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THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN
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THE ORATIONS AND SATIRES OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION VI
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

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

² 224 c.
between the Christians and the Cynics had already been pointed out by Aristides, 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" or "forge" a new coinage is not to be taken as an excuse for license and impudence, but like the Delphic precept "Know Thyself" warns all philosophers to accept no traditional authority, no convention that has not been examined and approved by the reason of the individual. His conviction that all philosophical tenets are in harmony if rightly understood, gives a peculiar earnestness to his Apologia for Diogenes. The reference in the first paragraph to the summer solstice seems to indicate that the Oration was written before Julian left Constantinople in order to prepare for the Persian campaign.

1 Aristides, *Orations* 402 D.
2 The precise meaning of the phrase is uncertain; it has been suggested that it arose from the custom of altering or "countermarking" coins so as to adapt them for the regular currency; see 132 C, *Oration* 7. 208 D.
ΙΟΤΔΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΝΑΣ

"Ανω ποταμών, τούτο δή τῷ τῆς παροιμίας. ἀνήρ Κυνικὸς Διογένης φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολου-
tεῖν οὐ βούλεται, σφόδρα ἐρραμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ
σφριγών καὶ τὴν ἥλικιαν ἀκμᾶξον, ως ἂν μὴ τις
κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς
τροπαῖς ἢδη προσιόντως. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐδώδην
τοῦ πολύποδος κωμοδεῖ καὶ φησὶ τὸν Διογένη τῆς
άνοιας καὶ κενόδοξας εὐτετικέναι ἰκανὰς ¹ δίκαιας
δόσπερ ὑπὸ κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρεῖνα.
οὕτω πόρρω που σοφίας ἐλαίνει, ὡστε ἐπίσταται
σαφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τούτο δὲ ἄγνωστον
ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ'
ἐκεῖνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦντι γοῦν, φασίν,
Ἀντίστιθεν μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάληπτον ἀρρωστίαν
ξεφίδιον ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπὼν· ἐκ φίλου Ἡ
χρήζεις ὑποργίας. οὕτως οὐδὲν φέεσθαι δεῖνον,

Icarus Naber adda.
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 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 ἀν ναμάν λέγοις καρδος παγαλ.
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 Cracks 10.
⁴ A pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic sect.
ἐκείνος οὖν ἀληθῶς τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς οἱ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐκείθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος σοφίας ἱσμεν ὅτε χαλεπὸν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν 1 τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ ῥηγοῦν δὲ χαλεπότερον τοῦ νοσεῖν. οὐ μὲν γὰρ νοσῶν μαλακὸς ἔσθ’ ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ὡστε γίνεσθαι τρυφήν αὐτόχρηστα τὴν ἄρρωστιάν, ἀλλὰς τε κἂν ἢ πλούσιοι. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ Οὐκ ἲν Δία τρυφώντας τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μᾶλλον ἢ τούτους αὐτοὺς θεαίνοντας· καὶ τοῦ γε καὶ τὸτε λαμπρῶς ἐτρύφων. οὔτε μοι καὶ παρέστη πρὸς τινας τῶν ἐταῖρων εἰπεῖν, ὡς τούτοις ἐμεινον ἢν οἰκέταις γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεσπόταις, καὶ πενεθαὶ τοῦ κρίνον γιμνοτέροις οὕσειν ἢ πλούτειν ὀσπέρ νῦν. ἢ γὰρ ἅν ἐπαύσαντο νοσοῦντες ἄμα καὶ τρυφώντες. τὸ μὲν δὲ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοσηλεύεσθαι τρυφηλῶς οὕτωσι τινες ἐν καλῇ ποιούνται: ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρίνους ἁνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος καρτερῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀθλιότερον πράττει; ἄλγει γοῦν ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεύτερο οὖν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυηκών ὁπόσα διδασκάλων ἦκουσαμεν ἐν κοινῷ καταθόμεν σκόπειν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βίων λοῦσι τούτοις· οἷς εἰ μὲν πεισθεῖν, εὐδοκία, οὐδὲν οἳ γε τῶν ἐπιχειροῦντες 182 κυνζεῖν ἐσονται χεῖρος· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μὲν τι λαμπρῶν καὶ σεμνῶν ἐπιτηδεύσειαν, ὑπερφηνοῦντες τῶν λόγων τῶν ἡμέτερον, οὐτε ταῖς

1 φαμεν Hertlein suggests, φας 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" than to be rich as they now are. For they would have ceased being at once sick and luxurious. The fact is that some people think it a fine thing to make a display of their ailments and to play the part of luxurious invalids. But, says someone, is not a man who has to endure cold and to support heat really more miserable than the sick? Well, at any rate he has no comforts to mitigate his sufferings.

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

1 A proverb, but Julian may allude to Matthew 6. 28.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ῥήμασιν ἄλλα τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον ὦ γε ἡμέτερος οἴσει λόγος· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λειχελας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐν εἰπτω ξυνελλὼν ἐν βραχεί, τῆς σωματικῆς ἠθοπής δεδουλωμένοι τῶν λόγων ὀλυγωρήσειαν προσκαταγελάσαντες, ὁσπέρ Β' ἐνοτε τῶν παίδευσιν καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἴκων τοῖς προπολισίαις προσουργοῦσι, οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδη· καὶ ἥρα οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδών ἰμών μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῦντος. δεύορο οὖν ἀνωθεν εἰς κεφαλαίους διεξελθὼμεν ἐφεξῆς τῶν λόγων, ὅπερ ἐκάστον τῷ προσήκον ἀποδιδόντες αὐτοῦ τε εὐκολώτερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τούθ' ὅπερ διενοθήκημεν καὶ σοὶ ποιήσωμεν εὐπαρακολούθησιν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸν κυνισμὸν εἴδος τῆς φιλοσοφίας Σ' εἶναι συμβεβηκέν, οὔτε φαντότατον οὐδὲ ἀπερμότατον, ἀλλά τοῖς κρατιστοῖς ἐνάμιλλον, ὡς ἐντὸς πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Ῥητέον ἦμων ἐστὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

Ἡ τῶν δειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις ἄμα φανοτάτω πυρὶ διὰ Προμηθέως κατασιμφθείσα 1 εἶ ἡ ζητοῖ μετὰ τῆς Θρομου μερίδος οὗν ἔτερου ἐστι παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ κυρίου διανομῆς· ὁ γάρ τοι Προμηθέως, ἡ πάντα ἐπιτροπεύουσα τὰ ὑπὲρ πρόνοια, πνεύμα ἔνθερμον ὅσπερ ὁργανὸν ὑποβάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἀπασει μετέδωκεν ἀσώματον λόγου· μετέσχη δὲ ἐκάστον ὑπὲρ ἡδύνατο, τὰ μὲν ἀσύνηχα σώματα τῆς ἔξους μόνον, τὰ φυτὰ δὲ ἡδὴ καὶ τῆς ζωῆς λαὶ τῇ ζῴᾳ δὲ ψυχῆς, ὃ δὲ

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

words only but in deeds, then my discourse will at any rate put no hindrance in their way. But if there are others already enslaved by greed or self-indulgence, or to sum it up briefly in a single phrase, by the pleasures of the body, and they therefore neglect my words or even laugh them down—just as dogs sometimes defile the front porticoes of schools and law-courts,—“Tis all one to Hippocleides,” 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 from the sun through the agency of Prometheus along with the blessings that we owe to Hermes 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, Phæbus 16 c; cf. Themistius 338 c.
3 e.g. eloquence, commerce, and social intercourse.
Δάνειος καὶ λογικής ψυχής. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ μᾶν οἴονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἥκειν φύσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ εἰς καὶ κατ’ εἰδος ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἀλλὰ μήπω τούτῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τούτῳ ἐξεταζέσθω, πλὴν ἕκεινον χάριν, ὡς, τῆς φιλοσοφίας 183 εἰσθ’ ὁσπερ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τέχνην τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, ἔτε ομολογεῖν θεὸν 1 κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἰσθ’, ὅπερ ὁ Πόθιος ἔφη, τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν ὑπολαβοῖ τις, οὐδὲν διόλους πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπαντᾷ γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἀλήλα καὶ μᾶλα οἰκεῖος ἐκοίμη.

Ἀρξόμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ἑπειδὴ καὶ θείον ἐστὶν τούτῳ τὸ παρακέλευσμα. οὐκοῦν ὁ γνώσις τῶν αὐτῶν εἶσται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, Β εἶσθαι δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἀρκεῖσθαι μόνον, ὡς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ψυχῆς χρωμενή σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιευγένεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἑπειτὰ ἀναχρείεται τὰς δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ, εἴ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ημῖν ἐστὶ κρείττον καὶ θείότερον, ὅπερ δὴ πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθόμενοι θείον τε ἑνώσιμοι, καὶ τούτῳ ἐνδύομαι. οὕτως πάντες ὑφανόν κοινῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν. ἐποίων δὲ ἄθεος τὰς ἁρχὰς τοῦ σώματος σκέψεται, εἴτε σύνθετον εἴτε ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶν, εἴτε ὁδὸν προβαλλόμενον ὑπὲρ τὰς ἁρμονίας αὐτῶν καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὅπνευται πρὸς διὰμονὴν. ἐπιβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τούτο καὶ ᾖρχαις τεχνῶν

1 θεό Klimok, θεός 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

\[\text{Cf. 188 }\text{ Juvenal, Satires 11. 27; E caelo descendit γράφεις σεαυτόν.}\]
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

εἴναυ, ὦφ' ὧν βουθεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν τὸ σῶμα,
οἷον λατρικὴς γεωργίας, ἕτερων τοιούτων. οὐ μὴν Δ
οὐδὲ τῶν ἀχρόστων καὶ περιττῶν τί παντάπασιν ἄγνοήσει, ἔπει καὶ ταῦτα ἐνδικτικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπινεώσηαι. προσ-
λαμβάνατε μὲν γὰρ τούτους ἀποκηρύσσει αἰσχρῶν
νόμων τὸ τοιοῦτον, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐργάδης ἐν αὐτοῖς
φεύγων τὸ δὲ ὅλον ὅποια ἄττα δοκεῖ καὶ οἴστισιν
ἀρμότερον τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῆσει. σκόπει
δὲ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐκατόν γνώναι πάσης μὲν ἐπιστῆμης,
pάσης δὲ τέχνης ἥγειται τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς καθόλου
λόγους συνειλήφε. τά τε γὰρ θεία διὰ τῆς ἐνοχῆς 184
ἡμῶν θείας μερίδος τά τε θυρταὶ διὰ τῆς θυρτοειδοῦς
μοράς πρὸς τούτοις ἰπροσήκειν ἐφι τὸ μεταξὺ
tουτών εἴδον εἰδέναι, τὸν ἀνθρώπον, τῷ μὲν καθ'
ἐκαστὸν θυρτόν, τῷ παντὶ δὲ ἀθάνατου, καὶ μέντοι
καὶ τὸν ένα καὶ τὸν καθ' ἐκαστὸν συγκείσθαι ἐκ
θυρτῆς καὶ ἀθάνατον μερίδος.

"Οτι μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ὀμοιο-
σθαι οὐκ ἀλλο τί ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τῆς ἐφικτῆς ἀνθρώ-
pοις γνώσει τῶν ἄνων περιποίησασθαι, πρόδηλον ἐνυτῖθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ χρημάτων τὸ θεῖον Β
μακαρίζομεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ των τῶν νομοζομένων
ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὁμηρὸς φησι

θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα ἐσασι,
καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Δίος

'Αλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γεγόνει καὶ πλείονα ἥξιει;

1 taûta Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.
2 προσήκειν—ἀνθρώπον, Hertlein suggests, cf. Maximus of Y
Tyro 4. 7: ἐφι τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ζῆν εἴπαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον 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";¹ and indeed he says also of Zeus, "But Zeus was older and wiser."²

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

ἐπιστήμη γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ διαφέρουσιν. ἦγείται ο

γὰρ ἕσως καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν καλῶν τὸ αὐτοῦς γνώ-

σκεῖν· ὅσοι δὴ κρείττονες ἡμῶν εἰσὶ τὴν οὐσίαν,

tοσοῦτορ γνώντες ἑαυτοὺς ἔσχουσι βελτιώνων γνώ-

σιν. μὴ δὲς οὐν ἡμῶν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολλὰ
dιαφορέτω μηδὲ εἰς πολλὰ τεμνέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ

πολλὰς ἐκ μᾶς ποιεῖτο. ὅσπερ γὰρ ἀλήθεια μῦρα,

οὕτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μῦρα· θαυμαστὸν δὲ εὐδέν,

εἰ κατ’ ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτὴν πορευό-

μεθα. ἐπει κἂν, εἰ τις θέλῃ τῶν ξένων ἢ καὶ μᾶ

Δία τῶν πάλαι πολιτῶν ἐπαινεθείν εἰς Αθῆνας,

dύνατο μὲν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ βαδίζειν, ὅδεισιν δὲ

οὕτως διὰ γῆς ἡ ταῖς πλατείαις χρῆσθαι λευφόροις

ἡ ταῖς ἀτραποῖς καὶ συντόμοις ὁδοῖς· καὶ πλεῖν

μέντοι δύνατον παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλούς, καὶ δὴ καὶ

κατὰ τὸν Πύλιον γέροντα τέμνοντα πέλαγος μέσον.

μὴ δὲ τούτο τις ἡμῶν προφερέτω, εἰ τινὲς τῶν κατ’

αὐτὰς λόγους τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπεπλανήθησαν καὶ ἀλ-

λαχοῦ ποι μενονοι, καθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Κήρης ἢ 185

τῶν Δωτοφάγων ἡδονῆς ἡ δόξης ἢ τινὸς ἄλλου
dελεασθέντες, ἀπελεύθησαν τοῦ πρόσω βαδίζειν

καὶ ἐφικνεῖθαι τοῦ τέλους, τοὺς προτεύσαντας δὲ

ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοπεῖτο, καὶ πάντα

εὐρήσει σύμφωνα.

Οὔκοιν ὁ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν

προαγορεύει, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ὑποθετήσαμεν ἐμεων-

τοὺς," ἄλλα καὶ Πυθαγόρας οὐ τε ἀπὸ ἐκείνου

μέχρι Θεοφράστου τὸ κατά δύναμιν ὀρμοῦσθαι

θεῷ φασί, καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης· ὅ γὰρ ἡμὲς ἢ
TO THE UNE DUCATED 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, "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"; 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 ἀεὶ. γελοῖον οὖν ἂν ἐὰν εἶ ὑπὸ τῶν
θεῶν ἑαυτὸν μὴ εἰδέναι· κομιδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶσεται
tῶν άλλων, εἴπερ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοοίη· πάντα γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἐστιν, εἴπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ
ἔχει τῶν ὑπωσοῦν ἄντων τὰς αἰτίας, εἴτε ἀθανάτων
ἀθανάτους, εἴτε ἐπικήρους οὐθενῶς οὐδὲ ἐπική-
ρους, αἰδίους δὲ καὶ μενοῦσας ἀεὶ καὶ αἱ τούτους
εἰσὶν αἰτία τῆς ἀνεγενεσίας. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ Θ
λόγος ἐστὶ μέξων.

"Οτι δὲ μία τέ ἐστιν ἀλήθεια καὶ φιλοσοφία μία
καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἐρασται ξύμπαντες ὅπερ ὑπερη-
σθην μικρῷ πρῶτον ὅπερ ἐν δίκῃ νῦν εἰπομεν ἂν
τούρμα, τοὺς τοῦ Κητίως ὁμιλητὰς λέγω, οί τὰς
πόλεις ἔδωκεν ἀποδιδρασκούσας τὸ λίαν ἀκρα-
φόνος καὶ καθάρον τῆς ἔλευθερίας τοῦ κυνὸς ἐσκέ-
pασαν αὐτὸν ὅσπερ οἵμαι παραπτάσμασιν Ὁ
οἰκονομία καὶ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν
γυναίκα συνόδῳ καὶ παιδοτροφίᾳ, ὥς οἵμαι ταῖς
πόλεις ἐν τοῖς ἐγγύθεν ἔπιστήσεσι φύλακα· ὅτι
δὲ τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν κεφάλαιον πιθευτέ οἱ φιλοσο-
φίας, οὐ μόνον ἔξ ὁν κατεβάλλοντο ἐνεγραμμάτων
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου πεισθεῖσα ἂν, εἴπερ 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

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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.
ποτέ, τούτῳ ὁ θεὸς ἄεί. γελοιοῦν οὐν ἂν εἰη τοῦν
θεὸν ἑαυτὸν μη εἶδεναίν κομίδῃ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰσεται
τῶν ἄλλων, εἴπερ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοοιν πάντα γὰρ
αὐτός έστιν, εἴπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ
ἄχει τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἄντων τὰς αἰτίας, εἴτε ἄθανάτων
ἄθανάτως, εἴτε ἐπικήρων οὐ θυμητᾶς οὐδὲ ἐπική-
ρως, ἁδίους δὲ καὶ μενοῦσας ἄεί καὶ αἱ τούτοις
εἰσιν αἰτίαι τῆς ἄνεγερειας. ἀλλ᾽ οὗτος μὲν ὁ Θ
λόγος ἐστὶ μείζων.

"Οτι δὲ μία τέ εστιν ἀλήθεια καὶ φιλοσοφία μία
καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἑραστὴς ἡμπαντες ὁν τε ὑπεμνή-
σθην μικρὸν πρότερον ὁν τε ἐν δίκη νῦν εἴπομεν ἀν
τοῦνομα, τοὺς τοῦ Κετίων ὀμιλητὰς λέγω, οὔ τὰς
πόλεις ἱδοντες ἀποδιδρασκούσας τὸ λίαν ἀκρα-
φνες καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ κυνὸς ἐσκέ-
pασαν αὐτὸν δοσπέρ οἴμαι παραπετάσμασιν 
Δ οἰκονομία καὶ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν
γυναικὴ συνόδον καὶ παιδοτροφία, ἵνα οἴμαι τὰς
πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐργύθεν ἐπιστήσωσι φύλακα, ὅτε
δὲ τὸ Γραφείο σαντον κεφάλαιον τίθενται φιλοσο-
φια, οὐ μόνον ἐὰν κατεβάλλοντο ξυγγραμμάτων
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου πειθείης ἂν, εἴπερ 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.

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THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

...poli plēon ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τέλους·
to ἦλαρ ὀμολογούμενος ἦν τῇ φύσει τέλος ἐποιή-
σαντο, οὔτε ὥρα ὄλον τε τυχεῖν τὸν ἀγνοοῦντα,
tis kai ὁποῖος πέρμειν ὁ ἦλαρ ἀγνοοῦν ὅστες ἐστὶν, οὔτε ἐσται δήπονθεν ὁ, τι πράττειν ἑαυτῷ
προσήκει, ὥσπερ οὔδ' ὁ 1 τὸν σίδηρον ἀγνοοῦν
ἐσται, εἴτε αὐτῷ τέμνειν εἴτε μὴ προσήκει, καὶ
ὅτοι δὲ τῷ σιδήρῳ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ ἑαυτῷ
πράττειν ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία μία τέ ἐστι καὶ
πάντες ὁς ἐποίησεν ἐνός τειν ἐφήμενοι ὅδοις ἐπὶ
tοῦ παλαπότος Ἰλήνη, ἀπόχρη τοσάντα ὑν ἐπείην. Ὁ
ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ σκεπτέον ἐτὶ. 2

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεποίητο τοῖς ἀνδράσι μετά τειν ἐστούντις, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ παιδιάς τὰ συγγράμματα,
toῦτοι ἐχοῦν ἐπομενον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔκαστα ὅπως
diανοούμεθα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξετάζειν τὸν
ἐναντίον καὶ, εἰ μὲν ἐφαινέτο τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὀμολο-
γοῦντα, μὴτοι ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἡμῖν ἐπισκεπτεῖν,
ei δὲ μὴ, τότε ἐξορίζειν αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ὅσπερ
Ἄθηναιοι τὰ ψευδή γράμματα τοῦ Μητρόπου.
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ὡς ἔφη, τοιοῦτοι 'αὐτὲ γαρ ο
θρυλούμεναι Διογένους τραγῳδίαι Φιλίσκου τινός
Ἄγινητον λέγονται εἴποι, καὶ, εἰ Διογένους δὴ 3
eiν, οὐδὲν ἀτοπὸν ἐστὶ τὸν σοφὸν παλέειν, ἐπεὶ
καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ φαίνονται τῶν φιλοσόφων

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

If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purpose and not merely with a frivolous aim, it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by these and to try in each case to refute the opinions that I hold on the subject; and then, if they proved to be in harmony with those original doctrines, he could not attack me for bearing false witness; but if they proved not to be in harmony, then he could have barred my opinions from a hearing, as the Athenians barred spurious documents from the Metroum. 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 d.  
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ποιήσαντες· ἐγέλα τοι, φασί, καὶ Δημόκριτος ὁ ὅπρων σπουδᾶσχοντας τοὺς ἄνθρωπους· µὴ δὴ πρὸς τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπωμεν, ἀπὸτερ οἱ μανθάνει τι σπουδαῖον ἦκεστα ἑρῶντες, πόλεις δὲ παραβάλλοντες εὐδαιμονί, πολλῶν μὲν ἔρων, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν πλήρει, καὶ μυρίων ἐνδον ἔρεων ἄγνων ἐν ἄγνωσις μενόντων χωρίως· αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐνεκα πολλάκις τοῦτον, λέγω δὲ τού καθαρεύειν τὰ εἶσο πάντα, τὰ περιττά καὶ βδέλυρα καὶ φαύλα τῆς πόλεως ἀπεληλακόσι, 1 λοιπὰ δημόσια καὶ χαμαινυπεία καὶ καπηλεία καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἰτὰ ἀχρεί τούτων γενόμενοι εἶσο· µὴ παρίσιν. 2 ὁ µὲν γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους ἑντυχῶν, εἰτὰ τοῦτο οἰκεῖες εἶναι τὴν 187 πόλιν ἀθλίος µὲν ἀποφυγόν, ἀθλιώτερος δὲ κάτω μείνας, ἔξω υπερβάντα µικρὸν ιδεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη· χρήσομαι γὰρ ἑκείνοις ἐγὼ τοῖς ρήμασιν, οἷς Ἀλκιβιάδης ἑσπαινὸν Σωκράτην. φημὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Κυκλῆς φιλοσοφίαν ὁµῳστάτην εἶναι τοῖς Σειληνίους τούτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐρυμογλυφέοις καθηµένοις, οὐσίως ἐργάζονται οἱ δηµιουργοὶ σύρυγγας ἢ αὑλοὺς ἑχοντας· οἱ διάδε 3 διοιχθέντες Β ἐνδον φαύλωσαν ἅγιαµατα ἑχοντες θεὸν. ὥσ ἂν ὅπως µὴ τοιοῦτον τι πάθωμεν, διὰ ἐπαιξε ταῦτα αὐτῶν ἐσπουδακέναι γομίζαντες· ἐστὶ µὲν γὰρ τι καὶ ἐν ἑκείνοις οὐκ ἄχρηστον, ὁ Κυκλῆς δὲ ἔστειν

1 ἀπεληλακόσι Nabes, ἀπεληλάκασι Hertlein, MSS.*
2 παρίσιν Cobet, παρίσιον Hertlein, MSS.
3 οἱ διάδε Hertlein suggests, cf. Symposium 215, οἱ δε MSS.
TO THE UNEDEDUCATED CYNICS

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

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

ἔτερον, ὡς αὐτίκα μᾶλα δεῖξαι πειράσομαί· δεύρο ἰδώμεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑργαν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐξεχνεύονται κόμες μεταβένουσι τὰ θηρία.

Ἡγεμόνα μὲν οὖν οὐ ράδιον εὕρειν, ἐφ’ ὃν ἀνενέγκαι χρῆ πρῶτον αὑτό, εἰ καὶ τίνες ὑπο-Ο λαμβάνουσιν Ἀντισθένει τούτο καὶ Διογένει προσήκειν. τούτο γὰρ οἱκεν Ῥοῦμαος οὐκ ἀτόπως λέγειν· ὁ Κυνισμός οὔτε Ἀντισθενισμός ἐστιν οὔτε Διογενισμός. λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ γενναίότεροι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς, ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν ¹ αὑτοῖς κατέστη, οὔτω δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ βίου παράδειγμα τὸ μέγιστον ² κατέληπεν ἀνθρώποις. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θείαν λήξειν πορευθέντων εὐφημεῖν ἑθέλων πειθομαί μὲν καὶ πρὸς Θτούτου τινὰς οὖκ ἐν Ἑλλησὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις οὔτω φιλοσοφῆσαι· αὕτη γὰρ η φιλοσοφία κοινή πως οἱ καὶ καλεσκεῖται καὶ δείκνυε τοῦ ἡστισοιούν πραγματέως ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἐλέσθαι τὰ σπουδαῖα ἀρτῆς ἐπεθυμίας καὶ φυγῆς κακίας, καὶ οὗτε βίβλους ἀνελέξαι δει μυρίας· πολυμαθεία γάρ, φασίν, νῦν οὗ διδάσκειν οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων παθεῖν, ὅσα καὶ οἷα πάσχοντι οἱ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων ιόντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον δύο ταῦτα τοῦ Πυθίου 188

¹ Before αὕτη Cobet omits τιν. ² Before κατέληπεν Cobet omits οὗτος. ³ οὗτο φιλοσοφήσαι Reiske suggests, Ic many Hertlein, MSS.
shall presently try to prove), let us consider it in due course from its actual practice and pursue it like hounds that track down wild beasts in the chase.

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

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

παρακολούθησα, τὸ Γνωθί σαυτὸν καὶ Παρακάταξαν τὸ νόμισμα· πέφηκεν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρχηγὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας δόσπερ οἶμαι τοῖς "Εὔλησε κατέστη τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων αὐτῶν, ὁ τῆς Ἐλλάδος κοινὸς ἑγεμόνι καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὅ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς, ἄν ἐπειδὴ μὴ θέμαι ἢ ἐν τε διαλαθεῖν, οὐδὲ ἡ Διογένεως ἐπιτηδείοτης ἐλαθε. προύτρεψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὖν δόσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεσίων ἐντείνων τὴν παραλείψεων, ἀλλ’ ἔργῳ Β. διδάσκων ὁτι βουλεύεται συμβολικῶς διὰ δυοῖν ὄνομάτων, Παρακάταξαν εἰπὼν τὸ νόμισμα· τὸ γὰρ Γνωθί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐκεῖνον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφή καὶ λέγει, πρόκειται γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦ τεμένους. ηὐρήκαμεν δὴ τὸν ἀρχηγήτην τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ός ποιεῖ καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος φήσειν 'Ιάμβλεχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν αὐτῷ, Ἀντισθένη καὶ Διογένη καὶ Κράτης, οἳ τοῦ βίου σκοπὸς ἦν καὶ τέλος αὐτῶν οἶμαι γνῶναι καὶ τῶν κενῶν ὑπεριδεῖν δοξῶν, ἀληθείας δὲ, ἢ πάντων μὲν ἁγαθῶν θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἴσαίται, δή, φασίν, ἐπιδράζω τῇ διανοίᾳ, οἳ οἶμαι καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σωκράτης οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ Ζήνων ἐνεκα πάντα ὑπέμειναν πόνον, αὐτοῖς τε ἐθέλοντες γνῶναι καὶ μὴ κενάς ἐπεσθαι δόξας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀληθείαν ἀνεξεύθεσα.

1 μόνον Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον MSS.
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,

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\(^1\) Cf. *Oration* 7. 208 b, 211 a, 211 c. 

\(^2\) Apollo. 

\(^3\) Of Thebes, the Cynic philosopher, a pupil of Diogenes; he lived in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. 

\(^4\) Plato, *Laws* 730 b.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

Φέρε οὖν, ἑπειδὴ πέφηνεν οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπετη-

dεόσας Πλάτων, ἀτερον δὲ Διογένης, ἐν δὲ τι καὶ
tαυτῶν εἴ γον ἐροίτο τις τῶν σοφῶν Πλάτωνα "τὸ

Γνώθι σαυτόν πόσον νενόμικας ἄξιον;" εὖ οἶδα δὲ

tοῦ παντὸς ἀν φήσει, καὶ λέγει δὲ ἐν 'Αλκιβιάδη. Δ

deύορ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τούτο φράσον ἦμων, δὲ διεμόνει

Πλάτων καὶ θεών ἐγνών "Τίνα τρόπον χρή

πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διακείσθαι δόξας," ταυτά

tε ἐπεὶ και ἐτε πρὸς τούτους δλον ἦμων ἐπετάξει

diαρρήηην σαλαγών τῶν Κρήτων διάλογον, οὐ

φαίνεται παραινέων Σωκράτης μηδὲν φροντίζειν

ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων φησὶ γοῦν" "Ἀλλὰ τὰ ἢμων,

ὁ μακάριε Κρίτων, οὔτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης 189

μέλει;" εἶτα ἡμεῖς τούτων ὑπεριδόντες ἀποτε-

λχίζειν ἀπλῶς οὔτωσι καὶ ἀποστάν ἄνδρας ἀλλή-

λων ἐθέλομεν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀληθείας συνήγαγεν

ἔρως ή τη τῆς δόξης ὑπεροψία καὶ ἡ πρὸς

tὸν ξῆλον τῆς ἀρετῆς ξύμπυνοι; εἰ δὲ Πλάτωνι

μὲν ἐδοξε καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι,

Διογένης δὲ ἀπέχρη τὰ ἔργα, διὰ τούτο ἄξιος ἄστων

ὑφ' ἴμων ἀκούειν κακῶς; ὁρα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο

αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ κρείττον ἄστω, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων

ἐξομίμουνος φαίνεται τὰ ἐνεγγράμματα. "Οὐ ὡς ἑ

ἔστι Πλάτωνος," φησὶ, "ἐνγραμμα ὄφελος ὄφε

ἔσται, τα δὲ νῦν φερόμενα ἔστι Σωκράτους, ἄνδρὸς

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TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

And now, since it has become evident that Plato was not pursuing one aim and Diogenes another, but their end was one and the same: suppose one should inquire of the wise Plato: What value do you set on the precept "Know Thyself"? I am very sure that he would answer that it is worth everything, and indeed he says so in the Alcibiades.¹ Come then tell us next, divine Plato, scion of the gods, how one ought to be disposed towards the opinions of the many? He will give the same answer, and moreover he will expressly enjoin on us to read his dialogue the Crito,² where Socrates is shown warning us not to take heed of such things. At any rate what he says is: "But why, my dear good Crito, are we so concerned about the opinion of the multitude?" And now are we to ignore all this evidence, and without further question fence off from one another and force apart men whom the passion for truth, the scorn of opinion, and unanimity in zeal for virtue have joined together? And if Plato chose to achieve his aim through words, whereas for Diogenes deeds sufficed, does the latter on that account deserve to be criticised by you? Nay, consider whether that same method of his be not in every respect superior; since we see that Plato for himself forswore written compositions.

"For" he says,³ "there are no writings by Plato nor ever will be, and what now pass current as his are the work of Socrates, the ever fair and

¹ *Alcibiades* i. 129 a.
² *Crito* 44 c.
³ *Epistle* 2. 314 c; Julian quotes from memory and slightly alters the original; Plato meant that in his dialogues he had suppressed his own personality in favour of Socrates.
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καλοῦ καὶ νέου." τι οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων
tοῦ Διογένους σκοποῦμεν αὐτῶν τῶν Κυνισμῶν,
ὅστις ἔστιν;

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ σώματος μέρη μὲν ἔστιν,
οίον ὀφθαλμὸν, πόδες, χεῖρες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπι-
συμβαίνει, τρίχες, ὄνεικες, ρύπος, τοιούτων περιτ-
τωμάτων γένος, ἂν ἄνευ σώματι ἀνθρώπων ἀμη-
χαινον εἰναι, πότερον οὐ γελοῖος ἔστιν ὁ μέρη ζ
νομίσας ὄνηκες ἢ τρίχες ἢ ρύπον καὶ τὰ δυσώδη
tῶν περιττωμάτων, ἄλλα οὖ τὰ τιμώτατα καὶ
σπουδαῖα, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητήρια καὶ τούτων
αὐτῶν ἅττα συνέσεως ἢμιν ἔστι μᾶλλον αἰτία,
oῖον ὀφθαλμός, ἄκοας; ὑποργεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα
πρὸς φρονήσιν εἴτε ἐγκαταστηρίζεται τῇ ψυχῇ,
ὡς ἂν θάττον καθαρθεῖσα δύναιτο τῇ καθαρᾷ
χρῆσθαι 1 καὶ ἀκινήτῳ τοῦ φρονεῖν δυνάμει, εἴτε,
ὡσπερ τινὶς οἴονται, καθάπερ δὲ ὁχεῖσθαι τοιούτων
eἰσφερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς. συλλέγοντα γὰρ, φασὶ,
D τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήματα καὶ συνέχουσα τῇ
μνήμῃ γενώθη τὰς ἐπιστήμας. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὴ τι
τοιοῦτον ὃν ἑνδέχομαι ἢ τέλειον ἐμποδιζόμενον δὲ 2
ὑπ’ ἀλλῶν πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ὃ τῶν ἐκτὸς
ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίληψιν, οὐδ’ ἂν δυνατὸν οἶμαι
γενέσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τῆς 3 ἀντίληψιν. ἄλλ’
αυτὸς μὲν ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῖς νῦν προσῆκε.

Διόσπερ ἐπανακτέον ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας 190
τῆς κυρικῆς. φαίνονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτω διμερῆ

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

¹ Cf. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura 3. 359 foll.; Sextus
Empiricus, Adversus Mathematicos 7. 350.
τὴν φιλοσοφίαν νομίζοντες διότερ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, θεωρηματικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο 1 συνέντευξε δηλοῦντε καὶ νομίζοντες, ὡς οἴκεθιν ἐστὶν ἀνδρωτός φύσει πράξει καὶ ἐπιστήμη. εἰ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς τὴν θεωρίαν 2 ἔξεκλιναν, οὕτως τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ἔπει καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι θεωρεῖ μὲν φαίνονται χρησάμενοι πολλῆς, ταύτη δὲ ὅνω ἄλλου χώρας, ἅλλα τῆς πράξεως εἶπε καὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνώμαι τοῦτο ἐνόμισαν, τὸ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τί β' μὲν ἀποδοτέον ψυχῆς, τί δὲ σώματι ἀπέδοσαν δὲ 3 εἰκόνας ἤγεμον ομοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ, ὑπηρεσίαν δὲ τῷ σώματι. φαίνονται δὴ οὐν ἄρετὴν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἐγκατείθειαν, ἀτυφίαν, ἐλευθερίαν, ἕξω γενόμενοι παρὰ φθόνου, δεῖλας, δεισιδαιμονίας. ἀλλ' οὕτω ἡμεῖς ταύτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διανοοῦμεθα, παίζειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ κυβεῖν περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὑπολαμβάνομεν, οὕτως ὑπεριδόντας τοῦ σώματος, C ὡς ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη λέγων ὀρθῶς μελέτην εἶναι βασάνα τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. τοῦτο ἐκείνου καὶ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες οὐ γηλατούν μάλλον ἡμῖν, ἄθλους τένες καὶ παντελῶς ἀνοίγαν δοκοῦσιν 4 ἀνθ' ὅτι δὲ 5 τοὺς πόνους ὑπεμείναν τούτους; 6 οὖν ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπας, κενοδοξίας ἔνεκα. καὶ γὰρ 7 πῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπηρεισθεῖ ὡμᾶ

1 εἰτὸ τοῦτο Hertlein suggesta, αὐτῷ MSS.
2 τὴν θεωρίαν Hertlein suggesta, πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν MSS., διότερ Petavius.
3 δὲ after ἐκάστην Hertlein suggesta, το MS.
4 δοκοῦσιν Hertlein suggesta, δοκοῦσιν, MSS.
5 δὲ Hertlein suggesta, δὲ MSS.
6 τοῦτος; οὖν ὅτι Hertlein suggesta, τοῦτος, ὅτι MSS.
7 καὶ γὰρ Hertlein suggesta, καίτε 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 in thus despising the body; as Socrates did when he declared, and rightly, that philosophy is a preparation for death. And since this was the aim that the Cynics pursued daily, we need not emulate them any more than the others, but we are to think them miserable beings and altogether foolish. But why was it that they endured those hardships? Surely not from ostentation, as you declared. For how could they win

1 Plato, Protagoras 314 A.  
2 Phaedo 81 A.
ΤΗΣ ΟΡΑΓΩΝΕΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ ΦΙΛΩΛΟΓΟΥ, VI

προσφερόμενοι σαρκία; καλτοι οὖν δε αυτὸς ἐπαινεῖτο, εἰ. τοῦ γοῦν τοιούτου τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν D κόμην, ὡσπερ αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν ἄνδρων, ἀπομομοιομένοι εἷδός μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιάγαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις, τοῦτο εὐδοκιμεῖν οὐκ παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει; καὶ εἰς μὲν ἡ δεύτερος ἐπήνει τότε, πλεῖν δὲ οὖν ἢ δέκα μυρίας ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτίας καὶ βδελυρίας διεστράφησαν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἀπώστισαν γεγόνασιν, ἀχαίς αὐτοὺς οἱ θεράποντες ἀνέλαβον ὅσμας καὶ μύρους καὶ πέμμασιν. οὕτως δὲ κλείνος ἦρως ἔργον 195 κατεπλήξατο γελοῖον μὲν ἀνθρώπως τοιούτως.

