Works

Julian (Emperor of Rome)
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THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN
I
THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

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IN THREE VOLUMES

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

When the excesses of the revolutionary Gallus ended in his death at the hands of Constantius, Julian, an awkward and retiring student, was summoned to the court at Milan, where he was protected by the Empress Eusebia from the suspicions of Constantius and the intrigues of hostile courtiers. Constantius had no heir to continue the dynasty of the Constantii. He therefore raised Julian to the Caesarship in 355, gave him his sister Helena in marriage, and dispatched him to Gaul to pacify the Gallic provinces. To the surprise of all, Julian in four successive campaigns against the Franks and the Alemanis proved himself a good soldier and a popular general. His Commentaries on these campaigns are praised by Eunapius\(^1\) and Libanius,\(^2\) but are not now extant. In 357–358 Constantius, who was occupied by wars against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, and threatened with a renewal of hostilities by the Persian king Sapor, ordered Julian,

\(^1\) fr. 89. \(^2\) Epistle, 33.
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who was then at Paris, to send to his aid the best of the Gallic legions. Julian would have obeyed, but his troops, unwilling to take service in the East, mutinied and proclaimed him Emperor (359 A.D.). Julian issued manifestoes justifying his conduct to the Senates of Rome and Athens and to the Spartans and Corinthians, a characteristic anachronism, since their opinion no longer had any weight. It was not till 361 that he began his march eastward to encounter the army of Constantius. His troops, though seasoned and devoted, were in numbers no match for the legions of his cousin. But the latter, while marching through Cilicia to oppose his advance, died suddenly of a fever near Tarsus, and Julian, now in his thirtieth year, succeeded peacefully to the throne and made a triumphal entry into Constantinople in December, 361.

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

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

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

1 236 A.
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The Vossianus (V), Leyden, 13th or 14th cent. (contains also the Letters of Libanius), is the only reliable MS. of Julian, and was once complete except for a few Letters. Where pages are lost from V a group of inferior MSS. are used, Marcianus 366 (M), 251 (Mb), both 15th cent., five Monacenses (at Munich), and several Parisini (at Paris). Cobet's contributions to the text are in Mnemosyne 8, 9, 10 (old series 1859-1861) and 10, 11 (new series 1882-1883). A. PapadoulouS Kerameus published in Rheinisches Museum, 1887, six new Letters discovered on the island of Chalcis.

Editions:—


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

ORATION I
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION I

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

Πάλαι με προθυμούμενον, δι μέγιστε βασιλεύ, τὴν σὴν ἁρετὴν καὶ πράξεις ὑμήςαι καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀπαριθμῆσαι, καὶ τὰς τυραννόδας ὅπως ἀνήρηκας, τῆς μὲν λόγῳ καὶ πειθοὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποστῆσαι, τῆς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ λοιπὰς κρατήσαι, τὸ μέγεθος ἔργη τῶν πράξεων, οὗ τὸ βραχῦ λειψθήναι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἔργων δεινῶν κρίνοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ παντελῶς τῆς ὑποθέσεως διαμαρτέιν δόξαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγώνας καὶ τὴν ποίησιν διατρίβουσιν οὐδένθ' ἔσωμαστον εἰ ῥαδίως ἔξεστιν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἑπαίνουσι τῶν σοι πραξθέντων περισσεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λέγειν μελέτης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις συννθείας τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐν δίκῃ. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν τοιούτου μέρους κατωλυγώρθησαν, ἔφημοι δ' ἐφ' ἐπεροῦν παϊδείας εἴδος καὶ λόγων ἔναγγελφὴν οὐ δήμῳ κεχαρισμένην οὐδ' ἐς θέατρα παντοδαπὰ τολμῶσαν ἀποδύσεθαι, πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἔχουσιν ἀν εἰκότως εὐλαβεστέρως. ἔστι γὰρ οὖν ἀδηλὸν τοῦθ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς Μοῦσαι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν Β ἐκείθεν ἐπιπυκνομένους τὴν ποίησιν γράφειν ἀφθονον

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PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS

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

\(^1\) Vetranio, \(^2\) Magnentius,
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παρέχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πλάσματος: τοῖς ῥήτορι ἔτ τῇ τέχνῃ τὴν ἃς ἔφιλον παρέσχεν ἀδειαν, τὸ μὲν πλάττειν ἀφελομένη, τὸ δὲ κολακεύειν σύναμῳ ἀπαγορεύσασα, οὐδὲ αἰσχύνην ὁμολογομένην τῷ λέγοντι τὸ ἕπειδος ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς συκάξιοι ἐπαίνου κρίνασα. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἑπειδὰν κακον τινα μῆθον καὶ μηδέπω τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπινοηθέντα φέρωσιν αὐτοὶ ἐκνθέντες, τῷ ἔνω τοὺς ἀκούοντας ψυχαγωγήσαντες πλέον θαυμάζονται; οἱ δὲ τῆς τέχνης ἀπολαύσασι φασίν ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι περὶ τῶν μικρῶν μεικτών διελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀφελείν τῶν ἔργων τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὡς ἀντιτάτειν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐὰν μὲν ἑώρων ταύτης ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν χρείᾳ τῆς τέχνης, ἤγεν ἄν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἰσχύλιαν τοῖς ἀμελετήτως ἔχουσι τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, παραχωρῶν τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων ἐκείνους, δι’ μικρὸν πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεις τούναντίον ὁ παρὼν ἀπαίτει λόγος τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπλῆν διήγησιν ὁμολογείσατω κάμοι προσήκειν, τοῦ ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀνεφίκτων καὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἢ δα φανέρωσιν. ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ ἄχειδον οἰ περὶ παϊδείαν διατρίβουσε σὲ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ καταλογάδην ὑμνοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἀπαντα περιλαβεῖν ἐν βραχεῖ τολμῶντες, οἱ δὲ μέρεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπιδόντες τῶν πράξεων ἀρκεῖν φήσθησαι,
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license to invent. To rhetoricians the art of rhetoric allows just as much freedom; fiction is denied them, but flattery is by no means forbidden, nor is it counted a disgrace to the orator that the object of his panegyric should not deserve it. Poets who compose and publish some legend that no one had thought of before increase their reputation, because an audience is entertained by the mere fact of novelty. Orators, again, assert ¹ that the advantage of their art is that it can treat a slight theme in the grand manner, and again, by the use of mere words, strip the greatness from deeds, and, in short, marshall the power of words against that of facts.

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

¹ Isocrates, Panegyricus, 42 c.

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ei τούτων τής ἀξίας μὴ διαμάρτωσιν. ἄξιον δὲ ἁγα-
σθαι τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων, ὥσιν
tῶν σῶν ἐπαίνων ἡγαντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὅτις μηδὲν
ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν σοὶ πραχθέντων ἀμαυρωθείη,
tὸν μέγιστον ὑποδύναι πόνον ἑτόλμησαν, οἱ δὲ,
ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτήσεως ἔλπιζον, τὴν αὐτῶν
γνώμην ἐν μέρει προφήτην, ἀμείνοι τοῦ τῆς 
σωτηρίας ἀκινδύνου γέρως κρίναντες κατὰ δύναμιν
σοι τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἀπάρξασθαι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ὧν ἔτυγχαν τῶν τοὺς
ἐπιδεικτικοὺς ἀγαπῶντων λόγους, ἐχρῆν ἐνετεθὲν
ἀρχεῖσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως, τὴν ἱσην εὐνοικαν ἀπαι-
tῆσαντα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἢδη σοι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ
dεηθέντα τῶν λόγων ἀκροατὴν εὐμενὴ γενέσθαι,
οὕχι δὲ ἀκριβὴ καὶ ἀπαραίτητον κριτὴν κατα-
stὴραι. ἐπεί δὲ εὖ ἄλλοις μαθήμασι τραφέντες καὶ
παιδευθέντες, καθάπερ ἑπτηδεύμασι καὶ
νόμους, ἀλλοτρίων κατατολμάν ἔργων δοκοῦμεν
οὐκ ὅρθως, μικρὰ μοι δοκεῖ θρῆναι καὶ περὶ
tούτων δηλῶσαι, οἰκειοτέραν ἄρχην προθέντα
tοῦ λόγου.

Νόμωσ εἰς τι παλαιός παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου φιλοσο-
φίαν ἀνθρώποις φήμαντος οὔτωσι κείμενος· ἀπαν-
tας πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν βλέποντας καὶ
ἐπιτηθεῖεν ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν ξυνοσίαις, ἐν
πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον μικροῖς καὶ
μείξοις τοῦ καλοῦ πάντως ἐφεσθαί. πάντων δὲ
ὅτι κάλλιστον ἀρετή, τῆς δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν νοῦν ἔχον-
tων ἀμφισβητήσει; ταῦτα τούπων ἀντέχεσθαι
diakaleúntαι τοὺς μὴ μάτην τοῦτ᾽ περιοίσκοντας.
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Yet one can but admire the zeal of all who have made you the theme of a panegyric. Some did not shrink from the tremendous effort to secure every one of your achievements from the withering touch of time; others, because they foresaw that they could not compass the whole, expressed themselves only in part, and chose to consecrate to you their individual work so far as they were able. Better this, they thought, than "the reward of silence that runs no risk." ¹

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

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

¹ Simonides fr. 66. Horace, Odes 3. 2. 25.
τούνομα, προσήκον ούδέν αὐτοὶς σφετερισαμένους. ταῦτα δὴ διαγορεύων ὁ νόμος οὐδεμάν ἰδέαν ἐπι-
τάττει λόγων, οὐδ' ὁσπέρ ἐκ τινος τραγικῆς
μηχανῆς, φησὶ, χρῆναι προαγορεύει τοῖς ἐντυγ-
χάνοις σπεύδει μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀρέτην, ἀποφεύγειν
δὲ τὴν πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ
δίδωσι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουληθέντι μμεϊσθαι τὴν ἐκεί-
νου φύσιν. καὶ γὰρ παραίνεσιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ λόγων
προτρεπτικῶν χρῆσιν καὶ τὸ μετ' εὐνοίας ἐπιπλή-
τειν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι ἐπαινεῖν τε αὖ τὰ καλῶς
πραχθέντα καὶ ψέγειν, ὅταν ἦ καροῖς, τὰ μὴ
τοιαύτα τῶν ἔργων. ἐφίσι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
ἰδέαις, εἰ τις ἡθέλου, πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν λόγων
χρῆσθαι, ἐπὶ παντὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράξει
μεμνῆσθαι προστάττων, ὅτι τούτων ύφέξουσιν
εὐθύνας, ὅν ἀν τύχωσιν εἰπόντες, λέγειν δὲ οὐδὲν
ὁ τι μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀνοίσουσι.
τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ταῦτα καὶ τοιαύτα ἔτερα.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρα τι ποτε δράσομεν, εἰργομένοι μὲν
τῷ δοκεῖν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς χάριν τὴν εὐφημίαν, τοῦ
γένους δὲ ἦδη τῶν ἐπαίνων διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
μετιόντως ύπόττου καθεστῶτος δεινῶς, καὶ κολα-
κείας ἀγεννοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐ μαρτυρίας ἀληθοῦς τῶν
ἀρίστων ἔργων εἶναι νομισθέντος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τῇ
περὶ τῶν ἐπαίνουμεν ἀρετῇ πεπιστεύκοτες ἐπι-
δώσομεν ἐαυτοὺς θαρροῦντες τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις; τίς
ἀν οὖν ἡμῖν ἁρχὴ καὶ τάξις τοῦ λόγου γένουτο
καλλίστη; ἢ δῆλον ὡς ἢ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετή, δι' ἦν
ὑπηρέξε σοι καὶ τὸ τοιούτῳ γενέσθαι; τροφῆς

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

And now, what am I to do? What embarrasses me is the fact that, if I praise you, I shall be thought simply to curry favour, and in fact, the department of panegyric has come to incur a grave suspicion due to its misuse, and is now held to be base flattery rather than trustworthy testimony to heroic deeds. Is it not obvious that I must put my faith in the merit of him whom I undertake to praise, and with full confidence devote my energies to this panegyric? What then shall be the prelude of my speech and the most suitable arrangement? Assuredly I must begin with the virtues of your ancestors through which it was possible for you to come to be what you are. Next I think it will be proper to describe
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δὲ οἶμαι καὶ παιδείας ἔχεις προσήκει μνησθήναι, ἤπερ σοι τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀρετήν συνεισήγηκατο, ἐφ’ ἄπασι δὲ τούτωι ὠσπερ γνωρίσματα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν τὰς πράξεις διελθεῖν, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτιθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἔξεις δηλῶσαι, οἶδεν ὄρμωμενος τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐργῶν ἔδρασαι καὶ ἐβουλεύσαι. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν πάντων διοίκειν τὸν λόγον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἱστανται, ἀποχρῆναι οἴομενοι πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐφημίαν τὸ τοῦτον μνησθῆναι, ἐγώ δὲ οἶμαι δεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸν πλεῖστον λόγον ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ’ ὧν ὀρμῶμενος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἡλθες. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔργων, σχεδὸν δὲ πάντα, τύχῃ καὶ δορυφόροι καὶ στρατιωτῶν φάλαγγες καὶ τάξεις ἐπιτέων1 συγκατορθοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα μόνον τέξι τοῦ δράσαντος, καὶ ὁ ἐκ τούτων ἔπαινος ἀληθῆς καθεστῶς ἱδίος ἐστι τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὐκ- οὖν ἐπειδή ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν σαφῶς διώρισται, τῶν λόγων ἀρξομαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπαίνων νόμοις οὐδὲν ἐλαττον τῆς πατρίδος ἢ τῶν προγόνων ἅξιοι μεμνῆσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἴδα, τίνα χρή πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν πατρίδα σιν’ ἐθνίς γὰρ μυρία περὶ ταύτης ἀμφισβητεῖν τολύν ἢδε χρόνων. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεύονσα C τῶν ἀπάντων πόλεως, μήτηρ οὖσα σή καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι μετὰ τῆς ἐγαθῆς τύχης παρασχούσα, ἐξαίρετον αὐτῆς φησιν εἶναι τὸ γέρας, οὐ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐφ’ ἀπάντου τῶν αὐτοκρα- τόρων δικαίοις χρωμένη· λέγω δὲ ὅτι, κἀν ἄλλα-

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

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

\(^1\) Rome.
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χόθεν τυγχάνωσι, τῷ μετέχειν ἀπαντας ἢ ἂν τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τοῖς ἐκείθεν ἡμῖν καταδειχθείσιν ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρήσθαι πολίται γεγόνασιν ὅπειροι ὅτως, ἀλλ' ὡς τεκοῦσα τὴν σὴν μητέρα D καὶ θρεψάμενη βασιλικῶς καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκγόνων ἀξίως. ἤ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑστόρῳ πόλις, ὅλου τοῦ γένους τοῦ Κωνσταντίων ἐπώνυμος, πατρίς μὲν οὐκ εἶναι φήσι, γεγονέναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἴσσεται, εἰ ταύτης γοῦν τις αὐτὴν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συγγενείας ἀφαιροῖτο. Ἡλιοῦριοι δὲ, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς γέγονας, οὐκ ἀνέξονται τοῦ καλλιστοῦ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων στερόμενοι, εἰ τις ἄλλην σοι πατρίδα προσένειμο. ὃ ἀκοῦσι δὲ ἔγονε καὶ τῶν ἐφών ἢ ἂν τινὰς λέγειν, ὃτι μη δίκαια δρῶμεν ἀφαιροῦμενοι σφάς τοῦ ἐπὶ σοι λόγου· αὐτὸι γάρ φασί τὴν τῆθην ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ σοῦ προσέπνημαι γάμον. καὶ σχεδὸν ἄπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ προφάσεις ἐπινοοῦσι μικρὰς ἥ μείξονας αὐτοῖς σὲ εἰσποιεῖν ἐκ παντὸς ἐγνώκασιν. ἔχετο μὲν οὖν τὸ γέρας ἢν αὐτὸς ἐθέλεις, καὶ ἢν ἀρετῶν μητέρα καὶ Β διδάσκαλον πολλάκις ἐπαινῶν εἰρήκας, τυγχανόντων δὲ ἐκάστη κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτοὶ λοιποὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος. ἐγώ δὲ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν ἀπάσας

1 γεγόνασιν οὐκοῦν ὡς MSS, οὐκοῦν ἀλλ' ὡς M, οὐκοῦν ὅτως, ἀλλ' ὡς Hertlein suggests.
2 ἐγγόνων Wright, ἐγγόνων MSS, Hertlein.
3 σὲ Schaefer adds.

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

\(^1\) Rome.
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ἐθέλομι' ἂν ἀξίας οὐσας δόξης καὶ τιμῆς, ὁκνώ δὲ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μῆκος, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ λίγαν οἰκεία τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀλλότρια φανῆ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπαίνους διὰ τούτ' ἀφή- σειν μοι δοκῶ, τῆς Ρώμης δὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτὸς, οἱ βασιλεῖς, συλλαβών ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀρετῆς προσειπῶν, τῷ δοῦναι τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ἑγκωμίων, τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων λόγους ἀφήρησαι. τί γὰρ λέξωμεν ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον ἔτερον; τί δὲ ἄλλος τις εἶπεῖν ἔχει; ἃςτε μοι δοκῶ σεβόμενος εἰκότως τὴν πόλιν τούτω τιμᾶν αὐτὴν πλέον, τῷ παραχωρεῖν σοι τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν λόγων.

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς σής ἱσως ἄξιον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν βραχεῖ διελθεῖν. ἀπορεῖν δὲ έσωκα κάνταύθα, πόθεν ἀρχεσθαι χρή. πρόγονοι τε γὰρ εἰσὶ σοι καὶ πάπποι καὶ γονεῖς ἀδελφοὶ τε καὶ ἀνεψι καὶ ἐυγενεῖς βασιλεῖς ἀπαντεῖν, αὐτοὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν ἀρχήν ἐννόμος ἤ παρὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων εἰσποιηθέντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, Κλαυδίου μιμηθέντα, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου ἐναργή παρέχειν καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τεκμήρια, τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰστρον οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀναμμηνήσκοντα, καὶ ὅπως τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅσιως ἀμα καὶ δικαίως ἐκτή- σατο, καὶ τὴν ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῆς διαίτης λιτότητα, καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς ἑσθήτος ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ὀρωμένην ἔτι; τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πάππων τῶν σῶν ἔστι μὲν τούτων νεώτερα, λαμπρὰ δὲ οὐ μεῖον

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

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

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1 Constantius Chlorus and Maximianus.
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ἐκεῖνων. ἔτυχον μὲν γὰρ ἀμφότερῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς δι’ ἀρετῆς ἀξίων κριθέντε, γενομένω δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὔτω πρὸς τε ἄλληλους εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεταδόντα τῆς βασιλείας εὐσεβῶς, ὅσθ’ ὁ μὲν ὀμολογεί μηδὲν τούτου πῶτερ κριθέντον βεβουλεύσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα σωτηρία τοῖς Β κοινοῖς ἐξερόφοι, οἱ δὲ τὴν μετ’ ἄλληλον κοινωνίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆν, εἴπερ οἶον τε ἢν, ἐκάστῳ περιγεγομένην ἠγάπην. οὔτω δὲ διακείμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔργων ἔδραν τὰ κάλλιστα, σεβόμενοι μὲν μετὰ τὴν κρείττονα φύσιν τὸν τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτῶν παρασχόντα, τοῖς ὑπηκοόσις δὲ πρώσ 1 καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἐλαύνοντες μόνον πάλαι κατοικοῦντες καὶ γεμομένους καθάπερ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδεώς τὰ ἡμέτερα, φρούρια δὲ ἐπιτειχίζοντες αὐτοῖς τοσαυτὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις κατέστησαν, ὅσην οὐδὲ εὐξασθαι τότε βαδίην ἐδόκει. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἄξιον ἐν παρέργῳ λέγειν. τῆς δὲ ὀμονοίας αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλους τὸ μέγεθον σημεῖον παραλπεῖν οὐδαμῶς εὔλογον, καὶ ἄλλως προσήκοι τῷ λόγῳ κοινωνίαν γὰρ τὴν καλλιότερήν τοῖς αὐτῶν παιῶν ἐπισνοῆσαντες τῶν σῶν πατέρων τοὺς γάμους ἠμοσαν. προσήκει δὲ οἶμαι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν βραχεὶ διελθεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τῆς ἁρχῆς φανῆσι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς κληρονόμοις. τὴν μὲν οὖν βασιλείαν ὅπως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κατέσχε τελευτάν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκεῖνον τῇ κρίσει καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀπάντως τῇ ψήφῳ πατήρ ὁ σός, τῷ χρῆ νῦν περι-

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

1 Diocletian. 2 Constantine and Fausta.
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εργάζεσθαι; τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ρώμην ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν λόγων ἢ τις γνωρίσεις. τυραννίδας γὰρ, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλείας ἐννόμους καθαρών τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔπηλθεν ἀπασαν. τοσαύτην δὲ εὐνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς υπηρκόις παρέστησεν, ὡσθ' οἱ μὲν στρατευόμενοι τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς καὶ τὰς χάριτας μεγαλοπυργίας ἔτη μεμημένοι καθάπερ θεὸν διατελοῦσι σεβόμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πλήθος, οὐχ οὗτος τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἀπαλλαγῆμαι βαρύτητος εὐχόμενοι, ὡς παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἄρχηται, τὴν κατ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ νίκην ἐπηνύχοντο. ἔπει δὲ ἀπάντων κύριος κατέστη, ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐχμοῦ τῆς ἀπληστίας τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος πολλῆς ἀπορίας χρημάτων οὐσι πολεύοντον ἐν μυχοῖς συνεξηλαμένου, τὸ κλείθρων ἀφελῶν ἐπέκλυσεν ἀθρόω τῷ πλούτῳ πάντα, πόλιν τε ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα, τοσοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν μείζονα, διὸ τῆς Ὄρμης ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖ, ἢς τὸ δευτέρα αὐτὴν τετάχθαι μακρῶ βέλτιον ἐμοίγε φαίνεται ἢ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν πρώτην νομίζεσθαι. καλὸν ἵσως ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν ἀνοιήμων Ἀθηνῶν μνησθῆναι, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔργοι καὶ λόγοι τιμῶν τῶν πάντα χρόνου διετέλει. βασιλείας γὰρ ὅποι καὶ κύριος πάντων, στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων ἡξίου καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνος τυχάνων μετ' ἐπιγράμματος ἐγάνυτο πλέον ἢ τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἀξιωθεῖς. ἀμειβόμενος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν πόλιν, πυρῶν μεδίμνους δίδωσι πολλάκις μυρίων καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔτος δωρεάν καρπούσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ὑπήρχε τῇ πόλει μὲν ἐν ἄφθονοις.
the vote of all the armies? His military genius was made evident by his achievements and needs no words of mine. He traversed the whole civilised world suppressing tyrants, but never those who ruled by right. His subjects he inspired with such affection that his veterans still remember how generous he was with largess and other rewards, and to this day worship him as though he were a god. As for the mass of the people, in town and country alike, they prayed that your father might be victorious over the tyrants, not so much because they would be delivered from that oppression as because they would then be governed by him. But when he had made his power supreme, he found that the tyrant's 1 greed had worked like a drought, with the result that money was very scarce, while there were great hoards of treasure in the recesses of the palace; so he unlocked its doors and on the instant flooded the whole country with wealth, and then, in less than ten years, he founded and gave his name to a city 2 that as far surpasses all others as it is itself inferior to Rome; and to come second to Rome seems to me a much greater honour than to be counted first and foremost of all cities beside. Here it may be proper to mention Athens "the illustrious," 3 seeing that during his whole life he honoured her in word and deed. He who was emperor and lord of all did not disdain the title of General of the Athenians, and when they gave him a statue with an inscription to that effect he felt more pride than if he had been awarded the highest honours. To repay Athens for this compliment he bestowed on her annually a gift of many tens of thousands of bushels

1 Maxentius. 2 Constantinople. 3 Pindar fr. 46

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εἶναι, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ τῶν βελτίστων.

Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν ἔργων τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ πραχθέντων, ὥν τε ἐπέμνησθην καὶ ὅσα διὰ τὸ μήκος παραλιπέιν δοκῶ, πάντων ἄριστον ἔγωγε φαίνην ὅν, οἴμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἀπαντάς ὁμολογήσειν, τὴν σὴν γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν ἐξ ἂς ὑπάρχει τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ τὸ πρὸς ὀλύγον ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶν τὲ ἐστὶν εἰς πλείονα χρόνον. δοκεῖ γοῦν ἀρχεῖν ἐκεῖνος εἰσεῖ. καὶ Κύρῳ μὲν οὖχ ὑπήρχε τούτῳ. τελευτησαντος γὰρ ὁ παῖς ὡφθη μακρῷ φαυλότερος, ὅπετε ο μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πατήρ, ὁ δὲ ἐπωνυμαξηθὲς δεσπότης. σὲ δὲ πράτερον μὲν τοῦ Β πατρὸς καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις πολλοῖς κρείττονα σαφῶς τε ὁίδα, καὶ δηλώσω τοῦ καιροῦ φανέρως ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ προσήκειν καὶ τούτου νομίζω μεταδόντι σοι τῆς ἀρίστης τροφῆς, ὑπὲρ ἂς ἢδη λέγει τινας τεράσχοι, μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν τῶν σῶν ἐπιμνησθεῖς.

Τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας τοσοῦτον περιῆν καὶ καλός σώματος καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς, ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλη γυναικὶ ῥαδίως ἀν τις ἐξεύροι. ἐπεὶ καὶ Περσῶν ἄκοιν τὸν ὑπὲρ Παρισαίδος λόγον, ὅτι μόνη γέγονεν ἀδελφή καὶ μήτηρ καὶ γαμετή καὶ παῖς βασιλέως. ἀλλ’ ἂν γε αὕτη τοῦ γῆμαντος ἀδελφή τῇ φύσει, νόμος δὲ ἐδίδον γαμεῖν ἀδελφήν τῷ Πέρσῃ. τὴν σὴν δὲ μητέρα κατὰ τοὺς παρ’ ἡμῖν νόμους ἄχραντους καὶ καθαράς τὰς οἰκείοτητας ταύτας

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

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

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

¹ Herodotus 3. 89. ² Constantine II. and Constans.
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φυλάττουσαν συνέβαλεν τού μὲν εἶναι παίδα, γαμετὴν δὲ ἔτερον, καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἄλλου, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, οὐχὶ δὲ ἔνοι μητέρα. δὲν ὁ μὲν τις σὺν τῷ πατρὶ συγκατεργάσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πόλεμον, ὃ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Γέτας ἥμιν εἰρήνην τοῖς ὄπλοις κρατήσας ἀσφαλῆ παρεσκεύασεν, ὧν ἐτήρησεν ἄβατον τοῖς πολέμιοις τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρατεύων ἐκεῖνοις πολλάκις, ἐως ἐπέτρεπτοι οἱ μικρὸν ὑστερὸν τῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀδικημάτων δίκην ὑποσχόντες. πολλῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνοις περιφανῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' ὦ νις ἄν τις αὐτοὺς δικαίως ἐπαινεῖτο ἔχοι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν περιουσίας οὕσης, οὔτεν ἐστὶ τοιούτων τῶν ἄλλων, ἐφ' ὦ μακρόβιον ὃν ἡμὺς εἰκότως σεμνοῦσι, ὡς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀργονοί, τῶν δὲ ἐκγονοι ὑγείασιν. ἀλλ' ἤνα μή μακρότερα περί αὐτῶν λέγων τῶν ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς ἐπάνω τοῖς σοὶ καιρὸν ἀναλύσω τοῦ λόγου, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν ὡς ἡμῖν ἄξιον, μάλλον δέ, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἶπεῖν, μακρὸ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιδείξῳ σὲ σεμνοτέρον.

Φῆμας μὲν δὴ καὶ μαντείας καὶ ὅψεις τᾶς Β ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα θρυλεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτω λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανὴ πραξάντων, Κύρον καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίστοι τόλμως καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ εἰ τὰς ἄλλας τοιούτως γέγονεν, ἔκων ἀφίημι.

1 συνέβαλε Reiske, lacuna Hertlein.
2 οὔσης Wytenbach adds, περιουσίας MSS, Hertlein.
3 ἐν Schaefer adds.
4 ἐκγονοι Petavius, ἐγγονοὶ MSS, Hertlein.
5 γεγόνασιν Wytenbach adds. 6 σὲ Wytenbach adds.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

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1 Maximianus. 3 Isocrates, Evagoras 21. 2 Constans. 4 Romulus.
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dokei gar ou prorw tauta tis poietikhs exousias einai. Kai ta para tihn prwtin uparxanta sou genesin ws laupleia kai basileika kai1 to legein euthes. All' epidei tihn en tois C paian anagoghs o kairos upomemimenen, edei sou tis basileikhs trophs diptouven, h to mev swma prws ischin kai roimh kai eixeian kai kallos askeisi, tihn psikhon de prws anodoreian kai dikaio-
sun kai sofrosonyn kai phvnighs einomelws paraskenasi. Tauta de ou radion dia tis anemwenhs uparchein diaytis, throupoousis men, ois eikos, tas psichas kai ta swmata, asneveseras de ergazomenhs prws te tous kyndnous tas gnomas kai prws tous pounous ta swmata. Oukouin too mev edei gumnastikhs, the swmati, tihn psikhon de tihn twn logwn ekosmeis melethe. Epi pl beams de uper amfo-
teron axion dielthein. Archi gar tis authe twn metata tauta praexewn egyone. Tis men ou en epimeleias tis peri tihn ischin ou to prws tais epideixeis armodio
hskhias, hkeста basilei prepein upolabw twn tais palaistras kateilefotow tihn throloumenh einexe-
ian, melanwto twn alhriwnw anagnwv mebexein, up-
nov te elaphiston deomew kai trophs ou polh
kai tauntis ouste kata plhthos ouste kata poiotitsa
pantos fritismenhs ouste kata twn kairon, dh
chrops proso-
feresw, tihn epituxousis de, epiteitain ai praxeis
twn kairon evdwsin. Athen oudein kai tagn
vsias
prws taunti poieswai,2 polla kai stratwmtik,
choreian tihn en tois oplow, dhrou
mon twn en toutois, tihn ippikhin tachtin, ois apasie diatetelkeas e

1 kal Wytttenbach adds.
2 poieiwsai Wytttenbach, poieiwsai elnai de MSS, Hertlein.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

I feel that poetic license accounts for them all. And it is foolish even to state that at the hour of your birth all the circumstances were brilliant and suited to a prince. And now the time has come for me to speak of your education as a boy. You were of course bound to have the princely nurture that should train your body to be strong, muscular, healthy, and handsome, and at the same time duly equip your soul with courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom. But this cannot result from that loose indulgence which naturally pampers body and soul, weakening men's wills for facing danger and their bodies for work. Therefore your body required training by suitable gymnastics, while you adorned your mind by literary studies. But I must speak at greater length about both branches of your education, since it laid the foundation of your later career. In your physical training you did not pursue those exercises that fit one merely for public display. What professional athletes love to call the pink of condition you thought unsuitable for a king who must enter for contests that are not make-believe. Such a one must put up with very little sleep and scanty food, and that of no precise quantity or quality or served at regular hours, but such as can be had when the stress of work allows. And so you thought you ought to train yourself in athletics with a view to this, and that your exercises must be military and of many kinds, dancing and running in heavy armour, and riding. All these you have
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ἀρχής ἐν καρῷ χρώμενοι· καὶ κατώρθωται παρὰ σοὶ τούτων ἐκαστὸν ὡς παρ᾽ οὐδεὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλιτῶν. οὐκοῦν ὦ μὲν τις ἐκεῖνων, πεξός ὁ ἀγαθός, τὴν ἱππικὴν τέχνην ἡγνύσθην, ὦ δὲ, ἐπι-
στάμενος κρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱππικοῖς, ὁκνεῖ πεξός εἰς μάχην ἴέναι. μῶνῳ δὲ ὑπάρχει σοὶ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἄριστων φαίνεσθαι παραπλησίώς ἐκεῖνοις σταλέντι, μετασκευασμένως δὲ ἐὰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας C κρατεῖν ἀπάντων ρώμη καὶ τάχει καὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν κούφοτητι. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τὰς ἀνέσεις ῥαθύμους εἶναι μηδ᾽ ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν ποιεῖσθαι συμβαίνῃ, ἐπίσκοπη τοξεύειν ἡσκησας. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐκουσίων πόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἀκουσίους εὐ ἔχειν παρεσκεύασας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ἡγεῖτο μὲν ἢ τῶν λόγων μελέτη καὶ τὰ προ-
σήκοντα τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις μαθήματα. ὅπως δὲ μὴ D παντάπασιν ἀγύμναστος ἢ μηδὲ καθάπερ ἄσματα καὶ μύθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁρετῶν ἐπακούῃ λόγους, ἔργων δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ πράξεων ἀπειρος οὔσα τὸν τοσοῦτον διαμείνῃ χρόνον, καθάπερ ὁ γενναῖος ἦξίωσε Πλάτων οἶονε ἐπερὰ τοῖς παισὶ χαρ)findViewByIdο-
μενον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποὺς ἀναβιβάζοντα1 ἄγειν εἰς τὰς μάχας, θεσατὰς ἐσομένους ὃν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀγωνιστὰς ἔχρην καταστήναι, πατέρα τὸν σὸν διανοηθέντα φαίνῃ ἀν εἰκότος τοῖς Κελτῶν ἔθνεσιν 12 ἐπιστῆσαι σε φύλακα καὶ βασιλέα, μειράκιων ἐτι, μᾶλλον δὲ παῖδα κομιδὴ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἔπει τῇ γε συνέσει καὶ ρώμη τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν

1 ἀναβιβάζουσα Cobet, ἀνάγοντα MSS, Hertlein.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

1 Republic 467 E.
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ἐνάμιλλον ἥδη. τού μὲν ἀκίνδυνον γενέσθαι σοι τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ὁ πατὴρ προσώπησε καλῶς, εἰρήμην ἐπιτάξας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀγειν τοῖς βαρβάροις· μάχεσθαι δὲ ἀναπείθων καὶ σταυριὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν ταῖς ἐκεῖνων συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι στρατηγικὴν ἐδίδασκε τέχνην, ἀσφαλέστερον βουλεύόμενος τοῦ σοφοῦ Πλάτωνος. τῷ μὲν γὰρ, εἰ πεζὸς ἐπέλθῃ πολεμών στρατὸς, οἱ παῖδες θεαταὶ καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῶν ἐργῶν, ἢ πον ἐνθώσι, τοῖς πατράσι γένοιτ' ἀν' κρατοῦντων δὲ ἱππεῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, ὃρα μηχανάσθαι τοῖς μειρακίως σωτηρίας τρόπον δυσεπιστήμων. τὸ δὲ ἐν ἀλλοτρίως κινδύνοις τοὺς παῖδας θήξειν πολεμῶν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀρκοῦντως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν δοκεῖ βεβουλεύσθαι.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτοις σοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὑπήρχε μελέτη. φρονήσεως δὲ ἢ μὲν φύσεως, ἢν εἰληχᾶς, αὐταρκῆς ἠγεμονίας παρῆσαν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τὰ πολιτικὰ διδάσκοντες. καὶ παρεῖχον ἢθόν καὶ νόμων καὶ ξένων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐμπειρίαν αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἠγεμόνας τῶν τῆς βαρβάρως ἐνεύξεις. καίτοι τῶν Ἄποφοινα συνείπον ὁμορρος ἐκ παντὸς ἀποφήμαι προαιρούμενος πολύτροπον εἶναι φησὶ καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν νοῦν καταγωνων καὶ ἐπελθεῖν τὰς πόλεις, ἣν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπιλεξάμενος ἕχοι τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πρὸς παντόδαπους ἀνθρώπους ὀμίλεις δύνατο. ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν δὲ οὐκ ἐβασίλευεν

1 τὰς πόλεις Cobet, ταῖς πόλεισιν MSS, Hertlein.
2 τῷ μὲν δὲ Wright, τὸν μὲν MSS, Hertlein, τὸ μὲν V.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

It was in this way then that you were first trained in manliness. But as regards wisdom, that nature with which you were endowed was your self-sufficing guide. But also, I think, the wisest citizens were at your disposal and gave you lessons in statecraft. Moreover, your intercourse with the barbarian leaders in that region gave you an acquaintance at first hand with the manners, laws, and usages of foreigners. Indeed, when Homer set out to prove the consummate wisdom of Odysseus, he called him "much-travelled," and said that he had come to know the minds of many peoples and visited their cities, so that he might choose what was best in every one and be able to mix with all sorts and conditions of men. Yes, even Odysseus, who never ruled an
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ποικίλων ἰθῶν ἐμπειρίας χρεία: τὸν δὲ πρὸς 13
tοσαύτην ἤγεμονίαν τρεφόμενον οὐκ ἐν οἰκίσκῃ
ποὺ χρῆν διδάσκεσθαι οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν,
καθάπερ ὁ Κύρος, παίζοντα μμείσθαι οὐδὲ
χρηματίζειν τοὺς ἥλιζι, καθάπερ ἐκείνον λέγουσιν,
ἀλλ' ἔθνεσιν ὦμιλείν καὶ δήμοις, καὶ στρατιωτῶν
tάγμασιν ἐπιτάττειν ἀπλῶς τὸ πρακτέον· ὅλως δὲ
οὐδὲν ὀπολείπεσθαι τούτων, δὲν ἔχρην ἀνδρά
γενόμενον ἐπ᾽ ἄδειας πράττειν.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ τούτους ἐδιδάχθης Б
καλῶς, ἔπι τὴν ἔτεραν ἤτειρον μετιῶν τοῖς
Παρθιαλῶν καὶ Μῆδων ἔθνεσιν ἀντετάθης
μόνος. ὑποτυφομένου δὲ ἢδη τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μέλλοντος ἀναρρίπτεσθαι,
tαχέως καὶ τοῦτο κατέγνως τὸν τρόπον, καὶ
τὴν τῶν ὄπλων ἰσχύν ἐμμήσω, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
ὁρὰν τοῦ θέρους εἰθισας καρτερεῖν τὸ σῶμα.
πυθάνομαι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην μόνον εξ ἀπάντων
Ἐλληνῶν οὕτως εὐφυῶς μεταβολὰς ἐνεγκείν, ὡς
καὶ μμήσασθαι πρῶτον 1 μὲν τὴν τῶν Δακεδαι-
μονίων ἔγκρατειαν, ἐπειδὴ Σπαρτιάταις ἀὐτὸν
ἐδεδώκει, εἶτα Θηβαίους, καὶ Θράκας ὕστερον, καὶ
ἔπι τέλει τὴν τῶν Περσῶν τρυφήν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνος
μὲν τοῖς χωρίοις συμμεταβάλλων καὶ τὸν τρόπον
ἀνεπίμπλατο πολλῆς δυσχερείας καὶ τὸ πάτριον
ἐκινδύνευε παντελῶς ἀποβαλείν, σύ δὲ τῆς μὲν

1 πρῶτον Cobet adds.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

\(^1\) Herodotus 1. 114.
\(^2\) Cf. Aeschines Against Ctesiphon 78. Horace Epistles 1. 11. 27.
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1 ἥγεγκας Cobet, διήγεγκας MSS, Hertlein.
2 ἦ Reiske adds.
3 περιουσίαν Petavius, γερουσίαν MSS, Hertlein.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

life wherever you might be, and by hard work inuring your constitution to change, you easily bore the march inland from Galatia to Parthia, more easily in fact than a rich man who lives now here, now there, according to the season, would bear it if he were forced to encounter unseasonable weather. I think Heaven smiled on you and willed that you should govern the whole world, and so from the first trained you in virtue, and was your guide when you journeyed to all points, and showed you the bounds and limits of the whole empire, the character of each region, the vastness of your territory, the power of every race, the number of the cities, the characteristics of the masses, and above all the vast number of things that one who is bred to so great a kingship cannot afford to neglect. But I nearly forgot to mention the most important thing of all. From a boy you were taught to govern this great empire, but a better thing you learned, to be governed, submitting yourself to the authority that is the best in the world and the most just, that is to say nature and law. I mean that both as son and subject you obeyed your father. Indeed, had he been only your father or only your king, obedience was his due.

Now what rearing and education for a king could one find in history better than this? Consider the Greeks. Not thus did the Spartans train the Heracleidae, though they are thought to have enjoyed the best form of government, that of their kings. As for the barbarians, not even the Cartha-
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dōnvi, βασιλευόμενοι διαφερόντως, τῆς ἀρίστης ἐπιμελείας τῶν ἄρξοντα1 σφῶν ἥξιον· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἦν κοινὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ παιδεύματα, καθάπερ ἄδελφοις τοῖς πολίταις ἄρξειν τε καὶ ἀρχθήσεσθαι μέλ- λουσι, καὶ οὐδὲν διάφορον προσῆν εἰς παιδείας· λόγον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἄλλων. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ εὐθές ἀπατεῖν μὲν ἀρετῆς μέγεθος ἀνυπέρβλητον παρὰ τῶν ἄρχοντων, προοφεῖν δὲ μηδέν, ὅπως ἔσονται τῶν πολλῶν διαφέροντες; καὶ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις, ἀπασίν ἐν κοινῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης προκειμένης, τὸ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῶν ἰδίων ὁμοίαν γίγνεσθαι παράσχοι συγγενῆμιν τῶν Δυκαλλοῦν·

D ὃ τοῖς ἀφ’ Ἡρακλείους ἀστυφέλικτων τὴν βασι—

λείαν διαφυλάττοντα2 μηδεμίαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τῶν νέων εὐρόντα σφόδρα ἀν τις εἰκότως μέμψαιτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντας Δακεδαι—

μοῦνοις ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς καὶ τροφίμους φετο δεῖν εἶναι, τῆς ἐσοθ. ἄξιοιν ἐχρη τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας τοὺς ἴδιωτας τοῖς ἄρξουσιν.3 ἡ γὰρ τοιαῦτα κατὰ μικρὸν παραδυνομένη4 συνήθεια ταῖς φυσισι ἐνε—

τεκεῖν5 ὑπεροφιάν τῶν κρειττῶνων· ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲ κρειττοστος νομιστέοι τοὺς οὐ δι’ ἀρετὴν πρωτεύειν

1 ἰδρόουντα Hertlein suggests, ἱδρόουντα MSS.
2 διαφυλάττοντα [κα] Hertlein.
3 ἰδρόουσιν Cobet, ἱδρόουσιν MSS, Hertlein.
5 ἐνέτεκεν Wytenbach, ἐνετεκεῖν MSS, Hertlein, πέφυκεν ἐνετεκεῖν Petavius.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

¹ cf. Xenophon Rep. Lac. 15. 7.
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λαχώντας. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας χαλεπτέρους ἀρχήγια τοῖς βασιλεύσῃ παρέιχε πολλάκις. χρήσατο δὲ ἄν τις σαφεὶ τεκμηρίῳ τῶν ἁθέντων τῇ Δωσάμοιρᾳ πρὸς Ἀγγείλαυν φίλοι τιμίᾳ καὶ ἄλλους πλείστους, ἐπιδόν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἀνδρώσιν.

'Αλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τὰ τρόπος ἀρκοῦντος παρασκευάζουσα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν διαφέρου ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐδίδον τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ὑπάρχειν παρεῖχεν ἀνδράσι. Καρχηδονίων δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπαινεῖν ἄξιον. ἔξελαύνοντες γὰρ τῶν οἰκίων οἱ γονεῖς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέταττον εὐπορεῖν διὰ τῶν πόνων τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀναγκαῖον, τὸ δρᾶν τι τῶν δοκοῦντων αἰσχρῶν ἀπαγορεύοντες. τὸ δὲ ἦν, οὐ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔξελείν τῶν νέων, ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν θεραπευτεῖν τι δράωντα προστάτειν. τέφυκε γὰρ οὐ τρυφή μόνον ἢ ἔς διαφθείρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνθές δίαιτα, ἐφ' ὃν οὕτω τὸ κρίνειν ὁ λόγος προσλαβόν ἐπετει ταῖς χρείαις ὅπο τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναπειθόμενος, ἀλλὰς τε εἰ καὶ τούτου μὴ κρατοί τοῦ πάθους, πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἐκ παίδων συνεθείσομενος καὶ τινᾶς ἀμοιβᾶς ἐμπορίων καὶ καπηλείας τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρῶν τας δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων μαθῶν, ὑπὲρ ὃν οὔ λέγειν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀκούειν

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

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

ἔμοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἑκείνοις προσῆκεν· δείξω δὲ μόνον τῆς τροφής¹ τὸ διαφέρον, ἡ χρησάμενος κάλλει καὶ ρώμη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη διήνεγκας, διὰ μὲν τῶν πόνων τὴν ενεξίαν περιβαλόμενος, διὰ δὲ τῶν νόμων τὴν σωφροσύνην κατακτησάμενος,² καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι ῥωμαλεστέρῳ διὰ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τῇ ψυχῇ δ' αὖ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καρτερίαν δικαιοτέρα χρώμενος, τά μὲν ἐκ φύσεως ἁγαθὰ συναύξων ἐκ παντός, τά δὲ ταῖς ἐπιμελείας ἐξωθην ἄει προσλαμβάνων καὶ δεόμενος³ μὲν οὐδενός, ἐπαρκῶν δ' ἄλλοις καὶ χαριζόμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ ὅσιος τοὺς λαβοῦντας ἵρκουν ἀποφήναι τῷ Δυνάμων δυνάστῃ παραπλησίου, ἐνδεεστερον μὲν ἀπολαύνιον αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἁγαθῶν ἢ Σπυρίτατών ὁ σωφρονεστάτος, τοῦ τρυφᾶν δὲ παρέχων ἄλλοις χορηγίαν, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις σωφρονεῖν παρέχων σαυτοῦ μυμείσθαι, ἄρχων μὲν πράος καὶ φιλανθρώπως τῶν ἄλλων, ἀρχόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σωφρόνως καὶ ὧς εἰς τῶν πολλῶν τὸν ἀπαντα διετέλεις χρόνον. παιδί μὲν οὐτὶ σοι καὶ μειρακίῳ ταύτα τε ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα, περὶ δὲ νῦν λέγειν μακρότερον ἄν εἰη τοῦ καιροῦ.

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

But it is not for me to criticise the Carthaginians in this place. I will only point out how different was your education, and how you profited by it and have come to excel in looks, strength, justice, and temperance. By your active life you achieved perfect health; your temperance was the result of obedience to the laws; you enjoy a body of unusual strength by reason of your self-control, and a soul of unusual rectitude because of your physical powers of endurance. You left nothing undone to improve your natural talents, but ever acquired new talents by new studies. You needed nothing yourself but gave assistance to others, and lavished such generous gifts that the recipients seemed as rich as the monarch of the Lydians.\(^1\) Though you indulged yourself less in the good things that were yours than the most austere of the Spartans, you gave others the means of luxury in abundance, while those who preferred temperance could imitate your example. As a ruler you were mild and humane; as your father's subject you were ever as modest as any one of his people. All this was true of you in boyhood and youth, and much more about which there is now no time to speak at length.

\(^1\) Gyges.
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Γενόμενος δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡλικίας, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ δαίμονος μᾶλα ὀλβίαν παρασχόντος, οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἐπενεχθέντων τὸν τάφον ἐκόσμεις, γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς ἀποτίνων τὰ χαριστήρια, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τῷ μόνος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνων παίδων ζωντος μὲν ἔτι καὶ πιεζομένου τῇ νόσῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρμῆσαι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὰς μεγίστας τιμὰς καταστήσαι, ύπὲρ ὧν ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τὸ μησθῆναι. Καλοῦσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐφ᾽ αὐτὰς αἱ πράξεις ὑπομιμηθοῦσα τῆς ρώμης, τῆς εὐφυχίας, εὐβουλίας τε ἀμα καὶ δικαιότητος, οἷς ἀμαχοὺς ὀφθης καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἄδελφους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς πατρῴους σοι φίλους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καταστηθήσοντος. πλὴν εἰ πρὸς τοὺς βιασθέας ύπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἀκῶν ἐτέρους ἐξαμείφτειν οὐ διεκκόλυτα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνδρείως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῆς προὔπαρχους ἀξίως τοῦ γένους δόξης καταστηθήσοντος. τοῖς μὲν δὲ ὀμονοίας τῶν ἄπαντα χρόνου συγγέγονας, ἀστασίαστον μὲν τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάττων καὶ τοὺς ἄδελφους συνάρχοντας θεραπεύον ἄει, τοῖς φίλοις δὲ τῆς ἱσθυρίας ¹ μεταδίδον καὶ τῆς παρρησίας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθόνως, κοινωνῶν μὲν ἀπασί τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μεταδίδον δὲ ὡν ἐκαστὸς ἐνδεής δόξει. καὶ τούτων μάρτυς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος εἰκότως ἀν τῆς χρήσατο, καὶ τὰ πράγματα δὲ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι

¹ ἱσθυρίας Petavius, ἱσθ υρίας MSS, Hertlein.

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

1 At Nicomedia 357 A.D.  2 Isocrates, Evagoras 1.  3 Constans and Constantine.
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this prods ekeinos synounias ikanai deilwosei tis
proairesin tou biou pantos.

Rhetoun de uper auton hde ton praxeis anabaloomenous ton uper ton exeis logosen. Perisa
this Asias apasheis palai krateisantes kai this
Eurwthi tis pollla katastrepamein, mikrou deo
phanai pasan tis oikoumenei peribalomein
kuklo ta.Butheis, epeidh tis arxhin upo
Makedonon afhrontu, tis Alexiadrou stratet-
ghias er gon genomeini, malloin de paigunoi,
chaleptos ferontes to douleuwui, ows ekeinon
bouleonto teletelietikota, ton diadochon apostantites
Makedosi te eis tis antipalou dunamein authis
katestasan kai humi to leitoumenon tis Makedonon
arxhis katanakthsmenei oxiomachioi dia telous
edoxan einai pollemoi. Kai ton mev palaioi tis chr
nyn upomwnhseis, Antwvioi kai Krasso, stratet-
ghon autokratrown, kai ws ekeina dia makrow apow-
smheba kυiudwn tis aivos, pollwn kai swfrwn
autokratrown anamachasamewn tis ptaismata;
ti de chr ton deuterwn autchmatwnemeni
kai ton ep autois tou Karon praxeoun, demo
meta tas symborws hreithi stratetigos; 2 alli, o
tis thumasth kai paral pasin anapwmenen
eirhnen epitanxantes ekinois agewn, o pro tou sou
patros tis basileian kataxontes, ouc o men
caisar kai auton sumbalwn aivos anphila-
xein; epistrefento de tou tis oikoumenei
apasheis arxontos kai tas dynameis tis hge

1 ferontes prods MSS.
2 deuper . . . stratetgos MSS.

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themselves are sufficient to demonstrate the policy of your whole life.

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

1 Defeated at Carrhae B.C. 53; the Roman standards were recovered by Augustus B.C. 20. 2 Emperor 282-283 A.D. 3 Galerius Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian, was defeated in Mesopotamia, 296 A.D., by Narses. 4 Diocletian.
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άπάσης ἐκείσε τρέψαντος καὶ προκαταλαβόντος τὰς εἰσβολὰς στρατεύμασι καὶ καταλόγῃς ὀπλιτῶν πάλαιῶν καὶ νεόλεκτων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς παρασκευάζας, δεδιότες μόλις τὴν εἰρήνην ἡγάπησαν. ἦν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως περιόντως τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ συγχέαντες καὶ συνταράζαντες, τῆς μὲν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τιμωρίας διῆμαρτον, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευαῖς τῶν βιῶν μεταλλάξαντος· σοὶ δὲ ὑπέσχον τὴν δίκην ὑστεροῦ τῶν τετόλμημένων. μέλλων δὲ ἔτι δὴ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγώνων γενομένων σοι πολλάκις ἀπτέσθαι τοσοῦτον ἀξιόω σκοπεῖν τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ὅτι τοῦ τρίτου μορίου τῆς ἀρχῆς καθεστώς κύριος οὐδὲν, μόνος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐφθασθαι δηκούντος, οὐχ ὅπλοις, οὐκ ἀνδράσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα πρὸς τηλωκούτον πόλεμον ἐγερθην ἐπιρρέειν ἄφθονα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σοι δὲ ἀνθυποτοῦν αἰτίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐλαφρύνωντο καὶ οὐκ ἔστων οὔδενς οὕτως αναίσχυντος οὐδὲ βάσκανος συκοφάντης, δι᾽ οὐκ αὐτώτατον γενέσθαι σε τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὀμοῦλας φῆσει: οὕτως δὲ οἶμαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ θ᾽ αὐτοῦ δυσχεροῦς, τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν διεστάτησε, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν σφόν ἡγεμόνα ποθεῖν ἐκβοώντες, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀρχεῖν θέλωντες· καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀτοπα καὶ δυσχερὴ πανταχοθὲν ἀναφυόμενα χαλεπωτέρας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου παρεῖχεν ἐλπίδας· Ἀρμένιοι παλαιοὶ σύμμαχοι στασιάζοντες καὶ μοῖρα σφῶν οὐ φαύλη 19 Πέρσαις προσθέμενοι, τὴν ὀμορον σφήνικε λησταῖς κατατρέχοντες· καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐφαι̃
them, directing thither all the forces of the empire, occupying all the passes with his troops and levies of hoplites, both veterans and new recruits, and employing every sort of military equipments, that fear drove them to accept terms of peace. That peace they somehow contrived to disturb and break during your father's lifetime, but they escaped punishment at his hands because he died in the midst of preparations for a campaign. It was left for you later on to punish them for their audacity. I shall often have to speak of your campaigns against them, but this one thing I ask my hearers to observe. You became master of a third of the empire,\(^1\) that part in fact which seemed by no means strong enough to carry on a war, since it had neither arms nor troops in the field, nor any of those military resources which ought to flow in abundantly in preparation for so important a war. Then, too, your brothers, for whatever reason, did nothing to make the war easier for you. And yet there is no sycophant so shameless and so envious as not to admit that the harmony existing between you was mainly due to you. The war in itself presented peculiar difficulties, in my opinion, and the troops were disaffected owing to the change of government; they raised the cry that they missed their old leader and they wished to control your actions. Nay, more; a thousand strange and perplexing circumstances arose on every hand to render your hopes regarding the war more difficult to realise. The Armenians, our ancient allies, revolted, and no small part of them went over to the Persians and overran and raided the country on their borders.

In this crisis there seemed to be but one hope of

\(^1\) The provinces of the East.
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υετο μόνον σωτήριον, τὸ σὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχεσθαι καὶ βουλεύεσθαι, τέως οὐχ ὑπήρχε διὰ τὰς πρὸς τους ἄδελφους ἐν Παιονίᾳ συνθήκας, ὅσ αὐτὸς παρῴν οὔτω διὰκής, ὡς μηθεματ ἀφορμὴν ἐκείνους παρασχεῖν μέμψεως. μικρὸν μὲ ἐλαθεν ἡ τῶν πράξεων ἀρχὴ διαφυγοῦσα καλλίων ἀπασῶν ἡ ταῖς καλλίσταις ἢ Ἰσης θαυμαστή. τὸ γάρ υπὲρ τοσοῦτον πραγμάτων βουλεύομενος μηδὲν ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς τὸ πλέον ἔχειν ἐκὼν συγχωροή, σωφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας μέγιστον ἄν εἰη σημείον. νὴν δὲ εἰ μὲν τὶς τὴν πατριὰν οὐσίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἄδελφους νεμόμενος ἐκατὸν ταλάντων, κείσθω δὲ, εἰ βουλεῖ, τοσοῦτον ἄλλων, εἴτε ἔχον πεντῆκοντα, μναῖς ἐλαττὸν ἡγατπες δή, καὶ μικρὸν παντελῶς ἀργυρίου τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁμοῖον ἀνταλλαξάμενος, ἐπαίνων ἀν ἔδοκεν καὶ τιμῆς ἁξίως ὡς χρημάτων κρειττων, ὡς εὔβουλος φύσει, ἐξελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὡς καλὸς κάγαθος. ο δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς οὕτω μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ σωφρόνους δοκῶν βεβουλεύσθαι, ὡς τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶ μείζονα μὴ προσθέσων ἁπόν, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσόδων ἐκῶν ὑψίσθαι ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων εἰρήνης, πόσων ἐπαίνων ἁξίων κρυτεί τις; οὐ μὴν οὔδε ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἐνεστὶν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς καλῶς μὲν, ἀλυσιτελῶς δὲ· ἀλυσιτελῆς Πεταβίου, Ψυττέναυχου, Ηρτλείν, ἀλυσιτελῆς ΜΣν. 1 2 3 μὲν γὰρ

1 Η Schæfeer adds.
2 πεντῆκοντα μναῖς Reiske, Cobet, μνὰς MSS.
3 ἀλυσιτελῶς δὲ· ἀλυσιτελῆς Petavius, Wytttenbach, Hertlein, ἀλυσιτελῆς MSS.

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

\(^2\) Regularly in Greek for Pannonia.
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οὐδέν, ὡς, τι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ καλὸν, ἔμοιγεν φαίνεται. ὅλως δὲ εἰ τινὶ καθ’ αὐτὸ τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν δοκεῖ, κρινέτω μὴ πρὸς ἄργυριον σκοτῶν μηδὲ προσόδους χωρίων ἀπαριθμούμενος, καθάπερ οἱ φιλάργυροι γέροντες ὑπὸ τῶν κωμωδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐλκύμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν. φιλονεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρίων καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχων ἐκείνων ἄν ἠρξὲ μόνων ὑπὸ ἔλαχεν, εἰ καὶ πλέον ἔχων ἀπεριπλοῦσθαι τῶν μικρῶν καὶ καταφρονήσας ἥρχε μὲν ἀπάσης μετά τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς οἰκουμενίας, ἐπεμελείτο δὲ τοῦ λαχόντος μέρους, ἀπολαύων μὲν τελείας τῆς τιμῆς, μετέχων δὲ ἐλαττῶν τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὴ τῶν.

'Αλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὐθεντικὸς ἔξεσται διὰ μακροτέρων δηλώσαι, ὅπως δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμελήσῃς, τοσοῦτον κύκλῳ περιστάντων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν κινδύνων καὶ παντοδαπῶν πραγμάτων, θορύβου, ἡγεΐται, καὶ πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμάχων ἀποστάσεως, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, ὅσα ἄλλα τότε δυσχερῆ κατελάμβανεν, ἵσως ἡδή διελθεῖν ξίνων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ σοι ταῦτα τῶν συνθηκῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης ὁμονοίας διάφικοτο, παρῆν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτάττων βοηθεῖν κινδυνεύοντι, τοπεῖας ταχεῖας κρησάμενος ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Παυλῶν ἐν Σύρους ὁφθης, οὖδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξαι ράδιον ἀρκεῖ

1 πραγμάτων θορύβου Wyttenbach, θορύβου πραγμάτων MSS, Hertlein. 2 άναγκαίου Capps suggests, γενιαλον MSS, Hertlein. 3 τοπεῖας ταχεῖας Capps suggests, τοπεῖας μὲν τάξει MSS, Hertlein. 4 ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Petavius, ἄθροις ἐκ MSS, Hertlein.

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

On that subject, however, I shall have a chance later to speak in more detail. This is perhaps the right moment to describe how you controlled the situation, encompassed as you were, after your father's death, by so many perils and difficulties of all sorts—confusion, an unavoidable war, numerous hostile raids, allies in revolt, lack of discipline in the garrisons, and all the other harassing conditions of the hour. You concluded in perfect harmony the negotiations with your brothers, and when the time had arrived that demanded your aid for the dangerous crisis of affairs, you made forced marches, and immediately after leaving Paeonia appeared in Syria. But to relate how you did this would tax my powers of description, and indeed for those who know the
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dὲ τοῖς ἐγνωκόσιν ἡ πείρα. ὅπως δὲ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τὴν σὴν ἀθρώσιν ἀπαντᾷ μεταβαλόντα καὶ μεταστάντα πρὸς τὰ βέλτιον οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπικρεμασθέντων ἡμᾶς ἀπῆλλαξε φόβων, ἀμένοις δὲ μακρῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων παρέσχεν ἐλπίδας, τὰς ἀν ἀρκέσειε τῶν ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων, πλησίου γενομένου μόνον, ἐπέσαντο τὴς ἀταξίας καὶ μεθειστήκει πρὸς κόσμον, Ἀρμενίων δὲ οἱ προσθέμενοι τοῖς πολεμίωσ εὐθὺς μετέστησαν, σοῦ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς φυγῆς τῷ τῆς χώρας ἔκεινης ἁρχοντι παρ’ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγόντος, τοῖς φεύγουσι δὲ τὴν ἐσ τὴν οἰκείαν κάθοδον ἄδεια παρασκευάσαντος. οὕτω δὲ φιλανθρώπως τοῖς τε παρ’ ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένοις ἄρτι χρησαμένου καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς μετὰ τοῦ σφῶν ἁρχοντος κατεληλυθοῦσι πράως ὁμολούντοι, οἱ μὲν, ὃτι καὶ πρότερον ἁπέστησαν, αὐτοὺς ἀπωλοφύρανο, οἱ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην τῆς πρόσθεν ἡγίατων μᾶλλον δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγουντες ἐμπροσθεν ἔργῳ σωφρονεῖν ἐφασαν ἐκμαθεῖν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ μὴ μεταστῆται τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἄξιας τυγχάνειν. τοσαῦτη δὲ ἐχρήσῳ περὶ τοὺς κατελθόντας ὑπερβολὴ δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῆς, ὡστε μὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐχθρίστοις σφῶν εὔ πράττουσι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμωμένους ἀχθεῖσθαι μὴ δε βασκαίνειν. ταύτα δὲ ἐν βραχεὶ καταστησάμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀραβίας ληστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς προσβείαις τρέψας, ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς ἥλθες, ὑπὲρ δὲν οὐχ ἐν βραχεὶ προειπεῖν.
facts their own experience is enough. But who in
the world could describe adequately how, at the pro-
spect of your arrival, everything was changed and
improved all at once, so that we were set free from
the fears that hung over us and could entertain
brighter hopes than ever for the future? Even
before you were actually on the spot the mutiny
among the garrisons ceased and order was restored.
The Armenians who had gone over to the enemy at
once changed sides again, for you ejected from the
country and sent to Rome those who were re-
sponsible for the governor's 1 exile, and you secured
for the exiles a safe return to their own country.
You were so merciful to those who now came to
Rome as exiles, and so kind in your dealings with
those who returned from exile with the governor,
that the former did, indeed, bewail their misfortune in
having revolted, but still were better pleased with their
present condition than with their previous usurpa-
tion; while the latter, who were formerly in exile,
declared that the experience had been a lesson in
prudence, but that now they were receiving a worthy
reward for their loyalty. On the returned exiles
you lavished such magnificent presents and rewards
that they could not even resent the good fortune of
their bitterest enemies, nor begrudge their being
duly honoured. All these difficulties you quickly
settled, and then by means of embassies you turned
the marauding Arabs against our enemies. Then
you began preparations for the war, about which I
may as well say a few words.

1 Tiranes, King of Armenia, was now, 387 A.D., deposed
and imprisoned by Sapor. His son, Arsaces, succeeded him
in 341. Julian is describing the interregnum. Gibbon, chap.
18, wrongly ascribes these events to the reign of Tiridates,
who died 314 A.D.
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Τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τῆς πρόσθεν τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένους ἀνείσης τοὺς πόνους, τοῖς λειτουργοῦσι δὲ κουφότερας τὰς λειτουργίας\footnote[1]{δὲ λειτουργίας Reiske adds.} παρασχοῦσι, τοῦ πολέμου δὲ χρημάτων καὶ σιτηρείου καὶ χορηγίας λαμπράς δεομένου, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἱσχύος καὶ ράμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπείριας τῶν στρατευομένων, ὑπάρχοντος δὲ οὐδενὸς σχεδόν τῶν τοιούτων, αὐτὸς ἐξηύπερε καὶ κατέστησα, τοῖς μὲν ἐν\footnote[2]{ἐν Reiske adds.} ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι λαχοῦσιν ἀποδείξας τῶν πόνων μελέτην, παπαπλησίαν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίωσ ἰππικήν καταστησάμενος δύναμιν, τῷ πεξῷ δὲ ἐπιτάξας τῶν πόνων ἔχεσθαι καὶ ταύτα ὦ ῥήμασι μόνον οὐδὲ ἔξ ἐπιτάγματος, μελετῶν δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ συνασκούμενος καὶ δεικνύον ἔργῳ τὸ πρακτέων, πολέμων ἐργάτας ἀφνω κατέστησας. χρημάτων δὲ ἐπενόεις πόρους, οὐκ αὐξῶν τοὺς φόρους οὐδὲ τὰς συντάξεις, καθάπερ Ἀθηναῖοι πρόσθεν, εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον καταστήσας, ἐμμένων δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πλὴν εἰ ποὺ πρὸς βραχὺ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν\footnote[3]{καιρὸν Cobet, εἰκαρον MSS, Hertlein.} ἔχρην αἰσθάνεθαι δαπανηροτέρων τῶν λειτουργημάτων. ἐν τοσαύτῃ δὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἥγεσ τφθονία, ὡς μάτε υβρίζειν τῷ κόρῳ μάτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας πλημμελεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι. ὄπλων δὲ καὶ ἱππῶν παρασκευὴν καὶ νεῶν τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων καὶ τῶν ἅλων ἀπάντων τὸ πλῆθος σιωπῇ κατέχω. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τέλος ἐίχε

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

I shall say nothing about your great array of arms, horses, and river-boats, engines of war and the like. But when all was ready and the time had come to
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καὶ ἔδει χρῆσθαι τοὺς προρρηθεῖσας εἰς δέον, ἐξεύγυντο μὲν ὁ Τίγρης σχεδία πολλάκις, ἡρθῇ δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ φρούρια, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὔδεις ἐτόλμησεν ἀμύναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθομένῃ, πάντα δὲ παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἤγετο τάκεινων ἀγαθά, τῶν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ εἰς χείρας ἴναι τολμῶντων, τῶν θραυσυμένων δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτά τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑποχόντων. τὸ μὲν δὴ κεφάλαιον τῶν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσβολῶν τοιοῦτον. καὶ έκαστον γὰρ ἐπεξείναι τὸς ἀξίως ἐν βραχεῖ λόγῳ δυνηθείη, τῶν μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν δὲ τὰς ἀριστεῖας ἀπαριθμούμενοι; τοσοῦτον δὲ ίσως εἰπεῖν οὐ χαλεποῦ, ὡς πολλάκις τὸν ποταμὸν ἔκεινον περαιώθηκες ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ πολίν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίψαςχρόνων, λαμπρὰς ἐπανήγειρος τοῖς τροπαίοις, τὰς δὲ σε πόλεις ἐλευθερας ἐπίδων καὶ χαριζόμενος εἰρήνην καὶ πλοῦτον, πάντα άθρόως τὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ τῶν πόλεως πολυμένων διδοὺς ἀπολαύειν, νίκης κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τροπαίων ἐγειρομένων κατὰ τῆς Παρθοναϊας ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας, ὃν τὸ μὲν ἐπεδείξαντο τὰς σπουδὰς λύσαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συγχέαντες, τὸ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀμύνεσθαι.

'Αλλ' ὅπως μὴ τῆς ὑπολαβῇ με τούτων μὲν ἰδέως μεμνήσθαι τῶν έργων, ὅκειν δὲ ἐκείνα, περὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις πλεονεκτήσαι παρέσχεν ἢ τύχη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ χώρα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσλάβοσα ῥοτή, ὅ ση χιώνη ἡμῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ

1 διατρίψας Cobet, τρίψας MSS, Hertlein.

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

But lest anyone should suppose that, while I delight in recalling exploits like these, I avoid mentioning occasions when luck gave the enemy the advantage—or rather it was the nature of the ground combined with opportunity that turned
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ἐπαινοῦν καὶ τιμὴν φέροντα, καὶ ύπὲρ τούτων πειρᾶσομαι δηλῶσαι διὰ βραχέων, οὐ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελέστατον ἐμαυτῷ τοὺς λόγους πλαττών, 23 τὴν ἀλήθειαν δὲ ἄγαπῶν ἐν πᾶσιν. ὡς εἰ τις ἐκεῖν ἀμαρτάνοι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακευέναι αἰσχύνην οὐδαμῶς ἐκφεύγει, προστίθησι δὲ τοῖς ἐπαινομένοις τὸ δοκεῖν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εὐ ἀκούειν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. δὲ παθεῖν εὐλαβησόμεθα. δεῖξει δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτός, εἰ μηδαμοῦ τὸ ψεύδος πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τετίμηκεν. οὐκοῦν εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι πάντες ἀν μέγιστον φήσειαν πλεονέκτημα τῶν βαρβαρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Σιννάρων πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην ἰσα μὲν ἐνεγκεῖν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τὰ δυστυχήματα, δεῖξαι δὲ τὴν σήμεραν περιγενε-μένην τῆς ἐκείνων τύχης φαίνην ἀν εἰκότως, καὶ ταύτα στρατοπέδῳ χρησαμένου 1 θρασεῖ καὶ τολ-μηρῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνεύ-μου ὀφνὶ ὁμοίως ἐκείνους συνήθει. ὅπως δὲ ἐκαστὸν ἐπράξῃ, διηγήσομαι. θέρος μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀκμάζων ἔτι, συνήθει δὲ ἐς ταύτων τὰ στρατόπεδα πολὺ πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας. ἐκπληττόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἴσον-χίαν, αὐτὸ δὲ πλῆθει βαυμαστὸ θανάτες, ἡρχετο μὲν οὐδές τῆς μάχης, τῶν μὲν εἰς χείρας ἔναι πρὸς οὕτω παρεσκευασμένην δύναμιν ἀκούντων, τῶν δὲ περιμενόντων ἐκείνων ἀρχεῖν, ὅπως ἠμνυόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐν πᾶσιν, οὖχὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ πολέμου μετὰ τὴν

1 χρησαμένου Hertlein suggests, χρησάμενον V, χρησαμένην MSS.

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the scale—and that I do so because they brought us no honour or glory but only disgrace, I will try to give a brief account of those incidents also, not adapting my narrative with an eye to my own interests, but preferring the truth in every case. For when a man deliberately sins against the truth he cannot escape the reproach of flattery, and moreover he inflicts on the object of his panegyric the appearance of not deserving the praise that he receives on other accounts. This is a mistake of which I shall beware. Indeed my speech will make it clear that in no case has fiction been preferred to the truth. Now I am well aware that all would say that the battle we fought before Singara¹ was a most important victory for the barbarians. But I should answer and with justice that this battle inflicted equal loss on both armies, but proved also that your valour could accomplish more than their luck; and that although the legions under you were violent and reckless men, and were not accustomed, like the enemy, to the climate and the stifling heat. I will relate exactly what took place.

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

¹ In Mesopotamia, 348 A.D. (Bury argues for 344 A.D.)
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eirhēnyn ἥρχοντες φανεῖν. τέλος δὲ ὁ τῆς βαρ-

βαρικῆς ἐκείνης δυνάμεως ἤγεμον, μετέωρος ἄρθρος D

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσπίδων καὶ καταμάθων τὸ πλήθος ἐν

τάξει, σῶσε ὑμᾶς καὶ πολλα ἄφιει φωνᾶς;

προδεόθησα βοῶν καὶ τούς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου

πεύσαντας αἱτιώμενος, ἡμέτεροι χρῆναι διὰ

τάξεις καὶ τοῦτο μόνον οἱ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἄρ-

κέσειν, εἰ φθόνηται τὸν ποταμὸν διαβήναι, ὡσπέρ

ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης πρὸς τὴν ἡμέτεραν

ὄρος ἀρχαίος. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκεῖνος πρὸ τοῦ

ἐπὶ πόρο ναὶ σημαίνει τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ κατʼ

ὁλίγον προσθεῖς τῷ τάχει τέλος ἥδη καρ-

tερῶς ἔφευγεν, ἔχων ὀλίγους ἱππέας ἀμφ' ἀυτὸν, τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπασαν τῷ παιδί καὶ τῷ

πιστοτάτῳ τῶν φίλων ἐπιτρέψας ἄγειν. ταυτά

ὁρώντα τὸ στράτευμα καὶ χαλεπάνοντες, ὦτι

μυθεμάτων ὑπέσχον τῶν τετολμημένων δύνας, ἐβόων ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ κελέουντος σοῦ1 μένειν ἀχρό-

μεροὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπέρθεν ὡς ἐκαστὸς εἰς ἔφε

ῥώμης τε καὶ τάξους, ἀπειροῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τέως

τῆς σῆς στρατηγίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὀρώντες

ἀμείνων αὐτῶν τὸ συμφέρον κρίνειν ἤττον ἐπί-

στειουν καὶ τῷ πολλάς2 συγκατειργάσθαι τῷ

πατρὶ τῷ σφή μάχας καὶ κρατήσαι πανταχοῦ τὸ3
dοκεῖν ἀπειτήτως εἶναι συνηγωνίζετο. τούτων δὲ

οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον τὸ παρεστὼς Ὀμηναίων δέος

ἐπήρεν ὡς οὐκ ἄγωνισαμένοι4 πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας

1 κελέουντος σοῦ Hertlein suggesta, κελέουντος MSS.

2 τῷ πολλάς Cobet, τῷ MSS, Hertlein.

3 τῷ Cobet, τῷ MSS, Hertlein.

4 ἄγωνισαμένουs Rouse suggesta, ἄγωνισαμένουs MSS, Hertlein.

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sible for beginning hostilities after the peace. But at last the leader\(^1\) of the barbarian army, raised high on their shields, perceived the magnitude of our forces drawn up in line. What a change came over him! What exclamations he uttered! He cried out that he had been betrayed, that it was the fault of those who had persuaded him to go to war, and decided that the only thing to be done was to flee with all speed, and that one course alone would secure his safety, namely to cross, before we could reach it, the river, which is the ancient boundary-line between that country and ours. With this purpose he first gave the signal for a retreat in good order, then gradually increasing his pace he finally took to headlong flight, with only a small following of cavalry, and left his whole army to the leadership of his son and the friend in whom he had most confidence. When our men saw this they were enraged that the barbarians should escape all punishment for their audacious conduct, and clamoured to be led in pursuit, chafed at your order to halt, and ran after the enemy in full armour with their utmost energy and speed. For of your generalship they had had no experience so far, and they could not believe that you were a better judge than they of what was expedient. Moreover, under your father they had fought many battles and had always been victorious, a fact that tended to make them think themselves invincible. But they were most of all elated by the terror that the Parthians now shewed, when they thought how they had fought, not only against the enemy, but against the very nature of the ground,

\(^{1}\) Sapor.
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μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν αὐτήν, καὶ εἰ τι
μεῖζον ἔξοδον προσπίπτοι, καὶ τούτον πάντως
κρατήσωντας. ταχέως οὖν ἐκατῶν μεταξὺ στάδια
διάδραμοντες ἐφειστήκεσαι ἦδη Παρθναίοις εἰς τὸ
τείχος καταπεφευγόμενον, ὃ πρῶτον ἦδη πεποίητο
σφίσιν ὅπερ στρατόπεδον. ἐσπέρα δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν
καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτὸθεν ξυνερρήγνυτο. καὶ τὸ μὲν
τείχος αἱροῦσιν εὐθέως τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀυτοῦ κτείναντες
γενόμενοι δὲ εἰσὼ τῶν ἐρυμάτων πολὺν μὲν ἡρίᾳ-
τενον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δίψους ἀπειρηκότες ἦδη
καὶ λάκκως ὑδατος ἐντυχόντες ἐνδοῦ, τὴν καλλάσση
νύκην διέφθειραν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέσχοιν
ἀναμαχέσασθαι τὸ πταῖσμα. τοῦτο τέλος τῆς
μάχης ἐκείνης γέγονε, τρεῖς μὲν ἡ τέτταρας
ἀφελομένης τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν, Παρθναίων δὲ τῶν
ἐπὶ τῇ Βασιλείᾳ τρεφόμενων, ἀλόντα πρῶτον,
καὶ τῶν ἁμφ’ αὐτοῦ παμπληθείς εὐνυδιαφθειράσης.
τούτως δὲ ἀπασι δραμένους ὁ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων
ἡγεμῶν οὐδὲ ὄναρ παρῆν· οὔδε γὰρ ἐπέσχε τὴν
φυγὴν πρὶν ἢ κατὰ νῶτον τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποίη-
σατο. αὐτὸς δὲ διέμενεν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δ’ ὅλης
ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπάσης, συμμετέχοισι μὲν τοῖς
κρατοῦσι τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων, τοῖς πονοῦσι δὲ ἐπαρ-
κών διὰ ταχέων. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐνυ-
χίας εἰς τοσοῦτον τὸν ἀγώνα μετέστησας, ὥστε
αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαμβο-
σῆς ἀσμένως ἀποσώζεσθαι, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς
μάχης, ἐπομένου σοι, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας· οὕτω
τὸ δέος πάσιν ἀνήκας τῆς φυγῆς. Πολὺν οὖν

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

1 Sapor's son.
Ηλω φρούριον; τίς δὲ ἐπολιωρικήθη τόλῳς; τίνος δὲ ἀποσκευήσει οἱ πολέμοι κρατήσαντες ἐσχον ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ σεμνύνωνται μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον;

Ἀλλ᾽ ἵσως, φήσει τις, τὸ μηδέποτε τῶν πολέμων ἢττον ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εὐτυχεῖς καὶ εὐδαιμόν ἐγγετέον, τὸ δὲ ἀντιστήναι τῇ τύχῃ ῥωμαλωτέρον καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει σημείον.

Τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ἐν εὐδίᾳ τὴν ναῦν κατευθύνων, γαλήνης ἀκριβοῦς κατεχούσης τὸ πέλαγος; τίς δὲ ἴνιοχὸς ἀρματος δεξίος ἐν ὀμαλῷ καὶ λείῳ χωρίῳ εὐπειθεῖς καὶ πράσινος καὶ ταχεῖς ἵππους ξευξάμενος, εἶτα ἐν τούτοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν τέχνην; τόσον δὲ ἀμείνων νεώς μὲν ἰδιντὴρ ὁ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα προμαθὼν καὶ προαιρόμενος καὶ πιεραθεὶς γε τοῦτον ἐκκλίναι, εἶτα δὲ ἀσοφητοῦν αὐτίας ἐμπεσῶν καὶ διασώσας ἀπαθῆ τὴν ναῦν αὐτῷ φόρτῳ; ἀρματος δὲ ἐπιστάτης ὁ καὶ πρὸς χωρίων ἀγωνιζόμενος τραχύτητα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους μετατιθεῖς ἀμα καὶ βιαζόμενος, ἢν τι πλημμελῶσιν; ὅλως δὲ οὐδεμιάν ἄξιον τέχνην μετὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτήν ἐφ᾽ αὐτῆς σκοπεῖν. οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς ἀμείων ὁ Κλέων Νεκιόν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πύλον ἡπτύχησεν, οὐδ᾽ ἄλλος οὐδὲις τῶν τύχη μᾶλλον. Ἡ γνώμη κρατοῦντων. ἔγὼ δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν τύχην τῆς σὴν ἀμείων καὶ δικαιοτέραν τῆς τῶν ἀντιταξίμενων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρατίστην φήσαιμι, ἀδικεῖν ἂν εἰκότως

1 ἡγετεῖν Schaefer, ἡγεῖ τὸ δὲ Cobet, Hertlein, ἡγεῖτο δὲ V, M, ἡγεῖ τὸ δὲ MSS.
2 καὶ Reiske, ὁ καὶ MSS.
by the enemy? What city did they besiege? What military supplies did they capture that should give them something to boast about after the war?

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

Is a man a skilful pilot because he can steer his ship in fair weather when the sea is absolutely calm? Would you call a charioteer an expert driver who on smooth and level ground has in harness horses that are gentle, quiet and swift, and under such conditions gives a display of his art? How much more skilful is the pilot who marks and perceives beforehand the coming storm and tries to avoid its path, and then, if for any reason he must face it, brings off his ship safe and sound, cargo and all? Just so, the skilful charioteer is he who can contend against the unevenness of the ground, and guide his horses and control them at the same time, if they grow restive. In short, it is not fair to judge of skill of any sort when it is aided by fortune, but one must examine it independently. Cleon was not a better general than Nicias because he was fortunate in the affair of Pylos, and the same may be said of all whose success is due to luck rather than to good judgment. But if I did not claim that your fortune was both better and better deserved than that of your opponents, or rather of all men, I should with reason be thought to do it an injustice, since it
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dókóíth, tìn mì paraσχοústan toîs polēmíous aîsthêsthai to plēonéktaìma. chrî gâr oîmâi tòn dikaîos úpèr tòn ðhêñtôn kriνóu̱nta1 to mèn ðlâttwma tê toû pûngous anantagwîstîn rômì logîzexthai, to dê eîs ïson katastîhse toûs polêmíous taîs sýmforaîs tês sês ãrêthês ërgôn úpolaßëv, to dê tòw mèn oîkeiôn aîsthêthai sýmforôn, úgnoûßai dê tà katórhômata tês ãgathês tûchês ërgôn logîzexthai.

'Allì' òpòs ìs makròtera perì tòutôn lêgôn B tòn úpèr tòn meîzônôn kairôn ìnanásw, peirâsòmâi loîtôn to metà toûto peristàn ìmâs tôn pragmâtôn plîthos dieziennaî2 kai tòn kîndûnôn to mèghèthos, kai òpòs àpàsiw ántisiqûw tûrâwn mèn plîthos, bábûrâwôn dê ètrêpsôw ðunâmèi. ìs mèn gâr o xeiîmûn èpî ëkôdôsì ìsth, èkton pòu mâlwsta metà tòn pôleumôn ètòs, oû mikrô prôsèthn èmivîsthn, ëkè dê ànggèllwn tìs, òs Galatíâ mèn sùnavfèstwâsa tî tûrânnî ðèlîfô tî sô èbôulwes te kai èpêtèlesse tòn fônôn, ëîta òs 'Italîa kai Sîkêlia kateîlîttai, tâ dê èn 'Iłwroîs stràtôspèda târâgwðôs ëxheî kai bâsîlëa sfôn àpèdeixe tôn têws stràtiwgon ànti-schèîn èthelounta pòs tôn àmâchôn dòkoísaîn tòn tûrânnôn fôrâ. ìkèteue dê àútòs oîtos ñrîmata pêmpeïn kai ðûnâmîn tîn bôthîhsouâs, sfôdâra ùþèr àútòi dèdiw kai trèmûw, mì pròs tòn tûrânnôn krâtithêi. kai têws mèn èpphrâgglêlêto tà prôsîkouûta drâseïw, oûdâmôs àútòn àçîwv

1 kriνóu̱nta Cobèt, kriνóu̱nta MSS, Hertleîn.
2 dieziennaî Reiske, lacûnâ Hertleîn following Petavius.

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

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

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

1 cf. Demosthenes, De Corona 169. 2 Gaul. 3 Vetranio. 4 Demosthenes, De Corona 61.
Τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπίτροπον δὲ οἶμαι πιστῶν καὶ φύλακα παρέξειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος· ἐμελλε δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακράν ἀπιστος φανεῖσθαι καὶ δίκην ύφέξειν καίτοι

φιλάνθρωπον. ταῦτα πυθόμενος οὐκ φῶν δεῖν ἐν ῥαστώνῃ πολλῆ τὸν χρόνον ἀναλήσκειν μάτην. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ πόλεις μηχανημάτων καὶ φυραγὸς καὶ σίτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλης παρασκευῆς² ἐμπλήσας, καὶ ἀπὸν ἄρκεσειν τοῖς τῇδε προσεδόκησας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 27 τυράννους ὀρμᾶν ἐβουλεύον.

Πέρσας δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν τούτον παραφυλάξαντες, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν Συρίαν ληψόμενοι, πάσαν ἐξαναστήσαντες ἡλικίαν καὶ φύσιν καὶ τύχην ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ὀρμηντό, ἀνδρεῖς, μειράκια, προσβύται καὶ γυναικῶν πλήθος καὶ θεραπόντων, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπογυμνῶν χάρων, ἐκ περιούσιας δὲ πλείστον ἐπόμενον. διενοῦντο γὰρ ὡς καὶ τὰς πόλεις καθέξοντες καὶ τῆς χώρας ἦδη κρατησάντες κληρούχους ἠμῖν ἐπάγειν.² κενὰς δὲ ἀπέφηνεν αὐτοῖς τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς σῆς τὸ μέγεθος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, ἐπετειχίζετο μὲν ἡ πόλις κύκλῳ τοῖς χώμασιν, ἐπέρρεε δὲ ὁ Μυγδόνιος πελαγίζων τὸ περὶ τῷ τείχῃ χωρίον, καθάπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, φασὶ, τὴν Αἰγυπτον. προσήγητο δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν ταῖς ἐπάλξεις τὰ μηχανήματα, καὶ ἐπιπλεῖν ἄλλοι

1 καίτοι Reiske, καὶ MSS, Hertlein. Petavius omits καὶ.
² παρασκευής V, παρασκευής ἀπάσης MSS.
³ ἐπάγειν Hertlein suggests, ἐπάξιοντες Wytenbach, ἐπάξιοντες V, ἐπάξιοντες MSS.

