι ἡγάτων. ἄλλως τε καὶ οὖδὲ φίλοι εἴγῳ τοῦ παιδᾶ πονηρῶν οὕτως ἐσεθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ νεότης εἴρεκατερα μεγάλας ποιομένη ροπᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἤνέκθη, οὐχὶ πονηρῶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψα, συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν λαβόντα πονηρῶν γενέσθαι. τά τε οὖν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποιητικά 

μοι κατὰ ξῆλον Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παιδᾶ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγίστον Δίως, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὖδὲν καυσώρησαντι. παισί 

τε γὰρ νόμιμον ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς διαδοχὰς, καὶ 408
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 ἔπειτα ὑπὸ ἀγάθου πότων πληγεῖς.
² Iliad 9. 343.
³ A paraphrase of Iliad 5. 897.
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tούτο ἀπαντεῖ εὖχονται, τήν τε γαμετὴν οὐκ 335 ἐγώ πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησα-
ίσως δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστων εὐλογον, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γενόμενον τοὺς
οἰκειοτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἐγγὺς ἀδικίας. ἀλλ' ἐλαθὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἐγώ μακρότερα ἀπολογούμενος
πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ζεὺς καὶ θεοί! διότερ μοι
τῆς προσπετελαὶς ταυτησὶ συγγνώμονες γένοισθε.

Παυσαμένου δὲ καὶ τούδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν
Κωνσταντίνων ὁ Ἔρμης ἰρετο, Σὺ δὲ τί καλὸν Β
ἐνόμισας; Πολλὰ, εἰπέ, κτησάμενον πολλὰ χαρί-
σασθαι, ταῖς τ' ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ
ταῖς τῶν φίλων ὑπουργοῦντα. ἀνακαγχάσας
οὐν ὁ Σειληνὸς μέγα, Ἀλλ' ἢ πρατηξίτης εἶναι,
ἐφη, θέλων ἐλεήθεις σεαυτὸν ὄφοπωιού καὶ
κομμωτρίας βίον ἔων; 1 ήμίττετο δ' αὐτὰ πάλαι
μὲν ἢ τε κόμη τὸ τε εἴδος, ἀτὰρ νῦν καὶ ἢ
γνώμη σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. τούτου μὲν οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς
πικρότερον πως καθῆτα.

Σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐφερον οἱ θεοὶ λάθρα Κ
τὰς ψήφους. εἶτα ἐγενοντο πολλαὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ.
κοινολογοσάμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ίδια πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
προσέταξε κηρύξαι τῷ Ἔρμη. ὥ δὲ ἐκήρυττεν,
Ἀνδρεὶς οἱ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τουτοῦ τὸν ἄγώνα,
νόμοι παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσὶ καὶ κρίσεις τοιαύται
χίνουται, ὡστε καὶ τὸν νικῶντα χαίρειν καὶ τὸν
ηττομένον μὴ μέμφεσθαι. πορεύεσθε οὖν, εἶπεν,
ὅπως φίλον ἐκάστω, ὕπο θεοὺς ἡγεμόνει βιωσόμενοι. D
τὸ ἐνευθέν ἐλέεσθω δ' ἐκάστοις ἐαυτῷ τὸν
προστάτην τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα. μετὰ τὸ κηρυγμα

1 ζον Cobet, ἄγον Reiske, ἡχον 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.
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tóutó ó méu 'Alekxandros éthei prós tón Ἰρακλέα, Ὀκταβιανός δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀπρίξ εἴχετο τοῦ Δίως καὶ Κρόνου Μάρκους. πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν Καίσαρα κατελεύσας ὁ μέγας Ἀρης ἦ τε 'Αφροδίτη παρ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαλεσάτην. Τραϊανὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθεὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος συγκαθεσθεῖσας. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, οὐχ εὑρίσκων 336 ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐγγύθευ τὴν Τρυφὴν κατιδών ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτήν. ἦ δὲ ὑπολαβοὺσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοὺς πῆχει πέπλοις τε αὐτὸν ποικίλοις ἀσκήσασα καὶ καλωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπῆγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐρών ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, "Ὁστὶς φθορεύς, ὅστις μιαφόνος, ὅστις ἐναγής καὶ βδελυρός, ἵτω θαρρῶν. Β ἀποφανῷ γὰρ αὐτὸν τούτῳ τῷ ὑδατὶ λούσας αὐτίκα καθαρόν, κάν πάλιν ἐνοχὸς τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δῶσω τὸ στήθος πλῆξαντι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι καθαρὼ γενέσθαι," σφόδρα ἀσμενὸς ἐνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, συνεξαγαγὼν τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀγορᾶς τοὺς παίδας. ἐπέτριβον δ’ αὐτὸν τε κάκεινος οὐχ ἦττον τῆς ἀθέοτητος οἱ παλμναῦδοι δαιμόνες, αἰμάτων συγγενῶν τινύμενοι δίκας, ἔως ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Κωνστάντιον ἐδώκευν ἀναπνεῦσαι.

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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 ΔΕ, ΠΡΟΣ ἩΜΑΣ ΛΕΓΩΝ Ὁ ΕΡΜΗΣ, ΔΕΔΩΚΑ ΤΟΝ Σ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΜΙΘΡΑΝ ἘΠΙΓΡΩΝΑΙ ΣΟΥ δ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ἙΝΤΟΛΩΝ έχου, ΠΕΙΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ὌΡΜΟΝ ἌΣΦΑΛΗ ζΩΝΤΙ ΤΕ ΣΕΑΥΤῸ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΒΑΞΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ἩΝΙΚΑ ΑΝ ἘΝΘΕΝΔΕ ἈΠΙΕΝΑΙ ΔΕΗ, ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ἌΓΑΘΗΣ ἘΛΠΙΔΟΣ ἩΓΕΜΟΝΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΥΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΣ ΣΕΑΥΤῸ.
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.
INTRODUCTION

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 anapaesthetic verses, and either stayed away from the temples that he restored or, when they did attend in response to his summons, showed by their untimely applause of the Emperor that they had not come to worship his gods. Julian's answer was this satire on himself which he addresses directly to the people of Antioch. But he could not resist scolding them, and the satire on his own habits is not consistently maintained. After he had left the city the citizens repented and sent a deputation to make their peace with him, but in spite of the intercession of Libanius, who had accompanied him to Antioch, he could not forgive the insults to himself or the irreverence that had been displayed to the gods.
"'Ανακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ πολλὰ ἐποιήθη μέλη χαράντα: τρυφῶν γὰρ ἔλαχεν ἐκ μοιρῶν. Ἄλκαίῳ δ' οὐκέτι οὕτω 'Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τὴν μοῦσαν ἐδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἱδυνὰς τρέψαι: μοιχθεῖν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔχρωντο, κομφότερα Β ποιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ δαίμων ἐδίδου τῇ εἶ στοις ἀδικοῦντας λοιδορίᾳ. ἔμοι δὲ ἀπαγορεύει μὲν ὁ νόμος ἐπ' ὅνόματος αἰτιάσθαι τοὺς ἀδικομένους μὲν οὐδέν, εἰναι δ' ἑπιχειροῦντας δυσμενεῖς, ἀφαιρεῖται δὲ τῇ ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μουσικῆν ὁ νῦν ἐπικρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς παιδείας τρόποις. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ εἰναι δοκεῖ νῦν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηθεῖνειν, ἢ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐδόκει τὸ πλούτειν ἄδικως. οὐ μὴν Σ ἀφέξομαι διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατῆς ἐκ μοῦσῶν ἐπικουρίας. θεασάμην τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν

1 "The Discourse at Antioch" is an alternative title in the MSS.
MISOPOGON
OR, BEARD-HATER

Anacreon the poet composed many delightful songs; for a luxurious life was allotted to him by the Fates. But Alcaeus and Archilochus of Paros the god did not permit to devote their muse to mirth and pleasure. For constrained as they were to endure toil, now of one sort, now of another, they used their poetry to relieve their toil, and by abusing those who wronged them they lightened the burdens imposed on them by Heaven. But as for me, the law forbids me to accuse by name those who, though I have done them no wrong, try to show their hostility to me; and on the other hand the fashion of education that now prevails among the well-born deprives me of the use of the music that consists in song. For in these days men think it more degrading to study music than once in the past they thought it to be rich by dishonest means. Nevertheless I will not on that account renounce the aid that it is in my power to win from the Muses. Indeed I have observed that even the

1 In the seventh century b.c. Alcaeus of Lesbos and Archilochus both suffered exile, and the latter fell in battle against Naxos. For the misfortunes of Alcaeus, cf. Horace, Odes 2. 13.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Ῥήμον βαρβάρους ἄγρια μέλη λέξει πεποιημένα παραπλησία τοὺς κρωσμοὺς τῶν πραξι βοώντων ὄρνιθων ἁδοντας καὶ εὐφραινομένους ἐπὶ τοὺς μέλεσιν. εἶναι γὰρ οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοῖς φαύλοις ἐν τῇ μούσικῇ λυπηροῖς μὲν τοῖς θεάτροις, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἴδιστοις. δ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξυπνώσας εἰώθα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν λέγειν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰσμηνίας οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης μὲν ἐξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὀμολας, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δῆτα ταῖς μούσαις ζῴῳ καὶ ἐμαυτῷ.

Τὸ δ' ἁσμα πεζῆ μὲν λέξει πεποιηται, λοιδορίας δ' ἔχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μᾶ Δίας τῶς γὰρ; ἀπαγορεύουσι τοῦ νόμου εἰς Β ὅταν τοῦ ποιητὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ξυγγραφέα. τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἐμαυτὸν γράφειν εἰτε ἐπαίνους εἰτε ψόγους εἰργεῖ νόμοις οὐεῖς. ἐπαινεῖν μὲν δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἑθέλων ἐμαυτὸν οὖκ ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λίαιν καλὸν μηδ' εὐπρεπεῖ μηδ' ὄραιῳ ὧτ' δυστροφίας καὶ δυσκολίας αὐτὸς προστέθεικα τοῖς βαθύν τουτοῦ Σ πόγωνα, δίκας αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ὡς έοικεν, οὐδενὸς μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλὸν. ταῦτα τοι διαθέσατο ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν ὡστερ ἐν λόχημ τῶν θηρίων. ἐσθίειν δὲ λάβρως ἥ πίνειν χανδὸν οὐ συγχωροῦμαι δεί γὰρ οἴμαι προσέχειν, μὴ λάθω συγκαταφαγῶν ¹ τάς 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."
τοῖς ἄρτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν δὴ καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἔοικεν ὁ πῶγος ὀσπέρ τὰ ἄλλα λυπηρῶν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων καθαρὰ λείοις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι γλυκερότερα χείλεσι χείλη προσμάττειν, ὅπερ ἡδὴ τις ἔφη τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἔξω τῷ Πανετὶ καὶ τῇ Καλλιόπῃ έις τὸν Δάφνιον ποιήματα. ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε δεῖν καὶ σχοινία πλέκειν ἐνθένδε καὶ έτοιμος παρέχειν, ἢν μόνον ἐλκεῖν δυνηθήτε καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀτρίπτους ύμῶν καὶ μαλακὰς χεῖρας ἡ τραχύτης αὐτῶν δεινὰ ἐργάσηται. νομίσῃ δὲ μηδὲς δυσχεραίνειν ἐμὲ τῷ σκόμματι. δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αἰτίαν 339 ὀσπέρ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένειον ἔχων, ἔξον οἶμαι λείον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ψιλὸν, ὅποιον οἱ καλοί τῶν παῖδων ἔχουσιν ἀπασάι τε αἱ γυναίκες, αὐς φύσει πρόσεται τὸ ἐράσμιον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆρᾳ ἅλοντες τοὺς ύμῶν αὐτῶν νίεας καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ὑπὸ ἀβρότητος βίου καὶ ἵσως ἀπαλότητος τρόπου λείον ἐπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τόν ἄνδρα ὑποφαίνοντες καὶ παραδεικνύντες διὰ τοῦ μετώπου Β καὶ οὐχ ὀσπέρ ἕμεῖς ἐκ τῶν γυναῖων.

'Εμοὶ δὲ οὔκ ἀπέχρησε μόνον ἡ βαθύτης τοῦ γενείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσεστιν αὐχμός, καὶ ὀλιγάκις κελρομαι καὶ ὀνυχίζομαι, καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ὑπὸ τοῦ καλάμου τὰ πολλὰ ἔχω μέλανας. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθέ τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι τὸ στήθος δασὺ καὶ λάσιον ὀσπέρ

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of bread. In the matter of being kissed and kissing I suffer no inconvenience whatever. And yet for this as for other purposes a beard is evidently troublesome, since it does not allow one to press shaven "lips to other lips more sweetly"—because they are smooth, I suppose—as has been said already by one of those who with the aid of Pan and Calliope composed poems in honour of Daphnis. But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it! Well I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands." And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, when I might, I suppose, make it smooth and bare as handsome youths wear theirs, and all women, who are endowed by nature with loveliness. But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do.