Οὐκ οὖν βροτοὶ εἶσιν,

οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ δέ, μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ τις αὐτὸ κατὰ τὴν Διογένειος ἐξηγήσατο σύνεσιν. ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φήσῃ, ὅτι τῷ θεῷ νομίζοις λατρεῖαν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν τῷ τὸν δοθέντα χρησμῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα σκοπῶν ἐξετάζειν τὸν ἑλεγκτικὸν ἡσπάσατο βίον, τοῦτο καὶ Διογένης οἶμαι συνειδῶς ἐὰν τῷ πυθαγόρασιν οὕτως τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἔργος φητο δείν ἐξελέγχειν πάντα καὶ μὴ δόξαι ἄλλως, τυγχάνω μὲν ἀληθεύσει, τυγχόν δὲ ἴσως προσπεποιθέναι. οὐκ οὖν οὖν δὲ εἰ τι Πυθαγόρας ἐφη, οὖν δὲ εἰ τις ἄλλος τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ παραπλήσιος, ἀξιώπιστος ἐδόκει τῷ Διογένεις. τὸν γὰρ θεόν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδένα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀρχηγὸν ἐπετείη. τι δῆτα τούτο, ὁ ἐρείς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολύποδος ἐδωδὴν; ἐγὼ σοι φράσω.

Τὴν σαρκοφαγιάν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώπως ὑπολαμβάνουσι κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡκιστα τοῦτο ἐργάζεται 1

1 οἱ after ἀνθρώπως 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," 1 though, by the gods, it was not ignoble, if one should explain it according to the intention of Diogenes. For just as Socrates said of himself that he embraced the life of cross-examining because he believed that he could perform his service to the god only by examining in all its bearings the meaning of the oracle that had been uttered concerning him, so I think Diogenes also, because he was convinced that philosophy was ordained by the Pythian oracle, believed that he ought to test everything by facts and not be influenced by the opinions of others, which may be true and may be false. Accordingly Diogenes did not think that every statement of Pythagoras, or any man like Pythagoras, was necessarily true. For he held that God and no human being is the founder of philosophy. And pray what, you will say, has this to do with the eating of octopus? I will tell you.

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

1 Iliad 5. 304.
σθαί προσήκειν ἀνθρώπων διανοοῦνται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τούτου ἀνάλογος. ἐθέλοντες οὖν σοι μὴ βαθμεῖν ἐσμοι περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου βίβλων φανῆσονται. τούτους Διογένης ἔξελαγχειν ὥστε. δειν. διερείθη γονὰν οὕτως: εἰ μὲν ἀπραγματεύτως ἐσθίων τις σάρκας, ἄσπερ οίμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστον θηρίων, οἷς τούτο ἐνειµεν ἡ φύσις, τὸ ἀβλαβῶς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὄφελείας ἐργάζοντο, κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι πάντως τήν σαρκοφαγίαν ὑπέλαβεν· εἰ δὲ τις ἐνερεύθην γένοιτο βλάβη, οὐχὶ τούτῳ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἔργον ἰσος ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλ' ἀφεκτέον εἶναι κατὰ κράτος αὐτοῦ. εἰς μὲν οὖν ἂν εἰς τοιοῦτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος ἰσος βιαιότέρος λόγος, ἥτορος δὲ οἰκείοτέρος τῷ Κυνηγῷ, εἰ περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἔτι σαφέστερον διέλθοιμι.

Ἀπάθειαν γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος τοῦ τοῦτο δὲ 192 ἰσον ἄστι τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι. αἰσθηνόμενος οὖν ἰσος αὐτοῦ Διογένης ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁπασεις ἀπαθοὺς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐκδοχῆς μόνον θραττομένου καὶ ναυτίστους καὶ δόξης κεφή μᾶλλον 2 ἡ λόγῳ δεδουλωμένου σάρκες γὰρ εἰσὶν οὐδὲν ἤττον, κἂν μυριάκες αὐτάς ἔνοχης, κἂν υποτρίμμασι μυρίας τε αὐτάς καρυκεύσῃ καὶ ταύτης. αὐτοῦ ἀφελέσθαι καὶ καταστῆσαι παντάπασιν ἐξάντη τῆς δειλίας φόβης χρῆσαι. δειλὰ γὰρ ἔστεν, Β εὑ ἐσθι, τὸ γονὺ τοιοῦτον. ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῆς Ἐθεσμοφόρου εἰ σαρκῶν ἡψημένων ἀππόμεθα, τοῦ χάριν

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

Freedom from emotion they regard as the end and aim; and this is equivalent to becoming a god. Now perhaps Diogenes observed that in the case of all other foods he himself had no particular sensations, and that only raw meat gave him indigestion and nausea, and took this for a proof that he was enslaved to vain opinion rather than reason; for flesh is none the less flesh, even though you cook it any number of times or season it with any number of sauces. This, I say, was why he thought he ought to rid and free himself altogether of this cowardice; for you may be sure that this sort of thing is cowardice. And in the name of the Law-Giving goddess,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 ἄτερον εἶπεν ἡ ὁτὶ οὕτω νενόμισται καὶ οὕτω συνειδήσεις. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πριν μὲν ἐφηθηκαὶ βδελυρὰ πέφυκεν, ἐφηθέντα δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀγνότερα. τὶ δὴ τὰ ἐχρῆ πρᾶπτειν τῶν τῆς Παρᾶ τιμητοῦ ταχθέντα καθάπερ στρατηγοῦ πάν ἐξελείν τῷ νόμῳ, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθεία κρίνατ' τὰ πράγματα; περιείδειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἐνοχλούμενοι, ὡς νομίζειν δὲ κρέας μὲν ἐστὶν ἐφηθέν ἀγνὸν καὶ ἐκδόκιμον, μὴ κατεργασθέν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς μυσαρὸν πως 1 καὶ βδελυρῶν; οὕτως εἰ μνήμων; οὕτως εἰ σπουδαῖος; ὅσο τοσοῦτον ὀνειδίζειν τῷ κενοδόξῳ, κατὰ σὲ φάναι, Διογένει, Ω κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ τῷ σπουδαιοτάτῳ θεράπουτε καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ τοῦ Πυθίου, τὴν τοῦ πολυπόδου ἐδώδην κατεδοθόκας μυρίους ταράξους,

Ἰχθὺς ὑφεθάς τε φίλε ὑπὸ τῆς κελᾶς ἱκετοῦ,

Δυσσπιτίσις γε ἰδι, οὐ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν παραβιάσισιν, οίς πάντα ἐσθίειν νόμος ὡς λάχαια χώρους ἡμοῦ οἱμαί τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰ ρήματα. 193 μικροῦ με παρῆκαν εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ πάντες άνθρωποι πλησίον ὀικοῦντες θαλάττης, ἦδη δὲ τινί καὶ τῶν πόρρω, οὐδὲ θερμηναίον καταρροφοῦσιν, ἐχίνους, ὀστρέα καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπολαμβάνεις ἐξηλετοῦς, ἄθλους δὲ καὶ βδελυρῶν ὅμη Διογένη, καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι ἐστὶ σαρκίας πλὴν

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

¹ Odyssey 12. 331. ² Genesis 9. 3.
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ἳσως ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον διαφέρει τῷ τὰ μὲν εἶναι μαλακά, τὰ δὲ σκληρότερα. ἀνάιμος γὰρ ξόν ἢ στι καὶ πολύπους διὸσπερ ἐκεῖνα, ἐμψυχὴ δὲ θέτει καὶ τὰ ὀστρακόδερμα καθάπερ καὶ οὕτως ἢ δεῖται γὰρ καὶ λυπεῖται, ὡ τῶν ἐμψυχῶν μάλιστα ἐστιν ἕδιον. ἐνοχλεῖτω δὲ μηδὲν ἢμᾶς ἢ Πλατωνικὴ ταῦτα δόξα ἐμψυχῆ ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τὰ φυτά. ἀλλὰ ἢ στι μὲν οὕτι ἢλογον ὁμοίως παράνομον οὐδὲ ἀσύνηθες ὑμῖν ὁ γενναῖος εἰργάσατο Διογένης, εἰ μὴ τῷ σκληροτέρῳ καὶ μαλακοτέρῳ, ήδυρὰ τἐς λαιμοῦ καὶ ἀγάδα τὰ τοιαύτα τὲς ἤξετάξας, πρὸς ἡλικὴν οἴμαι τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν ἐπεσβαί λόγῳ δυναμένοις. οὐκ άρα τὴν ἀμοφαγίαν βδελύσεθε οἱ τὰ παραπλήσια δρῶντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναίμον μόνον ἔρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἷμα ἕχοντων. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἢσως διαφέρεσθε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀπλῶς ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν φήμῃ χρηίζεται προσφέρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλως ἀρτισταντες ἡδυρῆς ἕνεκα, τὴν φύσιν ὅπως θεασισθῆ, καὶ δὴ τούτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπόγρη.

Τῆς Κυνικῆς δὲ φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸς μὲν ἢ στι D καὶ τέλος, διὸσπερ δὴ καὶ πάσης φιλοσοφίας, τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐν τῷ ζ̄ ᾱ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας. ἐπεῖ καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς εἴ τρίαττες συμβαίνει καὶ μέντοι καὶ ξύνις πάσιν, ὅταν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκαστὸν ἀνεμποδίστως τυγχάνῃ τέλος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῦς τούτο ἢστιν εὐδαιμονίας ὅρος, τὸ ἢσειν αὐτῶς διὸσπερ πεφύκασε καὶ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι, οὐκοῦν 194 ἢστι ἢλογον Hortlein suggesta, οὐ χαλέπων 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 e.
καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ἐτέρωθε ποὺ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην προσήκει πολυπραγμονείν· οὐδεὶς ἀετὸς οὐδὲ πλάτανος οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἄντων ξύδων ἢ φυτῶν χρυσά περιεργάζεται πτερὰ καὶ φύλλα, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἄργυρος ἢ χρυσός τοὺς βλαστοὺς ή τὰ πλήθεστα καὶ κέντρα σίδηρα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδαμάντια, ἀλλ’ οἰς αὐτὰ ἡ ἀρχή ἢ φύσις ἐκόσμησε, ταῦτα εἰ ρομαλέα καὶ πρὸς τάχος αὐτοῖς ἡ πρὸς ἀλκήν ὑπουργοῦντα προσγένοιτο, μᾶλιστα ἄν εὐ πράπτειν νομίζοι καὶ εὐθυνεῖσθαι. Β πῶς οὖν οὐ γελοίον, δι’ τὸς ἀνθρώπος γεγονός ἢξων ποὺ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιεργάσαιτο, πλούτον καὶ γένος καὶ φίλων δύναιν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ παντὸς ἢξα νομίζων; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις ὁσπερ τοῖς ξύδων αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπέδωκε μόνον, τὸ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἐκείνους παραπλησίας, ὅστε μηδὲν πλέον πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἦρκει λοιπόν, ὁσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ ξύδα, ὁ τῶν σωματικῶν ἀρκεῖσθαι πλεονεκτήμασιν, εὑρεὶς τὰ ποὺ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τὰ παραπλησία ψυχὴ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐνέσπαρται ξύδως, ἀλλ’ εἴπε κατ’ οὐσίαν διάφεροντα εἶτε οὕσια μὲν ἀδιάφορος, ἐνεργεία δὲ μοῦν κρείττων, ὁσπερ ὁμαι τὸ καθαρὸν ἄδικη χρυσίον τοῦ συμπεφυμένου τῇ ψάμμῳ λέγεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ὁ λόγος περὶ τὴς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀλήθης ὑπὸ τινῶν ἢμεῖς δὴ οὐν ἐπειδὴ σύνειμουν αὐτοῖς δούσι τῶν ξύδων ἐνιετωτέρους· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Προταγόρου μῦθον ἐκείνους μὲν ἡ φύσις ὁσπερ μὴτηρ
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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.
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ἄγαν φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλοδόρως προσηνέχθη, ήμῶν δὲ αὐτὶ πάντων ἐκ Διὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐδόθη· τὴν εὐθαμονίαν ἐνταῦθα θετέον, ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ οπουδαιστῶν τῶν ἐν ἠμῖν.

Σκόπει δὴ, ταύτης εἰ μὴ μάλιστα τῆς προαιρέσεως ἢν Διογένης, δα τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἀνέδηπ παρεῖχεν, ἓνα αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως ῥωμαλεότερον καταστήσῃ, πράπτειν δὲ ἦξιον μὸνον ὀπόσα 195, ἀν φανῇ τῷ λόγῳ πρακτέα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπίπτοντας τῇ ψυχῇ θορύβους, οὐα πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει τουτί τὸ περικελμένον αὐτοῦ χάριν πολυπραγμονέων, οὕτω ἐν μέρει προσιτοῦ. ὅπο δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ ἀνὴρ ὦτῳ μὲν ἔσχεν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ σῶμα ὡς οὐδεὶς οἴμαι τῶν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγαθισμενών, οὕτω δὲ διε-Β τέθη τὴν ψυχῆν, ὡςτε εὐθαμονεῖν, ὡς τε βασιλεύειν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ὡς οἱ τότε εἰσόθεσαν λέγειν Ἑλληνες, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, τῶν Πέρσην λέγουτες. ἀρὰ σου μικρὰ φαίνεται ἀνὴρ

Ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
οὐκ ὀβολοῦ, οὐ δραχμῆν, ἔχων 1 οὐδ' οἰκέτην,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μάζαν, ὡς Ἑπίκουρος εὐπορῶν οὐδὲ τῶν
θεῶν φησίν εἰς εὐθαμονίας λόγον ἔλαττούσθαι,
πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἐρίξων, τοῦ δοκοῦντος δὲ Ο
tοις ἀνδράποις εὐθαμονεστάτου εὐθαμονεστερον
ξῶν καὶ ἔλεγε ξῶν εὐθαμονεστερον. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,

1 ἐχεὶν οἴξειν οἰκέτην Knobel, οὐκ οἰκέτην ἔχειν Hertlein, MSS.; Hertlein prints the second verse as prose.
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ously and bountifully, like a mother, but to compensate for all this, mind was bestowed on us by Zeus. Therefore in our minds, in the best and noblest part of us, we must say that happiness resides.

Now consider whether Diogenes did not above all other men profess this belief, since he freely exposed his body to hardships so that he might make it stronger than it was by nature. He allowed himself to act only as the light of reason shows us that we ought to act; and the perturbations that attack the soul and are derived from the body, to which this envelope of ours often constrainst 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 may, 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, Aespota Fragmenta 6; Diogenes Laertius, 6. 38, says that this was a favourite quotation of Diogenes; its source is unknown.
ὁργὴν πειραθεὶς ἐκέλευς τοῦ βίου καὶ οὐ τῷ λόγῳ αἰσθήσῃ.
Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐλέγξω-μεν. ἄρα σοι δοκεῖ τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώ-πως ἥγεσθαι, τούτων δὲ τῶν πολυθρυλήτων, ἔλευθεριάν, πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσεις; ἔπει καὶ τὰ Δ ἁρμάτα καὶ πλούτος καὶ γένος καὶ σώματος ἱσχύς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δέχα τῆς ἔλευθερίας οὐ τοῦ δοκοῦτος ηὐτυχεῖναι, τοῦ κτησαμένου δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἀγαθὰ; τίνα οὖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν τῶν δούλων; ἄρα μὴ ποτὲ ἐκέεινον, ἐὰν ἀν πρῶμεθα δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου τόσων ὣς μὲν ὑπὸ ὧν ἤχουσιν ὑπὸ γεύσεως συνετήρου τέκα; ἦρεῖ δὲ δῆμον οὐκ ἔστων εἰναι ἀληθῶς δοῦλον, ἄρα δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι τὸ ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ πολοῦται κατα-βεβλήκαμεν; οὕτω μεντάν εἰεν οἰκέται καὶ ὑπὸ-ςους τῶν αχμαλάτων λυτρούμεθα. καὶ οἱ οἷοὶ τούτως ἀποδεδικασί τὴν ἔλευθερίαν σωθεῖσιν οἰκάδε, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπολυτρώμεθα, οἷοὶ ἴνα δουλεύσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἴνα δοῦν πελάσσως. ὅρας ὡς αὐχενοῦ ἔστιν ἀργύριον καταβαλεῖν ὡς ὁ ἀποφήμα τὸν λυτρωθέντα δοῦλον, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἔστιν ὡς ἄλληθος δοῦλος, οἷον κύριος ἔστιν ἐτερος προσαναγκάσαι πράπτειν ὃ, τι ἄν κελεύῃ, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον κόλασαι καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,
κακαῖς ὁδύνησι πελάξειν;
δὴ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τούτο, εἰ μὴ κύριοι πάντες ἡμῶν Β ἔςθιν, οἵν ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν θεραπεῦειν, ἴνα μὴ δὲν ἀληθώμεν μηδὲ λυτροῦμεθα κολαξομένοι 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
dracmas, 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 con-
ciliate in order not to suffer pain or annoyance from
being punished by them? Or do you think that the

¹ Cf. 188 c, Plato, Laws 730 b.
² The stater or Daric was worth about a sovereign.
³ Iliad 5. 706.
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Ἡ τούτο οἴει κόλασιν μόνον, εἴ τις ἐπανατεινόμενος τὴν βακτηρίαν καθίκοιτο τοῦ οἰκέτου; καίτοι γε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ οἱ τραχύτατοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ πάντων ποιούσι τῶν οἰκέτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος ἀρκεῖ πολλάκις καὶ ἀπειλή. μήποτε οὖν, ὦ φίλε, οὐ νομίζῃς εἶναι ἐλεύθερος, ἀχρίς οὐ γαστήρ ἄρχει σου καὶ τὰ ἐνερβεν γαστρός οἱ τε τοῦ παρασχείν τὰ πρὸς ἱδρυμα καὶ ταύτα ἀποκολύσαι κύριοι, καὶ εἰ τούτων δὲ γένοις κρείττων, ἐως ἀν δουλεύης ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις, οὐπω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐθνες οὐδὲ ἐγεῦσος τοῦ νέκταρος,

Οὐ μᾶ τῶν ἐν στέρνοισιν ἐμοῖς παραδόντα τετρακτῶν.

καὶ οὐ τούτο φημὶ, ὥς ἀπερυθρίασαι χρῆ πρὸς Δ πάντας καὶ πράττειν τὰ μὴ πρακτέα· ἀλλὰ ὅν ἀπεχώμεθα καὶ δοκεῖ πράττομεν, μὴ διὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκεῖν σπουδαία πως Ἰφαίλα, διὰ τούτο πράττομεν καὶ ἀπεχώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅτε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ, τούτ' ἔστι τῷ νῷ, ταύτα ἐστὶν ἀπόρρητα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν καλοῦσι ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐπεσθαί δόξας· ἀμειὼν γὰρ τούτῳ τοῦ παντάπασιν ἀπερυθρίῳ ἔχουσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι φύσει πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οἰκεῖοι· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἦδη κατὰ νοῦν ζῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὀρθοὺς εὐρέως τε δυναμένου καὶ κρίναν λόγους προστίθηκε τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἐπεσθαί τοῖς νομιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὖ τε καὶ χείρον πράττεσθαί.
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. Actios, Placita 1. 7. Pythagoras, Aurea Carmen 47, Mullach νὰ µᾶ τῶν ἄρετρα ψυχῆ παραδοστα τετρακτῖν.
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Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἔστι τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν θείοτερον, ὁ δὲ νόην καὶ φρόνησιν φαίνει καὶ λόγον τὸν συγόμενον, οὐ κήρυξ ἐστίν ὁ διὰ τῆς φανῆς οὐτοσὶ λόγος προϊὼν ἐξ ὁνομάτων καὶ ἰδιαίτερων, ἐτερον δὲ τῇ τούτῳ συνεξευκται ποικίλον καὶ παντοδαπόν, ὧργὴ καὶ ἐπιθυμία ξυμμεγές τε Β καὶ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, οὐ πρότερον χρή πρὸς τὰς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀτενὼς ὄραν καὶ ἀδιακρίτους, πρὶν ἄν τούτῳ δαμάσωμεν τὸ θηρίον καὶ πείσωμεν ὑπακούσαι τῷ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν θεῷ, μάλλον δὲ ἥθει. τούτῳ γὰρ πολλοὶ τοῦ Διογένους χιλιωταί δάσαντες ἐγένοντο παντορέκται καὶ μιαροὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ ἐνὸς κρείττους, ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἔμοι οὐ λόγος ἔστι, πρῶτον ἐγχων ἐρῶ σοι Διογένους, ἐφ᾽ οὗ γελάσωμαι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ, ἔμοι δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ σεμνότατον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τις τῶν νέων ἐν ὑγρῷ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ Διογένους, ἀπέπαρθεν, ἔστωξεν ἐκεῖνος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ φῶς· εἶτα, ὁ κάθαρμα, μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ δημοσίως τὰ τοιαύτα θαρσεῖν πράξας ἐντεύθεν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴ δόξης καταφρονεῖν; οὔτως ἐκεῖ οὐροὶ πρότερον ἱδονῆς καὶ θυμοῦ κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πρὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τελειώτατον ἑλθεῖν τῶν παλαισμάτων, ἀποδυσάμενον πρὸς τὰς τῶν Β πολλῶν δόξας καὶ μυρίων κακῶν αἰτιμὶ γίνονται τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Οὐκ οἴσθα ὅπως τοὺς μὲν νέους τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπώγουσιν, ἄλλα ἐπὶ ἄλλως τῶν

1 Χιλιωταί δάσαντες Hertlein suggests, χιλιωταί MSS.
2 πρὶν Hertlein suggests, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ MSS.
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Since therefore one part of our souls is more divine, which we call mind and intelligence and silent reason, whose herald is this speech of ours made up of words and phrases and uttered through the voice; and since there is yoked therewith another part of the soul which is changeful and multiform, something composite of anger and appetite, a many-headed monster, we ought not to look steadily and unswervingly at the opinions of the multitude until we have tamed this wild beast and persuaded it to obey the god within us, or rather the divine part. For this it is that many disciples of Diogenes have ignored, and hence have become rapacious and depraved and no better than any one of the brute beasts. And to prove that this is not my own theory, 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

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1 Euripides fr. 488; Mino theon 358 b.
2 Cf. Oration 1. 40 b, 2. 74 c, notes.
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filospòfou thurulóntes; ói Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους χορεύται γυνήσιοι γόητες εἶναι λέγονται καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ τετυφωμένοι καὶ φαρμακεῖς. τῶν Κυνικῶν εἰ ποῦ τις 198 γέγονε σπουδαίος, ἑλεινὸς δοκεῖ: μέμνημαι γοῦν ἐγὼ ποτὲ τροφέως εἰπόντος πρὸς με, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἔταὑρον εἶδεν Ἰφικλέα αὐχμηρᾶν ἔχοντα τὴν κόμην καὶ κατερρωγοῦτα τὰ στέρνα ἵματιὼν τε παντάπασι φαιλὸν ἐν δεινῷ χειμῶνι τίς ἄρα δαίμονι τούτοι εἰς ταύτῃ περιέσχε τὴν συμφοράν, ὡς ἴ γα ἀυτὸς μὲν ἑλεινὸς, ἑλεινότερος δὲ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ, θρέψαντες σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ παιδεύσαντες ὡς ἔνεδέχετο σπουδαίοι, ὅ δὲ οὗτος Ἐρυθής περιέρχεται, πάντα ἀφεῖς, οὐδὲν τῶν προσαντοῦντων κρείττων; ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν ἐγώ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὸτε κατειρωμενόντων εὖ μέντοι γε ἂς τοιαῦτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλήθειας κυρῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διανοομένους, καὶ οὐ τούτο δεινὸν ἔστειν, ἀλλ' ὁ ρήσιν ὅτι καὶ πλούσιον ἀγαπᾶν πείθουσι καὶ πενίαι μυσέω καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεύουσι καὶ τούς σώματος ἴνεκα πάντα ὑπομένειν πόνον καὶ πιάνειν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμῶν καὶ τράπεζαν παρατίθεσθαι πολυτελῆ καὶ μηδέποτε νύκτωρ οὐ καθεύδειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα δράν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ λαυθάνοντα; τοῦτο οὖν ἔστι τοῦ Ταρταρῶν χείρον; οὐ βέλτιόν ἔστειν ὑπὸ τὴν Χάρυβδιν καὶ τῶν Κακοτόν καὶ μυρίας ὀργυίας κατὰ γῆς δῦναι, ἢ πεθεῖν εἰς τοιούτου βίου αἰδοίοις καὶ γαστρὶ δουλεύοντα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ἀπλῶς ὃσπερ τὰ θηρία, πράγματα δὲ ἔχειν, ὡς ἄν καὶ

1 ταῦτα καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ ταῦτα MSS.
slander and then another against all the philosophers in turn? The genuine disciples of Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle are called sorcerers and sophists and conceited and quacks. If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity. For instance I remember that once my tutor said to me when he saw my fellow-pupil Iphiciles 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 earth² than to fall into a life like this, enslaved to lust and appetite, and not even to these simply and openly, like the beasts, but to take pains so that when we act thus we may

¹ Cf. Plato, Epistles 326 r.
² An echo of Xenophon, Anabasis 7. 1. 29.
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λάθοιμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότου ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενοι; καὶ τοις πόσοι κρείττον ἀπέχεσθαι πανταπασιν Δ

αὐτῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ βάδισον, οἱ Διογένεως νόμοι καὶ Κράτιτος ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐκ ἀτμιαστέου ἔρωτα

λύει λύμος, ἀν δὲ τούτο χρησιάζα μὴ δύνῃ, βρόχος.

οὐκ ἀσθα, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐπραξαν ἐκεῖνοι τῷ βίῳ

dιδόντες ὅθεν εὐτελεῖας; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαζω-

φάγων, φησίν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ τύραννοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ 199

τῶν δεισδεοντῶν πολυτελῶν, καὶ ὁ Κράτης μὲντοι

πεποίηκεν ὡμοίον εἰς τὴν Εὐτελείαν.

Χαίρε, θεῖα δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἄνδρῶν ἀγάπημα, Εὐτελεία, κλεινῆς Ἐγγονο Σωφροσύνης.

οὕτω δὲ μὴ κατὰ τῶν Οὐλομασον ὁ κύων ἀναιδῆς

μηδὲ ἀναλοχευόντος μηδὲ ὑπερόπτης πάντων ὁμοὶ

θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβῆς μὲν τὰ

πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὡσπερ Διογένης· ἐπείσθη γοῦν Β

ἐκεῖνος τῷ Πιθήκῳ, καὶ οὐ μετεμείλησεν αὐτῷ πεισ-

θέντες· εἰ δὲ, ὅτε μὴ προσήξανε μηδὲ ἐθεράπευεν τοὺς

νεαντικῶν μηδὲ τὰ ἀργόλαμα μηδὲ τοὺς βοημοὺς, οὐκ

τις ἀδεστήτος εἶναι σημείον, οὐκ ὁρθῶς νομίζειν;

ὅτι γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ λιβαντότως, οὐ

σπορεύσῃ, οὐκ ἀργύρων, δὲν αὐτὰ πράσατο. εἰ δὲ

ἐνδει περὶ θεῶν ὁρθῶς, ἦρκες τούτῳ μόνῳ· αὐτῇ γὰρ

αὐτοῦ ἐθεράπευεν· τῇ ψυχῇ, διδόνει οἶμαι τὰ

tοιούτα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ καθοδιώκει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ

ψυχήν διὰ τῶν ἐννοίαν. ἀπερυθράτω δὲ μη· Ο

dαμὼς, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον μὲν

ἀυτῷ χειρόθεους καταστησάτω τὸ παθηματικὸν

1 Hertzlein suggests, cf. Diogenes Laertius 6. 5. 2; ἐπόμενοι MSS.

2 ἐθεράπευε Hertzlein suggests, ἐθεράπευε 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

τῇς ψυχῆς μόριον, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἐξελείν ἀυτὸ καὶ µὴν δὴ στὶς κρατεῖ τῶν ἥδων ἑιδέναι. εἰς τούτῳ γὰρ ἁμείν δὲ ἐλθεῖν, εἰς τὸ καὶ, εἰ πάσχει τις τὰ τοιαύτα, ὅλως ἀγνοῆσαι τούτῳ δὲ ἦµῖν οὐκ ἄλλος ἢ διὰ τῶν µυµωσείων προσγίνεται. ἦν δὲ µὴ τῖς ὑπολάβῃ µὲ ταύτα ἄλλος λέγειν, ἐκ τῶν παγνίων Κράτητος ὁλίγα σοὶ παραγρέψων. D

Μνηµοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς 'Ολυµπίου ὁµαλὰ τέκνα, Μούσας Περίδες, κλῦτε µοι εὐχοµένῳ Χόρτον ἀεὶ συνεχῶς δότε γαστὲρ, ἢτε µοι αἰεὶ Χωρίς δουλοσύνης λιτῶν ἑθηκε βίου.

* * *

'Ωφέλιµων δὲ φίλοις, µὴ γλυκεροῦ τίθετε. Χρήµατα δ' οὐκ εὐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, κανθάρου ὄλβον.

Μύρµηκος τ' ἀφένος χρήµατα µαϊόµενος, Αλλὰ δικαιοσύνης µετέχειν καὶ πλούτων ἀγείρειν 2

Εὐφόρον, εὐκτήτον, τίµιον εἰς ἀρετὴν. Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν 'Ερµῆν καὶ Μούσας Ἰλάσσοµ' ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάνας τρυφεραῖς, ἄλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὁσίασ.

εἰ χρή σοι περὶ τοῦτων γράφειν, ἐξω πλείονα τοῦ Β ἀνδρός. ἐντυχῶν δὲ τῷ Χαϊρωνεῖ Πλοῦτάρχῳ τῶν Κράτητος ἄναγράψαντε βιόν οὔδέν εἰς παρέργου µανθάνει δεήσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα.

'Αλλ' ἐπανάλομον ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο πάλιν, ὅτι χρή τῶν ἁρχόµενον κυνίζειν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτίµαν ο

1 ἀλῆ Wright, cf. 213b, διὰν MSS., Hertlein.
2 ἀγαίνω Cobet, ἀγινέω Hertlein, MSS.
TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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

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

1 I.e. parodies such as the verses here quoted which parody Solon’s prayer. fr. 12, Bergh; cf. 213 n.
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πικρὸς καὶ ἐξελέγχειν καὶ μὴ κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζειν ὅ,τι μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν συμφ. χαίρει, εἰ στρωμνής δὲ δεῖται μαλακῆς, εἰ τιμῆς ἡ δόξης ἔστιν ἢττων, εἰ τούτω ξηλοῖ τὸ περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ, εἰ καὶ κενὸν εἴη, τίμιον ὅμως νομίζει. μηδὲ εἰς συμπεριφοράν ὄχλων καθυφέλθω,¹ γενέσθω δὲ τρυφῆς μηδὲ Δ ἄκροφ, φασί, τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἐως ἂν αὐτὴν παντελῶς πατήσῃ. τότε ἢδη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀν προσπίπτηρ, θυγείων οὐδὲν κοιλύει. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ταύρων ἀκούω τοὺς ἄσθενεστέρους ἐξίστασθαι τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς νεμομένους ἁγείρειν τὴν ἱσχὺν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' ὅλγον, ἔθε' οὕτως ἐπίεναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης ἀμφισβητεῖν τοὺς προκατέχουσις, ὡς μᾶλλον ἀξιωτέρους προστασθαι. δάκτης οὖν κυνίζειν ἐθέλει μήτε τὸν τρίβοιτα μήτε τὴν πήραν μήτε τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀγαπάτω μόνον, ἲν' ὀσπερ ἐν κόμη βαβίζῃ κουρείων καὶ δίδακτισι τῶν ἐνδεεί ἀκαρτος καὶ ἄγραμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον ἀντὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου καὶ τὴν ἐνστάσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πήρας τῆς κυνηκῆς ὑπολαμβανόμενος φιλοσοφίας γνωρίσματα. παρρησία δὲ χρηστέος αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ ὀπόσιον πέφυκεν ἄξιος ἐπιδειξάμενος, δόσπερ οἷμαι Κράτης καὶ Διογένης, οἰ πᾶσαι μὲν ἀπειλὴν τύχης καὶ εἴτε παιδίαν εἴτε παροιμίαν χρὴ φάναι Β

¹ καθυφελέαν Hertlein suggests, καθυφελοῦ MSS.
TO THE UNEDEUCATED CYNICS

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

1 An echo of Euripides, Phoenissae 551, περιβάλλεσθαι γλώσσων, κεφῆ μὲν ὁδῷ.
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tosou'tou apésocho tou duxkólois evnegekein, oúste álous mwn upo twn katapeontistwv o Diovéntis épaixén, o Krátis dè édhmiomíne twn ouíasan, elta tò sóma blabeis ésskopteiv éauton eis tòn xwlogitìa toú skéloúw kai tò kurtón tòn ómwn, époreúeto dè èpì tás tòn féloůn ëstíás áklytoùs kal1 kekle'mévov, diallasson toûs oikeiostátovs allhlov, elppote stasíaçontas aìsthito, epetíma dè ou metà píkrías, allà metà xárítov, oux ëna O svkofantévov dokh toûs swfrwswthèntas, óféléwv dè èthelov autów te èkeínous kai toûs akouwntas.

 Kal ou touto hîn to prosypoumenon autôv télos; all', òpér efíîn, épokpoun ópws autôi men evdaimoníscouv,2 èmelè dè autôi tòn allwv tosoúton òson xuniesan oîmai ðùsei koivonikov kal politikov xîov toû anðrapon einai, kai toûs svmpotevomévous ðefèrèsan ou toûs paraðègmatai mûnov, allâ kai toûs logous. òstès ouv òn ðèlè D Kvinikov einai kai svpoudáivs anîr, autôi próte- ron èpimelètov, òsper Diovéntis kai Krátis èxeiavntov mên tîs ðûxhîs àpana tê pásth, orðû dè èpetrejava tê kath' èautovn logov kai ðîx kibérnnsth. kefálalouv gâr hîn, òs ðegw oîmai, touto tîs Diovéntos filosofías.

El dè ëtaîrîs potê prosèlthev o anîr kaltoi kai toutò tvxov àpaî ò ouvè àpaî ègènetov- òtan hîmîn tâ allâ katal tòn Diovéntâ gêrntai 202

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

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

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

¹ Thucydidès 1. 118.
σπουδαῖος, ἀν αὐτῷ φανὴ καὶ τοιοῦτον τι δρᾶν φανερῶς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, οὐ μεμψό-
μεθα οὐδὲ αἰτιασόμεθα. πρότερον μέντοι τὴν
Διογένους ἢμῖν ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐμάθειαν καὶ τὴν
ἀγχύριαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἔλευ-
θερίαν, αὐτάρκειαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην,
εὐλάβειαν, χάριν, προσοχήν, ὅσ μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδὲ
μάτην μηδὲ ἀλάγως ποιεῖν ἐπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς
Β Διογένους ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας οἰκεία: πατείτω τύφον,
καταπαιζόντω τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαία τῆς φύσεως
ἐργα κρυπτόντων ἐν σκότω, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περιτ-
τωμάτων τὰς ἐκκρίσεις: ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς
καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιτηδεύοντων τὰ βιασντατα καὶ
μηδὲν ἦμων οἰκεία τῇ φύσει, χρημάτων ἄρπαγάς,
συκοφαντίας, γραφῶν ἀδίκους, διώξεις ἄλλων
τοιούτων συρφεταδῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ
Διογένης ἐστὶ ἀπεταρδέν ἐστὶ ἀπεπάτησαν ἐστὶ
όλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιραζέν, ὅσπερ οὐν λέγουσιν,
ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τῶν ἑκείνων πατῶν τύφον ἐποίει, δεδασ-
κών αὐτοῦς, ὅτι πολλῷ φαυλότερα καὶ χαλεπώ-
τερα τούτων ἐπιτηδεύουσι. τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἢμῖν
πάσιν κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδεὶς,
pánta δὲ ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐπιτηδεύεται.

ʼΑλλ’ οἱ νῦν τοῦ Διογένους ἡλιωταῖ τὸ ῥᾶςτον
καὶ κουφότατον ἔλομενοι τὸ κρείττον οὐκ εἶδον
σύ τε ἑκείνων εἶναι σεμνότερος ἔθελων ἐπεπλανή·

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

In our own day, however, the imitators of Diogenes have chosen only what is easiest and least burdensome and have failed to see his nobler side. And as for you, in your desire to be more dignified
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θης τοσούτων τῆς Διογένους προαιρέσεως, ὡστε αὐτὸν ἑλεεινὸν ἐνώμισας. εἰ δὲ τούτως μὲν ἡπὶς-

tεις ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος λεγομένους, διὶ οἱ πάντες "Ἐλληνες-

tότε ἐθαύμασαν μετὰ Σωκράτη καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐπὶ 

Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, οὐ γέγονεν ἀκροατῆς ὁ τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου καὶ συνετωτάτου 

Ζήσωνος καθηγημών, οὐς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἢ ἄπαντας 

ἀπαντήτων περὶ ἄνδρος οὗτος φαίλου, ὅποιον σὺ 

diakomophēs, ὃ βέλτιστε, ἵσως ἃν τι πλέον 203 

ἔσκόπησας περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορρωτέρω προήθες 

τῆς ἐμπειρίας τάνδρος. τίνα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεπληξε 

tῶν Ἐλλήνων ἢ Διογένους καρτερία, βασιλικῆς 

οὐκ ἔξω μεγαλοψυχίας οὐδα, καὶ φιλοπονία; 

ἐκάθενεν ἄμηρ ἐπὶ στειβάδος ἐν τῷ πίθῳ βέλτιον 

ἡ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐπεχρύσοις ὁρόφοις ἐν 

τῇ μαλαβακῇ κλίνῃ, ἦσθιε τὴν μάζαν ἧδιον ἢ σὸ 

νῦν τὰς Σικελικὰς ἐσθίεις τραπέζας, ἀλούτε ὅ ψυχρόν. 1 

τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ἀέρα ἔχραινων ἀντὶ τῶν ὁδονίων, 

οἷς σὺ ἀπομάττῃ, φιλοσοφώτατε. πάνιν σοι 

προσήκει κωμοφεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι κατειργάσας τῶν 

Εξέργαν, ὡς ὁ Θεομετοκλῆς, ἢ τῶν Δαρείων, ὡς ὁ 

Μακεδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰ σμικρὰ τὰς Βίβλους 

ἀνελέττων ἐμελέτας ὀσπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ 

πολυπράγμονες, ἢγνως ἃν, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος 

ἄγασθίαν λέγεται τῇ Διογένους μεγαλοψυχίαν, 

ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι σοι τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,

1 ψυχρό Naber, θερμό Hertlein, MSS.
than those early Cynics you have strayed so far from Diogenes' plan of life that you thought him an object of pity. But if you did not believe all this that I say about a man whom all the Greeks in the generation of Plato and Aristotle admired next to Socrates and Pythagoras, a man whose pupil was the teacher of the most modest and most wise Zeno,—and it is not likely that they were all deceived about a man as contemptible as you make him out to be in your travesty,—well, in that case, my dear sir, perhaps you might have studied his character more carefully and you would have progressed further in your knowledge of the man. Was there, I ask, a single Greek who was not amazed by the endurance of Diogenes and by his perseverance, which had in it a truly royal greatness of soul? The man used to sleep in his jar on a bed of leaves more soundly than the Great King on his soft couch under a gilded roof; he used to eat his crust\(^1\) 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 engaged in public affairs, you would know how much Alexander is said to have admired Diogenes' greatness of soul. But you care little, I suppose, for any of these things. How should you

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

\(^2\) A proverb; Sicily was famous for good cooking; cf. Plato, Republic 404 d; Horace, Odes 1. 1. 18, "Siculim dapes."
σπουδαίων· πόθεν; πολλού γε καὶ δεινοὶ γυναικῶν ἀθλίων τεβαύμακας φιλονεικών ἱβίου.

