The works of the Emperor Julian

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

II
THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

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IN THREE VOLUMES
II

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THE

ORATIONS AND SATIRES
OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION VI
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

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

² 224 c.
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

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

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

¹ Aristides, Orationes 402 d.
² The precise meaning of the phrase is uncertain; it has been suggested that it arose from the custom of altering or “countermarking” coins so as to adapt them for the regular currency; see 192 c, Oration 7. 208 d.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΤΣ ΚΤΝΑΣ

"Ανω ποταμών, τούτο δὴ τὸ τῆς παρομίας. ἀνὴρ Κυνικὸς Διογένης φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολου-}

τεῖν οὐ βούλεται, σφόδρα ἔρρωμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ}

σφριγῶν καὶ τὴν ἥλιαν ἀκμάξων, ὡς ἂν μὴ τι 181}

κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς}

τροπαίς ἢδη προσιόντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν}

τοῦ πολύποδος κωμῳδεῖ καὶ φησὶ τὸν Διογένη τῆς}

ἀνοίας καὶ κενοδοξίας ἑκτετικέναι ἰκανὰς ἕδικας}

ὡς ὡς ὑπὸ κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρέντα.}

οὗτω πόρρω που σοφίας ἐλαύνει, ὡς τε ἐπισταται}

σαφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τούτῳ δὲ ἄγνοεῖν}

ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ’}

ἐκεῖνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦντι γοῦν, φασίν,}

Ἄντισθένει μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάληπτον ἀρρωστίαν}

ξυφίδιον ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπὼν· ἐπὶ φίλου Β}

χρήζεις ὑπουργίας. οὕτως οὐδὲν φέστο δεινὸν

ἱκανὰς Naber addc.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

Behold the rivers are flowing backwards,¹ as the proverb says! Here is a Cynic who says that Diogenes² was conceited, and who refuses to take cold baths for fear they may injure him, though he has a very strong constitution and is lusty and in the prime of life, and this too though the Sun-god is now nearing the summer solstice. Moreover he even ridicules the eating of octopus and says that Diogenes paid a sufficient penalty for his folly and vanity in that he perished of this diet³ as though by a draught of hemlock. So far indeed is he advanced in wisdom that he knows for certain that death is an evil. Yet this even the wise Socrates thought he did not know, yes and after him Diogenes as well. At any rate when Antisthenes⁴ was suffering from a long and incurable illness Diogenes handed him a dagger with these words, "In case you need the aid of

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

ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ ἀλγεινὸν τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλ’ ἦμεῖς οἱ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐκεῖθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος σοφίας ἵσμεν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ νοσείν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν 1 τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ ρυγοῦν δὲ χαλεπώτερον τοῦ νοσείν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νοσῶν μαλακῶς ἔσθ’ ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ὡστε γίνεσθαι τρυφὴν αὐτόχρημα τὴν ἀρρωστιαν, ἀλλὰς τε κὰν ἢ πλοῦσιος. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ Ο αὐτὸς νὴ Δία τρυφώντας τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μᾶλ- λον ἢ τούτας αὐτοὺς ἐγνώινοντας· καὶ τοι γε καὶ τότε λαμπρῶς ἐτρύφων. θευ μοι καὶ παρέστη πρὸς τινας τῶν ἐταίρων εἰπεῖν, ὡς τούτοις ἀμείνον ἢν οἰκέταις γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεσπόταις, καὶ πένε- σθαι τοῦ κρίνου γυμνοτέρος οὐσιν ἢ πλουτεῖν ὡσπερ νῦν. ἦ γὰρ ἄν ἐπαύσαντο νοσοῦντες ἀμα καὶ τρυφώντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοση- Δ λεύεσθαι τρυφηλῶς οὐτωσὶ τινας ἐν καλῷ ποιοῦν- ται· ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρίνου ἀνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος καρτερῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀθλιῶτερον πράττει; ἀλλεὶ γοὺς ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεῖρο οὖν ἦμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυνικῶν ὅπωσα δι- δασκάλων ἠκουόμεν εἰς κοινῷ καταθῶμεν σκοπεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν βλοῦ ιοῦσι τούτων· οίς εἰ μὲν πεισθεῖν, εἴ σιν, οὐδὲν οἴ γε νῦν ἐπιχειροῦντες 182 κυνίζειν ἐσοῦν τε χείρος· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μὲν τι λαμπρὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδεύσειαν, ὑπερ- φονοῦντες τὸν λόγον τὸν ἡμέτερον, οὕτω τοῖς

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

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

\(^1\) A proverb, but Julian may allude to Matthew 6. 28.
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ρήμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑργοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον ὅ γε ἥμετερος οἴσει λόγος· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λυχνείας ἡ μαλακίας ἂ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἵνα εἴπω ἐκεῖνον ἐν βραχεὶ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδουλωμένοι τῶν λόγων ὀλγωρήσεαι προσκαταγελάσαντες, ὡσπερ Β ένιότε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ κύνες τοῖς προπολεώτοις προσουρώγως, οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδη· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδίων ἡμῖν μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῦντων. δεύτερον οὖν ἀνωθεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διεξέλθωμεν ἐφεξῆς τὸν λόγον, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ προσήκον ἀποδιδόντες αὐτοὶ τε εὐκολώτερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τοῦτ' ὡσπερ διενοήθημεν καὶ σοὶ ποιήσομεν εὐπαρακολούθητον. οὕτων ἐπειδὴ τὸν κυνισμὸν εἰδίς τις πειρασθήσεις οὐκ ἂν μισήσομεν εὐπαρακολούθητον, ὀλίγα πρὸτερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ῥητῶν ἡμῶν ἐστι τῆς πειρασθήσεις.

Ἡ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις ἂμα φανοτάτῳ πυρί διὰ Προμηθέως καταπεμφθείσα 1 εἴ ήλθον μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμοῦ μερίδος οὕς ἐσπερῶν ἐστὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγον καὶ νοῦ διανομῆς· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Προμηθέως, ή πάντα ἐπιτροπεύονσα τὰ θυτή πρόνοια, πνεύμα ἐνθερμὸν ὡσπερ ὄργανον υπο-βάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἀπασι μετέδωκεν ἀσωμάτου λόγον· μετέσχε δὲ ἐκαστον οὕσπερ ἡδύνατο, τὰ μὲν ἂν ψυχὰ σώματα τῆς ἐξεως μόνον, τὰ φυτὰ δὲ ήδη καὶ τῆς ἡμῶς 2 τὰ φαύ δὲ ψυχῆς, ο δὲ

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

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

The gift of the gods sent down to mankind with the glowing flame of fire 2 from the sun through the agency of Prometheus along with the blessings that we owe to Hermes 3 is no other than the bestowal of reason and mind. For Prometheus, the Forethought that guides all things mortal by infusing into nature a fiery breath to serve as an operative cause, gave to all things a share in incorporeal reason. And each thing took what share it could; lifeless bodies only a state of existence; plants received life besides,

1 Herodotus 6. 129; Hippocleides, when told by Cleisthenes that by his unbecoming method of dancing he had "danced away his marriage," made this answer which became a proverb.
2 An echo of Plato, Philebus 16 c; cf. Themistius 338 c.
3 e.g. eloquence, commerce, and social intercourse.
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ἀνθρωπός καὶ λογικὴς ψυχῆς. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ μίαν οἴονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἥκειν φύσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ κατ᾽ εἶδος ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἀλλὰ μῆτω τούτο, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τούτῳ ἐξετάζοντο, πλὴν ἑκείνου χάριν, ὡς, τῆν φιλοσοφίαν 183 εἴθ', ὡς περὶ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τέχνην τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, εἰτε ὁμόωσιν θεῷ 1 κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἴθ', ὡς ὁ Πύθος ἔφη, τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν ὑπολάβοι τις, οὐδὲν διοίκει πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ἀπαντά γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ μᾶλλα οἰκεῖος ἔχοντα.

'Ἀρξώμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνώθι σαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ θείον ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ παρακέλουσμα. οὐκοῦν ὁ γιγνώσκως αὐτὸν εἰσεῖται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, Β εἰσεῖται δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀρκεῖσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπος ψυχῆς χρωμένη σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπελεύσεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐπεὶ τὰ αὐξημένει τὰς δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τούτο μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἰ τῇ ψυχῇ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔστι κρείττον καὶ θειότερον, ὡς περὶ δή πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθόμενοι θείον τι εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἑνδρῶ· οὐθαὶ πάντες οὐρανόφοροι κοινὸς ὑπολαμβάνωμεν. ἐπιγων δὲ αὖθις τᾶς ἀρχὰς τοῦ σώματος σκέψεται, εἰτε σύνθετον εἰτὲ ἄπλον ἐστιν· εἰτα ὁδῷ προβαίνων ὑπέρ τε ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς δῶν δεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν. εἰπὶβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ἀρχαῖς τεχνῶν

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

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

1 Cf. 188 κ; Juvenal, *Satires* 11. 27; E caelo descendit γνώθι σεαυτόν.
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ενίον, υφίστανται προς διαμονήν τὸ σῶμα, οἷον λατρικὴς, γεωργίας, ἐτέρων τοιούτων. οὐ μὴν Δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περιττῶν τι παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσει, ἐπει διὰ ταῦτα τὸ κολακεῖαν τοῦ παθητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπινενήται. προσλαμβάνει μὲν γὰρ τούτους ἀποκνήσει αἰσχρὸν οἰόμενος τὸ τοιοῦτον, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐργῶδες ἐν αὐτοῖς φεύγων' τὸ δ' ὅλον ὅποια ἀττα δοκεῖ καὶ ὀστισίων ἀρμότει τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοήσει. σκόπει δὴ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐαυτὸν γνῶναι πάσης μὲν ἐπιστήμης, πάσης δὲ τέχνης ἥγειται τε ἀμα καὶ τοὺς καθὸλου λόγους συνείληση. τὰ τε γὰρ θεία διὰ τῆς ἐνοῦσης 184 ἡμῶν θείας μερίδος τά τε θυτᾶ διὰ τῆς θυτοειδοῦς μοίρας πρὸς τούτοις ἀποσήκειν ἐφ' ἃ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτον χρόνον εἰδέναι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον; τὸ μὲν καθ' ἐκαστὸν θυτόν, τῷ παντὶ δὲ ἄθανατον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸ καὶ τὸν καθ' ἐκαστὸν συγκείσθαι ἐκ θυτῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου μερίδος.

"Ὅτι μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ὀμοιοῦσθαι οὐκ ἄλλο τὶ ἐστίν ἢ τὸ τῆς ἐφικτῆς ἄνθρωπος γνώσιν τῶν ὄντων περιποίησασθαι, πρόδηλον ἐντεῦθεν. οὔ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλουτὶ χρημάτων τὸ θεῖον Β' μακαρίζομεν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὀπερ' Ὄμηρος φησι' θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα ἱσασί, καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Δίος

'Αλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γεγόνει καὶ πλείονα ἦδει.

1 ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.
2 προσήκειν—άνθρωπον, Hertlein suggests, cf. Maximus of Tyre 4. 7; ἐφ' ἃ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον MSS.
principles of certain arts by which the body is assisted to that permanence, for instance, medicine, husbandry and the like. And of such arts as are useless and superfluous he will not be wholly ignorant, since these too have been devised to humour the emotional part of our souls. For though he will avoid the persistent study of these last, because he thinks such persistent study disgraceful, and will avoid what seems to involve hard work in those subjects; nevertheless he will not, generally speaking, remain in ignorance of their apparent nature and what parts of the soul they suit. Reflect therefore, whether self-knowledge does not control every science and every art, and moreover whether it does not include the knowledge of universals. For to know things divine through the divine part in us, and mortal things too through the part of us that is mortal—this the oracle declared to be the duty of the living organism that is midway between these, namely man; because individually he is mortal, but regarded as a whole he is immortal, and moreover, singly and individually, is compounded of a mortal and an immortal part.

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

1 *Odyssey* 4. 379.  
· THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἐπιστήμη γὰρ ἦμων οἱ θεοὶ διαφέρονσιν. ἡγεῖται Ο γὰρ ἵσως καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν καλῶν τὸ αὐτοῦς γνώσκειν. ὃσοι δὴ κρείττονες ἦμων εἰσὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, τοσοῦτῳ γνώτες ἐαυτοὺς ἱσχούσι βελτιώτων γνώσιν. μηδὲις οὖν ἦμων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεῖτω μηδὲ εἰς πολλὰ τεμνέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ πολλὰς ἐκ μᾶς ποιεῖτω. ὦσπερ γὰρ ἀλήθεια μία, οὔτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μία. θαυμαστῶν δὲ οὐδέν, εἰ κατ’ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὄνομα ἐπ’ αὐτὴν πορεύομεθα. ἐπεὶ κἂν, εἰ τις θέλω τῶν ξένων ἦν καὶ μὰ Δ Δία τῶν πάλαι πολιτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Αθήνας, δύνατο μὲν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ βαδίζειν, οδεύων δὲ οἶμαι διὰ γῆς ἡ ταῖς πλατείαις χρῆσθαι λεωφόροις ἡ ταῖς ἀτραποῖς καὶ συντόμοις ὄδοις. καὶ πλεῖν μέντοι δυνατὸν παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς, καὶ ὃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πύλιον γέροντα τέμυσον πέλαγος μέσον. μὴ δὲ τοῦτο τις ἦμων προφερέτω, εἰ τινες τῶν καὶ αὐτὰς ἱόντων τὰς ὄνομας ἀπεπλανήθησαν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ πον γενόμενοι, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τῆς Κίρκης ἢ 185 τῶν Λωτοφάγων ἡδονής ἢ δόξης ἢ τινος ἀλλου δελασθὲντες, ἀπελείφθησαν τοῦ πρόσω βαδίζειν καὶ ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ τέλους, τοὺς πρωτεύσαντας δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοπεῖτω, καὶ πάντα εὐρήσει σύμφωνα.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἐν Δελφοίς θεὸς τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν προαγορεύει, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ "ἐδιδξησάμην ἐμεωντόν," ἀλλὰ καὶ Πυθαγόρας οί τε ἂπτο τεκίνου μέχρι Θεοφράστου τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι θεῷ φασι, καὶ ἐὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. ὁ ἐὰρ ἠμεῖς

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TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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

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

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

ποτέ, τούτο ὁ θεὸς ἄει. γελοιοῦν οὖν ἂν εἰ ὁ τὸν
θεὸν ἑαυτὸν μὴ εἰδέναι: κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰσεται
tῶν ἄλλων, εἶπερ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοοῖς. πάντα γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἐστιν, εἶπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτῷ
ἐχει τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας, εἰτε ἄθανάτων
ἄθανάτους, εἰτε ἐπικήρους οὐ θυνητὰς οὐδὲ ἐπική-
ρους, ἀδίκους δὲ καὶ μενοῦσας ἄει καὶ αἱ τοῦτοι
εἰσὶν αἰτίαι τῆς ἀειγενεσίας. ἀλλ’ οὗτος μὲν ὁ Θ
λόγος ἐστὶ μείζων.

"Οτι δὲ μιὰ τε ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια καὶ φιλοσοφία μία
καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἑρασταὶ ξύμπαντες ὅπε ὑπεμνή-
θην μικρῷ πρότερον ὅπε ἐν δίκῃ νῦν εἴποιμι ἀν
τοῦνομα, τοὺς τοῦ Κυνεῶς ὁμίλητας λέγω, οἷο
τὰς πόλεις ἴδοντες ἀποδιδρασκοῦσας τὸ λιαν ἀκραι-
φνεῖς καὶ καθαρόν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ κυνὸς ἐσκέ-
πασαν αὐτὸν ὅσπερ οἴμαι παραπετάσμασιν Δ
οἰκονομία καὶ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν
γυναῖκα συνόδῳ καὶ παιδοτροφίᾳ, ἵνα οἴμαι ταῖς
πόλεσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγύθεν ἐπιστήσωσι φύλακα: ὅτι
δὲ τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν κεφαλαίον τίθενται φιλοσοφ-
ίας, οὐ μόνον ἐξ ὁν κατεβάλλοντο ξυγγραμμάτων
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον πεισθείς ἂν, εἰπερ ἐθέλοις,
we are sometimes, God is always. It would therefore be absurd that God should not know himself. For he will know nothing at all about other things if he be ignorant of himself. For he is himself everything, seeing that in himself and near himself he keeps the causes of all things that in any way whatever have existence, whether they be immortal causes of things immortal, or causes of perishable things, though themselves not mortal or perishable; for imperishable and ever-abiding are the causes of perpetual generation for the perishable world. But this line of argument is too lofty for the occasion.

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

1 Cf. Oration 4. 143 A.
2 Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, the founder of the Stoic school.
3 Julian seems to mean that Zeno and the Stoics could not accept without modification the manner of life advocated by the Cynic Crates.
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άλλα πολὺ πλέον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τέλους·
tὸ γὰρ ὀμολογουμένως ζήτη τῇ φύσει τέλος ἐποίη· 186
σαντο, οὔτε οὐχ ὦλον τε τυχεῖν τὸν ἄγνωστα,
τής καὶ ὅποιος πέφυκεν· ὅ γὰρ ἀγνωστὸν ὁστὶς
ἐστίν, οὐκ εἰσεῖται δῆποτεν ὅ, τι πράττειν ἐαυτῷ
προσήκει, ὡσπερ οὔδ᾽ ὁ 1 τὸν σίδηρον ἁγνωστὸν
eἰσεῖται, εἰτε αὐτῷ τέμνειν εἰτε μὴ προσήκει, καὶ
δεξὶ τῷ σιδήρῳ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ ἐαυτοῦ
πράττειν· ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία μιὰ τε ἐστὶ καὶ
πάντες ὡς ἔτος εἰπεῖν ἕνὸς τινὸς ἐφιέμενοι ὅδοις· ἐπὶ
tοῦτο διαφόρος ἦλθον, ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα νῦν εἰπεῖν. Β
ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ σκεπτέον ἐτι. 2

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεπούῃτο τοῖς ἀνδράσι μετὰ τινὸς
σπουδής, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ παπιᾶς τὰ συγγράμματα,
tοῦτοι ἐχρῆ ἐπόμενον ἐπισχείρετο ἐκαστὰ ὅν
διανοοῦμεθα περί του πράγματος ἐξετάζειν τὸν
ἐναντίον καὶ, εἰ μὲν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὀμολο-
γοὺτα, μῆτοι ψευδομαρτυριών ἡμῖν ἐπισκήπτειν,
eἰ δὲ μή, τότε ἐξορίζειν αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ὡσπερ
Ἄθηναίφα τὰ ψευδὴ γράμματα τοῦ Μητρόφου.
ἐπει δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστίν, ὡς ἐφήν, τοιοῦτον αἱ τε γὰρ Σ
θρυλούμεναι Διογένους τραγῳδίας Φιλίσκου τινὸς
Ἀγιωτότου λέγονται εἶναι, καὶ, εἰ Διογένους δὴ 3
ἐῖναι, οὐδὲν ἀτοποῖν ἐστὶ τὸν σοφὸν παῖζειν, ἐπεὶ
καὶ τοῦτο πολλοὶ φαίνονται τῶν φιλοσόφων

1 οὐδ᾽ ὁ Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ MSS.
2 ἐτι Hertlein suggests, ἕτη Reiske, ἐστὶν MSS.
3 δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

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

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

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

ποιήσαντες· ἑγέλα τοι, φασί, καὶ Δημόκριτος ὅρων σπουδάζοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μὴ δὴ πρὸς τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπωμεν, ὅσπερ οἱ μανθάνειν τι σπουδαίον ἢκιστα ἔρωτες, πόλει D παραβάλλοντες εὐδαίμονι, πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν πληρεῖ, καὶ μυρίων ἐνδον ἱερέων ἀγνών ἐν ἁγνώς μενόντων χωρίως· αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔνεκα πολλάκις τούτου, λέγω δὲ τοῦ καθαρεῦν τὰ εἰσόω πάντα, τὰ περιττὰ καὶ βδελυρὰ καὶ φαύλα τῆς πόλεως ἀπεληλακόσι,¹ λοντρὰ δημόσια καὶ χαμαίντυπεια καὶ κατηλεία καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἶτα ἄχρι τούτου γενόμενοι εἰσὼ μὴ παρίσσω.² ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐντυχῶν, εἶτα τούτο οἶηθεὶς εἶναι τὴν 187 πόλιν ἄθλιοις μὲν ἀποφυγόν, ἀθλιώτερος δὲ κάτω μείνας, ἐξὸν ὑπερβάντα μικρῶν ιδεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη· χρήσομαι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐγὼ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οἷς Ἀλκηβιάδης ἑπαύνων Σωκράτη. φημὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοιότητιν εἶναι τοῖς Σειληνοῖς τούτοις τοὺς ἑν τοῖς ἐρμογυλυφεῖοι καθημένους, οὕστιν ἐργάζονται οἱ δημιουργοὶ σύριγγας ἢ αὐλοῦς ἐχοντας· οἱ διχάδες ³ διοικήσινες Β ἐνδον φαίνονται ἀγάλματα ἐχοντες θεῶν. ὡς ἄν ὁν μὴ τοιοῦτον τι πάθωμεν, ὥσα ἐπαίξει ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἐσπουδάκεναι νομίσαντες· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐνεκείνους ὁὐκ ἀχρηστον, ὁ Κυνισμὸς δὲ ἔστιν

¹ ἀπεληλακόσι Naber, ἀπεληλάκασι Hertlein, MSS.
² παρίσσω Cobet, παρίσσω Hertlein, MSS.
³ ὁ διχάδε Hertlein suggests, cf. Symposium 215, οἱ δὲ MSS.

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

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

ética, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα δείξαι πειράσομαι. δεύρο ἵδωμεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, ὡσπερ αἱ ἐξιχνεύουσαι κύνες μεταθέουσι τὰ θηρία.

Ἡγεμόνα μὲν οὖν οὐ βράδιον εὑρεῖν, ἔφ’ ὃν ἀνενέγκαι χρῆ πρῶτον αὐτό, εἰ καὶ τινὲς ὑπο- Σ λαμβάνουσιν Ἀντισθένει τοῦτο καὶ Διογένει προσήκειν. τοῦτο γοῦν ἐοικεν Οἰνόμαος οὐκ ἀτόπως λέγειν ὁ Κυνισμός οὔτε Ἀντισθένεισμός ἐστιν οὔτε Διογενεσμός. λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ γενναίοτεροι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς, ὡσπερ οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν αἰτίος κατέστη, οὔτω δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ βίου παράδειγμα τὸ μέγιστον
d 2 κατέληπεν ἀνθρώποις. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θείαν λήξειν πορευθέντων εὐφημείν ἐθέλων πείθομαι μὲν καὶ πρὸς τούτου τινὰς οὐκ ἐν "Ελλησί μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους οὔτω φιλοσοφῆσαι" 3 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φιλοσοφία κοινῇ τως ἐοικεν εἶναι καὶ φυσικετάτῃ καὶ δείσειν οὔ ήστινοσών πραγματείας. ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἔλεσθαι τὰ σπουδαῖα ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμία καὶ φυγὴ κακίας, καὶ οὔτε βίβλους ἀνελίξαι δει μυρίας. πολυμαθία γὰρ, φασί, νῦν οὐ διδάσκειν οὔτε ἀλλο τι τῶν τοιοῦτων παθεῖν, ὡσα καὶ οὐ πάσχουσιν οἱ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων ἱόντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον δύο ταῦτα τοῦ Πυθίου 188

1 Before αἰτίος Cobet omits τις.
2 Before κατέληπεν Cobet omits οὕτω.
3 οὕτω φιλοσοφῆσαι Reiske suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

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TO THE UNEDECATED CYNICS

shall presently try to prove), let us consider it in due
course from its actual practice and pursue it like
hounds that track down wild beasts in the chase.

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

1 Of Gadara, a Cynic philosopher whose date is probably
the second century A.D.; cf. 199 A, 209 B, 210 D, 212 A.
2 Lucian, Sale of Creeds 8, makes Diogenes say that he had
modelled himself on Heracles.
3 Heracleitus fr. 16, Bywater.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

παραινοῦντος ἀκούσαι, τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα: πέφημεν οὖν ἢμῖν ἀρχηγὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὅσπερ οίμαι τοῖς Ἐλλήσι κατέστη τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων αἴτιος, ο ὁ Ἑλλάδος κοινὸς ἡγεμόνι καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ βασιλεύς, ὁ ὁ Ὑπερῴς θεός, ὃν ἐπείδη μὴ θέμις ἤταν διαλαθεῖν, οἷοι ἡ Διογένεως ἐπιτηδειότης ἔλαβε. προύτρεψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὖς ὅσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεσιν ἐντείνων τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐργῇ θεότητι διδάσκων δ' τι βούλεται συμβολικῶς διὰ δυνάμεις, Παραχάραξον εἰπὼν τὸ νόμισμα: τὸ γάρ Γνώθι σαυτὸν οὖς ἐκείνῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφ' ἐκτὸς, πρόκειται γάρ οἴμαι τούτων τεμένους. ἡ ἡράκλειον δὴ τὸν ἀρχηγοῦν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὃς που καὶ ὁ δαίμόνιος φησίν Ἰάμβλιχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν αὐτῇ, Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ Διογένεῳ καὶ Κράτησι, οἷς τούτου βίου σκοπὸς ἦν καὶ τέλος αὐτοῦς οἴμαι γρώναι καὶ τῶν κενῶν ὑπερδείς δοξῶν, ἀληθείας δὲ, ἑ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἡγεῖται, ὤλη, φασίν, ἐπιδράζοντος τῇ διάλειψι. Ζῆσι οἷς οἴμαι καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σωκράτης ο' θεὶς τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ Ζήνων ἑνεκα πάντα ὑπέμειναν πόνον, αὐτοῖς τε ἐθέλοντας γρώναι καὶ μὴ κενάς ἐπεσθαι δόξαις, ἀλλ' τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὕσιν ἀληθείαν ἀνιχνεύσαι.

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

¹ Cf. Oration 7. 208 D, 211 b, 211 c.
² Apollo.
³ Of Thebes, the Cynic philosopher, a pupil of Diogenes; he lived in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.
⁴ Plato, Laws 730 b.
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Φέρε οὖν, ἐπειδὴ πέφημεν οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιτη- 
δεύσας Πλάτων, ἔτερον δὲ Διογένης, ἐν δὲ τι καὶ 
ταυτόν· εἰ γοῦν ἐροιτό τις τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα “τὸ 
Γυώδη σαυτὸν πόσον νενόμικας ἄξιον;” εὖ οἶδα ὦτι 
τοῦ παντὸς ἀν φίσεις, καὶ λέγει δὲ ἐν Ἀλκιβίαδη. 
Δεύορ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τούτο φράσων ἦμων, ὁ δὲ 
μιμώνε 
Πλάτων καὶ θεῶν ἔσχομεν “Τίνα τρόπον χρῆ 
πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διακείσθαι δόξας,” ταῦτα 
τε ἐρεῖ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὅλον ἦμων ἐπιτάξει 
διαρρήθην ἀναγυώναι τὸν Κρίτωνα διάλογον, οὗ 
φαίνεται παραίνων Σωκράτης μηδὲν φροντίζειν 
ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων φησὶ γοῦν. “Ἀλλὰ τί ἦμων, 
ὁ μακάριε Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης 189 
μέλει;” εἰτα ἡμεῖς τούτων ὑπεριδόντες ἀποτει-
χίζειν ἀπλῶς οὔτωσι καὶ ἀποστάν ἄνδρας ἀλλη-
λῶν ἔθελομεν, οὐς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας συνήγαγεν 
ἐρως ἦ τῇ δόξης ὑπερψια καὶ ἢ πρὸς 
τὸν ξῆλον τῆς ἀρετῆς ξύμπνοια; εἰ δὲ 
Πλάτωνι 
μὲν ἔδοξε καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, 
Διογένει δὲ ἀπέχρη τὰ ἔργα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιός ἐστιν 
ὑφ’ ὕμων ἀκούειν κακῶς; ὥρα δὲ μή καὶ τοῦτο 
αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττον ἐστιν, ἔτει καὶ 
Πλάτων 
ἔξομνύμενος φαίνεται τὰ ξυγγράμματα. “Οὐ γάρ 
Β 
έστι Πλάτωνος,” φησί, “ξύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οὐδ’ 
ἔσται, τα δὲ νῦν φερόμενα ἔστι Σωκράτους, ἄνδρος

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

¹ Alcibiades i. 129 a. ² Crito 44 c. ³ Epistle 2. 314 c; Julian quotes from memory and slightly alters the original; Plato meant that in his dialogues he had suppressed his own personality in favour of Socrates.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

καλοῦ καὶ νέου." τί οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ έκ τῶν ἔργων
tοῦ Διογένους σκοπούμεν αὐτὸν τὸν Κυνισμόν,
ὅστις ἔστιν;

Οὐκοίν, ἐπειδὴ σώματος μέρη μὲν ἔστιν,
οἷον ὀφθαλμοί, πόδες, χεῖρες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπι-
συμβαίνει, τρίχες, ὄνυξ, ρύπος, τοιούτων περιτ-
τωμάτων γένος, ὃν ἂνει σῶμα ἀνθρώπων ἀμή-
χανον εἶναι, πότερον οὖ γελοῖος ἔστιν οἱ μέρη Κ
νομίσας ὄνυξας ἢ τρίχας ἢ ρύπον καὶ τὰ δυσώδη
tῶν περιττωμάτων, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ
σπονδαία, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητήρια καὶ τούτων
αὐτῶν ἄττα συνέσεως ἤμιν ἐστὶ μᾶλλον αἰτία,
οἷον ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀκοάς; ὑπουργεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα
πρὸς φρόνησιν εἴτε ἐγκατορωφυγμένη τῇ ψυχῇ,
ὡς ἄν θάττων καθαρθείσα δύνατο τῇ καθαρῇ
χρήσθαι. 1 καὶ ἀκινήτω τοῦ φρονείν δυνάμει, εἴτε,
ὡσπερ τινὲς οἴονται, καθάπερ δὲ ὁχετῶν τοιούτων
eἰσφερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς. συλλέγουσα γὰρ, φασὶ, D
τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήματα καὶ συνέχουσα τῇ
μνήμῃ γεννᾶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας. ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὴ τοιούτων ἡν ἐνθέου ἢ τέλεον ἐμποδιζόμενῳ δὲ 2
ὑπ’ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ὃ τῶν ἐκτός
ποιεῖται τῇ ἀντίληψιν, οὐδ’ ἂν δυνατῶν οἷον
γενέσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τῆς 3 ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλ’
οὕτως μὲν ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῖς νῦν προσῆκει.

Διότερ ἐπανακτέων ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας 190
τῆς κυνικῆς. φαίνονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτωι διμερῆ

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

Now the body consists of certain parts such as eyes, feet and hands, but there are besides other parts, hair, nails, ordure, a whole class of accessories of that sort without which the human body cannot exist. Then is it not absurd for a man to take into account such parts, I mean hair or nails or ordure or such unpleasant accessories, rather than those parts that are most precious and important, in the first place, for instance, the organs of perception, and among these more especially the instruments whereby we apprehend, namely the eyes and ears? For these aid the soul to think intelligently, whether it be buried deep in the body and they enable it to purify itself more readily and to use its pure and steadfast faculty of thought, or whether, as some think, it is through them that the soul enters in as though by channels.¹ For, as we are told, by collecting individual perceptions and linking them through the memory she brings forth the sciences. And for my own part, I think that if there were not something of this sort, either incomplete in itself or perfect but hindered by other things many and various, which brings about our apprehension of externals, it would not even be possible for us to apprehend the objects of sense-perception. But this line of argument has little to do with the present question.

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

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τὴν φιλοσοφίαν νομίσαντες ὡσπερ ὁ 'Αριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, θεωρηματικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο

1 συνέντες δηλονότι καὶ νοσάντες, ὡς οἰκείον ἐστιν ἀνθρώπος φύσει πράξει καὶ ἐπιστήμη. 

2 εἰ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς τὴν θεωρίαν ἐξέκλιναν, οὔδὲν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ἔσπει καὶ 

3 Σωκράτης καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι θεωρία μὲν φαίνουσι χρησάμενοι πολλῇ, ταύτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλων 

4 χάριν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πράξεως· ἐσπει καὶ τὸ ἑαυτῶν γρώσαι τοῦτο ἐνόμισαν, τὸ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τι 

5 Β μὲν ἀποδοτεύον ψυχῇ, τι δὲ σώματι ἀπέδοσαν δὲ 

6 εἰκότωσ ἤγεμονίαν μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ᾱυπηρεσίαν δὲ τῷ 

7 σώματι. φαίνονται δὴ οὐν ἀρετὴν ἑπιτηδεύοντες, 

8 ἐγκράτειαν, ἀτυφίαν, ἐλευθερίαν, ἐξω γενόμενοι 

9 παντὸς φθόνου, δειλίας, δεσιδαιμονίας. ἀλλ' οὐ 

10 ἥμεν ταύτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διανοούμεθα, παίζειν δὲ 

11 αὐτοὺς καὶ κυβεύειν περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὑπο-

12 λαμβάνομεν, οὕτως ὑπεριδόντος τοῦ σώματος, ζ 

13 ως ο Σωκράτης ἔφη λέγων ὁρθῶς μελέτην εἶναι 

14 θεαντο τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι καθ' 

15 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἑπιτηδεύοντες οὐ ζηλωτοῖ 

16 μᾶλλον ὁμών, ἄθλιοι δὲ τύνες καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόητοι 

17 δοκοῦσιν. 4 ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ 

18 τοὺς πόνους ὑπέμειναν 

19 τοῦτος; 6 οὐ 

20 χως αὐτὸς εἶπας, κενοδοξίας ἐνεκα. 

21 καὶ γὰρ πῶς ὑπὸ τῶν άλλων ἐπηνοοῦντο ὁμά

1 αὐτὸ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, αὐτῷ MSS.

2 τὴν θεωρίαν Hertlein suggests, πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν MSS.,

3 ἀπέδοσαν Hertlein suggests, τῇ MSS.

4 δοκοῦσιν: Hertlein suggests, δοκοῦσιν, MSS.

5 δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὴ MSS.

6 τοῦτος; οὐχ ὡς Hertlein suggests, τοῦτος, ὡς MSS.

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

\(^1\) Plato, *Protagoras* 314\(a\).

\(^2\) Phaedo 81\(a\).
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προσφερόμενοι σαρκία; καίτοι οὐδὲ αὐτῶς ἐπαι-
νέτης εἰ. τοῦ γοῦν τοιούτου τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν D
κόμην, ὡσπερ αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀπομμο-
μένος εἰθ' ὦ μηδὲ αὐτῶς ἄξιάγαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις,
tοῦτο εὐδοκιμεῖν οὐ εἰπὰ παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει; καὶ εἰς
μὲν ἢ δεύτερος ἐπήνει τότε, πλεῖν δ' οὖν ἢ δέκα
μυριάδες ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτίας καὶ βδελυρίας διεστρά-
φησαν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἀπόσιτοι γεγόνασιν,
ἄχρις αὐτοῦς οἱ θεράποντες ἀνέλαβον ὅσμας καὶ
μύροις καὶ πέμμασιν. οὕτως ο ἱερεύς ἤριον 191
κατεπλήξατο γελοῦντ' μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις,

Οἵοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν,

οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ δέ, μά τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ τις αὐτὸ κατὰ
τὴν Διογένους ἐξηγήσατο σύνεσιν. ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ
Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φησίν, ὦτι τῷ θεῷ νομίζων
λατρείαν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν τῷ τόν δοθέντα χρησμὸν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα σκοπῶν ἔξετάξειν τὸν
ἐλεγχτικόν ἕστασιν βίον, τούτο καὶ Διογένης
οἱμαί συνειδῶς ἐαυτῷ, πυθόχρηστον οὐσαν τὴν
φιλοσοφίαν, ἐργοὺς ψετο δεῖν ἔξεταξείς πάντα
καὶ μὴ δόξαις ἅλλοιο, τυχόν μὲν ἀληθεῖαι, τυχόν
δὲ φευδέσι προσπεποιθέναι. οὐκον οὐδὲ εἰ τι
Πυθαγόρας ἐφή, οὐδὲ εἰ τις ἅλλος τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ
παραπλήσιος, ἀξίοποις ἐδόκει τῷ Διογένει
τὸν γὰρ θεόν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ 1 οὐδένα τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀρχηγὸν ἐπετοίητο. τὶ δήτα τούτο, Κ
ἐρεῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδὴν; εγὼ σοι
φράσω.

Τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολαμ-
βάνουσι κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἢκιστα τοῦτο ἐργάζε-

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

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

1 Iliad 5. 304.
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σθαι προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ διανοοῦνται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τούτου ἀνάλωται 1 λόγος. ἑθέλοντι οὖν σοι μὴ ῥάθυμεῖν ἑσμοὶ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον βίβλου φανῆσονται. τοιοῦτος Διογένης ἐξελέγχειν φέτο δεῖν. διενοήθη γοῦν οὔτως· εἰ μὲν ἀπραγματεύτως ἑσθίων τις σάρκας, ἄστερον οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἔκαστον θηρίων, οἷς τοῦτο ἔνειμεν ἡ φύσις, Δ ἀβλαβῶς αὐτῷ ἀνεπαχθώς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὕφελείας ἐργάζοιτο, κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι πάντως τῆς σαρκοφαγίας ὑπέλαβεν· εἰ δὲ τις ἐντεύθεν γένοιτο βλάβη, οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἔργον ἴσως ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλ' ἀφεκτέοι εἶναι κατὰ κράτος αὐτοῦ. εἰς μὲν οὖν ἄν εἰ ἑοὶ τοιοῦτος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος ἴσως βιαίοτερος λόγος, ἐτερος δὲ οἰκείοτερος τῷ Κυνισμῷ, εἰ περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐτι σαφέστερον διέλθοιμ.  

Ἀπάθειαν γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· τοῦτο δὲ 192 ἴσου ἐστὶ τῷ θεόν γενέσθαι. αἰσθανόμενον οὖν ἴσως αὐτοῦ Διογένης ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶν ἀπαθoύς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐξωδῆς μόνον θρατ- 

tομένου καὶ ναυτιῶντος καὶ δόξῃ κενὴ μᾶλλον 2 ἢ λόγῳ δεδουλωμένου· σάρκες γάρ εἰσίν οὐδὲν ἢττον, καὶ μυρίακες αὐτὰς ἐψήσῃ, καὶ ὑποτρίμ- 

μασὶ μυρίοις τις αὐτὰς καρυκεύσῃ καὶ ταύτης αὐτοῦ ἀφελέσθαι καὶ καταστήσαι παντάπασιν ἐξάντητης δειλίας φήσῃ χρήσαι. δειλία γὰρ ἐστιν, Β εὗ ἵσθι, τὸ γοῦν τοιοῦτον. ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῆς Θεσμο- 

φόρον εἰ σαρκῶν ἰησυμένων ἀπτόμεθα, τοῦ χάριν

1 ἀνάλωται Hertlein suggests, δελκυται MSS.  
2 μᾶλλον Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.

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

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

¹ Demeter, who regulated the customs of civilised life, especially agriculture: her festival was the Thesmophoria.
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οὐχὶ καὶ ἀπλῶς αὐτὰς προσφερόμεθα, φράσον ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ἔτερον εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι οὕτω νευόμεν ισταὶ καὶ οὕτω συνειθίσμεθα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὶν μὲν ἐψηθῆναι βδελυρὰ πέφυκεν, ἐψηθέντα δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀγνότερα. τί δὴτα ἐχρῆν πράττειν τὸν γε ο παρὰ θεοῦ ταχθέντα καθάπερ στρατηγοῦ πάν μὲν ἐξελεῖν τὸ νόμισμα, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ κρίναι τὰ πράγματα; περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἐνοχλούμενον, ὡς νομίζεων ὅτι κρέας μὲν ἑστιν ἐψηθεῖν ἅγιόν καὶ ἐδώδιμον, μὴ κατεργασθεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς μυσαρόν πῶς καὶ βδελυρόν; οὕτως εἰ μνήμων; οὕτως εἰ σπουδαῖος, δὲ τοσοῦτον ὄνειδίζων τῷ κενοδόξῳ, κατὰ σὲ φάναι, Διογένει, D κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ τῷ σπουδαιότάτῳ θεράποντι καὶ ὑπηρέτη τοῦ Πυθίου, τὴν τοῦ πολὺποδος ἐδώδην κατεδήδοκας μυρίους ταρίχους.

Ἰχθύς ὁρμιθάς τε φίλας θ' ὅτι χεῖρας ἵκοντο,
Αὐγύπτιος γε ὃν, οὐ τῶν ἵερεων, ἄλλα τῶν πάμφυγων, ὅσ πάντα ἐσθιεῖν νόμος ὡς λάχανα χόρτου· γνωρίζεις οἴμαι τῶν Γαλλαίων τὰ ῥήματα. 193 μικροῦ με παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὧτι καὶ πάντες άνθρωποι πλησίον οἰκούντες θαλάττης, ἡδὴ δὲ τιμως καὶ τῶν πόρρω, οὐδὲ θερμήματες καταρροφοῦσιν ἐχώνους, ὅστρεα καὶ πάντα ἄπλως τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἰτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπολαμβάνεις ζηλωτοὺς, ἄθλιον δὲ καὶ βδελυρὸν ἡγῇ Διογένη, καὶ οὐκ ἔννοες, ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ταυτά ἐκεῖνον ἐστὶ σαρκία· πλὴν

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

\(^1\) *Odyssey* 12. 331.  
\(^2\) *Genesis* 9. 3.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ίσως ταῦτα ἐκεῖνων διαφέρει τῷ τὰ μὲν εἶναι μαλακά, τὰ δὲ σκληρότερα. ἣναιμος γοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ πολύτους ὅσπερ ἐκεῖνα, ἔμψυχα δὲ Β ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ὀστρακόδερμα καθάπερ καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἡθεται γοῦν καὶ λυπεῖται, ὃ τῶν ἔμψυχων μάλιστά ἐστιν ὄδιον. ἐνοχλεῖτω δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἡ Πλατωνική ταῦτα δώξα ἔμψυχα ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τὰ φυτά. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὔτε ἄλογον οὐδὲ παράνομον οὐδὲ ἀσύνηθες ὑμᾶς ὁ γενναῖος εἰργάσατο Διογένης, εἰ μὴ τῷ σκληροτέρῳ καὶ μαλακωτέρῳ, ἡδονή τε λαμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρία τὰ τουατά τις ἑξετάζου, πρόδηλον οίμαι τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν ἐπεσθαί λόγῳ δυναμένους. οὐκ ἀρα τὴν ὠμοφαγίαν βδελύττεσθε οἱ τὰ παραπλήσια δρώντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ Τ τῶν ἀναίμων μόνον ἄφων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰμα ἐχόντων. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἱσώς διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι ο μὲν ἀπλῶς ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν φήθη χρῆναι προσφέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρτύσαντες ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα, τὴν φύσιν ὅπως βιάσησθε. καὶ ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη.

Τῆς Κυνικῆς δὲ ἕφιλοσοφίας σκοτδός μὲν ἐστὶ Δ καὶ τέλος, ὅσπερ ἰὴ καὶ πάσης ἕφιλοσοφίας, τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐν τῷ ψυχή κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς εὐ πράττειν συμβαίνει καὶ μέντοι καὶ ψυχής πᾶσιν, ὅταν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκαστον ἀνεμποδίστως τυχανή τέλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς τοῦτο ἐστιν εὐδαιμονίας ὁρός, τὸ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ὅσπερ πεφύκασι καὶ ἐαυτῶν εἶναι. οὖκοιν 194

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

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

¹ Timaeus 77 b.
καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ἔτερωθὶ που τὴν εὐδαι-μονίαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην προσήκει πολυπραγμονεῖν· οὔδὲ ἀετὸς οὔδε πλάτανος οὔδε ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ξύλων ἢ φυτῶν χρυσᾶ περιεργάζεται πτερὰ καὶ φύλλα, οὔδὲ ὅπως ἁγυροῦς ἤξει τοὺς βλαστοὺς ἢ τὰ πλῆκτρα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρᾶ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδαμάντινα, ἀλλ’ οἷς αὐτὰ ἤξει ἁρχής ἢ φύσις ἐκόσμησε, ταῦτα εἰ ῥωμαλεά καὶ πρὸς τάχος αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς ἁλκὴν ὑπουργοῦντα προσγένοιτο, μάλιστα ἂν εὑ πράττειν νομίζοι καὶ εὐθηνεῖσθαι. Β πῶς οὖν οὐ γελοῖον, εἰ τις ἀνθρωπὸς γεγονὼς ἤξε ἐτο τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιεργάσαίτο, πλοῦτον καὶ γένος καὶ φίλων δύναμιν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαύτα τοῦ παντῶν ἄξια νομίζων; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις ὡσπερ τοῖς ξύλοις αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπέδωκε μόνον, τὸ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἤχειν ἐκείνους παραπλησίας, ὡστε μηδὲν πλέον πολυ- πραγμονεῖν, ἢρκει λοιπόν, ὡσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ ξύλα, Κ τοῖς σώματικοῖς ἀρκεῖοι πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἐν- ταῦθα που τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδέν τι παραπλησία ψυχῆ τοῖς ἁλ- λοις ἐνεσπαρται ξύλοις, ἀλλ’ εἰτε κατ’ οὐσίαν δια- φέρουσα εἰτε οὐσία μὲν ἀδιάφορος, ἐνεργεία δὲ μόνη κρείττων, ὡσπερ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρὸν ἢδη χρυσὸν τοῦ συμπεφυμένου τῷ ψάμμῳ. λέγεται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὥς ἀληθῆς ὑπὸ τινῶν ἡμεῖς δὴ οὖν ἐπειδὴ σύνισμεν αὐτοῖς δ οὖσι τῶν ξύλων ἐνυπετέρως κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πρωταγόρου μύθον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἡ φύσις ὡσπερ μήτηρ

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so too in the case of human beings we must not be busy about happiness as if it were hidden away outside ourselves. Neither the eagle nor the plane tree nor anything else that has life, whether plant or animal, vainly troubles itself about wings or leaves of gold or that its shoots may be of silver or its stings and spurs of iron, or rather of adamant; but where nature in the beginning has adorned them with such things, they consider that, if only they are strong and serviceable for speed or defence, they themselves are fortunate and well provided. Then is it not absurd when a human being tries to find happiness somewhere outside himself, and thinks that wealth and birth and the influence of friends, and generally speaking everything of that sort is of the utmost importance? If however nature had bestowed on us only what she has bestowed on other animals, I mean the possession of bodies and souls like theirs, so that we need concern ourselves with nothing beyond, then it would suffice for us, as for all other animals, to content ourselves with physical advantages, and to pursue happiness within this field. But in us has been implanted a soul that in no way resembles other animals; and whether it be different in essence, or not different in essence but superior in its activity only, just as, I suppose, pure gold is superior to gold alloyed with sand,—for some people hold this theory to be true of the soul,—at any rate we surely know that we are more intelligent than other animals. For according to the myth in the Protagoras,¹ nature dealt with them very gener-

¹ Plato, Protagoras 321 a, b; Plato however says that the theft of fire by Prometheus saved mankind, and that later Zeus bestowed on them the political art.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἀγαν φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλοδόρως προσηνέχθη, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἐκ-Διὸς οὐ νοῦς ἔδοθε· τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐνταῦθα θετέων, ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ σπουδαιοτάτῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν.

Σκάπει δή, ταύτης εἰ μὴ μάλιστα τῆς προαιρέσεως ἢν Διογένης, διὸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἀνέδην παρείχεν, ἵνα αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως ῥωμαλεότερον καταστήσῃ, πράττειν δὲ ἦξίον μόνον ὅπόσα 195 ἄν φανῇ τῷ λόγῳ πρακτέα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπίπτοντας τῇ ψυχῇ θορύβους, οἵ πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει τούτῳ περικείμενον αὐτοῦ χάριν πολυπραγμονεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν μέρει προσίτεο. ὧπο δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ ἀνήρ οὔτω μὲν ἔσχεν ἄνδρεῖον τὸ σῶμα ὡς οὐδεὶς οἴμαι τῶν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγωνισμένων, οὕτω δὲ διε- Βέτη τῆν ψυχήν, ὡστε εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὡστε βασιλεύειν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ὡς οἱ τότε εἰώθεσαν λέγειν Ἑλλήνες, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, τῶν Πέρσην λέγοντες. ἀρά σοι μικρὰ φαίνεται ἀνήρ

Ἀπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος, οὐκ ὄβολον, οὐ δραχμῆν, ἔχων 1 οὐδ᾽ οἰκέτην, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μάζαν, ἢς Ἐπίκουρος εὐπορῶν οὐδέ τῶν θεῶν φησίν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας λόγον ἐλαττοῦσθαι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔριζαν, τοῦ δοκοῦντος δὲ Στὸς ἄνθρωπος εὐδαιμονεστάτου εὐδαιμονεστέρον ξῶν καὶ ἔλεγεν ξῆν εὐδαιμονεστέρον. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,

1 ἔχων οὐδ᾽ οἰκέτην Kaibel, οὐκ οἰκέτην ἔχων Hertlein, MSS.; Hertlein prints the second verse as prose.

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TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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

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

¹ Cf. Letter to Themistius 256 D; Nauck, Adespota
Fragmenta 6; Diogenes Laertius, 6. 38, says that this was a
favourite quotation of Diogenes; its source is unknown.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἐργῷ πειραθεῖς ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου καὶ οὐ τῷ λόγῳ αἰσθήσῃ.

Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐλέγξω-μεν. ἀρά σοι δοκεῖ τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώ-ποις ἠγιεσθαι, τούτων δὴ τῶν πολυθρυλήτων, ἐλευθερίαν; πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσεις; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ D χρήματα καὶ πλούτος καὶ γένος καὶ σώματος ἵσχυς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δίχα τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἡντυχηκέναι, τοῦ κτησμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἔστιν ἁγαθά; τίνα οὖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸν δούλου; ἀρα μή ποτε ἐκείνου, ὃν ἀν πρώμεθα δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου τόσου ἢ μναῖν δυοῖν ἢ χρυσίου στατήρων δέκα; ἔρεις δὴ πουθεν τούτου εἴναι ἀληθῶς δούλου. ἀρα δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι τὸ ἀργυρίου ύπερ αὐτοῦ τὸ πωλοῦντι κατα-βεβλήκαμεν; οὕτω μεντὰν εἶνεν οἰκέται καὶ ὀπό-σους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λυτρούμεθα. καίτοι καὶ οἱ νόμοι τοῦτοι ἀποδεδώκασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σωθεῖν οἰκαί, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπολυτρούμεθα, οὐχ ἵνα δουλεύσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὅσιν ἐλεύθεροι. ὥρας ὡς οὐχ ἱκανόν ἔστιν ἀργυρίου καταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἀποφήναι τὸν λυτρωθέντα δούλου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνος ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς δούλος, οὗ κύριος ἔστιν ἄτερος προσαναγκάσαι πράττειν ὅτι ἄν κελεύῃ, καὶ μὴ βούλομεν κολάσαι καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,

κακαῖς ὀδύνησι πελάξειν;

ὁρα δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ κύριοι πάντες ἡμῶν Β εἰσίν, οὕς ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ὑμῖν θεραπεύειν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀλγόμεν μηδὲ νυπώμεθα κολαξόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν.

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do not believe me, try his mode of life in deed and not in word, and you will perceive the truth.

Come, let us first test it by reasoning. You think, do you not, that for mankind freedom is the beginning of all good things,1 I mean of course what people are always calling good? How can you deny it? For property, money, birth, physical strength, beauty and in a word everything of the sort when divorced from freedom are surely blessings that belong, not to him who merely seems to enjoy them, but to him who is that man's master? Whom then are we to regard as a slave? Shall it be him whom we buy for so many silver drachmas, for two minae or for ten staters2 of gold? Probably you will say that such a man is truly a slave. And why? Is it because we have paid down money for him to the seller? But in that case the prisoners of war whom we ransom would be slaves. And yet the law on the one hand grants these their freedom when they have come safe home, and we on the other hand ransom them not that they may become slaves, but that they may be free. Do you see then that in order to make a ransomed man a slave it is not enough to pay down a sum of money, but that man is truly a slave over whom another man has power to compel him to do whatever he orders, and if he refuse, to punish him and in the words of the poet "to inflict grievous pains upon him"?3 Then consider next whether we have not as many masters as there are persons whom we are obliged to conciliate in order not to suffer pain or annoyance from being punished by them? Or do you think that the

1 Cf. 188 c, Plato, Laws 730 b.
2 The stater or Daric was worth about a sovereign.
3 Iliad 5. 766.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἡ τούτο οἷς κόλασιν μόνον, εἰ τις ἑπανατεινόμενος
tὴν βακτηρίαν καθίκοιτο τοῦ οἰκέτου; καὶ τοιοῦτο
τοιούτου οὖδὲ οἱ πραχύτατοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ
pάντων ποιοῦσι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος
ἀρκεῖ πολλάκις καὶ ἀπειλή. μήποτε οὖν, ὦ φίλε, Κ
νομίσῃς εἰναι ἐλεύθερος, ἄχρις οὐ γαστῆρ ἄρχει
σον καὶ τὰ ἐνερθὲν γαστρὸς οὐ τε τοῦ παρασχεὶν
τὰ πρὸς ἤδονην καὶ ταῦτα ἀποκωλύσαι κύριοι,
kai ei toúton dé γένοιο κρείττων, ἠως ἀν δουλεύης
taís tōn polllōn dōxais, ouπω tēs ἑλευθερίας
ἐθνης οὖδὲ ἐγεύσω τοῦ νέκταρος,

Οὐ μὰ τῶν ἐν στέρνοισιν ἐμοίς παραδόντα
tetraκτών.

καὶ οὐ τούτῳ φημι, ὡς ἀπερυθρίασαι χρή πρὸς
διὸ πάντας καὶ πράττειν τὰ μὴ πρακτέα. ἀλλ’ οὖν
ἀπεχώμεθα καὶ ὡσα πράττομεν, μῆ διὰ τὸ τοῖς
πολλοῖς δοκεῖν σπούδαία πως ἡ φαύλα, διὰ
tοῦτο πράττομεν καὶ ἀπεχώμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῷ
λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τῷ νῷ, ταῦτα
ἐστὶν ἀπόρρητα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν κωλύει
ταῖς κοίναις ἐπεσθαί δόξαις; ἀμεινὸν γὰρ τοῦτο
τοῦ παντάπασιν ἀπερυθρίαν ἐγκυοὶ γὰρ ἄνθρω-

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ποι φύσει πρὸς ἀληθείαν οἰκείως; ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἡδὴ
kατὰ νοῦν ξύωτι καὶ τοὺς ὀρθοὺς εὑρεῖν τε δυνα-
μένῳ καὶ κρίναι λόγους προσήκει τὸ παράπαν
οὐδὲν ἐπεσθαί τοῖς νομιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν
e τε καὶ χείρων πράττεσθαι.

1 ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.
2 πως Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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

1 An oath used by the Pythagoreans, who regarded the tetrad, the sum of the first four numbers, as symbolical of all proportion and perfection; cf. Aetios, Placita 1. 7. Pythagoras, Aureum Carmen 47, Mullach νὰ μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρα ψυχὴν παραδόντα τετρακτύων.
2 Cf. Oration 268 d; Euripides fr. 1007 Nauck  ὅ νῦτε γὰρ ἡμῶν ἢστιν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεῷ; Iamblichus, Protrepticus 8. 138.
The Orations of Julian, VI

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν θείότερον, δὲ δὴ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησίν φαμεν καὶ λόγον τὸν συγώμενον, οὐ κηρύξ ἐστίν ὁ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς οὕτως λόγος προὶδὼν ἐξ ὁνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, ἔτερον δὲ τι τούτῳ συνεξενταῖ ποικίλον καὶ παντοδαπόν, ὀργῇ καὶ ἕπιθυμίᾳ ἕξωμεν τῷ Β καὶ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, οὐ πρότερον χρῆ πρὸς τὰς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀτενῶς ὀρᾶν καὶ ἄδια- τρέπτως, πρὶν ἄν τούτῳ δαμάσωμεν τὸ θηρίον καὶ πείσωμεν ὑπακούσαι τῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ θείῳ. τοῦτο γὰρ πολλοὶ τοῦ Διογένους ξηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες ἐγένοντο παντορέκται καὶ μιαροὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ ἐνὸς κρέιττους, στὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, πρῶτον ἐργον ἔρω σοι Διογένους, ἐφ’ Κ ὃ γελάσονται μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ σεμνότατον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὶς τῶν νέων ἐν ὄχλῳ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ Διογένους, ἀπεσπάρθεν, ἐπάταξεν ἐκείνος τῇ βακτρίᾳ φάς. εἰτα, ὃ κάθαρμα, μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ δημοσίᾳ τὰ τοιαύτα θαρσεῖν πράξας ἐντευθὲν ἡμῶν ἄρχῃ δόξης καταφρονεῖν; οὕτως φέτο χρῆναι πρότερον ἡδονῆς καὶ θυμοῦ κρείττουν γενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸ τελείότατον ἐλθεῖν τῶν παλαισμάτων, ἀποδυσάμενον πρὸς τὰς τῶν Δ πολλῶν δόξας αἰ μυρίων κακῶν αὐταὶ γίνονται τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Οὐκ οίσθα ὅπως τοὺς μὲν νέους τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπάγουσιν, ἄλλα ἐπ’ ἄλλους τῶν

1 ξηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες Hertlein suggests, ξηλώσαντες MSS.
2 πρὶν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τρίτον MSS.

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TO THE UNEDEDUCATED CYNICS

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

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

1 Euripides fr. 488; Misopogon 358 D.
2 Cf. Oration 1. 40 B, 2. 74 C, notes.
ΤΗΣ ΟΡΑΤΙΟΝΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ, ΒΙ

φιλοσόφων θρυλόντες; οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλειος χρηματιστέοι γνώσεως εἶναι λέγονται καὶ σοφίσται καὶ τετυφωμένοι καὶ φαρμακείς. τῶν Κυνικῶν εἰ ποὺ τὺς 198 γέγονε σπουδαίοι, ἐλευνός δοκεῖ· μέμνημαι γοὺν ἐγὼ ποτε τροφήνοις εἰπόντος πρὸς με, ἐπείδη τῶν ἑταίρων εἶδεν Ἰφικλέα αὐχμηράν ἔχοντα τὴν κόμην καὶ κατερρωγότα τὰ στέρνα ἰματίων σε παντάπασι φαύλου ἐν δεινῷ χειμώνῳ· τίς ἄρα δαίμων τούτων εἰς ταύτην περίτρεφε τὴν συμφοράν, ὡς ὅσοι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐλευνός, ἐλευνότεροι δὲ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, θρέψαντες σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ παίδευσαντες ὡς ἐνεδέχεσθε σπουδαίως, ὁ δὲ οὖν Βοῦν περιέρχεται, πάντα ἄφεσι, οὐδὲν τῶν προσαυτοῦτων κρείτταν; ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν ἐγώ ὅσον ὅπως τότε κατερωνευσάμην· εὑ μέντοι γε ἵσθι ταῦτα καὶ 1 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀληθῶς κυνῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διανοούμενους, καὶ οὐ τούτο δεινόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὀρᾶς ὧτι καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγαπᾶν πείθουσι καὶ πεινὰν μισεῖν καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεῦειν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐνεκα πάντα ὑπομένειν πόνου καὶ πιαινεῖν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμὸν καὶ τράπεζαν παρατίθεσθαι πολυτελῆ καὶ μηδέποτε νῦκτωρ καθεύδειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα δρᾶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ λανθάνοντα; τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Ταρταροῦ χείρον; οὐ βέλτιον ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὴν Χάρμβδιν καὶ τῶν Κωκυτῶν καὶ μυρίαν ὀργυαῖς κατὰ γῆς δύναι, ἢ πεσεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον βίον αἰδοίοις καὶ γαστρὶ δουλεύοντα, καὶ οὔδε τούτως ἀπλῶς ὡσπερ τὰ θηρία, πράγματα δὲ ἔχειν, ὡς ὁ δὲ καὶ

1 ταῦτα καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ ταῦτα MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

slander and then another against all the philosophers in turn? The genuine disciples of Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle are called sorcerers and sophists and conceited and quacks. If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity. For instance I remember that once my tutor said to me when he saw my fellow-pupil Iphicles with his hair unkempt and his clothes in tatters on his chest and wearing a wretched cloak in severe winter weather: "What evil genius can have plunged him into this sad state which makes not only him pitiable but even more so his parents who reared him with care and gave him the best education they could! And now he goes about in this condition, neglecting everything and no better than a beggar!" At the time I answered him with some pleasantry or other. But I assure you that the multitude hold these views about genuine Cynics also. And that is not so dreadful, but do you see that they persuade them to love wealth, to hate poverty, to minister to the belly, to endure any toil for the body's sake, to fatten that prison of the soul, to keep up an expensive table, never to sleep alone at night,\(^1\) provided only that they do all this in the dark and are not found out? Is not this worse than Tartarus? Is it not better to sink beneath Charybdis and Cocytus or ten thousand fathoms deep in the earth\(^2\) than to fall into a life like this, enslaved to lust and appetite, and not even to these simply and openly, like the beasts, but to take pains so that when we act thus we may

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\(^1\) Cf. Plato, *Epistles* 326 b.

\(^2\) An echo of Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7. 1. 29.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

λάθοιμεν ὑπὸ τῶν σκότων ταύτα ἐξεργαζόμενοι; καίτοι πόσῳ κρέιττον ἀπέχεσθαι παντάπασιν D αὐτῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥάδιον, ὁι Διογένους νόμοι καὶ Κράτηστος ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁυκ ἀτυμαστέοις ἔροτα λύει λιμός, ἀν δὲ τούτῳ χρῆσθαι μὴ δύνη,1 βρόχος. οὐκ οἴσθα, ὅτι ταύτα ἔπραξαν ἐκεῖνοι τῷ βίῳ διδόντες ὁδὸν εὐτελείας; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαζο- φάγων, φησίν ὁ Διογένης, ὁι τύραννοι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ 199 τῶν δειπνοῦντων πολυτελῶς. καὶ ὁ Κράτης μέντοι πεποίησεν ὃμοιον εἰς τὴν Εὐτελείαν.

Χαίρε, θεὰ δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα, Εὐτελείη, κλεινής ἐγγονε Ὀμφροσύνης.

ἐστω δή μὴ κατὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαυον ὁ κύων ἁναίδης μηδὲ ἀναισχυντος μηδὲ ὑπερωρίης πάντων ὁμοῦ θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπιῶν, ἀλλὰ εὐκαθαρίης μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ θείων, ὡσπερ Διογένης· ἐπείσθη γοῦν Β ἐκεῖνος τῷ Πυθίῳ, καὶ οὐ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ πεισθέντι· εἰ δὲ, ὅτι μὴ προσήκει μηδὲ ἐθεράπευε τοὺς νεὼς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδὲ τοὺς βωμοὺς, οἰκεῖα τις ἀθεότητος εἶναι σημείον, οὐκ ὀρθὸς νομίζει- ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ λαβανωτός, οὐ σπορδή, οὐκ ἄργυρον, ὄθεν αὐτὰ πρόαιτο. εἰ δὲ ἐνόει περὶ θεῶν ὁρθῶς, ἢρκει τοῦτο μόνον· αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐθεράπευε2 τῇ ψυχῇ, δίδοις οἷμαι τὰ τιμωτάτα τῶν ἐαυτοῦ, τὸ καθοσιώσαι τὴν ἐαυτῷ ψυχὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἀπερυθριάτω δὲ μη- C δαμώς, ἀλλὰ ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον μὲν αὐτῷ χειρόθες καταστήσατο τὸ παθηματικὸν

1 δύνη Hertlein suggests, cf. Diogenes Laertius 6. 5. 2; δύνασαι MSS.
2 ἐθεράπευε Hertlein suggests, θεράπευσε MSS.
be hidden under cover of darkness? And yet how much better is it to refrain altogether from all this! And if that be difficult the rules of Diogenes and Crates on these matters are not to be despised:

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

² Palatine Anthology 10. 104.
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this ψυχής μόριον, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἐξελείν αὐτὸ καὶ μὴδὲ ὅτι γρατεῖ τῶν ἥδουν εἰδέναι.
εἰς τούτο γὰρ ἅμεινον ἔλθείν, εἰς τὸ καί, εἰ πάσχει
tις τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅλως ἀγνοῆσαι· τούτο δὲ ἡμῶν
οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῶν γυμνασίων προσγίνεται.
ίνα δὲ μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ με ταύτα ἄλλως λέγειν,
ἐκ τῶν παγνίων Κράτητος ὄλγα σοι παραγράψω. D

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλῦτε μοι εὐχομένῳ.
Χόρτον αἰεὶ συνεχῶς δότε γαστέρι, ἦτε μοι αἰεὶ
Χωρίς δουλοσύνης λιτὸν ἐθηκε βίον.

* * * *

'Ωφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔθελον συνάγειν κλυτά, κανθάρου
διαθέσθαι. 1
Μύρμηκος τ' ἀφενος χρήματα μαιόμενος,
'Αλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλούτου ἀγείρειν 2
Εὐφοροῖς, εὐκτητοῖς, τίμιον εἰς ἄρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν 'Ερμῆν καὶ Μοῦσας ἰλάσσομ' ἀγνασ.
Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεράς, ἀλλ' ἄρεταῖς ὀσίας.
eἰ χρή σοι περὶ τούτων γράφειν, ἔχω πλείονα τοῦ B
ἀνδρός. ἐν τυχῶν δὲ τῷ Χαῖρωνεὶ Πλούταρχῳ τῶν
Κράτητος ἀναγράψαντι βίον οὐδὲν ἐκ παρέργου
μανθάνειν δεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα.
'Αλλ' ἐπανύωμεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο πάλιν, ὅτι χρή τὸν
ἀρχόμενον κυνίζειν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτιμᾶν C

1 διαθέσθαι Wright, cf. 213b, οἴτων MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀγιεῖν Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

¹ I.e. parodies such as the verses here quoted which parody Solon’s prayer fr. 12, Bergk; cf. 213 b.
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πικρῶς καὶ ἐξελέγχειν καὶ μὴ κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάξειν ὅ, τι μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν σιτίων χαίρει, εἰ στρωμνὴς δεῖται μαλακῆς, εἰ τιμῆς ἢ δόξης ἐστὶν ἤττων, εἰ τούτο ζηλοὶ τὸ περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ, εἰ καὶ κενὸν εἰη, τίμιον ὤμως νομίζει. μηδὲ εἰς συμπεριφορὰν ὧχλων καθυφείσωθω,1 γενέσθω δὲ τρυφῆς μηδὲ Δ ἀκρῷ, φασί, τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἔσοι ἀν αὐτὴν παντελῶς πατήσῃ. τότε ἢδη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀν προσπιττῇ, θυγεῖν οὐδέν κωλὺει. εἴπει καὶ τῶν ταῦρων ἀκοῦώ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς νεμομένους ἀγείρειν τὴν ἵσχυν ἐν μέρει καὶ καθ' ὀλγοῦν, εἰδ' οὕτως ἐπιέναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης ἀμφισβητεῖν τοῖς προκατέχουσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἄξιωτέρους προϊστασθαι. ὡστε οὐν κυνίζειν ἐθέλει μήτε τὸν τρίβονα μήτε τὴν πήραν μήτε τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀγαπάτω μόνον, ἵνα ὡσπέρ ἐν κόμῃ βαδίζῃ κουρεῖων καὶ διδασκαλεῖσιν ἐνδεξεῖ ἄκαρτος καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον ἀνίτου σκῆπτρον καὶ τὴν ἔνστασιν ἀνίτη τῆς πήρας τῆς κυνικῆς ὑπολαμβανέτω φιλοσοφίας γνωρίσμαται. παρρησίᾳ δὲ χρηστέων αὐτῷ πρώτον ὁπόσον πέφυκεν ἁξίωσι ἐπιδειξαμένω, ὡσπέρ οἶμαι Κράτης καὶ Διογένης, οἱ πᾶσαι μὲν ἀπειληθὲς τύχης καὶ εἴτε παιδίαν εἴτε παροινίαν χρὴ φάναι Β

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

1 An echo of Euripides, Phoenissae 551, περιβλέπεσθαι τίμιον, κενδυ μὲν οὖν οὖν.
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toso'ton ἀπέσχον τοῦ δυσκόλως ἐνεγκείν, ὡστε ἀλούς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ὁ Διογένης ἔπαιξεν, ὁ Κράτης δὲ ἐδημοσίευε τὴν οὐσίαν, εἶτα τὸ σῶμα βλαβεῖς ἐσκοπτεῖν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ σκέλους καὶ τὸ κυρτὸν τῶν ὦμων, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων ἐστίας ἀκλητος καὶ 1 κεκλημένος, διαλλάσσων τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀλλήλους, εἴποτε στασιάζοντας αὔσσοιτο, ἐπετίμα δὲ ὦ μετὰ πικρίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χάριτος, οὐχ ἴνα Συκοφαντεῖν δοκῇ τοὺς σωφρονισθέντας, ὥφελεῖν δὲ ἐθέλων αὐτοὺς τε ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

Καὶ οὐ τούτῳ ἦν τὸ προηγούμενον αὐτοῖς τέλος· ἀλλ᾽, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἐσκόπουν ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσουσιν, 2 ἔμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἔνιεσαν οἶμαι φύσει κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ξέφυ τὸν ἀνθρώπον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς συμπολιτευμένους ὥφελησαν οὐ τοῖς παραδείγμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις. ὡςτις οὖν ἄν ἔθελη Δ. Κυνικὸς εἶναι καὶ σπουδαῖος ἄνηρ, αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπιμεληθεῖς, ὅπερ Διογένης καὶ Κράτης ἐξελαυνότω μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαντα ἕκ πάνης τὰ πάθη, ὁρθῇ δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ καθ' ἐαυτὸν λόγῳ καὶ νῦ κυβερνάσθω. κεφάλαιον γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, τοῦτο τῆς Διογένους φιλοσοφίας.

Εἰ δὲ ἑταῖρα ποτὲ προσήλθεν ὁ ἀνήρ· καίτοι καὶ τούτῳ τυχὸν ἀπαξ ἢ οὔδε ἀπαξ ἐγένετο· ὅταν ἡμῖν τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν Διογένη γένηται 202

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

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

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

¹ Thucydides 1. 118.
σπουδαῖος, ἂν αὐτῷ φανὴ καὶ τοιοῦτον τι δράν φανερῶς ἐν ὄφθαλμοὶς πάντων, οὐ μεμψόμεθα οὐδὲ αἰτιασόμεθα. πρότερον μέντοι τῆς Διογένους ἦμιν ἐπιδεξάμενος εὐμάθειαν καὶ τὴν ἁγχῦνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτάρκειαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην, εὐλάβειαν, χάριν, προσοχὴν, ὡς μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδὲ μάτην μηδὲ ἀλόγως ποιεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς Β Διογένους ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας οἰκεία· πατείτω τύφων, καταπαιξέτω τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τῆς φύσεως ἔργα κρυπτόντων ἐν σκότῳ· φημὶ δὲ τῶν περιττωμάτων τὰς ἐκκρίσεις· ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ἄγοραῖς καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιτηθεδούντων τὰ βιαίωτα καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῶν οἰκεία τῇ φύσει, χρημάτων ἀρταγάς, συκοφαντίας, γραφῶς ἀδίκους, διώξεις ἄλλων τοιούτων συρφετωδῶν πραγμάτων. ἔπει καὶ Διογένης εἰτε ἀπεπαρδεν εἰτε ἀπεπάτησεν εἰτε C ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἐπραξέν, ὦσπερ οὐν λέγουσιν, ἐν ἀγορᾶ, τὸν ἐκείνων πατῶν τύφων ἐποίει, διδάσκως αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλὸν φαυλότερα καὶ χαλεπώτερα τοῦτον ἐπιτηθεύσουσι. τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάσι κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔτος εἰπεῖν οὐδεῖ, πάντα δὲ ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐπιτηθεύται.

'Αλλ' οἱ νῦν τοῦ Διογένους ἔγινε τὸ ῥᾶστον καὶ κουφότατον ἐλόμενοι τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ εἶδον· σὺ τε ἐκείνων εἶναι σεμνότερος ἔθέλων ἀπεπλανή· D

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

In our own day, however, the imitators of Diogenes have chosen only what is easiest and least burdensome and have failed to see his nobler side. And as for you, in your desire to be more dignified
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θης τοσούτων τῆς Διογένους προαιρέσεως, ὡστε αὐτὸν ἐλεεινὸν ἐνόμισας. εἰ δὲ τούτως μὲν ἡπίστεις ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος λεγομένους, ὅν οἱ πάντες "Ελλήνες τότε ἔθαυμασαν μετὰ Σωκράτη καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐπὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, οὐ γέγονεν ἀκροατής ὁ τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου καὶ συνετωτάτου Ζήνωνος καθηγεμών, οὐς ὅποι εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπαντας ἀπατηθῇµαι περὶ ἄνδρος οὕτω φαύλον, ὅποιον σὺ διακωμιδεῖς, ὃ βέλτιστε, ἱσώς ἂν τι πλέον 203 ἐσκόπησας περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορρωτέρως προῆλθες τῆς ἐμπειρίας τάνδρος. τίνα γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεπληξε τῶν Ἔλληνων ἡ Διογένους καρτερία, βασιλικῆς οὐκ ἔξω μεγαλοψυχίας οὕσα, καὶ φιλοπονία; ἐκάθευδεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἐν τῷ πῦθῳ βέλτιον ἡ μέγας βασίλεις ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους ὅρφοις ἐν τῇ μαλθακῇ κλίνη, ἥσσος τὴν μάζαν ἕδιον ἢ σὺ νῦν τὰς Σικελικὰς ἐσθίεις τραπέζας, ἐλούετο ψυχρὸ ¹ Β τὸ σώμα πρὸς ἄρα ξηραίνων ἀντὶ τῶν θεονίων, οἷς σὺ ἀπομάττῃ, φιλοσοφώτατε. πάνυ σοι προσῆκε κωμῳδεῖν ἐκείνον, ὅτι καταργάζω τῶν Ἐρέτων, ὡς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἡ τῶν Δαρείων, ὡς ὁ Μακεδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰ σμικρὰ τὰς θίβλους ἀνελέτων ἐμελέτας ὡστερ ἤμεις οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ πολυπράγμονες, ἐγνὼς ἂν, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος ἀγαπηθῆναι λέγεται τὴν Διογένους μεγαλοψυχίαν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι σοι τούτων οὐδὲν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,

¹ ψυχρῷ Naber, θερμῷ Hertlein, MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

than those early Cynics you have strayed so far from Diogenes' plan of life that you thought him an object of pity. But if you did not believe all this that I say about a man whom all the Greeks in the generation of Plato and Aristotle admired next to Socrates and Pythagoras, a man whose pupil was the teacher of the most modest and most wise Zeno,—and it is not likely that they were all deceived about a man as contemptible as you make him out to be in your travesty,—well, in that case, my dear sir, perhaps you might have studied his character more carefully and you would have progressed further in your knowledge of the man. Was there, I ask, a single Greek who was not amazed by the endurance of Diogenes and by his perseverance, which had in it a truly royal greatness of soul? The man used to sleep in his jar on a bed of leaves more soundly than the Great King on his soft couch under a gilded roof; he used to eat his crust\(^1\) with a better appetite than you now eat your Sicilian courses\(^2\); he used to bathe his body in cold water and dry himself in the open air instead of with the linen towels with which you rub yourself down, my most philosophic friend! It becomes you well to ridicule him because, I suppose, like Themistocles you conquered Xerxes, or Darius like Alexander of Macedon. But if you had the least habit of reading books as I do, though I am a statesman and engrossed in public affairs, you would know how much Alexander is said to have admired Diogenes' greatness of soul. But you care little, I suppose, for any of these things. How should you

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\(^1\) Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 6. 12, Arnim.

\(^2\) A proverb; Sicily was famous for good cooking; cf. Plato, *Republic* 404 d; Horace, *Odes* 1. 1. 18, "Siculae dapes."
σπουδαίον· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δει· γυναικῶν Ἀθλίων τεθαύμακας φιλονεικῶν ¹ βίον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος τι πλέον ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἐμὸν μᾶλλον ἢ σὸν ἐστὶ κέρδος· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν περαινομεν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπευναστὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον συνείραντες· ἐστὶ γὰρ πάρεργον ἡμέραιν δυνών, ὡς ἵσασιν αἱ Μούσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ σὺ ² αὐτὸς· παραμενέτω μὲν σοι ὅπόσα πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεις, ἢμῖν δὲ οὐ μεταμελήσει τῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα εὐφημίας.

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

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

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

1 Demosthenes, De Corona 47.
ORATION VII
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) Oration 7, 219.  \(^2\) Cf. Vol. I, Oration 2. 56 D.

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

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

\(^1\) Themistius, 280 A.
\(^2\) Maximus of Tyre, Dissertation 20.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΤΝΙΚΩΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΚΤΝΙΣΤΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΤΟ ΚΥΝΗ ΜΥΣΩΤΗ ΠΛΑΤΕΙΝ

'Η πολλα γίνεται εν μακρῷ χρόνῳ· τούτο ἐκ τῆς κωμῳδίας ἀκηκοότι μοι πρόθην ἐπήλθεν ἐκβοη- σαι, ὅτηνικα παρακληθέντες ἡκροώμεθα κυνὸς οὔτε τὸροὸν οὐδὲ γενναῖον ὑλακτοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ αἱ τίθαι μύθους ἠδοντος καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ὑγιῶς διαιτηθεμένου. παραχρήμα μὲν οὖν ἐπήλθέ μοι διαναστάντα διαλύει τὸν σύλλογον· ἐπεὶ δὲ Β ἐχρῆν ὅσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ κωμῳδομένων Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου παρὰ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἀκούειν, οὗ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνελεγμένων χάριν ὑπε- μεινα, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρὴ τι καὶ νεανικότερον εἰπεῖν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μη δοκεῖν ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας μᾶλλον ἡ διανοίας εὐσεβοῖς καὶ ζελογισμένης, ὅσπερ αἱ πελειώδες, ὑπὸ τῶν ῥη- ματῶν σοβηθεῖς ἀναπτήματι. ἔμενον δὲ ἐκείνο πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εἰπών

Τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίς, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἐτλης,
ἀνάσχοι καὶ κυνὸς ληροῦντος ὁλίγον ἡμέρας

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TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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

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

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

μόριον, οὖ πρῶτον ἀκούεις τῶν θεῶν βλασφημουμένων, οὐχ οὕτω τὰ κοινὰ πράττομεν καλῶς, οὐχ οὕτω τῶν ἵδιων ἐνεκα σωφρονοῦμεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εὐνυχεῖς ἔσμεν, ὡστε τὰς ἀκοὰς 205 καθαρὰς ἔχειν ἢ τὸ τελευταίον γοῦν τὰ ὀματὰ μὴ κεχράθαι τοῖς παντοδαποῖς τούτοις τοῦ σιδηροῦ γένους ἀσεβήμασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐνδειξὶς ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιοῦτων κακῶν ἀνέπλησεν οὐκ εὑραγὼς ο ἐκὼ ῥημάτων τῶν ἀριστῶν τῶν θεῶν ὀνομάσας, ὡς μήποτε ὡφέλε οὐκ ἐκείνοις εἰπεῖν μήτε ἡμεῖς ἄκουσαί, δεύτερο πειραθώμεναυτῶν ἐφ' ὕμων διδάξαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τῷ κυνὶ λόγους ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαν ζητεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μύθους προσήκει γράφειν, εἰτὰ ὅποιας καὶ τίνας χρή ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διασκεδαστικὰς τῶν μύθων, εἰ τί ἄρα καὶ φιλοσοφία προσδείκται τῆς μυθογραφίας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐλαβείας ὅλην διαλέξομαι τοῦτο γάρ μοι καὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς παρόδου γέγονεν αὐτὸν καὶ περικεφαλάζω ὅτι συγγραφεῖς καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ πλήθει λέγειν ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπαχθών καὶ σοφιστικῶν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων παρατησαμένω. μικρὰ δὲ υπὲρ τοῦ μύθου καθάπερ τών γενεαλογίαν ἰσως οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον ἐμοὶ τε φάναι ὑμῖν τε ἄκουσαί.