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

But the Persians ever since the last campaign had been watching for just such an opportunity, and had planned to conquer Syria by a single invasion. So they mustered all forces, every age, sex, and condition, and marched against us, men and mere boys, old men and crowds of women and slaves, who followed not merely to assist in the war, but in vast numbers beyond what was needed. For it was their intention to reduce the cities, and once masters of the country, to bring in colonists in spite of us. But the magnitude of your preparations made it manifest that their expectations were but vanity. They began the siege and completely surrounded the city\(^1\) with dykes, and then the river Mygdonius flowed in and flooded the ground about the walls, as they say the Nile floods Egypt. The siege-engines were brought up against the ramparts on boats, and their

\(^1\) Nisibis.
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dienvoupto tois teichesin, allloi de eβαλλον απο toin χωματων tois aμυνομενουs uper tis polews. ois de ek toin teichωn ημυνων καρτερως tis poli. mesta de hln anaptatan σωματων kal vanaγιων kal oπλων kal belw, tωn men arti katadυμενων, tωn de, epειδη to prwton upo tis bias kate
veχθεντα κατεδυ, κουφιζομενων upo tois κυματωσ. asπides men epeneχουντο bαρβαρων παμπληθεις kal veωn selmata1 συντριβομενων et αυταis tωn μηχανηματων. belw plithos epinikhoimenoν mikroν dein epειχεν apan to metaxu tois teichou kal tωn χωματων. etetrapto de h lymn prws lwtron, kal kυκλω τo teixos epειχουν oμωγai bαρβαρων δλυντων meν ouδamwos, ωλυμενων2 de polυτρόπωs kai tιτρωσκομενων πουκίλωs trauμασι.

Tis an axios tωn dρωμενων diηγοΰto; pυr men eνετο taιs aspisis, eξεπιτπουν de tωn oπλων ημικαυτοι πολλοι, alloi de αποδιδρασκοντες tηn fλωga tων ek tωn belw ouk apεφευγον κινδυνου- alli oi men eti nηχομενoi ta νωτα προσθεντες eis bυθον κατεδυντo, ois de eξαλ-
λομενοι tων μηχανηματων πριν υδατος ανφασθαι βληθεντες ou σωτηριαν, κουφiτρεντες de ευρων tων3 thewato. touς de oude vein eidwta ακλεεστερου tων προσθεν απολλυμενουs tis an axiosiην αριθμον και μνημην; επιλειψεi me, kath' ekaston ei ταται προσθεντες βουλοiμην, o χρονος tο

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

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

\(^1\) cf. *Iliad*, 4. 451. \(\delta\lambda\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\lambda\lambda\upsilon\mu\epsilon\omicron\upsigma\upsilon.\)
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κεφάλαιον δὲ ἀκούειν ἀπόχρη. ταύτην ἡλιός Β ἐπείδη τὴν μάχην ἀγνωστον ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον· ταύτα τὴν παλαιὰν ἀλαζονεῖαν ἤλεγξε τῶν Μήδων τὸφον ὄντα κενόν· ταύτα τῆς Ἐξέρξου παρασκευής ἀπιστομένης τέως τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ τοσαύτη γενομένη τέλος ἔσχεν αἰσχρόν καὶ ἐπονέψτητον, ἐναργέστερον τῶν δοκοῦντων εἶναι γνωρίμων ἡμῖν κατέστησαν. ὅ μὲν ἐπειράτο πλεῖν καὶ πεζεύειν ἀπεναντίων τῇ φύσει μαχόμενος καὶ, ὠσπερ οὖν ὤφετο, κρατῶν ἰπτείρον φύσεως C καὶ θαλάττης ἀνδρὸς Ἔλληνος ἤττάτο σοφίας καὶ ρώμης στρατιωτῶν οὐ τρυφᾶν μεμελετηκότων οὐδὲ δουλεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἐλευθέρως ἀρχεσθαι καὶ πονεῖν εἰ- δότων. ὁ δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐκείνου καταδείκτηρος, ἐμπληκτός δὲ μάλλον καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τοις Ἀλωάδας ύπερβαλλόμενοι μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ πλησίον ὅρος ἐγνωκὼς ἀμφικαλυπτεί τῇ πόλει, ἐπαφεῖς δὲ ποταμῶν ῥεμάτα καὶ τὰ τεῖχα διαλύσας οὐδὲ ἀτείχίστων τῆς πόλεως περιγενόμενος ἔσχεν ἐφ’ ὅτι σεμνύνηται, καθάπερ ὁ Ἐξέρξης ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐμβαλὼν τὴν φλόγα. ἐπανίηε δὲ τεττάρων μηνῶν ἀναλώσας χρόνον μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἦττον ἀπάγων τὸ σράτευμα, καὶ τὴν ἤσυχίαν ἠγάπησεν ὁ πρόσ- θεν ἀφόρητος δοκῶν, τὴν σὴν ἁσχολίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν πραγμάτων ταραχὴν ὠσπερ ἔρμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενος σωτηρίας.

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

Such were the trophies and victories that you

1 Sapor. 2 Odyssey 8. 49.
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υίκας, ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀκμῆτας ἤγες τὸ στρατευμα, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν ἐμπλήσαι τροπαίων ἐγνωκὼς. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄρκει1 τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐτι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν εἰχον σεμνότερον, πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἀποφήμαι σε τῶν ἐμπροσθέν τῆς αὐτῆς σοι μετασχοῦν τύχης συνέσει καὶ ῥῶμη κρατοῦντα. τὸ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς ὁσασθαὶ μὲν τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν, οὔ πολὺν οὐδὲ φροῦριον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ στρατιώτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου προέμενον, Β πολιορκία δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι λαμπρῶν καὶ οἶνον οὔπω πρόσθεν ἡκούσαμεν, τίνι χρή τῶν ἐμπροσθέν παραβαλεῖν ἠργῶν; περιβότος γέγονεν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἐν τοῖς δεινοὶς τόλμα, ἀλλ’ ἐτελευτήσεν εἰς συμφοράς. λαμπρὰ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πλατανέων πολιορκίαν γενόμενα, ἔχρησαντο δὲ οἱ δείλαιοι γνωριμῶτερον τοῖς δυστυχήσαι. τί χρὴ Μεσσήνης καὶ Πύλου μεμνησθαι, οὔτε ἀγωνισμένων καρτερῶς οὔτε ἄλοντων ξύν βία; Συρακούσιοι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἐκείνον ἀντιτάξαντες ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως καὶ τῷ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ στρατηγῷ τί πλέον ὄναντο; οὐχ ἐάλωσαν μὲν τῶν ἄλλων αὐχείων, ἐσωζόντο δὲ καλῶν ῥήμημα τῆς τῶν ἐλόντων πράγματος; Ἀλλ’ εἰ πάσας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλοίμην, αἱ πρὸς τὰς ὑποδεστέρας οὐ κατήρκεσαν παρασκευὰς, πόσας οἰει μοι βίβλους ἄρκεσεν; τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ ἱσως ἄξιον μισθῆναι πάλαι ποτὲ χρησαμένης τύχης τοιαύτη, Γαλατῶν οἴμαι καὶ Κελτῶν ἐς ταύτῳ Δ

1 ἄρκει Cobet, ἄρκει MSS, Hertlein.

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left behind you in Asia, and you led your troops to Europe in perfect condition, determined to fill the whole world with the monuments of your victories. Even if I had nothing more wonderful to relate about you, what I have said is enough to demonstrate that in good sense and energy you surpass all those in the past whose fortune was the same as yours. Indeed to have repulsed the whole strength of Persia and remain unscathed, not to have lost so much as a soldier from the ranks, much less a town or fort, and finally to have brought the siege to so brilliant and unprecedented a conclusion,—what achievement I ask in the past could one compare with this? The Carthaginians were famous for their daring in the face of danger, but they ended in disaster. The siege of Plataea shed lustre on its citizens, but all that their valour could do for those unhappy men was to make their misfortunes more widely known. What need to quote Messene or Pylos, since there the defeated did not make a brave defence nor was a vigorous assault necessary to subdue them? As for the Syracusans, they had their famous man of science to aid them against the armaments of Rome and our illustrious general, but what did he avail them in the end? Did they not fall more ignominiously than the rest, and were only spared to be a glorious monument of their conqueror’s clemency? But if I wished to reckon up all the states that could not withstand armaments inferior to their own, how many volumes do you think would suffice? Rome, however, I ought perhaps to mention, because long ago she had just such a fortune, I mean when the Galatians and

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

πνευσάντων καὶ φερομένων ἐπὶ αὐτὴν καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἐξαίφνης. κατέλαβον μὲν γὰρ τὸν λόφον ἐκείνον, οὐ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίδρυται βρέτας. γέρροις δὲ καὶ τισὶ τοιούτοις οἰνοεὶ τείχει φραξά-μενοι, πολυπραγμονούντων οὐδὲν προσιέναι τῶν πολεμίων βίᾳ τολμῶντων, ἐκράτησαίν.

Ταύτη παραβαλείν ἄξιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τὴν 30 ἔναγχος τὸ τέλει τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἔργοις οὐδεμιᾶ τῶν ὡσι πάλαι γεγόνασι. τὸς γὰρ ἔγων κυκλουμένην μὲν ὑδασι πόλιν,1 λόφους δὲ ἐξωθεὶν καθάπερ δικτύοις περιβληθείσαν, καὶ ποταμὸν ἐπαφιέμενον οἰνοεὶ μηχάνημα, συνεχῶς ρέοντα καὶ προσρηγύμενον τοῖς τείχεσι, τὰς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑδάτων μάχας καὶ ὡσι περὶ τῷ τείχει κατενε-χθεῖτε γεγόνασι;2 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἐφη, ἀπόχρη καὶ ταῦτα: τὰ λειτόμενα δὲ ἔστι μακρῷ σεμνότερα. καὶ τυχὸν οὐδαμῶς ἔυλογον ἀπαξ Β ἐλόμενον ἀπάντων ἐς δύναμιν μησθήναι τῶν σοι πραχθέντων, ἀκμαζοῦσών ἐτι τῶν πράξεων, ἀφεῖναι τὴν διήγησιν. ὃσα μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῖς ἔργοις προσκαθήμενοι, ὃν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμ-νήθην, περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διώκησας, πρεσβείας πέμπων καὶ ἀναλίσκων χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα τὰ προσκαθήμενα τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐν Παλονίᾳ ἐκ-πέμπων, τοῦ μὴ κρατηθήναι τὸν πρεσβύτην ὑπὸ

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

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

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

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\(^1\) The Galatians, i.e. the Gauls, and Celts are often thus incorrectly distinguished, cf. 34 C. 36 B. 124 A.

\(^2\) 390 B.C. under Brennus.

\(^3\) The Capitoline.

\(^4\) Vetranio.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

toú tυράννου προνοοῦν, πὼς ἂν τις ἐν βραχεῖ λόγῳ
παραστῆσαι δύνατο καὶ πάνυ σπουδάζων;

Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἢδη σου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὄρμημένου,
οὐκ οἶδα παρ' ὅτου δαμόνων ἐξαιρεθεῖς τὸν νοῦν καὶ
tὰς φρένας ὁ τέως πιστὸς μενεῖν φύλαξ ἐπαγγελλό-
μενος καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατοπέδοις καὶ τοῖς
ἀλλοις ἀπασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ περισσοχόμενος εἰρήνην
ἀμολόγησε τῷ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιωτάτῳ
καὶ πολεμίῳ κοινῇ μὲν ἀπάντων, ὅποσοις εἰρήνης
μέλει καὶ τὴν ὁμονοιαν ἐκ παντὸς στέργουσιν, ὦδὲ
δὲ σοὶ καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων. οὐτὲ ἐδεισά τῆς
παρασκευῆς τὸ μέγεθος οὕτε ἀπίστων ἀνδρῶν
ξυμμαχίαι πλέον ἤχειν ὑπέλαβες τῆς ἐμφρόνους
γνώμης. ἐγκαλῶν δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, τῷ μὲν ἀπιστίαν,
tῷ δὲ πρὸς ταύτη πράξεων ἐναγών καὶ παρανόμων
τολμήματα, τὸν μὲν εἰς δίκην καὶ κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
στρατοπέδων προκάλεις, τοῦ δὲ κριτὴν ὑπελάμ-
βανες εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ὁ
καλὸς καὶ συνετὸς ὑπήντα πρεσβύτης, εὐχερέστε-
ρον παιδαρίου τυχὸς μετατιθέμενος τὰ δόξαντα καὶ
δὲν εῦ πάθοι δεόμενος μετὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐπιλήψων
παρὴν δὲ ἄγων ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγας καὶ τάξεις
ἰππεῶν, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πείθοι, βιασόμενος σὲ ὑπίσω
πάλιν ἀπίει τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπρακτον. οὐδὲν ἐκ-
πλαγείς, ὅτι τὸν σύμμαχον καὶ στρατηγὸν μενεῖν
ἐπαγγελλόμενον πολέμιον εἰδες ἐξ ἱς ἅρχειν
ἐθέλουτα, καίτοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατευμάτων

1 πλέον ἤχειν Hertlein suggests, πλέον MSS.
2 σὲ Hertlein adds.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

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

ελαττούμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντες εἶποντο, πρὸς πλῆθει B
κρατοῦντα διαγωνιζοῦσθαι τολμηρὸν μὲν ἰσως,
σφαλερὸν δὲ πάντως ὑπολαβὼν καὶ κρατήσαντι
τῇ μάχῃ διὰ τὸν ἔφεδρους τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς
πράγμασιν ἄγριον τύραννον, ἐβουλεύσω καλὸς
μόνον εἶναι σὸν ἔθελων τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ παρήγος
ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τοῦ τέως συνάρχοντος· συνήθει
dὲ ὀπλίτῃς δήμος στίλβων τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, τὰ ξίφη
γυμνὰ καὶ τὰ δόρατα προτείνοντες, δειλὰ μὲν φρικῶ-
δες καὶ δεινὸν θέαμα, εὐψύχῳ δὲ καὶ θαρραλέῳ καὶ
όλος αὐτὸς γέγονας ὀφέλος γενναίον. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ
πρῶτον ἦρξο τῶν λόγων, σιγὴ μὲν ἐπέσχε, πρὸς τὴν
ἄκοιν ὄρμημένων πάντων, τὸ στράτευμα· δάκρυα δὲ
προαχεῖτο πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας
ὁρεῖν, σιγή καὶ ταῦτα δρώντες, ὡς μῆτες άισθηται.
τὴν εὔνοιαν δὲ ὅ μὲν ἐνεδείκνυντο καὶ 2 διὰ τῆς
δῆσιν, πάντες δὲ τῷ σφόδρα ὀρμήσανθαί τῶν λόγων
ἀκούειν. ἀκμαζοῦσης δὲ τῆς δημηγορίας συνενθου-
σίωντες τῷ λόγῳ πάντες ἐπεκρότουν, εἰτα αὐθίς
ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἱστυχαζον. τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ
tῶν λόγων ἀναπειθόμενοι σὲ 3 μόνον ἑκάλουν
βασιλεία, μόνον ἄρχειν ἡξίουν ἀπάντων, ἡγεῖσθαι
σφῶν ἐκέλευσαν ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων, ἀκολουθήσειν
ὁμολόγουν, ἀπολαμβάνειν ἡξίουν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ
γνωρίσματα. σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν χεῖρα προσάγειν
φῶν δεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφελέσθαι εἴπεν βία. ο δὲ ἄκων μὲν
καὶ μόλις, εἰξας δὲ ὄμως ὤψε ποτε, φασί, τῇ

1 πάντως Hertlein suggests, ἀλλὰς MSS, cf. 222 A 353 c.
2 καὶ Hertlein adds.
3 σὲ Reiske adds.

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

1 Magnentius. 2 Demosthenes, De Chersoneso 42. 3 Euripides, Andromache 1146.
Το Θετταλική πειθανάγκη, προσήγε σοι περιελόμενος τήν ἀλουργίδα. ὁλοί τις ἐνταύθα γέγονας τοσούτων μὲν ἑθνών καὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ χρημάτων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾶ γεγονός κύριοι, τὸν πολέμον δὲ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ τῇ γυνώμη φανέντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελόμενος καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρατήσας;

"Ἀρ' οὐ τούτῳ μὲν ἄμεινον καὶ δικαίοτερον προσηνέχθης ἢ Κύρος τῷ πάππῳ, τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὰς τιμὰς διεφύλαξας οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἀφελόμενος, προσθεῖς δὲ οἶμαι δωρεὰς πολλοῖς; τίς δὲ σ' ἐπὶ εἴδεν ἢ πρὸ τοῦ κρατῆσαι σκυθροτόπων λίαν ἢ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὑπερηφάνεμον; καὶ τοῖς πόσι ἀξίων ἐπαινεῖν ἐστὶ σε δημηγόρον ἁμα καὶ στρατηγόν ἢ βασιλέα χρηστὸν καὶ γενναίον ὅπλην προσαγορεύωντας; δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἀπορραγεῖν τὸ στρατηγεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐς ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἥξιώσας σχῆμα, μιμούμενος οἶμαι 'Οδυσσέα καὶ Νέστορα καὶ τοὺς ἑξελόντας Καρχηδόνα 'Ρωμαίων στρατηγοὺς, οὐ φοβερωτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀεὶ κατέστησαν. Δημοσθένους δὲ καὶ ὅστις τοῦτον ἐξήλωκε τῆν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἵσχυν αἰδούμενος, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δημηγορίας οὔπωτ' ἄν ἄξιώσαμι τῷ σφ' παραβαλεῖν τάκειν θέατρα. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄπλαῖσι ἐδημηγοροῦν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτοι κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ἢ

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

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

¹ A proverb for necessity disguised as a choice, cf. 274 c
² Aeschines, Ctesiphon 74. 18.
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timēs ἢ δόξης, ἢ φίλοις συνερεῖν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι, ἀπήρεσαν οίμαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, τοῦ 
δήμου θορυβησαντος, ὥχροι καὶ τρέμοτες, ὥσπερ 
οἱ δειλοὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ὧνει στρατηγοῖ παρα-
tαττόμενοι. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τοσοῦτον 
ἐργον ἐτέρῳ πραχθὲν πώποτε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔθνον 
κτῆσιν ἐκ δικαστηρίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα 
τῆς δίκης οὐσῆς οὐχ, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ φασίν, εὐκατα-
φρόνητον, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς μὲν στρατείαις γνώριμον, 
πρεσβύτην δὲ ἦδη καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τοῦ 
χρόνου δοκοῦντα προσειληφέναι καὶ τῶν στρατο-
pέδων ἐκείνων ἄρχειν λαχόντα πολὺν ἦδη χρόνον. 
τίς οὖν ἢ ρώμη γέγονε τῶν λόγων; τίς δὲ ἡ πειθώ 
τοῖς χείλεσιν ἐπικαθημένη, ἡ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώ-
pων συνειληγμένων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἢ 
ἰσχύσασα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ νίκην παρασχεῖν τῷ 
μεγέθει μὲν ἐνάμιλλον ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν περι-
γυμνωμέναις, εὐαγῇ δὲ καὶ καθαράν, ὥσπερ ἱερέως 
ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντος, ἀλλ’ οὐ βασιλέως ἐς πόλεμον, 
ἐργον γενομένην; καίτοι γε μὴν ταύτης εἰκόνα τῆς 
πρᾶξεως μακρὸ λειπομένην καὶ Πέρσας θρυλοῦν, 
τοὺς Δαρείου παῖδας τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆσαντος 
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄρχης διαφερομένους δίκη τὰ καθ’ 
αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ τῆς τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιτρέψαι κρίσει. 
σοὶ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄδελφους οὔτε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις 
οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἄγων γέγονεν οὔδὲ εἰς. ἐχαῖρες 

1 Ἡ Cobet, Ἡ Reiske adda, Hertlein.
2 ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἰσχύσασα Cobet, ἐναπολισεῖν ἰσχύσε Schaefer, 
Hertlein, ἐναπολισεῖν ἰσχύσαι MSS.

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

1 From the description of the oratory of Pericles, Eupolis fr. 94: πειθώ τις ἐπεκδικεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν· οὕτως ἐκήλει καὶ μόνος τῶν βητόρων· τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις. Cf. 426 b.
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dὲ οἷμαι τῷ κοινῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἶναι σοι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μόνῳ ἄπαντων γενέσθαι κύριος· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν ἤ παράνομον οὐδὲν εἰργασμένον, ἀπιστον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα ἐν ἐλέγχοις, οὐ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐκείνου δείξουσι.

Ταύτην ἐκδέχεται στρατεία λαμπρὰ τὴν δημηγορίαν καὶ πάλεμος ἱερός, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἱεροῦ χαρίου, ὅποιον τὸν Φωκίκου ἀκούομεν συστήναι 2 κατὰ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς D πολιτείας καὶ φόνου πολιτῶν μυρών, ὥν τοὺς μὲν ἀνηρίκει, τοὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε συλλαβεῖν, ὡσπερ οἷμαι δεδὼς μὴ τις αὐτῶν πολίτην μοχθηρόν, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον ὑπολάβῃ φύσει. τὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν σήν οἰκίαν ἀδικήματα οὖν ὑπάρχον τῶν κοινῆς τολμηθέντων αὐτῷ φαινότερα καὶ ἐλάττωνος ἄξιον φιλοτέρως οὕτω σοι τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῶν ἱδίων ἐδοξε καὶ δοκεὶ τίμια.

Πότερον οὖν χρή τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἄπαντων 34 μεμνήσθαι ὅτι εἰς τε 3 τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κατ’ ἓδλῳ ἐξάγει, κτεῖνας μὲν τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δεσπότην· ἀνδράποδον γὰρ ἄν τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων, τῆς ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν λείας λείψανον δυστυχῆς περισσω-ζόμενον· ἄρχειν δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν, ὥς μηδὲ ἐλευθέρῳ προσήκου ην νομισθήναι μὴ τούτῳ παρ’

1 ἐν Reiske addos, ἐλέγχου σοι V.
2 συστήναι Petavius, Cobet, ἐνστήναι Schaefer, Hertlein, στήναι MSS.
3 ὡς εἰς τε Schaefer, ὡς τε εἰς Hertlein, εἰς V, ἡς MSS.

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

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

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

1 Demosthenes, De Corona 230, a favourite common-place.
2 Magnentius.
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υμῶν λαβόντες καὶ ὠς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ξυνδόν καὶ ἀποκτινών καὶ δουλεύων αἰσχρῶς τῷ πλῆθει καὶ κολακεύων τὴν εὐταξίαν διέφθειρε καὶ ὡς τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκεῖνους ἑτίθει νόμους, τὴν Β ἡμίσειαν εἰσφέρειν, θάνατον ἀπειλῶν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι, μηνυτὰς δὲ εἰναι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ ὅπως ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς οὐδὲν δεσμένους τὰ βασιλικὰ κτήματα πρίασθαι; ἐπιλείψει μὲ τακείνου διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος ἁδικήματα καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς καταλαβούσης τὸ μέγεθος. ἀλλὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἦν κατέβαλε μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχρήσατο δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἴσχυν τὶς ἀν ἄξιως παραστήσει; Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται, ἔθνη καὶ τοῖς πάλαι φανέντα δυσανταγώνιστα, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιρρεύοντα καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἀνυπόστατος Ἰταλοῖς καὶ Ἰλλυριόις, ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφάμενα τῷ κρατεῖν τοὺς ἐνόπλους ἄγωσιν, ἄκοντες ἠμῶν ἐπιχίκουσαν, ἐς τε τοὺς καταλόγους τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐγγράφονται καὶ τέλη παρέχονται λαμπρὰ παρὰ τῶν σῶν προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς κατεἰλεγμέναν εἰρήνης δὲ μακράς καὶ τῶν ἕκ ταιτης ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπιδούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας πρὸς πλούτων καὶ ἔωνδριαν, καὶ ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς σοὶ στρατιώτας καταλέξαι πολλοὺς παρέχοντο, τέλος δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ βίᾳ καὶ οὐ γνώμη πανδημεὶ συνεστρατεύοντο. ἦκολούθουν δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔνγγενες ἔσμμαχοι προθυμότατοι Φράγγοι καὶ

1 ὡς Hertlein adds.
2 ἂν Schaefer adds.
3 ἄκοντες Reiske, Hertlein, ἄλοντες MSS.
4 τε Wyttenbach adds.
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privilege. Those in command of the legions he imprisoned and put to death, while to the common soldiers he behaved with such abject servility and deference that he ruined their discipline. Then he enacted those fine laws of his, a property tax of fifty per cent., and threatened the disobedient with death, while any slave who pleased might inform against his master. Then he compelled those who did not want it to purchase the imperial property. But time would fail me were I to tell of all his crimes and of the vast proportions that his tyranny had assumed. As for the armament which he had collected to use against the barbarians but actually employed against us, who could give you an adequate report of its strength? There were Celts and Galatians 1 who had seemed invincible even to our ancestors, and who had so often like a winter torrent that sweeps all before it, 2 poured down on the Italians and Illyrians, and, following up their repeated victories on the field of battle, had even invaded Asia, and then became our subjects because they had no choice. They had been enrolled in the ranks of our armies and furnished levies that won a brilliant reputation, being enlisted by your ancestors, and, later, by your father. Then, since they enjoyed the blessings of long-continued peace, and their country increased in wealth and population, they furnished your brothers with considerable levies, and finally, by compulsion, not choice, they all in a body took part in the usurper's campaign. The most enthusiastic of his followers were, in virtue of their ties of

1 Gauls. 2 Demosthenes, De Corona 153.
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Σάξονες, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἱρύνον καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐσπερίαν θάλατταν ἑθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα. καὶ πόλεις πᾶσα καὶ φρούριον πρόσοικον Ἰρύνος τῶν 35 ἐνοικούντων φυλάκων ἐξερημωθέντα προδέδοτο μὲν ἀφύλακτα πάντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξέπεμπτο παρασκευασμένον λαμπρῶς τὸ στράτευμα· πᾶσα δὲ ἑδόκει πόλις Γαλατική στρατοπέδῳ παρασκευαζόμενοι πρὸς τόλμουν· καὶ πάντα ἦν ὁπλῶν καὶ παρασκευὴς ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοινοὶ πλήρη. συρ- ρέοντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπανταχόθεν τῶν Β ἐκεῖνον ξυμμάχον καὶ τοῖς ἑπάνθοις πάλαι κατελεγόμενοι στρατιώταις ἐς ταύτῶν ἐλθόντων, συνδεῖσαν σύντως ἐφάνη τολμηρός, δὴ οὐκ ἔδεισεν οὐδὲ ἐξεπλάγη τὸν ἑπόντα χειμώνα. σκηπτός ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ὁ φερόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἁλπεων, σκηπτός ἀφόρητος ἔργῳ καὶ ἀρρητος λόγῳ. τούτων ἦδεισαν Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Παῖονες καὶ Θράκες καὶ Σκύθαι, τούτων οὐ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκουντες ἀνθρωποί ἐφ’ αὐτοὺς ὥρμησθαι πάντως ὑπέλαβον, τούτω πολεμήσαις ἦδη περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ Πέρσαι C παρασκευάζοντο. ο ἀναμνησθεῖμεν ἕνας, παρά τὰ παρόντα καὶ πόλων οὐ πολὺν τῆς σῆς συνέσεως καὶ ῥώμης κρατήσας, τοὺς Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐσκόπει πλοῦτος καὶ Περσῶν τὴν πολυτέλειαν· τοσοῦτον 2 αὐτῷ περὶ ἄνοιας καὶ θράσους ἐκ μικρῶ παν- τελῶς περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους πλεονεκτήματος, οὐς ἀφυλάκτους ὅλη τῇ στρατιᾷ λοχήσας ἐκείνων, οὕτω τὸ πράττειν εὐ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἀρχή πολλάκις γέγονε τοῖς ἀνοητοῖς μειξόνων συμφορῶν.

1 περὶ Hertlein suggests. 2 [kal] τοσοῦτον Hertlein.
kinship, the Franks and Saxons, the most warlike of the tribes who live beyond the Rhine and on the shores of the western sea. And since every city and every fortified place on the banks of the Rhine was shorn of its garrison, that whole region was left with no defence against the barbarians, and all that splendidly organised army was despatched against us. Every town in Galatia\(^1\) was like a camp preparing for war. Nothing was to be seen but weapons of war and forces of cavalry, infantry, archers, and javelin men. When these allies of the usurper began to pour into Italy from all quarters and there joined the troops who had been enrolled long before, there was no one so bold as not to feel terror and dismay at the tempest that threatened.\(^2\) It seemed to all as though a thunderbolt had fallen from the Alps, a bolt that no action could avert, no words describe. It struck terror into the Illyrians, the Paeonians, the Thracians, the Scythians; the dwellers in Asia believed it was directed entirely against themselves, and even the Persians began to get ready to oppose it in their country's defence. But the usurper thought his task was easy, and that he would have little difficulty in baffling your wisdom and energy, and already fixed his covetous gaze on the wealth of India and the magnificence of Persia. To such an excess of folly and rashness had he come, and after a success wholly insignificant, I mean the affair of the scouts whom, while they were unprotected by the main army, he ambushed and cut in pieces. So true it is that when fools meet with undeserved success\(^3\) they often find it is but the prelude to greater misfortunes. And so, elated by

\(^1\) Gaul. \(^2\) 351 A.D. \(^3\) Demosthenes, Olynthiac 1. 23.
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άρθεις γὰρ ὁ δείλαιος ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ταύτης μετέωρος κατέληπε μὲν τὰ προκείμενα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐρμινὰ χωρία, ἐς Νωρμικὸς δὲ καὶ Παύλονας ἀφυλάκτως ἦνε, δεῖν αὐτῷ τάχους, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὀπλῶν οὐδὲ ἀνδρείας οἴομενος.

"Ὁ δὴ καταμαθὼν ἐπανήγεις ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν τὸ στράτευμα, εἴπετο δὲ ἐκεῖνος, διώκειν, οὐχὶ δὲ καταστρατηγεῖσθαι νομίσας, ἐως εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἀμφώ κατέστητε. τῶν πεδίων δὲ τῶν πρὸ τῆς Μύρσης ὀφθέντων, ἐτάπτοντο μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως ὢππεῖς ἐκατέρων πεζοὶ τε τε ἐν μέσῳ ἔχων δὲ αὐτὸς, ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῶν ποταμῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῷ λαῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἐπέρρεω μὲν εὐθέως καὶ διέλυσας τὴν φάλαγγα οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν συνεκείμενην ὀρθῶς, ἀτε ἀνδρὸς ἀπείρου πολέμων καὶ στρατηγίας αὐτὴν κοσμήσαντος. ὁ δὲ τέως διώκειν ὑπολαμβάνων, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικόμενος, ἔφευγε καρτερῶς ἐκπλαγεὶς τὸν κτύπον τῶν ὀπλῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐνυάλιον παιὰν τῶν στρατόπεδων ἐπαλαζοῦντων ἀδεῶς ἀκοῦσι, διαλυθεῖσις δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῆς τάξεως συμμετάμενοι κατὰ λόχους πάλιν τῶν ἀγώνα συνεβαλοῦν, αἰσχυνόμενοι μὲν ὀφθήναι φεύγοντες καὶ τὸ τέως ἀπίστου ἀπασίν ἀνθρώποις εἰ' αὐτῶν δείξαι συμβαίνουν, στρατιώτῃν Κελτῶν, στρατιώτῃν ἐκ Γαλατίας τὰ νῦτα τοὺς πολέμους δειξάντα. οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἀπεγνωκότες, εἰ πταίσειαν, ἡ κρατεῖν ἡ θυμίσκειν δράσαντες τι δεινὸν τοὺς πολέμους ἥξιον. τοῖς μὲν οὖν εἶν τῷ τυράννῃ τοσοῦτον πε-

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

The moment that you learned this, you led your army out of the narrow and dangerous passes, and he followed in pursuit, as he thought, unaware that he was being outgeneralled, until you both reached open country. When the plains before Myrsa\(^1\) were in sight, the cavalry of both armies were drawn up on the wings, while the infantry formed the centre. Then your Majesty kept the river on your right, and, outflanking the enemy with your left, you at once turned and broke his phalanx, which indeed had from the first the wrong formation, since it had been drawn up by one who knew nothing of war or strategy. Then he who so far had thought he was the pursuer did not even join battle, but took to headlong flight, dismayed by the clash of weapons; he could not even listen without trembling when the legions shouted their battle-song. His ranks had been thrown into disorder, but the soldiers formed into companies and renewed the battle. For they disdained to be seen in flight, and to give an example in their own persons of what had hitherto been inconceivable to all men, I mean a Celtic or Galatian\(^2\) soldier turning his back to the enemy. The barbarians too, who, if defeated, could not hope to make good their retreat, were resolved either to conquer, or not to perish till they had severely punished their opponents. Just see the extraordinary daring

\(^1\) In Pannonia 353 A.D. \(^2\) Gallic.
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ρην θράσους 1 πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ χωρεῖν ὀμόσε πολλὴ προθυμία.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀλων κρατήσαντες, αἰδούμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, παροξυόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι κατορθωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ τέως ἀπίστων ἔργων, τέλος ἄξιον τοῖς προὔπτηργμένοις ἐπιθείναι φιλοτιμούμενοι πάντα ὑπέμενον ἡδέως πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον. ὃσπερ οὖν άρτι τῆς παρατάξεως ἀρχομένης, συνιόντες πάλιν ἔργα τὸλμη ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ θυμοῦ γενναία, οἱ μὲν ὠδούμενοι περὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ λαμβανόμενοι τῶν ἀσπίδων, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὅπόσους ἱπποὶ τροθέντες ἀπεσείοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο. ταῦτα ἔδρων οἱ έξι τῷ τυράννῳ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐπιβρίσαντες καὶ ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξ ἱσης, ἔως οἱ λαοὺς καὶ τὸ λυπὸν τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος, 37 οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν βαλλοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπελαύνοντες τοὺς ἱπποὺς, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκτεινόν, ἐδίωκον δὲ ἀπαντας καρτερῶς, τινὰς μὲν πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ὀρμηκότας φεύγειν, ὧν ἡ νὺξ ὀλύγους ἀπέσωσε μόλις, τὸ λυπὸν δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατηχῇ, καθάπερ βοῦν ἢ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλη συνελαυνόμενοι. τοσαῦτα ἐκεῖνο τὸ στρατεύμα τῆς τοῦ τυράννου δειλίας, οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνον ὄνησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῆς αὐτοῦ, μάτην ἀπέλαυσε.

Τρόπαιον δὲ ἀνέστησας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοῦ πατρόφου λαμπρότερον. ο μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τέως ἀμάχους

1 θράσους Wyttenbach, Cobet, θράσος MSS, Hertlein. πρὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ Hertlein suggests, καὶ πρὸς . . . τοῦ MSS.

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of the usurper’s troops in the face of dangers and their great eagerness to come to close quarters!

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

The trophy that you set up for that victory was far more brilliant than your father’s. He led an
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δοκοῦνται άγων έκρατει γέροντος δυστυχούς. συν δὲ ἡβώσαν καὶ ἀκμάζουσαν οὐ τοὺς κακοῖς μόνον οἷς ἔδρα, τῇ νεότητι δὲ πλέον, τὴν τυραννίδα παρεστήσω, τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ παρασκευασθείσι στρατοπέδοις παραταξάμενοι. τις γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχει τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκράτορῶν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν καὶ σκευὴν τῶν ὀπλῶν τοιαύτην ἐπινοῆσαντα καὶ μιμησάμενον; 

ἡ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐγγυμνασάμενος διδάσκαλος ἐγένος τοὺς ἄλλους ὀπλῶν χρήσεως ἁμάχου. ὑπὲρ ἦς εἰπεῖν τολμήσαντες πολλοὶ τῆς ἀξίας διήμαρτον, ὄσθε δοὺ τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες ὑστερον ἰδεῖν ἁυτύχησαν τὰς ἄκοας σαφῶς ἀπιστοτέρας ἐγνωσαν εἶναι τῶν ὀμμάτων. ἀπειρον γὰρ ἤγες ἑπερν πλήθος, καθάπερ ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ὄχουμένους, οἷς συνήμμοστο τὰ μέλη κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων καρπῶν ἐς τοὺς ἄγκώνας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμοῦς, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἐκ τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὰ νύστα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦ ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ κνῆμα καὶ μηρὸς μηδὲ ἄκροι πόδες τῆς σκευῆς ταύτης ἔρημοι λεύστην. συναρμοζόμενον δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς θώραξι διά τινος ἐκ κρίκου λεπτοῦ πεποιημένων οἶονει ὕφασμάτων οὐδὲν ἂν ὀφθείῃ τοῦ σώματος γυμνὸν μέρος, ἀτε καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι τούτοις σκεπομένων πρὸς τὸ καὶ 38 καρποπομένως ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς δακτύλοις. ταύτα

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

¹ Licinius. ² cf. Oration 2. 57 c.
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ό λόγος παραστήσαι μὲν σαφῶς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἀπο-
λειπόμενος δὲ θεατὰς τῶν ὁπλῶν τοὺς μαθεῖν τι
πλέον ἐθέλοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκροατὰς τῆς ὑπὲρ
ἀυτῶν διηγήσεως αξιοὶ γενέσθαι.

'Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῶν πρώτων πόλεμον διεληλύ-
θαμεν, λῃστοῦς ἣδη τῆς ὕπορας, ἄρ' ἐνταῦθα τὴν
διήγησιν πάλιν ἀφήσομεν; ἡ πάντως τὸ τέλος
ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ποθοῦσιν τὸν
ἐπέλαβε μὲν ὁ χειμών καὶ παρέσχε διαφυγεῖν τὴν
τιμωρίαν τὸν τύραννον. κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν λαμπρὰ
καὶ βασιλικῆς ἁξίας μεγαλοψυχίας· ἀδεια δὲ
πάσιν ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ταξιμένοις μετὰ τοῦ τυράννου,
πλὴν εἰ τις ἀνοσίων ἐκεῖνος φόνων ἐκοιμῶνει·
ἀπελάμβανον τὰς οἰκίας ἀπαντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα
καὶ πατρίδας οἱ μηδὲ ῥήσατα αἱ τῶν φιλτρῶν
ἀυτοῖς ἐπιζούντες. ὑπεδέχοντο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς
'Italiὰς ἐπανερχόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐκείθεν πολίτας
κατάγον οὐσίαν οἷμαι τὴν τῶν τυράννων
ἀμέσως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει στρατεύσθαι
πάλιν ἐφεστόκεις δεῖνος τὸ τύραννον. οὐκ ἐρω-
βάλλετο τὰς Ἰταλιῶν δυσχωρίας, καὶ τοῖς ὅρεσι
τοῖς ἐκεῖ καθάπερ θηρίων ἐναποκρύφας τὰς
dυνάμεις αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ὑπαίθριος ἐτόλμα στρατεύειν.
ἀναλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πλησίον πόλιν
τρυφώσαν καὶ πολυτελῆ, ἐν πανηγύρεο καὶ
tρυφαῖς ἔτριβε τῶν χρόνων, ἀρκεσέως μὲν αὐτῷ
πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὅρων τὴν δυσχωρίαν μόνον
οἰόμενος. ἀκόλαστος δὲ ὃν φύσει κερδάνειν φέτο
τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐν τοσούτοις κακοῖς,

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

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

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

\(^1\) Aquileia.
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dήλος τε ἦν λίαν πεπιστευκὼς ἁσφαλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντα ἔχειν, ἀποτελειχομένης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας τοῖς ὅρεσι, πλὴν ὅσον ἐξ ἡμισείας ἡ θάλασσα τεναγώδης οὐδα καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἔλεισιν ἐμφερῆς ἁβατόν καὶ νήθη στρατῷ πολεμῶν ἀνδρῶν καθίστησιν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν οὐδὲ ἐν ἡ φύσις πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἁρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης τοῖς ἀκολούθοις καὶ δειλοῖς ἔρμα μηχανήσασθαι, πάντα ὑποχωρεῖν φρονήσει μετὰ ἀνδρείας ἐπιούσῃ παρασκευάζουσα: πάλαι τε ἦμιν ἔξηγε τὰς τέχνας, δι' ὅν εἰς εὐπορίαν τῶν τέως δοξάτων Β ἀπόρων κατέστημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργων τὸ πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαινόμενον ἕπετελούμενον πρὸς ἀνδρὸς σώφρονος. ἢ δὴ καὶ τότε τῶν ἔργων, ὃ βασιλεὺ, δείξας εἰκότως ἀν ἀποδέχοι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγους.

'Εστράτευες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπαίθριος, καὶ ταῦτα πλησίον παρούσης πόλεως οὐ φαύλης, τοῖς στρατευομένοις δὲ οὖν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος τὸ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἐξ' ὅν δὲ αὐτὸς ἔδρας παρεγγυῶν ἄτρατον μὲν ἐξηύδρες ἀγνωστον τοῖς πάσι, πέμψας δὲ ἄξιόμαχον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπάσης ὀπλωτῶν C μοίραν, εἶτα ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἔγνως αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμῶις ἐφεστώτας, αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἤγες τὸ στρατεύμα, καὶ κύκλῳ περιέχων πάντων ἐκράτησε. ταῦτα ἐδράτο πρὸ τῆς ἔω, ἦγγελτο δὲ πρὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ τυράννῳ ἀμίλλαις ἱππικαίς καὶ

1 After φαινόμενον Reiske thinks ἐπειδήθει ἔχει has fallen out.

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

For you conducted the campaign under the open skies, and that though there was a city of some importance near at hand, and moreover you encouraged your men to work hard and to take risks, not merely by giving orders, but by your own personal example. You discovered a path hitherto unknown to all, and you sent forward a strong detachment of hoplites chosen from your whole army; then when you had ascertained that they had come up with the enemy, you led forward your army in person, surrounded them, and defeated his whole force. This happened before dawn, and before noon the news was brought to the usurper. He was attend-
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πανηγύρει προσκαθημένη καὶ τῶν παρόντων οὐδὲν ἐλπίζοντι. τὸς μὲν οὖν γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν, καὶ ποταπῆν γνώμην ἔχειν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ ὅπως ἐκκλητῶν ἔφυγε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν, τοὺς φόνους καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἄδικιας ἐκκαθαιρόμενος, οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἢν εἴη λόγου, διηγείσθαι. ἐμελεῖ δὲ βραχείας ἀνωκωχῆς τυχῶν οὐδέν τι μείον τῶν ἐμπροσθέν δράσεων. οὐτὸς οὐδὲν πρὸς ποιηρίαν ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπως ἀνόσιος ἔξηρε καθάρσιον διὰ τοῦ σώματος. ἀφικόμενος γὰρ εἰς Γαλατίαν ὁ χριστὸς οὐτοσὶ καὶ νόμιμος ἄρχων τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ γέγονε χαλεπώτερος, ὥστε εἰς τὸ πρὸτερον αὐτοῦ διαφυγὸν ἐλελήθη εἰς τημωρίας τρόπος ὑμᾶτος, τούτον ἐξευρὼν θέματα κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἀθλίων πολιτῶν παρεῖχε συμφοράς ἁρματος ἕκδησας καὶ μεθεῖς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἴνα χωρεῖ ἐκεῖν ἢν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς ἐφεστικὼς καὶ θεωμένος τὰ δρόμενα καὶ τοιούτους ἐτέρους αὐτὸν ψυχαγωγῶν τὸν πάντα διετέλει χρόνον, ἦσαν αὐτὸν καθάπερ Ὀλυμπιονίκης περὶ τὸ τρίτῳ παλαίσματος καταβαλέων δίκην ἐπιθεώραι τῶν τετολμημένων ἂξιαν κατηνάγκασας ὡσαντα διὰ τῶν στέρνων τὸ αὐτὸ ξίφος, ὁ πολλῶν πολιτῶν ἐμίσας φῶνος. ταῦτας ἐγὼ τῆς νίκης αμείνω καὶ δικαιοτέραν οὔποτε γενέσθαι φημὴ οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἣ μᾶλλον τὸ κοινὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἥψαρχη γένος, τοσάπτης ὑμότητος καὶ πικρίας ἀφεθέν ὁντως ἐλεύθερον, εὐνομία δὲ ἢδη γανύμενον, ἢς τέως

1 ἀνόσιος Cobet, ἀλλ' οὐ theod Σ, ἀλλ' οθεος MSS.
2 νίκης MSS, Cobet, δίκης M, Hertlein.
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ing a horse-race at a festival, and was expecting nothing of what took place. How his attitude changed, what was his decision about the crisis, how he abandoned the town and in fact all Italy, and fled, thus beginning to expiate his murders and all his earlier crimes, it is not for this speech to relate. Yet though the respite he gained was so brief, he proceeded to act no less wickedly than in the past. So true is it that by the sufferings of the body alone it is impossible for the wicked to cleanse their souls of evil. For when he reached Galatia,¹ this ruler who was so righteous and law-abiding, so far surpassed his own former cruelty that he now bethought himself of all the ruthless and brutal modes of punishment that he had then overlooked, and derived the most exquisite pleasure from the spectacle of the sufferings of the wretched citizens. He would bind them alive to chariots and, letting the teams gallop, would order the drivers to drag them along while he stood by and gazed at their sufferings. In fact he spent his whole time in amusements of this sort, until, like an Olympic victor, you threw him in the third encounter² and forced him to pay a fitting penalty for his infamous career, namely to thrust into his own breast that very sword which he had stained with the slaughter of so many citizens.³ Never, in my opinion, was there a punishment more suitable or more just than this, nor one that gave greater satisfaction to the whole human race, which was now really liberated from such cruelty and harshness, and at once began to exult in the good government that we enjoy to this day.

¹ Gaul.
² In wrestling, the third fall secured the victory. Cf. Or. 2. 74 c.
³ 355 A.D.
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ἀπολαύομεν καὶ ἀπολαύσαιμεν γε ἐπὶ πλέον, ὦ Μακαιρία ἄγαθη πρόνοια.

'Εμοί δὲ ποθοῦντι μὲν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἀπασί τοῖς σοι πραχθεῖσιν, ἀπολειπομένῳ δὲ συγγρώμῃ εἰκότως, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, παρέξεις, εἰ μήτε τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα μημονεύομαι ἀπὸ τε Αὐγάπου τοῖς παρασκευασθέντων καὶ εἴ 1 Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ αὐτὴν πλευσάντων, μήτε ὡς τῶν Πυρηναίων ὦρῶν ἐκράτησας ναυσὶν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ αὐτὰ στράτευμα, μήτε τῶν ἐναγχῶς σοι πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πραχθέντων, μήτε εἰ τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον τῶν πάλαι γεγονός λέληθε τοὺς πολλούς. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἐαυτὴν σοῦ 2 ἐπώνυμον ἑπονομάζουσαν ἀκόον πολλάκις. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, πλούτει δὲ ἦθε καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσαν εὐπορίαν ἐπιδέδωκε διὰ σε λιμένας εὐόρμους τοῖς καταλήψαι παρασχόντα· τέως δὲ οὐδὲ παραπλέων ἀσφαλεῖς οὐδὲ ἀκλίνυνον ἑδόκει· οὕτως ἦν πάντα σκοπέλων τινῶν καὶ πετρῶν υφάλων ἀνάπλεα τῆς θαλάσσης τῆςδε πρὸς ταῖς ἱστ. στοάς δὲ καὶ κρήνας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν υπάρχων διὰ σὲ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ὅνομάζειν ἄξιον. ὀπόσα δὲ τῇ πατρῴᾳ πόλει προστέθεικας, τεῖχος μὲν αὐτῇ κύκλῳ περιβαλῶν ἄρξαμενον τότε, τὰ δοκοῦντα δὲ οὐκ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν 3 τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων εἰς ἄθανατον ἀσφάλειαν καταπελεῖς, τίς ἄν ἀπαρθιμήσατο; ἐπιλείψει με τούτων ἐκαστον ὁ χρόνος Β διηγούμενον.

1 ίξ Reiske, τῶν εἰx MSS.
2 πόλιν ἐαυτὴν σοῦ Wytenbach, ἐπώνυμον σοι ἐαυτὴν Reiske, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον MSS, Hertlein. 3 ἔχειν Hertlein suggests,

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Long may we continue to enjoy it, O all-merciful Providence!

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

¹ Seleucus son of Antiochus. ² Constantinople.
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Σκοπεῖν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἄξιον ἢδη τῶν ῥηθέντων, εἰ μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς βελτίστης ἐξεως ἀπαντα γέγονε. τούτῳ γὰρ ἢδη καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀρχόμενοι μάλιστα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἤξιον. οὕκοιν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὁπως προσηνέχθης, ὁμονοῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄδελφους διετέλεσας τὸν ἀπαντά χρόνον, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν προθύμως, συνάρχων δὲ ἐκείνοις σωφρόνως, πάλαι ς τε Εὐρηταὶ καὶ νῦν ἄξιούσθω μνήμης. τούτῳ δὲ ὅστις μικρὰς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπέλαβεν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Κύρον τὸν Καμβύσου σκοπῶν ἑπανεῖτω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μειράκιον ἔτι κομιδῇ νέον δήλος ἢν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενος ἀρχότος, ὁ δὲ ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν τὸν πάππον. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδείς ἐστίν οὕτως ἡλίθιος, ὅστις οὐκ οἰεταί σε, μηδὲν ἐκείνου μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ φιλοτιμία λειτόμενον, οὕτως ἑγκρατῶς καὶ σωφρόνως τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς προσενεχθαί. Παρασχούσης γὰρ τῆς τύχης τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίας ἔχρην μεταποιηθήναι, πρῶτος ὁμήθης, πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ πρὸς τὰναντία ἐξυμπείθεις ἐπιχειροῦντων ῥάστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον διοικητῶμεν ἐλευθεροῦν ἐγνώς τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ κατειλημμένα, δικαιοτάτην μὲν καὶ οἷαν οὕτω πρόσθεν ἐλαβε 42 πρόφασιν πόλεμος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχθρας 1 οὕτως Reiske adds. 2 se Reiske adds.
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The time has now come when it is proper to consider whether your career, so far as I have described it, is at every point in harmony with virtue and the promptings of a noble disposition. For to this, as I said at the beginning of my speech, I think it right to pay special attention. Let me therefore mention once more what I said some time ago, that to your father you were dutiful and affectionate, and that you constantly maintained friendly relations with your brothers, for your father you were ever willing to obey, and as the colleague of your brothers in the empire you always displayed moderation. And if anyone thinks this a trifling proof of merit, let him consider the case of Alexander the son of Philip, and Cyrus the son of Cambyses, and then let him applaud your conduct. For Alexander, while still a mere boy, showed clearly that he would no longer brook his father's control, while Cyrus dethroned his grandfather. Yet no one is so foolish as to suppose that, since you displayed such modesty and self-control towards your father and brothers, you were not fully equal to Alexander and Cyrus in greatness of soul and ambition for glory. For when fortune offered you the opportunity to claim as your right the empire of the world, you were the first to make the essay, though there were many who advised otherwise and tried to persuade you to the contrary course. Accordingly, when you had carried through the war that you had in hand, and that with the utmost ease and so as to ensure safety for the future, you resolved to liberate that part of the empire which had been occupied by the enemy, and the reason that you assigned for going to war was most
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tiθέμενος. ούδὲ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄξιον προσαγορεύειν τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ βάρβαρος ἢ ἡγεμόν ἐαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσας βασιλέα καὶ χειροτονήσας στρατηγὸν. τῶν ἀδικημάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ ὃν ἐδρασεν εἰς οἴκιαν τὴν σὺν οὐχ ἦδυ μοι πολλάκις μεμνήσθαι. ἀνδρειοτέραν δὲ τῆς τῆς πράξεως τῆς ἀν δειπεῖν ἔχει; ἐφ’ ἦς δῆλος μὲν ἢν ἀποτυχόντι τῶν ἔργων ὁ κύνδυνος. ὑπέμενες δὲ οὔδὲν κέρδους χάριν οὔδὲ κλέος ἀείμητον ἀντωνούμενος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἀποθυσκεῖν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ πολλάκις τολμῶσιν, οἷον πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν δόξαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποδιδόμενοι, οὔδὲ μὴν δ’ ἐπιθυμίαν ἄρχης μείζων καὶ λαμπροτέρας, ὅτι μηδὲ νέφοι σοὶ τούτων ἐπιθυμήσαι συνέβη, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν στέργων τῆς πράξεως πάντα ὑπομένειν φοῦν δεῖν πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἦρωμαίων βάρβαρον βασιλεύοντα καὶ νόμων κύριον καὶ πολιτείας καθεστώτα καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ-τῶν κοινῶν εὐχὰς ποιούμενον τοὺς τοσοῦτοις ἀσεβήμασιν ἐνοχὸν καὶ φόνοις. τῆς παρασκευῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἥ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος τῶν οὐχ ἤκανον ἐκπλήξαι; καίτοι Ἐπεξῆν μὲν ἀκοῦσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐξαναστίσαντα χρόνον ἐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δέκα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνον παρασκευάζοντα, εἶτα ἐπαγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς χιλίαις τριήμερος διακοσίας ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν οίματι τῶν χωρίων, ἐξ ὃν αὐτὸς ἐν οὔδε δόλων μησὶ δέκα ναυπηγησάμενος ἤγειρας τὸν στόλον, πλήθει νεῶν ἐκείνων ὑπερβαλλόμενος. τῇ τέχνῃ δὲ οὔδε ἄξιον συμβαλλεῖν οὔδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις,

1 Hortlein suggests δ.
just and such as had never before arisen, namely your detestation of those infamous men. Civil war one could not call it, for its leader was a barbarian who had proclaimed himself emperor and elected himself general. I dislike to speak too often of his evil deeds and the crimes that he committed against your house. But could anything be more heroic than your line of action? For should you fail in your undertaking the risk involved was obvious. But you faced it, and you were not bidding for gain, nay nor for undying renown, for whose sake brave men so often dare even to die, selling their lives for glory as though it were gold, nor was it from desire of wider or more brilliant empire, for not even in your youth were you ambitious of that, but it was because you were in love with the abstract beauty of such an achievement, and thought it your duty to endure anything rather than see a barbarian ruling over Roman citizens, making himself master of the laws and constitution and offering public prayers for the common weal, guilty as he was of so many impious crimes and murders. Who could fail to be dazzled by the splendour of your armament and the vast scale of your expenditure? And yet I am told that Xerxes, when he mustered all Asia against the Greeks, spent no less than ten years in preparing for that war. Then he set out with twelve hundred triremes, from the very spot, as I understand, where you gathered your fleet together, having built it in rather less than ten months, and yet you had more ships than Xerxes. But neither his fortune nor his achievements can properly be compared with yours.
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Τὴν δὲ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ δαπανήματα μεγαλοπρέπειαν μὴ πολὺ λιῶν ἔργον ἢ φράζειν, οὐδὲ ὅποσα ταῖς πόλεσι πάλαι στερομέναις ἀπεδίδουσ ἀπαριθμούμενος ἐνοχλήσω τὰ νῦν. πλουτοῦσι μὲν γὰρ ἁπάσαι διὰ σὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμπροσθεν ἐνδεεῖς οὐσαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων, ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ τῶν ἰδιῶν ἐκαστος οἰκών διὰ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν πόλεων ευευθρᾶς. ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἄξιον δωρεῶν μεμνήσθαι, ἐλευθερίον σε καὶ μεγαλόδωρον βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντα, δὲ πολλοῖς μὲν στερομένοις πάλαι τῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων, τοῦ πατρίδος κλήρου συμφορὰ περιπεπτοκότος ἐν δίκη καὶ παρὰ δίκην, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐγένον κύριος, τοῖς μὲν καθάπερ δικαστὴς ἀγαθὸς τὰ τῶν ἡμπροσθεν ἀμαρτήματα διορθώσαμεν κυρίως εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας παρέσχες, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιεικής κριτῆς γενόμενος ταῦτα μὲν ὁν ἀφήρημα πάλιν ἐχαρίσω, ἀρκεῖν οἴομενος τὸ μήκος τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς τιμωρίαν τοὺς παθοῦσιν ὅτα δὲ αὐτῶς οἰκοθεν χαριζόμενοι πλουσιώτερους ἀπέφημας πολλοὺς τῶν πάλαι δοξάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορία σεμνύνεσθαι, τῇ χρῆ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκοντα περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν δοκεῖν; ἀλλος τε καὶ πᾶσιν ὅντος καταφαυνόν, ὃτι μηδεὶς πώποτε πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου τοσαῦτα βασιλεὺς τοῖς αὐτῶ τοῖς μίν ἂλλον γίνοις διανεμέων ὡφθη. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὅ τῶν φίλων πλοῦτος τῆς τῶν πολεμῶν ρώμης ὑποπτος ἐφάνη μᾶλλον καὶ φοβερότερος, ἀλλοι

1 ἐπὶ τῶν Cobet, διὰ τῶν Wytenbach, Hertlein, τῶν V, τῶν MSS.

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I fear that it is beyond my powers to describe the magnificence of your outlay for other purposes, nor will I risk being tedious by staying now to count up the sums you bestowed on cities that had long been destitute. For whereas, in the time of your predecessors, they lacked the necessaries of life, they have all become rich through you, and the general prosperity of each city increases the welfare of every private household in it. But it is proper that I should mention your gifts to private persons, and give you the title of a generous and open-handed Emperor; for since there were many who long ago had lost their property, because, in some cases justly, in others unjustly, their ancestral estates had suffered loss, you had no sooner come into power, than like a just judge you set right in the latter cases the errors committed by men in the past, and restored them to the control of their property, while in the former cases you were a kindly arbiter, and granted that they should recover what they had lost, thinking that to have suffered so long was punishment enough. Then you lavished large sums from your privy purse, and increased the reputation for wealth of many who even in the past had prided themselves on their large incomes. But why should I remind you of all this and seem to waste time over trifles? Especially as it must be obvious to all that no king except Alexander the son of Philip was ever known to bestow such splendid presents on his friends. Indeed some kings have thought that the wealth of their friends gave more grounds for suspicion and alarm
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de τήν τῶν ἀρχομένων εὖγένειαν ὑπιδόμενοι πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὐ γεγονότας προσηλακίζοντες ἢ καὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἀρδήν τὰς σικίας κοινῆς μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι συμφορῶν, ίδια δὲ αὐτοὶς ἀνυσίων ἔργων αἰτιώτατοι κατέστησαν. οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο δὲ ἦδη τινὶς τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθοῖς, ὑγιείᾳ φήμῃ καὶ κάλλει καὶ εὐεξίᾳ, βασκαίνοντες: ψυχής τε ἀρετήν ἐν τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν γενομένην οὐδὲ ἀκούει ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀδίκημα τούτο, καθάπερ ἀνδροφονία καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ προδοσία, τὸ δοκεῖν ἀρετῆς μεταποιηθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα τυχόν ἀληθῶς οὐ βασιλέων φήσει τις, πονηρῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνελευθέρων τυράννων ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἦδη τὸ πάθος οὐ τῶν ἀνοητῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τινῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ πράων ἀνδρῶν ἀφάμενον, τὸ τοῖς φίλοις ἀχθεσθαι πλέον ἔχουσι 1 καὶ πολλάκις ἐλαττών ἐθέλειν καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτούς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τίς ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐτόλμησε; τοῦτο καὶ Κύρον φασὶ τὸν Πέρσην γάμβρον ὄντα βασιλέως παρὰ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ παθεῖν ἀχθομένου τῇ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῆν, καὶ Ἀγησίλαος δὲ δήλος ἢν ἀχθόμενος τιμωμένης παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ Β Δυσανδρῳ.

Τούτους οὖν 2 πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενον ἀρετῆ, τοῖς πλουτοῦσι μὲν τὸ πλούτειν ἀσφαλεστερὸν ἢ πατήρ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ κατέστησας, εἰγε-

1 πλέον ἔχουσι Reiske, πλέον MSS, Hertlein.
2 οὖν δτί MSS.

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

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

\(^1\) Cyaxares.
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νείας δὲ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων προνοεῖς καθάπερ ἀπάσης πόλεως οἰκιστής καὶ νομοθέτης· καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς πολλὰ μὲν προστίθεις, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς χαριζόμενος, δῆλος εἰ τῷ μεγέθει μὲν τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων δωρεὰς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, τῇ βεβαιότητι δὲ τῶν ἀπαξ δοθέντων τὰς παρὰ τῶν δήμων χάριτας ἀποκρυπτόμενος. τούτῳ δὲ οἷμαι καὶ μάλα εἰκότως συμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ’ ὅις συνισσαίων αὐτοῖς ἀπολειψθείσων ἀγαθοῖς, τοῖς κεκτημένοις βασικάνουσιν, ὅτε δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐστὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ οἷα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης μακρὸς σεμνότερα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτου δεόμενος τῷ κεκτημένῳ φθονήσειν. δὲ δὴ καὶ σαυτῷ μάλιστα πάντων ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκός χαίρεις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθοῖς, εὐφραίνει δὲ σε τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων κατορθώματα· καὶ τιμᾶς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν ἐχαρίσω, τὰς δὲ ἢδη μέλλεις, υπὲρ δὲ ἐνίων βουλεύῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη σοι πόλεως μᾶς οὐδὲ ἐθνοὺς ἐνός οὐδὲ πολλῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπ’ αὐταῖς τιμᾶς διανέμεις· ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ καὶ βασιλείας ἔλοικο κοινωνίαν, υπὲρ ὡς τοσοῦτον ὑπομείνας πόνον τὸ τῶν τυράννων γένους ἀνήρηκας, οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῶν σαυτοῦ κατορθωμάτων ἔργων υπέλαβες. καὶ ὅτι μὴ χρείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ χαίρειν πάντα

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and you take thought that your subjects shall be well-born, as though you were the founder and law-giver of every single city. Those to whom fortune has been generous you still further enrich, and in many cases men owe all their wealth to your generosity, so that in amount your gifts clearly surpass those of other princes, while, in security of ownership of what has once been given, you cast into the shade any favours bestowed by democracies. And this is, I think, very natural. For when men are conscious that they lack certain advantages, they envy those who do possess them, but when a man is more brilliantly endowed by fortune than any of his fellows, and by his own initiative has won even higher dignities than fate had assigned him, he lacks nothing, and there is none whom he need envy. And since you realise that in your case this is especially true, you rejoice at the good fortune of others and take pleasure in the successes of your subjects. You have already bestowed on them certain honours, and other honours you are on the point of bestowing, and you are making plans for the benefit of yet other persons. Nor are you content to award to your friends the government of a single city or nation, or even of many such, with the honours attaching thereto. But unless you chose a colleague to share that empire on whose behalf you had spared no pains to exterminate the brood of usurpers, you thought that no act of yours could be worthy of your former achievements. That you reached this decision not so much because it was necessary as because you

1 An echo of Demosthenes, Against Leptines 15.
2 Gallus 351 A.D.; then Julian 355 A.D.
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δωρούμενος ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀρμήςας τὴν γνώμην, ἀπασίων οίμαι γνώριμον γέγονε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τους τυράννους ἀγῶνιν κοινωνοῦν οὐχ εἶπον, τῆς τιμῆς δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς κοινωνεῖν μόνον, οτὲ μηδὲν ἐτί φοβορδόν ἐδόκει. καὶ τῆς μὲν οὔδε ἐπὶ ὅλγον ἄφελῶν δὴλος Β ἐϊ, τῶν πόνων δὲ οὔδε ἐπὶ σμικρὸν κοινωνεῖν ἄξιοις. πλὴν εἶ ποὺ δέοι πρὸς ὅλγον ἔπομενον σοι στρατεύεσθαι. πότερον οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων μαρτύρων τινῶν καὶ τεκμηρίων τῷ λόγῳ προσδεῖ; ἢ δὴλοιν ἐκ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μὴ ᾧευδῆς ἐπεισάγῃ λόγους; ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὔδεν ἐτὶ πλέων ἄξιοιν οὐντιδιάτιβεῖν.

Σώφροσύνης δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὃς ἡν εὐνοιαν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνεργάσω, ο βραχέα διελθεῖν ἵσως οὐκ ἀτοποῦν. τῆς γὰρ σ' ἂνοεῖ τῶν ἀπάντων τοσαύτην ἐκ παῖδων τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης ἐπιμέλειαν ἐσχηκότα, ὅσην οὔδεις ἄλλος τῶν ἐμπροσθεν; καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐν παισὶ σώφροσύνης μάρτυρις ὁ πατήρ γέγονεν ἄξιο-χρεως, σοί τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄρχην καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας μόνῳ, οὕτως αὐτὶ οὔδε πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἐκείνου παῖδων τῆς δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀπαντῆς αἰσθανόμεθα, καθάπερ πολί-του τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούοντο, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλέως τῶν νόμων ἄρχοντος, ἀεὶ δ' εἰ προσφερομένου τῷ πλῆθει καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει. τῆς γὰρ σ' ἔγραφο μεῖζον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας φρονήσαντα; τῆς δὲ ἐπαρθένα

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

A few words about your temperance, your wisdom, and the affection that you inspired in your subjects, will not, I think, be out of place. For who is there among them all who does not know that from boyhood you cultivated the virtue of temperance as no one had ever done before you? That in your youth you possessed that virtue your father is a trustworthy witness, for he entrusted to you alone the management of affairs of state and all that related to your brothers, although you were not even the eldest of his sons. And that you still display it, now that you are a man, we are all well aware, since you ever behave towards the people and the magistrates like a citizen who obeys the laws, not like a king who is above the laws. For who ever saw you made arrogant by prosperity? Who ever saw you up-
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tois katodromasai tosoutois 1 kai telioutois en
braxei chrwph geunmenous; allla ton Filippou
fasin 'Alexianderon, epidei thn Perason kathile
dunamyn, ou monon thn alla thn diaintan prois th
meixona kai lichan epoxh ths pasein upersphian
metabalein, all' hde kai tof fousantos uperopain
kai ths anbropinhs apasehs fwsios. hxiou gar
vidos Ammou, all' ou Filippou vomiouthei, kai
ton systrateusamewn osoi mhe kolakeunein mpede
douleunein hpsiastanto ton ealokotwn pikroteron
ekolazoyn. allla sou ge ths eis ton patera
thmei agra aixion enotida meynthei; dh ou
idiou monon sebomevos, aei de en tois koivos
sylllogois dietileis anakruttwn kathaper anagwth hra.
ton filon de, aixois gar autous ouk achoris B
ovomatos monon ths thmeis, polu de pleou diad ton
pragmatwn bebaiois epi autwn toutoma: estin
ouw ara tis o mephomenei atimias h xemias h
blabheh h tina mikran upersphian h meixona; all
ouk dnumas eispein exoxi touton oudein. touton
gar ois men ghraini sfodra, tais arxaios eis
thn eimarmenwn telusth ton blon parameinantes,
tas eipimeleias ton koivn sunapethento ton
swmatai, paoan h filois h tiui prois geinous tois
C klhrous parapemptontes, allloi de prois tox
poumen kai tas strategias apagoreunontes, wsewos
entimou tuchoytes, xosin olbion: tinhes de kai
metillakaxan, euadimones para ton plhous elnai

1 tosoutois tis plhthei V, tosoutois tis plhthos MSS.

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

Ἐν δὲ τούτωι ἀπασιν ὅν καὶ γεγονός τουιούτοις εἶξ ἀρχής ἦδονή ἀπάσης, ἡ πρόσεστιν οὐειδος καὶ μικρόν, καθαρᾶν τὴν ψυχήν διεφύλαξας. μόνον δὲ οἶμαι σὲ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων, σχεδὸν δὲ πλὴν σφόδρα ὁλίγων καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀνδράσι μόνον παράδευμα πρὸς σωφροσύνην παρα- σχεῖν κάλλιστον, καὶ γνωαῖβι δὲ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀν- δρας κοινωνίας. ὅσα γὰρ ἐκεῖναις ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τοῦ γνησίους δ’ φύεσθαι τοῦς παῖδας ἐπιμελό- μενοι, ταῦτα ὁ λόγος ἀπαγορεύει ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις παρὰ σοὶ. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐχῶν ἔτι πλείονα λέγειν ἀφίημι.

Τῆς φρονήσεως δὲ ἄξιον μὲν ἐπαίων διελθεῖν οὐδαμῶς εὐχερές, μικρὰ δὲ ὅμως καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ῥητέου. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔργα τῶν λόγων οἶμαι πιστότερα. οὐ γὰρ ἐστίν εἰκὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχήν καὶ δύναμιν μὴ παρὰ τῆς ἴσης διοικουμένης καὶ κρατουμένην φρονήσεως πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος ἀφικέσθαι καὶ κάλλος πράξεων ἀγαπητὸν δὲ, εἰ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μόνον δίχα φρονήσεως ἐπιτρεπομένη. ἔτι πολὺ μὲνει. ἀνθῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ προσχόντα πρὸς βραχὺ μᾶς διαφυλάξαι δὲ τὰ δοθέντα ἀγαθὰ δίχα φρονήσεως οὐ λιὰν εὐκόλον, μᾶλλον

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

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

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

Your wisdom it is by no means easy to praise as it deserves, but I must say a few words about it. Your actions, however, are more convincing, I think, than my words. For it is not likely that this great and mighty empire would have attained such dimensions or achieved such splendid results, had it not been directed and governed by an intelligence to match. Indeed, when it is entrusted to luck alone, unaided by wisdom, we may be thankful if it last for any length of time. It is easy by depending on luck to flourish for a brief space, but without the aid of wisdom it is very hard, or rather I might say impossible, to preserve the blessings that have been
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dē ἀδύνατον ἵσως. ὅλως δὲ εἰ χρή καὶ περὶ τοῦτων ἐναργεῖς φράζειν τεκμήριον, πολλῶν καὶ γνωρίμων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. τὴν γὰρ εὐβουλίαν οὐκ ὑπολαμβάνομεν τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθῶν καὶ συμφερόντων ἐξευρίσκειν τὰ κράτιστα. σκοπεῖν οὖν ἀξίον ἐφ’ ἀπάντητων ἀπλῶς, εἰ μή τούθ’ ἐν ἑστὶ τῶν σοι πραχθέντων. οὐκοῦν ὅπου μὲν ἦν ὁμονοίας χρεία, ἔχαρες ἐλαττούμενος, δὴ ὅπου δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐχρὴν βοθεῖν, τὸν πόλεμον ἀνέλοιπον ¹ προθυμότατα. καὶ Περσῶν μὲν τὴν δύναμιν καταστρατηγήσας οὐδένα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἀποβαλὼν διέφθειρας, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους δὲ πόλεμον διελὼν τοῦ μὲν ἐκράτησας ταῖς δημηγορίαις, καὶ τὴν μετ’ ἐκείνου δύναμιν ἀκέραιον καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθή προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησας μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς συνέσεως ἢ διὰ τῆς ρώμης τὸν τοσοῦτον τοῖς κοινοῖς αὐτίων συμφορῶν. Βούλομαι δὲ σαφέστερον περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν ἀπαστ. δείξαι, τὴν μάλιστα πιστεύσας τῶν τοσοῦτοι σαντῶν ἐπιδούσων πράγμασιν οὐδένος ὅλως διήματες. εὐνοιαν οὖν δεὶν παρὰ τῶν ὕπηκών ὑπάρχειν τῷ βασιλεύντι ἐρυμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον. ταύτην δὲ ἐπιτάττοντα μὲν καὶ κελεύοντα καθάπερ εἰσφορᾶς καὶ φόρους κτήσασθαι παντελῶς ἀλογον. λείπεται δὴ λοιπὸν, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὀρμήκας, τὸ πάντας εὐ ποιεῖν καὶ μεμεῖθαι τὴν θείαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύσιν πράως

¹ ἀνέλοιπον Hertlein suggests, Cobet, cf. 94 D 95 A, εἴλω V, εἴλον MSS. ² πιστεύσας καὶ MSS.
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

bestowed. And, in short, if we need cite a convincing proof of this, we do not lack many notable instances. For by wise counsel we mean the ability to discover most successfully the measures that will be good and expedient when put into practice. It is therefore proper to consider in every case whether this wise counsel may not be counted as one of the things you have achieved. Certainly when there was need of harmony you gladly gave way, and when it was your duty to aid the community as a whole you declared for war with the utmost readiness. And when you had defeated the forces of Persia without losing a single hoplite, you made two separate campaigns against the usurpers, and after overcoming one of them¹ by your public harangue, you added to your army his forces, which were fresh and had suffered no losses, and finally, by intelligence rather than by brute force, you completely subdued the other usurper who had inflicted so many sufferings on the community. I now desire to speak more clearly on this subject and to demonstrate to all what it was that you chiefly relied on and that secured you from failure in every one of those great enterprises to which you devoted yourself. It is your conviction that the affection of his subjects is the surest defence of an emperor. Now it is the height of absurdity to try to win that affection by giving orders, and levying it as though it were a tax or tribute. The only alternative is the policy that you have yourself pursued, I mean of doing good to all men and imitating the divine nature on earth. To show mercy even in anger, to take away their

¹ Vetranio.
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μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ὅργήν, τῶν τιμωρῶν δὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰς χαλεπότητας, πταίσασι δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιεικῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως προσφέρεσθαι. ταῦτα πράττων, ταῦτα θαυμάζων, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάτων μεμείθαι τὴν Ῥώμην μὲν, ἐτί τοῦ τυράννου κρατοῦντος τῆς Ἰταλίας, διὰ τῆς γερουσίας εἰς Παιονίαν μετέστησας, προθύμους δὲ εἶχες τὰς πόλεις πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας.

Τῶν στρατευμάτων δὲ τὴν εὐνοιαν τὴν ἃν ἄξιως διηνήσατο; τάξις μὲν ἅπασθον πρὸς τὴν Μύρσην παρατάξεως μεθειστήκει, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας κράτησας, πεζῶν κατάλογοι καὶ τέλη λαμπρά. ἀλλὰ τῷ μικρὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου δυστυχώς τελευτήσας ἐν Γαλατία γενόμενον κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἐδείξατε στρατοπέδων τὴν εὐνοιαν, τὸν θρασυνόμενον καθάπερ ἐπ’ ἐρημίας καὶ τὴν γυναικείαν ἀλουργίδα περιβαλόμενον ὡσπερ τινὰ λύκον ἐξαίφνης διασπασμένων. ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γένοντας τῇ πράξει, καὶ ὅπως πρῶσ ἀπασί Καὶ φιλανθρώπως τοὺς ἐκεῖνον γνωρίμοις προσηνέχθησας, ὅσοι μηδὲν ἥλεγχοντο ἐκεῖνο συμπράξαντες, πολλῶν ἑφεστηκών τῇ κατηγορίᾳ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον φιλίαν ὑποπτεύειν μόνον κελεύοντον, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπάσῃ ἀρετῆς τίθεμαι τοῦτο κεφάλαιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δικαίως φημὶ καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἐμφρόνως πεπράξατε. ὡστε δὲ ἄλλος ἤγειται καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀληθοὺς ὑπολήψεως καὶ τῆς σῆς γνώμης δήμαρτε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὖν ἔλεγχθεντας δίκαιον ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, σώζεσθαι, 49

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

As for the affection of your armies, what description could do it justice? Even before the battle at Myrsia, a division of cavalry came over to your side,¹ and when you had conquered Italy bodies of infantry and distinguished legions did the same. But what happened in Galatia² shortly after the usurper's miserable end demonstrated the universal loyalty of the garrisons to you; for when, emboldened by his isolated position, another³ dared to assume the effeminate purple, they suddenly set on him as though he were a wolf and tore him limb from limb.⁴ Your behaviour after that deed, your merciful and humane treatment of all those of his friends who were not convicted of having shared his crimes, and that in spite of all the sycophants who came forward with accusations and warned you to show only suspicion against friends of his, this I count as the culmination of all virtue. What is more, I maintain that your conduct was not only humane and just, but prudent in a still higher degree. He who thinks otherwise falls short of a true understanding of both the circumstances and your policy. For that those who had not been proved guilty should be protected was

¹ Under Silvanus. ² Gaul. ³ Silvanus. ⁴ 355 A.D.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ὑπόπτους δὲ τὰς φιλίας καὶ διὰ τούτο φευγκτάς οὐδαμῶς φῶν δείων κατασκευάζειν, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοίας ἐκ τούτο μεγέθους ἀρθείως καὶ πράξεων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ τετολμηκότος νήπιον κομιδὴ τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν εἶασας μετα- σχείν ζημίας. οὕτω σοι πρὸς ἐπωνομαῖαν ἢ πράξις ἐποῦσα τελείας ἀρετὴς ὑπάρχει γνώρισμα. * * *
PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

of course just, and you thought you ought by no means to make friendship a reason for suspicion and so cause it to be shunned, seeing that it was due to the loyal affection of your own subjects that you had attained to such power and accomplished so much. But the son of that rash usurper, who was a mere child, you did not allow to share his father's punishment. To such a degree does every act of yours incline towards clemency and is stamped with the mint-mark of perfect virtue * * * * *.¹

¹ The peroration is lost.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION II

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

\(^1\) 56 B and 101 D. \(^2\) 74 D.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ
Η ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ.

Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ἡ ποίησις, ὅποτε ἐμήνυσε καὶ διηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεθείναι μὲν ταῖν χερῶν τὴν αἰχμὴν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, ψαλτήριον δὲ ἀρμοσάμενον καὶ κιθάραν ἄδειν καὶ ὤμενὶ τῶν ἡμιθέων τὰς πράξεις, καὶ ταῦτας διαγωγὴν τῆς ἡσυχίας ποιεῖσθαι, εῦ μάλα ἐμφρόνως τοῦτο διανοηθέντα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ παροξύνειν τὸν βασιλέα λίαν αὐθάδες καὶ ἄγριον· τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνης ἀπολύεται τῆς μέμψεως ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος, ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἔργων εἰς φῶς καταχρῆται καὶ κρούματα, ἐξὸν τότε μὲν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ μὴ μεθεῖναι, αὕτης δὲ ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ὤμενὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἄδειν τὰ κατορθώματα. οὐ μὴν οὖν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα φησὶν ὁ πατὴρ 50 ἑκεῖνον τῶν λόγων μετρίως καὶ πολιτικῶς προσενεχθῆναι τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπειλῇ τε χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔργος ὑβρίζειν, τοῦ γέρως ἀφαιρούμενον. συνάγων δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς ταῦταν ἄλληλοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταμελομένους, τὸν μὲν τῆς Θέτιδος ἐκβοῶντα

'Ατρείδη, ἦ ἄρ τι τὸδ' ἀμφιτέρουσιν ἄρειν
'Ἐπλετο, σοι καὶ ἐμοί,
THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS,

OR, ON KINGSHIP

Achilles, as the poet tells us, when his wrath was kindled and he quarrelled with the king,¹ let fall from his hands his spear and shield; then he strung his harp and lyre and sang and chanted the deeds of the demi-gods, making this the pastime of his idle hours, and in this at least he chose wisely. For to fall out with the king and affront him was excessively rash and violent. But perhaps the son of Thetis is not free from this criticism either, that he spent in song and music the hours that called for deeds, though at such a time he might have retained his arms and not laid them aside, but later, at his leisure, he could have sung the praises of the king and chanted his victories. Though indeed the author of that tale tells us that Agamemnon also did not behave to his general either temperately or with tact, but first used threats and proceeded to insolent acts, when he robbed Achilles of his prize of valour. Then Homer brings them, penitent now, face to face in the assembly, and makes the son of Thetis exclaim

"Son of Atreus, verily it had been better on this wise for both thee and me!" ²

¹ Agamemnon. ² Iliad 19. 56.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

εἶτα ἐπαρόμενον τῇ προφάσει τῆς ἀπεχθείας καὶ ἀπαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐκ τῆς μήνιδος ξυμφοράς, τὸν βασιλέα δὲ αἰτιώμενον Δία καὶ Μοίραν¹ καὶ Ἐρμίνων, δοκεῖ μοι διδάσκειν, ὅσπερ ἐν δράματι τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀνδράσιν οἷον εἰκόσι χρόνεως, ὅτι χρῆ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας μηδὲν ὑβρεὶ πράττειν μηδὲ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς ἀπαν χρῆσθαι μηδὲ ἐφιέναι τῷ θυμῷ, καθάπερ ἦπερ θρασεῖ χάρει καὶ χαλινοῦ καὶ ἴνων χερομενώ, παραίνειν δὲ αὐ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἱπτεροφίαν βασιλικὴν μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, C φέρειν δὲ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πράξει γὰρ ἐπιτιμήσεις, ἵνα μὴ μεταμελεῖσα αὐτοῖς ὁ βίος μεστὸς ἦ.

Ταῦτα κατ᾽ ἐμαυτόν ἔννοον, ὁ φίλε βασιλεῦ, καὶ σὲ μὲν ὅρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν παιδείαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ ἐθέλοντα πάντως κοινῆ μὲν ἀπαντασ ἀγαθὸν τῷ δρᾶν, ἤμιν δὲ ἰδίᾳ τιμᾶς καὶ γέρα ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ ἄλλως παρασκευάζοντα, τοσούτῳ δὲ ὀίμαι κρείττονα τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέως εἶναι ἐθέλουν, ὅστε ὁ μὲν ἢτίμαζε τοὺς ἀρίστους, σὺ δὲ ὀίμαι καὶ τῶν φαύλων πολλοῖς τὴν συγγνώμην νέμεις, τὸν Πιττακὸν ἐπαινών τοῦ λόγου, δὲ τὴν συγγνώμην τῆς τιμωρίας προτίθει, αἰσχυνοῦμην ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ Πηλέως φαινοῖμην εὐγνωμονέστερος μηδὲ ἐπαινοῦν εἰς δύναμιν τὰ προσόντα σοι, οὕτω φημὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀλουργὴ χλαῖναι, οὐδὲ μᾶ Δία πέπλους παμπουκῖλους, γυναικῶν ἐργα Σιδωνίων, οὐδὲ ἦπερ Νισαιῶν κάλλη καὶ χρυσοκολλήτων ἀρμίτων ἀστράπτουσαν ἀγγλην, οὐδὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν 51

¹ Μοίραν Hertlein suggests, Μοῖρας MSS.
² κοινῆ μὲν Hertlein suggests, κοινῆ τε MSS, cf. 43 d, 51 d,
³ μηδὲ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.
THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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

¹ Republic 577 E. ² Iliad 6. 289. ³ Herodotus 7. 40; horses from the plain of Nisaea drew the chariot of Xerxes when he invaded Greece.
Λίθον εὐανθῆ καὶ χαρίεσσαν. καίτοι γε εἰ τις ἑθέλω τοὺτος τὸν νοῦν προσέχων ἐκαστον ἄξιον λόγου, μικρὸν πᾶσαν οἶμαι τὴν Ὄμηρον ποίησιν ἀποχετεύσας ἐτὶ δεσπέται λόγων, καὶ οὐκ ἀποχρήσει σοι μόνῳ τὰ ξύμπασι ποιηθέντα τοῖς ἡμιθέοις ἐγκώμα. ἀρξώμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκῆπτρου πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς· τί γὰρ δὴ φησιν ἡ ποιητὴς ἐπαινεῖν ἑθέλων τῆς τῶν Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας τῆς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνδείξεσθαι;

ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Εστή σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἡφαιστος κάμε τεύχων,
καὶ ἔδωκε Δί, ὁ δὲ τῷ τῆς Μαίας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ παιδί, Ἐρμείας δὲ ἀναξ δῶκε Πέλοπτι, Πέλοψ δὲ
dῶκ' Ἀτρέι ποιμένι λαῶνν
Ἀτρεύς δὲ θυσίων ἔλπις πολύμαν Θυέστης.
Ἄυτὰρ ὁ γὰρ ἀντε Θυέστη Ἀγαμέμνων δῶκε φορῆναι, Ο
Πολλήςσων νόσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.

Ἄυτὴ σοι τῆς Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας ἡ γενεαλογία, εἰς τρεῖς οὖν δὴ ὅλας μείνασα γενεάς· τά γε μὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐννεάειας ἡρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ Κλαυδίου, μικρὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διαλυπτοῦσις τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῷ πάππῳ τῷ σῷ διαδέχεσθον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς μητρὸς πατὴρ τὴν Ῥώμην διώκει καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν Διβύνη τε ἐπ' αὐτῆ, καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν, οὕτω φαντοτέραν τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Μυκηναίας

[^1] [, ὁ δὲ] Πέλοπτι Reiske, Hertlein,

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

"Then uprose their lord Agamemnon and in his hand was the sceptre that Hephaistos made and fashioned." 1

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

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

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

1 Iliad 2. 101.  
2 Maximianus.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

dυναστείαν, ὁ γε μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γεννήτωρ
Γαλατίας ἔθνη ῥα τα μαχαιρώτατα καὶ τοὺς Ἑσπερίους Ἰβηρας καὶ τὰς ἔντος Ὀκεανοῦ νῆσους, αἱ
toσοῦτω μείξους τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ καθ᾽ ἡμῶσ
ὀρωμένων εἰςών, ὀσω καὶ τῆς εἰσώ θαλάττης ἢ τῶν
Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ὑπερχεομένη. ταῦτας δὲ
ὅλας τὰς χώρας καθαρὰς ἀπέφηναν πολεμίων,
kοινῆ μὲν ἐπιστρατεύοντες, εἰ ποτὲ τοῦτο 52
δεῖσειν, ἐπιφοιτῶντες δὲ ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ κατ᾽ ἱδιαν
ἐκαστὸς τῶν ὀμήρων βαρβάρων ὑβριν τε καὶ
ἀδικίαις ἐξέκοπτον. ἐκείνοι μὲν δὴ τούτως ἐκοσ
μοῦντο. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ τὴν μὲν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ
μοῖραν μᾶλα εὐσεβῆς καὶ ὀσῶς ἐκτίθαι, περι
μείνας τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ γεγεννῆκότος,
tὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδας
ὑπενεχθέντα δούλειας ἐπαυσε χάλεπης, καὶ ἢξε
B
ςυμπάντων πρεῖς ὑμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας προσ
ελόμενος ξυνάρχοντας. ἃρ’ οὐν ἄξιον μέγεθος
δυνάμεως παραβαλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ
χρόνον καὶ πλῆθος βασιλευσάντων; 1 ἡ τούτῳ μὲν
ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ἀρχαῖον, μετιτέσσρον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πλοῦτον
καὶ θαυμαστέον σου τὴν χλαμύδα ἐξίν τῇ πόρπη,
ἀ δὴ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ διατριβήν παρέσχει ἡδείαν;
λόγου τε ἄξιωτέον πολλοῦ τᾶς Τρωῶς ἦππους, αἱ
τρισχίλιαι οὖσαι

έλος κάτα βουκολέων,
καὶ τὰ φώρια τὰ ἐντεύθεν; ἡ τούς Ἐρακίους
ἴππως εὐλαβησάμεθα λευκοτέρους μὲν τῆς χιόνος,
θεών δὲ ὠκυτέρους τῶν χειμερίων πνευμάτων, καὶ
τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἁρματα; καὶ ἔχομεν σε ἐν τούτοις

1 [τῶν] βασιλευσάντων Hertlein,
THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

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

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\(^1\) Constantius Chlorus.  
\(^2\) Gaul.  
\(^3\) Julian is in error; according to Bury, in Gibbon, Vol. 2, p. 588, Spain was governed by Maximianus.  
\(^4\) The Atlantic.  
\(^5\) The Mediterranean.  
\(^6\) Iliad 20. 221.  
\(^7\) Iliad 5. 222.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐπαινεῖν, οἴκιαν τε οίμαι τὴν Ἀλκίνων καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μενέλεω δόματα καταφελξάμενα καὶ τὸν τοῦ πολύφρονος Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ τοιαύτα ληρεῖν ἀναπείσαντα τοῖς σοῖς παραβαλεῖν ἀξιώσομεν, μή διοτε ἁρὰ ἐλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τούτωι δοκῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπωσόμεθα τὴν φλωρίαν; ἀλλ’ ὁμοί τις ἡμᾶς μικρολογίας καὶ ἀμήλιας τῶν ἀληθῶς καλῶν γραφάμενοι ἦλθοι. οὐκούν ἀφέντας χρῆ τοῖς Ὀμηρίδαις τὰ τοιαύτα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τούτων ἐγγυτέρω πρὸς ἄρετήν, καὶ δὲν μείζονα ποιεῖ προμήθειαν, σώματος ρώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπειρίας, θαρροῦντας ἵναι.