Εἶ μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος τε πλέον ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἐμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ σῶν ἐστὶ κέρδος· εἰ δὲ οὔδεν περαινομέν ἐκ τοῦ παραχώμα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπνευστὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον συνείραντες· ἐστὶ γὰρ πάρεργον ἡμέραν δυνῶν, ὡς ἰσασίν αἱ Μοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς· παραμενέτω μὲν σοι ὁπόσα πρόσθεν ἐγγύκες, ἢμῖν δὲ οὐ μεταμελήσει τῆς εἰς τὸν ἄλλον εὐφημίας.

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

To show Heraclius what he might have written with propriety Julian adds a parable of his own modelled on that of Prodicus. In this he himself plays the part of a second Heracles, and takes the opportunity to vilify Constantius and point out his own mission of reformer and restorer of order and religion to the Empire. Throughout the parable there are striking resemblances with the First Oration of Dio Chrysostom, and Asmus³ has made a detailed comparison of the two writers to prove that Julian wrote with Dio before him. In many of these parallels both Julian and Dio can be traced to a common classical source, usually Plato, but there is no doubt that Julian was thoroughly familiar

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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.
ΙΟΤΑΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΤΝΙΚΟΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΚΥΝΙΣΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΤΟ ΚΥΝΙ ΜΥΘΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ

'Η πολλά γίνεται ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ· τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς καμμέδιας ἀκικωστεί μοι πρόφητα ἐπήλθεν ἐκβοή-
σαι, ὡς ἡμῖν παρακληθέντες ἡκροώμεθα κυνός
οὔτε των οὔτε γενναίον ὑλακτούντως, ἀλλ' ὀσπέρ
αἰ τίτθαι μύθους ἄδοντος καὶ οὔτε τούτους ὑμῶς
dιατιθεμένου. παραχρήμα μὲν οὖν ἐπῆλθεν μοι
dιαναστάντα διαλύσαι τὸν σύλλογον· ἔπει δὲ Β
ἐχρή ὀσπέρ ἐν θεάτρῳ καμμέδομένων Ἡρακλέους
καὶ Διονύσου παρά τῶν καμμέδων ἀκούειν, οὐ τοῦ
λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνειλέγομένων χάριν ὑπὲ-
μενα, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρή τί καὶ νεανικότερον
eἰπεῖν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκά καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ύπὸ
δεισιδαιμονίας μᾶλλον ἡ διανόιας εὐσεβοῦς καὶ Ο
λελογισμένης, ὀσπέρ αἰ πελειάδες, ύπὸ τῶν ῥη-
ματίων σοβηθείς ἀναπτήναι. ἔμενον δὲ ἐκεῖνο
πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εἰπόν

Τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἐπλης,
ἀνάσχον καὶ κυνός ληροῦντος ὀλύγον 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. Misopotom 366 c. ³ Odyssey 20. 18.
ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΌΣΠΕΡ ἩΠΕΙΡΟΣ ὕπονησος ἐν Θάμνη καὶ ὂστε ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσεις τὸ ἔστει δὲ οὐρανός ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ λαβῶν, οὕτω συν-θεῖται πρὸς ὁφθέλειν ὑποτεθίζοντο αὐτῶν ὑμῶν εἰσὶν ὁδὸν ἐναρέσατο. Τῇν ἡμέρᾳ τῇν ἑορτήν ὑμῶν ἑκάστην λέγειν ὡσπερ Ἡπείρος ἡπείριον ὕπονησος ἐν Ὁράκη καὶ Θέταλεῖα, D
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

a babbling Cynic! It is not the first time that thou hast had to hear the gods blasphemed! Our state is not so well governed, our private life is not so virtuous, in a word we are not so favoured by fortune that we can keep our ears pure or at any rate our eyes at least undefiled by the many and various impieties of this iron race. And now as though we had not enough of such vileness this Cynic fills our ears with his blasphemies, and has uttered the name of the highest of the gods in such wise as would he had never spoken nor I heard! But since he has done this, come, let me in your presence try to teach him this lesson; first that it is more becoming for a Cynic to write discourses than myths; secondly, what sort of adaptations of the myths he ought to make, if indeed philosophy really needs mythology at all; and finally I shall have a few words to say about reverence for the gods. For it is with this aim that I appear before you, I who have no talent for writing and who have hitherto avoided addressing the general public, as I have avoided all else that is tedious and sophistical. But perhaps it is not unsuitable for me to say and for you to hear a few words about myth in general as a sort of genealogy of that kind of writing.

Now one could no more discover where myth was originally invented and who was the first to compose fiction in a plausible manner for the benefit or entertainment of his hearers, than if one were to try to find out who was the first man that sneezed or the first horse that neighed. But as cavalry arose in Thrace and Thessaly ¹ and archers and the lighter

¹ ἰπατίς ἐν Θεραλίς καὶ Ὁρής was a well-known proverb; cf. Oration 2. 63 c, d.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

toqōtai de kai tā koufōtera tōn óplon en 'Iindia kai Krēthē kai Karēa ánefān,1 tē phύsei tēs χώρas akolouθουντων oǐmai tōn épisthēmēmatōn, ouτω tis upoλamβάνει kai ἐπὶ tōn ἄλλων πραγμάτων, ἐν ɔȋs ἐκαστα τεμάται, μάλιστα παρά τούτων αὐτά kai πρώτων ἡρησθαί τῶν ἀγελαίων δοικεν ἄνθρωπων ἐλναι τὸ γε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μῦθος 206 eὑρήμα, kai diαμένει ἐξ' ἐκείνου μέχρι kai νῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς πολιτεύομεν τὸ πράγμα ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, αὐτὸς kai κιβάρα, τέρψεως ἕνεκα kai ψυχαγωγίας. ὡσπερ γάρ οἱ 2 δρυδες ἱππασθαι kai νείν οἱ 3 ἱχθύες αἱ τε ἐλαφοι θεοὶ ἑπείδη πεφύκασιν ὑδάν τοῦ διδαχθῆναι προσδέονται, καὶ ἐξή τις καὶ καθείρζη, πειράται ὅμως χρῆσαι τούτως τοῖς μορφαῖς, πρὸς ἃ σύν οίδεν αὐτοῖς πεφυκόσι, ταυτί τὰ ξόνα, οὐτως oȋmai kai τὸ τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένος οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῆς B ψυχῆς ἔχον ἡ λόγων καὶ ἐπιστῆμην ὡσπερ ἐγκαθειργήμενην, ὃ δὴ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ δύναμιν, ὅτι τὸ μανθάνειν τε 4 καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς πρὸς οἰκείοτατον ἐαυτῷ τῶν ἔργων, τρέπεται καὶ ὅπως μὲν εὐμενής θεὸς ταχέως ἔλυσε τὰ δεσμά καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἑνέργειαν ἤγαγε, τούτων πάρεστιν εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμη, τοῖς δεδεμένοις δὲ ἐτει, καθάπερ oȋmai Ἐθίων νεφέλη τινα 5 ἀντὶ tῆς C θεοῦ λέγεται παραναπάσασθαι, τούτως ἀντὶ ἀληθεῖς ψευδῆς 6 ἐντεύθηκε δοξα· γίνεται γὰρ

1 After Kapi̊la Reiske suggests ἄφαρην.
2 cf Cobet aüldis.
3 3 cf Cobet aüldis.
4 τι Hertlein suggests, τι MSS.
5 Ἐθίων νεφέλη τινα Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
6 τούτως ἀντ' ἀληθείς ψευδῆ Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS., ἐντεύθηκε Wright, τέτηκε Hertlein, MSS.

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

¹ i.e. Hera; cf. Pindar, Pythian 2. 20 foll.; Dio Chrysostom 4. 130, Arnim.
² Cf. Plato, Theaetetus 151 e.
ἐνεδέθεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπηρέμια καὶ τερατώδη ταυτὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης οἷον εἴδωλα ἄττα καὶ σκιαὶ· πράττουσι γοῦν πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐπιστήμης τὰ ψεύδη καὶ διδάσκουσί· γε μᾶλλα προθυμῶσι καὶ μανθάνουσιν ὃσπερ οἴμαι χρηστοῦ τι καὶ θαυμαστοῦ. εἰ δὲ ὁλοὶς χρή τι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τους μύθους τὸ πρῶτον πλασάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι, ἔδοκοι μοι ταῖς τῶν παιδίων ψυχαῖς, ὃσπερ αἴ τετθαυ περὶ τὰς ὀδοντοφυίας κυνηγίων αὐτοῖς σκύτων ἄττα προσαρτῶσι· ταῖς χερεῖς, ἦν αὐτῶν παραμυθήσωσιν τὸ πάθος, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὕτω τῷ ψυχαρίῳ πεπερατούντες καὶ ποδούντες πλέον εἰδέναι τι, διδάσκεσθαί δὲ οὕτω τάληθη δυναμένω ταῦτα ἐποχετεύειν, ὃσπερ ἄρδοντες ἀρουραν διψῶσαν, ἦν δὲ ὁμία αὐτῶν τὸν γαργαλίσαν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην παραμυθήσωσιν.

Τοῦ δὲ τοιοῦτον προβαίνοντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς 207. Ἐλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ἐπλευσαν ἐνεδέθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ τῶν αἰώνων, οὐ τοῦ μύθου διαφέρει τῷ μή πρὸς παιδᾶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄνδρας πεποιήθησα καὶ μὴ ψυχαγωγίαν μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραλύσειν ἔχειν τινα. Βούλεται γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος παραίνειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὅταν ὁ λεγόν τὸ φανερῶς εἰπεῖν εὐλαβῆται, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀκουόντων υφορόμενος Β' ἀπέγκειαν. οὕτω τοι καὶ Ὑσίόδος αὐτὸ φαίνεται πεποιηκὼς· ὃ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀρχέλοχος ὃσπερ ἕδυσμα τε περιτεθεὶς τῇ ποιήσει, μύθους οὐκ ὀλγακὴς ἔχρισατο ὀρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, τὴν μὲν ὑπό-
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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 *frs.* 86, 89; Archilochus used the beast-fable or parable: Julian here ignores his own distinction and uses the wider term 'myth.' Hesiod used myth as well as fable.
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θεσιν, ἡν μετήθη, τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαγωγίας ἐνδεῴς ἐξουσίαν, σαφῶς δὲ ἐγνώκος, ὅτι στερομένη μόνου πολίσις ἐποποίησα μόνον ἑστὶν, ἐστέρηται δὲ, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τις, Αὐτής, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λείπεται πολίσις, ἴδουματα ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἐδρέψατο, καὶ παρέθηκε γε αὐτοῦ τούτον χάριν. Ο ὁποῖος μὴ συλλογγράφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητής νομισθεῖ.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν μύθων Ὄμηρος ἢ Θουκυδίδης ἢ Πλάτων, ἢ δὲ, τι βούλει καλεῖν αὐτόν, Αἰσιώτας ἢν ὁ Σάμιος, δοῦλος τῆς τύχης ὁ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς προαίρεσιν, σαφῆνες μὴν ὁδεὶς κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄνωρ. ὁ γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὐ μετεβίδου παραστάσις, τούτῳ προσήκον ἢ ἐσκιαγραφημένας τὰς συμβουλας καὶ πεποικιλμένας ἤδονη καὶ χάριτε παραφέρειν, ὅπερ αἰμα τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττουσιν, εάν δὲ ἁμα τις οἰκέτης γένηται τῇ D τύχη καὶ τῆς τέχνης ἱερῶς, πράγματα ἔχει κολακεύεις ἁμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τῶν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷ κυνῳ προσήκει ταύτης τῆς δουλείας, λεγέτω, γραφέτω, παραχωρεῖτο τῆς μυθολογίας αὐτῷ πάς ὁ στίσιμος, εἰ δὲ μόνος εἶναι φήσειν ἐλεύθερος, ἐπὶ τί χρῆσεται τοῖς μύθοις, σαφῆνες. ἠπότερον ἵνα τὸ πικρόν καὶ δάκνου τῆς συμβουλῆς ἤδονή καὶ χάριτε κεράσας ἁμα τῇ ὀνήση καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὸ 208 προσλαβαίνει τι παρὰ τοῦ ὑπαρκῆν κακῶν; ἀλλὰ τούτο ἐστὶ λίων δοιλοπρεπές. ἀλλὰ ἁμεῖνον αὖ τις διδαχθεὶς μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀκούων αὐτὰ μηδὲ

1 τῆς τύχην Cobet, οὐ τῆς τύχην Hertlein, MSS.

2 μὴν Hertlein suggests, μην 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

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1 Plato, *Phaedo* 61 b.
τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα κατὰ τὸν καρικοῦ τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα; ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν δεῖνος τὸν Φαθθούντα τί ἔδει ὀνομάσαι; τί δὲ Ἡ χραινεῖν οὐκ εὐαγγέλιν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου; τὸς δὲ τὸν Πάν καὶ τὸς τὸν Ζεὺς τῶν χαμαλ ἐρχομένων ἀνθρώπων ἅξιος καλείσθαι, ἢν ἐκείθεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς μεταδόμεν ἢμῶν τὰς διανοίας; καίτοι, εἰ καὶ τούτῳ οἴον τε ἐν, ἀμεινοῦ ἢν αὐτοὺς ὀνομά- σαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἡ γὰρ σούς οὕτω κρείττουν ἢν εἰπείν ἀνθρωπικὰ θεμένους ὀνόματα; μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτωθεν θεμένους, ἢκεῖ γὰρ διαπερ ἢμῶν οἱ γονεῖς θεντο. ἀλλ’ εἰ μήτε μαθεῖν ἕστι ρέον διὰ τοῦ πλάσματος μήτε τὸ Κυνικὸ πρέπον πλάτειν τὰ τοιαύτα, τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐφευσάμεθα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς αναλόματος, πρὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐφθείραμεν τὸν χρόνον πλάττοντες καὶ συντιθέντες μυθάρια, ἔτα λογογραφοῦντες καὶ ἐκμαθαθάνοντες;

Ἀλλ’ ἵσως ο μὲν λόγος οὐ φησι δεῖν ἄντι τῶν ἁληθῶν καὶ μῆ πεπλασμένων τὰ ψευδή καὶ πε- 

1 τί δέον ὀνομάσαι; τί Reiske, δέον ὀνομάσαι, τῶν Hertlein 

2 ρέον Hertlein suggests, ρέον MSS. 

3 οὕτω Hertlein suggests, οὕτω 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, Ἀθηνία 28: τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ἀπ' ἄλλων ἐπην, ἀπάξωμα, τὸν χρόνον. 4 Cf. Oration 6. 188 A, B.
τῇ συνήθεια προσέχειν οὐδαμῶς προσήκει, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ ποιητέον εὐρήσκειν 209 οἰκοθεν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μανθάνειν ἐξαθεν. εἴ δ’ Ἀντι-
σέθενς ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὅσπερ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐνία διὰ τῶν μόθων ἀπήγγελε, μήτε1 τούτῳ σε ἐξα-
πατάτῳ καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν ὅσπερν ὑπὲρ τούτου σοι διαλέξωμαι:2 νῦν δὲ ἐκείνῳ μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν
φράσων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κυνηγοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνοια τῆς ἔστι καὶ βίος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θηριόδηθης
ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐδέν καλόν, οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ἄγαθὸν νομιζόντος; δοθῇ γὰρ ἄν ὑπολαβεῖν
βεῖν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος. εἴ τέ
σοι τοῦ ταύτα γοῦν ἐπελθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνω
ἀν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφωνία καὶ τῷ
κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς οἷς
ἐγραφεν ὁ ἄνηρ. τοιοῦτον δὲ διὸ τοῦ πράγμα-
τος, ὡστε ἀνηρίζεσαι μὲν ἀπασάν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
θεοὺς εὐλάβειαν, ἵτιμασθαί δὲ πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην
φράσιν, νόμον δὲ μὴ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ καλῷ καὶ
δικαῖῳ πεπατήσασιν μόνου; ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ο
θεῶν ἦμιν ὅσπερ ἐγγράφεται ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὡς
ἀν πάντες ἀδιδάκτως εἶναι θείον τι πεπελεμθὰ
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφοράν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τε οἷμαι σπεύδειν
οὕτω διατιθέμενοι τᾶς ψυχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὅσπερ
οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὰ βλέποντα, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ εἰ
καὶ τὸ δεύτερος ἐξελάουσιν νόμος ἔρος ἀν φύσει
cαὶ θείος, ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πάντη καὶ πάντως

1 μητ(builder: Cobet μητ(builder: Hertlein, MSS.
2 διαλέξωμαι Cobet, διηγήσωμαι Spanheim, Hertlein, V
illegible.}

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TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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 reeks naught of the beautiful, the honourable, or the good? For Oenomaus\textsuperscript{1} would make many people hold this view of it. If you had taken any trouble to study the subject, you would have learned this from that Cynic’s “Direct Inspiration of Oracles” and his work “Against the Oracles,” in short from everything that he wrote. This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence for the gods, to bring dishonour on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honour and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as if 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

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. \textit{Oration} 6. 187 c.
άπέχεσθαι κελεύων καὶ μήτε ἐν λόγῳ μήτε ἐν ἔργῳ μήτε ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς λαυθανοῦσαι τῆς ψυχῆς Δ ἐνεργείας ταῦτα ἐπιτρέποντων συγχέειν, ὅσπερ ἦμῶν καὶ τῆς τελειωτάτης ἐστὶν ἡγεμόνων δικαιοσύνης· ἀρ’ οὐκ ἔστι βαράθροι τῷ πράγμα ἄξιοι; ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄταῦτα ἐπαινοῦνται ὅσπερ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς ἐχρήν οὐ θύσθοις παιομένους 1 ἐλαίνεσθαι κουφότερα γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἢ ξημία· λίθους δὲ βαλλομένους ἀπολωλέναι; διαφέρουσι γάρ οὐτοί τι, πρὸς τῶν θεών εἰπέ μοι, τῶν ἐπ‘ 210 ἐρημίας λιπτεύοντος καὶ κατειληφότων τὰς ἀκτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ λυμαίνεσθαι τοῖς καταπλέουσι· καταφρονούσεν θανάτου, φασίν ὅσπερ οὐ κάκεινος συνομαρτυρίας ταυτησὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας. φησὶ γοῦν ὁ καθ’ ὑμᾶς μὲν ποιητής καὶ μυθολόγος, ὡς δὲ ὁ Πύθιος λησταῖς χρωμένοις ἀνείλεν, ἤρως καὶ δαίμων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ληθομένων τὴν θάλατταν

Οἶα τε ληστήρες, ὑπείρ ἄλα τοῖς τ’ ἀλῶνται:

Ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι.

τί οὖν ἔτε ξητείς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν ληστῶν μάρτυρα; πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀνθρειστέρους ἄν εἴποι τις τῶν τοιούτων κυνών ἐκλίνουσι τοὺς ληστάς, ἰταμωτέρους δὲ τῶν ληστῶν ἐκείνων τοὺς κυνᾶς τουτοῦ; οἱ μὲν ἡμῖν συνειδότες αὐτοῖς οὔτω μοχθηρόν τὸν βίον οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ τούθανάτου δεός ἢ τὴν ἁλαχότην τὰς ἐρημίας προβάλλοντα, οἱ δ’ ἁρα περιπατοῦσιν 2 ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα συγχέοντες, σοῦχ’ τῷ κρείττονα

1 παιομένου Cobot, παλαιομένου Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἀρα περιπατοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ἀναστρέφονται, καὶ περιπατοῦσιν Cobot, ἀναστρέφονται MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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.
καὶ καθαρωτέραν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χείρονα καὶ βδελυρωτέραν ἐπεισόγειαν πολεμεῖαν.

Τὰς ἀναφερομένας δὲ εἰς τὸν Διογένη τραγῳδίας, οὕσας μὲν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως ὁ Κυνικὸς τινος συγγράμματα, ἁμφισβητούμενα δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο ὁμον, εἶτε τοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦ Διογένους, εἰσίν, Δ εἶτε τοῦ μαθητοῦ Φιλίσκου, τῆς οὐκ ἂν ἔπειθόν βδελύκαιτο καὶ νομίσειεν ὑπερβολὴν ἀρρητουργίας οὐδὲ ταῖς ἔταρχαις ἀπολελειφθαί; ταῖς Ὀλυνμάδου δὲ ἐνυπαχὸν ὤγραφε γὰρ καὶ τραγῳδίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὐκέθα ό, τι φῶνον περὶ αὐτῶν ἄξιως ἔχω, κἂν τὰ Μαγνητῶν κακά, κἂν τῷ Τερμέρου, κἂν πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς μακρὸς ἐπιφθέγξειμαι τὴν τραγῳδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατύρου 211 καὶ τῆς κομῳδίας καὶ τοῦ μέλου, οὕτω πᾶσα μὲν αἰσχρότης, πάσα δὲ ἄπονοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐὼν ἐκεῖναις τῷ ἀνδρὶ πεφιλοτέχνηται· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦτον τις ἄξιος τὸν Κυνισμὸν ὅποιος τῖς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐπιδείξει, θλασφήμων τοὺς θεοὺς, ὑλακτῶν πρὸς ἀπαντας, ὅπερ ἔφην ἄρχόμενος, ἐν, χαρέτω, ὃν πρὸς γῆς, ὅποι βουλεύετο· εἶ δ', ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη Διογένει, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης εἰρήμενην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβούλην τρέποντο, τὸ Γυνάθει σαντόν, ὅπερ ξηλάσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργῶν Διογένης καὶ Κράτης φαίνονται, τούτῳ ἥδη τοῦ πανὸτος ἄξιον ἐγὼ ἐναὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ

1 ὁμολογουμένων Cobet, ὁμολογούμενας Hertlein, MSS.
2 χαρέτω Hertlein suggests, χαρέτω MSS.
by introducing a better and purer state of things but a worse and more corrupt state.

Now as for the tragedies ascribed to Diogenes, which are, and are admitted to be, the composition of some Cynic—the only point in dispute being whether they are by the master himself, Diogenes, or by his disciple Philiscus,—what reader of these would not abhor them, and find in them an excess of infamy not to be surpassed even by courtesans? However, let him go on to read the tragedies of Oenomaus—for he too wrote tragedies to match his discourses—and he will find that they are more inconceivably infamous, that they transgress the very limits of evil; in fact I have no words to describe them adequately, and in vain should I cite in comparison the horrors of Magnesia, the wickedness of Termerus 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.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

στρατηγεύειν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλοντι. τὰ δὲ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ἃ ἐσμὲν; ὡτὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτοῦ δόξης ἐπέταξεν ὑπερορᾶν καὶ παραχαρᾶτευν οὐ τὴν ο ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμισμα. τὸ δὲ Γνωθὶ σαῦτον ἐν ποτέρα θησόμεθα μοῦρα; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ νομίσματος; ἢ τοῦτο γε αὐτὸ τῆς ἀλήθειας εἶναι κεφάλαιον θήσομεν καὶ τρόπον εἰρήσθαι τοῦ Παραχάραξαν τὸ νόμισμα διὰ τῆς 1 Γνωθὶ σαῦτον ἀποφάσεως; ὁσπέρ γὰρ ὁ τὰ νομιζόμενα πανταπασιν ἀτιμάσας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν δὲ ἢκον τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς νομιζόμενοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δεντόνοις ὁσιὸς θήσηται, οὕτως οἴμαι καὶ ὁ γνωσις δ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ εὐθείας εἴσεται καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ νομίζεται. πότερον οὐν οὐχ ὁ Πόθιος ἀληθῆς τέ ἐστι θεὸς, καὶ Διογένης τοῦτο ἐπέπειστο σαφῶς, ὅσ γε αὐτῷ πεισθεὶς ἀντὶ φυγάδος ἀπεδείχθη οὐ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μείζων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ φήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτῷ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὸ Περσῶν κράτος καὶ ταῖς Ἑρακλειός ἀμιλλωμένῳ πράξεσιν, ὑπερβάλλεσθαι δὲ τῶν Ἀχιλλεὰ φιλοσοφοῦντα ἐπιλεγήτας; οὕτως οὖν ὁ Διογένης ὅποιος τις ἦν τὰ τε ἀρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μὴ διὰ 212 τῶν Οἰνομάου λόγων μῆδε τῶν Φιλίσκου πραγματικῶν, αἰσ ἐπεγράψας τὸ Διογένους ὁνομα τῆς θεᾶς πολλά ποτὲ κατεφεύγατο κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὁν ἐδρασεν ἐργῶν ὁποῖος τις ἦν γνωριζέθαν.

*Ἡλθεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Δεὸς; ἦνα τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς θεάσθηται; τὰ δὲ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίων

1 τῆς Cobet, τῆς τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.
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 more-
over that Diogenes was clearly convinced of this since
he obeyed the god and so became, instead of an exile,
I will not say greater than the King of Persia, but
according to the tradition handed down actually
an object of envy to the man ¹ who had broken the
power of Persia and was rivalling the exploits of
Heracles and ambitious to surpass Achilles. Then
let us judge of the attitude of Diogenes towards
gods and men, not from the discourses of Oenomaus
or the tragedies of Philiscus—who by ascribing
their authorship to Diogenes grossly slandered that
sacred personage—but let us, I say, judge him by
his deeds.

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

¹ i.e. Alexander.
τούς αὐτούς καὶ Παναθηναίους θεάσασθαι δέχα
πραγμάτων οἶνον τε ἂν; ἀλλὰ ἐθέλων ἐκεὶ τοῖς
κρατίστοις συγγενέσθαι τῶν Ἐλλήνων; οὐ γὰρ ὃ
Ἰσθμόνδε ἑφοίτων; οὐκ ἂν σὺν εὐροίς ἄλλην αἰτίαν
ἡ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπεῖαν. εἰ δ’ οὐκ ἔξε-
πλάγη τὸν κεραυνὸν οὐδὲ ἐγώ µᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς
πολλῶν πολλάκις πειραθεὶς διοσημών ἐξεπλάγην.
ἀλλ’ ἄρα οὗτος ὑπὲρ τοὺς θεοὺς περασκει καὶ
φιλὸς καὶ σέβω καὶ ἀξιομαί καὶ πάνθρ' ἀπλῶς τὰ
tοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοῖς πάσχω, ἀσπαστέρ ἂν τις καὶ
οἱ πρὸς ἄγαθους δεσπότας, πρὸς διδασκάλους,
πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας, πρὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς
tὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡστε ὅλων δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ῥήμα-
tῶν πρόθυρ’ εξανέστην. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ’
ἀντων πρόπον ἔπελθον ἵσως σιωπᾶσθαι δέον
ἐρρήθη.

Διογένης δὲ καὶ πένθος ὅποι καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεχὴ
eis Ἐλυμπλαν ἐβάδεζεν, Ὅλεξενδρον δὲ ἦκε πῶ
ἔκλεινε παρ’ ἕαυτον, εἰ τῷ πιστὸς ὁ Δίων. οὐκ
πρέπειν ἐνόμιζεν ἕαυτῷ μὲν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ D
τῶν θεῶν, τῷ βασιλικωτάτῳ δὲ τῶν καθ’ ἕαυτον
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνουσίαν. ἦ δὲ πρὸς Ἀρχίδαμον
γέγραψιν, οὗ βασιλικαὶ παραινέσεις εἰσίν; οὐ
μόνον δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ήν ὁ Διογένης θεοσεβὴς,
ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς έργοις. ἐξόμην γὰρ αὐτοῦ
οἰκεῖν τὰς 'Αθηναῖς ἐπείδη τὸ δαμόνιον εἰς τὴν
Κόρινθου ἀπήγαγεν, ἀφεθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πριμίου
τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτ’ φάσθη δεῖν ἐκλεπεῖν· ἐπέπειστο 213
γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς μέλειν εἰς τῇ τὴν Κόρινθου οὐ
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.
Τί δέ; οὔχι καὶ τοῦ Κράτητος μουσικὰ καὶ χαρίεντα φέρεται πολλὰ δέλματα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀσιώτητός τε καὶ εὐλαβείας; ἀκόνε γοῦν αὐτὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν, εἰ σοὶ μὴ σχολὴ γέγονε μαθεῖν Β ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐτά.

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηρὸς Ὅλυμπίου ἄγαλα τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένων
Χόρτον ἐμὴ συνεχῆ δότε γαστέρι, καὶ δότε χωρίς
Δουλοσύνης, ἢ δὴ λετῶν ἔθηκε βίον.

Ωφέλειμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δὲ οὐκ ἔθελω συνάγειν κλυτά, καὶ

Μύρμικός τε ἀφενός χρήματα μαίομενος,
'Αλλὰ δικαίοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλούτον ἀγαλ-

Εὐθυρον, εὐκτητον, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετῆν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν 'Ερμῆν καὶ Μοῦσας ἱλάσομ' ἀγνάς.
Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὀσίαις. D

ἤρις ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐφημῶν, οὔχι δὲ ὡς σὺ βλασ-

φημῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἦγχετο; πόσαι γὰρ ἐκατόμβαι

τῆς ὀσίας εἰσὶν ἀντάξιαι, ἢν καὶ ὁ δαμόνιος Εὐρ-

πίδης ὀρθῶς ὑμηρήσεν εἴπων

'Οσία ποτα μθεῶν, ὀσία;  

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

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

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

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

¹ Cf. Oration 6. 199 n. ² Bacchae 370.
ΤΗΣ ΟΡΑΤΙΟΝΘΥΔΟΥ, ΒΓ

Τούτο σε λέλθεν, ὅτι πῶντα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ, μετὰ τῆς ὀσίας τοὺς θεοὺς προσαγόμενα τὴν ἑσπερεμείνῃ δὲ τῆς ὀσίας ὑμᾶς ἑκατομβή μᾶθεος, ἀλλὰ ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χαλάμβη ἀνάλωμα μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλον δὲ οὐδέν; ὅπερ σῆμα γνωστίκου ὁ Κράτης αὐτὸς τε διὰ μόνης ἑς ἑκατομβὶς τοὺς θεοὺς ἔτιμα σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκε μὴ τὰ δαπανήματα τῆς ὀσίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀσίαν ἔκειν εἰς προτείμαν ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις. τοιοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἀνδρέ τοῦδε γενομένω τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμᾶς ἀκροατηρία συνεκροτητῆς τοῦ νομοῦ τῶν φίλων συνεγράφων

Ἀπλοῦς ὁ μύθος τῆς ἀλήθειας ἐφιπτεί σκιαγραφίας γὰρ φθεὶ τὸν ψευδὴ καὶ ἄδικον διεσθαί. τῆς οὖν τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τῆς συνουσίας ἐγνωτο; τῶν λόγων ἔγειτο τὰ ἔργα, καὶ οἱ τὴν πενίαν τιμῶντες αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι φαίνονται καὶ τῶν πατρόφων χρημάτων ὑπερβάλλετο, οἱ τὴν ἀτυφίαν ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτοι τὴν εὐτελείαν ἡσκον διὰ πάντων, οἱ τὸ τραγικὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἔξαιρευντο βίων οἰκών αὐτοῖ πρῶτοι τὰς ἀγορὰς ἡ τὰ τῶν θεῶν τεμένη, τῇ τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ῥημάτων διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπολέμησε, ἐργοῦσε ἐλέγχοντες, οὐ λόγῳ βοώντες, ὧτι τῷ Διὸ συμβασίλευεν ἐξεστὶν οὐδενὸς ἡ σμικρῶν πάνω

1 συνεκροτητῆς Cobet, Hertlein approue, συνεκροτητῶν MSS.
2 συνεγράφων Cobot, Hertlein approue, συνεγραφέων MSS.
3 φαίνονται Hertlein suggests, φαίνοντο MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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

\(^1\) i.e. in honour of Olympian Zeus.
\(^2\) Cf. Themistius 182 A.
\(^3\) Phoenissae 472.
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dεόμενον οὐδὲ παρανυχλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἐπετέρων δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσιν, ἣνικά ἔξων οἱ πταίσαντες, οὐκ ἀποθανόντας ἐβλασφήμουν, ἣνικα D καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οἱ μετριώτεροι σπένδονται τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ γε ἀληθινὸς κύριος ἐχθρῶν οὐδένα, κἂν τὸ σωμάτιον αὐτοῦ τις πατάξῃ, κἂν τούνομα περιέλθῃ, κἂν λουδόρηται καὶ ἐβλασφημή, διότι τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐχθρᾶς γίνεται πρὸς ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ ύπερβαίνει τὴν πρὸς ἐπέρων ἀκμαλλαν εἰνοῖα τιμᾶθαι φιλεῖ· κἂν τοῖς ἐπέρως ἔχῃ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐχθρός, οὐδὲ γὰρ βλαβερός, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτῷ παράτατον ὑποτιθεῖσ' τίμημα τὴν τοῦ κρεῖστονος ἀγνοιαν ἔρημος λείπεται τῆς ἐκείνου προστασίας. 21

Αλλ’ εἰ μὲν νῦν μοι προοόμενον περὶ Κυνισμοῦ graφεῖν, εἰπὼν ἄν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἔπει τὰ παρεστάμενά Β μοι τῶν εὐρημένων ἵσως οὐκ ἔλαβον· νῦν δὲ ἀποδεδόντες τὸ συνεχές τῇ προαιρέσει περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔσται χρή τοὺς πλαττομένους τῶν μύθων ἐφεξῆς σκοπῶμεν. ἤσως δὲ ἤγεται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐκεῖνη, ὡσοὶ τινὲς φιλοσοφία προσήκουν ἡ μυθογραφία. φαίνεται γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν θεολόγων ποιήσατε, διότι ὁ Ὀρφεὺς μὲν ὁ παλαιότατος ἐνθέως φιλοσοφήσας, οὐκ ἔλαβεν δὲ καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἐκείνων οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑνερφῶν φαίνεται καὶ Ἀντισθέ- νης καὶ Πλάτων προσχρησάμενοι πολλαχοῦ τοῖς μύθοις, διὸ ἢ μὲν πέφημεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ Κυνικῷ, φιλοσόφῳ γοῦν τινὶ προσήκειν ἡ μυθογραφία.

1 ἑπτάδες Hertlein suggests, ἑπτάδες 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.
Μικρὰ ὁμών ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἶτε μορφῶν εἶτε ὀργάνων προοροτέον. Ὑπὸ γὰρ οὐ μέγα τὸ διαφέρου ὀποτέρως ἀν τις τῷ πρακτικῷ καὶ τῷ φυσικῷ τῷ λογικῷ προσαρμήθη. Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ὁμοίως φαίνεται καὶ ἀμφότερα. τριῶν δὴ τούτων αὐθεντικῶν εἰς τρία τέμνεται, τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ μαθηματα καὶ τρίτον τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν γενομένων καὶ ἀπολλυμένων καὶ τῶν αἰδίων μὲν, σωμάτων δὲ ὁμοίως θεωριάν, τί τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τίς ἡ οὕσια ἐκάστων τοῦ πρακτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρα, ἡθικόν, οἰκονομικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ μῖαν οἰκίαν, πολιτικόν δὲ τὸ περὶ πόλιν ἢτε μέντοι τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀποδεικτικὸν διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων βιαστικῶν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν 216 φαινομένων ἐνδόξων παραλογιστικῶν. οὐτων δὴ τοσοῦτων τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν, εἰ μή τι μὲ λέληθε· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστῶν ἄνδρα στρατιώτην μὴ λινὸ ἐξακριβοῖν μηδὲ ἐξουρχῆσειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀτε οὐκ ἐκ βιβλίων ἀσκήσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προστυχούσης αὐτὰ ἐξωσ ἀποφθεγμένοιν ἔστεθεν γοῦν μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, εἰ τάς ἡμέρας λογίσασθε, πόσαι τεινέσ εἰσεν αἱ μεταξὺ ταύτης τῆς καὶ τῆς ἐναγχος ἡμῶν γενομένης ἀκρόασεως δοκεῖν τῇ ἡμῶν ἀσχολιών πλήρεις· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἐφην, εἰ καὶ Β το παραλείπεται παρ᾽ ἐμοῖ καὶ τον νομίζω νε γε μὴν ἐνδείω· πλὴν οἱ προστιθεῖσαν οὐκ ἐχθρόσ, ἀλλὰ φίλος ἔσται.

1 προοροτέον Reiske, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῷ πρακτικῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ τῇ ἡθικῇ MSS.
3 λογίσασθε Cobet, λογίσασθε Hertlein, MSS.

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TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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

¹ Plato, Timaeus 54 A.
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Toûtôn ēi tōn merōn óute tῆς λογικῆς prospēikei tῆς μεθογραφίας óute tōu fysikou1 tῆς mathematikῆς, mōnon ëi, eisēper ēra, tōn prakτikou tῆς prōs ēna γενομένη kai tōu theolŏgikou tῆς tēlestikῆς kai μυστικῆς filēi gára O ἡ φýsis krūptēsethai, kai tō ἀποκεκρυμμένον tῆς tōn theōn οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνοῖς εἰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοῖς rîptēsethai rîmasin. ëper ëi di tōn xarakτήρων ἡ ἀπόρρητος φύσις ἀφελεῖν pēfuke kai ἀγνοουμένη ἑραπεύει γοῦν οὐ ψυχῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σῶματα, kai theōn poieî parousiás: tōtû sîmai polllakí̂s γλγνεσθαι kai diá tōn múthōn, ὅταν eîs tās tōn polllōn ákoîs ou Ó díneménav tā theēi katharōs déξασθαι de iâiγεμάτων αὐτοῖς μετά tῆς múthōn skηnopoiîas éghësēi.