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

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

¹ Ἰππεῖς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Ῥῆκη was a well-known proverb; cf. Oration 2. 63 c, d.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

toútôs dé kai tâ koufôtera tôn òploôn ën 'Indian kai Kryptê kai Karia ánefâne, 1 tê fûsei tîs khôras âkolouthounton oímài tôn épisthêmenánton, òntw tîs ùpolaambânai kai èpti tôn álloan pragmátôn, en òíz èkastà timàtai, màlîsta parà toutwn autâ kai próton hêrìsthathâi tôn ágelînôn èoukein ánôrṓpwn èinai tô ge ëx ãrhêîs ò múðhos 206 eûrîma, kai diámênei ëx èkeînou mêkri kai wûn par' autôi politevómênon tê prágmà òxFFFFtster álllo tî toutwn ákroamátôn, ayûlôs kai kîthâra, térphwos èneka kai ùfychâvghîas. òxFFFFtster gár òî 2 òrûthes èpítasai kai neîn òî 3 òkhûs aî tê ëlafhoi thêîn èpeidhî pevûkasis ouûdên toutou diâxhthnai prôs-dênantaî, kàn dhôs tîs kàn kâthêîzê, pêrâtai òmws ñhìsai toutois tois morîous, prôs à sîûnouden autôi pevûkosi, tautî tî òrôa, òntwos òîmai kai toutou anôrṓpwn ãneos ouîk állo tî tîn B òfychhèn èxhû ê lógon kai épísthêmen òtster ègkað-eirghîn, ò òfh kai légyousin òî sofîlo ðûnàsîn, èptî toutou maouthânein teî 4 kai òzîteîn kai polupràmghomvêîn, òs prôs oîkeiûtaton èauûtó toutou ïrâgwn, trêptetan kai òstw mên èumênhîs thêos tageîs èlûse tî deesâm kai tîn ðûnàsîn eîs ènèrhgîhês ënaghe, toutou pârêsthiv eîthûs èpisthêma, touto dèdémênon de ètî, kathâter oîmai 'Izîwos nephês tînî 5 anû tîs C thêou lêgetai paranàpauûsasai, toutois anû ãlêthous òëudhês 6 èntêtêke dôxà: ènînestai gár

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

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

\(^2\) Cf. Plato, Theaetetus 161 e.
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ἐντεύθεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπηνέμα καὶ τερατώδη ταυτὶ τῆς ἀλήθους ἐπιστήμης οἷον εἰδωλα ἄττα καὶ σκειᾶ: πράττουσι γοῦν πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐπιστῆμης τὰ ψεύδη καὶ διδάσκουσί· γε μάλα προθύμως καὶ μανθάνουσιν ὃσπερ οἴμαι χρηστῶν τι καὶ θαυμαστῶν. εἰ δ᾿ ὅλως χρή τι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς μύθους τὸ πρῶτον πλασάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι, δὸ δοκοῦσί μοι ταῖς τῶν παιδίων ψυχαῖς, ὃσπερ αἱ τίθαι περὶ τὰς ἰδιοτοφυίας κυνηγίσας αὐτοῖς σκύτινα ἄττα προσαρτᾶσθαι ταῖν χερῶιν, ἵνα αὐτῶν παραμυθήσονται τὸ πάθος, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὕτω τῷ ψυχαρίῳ πτεροφυνύσταται καὶ ποθούντι πλέον εἰδέναι τι, διδάσκεσθαι δὲ οὕτω τάληθ' δυναμένῳ ταῦτα ἐποχετεύειν, ὃσπερ ἀρδοντες ἀρουραν διψῶσαν, ἵνα δὴ οἴμαι αὐτῶν τὸν γαργαλισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην παραμυθήσωμαι.

Τοῦ δὲ τοιούτου προβαίνοντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς 207 Ἐλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος, εἰλοκυσάν ἐντεύθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν αἶνον, διὸ τοῦ μύθου διαφέρει τῷ μή πρὸς παιδάς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀνδρας πεποιηθεῖσα καὶ μὴ ψυχαγωγίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραίσειν ἔχειν τινα. Βούλεται γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος παραϊνεῖ τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὅταν ὁ λέγων τὸ φανερῶς εἰπεῖν εὐλαβήται, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων ψυχρομένος Β ἀπέθεθαι. οὕτω τοι καὶ Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸ φαίνεται πεπωνηκός· ὃ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἄρχιλοχος ὃσπερ ἔδυσμα τι περιτιθεῖ τῇ ποιήσει, μύθους οὐκ ὀλγακίς ἐχρήσατο ὀρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, τὴν μὲν ὑπό-

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

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

¹ The whole passage echoes Plato, Phaedrus 251.
² Cf. Archilochus Ἀρ. 86, 89; Archilochus used the beast-fable or parable: Julian here ignores his own distinction and uses the wider term 'myth.' Hesiod used myth as well as fable.
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θεσίν, ἦν μετήν, τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαγωγίας ἐνδεώς ἔχουσαν, σαφῶς δὲ ἐγνωκός, ὅτι στερομένη μύθου ποίησις ἐποποιείται μόνον ἐστίν, ἐστέρηται δὲ, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἕαυτής, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λείπεται ποίησις, ἡδύσματα τὰ τά τα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἔδρεψατο, καὶ παρέθηκε γε αὐτοῦ τοῦτον χάριν, οὗτος μὴ σιλλογόραφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητής νομοθεῖν.

'Ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν μύθων "Ομηρος ἢ Θουκυδίδης ἢ Πλάτων, ὁ Ὁ, τι βουλείς καλεῖν αὐτόν, Αἰσιωτεύς ὃν ὁ Σάμιος, δούλος τῆς τύχης¹ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς προαιρεσιν, οὐκ ἄφρων μὴν² οὕτως κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀνήρ. ὥ γὰρ ὃ νόμος οὐ μετεδίδον παρρησίας, τούτῳ προσήκον ἢ ἐσκιαγραφημένας τῶς συμβουλάς καὶ πεπουκιλμένας ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι παραφέρειν, ἀστεροί οἴμαι τῶν ιατρῶν οἱ μὲν ἔλευθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττουσιν, εἰ δὲ ἄμα τις ὁἰκέτης γένηται τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ ιατρῶς, πράγματα ἔχει κολακεύειν ἄμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τῶν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷ κυνὶ προσήκει ταύτης τῆς δουλείας, λεγέτω, γραφεῖτω, παραχωρεῖτω τῆς μυθολογίας αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁστισοῦν, εἰ δὲ μόνος εἶναι φησιν ἔλευθερος, ἐπὶ τί χρήσεται τοῖς μόθοις, οὐκ οἴδα. πότερον ἵνα τὸ πικρὸν καὶ δάκνων τῆς συμβουλῆς ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι κεράσας ἄμα τε ὀνήσι καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὸ προσλαβεῖν τι παρὰ τοῦ ὀντωμένου κακῶν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτὸ ἐστὶ λίαν δουλοπρεπὲς. ἀλλ' ἂμενον ἂν τις διδαχθεῖν μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀκούων αὐτὰ μηδὲ

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

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

1 Plato, *Phaedo* 61 b.
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tà ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄνοματα κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα; ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν
dεῖνος τὸν Φαέθοντα τί ἔδειον ὄνομάσαι; τί δὲ Β
χράινειν οὐκ εὐαγῶς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως
'Ηλίου; τὶς δὲ ὁ Πᾶν καὶ τὶς ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν χαμαὶ
ἐρχομένων ἄνθρωπων ἄξιος καλεῖσθαι, ἣν ἐκεῖθεν
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεταθώμεν ἡμῶν τᾶς διανοίας; καίτοι,
ei καὶ τοῦτο ὅλον τε ἢ, ἀμείνων ἢν αὐτοὺς ὄνομά-
σαι τοὺς ἄνθρωπους. ἥ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω κρείττον
ἐὰν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπικὰ θεμένους ὄνοματα; μᾶλλον
dὲ οὐδὲ θεμένους, ἥρκει γὰρ οὐσία οἵ γονεῖς
ἐθεντο. ἀλλ' εἰ μῆτε μαθεῖν ἐστι ρηεὶν 2. διὰ τοῦ
πλάσματος μῆτε τῷ Κυνικῷ πρέπον πλάττειν τὰ
τοιαῦτα, τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐφεισάμεθα τοῦ πολυτε-
λοὺς ἀναλώματος, πρὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐφθείραμεν τῶν
χρόνων πλάττοντες καὶ συντιθέντες μυθάρια, εἶτα
λογογραφοῦντες καὶ ἐκμανθάνοντες;

Ἀλλ' ἵσως ὁ μὲν λόγος οὐ φησι δεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν
ἀλθῶν καὶ μὴ πεπλασμένων τὰ ψευδή καὶ πε-
πλασμένα παρὰ τοῦ κυνὸς, ὁ μόνῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
μέτεστιν, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἄδεσθαι συλλόγους, ἢ
συνήθεια δὲ οὕτω 3 γέγονεν ἀπὸ Διογένους ἀρξαμένη
καὶ Κράτητος ἀχρὶ τῶν ἑφέξεις. οὐδὲν οὖδαμοι
παράδειγμα τοιοῦτον εὐρήσεις· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἄφιημι
tέως, ὅτι τῷ Κυνικῷ τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράττοντι

1 τί δέον ὄνομάσαι; τί Reiske, δέον ὄνομάσαι, τὸν Hertlein
MSS.
2 ρῆον Hertlein suggests, ρᾶδιον MSS.
3 οὕτω Hertlein suggests, αὕτη MSS.

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

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

\(^1\) Literally a boat: a proverb; Anonym. Com. Gr. Fray. 199.
\(^2\) Iliad 5. 442; Hesiod, Theogony 272.
\(^3\) An echo of Plutarch, Antonius 28: τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ὡς Ἀντίφων εἶχεν, ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον.
\(^4\) Cf. Oration 6. 188 A, b.
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tη συνθεία προσέχειν ούδαμος προσήκει, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ ποιητέον εὐρύσκειν 209 οἴκοθεν, ἀλλ' οὐ μανθάνειν ἔξωθεν. εἰ δ' Ἀντι-
σθένης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ωσπερ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἕνα διὰ τῶν μύθων ἀπήγγελλε, μήτι1 τούτῳ σε ἐξα-
πατάτω· καὶ γὰρ μικρῶν ύστερον ύπέρ τούτου σοι διαλέξομαι.2 νῦν δὲ ἐκείνῳ μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν
φράσον ύπέρ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνοια τίς ἔστι καὶ βίος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θηριώδης
ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐδὲν καλὸν, οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν νομιζοῦσης; δοκῇ γὰρ ἀν ὑπολα-
βειν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτα Οἰνόμαος. εἰ τὶ σοι τοῦ ταύτα γοῦν ἐπελθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνως
ἀν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῷ κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν ἄπλώς οἷς
ἐγραφεν ὁ ἀνήρ. τοιούτω δὲ οὖτος τοῦ πράγμα-
τος, ὥστε ἀνηρίσθαι μὲν ἀπασαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
θεοὺς εὐλάβειαν, ἡτιμάσθαι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην
φύσιν, νόμον δὲ μὴ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ καλῷ καὶ
dικαίῳ πεπατήσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θἐων ἡμῶν ὡσπερ ἐγγραφέντας ταῖς ψυχαῖς, υφ'
δὲ πάντες ἀδιάκτως εἶναι θεῖον τι πεπείσμεθα
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τε οἶμαι σπεύδειν
οὕτω διατιθέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὡσπερ
οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὰ βλέποντα, πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ εἰ
καὶ ὁ δευτέρος ἐξελαύνοντο νόμος ιερὸς ὃν φύσει
cαὶ θεῖος, ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πάντῃ καὶ πάντως

1 μήτι Cobet μήτοι Hertlein, MSS.
2 διαλέξομαι Cobet, διηγησόμαι Spauheim, Hertlein, V illegible.

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to pay any attention to custom, but only to pure reason, and he ought to discover within himself what is right for him to do and not learn it from without. And do not be misled by the fact that Antisthenes the disciple of Socrates, and Xenophon too, sometimes expressed themselves by means of myths; for I shall have something to say to you on this point in a moment. But now in the Muses' name answer me this question about the Cynic philosophy. Are we to think it a sort of madness, a method of life not suitable for a human being, but rather a brutal attitude of mind which recks naught of the beautiful, the honourable, or the good? For Oenomaus¹ would make many people hold this view of it. If you had taken any trouble to study the subject, you would have learned this from that Cynic's "Direct Inspiration of Oracles" and his work "Against the Oracles," in short from everything that he wrote. This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence for the gods, to bring dishonour on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honour and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as it were engraved on our souls by the gods, and have impelled us all to believe without teaching that the divine exists, and to direct our eyes to it and to yearn towards it: for our souls are disposed towards it as eyes towards the light. Furthermore, suppose that one should discard also that second law which is sanctified both by nature and by God, I mean the law that bids us keep our hands altogether and utterly from the property of

¹ Cf. Oration 6. 187 c.
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ἀπέχεσθαι κελεύων καὶ μὴ τε ἐν λόγῳ μὴτε ἐν ἔργῳ μὴ τε ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς λανθανοῦσαι τῆς ψυχῆς Δ ἐνεργείας ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπων συγχεῖν, ὡσπερ ἦμιν καὶ τῆς τελειοτάτης ἐστὶν ἥγεμὼν δικαιοσύνης· ἀρ’ οὐκ ἔστι βαράθρου τὸ πράγμα ἄξιον; ἀρ’ οὖν τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπαγωνύντας ὡσπερ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς ἐχρῆν οὐκ θύσθων παιομένους 1 ἐλαύνεσθαι κοφοτέρα γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἡ ζημία· λίθοις δὲ βαλλομένους ἀπολελέναι; διαφέρουσι γὰρ οὗτοι τί, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εἰπέ μοι, τῶν ἐπ’ 210 ἐρημίας λῃστεύοντων καὶ κατειληφότων τὰς ἀκτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς καταπλέοντες; καταφρονοῦντες θανάτου, φασίν ὡσπερ οὐ κάκεινοις συνομαρτύροντες ταυτής τῆς ἀπονοίας. φησὶ γοῦν ὁ καθ’ ὑμᾶς μὲν ποιήσῃ καὶ μυθολόγος, ὡς δὲ ὁ Πύθιος λῃστὰς χρωμένοις ἀνάειλεν, ἦρως καὶ δαίμων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ληξομένων τὴν θάλατταν

Οἶα τε λῃστῆρες, ὑπερ ἀλα τοί τ’ ἀλώνυνται Ἠσυχᾶς παρθέμενοι.

τί οὖν ἔτι ἔτερον ζητεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν λῃστῶν μάρτυρα; πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀνδρειστέροις ἄν εἴποι τις τῶν τοιούτων κυνῶν ἐκείνους τοὺς λῃστὰς, ἵταμαστέροις δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν ἐκείνων τοὺς κύνας τούτους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνειδότες αὐτοῖς οὗτοι μοχθηροὶ τῶν βίων οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ θανάτου δέος ἢ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὰς ἐρημίας προβάλλονται, οἱ δ’ ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν 2 ἐν τῷ μέσῳ Σ ὑπὲρ τὴς νόμιμα συγχέοντες, οὐχὶ τῷ κρείττονα

1 παιομένουs Cobet, πολεμομένουs Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ἀναστρέφονται καὶ περιπατοῦσιν Cobet, ἀναστατουσι MSS.

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others, and permits us neither by word or deed or in the inmost and secret activities of our souls to confound such distinctions, since the law is our guide to the most perfect justice—is not this conduct worthy of the pit? ¹ And ought not those who applauded such views to have been driven forth, not by blows with wands, like scapegoats,² for that penalty is too light for such crimes, but put to death by stoning? For tell me, in Heaven's name, how are such men less criminal than bandits who infest lonely places and haunt the coasts in order to despoil navigators? Because, as people say, they despise death; as though bandits were not inspired by the same frenzied courage! So says at any rate he³ who with you counts as a poet and mythologist, though, as a Pythian god proclaimed to certain bandits who sought his oracle, he was a hero and divinity—I mean where, speaking of pirates of the sea, he says: "Like pirates who wander over the sea, staking their lives."⁴ What better witness can you require for the desperate courage of bandits? Except indeed that one might say that bandits are more courageous than Cynics of this sort, while the Cynics are more reckless than they. For pirates, well aware as they are how worthless is the life they lead, take cover in desert places as much from shame as from the fear of death: whereas the Cynics go up and down in our midst subverting the institutions of society, and that not

¹ The pit or chasm at Athens into which the bodies of criminals were thrown; cf. Xenophon, Hellenica 1. 7. 20.
² For the ceremony of driving out the scapegoat see Harrison, Prolegomena to Greek Religion 97; Frazer, Golden Bough, Vol. 3, p. 93. ³ i.e. Homer. ⁴ Odyssey 3. 73.
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καὶ καθαρωτέραν, ἄλλα τῷ χείρονα καὶ βδελυρωτέραν ἐπεισάγειν πολυτείαν.

Τὰς ἀναφερομένας δὲ εἰς τὸν Διογένη τραγῳδίας, οὔσας μὲν καὶ ὀμολογουμένως ¹ Κυνικοῦ τινος συγγράμματα, ἀμφισβητούμενας δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον, εἴτε τοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦ Διογένους, εἰσών, D εἴτε τοῦ μαθητοῦ Φιλίσκου, τὶς οὐκ ἂν ἐπελθὼν βδελύξατο καὶ νομίσειεν ὑπερβολὴν ἀρρητουργίας οὔδε ταῖς ἐταίραις ἀπολελείφθαι; ταῖς Οἰνομάου δὲ ἐντυχῶν· ἡγαγεῖ γὰρ καὶ τραγῳδίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὐκέθ' ὃ, τι φῶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἔχω, καὶ τὰ Μαγνητῶν κακὰ, καὶ τὸ Τερμέριον, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθέγξωμαι τὴν τραγῳδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατύρου καὶ τῆς καμφωδίας καὶ τοῦ μίμου, οὔτω πάσα μὲν αἰσχρότης, πᾶσα δὲ ἀπόνοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐκείναις τῷ ἄνδρι πεφιλοτέχνηται· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τούτων τις ἄξιοι τὸν Κυνισμὸν ὅποιος τὸς ἑστὶν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, βλασφημῶν τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅλακτῶν πρὸς ἀπαντας, ὅπερ ἐφην ἀρχόμενος, ὅτω, χαρείτω, ² γην πρὸ γης, ὅποι βούλοιτο· εἰ δ', ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη Διογένει, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ταύτης εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλὴν τρέποντο, τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ ἥλωσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων Διογένης καὶ Κράτης φαίνονται, τούτῳ ἡδὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιοι ἔγνως φαίνην ἂν ἄνδρι καὶ

¹ ὀμολογουμένως Cobet, ὀμολογουμένας Hertlein, MSS.
² χαρείτω Hertlein suggests, χαιρείτω MSS.

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by introducing a better and purer state of things but a worse and more corrupt state.

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

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

¹ A proverb; cf. Archilochus fr. 27, Bergk.
² A robber whom Theseus killed; Plutarch, Theseus 11.
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στρατηγεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλοντι. τὶ δὲ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ἃρ' ἔσμεν; ὅτι τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτῷ δόξης ἐπέταξεν ὑπερορᾶν καὶ παραχαράττειν οὐ τὴν Θ ἀληθείαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμισμα. τὸ δὲ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν ἐν ποτέρα θηρόμεθα μοίρα; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ νομίσματος; ἢ τούτῳ γε αὐτῷ τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι κεφάλαιον θήσομεν καὶ τρόπον εἰρήσθαι τοῦ Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα διὰ τῆς 1 Γνῶθι σαυτὸν ἀποφάσεως; ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὰ νομιζόμενα παντάπασιν ἀτιμάσας, ἐπ’ αὐτὴν δὲ ἦκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν υπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς νομιζόμενοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὄντως οὐσὶ θήσεται, οὕτως οἶμαι καὶ ὃ γνοὺς Θ ἕαυτὸν ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀκριβῶς εἴσεται καὶ οὐχ ὅπερ νομίζεται. πότερον οὖν οὐχ ὁ Πύθιος ἄληθῆς τέ ἐστι θεός, καὶ Διογένης τούτο ἐπέπειστο σαφῶς, διʼ γε αὐτῷ πεισθεὶς ἀντὶ φυγάδος ἀπεδείχθη οὐ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μείζων, ἀλλʼ ὡς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτῷ τῷ καταλύσατι τὸ Περσῶν κράτος καὶ ταῖς Ἦρακλεώς ἀμιλλωμένης πράξεσιν, ὑπερβαλλέσθαι δὲ τῶν Ἀχιλλεᾶς φιλοτιμουμένως ἦλθοτός; οὕτως οὖν ὁ Διογένης ὅποιος τις ἦν τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μὴ διὰ 212 τῶν Οἰνομάμας λόγων μηδὲ τῶν Φιλίσκου τραγῳδίων, ἀλλʼ ἐπιγράφας τὸ Διογένους ὅνομα τῆς θείας πολλά ποτε κατεψεύδατο κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ δʼ ὅν ἐδρασεν ἔργων ὅποιος τις ἦν γνωριζέσθω.

* Ἡλθεν εἰς Ὁλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Δίος; ἵνα τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς θεάσηται; τὶ δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίως

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

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

\footnote{i.e. Alexander.}
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tόὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ Παναθηναίοις θεάσασθαι διάχα
πραγμάτων οἶόν τε ἂν; ἄλλα ἔθέλων ἐκεῖ τοῖς
κρατίστοις συγγενέσθαι τῶν 'Ελλήνων; οὐ γὰρ Ἡ
Ἰσθμόνδε ἐφοίτων; οὐκ ἂν οὖν εὔροις ἀλλὰν αἰτιάν
ἡ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείαν. εἰ δὲ οὖν ἐξε-
πλάγη τὸν κεραυνόν οὐδὲ ἐγὼ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
πολλάκις πειραθέας διοσημῶν ἐξεπλάγην.
ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτω δή τι τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδίακα καὶ
φιλῶ καὶ σέβω καὶ ἄξομαι καὶ πάνθ', ἀπλῶς τὰ
tοιαύτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς πάσχω, ὅσπερ ἂν τις καὶ
οἷα πρὸς ἁγαθοὺς δεσπότας, πρὸς διδασκάλους,
πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας, πρὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς
tὰ τοιαύτα, ὅστε ὀλίγον δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ῥημά-
των πρὸς ἐξανέστην. τούτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὃντων τρόπου ἐπελθὼν ἴσως σιωπᾶσθαί δέον
ἐρρέθη.

Διογένης δὲ καὶ πένθησι ὃν καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδείγη
εἰς 'Ολυμπίαν ἐβάδιζεν, 'Αλέξανδρον δὲ ἦκειν
ἐκέλευεν παρ' ἑαυτόν, εἰ τρο πιστὸς ὁ Δίων. οὗτω
πρέπειν ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν φοιτάν ἐπὶ τὰ ιερὰ D
τῶν θεῶν, τῷ βασιλικωτάτῳ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνονοσίαν. ἂ δὲ πρὸς 'Αρχίδαμον
γέγραφεν, οὐ βασιλικαὶ παραπέσεις εἰςίν; οὐ
μόνον δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἦν ὁ Διογένης θεοσεβής,
ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. ἐλόμενον γὰρ αὐτὸν
οἰκείν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὰ τὸ δαιμόνον εἰς τὴν
Κόρινθον ἀπήγαγεν, ἀφεθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ πριαμένου
τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτ' ἐπηθῇ δεῖν ἐκλυπείν; ἐπεπείστο 213
γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς μέλειν εἰς τε τὴν Κόρινθον οὐ
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the Isthmian games and the Panathenaic festival? Then was it because he wished to meet there the most distinguished Greeks? But did they not go to the Isthmus too? So you cannot discover any other motive than that of doing honour to the god. He was not, you say, awestruck by a thunderstorm. Ye gods, I too have witnessed such signs from Zeus over and over again, without being awestruck! Yet for all that I feel awe of the gods, I love, I revere, I venerate them, and in short have precisely the same feelings towards them as one would have towards kind masters 1 or teachers or fathers or guardians or any beings of that sort. That is the very reason why I could hardly sit still the other day and listen to your speech. However, I have spoken thus as I was somehow or other impelled to speak, though perhaps it would have been better to say nothing at all.

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

1 Plato, Phaedo 63 c.
2 Dio Chrysostom, Oration 4. 12, Arnim.
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μάθη τού ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰσπεπέμβαι, ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν 
τρφῶσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων μᾶλλον καὶ δεομένη 
μείζονος καὶ γενναιοτέρου σωφρονιστοῦ.

Τι δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Κράτητος μουσικά καὶ 
χαρίζειται φέρεται πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς 
θεοὺς ὀσιότητος τε καὶ εὐλαβείας; ἀκονε γοῦν 
αὐτὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν, εἴ σοι μὴ σχολὴ γέγονε μαθεῖν 
Β 
ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐτὰ.

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἁγιαὶ τέκνα, 
Μοῦσαι Πειρίδες, κλυτὲ μοι εὐχομένων;
Χρότων ἐμὴ συνεχὴ δότε γαστέρι, καὶ δότε χωρίς 
Δουλοσύνης, ἢ δὴ λιτῶν ἔθηκε βίον.

* * * *

Ὡφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μη γλυκικοῦν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ’ οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, καν- 
θάρου ὤλβον
Μύρμηκος τ’ ἄφενος χρήματα μαίαμενος,
’Αλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγεί-
βειν

Εὐφρόνιοι, εὐκτητοί, τίμοιν εἰς ἄρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν Ἐρμήν καὶ Μοῦσας ἰλάσσομ’ 
ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεράς, ἀλλ’ ἄρεταις ὀσίαις. 

ὅρας ὃτι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐφημῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ ὡς 
καὶ βλασ-

ἁμάτημαν κατ’ αὐτῶν ήχετο; πόσαι γὰρ ἐκατόμβαι 
τῆς ὀσίας εἰσίν ἀντάξια, ἢν καὶ ὁ δαίμόνιος Ἐὔρ-

πίδης ὀρθῶς ὤμησεν εἰπὼν

’Οσία πότνα θεῶν, ὀσία;

1 ἀγείβειν Cobet, ἀσινὴ Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

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

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

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η τούτω σε λέληθεν, ὅτι πάντα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ, μετὰ τῆς ὀσίας τοῖς θεοῖς προσαγόμενα τὴν ἱσθη δύναμιν, ἐστερημένη δὲ τῆς ὀσίας οὐχ ἐκατόμβη μᾶθεος, ἀλλὰ ἡ τῆς Ὅλυμπιάδος χιλιόμηθη ἀνάλομα μόνον ἔστιν, ἀλλο δὲ 214 οὐδὲν; ὅπερ οἴμαι γεγονόσκον ὁ Κράτης αὐτὸς τε διὰ μόνης ἢς εἴχεν ὀσίας τοὺς θεοὺς ἐτίμα συν ἐυφημία καὶ τους ἄλλους ἔδιδασκε μὴ τὰ δαπανήματα τῆς ὀσίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀσίαν ἐκείνων προτιμᾶν ἐν ταῖς ἀγιασθείσι. τοιούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε ὁμός γενομένῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀκροατήρια συνεκροτεῖτην 1 οὐδ' ὁσπέρ οἱ σοφοὶ δὲ εἰκονων καὶ μῦθων τοῖς φίλων συνεγγυνέσθην 2 λέγεται γὰρ ὑπ' Ἐυριπίδου καλῶς

Ἀπλοὺς ο μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφυσιαγραφίας γάρ φησι τὸν πυευχὴ καὶ ἀδικον δείχθαι. τῖς οὖν τὸ τρόπος αὐτοῦ τῆς συνουσίας ἐγίνετο; τῶν λόγων ἤγειτο τὰ ἔργα, καὶ οἱ τὴν πενίαν τιμῶντες αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι φαίνονται 3 καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ὑπεριδόντες, οἱ τὴν ἐπιτιαν ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτοι τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἡσκον διὰ τάντων, οἱ τὸ τραγικὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐξαιροῦντες βιῶν ώς αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τὰς ἀγορὰς ἢ τὰ τῶν θεῶν τεμενή, τῇ τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ρημάτων διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπολέμουν, ἐργοὺς ἐλέγχοντες, οὐ λόγῳ βοῶντες, ὅτι τῷ Δίῳ συμβασιλεύειν ἐξεστήν οὐδενὸς ἡ σμικρῶν πάνυ

1 συνεκροτεῖτην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεκροτεῖτων MSS.
2 συνεγγυνέσθην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεγγυνέσθων MSS.
3 φαίνονται Hertlein suggests, έφαίνοντο MSS.

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

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\(^1\) *i.e.* in honour of Olympian Zeus.  
\(^2\) Cf. Themistius 182 A.  
\(^3\) *Phoenissae* 472.
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δεόμενον οὐδὲ παρενοχλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ σῶματος, ἐπετίμων δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνονσι, ἥνικα ἔξων οἱ πταίσαντες, οὐκ ἀποθανόντας ἐβλασφήμουν, ἥνικα D καὶ τῶν ἔχθρῶν οἱ μετριώτεροι σπένδονται τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ οὐ γε ἀληθινὸς κύρων ἔχθρον οὐδένα, κἂν τὸ σωμάτιον αὐτοῦ τις πατάξῃ, κἂν τούνομα περίελεκῃ, κἂν λοιδορήται καὶ βλασφήμη, διότι τὸ μὲν τῆς ἔχθρας γίνεται πρὸς αὐτόπαλον, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν πρὸς ἐτέρους ἐχθρίαν εὐνοία τιμᾶσθαι φιλεῖ· κἂν τὰς ἐτέρως ἔχθρας πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχθρός, οὐδὲ γὰρ βλαβερός, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτῷ βαρύτατον ἐπιτίθεις

1 τίμημα τὴν τοῦ κρείττονος ἀγνοοιαν ἐρήμος λείπεται τῆς ἐκείνου προστασίας.

'Αλλ' έι μὲν νῦν μοι προύκειτο περὶ Κυνισμοῦ γράφειν, εἶπον ἃν υπὲρ τῶν ἔτη τὰ παριστάμενα B μοι τῶν εἰρημένων ἱσως οὐκ ἐλάττω· νῦν δὲ ἀποδιδόντες τὸ συνεχεῖς τῇ προαιρέσει περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι χρῆ τοὺς πλαττόμενους τῶν μύθων ἐφεξῆς σκοπῶμεν. ήσως δὲ ἡγεῖται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐκείνη, ὅποια τινὶ φιλοσοφία προσήκον ἡ μυθογραφία. φαίνονται γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν θεολογῶν πονηραντες, ὡσπερ 'Ορφεὺς μὲν ὁ παλαιότατος ἐνθέως φιλοσοφήσας, οὐκ ἐλογίον δὲ καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἐκείνων· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφῶν φαίνεται καὶ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Πλάτων προσχρησάμενοι πολλαχοῦ τοῖς μῦθοις, ὡς θ' ἡμῖν πέφημεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ Κυνικῷ, φιλοσόφῳ γοῦν τινὶ προσήκειν ἡ μυθογραφία.

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

Now if my present task were to write about the Cynic philosophy, I could add many details about the Cynics, not less important than what I have said already. But not to interrupt my main theme, I will now consider in due course the question what kind of myths ought to be invented. But perhaps another inquiry should precede this attempt, I mean to what branch of philosophy the composition of myths is appropriate. For we see that many philosophers and theologians too have employed it, Orpheus for instance, the most ancient of all the inspired philosophers, and many besides of those that came after him. Nay what is more, Xenophon as we know and Antisthenes and Plato often introduced myths, so that it is obvious that even if the use of myth be not appropriate for the Cynic, still it may be so for some other type of philosopher.
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Μικρὰ οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἶτε μορίων εἶτε ὀργάνων προφητεύον. ἕστι γὰρ οὐ μέγα τὸ διαφέρον ὅποτέρως ἀν τις τῷ πρακτικῷ καὶ τῷ φυσικῷ τὸ λογικὸν προφανεῖται άναγκαίον γὰρ ὅμοιως φαίνεται κατ’ ἀμφότερα. τρίων δὴ τούτων ἀνθίς ἔκαστον εἰς τρία τέμνεται, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τρίτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν γνωμών καὶ ἀπολλυμένων καὶ τῶν ἀιδίων μὲν, σωμάτων δὲ ὅμως θεωρίαν, τὸ τε εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸς ἡ οὐσία ἐκάστου τοῦ πρακτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕνα ἄνδρα, ἡθικόν, οἰκονομικόν δὲ τὸ περὶ μίαν οἰκίαν, πολιτικόν δὲ τὸ περὶ πόλεων ἐγὼ μέντοι τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀποδεικτικὸν διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐνδοξῶν βιαστικῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν 216 φαινομένων ἐνδοξῶν παραλογιστικῶν. ὅτων δὴ τοσοῦτον τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν, εὶ μὴ τί ἐν λεληθεὶ καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα στρατιώτην μὴ λιαν ἐξακριβοῦν μηδὲ ἐξουνχίζων τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀτε οὐκ ἐκ βιβλίων ἀσκήσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προστυχούσης αὐτὰ ἔξως ἀποφθέγμονον ἐσεσθε γονὺν μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, εἰ τὰς ἡμέρας λογισασθε, πόσαι τινὲς εἰσίν αἱ μεταξὰ ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς ἐναγχοσ ἡμῶν γενομένης ἀκρόασεως ὅσων τε ἡμῶν ἁσχολῶν πλήρεις. ἀλλα, ὅπερ ἔφη, εἰ καὶ Β θα παραλείπεται παρ’ ἐμοῦ καίτοι νομίζω γε μηδὲν ἐνδείκνυ ληθεῖον ἡ ἐν τοις προστιθεῖσι οὐκ ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ φίλος ἔσται.

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

1 Plato, Timaeus 54 a.
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Τούτων δή τῶν μερῶν οὔτε τῷ λογικῷ προσήκει τῆς μυθογραφίας οὔτε τοῦ φυσικοῦ1 τῷ μαθηματικῷ, μόνον δέ, εἴπερ ἀρα, τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τῷ πρὸς ἐνα γνωμένῳ καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ τῷ τελεστικῷ καὶ μυστικῷ φίλει γὰρ Ψ η φύσις κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γνωμοῦ ἐις ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοᾶς ἑπτεσθαι ῥήμασιν. ὃπερ δὲ δή τῶν χαρακτήρων ἢ ἀπόρρητος φύσις ὦφελεῖν πέφυκε καὶ ἀγνωστοῦς φύσις θεατεύει γοῦν ὦ ψυχὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματα, καὶ θεῶν ποιεῖ παρουσίας· τούτ' οίμαι πολλάκις γίγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν μύθων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοὰς οὐ Δ δυναμένας τὰ θεῖα καθαρῶς δέξασθαι δι' αἰνιγμάτων αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς μύθων σκηνοποιίας ἐγκέχεται.

Φανεροῦ δὲ ἦδη γενομένου τόι καὶ ποῖο φιλοσοφίας εἰδει καὶ μυθογραφεῖν ἐσθ' ὅτε προσήκει· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυρεῖ τούτως ἡ τῶν προλαβόντων ἀνδρῶν προαίρεσις. ἔτει καὶ Πλάτωνι πολλὰ μεμυθολόγηται περὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδου πραγμάτων θεολογοῦντα καὶ πρὸ γε τούτον τῷ τῆς Καλλιόπης, Ἀντισθένει δὲ καὶ Ἐυνοφώντι 217 καὶ αὐτῷ Πλάτων οἱ πραγματευομένοις θηκιάς τινας ὑποθέσεις οὐ παρέργουσιν, ἀλλὰ μετά τινος ἐμμελείας ἡ τῶν μύθων ἐγκαταμεμκαί γραφῇ, ὁδὲ σ' ἐχρήν, εἴπερ ἐξευλογουμένον τῶν Ἡρακλέους μεταλαμβάνειν Περσέως ή Θησέως

1 τῷ φυσικῷ τῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ φυσικῷ οὕτε MSS,
2 σ' ἐχρήν Hertlein suggests, ἐχρήν MSS.
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Now of these branches of philosophy, logic has no concern with the composition of myths; nor has mathematics, the sub-division of natural philosophy; but they may be employed, if at all, by that department of practical philosophy which deals with the individual man, and by that department of theology which has to do with initiation and the Mysteries. For nature loves to hide her secrets, and she does not suffer the hidden truth about the essential nature of the gods to be flung in naked words to the ears of the profane. Now there are certain characteristics of ours that derive benefit from that occult and unknown nature, which nourishes not our souls alone but our bodies also, and brings us into the presence of the gods, and this I think often comes about by means of myths; when through riddles and the dramatic setting of myths that knowledge is insinuated into the ears of the multitude who cannot receive divine truths in their purest form.

It is now evident what branch and what sort of philosophy may properly on occasion employ myths. And to support my argument I call to witness the authority of those philosophers who were the first to use myths. Plato for instance in his theological descriptions of life in Hades often uses myths, and the son of Calliope before him. And when Antisthenes and Xenophon and Plato himself discuss certain ethical theories they use myths as one of the ingredients, and not casually but of set purpose. Now if you too wished to use myths you ought to have imitated these philosophers, and instead of Heracles you should have introduced the name of

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1 Heracleitus fr. 123, Diels; cf. Themistius 69 B.
2 Orpheus,


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tinòs ónoma kai tôn 'Antisthèneion týpon ègharató-
tein, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς Προδίκου σκηνοποιίας ἀμφὶ τοῦν
ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν θεοῖν ἑτέραν ὁμοίαν εἰσάγειν εἰς B
τὸ θέατρον.

'Επεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν μύθων ἐπεμνή-
σθην, φέρε νῦν ὁποίους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς ἐκατέρ-
τῶν μερῶν ἀρμόττοντας αὐτὸι καὶ έαυτοὺς ἰδεῖν
πειραθῶμεν, οὐκέτι μαρτύρων παλαίων ἐν πάσι
προσδεόμενοι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ νέοις ἵχνεσιν ἀνδρός, ὃν
ἐγὼ μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξ ἵσης 'Αριστοτέλει καὶ
Πλάτωνι ἀγαμαί τε τέθητα τε. φησὶ δὲ οὗ C
ὑπὲρ πάντων οὕτως, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν τελεστικῶν,
οὐς παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Ὁρφεύς ὁ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας
τελετὰς καταστησάμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μύθοις
ἀπεμφαίων αὐτῷ τούτῳ προοδοποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν
ἀλήθείαν. ὡς γὰρ μᾶλλον παράδοξον ἐστὶ καὶ
τερατῶδες τὸ αἴνιγμα, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον ἐοικε
διαμαρτύρεσθαι, μὴ τοῖς αὐτόθεν λεγομένοις
πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ λειπότα περιεργάζεσθαι καὶ
μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι, πρὶν ἄν ὑπὸ θεοὺς ἤγε-
μόσιν ἐκφανὴ γενόμενα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν τελέσθη, μᾶλ-
λον δὲ τελειώσῃ νοῦν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι κρείττον ἡμῖν
ὑπάρχει τοῦ νοῦ, αὐτὸν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τάγαθον μοιρὰ
τις ὁλίγη τὸ πᾶν ἀμερίστως ἔχουσα, τῆς ψυχῆς
πλήρωμα καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ συνέχουσα

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Perseus or Theseus, let us say, and have written in the style of Antisthenes; and in place of the dramatic setting used by Prodicus,¹ in treating of those two gods² you should have introduced into your theatre another setting of the same sort.

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

¹ i.e. in his allegory the Choice of Heracles; Xenophon, Memorabilia 2. 1. 2; Julian, Oration 2. 56 D.
² i.e. Pan and Zeus; cf. 208 b.
³ i.e. ethics and theology; cf. 216 b.
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πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ὑπερεχούσης καὶ χωριστῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξηρημένης παρουσίας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ τῶν μέγαν Διόνυσον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπῆλθε μοι βακχεύουτι μανῆν: τὸν βοῦν δὲ 218 ἐπιτίθημι τῇ γλώττῃ· περὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων γὰρ οὐδὲν χρῆ λέγειν. ἀλλὰ μοι θεοὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνων καὶ ὕμων δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡσποδεύω ἐστὲ τούτων ἀμόητοι, τὴν ὄνησιν δοεῖν.

Τρέπε δὲ ὃν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκούσαι θέμις καὶ ἀνεμέσητον ἀμφοτέρως ἔστι, πάσας λόγους ὁ προφερόμενος ἐκ τε λέξεως καὶ διανοίας σύγκειται, οὕτως ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ μύθος λόγος τῆς ἔστιν, ἐκ δυοῖν τούτων συγκειταί. σκο-

πῶς ὅτε ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν. ἐστὶν ἀπλὴ τις ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ διάνοια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα προαίγεται, τὰ παραδεύγματα δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔστι πολλά. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπλοῖν ἔστι καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖται ποικιλίας, τὸ δὲ ἐσχηματισμένου ἔχει διά-

φορᾶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλάς, ὃν, εἶ τι σοι τῆς ῥητο-

ρικῆς ἐμέλησεν, οὐκ ἀξίωτος εἰ. τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν σχημάτων ἀρμόττει τῷ μῦθῳ τὰ πλείστα· πλὴν ἐμοι οὖθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων ἔστι τὰ γε νῦν ῥητέουν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δυοῖν, τοῦ τε σεμνοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τοῦ ἀπεμφαίνοντος. τὰ δὲ αὕτα ταῦτα καὶ περὶ Σ τὴν λέξιν γίνεται. μορφοῦται γὰρ τως καὶ σχη-

ματίζεται παρὰ τῶν μὴ προφερομένων εἰκῆ μηδ' ὀστὶ περὶ χειμάρρους ἐλκώνων συρφετοῦσι ρημάτων ἐκ τῆς τριόδου. ἀλλὰ τῶν δυοῖν τούτων, ὅταν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν θείων πλάττωμεν, σεμνὰ χρῆ πάνυ

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

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

1 Cf. Oration 4. 144 A.
2 A proverb for mysterious silence; cf. Theognis 815; Aesch. Ag. 36.
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tά ρήματα είναι καὶ τὴν λέξιν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα σώφρονα καὶ καλῆν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πρεπωδεστά-
την, τῶν αἰσχρῶν δὲ μηδέν καὶ βλασφήμων ἢ Ἕ
δυσσεβῶν, ὅπως μὴ τῷ πλῆθει τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγοὶ
θρασύτητος γενώμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἠσ-
βηκέναι προλάβωμεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπεμφαίον
είναι χρὴ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας λέξεις, ἀλλὰ σεμνὰ
πάντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴ καὶ θεία καὶ
καθαρὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας εἰς δύναμιν
ἐστοχασμένα. τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμ-
φαίον τοῦ χρησίμου γνωσμένον χάριν ἐγκριτέον,
ὡς ἐν μὴ τινὸς ὑπομνήσεως ἔξοθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι
deόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ
μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λανθάνον μῶσθαι καὶ πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν ὑπ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμηθεῖν.
ἠδοὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ γενόμενος πολλῶν ἢκουσα λεγόμενον ἄνθρω-
πον μὲν τὸν Διὸνυσον, ἐπείπερ ἐκ Σεμέλης ἐγένετο,
θεὸν δὲ διὰ θεουργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς, ὡσπερ τὸν Β
δεσπότην Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς
tὸν Ὀλυμπον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνήχθαι τοῦ Διὸς.
ἀλλ', ὃ τάν, εἴπον, οὐ ἐνυίητε τοῦ μύθου φανερῶς
αινιτομένου. ποῦ γὰρ ἡ γένεσις ἐστίν ὡσπερ
Ἡρακλέους, οὕτω δὴ 1 καὶ Διονύσου, ἔχουσα μὲν
τὸ κρείττον καὶ ὑπερέχον καὶ ἐξηρημένον, ἐν τῷ
μετρίῳ δὲ ὁμοῖος ἐτὶ τῆς ἄνθρωπινος φύσεως
μένουσα καὶ ποὺς ἀφομοιομένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς; Ἡρα-
κλῆς δὲ λέγεται παιδίον γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ
μικρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ θείου ἐπιδοῦναι, καὶ

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

¹ Cf. Oration 5. 170 B.C.
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φοιτήσαι διδασκάλους ἱστόρηται, καὶ στρατεύσασθαι λέγεται καὶ κρατήσαι πάντων, καμέίν δὲ ὁμοὶς κατὰ ¹ τὸ σῶμα. καίτου αὐτῷ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπήρξε, μειξόνως δὲ ἡ κατ’ ἄνθρωπον. ὅτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἀποτελόνων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ παραταττόμενοι τὰ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεία, θάλπη καὶ κρυμοῦς, εἶτα τοῖς ἀπορωτάτοις καὶ ἀμαχωτάτοις, ἐνδείᾳ λέγω τροφής καὶ ἔρημία, καὶ τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ πορείαν οἴμαι τοῦ πελάγους ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς κύλικος, ἡν ἑγὼ νομίζω μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ κύλικα εἶναι, βαδίσαι δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ἕξηράς τῆς θαλάττης νεώμικα. τὶ γὰρ ἀποροῦν ὡς Ἡρακλεῖ; τί δ’ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ θείῳ καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ σώματι, τῶν λεγομένων τούτων στοιχείων δουλευόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ δημιουργικῇ καὶ τελεσιουργῇ τοῦ ἀχράντου 220 καὶ καθαροῦ νοῦ δυνάμει; δι’ ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιστητός αὐτῷ φύλακα τὴν θεοῦ τάσην, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου προέμενον αὐτοῦ, τῷ κόσμῳ σωτῆρα ἐφύτευσεν, εἶτ’ ἐπανήγαγε διὰ τοῦ κεραυνίου πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ τῷ θείῳ συνθήματι τῆς αἰθερίας αὐχεῖν παρ’ ἑαυτὸν τῷ παιδί κελεύσας. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἔλεος Ἡρακλῆς εἶν.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς Διονύσου θρυλουμένης μὲν γενέσεως, οὖσας δὲ οὐ γενέσεως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίας ἐκφάντασες Β κατὰ τί τοῖς ἄνθρωποις προσέοικεν; ἡ μήτηρ

¹ catà Cobet, καὶ Hertlein, MSS.
² Cf. Oration 4. 149 B.

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

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

1 Cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration 1. 61, Arnim.  2 Cf. 230 B.  3 Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 2; Athenaeus 11. 470.  4 This is perhaps a passing sneer at the Christians and need not be taken too seriously.
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αὐτὸν κύουσα, φασίν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἡρας ζηλοτυποῦσας ἐξαπατθείσα τῶν ἔραστήν ἐξελιπάρησεν ἤκειν, ὡς παρὰ τὴν γαμετὴν εἰσὶ φοιτάν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἶτα οὖν ἀνασχόμενον τὸ σωμάτων τῶν κτυπημάτων τοῦ Δίως ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ κατεφλέγετο. πάντων δ΄ ὁμοῦ πυρουμένων, Ἐρμῆς κελεύσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρτάσαι τὸν Δίδώνον καὶ τεμῶν τὸν αὐτοῦ μηρὸν ἔρραπτεν εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν, ἥνικα ἐκελευσθεὶς τὸ βρέφος, ὀδύνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Σρύμνας ἔρχεται τὸ Δίδων ράμμα δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ μηρῷ προσεπάδουσαι τὸν διόμορβον ἥμιν εἰς φῶς προήγαγον εἶτα ἐμάνη, φασίν, ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἡρας, ἔπαυσε δ’ αὐτῷ τὴν νόσον ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦν αὐτίκα θεός. εἶποντο γοῦν ὦν Δίκαιος αὐτῷ καθάπερ Ἡρακλεῖ οὐδὲ Ἰόλεως οὐδὲ Τελαμών οὖν ὁ Τίτας οὐδ᾽ Ἀβδηρος, ἀλλὰ Σάτυροι καὶ Βακχαὶ καὶ Πάνες καὶ δαιμόνων στρατιά. ὁ όρας ὅπως ἄνθρωπική μὲν ἡ στορὰ διὰ τῶν κεραυνῶν, ὁ δ’ ἀποκύησες ἄνθρωπικώτερα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων προσομοιότερα τοῖς ἄνθρωποις τὰ ἔργα τί οὐν οὐ καταβάλλοντες τὸν λήρον ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ὑπὸ τούτων ἦσμεν, ὡς Σεμέλη σοφῆ τὰ θεία; παίζε γὰρ ἦν Κάδμου τοῦ Φοίνικος, τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ

Πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὁδοὺς μακάρων ἐδάγασαν λέγων. αἰσθέσθαι οὖν μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου 221 ἑπάτη παρ’ Ἐλλησὶ καὶ τὴν ἑσομενὴν ἐπιφάνειαν

1 σωμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν κτυπημάτων Friederich; Hertlein approves but would omit ὑπὸ: σωμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν κτυπημάτων Hertlein, MSS., τὸ δωμάτιον ὑπὸ κτύπημα τῶν Reiske, ἐνσκῆφαντος Arnoldt.
womb she, as the story goes, was beguiled by jealous Hera to entreat her lover to visit her as he was wont to visit his spouse. And then her frail body could not endure the thunders of Zeus and began to be consumed by the lightning. But when everything there was being devoured by flames, Zeus bade Hermes snatch Dionysus forth, and he cut open his own thigh and sewed the babe therein.\(^1\) Then in due course when the time was ripe for the child’s birth, Zeus in the pangs of travail came to the nymphs, and they by their song over the thigh “Undo the stitching”\(^2\) brought to light for us the dithyramb. Whereupon the god was driven mad by Hera, but the Mother of the Gods healed him of his sickness and he straightway became a god. And he had for followers not, like Heracles, Lichas for instance or Iolaus or Telamon or Hylas or Abderos, but Satyrs, Bacchanals, Pans and a whole host of lesser divinities. Do you perceive how much of human there is in this generation through the fire of a thunderbolt, that his delivery is even more human, and that his deeds, even more than these two that we have mentioned, resemble those of human beings? Now why do we not set aside all this nonsense and recognise herein first the fact that Semele was wise in sacred things? For she was the daughter of Phoenician Cadmus, and the god himself bears witness to the wisdom of the Phoenicians\(^3\) when he says “The Phoenicians too have learned many of the roads travelled by the blessed gods.”\(^4\) I think then that she was the first among the Greeks to perceive

\(^1\) Cf. Euripides, Bacchae 279 foll.  
\(^2\) Cf. Pindar fr. 85.  
\(^3\) Cf. Oration 4. 134 A.  
\(^4\) An oracular verse from an unknown source.
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autou oin eis makran proagoreusasa kinhsai men thattov h prosithekun hyn tina ton perí auton orgwv, oin anasxomenv ton eimarmenon perimevai xronon, eti analwthina pro's touv purdos touv ruenstos epi authn. epiei de ededokto tiv Di kouv pasi análwpostis enoudunai arxh kanatasstaseis eteras kai metabaleiv autouss ek touv nomadikou bion pro's ton Hermwteron, eks 'Ithow o B Dionyssos autotptos efaineto daimnov, epistrovov tas poleis, agon mev exautov stratian polllon daimnoivn tivov 2 kai didous análwpostis kou h men apasi symbolon tis epitfanieis autou to tis hemeridos phyton, oph ou moi dokousin, eximerwthenvton autois toiv periv toiv bion, 'Ellhnes tis epitwnimias autod tauntis axiosai, mhtera de autou prosepeivn tnu Samelhnu dia thn prorrhshn, allovs te kai tnu theou timwntos authn, ati prwhn ierop. C fangin ths eti mellouseths epitrophthesis.

Ousis de, ois an tis akribwv skopowv exetasein, tis istorias toiautn, oi ton Dionysson osites poti esti theon zhtodites talhthex exon ois ephiin eis muthon diaskiasan, aiviptomevnoi tihn te ousian ton theou kai tihn en tois nositois para tiv patri kushin kai ton agennhtovn autov tiv th kosmov 3 . . . . en tiv panti, kai talha efezhis osa ton zhten hnh aexia, 4 fraxeiv de y' ou radia emoi,

1 metabaleiv Hertlein suggests, metaballeiv MSS.
2 tivov Hertlein suggests, tina MSS.
3 kosmov . . . . kat . . . . gamat . . . . ein V, lacuna MSS.
4 aexia, fraxen de y' ou radia emoi Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.

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

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

1 ἑμερός = the vine; ἑμερός = gentle.
2 Here follows a lacuna of several words.
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tuχὸν μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ἔτι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ Δ ἀκριβές, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντι τὸν κρύφιον ἀμα καὶ φανερὸν θεᾶν ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ προβάλ- λειν ἀκοαίς ἀνεξέταστοι καὶ διανοίας ἐπὶ πάντα μάλλον ὣ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τετραμμέναις.

'Αλλ' ύπερ μὲν τούτων ἑστώ Διόνυσος αὑτός, ὡ καὶ προσεύχομαι τάς τε ἐμᾶς καὶ τάς ὑμετέρας ἐκβακχεύσαι φρένας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθὴ τῶν θεῶν γνώσις, ὡς ἄν μὴ πολλὴν ἀβάκχευτοι χρόνον τῷ θεῷ μένοντες ὑπόσα ὁ Πευθεύς ὁ πάθωμεν, ἵσως 222 μὲν καὶ ξώντες, πάντως δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ σώματος. ὡτε γὰρ ἂν μὴ τὸ πεπληθυσμένον τῆς ξωῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνοείδος καὶ ἐν τῷ μεριστῷ παντελῶς ἀδιαιρέτου ὅλης τε ἐν πᾶσιν ἁμυγών προϋπαρχούσης οὐσίας τοῦ Διονύσου τελεσιουρ- γηθή, διὰ τῆς περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐνθέου βακχείας, τούτῳ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πολλὰ ῥυὴν τὴν ξωῆν, ῥνεῖσαν δὲ διεσπάσθαι καὶ διασπασθεῖσαν οὐχε- σθαι τὸ δὲ ῥυεῖσαν καὶ διασπασθεῖσαν μὴ προ- Β σέχων τοὺς τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὑδάτιοι μηδὲ λίνου μήριθον ἀκροάσθω, ξυνιέτω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα τρόπον ἄλλον, ὅν Πλάτων, ὅν Πλοῦτον, ὅν Πορφύριος, ὅν ὁ δαίμονος Ἰάμβλυχος. ὃς ὃς ἂν μὴ ταύτη τοῦτη, γελάσηται μὲν, ἵστῳ μέντοι

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

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

1 Cf. Plato, Republic 382 d.
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Σαρδώνιον γελών ἔρημος ὃν ἀεὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώσεως, ἢς ἀντάξιον οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶσαν ὅμοι μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐπιτροπεύσαι τὴν Βαρβάρων ζέγωγε θείμην ἂν, οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην "Ηλιον. ἀλλὰ με πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅστις θεῶν ἐπὶ ταύτ᾽ ἐβάκχευσεν ὁ προελόμενον.

Ὀν δὲ ἔνεκεν ἔφην αὐτά· κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαιόντος ὅταν οἱ μῦθοι γίγνονται περὶ τῶν θεῶν, αὐτόθεν ἡμῖν ὅστερ βοῶσι καὶ διαμαρτύρονται μὴ πιστεύειν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεληθὸς σκόπειν καὶ διερευνάσθαι. τοσούτῳ δ᾽ ἐστὶ κρείττον ἐν τούτοις τοῦ σέμνου τὸ ἀπεμφαῖνον, ὅσῳ διὰ μὲν ἐκείνου καλοὺς λίαν καὶ μεγάλους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὅμως τοὺς θεοὺς Διὸς κινδύνους νομίσαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπεμφαίοντων ὑπεριδόντας τῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λεγομένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήκρισίν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπερέχουσαν πάντα τὰ ὄντα καθαρὰ νόησιν ἐλπὶς ἀναδραμεῖν.

Ἄλτια μὲν οὖν αὐταὶ τοῦ τήν τελεστικὴν καὶ 223 μυσταγωγὸν φιλοσοφίαν τὰ μὲν ῥήματα παντὸς μᾶλλον εὐαγή καὶ σεμνὰ προφέρεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἄλλοιστέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν τοιούτων. ὁ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπανορθώσεως ἐνεκα τούς λόγους πλάττων καὶ μῦθους παράγων δράτω 1 τοῦτο μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδας

1 δράτω τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον τῷ MSS.

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Sardonic laugh,¹ since he will be forever deprived of that knowledge of the gods which I hold to be more precious than to rule over the whole world, Roman and barbarian put together, yea, I swear it by my lord Helios. But again some god or other and no choice of my own has made me rave with this Bacchic frenzy.

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

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

¹ A proverb for forced laughter, cf. Odyssey 22. 302; Plato, Republic 337 A.
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ητοι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν, πάντως δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων δεομένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦμεῖς σοι παιδεῖς ἐφάνημεν εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε 'Ἀνατόλιος οὐτοσί, Β συγκαταρίθμησε δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Μεμόριον καὶ τὸν Σαλούστιον, πρὸς τούτους δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆς, 'Ἀντικύρας σοι δεῖ· τί γὰρ ἂν ἀκκλίζουτο τις; ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μύθου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ κοινῆ πάντων βασιλέως Ἡλίου, τί σοι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν πεποίηται ἔργον; τίνι παρέστης ἀγωνιζομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου; τίνα ἔθεράπευσας πενθοῦντα, τῷ λόγῳ διδάσκαις, ὃτι C μὴ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μῆτε τῷ παθόντι μῆτε τοῖς οἰκεῖοις αὐτοῦ; τίς δ' αἰτιᾶσεται σε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μειρακίσκος σωφροσύνης, ὃτι πεποίηκας αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀσώτου σώφρονα καὶ καλὸν ὁ τὸ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν φαινεσθαι; τίνα δὲ ἀσκησιν ἑποίησος τοῦ βίου; τί δὲ σοι ἄξιον τῆς Διογένους βακτηρίας ἢ καὶ μὰ Δία τῆς παρρησίας πεποίηται; ἔργον οἷς μέγα βακτηρίαν λαβεῖν ἢ τρίχας ἀνείναι, καὶ περισσοτέιν ταῖς D πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν βελτίστοις λοιδορείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ χειρίστους ἑραπτεύειν; εἰπὲ πρὸς τοῦ Δίος καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον τῶν ἄκρωμένων, οὗ δ' ὑμᾶς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκτρέπονται, ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς μὲν τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνστάντιον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἠλθες, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν Γαλλίων; καὶ τοῖς πορευθέσθι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἔννειν γονίν σου τῆς φωνῆς μᾶλλον

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

¹ Hellebore, supposed to be a cure for madness, grew at Anticyra; hence the proverb: cf. Horace, Satires 2. 3. 166.
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dunamenw phlogistházew èmellhes ánthetaio. tì de 224
cal to periptaw tavan pantacho kai paráxeiv prág-
maskata tas ëmwnois; ákoùw de ègywe kai tois
tas ëmwnous èlaúnousin, òi mállovn ëmws ò tois
strapítowas pefríkasi: chrísthai gar autós tois
ëwois 1 ákoùw tinas ëmwn ëhalewteron ò tois
ëfesin ëkeinoi. òghnwesth oin autós eíkotws
foberótteroi. pálai mei oin ëmwn èthémèn ègò
utóto òdôma, nuni de autó ësika kai gráfein. B
ápotákstistás tinas ënováxouw oin dúsosebeis
Kallilaioi: toutwn oin pléous mikra prómevnoi
pollá pánw, mállovn de tà pánta pantaxóthen
ènykomoíxwsi, kai próskeotwntai 2 to timásth
kai dorufereisth kai therapeúseth. toutóton
to kai to ùmeteron èrgon èstì, plhn ësos to
chrmatièsthai. toutó de oin par ëmws òghnetai,
pár ëmás de: suvnetóteroi gar èsmevn ton anoítwn
èkeinwn: ësos de kai dià to morphèn ëmwn einai prò-
skham twn forologein eúprosoúptwn, ópotoiwn C
èkeinois, òn léghousin oin oi òde òpws èlephmosúnhn,
tà ò alla ge pánta èstìn ëmwn te kakeinon
parapliáma. kataleloiptate tìn patrída òsster
èkeinou, periptwttate pánth kai to stratop-
pedon diwchleistate mállovn èkeinwn kai ítama-
teron oin mén gar kaloímvenoi, ëmews de kai
apelenómenvoi. kai tà chrístovn èk toutwn ëmwn
ègeneto, mállovn de kai ëmwn tois ìallous; ònìl-
then o 'Askliptiádh, èsta ò Sefrmawòs, èsta ò
Xútrov, èsta oin oída paidàriow o, ti èunthó kai
eúmhec, èsta sú, kai meb ëmwn ìalloi dísto
sousoi.t

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

¹ Or “solitaries”; the word also means “heretic”; but Julian evidently alludes to Christian monks who lived on charity.

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ti ovin ek tis ymeteras anodou genovne agathon, 
ylastos; tis geutheto polis h tis idiwtis tis 
ymeteras parresias; ouk afrownos men to ex 
arkhis elyeshe tin epi ton oude idein umas thelonta 
basilea poreian, anelthontes de afrovesteron 
authe kai amathesteron kai muniwdesteron exerh-
ssathe, kolakeusantes ama kai ulaktisanentes kai 
biyliia donotes kai tauta prosaxhainai pros-
225 lyparhsantes; oudeina umon oimai enw tosaun-
takis eis philosophon f得到hisa, osakis eis 
antygrafewos, oaste umon 'Akhedheia kai Dudley 
anste tis Poikile te tin ton basileiwn ta 
prorhura.

Ouk apaxete tauta; ou katabaleite nyn 
ygon, ei kai mi proteron, ote umon oudein esti 
pleon apo tis komi kai tis baktirias; pous de 
akai genoven yph ymon evkatafronitos h phil-
sophia, ton photomikwn oi dusmadestatoi kai oude' 
B  
up autonom ton basileous 'Ermou tin ylotti 
ekatharhiai dunamevoi, phrenothinai de oude 
pros auths tin 'Athenas sun surn 'Ermh, touto ek 
tis agoraiou kai peritexousis artasantes 
enrekheias; oude gar en paroimia periferomenu 
auto yegnoskoun to oti botru prors botru 
petaientai; ormosin epile ton Kynismon baktir-
ria, trishon, komh, to enetihen amathia, thrasos, C 
itaomitha kai pantata aplous ta toiauta. tin 
syntomou, fasin, odon kai syntonon epiti tin

1 prosaxhainai Hertlein suggests, prosaxhna MSS.

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

Have done with all this nonsense! At any rate lay it aside now if not before, when you can get no advantage from your long hair and your staff. Shall I tell you how you have caused philosophy to be lightly esteemed? It is because the most ignorant of the rhetoricians, those whose tongues not King Hermes himself could purify, and who could not be made wise by Athene herself with the aid of Hermes, having picked up their knowledge from their industry in frequenting public places,—for they do not know the truth of the current proverb, "Grape ripens near grape"—then all rush into Cynicism. They adopt the staff, the cloak, the long hair, the ignorance that goes with these, the impudence, the insolence, and in a word everything of the sort. They say that they are travelling the short and ready road to virtue. 1 I would that you

1 A proverb to express emulation; cf. Juvenal 2. 81.
2 Plutarch, Erotici p. 759, says this of the Cynics; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7. 121.
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ἀρετὴν ἴναι. ὁφελοῦν καὶ ύμεῖς τὴν μακρὰν ἐπο- 
ρεύεσθε· ῥαῖν ἄν δὲ ἐκεῖνης ἐ διὰ ταῦτης ἦλθετε. 
οὐκ ἴστε, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχοντιν αἱ σύντομοι τὰ 
χαλεπότητας; καὶ ὅσπερ ἐν ταῖς λεώφοροις ὁ μὲν 
τὴν σύντομον ἐλθεῖν δυνηθείς ῥαῖν ἐκπερεύεσθαι 
τὴν κύκλῳ, οὐκέτι μέντοι τὸ ἀνάπαλαιν ὁ κύκλῳ 
πορευ- 
θείς ἔλθοι ἀν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐπίτομον, οὕτω δὴ 
καὶ ἐν τῇ 
φιλοσοφίᾳ τέλος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχὴ μία 
γνώναι τε ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἀφομοιωθῆναι τοῖς 
θεοῖς· 
ἀρχὴ μὲν οὐν ἐαυτὸν γνώναι, τέλος δὲ ἡ πρὸς 
τοὺς 
κρείττονας ὁμοίωτης.

"Ὅστις οὖν Κυνικὸς εἶναι ἐθέλει,-πάντων ὑπερ- 
ιδῶν τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων 
δοξῶν, εἰς ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέστραπται 
πρότερον. ἐκεῖνο τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ἐστὶ χρυσίον, 
οὔχ ἡ ψάμμος ψάμμος, εἴ πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τις 
ἀυτὰ ἐξετάζοι καὶ τὴν ἀξίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψειν 
ἀυτῷ τιμητὴ γενέσθαι. γῆν γὰρ αὐτὰ οἶδεν 226 
ἀμφότερα. τὸ σπανιώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ράον ἀν- 
θρώπων εἶναι κενοδοξίας ταῦτα καὶ ἀμαθίας νενό- 
μικὲν ἔργα· ὁ οἰσχὼν ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς 
ἐπαινομένοις ἢ ψευδομένοις τίθεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ 
φύσει· φεύγει τὰς περιττὰς τροφὰς· ἀποστρε- 
φεται δὲ τὰ ἀφροδίσια. βιαζομένοι δὲ τοῦ 
σώματος, οὐ δόξῃ προστέθηκεν οὐδὲ περιμένει τὸν 
μάγειρον καὶ τὰ ὑποτρίμματα καὶ τὴν κυνίσαν, 
οὐδὲ τὴν Φρύνην οὐδὲ τὴν Λαίδα οὐδὲ τὴν 
τοῦ 
δείνος 3 
περιβλέπεται γαμετὴν οὐδὲ τὸ θυγατρίου B 
οὐδὲ τὴν θεράπαιναν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν

1 ἴναι Cobet, πορευόμεθα Hertlein suggests, lacuna V.
2 δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
3 τοῦ δείνος Cobet, τοῦ δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

"Αὐτῆς ἐν λειμώνι κατὰ σκότον ἡλάσκοντας, ὑπὲρ ὀλγῶν παντάπασιν ἀπολαύσεων ὑπομένοντας ὡσα οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν Κωκυτὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θρυλοῦσιν οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ σύντομος ἄρος ἡστὶν αὐτῇ. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀθρόως Σ ἐκατῆται ἑαυτὸν καὶ γράφει, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν, καὶ τὸν νοῦν μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀτρύντως καὶ ἀμετακινήτως συνέχεις ἐν τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ καθαρώς νοήμασιν, ὀλγωρείς δὲ πάντη τοῦ σώματος καὶ νομίζεις αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειον κοπρίοις ἐκβλητότερον, ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστον δὲ αὐτῶ τὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληρῶν, ἐως ἀν ο θεὸς ὅσπερ ὀργάνῳ τῷ σώματι χρήσχαι ἐπιτάττῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς φασί ταύτη. ἐπανάξω δὲ θεοῦ ἐξέβην. ἐπειδή γὰρ τοὺς μύθους προσήκει πρὸς παίδας ἦτοι τῷ φρονεῖν, κἂν ἀνδρεῖς ἄσιν, ἦ δ καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἡλικίαν παιδαρίους ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἐξεταστέον ὅπου μήτε εἰς θεοὺς μήτε εἰς ἄνθρωποις πλημμελεῖς ἢ, καθάπερ ἐναγχος, δυσσεβὲς τι ρηθείη· καὶ προσέτε τούτῳ ἐν ἀπασίν ἀκριβῶς βασανιστέον, εἰ πιθανός, εἰ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυῆς, εἰ μῦθος ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ὁ πλατώμενος. ἐπεὶ τὸ γε νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένον οὐ μῦθος ἔστι σὸς· καὶ τούτο τοῦτο γε ἐνανεύεσθαι· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν μῦθος

1 ὡς φασί ταύτη Cobet, cf. Oration 4. 148 B, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 σὸς. Hertlein suggests; σὸς, ὡς θης MSS.

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

So much for that, as the saying is.³ Now to go back to the point at which I digressed.⁴ Since, as I was saying, myths ought to be addressed either to those who though grown men are children in intelligence, or to those who in actual years are mere children, we must take pains to utter in them no word that is offensive to gods or men or anything impious, as was done recently. And moreover we must in all cases apply careful tests to see whether the myth is plausible, closely related to the matter discussed and whether what is invented is really a myth. Now what you composed lately is not your own myth though you boasted that it was. Nay, your myth was an old one and you did

¹ Empedocles, fr. 21, Diels. ² Heracleitus, fr. 96, Diels. ³ Cf. Oration 4. 148 B. ⁴ 223 A.
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έστι παλαιός, ἐφήρμοσας δὲ αὐτὸν σὺ πράγμασιν 227 ἐτέροις, ὅπερ οἶμαι ποιεῖν εἰσόθασιν οὐ τῇ τροπικῇ χρώμενοι τῶν νοημάτων κατασκευής πολὺς δὲ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Πάριος ἐστὶν ποιητὴς. έοικας οὖν οὐδὲ πεποιηκὼς μῦθον, ὁ ξυνετάτατε, μάτην νεανιεύσθαι καίτοι τούτο τίτθης ἔργον ἐστὶν εὐτραπέλου. Πλουτάρχου δὲ εἰ τὰ μυθικὰ διηγήματα τῶν σῶν εἰσώ χειρῶν ἀφίκτο, οὐποτ᾽ ἄν ἔλελθει σε, τίνι διαφέρει πλάσαι τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς μῦθον καὶ τὸν κείμενον ἑφαρμόσαι πράγμασιν οἰκείος. ἀλλ᾽ Β ἴνα μή σε τὴν σύντομον ὀδεύοντα βίβλοις ἐμβαλῶν μακρὰς καὶ δυσελίκτοις ἐπίσχω μικρὰ καὶ πεδήσων οὐ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Δημοσθένους ἀκήκοας μῦθον, ὅν ἐποίησεν ὁ Παιανεὺς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἡνίκα ὁ Μακεδών ἔξητε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ρήτορας. ἔχρην οὖν τι τοιοῦτο πλάσαι· ἢ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἔργον ἢν εἰπεῖν μνθάριν τι τοιοῦτον; ἀναγκάσεις δὲ με καὶ μυθοποιῶν γενέσθαι.

Πλουσίῳ ἄνδρι πρόβατα ἢν πολλὰ καὶ ἀγέλαι ο βοῶν καὶ αἰτόλια πλατεῖ αἰγῶν, ἵπποι, δὲ αὐτῷ πολλάκις μυρίας ἔλος κάτα βουκολέουντο, καὶ ποιμένες δοῦλοι τε καὶ ἐλεύθεροι μισθωτοί, καὶ βουκόλοι βοῶν καὶ αἰγῶν αἰτόλιοι καὶ ἱπποφορβοὶ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πλείστα κτήματα. τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ πατήρ ἀπελευθερεῖ, πολλαπλάσια δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεκτήσατο, 1 πλουτεῖν θέλων

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

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

\(^1\) Archilochus. \(^2\) Constantine. \(^3\) Iliad 2. 474. \(^4\) Iliad 20. 221.
ἐν δίκη τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην ἐμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν \[\textsuperscript{1}\] θεῶν ὀλύγων. ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ Δ καὶ νῖεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες, οἷς ἐκεῖνος διανείμας τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπείτα ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς οἰκονομίας πέρι διδάξας, οὐδ'' ὅπως ἂν τις δύνατο τὰ τοιαύτα κτάσθαι μὴ παρόντα ἢ παρόντα διαφυλάττειν. ἦν γὰρ ὅπως ἀμαθίας ἀρκεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐ μάλα ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοιαύτης τέχνης, ἀτε μὴ λόγῳ προσειληφός αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ συνθείας τυλίκαι πείρα μᾶλλον, ὅσπερ οἱ φανοῦ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐκ 228 τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνον ἰώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅθεν καὶ διαφεύγει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτοὺς. ἀρκεῖν οὐν νομίσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νιέων πρὸς τὸ φυλάξαι τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲν ἐφρούτησεν ὅπως ἐσούται σπουδαιοί. τὸ δὲ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἠρξε πρώτον μὲν τῶν εἰς ἄλληλοις ἀδικημάτων. ἐπιθυμών γὰρ ἔκαστος ὅσπερ οἱ πατήρ πολλὰ ἔχειν καὶ μόνος πάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πέλας ἐτράπτετο. τέως μὲν Β οὖν τούτῳ ἐπράττετο. προσαπέλανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς, οὐδ'' αὐτοὶ παιδευθέντες καλῶς, τῆς τῶν παιδῶν ἀνόιας τε καὶ ἀμαθίας. εἶτα ἐπίμ- πλατο φόνων πάντα, καὶ ἡ τραγική κατάρα ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος εἰς ἑργον ἤγετο τὰ πατρίδα γὰρ θηκτὸ σιδήρῳ διελάγχανον, καὶ ἦν πάντα ἀκοσμίας πλήρη πατρίδα μὲν ἑρά κατεσκάπττετο παρὰ τῶν παιδῶν ὁλιγορθέντα πρῶτον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός καὶ ἀποσυληθέντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἄ ἐτέθειτο C

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

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many times more, being eager to enrich himself whether justly or unjustly; for little did he care for the gods. Several wives he had, and sons and daughters by them, among whom he divided his wealth before he died. But he did not teach them how to manage it, or how to acquire more if it should fail, or how to preserve what they had. For in his ignorance he thought that their mere numbers would suffice, nor had he himself any real knowledge of that sort of art, since he had not acquired his wealth on any rational principle but rather by use and wont, like quack doctors who try to cure their patients by relying on their experience only, so that many diseases escape them altogether.¹ Accordingly since he thought that a number of sons would suffice to preserve his wealth, he took no thought how to make them virtuous. But this very thing proved to be the beginning of their iniquitous behaviour to one another. For every one of them desired to be as wealthy as his father and to possess the whole for himself alone, and so attacked the brother that was his neighbour. Now for a time they continued to behave thus. And their relatives also shared in the folly and ignorance of those sons, since they themselves had had no better education. Then ensued a general slaughter, and heaven brought the tragic curse² to fulfilment. For "by the edge of the sword they divided their patrimony" and everything was thrown into confusion. The sons demolished the ancestral temples which their father before them had despised and had stripped of the votive offerings

¹ Cf. Plato, Charmides 156 e.
² The curse of Oedipus on his sons; cf. Euripides, Phoenissae 67; Plato, Alcibiades 2. 138 c; Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes 817, 942.
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παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ. καθαιρομένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνφικοδομεῖτο παλαία καὶ νέα μνήματα, προσαγο- ρεύοντος αὐτοῖς τού αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης, ὅτι ἄρα πολλῶν αὐτοῖς δεισει μνημάτων οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῖς ὁλίγον ἔμελε τῶν θεῶν.

Πάντων οὖν ὁμοῦ φυρομένων καὶ ξυντελομένων γάμων τε οὐ γάμων καὶ βεβηλομένων ὁμοῦ τοῖς θείοις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τὸν Δία ἔλεος ὑπῆλθεν. D εἶτα ἀπίδαν πρὸς τὸν Ἡλίων ο παῖ, εἶπεν, οὕρανοι καὶ γῆς ἀρχαίοτερον ἐν θείοις βλάστημα, μνησικακεῖν ἐτί διανοοῦ τῆς ὑπεροφίας ἀνδρὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τολμηρῷ, ὑσ σε ἀπολιπτῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει αἰτίου ἡ γένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων; ὡ νομίζεις, ὅτι μὴ χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ μηδ' ἀγανακ- τεῖς μηδ' ἐπὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τοὺς οίκοις θήγεις, ἔλαττον εἶναι ταύτης αἰτίου αὐτῷ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἔρημον αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἁφεῖς; ἀλλ', ἕφη, καλῶ- μεν τὰς Μοῖρας, εἴ πη βοηθήτεος ὁ ἀνήρ ἔστιν. αἴ δὲ ὑπήκουσαν αὐτίκα τῷ Δίῳ. καὶ ο μὲν Ἡλίων, ὁ σπερ εὐνοῶν τε καὶ λογιζόμενος αὐτῶς ἐν ἐαυτῷ, προσέχειν εἰς τὸν Δία πήξας τὰ ὁμματα. τῶν Μοιρῶν δὲ ἡ πρεσβυντάτη Κωλύστεον, ἕφη, ὁ πάτερ, ἡ Ὀσιότης ἔδω τῇ Δίκῃ. σὸν οὖν ἐργον ἔστιν, ἐπείπερ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσας ὑπεικαθεῖν αὐτάς, Β πείσαι καὶ ἐκεῖνας. ἀλλ' ἐμαί γὰρ ἔσων, ἕφη, θυγατέρες, καὶ ἄξιον δὴ ἐρέσθαι αὐτάς· τοίς τούς,

1 γένει αἰτίου Cobet, γένει καὶ παρὰ αἰτίου Hettlein, MSS.

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

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

1 The Christian churches were so called because they were built over the tombs of the martyrs. 2 i.e. between cousins.
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ο ποτνία, φατόν; ἀλλὰ τούτον μέν, εἰπέτην, ὁ πάτερ, αὐτὸς εἰ κύριος. σκόπει δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀνθρώ-
pοις ὁ πονηρὸς οὐτοσί τῆς ἀνοσιονυμίας ζῆλος μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπικρατήσει. 1 πρὸς ἄμφοτερα, ἐπειν,
ἐγὼ σκέψομαι. καὶ οἱ Μοῖραι πλησίων παροῦσαι πάντα ἐπέκλωθον, ὡς ὁ πατήρ ἐβούλετο.

Δέγειν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρχεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἡλιον τούτῳ τὸ παιδίον, ἐφη. ξυγγένες δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν ἁρα παρερ-
ρημμένον πον καὶ ἀμελοῦμεν, ἀδελφίδους ἐκείνου τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνεψιῶι τῶν κληρονόμων τούτω,
ἐφη, σὸν ἐστὶν ἔγχονον. ὁμοσον οὖν τὸ ἔμον τε καὶ τὸ σῶν 2 σεῖπτρον, ἢ μὴ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι δια-
φεράντως αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιμανέων αὐτὸ καὶ θερα-
πεύσεις τῆς νόσου. ὅρας γὰρ ὅπως οἶνον ὑπὸ
καπνοῦ ρύπου τε ἀναπέπλησται καὶ λυγύος,
κινδύνος τε τὸ ὑπὸ σοῦ σπαρέν ἐν αὐτῷ πῦρ ἀπο-
σβήναι, ἢ μὴ σὺ γε δύσεαι ἄλκην. σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ τε
ξυγγερῶ καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι κόμιζε σοιν αὐτῷ καὶ
τρέφε. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡλίῳς ὑπ-
φράνθη τε ἡσθείς τῷ βρέφει, σωζόμενον ἐτι καθο-
ρῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σπυνθήρα μικρὸν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ
ἐντεῦθεν ἔτρεφεν ἐκείνο τὸ παιδίον, ἐξαγαγὼν

ἐκ θ’ αἴματος ἐκ τε κυδομοῦ

Ἐκ τ’ ἀνδροκτασίης.

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ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν
ἀμήτορα, τὴν παρθένου ἄμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ τὸ παιδά-
ριον ἐκτρέφειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράφη καὶ νεανίας ἐγέ-
νετο

Πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης, τοῦτον χαριστάτη ἦβη.