But as though the mere length of my beard were not enough, my head is dishevelled besides, and I seldom have my hair cut or my nails, while my fingers are nearly always black from using a pen. And if you would like to learn something that is usually a secret, my breast is shaggy, and covered

1 Daphnis is the hero of bucolic poetry; Julian echoes Theocritus 12. 32 ὅς δὲ κε προσμάζῃ γαλυκερώτερα χείλεσιν χείλην.
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tōn leōntων, ὁτ' ἐπήρθη λεῖον αὐτὸ πώτετο διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρέπειαν, ὀὖδὲ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σῶματος C εἰργαζόμενη λεῖον ὀ鲧ὲ μαλακὸν. εἰπόν γ' ἄν ὑμῖν, εἰ τις ἦν μοι καὶ ἀκροχορδῶν ὁστερ τῷ Κικέρωνι. 1 νυνὶ δ' ὅυκ ἔστιν. καὶ εἰ 2 συγγινό-

skete, φράσῳ ὑμῖν καὶ 3 ἑτερον. ἔμοι γάρ ὅυκ ἄποχρη τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ διά τα παγχάλεπος ἐπιτηδεύεται. εἰργὶ τῶν θεάτρων ἐμαυτὸν ὑπ' ἀβεληθρίας, οὐδ' εἰσώ τῆς αὐλῆς παραδέχομαι τὴν θυμέλην ἔξω τῆς νομιμίας τοῦ ἔτους ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, ἀστερ τίνα φόρον ἢ D δασμὸν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδίδους ἁγροκος ὀλύγα ἔχων ὅυκ ἐπιεικεῖ δεσπότην. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰσελθὼν τοῖς ἀφοσιομένοις ἐοίκα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὕδενα, καὶ ταύτα βασιλεὺς ἀκούων μέγας, ὃς καθάπερ ὑπαρχος ἢ στρατηγὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξει τῶν μίμων καὶ τῶν ἧνικών ὅπερ ὑμεῖς ὀρώντες ὀλύγον πρότερον

ἀναμμυνήσκεσθε νῦν

ἡβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν. 4

Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἦσος καὶ τοῦτο βαρὺ καὶ δείγμα 340 ἐναργῆς μοχθηρίας τρόπου προστίθημι δὲ ἐγώ τι καυνότερον ἀδικούς ὑπ' ἀποδομίας, ὁστερ οἱ χρήματα ωφληκότες τὰς ἁγοράς. ὀλγγαῖς οὖν εἰς αὐτὰς φοιτῶ ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τῶν θεῶν

1 Κικέρων Ναβερ, cf. Plutarch, Cicero, Klwov Hertlein, MSS.
2 εἰ Reiske, & Hertlein, MSS.
3 υμῖν καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS.
4 ἀναμμυνήσκεσθε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Brambs identified as a fragment of Cratinus.

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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." 3

Perhaps you had this other grievance and clear proof of the worthlessness of my disposition—for I keep on adding some still more strange characteristic—I mean that I hate horse-races as men who owe money hate the market-place. Therefore I seldom attend them, only during the festivals of the

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, Eunidae fr. 1; cf. Synesius, Epistle 129; Julian refers to Constantius, whom the people of Antioch now compare with him.
οὐδὲ διημερεύω, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ὃ τε ἀνεψιώς ὃ ἐμὸς καὶ ὁ θείος καὶ ὁ ἄδελφος ὁ ὀμοπάτριος. εἰς δὲ τοὺς πάντας θεώμενος δρόμους, οὖδ’ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν τις ἔρων τοῦ πράγματος ἤ ναλ μᾶ Δία μὴ Β μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἁσμενὸς ἀπαλλάττομαι.

'Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐξω ταῦτα: καίτοι πόστον εἰρηταί μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ύμᾶς ἀδικημάτων; τὰ δὲ ἐνδον ἀγρυπνοι νύκτες ἐν στεβάδι, καὶ τροφὴ παντὸς ἕττων κόρου πικρὸν ἂθος ποιεῖ καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμου. οὐ μὴν ύμῶν γ’ ἑνεκα τούτο ἐπιτιθεῖται παρ’ ἐμοῦ. δεινὴ δὲ τις ἐκ παιδαρίου με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη καταλαβοῦσα τῇ γαστρὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπείσεν, οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπτων πολλῶν ἐμπίπτλασθαι σιτίων αὐτῆ. οὐ λιγιστάκις ῥ’ ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων ἐμέσαι συνεβη. καὶ μέμνημαι αὐτὸ παθὼν ἐξ ὧν καίσαρ ἐγενό-μην ἄπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησιμόνης. ἄξιον δὲ ὑπομνησθῆναι διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὕτου πάνυ χαριέντος, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τούτο μάλιστα οἰκεῖον.

'Ετύγχανον ἐγὼ χειμάζουν περὶ τὴν φίλην Θλευκετίαν ὄνομαζοι οὗ οὕτως οἱ Κελτοί τῶν Παρισίων τὴν πολίχνην ἔστι δ’ οὐ μεγάλη νῆσος ἐγκειμένη τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ αὕτην κύκλῳ πᾶσαν τείχος περιλαμβάνει; οὐ δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰσάγονσι γέφυραι, καὶ ὀλυγάκις οὗ ποταμὸς ἐλαττοῦται καὶ μεῖζων γίνεται, τὰ πολλὰ δ’ ἐστὶν ὅποιος ὃρα θέρους καὶ χειμώνος,

1 ὀλυγιστάκις Hertlein suggests, ὀλυγάκις MSS.
2 περιλαμβάνει Cobet, καταλαμβάνει Hertlein, MSS.
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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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ὑδορ ἦδιστον καὶ καθαρώτατον ὤραν καὶ πίνειν ἐθέλοντι παρέχων. ἀτε γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντας ὑδρεύσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθένδε χρή. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμών ἐκεῖ πραὸτερος εἰτε ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης 341 τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ στάδια γὰρ ἀπέχει — ὅν ἐννακοσίων οὐ πλείω, καὶ διαδιδοτα τυχὸν λεπτὴ τις αὖρα τοῦ ὦδατος, εἶναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάττιον τοῦ γλυκέως εἰτε οὕν ἐκ ταῦτας εἰτε ἐκ τινος ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀφανοῦς ἐμοί, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, ἀλευνότερον ἔχουσιν οἱ τὸ χωρίον οἰκοῦντες τὸν χειμώνα, καὶ φύεται παρ' ἀυτοῖς ἀμπελος ἀγάθη, καὶ συκᾶς ἕδη εἰσὶν οἳ 1 ἐμηχανήσαντο, σκεπάζοντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμώνος ὅσπερ Β ἰματίοις τῇ καλάμῃ τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ τοιοῦτοις τισίν, ὅσα εἰωθεν εἴργειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπηγαμομένην τοῖς δένδροις βλάβην. ἐγένετο δὴ οὕν ὁ χειμών τοῦ εἰωθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ παρέφερεν ὁ ποταμὸς ὅσπερ μαρμάρου πλάκας ιστε δήποτον τοῦ Φρύγιου λίθου τὸν λευκὸν τοῦτον ἐφ' ἑκεῖ μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα, 2 μεγάλα καὶ ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα: καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχὴ ποιεῖν ἕδη τοῦ πόρου ἐμελλε καὶ τὸ βεύσμα γεφυρῶν. Ο ὁς οὗν ἐν τοῖς ἀγριωτέροις ἢν τοῦ συνήθους, ἐθάλπετο δὲ τὸ δωμάτιον οὐδαμῶς, ὡσπερ ἐκάθευδο, ὡσπερ εἰώθει τρόπον ὑπογαίοις 3 καμίνοις τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεῖ θερμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτα ἐχον εὐτρεπῶς πρὸς τὸ παραδέξασθαι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀλέαν συνέβη δ' οἴμαι καὶ

1 εἰσὶν οἰ Cobet, τινὲς εἰσὶν οἰ Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῶν—κρύσταλλα Hertlein suggests, ἐφ' ἑκεῖ μάλιστα τοῦ λευκοῦ τοῦτον τὰ κρύσταλλα, MSS.
3 υπογαίας 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
tôte διὰ σκαιότητα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπανθρωπίαν ἐβουλόμην γὰρ ἐθίζευν ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι τὸν ἄερα ταύτης ἀνευδεῶς ἔχοντα τῆς θορείας. ὡς δὲ ὦ χειμῶν ἐπεκράτει καὶ ἀεὶ μείζων ἐπεγίνετο, θερμήναι Δ μὲν οὐδ' ὦς ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ οἴκημα, δεδιώς κινήσαι τὴν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ύγρότητα, κομίσαι δ' ἐνδον ἐκέλευσα πῦρ κεκαυμένον καὶ ἀνθρακας λαμπροὺς ἀποθέσθαι παντελῶς μετρίους. οἱ δὲ καίπερ ὄντες οὐ πολλοὶ παμπληθεῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν τοίχων ἁτμοὺς ἐκίνησαν, ὡς' δ' ὦν κατέδαρθον. ἐμπιπλαμάνης δὲ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδέχσα μὲν ἀποτυνυγήμα, κομισθεὶς δ' ἔξω, τῶν ἱατρῶν 342 παραινοῦντων ἀπορρύψα τὴν ἐνπεθείσαν ἀρτι τροφὴν, οὕτω μὲν Δία πολλῶν οὖσαν, ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ἐγενόμην αὐτίκα ράον, ὡστε μοι γενέσθαι κουφοτέραν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ὑπεραίας πράττειν ὃ,τιτερ ἐθέλουμι. 

Οὔτω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν Κέλτοις κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Μενάνδρου Δύσκολον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ πόνους προσετίθην. ἀλλ' ἡ Κέλτων μὲν ταύτα ράον ἐφερεν ἀγροκία, πόλις δ' εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαρία καὶ πολυνάθρωπος εἰκότως ἀχθεται, ἐν γὰρ πολλοὶ Β μὲν ὀρχησταί, πολλοὶ δ' αὐληταί, μῆμοι δὲ πλείους τῶν πολιτῶν, αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἔστων ἄρχον- 
tων. ἐρυθρίαν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς ἀνάνδροις, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀνδρείοις, ὡστερ ὑμεῖς, ἐσθεν κωμάζειν, νύκτωρ ἡδυπαθεῖν, ὅτι τῶν νόμων ὑπεροράτε μὴ

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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, Duskolos was αυτὸς δ’ έμαυτῷ προστίθημι τοὺς πόνους.
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λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι φοβεροὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας· ὡςτε ὅστις ἄρχοντα ύβρισεν οὕτως ἐκ περιουσίας τοὺς νόμους κατεπάτησεν ὃς ὁ ἐπὶ τούτως Οὐφρανόμενοι δήλον ποιεῖτε πολλαχοῦ μὲν, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν κρῶτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βοής ὁ δήμος, οἱ δὲ τέλει τῷ γνωριμώτεροι μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ ὄνομάζεσθαι παρὰ πάσιν ἂφ᾽ ὅσι εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἑστάσεις ἐδαπάνησαν ἡ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Κροίουν τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλέα συνουσίας, καὶ οὗτοι δὲ πάντες καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ λείοι καὶ ἀγένειοι, νέοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἤλωται τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν Φαιάκων,

Εἴματά τ᾽ ἐξημοῦζα λοετρά τε θερμά καὶ εὐνάς ἀντὶ τῆς ὅσιας ἀποδεχόμενοι.

"Τὴν δὴ σὴν ἀγροκίαν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ σκαλιότητα τούτως ἀρμόσεως ὑπέλαβες; οὕτως ἀνόητόν ἐστι σοι καὶ φαύλων, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἁμαθεστατε καὶ φιλαπεχθημονέστατε, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγενεστάτων σώφρων τούτῳ φυχάριον, ὅ δὴ σὺ κοσμεῖς καὶ καλλωπίζεις σωφροσύνη χρήναι νομίζεις; οὐκ ὅρθως, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἡ σωφροσύνη δ᾽ ἐπὶ ποτ᾽ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἵσμεν, 343 ὅνωμα δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀκούοντες μόνον ἔργον οὐχ ὅρωμεν. εἰ δ᾽ ὅποιον σὺ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύεις ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθαι μὲν ὅτι θεῶς χρῆ δουλεύειν καὶ νόμοις, ἐκ τῶν
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. 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."  

"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.
Τὸ ἱσων δὲ τοὺς ὀμολόγους προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ύπεροχὴν φέρειν πρώτερον, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προνοεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πένθες ὕπο τῶν πλούτοντων ἥκιστα ἀδικήσονται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου πράγματα ἔχειν, ὅποια εἰκός ἔστι σοι γενέσθαι πολλάκις, ἀπεχθεῖας, ὄργας, λοιπόν: εἴτε καὶ Β ταῦτα φέρειν ἑγκρατῶς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σωφρονίζειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τις ἔργον θείτο σωφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἡδονῆς οὐ λιῶν ἀπρεποὺς οὐδ' ἐπονειδίστοις δοκοῦσις ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένοι ὡς οὐκ ἐστιν ἴδια σωφρονεῖν καὶ λάθρα τὸν δημοσία καὶ φανερῶς Σ ἀκόλαστον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερτομενον τοῖς θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὐν ὅντως ἡ σωφροσύνη τοιούτων ἐστιν, ἀπόλολος μὲν αὐτός, ἀπολλύεις δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἄνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὄνομα δουλείας οὔτε πρὸς θεοὺς οὔτε πρὸς νόμους· ἦδ' γὰρ ἐν πάσι τῷ ἐλεύθερον.