Φανερῶ ëi ἡ ἡγεμονεύου tîn kai poîo philosofíaîs eîdei kai μυθογραφεῖν ἐσθ' ὅτε προσpēkei prōs gâra tῆς λογῆς μαρτυρεῖ tōtouîs h tān prōlabōntōn àndrōn prōaireis. ἔπει kai Plάτων πολλά μεμυθολόγηται περί tōn en ádou pragmáton theolegōntai kai prō τῆς kallí̂pphēs, Ἄντισθένει ëi kai Θεoφωντε 217 kai āutô Plátōn pragmateneomένous ἡδικᾶs tīnas ùpoteîseis ou parērgos, āllâ metâ tīnos ἐμμελείαs h tān múthōn éγκαταμέμκεται γραφή, oûs s'ç δρēn, eisēper ëbōîlou, μιμούμενον ãnti mún Ἡρακλέους metalambānēn Pērsēwos h Ἐθησῶs

1 tōu fysikou τῆς Hortlein suggesta, τῆς φυσικῆς óute MSS,

2 s'ç δρēn Hortlein suggesta, δρēn 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,¹ and she does not suffer the hidden truth about the essential nature of the gods to be flung in naked words to the ears of the profane. Now there are certain characteristics of ours that derive benefit from that occult and unknown nature, which nourishes not our souls alone but our bodies also, and brings us into the presence of the gods, and this I think often comes about by means of myths; when through riddles and the dramatic setting of myths that knowledge is insinuated into the ears of the multitude who cannot receive divine truths in their purest form.

It is now evident what branch and what sort of philosophy may properly on occasion employ myths. And to support my argument I call to witness the authority of those philosophers who were the first to use myths. Plato for instance in his theological descriptions of life in Hades often uses myths, and the son² of Calliope before him. And when Antisthenes and Xenophon and Plato himself discuss certain ethical theories they use myths as one of the ingredients, and not casually but of set purpose. Now if you too wished to use myths you ought to have imitated these philosophers, and instead of Heracles you should have introduced the name of

¹ Heracleitus fr. 123, Diels; cf. Themistius 69 n.
² Orpheus.
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τινὸς ὄνομα καὶ τῶν Ἀντισθένειον τύπον ἐγχαράττειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς Προδίκου σκηνοποιήσαι ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἀμφοῖν τοῦτοι θεοὶ ἔτεραι ὁμοίαι εἰσάγειν εἰς Β τὸ θέατρον.

'Επεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν μύθων ἐπεμνήσθην, φέρε νῦν ὁποίους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς ἐκατέρω τῶν μερῶν ἀρμόττοντας αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἱδεῖν πειραθῶμεν, οὐκέτι μαρτύρων παλαιῶν ἐν πᾶσι προσδέομενοι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ νέοις ἔχουσιν ἀνδρός, ὃν ἐγώ μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ἵσης Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ Πλάτωνι ἀγαμαί τε τεθηπά τε. φησὶ δὲ οὐχ Σ ὑπὲρ πάντων οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τελεστικῶν, οὐς παρέδωκεν ἡμῶν Ὀρφεὺς ὁ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας τελετὰς καταστησάμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μύθοις ἀπεμφαίων αὐτῷ τούτῳ προοδοποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὅσοι γὰρ μᾶλλον παράδοξον ἔστι καὶ τερατώδες τὸ σήμα, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον οὐκε διαμαρτύρεσθαι, μὴ τοῖς αὐτῶθεν λεγομένοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ λεληθότα περιεργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι, πρὶν ἄν ὑπὸ θεοὺς ἰγε-μόσιν ἐκφανῇ γενόμενα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν τελέσθη, μᾶλ-λον δὲ τελειώσῃ νοῦν καὶ εἰ δὴ τὰς κρεῖττον ἡμῶν ὑπάρχει τοῦ νοοῦ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τῶν θεών μοιρά τις οἴκητο τῶν 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, in treating of those two gods you should have introduced into your theatre another setting of the same sort.

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

1 i.e. in his allegory the Choice of Hercules; Xenophon, Memorabilia 2. 1. 2; Julian, Oration 2. 56 n.
2 i.e. Pan and Zeus; cf. 208 n.
3 i.e. ethics and theology; cf. 216 n.
πάσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ὑπερεχούσης καὶ χωριστῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διεξηγήσεως παρουσίας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ἐπῆλθε μοι βασκχάλωντε μανῆν τὸν θεὸν δὲ \textsuperscript{218} ἐπιτίθημε τῇ γλώσσῃ περὶ τῶν ἄρρητων γὰρ οὐδὲν χρή λέγειν. ἀλλὰ μοι θεοὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οὐμάς δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, δοσι τέως ἐστὶ τούτων ἁμήντου, τὴν ὁμοιον δοεῖν.

Τὸπερ δὲ δὴν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκούσαι θέμες καὶ ἀνεμέσητον ἀμφότερος ἐστὶ, πάς λόγος ὁ προφερόμενος ἐκ τε λέξεως καὶ διανοιας συγκεκριμένης. οὐκόμης ἑπειδή καὶ ὁ μῦθος λόγος τὸς ἐστὶ, ἐκ δυοῖν τούτων συγκεκριμένης τοιοῦτος, σκοτεινὲς χείρες ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων δὲ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν. ἔστιν ἀπλὴ τῆς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ διάνοια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα προάγεται, τὰ παραδείγματα δὲ ἀμφότερος ἐστὶ πολλὰ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπλοῖν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖται ποικιλίας, τὸ δὲ σχηματισμένον ἔχει διάφορα ἐν ἐαυτῷ πολλὰ, διὸ, εἴ τι σοι τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἐμβλησθεὶς, οὐκ ἀξίων τοῦτος εἰ. τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν σχημάτων ἁρμότει τῷ μύθῳ τὰ πλέοντα: πλὴν ἐμοιγε οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν οὐθ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπαίτων ἐστὶ τά γε νῦν ῥήτεον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ δυοῖν, τοῦ τε σεμνοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τοῦ ἀπεμφαυνόντος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς λέξεως γίνεται. μορφοῦται γὰρ πῶς καὶ σχηματίζεται παρὰ τῶν μὴ προφερομένων εἰκῇ μὴν ὅσπερ χειμάρρους ἐλκούντως συρφέτους ῥημάτων ἐκ τῆς τριῶδου: ἀλλὰ τῶν δυοῖν τούτων, οὗτοι καὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν θείων πλάτωμεν, σεμνὰ χρή πάνυ.
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 manypossibilities 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. *Theog. 815*; *Aesch. Ag. 35.*
τα ρήματα εἰναι καὶ τὴν λέξιν ὡς ἐνι μᾶλιστα σώφρονα καὶ καλὴν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προπεδευτά-
την, τῶν ἀλογῶν δὲ μηδὲν καὶ βλασφήμων ἡ Δ
υσσεβῶν, ὅπως μὴ τῷ πλῆθει τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγοῖ τρασύτητος γενόμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτοῖ τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἰσο-
βηκέναι προλάβωμεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπεμφαίνων
εἰναι 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-
φαίνων τοῦ χρησίμου γεγονόμενον χάριν ἐγκριτέον,
ὡς ἄν μὴ τιμωρω προς ἀνθρώπου δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ
μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λαυθάνου μόσθαν καὶ πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν ὡς ἢ γεμότῳ τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμήθηκεν.
ἴδον γὰρ ἐγνω οὐλοίδος ἠκουσα λεγόμνων ἀνθρω-
ποι μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐπείπερ ἐκ Σεμέλης ἐγένετο,
θεὸν δὲ διὰ θεοργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς, ὁσπερ ὑπὸ
τὸν Β δεσπότην Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς
τὸν Ὁλυμποῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνθήξατο τοῦ Δαι.
ἀλλ᾽, ἀ τὰν, εἰπόν, οὐ ἔννεπε τοῦ μύθου φανερὸς
ἀνυπόμενον. τὸ γὰρ ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶν ὁσπερ
Ἡρακλέους, οὕτω δὴ καὶ Διονύσου, ἔχουσα μὲν
τὸ κρέατον καὶ ὑπερέχον καὶ ἐξηρήμενον, ἐν τῷ
μετρίῳ δὲ ὅρῳς ἐτὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
μένουσα καὶ πως ἀφομοιομένη πρὸς ἠμᾶς; Ἡρα-
κλῆς δὲ λέγεται παιδίον γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ
μικρὸν αὐτὸ τὸ σώμα τὸ θείου ἐπιδοῦμαι, καὶ

1 ὁ Cobet, ὁ Hortalin, MSS.
dignified and the diction must be as far as possible sober, beautiful, and entirely appropriate to the gods; there must be nothing in it base or slanderous or impious, for fear we should lead the common people into this sort of sacrilegious rashness; or rather for fear we should ourselves anticipate the common people in displaying impiety towards the gods. Therefore there must be no incongruous element in diction thus employed, but all must be dignified, beautiful, splendid, divine, pure, and as far as possible in conformity with the essential nature of the gods. But as regards the thought, the incongruous may be admitted, so that under the guidance of the gods men may be inspired to search out and study the hidden meaning, though they must not ask for any hint of the truth from others, but must acquire their knowledge from what is said in the myth itself.\footnote{Cf. \textit{Oration} 5, 170 B.C.} 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
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φαντάσται διδασκάλοις ἵστοργωταί, καὶ στρατεύσα-σθαί λέγεται καὶ κρατὴσαι πάντων, καμεῖν δὲ ὅρας κατὰ 1 τὸ σῶμα. καίτοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα μὲν ἥπερθε, μειζόνως δὲ ἡ κατ' ἄνθρωπον. διε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἀποσπάζων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ παραπατῶμεν τὰ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεῖα, θάλατα καὶ κρυμοίς, εἶτα τοῖς ἀπορωτά-τοις καὶ ἀμαχώτατοις, ἐνδείκτης λέγω τροφής καὶ ἀρρημα, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πορέλαν οἶμαι τοῦ πελάγους ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς κύλικας, ἢν ἐγὼ νομίζω μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ κύλικα εἶναι, βαδίσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἃς ἐπὶ ἡπεῖς τῆς θαλάττης νεόμικα. τὰ γὰρ ἄπορον ἦν Ἡρακλῆ; τὰ δὲ οὖχ ὑπήκουσιν αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ σώματι, τῶν λαγομάνων τούτων στοιχείων δουλευόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ δημιουργικῇ καὶ τελεσιουργῇ τοῦ ἀχράντου 220 καὶ καθαροῦ νοῦ δυνάμει; διὸ ο μέγας Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιστήσας αὐτῷ φύλακα τὴν θεοῦ ταύτην, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου προέμενος αὐτοῦ, 2 τῷ κόσμῳ σωτήρα ἐφύτευσεν, εἰτ' ἐπανήγαγε διὰ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὸ τῷ θείῳ συνθήματι τῆς αἰθρίας αὐγῆς ἦκειν παρ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ παιδὶ κελεύοντας. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ ὑμῖν Ἅλεως Ἡρακλῆς εἶ. 

Τὰ δὲ τῆς Διονύσου θρυλουμένης μὲν γενέσεως, ὅπως δὲ ὑν γενέσεως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίας ἐκφάνσεως Β κατὰ τί τοὺς ἄνθρωποις προσεοικεῖν; ἡ μήτερ

1 κατὰ Cobet, καὶ Hertlein, MSS.
2 Cf. Oration 4. 149 B.
by teachers;¹ they say that he carried on wars and defeated all his opponents, but for all that his body had to endure weariness. And in fact all this did in his case occur, but on a scale greater than human. For instance, while still in swaddling clothes he strangled the serpents and then opposed himself to the very elements of nature, the extremes of heat and cold and things the most difficult and hardest to contend with, I mean lack of food and loneliness;² and then there is his journey over the sea itself in a golden cup;³ though, by the gods, I do not think it was really a cup, but my belief is that he himself walked on the sea as though it were dry land.⁴ For what was impossible to Heracles? Which was there of the so-called elements that did not obey his divine and most pure body since they were subdued to the creative and perfecting force of his stainless and pure intelligence? For him did mighty Zeus, with the aid of Athene goddess of Forethought, beget to be the saviour of the world, and appointed as his guardian this goddess whom he had brought forth whole from the whole of himself; and later on he called him to his side through the flame of a thunderbolt, thus bidding his son to come to him by the divine signal of the ethereal rays of light. Now when we meditate on this, may Heracles be gracious to you and to me!

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

¹ Cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration 1. 61, Arnim. ² Cf. 230 n. 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, ὕπο τῆς "Ἡρας ξηλωτυποῦσης ἐξαπατηθεῖσα τὸν ἐραστήν ἐξελεπάρησεν ἢκειν, ὥσ παρὰ τὴν γαμητὴν εἰσὶθε φοιτῶν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν· εἶτα οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον τὸ σωμάτιον τῶν κτυπημάτων τοῦ Διός ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ κατεφλέγετο. πάντων δ' ὄμοι πυρουμένων, ἔρμοι κελεύσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρπάσαι τὸν Δίόνυσον καὶ τεμῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ μηρὸν ἔρραστεν· εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν, ἡνίκα ἐτελεσφορήθη τὸ βρέφος, ὦδινον ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τῶς Σεβάσματος ὀρχεταί· τὸ Διὸς ῥάμμα δὲ αὐτὸ τῇ μηρῷ προσεπάδουσι τὸν διαφραγμὸν ἡμῖν εἰς φῶς προήγαγον· εἶτα ἐμάνθη, φασίν, ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῆς "Ἡρας, ἑπανυγοῦν δ' αὐτῷ τῇ νόσον ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦν αὐτίκα θεὸς. εἰποντο γοῦν οὐ Δίκαιος αὐτῷ καθάπερ Ἡρακλεῖ οὐδὲ Θάλεως οὐδὲ Τελλαμίων οὐδὲ "Τιάς οὐδὲ "Αθήνης, ἀλλὰ Σάτυροι καὶ Βακχαὶ καὶ Πάνες καὶ δαιμόνων στρατεύματα. Ὁ ὅρας ὅπως ἀνθρωπικὴ μὲν ἢ ἀπορᾶ διὰ τῶν κεραυνῶν, ὡς ἀποκύψεις ἀνθρωπεκτέρα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ τῶν οἰρημένων προσομοιότερα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τὰ ἔργα; τὰ οὖν οὗ καταβάλλοντες τῶν λήρων ἔκειν πρὸ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅμοι, ὡς Σεμέλη σοφῆ τὰ θεῖα; παῖς γὰρ ἦν Κάδμου τοῦ Φοίνικος, τούτως δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ.

Πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὅδιοι μακάρων ἑδάκησαν λέγων. αἰσθέθησαι οὖν μοι δοκεὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτον 221 πρῶτη παρ᾿ Ἑλλησίου καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἐπεφάνειαν

1 σωμάτων ἐν τοῖς κτυπημάτοις Friederich; Hertlein approves but would omit ἐν· σωμάτων ἐν τοῖς κτυπημάτοις Hertlein, MSS., τὸ σωμάτων ἐν κτύπημα τῶν Reiske, ὑποθέτων Arnoldt.
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womb she, as the story goes, was beguiled by jealous, Hera to entreat her lover to visit her as he was wont to visit his spouse. And then her frail body could not endure the thunders of Zeus and began to be consumed by the lightning. But when everything there was being devoured by flames, Zeus bade Hermes snatch Dionysus forth, and he cut open his own thigh and sewed the babe therein.\(^1\) 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.
αυτοῦ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν προαγορεύσασα κινῆσαι μὲν θάττων ὃ προσήκον ἦν τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ὁρμῶν, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη τὸν εἰμαρμένον περιμεῖναι χρῶν, εἶτα ἀναλωθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ μνέντος ὑπ’ αὐτὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέδοκτο τῷ Διὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐνδούναι ἀρχὴν καταστάσεως ἐτέρας καὶ μεταβαλεῖν¹ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ νομαδικοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἡμερότερον, ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ Ὁ Ἰδὼνος αὐτοπτος ἐφαίνετο δαίμων, ἐπιφοιτῶν τὰς πόλεις, ἀγων μεθ’ ἕαυτος στρατιῶν πολλῆς δαιμονίων τινῶν² καὶ διδοὺς ἀνθρώποις κοινῇ μὲν ἀπασε σύμβολον τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ἡμερίδος φυτὸν, ὡς οὗ μοι δοκούσει, ἐξημερωθέντων αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ τῶν βίων, "Εἰληφες τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτὸ ταύτης ἀξίωσαι, μητέρα δ’ αὐτοῦ προσεπεῖν τῆς Σεμέλης διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τεμώντος αὐτὴν, ἄτε πρῶτην ιερό. Ο θεὸς τῆς ἐτειλανθής ἐπιφανείας.

Ὅσον δὲ, ὡς ἂν τις ἀκριβῶς σκοτῶν ἐξετάσει, τῆς ἱστορίας τοιαύτης, οἱ τῶν Διόνυσου ὅστις ποτέ ἔστι θεῶν ξητοῦντες τάλαμης ἢ ἠκούν ὡς ἐφην εἰς ἴδιαν διεσκεύασαν, αἰνεττόμενοι τὴν τε οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ κύριου καὶ τῶν ἀγέννητον αὐτοῦ τόκον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ³... ἐν τῷ παντί, καὶ τάλλα ἰδίᾳ δοσα τοῦ ξητείν ἢν ἄξια,⁴ φράζειν δὲ γ’ οὗ ῥάδια ἐμοί,

¹ μεταβαλεῖν Ηέρτλειν sugg. μεταβάλλειν MSS.
² τῶν Ηέρτλειν sugg. τῶν MSS.
³ κάσων... κατ... γρατ... ἐν V, lacuna MSS.
⁴ ἄξια, φράσειν δὲ γ’ οὗ ῥάδια ἐμὲ! Ηέρτλειν sugg. 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;¹ and they called Semele the mother of Dionysus because of the prediction that she had made, but also because the god honoured her as having been the first prophetess of his advent while it was yet to be.

Now since this is the historical truth of these events if they are accurately considered and examined, those who sought to discover what sort of god Dionysus is worked into a myth the truth which is as I said, and expressed in an allegory both the essential nature of the god and his conception in his father Zeus among the intelligible gods, and further his birth independently of generation in this our world.² ... in the whole universe, and in their proper order all those other facts which are well worth

¹ ἡμέρα = the vine; ἧμερα = gentle.
² Here follows a lacuna of several words.
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tυχον μεν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄγροείν ἐτε περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀκριβές, τυχον δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοντες τὸν κρύφιον ἀμα καὶ φανέρων θεῶν ὁσπερ ἐνθὴν προβάλλειν ἀκοαῖς ἀνεξέταστοι καὶ διανοίας ἐπὶ πάντα μάλλον ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τετραμμέναι.

'Αλλ' ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων ἤστω Διόνυσος αὐτὸς, ὁ καὶ προσεύχομαι τάς τε ἐμᾶς καὶ τάς ὑμετέρας ἐκβαλκέεσαι φρένας ἐπὶ τὴν ἅληθῆ τῶν θεῶν γνώσιν, ὅσι ἂν μὴ πολύν ἀβάκχευτοι χρόνου τῷ θεῷ μένοντες ὅποσα ὁ Πενθεὺς ἐπαθώμεν, ἢσις 222 μὲν καὶ ξίντες, πάντως δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ σῶματος. ὅτερ γὰρ ἄν ἢ μὴ τὸ πεπληθυσμένον τῆς ξωῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνοείδους καὶ ἐν τῷ μεριστῷ παντελῶς ἀδιαιρέτου ὄλης τε ἐν πάσιν ἀμώγους προὔπαρχοισιν οὐσίας τοῦ Διουσοῦ τελεσίουργητῆς ταῦτα περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνθέου θαλκέας, τούτορ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πολλά ῥυθμῖν τὴν ζωήν, ῥυθμίζεις δὲ διεστάθαι καὶ διαστασθέας οὐχεῖσαι τὸ δὲ ῥυθμίζεις καὶ διαστασθέας μὴ προ- σέχων τοῖς τρώοις ὑδάτιοις μηδὲ λίνου μήρερον ἀκροασθω, ἐξυνεῖτω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα τρόπου ἄλλον, διὰ Πλάτων, διὰ Πλατῖνος, διὰ Πορφύριος, διὰ τοὺς διαμόνοις Ἰάμβλιχος. ὅσο δ' ἂν μὴ ταύτη τοιῇ, γελᾶσται μὲν, ἦστο μέντοι

1 Πενθεὺς ἐπαθεῖ MSS.; Hertlein would omit ἐπαθεῖ.
2 ἢ Hertlein would add.
3 τελεσίουργητῆς Hertlein suggests, τελεσιουργηθη MSS.

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

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

¹ Cf. Plato, Republic 382 d.
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Σαρπάνιου γελών ἐρήμος ὁν ἂλ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώσεως, ὡς ἀντάξιον οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔπιτροπεύεσθαι τὴν βαρβάρων Ο ἤγαγε θείμην ἂν, οὔ μα τῶν ἐμὸν δεσπότην Ἡλίουν. ἀλλὰ με πάλιν οὖκ οἴδας ὅστες θεῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐβάκχευσθεν οὗ προελόμενον.

Οὗ δὲ ἐνεκεν ἐφ᾽ αὐτὰ· κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμφαίνοντες ἄστων οἱ μύθοι γίγνονται περὶ τῶν θεῶν, αὐτόθεν ἡμῖν ὁσπερ βοώσι καὶ διαμαρτύρονται μὴ πιστεύειν ἄπλως, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεληθὸς σκοπεῖν καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι. τοσοῦτος δ' ἐστὶ κρείττων ἐν τούτως τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἀπεμφαίων, ὅσοι δὲ μὲν ἐκείνου καλοὺς λοιπὸς καὶ μεγάλους καὶ ἄγαθούς, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὁμοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτων κίνδυνος νομίζοι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπεμφαίωντων ὑπερείδοντας τῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λεγομένων ἔπε τὴν ἐξηρημένην αὐτῶν οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπερέχουσαν πάντα τὰ ὀρνα καθαρὰν νόησιν ἐλπὶς ἀναδραμεῖν.

Ἄλλα μὲν οὖν αὐταὶ τοῦ τῆς τελεστικῆς καὶ 223 μυσταγωγῶν φιλοσοφίας τὰ μὲν ῥήματα παντὸς μᾶλλον εὐαγγὴ καὶ σεμνά προφέρεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀλλοιωτέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν τοιούτων. ὥστε τῆς τῶν ἦδων ἐπανορθώσεως ἐνεκα τούς λόγους πλάττων καὶ μύθους παράγων δράτω ¹ τούτῳ μὴ πρὸς ἀνδρας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδας

¹ δράτω τούτῳ Hortlein suggests, πρὸς τῷ MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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

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

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

¹ A proverb for forced laughter, cf. Odyssey 22. 302; Plato, Republic 337 a.
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ητοι καθ' ἡλικίαιν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν, πάντως δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων δεομένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἤμεῖς σοι παίδες ἐφάνημεν εἴτε ἐγώ εἴτε Ἁνατόλιος ούτοσί, Β συγκαταρίθμησε δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Μεμόριον καὶ τὸν Σαλούστιον, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξής, Ἀντικύρας σοι δεῖ τί γὰρ ἂν ἀκκίζοιτο τις; ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μῦθου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ κοινῆ πάντων βασιλέως Ἡλίου, τί σοι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν πεποίηται ἔργον; τίνι παρέστησιν ἀγωνιζομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου; τίνα ἐθεράπευτα πενθοῦντα, τῷ λόγῳ διδάξας, ὁτι ο μὴ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μήτε τῷ παθόντι μήτε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ; τίς δὲ αἰτίασεται σὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μειρακίσκος σωφροσύνης, ὅτι πεποίηκας αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀσώτου σόφρονα καὶ καλὸν οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν φαίνεσθαι; τίνα δὲ ἀσκησιν ἐποίησον τοῦ βίου; τί δὲ σοι ἀξίου τῆς Διογένους βακτηρίας ἢ καὶ μὰ Δία τῆς παρρησίας πεποίηται; ἔργον οὐκ μέγα βακτηρίαν λαβέιν ἢ τρίχας ἀνείναι, καὶ περινοστεῖν τὰς Δ πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν βελτίστοις λοιδορεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ χειρίστοις θεραπεύεις; εἰπέ πρὸς τοῦ Δίος καὶ πρὸς τούτων τῶν ἀκροβυ- μένων, εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐκτρέπονται, ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς μὲν τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνστάντιον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἠλθεῖς, οὐκέτα μέντοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν Γαλλῶν; καὶ τοῖς πορευθέσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἔνυειν γοῦν σοι τῆς φωνῆς μᾶλλον
or intelligence, and who on all accounts stand in need of such tales. If, however, you took us for children, me, for instance, or Anatolius here, and you may reckon with us Memmorianus 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 Helleboros, supposed to be a cure for madness, grew at Anticyra; hence the proverb: cf. Horace, Satires 2. 3. 166.
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dunaméno pleraiazein èmelleis ànthrṓpōs. tì dè 224
kal tò perifòután pantachou kai parèchein prá-
gramata tais hèmionois; ákous dawn ègomega kai tòis
tais hèmionous òlahnousin, oì màllon úmàs h tòis
stratìóstas pebrikatai: xhrèseis òar autòis tòis
èulos 1 ákous tînas úmòn xalèpòteron ò tòis
èfèsen èkeinoi. ògynrèsthè oûn autòis eikòtías
foberwteroi. vàlai mês oûn úmìn òbèmènh ògò
tòutò tò òvoma, ùni dè autò èosika kai gráphi
B

àpoptástas tînas ònoomáxousin oûi òunósebèis
Galllaioun toûton oûi plèious mikra proèmenoi
pollà pànn, màllon dè tò pánta pantachóthen
ènugkomìzousin, kai proøktównai 2 tò timàsthai
kai dórfvopoèsthai kai theorpréièsthai. toioúto
thi kai tò ùmèteron èrhoùn èstè, plèn ìsos tò
xhèmatìzeièsthai. tòutò dè òôh parì úmàs ògynròta,
pò parì hèmas dè svnetòteroi òar èsmèn tòn
ánôtìwn èkeinòn ìsos dè kai diá tò mèdèn úmìn èi

1 tòis èulos Hertlein would add; Naber suggests δαυτήσεις.
2 proøktównai Hertlein suggests, òropòs òlìròi MSS.
comprehend your language. What do you gain by travelling about in all directions and wearing out the very mules you ride? Yes, and I hear that you wear out the mule drivers as well, and that they dread the sight of you Cynics even more than of soldiers. For I am told that some of you belabour them more cruelly with your staffs than do the soldiers with their swords, so that they are naturally more afraid of you. Long ago I gave you a 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 pretexts as they do; which they call "alms," whatever that may mean. But in all other respects your habits and theirs are very much alike. Like them you have abandoned your country, you wander about all over the world, and you gave more trouble than they did at my headquarters, and were more insolent. For they were at any rate invited to come, but you we tried to drive away. And what good have you, or rather, what have the rest of us derived from all this? First arrived Asclepiades, then Serenianus, then Chytron, then a tall boy with yellow hair—I don't know his name—then you, and with you all

¹ Or "solitaries"; the word also means "heretic"; but Julian evidently alludes to Christian monks who lived on charity.
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ti oûn êk tîs òmêteraos aoûdou gêgonen âgathôn, 
v o lòsthic; tîs ãôsthic toûs ãôsthic tîs idîôthos tîs 
òmêteraos paroûsias; ouk àphrônous móv tî ãôsthic 
àrhêhês eîlêsthê tîn ëpl tîn ouûde ãôsthic òmân 
sthlon tâ basileiai porêias, àneklîkontes de àphrônêstera 
aûthê kai àmabhêstera kai mânôdêstera ãêrhê-
sais tê, kolakëuûntas ãma kai ùlakëûntas kai 
âvblhâ dûnta kai tânta prosaxhêñai1 pros- 
astê 225 lûparhsântas; ouûdeûn ãîmôn oûma iêgh tosau-
tákis eûs filôsôphous fôiûntas, ãsâkis eûs 
ántiûrâphêsûs, âsttê ãîmân 'Akadêmieia kai Lûkeiôv 
ántî tîs Poiîkîlês tê ãî tîw basileiôw tâ 
prôûroa.

Oûk àsêxête taûta; ou katâbâleîte vûn 
gôun, ei kai mi prôteron, ãsttê ãîmôn ouûdeûn êstî 
pîleûn ápô tîs kêmhs kai tîs bakhêria; pôû de 
kai gêgonen ùf' ãîmôn eûkatafrôunhtas ãî filô-
sôphia; tûw ãîntôrikês ou diûmasbêstatoi kai ouû 
B ùn auûtou tîw basileiôw 'Ermôû tîn ãlôttan 
êkkabathûntas dûnamenon, phrênôntas de ouûde 
pôs auûtûs tîs 'Ahthânas sthô tû 'Ermh, tôuto ãk 
tîs àgoraious kai perîpethousûs àrphâstantes 
ëntrexeías- ouûde yárh èn paroûmai perîferomeûnon 
aûtho ãgnôskouûs tô ãtî bôtrîun prôs bôtrîun 
pêpallêtaî; àrmofûn èpî tûn 'Kynsômwn bakhê-
ria, trîbbôn, kûmh, tô èntêthven âmabhia, ìhrásoûs, O 
ìtaróthos kai pûnta ãplôdê tâ tûnûnta. tîn 
sûntouû, fàsîn, ãôdûn kai sîntouû èpî tîn

1 prosaxhêñai Hertlein suggests, praxhêñai 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 imporing that they should be taken to me? I do not believe that any one of you ever visited a philosopher's school as diligently as you did my secretary: in fact the entrance to the Palace stood for you in place of the Academy and the Lyceum and the Portico.

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

1 A proverb to express emulation; cf. Juvenal 2. 81.
2 Plutarch, Erotici p. 758, says this of the Cynics; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7. 121.
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ἀρετὴν ἴνα ἔκει, ὁ ἐφέστερος ὦ μεγάλε, ἀν ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἡ διὰ ταύτης ἠλθετε. οὐκ ἔστε, ὅτε μεγάλας ἔχουσιν αἱ σύντομοι τὰς χαλεπότητας; καὶ ἄσπερ ἄν ταῖς λεωφόροις ὁ μὲν τὴν σύντομον ἔλθειν δυνηθεὶς ῥᾷσον ἐκπερέεισε τὴν κύκλω, οὐκέτερος μὲντοι τὸ ἀνάπαυεν ἀνεύρεις πορευθεῖς ἔλθοι ἄν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐπίτομον, οὕτω δὲ ὁ θεός· οὕτω δὲ ἂν τῇ φιλοσοφία τέλος τῇ ἔστε καὶ ἄρχῃ μὲν γνώναι τε ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἀφομοιώθηνα τοῖς θεοῖς; ἄρχῃ μὲν οὖν ἐαυτὸν γνώναι, τέλος δὲ ή πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας ὁμοιότητι.

"Ὅσιν ὁ Κυνικός εἶναι ἐθέλει, πάντων ὑπερ-ιδῶν τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοξῶν, εἰς ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέστραπται πρότερον. ἔκειν τὸ χρυσὸν οὐκ ἔσται χρυσὸν, οὐκ ἡ ψάμμος ψάμμος, εἰ πρὸς ἁμοιβὴν τοῖς αὐτὰ ἔχεταί καὶ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψεις αὐτῷ τιμητὴ γενέσθαι γὴν γὰρ αὐτὰ οἶδεν 226 ἀμφότερα. τὸ σπανιώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ράσον ἀνθρώπων εἶναι κενοδοχίας ταύτα καὶ ἁμαθίας νεώ-μικεν ἔργα· τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἐπανωμένοις η ψευδωμένοις τίθεται, ἄλλο εὖ τῇ φύσει φεύγει τὰς περιττὰς τροφὰς ἀποστρέ-φεται δὲ τὰ ἀφομοίωσι. βιαζόμενος δὲ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ δόξῃ προστέτηκεν οὔ δὲ περιμένει τὸν μύγανον καὶ τὰ ἱππόρριμμα καὶ τὴν κυλίσαν, οὔ δὲ τὴν Φρύνην οὔ δὲ τὴν Λαδίαν οὔ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πεᾶν τοῖς Πεῖτεν ταῖς ναμικέτιν οὔ δὲ τὸ θυγατρικὸν Β οὔ δὲ τὴν θεράπαιναν· ἄλλο ὡς ἐνε μᾶλιστα ἐκ τῶν

1 ἴδια Cobet, παρασκευὴ Hertlein sugg. lacuna V.
2 ἴδια Cobet, ἴδια Hertlein, MSS.
3 τοῦ ἴδιον Cobet, τοῦ δὲ Hertlein, MSS.
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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προστύχόντων ἀποπλήσας τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρωσάμενος, ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῆς ὘λύμπου κορυφῆς ἐπιβλέπει τοὺς ἄλλους

"Ἀτης ἐν λειμῶνι κατὰ σκότον ἡλάσκοντας,
ὑπὲρ ὀλγων παντάπασιν ἀπολαύσεων ὑπομένουν·
τα σασ αὐθὲν παρὰ τὸν Κωκυτὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα
θρυλοῦσιν οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ σύντο-
μος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὐτὴ. δει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄθροως
ἐκόπτῃ έχαρτοι καὶ γνώναι, διε θείος ἐστι, καὶ
tὸν νοῦν μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀτρότως καὶ ἀμετακινή-
τος συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ
καθαροῖς νόμισμα, ὀλγωρθεῖ δὲ πάντη τοῦ
σώματος καὶ νοσίζειν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον
κοπρίων ἐκβλητέον, ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστατον δὲ αὐτῷ
tὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληροῦν, ἦσαν ὁ θεὸς ὅσπερ
ὁρμάτω τὸ σώματι χρήσθαι ἐπιτάττῃ.

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὡς φασὶ ταύτη. 1 ἐπανάξω δὲ
δὲν ἔξεβρων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς μύθους προσήκει
πρὸς παίδας ἦτοι τὸ φρονεῖν, κἂν ἄνδρες ὄσιν, ἡ
καὶ τοὺς καθ ἡλικιῶν παιδαρίοις ἀπαγγέλλειν,
ἐξεστέων ὅπως μήτε εἰς θεοὺς μήτε εἰς ἄνθρω-
ποὺς πλημμέλη ἢ, καθάπερ ἔναγχος, δυσσεβές τι
ῥηθείν· καὶ προστεί τούτο ἐν ἀπασίν ἀκριβῶς
βασανιστέον, εἰ πιθανός, εἰ τοὺς πράγμασι προσ-
φυς, εἰ μύθος ἐστὶν ἠλθῶς ὁ πλαστόμενος. ἐπεὶ
tὸ γε νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένον οὐ μύθος ἔστι σός· 2
καὶ τούτο γε ἐνεανεύσω: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν μύθος

1 ὡς φασὶ ταύτῃ Cobet, cf. Oration 4. 148 n, lacuna Hert-
leian, MSS.
2 σετ Hertlein suggests; σέτ, ὡς ἠφη 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. Oratio 4. 148 b. ⁴ D 023 a.
εστι παλαιός, εφήμροσας δὲ αὐτὸν σὺ πράγμασιν 227 ἐτέρους, ὅπερ οἶμαι ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ τῇ τροπικῇ χρώμενοι τῶν νοημάτων κατασκευή. πολὺς δὲ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Πάριος ἐστὶ ποιητής. έοικας οὖν οὐδὲ πεποιηκὼς μύθον, ὁ ἐνυπνάτοτε, μάτην νεανικεῖσθαι· καίτου τούτο τίτθης ἔργον ἐστὶν εὐτραπέλου. Πλούσιρχον δὲ εἰ τὰ μυθικὰ διηγήματα τῶν σῶν έσον χειρῶν ἀφίκτου, οὕτω τὸν ἐλεύθερον σε, τίνι διαφέρει πλάσασι τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς μύθον καὶ τὸν κειμένον ἑφαρμόσαι πράγμασιν οἰκείοις. ἀλλ' Β' ἤλοις μῆς τῇ ποιμαντῷ ὁδεύοντα βίβλους ἐμβαλόνων μακραίς καὶ δυσελίκτοις ἐπίσχον μικρὰ καὶ πεδίσχωσ. σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀκήκοας μύθον, ὅν ἐποίησεν ὁ Παιανιέος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἢνίκα ὁ Μακεδών ἔξηγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ῥήτορας. ἔχρηθ' οὖν τι τοιοῦτο πλάσασι· ἢ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἔργου ἢν εἰπεῖν μυθάρημον τι τοιοῦτον; ἀναγκάσεις δὲ με καὶ μυθοποιοῦν γενέσθαι.