Τίνι δήποτε οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ὑμνουμένων σειρήνος εἰξομεν; ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ τοξότης παρ’ αὐτῷ Πάνδαρος, ἀνηράπιστος καὶ χρημάτων ἤττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁσθενής τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὀπλίτης φαίλος, Τεῦκρος τε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Μηρώνης, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πελειάδος τῷ τόξῳ χρώμενος, ὁ δὲ θρίστενε μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ἐδείτο δὲ ὡσπερ ἐρύματος καὶ τεχίου. ταύτα τοι καὶ προβάλλεται τῇ ἁστίδα, οὔτι τὴν οἰκείαν, τάδελφοι δὲ, καὶ στοχάζεται καθ’ ἱσυχίαν τῶν τολεμίων, γελοίος ἀναφανείς στρατιώτης, ὃς γε ἐδείτο μείζονος φύλακος καὶ οὐκ ἐν Β τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐποιεῖτο τῆς σωτηρίας τὰς ἐλπίδας. σὲ δήτα ἐθεασάμην, ὁ φίλε βασιλεῦ, ἀρκτοὺς καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας συχνοὺς καταβάλλοντα

1 θαρροῦντας Cobet, θαρροῦντας MSS, Hertlein,

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

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

¹ Odyssey 4. 69 foll. ² Iliad 4. 97. ³ Iliad 23. 870. ⁴ Iliad 8. 286.
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τοῖς ἀφεμένοις βέλεσι, χρώμενον δὲ πρὸς θήραν καὶ παιδίαν τόξω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀστίς ἐστὶ σοι καὶ θώραξ καὶ κράνος· καὶ ὑπὸ ἁν κατα-δείσαιμι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τοῖς Ἡφαιστείοις λαμ-πρυνόμενον καὶ ἀποπειρώμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων.

Εἰ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἀγλαὰ γυνίᾳ. Ὅ 
ἀνακηρύττει γὰρ εἰς ἀπανταῖς τὴν σὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὰ κατορθώματα.

Τὴν γε μὴν ἤπτικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις κουφότητα ἀρά σοι παραβαλεῖν ἁξίουν τῶν πρόθεν τοὺς ἀραμένους ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν μείζονα; ὡς τὸ μὲν οὐδὲ ἢγηρτὸ πω; ἀρμασι γὰρ ἐχρόντο καὶ οὔπω πῶλοις ἄξυζε· τάχει δὲ ὅστις διήνεγκε, τούτῳ πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν ἄμφιθ- 
ριστος κρίσις· τάξιν δὲ κοσμήσαι καὶ φάλαγγα 
D 
διατάξαι καλῶς δοκεῖ Μενεσθεὺς κράτιστος, καὶ 
τούτῳ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ Πύλως οὐχ ὕφεσται τῆς ἐμπειρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν οἱ πολεμοί πολλάκις 
tὰς τάξεις συνετάραξαν, καὶ οὔδὲ ἐπὶ τού τείχους ἴσχυν ἀντέχειν παραταττόμενοι· σοι δὲ μυρίαις 
μάχαις ξυμμίξαντι καὶ πολεμίοις πολλοῖς μὲν βαρ- 
βάροις, οὐκ ἐλάττωσι δὲ τούτων τοῖς οἰκοθεν ἀφεσ- 
tῶς καὶ συνεπιθεμένοις τῷ τὴν ἄρχην σφετερίσα- 
θαι προελομένῳ ἀρραγῆς ἐμείνεν ἡ φάλαγξ καὶ 
ἀδιάλυτος, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμακρὸν ἐνδούσα. καὶ ὅτι 54 
μὴ λήρος ταύτα μηδὲ προσποίησις λόγων τῆς

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hurled by your hand, and using your bow both for hunting and for pastime, and on the field of battle you have your own shield and cuirass and helmet. And I should not be afraid to match you with Achilles when he was exulting in the armour that Hephaistos made, and testing himself and that armour to see

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

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

¹ Iliad 19. 385. ² Iliad 2. 552. ³ Nestor: Iliad 2. 555. ⁴ The building of a wall with towers, to protect the ships, is described in Iliad 7. 436 foll.
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ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀληθείας κρείττων, ἐθέλω τοὺς παροῦσι διεξελθεῖν. γελοίον γὰρ οἶμαι πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν σῶν ἔργων διηγεῖσθαι καὶ ταύτων ἄν πάθοιμ φαύλω καὶ ἀκόμψῳ θεατῇ τῶν Φειδίου δημιουργημάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν Φειδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντι διεξεῖναι περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀκροτόλει παρθένου καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαῖοις Διός. εἰ δὲ ἐς τούς ἄλλους ἐκφέροιμι τὰ σεμνότατα τῶν ἔργων, ἵσως ἂν Β ἀποφύγοιμι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, καὶ οὐκ ἔσομαι ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἐνοχος· ὥστε ἣδη θαρροῦντα χρῆ λέγεων.

Καὶ μοι μή τις δυσχεράνη πειρωμένη πράξεων ἀπτεσθαι μειζόνων, εἰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου συνεκ-θέοι μήκος, καὶ ταύτα θέλοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ βιαζομένου, ὅπως μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἡ τῶν λόγων ἀσθένεια περιχειρομένη διαλυμίνηται· καθάπερ δὴ τῶν χρυσών φασι τοῦ Θεσπιᾶσιν Ὠρωτος τοῖς πτεροῖς ἐπιβληθέντα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἀφελείν τῆς τέχνης. δεῖται γὰρ ἀληθῶς τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς σάλπυγγος τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἡ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἔργα. δὴ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐστὶ κραυμένοις ὡμῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν λόγων, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσθέμεθα. ἐφαύητο δὲ τῶν βασιλέως ἔργων πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων πολλή ξυγγένεια, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφαμεν ἀπάντων προφέρειν ἐν ὑ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστὸς διήνεκε, καὶ ὅπως ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν δὴ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ βασιλικότερος, εἰ που μεμνήμεθα τῶν ἐν προομίφρ ρηθέντων, ἐπεδείκ- νυμεν, ἐσται δὲ καὶ μάλα αὖθις καταφανές. νῦν δὲ, εἰ βούλεσθε, τὰ περὶ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς
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pretension in words that goes beyond the actual facts, I will demonstrate to my hearers. For I think it would be absurd to relate to you your own achievements. I should be like a stupid and tasteless person who, on seeing the works of Pheidias should attempt to discuss with Pheidias himself the Maiden Goddess on the Acropolis, or the statue of Zeus at Pisa. But if I publish to the rest of the world your most distinguished achievements, I shall perhaps avoid that blunder and not lay myself open to criticism. So I will hesitate no more but proceed with my discourse.

I hope no one will object if, when I attempt to deal with exploits that are so important, my speech should become proportionately long, and that though I desire to limit and restrain it lest my feeble words overwhelm and mar the greatness of your deeds; like the gold which when it was laid over the wings of the Eros at Thespiae 1 took something, so they say, from the delicacy of its workmanship. For your triumphs really call for the trumpet of Homer himself, far more than did the achievements of the Macedonian. 2 This will be evident as I go on to use the same method of argument which I adopted when I began. It then became evident that there is a strong affinity between the Emperor's exploits and those of the heroes, and I claimed that while one hero excelled the others in one accomplishment only, the Emperor excels them all in all those accomplishments. That he is more kingly than the king himself 3 I proved, if you remember, in what I said in my introduction, and again and again it will be evident. But now let us, if you please, consider

1 By Praxiteles. 2 Alexander. 3 Agamemnon.
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πολέμους ἀθρίσσωμεν. τίνας οὖν ὁμήρος δια-
φερόντως ὑμησθεν Ἐλλήνων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων;
αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ καιρώτατα.
Τίς τ’ ἄρ τῶν ὅχ’ ἀριστος ἔνα, σὺ μοι ἐννεπε, 55
Μοῦσα,
‘Ανδρῶν ἤδ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, οὐ ἀμ’ Ἀτρέιδαισων ἔποντο.
’Ανδρῶν μὲν μέγ’ ἄριστος ἔναν Τελαμώνιος Αἰας,
’Οφρ’ Ἀχιλεὺς μήνεν: ὁ γὰρ πολύ φέρτατος ἦν.
καὶ αὕτης ύπ’ερ τοῦ Τελαμώνιου φησίν:
Αἰας, δι’ ὅτι μὲν εἶδος, περὶ δ’ ἔργ’ ἐτέτυκτο,
Τῶν ἀλλῶν Δαναῶν μετ’ ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα.     B
‘Ἐλλήνων μὲν δὴ τούτους ἀρίστους ἀφίκχαί φησὶ,
τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς Τρώας Ἐκτορα καὶ Σαρτηδόνα.
βούλεσθε οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ λαμπρότατα ἐπιλεξάμενοι
περιαθρώμεν τὸ μέγεθος; καὶ γὰρ πως ἐς ταύτων
τις τῶν βασιλέως 1 ξυμφέρεται ἢ τε ἐπὶ τῷ
ποταμῷ τοῦ Πηλέως μάχη καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος. Αἰας τε ὑπεραγωγοῦμενος
τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐπιμεθηκὸς τῶν ἱκρίων ἵσως ἄν
τυγχάνοι τινὸς άξιὰς εἰκόνος. ἔθελο δὲ ύμῖν
δηγείσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχην, ἂν ἡγοῦντι
σατο βασιλεύς ἑναγχος. ἵστε δὲ δῆδεν ὁ πόλεμος
ἐξερράγη, καὶ ὅτι ἔξω δίκη καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλείονος
ἐπιθυμία διεπολεμηθή. κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπομη-
σήναι δ’ ὅληνοι.

'Ανὴρ ἀπίστος καὶ θρασὺς τῆς οὐ προσηκούσης
δρεχθεὶς ἡγεμονία κτείνει τῶν ἄδελφον βασιλέως  D
1 [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein.
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his battles and campaigns. What Greeks and barbarians did Homer praise above their fellows? I will read you those of his verses that are most to the point.

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

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

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

A rash and traitorous man³ tried to grasp at power to which he had no right, and assassinated the

¹ Iliad 2. 761 foll. ² Odyssey 11. 550 ³ Magnentius.
καὶ τῆς ἄρχης κοινωνόν, καὶ ἦρετο λαμπράς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τὸν Ποσειδώνα μιμησόμενος καὶ ἀποφανῶν οὐ μῦθον τὸν Ὀμήρου λόγον, παντὸς δὲ ἀληθῆ μᾶλλον, δὴ ἔφη περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Τρίς μὲν ὅρεξατ’ ἰὼν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἰκετο τέκμωρ,

Ἀγάς,

καὶ ως ἐντεύθεν τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ὑποζεύγας τοὺς ἔπους διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐφέρετο.

Γῆθοσύνη δὲ θάλασσα διόστατο· τοῦ δ’ ἐπέτοντο 56

Ῥίμφα μάλ’, οὐδ’ ὑπένεφθε διαίνετο χάλκεος ἄξων,

ἀτε οὔδενός ἐμποδῶν ὅντος, πάντων δὲ ἐξισταμένων καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ἐν χαρμονιᾷ. οὕκοιν οὔδεν αὐτῷ πόλεμον οὔδε ἀντίπαλον ὑπετό καταλιπέσθαι, οὔδε αὐτὸν κατείργεον οὔδε ἐν τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τήγρητος στήναι ταῖς ἐκβολαίσις.

畴πτετο δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ὄπλιτής, ιππεῖς δέ οὐχ ἦττος, ἀλλ’ οὕτε ἄλκιμοι, Κέλτοι καὶ Ἰβηρεῖς Γερμανῶν τε οἱ πρόσωποι Ρήμων καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἡν εἴτε Ὀκεανῶν χρή καλεῖν εἴτε Ἀτλαντικῆν θάλατταν εἴτε ἄλλη τινὶ χρήσθαι προσωνύμια προσήκον, οὐκ ἵσχυρόθυμοι· πλὴν ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴ προσοεὶ δύσμαχα καὶ ῥώμη διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν γενή βαρβάρων, οὐκ ἄκοη μοῦν, ἢτερ δὴ τυγχάνει πίστις οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς, ἀλλ’ αὐτή πείρα τοῦτο ἐκμαθῶν οἶδα. τουτών δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξαναστήσας οὐκ ἔλαττον

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

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

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

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

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

1 Iliad 13. 20.
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πλήθος τῆς οἰκοδεν αὐτῷ ξυνεπισπομένης στρατιάς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐπτετο πολὺ καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμφωλον, τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον' οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖν ἄξιον· ὅποσον 'Ρωμαίων βία καὶ οὐ γνώμη ξυνηκολούθησεν, ἐοικὸς ἐπικούροις καὶ μυσθοφόροις, εὖ Καρδὸς ἐπτετο τάξει καὶ σχῆματι, δύσνουν μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, βαρβάρῳ καὶ ξένῳ, μέθη καὶ κρατᾶλη τὴν δυναστείαν περιφρονήσαντι καὶ ἀνελομένῳ, ἀρχοντὶ δὲ, ὃσπερ ἦν ἄξιον τῶν ἐκ τοιούτων προομίων καὶ προομίων ἀρξάμενον. ἦγειτο δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτι κατὰ τὸν Τυφώνα, ὅτι ἡ ποιητική τερατεία φης τῷ Διῷ χαλεπαίνουσαν τὴν Γῆν ὡδίναι, οὔδὲ ὡς γνωστῶν ὁ κράτιστος, ἀλλ’ οὖν ὁ σοφὸς εὐνύξοις Πρόδικος τὴν Κακίαν δημιουργεὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρετὴν διαμηλλωμένην καὶ ἑθέλουσαν τὸν τοῦ Δίος ἀναπείθειν παίδα, ὅτι ἄρα αὐτῷ μᾶλλον τόντα τιμῆτα εἰπ. προαύς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προσφέρετο τὰ τοῦ Καπανέως, βαρβαρίζων καὶ ἀνοιτάινων, οὕτι μὴν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τῇ ρώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς πίσυνος οὔδὲ ἄλκῃ τοῦ σώματος, τῷ πλήθει δὲ τῶν ξυνεπεμένων βαρβάρων, οἰς δὴ καὶ λείαν ἀπαντὰ προβῆσειν ἴππεις, ταξιάρχον ταξιάρχῃ καὶ λοχαγὸν λοχαγῷ καὶ στρατιώτην στρατιώτη τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτῶν ἀποσκευαίς καὶ κτῆμασιν, οὔδὲ τὸ σῶμα ἄφεις ἐλεύθερον. αὐξεί δὲ αὐτὸ τῇ διάνοιαν ἦ

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1 ξυνεπισπομένης Cobet, ξυνεπομένης V Hertlein ξυνεφεπομένης MSS. 2 (ϑὴν) Ἀρετὴν Hertlein, ἀρετήν MSS. 3 βαρβαρίζων MSS., Hertlein, βατταρίζων Cobet, cf. Plato, Theaetetus 175 c.

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marched with him from home, or rather many followed him because they were his own people, allied to him by the ties of race, but our subjects—for so we must call them—I mean all his Roman troops followed from compulsion and not from choice, like mercenary allies, and their position and rôle was like that of the proverbial Carian,\(^1\) since they were naturally ill-disposed to a barbarian and a stranger who had conceived the idea of ruling and embarked on the enterprise at the time of a drunken debauch, and was the sort of leader that one might expect from such a preface and prelude as that. He led them in person, not indeed like Typho, who, as the poet tells us,\(^2\) in his wonder tale, was brought forth by the earth in her anger against Zeus, nor was he like the strongest of the Giants, but he was like that Vice incarnate which the wise Prodicus created in his fable,\(^3\) making her compete with Virtue and attempt to win over the son of Zeus,\(^4\) contending that he would do well to prize her above all else. And as he led them to battle he outdid the behaviour of Capaneus,\(^5\) like the barbarian that he was, in his insensate folly, though he did not, like Capaneus, trust to the energy of his soul or his physical strength, but to the numbers of his barbarian followers; and he boasted that he would lay everything at their feet to plunder, that every general and captain and common soldier of his should despoil an enemy of corresponding rank of his baggage and belongings, and that he would enslave the owners as well. He was confirmed in

\(^1\) The Carians were proverbially worthless; cf. 320 D.
\(^2\) Hesiod, Theogony.
\(^3\) Xenophon, Memorabilia 2. 1. 2.
\(^4\) Heracles.
\(^5\) Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes 440; Euripides, Phoenissae 1182.
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βασιλέως¹ δεινότης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσχωρίων εἰς τὰ Β πεδία κατάγει γανύμενον καὶ οὐ ξυνίεντα, δρασμὸν δὲ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ οὐ στρατηγίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνοντα. ταῦτα τοι καὶ ἁλίσκεται, καθάπερ ὄρνθες καὶ ἱχθύες δικτύων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐσ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Πατόνων ἦλθε καὶ ἔδοκεν λῷον ἐνταύθα διαγωνίζεσθαι, τότε δὴ βασιλεὺς τοὺς τε ἢππεάς ἐπὶ κέρως τάττει χωρίς ἐκατέρου.

Τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσὶν αἰχμοφόροι, θώραξιν ἐλατοῖς καὶ κράνεσιν ἐκ σιδήρου πεποιημένοις σκεπόμενοι· κυνηγίδες τε τοὺς σφυροὺς εὐ μᾶλα περιηρμοσμέναι καὶ περιγυνατίδες καὶ περὶ τοὺς μηροῖς ἄτερα τοιαῦτα ἐκ σιδήρου καλύμματα· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ὀσπερ ἀνφράντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἴππων φερόμενοι, οὐδὲν ἀσπίδος δεόμενοι. τούτως εὕρετο τῶν ἄλλων ἢππεῶν πλῆθος ἀσπίδας φέροντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἴππων τοξεύοντες. πεζῶν δὲ ὁ μὲν ὀπλίτης ἢν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συναίτων ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τοῖς ἢππεύσιν ἑξόπισθεν δὲ οἱ σφεν- δονίται καὶ τοξόται καὶ ὀπόσων ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλει γημυνόν ἀσπίδας καὶ θώρακος. οὕτω κοσμηθείσης τῆς φάλαγγος, μικρὰ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως προελθόντος ἀπαν τὸ πολέμου συνετετάρακτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαττε τὴν τάξιν.² ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν ἢππεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀνίεντων φεύγει μὲν αἰσχρῶς ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν αἰσχιον ἀρπάσας, λείπει δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἴππαρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ ταξιάρχως πάνω πολλοὺς καὶ

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

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

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έρρωμένως ἄγωνιζομένους, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν ποιητὴν
tοῦ τερατώδους καὶ ἔξαγιστον δράματος, δς πρῶτος 58
ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλετο μεταποιήσαι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ
ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ γέρως ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ τέως μὲν ἕχαρε τῆς πρώτης πείρας
οὐκ ἀποσφαλείς οὐδὲ ἀμαρτήσας, τότε δὲ ἐφε-
stώσας ἔχων δίκη ποινὰς ἀπαίτεῖται τῶν ἔργων
καὶ ἀπιστον τιμωρίαν εἰσπράττεται. πάντων
γὰρ ὁπόσοι τοῦ πολέμου τῷ τυράννῳ συνεφή-
ψαντο ἐμφανῆς μὲν ο θάνατος, δήλη δ' ἡ φυγή
καὶ ἄλλων μεταμέλεια: ικέτευον γὰρ πολλοί, καὶ
ἔτυχον ἀπαντες συγγνώμης, βασιλέως τὸν τῆς
Θέτιδος ὑπερβαλλομένου μεγαλοφροσύνη. ο
μὲν γὰρ, ἐπειδή Πάτροκλος ἐπεσε, οὐδὲ πιπρά-
κειν ἀλώτας ἐτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἥξιον, ἀλλ' ἰκετεύοντας περὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἐκτεινεν. ο δὲ
ἐκήρυττεν ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐξαρνουμένοις τὴν ἐξωμο-
σίαν, οὐ θανάτου μόνον ἡ φυγῆς ἡ τινος ἄλλης
tιμωρίας ἀφαιρῶν τὸν φόβον, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐκ τινος
tαλαιπωρίας καὶ ἂλης δυστυχος τῆς ἔχων τῷ
tυράννῳ βιοτῆς κατάγειν σφᾶς ἐτ' ἀκεράιος τοῖς
πρόσθεν ἥξιον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ αὔθις τεύξεται
λόγου.

'Εκεῖνο δὲ ἦδη ῥήτεον, ὡς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κει-
μένοις ἢν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὁ παιδοτρίβης
τοῦ τυράννου. τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπίλαισα συγγνώμην
eὐλογον οὔτω μὲν ἄδικα διανοηθέντα, ἀσεβὴς δὲ
ἐργασάμενον, φόνων τε ἄδικων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναι-
κῶν, πολλῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν, πάντων δὲ σχεδὸν

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

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

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

1 Marcellinus.
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οπόσοι τοῦ βασιλείου γένος μετείχον ἀψάμενον, οὕτι ξὺν δείματι οὐδὲ ἀν τις ἔμφυλον φόνον διανοηθείη δρῶν, παλαμάναν τινὰς καὶ μισσοτρι- 

ρας δεδίωσ καὶ ὕφορόμενος ἐκ τοῦ μιάσματος, 

ἀλλα ὡς περ του καθαρσίου κανοίς καὶ ἀτόποις 

τοὺς πρόθεθεν ἀπονυμπόμενος ἄνδρα ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ καὶ 

γυναικᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀποκιννῦσι εἰκότως 

ἀπέγνω τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ταῦτα εἰκὸς μὲν αὐτῶν 

diανοηθῆναι, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν. οὗ γὰρ 

δὴ 59 ἴσμεν δὲ, τί ποτε πάθων ἡ δράσας φίλετο ἀιστός, 

ἀφαντός. ἀλλ’ εἴτε αὐτὸν δαίμων τιμωρῶς ἐναρ-

πάσας, καθάπερ ὁμμῆς ὕφους τὰς τοῦ Πανδάρεω ι 

θυγατέρας, ἐπὶ γῆς ἄγει πέρατα ποινὰς ἀπαιτήσων 

tῶν διανοηματῶν, εἴτε αὐτὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὑποδεξά-

μενος ἐστὶν κελεύει τοὺς ἰχθύς, οὕτι πω δῆλον.

ἀχρὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς καὶ ὅπηνικα οὶ 

λόχοι συνετάπτοντο πρὸς φάλαγγα θραύσως ἢν ἐν 

Β 

μέσοις ἀναστρεφόμενοι: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπράξῃ 

tὰ τῆς 

μάχης, ὡς περ ἔν αἰξιν, ἀφανῆς φίλετο οὐκ οἶδα 

ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἢ δαίμονον κρυφθείς, πλὴν ὅτι γε 

οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀμείνωσι ταῖς τύχαις εὐθύλον. οὗ γὰρ 

δῆ ἀξίως ἐμελλε φανεῖς ἐπ’ ἐξουσίας ψβήξων 

ἀδεῶς εὐδαιμονήσειν, ὡς φίλετο, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ παν-

τελεῖς ἀφανισθείς τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν αὐτῷ μὲν

1 Πανδάρεω V, Naber, cf. Odyssey 20, 66, Τουράρεω MSS., 

Hertlein. 2 ἐπράξῃ MSS., Hertlein, ἐταράξῃ Naber.

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

¹ Odyssey 20. 66. ² The Drave.
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dυστυχώς, πολλοῖς δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ πρὸς ἐπα-
νόρθωσιν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν μηχανοποίων τῆς ὅλης
ὑποθέσεως πλείονος ἀξιωθέντα λόγου, μέση τῇ
C
πράξει1 παρελόμενα τὸ ξυνέχες τῆς διηγήσεως,
ἐνταῦθα που πάλιν ἄφετεά. Ἐπαντέων δὲ
ἄθεντε κ᾿ ἔξηλθον καὶ ἀποδοτέον τὸ τέλος τῆς
μάχης. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ξὺν τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν δειλία
καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πίπτει φρονήματα, ἀλλ᾿
ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῖς διεφθάρη, οὐ
κακία σφῶν, ἀπειρία δὲ καὶ ἀμαθία τοῦ τάττου-
τος, κατὰ λόγους συνιστάμενοι διηγούμενον·
καὶ οὐ τὸ ἔργον ἀπάσης ἐλπίδος μεῖζον, τῶν μὲν
όχι υφισμένων ἢ τὸ παντελῶς τοῖς κρατοῦσι,
τῶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν τελέως τῇ νίκῃ χιλιομομένους,
Εύμμηγής τε ἡρετο τάραχος καὶ βοὴ καὶ κτύπος
τῶν ὁπλῶν, ξιφῶν τε ἀγνομένων ἀμφὶ τοῖς κράνεσι
καὶ τῶν ἀστικῶν περὶ τοῖς δόρασιν. ἀνὴρ δὲ
ἀνδρὶ ξυνίστατο, καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰς ἀστίδας
αὐτοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὁθοῦντο 2 μικρὰ τοῦ παθεῖν
φροντίζοντες, ἀπαντα δὲ εἰς τὸ δρασά τι δεινὸν
toὺς πολέμιους τῶν θυμῶν τρέποντες, τοῦ μὴ
καθαρὰν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ ἀδακρῶν παρασχεῖν τὴν
νίκην καὶ τὸ ἀποθνησκείν ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. καὶ
ταῦτα ἔδρων οὐ πεζοὶ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἵππων ὕπο τῶν θραυμάτων
ἀχρεία παντελῶς ἐγενόει τὰ δόρατα.3 ξυστοῦ
dὲ εἰςιν εὐμήκεις, οὖς συγκαταγνώνυτε καὶ
ἀποτιθῶντες εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζουσι.

1 μέση τῇ πράξει V, Hertlein, μισητῆς πράξεως Reiske,
μέση τῆς πράξεως MSS. 2 Naber suggests ὁθοῦν ὁθοῦντο.
3 After δόρατα Petavius, Hertlein omit σφῶν.
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fatal, but to many was beneficial and gave them a chance of recovery.

Now though it would be well worth while to devote more of my speech to this man who was the author of that whole enterprise, yet it breaks the thread of my narrative, which had reached the thick of the action. So I must leave that subject for the present, and going back to the point where I digressed, describe how the battle ended. For though their generals showed such cowardice, the courage of the soldiers was by no means abated. When their line was broken, which was due not to their cowardice but to the ignorance and inexperience of their leader, they formed into companies and kept up the fight. And what happened then was beyond all expectation; for the enemy refused altogether to yield to those who were defeating them, while our men did their utmost to achieve a signal victory, and so there arose the wildest confusion, loud shouts mingled with the din of weapons, as swords were shattered against helmets and shields against spears. It was a hand to hand fight, in which they discarded their shields and attacked with swords only, while, indifferent to their own fate, and devoting the utmost ardour to inflicting severe loss on the foe, they were ready to meet even death if only they could make our victory seem doubtful and dearly bought. It was not only the infantry who behaved thus to their pursuers, but even the cavalry, whose spears were broken and were now entirely useless. Their shafts are long and polished, and when they had broken them they
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καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ἄντείχον ἑπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε ἵππεις ἔβαλλον ἐκ τῶν πόρρωθεν ἐφιππαζόμενοι ¹ καὶ οἱ θωρακοφόροι πυκναῖς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔχρωντο ταῖς ἐπελάσεσιν ἀτε ἐν πεδίῳ καθαρῷ καὶ λείῳ νῦς τε ἐπέλαβεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἀπέφευγον ἀσμένοι, οἱ δὲ ἐδώκον καρτερῶς ἀχρί τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱροῦσιν αὐταῖς ἀποσκέυαις καὶ ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ κτήνεσιν. ἀρξαμένης δὲ, ὑπερ ἐφθη, ἀρτι τῆς τροφῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν δισκόντων οὐκ ἀνέντων, ἐπὶ τὸ λαϊὸν ὄθωνται, ἦνταῦθα δὲ οἱ ποταμοῦς ἢν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος, καὶ ἐπιληφθη οὐκ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπώ λαμβάνει. οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ Δραὸς ἐώοις Σκαμάνδρῳ, οὐδὲ ἦν εὔμενῆς τοὺς φεύγοντις, ὡς τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς αὐτοῖς ὀψτικοῖς ξωθήτω καὶ ἀπορριπτέων τῶν βευμάτων, τοὺς ξώντας δὲ ξυγκαλύπτεν καὶ ἀποκρυπτεύς ἄσφαλῆς ταῖς δίναις. τούτῳ γὰρ οἱ ποταμοῦς ὁ Τρόας τυχὼν μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐνοιας ἐδρα, τυχὼν δὲ οὕτως ἔχων μεγέθους, ὡς ῥάδιου παρέχουν βαδίζειν τα ἐπειδοῦ καὶ νηρομένῳ τοῦ πόρου ἑπεὶ καὶ γεφυροῦται μᾶς ἐμβληθησάς εἰς αὐτὸν πτελέας, ἀπασ τα ἀναμορμῆρων ἀφρό καὶ αἵματι πλάζ' ὅμοις Ἀκηλῆς, εἰ χρῆ καὶ τοῦτο πιστεῦσαι, βιαότερον δὲ οὐδέν εἰργάζετο καὶ ἐπιλαβόντος ὑλίγου καύματος ἀπαγορεύει τῶν πόλεμον καὶ ἐξόμυνται τὴν ἐπικουρίαν. Ὁμήρου δὲ ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο παῖγνον, καίνον καὶ ἄτοπον μονομαχίας τρόπον ἐπινοήσαντος. ἑπεὶ καὶ τάλλα

¹ ἐφιππαζόμενοι Hertlein suggests, ἀφιππαζόμενοι MSS.
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dismounted and transformed themselves into hoplites. So for some time they held their own against the greatest odds. But since our cavalry kept shooting their arrows from a distance as they rode after them, while the cuirassiers made frequent charges, as was easy on that unobstructed and level plain, and moreover night overtook them, the enemy were glad at last to take to flight, while our men kept up a vigorous pursuit as far as the camp and took it by assault, together with the baggage and slaves and baggage animals. Directly the rout of the enemy had begun, as I have described, and while we kept up a hot pursuit, they were driven towards the left, where the river was on the right of the victors. And there the greatest slaughter took place, and the river was choked with the bodies of men and horses, indiscriminately. For the Drave was not like the Scamander, nor so kind to the fugitives; it did not put ashore and cast forth from its waters the dead in their armour, nor cover up and hide securely in its eddies those who escaped alive. For that is what the Trojan river did, perhaps out of kindness, perhaps it was only that it was so small that it offered an easy crossing to one who tried to swim or walk. In fact, when a single poplar was thrown into it, it formed a bridge, and the whole river roared with foam and blood and beat upon the shoulders of Achilles, if indeed we may believe even this, but it never did anything more violent. When a slight fire scorched it, it gave up fighting at once and swore not to play the part of ally. However this, too, was probably a jest on Homer’s part, when he invented that strange and unnatural sort of duel. For in the

1 Iliad 21. 325 foll.  2 Iliad 21. 242.  3 Iliad 21. 269.

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δηλός ἦστιν Ἀχιλλεῖ χαριζόμενος, καὶ ὁσπερ θεατὰς ἄγων τὸ στρατεύμα μόνον ἀμαχὸν καὶ ἀνυπόστατων ἐπάγει τοὺς πολεμίους, κτείνοντα μὲν τοὺς ἐνυγχάνοντας, τρεπόμενον δὲ ἀπαξ-

απλῶς πάντας φωνῇ καὶ σχήματι καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων ταῖς προσβολαῖς, ἀρχομένης τε οἵμαι 

τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ ἕτο τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ταῖς 

ἡόσιν, ἔως εἰς τὸ τείχος ἄσμενοι ξυνελέγησαν οἱ 

διαφυγόντες. ταύτα ἑκεῖνος πολλοῖς ἐπετεὶ δη-

γοῦμενος καὶ θεῶν ἀναπλάττων μάχας καὶ ἐπι-

κοσμόν μύθοις τὴν ποίησιν δεκάζει τοὺς κριτὰς 

καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει δικαίως φέρειν καὶ ἄγευδὴ 

ψῆφον. ἡστερὶ δὲ ἑθελεῖ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους 

Β ἔξαπτασθαι τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐξωθεὶν ἐπι-

φερομένων πλασμάτων, ὁ ὁσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ 

ἀρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρωμάτων, ὁ Ἁρεσπαγή

τῆς ἐστω· κριτῆς, καὶ οὐκ εὑλαβησόμεθα τὴν κρίσιν. 

εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατιώτην ὄμολογομεν 

τὸν Πηλέως, ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀναπειθόμενοι. 

κτείνει μὲν ἄνδρας εἴκοσι,

Ζωοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποταμοῦ δυνάσκει λέξατο κούρους, 
Τοὺς ἔξηγε θύραξε τεθηπότας ἥτυ νεβροῦς, 
Ποινὴν Πατρόκλου Μενοιτιάδαο θανότος.

τοσαύτην μὲν τοῖς ἦνεγκεν εἰς τὰ πράγματα τῶν 
'Αχαιῶν ἡ νίκη τὴν ῥοπῆν, ὅστε οὐδὲ μείζονα 
φόβον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέβαλεν οὐδὲ ἀπογράναι ἐς 
τὸ παντελὲς ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐποίει. καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτων

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

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

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

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

¹ For eight words the text is hopelessly corrupt.
² Iliad 21. 27.
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ἀρ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς μάρτυρος δεσσόμεθα τὸν Ὑμηρον παραλυπόντες; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τῶν ἐπῶν μη- σθῆναι, ἀ πεποίηκεν ἐκείνος, ὀπτηνίκα ἐπὶ τὰς ναίς ἦλθεν ὁ Πράμως φέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λύτρα; ἐρομένον γὰρ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑπὲρ οὖν ἀφίκτο, τοῦ τῆς Θέτιδος νίεος

Ποσσῆμαρ μέμονας κτερείζεμεν Ἐκτορα δίον,
τά τε ἄλλα διέξεις καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου φησίν.

Τῇ δὲ δυσδεκάτῃ πολεμίζομεν, εἴπερ ἀνάγκη.

οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλειν ὁκνεί μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἀγεννὴς καὶ δειλὸς τύραννος ὅρη τῇ υψηλῇ προτειένει τῆς αὐτοῦ φυγῆς καὶ ἐξοικοδομήσας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς φρούρια οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν τόπων ὄχυροτητὶ πιστεύει, ἄλλα ἱκετεύει συγγρήμ- μης τυγχάνειν. καὶ ἑτυχείς ἄν, εἴπερ ἂν ἄξιος καὶ μὴ ἐφωράθῃ πολλάκις ἀπιστοῖς καὶ θραύσεις, ἄλλα ἐπὶ ἄλλοις προστιθεῖσι ἀδικήματα.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ μὴ δόξη τις τῶν διηγουμένων προσέχειν ἔθελοι μηδὲ ἔπεσον εὐ πεποιημένης, ἐς αὐτὰ δὲ ὅραν τὰ ἔργα, κρινέτο. ἔξης δ’, εἰ βούλεσθε τὴν Δίαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ἑπὶ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀντιθείναι μάχην τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἔργοις. ἦ δὴ Μυγδόνως ποταμῶν κάλλιστος τὴν αὐτοῦ προσ-

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

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

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

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

"And on the twelfth day we will fight again, if fight we must."¹

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

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

¹ Iliad 24. 657.
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tῆθησι φήμην, οὖση δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως ἐπωνύμως γέγονε δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἔτερον όνομα βάρβαρον, σύνθες τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τῇδε βαρβάρους ἐπιμεῖξας ταῦτῃ δὴ τὴν πόλιν στρατὸς ἀμήχανος πλῆθει Παρθναίων ἔνν Ἰνδοῖς περιέσχεν, ὀπτικότατα ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον βαδίζειν προύκειτο καὶ ὄπερ Ἡρακλεί φασιν ἐπὶ τὸ Δερναίον ἱόντι θηρίον συνενεχθῆναι, τὸν χαλάττιον καρκίνον, τούτο ἦν ὁ Παρθναῖων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου Τύρχητα διαβᾶς καὶ περιτειχίζων ἡ τὴν πόλιν χώμασιν ἑίτα εἰς ταῦτα δεχόμενος τὸν Μνυδόνιον λίμνην ἀπέφυγε τὸ περὶ τῷ ἀστεί χωρίον καὶ ὀστερὸ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ συνεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, μικρὸν ὑπερεχουσῶν καὶ ὑπερφαινομένων τῶν ἐπάλξεων. ἐποιλόρκει δὲ ναύς τε ἐπάγων καὶ ἐπὶ νεῶν μηχανάς καὶ ἦν οὐχ ἡμέρας ἔρχον, μηνῶν δὲ οἴμαι σχεδὸν τι τεττάρων. οὐ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει συνεχῶς ἀπεκρούοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπιμπτάντες τᾶς μηχανᾶς τοῖς πυρφορίωσιν ναύς δὲ ἀνεύλκων πολλάς μὲν έκ τοῦ τείχους, ἄλλας δὲ κατεάγχυντο ὑπὸ ρόμης τῶν ἀφιεμένων ὀργάνων καὶ βάρους τῶν βελῶν, ἐφέροντο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς ἱδροι ταλάντων ὁλκὴς Ἀττικῶν ἔπτα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ συχναὶς ἡμέραις ταῦτ' ἐδράτο, ῥήγνυται μέρος τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἡ τῶν ὕδατων εἰσρεῖ πλῆμμα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ τείχους μέρος οὐκ ἔλασσον πῆχεων ἐκατόν συγκατηγέθη.

'Ενταῦθα κοσμεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Περσικῶν

1 περιτειχίζων Hertlein suggests, cf. 27 B, ἐπετειχίζων MSS, 2 εἰσρεῖ Cobet, ἐκρεῖ MSS., Hertlein.

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King Antiochus. Then, too, it has another, a barbarian name 1 which is familiar to many of you from your intercourse with the barbarians of those parts. This city was besieged by an overwhelming number of Parthians with their Indian allies, at the very time when the Emperor was prepared to march against the usurper. And like the sea crab which they say engaged Heracles in battle when he sallied forth to attack the Lernaean monster, 2 the King of the Parthians, crossing the Tigris from the mainland, encircled the city with dykes. Then he let the Mygdonius flow into these, and transformed all the space about the city into a lake, and completely hemmed it in as though it were an island, so that only the ramparts stood out and showed a little above the water. Then he besieged it by bringing up ships with siege-engines on board. This was not the work of a day, but I believe of almost four months. But the defenders within the wall continually repulsed the barbarians by burning the siege-engines with their fire-darts. And from the wall they hauled up many of the ships, while others were shattered by the force of the engines when discharged and the weight of the missiles. For some of the stones that were hurled on to them weighed as much as seven Attic talents. 3 When this had been going on for many days in succession, part of the dyke gave way and the water flowed in in full tide, carrying with it a portion of the wall as much as a hundred cubits long. 4

Thereupon he arrayed the besieging army in the

1 Nisibis.
2 Sapor becomes the ally of Magnentius as the crab was the ally of the Hydra in the conflict with Heracles.
3 400 lbs. in all.
4 150 feet.
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trópon. διασώξονοι γὰρ καὶ ἀπομμούνται τὰ
Περσικὰ οὖν ἀξιούντες, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Παρθιναῖοι
νομίζεσθαι, Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιοῦμενοι.
ταῦτα τοι καὶ στολὴ Μηδικῆ χαίρουσι. καὶ ἐσ-
μάχας ἔρχονται ὁμοίως ἔκεινος ὅπλως τε ἀγαλ-
λόμενοι τοιούτοις καὶ ἐσθήμασιν ἐπιχρύσωσι καὶ
ἀλουργέσι. σοφίζονται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν
ἀφεστάναι Μακεδόνων, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν εἴ
ἀρχαίον βασιλείαν προσήκουσαν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ
βασιλεὺς Ξέρξην μιμοῦμενος ἐπὶ τίνος χειροποιή-
tου καθήστιο γηλόφου, προῆγε 1 δὲ ἦ στρατιὰ
ξίν τοῖς θηρίοις. ταῦτα δὲ ἔξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπέτο, καὶ ἔφερεν
ἐκ σιδήρου πύργους τοξοτῶν πλήρεις. ἤγοντο δὲ
αὐτῶν ἰππεῖς οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ οἱ τοξοταί, ἐτερον
ἰππέων πλῆθος ἀμήχανον. τὸ πεζὸν γὰρ σφιγ
ἄχρεον ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ καθέστηκεν οὗτε ἐντίμῳ
μετέχον τάξεως οὔτε ὁν σφιν ἐν χρεία, πεδιάδος
οὐσῆς καὶ ψυλῆς τῆς χώρας ὀπόσην νέμονται.
ἔοικε γὰρ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου
χρείας τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀξιοῦσαι. ὡς οὖν
ἄχρεον τῇ φύσει οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν νόμων πολυωρίας
ἀξιοῦται. συνέβη δὲ οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἐρήτου
καὶ Καρίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ μυρίοις ἔθνεσι τὰ
περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατασκευασθῆναι. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ
Θετταλῶν οὖσα πεδίας ἰππεῦσιν ἐναγωνίζεσθαι
καὶ ἐμμελετῶν ἐπιτήδειος ἐφάνη. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς
ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ἀτε ἐς ἀντιπάλους παντοδατοὺς
καταστάντα, εὐβουλία καὶ τύχη περιγενόμενα,

1 προῆγε Hertlein suggests, προῆγε MSS,

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

1 Elephants.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

eikótως ἐς ἀπαν εἴδος ὄπλων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς ἄλλης ἡμῶσθη.

'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν εἰποιεῖν οἱ ταῖς τῶν ἐπαίνων τέχναις καθάπερ νόμοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι· ἔγω δὲ εἰ μὲν τί σοι προσήκει καὶ τούτων, ἐν καρπῷ σκέψομαι, τά γε μὴν οὐείδη τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπολύομαι. φημὶ γὰρ ὡς οὔτε ἔγώ τῶν τεχνῶν μεταποιοῦμαι οὔτε ὅστις μὴ τισιν ὁμολογήσειν ἐμμενεῖν ἀδικεῖ μὴ φυλάττων ταῦτα· τυχόν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν εὐπρεπῶν παρατήρησεων. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον μακρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν δέουν ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀποπλανάσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως. ἐπαναβῶμεν οὐν αὕτης εἰς ἵχνος καὶ οἶδην ἐξέβην.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ Παρθυναῖοι κοσμηθέντες ὅπλοις αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ὑποί ξύν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς θηρίοις προσήγουν τῷ τείχει, λαμπροὶ ταῖς ἐπίσιν ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα ἀναρπασόμενοι, καὶ ἐδέδωκα σφιν τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν τῷ σημείῳ, ὥθοντο ξύμπαντες, αὐτὸς τοῖς θέλον πρῶτος ἑσαλέσθαι τὸ τείχος καὶ οἶχεσθαι φέρων τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ κλέος· εἰναι το ὀὐδὲν ἐτοπαζόν δέος· οὖν δὲ γὰρ ὑπομενεῖν σφῶν τὴν ὀρμήν τοὺς ἑιδον. Παρθυναῖοι μὲν τοσοῦτον περιῆν ἐλπίδοις. οἱ δὲ πυκνὴν τε εἰχὸν τὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, καὶ υπὲρ τοῦ συνεστῶτος ὀπόσον ἢν ἄχρειον πλήθος

1 παρασκευῆς ἄλλης Cobet, MSS., παρασκευῆς (ἄλλοτε) ἄλλης Reiske, Hertlein.
2 ἀναρπασόμενοι Hertlein suggests, διαρπασάμενοι V, διαρπασόμενοi MSS.

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

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

Now when the Parthians advanced to attack the wall in their splendid accoutrements, men and horses, supported by the Indian elephants, it was with the utmost confidence that they would at once take it by assault. And at the signal to charge they all pressed forward, since every man of them was eager to be the first to scale the wall \(^1\) and win the glory of that exploit. They did not imagine that there was anything to fear, nor did they believe that the besieged would resist their assault. Such was the exaggerated confidence of the Parthians. The besieged, however, kept their phalanx unbroken at the gap in the wall, and on the portion of the wall that was still intact they posted all the non-

\(^1\) Iliad 12. 438; cf. 71 \(b\)
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ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέστησαν ἀναμέξαντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὖν ἐλάττω μοῖραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολέμωι προσήλαυσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀφετε βῆλος, βεβαιωτέραν ἔχον τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κατ’ ἄκρας αἰρῆσειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐπαινοῦ τάς πλευρὰς τοῖς κέντροις, ἐντούτους σφῶν κατὰ ψύτων τὰ χῶματα· ἐπεποίητο δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔκεινα πρότερον πρὸς τὸ ἐπέχειν τοῦ Μυγδόνου τὰς ἐκροάς, ἢ λύσα τε ἢν περὶ τὸ χωρίον εὐ μάλα βαθεία οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς παντελῶς δύνατος ὑπὸ τῆς ὑλῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ πέιραν εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ στέγειν δύνασθαι φύσει τὰς λιβάδας. ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ παλαιών ἔρυμα τῇ πόλει τάφρος εὐφρεία, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ βαθύτερον συνειστήκει τέλμα. ἀπτομένων δὲ ἢδη τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ταύτης καὶ διαβαίνειν πειρωμένων, ἐπέξεσαν 2 πολλοὶ μὲν ἐνδοθεῖν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔβαλλον τῶν λίθων· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος, φυγῇ δὲ ἐτρεπτον τοὺς ἵππους ἄμαρπαντες, τῷ μόνῳ ἐθέλειν καὶ δηλοῦν τὴν γνώμην διὰ τοῦ σχῆματος. ἐπιστρεφόντων γὰρ ἐπιττον εὐθέως καὶ κατέφερον τοὺς ἵππεας· βαρεῖς δὲ ἄντε τοῖς ὀπλοῖς μᾶλλον ἐνειχόντο τῇ τέλματι. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα γίνεται φόνος, ὅσος οὐπώ πρόσθεν εἰς πολυμορφία τοιαύτῃ 3 γέγονεν.

Επεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἰππέων ὅδε ἐπεπράγη, τῶν ἐλεφάντων πειρώνται, καταπλήξεσθαι μᾶλλον

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

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

1 The text here is corrupt.
οἴμενοι τῷ ξένῳ τῆς μάχης· οὔ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων διέφθαρτο, ώς μὴ καθοράν  
βαρύτερον μὲν ὤν ἵππον τὸ θηρίον, φέρον δὲ ἀχθος  
oὐχ ἵππων δυνών ἡ πλειόνων, ἀμαξῶν δὲ οἴμα  
συχνῶν, τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ σιδηρῶν C  
pύργων. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ἀπαντα πρὸς τὸ χωρίον  
χειροποίητον γεγονὸς τέλμα κωλύματα, καὶ ἦν  
αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ φανερά· ὅθεν οὐκ ἐκὼς εἰς μάχην  
ιέναι, ἀλλὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐνδον παρασκευάζονται.  
προσήχον δὲ ἐν τάξει μέτρον διεστῶτες  
ἀλλήλων ἵππων, καὶ ἐφυκε τείχες τῶν Παρθυνίων ἡ  
φάλαγξ· τὰ μὲν θηρία 1 τοῖσ πύργοις φέροντα,  
tῶν ὀπλιτῶν δὲ ἀναπληροῦντο τὰ ἐν μέσῳ.  
tαχθέντες δὲ οὕτως οὐ μέγα ὀφέλος ἦσαν τῷ υἱῷ  
βαρβάρω· παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν τοῖς  
ἐκ τοῦ τείχους συμβιβάσοντο. ώς δὲ ἐγένοντο διακορεῖσαν  
οἴονει λαμπρὰ καὶ πολυτελοῦσι πομπής πεμπτομένης,  
λίθους ἐκ μηχανῶν ἀφιέντες καὶ τόξους  
βάλλοντες εἰς τὴν τειχομαχίαν προκαλοῦντο  
tοὺς βαρβάρους. φύσει δὲ ὅντες εἰς ὄργην ὧν  
ῥοποιοῦν καὶ δεινὸν ποιοῦμενοι τὸ γέλωτα ὧφλησαν  
καὶ ἀπαγογεῖν ὁπίσω τὴν παρασκευὴν ἄρπακτον,  
ἐγκελευμένου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως, προσήχον τῷ  
teίχει καὶ ἐξαίρουσκε πυκνοῖς 2 τοῖς λίθοις καὶ  
tοῖς τοξούμασι καὶ ἐτρώθη τῶν θηρίων τινὰ καὶ  
ἀπέθανεν κατενεχθέντα 3 ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰλνος. δεισάντες  
de καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπήγον ὁπίσω πάλιν εἰς  
tὸ στρατόπεδον.

1 τὰ μὲν θηρία corrupt, Hertlein.
2 πυκνοῖς Cobet, πυκνὸς MSS., Hertlein.
3 κατενεχθέντα Reiske, εἰσενεχθέντα MSS., Hertlein.
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likely to overawe us by that novel sort of fighting. For surely they had not been stricken so blind as not to see that an elephant is heavier than a horse, since it carries the load, not of two horses or several, but what would, I suppose, require many waggons, I mean archers and javelin men and the iron tower besides. All this was a serious hindrance, considering that the ground was artificially made and had been converted into a bog. And this the event made plain. Hence it is probable that they were not advancing to give battle, but rather were arrayed to overawe the besieged. They came on in battle line at equal distances from one another, in fact the phalanx of the Parthians resembled a wall, with the elephants carrying the towers, and hoplites filling up the spaces between. But drawn up as these were they were of no great use to the barbarian. It was, however, a spectacle which gave the defenders on the wall great pleasure and entertainment, and when they had gazed their fill at what resembled a splendid and costly pageant in procession, they hurled stones from their engines, and, shooting their arrows, challenged the barbarians to fight for the wall. Now the Parthians are naturally quick-tempered, and they could not endure to incur ridicule and lead back this imposing force without striking a blow; so by the king's express command they charged at the wall and received a continuous fire of stones and arrows, while some of the elephants were wounded, and perished by sinking into the mud. Thereupon, in fear for the others also, they led them back to the camp.
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Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ὁ Παρθυναῖος ἠμαρτε τῆς πείρας, τοὺς τοξότας διελῶν εἰς μοίρας διαδεχεθάι τε ἀλλήλους κελεύει καὶ συνεχῶς βάλλειν. πρὸς τὸ διερρηγμένου τοῦ τείχους, ὥς μὴ δυσθεῖεν ἀποικοδομήσαι καὶ ἔχειν ἁσφαλῶς τὴν πόλιν ὥστο τὰρ αἱρήσειν λαθῶν ἢ βιασάμενος τῷ πλήθει τοὺς ἐνδον ἠλπίζει. ἀλλὰ μάταιου γὰρ ἢ ἀπεφηνεν ἡ βασιλέως παρασκευὴ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ διανόμα. κατὰ νότου γὰρ τῶν ὑπλτῶν ἔτερον τείχος εἰργάζετο. ὁ δὲ φέτος τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἰχνεῖσιν ἐς τὰ θεμέλια χρωμένους μέλλειν ἔτι. ἡμέρα δὲ ὅλη καὶ νυκτὶ συνεχῶς ἐργασαμένων ἦστε ἐπὶ τετταρας πῆχες ὕψους ἤγείρετο, καὶ ἔστησεν ὁ ἱλική λαμπρὸν καὶ νεουργῆς, ἐκεῖνων οὐδὲ ἀκαρή χρόνον ἐνδιδύτων, διαδεχομένων δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀκούτη-ξόντων ἐς τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τῷ κειμένῳ τείχει, τούτῳ ἐξεπληξεν δεινῶς τὸν βάρβαρον. οὗ μὴν ἤπηγεν εὐθύς τὴν στρατιὰν, ἀλλ' αὐθις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήται παλαίσμασι. δράσασι δὲ οἶμαι καὶ παθῶν παραπλήσια ἀπήγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὅπλωσιν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δῆμους ἀπολέσας, πολλὰ δὲ ἀναλώσας περὶ τοῖς χώμασι καὶ τῇ πολυρκίᾳ σώματα, σατράπας δὲ ἀνελὼν συχνοὺς, ἄλλου ἄλλο ἐπαιτιώμενος, τὸν μὲν ὁτι μὴ καρτε-ρᾷς ἐπεπόλητο τὰ χώματα, εἴξε δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλύσην παρὰ τῶν ποταμίων ρεῦματων, τὸν δὲ ὡς φαύλως

1 ἀλλὰ μάταιον γὰρ Hertlein suggests, μάταιον δ' ἄρα Reiske, μάταιοι γὰρ MSS.
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Having failed in this second attempt as well, the Parthian king divided his archers into companies and ordered them to relieve one another and to keep shooting at the breach in the wall, so that the besieged could not rebuild it and thus ensure the safety of the town. For he hoped by this means either to take it by surprise, or by mere numbers to overwhelm the garrison. But the preparations that had been made by the Emperor made it clear that the barbarian’s plan was futile. For in the rear of the hoplites a second wall was being built, and while he thought they were using the old line of the wall for the foundations and that the work was not yet in hand, they had laboured continuously for a whole day and night till the wall had risen to a height of four cubits. And at daybreak it became visible, a new and conspicuous piece of work. Moreover the besieged did not for a moment yield their ground, but kept relieving one another and shooting their javelins at those who were attacking the fallen wall, and all this terribly dismayed the barbarian. Nevertheless he did not at once lead off his army but employed the same efforts over again. But when he had done as before, and as before suffered repulse, he did lead his army back, having lost many whole tribes through famine, and squandered many lives over the dykes and in the siege. He had also put to death many satraps one after another, on various charges, blaming one of them because the dykes had not been made strong enough, but gave way and were flooded by the waters of the river, another because when
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ἀγωνισάμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλας ἐπάγων αἰτίας ἐκτείνειν. ἔστι γὰρ εὑ μᾶλα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βαρβάροις σύνθες ἐσ τοὺς ὑπηκόους τὰς αἰτίας τῆς δυσπραγίας ἀποσκευάζεσθαι, δὴ καὶ τότε δράσας ἄπιων φόχετο. καὶ ἂνεί πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήμην ἐκ τούτου, καὶ οὔτε ὅρκων οὔτε συνθηκῶν ἐδέσσεν, ἀγαπᾷ δὲ οἶκοι μένων, εἰ 67 μὴ στρατεύοντο βασιλεύς ἔπτ’ αὐτὸν καὶ δίκην ἀπαιτοῦ τοῦ βράσους καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας.

*Ἀρά γε ἂξιον ταύτην παραβαλεῖν τὴν μάχην ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τοῦ τείχους; ἀθρείτε δὲ ὅδε τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὸ διάφορον λογίζεσθε. Ἐλλήνων μὲν Αἰαντὲ καὶ οἱ Δαπίθαι καὶ Μενεσθεὺς τοῦ τείχους εἰξαν καὶ περείδου τὰς πύλας συντριβομένας ὑφ’ Ἐκτορος καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἐπιβεβηκότα τὸν Σαρπιδόνα. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ διαρραγέντος αὐτομάτως τοῦ τείχους ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο Παρθναίους ἧν Ἰνδοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. εἰτα ο μὲν ἐπιθάντο τῶν νεῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερίων ὅσπερ ἐρύματος πεζὸς διαγωνίζεται, οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν τείχῶν ἐναυμάχουν, τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐπάλξεων εἰξαν καὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐνίκων ναυσὶ τε ἐπιόντας καὶ πεζῷ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὐ ποιὼν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα καὶ τὸν Σαρπιδόνα, οὐκ οἶδα ὡσποδὲ ὑπηνέχθη καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸ γέ φασι τῶν ἔργων.
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fighting under the walls he had not distinguished himself; and others he executed for one offence or another. This is in fact the regular custom among the barbarians in Asia, to shift the blame of their ill-success on to their subjects. Thus then the king acted on that occasion, and afterwards took himself off. And from that time he has kept the peace with us and has never asked for any covenant or treaty, but he stays at home and is thankful if only the Emperor does not march against him and exact vengeance for his audacity and folly.

And now am I justified in comparing this battle with those that were fought in defence of the Greek ships and the wall? Observe the following points of similarity, and note also the difference. Of the Greeks the two Ajaxes, the Lapithae and Menestheus fell back from the wall and looked on helplessly while the gates were battered down by Hector, and Sarpedon scaled the battlements. But our garrison did not give way even when the wall fell in of itself, but they fought and won, and repulsed the Parthians, aided though these were by their Indian allies. Then again Hector went up on to the ships and fought from their decks on foot, and as though from behind a rampart, whereas our garrison first had to fight a naval battle from the walls, and finally, while Hector and Sarpedon had to retreat from the battlements and the ships, the garrison routed not only the forces that brought ships to the attack but the land force as well. Now it is appropriate that by some happy chance my speech should have alluded to Hector and Sarpedon, and to what I may call the very crown of their achievements, I mean the de-
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τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὴν καθαίρεσιν τοῦ τείχους, δὲ μᾶ 
πρότερον ἡμέρα τοῦς Ἀχαιόν φησι, τοῦ Πυλίου 
δημαρχοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἐξουσιοδοτος, ἀρρηκτον 
νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξαρα κατασκευασθαι.

Σχεδὸν γὰρ μοι τούτο φαίνεται τὸ γενναίοτατον 
tῶν ἔργων "Εκτορά, καὶ οὐχὶ Γλαύκου τέχνης ² 
συνεῖναι οὔτε σοφωτέρας ἐπινοιας δεῖται, Ὄμηρον 
sαφὸς διδάσκοντος, ὄς Ἀχιλλεώς μὲν φανέντος 
ἐδύσετο οὐλαμὸν ἄνδρων.

'Αγαμέμνονος δὲ τοῖς Τρωσίων ἐπικείμενον καὶ ἐς τὸ 
teίχος καταδιώκαντος "Εκτορά ὑπαγε Ζεὺς, ἰνα 
ἀποσώβοιτο καθ' ἁσυχίαν. προσπαίζων δὲ αὐτὸν 
ὁ ποιήτης καὶ καταγελῶν τῆς δειλίας ὑπὲ τῇ 
φηγῷ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πῦλαις ἤδη καθημένω την 
Ἰριν ἤκειν ἐφη παρὰ τοῦ Δίος φράζουσαν

'Οφρ' ἄν μὲν κεν ὄρας Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαὸν 
Θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχουσιν, ἐναίροντα στίχας ἄν-

δρῶν,

Τόφρ' ὑπόεικε μάχης.

πῶς γὰρ εἰκός οὕτως ἄγενη καὶ δειλὰ παραινεῖ

τὸν Δία, ἀλλὼς τε οὔτε μαχομένῳ, ἔσυν πολλῇ δὲ 
ἐστῶτι ῥαστώπῃ; καὶ ὅπηνίκα δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τυδέως, 
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πολλὴν ἐκ τοῦ κράτους ἀναπτούσης 
φλόγα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινε, φεῦγειν δὲ ἰμάγκαζε 
tοὺς υπομένοντας, πόρρω τε ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέ-

μου, καὶ πολλὰ υπομένων οὐείδη ἀπέγνω μὲν 
κρατοῦσι τοῖς Ἀχαιόις ἀντιστίθηναι, εὐπρεπῇ δὲ 
ποιεῖται τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀστυ πορείαν, ὡς τῇ μητρὶ

¹ δ Reiske adds.
² τέχνη Reiske, τέχνη cant. Hertlein, τέχνη MSS.
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struction of that wall which Homer tells us the Achaeans built only the day before, on the advice of the princely orator of Pylos "to be an impregnable bulwark for the ships and the army." For that I think was almost the proudest of Hector's achievements, and he did not need the craft of Glaucus to help him, or any wiser plan, for Homer says plainly that the moment Achilles appeared

"He shrank back into the crowd of men." Again, when Agamemnon attacked the Trojans and pursued them to the wall, Zeus stole away Hector so that he might escape at his leisure. And the poet is mocking him and ridiculing his cowardice when he says that as he was sitting under the oak-tree, being already near the gate, Iris came to him with this message from Zeus:

"So long as thou seest Agamemnon, shepherd of the host, raging among the foremost fighters and cutting down the ranks of men, so long do thou keep back from the fight." For is it likely that Zeus would give such base and cowardly advice, especially to one who was not even fighting, but was standing there very much at his ease? And while the son of Tydeus, on whose head Athene kindled a mighty flame, was slaying many and forcing to flight all who stayed to encounter him, Hector stood far away from the battle. Though he had to endure many taunts, he despaired of making a stand against the Achaeans, but made a specious excuse for going to the city to advise his

\(^1\) Nestor. \(^2\) Iliad 14. 56. \(^3\) Iliad 20. 379. \(^4\) Iliad 11. 163. \(^5\) Iliad 11. 202.
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παραινέσων ἐξιλεούσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾶν μετὰ τῶν Τρωάδων. καίτοι εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἰκέτευε πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ ξῦν τῇ γερούσιᾳ, πολὺν ἄν ἑἶχε λόγον προσήκει γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα καθάπερ ἵερεα καὶ προφήτην θεραπεὺειν ἀεὶ ξῦν κόσμῳ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηδὲν ὁλυνωρεῖν μηδὲ ἐτέρῳ. Ο μᾶλλον προσήκειν ἠγείρεθαι μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀνάξιον αὐτοῦ νομίζουσα τὸ διακόνημα.

Ὁ ὅμως γὰρ τῇ Πλάτωνος μικρὰ παρατρέψας λέξιν ὄν χΡ ἀμαρτήσασθαι, ὡς ὅτι ἀνδρὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ βασιλεῖ, ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλως ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται, ἐξ ὅν εἰ ἣ κακῶς πραξάμενοι πλανάσθαι ἀναγκάζεται αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἑκείνου πράγματα, τούτῳ ἀριστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ξῆν. εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν μηδὲς μεταγράφειν ὁ μηδὲ ἐκτρέπειν μηδὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦνομα, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἰερὸν ἄρχαιον κελεύοι μένειν ἕαν ἀκίνητον, οὐδὲ οὔτως ἄλλο τί διανοεῖσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ἐροῦμεν. τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν οὐ δήποτε τὸ σῶμα φησιν οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα οὐδὲ εὐγένειαν καὶ δόξαν πατέρων· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν τινος οἰκεῖα κτήματα, οὐ μὴν ἐστι ταῦτα αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν, φησί, καὶ τὸ ὅλον τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν θεόν. δ ἡ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρωθι 69

1 ἐν Hertlein adds.
2 μεταγράφειν Cobet, paraγράφειν MSS., Hertlein.
3 εἰς ἑαυτὸν Cobet, cf. Menexenus 247 οἱ σεαυτὸ Hertlein, suggests εἰαυτὸν, ἱεαυτὸν V, σεαυτὸς MSS.
4 νοῦν—φρόνησιν Hertlein suggests, νη—φρονήσει MSS.
5 τὸν—θεόν Hertlein suggests, τῷ—θεῷ MSS. Hertlein suspects corruption.

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

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

1 Menexenus 247 E.
2 Plato says eis tawdov avhrpynou "who depends on himself."
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κυριώτατον ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς εἴδος ἔφη, καὶ ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸν δαίμονα θεός ἐκάστῳ δέδωκε, τούτῳ δὲ δὴ φαμεν οἷκειν μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀκρό τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὕρανῳ ἐγγενείαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖν. ἐς τούτῳ γὰρ ἐοικεν ἐπιτάττειν ἀνηρτήθησαι χρήναι ἐκάστῳ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ όυκ εἰς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα βλάπτειν καὶ κωλύειν ἑθέλοντες πολλάκις ἐδυνήθησαν ἢδη δὲ τινες καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰ παρείλουτο. τούτῳ δὲ ἀκώλυτον μόνον καὶ ἀπαθές ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος τὸ κρείττον βλάπτεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐκείθεν ὁ λόγος. ἀλλ’ ἐοικα γὰρ καταφορτίζειν ὡμᾶς τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος λόγοις μικρὰ ἐπιπάττων τῶν ῥημάτων ὡσπερ ἄλων ἢ χρυσοῦ ψήγματος. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡδίω τὴν τροφὴν, ὁ δὲ εὐπρεπῆ μᾶλλον παρέχει τὴν θέαν. ἀμφότερα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Πλάτωνος λόγοις· καὶ γὰρ αἰσθήσαται διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἡδίους τῶν ἄλων καὶ θρέψαι ψυχὴν εἰν ἡδονὴ καὶ καθήρα ταὐμαστοί· ὡστε οὐκ ἀποκυνητέον οὐδὲ εὐλαβητέον τὸν ψόγον, εἰ τις ἄρα καταμέμφοιτο τὴν ἀπληστίαν, καὶ ὁτι παντὸς ἐπιδιραττόμεθα ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις οἱ λύχνοι τῶν ἑωδίμων ἀπάντων, οὐχ ύπομένοντες τὸ μὴ τῶν προκειμένων ἀψασθαι. τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐοικε συμβαίνειν, ἑπαίνους ἀμα καὶ δόγματα ἄδειαν καὶ πρὶν ἢ μετρίως ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ προτέρου λόγου μέσον ὑποτεμομένοις φιλοσόφων ἐξηγείσθαι ῥή-

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

¹ Timaeus 90a. ² Apology 30d. ³ Republic 354b.
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σεις. πρὸς δὴ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταμεμφομένους εἴρηται μὲν ἢδη καὶ πρότερον καὶ αὖθις δὲ ἵσως λελέξεται.

Νῦν δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀποδόντες τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπανάγωμεν ὁσπέρ οἱ προεκθέοντες ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις. ἔλεγετο δὲ οὖν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν τινὰ φησὶ. Πλάτων τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν 70 κτήσιν. ταύτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς θαυμασίοις διώρισται νόμων. ὁσπέρ οὖν, εἰ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν λέγων ὁμοιοίως ἐν τοῖς ἐντός ἐκτός, ἐξ ὧν εἰ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων ἡ καὶ πασχόντων πλανᾶται ἀναγκάζεται, τούτῳ ἀριστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, ὥστε παρατρέπει τὴν λέξιν οὐδὲ παραποιεῖ, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ ὅρθως καὶ ἐρμηνεύει: οὐτω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ λέξεως τὸν θεὸν παραλαμβάνει αὐτῷ ἀδικεῖ. εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἢμῖν δαίμονα, ἄντα μὲν ἀπαθὴ τῇ φύσει καὶ θεῷ ἐλεύθερη, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνατλάνται καὶ ὑπομείναντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα κοινωνίαν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν τε καὶ φθείρεισθαι φαντασίαν τοὺς πολλοῖς παρασχόντα, τοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνους προϊσταται βίον τῷ γε εὐδαιμονίησειν μέλλοντι, τῇ χρή προσδοκῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀμυγδούς γηνύφ σώματι διανοθῆναι νοῦ, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θεόν εἰναι φαμεν καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐπιπλέοντας τοῦ βίου χρῆναι παρανοοῦμεν πάντα ἰδιότητι τε καὶ βασιλεά,

1 tois pollois Hertlein suggests, pollois MSS.
2 idioten te Hertlein suggests, te idiothn MSS.
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philosophers. I have had occasion before now to reply to those who make such criticisms as these, and perhaps I shall have to do so again.

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

1 σαλυων, cf. 69 a.
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tōn γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ οὐ
νόθον οὐδὲ ψευδώνυμον, συνέντα μὲν αὐτοῦ
καὶ αἰσθανόμενον διὰ συγγένειαν, ύφιέμενον δὲ
αὐτῷ τῆς ἄρχης καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα τῆς ἐπιμελείας
ὡς ἐμφρονα; ἀνόητον γὰρ καὶ μάλα αὐθαδεὶς τὸ
μὴ καθάπαξ ἢς δύναμιν πείθεσθαι τὸ θεῖον ἀρετῆς
ἐπιμελομένους· τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα χαίρειν
ὑποληπτέουν τὸν θεόν. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ τῆς ἐννόμου
θεραπείας ἀποστατέον οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τιμὴν
ὑπεροπτέον τοῦ κρείττονος, θετεόν δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς
μοίρᾳ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν κρατίστην. ἔστι γὰρ
όσιότης τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔγχονος· αὐτῇ δὲ ὅτι
τοῦ θειοτέρου ψυχῆς εἴδους ἐστίν, οὐδένα λέληθε
τῶν ὦσι τὰ τοιαύτα μεταχειρίζονται.

Ταῦτα τοι καὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸν Ἐκτόρα σπέδειν
μὲν οὐκ ἔθελοντα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν λύθρων
ἐξονομεῖν δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἀστυ οἴειν μηδὲ ἀπολείπειν
tὴν μάχην μέλλοντά γε οὐ στρατηγὸν καὶ
βασιλέως ἐπιτελεῖν ἔργον, διακόνον δὲ καὶ
ὑπηρέτου. Ἰδαίον τινὸς ἢ Ταλθμίοι τάξιν
ἀναληψόμενον. ἀλλ' έσοικε γάρ, ὅτερ ἐφαμεν
ἐς ἁρχής, πρόφασις εὐπρεπῆς 1 εἶναι φυγῆς
τοῦτο. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε τῷ Τελαμωνίῳ ξυνί-
στατο πεισθεῖς τῇ φήμῃ τοῦ μάντεως, ἀσπασίως
dιελύθη καὶ ἐδώκε δώρα, τὸν θάνατον ἐκφυγὼν
ἀσμενὸς. 2 καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν, φεύγουσιν ἐπεται Β

1 εὐπρεπῆς Cobet, εὐπρεποῦς MSS., Hertlein suggests
eὐπρεπῆς ἄπρεποῦς cf. 19 D.
2 ἀσμενὸς Hertlein suggests, ἁσμένος MSS.

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

For this reason, then, while I applaud Hector for refusing to make a libation because of the bloodstains on his hands, he had, as I said, no right to go back to the city or forsake the battle, seeing that the task he was about to perform was not that of a general or of a king, but of a messenger and underling, and that he was ready to take on himself the office of an Idaeus or Talthybius. However, as I said at first, this seems to have been simply a specious excuse for flight. And indeed when he obeyed the bidding of the seer and fought a duel with the son of Telamon,¹ he was very ready to make terms and to give presents, and rejoiced to have escaped death. In short, as a rule, he is brave when in pursuit of the retreating foe, but in no case

¹ Ajax.
ΤΗΣ ΟΡΑΤΙΟΝΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΩΥΑΝΝΙΟΥ

θρασίσως, αὐτός δέ ἐστιν οὐδαμοῦ νίκης καὶ τροπῆς, πλὴν ὅτε

πρώτος ἔσηλατο τείχος Ἀχαϊῶν

ξὺν τῷ Σαρπηδώνι. πότερον οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἔχουτες

τηλικούτον ἔργον βασιλέως εὐλαβησόμεθα τῶν ἀγώνα, μή ποτὲ ἀρα μικρὰ μεγάλοι καὶ φαύλα

σπουδής ἀξίως μὲν ἔσται δόξωμεν, ἥ

tομῆσομεν καὶ πρὸς τηλικούτον ἔργον ἄμιλλα-

σθαι; οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἦν τὸ τείχος ὑπὲρ τῆς

ἡόνος, ἐν οὐδὲ δλῳ τῷ πρὸ μεσημβρίας χρόνῳ

συνυπελθεῖν, ὑπολοῦν ἡμῖν τοὺς χάρακας ἐνυμοῦν

κατασκευάζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων τείχος

παλαιόν τε ἦν φρούριον, καὶ αὐτὸ ἰχνῆται μετὰ

τὴν φυγήν ὁ τύραννος, ὅσπερ ἔρυμα τὸ νεουργῆς

ἀποφήμας καὶ ἀξιόλογον φρουρᾶν ἀπολυτῶν

ἔρρωμένων ἄνδρῶν. οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὡς πορρωτάτω

πορεύεται, ἔμενε δὲ ἐν τῇ πλησίον πόλει. ἔστι δὲ

Ἰταλῶν ἐμπόριοι πρὸς θαλάττη μάλα εὐδαίμων

καὶ πλοῦτῳ βρῶν. φέρουσι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν φορτία

Μυσώλ καὶ Παίωνες καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὑπόσου τὴν

μεσόγαιαν κατοικοῦσιν, Ἕνετο δὲ οἶμαι τὸ πρόσ-

θεν ὁνομάζοντο. νῦν δὲ ἡδὴ Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις

ἐχόντων τὸ μὲν εἶ ἄρχῆς ὅνωμα σώζουσι βραχείᾳ

προσθήκη γράμματος ἐν ἄρχῃ τῆς ἑπονυμίας. ἔστι δὲ

αὐτοῦ σύμβολον χαρακτῆρ εἰς, ὁνομάζουσι οὐ

δὲ αὐτῶν οὖ, καὶ χρῆται ἀντὶ τοῦ βῆτα πολλάκις

προσπενεύσεως οἶμαι τινὸς ἐνεκα καὶ ἰδιότητος τῆς

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

"He was the first to leap within the wall of the Achaeans" ¹
together with Sarpedon. Shall I therefore shrink from competition as though I could not cite on behalf of the Emperor any such exploit, and must therefore avoid seeming to compare the trivial with the important and things of little account with what deserves more serious consideration, or shall I venture to enter the lists even against an achievement so famous? Now that wall was to protect the beach, and was a palisade such as we are wont to construct, and was completed in less than a morning. But the wall that was on the Alps was an ancient fort, and the usurper used it after his flight, converting it into a defence as strong as though it had been newly built, and he left there an ample garrison of seasoned troops. But he did not himself march all the way there, but remained in the neighbouring city.² This is a trading centre of the Italians on the coast, very prosperous and teeming with wealth, since the Mysians and Paeonians and all the Italian inhabitants of the interior procure their merchandise thence. These last used, I think, to be called Heneti in the past, but now that the Romans are in possession of these cities they preserve the original name, but make the trifling addition of one letter at the beginning of the word. Its sign is a single character ³ and they call it "oo," and they often use it instead of "b," to serve, I suppose, as a sort of breathing,

¹ Iliad 12. 438. ² Aquileia. ³ "v".
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γλώττης. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξύμπαυ ἔθνος ὥδε ἐπονομάζεται· τῇ πόλει δὲ ἄετος, ὡς φασιν, οἰκιζομένη δεξίος ἐκ Δίως ἰπτάμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ φήμην χαρίζεται. οἰκεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς ποσὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων· ὅρη δὲ ἐστὶ ταῦτα παμμεγέθη ¹ καὶ ἄπορρώγης ἐν αὐτοῖς πέτραι, μόλις ἀμάξη μᾶ καὶ ὄρκῳ ξευγεῖ τὴν ὑπέρβασιν βιαζομένους ξυγχωροῦντα, ἀρχόμενα μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης, ἢν δὴ τὸν Ἰόνιον εἶναι φαμέν, ἀποτειχίζοντα δὲ τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τε Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Γαλατῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ Τυρρηνὸν πέλαγος ἀναπαύομενα. Ὁ ρωμαίοι γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τῆς χώρας ἀπόσης ἔκρατουν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ τε τῶν Ἰνετῶν ἔθνος καὶ Διόγες τινες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Γαλατῶν οὐ φαύλη μοῖρα· τὰ μὲν ἄρχαια σφόν ὄνοματα σῶζειν οὐ διεκάλυψαι, τῷ κοινῷ δὲ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ξυγχωρεῖν κατηγάκασαν. καὶ νῦν ὀπόσα μὲν εἶσω τῶν Ἅλπεων κατοικεῖται, ἐστε ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν καθήκοντα, ταῦτα κοσμεῖται τῇ προσωνυμίᾳ· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἅλπεων τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν Γαλάται νέμονται, καὶ Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρκτον, ἵνα Ῥήνου τὲ εἰσίν αἰ πηγαλ καὶ αἰ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ πλησίον παρὰ τοῖς γείτοσι βαρβάροις· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐως ταῦτα δὴ τὰς Ἅλπεις ὄχυρον ἔφαμεν, ὅποτε ὁ τύραννος τὴν φρουρᾶν κατεσκεύασα. οὕτω δὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπανταχόθεν ὑρέσι τε συνεχομένης λίαι δυσβάτοις καὶ θαλάσσῃ τεναγώδει, ἀτε ἐσφεύτων ποταμῶν μυρίων, ὀδ ποιοῦσιν ἐλοι προσεοικὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἔλεσι, τὸ ξύμπαν

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

1 Because of this favourable omen the city was called Aquileia, "the city of the Eagle."
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τῆς ἑκείνης θαλάττης πέρας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἔλαβε καὶ ἐβιάσατο τὴν ἄνοδον.

Καὶ ἵνα μὴ διατρίβειν δοκῶ αὐθίς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν δυσχωρῶν διαλεγόμενος, καὶ ὁσ ὡσε ἑτατόπεδον ἢν ὀυδὲ χάρακα πλησίον καταβαλέσθαι, ὡσ ἐπάγειν μηχανάς καὶ ἐλεπόλεις, ἀνύδρου δεινῶς δυντος καὶ ὀυδὲ μικρὰς λιβάδας ἔχοντος τοῦ πέρεξ χωρίου, ἐπ’ αὐτὴν εἴμι τὴν αἴρεσιν. καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀθρόως ἔλεϊν τοῦ λόγου, ὑπομνήσθητε τῆς τοῦ Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πορείας, οἱ τὴν πέτραν ἑκείνην κατοκοῦν, ἐφ’ ἢν οὐδὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἢν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις ἀναπτύναι, ὅπως ἐάλω, καὶ οὐδὲ πλέον ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμήσετε πλὴν τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπε-βαλε πολλοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐξελῶν τὴν πέτραν, ὃ δὲ ἡμέτερος ἀρχων καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲ χιλιαρχὸν ἀποβαλὼν ἢ λοχαγόν τινα, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ὀπλίτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου, καθαρὰν καὶ ἀδακρυν περιέποιήσατο τὴν νίκην. "Εκτοπ δὲ οἴμαι καὶ Σαρπηδῶν πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος κατέβαλον, ἐντυχόντες δὲ ἀριστεύοντι Πατρόκλῳ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν κτείνεται, ὃ δὲ ἐφευρεν αἰσχρῶς οὐδὲ ἀνελόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φίλου. οὔτως οὔδενι ἕν πορρ’ ῥώμη δὲ μάλλον σωμάτων θρασυνόμενοι τὴν ἐς τὸ τείχος πάροδον ἐτόλμων. βασιλεὺς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀλκής ἐργὸν ἐστὶ καὶ θυμὸν χρήται τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ κρατεῖ ἔνων εὐβουλία, οὗ δὲ μόνον

1 κατέβαλον Reiske, ἐβαλον MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἔνων εὐβουλία Hertlein suggests, εὐβουλία Wytenbach, εὐμβουλία MSS.

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

I will now relate how the city was actually taken, lest you should think I am wasting time by describing once more the difficulties of the ground, and how it was impossible to plant a camp or even a palisade near the city or to bring up siege-engines or devices for storming it, because the country all about was terribly short of water, and there were not even small pools. And if you wish to grasp the main point of my narrative in a few words, remember the Macedonian’s 1 expedition against those Indians who lived on the famous rock 2 up to which not even the lightest birds could wing their flight, and how he took it by storm, and you will be content to hear no more from me. However I will add this merely, that Alexander in storming the rock lost many of his Macedonians, whereas our ruler and general lost not a single chiliarch or a captain, nay not even a legionary from the muster-roll, but achieved an unsullied and “tearless” 3 victory. Now Hector and Sarpedon, no doubt, hurled down many men from the wall, but when they encountered Patroclus in all his glory Sarpedon was slain near the ships, while Hector, to his shame, fled without even recovering the body of his friend. Thus without intelligence and emboldened by mere physical strength they ventured to attack the wall. But the Emperor, when strength and daring are required, employs force of arms and good counsel together, and so wins the day, but where good judgment alone is necessary it is by this

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

'Ἀλλ' ἐπείδη καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος φερόμενος ἤκει πάλαι ποθῶν τὴν ξύνεσιν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὴν εὐβουλίαν, ἀποδοτέον. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅλγα πάλαι ² διεληλύθαμεν· ὅπόσα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἠρώων ἐκείνων ἐχεῖν ξυγγένειαν, Δ μεγάλα μικροῖς εἰκάζοντες, δὴ ὁμοίωντα διήλθομεν, ³ δὴλον δὲ ἀποβλέψαντι πρὸς τὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς μέγεθος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν περιουσίαν. τότε γὰρ ἦ τε Ἑλλάς ἐκείνητο ξύμπασα καὶ Ὡρακῶν μοῖρα καὶ Παιῶνων τὸ τε τοῦ Πριάμου ξύμπαν ὑπῆκοον,

"Οσσον Δέσβοις ἐσω Μάκαρος ἔδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει καὶ Φρυγή καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων. τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔθνη συνιόντα βασιλεὲς καὶ συμπολε- ⁷⁴ μοῦντα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους καταριθμεῖν μὴ λήρος ἢ καὶ φλαμαία περιττῇ καὶ λίαν ἄρχαιον. ⁴ ὅσῳ δὲ μεῖζον αἰ συνιόυσαι δυνάμεις, τοσοῦτῳ τὰ ἔργα προφέρειν εἰκός· ὅστε ἀνάγκη καὶ ταύτα ἐκείνων ὑπεραιρεῖν. πλήθει γε μὴν ποῦ ποτὲ ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ

¹ Hertlein suggests ἐκτελεῖν, but cf. Phoenissae 516, ἐκελεῖν MSS. οὐδ᾽ἀν—ἴσχυσειν Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—ἴσχῦσεi MSS.
² πάλαι Hertlein suggests, ἀπαντά MSS.
³ διήλθομεν Reiske, διήλθομεν MSS., Hertlein.
⁴ ἄρχαιον Reiske, ἄρχαιος Hertlein, δῆλος λίαν ἄρχαιος Cobet, ἄρχαιος MSS.

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

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

“All that Lesbos, the seat of Makar, contains within, and Phrygia on the north and the boundless Hellespont.” \(^3\)

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

\(^1\) Julian refers to the triumph of Constantius over Vetranio, described in Or. 1. 31 foll. and echoes Euripides, Phoenissae 516, τὰν γὰρ ἔχαρει λόγος ὥς καὶ σιδηρος πολέμων δράσειν ἄν. Themistius, Or. 2, 37 B quotes these verses to illustrate the same incident.

\(^2\) Isocrates, Evagoras 65, Panegyricus 83. \(^3\) Iliad 24. 544.
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μιᾶς ἐμάχοντο πόλεως ἔμνεχός, καὶ οὔτε Τρῶες ἁπελάσατο τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπικρατοῦντες ἢδύναντο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἐξελείν καὶ ἀνατρέψαι τῶν Πριαμιδῶν τὴν ἄρχην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἵσχυνον, δεκαέτης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλώθη χρόνος. βασιλεῖ δὲ ἐξ πολλοῦ μὲν εἴσω ἀγώνες καὶ γὰρ ἀνεγράφη Γερμανοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμῶν, τά τε ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι ξεῦγματα καὶ τῆς Παρθουνίων δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ἔλεγχος οὐ φαίλος, οὔτε οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀμύναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθουμένη, ἀλλὰ περιείδου ἀπασαν τμηθεῖσαν τῆς εἴσω Τίγρητος καὶ Λύκου, τῶν γε μὴν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον πραχθέντων δὲ τε ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἐκπλουσ καὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Ἡρωδανῷ τε αἱ προκαταλήψεις τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἀπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις ἀφελόμεναι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τρίτον πάλαισμα περὶ ταῖς Κοπτίας Ἀλπεσιν, ὁ δὴ βασιλεῖ μὲν παρέσχεν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἂδεα τῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἡδονῆς, τῶν δὲ ἤττηθέντα δίκην ἐπιθείναι δικαίων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐξειργασμένων πάνυ ἄξιαν κατηνάγκασε.

Τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλεῶν ἐργῶν ἐν βραχεῖ διεληλύθαμεν, οὔτε κολακεῖα προστιθέντες καὶ αὔξειν ἐπιχειροῦντες τυχῶν ὑδενὸς διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε πόρρωθεν ἐλκοντες καὶ βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐργῶν τὰς ὁμοιότητας, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς

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

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

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

1 cf. Oration 1. 22. 28.
2 In wrestling the third fall was final: the phrase became proverbial, cf. Plato, Phaedrus 256 b, Aeschylus, Eumenides 592, Julian, Or. 1. 40 b.
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μόθους ἐξηγοῦμενοι τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀναλύοντες ἐς λόγους πιθανοῦς καὶ ενδεχομένους τὰ πλάσματα ἐκ μικρὰς πάνι τῆς ὑπονοίας ὄρμωμενοι καὶ ἀμυδρὰς λιᾶν παράλαβόντες τὰς ἀρχάς περιώνται ξυμπέθεναι, ὡς δὴ ταῦτα γε αὐτὰ ἐκείνων ἐθελόντων λέγειν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἰ τις ἔξελει τῶν 'Ομήρου μόνον τὰ τῶν ἱρών ὑνόματα, ἐνθείῃ δὲ τὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἐναρμόσειεν, οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἐκεῖνος ἢ τούτων πεποιήθαι δόξει τὰ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἔπη.

'Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔργων μόνον ἀκούοντες τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλαττοῦν ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνετε βασιλέα περὶ τὰ Β σεμνότερα καὶ ὃν ἄξιον μείζονα ποιεῖσθαι λόγουν, δημηγορῶν φημί καὶ ξυμβολῶν, καὶ ὅποσα γνώμη μετὰ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως κατευθύνει, ἀδρείτε ἐν Ὄδυσσεί καὶ Νέστορι τοῖς ἑπανουμένοις κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, καὶ ἢν τι μείον ἐν βασιλεἴ καταμανθάνῃ, τοῖς ἑπανεῖται τούτῳ λογίζεσθε, πλέον δὲ ἔχοντα δικαίως ἄν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἀποδεχοῖμεθα. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν, ὀπηρίκα χαλεπαίνειν καὶ στασιάζειν ἡρχοντο περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλώτου κόρης, λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶν οὕτω δὴ τι πείθει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος, ὡστε τὸ καὶ μὲν ἀκόσμως διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, ὅ δὲ οὐδὲ περιμείνας ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἔτι δὲ αὐτὰ δρῶν καὶ ἀφορῶν ἐς τὴν θεωρίδα, στέλλει τοὺς κήρυκας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως σκηνήν, ὡσπερ οἴμαι ἀδιώς μὴ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιλαθόμενος καὶ

1 Before τῆς Hertlein, Reiske omit ὑπὲρ.
2 τῶν Hertlein adds. 3 ἄν Hertlein adds.
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the myths of the poets and analyse them into plausible versions which allow them to introduce fictions of their own, though they start out from very slight analogies, and having recourse to a very shadowy basis, try to convince us that this is the very thing that the poets intended to say. But in this case if anyone should take out of Homer's poems merely the names of the heroes, and insert and fit in the Emperor's, the epic of the Iliad would be seen to have been composed quite as much in his honour as in theirs.

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

\(^1\) Briseis, *Iliad* 1. 247.
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ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ πάθους μεταγνοῆ καὶ ἀποφύγω τὴν ἀμαρτάδα· ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης ῥήτωρ πολύτροπος πείθειν ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς διαλλαγάς Ἀχιλλέα καὶ δώρα πολλὰ διδοὺς, μυρία δὲ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, οὗτοι τῶν νεανίσκον παρώξυνεν, ὡστε πρότερον οὐ1 βουλευσάμενον τὸν ἀπόπλους νῦν2 παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ θαυμαστὰ τῆς συνέσεως δείγματα αἱ τε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρακλήσεις καὶ ἡ τείχοποιά τοῦ Νέστορος, πρεσβυτικὸν λίιν καὶ ἄτολμον ἐπινόημα. οὕκον οὐδὲ ὄφελος ἦν πολὺ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ μηχανήματος· ἀλλὰ ἠττῶντο τῶν Τρώων τὸ τείχος ἐπιτελέσαντες, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. τότε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸι τῶν νεῶν φόντο προβεβλήσθαι καθάπερ ἔρυμα γενναίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὧσθοντο σφῶν3 προκεῖμενοι καὶ ἀποκοδομούμενο4 τείχος τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ πασσάλοις ὑξές διηλούμενον,5 κατερράθυμοι καὶ υφίνετο τῆς ἀλκής τῷ τειχίσματι πεποιθότες. ἀλλ' οὗ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐκεῖνοι μέμφοιτο καὶ ἐπιδεικνύοι διαμαρτάνοντας, οὕτως ἔστι βασιλέως ἀξίοχρεως ἐπαινέτης· ὡστὶς δὲ οἱμαὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀξίως μυθεῖν, οὗ μάτην οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως οὐδὲ ἀλόγω φορὰ γενομένων, προβολευθέντων δὲ ὀρθῶς καὶ διοικηθέντων, οὗτος ἀρκούντως ἐπανεῖ τὴν βασιλείας ἀγχίνωιν.

Τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστης συνόδῳ τὰς δημηγορίας ἐκλέγειν τὰς6 ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ δήμους καὶ

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

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

1 Iliad 9. 260.
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βουλευτήρια μακροτέρας δεῖται τῆς ξυγγραφῆς. ἕνός δὲ ἵσως ἐπακούειν οὐ χαλεψάν. καὶ μοι πάλιν ἐννοήσατε τὸν Δαέρτου, ὥστε ὄρμημένους ἐκπλεῖν τοὺς ἐπέχει τῆς ὁρμής καὶ ἐσ C τὸν πόλεμον μετατίθησι τὴν προθυμίαν, καὶ βασιλέως τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριῶις ξύλλογον, ἣν δὴ πρεσβύτης ἄνηρ ἕπο μειρακίων παιδικὰ φρονεῖν ἀναπτεθόμενος ὀμολογιῶν. ἐπελαυνθάνετο καὶ πίστεων, καὶ τῷ μὲν σωτήρι καὶ ἐνεργέτῃ δυσμενῆς ἦν, σπονδάς δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς ὄν ἦν ἀσπονδός καὶ ἀκήρυκτος βασιλεὺς πόλεμος, στρατῶν τε ἥγειρε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ὑπήντα τῆς χώρας, κολύσας τοῦ πρόσω χορεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν. ἑπεῖ δὲ ἐς ταιτῶν ἠλθοῦν ἀμφοτέρω τῷ στρατεύ- ματε καὶ ἔχρην ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ποιεῖται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βῆμα τε ὑψηλὸν ἦρετο καὶ αὐτὸ περιέσχει ὀπλιτῶν δὴμος καὶ ἀκοινισ- τῶν καὶ ταξοτῶν ἱππεῖς τε ἐνσκευασάμενοι τοὺς ὑπόπους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν τάξεων ἄνηει τε ἐπὶ αὐτὸ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ τέως ἐνυνάρ- χοποῖς οὕτε αἰχμῆν φέρον οὕτε ἀσπίδα καὶ κράνος, ἀλλὰ ἔσθητα τὴν συνήθη. καὶ οὐδέ αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων εἴτετο, μόνος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος εἰστήκει πεποιθῶς τῷ λόγῳ σεμνῶς ἡμοσμένῳ. ἐργάτῃς γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτον ἄγα- θος, οὐκ ἀποσμιλεύων οὐδὲ ἀπονυχίζων τὰ ἰή- ματα οὐδὲ ἀποτορνεύων τὰς περιόδους καθά-
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the common people and the councils, demands too long a narrative, though it is perhaps not too much to ask you to hear about one of these. Pray then think once more of the son of Laertes when the Greeks were rushing to set sail and he checked the rush and diverted their zeal back to the war,\(^1\) and then of the Emperor's assembly in Illyria, when that old man,\(^2\) persuaded by mere youths to think childish thoughts, forgot his treaties and obligations and proved to be the enemy of his preserver and benefactor, and came to terms with one against whom the Emperor was waging a war that allowed no truce nor herald of a truce,\(^3\) and who was not only getting an army together, but came to meet the Emperor on the border of the country, because he was anxious to hinder him from advancing further. And when those two armies met, and it was necessary to hold an assembly in the presence of the hoplites, a high platform was set up and it was surrounded by a crowd of hoplites, javelin-men and archers and cavalry equipped with their horses and the standards of the divisions. Then the Emperor, accompanied by him who for the moment was his colleague, mounted the platform, carrying no sword or shield or helmet, but wearing his usual dress. And not even one of his bodyguard followed him, but there he stood alone on the platform, trusting to that speech which was so impressively appropriate. For of speeches too he is a good craftsman, though he does not plane down and polish his phrases nor elaborate his periods like the ingenious

\(^1\) Iliad 2. 188.

\(^2\) Vetrano ; Themistius, Or. 2. 37 ν, who in a panegyric on Constantius describes this oratorical triumph.

\(^3\) Demosthenes, De Corona 262, ἕν γὰρ ἱσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος... πόλεμος.
ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩ ΓΑΡ ᾙΙΟΙΚΕΝ, ᾙΠΕΙ ΛΟΥΣΑΙΤΟ ΦΑΓΟΙ ΤΕ,
ΕΥΔΕΜΕΝΑΙ ΜΑΛΑΚΩΣ· ᾮ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΚΗ ἙΣΤΙ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ.
ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ἘΜΟΝ ᾯΔΕΩΣ ΑΝ ΤΟΥΣ ῾ΡΗΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ
ΔΙΕΞΗΛΘΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΜΕ ΔΙΚΝΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΒΘΟΙ ΟΥΤΩ
ΚΑΛΩΝ ἈΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ· ΑΙΔΩΣ ΔΕ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΙΡΓΗΕΙ
ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ἘΠΙΤΡΕΠΕΙ ΜΕΤΑΤΙΘΕΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ἘΞΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕΙΝ
ἜΣ ὙΜΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ. ᾮ ΔΙΙΚΟΙΝΗ ΓΑΡ ἈΝ ΔΙΑΦΘΕΙΡΩΝ

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

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

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

¹ The victory of Archidamus over the Arcadians Xenophon, Hellenica 7. 1. 32.
² cf. Oration 1. 32 A.
³ Odyssey 24. 253.
καὶ ἐλεγχόμενος αἰσχυνοίμην, εἰ τις ἄρα τὸ βασιλέως ἀναγνωρίσεις ἡγγαρμαμμα ἢ τὸτε ἀκούσας ἀπομνημονεύοι καὶ ἀπαίτητη οὐ τὰ νοήματα μόνον, ὅσας δὲ ἀρεταῖς ἔκεινα κοσμεῖται κατὰ τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ξυγκείμενα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν Ὁμήρῳ τὸ δέος πολλαῖς μὲν ὑστερον γενεαῖς τοὺς λόγους διηγουμένη, λιπόταν δὲ ἐκείνων οὐδὲν ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἐσ τοὺς ξυλλόγους βηθέντων, καὶ σαφῶς οἶμαι πιστεύντι, ὅτι ἀμείων ¹ τάκεινων αὐτὸς ἔξαγγελεῖ καὶ δηγήσεται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον μεμείσθαι καταγέλαστον καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐλευθέρας ψυχῆς καὶ γενναίας. τὰ μὲν δὴ θαυμαστὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὅποισον ὁ πολὺς ὁμιλος θεατής τε ἐγένετο καὶ διασώζει τὴν μνήμην ξυν εὐφημία, ἀτε ἐσ τὸ ² τέλος ἄφορον καὶ τῶν εὖ ἡ κακώς ἀποβάντων κριτῆς καθεστῶς καὶ ἐπαινέτης οὐ μάλα ἀστείος, ἀκηκόατε πολλάκις τῶν μακαρίων σοφιστῶν καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ γένους πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν μονσῶν ἐπεπεινομένου, ὡστε ὑμᾶς τούτων ένεκα καὶ διωχλήκαμεν, μακροτέρους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι λόγους· καὶ γὰρ ἐστε λίαν αὐτῶν ἢδη διακορεῖς καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ὅτα πλήρη, καὶ οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐπιλέπωσιν οἱ τοῦτων ποιηται, πολέμους ὑμνούντες καὶ νίκας ἀνακηρύκτοτες λαμπρά τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ὁλυμπίασι κήρυκας· παρέσχεσθε γὰρ ύμεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἄνθοιναι, ἀσμένως ἐπακούοντες. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν., εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ τοῦτων ὑπολήψεις ἀγαθῶν

¹ ἀμείων Petavius, Cobet, ἄρα Hertlein, MSS., ἄρα kâkelnou cant. and fl. ² τὸ Reiske adds.
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would be wrong of me to tamper with them, and I should blush to have my ignorance exposed, if someone who had read the Emperor's composition or heard it at the time should remember it by heart, and demand from me not only the ideas in it but all the excellences with which they are adorned, though they are composed in the language of our ancestors. Now this at any rate Homer had not to fear when, many generations later, he reported his speeches, since his speakers left no record of what they said in their assemblies, and I think he was clearly confident that he was able to relate and report what they said in a better style. But to make an inferior copy is absurd and unworthy of a generous and noble soul. Now as to the marvellous portion of his achievements and those of which the great multitude was spectator and hence preserves their memory and commends them, since it looks to the result and is there to judge whether they turn out well or ill, and eulogises them in language that is certainly not elegant,—as to all this I say you have often heard from the ingenious sophists, and from the race of poets inspired by the Muses themselves, so that, as far as these are concerned, I must have wearied you by speaking about them at too great length. For you are already surfeited with them, your ears are filled with them, and there will always be a supply of composers of such discourses to sing of battles and proclaim victories with a loud clear voice, after the manner of the heralds at the Olympic games. For you yourselves, since you delight to listen to them, have produced an abundance of these men. And no wonder. For their

1 Latin; of which Julian had only a slight knowledge. The fourth century Sophists were content with Greek. Themistius never learned Latin, and Libanius needed an interpreter for a Latin letter, Epistle 956.

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πέρι καὶ φαύλων ταῖς ὑμετέραις ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν διανοήματα, τὸς ὁνόμασι σκιαγραφήσαντες καὶ διαπλάσαντες ἑδίστοις ὑμῖν καὶ σχήμασιν ὡς δὴ τι καὶ νῦν εὑρόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς φέρουσιν ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀσμένοι παραδέχεσθε, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ὀδεύθη ὀρθῶς ἐπαινεῖν, τούτους τε ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸ προσήκον φατε. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν ὅσοι ἀληθεῖς, τυχόν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχει, ἀγνοοῦμενον πρὸς ὑμῶν ὅτι ποτὲ ἂν ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίου ἐνενόησα Σωκράτην. 79 ἵστε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀκοὴ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ κλέος τῆς σοφίας παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκβοηθεῖν, οὐ ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντα 3 οὐδὲ εὐδαιμονεῖς καὶ μακρίους ὁμολογοῦντα τοὺς πολλὴν κεκτημένους χωραν, πλείστα δὲ ἐθνῆ καὶ ἐν αὐτοὶς πολλοὺς μὲν Ἑλλήνων, πλείους δὲ ἔτι καὶ μείζους βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Ἀθῆνα διορύττειν δυναμεῖν καὶ σχεδιὰ τὰς ἡπείρους, ἐπειδὰν ἐθέλωσι διαβαίνειν, συνάπτοντας καὶ ἐθνη καταστρεφομένους καὶ αἰροῦντας νῆσους καὶ σαγηνεύοντας καὶ λιβαντοῦ ὄντα 
καὶ, καὶ καταδύνοντας. οὔτε οὐν Ἐκέρβην ἐκεῖνος ἐπήνει ποτὲ οὔτε ἄλλον τιμᾶ Περσῶν ἢ Δυδῶν ἢ Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνων στρατηγῶν, πλὴν σφόδρα ὃλγον, ὁπόσους ἤπιστατο χαιροῦντας ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀσπαζομένους ἀνδρεῖαν μετὰ σωφροσύνης καὶ φρόνησιν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης στέργοντας.

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

For I have observed that Socrates the Athenian—you know the man by hearsay and that his reputation for wisdom was proclaimed aloud by the Pythian oracle¹—I say I have observed that he did not praise that sort of thing, nor would he admit² that they are happy and fortunate who are masters of a great territory and many nations, with many Greeks too among them, and still more numerous and powerful barbarians, such men as are able to cut a canal through Athos and join continents³ by a bridge of boats whenever they please, and who subdue nations and reduce islands by sweeping the inhabitants into a net,⁴ and make offerings of a thousand talents' worth of frankincense.⁵ Therefore he never praised Xerxes or any other king of Persia or Lydia or Macedonia, and not even a Greek general, save only a very few, whomsoever he knew to delight in virtue and to cherish courage with temperance and to love wisdom with justice. But those whom he saw to be

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ὅσους δὲ ἀγχίνους ἢ δεινοὺς ἢ στρατηγικοὺς ἢ κομψοὺς καὶ τῷ πλῆθει πιθανοὺς ἔσωρα, σμίκρ' ἀττα μόρια κατανεμαμένους ἀρετῆς, οὖν τούτους οὐκ ἀπαν ἐπῆνει. ἔπεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ κρίσει σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν δήμος ἀρετήν θεραπεύοντες, τὰ κλεινὰ δὲ οἵματα ταύτα καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ μὲν ὃλγου τινὸς, οἱ δὲ οὐδενὸς ἀξία λέγοντες.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕμων ταύτῃ τῇ ξυνδοκεί, δέος οὐ φαιλόν με ἔχει περὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεὶν λόγων καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, μὴ ποτὲ ἄρα τοὺς μὲν παιδιᾶν ἀποφήνητε, σοφιστὴν δὲ ἔμε γελοίον καὶ ἀμαθῆ, μεταποιούμενον τέχνης, ἢς σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ, ὅς γ' ἐμοὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμολογητέον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀληθείς ἐπαίνους διεξόμεται καὶ ὁν ἄκουεν ἄξιον ὑμῖν οἷοςθε, εἰ καὶ ἀγροικότεροι καὶ ἐλάττους μακρῷ τῶν ῥηθέντων τοῖς πολλοῖς φαινοντο. εἰ δὲ, ὅπερ ἐμπροσθεθεὶν ἐφην, ἀποδέχεσθε τοὺς ἐκεῖνον ποιήτας, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνεῖται τὸ δέος εὐ μάλα. οὐ γὰρ πάντα ὑμῖν ἄτοπος φανοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν μὲν οἵματι φαυλότερος, κατ' ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ἐξεταζόμενοι οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπόθλητοι οὖν ἀτόπως ἐπιχειρῶν. ὑμῖν δὲ ἵσως οὐ ράδιον σοφοῖς καὶ θείοις ἀπίστευν ἀνδράσιν, οὐ δὴ λέγουσι πολλὰ μὲν ἐκαστὸς ἱδία, τὸ κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν λόγων ἀρετῆς ἐπαινος. ταύτην δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ φαιν ἐμφύσθαι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαίμονα καὶ βασιλικήν καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία πολιτικὴν καὶ στρατη-

1 παιδιᾶν Cobet, Mnemosyne 10. παιδίας (earlier conjecture Cobet) Hertlein, παιδείους Ψ, παιδάς MSS.
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cunning, or merely clever, or generals and nothing more, or ingenious, or able, though each one could lay claim to only one small fraction of virtue, to impose on the masses, these too he would not praise without reserve. And his judgment is followed by a host of wise men who reverence virtue, but as for all those wonders and marvels that I have described, some say of them that they are worth little, others that they are worth nothing.

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

Οὔτε ὅσα λαίνος οὐδὲς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔργει Β
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ᾽ εἰρήνης, ὅτε ἦν ὅρθα τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων
πράγματα, οὐδὲ ἐσθῆτα πολυτελὴ καὶ ψέφους Ἰν-
δικας καὶ γῆς πλέθρων μυριάδας πάνυ πολλάς,
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ πάντων ἁμα τούτων καὶ κρείττων καὶ
θεοφιλέστερον, δ καὶ ἐν ναυαγίαις ἐνεστὶ διασώ-
σασθαι καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ
ἐπ᾽ ἐρημίας, ἐν λῃσταῖς μέσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τυράννων
C
βιαῖων.

"Ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐκείνου κρείττων, ὃ
βιασάμενον καθέξει καὶ ἀφαιρῆσται τὸν ἔχοντα
ἀπαξ. ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ψυχὴ τὸ κτήμα τοῦτο
toiouton, opoioin oimai to fws ἡλιο. καὶ γὰρ ὅτ´
tουδε νεως μὲν καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλοὶ πολλάκις
υφελόμενοι καὶ διαφθείραντες έχοντο, δόντες μὲν
ἄλλω τὴν δίκην, ἄλλω δὲ ὀλυγορθέντες ὡς οὐκ
ἀξίου κολάσεως εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν φερούσης. τὸ
φῶς δὲ οὐδὲς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς
συνόδοις ἤ σελήνη τῶν κύκλων ὑποτρέχουσα,
D
οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτὴν δεχομένη τὴν ἀκτίνα καὶ ἤμιν
πολλάκις, τούτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐκ μεσθεμβρίας
νῦκτα δεικνύσα. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαι-
ρεῖται φωτὸς τὴν σελήνην εἰς ἐναντίας ἰσταμένην
περιλάμπων καὶ μεταδίδους αὐτῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ
φύσεως οὐδὲ τὸν μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν τούτων
κόσμου ἐμπλήσας αὐγῆς καὶ ἡμέρας. οὐκονν

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generalship, and generous and truly wealthy, not because it possesses the Colophonian\(^1\) treasures of gold,

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

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

For there is nothing at all superior to it, nothing that can constrain and control it, or take it from him who has once possessed it. Indeed it seems to me that this possession bears the same relation to the soul as its light to the sun. For often men have stolen the votive offerings of the Sun and destroyed his temples and gone their way, and some have been punished, and others let alone as not worthy of the punishment that leads to amendment. But his light no one ever takes from the sun, not even the moon when in their conjunctions she oversteps his disc, or when she takes his rays to herself, and often, as the saying is, turns midday into night.\(^4\)

Nor is he deprived of his light when he illumines the moon in her station opposite to himself and shares with her his own nature, nor when he fills with light and day this great and wonderful universe.

\(^1\) The gold work of Colophon was proverbial for its excellence. Cf. Aristophanes, *Coccus* fr. 8.

\(^2\) *Iliad* 9. 404.

\(^3\) *Iliad* 22. 156.

\(^4\) First used by Archilochus, *fr.* 74, in a description of an eclipse of the sun.
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οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγάθος ἀρετὴς μεταδίδονσι ἄλλῳ τῷ μεταδόθεντι μείον ἔχων ἐφάνη ποτὲ. οὕτω θείον ἔστι κτήμα καὶ πάγκαλον, καὶ οὐ ψευδὴς ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἔξον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἄρα ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ θείος ἀνήρ· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἔπὶ γῆς χρυσὸς ἀρετὴς οὐκ ἀντάξιος. θαρροῦντες οὖν ἦδη πλούσιον καλῶμεν τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα, οίμαι δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εὐγενὴς καὶ βασιλέα μόνον τῶν ἀπαντών, εἰ τῷ ἔξοντε. κρείττων μὲν εὐγένεια φαυλότητος γένους, κρείττων δὲ ἀρετὴ διαθέσεως B οὐ πάντη σπουδαίας. καὶ μη τις οἰέσθω τὸν λόγον δύσεριν καὶ βίαιον εἰς τὴν συνήθειαν ἀφορών τῶν ὑομάτων φασὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς ἐκ πάλαι πλούσιων εὐγενεῖς. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀτοπον μάγειρον μὲν ἡ σκιτεα καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία κεραμεά τινα χρήματα ἐκ τῆς τέχνης ἢ καὶ ἀλλοθέν ποθεν ἀδροίσαντα μὴ δοκεῖν εὐγενὴ μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπονομάζεσθαι τούτο τὸ ὠνόμα, εἰ δὲ ο τοῦτον παῖς διαδεξάμενος τῶν κλήρων εἰς τοὺς ἐγκόνους διαπορθμεύσειε, τούτους δὲ ἢδη μέγα C φρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς Πελοπίδαις ἢ τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις υπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἀμιλλᾶσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅστις προγόνων ἀγάθων ἐφι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τοῦ βίου ῥοπὴν κατηνέχθη, δικαιὸς ἂν μεταποι- οίτο τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐνεργείας, εἰ 1 μηδὲ ἐς τοὺς Πελοπίδας ἐξῆν ἐγγράφεσθαι τοὺς μὴ φέροντας ἐπὶ τὸν ὄμον τοῦ γένους τὰ γνωρίσ- ματα. λόγῳ δὲ λέγεται περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς ἐντυπωθῆναι παρὰ τῆς τε-

1 εἰ Hertlein adds.

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Just so no good man who imparts his goodness to another was ever thought to have less virtue by as much as he had bestowed. So divine and excellent is that possession, and most true is the saying of the Athenian stranger, whoever that inspired man may have been: “All the gold beneath the earth and above ground is too little to give in exchange for virtue.”¹ Let us therefore now boldly call its possessor wealthy, yes and I should say well-born also, and the only king among them all,² if anyone agree to this. For as noble birth is better than a lowly pedigree, so virtue is better than a character not in all respects admirable. And let no one say that this statement is contentious and too strong, judging by the ordinary use of words. For the multitude are wont to say that the sons of those who have long been rich are well-born. And yet is it not extraordinary that a cook or cobbler, yes, by Zeus, or some potter who has got money together by his craft, or by some other means, is not considered well-born nor is given that title by the many, whereas if this man’s son inherit his estate and hand it on to his sons, they begin to give themselves airs and compete on the score of noble birth with the Pelopids and the Heraclids?  Nay, even a man who is born of noble ancestors, but himself sinks down in the opposite scale of life, could not justly claim kinship with those ancestors, seeing that no one could be enrolled among the Pelopids who had not on his shoulder the birth-mark³ of that family. And in Boeotia it was said that there was the impression of a spear on the Sown-men ⁴ from the

¹ Plato, Laws 728 a.  ² Horace, Epistles 1. 1. 106.  ³ One shoulder was white as ivory.  ⁴ The Sparti, sprung from the dragon’s teeth sown by Cadmus.
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κούσης καὶ θρησμάμένης αὐτοῦς βῶλου, καὶ τὸ 
ἔντευθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διασωθῆναι τοῦτο τῷ γένει 
σύμβολον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν οὐδὲν οἴόμεθα 
δεῖν ἐγκεκαράχθαι τοιοῦτων, ὅ τοὺς πατέρας 
ημῶν ἀκριβῶς καταρεῖ καὶ ἀπελέγξει τὸν τόκον 
γνήσιον; ὑπάρχειν δὲ φάσι καὶ Κελτοίς ποταμὸν 
ἀδέκαστον κριτὴν τῶν ἐγγόνων. ¹ καὶ οὐ πείθουσιν 
aυτὸν οὔτε αἱ μητέρες ὄδυρομεναι συγκαλύπτειν 
aυταῖς καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν ἀμαρτάδα οὔτε 
αἱ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τῶν γαμετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων. ² 
ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει δεμαίνοντες, ἀτρεκῆς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ 
ἀγευδῆς κριτῆς. ἡμᾶς δὲ δεκάζει μὲν πλοῦτος, 
δεκάζει δὲ ἰσχὺς καὶ ὡρα σώματος καὶ δυναστεία 
προγόνων ἔξωθεν ἐπισκιάζουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει 
διορᾶν οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπειν ἐς τὴν ψυχὴν, ὃπερ δὴ τῶν 
ἀλλῶν ζώων διαφέροντες εἰκότως ἀν κατ’ αὐτὸ τὴν 
ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ποιόμεθα κρίσιν. καὶ μοι δο- 
κούσων εὐστοχία φύσεως οἱ πάλαι θαυμαστῇ χρώ-
μανοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπίκτητον ὄσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες τὸ 
φρονεῖν, οὕτω πλαστῶς, ἀλλ’ αὐτοφυῶς φιλοσο-
φοῦντες, τοῦτο κατανοῆσαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα 
τοῦ Διὸς ἀνεπιέων ἐγγόνων ³ καὶ τῷ τῆς Δήδας νιεῖε, 
Μίνω τε οἴμαι τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν 
τῶν Κνώσιον τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιόωσα φήμης· καὶ ἄλλους δὲ 
ἀλλῶν ἐγγόνων ἀνεκήρυττον πολλοὺς διαφέροντας 
tῶν φύσει πατέρων. ἐξελποῦν γὰρ ἐς τὴν ψυχὴν 
αὐτήν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλ’ οὔκ ἐς πλοῦτον βαθὺν

¹ ἐγγόνων MSS., cf. 82 A B, ἐγγόνων Hertlein.
² ἐγγόνων MSS., ἐγγόνων Hertlein.
³ ἐγγόνων MSS., Cobet, ἐγγόνων Hertlein.

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

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\(^1\) The Rhine; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 16.

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καὶ χρόνων πολιών, οὐδὲ δυναστείαν ἐκ πάππων τιμῶν καὶ ἐπιτάππων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἠκουσαν. καίτοι C
γε υπήρχε τις οὐ παντάπασιν ἀδόξων γενέσθαι πατέρων ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἢς ἐτίμων τε καὶ ἐθεράπευον ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἐνομίζοντο τῶν θεῶν παίδες. δήλων δὲ ἐνθέντες ἄλλων γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰδότες
τοὺς φύσει γονεάς· ἐς τὸ δαίμονιον ἀνήπτων τὴν φήμην, τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς χαριτῶμενοι. καὶ οὐ
πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὡς ἄρα ἐκεῖνοι ὑπ' ἀμαθίας ἐξαπατώμενοι ταῦτα τῶν θεῶν κατεψεύδοντο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς ἣν ἐξαπατη-
θήναι θεῶν ἢ δαίμονων, σχήματα περιτιθέντας ἀνθρώπων καὶ μορφὰς οὐκ αὐτοῖς, ἄφαντα μὲν
αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀνέφικτον κεκτημένων αὐτῶν φύσιν,
νῦ δὲ ἀκριβεῖ διὰ ἐνομίζειαν μόλις προσπίπτουσαν· οὕτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν θεῶν τούτω
παθεῖν εὐλογοῦν ἐκεῖνος, Ἡλίου μὲν ἐπιφημίζοντας
Αἰήτην νιέα, Ἐσσφόρου δὲ ἔτερου, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλ-
λων. ὅπερ δὲ ἔφη, χρῆ περὶ αὐτῶν πειθομένος
ήμας ταύτην ποιεῖται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἡξέτασιν· καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν ἄν ὁσίων ἀγαθοὶ πατέρες καὶ
αὐτῶς ἐκείνως ἐμφερῆς, τούτων ὄνομάζειν ἀρραού-
τως εὐγενῆ· ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν πατέρων ὑπηρέξειν
ἀρετῆς ἐνδεῖ, αὐτῶς δὲ μετεπωλήθη τούτῳ τοῦ κτή-
ματος, τούτῳ δὲ νομιστέον πατέρα τὸν Δία καὶ
φυτουργὸν, καὶ οὐδὲν μείον αὐτῷ δοτέοι ἐκεῖνων,
οὐ γεγονότες πατέρων ἀγαθῶν τοὺς σφῶν τοκέας
ἐξήλωσαν· ὅστις δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γέγονε μοχθηρός, B

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power that had come down to them from some grandfather or great-grandfather. And yet some of them were the sons of fathers not wholly inglorious. But because of the superabundance in them of that virtue which men honoured and cherished, they were held to be the sons of the gods themselves. This is clear from the following fact. In the case of certain others, though they did not know those who were by nature their sires, they ascribed that title to a divinity, to recompense the virtue of those men. And we ought not to say that they were deceived, and that in ignorance they told lies about the gods. For even if in the case of other gods or deities it was natural that they should be so deceived, when they clothed them in human forms and human shapes, though those deities possess a nature not to be perceived or attained by the senses, but barely recognisable by means of pure intelligence, by reason of their kinship with it; nevertheless in the case of the visible gods it is not probable that they were deceived, for instance, when they entitled Aeetes “son of Helios” and another1 “son of the Dawn,” and so on with others. But, as I said, we must in these cases believe them, and make our enquiry about noble birth accordingly. And when a man has virtuous parents and himself resembles them, we may with confidence call him nobly born. But when, though his parents lack virtue, he himself can claim to possess it, we must suppose that the father who begat him is Zeus, and we must not pay less respect to him than to those who are the sons of virtuous fathers and emulate their parents. But when a bad man comes of good parents, we ought to

1 Memnon.
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tou'ton tois vóthois éggráfein áxion: tois dè èk
mochthérwv fínitas kai prosomoióus tois aútòn to-
keúsin ou'pote eúyeneis fathéón, ou'dè ei ploutoíen
talántois muvrióis, ou'dè ei átparidhmònto prorgónon
 dynástas h vai ma Día tvránnous eikosin, ou'dè ei
víkas 'Olympiakás h Pvidikás h tón polémikón
agnwvnon, ai ðh tòv panti ñekeínon ení ei lampróterai, O
áneloménous ñçhoien déiknudhain pleious h Kaisar
ò prwtovs, ôrignmatà te 1 ta 'Asoùria kai ta Baubv-
lonívov teîkha tvramídas te èp' autoís tás
Aignvptíon, kai ñsa allá plouton kai chrwmátov
kai trufhñs gêgono shmeíia kai diavolás úpò
filotimías anafrleugoménhis kai ápòrhoyménhis 2 ès
ô,ti tòv ploutôv chrístetai, eîta ès touto tás tòv
chrwmátov eüporías katanbhlloménhis. ev ñar
ðh istor, òs ou'te ploutos árchiôs ðn wewstí pòde
éptirevov basileá pouie ou'te álourghèis ímátov
ou'te tiára kai skhýptrov kai diádhima kai thronos
árrhios, all' ou'dè opiòtaí pollov kai ìppèis
muvriói, ou'dè ei pántes ánthwpos basilea sfhôn
tou'ton ñmologiôn sunevsthontes, ðti miðè árteñh
ou'toi chrístontai, allà dynastéiai mèn ou mála
eütvchi tòv labôntai, polû ðe plèvon tôs para-
skumévov. déxamènov ñar o tou'tos aírètaí metê-
woros èpîpan, ou'dèn diafèron tòu peiri tòn Fæ-
ðvonta múðov kai páthous, kai ou'dèn etèrov deî para-
dexugmátov pròs pístin tòv lóngov, tòn bión pàntos
anapexugmènov tou'ton pawhmátov kai èp' aú-
tois lóngon. ùmîn ðe ei wau apóstovn doki tò mîh

1 te Hertlein adds.  2 kal ápòrhoyménhis Hertlein suggests.
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enrol him among the bastards, while as for those who come of a bad stock and resemble their parents, never must we call them well-born, not even though their wealth amounts to ten thousand talents, not though they reckon among their ancestors twenty rulers, or, by Zeus, twenty tyrants, not though they can prove that the victories they won at Olympia or Pytho or in the encounters of war—which are in every way more brilliant than victories in the games—were more than the first Caesar's, or can point to excavations in Assyria¹ or to the walls of Babylon and the Egyptian pyramids besides, and to all else that is a proof of wealth and great possessions and luxury and a soul that is inflamed by ambition and, being at a loss how to use money, lavishes on things of that sort all those abundant supplies of wealth. For you are well aware that it is not wealth, either ancestral or newly acquired and pouring in from some source or other, that makes a king, nor his purple cloak, nor his tiara and sceptre and diadem and ancestral throne, nay nor numerous hoplites and ten thousand cavalry; not though all men should gather together and acknowledge him for their king, because virtue they cannot bestow on him, but only power, ill-omened indeed for him that receives it, but still more for those that bestow it. For once he has received such power, a man of that sort is altogether raised aloft in the clouds, and in nowise differs from the legend of Phaethon and his fate. And there is no need of other instances to make us believe this saying, for the whole of life is full of such disasters and tales about them. And if it seems surprising to you that the title of king,

¹ cf. Oration 3. 126.
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dikaios metapeieisai tis kalhis tauthis kai theofilois epanvumias tois pollhys men yhis kai ethwn apetirwn arxontas, gnwh mde autexeusis deixa vou kai phroniathous kai twn tauthis xunpomewn arretwn ta prostopontan kriyontas. Iste oude elextheous ontas, ou monous e tpa ronontan oudenos phisou empodow ontos exoun kai emforiontis tis ekkousias, alla e twn epistratenvonton kratein kai epiontes anapostatoi tines kai 1 amakh phainou. Ei de apistei tis ymwn tao logos tith, mala emfanwn martrwn ouk aporhsmen, Ellhnov omou kai barabarn, oui makhos pollas kai ischuras lian machestemnai kai vneykhotes ethn men ektwnoik kai autous fousous aptagein katanyag-kazou, edoulenou de eisixin ethnai kai trufh kai akolosia kai ybrei kai aikia. touitous de oude ischourois an faia vou exoun anhir, e kai epifainouto kai epilamptoi megathos tois erghois. monos gar esti touitous o meta arethis andreios kai megalofromous otis de hetwn men ydoun, akratw de orhys kai epithumiwn pantoiv, kai upo sumkron apagoreuein anag-kaxomenos, outhe de oude ischuros outhe andreios anbropwnein ischyn epitr盖pseoun de eisws autw kata toux tauros h toux leontas h tas paradaleis th rwmia ganosthei, ei mh kai tauthn atopbalon kathan poi kathfnes allotriois efesthke ponois, autous oin malthakois aichmythi kai deiados kai akolastos. touitous de oin ou monous alithous evdeis ploutou kathostheken, allan kai tou polutimhtou kai semnoi kai agaphtou, eix ou pantodapai 1 tines kai Hertlein suggests, tives sfhora kai MSS.

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so honourable, so favoured by the gods, cannot justly be claimed by men who, though they rule over a vast territory and nations without number, nevertheless settle questions that arise by an autocratic decision, without intelligence or wisdom or the virtues that go with wisdom, believe me they are not even free men; I do not mean if they merely possess what they have with none to hinder them and have their fill of power, but even though they conquer all who make war against them, and, when they lead an invading army, appear invincible and irresistible. And if any of you doubt this statement, I have no lack of notable witnesses, Greek and barbarian, who fought and won many mighty battles, and became the masters of whole nations and compelled them to pay tribute, and yet were themselves slaves in a still more shameful degree of pleasure, money and wantonness, insolence and injustice. And no man of sense would call them even powerful, not though greatness should shine upon and illumine all that they achieved. For he alone is strong whose virtue aids him to be brave and magnanimous. But he who is the slave of pleasure and cannot control his temper and appetites of all sorts, but is compelled to succumb to trivial things, is neither brave himself nor strong with a man's strength, though we may perhaps allow him to exult like a bull or lion or leopard \(^1\) in his brute force, if indeed he do not lose even this and, like a drone, merely superintend the labours of others, himself a "feeble warrior," \(^2\) and cowardly and dissolute. And if that be his character, he is lacking not only in true riches, but in that wealth also which men so highly honour and reverence and

\(^1\) Iliad 17, 20. \(^2\) Homeric phrase: Iliad 17. 588.
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κρεμάμεναι ψυχαί πράγματα ἔχουσι μυρία καὶ πόνους, τοῦ καθ’ ἕμεραν κέρδους ένεκα πλεῖν τε ὑπομένουσαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ λῃστεύειν καὶ ἀναρπάζειν τὰς τυραννίδας. ζώσι γὰρ ἄει μὲν κτώμενοι, ἄει δὲ ἐνδεικνύοντες, οὔτε τῶν ἀναγκαίων φημὶ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἀσθημάτων. ἡρισται γὰρ ο οὐκ ἐκεῖνος τοῦ πλούτου εὐ μᾶλα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ οὐκ ἔστων αὐτοῦ στέρεσθαι οὔτε τούς θρίσκοντες οὔτε τοὺς ἰχθύς οὔτε τὰ θηρία, ὅλλ’ οὔδὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς σώφρονας. οὕσως δὲ ἑπικλεί χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἔρως δυστυχίας, τοῦτοι δὲ ἀνάγκη πεινὴν διὰ βίου καὶ ἀδιάθετον ἀπάλλαττεν μακρὸ τῶν τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ἐνδεικνύοντο. τούτως μὲν γὰρ ἀποπλησσάσι τὴν γαστέρα πολλὴ γέγονεν ἐιρήνη καὶ ἀνοικωχὴ τῆς ἀλγηδόνος, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὔτε ἡμέρα πέφηνεν ἀκροδής ἡδεῖα, οὔτε εὐφρόνη τῶν λυσυμελῆς καὶ λυσιμέριμνος ὑπὸ οὐκ ἐπάγοναι παύλαν ἐνεποίησε τῆς ἐμμανοῦς λύτης, στροβεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ στρέφει τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκλογιζομένων καὶ ἀπαριθμομένων τὰ χρήματα καὶ οὐκ ἐξαιρεῖτα τοὺς ἀνδρας τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἔπταυτής ἐπαναφοράς οὐδὲ ὁ Ταντάλων καὶ Μίδων πλούτος περιγενέμενος οὔδὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ χαλεπωτάτη δαιμόνων τυραννίς προσγενόμενη. ἢ γὰρ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε Δαρείων τῶν Περσῶν μονάρχης, οὐ παντάπασι πολεμάρχον μοναρχὸν, δυσέρωτα δὲ αἰσχρῶς εἰς χρήματα καὶ νεκρῶν θῆκας ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας διορύττεσαι καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπιτάττειν.

1 ἰχθύς Hertlein suggests, ἰχθύας MSS., cf. 59 A, ἰχθύας V.
2 ταλαίπωρας Hertlein suggests, λοιδοπλας MSS.
3 μονάρχης Cobet, μονάρχης μισθωτῶν MSS., Hertlein suggests μονάρχης μισθωτῶν, ή μισθωτῶν Reiske, μονάρχου V.
4 After διορύττειν Cobet omits ἀναπειθόμενον.

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desire, on which hang the souls of men of all sorts, so that they undergo countless toils and labours for the sake of daily gain, and endure to sail the sea and to trade and rob and grasp at tyrannies. For they live ever acquiring but ever in want, though I do not say of necessary food and drink and clothes; for the limit of this sort of property has been clearly defined by nature, and none can be deprived of it, neither birds nor fish nor wild beasts, much less prudent men. But those who are tortured by the desire and fatal passion for money must suffer a lifelong hunger,¹ and depart from life more miserably than those who lack daily food. For these, once they have filled their bellies, enjoy perfect peace and respite from their torment, but for those others no day is sweet that does not bring them gain, nor does night with her gift of sleep that relaxes the limbs and frees men from care² bring for them any remission of their raging madness, but distracts and agitates their souls as they reckon and count up their money. And not even the wealth of Tantalus and Midas, should they possess it, frees those men from their desire and their hard toil therewith, nay nor to gain "the most great and grievous tyranny of heaven,"³ should they become possessed of this also. For have you not heard that Darius, the ruler of Persia, a man not wholly base, but insatiably and shamefully covetous of money, dug up in his greed even the tombs of the dead⁴ and

¹ Plato, Laws 832 A. ² Odyssey 20. 56. ³ Euripides, Phoenissae 506 and fr. 252, Nauck. ⁴ Of Queen Nitocris, Herodotus 1. 187.

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phórous; ὃθεν αὐτῷ τὸ κλειδὸν ὠνομα γέγονε κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. 1 ἐκάλουν γὰρ αὐτὸν Περσῶν οἱ γυνώριμοι ὅτι περὶ Ἀθηναίων τὸν Σάραμβον.

'Αλλ' ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὡσπερ ὅδον τινος κατ-ἀντους ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῆς καταρρήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κολάζειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς τρόπους, ὡστε οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτῷ περαιτέρω φοιτάν. ἀπαιτητέον δὲ εἰς δύναμιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρα καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα. ἐστὶ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ οὐκ ὀλγάωρος θεραπείας θεῶν, εἶτα ἐς τοὺς τοκέας ζωντας τε ὅμως καὶ τελευτήσαντας ὅσιος καὶ ἐπιμελῆς, ἀδελφοῖς τε εὐνοοῖς, καὶ ὁμογήνως θεῶν αἰδούμενος, ἰκέταις καὶ ἐνοιχοὶ πρᾶος καὶ μείλιχος, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρέσκειν ἑθέλων, τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμελόμενος ἐν δίκη καὶ ἐπ' ἀφελεῖα ἀγαπᾷ δὲ πλούτον, οὕτι τὸν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ Β βριθόμενον, φίλων δὲ ἀληθοὺς εὐνοεῖς καὶ ἀκολο-κεύτου θεραπείας μεστῶν ἀνδρείας μὲν φύσει καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς, πολέμῳ δὲ ἡκιστα χαίρων καὶ στάσιν ἐμφύλου ἀπεχθαίρων, τοὺς γε μὴν ἐκ τινος τύχης ἐπιφυμένους ἢ διὰ τήν σφῶν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν ἀνδρείως ὑφιστάμενος καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ἐγκρατῶς, τέλος τε ἐπάγων τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ οὐ προτερον ὑφιστάμενος, πρὶν δὲ ἡξῆλθ τῶν πολεμίων τήν δύναμιν καὶ ὑποχείριον οὐτώ ποιήσηται. κρατήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν

1 ἀνθρώποις· Cobet, ἀνθρώποις ἐκφανές· Hertlein, ἐκφανές V, M, ἐμφανές MSS.

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

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

\(^1\) "Huckster" (\(καπηλός\)) Herodotus 3. 89.

\(^2\) Or Sarabos, a Plataean wineseller at Athens; Plato, Gorgias 518 B; perhaps to be identified with the Vinarius Exaerambus in Plautus, Asinaria 436; cf. Themistius 287 D.

\(^3\) A saying of Alexander, cf. Themistius 203 C; Stobaeus, Sermones 214; Isocrates, To Nicocles 21.
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ἐπαυσε τὸ ξίφος φόνων, μίασμα κρίνων τὸν σῶκ ἀμμοὺμενον ἔτι κτένειν καὶ ἄναιρεῖν. φιλοπόνοις δὲ ὄν φύσει καὶ μεγαλόψυχοι κοινωνεῖ μὲν ἀπασι τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἔχειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ πλέον ἄξιοι, μεταδίδωσι δὲ ἐκείνοις τῶν κυνδυνῶν τὰ ἑπάθλα, χαίρων καὶ γεγηθῶς οὕτι τῷ πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἀλλῶν χρυσίων καὶ ἀργύριων καὶ ἐπαύλεις κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ κατεσκευασμένας, ἄλλα τῷ πυλλοῦσ μὲν εὐ ποιεῖν δύνασθαι, χαρίζεσθαι δὲ ἀπασιν ὅτου ἀν τύχωσιν εἰσεῖς ὑπετε τούτων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιοι βασιλεῖσ. φιλόπολος ἃ δὲ ὅν καὶ φιλοστρατιώτης τῶν μὲν καθάπερ νομεῖς ποιμνίων ἐστιματίται, προνοῶν ὁπως ἄν αὐτῷ θάλλῃ καὶ εὐθηνῆται τὰ θρέμματα δαψίλους καὶ ἀταράχου τῆς νομῆς ἐμπιθαλάμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐφορᾶ καὶ συνέχει, πρὸς ἀνδρεῖαν καὶ ἱκμήν καὶ πραότητα γυμνᾶσων καθάπερ σκύλακας εὐφνείς καὶ γενναίους τῆς ποίησις φύλακας, 87 ἔργων τε αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦς καὶ ἐπικούρους τῷ πλῆθει νομίζων, ἀλλὰ οὐχί ἀρπακτηραῖς τινας οὐδὲ λυμεώνας τῶν ποιμνίων καθάπερ οἱ λύκοι καὶ κυνῶν οἱ φαυλότατοι, οἷς τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως καὶ τροφῆς ἑπιλαθόμενοι ἀντὶ σωτηρῶν καὶ προαγωγιστῶν ἀνεφανήσαν αὐτοὶ δηλήμονες. οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπνηλοῦς ἀνεξεταί εἶναι καὶ ἄργους καὶ ἀπολέμους, ὅπως ἄν μη φυλάκων ἔτερων οἱ φρουρὸι δέωνται, ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲ ἀπείθεις τοῖς 3 Β ἄρχουσιν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦτο μάλλιστα πάντων, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ μόνου ἀπόχρη σωτηρίαν ἐπιτήδευμα

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

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

¹ Isocrates, To Nicocles 15; Dio Chrysostom, Oration i. 28.
² Republic 416 a.
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πρὸς πόλεμον· πόνων δὲ ἀπάντων ἄδεείς¹ καὶ ἀτεράμονας, οὕτι ῥαθύμους ἐργάσεται, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι μὴ μέγα ὄφελος φύλακος τοῦ πόνου φεύγοντος καὶ οὐ δυναμένου καρτερεῖν οὐδὲ ἀντέχειν πρὸς κάματον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ παραϊνών μόνον οὐδὲ ἐπαίνων τοὺς ἄγαθοὺς προβύμως καὶ χαριζόμενος ἡ κολάζων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ ἀπαραγήτως ξυμπείθει καὶ βιαζεται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρῶτερον αὐτὸν τοιούτων ἐπιδεικνύων, ἀπεχόμενος μὲν ἡδονῆς ἀπάσης, χρημάτων δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σμικρῶν οὔτε μείζων ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἀφαιροῦμενος τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὑπνῷ τε εἰκῶν ὅλιγα καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὔδενος εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιος καθεύδων ἀνήρ ἢ καὶ ἔγχηγορός τοῖς καθεύδουσιν ἐμφερής. πεθομένους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔξει καλὸς αὐτῷ τε οἷμαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, εἰ τοῖς ἄριστοις πεθόμενοι νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ὀρθοῖς ἐνεπόμενος διατάγμασθαι δῆλος εἶτι, καὶ ὅλως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποδοῦσ τῷ φύσει βασιλικῷ καὶ ἡγεμονικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ, ἀλλ’ οὐ τῷ θυμοειδεὶ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ. καὶ καρτερεῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπομένειν τὸν τε ἐπὶ στρατιάς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς κάματον ὑπόσα τε κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξηυρέθη γυμνάσια μελέτης ἐνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὀθενεῖος ἀγάνως, πῶς ἂν τὶς μάλιστα πείθεις εἰς,² ἢ δῆλον ὡς αὐτὸς ὀρώμενος καρτερὸς καὶ ἀδαμάντινος; ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἦδιστον θέαμα στρατιώτη ποιομένῳ σώφρων αὐτοκράτωρ, συνεφαπτόμενος ἔργων καὶ προθυ-

¹ ἄδεείς Reiske, ἄδεείς MSS., Hertlein.
² πείθεις εἰς Nuber, cf. 272 D 281 A, πείθειν Hertlein, πειθθείν MSS.

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

¹ Plato, *Laws* 808 b.
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μούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσι φοβεροῖς φαιδρός καὶ ἄδεης καὶ ὅπων λίαν θαρ-ροῦσι σεμνός καὶ ἐμβριθής. πέφυκε γὰρ ἐξομοι-ούσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐλα-βείας πέρι καὶ θράσους. προνοητέον δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ μείου ὅπως ἀφθονον τὴν τροφὴν ἔχασι καὶ οὐδενῶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἑυδέωνται. Β πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πιστότατοι τῶν ποιμνίων φρου-ροὶ καὶ φύλακες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀγριοὶ τὲ εἰς τοῖς νομεύσι καὶ αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν ἱδονεῖς περιφλακτοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν προβάτων ἀπέσχοντο.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων ὁ γενναῖος, πόλει δὲ σωτήρ καὶ κηδεμών, οὕτε τοὺς ἔξωθεν μόνων ἀπείρων κινδύνως οὐδὲ ἀντιτατόμενος ἢ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύων βαρβάρους γείτονις στάσιν δὲ ἔξωθεν καὶ θυμίη μοχθηρὰ καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ ἀκο-λασίαν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν παρέξει βαστώνῃ. Υβριν δὲ ἐξείρηγον καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἄδικιάν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀμέτρου κτήσεως τὰς ἕκ τούτων ἀναφυμένας στάσεις καὶ ἐρίδας εἰς οὐδὲν χρηστῶν τελευτώσας οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέξεται φύσι, γενο-μένας δὲ ὡς ἐν τάχιστα ἀφανεῖ 2 καὶ ἐξελάσει τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως. λήσεται δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεῖς ὑπερβᾶς τὸν νόμον καὶ βιασάμενος, οὐ 3 μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων τις τῶν χάρακα. φύλαξ δὲ ὅν ἀγαθὸς τῶν νόμων, ἀμείνων ἢσται δημοφυρὸς, εἰ ποτε καιρὸς καὶ τήχη καλοῖς καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανῇ πείθει τῶν τοιοῦτον ψευδὴ καὶ κίβδηλον καὶ νόθον

1 Before τὰς Hertlein omits καί.
2 ἀφανεῖ Cobet, ἀφανίσει MSS., Hertlein,
3 οὐ Hertlein adds.
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calm in what seems to be a dangerous situation, but on occasion stern and severe whenever they are over confident. For in the matter of caution or boldness the subordinate naturally imitates his leader. And he must plan as well, no less than for what I have mentioned, that they may have abundant provisions and run short of none of the necessaries of life. For often the most loyal guardians and protectors of the flock are driven by want to become fierce towards the shepherds, and when they see them from afar they bark at them and do not even spare the sheep.¹

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

¹ Republic 416 a.
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tois keiménois ἐπεισάγειν νόμον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
αὐτῶν παισὶ δουλειον καὶ ἀγεννές ἐπεισαγαγεῖν ἕ
σπέρμα. δίκης δὲ αὐτῷ μέλει καὶ θέμιδος, καὶ
οὕτε γονεῖς οὕτε ξυγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι πείθουσι
καταχάρισασθαί σφιν καὶ προδοῦναι τὸ ἐνδικον. 89
ὡπολαμβάνει γὰρ ἀπάντων εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα
κοινὴν ἔστιαν καὶ μητέρα, πρεσβυτέραν μὲν καὶ
σεμνότεραν τῶν 2 πατέρων, φιλέραν δὲ ἀδελφῶν
καὶ ξένων καὶ φίλων 3 ής ἀποσυλήσαι τὸν νόμον
καὶ βιάσασθαι μείζον ἁσβείμα κρίνει τῆς περὶ τὰ
χρήματα τῶν θεῶν παρανομίας. ἔστι γὰρ ο νόμος
ἐγγονος 3 τῆς δίκης, ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα καὶ θείων ἀλήθως
toῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, διὸ οὐδαμῶς δὲ ἐμφρων ἀνήρ
περὶ σμικρῷ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀτίμασει ἀλλὰ ἐν
δίκη πάντα δρῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄγαθους τιμήσει προ-
θύμως, τοὺς μοχθηροὺς δὲ ἐς δύναμιν ἰᾶσθαι
καθάπερ ιατρὸς ἄγαθος προθυμίσεται.

Διττῶν δὲ δόντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ τῶν
μὲν ὑποφαίνουσιν ἐλπίδας ἰμείνους καὶ οὐ πάντη
τὴν θεραπείαν ἀπεστραμμένας, τῶν δὲ ἁνίατα
πλημμελούντων τούτων δὲ οἱ νόμοι θάνατον
λύσιν τῶν κακῶν ἐπενόησαν, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἐκεί-
νων μᾶλλον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄλλων ὄφελειαν διττῶς
ἀνάγκη τὰς κρίσεις γίγνεσθαι. οὐκοῦν τῶν
μὲν ἰασάμων αὐτῷ προσῆκεν ὑπολήψεται τὴν
tε ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ἀφέξεται δὲ
tῶν ἄλλων μάλα ἔρρωμένως, καὶ ὅπως ἄν ποτὲ
ἐκών ἁφαίτο κρίσεως, ἐφ’ ἡ θάνατος ἡ ἡμῶν
παρὰ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ἀφληκόσι τὴν δίκην

1 ἐπεισαγαγεῖν Hertlein, ἐπαγαγεῖν MSS.
2 After τῶν Hertlein omits φίλων καὶ,
3 ἐγγονος Hertlein, MSS.

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

But there are two kinds of error, for in one type of sinner may dimly be discerned a hope of improvement, nor do they wholly reject a cure, while the vices of others are incurable. And for the latter the laws have contrived the penalty of death as a release from evil, and this not only for the benefit of the criminal, but quite as much in the interest of others. Accordingly there must needs be two kinds of trials. For when men are not incurable the king will hold it to be his duty to investigate and to cure. But with the others he will firmly refuse to interfere, and will never willingly have anything to do with a trial when death is the penalty that has been ordained by the laws for the
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προηγορεύεται. 1 νομοθετῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων ὕβριν μὲν καὶ χαλεπότητα καὶ πικρίαν τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀφαιρήσει, ἀποκλήρωσε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρῶν σωφρόνων καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου βάσανον οὐ φαύλη τής αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς παρασχομένων δικαστήριον, 2 οἷς μηδὲν αὐθαίδες μηδὲ όρμη των παντελῶς ἀλώς χρώμενοι, ἐν ἡμέρας μορίῳ σμίκρῳ βουλευσάμενοι, τυχόν δὲ οὐδὲ βουλῆ δύνης, ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος πολίτου τῆς μέλαινας οὐσοῦσι ψῆφον. αὐτῷ δὲ οὐτε ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ξίφος εἰς πολίτον, κἀν ἀδική τὰ ἔσχατα, φόνον οὐτε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κέντρον ὑπείναι χρῆ, ὅπου καὶ τὴν τῶν μελιττῶν ὅρῳμεν βασιλεύσαν καθαράν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πλήκτρον γενομένην. 90 ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μελίττας βλεπτέον, εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ οἴμαι τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα οὕτε εἶναι χρῆ τὸν ἀληθῶς ἀρχοντα προφήτην καὶ ὑπηρέτην. οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὲν ἄγαθὰ γέγονε πάντελῶς τῆς ἑναντίας ἀμικτα φύσεως καὶ ἐπ' ἀφελεία κοινὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, τούτων δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν τε καὶ ἔστι δημοφυγός τὰ κακὰ δὲ οὐτ' ἐγένησαν οὔτ' ἐπέταξεν εἶναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὲν ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, περὶ δὲ τὴν γῆν Β στρεφόμενα καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποκίκνων σταλείσαν τῶν ψυχῶν διαλαβόμενα κρίνειν ἐπέταξε καὶ διακαθαίρειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισί καὶ ἐγγόνοις. τοῦτον δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσὶ σωτῆρες καὶ ἐπίκουροι τῆς ἱνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπαραίητοι κριταὶ, τῶν ἀδικημάτων δέειν καὶ δεινῆ ἐπάγοντες δίκην ὅσι τε ἀνθρώπως καὶ ἀπολυθεῖσι τῶν σωμάτων,

1 προηγορεύεται Hertlein suggests, προαγορεύεται MSS.
2 δικαστήριον Hertlein suggests, τὸ δικαστήριον MSS.

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

1 Plato, Theaetetus 176 a.
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οἱ δὲ ὀστερ δήμοι τιμωροὶ τινες καὶ ἀποτηλη-ρωταὶ τῶν δικασθέντων, ἔτερον τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀννήτων δαμίμων τὸ φύλον. ἐὰν μὴ μιμητέον τῷ γενναῖῳ καὶ θεοφιλεί, καὶ μεταδοτέον πολλοὶς μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὕμετρῆς 1 διὰ φιλίας ἐς ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν προσληψθεῖσαν. 2 ἀρχὰς δὲ ἐπιτρέπ-τεον οἰκείως ἐκάστοτε τῷ φύσει καὶ προαιρέσει, τῷ μὲν ἀνδρώθει καὶ τολμηρῷ καὶ μεγαλοθυμῷ μετὰ ξυνέσεως στρατιωτικάς, ἵν' εἰς δεόν ἔχῃ τῷ θυμῷ χρὴσθαι καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ, τῷ δικαίῳ δὲ καὶ πράξι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ πρὸς οἴκτων εὐχερώς ἐπικλωμένῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν τάς ἀμφι τὰ συναλλάγματα, βοηθείας τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ ἀπλουστέροις μηχανώμενοι καὶ πένησι πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς καὶ ἀπατεώνας καὶ πανούργους καὶ ἐπαιρομένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς τὸ βιάζεσθαι καὶ ὑπερορᾶν τῆς δίκης, τῷ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κεκραμένῳ μεῖζονα ἕν 3 τῇ πόλει τιμήν καὶ δύναμιν περιθέτεον, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων κρίσεις, οἷς ἐπεται τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις ἐνδικοῖς ἐπ' ὠφέλεια τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπτων 4 ὁρθώς ἀν καὶ ἐμφρόως λογίζοιτο. κρίνας γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀδεκάτως ἀμα τοῖς συνέδροις παραδώσει τῷ δημῷ τὰ γυνωσθέντα ἐπιτελεῖν, οὔτε διὰ θυμοῦ μέγεθος οὔτε διὰ μαλακίαν ζυχῆς ἀμαρτών τοῦ φύσει δικαίου. κινδυνεύει δὲ ὁ κράτιστος ἐν πόλει τοιοῦτος τις εἶναι, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἐχοι αὐγαθά, τὰς δὲ οἶκον κῆρας ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζουτος

1 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς Reiske, ἀρετῆς MSS., Hertlein.
2 κοινωνιὰ προσληψθείσαν. Reiske, κοινωνία, MSS., Hertlein.
3 μεῖζονα ἐν Hertlein suggests, μεῖζονα τε ἐν MSS.
4 ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων Reiske, ἀδικουμένων, MSS., Hert-lein.

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were executioners and avengers who carry out the sentence, a different race of inferior and unintelligent demons. Now the king who is good and a favourite of the gods must imitate this example, and share his own excellence with many of his subjects, whom, because of his regard for them, he admits into this partnership; and he must entrust them with offices suited to the character and principles of each; military command for him who is brave and daring and high-spirited, but discreet as well, so that when he has need he may use his spirit and energy; and for him who is just and kind and humane and easily prone to pity, that office in the service of the state that relates to contracts, devising this means of protection for the weaker and more simple citizens and for the poor against the powerful, fraudulent and wicked and those who are so buoyed up by their riches that they try to violate and despise justice; but to the man who combines both these temperaments he must assign still greater honour and power in the state, and if he entrust to him the trials of offences for which are enacted just pains and penalties with a view to recompensing the injured, that would be a fair and wise measure. For a man of this sort, together with his colleagues, will give an impartial decision, and then hand over to the public official the carrying out of the verdict, nor will he through excess of anger or tender-heartedness fall short of what is essentially just. Now the ruler in
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ἐν ἕκάστῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων ἐκφεύγων. ἔφορον δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπαντᾷ καὶ κατευθύνων καὶ ἀρχῶν ἀρχόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων καὶ διοικήσεων τεταγμένος καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς ύπὲρ ἀπάντων βουλῆς κοινωνοῦτας ἀγαθοὺς τε εἶναι καὶ ὅ,τι μάλιστα αὐτοῦ παραπλησίους εὑχεται γενέσθαι. αἰρήσεται δὲ οὐχ ἀπλώς οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὐδὲ θελήσει φαινότερος εἶναι κριτῆς τῶν λιθογνωμόνων καὶ τῶν βασανιζόντων τὰ χρυσάν ἢ τὴν πορφύραν. τούτως γὰρ οὐ μία ὀδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀπόχρη, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες οἶμαι τῶν πανουργείν ἔθελόντων ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτεχνήματα εἰς δύναμιν ἀπασιν ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ ἀντέστησαν ἐλέγχους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τέχνης. δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς κακίας ύπολαμβάνων, ὡς ἐστὶ ποικίλη καὶ ἀπατηλὴ καὶ τούτῳ ἐστὶ χαλεπώτατον τῶν ἐκείνης ἔργων, ὅτι δὴ ψεύδεται πολλάκις ἀρετὴν ὑποδυμένη καὶ ἐξαπατᾶ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ἐξύπτερον ὁρᾶν ἢ καὶ ἀποκάρμοντας τῷ μῆκει τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν ἐξέτασιν, τὸ παθεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ὅρθως φυλάξεται. ἑλόμενος δὲ ἀπαξ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔχουν τούτους ἐπιτρέψει τὴν τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἀρχόντων αἴρεσιν.

Νόμων μὲν δὴ πέρι καὶ ἀρχόντων τοιάδε γινώσκει. τοῦ πλῆθους δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀστεσιν οὔτε ἄργῳ οὔτε αὐθαίδες ἀνέξεται εἰναι οὔτε μὴν ἐνδεῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τῶν γεωργῶν φύλου ἀροῦντες καὶ φυτεύοντες τροφήν 92.
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our state will be somewhat like this, possessing only what is good in both those qualities, and in every quality that I mentioned earlier avoiding a fatal excess. And though he will in person oversee and direct and govern the whole, he will see to it that those of his officials who are in charge of the most important works and management and who share his councils for the general good, are virtuous men and as far as possible like himself. And he will choose them, not carelessly or at random, nor will he consent to be a less rigorous judge than a lapidary or one who tests gold plate or purple dye. For such men are not satisfied with one method of testing, but since they know, I suppose, that the wickedness and devices of those who are trying to cheat them are various and manifold, they try to meet all these as far as possible, and they oppose to them the tests derived from their art. So too our ruler apprehends that evil changes its face and is apt to deceive, and that the cruellest thing that it does is that it often takes men in by putting on the garb of virtue, and hoodwinks those who are not keen sighted enough, or who in course of time grow weary of the length of the investigation, and therefore he will rightly be on his guard against any such deception. But when once he has chosen them, and has about him the worthiest men, he will entrust to them the choice of the minor officials.

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

1 Plato, Laws 937 D.
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ἀποίσουσι τοῖς φύλαξι καὶ ἐπικούροις σφῶν, μυσθόν καὶ ἔσθήτα τὴν ἀναγκαίαν. οἰκοδομήματα δὲ Ἀσσύρια καὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ δαπανηρὰς λειτουργίας χαίρειν ἐάσαντες ἐν εἰρήνη πολλή τῶν τε ἐξοθεν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν οἰκοθεν καταβιβώσονται, ἀγαπῶντες μὲν τὸν αἰτίον τῶν παρόντων σφίς καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, ὕμνοῦντες δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπενχόμενοι, οὕτω πλαστῶς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ γλώττης, ἐνδοθέν δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς αἰτούσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἁγαθά. φθάνουσι δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς εὐχάς, καὶ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὰ θεία δόντες οὐτε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστέρησαν. εἰ δὲ τὸ χρεῶν βιάζοιτο κακῷ τῷ περιπεσεῖν, τούτων δὴ τῶν θρυλουμένων ἀνηκέστων, χορευτὴν τε αὐτῶν ἐποίησαντο καὶ συνέστιον, καὶ αὐτῷ κλέος καθ’ ἀπαντας ἦγειραν ἀνθρώπους. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τῶν σοφῶν ἀκούσω πολ- λάκις, καὶ με ὁ λόγος ἰσχυρῶς πείθει. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθον, μακρότερα μὲν τυχῶν ἱσως τοῦ καιροῦ φθεγγόμενος, ἐλάττωνα δὲ οὐμαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως· καὶ ὅτω γέγονε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἐπακούειν ἐν φροντίδι, οὕτως ότι μὴ ψευδομαι σαφῶς ἐπίσταται. ἐτέρα δὲ ἐστιν αἰτία τοῦ μήκους τῆς μὲν εἰρήμενης ἢττον ἀναγκαία, προσ- εχεστέρα δὲ οὐμαι τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ· τυχῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀνηκέστως ὑμᾶς εἶναι χρή.

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

In the first place, then, let me remind you briefly of what I said before, when I broke off my discourse for the sake of this digression. What I said was that, when serious-minded people listen to sincere panegyrics, they ought not to look to those things
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λάκις μεταδίδωσιν, εἰς δὲ τᾶς ἔξεις καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἢς μόνος μέτεστι τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φύσει σπουδαίος. εἰτα ἐνετεῦθεν ἐλόντες 1 τοὺς ἔξης ἐπεραιομεν λόγους, ὡς πρὸς 2 κανόνα τινά καὶ στάθμην ἀπευθύνοντες, ἤ τοὺς τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἐπαίνους ἐναρμόττειν ἔχρην. καὶ ὅτω μὲν ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος ἀρμονία πρὸς τούτο γέγονε τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ὦλβιος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ὅντως εὐδαίμων, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οἱ μεταλαβόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς. ὡστε δὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετο, τῶν πλέον ἀπολειφθέντων ἀμείων καὶ εὐτυχέστερος. οἱ δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες παντελῶς ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐναυτίαν τραπόμενοι δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ μοχθηροί, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοισ τῶν μεγίστων αἰτιοι συμφορών.

Εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταύτη τῇ ξυνδοκεί, ὃρα ἐπεζεῖναι τοῖς ἔργοις, ἄ τεθαυμάκαμεν. καὶ ὅταν μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸν λόγον καθ’ αὐτὸν ἱόντα, καθάπερ ἦππον ἀνταγωνιστοῦ στερόμενον εἰς τοῖς δρόμοις, κρατεῖν καὶ ἀποφέρειν τὰ νυκτήρια, πειράσομαι, τῇ ποτε διαφέρετον ἀλλήλοις οὐ τῇ ἡμέτερος καὶ τῶν σοφῶν ῥητόρων ἔπαινος, δεῖξαι. οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν τὸ προγόνων γενέσθαι δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων θαυμάξουσι μάλα, ὦλβιον καὶ εὐδαιμόνων μακαρίους ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐκγόνους: τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὕτε ἐνενόησαν οὕτε ἐσκέψατο, τίνα τρόπον διατελοῦσιν τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς 3 χρώμενοι.

1 ἐλόντες Cobet, ἐλόντες τὴν ἀρχήν MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἃς πρὸς Cobet, ἄστερ MSS., Hertlein.
3 τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς Hertlein suggests, ἀλλήλοις MSS.

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

And now if you are in any way of my opinion, it is time to proceed to those achievements that we have so admired. And lest any should think that my argument is running alone, like a horse in a race that has lost its competitor and for that reason wins and carries off the prizes, I will try to show in what way my eulogy differs from that of clever rhetoricians. For they greatly admire the fact that a man is born of ancestors who had power or were kings, since they hold that the sons of the prosperous and fortunate are themselves blest. But the question that next arises they neither think of nor investigate, I mean how they employed their
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καίτω γε τούτο ἢν τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐκείνης τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἔκτος ἄγαθῶν· εἰ μὴ τις καὶ πρὸς τούτων δυσχεραῖνε, τὴν κτῆσιν ύπὸ τῆς ἐμφρονος χρήσεως ἄγαθὴν καὶ φαύλην ύπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας γίγνεσθαι συμβαίνειν· ὡστε οὐ μέγα, καθάπερ οἶονται, τὸ βασιλέως πλουσίου καὶ πολυχρύσου γενέσθαι, μέγα δὲ ἄληθῶς τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν πατρίδαν ὕπερβαλλόμενον ἀμεμπτον αὐτῶν τοῖς γενεαμένοις παρασχέιν εἰς ἅπαν.

Βούλεσθε οὖν εἰ τούτο ὑπάρχει βασιλεία καταμαθεῖν; παρέξομαι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ μαρτυρίαν πιστῆν, καὶ με οὐχ αἰρήσετε ψευδομαρτυρίων,1 εὑ οἴδα. ὑπομνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς δὲν ἴστε· τυχόν δὲ καὶ ἦδη τοῖς λεγομένων ξυνίετε, εἰ τε οὕτω δῆλον, αὐτίκα μάλα ξυνίσασθε ἐννοήσαντες πρῶτον μὲν ὡς αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγάτα διαφερόντως, οὐτὶ πρῶος ὑπὸ λίαν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις οὐδὲ τῇ φύσει πλέον ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ διδοῦς, ἥττωμενος δὲ οἶμαι τῆς θεραπείας καὶ οὐκ ἔχουν, ὃτι μέμφοτο, δῆλος ἢν εὐνοῦσ ὁν. καὶ αὐτοῦ σημεῖον τῆς γνώμης, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Κωνσταντῖνῳ ταύτῃ ἐξείλε τὴν μοῖραν, ἢν αὐτῷ πρὸτερον προσήκειν ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν, εἰδ' ὅτι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον, τὸν πρεσβύτατον καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀφεῖς σκολὴν ἀγοντας, τούτον δὲ ἀσχολοῦν ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπέτρεπε τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄρχην ἐξύμπαντα. γενόμενος δὲ ἐγκρατῆς ἀπάντων οὕτω

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

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

Do you wish to learn whether this is true of the Emperor? I will offer you trustworthy evidence, and I know well that you will not convict me of false witness. For I shall but remind you of what you know already. And perhaps you understand even now what I mean, but if it is not yet evident you very soon will, when you call to mind that the Emperor's father loved him more than the others, though he was by no means over-indulgent to his children, for it was character that he favoured rather than the ties of blood; but he was, I suppose, won over by the Emperor's dutiful service to him, and as he had nothing to reprehend him with, he made his affection for him evident. And a proof of his feeling is, first, that he chose for Constantius that portion of the empire which he had formerly thought best suited to himself, and, secondly, that when he was at the point of death he passed over his eldest\(^1\) and youngest\(^2\) sons, though they were at leisure, and summoned Constantius, who was not at leisure, and entrusted him with the whole government. And

\(^{1}\) Constantine II. \(^{2}\) Constans.
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toĩς ἀδελφοῖς δικαίως ἀμα καὶ σωφρόνως προσηνέχθη, ὥστε οἱ μὲν οὔτε κληθέντες οὔτε ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαξον καὶ διεμάχοντο, C τούτῳ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινον οὐδὲν οὔδὲ ἐμέμφωντο. ἔπει δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στάσις τέλος ἔχειν οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς, εξὸν μεταποιεῖσθαι πλειώνων, ἐκὼν ἀφίκε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνων πολλά τε ἦθη καὶ ὅλγα δεῖσθαι, περικεῖσθαι δὲ, οἴμαι, φροντίδας μεῖζονας ὅτω πλειώνων ἀνάγκη τημελεῖν καὶ¹ κήδεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρυφῆς ὑπολαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν εἶναι παρασκευὴν οὔτε, ὅστερ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς πότους καὶ ἡδονᾶς οἱ καταχρώμενοι μεῖζονας εὔπορίαν προσόδων ἐπινοοῦσιν, οὔτω χρῆναι τὸν βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι, οὔτε ἀναρείσθαι πόλεμον, διτὶ μὴ τῶν ἄρχομένων τῆς ὀφθαλμίας ἕνεκα. οὐκοῦν ἔκεινῳ μὲν ἔχειν τὸ πλέον ἄγχωρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ ἀρετῆς ἔλαττον ἔχων τῷ κρατίστῳ πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπὲλαβε. καὶ ὅτι μὴ δέει μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκείνου παρασκευῆς τῆς ἡσυχίας ἡγάπα, τεκμηρίων ὅμων ἐμφανεῖς ἔστω ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ξυμπεσόν τότεμος. ἐχρῆσατο γοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου δυνάμεις ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὑστερον. πάλιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκείνου μὲν ποὺ τὸ μικὰν τῆθαναμάκασιν ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺ πλέον τὸ ἔξω δίκη μὲν ἀνελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, διενεγκεῖν δὲ

¹ τημελεῖν καὶ Cobet, [ἐπιμελεῖν καὶ] Hertlein, who suggests κήδεσθαι καὶ ἑταμύνειν, ἑπιμένειν M, ἑπισυνέχειν V, ἑπιμελεῖν MSS.

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when he had become master of the whole, he behaved to his brothers at once so justly and with such moderation, that, while they who had neither been summoned nor had come of themselves quarrelled and fought with one another, they showed no resentment against Constantius, nor ever reproached him. And when their feud reached its fatal issue,\(^1\) though he might have laid claim to a greater share of empire, he renounced it of his own free will, because he thought that many nations or few called for the exercise of the same virtues, and also, perhaps, that the more a man has to look after and care for the greater are the anxieties beset him. For he does not think that the imperial power is a means of procuring luxury, nor that, as certain men who have wealth and misapply it for drink and other pleasures set their hearts on lavish and ever-increasing revenues, this ought to be an emperor's policy, nor that he ought ever to embark on a war except only for the benefit of his subjects. And so he allowed his brother\(^2\) to have the lion's share, and thought that if he himself possessed the smaller share with honour, he had the advantage in what was most worth having. And that it was not rather from fear of his brother's resources that he preferred peace, you may consider clearly proved by the war that broke out later. For he had recourse to arms later on against his brother's forces, but it was to avenge him.\(^3\) And here again there are perhaps some who have admired him merely for having won the victory. But I admire far more the fact that it was with justice that he undertook the

\(^1\) Constantine II was slain while marching against Constans.  
\(^2\) Constans.  
\(^3\) Constans was slain by the soldiers of Magnentius.
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άνδρείως καὶ μάλα ἐμπείρως, ἐπιθείσης δὲ τὸ τέλος τῆς τύχης δεξίου χρῆσασθαι τῇ νίκῃ σωφρόνως καὶ βασιλικώς, καὶ ὀλως ἄξιον τοῦ κρατεῖν φανήσαι.

Βούλεσθε οὖν καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν ὁσπέρ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὀνομαστὶ καλῶμεν τοὺς μάρτυρας; καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὖδεὶς πω πόλεμος συνέστη πρότερον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν τοῖς "Ελλησιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Πέρσας Μακεδόσιν, οὔπερ δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἐν δίκῃ γενέσθαι, τοσαῦτην ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ παιδὶ που δῆλον, τοῖς μὲν γε λίαν ἀρχαίων ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίας σφόδρα νεαρᾶς τοῦ Ἐλευθέριαν ὑπόθεσιν ὑποθεσάμεθαι τῇ ἀρχηγῇ τούς τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀπογόνους." Αγαμέμνον δὲ ὁμητο 

τίσασθαι Ἐλευθέριας ὀρμήματα τε στοναχάς τε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦς Τρώας ἔστρατευε γυναικα μίαν ἐκδικηκεῖν ἔθελων. τῷ δὲ ἐτὶ μὲν ἢν νεαρὰ τὰ ἀδικήματα, ἤρχε τε οὐ κατὰ Δαρείου οὐδὲ Πρίαμου ἀνήρ εὐγενῆς καὶ τυχῶν δι' ἄρετην ἢ κατὰ γένος προσηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιωθείς, ἀλλὰ ἀναιδῆς καὶ τραχὺς βάρβαρος τῶν ἐαλωκῶτων οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπραξε καὶ ὅτις ἤρχε, οὗτε ἢδυ μοι λέγειν οὔτε ἐν καρφῷ ἐν δίκῃ δὲ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπολέμησαν, ἀκηκόατε. τῆς δὲ ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἰκανὰ μὲν τὰ πρόσθεν ρηθέντα σημεῖα, πιστότερα δὲ, οἴμαι, τὰ ἔργα τῶν

1 neaراس Hertlein suggests, νεωτέρας MSS.

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

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

"To avenge the strivings and groans of Helen,"

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

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

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1 Under Alexander. 2 Darius III. 3 Iliad 2. 356. 4 Magnentius. 5 cf. Oration 1. 34 A.
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λόγων. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενόμενα καὶ ὡπώς ἔξοφους μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέσθεν ἔτι, οὐδὲ εἰ τις ἀδικημί-
tων μειζόνων εἶχεν ὑποψίαν, οὐδὲ εἰ τῷ πρὸς τὸν τύραννον οἰκειότερα γέγονε φιλία, οὐδὲ μὴν εἰ τις ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενος φέρειν τῇ ἡξίου κηρύκιον καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο βασιλεί, τῆς προπετείας ἐπέτισε δίκην, δὲτι μὴ τάλλα μοχθηρὸς ἦν, ἐννοήσατε δὲ πρὸς φιλίου Διώς. ποταπον δὲ χρήμα λοιδορία; ὡς θυμοδακές ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀμύττουν ψυχὴν μᾶλλον ἡ σίδηρος χρώτα; οὐκόυν καὶ τὸν Ὄδυσσεά παρώξυνεν εἰς δύναμιν ἀμύνασθαι λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ. διηνέξθη γοῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου πρὸς τὸν ἐξενοδόκον αὐτὸς ὅν ἀλήτης καὶ ξένος, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδὼς, ὅτι

Ἀφρων... καὶ οὐτιδανδὸς πέλει ἀνήρ,

"Οστίς ξεινοδόκῳ ἐρίδα προφέρρεσι βαρείαν,

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀχιλλέα τὸν Θέτιδος1 καὶ ἄλλους δὲ τινας οὐ φαύλους οὐδὲ ἀγεννεῖς ἀνθρώπους. μόνω δὲ ὑπῆρχεν, οίμαι. Σωκράτει καὶ σπανίος τις ἐκεῖνον ἦλωταῖς, εὐδαίμονι ἀληθῶς καὶ μακαρίους γενομένους, τὸν ἐσχατὸν ἀποδύσασθαι χιτώνα τῆς φιλοτημίας. φιλότιμον γὰρ δεινὸς τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἐοικεν ἐμφύσθαι διὰ τούτο μᾶλλον ταῖς γενναίαις ψυχαῖς. ἁχθονταί γὰρ ὡς ἐναντιωτάτῳ σφίσθη λοιδορία, καὶ τοὺς ἀπορρίπτοντας ἐς αὐτοὺς D

1 τὸν V, τὸν τῆς MSS.

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think, more convincing than words. But what happened after the victory, and how he no longer made use of the sword, not even against those who were under suspicion of serious crimes, or who had been familiar friends of the usurper, nay not even against anyone who, to curry favour with the latter, had stooped to win a tale-bearer's fee by slandering the Emperor, consider, in the name of Zeus the god of friendship, that not even these paid the penalty of their audacity, except when they were guilty of other crimes. And yet what a terrible thing is slander! How truly does it devour the heart and wound the soul as iron cannot wound the body! This it was that goaded Odysseus to defend himself by word and deed. At any rate it was for this reason that he quarrelled with his host\(^1\) when he was himself a wanderer and a guest, and though he knew that

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

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

\(^1\) Alcinous.  
\(^2\) Odyssey 8. 209.  
\(^3\) Dioscorides in Athenaeus 507 D; Tacitus Hist. 4. 6; cf. Milton Lycidas,

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

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toiauta ρήματα μισοῦσι μᾶλλον ἣ τοὺς ἐπάγοντας τὸν σίδηρον καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας φόνον, διαφόρους τε αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι φύσει καὶ οὐ νόμῳ, εἰ γε οἱ μὲν ἐπάνω καὶ τιμῆς ἔρωσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἀφαιροῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μηχανῶν-
tαι βλασφημίας ψευδείς. τούτων καὶ Ἡρακλέα
φασί καὶ ἄλλους δὲ τινας ἀκράτορας τοῦ πάθους
γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτε περὶ ἐκείνων τῷ λόγῳ
πείθομαι, καὶ βασιλεά τεθέαμαι σφόδρα ἐγκρατῶς
τὴν λοιδορίαν ἀποτρεφάμενον,1 οὕτω φανλότερον
ἐργον, ὡς ἐγὼ κρῖνω, τοῦ Τροίαν ἐλείν καὶ
φάλαγγα γενναίαν τρέψασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις
καὶ οὐ μέγα οὐτει οὐδὲ ἄξιον ἐπαίνων τοσούτων,
ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶν, ὅταν ἐν τινι τοιαύτῃ ξυμφορᾷ
γένηται, κρινότω, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ σφόδρα ληρεῖν
dόξομεν, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁν καὶ γενόμενος βασιλεύς μετὰ
tὸν πόλεμον εἰκότως οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς
φίλοις καὶ ἀγαπητός, πολλοίς2 μὲν τιμῆς καὶ
Β δυνάμεως καὶ παρρησίας μεταδίδουσι, χρήματα
dὲ αὐτοῖς ἀφονα χαρίζομενος καὶ χρήσαται ὅπως τις
βούλεται τῷ πλούτῳ ἡγομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
πολεμίοις τοιοῦτος ἐδόκει. τεκμήριον δὲ ύμῶν
ἐμφανές καὶ τοῦδε γεγένεσθω· ἀνδρεῖς, τῆς γερον-
σίας ὦτιπερ ὄφελος, ἀξιώσει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ
ξυνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων, ὡσπερ ἐς λιμένα
καταμείγνυοντες τὴν τούτου δεξιάν, ἐστίας τε

1 ἀποτρεφάμενον Hertlein suggests, δεξάμενον Petavius,
tρεφάμενον MSS.
2 πολλοίς fl., Hertlein prefers, πολλῆς MSS.

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

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

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1 A proverb, cf. Euripides, Andromache 368.
2 Aristophanes, Frogs 84.

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Λιπόντες καὶ οἶκους καὶ παίδας Παιονίαν μὲν ἀντὶ C
τῆς Ῥώμης, τὴν μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν φιλτάτων
συνουσίαν ἡσπάσαντο, ἢλη τε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων
ὑπέων τοῖς σημείοις καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν
ἀγούσα τοῦτον τοῦ κωνδύλου ξυμμετέχειν μᾶλλον
η ἐκεῖνω τῆς εὐτυχίας ἡξίουν. καὶ ταῦτα ἄπαντα
ἔδρατο πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἢν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δρῶν ταῖς
ἡσίων ὁ πρόσθεν λόγος παρέστησεν. ἐνεύθεν γὰρ
ἡ δὲ βεβαίως ἐθάρρυντο, τέως δ᾿ ἐδόκει τὰ τῶν
τυράννων ἐπικρατεῖν, πλεονεκτήματος τῶν περὶ
tους κατασκόπους τους 1 βασιλέως γενομένου, ὃ δὴ
ἐκείνων τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἴδιν ήδρον καὶ
ἐξετάρατε τοὺς οὓς δυναμένους ἐφικνεῖσθαι οὐδὲ
dιορὰν τὴν στρατηγίαν. ὃ δὲ ἢν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ
γεννᾶς καθάπερ ἄγαθός νεώς κυβερνήτης,
ἐξαπίνης νεφῶν ῥαγείσης λαίλαπος, εἶτα ἐπ᾿ αὐτὴ
tου θεοῦ σείωντος τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τὰς ἡμός.
ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀπείρους δεινὸν καὶ ἄτοπον
κατέλαβε δέος, ὃ δὲ ἢδη χαίρει καὶ γὰρ 98
γαλήνην ἀκριβῆ καὶ νυμφημέναν ἐλπίζων. λέγεται
γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ποσειδών συνταράττων τὴν γῆν
παύει τα κύματα. καὶ ἡ τύχη δὲ τοὺς ἀνοήτους
ἐξωπατά καὶ σφάλλει περὶ τοῖς μείζοσι, μικρὰ
πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσα, τοὺς ἐμφροσυ δὲ τὸ
βεβαίως θαρσεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειξώνων, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς
ἐλάττοσιν αὐτοὺς διαταράττῃ, παρέχει. τοῦτο
Δακεδαμονίοι παθόντες ἐν Πύλαις οὐκ ἀπηγό-
ρευον οὐδὲ ἔδεισαν τὸν Μήδον ἐπιφερόμενον, Β

1 τοῦς Hertlein suggests, τοῦ MSS.