"Η δὲ εἰρωνεία πόση; δεσπότης εἶναι οὐ φής οὔδὲ ἀνέχη τοῦτο ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς, ὡστε ἦδ' ἐπεισας τοὺς πλείστους ἑθάδας πάλαι ᾠ γενομένους ἀφελείν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, δουλεύειν δ' ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζεις ἀρχοντι καὶ νόμοις. καὶ τοὺς πόσῳ κρείττον ἄν ὕμωμάζεσθαι μὲν σε δεσπότην, ἔργῳ δὲ εὰν ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους, ὥ τὰ μὲν ὄνομα πρᾶτατε, πικρότατε 436
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
de tâ ēryga; pròs de toutois âpoknaiâseis biaζξ- 344
mevôs mev touis plousiouis en dikasthrious metriá-
žeis, tous pèntas de eîrgeis sukoфantieis. âfeiis
dè tîn skhîn h kai tous mîrous kai tous òrkhaßas
âpolôlekas hîmôn tîn pòliw, òste oudeîn hîmôn
âgathôn ùpárchê para sou plhî tîs bârûthtou,
h ânexeîmenvi mînà èbdoîmou toutou tî mèn eu-
xeîbai pàntos àpallâgyînai tou tosoûtou kakei
ría tois peri tois táfois kallindoumênois grádoi os
èvnekrhîsamên, hmeis de auîd dià tîs hîmôn auîtôn
eûtrapelîas èxeîrghasâmêtha bállovtes se tois B
skômymaswm òspfer toxeîmases. su dé, ò gevnâae,
pôs ânèzê tâ Perssów bêlê, tâ hîmêtera trêsan
skômymata;

'Idou, bôûlômai pálîn ap' allhês aûxhês èmanteî
lôdorhîsasôsai. "Foutâs eis tâ íerâ, dûskele kai
dûstropê kai pànta moûthre. sùrreî dià se tà
plhêthi pròs tâ têmêni kai mèntoi kai oî plêious
tôn en têlei, kai àpodechôntaî se sùn boîì metà
krotôn lâmprôs en tôs têmêneswm òspfer en tôs
thêatrois. tî ouî ouk àgapatês ouî èpâineîs, all' C
èpîxeireîs eînai sofoûteros tà toïaûta toû Pû-
thîou, kai dêmygorheîs en tô plhêthei, kai kathâtth
 tôv boûtov pîkrôs auîtô dh toûto lêgou, wôs
'tmeis tôv thêon ènèkevn òlignákis eis tà têmêni
suvèrîxei, suvdrâmôntes de di ème pòllhês
âkôsmiâs ìnâpîmplatë tà íerâ. prêpei ð ìn-
dràsî swôfroso kekosîmêmewn eûxexeîai synh

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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

1 i.e. bringing false accusations, which was the trade of the sycophant or blackmailer.
2 Apollo who was worshipped at Daphne near Antioch.
παρά τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ. τοῦτον οὐκ ἤκροάσθε τὸν νόμον Ὀμήρου.

Συγγεγραμμένοι εἰς τὴν Εὐρυκλειάν ἔκτενον πληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γρηγορω,χαίρε καὶ ἕσχε υἱὸς ὀλόλυτε; τὰς δὲ δὴ Τριάδας οὕτη πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἡ τῦν τῶν τούτων θυγατέρων ἡ νιέων, οὐ μὴν οὖν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἑκτόρα· καὶ τούτῳ φησὶν ὃς θεῷ τοὺς 345 Τρῶς εὐχαριστήσει εὐχαριστῶς δὲ οὖν ἔδειξεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει οὔτε γυναίκας οὔτε ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι, φησὶ, χεῖρας ἀνέσχουν, βαρβαρικῶν μὲν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ γυναῖξι πρέπουν, οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡστέρ τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήμαν. ἑπαινεῖτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς. Β ἀνθρώπους ἡμᾶς κολακεύετε. κάλλιστον δ' ἔστιν οἴμαι μηδ' ἐκεῖνος κολακεύετι, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύεις σωφρόνως.

Ἰδοὺ, πάλιν ἐγὼ τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτῶν λεξειδία καὶ οὖν ἐμαυτῷ συγχωρῶ φθεγγεισθαί ὡς εὐχέρ χεῖς καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους σκαλώτης καὶ ἐμαυτὸν συκοφαντῶ. ταῦτα τις καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἂν λέγω ή πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὡς τοῖς εὐνοούσι.
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

\(^1\) Iliad 7. 195
\(\tauοφρ’ \upsilonεις \epsilonυχεσθε \Deltaι Κρονιωνι, \alphaνακτι\)
\(\sigmaιγη \epsilonφ’ \upsilonελων, \iotaνα \muη \ Τρωεσ \gammaε \ πυθωνται.\)

\(^2\) Odyssey 22. 411.

\(^3\) Iliad 6. 301.
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αὐτοῖς ὀσπερ πατήρ ἦτιος νομοθείᾳ, φύσει πουνρὸς ὄν ὀσπερ ἐγώ. ἀνέχον τοίνυν αὐτῶν
μισουντων καὶ λοιδορούντων λάθρα ὦ καὶ φα-
νερῶς, ἑπειδὴ κολακεύειν ἐνόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
ιεροῖς ὀρμή μιὰ 1 σε ἐπανούντας. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι
διενοθὴς ὅπως ἀρμόσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς
ἐπιτηδεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἔσιοι οὔτε τοῖς ἠθεσιν.
ἔρειν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τὸς ἀνέξεταί σου; καθεύδεις
ὡς ἐπίπαν νύκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἐστιν οὐδέν, ο' σου D
τοῦ ἀγριον καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμὸν ἀποκέ-
κλείσταί δὲ πάση πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμίᾳ:
καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ξόν
βίου εὐφραίνη καὶ πεποίησα τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας
ἡδονῆν. εἶτα ἀγανακτεῖς, εἴ τοι τὰ τοιαύτα
ἀκούεις; ἐξὸν εἰδέναι χάριν τοῖς ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἐμ-
μελέστερον σε νουθετοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις
ἀποψιλώσαι μὲν τὰς παρεῖς, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
σαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον δεικνύειν πάντα τὸ
δήμῳ τὸ φιλογέλωτι τῷδε θεάματα, μίμους, 346
ὀρχηστάς, ἦκιστα αἰσχυνομένας γυναίκας, παι-
δάρια περὶ κάλλους ἀμιλλώμενα ταῖς γυναιξίν,
ἀνδρας ἀπεψιλωμένους οὐτὶ τὰς γυνάθους μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπαν τὸ σῶμα, λειτουργοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν
ὕπος φαίνουντο τοῖς ἐνυπραχάνουσιν, ἑορτάς, πανη-
γύρεις, οὐτὶ μᾶ Δία τὰς ιερὰς, ἐν αἷς χρή σωφρο-
νεῖν ἀλῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοιν ἔστιν, ὀσπερ τῆς

1 ὀρμή μιὰ Naber, ὄραμεν ὁ 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 τί ἡ μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρύν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;
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drinos, kai polus o kóros autón. éthusev o kaisar B
ēn to toû Dios ápax, eîta ēn to tís Túkhis, eîs
to tís Dhmétrros trís efeghēs ebádison epile-
λhsmai gar eîs to tís Dáfwnís ósáis eisíllhovn
témenos, prodothen mēn ólignoría tôn fylákou,
tais dé tôn ãthíovn ándrov tolmaiá aphaivsthén. Í
Sýron hkei vounhnia, kai o kaisar avthīs eîs
Fílouv Díos: eîta Í págkoinos éorht, kai o
kaisar eîs to tís Túkhis érxetai témenos. épí-
C

σkówn dé tîn ápofrâda pályn ës Fílouv Díos tâs
eúkhas ánalaMBánei kata tâ pátria. kai tís
ánexetai tosautákis eîs ierâ foitówntos kaisaros,
ēxóu ápax Í dís evokleíov toûs theôs, épitéleîn dé
tâs pahnýreis ékeínav, ópósai koivai mên eîsi
pantl toû dîmov kai ãn éxesti metêchein ÿv toûs
épistamévous móvon theôs,1 allâ kai toûs ãn2
éstiv Í pólys plîrês; Ídovn dé polly kai
hártes, ópolaî ãn tis evphráinoiò dihnkeôs
karpoumevovs, õrôv órkhomévous ãndras kai pai-
Daráia kai gûnaiâ pollá.

"Otax oûn taûta logíswmai, makaríçw mên
ûmas tís evdaimonías, èmuvtô dé oûk ãxthomai:

1 móvon theôs Hertlein suggests, theôs MSS.
2 toûs ãn Naber, ãn Hertlein, MSS.
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.) “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, 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.
φίλα γάρ ἐστί μοι κατά τινα θεὸν ἵσως ταῦτα. διότερ οὖθ' ἀγανακτῶ, εὐ ἵστε, τοὺς δυσχεραίνουσι μοι τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει. προστίθημι δ' αὐτὸς ὡςα δυνατόν ἐστί μοι τοῖς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν σκόμμασι μειζόνως ἐπικαταχέων ἐμαυτοῦ ταυτασί τὰς λοιδορίας, ὃς ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ συνῆκα, 347 ποταπὸν ἕξ ἀρχῆς τὸ τῆς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἱδος, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἥλικιοτῶν τῶν ἔμων, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελέγας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτέ τὸν ἐπόνυμον τής τῆς πόλεως βασιλέα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτως ἐπόνυμος ἦδε η πόλις συνφικισθη. πετόλισται 1 μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, τοῦνομα δὲ ἔχει ἀπό τοῦ Σελεύκου παιδὸς· ὅν ὅφι θαυμάσκει δ' ὑπερβολὴν αὖβροτητὸς καὶ τρυφῆς ἐρώτα Β ἀεὶ καὶ ἐρώμενον τέλος ἄδικον ἐρωτα τῆς ἐαυτοῦ μητρικᾶς ἐρασθήναι· κρύπτειν δ' ἐθέλουν τὸ πάθος οὐ δύνασθαι, τὸ σῶμα δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ μικρόν τηκόμενον ἄφαινον οἴχεσθαι, καὶ ὑπορρεῖν τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλαττον εἶναι τοῦ συνήθους. ἐφεξεί δ' οἴμαι τὰ 2 κατ' αὐτὸν αἰνίγματι, σαφῆ μὲν ὡς ἐχούσης αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου, μᾶλλον δὲ οὖθ' αὐτῆς, ἥτις ποτὲ ἐστι, φαινομένης, C ἐναργοῦσ' δ' οὕσης τῆς περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἄσθενειας. εὐθάδε μέγας ἄθλος ἰατρῷ προτέθη τῷ Σαμίῳ τῇν νόσου, ἥτις ποτὲ ἐστίν, ἐξευρεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου, τίνες ποτὲ εἰσὼν

1 πετόλισται: Cobet, Hertlein approves, πετόλισται MSS.
2 τὰ Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.
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 γυνοβόρου μελεδώναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἄσθενεια σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀρρώστια ψυχῆς αἵτια γίγνεται τηκεδόνος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὅρῶν ὑπὸ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ συνήθειας οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ὅδ' ἐτράπετο τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος θήραν. καθίζει πλησίον τῆς κλίνης ἀφορῶν D εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειράκίου, παριέναι κελεύσας καλούς τε καὶ καλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξαμένους. ἡ δ' ὡς ἠλθεν, ἐπισκεψόμενη δῆθεν αὐτὸν, αὑτίκα ἐδίδου τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ πάθους ὁ νεανίας, ἀσθμα τῶν θλιβομένων ἢφιε, ἐπέχειν γὰρ αὐτὸ κινούμενον καὶ περι σφόδρα ἔθελον οὐχ οἶδος τε ἡν, καὶ παραχθῇ ἦν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρύθημα. ταῦτα ὅρων 348 ὁ ἰατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τὴν χείρα, καὶ ἑπίδα δεινῶς ἡ καρδία καὶ ἔξω λετο. τοιαύτα ἀττα ἐπασχεν ἐκείνης παρούσης· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήλθεν, ἐπιούσιν ἄλλων, ἀτρέμας ἐιχε καὶ ἦν ὅμοιος τοῖς οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. συμιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος φράζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλόπαις εἶναι παραχωρεῖν ἔφη τῷ παιδὶ τῆς γαμητῆς. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἢρυθσατο· τελευτήσατος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἢν πρότερον διδομένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενώς ἢρυθήθη, μάλα κραταιῶς μετεδίωξεν.

'Αντιόχῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιήθη. τοῖς δ' ἀπ' Β ἐκείνου γενομένοις οὐ νέμεσις ξηλοῦν τὸν οἰκιστήν.
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

1 Stratonice.
2 In Plutarch's version Antiochus married Stratonice during his father's lifetime.
Τῇ τῶν ἐπώνυμον. ὃσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς εἰκός ἔστι διαδίδοσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὰς ποιότητας, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἐπίπαν ὄμοια τὰ μετὰ ταύτα τοῖς ἐξ ὧν ἐβλάστησε φύεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι εἰκὸς παραπλήσια τὰ ἥθη τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῖς προγόνοις. ἐγὼ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγνων Ἀθηναίοις Ἐλλήνων φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ ΤΟΜ φιλανθρωποτάτους· καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐπιεικῶς ἐν πᾶσιν εἶδον τοῖς Ἐλλήσιν, ἔχω δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ καὶ δεξιόν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, καθόλου μὲν Ἐλλήνης πάντες, αὐτῶν δ' Ἐλλήνων πλέον τοῦτο ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. εἶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι διασώζουσιν εἰκόνα τῆς παλαίας ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἄρετῆς, εἰκὸς δῆποθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχει καὶ Σύρωι καὶ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κελτοίς καὶ Ὑπαξίζι καὶ Παϊσίοι καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένοις Ὑπαξίζι καὶ Παϊσίον ἔπ' αὐταῖς Ἰστρον ταῖς ὑόσι Δ Μυσώις, θεοῦ δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ἔστι μοι πὰν ἄγροικον, αὐστηρόν, ἀδέξιον, ἀναφρόδιτον, ἐρμήνων τοῖς κρητεῖσιν ἁμετακίνητος; ἄ δὴ πάντα ἐστὶ δείγματα δεινῆς ἁγροκιάς.