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

Next Zeus thus addressed Helios: "Thou seest yonder thine own child."¹ (Now this was a certain kinsman of those brothers who had been cast aside and was despised though he was that rich man's nephew and the cousin of his heirs.) "This child," said Zeus, "is thine own offspring. Swear then by my sceptre and thine that thou wilt care especially for him and cure him of this malady. For thou seest how he is as it were infected with smoke and filth and darkness and there is danger that the spark of fire which thou didst implant in him will be quenched, unless thouclothe thyself with might.² Take care of him therefore and rear him. For I and the Fates yield thee this task." When King Helios heard this he was glad and took pleasure in the babe, since he perceived that in him a small spark of himself was still preserved. And from that time he reared the child whom he had withdrawn "from the blood and noise of war and the slaughter of men."³ And father Zeus bade Athene also, the Motherless Maiden, share with Helios the task of bringing up the child. And when, thus reared, he had become a youth "With the first down on his chin, when youth has all its charms,"⁴ he learned

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κατανοήσας τῶν κακῶν τὸ πλήθος, ὅποσον τι περὶ τοὺς ἔνεγχειν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνεφιλούς ἐγεγόνει, ἐδέχσε μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τάρταρον προέσθαι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ "Ηλιος B εὐμενής ὃν μετὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπνοῦν τινὰ καὶ κάρον ἐμβαλὼν τῆς ἐπινοίας ταῦτα ἀπῆγαγεν, αὖθις ἀνεγερθεῖς ἀπεισιν εἰς ἐρημίαν. εἶτα ἐκεῖ λίθον τινὰ εὐρὺν μικρὸν ἀνεπαύσατο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσκόπει, τίνα τρόπον ἐκφεύγεται τῶν τοσοῦτων κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος. ἐκὸ γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντα ἐφαίνετο μοχθηρά, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τέως. C Ἐρμῆς ὁ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ γὰρ ἔλειον ὁ ἡκείως πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁσπέρ ἤλεικοτής νεανίσκος φανερὰς ἴσοταστής τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ, Δεύτερο, εἴτεν, ἤγεμων σοι ἐκὸ εὐσμοί λειτάρσης καὶ ὁμαλοτάρσης ὀοῦτι τοῦ μικρὸν ὑπερβᾶντι τοῦ κολλοῦν καὶ ἀποτομον χωρίον, οὐ πάντας ὅρας προσπαίνοντας καὶ ἀπίόντας ἐνεέθεν ὀπίσω. καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀπὶ ὁχετὸ μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἔχων παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ἐξίφος τε καὶ ἀπίδα καὶ δόρυ, 2 γυμνὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τέως ἢν τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. πεποιθῶσιν οὖν αὐτῶ D προήγουε εἰς τὸ πρόσω διὰ λείας ὀδοὺ καὶ ἀβρύπνου καθαρᾶς τε πάννι καὶ καρποῖς βριθούσης ἀνθέσει τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἁγαθοῖς, ὅσα ἔστι θεοῖς φίλα, καὶ δένδρει κερτοῦ καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρρίνης. ἅγαινοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τί μέγα καὶ ψυχήλιν δόρος, Ἐπὶ τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατὴρ πάντων κάθηται τῶν θεῶν. ὅρα οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας κύνδυνος· ὅπως αὐτῶν ὡς εὐαγεστάτα προσκυνήσεις, αἰτήσῃ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν δ, τι ἄν

1 λειτάρσης, Klimek, elas Hertlein, MSS.
2 δόρυ Hertlein suggests, μάχαραν MSS; cf. 231 c.

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

1 i.e. as the god of eloquence.
2 Plato, Republic 618 b.
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εθέλησεν έλοιο δέ, ὸ παί, τὰ βελτιστά. ταῦτα 231 εἰπὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἐαυτὸν Ἡμῆς πάλιν. ὦ δέ ἐβούλετο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρμοῦ πυθέσθαι, τί ποτε αἰτήσασθαι χρή παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ πλησίον οὕτα οὐ κατείδειν, Ἔνδειξις μέν, ἐφη, καλὴ δὲ ὦμος ἡ ξυμβουλή. αἰτώμεθα οὖν ἀγαθὴ τύχη τὰ κράτιστα καίπερ οὕτω σαφῶς τὸν πατέρα τῶν θεῶν ὅρῶντες. Ἡ Ζεῦ πάτερ ἢ ὦ, τι σοι φίλον ὄνομα καὶ ὅπως ὄνομάζεσθαι· δείκνυε μοι τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ φέρουσαν ὀδὸν ἢνω. κρείττονα γάρ μοι τὰ ἐκεῖ Β φαίνεται χωρία παρὰ σὲ μαντευομένῳ τὸ παρὰ σοι κάλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις θεῖν πεπορέυμεθα τέως ἀγαλάτας.

Εὐξαμένῳ ταῦτα εἶτε ὅπως τις εἶτε ἐκστάσις ἐπήλθεν. ὦ δὲ αὐτῷ δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡλιοῦ. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ὑπὸ τῆς θέας, Ἀλλὰ σοι μὲν, εἶπεν, ὁ θεὸν πάτερ, τῶν τε ἅλλων καὶ τούτων ὥσιται πάντων ἐμαυτὸν φέρων ἀναθήσω. Καὶ περιβαλὼν 1 δὲ τοὺς γόνασι τοῦ Ἡλίου τὰς χείρας ἀπρίξ εἶχετο σώζειν ἐαυτὸν δεόμενος. ὦ δὲ καλέσας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔκλεεν πρὸτον ἀνακρίνειν αὐτὸν, ὅποσα ἐκόμισεν ὅπλα. ἔπει δὲ ἑώρα τὴν τε ἀστιδά καὶ τὸ εἶφος μετὰ τοῦ δόρατος, Ἀλλὰ ποῦ σοι, εἶπεν, ὁ παῖ, τὸ Γοργόνειον καὶ τὸ κράνος; ὦ δὲ, Καὶ ταῦτα, εἶπε, μόνις ἐκτησάμην· οὔδεὶς γὰρ ἤν ὁ ξυμπονοῦν ἐν τῇ τῶν συγγενῶν οἰκία παρερμιμένῳ. Ἰσθι οὖν, εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἡλιος, ὅτι σε πάντως χρὴ ἐπανελθεῖν ἔκεισε. ἐνταῦθα ἐδείτο D

1 περιβαλῶν Cobet, περιβάλλων Hertleim, MSS.

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

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

1 Cf. Aeschylus, _Agamemnon_ 160.
2 Literally “the Gorgon’s head,” which formed the centre of the ægis or breastplate of Athene; cf. 234 A.
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μὴ πέμπτειν αὐτὸν ἐκείσε πάλιν, ἀλλὰ κατέχειν, ὥς οὐκέθ’ ὑστερον ἐπανήξονται, ἀπολούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐλπάρει δακρύων, Ἀλλὰ νέος εἰ, ἐφη, καὶ ἀμύντος. ἱδί οὐν παρ’ ὅμας, ὡς ἂν μυθείης ἀσφαλῶς τε ἐκεῖ διάγουσ· χρῆ γὰρ σ’ ἀπιέναι καὶ καθαίρειν ἐκείνα πάντα τὰ ἀσεβήματα, παρακαλεῖν δὲ εμὲ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίς 232 σκος εἰστήκης σιωπῆ. καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος ἐπὶ τινα σκοπιᾶν ἁγαγῶν αὐτόν, ὃς τὸ μὲν ἄνω φωτὸς ἦν πλήρες, τὸ δὲ ὑποκάτω μυρίας ἀχλύος, δὲ ἂν ὀστηρ δὲ ὅδατος ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς δικεντό τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐγῆς Ἡλίου, Ὅρας, εἰπε, τὸν ἀνεσθὼν τὸν κηρυνόμον; καὶ οὐ, Ὅρας, ἐφη. Τί δὲ, τοὺς βουκόλους τούτους καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας; καὶ τούτους ὃρᾶν εἰπεν ὁ νεανίςκος. Ποταπὸς οὖν Β τίς σοι ὁ κηρυνόμος φαίνεται; ποταποὶ δ’ αὐ οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι; καὶ ὁ νεανίςκος, Ὅ μὲν μοι, ἐφη, δοκεὶ νυστάξειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καταδυνάμενος, λεληθότως ἠδυπαθεῖν, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ ὀλίγων μὲν ἔστι τὸ ἀστεῖον, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ μοχθηρὸν καὶ θηριώδες. ἐσθίει γὰρ καὶ πιπράσκει τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἄδικεὶ διπλῇ τὸν δεσπότην. τὰ τε γὰρ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ φθείρει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἀποφέρων ἀμυσθὸν εἰναι φησὶ καὶ ὀδύρεται. Ο καίτοι κρείττον ἵν τινος μυθοῦς ἀπαιτεῖν ἐντελεῖς ἡ φθείρειν τὴν ποίμνην. Ἀν οὖν, ἐφη, σὲ ἕγῳ μετὰ ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιτάττοντος τούτον

1 καταδυνάμενος Naber thinks corrupt, but cf. Letter to the Athenians 285 Α.
not to send him to earth again but to detain him there, since he would never be able to mount upwards a second time but would be overwhelmed by the ills of earth. But as he wept and implored Helios replied, "Nay, thou art young and not yet initiated. Return therefore to thine own people that thou mayst be initiated and thereafter dwell on earth in safety. For return thou must, and cleanse away all impiety and invoke me to aid thee, and Athene and the other gods." When Helios had said this the youth remained silent. Then mighty Helios led him to a high peak whose upper region was filled with light but the lower with the thickest mist imaginable, through which, as through water, the light of the rays of King Helios penetrated but faintly. "Thou seest," said Helios, "thy cousin the heir?" 1 "I see him," the youth replied. "Again, dost thou see yonder herdmen and shepherds?" The youth answered that he did. "Then what thinkest thou of the heir's disposition? And what of his herdsmen and herdsmen?" "He seems to me," replied the youth, "to be for the most part asleep, sunk in forgetfulness and devoted to pleasure; and of his herdsmen a few are honest, but most are vicious and brutal. For they devour or sell his sheep, and doubly injure their master, in that they not only ruin his flocks but besides that they make great gain and return him but little thereof, while they declare with loud complaint that they are defrauded of their wages. And yet it were better that they should demand and obtain their full pay than that they should destroy the flock." "Now what if I and Athene here," said

1 Constantius.
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Διὸς, ἀντὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τούτου πάντων ἐπιτροποῦν τούτων καταστήσω—; πάλιν ἐνταίθα δὲ
νεανίσκος ἀντείχετο καὶ πολλὰ ἴκετεν μὴν αὐτοῦ
μένειν. ὁ δὲ, Μὴ λιῶν ἀπειθής ἔσο, φησί, μὴ
ποτὲ

σ’ ἀπεχθήρω, ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλ’ ἐφίλησα.

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ἀλλ’, ὁ μέγιστε, εἰπεν, Ἡλιε
καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, σὲ τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν
Δία, χρῆσθε μοι πρὸς ὅ, τι βούλεσθε. πάλιν οὖν D
ὁ Ἐρμῆς ἀφινός φανεῖσ ἐποίησε τὸν νεανίσκον
θαρραλέωτερον. ἦδη γὰρ διενοέτο τῆς τε ὀπίσω
πορείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείσε διατριβῆς ηὕρηκεν τὸν
ήγεμόνα. καὶ Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μάνθανε, οἰπεν, ὁ λήστε,
pατρὸς ἄγαθοῦ τουτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἕμον βλά-
στημα. τούτον, ἐφη, τὸν κληρονόμον οἱ βελτιστοί
μὲν οὖν εὐφραίνοννος τῶν ποιμένων, οἱ κόλακες δὲ
καὶ οἱ μοχθηροὶ δοῦλοι καὶ υποχείριοι πεποίηται.

συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἑπεικῶν μὴ 233
φιλεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων φιλεῖν1 εἰς
τὰ μέγιστα ἄδικείσθαι. σκόπει οὖν ὅπως ἐπαν-
ελθὼς μὴ πρὸ τοῦ φίλου θήσει τὸν κόλακα.

δευτέρων ἄκουε μου παραίνεσιν, ὁ παῖ. νυστάζων
οὕτως ἔξαπατᾶται τὰ πολλά· σὺ δὲ νήφης καὶ
γρηγόρει, μὴ σε διὰ τῆς τοῦ φίλου παρρησίας ὁ
κόλαξ ἔξαπατήσας λάθοι,2 χαλκεῖς οίᾳ τις γέμων
καπνοῦ καὶ μαρίλης, ἔχων ἰμάτιον λευκὸν καὶ τὰ B
πρόσωπα τῷ ψυμφώς κεχρισμένον, εἴτε αὐτῷ
dοίης γέμαι τινα τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων. τρίτης
ἐπάκουε μου παρανέσεως, καὶ μᾶλα ἱσχυρῶς
φύλαττε σαυτόν, αἰδοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀνδρῶν

1 φιλεῖν Cobet, φιλῶν Hertlein, MSS.
2 λάθοι: Hertlein suggests, λάθη MSS.

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

1 Iliad 3. 415. 2 Peter 1. 5. 8; Thessalonians 1. 5. 6. 3 An echo of Plato, Republic 495 e.
δὲ ὃστις ἦμῖν προσόμοιος ἔστιν, ἀλλον δὲ μηδένα. ὤρας ὅπως τούτον τὸν ἡλίθιον ἐβλαψεν αἰσχύνη καὶ τὸ λίαν ἄγαν εἶναι καταπλῆγα.

Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος αὐθίς τὸν λόγον δια-
δεξάμενος εἶπεν. 'Ελόμενος φίλους ὡς φίλους θρώ, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς οἰκέτας μηδὲ θεράπτοντας νόμιζε, πρόσθι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρως τε καὶ ἀπλοῦστατα καὶ γενναίως, μῆ λέγω μὲν ἄλλα, φρονῶν δὲ ἐτερα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ ὁρᾶς ὅτι καὶ
tούτον τὸν κληρονόμον τοῦτο ἐπέτριψεν, ἦ πρὸς
tους φίλους ἀπιστία; φίλει τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς σὲ. τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἥγεισθω σοι τῶν
calων ἀπάντων: ἔσμεν γὰρ σοι καὶ ἐνεργεταὶ καὶ
φίλοι καὶ σωτῆρες. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἡ νεανίσκος
diechύθη καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀπαντά ἡδὴ τοῖς θεοῖς
pειθόμενος. 'Αλλ' ἰθι, ἐφη, πορεύον μετὰ ἀγαθῆς
eπόδος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ σοι πανταχοῦ συνεσώμεθα
ἔγον τε καὶ 'Αθηνᾶ καὶ 'Ερμῆς ὅδε καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν
οἱ θεοὶ πάντες οί ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν
ἀέρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν πανταχοῦ τὸ θεῖον
gένος, ἔως ἄν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅσιος ἦς καὶ τὰ
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πιστῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
ὕπηκοοὺς φιλάνθρωπος, ἀρχων αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγοῦ-
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μενὸς ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα: ἀλλὰ μήτε ταῖς σεαυτοῦ
μήτε ταῖς ἐκείναις ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύον ὑπεικά-
θης. ἔχων οὖν τὴν πανοπλίαν, ἥν ἐκόμισας
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀπίθι πρὸς ἐμαύζων ταύτην μὲν τὴν
dάδα παρ’ ἐμοῦ, ὡς σοὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φῶς
λάμπῃ μέγα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπισποθῆς τῶν τίθε,
tαυτησὶ δὲ 'Αθηνᾶς τῆς καλῆς τὸ τε Γοργόνειον

1 ταῖς ἐκείναις Cobet, ἐκείναιν ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.
2 τὴν πανοπλίαν Hertlein suggests, πανοπλίαν MSS.

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

Then mighty Helios took up the tale and said, "When thou hast chosen thy friends treat them as friends and do not regard them as thy servants and attendants, but let thy conduct towards them be generous, candid, and honourable: say not one thing about them while thou thinkest another. Thou seest that it was treachery to his friends that destroyed this heir. Love thy subjects even as we love thee. Prefer our worship to all other blessings. For we are thy benefactors and friends and preservers." At these words the youth became calm and showed plainly that he was already obedient in all things to the gods. "Come," said Helios, "now depart with good hope. For everywhere we shall be with thee, even I and Athene and Hermes here, and with us all the gods that are on Olympus or in the air or on earth and the whole race of gods everywhere, so long as thou art pious towards us and loyal to thy friends, and humane towards thy subjects, ruling them and guiding them to what is best. But never yield to thy own passions or become the slave of theirs. Keep the armour that thou hast brought hither, and depart, but first receive from me this torch so that even on earth a great light may shine for thee and that thou mayst not long for the things of earth. And from fair Athene here receive an
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καὶ τὸ κράνος· πολλὰ γὰρ ὅρας, ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, καὶ δίδωσιν οἷς ἂν ἔθελῃ. δῶσει δὲ σοι καὶ Ἐρμῆς Β χρυσῆν ράβδον. ἔρχου οὖν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ κοσμηθεὶς ταύτῃ διὰ πάσης μὲν γῆς, διὰ πάσης δὲ θαλάττης, ἀμετακινήτως τοὺς ἡμετέρους πειθόμενος νόμοις, καὶ μηδεὶς σὲ μὴτε ἀνδρῶν μὴτε γυναικῶν, μὴτε τῶν οἰκείων μὴτε τῶν ἔνενων ἀναπείση τῶν ἐντολῶν 1 ἐκλαθέσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἐμμένων γὰρ αὐταῖς ἡμῖν μὲν ἔση φίλος καὶ τίμως, αἰδοῖος δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμῶν ὑπηρέταις, φοβερὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπως πονηρὸς καὶ κακοδαίμονις. ἵσθι δὲ Σ σεαυτῷ τὰ σαρκία δεδοσθαί τῆς λειτουργίας εὐεκα ταυτησί. Βουλόμεθα γὰρ σοι τὴν προγονικὴν οἰκίαν αἰδοῖ τῶν προγόνων ἀποκαθήραι. 

κ. μέμνησο ὑμῖ, ὅτι τὴν πυγχὴν ἀθάνατον ἕχεις καὶ ἐκχονον ἡμετέραν, ἐπόμενος τε ἡμῖν ὅτι θεὸς ἔσῃ καὶ τὸν ἡμετέρου δῇ σὺν ἡμῖν πατέρα.

Τοῦτο εἶτε μῦθος εἶτε ἀληθής ἐστὶ λόγος οὐκ οἶδα. τὸ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεποιημένου, τίνα βούλει τὸν Πάνα, τίνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Δία, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, 2 Ο ψέμαν ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ Πάν; ὁ τοῦ γελοίου Ψευδότανος, γελοιοτέρου μὲντοι νὴ τὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ Δίος ἀνθρώπου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστων ἀτεχνῶς ἐκ μανομένου 3 στόματος οὔτε τὴν ἔνθεον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκπλητῆτον μανίαν; οὐκ οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἐσθένως ἑδωκεν ὑπὲρ τούτων τοὺς θεοὺς δίκην, 235 ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ἄν ἐπεχείρησε Ζεὺς εἶναι; τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνομασάντων

1 τῶν ἐντολῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐντολῶν MSS.
2 τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, τούτου MSS.
3 μανομένου Hertlein suggests, τοῦ μανομένου MSS.

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

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

¹ Plato, Phaedrus 244 foll.
² Odyssey 11. 235; Pindar, Pythian 4. 143; Salmoneus was destroyed by a thunder-bolt for imitating the thunder and lightning of Zeus.
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ἐαυτοὺς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὑνόμασιν, Ἡρας τε καὶ Διός, εἰ μὴ τοι καὶ νῦν ἀκήκοας, ἔχω σοι συγγωνυ-ναί. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαιδευτριβήθης καλῶς οὐδὲ ἐτυχεὶς καθηγεμόνος, ὅποιον περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐγὼ τουτοῦ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, μεθ’ ὅν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἦλθον ὑπ’ ἄνδρι τελεσθησόμενος, ὅν νενόμικα τῶν κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν πάντων διαφέρειν. Β ὦ δέ με πρὸ πάντων ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ θεοῦς ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν νομίζειν ἥγεμόνος ἐδίδασκεν. εἰ μὲν σὺ τι προύργου πεποίηκεν, αὐτὸς ἄν εἰδείη καὶ πρὸ τούτου γε οἱ βασιλεῖς θεοὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐξήρει τὸ μανιῶδες καὶ θρασύ, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτό με ποιεῖν ἐμαυτοῦ σωφρονεστερον. ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ, ὥς οἶσθα, τοῖς ἐξώθεις πλεονεκτήσας ἐπερω-μένος ὑπέταξα ὃμως ἐμαυτὸν τῷ καθηγεμόνι C καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι φίλοις καὶ ἡλικιώταις καὶ συμφοιτηταῖς, καὶ ὃν ἦκουν ἑπαυξομένων παρ’ αὐτοῦ, τούτων ἐσπευδὸν ἄκροατης εἶναι, καὶ βιβλία ταῦτα ἀνεγίγνωσκον, ὅποσα αὐτὸς δοκι-μάσειεν.

Οὕτως ἥμεις ὑφ’ ἡγεμόσι τελοῦμενοι, φιλο-σόφοι μὲν τῷ τὰ τῆς προπαίδειας μὲ τελε-σαντι, φιλοσοφωτάτῳ δὲ τῷ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας δείξαντι, σμικρὰ μὲν διὰ τᾶς ἔξωθεν ἥμων προσπεπούσας ἀσχολίας, ὃμως δ’ οὖν ἅπε- Δ λαύσαμεν τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀγωγῆς, οὗ τὴν σύντομον, ἢν σὺ φῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν κύκλω πορευθήσετε· καίτοι νῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν οἴμαι ὅτι σου συντομωτέραν ἐτραπόμην. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς,
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selves by the names of the gods, even of Hera and of Zeus, but if you have not heard of it till this moment I can excuse you for that. For you have not been well educated, nor did fate bestow on you such a guide to the poets as I had—I mean this philosopher 1 now present: and later on I arrived at the threshold of philosophy to be initiated therein by the teaching of one 2 whom I consider superior to all the men of my own time. He used to teach me to practise virtue before all else, and to regard the gods as my guides to all that is good. Now whether he accomplished anything of real profit he himself must determine, or rather the ruling gods; but at least he purged me of such infatuate folly and insolence as yours, and tried to make me more temperate than I was by nature. And though, as you know, I was armed 3 with great external advantages, nevertheless I submitted myself to my preceptor and to his friends and compeers and the philosophers of his school, and I was eager to be instructed by all whose praises I heard uttered by him, and I read all the books that he approved.

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

1 Maximus of Ephesus.
2 Iamblichus.
3 Literally "winged."
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ei μὴ φορτικῶν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς προθύροις έστηκα, σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν προθύρων εἰ πόρρω. σοι δὲ ἀρετῆς ἢ τοῖς σοῖς ἀδελφοῖς —, ἀφελῶν δὲ τὸ δύσφημον τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ παρ’ ἧμῶν αὐτὸ ἀνάσχον πρᾶσως λεγόμενον, — τὸς μετουσία; πᾶσιν ἐπιτιμᾶς αὐτὸς 236 οὐδὲν άξιον ἐπαίνου πράττον, ἐπαινεῖς φορτικῶς ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ῥητόρων, οἷς διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὑρείν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὦ, τι φῶς, ἡ Δήλος ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἡ Δητῶ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, εἴτε κύκνοι λυγρῶν ἄδοντες καὶ ἐπηχοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμώνες τε ἐνδροσοὶ μαλακῆς πόας καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις, ἢ τε ἐκ τῶν ἁνθέων ὅμη καὶ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτὸ καὶ τινὲς εἰκόνες τοιαῦται. ποῦ τούτο Ἰσοκράτης Β ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἐποίησε λόγοις; ποῦ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἁνδρῶν, οἱ ταῖς Μούσαις ἐτελοῦντο γνησίως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμαλοὶ οἱ νῦν; ἀφίημι δὲ τὰ ἔξης, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀπεχθανόμενος ἀμα τοῖς τε φαινοτάτοις τῶν Κυνικῶν καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων προσκρούσαμι; ὡς ἐμοιγε πρὸς τε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Κυνικῶν,
believe that the road I took was really a shorter road to virtue than yours. For I, at any rate, if I may say so without bad taste, am standing at the entrance, whereas you are a long way even from the entrance. “But as for virtue, you and your brethren—,” 1 omit the ill-sounding phrase and fill in the blank yourself! Or rather, if you please, bear with me when I “put it mildly” 2—“what part or lot have you in it?” You criticise everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise; your praises are in worse taste than those of the most ignorant rhetoricians. They, because they have nothing to say and cannot invent anything from the matter in hand, are always dragging in Delos and Leto with her children, and then “swans singing their shrill song and the trees that echo them,” and “dewy meadows full of soft, deep grass,” and the “scent of flowers,” and “the season of spring,” and other figures of the same sort. 3 When did Isocrates ever do this in his panegyrics? Or when did anyone of those ancient writers who were genuine votaries of the Muses, and not like the writers of to-day? However, I omit what I might add, lest I should make them also my enemies, and offend at once the most worthless Cynics and the most worthless rhetoricians. Though indeed I have nothing but friendly feelings for the really virtuous Cynics, if

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1 A direct quotation from Demosthenes, De Corona 128; the word omitted by Julian is ξύθεμα = “off-scourings,” or “outcast,” addressed by Demosthenes to Aeschines.

2 An echo of Xenophon, Anabasis 1. 5. 14.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ei tis ἅρα ἐστὶ νῦν τοιοῦτος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενναίους ῥήτοράς ἐστὶ φίλα1 πάντα. τῶν μὲν θῆ τοιοῦτων λόγων, εἰ καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπιρρεῖ· καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅσον οὕχι λέγειν ἑθέλων τις ἕκ πάνιν δαχύλους ἀντλήσειν ἀν πίθου. τῆς προ- κειμένης ἡμῶν ἀσχολίας ἔνεκεν ἀφέξομαι. μικρὰ δὲ ἐτί τῷ λόγῳ προσθέως ωσπερ ὀφλήματι τὸ ἐνδέον ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο τι τρέψομαι, ταυτηρί τῆς ξυγ- 


γραφῆν αὐτοῦ πολλῶσας.

Τῆς οὖν ἡ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εὐλάβεια περὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα, τῆς δὲ Ἡ Πλάτωνος; ποταπὸς δὲ ἦν ἐν τούτοις Ἀριστοτέλης; ἀρ' οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτὸ ἱδεῖν; ἢ τὸν μὲν Σάμων οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τὸ ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι φορείν ἐπέτρεπεν οὔτε τὸ όρκῳ χρησθαὶ προπετῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν. εἰ δὲ νῦν λέγομι, ὅτι καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπορεύθη καὶ 237 Πέρσας εἶδε καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἐπειράθη τὰ μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν ἐποπτεύσαι καὶ τελεσθῆναι παντοῖας πανταχοῦ τελετάς, ἐρῶ μὲν ἰσως ἄγνω- 


στά σοι, γνώριμα μέντοι καὶ σαφῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκονε· τὸ δ' ἔμοι δέος, ὃ 


Πρώταρχε, πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστι 


κατ' ἀνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου. 


καὶ νῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, ὅπῃ ἐκεῖνη φίλον, 


ταυτὴ προσαγορεῦω· τὴν δ' ἡδονὴν οἶδα ὡς Β 


ἔστι ποικίλον· ταῦτα ἐν Φιλήβῳ λέγεται, καὶ 


τοιαῦτα ἔτερα πάλιν ἐν Τιμαιῷ πιστεύειν γὰρ


1 φίλα Cobet, φιλικά Hertlein, MSS.


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indeed there be any such nowadays, and also for all honest rhetoricians. But though a vast number of illustrations of this sort flow into my mind—for anyone who desired to use them could certainly draw from an ample jar—\(^1\) I shall refrain because of the present pressure of business. However I have still somewhat to add to my discourse, like the balance of a debt, and before I turn to other matters let me complete this treatise.

I ask you then what reverence for the names of the gods was shown by the Pythagoreans and by Plato? What was Aristotle’s attitude in these matters? Is it not worth while to pay attention to this? Or surely no one will deny that he of Samos\(^2\) was reverent? For he did not even allow the names of the gods to be used on a seal, nor oaths to be rashly uttered in the names of the gods. And if I should go on to say that he also travelled to Egypt and visited Persia, and everywhere endeavoured to be admitted to the inner mysteries of the gods and everywhere to be initiated into every kind of rite, I shall be saying what is familiar and obvious to most people, though you may not have heard of it. However, listen to what Plato says: “But for my part, Protarchus, I feel a more than human awe, indeed a fear beyond expression, of the names of the gods. Now therefore I will address Aphrodite by whatever name pleases her best; though as for pleasure, I know that it has many forms.” This is what he says in the Philebus\(^3\) and he says the same sort of thing again in the Timaeus.\(^4\) For he says that we

\(^1\) A proverb for wealth; cf. Theocritus 10. 13.

\(^2\) Pythagoras.

\(^3\) Philebus 12 c.

\(^4\) Timaeus 40 d; Julian fails to see that Plato is not speaking seriously.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἀπλῶς ἄξιοι καὶ χωρίς ἀποδείξεως λεγομένοις, ὦσα ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν φασίν οἱ ποιηταί. ταῦτα δὲ παρέθηκα, μή ποτὲ σοι παράσχῃ πρόφασιν, ὥσπερ οἴμαι τῶν Πλάτωνίκων πολλῶν, ὁ Σωκράτης εἶρων ὅτι φύσει τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἀτιμάσαι δόξαν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐχ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ὁ Τίμαιος ταῦτα ζητεῖ ἢ καὶ ἢ γέ μὲ ἐστὶν οὐχ ὑγιὲς μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγωντας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται. Βούλει δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πάνωφον ὑπαγορεύσω σειρήνα, τὸν τοῦ λογίου τύπον Ἐρμοῦ, τὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς Μουσάσις φίλου; ἐκεῖνος ἄξιοι τοὺς ἐπερωτῶντας ἢ ζητεῖν ὅλως ἐπιχειρεύοντας, εἰ θεόι εἰσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀποκρίσεως τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ θηρία κολάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἄνεγνω-κεις τὸν συστατικὸν 2 αὐτοῦ λόγον, δς ὁσπερ τής Πλάτωνος, οὕτω δὴ 3 καὶ τής ἐκείνου διατριβής προνόγραμμα, ἐγών δὲ πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι καὶ μεμνημένοι πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τετελέσθαι τὰς ἀγιωτάτας τελετὰς καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων ἥχαι τοῖς εἴσω τοῦ περιπάτου βαδίζονσι προηγόρευτο. 4

Σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἤμιν μὴ τὸν Διογένη προβαλὼν 238 ὥσπερ τι μορμολυκεῖν ἐκφοβήσεις. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἐμυθῆ, φασίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν προτερπομένον μνημῆαι, Γελοῦν, εἶπεν, ὦ νεανίσκε, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τελώνας οἶες ταύτης ἐπεκα τῆς τελετῆς κοινωνήσεως τοῖς ὀσίοις τῶν ἐν ἄδου καλῶν, Ἀγισίλαιον

1 δὴ Cobet adds, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 συστατικὸν Cobet, ἀστατικὸν V, Hertlein, ἐνστατικὸν Reiske, εὐστατικὸν Spanheim. 3 δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
4 προηγόρευτο Cobet, προηγόρευστο Hertlein, MSS.
5 ἐκφοβήσεις Cobet, ἐκφοβήσεις Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

¹ Aristotle.


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dὲ καὶ Ἕπαμεινώνδαν ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ κείσεσθαι. τούτο, ὥ νεανίσκε, βαθὺ λίαν ἐστὶ καὶ δεόμενον ἐξηγήσεως, ως ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μειξονός, ὁποίας Ἡ ἡμῖν αὐταί δοίεν αἴ θεαὶ τήν ἐπίνοιαν νομίζω δὲ αὐτήν ἱδη καὶ δεδόσθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ Διογένης οὖχ, ὥσπερ ύμεῖς ἄξιοντε, δυσσεβής, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι, δὲν μικρὸ πρόσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, προσόμοιον. ἀπι- δῶν γὰρ εἰς τήν περίστασιν τήν καταλαβοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, εἶτα εἰς τὰς ἐντολὰς βλέπων τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ συνείς ᾧ τὸν μυούμενον ἑχρῆν πολιτο- γραφήθηναί πρότερον καὶ Ἀθηναίον, εἰ καὶ μὴ C φύσει, τῷ νόμῳ γε γενέσθαι, τούτῳ ἐφυγεν, οὐ τὸ μυηθῆναι, νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου πολι- την, καὶ ταῖς ὀλίσθως τῶν θεῶν ὀψίας, αἰ τὸν ὄλου κοινή κόσμου ἐπιτροπεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ταῖς τὰ μέρη κατανειμαμέναις αὐτοῦ, διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἄξιων συμπολιτεύεσθαι· τὸ τε νόμιμον οὐ παρέβη αἴδοι τῶν θεῶν, καίτοι τάλλα πατῶν καὶ παρα- χαράττων· αὐτῶν τε οὐκ ἐπανήγαγεν, οὗτον D ἄσμενος ἢλευθέρωτο. τί δ' ἦν τοῦτο; τὸ πόλεως μᾶς δουλεύσαι νόμως εαυτὸν τε ὑποθείναι τούτῳ, ὅπερ ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν Ἀθηναίῳ γενομένῳ. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκεν εἰς Ὄλυμπιάν βαδίζων, ὁ τῷ Πυθίῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὥσπερ Σωκράτης· φησὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πυθιον οἴκοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, οὗτον αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὀρμη

1 ὁπολας Hertlein suggests, ὁπος MSS.
2 συνείς Hertlein suggests, συνείς MSS.

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Epameinondas are doomed to lie in the mire."¹ Now this, my young friend, is a very hard saying and, I am persuaded, calls for more profound discussion. May the goddesses themselves grant us understanding thereof! Though indeed I think that has already been bestowed by them. For it is evident that Diogenes was not impious, as you aver, but resembled those philosophers whom I mentioned a moment ago. For having regard to the circumstances in which his lot was cast, and next paying heed to the commands of the Pythian god, and knowing that the candidate for initiation must first be registered as an Athenian citizen, and if he be not an Athenian by birth must first become one by law, it was this he avoided, not initiation, because he considered that he was a citizen of the world; and moreover such was the greatness of his soul that he thought he ought to associate himself with the divine nature of all the gods who in common govern the whole universe, and not only with those whose functions are limited to certain portions of it. And out of reverence for the gods he did not transgress their laws, though he trampled on all other opinions and tried to give a new stamp to the common currency. And he did not return to that servitude from which he had joyfully been released. What servitude do I mean? I mean that he would not enslave himself to the laws of a single city and submit himself to all that must needs befall one who had become an Athenian citizen. For is it likely that a man who in order to honour the gods journeyed to Olympia, and like Socrates embraced philosophy in obedience to the Pythian oracle,—for

¹ Diogenes Laertius 6. 39.
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πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο· παριέναι τῶν ἀνακτο- 239
ρων εἶσο καὶ μᾶλα ἀσμένως, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἑξέκλινε
τὸ ὑποθεῖναι νόμοις ἐαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον ἀποφήναι
πολτείας; ἀλλὰ διὰ τί μὴ ταύτην αὐτὴν ἐἴπε τῇ
αἰτίαν, ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων δὲ τὴν παραιρουμένην οὐ
σμικρὰ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σεμνότητος; ἵσως μὲν
ἀν τις τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Πυθαγόρα μάλιστα ἐπισκῆ-
ψειεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λογιζόμενος. οὕτε γὰρ ῥητέον
πάντα ἐστίν, αὐτῶν τε οἴμαι τούτων, δυν θέμις
φάναι, ἕνα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σιωπητέον εἶναι
μοι φαίνεται. φανερὰ δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἡ Β
αἰτία. κατανοήσας γὰρ ἀμελοῦντα μὲν τῆς περὶ
tοῦν βίου ὀρθότητος, ἑπὶ δὲ τῷ μεμνήσθαι μέγα
φρονοῦντα τὸν παραινοῦντα αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα, σω-
φρονίζων ἀμα καὶ διδάσκων αὐτῶν, ὅτι τοῖς 2 μὲν,
οῖς ἀξίως τοῦ μυθῆναι βεβλώτως, καὶ μὴ μυθ-
θείσων οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀκραίους φυλάττουσι, C
τοῖς δὲ μοχθηροῖς οὐδὲν ἔστι πλέον, καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν
ιερῶν εἰσφέροντες περιβόλων. ἢ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα
καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης προαγορεύει, ὅστις χειρὰ μὴ
cαθαρὸς καὶ ὑπνια μὴ χρή, τούτως ἀπαγορεῦων
μὴ μυθείσαι;

Τὶ πέρας ἢμῖν ἔσται τῶν λόγων, εἰ ταῦτα μῆπω
σε πείθει;

1 μέγα φρονοῦντα Cobet, μεγαλοφρονοῦντα Hertlein, MSS,
2 τοῖς Naber, τούτως Hertlein, MSS.

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TO THE CYNIC HÉRACLEIOS

he says himself that at home and in private he received the commands of that oracle and hence came his impulse to philosophy¹—is it likely I say that such a man would not very gladly have entered the temples of the gods but for the fact that he was trying to avoid submitting himself to any set of laws and making himself the slave of any one constitution? But why, you will say, did he not assign this reason, but on the contrary a reason that detracted not a little from the dignity of the Mysteries? Perhaps one might bring this same reproach against Pythagoras as well, but the reasoning would be incorrect. For everything ought not to be told, nay more, even of those things that we are permitted to declare, some, it seems to me, we ought to refrain from uttering to the vulgar crowd.² However the explanation in this case is obvious. For since he perceived that the man who exhorted him to be initiated neglected to regulate his own life aright, though he prided himself on having been initiated, Diogenes wished at the same time to reform his morals and to teach him that the gods reserve their rewards without stint for those whose lives have earned them the right to be initiated, even though they have not gone through the ceremony, whereas the wicked gain nothing by penetrating within the sacred precincts. For this is what the hierophant proclaims, when he refuses the rite of initiation to him "whose hands are not pure or who for any reason ought not!"³

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

¹ Diogenes like Socrates claimed that he had a δαιμόνιον, a private revelation to guide his conduct; cf. 212 D.
² Cf. Oration 4. 148 a, note.
³ This was the πρὸφρησις or praefatio sacrorum; cf. Livy 45. 5.
ORATION VIII
INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VIII

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

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

¹ cf. vol. i. p. 351.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΕΠΙ ΤΗΙ ΕΞΟΔΙ ΤΟΤ ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΤΟΤ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΤ
ΠΑΡΑΜΤΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΤΤΟΝ

'Αλλ' εί μή καί πρός σε διαλεξθείν όσα πρός
ἐμαυτόν διελέξθην, ἐπειδή σε βαδίζειν ἐπιθύμην
χρήναι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἔπειταν ἐχεῖν οἷςομαί πρὸς
παραψυχήν, ὡς φίλε ἔταϊρε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν
ἀρχὴν πεπορίσθαι τινὰ ῥαστῶν ἐμαυτῷ νομιῶ,
ὡς σοί γε οὐ μεταδέδωκα. κοινωνήσαντας γὰρ Β
ἡμᾶς ἄλληλοις πολλῶν μὲν ἀλγεινῶν, πολλῶν
δὲ ἡδέων ἐργῶν τε καὶ λόγων, ἐν πράγμασιν ιδίους
tε καὶ δημοσίους, οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου,
κοινὸν1 εὐρίσκεσθαι χρή τῶν παρόντων, ὅποιά
ποτ' ἄν ἦ, παίωνιον ἀκος. ἀλλὰ τίς ἄν ἡμῖν ἢ
τὴν Ὀρφέως μυμήσαιτο2 λύραν ἢ τοῖς Σειρήνων
ἀντηχῆσει3 μέλεσιν ἢ τὸ πηπενθῆς ἔξεροι
φάρμακον; εἴτε λόγοι ἢν ἐκεῖνο πλήρης Αἰ-
γυπτίων διηγημάτων, εἰθ' ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν,
ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐνυφήνας τὰ Τρωικὰ πάθῃ,
C
tούτο τῆς 'Ελένης παρ' Ἀἰγυπτίων μαθοῦσις, οὐχ
ὅσα 'Ελληνες καὶ Τρώες ἄλληλους ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ
ποταποὺς εἶναι χρῆ τοὺς λόγους, οὐ τὰς μὲν

1 κοινὸν Wright, καὶ κοινὸν Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἂν—μυμήσαιτο Hertlein suggests, μυμήσαι MSS.
3 ἀντηχῆσει Hertlein suggests, ἀντηχῆσει MSS.
A CONSOLATION TO HIMSELF
UPON THE DEPARTURE OF
THE EXCELLENT SALLUST

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

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

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

ἀλγηδόνας ἀφαιρήσουσι τῶν ψυχῶν, εὐφροσύνης
dὲ καὶ γαλήνης αἰτεῖ καταστήσονται. καὶ γὰρ
πῶς ἔοικεν ἧδονὴ καὶ λύπη τῆς αὐτῆς κορυφῆς
ἐξῆθαι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἄλληλας ἀντιμεθι-
στασθαι. τῶν προσπιττότων δὲ καὶ τὰ ἱλιὰν
ἐργώδη φασίν οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν νοών ἔχοντι φέρειν
οὓς ἐλάττωνα τῆς δυσκολίας τὴν εὐπάθειαν, ἐπεὶ
καὶ τὴν μέλιτταν ἐκ τῆς δριμυτάτης πόρας τῆς
περὶ τῶν Τμηττόν φυσικῆς γλυκείαν ἀνιμᾶσθαι
dρόσον καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος εἶναι δημιουργόν.
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὡσα μὲν ὑγειεῖα καὶ ἰσωμαλέα
καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται σιτίων, Β
καὶ τὰ δυσχερὰ δοκοῦντα πολλάκις ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ
ἀβλαβή μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἱσχύος αἰτία
γέγονεν ὡς οὖν δὲ πονηρῶς ἔχει φύσει καὶ τροφὴ
cαὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ σώμα, τὸν πάντα βίον νοση-
λευκόντω, τούτοις καὶ τὰ κοινότατα συρυτάτας
eἰσθενεῖ προστιθέναι βλάβας. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς δια-
νοίας ὁσοὶ μὲν οὗτος ἐπεμελήθησαν, ὡς μὴ
παμπονηρῆς ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὑγιαίνεις μετρίως, εἰ
καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν 'Αντισθένους καὶ Σωκράτους
ῥώμην μὴ δὲ τὴν Καλλισθένους ἀνδρεῖαν μηδὲ ὁ
tὴν Πολέμωνος ἐπάθειαν, ἀλλ' ὅστε δύνασθαι
tὸ μέτριον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἴρεισθαι, τυχὸν ἄν
καὶ ἐν δυσκολίτεροις εὐφραίνοιτο.

'Εγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς πείραν ἐμαυτοῦ λαμβάνων,
ὅπως πρὸς τὴν σήν πορείαν ἔχω τε καὶ ἔχω,
tοσοῦτον ὀδυνήθην, ὡσον ὅτε πρῶτον τὸν ἐμαυτὸν
καθηγμένα κατέλησον οἴκοι. τὰντὸν γὰρ ἀθρόως
eἰσῆι μὲ μνήμη, τῆς τῶν πόνων κοιμώνος, δὴ
ἄλλοις συνδιηνέγκαμεν, τῆς ἀπλάστου καὶ

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they must be that will dispel the griefs of men's souls and have power to restore cheerfulness and calm. For pleasure and pain, methinks, are connected at their source and succeed each other in turn. And philosophers assert that in all that befalls the wise man the very greatest trials afford him as much felicity as vexation; and thus, as they say, does the bee extract sweet dew from the bitterest herb that grows on Hymettus and works it into honey. Even so bodies that are naturally healthy and robust are nourished by any kind of food, and food that often seems unwholesome for others, far from injuring them, makes them strong. On the other hand, the slightest causes usually inflict very serious injuries on persons who by nature or nurture, or owing to their habits, have an unsound constitution and are lifelong invalids. Just so with regard to the mind: those who have so trained it that it is not altogether unhealthy but moderately sound, though it do not indeed exhibit the vigour of Antisthenes or Socrates, or the courage of Callisthenes, or the imperturbability of Polemon, but so that it can under the same conditions as theirs adopt the golden mean, they, I say, will probably be able to remain cheerful in more trying conditions.

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

1 Plato, Phaedo 60 b. 2 Cf. Oration 2. 101 a. 3 Mardonius.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

καθαρᾶς ἐντεῦξεως, τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ δικαίας ὁμολογίας, τῆς ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς καλοῖς κοινοπραγίας, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἱσορροπίας, καὶ ἀμεταμελήτου προθυμίας, τῆς ὑμᾶς ἔστημες πολλάκις ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοντες, ὑμῶν καὶ ποθευόντων φίλοι. πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰσήγητε μὲν ὑμῖν τὸν Ὀλυμπίῳ ὁ Ὀδυσσέας· εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκεῖνος παραπλήσιος, ἐπει δὲ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Ἐκτόρα θεοῦ ἐξῆγαγεν ἐξω βελῶν, ὅπερ οἱ συνκοφάνται πολλάκις ἀφήκαν εἰς σέ, 242 μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἐμὲ, διὰ σοῦ τρώσαι βουλόμενοι, ταύτῃ μὲ μόνον ἀλώσιμον ὑπολαμβάνουτε, εἰ τοῦ πιστοῦ φίλου καὶ προθύμου συνασπιστοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀπροφασιστοῦ κοινονοῦ τῆς συνοπσίας στερήσειαν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαττον οἷμαι σε διὰ τοῦτο ἄλγειν ἢ ἑγὼ νῦν, ὅτι σοι τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἐλαττὸν μέτεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλέον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δεδείναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς, μὴ τι πάθη. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἑδὲμην τὰ σά, καὶ σοῦ δὲ ὑμῶν ἑχοντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἰστομὴν. ὅθεν εἰκότως καὶ μᾶλα δᾶκνομαι, ὅτι σοι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεκα λέγειν δυναμένοι

Οὐδὲν μέλει μου· τὰμά γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει,
Μόνος εἰμὶ λύπης αἰτίος καὶ φροντίδος. 1

ἀλλὰ τούτων μεν ἐξ ἰσης, ὃς ἐοικε, κοινονοῦμεν, σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἤμων ἀλγῶν μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀεὶ ποθῶν τὴν σαν συνοπσίαν καὶ τῆς φίλας μεμημένος, ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγομένως,

1 μόνος—φροντίδος Brambe regards as a verse; Hertlein prints as prose.
TO SALLUST

our co-operation in all that was good; our equally-matched and never-repented zeal and eagerness in opposing evildoers. How often we supported each other with one equal temper! 1 How alike were our ways! How precious our friendship! Then too there came into my mind the words, “Then was Odysseus left alone.” 2 For now I am indeed like him, since the god has removed you, like Hector, 3 beyond the range of the shafts which have so often been aimed at you by sycophants, or rather at me, since they desired to wound me through you; for they thought that only thus should I be vulnerable if they should deprive me of the society of a faithful friend and devoted brother-in-arms—one who never on any pretext failed to share the dangers that threatened me. Moreover the fact that you now have a smaller share than I in such labours and dangers does not, I think, make your grief less than mine; but you feel all the more anxiety for me and any harm that may befall my person. 4 For even as I never set your interests second to mine, so have I ever found you equally well disposed towards me. I am therefore naturally much chagrined that to you who with regard to all others can say, “I heed them not, for my affairs are prosperous,” 5 I alone occasion sorrow and anxiety. However this sorrow it seems we share equally, though you grieve only on my account, while I constantly feel the lack of your society and call to mind the friendship that we pledged to one another—that friendship which we ever cemented afresh, based as it was, first and foremost, on virtue,

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

ἐπείτα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἤν ἐγὼ μὲν σοί, σὺ δὲ ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς παρέσχες, ἀνακραθήντες ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογήσαμεν, οὐχ ὅρκοις οὐδὲ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις ταῦτα πιστούμενοι, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεοὶ καὶ ὁ Πειρίθους, ἀλλ’ ἕξ ὁν ἄει ταῦτα νοοῦντες καὶ προαιρούμενοι κακῶν μὲν δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν τινι τοσοῦτον δεῶ λέγειν ἀπέσχομεν, ὡστε οὐδὲ ἐβουλευσάμεθά ποτε μετὰ ἀλλήλων χρήστον δὲ εἰ τι γέγονεν ἢ βεβούλευται κοινὴ παρ’ ἡμῶν, τούτῳ ἄλλοις εἴπειν μελῆσει.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ἂλγῳ τοῖς παρούσιν, οὐ φίλου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργοῦ πιστοῦ, δοίη δὲ ὁ 243 δαίμων, καὶ πρὸς ὅλων ἄπαλλαττόμενος, οὐμαι καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἁρετής κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἔμοι γε συνομολογήσειν ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι γνωρίζομεν, λέγω δὲ τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι Χαλεπώτερον ἐφαίνετο μοι ὀρθῶς τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικεῖν ὀυτε γὰρ ἄνευ φίλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐταῖρων πιστῶν ἀλλ’ ἐν πολλῇ ῥαστώνῃ. καίτοι τούτο γε ἐν Πλάτωνι μείζων ἐφαίνετο τοῦ διορύθετο τὸν Ἀθω, τὸ Β χρῆ προσδοκάν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλέον ἀπολειπόμενους τῆς ἐκείνου συνέσεως τε καὶ γνώμης ἢ ‘κείνος τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς χρείας μόνον ἐνεκα, ἢν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς τῇ πολιτείᾳ ῥάον εἰχομεν πρὸς τὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀντιταττομένων ἡμῖν πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μόνης ἀεὶ μοι θαλπώρης τε

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

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

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

¹ Julian quotes from memory and paraphrases Epistle 7. 325 c.
² This feat of Xerxes became a rhetorical commonplace.
καὶ τέρψεως ἐνδεχὴς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι θέλλων, εἰκότως δὰ καὶ δέσημαι τὴν ἐμαντοῦ καρδιάν. ἂς τίνα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται μοι λοιπὸν εὑνοῦν ἀποβλέψαι φίλον; τίνος δὲ ἀνασχέσθαι τῆς ἁδόλου καὶ καθαρᾶς παρρησίας; τίς δὲ ἦμιν συμβουλεύσει μὲν ἐμφρόνως, ἑπιτιμήσει δὲ μετ᾽ εὐνοίας, ἑπιρρώσει δὲ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ χαρις αὐθαδείας καὶ τύφου, παρρησιάσεται δὲ τὸ πικρὸν ἀφελῶν τῶν λόγων, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν φαρμάκων ἄφαιροντες μὲν τὸ λίαν δυσχέρες, ἀπολείποντες δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χρήσιμον; ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς φιλίας ἀφελὸς ἐκαρπωσάμην. τοσοῦτων δὲ ὀμοῦ ἑστερημένος, τίνων ἄν εὐπορήσαιμι λόγων, ὅμε, διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον σὰ τε μῆδεα σὴν τε ἄγανοφροσύνην αὐτὴν προέσθαι τὴν ψυχήν κινδυνεύοντα, πείσουσιν ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ φέρειν ὅσα δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενναῖως; εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ ζοίκεν αὐτῷ νοῦν ὁ μέγας 244 αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω νυνὶ βουλεύσασθαι. τὸ ποτὲ οὐν ἄρα χρῆ διανοηθέντα καὶ τίνας ἐπιφάς εὑρόντα πεῖσαι πρᾶσις ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θυρυβομένην τὴν ψυχήν; ἄρα ἦμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλξιδοι εἰσὶ μιμητέοι λόγου, λέγω δὲ τὰς ἐκ Θράκης ἐπιφάς, ἦς Ἀθήναξέ φέρον ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ὁδύνην ἱάσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπάδεων ἦξιον τῷ καλῷ Χαρμώδῃ; ὥτοὺς μὲν ἄτε δὴ μειξόνας καὶ περὶ μειξόνων οὐ κινητέον, ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ.
been my only solace and delight, it is natural that I am and have been cut to the very heart.\textsuperscript{1} For in the future to what friend can I turn as loyal as yourself? With whose guileless and pure frankness shall I now brace myself? Who now will give me prudent counsel, reprove me with affection, give me strength for good deeds without arrogance and conceit, and use frankness after extracting the bitterness from the words, like those who from medicines extract what is nauseating but leave in what is really beneficial?\textsuperscript{2} These are the advantages that I reaped from your friendship! And now that I have been deprived of all these all at once, with what arguments shall I supply myself, so that when I am in danger of flinging away my life out of regret for you and your counsels and loving kindness,\textsuperscript{3} they may persuade me to be calm and to bear nobly whatever God has sent?\textsuperscript{4} For in accordance with the will of God our mighty Emperor has surely planned this as all else. Then what now must be my thoughts, what spells must I find to persuade my soul to bear tranquilly the trouble with which it is now dismayed? Shall I imitate the discourses of Zamolxis\textsuperscript{5}—I mean those Thracian spells which Socrates brought to Athens and declared that he must utter them over the fair Charmides before he could cure him of his headache?\textsuperscript{6} Or must we leave these alone as being, like large machinery in a small theatre, too lofty for

\textsuperscript{1} Aristophanes, Acharnians 1; cf. 248 D.
\textsuperscript{2} A commonplace; Plato, Laws 659 E; Julian, Caesars 314 C; Dio Chrysostom 33. 10; Themistius 63 B, 302 B; Maximus of Tyre 10. 6.
\textsuperscript{3} Odyssey 11. 202.
\textsuperscript{4} Demosthenes, De Corona 97; cf. Julian, Epistle 53. 439 D.
\textsuperscript{5} Cf. Caesars 309 C note.
\textsuperscript{6} Plato, Charmides 156 D.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

μικρῷ μηχανᾶς μεγάλας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθέν Β' ἔργων, ὃν ἐπυθόμεθα τὰ κλέα, φησίν ὁ ποιητής, ὥσπερ ἐκ λειμώνος δρεψάμενοι ποικίλου καὶ πολυειδοῦς ἀνθή τὰ κάλλιστα ψυχαγωγήσομεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς διηγήμασι, μικρὰ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες: ὥσπερ γὰρ οἷς τοῖς λίαν γύλικέσιν οἱ παρεγχέοντες οὐκ οἴδ᾽ ὅποι᾽ ἄττα φάρμακα τὸ προσκορές αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦσιν, οὕτω τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔννοι προστιθέμενα τὸ δοκεῖν ἑξ ἱστορίας ἄρχαίας ὕψων ἐπεισάγειν. Οὔτω δὲν δέον, καὶ περιττὴν ἀδολεσχίαν ἀφαιρεῖται.

Τί πρῶτον; τί δὲ ἔπειτα; τί δ᾽ ὦστάτιον καταλέξω;

πότερον ώς ὁ Σκηπτίων ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῶν Δαίλων ἀγαπήσας καὶ φιληθεῖς τὸ λεγόμενον ἵσσῳ ἱππότι παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν, ἵδεως μὲν αὐτῷ συνήν, ἐπραττε δὲ οὐδὲν, ὅτι μὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖνος πύθοιτο καὶ φήσεις εἶναι πρακτέοις; δὴν οἷμαι καὶ λόγον παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπὸ φθόνον τῶν Σκηπτίωνα λοιδοροῦσιν, ως ποιητὴς μὲν ὁ Δαίλως εἰη τῶν ἔργων, Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ ὁ τούτων υποκριτής. αὐτὴ τοι καὶ ἕμων ἡ φήμη πρόσκειται, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχεραίνων 2 χαίρω δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πλέον. τὸ γὰρ τοῖς ὀρθῶς υπ' ἀλλού γνωσθέατο πειθήναι μείζονος ἀρετῆς 3 ὁ Ζήνων ποιεῖται γνώρισμα τοῦ γνώναι 245 τιμα ἐν αὐτῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ δέοντα, τὴν Ἡσιώδαν μεθαρμότων ρήσων,

Οὔτος μὲν πανάριστος, δὲ εὐ διόντι πιθηται

1 κυλουλοῦς Cobet, κυλουλοῦς Hertlein, MSS.
2 οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχεραίνων χαίρω δὲ Hertlein suggests, cf. 37 β, 255 δ.; καὶ χαίρω γε MSS.
3 ἄρετῆς Hertlein suggests, τὴς ἄρετῆς MSS.

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

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

1 Iliad 9. 524.  2 Odyssey 9. 14.  3 Theocritus 12. 15.  4 Hesiod, Works and Days 293, 295 ὅσον οὐν ἐπιστήμην γίνεται ; Diogenes Laertius 7. 25.
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λέγων ἀντὶ τοῦ νοῆση πάνθ’ ἐαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο χαρίεν εἶναι δοκεῖ· πείθομαι γὰρ ἄληθέστερον μὲν Ἡσίοδον λέγειν, ἀμφῶν δὲ ἄμεινον Πυθαγόραν, δι’ καὶ τὴν παροιμία παρέσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἔδωκε τῷ βίῳ, οὐ δὴπο τὰ χρήματα λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως κοινωνίαν, ὡς ὁσ’ ὑσα μὲν εὗρες αὐτὸς, οὐδὲν ἐλαττὸν ταῦτα τοῦ πεισθέντος ἐστίν, ὡς δὲ τῶν σῶν ὑπεκριμάθην, τούτων αὐτῶν εἰκότως τὸ ἱσον μετέχεις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁποτέρου μᾶλλον ἄν φαινήται, καὶ θατέρῳ προσήκει, καὶ τοῖς βασκάνοις οὐδὲν ἔσται πλέον ἐκ τῶν λόγων.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄφρικανῶν καὶ τῶν Λαῖλων. ἐπειδή γὰρ ἀνήρητο μὲν Ἡ Καρχηδών καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Διβύνην ἄπαυτα τῆς Ῥώμης έγεγόνει δοῦλα, πέμπτε μὲν Ἄφρικανὸς τῶν Λαῖλων ἀνήρετο δὲ ἐκείνως ευαγγέλια τῇ πατρίδι φέρων· καὶ ὁ Σκητόν ήχθητο μὲν ἀπολειπόμενος τοῦ φίλου, οὐ μὴν ἀπαραμίθητον αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος ἀβετο. καὶ τῶν Λαῖλων δὲ δυσχεραινεῖν εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἀνήρετο, οὐ μὴν ἀφορητον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συμφοραί. ἔπλει καὶ Κάτων ἀπολλωνίων οἰκοι τοὺς αὐτοῦ συνήθεις, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Ρόδων καὶ Δημόκριτας οὐδένα παραλαβόντες κοινωνίαν τῆς ὁδοῦ, καίτοι πολλῶν οἰκοι τῶν φιλτάτων δέν ἀπολιμπάνουτες. ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ Περικλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμον οὐκ ἄγων τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ τὴν Ἐὐθείαν παρεστήσατο ταῖς μὲν ἐκείνων θουλαίς, ἐπεπαίδευσε γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐκείνῳ, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὐκ εἰβελ-
κόμενος ὅπερ ἀλλ’ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὰς 246

1 καὶ θατέρῳ Hertlein suggests, θατέρῳ MSS.

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

Let me go back now to Africanus and Laelius. When Carthage had been destroyed ² and all Libya made subject to Rome, Africanus sent Laelius home and he embarked to carry the good news to their fatherland. And Scipio was grieved at the separation from his friend, but he did not think his sorrow inconsolable. Laelius too was probably afflicted at having to embark alone, but he did not regard it as an insupportable calamity. Cato also made a voyage and left his intimate friends at home, and so did Pythagoras and Plato and Democritus, and they took with them no companion on their travels, though they left behind them at home many whom they dearly loved. Pericles also set out on his campaign against Samos without taking Anaxagoras, and he conquered Euboea by following the latter's advice, for he had been trained by his teaching: but the philosopher himself he did not drag in his train as though he were part of the

¹ Diogenes Laertius 8. 10; Pythagoras persuaded his disciples to share their property in common. ² Cf. Livy 27. 7.
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μάχας. καίτοι καὶ τούτον ἄκοντα, φασίν, Ὅθηναιοι
tῆς πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀπέστησαν συνουσίας.
ἀλλ’ ἐφερεν ὡς ἀνήρ ἐμφρων ὧν ἡνικαν τῶν
αὐτῶν πολιτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πρᾶς, καὶ γὰρ
ἀνάγκη τῇ πατρίδι καθάπερ μητρὶ δικαίως μὲν οὐ,
χαλεπῶς δὲ ὅμως ἔχοσῃ πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν
αὐτῶν, εἰκειν φέτος χρῆναι, ταῦτα, ὡς εἰκὸς,
λογιζόμενος· ἀκούειν δὲ χρῆ τῶν ἔξης ὡς τοῦ
Περικλέους αὐτοῦ. Ἑμοὶ πόλεις μὲν ἔστι καὶ
πατρὶς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φίλου θεοί καὶ δαίμονες
καὶ πάντες ὁσοὶ καὶ ὅποιοι ἀπουδαίοι. χρῆ
Β δὲ καὶ τῇ ὁν̃ γεγοναμεν τιμαν, ἐπειδὴ τούτῳ
θεῖος ἐστὶ νόμος, καὶ πείθεσθαι γε οῖς ἀν ἐπιτάττη
καὶ μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ, ὁ φεσιν ἡ παρομια,
πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν· ἀπαραίτητον γάρ ἐστὶ
tὸ λεγόμενον ἐκγονὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης. οὐ μὴν ὃδυτέον
οὐδὲ θρηνητέον ἐφ’ οἰς ἐπιτάττει τραχύτερον,
ἀλλὰ τὸ πράγμα λογιστέον αὐτὸ. νῦν ἀπαλάτ-
tεσθαι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ἄφ’ ἡμῶν κελεύει, καὶ
C τὸν ἀριστον οὐκ ὀψόμεθα τῶν ἐταίρων, δι’ ὅν
ὧθομην μὲν τῇ νυκτὶ, ὅτι μοι τὸν φίλον οὐκ
ἐδέικνυεν, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ χάριν ἡπιστάμην,
ὅτι μοι παρεῖχεν ὅραν οὐ μάλιστα ἦρων. ἀλλ’
ei μὲν ὀμοτά σοι δέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὁ Περικλεῖς,
μόνον ὡσπερ τοῖς θηρίοις, οὐδὲν ἀπεικόσ ἔστι
σε διαφερόντως ἀχθεσθαί· εἰ δὲ σοι ψυχὴν ἐνέ-

1 ᾿Αν Hertlein would add.
2 ὅπου Cobet, ὅπου Hertlein, MSS.
3 τὴν ὁν̃ οὗ Hertlein suggests, ὁ MSS.
4 θηρίοις Cobet, ὅπους Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

\(^1\) Cobet rejects this sentence as a gloss; but Julian perhaps echoes Plato, \textit{Menexenus} 246\,c.

\(^2\) This a very inappropriate application to Pericles of the speech of Critoboulos in Xenophon, \textit{Symposium} 4. 12; cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 49.
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πνευσε καὶ νοῦν ἐνήκεν, ύφ' οὗ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ περ οὐ παρόντα νῦν ὅρας διὰ τῆς μνήμης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ὁ λογισμὸς ἀνευρίσκοις ὃσπερ ὄμμασιν ὅραν προσβάλλει τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων οὖ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ὦμμάτων ἢ φαντασία μόνον ἀποτυπουμένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κρίνεσθαι καὶ καθορᾶν, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πόρρω καὶ μυριάς σταδίων ἀποκισμένα τῶν γεγομένων παρὰ πόδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 247 δεῖκνυσιν ἐναργέστερον, τί χρή τοσοῦτον ἀνιάσθαι καὶ σχετλῶς φέρειν; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ μοι,

Νοῦς ὄρῃ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει
φησίν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὕτως ἡχὺ χρῆμα καὶ τάχει χρώμενον ἀμηχάνω, ὥσθ' ὅταν τινὰ τῶν δαμόνων Ὄμηρος ἔθελη κεχρημένον ἀπίστω πορείας ἐπι-
δείξαι τάχει,

'Ως ὃ ὅτ' ἂν αἴξῃ νῦος ἄνερος

φησίν. τούτῳ τοι χρώμενος ῥάστα μὲν Ἀθήνηθεν Β ὤψιν τὸν ἐν Ἰωνία, ῥάστα δὲ ἐκ Κελτῶν τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Ἐράκηρ, καὶ τὸν ἐν Κελτοῖς ἐκ Ἐράκης καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν. καὶ γὰρ ὡδ', ὃσπερ τοῖς φυτοῖς οὐκ ἔνει σώζονται τὴν συνήθει χώραν μετα-
βάλλουσιν, ὅταν ἡ τῶν ὀρῶν ἡ κράσις ἑναντία, καὶ τοῖς ἄνθρώποις συμβαίνει τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεταβάλλουσιν ἡ διαφθείρεσθαι παντελῶς ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἀμέβειν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι περὶ ὄν ὦρθος πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεσαι, οὐκουν οὐδὲ τὴν εὐνοοιαν Ὁ 
ἀμβλυτέραν ἔχειν εἰκός, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν

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breathed into you a soul, and implanted in you intelligence by means of which you now behold in memory many past events, though they are no longer before you: and further since your reasoning power discovers many future events and reveals them as it were to the eyes of your mind; and again your imagination sketches for you not only those present events which are going on under your eyes and allows you to judge and survey them, but also reveals to you things at a distance and many thousand stades\(^1\) removed more clearly than what is going on at your feet and before your eyes, what need is there for such grief and resentment? And to show that I have authority for what I say, 'The mind sees and the mind hears,' says the Sicilian;\(^2\) and mind is a thing so acute and endowed with such amazing speed that when Homer wishes to show us one of the gods employing incredible speed in travelling he says: 'As when the mind of a man darts swiftly.'\(^3\) So if you employ your mind you will easily from Athens see one who is in Ionia; and from the country of the Celts one who is in Illyria or Thrace; and from Thrace or Illyria one who is in the country of the Celts. And moreover, though plants if removed from their native soil when the weather and the season are unfavourable cannot be kept alive, it is not so with men, who can remove from one place to another without completely deteriorating or changing their character and deviating from the right principles that they had before adopted. It is therefore unlikely that our affection will become blunted, if indeed we do not love and

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\(^1\) The Attic stade = about 600 feet.  
\(^2\) Epicharmus fr. 13.  
\(^3\) Iliad 15. 80.
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καὶ στέργειν ἐπεται γὰρ ὑβρις μὲν κόρφι, ἐρως δὲ ἐνδείξ. καὶ ταῦτη τοινυν ἔξομεν βέλτιον, ἐπιτεινομένης ἥμιν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας, καθέξομέν τε ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς εαυτῶν διανοίασις ἰδρυμένους ὀσπερ ἀγάλματα. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, αὕτως δὲ ἐκείνος θυσεται ἐμε- κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ ἅμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους, δι' οὐχὶ σαρκία καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μορφής τύπωμα, στέρνα τε ἐξεικασμένα πρὸς ἄρχετυπον σῶμας· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο κωλύει τυχὸν οὐδὲν ταῖς διανοίασις ἦμων ἐμφαίνεσθαι ἄλλʼ εἰς τὴν ἀρετήν καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὀμιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐντεῦξεις, ὡς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετʼ ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμοιβῶς ὑμνοῦντες παιδείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα νοῦν τὰ θυητὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ 248 νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτη- δεμάτων διεξίοντες, ὡσα ὑπέρ ἡμῖν ἐπήει 1 ἐν καιρῷ τοῦτοις μεμημένοις. ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες, τούτοις τρεφόμενοι τοῖς εἰδόλοις τυχὸν οὐκ ὁνεῖρων νυκτέρων 2 ἰνδάλμασι προσέξομεν οὐδὲ κενὰ καὶ μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νόῳ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σῶματος κράσεως αἰσθησις διακε- μένη. οὐδὲ γὰρ αυτὴν παραληψάμεθα τὴν αἰ- σθησιν ὑποργεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετεῦσαι ἄλλʼ Β ἀποφυγόντα αὐτὴν ὁ νοῦς ἐμμελετήσει τούτοις πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεδρισμὸν τῶν ἀσωμάτων

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

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cherish each other the more for the separation. For 'wantonness attends on satiety,' \(^1\) but love and longing on want. So in this respect we shall be better off if our affection tends to increase, and we shall keep one another firmly set in our minds like holy images. And one moment I shall see Anaxagoras, and the next he will see me. Though nothing prevents our seeing one another at the same instant; I do not mean our flesh and sinews and "bodily outline and breasts in the likeness" \(^2\) of the bodily original—though perhaps there is no reason why these too should not become visible to our minds—but I mean our virtue, our deeds and words, our intercourse, and those conversations which we so often held with one another, when in perfect harmony we sang the praises of education and justice and mind that governs all things mortal and human: when too we discussed the art of government, and law, and the different ways of being virtuous and the noblest pursuits, everything in short that occurred to us when, as occasion served, we mentioned these subjects. If we reflect on these things and nourish ourselves with these images, we shall probably pay no heed to the 'visions of dreams in the night,' \(^3\) nor will the senses corrupted by the alloy of the body exhibit to our minds empty and vain phantoms. For we shall not employ the senses at all to assist and minister to us, but our minds will have escaped from them and so will be exercised on the themes I have mentioned and aroused to comprehend and associate with things incorporeal.

\(^1\) Theognis 153. τικτεί τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ἄταν κακῇ ἐλβοι ἐπηταί.

\(^2\) Euripides, Phoenissae 165, μορφῆς τύπωμα στέρνα τ᾿ ἡκασμένα.

\(^3\) Nauck, Aespota trag. frag. 108.
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...δεισειρόμενος: υψὸς γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνεσιν, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν ὑποφυγόντα καὶ διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ δεόμενα τόπον ὅραν τε καὶ αἰρεῖν πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοι ἀξίως βεβίωται τῆς τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ συναπτόμενοι.

'Αλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς, ἀτε δὴ μεγαλόφρων ἅνηρ καὶ τραφεὶς ἐλευθέρως ἐν ἐλευθέρα τῇ πόλει, C ὑψηλοτέρος ἡφυσαχάγωγε λόγοις αὐτῶν· ἐγὼ δὲ γεγονὼς ἐκ τῶν δ’ ὑπὸ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσόμην ἀνθρωπικοτέρος ἐμαυτὸν θέλω καὶ παράγω λόγοις, καὶ τὸ λίαν πικρὸν ἀφαιρῶ τῆς λύπης, πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἂν μοι προσπιπτόντων ἀπό τοῦ πράγματος δυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἀτόπων φαντασμάτων ἐφαρ. D μόνεν τινὰ παραμυθίαν πειρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπιφ. ἠν θηρίον δήγματι δάκυντος αὐτήν ἔσω τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας. ἐκεῖνὸ τοῦ πρῶτον ἐστί μοι τῶν φαινομένων δυσχερῶν. νῦν ἐγὼ μόνος ἀπολειφόμοι καθαρὰς ἐνδεχὴς ὀμιλίας καὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐνευξεῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ μοι τέως ὅτι διαλέξομαι θαρρῶν ὀμοίως. πότερον οὖν οὗ ἐμαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι ραδίων ἐστὶ μοι; ἀλλ' ἀφαιρήσεται μέ τις καὶ τὴν ἐννοιαν καὶ προσαναγκάσει νοεῖν ἔτερα καὶ θαυμάζειν παρ' ἑαυτόν τε. ἣ τοῦτο μὲν ἔστι τέρας ἡδη καὶ προσομοιον τῷ γράφειν ἐφ' ὑδατός καὶ τῷ λίθου ἔφειν καὶ τῷ ἰπταμένων ὀρνίθων ἔρευναν ἔχειν τῆς πτήσεως; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδῆ τούτων ἡμᾶς οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται, 249 συνεσόμεθα δητούθεν αὐτοί πως ἐαυτοῖς, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὑποθέτεται τις χρηστόν· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ἐναυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα τῷ κρείττονι.
TO SALLUST

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

Ah, but Pericles, inasmuch as he was a man of lofty soul and was bred as became a free man in a free city, could solace himself with such sublime arguments, whereas I, born of such men as now are,¹ must beguile and console myself with arguments more human; and thus I assuage the excessive bitterness of my sorrow, since I constantly endeavour to devise some comfort for the anxious and uneasy ideas which keep assailing me as they arise from this event, like a charm against some wild beast that is gnawing into my very vitals² and my soul, And first and foremost of the hardships that I shall have to face is this, that now I shall be bereft of our guileless intercourse and unreserved conversation. For I have no one now to whom I can talk with anything like the same confidence. What, you say, cannot I easily converse with myself? Nay, will not some one rob me even of my thoughts, and besides compel me to think differently, and to admire what I prefer not to admire? Or does this robbery amount to a prodigy unimaginable, like writing on water or boiling a stone,³ or tracing the track of the flight of birds on the wing? Well then since no one can deprive us of our thoughts, we shall surely commune with ourselves in some fashion, and perhaps God will suggest some alleviation. For it is not likely that he who entrusts himself to God will be utterly

¹ Iliad 5. 304. ² Cf. 243 c. ³ Two familiar proverbs.

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παντάπασιν ἀμεληθήματι καὶ καταλειφθήμαι παντελῶς ἔρημοι τοιούτοι καὶ ὁ θεὸς χειρὰ ἔην ὑπερέσχε καὶ θάρσους ἐνδίδωσι καὶ μένος ἐμπνεῖς καὶ τὰ πρακτέα τίθησιν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ τῶν μη πρακτέων ἀφίστησιν. εἰπετό τοι καὶ Σωκράτει δαιμονία φωνῆ κωλύουσα πράττειν ὁσα μὴ χρεὼν ἦν φησι δὲ καὶ ὁμήρος ὑπέρ Ἀχιλλέως τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσι θήκευν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας ἡμῶν ἐγείροντος, διὰν ἐπιστρέφας ὁ νοῦς εἰς ἑαυτὸν αὐτῷ τε πρὸ τερόν ξυγγένηται καὶ τῷ θεῷ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον, κωλύμενον ὑπ’ οὐδενός. οὐ γὰρ Κάκοντι ὁ νοῦς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ θεὸς φωνῆς πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι τὰ δέοντα. ἀλλ’ αἰσθήσεως ἐξω πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ κρέατον ἡ μετουσία γίνεται τῷ νῷ τινα μὲν τρόπον καὶ ὅπως οὔ σχολῆ νῦν ἐπεξεῖναι, τὸ δ’ ὅτι γίνεται δήλον καὶ σαφεῖς οἱ μάρτυρες, οὐκ ἀδύνητος τινος οὐδ’ ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἄξιοι τάπτεσθαι μερίδι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπενεγκαμένων ἐπὶ σοφία τὰ πρωτεῖα.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπεἰ δὴ χρῆ προσδοκᾶν καὶ θεόν ἡμῶν παρέσθεσθαι πάντως καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς συνε- σθεῖαι, τὸ λίαν ὅπειρας ἀφαρετέως ἐστὶ τῆς λύπης. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεία μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καθεργεμένου ἐπὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐνιαυτούς, εἰτ’ ἀδυρόμενου, τῆς μὲν ἀλλῆς ἐπαίνῳ καρπεῖας, τῶν θρήνων δὲ οὐκ ἀγαμαί. τῷ γὰρ ὅφελος ποίτου ἐπὶ 250 ἰχθύσεντα δέρκεσθαι καὶ λείβειν δάκρυα; τὸ

1 ἐνδίδωσι Hertlein suggests, διδώσι MSS.
2 δήλον Cobet, δήλοι Hertlein, MSS.
3 πρωτεία Cobet, πρώτα Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

1 Iliad 9. 420.  
2 Iliad 1. 55.  
3 The Megarians on inquiring their rank among the Greeks from the Delphic oracle were told that they were not in the reckoning at all, ὑμεῖς δ’ οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ’ ἐν ἀριθμῷ; cf. Theocritus 14. 47.  
4 Cf. Dio Chrysostom 13. 4, Arnim.
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δὲ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ' ἀπαγορεύσαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα μέχρις ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι πόνων¹ καὶ κινδύνων, τούτῳ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται μείζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων. οὐ δὲ δίκαιον ἐπαινεῖν μὲν αὐτούς, μὴ μιμεῖσθαι δὲ, οὐδὲ νομίζειν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὁ θεὸς προθύμως συνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ νῦν περιόψεται Β τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄρον ἀντιποιούμενον, δ' ἦπερ ἄρα κάκεινοις ἔχαιρεν' οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τὸν Νηρέα μᾶλλον ἔχρην ἀγα-πᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἱσχὺν, ἀπείρῳ γὰρ ὅσῳ Λαιστρυγόνες καὶ Κύκλωπες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ κρείττους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, οὗτο γὰρ ἂν ἔμεινεν ἀπόρθητος Τροία. τί δὲ δεῖ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτοῦ ἐπιξητοῦντα τὴν αἰτίαν, δ' ἦν 'Ὁδύσσεα φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς θεοφιλή, αὐτοῦ γε ἐξόν ἄκοινειν; 

Οὔνεκ' ἔπητής ἐσσὶ καὶ ἀγχίνους καὶ ἐχέφρων.

δῆλον οὖν ὡς, εἴπερ ἡμῖν τοῦτα προσηγένοιτο, τὸ κρείττον οὐκ ἔλλειψε τὰ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα πάλαι ποτὲ Δακεδαιμονίως χρησιμὸν καλοῦμενός τε καὶ ἀκλητός ὁ θεὸς παρέσται.

Τούτως ἐμαυτὸν ψυχαγωγῆσας ἐπ' ἐκείνο τὸ θέρος ἀπειμὶ πάλιν, ὁ δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ μικρὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δόξαν δὲ ὁμοῦ οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ. Ὁμήρου τοῖς φασὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον, οὐ δῆτον συνόντος, ἀλλὰ κηρύττοντος ὠσπερ 'Αχιλ-λέα καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Αἴαντας ἄμφω καὶ τὸν

¹ πόνων Hertlein suggests, φόβων MSS.

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tears? 1 Never to abandon hope and despair of one’s fate, but to play the hero in the extremes of toil and danger, does indeed seem to me more than can be expected of any human being. But it is not right to praise and not to imitate the Homeric heroes, or to think that whereas God was ever ready to assist them he will disregard the men of our day, if he sees that they are striving to attain that very virtue for which he favoured those others. For it was not physical beauty that he favoured, since in that case Nireus 2 would have been more approved; nor strength, for the Laëstrygons 3 and the Cyclops were infinitely stronger than Odysseus; nor riches, for had that been so Troy would never have been sacked. But why should I myself labour to discover the reason why the poet says that Odysseus was beloved by the gods, when we can hear it from himself? It was “Because thou art so wary, so ready of wit, so prudent.” 4 It is therefore evident that if we have these qualities in addition, God on His side will not fail us, but in the words of the oracle once given of old to the Lacedaemonians, “Invoked or not invoked, God will be present with us.” 5

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

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

'Αντίλοχον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν υπερορῶν ἀεὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἐφίεμενος δὲ τῶν ἀπόντων οὐκ ἡγάπα τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ ἥρκειτο τοῖς δοθείσι: καὶ εὐπερ ἐτυχεὶ 'Ομήρου, τὴν 'Απόλλωνος ἵσως ἄν 251 ἐπόθησε λύραν, ὑ τοῖς Πηλέως ἐκείνους ἐφύμησε γάρμοις, οὐ τῆς 'Ομήρου συνέσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα νομίσας, ἀλλ' ἀλῆθες ἔργον ἐνυφαυθὲν τοῖς ἐπεσιν, ὡσπερ οἴμαι τὸ

'Ὅς μὲν κροκόπτεπλος ἐκίδυνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἷαν καὶ

'Ηέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε καὶ

Κρήτη τις γα' ἐστί, καὶ ὅσα τοιαύτα φασὶν οἱ ποιηταί, δῆλα καὶ ἐναργῆ τὰ μὲν ὄντα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, τὰ δὲ γιγνόμενα.

'Αλλὰ τῷ μὲν εἴτε μέγεθος ἀρετῆς υπερέχον1 Β καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῶς ἐλάττων σύνεσις εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ψυχήν ἐξῆγεν, ὥστε μειζόνων ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀρέγεσθαι,2 εἰθ' υπερβολὴ τις ἄνδρειας καὶ τάρσους εἰς ἀλαζονείαν ἄγουσα,3 καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδειαν βλέπονσα, ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαινεῖν ἡ ψέγειν αὐτὸν, εἰ τις ἄρα καὶ ταύτης ὑπολαμ- βάνει τῆς μερίδος προσήκειν ἐκείνῳ. ήμεῖς δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαπῶτες ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἥκιστα μεταποιούμενοι στέργομεν μὲν, ὁπόταν ὁ κήρυξ

1 υπερέχον Naber, ὑπάρχον Hertlein, MSS.
2 ὀρέγεσθαι Petavius, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
3 ἄγουσα Cobet, ἰπεούσα Hertlein, . . . ouσα V.