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

\(^1\) Pannonia. \(^2\) Silvanus, cf. Oration 1. 60. \(^3\) cf. Oration 1. 35 c. \(^4\) Thermopylae.
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τριακοσίους Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλεὰ περὶ
tὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος προέμενοι· τούτο
Ῥωμαίοι πολλάκις παθόντες μείζονα κατώρθουν
ὕστερον· ὃ δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐννοῶν καὶ λογιζό-
μενος οὐδαμῶς ἐσφάλη τῆς γνώμης.

Ἀλλ’ ἐπείτερ ἀπαξ έκὼν ὁ λόγος ἐς τούτῳ
ἀφίκται καὶ τὴν εὖνοιαν τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῶν ἐν
tέλει καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, οὔτε δὴ ἐξαρτήθη τοὺς πολεμίους,
αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπείραξαν τοὺς πολεμίους,
διηγεῖται· βούλεσθε ὑμῖν ἑαργῆς εἰπὼ τεκμήριον

χθές που ἡ καὶ πρόφην γενόμενον; ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπι-
tαχθέντων τοῖς ἐν Γαλατίᾳ στρατοπέδοις· ἵστε
ἴσως καὶ τούνομα καὶ τὸν τρόπον· ὁμηρον φιλίας
καὶ πίστεως ἀπέλιπεν οὐδὲν δεομένῳ βασιλεῖ τὸν
παιδα· εἶτα ἢ ἀπιστότερος τῶν λεοντῶν, οἷς ὑκ
ἐστί, φησί, πρὸς ἄνδρας

ὁρκία πιστά, ἀρπάζων

τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰ χρήματα καὶ διανέμων τοῖς

ἐπιούσι βαρβάροις καὶ ὀστερό λύτρα καταβαλλό-

μενος, ἔξω τῷ σιδήρῳ παρασκευάζειν καὶ οὐ τοῖς
χρήμασι ποιεῖται τὴν ἄσφαλειαν· ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνος

ὑπήκετο διὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς εὖνοιαν καὶ τέλος

ἐκ τῆς γυναικώντιδος ἀνελόμενος ἀλογρίζει

ἐμάτιον γελοίος ἀληθῶς τύραννος καὶ τραγικὸς

ὀντος ἀνεφάνη. ἔνταβα οἱ στρατιῶται χαλέποις

μὲν εἶχον πρὸς τὴν ἀπιστίαν, θῆλυν δὲ οὐχ

ὑπομένοντες ὅραν ἐνδεδικότα στολήν τὸν δείλαιον

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

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

1 Leonidas. 2 Silvanus. 3 Iliad 22. 262. 4 Euripides, Bacchae 822. 5 cf. Oration 1. 48 c.
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ἐπιθέμενοι σπαράττομεν, οὖδὲ τὸν τῆς σελήνης κύκλον ἀρξαι σφῶν ἀνασχόμενοι. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῆς τῶν φυλάκων εὐνοίας ὑπῆρξε βασιλεῖ τὸ γέρας, ἀρχὴς ἀμεμφώς καὶ δικαίας ἀμοιβὴ θαυμαστῆ, ὡστὶς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτὴ γέγονε ποθεῖτε ἀκούειν· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τούτο ὑμᾶς λέληθεν, ὅτι μὴτε ἐς τὸν ἑκείνου παῖδα χαλεπτὸς μῆτε ἐς τοὺς φίλους ὑπόπτους καὶ δεινὸς εἶλετο γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα πράως εἰχε καὶ εὐμενὴς πᾶσιν ἂν καίτοι πολλῶν συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελοῦντων καὶ διηρ-μένων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐκ αἰτίους τὰ κέντρα. πολλῶν δὲ τυχὸν ἀληθῶς ἐνόχων ὄντων ταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποψίαις, ὀμοίως ἄπασιν ἂν πρῶς τοῖς οὐκ ἔξελεγχθείσιν

1 οὐδὲ ἀποφανθεῖσι κοινωνοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ ἐξαγίστων βουλευμιτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἐς τὸν παρανομήσαντος παῖδα καὶ πατήσαν-τος πίστιν καὶ ὅρκια φειδώ ἀρὰ βασιλικὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ θείον φήσομεν, ἡ μᾶλλον ἀπο-δεξόμεθα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα χαλεπαίνουτα καὶ πικραινόμενον τῶν Τρῶων οὐ τοῖς ξυνεξελθοῦσι μόνον τῷ Πάριδι καὶ καθυβρίσασι τοῦ Μενέλεω τὴν ἑστίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κυνομένοις ἐτὶ καὶ ὅπω τυχὸν οὐδὲ οἱ μητέρες τὸν ἐγεγόνεσαν, ὅπωτε ἑκεῖνος τὰ περὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐνενόει; εἰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὁμόν τις οἴεται καὶ τραχύ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἦκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν, τὸ πρᾶον δὲ οὐ μαί καὶ χορήσων καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἠρμόττειν ἦκιστα μὲν χαίροντι τιμωρίαις, ἀχθομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφοραῖς, ὅπως ἄν γίγνωνται, εἰτε

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

\(^1\) His Oriental dress suggested Persian rule, symbolised by the crescent.

\(^2\) cf. *Oration* 1. 49 a,

\(^3\) cf. *Oration* 1, 48 c, d.
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κακία σφόν καὶ ἀμαθία, εἰτε ἔξωθεν παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐπάγωντο, δηλὸς ἦστι τοῦτο ὑποῦς τὰ νικητῆρια. ἔννοείτε γὰρ, ὡς περὶ τὸν παιδὰ γέγονε τοῦ φυσαντος ἀμένων καὶ δικαιότερος, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνους φίλους πιστότερος τοῦ τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογησάντος. ο μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντάς προείτο, ὁ δὲ ἀπέσωσεν ἀπαντάς. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκείνους ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔγνωκός τρόπον ἀτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατανοήσας σφόδρα ἐπιστευει, ἀσφαλῶς μὲν οἱ τὰ τοῦ παιδῶς, βεβαιῶς δὲ ὁμοίων τὰς τῶν φίλων, συνίει μὲν ὀρθῶς, πολλὰκις δὲ ἦν πανούργος καὶ μοχθηρός καὶ δυστυχής, πολέμων ἐθέλων εἰναι τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ δυ σφόδρα ἀγαθῶν καὶ διαφέροντως πράον ἔπιστατο μισῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ ἀφαιρόμενος ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶς ἔχρην. εἰ δὲ, ἀνελπίστου μὲν οἱ τοῦ παιδῶς τῆς σωτηρίας τυχανούσης, χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ ἀδυνάτου τῆς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν, τὴν ἀπίστιαν ὁμοίως προείλετο, ὁ μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μοχθηρός καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ ἀγριώτερος τῶν θηρίων, ὁ δὲ ἠμέρος καὶ πράος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, τοῦ μὲν ἔπτιον κατελείσας τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξελεγχεῖσθαι πράως ἔχων, τοῦ δὲ ὑπερίδον καὶ καταφρονήσας τῶν πυρηνεμάτων. ὁ γὰρ ἀ μηδὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν τις διὰ μέγεθος ὧν αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ἀδικημάτων ἐλπίζει ἐνυχωρῶν εἰκότως ἀρετῆς ἔστι

1 ἔγνωκός τρόπον—κατανοήσας Hertlein suggests, ἔγνωκός—
tὸν τρόπον κατανοήσας MSS.  
2 τῆς Hertlein adds.

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own wickedness and ignorance or aimed at them from without by fate, will, it is evident, award to the Emperor the palm of victory. For bear in mind that he was kinder and more just to the boy than his own father, and to the usurper's friends he was more loyal than he who acknowledged the tie of friendship. For the usurper forsook them all, but the Emperor saved them all. And if the usurper, knowing all this about the Emperor's character, since he had for a long time been able to observe it, was entirely confident that his son was safely at anchor and his friends securely also, then he did indeed understand him aright, but he was many times over criminal and base and accursed for desiring to be at enmity with such a man, and for hating one whom he knew to be so excellent and so surpassingly mild, and for plotting against him and trying to rob him of what it was a shame to take from him. But if, on the other hand, his son's safety was something that he had never hoped for, and the safety of his friends and kinsfolk he had thought difficult or impossible, and he nevertheless chose to be disloyal, this is yet another proof that he was wicked and infatuated and fiercer than a wild beast, and that the Emperor was gentle and mild and magnanimous, since he took pity on the youth of the helpless child, and was merciful to those who were not proved guilty, and ignored and despised the crimes of the usurper. For he who grants what not one of his enemies expects, because the guilt that is on their conscience is so great, beyond a doubt carries off the prize for virtue: for while he tempers justice with
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υικηφόρος, τῆν δίκην μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ πρα̂τερον μετατιθείς, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς τὸ μέτριον ἐπιτιθέντας ταῖς τιμωρίαις, ἀνδρεία δὲ διαφέρων τῷ μηδένα πολέμου ἀξιόχρεων ὑπολαμβάνειν, φρονήσεω δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῷ συγκαταλύειν τὰς ἔχθρας καὶ οὐ παραπέμπειν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ εἰς ἐγγόνους προφάσει τῆς ἀκριβοῦς δίκης καὶ τοῦ βούλεσθαι1 ἐπιεικῶς μάλα πίτυν δίκην τῶν πονηρῶν ἀφανίζειν τὰ σπέρματα.

εἰκείνων γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸδε, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰκόνα παλαιὸς ἀπέφηνε λόγος. οὐ δὲ ἀγαθὸς βασιλεὺς μμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς τὸν θεόν οἶδε μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἐς μιᾶς μελιττῶν ἐξιππαμένους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δριμυτάτου ξύλου τῶν γλυκῶν καρπῶν φυόμενου, συκὰ φημὶ τὰ χαρίεται, καὶ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν τὴν σίδην καὶ ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀλλῶν φυόμενα ἀνόμοια τοῖς γεννώσαι καὶ ἀποτικτούσιν. οὐκοῦν οἶτειν ταῦτα χρήναι πρὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς διαφθείρειν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἀπωσαμένοις τῶν πατέρων τὴν ἀνοίαν καὶ τὴν μωρίαν ἀγαθοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ σωφροσύνης, ξηλώτας δὲ γενομένους τῶν πατρῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων ύφεξεῖν ἐν καιρῷ τὴν δίκην, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίους ἔργοις καὶ ἕμφοραῖς παραναλωθέντας.

Ἀρ’ οὖν ὕμιν ἰκανῶς δοκοῦμεν ἐκτετελεκέναι τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐπαίνον; ἢ ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦειν ύμείς καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ὅσ’ οὐ μοῦν ἐστὶ τῶν πολεμῶν ἀήτητος, ἀλλ’ οὔτε αἰσχρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἐάλω πῶποτε, οὔτε οἰκίας καλῆς οὔτ’

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

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

1 A proverb; the pine when cut down does not send up shoots again.  
2 Herodotus 6. 37.
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ἐπαύλεως πολυτέλους οὖτε ὅρμων σμαραγδίων ἐπιθυμήσας ἀφείλετο βία ἢ καὶ πειθοὶ τοὺς κεκτημένους, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γυναικὸς ἔλευθέρας οὐδὲ θεραπαίνης, οὐδὲ ὅλως τὴν ἄδικον ἀφροδίτην ἡγάπησε, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ὅν ὤραι φύουσιν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀμετρον ἀπαίτει πλησμονήν, οὐδὲ αὐτῷ θέρους ὄρα τοῦ κρυστάλλου μέλει, οὐδὲ μεταβάλλει πρὸς τὰς ὄρας τὴν οἰκήσιν, τοὺς πονομένους δὲ αἰεὶ πάρεστι τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρεσιν ἀντέχων καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρύος καὶ πρὸς τὰ θάλπη τὰ γενναία; τούτων δὲ εἰ μὲ κελεύοντες φέρειν ὑμίν ἐμφανῇ τὰ τεκμήρια, γνώριμα μὲν ἔρῳ καὶ όν ἀπορήσω, μακρὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ διωλύγιος, ἐμοὶ τε οὐ σχολὴ τὰς μούσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον θεραπεύειν, ἀλλ' ὄρα λοιπὸν πρὸς ἔργον τρέπεσθαι.
never coveted a fine house or a costly palace or a necklace of emeralds, and then robbed their owners of them either by violence or persuasion; and that he has never coveted any free-born woman or handmaid or pursued any dishonourable passion; and that he does not even desire an immoderate surfeit of the good things that the seasons produce, or care for ice in summer, or change his residence with the time of year; but is ever at hand to aid those portions of the empire that are in trouble, enduring both frost and extreme heat? But if you should bid me bring before you plain proofs of this, I shall merely say what is familiar to all, and I shall not lack evidence, but the account would be long, a monstrous speech, nor indeed have I leisure to cultivate the Muses to such an extent, for it is now time for me to turn to my work.¹

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

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

\(^1\) cf. Quintilian 3. 7. 10. on the Gratiarum actio.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΥΣ ΕΤΣΕΒΙΑΣ

ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Τι ποτε ἀρα χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων μεγάλα καὶ πέρα¹ μεγάλων, οὕτω φημὶ χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἄργυριον, ἄλλα ἀπλῶς ὅ,τι ἂν τὴν χώραν παρὰ τοῦ πέλας εὐ παθῶν εἶτα τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀποτίνειν οὐτε ἑπιχειροῦντος οὐτε διανοοῦμενον, ἐρᾶμες δὲ καὶ ὁλογρῶς ἔχοντων πρὸς τὸ τὰ δύνατα ποιεῖν καὶ διαλύεσθαι τὸ ὄφλημα; ἡ δὴ λοι παύλους καὶ μοχθηροὺς νομιστεῖν; οὐδὲν δὲ γὰρ οὐμαί τῶν ἀλλων ἀδικημάτων ἐλαττον μισοῦμεν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ ὀνειδίζομεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν εὐ παθόντες περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὅσιν ἀχάριστον· ἐστὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἀχάριστος μόνον, ὅστις εὐ παθῶν δρά κακῶς ἢ λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις σιωπά καὶ ἀποκρύπτει, λήθῃ παραδίδους καὶ ἀφανίζων τὰς χάριτας. καὶ τῆς μὲν θηριώδους ἐκείνης καὶ ἀπανθρώπου μοχθηρίας σφόδρα ὀλίγα καὶ εὐαρίθμητα κομιδὴ τὰ παραδείγματα· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀποκρύπτουσι τὸ δοκεῖν εὐ παθεῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ,τι βουλόμενοι· φασὶ δὲ ὁμοις θωπείας τινὸς καὶ ἀγεννοῦς κολακείας τὴν δόξαν ἐκκλίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ

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

What, pray, ought we to think of those who owe things of price and beyond price—I do not mean gold or silver, but simply any benefit one may happen to receive from one's neighbour—suppose that they neither try nor intend to repay that kindness, but are indolent and do not trouble themselves to do what they can and try to discharge the debt? Is it not evident that we must think them mean and base? Far more I think than any other crime do we hate ingratitude, and we blame those persons who have received benefits and are ungrateful to their benefactors. And the ungrateful man is not only he who repays a kindness with evil deeds or words, but also he who is silent and conceals a kindness and tries to consign it to oblivion and abolish gratitude. Now of such brutal and inhuman baseness as the repayment with evil the instances are few and easily reckoned; but there are many who try to conceal the appearance of having received benefits, though with what purpose I know not. They assert, however, that it is because they are trying to avoid a reputation for a sort of servility and for base flattery. But though I
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

tòútoûs¹ μὲν ὦτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγουσι σαφῶς εἰδὼς ὦμος ἀφίημι, καὶ κείσθω διαφέυγειν αὑτοῦς, καθάπερ οἴονται, κολακείας οὐκ ἀληθῆ δόξαν, πολλοῖς ἀμα πάθεσιν ἐνόχους φανέντας καὶ νοσήμασιν αἰσχίστοις πάνυ καὶ ἀνελευθέρους. ἦ γὰρ ὦ συνιέντες ἀναίσθητοι λίαν εἰσίν, ὃν οὐδε- αμῶς ἀναίσθητον εἶναι χρῆν, ἡ συνιέντες ἐπι- λήσμονες ὃν ἔχρην εἰς ἀπαντὰ μεμνησθαί τῶν χρόνων μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ ἀποκυνοῦντες δὲ ἁρδη- πτοῦν ἀιτίας δειλοὶ καὶ βάσκανοι φύσει καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀπασίν ἀνθρώποις δυσμενεῖς, οὐ γε οὕδε τοῖς εὐεργέταις πράοι καὶ προσηνεῖς ἐθέλοντες εἶναι, εἴτε, ἀν μὲν δὲν λοιδορησάι πον καὶ δακεῖν, ὡσπερ τὰ θηρία ὅργιλον καὶ ὥδὲ βλέπουσών· ὡσπερ δὲ ἀνάλωμα πολυτελεῖς φεύγουντες τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐπανοῦν, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως, αἰτιώνται τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων εὐφημίας, ἔξον ἐκεῖνο ἐξετάζειν μόνον, εἰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶσοι καὶ περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦνται τῷ δοκεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαι- νοῖς χαρίζεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔστω οἰσεῖν, ὡς ἀνωφελεῖς χρήμα ἡ εὐφημία οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὃν γέγονεν οὔτε αὐτὸς ἀλλοις, ὅποσοι τὴν ἔστω ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὸν βίον τάξιν εἰληχότες τῆς ἐν ταῖς πράξεις ἀρετῆς ἀπελεύθησαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσμα τέ ἐστιν ἢδυ καὶ προθυμοτέρους παρέχει περὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν ἔργων· τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χελχηνόν ἐκεῖνα πειθοὶ καὶ βίᾳ παρ- ώρμησεν ὀρῶντας ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν προλαβόντων

¹ τοῦτος Cobet, οὕτωι MSS., Hertlein.

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know well enough that what they say is all insincere, nevertheless I let that pass, and suppose we assume that they, as they think, do escape an undeserved reputation for flattery, still they at the same time appear to be guilty of many weaknesses and defects of character that are in the highest degree base and illiberal. For either they are too dense to perceive what no one should fail to perceive, or they are not dense but forgetful of what they ought to remember for all time. Or again, they do remember, and yet shirk their duty for some reason or other, being cowards and grudging by nature, and their hand is against every man without exception, seeing that not even to their benefactors do they consent to be gentle and amiable; and then if there be any opening to slander and bite, they look angry and fierce like wild beasts. Genuine praise they somehow or other avoid giving, as though it were a costly extravagance, and they censure the applause given to noble actions, when the only thing that they need enquire into is whether the eulogists respect truth and rate her higher than the reputation of showing their gratitude by eulogy. For this at any rate they cannot assert, that praise is a useless thing, either to those who receive it or to others besides, who, though they have been assigned the same rank in life as the objects of their praise, have fallen short of their merit in what they have accomplished. To the former it is not only agreeable to hear, but makes them zealous to aim at a still higher level of conduct, while the latter it stimulates both by persuasion and compulsion to imitate that noble conduct, because they see that none of those
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tinēs ἀπεστερήθησαν δ' μόνον δοῦναι τε καὶ λαβεῖν ἐστὶ δημοσία καλὸν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανές διδόναι καὶ περιβλέπειν, οὕτως ὅτι πλείστοι τὸ δοθὲν εἰσονται, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀπειρο-κάλου ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑποσχῶν 1 τῷ χείρε ὑποδέξατι ἂν τις ἐν ὠφθαλμοῖς πάντων, μὴ παντάπασιν ὑποσεισάμενος αἰδῶ καὶ ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου. Ἄρκεσίλαος δὲ καὶ διδοὺς τὸν λαβόντα ἑπειρατὸ λαθείν· συνίει δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῆς πράξεως τῶν δράσαντα. ἐπαίνοιν δὲ ξηλωτῶν μὲν ἀκροατας ὡς πλείστους εὐρεῖν, ἄγαπητὸν δὲ οἴμαι καὶ ὅλγους. καὶ ἐπήνει δὲ Σωκράτης πολλοὺς καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀγνσίλαον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην, οὐτὶ τὸν ἀρχαίον ἐκεῖνον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δ' 2 συνεστράτευτο ἐπὶ βασιλέα 3 καὶ τοὺς ἐπάνους κυριγράφων οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο. ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ, εἰ τοὺς ἄνδρας μὲν τοὺς καλοὺς τε κάγαθος 4 προθύμως ἐπαινεσόμεθα, γνωάκα δὲ ἄγαθην τῆς εὐβημίας οὐκ ἀξίωσομεν, ἀρετῆς οἶδεν μείον αἵτως ἢπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας προσήκεις ὑπο- λαμβάνοντες. ἡ γὰρ εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ συνετὴν καὶ οἷαν νέμειν 5 ἐκάστῳ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ θαρραλεῖν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ ἐλευθεριον καὶ πάντα ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐκείνη 6 οἴμοιοι χρῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἶτα 7 τῶν

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

¹ Plutarch, Moralia 63 D.
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ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑργοῖς ἐγκωμίων ἀφαιρησόμεθα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν ψόγον δεδοικότεσ; Ὁμηρος δὲ οὐκ ᾤχύνετο τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐπαινέσας οὐδὲ τὴν Ἀλκίνοο γαμετὴν, οὐδὲ εἰ τις ἄλλη διαφερόν-
tως ἁγαθὴ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ἠρετὴς μετεποιήθη. οὐκομον οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνη τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ διήματεν εὐφημίας. πρὸς δὲ αὐτῷ τούτοις παθεῖν μὲν εἰ καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἁγαθοῦ, σμικροῦ τε ὅμοιως καὶ μείζονος, οὐδὲν ἐλαττον παρὰ γνυμεικός ἢ παρὰ ἄνδρος δεξιόμεθα, τὴν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀποτίνειν οἰκνήσομεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δεῖσθαι καταγελαστὸν εἶναι φῶς καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἄνδρος ἐπιεικῶς καὶ γενναίον, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τὸν σοφὸν ἄγεννη καὶ δειλόν, ὅτι τὴν τοῦ βασιλείου ἱκέτευε θυγατέρα παῖζο-
σαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λειμῶνος ξὺν ταῖς ὀμήληξι παρ-
θένοις παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ἁσί. μὴ ποτὲ οὖν οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόσχοιναι παιδός, ἢν Ὁμηρός φησιν ἀπεικασθεῖσαν παρ-
θένῳ καλῇ καὶ γενναίᾳ Ὀδυσσεῖ μὲν ἡγήσασθαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια φερούσης ὅδου, σύμβουλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ διδάσκαλον γενομένην, δόν εὐχὴν εἰσω παρελθόντα δρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, καθάπερ τινὰ δρήτορα ξὺν τέχνῃ τελειον ἁσι βασιλίδος ἐγκω-
μον, ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱέους ἀρξαμένην. ἐχεί δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦτων ἔπη τοῦ τρόπου τόνδε:

Δέσποινα μὲν πρώτα κιχήσεαι ἐν μεγάροισιν,
'Αρήτη δ' οἴνῳ' ἑστίν ἐπώνυμον, ἐκ δὲ τοκῆσιν
Τῶν αὐτῶν, ὑπὲρ τέκνων Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα.

1 ἀυτῷ Cobet, ἀυτῷ MSS., Hertlein.
2 [τῇ] τέχνῃ Hertlein.

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

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

¹ Arete.
² Nausicaa.
³ Odyssey 7. 20.
⁴ Odyssey 7. 54.
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άναλαβὼν δὲ ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οἴμαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ ὅσα ἐδρασάν τε καὶ ἔπαθον εἰπὼν, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὴν ὁ θείος, τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολομένου νέου καὶ νυμφίου, ἐγνήμε τε καὶ ἐτίμησεν,

ὡς οὕτως ἐπὶ χθονὶ τίτεται ἄλλη, καὶ ὅσων τυγχάνει

Εἰκ τε φίλων παίδων ἐκ τ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλκινόου,

ἐτί δὲ οἴμαι τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου, οὗ καθάπερ θεὸν ὅρωσι πορευομένην διὰ τοῦ ἀστεος, τέλος ἐπέθηκε ταῖς εὐφημίαις ξηλωτὸν ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ.

Οὗ μὲν γὰρ τι νόον γε καὶ αὐτὴ δεῦται ἐσθλὸν λέγων, καὶ ὡς κρίνειν εὐ ἡπίστατο, οἷς ἰν τ' εὖ φρονέσθη, καὶ διαλύειν τὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐγκλήματα τοῖς πολῖταις ἀναφυόμενα ἔχων δίκην. ταύτην δὴ οὖν ἱκετεύσας εἰ τύχους εὖνου, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη;

Ἐλπωρὴ τοῦ ἐπείτα φίλους τ' ἰδεῖν καὶ ἱκέσθαι ὁλικὸν ἐς υψόροφον

ὁ δ' ἐπείσθη τῇ ἡμβουλῇ. ἄρ' οὖν ἐτὶ δεσομέθα μειζόνων εἰκόνων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἐναργεστέρων, ὡστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύων δοκεῖν ὑποψίαν; οὐχὶ δὲ ἢδη μμούμενοι τῶν σοφῶν ἐκείνων καὶ θείων ποιητὴν ἐπαίνεσομεν Ἐυσέβιον τὴν ἀριστην, ἐπιθυμοῦμεν μὲν ἐπαινοῦν αὐτῆς ἄξιον διεξελθεῖν, ἀγαπῶντες δὲ, εἰ καὶ μετρῶς τυγχάνοιμεν οὕτω καλῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐπιτηδευμά-
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Then he goes back and begins with Poseidon and tells of the origin of that family and all that they did and suffered, and how when her father perished, still young and newly-wed, her uncle married her, and honoured her

"As no other woman in the world is honoured," and he tells of all the honour she receives

"From her dear children and from Alcinous himself,"

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

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

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

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

And he was persuaded by her counsel. Shall I then need yet greater instances and clearer proofs, so that I may escape the suspicion of seeming to flatter? Shall I not forthwith imitate that wise and inspired poet and go on to praise the noble Eusebia, eager as I am to compose an encomium worthy of her, though I shall be thankful if, even in a moderate degree, I succeed in describing accomplishments so many and
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tων; καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνη, σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἡ προάγητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας ἡ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἄνδρα φίλιας ἡ τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίας ἡ τῆς περὶ τῶν θ. οίκειων καὶ ξυγγενείς τιμῆς. προσήκει δὲ οἷμαι καθάπερ ἤχυσεν ἐπόμενον τοῖς ἤδη βρηκέον ποιεῖν διὰ τὴν ἕων εὐφημία τάξιν, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν αὐτήν ἐκείνην, πατρίδος τε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ πατέρων μνημονεύοντα, καὶ ὅπως ἐγήματο καὶ δύτιν, καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνος τρόπον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς πατρίδος πολλὰ σεμνὰ λέγειν ἔχων, τὰ μὲν διὰ παλαιότητα παρῆσειν μοι δοκῶν. φαίνεται γὰρ εἶναι τῶν μῦθων οὐ πόρρων ὅποιον δὴ τι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Μουσῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς εἷν δήποτεν ἐκ τῆς Περἰας, οὕτω δὲ ἐξ Ἐλευθερίως εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπὸν ἀφίκουντο παρὰ τὸν πατέρα κληθεῖσαι. τούτο μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον, μέθυ οὖν ἄλλον ἡ λόγῳ προσήκον, ἀπολειπτέον ὁλὸν, δὲ εἴπειν τῶν οὐ πᾶσι γνωρίμων τυχὸν οὐκ ἀτοπον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λόγον. Μακεδόνων γὰρ οἰκίσαι φασὶ τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ἑρακλέους ἔγγονους, Τιμίουν παῖδας, οὓς τὴν Ἀργείαν λήξιν νεμόμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντος τέλος ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐρίδος καὶ ἕλεος καὶ μιτιμίας· εἶτα ἔλοντες τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ γένος ἀλβίου ἀπολειπόντες θ. βασι

1 καὶ τῶν Petavius, οὐ τῶν MSS., Hertlein suggests ἀκτὼς ἀγαθῶν ὑπαρχόντων, Reiske suggests ἐπιτηδειμάτων. ἀπορόμεν οὖν ὅτως τοῦ ἄφωμαι πρῶτον τῶν ἀγαθῶν. “I am at a loss which of her noble qualities to discuss first.”
2 ἀπολειπόντες MSS., ἀπολειπόντες V, Hertlein.

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so admirable? And I shall be thankful if I succeed in describing also those noble qualities of hers, her temperance, justice, mildness and goodness, or her affection for her husband, or her generosity about money, or the honour that she pays to her own people and her kinsfolk. It is proper for me, I think, to follow in the track as it were of what I have already said, and, as I pursue my panegyric, so arrange it as to give the same order as Athene, making mention, as is natural, of her native land, her ancestors, how she married and whom, and all the rest in the same fashion as Homer.

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

¹ Eusebia belonged to a noble family of Thessalonica, in Macedonia; she was married to Constantius in 352 A.D.
² Near Mount Olympus.
³ Herodotus 8. 137.
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λείς ἐκ βασιλέων διετέλουν καθάπερ κλήρον τήν
timήν diadexhōmenoi. πάντας μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦς
ἐπαίνειν οὔτε ἄλληθες οὔτε οἶμαι ράδιον. πολλῶν
dὲ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων καὶ καταλυόντων
Ἐλληνικοῦ τροποῦ μνήμεια πάγκαλα, Φίλιππος
καὶ ὁ τούτων παῖς ἀρετή διηνεγκάτην πάντων, ὅσοι
πάλαι Μακεδονίας καὶ Θράκης ἦρξαν, οἶμαι δὲ
ἔγωγε καὶ ὅσοι Λυδῶν ἡ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ
Ἀσσυρίων, πλην μόνου τοῦ Καμβύσου παιδὸς, δέ
ἐκ τῶν Μήδων ἢ Πέρσας τήν βασιλείαν μετέ-
στησεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπειράθη τήν Μακεδο-
νῶν αὐξήσαι δύναμιν, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ
πλεῖστα καταστρεψάμενος ὅρων ἐποιήσατο πρός
ἐω μὲν καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τήν θάλατταν, ἀπὸ
ἀρκτῶν δὲ οἶμαι τοῦ Ἰστρον καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τὸ
Β' Ὁρικὸν ἔθνος. ὁ τούτων δὲ αὖ παῖς ὑπὸ τῷ
Σταγείριτῃ σοφῷ τρεφομένου τοσοῦτον μεγαλοψυ-
χία τῶν ἄλλων ἄπαντων διήνεγκε καὶ προσέτι τῶν
αὐτοῦ πατέρα τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ τῇ θαρραλετητί
cαι ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, ὅστ' ἰ
όμως ἄξιον αὐτῷ ζῆν ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ μὴ ξυμπάν-
των μὲν ἄνθρωποι, πάντων δὲ ἔθνων κρατήσειν.
οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν ἐπῆλθε σύμπασαν κατα-
στρεφόμενοι, καὶ ἀνίσχοντα πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι
tῶν ἴλιον προσεκύνη, ὄρμημένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν
Εὐρώπην, ὅπως τὰ λειτουργεῖν περιβαλλόμενους γῆς
tε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάττης κύριος γένοιτο, τὸ χρέων
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατέλαβε. Μακεδόνες δὲ ἀπάντων
ἡρχον, ὅλ ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνῳ κτησάμενοι πόλεων καὶ
ἔθνων ἐτύχον. ἀρ’ οὖν ἔτι χρὴ διὰ μειζόνων

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

¹ Cyrus. ² A town on the coast of Illyria. ³ Aristotle; "who bred | Great Alexander to subdue the world." Milton, Paradise Regained. ⁴ i.e. of Greeks.

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tekmērōn δηλοῦν, ὡς ἐνδοξος μὲν ἡ Μακεδονία D καὶ μεγάλη τὸ πρόσθεν γένοιτο; ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ κράτιστον ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη, ἦν ἀνέστησαν, πεσοῦτων, οἶμαι, Θετταλῶν, τῆς κατ' ἐκείνων ἐπώνυμον νίκης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι μακρότερα λέγειν.

Εὐγενείας γε μὴν τί ἂν ἐχοίμεν ἔτι πράγματα ἐπιζητοῦντες φανερότερον καὶ ἐναργὲς μᾶλλον τεκμήριον; θυγάτηρ γάρ ἔστιν ἄνδρος ἢ βίον νομοθέτους τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ἔτους ἄρχην ἄρχειν,1 πάλαι μὲν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀτεχνῶς ὀνομαζομένην, μεταβαλοῦσαν δὲ δία τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς χρωμένους τῇ δυνάμει τὸ ὅνομα. νῦν δὲ ἤδη τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιλειπότης, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς μοναρχίαν τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μεθέστηκε, τιμῇ καθ' αὐτῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχῦν ἀντίρροπος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οἶνον ἄθλον ἀποκειμένη καὶ γέρας ἀρετῆς ἢ πίστεως ἢ τινος εὐνοίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας περὶ τοὺς τῶν ὅλων ἄρχων τῷ πράξεως λαμπρᾶς, τοῖς βασιλεύσαι δὲ πρὸς οῖς ἔχουσιν ἄγαθοις οἶλον ἄγαλμα καὶ κόσμος ἐπιτιθεμένη τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ὄνομάτων τε καὶ ἔργων, ὄποσα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης πολιτείας διασώζει τινὰ φαύλην καὶ ἀμυνθὸν εἰκόνα, ἢ παντάπασιν ὑπεριδόντες διὰ τὴν ἰσχύν κατέγνωσαν, ἢ προσείμενοι γε διὰ βίου καρποῦνται τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. μόνης δὲ, οἶμαι, ταύτης οὕτε τὴν ἄρχην ὑπερείδον, χαίρουσί τε2 καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν τυγχάνοντες καὶ οὕτε C

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

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

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

¹ Thessalonica. ² The consulship.
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ἐιδώτης οὐδεὶς οὔτε βασιλεύς ἔστιν ἡ γέγονεν, διὸ
οὐ ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους ἐπονομασθῆναι. Εἰ
dὲ, διὸ, πρὸ τοῦ ἐπονομασθῆναι, ἐξ ἐκαίνων καὶ ἐκαίνων ἄρχηγός
τῷ γένει τῆς εὐδοξίας, ἔλαττόν τις ἐξειν αὐτῶν
τῶν ἀλλων ὑπολαμβάνει, λίαν ἐξαπατώμενος
οὐ μανθάνειν τῷ παντὶ γὰρ οἴμαι κρείττων ἐστί
καὶ σεμνότερον ἄρχηγα παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις
περιφανείας τοσαύτης ἢ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν προ-
γόνων. ἔπει καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης ὦκίστην
γενέσθαι κρείττων ἡ πολίτην, καὶ λαβεῖν ὅτιον
ἀγαθόν τοῦ δοῦναι τῷ παντὶ καταδεέστερον.
λαμβάνειν δὲ έόκασι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων οἱ
παῖδες καὶ οἱ πολίται παρὰ τῶν πόλεων οἷον
ἀναμνῆσε τινα πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. ὅστις δὲ ἀπο-
δίδοσιν πάλιν ἄντων προγόνων τοῖς πατρίδι
μεῖζονα τιμής ὑπόθεσιν, λαμπροτέραν μὲν ἐκείνην
καὶ σεμνότεραν, τοὺς πατέρας δὲ εὐδοξότερους
ἀποφαίνων, οὕτως οὐδεὶς δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν
πρὸς εὐχενείας λόγον ἀμίλλαν. οὐδὲ ἐστιν ὅστις
ἐκείνου φῆσε κρείττων γεγονέναι: εἷς ἄγαθων
μὲν γὰρ ἄγαθον φύσιν χρῆ. οὐ δὲ ἄγαθον
ἐνδοξότερος γενόμενος, εἰ ταύτων ἄρετη τῆς τύχης
πνεύμωσις, οὕτως οὐδεὶς δίδωσιν ἀπορεῖν, εἰ τῆς
ἐνεχενείας εἰκότως μεταποιεῖται.

Εὔσεβεία δὲ, περὶ ἢ ὁ λόγος, παῖς μὲν ὑπάτου
γέγονε, γαμέτη δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεύς ἀνδρείου,
σώφρονος, συνετοῦ, δικαιοῦ, χρηστοῦ καὶ πράον
καὶ μεγαλοπύχου, ὡς ἐπειδὴ πατρῴαν οὐσαν αὐτῷ

2 δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν Hertlein suggests, καταλιπεῖν V, M, κατα-
λιπεῖν MSS.

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

Now Eusebia, the subject of my speech, was the daughter of a consul, and is the consort of an Emperor who is brave, temperate, wise, just, virtuous, mild and high-souled, who, when he acquired the
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tʰιν ἡρχήν ἀνεκτήθατο, ἀφελόμενος τοῦ βία ἱαβόντος, γάμου τε ἐδείτο πρὸς παιδῶν γένεσιν, οἵ κηληρομομήσουσι τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας, ταύτην ἀξίαν ἔκρινε τῆς κοινοῦς γεγονός ἢδη σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάθης κύριος. καίτων πός ἔν τις μείζονα μαρτυρίαι ἐπιτιθήσει τῆςδε; οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς, ὡσα χρήν ὀἴμαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοσοῦτῳ συνισκαί, καθάπερ φερνὴν ὁκοθεν ἐπιφερομένην, κομίζειν ἀγαθά, παρείαν ὀρθήν, σύνεσιν ἐμμελῆ, ἀκμήν καὶ ὄραν σώματος καὶ κάλλος τοσοῦτον, ὡστε ἀποκρύπτεσθαι ταῖς ἀλλα παρθένους, καθάπερ ὀἴμαι περὶ τῇ σελήνῃ πληθούσῃ οἱ διαφανεῖς ἀστέρες κατανυγαζόμενοι κρύπτουσι τῆς μορφῆν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔξαρκείν δοκεῖ πρὸς κοινωνίαν βασιλέως, πάντα δὲ ἀμα, ὡστερ θεοῦ τίνος ἀγαθόν βασιλεῖ καλὴν καὶ σώφρονα πλάττοντος τῆς νύμφης, εἰς ταῦτο συνεληλυθότα πόρρωθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμμάτων ἐφελκυσάμενα μᾶλα ὀλβίον ἤγε τὸν νυμφίον. καὶ κάλλος μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐκ τῶν γένους βοηθείας καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἀγαθῶν οἴμαι στερόμενοι οὐδὲ ἰδιώτην ἀκόλαστον ἵσχυει πείθειν τὴν γαμήλιον ἀνάφας λαμπάδα, ἀμφοὶ δὲ ἀμα συνελθόντα γάμον μὲν ἤρμοσε πολλάκις, ἀπολειπόμενα δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν τρόπων ἀρμονίας καὶ χάριτος οὐ λιαν ἐφάνη ἡλικτά.

Σαφῶς τῶν βασιλέα τῶν σώφρονα φαίνω ἀν εἰκότως πολλάκις βουλευσάμενον ἐλέσθαι τὸν γάμον, τὰ μὲν οἴμαι πυθα-

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

I have good reason to say that the Emperor in his prudence understood this clearly, and that it was only after long deliberation that he chose this

¹ "Ἀστερεῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναι ἄψ ἀποκρύπτωσιν φάννυν εἴδος. Sappho fr. 3."
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νόμενον, ὡςα χρὴν δι’ ἀκοῆς περὶ αὐτῆς μαθεῖν, 
tekmaiρόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν· ὑπὲρ ἦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὶ δεῖ λέγοντας διατρίβειν, 
kathάπερ οὕκ ἔχοντας ἵδιον ἐγκώμιον τῆς, 1 ὑπὲρ ἦς ὁ λόγος, διελθεῖν; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἵσως οὔτε Β 
eἰπεῖν, οὔτε ἐπακούσαι πολὺ καὶ ἐργώδες, ὅτι 
δὴ γένος μὲν αὐτῆς σφόδρα Ἑλληνικὸν, Ἑλληνὸν 
tῶν πάνω, καὶ πόλεις ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Μακε-
dονίας, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπὲρ την Εὐάδνην τὴν 
Καπανέως καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐκείνην Λαοδάμειαν. 
aὶ μὲν γὰρ καλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ ἔτι νυμφίους 
tοὺς ἄνδρας ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι δαιμόνων βία βασκάνων 
ἡ μοιρὰς νήμασι τοῦ ζῆν ὑπερείδου διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, 
ἡ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χρωστὶ τὸν κουρίδιον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα 
κατέλαβε, τοῖς παισὶ προσκαθημένη τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ 
σωφροσύνη κλέος αὐτῆς εἰργάσατο, ὅστε τῇ μὲν 
Πηνελόπῃ περιόντος ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένου τοῦ γῆ-
μαντος, προσήχη τὰ μειράκια μνηστευόμενα ἕκ τε 
Ἰθάκης καὶ Σάμου καὶ Δουλιχίου, τῇ δὲ ἀνὴρ μὲν 
οὐδείς καλὸς καὶ μέγας ἡ ἱσχυρὸς καὶ πλοῦσιος 
ὑπὲρ 2 τούτων εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ὑπέμεινε ποτέ· τὴν 
θυγατέρα δὲ βασιλεὺς ἑαυτῷ συνοικεῖν ἄξιον 
ἐκρινε, καὶ ἔδρασε τὸν γάμον λαμπρῶς μετὰ τὰ 
τρόπαια, ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δήμους3 ἐστιῶν.

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

1 τῆς Cobet adds.
2 Before ὑπὲρ Horkel and Hertlein omit τς.
3 δήμους Naber, μοῦσας MSS., Hertlein.

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

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

\(^1\) Euripides, \textit{Suppliants} 494.
\(^2\) The wife of Protesilaus.
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tis de' hein o tis pomptis tropos, armaton kai
iopon kai oxhimaton pantodapwn chrufo kai
argyro kai doreivalka met allocated aristei tis
theastrh tis tekhis
eirgasmewn, isto paedikow sfordra akousmaton
epithymw: kathayer gar oimai kivarchov tinos
dexiow thn tekhn. estow de, ei boilei, Trepandros
outsis he o Methuwnaios ekeinos, dun de logos exei
daimonis pompti chrisamewon filomousoetrou tou
delefivos tuchevin h tov xumpteontow, kai epite
thn
Lambdaikin thn akran komoshtinai. 'Ethele exe gar oimai
tous dustercheis naftas osa ekeinos apode thn tekhn
eirgastato, authis de ekeinis uperewron kai
oudeimian oron epoiouonto ths mousikhs. ei de oyn
thous toin androin ekeinou tov krateiston epiple
menos kai apodous tov peri to swma kosome
th tekhn proponta elta es theatro paragayoi
pantodapwv anoudwv kai gynaiwv kai paidwv
fusiei te kai hleia kai tois allwv epitheidymas
diaferontow, oyn an oiesbe tois mev paides kai
tous anoudwv kai gynaiwv 1 opotoi toiooti ei
thn eshteta kai thn kivara anopboleontas eko
telplhthai deinwv pros thn ophin, tous anoudwv de
tous amathetous kai gynaiwv pithen sfora
olwv apan to plithos hdothi kai liphe krinein
C
kroymata, mousikon de andra, tous nymous
2 exepistamewn tis tekhn, ouste megumena ta meli
thn hdothi xarwv faulwv anexhesbai, duxerainein
th 3 kai e4 tou tropon tois mousikhs diaftheiroi

1 toin before gynaiwv Hertlein omits.
2 nymous Hertlein suggests, logous MSS.
3 te Hertlein suggests, de MSS.
4 ei [tis] Hertlein.

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with her mother, and what was the manner of the
cavalcade, of the chariots and horses and carriages
of all sorts, decorated with gold and silver and
copper of the finest workmanship, let me tell him
that it is extremely childish of him to wish to hear
such things. It is like the case of some player on
the cithara who is an accomplished artist—let us
say if you please Terpander or he of Methymna\(^1\)
of whom the story goes that he enjoyed a divine
escort and found that the dolphin cared more
for music than did his fellow-voyagers, and was
thus conveyed safely to the Laconian promontory.\(^2\)
For though he did indeed charm those miserable
sailors by his skilful performance, yet they despised
his art and paid no heed to his music. Now, as I
was going to say, if some one were to choose the
best of those two musicians, and were to clothe
him in the raiment suited to his art, and were then to
bring him into a theatre full of men, women and
children of all sorts, varying in temperament and age
and habits besides, do you not suppose that the
children and those of the men and women who had
childish tastes would gaze at his dress and his lyre, and
be marvellously smitten with his appearance, while
the more ignorant of the men, and the whole crowd of
women, except a very few, would judge his playing
simply by the criterion of pleasure or the reverse;
whereas a musical man who understood the rules of
the art would not endure that the melodies should
be wrongly mixed for the sake of giving pleasure,
but would resent it if the player did not preserve

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\(^1\) Arion. \(^2\) Taenarum.
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καὶ εἰ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις μὴ δεόντως χρύτῳ μηδὲ ἐπομένως τοῖς νόμοις τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ θείας 

ωυσικής; ὡρών δὲ ἐμένοντα τοῖς νομισθείσι καὶ 

οὐ κείθηλον ἤδονήν, καθαρὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκήρατον 

τοῖς θεαταῖς ἐνεργασάμενον ἀπεισὶ τούτων ἐπαινῶν 

καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος, διὶ δὴ σὺν τέχνῃ μηδὲν ἄδικον 

τὰς Μοῦσας τῷ θεάτρῳ ξυγγέγονε. τὸν δὲ τὴν 

ἀλουργίδα καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἐπαινοῦντα ληρεῖν 

οἴεται καὶ ἀνοηταίνειν· καὶ εἰ διὰ πλείωνον ¹ 

τὰ τοιαῦτα διηγεῖται, λέξει τε ἡδίστη κοσμών καὶ 

ἐπιλειαίνων τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἀγεννῆς τῶν διηγη-

μάτων, γελοιότερον νομίζει τῶν ἀποτομοῦντας 

κέγχρους ἐπιχειροῦντων, καθάπερ οἴμαι χασὶ τὸν 

Μυρμηκίδην ἀντιταττόμενον τῇ Φειδίουν τέχνῃ. 

οὐκούν οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ταύτας ὑπο-

θήσομεν ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ 

δόρων παντοίων ὕρμων τε καὶ στεφάνων κατά-

λογον τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως μακρὸν των τούτων 

ἀδοντες, οὐδὲ ὡς ἀπῆμων οἱ δὴμοι δεξιοῦμενοι καὶ 

χαίροντες, οὐδὲ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ὅδον ἐκείνην λαμπρὰ 

καὶ ξηλωτὰ γέγονε καὶ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ 

Β 

τῶν βασιλείων εἰσὼ παρῆλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας 

ταύτης ἡξιώθη, τὶ πρῶτον ἔργον ἐκείνης γέγονε, 

καὶ αὐθίς δεύτερον, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τρίτον, καὶ πολλὰ 

δὴ μάλα τὸ ἐντεῦθεν; οὐ γάρ, εἰ σφόδρα λέγειν 

ἐθέλομεν καὶ μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων βίβλους ἄνω 

θέναι, ἀρκεσεὶν ὑπολαμβάνω τῷ πλήθει τῶν 

ἔργων, ὅσα ἐκείνη φρονήσιν καὶ πραότητα καὶ 

¹ διὰ πλείων hertlein suggests, μετὰ πλείων MSS.
the modes of the music and did not use the harmonies properly, and conformably to the laws of genuine and inspired music? But if he saw that he was faithful to the principles of his art and produced in the audience a pleasure that was not spurious but pure and uncontaminated, he would go home praising the musician, and filled with admiration because his performance in the theatre was artistic and did the Muses no wrong. But such a man thinks that anyone who praises the purple raiment and the lyre is foolish and out of his mind, while, if he goes on to give full details about such outward things, adorning them with an agreeable style and smoothing away all that is worthless and vulgar in the tale, then the critic thinks him more ridiculous than those who try to carve cherry-stones,¹ as I believe is related of Myrmecides² who thus sought to rival the art of Pheidias. And so neither will I, if I can help it, lay myself open to this charge by reciting the long list of costly robes and gifts of all kinds and necklaces and garlands that were sent by the Emperor, nor how the folk in each place came to meet her with welcome and rejoicing, nor all the glorious and auspicious incidents that occurred on that journey, and were reported. But when she entered the palace and was honoured with her imperial title, what was the first thing she did and then the second and the third and the many actions that followed? For however much I might wish to tell of them and to compose lengthy volumes about them, I think that, for the majority, those of her deeds will be sufficient that more conspicuously

¹ Literally seeds or small beads.
² Famed for his minute carving of ivory.
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σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπείκειαν τε καὶ ἐλευθεριότητα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁρετὰς ἐξεμαρτύρησε Λαμπρότερον, ἣν ὁ παρὼν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος δηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς πάλαι διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐγνωκότας. οὐ μὴν ἐπεὶδὴ ἐκεῖνο δυσχερές, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον ἐφάνη, παντελῶς ἄξιον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀποσιωπῆσαι, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ εἰς δύναμιν φράξειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς μὲν φρονήσεως ποιεῖσθαι σημεῖον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἁρετῆς πάσης, ὅτι τὸν γῆμαντα διέθηκεν οὐτώ περὶ αὐτῆς, ὦστερ οὐν ἄξιον γυναῖκα καλὴν καὶ γενναίαν.

"Ωστε ἐγώγε τῆς Πηνελόπτης πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νομίσας ἐπαίνων ἄξια τούτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Θαυμάζω, ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπορείς ἀνθρώπων μέν, ως φασί, δαιμονίων γάμων, ἀτιμάζοντα δὲ οὐ μείον τὴν τῶν Φακάκων ἐνυγγένειαν. Καίτοι γε εἶχον αὐτοῦ πάσαι ἔρωτικῷς, Καλυψῶ καὶ Κύρη καὶ Ναυσικᾶ· καὶ ἦν αὐταῖς τὰ βασίλεια πάγκαλα, κηπῶν τινῶν καὶ παραθεῖσων ἐν αὐτοῖς περιτευ-μένων μᾶλα ἀμφιλαφέσι καὶ κατασκίοις τοῖς δένδρεσι, λειμωνίας τε ἀνθεσί ποικίλοις καὶ μαλακῆς τῆς ποικιλίας·" 1

Κρῆναι δ’ ἐξεῖς πύσρες ρέον ὕδατι λευκῷ καὶ ἐτεθήλει περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμερίς ἡβώσα 1 σταφυλῆς οἴμαι τῆς γενναίας, βριθομένη τοῖς βότρυσι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Φακάξιν ἔτερα τοιαύτα, πλήν ὅσῳ πολυτελέστερα, ἀτε οἴμαι ποιητὰ ξύν Β τέχνη, τῆς τῶν αὐτοφυῶν ἐλαττον μετείχε χάριτος καὶ ἦττον εἶναι ἐδόκει ἐκείνων ἐράσμα. τῆς

1 ἡβώσα Cobet, ἡβώσα MSS., Hertlein.

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

Therefore, though I think that many of the other qualities of Penelope are worthy of praise, this I admire beyond all, that she so entirely persuaded her husband to love and cherish her, that he despised, we are told, unions with goddesses, and equally rejected an alliance with the Phaeacians. And yet they were all in love with him, Calypso, Circe, Nausicaa. And they had very beautiful palaces and gardens and parks withal, planted with wide-spaying and shady trees, and meadows gay with flowers, in which soft grass grew deep: "And four fountains in a row flowed with shining water."¹ And a lusty wild vine bloomed about her dwelling,² with bunches of excellent grapes, laden with clusters. And at the Phaeacian court there were the same things, except that they were more costly, seeing that, as I suppose, they were made by art, and hence had less charm and seemed less lovely than those that were of natural growth. Now to all

¹ *Odyssey* 5. 70. ² The cave of Calypso.
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τρυφής δὲ αὖ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ προσέτε τής περὶ τὰς νήσους ἐκείνας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας τίνα οὐκ ἂν ἤττηθήναι δοκεῖτε ¹ τοσούτους ἀνατλάντα πόνους καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἐτί υφορώμενον δεινότερα ² πελάσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῆς, πρὸς ἐκατόν νεανίσκους ἡβώντας εὖ μάλα μόνον ἀγωνιζόμεθα μέλλοντα, ὅπερ οὖν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐκείνω ποτὲ συνηνέχθη; εἰ τις οὖν ἔροιτο τὸν 'Οδυσσέα παῖζων ὥδε πως· τί ποτε, ὡς σοφώτατε ῥήτωρ ἡ στρατηγὴ ἢ ὁ τῇ χρή σε νομάζειν, τοσούτους ἐκὼν ὑπέμεινας πόνους, ἐξὸν εἶναι ὀλβιον καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἅθανατον εἰ τῇ χρή ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις Καλυπτοὺς πιστεύειν, σὺ δὲ ἐλόμενος τὰ χείρω πρὸ τῶν βελτιῶν τοσούτους σαυτῷ προστέθηκας πόνους, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Σχερίᾳ καταμείναι θελήσας, ἐξὸν ἐκεῖ ποινασάμενον τῇς πλάνης καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπηλλάχθαι· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐγνως στρατευόμεθα καὶ ἄθλους δὴ τινας καὶ ἀποδημιᾶν ἐτέραν ἐκτελεῖν οὕτω τῆς πρόσθεν, ὡς γε τὸ εἰκὸς ἀπονωτέραν οὐδὲ κοινοτέραν. τί δὴ οὖν οἴεσθε πρὸς ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι εἰπεῖν ἔχειν; ἄρ' οὖχ ὅτι τῇ Πηνελόπῃ συνεῖμαι ἐθέλων τοὺς ἄθλους αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς στρατείας χαρίεντα διηγήματα φέρειν ὑπέλαβε; ταύτα τοῦ καὶ τήν μητέρα πεποίηκεν αὐτῶ παραινοῦσαν μεμνησθαι πάντων, ὅν τε εἶδε 114 θεαμάτων καὶ ὃν ἦκουσεν ἄκουσμάτων, ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τῇ εὐπηρείᾳ γυναικί,

¹ δοκεῖτε Hertlein suggests, εἰκὸς Reiske δοκεῖ MSS.
² δεινότερα Hertlein suggests, δεινότερα MSS.

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that luxury and wealth, and moreover to the peace and quiet that surrounded those islands, who do you think would not have succumbed, especially one who had endured so great toils and dangers and expected that he would have to suffer still more terrible hardships, partly by sea and partly in his own house, since he had to fight all alone against a hundred youths in their prime, a thing which had never happened to him even in the land of Troy? Now if someone in jest were to question Odysseus somewhat in this fashion: “Why, O most wise orator or general, or whatever one must call you, did you endure so many toils, when you might have been prosperous and happy and perhaps even immortal, if one may at all believe the promises of Calypso? But you chose the worse instead of the better, and imposed on yourself all those hardships¹ and refused to remain even in Scheria, though you might surely have rested there from your wandering and been delivered from your perils; but behold you resolved to carry on the war in your own house and to perform feats of valour and to accomplish a second journey, not less toilsome, as seemed likely, nor easier than the first!” What answer then do you think he would give to this? Would he not answer that he longed always to be with Penelope, and that those contests and campaigns he purposed to take back to her as a pleasant tale to tell? For this reason, then, he makes his mother exhort him to remember everything, all the sights he saw and all the things he heard, and then she says: “So that in the days to come thou mayst tell it to thy wife.”²

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

² Odyssey 11. 223.
ΤΟΣΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΜΑΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΕΟΝ ΕΙΤΗ ΣΥΝΝΟΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΞΕΥΡΙΣΚΕΙΝ, ΆΡΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΥΜΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΗΝΕ-
ΛΟΠΗΣ ὌΛΥΝΟΝ ἘΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ, Ἡ Ἡδή 1 ΤΙΣ ΑΛΛΗ ΤΗΝ ἘΚΕΙΝΗΝ ἈΡΕΤΗΝ ὩΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΗ ΓΑΜΕΤΗ ΤΕ
ΟΥΣΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ἌΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΥΞΟΝ ΚΑΙ 
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΣΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝ ἘΝΕΠΟΗΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΟΙ ΓΗΜΑΝΤΙ, ΣΥΝΧΕΡΑΣΑΜΕΝΗ ΤΗ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ἘΡΩ-
ΤΩΝ ἘΠΙΠΝΕΟΜΕΝΗ ΦΙΛΙΑ ΤῊΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ἈΡΕΤΗΣ ΚΑΘ-
ΑΠΕΡ ΒΕΥΜΑ ΘΕΙΟΝ ἘΠΙΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΓΑΘΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ 
ΓΕΝΝΑΙΑΙΣ ΨΥΧΑΙΣ; ΔΥΟ ΓΑΡ ΔΗ ΤΩΙΣ ΤΩΙΟ 2 
ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΕΣΤΟΝ, ΔΙΝ ᾿ΗΔΕ ΚΑΤ’ ἩΕΟΝ ἈΡΥΣΑΜΕΝΗ ΒΟΥΛΕΥ-
ΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΗΣ ὩΓΟΝΕ ΚΟΙΝΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ 
ΦΥΣΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΓΝΟΜΟΝΑ 
ΠΡΟΣ Ἐ ΠΕΦΙΚΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΆΛΛΟΝ ΠΡΕΠΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ 
ΠΡΟΣ ΣΥΝΓΝΩΜΗΝ ΤῊΝ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΤΡΕΠΕΙ. ΩΣΤΕ ΟΥΚ ἂΝ 
ΤΙΣ ΕΙΣΠΕΙΝ ἘΧΟΙ, ΟΤΡΩ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ Χ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ ΧΕΔΕ ἘΝ ΔΙΚΗ 
ΤΥΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΑΙΤΙΑ ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΛΑ-
ΣΕΩΣ ΜΙΚΡΑΣ Χ ΜΕΙΞΟΝΟΣ. ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΦΑΣΙΝ, 
ΟΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΙΣ ἘΘΕΣΙΝ ἘΧΡΩΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ἘΞΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ 
ΟΙΚΕΙΟΙΣ ΠΕΙΘΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΝ-
ΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΕΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΚΑΞΟΝΤΩΝ

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

¹ Odyssey 23. 284. ² cf. Iliad 24. 527; Oration 7. 236 c.

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ai ψήφοι κατ’ ἵσον γένοιτο τοῖς φεύγουσι πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας, τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένην τῷ τὴν δίκην ὄφλησειν μέλλοντι ἀπολύειν ἁμφω τῆς αἰτίας, τὸν μὲν ἐπάγοντα τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ δοκείν εἶναι συκοφάντην, τὸν δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦ δοκείν ἐνοχὸν εἶναι τῷ πονηρεύματι. τούτων δὲ φιλάνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ χαρίεντα τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τῶν δικών, ἂς βασιλεύς κρίνει, σωζόμενον πράοτερον αὐτὴ καθιστήσων. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ φεύγων παρ’ ὅλην ἔλθη τὴν ἰσην ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις λαχείν, πείθει, τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δέσιν προσθέσσα καὶ ἰκετηρίαν, ἀφείναι πάντως τῆς αἰτίας. ὁ δὲ ἐκὼν ἐκόντι τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐ, καθά- περ"Ομηρός φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον παρὰ τῆς γαμετῆς ὀμολογείν ἂν ἐκ εὐγχωρῆσαι, δίδωσιν ἐκὼν ἐκόντι γε θυμῷ. καὶ τυχὼν οὐκ ἄτοπον χαλέπως καὶ μόλις τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐγχωρεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν καὶ ἀλαζώνων. ἀλλ’ οὔδε γὰρ εἰ σφόδρα ἐπιτηδειοὶ τινές εἰσι πάσχειν κακῶς καὶ κολάζεσθαι, τούτως ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσθαι χρεών. ο ὅ δ’ καὶ ἡ βασίλεις ἢ ἐξυπνοῦσα κακὸν μὲν οὔδὲν ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε κόλασιν οὔτε τινών ἐπιμωρίαν ἐπαγαγεῖν οὐχ ὁπως βασιλεία τινώς ἢ πόλει, ἀλλ’ οὔδε οἰκία μιᾷ τῶν πολιτῶν. προσ- θείην δ’ ἂν ἐγώς ἐπαρρῶν εὐ μάλα, ὅτι μηδὲν

1 φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον — ὀμολογείν Cohet, φησιν, ἐκβιαζόμενος—ὀμολογεῖ MSS., Hertlein, ἐκβιαζόμενον V, ὀμολο- γεῖ V, M.
2 εὐγχωρέι Reiske.
3 οὔδε Hertlein suggests.
4 ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε ἄλλη οὔτε ἀλλ’ οὔτε τινών οὔτε MSS.

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votes of the jurymen were cast evenly for defendant and plaintiff, the vote of Athenē\textsuperscript{1} was awarded to him who would have incurred the penalty, and thus both were acquitted of guilt, he who had brought the accusation, of the reputation of sycophant, and the defendant, naturally, of the guilt of the crime. Now this humane and gracious custom is kept up in the suits which the Emperor judges, but Eusebia’s mercy goes further. For whenever the defendant comes near to obtaining an equal number of votes, she persuades the Emperor, adding her request and entreaty on his behalf, to acquit the man entirely of the charge. And of free will with willing heart he grants the boon, and does not give it as Homer says Zeus, constrained by his wife, agreed as to what he should concede to her ‘‘of free will but with soul unwilling.’’\textsuperscript{2} And perhaps it is not strange that he should concede this pardon reluctantly and under protest in the case of the violent and depraved. But not even when men richly deserve to suffer and be punished ought they to be utterly ruined. Now since the Empress recognises this, she has never bidden him inflict any injury of any kind, or any punishment or chastisement even on a single household of the citizens, much less on a whole kingdom or city. And I might add, with the utmost confidence that I am speaking the absolute truth, that in the case of no man or woman is it possible to charge her with any misfortune that has happened, but all the benefits that she

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

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Iliad} 4. 43.
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ψευδὸς φημι, ὡς οὖν ἐφ’ ἔνοι ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς μᾶς ἔστιν αὐτὴν αἰτιᾶσθαι ξυμφορᾶς τῷ τῆς τυχούσης, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ὁσα καὶ οὐστινας δραῖ καὶ ἔδρασεν, ἥδεως ἂν ὑμῖν τὰ πλείστα ἐξαιρῆσαι-σαίμη καθ’ ἐκαστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, ὡς ὁδὲ μὲν τὸν πατρὸν δι’ ἐκείνην νέμεται κλῆρον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀπηλλάγη τιμωρίας, ὀφλήσας τοῖς νόμοις, ἄλλος συνοικητὶκαν διέφυγε, παρ’ ὅλην ἔλθον κενδύνου, τιμῆς δὲ ἔτυχον καὶ ἀρχῆς μυρίοι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐμὲ ψευδεσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων φήσει, εἰ καὶ ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς μὴ καταλέγοιμι. ἀλλ’ ὁκνῶ, μὴ τισών ἐξοικείσειν δόξω τὰς συμφορᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἔπαινον τῶν ταύτης ἀγαθῶν, κατάλογον δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συγγράφων ἀναχρημάτων. τοσούτων δὲ ἔργων μηδὲν παρασχέσθαι μηδὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγειν τεκμήριον κενόν πως εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν ἄγει ¹ τὸν ἔπαινον. οὗκοι ἐκεῖνα παρατηροῦμεν, ὅποσα γ’ ἐμοὶ τε εἰπεῖν ἀνεπί-φθονον ταύτη τε ἄκουει καλὰ λέγομαι’ ἂν ἥδη.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ γῆιμαντος εὐνοιαν τῆλαν-γέστατον πρόσωπον, κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν Πίνδαρον, ἀρχομένῃ τῶν ἔργων ἔθετο, γένος τε ἀπαν καὶ ἔνωσα χειρεῖς εὐθὺς ἐνέπλησε τιμῆς, τους μὲν ἥδη γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐπὶ μειζόνων τάτ-τουσα πράξεως καὶ ἀποφήματα μακαρίους καὶ ἔλαιων βασιλεῖ τ’ ἐπόλησε φίλους καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας τῆς παρούσης έδωκε τὴν ἀρχὴν. καὶ Β

¹ ἄγει Cobet, ἄγειν ΜSS., Hertlein.

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

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

¹ Olympian Ode 6. 4. Pindar says that, as though he were building the splendid forecourt of a house, he will begin his Ode with splendid words.
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γὰρ εἰ τῷ δοκούσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀληθὲν, δι' αὐτοὺς τίμιοι, ταύτη γε οἶμαι προσθήσει τὸν ἐπαίνουν δὴ-λον γὰρ ὅτι μὴ τῇ τοῦ γένους κοινωνία μόνον, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἀρετῇ φαίνεται νέμονσα· οὐ μεῖξον οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τις ἐγκώμιον ἑρεί. περὶ μὲν τούσδε γέγονε τοιάδε. ὅσοι δὲ ἀγνώτες ἔτι διὰ νεότητα τοῦ γνωρισθῆναι καὶ ὀπωσοῦν ἐδέοντο, τούτως ΑElapsed διένειμε τιμᾶς. ἀπέλυτε δὲ οὐδὲν εὐεργετοῦσα εύμπαντας. καὶ οὐ τοὺς ἕγγενείς μόνον τοσαῦτα ἔδρασεν ἄγαθά, ξενίαν δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνης πατέρας ὑπάρξασαν ἔγινω, οὐκ ἀνόνητον ἀφῆκε τοῖς κτησαμένοις, τιμᾶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τούτως καθάπερ ἕγγενείς, καὶ ὅσους τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνόμισε φίλους, ἀπασίν ἔνειμε τῆς φιλίας ἐπάθλα θαυ- D

μαστά.

Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐπειδῆ μοι τεκμηρίων καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τὸν λόγον ὅρῳ δεόμενον, αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν τούτων ἐκείνος1 μάρτυρα καὶ ἐπαινέτην παρέξομαι· ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μὴ ποτὲ ὑπιδόμενοι τὴν μαρτυρίαν πρὶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν λόγων δια-ταράτησθε, ὅμως ὑμῖν, ὅσοι οὐδὲν ψεύδος οὐδὲ πλάσμα ἑρώ· ὑμεῖς δὲ κἂν ἀνωμότω ἐπιστεύσατε πάντα οὐ κολακείας ἔιεκα λέγειν.2 ἔχω γὰρ ἢδη τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαντα τὰ ἄγαθά, αὐτῆς γε οἶμαι καὶ ταύτης3 εὐμπροθυμο-μένης, ὑπὲρ δὲ ὅτι τις κολακεύων ἀπαντα ἄφειν

1 ἐκείνος Hertlein suggests, ἐκείνων MSS.
2 κἂν—ἐπιστεύσατε πάντα—λέγειν Cobet, καὶ—πιστεύσατε πάντα—λέγοντι MSS., πάντως V, Hertlein, πιστεύσατε V.
3 αὐτῆς γε—ταύτης Hertlein suggests, αὐτῷ τε—αὐτῆς MSS.

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prosperity. And if anyone thinks, what is in fact true, that on their own account they are worthy of honour, he will applaud her all the more. For it is evident that it was their merit, far more than the ties of kinship, that she rewarded; and one could hardly pay her a higher compliment than that. Such then was her treatment of these. And to all who, since they were still obscure on account of their youth, needed recognition of any sort, she awarded lesser honours. In fact she left nothing undone to help one and all. And not only on her kinsfolk has she conferred such benefits, but whenever she learned that ties of friendship used to exist with her ancestors, she has not allowed it to be unprofitable to those who owned such ties, but she honours them, I understand, no less than her own kinsfolk, and to all whom she regards as her father’s friends she dispensed wonderful rewards for their friendship.

But since I see that my account is in need of proofs, just as in a law-court, I will offer myself to bear witness on its behalf to these actions and to applaud them. But lest you should mistrust my evidence and cause a disturbance before you have heard what I have to say, I swear that I will tell you no falsehood or fiction; although you would have believed, even without an oath, that I am saying all this without intent to flatter. For I already possess, by the grace of God and the Emperor, and because the Empress too was zealous in my behalf, all those blessings to gain which
Τί ποτε οὖν ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον εὐ παθεῖν φήμι καὶ ἄνθ’ ὅτοι τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ὑπόχρεων ἐμαυτὸν
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a flatterer would leave nothing unsaid, so that, if I were speaking before obtaining these, perhaps I should have to dread that unjust suspicion. But as it is, since this is the state of my fortunes, I will recall her conduct to me, and at the same time give you a proof of my own right-mindedness and truthful evidence of her good deeds. I have heard that Darius, while he was still in the bodyguard of the Persian monarch,¹ met, in Egypt, a Samian stranger² who was an exile from his own country, and accepted from him the gift of a scarlet cloak to which Darius had taken a great fancy, and that later on, in the days when, I understand, he had become the master of all Asia, he gave him in return the tyranny of Samos. And now suppose that I acknowledge that, though I received many kindnesses at Eusebia’s hands, at a time when I was still permitted to live in peaceful obscurity, and many also, by her intercession, from our noble and magnanimous Emperor, I must needs fall short of making an equal return; for as I know, she possesses everything already, as the gift of him who was so generous to myself; yet since I desire that the memory of her good deeds should be immortal, and since I am relating them to you, perhaps I shall not be thought less mindful of my debt than the Persian, seeing that in forming a judgment it is to the intention that one must look, and not to an instance in which fortune granted a man the power to repay his obligation many times over.

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

¹ Cambyses.
² Syloson, Herodotus 3. 139; cf. Julian, Epistle 29; Themistius 67 A, 109 D.
εἶναι χάριτος ὁμολογῶ τῇδε, σφόδρα ὁρμησθε ἀκούειν. ἐγώ δὲ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὄντος σχεδὸν ἐκ παιδὸς νηπίου γεγονὼς ἦττος πᾶσαν ὑπερεβάλλετο φιλοτιμίαν, κινδύνων τε ἐξαρπάσας τηλικούτων, οὐς οὐδὲ ἂν ἴθων ἀνὴρ εὐ μᾶλα διαφύγω, μὴ θείας τινὸς καὶ ἀμηχανοῦ σωτηρίας ἀυχών, εἰτα τὴν οἰκίαν καταληψθεὶσαν καθόπερ ἐπ’ ἐρημίας παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν ἄφείλετο ξινὸς δίκη καὶ ἀπέφηνεν αὐθές πλούσιον. καὶ ἄλλα ἂν ἔχοιμι περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἔργα πολλῆς ἄξια χάριτος, ὑπὲρ ὅν τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνων εὐνοὺν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ πιστὸν παρέχουν οὐκ οἶδα ἄκ τὸν αἰτίας τραχυτέρως ἐχοῦτος Β ἡσθόμην ἐναγχος. ἢ δὲ ἔπειδη τὸ πρῶτον ἦκουσεν ἀδικήματος μὲν οὐδενὸς ὅνομα, ματαίας δὲ ἀλλως ὑποψίας, ἢξιον διελέγχειν καὶ μὴ πρῶτερον προσέσθαι μηδὲ ἐνδέχασθαι ψευδὴ καὶ ἀδικον διαβολήν, καὶ οὐκ ἄνηκε ταῦτα δεομένη πρὶν ἔμε ἦγαγεν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέως καὶ τυχείν ἐπούσης λόγων καὶ ἀπολυμένοις πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἀδικον συνίσθη, καὶ οἰκάδε ἐπιθυμοῦντι πάλιν ἀπείναι πομην ἀσφάλη παρέσχεν, ἐπιτρέψαι C πρῶτον τῶν βασιλέα ἐμπείσασα. δαίμονος δὲ, ὅσπερ οὐν ἐμὴκε μοι τὰ πρόσθεν μηχανήσασθαι, ἢ τινος ἐνυπηχίας ἀλλοκότον τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ὑποτεμομένης, ἐποψάμενον πέμπει τὴν Ὑπερί, ταὐτὴν αἰτίσασα παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ ἐμοί καὶ ἀποδημοῦτος ἦδη τὴν χάριν, ἐπειδὴ μὲ λόγοις ἐπέπνυστο χαίρειν καὶ παιδεία τὸ χωρίου ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ἐνυνούσα. ἐγὼ δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτῇ
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debtor for all time, that is what you are eager to hear. Nor shall I conceal the facts. The Emperor was kind to me almost from my infancy, and he surpassed all generosity, for he snatched me from dangers so great that not even "a man in the strength of his youth" 1 could easily have escaped them, unless he obtained some means of safety sent by heaven and not attainable by human means, and after my house had been seized by one of those in power, as though there were none to defend it, he recovered it for me, as was just, and made it wealthy once more. And I could tell you of still other kindnesses on his part towards myself, that deserve all gratitude, in return for which I ever showed myself loyal and faithful to him; but nevertheless -of late I perceived that, I know not why, he was somewhat harsh towards me. Now the Empress no sooner heard a bare mention, not of any actual wrong-doing but of mere idle suspicion, than she deigned to investigate it, and before doing so would not admit or listen to any falsehood or unjust slander, but persisted in her request until she brought me into the Emperor's presence and procured me speech with him. And she rejoiced when I was acquitted of every unjust charge, and when I wished to return home, she first persuaded the Emperor to give his permission, and then furnished me with a safe escort. Then when some deity, the one I think who devised my former troubles, or perhaps some unfriendly chance, cut short this journey, she sent me to visit Greece, having asked this favour on my behalf from the Emperor, when I had already left the country. This was because she had learned that I delighted in literature, and she knew that that place is the home of culture. Then

1 Iliad 12. 382 ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ μᾶλ' ἡμῶν.
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καὶ πρώτῳ γε, ὡς εἰκός, βασιλεῖ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τὸν θεὸν ηὐχόμην, ὅτι μοι τὴν Ἀλκιθινήν ποθοῦντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντι πατρίδα παρέσχον ἵδειν· ἐσμὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ περὶ τὴν Θράκην καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν οἰκούντες ἔγγονοι, καὶ ὅστις ἥμαν μὴ λίαν ἀγνώμονοι, ποθεῖ προσεῖπεν τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῆν ἀσπάσασθαι. ὦ δὴ καὶ ἔμοι πάλαι μὲν ἢν, ὡς εἰκός, ποθεῖνον, καὶ ὑπάρξαι μοι τοῦτο ἐβουλόμην μᾶλλον ἢ πολὺ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν φημὶ ἐμπυρέχαν πρὸς χρυσίον πλῆθος ὀσωδήνων ἔστασομενή καθέλκεων τὸν ξυγὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ σῶφρονι κριτῇ οὔδὲ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον ροπῆς ἐπιστήσαι.

Παιδείας δὲ ἐνεκα καὶ φιλοσοφίας πέποعθεν οἴμαι νῦν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραπλησίων τι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μυθολογήμασι καὶ λόγοις. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοι τὸν Νείλον παρ’ Β αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰ τ’ ἄλλα σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀπείροις αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς φθορᾶν, ὅποταν ἔλιοι διὰ μακρῶν τίνων περιόδων ἀστροῖς γενναίοις συνελθῶν ἢ συγγενόμενος ἐμπλήση τὸν ἄεα πυρὸς καὶ ἐπιφλέγη τὰ σύμπαντα. οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει, φασίν, ἄφαινοι οὔδὲ ἐξαναλῶσαι τὸν Νείλον τὰς πηγάς. οὐκ’ οὖν οὔδὲ εἴ Ἑλλήνων παντελῶς οἴχεται φιλοσοφία, οὔδὲ ἐπέλειπε τὰς Ἀθήνας οὔδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην οὔδὲ τὴν Κόρινθον· ἢκιστα δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων ἡ ἐκτίς τοῦ Ἀργος πολυπρήσιον πολλαί μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἁστεί, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἁστεοῦς περὶ τοῦ παλαιῶν ἐκείνων Μάσητα· τὴν Περήνην

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

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

¹ Iliad 4. 171. ² The port of Argolis.
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dὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυῶν ἔχει καὶ οὖν ἡ Κόρινθος. τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐπιχώρια τὰ νάματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἐξωθὲν ἐπιρρέει καὶ ἐπι-
φέρεται τίμια τῶν ένδον οὐ μεῖον οἱ δὲ ἁγαπῶσι καὶ στέργοντι, πλουτεῖν ἔθελοντες οὐ μόνον Δ
σχεδὸν ὁ πλούτος ζηλωτὸν.

'Ημεῖς δὲ τὰ ποτέ ἄρα πεπόνθαμεν; καὶ τίνα

υἱόν περαινεῖν διανοούμεθα ἡ λόγου, εἰ μὴ τῆς φίλης

'Ελλάδος ἐπαινοῦν, ἢς ὠν ἔστι μυησθέντα μὴ

πάντα θαυμάζειν; ἀλλ' οὐ φήσει τις τυχόν ὑπο-

μνησθεῖς τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ταῦτα ἔθελεν ἡμᾶς ἡξ

ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν, καθάπερ δὲ τοὺς Κορυβαντιῶντας

ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν ἐπεγειρομένους χορεύειν καὶ

πτιάν οὐδενὶ ἐπὶ λόγῳ, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς μνήμης

tῶν παιδικῶν ἀνακοινώθεντας ἣσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ

tῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγκώμιον. πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον ἄπολο-

γεῖσθαι χρεῶν ὦδε πώς λέγοντα· ὁ δαίμονε, καὶ

τέχνης ἀληθῶς γενναίας ἡγεμόν, σοφὸν μὲν

χρῆμα ἐπινοεῖς, οὐκ ἐφιεῖς οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπων τῶν

ἐπαινομένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμικρῶν μεθεωσαι, ἀτε

αὐτός οἶμαι ἐπὶ τέχνη τοῦτο δρῶν. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸν

ἔρωτα τοῦτον, ὅν συ φῆς αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῆς ἐν τοῖς

Β

λόγοις ἀταξίας, ἐπειδὴ προσγέγονεν, οἶμαι, παρα-

κελεύσθαι μὴ σφόδρα οκνεῖν μηδὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι

tὰς αἰτίας. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπτόμεθα· λόγων

dεῖξαι ἔθελοντες, ὅσων ἡμῖν ἁγαθῶν αἰτία γέγονε

tιμῶσα τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα. τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ὁδὸν

ντινα μοι τρόπον ἐπικείμενον ἀγαπήσαντι μὲν

1 περαίνειν διανοοῦμεθα Hertlein suggests, διαπεραίνειν οἴμεθα MSS.

2 ἡ Horkel adds.

3 ἀπτόμεθα Cobet, ἡ πτόμεθα V, ἡ πτόμεθα MSS., Hertlein.

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

But as for me, what has come over me? And what speech do I intend to achieve if not a panegyric of my beloved Hellas, of which one cannot make mention without admiring everything? But perhaps someone, remembering what I said earlier, will say that this is not what I intended to discuss when I began, and that, just as Corybants when excited by the flute dance and leap without method, so I, spurred on by the mention of my beloved city, am chanting the praises of that country and her people. To him I must make excuse somewhat as follows: Good sir, you who are the guide to an art that is genuinely noble, that is a wise notion of yours, for you do not permit or grant one to let go even for a moment the theme of a panegyric, seeing that you yourself maintain your theme with skill. Yet in my case, since there has come over me this impulse of affection which you say is to blame for the lack of order in my arguments, you really urge me, I think, not to be too much afraid of it or to take precautions against criticism. For I am not embarking on irrevelant themes if I wish to show how great were the blessings that Eusebia procured for me because she honoured the name of philosophy. And yet the name of philosopher which has been, I
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εἰ μάλα τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐρασθέντι δεινῶς τοῦ πράγματος, ἀπολειφθέντι δὲ οὐκ ἀπεδόκη τρόπου ὅνομα ἐτύγχανε μόνων καὶ λόγος ἔργου τοῦ πυθέσθαι δύναμαι, δι' ἥν οὔτω μοι πρόθυμος γέγονε βοηθὸς καὶ ἀλεξίκακος καὶ σώτερα, τὴν τοῦ γενναίου βασιλέως εὕνοιαν ἀκέραιον ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσινή μένειν ξὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ πραγματευσαμένη, ἡς μεῖξιν ἁγαθὸν οὔποτε ἐγὼ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νομίσας ἐάλων, οὐ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸν ἀντάξιον οὐδ’ ἀργύρου πλῆθος, δ’ ὅποσοσ τοῖς ἐστιν ὑπ’ αὐγάς ἠλίου, καὶ εἰ ποτε ἄλλος προσγενότοι, τῶν μεγίστων ὅρων αὐταῖς, οὕμα, πέτραι καὶ δένδραι μεταβαλλόντων εἰς τήνδε τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ἄρχῃ τὴν μεγίστην οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν· έκ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνης ταύτα μοι γέγονε πολλὰ καὶ δόσα οὐδεὶς ἂν ἠλπίσει, οὐ σφόδρα πολλῶν δεομένῳ γε οὐδὲ ἐμαυτῷ ἔπισι τοιαύτας πρέφοιτι.

Εὕνοιαι δὲ ἀληθινῇν οὐκ ἐστι πρὸς χρυσὸν ἀμείψασθαι, οὐδὲ ἂν τὶς αὐτὴν ἐντεύθεν πρίατο, θεία δὲ τυμ καὶ κρείττον μοῦρα ἀνθρώπων ἁγάθων συμπροθυμουμένων παραγίγνεται. 1 δ’ ἐν καὶ ἐμοὶ παρὰ βασιλέως παίδι μὲν ὑπήρχε κατὰ θεόν, ὀλίγου δὲ οἴχεσθαι δεήσαν ἀπεσώθη πάλιν τῆς βασιλίδος ἁμνουσίας καὶ ἀπειργούσης τὰς ψευδείς καὶ ἀλλοκότους ὑποψίας. ἃς ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ἐκείνη διέλυσεν, ἐναργεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῷ βίῳ τῶν χρωμένη.

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

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

₁ Æliad 9. 380.
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καλοῦντός τε αὐθής τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπήκοουν, ἀρα ἑνταῦθα κατέλυτεν, ὡς οὐκέτι πολλὴς βοηθείας, ἀτε οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐν μέσῳ δυσχεροῦσι οὐδὲ ὑπόπτου, δεόμενον; καὶ πῶς ἂν ὁσια δρᾶν ὄντως ἐναργῇ καὶ σεμνὰ σιωπῶν καὶ ἀποκρύπτων; κυριουμένης τε γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ταυτης τῆς γνώμης διαφερόντως ἡφαίνετο καὶ συνεπεχεῖς μουσικῶν, θαρρεῖν κελεύουσα καὶ μήτη το μέγεθος δείσαντα τῶν διδομένων ἀρνεσθαί τὸ λαβεῖν, μήτε ἐγκρικὰ καὶ αὐθάδει ¹ χρησάμενον παρρησία φαύλως ἀτιμάσαι τοῦ τοσαῦτα ἑργασαμένου ἁγαθὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν αἰτησιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπήκοουν οὕτι τοῦτό γε ἡδέως σφόδρα ὑπομένων, ἀλλὰς δὲ ἀπεθείν χαλεπῶν διὰ σφόδρα ἡπιστάμην. οἷς γὰρ ἄν ἔξη πράττειν ὁτι ἐν ἑθέλωσι σὺν βίᾳ, ἢ που δεόμενοι δυσώπειν καὶ πείθειν ἁρκοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ μοι πεισθέντι γέγονε καὶ μεταβαλόντι ἐσθήτα καὶ θεραπείαν καὶ διατριβάς τὰς συνήθεις καὶ τὴν οἰκησίν δὲ αὐτήν καὶ δίαιταν πάντα ὅγκον πλέα καὶ σεμνότητος ἐκ μικρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ φαύλων τῶν πρόθεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνθείας ἡ ψυχὴ διεταράττετο, οὕτι τὸ μέγεθος ἐκπληθτομένῳ τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν σχεδὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδὲ μεγάλα τάντα ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς χρωμένως μὲν ὅρθως σφόδρα ὑφελίμους, ἀμαρτάνουσί δὲ περὶ τὴν χρήσιν βλαβερᾶς καὶ οἴκως καὶ πόλεσι πολλαῖς μυρίων αἰτίας ξυμφορῶν. παραπλήσια ¹ [λιὰν] αὐθάδει Hertlein.
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cleared me of them, and I obeyed once more the Emperor's summons from Greece, did she ever for-sake me, as though, now that all enmity and suspicion had been removed, I no longer needed much assistance? Would my conduct be pious if I kept silence and concealed actions so manifest and so honourable? For when a good opinion of me was established in the Emperor's mind, she rejoiced exceedingly, and echoed him harmoniously, bidding me take courage and neither refuse out of awe to accept the greatness of what was offered to me, nor, by employing a boorish and arrogant frankness, unworthily slight the urgent request of him who had shown me such favour. And so I obeyed, though it was by no means agreeable to me to support this burden, and besides I knew well that to refuse was altogether impracticable. For when those who have the power to exact by force what they wish condescend to entreat, naturally they put one out of countenance and there is nothing left but to obey. Now when I consented, I had to change my mode of dress, and my attendants, and my habitual pursuits, and my very house and way of life for what seemed full of pomp and ceremony to one whose past had naturally been so modest and humble, and my mind was confused by the strangeness, though it was certainly not dazzled by the magnitude of the favours that were now mine. For in my ignorance I hardly regarded them as great blessings, but rather as powers of the greatest benefit, certainly, to those who use them aright, but, when mistakes are made in their use, as being harmful to many houses and cities and the cause of countless disasters. So I felt

1 The title of Caesar.
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de ἐπεπονθείν ἄνδρι σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἡνιοχίης ἔχοντι καὶ οὐδὲ ἐθελήσαντι ταύτης μεταλαβεῖν τῆς τέχνης, κἀτα ἀναγκαζομένως καλοῦ καὶ γενναίου κομίζειν ἁρμα ἡνίοχου, πολλὰς μὲν ἐξυπνώδιας, πολλὰ δὲ, οἴμαι, τέτρωρα τρέφοντος καὶ ἀπασί μὲν ἐπιβεβηκότος, διὰ δὲ ἡ γενναιότητα φύσεως καὶ ὅμων ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἔχοντος οἴμαι τὰς ἡμίας πάντων ἐγκρατῶς, εἰ καὶ ἔπι τῆς μιᾶς ἀντυγος βαῖνοι, οὐ μὴν αἰ γε ἐπὶ αὐτῆς μένοντος, μεταφερομένου δὲ πολλάκις ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε καὶ ἀμείβοντος ἔφρον ἐκ διφροῦ, εἰ ποτὲ τοὺς ἰπποὺς πονομένους ἢ καὶ ὑβρισάντας αἰσθοίτο, εῦ δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἀρμασὶ τούσδε κεκτημένου τέτρωρον ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας καὶ θράσους ὑβρίζον, πιεζόμενον τῇ συνεχεῖ ταλαπτωρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ θράσους οὐδέν τι μάλλον ἐπιλαθόμενον, ἀγριαίων δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ παροξυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μάλλον ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀπεθεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν, οὐ δεχόμενον ἀμῶς γέ τη πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ὅρφῃ τὸν ἡνίοχον διὰ τέλους χαλεπαῖνον ἢ, τὸ γε ἐλαττοῦν, στολὴν γοῦν ἡνιοχικὴν ἀνθρωποφόροντα.  