Ἄλτούμαι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμαντοῦ πρότον συγγόμην, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ἕμών νέμω τὰ πάτρια ἔλοισιν, οὐδ' ἐν ὑσχείει προφέρομαι τὸ

Ψευδαὶ τ' ὀρχησταὶ τε χοροτυπήσιν ἀριστοὶ, τοῦναντίον δὲ ἀντ' ἐγκώμιον. ὑμῖν προσεῖναι 349

¹ ἐπώνυμον Hertlein suggests, ὑμῶν 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.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

φημι πατρίων ξήλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁμηρὸς ἐπαινῶν τὸν Αὐτόλυκον φησὶ περιεῖναι πάντων

Κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὀρκῳ τε.

καὶ ἐμαυτῷ τὴν σκαίότητα καὶ τὴν ἄμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ραδίως μαλάττεσθαι Β μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἕξαπατώσι τὰ ἐμαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοαῖς εἴκειν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργω ὑνείδη. πότερα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ κουφότερα, θεοὶ ἵσως δῆλον, ἐπείπερ ἀνθρώπων οὔδεις οἶός τε ἢμῖν ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν βραβεύσαι: πεισόμεθα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ διὰ φιλαντίαν, θαυμάζειν γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἐκα- στὸν, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὁ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐναντία ξηλοῦντι νέμων συγγνώμην εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ πραότατος.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐννοήσας εὐρίσκω καὶ ἔτερα δεινὰ ὑμαυτῷ εἰργασμένοι. πόλει γὰρ προσιών ἐλευ- θέρα, τῶν αὐχμῶν τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένη, ὥσπερ οἱ κουρέων ἀποροῦντες ἀκαρτὸς καὶ βαθυ- γένειος εἰσέδραμον ἐνόμισας ἂν Σμικρίνην ὄραν ἢ Ὀμασυλέοντα, σύσκολον πρεσβύτην ἢ στρατιώ- την ἄνοιγον, ἔξον φανήσαι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παῖδα ὥραῖον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡλίκιαν, τὸν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἀβρότητα τοῦ προσώπου. Θ "Οὐκ οἶσθα ἀνθρώποις ὁμολείν, οὐδ' ἐπανένευσ
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 Thrasyleon, 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; Thrasyleon is said to have been used by Menander as the name of a boasting soldier, "miles gloriosus."
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ei tov Theogonidos, oude mi'hi taw afanovinou tais petrais polupon, al' h legeomenv Mvak
vios agroikia te kal amathia kal abeltheria prois pantas epitipdevetai para sou. Lekthse se oti1 pollov dei tauta einai Keltoi kal Thrakes kal Illurioi; ouc oras, opoisa mene 
v taw polui tauth kathileia; su de appechav 35c tois kathilois oui xenxwroin oposon boulountai
poleuin autous2 to dymw ta epitipdeia kai tois epitidmoiwn. Oi de tois kektumericous tin yif
aitiwnetai. Su de kai touitous exbrous poiei
sauto taw dikaiia poiein anaykaqon. Oi de en
telei taw polwos amfoin metexontes taiv xhp-
miai, oster oima proteron exairon dихothen
carpoimenoi tas ufelieias, kai ou kektumericou B
kai ou kathilevontes, ta vun eikotws lupountai
di amfoterow ufhermenoi tas epitkerdeias. O
de taw SYwov dhmos ouk exow methew oude
kordakizein aixheto. Su de ouvon afbouon parer-
chou oiei trefein autous ikanow. Ekeino de sou
xarid, oude otos ichtus en taw polui peterais
estai skopeis: alla kai prwv memfomenon
tinos, ouc outhe ichtudwn outhe orvivon polldwn

1 se oti—dei Cobet, se—dein Hertlein, MSS.
2 autous Reiske, autoiis Hertlein, MSS.

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you cannot approve of the maxim of Theognis,\textsuperscript{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 Myconian\textsuperscript{2} 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1} Theognis 215 foll. advises men to imitate the adaptability of the polypus.

\textsuperscript{2} Mykonos was an island in the Cyclades whose inhabitants were proverbial for poverty and greed.

\textsuperscript{3} The cordax was a lascivious dance.
εὐρισκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τωθαστικῶν μάλα ἐγέ- θαςα, ἀρτοὺ καὶ οἶνου καὶ ἑλαίου τῇ σώφρονι
πόλει δεῖν φάμενοι, κρεδὼν ὃ ἦδη τῇ τρυφώσῃ
τὸ γὰρ καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὄρνιθῶν λόγων ποιεῖσθαι
πέρα τρυφὴς εἶναι καὶ ἥς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκῃ
μνηστῆρι μετήν ἁσελγείας. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐν
ὕδωρ κρέα ὤεια καὶ προβάτεια σιντείσθαι, τὸν
ὀσπρίων ἀπτόμενος εὗ πράξει. ταύτα ἐνόμισας
Θραξὶ νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαυτοῦ πολίταις ἡ τοῖς Ὁ
ἀναισθήτοις Γαλάταις, οἳ σε ἐπαυδοτρίβησαν
καθ' Ἥμων "πρώινου, σφενδάμινου," οὐκέτι
μέντοι καὶ "Μαραθωνομάχον," ἀλλ' Ἀχαρνέα
μὲν εὗ ἁμασίας, ἀνδρὴ δ' ἄνδρα παντάπασι καὶ
ἀνθρωπον ἄχαριν. οὐ κρείττον ἦν ὀδωδέναι μύρων
τῆν ἀγορὰν βαδίζοντός σου καὶ παίδας ἰγείσθαι
καλοῦς, εῖσ οὖς ἀποβλέψουσιν οἱ πολίται, καὶ
threnς γυναικῶν, ὅποιοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἱστανται καθ'
ἐκάστην ἡμέραν;"
Εμὲ δὲ ὑγρὸν βλέπειν μιστοῦντα πανταχοῦ 351
τὰ ὅμματα, ὅπως ἡμῖν καλὸς, οὗτι τὴν ψυχήν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑφεῖν, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχώ-
ρεῖ. ἐστὶ γὰρ, ὅσ ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχῆς ἀληθινῶν
καλλὸς ὑγρότης βίου. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδί-
δασκεν εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ὣς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα:
θέατρον δ' οὐκ εἶδον πρὸν μᾶλλον κομῆσαι τῆς
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 mutton² 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.
κεφαλῆς τὸ γένειον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἴδια μὲν καὶ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν οὐδέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἡ τε-
tartον, εὖ ἵστε, Πατρόκλῳ ἐπίθρα φέρων ἄρχων Β ἐπέταττεν οἰκείοις ὃν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖος· ἐτύγχα-
νυ ή διδωμι γὰρ ὃν ἀντ’ ἐμοὶ δικαιότερον μισήσετε τὸν φιλαπ-
εχθῆμον παιδαγωγὸν, ὅσο καὶ τότε ἐλύπη
μίαν οὸν ἤναν διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς ἔστι μοι
τῆς πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀπεχθείας, ἐνεργασάμενος τῇ φυχῇ Σ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιτυπώσας ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐβου-
λόμην τότε, ὁ δὲ ὡς δὴ τι χαρίειν ποιῶν μάλα
προθύμως ἐνετίθει, καλῶν οἶμαι σημνότητα τῆν
ἀγροικίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τῆν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀν-
δρείαν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἰκεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδ’
eυδαίμονα ταύτῃ γίνεσθαι. ἐφ’ ὁ δὲ μοι πολλάκις,
εὖ ἵστε, καὶ μὰ Δία καὶ μούσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ὁτι
παιδαρίῳ κομιδῇ, Μὴ σε παραπειθέτω τὸ πλῆθος
tῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τά θέατρα φερόμενον ὅραξθήναι
ποτε ταυτησὶ τῆς θεᾶς. ἰπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς;
ἔστι παρ’ Ὁμήρῳ δεξιώτατα πεποιημένης λαβών
ἐπέξειθι τὸ βιβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἀκούεις
ὀρχηστάς; ἐὰ χαίρειν αὐτοῦς· ἀνδρικότερον παρὰ
τοὺς Φάιαξιν ὄρχεσται τὰ μειράκια· σὺ δ’ ἔχεις
κιθαρῳδόν τῶν Φήμων καὶ ὥδον τῶν Δημόδοκον.
than on my head, 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. Therefore forgive me. For I hand over to you instead of myself one whom you will more justly detest, I mean that curmudgeon my tutor who even then used to harass me by teaching me to walk in one straight path 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, 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 citharode 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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ἔστι καὶ φυτὰ παρ’ αὐτῷ πολλὰ τερπνότερα ἀκούσαι τῶν ὄρωμένων.

Δὴ λογος δὴ ποτε τοιοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμὸν Φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνέρχόμενον ἐνόησα. 352
καὶ ἡ δευτέρεσσα τῆς Καλυψοῦς νήσος καὶ τὰ τῆς Κήρκης σπῆλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίνων κῆπος: εὖ ἵσθι, τούτων οὐδὲν ὤγει τερπνότερον.

Ἀρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τούνομα ὑμῖν φράσῳ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὅστις ὄν γένος ταῦτα ἔλεγε; βάρβαρος μὴ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς, Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος, ὁμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἐρέτην ἀναπείσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον τοῦτο δὴ πρὸ μηνῶν μὲν εἴκοσι προσκυνοῦμενον Βόνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἀντ’ ἀδικήματος καὶ ὁνείδους, εὔνοιχος ἢν, ὑπὸ τῶν τεθραμμένος πάππῳ, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγάγη διὰ τῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἱσιόδου ποιημάτων. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκεῖνη πρῶτον ἔμε καὶ μόνων τεκοῦσα μησίν ὑστερον ὀλύγοις ἐπελεύκησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμήτορος παρθένου πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἐκκλαπέσα κόρη Σ καὶ νέα, μετ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐβδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθην. οὗτος εὖ ἐκεῖνον ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγων εἰς διδασκάλου μίαν ὀδόν᾽ ἀλλήν δ’ οὔτ’ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι
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.
θέλων ούτ' ἐμοὶ βαδίζειν ἔυγχορῶν ἐποίησεν ἀπεκθάνωσθαι με πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, σπεισώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀπέχθειαν λύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἡπίστατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφιξόμενον οὔτ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστα φοιτᾶν μέλλοιμι, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχων προσεδόκα, καὶ τοσάντην Δ ἄρχήν, ὅσην ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοί, πολλὰ ὁμοί βιασά- μενοι, πείσθητε μοι, καὶ τὸν διδόντα καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον. ἐφ' ἂν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος ἔθελεν οὔτε ὁ διδὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἢ χάριν ἢ ὁ, τι φίλον ὑμῖν αὐτὸ ὄνομάζειν δοῦναι, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ὡς ἵσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἀληθῶς ἤρειτο. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως τοις θεοῖς φίλου ἔχει τε καὶ ἔξει. τυχόν δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς εἰ προύγω τοῦτο, πολλὴν ἂν ἐποίη- 353 σατο προμήθειαν, ὅπως ὃ, τι μάλιστα ὑμῖν φανεῖν κεχαρισμένος.

Εἶτα οὖν ἔξεστιν ἀποθέσθαι νῦν καὶ μεταμαθεῖν εἰ τι πρότερον ἡμῖν ἀγροικοῦν ἡθος ἐνετράφη; Ἑθος, φασί, δευτέρη φύσις· φύσει μάχεσθαι δ' ἔργον, ἐτῶν τριάκοντα μελέτην ἀφείναι παγχάλε- πον ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐγγενομένην τῆς χαλεπότητος· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἂν ὑπερ τούτων ἔστων. ἔμεν· ἀλλὰ τί παθών αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀκροάσθαι Β περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικάζειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτο σε ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὃς οὐδ' εἰ ἄρξεις ἡπίστατο. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων, ὅν καὶ ὑμεῖς 462
neither he himself desired to know any other nor allowed me to travel by any other path, it is he who has caused me to be hated by all of you. However, if you agree, let us make a truce with him, you and I, and make an end of our quarrel. For he neither knew that I should visit you nor did he anticipate that, even supposing I was likely to come here, it would be as a ruler, and that too over so great an empire as the gods bestowed on me; though they did not do so, believe me, without using great compulsion both towards him who offered and him who accepted it. For neither of us had the air of being willing; since he who offered that honour or favour or whatever you may please to call it, was unwilling to bestow it, while he who received it was sincere in steadily refusing it. This matter, however, is and shall be as the gods will. But perhaps if my tutor had foreseen this he would have exercised much forethought to the end that I might, as far as possible, seem agreeable in your eyes.