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

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

¹ Iliad 24. 63. ² Iliad 8. 1. ³ Odyssey 3. 1. ⁴ Odyssey 19. 172.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

ἐπαίνη, θεατής τε καὶ συναγωνιστής πάντων ἡμῶν γεγονός, μὴ τοὺς λόγους παραδεξάμενος εἰς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν εἰκῇ πεπλασμένους· ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φιλεῖν ὁμολογῶν μόνον, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα σιωπηλότερος ὅν καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρα τελεσθέντων.

Ἐνταῦθα ὑπέρχεται μοι καὶ τὸ θρυλοῦμεν, ὃς οὐκ εἰς Ἰλλυρίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ὄρφακας ἀφίξῃ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκείνην οἰκοῦν
tas Ἑλληνας, ἐν οἷς γενομένῳ μοι καὶ τραφέντι πολὺς ἐντέτηκεν ἔρως ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων καὶ πόλεων. ἵσως δὲ οὗ φαύλως οὐδέ ἐκείνων ἐναπολέειται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔρως ἡμῶν, οἷς εὐ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι τὸ λεγόμενον ἀσπάσιος ἐλθὼν ἄν γένοιτο, δικαίως 252 ἁμοιβὴν ἀντίδιδον αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἀπολέλουσας ἐνθάδε. καὶ τούτο μὲν οὐχ ὃς εὐχόμενος· ἐπεῖ τὸ γε ἱέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ταχέως ἀμείνου· ἀλλ᾽ ὅς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τούθ᾽ ἔξων οὐκ ἀπαραμυθήτως οὐδὲ ἄψυχαγωγήτως ἐννοῷ, συγχαίρων ἐκείνους, ὅτι σε παρ᾽ ἡμῶν Ὑφονται.

Κελτοὶ γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν ἦδη διὰ σὲ συντάττω, ἄνδρα εἰς τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελοῦντα καὶ κατ᾽ εὔνομιαν καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ῥητορεῖαν Βάκρον καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπείρουν, ἦσ Ἑλληνες μόνοι τὰ κράτιστα μετεληθήσασι, λόγῳ τάληθές, ὠσπερ οὖν πέρφυκε, θηρεύσαντες, οὐκ ἀπίστοις μύθοις οὐδὲ παραδόξῳ τερατείᾳ προσέχειν ἡμᾶς, ὀσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔσαντες.

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that I have done; and who has never admitted any statements invented at random out of partiality or prejudice. And it is enough for me if he only admit his love for me, though on all else he were more silent than those initiated by Pythagoras.

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

1 The Propontis. 2 Sallust was a native of Gaul.

Ταύτα σοι μετὰ τῶν καλῶν καθαθῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεύχομαι, καὶ ἐτὶ πρὸς τούτοις

Οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαίρε, θεοὶ δὲ τοι ὀλβία δοῦεν, Νοστήσαι οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
TO SALLUST

However, this subject also, whatever the truth about it may be, I must lay aside for the present. But as for you—for I must needs dismiss you with auspicious words—may God in His goodness be your guide wherever you may have to journey, and as the God of Strangers and the Friendly One¹ may He receive you graciously and lead you safely by land; and if you must go by sea, may He smooth the waves!² And may you be loved and honoured by all you meet, welcome when you arrive, regretted when you leave them! Though you retain your affection for me, may you never lack the society of a good comrade and faithful friend! And may God make the Emperor gracious to you, and grant you all else according to your desire, and make ready for you a safe and speedy journey home to us!

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

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

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

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

become Emperor, though there is nothing in it that would not suit an earlier date; it is sometimes assigned to 355 when Julian was still Caesar. The quotations from Aristotle are appropriately addressed to Themistius as an Aristotelian commentator.
'Εγώ σοι βεβαιώσαι μέν, ὅσπερ υἱῷ γράφεις, τὰς ἐπίθεσις καὶ σφόδρα εὐχομαι, δέδουκα δὲ μὴ διαμάρτω, μείζονος οὖσης τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἂν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρόσ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας καὶ ἕτε μᾶλλον πρὸς σεαυτόν ποιή καὶ μοι πάλαι μὲν οἰομένῳ πρός τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκον, καὶ εἰ τὶς ἄλλος γέγονεν ἁρετῇ διαφέρων, εἶναι Β τὴν ἄμμαλαν φρίκη τις προσήπει καὶ δέος θαυμαστοῦ, μή τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι παντελῶς τῆς ἀνδρείας δόξω, τοῦ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἁρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὄλγον ἐφίκωμαι. εἰς ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ἀνεπειθομην τὴν σχολήν ἐπανείνει, καὶ τῶν Ἄρτικῶν διατημάτων 1 αὐτὸς τε ἢδεως ἐμεμνήμην καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ὑμῖν προσάδειν ἢξιον, ὅσπερ οἶ τα βαρέα φορτία φέροντες ἐν ταῖς φῶδαῖς ἐπικούφιζον ἀυτοῖς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν. σὺ δὲ μοι τὸν μείζον ἐποίη. C σας διὰ τῆς ἐναγχος ἐπιστολῆς τὸ δέος καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐδειξας, ἐν ταύτῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετάχθαι με τῇ μερίδι λέγων, ἐν ἂν πρότερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἐγενόσθην φιλοσοφοῦντες ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύουντες καὶ πᾶσαν

1 διατημάτων Naber, διηγημάτων Hertimein, MSS.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

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

¹ The Emperor Marcus Aurelius.
² Apparently an echo of Dio Chrysostom, Oration 1. 9, Arnim,
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

σχεδὸν τής ἐπιτολαξώσης κακίας ἀνακαθαρό- 254
μενοί γήν τε καὶ θάλατταν. κελεύεις δὲ πάσαν
ἀποσεισάμενον σχολής ἐννοιαν καὶ βραστονής
σκοπεῖν, ὅπως τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀξίως ἀγωνιούμεθα.
εἶτα ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν νομοθετῶν μέμνησαι, Σόλωνος,
Pιττακοῦ, Δυκούργου, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μει-
ζονα χρήναι παρ’ ἦμῶν λέγεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν
día νῦν περιμένειν. τοῦτοις ἐγώ τοῖς λόγοις
ἐντυχῶν ἐξεπλάγην μικροῦ· σοι μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμ-
βανον οὐδαμῶς θεμίτων κολακεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι,
ἐμαυτῶ δὲ συνειδῶς φύσεως μὲν ἕνεκα διαφέρουν
οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐξ ἄρχης οὔτε νῦν ὑπάρξειν, φιλο-
σοφίας δὲ ἐρασθέντι μόνον τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ συγ-
tύχαις, α’ μοι τὸν ἔρωτα τούτον ἀτελῆ τέως
ἐφύλαξαν· οὐκ εἶχον οὖν ὅ, τι χρή περὶ τῶν
τοιούτων λόγων συμβαλεῖν, ἐως ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγεν
ὁ θεὸς, μὴ ποτὲ ἄρα προτρέπειν ἐθέλεις διὰ τῶν
ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων δεῖξαι τὸ μέγεθος, οἷς
ἀνάγκη πάσα τὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ ζῶντα παραβεβλη-
σθαι τὸν ἀπάντα χρόνον.

Τούτο δὲ ἀποτρέποντός ἐστι πλέον ἢ πρὸς τὸν
βίον παρορμώντος. ὡσπερ γὰρ εἶ τις τὸν πορθμὸν
tοῦ παρ’ υμῖν πλέον καὶ οὔδε τοῦτον ραδίως οὐδὲ
ἐὐκόλως ύφιστάμενος ἄκοινοι παρὰ τοῦ μαντικήν
ἐπαγγελλομένου τέχνην, ὡς χρεων αὐτὸν τὸν
D Αἰγαίον ἀναμετρῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς ἔξω
θαλάσσης ἄψασθαι, καὶ “Νῦν μὲν” ὀραῖς ὁ προ-
φήτης λέγοι “τείχη καὶ λιμένας, ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

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

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

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1 Euripides, Orestes 16.
2 The Bosporus; Themistius was probably at Constantinople.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

οὐδὲ σκοπήαν οὐδὲ πέτραν ὑπει, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ ναῦν πόρρωθεν κατιδών προσειπεῖν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, καὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπὲ ποτὲ ἄψαμένος, τῷ θεῷ πολλάκις προσεύξῃ, πρὸς αὐτὸ γοῦν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου τυχείν ὄρμου καὶ τὴν τε ναῦν σῶαν 255 παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπαθεῖς τοῖς οἰκεῖοις· κακῶν παραστήσαι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ μητρὶ γῇ δούναι, τούτῳ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἱσως ἀδηλὸν ἔσται σοι μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἡμέρας· ἀρ’ οἵ τούτων ἀκούσαντα τῶν λόγων ἐκεῖνον πόλιν γ’ ἂν 1 οἰκεῖν ἐλέσθαι πλησίον θαλάσσης, οὐχὶ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπόντα πλούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμπορίας ἀγαθοῖς περιγυμνομένοις, γυναῖκας πολλών, ξενίσσεις φιλίας, ἰστορίας ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων B ὑπεριδόντα σοφὸν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, δὴ κελεύει λαθείν βιώσαντα; καὶ σῦ δὲ ἔοικας τούτο καταμαθὼν προκαταλαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς ταῖς εἰς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον λοιδορίας καὶ προεξαιρέων τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην. φῆς γὰρ που σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖ ἀπράγμονα καὶ διαλέξεις ἐν περιπάτοις προσήκειν ἐκείνως. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν’ οὐ καλῶς Ἐπικουρὸς C ταῦτα ἑδόκει, πάλαι καὶ σφόδρα πείθομαι· εἰ δὲ πάνθ’ ὄντων ἐπὶ πολιτείαν προτρῆτειν ἄξιον, καὶ τὸν ἱπτὸν πεφυκότα καὶ τὸν ὀυῖθω τελέως δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἱσως διαπορήσαι χρή. λέγουσι γὰρ τοι καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη πολλοὺς μὲν οὐ σφόδρα εὐφυῶς 2 ἐχουσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸν βῆματος,

1 γ’ ἂν Hertlein suggests, γούν MSS.
2 εὐφυῶς Reiske adds.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

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

1 Epicurus; his advice was λαθέ βιώσας.
2 Literally “from the βήμα,” i.e. the stone on the Pnyx from which the Athenian orator addressed the people.
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καὶ Γλαύκωνα ἔκεινον, Ξενοφῶν λέγει· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Κλεινίου παίδα πειραθήκας μὲν ἐπισχεῖν, οὐ δυνηθήκας δὲ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ νεανίσκου τῆς ὀρμῆς. ἦμεὶς δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας καὶ ξυνιέντας αὐτῶν προσαναγκάσομεν, θαρρεῖν ύπὲρ τηλεκούτων ἔργων κελεύοντες, ὡς σύ ἄρετη μόνον ἐστὶν οὖν ἐπροαίρεσις ὅρθη κυρία, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τύχη κρατοῦσα πανταχοῦ καὶ βιαζομένη βέπειν ἦπερ ἄν ἐθέλη τὰ πράγματα; Χρύσιππος δὲ δοκεῖ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ νομισθῆναι δικαίως, ἀγνοῆσας δὲ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας αἰτίας τοιαύτας ἔξωθεν τοὺς πρακτικοὺς παρεμπιπτούσας οὐ σφόδρα ὀμολογούμενα λέγειν οἷς ὁ χρόνος ἦμᾶς διὰ μυρών ἑναργῶς διδάσκει παραδειγμάτων. τοῦ γὰρ εὖτυχῆ καὶ μακάριον Κάτωνα φήσομεν; τοῦ δὲ Δίωνα τὸν Σικελιώτην εὐδαίμονα; οἷς τοῦ μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ἔμελεν ἵσως οὐδὲν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λεῖπειν ἀτελεῖς τὰς πράξεις, ἐφ’ ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρμήσαν, καὶ σφόδρα Β ἔμελε, καὶ πάντα ἂν εἶλοντο παθεῖν ύπὲρ τούτων. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις εἰ μὲν εὔσχημονος ἔφερον, ὡσπερ οὖν λέγεται, τὴν τύχην παραμυθιάν ἔσχον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μικρὰν, εὐδαιμόνες δὲ οὐκ ἂν λέγοιντο τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων δημαρτηκότες, πλὴν ἵσως διὰ τὴν Στωικὴν ἐνστάσιν πρὸς ἡν ῥητέον, ὡς οὐ ταύτον ἔστιν ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ φύσει τὸ ζῴου εὐδαιμονιὰς ὄρεγεται, κρείττον εἶναι τὸ κατ’

1 καὶ Γλαύκωνα . . . λέγει: τοὺς δὲ Wyttenbach, Γλαύκωναι δὲ ἔκεινον ὡς Ξενοφῶν λέγει, καὶ τὸν Hertlein, MSS.

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Glaucon too, Xenophon\(^1\) tells us; and that he tried to restrain the son of Cleinias\(^2\) also, but could not curb the youth’s impetuous ambition. Then shall we try to force into that career men who are reluctant and conscious of their deficiencies, and urge them to be self-confident about such great tasks? For in such matters not virtue alone or a wise policy is paramount, but to a far greater degree Fortune holds sway throughout and compels events to incline as she wills. Chrysippus\(^3\) indeed, though in other respects he seems a wise man and to have been rightly so esteemed, yet in ignoring fortune and chance and all other such external causes that fall in to block the path of men of affairs, he uttered paradoxes wholly at variance with facts about which the past teaches us clearly by countless examples. For instance, shall we call Cato a fortunate and happy man? Or shall we say that Dio of Sicily had a happy lot? It is true that for death they probably cared nothing, but they did care greatly about not leaving unfinished the undertakings which they had originally set on foot, and to secure that end there is nothing that they would not have endured. In that they were disappointed, and I admit that they bore their lot with great dignity, as we learn, and derived no small consolation from their virtue; but happy one could not call them, seeing that they had failed in all those noble enterprises, unless perhaps according to the Stoic conception of happiness. And with regard to that same Stoic conception we must admit that to be applauded and to be counted happy are two very different

\(^1\) Memorabilia 3. 6. 1. \(^2\) Alcibiades. \(^3\) The Stoic philosopher.
ΕΚΕΙΝΗΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤ’ ΆΡΕΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ. ΗΚΙΣΤΑ ΔΕ ΦΙΛΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ Η ΒΕΒΑΙΟΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΤΥΧΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΞΩΝΤΑΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΝΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΝΕΥ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΤΝΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΔΗ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΘΕΟΡΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΥ, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΟΙ ΤΑΣ ΙΔΕΑΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΨΕΥΔΩΣ ΞΥΝΤΙΘΕΝΤΕΣ, ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΗΤΟΙΣ ΙΔΡΥΣΑΙ ΠΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΤΥΧΑΙΩΝ ΥΠΕΡΑΝΩ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ, Η ΤΟΝ ΔΙΟΓΕΛΟΥΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ

'ΑΠΟΛΙΝ, ΑΟΙΚΟΥ, ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΕΣΤΕΡΗΜΕΝΟΝ,

ΟΥΚ ΞΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΟΤΙ ΠΑΡ’ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΥ ΠΑΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΙΝΙ ΦΑΛΗΡΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΘΥ ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΑ ΚΑΛΕΙΝ ΕΙΩΒΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ,

'ΩΙ ΛΑΟΙ Τ’ ΕΠΙΤΕΤΡΑΦΑΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΣΑ ΜΕΜΠΕΙΝ,

ΠΟΣ ΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΞΩ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΆΠΑΓΑΓΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΣΙΝ ΦΥΛΑΣΟΙ; ΠΑΛΙΝ Δ’ Ό ΑΥΤΟΝ ΥΠΟΤΙΘΕΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΗ ΠΟΣΗΣ 257 ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΝ ΟΙΣΕΤΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΗΛΙΚΗΣ ΩΣΤΕ ΤΑΣ ΕΦ’ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΑ ΡΟΠΑΣ, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΝ, ΕΥΣΧΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΦΕΡΕΙΝ;

ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΤΑΞΑΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΣΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΗ, ΠΟΛΥ ΔΕ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΑΡ’ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΑΞΙΩΝ ΦΑΝΗΝΑΙ. ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ Ο ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΑΛΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Ο ΤΗΝ 'ΑΣΙΑΝ

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

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

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

¹ Cf. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 1. 10. 6.
² Cf. Oration 6. 195b, note. ³ Iliad 2. 25. ⁴ Alexander.
Καταστρεφόμενος Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου χαλεπώς Β. τερος καὶ μάλλον ἁλαζων φανείς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς κατέστη κύριος, τούτως ἄλοντες τῶν βέλεσιν ἀρδην ἀπώλοντο Πέρσαι, Μακεδόνες, ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμος, Συρακούσιοι, τὰ Δακεδαιμωνίων τέλη, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοίς αὐτοκράτορες μυρίοι. πολὺ μὴκὸς ἁπὶ γένοιτο πάντας ἀπαριθμομένῳ τοὺς διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ νῖκας καὶ τροφῆν ἀπολομένους· ὅσιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δυσπραγιῶν ἐπικυκλούσαντες δούλοι μὲν ἀντὶ ἔλευ-θέρων, ταπεινοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ γενναίων καὶ σφόδρα εὐτελεῖς ἀντὶ τῶν πρόσθεν σεμνῶν ἀπασιν οὐ-φησαν, τί με χρῆ νῦν ὡσπέρ ἐκ δέλτου μεταγρά-φουτα καταλέγειν; εἰ γὰρ ὡφελεν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώ-πων βίος ἀπορεῖν παραδειγμάτων τοιούτων. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτ' ἁπὶ γένοιτο ποτε τῶν τοιούτων ἐνδεχὴς παραδειγμάτων, ἐως ἀν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμένῃ γένος.

"Οτι δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ πλείστον Δ. ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις κρατεῖν νενόμικα, λέγοιμ' ἃν ἥδη σοι τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων Νόμων, εἰδότι μὲν καὶ διδάξαντι με, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ ὡσπέρ τοῦ μὴ ραθμοῖν ποιούμενον παραγέγραφα σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ὡδὲ ποὺς ἔχουσαν. "Θεὸς" μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώ-πων διακυβερνῶσι εὔμπαντα. ἡμερῶτερον μὴν τοὺς συγχωρήσαι τρίτον δεῖν ἔπεσθαι τέχνην." 258 εἰτα ὁποῖον εἶναι χρή τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργον τῶν καλῶν πρᾶξεων καὶ βασιλεὰ θείων ὑπογράφων "Γυνώσκων ὁ Κρόνος ἁρα, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, φησί, διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεία φύσις

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

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

¹ Laws 709b.
ΛΕΤΕΡ ΤΟ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΙΟΥ

ούδαμὴ οὐδεμία ἵκανὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διωκοῦσα ἀυτοκράτωρ πάντα μὴ οὐχ ὑβρεῶς τε καὶ ἄδικιας μεστοῦσθαι, ταῦτ’ οὖν διανοούμενος ἐφίστη τότε Β' 

βασιλέας καὶ ἀρχοντας τάς πόλεις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θειότερον καὶ ἀμείνονος, 

δαίμονας, οἷς νῦν ἡμεῖς δρῶμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ ὅσων ἡμερός εἰσιν ἀγέλαι−οὐ βοῦς βοῶν οὐδὲ αἶγας 

ἀγάν ἀρχοντας ποιοῦμεν αὐτοῖς τίνας, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς 

αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἀμείνον ἐκείνων γένος. ταῦτ’ 

δὴ καὶ ο θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος οὖν γένος ἀμείνον ἡμῶν 

ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαίμονων, δ’ διὰ πολλῆς μὲν αὐ-

τοῖς ῥαστώνης, διὰ πολλῆς δ’ ἡμῶν, ἐπιμελο-

μενον ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰών καὶ δὴ ἄφθονίαν 

δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαιμόνα 

τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ 

νῦν οὖτος ὁ λόγος ἀληθεία χρόμενος, ὅσων πό-

λεων μὴ θεός, ἀλλὰ τις ἄρχει θυντὸς, οὐκ ἔστι 

κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάψυξις−ἀλλα μι-

μείσθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴσει πάση μηχανή τὸν 

ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἡμῶν 

Δ’ ἀθανασίας ἔνεστι, τούτῳ πειθομένους δημοσία 

καὶ ἴδια τὰς τε ὀικήσεις καὶ τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖν, 

τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ὁνομάξοντας νόμον. εἰ δὲ 

ἀνθρώπους εἰς ὑ διαγραφὰ τῆς ἡ δημοκρατία 

ψυχῆν ἔχουσα ἡδονών καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν ὀρεγομένην 

καὶ πληροῦσθαι τοῦτων δειμένην ἄρξει δὴ πόλεως 259 

τινος ἢ ἰδιώτων καταπατήσας τοὺς νόμους, οὐκ 

ἔστι σωτηρίας μηχανή.”
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nature when endowed with supreme authority is never in any case capable of managing human affairs without being filled with insolence and injustice; therefore, having regard to this he at that time set over our cities as kings and governors not men but beings of a more divine and higher race, I mean demons; thus doing as we do now for our flocks and domestic herds. We never appoint certain oxen to rule over other oxen or goats to rule over goats, but we are their masters, a race superior to theirs. In like manner then God, since he loves mankind, has set over us a race of beings superior to ourselves, the race of demons; and they with great ease both to themselves and us undertake the care of us and dispense peace, reverence, aye, and above all justice without stint, and thus they make the tribes of men harmonious and happy. And that account is a true one which declares that in our day all cities that are governed not by a god but by a mortal man have no relief from evils and hardships. And the lesson is that we ought by every means in our power to imitate that life which is said to have existed in the days of Kronos: and in so far as the principle of immortality is in us we ought to be guided by it in our management of public and private affairs, of our houses and cities, calling the distribution of mind ‘law.’ But whether the government be in the hands of one man or of an oligarchy or democracy, if it have a soul that hankers after pleasure and the lower appetites and demands to indulge these, and if such a one rule over a city or individual having first trampled on the laws, there is no means of salvation.”

1 A play on words: διανοητι and νόμος are both connected with νομος = “to distribute.” 2 Laws 713–714; Julian condenses and slightly alters the original.
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Ταύτην ἐγὼ σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ἐξεπίτηδες ολὴν παρέγγραψα, μή με κλέπτειν ὑπολάβης καὶ κακουργεῖν μύθους ἀρχαίονς προφέροντα, τυχὸν μὲν ἐμφερῶς, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῶς πάντη ἐξυγκειμένους. ἄλλ' ὃ γε ἀληθῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγος τί φησίν; ἀκούεις ὅτι, κἀν ἀνθρωπός τις ἡ τῇ φύσει, θείον εἶναι χρή τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ δαιμον, πάν ἄπλως ἐκβαλόντα τὸ θαντὸν καὶ θηρώδες τῆς ψυχῆς, πλὴν ὅσα ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραμένειν σωτηρίαν; ταῦτα εἰ τις ἐννοῶν δέδοικεν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐλκομενὸς βίον, ἀρά σοι φαίνεται τὴν Ἐπικούρειον θαυμάζειν ἄπραγμος τὴν καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὸ προάστειον τῶν Ἄθηνῶν καὶ τὰς μυρίνας καὶ τὸ Σωκράτους δωμάτιον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου γε ἐγὼ ταύτα προτιμήσας τῶν πόνων ὀφθην. ἢδοτα ἂν σοι τοὺς ἐμαυτὸν πόνους διεξῆλθον καὶ τὰ ἐπικρεμασθέντα παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξυγγενῶν, ὅτε τῆς παρ’ ὑμῖν ἥρχομην παιδείας, δείματα, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἑπίστασο. τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνία πρὸς τὸν καὶ γένει προσηκοῦτα καὶ φίλα μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον ὅτα μοι πραχθέντα πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος ἔνων μικρὰ παντελῶς γνωρίσομαι μοι γενομένου, τοῦ σοφιστοῦ φημί, λέξῃ τιν ποτ᾽ ὄνδεν σε. ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐχ ὑπέστην τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα; καίτοι Καρτερίῳ μὲν οἰσθ' ὅπως συμπράμυν πρὸς τὸν ἑταίρου ἢμῖν ἀφικόμενος Ἄραξιον ἀκλητός, ὑπὲρ αὐτοὶ δεησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τῆς θαυμασίας Ἀρετῆς κτημάτων καὶ ὅτι ἐπεπόνθει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων Ἄθηνῶν Cobet, Ἀθηναίων Hertlein, MSS.

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I have purposely set down the whole of this speech for you lest you should think that I am cheating and defrauding by bringing forward ancient myths which may have some resemblance to the truth, but on the whole are not composed with regard to truth. But what is the true meaning of this narrative? You hear what it says, that even though a prince be by nature human, he must in his conduct be divine and a demi-god and must completely banish from his soul all that is mortal and brutish, except what must remain to safeguard the needs of the body. Now if, reflecting on this, one is afraid to be constrained to adopt a life from which so much is expected, do you therefore conclude that one admires the inaction recommended by Epicurus, the gardens and suburbs of Athens and its myrtles, or the humble home of Socrates? But never has anyone seen me prefer these to a life of toil. That toil of mine I would willingly recount to you, and the hazards that threatened me from my friends and kinsfolk at the time when I began to study under you, if you did not yourself know them well enough. You are well aware of what I did, in the first place, in Ionia in opposition to one who was related to me by ties of blood, but even more closely by ties of friendship, and that in behalf of a foreigner with whom I was very slightly acquainted, I mean the sophist. Did I not endure to leave the country for the sake of my friends? Indeed, you know how I took the part of Carterius when I went unsolicited to our friend Araxius to plead for him. And in behalf of the property of that admirable woman Arete and the wrongs she had suffered from her neighbours, did I
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οὐκ εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφικόμην ἐν οὖν δὲ ὅλοις μηδὲ δύο, ἀσθενοῦς ἢ δὴ μοι παντελῶς ὄντος τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὴν ἑπιγενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς πρῶτης κακοπαθείας ἀρρωστίαν; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ τελευταῖον πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένης ἡμῶν ἀφίξεως, ὅτε περί τῶν ἑσχάτων, ὡς ἄν εἶποιεν οἱ πολλοὶ, κινδυνεύων ἐγὼ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ παρέμενον, ὅποιας ἔγγραφον ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς σὲ 260 νῦν ὑπομνήσθητι, μήποτε ὁδυρμῶν πλήρεις, μήτι μικρὸν ἢ ταπεινῶν ἢ λιαν ἄγεννές ἔχοσας. ἀπίων δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, ὅτε με φεύγειν ἐνόμιζον πάντες, οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἑστή τῇ μεγίστῃ τὴν τύχην ἐπανῶν ἡδίστην ἔφην εἶναι τὴν ἀμοιβήν ἐμοί καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον

χρύσας χαλκείων, ἐκατόμβοις ἐννεαβδίοις

ἔφην ἀντηλλάχθαι; οὕτως ἄντι τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἔστις τῆς Ἑλλάδας λαχών ἐγανύμην, οὐκ ἄγρον, οὐ κήπου, οὐ δωμάτιων ἐκεῖ κεκτημένος.

'Ἀλλὰ ἵσως ἐνικά ἐγὼ τὰς μὲν δυσπαραγίας οὐκ ἄγεννώς φέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρεάς ἄγεννής τις εἶναι καὶ μικρός, ὃ γε ἄγαπων τὰς Ἀθήνας μᾶλλον τοῦ νῦν περί ἡμᾶς δόγκου, τὴν σχολὴν δῆσαυθαν ἔκεινην ἐπανῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πράξεων τούτων αἰτιώμενος τὸν βίον; Κ ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε χρὴ περί ἡμῶν ἀμενῶν κρίνειν, οὔκ εἰς ἀπραξίαν καὶ πράξειν βλέποντας, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὸ

'Ερδοῖ δ' ἐκαστὸς ἢντιν εἰδείη τέχνην.

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

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

1 We know nothing more of the events here mentioned.
2 A proverb derived from Iliad 6. 236, where Glaukos exchanges his golden armour for the bronze armour of Diomede.
3 Aristophanes, Wasps 1431.
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Meîzoun émoige fainetai to basileêuëv ëh kai tê anëwropou kai fúsëwos deixhjai daimonioseteras basileús, ósteren ouv kai Plátow élege: kai ën ëw

'Aristotléous éis táutó sunteýononta paragráphó logon, ou ylaiká 'Athenaios àghou, alh òti mh pantápasthjv amelo déw ékeínon logon épideikwmenos. phos dé ëo anhre ën tois politikois synegrámmassw. "Ei dé dé tìs arísoton thei to basileêuëthei taís póleis, téwz ëxei tá perì twon tékhnw; póteron kai to génoto dei basileêuëwv; allá xignoménou ópouoi tines étuxhjv, blabéron. allá ou paradóssei kurios ën tois tékhnw; allh 261 ouk ëti rádion touto pistéusai xaletpón gar kai meîzounos árethís ëh kai tê anëwortinw fúsìw.

ëxeis dé peri toú katà nómov legeoménou basilewos diexeilhóon, òs1 ésthn yptírethw kai phula twon nómov, kai touton oudh basilea kalon, ouh dé touton eiðos politeías2 ómwn, proosthjsu: "Peri dé tìs parambasileías kalouménhs, aúth ëh B éstí kath' ënh õrhxei pántwv katà tìn aúthjv boulhjw

wón ò basileús, dokiei tisw ouh dé kath' fúsìw einai to kúrimon éna pántwv einai twon politón' tois gar ómoois fúsìe to aúto dikaioun anagkaión einai." eita met' oljíon phosiv: "'O mën ouv tòn

nmon keleüwn õrhxei dokiei keleüewn õrhxei tòn thei kai tòn nómov. ò dé anëworton keleüwn

1 òs Klimek, òs Hertlein, MSS.
2 tìn touton eiðos politeías Hertlein suggests, cf. Aristotle Politics 3. 16, 1287 a, tìn touton eiðos MSS.

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

¹ A proverb; cf. "bringing coals to Newcastle."
² Aristotle, Politics 3. 15. 1286b.
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προστίθησι καὶ θηρία: ἢ τε γὰρ επιθυμία τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ὃς δὲ διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνδρας· διόπερ ἀνευ ὅρεξεως ὦ νοὺς νόμος ἑστίν. ὡρᾶς, ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα σαφῶς ἀπιστούντι καὶ κατεγνωκότι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. φησὶ γὰρ οὐτω ρήματι τοῦτο λέγοντος οὐδεμιᾶς ἐξισχρεων εἶναι φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πρὸς τοσαύτην τύχης ὑπεροχὴν· οὕτε γὰρ τῶν παίδων τὸ κοινὸ τοῖς πολίταισι συμφέρον προτιμᾶν ἀνθρωπίνῃ γε ὅντα βάδιον ὑπολαμβάνει, καὶ πολλῶν ὁμοίων ἁρχεῖν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι φησὶ, καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τὸν κολοφόνα τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις νόμοιν μὲν εἰναι φησὶ τῶν νοῦν χωρὶς ὅρεξεως, ὃ μόνῳ τᾷς πολιτείαις ἐπιτρέπειν χρησιμόων ἄνδρων δὲ οὐδενί. ὁ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦς, κἂν ὅσων ἀγαθοὶ, συμπέπλεκται θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, θηρίους χαλεπωτάτους. ταῦτα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀκρως 262 ὁμολογεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κρείττονα χρῆ τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὔκ ἐπιτηδεύσει μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει διαφέροντα· ὅπερ εὑρεῖν ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐ βάδιον. ... καὶ τρίτον ὅτι πάση μηχανὴ κατὰ δύναμιν νόμοις προσεκτεόν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα κειμένους οὐδὲ ὡς ἐοικε νῦν τεθείσων ἦπ' ἄνδρων οὐ πάντη κατὰ νοῦν βεβιακότων, ἀλλ' ὡστὶς μᾶλλον τῶν νοῶν καθαρθεῖς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰς τὰ παρόντα ἀφορῶν ἀδικήματα οὐδὲ εἰς
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but he who bids man rule, adds an element of the beast. For desire is a wild beast, and passion which warps even the best men. It follows, therefore, that law is Reason exempt from desire." You see the philosopher seems here clearly to distrust and condemn human nature. For he says so in so many words when he asserts that human nature is in no case worthy of such an excess of fortune. For he thinks that it is too hard for one who is merely human to prefer the general weal of the citizens to his own children; he says that it is not just that one man should rule over many who are his equals; and, finally, he puts the finishing stroke\(^1\) to what he has just said when he asserts that "law is Reason exempt from desire," and that political affairs ought to be entrusted to Reason alone, and not to any individual man whatever. For the reason that is in men, however good they may be, is entangled with passion and desire, those most ferocious monsters. These opinions, it seems to me, harmonise perfectly with Plato's; first, that he who governs ought to be superior to his subjects and surpass them not only in his acquired habits but also in natural endowment; a thing which is not easy to find among men; . . . thirdly, that he ought by every means in his power to observe the laws, not those that were framed to meet some sudden emergency, or established, as now appears, by men whose lives were not wholly guided by reason; but he must observe them only in case the lawgiver, having purified his mind and soul, in enacting those laws keeps in view not merely the crimes of the moment

\(^1\) Cf. Plato, Theaetetus 153.
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tas parastwgas tychas tithesi touz nomous, alla tihn this politeias fuisse katumathon kai to dikaiou oion1 esti th fusesi kai potapiou esti tadikhma tebemenes th fusesi, ei'dh' osa dunatou estin ekeithen evtaitha metapferon kai tithes nomous touz politeais koivous, ouste eis fihian ouste eis echebran aforon ouste eis geitona kai xynigenvh' C keisson de, ei mihat touz kath' eauton antheritous, allha touz usteron h xenos hramas aposopempto nomous, exoun ge oudeiv oudei elpizovn pros autous xeiwn idiomton synallagma. epe' kai ton Solowon ton sofou akoumon meta ton filon symboulvesamewn uper ths ton xreion anairiseos touz sein euporia afomyn, autw de aischnh aitian parasthein, kai tauta to politeumati ton deon eleu-therwosta. oufws ou raddion esti tas toiautas D ekfugein kiras, kan ton autou noin parascchi tis apabhi pros tihn politeian.

'A deidwv eign polllakis ekotovs epainw ton em-proseven bion, kai sou peithomenos malista tauta eign dianousmah, oux hti moi ton xilon pros ekeinous monon efhs prokeiwsai touz andras, Solowon kai Dukourh v Kai Pitsakon, allha kai, hti metabhina me phis ek ths upostegou philosophias pros thn upaidhion. asper ouv, ei t' 263 xalipwos kai molis synieias eneka ths autou gnomvazomenv metriwos oikade proylleges, hti "Nyn hkeis eis 'Olymptian kai metabebhka ek ths ev twn dwmantiv palaiostras epi to stadiou tou Dions, ou theata eixeis touz te apantaiothev 'Ellinas

1 oion Hertlein suggests, 5 MSS.
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or immediate contingencies; but rather recognises the nature of government and the essential nature of justice, and has carefully observed also the essential nature of guilt, and then applies to his task all the knowledge thus derived, and frames laws which have a general application to all the citizens without regard to friend or foe, neighbour or kinsman. And it is better that such a lawgiver should frame and promulgate his laws not for his contemporaries only but for posterity also, or for strangers with whom he neither has nor expects to have any private dealings. For instance, I hear that the wise Solon, having consulted his friends about the cancelling of debts, furnished them with an opportunity to make money, but brought on himself a disgraceful accusation. So hard is it to avoid such fatalities, even when a man brings a passionless mind to the task of governing.

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

1 Before Solon's measure to cancel debts was generally known, some of his friends borrowed large sums, knowing that they would not have to repay them.
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καὶ πρώτους γε τοὺς σαυτοῦ πολίτας, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρή, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὐς ἐκπλήξας χρεόν, φοβερωτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα τὸ γε εἰς σὲ νῦν ἥκον ἐπιδείξαντα,” κατέβαλεν εὐθέως καὶ τρέμεις ἐποίησας πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας, οὕτω κἀκεῖ νῦν νόμιζε διατεθήκατο τοῦς B τοιούτους λόγους. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἶτε ὅρθως ἐγνωκα νῦν εἶτε ἐν μέρει σφάλλομαι τοῦ προσήκοντος εἶτε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνω, διδάξεις αὐτίκα μάλα.

Τυπὲρ δὲ νῦν ἀπορήσαι μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολήν C τὴν σὴν παρέστη, ὦ φίλη κεφάλη καὶ πάσης ἐμοινη τιμῆς ἄξια, θυσίαμαι δηλώσαι σαφέστερον γάρ πώς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμῶ μαθεῖν. ἔφησθα δὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξει παρὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπαινεῖς βίον, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστотέλη τὸν σοφὸν ἐκάλεις μάρτυρα, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τῷ πράττειν εὐ τιθή- μενον, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν σκοπούντα τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ζωῆς, διαπρεῖν ἀττα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐν ἄλλων προτιμάν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονας. τούτους δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν D εἶναι φής τοὺς βασιλέας, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐξηκεν σφάδαμον κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προστεθέσαν λέξιν, πλέον δὲ θάτερον ἔξ ὑπὸ παραγέγραφαν τοῖς νοήσεις. τὸ γὰρ “Μάλιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοο ἀρχιτέκτονας” εἰς τοὺς νομοθέτας καὶ

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come from all parts, and foremost among them your own fellow-citizens, on whose behalf you must enter the lists; and certain barbarians will be there also whom it is your duty to impress, showing them your fatherland in as formidable a light as lies in your power.” You would have disconcerted him at once and made him nervous before the games began. You may now suppose that I have been affected in the same manner by just such words from you. And you will very soon inform me whether my present view is correct, or whether I am in part deceived as to my proper course or whether indeed I am wholly mistaken.

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

Aristotle, Politics 7. 3. 1325b.

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tous politikous filosofous kai pantas aplous
tous vó te kai logw prattontas, oukhi dè eis tous
autourgoûs kai tôn politikôn praxeôn érygatas 264
eirhsetai nomistéon ois ouk apóxhri mônoun enuth-
mêthnan kai katanaðhson kai tô praktôn tôn álloi
frasai, prospékei dè autois ékasta meta-
cheirízethai kai prattèn vno öi nómi diaxoréouni
kai polalakis ois kaiðol prouanagkazousi, plh
ei mu tôn arxitektona kaloumen, katháper"Oýhros
ton Ἡρακλέα καλείν εἴωθεν ἐν τῇ ποιησεὶ "μεγά-
lon épístheta érgwv," autourgótaton ápántωn
gevómenon.

Ei dè toû' áltheis úpolambánoonen ë kai mônoun B
en tô prattèn tâ koivâ fámeun evideímonas tôn
kuriou 1 óntas kai basileúontas polalwv, tî potê
perì Soukrátous éroûmen; Pithagóran dè kai
Dhmókriton kai tón Klazoménous Anaxagóran
íswos dià tîn thèwerian kai állo fêseis evidei-
monas. Soukráthi dè tîn thèwerian paraithsámeneos
kai tôn praktikôn agaphtas bión oude tîs ga-
methns ën tîs autou kúrios oude tôu paiðos: ën toû C
ge duôn ën trôwn polotôn ékeíwn kratéiùn úntikhven;
ár' ouk ën ékeíno praktikos, epete mhdenos ën
kúrios; ègô men ouv 'Alexándrou fjmi melzona
tôn Sófróniskou katergázontai, tîn Plátanov
autô sòfian anatideis, tîn Eneofóntos stara-
tíghian, tîn 'Antisbêvous àndreian, tîn 'Ere-
trikh fîlosophian, tîn Megarikh, tôn Kéftta,

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

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

1 Odyssey 21. 26. 2 The father of Socrates. 3 This school was founded by Phaedo in Elis and later was transferred by Menedemus to Eretria.
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tòn Σιμμέαν, tòn Φαίδωνα, μνήμοις ἄλλους· καὶ ὁ
οὐσίως φημὶ τὰς γενομένας ἡμῖν ἐνθένθ ἀποκιάσας,
tὸ Δύκειον, τὴν Στοάν, τὰς Ἀκαδημείας. τὸ ὅν ποὺ
ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν Ἁλεξάνδρου νίκην; τὴς πόλις
ἀμεινο ὁμήρη; τὶς αὐτὴν γέγονε βελτίων ἰδιώ-
tης ἀνήρ; πλουσιωτέρους μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἀν
eὐροίς, σοφότερον δὲ σωφρονέστερον
αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαξάνα καὶ
ὑπερόπτην. ὅσοι δὲ σώζονται νῦν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας,
diὰ τὸν Σωκράτη σώζονται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγὼ
μόνος, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρότερος ἔοικεν ἐννοήσας 265
εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μὴ μεῖν αὐτῷ προσήκει φρονέω ἐπὶ τῇ
θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ τοῦ καθελόντος τὴν Περσῶν
δύναμιν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὅρθως ἐξ
νοήσας· νικάν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρείας ἐστὶ μάλιστα καὶ
tῆς τύχης, κεῖσθω δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς ἐντρέχουσ
ταύτης φρονήσεως, ἀληθεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας
ἀναλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον τῆς τελείας ἐργὸν
ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήσειν ἀν τις εἰκότως, πότερον Β
χρή τὸν τοιούτον ἄνδρα ἢ θεῦν καλεῖν. εἰ γὰρ
ὁρθῶς ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἐκαστὸν
ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων γνωρίζεσθαι, τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν ὃ
γνωρίσας θείος τις ἀν εἰκότως νομίζοιτο.

1 πρότερος Hertlein suggests, πρότερον MSS.

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

\(^1\) The Megarian school founded by Euclid was finally absorbed by the Cynics.

\(^2\) Simmias and Cebes were Pythagoreans; cf. Plato, \textit{Phaedo}, where they discuss with Socrates.

\(^3\) Alexander; Julian seems to be misquoting Plutarch, \textit{Moralia} 78D.
'Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐοίκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρηματικὸν ὀρμήσαντες βίων τούτῳ παραβάλλειν τὸν πρακτικόν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρατησαμένου καὶ σοῦ τὴν σύγκρισιν, αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον, ὥν ἐπεμνησθῆς, Ἀρείου, Κ. Νικόλαου, Ὀρασύλλου καὶ Μουσώνιον μνημονεύσω. τούτων γὰρ οὔχ ὡσοι τις ἢν κύριος τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀρείος, ὡς φασί, καὶ διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀγιύπτου ἐπιτροπεύσαι παρητήσατο, Ὀρασύλλος δὲ Τιθέρῳ πικρῷ καὶ φύσι χαλεπῷ τυράννῳ ἑυγγενόμενοι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν καταλειπθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογήσατο, δείξας ὅστις ἦν, ὄφελεν ἂν εἰς τέλος αἰσχύνην ἀναπάλλακτον, οὕτως αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἄνησεν ἡ πολιτεία, Νικόλαος δὲ πράξεων μὲν οὐ μεγάλων αὐτοῦργος γέγονε, γνώριμος δὲ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τούς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ Μουσώνιος ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀνδρείας καὶ νὴ Δῆ ήνεγκεν ἐνεκρατώς τὴν τῶν τυράννων ὁμότητα γέγονε γνώριμοι, ἵσως οὐκ ἔλασσον εὐδαιμονῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιτροπευσάντων βασιλείας. Ἀρείος δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Ἀγιύπτου παρατησάμενος ἐκὼν 266 αὐτῶν ἀπεστέρει τοῦ κρατίστου τέλους εἰ τούτῳ ἰστο κυριώτατον. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς ἢμῖν ἀπρακτός εἶ, μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως ἄρχων; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν φαίνη νοῦν ἔχων ἀνήρ. ἔξεστι γὰρ σοι φιλοσόφους πολλοὺς ἀποφήμαντι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τρεῖς ἢ τέταρτας μεῖξονα τῶν βίων ἐνεργητῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ὀμοῦ βασιλέων. οὖ μικρᾶς γὰρ μερίδος ὁ φιλόσοφος B

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But since I seem to have harked back to the life of contemplation and to be comparing it with the life of action, though in the beginning of your letter you declined to make the comparison, I will remind you of those very philosophers whom you mentioned, Areius, Nicolaus, Thrasyllus, and Musonius. So far from any one of these governing his own city, Areius we are told refused the governorship of Egypt when it was offered to him, and Thrasyllus by becoming intimate with the harsh and naturally cruel tyrant Tiberius would have incurred indelible disgrace for all time, had he not cleared himself in the writings that he left behind him and so shown his true character; so little did his public career benefit him. Nicolaus did not personally do any great deeds, and he is known rather by his writings about such deeds; while Musonius became famous because he bore his sufferings with courage, and, by Zeus, sustained with firmness the cruelty of tyrants; and perhaps he was not less happy than those who administered great kingdoms. As for Areius, when he declined the governorship of Egypt he deliberately deprived himself of the highest end, if he really thought that this was the most important thing. And you yourself,—may I ask, do you lead an inactive life because you are not a general or a public speaker and govern no nation or city? Nay, no one with any sense would say so. For it is in your power by producing many philosophers, or even only three or four, to confer more benefit on the lives of men than many kings put together. To no trivial province

1 Cf. Caesar's 326b note.  2 A historian under Augustus.
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προέστηκεν, ούδε, καθάπερ ἐφης, συμβουλής ἐστι μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκείνους κύριος, ούδὲ ἢ πράξεις εἰς λόγον αὐθείς αὐτῷ περισταται, ἔργον δὲ βεβαιῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φαινόμενος τοιοῦτοι, ὁποίους βούλεται τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι, πιθανόντερος ἢν εἰη καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ἀνυσιμότερος τῶν ἔξ ἐπιτάγματος ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις παρορ-μών των.

Ἀλλ' ἐπανειτέον εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπεραντέον τὴν ἐπιστολήν μείζονα ἵσως οὕσαν τοῦ δέοντος. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι μήτε τῶν πόνων φεύγων μήτε τὴν ἥδον τοὺς θρευτοὺς μήτε ἀπραγ-μοσύνης καὶ βαστώνης ἔρων τὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δυσχεραίνω βίον ἄλλ' ὅπερ ἐφην ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὔτε παίδειαν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδότως τοσαίτην οὔτε φύσεως ὑπεροχήν, καὶ προσέτι δεδιός, μὴ φιλοσοφίαν, ἡς ἔρων οὐκ ἐφεκόμη, εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους οὔτε ἄλλους εὐδοκιμοῦσαν διαβάλλω, πιὰ τε ἐγραφῶν ἐκεῖνα καὶ νῦν τὰς παρὰ ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμήσεις ἀπελυ-σάμην εἰς δύναμιν.

Διδοὴ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρίστην τύχην καὶ φρόνησιν ἀξίαν τῆς τύχης, ὥς ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος τὸ γε πλέον καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων ἀπάση μηχανῆ1 βοηθεῖός εἶναι 267 μοι δοκῶ, προτεταγμένος ὑμῶν καὶ προκυκνυνεύων. εἴ δὲ τι μείζων ἅγαθόν τῆς ἠμέτρας παρασκευῆς καὶ ής ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς παράσχοι, χαλεπαίνειν οὕτω χρῆ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὖδὲν ἐμαυτῷ

1 ἀπάση μηχανῆ follows ὑμῶν in MSS.; Hertlein suggests present reading.

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

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

May God grant me the happiest fortune possible, and wisdom to match my fortune! For now I think I need assistance from God above all, and also from you philosophers by all means in your power, since I have proved myself your leader and champion in danger. But should it be that blessings greater than of my furnishing and than the opinion that I now have of myself should be granted to men by God through my instrumentality, you must not resent my words. For being conscious or no good
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συνειδῶς ἁγαθῶν πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι μηδὲ οἴομαι τὰ μέγιστα ἔχειν ἔχων τε¹ οὐδέν, ὡς ὀρᾶς αὐτός, εἰκότως βοῶ καὶ μάρτυρομαι μὴ μεγάλα παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαίτειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Β πάν ἐπιτρέπειν: οὕτω γὰρ ἔγω τῶν τε ἐλλειμμάτων εἰην ἀν ἁνεύθυνος καὶ, γενομένων ἀπάντων δεξιῶν, εὐγνώμων ἀν καὶ μέτριοις εἰην, οὐκ ἄλλοτρίους ἐμαυτόν ἔργοις ἐπιγράφοντα, τῷ θεῷ δὲ, όσπερ ὅλην δίκαιον, προσανατεθείκως ἀπαντα αὐτός τε εἰςομαι καὶ ὑμᾶς προτρέπω τῇν χάριν εἰδέναι.

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

\(^1\) Demosthenes, \textit{De Corona} 23. \(^2\) Cf. Caesar \textit{s} 323\textit{b}.
LETTER TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS
INTRODUCTION

Of the manifestoes addressed by Julian to Rome, Sparta, Corinth, and Athens, defending his acceptance of the title of Emperor and his open rupture with Constantius, the last alone survives. It was written in Illyricum in 361, when Julian was on the march against Constantius, and is the chief authority for the events that led to his elevation to the Imperial rank. Julian writes to the Athenians of the fourth Christian century as though they still possessed the influence and standards of their forefathers. He was well known at Athens, where he had studied before his elevation to the Caesarship and he was anxious to clear himself in the eyes of the citizens. For the first time he ventures to speak the truth about Constantius and to describe the latter's ruthless treatment of his family. His account of the revolution at Paris is supplemented by Ammianus 20, Zosimus 3. 9, and the Epitaph on Julian by Libanius.
Πολλῶν εἰργασμένων τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ἐφ' ὅς οὐκ ἔκείνιοις μόνον τότε ἤξη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν νῦν ἔξεστι φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐγγερμένων τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τε ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος κοινῆ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἠγονίσατο μόνη πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν βαρβάρον, οὐδέν ἔστι τηλικοῦτον ἐργὸν οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθία τοσαύτη, πρὸς ἂν οὐκ Β. ἔνεστι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμιλληθήναι πόλεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ αὐταῖ, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ ἢν μὴ μεμνημένος ἐπειτα ἀντιπαραβάλλων ἢ προτιμᾶν ἐτέρας ἐτέραν ἐν οἷς διαμφισβητοῦσι νομισθεῖν ἢ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν, ὡσπερ οἱ ἰχθυες, εὐδεέστερον ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἐλαιτουμένας, τοῦτο ἐθέλω φράσαι μόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὥστε οἱ μηδὲν ἀντιπαλον ἔχομεν ἐξευρεῖν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλλήσιν, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης εἰς ἡμᾶς παραδεδομένον. ἀρχόντων μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ βία τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ δόξη δικαιοσύνης παρείλησθε, 242
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Many were the achievements of your forefathers of which you are still justly proud, even as they were of old; many were the trophies for victories raised by them, now for all Greece in common, now separately for Athens herself, in those days when she contended single-handed against all the rest of Greece as well as against the barbarian: but there was no achievement and no display of courage on your part so prodigious that other cities cannot in their turn rival it. For they too wrought some such deeds in alliance with you, and some on their own account. And that I may not by recalling these and then balancing them be thought either to pay more honour to one state than to another in the matters in which they are your rivals, or to praise less than they deserve those who proved inferior, in order to gain an advantage, after the manner of rhetoricians, I desire to bring forward on your behalf only this fact to which I can discover nothing that can be set against it on the part of the other Greek states, and which has been assigned to you by ancient tradition. When the Lacedaemonians were in power you took that power away from them not by violence but by your reputation for justice; and
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

dak τὸν 'Aristeíδην τὸν δίκαιον οἱ παρὸ νῦν ἐθρέψαντο νόμοι. καίτοι γε ταῦτα οὕτως οντα λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια διὰ λαμπροτέρων οἴμαι τῶν 269 ἔργων ὃμως ἐπιστώςασθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόξαι δίκαιον ἵσως ἃν τῷ καὶ ψευδῶς συμβαίνῃ, καὶ τυχόν οὐ παράδοξον ἐν πολλοῖς φαύλοις ἔνα γενέσθαι σπουδαίον. ἥ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ παρὰ Μήδοις ὑμεῖται τις Δηιόκης Ἀθαρίς τε ἐν Ἰππερβορέωι καὶ Ἀκάρασι ἐν Σκύθαις; ὑπὲρ δὲν τοῦτο ἦν θανμαστόν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς ἀδικωτάτοις γεγονότες ἔθνησε τὴν δίκην ὃμως ἑτίμησαν, τὸ μὲν ἄληθος, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρείας χάρων πλαττό-μενος. δήμον δὲ ὅλον καὶ τόλιν ἑραστὰς ἔργων καὶ λόγων δικαίων ἔξω τῆς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν οὐ ράδιον εὐρεῖν. βούλομαι δὲ ύμᾶς ἐνὸς τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν πολλῶν γε ὀντῶν ἔργων ὑπομνήσαι. Θευμστο-
κλέους γὰρ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ γρόμην εἰσγείσθαι διανοομένου λάβρα καταφλέξαι τὰ νεώρια τῶν Ἐλλήνων, εἶτα μὴ τολμῶντος εἰς τὸν δήμον Ο λέγειν, εὖν δὲ ὁμολογοῦντος πιστεύσειν τὸ ἀπόρρη-
tον, ὑπὲρ δὲν ὁ δήμος χειροτονήσας προέληται, προμβάλετο μὲν ὁ δήμος τὸν Ἀριστείδην. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τῆς γνώμης ἔκρυψε μὲν τὸ ρηθέν, ἐξήνεγκε δὲ εἰς τὸν δήμον, ὡς οὔτε λυσιτελέστερον οὔτε ἀδικωτέρον εἰ ὦ τὸ βουλεύματος: καὶ

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it was your laws that nurtured Aristides the Just. Moreover, brilliant as were these proofs of your virtue, you confirmed them by still more brilliant actions. For to be reputed just might perhaps happen to any individual even though it were not true; and perhaps it would not be surprising that among many worthless citizens there should be found one virtuous man. For even among the Medes is not a certain Deioces \(^1\) celebrated, and Abaris \(^2\) too among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharsis \(^3\) among the Scythians? And in their case the surprising thing was that, born as they were among nations who knew nothing of justice, they nevertheless prized justice, two of them sincerely, though the third only pretended to do so out of self-interest. But it would be hard to find a whole people and city enamoured of just deeds and just words except your own. And I wish to remind you of one out of very many such deeds done in your city. After the Persian war Themistocles \(^4\) was planning to introduce a resolution to set fire secretly to the naval arsenals of the Greeks, and then did not dare to propose it to the assembly; but he agreed to confide the secret to any one man whom the people should elect by vote; and the people chose Aristides to represent them. But he when he heard the scheme did not reveal what he had been told, but reported to the people that there could be nothing more profitable or more dishonest than that advice.

\(^1\) The first King of Media; reigned 709–656 B.C.

\(^2\) A priest of Apollo whose story and date are uncertain.

\(^3\) A Scythian prince who visited Athens at the end of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations 5. 32; Lucian, Anacharsis.

\(^4\) The story is told in Plutarch, Themistocles.
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ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο παραχρήμα καὶ παρητῆ-
σατο, πάνυ γε νη Διὰ μεγαλοψύχως καὶ δι
ἐχρὴν τρόπον ἄνδρας ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῆς φρονιμο-
νατῆς θεὶ τρεφομένους.

Οὖκον εἰ ταῦτα παρ’ ὑμῖν μὲν ἢν πάλαι,
σώζεται δὲ εξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐτι τῆς
tῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὥσπερ ἐμπύρευμα τι σμικρόν,
eἰκός ἐστιν ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραττο-
μένων ἀφορᾶν οὔδὲ εἰ τις ὅσπερ δι’ ἀέρος ἑπτά-
μενος διὰ τῆς γῆς ἐβάδισεν ἀμηχάνος τάχει
καὶ ἀτρύτῳ ῥώμῃ, σκοπείν δὲ ὅταν ταῦτα μετὰ
tοῦ δικαιοῦ κατείργασται, κατὰ ἀν μὲν φαίνεται 270
ἐὰν δίκη πράττων, ἑδὶ τε αὐτὸν ἓσως καὶ
δημοσίᾳ πάντες ἐπαινεῖτε, τῆς δίκης δὲ ὅλην-
ρήσας ἀτιμάζοντο ἀν παρ’ ὑμῶν εἰκότως. οὐδὲν
γὰρ οὕτως ἔστιν ὡς τὸ δίκαιον ἄδελφον φρονήσει
τοὺς οὐν ἀτιμάζοντας τοῦτο δικαίως ἀν καὶ
ὡς εἰς τὴν παρ’ ὑμῖν θείον ἀσεβθοῦντας ἐξελαῦνοιτε.
Βούλομαι οὖν ὑμῖν τὰ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἄγνοοῦσι
μὲν ἀπαγγείλαι δὲ ὰμοί, ὅπως, εἰ τι λέείθεν εἰκός Β
δὲ ἐνα καὶ ὅσα μάλιστα τοῖς πάσι γνωσθῆναι
προσήκει. ὑμῖν τε καὶ δι’ ὑμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις
"Ελλησι γένοιτο γνώριμα. μυδεῖς οὖν ὑπολάβη
μὲ ἵππον ἤ φλυαρεῖν, εἰ περὶ τῶν πάσιν ὥσπερ
ἐν ὅθαλμοις γηγονότων οὐ πάλαι μόνον, ἄλλα
καὶ μικρὰ πρότερον, ποιεῖσθαι τινάς ἑπιχειρη-
σαὶς λόγοις: οὐδένα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄγνοεῖν βούλομαι
τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀλλαόνειν δὲ ἄλλοιν ἄλλα εἰκός.

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LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

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

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

¹ Athene.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἀρέσμαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον τῶν C ἐμαυτοῦ.

Καὶ οτι μὲν τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἡμῖν ἐντεύθεν ὀθενπερ καὶ Κωνσταντῖφ τα πρὸς πατρὸς ἀρμη-
tai, φανερόν. τὸ γὰρ ἡμετέρου πατέρα γεγόνατον ἀδελφὼ πατρόθεν. οὕτω δὲ πλησίον ἡμᾶς ὄντας
συγγενεῖς ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος οὕτος βασιλεὺς
οία εἰργάσατο, ἦς μὲν ἀνεψιοῦς ἐμοῦ τα καὶ
ἐαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν, ἕαυτο τὸ θείον,
καὶ προσέτι κοινῶν ἔτερον τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς D
θείον ἀδελφόν τε ἐμὸν τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἀκρίτους
κτείνας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἔτερον ἀδελφόν ἐμὸν ἔθελήσας
μὲν κτείναι, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλὼν φυγήν, ἂφ’ ἦς
ἐμὲ μὲν ἀφῆκεν, ἐκείνου δὲ ὀλύγῳ πρότερον τῆς
σφαγῆς ἐξέδυσε 2 τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὖνομα, τὶ
μὲ δὲν νῦν ὠσπερ ἐκ πραγμάτων τὰ ἄρρητα
ἀναμετρεῖθαι; μετεμέλησε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασὶ,
καὶ ἐδήχθη δεινῶς, ἀπαίδιαν τε ἐντεύθεν νομίζει
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δυστυχεῖν, τὰ τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Πέρσας
οὐκ εὐνούχως πράττειν ἐκ τούτων ὑπολαμβάνει.
ταῦτα ἐθρύλον οί περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τοτε καὶ
τὸν μακαρίτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλου, τοῦτο
νῦν πρῶτον ἀκούντα τὸ ὄνομα κτείνας γὰρ
αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ τῶν πατρῶν
μεταλαχεῖν εἴσασε τάφων οὐδὲ τῆς εὐαγγοῦς ἥξισε
μνήμης.

"Οπερ οὖν ἐφη, ἔλεγον τοσαίτα καὶ δὴ καὶ B
ἐπεθεῖον ἡμᾶς, 3 ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπατηθεῖσ εἰργάσατο,
τὰ δὲ βία καὶ ταραχαῖς εἴξας ἀτάκτων καὶ

1 τὸν ἡμᾶν Hurtlein suggests, ἐμὸν MSS.
2 ἐξέδυσε Hurtlein suggests, ἐρρύσατο οὐδὲ Cobet, ἐρρύσατο MSS.
3 ἡμᾶς Hurtlein, Reiske suggest, ἡμᾶς MSS.

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every circumstance. First I will begin with my ancestors.

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

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

1 Gallus.
2 Euripides, Orestes 14. τι τάρανεν ἀναμίσθησανα μὲ δεῖ;
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taraxóndous strateúmatoi. tosaúta ſmín tropídon
en áγρῳ tòu tòu ἐν ὈἸαδόκη κατακεκλεισ-
ménoi, οὐδένα ἔωντες προσελθείν, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ
ti ἐν ὈἸαδόκη, ὕψης ἀνακαλεσάμενοι, ἐμὲ
dὲ κομιδὴ ἰεράκιον ἐτί τῶν δίδασκαλείων ἀπα-
γοντες. πῶς ἂν ἐνταῦθα φράσαμι περὶ τῶν Ω
ἐξ ἐναυτῶν, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κτήματι διήγοντες,ἐ
ἐντεύεσθαι, οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις
τηρούμενοι, λεγομένω τῶν ἔχουν μηδὲ
tοῦ πάλαι γνωρίμων ἐπιτρεπόμενον τινός ὡς
ημᾶς φοιτάν, διεξόμενω ἀποκεκλεισμένοι παντὸς
μὲν μαθήματος πουδαλοῦ, πάσης δὲ εὐθείας
ἐντεύεσθαι, ἐν ταῖς λαμπραῖς οἰκετείαις τρέφομενοι
καὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν θύλλης ὁσπὲρ ἐταῖροι
D

ἐντεύθεν ἐγὼ μὲν μόνη ἀφείθης διὰ τοὺς
θεοὺς εὐνυχῶς, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφός ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν
καθείρθη δυστυχῶς, ἐπερ τὸς ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε.
καὶ γὰρ εἰ τι περὶ τὸν ἄγριον ἀγριοῦ καὶ
tραχὺ τὸν ἐκείνου κατεφάνη, τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς
ὁρείου τροφῆς συνηνυζόθη. δικαίως οὖν οἶμαι
καὶ τάπητι ἔχειν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ τάπητι ημῖν
πρὸς βίαν μεταδοὺς τῆς τροφῆς, ὅπως ἐμὲ μὲν
οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καθαρῶν ἀπέφηναν
καὶ ἐξάντη, τὸ δὲ οὐδές ἐνδοκεκ. εὐθὺς γὰρ
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄγρων ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθόντι

1 ᾧ ἐν ὈἸαδόκῃ, ὕψης Ηερτλέιν συγγεγράφη, ἀντὶ τῶν

2 didígyontes Ηερτλέιν συγγεγράφη, διήγοντες MSS.

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

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

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\(^1\) The castle of Macellum.
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ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν ἀλουργῆς ἰμάτιον, αὐτίκα φθονεῖν ἄρξάμενος οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιελεῖν τὸ πορφυρὸν ἰμάτιον ἀρκεσθείς. καίτοι τοῦ ξῆν γοῦν ἄξιος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύειν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειος. ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν καὶ τούτον στέρεσθαι. ἐμνήμωρω, λόγον γε πάντως ύποσχόντα πρότερον, Β ὄσπερ τοὺς κακούργους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει τῷ δῆσαντι κτείνειν, τοὺς ἀφανεθέντας δὲ τιμᾶς, ὡς εἴχον, καὶ γενομένους ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἰδιώτας ἀκρίτους φησὶ δεῖν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. τί γὰρ, εἰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἶχεν ἀποφήναι τοὺς αὐτίους; ἐδέδωκτο γὰρ αὐτῷ Σ τινών ἐπιστολαί, Ἡράκλεις, ὅσα ἔχουσαι κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ἀλ' ἐκείνοις ἀγανακτήσας ἀκρατέστερον μὲν καὶ Ἰκιστα βασιλικῶς εὖφηκε τῷ θυμῷ, τοῦ μέντοι μηδὲ ξῆν ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐπετράχει. πῶς γὰρ; οὐχ οὖτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπος ἀπασὶ κοινῶς "Ελλησιν ἄμα καὶ βαρβάροις ο νόμος, ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδίκιας ύπάρχοντας; ἀλλ' ἵσως μὲν ἡμύνατο πικρότερον. οὐ μὴν ἔξω πάντη τοῦ εἰκότου; τὸν γὰρ ἐχθρὸν ἐπ' ὀργῆς εἰκός τι καὶ ποιεῖν, εἰρηται καὶ πρόσθεν. ἀλλ' εἰς Δ χάριν ἔνδος ἀνδρογύνου, τοῦ κατακοιμοῦτο, καὶ προσετε τοῦ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιτρόπου τῶν ἀνεψίων, τῶν καίσαρα, τῶν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀνδρα γενόμενον,
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the purple robe he at once began to be jealous of him, nor did he cease from that feeling until, not content with stripping him of the purple, he had destroyed him. Yet surely he deserved to live, even if he seemed unfit to govern. But someone may say that it was necessary to deprive him of life also. I admit it, only on condition that he had first been allowed to speak in his own defence as criminals are. For surely it is not the case that the law forbids one who has imprisoned bandits to put them to death, but says that it is right to destroy without a trial those who have been stripped of the honours that they possessed and have become mere individuals instead of rulers. For what if my brother had been able to expose those who were responsible for his errors? For there had been handed to him the letters of certain persons, and, by Heracles, what accusations against himself they contained! And in his resentment at these he gave way in most unkingly fashion to uncontrolled anger, but he had done nothing to deserve being deprived of life itself. What! Is not this a universal law among all Greeks and barbarians alike, that one should defend oneself against those who take the initiative in doing one a wrong? I admit that he did perhaps defend himself with too great cruelty; but on the whole not more cruelly than might have been expected. For we have heard it said before\(^1\) that an enemy may be expected to harm one in a fit of anger. But it was to gratify a eunuch,\(^2\) his chamberlain who was also his chief cook, that Constantius gave over to his most inyeterate enemies his own cousin,

\(^1\) Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 41.
\(^2\) Eusebius; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 14. 11; 22. 3.

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tὸν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς πατέρα, οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον ἢν ἀγαγόμενος τῷν ἀδελφήν, πρὸς ὑν αὐτῷ τοσαῦτα θεῶν ὀμογνών ὑπήρχε δίκαια, κτεῖναι παρέδωκε τοὺς ἐχθίστους· ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφήκε μόνην ἐπτὰ μηνῶν ὄλων ἐλκύσας τῇ δε κάκεισε καὶ ποιησάμενος ἐμφρουρον, ὡστε, εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις 273 ἐθελήσας με σωθῆναι τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν τὸ την καταύτα μοι παρέσχεν εὐμενῆ Ἐυσεβίαν, οὐδὲ ἀν ἐγὼ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ τότε διέφυγον. 
καλτοὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδ᾿ ὄναρ μοι φανεῖς ἀδελφὸς ἐπεπράξει· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνῆν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἐφοίτων οὐδὲ ἐβάδιζον παρ᾿ αὐτόν, ὀλυγάκις δὲ ἐγραφον καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων. ὡς οὖν ἀποφυγόν Β ἐκείθεν ἀσμενος ἐπορεύομην ἑπὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐστίνα πατρῶν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπήρξε μοι οὐδὲ ἐκεκτήμην ἐκ τοσοῦτων, ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν πατέρα κεκτηθαί τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην βῶλον, οὐκ ἀνάραποδον, οὐκ οἰκίαν· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ καλὸς Κωνστάντιος ἐκληρονόμησεν ἀντ᾿ ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν ἀπασαν, ἐμοί τε, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲ γρῦ μετέδωκεν αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷβας τῶν πατρῶν ἔδωκεν ὀλίγα, πάντων αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενος τῶν μητρῶν.

"Οσα μὲν οὖν ἐπηράξε πρὸς με πρὶν ὄνοματος Σ μὲν μεταδόοναι μοι τοῦ σεμνοτάτου, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς πικροτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἐμβαλεῖν δουλεῖαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, τὰ πλείστα γοῦν ὄμως
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the Caesar, his sister's husband, the father of his niece, the man whose own sister he had himself married in earlier days,¹ and to whom he owed so many obligations connected with the gods of the family. As for me he reluctantly let me go, after dragging me hither and thither for seven whole months and keeping me under guard; so that had not some one of the gods desired that I should escape, and made the beautiful and virtuous Eusebia kindly disposed to me, I could not then have escaped from his hands myself. And yet I call the gods to witness that my brother had pursued his course of action without my having a sight of him even in a dream. For I was not with him, nor did I visit him or travel to his neighbourhood; and I used to write to him very seldom and on unimportant matters. Thinking therefore that I had escaped from that place, I set out for the house that had been my mother's. For of my father's estate nothing belonged to me, and I had acquired out of the great wealth that had naturally belonged to my father not the smallest clod of earth, not a slave, not a house. For the admirable Constantius had inherited in my place the whole of my father's property, and to me, as I was saying, he granted not the least trifle of it; moreover, though he gave my brother a few things that had been his father's, he robbed him of the whole of his mother's estate.

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

¹ The sister of Gallus was the first wife of Constantius.
² The title of Caesar.
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ἀκηκοάτε¹ πορευομένου δή² λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστιαν, ἀγαπητῶς τε καὶ μόνιμα ἀποσωζομένου, συκοφάντης τις ἀνεφάνη περὶ τὸ Σέρμουν, ὃς τοὺς ἐκεῖ πράγματα ἔρραγεν ὡς νεώτερα διανοοῦμενος· ἦστε δὴ ἦτοι φήμη τῶν Ἀφρικικῶν καὶ τῶν Μαρίνων· οὐκοῦν ὡμᾶς οὐδὲ ὁ Φήλις ἔλαθεν οὐδὲ ὅσα ἐπράχθη περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλὰ ὡς τούτο αὐτῷ κατεμηνύθη τὸ πράγμα, καὶ Δυνάμοις ἐξαιρήθη, ἀλλὸς συκοφάντης, ἐκ Κελτῶν ἤγγειλεν ὅσον οὗτο τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ αὐτῷ πολέμου ἀναφανεῖσθαι, δείσας παντάπασι καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐτικά ἐπὶ ἐμε πέμπει, καὶ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἕλλαδα κελεύσας ὑποχωρήσαι πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκάλει παρ’ ἑαυτὸν, 274 οὕτω πρὸτερον τεθεαμένος πλὴν ἀπαξ μὲν εἰς Καππαδοκία, ἀπαξ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλία, ἀγωνισμένης Εὐσεβίας, ὡς ἄν υπέρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ θαρρῆσαιμι. καίτοι τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πόλιν ἐξ ὥσις μηνῶν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέσχετο μεθεάσεσθαι πάλιν. ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς ἐχθρὸς ἀνδρόγυνος, ὁ πιστὸς αὐτοῦ κατακοιμιστής, ἐλαθεὶ μου καὶ ἄκων ἐνεργήτης γενόμενος· οὐ γὰρ εἶσαι ἐνυπερηφανεῖς με πολλάκις αὐτῷ, τυχῶν μὲν οὐδὲ Βέθελοντι, πλὴν ἄλλα τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκεῖνος ἢμῶν ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὡς αὖ μὴ τινὸς συνηθείς ἐγγενομένης ἢμῶν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐπειτα ἀγαπηθείναι καὶ πιστῶς ἀναφανεῖς ἐπιτραπεῖν τι.

Παραγενόμενον δὴ με τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἕλλαδὸς αὐτικὰ διὰ τῶν περὶ τῆς θεραπείαν

¹ ἀκηκοάτε Cobet, ἢκούσατε Hertlein, MSS.
² δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

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greater part. As I was saying, I was on my way to my home and was barely getting away safely, beyond my hopes, when a certain sycophant ¹ turned up near Sirmium ² and fabricated the rumour against certain persons there that they were planning a revolt. You certainly know by hearsay Africanus ³ and Marinus: nor can you fail to have heard of Felix and what was the fate of those men. And when Constantius was informed of the matter, and Dynamius, another sycophant suddenly reported from Gaul that Silvanus ⁴ was on the point of declaring himself his open enemy, in the utmost alarm and terror he forthwith sent to me, and first he bade me retire for a short time to Greece, then summoned me from there to the court ⁵ again. He had never seen me before except once in Cappadocia and once in Italy,—an interview which Eusebia had secured by her exertions so that I might feel confidence about my personal safety. And yet I lived for six months in the same city ⁶ as he did, and he had promised that he would see me again. But that execrable eunuch, ⁷ his trusty chamberlain, unconsciously and involuntarily proved himself my benefactor. For he did not allow me to meet the Emperor often, nor perhaps did the latter desire it; still the eunuch was the chief reason. For what he dreaded was that if we had any intercourse with one another I might be taken into favour, and when my loyalty became evident I might be given some place of trust.

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

¹ Gaudentius. ² A town in Illyricum. ³ For the account of this alleged conspiracy cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 3. ⁴ Cf. Oration 1. 48 c; 2. 98 c, D. ⁵ At Milan. ⁶ Milan. ⁷ Eusebius.
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eινούχων ἡ μακαρίτις Εὔσεβία καὶ λαῖν ἐφιλο-
φρονεῖτο. μικρὸν δὲ ὄστερον ἐπελθόντος τούτους
καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τὰ περὶ Σιλουανὸν ἐπέπρακτο. Κ
λοιπὸν εἰσόδος τε εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν δίδοται, καὶ τὸ
λεγόμενον ἡ Θετταλικὴ περιβάλλεται πειθαράγη.
ἀρνομένου γάρ μοι τὴν συνουσίαν στερεῶς ἐν
τοῖς βασιλείοις, οἱ μὲν ὀστερὸν εὐνοεῖν κουρεῖοι συνελ-
θόντες ἀποκείρουσι τὸν πάγωνα, χλαύδα δὲ ἀμφιθυμήσωσι καὶ σχηματίζουσι, ὡς τοτε ὑπελάμ-
βανον, πάνω γελοῖον στρατιώτην ὕφευγεν γάρ μοι Δ
τοῦ καλλωπίσμου τῶν καθαρμάτων ἤμοζεν·
ἐβάδιζον δὲ ὡστερ ἐκεῖνοι περιβλέποντο καὶ
σοβῶν ἂν' εἰς γῆν βλέπον, ὡστερ εἰδίσμην
ὑπὸ τοῦ θρήσαντος με παιδαγώγου. τότε μὲν οὖν
ἀντίς παρέσχον γέλωτα, μικρὸν δὲ ὄστερον ὑπο-
ψίαν, εἰτα ἀνέλαμψεν ὁ τοσοῦτοι φθόνος.

'Αλλ' εὐταθὰ χρῆ μη παραλείπειν ἐκεῖνα, πώς ἐγὼ 
συνεχόμησα, πώς ἐδεχόμην ὅμωρφοις ἐκείνοις 
γενέσθαι, οὐς ἦπιστάμην παντὶ μὲν μου 
λυπημένους τῷ γένει, ὑπώπτευον δὲ οὖκ εἰς 
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1 περιβλέπων... σοβῶν Hertlein suggests, περιβλέποντες...
σοβούντες MSS.
2 ἐδεχόμην Naber, δὲ εἰλάμην Hertlein, MSS.
3 ὅμωρφοις Cobet, ὅμωρφοις Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

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...οδοὺ. ὡς μὲν οὖν ὦ προῦδωκεν ἡ θεὸς τῶν ἰκέτην οὐδὲ ἐξεδωκεν, ἔργοις ἔδειξεν ἡγήσατο γὰρ ἀπανταχοῦ μοι καὶ παρέστησεν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς φῦλακας, εξ Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης ἀγγέλους λαβοῦσα.

Συνέβη δὲ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον. ἔλθων ἐς τὸ Μεδίο-λανον ἤκουν ἐν τινὶ προαστείῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἔπεμπεν Εὐσεβία πολλάκις πρὸς με φιλοφρονομένη καὶ γράφειν κελεύονσα καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὑπὲρ ὅτιν ἀν δέωμαι. γράφας ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιστολὴν, Κ μᾶλλον δὲ ἵκετηριαν ὄρκους ἔχουσαν τοιούτους: ὦτω παισὶ χρησαίο κληρονόμοις. οὐτω τὰ καὶ τὰ θεὸς σοι δοι, πέμπε με ὅικαίδε τὴν ταχιστὴν, ἐκεῖνο ὑπειδόμην ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλές εἰς τὰ βασιλεία πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος γυναικά γράμματα εἰσπέμπειν. ἰκέτευσα δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς νυκτὸς δηλώσαι μοι, εἰ χρή πέμπτειν παρὰ τὴν βασιλίδα τὸ γραμματεῖον· οἱ δὲ ἐπιτηδεύσαν, εἰ πέμψαιμι, θάνατον αἰσχροτον. ὡς δὲ ἄληθῆ ταῦτα γράφω, Π καλῶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπαντας μάρτυρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ γράμματα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέστην εἰσπέμψαι. εξ ἑκείνης δὲ μοι τῆς νυκτὸς λογισμὸς εἰσήλθεν, οὐ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἵσως ἄξιον ἄκουσαι. Νῦν, ἐφη, ἐγὼ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀντιτάτεσθαι διανοοῦμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι κρείττον νεώμικα τῶν πάντα εἰδοτῶν. καίτοι φρόνησις ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀφορῶσα μοῦν ἀγαπητῶς ἄν τύχοι καὶ μόνος τοῦ 276 πρὸς ἰλάγων ἀναμαρτήτου. διόπερ οὐδεὶς οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τριακοστῶν ἐτῶν βουλεύεται οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἶδιη γεγονότων· το μὲν γὰρ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδύνατον.

1 οθείξεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεθείξεν MSS.
2 τριακοστῶν Hertlein suggests, τριακοστῶν MSS.
my journey to the Emperor. That the goddess accordingly did not betray her suppliant or abandon him she proved by the event. For everywhere she was my guide, and on all sides she set a watch near me, bringing guardian angels from Helios and Selene. What happened was somewhat as follows. When I came to Milan I resided in one of the suburbs. Thither Eusebia sent me on several occasions messages of good-will, and urged me to write to her without hesitation about anything that I desired. Accordingly I wrote her a letter, or rather a petition containing vows like these: "May you have children to succeed you; may God grant you this and that, if only you send me home as quickly as possible!" But I suspected that it was not safe to send to the palace letters addressed to the Emperor's wife. Therefore I besought the gods to inform me at night whether I ought to send the letter to the Empress. And they warned me that if I sent it I should meet the most ignominious death. I call all the gods to witness that what I write here is true. For this reason, therefore, I forbore to send the letter. But from that night there kept occurring to me an argument which it is perhaps worth your while also to hear. "Now," I said to myself, "I am planning to oppose the gods, and I have imagined that I can devise wiser schemes for myself than those who know all things. And yet human wisdom, which looks only to the present moment, may be thankful if, with all its efforts, it succeed in avoiding mistakes even for a short space. That is why no man takes thought for things that are to happen thirty years hence, or for things that are already past, for the one

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tov' alla uper ton en xerai kal ou arxai tineis eisw yhdei kai spereamata. fronhosis de h para tois theois eti to mheistou, malloan de eti pan blepouusa mhn te orhws kal pratpei to lafon aitioi gar eisw autoi kathaper ton dnton, outw de kai ton esosomenw. oukoun eikos autois uper B ton paron ton epistasthai. teos men oun edokei moj kata toito synetostera theis emprosthen h deuter ana ymwh. skopwv de eis to dikaiov evthenw efhn. Eita su mea anagnaktes, ei ti ton sou kte- matoi apostereoi se theis eauton chriseis h kai apodidraskoi kaloymenon, kan itpou tychi kai C probatis kan boidion, anthropos de einae voulo- menos oude ton anghelaiw oude ton surfetodou, allal ton epieikwn kale metriwv apostereis seau- tov toni theousi kale ouk epitrepveis ef' o, ti av ebelenoi chriseisai sou i. opra mhe prois tov livan afronwv kale ton dikaiwv ton prou toni theousi olygworos prattis. h de andreia tov kai tis; gelo- ovn. etomos gousi e kai thwpeusai kai kolakeusai deei tov thnaton, exon apanta katabailein kai tois D theois epitrepsei prattein os boulyontai, dielemomen prou autois thei epitmeleian thei eautou, kathaper kai o Swkratiothi xion, kai ta men eti soli prat- tein os avn evdechigai, to de 'dolon et' ekainois poieisai, kektisai de mhden mhde artpazew, ta

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is superfluous, the other impossible, but only for what lies near at hand and has already some beginnings and germs. But the wisdom of the gods sees very far, or rather, sees the whole, and therefore it directs aright and brings to pass what is best. For they are the causes of all that now is, and so likewise of all that is to be. Wherefore it is reasonable that they should have knowledge about the present.” So far, then, it seemed to me that on this reasoning my second determination was wiser than my first. And viewing the matter in the light of justice, I immediately reflected: “Would you not be provoked if one of your own beasts were to deprive you of its services, or were even to run away when you called it, a horse, or sheep, or calf, as the case might be? And will you, who pretended to be a man, and not even a man of the common herd or from the dregs of the people, but one belonging to the superior and reasonable class, deprive the gods of your service, and not trust yourself to them to dispose of you as they please? Beware lest you not only fall into great folly, but also neglect your proper duties towards the gods. Where is your courage, and of what sort is it? A sorry thing it seems. At any rate, you are ready to cringe and flatter from fear of death, and yet it is in your power to lay all that aside and leave it to the gods to work their will, dividing with them the care of yourself, as Socrates, for instance, chose to do: and you might, while doing such things as best you can, commit the whole to their charge; seek to possess nothing, seize nothing, but accept simply what is vouchsafed

1 An echo of Plato, Phaedo 62 c; cf. Fragment of a Letter 297 A.

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διδόμενα δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀφελῶς ἵστεσθαι. ταύτην ἐγὼ νομίσας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρέπει 277 πουσαν ἀνδρὶ μετρῆσας γνώμην, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐσήμαινε ταύτην· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιβουλὰς εὐλαμβανον τὰς μελλούσας εἰς αἰσχρόν καὶ προοίμιον ἐμβαλεῖν ἕαυτον κίνδυνον δεινῶς ἐφαίνετό μοι θορυβῶδες· εἰςαὶ καὶ ὑπῆκουσα. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομά μοι ταχέως καὶ τὸ χλανίδιον περιεβλήθη τοῦ κάσαρος· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις δουλεία καὶ τὸ καθι ἐκάστην ὑμέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπικρεμαμενον δέος. Ἡράκλειος ὅσον καὶ ὄλος κλείβρα Β θυρῶν, θυρωρὶ, τῶν οἰκετῶν αἱ χεῖρας ἐρευνόμεναι, μὴ τίς μοι παρὰ τῶν φίλων γραμματίδιον κομίζῃ, θεραπεία ξένη· μόλις ἤδυνήθην οἰκέτας ἐμαυτοῦ τέτταρας, παιδάρια μὲν δύο κομίδη μικρά, δύο δὲ μείζονας, εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἰκείοτροφὸν με θεραπεύοντας εἰσαγαγεῖν, ὅν εἰς μοι μόνος καὶ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς συνειδός καὶ ὡς ἐνεδέχετο λάθρα συμπράττων· ἐπεπίστευτο δὲ τῶν βιβλίων μου τὴν φυλακήν, ὅν μόνος τῶν ἐμοὶ πολλῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φίλων πιστῶν, εἰς ἰατρός, δὲ καὶ, ὅτι φίλος ὁν ἐλελήθησε, συναπέδημησεν. οὕτω δὲ ἐδείκει ἐγὼ ταύτα καὶ ψυφοδεώς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτά, ὅστε καὶ βουλομένους εἰσίεναι τῶν φίλων πολλῶν παρ’ ἐμὲ καὶ μᾶλ’ ἄκων ἐκώλυν, ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμῶν, ὅκαν δὲ ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι συμφορῶν αἰτίος. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἔξωθέν ἔστι, τάδε δὲ ἐν αὐτῶς τοῖς πράγμασι.