1 de Hertlein adds.
2 ἀμῶς γε πη—τῶν ἡνίοχον Reiske, ἀλλὰς εἰ τῶν ἡνίοχον MSS., Hertlein.
3 φοροῦντα Hertlein suggests, φέροντα MSS.
4 φορεῖν Hertlein suggests, φέρειν MSS.

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like a man who is altogether unskilled in driving a chariot,¹ and is not at all inclined to acquire the art, and then is compelled to manage a car that belongs to a noble and talented charioteer, one who keeps many pairs and many four-in-hands too, let us suppose, and has mounted behind them all, and because of his natural talent and uncommon strength has a strong grip on the reins of all of them, even though he is mounted on one chariot; yet he does not always remain on it, but often moves to this side or that and changes from car to car, whenever he perceives that his horses are distressed or are getting out of hand; and among these chariots he has a team of four that become restive from ignorance and high spirit, and are oppressed by continuous hard work, but none the less are mindful of that high spirit, and ever grow more unruly and are irritated by their distress, so that they grow more restive and disobedient and pull against the driver and refuse to go in a certain direction, and unless they see the charioteer himself or at least some man wearing the dress of a charioteer, end by becoming violent, so unreasoning are they by nature. But when the charioteer encourages some unskilful man, and sets him over them, and allows him to wear the same dress as his own, and invests him with the outward seeming of a splendid and skilful charioteer, then if he be altogether foolish and witless, he rejoices and is glad and is buoyed up and exalted by those robes, as though by wings, but, if he has

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

μήπως αὐτὸν τε τρώσῃ σὺν θ’ ἄρματα ἄξη,

καὶ τῷ μὲν ἡμόχωρ ἡμίας, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχρᾶς καὶ

υδὸξου συμφορᾶς αὐτοῦ γενήται. ταῦτα ἐγὼ

ἐλογιζόμην ἐν νυκτὶ βουλεύων καὶ δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ

ἐμαυτὸν ἐπισκοπούμενος, σύννοις ὁν ἄεὶ καὶ

σκυθρωπός. ὁ γενναῖος δὲ καὶ θεῖος ἀληθῶς αὐτο-

κράτωρ ἀφήρει τι πάντως τῶν ἀλγειῶν, ἔργοις

καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος. τέλος δὲ τὴν

βασιλίδα προσειπὲωι κελευεί, θάρσος τε ἡμῖν

ἐνδοῦν καὶ τοῦ σφόδρα πιστεύεις γενναίον εὐ

μάλα παρέχων γνώρισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειδή πρῶτον

ἐσ ὑψίν ἐκείνης ἠλθον, ἐδόκουν μὲν ὅσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ

καθιδρυμένον ἀγαλμα σωφροσύνης ὤραν· αἴδος δὲ

ἐπείχε τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ ἑπετηκτό μοι κατὰ γῆς τὰ

ὁμοια συχνὸν ἐπεικῶς χρόνον, ἐως ἐκείνη

θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε. καὶ Τὰ μὲν, ἐφι, ἴδῃ παρ’ ἡμῶν

ἐχεις, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔχεις σὺν θεῷ, μόνον εἰ πιστῶς καὶ

δίκαιος εἰς ἡμᾶς γένους. τοσάτα ἥκουσα σχεδὸν·

οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴ πλεῖον ἐφθήγξατο, καὶ ταῦτα

ἐπισταμένη τῶν γενναίων ρητῶριν οὐδὲ ἐν φαυλο-

τέρους ἀπαγγέλλειν λόγους. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς

ἐντεῦξεως ἀπαλλαγεῖς σφόδρα ἐθαύμασα καὶ

ἔξεπτημήνην, ἐναργῶς δοκῶν ἀκηκοέναι σωφρο-

σύνης αὐτῆς φθεγγομένης· οὕτω πράον ἦν αὐτῇ

φθέγμα καὶ μείλιχον, ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐγκαθίδρυ-


Β

1 πλεῖονa Hertlein suggests, πλεῖον MSS,

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even a small share of common sense and prudent understanding, he is very much alarmed “Lest he both injure himself and shatter his chariot withal,” 1 and so cause loss to the charioteer and bring on himself shameful and inglorious disaster. On all this, then, I reflected, taking counsel with myself in the night season, and in the daytime pondering it with myself, and I was continually thoughtful and gloomy. Then the noble and truly godlike Emperor lessened my torment in every way, and showed me honour and favour both in deed and word. And at last he bade me address myself to the Empress, inspiring me with courage and giving me a very generous indication that I might trust her completely. Now when first I came into her presence it seemed to me as though I beheld a statue of Modesty set up in some temple. Then reverence filled my soul, and my eyes were fixed upon the ground 2 for some considerable time, till she bade me take courage. Then she said: “Certain favours you have already received from us and yet others you shall receive, if God will, if only you prove to be loyal and honest towards us.” This was almost as much as I heard. For she herself did not say more, and that though she knew how to utter speeches not a whit inferior to those of the most gifted orators. And I, when I had departed from this interview, felt the deepest admiration and awe, and was clearly convinced that it was Modesty herself I had heard speaking. So gentle and comforting was her utterance, and it is ever firmly settled in my ears.

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

1 Iliad 23. 341. 2 Iliad 3. 217.
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...gōũtes ἀπαγγέλλωμεν; ἡ τὰ γε ἐντεῦθεν ἄθρως ἔλοντες, καθάπερ ἐδρασεν αὐτῇ,1 πάντα ὅμοι διηγησόμεθα; ὁπόσους μὲν εὐ ἐποίησε τῶν ἐμοὶ D γνωρίμων, οὕτως δὲ ἐμοὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν γάμων ἦρμοσεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἱσως ποθεῖτε καὶ τῶν κατάλογον ἄκοινεν τῶν δόρων,

ἐπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσὸν τάλαντα

καὶ λέβητας ἐείκοσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ μοι σχολὴ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδολεσχείν· ἐνὸς δὲ ἱσως τῶν ἐκείνης δόρων τυχόν οὐκ ἄχαρι καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπομημονεύσαι, ὦ μοι δοκῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥσθηναι2 διαφερόντως. βίβλους γάρ φιλοσόφων καὶ ἕγγαρα ἀγαθῶν καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν καὶ ποιητῶν, ἐπειδὴ παυτελὼς ὅλγας οἴκοθεν ἐφερον, ἐλπίδι καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ πάλιν οἰκαδε ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ψυχαγωγοῦμενος, ἐδωκεν ἄθροῖς τοσαύτας, ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποπλήσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν σφόδρα ἀκορέστως ἔχοντος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνας3 συνουσίας, μουσεῖον δὲ Ἑλληνικον ἀποφημὰν βιβλίων ἐκητὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Κελτίδα. τούτοις έγὼ προσκαθήμενος συνεχῶς τοὺς δόρους, εἰ ποτε σχολὴν ἁγομί, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως ἐτιλανθάνωμαι τῆς χαρισμάτης· ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατευ- ομένῳ μοι ἐν γε τὶ πάντως ἐπεται οἶον ἐφώδιον τῆς στρατείας πρὸς αὐτόπτου πάλαι ἐνυκείμενον. πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν4 ἐμπειρίας ὑπομνήματα ἔδω τῆς γραφῆς τοῖς ἀμαρτοῦσι...
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conferred on me, and that I should give precise details one by one? Or shall I take up my tale concisely as she did herself, and sum up the whole? Shall I tell how many of my friends she benefited, and how with the Emperor's help she arranged my marriage? But perhaps you wish to hear also the list of her presents to me: "Seven tripodbs untouched by fire and ten talents of gold," and twenty caldrons. But I have no time to gossip about such subjects. Nevertheless one of those gifts of hers it would perhaps not be ungraceful to mention to you, for it was one with which I was myself especially delighted. For she gave me the best books on philosophy and history, and many of the orators and poets, since I had brought hardly any with me from home, deluding myself with the hope and longing to return home again, and gave them in such numbers, and all at once, that even my desire for them was satisfied, though I am altogether insatiable of converse with literature; and, so far as books went, she made Galatia and the country of the Celts resemble a Greek temple of the Muses. And to these gifts I applied myself incessantly whenever I had leisure, so that I can never be unmindful of the gracious giver. Yes, even when I take the field one thing above all else goes with me as a necessary provision for the campaign, some one narrative of a campaign composed long ago by an eye-witness. For many of those records of the experience of men of old, written as they are with the greatest skill, furnish to those who, by reason of their

1 Iliad 9. 122. 2 Gaul.
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dia tìn ëlikìan tìn òsa òthea énarghì kai lámprà
eìkòna fèrèi tòu pàlai praxhèntovn, ùfì òsa ëndì
cai néoi pollloi geròntovn mýrióv poliòv màllov
èkthènast òton òvon kai tàs frènas, kai to ðòkòv C
àgaðòv ëk tou ðhìs ùpàrchein toûs vàndrópov
mónov, òt ðì èmpeiriàn, ðìì òhì ò presbúttìs èxei
tì
léiiv tòv ëvon sòfòterov, toûs ou ráthìmou tòv
ëvon èðwkev. ëstì ðè òìmaì tìs ën autòì kai
paìdàgonía pròs ðòds ñènnavìon, eì tìs èpísìtaiò
tòus àrìsòus vàndràs kai lògou kai pràxhèìs,
ioùn àrhètìta protìménou dèmouìgouòs, plàt-
tevìn ìdìì pròs tàûta tìn autòì diànnìan kai
àfòmoviòv toûs 1 lògoùs. òw eì ììì pámmplìthèìs
àpòleìfthìì, tìnykhàvì ðèìì kai èpì òlìgon tìs
òmòíttòs, ouì smìkrà ìà ònnavìì, eì ìstè. ðì dìì
cai autòì pollákìs xìnnovòv paìdìàn te ouì
àmouvìv ën autòìs poioùìmaì kai stràtènòmèvìn
kathàter sìtà fèrèin vànagkàìa kai tàûta òðèlò-
mètvòì ðè ëstì tòù plèvòvì tòv fèròmovòv ðì
kàfìòs.

'Allà ììì ïòte ouì èkeèìwòv òhrì òvon òton
èpàvìvòv gòrafìì òvòìì òsa ëmèìì àghàdà gëvovìì' ììì
ëvèèëëde, òpòìovì ðèìì ðòðrov àìxìì kàtâmàðòntàs 125
çàriìì àpotîìnvìì tìhòv ouìì èllòtrìì tòù diòèn-
tòs tìì xàrìsìamèvìì. lògòvìì gàpìì àstèììvìì kai
pàntòdàpòvòì ðèsanìvòv òtvò ìàsìì bìblòvìì dëjà-

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

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

¹ Euripides, Phoenissae 532.
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μενον οὐκ ἀδικον δια σμικρῶν καὶ φαύλων ῥημάτων ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀγροίκως ἄγαν ξυγκειμένων ήδειν εὐφημίαν. οὐδε γὰρ γεωργὸν φήσεις εὐγνώμονα, δε καταφυτεύει μὲν τὴν φυταλίαν ἀρχόμενος κλῆματα ἦτε παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων, εἴτα ἐκτρέφων τὰς ἀμπέλους δίκελλαν καὶ αὐθείς σμινύην, καὶ τέλος ἦδη κάλαμον, ὥς χρὴ προσδεδέσθαι καὶ ἐπικεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμπελοῦ, ἵνα αὐτή τε ἀνέχηται καὶ οἱ βότρυες ἐξηρτημένοι μηδαμοῦ γαύωσι τῆς βώλου, τυχόντα δὲ ὅν ἐδείτο μόνον ἐμπίπτασθαι τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς χάριτος οὔτε τῶν βοτρύων οὔτε τοῦ γλεύκους μεταδίδόντα τοῖς,1 δῶν πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν ἔτυχε προθύμων. οὐκονον οὐδὲ νομέα πομηνὰν οὐδὲ βουκολίων οὐδὲ μην αἰτολιῶν ἐπεικῆ καὶ ἁγαθὸν καὶ ἐυγνώμονα φήσει τις, δε τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος, ὅτε αὐτῷ στέγης καὶ πόσα ἐδείτο τὰ βοσκῆματα, σφόδρα ἐτύπχανε προθύμων C τῶν φίλων, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐξυπτορίζοντων καὶ μεταδίδοντος τροφῆς ἀφθόνου καὶ καταγωγῶν, ἥρος δὲ οἷμαι καὶ θέρους φανέντος μάλα γενναῖος ἐπιλαβόμενον δὲν εὑ πάθοι, οὔτε τοῦ γάλακτος οὔτε τῶν τυρῶν οὔτε ἄλλου τοῦ μεταδίδοντα τοῖς2 ἐφ' ὅν αὐτῷ διεσώθη ἀπολόμενα ἀν ἄλλως τὰ θρέματα.

"Οστὶς οὖν λόγους ὁποιούσων τρέφων νέος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνων πολλῶν δεόμενος, τροφῆς δὲ πολλῆς καὶ καθαρὰς τῆς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων, εἴτα ἀθρόως πάντων στερηθεὶς3 ἀρα

1 τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.
2 τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.
3 στερηθεὶς Cobet, δεσθεὶ MSS., Hertlein.

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

And now take the case of one who cultivates literature of any sort, and is himself young and therefore needs numerous guides and the abundant food and pure nourishment that is to be obtained from ancient writings, and then suppose
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υμῖν μικράς δείσθαι βοηθείας δοκεῖ ἢ μικρῶν αὐτῷ
geγονέναι ἄξιος ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα συλλαμβανόμενος;
καὶ τυχόν οὐ χρῆ πειράσθαι χάριν ἀποτίνειν αὐτῷ
τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τῶν ἔργων; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτὲ τὸν
Θαλῆν ἐκείνου, τῶν σοφῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον μμητέον,
οὐ τὰ ἐπαινούμενα ἀκηκόαμεν; ἔρομενος γὰρ τινος:
ὑπὲρ δὲν ἔμαθεν ὁπόσον τινὰ χρῆ καταβάλειν
μισθῶν· ῥμολογῶν, ἔφη, τι 2 παρ’ ἧμῶν μαθεῖν τὴν
ἄξιαν ἦμών ἐκτίσεις. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις διδάσκαλος
μὲν αὐτὸς οὐ γέγονε, πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν δὲ καὶ ὅτι
οὖν συνηνέγκατο, ἀδικοῖτ’ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τῆς
χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθείσιν ῥμολογίας, ἢ
δὴ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἀπαιτῶν φαίνεται. εἶεν. ἀλλὰ
τοῦτο μὲν χαρίεν καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ δῶρον χρυσίου δὲ
καὶ ἀργύριον οὔτε ἐδεόμην εὖ γὰρ λαβεῖν οὔτε ύμᾶς
δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἴδεως ἃν ἐνοχλήσαιμι.

Δόγον δὲ ύμῖν εἰπεῖν έθέλω μάλα δὴ τι 3 ύμῖν
ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνομεν ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὸ
μήκος τῆς ἀδόλεσχίας· τυχόν δὲ 4 οὐδὲ τῶν ῥηθεῖνων
ηκρόασθε εὖν ἡδονή ἄτε ἀνδρός ἰδιώτου καὶ σφόδρα
ἀμαθοὺς λόγων, πλάττειν μὲν οὖδὲν οὐδὲ τεχνάζειν
eidótos, φράζοντος δὲ ὅπως ἄν ἐπὶ τάληθες· ὃ δὲ
δὴ λόγος σχέδον τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἑστὶ.
φήσουσι γὰρ, οἵμαι, πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν μακαρίων

1 μμητέον Petavius adds. 2 τι Horkel, τὸ MSS. Hertlein.
3 τι Cobet, τινος MSS., Hertlein.
4 δὲ MSS., Cobet, γὰρ Ὡ, Μ, Hertlein.

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that he should be deprived of all these all at once, is it, think you, slight assistance that he is asking? And is it slight payment that he deserves who comes to his aid? But perhaps he ought not even to attempt to make him any return for his zeal and kind actions? Perhaps he ought to imitate the famous Thales, that consummate philosopher, and that answer which we have all heard and which is so much admired? For when someone asked what fee he ought to pay him for knowledge he had acquired, Thales replied "If you let it be known that it was I who taught you, you will amply repay me." Just so one who has not himself been the teacher, but has helped another in any way to gain knowledge, would indeed be wronged if he did not obtain gratitude and that acknowledgement of the gift which even the philosopher seems to have demanded. Well and good. But this gift of hers was both welcome and magnificent. And as for gold and silver I neither asked for them nor, were they in question, should I be willing thus to wear out your patience.

But I wish to tell you a story very well worth your hearing, unless indeed you are already wearied by the length of this garrulous speech. Indeed it may be that you have listened without enjoyment to what has been said so far, seeing that the speaker is a layman and entirely ignorant of rhetoric, and knows neither how to invent nor how to use the writer's craft, but speaks the truth as it occurs to him. And my story is about something almost of the present time. Now many will say, I suppose,
σοφιστῶν ἁναπειθόμενοι, ὅτι ἄρα μικρὰ καὶ θαύμα πράγματα ἀναλεξάμενοι ὡς δὴ τι σεμνὸν ἕμων ἀπαγγέλλω. τούτῳ δὲ οὐ φιλονεικοῦντες πρὸς τοὺς ἑμοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ἐμὲ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δόξης ἐθέλοντες ἵσως ἂν εἴποιεν ἤσσοι γὰρ σαφῶς, ὅτι μήτε αὐτίτεχνος εἶναι βούλομαι τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις τούς ἐμαυτοῦ παρατιθεῖσι, μήτε ἀλλως ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἐκείνοις ἔθέλω, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἴδα ὅτινα πρόπον τοῦ μεγάλα λέγειν ἐκ παντὸς ὅρεγόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔχοντι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τάκεινων ἔχοντας καὶ δὲ αἰτίας ἠγούσιν ὡς καθαιροῦντας τὴν τῶν λόγων ἱσχύν. μόνα γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἔργων ἐλπιστᾶ φασί καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ὅποσα διὰ μέγεθος ἡδή τισῶν ἀπίστα ἐφάνη, ὅποια δὴ τινα τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐκείνης γυναικὸς, ἢ μεταβαλοῦσα καθάπερ βείθρον εὔτελες τού διὰ τῆς Ἀββυλῶνος ποταμὸν ρέουτα βασιλείαν τε φιλόδομησεν ὑπὸ γῆς πάγγαλα καὶ μεθηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν χωμάτων αὐθίς. ὑπὲρ γὰρ δὴ ταύτης πολὺς μὲν λόγος, ὡς ἐνανιόχει ναυσὶ τρισχελίως, καὶ πεζῆς παρατάττετο μυρίάδας ὀπλιτῶν τριακοσίας ἠγούσα, τὸ τε ἐν Ἀββυλῶνι τεῖχος φιλόδομεν πεντακοσίων σταδίων μικρὸν ὑποδέου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄρυγματα καὶ ἄλλα πολυτελῆ καὶ δαπανηρὰ κατασκευάσματα ἐκεῖνης ἔργα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. Νίτωκρις δὲ ταύτης νεωτέρα καὶ Ῥοδογούνη καὶ Τώμυρις καί
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persuaded by the accomplished sophists, that I have collected what is trivial and worthless, and relate it to you as though it were of serious import. And probably they will say this, not because they are jealous of my speeches, or because they wish to rob me of the reputation that they may bring. For they well know that I do not desire to be their rival in the art by setting my own speeches against theirs, nor in any other way do I wish to quarrel with them. But since, for some reason or other, they are ambitious of speaking on lofty themes at any cost, they will not tolerate those who have not their ambition, and they reproach them with weakening the power of rhetoric. For they say that only those deeds are to be admired and are worthy of serious treatment and repeated praise which, because of their magnitude, have been thought by some to be incredible, those stories for instance about that famous woman¹ of Assyria who turned aside as though it were an insignificant brook the river ² that flows through Babylon, and built a gorgeous palace underground, and then turned the stream back again beyond the dykes that she had made. For of her many a tale is told, how she fought a naval battle with three thousand ships, and on land she led into the field of battle three million hoplites, and in Babylon she built a wall very nearly five hundred stades in length, and the moat that surrounds the city and other very costly and expensive edifices were, they tell us, her work. And Nitocris ³ who came later than she, and Rhodogyne ⁴

¹ Semiramis, Herodotus 1. 184.
² The Euphrates.
³ Herodotus 1. 185; Oration 2. 85 c.
⁴ Rhodopis? wrongly supposed to have built the third pyramid.

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μυρίος δὴ τις ἐπιρρέει γυναικῶν ὄχλος ἀνδριζομένων οὐ λίαν εὑπρεπῶς. τινὰς δὲ ἡδὴ διὰ τὸ κάλλος περιβλέπτουσα καὶ ὄνομαστὰς γενομένας οὐ σφόδρα εὔτυχῶς, ἐπειδὴ ταραχὴς αἰτιαὶ καὶ πολέμων μακρῶν ἔθνεσι μυρίος καὶ ἄνδράσιν, ὅσους ἦν εἰκὸς ἐκ τοσαύτης χώρας ἀθροίζεσθαι, γενέσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὡς μεγάλων αἰτίαις ὕμνοῦσι πράξεων. ὡς τις δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐπείτι ἔχει, καταγέλαστος εἶναι δοκεῖ ἄτε οὐκ ἐκπλήττειν οὐδὲ θαυματοποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σφόδρα ἐπιχειρῶν. βούλεσθε οὖν ἐπανερωτώμεν αὐτοὺς, εἰ τις αὐτῶν γαμετὴν ἢ θυγατέρα οἱ τοιαύτην εὐχεταὶ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Πηνελόπην; καίτοι ἐπὶ ταύτης οὐδὲν ὁμηρος εἰπεῖν ἐσχε πλέον τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς φιλανδρίας καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἐκυρὸν ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῶν παιδών ἐμελείς ἢ ἣ ἄρα οὐτε τῶν ἄγρων ἐκείνη οὐτε τῶν ποιμνών οὐχὶ δημηγορίαν οὖν ἄναρ εἰκὸς ἐκείνη παραστήσηται ποτέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε λέγειν ἔχρην εἰς τὰ μειράκια,

ἀντα παρειάσω σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήθεμα

πράως ἐφθέγγετο. καὶ οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὁμηρος οἴμαι τηλικεύτων ἐργῶν οὐ καὶ ὄνομαστῶν ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ταύτην ὑμνῆσε διαφέροντως· ἐξῆν γοῦν αὐτῷ τὴν τής Ἀμαξόνος φιλοτίμως πάνυ στρατεύαν διηγησαμένῳ τὴν πολέμιν ἄπασαν ἐμπλήσαι τοιούτων διηγημάτων τέρτεων εὐ μάλα καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τείχους 128·

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

¹ Herodotus I. 205. ² Odyssey I. 334. ³ Penthesilea.
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μὲν αἴρεσιν, καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ναυμαχίαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, τὸν πρὸς τὸις νεωρίοις πόλεμον, ἀνδρὸς τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοῦ μάχην ἑπεισάγειν οἴκοθεν διενοεῖτο τῇ ποιήσει καὶ τὶς λέγειν ἐπιθυμῶν τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν ἦν, ῥότερον οὖν φασὶ, σεμνότατον, ὅλυγώρως οὖτω παρέλιπε. τὶ ποτε οὖν ἂν τις αἰτίων λέγοι τοῦ 'κείνην μὲν ἐπαϊνείν προθύμως, τούτων δ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μνημονεύειν; ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκείνην ἄρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην πολλὰ ἱδία τε ἀνδρόποι καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὰ συμβαίνει, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς τούτων φιλοτιμίας ὀφελὸς μὲν οὐδὲ ἦν, συμφοραὶ δὲ ἀνήκεστοι. ἀτε δὴ ὅνιμαι σοφὸς καὶ θείος ποιητής ταύτην ἐκρινεῖν ἀμείων καὶ δικαιοτέραν τὴν εὐφημίαν. ἃρ' οὖν ἔτι προσήκον εὐλαβηθήναι τοσοῦτον ἥγεμόνα ποιομένους, μὴ τὶς ἄρα μικροὺς ὕπολαβῃ καὶ φαύλους;

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅμοι καὶ τὸν γενναίον ἐκείνον Κ ῥήτορα Περικλέα τὸν πάνυ, τὸν Ὄλυμπιον, μάρτυρα ἄγαθον ἥδη παρέξομαι. κολάκων γὰρ δή, φασὶ, ποτὲ τὸν ἀνδρα περεσατῶς δῆμος διελάγχαν τοὺς ἑπαίνους, ὁ μὲν ὅτι τὴν Σάμον ἐξεῖλεν, ἀλλος δὲ ὅτι τὴν Εὔβοιαν, τινες δὲ ἦδη τὸ περιπλέσσαι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μεμημένοι, τινες δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα φιλοτιμίας, σφόδρα ἄγαθον πολίτην

1 τούτων δ' οὐδ' Hertlein suggests, τούτων δὲ MSS.
2 πολλὰ ἱδία τε Hertlein suggests, πολλὰ τε ἱδία MSS.
3 προσήκον Hertlein suggests, προσήκεν MSS.

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

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

1 Achilles and the Scamander; Iliad 21. 234 foll., Oration 2. 60 c.
2 Julian tells, incorrectly, the anecdote in Plutarch, Pericles 38.
3 440 B.C.
4 445 B.C.
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καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶναι δόξαντα γενναίον. οὔ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὔτε ἀχθόμενος οὔτε γανύμενος δῆλος ἤν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἦξιον τῶν αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένων ἐπαίνειν, ὅτι τοσούτων χρόνων ἐπιτροπεύσας τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὐδεὶς θανάτου γέγονεν αἰτίως, οὔδὲ ἰμάτιον μέλαν τῶν πολιτῶν τις περιβαλόμενος Περικλέα γενέσθαι ταύτης αἰτίας αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορὰς ἔφη. ἄλλου τοῦ, πρὸς φιλίων Διός, δοκοῦμεν ὡμίν μάρτυρος δεῖσθαι, ὧτι μέγιστον ἀρετῆς σημεῖον καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐπαίνων ἄξιον τὸ μηδένα κτείναι τῶν πολιτῶν μηδὲ ἀφελέσθαι τὰ χρήματα μηδὲ ἄδικω φυγῆ περιβαλεῖν; ὡστε δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συμφορὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιτάξας καθάπερ ἱατρός γενναίος οὐδαμῶς ἀποχρὴν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτῷ τὸ μηδενικό νοσήματος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ἄλλῃ εἰ μὴ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν ἄρτῳ καὶ θεραπεύοι, οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης ἔργων ὑπέλαβεν, ἀρα ὡμίν δοκεῖ τῶν ἰσων ἐπαίνων ἐν δίκῃ τυγχάνειν; καὶ οὐδὲν προτιμήσωμεν οὔτε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν, υφ' ἢς ἔξεστι μὲν αὐτῇ δρᾶν ὅτι δὲν ἡθέλη, θέλει δὲ ἀπασι σαβαθά; τούτῳ ἐγώ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντός ἐπαίνου ποιοῦμαι, οὐκ ἀπορών ἄλλων θαυμασίων εἶναι δοκοῦντων καὶ λαμπρῶν διηγημάτων.

Εἰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σωπῆν ὑποπτεύσειεν ὡς ματαιὰν οὔς ταῖς προσποίησιν καὶ ἠλαξονεῖαν κενὴν καὶ αὐθάδη, οὔτε ποὺ καὶ τὴν ἐναγχος ἐπιδημαν γενομένην αὐτῇ τὴν εἰς τὴν

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

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

\[1 \text{ 357 A.D.}\]
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

Ῥώμην, ὅποτε ἐστρατεύετο βασιλεὺς ζεύγμασι καὶ C
ναυσὶ τὸν Ῥήνον διαβᾶσι ἄγχου τῶν Γαλατίας ὀρίων,
ψευδὴ καὶ πεπλασμένην ἄλλως ὑποπτεύσει. ἔξερ
δὴ οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, διηγομένῳ ταύτα τοῦ δήμου με-
μὴσθαι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας, ὅπως αὐτὴν ὑπεδέχετο
σὺν χαρμονῆ, προθυμώς ὑπαντώντες καὶ δεξιοῦμένοι
καθάπερ νόμος βασιλίδα, καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ
μέγεθος, ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ τῆς
παρασκευῆς τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ὅποσα τε ἐνειμὲ
τῶν φυλῶν τοῖς ἐπιστάταις καὶ ἐκατοντάρχαις D
τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἐμοι γε τῶν
tοιοῦτον οὔτε ἐδοξέ ποτε ζηλωτόν οὐδὲν, οὔτε
ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλω πρὸ τῆς ἁρετῆς τῶν πλοῦτον.
καὶ τοίς μὲ 1 οὐ λέγηθεν ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλευθέριος
dαπάνη μετέχουσά τινος ἁρετῆς. ἀλλ' οἴμαι κρεῖτ-
tον ἐπιεἰκείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρονήσιν καὶ
όσα δὴ ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῆς λέγων πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ
ἄλλους, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ἔπ' 130
ἐμοὶ πραχθέντα παρέιχον μάρτυρα. εἰ δὴ οὖν
καὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἐμήν εὐγνωμοσύνην ζηλοῦν ἐπι-
χειρῆσειν, πολλοὺς ἔχει τε ἡδὴ καὶ ἐξει τοὺς
ἐπαινέτας.

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

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

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

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

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

2 Concerning Isis and Osiris 46.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

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

The Oration is dedicated to his friend and comrade in arms Sallust who is probably indentical with the Neo-Platonic philosopher, of the school of Iamblichus, who wrote about 360 the treatise On the Gods and the World. Cumont calls this "the official catechism of the Pagan empire," and Wilamowitz regards it as the positive complement of Julian’s pamphlet Against the Christians. Julian’s Eighth Oration is a discourse of consolation, ῥαμανθῆ-τικὸς, for the departure of Sallust when Constantius recalled him from Gaul in 358.

\(^{1}\) 148 B. 
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

Εἰς τὸν βασίλεα Ἡλιόν πρὸς Σαλοτστίον

Προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω τοῦ λόγου τούτος μᾶλλον μὲν ἄπασιν, ὅσα τε γαῖαν ἐπὶ πνεύει τε καὶ ἔρπει, ταῦτά εἰναι καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ μετείληφεν, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἄπαντων ἐμαυτῷ· καὶ γὰρ εἰμὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπαύδὸς Ἡλίου. τούτου δὲ ἔχω μὲν οἴκοι παρ' ἐμαυτῷ τὰς πίστεις ἀκριβεστέρας· δὲ δὲ μοι θέμις εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀνεμέσητον, ἐντετεικὸς μοι δεινὸς ἐκ παιδῶν τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πόθος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς οὐτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον ἐκ παιδαρίου κομίδη τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξιστάμην, ὡστε οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν μόνον ἄτενες ὅραν ἐπεθύμουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἴ ποτε νῦκτωρ ἀνεφέλων καὶ καθαρᾶς αἴθριας οὐσίας προέλθοιμι, πάντα ἄθροώς ἀφεῖς τοῖς ὑπανόιοις προσεῖχον κάλλεσιν, οὔκετι ἐκεῖνας οὐδὲν εἴ τις λέγοι τι πρὸς με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ τι πράττοιμι προσέχων. ἐδόκουν τε περιεργότερον ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πολυπράγμων τις εἰναι, καὶ

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

What I am now about to say I consider to be of
the greatest importance for all things "That breathe
and move upon the earth," and have a share in
existence and a reasoning soul\(^1\) and intelligence,
but above all others it is of importance to myself.
For I am a follower of King Helios. And of this
fact I possess within me, known to myself alone,
proofs more certain than I can give.\(^2\) But this at
least I am permitted to say without sacrilege, that
from my childhood an extraordinary longing for
the rays of the god penetrated deep into my soul;
and from my earliest years my mind was so com-
pletely swayed by the light that illumines the
heavens that not only did I desire to gaze in-
tently at the sun, but whenever I walked abroad
in the night season, when the firmament was clear
and cloudless, I abandoned all else without exception
and gave myself up to the beauties of the heavens;
nor did I understand what anyone might say
to me, nor heed what I was doing myself. I was
considered to be over-curious about these matters

\(^1\) As opposed to the unreasoning soul, \(\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \psi\nu\chi\acute{\iota}\), that
is in animals other than man. Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus,
and Porphyry allowed some form of soul to plants, but this
was denied by Iamblichus, Julian, and Sallust.

\(^2\) He refers to his initiation into the cult of Mithras.
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μὲ τις ἔδη ἀστρόμαντων ὑπέλαβεν ἄρτι γενειήτην. καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὕποτε τοιαύτη βίβλος εἰς ἐμὰς ἀφίκτω χείρας, οὐδὲ ἡπιστάμην ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ χρῆμα πὼ τότε. ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα ἔγω φημ, μείζω ἔχων εἰπεῖν, εἰ φράσαμι ὅπως ἐφρόνουν τὸ τημικαύτα περὶ θεῶν; λήθη δὲ ἐστώ τοῦ σκῶτους ἐκείνων. τοῦ δὲ ὅτι μὲ τὸ οὐράνιον πάντη περιήστραπτε φῶς ἡγειρέ τε καὶ παράξυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, ὡστε ἔδη καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὴν ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ πὰν αὐτὸς ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ κίνησιν ἐξυπέδων, οὔδεν πω ἐκυπρύσον τὸν τα τοιαύτα φιλοσοφούντων, ἐστω μοι τὰ ῥηθέντα σμεία. ξηλὸς μὲν οὖν έγωγε τῆς εὐποτιμίας καὶ εἰ τῶ τὸ σῶμα παρέσχε θεός ἐξ ἱεροῦ καὶ προφητικοῦ συμπαγέν σπέρματος ἀναλαβόντι σοφίας ἀνοίξαι θραυσοῦς· οὐκ ἀτιμάζω δὲ ταύτην, ἥς ἡξιώθην αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε μερίδος, ἐν τῷ κρατοῦντι καὶ βασιλεύοντι τῆς γῆς γένει τοῖς κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν χρόνοις γενόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἡγοῦμαι, εἰπερ χρῆ πείθεσθαι τοῖς σοφοῖς, ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τοῦτον κοινὸν πατέρα. λέγεται γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἀνθρώπος ἀνθρώπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἡλιος, ψυχὰς οὐκ ἀφ’ ἐμαυτοῦ μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν σπείρων εἰς γῆν, ἔφ’ ὅ τι δὲ χρῆμα δηλούσιν

1 πω τότε Cobet, πάποτε MSS, Hertlein.
2 τοῦ Reiske, το MSS, Hertlein.
3 ἡγοῦμαι Petavius, ἡγοῦμαι κοινώτερον μὲν MSS, Hertlein.
4 Aristotle, Physics 2. 2. 194 b ; cf. 151 d.
5 σπείρων Hertlein suggests, σπείρων MSS.
6 Plato, Timaeus 42 D.

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

¹ When he was still a professed Christjan.
² i.e. not only prophets and emperors but all men are related to Helios.

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αὕται τοῖς βίοις, οὖς προαιροῦνται. κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν, εἰ τῷ ξυνηνέχθῃ καὶ πρὸ τριγυνίας ἀπὸ πολλῶν πάνω προπατόρων ἐφεξῆς τῷ θεῷ δουλεύσαι, μεμπτὸν δὲ οὐδὲ άστις, ἐπεγνωκὼς ἔαυτὸν θεῷ τούδε θεράποντα φύσει, μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων ἡ ξυν ὀλύνοις αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσι τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ δεσπότον.

Φέρε οὖν, ὅπως ἄν οἶοι τε ὅμειν, ὑμνήσωμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔορτήν, ἢν ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις ἐπετησίος ἀγάλληθι θυσίαις. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, εἰ οἶδα, χαλεπὰν καὶ τῷ ξυνεῖναι περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου, ὅποσος τὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀφανῆς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λογισμένος, 132 φράσαι δὲ ἵσως ἀδύνατον, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἔλαττὸν ἐθελήσεις τίς. ἐφικέσθαι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς ἀξίαν εἰ οἶδα ὅτι τῶν ἀπάντων οὔδεὶς ἄν δύναιτο, τοῦ μετρίου δὲ ἡ διαμαρτεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαινοῖς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐστὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι φράσεως δυνάμεως. ἀλλ' ἐμοιγε τούτου παρασταίη βοηθὸς ὅ τε λόγιος ὅ Ερμής ξυν ταῖς Μούσαις ὅ τε Μουσηγήτης Ἀπόλλων, ἐπετεί καὶ Β αὐτῷ προσήκει τῶν λόγων, καὶ δοῖεν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅποσα τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα λέγεσθαι τέ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος εἶσται τῶν ἐπαινῶν; ἢ δήλον ὅτι περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ θείων προῆλθε καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν διεκλούντες, ὁπόσα φανεραὶ οὐσαι τ' ἀφανεῖς, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσεως, ἢν κατὰ πάντας ποιεῖται τοὺς κόσμους, οὐ παντά-

1 cf. Oration 7. 237 c.  2 cf. 144 Α, 149 Α.

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

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

1 Rome. 2 At the beginning of January; cf. 156 C.
3 Julian distinguishes the visible sun from his archetype, the offspring of the Good.
4 i.e. the intelligible world, νοητός, comprehended 'only by pure reason; the intellectual, νοηρός, endowed with intelli-
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πασιν ἀπάδοντα ποιησόμεθα τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἐγκώμια; ἀρκτέον δὲ ἐνθέντε.

'Ὁ θεὸς οὗτος καὶ πάγκαλος κόσμος ἀπ’ ἀκρας ἀφίδος οὐρανοῦ μέχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλύτου συνεχόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ προοίμιας εἰς ἀιδίου γέγονεν ἀγέννητος1 ἐσε τὸν ἑπίλοιπον χρόνον ἀιδίος, οὐχ ὑπ’ ἄλλου τοῦ φρουρούμενος ἡ προσεχῆς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος, οὐ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐστὶν ἀκτίς ἄελιον,2 βαθμῷ δὲ ὁσπερ δευτέρῳ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου, πρεσβυτέρως δὲ ἐτε διὰ τῶν πάντων βασιλεῖα, περὶ δὲ πάντα ἐστὶν. οὗτος τούτων, εἰτε D τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ νοῦ καλεῖν αὐτὸν θέμις εἰτε ἱδέαν τῶν ὑμων, δι’ ἡ φημι τὸ νοητῶν εἴσημα, εἰτε ἐν, ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ πως πρεσβύτατον, εἰτε ὁ Πλάτων εἰσθεν ὅνομάξειν τάγαθόν, αὐτὴ δὴ οὖν ἡ μονοειδῆς τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, πάσι τοῖς ὤσιν ἐξηγούμενή κάλλους τε καὶ τελειότητος ἐνώσεως τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμηχάνου, κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ μένουσαν πρωτουργὸν ὑσίαν μέσον ἐκ μέσων τῶν νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν. αἰτίων "Ἡλιον θεὸν μέγιστον ἀνέφηνεν ἐς ἀυτοῦ πάντα ὄμοιον ἐαυτῷ καθάπερ καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος οἴεται Πλάτων, "Τοῦτον τοίνυν," λέγων, "ἡ δ’ ἐγώ, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ

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

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

This divine and wholly beautiful universe, from the highest vault of heaven to the lowest limit of the earth, is held together by the continuous providence of the god, has existed from eternity ungenerated, is imperishable for all time to come, and is guarded immediately by nothing else than the Fifth Substance ¹ whose culmination is the beams of the sun; and in the second and higher degree, so to speak, by the intelligible world; but in a still loftier sense it is guarded by the King of the whole universe, who is the centre of all things that exist. He, therefore, whether it is right to call him the Supra-Intelligible, or the Idea of Being, and by Being I mean the whole intelligible region, or the One, since the One seems somehow to be prior to all the rest, or, to use Plato's name for him, the Good; at any rate this uncompounded cause of the whole reveals to all existence beauty, and perfection, and oneness, and irresistible power; and in virtue of the primal creative substance that abides in it, produced, as middle among the middle and intellectual, creative causes, Helios the most mighty god, proceeding from itself and in all things like unto itself. Even so the divine Plato believed, when he writes, "Therefore (said I) when I spoke of this,

gence; and thirdly the world of sense-perception αἰσθητός. The first of these worlds the Neo-Platonists took over from Plato, Republic 508 foll.; the second was invented by Iamblichus.

¹ Though Aristotle did not use this phrase, it was his theory of a fifth element superior to the other four, called by him "aether" or "first element," De Coelo 1. 3 270 b, that suggested to Iamblichus the notion of a fifth substance or element; cf. Theologumena Arithmeticae 35, 22 Ast, where he calls the fifth element "aether."
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ἀγαθὸν ἔκγονον, διν τάγαθον ἐγέννησεν ἀναλογον ἐαυτῷ, ὅτιπερ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρὸς τε νοῦν καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τούτο τούτον ἐν τῷ ὀρατῷ πρὸς τε ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὀρώμενα.”¹ Ἐχει μὲν δὴ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ταύτην οἷμαι τὴν ἀναλογίαν πρὸς τὸ ὀρατόν, ἦντερ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἀλήθεια.² αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἕξυμ- πας, ἀτε δὴ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου τῆς ἰδέας Β τάγαθον ἑγεγονός ἔκγονος, ὑποστὰς αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν μόνιμον ὦσίαν ἐξ ἀιδίου καὶ τῆν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς παρεδέξατο δυναστείαν, ὅταν τάγαθον ἐστὶ τοῖς νοητοῖς αἰτίοις, ταῦτα αὐτὸς τοῖς νοεροῖς νέμων. Ἐστὶ δ’ αἰτίοις οἷμαι τάγαθον τοῖς νοητοῖς θεοῖς κάλλους, ὦσίας, τελειότητος, ἐνώσεως, συνέχον αὕτα καὶ περιλάμματον ἀγαθοειδεὶς δυνάμει ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς Ψ/sweetalert. diδωσιν, ἄρχειν C καὶ βασιλεύειν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τάγαθον τεταγμένος, εἰ καὶ συμπροῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ συνυπέστησαν, ὅπως οἷμαι καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθοειδῆς αἰτία προκαθηγουμένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν ἀπαντα κατὰ νοὺν εὐθύνῃ.

'Αλλὰ καὶ τρίτος ὁ φαινόμενος οὕτως δίσκος ἐναργῶς αἰτίος ἐστὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ ὅσων ἔφαμεν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς τὸν μέγαν

¹ Republic 508 b.
² ἀλήθεια Hertlein suggests, ἀλήθεια MSS.

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

But this visible disc also, third\(^1\) in rank, is clearly, for the objects of sense-perception the cause of preservation, and this visible Helios\(^2\) is the cause

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

\(^2\) 133 D–134 A is a digression on the light of the sun.
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"Ὡλεθρον, τοσούτων αὖτις καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος ὁ δὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς. τούτων δὲ ἐναργεῖς αἱ πίστεις ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἀφανῆ σκοποῦντι. 

D ἔρε τῷ πρῶτῳ αὐτῷ τὸ φῶς οὐκ εἰδός ἐστιν ἀσώματον τῷ θείῳ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν διαφανοῦς; αὐτῷ δὲ οὐ, τῷ ποτὲ ἐστὶ τῷ διαφανείς, πᾶσι μὲν ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν συνυποκείμενον τοῖς στοιχείοις καὶ ἐν αὐτῶν προσεχῆς εἰδός, οὐ σωματουδὲς οὐδὲ συμμονύμενον οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας σώματι προσέρχεσθαι ποιότητας.

οὗκοιν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ θέρην ἐρεῖς, 

3 οὐ τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ ψυχρότητα, οὐ τὸ σκληρόν, οὐ τὸ μαλακόν ἀποδώσεως, οὐδὲ ἀλλὴν τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀφήν διαφοράν, οὗκοιν οὐδὲ γεύσιν οὐδὲ ὀδήμην, οὐκεί δὲ μόνον ὑποτίπτει πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ύπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ τοιαύτη φύσις ἀγομένη.

τὸ δὲ φῶς εἰδός ἐστιν ταύτης οἴον ἐλης ὑπεστρώμενης καὶ παρεκτενωμένης τοὺς σώμασιν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντος ἀσώματον ἀκρότης ἄν εἰθ τις καὶ ὄσπερ ἄνθος ἀκτίνες. ἦ μὲν οὖν τῶν Φοινίκων δόξα, σοφῶν τὰ θεία καὶ ἐπιστημώνων, ἀχραντον εἶναι ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθαροῦ νοῦ τὴν ἀπανταχῇ προϊόνσαν αὐγήν ἐφήν οὐκ ἀπαίδει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος, εἰτερ αὐτό τὸ φῶς ἀσώματον, εἰ τις αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πηγήν ὑπολάβοι σῶμα, νοῦ δὲ ἐνέργειαν ἀχραντον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐδραν ἐλλαμπτομένην, ἢ

1 After τοσούτων Hertlein suggests αὖτις.
2 cf. 138 B.
3 Aristotle, De Anima 418 A.
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for the visible gods\(^1\) of just as many blessings as we said mighty Helios bestows on the intellectual gods. And of this there are clear proofs for one who studies the unseen world in the light of things seen. For in the first place, is not light itself a sort of incorporeal and divine form of the transparent in a state of activity? And as for the transparent itself, whatever it is, since it is the underlying basis, so to speak, of all the elements, and is a form peculiarly belonging to them, it is not like the corporeal or compounded, nor does it admit qualities peculiar to corporeal substance.\(^2\) You will not therefore say that heat is a property of the transparent, or its opposite cold, nor will you assign to it hardness or softness or any other of the various attributes connected with touch or taste or smell; but a nature of this sort is obvious to sight alone, since it is brought into activity by light. And light is a form of this substance, so to speak, which is the substratum of and coextensive with the heavenly bodies. And of light, itself incorporeal, the culmination and flower, so to speak, is the sun’s rays. Now the doctrine of the Phoenicians, who were wise and learned in sacred lore, declared that the rays of light everywhere diffused are the undefiled incarnation of pure mind. And in harmony with this is our theory, seeing that light itself is incorporeal, if one should regard its fountainhead, not as corporeal, but as the undefiled activity of mind\(^3\) pouring light into its own abode: and this is

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

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

\(^3\) Mind, νοῦς, is here identified with Helios; cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 19. 9. Sol mundi mens est, “the sun is the
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tou pantos ouranov to meson ellyche, othe en epilamitousa paseis men eutoniias plhroi tois ouranious kiklous, panta de periallupthe theio kai akrahnto fwti. tata mnetoi en tois theois erga proionta par autou metriwos ge1 hemh olignh proteron eirhtai2 kai rhexhsetai met' ollhoun. osa de oromyen auti prwton ofe oinoma monon estin erghon tehtomenon, eimh prooslaboi thn ton phytos hemomikhn bohdeian. oratov de olhse eih an ti muth fwti prwton wssper ulh tevnti prosochven, iv oimai to eiados dehetai; kai gar to chrusinon aplois ointosi kechmenon esti mon chrusinon, ou mhn agalma oude eikwn, prin an o tevntis auti perithh thn morphh. oincoin kai osa pefxwv orhsbai muth xin fwti tois orosoi prosochmena tou oratov einai pantapason esthetai. didous syn tois te orhs to save orhmenos to orhsbai duo fuses eurigeia mhat telesioi, ofin kai oratov aib de telesiotes eida te eisai kai ovsia.

'Alla touto men idwos lepptoterov. de parakolousibmen eimpaantes, amatheis kai idiowtai, philosfoi kai lognoi, tina en to panti dynamin anisxhov echei kai katadumenos o theos; vuktai kai hemerai ergazetai kai meibsthisi fanerwos kai trepei to pavn. kaitoi tini touto 135.
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assigned to the middle of the whole firmament, whence it sheds its rays and fills the heavenly spheres with vigour of every kind and illumines all things with light divine and undefiled. Now the activities proceeding from it and exercised among the gods have been, in some measure at least, described by me a little earlier and will shortly be further spoken of. But all that we see merely with the sight at first is a name only, deprived of activity, unless we add thereto the guidance and aid of light. For what, speaking generally, could be seen, were it not first brought into touch with light in order that, I suppose, it may receive a form, as matter is brought under the hand of a craftsman? And indeed molten gold in the rough is simply gold, and not yet a statue or an image, until the craftsman give it its proper shape. So too all the objects of sight, unless they are brought under the eyes of the beholder together with light, are altogether deprived of visibility. Accordingly by giving the power of sight to those who see, and the power of being seen to the objects of sight, it brings to perfection, by means of a single activity, two faculties, namely vision and visibility.¹ And in forms and substance are expressed its perfecting powers.

However, this is perhaps somewhat subtle; but as for that guide whom we all follow, ignorant and unlearned, philosophers and rhetoricians, what power in the universe has this god when he rises and sets? Night and day he creates, and before our eyes changes and sways the universe. But to which of mind of the universe”; Iamblichus, Protrepticus 21, 115; Ammianus Marcellinus, 21. 1. 11.

¹ Julian echoes Plato, Republic 507, 508.

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tῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ὑπάρχει; πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἕκ
tούτων ἡδή καὶ περὶ τῶν θειοτέρων πιστεύομεν,
ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὰ υπὲρ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀφανῆ καὶ θεία
νοερῶν θεῶν γένη τῆς ἀγαθοειδοῦς ἀποπληροῦται
παρ’ αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, ὃ πᾶς μὲν ὑπείκει χορὸς
ἀστέρων, ἔπεται δὲ ἡ γένεσις ὑπὸ τῆς τούτου
κυβερνομένη προμηθείας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλάνητες

ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν ὤσπερ βασιλέα χορεύοντες ἐν
τοιού ὁρισμένοι πρὸς αὐτὸν διαστήμασιν ἀρμο-
διώτατα φέρονται κύκλῳ, στηριγμούς τινας
ποιούμενοι καὶ πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω πορείαν, ὡς οἱ
τῆς σφαιρικῆς ἐπιστήμους θεωρίας ὁμομάξουσι τὰ

περὶ αὐτοῦς φαινόμενα, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς σελήνης
αὔξεται καὶ λήγει φῶς, πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν

ῃλίων πάσχον, πάσι ποὺ δῆλον. πῶς οὖν οὐκ
εἰκότως καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῶν σωμάτων ἐν

τοῖς νοεροῖς θεῶι διακόσμησιν ὑπολαμβάνομεν

ἀνάλογον ἔχειν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τάξει;

Δάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀπαντῶν τὸ μὲν τελεσιουργὸν

ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀποφαίνειν ὅραν τὰ ὀρατικά·
teleioi γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς· τὸ δὲ δημιουρ-

γικὸν καὶ γόνιμον ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἕξωμα μετα-

βολῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐν ἐνι πάντων συνεκτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς

περὶ τὰς κινήσεις πρὸς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφωνίας,

τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέσου, τὸ δὲ τοῖς νοεροῖς

αὐτὸν ἐνιδρύσθαι βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πλανο-

μένοις μέσης τάξεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περὶ τινα

1 cf. 146 D. 
2 157 C.
3 αὐτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐαυτοῦ MSS.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

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

1 i.e. the stationary positions and the direct and retrograde movements of the planets.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

tῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν ὀρῶμεν θεῶν ἢ τοσάῦτα ἑτερα, μὴ τοι τούτῳ τῇ περὶ τοὺς θεούς ἡγεμονίαν προσνείμωμεν· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξω τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας, ἂς καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδίδωσι τοὺς πᾶσι, μαρτυράμενοι τοὺς τε Κυπρίων ἵερεῖς, οὗ κοινοὺς ἀποφαίνονσι βωμοὺς Ὅλῳ καὶ Διί, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐτι τῶν Ἀπόλλων ¹ συνεδρεύοντα τῷ θεῷ τῷ δὲ παρακαλέσαντες μάρτυρα· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος

Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς 'Αἴδης, εἰς Ὅλῳ ἐστι Σάραπις. 136 κοινὴν ὑπολάβωμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ μίαν Ὅλῳ καὶ Διὶ ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς δυναστείαν· οθεν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Πλάτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως φρόνιμον θεόν ᾿Αἰδην ὅνομάσαι. καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ Σάραπιν, τὸν Αἴδη δηλονότι καὶ νοερόν, πρὸς ὃν φησιν ² ἄνω πορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀριστα βιοσάντων καὶ δικαιότατα. μὴ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ὑπολάβη τούτον, ὃν οἱ μῦθοι πείθουσι φρήτεσιντ, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ μείλιχον, ὅς ἀπολύει παντελῶς τῆς γενέσεως τὰς ψυχὰς, αὐχεὶ δὲ λυθείσας αὐτὰς σώμασιν ἐτέροις προσηλοῖ ³ κολάζων καὶ πραττόμενος δίκασ, ἀλλὰ πορεύων ἄνω καὶ ἀνατείνων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμουν. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ νεαρὰ παντελῶς ἐστὶν ἢ δόξα, προύλαβον δὲ αὐτήν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ποιητῶν,
powers of similar importance, belong to any one of
the other visible deities, let us not assign to Helios
leadership among the gods. But if he has nothing
in common with those other gods except his bene-
ificent energy, and of this too he gives them all a
share, then let us call to witness the priests of
Cyprus who set up common altars to Helios and
Zeus; but even before them let us summon as
witness Apollo, who sits in council with our god.
For this god declares: "Zeus, Hades, Helios
Serapis, three gods in one godhead!" ¹ Let us
then assume that, among the intellectual gods,
Helios and Zeus have a joint or rather a single
sovereignty. Hence I think that with reason Plato
called Hades a wise god.² And we call this same
god Hades Serapis also, namely the Unseen³ and
Intellectual, to whom Plato says the souls of those
who have lived most righteously and justly mount
upwards. For let no one conceive of him as the
god whom the legends teach us to shudder at, but
as the mild and placable, since he completely frees
our souls from generation: and the souls that he has
thus freed he does not nail to other bodies, punish-
ing them and exacting penalties, but he carries aloft
and lifts up our souls to the intelligible world.
And that this doctrine is not wholly new, but that

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

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

³ Ἄνω, "Unseen."
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

"Ομηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, εἶτε καὶ νοεῦντες οὕτως εἶτε καὶ ἐπιπνοία θεία καθάπερ οἱ μάντεις εὐθυνο-
σίαντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐνθέν μὲν γίγνοιτο
γνώριμον. οὐ μὲν γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν Ἰταρίωνο
ἐφή καὶ Θείας, μόνον οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνεττόμενος
τοῦ πάντων ὑπερέχοντος αὐτὸν ἔκγονον
φύναι: οὐ γὰρ Ἰταρίων τὸς ἐτέρος εἰς παρὰ
τούτον; ἡ Θεία δὲ αὐτὴ τρόπον ἐτέρον οὐ τὸ
θειότατον τῶν ὄντων λέγεται; η δὲ συνδυασμὸν
μηδὲ γάμους ὑπολαιμβάνωμεν, ἀπιστα καὶ παρά-
δοξα ποιητικὴς μούσης ἀθύρματα. πατέρα δὲ
αὐτοῦ καὶ γεννήτορα νομίζωμεν τὸν θειότατον καὶ
ὑπέρτατον τοιοῦτος δὲ τὸς ἄλλος εἰς τοῦ
πάντων ἐπέκειναι καὶ περὶ δὲν πάντα καὶ οὐ ἐνεκα
πάντα ἐστίν; "Ομηρός δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
Ἰταρίωνα καλεῖ, καὶ δείκνυσι γε αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτε-
ξούσιον καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης κρέιττον. ο γὰρ τοῦ
Ζεὺς, ὡς ἐκεῖνος φησιν, ἀπάντων δὲν κύριος τοῦς
ἄλλους προσαναγκάζει: εὖ δὲ τῷ μῦθῳ τοῦ θεοῦ
τούδε λέγοντος, ὅτι ἄρα διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν
Ὀδυσσέως ἑταίρων ἀπολείψει τὸν ὁλυμποὺν.

Αὐτὴ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιν αὐτὴ τηθαλάσσῃ,
οὐδὲ ἀπειλεῖ δεσμὸν οὐδὲ βίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δίκην
φησιν ἐπιθήσεων τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἄξιοι
φαινεῖν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἄρ' οὖχὶ διὰ τούτων πρὸς
tὸ αὐτεξουσίῳ καὶ τελεσιουργὸν εἰναι φησι τὸν

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1 ἔκγονον MSS, ἔκγονον V, Hertlein.
2 δὲ τὸς ἄλλος Hertlein suggests, δὲ τὸς ἐν e1 MSS.
3 Iliad 8. 480; Odyssey 1. 8.
4 Odyssey 12. 383.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

\(^1\) Theogony 371; cf Pindar, Isthmian 4. 1.
\(^2\) Hyperion means “he that walks above.”
\(^3\) They had devoured the oxen of the sun; Odyssey 12. 352 foll.
\(^4\) Iliad. 8. 24; Zeus utters this threat against the gods if they should aid either the Trojans or the Greeks.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

"Ἡλιον; ἐπὶ τί γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ θεοὶ δέονται, πλὴν εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀφανῶς ἐναστράπτων ὑπ' ἐφαμεν ἁγαθῶν ἀποπληρωτικὸς τυγχάνοι; τὸ γὰρ

"Ηελίον τ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια "Ἡρη
Πέμψεν ἐπ' ᾽Οκεανοῖο ροᾶς ἄεκοντα νέεσθαι ¹
πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ φησι νομισθῆναι τὴν νύκτα διὰ τινα χαλεπὴν ὀμίχλην. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ θεὸς που, καὶ ἄλλοθι τῆς ποιήσεως φησιν,²

ἡρὰ δ' "Ἡρη
Πίτνα πρόσθε βαθείαν.

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν χαίρειν ἔσωμεν' ἔχει γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θείου πολὺ καὶ τανθρώπων; ἄ δε ἡμᾶς ἐοικεν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς διδάσκειν ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐκείνα ἡ διέλθομεν.

Ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ἔχει τὸς οὐν ἕστιν ὁ τὴν ἀδιότητα δωρούμενος αὐτῷ νομίζω, ἄρ' οὖν ὁ ταῦτα μέτρους ὑφισμένους συνέχων; ἀπειροῦ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν σώματος οὖν οἶον τ' ἴν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἀγέννητος ἐστὶ μηδὲ αὐθυπόστατος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας εἰ πάντως ἐγίνετο τι συνεχῶς, ἀνελύετο δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν μηδέν, ἐπέλειπεν ἄν τῶν γνωριμένων οὐσία. τὴν δ' τοιαύτην φύσιν ὁ θεὸς ὅσοι μέτρῳ κινούμενοι προσιῶν μὲν ὀρθοὶ καὶ ἐνείρει, πόρρω δὲ ἄπιων ἐλαττοί καὶ φθείρει, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ ξωοποιεῖ κινῶν καὶ ἐποχετεύων αὐτῇ τὴν ζωήν· ἡ δὲ ἀπόλειψις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πρὸς θάτερα μετάστασις αὕτια γίνεται φθορᾶς ¹ ²

¹ Iliad 18. 239. ² Iliad 21. 6.

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

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

1 Julian now describes the substance or essential nature, ὀθόνα, of Helios, 137 d–142 b.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

tois fthinouσων. aei μεν ουν ή παρ' αυτου των ἀγαθων δόσις ἵση κάτεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· ἄλλοτε γαρ ἄλλη δέχεται τὰ τοιαῦτα χώρα πρὸς τὸ μήτε τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιλείπειν μήτε τοῦ σύνηθους ποτὲ τὸν θεόν ἔλαττον ἢ πλέον εὑ ποιήσαι τὸν παθήτον κόσμον. ἢ γαρ ταυτότης ὡσπερ τῆς οὐσίας, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας εὖ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πρὸ γε τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί τῶν ὄλων Ήλίῳ, δς καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἀπλουστάτην ἕπερ ἀπαντάς ποιεῖται τοὺς τῷ παντὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν φερομένους· δι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπορχῆς αὐτοῦ σημείου ποιεῖται ὁ κλεινὸς Ἀριστοτέλης· ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων νοερῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀμυδραὶ καθήκουσιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τόνδε δυνάμεις. εἰτα τί τούτο; μὴ γαρ ἀποκλείομεν τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁμολογούντες δεδοσθαι; πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀξιοὺμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν πιστεύειν. ὡσπερ γαρ τὰς ἐνδιδομένας ἀπασιων έκείθεν δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν γῆν οὕτως φαίνεται τελεσιουργῶν καὶ συναρμόζων πρὸς τέαυτον καὶ τὸ πᾶν, οὕτω δὴ νομιστέον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀφανεῖσιν αὐτῶν τὰς συνουσίας ἡχεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν ἐκείνην, συμφωνούσας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὰς ἄλλας ἀμα. ἕπει καὶ, εἰ μέσον ἔφαμεν ἐν μέσοις ἰδρύσθαι τὸν θεόν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, ποταπῆ τις ἡ μεσότης ἐστὶν ὥν ἄχρη μέσου
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other direction is the cause of decay for things that perish. Ever does his gift of blessings descend evenly upon the earth. For now one country now another receives them, to the end that becoming may not cease nor the god ever benefit less or more than is his custom this changeful world. For same-
ness, as of being so also of activity, exists among the gods, and above all the others in the case of the King of the All, Helios; and he also makes the simplest movement of all the heavenly bodies that travel in a direction opposite to the whole. In fact this is the very thing that the celebrated Aristotle makes a proof of his superiority, compared with the others. Nevertheless from the other intellectual gods also, forces clearly discernible descend to this world. And now what does this mean? Are we not excluding the others when we assert that the leadership has been assigned to Helios? Nay, far rather do I think it right from the visible to have faith about the invisible. For even as this god is seen to complete and to adapt to himself and to the universe the powers that are bestowed on the earth from the other gods for all things, after the same fashion we must believe that among the invisible gods also there is intercourse with one another; his mode of intercourse being that of a leader, while the modes of intercourse of the others are at the same time in harmony with his. For since we said that the god is established midmost among the midmost intellectual gods, may King Helios himself grant to us to tell what is the nature of that middleness

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

2 cf. 133 D.
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αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἥμιν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεῖν "Ｈλιος δοίη.

Μεσότητα μὲν δὴ φαμεν οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις θεωρομένην ἵσον ἀφεστῶσαν τῶν ἀκρων, οἷον ἐπὶ χρωμάτων τὸ ξανθόν ἡ φαιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ τὸ χλαρόν, καὶ ὁσα τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνωτικὴν καὶ συνάγουσαν τὰ διεστώτα, ὅποιαν τινὰ φησιν Ἑμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἀρμονίαν ἐξορίζων αὐτῆς παντελῶς τὸ νεῖκος. τίνα οὖν ἦστιν, ἀ συνάγει, καὶ τίνων ἦστι μέσος; φημὶ δὴ οὖν ὃτι τῶν τε ἐμφανῶν καὶ περικοσμίων θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀύλων καὶ νοητῶν, οἳ περὶ τάγαθόν εἰσίν, ὡσπερ πολυπλασιαζομένης ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀνευ προσθήκης τῆς νοητῆς καὶ θείας οὐσίας. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἦστι μέση τις, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρων κραθεῖσα, τελεία δὲ καὶ ἀμυγῆς ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ ἀφανῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου νοερὰ καὶ πάγκαλος οὐσία, καὶ ὅποιαν τινὰ χρὴ τὴν μεσότητα νομίζειν, εἰρηται. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἵνα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ' εἰδὴ τὸ μέσον τῆς οὐσίας, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς τε τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταία, τὰ τελευταία Hertlein suggests, τελευταία MSS.

1 τὰ τελευταία Hertlein suggests, τελευταία MSS.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

among things of which we must regard him as the middle.

Now "middleness" ¹ we define not as that mean which in opposites is seen to be equally remote from the extremes, as, for instance, in colours, tawny or dusky, and warm in the case of hot and cold, and the like, but that which unifies and links together what is separate; for instance the sort of thing that Empedocles ² means by Harmony when from it he altogether eliminates Strife. And now what does Helios link together, and of what is he the middle? I assert then that he is midway between the visible gods who surround the universe and the immaterial and intelligible gods who surround the Good—for the intelligible and divine substance is as it were multiplied without external influence and without addition. For that the intellectual and wholly beautiful substance of King Helios is middle in the sense of being unmixed with extremes, complete in itself, and distinct from the whole number of the gods, visible and invisible, both those perceptible by sense and those which are intelligible only, I have already declared, and also in what sense we must conceive of his middleness. But if I must also describe these things one by one, in order that we may discern with our intelligence how his intermediary nature, in its various forms, is related both to the highest and the lowest, even though it is

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

"Εν παντελῶς τὸ νοητὸν ἀδιά προϋπάρχον, τὰ δὲ πάντα ὁμοί συνειληφός ἐν τῷ ἐνί. τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐν ἐστὶ ξοῦν ὁλον δι’ ὅλον ψυχής καὶ νου πλήρες, τέλειον ἐκ μερῶν τελείων; ταύτης οὐν τῆς διπλῆς ἐνοειδοῦς τελειότητος· φημὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ νοητῷ πάντα ἐν ἐνι συνεχούσης, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰς μέναν καὶ τὴν αὐτήν φύσιν τελείαν συναγομένης ἐνόσεως· ἡ τοῦ βασιλεῶς Ἡλίου μέση τελειότης ἐνοειδής ἐστιν, ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἰδρυμένη θεώς. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο συνοχῇ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τῶν θεῶν κόσμῳ πάντα πρὸς τὸ ἐν συντάττοσα. τί δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν φαίνεται κύκλῳ πορευομένη τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐσία; ἡ πάντα συνέχει τὰ μέρη καὶ σφίγγην πρὸς αὐτὰ συνέχουσα τὸ φύσει σκεδαστὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρέουν ἀπ’ ἄλληλων; δύο δὴ ταύτας τὰς οὐσίας συνοχῆς αἰτίας, τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς φαινομένην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡλίος εἰς ταῦτο συν-

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

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

Wholly one is the intelligible world, pre-existent from all time, and it combines all things together in the One. Again is not our whole world also one complete living organism, wholly throughout the whole of it full of soul and intelligence, "perfect, with all its parts perfect"? Midway then between this uniform two-fold perfection—I mean that one kind of unity holds together in one all that exists in the intelligible world, while the other kind of unity unites in the visible world all things into one and the same perfect nature—between these, I say, is the uniform perfection of King Helios, established among the intellectual gods. There is, however, next in order, a sort of binding force in the intelligible world of the gods, which orders all things into one. Again is there not visible in the heavens also, travelling in its orbit, the nature of the Fifth Substance, which links and compresses\(^1\) together all the parts, holding together things that by nature are prone to scatter and to fall away from one another? These existences, therefore, which are two causes of connection, one in the intelligible world, while the other appears in the world of sense-perception, King Helios combines into one, imitating the synthetic power of the former among the intellectual gods, seeing that he proceeds from it, and subsisting prior to the latter which is seen in the visible world. Then must not the

\(^1\) cf. 167 D. In *Timaeus* 58 a it is the revolution of the whole which by constriction compresses all matter together, but Julian had that passage in mind. In Empedocles it is the Titan, Aether, i.e. the Fifth Substance, that “binds the globe.” *fr.* 38 Diels.
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αὐθυπόστατον πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ὑπάρχον, τελευταίον δὲ ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένωι μέσην ἔχει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως οὐσίαν αὐθυπόστατον Ἡλίου, ἂφ’ ἕς κάτεισθι οὐσίας πρωτουργοῦ εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἢ περιλάμπουσα τὰ σύμπαντα αὐγῆ; πάλιν δὲ καὶ ἀλλο σκοποῦντι εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ’ οὐρανὸν περιπολούντες δημιουργικοὶ θεοὶ, μέσην ἄρα καὶ τούτων τὴν ἂφ’ Ἡλίου καθήκουσαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον δημιουργίαν θετέον. ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς πολὺ μὲν Β καὶ ὑπέρπληρες ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, φαίνεται δὲ ζωῆς γονίμου καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὃν πλήρησ. πρόδηλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου τῆς ζωῆς μέσον ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τελειῶτών εἰδῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐργάζεται, τὰ δὲ κοσμεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀνεγείρει, καὶ ἐν οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ὃ δίχα τῆς ἂφ’ Ἡλίου δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως εἰς φῶς πρόεισι καὶ γένεσιν. ξυπό τούτως Κ ἐν τῷ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν άνυλον οὐσίαν νοήσαμεν, οὐδεμέν ἐξωθεὶν αὐτῇ προσιόντος οὐδὲ ἐνυπάρχοντος ἀλλοτρίου, πλήρη δὲ τῆς οἰκείας ἄχραντου καθαρότητος, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ
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unconditioned also, which exists primarily in the intelligible world, and finally among the visible bodies in the heavens, possess midway between these two the unconditioned substance of King Helios, and from that primary creative substance do not the rays of his light, illumining all things, descend to the visible world? Again, to take another point of view, the creator of the whole is one, but many are the creative gods 1 who revolve in the heavens. Midmost therefore of these also we must place the creative activity which descends into the world from Helios. But also the power of generating life is abundant and overflowing in the intelligible world; and our world also appears to be full of generative life. It is therefore evident that the life-generating power of King Helios also is midway between both the worlds: and the phenomena of our world also bear witness to this. For some forms he perfects, others he makes, or adorns, or wakes to life, and there is no single thing which, apart from the creative power derived from Helios, can come to light and to birth. And further, besides this, if we should comprehend the pure and undefiled and immaterial substance 2 among the intelligible gods—to which nothing external is added, nor has any alien thing a place therein, but it is filled with its own unstained

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

2 Julian now describes the three kinds of substance (οὐσία) and its three forms (εἴδη) in the three worlds.
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κόσμῳ περὶ τὸ κύκλῳ φερόμενον σῶμα πρὸς πάντα ἠμιγῇ τὰ στοιχεῖα λίαν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν φύσιν ἀχράντου καὶ δαίμονίου σώματος, εὐρη- σομεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου λαμπρὰν καὶ ἄκρηστον οὐσίαν ἁμφοῖν μέσην, τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἁύλου καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἀχράντου καὶ ἁμιγοῦς πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν καθαρᾶς εἰλικρινείας. μέγιστον δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ φῶς, ὅ μάλιστα ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ γῆν φέρεται, συμμίγνυται τίνι μηδὲ ἀναδέχεται ῥύπον καὶ μίασμα, μένει δὲ πάντως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὐσίων ἀχράντοι καὶ ἁμόλυντον καὶ ἀπαθέσις.

Ἐτὶ δὲ προσεκτέων τοῖς ἁύλοις εἰδεσθι καὶ νοητοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ὅσα περὶ τὴν ἔληγεν ἐστὶν ἢ περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἀναφανῆται πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μέσον τὸ νοερὸν τῶν περὶ τῶν μέγαν Ἡλίου εἰδῶν, ὃφ' ὅν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔληγεν εἴδη βοηθεῖται μῆποτε ἀν δυνηθέντα μήτε εἶναι μήτε σώζεσθαι μή παρ' ἐκείνον. πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν συνεργούμενα. τί γάρ; οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶ τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ συγκρίσεως τῆς ἔλης αἰτίος, οὔ ποτε ἢμῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρε- χών, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅραν ὁμοσιν; ἡ γάρ τοι τῶν

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purity—and if we should comprehend also the pure and unmixed nature of unstained and divine substance, whose elements are wholly unmixed, and which, in the visible universe, surrounds the substance that revolves,\(^1\) here also we should discover the radiant and stainless substance of King Helios, midway between the two; that is to say, midway between the immaterial purity that exists among the intelligible gods, and that perfect purity, unstained and free from birth and death, that exists in the world which we can perceive. And the greatest proof of this is that not even the light which comes down nearest to the earth from the sun is mixed with anything, nor does it admit dirt and defilement, but remains wholly pure and without stain and free from external influences among all existing things.

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

\(^1\) i.e. the visible heavenly bodies.

\(^2\) Helios connects the forms (Plato's Ideas) which exist in the intelligible world, with those which in our world ally themselves with matter; cf. Oration 5. 171 b.
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ἀκτίνων εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον διανομή καὶ ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἔνωσις τὴν δημιουργικὴν ἐνδείκνυται διά- κρισιν τῆς ποιήσεως.

Πολλάν δὲ ὄντων ἔτι περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἰδὲ δὴ μέσος ἕστι τῶν τε νοητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν παράστησιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῦ μετώπου ἐμφανῆ λήξιν. πρῶτη μὲν οὖν έστιν αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν τελευταίον κόσμον ἡ τῶν ἥλιακῶν ἀγγέλων οἶον ἐν παραδείγματι τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχουσα. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ή τῶν αἰσθητῶν γεννητικῆ, ἥς τὸ μὲν C τιμώτερον οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστέρων ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ ύποδέστερον ἐπιτροπεύει τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ αἰδίου περιέχον αὐτῆς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν. ἀπαντά μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἔρκεσθαι οὐδὲ εἰ τῷ δοῖρο νοῆσαι αὐτὰν 1 ὁ θεὸς οὕτως δυνατόν, διότι καὶ τὰ πάντα περιλαβεῖν τῷ νῷ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἀδύνατον.

'Επει δὲ πολλὰ διεληλύθαμεν, ἔπιθετέον ὡσπερ σφραγίδα τῷ λόγῳ ταῦτα μελλοντας ἐφ' ἔτερα μεταβαίνειν οὐκ ἐλάττονος τῆς θεωρίας δεόμενα. τίς D οὖν ἡ σφραγίς καὶ οἶον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τὰ πάντα περιλαμβάνουσα ἡ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἔπι νοῦν θείη βουλομένους ἐν βραχεί συνελείῳ τὴν τε αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἡς προῆλθε,

1 αὐτὰ V, αὐτὸς MSS, Hertlein.

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his rays over the whole universe, and the unifying power of his light, prove him to be the master workman who gives an individual existence to everything that is created.

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

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

1 i.e. the heavenly bodies.

2 These angels combine, as does a model, the idea and its hypostazisation; cf. 142 A, Letter to the Athenians 275 B. Julian nowhere defines angels, but Porphyry as quoted by Augustine, De civitate Dei 10, 9, distinguished them from daemons and placed them in the aether.
καὶ αὐτὸς ὂστις ἔστι, τίνων τε ἀποπληροῖ τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμου. ῥητέον οὖν ὃς ἐξ ἐνὸς μὲν προ- ἴθη τοῦ θεοῦ οἷς ἄφ’ ἐνὸς τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς Ὑλίως, τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν μέσος ἐν μέσοις τεταγμένος κατὰ παντοίαν μεσότητα, τὴν ὀμό- φρονα καὶ φίλην καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα συνάγουσαν, εἰς ἔνωσιν ἄγων τὰ τελευταία τοῖς πρώτοις, τελειότητος καὶ συνοχῆς καὶ γονίμου ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἐνοειδοὺς οὐσίας τὰ μέσα ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ τε αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ παντοίων ἁγαθῶν προηγούμενος, οὗ μόνου δὲ ἂς αὐτὸς αὐγης περιλάμπει κοσμὸν καὶ φαιδρόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἁγγέλων ἑαυτῷ συνυποστῆσας καὶ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων περί ἑκον, ἔτει τε Β πρὸ ταύτης τῶν ἀδίων σωμάτων τὴν ἀγήρω καὶ μόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς αἰτίαν.

"Α μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἔχρην εἰπείν τοῦ θεοῦ τούδε, καίτοι τῶν πλείστων παραλειφθέντων, εἴρηται όμως οὐκ ὅλγα· ἔπει δὲ τὸ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐνεργείων κάλλος τοσοῦ- τῶν ἔστιν, ὅστε εἶναι τῶν περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ θεωρουμένων ὑπερβολήν, ἔπει καὶ πέφυκε τὰ θεία προϊόντα εἰς τὸ ἐμφανές πληθύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ περί ὑπὸ καὶ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς, ὅρα τι δράσομεν, οὗ

1 προηγούμενος V, προκαθηγούμενος MSS, Hertlein.
2 cf. 141 B.
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brief summary both the cause from which he proceeded, and his own nature, and those blessings with which he fills the visible world. This then we must declare, that King Helios is One and proceeds from one god, even from the intelligible world which is itself One; and that he is midmost of the intellectual gods, stationed in their midst by every kind of mediateness that is harmonious and friendly, and that joins what is sundered; and that he brings together into one the last and the first, having in his own person the means of completeness, of connection, of generative life and of uniform being; and that for the world which we can perceive he initiates blessings of all sorts, not only by means of the light with which he illumines it, adorning it and giving it its splendour, but also because he calls into existence, along with himself, the substance of the Sun’s angels; and that finally in himself he comprehends the ungenerated cause of things generated, and further, and prior to this, the ageless and abiding cause of the life of the imperishable bodies.\(^1\)

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

\(^1\) *i.e.* the heavenly bodies; cf. *Fragment of a Letter 295 A.*

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πρὸς ἀχανὲς πέλαγος ἀποδυνόμεθα, μόγις καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι λόγου. τολμητέον δ’ ὅμως τῷ θεῷ θαρροῦντα καὶ πειρατέον ἀψασθαι τοῦ λόγου.

Κοινῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσήκειν ὑποληπτέον. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἔστιν οὐσία θεοῦ, δύναμις δὲ ἄλλο, καὶ μᾶ Δία τρίτον παρὰ ταύτα ἐνεργεία.

πάντα γὰρ ἀπερ βούλεται, ταῦτα ἐστὶ καὶ δύναται καὶ ἐνεργεῖ. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ μὴ ἔστι βούλεται, οὔτε ὁ βούλεται δρᾶν οὐ σθένει, οὔθ’ ὁ μὴ δύναται ἐνεργεῖν ἐδελεί. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπόν οὐχ ὅδε ἔχει· διότι γὰρ ἔστι μαχομένη φύσις εἰς ἐν κεκραμένη ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τῆς μὲν θείας, τοῦ δὲ σκοτεινοῦ τε καὶ ξοφώδους· ἐοικε τε εἰναι μάχη τις καὶ στάσις. ἔπει καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησι 1 διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο μήτε τὰς ἡδονὰς ὁμολογεῖν μήτε τὰς λύπας ἀλλήλαις ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ γὰρ θατέρα, φησι, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν φύσεων ἡδυ τῇ πρὸς ταύτῃν ἀντικειμένη πέφυκεν ἀλληγείν ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδέν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον 2 οὐσία γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει τάγαθα καὶ διηνεκῶς, οὐ ποτὲ μὲν, ποτὲ δ’ οὐ. πρῶτον οὖν ὅσπερ ἐφαμεν, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ παραστίησαι βουλόμενοι, ταύθ’ ἡμῖν εἰρήσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐνεργείων νομιστέον. ἔπει δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὁ λόγος ἔσχεν ἀντιστρέφειν, οὐσα καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργείων ἐφεξῆς σκοτοῦμεν, ταύτα οὖν ἔργα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσίαν νομιστέον. εἰσὶν γὰρ τοι

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

We must assume that what has just been said about his substance applies equally to his powers.\(^1\) For it cannot be that a god's substance is one thing, and his power another, and his activity, by Zeus, a third thing besides these. For all that he wills he is, and can do, and puts into action. For he does not will what is not, nor does he lack power to do what he wills, nor does he desire to put into action what he cannot. In the case of a human being, however, this is otherwise. For his is a two-fold contending nature of soul and body compounded into one, the former divine, the latter dark and clouded. Naturally, therefore, there is a battle and a feud between them. And Aristotle also says that this is why neither the pleasures nor the pains in us harmonise with one another. For he says that what is pleasant to one of the natures within us is painful to the nature which is its opposite. But among the gods there is nothing of this sort. For from their very nature what is good belongs to them, and perpetually, not intermittently. In the first place, then, all that I said when I tried to show forth his substance, I must be considered to have said about his powers and activities also. And since in such cases the argument is naturally convertible, all that I observe next in order concerning his powers and activities must be considered to apply not to his activities only, but to his substance also. For verily there

\(^1\) The powers and activities of Helios are now described, 142 D–152 A.
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θεοὶ συγγενεῖς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συμφυεῖς, τὴν ἀχραντὸν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κορυφούμενοι, πληθυνόμενοι μὲν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ ἐνοειδῶς ὄντες. ἄκουε δὴ πρὸ τοῦ ὁσα φασίν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐχ ὀστερὸν ὑποτεῖ καὶ βοές ὁρῶντες ἢ τὶ τῶν ἀλώγων καὶ ἀμαθῶν ζώων, ἀλλ’ εὖ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀφανή πολυπραγμονούντες φύσιν ἔτη δὲ πρὸ τούτων, εἰ σοι φίλοι, περὶ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ C καὶ ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ἐκ μυρίων τὸ πλῆθος ὁλύγα θέασαι.

Πρώτη δὴ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, δι’ ἢς ὅλην δι’ ἴλης τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν, τὰς ἀκρότητας αὐτῆς εἰς ἐν καὶ ταύτῳ συνάγων, ἀποφαίνει μίαν. ὅσπερ γὰρ περὶ τὸν αἰσθητόν ἐστι κόσμων ἐναργῶς κατανοήσαι, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς εἰλημμένου ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν μέσῳ, τῶν ἄκρων σύνδεσμον, τούτῳ οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων D αἰτίας κεχωρισμένης, ἢ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχουσα τὴν ἄρχην οὐκ ἐστὶ γένεσις, οὕτω διατετάχθαι νομισμένει, ὡστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τὰς ἄκρας αἰτίας κεχωρισμένας πάντα τῶν σωμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν μεσοτήτων εἰς ταύτῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου συναγωμένας ἐνοῦσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν; συντρέχει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ή των Διὸς δημιουργική δύναμις, δι’ ἢν ἔφαμεν καὶ πρῶτον ἱδρύσατι τε αὐτοῖς ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἀποδεδήχθαι κοινῇ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐμαρτυρόμεθα τῶν λόγων, ὅν εἰκός δήποθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἕαυτος φύσεως ἀμεινον εἰδέναι.
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gods related to Helios and of like substance who sum up the stainless nature of this god, and though in the visible world they are plural, in him they are one. And now listen first to what they assert who look at the heavens, not like horses and cattle, or some other unreasoning and ignorant animal, but from it draw their conclusions about the unseen world. But even before this, if you please, consider his supra-mundane powers and activities, and out of a countless number, observe but a few.

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

1 cf. 148 c, Timaeus 47 a, Republic 529 b, where Plato distinguishes mere star-gazing from astronomy.

2 Timaeus 32 b; Plato says that to make the universe solid, "God set air and water between fire and earth."

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σύνεστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Ἡλίφ καὶ ἐπικοινώνει διὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων καὶ τὸ μόνιμον τῆς οὐσίας καὶ κατὰ ταύτα δὲ τῆς ἑνεργείας.

'Αλλὰ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημοφιλίαν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται χωρίζων ὁ θεὸς Ἡλίου τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὴν ὑποτάττων ἀεὶ καὶ ἀποφαίνων σύνθρονον εξηγητὴς ἤμων ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καλλίστων διανοημάτων. πάσας δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχων ὁ θεὸς Β ὁδὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς καλλίστης νοερᾶς συγκράσεως Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἑστὶ Μουσηγήτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλην ἤμων τὴν τῆς εὐταξίας ζωὴν συμπληροῖ, γεννᾶ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιίον, ἔχει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου παρ' ἑαυτῷ.

'Αλλὰ πολλάς μὲν ἂν τις καὶ ἅλλας περὶ τὸν θεοῦ τόνδε δυνάμεις θεωρῶν οὕτων ἡ ἐφίκειτο πασῶν ἀπόχρη δὲ τῆς μὲν χωριστής καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἑπὶ αὐτῶν οἷμαι τῶν αἰτίων, αἰ κεχωρίσμεναι τῇς φανερᾶς προὔπαρχοις δημοφιλεῖς, ἵσην Ἡλίφ καὶ Δί τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ μίαν Σ ὑπάρχουσαν τεθεωρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων μετὰ τοῦ διαιωνούν καὶ κατὰ ταύτα μονίμου ξῦν Ἀπόλλωνι τεθεαμένοις, τὸ δὲ μεριστῶν τῆς

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1 διὰ τὴν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τὴν MSS.
2 cf. 144 c.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

But Apollo too in no case appears to separate the dividing creative function of Dionysus\(^1\) from Helios. And since he always subordinates it to Helios and so indicates that Dionysus\(^2\) is his partner on the throne, Apollo is the interpreter for us of the fairest purposes that are to be found with our god. Further Helios, since he comprehends in himself all the principles of the fairest intellectual synthesis, is himself Apollo the leader of the Muses. And since he fills the whole of our life with fair order, he begat Asclepios\(^3\) in the world, though even before the beginning of the world he had him by his side.

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

\(^1\) cf. 144 c. 179 a; Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 203 e, says that because Dionysus was torn asunder by the Titans, his function is to divide wholes into their parts and to separate the forms (*e\(\varepsilon\)\(\nu\)\(\eta\)*).

\(^2\) Julian calls Dionysus the son of Helios 152 c, d, and the son of Zeus, *Oration* 5. 179 b.