What then, you will ask, is it not possible even now for me to lay aside my character, and to repent of the boorish temper that was bred in me in earlier days? Habit, as the saying goes, is second nature. But to fight with nature is hard; and to shake off the training of thirty years is very difficult, especially when it was carried on with such painful effort, and I am already more than thirty years old. "Well and good," you answer, "but what is the matter with you that you try to hear and decide cases about contracts? For surely your tutor did not teach you this also, since he did not even know whether you would govern." Yes, it was that terrible old man who convinced me that I ought to do so;
ὁς δὲντα μάλιστα αιτιώτατον τῶν ἑμῶν ἐπιτηδευ-
μάτων ὀρθῶς ποιούντες ξυλλοίδορείτε μοι, καὶ
tούτου δ', εὖ ἵστε, ὅπ' ἄλλων ἐξηπατημένον.
ἀνόματα ἤκει πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολλάκις κωμιδούμενα,
Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ
Θεόφραστος. ἔκεινοις ὁ γέρων οὗτος πεισθεὶς ὑπ' C
ἀφροσύνης, ἐπειτὰ ἐμὲ νέον εὐρών, ἔραστην λόγων,
ἀνέπεισεν, ὥς, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκεῖνον ξηλωτῆς γε-
νοίμην, ἀμείνων ἑσομαί τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
ἰσως οὐδενός. οὐ γὰρ εἰναί μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν
ἀμιλλαν ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἐγὼ δὲ ὦ γὰρ
eἰχον ὅ,τι ποιῶ πεισθεὶς οὐκέτι δύναμαι μεταθε-
σθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἑθέλων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὑνειδίζω D
μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μη ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἄδειαν¹ ἀπάντων
ἀδικημάτων. ὑπεισὶ δὲ μὲ ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὅσα
ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξήλθε ξένος, "Τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ
μηδὲν ἀδικών, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν
ἀδικεῖν πλέον ἡ διπλασίας τιμῆς ἄξιος ἐκεῖνον
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐνός, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἑτέρων,
μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν ἀδίκιαν. ὁ
dὲ καὶ συγκολάξου εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχοισιν, ὁ 354
μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὕτος ἀναγκευ
θῶ νικηφόροις ἀρετῆς. τῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τοῦτον
ἐπαίνοι καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρή λέγειν καὶ
περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τις κέκτη-
¹ πᾶσιν ἄδειαν Cobet, τάσι πᾶσαν ἄδειαν 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 ἄλλοις μεταδίδοναι.

Ταῦτα ἐδίδασκε μὲ νομίζων ἰδιώτην ἐστεσθαί καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ προφήτως ταῦτα ἐκ Διός μοι τὴν Ἑκτύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἣν νῦν ὁ θεὸς φέρων κατέστησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενος ἄρχων ἰδιώτου φαιλότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἐμαυτόν, οὐδὲν δέον, ὡμῖν τῆς ἀγροκίας μεταδίδους τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ. καὶ με ἐτέρος τῶν Πλάτωνοι νόμων ὑπομνησθέντα ἐμαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ύμᾶς, ὅσοι φησὶ δεῖν αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα τὰ πλήθη πρὸς αὐτοῦς ὁ ἀποβλέποντα κοιμῆται. μόνῳ ὅν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰν όλιγοις ἐπιτηθεύοντε νῦν τοῦτο πρὸς θάτερα περίεστη καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως εἰς ὁνείδει. ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἐσμεν οἴδε παρ' ὑμῖν ξένοι νεώλυδες, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολέτης ύμετερος, Ἐρμῆ τικὼς καὶ ἔμοι, λόγων ἀγαθὸς δημοιουργός, οἷς οὐδεν ἐστὶ πρὸς τινα συμβόλαιον, οὐ' ἀλλην ὄδον βαδίζομεν ἃ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὀλιγάκις, οὐ πάντες, εἰς τὰ Θεάτρα, πεποιημένοι τὸ δυσκλεῖστατον 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 Oreibasis the physician.
καὶ ἐπονειδιστότατον ἧ τοῦ βίου τέλος· ἐπιτρέψοντί μοι πάντως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοὶ φάναι τι τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐπιπολαζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὑδεῖν τῶς ἥν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδεξάμην· ἐπὶ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτοὺς ἔτάξαμεν, οὗτοι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦ-μεθά τὸ προσκρούειν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δέν ἀρέσκειν καὶ θωπεύειν. ὁ δὲ δεῖνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν δεῖνα. Τί τούτο, ὦ μόρε, πρὸς σέ; κοινωνεῖν ἐξον μετ’ εὐνοίας τῶν ἄδικημάτων, ἀφεὶς τὸ κέρδος ἐχθραν ἐπαναίρη, καὶ τούτῳ ποίων ὀρθῶς οἶει 355 ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαί ἐχρῆ, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄδικουμένων οὔδεις αἰτιάται τοὺς ἁρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄδικῆσαντα, ὁ δ’ ἄδικων εἶτα εἰργόμενος, ἀφεὶς μέμφεσθαι τὸν ἄδικούμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἁρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἄχθος.

Ἐξόν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογιστίας ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαί μὲν τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δ’ ἐκάστῳ πράττειν ὅ, τι ἄν ἑθέλῃ καὶ Β ὑποστῶν ἵ· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἥθος οἶμαι τοιοῦτον ἔστων, ἑλεύθερον λίαν· σὺ δέ οὐκ ἔχεις ἁρχοντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ φρονήσεως ἁξίοις· οὔδ’ ἀπέβλεψας ὅση καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὅνων ἐστὶν ἑλευθερία παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμῆλῶν; ἀγονεῖς τοι καὶ ταύτας οἱ μυσθωτοὶ διὰ τῶν στοὰν ὅστερ τὰς νύμφας· οἱ γὰρ ὑπαίθριοι στευοῦτοι καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῶν ὅδων οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δήπου πεποίηται, τῷ χρῆ·

1 ἐπονειδιστότατον Hertlein suggests, ἐπονειδιστον MSS.
unpopular aim and end of life. The wise men of Greece will surely allow me to repeat some of the sayings current among you; for I have no better way of illustrating what I mean. We have stationed ourselves in the middle of the road, so highly do we prize the opportunity to collide with you and to be disliked, when we ought rather to try to please and flatter you. "So-and-so has oppressed So-and-so." "Fool! What business is it of yours? When it was in your power to win his good-will by becoming the partner in his wrong-doing, you first let the profit go, and incur hatred besides; and when you do this you think that you are doing right and are wise about your own affairs. You ought to have taken into account that, when men are wronged, not one of them ever blames the magistrates but only the man who has wronged him; but the man who seeks to do wrong and is prevented from it, far from blaming his proposed victim, turns his grievance against the magistrates.

"Then when it was in your power by the aid of this careful reasoning to refrain from compelling us to do what is just; when you might have allowed every man to do whatever he pleases and has the power to do,—for the temper of the city is surely like that, excessively independent—do you then, I say, fail to understand this and assert that the citizens ought to be wisely governed? Have you not even observed what great independence exists among the citizens, even down to the very asses and camels? The men who hire them out lead even these animals through the porticoes as though they were brides. For the unroofed alleys and the broad highways were certainly not made for the use of pack-asses,
σθαί αὐταῖς τοὺς καυθηλίους, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸ δὴ τούτῳ κόσμου τινὸς ἑνεκα πρόκεινται καὶ πολυτελείας, χρήσθαι δὲ ὑπ’ ἑλευθερίας οἱ ὄνοι C βούλουν ταῖς στοιχὶς, εἰργεῖ δ’ αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδείς ὁδείς, ἡμὴ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἀφέλεται οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἐστίν ἑλευθέρα. σὺ δὲ ἄξιοις τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νεανίσκοις ἀγεῖν ἡσυχίαν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρο- νεῖν δ’, τι σοὶ φίλον, εἰ δὲ μή, φθέγγεσθαι ὅσων ἃν ἱδέως ἄκουσης. μὲν ἄκοβος λεγεῖν, καὶ μὲν ἐπτεικῶς αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, εν δὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς πλέον.

Ἐδώκαν ποτε τῶν τοιοῦτων σκωμμάτων Ῥω- μαίοις Ταραντίνοι δίκας, ὅτι μεθύοντες ἐν τοῖς D Διονυσίοις ὑβρισαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐδαι- μονέστεροι, ἀντὶ μὲν ὅλων ἡμερῶν ὅλον εὑπα- θοῦντες ἑναυτόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ξένων πρέσβεων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξεύβρίζοντες τοὺς ἄρχοντα καὶ τούτων εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ γενεέου τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι χαράγματα. εὐ γε, ὃ πολίται σῶ—356 φρονεῖς, οἳ τε πραῖζοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἳ τῶν παιζόντων ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύοντες. δήλων γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἱδονὴν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἀκροαίσθαι τῶν τοιοῦτων σκωμμάτων εὑ- φραίνει. ταύτης ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς ὁμονοίας συνήδομαι, καὶ εὐ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ πόλις ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἐκεῖνο γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαίον οὐδὲ ξηλωτῶν εἰργεῖν καὶ κολάζειν τῶν νέων τὸ ἀκόλαστον. Β παραρεῖσθαι γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀποθραύειν τῆς ἑλευ- θερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἰ τις ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ λέγειν

1 ἀκόψας Hertlein suggests, ἀκόψας 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.
καὶ πρῶτευν ὅ,τι βούλονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὁρθῶς οὖν ἡμεῖς τούτο εἰδότες, ὅτι διὰ τὰ πάντα ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, πρῶτον ἐπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀρχειν αὐτῶν, ἵνα ὑμῖν ὡςι λιν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, εἰτα ἐκεῖναις ἐξυπερήσατε ἀνάγειν τὰ παιδία, μὴ ποτὲ ὑμῖν ἄρχης πειρόμενα τραχύτερας Κ ἐπείτα ἀποφανθῇ δοῦλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια πρῶτον αἰδεύσατε διδαχὴ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπο δὲ τῆς οὗτοι κακῆς συνήθειας εὐλαβέστερα γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοῦτας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι σωφρόνες καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ κόσμιοι λάθωσι διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι. τί οὖν αἱ γυναίκες; ἔτι τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἀγούσιν αὐτὰ δι' ἤδονής, ὅ δὲ μακαριώτατον εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτίμητον οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θερίους. ἐνθὲν οἷμαι συμβαίνει μάλα ὑμῖν εὐδαίμοναν εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀρνουμένοις δουλείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρξαμένοις πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τρίτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἀτοποί τε ἄν εἶμην ἡμεῖς, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορώντων οὕτως ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἑπεξιόντων ἀγανακτολήμεν καὶ χαλεπαίνομεν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι 357 ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἁτιμῶς παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χι, φασίν, οὐδὲν ἡδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὔδὲ τὸ Κάππα. τί μὲν ἐστὶ τούτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αὐτοῦμα ἐξυπερῆ ἀχλατον, τυχόντες δ' ἡμεῖς

1 ἀρξαμένοις before πρῶτον Hertlein suggests, Klimek ἀποστάσι τῆς for ἄπο 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 ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχὰς ὄνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν ὃ ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν, τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον. ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. Β ἐν μόνον ὑμᾶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἥδικησεν, ὅτι με καίσαρα ποιήσας οὖν ἀπέκτεινεν· ὡς τὰ γε ἄλλα ὑμῖν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν δοῦν οἱ θεοὶ Κωνστάντιῶν πειράθηναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὃ ἀνήρ καὶ ἀνεψιδὸς ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐλήετο τὴν ἐχθραν, εἶτα ἦμῖν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶνα λίαι ἐβρά-βευσαν φιλανθρώπως, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερος Κ φίλος ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἐξειν με πρὶν ἐχθρὸν γενέσθαι. τὸ οὖν οἰεσθὲ με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν ἐγκαμίους, ὅς ἀχθομαὶ τοῖς λοιδορομένοις αὐτῷ; Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλίτητος, ἡ τὸ σόφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπεγύμνωσεν. Ἐμισθοῦ Χριστὸν ἔποθον οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Γαλιλαίων; ἐλύπησα δ' ἐγὼ τίνας Ἐμμηνῶν πώποτε; ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς καὶ ὅλιγου δέω D φάναι πάντας, τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν δήμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθεταὶ μοι τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει, μᾶλλον δ' ἄπαν ἀθεότητα προελάμβανος.