1 ἀφελῶς Cobet, ἀσφαλῶς Hertlein, MSS.

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

¹ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 8.
² Oreibasius; cf. Letter 17.
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Τριακοσίους ἐξήκοντα μοι δοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ τῶν Κέλτων ἔθνος ἀνατετραμμένον ἔστειλε, μεσοῦντος ἥδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκείσε στρατοπέδων ἢ τοῖς ἐκείσε στρατηγοῖς ἑπακούοντα. 1 ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνετε- ταλτο διαρρῆδην οὐ τούς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ παραφυλάττειν, ὡς ἀν μὴ νεώτερον τι πράξαιμι. τούτων δὲ ὃν ἔφην τρόπον γενομένων, περὶ τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερινὰς ἐπιτρέπει μοι βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ 278 στρατόπεδα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περιοισοντι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ· καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τοῦτο εἴρητο καὶ ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι τοῖς Γάλλοις οὐ βασιλέα δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους εἰκόνα κο- μιοῦντα.

Οὐ κακῶς δὲ, ὡς ἀκηκόατε, τοῦ πρῶτου στρα- τηγηθέντος ἐναντίου καὶ πραξθέντος σπου- δαίου, πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια πάλιν ἐπανελθόν εἰς τὸν Β ἔσχατον κατέστην κύνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ ἄθροισειν ἐξῆν μοι στρατόπεδου· ἐτερος γὰρ ἢν ὁ τούτου κύριος· αὐτὸς τε τὰς δῖλας ἀποκεκλεισμένοις, εἶτα παρὰ τῶν πλησίων πόλεων αἴτησις ἐπικοι- νίσαν, ὃν εἶχον τὸ πλείστον ἐκεῖνους δοὺς, αὐτὸς 2 ἀπελείφθη μόνος· ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐν οὕτως ἑπράξη τότε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχων ἐν ὑποψία γενομένοις αὐτῷ παρρησθῇ καὶ ἀπηλλάγῃ τῆς ἄρχης, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπητύδειος δόξας, ἐγὼ γε C ἐνομίσθην ἢκιστα σπουδαίος καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγός, ἀτε πρᾶον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχῶν καὶ μέτρων. οὐ

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

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

Now when, as you have heard, the first campaign was ended that year and great advantage gained, I returned to winter quarters,\(^2\) and there I was exposed to the utmost danger. For I was not even allowed to assemble the troops; this power was entrusted to another, while I was quartered apart with only a few soldiers, and then, since the neighbouring towns begged for my assistance, I assigned to them the greater part of the force that I had, and so I myself was left isolated. This then was the condition of affairs at that time. And when the commander-in-chief\(^3\) of the forces fell under the suspicions of Constantius and was deprived by him of his command and superseded, I in my turn was thought to be by no means capable or talented as a general, merely because I had shown myself mild and moderate. For I thought I ought not

\(^1\) 355 A.D. \(^2\) At Vienne. \(^3\) Marcellus.
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γὰρ φήμην δεῖν ξυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποῦ τι τῶν Λίαν ἐπικινδύνων ἐόρων ἡ δέον γενέσθαι παρορώμενον ἢ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δέον γενέσθαι γυνώμενου. ἀπαξ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον οὐ καθήκοντος μοί τινων χρησμαίνων, ἐμαυτὸν φήθην χρήμα τιμῶν τῇ σιωπῇ, καὶ τού χαίτω τὴν χλανίδα περιέφερον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα. τούτων γὰρ τὸ τηρικαίτα διενούμην ἀποπεθάναι κύριοι.

'Εξ ὧν ὁ Κωνστάντιος νομίσας οὐδόν ἐπιστάντος καὶ χρήμα τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πράγματα, δίδωσί μοι τῶν περιπατεῶν τὴν ἱγμονίαν ἤρων ἄρχη. καὶ προσπέπεδων ἦλθον μὲν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σώματος, πολλῶν πάνυ Γερμανῶν πέρι τὰς πεπορθημένας ἐν Κελτῶν τῶν πόλεως ἀδεῶς κατοικοῦντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν πόλεως πέντε ποιούμενον καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἂστι, τείχη τὰ διηρρημένα δίχα τῶν πυργῶν καὶ τῶν ἔλασσόνων φυαρίων. ἦς δὲ ἐνεμοῦντο γῆς ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ὁ ῾Ρήγον πάρησις οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μέγεθος ὁπός τῶν πηγῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχήμενος ἀχρι τοῦ ῾Οκεανοῦ περιλαμβάνει τριακόσια δὲ ἀπείχον τῆς ἴσον τοῦ ῾Ρήγου στάδια οἱ πρὸς ἴμας οἴκοιν- τέσι ἔσχατοι, τριπλάσιον δὲ ἤπει τοῖσι πλάτος τὸ καταλειπθεῖν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τῆς λεηρᾶς, ἐνθα Β οὐδὲ νέμειν ἔξην τοῖσι Κελτοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ πόλεις τινὲς ἔρημοι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, αἰς οὐποῖοι παρὼνοι οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐν τούτοις οὖσαν κατα- λαβών ἑγὼ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλιν τε ἀνέλαβον τὴν

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

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

\(^1\) 357 A.D.
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Ἀγριππίναν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡµὺν, πρὸ µηνῶν ἐαλωκυίαν τοῦ δέκα, καὶ τείχος Ἀργέντορα πλησίον πρὸς ταῖς ὑπωρείαις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βοσέγου, καὶ ἐμαχεσάμην οὐκ ἀκλεώς. ἵσως καὶ εἰς ὑµᾶς ἄφικετο ἡ Θοιαύτη µάχη. ἐνθα τῶν θεῶν δόντων μοι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πολεµίων αἰχµάλωτον, οὐκ ἐφθόνησα τοῦ κατορθώµατος Κωνσταντίφ. καὶ τοιοῦ εἰ µὴ θριαµβεύειν ἦσθιν, ἀποσφάττειν τὸν πολέµον κύριος ἥν, καὶ µέντοι διὰ πάσης αὐτοῦ ἁγων τῆς Κελτίδος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιδεικνύειν καὶ ὡσπέρ ἐντρυφᾶν τοῦ Χνοδοµαρίου ταῖς συµφοραῖς. τούτων οὐδὲν φήθην δεῖν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Κωνστάντιον αὐτοῦ εὐθέως ἀπέπεµψα, τότε ἀπὸ τῶν Κουάδων καὶ Σαυροµατῶν ἐπανύντα. συνεβη τοῖνυν, ἐµοῦ µὲν ἁγωνισµένου, ἐκείνου δὲ ὀδεύσαντος µόνου καὶ φιλίως ἐντυχόντος τοῖς παροικοῦσι τὸν Ἰστρόν ἔθνεσιν, οὐχ ἡµᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου θριαµβεύσαι.

Τὸ δὲ µετὰ τούτῳ δεύτερος ἔνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος, καὶ πάντες µὲν ἀπελήλαπτο τῆς Γαλατίας οἱ βάρβαροι, πλείσται δὲ ἀνελήφθησαν τῶν πόλεων, παµµηθεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίδος ναὸς ἄνηχθησαν. ἕξακοσίων νηῶν ἀνήγαγον στόλον, ὁν̃ 280 τὰς τετρακοσίας ἐν οὐδὲ δολοῖς µηχι δέκα ναυπηγησάµενος πάσας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν Ἡµὺν, ἔργον οὐ µικρὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐπικεµένους καὶ παροικοῦντας πλησίον βαρβάρους. ὁ γοῦν Φιλωρέντιος οὕτως ὕετο τοῦτο ἅδύνατον, ὅστε ἀργύρου δισχίλιας

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

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

Cologne. \(^2\) Strasburg. \(^3\) Chnodomar.
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λίτρας ὑπέσχετο μοσθὸν ἀποτίσειν τοῖς βαρ-
βάροις ὑπὲρ τῆς παρόδου, καὶ ὁ Κωνστάντιος
ὑπὲρ τούτον μαθῶν· ἐκοινώσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ
τῆς δόσεως· ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν
κελεύσας, εἰ μὴ παντόπασιν ἀισχρὸν μοι φανεῖν.
πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἦν αἰσχρόν, ὅτου Κωνσταντῖφ τουῦ-
tον ἑφάνη, λιν ἐισβότι θεραπεύειν τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους; ἐδόθη μὴν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν ἀλλὰ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶς
στρατεύσας, ἀμυνότων μοι καὶ παρεστῶτων τῶν
θεῶν, ὑπεδεξήμην μὲν μοῦραν τοῦ Σαλίων ἔδυνος,
Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα, πολλὰς βοῦς καὶ γύναις
μετὰ παιδαρίων συλλαβών. οὕτω δὲ πάντας
ἐφόβησα καὶ παρεσκεύασα καταπτήξαι τὴν ἐμὴν
ἐφόδου, ὅστε παραχρῆμα λαβεῖν ὀμήρους καὶ τῇ
C
σιτοπομπίᾳ παρασχεῖν ἀσφαλῆ κομιδὴν.
Μακρὸν ἐστὶ πάντα ἀπαρθωμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ καθ᾽
ἐκαστὸν γράφειν, ὅσα ἐν ἑναυτῶς ἐπραξα τέτ-
tαρσι· τὰ κεφάλαια δὲ τρίτον ἐπεραιώθην καϊςαρ
ἔτι τὸν Ῥῆνον δισμυρίους ἀπήτησα παρὰ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον ὄντας αἰχμαλώτους· εκ δυὸν
ἀγώνων καὶ μᾶς πολιορκίας χείλεως ἐξελων ἐξω-
γρησα, οὕ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἡλικίαν, ἀνδρᾶς δὲ ἡθω-
tας· ἐπεμψα τῷ Κωνσταντῖφ τέτταρας ἀριθμοὺς
D
τῶν κρατιστῶν πεζῶν, τρεῖς ἄλλους τῶν ἐλαττο-
νοὺς, ἵππεων τάγματα δύο τὰ ἐντιμότατα· πόλεως
ἀνέλαβον υἱὸν μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐθελῶντων πάσας,
tότε δὲ ἀνειλήφιαν ἐλάττους ὕλης τῶν τεσσαρά-
kοντα. μάρτυρας καλῶ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας
θεους πολιούχους τε καὶ ὀμογνίους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς
προαιρέσεως εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ πίστεως, ὅτι τοιοῦτος

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

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

It would take too long to enumerate everything and to write down every detail of the task that I accomplished within four years. But to sum it all up: Three times, while I was still Caesar, I crossed the Rhine; twenty thousand persons who were held as captives on the further side of the Rhine I demanded and received back; in two battles and one siege I took captive ten thousand prisoners, and those not of unserviceable age but men in the prime of life; I sent to Constantius four levies of excellent infantry, three more of infantry not so good, and two very distinguished squadrons of cavalry. I have now with the help of the gods recovered all the towns, and by that time I had already recovered almost forty. I call Zeus and all the gods who protect cities and our race to bear witness as to my behaviour towards
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γέγονα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὦν ἂν εἰλόμην ἐγὼ νῦν περὶ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. τετίμηκα μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδεὶς κασάρων οὐδένα τῶν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοκράτωρος. οὐδὲν γοῦν εἰς τὴν τήμερον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐγκαλεῖ μοι, καὶ ταύτα παρρησιασαμένω πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ γελοίους αἰτίας ὅργης ἀναπλάττει. Δουπτικῶν, φησί, καὶ τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κατέσχες. οὐς εἰ καὶ κτείνας ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύσατον ἔμοι ἐθνεῖς φανερῶς, ἐχρῆν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παθόντων ὀργῆς ἀφεῖναι τῆς ὀμονοιας ἐνεκα. τούτους δὲ οὐδὲν ἀχαρι διαθεῖς ὡς ταραχόδεις φύσει καὶ πολεμο-ποιούς κατέσχον, πολλὰ πάνω δαπανῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, ἀφελόμενος δ' οὖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνως. ὁ τούτος, πῶς ἐπεξιέναι τούτους οὐκ ἑκωστάντιος νομοθέτει. ὦ γὰρ χαλεπαίνων ὑπὲρ τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἃρ' οὐκ ὄνειδίζει μοι καὶ κατεγελά τῆς μωρίας, ὡς τὸν φονέα πατρὸς, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνεψιών, ἀπάσιμος ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐστίας καὶ συγγενείας τῶν δήμων εἰς τούτο ἐθέραπευσα; σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὅπως καὶ γενό- C μενος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐτίθεραπευτικὸς αὐτῷ προσήνεχθην ἐξ ὧν ἑπέστειλα.

Καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτον δὲ ὅποιός τὸς γέγονα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐντεύθεν εἰσεσθή. αἰσθόμενος, ὡς τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων κληρονομῆσο μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐξεργασθησάται δὲ ἐτέροις τὰ πλείστα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰκέτευον, εἰ ταύτα D

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

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

1 Cf. Isocrates, To Demonicus 14
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πράττειν αὐτῷ φαίνοιτο καὶ πάντως ἐμὲ προσαγορεύειν καίσαρα δεδογμένου εἴη, ἀνδρᾶς ἀγαθὸνς καὶ σπουδαίους δοῦναι μοι τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας· ὃ δὲ πρότερον ἔδωκε τοὺς μοχθηροτάτους. ὡς δὲ ὃ μὲν εἶσ ὁ πονηρότατος καὶ μάλα ἀσμένος¹ ὑπήκουσεν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἦξιον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρὰ δίδωσιν ἄκων ἐμὸι καὶ μάλα ἀγαθὸν Σαλούστιον, ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὑποπτος. οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς ἔγω τῷ τοιούτῳ, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ κατανόησας² τῷ μὲν ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιστεύοντα, τῷ δὲ οὐδ’ ὀλος προσέχουτα, 282 τῆς δεξιάς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀφάμενος. 
Τούτων, ἔφη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ μοι συνῆθης οὐδὲ γέγονεν ἐμπροσθεν ἐπιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ φήμης, σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἐταίρους ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φίλους νομίζω, τοῖς πάλαι γνωρίμωι ἐπ’ ἱσχὶς τιμῶν. οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἢ τούτως ἐπιτετράφθαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἢ τὰ τούτων ἧμιν συγκινδυνεύσαι. τι οὖν ἰκετεύω; γραπτοὺς ἡμῖν δὸς ὡσπερ νόμους, τίνων Β ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ ὅσα πράττειν ἐπιτρέπεις. 
δῆλον γὰρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πεθόμενον ἐπαινέσεις, τὸν δὲ ἀπείθοῦντα κολάσεις, εἰ καὶ ὃ, τὶ μάλιστα νομίζω μηδένα ἀπειθήσειν.

"Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐπεξειρήσεν ὁ Πεντάδιος αὐτίκα καμιστομεῖν, οὐδὲν χρὴ λέγειν· ἀντίπραττον δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς πάντα, καὶ γίνεται μοι δυσμενὴς ἔκειθεν. εἰτ’ ἄλλον λαβων καὶ παρασκευάσας δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, Παῦλον, Γαυδέντιον, τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπ’ Σ

¹ ἀσμένος Hertlein suggests, ἄσμενος MSS.
² βλέπων... κατανόησας Horkel, κατανόησας... βλέπων Hertlein, MSS.

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

Now I need not mention the innovations that Pentadius at once tried to introduce. But I kept opposing him in everything and for that reason he became my enemy. Then Constantius chose another and a second and a third and fashioned them for his purpose, I mean Paul and Gaudentius, those notorious sycophants; he hired them to attack me and
Εμὲ μισθωσάμενος συκοφάντας, Σαλούστιον μὲν ἃς ἐμοὶ φίλον ἀποστήναι παρασκευάζει, Λουκιλιανὸν δὲ δοθήναι διάδοχον αὐτίκα. καὶ μικρὸν ύπερευ καὶ Φλωρέντιος ἦν ἐχθρὸς ἐμοὶ διὰ τὰς πλεονεξίας, αὐτὸς ἄναρτος ἡμεῖς γράφει γράμματα δοκίμης μὲν ἄτιμας εἰς ἐμὲ πλήρη, Κελτοῖς δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἀπειλοῦντα· μικρὸν γὰρ δέω φαντο τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀνακρίτος τὸ μαχιμώτατον ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπιτάξας τὸν τὸ ἔργον Δουππικίῳ τε καὶ Γιωτώφη, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὡς ἂν πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν.

Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι τίνα τρόπον τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴποιμι ἄν ἔργα πρὸς ὑμᾶς; διενοούμην μάρτυρες 283 δὲ αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν ἀπορρύπαν τὴν βασιλικὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἰσινχάζειν, πράττειν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως, ἀνέμενον δὲ Φλωρέντιον παραγενόσθαι καὶ τὸν Δουππικίῳ· ἴνα ἄρ τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Βιένναν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Βρεττανίαις. ἐν τούτῳ θόρυβος πολὺς ἦν περὶ πάντας τῶν ἵδιώτας καὶ τῶν στρατιώτας, καὶ γράφει τις ἀνόνυμον γραμματείον εἰς τὴν ἀστυνοίτονα μοι τὸλυν πρὸς τῶν Πετούλαντας τοῦτον καὶ Κελτοὺς· ὦνομάζεται δὲ οὕτω τὰ τάγματα· ἐν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐγέγραπτο κατ' ἐκείνου, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαλλίας προδοσίας ὀνομαζομένοι καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἄτιμαν ὧ τὸ γραμματεῖον συγγράψας ἀπωδύετο. τοῦτο κομισθεῖν ἐκλίνησε πάντας, οἱ τὰ Κωνσταντίου μάλιστα ἐφούνουν, ἐπιθέσθαι μοι κατὰ τὸ καρ- C

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

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

¹ Julian was at Paris.
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terότατον, ὡς ἦδη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκπέμψαι μ, πρὶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριθμοὺς ὁμοια ῥιφήναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις παρῆν τῶν δοκούντων εὖνως ἔχειν ἑμοὶ, Νεβρίδιος δὲ, Πεντάδιος, Δεκέντιος, ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο Κωνστάντιον. λέγοντος δὲ μου χρήναι περιμένειν ἔτι Λουππικῖνον καὶ Φλωρέντιον, οὕτως ἠκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πάντες τοῦναντίον ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ βούλομαι ταῖς προλαβοῦσαι ὑποψίαις ὠσπερ ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦτο προσθείναι. εἶτα προσέθεσαν ὡς Νῦν μὲν ἐκτεμφέντος αὐτών σον ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων οὐ σοὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνος λογιείτα Κωνστάντιος, σοῦ δὲ ἐν αὐτία γενήσθη. γράψαι δὴ μὲ ἐπεισάν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐβιάσασαν πείθεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνος, ὡπερ ἔξεστι καὶ μὴ πεισθήναι, βιάζονται δὲ οἷς ἂν ἔχῃ, τοῦ πείθειν οὐδέν προσδέονται, οὐκοιν οὐδὲ οἱ βιασθέντες τῶν πεπεισμένων εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκασθέντων. ἐσκοποῦμεν ἐνταῦθα, ποίαν ὄδον αὐτῶς χρὴ 284 βαδίζειν, διττῆς οὗσης. ἐγὼ μὲν ἤξιοιν ἐτέραν τραπῆναι, οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐκείνην ἱέναι, μὴ τούτο αὐτὸ γενόμενον ὠσπερ ἀφορμή των στάσεως τοῖς στρατιώταις παράσχη καὶ ταραχῆς τινος αὐτῶν γένηται, εἰτα στασιάζειν ἂπαξ ἀρξά-μενοι πάντα αὐθεντῶς ταράξωσιν. ἔδοκε τὸ δέος οὐ παντόπασιν ἄλογῳ εἰναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

"Hλθε τὰ τάγματα, ἕπτυνησα κατὰ τὸ γενομε- σμένον αὐτοῖς, ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὀδοὺ προύτρηψα. μίαν B

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

The legions arrived, and I, as was customary, went to meet them and exhorted them to continue their march. For one day they halted, and till that time
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ἡμέραν ἐπέμεινεν, ἀχρὶς ἢς οὐδὲν ὤδειν ἐγὼ τῶν βεβουλευμένων αὐτοῖς. Ἰστο Ζεὺς, Ἡλίως, Ἀρης, Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πάντες θεοί, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετο μοῦ τις τοιαύτη ὑπόνοια ἀχρὶ δείλης αὐτῆς· ὄψις δὲ ἦδη περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἐμηνύθη μοι, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ βασίλεια περιέληπτο, καὶ ἐβόων πάντες, ἔτι φροντίζοντός μοι τῷ χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ οὐπὼ σφόδρα πιστεύοντος· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔτι τῆς γαμετῆς ζώσης ο μοι ἀναπαυσόμενος ἱδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὑπερφον ἀνελθὼν. εἴτα ἐκείθεν· ἀνεπέπτατο γὰρ ὁ τοῖχος· προσεκύνησα τὸν Δία. γενομένης δὲ ἔτι μείζονος τῆς βοῆς καὶ θορυβομένων πάντων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἦτεομεν τὸν θεὸν δοῖναι τέρας. αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἡμῖν δεῖξε καὶ ἤνωγει πεισθῆναι καὶ μὴ προσευ- αντιοῦσθαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῇ προθυμίᾳ. γενομένων ὡμοί ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτων τῶν σημείων, οὐκ θεὸς ἐξα ἐτοίμως, ἀλλ' ἀντέσχου εἰς ὅσον ἡδυνάμην, καὶ οὗτε τὴν πρόσφρησιν οὗτε τὸν στέφανον προσ- είμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε εἰς ὅν τολλῶν ἡδυνάμην κρατεῖν οἳ τοῦ τούτο βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι θεοὶ τοὺς μὲν παρώξυνον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐθέλησον τὴν γνώμην, ὥρα ποι τρίτη σχεδὸν οὗκ οἶδα οὕτως μοι στρατιώτων δοντος μανιάκην περιεθέμην καὶ ἤλθον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, ἐνδοθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἵππων οἱ θεοὶ, στένων τῆς καρδίας. καίτοι χρὴν δῆπονθεν πι- 285 στεύοντα τῷ φήματι θεοῦ τὸ τέρας θαρρεῖν· ἀλλ' ἦν Cobet, τῶν Hertlein, MSS.

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

\(^1\) Odyssey 3. 173

\(\text{γρίιουεν δὲ θεόν φήναι τέρας, αὐτὰρ δὲ γʹ ἤμιν}
\(\text{δεῖξε καὶ ἡμῶνει.}\)

\(^2\) i.e. the title of Augustus.
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ήσυχωμένη δεινώς καὶ κατεδνόμην, εἰ δόξαμι μὴ πιστῶς ἄχρι τέλους ὑπακοῦσαι Κωνσταντῖῳ.

Πολλὴς οὖν ὡσὶς περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατηφείας, τοῦτον εὑθὺς οἱ Κωνσταντῖου φίλοι τὸν καιρὸν ἀρπάζαι διανοηθέντες ἐπιβουλήν μοι ῥάπτουσιν αὐτίκα καὶ διένεμαν τῶν στρατιώταις χρήματα, δυοῖς θάτερον προσδοκῶντες, ἡ διαστήσειν ἀλλήλους ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐπιθύμησαται ἵνα μοι φανερῶς. Β' αἰσθόμενός τις τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ προδόῳ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμετῆς λάθρᾳ πραττόμενον αὐτῷ ἔμοι μὲν πρῶτον ἐμὴν ὑποτασσόμενον, ὡς δὲ εὐφρά με μηδὲν προσέχοντα, παραφρονήσας ὡσπερ οἱ θεόληπτοι δημοσίᾳ βοῶν ἥρατο κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. 'Ἀνδρεὶς στρατιώται καὶ ξένου καὶ πολίται, μή προδῶτε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. εἶτα ἐμπίπτει θυμὸς εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντες εἰς τὰ βασίλεια μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἔθεον. καταλαβόντες δὲ με ξόντα καὶ Σ' χαρέντες ὡσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων ὀφθέντας φίλους ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιέβαλλον καὶ περίεπλεκον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμών ἐφέρον, καὶ ἦν πως τὸ πράγμα θέας ἄξιον, ἐνθουσιασμὸν γὰρ ἐφέκει. ὡς δὲ με ἀπανταχόθηνεν περίεσχον, ἐξήτουν ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς Κωνσταντῖου φίλους ἐπὶ τιμωρία. πηλίκου ἠγωνισάμην ἀγάνα σῶσαι βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς, D ἵσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες.

'Αλλὰ δὴ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο πῶς πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντῖου διεπραξάμην; οὕτω καὶ τήμερον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑπιστολαῖς τῇ δοθέισῃ

1 ἐπιθύμησα Cobet, ἐπιθέσα Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

But further, how did I behave to Constantius after this? Even to this day I have not yet used in my letters to him the title which was bestowed on me

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μοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπωνυμία κεχρημαί, καίσαρα
dὲ ἐμαυτὸν γέγραφα, καὶ πέπεικα τοὺς στρατιώτας
ὁμόσαι μοι μηδενός ἐπιθυμήσειν, εἰπὲρ ἧμιν
ἐπιτρέψειεν ἄδεως οἰκεῖν τὰς Γαλλίας, τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις συναινέσας. ἀπαντᾷ τὰ παρ’ ἑμοὶ 286
τάγματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς, ἱκε-
tεύοντα περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλος ἦμιν ὀμονοίας.
ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέβαλεν ἦμιν τοὺς βαρβάρους,
ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἀνηγόρευσέ με παρὰ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ
μόσθους ἐτέλεσεν, ὡς τὸ Γαλλιῶν ἔθνος πορθη-
θείη, γράφων τε ἐν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παραφυλάττειν
τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Γαλλιῶν παρεκκελεύετο, καὶ περὶ Β
τοὺς Γαλλικοὺς ὀροὺς ἐν ταῖς πλησίον πόλεσιν
eἰς τριακοσίας μυρίας μεδίμνων πυρῶν κατ-
eιργασμένον ἐν τῇ Βριγαντῖα, τοσοῦτον ἔτερον
περὶ τὰς Κοτίας Ἀλπεῖς ὃς ἐπ’, ἐμὲ στρατεύσων
ἐκέλευσε παρασκευασθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ λόγοι,
σαφῆ δὲ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἃς γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς
ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κομισθείσας ἐδεξάμην, καὶ
τὰς τροφὰς τὰς παρεσκευασμένας κατέλαβον
καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ταύρον. πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι Σ
νῦν μοι ὡς καῖσαρι 1 γράφει, καὶ οὐδὲ συνθή-
σεσθαι πώποτε πρὸς με ὑπέστη, ἀλλ’ Ἐπίκτητον
tina τῶν Γαλλιῶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπεμψεν ὡς πιστά
μοι περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρέξοντα,
καὶ τούτο θρυλεῖ δι’ ὅλων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν,
ὡς οὐκ ἀφαιρησόμενος τοῦ ζῆν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς
τιμῆς οὐδὲν μεμονεύει. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὄρκους

1 ὡς καῖσαρι Hertlein suggests, καῖσαρι MSS.
2 Athenasius says that Epictetus was bishop of Centum-
cellae; hence Petavius suggests κεντουμκελλῶν for τῶν
Γαλλιῶν.

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

¹ Bregentz, on Lake Constance.
² Epictetus was bishop of Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia); see critical note.
³ cf. "Write in dust" or "write in water."
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας οἴμαι δεῖν εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, οὖτως εἰσὶ πιστοὶ· τῆς τιμῆς δὲ οὐ τοῦ Δ καλοῦ καὶ πρόποντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν φίλων ἐνεκα σωτηρίας ἀντέχομαι· καὶ οὐπώ φημὶ τὴν πανταχοῦ γῆς γυμναζομένην πυκνίαιν.

Ταύτα ἐπεισέ ἐμε, ταύτα ἐφάνη μοι δίκαια. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάντα ὁρῶς καὶ ἀκούοντις ἀνεθέμην θεοῖς. εἶτα θυσάμενοι περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἱερῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν ἔκεινη τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἦ τοῖς στρατιῶταις περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε πορείας ἐμελλὸν διαλέγεσθαι, 287 ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ πολὺ πλέον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔλευθερίας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κελτῶν ἔθνους, ὃ δεὶς ἦδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξέδωκεν, οὐδὲ τῶν προγονικῶν φεισάμενος τάφων, ὃ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους πάνυ θεραπεύων, φύθην δὲιν ἔθνη τε προσλαβεῖν τὰ δυνατῶτα καὶ χρημάτων πόρους δικαιοτάτων εἰς ἄργυρεῖν καὶ χρυσεῖν, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἁγαπήσειν ἔτι νῦν γοῦν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμονοιαν, εἰσσὼ τῶν νῦν ἔχομένων μένειν, εἰ δὲ Β πολεμεῖν διανοοῖτο καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας γνώμης χαλάσειν, ὃ, τι ἂν ἦ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλων πάσχειν ἢ πράττειν, ὡς αἴσχουν ἀναβρίαρχος ἴσχυς καὶ διανοίας ἀμαθία ἤ πλήθει δυνάμεως ἀσθενεῖστερον αὐτοῦ φανήσαι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλήθει κρατήσειν, οὐκ ἐκείνον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας ἐστὶν· εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις περιμένοντά με καὶ τὸ ξῆν ἁγαπῶντα καὶ διακλίνοντα τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπανταχόθεν περικόψας.
up, partly out of regard for what is seemly and fitting, but also to secure the safety of my friends. And I have not yet described the cruelty that he is practising over the whole earth.

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

Ταῦτα διανοηθείς, ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς τε συστρατιώταις τοῖς ἐμοῖς διήλθον καὶ πρὸς κοινοὺς τῶν πάντων Ἔλληνων πολίτας γράφω. Θεοὶ δὲ οἱ πάντων κύριοι συμμαχίαν ἡμῶν τῇ D έαυτῶν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν, εἰς τέλος δοῖεν καὶ παράσχοιεν ταῖς Ἁθηναῖοι ύφ’ ἡμῶν τε εἰς ὅσον δύναμις εὖ παθεῖν καὶ τοιούτως σχεῖν ἐς ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἳ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτὰς αἰδέσονται1 καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν.

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

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

¹ Demosthenes, Olynthiac 1. 27.
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER
TO A PRIEST
INTRODUCTION

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

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

1 p. 256 c, between τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον and καὶ ἔποιήκασι.
... πλὴν ἐν εἷς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπίδωσιν ἀτακτούντας τινας, αὐτίκα μάλα κολάζουσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τούς ὦ προσοίτας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐστί τὸ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τεταγμένου φύλου, ὧν' ὁν οἱ Β πολλοὶ παροιστρούμενοι τῶν ἀθέων ἀναπείθονται θανατῶν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, οὗτος ἀπορρήξωσι τὴν ψυχὴν βιωσόν. εἰςι δὲ οἳ καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας ἀντὶ τῶν πόλεων διώκοντος, ὡς τῶν τανθρώπων φύσει πολιτικοῦ ἥμισυ καὶ ἡμέρου, δαιμονίων ἐκδεδουμένων πονηρῶν, ὧν' ὁν εἰς ταύτην ἀγονται τὴν μεσανθρωπίαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ δεσμαὶ καὶ κλοιοὺς ἐξηύρον οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων: οὕτω πανταχῶς αὐτοὺς ὡς κακὸς συνελαύνει δαίμονα, ὃς δεδώκασιν ἐκόντες ἐαυτούς, ἀποστάντες τῶν ἀιώνων καὶ σωτήρων θεῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ὁ ἀπόχρη τοσαύτα εἰπεῖν ὅθεν δ' ἐξέβην εἰς τούτο ἐπανήξω.
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER
TO A PRIEST

* * * * * * * * *

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

1 The beginning is lost: Julian has apparently been describing the functions of good demons, and now passes on to the demons whose task is to punish evil-doers; cf. Oration 2. 90 b.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

Δικαίοπραγίας οὖν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους εὑρήλον ὅτι μελήσει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τῶν πόλεων, πρῆτοι δὲ ἂν καὶ ὑμῖν ἐὰς παραίνεσιν τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἱεροὺς ὄντας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς νόμους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερατικῶν βίων εἶναι χρῆ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ σεμνότερον, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τούτον καὶ διδακτέον ἔφονται δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, οἱ βελτίως· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὐχομαι καὶ πάντας, ἐπιτίξω δὲ τοὺς ἐπιείκεις φύσει καὶ σπουδαίους· ἐπιγνωστοίς γὰρ οἰκείους ὄντας ἔαυτὸς τοὺς λόγους.

'Ασκητέα τοῖς πρὸ πάντων ἡ φιλανθρωπία· ταύτη γὰρ ἔτεται πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἔξαιρετο δὲ δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἡ παρὰ τῶν Β θεῶν εὐμένεια. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἕαυτῶν δεσπόταις συνδιατιθέμενοι περί τε φιλίας καὶ σπουδᾶς καὶ ἔρωτας ἀγαπῶνται πλέον τῶν ὀμοδούλων, οὕτω νομιστέον φύσει φιλάνθρωπον ὑπὸ τὸ θείου ἁγαθῶν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ φιλανθρωπία πολλή καὶ παντοία· καὶ τὸ περιεψάμενος κολάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ C τῷ βελτίων τῶν κολαζομένων, ὡσπερ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τὰ παιδία, καὶ τὸ τὰς χρείας αὐτῶν ἐπανορθοῦν, ὡσπερ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἠμετέρας. ὅρατε οὖσα ἡμῖν δεδοκισκήν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἁγαθά, τροφὰς παντοίας καὶ ὁπόσας οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτέχθημεν γυμνοί, ταῖς τε τῶν ζώων ἡμᾶς θρεξίν ἐσκέπασαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυμένως καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δέντρων. καὶ οὐκ ἠρκεσέν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ αὐτοσχέδιως, καθάπερ ο Μωυσῆς ἔφη τοὺς χιτῶν. D 298
LETTER TO A PRIEST

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

You must above all exercise philanthropy, for from it result many other blessings, and moreover that choicest and greatest blessing of all, the good will of the gods. For just as those who are in agreement with their masters about their friendships and ambitions and loves are more kindly treated than their fellow slaves, so we must suppose that God, who naturally loves human beings, has more kindness for those men who love their fellows. Now philanthropy has many divisions and is of many kinds. For instance it is shown when men are punished in moderation with a view to the betterment of those punished, as schoolmasters punish children; and again in ministering to men's needs, even as the gods minister to our own. You see all the blessings of the earth that they have granted to us, food of all sorts, and in an abundance that they have not granted to all other creatures put together. And since we were born naked they covered us with the hair of animals, and with things that grow in the ground and on trees. Nor were they content to do this simply or off-hand, as Moses bade men take
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νας λαβεῖν δερματίνους, ἀλλ' ὀράτε ὧσα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἐργάνης Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ δῶρα. ποιον οὖν χρῆται ξιφόν; ποιον ἐλαίῳ; πλὴν εἰ τισιν ἡμεῖς καὶ τούτων μεταδίδομεν, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ μεταδίδοντες. τὶ δὲ τῶν θαλαττῶν σίτῳ, τὶ δὲ τῶν χερσαίων τοῖς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆται; χρυσόν οὔπω λέγω καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, οἷς πᾶσιν οἱ θεοὶ ξαπλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν, οὐχ ἵνα ὁνείδος αὐτῶν περιορώμεν περινοστοῦντας τοὺς πένητας, ἄλλως τε ὦταν καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τίνες τύχοσι τῶν τρόπῳ, οἷς πατρίδος μὲν κλῆρος οὐ γέγονεν, ὑπὸ δὲ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ ἡκιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντες χρημάτων πένονται. τούτως ὀράντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀνειδίζοντιν. αἰτοί δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ τῆς τούτων πενίας, ἢ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν κεκτημένων ἀπληστία καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἄληθος ὑπολήψεως αἰτία γίνεται καὶ προσέτι τοῖς θεοῖς ὀνείδος ἄδικον. τί γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦμεν, Β ἵνα χρυσὸν ὁστερ τοῖς Ῥόδιοις ὁ θεὸς ύσῃ τοῖς πένηται; ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τούτο γένοιτο, ταχὲς χρῆις ὑποβαλόμενοι τοὺς οἰκέτους καὶ προθέτες παν- ταχῶ τὰ ἄγγελα πάντας ἀπελάσομεν, ἵνα μόνοι τὰ κοινὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάσομεν δῶρα. θαυμάσεις δ' ἀν τις εἰκὼν, εἰ τούτο μὲν ἀξιοῖμεν 1 οὐτε περικός γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς πάντη, τὰ

1 ἀξιοῖμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀξιοῖμεν MSS.

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coats of skins,¹ but you see how numerous are the
gifts of Athene the Craftswoman. What other
animals use wine, or olive oil? Except indeed in
cases where we let them share in these things, even
though we do not share them with our fellowmen.
What creature of the sea uses corn, what land animal
uses things that grow in the sea? And I have not yet
mentioned gold and bronze and iron, though in all
these the gods have made us very rich; yet not to
the end that we may bring reproach on them by
disregarding the poor who go about in our midst,
especially when they happen to be of good character—
men for instance who have inherited no paternal
estate, and are poor because in the greatness of their
souls they have no desire for money. Now the
crowd when they see such men blame the gods.
However it is not the gods who are to blame for their
poverty, but rather the insatiate greed of us men of
property becomes the cause of this false conception of
the gods among men, and besides of unjust blame of
the gods. Of what use, I ask, is it for us to pray that
God will rain gold on the poor as he did on the
people of Rhodes?² For even though this should
come to pass, we should forthwith set our slaves
underneath to catch it, and put out vessels everywhere,
and drive off all comers so that we alone might seize
upon the gifts of the gods meant for all in common.
And anyone would naturally think it strange if we
should ask for this, which is not in the nature of
things, and is in every way unprofitable, while we do

¹ Genesis 3. 21.
² Pindar, Olympian Ode 7. 49; this became a Sophistic
commouplce. Cf. Menander (Spengel) 3. 362; Aristides
1. 807; Libanius 31. 6, Foerster; Philostratus, Imagines
2. 270.
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dunata de μη πράττομεν. tis gar ek toj metadi- C
donai tois pelas egeneto penis; egw toj pollakies
tois deomeneous proemenes ektesamhun auta para-
theon polplatasia kaieter wv faulos xrhmato-
tisthis, kai oudepoti mou metemelhse proemenev.
kal tа mene vin ouk an eiptumi kai gar an eи
pantelous allogon, e tois idiotas axiostami
basilikais paraballasthai xorhgyias; alli ste D
eti etugxanou idiotis, svirona emautw touto
apoban pollakies. apesswthi mou telios о клиро
thi tis tis, exomenos upi allwn biaious ek braxewn
绢 eixov analiskontai tois deomeneois kai meta-
didonti.

Koinangeton ouv tov chrmatow apasiv anabrow-
pois, alla tois mev etpieicisewn elvebemeteron,
tois dе aporoi kai penisw ouvon eparkesai tis
chrise. fainian o an, e' kai paradoxon eiptein, idi
kal tois ponnrois 2 esbhtos kai trofhs douv an eih
metadidounai tis gar anabrowpo kai ou to tropo
didosi. dioster olimai kai tois en desimortw
katherygemous axiostheo tis toiautis etimeleias.
oidev gar kolusei tin diken h toiauthe philan-
thropia. chalepon gar an eih, pollwv apof-
keklesismenow epi krise, kal tov miv oflhrontov,
tov de abhov apofanethosemenov, me dia tois
anaitious oiktoin tina vemein kai tois ponnrois,
alla tov ponnroin enekei kal peri tois oudev B
etikokotas anheleous kai apanabrospws diakeisthai.

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

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

ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐννοοῦντι μοι παντάπασιν ἁδικὸν κατα-
φαίνεται. Ξένων ὄνομάξομεν Δία, καὶ γιγανόμεθα
τῶν Σκυθῶν κακοξενώτεροι. πῶς οὖν ὁ βουλό-
μενος τῷ Ξενῷ θύσαι Διὸ φοιτᾶ πρὸς τὸν νεὼν;
μετὰ ποταποῦ συνειδότος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ

πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἄπαντες
Πτωχοὶ τε ἔμενοι τε· δόσις δ' ὅλγῃ τε φίλῃ τε;

Πώς δὲ ὁ τὸν Ἑταρίενον θεραπεύον Δία, ὅρων C
τοὺς πέλας ἐνδειχθεὶς χρημάτων, εἶτα μηδ' ὅσον
δραχμῆς μεταδίδοις, οἴεται τὸν Δία καλῶς θερα-
πεύειν; ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα ἄπιστῳ, παντελῶς ἄχαρης
γίνομαι, τὰς μὲν ἐπωνυμίας τῶν θεῶν ᾑμα τῷ
κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄσπερ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ὅρων,
ἐργῶ δὲ ύψι ζημῶν οὐδὲν του ὑποτήτων ἐπιστηθεύομεν.
ὁμόγνιοι λέγονται παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὶ καὶ Ζεὺς ὁμό-
γνιος, ἔχομεν δὲ ὄσπερ πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς
συγγενεῖς· ἀνθρωπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἐκὼν καὶ
ἄκων πᾶς ἐστὶ συγγενής, εἴτε, καθάπερ λέγεται
παρὰ τινων, ἐξ ἐνός τε καὶ μᾶς γενόναις πάντες,
εἰδ' ὅπωσον ἄλλως, ἄθρως ὑποστηθῶν ήμᾶς
τῶν θεῶν ᾑμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἐνα καὶ
μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἥμα καὶ πολλάς. οἱ γὰρ ἕνα 292
καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες οἱ οἱ τε ἦσαν ᾑμα καὶ πολλοὺς
καὶ πολλάς ὑποστήσαι. ὁ γὰρ ὅταν τῶν
te ἐνα καὶ τὴν μίαν, τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων τοὺς
πολλοὺς τε καὶ τὰς πολλάς. εἰς το ὑπάρχον

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

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

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

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ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν ἑθῶν ¹ καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ὅπερ ἔστι μεῖζον καὶ τιμώτερον καὶ κυριώτερον, εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῶν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμησε τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἰματος ἰεροῦ πεσουσῶν, ἐξ δὲ ποὺ τὸ τῶν ἄνθρωπων βλαστήσεις γένος. καὶ οὔτως οὖν συγγενεῖσι γινόμεθα πάντες, εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ μᾶς, ἐκ δυοὶ ἄνθρωπων δύντες οἱ πόλλοι καὶ πολλαί, εἰ δὲ, καθάπερ οἱ θεοὶ φασὶ καὶ χρῆ πιστεύειν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντων τῶν ἔργων, ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πάντας γεγονότες. ὅτι δὲ πόλλοις ἁμα ἄνθρωποις γενέθθαι μαρτυρεῖ τὰ C ἔργα, ῥηθῇςεται μὲν ἄλλαχοι δι' ἀκρίβειας, ἐνταύθα δὲ ἀρκεῖ ποσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰς ἐνὸς μὲν καὶ μᾶς οὖσιν οὐτε τοὺς νόμους εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραλλάξει οὔτε ἄλλως τὴν γῆν ὡς ἐνὸς ἐμπληθῆναι πᾶσαν, οὔδε εἰ τέκνα ² ἁμα πολλά καθάπερ αἱ σὺς ἐτικτον αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναικες. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἄθρως φυτευοῦντων τῶν ³ θεῶν, ὅπερ τρόπον ὁ εἰς, οὖτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖονς προ- ἕλθον ἄνθρωποι τοῖς γενεάρχαις θεοῖς ἀποκληρωθέντες, οὐ καὶ προήγαγον αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δημο- ουργοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες εἰς αἰῶνος.

Κάκεινο δ' ἀξιοὶ εὖνοεῖν, ὅσοι παρὰ τῶν ἐμπρο- σθεν ἀνάλονται λόγοι περὶ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικῶν εἶναι ξόν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἥμεις οὖν οἱ ταῦτα εἰπόντες καὶ διατάξαντες ἀκοινωνήτως πρὸς τοὺς

¹ ἑθῶν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαθῶν Petavius, ἴθων MSS.
² τέκνα Hertlein would add.
³ φυτευοῦντων τῶν Hertlein suggests, νευσάντων MSS.

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

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

¹ Julian here prefers the Platonic account of the creation in the Timaeus to the Biblical narrative.
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πλησίον ἔξομεν; ἦ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἡθῶν τε καὶ ἐπιτηθευμάτων ἐκαστοῦ ήμῶν ὀρμῶμενος εὐλαβείας τῆς εἰς τούς θεοὺς, χρηστότητος τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους, 293 ἀγνείας τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργα πληροῦντο, πειρώμενος δὲ ἀεὶ τὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβεῖς διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τῖνος ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τιμῆς καὶ οἰσιότητος, σεβόμενος ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ παρόντας ἔωρα τοὺς θεοὺς. ἀγάλματα γὰρ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ πυρὸς ἀσβέστου φυλακὴν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα οἱ πατέρες ἔθεντο τῆς παρουσίας τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἤνε ἐκείνα θεοὺς νομίζομεν, ἀλλ' ἤνα B δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν. ἡπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς δύνας ἐν σώματι σωματικῶς ἔδοξε ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἀσώματοι δὲ εἰς αὐτοῦ πρῶτα μὲν ἐδείξαν ἡμῖν ἀγάλματα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τῶν θεῶν γένος περὶ πάντα τῶν οὐρανῶν κύκλῳ περιφερόμενον. δύναμις δὲ οὐδὲ τούτως ἀποδιδόσθαι τῆς θεραπείας σωματικῶς ἀπροσδεά γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει ἐτέρον επὶ γῆς ἐξηρέθη γένος ἀγαλμάτων, εἰς δὲ τὰς θεραπείας ἐκτελοῦντες οἰκοτικοὶ εὐμενεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς καταστήσομεν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βασιλεῶν θεραπεύοντες εἰκόνας, οὐδὲν δειμένων, ὃμως ἑφέλκονται τῇ εὕνοιᾳ εἰς οἰκοτικος, οὐτω καὶ οἱ θεῶν θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἀγαλματα, δειμένων οὐδὲν D τῶν θεῶν, ὃμως πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπαμύνειν σφίσι

1 σωματικὸς Petavius, Hertlein approves, σωματικὰς MSS.
2 ἐτέρον Hertlein suggests, δεύτερον Reiske, τρίτον MSS.

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

1 cf. St. Paul, Acts 17. 25, "neither is he worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything."

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καὶ κήδεσθαι δεύγμα γὰρ ἡστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀσιότητος ἢ περὶ τὰ δυνατὰ προθυμία, καὶ ὁ ταύτην πληρῶν εὐδηλὸν ὅτι μειζόνως ἐκείνην ἀποδίδουσιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ὁλυγορῶν, εἰτὰ προσποιούμενοι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ὀρέγονται δῆλος ἡστὶν οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μεταδιώκων, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα παρο-

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ρῶν οὐδὲ γὰρ, εἰ μηδενὸς ὁ θεὸς δεῖται, διὰ τούτο οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσοιστέον ὁ οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς διὰ λόγων εὐφημίας δεῖται. τί οὖν; εὐλογον αὐτῶν ἀπο-

στερήσαι καὶ ταύτης; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἄρα οὔδὲ Β τῆς διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἰς αὐτῶν γιγνομένης τιμῆς, ἦς ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐναντίον τρεῖς οὐδὲ τρισχίλιοι, πᾶς δὲ ο προλαβὼν αἰών ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐθνεσιν.

Ἀφορώντες οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεών ἀγάλματα μὴ C τοι νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἶναι μηδὲ ξύλα, μηδὲ μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ταύτα. καὶ γὰρ οὔδὲ τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθον καὶ χαλκὸν λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν οὔδὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βα-

σιλέας, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας βασιλέων. ὡστες οὖν ἐστὶ φιλοβασιλέως ἡδέως ὁ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰ-

κόνα, καὶ ὡστες ἐστὶ φιλόπαι τῇ τοῦ Τ παιδός, καὶ ὡστες φιλοπάτωρ τῇ τοῦ πατρός. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὡστες φιλόθεος ἡδέως εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμε-

νος ἀμα καὶ φρίττων ἔξω ἀφανοὺς ὄρωντας εἰς αὐ-

τὸν τοὺς θεοὺς. εἰ τις οὖν οἰεται δεῖν αὐτὰ μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι διὰ τὸ θεόν ἀπαξ εἰκόνας ἀλλαθῆραι, 310
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to care for them. For zeal to do all that is in one's power is, in truth, a proof of piety, and it is evident that he who abounds in such zeal thereby displays a higher degree of piety; whereas he who neglects what is possible, and then pretends to aim at what is impossible, evidently does not strive after the impossible, since he overlooks the possible. For even though God stands in need of nothing, it does not follow that on that account nothing ought to be offered to him. He does not need the reverence that is paid in words. What then? Is it rational to deprive him of this also? By no means. It follows then that one ought not to deprive him either of the honour that is paid to him through deeds, an honour which not three years or three thousand years have ordained, but all past time among all the nations of the earth.

Therefore, when we look at the images of the gods, let us not indeed think they are stones or wood, but neither let us think they are the gods themselves; and indeed we do not say that the statues of the emperors are mere wood and stone and bronze, but still less do we say they are the emperors themselves. He therefore who loves the emperor delights to see the emperor's statue, and he who loves his son delights to see his son's statue, and he who loves his father delights to see his father's statue. It follows that he who loves the gods delights to gaze on the images of the gods, and their likenesses, and he feels reverence and shudders with awe of the gods who look at him from the unseen world. Therefore if any man thinks that because they have once been called likenesses of the gods, they are incapable of being destroyed, he is, it
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παντελῶς ἀφρῶν εἰναί μοι φαίνεται. χρήν γὰρ
dήποτεν αὐτὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ 295
dὲ ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἄγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀν-
θρώπου ποιηροῦ καὶ ἄμαθος φθαρῆναι δύναται.
tὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ζῶντα ἀγάλματα κατασκευα-
stέντα τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, οἱ περὶ τῶν
οὐρανῶν κύκλῳ φερόμενοι θεοί, μένει τὸν ἄει
χρόνον αἰώνια. μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπιστεῖτο θεοὶ ὅρων
καὶ ἄκοινον, ὡς ἐνύβρισαν τινὲς εἰς τὰ ἀγάλματα
καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς. ἀρ’ οὐκ ἀνθρώπους χρηστοὺς
ἀπεκτειναν πολλοί, καθάπερ Σωκράτη καὶ Δίωνα
Β καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἐμπεδότιμον; δὲν εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι μᾶλ-
λον ἐμέλησε τοῖς θεοῖς. ἀλλ’ ὅρατε, ὅτι καὶ τούτων
φθαρτὸν εἰδότες τὸ σῶμα συνεχόρησαν εἰς τῇ
φύσει καὶ ὑποχωρήσας, δίκην δὲ ἀπῆτησαν
ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν κτεινάντων. δὴ συνέβη
φανερῶς ἕφ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἱεροσύλων.

Μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπατᾶτος λόγοις μηδὲ ταραττέτω
περὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὄνειδίζοντες C
τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ προφήται, τί περὶ
tοῦ νεὼ φήσουσι τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τρίτων ἀνατρα-
pέντος, ἐγευρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον οὐκ
ὄνειδίζων ἐκείνοις, δι’ ὅτι τοσοῦτος ὑστερον χρό-
νος ἀναστήσασθαι διενόθην αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ
κληθέντος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ θεοῦ· νυνὶ δὲ ἐχρησάμεν
αὐτῷ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, οἳ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων D
οὐδὲν ἀφθαρτον εἰναί δύναται καὶ οἳ τὰ τοιαῦτα

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seems to me, altogether foolish; for surely in that case they were incapable of being made by men’s hands. But what has been made by a wise and good man can be destroyed by a bad and ignorant man. But those beings which were fashioned by the gods as the living images of their invisible nature, I mean the gods who revolve in a circle in the heavens, abide imperishable for all time. Therefore let no man disbelieve in gods because he sees and hears that certain persons have profaned their images and temples. Have they not in many cases put good men to death, like Socrates and Dio and the great Empedotimus? 1 And yet I am very sure that the gods cared more for these men than for the temples. But observe that since they knew that the bodies even of these men were destructible, they allowed them to yield to nature and to submit, but later on they exacted punishment from their slayers; and this has happened in the sight of all, in our own day also, in the case of all who have profaned the temples.

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

1 Of Syracuse, whose claim to be immortal was accepted by the Sicilians.
γράφοντες ἐλήρουν προφήται, γραδίοις ψυχρῶς ὀμμοῦντες. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι κωλύει τὸν μὲν θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν σπουδαῖον προφητῶν οὐδὲ ἔξηγητῶν τυχεῖν. αὐτίον δὲ, ὅτι τὴν έαυτῶν ψυχὴν οὐ παρέσχον ἀποκαθήραι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθῆμασιν οὐδὲ ἀνοίζαι μεμυκότα λίαν τὰ ὅμματα οὐδὲ ἀνακαθήραι τὴν ἑπικειμένην αὐτοῖς ἄχλην, 296 ἀλλ’ οἶον φῶς μέγα δι’ ὁμίχλης οἵ άνθρωποι βλέπουτε ὡς καθαρῶς οὐδὲ εἰλικρινῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ ἑκεῖνο νενομμότες οὐχὶ φῶς καθαρόν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ πάντων ὄντες άθεατοι βοῶσι μέγα: Φρίττετε, φοβεῖσθε, πῦρ, φλόξ, θάνατος, μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία, πολλοῖς οὖμασι μίαν ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν βλαστικήν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. ἀλλ’ ὕπερ μὲν τούτων ἱδία βέλτιον παραστήσαι, πόσῳ Β φαυλότεροι τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν οὕτωι γεγόνασι ποιητῶν οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγων διδάσκαλοι.

Προσήκει δὲ οὐ τὰ τῶν θεῶν μόνου ἀγάλματα προσκυνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς· εὐλογοῦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τιμᾶν ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ διακονοῦντας ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, συνεπισχύοντας τῇ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσει: Κ προβάψοις γὰρ πάντων καὶ ὑπερεύχονται. δι’ θαυμάτων δὲν ἀποδίδοναι πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ἡ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀρχούσι τὰς τιμᾶς. εἰ δὲ τις οἶεται τοῦτο ἐπ’ ἑσῆς χρῆναι νέμειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀρχούσιν, ἐπεὶ 314
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structible, and that those prophets who wrote such statements were uttering nonsense, due to their gossipping with silly old women. In my opinion there is no reason why their god should not be a mighty god, even though he does not happen to have wise prophets or interpreters. But the real reason why they are not wise is that they have not submitted their souls to be cleansed by the regular course of study, nor have they allowed those studies to open their tightly closed eyes, and to clear away the mist that hangs over them. But since these men see as it were a great light through a fog, not plainly or clearly, and since they think that what they see is not a pure light but a fire, and they fail to discern all that surrounds it, they cry with a loud voice: "Tremble, be afraid, fire, flame, death, a dagger, a broad-sword!" thus describing under many names the harmful might of fire. But on this subject it will be better to demonstrate separately how much inferior to our own poets are these teachers of tales about the gods.

It is our duty to adore not only the images of the gods, but also their temples and sacred precincts and altars. And it is reasonable to honour the priests also as officials and servants of the gods; and because they minister to us what concerns the gods, and they lend strength to the gods' gift of good things to us; for they sacrifice and pray on behalf of all men. It therefore right that we should pay them all not less, if not indeed more, than the honours that we pay to the magistrates of the state. And if any one thinks that we ought to assign equal honours to them and to the magistrates of the state, since the latter
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κάκεινοι τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ιερατεύοντοι, φύλακες οὕτε τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε τῆς εὐνοίας παρὰ πολὺ χρὴ νέμειν τούτοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δ' Ἀχαιοὶ καίπερ πολέμουν ὅντα τῶν ἱερεῶν προσέταττον αἰδεῖσθαι τῷ βασιλείῳ, ἥμεις δὲ οὖν τούς φίλους οἰδούμεθα τούς εὐχομένους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θύοντας.

'Αλλ' ἐπείσερ' ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποθομένην ἀρχὴν ἐλήλυθεν, ἀξίου εἰναι μοι δοκεῖ διελθὲιν ἐφεξῆς, ὅποιος τις ὁ νῦν ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸς τῇ δικαίως τιμηθήσεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι ποιήσει. 1 τὸ γὰρ ἠμέτερον οὐ χρὴ σκοπεῖν οὖν ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἔως ἃν ἱερεὺς τῆς ὀνομάζηται, 297 τιμᾶν αὐτὸν χρή καὶ θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ εἰπὶ πονηρός, ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφάσιν ἀναφέρθηται καὶ ἐπιθέταις περιοράν ἔως δὲ προθυεῖ καὶ κατάρχεται καὶ παρισταται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς τὸ τιμωτὰτον τῶν θεῶν κτῆμα προσβλεπτέος ἔστιν ἡμῖν μετὰ αἴδον καὶ εὐλαβείας. ἀτοπον γάρ, εἰ τοὺς μὲν λίθους, ἐξ δὲν οἱ βωμοὶ πεποίηται, διὰ τὸ καθιερώσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαπῶμεν, 2 ὅτι μορφὴν ἔχουσι καὶ σχῆμα πρέπουν, εἰς ἣν εἰςι κατεσκευασμένοι λειτουργίαν, Β' ἄνδρα δὲ καθωσιομένου τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ οἰκοσὸμεθα χρὴναί τιμᾶν. ἵσως ὑπολήπτεται τις ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐξαιρετάντω οὐκ τῶν πρὸς

1 καὶ—ποίησει Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.
2 ἀγαπῶμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαπήσομεν MSS.

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also are in some sort dedicated to the service of the
gods, as being guardians of the laws, nevertheless we
ought at any rate to give the priests a far greater
share of our good will. The Achaians, for instance,
enjoined on their king\(^1\) to reverence the priest,
though he was one of the enemy, whereas we do not
even reverence the priests who are our friends, and
who pray and sacrifice on our behalf.

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

\(^1\) Agamemnon; Iliad 1.23.
\(^2\) cf. Plato, Phaedo 62c; Letter to the Athenians 276b.
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touς θεούς ὠσίων; ἕγω δὴ φημι χρῆναι τὸν μὲν τοιοῦτον ἐξελέγχειν, ἦνα μὴ ποιηθοῦ ὥν ἐνοχλῇ
touς θεούς, ἐως δὲ ἂν ἐξελέγχῃ τις, μὴ ἀτιμάζειν.
οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογοῦν ἐπιλαβομένους ταύτης τῆς C
ἀφορμῆς οὐ τούτων μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτη-
δείων τιμᾶσθαι τὴν τιμῆν προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. ἔστι
τοῖν ποτέν ὁσπερ ἄρχων, ὀὔτω δὲ καὶ ἱερεῖς πᾶς
αἰδέσιμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀπόφασις ἔστι θεοῦ τοῦ
Διδυμαίου τοιαύτη:

"Ὅσοι τε ἰσραήλ ἀτασθαλίσας νόμον
'Αθανάτων ἰέζου' ἀποφύλα, καὶ γεράσις
'Ἀντία βουλεύουσιν ἀδεισθεόις λογισμοῖς,
Οὐκέθα δὴν βίοτοι διεκπερώσασιν ἀταρπόν,
"Ὅσοι περί μακάρεσιν ἐλομήσαντο θεοίσιν,
'Ων κεῖνοι θεοσεπτῶν ἐλον θεραπηίδα τιμήν,
καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ θεός φησι

Πάντας μὲν θεράποντας ἐμούς ὅλοςς κακο-
τητος—,
καὶ φησιν ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκην ἐπιθήσειν αὐτοῖς.

Πολλῶν δὲ εἰρημένων τοιούτων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ,
δὲ όν ἔνεστι μαθόντας ὅπως χρῆ τιμᾶν καὶ
θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἱερεάς, εἰρήσεται μοι διὰ πλει-
όνων ἐν ἄλλοις· ἀπόχρη δὲ νῦν, ὅτι μὴ σχεδιάζω
μηδέν, ἐπιδείξατο τὴν τε ἐν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν B
καὶ τὸ ἐπίταγμα τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἵκανον
ηγούμενος. εἰ τις οὖν ἀξιόπιστον ὑπείληφεν
ἐμὲ διδάσκαλον τῶν τοιούτων, αἰδέσθεις τὸν

1 ἐξελέγχῃ Hertlein suggests, ἐξελέγχῃ MSS.
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rites?" Then indeed I answer that we ought to convict a man of that sort, so that he may not by his wickedness offend the gods; but that we ought not to dishonour him until he has been convicted. Nor indeed is it reasonable that when we have set our hands to this business, we should take away their honour not only from these offenders but also from those who are worthy to be honoured. Then let every priest, like every magistrate, be treated with respect, since there is also an oracle to that effect from the Didymaean god: ¹ "As for men who with reckless minds work wickedness against the priests of the deathless gods and plot against their privileges with plans that fear not the gods, never shall such men travel life's path to the end, men who have sinned against the blessed gods whose honour and holy service those priests have in charge."² And again in another oracle the god says: "All my servants from harmful mischief——;",³ and he says that on their behalf he will inflict punishment on the aggressors.

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

¹ Apollo.
² An oracle from an unknown source: these verses occur again in Epistle 62. 451 A.
³ Sc. I will protect.
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θεον ἐκείνῳ πειθέσθω καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν τιμᾶτω διαφερόντως· ὅποιον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι χρῆ, πειράσομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἔνεκα σοῦ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ νῦν ἡπιστάμην, ἀμα μὲν τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, ἀμα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν μαρτυροῦντων, ὅτι τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην διαθήσῃ Καλῶς, ὅσα γε εἰς προάρεσιν ἦκει τὴν σήμ., οὐδὲ ἀν ἐτόλμησά σοι μεταδοῦναι τοσοῦτον πράγματος· ἀλλὰ ὅπως ἔχεις ἐντεῦθεν διδάσκειν τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐλογώτεροι καὶ ἐπὶ ἐξουσίας, ὡς οὐκ οἰκοθεν αὐτὰ νοεῖς καὶ πράττεις μόνος, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ σύμψηφον σεαυτῷ, δοκοῦντά γε εἶναι διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, ἄξιον μὲν οὖν δαμῶς πράγματος τοσοῦτον, Βουλόμενον δὲ εἶναι καὶ προσευχόμενον ἄει τοῖς θεοῖς. εὐ γὰρ ἵσθι, θ. μεγάλας ἥμιν οἱ θεοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπιδίᾳς ἐπαγγέλλονται. πειστέον δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντως. ἀψευδεῖν γὰρ εἰσώθησιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῷ. οἱ δὲ διὰ περιουσίαν δυνάμεως οὗτος τε ὄντες καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ 299 βίῳ τούτῳ περιγενέσθαι ταραχῆς καὶ τὸ ἀτακτόν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄλλοκοτον ἑπανορθοῦν ἀρ' οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον, ὅπως διήρηται ἃ μαχόμενα, κυριείσθην μὲν τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς, γῆς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος, ἢκανο παρασχεῖν ἐσονται ταύθ' ὀσατερ ἐπηγγείλαντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχειν ἔδοσαν 320
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show due respect to the god and obey him, and honour the priests of the gods above all other men. And now I will try to describe what sort of man a priest himself ought to be, though not for your especial benefit. For if I did not already know from the evidence both of the high priest and of the most mighty gods that you administer this priestly office aright—at least all matters that come under your management—I should not have ventured to confide to you a matter so important. But I do so in order that you may be able from what I say to instruct the other priests, not only in the cities but in the country districts also, more convincingly and with complete freedom; since not of your own self do you alone devise these precepts and practise them, but you have me also to give you support, who by the grace of the gods am known as sovereign pontiff, though I am indeed by no means worthy of so high an office; though I desire, and moreover constantly pray to the gods that I may be worthy. For the gods, you must know, hold out great hopes for us after death; and we must believe them absolutely. For they are always truthful, not only about the future life, but about the affairs of this life also. And since in the superabundance of their power they are able both to overcome the confusion that exists in this life and to regulate its disorders and irregularities, will they not all the more in that other life where conflicting things are reconciled, after the immortal soul has been separated from the body and the lifeless body has turned to earth, be able to bestow all those things for which they have held out hopes to mankind? Therefore since we know that the gods
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οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἑρεύσι τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ἐγγύουσαν αὐτοὺς ἐν πᾶσι τῆς ἁξίας τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσωμεν, ὃν πρὸς τὰ πλῆθη χρὴ λέγειν δεήγμα τῶν έαυτῶν ἐκφέροντας βίον.

Ἀρκτέων δὲ ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν ὡς παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρώσει. μὲν ἡμῶς, οὐχ ὀρωμένοις δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πάσης αὐγῆς ὃμμα κρείττον ἄχρι τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἡμῖν λογισμῶν διατετακόσιν. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος οὐτός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ πολλῶν μὲν εἰρημένος λόγων, ἐμοὶ δὲ δῆτα ἀπόχρη καὶ ἕνα παραθεμένον δύο δὲ ἑνὸς παραστήσαι, πῶς μὲν ὀρῶσιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντα, πῶς δὲ ἕπλε τοῖς εὐσεβεῖσιν εὐφραίνονται?

Πάντη Φοιβείη τέταται ταννοσίσκοπος ἀκτίς. Καὶ τε διὰ στερεῶν χωρεῖ θοῦν ὃμμα πετραών, Εὐσεβείη, πληθυνός ἀστερόφεσσα παλινδίνητος ἱούσα Οὐρανόν εἰς ἀκάμαντα σοφῆς κατὰ θεσμῶν ἀνάγκης, Οὐδ' ὡσα νερτερίων ὑπεδέξατο φύλα καμότων Τάρταρος ἀχλύσετος 1 ὑπὸ ξόφον ἀλὸς ἐσω. Εὐσεβείην δὲ βροτοῖς γὰνυμαι τόσου, ὄσον Ὀλύμπων.

"Ὅσῳ δὲ λίθου καὶ πέτρας ἀπασά μὲν ψυχῇ, πολυ δὲ πλέον ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκείοτερον εἴρει καὶ συγγενεστέρον πρὸς τοῦς θεοὺς, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστι σῶον καὶ ἐνεργεστέρον δ' αὐτῆς

1 ἀχλύσετος Hertlein suggests; ἀχλύσεσσαν MSS.

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

The first thing we ought to preach is reverence towards the gods. For it is fitting that we should perform our service to the gods as though they were themselves present with us and beheld us, and though not seen by us could direct their gaze, which is more powerful than any light, even as far as our hidden thoughts. And this saying is not my own but the god's, and has been declared in many utterances, but for me surely it is sufficient, by bringing forth one such utterance, to illustrate two things in one, namely how the gods see all things and how they rejoice in god-fearing men: "On all sides extend the far-seeing rays of Phoebus. His swift gaze pierces even through sturdy rocks, and travels through the dark blue sea, nor is he unaware of the starry multitude that passes in returning circuit through the unwearyed heavens for ever by the statutes of necessity; nor of all the tribes of the dead in the underworld whom Tartarus has admitted within the misty dwelling of Hades, beneath the western darkness. And I delight in god-fearing men as much even as in Olympus."²

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

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¹ Euripides, fr. 488 Nauck; cf. 197 c, 358 d, 387 b, 391 this phrase became a proverb; cf. Lucian, Hermotimus 789.
² An oracle from an unknown source.
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χωρεῖν τῶν θεῶν τὸ ὃμμα. θέα 1 δὲ τὴν φίλαν. Β
θρωπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γάνυςαί φάσκουσος τῇ τῶν
evsebión ἀνδρῶν διανοιά ὡςον Ὄλυμπῳ τῷ καθαρ-
ristáto. πῶς 2 ἡμῖν οὕτος οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς
ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξόφου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου
μετ᾽ εὐσεβείας αὐτῷ προσιόντων; οἴδε μὲν γὰρ καὶ
tους ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ κατακεκλείσμένους· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἔκτος πίπτει δυνάμεως·
ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβεῖς τὸν Ὅλυμπον ἀντὶ C
tοῦ Ταρτάρου. διόσπερ χρή μάλιστα τῶν τῆς
evsebείας ἔργων ἀντέχεσθαι προσιόντας μὲν τοῖς
θεοῖς μετ᾽ εὐλαβείας, αἱσχρῶν μηδὲν μῆτε λέγοντας
μῆτε ἀκούοντας. ἀγνευεῖν δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς οὐκ
ἔργοι μόνον ἁκαθάρτων οὐδὲ ἀσέλγῶν πράξεων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ ἀκροαμάτων τοιούτων.
ἐξελατέα τοῖνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπαχθῆ
σκώμματα, πάσα δὲ ἀσέλγης ὀμίλια. καὶ ὅπως
eiδέναι ἔχεις ὁ βούλομαι φράξεων, ἱερομένως τις
μῆτε Ἀρχίλοχον ἀναγινωσκέτω μήτε Ἰππώνακτα D
μῆτε ἄλλον τινα τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα γραφόντων.
ἀποκλινεῖω καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμόδιας ὡς τῆς
tοιαύτης ἱδέας· ἀμείνων μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάντως
πρέποι δ’ ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ φιλοσοφία μόνη, καὶ τούτων
οἱ θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας προστησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν
παιδείας, ὁσπερ 3 Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλης οἱ τὲ ἄμφὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ζήνωνα.
προσεκτέων μὲν γὰρ οὕτε πάσιν οὕτε τοῖς πάντων
dόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον καὶ ἐκεῖνων, ὡς 301

1 θέα Brambs, MSS., θεφ Reiske, Cobet, Hertlein.
2 πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
3 ὁσπερ Hertlein suggests, ὁσπερ MSS.

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

¹ Hipponax of Ephesus, a scurrilous poet who wrote in choliambics (the skazon) and flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Horace, Epodes 6. 12.
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eυσεβείας ἠστὶ ποιητικὰ καὶ διδάσκει πέρι θεῶν
πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εἰσίν, εἶτα ὡς προσούσι τῶν τῆδε,
kai ὡς ἔργαζονται μὲν οὖν ἐν κακῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώ-
pous οὔτε ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες
καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ὥστε γράφοντες οἱ μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν ποιηταὶ κατεφρουθήσαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
προφήται διατεταμένως συγκατασκευάζοντες ὅπο Β
τῶν ἀθλίων τούτων τῶν προσνειμάντων ἐαυτοὺς
tois Γαλαλαίοις θαυμάζονται.

Πρέποι δ' ἀν ἡμῖν ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνειν, ὡσποδεῖ
συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεποιημένοις τοῖς ἔργοις· ὡστα
de ἐστὶν ἐν ἱστορίαις εἴδει παρὰ τοῖς ἐμπροσθὲν
ἀπεγγελμένα πλάζομα παρατητόν, ἐρωτικὰς
ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. καθάπερ
γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁδὸς πάσα τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἀρμόττει,
tετάχθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταῦτα, οὕτως οὖν ἀνά-
γωμα πᾶν ἱερωμένῳ πρέπει. ἐγχύνεται γὰρ
τις τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ κατ'
ὁλόγον ἐγείρει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, εἶτα ἐξαιρήσης
ἀνάπτει δεινὴν φλόγα, πρὸς ἂν οἶμαι χρὴ πόρρω-
θεν παρατετάχθαι.

Μῆτε Ἐπικουρείως εἰσίτω λόγος μῆτε Πυρρώ-
νειος. Ἦδη μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ
ἀνηρήκασιν, ὡστε ἐπιλαύνειν καὶ τὰ πλείστα
τῶν βιβλίων. διὸς οὖν καλῶς τῦπον χάριν
ἐπιμυνηθῆναι μὲν καὶ τούτων, ὅποιον χρὴ μάλιστα
τοὺς ἱερέας ἀπέχεσθαι λόγων, εἰ δὲ λόγων, πολὺ
πρότερον ἐννοιῶν. οὖν γὰρ οἶμαι ταῦτὸν ἐστὶν
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men god-fearing, and teach concerning the gods, first that they exist, secondly that they concern themselves with the things of this world, and further that they do no injury at all either to mankind or to one another, out of jealousy or envy or enmity. I mean the sort of thing our poets in the first place have brought themselves into disrepute by writing, and in the second place such tales as the prophets of the Jews take pains to invent, and are admired for so doing by those miserable men who have attached themselves to the Galilaean.

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

Let us not admit discourses by Epicurus or Pyrrho; but indeed the gods have already in their wisdom destroyed their works, so that most of their books have ceased to be. Nevertheless there is no reason why I should not, by way of example; mention these works too, to show what sort of discourses priests must especially avoid; and if such discourses, then much more must they avoid such thoughts. For an error of speech is, in my
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άμόρτημα γλώττης καὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην χρῆ μᾶλλον θεραπεύειν, ὡς καὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐκείνη συνεξαμαρτανοῦσης. ἐκμανθάνειν χρῆ τοὺς ὑμνους τῶν θεῶν εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτωι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ καλοὶ πεποιημένοι παλαιόις καὶ νέοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους πειρατέοις ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀδομένους. οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἰκετευθέντων ἑδόθησαν, ὀλγοὶ δὲ τινες 302 ἐποιήθησαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐνθέου καὶ ψυχῆς ἀβάτων τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεῶν τιμῇ συγκεκμένοι.

Ταύτα γε ἄξιοι ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἱδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, μᾶλλον μὲν τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, εἴ δὲ μή, πάντως θρήνου γε 1 καὶ δείλης· οὕτῳ γὰρ εὐλογον ἅθυτων ἁγείν ἡμέραν ἢ νύκτα τὸν ἱερωμένου· ἀρχὴ δὲ ὀρθοὺς μὲν ἡμέρας, Β' ὅψια δὲ νυκτός. εὐλογον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῆς ἱερατικῆς οὕτε τυχάνωμεν λειτουργίας· ὡς τά γε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅσα πάτριος διαγορεύει νόμος, φυλάττειν πρέπει, καὶ οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἐλαττῶν τι ποιητέοι αὐτῶν· θίδαι γὰρ ἐστι τὰ τῶν θεῶν· ὡστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆ μεμείσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν, ὑν' αὐτῶς ἱλασκόμεθα διὰ τοῦτο πλέον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἢμεν αὐτοψυχαὶ μόναι, τὸ σώμα δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἦμιν διώχλει, καλῶς δὲ ἐίχεν ἐνα τινὰ τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἀφορίζειν βίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕχ ιερεύσιν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ 2 ἱερεὶ προσήκει μόνον, ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτηδευτέον,

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

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

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

Now if we were pure soul alone, and our bodies did not hinder us in any respect, it would be well to prescribe one sort of life for priests. But since what he should practise when on duty concerns the individual priest alone, not priests absolutely, what
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ti de tov ierathein anathropo loxonti synchro
rhetou, othen ekdotos tis en tois ierous leitourgyias;
oima de chrishai ton ierous panton anumevanta D
unikta kai hymera, evta alllh en' autheunikta
katharameunov ois diagorevousin ois thesmoi kathar-
mois ouxoi eisw foitonta ton ierou mevein oseas
an hymeras o nimos keleuhi. Triakounta men gar ai
pari hymen eisw en 'Romei, par' allhos de allhos.
evlogon ouv oima mevein aptasas tautes tas
hymeras en tois ierous filosofouinta, kal mete
eis oikian badixein mete eis agorain, allla mde 303
archoenta plhn en tois ierous ornai, epimeleswthai
de tis peri to theion therapeias auton eforwnta
pantia kai diatattonta, plhropanta de tas
hymeras evta etero paraaxorein tis leitourgyias.
epi de ton anathropinon treptomewn bion exestw
kai badixein eis oikian filon kai eis estiasin
apantain paraaithentata, me pantan, allla ton B
beleitastou en toytro de kai eis agorain paralevein
ouk atopon olyagikis, hymena te proseipewin kai
ethous archoenta, kai tois evlogous deoomenos osa
envedexetai botheiasai.