Πλούσιον ἀνδρὶ πρόβατα ἢν πολλὰ καὶ ἀγέλαι θ' ἔρων καὶ αἰτόλια πλατέ ἄγγων, ἐποίοι δὲ αὐτῷ πολλάκις μυρίαι ἔλος κατὰ βουκολέοντο, καὶ ποιμένες δοῦλοι τε καὶ ἐλεύθεροι μυσθωτοί, καὶ βουκόλοι βοῶν καὶ αἰγῶν αἰτόλιοι καὶ ἐποφόρβοι τῶν ἐποίων, καὶ πλεῖστα κτήματα. τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ παθὴρ ἀπελευότεπι, πολυλαπλάσια δε αὐτὸς ἐπεκτήσατο,1 πλουτεῖν θέλων

1 ἐπεκτῆσατο Naber, ἐπεκτῆσατο Hertlein, MSS.
but adapt it to fresh circumstances, as I believe people are in the habit of doing who use tropes and figures of thought. The poet of Paros for instance is much given to this style. It seems then that you did not even invent your myth, my very clever friend, and that yours was an idle boast. Though in fact the thing is done by any nurse with an inventive turn. And if the mythical tales of Plutarch had ever fallen into your hands you would not have failed to observe what a difference there is between inventing a myth from the beginning and adapting to one's own purpose a myth that already exists. But I must not detain you even for a moment or hinder you on your way along that short cut to wisdom by making you embark on books that are long and hard to read. You have not even heard of the myth by Demosthenes which he of the Paeanian 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 had numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and "ranging flocks of goats" and many times ten thousand mares "grazed his marsh-meadows." Many shepherds too he had, both slaves and hired freedmen, neatherds and goat-herds and grooms for his horses, and many estates withal. Now much of all this his father had bequeathed to him, but he had himself acquired

1 Archilochus. 2 Iliad 2. 474. 3 Constantine. 4 Iliad 20. 221.
ἐν δέκα τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην· ἐμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἱδέων ὑλόν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ γιναῖκες πολλαὶ Δ καὶ νεῖροι ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες, οἷς ἐκείνος διαινέμας τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπειτα ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς οἰκονομίας πέρι διδάξας, οὐδ’ ὅπως ἂν τις δύνατο τὰ τοιαῦτα κτάσθαι μὴ παρόντα ἢ παρόντα διαφυλάττειν. ἥκετο γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἀρκεῖν τὸ πλήθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐ μελα ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοιαύτης τέχνης, ἀτε ἡ λόγῳ προσεειληφός αὐτὴν, ἄλλα συνηθείᾳ τινὶ καὶ πείρᾳ μᾶλλον, ὅσπερ οἱ φαύλοι τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐκ 228 τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνον ἱόμενοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅθεν καὶ διαφεύγει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτοῦς. ἀρκεῖν οὐν νομίζας τὸ πλήθος τῶν νείρων πρὸς τὸ φυλάξαι τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲν ἐφροντίσαν ὅπως ἔσουται σπουδαίοι. τὸ δὲ ἄρα αὐτῶς ἤρθε πρώτως μὲν τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικημάτως. ἐπιθυμῶν γὰρ ἐκαστὸς ὅσπερ ὁ πάτηρ πολλὰ ἥχειν καὶ μόνος πάντα ἐπὶ τὸν πέλας ἐτράπη. τέως μὲν Ἐ σοῦ τούτω ἐπράπτητο. προσαπέλαυν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἥγγεινες, οὕτω αὐτοὶ παιδευθέντες καλῶς, τῆς τῶν παιδῶν ἀνοίας τε καὶ ἀμαθίας. εἰτα ἐπίπλατο φύσιν πάντα, καὶ ἡ τραγικὴ κατάρα ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος εἰς ἔργον ἤγετο· τὰ πατρίδα γὰρ θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ διελάγχανον, καὶ ἣν πάντα ἄκοσμίας πλήρη· πατρίδα μὲν ἵππο κατεσκάπτει παρὰ τῶν παιδῶν διεγερθέντα πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀποσύληθέν ταῖς ἀναθημάτων, ἐτέθειτο Κ

1 αὐτῷ τῶν Klimex, αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Hertlein, MSS.
many times more, being eager to enrich himself whether justly or unjustly; for little did he care for the gods. Several wives he had, and sons and daughters by them, among whom he divided his wealth before he died. But he did not teach them how to manage it, or how to acquire more if it should fail, or how to preserve what they had. For in his ignorance he thought that their mere numbers would suffice, nor had he himself any real knowledge of that sort of art, since he had not acquired his wealth on any rational principle but rather by use and wont, like quack doctors who try to cure their patients by relying on their experience only, so that many diseases escape them altogether.\footnote{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 curse\footnote{2} 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

\footnote{1}{Cf. Plato, \textit{Charmides} 156 e.}

\footnote{2}{The curse of Oedipus on his sons; cf. Euripides, \textit{Phoenissae} 67; Plato, \textit{Alcibiades} 2. 138 c; Aeschylus, \textit{Seven Against Thebes} 817, 942.}
παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ. καθαίρουμεν δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνακοδομεῖτο παλαιὰ καὶ νέα μνήματα, προαγορεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης, οτι ἂρα πολλῶν αὐτοῖς δεχόμεθε μνημάτων οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον ἔμελε τῶν θεῶν.

Πάντων οὖν ὁμοῦ φυρομένων καὶ ξυπνελουμένων γάμων τε οὐ γάμων καὶ βεβηλουμένων ὁμοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τὸν Δία Ἡλίον ὑπῆλθεν· ἐπὶ ἀποκάλυψιν πρὸς τὸν Ἡλίον· οὗ παρεῖ, εἰπεν, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἀρχαίοτερον ἐν θεοῖς βλάστημα, μητέρικαίνων ἐκ διανοιὴ τῆς ὑπερφυσάς ἁνδρὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τολμήρῳ, ὅσον ἀπολεπτοῦν αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει αἵτιος· ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων; ὠ νομίζεις, ὅτι μὴ χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ μὴ ἀγανακ- 229 τείς μηδέ ἐπὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τοῦς όλοτοὺς θύγατεις, ἐλαττον εἶναι ταύτης αἵτιος αὐτῷ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἐρήμων αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίας ἅμαι; ἀλλ', ἔφη, καλὸ- μεν τὰς Μοῦρας, εἰ τῇ βοηθητέος ο ἀνδρὶ ἐστὶν. αἱ δὲ ὑπῆκουσαν αὐτίκα τῷ Δίῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἡλίος, ὁσπερ ἐννοοῦν τε καὶ λογικόμενος αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ, προσεῖχεν εἰς τὸν Δία πῆξας τὰ ὅμματα. τῶν Μοῦρον δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη· Καλύτερον, ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, ἡ Ὀσιότης ξὺν τῇ Δίκη. σῶν οὖν ἐργον ἐστὶν, ἐπείπερ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσας ὑπεικαθεῖν αὐτάς, ὃ πείσαι καὶ ἐκαίνας. ἀλλ' ἐμαὶ γάρ εἰσιν, ἔφη, θυγατέρες, καὶ ἄξιον δὴ ἐρέσθαι αὐτάς· τι τοῖνυν,
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

that had been dedicated by many worshippers, but not least by his own ancestors. And besides demolishing the temples they erected sepulchres\(^1\) both on new sites and on the old sites of the temples, as though impelled by fate or by an unconscious presentiment that they would ere long need many such sepulchres, seeing that they so neglected the gods.

Now when all was in confusion, and many marriages that were no marriages\(^2\) were being concluded, and the laws of god and man alike had been profaned, Zeus was moved with compassion, and addressing himself to Helios he said: "O my son, divine offspring more ancient than heaven and earth, art thou still minded to resent the insolence of that arrogant and audacious mortal, who by forsaking thee brought so many calamities on himself and his race? Thinkest thou that, though thou dost not show thine anger and resentment against him nor whet thine arrows against his children, thou art any less the author of his destruction in that thou dost abandon his house to desolation? Nay," said Zeus, "let us summon the Fates and enquire whether any assistance may be given the man." Forthwith the Fates obeyed the call of Zeus. But Helios who was as though absorbed in thought and inward debate yet gave constant heed and fixed his eyes on Zeus. Then spoke the eldest of the Fates: "O our father, Piety and Justice both restrain us. Therefore it is thine to prevail on them also, since thou hast ordered us to be subservient to them." And Zeus made answer, "Truly they are my daughters, and it

\(^1\) The Christian churches were so called because they were built over the tombs of the martyrs.  
\(^2\) i.e. between cousins.
ὁ πατὴρ, διὸ οἱ οὗτοι μὲν, εἰπώτερα, οἱ πάτερ, αὐτοῖς εἰ κύριοι. σκόπει δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀνθρώπους ὁ πονηρὸς οὕτως τῆς ἀνοσοευργίας ζῆλος μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπικρατήσῃ. 1 πρὸς ἀμφότερα, εἰτεν, ἐγὼ σκέψομαι. καὶ ἡ Μοῖραι πλησίον παροῦσαι πάντα ἐπέκλωθον, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἔβούλετο.

Δέγειν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρχεῖ αὐτός τῶν "Ἡλίου" τούτο τὸ παιδίου, ἐφ' ἔγγενες δὲ ἢν αὐτῶν ἄρα παρερρευμένον ποι ἀμελούμενον, ἀδελφίδοις ἐκείνου τοῦ πλουσίου ἢν ἀνεψίος τῶν κληρονόμων· τοῦτο, ἐφ' ἂν ἄστιν ἔγγον. ὁμοσώ σῶν ὁ ἑμῶν τε καὶ τὸ σῶν 2 σκῆπτρον, ἢ μὴ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι διαφερόντως αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιμανεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ θεραπεύσειν τῆς νόσου. ὁμας γὰρ ὅπως οἶον ὑπὸ Διὸς καπνοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀναπέλησται καὶ λυγισθῆσθαι καὶ ψυχοῦσιν τὸ ὑπὸ σοῦ σπάρεν ἐν αὐτῷ πῦρ ἀπεσβήσομαι, ἢ μὴ σὺ γε δύσεις ἄλκην. σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ τε ἐγγορω καὶ ἡ Μοῖραι κόμιζε οἰον αὐτὸ καὶ τρέψε. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς "Ἡλίῳς ἡφαίσθη τοῦ σαθῆς τῷ βρέφει, σωζόμενον ἐτε καθορῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σπυριθήρα μικρῶν ἐξ ἕαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐντεύθεν ἐτρέφειν ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον, ἔσωσαν· ἐκ τῆς αἴματος ἐκ τε κυδομοῦ "Εκ τῆς ἀνδροκτισίας. 230

ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τῇ ἀμύτορα, τὴν παρθένον ἁμα τῷ "Ἡλίῳ τῷ παιδάριον ἐκτρέφειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράφη καὶ νεανίας ἐγέρετο

Πρῶτον ὑπηκότης, τοῦπερ χαρίστατό ἦβη,

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

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

¹ Julian himself.
² Iliad 9. 231.
³ Iliad 11. 164.
⁴ Iliad 24. 348.
κατανοήσας τῶν κακῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὅποιον τι περὶ
tούς ἐνυγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄνεψιος ἐγερόντει,
ἐδέση μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τάρταρον προέσθαι πρὸς
τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς. ἔπει δὲ Ἡλίως B
εὑμενῆς ὅν μετὰ τῆς Προνοίας 'Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπνοῦν τινὰ
καὶ κάροιν ἐμβαλῶν τῆς ἐπινοίας ταύτης ἀπήγαγεν,
αὐθὸς ἀνεγέρθης ἀπεισὼν εἰς ἔρημλαν. εἶτα ἐκεῖ
λίθον τινὰ ἐφώδων μυκρὸν ἀνεπάύσατο καὶ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐσκότει, τίνα τρόπον ἐκφεύξεται τῶν τοσοῦ-
tῶν κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος; ἣδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντα
ἐφαίνετο μοχθῆρα, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τέως. Ο
'Ἑρμῆς οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν οἰκεῖος πρὸς
αὐτόν ὡσπερ ἥλιαντώτης νεανίσκος φανεῖς ἁπασ-
σατό τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ, Δευρό, εἶπεν, ἡγεμόνι σοι
ἐγὼ ἔσωμαι λειστέρας 1 καὶ ὀραλεστέρας ὁδοῦ
tουτὸ τὸ μικρὸν ὑπερβάντε τὸ σκολιὸν καὶ ἀπό-
tομον χαρίν, οὐ πάντας ὅρας προσπεπαίνεται καὶ
ἀπιόντας ἐντεύθεν ὅπλον. καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀπιῶν
ὁ γεγοντα μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἑχὼν παρ' ἑαυτῷ
ξίδως τε καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ, 2 γυμνὰ δὲ αὐτῷ
τέως ἢν τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. πεποίθοις οὖν αὐτῷ D
προῆγεν εἰς τὸ πρόσω διὰ λείας ὀδοῦ καὶ ἀθρόπτου
καθαρὰς τε πάνω καὶ καρποὺς βρεθοῦσας ἀνθεσί
tε τολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὡσ ὡσι θεοῦς φίλα, καὶ
δεύδετε κείνο καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρρίνης. ἁγαγόν
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τε μέγα καὶ ὕψηλῶν δρόσω, Ἐπὶ
tούτου, ἐφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ο πατὴρ πάντων
cάθηται τῶν θεῶν. ὁρὰ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἑστὶν ὁ
μέγας κύνδυνος; ὅπως αὐτὸν ὡς εὐαγγεστὰ
προσκυνήσεις, αἰτήσῃ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ δ, τι ἂν

1 λειστέρας, Klimek, λεία Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἅρω Hertlein suggests, μάχαιρα MSS ; cf. 231 c.
the numerous disasters that had befallen his kinsmen and his cousins, and had all but hurled himself into Tartarus, so confounded was he by the extent of those calamities. Then Helios of his grace, aided by Athene, Goddess of Forethought, threw him into a slumber or trance, and so diverted him from that purpose. Then when he had waked from this he went away into the desert. And there he found a stone and rested for a while thereon, debating within himself how he should escape evils so many and so vast. For all things now appeared grievous to him and for the moment there was no hope anywhere. Then Hermes, who had an affinity for him,\(^1\) appeared to him in the guise of a youth of his own age, and greeting him kindly said, "Follow me, and I will guide thee by an easier and smoother road as soon as thou hast surmounted this winding and rugged place where thou seest all men stumbling and obliged to go back again." Then the youth set out with great circumspection, carrying a sword and shield and spear, though as yet his head was bare. Thus relying on Hermes he went forward by a road smooth, untrodden and very bright, and overhung with fruits and many lovely flowers such as the gods love, and with trees also, ivy and laurel and myrtle. Now when Hermes had brought him to the foot of a great and lofty mountain, he said, "On the summit of this mountain dwells the father of all the gods. Be careful then—for herein lies the greatest risk of all\(^2\)—to worship him with the utmost piety and ask of him whatever thou wilt. Thou wilt choose,

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\(^1\) i.e. as the god of eloquence.
\(^2\) Plato, Republic 618 b.
THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

έθέλησε ἐλοιο δέ, ὁ παῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα. ταῦτα 231 εἰπὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἐαυτὸν Ἑρμῆς πάλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐβούλετο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πυθόσθαι, τί ποτε αἰτήσασθαι χρὴ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ πλησίον ὄντα σὺ κατείδευ, Ἕνας ἡ μὲν, ἔφη, καλὴ δὲ ὀμος ἡ ἐμβουλίη. αὐτόμεθα οὖν ἀγαθῇ τόχῳ τὰ κράτιστα καλπέρ οὕτω σαφῶς τῶν πατέρα τῶν θεῶν ὀρώντες. Ὅ Ζεῦ πάτερ ἡ ὅρι τοι φίλον ὅνομα καὶ ὅπως ὄνομάζεσθαι δείκνυε μοι τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ φέρουσαν ὅδον ἄνω. κρέπτονα γὰρ μοι τὰ ἑκεῖ Β φαίνεται χωρία παρὰ σὲ μαντευομένῳ τὸ παρὰ σοὶ κάλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ὅθεν πεπορεύμεθα τέως ἄγλατας.

Εὐξαμένω ταῦτα εἶτε ὑπὸ τοις εἰτὲ ἐκστασίς ἐπῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡλίον. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ νεωνόσκος ὑπὸ τῆς θέας, Ἀλλὰ σοι μὲν, εἶπεν, ὃ θεῶν πάτερ, τῶν τε ἅλλων καὶ τοῦτων ἑνεκα πάντων ἐμαυτῶν φέρον ἀναθήσω. Ο περιβάλλων δὲ τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ Ἡλίου τὰς χειρὰς ἀπρίξ εἰκετὸ σώζειν ἐαυτὸν δεόμενος. ὁ δὲ καλε- σάς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον ἀνακρίνειν αὐτὸν, ὅπως ἐκώμισεν ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὴν τε ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ ξίφος μετὰ τοῦ δόρατος, Ἀλλὰ ποῦ σοι, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, τὸ Γοργόνειον καὶ τὸ κράνος; ὁ δὲ, Καὶ ταῦτα, εἶπε, μόνης ἐκτησάμην οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἦν ὁ ἐμπιθυμών ἐν τῇ τῶν συγγενῶν οἴκῳ παρερμε- μένη. Ἡσθι οὖν, εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος, ὅτι σε πάντως χρὴ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκεῖς. ἐνταύθα ἐδείτο D

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

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

1 Cf. Aeschylus, Agamemnon 160.
2 Literally "the Gorgon's head," which formed the centre of the aegis or breastplate of Athene; cf. 234 A.
μὴ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε πάλιν, ἄλλα κατέχειν, ὅσ' οὐκέθ' ὑστερον ἐπανῆξοτα, ἀπολούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν. ὅσ' δὲ ἐλπίδαι δακρύων, ἄλλα νέος εἶ, ἐφη, καὶ ἁμόθεν. Θει οὖν παρ' οὐρανὸς, ὡς ἂν μυθεῖς ἀσφαλῶς τε ἐκεῖ διάγοις· χρῆ γὰρ σ' ἀπίνειν καὶ καθαίρειν ἐκεῖνα πάντα τὰ ἀσεβήματα, παρακαλεῖν δὲ ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς. ἀκούσας ταύτα ἐνεπιστήκη σιωπῆ, καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλίος ἐπὶ τῶν σκοπιῶν ἀναγών αὐτῶν, ἃς τοῦ μὲν ἄνω φωτὸς ἄνω πλῆρες, τὸ δὲ ὑποκάτω μυρίας ἀχλοὺς, δὲ ἃς ὄσπρεν δὲ ὑδατός ἀμυδρόν τὸ φῶς διικνεῖτο τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐγῆς Ἡλίου, Ὀρῆ, Τί, τοῦ ἀνεφιόν τῶν κηρυκῶν; καὶ ὂς, Ὀρῶ, ἐφη. Τί δὲ; τοὺς βουκόλους τοιτουσὶ καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας; καὶ τοῦτος ἄραν εἶπεν ὁ νεανίσκος: Ποταπὸς οὖν ὁκίς σοι ὁ κηρυκόμος φαίνεται; ποταπὸ δ' αὖ οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι; καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ὁ μὲν μοι, ἐφη, δοκεῖ νυστάξειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καταδυναμενος· λεβηθότως ἄνωθεν, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ ὀλγον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀστειον, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ μοχθηρῶν καὶ θηριώδες. ἐσθίει γὰρ καὶ πιπράσκει τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἀδικεῖ διπλῆ τὸν δεσπότην. τὰ τε γὰρ ποίμνα αὐτοῦ φθείρει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἀποφέρον ἄμωσθον εἰναι φησὶ καὶ ὀδυρεται. Ο οὐτοι κρείττον ἦν τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἐντελεῖ δ' φθείρειν τὴν ποιμήν. Ἀν οὖν, ἐφη, σὲ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταυτῆς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιτάσσοντος τοῦ

1 καταδυναμενον Naber thinks corrupt, but cf. Letter to the Athenians 285 Λ.
not to send him to earth again but to detain him there, since he would never be able to mount upwards a second time but would be overwhelmed by the ills of earth. But as he wept and implored Helios replied, "Nay, thou art young and not yet initiated. Return therefore to thine own people that thou mayst be initiated and thereafter dwell on earth in safety. For return thou must, and cleanse away all impiety and invoke me to aid thee, and Athene and the other gods." When Helios had said this the youth remained silent. Then mighty Helios led him to a high peak whose upper region was filled with light but the lower with the thickest mist imaginable, through which, as through water, the light of the rays of King Helios penetrated but faintly. "Thou seest," said Helios, "thy cousin the heir?"1 "I see him," the youth replied. "Again, dost thou see yonder herdsmen and shepherds?" The youth answered that he did. "Then what thinkest thou of the heir's disposition? And what of his herdsmen and shepherds?" "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.
Δίος, ἀντὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τοῦτον πάντων ἐπιτροπὸν τοῦτον καταστήσω—; πάλιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ νεανίσκοι ἀντείχετο καὶ πολλὰ ἱκέτευεν αὐτοῦ μένειν. ὁ δὲ, Μὴ λι.ns ἀπειθής ἐσο, φησὶ, μὴ ποτὲ

σ’ ἀπεχθήρω, ὡς νῦν ἐκπαγλεὶ ἐφίλησα.

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ἀλλ’, ὁ μέγιστε, εἶπεν, "Ἡλιο ἰὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, σὲ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν Δία, χρυσῆ μοι πρὸς ὃ, τι βούλεσθε. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Ἔρμης ἀφίων φανεῖς ἐποίησε τὸν νεανίσκον θαρραλεῶτερον. ἦδη γὰρ διενοεῖτό τῆς τε ὑπὸσω πορείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείσε διατριβῆς τίρηκέναι τὸν ἥγερον. καὶ Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μάνθανε, εἶπεν, ὁ λόγος, πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμὸν βλάστημα. τοῦτον, ἐφ’ τὸν κληρονόμον οἱ βέλτιστοι μὲν οὐκ εὐφραίνουσι τῶν παροίκων, οἱ κόκκας δὲ καὶ οἱ μοχθηροὶ δοῦλοι καὶ ὑποσχέριον πεποίησεν. συμβαίνει σοὶ αὐτὸ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐπισκῶν μὴ 233 φιλεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν νομιζόμενων φιλεῖν1 εἰς ταῦτα μέγιστα ἀδικεῖσθαι. σκόπει οὖν ὅπως ἔπαινελθὼν μὴ πρὸ τοῦ φίλου θῆσε τὸν κόλακα. δευτέραν ἄκουε μου παραίνεσιν, ὁ παῖς. νυστάξων οὐτος ἐξαπατᾶται τὰ πολλά: σὺ δὲ νήψ᾽ ὄλη καὶ γρηγορεῖ, μὴ σε διὰ τῆς τοῦ φίλου παραθυσίας ὁ κόλαξ ἐξαπατήσας λάθοι,2 χαλκεῖς οἰά τις γέμων κατνοῦ καὶ μαρίλης, ἔχων ἐμάτιον λευκὸν καὶ τὰ B πρόσωπα τῷ ψευδόμενον κεχρυσμένον, εἶτα αὐτῷ δοῖς γῆμαι τινὰ τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων, τρίτης ἐπάκουε μου παραίνεσιν, καὶ μὰλα ἱσχυρὸς φύλαττε σαυτόν, αἴδου δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀνδρῶν

1 φιλεῖν Cobet, φιλεῖν Hertlein, MSS.
2 λάθοι Hertlein suggests, λάθῃ MSS.
Helios, "obeying the command of Zeus, should appoint thee to govern all these, in place of the heir?" Then the youth clung to him again and earnestly entreated that he might remain there. "Do not be obstinate in disobedience," said Helios, "lest perchance I hate thee beyond measure, even as I have loved thee." 1 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, 2 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. 3 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 B.
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dε δοσις ἡμῖν προσόμοιος ἐστιν, ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα-όρας ὅπως τούτων τῶν ἡλίθιουν ἐβλάψεν αἰσχύνη καὶ τὸ λίαν ἄγαν εἶναι καταπλήγη; 
Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἁλιος αὐθείς τῶν λόγων δια- 
δεξάμενος εἶπεν. Ἔλομενοι φίλους ὡς φίλοις οὐ 
χρῶν, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς οἰκέτας, μηδὲ θεράποντας 
νόμεζε, πρόσθιε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρως τε καὶ 
ἀπλούστατα καὶ γενναίως, μὴ λέγων μὲν ἄλλα, 
φρονών δὲ ἐτερα περὶ αὐτῶν. ὀρᾶς ὅτι καὶ 
τούτων τὸν κληρονόμον τούτῳ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἢ πρὸς 
τοὺς φίλους ἀπιστία; φιλεῖ τοὺς ἀρχομένους 
ὁσπερ ἡμεῖς σε. τα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγεῖσθω σοι τῶν 
καλῶν ἀπάντων· ἐσμέν γὰρ σου καὶ εὐρεγεῖται καὶ 
φίλοι καὶ σωτῆρες. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος 
διεχόθη καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀπαντα ἦδη τοῖς θεοῖς 
πειθόμενοι. Ἀλλ' ἰθι, ἔφη, πορεύον μετὰ ἀγαθῆς 
ἐξηθεσίς. ἡμεῖς γὰρ σοι πάνταγοι συνεσίμεθα 
ἐγὼ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς οδε καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν 
οἱ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τῶν 
ἄρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν πανταχοῦ τῷ θείῳ 
γένος, ἐσώτερον τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅσιος γῆς καὶ τὰ 
πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πιστὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς 
υπηκόους φιλάνθρωπος, ἄρχων αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγοῦ- 
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μενος ἀπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα· ἀλλὰ μῆτε ταῖς σεαυτοῦ 
mήτε ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύων ὑπεικά-
θης. ἐχὼν οὖν τὴν πανοπλίαν, ἢν ἐκόμισας 
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀπὶ τὸ προσλαβών ταύτην μὲν τὴν 
δάδα παρ’ ἐμοῦ, ἔνα σοι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φῶς 
λάμψῃ μέγα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιπόθητοι τῶν τῆς 
ταυτησίον δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς καλῆς τὸ τε Γοργόνειον

1 ταῖς ἐκείνων Cubet, ἐκείνω 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
καὶ τὸ κράνος· πολλὰ γὰρ, ὅρας, ἔστιν αὐτὴ, καὶ
dίδωσιν οὐς ἂν ἔθελῃ. δῶσει δὲ σοι καὶ Ἑρμῆς Β
χρυσῆν ράβδον. ἔρχον οὖν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ κοσμη-
θεὶς ταύτῃ διὰ πάσης μὲν γῆς, διὰ πάσης δὲ
θαλάττης, ἀμετακινήτως τοῖς ἡμετέροις πειθόμενος
νόμοις, καὶ μηδεὶς σε μήτε ἀνδρῶν μήτε γυναικῶν,
mήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν ξένων ἀναπείσῃ τῶν
ἐντολῶν ἐκλαθέσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἐμμένων γὰρ
αὐταῖς ἡμῖν μὲν ἐσθὶ φίλοι καὶ τίμοις, αἰδοῖος
δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμῶν ὑπηρέταις, φοβερὸς δὲ
ἀνθρώποις πονηροῖς καὶ κακοδαίμονις. ἦσθι δὲ Ο
σεαυτῷ τὰ σαρκία δεδόθαι τῆς λειτουργίας
ἐνεκα ταυτής. βουλόμεθα γὰρ σοι τὴν προ-
γονικὴν οἰκίαν αἰδοῖ τῶν προγόνων ἀποκαθῆραι.
μέμνησο οὖν, ὅτι τὴν ψυχήν ἀδάνατον ἔχεις καὶ
ἐκφυσόν ἡμετέραι, ἐπομενὸς τε ἡμῖν ὅτι θεὸς
ἐστίν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅπερ σὺν ἡμῖν πατέρα.

Τούτῳ εἰτε μῦθος εἰτε ἀλήθεις ἄστε λόγος οὐκ
οἶδα. τὸ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεποιημένον, τίνα βουλεῖς
tὸν Πάνα, τίνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Δία, εἰ μὴ τούτο.Θ
ός ἐσμὲν ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐγὼ δὲ
ὁ Πάν; ὁ τοῦ γελοῦν Ψευδόπανος, γελοιοτέρου
μέντοι νῦ τὸν Ἀσκληπίον τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον
ἡ Δίας ἀνθρώπου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτεχνώδες
ἐκ μαυρομένου στὸρματος οὔτε τὴν ἐνθεοῦν ἀλλὰ
tὴν ἐκπληκτον μανίαν; οὐκ οἶδα, ὅτε καὶ ὁ
Σαλμωνεὺς ἐδώκεν ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς δίκην, 235
ὅτι ἀνθρώποι ἄν ἐπεχείρησε Ζεὺς εἶναι; τὸ δὲ
ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνομασάντων

1 τῶν ἐντολῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐντολὴν MSS.
2 τούτῳ Hertlein suggests, τοῦτο MSS.
3 μαυρομένου Hertlein suggests, τοῦ μαυρομένου MSS.
TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

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 Plato, Phaedrus 244 foll.
2 Odyssey 11. 235; Pindar, Pythian 4. 143; Salomeus was destroyed by a thunder-bolt for imitating the thunder and lightning of Zeus.
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έαυτοὺς τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὑνόμασιν, Ἡρας τε καὶ Δῖος, εἰ μήπω καὶ νῦν ἀκίκοιας, ἔχω σοι συγγνώναι: οὔδέ γὰρ ἐπαιδευτρίβηθής καλῶς οὔδὲ ἔτυχες καθηγεμόνος, ὅποιον περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐγὼ τοιούτῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, μεθ’ ὑπ’ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἦλθον ὅπ’ ἀνδρὶ τελεσθησόμενος, ὅν νενόμικα τῶν κατ’ ἑμαυτὸν πάντων διαφέρειν. Ὅ 

ο ἐνὶ το ὕπαντῶν ἁρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν νομίζειν ὑγιεμόνας ἐδίδασκεν. 

εἰ μὲν ὁ τι προβργου πεποίηκεν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἰδείη καὶ πρὸ τούτου γε οἱ βασιλεῖς θεοὶ τούτῳ δὲ, ἐξήρει τὸ μαυρώδες καὶ θρασύ, καὶ ἐπειράτο με 

ποιεῖν ἑμαυτὸν σωφρονέστερον. ἔγω δὲ καίπερ, ὡς οὖσα, τοῖς ἐξῳδέν πλεονεκτήμασιν ἐπερω 

μένος ὑπέταξα ὁμοί ἑμαυτὸν τῷ καθηγεμόνι Σ 

καὶ τοῖς ἑκεῖνοι φίλοις καὶ ἴλικιόταται καὶ 

συμφοιτηταίς, καὶ ὃν ἦκουν ἑπανωμένους παρ’ 

αὐτοῦ, τούτων ἔσπευδον ἀκροατὴς εἶναι, καὶ 

βιβλία ταῦτα ἀνεγόρυφον, ὅποσα αὐτὸς δοκε 

μάσειν.

Ὁ πτως ἡμεῖς υφ’ ἡγεμόνες τελούμενοι, φιλο 

σόφοι μὲν τῷ τὰ τῆς προπαιδείας με τελε 

σατί, φιλοσοφωτάτῳ δὲ τῷ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς 

φιλοσοφίας δεῖξαντε, σμικρὰ μὲν διὰ τὰς ἐξῳδ 

οίς προσπεσοῦσας ἀσχολίας, ὁμοί δ’ ὁν ἀπε 

Δ 

λαύσαμεν τῆς ὁρθῆς ἀγωγῆς, οὐ τὴν σύντομον, 

ἡν σὺ φής, ἀλλὰ τὴν κύκλῳ πορευθέντες καὶ 

τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἁρετὴν οἴμαι ὅτι σου 

συντομωτέραν ἑτραπόμην. ἔγω 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 be 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 compers 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 Jamblichus.
³ Literally “winged.”
el μὴ φορτικῶν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς προθύροις ἐστηκα, σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν προθύρων εἰ πόρρω. σοὶ δὲ ἅρετης ἢ τοῖς σοὶς ἀδελφοῖς — ἀφελῶν δὲ τὸ δύσφημον τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν αὐτὸ ἀνάσχοι πρᾶσις λεγόμενον, — τὸς μετουσία; πάσιν ἐπτειμᾶς αὐτὸς 236 οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπαίνον πράττων, ἐπαινεῖς φορτικῶς ὡς οὐδέτερ τῶν ἀμαθετάτων ῥητόρων, οἷς διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὑρεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὧ, τι φώσιν, ἢ Δήλος ἐπέρχεται καὶ ἢ Δήτω μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν, εἶτα κύκνοι λεγόμενοι ἔδοντες καὶ ἐπηχοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμαννές τε ἐνδροσοι μαλακῆς πόας καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις, ἢ τε ἐκ τῶν ἄνθέων ὅμη καὶ τὸ ἔρη αὐτὸ καὶ τινὲς εἰκόνες τοιαύταν. ποῦ τούτο Ἰσοκράτης Β ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἐποίησε λόγοις; ποῦ δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἄνδρων, οἱ ταῖς Μούσαις ἐτελεύτη τυχεῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὂσπερ οἱ νῦν; ἀφίημι δὲ τὰ ἔξης, ἕνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἀπεχθανόμενος ἄμα τοῖς τε φαιλοτάτοις τῶν Κυνικῶν καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων προσκρούσαμεν ὡς ἔμοιγε πρὸς τε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Κυνικῶν,
believe that the road I took was really a shorter road to virtue than yours. For I, at any rate, if I may say so without bad taste, am standing at the entrance, whereas you are a long way even from the entrance. "But as for virtue, you and your brethren—,"¹ omit the ill-sounding phrase and fill in the blank yourself! Or rather, if you please, bear with me when I "put it mildly"²—"what part or lot have you in it?" You criticise everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise; your praises are in worse taste than those of the most ignorant rhetoricians. They, because they have nothing to say and cannot invent anything from the matter in hand, are always dragging in Delos and Leto with her children, and then "swans singing their shrill song and the trees that echo them," and "dewy meadows full of soft, deep grass," and the "scent of flowers," and "the season of spring," and other figures of the same sort.³ When did Isocrates ever do this in his panegyrics? Or when did anyone of those ancient writers who were genuine votaries of the Muses, and not like the writers of to-day? However, I omit what I might add, lest I should make them also my enemies, and offend at once the most worthless Cynics and the most worthless rhetoricians. Though indeed I have nothing but friendly feelings for the really virtuous Cynics, if

¹ A direct quotation from Demosthenes, De Corona 128; the word omitted by Julian is ξάδερμα = "off-scourings," or "outcast," addressed by Demosthenes to Aeschines.
² An echo of Xenophon, Anabasis 1. 5. 14.
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ei tis ἀρα ἐστιν δύνατον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενναῖους ἰδιοτέρας ἐστιν φίλα1 πάντα. τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἂν τοιούτων λόγων, εἰ καὶ τολμᾶτος ἐπιρρέει· καὶ ὅποι ὢσπερ διὰ λέγειν ἐνεκεν ἐκ πάνω δαφνοῦς ἀντλήσεις ἂν πίθου τῆς προ- κειμένης ἡμῶν ἀσχολίας ἐνεκεν ἀφέξομαι. μικρά δὲ ἢ ὅτα τὸ λόγῳ προσθεῖς ὀσπερ ἀπλήματι τὸ ἐνδέχετα ἢ ταὐτήν τῇ ἐν μοι. Ὁ γράφων αὐτοῦ ποιήσασα.