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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 Calliope¹ who revealed your clever invention? Did those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire to the tombs of the Galilaeans?² But what citizens of Emesa have I ever annoyed? I have however annoyed many of you, I may almost say all, the Senate, the wealthy citizens, the common people. The latter indeed, since they have chosen atheism, hate me for the most part, or rather all of them hate me because they see that I adhere to the ordinances

¹ There was a statue of Calliope in the market-place at Antioch.
² The people of Emesa burned the Christian churches and spared only one, which they converted into a temple of Dionysus.
Τὸς πατρίως ὅρα τῆς ἀγιστείας θεσμὸς προσκείμενον, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κωλυόμενοι πολλοῦ πάντα πωλεῖν ἀργυρίου, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὕχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστερῶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέλει μοι τῶν τοιού-των ἤττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων. εἰτὰ οὐκ έἰκότως ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγορῶ τοσάττας ἀπεχθείας λαβάς παρασχόντος;

'Αλλ' ὁ Ρωμαιὸς Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχων πώγωνος οὖκ οἶδα, παρ' ὄντινοι δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονούντων ἄξιος ἐπανείσθαι, προσιών τῇδὲ τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ πλούσιᾳ πολέμι τοὺς ἐφήβους ἵδων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιστῶν ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἐπὶ τινα δορυφόριαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ἢμὼν τοὺς προγόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποιήσθαι καὶ θάσσου ἀποβάς τοῦ ἢπτου προήγεν ἀμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχεραίνων ὡς μηνυτὰς γενομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Κάτων προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπεισάντας ἐκδραμεῖν. ὄντος δ' ἐν τοιούτως αὐτοῦ καὶ διαπροσέντος ἥρεμα καὶ ἐρυθρίωντος, ὁ γυμνασίαρχος προσδραμῶν, "Ω ξένε, ἐφή, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἦν δ' οὗτος Σ ἀπελεύθερος Πομπηίῳ, κεκτημένος οὐσίαν πολυλήν πάνω· μέτρον δ' αὐτῆς εἰ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν· οἴμαι γὰρ ἢμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς
of the sacred rites which our forefathers observed; the powerful citizens hate me because they are prevented from selling everything at a high price; but all of you hate me on account of the dancers and the theatres. Not because I deprive others of these pleasures, but because I care less for things of that sort than for frogs croaking in a pond. Then is it not natural for me to accuse myself, when I have furnished so many handles for your hatred?

Cato the Roman, however,—how he wore his beard I do not know, but he deserves to be praised in comparison with anyone of those who pride themselves on their temperance and nobility of soul and on their courage above all,—he, I say, once visited this populous and luxurious and wealthy city; and when he saw the youths in the suburb drawn up in full array, and with them the magistrates, as though for some military display, he thought your ancestors had made all those preparations in his honour. So he quickly dismounted from his horse and came forward, though at the same time he was vexed with those of his friends who had preceded him for having informed the citizens that Cato was approaching, and so induced them to hasten forth. And while he was in this position, and was slightly embarrassed and blushing, the master of the gymnasium ran to meet him and called out “Stranger, where is Demetrius?” Now this Demetrius was a freedman of Pompey, who had acquired a very large fortune; and if you want to know the amount of it,—for I suppose that in all

1 A proverb to express complete indifference.
2 The anecdote which follows is told by Plutarch in his Cato the Younger and also in his Pompeius.
3 Julian must have known that in Cato’s day the Romans never wore beards.
ταύτην μάλιστα ὄρμησθαι τὴν ἀκοήν· ἐγὼ τῶν εἰπόντα φράσω. Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ Βιθυνῷ πεποίηται συγγράμματα τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενος ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν εἰργάσατο λόγους ἥδιστοις Δ νέος φιληκός καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ φίλει γὰρ τὸ γῆρας ἑπανάγειν ἀὕθις εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων φιλη-
κοῖαν τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους· οὗτοι οὐμαί συμβαίνει
νέους καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐξ ἰσης εἶναι φιλομύθους·
eἰεν. ο ὅ ὣ ὁ Κάτων ὅπως ἀπήγγειλε τῷ γυμνα-
σίαρχῳ βούλεσθε φράσω; μή με λοιδορεῖν ὑπο-
λάβητε τὴν πόλιν· οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος ἐμός.
eἰ τὶς ἀφίκται περιφερομένη καὶ εἰς ὅμοις ἀκοὴ
Χαίρωνεώς ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου γένους, ὁ δὴ
λέγεται παρὰ τῶν ἄλαξῶν φιλόσοφον· οὗ δὴ καὶ
ἄμαθας κοινωνικαὶ καὶ μετασχεῖν. ταύτα οὖν
ἐκεῖνος ἔφρασεν, ὡς ὁ Κάτων ἀπεκρίσατο μὲν
οὐδέν, βοήσας δὲ μόνον οἷς τῖς ἐμπληκτῶς καὶ
ἀνόητος ἀνθρώπος, Ὄ τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως,
ἀπιών φύετο.

Μὴ δὴ θαυμάσῃτε, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ νυνὶ
πάσχω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνὴρ ἀγριώτερος ἐκεῖνος καὶ
θρασύτερος τοσούτω καὶ αὐθαδέστερος, ὅσον οἱ
Κελτοὶ Ῥώμαιοι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε τεχθεὶς
ἔγγυς ἐλθὲ γῆρως ἄμα τοῖς πολλαῖς τρεφόμενοι·
ἐμοὶ δὲ Κέλτοι καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ ὅρμος Ἐρκύνιος
ἐμελεν ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἄνδρας τελοῦντι, καὶ
dιέτριψα πολὺν ἡδή χρόνου, ὥσπερ τὶς κυνηγέτης

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.1 If any rumour has come round, even to your ears, of the man of Chaeronea,2 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 forest3 from the moment that I was reckoned a grown man, and I have by now spent a long time

ἀγρίοις ὀμιλῶν καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι θηρίοις, ἦθεσιν C ἐντυγχάνον ὡς θωτεῖνειν ὡς κολακεύειν εἰδό- σιν, ἀπλῶς δὲ καὶ ἑλευθέρως ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου πάσιν προσφέρεσθαι. γέγονεν οὖν μοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων τροφὴν ἢ τε ἐν μειρακίοις ὁδὸς διὰ τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτηδείων δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν οἰομένως ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἡ εἴναι, ἢ τε ἐν ἀνδράσιν αὐτουργία παρὰ τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις καὶ θυμικο- τάτοις τῶν ἑυθύν, ὅπου τὴν γαμηλίαν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν μεθυδότην Δίὸνυσον γάμον τε ἕνεκα καὶ παιδοποίας οἴνου τε ὀπόσης ἐκάστῳ δυνα- τὸν πόσεως ὑσσί μόνον. ἄσέλγεια δ’ οὖκ ἐστιν D ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὐδὲ ὑβρις, οὐδὲ ἐλκεὶ τις εἰσω τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν κόρδακα.

Δέγεται τοις μικρῶ πρόσθεν ὡς ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσέ τις Καππαδόκης φυγάς, ἐν τῇ παρ’ ἦμιν τραφεὶς πόλει παρὰ τῷ χρυσοχώρῳ γνωρίζετε δήποτεν ἄν λέγω· μαθὼν ὅπου καὶ ἐμάθεω, ὡς οὐ δέον ὀμιλεῖν γυναῖξι, μειρακίοις οὔ ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅποσα ἐνθάδε δράσας καὶ παθών, ἐπειδὴ 360 παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖσε βασιλέα προφή ἀφίκετο, μνήμη τῶν τῆς πολλοῦς μὲν ὀρχηστᾶς αὐτοῦ ἐπα- γαγείν, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὰ ἐντείκεν ἄγαθὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τέλος ὡς ἐνεδέχεσθαν ἔτη κοτυλιστοίν.

1 ἐπιτηδείων—οἰομένως—εὐδαιμονεστάτους Hertlein suggests, ἐπιτηδείῳ δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτῳ 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 cotylist—you know the word and the thing too—he

1 We do not know what sort of performance was given by a cotylist; he was evidently a mime and may have played with cups; κοτύλη = a pint-cup.
toúto δ᾿ ύμεῖς ἵστε πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ
toúton εὐθένδε ἐκάλει πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς
παρ᾿ ύμῖν διαίτης. οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν κοτυ-
λιστήν ἡγίονσαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα τὰ βασίλεια,
tοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ ἐπιτραπέζας ἐπι-
δείκνυσθαί 1 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν τέχνην εἰσαγα
οἰόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοὺς ἐοικέναι. καὶ
ἡν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐμὸι καταγελαστῶ-
tατον τὸ θέατρον· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν ὀλίγοι πολλῶν
κατεγέλων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξὶν ὀλίγοις ἐνθάδε γελοιοῖς
ὑμῖν ἀπασὶ τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν C
εἶην ἀδικοὶς εὶ μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργοιμ,
diaφερόντως ἀσπασάμενοι ἐκεῖνα. Κελτοὶ μὲν
gὰρ οὕτω μὲ δι’ ὀμοιότητα τρόπων ἡγίονσαν,
ὡστε ἐτόλμησαν οὐχ ὅπλα μόνον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἐδώκαν πολλά, καὶ
παραιτοῦμενοι ὀλίγον καὶ ἐβιάσαντο λαβεῖν, καὶ
πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουσαν. δὲ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον,
ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ύμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα,
καὶ ἐβόων πάντες ἄνδρευν, συνέτον, δίκαιον, οὐ
πολέμῳ μόνον ὀμιλῆσαι δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνη
D
χρήσασθαι δεξίων, εὐπρόσιτου, πράον. ύμεῖς δὲ
αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεδώκατε νῦν ἐνθένδε πρὸτων μὲν, ὅτι
παρ’ ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατέρπαται
σύνοιδα δὲ οὔδὲν ἀνατρέπων ἐμαυτῷ οὔτε ἐκὼν
οὔτε ἀκὼν· εἰτα, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πῶγωνος μοι χρή
πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ ὡς τοῦ πολεμῶ τῷ Χί, πόθος δὲ
ὑμᾶς εἰσείσι τοῦ Κάππα. καὶ υμῖν γε αὐτὸ ὁι

1 ἐπιδείκνυσθαι 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.
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πολιούχοι τήσει τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ διπλοῦν δούειν, ὅτι πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἀστυνεῖτονας ἐσυκοφαν- 361 τήσατε πόλεις ἱερὰς καὶ ὁμοδούλους ἐμοί, ὡς δὴ παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰή τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐξυπνεθέντα, ὅν εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἔκειναι μᾶλλον ἡ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν νῖεας, οἱ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη, τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν ἄθεων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, δὴ δέδοται παρ’ ἐμοῦ πρόφην, οὕτως ἔπαρθέντες τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἡ βουλομένω Β μοι ἦν.

Τὰ δ’ ὑμετέρα: πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγειρομένους ἄρτι τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψαν, οὕς ἡ πρόοτης ἤμων ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἡσυχάζειν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπεπεμψάμεθα τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, οἱ μὲν ἀφοσιώμενοι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξ ὑμῶν ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν λειψάνων ἡγανακτηκόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος Κ τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ εἰτε λαθόντες εἰτε μὴ τὸ πῦρ ἐνείσαν ἐκεῖνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ἔξων φρικῶδες, ὑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἡδονὴν παρασχόν,

1 ἐνείσαν Hertlein suggests, οὐκ οἶκαν MSS.

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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.
υπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθὲν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀμελοῦμεν. ἔμοι μὲν οὖν ἔδοκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν νεὼν ὁ θεὸς, ἐπεσήμηνε γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν Ἡλιον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας, ομας δὲ ὑπομνῆσαι βούλομαι καὶ ἄλλης ἀπεχθεῖας ἐμῆς, ἐπειτα, ὅπερ εἰσθα ποιεῖν Δ ἐπιεικῶς, ὁνείδιας ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ κατηγορῆσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γάρ που μην τῷ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἀριθμομένῳ. Δῶν οὐμαι τούτου ὑμεῖς προσαγορεῦετε τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πάτριος ἔστιν ἔορτή, καὶ ἔδει σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντάν. ἐγώ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς ἔπλο τοῦτο ἔδραμον, οἴομενος εὖταθά μάλιστα τοῦ πλοῦτον καὶ τῆς φιλοτημίας ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσειν. εἶτα ἀνέπλαττον παρ’ ἐμαυτῷ πομπῆς, ὅσπερ οὐείρατα ὅρων, ἱερεία καὶ 362 σπουδὰς καὶ χοροὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμάματα καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἔκει περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπετῶτα μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκῇ δ’ ἐσθητὶ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεὶ κεκοσμημένους. ός δὲ εἰσὼ παρῆλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὔτε θυμάματα κατελαβον οὔτε πόπανον οὔτε ἱερεῖον. αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἑθαυμάσα καὶ φίλην ἔξω τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι, περιμένειν δ’ ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὴ τιμῶντας ὡς ἀρχιερέα, εἰ τὸ σύνθημα παρ’ ἐμοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧρόμην, τι μέλλει θύειν ἡ 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.
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ιερεύς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἦκω φέρων ὁκοθεν τῷ θεῷ χήνα ιερείου, ἥ πόλις δὲ τὰ νῦν οὐδέν ηὐτρέπισται.