Prtepi de oima tois iereusin enoan men, ote
leitourgyousin, eshteti chrishai megaloopreppe-
statia, ton ierous de exe tih sunthi dixa polu-

1 Tfo Hertlein suggests, ws MSS.

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

And it is in my opinion fitting for priests to wear the most magnificent dress when they are within the temple performing the services, but when they are outside the sacred precincts to wear ordinary dress,
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teleiás· oúde γὰρ εὐλογοῦν τοὺς δεδομένους ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμὴ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τύφον μάταιον. ὅθεν ἀφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐσθήτος πολυτελειοτέρεστας ἐν ἁγορᾷ καὶ κόμπου ἢ καὶ πάσης ἀπλώς ἀλαζονείας. οἱ γοῦν θεοὶ τὴν τοσαύτην ἀγαυθέντες Ἀμφιαράου σωφροσύνην, ἐπειδή τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκείνου κατεδίκασαν φθορὰν εἰδὼς τε αὐτὸς συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἦν ἀφευντον αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πεπρωμένου, ἀπέφηναν αὐτὸν ἄλλον ἢ ἄλλου καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς λῃστὰς θείας. πάντων γοῦν τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοῖς Θήβαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων πρὶν κατεργάσασθαι σήματα γραφόντων καὶ ἐγείροντων τὰ τρόπαια κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν Καδμείων, οἱ τῶν θεῶν ὁμιλητῆς ἀσήμα μὲν ἐπεστράτευεν ἔχων ὁπλὰ, προφότητα δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην ὅς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο. διότι πολλοὶ μην λάμπονται καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἡμᾶς τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας σωφρονεῖν, ἵνα τυγχάνωμεν εὐμενῶν τῶν θεῶν· ὡς οὐ μικρά γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνομεν δημούμενοι τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθήτας καὶ δημοσιεύσαντες καὶ παρέχοντες 304 ἀπλῶς περιβλέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡστερ τοι θαυμαστὸν· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο συμβαίνει, πολλοὶ πελάξουσιν ἡμῶν οὐ καθαροί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χραίνεται τα τῶν θεῶν σύμβολα· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς

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

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

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

ο μάντις Ἀμφιάραος οὐ σημεῖ’ ἔχων
δειρισμέν’, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἀσημί’ ὅπλα.
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άυτοὺς ὦν ἱερατικὸς ἔσων ἱερέων ἐσθήτα
περικείσθαι πόσης ἐστὶ παρανομίας καὶ κατα-
φονῆσεως εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰρήσεται μὲν ὦν ἡμῖν
καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἀλλοις ¹ δι’ ἀκριβείας νῦν δὲ
ὡς τύπῳ πρὸς σὲ γράφω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Τοῖς ἀσελγείᾳ τούτοις θεάτροι τῶν ἱερέων Β
μηδείς μηδαμοῦ παραβαλλέτω μηδὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκίαν
εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· πρέπει γὰρ οὐδαμῶς. καὶ
ei μὲν οἷον τε τὴν ἐξελάσαι παντάπασιν αὐτὰ
τῶν θεάτρων, ὡστε αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ
Διονύσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα, πάντως ἂν ἐπειράθη
αὐτὸ προθύμως κατασκευάσαι. νῦν δὲ οἴομενος ὁ
τούτο οὐτε δυνάτων οὔτε ἄλλως, εὐ καὶ δυνατὸν
φανεῖν, συμφέρον ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, ταύτης μὲν
ἀπεσχόμην παντάπασι τῆς φιλοτιμίας· ἄξιόν δὲ
toúς ἱερέας ὑποχωρῆσαι καὶ ἀποστῆσαι τῷ δήμῳ
tῆς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσελγείας. μηδείς οὖν ἱερεὺς
eiς θεάτρον εἰσίτω, μηδὲ ἔχετω ² φίλον θυμελικὸν
μηδὲ ἀρματηλάτην, μηδὲ ὀρχικὴν μηδὲ μίμος
αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτω· τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀγώσιν
ἐπιτρέπω μόνον τῷ βουλομένῳ παραβάλλειν. D
ἂν ἀπηγόρευται μετέχειν οὐκ ἄγωνιας μόνον,
ἄλλα καὶ θέασα ταῖς γυναιξὶ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν
κυνηγοῖς τὰς δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν
eἰσώ τῶν θεάτρων συντελεῖται, ὡς ἀφεκτέον
toúτων ἑστὶν οὖν ἱερεύς μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ
παισὶν ἱερεύς;

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

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

Now it would perhaps have been well to say earlier from what class of men and by what method priests must be appointed; but it is quite appropriate that my remarks should end with this. I say

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φημι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βελτίστους καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φιλοθεωτάτους, ἐπείτα φιλανθρωπότατος, ἐάν τε πένητες ὄσων ἦν τε πλούσιοι. διάκρισις ἔστω πρὸς τοῦτο μηδ' ἤτισον ἄφανος καὶ ἐπιφανος; ο γὰρ διὰ πράσινα ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἄφανειν δικαίως ἐστὶ καλύπτει. καὶ πένης οὐν ἦ τις δημότης ἔχον ἐν ἐαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τὸ τε φιλόθεον καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, ἵππευς ἀποδεικνύσθω. δείγμα δὲ Β τοῦ φιλοθέου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγωι, τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δὲ, εἰ καὶ εξ ὀλύνων εὐκόλως κοινωνεῖ τοῖς δεσμέονοις καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως, εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσοις ἄν ὁλὸς τε ἦ.

Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καὶ τὴν ἱατρείαν ἐντεῦθεν ποιητέον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἶμαι συνέβη τοὺς πένητας ἀμελείσθαι παρορμώνουσι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλλιαίοι κατανόησαντες ἐπέθεντο ταῦτα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ χείριστον τῶν ἔργων διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκράτουν. ἄσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ παιδία διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἐξαπατῶντες τῷ καὶ δίς καὶ τρίς προέθανεν πείθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, εἰθ' ὅταν ἀποστῆσιν πόρρω τῶν οἰκείων, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναὸν ἀπέδοντο, καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν ἔξης βίον πικρόν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλύνων

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

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

We must pay especial attention to this point, and by this means effect a cure. For when it came about that the poor were neglected and overlooked by the priests, then I think the impious Galilaeans observed this fact and devoted themselves to philanthropy. And they have gained ascendancy in the worst of their deeds through the credit they win for such practices. For just as those who entice children with a cake, and by throwing it to them two or three times induce them to follow them, and then, when they are far away from their friends cast them on board a ship and sell them as slaves, and that which for the moment seemed sweet, proves to be bitter for all the rest of their lives—by the same method, I say, the Galilaeans

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γλυκύ, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι διὰ δὸ
tῆς λεγομένης παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς
καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ὡσπερ τὸ ἔργον,
οὔτω δὲ καὶ τούνομα παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείστους
ἐνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα.   *

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also begin with their so-called love-feast, or hospitality, or service of tables,—for they have many ways of carrying it out and hence call it by many names,—and the result is that they have led very many into atheism. . . . .¹

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

The Caesars, otherwise entitled in the MSS. Symposium or Kronia (Latin Saturnalia) was written at Constantinople in 361 and was probably addressed to Sallust, to whom Julian had sent his lost work the Kronia.\(^1\) The interlocutor in the proœmium\(^2\) is almost certainly Sallust.

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

\(^1\) cf. Oration 4. 157 c. \(^2\) 306 A.
'Επειδὴ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς παῖζειν ἔστι γὰρ Κρόνια·
γελοῖον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τερπνὸν οἶδα ἐγὼ, τὸ μὴ
καταγέλαστα φράσαι φροντίδος έοικεν εἶναι ἄξιον,
ὦ φιλότης.

Εἶτα τίς οὖτω παχύς ἔστι καὶ ἀρχαῖος, ὃ
Καίσαρ, ὦστε καὶ παίζειν πεφροντισμένα; ἐγὼ
ὡς ἡμῖν τὴν παιδιὰν ἀνεσίν τε εἶναι ψυχής καὶ
ἀπαλλαγήν τῶν φροντίδων.

'Ορθῶς γε σὺ τούτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐμοὶ δὲ Β
οὐ ταύτη ἐοικεν ἀπαντᾶν τὸ χρήμα. πέφυκα γὰρ
οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτυθεὶς οὔτε σκόπτειν οὔτε παραφδεῖν
οὔτε γελοιάξειν. ἐπει δὲ χρῆ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι
tοῦ θεοῦ, βούλει σοι ἐν παιδιὰς μέρει μύθου διέξ-
έλθω πολλὰ ἵσως ἔχοντα ἀκοῆς ἄξια;

Δένοις ἄν καὶ μάλα ἄσμενῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῶς Σ
οὔκ ἀτιμάξω τοὺς μύθους οὐδὲ παντάπασιν
ἐξελαῦνω τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντας, ἀκολουθά σοι
te καὶ φίλω τῷ σῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ κοινῷ,
Πλάτωνι διανοοῦμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ πολλά
ἐν μύθοις ἑσπούδασται.

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THE CAESARS

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) Better known by its Latin name Saturnalia. Saturn is the Greek Kronos.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Δέγεις ναὶ μὰ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.
Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μῦθος;
Οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὅποιος Ἀὐσωτος ἐποίη—307
σεν, ἀλλ' εἶτε πλάσμα λέγοις 'Ερμοῦ' πεπυ-
σμένος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκείθεν σοι φράσω: εἶτε καὶ
τάλθες ὦτως ἔχει εἶτε μέξις τῆς ἔστιν ἀμφοῖν,
αὐτὸ, τασί, ἅτ' ἔστι τὸ πράγμα.

Τούτω μὲν οὖν ἢ ἴδη μυθικὸς ἄμα καὶ ἱστορικὸς
ἐξείργασταί σοι τὸ προοίμιον ἀλλὰ μοι τὸν
λόγον αὐτὸν, ὅποιος ποτὲ ἔστιν, ἢ ἴδη διέξελθε.
Μανθάνοις ἀν.

Θύων ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει Β
τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸς καίσαρας.
κλίνα δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς μὲν
θεοῖς ἀνω κατ' αὐτό, τασίν, οὕρανοι τὸ μετέωρον,

Οὐλυμπῶν', ὥτι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλέοις αἰεὶ.

λέγεται γὰρ μεθ' Ἰρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκείσε
καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος, δὴ χρῆ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὁνόματι,
τῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς
ἐκείσε παρεσκεύαστο τὸ συμπόσιον ἦν αὐτὴν δὲ C
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετεώρον τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδωκτο
τοὺς καίσαρας δευτερείν. ἀνείχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε
τῶν σωμάτων κοινοτῆς, ἀπὲρ ἐτύγχανον ἡμιρρε-
σμένοι, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλίνα μὲν
οὖν ἐκείνῳ τέτταρες, εὐτρεπεῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις
θεοῖς. ἐβένου μὲν ἢ τὸν Κρόνου στυλβοῦσις
καὶ πολλὴν ἐν τῷ μέλαν καὶ θεῖαν αὐγὴν κρυ-
πτούσης, ἄστρεν οὐδεὶς οἶδος τε ἢν ἀντιβλέπειν.

1 φασι Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, ἑταίρει MSS.
2 αὐτοῦ Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation

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

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

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

ἐπασχε δὲ ταύτῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐβενον ἐκείνην τὰ ὄμματα δὶ’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνος, ὅπερ οἴμαι πρὸς ἥλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δίσκῳ τις ἀτενέστερον προσβλέπῃ. ἥ δὲ τοῦ Διῶς ὥν ἀργύρου μὲν στιλπνοτέρα, χρυσίου δὲ λευκοτέρα. τούτῳ εἶτε ἥλεκτρον χρῆ καλεῖν εἶτε ἄλλο τι λέγειν, οὐ σφόδρα εἰχὲ μοι γνωρίμως ὁ ‘Ἐρμῆς φράσαι. χρυσοθρόνῳ δὲ παρ’ ἐκάτερον ἐκαθεξέσθην1 ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ, Ὁρᾶ μὲν παρὰ τὸν Δία, 308 Ῥέα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνον. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐπέζηε τῷ λόγῳ, μεῖξον εἶναι λέγων αὐτὸ καὶ ψ θεοτὸν, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ ρήμασιν οὔτε προοιμίζῃ ράδιον οὔτε παραδεχόμαι δυνατόν. οὐχ οὔτω τις ἔσται καὶ φανεῖται μεγαλόφωνος, ὡστε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκεῖνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους, ὅπτόσον ἐπιτρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν οὔσει.

Παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐκάστῳ Β θρόνος ἡ κλών κατὰ προσβείαιν. ἤριζε δὲ οὔδείς, ἅλλῳ ὁπερ Ὅμηρος ὁδῆσ ποιῶν ἐφή, δοκεῖν μοι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἀκηκοώ, ἔχειν ἐκαστὸν τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἔφ’ ὀυ πάντως αὐτῷ θέμις καθήσων στερεῖς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως. ἔπει καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξανατάμειν ταῦτα παράττουσιν οὐδαμῶς τὰς καθέδρας οὐδὲ μεταβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ υφαρτάξουσιν ἀλλήλων, γνωρίζει C δὲ ἐκαστὸς τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ. πάντων οὖν κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τοῦ Διονύσου καλοῦ καὶ νέου καὶ

1 ἐκαθεξέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἐκαθεξέστον V., ἐκαθεξέστην MSS.

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

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

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

¹ Cf. Martial 8. 51. 5: "Vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo"; it is often uncertain whether electron means amber, or a combination of ¾ gold and ¼ silver.
² This is not in our Homer, but Julian may have in mind Iliad 11. 76.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Διὶ παραπλησίον πλησίον αὐτοῦ, τροφεύς τις οία καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθήστο, τὰ τε ἄλλα φιλοπαίγμων καὶ φιλόγελων καὶ χαριτοδότην 1 ὅντα τῶν θεῶν εὐφραίνων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ σκόπτειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιαζεῖν.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καισάρων συνεκεκρότητος συμπόσιον, εἰσῆλθε πρῶτος Ἰουλίος Καίσαρ, ὕπο φιλοτιμίας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἔρισαί τῷ Διὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς ὅν οἱ Σειληνὸς βλέψας, "Ορα, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεύ, μή σε ὁ ἀνήρ οὗτος ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοηθῆ. καὶ γάρ, ὡς ὅρασ, ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ καλὸς· ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν ἐστὶ 309 προσόμοιοι. παίζοντος ἐτὶ τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σειληνοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῷ, Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμείβων, ὅσπερ οἱ χαμαίλεοντες, χρώματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὁχρῶν, αὖθις δὲ ἔρυθρος γινόμενος, εἶτα μέλας καὶ ξοφώδης καὶ συννεφῆς· ἀνέτο ὃ αὕτης εἰς Ἀφροδίτην Β καὶ Χάριτας, εἰναι τε ᾨθελε τὰς βολας τῶν ὦμάτων ὁποῖς ἐστιν ὁ μέγας "Ηλιος· οὐδένα γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων 3 ἀντιβλέπειν ἠξίον. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Βαβαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τοῦτον θηρίου τὰ ποτ' ἀρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται; Παύσαι, εἶπε, ληρῶν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν τούτῳ Ζήνων παραδοὺς αὐτικὰ ὑμῖν ἀποφανῶ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ὅλλ' ἵθε, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζήνων, ἐπιμελήθητι τούμου θρέματος. ὁ δὲ

1 χαριτοδότην Spanheim, cf. 148 D, χαριδότην Hertlein, MSS.
2 συνεκεκρότητο Hertlein suggests, συμεκροτείτο MSS.
3 ἀπαντῶντων Spanheim, οὕτων Hertlein, MSS.
ever young, who sat close to Zeus his father, took his seat next to him on the pretext that he had brought him up and was his tutor. And since Dionysus loves jesting and laughter and is the giver of the Graces, Silenus diverted the god with a continual flow of sarcasms and jests, and in other ways besides.

When the banquet had been arranged for the Emperors also, Julius Caesar entered first, and such was his passion for glory that he seemed ready to contend with Zeus himself for dominion. Whereupon Silenus observing him said, "Take care, Zeus, lest this man in his lust for power be minded to rob you of your empire. He is, as you see, tall and handsome, and if he resembles me in nothing else, round about his head he is very like me." 1 While Silenus, to whom the gods paid very little attention, was jesting thus, Octavian entered, changing colour continually, like a chameleon, turning now pale now red; one moment his expression was gloomy, sombre, and overcast, the next he unbent and showed all the charms of Aphrodite and the Graces. Moreover in the glances of his eyes he was fain to resemble mighty Helios, for he preferred that none who approached should be able to meet his gaze. 2 "Good Heavens!" exclaimed Silenus, "what a changeable monster is this! What mischief will he do us?" "Cease trifling," said Apollo, "after I have handed him over to Zeno 3 here, I shall transform him for you straightway to gold without alloy. Come, Zeno," he cried, "take charge of my nursling." Zeno obeyed, and thereupon, by reciting over Octavian a few of his

1 Silenus is usually represented as bald.
2 Suetonius, Augustus 16.
3 The Stoic philosopher.
ΤΗΣ ΣΑΤΙΡΕΣ ΟΥ ΔΥΛΙΑΝ

υπακούσας, εἶτα ἐπάσας αὐτῷ μικρὰ τῶν δογμάτων, ὁσπερ οἱ τὰς Ζαμόλξιδος ἐπιθάς θρυλούντες, ἀπέφηνεν ἄνδρα ἐμφρονα καὶ σῷφρονα.

Τρίτος ἐπεισέδραμεν αὐτοῖς Τιβέριος σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλεψυρός, σῶφρον τε ἁμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὄφθεσαν ὠτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νότον μυρίας, καυτήρες τινὲς καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπαὶ D καὶ μῶλωπες ὑπὸ τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ὁμότητος φώραι τινὲς καὶ λειχήνες οἶδον ἐγκεκαυμέναι. εἰθ’ ὁ Σειληνὸς

'Ἀλλοτός μοι, ξείνη, φάνη πένυ ἡ τὸ πάροιτεν εἰπὼν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαιότερος. καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος πρὸς αὐτὸν, Τί δῆτα, εἶπεν, οἴ τοι παππίδιοι σπουδάζεις; καὶ ὁς, Ἐξέπληξε με ἡ γέρων οὐτοσί, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἐφή, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἐκλαθόμενον ἐμαυτοῦ τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς προβαλέσθαι μούσας. ἀλλὰ σε, εἶπεν, ἐξει τῶν ὠτῶν 310 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματιστὴν τινα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμώξων μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ νησυδρῷ τὰς Καπρέας αἰνοτόμους τὸν ἀθλιὸν ἄλεα ψηχέτω. ταῦτα ἔτι παιξόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπεισέρχεται θηρίον ποιηρόν. εἶτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπέστρεψαν τὰ ὄμματα, κατὰ αὐτὸν δίδωσιν ἡ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἱ δὲ ἔρριψαν εἰς B

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doctrines, in the fashion of those who mutter the
incantations of Zamolxís, he made him wise and
temperate.

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

1 Julian probably alludes to the influence on Augustus of
Athenodorus the Stoic.
2 A deity among the Thracians, who according to one tradi-
tion had been a slave of Pythagoras; cf. Herodotus 4. 94;
Plato, Charmides 156 d; Julian 8. 244 A.
3 Cf. Plato, Gorgias 525 D; Republic 611 C; Tacitus,
Annals 6. 6; Lucian, Cataphracts 27.
4 Odyssey 16. 181; there is a play on the word πάροιθην
which means also “in front.”
5 i.e. Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, Tiberius 56, 70.
6 Suetonius, Tiberius 60.
7 Caligula.
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Τάρταρον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔσχεν ὁ Σειληνὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσαι. τοῦ Κλαύδιου δὲ ἔπεισελθόντος, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἄρχεται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἀδειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου1 κολακεύων δῆθεν τὸν Κλαύδιον. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρίνου ἀπίδών, Ἀδικεῖς, εἶπεν, ὁ Κυρίνε, τὸν ἀπόγονον ἄγων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον. δίχα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλλαντος. ἀλλ’ ἵθι, εἶπε, πέμψον ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνος, εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Μέσσα-λίαν. ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνων δίχα τοῦτο τῆς τραγῳδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικροῦ δὲ φῶς φάναι, καὶ ἄψυχον. ἐπεισέρχεται λέγοντι τὸν Σειληνὸς Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέψας ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸν Ὀπόλλωνα, Οὔτος, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ σὲ παρασκευάζεται. καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς Ὀπόλλων, Ἀλλ’ ἔγωγε αὐτὸν, εἶπεν, ἀποστε-φανῶσο, ὅτι μὲ μὴ πάντα μιμεῖται μηδὲ ἐν ὦις μὲ μιμεῖται γύγνεται μονομιμητὴς δίκαιος. ἀπο- στεφανωθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωκυτός εὐθέως ἤρπασεν.

'Επὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ συνέτρεχον, ΔΒινδικες, Γάλβαι, Ὀθωνες, Βιτέλλιοι, καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς, Τοῦτων, εἶπε, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμῆνος2 πόθεν ἐξημηρκατε, ὁ θεός; τυφόμεθα γονὺν ὑπὸ τοῦ κατοικεϊ τοῦ κατοικεϊ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταύτη τὰ θρησ. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄπιδών πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σάρατιν καὶ τὸν Ὀυσπασιανὸν 311 ἰδέξας, Πέμπτε, εἶπε, τῶν σμικρότερων τούτων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταχέως, ὅσα τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ τῶν παῖδων δὲ τῶν πρεσβύτερον

1 Δήμου Cobet, δήμου Hertlein, MSS., Δημοσθένου Spanheim.
2 τὸ σμῆνος Hertlein suggests, τὸν δήμον MSS.

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hurled him into Tartarus. So Silenus had no chance to say anything about him. But when Claudius came in Silenus began to sing some verses from the *Knights* of Aristophanes,¹ toadying Claudius, as it seemed, instead of Demos. Then he looked at Quirinus and said, “Quirinus, it is not kind of you to invite your descendant to a banquet without his freedmen Narcissus and Pallas.”² Come,” he went on, “send and fetch them, and please send too for his spouse Messalina, for without them this fellow is like a lay-figure in a tragedy, I might almost say lifeless.”³ While Silenus was speaking Nero entered, lyre in hand and wearing a wreath of laurel. Whereupon Silenus turned to Apollo and said, “You see he models himself on you.” “I will soon take off that wreath,” replied Apollo, “for he does not imitate me in all things, and even when he does he does it badly.” Then his wreath was taken off and Cocytus instantly swept him away.

After Nero many Emperors of all sorts came crowding in together, Vindex, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, so that Silenus exclaimed, “Where, ye gods, have ye found such a swarm of monarchs? We are being suffocated with their smoke; for brutes of this sort spare not even the temple of the gods.”⁴ Then Zeus turned to his brother Serapis, and pointing to Vespasian said, “Send this niggard from Egypt forthwith to extinguish the flames. As for his sons, bid the

¹ *Knights* 1111 foll.
² Their riches were proverbial, cf. Juvenal 1. 109; 14. 32.
⁴ An allusion partly to the smoke of civil war, partly to the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline under Vitellius; the temple was restored by Vespasian; Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 81.
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μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. τῆς πανδήμου, τὸν νεώτερον δὲ τῷ Σικελικῷ θηρίῳ παραπλησίως κλοιῷ δήσεν. παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τούτοις γέρων ὁφθήναι καλὸς. λάμπει γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁτε καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆρᾳ τὸ κάλλος. ἐντυχεῖν προφήτατος, χρηματίζεται δικαιότατος. ἤδεσθη τούτων ὁ Σείλος καὶ ἀπεσιωπήσεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἔρμης, ὁ Τπέρ δὲ τούτων, ἐπεν, οὐδὲν ἦμιν λέγεις. Ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἐφι, μέμφομαι γε ὑμῖν τῆς ἀνισότητος. τῷ γὰρ φοινικῷ θηρίῳ τρῖς πέντε νείμαντες ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕνα μόλις ἐδώκατε τούτῳ βασιλεύσαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέμφομαι, εἶπεν ὁ Ζεύς. εἰσάξω γὰρ Α τούτῳ πολλοὺς κάγαθουσ. εὐθέως οὖν ὁ Τραῖνος εἰσήρχετο φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων τὰ τρόπαια, τὸ τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν. έδών δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Σείλων ἐφη, λανθάνειν τε ἀμα καὶ ἀκοὐσθαι βουλόμενος, ὁρα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Διὸ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ὁ Γανυμήδης αὐτῷ φορύρησθαι.

Μετὰ τούτων ἐπεισέρχεται βαθείαν ἔχων τὴν ἐπήγην ἀνήρ σοβαρὸς τὰ τε ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ μούσικὴν ἐργαζόμενος, εἰς τε τὸν ὄρμαν ἀφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τούτων δὲ έδών ὁ Σείλων ἐφη, Τί δὲ ὑμῖν οὕτως ὁ σοφιστής δοκεῖ; μῶν Ἀντίνοον τῷ δὲ περισκοπεῖ; φρασάτω τις αὐτῷ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ μειράκιον ἐνθαδὶ καὶ παυσάτω τοῦ λήμαν καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτῶν. ἐπὶ τούτων ἀνήρ εἰσέρχεται 312 σώφρων, οὐ τὰ ἀφροδίτης, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔστιν πολιτείαν. έδών αὐτοῦ ὁ Σείλων ἐφῆ, Βαβαί τῆς σμικρολογίαςς εἰς εἰναι μοι δοκεῖ τῶν διαπρισμάτων τὸ κύμανον ὁ πρεσβύτης οὕτως. ἐπεισελθούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ξυνωρί-
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eldest\(^1\) sport with Aphrodite Pandemos and chain the younger\(^2\) in the stocks like the Sicilian monster."\(^3\) Next entered an old man,\(^4\) beautiful to behold; for even old age can be radiantly beautiful. Very mild were his manners, most just his dealings. In Silenus he inspired such awe that he fell silent. "What!" said Hermes, "have you nothing to say to us about this man?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "I blame you gods for your unfairness in allowing that blood-thirsty monster to rule for fifteen years, while you granted this man scarce one whole year." "Nay," said Zeus, "do not blame us. For I will bring in many virtuous princes to succeed him." Accordingly Trajan entered forthwith, carrying on his shoulders the trophies of his wars with the Getae and the Parthians. Silenus, when he saw him, said in a whisper which he meant to be heard, "Now is the time for Zeus our master to look out, if he wants to keep Ganymede for himself."

Next entered an austere-looking man\(^5\) with a long beard, an adept in all the arts, but especially music, one who was always gazing at the heavens and prying into hidden things. Silenus when he saw him said, "What think ye of this sophist? Can he be looking here for Antinous? One of you should tell him that the youth is not here, and make him cease from his madness and folly." Thereupon entered a man\(^6\) of temperate character, I do not say in love affairs but in affairs of state. When Silenus caught sight of him he exclaimed, "Bah! Such fussing about trifles! This old man seems to me the sort of person who would split cumin seed."

\(^1\) Titus. \(^2\) Domitian. \(^3\) Phalaris of Agrigentum. \(^4\) Nerva. \(^5\) Hadrian. \(^6\) Antoninus Pius.

7 A proverb for niggardliness; cf. Theocritus 10. 50.
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dos, Βήρου καὶ Δοκίδου, δεινοῦς ὁ Σειληνὸς
συνεστάλη. παῖζει γὰρ οὐκ εἰχεν οὐδ’ ἐπι-
σκώπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βήρου, καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον
τὰ περὶ τὸν νῦν καὶ τὴν γυναίκα πολυπραγμονῶν
ἀμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσῆκεν Β
ἐπεννηθεσεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ τε οὐδὲ κοσμιαν οὔσαι, τῷ
δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν συναπολλυμένην περείδευν,
ἔχον καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαῖοι κηδεστὴν, ὅσ τῶν
τε κοινῶν ἄν προὔστη κρεῖττον καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ
παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἂν ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς
αὐτοῦ. καίπερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ἱδεῖτο
τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν γε μὴν νιέα
οὐδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίσας ἄξιον ἀφῆκεν. οἱ
ἐπιπτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν οὐ δυνάμενος
ιστασθαι1 καὶ παρομαρτεῖν τοὺς ἢρωσιν.

'Επεισέρχεται Περτίναξ τῷ συμποσίῳ τὴν
σφαγήν ὁδυρόμενος. ἡ Δίκη δὲ αὐτὸν κατελεί-
σασα, Ἄλλ’ οὐ χαρήσουσιν, εἴπεν, οἱ τοῦτων
αἵτων· καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ Περτίναξ, ἥδικες κοινωνῶν
τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, οὐσον ἐπὶ τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἢν
ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Δ
Σεβῆρος, ἀνὴρ πικρίας γέμων καὶ2 κολαστικός.
Τπέρ τοῦτον δὲ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, οὐδὲν λέγω.
φοβοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λίαν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἀπαραί-
τητον. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια 3
συνεισέγαν, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκόλυσεν ὁ Μίνως.
ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον ἀφῆκε, τὸν

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

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Next entered the pair of brothers, Verus ¹ and Lucius.² Silenus scowled horribly because he could not jeer or scoff at them, especially not at Verus; but he would not ignore his errors of judgment in the case of his son ³ and his wife,⁴ in that he mourned the latter beyond what was becoming, especially considering that she was not even a virtuous woman; and he failed to see that his son was ruining the empire as well as himself, and that though Verus had an excellent son-in-law who would have administered the state better, and besides would have managed the youth better than he could manage himself. But though he refused to ignore these errors he reverenced the exalted virtue of Verus. His son however he considered not worth even ridicule and so let him pass. Indeed he fell to earth of his own accord because he could not keep on his feet or accompany the heroes.

Then Pertinax came in to the banquet still bewailing his violent end. But Justice took pity on him and said, "Nay, the authors of this deed shall not long exult. But Pertinax, you too were guilty, since at least so far as conjecture went you were privy to the plot that was aimed at the son of Marcus." Next came Severus, a man of excessively harsh temper and delighting to punish. "Of him," said Silenus, "I have nothing to say, for I am terrified by his forbidding and implacable looks." When his sons would have entered with him, Minos kept them at a distance. However, when he had clearly discerned their characters, he let the younger ⁵ pass, but sent away the elder ⁶ to atone

¹ Verus was the family name of Marcus Aurelius.
² Lucius Verus.
³ Commodus.
⁴ Faustina.
⁵ Geta.
⁶ Caracalla.
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dè preseβúterou tìmòrián èpèmphe tísontá. Ma-313
krínov ëntauðha phugás maífiýonov. ei'ta ò tò ék tìs
'Eméssis paiðáriov pòrrw pò tòv ieròv vàpñlaý-
nveto periðólovw. ò ge mìns Ìýovos 'Alèxandros
ën èsxátois pòu kathì sto tìv aútoù symforóan
pòtniwmenvos. kai ò Seilnòs èpískopptov aútoù
èptenv1 Ω mòpere kai mèga nptíte, tìlknóutos òn
ouk aútoù hèxhes tòw seautóv, tà xhrìmata dè
èdidov tì mètrì kai ouk èpèlèthys, òso kreítov B
ànalískein òn aúto tíos fílois ò òhíasrvìxew.
'Allì ègwnge, èptenv ò Díkè, pàntas aútoùs, òsoi
metaitov geγñaisi tòutov, kolàsthsmènovos
paðadòwv. kai ouþow aνeìðh tò meirákwov. èpti
tòutò pùρlèthenv èísow Galλèhìov métà tòv pa-
tróv, ó mèn tà désmì tìs aiçmalowías èxhov,
ò dè stólo tè kai kínìseí chròmenvos malakwterá
òσpest aì yuβaìkes. kai ò Seilnòs pròs mèn
èkeínov,

Tìs ouþos ò leuκolóφas,
Proπar òs hγeίtaí stratou;
èfhi, pròs dè tòv Galλèhìov,

'Ós kai òxwvòì èxhov pànta tòvφ hùte koúrì
òtòtov dè ò Zèus èipte tìs èkeíse òhíns eκbínnai.
Toùtov èpèisèrkhetai Klaúðìov, eìs òn àπi-
dòntes oì theòl pàntes ògásthswán te aútoù tìs
mègaloùphìxias kai èpèneusas aútoù tòv gènei tìn
áρkhìn, díkaiow ènivá nòmìsawtes ouþov fílospáþti-
dòs àndròs èpti plèìstov ènivá tòv gènòs èn ògè-
mònia. toùtov èpèisèdramen Áùríhlìánov wòσpest
àpódïdráskwv tòvò èirhonta aútoù pàrà tòv

1 èptenv Hertlein suggesta, èptenv MSS.

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for his crimes. Next Macrinus, assassin and fugitive, and after him the pretty boy from Emesa¹ were driven far away from the sacred enclosure. But Alexander the Syrian sat down somewhere in the lowest ranks and loudly lamented his fate.² Silenus made fun of him and exclaimed, "O fool and madman! Exalted as you were you could not govern your own family, but gave your revenues to your mother;³ nor could you be persuaded how much better it was to bestow them on your friends than to hoard them." "I however," said Justice, "will consign to torment all who were accessory to his death." And then the youth was left in peace. Next entered Gallienus and his father,⁴ the latter still dragging the chains of his captivity, the other with the dress and languishing gait of a woman. Seeing Valerian, Silenus cried, "Who is this with the white plume that leads the army's van?"⁵ Then he greeted Gallienus with, "He who is all decked with gold and dainty as a maiden."⁶ But Zeus ordered the pair to depart from the feast.

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

¹ Heliogabalus; cf. Oration 4. 150 D, note.
² Alexander Severus was assassinated in 235 A.D.
³ Mammeea.
⁴ Valerian died in captivity among the Persians.
⁵ Euripides, Phoenissae 120.
⁶ Slightly altered from Iliad 2. 872.
⁷ Cf. Oration 1. 6 D.
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Μίνωι πολλαὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαι τῶν ἄδικων φόνων, καὶ ἐφευγε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς ἀπολογούμενος. Ἡλίας δὲ σύμως δεσπότης αὐτῷ 314 πρὸς τε τὰ ἅλλα βοηθῶν, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτο αὐτὸ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, Ἦλιος ἄπτετις τὴν δίκην, ἢ λέληθεν ἢ δοθείσα Δελφοῖς μαντεία.

Ἀλκε πάθη τὰ τρέφεξε, δίκη κ᾿ ίδεῖα γένοιτο;

Τούτω συνεισέρχεται Πρόβος, δς ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις ἀναστήσας ἐν οὐδὲ δλοῖς ἐναυτοῖς ἐπτὰ Β καὶ πολλὰ πάνω σωφρόνῳς οἰκονομήσας, ἄδικα δὲ πεπονθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθεων, ἐτιμᾶτο τὰ τὰ ἅλλα καὶ τῷ τοὺς φονέας αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐκτίσει. σκόπτειν δὲ αὐτῶν ὅμως ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπειράτο, καίτοι πολλῶν αὐτῷ σωπᾶν παρακελευομένων· ἀλλ᾿, Ἐατε, ἔφη, νῦν γοῦν δι᾿ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἔξης ψυχοθῆναι. οὐκ οἶσθαι, ὡς Ἰοβίος, ὅτι τὰ πικρὰ C φάρμακα μυγνύντες τοῖς ἱατροῖς τῷ μελικράτῳ προσφέροντι; τοῦ δε αὐστηρῶς ἥσαν λίαν καὶ τραχὺς ἀεὶ εἰκὼν τὸν οὐδαμὸν πέπονθας οὐν ἄδικα μέν, εἰκότα δὲ ὅμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτε ἵπποιν οὔτε βοῶν ἄρχειν όυτε ἡμώνων, ἦκιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων, μὴ τι καὶ τῶν κεχαρισμένων αὐτοῖς εὐγχοροῦντα, ὡσπερ ἐσθ᾿ ὅτε τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν οἱ ἱατροὶ μικρὰ ἐνδιδόσιν, ἵν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν ἔχοσιν αὐτοὺς D πειθομένους. Τῇ τούτῳ, εἴπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ὁ παππία; φιλόσοφος ἦμιν ἀνεφάνης; οὐ γὰρ, ὃ παῦ,
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For many charges of unjustifiable murders were brought against him, and he was in flight because he could ill defend himself against the indictments. But my lord Helios 1 who had assisted him on other occasions, now too came to his aid and declared before the gods, "He has paid the penalty, or have you forgotten the oracle uttered at Delphi, 'If his punishment match his crime justice has been done'?" 2

With Aurelian entered Probus, who in less than seven years restored seventy cities and was in many ways a wise administrator. Since he had been unjustly treated by impious men the gods paid him honours, and moreover exacted the penalty from his assassins. For all that, Silenus tried to jest at his expense, though many of the gods urged him to be silent. In spite of them he called out, "Now let those that follow him learn wisdom from his example. Probus, do you not know that when physicians give bitter medicines they mix them with honey? 3 But you were always too austere and harsh and never displayed toleration. And so your fate, though unjust, was natural enough. For no one can govern horses or cattle or mules, still less men, unless he sometimes yields to them and gratifies their wishes; just as physicians humour their patients in trifles so that they may make them obey in things more essential." "What now, little father," exclaimed Dionysus, "have you turned up as our philosopher?"

1 Cf. Oration 4. 155 b.
2 An oracular verse ascribed to Rhadamanthus by Aristotle, Nic. Ethics 5. 5. 3; attributed to Hesiod, Fragments 150 Goettling; it became a proverb.
3 Plato, Laws 659 ε; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 a.
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ἔφη, καὶ σὺ φιλόσοφος ὅτε ἐμοῦ γέγονας; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐουκως ἐμοὶ, τὰ πρωτεῖα κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπηνέγκατο τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τάδελφῳ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀψευδῆς; ἦν τοίνυν ἡμᾶς μὴ πάντα γελοῖα λέγεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα.

'Ετι διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἄλληλους, θετεῖ 315 Κάρος ἀμα τοῖς παισίν εἰσφρήσαι βουλθεῖσι εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελήλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ Διοκλητιανός, ἄγων μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ Μαξιμιανὸ τε τῷ δύο καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον Κωνστάντιον, ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγεν. εἰχοντο δὲ ἄλληλων τῷ χείρῳ, καὶ ἐβάδιζον οὐκ ἔξ ἵπος, ἀλλ’ οία χρόνων τῆς ἐν περὶ αὐτῶν, τῶν μὲν ὀσπερ δορυφοροῦντων καὶ προθείν Β αὐτῶν βουλομένων, τοῦ δὲ εἰργούτος οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥξιον πλεονεκτεῖν. ὥς δὲ ξυνίει κάμνοντος ἐαυτοῦ, δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀπαντά, ὅσα ἐφερεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὡμῶν, αὐτὸς εὐλυτος ἐβάδιζεν. ἡγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ὁμόνοιας, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ τολλῶν πάνυ καθῆσθαι. δεινῶς δὲ ὅτα τὸν Μαξιμιανὸν ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτειν μὲν οὐκ ἥξιον, τὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλεῶν οὐκ εἰσεδέχετο οὐσίαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἣν παυτοῖαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀσέλγης, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοσφάρμος καὶ ἀπιστος καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ συνφόδων. ἐξῆλασεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ Δίκη ταχέως. εἶτα ἀπῆλθεν οὖν οἶδα ὅτι γῆς ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ παναρμονίῳ τετραχόρδῳ παραφύεται δεινῶν 364
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"Why, my son," he replied, "did I not make a philosopher of you? Do you not know that Socrates also, who was so like me,\(^1\) carried off the prize for philosophy from his contemporaries, at least if you believe that your brother\(^2\) tells the truth? So you must allow me to be serious on occasion and not always jocose."

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


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

\(^3\) Cf. *Oration 1. 7* A, B.
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καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχώδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Δ
δύο οὐδὲ τῶν προθύρων ἀψαθαι τῆς τῶν ἥρων
ἀγορᾶς ἡ Δίκη συνεχώρησε, Λικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν
προθύρων ἔλθοντα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα πλημ-
μελοῦντα ταχέως ὁ Μίνως ἐξῆλασεν. ὁ Κων-
σταντῖνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰσώ καὶ πολὺν ἐκαθέσθη
χρόνον, εἰτα μετ' αὐτῶν τὰ παιδία. Μαγνεντίῳ
γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἰσοδός, ὅτι μηδὲν ἴγιες ἐπετράχει, 316
καίτοι πολλὰ ἐδόκει πεπρᾶχθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καλὰ· οἱ
θεοὶ δὲ ὅρωντες, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῷ
πετοιήται διαθέσεως, εἰών αὐτῶν οἰμώζειν ἁπτο-
τρέχοντα.

Οὕσης δὴ τοιαύτης τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ δεῖπνου παρα-
σκευῆς, ἐπόθοινοι μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ θεοὶ, πάντα γὰρ
ἐχουσίν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἥρων ἐδόκει τῷ Ἐρμῆ
διαπείρασθαι, καὶ τῷ Δίῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης
ην. ἐδείτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρίως ἦν τῶν μετάγειν
ἐκεῖθεν παρ' ἑαυτόν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐκ Ἄ
ἀνέξομαι, ὁ Κυρίως διὰ τὸ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνου παρεκάλεις; σοῦ
τοῖς, εἴπει, ὁ Ζεῦ, δέομαι, εἴ τινα τούτων
ἐγνωκας ἄγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἠκεῖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
κέλευε. τῷ γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινῇ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἀποπειρώ-
μενοι τῷ βελτίων τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν τὸ τῆς
Ἀλκμήνης ἐδόκει τῷ Δί. καὶ ἐπεισελθόντος Σ
αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἡρωίν οὖτε ὁ Καίσαρ οὔτε ἄλλος τις
ὑπανίστατο· καταλαβὼν δὲ σχολάζουσαν καθέ-
δραν, ἢν ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπεποίητο ἑαυτῷ,
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἄπεληλατο διὰ τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν,
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four there crept a terribly harsh and discordant strain. For this reason Justice would not suffer the two\(^1\) so much as to approach the door of that assembly of heroes. As for Licinius, he came as far as the door, but as his misdeeds were many and monstrous Minos forthwith drove him away. Constantine however entered and sat some time, and then came his sons.\(^2\) Magnentius\(^3\) was refused admission because he had never done anything really laudable, though much that he achieved had the appearance of merit. So the gods, who perceived that these achievements were not based on any virtuous principle, sent him packing, to his deep chagrin.

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

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\(^1\) i.e. the two Maximians, the colleagues of Diocletian.
\(^2\) Constantine II, Constans and Constantius.
\(^3\) Cf. \textit{Oration 1. 31, 33} foll.
\(^4\) Caracalla.
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ένεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων τὸν Κυρίνον,"Ορα, εἶπε, μὴ ποτὲ οὕτω ἐνός εἰσιν ἀντάξιοι τούτοι τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μᾶς Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρίνος, οἵμα τολλοῦς εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὕτω δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐμοὶ τεθαυμάκασαν ἔγγονοι, ὡστε μόνον αὐτῶν D ἐκ πάντων, ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἤγεμόνες ξένοι, ὅνομάξουσι καὶ νομιζοῦσι μέγαν. οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γεγονότων οἴονται μείζονα τούτου, ἵς ὡς μὲν ὕπο φιλανθίας τι παθόντες, ἵς ὅ ἐκ καὶ οὕτως ἔχον εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποτελομένων. ταῦτα μᾶλστα λέγων ὁ Κυρίνος ἡρωθή, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀγοινίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ που τὰ δευτερεία λαβόντες οἴχυντα.

Μετὰ τούτο ὁ Ζεὺς ἤρετο τοὺς θεοὺς, πότερον 317 χρή πάντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἁγόνα καλεῖν ἢ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἁγώσει γίνεται, ὁ τοῦ πολλάς ἄνελομένου νίκας κρατήσας, ἐνὸς περιγενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἐλαττον δοκεί κάκεινον γεγονέναι κρείσσων, οἱ προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τοῦ κρατήθεντος δὲ ἔττους ἐγένοντο. καὶ εὔος εἰς ἐπὶ τοιαύτη σφόδρα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν ἐξετασίς. ἐκήρυττεν οὖν ὁ Ἑρμῆς παρέναι Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ὀκταβιανὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Τραϊανὸν δὲ ἐκ τρίτων, ὡς πολεμικώτατος. εἰτα γεγομένης σιωπῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος βλέψας εἰς τὸν Δία θαυμάζειν ἔφη, πολεμικοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας ὅρων ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγώνα τοιοῦτοι καλουμένους, οὐδένα μέντοι φιλοσοφοῦν. Ἐμοὶ δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἢττὸν εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι φίλοι. καλείτε οὖν εἰςω καὶ τὸν C

¹ ἐνὸς εἰσιν ἀντάξιοι Naber, ἐνὸς δὲν oūk ἀντάξιοι Hertlein, MSS.; V omits oūk.

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

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

1 Cf. Plato, Laws 730 d; Julian, Misopogon 353 d.

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Μάρκος. ἐπεί δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάρκος κληθεὶς παρῆλθε, σεμνὸς ἀγαυ, ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχον τὰ τε ὀμματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τι συνεσταλμένον, κάλλος δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ δεικνύων, ἐν δὲ παρ- εἴχεν ἐαυτὸν ἀκομψὺν καὶ ἀκαλλόπιστον· ἢ τε γὰρ ὑπῆναι βαθεία παντάπασιν ἢν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια λιτὰ καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν τροφῶν ἢν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διανυστάτων καὶ διαφανεστάτως ὁπερ αὐτὸ οἰμαὶ τὸ καθαρότατον καὶ εἰληκρινέστατον φῶς· ἐπεί καὶ οὕτως ἢν εἰσὶν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων, ὁ Διόνυσος εἶπεν, Ὡ Βασιλεὺ Κρόνε καὶ Ζεὺς πάτερ, ἀρα ἄξιον ἐν θεοῖς ἀτελεῖς εἶναι τι· τῶν δὲ οὐ φαμένων, Εἰςά- γωμεν οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσοντος ἐραστήν ἐνθαδί. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἀλλ' οὐ θεμιτὸν εἰσίω φοιτᾶν, εἶπεν, ἀνδρὶ μὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα ξηλοῦντι. Γυγέσθω τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διόνυσος, αὐτοῖς ἡ κρίσις. ἀλλ ', εἰ τούτῳ δοκεῖ ταύτη, καλῶμεν 318 ἀνδρα οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μὲν, ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει χειροθέστερον. ἦκετο οὖν ἄχρι τῶν προθύρων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος. ἐπεί δὲ εἴδοκτο καὶ τούτῳ, τίνα χρή τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλάσθαι, γνώμη προντέθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἐρμῆς ἥξιον λέγειν ἐκαστὸν ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ψήφον. οὐ μην ἔδοκε ταύτα τῷ 'Ἀπόλλωνι καλῶς ἔγειν· ἀληθείας γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανό- Β τητος οὐδὲ αἰμβλίας ἐν θεοῖς ἑλεγχὸν καὶ ἐξέτασιν. βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἄμα προάγει ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῶν τὴν συνουσίαν, Ὁδὲν, εἶπε, κωλύει λέγειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπρέψαι, μικρὰ τοῦ ὑδατος ἐπιμετρήσαντας, εἶτα ὑστερον.
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So tell Marcus\(^1\) to come in too.” Accordingly Marcus was summoned and came in looking excessively dignified and showing the effect of his studies in the expression of his eyes and his lined brows. His aspect was unutterably beautiful from the very fact that he was careless of his appearance and unadorned by art; for he wore a very long beard, his dress was plain and sober, and from lack of nourishment his body was very shining and transparent, like light most pure and stainless. When he too had entered the sacred enclosure, Dionysus said, “King Kronos and Father Zeus, can any incompleteness exist among the gods?” And when they replied that it could not, “Then,” said he, “let us bring in here some votary of pleasure as well.” “Nay,” answered Zeus, “it is not permitted that any man should enter here who does not model himself on us.” “In that case,” said Dionysus, “let them be tried at the entrance. Let us summon by your leave a man not unwarlike but a slave to pleasure and enjoyment. Let Constantine come as far as the door.” When this had been agreed upon, opinions were offered as to the manner in which they were to compete. Hermes thought that everyone ought to speak for himself in turn, and then the gods should vote. But Apollo did not approve of this plan, because he said the gods ought to test and examine the truth and not plausible rhetoric and the devices of the orator. Zeus wished to please them both and at the same time to prolong the assembly, so he said, “There is no harm in letting them speak if we measure them a small allowance of water,\(^2\) and then later on we can

\(^1\) Marcus Aurelius.

\(^2\) A reference to the water-clock, *clepsydra.*
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἀνερωτάν καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας. Καὶ ο Σειληνός ἐπισκώπτων, Ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ, νομίσαντες αὐτὸ νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραϊανός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαν ἐκροφήσουσι 1 τὸ ὕδωρ, εἶτα ἀφελοῦνται 2 τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ ο Ποσειδών, Οὐ τούμοι ὦδας, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πώματος ἔρασθοί τὸ ἀνδρὲ ἐγενέσθην. ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοιούτων δὲ ἀμπέλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἔμοι πηγῶν ἄξιόν ἐστὶν σοι δεδιέναι. καὶ ο Σειληνός δησχεῖς ἐσιώπα, καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενους ἐκ τούτου τὸν νοῦν προσείχεν. Ἐρμής δὲ ἐκήρυττεν.

'Αρχει μὲν ἄγων
τῶν καλλίστων
ἄθλων ταμίας,
καιρός δὲ καλεὶ
μηκετί μέλλειν.
αλλὰ κλύνουτες
τὰν ἀμετέραν
κήρυκα βοῶν
οἱ πρὶν βασιλῆς,
ἔθνεα πολλὰ
δουλωσάμενοι
καὶ πολέμοισι
δῶιν ἐγχος
θῆξαντες, ὦμοι
γνώμης τε μέγαν
πινυτοφρονα νοῦν,
ἔτε, ἐς ἀντίπαλον
ἰστασθε κρίσιν,

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1 ἐκροφήσουσι: Hertlein suggests, ἐκροφήσωσι MSS.
2 ἀφελοῦνται: Hertlein suggests, ἀφέλονται MSS.
THE CAESARS

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

Then Hermes made this proclamation:

“The trial that begins
Awards to him who wins
The fairest prize to-day.
And lo, the hour is here
And summons you. Appear!
Ye may no more delay.
Come hear the herald’s call
Ye princes one and all.
Many the tribes of men
Submissive to you then!
How keen in war your swords!
But now ’tis wisdom’s turn;
Now let your rivals learn
How keen can be your words.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οὶς τε φρόνησιν
tέλος ὀλβίστης
θέσθαι βιοτῆς,
οἷς τ’ ἀντιβίους
κακὰ πόλλ’ ἔρξαι
καὶ χρηστὰ φίλους
tέκμαρ βιότον
νενόμιστο καλοῦ,
οἷς θ’ ἡδίστην
ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχειν
tέρματα μόχθων
dαιτᾶς τε γάμους τ’,
ὁμμασι τερπνά,
μαλακάς τε φέρειν
ἔσθητας ὁμοῦ
λιθοκολλήτοις
περὶ χείρας ἄκρας
ψελίοσι φάνη
μακαριστότατον.
νίκης δὲ τέλος
Ζηνὶ μελήσει.

Τοιαύτα τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο. Οὐ καὶ πως συνεδραμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλῆρος φιλοπρωτία. τούτῳ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐποίησε γαῦρον καὶ σοβαρότερον ἐδήμησε δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μικρὸν καὶ φεύγειν τὴν κρίσιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀλλὰ παραθαρρύνων αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσχε. δεύτερος δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνῳ λέγειν ἔλαχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξης οἱ κλῆροι τοὺς ἐκάστου χρόνοις 320 συμπροήλθον. ἦρξατο οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ὁδί. Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ θεὸι, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτῃ

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Wisdom, thought some, is bliss
Most sure in life's short span;
Others did hold no less
That power to ban or bless
Is happiness for man.
But some set Pleasure high,
Idleness, feasting, love,
All that delights the eye;
Their raiment soft and fine,
Their hands with jewels shine,
Such bliss did they approve.
But whose the victory won
Shall Zeus decide alone." ¹

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

¹ In this doggerel made up of tags of anapaestic verse,
Julian reproduces in the first five and last two verses the
proclamation made at the Olympic games. The first three
verses occur in Lucian, Demonax 65.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

συνέβη πόλει μετὰ τοσούτοις ἀνδρασ, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ὅσων οὐ πώποτε ἄλλη πόλις ἐβασίλευσε βασιλεύειν, ταῖς δὲ ἀγαπητῶν τὸ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κομίσασθαι. τὰς γὰρ πόλεις ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων ἄνδρων ἄρξημεν ἐν οὐδὲ δολοὶ ἔτεσιν ἔσακοσίως Β ἑτὶ γῆς ἠλθε πέρατα τοῖς ὅπλοις; ποία δὲ ἔθνη τοσούτοις ἀνδρασ ἄγαθοις τε καὶ πολεμικοὶς παρέσχετο καὶ νομοθετικοῖς; θεοὺς δὲ ἐτίμησαν οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὲ τοσαύτη καὶ τηλικαύτη πόλει γενόμενοι οὐ τοὺς κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πώποτε παρῆλθον τοῖς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν μὲν πολιτῶν εὐ οὐδ’ ὡς οὗθεν ἀντιποιήσεται μοι τῶν πρωτείων’ εἰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτως Σ τολμᾶ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀξιοὶ παραβαλεῖν; ίσως τὰ Περσικά, ἀσπερ οὐχ ἔσκακως ἐγγυηρμένα μοι τοσαύτα κατὰ Πομπήιον τρόπαια; καὶ τοῖς δεινότεροι στρατηγῶς γέγονε, Δαρείος ἢ Πομπήιος; ποτέρῳ δὲ ἀνδρειώτερον ἦκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὐν μαχιμώτατα τῶν Δαρείῳ πρότερον ὑπακούοντων ἐθνῶν ἐν τῇ Δ Καρὼν μοίρα. Πομπήιος εἶχεν ἐπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, οὗ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον ἔταγονται ἔτρεψαντο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειωτάτοις, Ἰταλοῖς, Ἰλλυρίοις, Κελτοῖς. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἄρα τοῖς Γετικοῖς ἔργοις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάστομεν καθαίρεσιν; οὕτως ἀπαξ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥήνον. Γερμανικῶν αὐ τούτο τὸ ἔμον ἔργον. τούτῳ δὲ ἀντέστη μὲν 376
other gods, to be born, following a number of great men, in a city so illustrious that she rules more subjects than any other city has ever ruled; and indeed other cities are well pleased to rank as second to her. What other city, I ask, began with three thousand citizens and in less than six centuries carried her victorious arms to the ends of the earth? What other nations ever produced so many brave and warlike men or such lawgivers? What nation ever honoured the gods as they did? Observe then that, though I was born in a city so powerful and so illustrious, my achievements not only surpassed the men of my own day, but all the heroes who ever lived. As for my fellow-citizens I am confident that there is none who will challenge my superiority. But if Alexander here is so presumptuous, which of his deeds does he pretend to compare with mine? His Persian conquests, perhaps, as though he had never seen all those trophies that I gathered when I defeated Pompey! And pray, who was the more skilful general, Darius or Pompey? Which of them led the bravest troops? Pompey had in his army the most martial of the nations formerly subject to Darius, but he reckoned them no better than Carians, for he led also those European forces which had often repulsed all Asia when she invaded Europe, aye and he had the bravest of them all, Italians, Illyrians, and Celts. And since I have mentioned the Celts, shall we compare the exploits of Alexander against the Getae with my conquest of Gaul? He crossed the Danube once, I crossed the Rhine twice. The German conquest again is all my doing. No one opposed Alexander, but I had to

1 Cf. Oration 1. 8 c. 2 Darius III. 3 Cf. Oration 2. 56 c.
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οὐδὲ εἷς, ἐγώ πρὸς Ἠρισβιστοῦν ἡγωνισάμην. 321
πρῶτος ἐτόλημα Ῥωμαιῶν ἐπιθύμησα τῆς ἐκτὸς
θαλάσσης. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἱσως τὸ ἔργον οὐ θαυ-
μαστόν. καίτοι τὴν τόλμην καὶ ταύτην ἄξιον
θαυμάσαι: ἀλλὰ τὸ μεῖζον μου, τὸ ἀποβήμα μη τῆς
νεός πρῶτον καὶ τοὺς Ἐλβετίους σωτό καὶ τὸ
tῶν Ἰβήρων ἔθνος. οὔδενὸς ἔτη τῶν Γαλατικῶν
ἐπεμνήσθην, πλεῖν ἡ τριακοσία ὑπαγογόμενο
πόλεις, ἄνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἢ διακοσίας
μυριάδας. ὅτων δὲ τούτων μοι τοιούτων ἔργοι,
ἐκεῖνο μεῖζον ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἔχρην γάρ

με καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαγονίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας
καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἁμάχων καὶ ἀνικήτων Ῥωμαιῶν.
εἰτε οὖν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξεων, τρις
τοσαυτάκις παρεταξάμην, ὅσακις ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου κομπάζουσιν οὐ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνο-
ποιούντες, εἰτε πλήθει πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ
tῆς Ἀσίας μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώτης τὰ

πλείστα κατεστρεψάμην. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀγγυπτὸν
ἐπήλθε θεωρῶν, ἔγω δὲ συμπόσια συγκροτῶν
κατεπολέμησα. τῆν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατήσαι πρα-
τητα βούλεσθε ἐξετάσαι τὴν παρ' ἐκατέρφ; ἔγω
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνεγρών ἐπαθον γοῦν ὑπ'
αὐτῶν ὀσά ἐμέλησε τῇ Δίκῃ: ὡ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς

πολεμίους οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. ἔτι οὖν
D

μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀμφισβητεῖν οἶδο τε ἔση;
καὶ οὐκ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺ παραγωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν

ἀλλων, ἀλλὰ ἄναγκασεις με λέγειν, ὅποις σὺ μὲν
ἐχρήσω πικρῶς Θηβαιῶν, ἐγώ δὲ τοῖς Ἐλβετίοις

1 πλεῖος Cobet, πλεῖον Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἐπήλθε Hertlein suggests περιήλθε Cobet, παρήλθε MSS.
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contend against Ariovistus. I was the first Roman who ventured to sail the outer sea.\(^1\) Perhaps this achievement was not so wonderful, though it was a daring deed that may well command your admiration; but a more glorious action of mine was when I leapt ashore from my ship before all the others.\(^2\) Of the Helvetians and Iberians I say nothing. And still I have said not a word about my campaigns in Gaul, when I conquered more than three hundred cities and no less than two million men! But great as were these achievements of mine, that which followed was still greater and more daring. For I had to contend against my fellow citizens themselves, and to subdue the invincible, the unconquerable Romans. Again, if we are judged by the number of our battles, I fought three times as many as Alexander, even reckoning by the boasts of those who embellish his exploits. If one counts the cities captured, I reduced the greatest number, not only in Asia but in Europe as well. Alexander only visited Egypt as a sight-seer, but I conquered her while I was arranging drinking-parties. Are you pleased to inquire which of us showed more clemency after victory? I forgave even my enemies, and for what I suffered in consequence at their hands Justice has taken vengeance. But Alexander did not even spare his friends, much less his enemies. And are you still capable of disputing the first prize with me? Then since you will not, like the others, yield place to me, you compel me to say that whereas I was humane towards the Helvetians you treated the Thebans

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

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

φιλανθρώπως; σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον κατέκαυσας τὰς πόλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πολιτῶν κεκαυμένας πόλεις ἀνέστησα. καίτοι οὔτε ταύτῳ ἢν μυρίων Γραικῶν κρατήσαι καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπιφερομένας ὑποστήναι. πολλὰ εἰπεῖν ἔχων 322 ἔτι περὶ ἐματυοῦ καὶ τούτῳ, τῷ μὴ σχολὴν ἀγείν ἥκιστα τὸ λέγειν ἐξεμελέτησα. διόπερ χρή συγγνώμην ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ ῥηθέντων τὴν ἴσην καὶ δικαίως ἐξέτασιν ποιουμένους ἀποδιδόναι μοι τὸ πρωτεῖον.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι βουλομένου, μόνης καὶ πρότερον ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος καρτερῶν οὐκέτι κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τίνος παραχῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας, Ἔγώ δὲ, εἰπεν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ B θεοί, μέχρι τίνος ἀνέξομαι σωτῆρ tῆς θρασύτητος tῆς τούτου; πέρας γὰρ οὔδεν ἠστιν, ἡς ὀρᾶτε, οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔπαινων οὔτε τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ βλασφημῶν. ἐχρῆν δὲ ἵσως μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφότερον φείδεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἰναί πως ἀμφότερον δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῆς πλέον δέ τοῦ τάμα διασύρειν ἄλλως τε καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τούτῳ ἤλθεν ἀναισχύνθια, ὡστε τολμῆσαι C τὰ ἀρχέτυπα καὶ παραδείγματα τῶν ἕαυτον ἔργων. ἐχρῆν δὲ, ὁ Καίσαρ, ὑπομνημῆναι σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἃ τοῦτο ἀφῆκας, ἀκρομόνεος τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ὅσα πεποίηται περὶ τῶν ἔμων πράξεων. ἄλλῳ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπηρέη σε μετὰ τούτο, κολακεύεις μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἕαυτος, γενόμενος δὲ σύνθες οὐδαμον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ D ἀπὸ Δίας ὥραμβενοι, οὐ μέγα ἔργων,

1 οὗτος ταύτων Hertlein suggests, τι τοσοῦτον MSS.
THE CAESARS

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

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

1 At Gades, on seeing a statue of Alexander; cf. Suetonius, Julius Caesar 7.
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όνομαστότατον ἐποίησεν ἢ τῶν τότε ὑπάτων μαλακία. τῶν δουλικῶν δὲ ἐκείνων πόλεμον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄνδρας γενόμενον, ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς χειρίστους τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄλλοι μὲν κατεργάσαντο, Κράσσοι καὶ Δούκιοι, τοῦνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφήν ἐσχε Πομπῆιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ταύτης κατεπολέμησε Δούκουλλος, ἐθριάμβευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων Πομπῆιος. ἔτη ἐκολάκευσαν 323 αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται καὶ Μέγαν ἁνόμασαν, ὄντα τίνος τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ μείζονα; τί γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοσοῦτον ἐπράξη, ἡλίκον Μαρίφ ἢ Σκηπίωσφο τοῖς δύο ἢ τῷ παρὰ τῶν Κυρίων τουτοῦ Φουρίφ, δὲ μικρὸν συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτον πόλιν ἁνέστησεν; οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίους ἔργοις, ὡσπερ ἐν πολιτικαῖς οἰκοδομαῖς καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ' ἄλλων καταβληθέσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθέσαις ἔτε. Βρούς ἀρχῶν ἐπεγράφη μικρὰ κοινάσας τὸν τοίχον, οὕτω ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐπεγράφησαν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημουργοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν καλλίστων ἡξιώθησαν ὄνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν, εἴ κεκράτηκας Πομπῆιον δακτύλῳ κυνωμένου καὶ τᾶλλα ἀλώσεικος μᾶλλον ἢ λέοντος.
ness of the consuls in office made it seem glorious. Then the famous Servile War\(^1\) was waged not against men but the vilest of slaves, and its successful issue was due to others, I mean Crassus and Lucius,\(^2\) though Pompey gained the reputation and the credit for it. Again, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces were conquered by Lucullus,\(^3\) yet for these also Pompey triumphed. Then he became the idol of the citizens and they called him 'the Great.' Greater, I ask, than whom of his predecessors? What achievement of his can be compared with those of Marius\(^4\) or of the two Scipios or of Furius,\(^5\) who sits over there by Quirinus because he rebuilt his city when it was almost in ruins? Those men did not make their reputation at the expense of others, as happens with public buildings built at the public expense; I mean that one man lays the foundation, another finishes the work, while the last man who is in office though he has only whitewashed the walls has his name inscribed on the building.\(^6\) Not thus, I repeat, did those men gain credit for the deeds of others. They were themselves the creators and artificers of their schemes and deserved their illustrious titles. Well then, it is no wonder that you vanquished Pompey, who used to scratch his head with his finger-tip\(^7\) and in all respects was more of a

\(^1\) Led by Spartacus 73–71 B.C.; Appian, Civil Wars I. 116–120.  
\(^2\) Lucius Gellius; Plutarch, Crassus.  
\(^3\) Licinius Lucullus the conqueror of Mithridates.  
\(^4\) Caius Marius the rival of Sulla.  
\(^5\) Furius-Camillus repulsed the Gauls 390 B.C.; cf. Oration I. 29 d.  
\(^6\) Cf. Letter to Themistius, 267 B.  
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επειδή γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢ τύχη προύδωκεν, ἢ τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρειστήκει, ταχέως ἐκράτησας μόνον, καὶ ὅτι δεινότητι μὲν οὐδεμιὰ κρείττων ἐγένου, φανερὸν καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ γεγονὼς 1 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ μικρὸν, ὡς οἰσθα, τούτῳ ἀμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ καὶ μάχῃ συμβαλῶν ἡττήθης. εἰ δὲ Πομπῆιος ὑπ’ ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρχεῖν οὔτε, ἡνίκα ἐδει τρίβειν τῶν πόλεων, ὑπερετίθετο τὴν μάχην οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ 2 νικῶν ἐπεξεί, ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῖς σοὶς ἑσφάλη στρατηγήμασι.

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως παρεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τὴν ἡμέτεραν ἠλίκην ἐνέδοσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗ τοῦ πράττειν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τα δίκαια πράττειν ἄνδρα ἀριστον καὶ βασιλέα προσήκει μεταποιεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπήτησα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους ἐπανειλήμνην, οὐχὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα λυπεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κωλυοντᾶς μὲ διαβαίνειν καὶ δίκας ἀπαίτειν τῶν Πέρσην ἐπικόπτον. σὺ δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ 324 Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν σεαυτοῦ παρασκευαζόμενος, οὐ τὶ γένοιτ' ἄν χεῖρον ἢ μαρῶτερον; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσπερ διασύρων τῶν μυρίων ἐμνημόνευσας Γραικῶν, οτὲ μὲν καὶ ύμεῖς ἐντεύθεν γεγονάτε καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ὥτους οἱ Γραικοὶ, καὶ περ εἰδῶς ὅμως οὐ παραδέχομαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλέγων ἑθνος, Αἰτωλοὺς

1 γεγονὼς Petavius, Naber, γέγονας Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῇ νίκῃ before νικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. Oration i. 59 d.

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

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

\(^1\) At Dyrrachium; Plutarch, \textit{Julius Caesar}.
\(^2\) An echo of Plutarch, \textit{Apopthegmata} 206 d.

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λέγω τοὺς παρουκουντας ἦμιν, οὔ φιλοὺς μὲν Β ἔχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποιήσασθε περὶ πολλοῦ, πολεμωθέντας δὲ ὑμῖν ύστερον δὴ ἀφοδήποτε αἰτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὑπακούειν ὑμῖν ἡναγκάσατε; οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, ὡς ἀν εἴποι τις, τῆς Ἐλλάδος, καὶ οὐδὲ πάσης, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνης μικροῦ, ἧνικα ἦκαζε τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν, οὔδ' ὅτι ἐστι γνωσκομένου, μικρὸν δὲν φαίνει, μόνης ἀκρε-
σαντες, τίνες ἀν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμάζοντας C καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας τοὺς Ἐλλήνας πολεμεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐδέσθης; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρου διαβάντος ἡ γ' ὑμᾶς ἵστε ὅπως ἐπτηχάτε. εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κρατήσαι μικρὸν νομίζεις καὶ τὸ τηλυκοῦτον ἕργον διασύρεις, ὅλης πάντω ὑπὲρ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ὑπὸ Παρθιαὸν βασιλευομένης χώρας, ἐτη πλέον ἡ τριακόσια πολεμοῦντες, λέγε μοι, δὴ ἢν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; βουλεί σοι φράσω; τὰ Περσῶν D ὑμᾶς εἰρήξε βέλη. φρασάτω δὲ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος ὁ παῖδοπροβηθεὶς ἐπὶ στρατηγία παρὰ σοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐναιντοῖς δέκα πρὸς τοῦτοι καὶ Ἰνδῶν γέγονα κύριος. εἶτ' ἐμὸ τολμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, δὸς παῖδαρίου στρατηγών ἐργα ἐπράζῃ τηλυκαίτα, ὡστε τὴν μνήμην, καὶ τερὶ ὅλως ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ὑμηθέτεντων, ὅμως ὅπως συμπαραμένειν τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325 τοῦ Ἀλληνικοῦ, τοιοῦ βασιλέως, οὐθεράπον ἐγὼ καὶ ζηλωτὴς ἐγενόμης, Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἀμιλ-
λόμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, Ἰρακλέα δὲ θαυμάζον καὶ ἐπόμενος, ἀτε ὅ κατ' ξίνοις θεοῦ ἀνθρώπος.

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

¹ Heracles.
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"Osa μὲν οὖν ἔχρην, ὦ θεύ, πρὸς τούτον ἀπολογήσασθαί καίτοι κρείττον ἦν ὑπερείδειν αὐτοῦ εἰρηταί. εἰ δὲ τι πικρὸν ὡφ' ἥμων Β ἐπράξθη, οὕτω παντάπασιν εἰς ἀναίτιον ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ η πολλάκις καὶ ἐτὶ πολλοὶς προσκρούσαντας ἢ τῷ καιρῷ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ πραπόντως χρησαμένους, ἡκολούθησε γοῦν ἐτὶ μὲν τοῖς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἔξαμαρτηθεῖσιν ἡ μεταμέλεια, σώφρων πάνω καὶ τῶν ἐξήμαρτηκότων σωτείρα δαίμον, τοὺς δὲ ὀστήρ φιλοτιμομένους ἐτὶ C τῷ πολλάκις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ προσκρούειν οὐδὲν φίλην ἄδικον ποιεῖν κολάξων.

'Επεὶ δὲ εἰρῆτα καὶ τούτῳ στρατιωτικότερον ὁ λόγος, ἔπει τὸν Ὁκταβιανὸν τὴν ύδραν ἔφερεν ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος θεράπων, ἐπιμετρῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ύδατος ἐλασσον διὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἀλλὰς τε και μησικάκων αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑπερηφανίας. καὶ δὲ ἐπειδὴ συνήκεν ὑπὸ ἀγχυνολας, D ἀφεὶς τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἴπεν, ὥς Ζεῦ καὶ θεoί, τοῦ διασύρειν μὲν τα τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖν ἀφέξομαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τῶν πάντων ποιησομαι λόγουν. νέος προὔστην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πόλεως ὀστῆρ οὗτος ὁ γενναῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, κατώρθωσα δὲ Γερμανικοὺς πολέμους ὀστῆρ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ οὗτος Καίσαρ. 326 συμπλακεῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἅγωσιν Ἀγνυπτὸν μὲν περὶ τὸ ᾿Ακτιών κατεναυμάχησα, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους κατεπολεμήσα, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου παιδα Σέξτου πάρεργον

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

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

1 Suetonius, Augustus 16; during the campaign against Pompey when the fleet of Augustus was lost in a storm, he swore that he would win in spite of Neptune.
2 Augustus was Julius Caesar's nephew, and his son only by adoption.
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ἐθέμην τής ἐμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας, οὔτω δὲ παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροῆθη, ὡστε καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνοδώρου παρρησίας ἥσσοχόμην, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐφραίνομενος ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα Β καθάπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδούμενος. Ἀρειον δὲ καὶ φίλον καὶ συμβωτὴν ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἔστων ύφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀμαρτθέν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων τὴν Ρώμην ὃρῶν εἰς τὸν ἕσχατον ἑλαύνουσαν πολλάκις κίνδυνον οὔτω διεθέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν, ὡστε εἶναι, εἰ μὴ δ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ θεός, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντὶν. οὐ γὰρ ταῖς ἀμέτροις επιθυμίαις εἴκοσι ἐπικτάσθαι πάντως αὐτῇ διενοθῆν, ὅρα δὲ διττά, ὀσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα, Ἦστρον καὶ Ἐνοφράτην ποταμοὺς ἐθέμην. εἶτα ὑποτάξας τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρακῶν έθνος, ἐπιμετρούντων ὑμῶν τῆς βασιλείας μοι τὸν χρόνον, οὐ πόλεμον ἅλλον ἐξ ἅλλου περισσοκόπτων, ἅλλα εἰς νομοθεσίαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανόρθωσι τήν Σχολὴν διετιθέμην, οὐδενὸς νομίζων τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χείρον βεβουλεύσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρή ἑκεῖ, κριθέντων τῶν πόσποτε τηλικαύτας ἱγμονίαις ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς στρατηγίαις ἐναπέθανον, ἐξὸν λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζειν καὶ μὴ στρατευεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἑαυτοῖς, ὀσπερ οἱ φιλοσφάμονοι δικασκευάζοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ πολεμοῦμενοι τῇ τρυφῇ προσεῖχον, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τήν

1 τὸν Hertlein would add.
2 ἀποδεδειγμένα Cobet, ἀποδεδομένα Hertlein, MSS.
3 ἡσυχάζειν Reiske adds.

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

² Letter 51. 434 A; Letter to Themistius 265 c; Themistius 63 D.
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αἰσχρὰν τρυφήν προτιμώντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἔγω μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοούμενος οὐκ ἄξιον τῆς χείρονος ἐμαυτὸν μερίδος· ο, τι δ’ ἂν ὑμῖν, ὦ θεοί, φαίνηται, τοῦτο εἰκὸς ἔστιν ἐμὲ δήποθεν στέργειν.

Δίδοται μετὰ τούτων τῷ Τραϊάνῳ τοῦ λέγειν ἐξουσία. ὁ δὲ, καὶ περὶ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὅπο ῥαθυμίας ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Β Σοῦρᾳ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἡ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτὸς τὸ τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ἦτιάτῳ δὲ τὸ γῆρας ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαν αὐτῷ τοῖς Παρθικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπεξε- ελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, ἈΛΛ’, ὦ μάταιε, ἐφη, εἰκοσὶ βεβασίλευκας ἔτη, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὗτος δώδεκα. τί οὖν ἀφεὶς αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν σαυτὸν τρυφὴν τὴν τοῦ χρόνου μέμφῃ στενότητα; παροικοθεῖς οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκῶμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὦν ὁ Ὁ ἐξω τοῦ δύνασθαι ῥητορεύειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλο- ποσίας ἀμβλύτερος ἐαυτοῦ πολλάκις ἦν, Ἔγω δὲ, εἰπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τὴν ἁρχὴν παραλαβὼν ναρκῶσαν ὅσπερ καὶ διαλειμμένην ὑπὸ τε τῆς οἰκο πολὺν χρόνον ἐπικρατησάσης τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὑβρεως, μόνος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον δ ἐτόλμησα προσλαβεῖν ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἔξειλον, οἱ τῶν πώποτε μαχημάτατοι γεγόνασιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ων ἐπείσεν αὐτοῦς ὁ τιμώμενος παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ζά- μολξις. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ μετουκίζεσθαι νομίζουσθε ἐτοιμότερον αὐτῷ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἀλλοι τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἐπράχθη δὲ μοι τὸ

1 ἀλλοι Reiske adds.

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

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

¹ Cf. 309 c, Oration 8. 244 a and note.
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ἐργον τούτο ἐν ἐναυατοῖς ἵσως ποι ρέντε. πάντων
dὲ ὅτι τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328
ἀφθην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πραότατοι καὶ οὕτε Καίσαρ
οὕτοι περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἀν μοι οὐτ'
ἀλλος οὐδὲ εἶ, εὐδηλὸν ἐστὶ ποι. πρὸς Παρθανίους
dὲ, πρὶν μὲν ἄδικεῖσθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν, ὡκ
φῶν ἐδὲ κρῆσθαι τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἄδικος δὲ
ἐπεξῆλθον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἥλικίας κολυθεῖς, καίτοι
διδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μὴ στρατευέσθαι
τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἄρ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι Β
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμὶ δίκαιος, πρᾶγμας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δια-
φερόντως γενόμενος, αἰσθῆτες δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ἐκγονον ² φιλοσοφίαν; τοιαῦτα ὁ Τραϊανός εἶπὼν
ἐδόκει τῇ πραότητι πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δὴλοὶ
πως ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστα ἡσθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

Τοῦ Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειληνὸς
ἡρέμα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, Ἀκούσωμεν, ἔφη, τοῦ C
Στωικοῦ τούτου, τῷ ποτὲ ἄρα τῶν παραδόξων
ἐκείνων ἐρεῖ καὶ τεραστίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀπο-
βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, Ἀλλ’
ἐμοι γε, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεόι, λόγων οὐδὲν δεῖ καὶ
ἀγώνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγουμένει τὰ μᾶ, προσήκον ὁ
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἢστε καὶ λέληθεν
ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδὲν, αὐτοὶ μοι τιμᾶτε τῆς Ἑ
ἀξίας. ἐδοξεὶ δὴ οὐν ὁ Μάρκος τά τε ἄλλα

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

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

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

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

1 For this idiom cf. Milton, Paradise Lost 4. 324.

“Adam the goodliest of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.”
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θαυμάσιος τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφερόντως ἂτε οἴμαι διαγινῶσκων,

磜έγειν θ' ὅπου χρῆ καὶ σιγάν ὅπου καλὸν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετὰ τούτων λέγειν ἐπέτρεπτον, ὡς ὅε πρῶτον μὲν ἔθαρρει τὴν ἀγωνίαν.

1 ἀσθενῆ, 2 ἀμφότερος δὲ θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἔχθιστω. τὰ γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρ-

βάρους ἡ γελοῖα αὐτῷ· φόρους γὰρ ὠστρε ἐτετελέκει, 3 καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμηνίαν ἀφεώρα· πόρρω

5 ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν τι, Ταύτῃ τούτων κρέιττων, ἐφη, εἰμί, τοῦ Μακεδόνος μὲν,

ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυ-

θικὰ γένη καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς 'Ασσανοὺς βαρ-

βάρους ἡγωνισάμην, Καῖσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὄκτα-

βιανός τῷ μῆ, καθάπερ οὗτοι, πρὸς καλοὺς

κώγαθον πολίτας στασιάσαι, τοῖς μιαρωτάτοις

dὲ καὶ πονηροτάτοις τῶν τυράννων ἐπεξελθεῖν.

Τραίανοῦ δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἄνδρας

1 'Asθενῆ Sylburg adds. 2 After ἐτετελέκει: Cobet suspects that several words are lost. 3 rhaps Cobet, MSS, δικὸς Hertlein, V, M.

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because he knew "When it is time to speak and when to be silent." ¹

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

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

¹ Euripides, fr. 417 Nauck.
² Maxentius.
³ Licinius.
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to ἀνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτήσασθαι. Μάρκος δὲ
οὐτοσὶ σιωπῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τῶν
πρωτείων ἐξισταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἄλλῳ ἢ
τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ὡς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ὁ Κων-
σταντῖνε, σεαυτοῦ προφέρεις; τί δέ, εἶπεν, εἰς
οὐς λέγεις Ἀδώνιδος κήπους; οὔς αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐφη. D
τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν ὀστρακίως
ἐπαμησάμεναι γην λαχανίαν χλοῆσαντα δὲ
tαῦτα πρὸς ὅλγον αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ
ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἥρυθράσεν, ἀντικρυς ἐπηγνοὺς
tοιοῦτον τὸ ἐκατον ἔργον.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐφοίσαν περιμέ-
νειν, ὅτως θήσονται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων οἱ θεοὶ
ψῆφον οἱ δ᾽ φύντο δεῖν τὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τούμ-
βανές τῶν ἀνδρῶν προάγει καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἕκ¹ τῶν
330 πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ἢν ἡ Τύχη μετεποιεῖτο τὸ
πλεῖστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρει-
στήκει πλὴν Ὦκταβιανοῦ μόνον. τοῦτον δὲ
eὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἐαυτὴν εἶναι ἐλεγεν. ἐδοξεὶς οὖν
τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψας καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἐρμῆ, καὶ
ἐδοςαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ἀλέξανδρον πυθοῦσαί, τί Β
νομίσεις κάλλιστον καὶ πρὸς τὶ βλέπων ἐργάσατο
καὶ πάθοι πάντα ὀσαπέρ δεδράκοι τε καὶ
πετόνθοι. ὃ δὲ ἐφη, Τὸ πάντα νικάν. εἶτα,
eἶπεν ὁ Ἐρμῆς, ὡς τοῦτο τεποιήσαθαι; καὶ
μᾶλα, ἐφη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ Σειληνὸς τοῦθα-
στικῶς μάλα γελᾶσας, Ἀλλὰ ἐκράτουν γέ σου
πολλάκις αἱ ἡμέτεραι θυγατέρες, αἰνητόμενοι τὰς
ἀμπέλους, τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἓ τινα μέθυσον C

¹ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ Hertlein suggests, οὐκ ἐκ MSS.