Τῆς οὖν ἢ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εὐλάβεια περί τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα, τῆς δὲ ἡ Πλάτωνος; ποταπός δὲ ἢ ὅτα τούτως Ἀριστοτέλης; ἐκ οὗ ἄξιον αὐτὸ ἢ ὅτα; ἡ τοῦ μὲν Σάμων οὔδης ἀντρέφει τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τὸ ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐν τῇ σφραγίδο τοῖς ἐπίτρεπεν οὔτε τὸ ὀρκὴν χρῆσθαι προπετῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι. εἰ δὲ τὸν λέγωμ, ὅτα καὶ εἰς Ἀὐγυπτοῦ ἐπορεύθη καὶ 237 Πέρσας εἰς καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἐπειράθη τὰ μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν ἐποπτεύεσαι καὶ τελεσθῆναι παντοτικὰς πανταχοῦ τελετάς, ἐρῶ μὲν ἱερὸς ἄγνωστα, γνώριμα μέντοι καὶ σαφῆ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἂκους· τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν δέος, ὁ Πρώταρχη, πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγάλου φόβου. καὶ νῦν τῆς μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, ὅπερ ἐκείνη φίλου, ταύτῃ προσαγορεύω· τῆς δὲ ἡδονῆς οἶδα ὡς Β οὔτε ποικίλον· ταύτα ἐν Φιλήβῳ λέγεται, καὶ τοιαύτα ἐτερα πάλειν ἐν Τιμάρῳ· πιστεύεσιν γὰρ

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

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

1 A proverb for wealth; cf. Theocritus 10. 13.
2 Pythagoreans.
3 Philebus 12 C.
4 Timaeus 40 D; Julian fails to see that Plato is not speaking seriously.
ἀπλῶς ἀξίοι καὶ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως λεγομένους, ὡσα ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν φασίν οἱ ποιμναί. ταῦτα δὲ παρέδεχα, μή ποτὲ σοι παράσχει πρόφασιν, ὡσπερ ὁμία τῶν Πλάτωνικών πολλοῖς, ὁ Σωκράτης εἶρον ὄν φύσει τὴν Πλάτωνικὴν ἀτεμάσαε δόξαν. ἐκεὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ’ ὁ Τίμαιος ταῦτα Σλέγει ἥκειτα ὅν εἶρον. καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἔστιν οὐχ ὑγίες μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἔξεταιειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται. Βούλει δήτα 1 τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πάνσοφον ὑπαγορεύσω σειρήμα, τὸν τοῦ λόγιον τύπον Ὑμμοῦ, τὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς Μοῦσαις φίλοις; ἐκεῖνος ἀξίοι τοὺς ἐπιροτῶντας ἢ ζητεῖν ὅλως ἐπιχειροῦντας, εἰ θεός ἔστιν, οὐχ ἀνθρώπους ἀποκρίσεως τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι θῆρα κολάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἀνεγνώσκεις τὸν συστάτημα, τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, ὅσπερ τῇς Πλάτωνος, οὕτως δῇ 3 καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς προμηγέραπτο, ἐγνῶς ἅν πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐπρεβεῖς εἶναι καὶ μεμνημέναι πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τετελέσθαι τὰς ἀγιωτάτας τελετάς καὶ δίδα πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων ἥχθαι τοὺς εἴσω τοῦ περιπάτου βαδίζουσι προσγόρευτον. 4

Σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἤμιν μὴ τῶν Διόγένη προβαλὼν 238 ὁσπερ τὶ Μορμολυκέων ἐκφοβήσεις, 5 οὐ γὰρ ἐμυθήθη, φασίν, ἀλλ’ καὶ πρὸς τὸν προτρεπόμενον μνημῆμαι, Τελείον, εἴπερ, ὁ νεανίσκε, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τελώνας οὑε ταύτης ἤνεκα τῆς τελετῆς κοινωνήσειν τοῖς ὀσίοις τῶν ἐν ἄδου καλών, Ἀγνησίλαον

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

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

\[1\] Aristotle.
δὲ καὶ Ἐπαμεινόνδας ἐν τῷ βορβώρῳ κείσεσθαι. τούτῳ, ὃ νεανίσκε, βαθὺ λίαν ἐστὶ καὶ δεόμενον ἐξηγήσεως, ὅς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μείζονος, ὅπολας 1 Β ἢμῖν αὐταὶ δοῦν αἰ θεαὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν νομίζω δὲ αὐτὴν ἓδη καὶ δεδόσθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ Διογένης οὖς, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ἀξιώτευτο, δυσσεβής, ἀλλ' ἐκείνος, ὃν μικρῷ πρὸσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, προσόμοιος. ἀπε- δών γὰρ εἰς τὴν περίστασιν τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν αὐτὸν, εἶτα εἰς τὰς ἐντολὰς βλέπον τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ συνιές 2 ὅτι τὸν μυσόμενον ἐχρήν πολετο- γραφηθῆναι πρότερον καὶ Ἀθηναίον, εἴ καὶ μὴ Ω φύσει, τῷ νόμῳ γε γενέσθαι, τούτῳ ἔφυγεν, οὐ τὸ μυσόθην, νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου πολέ- την, καὶ ταῖς ὅλαις τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαις, αἰ τὸν ὅλον κοινὴν κόσμον ἐπιτροπεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὗ ταῖς τὰ- μέρεις κατανειμαρέναις αὐτοῦ, διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀξίων συμπολεμεῖσθαι: τὸ τοῦ νόμου οὐ παρέβη- αἶδος τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τοῦ τάλλα πατῶν καὶ παρα- χαράττων αὐτῶν τε οὐκ ἐπανήγγει, ὅθεν Δ ἀσμένος ὁλευθέρωτο. τί ἢ τοῦτο; τὸ πόλεως μιᾶς δεουλεύσαι νόμοις ἐαυτῶν τε ὑποθειναι τότε, ὅπερ ἢν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν Ἀθηναϊό γενομένῳ. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν μαύρων, ὁ τῷ Πυθίῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὥσπερ Σωκράτης φησί γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πυθίου οἰκον παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὀρμὴ

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

¹ Diogenes Laertius 6. 39.
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πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο· παριέναι τῶν ἀνακτόρων εἰσὶ καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἐξέκλινε τὸ ὑποθεῖναι νόμους ἑαυτῶν καὶ δοῦλον ἀποφήναι πολεμεῖας; ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταύτην αὐτῆς εἰπε τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῶν δὲ τὴν παραιρομενὴν οὐ σμικρὰ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σεμνότητος; ἦσως μὲν ἂν τις τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Πυθαγόρας μάλιστα ἐπισκη-ψείειν, οὐκ ὅρθως λογιζόμενον. οὕτε γὰρ ῥητέον πάντα ἐστὶν, αὐτῶν τε οἶμαι τούτων, ὃν θέμες φάναι, ἐνα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σιωπητέων εἰναι μοι φαίνεται. φανερὰ δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἡ Ἡβαίτια. κατανοήσας γὰρ ἀμελεύντα μὲν τῆς περὶ τῶν βίων ὀρθότητος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεμυθῆσαι μέγα φρονοῦντα τὸν παραιμοῦντα αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα, σω-φρονίζων ἀμα καὶ διδάσκων αὐτῶν, ὁτι τοῖς τοῦτον, οἷς ἄξιος τοῦ μυθηύμεν βεβίωται, καὶ μὴ μυθήεσιν οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἀμαιβᾶς ἀκεραίους φυλάττουσιν. Ο τοῖς δὲ μοχθηραῖς οὐδέν ἐστὶ πλέον, κἂν εἰσῳ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσφρήσσωσι περιβόλιον. ἢ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης προαγορεύει, διὸ θεία μὴ καθαρὸς καὶ δυνατὰ μὴ χρή, τούτως ἀπαγορεύσων μὴ μνεῦσθαι;

Τὰ πέρα ἢ μὲν ἐσται τῶν λόγων, εἰ ταῦτα μήπω σε πείθει;

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

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

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

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

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

1 cf. vol. i. p. 351.
ΙΟΤΛΙΑΝΟΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΞΟΔΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΥ
ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΕΙΣΙΚΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΛΛΩΝ

'ΑΛΛ' η μή καὶ πρὸς σὲ διαλεγθεὶσιν ὅσα πρὸς ἐμαυτῶν διελέγθησιν, ἐπειδὴ σε βαδίζεις ἐπιθύμησιν χρῆμα παρ' ἡμῶν, ἔλατον ἔχεις οἰκήσωμε πρὸς παραψυχήν, ὡς φίλε ἐταίρε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἱρχὴν πεπορίσται τινὰ βασιλόν την ἐμαυτῷ νομικῶν, ἢς σοὶ γε οὐ μεταδέδωκα. κοινωνήσαντας γὰρ Β ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλους πολλῶν μὲν ἀλγευσὼν, πολλῶν δὲ ἢδεων ἐργῶν τε καὶ λόγων, ἐν πράγμασιν ἴδιοις τε καὶ δημοσίοις, οὐκοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, κοινὸν ἐνρίσκεσθαι χρὴ τῶν παρόντων, ὅποιὰ ποτέ ἢν ἢ, παιώνιον ἄκος. ἀλλὰ τὰς ἢν ἢμῖν ἢ τὴν Ὀρφέως μεμήναστον λύρας ὡς τοὺς Σειρήνων ἀντηχὴσεις, μελέσων ἢ τὸ νηπερίδες ἐξεύροι φάρμακον; εἴτε λόγος ἢν ἐκείνῳ πληρῆς Αἰ-γυπτίων διηγημάτων, εἰδὴ ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐποίησεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐννυήμας τὰ Τρωικὰ πάθη, οὐτὸ τῆς Εὔνης παρ' Ἀιγυπτίων μαθούσης, οὔχ ὡσα Ἐλληνες καὶ Τρῶες ἀλλήλους ἐδρασαν, ἀλλὰ ποταμοῦς εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς λόγους, οὐ τὰς μὲν

1 κατὰ Wright, κατὰ Horteine, MSS.
2 ἢ—μεμήναστο Horteine suggests, μεμήνασα MSS.
3 ἀντηχήσεις Horteine suggests, ἀντηχήσει MSS.
A CONSOLOATION TO HIMSELF 
UPON THE DEPARTURE OF 
THE EXCELLENT SALLUST

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

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

1 Odyssey 4. 227; a sophistico commonplace; cf. 412 n, Themistius 357 a; Julian seems to mean that the nepenthe was not really a drug but a story told by Helen.
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άλγηδόνας ἀφαιρῆσονι τῶν ψυχῶν, εὐφροσύνης δὲ καὶ γαλήνης αἵτιοι καταστήσονται. καὶ γὰρ πώς έδοικεν ἡδονή καὶ λύπη τῆς αὐτῆς κορυφῆς ἐξῆρθαι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἄλληλας ἀντιμεθῆ-241 στασθαι, τῶν προσπιττότων δὲ καὶ τὰ λαὸν ἐργώδη φασίν ὁ σοφὸς τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντε φέρειν οὐκ ἑλάττωνα τῆς δυσκολίας τὴν εὐπάθειαν, ἐπειδ' καὶ τὴν μέλεταν ἐκ τῆς δραματάτης πόας τῆς περὶ τὸν Ὀμητῶν φυμαένης γλυκείαιαν ἀναμάθει δρόσον καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος εἶναι δημιουργόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὡσα μὲν ὑγειώτατα καὶ ρυμολεία καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται σετίων, Β καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ δοκοῦντα πολλάκις ἐκένησις οὐκ ἄβλαβθή μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἵσχύος αἴτιο ἄρχουν οὗτοι δὲ πονηρῶς ἔχει φύσει καὶ τροφῆ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ σῶμα, τῶν πάντων θρίψιν νοση- λευκουμένους, τούτως καὶ τὰ κοιφάτατα βαρυτάτας εἰσεὶ προστίθεναι βλάβας. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς δια- νοίας ὡσα μὲν ὑπερεμεληθῆσαν, ὡς μὴ παραπονηρῶς ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὑμιᾶίνειν μετρίως, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντισθένους καὶ Σωκράτους ῥώμην μηδὲ τὴν Καλλισθένους ἀνδρεῖαν μὴ δὲ οὐ τῶν Πολέμων ἀπάθειαν, ἀλλ' ὡστε δύνασθαι τὸ μέτρυν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰρεῖσθαι, τυχόν δὲ καὶ ἐν δυσκολωτέροις εὐφραίνοντο.

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

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

1 Plato, Phaedo 60 a. 2 Cf. Oration 2. 101 a. 3 Marijonius.
καθαρὰς ἐντεύξεως, τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ δικαίας ὁμολογίας, τῆς ἐν ἀπασί τοῦς καλοὺς κοινωπραγίας, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἴσορροπίαν τε καὶ ἀ-μεταμελήτων προδυμίας τε καὶ ὀρμής, ὡς μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἐστημένων πολλάκις ἵσον θυμόν ἔχοντες, ὁμότροποι καὶ ποθείνοι φίλοι. πρὸς δὲ αὐτούς εἰσήγη με μνήμη τοῦ Οἰλόθη δ’ ὁ Ὀδυσσέας: εἰμι γὰρ ἐγώ νῦν ἐκεῖνο παραπλήγιος, ἐπεις σὲ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Ἔκτορα θεὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἓξω βελῶν, ἵνα συνεφάντασι πολλάκις ἁφῆκαν ἐπὶ σὲ, 242 μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἐμὲ, διὰ σοῦ πρῶτα βουλόμενον, ταυτή με μόνων ἀλώσιμων ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ τοῦ πιστοῦ φίλου καὶ προδύμου συναπόστιστοι καὶ πρὸς τοῦς κινδύνους ἀπροφασίστου κοινωνοῦ τῆς συνουσίας στερηθείαιν. ὦ μήν ἔλαττον οἰμαί σὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἀλγεῖν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅτε σοι τῶν πάνω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἔλαττον μέτεστεν, ἀλλὰ Β καὶ πλέον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δεδίεναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κεφαλῆς, μῆ τι πάθη. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ αὐτός ὅπι ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἔθεμην τὰ σά, καὶ σοῦ δὲ ὁμοίως ἔχοντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠπόθημην. ὦθεν εἰκότως καὶ μᾶλα δάκνυμαι, ὅτι σοι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεκα λέγειν δυναμένω

Οὖθεν μέλει μου τάμα γὰρ καλὸς ἔχει, Μόνως εἰμὶ λύπης αἰτίος καὶ φροντίδος.1 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἢ ἤσης, ὡς ἑοκε, κοινωνοῦμεν, σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀλγῶν μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀεὶ ποθῶν τὴν σὺν συνουσίαν καὶ τῆς φύλλας μεμνημένοι, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἁρετῆς μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγουμένως,

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

1 *Iliad* 17. 720. 
2 *Iliad* 11. 401. 
3 *Iliad* 11. 163. 
4 *Iliad* 17. 242. 
5 Nasen, *Adespota fragmenta* 430.
ἐπείτα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἦν ἐγὼ μὲν σοὶ, σὺ δὲ ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς παρέσχες, ἀνακραθέντες ἄλληλοις ὁμολογήσαμεν, οὐχ ὅρκοις οὐδὲ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις ταῦτα πιστούμενοι, ὡσπερ ὁ ᾩσεύς καὶ Δὸ Περίδους, ἄλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ταῦτα νοοῦστε καὶ προαιρούμενοι κακὸν μὲν δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν τινι τοσοῦτον δὲν λέγειν ἀπέσχομεν, οὔτε οὖν ἐβουλευσάμεθα ποτὲ μετὰ ἄλληλων χρηστῶν δὲ εἰ τε γέγονεν ἢ βεβούλευται κοινὴ παρ' ἡμᾶς, τούτο ἄλλου εἰπεῖν μελήσει.

'Ως μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ἀλγὼ τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὗ φίλου μόνου, ἄλλα καὶ συνεργοῦ πιστοῦ, δοιχ δὲ ὁ 243 δαῖμον, καὶ πρὸς ὅλον ἀπαλλαττόμενος, οἴμαι καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀρετῆς κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἐμοι γενομολογήσειν ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνου γνωρίζομεν, λέγω δὲ τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι Ἑχεν- πότερον ἐφαίνετο μοι ὁρθῶς τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικεῖν οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ φίλου ἄνδρων καὶ ἑταίρων πιστῶν οἷον τε εἶναι πράττειν, οὕτ' εὐπορεῖν τούτων ἔνν πολλῆς ῥαστοῦν. καίτοι τούτο γε εἰ Πλά- τωνι μείζον ἐφαίνετο τοῦ διορύττει τῶν "Αθων, τί τ' ὧν προσδόκατ' ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλέον ἀπολειπομένους τῆς ἐκείνου συνεσειώς τε καὶ γνώμης ἢ 'κείνος τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐμοὶ δὲ οὖν τῆς χρείας μόνου ἔνεκα, ἥν ἀντιδίδοντες ἄλληλοις ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ὅθον εἴχομεν πρὸς τὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀντιτατεμένων ἦμαν πραττό- μενα, ἄλλα 1 καὶ τῆς μόνης ἂν μοι χαλαρωθῆς τε

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

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

¹ Julian quotes from memory and paraphrases Epistle 7. 325 c.
² This feat of Xerxes became a rhetorical commonplace.
καὶ τέρψεως ἐνδεχὴς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι. Μέλλων, εἰκότως δάκρυμαί τε καὶ δέδηγμαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καρδίαν. ἂς τίνα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται μοι λογίων εὐνοῦν ἀποβλέψῃ φίλον; τίνος δὲ ἀνα- σχέσθαι τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ καθαρᾶς παρρησίας; τίς δὲ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει μὲν ἐμφρόνως, ἑπτειμῆσει δὲ µετ' εὐνοίας, ἑπιρρόει δὲ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ χωρὶς αὐθαδείας καὶ τύφου, παρρησιάζεται δὲ τὸ πικρὸν ἀφελῶν τῶν λόγων, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν φαρμάκων. Αἱ άφαιροῦντες μὲν τὸ λίαν δυσχερές, ἀπολείπουντες δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χρήσιμον; ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς φίλας ἄφελος ἀκαρπωσάμην. τοσοῦτον δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐστερημένος, τῶν δὲ εὐπορήσαμι λόγων, οἴ με, διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον σὰ τε μὴδεα σὴν τε ἀγανοφρο- σύνην αὐτὴν πρεσβεῖ τὴν ψυχήν κεινυνεύοντα, πείσουσιν ἅτρεμεῖν καὶ φέρειν ὅσα δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενναῖος; ἔς ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἔσκεψαν αὐτῷ νοῦν ὁ μέγας 244 αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦθ' οὕτω νυν βουλεύσασθαι. τὸ ποτὲ οὖν ἂρα χρὴ διανοηθέντα καὶ τῖνας ἐποδᾶς εὑρόταν πείσαι πρᾶξιν ἄχειν υπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυ- βουμένην τὴν ψυχήν; ἂρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλξιδος εἰς μυθέων λόγοι, λέγω δὲ τὰς ἐκ Θράκης ἐποδᾶς, ὡς 'Αθηναίες φέρων ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ὀδύνην ἔστασαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπάδειν ἥξιον τῷ καλῷ Χαριμήδῃ; ὡς τούτοις μὲν ἂτε δὴ μελζονας καὶ περὶ μελζόνων οὐ κινητέου, ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ.
been my only solace and delight, it is natural that I am and have been cut to the very heart.¹ For in the future to what friend can I turn as loyal as yourself? With whose guileless and pure frankness shall I now brace myself? Who now will give me prudent counsel, reprove me with affection, give me strength for good deeds without arrogance and conceit, and use frankness after extracting the bitterness from the words, like those who from medicines extract what is nauseating but leave in what is really beneficial?² These are the advantages that I reaped from your friendship! And now that I have been deprived of all these all at once, with what arguments shall I supply myself, so that when I am in danger of flinging away my life out of regret for you and your counsels and loving kindness,³ they may persuade me to be calm and to bear nobly whatever God has sent?⁴ For in accordance with the will of God our mighty Emperor has surely planned this as all else. Then what now must be my thoughts, what spells must I find to persuade my soul to bear tranquilly the trouble with which it is now dismayed? Shall I imitate the discourses of Zamolxis⁵—I mean those Thracian spells which Socrates brought to Athens and declared that he must utter them over the fair Charmides before he could cure him of his headache?⁶ Or must we leave these alone as being, like large machinery in a small theatre, too lofty for

¹ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1 ; cf. 248 n.
² A commonplace; Plato, *Laws* 659 e; Julian, *Caesars* 314 c; Dio Chrysostom 33. 10; Themistius 63 n, 302 n; Maximus of Tyre 10. 6.
⁵ Cf. *Caesars* 309 c note.
⁶ Plato, *Charmides* 156 d.

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μικρῷ μηχανᾷς μεγάλας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν Β ἑργῶν, ὅν ἐπιθυμεῖ τὰ κλέα, φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς, ὡσπερ ἐκ λεμόνος δρεψάμενοι ποικίλου καὶ πολυειδοὺς 1 ἀνθή τὰ κάλλιστα ψυχαγωγήσομεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς διηγήμασι, μικρά τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες; ὡσπερ γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς θείς γλυκέσιν οἱ παρεγχέοντες οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι' ἄττα φάρμακα τὸ προσκορέως αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦσιν, οὕτω τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἐνα προστιθέμενα τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξ ἰστορίας ἀρχαίας ὠχλον ἐπεισάγειν, Ο οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ περιττὴν ἀδολεσχίαν ἀφαιρεῖται.

Τί πρῶτον; τί δ' ἐπειτα; τί δ' ὑστάτιον κατα-λέξω;  
πότερον ὡς ὁ Σκηνίων ἐκείνος, ὁ τὸν Λαῖλιον ἀγαπήσας καὶ φιληθεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἐστὶν ἔνθρον παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν, ἤδειος μὲν αὐτῷ συνὴν, ἐπραττὲ δὲ οὐδὲν, ὅτα ὁ πρότερον ἐκείνος πῦθοιτο καὶ φησίειν εἶναι πρακτέον; ἔθεν οἶμαι καὶ λόγου παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπὸ φθόνον τὸν Σκηνίωνα λοιδο-ροῦσιν, ὡς ποιητής μὲν ὁ Λαῖλιος εἶν τῶν ἑργῶν, Ἀφρεκανὸς δὲ ὁ τούτων ὑποκριτής. αὐτὴ τοῦ καὶ Ἰμᾶν ἡ φῆμι πρόσκειται, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ δυχε- ραῖναι 2 χαίρω δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πλέουν. τὸ γὰρ τοὺς ὅρθοὺς ὑπ' ἀλλὸν γνωσθεῖσι πεισθήμενοι μείζονος ἀρετῆς 3 ὁ Ζήνων πεινεῖ τοὺς γνώρισμα τοῦ γνώναι 245 τινα αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῶ αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα, τὴν Ἡσιόδου μεθαρμότων ῥήσιν.

Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, δι εὖ εἰπότε πίθηται

1 παλικαρίου Cabet, παλικαρίου Hertlein, MSS.  
2 εὖ μόνον εὖ δυχεραίνω χαίρω δὲ Hertlein suggests, cf.  
373 B, 255 D; καὶ χαίρω γε MSS.  
3 ἀρετῆς Hertlein suggests, τῆς ἀρετῆς MSS.
our purpose and suited to greater troubles; and rather from the deeds of old whose fame we have heard told, as the poet says,\(^1\) shall we gather the fairest flowers as though from a variegated and many-coloured meadow, and thus console ourselves with such narratives and add thereto some of the teachings of philosophy? For just as, for instance, certain drugs are infused into things that have too sweet a taste, and thus their cloying sweetness is tempered, so when tales like these are seasoned by the maxims of philosophy, we avoid seeming to drag in a tedious profusion of ancient history and a superfluous and uncalled-for flow of words.

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

\(^1\) \textit{Hind} 9, 524. \(^2\) \textit{Odyssey} 9, 14. \(^3\) \textit{Theocritus} 12, 15. \(^4\) Hesiod, \textit{Works and Days} 293, 295 το ειδη τηνα ναην; Diogenes Laertius 7, 25.
λέγων ἀντὶ τοῦ νοήμη τὸν θ' ἐαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ
dιὰ τοῦτο χαρίζει εἶναι δοκεῖ· πείθομαι γὰρ ἀληθε-
στερον μὲν Ἡσίοδον λέγειν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀμείνον
Πυθαγόραν, δὲ καὶ τῇ παρομίαια παρέσχε τὴν
ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἐδώκε τῷ
βίῳ, οὐ δήποτα τὰ χρήματα λέγον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Β τὴν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως κοινωνίαν, ὁσθ' ὁ
όσα μὲν εὑρείς αὐτὸς, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ταύτα τοῦ
πεισθέντος ἐστὶν, ὅσα δὲ τῶν σῶν ὑπεκριμήνη,
tούτων αὐτῶν εἰκότως τὸ ἱσον μετέχεις. ἀλλὰ
tαύτα μὲν ὁποτέρου μᾶλλον ἂν φαίνηται, καὶ
θατέρῳ προσήκει, καὶ τοῖς βασκάνοις οὐδὲν ἐστιν
πλούς ἐκ τῶν λόγων.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν
Λαῖλιον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνήρνητο μὲν ἡ Καρχηδῶν
καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Λιβύης ἀπαντᾶ τῆς Ῥώμης ο
ἐγενόμεν δοῦλα, πέμπει μὲν Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν
Λαῖλιον ἀνήγγειτο δὲ ἐκείνος εὐαγγέλια τῇ πατρίδι
φέρων· καὶ ὁ Σκηπτὼν ἠχθεῖτο μὲν ἀπολειπόμενος
tοῦ φίλου, οὐ μὴν ἀπαραμύθητον αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος
ἀληθοῦ. καὶ τὸν Λαῖλιον δὲ δυσχεραίνεις εἰκός,
ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἀνήγγειτο, οὐ μὴν ἀφόρητον ἐποιεῖτο
tὴν συμφοράν. ἐπλεϊ καὶ Κάτων ἀπολειπὼν οἰκοί
tούσα αὐτοῦ συνήθεις, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων
καὶ Δημόκριτος οὐδένα παραλαβόντες κοινωνίαν
τῆς ὀδοῦ, καὶ τοῖς πόλλοις οἰκοί τῶν φιλτάτων θ
ἀπολιμπάνοντες. ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ Περικλῆς
ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμου οὐκ ἄγων τὸν Ἀναβαγόραν, καὶ τὴν
Εὔβοιαν παρεστήσατο ταῖς μὲν ἑκείνου βουλαίς,
ἐπιπαίδευτο γὰρ ὑπ' ἑκείνῳ, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὐκ ἐφελ-
κόμενος διότερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαῖων πρὸς τὰς 246

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

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

1 Diogenes Laertius 8. 10; Pythagoras persuaded his disciples to share their property in common. 2 Cf. Livy 27. 7.
μάχας. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκοῦτα, φασίν, Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀπέστησαν συνουσίας. ἂλλ' ἐφερεν ὡς ἀνήρ ἐμφρων ἀνι ὑπὲρ ἰσοιαν τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πρῶτος. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῇ πατρίδι καθάπερ μητρὶ δικαίως μὲν οὐ, χαλεπῶς δὲ ὄμως ἐχούσῃ πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτῶν, εἴκειν ὄρον χρήμα, ταύτα, ὡς εἰκός, λογιζόμενος· ἀκοῦειν δὲ χρῆ τῶν ἔξης ὡς τοῦ Περικλέους αὐτοῦ· Ἐμοὶ πόλις μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ πατρὶς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φίλοι θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ ὑπονοοῦσι σπουδαῖοι. χρῆ δὲ καὶ τὴν οὔ γεγόναμεν τιμᾶν, ἐπειδὴ τούτῳ θείῳ ἐστι νόμος, καὶ πείθεσθαι γε οἷς ἄν ἐπιτάττῃ καὶ μὴ βιάζοσθαι μηδὲ, ὁ φησίν ἡ παροιμία, πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν ἀπαραίτητον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ξυγὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης. οὐ μὴν ὁδυρτέων οὐδὲ θησυχείς τίς ὑπὸ ἐπιτάττει τραχύτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρῶγμα λογιστέου αὐτῷ. τῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ἄφ' ἡμῶν κελεύει, καὶ τῶν ἄριστον οὐκ ὑψόμεθα τῶν ἑταίρων, δι' ἵνα ἥχοθημεν καὶ τῇ νυκτί, ὡς χαίρει οὐκ ἐδείκνυς, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἥλιος χάριν ἡπιστάμην, ὡς ὑπαρέχει ὑπὸ τοῖς θηρίοις, οὐδὲν ἀπεικόνιστο ἐστὶ σε διαφερόμενος ἀχθεσθαι εἰ δὲ σοι ψυχὴν ἐνέ. D

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

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

¹ Cobet rejects this sentence as a gloss; but Julian perhaps echoes Plato, Menexenus 246 c.
² This is a very inappropriate application to Pericles of the speech of Critoboulos in Xenophon, Symposium 4. 12; cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 49.
Νοµίζει καὶ νοῆσαι ἄνθρωπος συνενίων, ὡς οὐ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν γεγονότων καίπερ οὗ παρόντα νῦν ὁρᾶς διὰ τῆς μυθῆς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ὁ λόγισμος ἀνεφράγμως ὡς περὶ ὀμμασίων ὀρᾶν προσβάλλει τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων οὐ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ὑμίτων ἡ φαντασία μόνον ἀποτυπομενεὶ διδόωσιν αὐτῷ κρίνεις καὶ καθορᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω καὶ μυριάς σταδίων ἀπροκησίμενα τῶν γεγονότων παρὰ πόδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 247 δείκνυσιν ἐναργέστερον, τὴ χοὴ τοσοῦτον ἀνιάσθαι καὶ σχετλίως φέρειν; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ μοι,
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 if 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.
καὶ στέργειν ὑπεται γὰρ ὑβρις μὲν κόρῳ, ἐρως δὲ ἐνδείᾳ. καὶ ταῦτη τοῖς ἔξωμεν βελτιων, ἐπετεινομένης ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας, καθέξωμεν τε ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν διανοίασις ἱδρυμένους ἄστερ ἀγάλματα. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἔγω τὸν 'Ἀναξαγόραν, ἀὕσις δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑφεται ἐμε―καλύπτει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ ἁμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους. Δ ὁὐχὶ σαρκία καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μορφής τύπωμα, στέρνα τε ἔξεικασμένα πρὸς ἀρχήτυπον σώματος—καλτοι καὶ τούτο κωλύει τυχόν οὐδὲν ταῖς διανοίασις ἡμῶν ἐμφαίνεσθαι ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν ἁρέτην καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ὡς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετ’ ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμοιβάς ὑμνοῦντες παιδεῖαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπετροπεύοντα νοῦν τὰ θυτὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, καὶ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ 248 νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἁρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπίτη—δευμάτων διεξόντες, ὅσα γε ἡμῖν ἐπηρεί ἐν καιρῷ τούτων εἱματείοις. ταῦτα ἐνυδσθείς, τούτως τρεφόμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις τυχόν οὐκ ὁνεῖρων νυκτέρων ἤνδαλμασὶ προσέβομεν οὐδὲ κενὰ καὶ μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νῦ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράσεως αἰσθησις διακε—μένῃ. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παραληφόμεθα τὴν αἰ―σθησιν ὑποργεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀποφυγὸν αὐτὴν ὁ νοῦς ἐμμελετήσει τούτως πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεθισμὸν τῶν ἀσωμάτων

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

1 Theognis 158. τίκτηι τοι κόρος ἔθριων, ὅταν κακαὶ ἐλθοὶ ἔντατα.
2 Euripides, Phoenissae 165, μαρφῆς τόπωσα στέρνα τ' ἐξεμεμένα.
3 Nanok, Aesch. adespota trag. frag. 108.
διεγειρόμενος· νῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνεσθαι, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀποφυγόντα καὶ διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ δεόμενα τόπον ὑπὲρ τε καὶ αἰρέων πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοις ἄξιον βεβίωται τῆς τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοοῦμες αὐτὴν καὶ συνάπτόμενοι.

"Αλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς, ἄτε δὲ μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ τραφεὶς ἔλευθερός ἐν ἔλευθερα τῇ πόλει, οὐκ ὠφθησίας ἐγγυαγάγει λόγους αὐτῶν· εὐγεώ δὲ γεγονός ἐκ τῶν οἷον νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσιν ἀνθρωπεῖοτέροι ἐμαυτῶν θέλομεν καὶ παράγω λόγους, καὶ τὸ λιγότερον ἀφαίρετο τῆς λύπης, πρὸς ἔκαστον τῶν ἂν μοι προσπίπτοντων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρᾶγματος δυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἄτοπων φαντασμάτων ἐφαρμόζειν τινὰ παραμυθῖαν περιφέρομεν, ὅσπερ ἔποιηθην θηρίων δήγματε δάκρυντος αὐτῆς ἐσοφ̄ τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας. ἐκεῖνο τοῦ πρῶτον ἔστι μοι τῶν φαινόμενῶν δυσχερῶν· νῦν ὡς μόνον ἀπολελείψθημαι καθάρας ἐνδέχεσθαι ὀμίλλας καὶ ἔλευθερας ἐντεῦξιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι τέως ὅτε διαλέξωμαι τιθάρσων ὀμολόγωσι· τότερον οὖν οὔδὲ ἐμαυτῷ διαλέγομαι βραδίνως ēστι μοι; ἀλλ' ἀφαίρετο μὲ τις καὶ τὴν ἐννοιαν καὶ προσαναγκάζει νοεῖν ἐπεῖρα καὶ θαυμάζειν παρ' ἄβουλομαι; ἡ τούτο μὲν ἔστι τέρας ήδη καὶ προσόμοιον τῷ γράφειν ἐφ' ὤδατος καὶ τῷ λίθῳ ἐξειν καὶ τῷ ἰπταμένῳ ὀρνισθέν ἔρευν μὲν ἓν τῷ πτήσεως; οὐκεκαί ἐπείδή τούτων ἡμᾶς οὔδεὶς ἀφαιρέται, συνεσώμεθα δέπουθεν αὐτῷ πῶς ἐαυτοῖς, ἓσως δὲ καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται τι χρηστῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκδος ἄγρα ἐαυτῶν ἐπιτρέψαντα τῷ κρείττονι

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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 ἀμεληθῆναι καὶ καταλειφθῆναι παντελῶς ἔρημον ἄλλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς χείρα ἐξ ὑπερέσχε καὶ θάρσος ἐνδίδωσι 1 καὶ μένος ἐμπνεύει Β καὶ τὰ πρακτέα τίθησιν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ τῶν μὴ πρακτέων ἀφίστησιν. εἰπετό τοι καὶ Σωκράτεις δαιμονία φωνῆ κωλύουσα πράπτειν ὡς μὴ χρεων ἦν φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρος ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως· τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήκεν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας ἡμῶν ἐγείροντος, ὅταν ἐπιστρέψας ὁ νοῦς εἰς ἑαυτόν αὐτῷ τε πρὸτερον ἐυγγέννηται καὶ τῷ θεῷ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, κωλύομεν ὁπ' οὔδενός. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκοῆς ὁ νοῦς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ θεὸς φωνῆς πρὸς τὸ διδάξει τὰ δεόντα· ἄλλη αἰσθήσεως ἐξο πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττουν ἢ μετουσία γίνεται τῷ νῷ· τίνα μὲν τρόπον καὶ ὅπως οὖ σχολὴ νῦν ἐπεξείρημα, τὸ δ' ὅτε γίνεται δήλον 2 καὶ σαφεῖς οἱ μάρτυρες, οὐκ ἀδοξοί τινες οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέως ἄξιοι τάττεσθαι μερίδι, ἄλλα δ' τῶν ἀπενεγκαμένων ἐπὶ σοφία τὰ πρωτεία. 3

Οὐκοιὸν ἐπειδὴ χρὴ προσδοκῶν καὶ θεῶν ἡμῶν παρέσεσθαι πάντως καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς συνεσθαι, τὸ λαὸν δυσχερὲς ἀφαιρετέου ἐστι τῆς λύπης. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μόνον ἐν τῷ νῆσῳ καθειργμένον ἐπὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐναυτοὺς, εἰτ' ὀδυρόμενως, τῆς μὲν ἀλλης ἐπαινοῦ καρτερίας, τῶν θρήνων δὲ οὐκ ἂγαμαί. τῷ γὰρ δ φελος πόντον ἐπ' 250 ἱκυνόεται δέρκεσθαι καὶ λείβειν δάκρυα; τὸ

1 ἐνδίδωσι Hertlein suggests, δίδωτι MSS.
2 δήλον Cobet, δηλοὶ Hertlein, MSS.
3 πρωτεία Cobet, πρῶτα Hertlein, MSS.
neglected and left wholly desolate. But over him God stretches his hand,¹ endues him with strength, inspires him with courage, and puts into his mind what he must do. We know too how a divine voice accompanied Socrates and prevented him from doing what he ought not. And Homer also says of Achilles, "She put the thought in his mind," ² implying that it is God who suggests our thoughts when the mind turns inwards and first communes with itself, and then with God alone by itself, hindered by nothing external. For the mind needs no ears to learn with, still less does God need a voice to teach us our duty: but apart from all sense-perception, communion with God is vouchsafed to the mind. How and in what manner I have not now leisure to inquire, but that this does happen is evident, and there are sure witnesses thereof—men not obscure or only fit to be classed with the Megarians,³—but such as have borne the palm for wisdom.

It follows therefore that since we may expect that God will be present with us in all our doings, and that we shall again renew our intercourse, our grief must lose its sharpest sting. For indeed in the case of Odysseus ⁴ too, who was imprisoned on the island for all those seven years and then bewailed his lot, I applaud him for his fortitude on other occasions, but I do not approve those lamentations. For of what avail was it for him to gaze on the fishy sea and shed

¹ Iliad 9. 420. ² Iliad 1. 55.
³ The Megarians on inquiring their rank among the Greeks from the Delphic oracle were told that they were not in the reckoning at all, ὀμαί τι τοῦ Μεγαρίτου ὤν ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ; cf. Theocritus 14. 47.
⁴ Cf. Dio Chrysostom 13. 4, Arnim.
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dē μὴ προέσθαι μηδ’ ἀπαγορεύσαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην, ἀλλ’ άνδρα μέχρις ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι πόνων1 καὶ κινδύνων, τούτῳ ἐμοίγε φαίνεται μείζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπον. οὐ δὴ δικαιον ἐπαινεῖν μὲν αὐτούς, μὴ μμείσθαι δὲ, οὐδὲ νομίζειν, ὃς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὁ θεὸς προθόμως συνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ νῦν περιόψεται Β τῆς ἀρετῆς ὅρων ἀντεποιοιμένους, δι’ ἥν περ ἀρα κακεῖνοι ἔχαιρεν ὁ γὰρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ τοι τὸν Νιρέα μᾶλλον ἐχρῆν ἀγαπᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἴσχυν, ἀπελθώ γὰρ ὅσῳ Δαιστρυγόνες καὶ Κύκλωπες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ κρέιττους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, ὥστε γὰρ ἄν ἐμείνειν ἀπόρθητος Τροία. τί δὲ δεὶ πράγματα ἦσεν αὐτὸν ἐπηγησότα τὴν αἰτίαν, δεὶ ἣν Ὁδυσσέα φησίν ὁ ποιητὴς θεοφιλή, αὐτοῦ γε ἐξόν ἀκούειν:

Οὖνεκ’ ἑπτής ἔσσει καὶ ἄγκινος καὶ ἐχέφρων.

δῆλον οὖν ὡς, εἴπερ ἢμῖν ταῦτα προσγένεστο, τὸ κρέιττον οὐκ ἐλλείψει τὰ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα πάλαι ποτὲ Δακεδαιμονίας χρησμὸν καλοῦμενὸς τε καὶ ἀκλητος ὁ θεὸς παρέσται.

Τούτων ἐμαυτὸν ψυχαγωγήσας ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο τὸ D μέρος ἀπειμί πάλιν, ὅ δεκεὶ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ μικρὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δόξαν δὲ ὅμως οὐκ ἁγεινές. Ὁμήρον τοι φασὶ δείσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, οὗ δήσει συνόντος, ἀλλὰ κηρύττων ὁσπερ Ἀχιλλεία καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Αἴαντας ἁμφό καὶ τὸν

1 τὸνων Hertlein suggests, φέβων 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 Laëstrygones 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 6. 84  
2 Iliad 2. 673.  
3 Odyssey 10. 119 foll.  
4 Odyssey 13. 332.  
5 Cf. Oration 6. 201 c; Thucydides 1. 118.
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"Αντίλογων. ἀλλ' ο μὲν ὑπερορθῶν ἀεὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἐφείμενος δὲ τῶν ἀπόντων οὐκ ἤγαπα τοῖς καθ' ἐαυτῶν οὐδὲ ἤρκειτο τοῖς δοθέωσι καὶ ἐξεπρ έτυχεν Ὀμήρου, τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἰσως ἃν 251 ἐπόθησε λύραν, ἡ τοῖς Πηλέως ἐκείνους ἐφύμησε γάμους, ό τῆς Ὀμήρου συνέσεως τούτῳ πλάσμα νομίσας, ἀλλ' ἀληθὲς ἔργον ἐνυφαίθεν τοῖς ἐπεσιν, ὀσπερ οἴμαι τὸ

"Ηδὲ μὲν κρακόππεπλος ἐκίδνατο πῦσαν ἐπ' αἶαν καὶ

"Ηλιος κ' ἀνόρουσε καὶ

Κρήτη τες γαὶ ἐστί, καὶ ὁσα τουαῖτα φασιν οἱ ποιηται, δήλα καὶ ἐναργῇ τὰ μὲν ὅντα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐτι, τὰ δὲ γυνώμενα.