'Ευταύθα ὁ φιλαπεχθήμων ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἀνεπικεῖσα πάνω διελέξθην λόγους, ὃν ἰσως οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ νῦν μυμονεύσαι. "Δεινῶ," ἐφην ἐγώ, "τὴν τοσαύτην πόλιν οὔτω τῶν θεῶν ὀλυγόρως ἐχεις, ὃς οὐδεμία παροικοῦσα ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ Πύντου κώμης μυρίους κλήρους C γῆς ἱδίας κεκτημένη, τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπιστάσθη ἐορτής ἐναυσίου, ἐπειδὴ διεκέδασαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν νεφέλην, μιᾶν ὄρνων 1 ύπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐ προσάγει, ἣν ἐχρῆν μάλιστα μὲν καὶ κατὰ φυλᾶς βουκυτεῖν, εἴ δὲ μὴ βάδιον, ἔνα γε 2 κοινὴ πᾶσαν ύπὲρ αὐτῆς προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ ταύρον. ὑμῶν δ' ἐκαστὸς ἱδία μὲν εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς χαίρει δαπανώμενος, καὶ εὐ οἴοδα πολλοὺς ὑμῶν πλείστα εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοῦ Μαίουμα χρήματα ἀπολέσαντας, ύπὲρ δ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὕτως θύει οὔτε ἱδία τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἡ πόλις κοινή, μόνος δ' ὁ ιερεύς, ὃν οἴμαι δικαίοτερον ἢν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ θεῷ παρ' ὑμῶν οἰκάδε ἀπίεναι μερίδας ἔχοντα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ιερεύσιν οἱ θεοὶ καλοκαγαθία τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύσει προσέταξαν καὶ λειτουργεῖν σφίσι τὰ εἰκότα· πρέπει δ' οἴμαι τῇ πόλει θύειν ἱδία καὶ 363

1 μιᾶν ὄρνων Hertlein suggests, ὄρνων MSS.
2 ἔνα γε Hertlein suggests, ἔνα MSS.
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.¹ Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce on her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe, or if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city’s welfare not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one

¹ cf. Themistius 332 d.
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dημόσια: νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἐνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γαλι-
lαίους, καὶ τρέφονσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖναι τοὺς πέντας πολὺ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐργάζονται
θαύμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δεομένους. ἐστὶ δὲ
tοιοῦτον οἶμαι τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος-
ハウス δ᾽ αὐτοὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
tιμῶν ἁμελῶς ἔχοντες πράττειν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον
ὑπολαμβάνετε: πρόσεισι δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν δεομένων Β
τοῖς ιεροῖς: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οἶμαι πόθεν διατραφῇ,
καὶ γενέθλια μὲν τὶς ἐστὶν ἰκανῶς παρασκευάζει
dεῖπνων καὶ ἀριστοῦ, ἐπὶ πολυτελῇ τράπεζαι τοὺς
φίλους παραλαμβάνων· ἐνιαυτὸν δ᾽ ἐορτῆς οὕσης
οὐδεὶς ἐκόμισεν ἠλαιον εἰς λύχνου τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ
σπονδῆν οὐδ᾽ ιερεῖον οὐδὲ λιβανωτὸν. ἐγώ μὲν
οὖν 1 οὐκ οἶδα, ὅπως ἄν τις ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Μ
ὁ ὑπὸ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀμέλειαν, νομίζω δ᾽ ἔγω μηδὲ
τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκειν.

Τοιαύτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνημαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς
ἐμαρτύρησε· μου τῶν λόγων, ὥσις μήποτε ὥθελεν,
ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προστείον, ὃ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνον,
ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ θάλῃ τρέψας ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν κρα-
tούντων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τῷ χείρι βιασάμενος.
ὑμῖν δ᾽ ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ ποιοῖν ἀνοῆτως. ἐχρῆν
γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν
συνεισελθόντων ἐμοὶ, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν
μηδ᾽ ἐπιτιμῶν. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ προστεῖσας ἐγὼ καὶ D

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 godliness 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.
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tῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομι-
στέον ὡς εἰνοίας ἐμοὶ τότε εἰρήσθαι τοὺς πρὸς
ὑμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλ’ οἷσι δόξαν θηρεύων εὐλαβείας
τε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰνοίας. ἀδόλου-
tούτο δ’ ἐστὶν οἷσι παγγέλοιοι κολακεία· πολλὰ
ὑμῶν μάτην κατέχεα. δίκαια τοῖνυν ἐργάζεσθε 364
με τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκεῖνων ἀμοινόμενοι καὶ
ἐναλλάττουντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ
πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἰχνεσιν
ἐν ὁλίγοις ὑμῶν κατέδραμον· ὑμεῖς δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἴκανῶν τὰ τοιαύτα
χαριεντίζεσθαι πολιτῶν. εὖ γὰρ ἵστε, πάντες
οἱ λέγοντες κοινοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκοῦστα τοὺς
λόγους, καὶ ὁ ξῖν ἡδονὴ τῶν βλασφημῶν ἀκροα-
σάμενος, μετέχων τῆς ἱσθη ἡδονῆς ἀπραγμο-
 νέστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινωνός ἐστι τῆς αἰτίας.

Εἰρήται οὖν ὑμῖν δὲ ὀλης καὶ ἱκρόαται τῆς
πόλεως ὀπόσα εἰς τοινοὶ πέπακται τῶν φαῦλον
πώγονα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα ὑμῖν καλὸν
οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξοντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίον
ὑμῶν, ὅποιον ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ μὲν ζῆτε, ποθεῖτε δὲ ὅραν
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχοντιν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφη-
μῶν, ὡς ἕδια με καὶ δημοσία κατεχεῖτε μου C
παιζοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις, 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, ὡσ οὐδὲν ύμᾶς ἐγὼ διὰ τούτο πῶστε δεινὸν ἐργάσομαι σφάττων ἢ τύπτων ἢ δῶν ἢ ἀποκλείων ἢ κολάζων. τῶς γὰρ; ὦς, ἐπείπερ ύμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξας μετὰ τῶν φίλων σωφρονοῦντα, φανλότατον ἰδεῖν ύμῖν καὶ ἀνήδε- στατον, οὐδὲν ἐπέδειξα καλὸν θέαμα, μεταστήμαι δ τῆς πόλεως ἕγνωκα καὶ ὑποχωρήσαι, πεπει- σμένοις μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὅτι, πάντως ἐκεῖνοι ἀρέσω, πρὸς οὐς πορεύομαι, κρίνον δ' αἰρετῶτερον, εἱ διαμάρτουμι τοῦ δόξαι γοῦν ἐκεῖνοι καλὸς κάγα- θός, ἐν μέρει μεταδοῦναι πάσι τῆς ἀνθίδας τῆς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ μὴ τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην ἀποκναϊ- σαι πόλιν ὃσπερ ὑπὸ δυσωδίας τῆς ἐμῆς μετριό- τητος καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς σωφροσύνης.

'Ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγρόν οὐδὲ κῆπον ἐπρίατο 365 παρ' ύμῖν οὐδὲ οἰκίαν ἁκοδόμησεν οὐδ' ἐγήμεν παρ' ύμῖν οὐδ' ἐξέδωκεν εἰς ύμᾶς οὐδὲ ἥρασθημεν τῶν παρ' ύμῖν καλῶν, οὐδ' ἐξηλώσαμεν Ἀσσύριον πλούτον οὐδ' ἐνειμάμεθα τὰς προστασίας οὐδὲ παραδυναστεῖν ἡμῖν ἴνεχομεθά τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει οὐδ' ἐπέσώμεθα τῶν δήμων εἰς παρασκευᾶς δείπνων ἢ θεάτρων, δι τότες ἐποιήσαμεν τρυφῶν, ὡστε ἄγον σχόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑνδείας τοὺς ἀνα- παίστους εἰς τοὺς αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς εὐθυμίας ξυνέθηκεν, οὐδ' ἐπεγράψαμεν χρυσίων οὐδὲ ἐτή- σαμεν ἀργύριον οὐδὲ ἰδίησαμεν φόρους'. ἀλλα

1 τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests, τὴν πόλιν MSS.
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 ἀποκρατεῖ γὰρ ἀνὴρ 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 ἀνεῖται πᾶσι τῶν εἰθη-
σμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ ὦμια δ' ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρεμῖων
έχω ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ θεοῦ, ώς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω,
τὸν εἰσαγγελέα, καλῶς υφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιμυθήθηντα,
διότι γέρων ἄν καὶ φαλακρός ἥρεμα τὰ πρόσω
διὰ δυστροπίαν ἀισχύνει κομᾶν ἐξόπλισθεν. Ο
ὡσπερ ὁμήρος ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἀβαντας, οὐδὲν
δ' ἐκείνου φαυλοτέρους ἄνδρας οίκοι παρ' ἐμαυτῷ
δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε
de νυνὶ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δὲ μοι θείος καὶ ὁμώνυμος ὦ δικαιότατα
μὲν ὑμῶν προστη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοὶ
ξυνεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ξυμπράττειν; οὐ προμη-
θέστατα δὲ πάσαις ἐπεξῆλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις
τῆς πόλεως; ἦμιν μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει ταῦτα καλά,
πράστης ἀρχόντων μετὰ σωφροσύνης, φόμεθά τε D
ὑμῖν Ἰκανῶς διὰ τούτων καλοὶ φανεῖθαι τῶν
ἐπιτηθιμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦμᾶς ή τε βαθύτες
ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενελοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄτημελητὸν τῶν
τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μη παραβάλλειν τοῖς θεάτροις
καὶ τὸ ἀξίουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι σεμνοὺς καὶ
πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ἡ περὶ τάς κρίσεις ἡμῶν
ἀσχολία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξεγεῖν τὴν πλεον-
exián, ἐκόντες ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366
οὐ γὰρ ὦμια ράδιον ἐν γῆρᾳ μεταθεμένῳ δια-
φυγεῖν τὸν λεγόμενον υπὲρ τοῦ ἱκτίνως μύθου.
λέγεται γὰρ τοῦ τῶν ἱκτίνων φωνῆν ἔχοντα παρα-
πλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρνισιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ χρε-
μετίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ γενναίοι τῶν ἵππων, εἰτα τοῦ

1 ἀλλὰ καὶ Reiske would add.
addition to the arrears, one-fifth of the regular taxes has been in all cases remitted. Moreover I do not think it enough that I myself practise self-restraint, but I have also an usher who, by Zeus and the other gods, is moderate indeed, as I believe, though he has been finely scolded by you, because, being an old man and slightly bald in front, in his perversity he is too modest to wear his hair long behind, as Homer made the Abantes wear theirs.\footnote{Iliad 2. 542.} 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,\footnote{Julian, Count of the East.} 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...
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

μὲν ἐπιλαβόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἔλειν ἰκανῶς ἀμφοῖν στέρεσθαι καὶ φαυλοτέραν τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνίθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Β αὐτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἄγροικίας τε ἀμα καὶ δεξιότητος ἀμαρτεῖν. ήδη γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ συνορᾶτε, πλησίον ἐσμὲν ἐθελόντων θεῶν,

Εὔτε μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνοις ἀναμεμίξονται τρίχες,

ὁ Τήσιος ἐφι ποιητής.

Εἶεν. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ Δίος ἀγοραίον καὶ πολυούχον, ὑπόσχετε λόγον. ἡδίκεσθὲ τι παρ ἐμοῦ κοινῇ πῶποτε ἡ καὶ ἰδία, καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι Κ φανερῶς διὰ τῶν ἀναπαίστων ἡμᾶς, ὡσπερ οἱ κωμοδοὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔλκουσι καὶ περιφέρουσι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐπιτρίβετε λουδοροῦντες; ἡ τού μὲν ποιεῖν τι χαλεπῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς κακῶς οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἵνα μὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰόντες ἀμύνησθε; τίς οὖν ὑμῖν ἐστίν αὐτία τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσατο καὶ τῆς ἀπεχθείας; ἔγω γὰρ εὗ οἶδα δεινῶν οὐδένα ὑμῶν οὐδὲν D οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὔτε ἰδία τοὺς ἄνδρας οὔτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, οὗτος εἰπὼν οὐδὲν φλαῦρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσας, ως ἐδοξέ μοι προσήκειν, καὶ μεταδοὺς χρηστοῦ τινος, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πολλοὺς εὗ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους. ἦδυνατον ὁ εὗ ἵστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

1 ἦ καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.
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horse; then since it forgot its former note and could not quite attain to the other sound, it was deprived of both, and hence the note it now utters is less musical than that of any other bird. This then is the fate that I am trying to avoid, I mean failing to be either really boorish or really accomplished. For already, as you can see for yourselves, I am, since Heaven so wills, near the age “When on my head white hairs mingle with black,” as the poet of Teos said.¹

Enough of that. But now, in the name of Zeus, God of the Market-place and Guardian of the City, render me account of your ingratitude. Were you ever wronged by me in any way, either all in common or as individuals, and is it because you were unable to avenge yourselves openly that you now assail me with abuse in your market-places in anapaestic verse, just as comedians drag Heracles and Dionysus on the stage and make a public show of them?² Or can you say that, though I refrained from any harsh conduct towards you, I did not refrain from speaking ill of you, so that you, in your turn, are defending yourselves by the same methods? What, I ask, is the reason of your antagonism and your hatred of me? For I am very sure that I had done no terrible or incurable injury to any one of you, either separately, as individuals, or to your city as a whole; nor had I uttered any disparaging word, but I had even praised you, as I thought I was bound to do, and had bestowed on you certain advantages, as was natural for one who desires, as far as he can, to benefit many men. But it is impossible, as you know well, both to remit all their taxes to the taxpayers

¹ Anacreon fr. 77, Bergk. ² cf. Oration 7. 204 b.
THE SATILES OF JULIAN

ρουσι συγχωρεῖν ἀπαντα καὶ διδόναι πάντα τοῖς 367 εἰωθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὅταν οὖν φανῶ μηδὲν ἐλαττώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξεων, ὅσας εἰσθεν ἣ βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ὡμῖν δὲ ἀνείς τῶν εἰσφορῶν οὐκ ὀλγα, ἀρ' οὐκ αἰνίγματι τὸ πράγμα ἔρικεν;