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

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

1 A proverb for whatever perishes quickly; cf. Theocritus 15. Frazer, Attis, Adonis and Osiris, p. 194.
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καὶ φίλοινον σκώπτειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄτε
δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακουσμάτων. Οὐ τὰ
ἀψύχα, ἐφη, νυκᾶν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγῶν ἡμῖν ἔστι πρὸς
ταῦτα· ἄλλα πάν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πάν δὲ θηρίων
γένος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ὁσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες
εἰρωνικῶς μᾶλα, Ἰοῦ, Ἰοῦ, ἐφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν
κυγκλίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν ποτέρῳ σαντὸν
θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἀψύχων ἢ τῶν ἐμψύχων τε καὶ
ζωντων; καὶ ὁσπερ ἀγανακτήσας, Εὐφήμει, ἐφη· ὑπὸ γὰρ
μεγαλοπυρχίας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θεὸς
gενοίμην, μᾶλλον δ' εἶνεν, ἑπεπείσημην. Αὐτὸς οὖν,
εἴπεν, ἠττήθης σεαντοῦ πολλάκις. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸν
ἐαντοῦ, εἴπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἤττάσθαι
ὁμωνύμως λέγεται· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν ὑπέρ τῶν πρὸς 331
ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βασαί τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἴπεν,
ὅπως ἡμῶν τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεις. ἀλλ' ἦνίκα,
εἴπεν, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐτρώθης καὶ ὁ Πενκέστης ἐκείτο
παρὰ σὲ, σὺ δὲ ἐξήγον ψυχορραγῶν τῆς πόλεως,
ἀρά ἦττων ἡσθα τοῦ τρώσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων
ἐνίκας; Οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἐφη, μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὴν
ἐξεπορθήσα τὴν πόλιν. Οὐ σὺ γε, εἴπεν, ὁ
μακάριε· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείσο κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν
"Ἐκτορά ὀλυγοδρανέως καὶ ψυχορραγῶν" οἱ δὲ Β
ἡγούντα ἡμῖν καὶ ἑνίκων. Ἡγουμένων γ' ἡμῶν,
εἴπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ Σειλῆνος, Πῶς; οὐ γε
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intemperate habits. But Alexander was well stocked with Peripatetic subterfuges, and retorted, "Inanimate things cannot conquer; nor do we contend with such, but only with the whole race of men and beasts." "Ah," said Silenus, "behold the chicanery of logic! But tell me in which class you place yourself, the inanimate or the animate and living?" At this he seemed mortified and said, "Hush! Such was my greatness of soul that I was convinced that I should become, or rather that I was already, a god." "At any rate," said Silenus, "you were often defeated by yourself." "Nay," retorted Alexander, "to conquer oneself or be defeated by oneself amounts to the same thing. I was talking of my victories over other men." "No more of your logic!" cried Silenus, "how adroitly you detect my sophisms! But when you were wounded in India, and Peucetius lay near you and they carried you out of the town at your last gasp, were you defeated by him who wounded you, or did you conquer him?" "I conquered him, and what is more I sacked the town as well." "Not you indeed, you immortal," said Silenus, "for you were lying like Homer's Hector in a swoon and at your last gasp. It was your soldiers who fought and conquered." "Well but I led them," said Alexander. "How so? When you were being carried away almost dead?" And then Silenus

1 At the storming of the capital of the Mallians, probably the modern city Multan, in 326 B.C., cf. Plutarch, Alexander; Lucian, Dialogues of the Dead 14.
2 Peucetius was wounded but saved Alexander's life; Pliny 34. 8.
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ἐφέσεσθε μικροῦ νεκροῖ; εἰτα ἦδε τῶν ἐξ Εὐρι
pίδου

Οἶμοι, καθ’ Ἑλλάδ’ ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται,
"Οταν τρόπαιον πολεμῶν στήσῃ στρατός.

καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαί, εἶπεν, ὁ παππίδουν,
τοιαῦτα λέγων, μή σε ὁποῖος ὑπᾶν ὁ τοῦ Κλείτουν C
ergāσηται.1 καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθράσας τε
ἀμα καὶ ὁστερ συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ
ὀμματα ἐνώπια. καὶ ὢνι μὲν ὡς ἔληξεν ὁ λόγος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἠρετο πάλιν τῶν Καῖσαρα, Σοί δέ,
εἴπεν, ὁ Καῖσαρ, τίς ἐγένετο σκοπὸς τοῦ βίου;
Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἐφι, τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μῆτε
D
εἴναι μῆτε νομίζεσθαι2 δεύτερον. Τοῦτο, εἶπεν ὁ
Ἑρμῆς, ἀσαφές ἐστιν πότερον γαρ, εἰπέ,3 κατὰ
σοφίαν ὁ οὗν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότητα ἡ πολε-


μικήν ἐμπερίαν ἡ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν; Ἡν μὲν
οὖν, ἐφι ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἢδυ μου τῶν πάντων ἐν πάσιν
εἴναι πρώτω τούτω διὸ δυνάμενος ἐπιτυχεῖν τὸ
δύνασθαι μέγιστον παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτὸν πολιταῖς
ἐξήλασα. Σὺ δὲ, εἴπεν, ἐνυφῆθης μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν
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ὁ Σειληνός. καὶ οὗ, Πάντω ὑγεία, ἐφι κύριος ξύν
αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. Ἠλε τοῦτο μὲν, εἴπεν, ἐνυ-
νήθης· ἀγαπηθήναι δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷος τὸ
ἐγένεν, καὶ ταύτα πολλὰ μὲν ὑποκρινόμενος
ἀστερ ἐν δράματι καὶ σκηνῆ ἠλανθρωπίαν,
αισχρῶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντας κολακεύων. Εἴτα οὐκ
ἀγαπηθήναι δοκῶ, εἴπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ διώ-

1 τῶν Κλείτουν ἔθρασεν ἐργάσηται MSS.; Hertlein suggests omission of ἔθρασεν.
2 μῆτε εἴναι μὴτε νομίζεσθαι Hertlein suggests, εἴναι μὴτε νομίζεσθαι MSS.
3 εἴτε Hertlein suggests; cf. 333 d, εἴπε MSS.

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recited the passage in Euripides\(^1\) beginning "Alas how unjust is the custom of the Greeks, when an army triumphs over the enemy—" But Dionysus interrupted him saying "Stop, little father, say no more, or he will treat you as he treated Cleitus." At that Alexander blushed, his eyes became suffused with tears and he said no more. Thus their conversation ended.

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

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

\(^1\) *Andromache* 693 foll.: the passage continues "Tis not those who did the work that gain the credit but the general wins all the glory." Cleitus was killed by Alexander at a banquet for quoting these verses.
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ξαντος Βρούτον καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἐπειδή σὲ ἀπέκτειναν, ἐφη· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ δήμος ἐψηφίσατο εἰναὶ ὑπάτους· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μισθὸν ἑώραν τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτῶν οὐτοὶ 1 τῶν τυχόντα προσεγγεγραμμένον.

Δήξαντος δὲ καὶ τούδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Ὑκτα- Σ βιανὸν αὐθίς ὁ Ἐρμῆς ἐκὶνει. Σὺ δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔρεις ἡμῖν, τί κάλλιστον ἐνόμισες εἰναι; καὶ ὁς, Βασιλεύσαι, ἐφη, καλῶς. Τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ καλῶς, ὁ Σεβαστή, φράσου, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε ἐστι καὶ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις λέγειν. ἕτερο γονὺν καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασιλεύειν καὶ τοῦτο μικρότερος Ἀγαθοκλῆς. Ἀλλ’ ἶστε, εἶπεν, ὃ θεοὶ, ὃς προτέρμων δὲ τὸν θυγατριδοῦν ηὐξάμην ἡμῖν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καΐσαρος, δεινότερα δὲ τῇ Πομπηίου, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν. Πολλά, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, καὶ θεοὶ ὁντως σωτήρων ἔργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὕτως ὁ κοροπλάθος. Εἶτα διὰ τί τοῦτο, ἐφη, τὸ ὁνομὰ μοι γελοῖον οὕτως ἔθου; Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπλαττες ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, ὅσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς νύμφας, ὁ Σεβαστή, θεοὺς, δὲν ἔνια καὶ πρῶτον τουτοὺ Καΐσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὑκταβιανὸς ὅσπερ δυσ- 333 ὀπούμενος ἀπεσιώτητεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἐρμῆς πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν βλέψας, Σὺ δὲ, εἶπε, τί διανοοῦμενος ἐπράττες ὁσαπερ ἐπρα- ξας; Τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σωφρονέστερον,

1 οὕτως V, Cobet, οὕτι Hertlein.
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they punished Brutus and Cassius!" "That was not for murdering you," replied Silenus, "since for that they elected them consuls!\(^1\) No, it was because of the money you left them. When they had heard your will read they perceived what a fine reward was offered them in it for such resentment of your murder."

When this dialogue ended, Hermes next accosted Octavian. "Now for you," he said, "will you please tell us what you thought the finest thing in the world?" "To govern well," he replied. "You must say what you mean by 'well,' Augustus. Govern well! The wickedest tyrants claim to do that. Even Dionysius,\(^2\) I suppose, thought that he governed well, and so did Agathocles\(^3\) who was a still greater criminal." "But you know, O ye gods," said Octavian, "that when I parted with my grandson\(^4\) I prayed you to give him the courage of Caesar, the cleverness of Pompey, and my own good fortune." "What a many things," cried Silenus, "that do need really saving gods have been jumbled together by this doll-maker!" "Why pray do you give me that ridiculous name?" asked the other. "Why," he replied, "just as they model nymphs did you not model gods,\(^5\) Augustus, and first and foremost Caesar here?" At this Octavian seemed abashed and said no more.

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

\(^{1}\) This is not according to history. The Senate gave Brutus and Cassius proconsular power in their provinces.
\(^{2}\) Tyrant of Syracuse 405–367 B.C.
\(^{3}\) Tyrant of Syracuse 317–289 B.C.\(^4\) Caius Caesar.
\(^{5}\) Julian refers to the custom of deifying the Emperors.
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eiπεν, ὥρεχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡττήθης μὲν ὦν,1 εἴπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἀγεννεστέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ πλείστου ἢττων ἦν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχρᾶς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπονειδίστον. Βάλλει εἰς μακαρίαν, Β ἐἵπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, έτει σκωπτεῖς σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν λέγεις. ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων εἰχὲ σοι χῶραν τὰ σκώμματα πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅτως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου. δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι μοί πῶς ἀνήρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην τετράγωνος ἀνευ ψόγου τετυγμένος. ὁ Ἑρμῆς δὲ βλέψας εἰς τὸν Μάρκου, Σοὶ δὲ, εἴπεν, ὁ Ἦρης, τί κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τῷ βίου τέλος εἶναι; καὶ δς ἱρέμα καὶ σωφρόνως, Τὸ μμεῖσθαι, C ἐφη, τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐδοξε μὲν ὦν εὐθέως ἡ ἀπόκρησις οὐκ ἀγεννης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παυτὸς ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυπραγμονεῖν, πεπεισμένος ὅτι πάντα ὁ Μάρκος ἀκολούθως ἐρεί. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδόκει τάυτη μόνος δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλὰ οὐ μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέξομαι τούτου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. τί δὴποτε γὰρ ἃθιες, εἰπτέ,2 καὶ ἐπινες οὔχ ὀσπέρ ἡμεῖς ἁμ- βροσίας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἄρτον δὲ καὶ οἶνον; Ἀλλ’ ἐγώγε, εἴπεν, οὐχ ἢπερ οὖν φῦμην τοὺς θεοὺς μμει- σθαι, τάυτη προσεφερόμην σισία καὶ ποτά: τὸ σῶρα δὲ ἔτρεφον, ἵσως μὲν ψευδῶς, πειθόμενος δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ύμετέρα σῶματα δεῖται τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμάσεων τροφῆς. πλὴν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα γε ύμᾶς εἶναι μμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπέλαβον. ὅλγον ὁ Σειληνός διαπορήσας3 334

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, οὖν MSS. καὶ before σὺ Cobert adds. 2 εἰπτε Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 δ, εἴπε MSS. 3 διαπορήσας Reiske suggests to complete the construction.

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as Alexander's, but I acted with more prudence." "Nay," said Silenus, "you were the slave of more ignoble passions. Anger was nearly always his weak point, but yours was pleasure of the vilest and most infamous sort." "Plague take you!" exclaimed Dionysus, "You keep railing at them all and you don't let them say a word for themselves. However, in their case there was some ground for your sarcasms, but now consider well what you can find to criticise in Marcus. For in my opinion he is a man, to quote Simonides, 'four-square and made without a flaw.'"1 Then Hermes addressed Marcus and said, "And you, Verus, what did you think the noblest ambition in life?" In a low voice he answered modestly, "To imitate the gods." This answer they at once agreed was highly noble and in fact the best possible. And even Hermes did not wish to cross-examine him further, since he was convinced that Marcus would answer every question equally well. The other gods were of the same mind; only Silenus cried "By Dionysus I shall not let this sophist off so easily. Why then did you eat bread and drink wine and not ambrosia and nectar like us?" "Nay," he replied, "it was not in the fashion of my meat and drink that I thought to imitate the gods. But I nourished my body because I believed, though perhaps falsely, that even your bodies require to be nourished by the fumes of sacrifice. Not that I supposed I ought to imitate you in that respect, but rather your minds." For the moment Silenus was at a loss as though he

1 Simonides fr. 5 Bergk.
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ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πῦκτου δεξιοῦ πληγείς, Εϊρηται μὲν σοι τοῦτο, εἶπε, τυχὼν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἔμοι δὲ, ἔφη, φράσον, τί ποτε ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τὴν τῶν θεῶν μίμησιν; καὶ ὦς, Δεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων, εὖ ποιεῖν δὲ ὡς ὦ, τι μάλιστα πλείστους. Μῶν οὖν, εἶπεν, οὐδενὸς ἐδέου; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, Ἔγὼ μὲν οὐδενὸς, ἵσως δὲ τὸ σωμάτιον μου μικρῶν. δοξαν-τος οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅρθως εἰρηκέναι τοῦ Μάρκου, Β τὸ τέλος ἀποροομένος ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπιφύεται τοῖς περὶ τὸν παιδα καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτῷ δοκούσιν οὐκ ὅρθως οὔδε κατὰ λόγου πεποιηθεῖ, τὴν μὲν ὃτι ταῖς ἥρωιναι ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὃτι τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἐμμησάμην, εἶπε, καὶ κατὰ τούτο τοὺς θεοὺς. Ὁμήρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειθόμην λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς, ὃτι ἀρα, ὅστις ἀγαθὸς Σ καὶ ἔχεφρον, τὴν αὐτοῦ φίλει καὶ κύδεται· περὶ δὲ τὸν παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόφασιν ἔχω· αἰτιώμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἄρεα, Πάλαι ἂν, εἶπεν, ἐβεβλῆσο τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ παιδᾶ σε εἶναι ἡγάτων. ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲ ὃμιμὴ ἐγὼ τὸν παιδὰ πονηρὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ νεότης ἐφ’ ἔκατερα μεγάλας ποιομένης ῥοπᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἤνεχθη, οὐχὶ πονηρῷ τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψα, συννέχθη δὲ τῶν λαβώντα πονηρῶν γενέσθαι. τά τε οὖν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποίηται D μοι κατὰ θῆλον Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παιδα κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγίστου Δἰός, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲν καὶνοτομήσαντι. παισὶ τε γὰρ νόμιμον ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς διαδοχὰς, καὶ 408
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had been hit by a good boxer,\(^1\) then he said “There is perhaps something in what you say; but now tell me what did you think was really meant by ‘imitating the gods.’” “Having the fewest possible needs and doing good to the greatest possible number.” “Do you mean to say,” he asked, “that you had no needs at all?” “I,” said Marcus, “had none, but my wretched body had a few, perhaps.” Since in this also Marcus seemed to have answered wisely, Silenus was at a loss, but finally fastened on what he thought was foolish and unreasonable in the Emperor’s behaviour to his son and his wife, I mean in enrolling the latter among the deified and entrusting the empire to the former. “But in that also,” said the other, “I did but imitate the gods. I adopted the maxim of Homer when he says ‘the good and prudent man loves and cherishes his own wife,’\(^2\) while as to my son I can quote the excuse of Zeus himself when he is rebuking Ares: ‘Long ago,’ he says, ‘I should have smitted thee with a thunderbolt, had I not loved thee because thou art my son.’\(^3\) Besides, I never thought my son would prove so wicked. Youth ever vacillates between the extremes of vice and virtue, and if in the end he inclined to vice, still he was not vicious when I entrusted the empire to him; it was only after receiving it that he became corrupted. Therefore my behaviour to my wife was modelled on that of the divine Achilles, and that to my son was in imitation of supreme Zeus. Moreover, in neither case did I introduce any novelty. It is the custom to hand down the succession to a man’s sons, and all men desire to do so; as

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\(^1\) Plato, *Protagoras* 339 ε ἀπερ ὁ ἀγαθὸν πυκνὸν πληγεῖς.
\(^2\) *Iliad* 9. 343.
\(^3\) A paraphrase of *Iliad* 5. 897.
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toúto ἀπαντεῖς εὐχονται, τὴν τε γαμετὴν οὐκ ἔγω πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησα. ἦσως δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστων εὐλογοῦν, τὸ δὲ ἔπτο πολλῶν γενόμενον τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἐγγὺς ἄδικιας. ἀλλ' ἐλαθὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἔγω μακρότερα ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ! διόπερ μοι τῆς προπετείας ταύτης συγγνώμονες ἱένοισθε.

Παυσαμένου δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Κωνσταντίνον ὁ Ἐρμῆς ἤρετο, Σὺ δὲ τί καλὸν Β ἐνόμισας; Πολλά, εἰπε, κτησάμενον πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, ταῖς τ' ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων ὑπουργοῦντα. ἀνακαγχάσας οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς μέγα, Ἀλλ' ἢ τραπεζῆτης εἶναι, ἐφή, θέλων ἐλελήθεις σεαυτὸν ὑψομοί καὶ κομμωτρίας βίου ξών; ¹ ἦνττετο δ' αὐτὰ πάλαι μὲν ἡ τε κόμη τὸ τε εἴδος, ἀτὰρ νῦν καὶ ἡ γνώμη σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. τούτου μὲν οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς πικρότερον πως καθήγατο.

Σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐφερον οἱ θεοὶ λάθρα Σ τὰς ψήφους. εἶτα ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ.
κοινολογησάμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἱδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προσέταξε κηρύξα τῷ Ἐρμῆ. οδ' ἐκήρυττεν, Ἀνδρέας οἱ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τουτοῦ τὸν ἁγῶνα, νόμοι παρ' ἕμιν εἰσὶ καὶ κρίσεις τοιαύται γίνονται, ὡστε καὶ τὸν νικῶντα χαίρετε καὶ τὸν ἡττώμενον μὴ μέμφεσθαι. πορεύεσθε οὖν, εἴπεν, ὅποι φίλον ἐκάστῳ, ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἰγκμόσι βιωσόμενοι ὑπὸ ἐντεύθεν ἐλέσθω δ' ἐκαστὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν προστάτην τε καὶ ἰγκμόνα. μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα

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

When Marcus had finished his speech, Hermes asked Constantine, "And what was the height of your ambition?" "To amass great wealth," he answered, "and then to spend it liberally so as to gratify my own desires and the desires of my friends." At this Silenus burst into a loud laugh, and said, "If it was a banker that you wanted to be, how did you so far forget yourself as to lead the life of a pastrycook and hairdresser?" Your locks and your fair favour¹ betokened this all along, but what you say about your motives convicts you." Thus did Silenus sharply reprove Constantine.

Then silence was proclaimed and the gods cast a secret ballot. It turned out that Marcus had most of the votes. After conferring apart with his father,² Zeus bade Hermes make a proclamation as follows: "Know all ye mortals who have entered this contest, that according to our laws and decrees the victor is allowed to exult but the vanquished must not complain. Depart then wherever you please, and in future live every one of you under the guidance of the gods. Let every man choose his own guardian and guide."

¹ Iliad 3. 55. ² Kronos.
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totu o men 'Aleixandros ethe pro tov 'Hrakleas, 'Oktabianos de pro tov 'Apollaiona, amfowin de aprib exhe tov Diwos kal Krownoi Markos. plaiwomeun de polla kal pereitpexonta ton Kaisara katelehsas o megas 'Arpis ht te 'Afrodhtie par' eautous ekalesatn. Traianos de para ton 'Aleixandrou ethe wos ekeiws sygkath edroumenos. o de Kownstantinos, oix euriskow 336 ev theois tov blw to arxeutwv, enigwthn ton Truphen kaidwv edramwe pro aytin. ht de upola- boousa malakos kai peribaloousa tois pheksei pelpous te auton poukilois askhasa kal kal- losidasa pro tiv 'Asowian aptigagyn, wna kal ton 'Ihsonv eurwv anastrefmewn kai proagoreuvonta pasw, "Ostis phoreus, ostis maifwos, ostis evaghes kal bdeluros, i tw tharrwv. B apofanw gar auton toutw tiv 'vdati loyasa autika katharov, kan palin enoxos tois autois genitai, dosw to sththes plhxiwnti kai tiv kefalh pataexanti katharvi genesthai," sfwrna asmenos enetuxen autw, sunezagwv tis ton theon anoras tois paides. epitrewov o auton te kakeinous oix httov tis athethtos oi pal- lamwaioi daiwnes, airmatov syngevwn tinumvenoi dikes, eos o Zeus dia ton Klauidion kal Kown- stantion edwkev anapneusai.

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

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

Σοι δέ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ἐρμης, δέδωκα τὸν Σ
πατέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγνώναι σὺ δ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν
ἐντολῶν ἔχον, πείσμα καὶ ὅρμον ἁσφαλῆ ζωτί
tε σεαυτῷ παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἡμίκα ἂν ἐνθένδε
ἀπιέναι δέν, μετὰ τῆς ἄγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα
θεὸν εὐμενῆ καθιστᾷς σεαυτῷ.
THE CAESARS

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

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

1 cf. Libanius, Oration 29. 220, where he warns the people of Antioch that Caesarea had already robbed them of one sophist by the offer of a higher salary, and exhorts them not to neglect rhetoric, the cause of their greatness.
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Chrysostom exhibit the same picture as Julian's satire. His austere personality and mode of life repelled the Syrian populace and the corrupt officials of Antioch. They satirised him in anapaestic verses, and either stayed away from the temples that he restored or, when they did attend in response to his summons, showed by their untimely applause of the Emperor that they had not come to worship his gods. Julian's answer was this satire on himself which he addresses directly to the people of Antioch. But he could not resist scolding them, and the satire on his own habits is not consistently maintained. After he had left the city the citizens repented and sent a deputation to make their peace with him, but in spite of the intercession of Libanius, who had accompanied him to Antioch, he could not forgive the insults to himself or the irreverence that had been displayed to the gods.
'Ανακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ πολλά ἐποιήθη μέλη χαρέντα· τρυφάν γὰρ ἔλαχεν ἐκ μοιρῶν. Ἄλκαιφ δ’ οὐκέτι οὐδ’ Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τὴν μοῦσαν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἠδονὰς τρέψαι· μοχθεὶν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τούτο ἐχρῶντο, κουφότερα. Β ποιούντες αὐτοῖς δόσα ὁ δαίμων ἔδίδων τῇ εἰ στοὺς ἄδικοντας λοιδορία. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει μὲν ὁ νόμος ἐπὶ ὀνόματος αἰτιάσθαι τοὺς ἄδικουμένους μὲν όμεν, εἶναι δ’ ἐπιχειροῦντας δυσμενεῖς, ἀφαιρεῖται δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μουσικὴν ὁ νῦν ἐπικρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς παιδείας τρόπος. αἰσχροῖς γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ νῦν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἢ πάλαι ποτὲ ἔδοκε οὐ πλούτειν ἄδικως. οὐ μὴν C ἀφέξομαι διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατὴς ἐκ μουσῶν ἐπικουρίας. ἔθεσαμένη τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν

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

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OR, BEARD-HATER

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

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

'Рήνον βαρβάρους ἁγρια μέλη λέξει πεποιημένα
παραπλησία τοῖς κρώγμοις τῶν τραχύ βοώντων
ὄρνιθων ἄδωντας καὶ εὐφραινομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς
μέλεσιν. εἶναι γὰρ ὁμοία συμβαίνει τοῖς φαύλοις
τῆς μουσικῆς λυπηρῶς μὲν τοῖς θεάτροις, σφίσι
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡδίστοις. ὦ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυνοῦσας
εἴσθα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν λέγειν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰσμηνίας σὺκ
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσθής μὲν ἕξεωσ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὁμοίας, ὦς
ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δὴ ταῖς
μοῦσαις ἄδω καὶ ἐμαυτῷ.

Τὸ δὲ ἄσμα πεζῆ μὲν λέξει πεποιηται, λοιδορίας
ἐν ἕχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μᾶ
Δίας πῶς γὰρ; ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου εἰς Β
δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ξυγγραφέα. τὸ γὰρ
εἰς ἐαυτὸν γράφειν εἴτε ἐπαίνους εἴτε ψόγους
εἴργει νόμοι αὐτοῖς. εἰσαίνει μὲν δὴ καὶ σφόδρα
ἐθέλων ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ
πρὸτον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ
γὰρ οἵματι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λίεν καλῷ µηδὲ
ἐυπρεπεῖ µῆδ' ὀραίῳ ὑπὸ δυστροπίας καὶ δυσ-
κολίας αὐτὸς προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τοῦτων
C πόγωνα, δίκαια αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ-
δενὸς μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλῶν.
ταῦτα τοῖς διαθεότων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν
ὡς ἐν λόχη τῶν θηρίων. ἔσθειν δὲ λάβρως
ἡ πίνειν χαυδὸν οὐ συγχωροῦμαι· δεῖ γὰρ οἵμα
tos προσέχειν, μὴ λάθω συγκαταφαγῶν
1 τὰς τρίχας

1 συγκαταφαγῶν Cobet, καὶ συγκαταφαγῶν Hertlein, MSS.
MISOPOGON

barbarians across the Rhine sing savage songs composed in language not unlike the croaking of harsh-voiced birds, and that they delight in such songs. For I think it is always the case that inferior musicians, though they annoy their audiences, give very great pleasure to themselves. And with this in mind I often say to myself, like Ismenias—for though my talents are not equal to his, I have as I persuade myself a similar independence of soul—"I sing for the Muses and myself."

However the song that I now sing has been composed in prose, and it contains much violent abuse, directed not, by Zeus, against others—how could it be, since the law forbids?—but against the poet and author himself. For there is no law to prevent one's writing either praise or criticism of oneself. Now as for praising myself, though I should be very glad to do so, I have no reason for that; but for criticising myself I have countless reasons, and first I will begin with my face. For though nature did not make this any too handsome or well-favoured or give it the bloom of youth, I myself out of sheer perversity and ill-temper have added to it this long beard of mine, to punish it, as it would seem, for this very crime of not being handsome by nature. For the same reason I put up with the lice that scamper about in it as though it were a thicket for wild beasts. As for eating greedily or drinking with my mouth wide open, it is not in my power; for I must take care, I suppose, or before I know it I shall eat up some of my own hairs along with my crumbs

1 For Ismenias of Thebes cf. Plutarch, Pericles. The saying became a proverb; cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration 78. 420; Themistius 366 B; Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, "I have lived mihi et Musis in the University."
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tois artois. uper de tòu filieisthai kai filiein D
hekista algyo. kaitoi kai touto exein exekev ó
pógwn ostopera ta alla lupterón, ouk epitretov
kathara leios kai dii touto oimai glukerótera
xeliesi xelí prosmattew, ostop hèt tis éph tòn
eragasaemenón xin tò Pani kai tì Kalliópì eis
tòn Dafnín poímati. ùmeis dé fáte dein kai
skóinía plékein enthéndei kai estoimos parékhein,
ìn mónon òkkein dunhíthei kai mi tás atríttois
ùmò kai malakàs ñeiras hè trachútheis autón
deynà eragástai. nomísèi dé ñédeis duşcheraiñev
èmè tò skómmati. ðidomì gàr autòs tìn aítian 339
òsperei oí trágou tò géneiou échon, éxan oimai leioin
autò poiein kai ñilión, ópóioi oí kaloì tòv pài-
dwv ëxousoin òpasaí te aì gýnaikes, aìs fúsei
prósèstì tò érasmov. ùmeis dé kai èn tò logo
xeloùntes toûù ùmòv autòn niéas kai tás thug-
tèras ùpò ábróttetos bíou kai ìsow ápaloûtòtòs
tróton leioin êpimelelòs èrgaçèsethe, tòn ándra
ùpofaînontes kai paradeikynntes dià tòv metòtòv B
kai oux òsperei ùmeis èk tòn gnàthov.

'Emoi dé ouk ãpêcherse mónon hè batùthei tòv
geveíov, allà kai tì kefalì prósèstiv aìxhmòs,
kai òllogàkis keîromai kai ònuxízomai, kai toûs
daktylos ùpò tòv kalámov tà pollà échov
mélana. eì dé boûlessthê ti kai tòv àpporrítov
mabhein, èstì moij tò stèbhos dasû kai lásioun òspere

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of bread. In the matter of being kissed and kissing I suffer no inconvenience whatever. And yet for this as for other purposes a beard is evidently troublesome, since it does not allow one to press shaven "lips to other lips more sweetly"—because they are smooth, I suppose—as has been said already by one of those who with the aid of Pan and Calliope composed poems in honour of Daphnis.\(^1\) But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it! Well I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands."\(^2\) And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, when I might, I suppose, make it smooth and bare as handsome youths wear theirs, and all women, who are endowed by nature with loveliness. But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do.

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

\(^1\) Daphnis is the hero of bucolic poetry; Julian echoes Theocritus 12. 32 δέ κε προσμένη γλυκορύπτερα χείλεσι χείλη.
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tων λεόντων, οὔτε βασιλεύουσι τῶν θηρίων, οὔδὲ ἑποίησα λείον αὐτὸ πώποτε διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρέπειαν, οὔδὲ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος C εἱργασάμην λείον οὔδὲ μαλακόν. εἰπόν γὰ όν ύμῖν, εἰ τις ἦν μοι καὶ ἀγροχορδόν ὦσπερ τῷ Κίκέρωνι:1 νυνὶ δ’ οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ εἰ2 συγγυνώ- σκετε, φράσω ύμῖν καὶ3 ἔτερον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίαιτα παγκαλέπτος ἐπιτιθεῦεται. εἰργῷ τῶν θεάτρων ἐμαυτὸν ὑπ’ ἀβελτηρίας, οὔδ’ εἰσώ τῆς αὐλῆς παραδέχομαι τὴν θυμέλην ἔξω τῆς νομηνίας τοῦ ἐτους ὑπ’ ἀναισθησίας, ὦσπερ τινὰ φόρον ἢ D δασμὸν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδιδόν ἀγγροικὸς ὅλγα ἔχων οὐκ ἑπιεικεί δεσπότη. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰσελθὼν τοῖς ἀφοσιουμένοις ἔοικα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὔδένα, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἀκούων μέγας, ὅσ καθάπερ ὑπαρχος ἡ στρατηγὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξει τῶν μίμων καὶ τῶν ἴνιχων ὦσπερ ὑμεῖς ὀρώντες ὅλγῳ πρότερον

ἀναμμυνήσκεσθε νῦν

Ἥβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ’ ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.4

Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἵσως καὶ τοῦτο βαρύ καὶ δείγμα 340 ἐναργῆς μοχθηρίας τρόπου· προστίθημι δὲ ἐγώ τι καίνότερου ἄει· μισῶ τὰς ἴπποδρομίας, ὦσπερ οἱ χρήματα ὁφληκτοῖς τὰς ἄγορας. ὀλυγάκις οὖν εἰς αὐτὰς φοιτῶ ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τῶν θεῶν

1 Κίκέρων: Naber, cf. Plutarch, Cicero, Kl. Hertlein, MSS.
2 εἰ Reiske, & Hertlein, MSS.
3 ύμῖν καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS.
4 ἀναμμυνήσκεσθε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Brambe identified as a fragment of Cratinus,

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with hair, like the breasts of lions who among wild beasts are monarchs like me, and I have never in my life made it smooth, so ill-conditioned and shabby am I, nor have I made any other part of my body smooth or soft. If I had a wart like Cicero,¹ I would tell you so; but as it happens I have none. And by your leave I will tell you something else. I am not content with having my body in this rough condition, but in addition the mode of life that I practise is very strict indeed. I banish myself from the theatres, such a dolt am I, and I do not admit the thymele ² within my court except on the first day of the year, because I am too stupid to appreciate it; like some country fellow who from his small means has to pay a tax or render tribute to a harsh master. And even when I do enter the theatre I look like a man who is expiating a crime. Then again, though I am entitled a mighty Emperor, I employ no one to govern the mimes and chariot-drivers as my lieutenant or general throughout the inhabited world. And observing this recently, “You now recall that youth of his, his wit and wisdom.” ³

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

¹ cf. Plutarch, Cicero, who says that Cicero had a wart on his nose.
² i.e. the altar of Dionysus which was set up in the orchestra.
³ Cratinus, Eunidae fr. 1; cf. Synesius, Epistle 129; Julian refers to Constantius, whom the people of Antioch now compare with him.

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οὐδὲ διημερεύω, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ὁ τε ἀνεψιός ὁ ἔμος καὶ ὁ θεῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ὀμοπάτριος. ἐξ δὲ τοὺς πάντας θεώμενοι δρόμους, οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἂν τις ἄρων τοῦ πράγματος ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία μὴ Β μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἁσμενος ἀπαλλάττομαι.

'Αλλά τὰ μὲν ἔξω ταῦτα καίτοι πόστων εἰρηταὶ μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικημάτων; τὰ δὲ ἐνδον ἀγρυπνοὶ νύκτες ἐν στιβάδι, καὶ τροφῆ παντὸς ἤττουν κόρου πικρόν ἄθος ποιεῖ καὶ τριφώσῃ πόλει πολέμων. οὐ μὴν ὑμῶν γ’ ἔνεκα τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύεται παρ’ ἐμοῦ· δεινὴ δὲ τις ἐκ παιδαρίου με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη καταλαβοῦσα τῇ γαστρί πολεμεῖν ἐπεισεθεί, οὐδὲ ἐπιστρέφω πολλῶν ἐμπίμπλασθαι σιτίων αὐτῇ. οὐκ ἐξείρησασθαι Σαῦρος, καὶ μένυμαι αὐτὸ παθῶν ἐξ ὅτου καῦσαρ ἐγενόμην ἄπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησιμονής. ἡμῶν δὲ ὑπομνησθήναι διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ πάνω χαρίετος, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἰκεῖον.

Ἐστύγχανον ἐγὼ χειμάζων περὶ τὴν φίλην Δ Δουκετίαν ὀνομάζουσι δ’ οὕτως οἱ Κελτοὶ τῶν Παρισίων τὴν πολέχνην· ἐστὶ δ’ οὐ μεγάλη νήσος ἐγκειμένη τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ πάσαν τεῖχος περιλαμβάνει,2 ξύλιναι δ’ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἀμφιτέρωθεν εἰσάγουσι γέφυραι, καὶ ὀλυγάκις ὁ ποταμὸς ἐλαττοῦται καὶ μεῖζων γίνεται, τὰ πολλὰ δ’ ἐστὶν ὑποῖος ὃρα θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος,

1 οἷον ἡγιστάκεις Hertlein suggests, ὀλυγάκις MSS.
2 περιλαμβάνει Cobet, καταλαμβάνει Hertlein, MSS.

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gods; and I do not stay the whole day as my cousin ¹ used to do, and my uncle ² and my brother and my father's son.³ Six races are all that I stay to see, and not even those with the air of one who loves the sport, or even, by Zeus, with the air of one who does not hate and loathe it, and I am glad to get away.

But all these things are externals; and indeed what a small fraction of my offences against you have I described! But to turn to my private life within the court. Sleepless nights on a pallet and a diet that is anything rather than surfeiting make my temper harsh and unfriendly to a luxurious city like yours. However it is not in order to set an example to you that I adopt these habits. But in my childhood a strange and senseless delusion came over me and persuaded me to war against my belly, so that I do not allow it to fill itself with a great quantity of food. Thus it has happened to me most rarely of all men to vomit my food. And though I remember having this experience once, after I became Caesar, it was by accident and was not due to over-eating. It may be worth while to tell the story which is not in itself very graceful, but for that very reason is especially suited to me.

I happened to be in winter quarters at my beloved Lutetia—for that is how the Celts call the capital of the Parisians. It is a small island lying in the river; a wall entirely surrounds it, and wooden bridges lead to it on both sides. The river seldom rises and falls, but usually is the same depth in the winter as

¹ Constantius.
² Count Julian who had been Governor of Antioch. cf. Letter 13. ³ Gallus his half-brother.
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θυρώ ήδιστον καὶ καθαρώτατον ὅραν καὶ πίνειν ἐθέλοντι παρέχων. ἀτε γὰρ νῆσου οἰκοῦντας ὑδρεύεσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθένδε χρή. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐκεὶ προτέρος εἶτε ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης τοῦ ὁκεανοῦ στάδια γὰρ ἀπέχει ὡς ἐννακοσίων οὐ πλεῖο, καὶ διαδίδοται τυχόν λεπτή τις αὕρα τοῦ ὑδάτος, εἶναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάττιον τοῦ γλυκέος. εἶτε οὖν ἐκ τοῦ τετήτης εἶτε ὡς τινός ἄλλης αὐτίας ἀφαινοῦς ἔμοι, τὸ πράγμα ἐστὶ τοιούτον, ἀλλειπότερον ἐχουσι τὸ τοῦ χωρίου οἰκούντες τὸν χειμώνα, καὶ φύεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀμπελοῦς ἀγαθή, καὶ συκᾶς ἦδη εἰςων οṳ́ ἐμηχανήςαντο, σκεπάζοντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὅσπερ Β ἰματίους τῇ καλάμῃ τοῦ πυρὸ καὶ τοιούτως τισίν, ὅσα εἰσθενει εἰργενει τήν έκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπιγγυμομένην τοῖς δένδροις βλάβην. ἐγένετο δὴ οὖν ὁ χειμὼν τοῦ εἰωθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ παρέφερεν ὁ ποταμὸς ὅσπερ μαρμάρον πλάκας ἱστε δήποι τὸν Φιρύγιον λίθον τῶν λευκῶν τούτω ἔφκει μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα, μεγάλα καὶ ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχῆ ποιεῖν ἦδη τὸν πυρὸν ὑμέλλε καὶ τὸ ἱεῦμα γεφυρών. οὔτε οὖν ἐν τοῦτοις ἀγριώτερος ἤν τοῦ συνῆθους, ἐθάλπετο δὲ τὸ δωμάτιον οὐδαμῶς, οὕπερ ἐκάθενδον, οὕπερ εἰώθει τρόπον ὑπογαίνει καμίνως τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεὶ θερμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔχουν εὕτρετοῖς πρὸς τὸ παραδέξασθαι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀλέαν συνέβη δ’ οἴμαι καὶ

1 εἰσών ο̱ Cobet, τω̌σε εἰσόν ο̱ Hertlein, MSS.
2 τὸν κρύσταλλα Hertlein suggests, δ’ ἐφ’ ἐκατ’ ἐκείνη τοῦ λευκοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τὰ κρύσταλλα, MSS.
3 ὑπογαίνει Naber, cf. Pliny Ερ. 2. 17; ὑπὸ ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.

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in the summer season, and it provides water which is very clear to the eye and very pleasant for one who wishes to drink. For since the inhabitants live on an island they have to draw their water chiefly from the river. The winter too is rather mild there, perhaps from the warmth of the ocean, which is not more than nine hundred stades distant, and it may be that a slight breeze from the water is wafted so far; for sea water seems to be warmer than fresh. Whether from this or from some other cause obscure to me, the fact is as I say, that those who live in that place have a warmer winter. And a good kind of vine grows thereabouts, and some persons have even managed to make fig-trees grow by covering them in winter with a sort of garment of wheat straw and with things of that sort, such as are used to protect trees from the harm that is done them by the cold wind. As I was saying then, the winter was more severe than usual, and the river kept bringing down blocks like marble. You know, I suppose, the white stone that comes from Phrygia; the blocks of ice were very like it, of great size, and drifted down one after another; in fact it seemed likely that they would make an unbroken path and bridge the stream. The winter then was more inclement than usual, but the room where I slept was not warmed in the way that most houses are heated, I mean by furnaces underground; and that too though it was conveniently arranged for letting in heat from such a fire. But it so happened I suppose, because I was awkward then as now, and
πότε διὰ σκαίτητα τήν ἐμὴν καὶ τήν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν πρῶτον, ως εἰκός, ἀπανθωπίαν ἐβουλόμην γαρ ἐθίζεων ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα ταύτης ἀνεμδώς ἔχοντα τῆς βοσθελίας. ως δὲ ὁ χειμών ἐπεκράτει καὶ αἰεὶ μείζων ἐπεγίνετο, θερμήναι Δ μέν οὐδ' ὡς ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς υπηρέταις τὸ οἴκημα, δεδώς κινήσας τήν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ύγρότητα, κομίσας δ' ἐνδόν ἐκέλευσα πῦρ κεκαυμένον καὶ ἀνθρακας λαμπροὺς ἀποθέοθαν παντελῶς μετρίους. οἱ δὲ καίτερ ὄντες οὗ πολλοὶ παμπληθείς ἀπὸ τῶν τοίχων ἀτμοὺς ἐκίνησαν, υφ' ὄν κατέδαρθον. ἐμπιμπλαμένης δὲ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδέσα μὲν ἀποπνυγήμας, κομισθεὶς δ' ἔξω, τῶν ιατρῶν 342 παρανοοῦντων ἀπορρίψαι τὴν ἐντεθείσαν ἀρτι τροφῆν, οὕτω μᾶ Δία πολλὴν οὕσαν, ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ἐγενόμην αὐτίκα ράων, ὡστε μοι γενέσθαι κουφοτέραν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ὕστεραίας πράττειν ὅτανπερ ἐθέλομη.

Οὖτω μὲν οὖν ἐγώ καὶ ἐν Κελτοῖς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Μενάνδρου Δύσκολον αὐτός ἐμαυτόφ πόνους προσετίθην. ἀλλ' ἡ Κελτῶν μὲν ταύτα ράων ἐφερεν ἀγροικία, πόλεως δ' εὐδαίμον καὶ μακαρία καὶ πολυάνθρωπος εἰκότως ἀχθεία, ἐν ἡ πολλοὶ Β μὲν ὀρχησταί, πολλοὶ δ' αὐληταί, μίμου δὲ πλείους τῶν πολιτῶν, αἴδως δ' οὐκ ἔστων ἀρχόντων. ἐρχομαν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς ἀνάνδροις, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἀνδρέοις, ὡστερ ύμεῖς, ἐωθέν κομάξειν, νύκτωρ ἡδυπαθεῖν, ὅτι τῶν νόμων ύπερορᾶτε μὴ

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displayed inhumanity first of all, as was natural, towards myself. For I wished to accustom myself to bear the cold air without needing this aid. And though the winter weather prevailed and continually increased in severity, even so I did not allow my servants to heat the house, because I was afraid of drawing out the dampness in the walls; but I ordered them to carry in fire that had burned down and to place in the room a very moderate number of hot coals. But the coals, though there were not very many of them, brought out from the walls quantities of steam and this made me fall asleep. And since my head was filled with the fumes I was almost choked. Then I was carried outside, and since the doctors advised me to throw up the food I had just swallowed,—and it was little enough, by Zeus,—I vomited it and at once became easier, so that I had a more comfortable night, and next day could do whatever I pleased.

After this fashion then, even when I was among the Celts, like the ill-tempered man in Menander,1 "I myself kept heaping troubles on my own head." But whereas the boorish Celts used easily to put up with these ways of mine, they are naturally resented by a prosperous and gay and crowded city in which there are numerous dancers and flute players and more mimes than ordinary citizens, and no respect at all for those who govern. For the blush of modesty befits the unmanly, but manly fellows like you it befits to begin your revels at dawn, to spend your nights in pleasure, and to show not only by

1 cf. Oration 3. 113 C, note. Cobet thinks that the verse in Menander, Duskelos was autd de hmatph prostat@mi tods ptnous.
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λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔργους ἐνδείκνυσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι φοβεροὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀρχοντας· ὥστε ὅστις ἀρχοντα ὑβρισεν οὗτος ἐκ περιουσίας τοὺς νόμους κατεπάτησεν ὡς Ὁ ἐπὶ τούτοις Σ εὐφραίνομενοι δῆλον ποιεῖτε πολλαχοῦ μὲν, οὐχ ἢ κιστα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν κρότων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βοής ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει τῷ γνωριμότεροι μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ ὑμοᾶξεσθαί παρὰ πάσιν ἄφ' ὕπνες τῶν τοιαύτας ἔορτάς ἐδαπάνησαν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Κροίσον τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλέα συνουσίας. καλοὶ δὲ πάντες καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ λείοι καὶ ἀγένειοι, νέοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ζηλωταὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν Φαιάκων,

Εἰμι τ' ἐξημοῖβα λοετρά τε θερμά καὶ εὖνας ἀντὶ τῆς ὁσίας ἀποδεχόμενοι.

"Τὴν δὴ σὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ σκαλοτητά τούτων ἀρμόσειν ὑπέλαβες; οὗτος ἀνόητον ἐστὶ σοι καὶ φαίλον, ὑ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθέστατο καὶ φιλαπεχθημονέστατο, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγεννεστάτων σῶφρον τοῦτι ψυχάριον, δὴ σὺ κοσμεῖν καὶ καλλωπίζειν σωφροσύνη χρὴναι νομίζεις; οὐκ ὁρθῶς, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἡ σωφροσύνη ὅτι πρὸς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἰσμεν, 343 ὅσοις δὲ αὐτῆς ἁκούοντες μόνον ἔργον οὐχ ὠρβοῦνεν. εἰ δ' ὁποίον σὺ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύεις ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθαι μὲν ὅτι θεοὶ χρὴ δουλεύειν καὶ νόμοις, ἐκ τῶν
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your words but by your deeds also that you despise the laws. For indeed it is only by means of those in authority that the laws inspire fear in men; so that he who insults one who is in authority, over and above this tramples on the laws. And that you take pleasure in this sort of behaviour you show clearly on many occasions, but especially in the market-places and theatres; the mass of the people by their clapping and shouting, while those in office show it by the fact that, on account of the sums they have spent on such entertainments, they are more widely known and more talked about by all men than Solon the Athenian ever was on account of his interview with Croesus the king of the Lydians.¹

And all of you are handsome and tall and smooth-skinned and beardless; for young and old alike you are emulous of the happiness of the Phaeacians, and rather than righteousness you prefer "changes of raiment and warm baths and beds."²

"What then?" you answer, "did you really suppose that your boorish manners and savage ways and clumsiness would harmonise with these things? O most ignorant and most quarrelsome of men, is it so senseless then and so stupid, that puny soul of yours which men of poor spirit call temperate, and which you forsooth think it your duty to adorn and deck out with temperance? You are wrong; for in the first place we do not know what temperance is and we hear its name only, while the real thing we cannot see. But if it is the sort of thing that you now practise, if it consists in knowing that men must be enslaved to the gods and the laws, in behaving

¹ For Solon's visit to Croesus at Sardis cf. Herodotus 1. 29.
² Odyssey 8. 249.
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ίσων δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ὑπεροχὴν φέρειν πρότερον, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προνοεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πένητες ὑπὸ τῶν πλούτουν ἥκιστα ἀδικήσουνται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου πράγματα ἔχειν, ὅποια εἰκὸς ἐστὶ σοι γενέσθαι πολλάκις, ἀπεχθεῖς, ὄργας, λυδιόριας· εἶτα καὶ Β ταῦτα φέρειν ἔγκρατώς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαῖνειν μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σωφρονίζειν εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τις ἔργον θείτο σωφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἡδονῆς οὐ λάμα ἀπρεποῦς οὐδὲ ἐποιειδίστου δοκούσης ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένος ως οὐκ ἔστιν ἴδια σωφρονεῖν καὶ λάθρα τὸν δημοσία καὶ φανερῶς Κ ἀκόλαστον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερτόμενον τοῖς θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὖν οὕτως ἡ σωφροσύνη τοιούτων ἐστιν, ἀπόλωλας μὲν αὐτός, ἀπολλύεις δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὁνόμα δουλείας οὔτε πρὸς θεοὺς οὔτε πρὸς νόμους· ἢδυ γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι τὸ ἔλευθερον.

"Ἡ δὲ εἰρωνεία πόση· δεσπότης εἶναι οὗ φῆς οὔδὲ ἀνέχῃ τοῦτο ἄκουων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁγανακτεῖς, ὥστε ἢδη ἐπεισας τοὺς πλείστους ἔθαδιν πάλαι Δ γενομένους ἀφελεῖν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἄρχῆς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, δουλεύειν δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις ἀρχουσί καὶ νόμοις. καίτοι πόσῳ κρείττον ἦν ὄνομάζεσθαι μὲν σε δεσπότην, ἔργο δὲ έαν ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἔλευθερος, ὃ τὰ μὲν ὄνοματα πράττατε, πικρότατε

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with fairness to those of equal rank and bearing with mildness any superiority among them; in studying and taking thought that the poor may suffer no injustice whatever at the hands of the rich; and, to attain this, in putting up with all the annoyances that you will naturally often meet with, hatred, anger, and abuse; and then in bearing these also with firmness and not resenting them or giving way to your anger, but in training yourself as far as possible to practise temperance; and if again this also one defines as the effect of temperance that one abstains from every pleasure even though it be not excessively unbecoming or considered blameworthy when openly pursued, because you are convinced that it is impossible for a man to be temperate in his private life and in secret, if in public and openly he is willing to be licentious and delights in the theatres; if, in short, temperance is really this sort of thing, then you yourself have ruined yourself and moreover you are ruining us, who cannot bear in the first place even to hear the name of slavery, whether it be slavery to the gods or the laws. For sweet is liberty in all things!

"But what an affectation of humility is yours! You say that you are not our master and you will not let yourself be so called, nay more, you resent the idea, so that you have actually persuaded the majority of men who have long grown accustomed to it, to get rid of this word 'Government' as though it were something invidious; and yet you compel us to be enslaved to magistrates and laws. But how much better it would be for you to accept the name of master, but in actual fact to allow us to be free, you who are so very mild about the names we use and so
ΤΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΓΡΑΦIONA ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ

ΤΟΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ

ΤΕΣΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΧΗΤΩΝ

ΔΕ ΤΑ ΕΡΓΑ; ΠΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΚΝΑΕΙΣ ΒΙΑΣΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΛΟΥΝΟΙΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΤΗΡΙΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΡΙΑΗΧΕΙΝ, ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΝΗΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΙΩΓΕΙΣ ΣΥΝΟΦΑΝΤΕΙΝ. ΑΦΕΙΘΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΣΚΗΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΜΙΜΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΧΗΣΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΟΛΕΙΚΑΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΑΖΕΙΤΟ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΣΟΥ ΠΛΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΡΥΤΗΤΟΣ, ΗΣ ΑΝΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΓΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΑΦΟΥΣ ΚΑΛΙΟΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΔΟΙΣ ΕΞΕΧΙΖΟΝΤΑΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟ ΕΥΡΟΙΦΩΝΟΥΣ ΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΕΣ ΣΕ ΤΟΙΣ Β ΣΚΩΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΤΟΞΕΥΜΑΣΙ. ΣΟΝ ΘΕΟΥ, Ω ΓΕΝΝΑΙΑ, ΠΩΣ ΑΝΕΞΕΥ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΣΟΝ ΒΈΛΗ, ΤΑ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑ ΤΡΕΣΑΣ ΣΚΩΜΜΑΤΑ;"

'ΙΔΟΥ, ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΠ' ΆΛΛΗΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΜΑΥΤΩ ΛΟΙΠΗΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΝ. "ΦΟΥΤΑΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ, ΔΥΣΚΟΛΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΤΡΟΠΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΜΟΧΘΡΗ. ΣΥΡΡΕΙ ΔΙΑ ΣΕ ΤΑ ΠΛΗΘΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΕΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΛΕΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΕΛΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΣΕ ΣΥΝ ΒΟΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΡΟΤΩΝ ΛΑΜΠΡΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΜΕΝΕΙΝ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΑΤΡΟΙΣ. ΤΙ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΣ, ΆΛΛ' Α ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΕΙΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΟΦΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΡ ΠΛΗΘΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘάΠΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΒΟΛΤΩΝ ΠΙΚΡΩΣ ΑΥΤΟ ΔΗ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΛΕΓΩΝ, ΩΣ 'ΤΜΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΟΔΥΝΑΚΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΤΕΜΕΝΗ ΣΥΝΕΡΧΕΘΕ, ΣΥΝΔΡΑΜΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΔΗ ΕΜΕ ΠΟΛΛΗΣ ΑΚΟΣΜΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΙΜΠΛΑΤΕ ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ. ΠΡΕΠΕΙ Δ' ΑΝ- Δ ΗΡΑΣΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΙ ΚΕΚΟΣΜΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΣΥΝΗ

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very strict about the things we do! Then again you harass us by forcing the rich to behave with moderation in the lawcourts, though you keep the poor from making money by informing.\(^1\) And by ignoring the stage and mimes and dancers you have ruined our city, so that we get no good out of you except your harshness; and this we have had to put up with these seven months, so that we have left it to the old crones who grovel among the tombs to pray that we may be entirely rid of so great a curse, but we ourselves have accomplished it by our own ingenious insolence, by shooting our satires at you like arrows. How, noble sir, will you face the darts of Persians, when you take flight at our ridicule?"

Come, I am ready to make a fresh start in abusing myself. "You, sir, go regularly to the temples, ill-tempered, perverse and wholly worthless as you are! It is your doing that the masses stream into the sacred precincts, yes and most of the magistrates as well, and they give you a splendid welcome, greeting you with shouts and clapping in the precincts as though they were in the theatres. Then why do you not treat them kindly and praise them? Instead of that you try to be wiser in such matters than the Pythian god,\(^2\) and you make harangues to the crowd and with harsh words rebuke those who shout. These are the very words you use to them: 'You hardly ever assemble at the shrines to do honour to the gods, but to do me honour you rush here in crowds and fill the temples with much disorder. Yet it becomes prudent men to pray in orderly

\(^1\) i.e. bringing false accusations, which was the trade of the sycophant or blackmailer.
\(^2\) Apollo who was worshipped at Daphne near Antioch.

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παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένους τὰ ἅγαθά. τούτον οὐκ ἤκροᾶσθε τὸν νόμον Ὄμηρον

Συγῇ ἐφ’ υμείων—,
οὐδ’ ὡς Ὁδυσσεύς ἐπέσχε τὴν Εὐρύκλειαν ἐκπε-πληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γρηγῷ, χαΐρε καὶ ἵσχεο μηδ’ ὀλόλυξε;

τὰς δὲ δῆ Τρῶνας οὐτὶ πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἡ τινα τῶν τούτον θυγατέρων ἢ νιέων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Ῥὲκτοράς καίτοι τούτῳ φησίν ὡς θεῷ τοὺς 345 Τρῶς εὐχεσθαι: εὐχομένας δὲ οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει οὕτε γυναικας οὕτε ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ὀλόλυγῇ πᾶσαι, φησὶ, χείρας ἄνεσχον, βαρβαρικὸν μὲν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ γυναιξί πρέπουν, οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀπορεῖ τὸ παρ’ ὑμῶν ποιοῦμενον. ἐπαυνεῖτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἄνθρώπους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς B ἄνθρωπους ἢμᾶς κολακεύετε. κάλλιστον δ’ ἔστιν οἶμαι μηδ’ ἐκείνους κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν σοφρόνως.”

Ἰδοὺ, πάλιν ἐγὼ τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτῶν λεξείδα καὶ οὐδ’ ἐμαυτῷ συνχωρῶ φθεγγεσθαι ὡς ἔτυχεν ἄδεως καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους σκαίτητος καὶ ἐμαυτὸν συκοφαντῶ. ταῦτα τις καὶ τοιαύτ’ ἄν λέγω πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς C θεοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὅπως τις εὔνους

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fashion, and to ask blessings from the gods in silence. Have you never heard Homer’s maxim, “In silence, to yourselves” — or how Odysseus checked Eurykleia when she was stricken with amazement by the greatness of his success, “Rejoice, old woman, in thy heart, and restrain thyself, and utter no loud cry”? And again, Homer did not show us the Trojan women praying to Priam or to any one of his daughters or sons, nay not even to Hector himself (though he does indeed say that the men of Troy were wont to pray to Hector as to a god); but in his poems he did not show us either women or men in the act of prayer to him, but he says that to Athene all the women lifted up their hands with a loud cry, which was in itself a barbaric thing to do and suitable only for women, but at any rate it displayed no impiety to the gods as does your conduct. For you applaud men instead of the gods, or rather instead of the gods you flatter me who am a mere man. But it would be best, I think, not to flatter even the gods but to worship them with temperate hearts.”

See there I am again, busy with my usual phrase-making! I do not even allow myself to speak out at random fearlessly and freely, but with my usual awkwardness I am laying information against myself. It is thus and in words like these that one ought to address men who want to be free not only with respect to those who govern them but to the gods also, in order that one may be considered well-disposed towards them, “like an

1 Iliad 7. 195

τόφρ’ ὑμεῖς ἐθέσθης Διὶ Κρονίωνι, ἀνακτὶ
σιγὴ ἐφ’ ὑμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ Τρῶες γε πέθωνται.

2 Odyssey 22. 411.

3 Iliad 8. 301.
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αὐτοῖς ὄσπερ πατὴρ ἦπιος νομισθεῖη, φύσει πουνηρὸς ὥν ὄσπερ ἑγώ. ἀνέχοι τοίνυν αὐτῶν μισοῦντων καὶ λοιδοροῦντων λάθρα ἢ καὶ φανερῶς, ἐπειδὴ κολακεύειιν ἐνόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὀρμή μιᾶς 1 σε ἐπαινοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι διενοθής ὅπως ἀρμόσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς ἐπιτιθεδέμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἱβίοις οὔτε τοῖς ἱθείσιν. εἰεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τὸς ἀνέξεται σου; καθεύδεις ὡς ἐπίπαν νύκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἐστιν οὐδεν, ὡς σου D τὸν ἁγρίων καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμὸν ἀποκέκλεισται δὲ πάσῃ πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμία γενοντον, ἢ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὃτι τοιοῦτον ξόν βίον εὐφραίνη καὶ πεποίησαι τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας ἒδονήν. εἰτα ἄγανακτεῖς, εἴ τοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούεις; ἐξ' εἰδέναι χάριν τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαύσοις ἀποψιλώσαι μὲν τὰς παρεῖς, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀρξάμενον διεκνύειν, πάντα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ φιλογέλωτι τῷ θεάματα, μίμους, 346 ὀρχηστάς, ἦκιστα αἴσχυνομένας γυναίκας, παιδάρια περὶ κάλλους ἀμιλλώμενα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀνδρας ἀπεψιλωμένους οὕτω τὰς γνάθους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπαν τὸ σῶμα, λειτοροι τῶν γυναικῶν ὅπως φαίνοντο τοῖς ἐνυγχάνουσιν, ἑορτάς, πανηγύρεις, οὕτω μὰ Δία τὰς ἱεράς, ἐν αἰς χρῆ σωφρονεῖν ἄλις, μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ἐστὶν, ὃσπερ τῆς

1 ὀρμή μιᾶ Naber, ὀρφευδὸν Hertlein, MSS.

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indulgent father," 1 even though one is by nature an ill-conditioned person like myself: "Bear with them then, when they hate and abuse you in secret or even openly, since you thought that those who applauded you with one accord in the temples were only flattering you. For surely you did not suppose that you would be in harmony with the pursuits or the lives or the temperaments of these men. I grant that. But who will bear with this other habit of yours? You always sleep alone at night, and there is no way of softening your savage and uncivilised temper—since all avenues are closed to anything that might sweeten your disposition,—and the worst of all these evils is that you delight in living that sort of life and have laid pleasure under a general ban. Then can you feel aggrieved if you hear yourself spoken of in such terms? No, you ought to feel grateful to those who out of kindness of heart admonish you wittily in anapaestic verse to shave your cheeks smooth, and then, beginning with yourself, first to show to this laughter-loving people all sorts of fine spectacles, mimes, dancers, shameless women, boys who in their beauty emulate women, and men who have not only their jaws shaved smooth but their whole bodies too, so that those who meet them may think them smoother than women; yes and feasts too and general festivals, not, by Zeus, the sacred ones at which one is bound to behave with sobriety. No, we have had enough of those, like the oak tree in the proverb; 2 we are completely

1 Odyssey 5. 12.

2 The phrase δρυς καὶ πέτρα, literally, "the oak tree and the rock," became a proverb for something hackneyed; cf. Hesiod, Theogony 35, ἀλλὰ τίν θοὺν ταύτα περὶ δρύν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;
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dρυός, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κόρος αὐτῶν. ἔθυσεν ὁ καῖσαρ Β ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἄπαξ, εἶτα ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης, εἰς τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τρὶς ἐφεξῆς ἐβάδισεν ἐπιλέ-λησμαι γὰρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Δάφνης ὀσάκις εἰσήλθον τέμενος, προδοθὲν μὲν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τῶν φυλάκων, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἄθεων ἀνδρῶν τόλμας ἀφαιρισθέν. ἢ Σύρων ἦκει νομημαία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὐθίς εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς: εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἑορτή, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπὶ- Σ χῶν δὲ τῆς ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τῖς ἀνέχεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἠρὰ φοιτώντος καίσαρος, ἐξὸν ἄπαξ ἢ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπιτελεῖν δὲ τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐκεῖνας, ὅποιοι κοιναὶ μὲν εἰςι παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὁν ἔχεστι μετέχειν οὐ τοὺς ἐπισταμένοις μόνον θεούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὧν ἔστιν ἡ πόλις πλήρης; ἡδονὴ δὲ πολλὴ καὶ χάριτες, ὁποῖας ἂν τις εὐφραίνοιτο διηνεκῶς καρπούμενος, ὁρῶν ὀρχουμένους ἀνδρας καὶ παῖ- Δ δάρια καὶ γύναια πολλά.

"Ὅταν οὖν ταύτα λογίσωμαι, μακαρίζω μὲν ὑμᾶς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ὅπις ἀχθομαι·

1 μόνον θεοὺς Hertlein suggests, θεούς MSS.
2 τοῖς ὧν Naber, ὧν Hertlein, MSS.

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surfeited with them. The Emperor sacrificed once in the temple of Zeus, then in the temple of Fortune; he visited the temple of Demeter three times in succession.” (I have in fact forgotten how many times I entered the shrine of Daphne, which had been first abandoned owing to the carelessness of its guardians, and then destroyed by the audacious acts of godless men.\(^1\)) “The Syrian New Year arrived, and again the Emperor went to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One. Then came the general festival, and the Emperor went to the shrine of Fortune. Then, after refraining on the forbidden day,\(^2\) again he goes to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One, and offers up prayers according to the custom of our ancestors. Now who could put up with an Emperor who goes to the temples so often, when it is in his power to disturb the gods only once or twice, and to celebrate the general festivals which are for all the people in common, those in which not only men whose profession it is to have knowledge of the gods can take part, but also the people who have crowded into the city? For pleasure is here in abundance, and delights whose fruits one could enjoy continuously; for instance the sight of men and pretty boys dancing, and any number of charming women.”

When I take all this into account, I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, though I do

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\(^1\) The Christians invaded the shrine of Apollo at Daphne and the priests of Apollo abandoned it to them. Julian destroyed the Christian Church there and restored the worship of Apollo.

\(^2\) Literally the “day not to be mentioned,” i.e. “unholy day,” *necandus dies*, on which business was suspended.
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φίλα γάρ ἐστί μοι κατά τινα θεόν ἱσως ταύτα.
диόπερ οὐδ’ ἀγανακτώ, εὐ ἵστε, τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσί
μου τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαίρεσει. προστίθημι δ’
αὐτός ὅσα δυνατόν ἐστί μοι τοῖς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν
σκώμμασι μειξόνως ἐπικαταχέων ἐμαυτοῦ ταυτασί
tάς λοιδορίας, ὃς ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ συνήκα, 341
ποταπὸν έξ’ ἀρχῆς τὸ τήσε δῆ τῆς πόλεως ἥθος,
καὶ ταύτα τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ός ἐμαυτὸν
πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀρθμὸν ἐλάττω.
λέγεταί τοι ποτὲ τῶν ἐπόνυμου τῆς τῆς πόλεως
βασιλέα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτε ἐπόνυμος ἢ ἡ πόλις
συνφιλίσθη; πεπόλισται 1 μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου,
τοῦνομα δὲ ἔχει ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου παιδὸς; ὅν δὴ
φασὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀβρότητος καὶ τρυφῆς ἐρωτα B
ἀεὶ καὶ ἐρώμενον τέλος ἄδικον ἔρωτα τῆς ἐαυτοῦ
μητριαῖς ἑρασθῆναι κρύπτειν δ’ ἐθέλοντα τὸ
πάθος οὐ δύνασθαι, τὸ σῶμα δ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ
μικρὸν τηκόμενον ἀφανὺς οἰχεσθαι, καὶ ὑπορρεῖν
tὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλαττὸν εἶναι τοῦ
συνήδους. ἐφόκει δ’ οἴμαι τὰ 2 κατ’ αὐτὸν αἰνύγ-
ματι, σαφῆ μὲν οὐκ ἐχούσις αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου,
μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ αὐτῆς, ἡτίς ποτὲ ἐστὶ, φαινομένης,
C ἔναργος δ’ οὕσης τῆς περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἄσθε-
νείας. ἐνθάδε μέγας ἄθλος ἱατρῷ προὔτηθι τῷ
Σαμίῳ τὴν νόσον, ἡτίς ποτὲ ἐστὶν, ἐξευρεῖν. ὁ
δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐκ τῶν Ὀμῆρου, τίνες ποτὲ εἰσιν

1 πεπόλισται Cobet, Hertlein approves, πεποληται MSS.
2 τὰ Hertlein suggests, το MSS.

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not reproach myself. For perhaps it is some god who has made me prefer my own ways. Be assured then that I have no grievance against those who quarrel with my way of life and my choice. But I myself add, as far as I can, to the sarcasms against myself and with a more liberal hand I pour down on my own head these abusive charges. For it was due to my own folly that I did not understand what has been the temper of this city from the beginning; and that too though I am convinced that I have turned over quite as many books as any man of my own age. You know of course the tale that is told about the king who gave his name to this city—or rather whose name the city received when it was colonised, for it was founded by Seleucus, though it takes its name from the son\(^1\) of Seleucus—; they say\(^2\) then that out of excessive softness and luxury the latter was constantly falling in love and being loved, and finally he conceived a dishonourable passion for his own step-mother. And though he wished to conceal his condition he could not, and little by little his body began to waste away and to become transparent, and his powers to wane, and his breathing was feebler than usual. But what could be the matter with him was, I think, a sort of riddle, since his malady had no visible cause, or rather it did not even appear what was its nature, though the youth's weakness was manifest. Then the physician of Samos\(^3\) was set a difficult problem, namely to discover what was the nature of the malady. Now he, suspecting from the words of Homer\(^4\) what is

\(^1\) i.e. Antiochus.  
\(^2\) cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius*.  
\(^3\) i.e. Erasistratus.  
\(^4\) The phrase occurs in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 66, but not in Homer.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

αἱ γυνοβόροι μελεδῶναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἀσθένεια σώματος, ἀλλ’ ἀρρωστία ψυχῆς αἰτία γίγνεται τηκεδόνος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὅρων ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας καὶ συνηθείας οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ὅδ’ ἐτράπετο τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νουσήματος θήραν. καθίζει πλησίον τῆς κλάνης ἀφορῶν Δ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειρακίου, παριέναι κελεύσας καλοὺς τε καὶ καλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξαμένους. ἡ δ’ ὡς ἠλθεν, ἑπισκεφομένη δήθεν αὐτὸν, αὐτίκα ἔδιδο τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ πάθους ὁ νεανίας, ἄσθμα τῶν θλιβομένων ἡφίει, ἐπέχειν γὰρ αὐτὸ κινούμενον καὶ περὶ σφόδρα ἐθέλων οὐχ οἷος τε ἐν, καὶ ταραχὴ ἂν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρύθημα. ταῦτα ὅρων 348 ὁ ἰατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τὴν χείρα, καὶ ἐπῆδα δεινῶς ἡ καρδία καὶ ἔξω ἔτεο. τοιαύτα ἄττα ἐπασχεῖν ἐκείνης παρούσης· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνήλθεν, ἐπιτόντων ἄλλων, ἀτρέμας εἴχε καὶ ἡν ὅμοιος τοὺς οὐδὲν πᾶσχουσι. συνιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος φράζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ διὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλόπαις εἶναι παραχωρεῖν ἔφη τῷ παιδὶ τῆς γαμετῆς. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἡρμήσατο· τελευτήσατος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὸν ὠστερον, ἢν πρότερον διδομένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενῶς ἡρνήθη, μάλα κραταιῶς μετεδώξεν.

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

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the nature of "cares that devour the limbs," and that in many cases it is not a bodily weakness but an infirmity of soul that causes a wasting of the body; and seeing moreover that the youth was very susceptible to love because of his time of life and his habits, he took the following way of tracking down the disease. He sat near the youth's couch and watched his face, after ordering handsome youths and women to walk past him, beginning with the queen herself. Now when she entered, apparently to see how he was, the young man at once began to show the symptoms of his malady. He breathed like one who is being choked; for though he was very anxious to control his agitated breathing, he could not, but it became disordered, and a deep blush spread over his face. The physician on seeing this laid his hand to his breast, and found that his heart was beating terribly fast and was trying to burst forth from his breast. Such were his symptoms while she was present; but when she had gone away and others came in he remained calm and was like a man in a normal state of health. Then Erasistratus saw what ailed him and told the king, and he out of love for his son said that he would give up his wife to him. Now the youth for the moment refused; but when his father died not long after, he sought with the greatest vehemence the favour which he had so honourably refused when it was first offered to him.²

Now since this was the conduct of Antiochus, I have no right to be angry with his descendants when

¹ Stratonice.
² In Plutarch's version Antiochus married Stratonice during his father's lifetime.
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they emulate their founder or him who gave his name to the city. For just as in the case of plants it is natural that their qualities should be transmitted for a long time, or rather that, in general, the succeeding generation should resemble its ancestors; so too in the case of human beings it is natural that the morals of descendants should resemble those of their ancestors. I myself, for instance, have found that the Athenians are the most ambitious for honour and the most humane of all the Greeks. And indeed I have observed that these qualities exist in an admirable degree among all the Greeks, and I can say for them that more than all other nations they love the gods, and are hospitable to strangers; I mean all the Greeks generally, but among them the Athenians above all, as I can bear witness. And if they still preserve in their characters the image of their ancient virtue, surely it is natural that the same thing should be true of the Syrians also, and the Arabs and Celts and Thracians and Paeonians, and those who dwell between the Thracians and Paeonians, I mean the Mysians on the very banks of the Danube, from whom my own family is derived, a stock wholly boorish, austere, awkward, without charm and abiding immovably by its decisions; all of which qualities are proofs of terrible boorishness.

I therefore ask for forgiveness, in the first place for myself, and in my turn I grant it to you also since you emulate the manners of your forefathers, nor do I bring it against you as a reproach when I say that you are "Liars and dancers, well skilled to dance in a chorus";¹ on the contrary it is in the

¹ Iliad 24. 261.
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φημὶ πατρὸν ξῆλον ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὄμηρος ἐπαινῶν τὸν Αὐτόλυκον φησὶ περιεῖναι πάντων

Κλεπτοσύνη θ᾽ ὀρκῷ τε.

καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν σκαῖτητα καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ράδιος μαλάττεσθαι Β μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἔξαπατώσει τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοᾷς εἰκεῖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργω ὑνείδη. πότερα μὲν οὗν ἔστι κουφότερα, θεοῖς ἵσως δήλον, ἐπείπερ ἀνθρώπων οὔδεις οἶος τε ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν βραβεύσαν, πεισόμεθα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ διὰ φιλαντίαν, θαυμάζων γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἔκαστον, ἀτιμάζων δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὅ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐναντία ξηλοῦντι νέμων συγγνώμην εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ πράοτατος.

'Εγώ δὲ ἐννοήσας εὐρίσκω καὶ ἐπερα δεινὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ εἰργασμένοις. πόλει γὰρ προσιῶν ἔλευθερα, τῶν αὐχμῶν τῶν τρίχῶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένη, ὡσπερ οἱ κουρέων ἀποροῦντες ἀκαρτος καὶ βαθυγένειος εἰσέδραμον ἐνόμισας ἂν Σμικρῆν ὄραν ἢ Θρασυλέουτα, δύσκολον προσβῆτην ἢ στρατιωτὴν ἀνόητον, ἐξὸν φανήναι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παῖδα ὀραῖον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἀβρότητα τοῦ προσώπου. O Π "Οὐκ οἷσθα ἀνθρώπως ὀμίλειν, οὐδ’ ἐπαινέτης

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place of a panegyric that I ascribe to you emulation of the practice of your forefathers. For Homer too is praising Autolycus when he says that he surpassed all men “in stealing and perjury.”¹ And as for my own awkwardness and ignorance and ill-temper, and my inability to be influenced, or to mind my own business when people beg me to do so or try to deceive me and that I cannot yield to their clamour—even such reproaches I gladly accept. But whether your ways or mine are more supportable is perhaps clear to the gods, for among men there is no one capable of arbitrating in our disagreement. For such is our self-love that we shall never believe him, since everyone of us naturally admires his own ways and despises those of other men. In fact he who grants indulgence to one whose aims are the opposite of his own is, in my opinion, the most considerate of men.

But now I come to ponder the matter I find that I have committed yet other terrible sins. For though I was coming to a free city which cannot tolerate unkempt hair, I entered it unshaven and with a long beard, like men who are at a loss for a barber. One would have thought it was some Smicrines² he saw, or some Thrasyleon, some ill-tempered old man or crazy soldier, when by beautifying myself I might have appeared as a blooming boy and transformed myself into a youth, if not in years, at any rate in manners and effeminacy of features. “You do not know,” you answer, “how to mix with people, and

¹ Odyssey 19. 396.
² Smicrines is a typical name in New Comedy for an avaricious old man; Thrasyleon is said to have been used by Menander as the name of a boasting soldier, “miles glorusus.”
ΤΗΣ ΣΑΤΙΡΙΑΣ ΟΓΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΧΥΝΙΟΔΟΣ, ΟΥΔΕ ΜΙΜΗ ΤΟΝ ΑΦΟΜΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΥΤΟΥΝ, ΑΛΛ' Η ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΜΥΚΟ-
ΝΙΟΣ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΙΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΘΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΒΕΛΤΗΡΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥΤΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΣΟΥ. ΛΕΛΕΘΕΣ
ΣΕ ΌΤΙ 1 ΠΟΛΛΟΥ ΔΕΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΕΛТОΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΛΛΥΡΟΙ; ΟΥΧ ΘΡΑΚΕΣ, ΟΠΟΣΑ ΜΕΝ
ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕ ΤΑΥΤΗ ΚΑΠΗΛΕΙΑ; ΣΥ ΔΕ ΑΠΕΧΘΑΝΗ 350 ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΠΗΛΟΙΣ ΟΥ ΕΥΓΧΙΩΡΟΝ ΟΠΟΣΟΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΝΤΑΙ
ΠΩΛΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ 2 ΤΟ ΔΗΜΟ ΤΑ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΔΗΜΟΥΣΙΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΕΚΤΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ
ΑΙΤΙΩΝΤΑΙ. ΣΥ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΧΘΡΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΕΙ
ΣΑΝΤΩ ΤΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΩΝ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΝ
ΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΜΦΟΙΝ ΜΕΤΕΧΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΙΝ ΖΗ-
ΜΙΑΙΝ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΧΑΙΡΟΥΝ ΔΙΧΟΘΕΝ
ΚΑΡΠΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΑΣ ΩΦΕΛΕΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΩΣ ΚΕΚΤΗΜΕΝΟΙ Β
ΚΑΙ ΩΣ ΚΑΠΗΛΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ, ΤΑ ΒΝΕΙΚΩΤΩΣ ΛΥΠΟΥΝΤΑΙ
ΔΕ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΚΕΡΔΕΙΑΣ. Ο
ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΡΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΧΩΝ ΜΕΘΥΕΙΝ ΟΥΔΕ
ΚΟΡΔΑΚΙΖΕΙΝ ΑΧΘΕΙΑΙ. ΣΥ ΔΕ ΣΙΤΟΝ ΑΦΘΟΝΟΥΝ ΡΑΡΕ-
ΧΩΝ ΟΙΕΙ ΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΙΚΑΝΩΣ. ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΔΕ ΣΟΥ
ΧΑΡΙΕΝ, ΟΤΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΟΠΟΣ ΙΧΘΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕ ΠΕΤΡΑΙΟΣ
ΕΣΤΑΙ ΣΚΟΠΕΙΣ. ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΠΗ ΜΕΜΦΟΜΕΝΟΥ
ΤΙΝΟΣ, ΩΣ ΟΥΤΕ ΙΧΘΥΔΙΩΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΩΡΝΘΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ

1 σε δει—δει Cobet, σε—δειν Hertlein, MSS.
2 αυτους Reiske, αυτουι Hertlein, MSS.
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you cannot approve of the maxim of Theognis,¹ for you do not imitate the polypus which takes on the colours of the rocks. Nay rather you behave to all men with the proverbial Myconian ² boorishness and ignorance and stupidity. Are you not aware that we here are far from being Celts or Thracians or Illyrians? Do you not see what a number of shops there are in this city? But you are hated by the shopkeepers because you do not allow them to sell provisions to the common people and those who are visiting the city at a price as high as they please. The shopkeepers blame the landowners for the high prices; but you make these men also your enemies, by compelling them to do what is just. Again, those who hold office in the city are subject to both penalties; I mean that just as, before you came, they obviously used to enjoy profits from both sources, both as landowners and as shopkeepers, so naturally they are now aggrieved on both accounts, since they have been robbed of their profits from both sources. Then the whole body of Syrian citizens are discontented because they cannot get drunk and dance the cordax.³ You, however, think that you are feeding them well enough if you provide them with plenty of corn. Another charming thing about you is that you do not even take care that the city shall have shell-fish. Nay more, when someone complained the other day that neither shell-fish nor much poultry could be found in the market, you laughed very maliciously and said that a

¹ Theognis 215 foll. advises men to imitate the adaptability of the polypus.
² Mykonos was an island in the Cyclades whose inhabitants were proverbial for poverty and greed.
³ The cordax was a lascivious dance.
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eυρισκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τωθαστικῶν μᾶλα ἐγένετο λασάς, ἄρτων καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἡλιαίου τῇ σώφρονι πόλει δεῖν φάμενος, κρεών δ’ ἦδη τῇ τρυφώσῃ τὸ γάρ καὶ ἱχθύων καὶ ὀρυθίων λόγων ποιείσθαι πέρα τρυφῆς εἶναι καὶ ἦς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκῃ μνηστήρι μετήν ἀσελγείας. ὦτρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐν ἡδονῇ κρέα ἦνα καὶ προβάτεαι σιτείσθαι, τῶν ὀσπρίων ἀπτόμενοι εὖ πράξει. ταῦτα ἐνόμισας Ὀραξίλι νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαυτοῦ πολίταις ἢ τοῖς Δάναιοις Γαλάταις, οὔ σε ἐπαιδεύσασαν καθ’ ἡμῶν πρίνινον, σφυνδαμίουο,” οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ “Μαραθωνομάχον,” ἀλλ’ Ἀχαρνεᾶ μὲν εῖ ἡμισείας, ἀρδή δ’ ἄνδρα παντάπασι καὶ ἀνθρωπον ἀχαριν. οὐ κρεῖττον ἢν ὀδωδέναι μῦρων τὴν ἁγοράν βαδίζοντός σου καὶ παιδας ἱγείσθαι καλούς, εἰς οὗς ἀποβλέψουσιν οἱ πολίται, καὶ χοροὺς γυναικῶν, ὁποῖοι παρ’ ἠμῶν ἱστανται καὶ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν;”

Ἐμὲ δὲ ὡρὸν βλέπειν ῥιπτοῦντα πανταχοῦ 351 τα ὀμματα, ὅπως ὑμῖν καλός, οὔτι τὴν ψυχήν, ἄλλα τὸ πρόσωπον ὁφθείν, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχωρεῖ. ἦστι γάρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχῆς ἀληθινῶν κάλλος ύγρότησθι βίον. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν τὴνθέατρον δ’ οὐκ εἶδον πρὶν μᾶλλον κομίσαι τῆς

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Well-conducted city needs bread, wine and olive oil, but meat only when it is growing luxurious.¹ For you said that even to speak of fish and poultry is the extreme of luxury and of profligacy such as was beyond the reach of even the suitors in Ithaca; and that anyone who did not enjoy eating pork and mutton² would fare very well if he took to vegetables.³ You must have thought that you were laying down these rules for Thracians, your own fellow-citizens, or for the uncultured people of Gaul who—so much the worse for us!—trained you to be ‘a heart of maple, a heart of oak,’ though not indeed ‘one who fought at Marathon’⁴ also, but rather to be half of you an Acharnian and altogether an unpleasant person and an ungracious fellow. Would it not be better that the market place should be fragrant with myrrh when you walk there and that you should be followed by a troop of handsome boys at whom the citizens could stare, and by choruses of women like those that exhibit themselves every day in our city?"