"Αλλά τῷ μὲν εἶτε μέγεθος ἀρετῆς ὑπερέχον. Β καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῶς ἑλάττων σύνεσις εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξῆγεν, ὅστε μειζόνων ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπέγεσθαι, εἰς ὑπερβολῇ τὶς ἀνδρείας καὶ θάρσους εἰς ἀλαζονείαν ἀγουσα καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδειαν βλέπουσα, ὑφείςων σκοπεῖν ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαινεῖν ἡ ψέφειν αὐτῶν, εἰ τες ἀρα καὶ ταύτης ὑπολαμμενες τῆς μερίδος προσήκειν ἐκεῖνω. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς παροῦσιν ἀγαπόντες ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἤκιστα μεταποιούμενοι στέργομεν μὲν, ὅποταν ὁ κήρυξ

1 ὑπερέχον Nuber, ὑπάρχον Hurtlein, MSS.
2 ὑπέγεσθαι Petavins, lacana Hurtlein, MSS.
3 ἀγουσα Cobet, βλέπουσα Hurtlein, ... οὐσα V.
TO SALLUST

Antiloehus. 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.
Επαυγῇ, θεατής τε καὶ συναγωνιστῆς πάντων ἡμῶν γεγονός, μὴ τούς λόγους παραδεξάμενος εἰς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν εἰκῇ πεπλασμένους. Ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φίλεῖν ὁμολογῶν μόνον, ὥστε τὰ άλλα σεισμηλότερος ὅν καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρα τελεσθέντων.

'Ενταύθα ὑπέρχεται μοι καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενον, δ' ὡς οὐκ εἰς Ἰελερίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θράκας ἀφίξῃ καὶ τούς περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκείνην οἰκούντας Ἑλλήνας, ἐν οἷς γενομένῳ μοι καὶ τραφέντες πολὺς ἑντὸς ἐρωτὸς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ χεριῶν καὶ πόλεων. Ἰσως δὲ οὐ φαίνομεν οὔτε ἐκείνων ἑνοπλήστατα ταῖς ὑψίσται ἔρωτι ἡμῶν, οἷς εὑ οἶδ' ὅτι τὸ λεγόμενον ἀσπάσιον ἐλθὼν ἀν γένοιο, δικαίων 252 ἀμοιβήν ἀντιδίδουσι αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐν ἡμᾶς ἀπολέλοιπας ἑνθάδε, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ὡς εὐχόμενος· ἐπεὶ τὸ γε λέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτήν ταχέως ἀμείων ἀλλ' ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἐξων οὐκ ἀπαραμιθήτως οὔτε ἄψυχαγωγήτως ζυννοῦ, συγχαίρων ἐκείνους, ὅτι σε παρ' ἡμῶν ἑγόρηται. Καλτοῖς γὰρ ἕμαυτὸν ἤδη διὰ σὲ συντάττω, ἄνδρα εἰς τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελοῦντα καὶ κατ' εὐνομίαν καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ῥητορείαν Ἐκρον καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπειροῦν, ὡς Ἐλλήνες μόνοι τὰ κράτιστα μεταληθῆσαι, λόγῳ τάληθες, ὡσπερ οὖν πέφυκε, θηρεύσαντες, οὐκ ἀπίστως μύθους οὐδὲ παραδόξως τερατεῖα προσέχειν ἡμᾶς, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔσαντες.
that I have done; and who has never admitted any statements invented at random out of partiality or prejudice. And it is enough for me if he only admit his love for me, though on all else he were more silent than those initiated by Pythagoras.

Here however I am reminded of the report current that you are going not only to Illyria but to Thrace also, and among the Greeks who dwell on the shores of that sea. Among them I was born and brought up, and hence I have a deeply rooted affection for them and for those parts and the cities there. And it may be that in their hearts also there still remains no slight affection for me: I am therefore well assured that you will, as the saying is, gladden their hearts by your coming, and there will be a fair exchange, since they will gain in proportion as I lose by your leaving me here. And I say this not because I wish you to go—for it were far better if you should return to me by the same road without delay—but the thought in my mind is that even for this loss I shall not be without comfort or 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.
'Αλλά καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ έχει, τανίν ἀφείσθω. σὲ δὲ προπέμπτειν ἦδη γὰρ ἄξιον μετ' εὐφημίαις: ἄγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενής, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δὲν πορεύεσθαι, Ἐνιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φῖλιος ο έν αὐτός, ἄγοι τε διὰ γῆς ἀσφαλῶς· κἂν πλεῖν δεῖ, στορεννύσθω τὰ κύματα· πᾶσι δὲ φανείης φίλος καὶ τίμιος, ἧδος μὲν προσιών, ἀλγείνος δὲ ἀπολείπων αὐτοῖς· στέργων δὲ ἡμᾶς ἥκιστα ποθήσειας ἀνδρός ἑταίρου καὶ φίλου πιστοῦ κοινωνίαν. εὐμενὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σοι θεὸς ἀποψηφνειε καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν διδοίη, καὶ τὴν Δ οἰκαδε παρ' ἡμᾶς πορείαν ἀσφαλή παρασκευάζοι καὶ ταχείαν.

Ταυτά σοι μετὰ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἄνδρῶν συνείχομαι, καὶ ἔτε πρὸς τούτοις

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

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

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

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

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

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become Emperor, though there is nothing in it that would not suit an earlier date; it is sometimes assigned to 355 when Julian was still Caesar. The quotations from Aristotle are appropriately addressed to Themistius as an Aristotelian commentator.
'Εγώ σοι βεβαιώσαι μέν, δόστερ οὖν γράφεις, τάς ἐπιλίδας καὶ σφόδρα εὐχομαί, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ διαμάρτω, μελθόνοις οὐσίης τῆς υποσχέσεως, ἢν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾷς καὶ ἐτε μᾶλλον πρὸς σεαυτὸν ποιῆ· καὶ μοι πάλαι μὲν οἰομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκουν, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος γέγονεν ἀρετὴ διαφέρον, εἶναι Β τὴν ἁμιλλαν φρέκτη τις προσήγε καὶ δεός θαυμαστῶν, μὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι παντελῶς τῆς ἀνδρείας δόξῳ, τοῦ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὁλόγον ὅφεικομαι. εἰς ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ἀνεπειθόμην τὴν σχολὴν ἑπανεῖν, καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν διαιτημάτων 1 αὐτὸς τε ἡδέως ἐμεμνήμην καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑμῶν προσάδειν ἡξίουν, δόστερ οἱ τὰ βαρέα φορτὶα φέροντες ἐν ταῖς φύσεσιν ἐπικοινωνίου ἀντίοις τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν. σὺ δὲ μοι μνὲν μεῖζον ἐποίη· οὐ διὰ τῆς ἐναγχος ἐπιστολῆς τὸ δέος καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνα τῷ πάντι χαλεπώτερον ἔδειξας, ἐν ταύτῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετάχθαι με τῇ μερίδι λέγων, ἐν γὰρ πρότερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἐγενέσθην φιλοσοφοῦντες ὑμοῦ καὶ βασίλειοντες καὶ πᾶσαν

1 διαιτημάτων Naber, δευτημάτων Hertlein, MSS,
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

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

¹ The Emperor Marcus Aurelius.
² Apparently an echo of Dio Chrysostom, Oration 1. 9, Arnim.
Σχεδόν τῆς ἐπιστολαξούσης κακίας ἀνακαθαρέτο 254 μενοι γῆν τε καὶ θάλαταν. κελεύεις δὲ πάσαν ἀποσεισάμενον σχολής ἐννοιαν καὶ βαστώνης σκοπεῖν, ὅπως τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀξίως ἀγωνιούμεθα· εἰτά ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν νομοθετῶν μέμνησαι, Σόλυνος, Πεττακοῦ, Δυκοῦργου, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μείζονα χρήμα παρ’ ἡμῶν λόγες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν δίκῃ νῦν περιμένειν. τούτως ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις ἐνυπχῶν ἐξεπλάγην μικρῷ· σοί μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανυ· ἐς τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θεμιτῶν κολακεῖς ἢ φεύδονται, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ συνειδῶς φύσεως μὲν ἄνεκα διαφέρον ὅποι οὔτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔτε νῦν ὑπάρξαν, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἐρασθήνητε μόνον τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ συγγό τύχας, αἰ μοι τὸν ἔρωτα τούτων ἀτελῆ τέχνας ἐφύλαξαν· οὐκ ἔχων οὐδὲ τις χρῆ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων συμβαλεῖν, ἐως ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦγαγεν ὁ θεός, μὴ ποτε ἄρα προτρέπεις θέλεις διὰ τῶν ὁ ἐπιάρων καὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων δείξαι τὸ μέγεθος, οἷς ἀνέγκη πᾶσα τὸν ἐν πολυτείᾳ ζώντα παραβεβλήθησα τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον.

Τότε δὲ ἀποτρέποντος ἐστὶ πλέον ἡ πρὸς τῶν βίων παρομοίωτος. ὅσπερ γὰρ οἷς τῶν πορθμῶν τὸν παρ’ ὑμῖν πλέον καὶ οὐδέ τούτων ῥαδίως οὐδὲ εὐκαίης ὑφιστάμενοι ἀκούοι παρά τοῦ μαντικῆς ἐπαγγελλομένου τέχνην, ὡς χρείαν αὐτῶν τὸν Δ. Ἀὐγάιον ἀναμετρήσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς ἕξω θαλάσσης ἄψασθαι, καὶ "Νῦν μὲν" ὁ προφήτης λέγοι "τελεῖ καὶ λειμένας, ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος.
kings, purged almost the whole earth and sea of the evils that infested them. You bid me shake off all thought of leisure and inactivity that I may prove to be a good soldier worthy of so high a destiny. And besides those examples you go on to remind me of law-givers such as Solon, Pittacus, and Lycurgus, and you say that men have the right to expect from me now greater things than from any of these. When I read these words I was almost dumb-founded; for on the one hand I was sure that it was unlawful for you as a philosopher to flatter or deceive; on the other hand I am fully conscious that by nature there is nothing remarkable about me—there never was from the first nor has there come to be now,—but as regards philosophy I have only fallen in love with it (I say, nothing of the fates that have intervened ¹ to make that love so far ineffectual). I could not tell therefore how I ought to interpret such expressions, until God brought it into my mind that perhaps by your very praises you wished to exhort me, and to point out how great are those trials to which a statesman must inevitably be exposed every day of his life.

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

¹ Euripides, Orestes 16.
² The Bosporus; Themistius was probably at Constantinople.
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οὐδὲ σκοπεῖαν οὖδὲ πέτραν ὠψει, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ ναῦν πόρρωθεν κατέδων προσεπεῖν τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, καὶ τῆς γῆς ὠψὲ ποτὲ ἄφαμενος, τῷ θεῷ πολλάκις προσεύξῃς, πρὸς αὐτῷ γοῦν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου τυχεῖν ὄρμου καὶ τῆν τε ναῦν σῶν 255 παραδούναι καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπαθείς τοῖς οἰκείοις κακῶς παραστήσαι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ματρὶ γῆ δοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐσόμενον ἔσως ἀδηλόν ἔσται σοὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἡμέρας· ἂρ’ οἱ τοιῶν ἀκούοντας τῶν λόγων ἐκεῖνον πόλιν γ’ ἄν ἐοικεῖς ἔλεσθαι πλησίων θαλάσσης, οὐχὶ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπόντα πλοῦτον καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἐμπορίας ἀγαθοῖς περιγνωμοῦνται, γνωρίμισι πολλοῖς, ἐπειδὴς φίλίας, ἱστορίας ἄθων καὶ πόλεων Β ὑπεριδόντα σοφῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους, δὲ κελεύει λαθεῖν βιώσαντα; καὶ σὺ δὲ ἔσις τούτων καταμαθῶν προκαταλαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς ταῖς εἰς τὸν Ἐπικούρον λοιδορίας καὶ προεξαιρεῖν τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην. φῆς γὰρ που σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖ ἀπράγμαντα καὶ διαλέξεις ἐν περιπάτοις προσήκειν ἐκεῖνης. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐ καλῶς Ἐπικούρος C ταῦτα ἔδοκει, πάλαι καὶ σφόδρα πείθομαι· εἰ δὲ πάνθ’ ὀντινοῦ ἐπὶ πολλέων προτρέπειν ἄξιον, καὶ τὸν ἤττον περικότα καὶ τὸν οὖπω τελείως δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔσως διαπορήσαι χρή. λέγουσε γὰρ τοῦ καὶ τῶν Σωκράτη πολλοὺς μὲν οὐ σφόδρα εὐφυῶς; ἐχοῦται ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ βήματος,

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

1 Epicurus; his advice was μηδέ βιώσας.
2 Literally “from the βηθα,” i.e. the stone on the Pnyx from which the Athenian orator addressed the people.
καὶ Γλαῦκων ἐκεῖνον, Ἐνοφών λέγει· τὸν δὲ τοῦ Κλεινίου παιδα πειραθήκας μὲν ἐπισχεῖν, οὐ δὲ δυνάθηκας δὲ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ νεανίσκου τῆς ὀρμῆς. ὦμεις δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας καὶ ξυνιέντας αὕτων προσαναγκάσομεν, θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἱρ-γῶν κελέωντες, ὅν οὐκ ἁρετῇ μόνον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ προαίρεσις ὀρθῇ κυρίᾳ, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἡ τύχη κρατοῦσα πανταχοῦ καὶ βιαξομένη ρέειν ἵπτερ ἀν ἐθέλη τὰ πράγματα; Χρύσιστός δὲ δοκεῖ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ νομισθήναι δικαίως, ἀγνοῆς δὲ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ τινας ἄλλας αὕτιας τοιαύτας ἠχωθεν τοῖς πρακτί-256 κοῖς παραπιτούσας οὐ σφόδρα ὁμολογοῦμενα λέγειν οἷς ὁ χρόνος ἡμᾶς διὰ μυρλῶν ἐναργῶς διδάσκει παραδεγγέντων. ποῦ γὰρ εὐθυχία καὶ μακάριον Κάτωνα φήσωμεν; ποῦ δὲ Δίωνα τὸν Σικελιώτην εὐδαιμόνα; οἷς τοῦ μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ἐμέλειν ἵσως οὐδέν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λείπειν ἀτελεῖς τὰς πράξεις, ἐφ’ ἂς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁμοίας, καὶ σφόδρα Β ἐμελεῖ, καὶ πάντα ἀν εἶλοντο παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ἑκεῖνοι εἰ μὲν εὐσχημόνως ἐφεροῦν, ἀσπερ οὖν λέγεται, τὴν τύχην παρα-μυϊάν ἐσχόν εκ τῆς ἁρετῆς οὐ μικράς, εὐδαιμονεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἂν λέγοντο τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων διημαρτηκότες, πλὴν ἵσως διὰ τὴν Σταυρίκην ἐνστασιν πρὸς ἴδιον ῥητέου, ὡς οὐ ταύτων ἔστιν ἐπαυείσθαι καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ φύετι τὸ ἵκον εὐδαιμονίας ὀρέγεται, κρείττων εἶναι τὸ κατ’ Ο

1 καὶ Γλαῦκων... λέγει· τὸν δὲ Wytenbach, Γλαῦκων δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἃς Χενοφών λέγει, καὶ τὸν Hertlein, MSS.
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Glaucion 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 deficiences, and urge them to be self-confident about such great tasks? For in such matters not virtue alone or a wise policy is paramount, but to a far greater degree Fortune holds sway throughout and compels events to incline as she wills. Chrysippus ³ indeed, though in other respects he seems a wise man and to have been rightly so esteemed, yet in ignoring fortune and chance and all other such external causes that fall in to block the path of men of affairs, he uttered paradoxes wholly at variance with facts about which the past teaches us clearly by countless examples. For instance, shall we call Cato a fortunate and happy man? Or shall we say that Dio of Sicily had a happy lot? It is true that for death they probably cared nothing, but they did care greatly about not leaving unfinished the undertakings which they had originally set on foot, and to secure that end there is nothing that they would not have endured. In that they were disappointed, and I admit that they bore their lot with great dignity, as we learn, and derived no small consolation from their virtue; but happy one could not call them, seeing that they had failed in all those noble enterprises, unless perhaps according to the Stoic conception of happiness. And with regard to that same Stoic conception we must admit that to be applauded and to be counted happy are two very different

¹ Memorabilia 3. 6. 1. ² Alcibiades. ³ The Stoic philosopher.
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ἐκεῖνην μακαριστοῦν τέλος τοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπαινετοῦ. ἦκιστα δὲ φιλεῖ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἡ βεβαιότ. τῆς τύχῃ πιστεύειν. καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολλεῖς ἡγόμενοι άνευ ταύτης ἀναπνεῦν τὸ δή λεγόμενον * * * ἀληθῶς θεωροῦντες εἴτε καὶ πεποίηκασι καὶ στρατηγὸν λόγον,2 καθάπερ οἱ τάς ιδέας εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς έξυπνώντες, ἐν τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἱδρύσαθαί που τῶν τυχαίων ὑπεράνω πάντων, ἢ τὸν Διογένους ἐκεῖνον

"Ἀπολεῖν, ἄσκον, πατρίδος ἐστερημένον, οὐκ ἦχοντα μὲν εἰς ὅτε παρ’ αὐτῆς εὗ πάθη καὶ τούναντιν ἐν τίνι σφαλῇ τούτων δὲ ὅ τι ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴποντε καὶ τὸν Διογένους ἐκεῖνον

"Ως λαοὶ τ’ οπιστεράφαται καὶ τόσα μέρηλεν, πῶς ἂν τις ἐξ ἄληθης ἀπαγαγόν τῆς θέσιν φύλασσε; πάλιν δ’ ο αὐτών ὑποτιθεὶς ταύτη πόσης 257 αὐτῷ δὲν οἴσεται παρασκευής 3 καὶ φρονίσεως πηλίκης ὥστε τὰς ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα ῥοπάς, καθάπερ πνεύματος κυβερνήτην, εὐσχημόνως φέρειν;

Οὐκ ἔστι θαυμαστὸν ἀντιτάξασθαι προσπολέμουσα μόνον αὐτῆ, πολὺ δὲ θαυμασιώτερον τῶν ὑπαρξάντων παρ’ αὐτῆς ἁγαθῶν ἄξιον φανῆμα. τούτως ὁ μέγιστος ἐάλλῳ βασιλεὺς ὁ τήν Ἀσιαν

1 After λεγόμενον several words are lost.
2 λόγος Reiske, λόγοι Hertlein, MSS.
3 παρασκευής Hertlein would read, τῆς παρασκευῆς MSS.
4 θαυμασιώτερον MSS : Hertlein following Cobet reads θαυμασιώτερον but in later Preface would restore MSS. reading.

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things, and that if every living thing naturally desires happiness, 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," 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," 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

καταστρεψάμενος Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρξοῦ χαλεπῶ- β
tερος καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζῶν φανείς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς
ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς κατέστη κύριος, τούτως ἀλόντες
τοὺς βέλεσιν ἁρδὴν ἀπόλολοντο Πέρσαι, Μακεδόνες,
οὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμος, Συρακούσιοι, τὰ Δακεδαι-
μονία τέλη, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν
ἀυτοκράτορες μυρίοι. τολὺ μήκος ὃν γένοιτο
πάντας ἀπαριθμομένην τοὺς διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ
νίκας καὶ τροφῆν ἀπολομένοις ὃσοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
dυσπτραγιῶν ἐπικλυσθέντες δοῦλοι μὲν ἀντ’ ἐλευ-
θέρου, ταπεινοὶ δὲ ἀντί γενναίων καὶ σφόδρα
eὐτελεῖς ἀντὶ τῶν πρόσθεν σεμνῶν ἀπασιν ὁ-
φθησαν, τι μὲ χρῆ νῦν ὡσπερ ἐκ δέλτου μεταγρά-
φοντα καταλέγειν; εἰ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ τῶν ἀνθρῶ-
πων βίος ἀποφεύγει παραδειγμάτων τοιούτων. ἀλλ’
οὔτε ἐστίν οὔτ’ ἂν γένοιτο ποτε τῶν τοιούτων
eνδείξασα παραδειγμάτων, ἓνω σὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
διαμένῃ γένος. ὂς δὲ σῶσ’ ἐγὼ μόνος τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ πλείστον Δ
ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις κρατεῖν νενόμικα, λέγομε’ ἂν
ἣν σαι τὰ τῶν Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων
Νόμων, εἰδὼς μὲν καὶ διδασκαλίτι με, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ
ωσπερ τῷ μῇρᾳ μερίμνῃ ποιοῦμενος παραγέγραφα
σοι τὴν ῥήσιν ὁδὲ πώς ἱχθυσαν. “Θεοὶ μὲν
πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καίρος τὰ ἀνθρώ-
πωνα διακυβερνῶσι ἐξύμπαντα. ἦμεροτερον μὴν
τούτοις συγχρησάς τρίτων δεῖν ἑπεθαύ τέχνην.” 258
ἐντα ὁποῖοι εἶναι χρῆ τῶν τεχνών καὶ δημιουργῶν
τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ βασιλεία θείον ὑπο-
γράφων Ἄγιον ὁ Κρόνος ἄρα, καθάπερ ἤμεῖς,
φησί, διελεύθαμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεία φύσις

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

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

1 Laws 709b.
Ο υπαρτικό μεταφέρει το θεότητα τα άνθρωπινα διοικούσα 
αυτοκράτωρ πάντα μή συν βρεός τε καὶ ἀδικίας 
μεστούσθαι, ταῦτ’ οὖν διανοοῦμενοι ἐφίστη τότε Β 
βασιλέας καὶ ἄρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν ὡκ 
ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θεοτέρου καὶ ἀμείνους, 
διόμονας, οἷον νῦν ἡμεῖς δρόμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ 
όσων ἡμεροὶ ἐσίν ἀγέλαι: οὐ βοῦς βοῦν οὐδὲ αἶγα 
αἰγῶν ἄρχοντας ποιούμεν αὐτοῖς τινας, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς 
αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἀμείνου ἐκεῖνον γένος. ταῦτον 
δὴ καὶ ὁ θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὁν γένος ἀμείνου ἡμῶν 
ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαμάρων, διὰ πολλῆς μὲν αὐ 
τοῖς ῥαστώνης, διὰ πολλῆς δ’ ἡμῖν, ἐπεμελο- 
μενον ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰεί καὶ δὴ ἄφθονίαν 
δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαιμόνα 
τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειράžετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ 
νῦν οὗτος ο λόγος ἀληθεὶς χρόμενος, ὅσων πό 
λεαν μὴ θεός, ἀλλὰ τις ἄρχει θυτώς, οὐκ ἐστὶ 
κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὗδε πόλεων ἀνάψυξις: ἀλλὰ με 
μείσθαι δεῖν ἡμῖς οἴεται πάσῃ μηχανή τὸν 
ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ οὗν ἐν ἡμῖν 
Δ ἀθανασίας ἔστη, τούτῳ πειθομένους δημοσίᾳ 
καὶ ἱδίᾳ τάς τε οἰκήσεις καὶ τᾶς πόλεις διοικεῖν, 
τήν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ὄνομαξοντας νόμον. εἰ δὲ 
ἀνθρώπος εἰς ἡ διηγαρχία τῆς ἡ δημοκρατία 
ψυχήν ἔχουσα ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμίων ὁρεγμένην 
καὶ πληροῦσθαι τούτων δειμένην ἄρξει δὴ πόλεως 259 
tινος ἢ ἰδιώτου καταπατήσας τοὺς νόμους, οὐκ 
ἐστι σωτηρίας μηχανῆ."
nature when endowed with supreme authority is never in any case capable of managing human affairs without being filled with insolence and injustice; therefore, having regard to this he at that time set over our cities as kings and governors not men but beings of a more divine and higher race, I mean demons; thus doing as we do now for our flocks and domestic herds. We never appoint certain oxen to rule over other oxen or goats to rule over goats, but we are their masters, a race superior to theirs. In like manner then God, since he loves mankind, has set over us a race of beings superior to ourselves, the race of demons; and they with great ease both to themselves and us undertake the care of us and dispense peace, reverence, aye, and above all justice without stint, and thus they make the tribes of men harmonious and happy. And that account is a true one which declares that in our day all cities that are governed not by a god but by a mortal man have no relief from evils and hardships. And the lesson is that we ought by every means in our power to imitate that life which is said to have existed in the days of Kronos; and in so far as the principle of immortality is in us we ought to be guided by it in our management of public and private affairs, of our houses and cities, calling the distribution of mind ‘law.’ But whether the government be in the hands of one man or of an oligarchy or democracy, if it have a soul that hankers after pleasure and the lower appetites and demands to indulge these, and if such a one rule over a city or individual having first trampled on the laws, there is no means of salvation.”  

1 A play on words: ἐπαρεῖθαι and ἑπίκερα are both connected with ἐπικέρα = “to distribute.”  

2 Laws 713-714; Julian condenses and slightly alters the original.
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

Ταύτην ἐγὼ σοι τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐξεπίτηδες ὅλην παρέγγραψα, μή με κλέπτειν ὑπολάβῃς καὶ κακουργεῖν μύθους ἀρχαίους προφέροντα, τυχόν μὲν ἐμφερό, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῶς πάντη ξυγκειμένους. ἀλλ' ὦ γε ἀληθῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους τί φησι; ἀκούεις ὅτε, κἂν ἀνθρώπος τις τῇ τῇ φύσει, θείον εἶναι χρὴ τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ δαίμονα, πᾶν ἄπλως ἐκβαλόντα τὸ θυτὸν καὶ θηρίωδες τῆς ψυχῆς, πλὴν ὅσα ἀνάγκη διὰ Β. τὴν τοῦ σῶματος παραμένει σωτηρίαν; ταύτα εἰ τες ἑνούρια δέδοικεν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐλκόμενος βίον, ἀρὰ σοι φαίνεται τὴν Ἑπικούρειον θαυμάζειν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ τὸ προάστειον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν¹ καὶ τὰς μυχρίνας καὶ τὸ Σωκράτους δομάτιον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπως γε ἐγὼ ταύτα προτειμάσας τῶν πόνων ὀφθήνη. ἤδηστα ὅτι σοι τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ πόνους διεξῆλθον καὶ τὰ ἐπικρεμασθέντα παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξυγγενῶν, ὅτε τῆς παρ' ὅμων ἠρχήμενη παίδειας, δείγματα, ο οἷς μή σφόδρα αὐτῶς ἥπιστασο. τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν καὶ γένει προσήκοντα καὶ φίλια μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον ὑπάρξοντα μοι πραξθέντα πρὸτερον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς σείματος μικρά παντελῶς γνωρίσας μοι γενομένου, τοῦ σοφιστοῦ φήμης, λέγως εὖ ὑμεῖς; ἀποδημάς δὲ οὐχ ὑπέστης τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα; καὶ τοῖς Καρτερίοις ἐν τοῖς οἰσθ' ὅπως συνηράμην πρὸς τὸν ἐταίρον D ἡμῶν ἀφικόμενος Ἀράξιον ἀκλητος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τῆς θαυμασίας Ἄρετῆς κτημάτων καὶ ὅπως ἐπιτόνθει παρὰ τῶν γειτῶν νοῦ." Ἀθηνῶν Cobot, Ἀθηναίων Hirtlein, MSS.

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LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

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
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

ούκ εἰς τὴν Φρονίμαν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφικόμενον ἐν οὐδὲ δολούς μησὶ δύο, ἀσθενοῦς ἢδη μοι παυτελῶς ὄντος τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενεμένην ὑπὸ τῆς πρότερον κακοπαθείας ἀρρωστίαν; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ τελευταῖον πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένης ἡμῶν ἀφίξεως, ὅτε περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὅσο ἂν εἴποις οἱ πολλοὶ, κευδυνεύων ἕγα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ παρέμενον, ὅποιας ἔγραφον ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς σὲ 260 νῦν ὑπομνήσατε, μῆποτε ὀδυρμῶν πλῆρεις, μήτε μικρὸν ἢ ταπεινῶν ἢ λιαν ἁγεννῆς ἡχοῦσας. ἀπιοῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, ὅτε με φείγειν ἐνόμιζον πάντες, οὐκ ὅσο ἐν ἑορτῇ τῇ μεγάστῃ τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν ὁδίστην ἔφην εἶναι τὴν ἁμοιβὴν ἐμοὶ καί τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον

χρύσεα χαλκεῖων, ἐκατόμβοι ἐννεαβολῶν ἔφην ἀντιπλάχθαι; οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ἐστίας τὴν Ἑλλάδα λαχών ἀγανύμην, οὐκ ἄγρον, οὐ κήπον, οὐ δωμάτιον ἔκει κεκτημένω.

Ἀλλὰ ἰσως ἔοικα ἐγὼ τὰς μὲν δυσπραγίας οὐκ ἁγεννῶς φέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρεὰς ἁγεννῆς τις εἶναι καί μικρός, διὰ γε αὐγαπῶν τὰς Ἀθηναίας μᾶλλον τοὺς νῦν περὶ ἡμᾶς δηκου, τὴν σχολὴν δὴπουθεν ἐκείνην ἐπαινῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πράξεων τοῦτον αἰτιόμενον τὸν βλοῦν; Σ ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε χρή περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμεινον κρίεις, οὐκ εἰς ἀπραξίην καὶ πρᾶξιν βλέποντας, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν καὶ τὸ

"Ερῶι δ' ἐκαστος ἤτυι εἰδελή τέχυνην.

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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. 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"? 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."

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, Wasp 1431.
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Μείζον ἐμοιαγε φαίνεται τὸ βασιλεύειν ἢ κατ᾽ ἀνθρωπον καὶ φύσεώς δεῖσθαι δαιμονιστέρας βασιλεύς, ὡσπερ ὁν καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγε· καὶ νῦν Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλεως εἰς ταῦτα συντείνοντα παραγράψας λόγου, οὐ γαλακτα Ἀθηναίοις ἄγων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελῶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνήρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συγγράμμασιν· "Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς ἀριστον θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἔξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γυνομένων ὑποῖοι τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβερῶν, ἀλλὰ οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὁν τοῖς τέκνοις; ἀλλ’ 261 οὐκ ἔτε ράδιου τοῦτο πιστεύσαι χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ μεῖξονος ἄρτης ἢ κατ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν." ἔξει δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ νόμον λογομένου βασιλέως διεξελθόν, ὡς ἐστὶν ύπηρέτης καὶ φύλαξ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τούτον οὐδὲ βασιλέα καλῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰδος πολιτείας οἰόμενος, προστίθησι· "Περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλομένης, αὕτη δ’ Β ἐστὶ καθ’ ἂν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς, δοκεῖ τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἑνά πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίῳς φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι." εἶτα μετ’ ὅλων φησίν· ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν νοῦν κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεόν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις· ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπον κελεύων

1 ὡς Klimok, ὡς Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐδός πολιτείας Hertlein suggests, cf. Aristotle Politics 3. 16, 1287 a, το τοιοῦτον ἐδός MSS.

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LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

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,

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\(^1\) A proverb; cf. "'bringing coals to Newcastle.'"

\(^2\) Aristotle, *Politics* 3, 15, 1280b.

\(^3\) Ibid 3, 16, 1287a.
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προστίθησι καὶ θηρία: ἢ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦ· οὗ τοῦ καὶ ὁ θυμὸς δὲ ἔδιστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας· διὸπερ ἂνευ ὀρέξεως ὁ νοῦς νόμος ἐστίν.” ὁ ἄρας, ὁ φιλόσοφος ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα σαφῶς ἀπε- στούντι καὶ κατεγρωκότι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. φησὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἱματι τοῦτο λέγων· οὐδεμίαν ἄξιόχρεον εἶναι φύσει ἀνθρωπίνην πρὸς τοσαύτην τύχης ὑπεροχήν· οὐτε γὰρ τῶν παῖδων τὸ κοινὸν ὅ τοις πολλαῖς συμφέρον προτιμάν ἀνθρωπόν γε ὃυτα βάδιον ὑπολαμβάνει, καὶ πολλῶν ὁμοίων ἄρχειν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι φήσι, καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεῖς τὸν κολοφώνα τοῖς ἐμπροσθέν λόγοις νόμον μὲν εἶναι φήσι τὸν νοῦν χωρίς ὀρέξεως, ὁ μόνος τὰς πολεμίας ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆναι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σύνεϊ. ὁ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦς, κἀν ὅσιν ἄγαθοί, συμπεπλεκ- ταὶ θυμὸ καὶ ἐπιθυμία, θηρίους χαλεπωτάτους. ταῦτα ἐμὸν δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀκρως 262 ὁμολογεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κρείττονα χρῆ τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει διαφέροντα· ὅπερ εὐρείων, ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐ βάδιον· ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα κειμέναις οὐδὲ ὡς ἔοικε τῶν τεθείσων ὑπ’ ἄνδρῶν οὐ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν βεβιωκότων, ἀλλ’ ὅστις μᾶλλον τῶν νοῦν καθαρθέοις καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰς τὰ παρόντα ἀφορῶν ἀδικήματα οὐδὲ eis B

1 Dr. Hertlein would add.
2 Several words indicating the second point enumerated seem to have been lost.
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but he who bids man rule, adds an element of the beast. For desire is a wild beast, and passion which warps even the best men. It follows, therefore, that law is Reason exempt from desire." You see the philosopher seems here clearly to distrust and condemn human nature. For he says so in so many words when he asserts that human nature is in no case worthy of such an excess of fortune. For he thinks that it is too hard for one who is merely human to prefer the general weal of the citizens to his own children; he says that it is not just that one man should rule over many who are his equals; and, finally, he puts the finishing stroke 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.
Τὰς παρεστώσας τύχας τίθησι τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλα τὴν τῆς πολιτείας φύσεων καταμαθὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οἶλ' ἐστι τῇ φύσει καὶ ποταπὸν ἐστὶ τάδεκημα τεθεαμένος τῇ φύσει, εἰθ' ὁ σὰ δυνατὸν ἔστων ἐκεῖθεν ἐνταῦθα μεταφέρων καὶ τιθεῖς νόμους τοῖς πολίταις κοινοῖς, οὔτε εἰς φιλίαν οὔτε εἰς ἐχθραν ἀφορών οὔτε εἰς ἱείτονα καὶ ἐμπεφυνὴν οὐρίσσαν δὲ εἰς τοὺς θαυματίους καὶ θαυματοποιοὺς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑστεροῖς ή ἐφιάλους γράψας ἀποστέρου και νόμους, ἔχων γε οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐλπίζων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡθείων ἰδιωτικῶν συνάλλαγμα. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἄλκαθα τὸν σοφὸν ἀκούσαν μετὰ τῶν φίλων συμβουλευσάμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀναρέσεως τοῖς μὲν εὐτυχίας ἀφορμήν, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχύνης αἰτίαν παρασχεῖν, καὶ ταύτα τῷ πολιτεύματι τῶν δήμων ἑλευθερώσαντα. οὕτως οὖν ἡμῖν ἐστι τὰς τοιαύτας ᾿Εκφυγέων κήρας, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ νοῦν παράσχεται τις ἀπαθῇ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

"Α δεδιός ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἰκότως ἐπαινώ διὰ τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν βιόν, καὶ σοι πειθόμενος μάλιστα ταύτα ἐγὼ διανοοῦμαι, οὕτως ὅτι μοι τὸν ψυχὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μονὸν ἐφιά συμμετέχοι τούς ἄνδρας, Σόλωνα καὶ Λυκούργον καὶ Πευτακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἧνοι μεταβήναι με φῆς ἐκ τῆς ὑποστογοῦ φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὴν ὑπαθρίαν. ὡσπερ οὖν, εἰ τῷ 263 κάλεσμώς καὶ μολις ὧγειας ἐνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ γυμναζομένης μετρίως οἴκαθε προϋλεγε, ὅτε "Νῦν ἦκεις εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ μεταβεβηκας ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ δοματίῳ παλαιοστράς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρων του Διός, οὐθεν θεατῶς ἢποι τοὺς τε ἀπανταχόθην "Ελληνας

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

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

\(^1\) Before Solon's measure to cancel debts was generally known, some of his friends borrowed large sums, knowing that they would not have to repay them.
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καὶ πρώτους γε τοὺς σαντοῦ πολίτας, ὑπὲρ ὁν ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρή, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οἷς ἐκπλήξαι χρεών, φοβερωτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα τὸ γε εἰς σὲ νῦν ἢκον ἐπιδείξαντα," κατέβαλε ἄν εὐθέως καὶ τρέμειν ἐποίησας πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας" ὁμω δὲ καὶ νῦν νόμεζε διατεθήκαι τοῖς ὑπηκοότοις λόγοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἴτε ὅρθως ἐπηκα τῶν προσήκοντος εἴτε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνων, διδάξεις αὐτίκα μέλα.

Τυπὸ δὲ ἄν ἀπορήσαι μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν C τὴν σὺν παράστη, ὁ δὲ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἐμοι γε τοίς ἤξιοι, Βούλωμαι δηλώσαι σαφέστερον γάρ πως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμῶ μαθεῖν. ἐφησθα δὲ τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξει παρὰ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἐπάνω ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν σοφῶν ἐκάλεσά μοι τῷ μάρτυρα, τὴν εὐδαίμονίαν ἐν τῷ πράττειν εὐ τιθέμενον, καὶ τὴν διαφοράν σκοποῦσα τοῦ τῇ πολεμικοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ζωῆς, διαπορεῖν ἀττα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐν ἄλλοις προτιμῆσαι, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονας. τούτους δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν D εἶναι φήσι τοὺς βασιλέας, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἰρηκεν ὑδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προστεθέσαι λέξεις, πλέου δὲ θάτερον εἴ ὧν παραγέγραφας ἀν τῇ νοσθείς. τοῦ γὰρ "Μάλιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς τὰς διανοιας 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 must 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

¹ Aristotle, Politics 7. 3. 1325a.
ΛΕΤΤΕΡ ΤΟ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΙΟΥ

τοὺς πολιτικοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ πάντας ἄπλως τοὺς ψ ρ θ τε καὶ λόγος πράττοντας, ουκ ἵνα δὲ εἰς τοὺς αὐτούργους καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πράξεων ἐργάτας 264 εἰρήσθαι νομιστέου· οἷς οὐκ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἐνθυμηθήναι καὶ κατανοῆσαι καὶ τὸ πρακτέον τοῦ ἄλλου φράσαι, προσήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκαστὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν ὅν ὁ νόμος διαγορεύουσι καὶ πολλάκις οἱ καὶ οἱ προπονούμενοι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα καλούμενον, καθάπερ ὁ Ὀμήρος τὸν Ἡρακλῆα καλεῖν ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει "μεγάλων ἐπιστορο ἐργῶν," αὐτοργοῦταν ἀπάντων γενόμενον.