\(^3\) cf. 153 b, where Asclepios is called "the saviour of the All," and *Against the Christians* 200 a.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δημιουργίας μετὰ τοῦ τὴν μερισθῆν ἐπιτροπεύον-
tos οὐσίαν Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ τῆς καλλίστης
συμμετρίας καὶ νοερᾶς κράσεως περὶ τὴν τοῦ
Μουσηγέτου δύναμιν τεθεωρηκόσι, τὸ συμπλη-
ροῦν δὲ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς ὁλῆς ζωῆς ξύν Ἀσκλη-
pινί πνεύματι.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προκοσμίων αὐτοῦ ἰ
δυνάμεων, ἔργα δὲ ὁμοταγὴ ταύταις ὑπὲρ τὸν
ἐμφανὴ κόσμου ἢ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀποπλήρωσις.
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ γνήσιος ἐκγονος1 τάγαθο, παρα-
δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τελείαν τὴν ἁγάθην μοίραν,
αὐτὸς ἀπασὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς διανέμει τινὰς, ἁγαθο-
εργὸν καὶ τελείαν αὐτοὺς διδοὺς τὴν οὐσίαν. ἐν
μὲν δὴ τουτί. δεύτερον δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ
τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτωι
εἰδεσι τελειωτάτη διανομή. τῆς χάρι ἐν τῇ φύσει
φαινομένης οὐσίας γονίμου γεννᾶν ἐφιεμένης ἐν τῷ
καλῷ καὶ ὑπεκτίθεσθαι τὸν τόκον, ἐτι ἁνάγκη
προηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κάλλει τούτῳ αὐτῷ
diaimowén kai aéi poiouíasan, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν,
eisasthí kai ou, kai polè mēn genwníasan, aúthi de
ágnon. ὅσα γὰρ ἑνταῦθα ποτέ καλά, τάυτα ἐν
toísi νοητοῖς aéi. ῥητέον τοίνυн αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν τοῖς
φαινομένοις αἰτίας γονίμου προκαθηγείσθαι τῶν ἐν
tói νοερῷ καὶ διαμωνῷ κάλλει τόκον ἁγέννητον, δυ
ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὑποστήσας, δὲ κα
τὸν τέλειον νοῦν διανέμει, καθάπερ οἵμασιν ἐνδι-

1 ἐκγονος MSS, ἔγγονος V, Hertlein.

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

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

1 The sun. 2 Plato, Symposium 206 β τόκος ἐν καλῇ. 3 i.e. Intellectual Helios. 4 i.e. Intelligible Helios.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

dοὺς διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς\(^1\) διὰ τοῦ νοεροῦ παραδείγματος, ὃ προτείνει
tολὴ φανότερον τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς, πάσιν οἶμαι
tοῖς νοερώς τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι παρέχει.

ἐτέρα πρὸς ταύτας ἐνέργεια θαυμαστὴ φαίνεται. Κε
περὶ τῶν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ἡλιον ἡ τοῖς κρείτ-
tοσὶ γένεσιν ἐνδιδομένη μοῖρα βελτίων, ἀγγέλοις,\(^2\)
dαιμοσιν, ἡρωι ψυχαῖς τε μερισταῖς, ὅπόσαι
μένουσιν ἐν παραδείγματος καὶ ἱδέας λόγῳ,
μήποτε ἑαυτᾶς διδοῦσαι σώματι. τὴν μὲν ὅνυν
προκόσμιον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεις τε αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἔργα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑμοῦντες Ἡλιον,
ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμῖν οἶλον τε ἂν ἐφικέσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν
ἐυφημίας σπεύδουστε, διεληλύθαμεν. ἦπεὶ δὲ
ὄμματα, φησίν, ἀκοῆς ἐστι πιστότερα, καίτοι τῆς
νοήσεως ὄντα γε ἀπιστότερα καὶ ἀσθενέστερα,
φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς αὐτοῦ δημοσιγίας
αἰτησάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μετρίως εἰπείν
πειραθῶμεν.

Τῇ ἐπέστη μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ φαινόμενος ἐξ
αἰώνος κόσμος, ἔδραν δὲ ἔχει τὸ περικόσμιον φῶς
ἐξ αἰώνος, οὐχὶ ὑπὲρ μὲν, τότε δὲ οὔ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοτε
ἄλλως, ἀεὶ δὲ ὦσαύτως. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ταύτην τὴν

\(^1\) νοητοῖς Petavius adds.
\(^2\) cf. 141 B, Letter to the Athenians 275 B.

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For just as through his light he gives sight to our eyes, so also among the intelligible gods through his intellectual counterpart—which he causes to shine far more brightly than his rays in our upper air—he bestows, as I believe, on all the intellectual gods the faculty of thought and of being comprehended by thought. Besides these, another marvellous activity of Helios the King of the All is that by which he endows with superior lot the nobler races—I mean angels, daemons,¹ heroes, and those divided souls² which remain in the category of model and archetype and never give themselves over to bodies. I have now described the substance of our god that is prior to the world and his powers and activities, celebrating Helios the King of the All in so far as it was possible for me to compass his praise. But since eyes, as the saying goes, are more trustworthy than hearing—although they are of course less trustworthy and weaker than the intelligence—come, let me endeavour to tell also of his visible creative function; but let first me entreat him to grant that I speak with some measure of success.

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

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

² i.e. the individual souls; by using this term, derived from the Neo-Platonists and Iamblichus, Julian implies that there is an indivisible world soul; cf. Plotinus 4. 8. 8 ἡ μὲν ἀλη (ψυχή) . . . αἱ δὲ ἐν μέρει γενόμεναι.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

diaimóion phúsín aírhois epiñoías ἐξελήσεις χρωμικώς κατανοήσαι, tôn basileía tôn ólwn Ἡλιον 146 ἄθροώς καταλάμποντα ράστα ἀν γνοή, πόσων αἰτίος ἄστι δι’ αἰώνος ἀγαθῶν τῷ κόσμῳ. οἶδα μὲν οὖν καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν μέγαν καὶ μετὰ τούτον ἄνδρα τοῖς χρόνοις, οὕτω μὴ τῇ φύσει καταδεικτερον τὸν Χαλκίδεα φημί, τὸν Ἰάμβλιχον· ὅς ἦμας τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐμύησεν, ἄχρις ὑποθέσεως τῷ γεννητῷ προσχρωμένους καὶ οίωνει χρωμίκης τινα τὴν ποίησιν ὑποτιθεμένους, ἵνα τὸ μέγεθος τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένων ἔργων ἐπινοηθείη. πλὴν ἅλλ’ ἔμουγε τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπολειπομένῳ παντάπασι δυνάμεως οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶ παρακινδυνεύτεον, ἔπειτέρ ἀκίνδυνον οὔδ’ αὐτὸ τὸ μέχρι ψυλῆς ὑποθέσεως χρωμίκης τινα περὶ τῶν κόσμων ὑποθέσθαι ποίησιν ὁ κλεινὸς ἢρως ἐνόμισεν Ἰάμβλιχος. πλὴν ἅλλ’ ἔπειτέρ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ αἰώνιου προῆλθεν αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ προῆγαγε πάντα ἐξ αἰῶνος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἵματος τὰ φανερὰ βουλήσει θεία καὶ ἀρρήτω τάχει καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δυνάμει πάντα ἄθροώς ἐν τῷ νῦν ἀπογεννήσας χρόνῳ, ἀπεκληρώσατο μὲν οἷον οἰκειοτέραν ἔδραν τὸ μέσον οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἵσα διανέμη τάγαθὰ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ προελθοῦσι θεοῖς, ἐπιτροπεύῃ δὲ τὰς ἐπτὰ καὶ τὴν ὀγδόην

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if one desired to comprehend, as far as the mind may, this eternal nature from the point of view of time, one would understand most easily of how many blessings for the world throughout eternity he is the cause, even Helios he King of the All who shines without cessation. Now I am aware that the great philosopher Plato,¹ and after him a man who, though he is later in time, is by no means inferior to him in genius—I mean Iamblichus² of Chalcis, who through his writings initiated me not only into other philosophic doctrines but these also—I am aware, I say, that they employed as a hypothesis the conception of a generated world, and assumed for it, so to speak, a creation in time in order that the magnitude of the works that arise from Helios might be recognised. But apart from the fact that I fall short altogether of their ability, I must by no means be so rash; especially since the glorious hero Iamblichus thought it was not without risk to assume, even as a bare hypothesis, a temporal limit for the creation of the world. Nay rather, the god came forth from an eternal cause, or rather brought forth all things from everlasting, engendering by his divine will and with untold speed and unsurpassed power, from the invisible all things now visible in present time. And then he assigned as his own station the mid-heavens, in order that from all sides he may bestow equal blessings on the gods who came forth by his agency and in company with him; and that he may guide the seven spheres³ in the heavens and the eighth

¹ *Timaeus* 37 c; when the Creator had made the universe, he invented Time as an attribute of “divided substance.”
² For Julian’s debt to Iamblichus cf. 150 D, 157 B, C.
³ Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Helios, Aphrodite, Hermes, Selene are the seven planets; cf. 149 D. Though Helios guides the others he is counted with them.
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οὐρανοῦ κυκλοφορίαν, ἐνάτην τε οἶμαι δημοუρ-
γίαν τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾶ συνεχεῖ διαμονίως
ἀνακυκλουμένην γένεσιν. οἳ τε γὰρ πλάνητες
εὐδηλον ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν χορεύοντες μέτρου ἔχουσι
τῆς κινήσεως τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τόνδε τοιάνδε
περὶ τὰ σχήματα συμφωνίαν, δὲ τὸ ὅλος οὐρανός
αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα συναρμοζόμενος ἐαυτοῦ τὰ
μέρη θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἡλίου πλήρης. ἔστι
γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔδει πέντε μὲν κύκλων ἄρχων κατ'
οὐρανόν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπὶ ὑπὸ ἐν τρισὶ
τρεῖς γεννᾶ τὰς χάριτας: οἱ λειπόμενοι δὲ
μεγάλης ἀνάγκης εἰσὶ πλάστιγγες. ἀξίων
ἐσως λέγω τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, ὡσπερ δέον μόνον τὰ
συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα λέγειν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τούτῳ
ἔστιν, ὡς ἀν τις ὑπολάβοι, παντελῶς ξένου. οἱ
Διόσκουροι τίνες υμῶν εἰσίν, ὃ σοφώτατοι καὶ
ἀβασανίστως τὰ πολλὰ παραδεχόμενοι; οὐχ
ἐτερήμεροι τὸ λέγονται, διότι μὴ θέμις ὅρασθαι τῆς
αὐτῆς ἡμέρας; ὥσπερ ὁπως ἀκούστη εὐδηλον ὅτι
τῆς χθές καὶ τῆμερον. εἶτα τί νοεῖ τούτο, πρὸς
αὐτῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων; ἐφαρμόσωμεν αὐτὸ φύσει

1 Odyssey 11, 303; Philo Judaeus, De Decalogo 2. 190, τὸν
τα οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίρια τῷ λόγῳ διήκονε διανείμασαι, τὸ μὲν ὅπερ
γῆς τὸ δ’ ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκούροις ἐκάλεσαν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐτερημέρου
ἐοίς αὐτῶν προστερατευσόμενοι διήγημα.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

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

2 The Graces are often associated with Spring; Julian seems to be describing obscurely the annual course of the sun. Necessity played an important part in the cult of Mithras and was sometimes identified with the constellation Virgo who holds the scales of Justice.

3 For the adoption of the Dioscuri into the Mithraic cult see Cumont. Julian does not give his own view, though he rejects that of the later Greek astronomers. Macrobius, Saturnalia 1. 21. 22 identifies them with the sun.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

tiwi kal praqmati, keqon 1 Vìna miqêvn miqde anôton B
lêgômen. ìlll oûk òn éuqêmen ákriqôs ëxetá-
qontes: oûdê gâr òs òpêlaxbôn eîrqêstai tînes prôs
tôv theolôgôn ëmûsfairia toû pàntos tâ òdo
lôgon éxei tîwâ: pôs gâr èstiv ëterêmêrou aûtûw
èkastôn oûdê èpînoqai râdion, ëmêras èkásthès
änepaiaqhtou tîs katâ tôv fwtísômôn aûtûw
parauqêseis ëgwnomênis. skêqômêda de òvîn ùpêr
òw aûtôl kainotomêin ïswôs tî phokûmen. tîs
aûtîs ëmêras èkêinoi metêqhein òrôðâs ãn rîqheîn,
oîpósos ïsos èstiv ò tîs ùpêr gêvn ëlîon porèias
chrônôs èn ëvî kal tî ph aûtô plhîni. òrâtow tîs òvîn, ei
mê tî ëterêmêrou toûs kûklois êfârmôqei toûs te
ûllois kai toûs trôpîkoi. ùpôlîqetai tîs: oûk
ìsou èstiv. oî mêv gâr ãêî fâînovtai, kai toûs
tîn antrísqioi oíkoûsi gêvn ãmphonêrôs ãmphonêrôi,
têw de oî thêteron èrôvneto oûdâmôs òrôwòs thêteron.

'Alìq ìna miq plêqw peri tôv aûtûw lêgôn
âiâtrîbôw, tàs trôpîas êrgaûqomênes, òsper ïsmev,
patêr òrôwò èstiv, oûk ápקולîpewô de oûdâmôs
têw tôlouis 'Qkeanôs ãn eîq, diquqêh ëgêmôn
ôûsias. mêv ãsafês tî kai tôto lêgômen,
êpîqôper prô ëhmôv aûtô kai 'Ômêros èfêq:

'Qkeanôv, òsper gênesis pàntesqî téntuktaî,2
bhnêq por thevô phô, òs ãn aûtôs phâq, makàrouv;

1 kûnd Hertlein suggests, kauvd Mb, kuâvd MSS.
2 Iliad 14. 246.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

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

¹ i.e. the torrid zone. On the equator in the winter months shadows fall due north at noon, in the summer months due south; this is more or less true of the whole torrid zone; cf. ἄμφισκιος which has the same meaning.
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ἀληθῶς. ἐν γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὁ μὴ 148 τῆς Ὡκεανοῦ πέφυκεν οὐσίας ἐκχονον. ἀλλὰ τὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς πόλους; βούλει σοι φράσω; καίτοι σιωπᾶσθαι κρείσσον ἦν εἰρήσεται δὲ ὅµως.

Δέγεται γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἑτοίμως ἀποδεχονται, ὁ δίσκος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστρου φέρεσθαι πολὺ τῆς ἀπλανοῦσ υψηλότερος. καὶ οὕτω δὴ 1 τῶν μὲν πλανωμένων οὐχ ἔξει τὸ μέσον, τριῶν δὲ τῶν κόσμων κατὰ τὰς τελεστικὰς ὑποθέσεις, εἰ χρὴ τὰ Β τοιαῦτα καλεῖν ὑποθέσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῦτα μὲν δόγματα, τὰ δὲ τῶν σφαιρικῶν ὑποθέσεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεῶν ἢ δαίμονων μεγάλων δὴ τινῶν ἀκούσαντές φασιν, οἱ δὲ ὑποτίθενται τὸ πιθανόν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα συμφωνίας. ἀινείων μὲν οὖν ἄξιον καὶ τούσδε, πιστεύειν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ὅτι θέλτιον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τούτων ἐγὼ παίξων καὶ σπονδάξων ἀγαμαί τε καὶ τεθαύμακα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτη, φασὶ.

Πολὺ δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔφην πλῆθος ἐστι περὶ τῶν Σ οὐρανῶν θεῶν, οὗσ κατενόησαν ο𝑖 τῶν οὐρανῶν μὴ παρέργως μηδὲ ὄσπερ τὰ βοσκήματα θεωροῦντες. 2 τοὺς τρεῖς γὰρ τετραχῇ τέμνων διὰ τῆς τοῦ ξυο-

1 δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.
2 cf. 143 b and note.

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blessed gods too, as he himself would say; and what he says is true. For there is no single thing in the whole of existence that is not the offspring of the substance of Oceanus. But what has that to do with the poles? Shall I tell you? It were better indeed to keep silence\(^1\); but for all that I will speak.

Some say then, even though all men are not ready to believe it, that the sun travels in the starless heavens far above the region of the fixed stars. And on this theory he will not be stationed midmost among the planets but midway between the three worlds: that is, according to the hypothesis of the mysteries, if indeed one ought to use the word “hypothesis” and not rather say “established truths,” using the word “hypothesis” for the study of the heavenly bodies. For the priests of the mysteries tell us what they have been taught by the gods or mighty daemons, whereas the astronomers make plausible hypotheses from the harmony that they observe in the visible spheres. It is proper, no doubt, to approve the astronomers as well, but where any man thinks it better to believe the priests of the mysteries, him I admire and revere, both in jest and earnest. And so much for that, as the saying is.\(^2\)

Now besides those whom I have mentioned, there is in the heavens a great multitude of gods who have been recognised as such by those who survey the heavens, not casually, nor like cattle. For as he divides the three spheres by four through the zodiac,\(^3\)

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1 For the affectation of mystery cf. 152 B, 159 A, 172 D.
2 Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 4, quotes this phrase as peculiarly Platonic; cf. Plato, *Laws* 676 A.
3 Literally “life-bringer,” Aristotle’s phrase for the zodiac.
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φόρου κύκλου πρὸς ἑκαστὸν αὐτῶν κοινωνίας τοῦ τοῦ αὕθες τὸν ζῳοφόρον εἰς δώδεκα θεῶν δυνάμεις διαρεῖ, καὶ μέντοι τούτων ἑκαστὸν εἰς τρεῖς, ὡστε ποιεῖν ἓ ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα. ἔνθεν οἴμαι καθήκει ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ἓ οὐρανῶν τριπλῇ χαρίτων δόσις, ἕκ τῶν κύκλων, οὐς ὁ θεὸς ὅδε τετραχῆ τέμνων τὴν τετραπλῆν ἐπιπέμπει τῶν ὀρῶν ἀγαλαίαν, αἵ δὴ τὰς τροπὰς ἔχουσι τῶν καιρῶν. κύκλων τοι καὶ αἱ Χάριτες ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων μιμοῦνται. χαριτοδότης ὑπὸ ἔστων ὁ Διόνυσος ἐς ταῦτο λεγόμενος 'Ἡλίῳ συμβασίλευεν. τί οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸν Ὡρὸν λέγω καὶ τάλλα θεῶν ὄνοματα, τὰ πάντα Ἡλίῳ προσήκοντα; συνῆκαν γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὧν ὁ θεὸς ὅδε ἐργάζεται, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἀγαθοῖς τελειωσάμενοι καὶ μεταδοὺς αὐτῷ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόλπους, ἀρξάμενοι τε ἐκεῖθεν ὅλου τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μέρη τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀδρα ὅσει. τὰσαν γὰρ ἐπιτροπεύει κίνησιν ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ κόσμου λήξεως φύσιν τε καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ πᾶν δὲ ποτε ἐστι, πάντα πανταχοῦ τελειοῦται. τὴν δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν τῶν θεῶν εἰς μίαν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐνωσιν συντάξας Ἀθηνᾶ Προνοίᾳ παρέδωκεν, ἥν ὁ μὲν μῦθος φησιν ἐκ τῆς

1 χαριτοδότης Spanheim, χαριτότης Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἀδρά Hertlein suggests, ἀνδρῶν MSS.
3 ἐπιτροπεύει Wright, ἑπιτροπεύοντος Hertlein, MSS, lacuna Petavius.

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

2 There is a play on the word κύκλος, which means both "sphere" and "circle."
3 The Egyptian sun-god, whose worship was introduced first into Greece and later at Rome.
4 Athene as goddess of Forethought was worshipped at Delphi, but her earlier epithet was προνοία "whose statue is
ΤΟΥ ΔΙΩΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΣ, ἩΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΟΛΗΝ ΕΞ ΟΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ὉΛΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΧΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΕΝ
ΑUló, ΤΑΥΤΗ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΘΟΥ, ΟΤΙ ΜΗ ΕΚ
ΤΟΥ ἈΚΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ, ΟΛΗΝ ΔΕ ΕΞ ΟŁΟΥ. ἘΠΕΙ
ΤΑΛΛΑ ΓΕ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ ὉΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ
ὌΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝ Τῂ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΦΗΜΗ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟ
ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ Ὁ ΑΘΗΝΑΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΥ ΚΑΙΝΟΤΟΜΟΥΜΕΝ,
ΕΙΣΠΕΡ ὈΡΘΩΣ ΑΚΟΥΟΜΕΝ.

"ΙΚΕΤΟ Δ ΕΣ ΠΥΘΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΣ ΠΛΑΝΗΚΟΠΤΑ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΝ.
ΟΥΤΩΣ ΆΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΙΣ ΕΦΑΙΝΕΤΟ Ὁ ΑΘΗΝΑ
ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΣΥΝΘΡΟΝΟΣ Ὁ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΥ
ΜΗΔΕΝ ὉΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ. ΜΗ ΠΟΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΙΑ
ΜΟΙΡΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ "ΟΜΗΡΟΣ. ἩΝ ΓΑΡ, ὩΣ ΕΙΚΟΣ, ΘΕΟΛΗΠΤΟΣ·
ἈΠΕΜΑΝΤΕΥΣΑΤΟ ΠΟΛΛΑΧΟΥ ΤῂΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ·

ΤΙΟΙΜΗΝ Δ ΩΣ ΤΙΕΤ Ὁ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΥ,1
ὑπὸ ΔΙΟΣ ΔΗΠΟΥΘΕΝ, ὌΣΠΕΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΑΥΤΟΣ ὉΛΙΟΥ;
ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ Δ2 Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Ὁ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ
ΔΙΑ ΤῂΣ ἈΠΛΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΝΟΗΣΕΩΝ ὉΛΙΟΥ, ΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ
ΚΑΙ ΤῂΣ Ὁ ΑΘΗΝΑΝ ΝΟΜΙΣΤΕΟΝ ἂΠ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΞΑ-
ΜΕΝΗ ΤῂΣ ΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΟΥΣΑΝ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΝΟΗΣΩΝ
ΣΥΝΑΠΤΕΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤῂΣ ὉΛΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΑΥ ΤῂΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΛΩΝ ὉΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΧΑ ΣΥΓΧΥΣΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ

1 ΠΠΙΔ. 8. 538; 13. 827.
2 Ὁ Hertlein adds.
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as the legend says, sprang from the head of Zeus, but I say that she was sent forth from Helios whole from the whole of him, being contained within him; though I disagree with the legend only so far as I assert that she came forth not from his highest part, but whole from the whole of him. For in other respects, since I believe that Zeus is in no wise different from Helios, I agree with that ancient tradition. And in using this very phrase Athene Pronoia, I am not innovating, if I rightly understand the words: "He came to Pytho and to grey-eyed Pronoia." 1 This proves that the ancients also thought that Athene Pronoia shared the throne of Apollo, who, as we believe, differs in no way from Helios. Indeed, did not Homer by divine inspiration—for he was, we may suppose, possessed by a god—reveal this truth, when he says often in his poems: "May I be honoured even as Athene and Apollo were honoured"—by Zeus, that is to say, who is identical with Helios? And just as King Apollo, through the singleness of his thoughts, is associated with Helios, so also we must believe that Athene 2 has received her nature from Helios, and that she is his intelligence in perfect form: and so she binds together the gods who are assembled about Helios and brings them without confusion into unity with Helios, the King of the All: and she distributes and

in front of the temple"; cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 21, Herodotus 8. 37; late writers often confuse these forms. Julian applies the epithet *πόνοια* to the mother of the gods 179 A, and to Prometheus 182 D; cf. 131 c.

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

2 On Athene cf. *Oration* 7. 230 A; *Against the Christians* 235 c.
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ένωσιν, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν ζωὴν ἀπ’ ἄκρας ἄψιδος οὐρανοῦ διὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ κύκλων ἀχρι τῆς Σελήνης νέμουσαν ἐποχετεύειν, ἢν ἡ θεὸς ἱδε τῶν κυκλικῶν οὐσιῶν σωμάτων ἐσχάτην ἐπλήρωσε τῆς φρονίμεσις, υφ’ ἡ ἡ Σελήνη τὰ τέ ύπ’ ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν θεωρεῖ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ ύφ’ ἔαυτὴν κοσμοῦσα τὴν ξύλην τοῖς εἶδεσιν ἀναρεῖ τὸ θηριῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ ταραχώδες καὶ ἀτακτον. ἀνθρώποι δὲ ἀγαθὰ δίδωσιν Ἀθηνᾶ σοφίαν τὸ1 τε νοεῖν καὶ τὰς δημιουργικὰς τέχνας. κατοικεῖ δὲ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῇ δῆποθεν καταστησαμένη τὴν πολιτικὴν διὰ σοφίας κοινωνίαν. ὅλγα ἔτι Β' περὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἢν συνεφάπτεσθαι τῆς δημιουργίας τῷ θεῷ Φοινίκων ὀμολογοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι. ἔστι δὴ οὖν αὐτῇ σύγκρασις τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν, καὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας αὐτῶν ἐτι φιλία καὶ ἔνωσις. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὐσα καὶ συμπεριθέουσα καὶ πλησιάζουσα πληροῖ μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐκρασίας, ἐνδίδωσι δὲ τὸ γοῦν τῇ γῇ, προμηθουμένῃ καὶ αὐτῇ τῆς ἁγιασμένης τῶν ζῷων, ἢς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἰλίος ἔχει τὴν πρωτουργόν αἰτίαν, Ἀφροδίτη δὲ αὐτῇ συναίτιος, ἡ θέλγουσα μὲν τὰς ζ ζυγχάσ ἡμῶν σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ, καταπέμπουσα δὲ εἰς γῆν ἐξ αἰθέρος αὐγὰς ἠδίστας καὶ ἀκηράτους

1 τὸ Hertlein adds.
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is the channel for stainless and pure life throughout the seven spheres, from the highest vault of the heavens as far as Selene the Moon:¹ for Selene is the last of the heavenly spheres which Athene fills with wisdom: and by her aid Selene beholds the intelligible which is higher than the heavens, and adorns with its forms the realm of matter that lies below her, and thus she does away with its savagery and confusion and disorder. Moreover to mankind Athene gives the blessings of wisdom and intelligence and the creative arts. And surely she dwells in the capitols of cities because, through her wisdom, she has established the community of the state. I have still to say a few words about Aphrodite, who, as the wise men among the Phoenicians affirm, and as I believe, assists Helios in his creative function. She is, in very truth, a synthesis of the heavenly gods, and in their harmony she is the spirit of love and unity.² For she³ is very near to Helios, and when she pursues the same course as he and approaches him, she fills the skies with fair weather and gives generative power to the earth: for she herself takes thought for the continuous birth of living things. And though of that continuous birth King Helios is the primary creative cause, yet Aphrodite is the joint cause with him, she who enchants our souls with her charm and sends down to earth from the upper air rays of light most sweet and stainless, aye,

¹ cf. 152 D. Julian derives his theory of the position and functions of the moon from Iamblichus; cf. Proclus on Plato, Timaeus 258 f.
² cf. 154 A, and Proclus on Plato, Timaeus 155 f, 259 b, where Aphrodite is called “the binding goddess” συνδετικῆ, and “harmoniser” συναρμοστική.
³ i.e. as the planet Venus.
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αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσίου στιλπνοτέρας. ἢτι ἐπιμετρήσαι ¹ βούλομαι τῆς Φωινίκων θεολογίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ μάτην, ὁ λόγος προϊόν δεῖξει. οἱ τῶν "Εμεσαν ² οἰκοῦντες, ἵερον ἔξι αἰώνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μόνιμων αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀζίζου συγκαθιδρύουσιν. αἰνίτεσθαί φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, παρ᾿ οὗ καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἐλάβομεν, ὡσ ὁ Μόνιμος μὲν Ἐρμῆς εἶη, Ἀζίζου δὲ Ἀρης, Ἡλίου πάρεδροι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύσουντες τόπῳ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ τουαύτα ἔστι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐπιτελοῦμενα μέχρι τῶν τῆς γῆς προῆκει τελευταίων ὄρων· ὥσα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Σελήνης ἐργάζεται, μακρὸν ἂν εἰη τὰ πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι. πλῆν ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ ταύτα ῥητέουν. οἴδα μὲν οὖν ἔγονε καὶ πρότερον 151 μνημονεύσας, ὅπερνικα ἥξιον ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἁφανή περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σκοπεῖν οὕσια, ὁ λόγος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖ μὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τάξει περὶ αὐτῶν δηλώσαι.

Καθάπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἔχειν ἐφαμεν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἡλίου, πολὺ περὶ τὴν ἀμέριστον οὕσιαν ἔαυτον πλῆθος ἐνοειδῶς ἔχοντα τῶν θεῶν, ἢτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ἃ δὴ τὴν κύκλῳ διαιωνίαν Β

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¹ ἐπιμετρήσαι Hertlein suggests, μετριάσαι MSS.
² Ἐμεσαν Spanheim, cf. 154 B, Ἐδεσαν MSS.
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more lustrous than gold itself. I desire to mete out to you still more of the theology of the Phoenicians, and whether it be to some purpose my argument as it proceeds will show. The inhabitants of Emesa,¹ a place from time immemorial sacred to Helios, associate with Helios in their temples Monimos and Azizos.² Iamblichus, from whom I have taken this and all besides, a little from a great store, says that the secret meaning to be interpreted is that Monimos is Hermes and Azizos Ares, the assessors of Helios, who are the channel for many blessings to the region of our earth.

Such then are the works of Helios in the heavens, and, when completed by means of the gods whom I have named, they reach even unto the furthest bounds of the earth. But to tell the number of all his works in the region below the moon would take too long. Nevertheless I must describe them also in a brief summary. Now I am aware that I mentioned them earlier when I claimed³ that from things visible we could observe the invisible properties of the god's substance, but the argument demands that I should expound them now also, in their proper order.

I said then that Helios holds sway among the intellectual gods in that he unites into one, about his own undivided substance, a great multitude of the gods: and further, I demonstrated that among the gods whom we can perceive, who revolve

¹ cf. Caesar's 313 A, Misopogon 357 c. Emesa in Syria was famous for its temple to Baal, the sun-god. The Emperor Heliogabalus (218-222 A.D.) was born at Emesa and was, as his name indicates, a priest of Baal, whose worship he attempted to introduce at Rome.
² The "strong god," identified with the star Lucifer.
³ 133 d, 138 b.

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πορεύεται μάλα εὐδαίμονα πορείαν, ἀπεδείκνυμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ κύριον, ἐνδιδόντα μὲν τὸ γόνιμον τῇ φύσει, πληροῦντα δὲ τὸν ὦλον οὐρανὸν ἄσπερ τῆς φαινομένης αὐγῆς οὕτω δὲ καὶ μυρίων ἀγαθῶν ἀφανῶν ἄλλων, τελειούμενα δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν θεῶν ἀγαθὰ χορηγοῦμεν, καὶ πρὸ γε τούτων αὐτοῦ ἐκείνους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορρήτου καὶ θείας αὐτοῦ τελειομένους ἐνεργείας οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἐν γενέσει τόπον θεοῦς τινας ἐπιβεβηκέναι νομιστέον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου C συνεχόμενος, οὗ τὴν τετραπλῆν τῶν στοιχείων κυβερνώντων φύσιν, περὶ δὲ ἐστήρικται ταῦτα ψυχᾶς μετὰ τῶν τριῶν κρειττῶν ἐνοικοῦσι γενῶν. αὐταίς δὲ ταῖς μερισταῖς ψυχαῖς ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν αἰτίοις, κρίσιν τε αὐταῖς προτείνων καὶ δίκη κατευθύνων καὶ ἀποκαθαίρων λαμπρότητί; τὴν ὅλην δὲ οὐχ οὕτος φύσιν, ἐνδιδοὺς ἀνωθεν αὐτή τὸ γόνιμον, κινεῖ καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖ; ἄλλα καὶ ταῖς μερισταῖς φύσεωι οὗ τῆς εἰς τέλος πορείας οὕτος D ἐστὶν ἄληθῶς αἰτίοις; ἀνθρωπὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου γεννᾶσθαι φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡλίου. 2 ταύτων δὴ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὁσα τῶν μεριστῶν ἐστὶ φύσεων ἔργα, περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου προσήκει διανοεῖσθαι. τὰ δὲ; οὐχ ἦμιν ὅμοροις καὶ ἀνέμοις καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μεταρρίσεως γνώμενα τῷ διττῷ τῆς ἀναθυμίασεως οἷον ὅλη χρώμενος οὐ θεὸς οὕτος ἔργαζεται; θερμαίνων γὰρ 152 τὴν γῆν ἀτμίδα καὶ καπνὸν ἔλκει, γίνεται δὲ ἐκ

1 τὸ γόνιμον τῇ φύσει Marcilius, cf. 150 B, 151 c, lacuna MSS., Hertlein. 2 Physics 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 131 c.

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eternally in their most blessed path, he is leader and lord; since he bestows on their nature its generative power, and fills the whole heavens not only with visible rays of light but with countless other blessings that are invisible; and, further, that the blessings which are abundantly supplied by the other visible gods are made perfect by him, and that even prior to this the visible gods themselves are made perfect by his unspeakable and divine activity. In the same manner we must believe that on this our world of generation certain gods have alighted who are linked together with Helios: and these gods guide the four-fold nature of the elements, and inhabit, together with the three higher races,¹ those souls which are upborne by the elements. But for the divided souls² also, of how many blessings is he the cause! For he extends to them the faculty of judging, and guides them with justice, and purifies them by his brilliant light. Again, does he not set in motion the whole of nature and kindle life therein, by bestowing on it generative power from on high? But for the divided natures also, is not he the cause that they journey to their appointed end?³ For Aristotle says that man is begotten by man and the sun together. Accordingly the same theory about King Helios must surely apply to all the other activities of the divided souls. Again, does he not produce for us rain and wind and the clouds in the skies, by employing, as though it were matter, the two kinds of vapour? For when he heats the earth he draws up steam and smoke, and from these there arise not only the

¹ cf. 145 c. ² cf. 145 c. ³ i.e. their ascent after death to the gods.
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toútôn ou tâ metârōma mōnon, allâ kai ðsa ëpti
gêς páthê, smikrâ kai megalâ.

Ti ònu perí1 tôn aútôn ëpêxeimû makrótera,
èxôn ëpti tô pêras ëhê bâdîzein ùmwnânta pró-
teron ðsa èdôken anðrhoûpois "Hlîos ãaghà; ginnô-
menoi gar èx aútôn trefômêtha par' èkeînou. tâ
mên ouv theîôtera kai ðsa taîs phukâïs dîdôsin
àpolûw aútâs tou sómatos, eîta èpanâgôn ëpti
tâs tou theîou suggevenês oûsîas, kai tô lept tôn kai
eîtônou tîs theîas aûghês îoûn ðkhìma tîs eîs tîn
gênesin àspalouîs ðidômenon kathôdou taîs phukâïs
ûmneîstho te âllous àxîos kai ùfî' ðmîn pîsteuî-
sthê môllôn ò deîknuîsthê. tâ de ðsa ûnôrima
pêfuke toîs pâsis ouk ôkîntêou èpteîlêtheîn.
osranôv fêsî Plâtôn2 ðmîn gênevôthai sôfîas dîdâ-
skalan. ènîthînde gár ìrmînoi katenôshamev C
fûsîn, ûs tô diafêrôn ouk âllou û dia tîs ðlînou
períðou katenôshamev. fêsî tou kai aútôs
Plâtôn îmêrân kai nûkta próteron. eîta ëk tîu
fîtotîs tîs seîlînhs, dh dhîdotaî tî ûhê taûtî
par' ðlînou, metâ touto prôîlômev ëptî plêoun tîs
toiáuthîs suînêsos, åpantachû tîs prôs tîn theîn
tôtôn stoîchômenoi suîmôfianas. óster aútôs tou
fêsîn,3 òs àra tô gênos ðmîn èpitônou ou fûsei
theîl èleîshântes èdôkav ðmîn tîn Dîônuîson kai D
tâs Môusas suîkhoruîtâs. èfânî dh ðmîn "Hlîos

1 pepl Hertlein suggests, épti MSS.
2 Republic 529, 530; Epînwis 977 A.
3 Laws 653 C, D, 665 A.

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clouds but also all the physical changes on our earth, both great and small.

But why do I deal with the same questions at such length, when I am free at last to come to my goal, though not till I have first celebrated all the blessings that Helios has given to mankind? For from him are we born, and by him are we nourished. But his more divine gifts, and all that he bestows on our souls when he frees them from the body and then lifts them up on high to the region of those substances that are akin to the god; and the fineness and vigour of his divine rays, which are assigned as a sort of vehicle for the safe descent of our souls into this world of generation; all this, I say, let others celebrate in fitting strains, but let me believe it rather than demonstrate its truth. However, I need not hesitate to discuss so much as is known to all. Plato says that the sky is our instructor in wisdom. For from its contemplation we have learned to know the nature of number, whose distinguishing characteristics we know only from the course of the sun. Plato himself says that day and night were created first.¹ And next, from observing the moon's light, which was bestowed on the goddess by Helios, we later progressed still further in the understanding of these matters: in every case conjecturing the harmony of all things with this god. For Plato himself says somewhere that our race was by nature doomed to toil, and so the gods pitied us and gave us Dionysus and the Muses as playfellows. And we recognised that Helios is their common lord,

¹ i.e. as a unit of measurement; Timaeus 39 B, 47 A.
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toútwon koinôs ἕγεμών, Διονύσου μὲν πατήρ ύμνούμενος, ἕγεμών δὲ Μουσῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ συμβασιλεύων 'Απόλλων οὐ πανταχόῦ μὲν ἀνήκε τῆς γῆς χρηστήρια, σοφίαν δὲ ἐδωκεν ἀνθρώπους έυθεόν, ἐκοσμήσε δὲ ιεροῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς τὰς πόλεις θεσμοῖς; οὕτως ἠμέρωσε μὲν διὰ τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν ἀποκινῶν τὰ πλείστα τῆς οἰκουμενῆς, παρεσκεύασε δὲ ῥαν ὑπακούσαι 'Ρωμαίοις ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ γένος μόνον 'Ελληνικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσμοὺς ιεροὺς καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐπιστίαν ἕξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος 'Ελληνικῆν καταστησαμένοις τε καὶ φυλάξασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν κόσμον οὑδεμᾶς τῶν ἀριστα πολιτεισμῶν πόλεων καταστησαμένοις φανότερον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄπασῶν, ὃσι γε ἐν χρήσει γεγονασαὶ πολιτείαι, κρείσσονα· ἀνθ' ὃν οἴμαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγνων τὴν πόλιν 'Ελληνιδα γένος τε καὶ πολιτείαν.

Τί ἐτι σοὶ λέγω, πῶς τῆς ύγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας Β πάντων προονόησε τὸν σωτῆρα τῶν ὅλων ἀπογεννήτας 'Ασκληπιόν, ὅπως δὲ ἀρετὴν ἐδωκε παντοίαν 'Αφροδίτην 'Αθηνᾶ συγκατατείμνας ἡμῖν, κηδεμόνα μόνον οὐχ οὐκόν θέμενος, πρὸς μηδὲν ἔτερον χρῆσθαι τῇ μίξει ἡ πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν¹ τοῦ ὀμόλου; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὰς περιόδους αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ φυώμενα καὶ τὰ παντοταπτῶν ξώων φύλα κινεῖται πρὸς ἀπογέννησιν τοῦ ὀμοίου. Κ τί χρή τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φῶς σεμώναι;

¹ γένη τιν Mau, γένεσιν MSS, Hertlein.
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since he is celebrated as the father of Dionysus and the leader of the Muses. And has not Apollo, who is his colleague in empire, set up oracles in every part of the earth, and given to men inspired wisdom, and regulated their cities by means of religious and political ordinances? And he has civilised the greater part of the world by means of Greek colonies, and so made it easier for the world to be governed by the Romans. For the Romans themselves not only belong to the Greek race, but also the sacred ordinances and the pious belief in the gods which they have established and maintain are, from beginning to end, Greek. And beside this they have established a constitution not inferior to that of any one of the best governed states, if indeed it be not superior to all others that have ever been put into practice. For which reason I myself recognise that our city is Greek, both in descent and as to its constitution.

Shall I now go on to tell you how Helios took thought for the health and safety of all men by begetting Asclepios\(^1\) to be the saviour of the whole world? and how he bestowed on us every kind of excellence by sending down to us Aphrodite together with Athene, and thus laid down for our protection what is almost a law, that we should only unite to beget our kind? Surely it is for this reason that, in agreement with the course of the sun, all plants and all the tribes of living things are aroused to bring forth their kind. What need is there for me to glorify his beams and his light? For surely

\(^1\) cf. 144 c: *Against the Christians* 200, 235 B.C. Asclepios plays an important part in Julian's religion, and may have been intentionally opposed, as the son of Helios-Mithras and the "saviour of the world," to Jesus Christ.
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νῦξ γοῦν ἀσέληνος τε καὶ ἀναστρος ὅπως ἐστὶ φοβερά, ἀρα ἐννοεῖ τις, ἵν' ἐπεύθεν, ὀπόσον ἔχομεν ἀγαθὸν ἔξ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς, τεκμῆρηται; τούτο δὲ αὐτὸ συνεχές παρέχων καὶ ἀμεσολάβητον νυκτί ἐν οἷς χρή τόποις ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης τοῖς ἄνω, ἑκεχεριάν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς τῶν πόνων δίδωσιν. οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο πέρας τοῦ λόγου, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξείναι τις ἐθελῆσε τὰ τοιαύτα. ἐν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὅ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτο λαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἢ τοι παρὰ μόνου τέλειου, ἢ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τέλειομενον.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστιν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τῆς πόλεως. οἰκεῖ γοῦν αὐτῆς οὗ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μόνον μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων πατὴρ ὑμνούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ τῷ Παλλαντῷ λόφῳ καὶ "Ἡλίος αὐτὸς τούτο τὸ 1 κοινὸν ὄνομα πάσι καὶ γνώριμον. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ πάντη καὶ πάντα προσήκομεν οἱ Ῥωμιλίδαι τε καὶ Αἰνεάδαι, πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἐρώβραχε τὰ γνωριμώτατα. γέγονε, φασίν, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνείας, ἦπερ ἐστὶν ὑπογραφὸς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συγγεγένης. αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν κτίστην ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως Ἀρεώς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκε παῖδα, πιστουμένη τὸ παράδοξον τῶν λόγων διὰ τῶν ὑστερον ἐπακολουθησάντων σημείων. ὑπέσχετο γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασί, μαζὸν θήλεια λύκος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ἀρεώς Ἀξιζος λεγόμενος

1 τῇ Hertlein suggests.

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everyone knows how terrible is night without a moon or stars, so that from this he can calculate how great a boon for us is the light of the sun? And this very light he supplies at night, without ceasing, and directly, from the moon in those upper spaces where it is needed, while he grants us through the night a truce from toil. But there would be no limit to the account if one should endeavour to describe all his gifts of this sort. For there is no single blessing in our lives which we do not receive as a gift from this god, either perfect from him alone, or, through the other gods, perfected by him.

Moreover he is the founder of our city. For not only does Zeus, who is glorified as the father of all things, inhabit its citadel together with Athene and Aphrodite, but Apollo also dwells on the Palatine Hill, and Helios himself under this name of his which is commonly known to all and familiar to all. And I could say much to prove that we, the sons of Romulus and Aeneas, are in every way and in all respects connected with him, but I will mention briefly only what is most familiar. According to the legend, Aeneas is the son of Aphrodite, who is subordinate to Helios and is his kinswoman. And the tradition has been handed down that the founder of our city was the son of Ares, and the paradoxical element in the tale has been believed because of the portents which later appeared to support it. For a she-wolf, they say, gave him suck. Now I am aware that Ares, who is called

1 Rome.  2 This refers to the famous temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline; cf. Oration 1. 29 d. The three shrines in this temple were dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva and Juno, but Julian ignores Juno because he wishes to introduce Aphrodite in connection with Aeneas.
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υπὸ τῶν οἰκονυτῶν τὴν Ἐμεσαν

Σύρων Ἡλίου β' προπομπεύει, καὶ περί εἰδώς καὶ προειπτῶν ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ. τοῦ χάριν δὲ ὁ λύκος Ἀρεί μᾶλλον, οὐχὶ δὲ Ἡλὼν προσήκει; καὶ τοις λυκάβαντά φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον. ὲνομάζει δὲ αὐτῶν οὐχ ὁ Ομηρος μόνον οὐδὲ οἱ γνώριμοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων τότε τὸ ὄνομα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεός· διανύων γὰρ φήσιν

Ὁρχηθὸς λυκάβαντα δυσδεκάμηνα κέλευθα.

βούλει οὖν ἔτι σοι φράσω μείζον τεκμήριον, ὁτι ἄρα ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν οἰκίσθης σοι ὑπ' Ἀρεώς κατεπέμφθη μόνον, ἄλλ' ἵσως αὐτῷ τῆς μὲν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευῆς συνεπελάβετο δαίμον ώρην καὶ γενναῖος, ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπιφοιτήσαι τῇ Σιλβία λουτρὰ τῇ θεῷ φερούσῃ, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἔξ Ἡλίου κατήλθεν ἢ ψυχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ Κυρίου· πειστέον γὰρ οἶμαι τῇ φήμῃ. σύνοδος ἄκριβής ὁ τῶν τῆς ἐμφανῆς κατανειμιμένων βασιλείων Ἡλίου τε καὶ Σελήνης ὡσπερ οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν κατήγαγεν, οὕτω καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ἰν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκδέξατο, τὸ θυτὸν ἀφανίσασα πυρὶ κεραυνίῳ τοῦ σώματος. οὕτω προδήλως ἡ τῶν περιγείων

1 Ἐμεσαν Spanheim, Ἐδεσαν MSS, Hertlein; cf. 150 c.
2 Ὺν Marcilious, ῳν MSS, Hertlein.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

Azizos by the Syrians who inhabit Emesa, precedes Helios in the sacred procession, but I mentioned it before, so I think I may let that pass. But why is the wolf sacred only to Ares and not to Helios? Yet men call the period of a year "lycabas," 1 which is derived from "wolf." And not only Homer 2 and the famous men of Greece call it by this name, but also the god himself, when he says: "With dancing does he bring to a close his journey of twelve months, even the lycabas." Now do you wish me to bring forward a still greater proof that the founder of our city was sent down to earth, not by Ares alone, though perhaps some noble daemon with the character of Ares did take part in the fashioning of his mortal body, even he who is said to have visited Silvia 3 when she was carrying water for the bath of the goddess, 4 but the whole truth is that the soul of the god Quirinus 5 came down to earth from Helios; for we must, I think, believe the sacred tradition. And the close conjunction of Helios and Selene, who share the empire over the visible world, even as it had caused his soul to descend to earth, in like manner caused to mount upwards him whom it received back from the earth, after blotting out with fire from a thunderbolt 6 the mortal part of his body. So clearly did she who creates earthly matter,

1 Julian accepts the impossible etymology "path of the wolf"; Lycabas means "path of light," cf. lux.
2 Odyssey, 14. 161. The word was also used on Roman coins with the meaning "year."
3 Silvia the Vestal virgin gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus, whose father was supposed to be Mars (Ares).
4 Vesta, the Greek Hestia, the goddess of the hearth.
5 The name given to Romulus after his apotheosis; cf. Caesar's 307 n. 6 For the legend of his translation see Livy 1. 16; Plutarch, Romulus 21; Ovid, Fasti 2. 496; Horace, Odes 3. 3. 15 foll.
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δημουργός ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἄκρως γενομένη τὸν Ἥλιον ἐδέξατο εἰς γῆν πεμπόμενον διὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Προνοίας τὸν Κύρινον, ἀνυπτάμενον τε αὕτως ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτίκα Ἡλιον.

Ἐτὶ σοι βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φράσω τεκμήριον 155 τοῦ Νόμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργου; ἀσβεστον εξ ἡλίου φυλάττουσι φλόγα παρθένου παρ’ ἡμῖν ἱεραί κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ὄρας, αἱ δὲ τὸ γενόμενον 1 περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ φυλάττουσιν. Ἐτὶ τούτων μείζων ἔχω σοι φράσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ τεκμήριον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως ἔργου. οἱ μῆνες ἀπασι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης ἀριθμοῦνται, μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι Β πρὸς τὰς ἡλίους κινήσεις ἐκάστου μετροῦμεν ἐνυ- αυτοῦ τὰς ἡμέρας. εἰ σοι μετὰ τούτω φαίνω, ὡς καὶ τὸν Μίθραν τιμῶμεν καὶ ἁγομεν Ἡλίῳ τετραε- τηρικοὺς ἁγώνας, ἐρῶ νεώτερα βέλτιον δὲ ἵσως ἐν τι τῶν παλαιοτέρων προθείναι. τοῦ γὰρ ἐνιαυσιαίον κύκλου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν ποιούμενος, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἑαρινήν ἵσημερίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ φθίνουσαν ἡδη τὴν ὀπΩραν, Ἡλίου τὰς ἐμφανεστάτας ὑμνούσιοι C

1 After γενόμενον Hertlein omits ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης.

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she whose place is at the furthest point below the
sun, receive Quirinus when he was sent down to
earth by Athene, goddess of Forethought; and when
he took flight again from earth she led him back
straightway to Helios, the King of the All.

Do you wish me to mention yet another proof of this,
I mean the work of King Numa? 1 In Rome maiden
priestesses 2 guard the undying flame of the sun at
different hours in turn; they guard the fire that is
produced on earth by the agency of the god. And
I can tell you a still greater proof of the power of this
god, which is the work of that most divine king him-
self. The months are reckoned from the moon by, one
may say, all other peoples; but we and the Egyptians
alone reckon the days of every year according to
the movements of the sun. If after this I should say
that we also worship Mithras, and celebrate games in
honour of Helios every four years, I shall be speaking
of customs that are somewhat recent. 3 But perhaps
it is better to cite a proof from the remote past.
The beginning of the cycle of the year is placed at
different times by different peoples. Some place it
at the spring equinox, others at the height of
summer, and many in the late autumn; but they
each and all sing the praises of the most visible gifts
of Helios. One nation celebrates the season best

1 To Numa Pompilius, the legendary king who reigned
next after Romulus, the Romans ascribed the foundation of
many of their religious ceremonies. 2 The Vestal virgins.
3 The Heliaia, solis agon, was founded by the Emperor
Aurelian at Rome in 274 A.D.; but the “unconquerable
sun,” sol invictus, had been worshipped there for fully a
century before Aurelian’s foundation; see Usener, Sol
invictus, in Rheinisches Museum, 1905. Julian once again,
Caesars 336 calls Helios by his Persian name Mithras.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

dwreás, ὃ μὲν τις τὴν τῆς ἐργασίας ἐνδιδομένην
eukaiριάν, ὅτε ἡ γῆ θάλλει καὶ γαυρία, φυμένων
αρτὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἄπαντων, γίνεται δὲ ἐπιτήδεια
πλεῖσθαι τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄδεις
καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ φαινόμερον μεθίσταται,
oi δὲ τὴν τοῦ θέρους ἐτίμησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἕως ἀσφαλῶς
tοτε ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἔχουτες θαρρᾶται
genektsews, τῶν μὲν σπερμάτων ἡ ἡ συνειλεγμένων,
ἀκμαίας δὲ ὀφύς τῆς ὀπώρας ἡ καὶ πεπαίνο-
ménon τῶν ἐπικείμενων καρπῶν τοῖς δένδροις.
ἄλλοι δὲ τούτων ἐτί κομφίτεροι τέλος ἐναιστοῦ
ὑπέλαβον τὴν τελειοτάτην τῶν καρπῶν ἄπαντων
ἀκμῆν καὶ φθίσιν· ταύτα τοι καὶ φθινούσης ἡ ἡ
tῆς ὀπώρας ἁγοῦσι τὰς κατ' ἐναιστοῦ νουμηνίας.
oi δὲ ἡμέτεροι προπάτορες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου
βασιλέως τοῦ Νόμα μειζόνως ἦτι τῶν θεῶν τοὺτον
σεβόμενοι, τὰ μὲν τῆς χρείας ἀπέλευσι, ἄτε οἱ μαυ
φύει θείοι καὶ περιττὸ τὴν διάνοιαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ
eidōn τούτων τὸν αἴτιον καὶ ἀγείν ἐταξίαν συμ-
φώνως ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ τῶν ὀρῶν τὴν νομηνίαν,
ἀπότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἡλίως αὐθῖσ ἐπανάγει πρὸς
ήματος ἄφεις τῆς μεσημβρίας τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ὁστερ
περὶ νύσσαν τῶν αἰγοκέρωτοι κάμψεις ἀπὸ τοῦ
νότου πρὸς τῶν βορων ἔρχεται μεταδώσων ἡμῶν
τῶν ἐπετείων ἀγαθῶν. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς
ἐκεῖνοι διανοηθέντες οὕτως ἐνεστήσαντο τὴν
ἐπετείου νουμηνίαν, ἐνθεύον ἄν τις κατανοήσεις.
oυ γὰρ οἶμαι καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς τρέπεται, καθ'
ἡν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμφανῆς γίνεται χώρων ὑπὸ τῆς

1 ὃπαν Hertlein, Naber suggest, ἡμέραν MSS, cf. Epistle 444. 425 c. 426
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

adapted for work in the fields, when the earth bursts into bloom and exults, when all the crops are just beginning to sprout, and the sea begins to be safe for sailing, and the disagreeable, gloomy winter puts on a more cheerful aspect; others again award the crown to the summer season, since at that time they can safely feel confidence about the yield of the fruits, when the grains have already been harvested and midsummer is now at its height, and the fruits on the trees are ripening. Others again, with still more subtlety, regard as the close of the year the time when all the fruits are in their perfect prime and decay has already set in. For this reason they celebrate the annual festival of the New Year in late autumn. But our forefathers, from the time of the most divine king Numa, paid still greater reverence to the god Helios. They ignored the question of mere utility, I think, because they were naturally religious and endowed with unusual intelligence; but they saw that he is the cause of all that is useful, and so they ordered the observance of the New Year to correspond with the present season; that is to say when King Helios returns to us again, and leaving the region furthest south and, rounding Capricorn as though it were a goal-post, advances from the south to the north to give us our share of the blessings of the year. And that our forefathers, because they comprehended this correctly, thus established the beginning of the year, one may perceive from the following. For it was not, I think, the time when the god turns, but the time when he becomes visible to all men, as he travels from south to north,

1 The Attic year began with the summer solstice.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

μεσημβρίας εσ τὰς ἀρκτους ἔταξαι οὗτοι τὴν ἑορτήν. οὐπω μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτοὶς ἢ τῶν κανόνων λεπτότης γνώριμος, οὐδὲς εξηύρων μὲν Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἠππαρχὸς δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐτελειώσαντο, κρίνοντες δὲ αἰσθήσει τοῖς φαινομένοις ἥκολούθουν.

Οὗτω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων, ὡς ἐφην, ἔχουσα κατευνόθη. πρὸ τῆς νομηνίας, εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν τελευταίον τοῦ Κρόνου μὴνα, ποιούμεν Ἰλίῳ τὸν περιφανέστατον ἁγώνα, τὴν Ω ἑορτήν Ἰλίῳ καταφημίσαντες ἀνικήτῳ, μεθ’ ὅν οὐδὲν θέμις ἀν δὲ τοῦ τελευταῖος μὴν ἔχει σκυθρωτῶν μὲν, ἀναγκαίων δ’ ὅμοιον, ἐπιτελεσθήναι θεαμάτων, ἄλλα τοῖς Κρονίοις οὐσι τελευταίοις εὐθὺς συνάπτει κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὰ Ἰλίαια, ἅ δὴ πολλάκις μοι δοθέν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑμνήσαι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι θεοί, καὶ πρὸ γε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων Ἰλίως, ὁ περὶ τὴν τάγαθον γόνυμον οὐσίαν εξ ἄδικον προελθὼν μέσος ἐν μέσοις τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, ὅσῳ συνοχῆς τε αὐτοῖς πληρόσας καὶ κάλλους μυρίου καὶ περιουσίας γονίμου καὶ τελείου νοῦ καὶ πάντων ἀθρώως τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀχρόνωσ, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν ἐκλάμπων εἰς τὴν ἐμφανῆ μέσην τοῦ παντὸς

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HYMN TO KING HELIOS

that they appointed for the festival. For still unknown to them was the nicety of those laws which the Chaldaeans and Egyptians discovered, and which Hipparchus\(^1\) and Ptolemy\(^2\) perfected: but they judged simply by sense-perception, and were limited to what they could actually see.

But the truth of these facts was recognised, as I said, by a later generation. Before the beginning of the year, at the end of the month which is called after Kronos,\(^3\) we celebrate in honour of Helios the most splendid games, and we dedicate the festival to the Invincible Sun. And after this it is not lawful to perform any of the shows that belong to the last month, gloomy as they are, though necessary. But, in the cycle, immediately after the end of the Kronia\(^4\) follow the Heliaia. That festival may the ruling gods grant me to praise and to celebrate with sacrifice! And above all the others may Helios himself, the King of the All, grant me this, even he who from eternity has proceeded from the generative substance of the Good: even he who is midmost of the midmost intellectual gods; who fills them with continuity and endless beauty and superabundance of generative power and perfect reason, yea with all blessings at once, and independently of time! And now he illumines his own

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1 A Greek astronomer who flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. His works are lost.
2 Claudius Ptolemy an astronomer at Alexandria 127–151 A.D.
3 i.e. December.
4 The festival of Saturn, the Saturnalia, was celebrated by the Latins at the close of December, and corresponds to our Christmas holidays. Saturn was identified with the Greek god Kronos, and Julian uses the Greek word for the festival in order to avoid, according to sophistic etiquette, a Latin name.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ουρανοῦ φερομένην ἔδραν οἰκείαν ἐξ ἀιδίου, καὶ μεταδιδοῦσ τῷ φαινομένῳ παντὶ τοῦ νηστου κάλλους, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν σύμπαντα πληρώσας τοσοῦτων θεών ὀπόσων αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐαυτῷ νοερὸς ἔχει, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμερίστως πληθυνομένων καὶ ἐνοειδὸς αὐτῷ συνημμένων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην τῶν διὰ τῆς ἀειγενεσίας συνέχων καὶ τῶν ἐνδιδομένων ἐκ τοῦ κυκλικοῦ σώματος ἀγαθῶν, ἐπιμελέμενος τοῦ τε ἱκών τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἰδίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλεως, ὁσπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξ ἀιδίου ψυχῆν ὑπέστησεν, ὅπαθον ἀποφήγης αὐτοῦ. ταύτα τε οὖν, ὅσα μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡ γεγομένη, δοιχ, καὶ ἔτι κοινὴ μὲν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἐνδεχομένῃ ἀιδίῳ τῇ μετ' εὐνοίας χορηγῶν φυλάττοι, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εὑ πράξαι τὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ θεία δοίχ, ἐφ' ὅσον βιώναι συγχωρεῖ, ξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι τῷ βίῳ δοίχ ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτῷ τὸ έκείνῳ φίλου· ἡμῖν τῇ λύσῳ καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς συμφέρον Ἰωμαίων πράγμασιν.

Ταύτα σοι, ὁ φίλε Σαλοῦστιε, κατὰ τὴν τριπλῆν τοῦ θεοῦ δημουργίαν ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα νυξίν ὡς οἴχων τῇ ἐπελθόντα μοι τῇ μνήμῃ καὶ γράψαι πρὸς σὲ ἐτόλμησα, ἐπεί σοι καὶ τὸ πρότερον εἰς τὰ Κρόνια γεγραμμένον ἡμῖν οὐ παντάπασιν

1 toû te Hertlein suggests, τε τοῦ MSS.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

visible abode, which from eternity moves as the centre of the whole heavens, and bestows a share of intelligible beauty on the whole visible world, and fills the whole heavens with the same number of gods as he contains in himself in intellectual form. And without division they reveal themselves in manifold form surrounding him, but they are attached to him to form a unity. Aye, but also, through his perpetual generation and the blessings that he bestows from the heavenly bodies, he holds together the region beneath the moon. For he cares for the whole human race in common, but especially for my own city,⁴ even as also he brought into being my soul from eternity, and made it his follower. All this, therefore, that I prayed for a moment ago, may he grant, and further may he, of his grace, endow my city as a whole with eternal existence, so far as is possible, and protect her; and for myself personally, may he grant that, so long as I am permitted to live, I may prosper in my affairs both human and divine; finally may he grant me to live and serve the state with my life, so long as is pleasing to himself and well for me and expedient for the Roman Empire!

This discourse, friend Sallust,² I composed in three nights at most, in harmony with the three-fold creative power of the god,³ as far as possible just as it occurred to my memory: and I have ventured to write it down and to dedicate it to you because you thought my earlier work on the Kronia⁴ was not

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¹ Rome. ² See Introduction, p. 351. ³ For the threefold creative force cf. Proclus on Timaeus 94 cd. Here Julian means that there are three modes of creation exercised by Helios now in one, now in another, of the three worlds; cf. 135 B.C. ⁴ This work is lost.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἀπόβλητον ἑφάνη. τελειοτέροις δ’ εἰ βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστικωτέροις λόγοις ἐπιστήσαι, ἐντυχών τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θείου γενομένοις Ἱαμβλίχου περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων συγγράμμασι τὸ τέλος ἐκεῖσε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐρήσεως σοφίας. δοιγ δ’ ὁ μέγας Ἡλιος μηδὲν ἐλαττών με τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώναι, καὶ διδάξαι κοινῇ τε ἀπαντᾶς, ἵδια δὲ τοὺς μανθάνειν ἄξιον. ἕως δὲ μοι τοῦτο δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, κοινῇ θεραπεύσωμεν τὸν τῷ θέφῳ φίλον Ἱαμβλίχου, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἑλθόντα διεληλύθαμεν. ἐκεῖνον δὲ εὗ ὁδα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἑρεῖ τι τελειότερον, οὔτε εἰ πολλὰ πάνω προσταλαυπωρήσας καινοτομήσεις εκβιβάται γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, τῆς ἀληθεστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ νοῆσεως. 158 ἦν μὲν οὖν Ἰσως μάταιον, εἰ διδασκαλίας χάριν ἐποιούμην τοὺς λόγους, αὐτὸν 1 μετ’ ἐκεῖνων τις συγγράφειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ζυνοῦν ἐθέλων διελθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ χαριστήριον ἐν τούτῳ τόπων ὑπελάμβανον τοῦ 2 περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ φράσαι κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν, οὐ μάτην οἷμαι πεποιηθεῖς τοὺς λόγους τούσδε, τὸ

Καὶ δύναμιν δ’ ἔρειν ἱέρ’ ἀθανάτουις θεοὶσιν 3

οὐκ ἔπει τῶν θυσιῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εὐ- 4

β Φημίων τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδεχόμενος. εὐχομαι

οὖν τρίτων ἀντὶ τῆς προθυμίας μοι ταύτης εὐμενῆ

γενέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων Ἡλιον, καὶ

1 αὐτῶν Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ MSS.

2 τοῦ Hertlein suggests, τῷ M, τῷ MSS.

3 Hesiod, Works and Days 336.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

wholly worthless. But if you wish to meet with a more complete and more mystical treatment of the same theme, then read the writings of the inspired Iamblichus on this subject,¹ and you will find there the most consummate wisdom which man can achieve. And may mighty Helios grant that I too may attain to no less perfect knowledge of himself, and that I may instruct all men, speaking generally, but especially those who are worthy to learn. And so long as Helios grants let us all in common revere Iamblichus, the beloved of the gods. For he is the source for what I have here set down, a few thoughts from many, as they occurred to my mind. However I know well that no one can utter anything more perfect than he, nay not though he should labour long at the task and say very much that is new. For he will naturally diverge thereby from the truest knowledge of the god. Therefore it would probably have been a vain undertaking to compose anything after Iamblichus on the same subject if I had written this discourse for the sake of giving instruction. But since I wished to compose a hymn to express my gratitude to the god, I thought that this was the best place in which to tell, to the best of my power, of his essential nature. And so I think that not in vain has this discourse been composed. For the saying “To the extent of your powers offer sacrifice to the immortal gods,” I apply not to sacrifice only, but also to the praises that we offer to the gods. For the third time, therefore, I pray that Helios, the King of the All, may be gracious to me

¹ i.e. his treatise On the Gods, which is not extant.

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δούναι βίου ἃγαθὸν καὶ τελειωτέραν φρόνησιν καὶ θείου νοῦν ἀπαλλαγήν τε τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκ τοῦ βίου πραοτάτην ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, ἀνοδόν τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ μετὰ τούτο καὶ μονήν παρ' αὐτῷ, Κ μάλιστα μὲν ἁίδιον, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μεῖζον εἰη τῶν ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ πολυτεῖς περιόδους.
HYMN TO KING HELIOS

in recompense for this my zeal; and may he grant me a virtuous life and more perfect wisdom and inspired intelligence, and, when fate wills, the gentlest exit that may be from life, at a fitting hour; and that I may ascend to him thereafter and abide with him, for ever if possible, but if that be more than the actions of my life deserve, for many periods of many years!
ORATION V
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The cult of Phrygian Cybele the Mother of the Gods, known to the Latin world as the Great Mother, Magna Mater, was the first Oriental religion adopted by the Romans. In the Fifth Oration, which is, like the Fourth, a hymn, Julian describes the entrance of the Goddess into Italy in the third century B.C. In Greece she had been received long before, but the more civilised Hellenes had not welcomed, as did the Romans, the more barbarous features of the cult, the mutilated priests, the Galli, and the worship of Attis.\(^1\) They preferred the less emotional cult of the Syrian Adonis. In Athens the Mother of the Gods was early identified with Gaia the Earth Mother, and the two became inextricably confused.\(^2\) But Julian, in this more Roman than Greek, does not shrink from the Oriental conception of Cybele as the lover of Attis, attended by eunuch priests, or the frenzy of renunciation described by Catullus.\(^3\) But he was first of all a Neo-Platonist, and the aim of this hymn as of the Fourth Oration is to adapt to his philosophy a popular cult and to give its Mysteries a philosophic interpretation.

\(^1\) For the Attis cult see Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*; for the introduction of the worship of Cybele into Italy, Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain.*


\(^3\) Catullus 63.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The Mithraic religion, seeking to conciliate the other cults of the empire, had from the first associated with the sun-god the worship of the Magna Mater, and Attis had been endowed with the attributes of Mithras. Though Julian’s hymn is in honour of Cybele he devotes more attention to Attis. Originally the myth of Cybele symbolises the succession of the seasons; the disappearance of Attis the sun-god is the coming of winter; his mutilation is the barrenness of nature when the sun has departed; his restoration to Cybele is the renewal of spring. In all this he is the counterpart of Persephone among the Greeks and of Adonis in Syria. Julian interprets the myth in connection with the three worlds described in the Fourth Oration. Cybele is a principle of the highest, the intelligible world, the source of the intellectual gods. Attis is not merely a sun-god: he is a principle of the second, the intellectual world, who descends to the visible world in order to give it order and fruitfulness. Julian expresses the Neo-Platonic dread and dislike of matter, of the variable, the plural and unlimited. Cybele the intelligible principle would fain have restrained Attis the embodiment of intelligence from association with matter. His recall and mutilation symbolise the triumph of unity over multiformity, of mind over matter. His restoration to Cybele symbolises the escape of our souls from the world of generation.

Julian follows Plotinus in regarding the myths as allegories to be interpreted by the philosopher and

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1 5. 1. 7; 3. 6. 19; 1. 6. 8; cf. Plato, Theaetetus 152c; and Plutarch, On Isis and Osiris, δ μῦθος . . . . λόγου τῶς ἐμφασις ἐστιν ἀνακλώντος ἐπ’ ἀλλα τήν διάνοιαν.

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INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

the theosophist. They are riddles to be solved, and the paradoxical element in them is designed to turn our minds to the hidden truth. For laymen the myth is enough. Like all the Neo-Platonists he sometimes uses phrases which imply human weakness or chronological development for his divinities and then withdraws those phrases, explaining that they must be taken in another sense. His attitude to myths is further defined in the Sixth\(^1\) and Seventh Orations. The Fifth Oration can hardly be understood apart from the Fourth, and both must present many difficulties to a reader who is unfamiliar with Plotinus, Porphyry, the treatise *On the Mysteries*, formerly attributed to Iamblichus, Sallust, *On the Gods and the World*, and the extant treatises and fragments of Iamblichus. Julian composed this treatise at Pessinus in Phrygia, when he was on his way to Persia, in 362 B.C.

\(^1\) Cf. 206 d. Myths are like toys which help children through teething.
ΙΟΤΑΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ

'Αρά γε χρη φάναι καὶ ύπερ τούτων; καὶ ύπερ τῶν ἀρρήτων γράψομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνέξοιστα ἔξοισομεν ἕνα καὶ τὰ ἀνεκλάπητα ἐκκαλάξασομεν; τίς μὲν ο’ Αττίς ἦτοι Γάλλος, τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀγνείας ταυτησὶ τρόπος ὁποῖος, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ χάριν οὐτοσὶ τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχὴς κατεδείχθη, παραδοθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων Φρυγῶν, παραδεχθεὶς δὲ πρῶτον ὦ Ἐλλήνων, καὶ τούτων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ’ Ἀθηναίων, ἔργους διδαχθέντων, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ἐτώθασαν ἐπὶ τῷ τελοῦντι τὰ ὄργα τῆς Μητρός; λέγονται γὰρ οὕτω περιυβρίσαι καὶ ἀπελάσαι τὸν Γάλλον ὅς τὰ θεία κανονομοῦντα, οὐ ἤνεντες ὁποῖοι τι τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρῆμα καὶ ὡς ἡ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δην καὶ Ρέα καὶ Δημήτηρ. εἶτα μὴν τὸ ἑντεύθεν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ θεραπεία τῆς μίνιδος. ἡ γὰρ

1 ἔξοισομεν Cobet adds, ἀνέξοιστα καὶ MSS, Hertlein.
2 οὕτωσι Hertlein suggests, οὕτωσι MSS.
HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Ought I to say something on this subject also? And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable? Who is Attis or Gallus, who is the Mother of the Gods, and what is the manner of their ritual of purification? And further why was it introduced in the beginning among us Romans? It was handed down by the Phrygians in very ancient times, and was first taken over by the Greeks, and not by any ordinary Greeks but by Athenians who had learned by experience that they did wrong to jeer at one who was celebrating the Mysteries of the Mother. For it is said that they wantonly insulted and drove out Gallus, on the ground that he was introducing a new cult, because they did not understand what sort of goddess they had to do with, and that she was that very Deo whom they worship, and Rhea and Demeter too. Then followed the wrath of the goddess and the

1 The Phrygian god of vegetation who corresponds to the Syrian Adonis. His name is said to mean "father," and he is at once the lover and son of the Mother of the Gods. His death and resurrection were celebrated in spring.

2 The generic name for the eunuch priests of Attis.

3 The Phrygian Cybele, the Asiatic goddess of fertility; the chief seat of her worship was Pessinus in Phrygia.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ἐν πάσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἡγεμῶν γενομένη τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἡ τοῦ Πυθίου πρόμαντς θεοῦ, τὴν τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἱλάσκεσθαι καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ τὸ μητρῶν, οὐ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφυλάττετο τὰ γραμματεία. μετὰ δὴ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας αὐτὰ Ῥωμαίοι παρεδέξαντο, συμβουλεύσαντος καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πυθίου ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον ἀγείν ἐκ Φρυγίας τὴν θεοῦ σύμμαχον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἰσως κωλύει προσθείναι μικρὰν 1 ἱστορίαν ἐνταῦθα. μαθόντες γὰρ τὸν χρησμὸν στέλλουσιν οἱ τῆς θεοφιλοῦσι σικῆτορες Ῥώμης πρεσβείαν αἰτήσουσαν παρὰ τῶν Περγάμου βασιλέων, οἱ τότε ἐκράτουν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἀγώτατον ἀγαλμα. λαβόντες δὲ ἤγον τὸν ἱερὸν φόρτον ἐνθέντες εὐρεία φορτίδι πλεῖν εὐπετῶς δυναμενή τὰ τοσαῦτα πελάγη. περαιωθεῖσα δὲ Αἱγαῖον τε καὶ Ἰόνιον, εἶτα περιπλευσάσα Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸ Τυρρηνοῦ πέλαγος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τύβριδος κατήγετο καὶ δὴμος ἑξεχείτο τῆς πόλεως σὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ὑπήντων γε μὴν πρὸ τῶν ἀλλων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖαι πᾶσαι καὶ πάντες ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν νάυν οὕριοδ- ρομοῦσαν ἀποβλέποντες, καὶ περὶ τὴν τρόπιν

1 μικρὰν Hertlein, μικρὸν Naber, who thinks ἱστορίαν a gloss, cf. Oration vii. 276 c, μικρὸν ἱστορίαν MSS, μικρὸν ἱστορίας Reiske.

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HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

propitiation of her wrath. For the priestess of the Pythian god who guided the Greeks in all noble conduct, bade them propitiate the wrath of the Mother of the Gods. And so, we are told, the Metroum was built, where the Athenians used to keep all their state records.\(^1\) After the Greeks the Romans took over the cult, when the Pythian god had advised them in their turn to bring the goddess from Phrygia as an ally for their war against the Carthaginians.\(^2\) And perhaps there is no reason why I should not insert here a brief account of what happened. When they learned the response of the oracle, the inhabitants of Rome, that city beloved of the gods, sent an embassy to ask from the kings of Pergamon\(^3\) who then ruled over Phrygia and from the Phrygians themselves the most holy statue\(^4\) of the goddess. And when they had received it they brought back their most sacred freight, putting it on a broad cargo-boat which could sail smoothly over those wide seas. Thus she crossed the Aegean and Ionian Seas, and sailed round Sicily and over the Etruscan Sea, and so entered the mouth of the Tiber. And the people and the Senate with them poured out of the city, and in front of all the others there came to meet her all the priests and priestesses in suitable attire according to their ancestral custom. And in excited suspense they gazed at the ship as she ran before a fair wind, and about her keel they could discern the foaming wake as she cleft the

\(^1\) i.e. after the middle of the fifth century B.C.; before that date the records were kept in the Acropolis.

\(^2\) In 204 B.C.; cf. Livy 29. 10 foll.; Silius Italicus 17. 1 foll.; Ovid, Fasti 4. 265 foll. tells the legend and describes the ritual of the cult.

\(^3\) The Attalids.

\(^4\) A black meteoric stone embodied the goddess of Pessinus.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ἀπεσκόπουν τὸ ῥόθιον σχεζομένων τῶν κυμάτων· εἶτα εἰσπλέουσαν ἐδεξιοῦντο τὴν ναὶν προσκυνοῦντες ἐκαστὸς ὡς ἐτυχε προσεστῶς πόρρωθεν. ἡ δὲ ὦσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ ἐθέλουσα δήμῳ, ὅτι μὴ ἔσανον ἀγούσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ἀψυχον, ἔχει δὲ ἄρα δύναμιν τινα μείζω καὶ θειότεραν. δὴ παρὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν λαβόντες ἐφερον, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Τύβριδος ἦσατο, τὴν ναὶν ἔστησιν ὦσπερ ῥεῖσθείσαν ἑξαίφησις κατά τοῦ Τύβριδος. εἶλκον δὴ οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν βοῦν, ἡ δὲ οὐχ εἰπέτο. ὥσ ἦραξει δὲ ἐντευχηκότες ὥθειν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν ναίν, ἡ δὲ οὐκ εἰκεν ὁθούντων. πᾶσα δὲ μηχανὴ προσήγετο τὸ ἐντεῦθεν, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἦτο ναὶ ἀμετακίνητος· ἦν ἀπετίπτετε κατὰ τῆς ιερομένης τὴν παναγεστάτην ἱερωσύνην παρθένου δεινή καὶ άδικος ὑποψία, καὶ τὴν Κλωδίαν ἦτιάτῳ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν ην τῇ σεμνῇ παρθένῳ· μὴ παντάπασιν ἄχραιντο μηδὲ καθαρὰν φυλάττειν ἑαυτὴν τῇ θεῷ· ὁργίζεσθαι οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ μηνίειν ἐμφάνως· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἦδη τοῖς πᾶσιν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα δαιμονιώτερον. ἡ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἴδους ὑπεπήμηπλατο πρὸς τε τὸ οὖνα καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν· οὖτω πάνω πόρρω ἐτύγχανε τῆς αἰσχρᾶς καὶ παρανόμου πράξεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα τὴν αἰτίαν ἤδη καὶ ἐαυτῆς ἐξεχύοναν, περιελύσα τὴν ζώην καὶ περιέβασα τῆς νεὼς τοῖς ἀκροῖς, ὦσπερ εὖ ἐπιπυνοῖς τινὸς ἄποχρεών ἐκέλευν ἀπαντᾶς, εἶτα ἐδείτο τῆς θεοῦ μὴ περιίδειν αὐτὴν ἅδικοις ἐνεχομένην βλασφημίαις.

1 ὥσ Petavius adds.
2 αὐτὴν Hertlein suggests, αὐτὴν MSS.

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waves. And they greeted the ship as she sailed in and adored her from afar, everyone where he happened to be standing. But the goddess, as though she desired to show the Roman people that they were not bringing a lifeless image from Phrygia, but that what they had received from the Phrygians and were now bringing home possessed greater and more divine powers than an image, stayed the ship directly she touched the Tiber, and she was suddenly as though rooted in mid-stream. So they tried to tow her against the current, but she did not follow. Then they tried to push her off, thinking they had grounded on a shoal, but for all their efforts she did not move. Next every possible device was brought to bear, but in spite of all she remained immovable. Thereupon a terrible and unjust suspicion fell on the maiden who had been consecrated to the most sacred office of priestess, and they began to accuse Claudia 1 —for that was the name of that noble maiden 2 —of not having kept herself stainless and pure for the goddess; wherefore they said that the goddess was angry and was plainly declaring her wrath. For by this time the thing seemed to all to be supernatural. Now at first she was filled with shame at the mere name of the thing and the suspicion; so very far was she from such shameless and lawless behaviour. But when she saw that the charge against her was gaining strength, she took off her girdle and fastened it about the prow of the ship, and, like one divinely inspired, bade all stand aside: and then she besought the goddess not to suffer her to be thus implicated

1 Claudia, turritae rara ministra deae. "Claudia, thou peerless priestess of the goddess with the embattled crown." —Propertius 4. 11. 52. 2 A matron in other versions.
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βοῶσα δὲ ὡσπερ τι κέλευσμα, φασί, ναυτικόν, Δέσποινα Μήπερ εἴπερ εἰμὶ σώφρων, ἔποιξ μοι, ἔφη. καὶ δὴ τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐκίνησε μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ εἰλκυσεν ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸς τὸν ροῦν καὶ δύο ταῦτα Ἄρωμαίοις ἐδείξεν ἢ θεός οἶμαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. ὡς οὔτε μικρῶν τινος τίμιον ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπήγοντο 1 φόρτον, ἄλλα τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον, οὔτε ὡς ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον, ἄλλα ὄντως θείον, οὔτε ἄψυχον γῆν, ἄλλα ἔμπνουν τι χρήμα καὶ δαιμόνιον. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιούτων ἐδείξεν αὐτοῖς ἢ θεός. ἔτερον δὲ, ὡς τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς λάθοι ἄν αὐτὴν χρηστός ἢ φαύλος ὁν. καταρθώθη καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτίκα Ἄρωμαίοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ὡστε τὸν τρίτων ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῆς μόνον Καρχηδόνος γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰ καὶ τισιν ἀπίθανα δόξει καὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσήκειν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ θεολόγῳ, λεγέσθω μὴ μεῖον, κοινῆ μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἱστοριογράφων ἀναγραφόμενα, σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεί Ἄρῳμη. καίτοι με ςοὐ λέληθεν ὅτι φήσουσιν αὐτά τινας τῶν λιῶν σοφῶν υπὸς εἶναι γραδίων οὕκ ἀνεκτούς. ἐμὸ δὲ δοκεί ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢ τουτοί νοῖ κομψοῖς, ὁν τὸ ψυχάριον δριμῦ μέν, ὑγιής δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν βλέπει. 2

Τὸπερ δὲ ὅτι εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθε μοι παρ’ αὐτὸν ἄρτι

1 ἐπήγοντο Hertlein suggests, ἐπήγον τὸν MSS.
2 Plato, Republic 519 ἀ δριμῦ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον.

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in unjust slanders. Next, as the story goes, she cried aloud as though it were some nautical word of command, "O Goddess Mother, if I am pure follow me!" And lo, she not only made the ship move, but even towed her for some distance up stream. Two things, I think, the goddess showed the Romans on that day: first that the freight they were bringing from Phrygia had no small value, but was priceless, and that this was no work of men's hands but truly divine, not lifeless clay but a thing possessed of life and divine powers. This, I say, was one thing that the goddess showed them. And the other was that no one of the citizens could be good or bad and she not know thereof. Moreover the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians forthwith took a favourable turn, so that the third war was waged only for the walls of Carthage itself.¹

As for this narrative, though some will think it incredible and wholly unworthy of a philosopher or a theologian, nevertheless let it here be related. For besides the fact that it is commonly recorded by most historians, it has been preserved too on bronze statues in mighty Rome, beloved of the gods.² And yet I am well aware that some over-wise persons will call it an old wives' tale, not to be credited. But for my part I would rather trust the traditions of cities than those too clever people, whose puny souls are keen-sighted enough, but never do they see aught that is sound.

I am told that on this same subject of which I am

¹ In the Third Punic War, which began 149 B.C., Carthage was sacked by the Romans under Scipio.
² A relief in the Capitoline Museum shows Claudia in the act of dragging the ship.
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tὸν τῆς ἀγιστείας καἰρόν, ἀκοῦόν μὲν ἐγώγε καὶ Πορφυρίω τινὰ πεψιλοσοφήσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ μὴν οἶδα γε, οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον, εἰ καὶ συνενεχθήναι ποὺ συμβαίνῃ τῷ λόγῳ. τὸν Γάλλον δὲ ἐγὼ τοὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀττιν αὐτὸς οἰκοθεν ἐπινοῶ τοῦ γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικοῦ νοῦ τῆς ἀχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ὑλῆς ἀπαντα γεννῶσαν οὐσίαν εἰναι, ἐχουσαν τε ἐν ἑαυτῇ πάντας τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἐν πάσι τὰ εἶδη, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτᾶτω καὶ πρώτως αἰτίοις τὰ τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ τελευταίων, μεθ᾽ ἄ οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τῆς στερήσεως ὅνομα μετὰ ἀμυ- δρᾶς ἐπινοίας. οὕσων δὴ πολλῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ πολ- λῶν πάνω δημιουργῶν τοῦ τρίτου δημιουργοῦ, δὲ τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐξηρημένους ἔχει καὶ συνεχεῖς τὰς αἰτίας, ἡ τελευταία καὶ μέχρι γῆς ὑπὸ περιουσίας τοῦ γονίμου διὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν παρὰ τῶν ἀστρῶν καθήκουσα φύσις ὁ ξητούμενος ἐστὶν Ἀττις. ἵσως δὲ ὑπὲρ οὐ λέγω χρῆ διαλαβεῖν σαφέστερον. εἰναὶ τι λέγομεν ὑλῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνυλον εἴδος. ἀλλὰ τούτων εἰ μή τις αἰτία προτέτακται, λανθάνοιμεν ἄν ἐαυτοῦς εἰςάγοντες τὴν Ἐπικούρειον δόξαν. ἀρχαῖν γὰρ δυοῖν εἰ μηδὲν ἐστί πρεσβύτερον, αὐτόματος τις αὐτὰς φορά καὶ τύχη συνεκλήρωσεν. ἀλλ' ὀρῶμεν,
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impelled to speak at the very season of these sacred rites, Porphyry too has written a philosophic treatise. But since I have never met with it I do not know whether at any point it may chance to agree with my discourse. But him whom I call Gallus or Attis I discern of my own knowledge to be the substance of generative and creative Mind which engenders all things down to the lowest plane of matter, and comprehends in itself all the concepts and causes of the forms that are embodied in matter. For truly the forms of all things are not in all things, and in the highest and first causes we do not find the forms of the lowest and last, after which there is nothing save privation coupled with a dim idea. Now there are many substances and very many creative gods, but the nature of the third creator, who contains in himself the separate concepts of the forms that are embodied in matter and also the connected chain of causes, I mean that nature which is last in order, and through its super-abundance of generative power descends even unto our earth through the upper region from the stars,—this is he whom we seek, even Attis. But perhaps I ought to distinguish more clearly what I mean. We assert that matter exists and also form embodied in matter. But if no cause be assigned prior to these two, we should be introducing, unconsciously, the Epicurean doctrine. For if there be nothing of higher order than these two principles, then a spontaneous motion and chance brought them together.

1 i.e. the world of sense-perception.
2 Plotinus l. 8. 4 called matter "the privation of the Good," στέρησις ἀγαθοῦ.
3 Helios; cf. Oration 4. 140 Α. Attis is here identified with the light of the sun.
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φησὶ Περιπατητικὸς τις ἀγχίνους ὥσπερ ὁ ᾿Εναρχος, τούτων αἰτιον ὅν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ κυκλικὸν σῶμα. γελοῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστότελης ὑπὲρ τούτων ζητῶν τε καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος. ἤγνωσε γοὺν τὴν ἕαυτον φωνήν. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀσώματον οὐσίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ νοητὴν ἔστη μὴ πολυπραγμονῶν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ φᾶς οὐτω ταῦτα πεφυκέναι. χρῆν δὲ δὴ ποιθεὶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος τὸ πεφυκέναι ταῦτη λαμβάνοντα μηκέτι ζητεῖν τὰς αἴτιας, ἵστασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἐκπίπτειν δυν μὲν οὐδὲν φύσει καθ' ἕαυτό, ἔχων δὲ ἀλλὰς κενήν ὑπόνοιαν. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ μέμημαι τοῦ ᾿Εναρχοῦ λέγοντος ἀκηκοῶς. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, τοῖς ἄγαν ἐφεύσθω Περιπατητικὸς ὀνυχίζειν, ὅτι δὲ οὐ προσηνῶς ἐμοὶ παυτὶ ποι δήλων, ὅπως τοὺς Ἀριστοτελικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐνδεεστέρως ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνω, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐς ταῦτὰ τοῖς Πλάτωνος ἀγοι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς ἐκ θεῶν δεδομέναις προφητείαις.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἵσως ἄξιον πυθέσθαι, πῶς τὸ κυκλικὸν σῶμα δύναται τὰς ἀσώματους ἔχειν αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δίχα τούτων

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"But," says some acute Peripatetic like Xenarchus, "we see that the cause of these is the fifth or cyclic substance. Aristotle is absurd when he investigates and discusses these matters, and Theophrastus likewise. At any rate he overlooked the implications of a well-known utterance of his. For just as when he came to incorporeal and intelligible substance he stopped short and did not inquire into its cause, and merely asserted that this is what it is by nature; surely in the case of the fifth substance also he ought to have assumed that its nature is to be thus; and he ought not to have gone on to search for causes, but should have stopped at these, and not fallen back on the intelligible, which has no independent existence by itself, and in any case represents a bare supposition." This is the sort of thing that Xenarchus says, as I remember to have heard. Now whether what he says is correct or not, let us leave to the extreme Peripatetics to refine upon. But that his view is not agreeable to me is, I think, clear to everyone. For I hold that the theories of Aristotle himself are incomplete unless they are brought into harmony with those of Plato; or rather we must make these also agree with the oracles that have been vouchsafed to us by the gods.