'Αλλ' ὅποσα μὲν κοινὴ πρὸς πάντας πεποίηται τοὺς ἀρχομένους υπ' ἐμοὶ, πρέποι δὲν σιωπᾶν, ὅταν δοκοῖ ὡσπέρ ἐξεπτάθηδες αὐτοπρόσωπος ἐπαινοῦσαι ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλάμενος πολλὰς καὶ ἁσελγεστάτας ὑβρεῖς καταχέαν· τὰ δὲ ἱδία μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεπουμένα προπετῶς μὲν καὶ ἀνοίτως, ἥκιστα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄξια ἀχαρίστεισθαι, πρέποι δὲν οἷμαι προφέρειν ὡσπέρ τινὰ ἐμᾶ ὑνείδῃ τοσοῦτῳ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χαλιετῶτερα, τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς ἀναφροδιαίας, ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερα ὄντα τῇ ψυχῇ μάλιστα προσήκει. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπήνου τις ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνδεχετὸ μοι φιλοτίμως οὐκ ἀναμείνας την πειραν οὐδ' ὅτως ἐξομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἑλλήνων παίδας, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ μοι Θράκιον, "Ἐλλῆνα τοὺς ἑπτηδεύμασιν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἁγαπήσομεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐστῳ μοι τῆς προπετείας ὁνείδος. ἐπειτα πρεσβευσάμενοι ὑμῖν παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἀφικομένοις ὑστέροις οὖ 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 ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτῳ, πολὺ μὲν ἀνήκα χρυσίον, πολὺ δ’ ἀργύριον, φόρους δὲ παμπληθείς ἵδια παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐπειτα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τὸν κατάλογον διακοσίως βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φεισάμενος οὐδενὸς. ἐσκότουν γὰρ ὅπως ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἐσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευτῶν τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἔμους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασά 368 μένων τὸ νόμωσια τοὺς πλουσιώτατοὺς ἐλομένους ἔχειν: ὑμεῖς δ’ ἐκείνων μεν οὐ τοὺς δυναμένους εἰλεσθε, λαβόμενοι δὲ τής ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε παραπλήσια τὸλει μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὐνομομένη, πρέποντα δ’ ὑμῶν ἄλλως τῷ τρόπῳ. βουλευσθε ἐνὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτὴν ὄνομάσαντες, πρὶν προσγραφῆναι τῷ καταλόγῳ, μετεώρον τῆς δίκης οὐσίας, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργία τὸν ἀνθρωπον. ἄλλον ἀπ’ ἀγορᾶς εἰλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν Β ἀπανταχού μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ’ ὑμῖν δὲ διὰ περιττῆν φρόνησιν ἀμείβομένων πρὸς χρυσίον συρρέων εὐποροῦντα μετρίας οὐσίας εἰλεσθε κοινωνῶν. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ὄνομασίας κακουργοῦντων ὑμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἀπαντα συνεχωρῆσαμεν, δὲν τε εὗ εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν ἀπεστερήθημεν, καὶ δὲν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκῃ παρ’ ὑμῶν δυσχεραινόμεθα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν τῶν μικρῶν τάνν καὶ οὕτω C δυνάμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐκπολεμῶσαι: 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, ἔστ' ὶ τὸ μέγα ἦρθη μίσος, ἀφικομένου
μον πρὸς ὧμᾶς ὃ δῆμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πυγόμενος
ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀφήκε φωνὴν πρῶτον ταύτην.
"Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ." τῆς ἐπισκόπης
διελέχθη ἐγώ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὧμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν
πείθειν, ὡς κριτίκοι ἐστίν ὑπεριδόντας ἅδηκον D
κτήσεως εἰς ποίησιν πολλάς καὶ ξένους. οἱ δὲ
ἐπαγγειλόμενοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμελήσεσθαι
μηνῶν ἐξ ἀρίθμου ὑπεριδόντος μοι καὶ περιμείναν-
tος ὀὕτως ὄλγωρως εἶχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς
οὔδεις ἂν ἠλπίσειν. ἔπει δ' ἐώρων ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ
δῆμου φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἄγοραν οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδείας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωρομένης,
369 ἔταξα μέτριον ἐκάστοτε τίμημα καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα
πάσιν. ἔπει δ' ἢν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ
πάντα καὶ γὰρ ἥν οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
πάντα: σίτου δ' ἐνδεώς εἶχον, ἀφορίας δεινῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν αὐχώμων γενομένης, ἔδοξε μοι
πέμπειν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ἰερὰν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις
tὰς πέριξ, ἐνθὲν εἰσήγαγον ὕμιν μέτρων τετ-
tαράκοτα μυριάδας. ὡς δ' ἀνάλωτο καὶ τοῦτο,
πρότερον μὲν πεντάκις χελίους, ἐπτάκις χελίους δ' Β
ὕστερον, ἐίτα νῦν μυρίους, οὔς ἐπιχώριοι ἐστὶ
λοιπῶν ὑμομάζειν μοδίους, ἀνάλημας σίτου, πάν-
tας οἴκοθεν ἔχων. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλγύπτου κομισθέντα
μοι σίτον ἐδώκα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενοι ἁργύριο
οὐκ ἐπὶ δέκα μέτρων,1 ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα το-

1 οὐκ ἐπὶ—μέτρων Hertlein suggests, οὐ κατὰ—μέτρα MSS.

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offence of all, and what aroused that violent hatred of yours, was the following. When I arrived among you the populace in the theatre, who were being oppressed by the rich, first of all cried aloud, "Everything plentiful; everything dear!" On the following day I had an interview with your powerful citizens and tried to persuade them that it is better to despise unjust profits and to benefit the citizens and the strangers in your city. And they promised to take charge of the matter, but though for three successive months I took no notice and waited, they neglected the matter in a way that no one would have thought possible. And when I saw that there was truth in the outcry of the populace, and that the pressure in the market was due not to any scarcity but to the insatiate greed of the rich, I appointed a fair price for everything, and made it known to all men. And since the citizens had everything else in great abundance, wine, for instance, and olive oil and all the rest, but were short of corn, because there had been a terrible failure of the crops owing to the previous droughts, I decided to send to Chalcis and Hierapolis and the cities round about, and from them I imported for you four hundred thousand measures of corn. And when this too had been used, I first expended five thousand, then later seven thousand, and now again ten thousand bushels—"modii" 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.
σούτον, δοσον ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον. εἰ δὲ τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρους ἦν παρ’ ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσματος, τί προσδοκάν ἔδει τηνικαῦτα, ἡνίκα, φησίν ὁ Βοιώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπῶν γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν C ἐπὶ δόματι; ἀρ’ οὐ πέντε μόνος καὶ ἀγαπητὸς ἄλλος τε καὶ τηλικοῦτον χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου;

Τι οὖν ύμῶν οἱ πλούσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν σῖτον λάθρα ἀπέδοντο πλεῖονοι, ἐβάρησαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀναλώμασι· καὶ οὐχ ἡ πόλεις μόνον ἐπὶ τούτω συρρέει, οἱ D πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν, ὁ μόνον ἐστίν εὐρεῖν πολὺ καὶ εὔωνων, ἄρτους ὑνοῦμενοι. καὶ τοῖς μέμνηται παρ’ ὑμῖν εὐθυγνουμένης τῆς πόλεως πεντεκάλεκα μέτρα σίτου πραθέντα τοῦ χρυσοῦ; ταύτης ἐνεκεν ύμῶν ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν ὁἶνον ύμῖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὁπώρας ἀποδόσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις σῖτου ἀργυροὺ αὐτοῖς καὶ χρυσοῦν ἔξαφνης παρ’ ύμῶν γενέσθαι. 370 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξώ τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο καλῶς, ἐργασάμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λιμὸν ἀλοιπήτηρα βρότειον, ὡς ὁ θέος ἐφι τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπιτη- δεύοντας ἐξελέγχων. ἡ πόλις δ’ ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ γέγονεν ἀρτῶν ἕνεκα μόνον, ἄλλου δ’ οὐδενός.

Συνήν μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὅτι μὴ Β πᾶσιν ἀρέσοιμι, πλὴν ἐμελεῖν οὐδὲν ἐμοί· τῷ γὰρ
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

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1 This does not occur in Hesiod or Pindar.
2 A phrase from an unknown oracular source.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

αδικουμένος πλήθει βοηθεῖν φύμην χρήμαι καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις, ἐμοῦ τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῶν ἀρχόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱμαί συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπίεναι, τὴν πόλιν δὲ εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ γνώμης μᾶς· οὶ μὲν γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ύπὲ ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν. Ἀδραστεία πάντα ἐπιτρέψας ἐστὶν ἐθνος οἰχήσομαι καὶ δῆμον ἐτεροῦ, οὐδὲν ὡμᾶς ὑπομνήσας ἀν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐμπροσθεν C ἐννέα δικαία δρῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰργάσασθε, φέρον μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν ἐξιν βοὴ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτινωθῇ τὸν ἀρχοντα, δίκην δὲ αὐθις ἀποτίνῳ ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἧν ὀργι-ξόμενος δικαίως ἐπραξέν οὐκέτι μετρίος.

Τπερ τίνος οὖν πρὸς θεῶν ἀχαριστούμεθα; ὅτι τρέφομεν ύμᾶς οἰκοθεν, ὃ μέχρι σήμερον D ὑπήρξεν οὐδεμιᾶ πόλει, καὶ τρέφομεν οὕτω λαμπρῶς; ὅτι τὸν κατάλογον ύμῶν ἡξήσαμεν; ὅτι κλέπτοντας ἐλόντες οὐκ ἐπεξήλθομεν; ἐνὸς ἦ δύο βούλεσθε ύμᾶς ὑπομνήσω, μή τις ὑπολάβῃ σχῆμα καὶ ῥητορεῖαν εἶναι καὶ προσποίησον τὸ πράγμα; γῆς κλήρους οἶμαι τρισχίλιους ἐφατε ἀστόρους εἶναι καὶ ἡτήσασθε λαβεῖν, λαβοῦντες
about that. For I thought it was my duty to assist
the mass of the people who were being wronged, and
the strangers who kept arriving in the city both on my
account and on account of the high officials who were
with me. But since it is now, I think, the case that
the latter have departed, and the city is of one mind
with respect to me—for some of you hate me and
the others whom I fed are ungrateful—I leave the
whole matter in the hands of Adrasteia¹ and I will
betake myself to some other nation and to citizens of
another sort. Nor will I even remind you how you
treated one another when you asserted your rights
nine years ago; how the populace with loud clamour
set fire to the houses of those in power, and mur-
dered the Governor; and how later they were pun-
ished for these things because, though their anger
was justified, what they did exceeded all limits.²

Why, I repeat, in Heaven’s name, am I treated
with ingratitude? Is it because I feed you from
my own purse, a thing which before this day has
never happened to any city, and moreover feed
you so generously? Is it because I increased the
register of Senators? Or because, when I caught
you in the act of stealing, I did not proceed
against you? Let me, if you please, remind you
of one or two instances, so that no one may think
that what I say is a pretext or mere rhetoric
or a false claim. You said, I think, that three
thousand lots of land were uncultivated, and you
asked to have them; and when you had got them

¹ The avenging goddess who, is more familiarly known as
Nemesis.
² In 354 A.D. there was a riot at Antioch in consequence of
scarcity of food; Constantius sent troops to punish the
citizens for the murder of Theophilus the Governor of Syria.
δ' ἐνείμασθε πάντες οἱ μὴ δεόμενοι. τοῦτο ἐξε-
tασθὲν ἀνεφάνη σαφῶς. ἀφελόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχόντων οὐ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμο-
νήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, ὁν ἔσχον ἀτελείς, οὔς μάλιστα ἔχρην ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι. 371
tαῖς βαρυτάταις ἐνείμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοῖς τῆς
tόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἀτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ' ἐκαστὸν
ὐμῖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιπτοτροφοῦντες γῆς κλήρους ἐγγὺς τρισχιλίους, ἐπινοῖα μὲν καὶ οἰκονομία τοῦ θείου
tοῦμοι καὶ ὀμοφύμοι, χάριτι δ' ἐμὴ, διὶ δὴ τοὺς
πανούργους καὶ κλέπτας οὕτω κολάξων εἰκότως
ὑμῖν φαίνομαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ Β
ἀστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ πραότης αὔξει
καὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὁ λόγος οὖν μοι καὶ ἑνταῦθα περισταται πάλιν
εἰς ὅπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τῶν κακῶν
αἰτίων γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἦθη
tὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο
cal ou τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ
tὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνε-
tῶτερος. ὑμῶν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας C
καὶ τιμῆς, ἢν ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς
ἀποδοῦσιν.
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.
Notwithstanding the time I have spent in this study I am afraid I shall not be able to complete it in time. I have been so occupied with my other duties that I have not had the opportunity to give it the attention it deserves. I am afraid I shall not be able to finish it in time.

I was thinking of going to New York to see my friend. I have been thinking about it for some time and I am very much looking forward to it. I have been planning to go there for a few days and I think it would be a good opportunity to see some of my old friends.

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