No, my temperament does not allow me to look wanton, casting my eyes in all directions in order that in your sight I may appear beautiful, not indeed in soul but in face. For, in your judgment, true beauty of soul consists in a wanton life. I, however, was taught by my tutor to look on the ground when I was on my way to school; and as for a theatre, I never saw one until I had more hair on my chin

¹ Plato, Republic 372 e.
² The suitors of Penelope lived on pork and mutton.
³ Literally "pulse."
⁴ Aristophanes, Acharnians 180 uses these words to describe the older, more robust generation of Athenians.
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κεφαλής τὸ γένειον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἰδίᾳ
μὲν καὶ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν οὐδέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἢ τέ-
tατον, εὐ ἵστε, Πατρόκλῳ ἐπίηρα φέρον ἄρχων Β
ἐπέτατεν οἰκεῖος ὡν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖος· ἐτύγχα-
nυν δὲ ἱδιώτης ἔτι: σύγγρωτε οὖν ἐμοί· δίδωμι
γὰρ ὑν ἀντ’ ἐμοὶ δικαιότερον μισήσετε τὸν φιλαπ-
egχθήμονα παιδαγωγόν, ὥς με καὶ τὸτε ἐλύπει
μίαν ὄδὸν ἱέναι διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αἰτιός ἔστι μοι
τῆς πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀπεχθείας, ἑνεργασάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ
καὶ ὀσπερ ἐντυπώσας ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ. ἔβου-
λόμην τότε, ὁ δὲ ὡς δὴ τὶ χαρίεν ποιῶν μάλα
προθύμως ἐνετίθει, καλῶν οἴμαι σεμνότητα τὴν
ἀγροικίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀν-
δρείαν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἰκεῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδ’
εὐδαίμονα ταύτη γίνεσθαι. ἔφη δὲ μοι πολλάκις,
εὐ ἵστε, ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ μοῦσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἔτι
παιδαρίῳ κομιδῇ, Μή σε παραπεῖθέτω τὸ πλήθος
τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θέατρα φερόμενον ὀρεχθὴναι
ποτε ταυτησί τῆς θέας. ἰπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς;
ἔτι παρ’ ὁμήρῳ δεξιώτατα πεποιημένη· λαβῇ
eπέξιθι τὸ βιβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἄκουες
ὄρχηστάς; ἔα χαίρειν αὐτούς· ἀνδρικότερον παρὰ
τοῖς Φαίαξιν ὀρχεῖται τὰ μειράκια· σὺ δ’ ἔχεις
κιθαρίσθῳν τὸν Φήμιον καὶ ὀδὸν τῶν Δημόδοκον.

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	han on my head,¹ and even at that age it was never on my own account and by my own wish, but three or four times, you must know, the governor who was my kinsman and near relative, “doing a favour to Patroclus,” ordered me to attend; it was while I was still a private individual.² Therefore forgive me. For I hand over to you instead of myself one whom you will more justly detest, I mean that curmudgeon my tutor who even then used to harass me by teaching me to walk in one straight path ³ and now he is responsible for my quarrel with you. It was he who wrought in my soul and as it were carved therein what I did not then desire, though he was very zealous in implanting it, as though he were producing some charming characteristic; and boorishness he called dignity, lack of taste he called sobriety, and not yielding to one’s desires or achieving happiness by that means he called manliness. I assure you, by Zeus and the Muses, that while I was still a mere boy my tutor would often say to me: “Never let the crowd of your playmates who flock to the theatres lead you into the mistake of craving for such spectacles as these. Have you a passion for horse races? There is one in Homer,⁴ very cleverly described. Take the book and study it. Do you hear them talking about dancers in pantomime? Leave them alone! Among the Phaeacians the youths dance in more manly fashion. And for citharode ⁵ you have Phemius; for singer Demodocus. Moreover

¹ Xenophon, Symposium 4. 28.
² i.e. before he had been appointed Caesar. ³ cf. 352 c.
⁴ The chariot race in Iliad 23.
⁵ The citharode played and sang to the lyre: Phemius was at the court of Odysseus in Ithaca; Demodocus in Phaeacia.
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ἔστι καὶ φυτὰ παρ’ αὐτῷ πολλὰ τερπνότερα ἀκούσαι τῶν ὀρωμένων.

Δὴ λέει ποτε τοίον Ὁπόλλωνος παρὰ βοώμῳ
Φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.

καὶ ἡ δενδρήσεσσα τῆς Καλυψοῦς νήσου καὶ τὰ
tῆς Κύρκης σπῆλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίνου κήπος· εὖ ἴσθι,
tούτων οὔδεν ὄψει τερπνότερον.

Ἀρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τοῦνομα ὑμῶν φράσῳ τοῦ
παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὅστις ὄν γένος ταῦτα ἔλεγε;
βάρβαρος νὴ θεοῦ καὶ θεάς, Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος,
ὁμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑρέξην ἀναπείσαντος ἐπὶ
tὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον
τούτο δὴ πρὸ μηνῶν μὲν εἰκοσὶ προσκυνούμενον Β
όνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἀντ᾽ ἄδικήματος καὶ
ονείδους, εὔνοοχος ἦν, ὑπὸ τῶν τεθραμμένος
πάππω, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγάγη διὰ
tῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ποιημάτων. ἔπει δ᾽
ἐκεῖνη πρὸ τοῦν ἔμε καὶ μόνον τεκοῦσα μησίν
ὑστερον ὁλύνοι ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμήτορος
παρθένου πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἐκκλαπείσα κόρη C
καὶ νέα, μετ᾽ ἔνιαυτὸν ἐξοδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθην.
οὗτος ἐξ ἐκείνου ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγουν ἐς διδα-
σκάλου μίαν ὀδόν ἀλλῆν δ᾽ οὕτι αὐτὸς εἰδέναι

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there are in Homer many plants more delightful to hear of than those that we can see: 'Even so did I once see the young shoot of a date palm springing up near the altar of Apollo on Delos.' And consider the wooded island of Calypso and the caves of Circe and the garden of Alcinous; be assured that you will never see anything more delightful than these.'

And now do you want me to tell you also my tutor's name and the nationality of the man who used to say these things? He was a barbarian, by the gods and goddesses; by birth he was a Scythian, and he had the same name as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Greece. Moreover he was a eunuch, a word which, twenty months ago, was constantly heard and revered, though it is now applied as an insult and a term of abuse. He had been brought up under the patronage of my grandfather, in order that he might instruct my mother in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. And since she, after giving birth to me her first and only child, died a few months later, snatched away while she was still a young girl by the motherless maiden from so many misfortunes that were to come, I was handed over to him after my seventh year. From that time he won me over to these views of his, and led me to school by one straight path; and since

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1 Odysseus thus refers to Nausicaa in Odyssey 6. 162.
2 i.e. Mardonius; it was a Sophistic mannerism to use such a periphrasis instead of giving the name directly; see vol. i. Introduction, p. xi.
3 Constantius was under the influence of the powerful eunuchs of his court; they had been expelled by Julian, but Mardonius was an exception to his class.
4 Basilina.
5 Athene.
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Εἴτα οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποθέσθαι νῦν καὶ μεταμαθεῖν εἰ τι πρότερον ὑμῖν ἄγροικον θὸς ἐνετράφην; ‘Εθος, φασί, δευτέρη φύσις; φύσει μάχεσθαι δ’ ἔργον, ἐτὸν τριάκοντα μελέτην ἀφεῖναι παγχάλε- πον ἀλλ’ ἄλλος τε καὶ μέτα τοσαῦτα ἐγγενομένην τῆς χαλεπότητος; ἐμοὶ δὲ ἥδη πλεῖον τούτων ἐστίν. Εἰεν; ἀλλὰ τί πάθων αὕτως ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀκροάσθαι Β ἐρί τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικαίειν; οὕ τα ὅτι καὶ τούτο σε ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν, δς οὐδ’ εἰ ἄρξεις ἦπιστατο. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων, δν καὶ ὑμεῖς 462
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neither he himself desired to know any other nor allowed me to travel by any other path, it is he who has caused me to be hated by all of you. However, if you agree, let us make a truce with him, you and I, and make an end of our quarrel. For he neither knew that I should visit you nor did he anticipate that, even supposing I was likely to come here, it would be as a ruler, and that too over so great an empire as the gods bestowed on me; though they did not do so, believe me, without using great compulsion both towards him who offered and him who accepted it. For neither of us had the air of being willing; since he who offered that honour or favour or whatever you may please to call it, was unwilling to bestow it, while he who received it was sincere in steadily refusing it. This matter, however, is and shall be as the gods will. But perhaps if my tutor had foreseen this he would have exercised much forethought to the end that I might, as far as possible, seem agreeable in your eyes.

What then, you will ask, is it not possible even now for me to lay aside my character, and to repent of the boorish temper that was bred in me in earlier days? Habit, as the saying goes, is second nature. But to fight with nature is hard; and to shake off the training of thirty years is very difficult, especially when it was carried on with such painful effort, and I am already more than thirty years old. “Well and good,” you answer, “but what is the matter with you that you try to hear and decide cases about contracts?” For surely your tutor did not teach you this also, since he did not even know whether you would govern.” Yes, it was that terrible old man who convinced me that I ought to do so;
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ος δ'ντα μάλιστα αιτιώτατον τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀρθῶς ποιοῦντες ξυλλοιδορείτε μοι, καὶ τοῦτον δ', εύ ἵστε, ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐξηπατημένον. ὁνόματα ἦκει πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολλάκις κωμῳδούμενα, Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος. ἐκείνοις ὁ γέρων οὕτως πεισθέεις ὑπ' ἀφροσύνης, ἐπειτα ἐμὲ νέον εὔρων, ἐραστὴν λόγων, ἀνέπεισεν, ὅσ, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκείνων ξηλωτῆς γενούμην, ἀμείνων ἔσομαι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄνθρωπῶν ἰσως οὐδενὸς· οὗ γὰρ εἰναι μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀμιλλαν· ἐμαντοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἐγὼ δὲ· οὗ γὰρ εἰχον ὅ,τι ποιῶ· πεισθέει σύκετι δύναμαι μεταθέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔθελων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὀνειδέζω δὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μὴ ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἄδειαν ἀπάντων ἀδικημάτων· ὑπεσι δὲ μὲ ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὅσα ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξῆλθε ξένως, "Τίμιοι μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικών, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν πλέον ἡ διπλασίας τιμῆς ἄξιος ἐκεῖνον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔνος, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἐτέρων, μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἄρχοσιν ἀδικίαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ συγκολάξων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχοσιν, ὁ 354 μέγας ἀνήρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὕτος ἀναγορεύσθω νικηφόρος ἄρετῆς. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἑπαινον καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρή λέγειν καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγαθά τις κέκτη-

1 πᾶσιν ἄδειαν Cobet, τὰσι πᾶσαν ἄδειαν Hertlein, MSS.

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and you also do well to help me to abuse him, since he is of all men most responsible for my way of life; though he too, you must know, had in his turn been misled by others. Theirs are names that you have often met when they are ridiculed in Comedy—I mean Plato and Socrates, Aristotle and Theophrastus. This old man in his folly was first convinced by them, and then he got hold of me, since I was young and loved literature, and convinced me that if I would emulate those famous men in all things I should become better, not perhaps than other men—for it was not with them that I had to compete—but certainly better than my former self. Accordingly, since I had no choice in the matter, I obeyed him, and now I am no longer able to change my character, though indeed I often wish I could, and I blame myself for not granting to all men impunity for all wrong-doing. But then the words of the Athenian stranger in Plato occur to my mind: "Though he who does no wrong himself is worthy of honour, he who does not allow the wicked to do wrong is worthy of more than twice as much honour. For whereas the former is responsible for one man only, the latter is responsible for many others besides himself, when he reports to the magistrates the wrong-doing of the rest. And he who as far as he can helps the magistrates to punish wrong-doers, himself being the great and powerful man in the city, let him I say be proclaimed as winner of the prize for virtue. And we ought to utter the same eulogy with regard to temperance also, and wisdom and all the other good qualities that such a man possesses, and which are such that he is able

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tai, δυνάτα μη μόνον αυτὸν έχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους μεταδίδοναι."

Ταύτα ἐδίδασκε με νομίζων ἰδιώτην ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ προὔγων ταύτην ἐκ Διός μοι τὴν Β τύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἢν νῦν ὁ θεὸς φέρων κατέστη- σεν. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐσχυνόμενος ἀρχὼν ἰδιώτου φαυ- λότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἐμαυτόν, οὔδεν δέον, ὑμῖν τῆς ἀγροικίας μεταδιδοὺς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ. καὶ με ἔτερος τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομηνθέντα ἐμαυ- τοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ φήσι δεῖν αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα τὰ πλήθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀποβλέπουσα κοσμῆται. μόνω όπιθεν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ξύν ὀλίγως ἐπιτηδεύοντι νῦν τοῦτο πρὸς θάτερα περιέστη καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐν ὑπέρθει. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐσμέν ὑπὲρ παρ’ ὑμῖν ξένου νεύλυδες, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολύς ὑμετέρος, Ἐρμῆ φίλος καὶ ἐμοί, λόγων ἀγαθὸς δημιουργός, οἷς οὔδεν ἐστι πρὸς τινὰ συμβόλαιον, οὐδ’ ἀλλιν οἷδον βαδίζομεν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὀλγάκις, οὐ πάντες, εἰς τὰ Δ θέατρα, πεποιημένου τὸ δυσκλεέστατον τῶν ἔργων

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not only to have them himself but also to impart them to other men.”¹

These things he taught me when he thought that I should be a private citizen. For he certainly did not foresee that there would be assigned to me by Zeus this lot in life to which the god has now brought me and has set me therein. But I, because I was ashamed to be less virtuous as a ruler than I had been as a private citizen, have unconsciously given you the benefit of my own boorishness, though there was no necessity. And another of Plato’s laws has made me take thought for myself and so become hateful in your eyes: I mean the law which says that those who govern, and also the older men, ought to train themselves in respect for others and in self-control, in order that the masses may look to them and so order their own lives aright. Now since I alone, or rather in company with a few others, am now pursuing this course, it has had a very different result and has naturally become a reproach against me. For we here are only seven persons, strangers and newcomers in your city,—though indeed one of our number is a fellow-citizen of yours, a man dear to Hermes and to me, an excellent craftsman of discourses.² And we have business dealings with no man, nor do we go by any road that does not lead to the temples of the gods; and seldom, and then not all of us, do we go to the theatres, since we have adopted the most inglorious line of conduct and the most

¹ Plato, Laws 730 d.
² Julian refers to Libanius the famous rhetorician; with him were also Maximus of Ephesus, Priscus, Himerius and Oreibasius the physician.
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καὶ ἐπονειδιστότατον ὁ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἐπιτρέψας μοι πάντως ὦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφῶν. φάναι τι τῶν παρ' ὡμῖν ἐπιτολαξόντων οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδεξαμην ἐπὶ τῆς μεσιστείας αὐτοὺς ἐτάξαμεν, οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμεθα τὸ προσκρούειν ὡμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δέον ἀρέσκειν καὶ θωπεύειν. ὁ δεῖνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν δεῖνα. Τὴ τούτο, ὦ μῶρε, πρὸς σέ; κοινωνεῖν ἔξων μετ' εὐνοίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀφεῖς τὸ κέρδος ἔχθραν ἐπαναρή, καὶ τούτῳ ποιῶν ὀρθῶς οἴει 353 ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαι ἔχρην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀδικουμένων οὔδεις αἰτίαται τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδίκησαντα, ὁ δ' ἀδικών ἐστα εἰργόμενος, ἀφεῖς μέμφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικούμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἀχθος.

'Εξὸν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογιστίας ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ ἐκάστῳ πράττειν ὅ, τι ἂν ἑθέλῃ καὶ Β δυνατὸς ἦ τὸ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ὡς οὕμα τοιοῦτον ἐστίν, ἐλεύθερον λίαν. σὺ δὲ οὐ ξυνεις ἄρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ φρονήσεως ἅξιοίς; οὔτ' ἀπέβλεψας διὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὄνων ἐστίν ἐλευθερία παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμήλων. ἀγοῦσι τοι καὶ ταύτας οἱ μυσθωτοὶ διὰ τῶν στοάν ὡς περ τὰς νύμφας; οἱ γὰρ ὑπαίθριοι στενωπόλοι καὶ αἱ πλατείαι τῶν ὄδων οὐκ ἔπι τούτῳ δῆπος πεποίηται, τῷ χρῆ-

1 ἐπονειδιστότατον Hertlein suggests, ἐπονειδιστόν MSS.

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

"Then when it was in your power by the aid of this careful reasoning to refrain from compelling us to do what is just; when you might have allowed every man to do whatever he pleases and has the power to do,—for the temper of the city is surely like that, excessively independent—do you then, I say, fail to understand this and assert that the citizens ought to be wisely governed? Have you not even observed what great independence exists among the citizens, even down to the very asses and camels? The men who hire them out lead even these animals through the porticoes as though they were brides. For the unroofed alleys and the broad highways were certainly not made for the use of pack-asses,
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σθαί αὐταίς τοὺς καυθηλόους, ἀλλ’ ἐκείναι μὲν
αὐτῷ δὴ τούτῳ κόσμου τινὸς ἕνεκα πρόκεινται καὶ
πολυτελεῖας, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὑπ’ ἐλευθερίας οἱ ὄνοι C
βούλουνται ταῖς στοαῖς, εἰργεῖ δ’ αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς
οὐδεὶς ὡς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀφέληται: οὕτως
ἡ πόλις ἐστίν ἐλευθέρα. σὺ δὲ ἄξιος τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ
νεανίσκους ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρο-
νεῖν δ’, τι σοι φίλου, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φθεγγεσθαι ὅσων
ἀν ἥδεως ἄκοψης.1 οἱ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐλευθερίας εἰσόθαις
κωμάζειν, ἀεὶ μὲν ἐπιπεδώς αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, εὖ δὲ
ταῖς ἐστοῖς πλέουν.

Ἑδωκάν ποτὲ τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων Ῥω-
μαίοις Ταραντίνοι δίκας, ὅτι μεθύοντες ἐν τοῖς D
Διονυσίοις ὑβρισαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν.
umont σὲ ἐστὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐδαι-
μονεστέροι, ἀντὶ μὲν ὅλων ἡμερῶν ὅλων εὐπα-
θοῦντες ἔνιαυτόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἔνων πρέσβεων εἰς
αὐτοὺς ἐξυβρίζουντες τοὺς ἀρχαίας καὶ τούτων
eis tás ἐπὶ τοῦ γενέους τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς
νομίσμασι χαράγματα. εὖ γε, ὃ πολίται σῶ- 356
φρονεῖς, οὐ τε παῖζοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν
παιζόντων ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύοντες.
δῆλον
γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἢδονήν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τοῖς
dὲ τὸ ἀκροάσθαι τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων εὐ-
φρաίνει. ταῦτας ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς ὁμονοίας συνήδομαι,
καὶ εὖ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ πόλις ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα,
ὡς ἐκεῖνο γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ξηλωτῶν
eἰργεῖν καὶ κολάζειν τῶν νέων τὸ ἀκόλαστον. Ὁ
παραψείρησθαι γάρ ἐστί καὶ ἀποθραπεῖν τῆς ἐλευ-
θερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἰ τις ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ λέγειν

1 ἁκώσης Hertlein suggests, ἁκώσαις MSS.
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but they are provided merely for show and as an extravagance; but in their independence the asses prefer to use the porticoes, and no one keeps them out of any one of these, for fear he should be robbing them of their independence; so independent is our city! And yet you think that even the charming youths in the city ought to keep quiet and, if possible, think whatever you like, but at any rate utter only what is agreeable for you to hear! But it is their independence that makes them hold revels; and this they always do handsomely, but during the festivals they revel more than usual.”

Once upon a time the citizens of Tarentum paid to the Romans the penalty for this sort of jesting, seeing that, when drunk at the festival of Dionysus, they insulted the Roman ambassadors.\(^1\) But you are in all respects more fortunate than the citizens of Tarentum, for you give yourselves up to pleasure throughout the whole year, instead of for a few days; and instead of foreign ambassadors you insult your own Sovereign, yes even the very hairs on his chin and the devices engraved on his coins.\(^2\) Well done, O wise citizens, both ye who make such jests and ye who welcome and find profit in the jesters! For it is evident that uttering them gives pleasure to the former, while the latter rejoice to hear jests of this sort. I share your pleasure in this unanimity, and you do well to be a city of one mind in such matters, since it is not at all dignified or an enviable task to restrain and chastise the licentiousness of the young. For if one were to rob human beings of the power to

\(^1\) In 272 B.C. the Romans took Tarentum.

\(^2\) The people of Antioch ridiculed the Pagan symbols, such as the figures of Helios, the sun-god, which Julian had engraved on his coinage.
καὶ πράττειν ὃτι βούλονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὅρθῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς τοῦτο εἴδοτε, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ πάντα ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, πρῶτον ἐπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν, ἦν ὑμῖν ὅσι λίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, εἰτα ἐκείνως ξυνεχωρήσατε ἀνάγειν τὰ παιδία, μὴ ποτε ὑμῖν ἁρχῆς πειρώμενα τραχυτέρας. ἐπειτα ἀποφανθῇ δοῦλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια πρῶτον αἰδεύοντας διδαχθῆ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως δὲ τῆς οὖτω κακῆς συνθείας εὐλαβέστερα γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἁρχοντας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἄνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι σώφρονες καὶ ἐπιείκεις καὶ κόσμιοι λάθωσι διαφθορέντες παντάπασι. τί οὖν αἱ γυναίκες; ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἁγουσίων αὐτά δὲ ἠδονής, δὴ μακριώτατον εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτέμης τοῦτον οὐκ ἀνθρώπους μόνον, ἀλλ' καὶ θερίους. ἐνθεν οἴμαι συμβαίνει μάλα ὑμῖν εὐδαίμοσιν εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀρνουμένοις δουλείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτον, εἰτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τρίτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἀτοποί τε ἂν εἰήμεν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορωτῶν οὕτως ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἑπεξείσαντων ἁγανακτούμεν καὶ χαλεπαίνομεν. εὖ γὰρ ἵστε ὅτι 351 ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χι, φασίν, οὔδεν ἡδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα. τί μὲν ἔστι τοῦτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αἰνούμα εἶναι χαλεπόν, τυχόντες δ' ἡμεῖς

1 ἀρξάμενοι before πρῶτον Hertlein suggests, Klimek ἀποστάσις τῆς for ἀπὸ τῆς.
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do and say what they please, that would be to take away and curtail the first principle of independence. Therefore, since you knew that men ought to be independent in all respects, you acted quite rightly, in the first place when you permitted the women to govern themselves, so that you might profit by their being independent and licentious to excess; secondly, when you entrusted to them the bringing up of the children, for fear that if they had to experience any harsher authority they might later turn out to be slaves; and as they grew up to be boys might be taught first of all to respect their elders, and then under the influence of this bad habit might show too much reverence for the magistrates, and finally might have to be classed not as men but as slaves; and becoming temperate and well-behaved and orderly might be, before they knew it, altogether corrupted. Then what effect have the women on the children? They induce them to reverence the same things as they do by means of pleasure, which is, it seems, the most blessed thing and the most highly honoured, not only by men but by beasts also. It is for this reason, I think, that you are so very happy, because you refuse every form of slavery; first you begin by refusing slavery to the gods, secondly to the laws, and thirdly to me who am the guardian of the laws. And I should indeed be eccentric if, when the gods suffer the city to be so independent and do not chastise her, I should be resentful and angry. For be assured that the gods have shared with me in the disrespect that has been shown to me in your city.

"The Chi," say the citizens, "never harmed the city in any way, nor did the Kappa." Now the meaning of this riddle which your wisdom has
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ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ύμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχὰς ὀνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δὲ ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν, τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον. ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. ἐν μόνον ὑμᾶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἦδικησεν, ὥστε με καλόσαρα ποιήσας ὅντι ἀπεκτεινεν ὡς τὰ γε ἄλλα ὑμῖν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Κωνσταντῖνων πειραθήναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ ἀνεψίος ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας εἴλετο τὴν ἔχθραν, εἶτα ἡμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀγώνα λιαν ἐβρά-βευσαν φιλανθρώπως, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερον καὶ φίλος ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἐξειν με πρὸν ἔχθρον γενέσθαι. τί οὖν οἰεσθὲ με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν ἐγκωμίοις, ὃς ἠχθομαι τοῖς λοιδορομέοις αὐτῷ; Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολυοχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλιόπης, ἢ τὸ σόφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπεγύμνωσεν. Ἐμισηνοὶ Χριστὸν ἐπόθουν οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς τάφοις τῶν Γαλλαίων; ἔλύπησα δὲ ἐγὼ τίνας Ἐμισηνῶν πώποτε; ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοῖς καὶ ἠλίγγον δὲν οἴναι πάντας, τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν δήμον. ὃ μὲν γὰρ δήμος ἀχθεταί μοι τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπας ἀθεότητα προελδόμενος,
invented is hard to understand, but I obtained interpreters from your city and I was informed that these are the first letters of names, and that the former is intended to represent Christ, the latter Constantius. Bear with me then, if I speak frankly. In one thing Constantius did harm you, in that when he had appointed me as Caesar he did not put me to death. Now for the rest may the gods grant to you alone out of all the many citizens of Rome to have experience of the avarice of many a Constantius, or I should say rather, of the avarice of his friends. For the man was my cousin and dear to me; but after he had chosen enmity with me instead of friendship, and then the gods with the utmost benevolence arbitrated our contention with one another, I proved myself a more loyal friend to him than he had hoped to find me before I became his enemy. Then why do you think that you are annoying me by your praises of him, when I am really angry with those who slander him? But as for Christ you love him, you say, and adopt him as the guardian of your city instead of Zeus and the god of Daphne and Calliope¹ who revealed your clever invention? Did those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire to the tombs of the Galilaeans?² But what citizens of Emesa have I ever annoyed? I have however annoyed many of you, I may almost say all, the Senate, the wealthy citizens, the common people. The latter indeed, since they have chosen atheism, hate me for the most part, or rather all of them hate me because they see that I adhere to the ordinances

¹ There was a statue of Calliope in the market-place at Antioch.
² The people of Emesa burned the Christian churches and spared only one, which they converted into a temple of Dionysus.
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ὁτι τοις πατρίοις ὃρα τῆς ἀγιοτέλειας θεσμοῖς προσκείμενοι, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κωλυόμενοι πολλοὶ πάντα πωλεῖν ἀργυρίον, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστερῆσαν τούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέλει μοι τῶν τοιούτων ἦττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων. εἴτε οὖν εἰκότως ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγορῶ τοσαῦτας ἀπεχθείας λαβᾶς παρασχόντος;

Ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχων πώγονον οὐκ οἶδα, παρ' ὄντων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονοῦντων ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι, προσιών τῇ τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ πλουσίᾳ πόλει τοὺς ἐφήβους ἵδιον ἐν τῷ προ- ἀστείῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχώντων ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἐπὶ τινα δορυφορίαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμῶν τοὺς προγόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποιησθαι καὶ θᾶσσε στοῦ ἵππου προήγαν ἁμα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχε- ραίνων ὡς μηνυτὰς γενομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Κάτων προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπείσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν. ὅτε δὲ ἐν τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ διαποροῦντος ἠρέμα καὶ ἐρυθρώντος, ο ἀκμασταρχὸς προσδραμῶν, Ὄ ξένε, ἔφη, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἦν δ' οὕτως ἀπελεύθερος Πομπηίου, κεκτημένος οὔσιαν πολ- λὴν πάνυν μέτρων δ' αὐτὴς εἰ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν οἴμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς

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of the sacred rites which our forefathers observed; the powerful citizens hate me because they are prevented from selling everything at a high price; but all of you hate me on account of the dancers and the theatres. Not because I deprive others of these pleasures, but because I care less for things of that sort than for frogs croaking in a pond.¹ Then is it not natural for me to accuse myself, when I have furnished so many handles for your hatred?

Cato the Roman,² however,—how he wore his beard I do not know,³ but he deserves to be praised in comparison with anyone of those who pride themselves on their temperance and nobility of soul and on their courage above all,—he, I say, once visited this populous and luxurious and wealthy city; and when he saw the youths in the suburb drawn up in full array, and with them the magistrates, as though for some military display, he thought your ancestors had made all those preparations in his honour. So he quickly dismounted from his horse and came forward, though at the same time he was vexed with those of his friends who had preceded him for having informed the citizens that Cato was approaching, and so induced them to hasten forth. And while he was in this position, and was slightly embarrassed and blushing, the master of the gymnasium ran to meet him and called out “Stranger, where is Demetrius?” Now this Demetrius was a freedman of Pompey, who had acquired a very large fortune; and if you want to know the amount of it,—for I suppose that in all

¹ A proverb to express complete indifference.
² The anecdote which follows is told by Plutarch in his Cato the Younger and also in his Pompeius.
³ Julian must have known that in Cato’s day the Romans never wore beards.
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taútēn máλiστα ὀρμῆσθαι τὴν ἀκοῆν· ἐγὼ τὸν εἰπόντα φράσω. Δαμοφίλω τῷ Ἁθηνάῳ πεποίη-
tαι συγγράμματα τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δεσπόμενοι ἐκ
βιβλίων πολλῶν εἰργάσατο λόγους ἥδεστος D
νέφος φιληκόφ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ
γῆρας ἐπανάγειν αὖθις εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων φιλη-
κοτάν τοὺς ἁφηλικεστέρους· θειν οἶμαι συμβαίνει
νέους καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐξ ἴσης εἶναι φιλομύθουσ-
eἰεν. ὁ δὲ Ἔκ Κάτων ὅπως ἀπῆλθησε τῷ γυμνα-
σίαρχῳ βούλεσθε φράσω; μὴ με λοιφοὶν ὑπο-
λάβητε τὴν πόλιν· οὐκ ἔστων ο λόγος ἐμὸς.
eἰ τις ἀφίκται περιφερομένη καὶ εἰς ύμᾶς ἀκοῇ
Χαιρωνέως ἀνδρός ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου γένους, ὁ δὲ
λέγεται παρὰ τῶν ἀλαζώνων φιλόσοφον· οὐ δὴ
cαὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφικόμην μὲν, ἡπξάμην δὲ ὑπὸ
ἀμαθίας κοινωνῆσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν. ταῦτα οὖν
ἐκεῖνος ἐφρασεν, ὡς ὁ Κάτων ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν
οὐδὲν, βοήσας δὲ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐμπληκτός καὶ
ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος, Ὄμη τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως,
ἀπὶ ὅχετο.

Μὴ δὴ θαυμάσχετε, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ νυνὶ
πάσχω πρὸς ύμᾶς, ἀνὴρ ἀγριώτερος ἐκεῖνον καὶ Β
θρασύτερος τοσοῦτοι καὶ αὐθαδέστερος, ὅσον οἱ
Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαῖων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔκεισε τεχθεὶς
ἐγγὺς ἔλθε γῆρως ἁμα τοῖς πολίταις τρεφόμενος·
ἐμοὶ δὲ Κελτοὶ καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ δρυμὸς Ἐρκύνος
ἐμελεῖ ἀρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἄνδρας τελοῦντι, καὶ
διέτριψα πολὺν ἡδὴ χρόνου, ὡσπερ τις κυνηγέτης

1 ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν MSS.
that I am now telling you are most anxious to hear this,—I will tell you who has related the story. Damophilus of Bithynia has written compositions of this sort, and in them, by culling anecdotes from many books, he has produced tales that give the greatest delight to anyone who loves to listen to gossip, whether he be young or old. For old age usually revives in the elderly that love of gossip which is natural to the young; and this is, I think, the reason why both the old and the young are equally fond of stories. Well then, to return to Cato. Do you want me to tell you how he greeted the master of the gymnasium? Do not imagine that I am slandering your city; for the story is not my own.\(^1\) If any rumour has come round, even to your ears, of the man of Chaeronea,\(^2\) who belongs to that worthless class of men who are called by impostors philosophers,—I myself never attained to that class though in my ignorance I claimed to be a member of it and to have part in it,—well he, as I was saying, related that Cato answered not a word, but only cried aloud like a man stricken with madness and out of his senses, "Alas for this ill-fated city!" and took himself off.

Therefore do not be surprised if I now feel towards you as I do, for I am more uncivilised than he, and more fierce and headstrong in proportion as the Celts are more so than the Romans. He was born in Rome and was nurtured among Roman citizens till he was on the threshold of old age. But as for me, I had to do with Celts and Germans and the Hercynian forest\(^3\) from the moment that I was reckoned a grown man, and I have by now spent a long time

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\(^1\) cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 299 c, note.  
\(^2\) Plutarch.  
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ἀγρίοις ὁμιλῶν καὶ συμπλεκόμενος θηρίως, ἦθεσιν ὀντε νηπεύειν οὔτε κολακεύειν εἰδό-
σιν, ἀπλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου πᾶσι προσφέρεσθαι. γέγονεν οὖν μοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ
παίδων τρόφην ὡς τε ἐν μειρακίοις ὀδός διὰ τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων οὐδα-
μῶς ἐπιτηδείων δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν οἰομένοις ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις ἐκ

1 εἰναι, ἢ τε ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀντουργίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς μαχμωτάτοις καὶ θυμικο-
τάτοις τῶν ἕθων, ὅπου τὴν γαμηλίαν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν μεθυδότην Διόνυσον γάμον τε ἕνεκα καὶ παιδοποιέας οἴνου τε ὀπόσης ἐκάστῳ δυνα-
τὸν πόσεως ἰσασί γόνων. ἀσέλγεια δ' οὗκ ἔστων δὸ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὔδε ὑβρὶς, οὐδὲ ἐλκεῖ τις εἰςω
tῆς σκηνῆς τῶν κόρδακα.

Δέγεται τοἰ μικρῇ πρόσθεν ὡς ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε τις Καππαδόκης φυγάς, ἐν τῇ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τραφεῖς

πόλει παρὰ τῷ χρυσοχόῳ γαμορίζετε δήπουθεν ὅτι λέγω· μαθῶν ὅπου καὶ ἔμαθεν, ὡς οὐ δέον ὀμιλεῖν γυναιξὶν, μειρακίοις δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκ
οἶδα όπόσα ἐνθάδε δράσας καὶ παθῶν, ἐπειδὴ 360

παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖσε βασιλέα πρὸς ἀφίκησε, μνήμη

τῶν τῇ δὲ πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστάς αὐτοῖς ἔπα-
γαγεῖν, ἀλλα δὲ τὰ ἐντεύθεν ἀγαθὰ τοιαῦτα,

καὶ ὅτω καὶ τέλος ὡς ἐνεδέσθεν ἔτι κοτυλιστοῦ-

1 ἐπιτηθείων—οἰομένοις—εὐδαιμονεστάτοις Hertlein suggests, ἐπιτηθεῖν δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτῳ MSS.

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there, like some huntsman who associates with and is entangled among wild beasts. There I met with temperaments that know not how to pay court or flatter, but only how to behave simply and frankly to all men alike. Then after my nurture in childhood, my path as a boy took me through the discourses of Plato and Aristotle, which are not at all suited for the reading of communities who think that on account of their luxury they are the happiest of men. Then I had to work hard myself among the most warlike and high-spirited of all nations, where men have knowledge of Aphrodite, goddess of Wedlock, only for the purpose of marrying and having children, and know Dionysus the Drink-Giver, only for the sake of just so much wine as each can drink at a draught. And in their theatres no licentiousness or insolence exists, nor does any man dance the corydax on their stage.

A story is told of them that not long ago a certain Cappadocian was exiled from here to that place, a man who had been brought up in your city in the house of the goldsmith—you know of course whom I mean,—and had learned, as he naturally did learn there, that one ought not to have intercourse with women but to pay attentions to youths. And when, after doing and suffering here I know not what, he went to the court of the king in that country, he took with him to remind him of your habits here a number of dancers and other such delights from this city; and then finally since he still needed a cotylist¹—you know the word and the thing too—he

¹ We do not know what sort of performance was given by a cotylist; he was evidently a mime and may have played with cups; κοτυλη = a pint-cup.
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totum δ' ύμεῖς ἔστε πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ
totum ἐνθέντε ἐκάλει πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς
παρ' ύμῖν διάτης. οἵ Κέλτοι δὲ τῶν μὲν κοτυ-
λιστῶν ἡγνόσαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτῶν αὐτίκα τὰ Β
βασίλεια, τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς δὲ ἐπιτραπέντες ἐπι-
δείκνυσθαι 1 εν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν τέχνην εἰασαν
οἰόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοῖς ἐσκέναι. καὶ
ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐμοὶ καταγελαστό-
tatou τὸ θέατρον ἀλλ' οἵ μὲν ὅλοι πολλῶν
κατεγέλων, ἐγώ δὲ ἐξ ὅλοις ἐνθάδε γελοῖος
ὑμῖν ἀπασὶ τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτῷ τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἄν C
εἶναι ἄδικος εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργομι,
diaferontos ἀσπασάμενος ἐκεῖνα. Κέλτοι μὲν
γὰρ οὕτω μὲ δὴ ὁμοιότητα τρόπων ἡγάπησαν,
ὡστε ἐτόλμησαν οὐχ ὅπλα μόνον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἐδωκαν πολλά, καὶ
παραιτούμενον ὅλοι καὶ ἐβιάσαντο λαβεῖν, καὶ
πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουσαν. δὲ δὲ ὅμως, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ύμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα,
καὶ ἐβόων πάντες ἀνδρεῖοι, συνετόν, δίκαιον, οὐ
πολέμω μόνον ὁμιλῆσαι δεινὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνη
χρήσασθαι δεξιόν, εὐπρόσιτον, πρᾶον· ύμεῖς δὲ
αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεδώκατε νὴν ἐνθέντε πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι
παρ' ἑμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατέρπαται.
σύνοδα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνατρέπων ἐμαυτῷ, οὕτε ἔκών
οὕτε ἄκων εἶτα, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πώγωνος μον χρῆ
πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χῖ, πόθος δὲ
ὑμᾶς εἰσείσι τοῦ Κάππα. καὶ ύμῖν γε αὐτὸ οἴ

1 ἐπιδείκνυσθαι Hertlein would add.

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invited him also from here, because of his longing and love for the austere mode of life that prevails with you. Now the Celts never made the acquaintance of the cotylist, since he was at once admitted into the palace; but when the dancers began to display their art in the theatre, the Celts left them alone because they thought that they were like men stricken with nympholepsy. And the theatre seemed to the men in that country highly ridiculous, just as it does to me; but whereas the Celts were a few ridiculing many, I here along with a few others seem absurd in every way to all of you.

This is a fact which I do not resent. And indeed it would be unjust of me not to make the best of the present state of things, after having so greatly enjoyed the life among the Celts. For they loved me so much, on account of the similarity of our dispositions, that not only did they venture to take up arms on my behalf, but they gave me large sums of money besides; and when I would have declined it, they almost forced me to take it, and in all things readily obeyed me. And what was most wonderful of all, a great report of me travelled thence to your city, and all men proclaimed loudly that I was brave, wise and just, not only terrible to encounter in war, but also skilful in turning peace to account, easy of access and mild-tempered. But now you have sent them tidings from here in return, that in the first place the affairs of the whole world have been turned upside down by me—though indeed I am not conscious of turning anything upside down, either voluntarily or involuntarily; secondly, that I ought to twist ropes from my beard, and that I war against the Chi and that you begin to regret the Kappa.
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πολιούχοι τήσει τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ διπλοῦν δοε̄ν, ὦτι πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἀστυνείτονας ἐσυκοφαν- τήσατε πόλεις ἱερᾶς καὶ ὁμοδούλους ἔμοι, ὦς ἰὴ παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰθ’ τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ξυντεθέντα, δι’ εὖ οἶδ’ ὦτι φιλούσιν ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν νιέασ, οChildIndex τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη, τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν άθεῶν ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, δ’ ἰὴ δέδοται παρ’ ἐμοῦ πρόθεν, οὔτως ἐπαρθέντες τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἢ βουλομένῳ Β μοι ἢν.

Τὰ δ’ ὡμέτερα: πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγειρομένους ἄρτι τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψαν, οὔς ἡ πρόθεσις ἢμῶν ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἴσων ἀραίων. ἔπει δὲ ἀπεπεμψάμεθα τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, οἳ μὲν ἀφοσιώμενοι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν λειψάνων ἡγανακτικόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος Σ τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, ο/slick δὲ εἶτε λαθόντες εἶτε μὴ τὸ πῦρ ἐνείσαν᾽ ἐκείνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ξένων φρικῶδεσιν, ὑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἡδονὴν παρασχόν,

1 ἐνείσαν Hertlein suggests, ἐνείσαν MSS.

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Now may the guardian gods of this city grant you a double allowance of the *Kappa!* For besides this you falsely accused the neighbouring cities, which are holy and the slaves of the gods, like myself, of having produced the satires which were composed against me; though I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the tombs of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.

But now consider your own behaviour. Many of you overturned the altars of the gods which had only just been erected, and with difficulty did my indulgent treatment teach you to keep quiet. And when I sent away the body from Daphne, some of you, in expiation of your conduct towards the gods, handed over the shrine of the god of Daphne to those who were aggrieved about the relics of the body, and the rest of you, whether by accident or on purpose, hurled against the shrine that fire which made the strangers who were visiting your city shudder, but gave pleasure to the mass of

1 i.e. may they have two such rulers as Constantius.
2 i.e. the sepulchres over which the Christian churches were built; cf. 357 C, note.
3 Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, had been buried in the grove of Daphne, and the priests of Apollo retired from it. When the church over his tomb was demolished by Julian he removed the body of St. Babylas to Antioch, and that night (October 22. 362 A.D.) the people of Antioch burned the temple of Apollo which Julian had restored. Cf. Johannes Chrysostomos, *De S. Babyla et contra Julianum*; and Libanius, *Monody on the Temple of Apollo at Daphne.*

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υπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθέν καὶ εἰστὶ ἀμελοῦ-
μενον. ἐμὸι μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς
ἀπολελουτέναι τὸν νεῶν ὁ θεὸς, ἐπεσήμην γὰρ
εἰσέλθωντι μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ τούτοις
μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν Ἡλίων πρὸς τοὺς
ἀπιστοῦντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὑπομνήσας βούλομαι καὶ
ἄλλης ἀπεχθείας ἐμῆς, ἔπευτα, ὅπερ εἰσα ὁπεὶν Ἄ
ἐπιεικῶς, ὀνειδίσαι ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ
κατηγορήσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γὰρ ποὺ μην τῷ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἀριθμοῦ-
μένῳ. Δῶνον οἴμαι τούτων ὑμεῖς προσαγορεύετε
τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πάτριος ἔστιν ἔροτή, καὶ ἔδει
σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντᾶν. ἥν ὡς μὲν οὖν
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Δίδω ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔδραμον, οἶόμενος
ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα τοῦ πλοῦτος καὶ τῆς φιλο-
τιμίας ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσειν. εἶτα ἀνέπλαττον παρ’
ἐμαυτῷ πολπῆς, ὅσπερ ὀνείρατα ὀρῶν, ἱερεία καὶ 362
σπουδὰς καὶ χρονὸς τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμόματα καὶ
toû ἐφήβους ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπεῖστατα
μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκὴ δ’ ἔσθητι
καὶ μεγαλουπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένους. ὡς δὲ εἰσὶν
παρῆλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὐτε θυμάματα κατέ-
λαβον οὐτε πόπανον οὐτε ἱερεῖν. αὐτίκα μὲν
οὖν ἔθαυμασα καὶ φύμην ἔξω τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι,
περιμένειν δ’ ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὴ τιμῶντας ὡς ἄρχερεα,
τὸ σύνθημα παρ’ ἐμοῦ. ἔτει δὲ ἡρώμην, τί μέλλει
θύειν ἣ πόλις ἐνιαύσιον ἔροτὴν ἁγιοῦσα τῷ θεῷ, ο

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your citizens and was ignored and is still ignored by your Senate. Now, in my opinion, even before that fire the god had forsaken the temple, for when I first entered it his holy image gave me a sign thereof. I call mighty Helios to bear me witness of this before all unbelievers. And now I wish to remind you of yet another reason for your hatred of me, and then to abuse myself—a thing which I usually do fairly well—and both to accuse and blame myself with regard to that hatred.

In the tenth month, according to your reckoning,—Loos I think you call it—there is a festival founded by your forefathers in honour of this god, and it was your duty to be zealous in visiting Daphne. Accordingly I hastened thither from the temple of Zeus Kasios,¹ thinking that at Daphne, if anywhere, I should enjoy the sight of your wealth and public spirit. And I imagined in my own mind the sort of procession it would be, like a man seeing visions in a dream, beasts for sacrifice, libations, choruses in honour of the god, incense, and the youths of your city there surrounding the shrine, their souls adorned with all holiness and themselves attired in white and splendid raiment. But when I entered the shrine I found there no incense, not so much as a cake, not a single beast for sacrifice. For the moment I was amazed and thought that I was still outside the shrine and that you were waiting the signal from me, doing me that honour because I am supreme pontiff. But when I began to inquire what sacrifice the city intended to offer to celebrate the annual festival in honour of the god, the priest answered, "I have

¹ Kasios was the name of a mountain near Antioch where there was a temple of Zeus.
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ιερεύς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἦκω φέρων οἴκοθεν τῷ θεῷ χήνα ιερείου, ὃ πόλις δὲ τὰ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡντρέπεται.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ φιλαπεχθήμων ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἀνεπιεικείς πάνω διελέχθην λόγους, διὰ ἵσως οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ νῦν μνημονεύσαι. "Δεινῶν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τὴν τοσαυτὴν πόλιν οὐτοὶ τῶν θεῶν ὀλγώρως ἔχειν, ὡς οὐδεμία παροικοῦσα ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ Πόντου γονής ιδίας κεκτημένη, τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπιστάσῃς ἐστὶς ἐναυσίου, ἐπείδη διεσκέδασαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἁθέοτητος τὴν νεφέλην, μᾶλλον όρνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐ προσάγει, ἢν ἐκρήξθη μάλιστα μὲν καὶ κατὰ φυλᾶς βουθυτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ βαδὺν, ἕνα γε κοινῆ πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτον. ὑμῶν δὲ ἐκαστὸς ιδίᾳ μὲν εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰς ἐστὶς χαίρει δαπανώμενος, καὶ εὐ οίδα πολλαὶς ὑμῶν πλείοντα εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοῦ Μαίουμα χρήματα ἀπολεσάντας, ὑπὲρ δ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς θύει οὔτε ἵδια τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἡ πόλις κοινῇ, μόνος δ' ὁ ιερεύς, ὅπως ὄρμεον δικαιότερον ἢν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθος τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ θεῷ παρ' ὑμῶν οἰκάδε ἀπείναι μερίδας ἐχοῦσα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ιερεύσιν οἱ θεοὶ καλοκαγαθία τιμῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄρετής ἐπιτηδεύειν προσέταξαν καὶ λειτουργεῖν σφίσι τὰ εἰκότα· πρέπει δ' οἴμαι τῇ πόλει θύειν ιδίᾳ καὶ 363

1 μᾶλ ορνων Hertlein suggests, ορνω MSS.
2 ἕνα γε Hertlein suggests, ἑνα MSS.
brought with me from my own house a goose as an offering to the god, but the city this time has made no preparations."

Thereupon, being fond of making enemies, I made in the Senate a very unseemly speech which perhaps it may now be pertinent to quote to you. "It is a terrible thing," I said, "that so important a city should be more neglectful of the gods than any village on the borders of the Pontus. Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce on her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe, or if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city’s welfare not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one

1 cf. Themistius 332 D.

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δημοσίαν νυνι δε ύμων ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἐνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους, καὶ τρέφοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖνα τοὺς πένθας πολὺ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐργάζονται θαῦμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιχώμων δεομένους. ἔστι δὲ τοιούτων οἵματι τὸ πλείστων τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ὑμεῖς δ’ αὐτὸ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν ἀμέλως ἔχοντες πράττειν οὐδὲν ἀτοπον ὑπολαμβάνετε πρόσεισι δ’ οὐδεὶς τῶν δεομένων Β’ τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔστων οἵματι πόθεν διατράφη. καὶ γενέσθαι μὲν τὶς ἐστιῶν ἱερὰς παρασκευάζει δεῖπνῳ καὶ ἀριστον, ἐπὶ πολυτελὴ τράπεζαν τοὺς φίλους παραλαμβάνων εἰμαισιοῦ δ’ ἐορτῆς οὕσης οὐδεὶς ἐκκομίσει ἐλαιον εἰς λύχνου τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ σπουδῆν οὐδ’ ἱερεῖον οὐδὲ λιβανωτόν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖ ν’ οὐκ οἶδα, ὅπως ἀν τις ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἄγαθός C ὀρῶν παρ’ ύμῖν ἀποδέξατο, νομίζω δ’ ἐγώγε μηδὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄρεσκειν.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνησαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησε μοι τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς μὴποτε ὥφελεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προάστειον, δ’ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνον, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ζάλῃ τρέψας ἀλλαχοὶ τῶν κρατοῦσιν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τῷ χείρε βιασάμενος. ὕμων δ’ ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀνοίγως. ἐχρῆν γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὥσπερ οἴμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συνεισθόντων ἐμοὶ, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονείν μηδ’ επιτιμῶν. ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ προπετελας ἐγὼ καὶ Ὑ

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.
of you allows his wife to carry everything out of his house to the Galilaeans, and when your wives feed the poor at your expense they inspire a great admiration for godlessness in those who are in need of such bounty—and of such sort are, I think, the great majority of mankind,—while as for yourselves you think that you are doing nothing out of the way when in the first place you are careless of the honours due to the gods, and not one of those in need goes near the temples—for there is nothing there, I think, to feed them with—and yet when any one of you gives a birthday feast he provides a dinner and a breakfast without stint and welcomes his friends to a costly table; when, however, the annual festival arrived no one furnished olive oil for a lamp for the god, or a libation, or a beast for sacrifice, or incense. Now I do not know how any good man could endure to see such things in your city, and for my part I am sure that it is displeasing to the gods also.”

This is what I remember to have said at the time, and the god bore witness to the truth of my words—would that he had not!—when he forsook your suburb which for so long he had protected, and again during that time of storm and stress when he turned in the wrong direction the minds of those who were then in power and forced their hands. But I acted foolishly in making myself odious to you. For I ought to have remained silent as, I think, did many of those who came here with me, and I ought not to have been meddlesome or found fault. But

1 Julian probably alludes to the riot which took place at Antioch on account of the famine in 354, when the populace killed Theophilus the Governor and were punished for the murder by Constantius.
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tῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομι-
στέον ὑπ’ εὐνοίας ἔμοι τότε εἰρήθαι τοὺς πρὸς
ὺμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλ’ οἶμαι δόξαν θηρεύων εὐλαβείας
τε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἀδόλου-
τούτο δ’ ἐστίν οἶμαι παγγέλουσις κολακεία. πολλὰ
ὕμων μάτην κατέχεα. δίκαια τοῖνυν ἔργάζεσθέ 364
με τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκείνων ἀμινόμενοι καὶ
ἐναλλάττοντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ
πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ξυνέσιν
ἐν ὄλγους ὑμῶν κατέδραμον· ύμεῖς δέ ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἰκανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα
χαριεντίζεσθαι πολλῶν. εὐ γὰρ ἵστε, πάντες
οἱ λέγοντες κοινοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοὺς
λόγους, καὶ ὁ ξύν ἡδονῇ τῶν βλασφημῶν ἀκροα-
σάμενος, μετέχον τῆς ἱστη ἡδονῆς ἀπραγμο-
νέστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινωνός ἐστι τῆς ἀιτίας.

Εἰρήταί οὖν ὑμῖν δὲ ὅλης καὶ ἀκρόαται τῆς
πόλεως ὁπόσα εἰς τούτου πέπαικται τὸν ψαύλον
πώγονα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα ὑμῖν καλὸν
οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξοντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίον
ὑμῶν, ὅποιον ύμεῖς αἰὲ μὲν ξῆτε, ποθείτε δὲ ὅραν
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφη-
μῶν, δι’ ἴδια τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεχεῖτε μοῦ Σ
παίξοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀναπάιστοις, ἐμαυτοῦ προσκατ.
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I poured down all these reproaches on your heads to no purpose, owing to my headlong temper and a ridiculous desire to flatter,—for it is surely not to be believed that out of goodwill towards you I spoke those words to you then; but I was, I think, hunting after a reputation for piety towards the gods and for sincere good-will towards you, which is, I think, the most absurd form of flattery. Therefore you treat me justly when you defend yourselves against those criticisms of mine and choose a different place for making your defence. For I abused you under the god's statue near his altar and the footprints of the holy image, in the presence of few witnesses; but you abused me in the market-place, in the presence of the whole populace, and with the help of citizens who were capable of composing such pleasant witticisms as yours. For you must be well aware that all of you, those who uttered the sayings about me and those who listened to them, are equally responsible; and he who listened with pleasure to those slanders, since he had an equal share of the pleasure, though he took less trouble than the speaker, must share the blame.

Throughout the whole city, then, you both uttered and listened to all the jests that were made about this miserable beard of mine, and about one who has never displayed to you nor ever will display any charm of manner. For he will never display among you the sort of life that you always live and desire to see also among those who govern you. Next with respect to the slanders which both in private and publicly you have poured down on my head, when you ridiculed me in anapaestic verse, since I too have accused myself I permit you to employ that
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ηγορήσας υμῖν ἐπιτρέπω χρῆσθαι μετὰ μείζονος αὐτῷ παρρησίας, ὡς οὐδὲν υμᾶς ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦτο πώποτε δεινὸν έργασομαι σφάττων ἢ τύπτων ἢ δῶν ἢ ἀποκλείων ἢ κολάζων. πῶς γὰρ; ὦς, ἐπείπερ υμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπεδείξας μετὰ τῶν φίλων σωφρονοῦντα, φαυλότατον ἴδειν υμῖν καὶ ἀνθέ- στατον, οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξα καλὸν θέαμα, μεταστήματι D τῆς πόλεως ἐγνωκα καὶ ὑποχωρήσαι, πεπεισμένος μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὅτι πάντως ἐκείνοις ἀρέσω, πρὸς οὖς πορεύομαι, κρίνων δ' αἱρέτωτερον, εἰ διαμάρτωμι τοῦ δόξαι γοῦν ἐκείνως καλὸς κάγα- θος, ἐν μέρει μεταδούναι πᾶσι τῆς ἀνθίδαις τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην ἀποκαί- σαι πόλιν ὡσπερ ὕπο δυσωδίας τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς σοφροσύνης.

'Ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄγρον οὐδὲ κῆπον ἐπρίατο 365 παρ' υμῖν οὐδὲ σκλᾶν φικοδόμησεν οὐδὲ ἔγχυμε παρ' υμῖν οὐδὲ ἔξεδωκεν εἰς υμᾶς οὐδὲ ἡράσθημεν τῶν παρ' υμῖν καλῶν, οὐδὲ ἔξηλώσαμεν 'Ασσύριον πλούτου οὐδὲ ἐνεμάμεθα τὰς προστασίας οὐδὲ παραδυναστεύειν υμῖν ἵνα φορέαται τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει οὐδὲ ἐπείσαμεν τῶν ἰδίων εἰς παρασκευὰς δείπνων ἢ θεάτρων, ὅταν οὖτως ἔποιήσαμεν τρυφῶν, ὡστε ἄγων σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τοὺς ἀνα- B παίστους εἰς τοὺς αἴτιους αὐτῷ τῆς εὐθυνίας εὐνέθηκεν, οὐδὲ ἐπηγράψαμεν χρυσὸν οὐδὲ ἡτήσαμεν ἀργύριον οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἕσπεραμεν φόροις· ἀλλὰ

¹ τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests, τὴν πόλιν MSS.

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method with even greater frankness; for I shall never on that account do you any harm, by slaying or beating or fettering or imprisoning you or punishing you in any way. Why indeed should I? For now that in showing you myself, in company with my friends, behaving with sobriety,—a most sorry and unpleasing sight to you—I have failed to show you any beautiful spectacle, I have decided to leave this city and to retire from it; not indeed because I am convinced that I shall be in all respects pleasing to those to whom I am going, but because I judge it more desirable, in case I should fail at least to seem to them an honourable and good man, to give all men in turn a share of my unpleasantness,¹ and not to annoy this happy city with the evil odour, as it were, of my moderation and the sobriety of my friends.

For not one of us has bought a field or garden in your city or built a house or married or given in marriage among you, or fallen in love with any of your handsome youths, or coveted the wealth of Assyria, or awarded court patronage;² nor have we allowed any of those in office to exercise influence over us, or induced the populace to get up banquets or theatrical shows; nay rather we have procured for them such luxurious ease that, since they have respite from want, they have had leisure to compose their anapaestics against the very author of their well-being. Again, I have not levied gold money or demanded silver money or increased the tribute; but in

¹ Demosthenes, Against Meidias 153 ἀποκκαλεῖ γὰρ ἄθικα καὶ ἀναίδησις.
² προστασία is sometimes used of the Imperial protection of a municipal guild, and that may be Julian's meaning here.
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πρὸς τοὺς ἐλλείμμασιν ἀνεῖται πάσι τῶν εἰθε-σμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ οἴμαι δ’ ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ 1 μέτρουν ἔχω καὶ μᾶ Δία καὶ θεούς, ὡς ἐμαντῶν πείθω, τὸν ἐισαγγελέα, καλῶς υφ’ ὠμῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντα, διότι γέρων ὁν καὶ φαλακρὸς ἥρεμα τὰ πρόσω διὰ δυστροψίαν αἰσχύνεται κομᾶν ἐξόπισθεν, ὡσπερ Ἐσμήρος ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἀβαντας, οὐδὲν δ’ ἐκείνων φαινοτέρους ἄνδρας οἶκοι παρ’ ἐμαντῶ ὅν καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε δὲ νυνὶ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δὲ μοι θεῖος καὶ ὁμώνυμος οὐ δικαιότατα μὲν ὑμῶν προῦτη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοὶ ἔπειτα ἤμαυν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑυμπράττειν; οὐ προμηθέστατα δὲ πάσαις ἐπεξήλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις τῆς πόλεως; ἦμῖν μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει ταῦτα καλά, πραότης ἄρχόντων μετά σωφροσύνης, φόμεθα τε D ὑμῶν ἰκανῶς διὰ τούτων καλοὶ φανεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἤ τε βαθύτης ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενείου καὶ τὸ ἀτημέλητον τῶν τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ παραβάλλειν τοὺς θεατροὺς καὶ τὸ ἄξιον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι σεμνοῦ καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ἢ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἢμῶν ἀσχολία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰργεῖν τὴν πλεον-εξίαν, ἐκόντες ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366 οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι ῥαδίων ἐν γηρᾷ μεταθεμένῳ δια-φυγεῖν τοῖς λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱκτίνου μῦθου. λέγεται γὰρ τοῖς τῶν ἱκτίνα φωνῆ ἑχοντα παρα-πλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρυσιν ἐπιθέσει τῶν χρε-μετίζειν, ὡσπερ οἱ γενναίοι τῶν ἵππων, εἶτα τοῦ

1 ἀλλὰ καὶ Reiske would add.
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addition to the arrears, one-fifth of the regular taxes has been in all cases remitted. Moreover I do not think it enough that I myself practise self-restraint, but I have also an usher who, by Zeus and the other gods, is moderate indeed, as I believe, though he has been finely scolded by you, because, being an old man and slightly bald in front, in his perversity he is too modest to wear his hair long behind, as Homer made the Abantes wear theirs.¹ And I have with me at my court two or three men also who are not at all inferior to him, nay four or even five now, if you please.

And as for my uncle and namesake,² did he not govern you most justly, so long as the gods allowed him to remain with me and to assist me in my work? Did he not with the utmost foresight administer all the business of the city? For my part I thought these were admirable things, I mean mildness and moderation in those who govern, and I supposed that by practising these I should appear admirable in your eyes. But since the length of my beard is displeasing to you, and my unkempt locks, and the fact that I do not put in an appearance at the theatres and that I require men to be reverent in the temples; and since more than all these things my constant attendance at trials displeases you and the fact that I try to banish greed of gain from the market-place, I willingly go away and leave your city to you. For when a man changes his habits in his old age it is not easy, I think, for him to escape the fate that is described in the legend about the kite. The story goes that the kite once had a note like that of other birds, but it aimed at neighing like a high-spirited

¹ Iliad 2. 542. ² Julian, Count of the East.
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μὲν ἐπιλαθόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἔλειν ἰκανὸς ἄμφοτέροις στέρεσθαι καὶ φαύλοτέραν τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνίθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Β αὐτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἀγαφικάς τε ἁμα καὶ δεισίδητος ἀμαρτεῖν. ἦδη γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν συνορᾶτε, πλησίον ἐσμὲν ἐθέλοντων θεών,

Εὑτέ μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνοις ἀναμεμίξονται τρίχες,

ὅ Τήσιος ἐφή ποιητής.

Εἶπεν. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ Δίως ἀγοραίου καὶ πολιούχου, ὑπόσχετε λόγον. ἥδηκησθε τι παρ’ ἐμοῦ κοινή πώποτε ἦ καὶ ἰδία, καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦτον λαβεῖν ὦν δυνάμεναι C φανερῶς διὰ τῶν ἀναπαύστων ἡμᾶς, ἀσπερ οἱ κωμιδὸι τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔκκουσι καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἁγοραῖς ἐπιτρίβετε λοιδορούντες; ἦ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι χαλεπῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς κακῶς ὦκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἰδα μὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱόντες ἀμύνησθε; τῆς οὖν ὑμῶν ἐστίν αὐτία τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσματος καὶ τῆς ἁπε- χθείας; ἐγὼ γὰρ εὖ αὐτὸν οὐδένα ὑμῶν οὐδὲν D οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὕτε ἰδία τοῦ ἀνδρᾶς οὕτε κοινή τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ εἰπὼν οὐδὲν φλαύρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνεσας, ὡς ἔδοξέ μοι προσήκειν, καὶ μεταδόν σχετικοῦ τινος, ὅσον εἰκὸς ἃν τὸν ἐπι- ψυχοῦντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πόλλοις εὐ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους. ἀδύνατον δ’ εὖ ἵστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

1 ἦ καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

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

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

¹ Anacreon fr. 77, Bergk. ² cf. Oration 7. 204 b.
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ρουσὶ συγχωρεῖν ἄπαντα καὶ δίδοναι πάντα τοῖς 367 εἰωθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὅταν οὖν φανὼ μηδὲν ἐλατ-
tώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξεων, ὅσα εἰσθεν ἡ
βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ὕμιν δὲ ἀνείς τῶν εἰσφο-
rῶν οὐκ ὄλγα, ἃρ’ οὐκ αἰνήγματι τὸ πράγμα
ἐσικεῖν;

'ΑΛλ' ὑπόσα μὲν κοινῇ πρὸς πάντας πεποίηται
τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, πρέπει δὲν σιωπᾶν, ὅν
μὴ δοκοῖν ὅστερ ἐξεπιτύγχας αὐτοπρόσωπος ἐπαι-
νοὺς ἀδειν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ταύτα ἑπαγειλάμενος
πολλὰς καὶ ἀσέλγειτάτας ὑβρεῖς καταχέει: τὰ
τὸ δὲ ἱδία μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεποιημένα προτετῶς μὲν
καὶ ἄνοητος, ἤκιστα δὲ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἄξια ἀχαρι-
στείσθαι, πρέπει δὲν οἴμαι προφέρειν ὅστερ τινὰ
ἐμὰ ὑνείδη τοσοῦτο τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χαλεπῶτερα,
τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς
ἀναφροδισίας, ὅσο καὶ ἀληθευτερα ὄντα τῇ ψυχῇ
μάλιστα προσήκει. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπήμουν Ὁ
ὑμῶς ὡς ἐνεδέχετο μοι φιλοτίμοις οὐκ ἀναμείνας
τὴν πείραν οὐδ’ ὅπως ἔφοβοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ἐνθυμηθείς, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἔλληνων
παῖδας, ἐμαυτόν δὲ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἔστι μοι Ὁρᾶκιον,
"Ελλῆνα τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν υπελάμβανον, διὶ
μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσομεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτο
ἐστο οὐκ ἡ τῆς προπετείας ὑνείδος. ἔπειτα πρεσ-
βευσαμένοις ὑμῖν παρ’ ἐμὲ καὶ ἀφικομένοις ὑστε-
ροῖς οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων Δ
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and to give everything to those who are accustomed to receive gifts. Therefore when it is seen that I have diminished none of the public subscriptions which the imperial purse is accustomed to contribute, but have remitted not a few of your taxes, does not this business seem like a riddle?

However, it becomes me to be silent about all that I have done for all my subjects in common, lest it should seem that I am purposely as it were singing my praises with my own lips, and that too after announcing that I should pour down on my own head many most opprobrious insults. But as for my actions with respect to you as individuals, which, though the manner of them was rash and foolish, nevertheless did not by any means deserve to be repaid by you with ingratitude, it would, I think, be becoming for me to bring them forward as reproaches against myself; and these reproaches ought to be more severe than those I uttered before, I mean those that related to my unkempt appearance and my lack of charm, inasmuch as they are more genuine since they have especial reference to the soul. I mean that before I came here I used to praise you in the strongest possible terms, without waiting to have actual experience of you, nor did I consider how we should feel towards one another; nay, since I thought that you were sons of Greeks, and I myself, though my family is Thracian, am a Greek in my habits, I supposed that we should regard one another with the greatest possible affection. This example of my rashness must therefore be counted as one reproach against me. Next, after you had sent an embassy to me—and it arrived not only later than all the other embassies, but even later than

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tόν ἐπ' Ἀιγύπτω, πολύ μὲν ἄνηκα χρυσίον, πολύ δ' ἀργύριον, φόρους δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἱδίᾳ παρὰ τὰς ἀλλὰς πόλεις, ἐπειτα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τὸν κατά-
λογον διακοσίον βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φει-
σάμενος οὐδενός. ἐσκότονν γὰρ ὅπως ἡ πόλις
ύμων ἔσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν ύμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευσάντων
τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασα-
μένων τὸ νόμισμα τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἐλομένους
ἐχειν. ύμεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκ οὐκ δυναμένους
eἰλεσθε, λαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε
παραπλήσια πόλει μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὐνομομένη,
πρέποντα δ' ύμῶν ἀλλάς τῷ τρόπῳ. βούλεσθε
ἐνὸς ύμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτὴν ὁνομάζοντες,
πρὶν προσγραφῆναι τῷ καταλόγῳ, μετεώροι τῆς
dίκης οὐσίας, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργία τὸν ἀνθρώπον.

ἄλλον ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς εἰλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν Β
ἀπανταχού μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ' ύμῖν δὲ διὰ
περιττὴν φρόνησιν ἀμειβομένων πρὸς χρυσίον
συρφητῶν εὐποροῦντα μετρίας οὐσίας εἰλεσθε
κοινων. πολλὰ τοιαύτα περὶ τὰς ὀνομασίας
κακογροῦντων ύμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἀπαντα
συνεχωρῆσαμεν, ὃν τε εὖ εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν
ἀπεστερήθημεν, καὶ δὲν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκῃ παρ'
ύμων δυσχεραινόμεθα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν τῶν μικρῶν πάνω καὶ οὕτω οὐ
dυνάμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐκπολεμῶσαι τῷ δὲ δὴ

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that of the Alexandrians who dwell in Egypt,—I remitted large sums of gold and of silver also, and all the tribute money for you separately apart from the other cities; and moreover I increased the register of your Senate by two hundred members and spared no man;¹ for I was planning to make your city greater and more powerful.

I therefore gave you the opportunity to elect and to have in your Senate the richest men among those who administer my own revenues and have charge of coin ing the currency. You however did not elect the capable men among these, but you seized the opportunity to act like a city by no means well-ordered, though quite in keeping with your character. Would you like me to remind you of a single instance? You nominated a Senator, and then before his name had been placed on the register, and the scrutiny of his character was still pending, you thrust this person into the public service. Then you dragged in another from the market-place, a man who was poor and who belonged to a class which in every other city is counted as the very dregs, but who among you, since of your excessive wisdom you exchange rubbish for gold, enjoys a moderate fortune; and this man you elected as your colleague. Many such offences did you commit with regard to the nominations, and then when I did not consent to everything, not only was I deprived of the thanks due for all the good I had done, but also I have incurred your dislike on account of all that I in justice refrained from.

Now these were very trivial matters and could not so far make the city hostile to me. But my greatest

¹ The Senatorship was an expensive burden.
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μέγιστον, ἐξ οὗ τὸ μέγα ἡρῆθη μύσος, ἀφικομένου
μου πρὸς ύμᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πυγμόμενος
υπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀφῆκε φωνὴν πρὸτον ταύτην·
"Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ." τῆς ἐπιούσης
dιελέχθην ἔγω τοῖς δυνατοῖς ύμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν
πείθειν, ὦτι κρείττον ἔστιν ὑπεριδόντας ἀδίκου
κτήσεως εὗ ποιήσαι πολῖτας καὶ ξένους. οἱ δὲ
ἐπαγγελμένοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμελῆσεσθαι
μηνῶν ἡξῆς τριῶν ὑπεριδόντος μου καὶ περιμέναν-
tos οὐτως ὀλυγόρος εἶχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς
οὐδεὶς ἂν ἤλπισεν. ἔπει δ' εὕρων ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ
δήμου φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδείας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωρουμένην,
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ἔταξα μέτρων ἐκαστὸν τίμημα καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα
πᾶσιν. ἔπει δ' ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ
πάντα καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
πάντα· σίτου δ' ἐνδεῶς εἶχον, ἀφορίσας δεινῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν αὐχμῶν γενομένης, ἐδοξέ μοι
πέμπτεν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ιερὰν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις
τὰς πέριξ, ἐνθεν εἰσῆγαγον ύμῖν μέτρων τετ-
ταράκοντα μυριάδας. ὡς δ' ἀνάλωτο καὶ τούτο,
πρότερον μὲν πεντάκις χίλιοι, ἐπτάκις χίλιοι δ' Β
ὑστερον, εἶτα νῦν μυρίους, οὐς ἐπιχώριόν ἐστι
λοιπὸν ὀνομάζειν μοδίους, ἀνάλισκον σίτου, πάν-
tας οἴκωθεν ἔχων. ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κομισθέντα
μοι σίτου ἄδοκα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενος ἀργύριον
οὐκ ἐπὶ δέκα μέτρων,1 ἀλλὰ πεντεκαϊδεκα το-

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

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offence of all, and what aroused that violent hatred of yours, was the following. When I arrived among you the populace in the theatre, who were being oppressed by the rich, first of all cried aloud, “Everything plentiful; everything dear!” On the following day I had an interview with your powerful citizens and tried to persuade them that it is better to despise unjust profits and to benefit the citizens and the strangers in your city. And they promised to take charge of the matter, but though for three successive months I took no notice and waited, they neglected the matter in a way that no one would have thought possible. And when I saw that there was truth in the outcry of the populace, and that the pressure in the market was due not to any scarcity but to the insatiate greed of the rich, I appointed a fair price for everything, and made it known to all men. And since the citizens had everything else in great abundance, wine, for instance, and olive oil and all the rest, but were short of corn, because there had been a terrible failure of the crops owing to the previous droughts, I decided to send to Chalcis and Hierapolis and the cities round about, and from them I imported for you four hundred thousand measures of corn. And when this too had been used, I first expended five thousand, then later seven thousand, and now again ten thousand bushels—“modii”¹ as they are called in my country—all of which was my very own property; moreover I gave to the city corn which had been brought for me from Egypt; and the price which I set on it was a silver piece, not for ten measures but for fifteen, that is to say, the same

¹ The modius was a bushel measure.
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σοῦτον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον. εἰ δὲ
tοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρους ἦν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσμα-
τος, τί προσδοκᾶν ἔδει τηνικαῦτα, ἡμῖκα, φησίν ὁ
Βοιώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι τὸν άκιμὸν Ἐ
ἐπὶ δώματι; ἄρ' οὐ πέντε μόνιμοι καὶ ἀγαπητῶσ
ἀλλος τε καὶ τηλικοῦτον χειμῶνος ἐτυγχανομένου;

Τί οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ πλούσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ
tῶν ἀγρῶν σῖτον λάθρα ἀπέδωντο πλείωνος,
ἐβάρησαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀναλώμασι·
καὶ οὐχ ἡ πόλις μόνον ἐπὶ τούτο συρρέει, οἱ
πλείστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν,
ὁ μόνον ἐστὶν εὐρέως πολὺ καὶ εὔωνου, ἄρτους
ὁμούμενοι. καὶ τοῖς τὸς μέμνηται παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθη-
nουμένης τῆς πόλεως πεντακίδεκα μέτρα σίτου
πραθέντα τῷ χρυσῷ; ταύτης ἔνεκεν ὑμῖν ἀπη-
χθόμην ἐγὼ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον ὑμῖν
οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὀπώρας
ἀποδόσθαι χρυσοῖ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων
ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν ταῖς ἄποθηκαις σῖτον ἄργυρον
αὐτοῖς καὶ χρυσὸν ἐξαίφνης παρ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι. 370
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο
καλῶς, ἐργασάμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἵμιον ἀλο-
νητῆρα βρότειον, ὡς ὁ θεός ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπιτη-
δεύοντες ἐξελέγχων. ἡ πόλις δ' ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ
γέγονεν ἄρτων ἐνεκα μόνον, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός.

Συνήην μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὅτι μη Β
πάσιν ἄρεσομι, πλὴν ἔμελεν οὐδὲν ἐμοί· τῷ γὰρ

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amount that had formerly been paid for ten measures. And if in summer, in your city, that same number of measures is sold for that sum, what could you reasonably have expected at the season when, as the Boeotian poet says, “It is a cruel thing for famine to be in the house.” ¹ Would you not have been thankful to get five measures for that sum, especially when the winter had set in so severe?

But what did your rich men do? They secretly sold the corn in the country for an exaggerated price, and they oppressed the community by the expenses that private persons had to incur. And the result is that not only the city but most of the country people too are flocking in to buy bread, which is the only thing to be found in abundance and cheap. And indeed who remembers fifteen measures of corn to have been sold among you for a gold piece, even when the city was in a prosperous condition? It was for this conduct that I incurred your hatred, because I did not allow people to sell you wine and vegetables and fruit for gold, or the corn which had been locked away by the rich in their granaries to be suddenly converted by you into silver and gold for their benefit. For they managed the business finely outside the city, and so procured for men “famine that grinds down mortals,” ² as the god said when he was accusing those who behave in this fashion. And the city now enjoys plenty only as regards bread, and nothing else.

Now I knew even then when I acted thus that I should not please everybody, only I cared nothing

¹ This does not occur in Hesiod or Pindar.
² A phrase from an unknown oracular source.
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ἀδικουμένῳ πλήθει βοηθεῖν ὃμην χρήναι καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις, ἐμοῦ τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῶν ἀρχόντων. ἐπεὶ δ’ οἴμαι συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι, τὴν πόλιν δ’ εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ γνώμης μιᾶς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δ’ ύπ’ ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν. Ἀδραστείᾳ πάντα ἐπιτρέψας ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος οἰχήσομαι καὶ δὴμον ἔτερον, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσας δὴ ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐμπροσθεν θεὸς ἐννέα δίκαια δρόντες εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰργάσασθε, φέρων μὲν δὴ δήμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν ξύν βοῆ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτινών τὸν ἀρχόντα, δίκην δ’ αὐθίς ἀποτόμων ὑπὲρ τούτων, δὴ ὅργῃ-ζόμενος δικαίως ἐπράξεν οὐκέτι μετρίως.

Τπέρ τίνος οὖν πρὸς θεῶν ἀχαριστούμεθα; οτι τρέφομεν ὑμᾶς οἰκοθεν, δ’ μέχρι σήμερον θυρήξειν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, καὶ τρέφομεν οὕτω λαμπρῶς; οτι τῶν κατάλογον ὑμῶν ἡγείσαμεν; οτι κλέπτοντας ἔλοντες οὐκ ἔπεξήλθομεν; ἕως ἢ δύο βούλεσθε ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησώ, μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ σχῆμα καὶ ἰητερείαν εἶναι καὶ προσποίησιν τὸ πράγμα; γῆς κλήρους οἴμαι τρισχίλους ἐφατε ἀσπόρους εἶναι καὶ ἔτησασθε λαβεῖν, λαβόντες

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about that. For I thought it was my duty to assist the mass of the people who were being wronged, and the strangers who kept arriving in the city both on my account and on account of the high officials who were with me. But since it is now, I think, the case that the latter have departed, and the city is of one mind with respect to me—for some of you hate me and the others whom I fed are ungrateful—I leave the whole matter in the hands of Adrasteia¹ and I will betake myself to some other nation and to citizens of another sort. Nor will I even remind you how you treated one another when you asserted your rights nine years ago; how the populace with loud clamour set fire to the houses of those in power, and murdered the Governor; and how later they were punished for these things because, though their anger was justified, what they did exceeded all limits.²

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

¹ The avenging goddess who is more familiarly known as Nemesis.
² In 354 A.D. there was a riot at Antioch in consequence of scarcity of food; Constantius sent troops to punish the citizens for the murder of Theophilus the Governor of Syria.
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δ' ἐνείμασθε πάντες οἱ μὴ δεόμενοι. τὸντο ἐξετασθέν ἀνεφάνη σαφῶς. ἀφελόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχόντων οὐ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμονήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, διὸ ἔσχον ἀτελεῖς, οὐδ' ἐμίστα ἐχρήν ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι, ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἐνεμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἀτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ' ἐκαστον ὑμῶν ἐναυτὸν ἱπποτροφοῦντες γῆς κλήρους ἐγγὺς τρισχιλίους, ἐπινοια μὲν καὶ οἰκονομία τοῦ θείου τοῦμοῦ καὶ ὁμονύμου, χάριτι δ' ἐμῇ, δὲ δὴ τοὺς πανούργους καὶ κλέπτας οὐτω κολάζων εἰκότως ὑμῶν φαίνομαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ Β ἵστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ πρότης αὔξει καὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὁ λόγος οὖν μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα περίσταται πάλιν εἰς ὅπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τῶν κακῶν αἵτις γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἢθη τὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνετῶτερος. ὑμῖν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας C καὶ τιμῆς, ἣν ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδόειν.

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you all divided them among you though you did not need them. This matter was investigated and brought to light beyond doubt. Then I took the lots away from those who held them unjustly, and made no inquiries about the lands which they had before acquired, and for which they paid no taxes, though they ought most certainly to have been taxed, and I appointed these men to the most expensive public services in the city. And even now they who breed horses for you every year hold nearly three thousand lots of land exempt from taxation. This is due in the first place to the judgment and management of my uncle and namesake\(^1\) but also to my own kindness; and since this is the way in which I punish rascals and thieves, I naturally seem to you to be turning the world upside down. For you know very well that clemency towards men of this sort increases and fosters wickedness among mankind.

Well then, my discourse has now come round again to the point which I wished to arrive at. I mean to say that I am myself responsible for all the wrong that has been done to me, because I transformed your graciousness to ungracious ways. This therefore is the fault of my own folly and not of your licence. For the future therefore in my dealings with you I indeed shall endeavour to be more sensible: but to you, in return for your good will towards me and the honour wherewith you have publicly honoured me, may the gods duly pay the recompense!

\(^1\) cf. 340 a, 365 c.
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