But this it is perhaps worth while to inquire, how the cyclic substance can contain the incorporeal causes of the forms that are embodied in matter.

1 Julian here sums up the tendency of the philosophy of his age. The Peripatetics had been merged in the Platonists and Neo-Platonists, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator often speaks of the reconciliation, in contemporary philosophy, of Plato and Aristotle; cf. 235 c, 236, 366 c. Julian, following the example of Iamblichus, would force them into agreement; but the final appeal was to revealed religion. 2 i.e. aether, the fifth substance.
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υποστήναι τὴν γένεσιν οὐκ ἔνδεχεται, πρόδηλόν ἦστι πον καὶ σαφές. τοῦ χάριν γὰρ ἐστὶ το- σαῦτα τὰ γιγνόμενα; τόθεν δὲ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ; πόθεν δὲ ἡ κατὰ γένος τῶν ὄντων ἐν ὀρισμέ- νοις εἴδεσι διαφορά, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἴεν προϋπάρ- χοντες καὶ προὕφεστώτες\(^1\) λόγοι αἰτίαι τε ἐν παραδείγματος λόγῳ προὕφεστώσαι; πρὸς ἄσ εἴπερ ἀμβλυώττομεν, ἔτι καθαιρόμεθα τὰ ὅμομα τῆς ψυχῆς. κάθαρσις δὲ ὀρθὴ στραφῆναι πρὸς ἔαυτον καὶ κατανοῆσαι, πῶς μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ὁ ἐνυλος νοῦς ὀσπερ ἐκμαγεῖόν τι τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν καὶ εἰκών ἐστών. ἐν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦστι τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένων τε καὶ θεωρομένων ἀσωμάτων, οὐ τῆς φαντασίαν ὁ νοῦς οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν ἀσωμάτως, ὅπερ οὐ- ποτ' ἀν ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ τι ξυγγενές εἴχεν αὐτοῖς φύσει. ταύτα τοι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ψυχὴν τόπον εἰδῶν ἔφη, πλὴν οὐκ ἐνεργεῖα, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει. τὴν μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπεστραμμένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα δυνάμει ταύτα ἐχειν ἀναγκαίον εἰ δὲ τις ἄσχετος εἰ ή καὶ ἄμυγης ταύτη, τοὺς λόγους οὐκέτι δυνάμει, πάντας δὲ C

\(^1\) προὕφεστώτες Hertlein suggests, cf. 165 D, προὕφεστώτες MSS.

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For that, apart from these causes, it is not possible for generation to take place is, I think, clear and manifest. For why are there so many kinds of generated things? Whence arise masculine and feminine? Whence the distinguishing characteristics of things according to their species in well-defined types, if there are not pre-existing and pre-established concepts, and causes which existed beforehand to serve as a pattern? And if we discern these causes but dimly, let us still further purify the eyes of the soul. And the right kind of purification is to turn our gaze inwards and to observe how the soul and embodied Mind are a sort of mould and likeness of the forms that are embodied in matter. For in the case of the corporeal, or of things that though incorporeal come into being and are to be studied in connection with the corporeal, there is no single thing whose mental image the mind cannot grasp independently of the corporeal. But this it could not have done if it did not possess something naturally akin to the incorporeal forms. Indeed it is for this reason that Aristotle himself called the soul the “place of the forms,” only he said that the forms are there not actually but potentially. Now a soul of this sort, that is allied with matter, must needs possess these forms potentially only, but a soul that should be independent and unmixed in this way we must believe would contain all the

1 i.e. the causes of the forms that are embodied in matter have a prior existence as Ideas.
2 An echo of Plato, Theaetetus 191 c, 196 A; Timaeus 50 c.
3 De Anima 3. 4. 429 A; Aristotle quotes the phrase with approval and evidently attributes it to Plato; the precise expression is not to be found in Plato, though in Parmenides 132 B he says that the Ideas are “in our souls.”

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υπάρχειν ἐνεργείας νομιστέον. λάβωμεν δὲ αὐτὰ σαφέστερον διὰ τοῦ παραδείγματος, ὅ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ 1 πρὸς ἔτερον μὲν λόγον, ἐχρήσατο δ' οὖν ὄμως. τὸ παράδειγμα δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν χρὴ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν, 2 ἀλλ' ἐπιβολῇ μόνῃ, περὶ γὰρ τῶν πρῶτων αἰτιῶν ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν γε ὁμοστοίχων τοῖς πρῶτοις, εἰτέρ ἢμῖν ἐστιν, ὡσπερ οὖν ἄξιον νομίζειν, καὶ ὁ "Ἀττίς θεός. τί δὲ καὶ ποιῶν ἐστὶ τὸ παράδειγμα; φησὶ 3 ποι Πλάτων, τῶν περὶ τὴν μίμησιν διατριβῶντων εἰ μὲν ἐθέλοι τις μιμεῖσθαι, ὡστε καθυστεράται τὰ μμητά, ἐργώδη τε εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ νὴ Δία γε τοῦ ἀδυνάτου πλησίον μᾶλλον, εὕκολον δὲ καὶ ῥαδίαν καὶ σφόδρα δυνατὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ δοκείν τὰ ὄντα μομουμένην. ὅταν οὖν τὸ κάτοπτρον λαβόντες περιφέρομεν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὄντων ῥαδίως ἀπομαξάμενοι, δείκνυμεν ἐκάστου τοὺς τύπους. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παραδείγματος ἔπει τὸ εἰρημένον μεταβιβάζωμεν τὸ ὁμοιόμα, ἵν' ἢ τὸ μὲν κάτοπτρον ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἄριστοτέλεος δυνάμεις τόπους εἰδὼν.

Αὐτὰ δὲ χρὴ τὰ εἰδὴ πρῶτον ὑφεστάναι πάντως ἐνεργεία τοῦ δυνάμει. τῆς τοῦν ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ Ἄριστοτέλει δοκεῖ, δυνάμει τῶν ὀντῶν ἐχούσις τὰ εἰδή, τοὺ πρῶτον ἐνεργεία θησάμεθα ταύτα; πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἐνύλοις; ἀλλ' Β' ἐστι γε ταύτα φανερῶς τὰ τελευταία. λείπεται

1 233 D. 2 αὐτὸν Hertlein suggests, αὐτό MSS. 3 Sophist 235 ι; cf. Republic 596 D.

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concepts, not potentially but actually. Let us make this clearer by means of the example which Plato himself employed in the Sophist, with reference certainly to another theory, but still he did employ it. And I bring forward the illustration, not to prove my argument; for one must not try to grasp it by demonstration, but only by apprehension. For it deals with the first causes, or at least those that rank with the first, if indeed, as it is right to believe, we must regard Attis also as a god. What then, and of what sort is this illustration? Plato says that, if any man whose profession is imitation desire to imitate in such a way that the original is exactly reproduced, this method of imitation is troublesome and difficult, and, by Zeus, borders on the impossible; but pleasant and easy and quite possible is the method which only seems to imitate real things. For instance, when we take up a mirror and turn it round we easily get an impression of all objects, and show the general outline of every single thing. From this example let us go back to the analogy I spoke of, and let the mirror stand for what Aristotle calls the "place of the forms" potentially.

Now the forms themselves must certainly subsist actually before they subsist potentially. If, therefore, the soul in us, as Aristotle himself believed, contains potentially the forms of existing things, where shall we place the forms in that previous state of actuality? Shall it be in material things? No, for the forms that are in them are evidently the last and lowest. Therefore it only remains to search
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dή λοιπῶν ἀύλους αἰτίας ξητεῖν ἐνεργεῖα προτεταγμένας τῶν ἐνύλων, ἃς παρυποστάσαν καὶ συμπροελθοῦσαν ἥμῶν τὴν ψυχήν δέχεσθαι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, ὡσπερ ἐξ ὁντῶν τινῶν τὰ ἐσοπτρα, τοὺς τῶν εἰδῶν ἀναγκαῖον λόγους, ἐνδιδόναι δὲ διὰ τῆς φύσεως τῇ τε ὑλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐνύλους τουτοισὶ σώμασιν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν σωμάτων ἰσμεν, ὡς ὅλη τις οὖσα τοῦ παῦτός, ἡ δὲ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἕνος ἐκαστοῦ τῶν ἐν μέρει, πρὸδηλὸν ἐστὶ που καὶ σαφές, ἀλλ’ ἡ φύσις ἐνεργεῖα δίχα φαντασίας ἐν ἦμῶν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ψυχῆ καὶ τῆς φαντασίαν προσείληφεν. εἰ τοιών ἡ φύσις καὶ ὅν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν φαντασίαν ἐχειν ὁμοιό μολογεῖται τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνθ’ ὅτου πρὸς θεῶν οὐχὶ τούτο αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἔτι καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῇ ψυχῇ δώσομεν, ὅτι καὶ φανταστικῶς αὐτὸ γνωσκόμεν ἡδἠ καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβάνομεν; εἰτα τὶς οὕτως ἐστὶ φιλόνεικος, ὡς τῇ φύσει μὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐνύλους λόγους, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντας καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνεργεία, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει γε πάντας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ μὴ δούναι τούτῳ αὐτῷ; οὐκοῦν εἰ δυνάμει μὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ οὐκ ἐνεργεία τὰ εἶδη, δυνάμει δὲ ἐτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρώτερον καὶ δια-

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for immaterial causes which exist in actuality prior to and of a higher order than the causes that are embodied in matter. And our souls must subsist in dependence on these and come forth together with them, and so receive from them the concepts of the forms, as mirrors show the reflections of things; and then with the aid of nature it bestows them on matter and on these material bodies of our world. For we know that nature is the creator of bodies, universal nature in some sort of the All; while that the individual nature of each is the creator of particulars is plainly evident. But nature exists in us in actuality without a mental image, whereas the soul, which is superior to nature, possesses a mental image besides. If therefore we admit that nature contains in herself the cause of things of which she has however no mental image, why, in heaven's name, are we not to assign to the soul these same forms, only in a still higher degree, and with priority over nature, seeing that it is in the soul that we recognise the forms by means of mental images, and comprehend them by means of the concept? Who then is so contentious as to admit on the one hand that the concepts embodied in matter exist in nature—even though not all and equally in actuality, yet all potentially—while on the other hand he refuses to recognise that the same is true of the soul? If therefore the forms exist in nature potentially, but not actually, and if also they exist potentially in the soul, only in a still purer sense and more completely separated, so that they can be comprehended and recognised;

1 For the superiority of the soul to nature cf. De Mysteriis 8. 7. 270; and for the theory that the soul gives form to matter, Plotinus 4. 3. 20.
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κεκριμένως μᾶλλον, ὡστε δὴ καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ γινώσκεσθαι, ἐνεργεία δὲ οὐδαμοῦν πόθεν ἀναρτήσομεν τῆς ἀειγενεσίας τὰ πείσματα; ποῦ δὲ ἐδράσομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀιδιούτητος κόσμου λόγους; τὸ γὰρ τοι τυχλικῶν σῶμα ἕξυποκειμένου καὶ εἴδους ἔστιν. ἀνάγκη δὴ οὖν, εἰ καὶ μὴποτε ἐνεργεία ταῦτα δίχα ἄλληλην, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε ἐπινοιαῖς ἐκεῖνα πρῶτα ὑπάρχοντα εἶναι τε καὶ νομίζεσθαι πρεσβύτερα. οὐκούν ἐπειδὴ δέδοται τις καὶ τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν αἰτία προηγουμένη παντελῶς ἄνυλος ὑπὸ τὸν τρίτον δημογράφον, δς ἡμῖν οὐ τούτων μόνον ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ πέμπτου σώματος πατὴρ καὶ δεσπότης ἀποδιελόντες ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀττιν, τὴν ἄχρι τῆς ὑλῆς καταβαίνουσαν αἰτίαν, καὶ θεόν γόνιμον "Ἀττιν εἶναι καὶ Γάλλου πεπιστεύκαμεν, δὸν δὴ φησιν ὁ μύθος ἀνθῆσαι μὲν ἐκτεθέντα παρὰ Γάλλου ποταμοῦ ταῖς δίναις, εἰτὰ καλὸν φανέντα καὶ μέγαν ἀγαπηθῆναι παρὰ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἀστερωτὸν περιθείναι πῖλον. ἀλλ' εἰ τὴν κορυφήν σκέπη τοῦ Ἁττίδος ὁ φαινόμενος οὐρανὸς οὐτοσι, τὸν Γάλλου ποταμὸν ἄρα μὴ ποτὲ χρῆ τὸν γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεσθαι κύκλου; ἐνταῦθα γὰρ φασὶ μῶνυσθαι τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἀπαθῆ τοῦ

2 αἰνίττεσθαι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust 250 τὸν γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεσται κύκλον: μαντεύεσθαι MSS.

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but yet exist in actuality nowhere at all; to what, I ask, shall we hang the chain of perpetual generation, and on what shall we base our theories of the imperishability of the universe? For the cyclic substance itself is composed of matter and form. It must therefore follow that, even though in actuality these two, matter and form, are never separate from one another, yet for our intelligence the forms must have prior existence and be regarded as of a higher order. Accordingly, since for the forms embodied in matter a wholly immaterial cause has been assigned, which leads these forms under the hand of the third creator—who for us is the lord and father not only of these forms but also of the visible fifth substance—from that creator we distinguish Attis, the cause which descends even unto matter, and we believe that Attis or Gallus is a god of generative powers. Of him the myth relates that, after being exposed at birth near the eddying stream of the river Gallus, he grew up like a flower, and when he had grown to be fair and tall, he was beloved by the Mother of the Gods. And she entrusted all things to him, and moreover set on his head the starry cap. But if our visible sky covers the crown of Attis, must one not interpret the river Gallus as the Milky Way? For it is there, they say, that the substance which is subject to change mingles with the passion-

1 i.e. the fifth substance.
2 Helios; cf. 161 D. The whole passage implies the identification of Attis with nature, and of the world-soul with Helios; cf. 162 A where Attis is called "Nature," φύσις.
4 cf. 171 A; Sallust also identifies Gallus with the Milky Way, 4. 14. 25.
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πέμπτου κυκλοφορίαν. ἂν ὁ τοῦτον ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτάν τε καὶ χορεύειν τῷ καλῷ τοῦτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἡλικαίας ἀκτίσιν ἐμφερεῖ τῷ νοερῷ θεῷ, τῷ Ἀθηνὶ. ὃ δὲ ἐπειδή προϊόν ἠλθεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὁ μύθος αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἀντρον ἐκατέθειεν ἐφη καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ, τῷ δινυρον αἰνιττόμενος τῆς ὕλης καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλην αὐτὴν νῦν ἐφη, τὴν τελευταίαν δὲ αἰτίαν ἅσώματον, ἢ τῆς ὕλης προὔφεστηκε.\(^2\)

λέγεταί τοι καὶ πρὸς Ἦρακλείτον.\(^3\)

ψυχήσιν θάνατος ὑγρήσι γενέσθαι

tούτων οὖν τῶν Γάλλων, τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, τῶν τῶν ἐνύλων καὶ ὑπὸ σελήνην εἰδῶν συνοχέα, τῇ προτεταγμένῃ τῆς ὕλης αἰτία συνιόντα, συνιόντα δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλον ἄλλη, ἄλλη' οἶνον αὐτὸ εἰς ἕαυτὸ\(^4\) λέγομεν\(^5\) ὑποφερόμενον.

Τῆς οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν; ἡ τῶν κυβερνώντων τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν θεῶν πηγή, ἢ καὶ τεκοῦσα καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ μεγάλῳ Δίῳ θεῷ ὑποστάσα μεγάλη μετὰ τῶν μέγαν καὶ συν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημιουργῷ, ἢ πάσης μὲν κυρία ξωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενέσεως αἰτία, ἢ ῥᾶτα μὲν ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ ποιούμενα, γεννώσα δὲ δίχα πάθους καὶ δημιουργοῦσα τὰ ὀντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· αὐτὴ καὶ παρθένος ἀμήτωρ καὶ Δίος σύνθωκος καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν οὖν οὐσα πάντων. τῶν γὰρ νοητῶν

1 cf. Porphyry, On the Cave of the Nymph 7; and Plato, Republic 514 a.

2 προὔφεστηκε Hertlein suggests, προέστηκε MSS.

3 fr. 36, Diels.

4 ἕαυτὸ Shorey suggests, τοῦτο Hertlein, MSS.

5 λέγομεν Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

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less revolving sphere of the fifth substance. Only as far as this did the Mother of the Gods permit this fair intellectual god Attis, who resembles the sun’s rays, to leap and dance. But when he passed beyond this limit and came even to the lowest region, the myth said that he had descended into the cave, and had wedded the nymph. And the nymph is to be interpreted as the dampness of matter; though the myth does not here mean matter itself, but the lowest immaterial cause which subsists prior to matter. Indeed Heracleitus also says: “It is death to souls to become wet.” We mean therefore that this Gallus, the intellectual god, the connecting link between forms embodied in matter beneath the region of the moon, is united with the cause that is set over matter, but not in the sense that one sex is united with another, but like an element that is gathered to itself.

Who then is the Mother of the Gods? She is the source of the intellectual and creative gods, who in their turn guide the visible gods: she is both the mother and the spouse of mighty Zeus; she came into being next to and together with the great creator; she is in control of every form of life, and the cause of all generation; she easily brings to perfection all things that are made; without pain she brings to birth, and with the father’s aid creates all things that are; she is the motherless maiden, enthroned at the side of Zeus, and in very truth is the Mother of all the Gods. For having received

1 cf. 170 D, 179 D. 2 i.e. Zeus. 3 Hence she is the counterpart of Athene, cf. 179 A. Athene is Forethought among the intellectual gods; Cybele is Forethought among the intelligible gods and therefore superior to Athene; cf. 180 A.

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ὑπερκοσμίων τε θεῶν δεξαμένη πάντων τάς αἰτίας ἐν ἑαυτῇ πηγῇ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐγένετο. ταύτην δὴ τὴν θεὸν οὔσαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔρως μὲν ὑπῆλθεν ἀπαθὴς "Ἄττιδος" ἐθελούσια γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἔστιν οὐ τὰ ἐνυλα μόνον εἴδη, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τὰ τούτων αἰτία. τὴν δὴ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ φθειρόμενα σώζουσαν προμήθειαν ἔραν ὁ μύθος ἐφ' ἡς δημιουργικὴς τούτων αἰτίας καὶ γονίμων, καὶ κελεύει μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τίκτειν μᾶλλον καὶ βούλεσθαι μὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς ἐπεστράφθαι καὶ συνοικεῖν, ἐπίταγμα δὲ ποιεῖσθαι, μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀμα μὲν τὸ ἐνοεῖδες σωτηρίου διώκουσαν, ἀμα δὲ φεύγουσαν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὑλήν νεύσαιν πρὸς ἑαυτήν τε βλέπειν ἐκέλευσεν, οὔθαν πηγὴν μὲν τῶν δημιουργικῶν θεῶν, οὐ καθελκομένην δὲ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν οὔδε θελημομένην οὔτω γὰρ ἐμελλεν ὁ μέγας Ἀττις καὶ κρείττων ἐναὶ δημιουργός, ἐπείπερ ἐν πάσιν ἐν πρὸς τὸ κρείττον ἐπιστροφῇ μᾶλλον ἔστι δραστήριος τῆς πρὸς τὸ χείρων νεύσεως. ἐπεί καὶ τὸ πέμπτον σῶμα τούτῳ δημιουργικῶτερον ἔστι τῶν τῇ δι καθετοροῦ, τῷ μᾶλλον εἰστράφθαι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἐπεί τοι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ αἰθέρος ἡ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, ψυχὴς ἄχριντον καὶ καθαρᾶς, ὁποίαι τὴν Ἡρακλεοὺς ὁ δημιουργός ἐξέπεμψεν, οὐδὲς δὲν εἰπεῖν κρείττον

1 te Hertlein suggests. 2 τὰς Hertlein suggests. 3 μὲν Hertlein suggests, τε MSS. 4 κρείττων Hertlein suggests, κρείττον MSS.

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into herself the causes of all the gods, both intelligible and supra-mundane, she became the source of the intellectual gods. Now this goddess, who is also Forethought, was inspired with a passionless love for Attis. For not only the forms embodied in matter, but to a still greater degree the causes of those forms, voluntarily serve her and obey her will. Accordingly the myth relates the following: that she who is the Providence who preserves all that is subject to generation and decay, loved their creative and generative cause, and commanded that cause to beget offspring rather in the intelligible region; and she desired that it should turn towards herself and dwell with her, but condemned it to dwell with no other thing. For only thus would that creative cause strive towards the uniformity that preserves it, and at the same time would avoid that which inclines towards matter. And she bade that cause look towards her, who is the source of the creative gods, and not be dragged down or allured into generation. For in this way was mighty Attis destined to be an even mightier creation, seeing that in all things the conversion to what is higher produces more power to effect than the inclination to what is lower. And the fifth substance itself is more creative and more divine than the elements of our earth, for this reason, that it is more nearly connected with the gods. Not that anyone, surely, would venture to assert that any substance, even if it be composed of the purest aether, is superior to soul undefiled and pure, that of Heracles for instance, as it was when the creator sent it to earth. For that soul
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tōlμήσειε. tōte mέntoι ἢν τε καὶ ἐδόκει μᾶλλον
δραστήριος, ὡς ἦτε1 αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν ἐκείνη σώματι.
ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ νῦν Ἡρακλεὶ ὄλῳ πρὸς ὅλων κε-
χωρηκότι τὸν πατέρα ράων ἡ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια
καθέστηκεν ἡ πρότερον ἦν, ὡτε ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
σαρκία φορῶν ἐστρέφετο. οὖτως ἐν πάσι δρα-
στήριος μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπόστασις
τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον στροφῆς. ὦ δή βουλόμενοι ὁ
μύθος διδάξαι παραίνεσαι φησὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν
θεῶν τῷ Ἀττιδι θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπεῖ
ἀποχωρεῖν μήτε ἐράν ἄλλης. ὦ δὲ προῆλθεν ἄχρι
τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς ζωῆς κατελθὼν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχρη
παύσασθαί ποτε καὶ στῆναι τὴν ἀπειρίαν,
Κορύβας μὲν ὁ μέγας Ἱλίμος, ὁ σύνθρονος
τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ συνδημουργῶν αὐτή τὰ πάντα
καὶ συμπρομηθούμενος καὶ σύνη τῶν πράττων
αὐτής δίχα, πείθει τὸν λεόντα μηνυτὴν γενέ-
σθαι. τίς δὲ ὁ λέων; αἴθωνα δήπουθεν ἀκοῦομεν
αὐτῶν, αἰτίαν τούτων τὴν προφετησάων2 τοῦ
θερμοῦ καὶ πυράδας, ἡ πολεμήσειν ἐμελλέ
τῇ νύμφῃ καὶ ξηλοτυπήσειν αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν
Ἀττιν κοινωνίας· εἰρήται δὲ ἢ μὴν τίς ἡ νύμφη.
τῇ δὲ3 δημουργικῇ προμηθείᾳ τῶν ὄντων ύποχρ-
γήσαι φησιν ὁ μύθος,4 δηλαδὴ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν

1 ὡς Shorey, ὡς Ηρτλίν, MSS.
2 προφετησάων Ηρτλίν suggests, προφέτησαν MSS.
3 τῇ δὲ Ηρτλίν suggests, τῇ MSS.
4 φησιν ὁ μύθος Ηρτλίν suggests, φησι MSS.

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of his both seemed to be and was more effective than after it had bestowed itself on a body. Since even Heracles, now that he has returned, one and indivisible, to his father one and indivisible, more easily controls his own province than formerly when he wore the garment of flesh and walked among men. And this shows that in all things the conversion to the higher is more effective than the propensity to the lower. This is what the myth aims to teach us when it says that the Mother of the Gods exhorted Attis not to leave her or to love another. But he went further, and descended even to the lowest limits of matter. Since, however, it was necessary that his limitless course should cease and halt at last, mighty Helios the Corybant, who shares the Mother’s throne and with her creates all things, with her has providence for all things, and apart from her does nothing, persuaded the Lion to reveal the matter. And who is the Lion? Verily we are told that he is flame-coloured. He is, therefore, the cause that subsists prior to the hot and fiery, and it was his task to contend against the nymph and to be jealous of her union with Attis. (And who the nymph is, I have said.) And the myth says that the Lion serves the creative Providence of the world, which evidently means the

1 The Corybantes were the Phrygian priests of Cybele, who at Rome were called Galli.

2 The Asiatic deities, especially Cybele, are often represented holding lions, or in cars drawn by them. Cf. Catullus 63. 76, juncta juga resolvens Cybele leonibus, “Cybele unharnessed her team of lions”; she sends a lion in pursuit of Attis, cf. 168 ν.; Porphyry, On the Cave of the Nymph 3. 2. 287 calls the sign of the lion “the dwelling of Helios.”

3 Iliad 10. 23 λέωντος αἰθώνος.
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etα φωράσαντα καὶ μηνυτὴν γενόμενον αὐτιον
γενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ τῆς ἐκτομῆς. ἦ δὲ ἐκτομὴ
tίς; ἐποχῇ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐστὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ τῆς
gενέσεως ἐν ὀρισμένοις τοῖς εἴδεσιν ὑπὸ τῆς
dημουργικῆς ἐπισχεθέντα προμηθείας, οὐκ ἀνεν
tίς τοῦ Ἀττίδος λεγομένης παραφροσύνης, ἡ τὸ
μέτριον ἐξισταμένη καὶ ὑπερβαίνουσα καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο ὦσπερ ἐξασθενοῦσα καὶ οὐκέθα αὐτής εἶναι
δυναμένη. 1 ὦ δὴ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑποστήναι
tῶν θεῶν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀλογοῦν. σκόπει οὖν ἀναλ-
λοίωτον κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀλλοίωσιν τὸ πέμπτον
θεώμενον σώμα περὶ τοὺς φωτισμοὺς τῆς σελήνης,
индивος οὐκ αὐτῇς ἀλλοίωσίν τινα καὶ πάθη
συμπτιπτοῦντα θεωροῦμεν. οὐκ ἄτοπων οὖν καὶ
tῶν Ἀττίν τούτων ἡμίθεον τινα εἶναι: βουλεῖται
gὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τοῦτο: μᾶλλον δὲ θεοῦ μὲν
τῶν παντὸς προείσθε τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου δημουρ-
γοῦ καὶ ἐπανάγεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν
θεῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομῆν: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄλως ῥέτειν καὶ 2
νεύειν εἰς τὴν ὕλην δοκεῖ, θεὼν μὲν ἔσχατον,
ἐξαρχον δὲ τῶν θεῶν γενῶν ἀπάντων οὐκ ἄν
ἀμάρτωμεν οὐκ ὑπολαβῶν. ἡμίθεοι δὲ διὰ
tοῦτο ὁ μῦθος φησι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄπροστοις
αὐτῶν θεοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος διαφοράν. δορυφο-
ροῦσι γὰρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τῆς Μητρός δοθέντες οἱ
Κορύβαντες, αἱ τρεῖς ἁρχικαὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς
κρείσσονος γενῶν ὑποστάσεις. ἀρχεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν

1 A finite verb e.g. φανεῖται is needed to complete the
collection. 2 kal Friederich, πέπεικε Hertlein, MSS.

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Mother of the Gods. Then it says that by detecting and revealing the truth, he caused the youth’s castration. What is the meaning of this castration? It is the checking of the unlimited. For now was generation confined within definite forms checked by creative Providence. And this would not have happened without the so-called madness of Attis, which overstepped and transgressed due measure, and thereby made him become weak so that he had no control over himself. And it is not surprising that this should come to pass, when we have to do with the cause that ranks lowest among the gods. For consider the fifth substance, which is subject to no change of any sort, in the region of the light of the moon: I mean where our world of continuous generation and decay borders on the fifth substance. We perceive that in the region of her light it seems to undergo certain alterations and to be affected by external influences. Therefore it is not contradictory to suppose that our Attis also is a sort of demigod—for that is actually the meaning of the myth—or rather for the universe he is wholly god, for he proceeds from the third creator, and after his castration is led upwards again to the Mother of the Gods. But though he seems to lean and incline towards matter, one would not be mistaken in supposing that, though he is the lowest in order of the gods, nevertheless he is the leader of all the tribes of divine beings. But the myth calls him a demigod to indicate the difference between him and the unchanging gods. He is attended by the Corybants who are assigned to him by the Mother; they are the three leading personalities of the higher races.

1 cf. Oration 4. 145 c.
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λεόντων, οί τὴν ἐνθέρμην οὐσίαν καὶ πυρώδη κατανειμάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ σφόν ἐξὰρχου λέοντος αἰτίου τῷ πυρὶ μὲν πρώτως, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐνθέντες θερμότητος ἐνεργείας τε κινητικῆς αἰτίου καὶ τοῖς έλλοις εἰσὶ σωτηρίας· περίκειται δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀντὶ τιάρας, ἐκείθεν ὀσπερ ἐπὶ γῆν ὀρμώμενος.

Οὗτος ο μέγας ἡμῖν θεὸς Ἀττις ἐστίν αὐται τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττίδος αἰ θρηνούμεναι τέως φυγαὶ καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἀφανεῖμοι καὶ αἱ δύσεις αἱ κατὰ τὸ ἀντρον. τεκμήρια δὲ ἐστω μοι τούτων ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ὦ γίνεται. τέμνεσθαι γάρ φασὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δένδρον καθ’ ἢν ἡμέραν ὁ ἠλιος ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρον τῆς ἴσημερινῆς ἄψιδος ἔρχεται· εἰθ’ ἐξῆς περισαλπισμὸς παραλαμβάνεται· τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τέμνεται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλου· ἐπὶ τούτως Ἰλάρια, φασί, καὶ ἔορται. ὅτι μὲν οὖν στάσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἢ θυρεουμένη παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκτομῇ, πρόδηλον εξ ὄν ἦνικα ὁ μέγας "Ηλιος τοῦ ἴσημερινοῦ ψαύσας κύκλου, ἱνα τὸ μάλιστα ὀρισμένον ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἰσον ὀρισμένον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀνισον ἄπειρον τε καὶ ἀδιεξήτητον κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα τὸ δένδρον τέμνεται· εἰθ’ ἐξῆς γίνεται τὰ λοιπά, τὰ 169

1 A finite verb is needed to complete the construction. For the anacolouthon cf. 167 D.
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that are next in order to the gods. Also Attis rules over the lions, who together with the Lion, who is their leader, have chosen for themselves hot and fiery substance, and so are, first and foremost, the cause of fire. And through the heat derived from fire they are the causes of motive force and of preservation for all other things that exist. And Attis encircles the heavens like a tiara, and thence sets out as though to descend to earth.

This, then, is our mighty god Attis. This explains his once lamented flight and concealment and disappearance and descent into the cave. In proof of this let me cite the time of year at which it happens. For we are told that the sacred tree¹ is felled on the day when the sun reaches the height of the equinox.² Thereupon the trumpets are sounded.³ And on the third day the sacred and unspeakable member of the god Gallus is severed.⁴ Next comes, they say, the Hilaria⁵ and the festival. And that this castration, so much discussed by the crowd, is really the halting of his unlimited course, is evident from what happens directly mighty Helios touches the cycle of the equinox, where the bounds are most clearly defined. (For the even is bounded, but the uneven is without bounds, and there is no way through or out of it.) At that time then, precisely, according to the account we have, the sacred tree is felled. Thereupon, in

¹ A pine sacred to Attis was felled on March 22nd; cf. Frazer, Attis, Adonis and Osiris, p. 222.
² cf. 171 c, 175 a.
³ March 23rd.
⁴ March 24th was the date of the castration of the Galli, the priests of Attis.
⁵ On March 25th the resurrection of Attis and the freeing of our souls from generation (γένεσις) was celebrated by the feast of the Hilaria.

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μὲν διὰ τοὺς μυστικοὺς καὶ κρυφίους θεσμούς, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ ἡμῖνα πάσι δυναμένους. ἡ δὲ ἐκτομή τοῦ δένδρου, τούτῳ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἱστορίᾳ προσήκει τῇ περὶ τοῦ Γάλλου, οὐδὲν δὲ τοὺς μυστηρίους, οίς παραλαμβάνεται, διδασκόντων ήμάς οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν συμβολικῶς, ὅτι χρή το καλλιστὸν ἐκ γῆς δρεψαμένους, ἀρετὴν μετὰ εὐσεβείας, ἀπενεχθεῖν τῇ θεῷ, σύμβολον τῆς ἑνταῦθα χρηστῆς πολιτείας ἐσόμενον. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ δένδρου ἐκ γῆς μὲν φῦεται, σπεῦδει δὲ ὁσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν τὲ ἔστι καλὸν καὶ σκιὰν παρασχεῖν ἐν πυνγεί, ἣν δὲ καὶ καρπὸν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ προβαλεῖν καὶ χαρίσασθαι. οὗτος αὐτῷ πολὺ τί γε τοῦ γονίμου περιέστω σημεῖων. ήμῖν οὖν ὁ θεσμὸς παρακελεύεται, τοῖς φύει μὲν ὑπανίων, εἰς γῆν δὲ ἐνεχθεῖσιν, ἀρετὴν μετὰ εὐσεβείας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ πολιτείας ἁμησαμένους παρὰ τὴν προγονικὴν καὶ ξωογόνου σπεῦδειν θεῶν. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἡ σαλπιγξ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν ἐνδίδωσι τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῷ Ἀττιδί καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι ποτὲ ὑπανόθεν ἐπτημεν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἑπέσομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ σύμβολον τούτῳ, ὡτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ἀττις ἱστησὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς ἐκτομῆς, ἠμῖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύσωσιν ἐκτέμεναι καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπειρίαν καὶ μεμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὤρισμένον καὶ ἔνοειδές καὶ, εἰπὲρ οἶλον τέ ἐστιν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἀνατρέχειν· καὶ ὕπερ ἡγεμόνοι πάντως ἐπεσθαι χρῆ τὰ Ἴλαρια. τί γὰρ εὐθυμότερον, τι δὲ ἱλαρωτέρον γένοιτο ἀν ψυχῆς ἀπειρίαν μὲν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ

1 καὶ διὰ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.
2 ἡγεμόνας Shorey, cf. 170 Α, β, ἡμῶν Hertlein, MSS.

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t heir proper order, all the other ceremonies take place. Some of them are celebrated with the secret ritual of the Mysteries, but others by a ritual that can be told to all. For instance, the cutting of the tree belongs to the story of Gallus and not to the Mysteries at all, but it has been taken over by them, I think because the gods wished to teach us, in symbolic fashion, that we must pluck the fairest fruits from the earth, namely, virtue and piety, and offer them to the goddess to be the symbol of our well-ordered constitution here on earth. For the tree grows from the soil, but it strives upwards as though to reach the upper air, and it is fair to behold and gives us shade in the heat, and casts before us and bestows on us its fruits as a boon; such is its superabundance of generative life. Accordingly the ritual enjoins on us, who by nature belong to the heavens but have fallen to earth, to reap the harvest of our constitution here on earth, namely, virtue and piety, and then strive upwards to the goddess of our forefathers, to her who is the principle of all life.

Therefore, immediately after the castration, the trumpet sounds the recall for Attis and for all of us who once flew down from heaven and fell to earth. And after this signal, when King Attis stays his limitless course by his castration, the god bids us also root out the unlimited in ourselves and imitate the gods our leaders and hasten back to the defined and uniform, and, if it be possible, to the One itself. After this, the Hilaria must by all means follow. For what could be more blessed, what more joyful than a soul which has escaped from limitlessness

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κλύδωνα διαφυγούσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναχείσης; ὥν ἐνα καὶ τὸν Ἀττιν ὄντα περιείδευν οὐδαμῶς ἢ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ βαδίζοντα πρόσω πλέον ἢ χρῆν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν δὲ ἐπέστρεψε, στήσαι τὴν ἀπειρίαν προστάξασα.

Καὶ μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ με λέγειν, ὡς ταῦτα ἐπράξῃ ποτὲ καὶ γέγονεν, ὡσπερ οὐκ εἰδότων 170 τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, οὐ, τι ποιήσουσιν, ἢ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀμαρτήματα διορθομένων. ἄλλα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ὄντων ήλια τὰς αὐτίκας, ἤτοι τῶν θεῶν υφηγουμένων ἢ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διερευνώμενοι, βέλτων δὲ ἵσως εἰπεῖν ζητοῦντες ὑπ’ ἁγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔπειτα εὐρόντες ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὰς 1 μύθοις παραδόξοις, ὡς δὲ τὸν παραδόξον καὶ ἀπεμφαίοντος τὸ πλάσμα φοράθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἦμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας προτρέψῃ, τοῖς μὲν Β ιδιώταις ἀρκούσης οἷμαι τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ διὰ τῶν συμβόλων μόνων ωφελείας, τοῖς δὲ περίττοις κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν οὐτοὶ μόνως ἐσομείως ωφελώ, μον τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀληθείας, εἰ τις ἐξετάζων αὐτὴν ὑπ’ ἁγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὑροὶ καὶ λάβοι, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ὑπομνησθείς, ὀτι χρῆ τι περὶ αὐτῶν ζητεῖν, ἐς τέλος δὲ καὶ ὀσπερ κορυφὴν τοῦ πράγματος διὰ τῆς σκέψεως εὑρῶν πορευθεὶ, οὔκ Κ

1 aü̇τὰς Hertlein suggests, aütar MSS.
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and generation and inward storm, and has been translated up to the very gods? And Attis himself was such a one, and the Mother of the Gods by no means allowed him to advance unregarded further than was permitted: nay, she made him turn towards herself, and commanded him to set a limit to his limitless course.

But let no one suppose my meaning to be that this was ever done or happened in a way that implies that the gods themselves are ignorant of what they intend to do, or that they have to correct their own errors. But our ancestors in every case tried to trace the original meanings of things, whether with the guidance of the gods or independently—though perhaps it would be better to say that they sought for them under the leadership of the gods—then when they had discovered those meanings they clothed them in paradoxical myths. This was in order that, by means of the paradox and the incongruity, the fiction might be detected and we might be induced to search out the truth. Now I think ordinary men derive benefit enough from the irrational myth which instructs them through symbols alone. But those who are more highly endowed with wisdom will find the truth about the gods helpful; though only on condition that such a man examine and discover and comprehend it under the leadership of the gods, and if by such riddles as these he is reminded that he must search out their meaning, and so attains to the goal and summit of his quest1 through his own researches; he must not

1 169 ν—170 ο is a digression on the value of myths, which the wise man is not to accept without an allegorising interpretation; cf. Oration 7. 216 ο.
aiðoi kai πίστει μᾶλλον ἀλλοτρίας δόξης ἢ τῇ σφετέρα κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργεία.

Τι ὦν εἶναι φαμεν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ; κατανοήσαντες ἄχρι τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὗ τὸ νοητὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ταῦτα σώματα τῆς ἀπαθοῦς ὄντα καὶ θείας μερίδος, ἄχρι τούτου θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν ἀκραιφνεῖς εἶναι τῇ γονίμῳ δὲ τῶν θεῶν οὐσίᾳ τῶν τῆς παρυποστάντων, ἐξ αἰδίου συμπροελθούσης τῆς ὑλῆς τοῖς θεοῖς, παρ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὑπέρπληρες αὐτῶν τῆς γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικῆς αἰτίας ἡ τῶν ὄντων προμήθεια συνυσιομένη τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξ αἰδίου, καὶ σύνθοκος μὲν ὄυσα τῷ βασιλεῖ Διό, πηγὴ δὲ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄξων καὶ ἄγων καὶ σκύβαλον καὶ τῶν ὄντων, οἶον ἄν εἰποί τις, ἀποκάθαρμα καὶ τρύγα καὶ ὑποστάθμην διὰ τῆς τελευταίας αἰτίας τῶν θεῶν, εἰς ἣν αἱ πάντων οὐσίαι τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελευτῶσιν, ἐκόσμησε τε καὶ διωρθώσατο καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μετέστησεν.

Ὁ γὰρ Ἀττις οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατάστασιν τοῖς ἀστρον τιαραν εὐθηλον ὡς τὰς πάντως τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμου ὀρωμένας λήξεως ἄρχας ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας· ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ καθαρὸν ἢν ἄχρι γαλαξίαν· περὶ τούτου δὲ ἢδη τὸν τόπον μνημεύουν πρὸς τὸ

1 τελευταίας αἰτίας Hertlein suggests, τελευταίας MSS.

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be modest and put faith in the opinions of others rather than in his own mental powers.

What shall I say now by way of summary? Because men observed that, as far as the fifth substance, not only the intelligible world but also the visible bodies of our world must be classed as unaffected by externals and divine, they believed that, as far as the fifth substance, the gods are uncompounded. And when by means of that generative substance the visible gods came into being, and, from everlasting, matter was produced along with those gods, from them and through their agency, by reason of the superabundance in them of the generative and creative principle; then the Providence of the world, she who from everlasting is of the same essential nature as the gods, she who is enthroned by the side of King Zeus, and moreover is the source of the intellectual gods, set in order and corrected and changed for the better all that seemed lifeless and barren, the refuse and so to speak offscourings of things, their dregs and sediment: and this she did by means of the last cause derived from the gods, in which the substances of all the gods come to an end.

For it is evident that Attis of whom I speak, who wears the tiara set with stars, took for the foundation of his own dominion the functions of every god as we see them applied to the visible world. And in his case all is undefiled and pure as far as the Milky Way. But, at this very point, that which

1 In 167 d Attis was identified with the light of the moon; cf. Oration 4. 150 A; where the moon is called the lowest of the spheres, who gives form to the world of matter that lies below her; cf. Sallust, On the Gods and the World 4. 14. 23; where Attis is called the creator of our world.
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ἀπαθῆς τοῦ παθητοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀλης παρυφισταμένης ἐκείθεν, ἡ πρὸς ταύτην κοινωνία κατάβασις ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, οὐκ ἄκουσίως μὲν γενομένη τῶς θεοὺς καὶ τῇ τούτων Μητρί, λεγομένη δὲ ἄκουσίως γενέσθαι. φύσει γὰρ ἐν κρείττων τούς θεοὺς ὅντας οὐκ ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τάδε καθέλκειν ἐθέλει τὰ βελτίω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν κρείττων συγκαταβάσεως καὶ ταύτα ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἁμείνονα καὶ θεοφιλεστέραιν λήξιν. οὕτω τοι καὶ τὸν Ἀττιν οὐ κατεχθραίνουσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομήν ἡ Μήτηρ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἁγανακτεῖ μὲν οὐκέτι, ἁγανακτοῦσα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὴν συγκαταβάσιν, ὅτι κρείττων ὁν καὶ θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ καταδεεστέρῳ στήσαντα δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν πρόοδον καὶ τὸ ἀκόσμητον τοῦτο κοσμησάντα διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἰσχυρισθέντα κύκλου συμπαθείας, ἵνα ὁ μέγας Ἡλίως τῆς ὄρισμένης κινήσεως τὸ τελεότατον κυβερνᾶ μέτρου, ἐπανάγει πρὸς ἑαυτῆν ἡ θεὸς ἁσμένως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐχεῖ παρ’ ἑαυτῇ. καὶ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν, ὅτε μὴ ταύτα τούτων ἐξε ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ, ὅπερ νῦν ἔχει, ἀλλ’ ἂεὶ μὲν Ἀττις ἐστὶν ὑποφυργὸς τῇ Μητρί καὶ ἡμίχος, ἂεὶ δὲ ὅργαν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, ἂεὶ δὲ ἀποτείμεναι τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς ὄρισμένης τῶν εἰδων αἰτίας. ἐπαναγόμενος δὲ ὡσπερ ἐκ γῆς τῶν ἄρχαιων αὐθές λέγεται δυναστεύειν σκύπτρων, ἐκπεσών μὲν αὐτῶν οὔ-

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is troubled by passion begins to mingle with the passionless, and from that union matter begins to subsist. And so the association of Attis with matter is the descent into the cave, nor did this take place against the will of the gods and the Mother of the Gods, though the myth says that it was against their will. For by their nature the gods dwell in a higher world, and the higher powers do not desire to drag them hence down to our world: rather through the condescension of the higher they desire to lead the things of our earth upwards to a higher plane more favoured by the gods. And in fact the myth does not say that the Mother of the Gods was hostile to Attis after his castration: but it says that though she is no longer angry, she was angry at the time on account of his condescension, in that he who was a higher being and a god had given himself to that which was inferior. But when, after staying his limitless progress, he has set in order the chaos of our world through his sympathy with the cycle of the equinox, where mighty Helios controls the most perfect symmetry of his motion within due limits, then the goddess gladly leads him upwards to herself, or rather keeps him by her side. And never did this happen save in the manner that it happens now; but forever is Attis the servant and charioteer of the Mother; forever he yearns passionately towards generation; and forever he cuts short his unlimited course through the cause whose limits are fixed, even the cause of the forms. In like manner the myth says that he is led upwards as though from our earth, and again resumes his ancient sceptre and dominion: not that he ever lost it, or ever loses it now, but the myth says that he lost it on account of
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dampòs oude ekpitptow, ekpseivit de auton legovmenos dia tìn pròs to ppathton symmevwn.

'All' ékeivo Ísos áxion prosaparhswaup ditths gar oushs tìs ismerias, ou tìn en tais xhalais, tìn de en tò krufi protimwswi. tìs ouv aítia toútou, favevou dhpouvèn. épeidh gar hmiw o òllwos arxetai tòte plhswaiein app tìs ismerias, aufoxemhnsh oimai tìs hmeras, edoxen outhos o kairòs ármodiwteros. ëxw gar tìs aítias, ë fhsi tois theois einai to fòs syndromon, ëxen oikeios pia
tepetéon tois àfethnmai tìs genvésws smpoudwni tòs anagwogosh kàtys hlimon. skopei de ànav
gwos' ëklei mevn app tìs ghs pánta kai prskaleitai kai blastanwv pioiê tìn xwvuriði kai thamasth thirmh, diakrinwv oimai pròs àkran lepíthtta tà sòmatà, kai tì fùse feroimena kátow kouphjzei. tà ëh toiauta tòw àfanoj auton dunamewv pothtéon tekhimria. ò gar en tois symasi dia tìs symatoedouj thirmshs outh touto àpergaxomenos pòs ou dia tìs àfanoj kai àsowmatou pànti kai thëias kai katharàs en tais aktìswn idrmvenhsh oushias ìlxei kai anáxei tòs eutyches puvshas; oukouv épeidh péfhven oikeion mèn tois theois to fòs touto kai tois anaxhánhna smpoudousin, áxetai de en tò par' hmiw kósìmò tò toútou, ësste einai tìn hmeran meíxw tìs nuktòs, 'Hlìw tòu basilewos èiptonreúsesthai tòn kriw àrzaménov', dedêikta ëh kai 2 anagwogow

1 prskaleitai Hrtlein suggests, prskaleitai MSS.
2 ëh kai Hrtlein suggests, ëh kai V, kai MSS.

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his union with that which is subject to passion and change.

But perhaps it is worth while to raise the following question also. There are two equinoxes, but men pay more honour to the equinox in the sign of Capricorn than to that in the sign of Cancer.\(^1\) Surely the reason for this is evident. Since the sun begins to approach us immediately after the spring equinox,—for I need not say that then the days begin to lengthen,—this seemed the more agreeable season. For apart from the explanation which says that light accompanies the gods, we must believe that the uplifting rays\(^2\) of the sun are nearly akin to those who yearn to be set free from generation. Consider it clearly: the sun, by his vivifying and marvellous heat, draws up all things from the earth and calls them forth and makes them grow; and he separates, I think, all corporeal things to the utmost degree of tenuity, and makes things weigh light that naturally have a tendency to sink. We ought then to make these visible things proofs of his unseen powers. For if among corporeal things he can bring this about through his material heat, how should he not draw and lead upwards the souls of the blessed by the agency of the invisible, wholly immaterial, divine and pure substance which resides in his rays? We have seen then that this light is nearly akin to the god, and to those who yearn to mount upwards, and moreover, that this light increases in our world, so that when Helios begins to enter the sign of Capricorn the day becomes longer than the night. It

\(^1\) Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 22, says that Cancer and Capricorn are the two gates of the sun; and that souls descend through Cancer and rise aloft through Capricorn.

\(^2\) This seems to identify Attis with the sun's rays.
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φύσει τὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τοῦ θεοῦ διά τε τῆς φανερᾶς εὐεργείας καὶ τῆς ἀφανοῦς, ύφ’ ἦς παμπληθεῖς ἀνήχθησαι ψυχαί τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀκολουθήσασαι τῇ φανοτάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἠλιοειδεί. τὴν γὰρ τοιαύτην τῶν ὄμματων αἴσθησιν· οὐκ ἀγαπητὴν μόνον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς σοφίαν ὁδηγὸν ὁ δαιμόνιος ἀνύμνησε Πλάτων.¹ εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρρήτου μυσταγωγίας ἀψαίμη, ἣν ὁ Χαλδαῖος περὶ τὸν ἐπτάκτινα θεόν ἐβάκχευσεν, ἀνάγων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς, ἀγνώστα ἑρώ, καὶ μᾶλα γε ἀγνώστα τῷ συρφετῷ, θεουργοῖς δὲ 173 τοῖς μακαρίοις γνώριμα· διόπερ αὐτὰ σιωπήσω ταῦτα.

"Οπερ δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ Ἀλόγως ὑποληπτέον, ἀλλʼ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα μετὰ εἰκότος καὶ ἀληθοὺς λόγου παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ θεσμῷ προστεθείσαν, σημείων δὴ τούτων, ὅτι τὸν ἰσημερινὸν κύκλον ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ ³ κατενείματο. τελείται γὰρ περὶ τὸν ξυγὸν Δηοὶ καὶ Κόρη τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ

¹ Phaedrus 250 d, Timaeus 47 λ, Republic 507-508.
² δὴ Shorey, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
³ αὐτὴ Wright, αὐτὴ MSS., Hertlein.

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has also been demonstrated that the god's rays are by nature uplifting; and this is due to his energy, both visible and invisible, by which very many souls have been lifted up out of the region of the senses, because they were guided by that sense which is clearest of all and most nearly like the sun. For when with our eyes we perceive the sun's light, not only is it welcome and useful for our lives, but also, as the divine Plato said when he sang its praises, it is our guide to wisdom. And if I should also touch on the secret teaching of the Mysteries in which the Chaldean,¹ divinely frenzied, celebrated the God of the Seven Rays, that god through whom he lifts up the souls of men, I should be saying what is unintelligible, yea wholly unintelligible to the common herd, but familiar to the happy theurgists.² And so I will for the present be silent on that subject.

I was saying that we ought not to suppose that the ancients appointed the season of the rites irrationally, but rather as far as possible with plausible and true grounds of reason; and indeed a proof of this is that the goddess herself chose as her province the cycle of the equinox. For the most holy and secret Mysteries of Deo and the Maiden³ are celebrated when the

¹ Chaldean astrology and the Chaldean oracles are often cited with respect by the Neo-Platonists; for allusions to their worship of the Seven-rayed Mithras (Helios) cf. Damascius 294 and Proclus on Timaeus 1. 11.
² e.g. Iamblichus and especially Maximus of Ephesus who is a typical theurgist of the fourth century A.D. and was supposed to work miracles.
³ The Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone; the Lesser were celebrated in February, the greater in September.
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ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως γίνεται. Β ἡ γὰρ καὶ ἀπιόντι τῷ θεῷ τελεσθήναι πάλιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ σκοτεινῆς δυσχερέσ πάθωμεν ἐπικρατούσης δυνάμεως. διὸ γοῦν 'Αθηναίοι τῇ Δημὸ τελοῦσί τα μυστήρια, ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν τῷ κριῶ τὰ μικρὰ, φασί, μυστήρια, τὰ μεγάλα δὲ περὶ τὰς χηλὰς οὐνοὶ ἠλίου, δὲ ἃς ἐναγχος ἔφην αἰτίας. μεγάλα δὲ ἀνομάσθαι καὶ μικρὰ νομίζω καὶ ἄλλου ἕνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ, ὡς εἰκὸς, τούτων ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ προσεῖνες. διόπερ ἐν τούτω ὅσον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν μόνον. ἀπε δὲ καὶ παρόντως τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ ἀναγωγοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ προτέλεια κατεβάλλοντο τῆς τελετῆς εἰτὰ μικρὸν ύστερον ἀγνεία συνεχεῖς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἠγιστεῖαι. ἀπιόντος δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀντίχθονα ζώην, καὶ φυλακής ἕνεκα καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῷ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐπετελεῖται τῶν μυστηρίων. ὁρὰ δὲ δεότερ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτὸν ἀποτείμεναι, ὅτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ 'Αθηναίοις οἱ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἀπτόμενοι παναγεῖς εἰςι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐξάρχων ἑρωφάντης ἀπέστραπται πᾶσαι τὴν γένεσιν, ὡς ὦ μετὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπ' ἀπειρον προδοῦ, τῆς ἀμυμένης δὲ καὶ μὲν μενοῦσης καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ συνεχομένης οὔσιας ὕκρατον τε καὶ καθαρᾶς. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ὑπόχρη τοσαῦτα.

Δείπτεται δὴ λοιπὸν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀγιστείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγνείας διεξελθεῖν, ἵνα καὶ

1 ἱερῶν Hertlein suggests, ἱερῶν MSS.
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sun is in the sign of Libra, and this is quite natural. For when the gods depart we must consecrate ourselves afresh, so that we may suffer no harm from the godless power of darkness that now begins to get the upper hand. At any rate the Athenians celebrate the Mysteries of Deo twice in the year, the Lesser Mysteries as they call them in the sign of Capricorn, and the Great Mysteries when the sun is in the sign of Cancer, and this for the reason that I have just mentioned. And I think that these Mysteries are called Great and Lesser for several reasons, but especially, as is natural, they are called great when the god departs rather than when he approaches; and so the Lesser are celebrated only by way of reminder. I mean that when the saving and uplifting god approaches, the preliminary rites of the Mysteries take place. Then a little later follow the rites of purification, one after another, and the consecration of the priests. Then when the god departs to the antipodes, the most important ceremonies of the Mysteries are performed, for our protection and salvation. And observe the following: As in the festival of the Mother the instrument of generation is severed, so too with the Athenians, those who take part in the secret rites are wholly chaste and their leader the hierophant forsweares generation; because he must not have aught to do with the progress to the unlimited, but only with the substance whose bounds are fixed, so that it abides for ever and is contained in the One, stainless and pure. On this subject I have said enough.

It only remains now to speak, as is fitting, about the sacred rite itself, and the purification, so that from

1 Plato, Gorgias 497c; Plutarch, Demetrius 900 b.
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ἐντεύθεν λάβωμεν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἰ τι συμβάλλεται. γελοίον δὲ αὐτίκα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκείνο φαίνεται κρέον μὲν ἀπτεσθαί δίδωσιν ὁ ἱερὸς νόμος, ἀπαγορεύει δὲ τῶν σπερμάτων. οὐκ ἄψυχα μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα δὲ ἔμψυχα; οὐ καθαρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα δὲ αἴματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὐκ εὐχερῶν ὄψει τε καὶ ἀκοή πεπληρωμένα; οὐ, τὸ μέγιστον, ἐκείνοις μὲν πρόσεστι τὸ μηδένα ἐκ τῆς ἔδωδης ἅδικείσθαι, τούτοις δὲ τὸ καταθύεσθαι καὶ κατασφάτεσθαι τὰ ξύλα ἀλγούντα γε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ τρυχόμενα; ταῦτα πολλοί καὶ τῶν περιττῶν ἐποιεῖν ἀνεκεῖνα δὲ ἢδη κομμροδούσι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ δυσσεβέστατοι. τὰ μὲν ὄρμενα φασὶν ἑσθίεσθαι τῶν λαχάνων, παρατείσθαι δὲ τὰς βίζας, ὡσπερ γογγυλίδας. καὶ σύκα μὲν ἑσθίεσθαι φασί, ροζάς δὲ οὐκέτι καὶ μῆλα πρὸς τούτους. ταῦτα ἀκηκοῶς μινυριζόντων πολλῶν πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ¹ πρότερον ἐστι χωμόνος ἐκ πάντων πολλῆν ἑσθεσθαι τοῖς δεσπόταις θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν ἄπασι, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁπασιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάριν, ὅτι μὲ μὴ περεὶδεν ὡσπερ ἐν σκότῳ πλανῶμεν, ἀλλὰ μοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόψασθαι οὕτω κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ψυχικὰς ἁλόγους ὀρμᾶς καὶ κυνήσεις τῇ νοερᾷ καὶ προὔφεστώσῃ ² τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν αἰτία τὰ περιττὰ καὶ μάταια. ἐπὶ γοῦν δὲ ἔδωκεν αὕτη λόγους τινὰς ἵσως οὐκ ἀπάδοντας πάντῃ τῆς ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀληθοὺς ἀμα καὶ

¹ αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς Hertlein suggests, εἰρηκῶς MSS.
² προὔφεστώσῃ Hertlein suggests, προὔφεστώσῃ MSS.

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these also I may borrow whatever contributes to my argument. For example, everyone thinks that the following is ridiculous. The sacred ordinance allows men to eat meat, but it forbids them to eat grains and fruits. What, say they, are not the latter lifeless, whereas the former was once possessed of life? Are not fruits pure, whereas meat is full of blood and of much else that offends eye and ear? But most important of all is it not the case that, when one eats fruit nothing is hurt, while the eating of meat involves the sacrifice and slaughter of animals who naturally suffer pain and torment? So would say many even of the wisest. But the following ordinance is ridiculed by the most impious of mankind also. They observe that whereas vegetables that grow upwards can be eaten, roots are forbidden, turnips, for instance; and they point out that figs are allowed, but not pomegranates or apples either. I have often heard many men saying this in whispers, and I too in former days have said the same, but now it seems that I alone of all men am bound to be deeply grateful to the ruling gods, to all of them, surely, but above all the rest to the Mother of the Gods. For all things am I grateful to her, and for this among the rest, that she did not disregard me when I wandered as it were in darkness.¹ For first she bade me cut off no part indeed of my body, but by the aid of the intelligible cause ² that subsists prior to our souls, all that was superfluous and vain in the impulses and motions of my own soul. And that cause gave me, to aid my understanding, certain beliefs which are perhaps not wholly out of harmony

¹ cf. Oration 4. 131 a. ² Attis.
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εὐαγωνιστήμης. ἀλλ’ ἔοικα γάρ, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔχων ὁ τι φῶ, κύκλῳ περιτρέχειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πάρεστι μὲν καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστον ἐπιστεύη σαφεῖς καὶ τηλαγείς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, τοῦ χάριν ἡμῖν οὐθέμεν ἔστι προσφέρεσθαι ταύτα, ὅν θεὸς εἴργει θεσμὸς καὶ ποιήσω δὲ αὐτὸ μικρὸν ὑστερον ἀμείνων δὲ νῦν ὡσπερ τύπους τινὰς προβείναι καὶ κανόνας, οἷς ἐπόμενοι, κἂν τι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς παρέλθῃ τὸν λόγον, ἔξομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίναι.

Προσήκει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπομνήσαι διὰ βραχέων, 175 τίνα τε ἐφαμέν εἶναι τὸν Ἀττίν καὶ τήν ἐκτομήν, τίνος τε εἶναι σύμβολα, τὰ μετὰ τήν ἐκτομὴν ἄχρι τῶν Ἰλαρίων γινόμενα καὶ τί βούλεσθαι τὴν ἀγνείαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀττίς ἐλέγετο αἰτία τις ὑσύα καὶ θεός, ὁ προσεχῶς δημουργῶν τὸν ἐνυλόν κόσμον, δόμερι τῶν ὠσχάτων κατιῶν ἱσταῖται ὑπὸ τῆς ήλιου δημουργικῆς κινήσεως, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρος ὁμισμένης τοῦ παντὸς ο θεὸς γενήσεται περιφερείας, ἡ ἡ ἰσιμερίας τοῦνομά ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐκτομῆν δὲ ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν ἐποχῆν, ἤν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἀρχηγοκτέρας αἰτίας ἀνακλήσεως τε καὶ ἀναδύσεως συμβαίνειν. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἀγνείας φαμέν τοῦν σκοποῦ ἀνοδον τῶν ψυχῶν.

Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔδ τρωτον συτείηθαι τὰ κατὰ γῆς δυόμενα σπέρματα· ἐσχάτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἡ γῆ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ φησιν ἀπέλαθεν καὶ Πλάτων τὰ κακὰ στρέφεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τῶν λογίων οἱ θεοὶ

1 ὡ Hertlein suggests, γὲ MSS.
2 ὡ Hertlein suggests, οὗ MSS.
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with the true and sacred knowledge of the gods. But it looks as though, not knowing what to say next, I were turning round in a circle. I can, however, give clear and manifest reasons in every single case why we are not allowed to eat this food which is forbidden by the sacred ordinance, and presently I will do this. But for the moment it is better to bring forward certain forms, so to speak, and regulations which we must observe in order to be able to decide about these matters, though perhaps, owing to my haste, my argument may pass some evidence by.

First I had better remind you in a few words who I said Attis is; and what his castration means; and what is symbolised by the ceremonies that occur between the castration and the Hilaria; and what is meant by the rite of purification. Attis then was declared to be an original cause and a god, the direct creator of the material world, who descends to the lowest limits and is checked by the creative motion of the sun so soon as that god reaches the exactly limited circuit of the universe, which is called the equinox because of its effect in equalising night and day. And I said that the castration meant the checking of limitlessness, which could only be brought about through the summons and resurrection of Attis to the more venerable and commanding causes. And I said that the end and aim of the rite of purification is the ascent of our souls.

For this reason then the ordinance forbids us first to eat those fruits that grow downwards in the earth. For the earth is the last and lowest of things. And Plato also says that evil, exiled from the gods,

1 cf. 168 d–169 A, 171 c.
2 Theaetetus 176 A; cf. Oration 2. 90 A.
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σκόβαλον αὐτὸ πολλαχοῦ καλοῦσι, καὶ φεύγειν

ἐντεύθεν παρακελεύονται.¹ πρῶτον οὖν ἡ ἱωγό-

νος καὶ προμηθῆς θεὸς οὐδὲ ἄχρι τῆς τῶν σωμάτων

τροφῆς ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς κατὰ γῆς δυσμένους χρή-

σθαι, παρανόουσα γε πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ

καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπειν. ἔνι τινες κέχρην-

ται σπέρματι, τοῖς λοβοῖς, οὐ σπέρμα μᾶλλον ἡ

λαχάνον αὐτὸ νομίζοντες εἰναι τῷ πεφυκέναι πως

ἀνοφερές καὶ ὅρθον καὶ οὐδὲ ἐρρίξωσαί κατὰ

τῆς γῆς· ἐρρίξωται δὲ ὁσπερ ἐκ δένδρον κιττοῦ

τινος ἡ καὶ ἀμφέλου καρπὸς ἠρηται καὶ καλάμης.²

ἄπηγορευται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν σπέρματι χρήσθαι διὰ

τοῦτο φυτῶν, ἐπιτέρπαται δὲ χρήσθαι καρποῖς

καὶ λαχάνοις, οὐ τοῖς χαμαζήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ

γῆς αἱρομένως ἄνω μετεώροις. ταύτη τοι καὶ τῆς

γογγυλίδος τὸ μὲν γεωχαρές ὦς χθόνιον ἐπιτάττει

παρατεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀναδυόμενον ἄνω καὶ εἰς ὦγος

αιρόμενον ὧς αὐτῷ τοῦτοι καθαρὸν τυγχάνον

dίδωσι προσενέγκασθαι. τῶν γούν λαχάνων ὄρμε-

νοις μὲν συγχωρεῖ χρήσθαι, ρίζαις δὲ ἀπαγορεύει

καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐντρεφομέναις καὶ συμπαθοῦσαις

τῇ γῇ. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν δένδρων μῆλα μὲν ὡς ἱερὰ

καὶ χρυσὰ καὶ ἄρρητων ἄθλων καὶ τελεστικῶν

eἰκόνας καταφθείρειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ κατανα-

λίσκειν, ἡξιά γε ὅτα τῶν ἀρχατύπων χάριν τοῦ

¹ παρακελεύονται Wyttenbach, πολλαχοῦ παρακελεύονται

Hertlein, MSS.

² The construction of καὶ καλάμης is not clear; Petavius

suspects corruption or omission.

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now moves on earth; and in the oracles the gods often call the earth refuse, and exhort us to escape thence. And so, in the first place, the life-generating god who is our providence does not allow us to use to nourish our bodies fruits that grow under the earth; and thereby enjoins that we turn our eyes towards the heavens, or rather above the heavens.¹ One kind of fruit of the earth, however, some people do eat, I mean fruit in pods, because they regard this as a vegetable rather than a fruit, since it grows with a sort of upward tendency and is upright, and not rooted below the soil; I mean that it is rooted like the fruit of the ivy that hangs on a tree or of the vine that hangs on a stem. For this reason then we are forbidden to eat seeds and certain plants, but we are allowed to eat fruit and vegetables, only not those that creep on the ground, but those that are raised up from the earth and hang high in the air. It is surely for this reason that the ordinance bids us also avoid that part of the turnip which inclines to the earth since it belongs to the under world, but allows us to eat that part which grows upwards and attains to some height, since by that very fact it is pure. In fact it allows us to eat any vegetables that grow upwards, but forbids us roots, and especially those which are nourished in and influenced by the earth. Moreover in the case of trees it does not allow us to destroy and consume apples, for these are sacred and golden and are the symbols of secret and mystical rewards. Rather are they worthy to be reverenced and worshipped for the sake of their archetypes.

¹ i.e. to the intelligible world and the One; cf. 169c.
σέβεσθαί τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαί· ροιὰς δὲ ὡς φυτὸν ἐφοίτησατο, καὶ τοῦ φοίνικος δὲ τὸν καρπὸν ἰσως μὲν ἄν τις εἶποι διὰ τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, ἐνθὰ πρῶτον ὁ θεσμός κατέστη· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὡς ἱερὸν ἥλιου τὸ φυτὸν ἀγήρου τε ὅν οὐ συγχωρήσαι καταναλίσκειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις εἰς τροφὴν σώματος. ἕπι τούτων ἀπηγόρευται ἵχθυσιν ἀπασί χρῆσθαι. κοινὸν δὲ ἐστι τούτο καὶ πρὸς Ἀργυτίους τὸ πρόβλημα. Δοκεῖ δὲ ἐμοῦ γινεῖν ἐνεκεῖ ἄν τις ἰχθύων μάλιστα μὲν ἀεὶ, πάντως δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις ἀποσχέσθαι, ἐνδὸς μὲν, ὅτι τούτων, ἃ μὴ θύομεν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐδὲ συτείσθαι προσήκει. δέος δὲ ἵσως οὔδέν, μὴ ποῦ τις ἐνταῦθα λίχνος καὶ γάστρις ἐπιλάβηται μοι, ὃς ποὺ καὶ πρότερον ἤδη παθῶν αὐτὸ διαμνημονεύω, “Διὰ τὶ δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ θύομεν αὐτῶν πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς”; εἰπόντος ἀκούσας. ἀλλ’ εἰχομέν τι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπεὶν καὶ θύομεν γε, εἶπον, ὥς μακάριε, ἐν τισὶ τελεστικαῖς θυσίαις, ὡς ἐποιοῦν Ρωμαιοὶ, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ ἵππα, κῦνας ἵσως Ἐλληνες Ἑκάτη καὶ Ῥωμαιοὶ δέ· καὶ πολλὰ παρ’ ἄλλοις ἐστὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν, καὶ δημοσία ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἡ δις τοιαύτα θύματα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις, ὅν μόνων κοινωνεῖν ἄξιον καὶ τραπεζών θεοῖς. τούς δὲ ἰχθύας ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις οὗ θύομεν, ὅτι μήτε 492
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And pomegranates are forbidden because they belong to the under-world; and the fruit of the date-palm, perhaps one might say because the date-palm does not grow in Phrygia where the ordinance was first established. But my own theory is rather that it is because this tree is sacred to the sun, and is perennial, that we are forbidden to use it to nourish our bodies during the sacred rites. Besides these, the use of all kinds of fish is forbidden. This is a question of interest to the Egyptians as well as to ourselves. Now my opinion is that for two reasons we ought to abstain from fish, at all times if possible, but above all during the sacred rites. One reason is that it is not fitting that we should eat what we do not use in sacrifices to the gods. And perhaps I need not be afraid that hereupon some greedy person who is the slave of his belly will take me up, though as I remember that very thing happened to me once before; and then I heard someone objecting: "What do you mean? Do we not often sacrifice fish to the gods?" But I had an answer ready for this question also. "My good sir," I said, "it is true that we make offerings of fish in certain mystical sacrifices, just as the Romans sacrifice the horse and many other animals too, both wild and domesticated, and as the Greeks and the Romans too sacrifice dogs to Hecate. And among other nations also many other animals are offered in the mystic cults; and sacrifices of that sort take place publicly in their cities once or twice a year. But that is not the custom in the sacrifices which we honour most highly, in which alone the gods deign to join us and to share our table. In those most honoured sacrifices we do not offer fish, for the reason that we do not tend
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νέμομεν, μήτε τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῦμέθα, 177
μήτε ἡμῖν εἰσὶν ἄγελαι καθάπερ προβάτων καὶ
βωθὸν ὁτῳ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱχθύων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ
ὑφ’ ἡμῶν βοηθούμενα τὰ ξώα καὶ πληθύνουτα διὰ
τούτῳ δικαίως ἄν ἡμῖν εἰς τε τὰς ἄλλας χρείας
ἐπικούροις καὶ πρὸς γε τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τιμητήριους
θυσίας. εἰς μὲν δὴ λόγος οὕτως, δι’ ὅν οὐκ ὁμάδη
δειν ἰχθύν ἐν ἄγελαις καιρῷ προσφέρεσθαι τροφῆν.
εἴτερος δὲ, δι’ ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡγοῦμαι τοῖς προειρη-
μένοις ἀρμόζειν, ὅτι τρόπον τινά καὶ αὐτόλ κατὰ
τὸν βυθὸν δεδυκότες εἰεν ἄν χθοιότεροι τῶν Ἐ
σπερμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀναπτύσσαι καὶ μετέωρος
ὑπὲρ τὸν ἁέρα πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑμανῦν πτήσαι κορυ-
φάς δικαίως ἄν ἀποστρέφοιτο πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα,
μεταθέω δὲ καὶ μετατρέχοι τὰ τεινόμενα πρὸς τὸν
ἀέρα καὶ σπείδουν πρὸς τὸ ἀναντε καὶ ἴνα
ποιητικότερον ἔστω, πρὸς τὸν ὑμανὸν ὁρῶντα. 2
ὅρμισιν οὖν ἐπιτρέπει χρήσθαι πλὴν ὀλίγων, οὐς
ἰεροὺς εἶναι πάντη συμβέβηκε, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων
τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἔξω τοῦ χόλου. τοῦτον δὲ ὁς
Χθοίνιον πάντη μορφή τε καὶ τῇ βίο καὶ αὐτῷ τῇ
τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ. περιττωματικός τε γὰρ καὶ
παχὺς τὴν σάρκα, τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποκηρύττει τροφῆς.
φίλον γὰρ εἶναι πεπίστευται θύμα τοῖς χθοίνιοις
θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπεικότως. ἀδέατον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμανοῦν
tουτί τὸ ξύον, οὐ μόνον οὐ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ
πεφυκός ἀναβλέψαι ποτέ. τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ

1 ποιητικότερον Naber, τι καὶ ποιητικῶν Hertlein, MSS.
2 ὁρῶντα Naber.
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fish, nor look after the breeding of them, and we do
not keep flocks of fish as we do of sheep and cattle.
For since we foster these animals and they multiply
accordingly, it is only right that they should serve for
all our uses and above all for the sacrifices that we
honour most.” This then is one reason why I
think we ought not to use fish for food at the time of
the rite of purification. The second reason which is,
I think, even more in keeping with what I have just
said, is that, since fish also, in a manner of speaking,
go down into the lowest depths, they, even more
than seeds, belong to the under-world. But he who
longs to take flight upwards and to mount aloft
above this atmosphere of ours, even to the highest
peaks of the heavens, would do well to abstain from
all such food. He will rather pursue and follow
after things that tend upwards towards the air, and
strive to the utmost height, and, if I may use a
poetic phrase, look upward to the skies. Birds, for
example, we may eat, except only those few which
are commonly held sacred,¹ and ordinary four-footed
animals, except the pig. This animal is banned as
food during the sacred rites because by its shape and
way of life, and the very nature of its substance—
for its flesh is impure and coarse—it belongs wholly
to the earth. And therefore men came to believe
that it was an acceptable offering to the gods of the
under-world. For this animal does not look up at
the sky, not only because it has no such desire, but
because it is so made that it can never look upwards.
These then are the reasons that have been given

¹ Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 3. 5, gives a list of these sacred
birds; e.g. the owl sacred to Athene, the eagle to Zeus, the
crane to Demeter.
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aitia a vide tis apokheis on apexhesai de eythkeb
o theios thesamos, oi xunieites de koinoymethe tois
epistamenvous theous.

'Tper de aon epitrephei xrhseis lageoven vosou-
ton, os ou pasow apanta, to dyvaton de o theios
nomos, tis anbropin phisei skopow epetrephe
khoisai toutois tois pollois, oik ona pasi
pantes, eis anagkhe xhrasomea, touto men gar
isow oik eukolou, alla opow ekinef, otho ara
prwton men h tois symatos synkorei dynamos,
eita tis periousia syntrephkei kal tritos h proai-
resis, hyn ev tois ieroud ointos abion epiteinein,
oste kal uper tis tois symatos dynamin orma
kal prothmeisai tois theous akolouthen thesmois
esai gar de toito malista men anusimoterov
 auti tis psychi proso sotimian, ei meiouna logos
authe, alla mi tois symatos tis asfalenias
poisaito, prode de kai autod to soma meiounos
kal thymasiosferas fainetai leithous, tis
wphelenias metaalagxanov. othan gar h psychi
pasow evnthen de tois theois, ela ta kath evnthen
epitrephasa tois kreptosin, epomeneis oimai tis
agisteias kal pro ge tautheis twn theon thesmov
hygumenov, oinov oudenos lousis to apoegenontos
kal empodizontos, pantai gar estin ev tois theois
d kal pantai peri autous ufestrate kai pantai tois
theon, esti pilhr. autika men autai elaampe
theoi fous, theotheisai de autai tois tina kai

1 apanta Hertlein suggests, apantas MSS.
2 synkorei Hertlein suggests, synkorei MSS.

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by the divine ordinance for abstinence from such food as we ought to renounce. And we who comprehend share our knowledge with those who know the nature of the gods.

And to the question what food is permitted I will only say this. The divine law does not allow all kinds of food to all men, but takes into account what is possible to human nature and allows us to eat most animals, as I have said. It is not as though we must all of necessity eat all kinds—for perhaps that would not be convenient—but we are to use first what our physical powers allow; secondly, what is at hand in abundance; thirdly, we are to exercise our own wills. But at the season of the sacred ceremonies we ought to exert those wills to the utmost so that we may attain to what is beyond our ordinary physical powers, and thus may be eager and willing to obey the divine ordinances. For it is by all means more effective for the salvation of the soul itself that one should pay greater heed to its safety than to the safety of the body. And moreover the body too seems thereby to share insensibly in that great and marvellous benefit. For when the soul abandons herself wholly to the gods, and entrusts her own concerns absolutely to the higher powers, and then follow the sacred rites—these too being preceded by the divine ordinances—then, I say, since there is nothing to hinder or prevent—for all things reside in the gods, all things subsist in relation to them, all things are filled with the gods—straightway the divine light illumines our souls. And thus endowed with divinity they impart a

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δύο μην ἑπιτιθέασι τῷ συμφύτῳ πνεύματι, τούτῳ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν στομούμενον ὡσπερ καὶ κρατυνό-
μενον σωτηρίας ἐστὶν αἰτίον ὅλω τῷ σώματι. τὸ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν πάσας τὰς νόσους, εἰ δὲ
μὴ, ὅτι τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εἶναι τροπής καὶ παραφορὰς συμβε-
βηκεν, οὐδὲς ὥστε οἷμαι τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν οὐ φήσει.\(^{1}\) οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάσας φασίν, οἱ δὲ τὰς
πλεῖστας καὶ μεγίστας καὶ ἱαθήναι χαλεπώτατας·
μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν λόγια, φημὶ
δὲ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἀγιοτείας οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα βοηθείας πολλῆς καὶ
σωτηρίας ἀξιοῦται· σώζεσθαι γὰρ σφικι καὶ τὸ
"πικρὰς ὡλὴς περίβλημα βρότειν" οἱ θεοί τοῖς
ὑπεράγνοις παρακελεύομεν τῶν θεουργῶν κατ-
επαγγέλλονται.

Τὰς οὖν ἡμῶν ὑπολείπεται λόγος, ἀλλως τε καὶ
ἐν βραχεί νυκτὸς μέρει ταῦτα ἀπνευστὶ ξυνεῖραι\(^{2}\)
συγχωρηθείσων, οὔτων οὕτω προανεγρωκόσιν οὕτω
σκεψαμένοις περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὕτω προελομένοις

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ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρὶν ἢ τὰς δέλτους ταῦτας
αἰτήσαι; μάρτυς δὲ ἡ θεός μοι τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλ',
οὕτε ἔφην, τὰ τὸ λειτύμενον ἡμῖν ὑμνήσαι τὴν
θεὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου, ὃν
dὴ καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐν ταῦτας ἔθετο ταῖς ἀγι-
οτείαις ὁ νόμος; ὀρᾷ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς τὴν

1 φήσει: Hertlein suggests, φήσειν MSS.
2 Oration 6. 203 c; Demosthenes, De Corona 308, συνεργεί

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certain vigour and energy to the breath\(^1\) implanted in them by nature; and so that breath is hardened as it were and strengthened by the soul, and hence gives health to the whole body. For I think not one of the sons of Asclepius would deny that all diseases, or at any rate very many and those the most serious, are caused by the disturbance and derangement of the breathing. Some doctors assert that all diseases, others that the greater number and the most serious and hardest to cure, are due to this. Moreover the oracles of the gods bear witness thereto, I mean that by the rite of purification not the soul alone but the body as well is greatly benefited and preserved. Indeed the gods when they exhort those theurgists who are especially holy, announce to them that their "mortal husk of raw matter"\(^2\) shall be preserved from perishing.

And now what is left for me to say? Especially since it was granted me to compose this hymn at a breath, in the short space of one night, without having read anything on the subject beforehand, or thought it over. Nay, I had not even planned to speak thereof until the moment that I asked for these writing-tablets. May the goddess bear witness to the truth of my words! Nevertheless, as I said before, does there not still remain for me to celebrate the goddess in her union with Athene and Dionysus? For the sacred law established their festivals at the very time of her sacred rites. And I recognise the kinship of Athene and the Mother of the Gods

\(^1\) cf. Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals* 736 b. 37, for the breath πνεῦμα, that envelops the disembodied soul and resembles aether. The Stoics sometimes defined the soul as a "warm breath," ἐνθηρμόν πνεῦμα.

\(^2\) The phrase probably occurred in an oracular verse.
Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν διὰ τῆς προνοητικῆς ἐν ἑκατέρας ταῖς οὐσίαις ὁμοίωτητος τήν συγγένειαν ἐπισκοτῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημιουργίαν, ἢν ἐκ τῆς ἐνοείδους καὶ μονίμου ζωῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Δίος ὁ μέγας Δίονυσος παραδεξάμενος, ἀτε καὶ προελθὼν ἐξ ἐκείνου, τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀπασιν ἐγκατένειμεν, ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ βασιλεύων τῆς μεριστῆς συμπάσης δημιουργίας. προσήκει δὲ σὺν τούτοις ὑμνήσαι καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον Ἐρμῆν καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν ὁ θεὸς οὕτος, ὅσιοι λαμπάδας φαίνω ἀνάπτειν Ἀττίδι τῷ σοφῷ. τῆς οὐν οὐτοῦ παχύς τήν ψυχήν, ὃς οὐ συνύσιν, ὅτι δὲ Ἐρμοῦ μὲν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀνακαλεῖται πάντα πανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχοντα τὸ ἐνεκά του 1 πάντη καὶ πάντως ὃ τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ὕδιόν ἐστιν; Ἀττίδι δὲ οὐχ οὕτος ἐστιν ὁ μικρὸς πρόσθεν ἄφρων, νῦν δὲ ἀκούων διὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν σοφός; ἄφρων μὲν ὃτι τὴν ὑλὴν εἴλετο καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιτροπεύει, σοφὸς δὲ ὃτι τὸ σκύβαλον τούτο εἰς κάλλος ἐκόσμησε τοσοῦτο καὶ μετέστησεν, ὅσον οὐδεμίαν μιμήσατο ἀνθρώπων τέχνη καὶ σύνεσις. ἀλλὰ τὶ πέρας ἐσται μοι τῶν λόγων; ἡ δήλοι ὡς ὃ τῆς μεγάλης ὕμνος θεὸν;

Ο θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπων μήτερ, ὃ τοῦ μεγάλου σύνθωκε καὶ σύνθρονε Δίος, ὁ πηγὴ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, ὃ τῶν νοστῶν ταῖς ἁχράντοις οὐσίαις συν-δραμοῦσα καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκ πάντων αἰτίαι παρα-δεξαμένη καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐνδιδοῦσα ζωογόνε θεὰ

1 ἐνεκά τοῦ Shorey, ἐνεκά τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.

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through the similarity of the forethought that inheres in the substance of both goddesses. And I discern also the divided creative function of Dionysus, which great Dionysus received from the single and abiding principle of life that is in mighty Zeus. For from Zeus he proceeded, and he bestows that life on all things visible, controlling and governing the creation of the whole divisible world. Together with these gods we ought to celebrate Hermes Epaphroditus.¹ For so this god is entitled by the initiated who say that he kindles the torches for wise Attis. And who has a soul so dense as not to understand that through Hermes and Aphrodite are invoked all generated things everywhere, since they everywhere and throughout have a purpose which is peculiarly appropriate to the Logos?² But is not this Logos Attis, who not long ago was out of his senses, but now through his castration is called wise? Yes, he was out of his senses because he preferred matter and presides over generation, but he is wise because he adorned and transformed this refuse, our earth, with such beauty as no human art or cunning could imitate. But how shall I conclude my discourse? Surely with this hymn to the Great Goddess.

O Mother of gods and men, thou that art the assessor of Zeus and sharest his throne, O source of the intellectual gods, that pursuest thy course with the stainless substance of the intelligible gods; that dost receive from them all the common cause of things and dost thyself bestow it on the intellectual

¹ The epithet means “favoured by Aphrodite.”
² In this rendering of λόγος (which may here mean “Reason”) I follow Mau p. 113, and Asmus, Julians Galiläierschrift p. 31.
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καὶ μὴ τις καὶ πρόνοια καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν δημιουργεῖ, ὥς τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον ἀγαπῶσα καὶ τὸν Ἀττιν ἑκέθεντα περισσωσαμένη καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ γῆς ἄντρον καταδυόμεναν ἐπανάγουσα, ὥς πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν τοὺς νοεροῖς ἡγουμένη θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀποτοληροῦσα τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, πάντα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν πάσιν ἀγαθὰ χαρισμένη, δίδου πάσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν, B ἣς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἡ τῶν θεῶν γνώσις ἐστίν, κοινὴ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ δήμῳ, μάλιστα μὲν ἀποτρίψασθαι τῆς ἁθεότητος τῆς κηλίδα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην εὐμενῆ συνδιακυβερνῶσαν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰς χιλιάδας ἐτῶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ καρτον γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ σὲ θεραπείας ἀλὰθείαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν δόγμαις, ἐν θεουργίᾳ τελειοτητα, πάντων ἔργων, οἷς προσερχόμεθα περὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς καὶ στρατιωτικὰς πράξεις,1 ἀρετὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἀλυποῦν τε καὶ εὐδόκιμον μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμᾶς πορείᾳ.

1 πράξεις Hertlein suggests, τάξεις MSS.
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gods; O life-giving goddess that art the counsel and the providence and the creator of our souls; O thou that lovest great Dionysus, and didst save Attis when exposed at birth, and didst lead him back when he had descended into the cave of the nymph; O thou that givest all good things to the intellectual gods and fillest with all things this sensible world, and with all the rest givest us all things good! Do thou grant to all men happiness, and that highest happiness of all, the knowledge of the gods; and grant to the Roman people in general that they may cleanse themselves of the stain of impiety; grant them a blessed lot, and help them to guide their Empire for many thousands of years! And for myself, grant me as fruit of my worship of thee that I may have true knowledge in the doctrines about the gods. Make me perfect in theurgy. And in all that I undertake, in the affairs of the state and the army, grant me virtue and good fortune, and that the close of my life may be painless and glorious, in the good hope that it is to you, the gods, that I journey!
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