Εἰ δὲ τούτ' ἄλληθες ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἢ καὶ μόνον Β ἐν τῷ πράττειν τὰ κοινά φαμεν εὐδαίμονας τοὺς κυρίους ὅπτας καὶ βασιλεύοντας πολλῶν, τί ποτε περὶ Σωκράτους ἐροῦμεν; Πυθαγόραν δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτον καὶ τὸν Ἐλέεραν καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ἑσώς διὰ τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ ἄλλο φήσεις εὐδαίμονας. Σωκράτης δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν παρατησάμενος καὶ τὸν πρακτικὸν ἄγαπήσας βίον οὐδὲ τῆς γαμῆς ἢ τῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος οὐδὲ τοῦ παιδοῦ. Ἡ τούτῳ ο γε δύοιν ἃ τριῶν πολιτῶν ἑκείνῳ κρατεῖν ὑπήρχειν; ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἢ ἑκείνος πρακτικὸς, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἢν κύριος; ἕνω μὲν οὖν Ἄλεξανδρον φημília μείζονα τὸν Ὁρφέου ἀκατάστατον καταργάσατο, τὴν Πλάτωνος αὐτῷ σοφίαν ἀνατιθεῖτο, τὴν Ἐυοφόρων στρατηγικὴν, τὴν Αριστοτέλους ἀνδρείαν, τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν Μεγαρικὴν, τὸν Κέβητα,

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

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

1 Odyssey 21. 26. 2 The father of Socrates.
3 This school was founded by Phaedo in Elis and later was transferred by Menodemus to Eretria.
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΑ

ΤΩΝ ΣΙΜΜΑΧΩΝ, ΣΤΩΝ ΦΑΙΔΩΝΑ, ΜΥΡΙΟΥΣ ΆΛΛΟΥΣ· ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΗΜΗ ΤΑΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΑ ΗΜΙΝ ΕΝΘΕΝΩ ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑΣ, ΤΟ ΔΥΚΕΙΟΝ, ΤΗΝ ΣΤΟΑΝ, ΤΑΣ 'ΑΚΑΔΗΜΕΙΑΣ. ΤΙΣ ΟΥΝ ΕΣΩΘΗ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΙΚΗΝ; ΤΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΦΩΚΗΘΗ; ΤΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ ΒΕΛΤΙΩΝ ΙΔΕΩΤΗΣ ΑΝΗΡ; ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΑΝ ΕΥΘΟΙΣ, ΣΟΦΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ, ΕΙ ΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΑΛΑΞΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡΟΠΗΝ. ΔΕΙΣΙΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΙΣΟΤΑΙ ΒΝΩΝ ΕΚ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ, ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗ ΣΩΞΟΤΑΙ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΟΥΚ ΕΓΩ ΜΟΝΟΣ, 'ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΣ ἢ δοικεν ἐννοήσας 265 εἴπειν, δι' ἡ μείον αυτῷ προσήκει φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ τοῦ καθελόντος τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν. ΚΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΚΕΙΝΟς ΟΡΘΩΣ ΞΕΝΟΝ ἘΝΝΟΗΣΑΙ ΒΝΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΆΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΥΧΗΣ, ΚΕΙΣΘΩ ΔΕ, ΕΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΤΡΕΧΟΥΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΦΡΟΝΗΣΕΩΣ, ἈΛΘΕΙΣ ΔΕ ὩΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΟΞΑΣ ΑΝΑΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΟΥΚ ἈΡΕΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ, ἈΛΛ' ἙΠΙΣΤΗΣΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΤΩΣ, ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΧΡΗΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ΆΝΔΡΑ Η ΘΕΟΝ ΚΑΛΕΙΝ. ΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΡΘΩΣ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΟ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΔΙΣ ΠΕΦΙΚΕΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ὩΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ ΓΝΩΡΙΖΕΙΣΑΙ, ΤΗΝ ΘΕΙΑΝ ΟΥΣΙΑΝ Ο ΓΝΩΡΙΣΑΣ ΘΕΙΟΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΝ ΕΙΚΟΤΩΣ ΝΟΜΙΖΩΤΟ.
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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 conqueror³
of the Persian empire. And I think he was perfectly
correct in that conclusion. For military success is
due to courage and good fortune more than any-
thing else or, let us say, if you wish, to intelligence
as well, though of the common everyday sort. But
to conceive true opinions about God is an achievement
that not only requires perfect virtue, but one might
well hesitate whether it be proper to call one who
attains to this a man or a god. For if the saying is
true that it is the nature of everything to become
known to those who have an affinity with it, then
he who comes to know the essential nature of God
would naturally be considered divine.

¹ The Megarian school founded by Euclid was finally
absorbed by the Cynics.
² Simmias and Cebes were Pythagoreans; cf. Plato, Phaedo,
where they discuss with Socrates.
³ Alexander; Julian seems to be misquoting Plutarch,
Moralia 78d,
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'Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἑοίκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρηματικὸν ὅρμησαντες βλού τοῦτο παραβάλλειν τὸν πρακτικὸν, εἰ ἁρχής παραίτησαμένου καὶ σοῦ τὴν σύγκρισιν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὅν ἐπεμνῆσθης, 'Αρείος, Ο Νικόλαος, Ῥασύλλος καὶ Μουσώνιοι μημονεύσων. τούτων γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως τες ἡν κύριος τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν 'Αρείος, ὡς φασί, καὶ διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀγνύττου ἐπιτροπεύσας παρητήσατο, Ῥάσυλλος δὲ Τιβερίῳ πικρῷ καὶ φύσει χαλεπῷ τυράννῳ ἔγγενόμενος, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογησάτο, δεῖξας ὅστις ἦν, ὃφλεν δὲ εἰς τέλος ἀληχώνῃ ἀναπάλλακτον, οὗτος αὐτῶν ὡδὲν ὠψησεν ἡ πολιτεία, Νικόλαος δὲ πράξεων μὲν οὐ μεγάλων αὐτουργίας γέγονε, γνώριμος δὲ ἐστι μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ Μουσώνιος εἰ δὲν ἔπαθεν ἀνδρείας καὶ νὴ Δεὶ ἦνεγκεν ἐγκρατῶς τὴν τῶν τυράννων ὁμότητα γέγονε γνώριμος, ἵσως οὐκ ἐλαττον εὐδαίμονῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιτροπευσάντων βασιλείαις. 'Αρείος δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Ἀγνύττου παραιτησάμενος ἐκὼν 266 αὐτῶν ἀπεστέρει τοῦ κρατίστου τέλους εἰ τοῦτ' ὕστατον κυριώτατον. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀπράκτος εἶ, μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε ἑθνῶς ἡ πόλεως ἀρχῶν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν φαίη νοῦν ἤχουν ἀνήρ. ἔξεστι γὰρ σοι φιλοσόφους πολλοὺς ἀποφήγαν εἰ δὲ μῆ, τρεῖς ἡ τέταρτας μείζονα τῶν βλού ἐνεργεῖται τῶν ἄνθρωπων πολλῶν ὡμοὶ βασιλέων. οὐ μικρᾶς γὰρ μερίδος οἱ φιλοσόφοι θ
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

But since I seem to have harked back to the life of contemplation and to be comparing it with the life of action, though in the beginning of your letter you declined to make the comparison, I will remind you of those very philosophers whom you mentioned, Areius,¹ Nicolaus,² Thrasyllus,³ and Musonius.⁴ 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

ЛЕТТЕР ТО ТЕМЕСТИУСУ

προέστηκεν, οὐδὲ, καθάπερ ἔφη, συμβουλής ἐστι μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκεῖνος κύριος, οὐδὲ ἡ πράξεις εἰς λόγους αὐθείς αὐτῷ περισσαίαι, ἐργῷ δὲ βεβαιῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φαινόμενος τοιοῦτος, ὅποιος βούλεται τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι, πιθανότερος ἂν εἴη καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ἀνυσιμότερος τῶν ἔξ ἐπιτάγματος ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις παροπ- C μάρτυριν.

Ἀλλὰ ἐπαινεῖτον εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπεραντέον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μείξονα ἵσως ύμαινα τοῦ δέοντος. ἔστε δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὧν μήτε τὸν πόνον φεύγων μήτε τὴν ἦδον θηρεύων μήτε ἄπροαγμοσύνης καὶ ῥαστώνης ἔρων τὸν ἐν τῇ πολυτείᾳ δυσχεραίνῃ βίου ἀλλʼ ὅπερ ἐφῆν εἴς ἀρχῆς, οὕτω παιδείαν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδός τοσαύτην οὕτε φύσεως Θ υπεροχήν, καὶ προσέτε δεδιός, μὴ φιλοσφίαν, ἢς ἔρων οὐκ ἔφεκόμην, εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲ ἄλλως εὐδοκιμοῦσαν διαβάλλω, πιέλαι τε ἐγραφῶν ἑκεῖνα καὶ νῦν τὰς παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιτειμήθεις ἀπελυ- σάμην εἰς δύναμιν.

Διδοὺ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρίστην τύχην καὶ φρονήσιμον ἀξίων τῆς τύχης, ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχε τοῦ κρείττονος τὸ γε πλέον καὶ παρ᾿ ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων ἀπάση μηχανή1 θεοθετεῖσε εἰναὶ 267 μοι δοκῶ, προτεταγμένος ὑμῶν καὶ προκειμενοῦν. εἰ δὲ τε μείξον ἄγαθον τῆς ἡμετέρας παρασκευῆς καὶ ἡς ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δι’ ὑμῶν ὁ θεὸς παράσχει, χαλεπάνεων οὐ χρῆ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὖδὲν ἐμαυτῷ

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

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

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

May God grant me the happiest fortune possible, and wisdom to match my fortune! For now I think I need assistance from God above all, and also from you philosophers by all means in your power, since I have proved myself your leader and champion in danger. But should it be that blessings greater than of my furnishing and than the opinion that I now have of myself should be granted to men by God through my instrumentality, you must not resent my words. For being conscious or no good
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συνειδώς ἄγαθον πλήν τούτο μόνον, ὅτι μηδὲ οἴσομαι ὃ τὰ μέγιστα ἔχειν ἔχων τε oúdēn, ὡς ὅρᾶς αὐτὸς, εἰκότως βοῶ καὶ μαρτύρομαι μὴ μεγάλα παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀπαίτειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Β πάν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν τε ἐλλειμμάτων εἴην ἢν ἀνεύθυνος καὶ, γενομένων ἀπάντων δεξιῶν, εὐγνώμων ἂν καὶ μέτριος εἴην, οὐκ ἄλλοτρίους ἐμαυτὸν ἑργοὺς ἐπιγράφων, τῷ θεῷ δὲ, ὡσπερ οὖν δίκαιον, προσανατεθεικῶς ἀπάντα αὐτὸς τε εἴσομαι καὶ ὑμᾶς προτρέπω τὴν χάριν εἰδέναι.

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

\(^1\) Demosthenes, *De Corona* 23.  \(^2\) Cf. Caesar 323 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, ἔφοιτος οὐκ ἐκεῖνος μόνον τότε ἔξην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν νῦν ἔξεστι φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐγγεγερμένων τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τε ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος κοινῆ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἡγούμενα ὑμῶν πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἀλλους "Ελληνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν βαρβαρόν, οὐδὲν ἔστι τηλικοῦτον ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθία τοσαύτη, πρὸς ἣν οὐκ Ἐμένιτε καὶ ταῖς Ἀλλαῖς ἀμιλληθήναι πόλεσι, τὰ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ αὐταῖ, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ ἢνα μῆ μεμνημένος ἐπετα ἀντιπαραβάλλων ἡ προτιμᾶν ἑτέρας ἑτέραν ἐν οἷς διαμφισβητοῦσι νομισθεῖν ἡ πρὸς τὸ λυστελοῦν, ὅσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες, ἐνδεέστερον ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἔλαττουμένας, τοῦτο ἐθέλω φράσαι μόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἵνα μηδέν ἀντίπαλον ἔχομεν ἐξευρέων παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλοις "Ελληνσιν, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης εἰς ἡμᾶς παραδεδομένον. ἀρχόντων μὲν Δακεδαιμονίων οὐ μή τίνα ἠρχὴν, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ δικαιοσύνης παρεῖλέσθε,
LETTER TO THE SENATE AND
PEOPLE OF ATHENS.

Many were the achievements of your forefathers
of which you are still justly proud, even as they
were of old; many were the trophies for victories
raised by them, now for all Greece in common,
now separately for Athens herself, in those days
when she contended single-handed against all the
rest of Greece as well as against the barbarian:
but there was no achievement and no display of
courage on your part so prodigious that other
cities cannot in their turn rival it. For they too
wrought some such deeds in alliance with you, and
some on their own account. And that I may not by
recalling these and then balancing them be thought
either to pay more honour to one state than to another
in the matters in which they are your rivals, or
to praise less than they deserve those who proved
inferior, in order to gain an advantage, after the
manner of rhetoricians, I desire to bring forward on
your behalf only this fact to which I can discover no-
thing that can be set against it on the part of the other
Greek states, and which has been assigned to you by
ancient tradition. When the Lacedaemonians were
in power you took that power away from them not
by violence but by your reputation for justice; and

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καὶ τὸν 'Ἄριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον οί παρ' ύμῖν ἔθρεψαντο νόμοι. καίτοι γε ταῦτα οὕτως ἁρτα λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια διὰ λαμπροτέρων οἶμαι τῶν 269 ἔργων ὅμως ἐπιστώσασθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόξαι δίκαιον ἵσως ἀν τῷ καὶ ψευδός συμβαίνῃ, καὶ τυχῶν οὐ παράδοξον ἐν πολλοῖς φαύλοις ἐκα γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον. η γὰρ οὖχι καὶ παρὰ Μήδειος ὑμεῖς τις Δημόκρες 'Αθαρᾶς τε ἐν Ὀπερβορέους καὶ 'Ανάχαροις ἐν Σκύθαις; ὑπὲρ ὧν τοῦτο ἢν θαυμαστόν, ὅτε παρὰ τοῖς ἀδικοτάτοις γεγονότες ἐδειξει τὴν δίκην ὅμως ἐπίμηται, τὸ μὲν ἀληθῶς, ο ὑδὶ τῆς χρείας χάριν πλαττό-μένος. δήμον δὲ ὅλον καὶ πόλιν ἔραστας ἔργων καὶ λόγων δικαίων ἐξω τῆς παρ’ ύμῖν οὐ βάδιον εὐρεῖα. βουλομαι δὲ ύμᾶς ἐνὸς τῶν παρ’ ύμῖν πολλῶν γε ὄντων ἔργων ὑπομνήσαι. Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι διανοουμένου λάθρα καταφλέξαι τὰ νεώρια τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἶνα μὴ τολμῶντος εἰς τὸν δήμον Ολύμπιον, ἐνὶ δὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν πιστεύσειν τὸ ἀπόρρητον, ἄντερ ἢν ὁ δήμος χειροτονήσας προέλθηται, προμβάλετο μὲν ὁ δήμος τῶν 'Ἀριστείδην' ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τῆς γνώμης ἔκρυψε μὲν τὸ ῥήθην, ἐξήρεγκε δὲ εἰς τὸν δήμον, ὅσο οὕτε λυπητελέστερον οὕτε ἀδικώτερον εἶναι τοῦ βουλεύματος: καὶ
it was your laws that nurtured Aristides the Just. Moreover, brilliant as were these proofs of your virtue, you confirmed them by still more brilliant actions. For to be reputed just might perhaps happen to any individual even though it were not true; and perhaps it would not be surprising that among many worthless citizens there should be found one virtuous man. For even among the Medes is not a certain Deioces¹ celebrated, and Abaris² too among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharsis³ 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 Themistocles⁴ 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.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο παραχρῆμα καὶ παρηγή-
σατο, πάντως ἔδει Ἰδα μεγαλοψύχας καὶ ἰδι-
ξοῦν τρόπον άνδρας ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῇ φρονεῖ
ῳ τάτῃ θεῷ τρεφομένου.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ ταῦτα παρ’ ύμιν μὲν ἢν πάλαι,
σῶζεται δὲ εἰς ἑκείνου καὶ εἰς ύμᾶς ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν
προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὄσπερ ἐμπύρευμα τι σμικρόν,
εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ύμᾶς ούκ εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραστα-
μένων ἀφοράν οὐδὲ εἰ τις ὄσπερ δὲ ἄερος ὑπτά-
μενος διὰ τῆς γῆς ἐβάδισεν ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει
καὶ ἀτρύφω ρόμη, σκοτεινὶ δὲ ὅτε ταῦτα μετὰ
tοῦ δικαίου κατείργασαν, κατὰ άν μὲν φαίνεται 270
ξίνη πράπτων, ἱδίᾳ τε αὐτῶν ἰσως καὶ
δημοσίᾳ πάντες ἑπανεῖτε, τῆς δίκης δὲ ὅλγο-
ρῆς αὐτίμαζοντο ἀν παρ’ ύμιν εἰκότως. οὔδὲν
γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ὅσ τὸ δικαίον ἄδελφον φρονήσει.
τοὺς οὖν αὐτίμαζοντας τούτο δικαίως ἢν καὶ
ὡς εἰς τὴν παρ’ ύμιν θεόν ἀσεβοῦντας ἐξελαύνοιτε.
Βούλομαι οὖν ύμῖν τὰ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι
μὲν ἀπαγγείλατε δὲ ὅμως, ὅπως, εἰ τι λέληθεν· εἰκὸς Β
δὲ ἐνα καὶ ὅσα μάλιστα τοῖς πᾶσι γνωσθήναι
προσήκει· ύμῖν τε καὶ δὲ ὑμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις
"Ελλησι γένοιτο γνώριμα. μηδένες οὖν ὑπολάβῃ
με ληρεῖν ἢ φλυαρεῖν, εἰ περὶ τῶν πάσιν ὄσπερ
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς γεγονότων οὐ πάλαι μόνον, ἄλλα
καὶ μικρὰ πρότερον, ποιεῖσθαι τινας ἐπιχειρη-
σαμι λόγους· οὔδένα γὰρ οὖν ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαι
τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ· λαυθάρειν δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλα εἰκὸς.
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 nurtured under the eyes of the most wise goddess. 1

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

1 Athenes.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον τῶν Κ ἐμαυτοῦ.

Καὶ ὅτε μὲν τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐντεύθεν ὀθεντερὴ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνῳ τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἀρμηναῖς, φανεροῖς. τὸ γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ πατέρῳ γεγονατον ἀδελφὸ πατρόθεν. οὕτω δὲ πλησίον ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχει γεγονεῖς ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ ἐργάζετο, ἐξ μὲν ἀνεψιοῦ ἐμὸς τε καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν, ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ θείου, καὶ προσέπτε κοινῶν ἐτέρου τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς Θ θείου ἀδελφὸν τὸ ἐμὸν τὸν προσβύτατον ἀκρίτους κτείνας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρου ἀδελφόν ἐμὸν ἑθελήσας μὲν κτείνας, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλὼν φυγῆν, ἀφ’ ἂν ἐμὲ μὲν ἀφῆκεν, ἐκείνου δὲ διὰ ὑγίων πρότερον τῆς σφαγῆς ἐξέδωσε τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅνωμα, τι με δεῖ νῦν ὁσπερ ἐκ τραγῳδίας τὰ ἄρρητα ἀναμητρεῖσαι; μετεμελήσας γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασὶ, καὶ ἔδειξεν δεινῶς, ἀπαιδίαν τε ἐντεύθεν νομίζει 271 δυστυχεῖν, τὰ τε εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκ εὐτυχῶς πράττειν ἐκ τούτων ὑπολαμβάνει. ταῦτα ἔθρυλουν οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τότε καὶ τὸν μακρὸτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμὸν Γάλλον, τοῦτο νῦν πρῶτον Ἀκούοντα τὸ ὅνωμα: κτείνας γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ τῶν πατρίων μεταλαχεῖν εἰσει τὰ φῶν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐαγγείου ἡξίωσε μνήμης.

"Ὅπερ οὖν ἔφην, ἔλεγον τοσαῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ Β ἐπειθούν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπατηθεῖσα εἰργάσατο, τὰ δὲ βία ταραχαῖς εἶχας ἀτάκτω καὶ

1 τῶν ἑμῶν Hertlein suggests, ἠμῶν MSS.
2 ἐξέδωσε Hertlein suggests, ἔφοσατο οὕτω Cobot, ἔφοσατο MSS. 3 ἡμᾶς Hertlein, Reiske suggest, ἡμῶς MSS.

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every circumstance. First I will begin with my ancestors.

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

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

¹ Gallus.
² Euripides, Orestes 14. τι τέρον ἀναμετρήσασθαι με δεῖ.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ταραχῶδους στράτευματος. τοσαύτα ἦμιν ἐπήδον ἐν ἀγρῷ τιν τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κατακεκλεισ-μένους, οὐδένα έώντες προσελθεῖν, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι φυγῆς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι, ἐμὲ δὲ κομμὴθείς μειράκιον ἐτί τῶν διδασκαλεῖων ἀπαγορεύσεις. πῶς ἂν ἐνταῦθα φράσαμι περὶ τῶν Ο ἥξ ἐναιτίων, οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοτρῳ κτήματι διάγοντες, ὡσπερ οἱ παρὰ τοῦς Πέρσαις ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τριβούμενοι, μηδενὸς ἦμιν προσιόντος ξένου μηδὲ τῶν πάλαι γνωρίμων ἐπιτρεπομένου τινὸς ὡς ἦμας φοιτῶν, διεξήμεν ἀπόκεκλεισμένοι παντὸς μὲν μαθήματος σπουδαίου, πάσης δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἐντεύξεως, ἐν ταῖς λαμπραῖς ὀικετείαις τρεφόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἦμῶν αὐτῶν δουλοῖς ὡσπερ ἐναῖρος διάγοντες Συνεγκυμναζόμενοι; προσημεῖ γὰρ οὐδές οὐδὲ ἐπετρεπτό τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν.

'Εντεύθεν ἐγὼ μὲν μόνης ἄφεθην διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐτυχῶς, ὡς δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς τὴν αὐλήν καθείριξεν δυστυχῶς, ἐπερ τῆς ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τι περὶ τὸν τρόπον ἄγριον καὶ τραχὺ τῶν ἐκείνου κατεφάνη, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ὅρειον τροφῆς συνηνεξίθη. δίκαιος οὖν οἶμαι καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν αὐτίκαν ὁ ταύτης ἦμιν πρὸς βίαν μεταδόν τῆς τροφῆς, ἢ ἐμὲ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καθαρὸν ἀπέφημαν 272 καὶ ἐξώντη, τῷ δὲ οὐδές ἐνέδωκεν. εὕθυς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄγρων ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρέλθοντι.

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

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

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\(^1\) The castle of Macellum.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιεθηκεν ἀλουργεὶς ἰμάτιον, αὐτίκα φθονεῖν ἀρξαμένους οὐ πρότερον ἔπαυσατο πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιελείν τὸ πορφυροῦ ἰμάτιον ἀρκεσθείς. καίτοι τοῦ ξῆν
γοῦν ἡξίως, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύειν ἔφαινετο ἐπιτήδειος. ἀλλ' ἔχρην αὐτὸν καὶ τούτου στέρεσθαι. Ξυγχω-
ρῶ, λόγον γε πάντως ὑποσχόντα πρότερον, Β ἀσπερ τοὺς κακούργους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν λητας ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει τῷ δῆσαντε κτείνειν, τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας δὲ τιμάς, ἃς ἠξίως, καὶ γενο-
μένους ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἰδιώτας ἀκρίτους φήσῃ δεῖν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. τῇ γὰρ, εἰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἠξίως ἀποφήναι τοὺς αὐτίους; ἐδέδωκα γὰρ αὐτῷ ο̣
τεων ἐπιστολαί, Ἡράκλειος, δόσα ἠξίως κατ' αὐτὸν κατηγορίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκεῖνοι ἀγανακτήσας ἀκρατέστερον μὲν καὶ ἠκείστα βασιλεῖκος ἐφηκε τῷ θυμῷ, τοῦ μέντοι μηδὲ ξῆν ἡξίως οὐδὲν ἐπεπρά-
χει. πῶς γὰρ; οὐχ ὦτὸς ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπασι
couos Ἐλλησσών ἂν καὶ βαρσάρως ὁ νόμος, ἀμένεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικίας υπάρχοντας; ἀλλ' ἵσως μὲν ἠμύναστο πικρότερον. οὐ μὴν ἡξίως πάντη τοῦ εἰκότος· τὸν γὰρ ἐξήρον ὑπ' ὅργης εἰκός τι καὶ ποιεῖν, ἔρχηται καὶ πρὸςθεν. ἀλλ' εἰς D
χάρων ἐνὸς ἀνδρογύνου, τοῦ κατακοιμηστοῦ, καὶ προσέτε τοῦ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιτρόπου τὸν ἀνεψιόν, τὸν καλόπα, τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα γενόμενον,
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

der purple robe he at once began to be jealous of him, nor did he cease from that feeling until, not content with stripping him of the purple, he had destroyed him. Yet surely he deserved to live, even if he seemed unfit to govern. But someone may say that it was necessary to deprive him of life also. I admit it, only on condition that he had first been allowed to speak in his own defence as criminals are. For surely it is not the case that the law forbids one who has imprisoned bandits to put them to death, but says that it is right to destroy without a trial those who have been stripped of the honours that they possessed and have become mere individuals instead of rulers. For what if my brother had been able to expose those who were responsible for his errors? For there had been handed to him the letters of certain persons, and, by Heracles, what accusations against himself they contained! And in his resentment at these he gave way in most unkingly fashion to uncontrolled anger, but he had done nothing to deserve being deprived of life itself. What! Is not this a universal law among all Greeks and barbarians alike, that one should defend oneself against those who take the initiative in doing one a wrong? I admit that he did perhaps defend himself with too great cruelty; but on the whole not more cruelly than might have been expected. For we have heard it said before that an enemy may be expected to harm one in a fit of anger. But it was to gratify a eunuch, his chamberlain who was also his chief cook, that Constantius gave over to his most inveterate enemies his own cousin,

1 Cf. Demosthenes, Against Meidias 41.
2 Eusebius; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 14. 11; 22. 3.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

tῶν τῆς ἀδελφίδῆς πατέρα, οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον ἦν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν ἀδελφήν, πρὸς ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τοσαῦτα θεών ὀμογνώμων ὑπῆρξε δίκαια, κτείναι παρέδωκε τοῖς ἔχθιστοις: ἦμε δὲ ἀφίκηκε μόνιμα ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμῶν δῶν ἐλκύσας τῇ κάκεισε καὶ ποιησάμενος ἐμφρούρουν, ὡστε, εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις 273 ἐθελήσας με σωθήναι τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἁγαθήν τὸ τηρικαθάντα μοι παρέσχεν εὐμενὴ Εὐσεβίαν, οὐδὲ ἂν ἔγω τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ τὸτε διέφυγον. καὶ τούτοι μᾶ τοὺς θεούς οὐδὲ οὖνται μοι φανεῖς ἀδελφὸς ἐπεπράξει· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συνὶς αὐτῷ οὖν ἐφοίτησον οὖν ἐβαδίζον παρ’ αὐτόν, ἐλγάκις δὲ ἔγραφον καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀλγων. ὥς οὖν ἀποφυγὼν Β ἐκείθεν ἄσμενος ἐπορευόμην ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς μητρός ἐστίαν· πατρῶν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπῆρξε μοι οὖν ἐκεκτήμεν ἐκ τοσούτων, διὸν εἰκὸς ἂν πατέρα κεκτήσθαι τὸν ἔμοι, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην βόλου, οὐκ ἀνθράποδον, οὐκ οἰκίαν· ὡ γὰρ τοις καλὸς Κωνστάντιος ἐκληρονόμησεν ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρίδαν οὐσίαν ἀπασάν, ἐμοὶ τε, ὅπερ ἐφη, οὖν τι μετέδωκες αὐτῆς· ἄλλα καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ πατρῴῳ τῶν πατρών ἐδωκεν ὄλγα, πάντων αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος τῶν μητρῶν.

"Οσα μὲν οὖν ἔπραξέ πρὸς με πρὶν ὅνοματος οὐκ ἔτοιμον μοι τοῦ σεμνοτατοῦ, ἔργον δὲ εἰς πικροτάτιν καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἐμβαλεῖν δουλείαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, τὰ πλείστα γοῦν ὄμως
the Caesar, his sister’s husband, the father of his niece, the man whose own sister he had himself married in earlier days, 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—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

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1 The sister of Gallus was the first wife of Constantius.
2 The title of Caesar.
LETTER TO THE Athenians

άκηκόστεινον δή λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, ἀγαπητῶς τε καὶ μόνιμος ἀποσωζόμενον, συκοφάντης τις ἀνέφανεν περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον, δὲ τοῖς ἐκεί πράγματα ἔφρασεν ὡς νεώτερα διανοούμενος. Ἰστε δὴ ἐπονεῖθεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ τὸν Μαρίνου οὖκων ύμᾶς οὐδὲ ὁ Φήλις ἔλαθεν οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπράξαθεν περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλὰ ὡς τοῦτο αὐτῷ κατευθύνη τὸ πράγμα, καὶ Δυνάμων ἔξειφθη, ἀλλὸς συκοφάντης, έκ Κελτῶν ἠγγείλεν ὅσον οὐπώ τὸν Σιλουανοῦ αὐτῷ πολέμοιν ἀναφανεῖσθαι, δεῖσας παντάπασι καὶ φοβηθείς αὐτίκα ἐπ' ὑμῖν πέμπει, καὶ μεκρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα κελεύσας ὑποχωρῆσαι πάλιν ἐκείθεν ἐκάλει παρ' ἑαυτὸν, 274 οὔπω πρότερον τεθαεμένος πλὴν ἀπαξ μὲν ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀπαξ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἄγωνισμένης Εὐσεβίας, ὡς ἄν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ διερρήσατε. καίτοι τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πόλειν ἐξ ὀψιστά μηνῶν, καὶ μεντοι καὶ ὑπέσχετο ὑπὲρθαντον καὶ ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτίκαις διήκει. άλλος ὁ θεοῦ ἐχθρὸς ἀνδρόγυνος, ὁ πιστὸς αὐτοῦ κατακομμεῖτης, ἐμαυτὸυ διὰ καὶ ἀκούον εὐρέγητος γενόμενος ὑγ γὰρ ἔλαθεν ἄντυχειν μεταπάλαιας αὐτῷ, τυχοῦ μὲν οὖδὲ βέβελοντε, πλὴν ἄλλα τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκεῖνος ἤνδειξεν γὰρ ὡς ἄν μὴ τινος συνηθείας γεγενομένης ἕμων πρὸς ἅλθους ἐπειτα ἀγαπητεῖν καὶ πιστοὶς ἀναφανεῖς ἐπιτραπεῖν τι.

Παραγενόμενον δὴ με τὸτε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος αὐτίκα διὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν

1 ἀκηκόστε Cobet, ἔσσεστε Hertlein, MSS.
2 δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

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

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

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1 Gandentius.  
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, n.  
5 At Milan.  
6 Milan.  
7 Eusebius.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

euhojou n' makaritei Eusebia ka liav efelo-
froneito. mikroν de viosteron epelebountos toutoun-
kaia gar to kal tα peri Selounanv ein peprakto. O
loutron esodos te eis tin avulh dideota, kal to
leogmenon h Theppaleki periplalletai peithanagsh.

arkoumenon gar mou tin synousian stereias en

touz Basileious, ou mɛn osteren en kourelw synel-
thontes apokeiroui ton pagona, chalanida de

amphieunousi kal schmatizeousin, ows tote upelam-

biason, painy geloion stratiosthan ouvdei gar mou D
tou kallopismou ton katharmatos hrmoojv
evdijou de ouch osteren ekeinoi periplaposin kal
sobon 1 alli eis qyno blẹpov, osteren euidismhn
upo tou thlaqantos me paibagwou. tote men ou

autois paragoun geloita, mikroν de vsteron upo-
psiain, eita anelampsen to tosoptos phvov.

'Alli entaudi a chrh μη paraleipitei ekeina, poz
egw synexhritis, poiz esegymh 2 omorofios 3

ekinous genesthai, ouz hipistamn panti men mou

luminaμenos tov genvei, upopeteun de ouk eis 275
makraν επεβουλευοntas kai émol. pnyggas men

oudi opoza afhka dakrwn kai brhnous ouso,

anateinou eis tin akropola τin par' ūmiv tais

xeras, ote ekaloymen, kai tin 'Athenan ikeunov

swzein ton ikevna kal μh ekdeounai, polloi
ton par' ūmiv orakotes eis mi ou martyrpes, auth

de h theos προ tov allos, ote kai thavaton

ypsiama v pari auth 'Athenvei πρo τηs tote B

1 periplaposos... sobov Hortalini suggests, periplaposias... soboionte MSS.
2 egeymh Naber, δε ειλάμεν Hortalini, MSS.
3 omorofios Cobet, omorofios Hortalini, MSS.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

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

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

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\(^1\) Cf. Oration 1. 32A. The origin of the proverb is obscure; cf. Cicero, Letter to Atticus 9. 13. \(^2\) Mardonius.
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

όδοι. ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐ προοίμωκεν ἡ θεοῦ τῶν ἱκέτευσιν οὖν ἐξεῖδωκεν, ἐργοὺς ἐκεῖσεν· ὑγήσατο γὰρ ἀπανταχοῦ μοι καὶ παρέστησεν ἀπανταχόθεν τοὺς φύλακας, ἢ Ἡλίων καὶ Ἑλήνης ἀγγέλους λαβοῦσα.

Συνέβη δὲ τι καὶ τοιούτου, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸ Μεδιώλαυν ἄκουσεν ἐν ταις προαστείοις. Αὐταῦθα ἐπεμπεν Ἐυσεβίας παλλάκες πρὸς με φιλοφρονουμένη καὶ γράφειν κελεύουσα καὶ θαρρεῖν, ύπὲρ ὅτου ἀν δεώμαι. ἡγάφας ἄγδρος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐκ ἀλλὸ οἴκους ἤχουσαν τοιούτους. Ὁτὼ πανεῖ χρῆσαι κληρονόμους· οὕτω τὰ καὶ τὰ θεοὺς σοι δοῦν, πέμπε με οἶκαδε τῆν ταχέστην, ἐκεῖνο ὑπειδόμην ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος γυναῖκα γράμματα εἰςπέμπειν. Ικέτευσα δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς νῦκτορ δηλῶσαι μοι, εἰ χρῆ πέμπειν παρὰ τῆν βασιλίδα το γραμματεῖον· οἱ δὲ ἐπιτείλησαν, εἰ πέμψαι με, θάνατον αἰσχίστω. ὁς δὲ ἀληθὴ ταῦτα ἡγάθω, διὰ τὰς θεοὺς ἀπαντας μάρτυρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ γράμματα διὰ τὸ τούτο ἐπέσχων εἰςπέμψαι. εἰς ἐκεῖνης δὲ μοι τῆς νυκτὸς λογισμὸς εἰσῆλθεν, οὐ δὲ ὑμῖς ἵσως ἄξιον ἀκούσαι. Νῦν, ἔθην, ἐγὼ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀντιτάσσειν διανοοῦμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι κρείττων νεώμεικα τῶν πάντα εἰδοταν. καὶ τοιοφόρους ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἄφοράσα μονὸν ἀγαπητῶς ἀν τόχοι καὶ μόνης τοῦ 276 πρὸς ὅλαν ἀναμαρτήτως. διὸπερ οὐδεὶς οὖθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τριακοστῶν ἐτῶν βουλεύεται οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡδη γεγονότων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδύνα-
LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

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 this 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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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 imme-
diately reflected: "Would you not be provoked if
one of your own beasts were to deprive you of its
services,1 or were even to run away when you called
it, a horse, or sheep, or calf, as the case might be?
And will you, who pretended to be a man, and not
even a man of the common herd or from the dregs
of the people, but one belonging to the superior and
reasonable class, deprive the gods of your service, and
not trust yourself to them to dispose of you as they
please? Beware lest you not only fall into great
folly, but also neglect your proper duties towards the
gods. Where is your courage, and of what sort
is it? A sorry thing it seems. At any rate, you are
ready to cringe and flatter from fear of death, and
yet it is in your power to lay all that aside and
leave it to the gods to work their will, dividing
with them the care of yourself, as Socrates, for
instance, chose to do: and you might, while
doing such things as best you can, commit the
whole to their charge; seek to possess nothing,
seize nothing, but accept simply what is vouchsafed

1 An echo of Plato, Phaedo 62 c; cf. Fragment of a Letter
297 a.
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διδόμενα δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἄφελῶς ἐπέσχεσαι. ταύτην ἡγὼ νομίσας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρέπον ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ γνώμῃ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐσήμαινε ταύτην· τὸ γὰρ ἑπταβουλὰς εὐλαβεῖν τὸς μελλούσας εἰς αἰσχρὸν καὶ προοπτούν ἐμβαλεῖν ἕαυτον κίνδυνον δεινὸς ἐφαίνετο μοι θορυβῶδες· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπήκουσα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομά μου ταχέως καὶ τὸ χλαύδιον περιεβλήθη τοῦ καλῶσας· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δουλεία καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἕκαστην ἡμέραν ύπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπικρεμάμενον δέος Ήράκλεις ὅσον καὶ οἶον· κλείθρα Β θυρών, θυρωροὶ, τῶν οἰκετῶν αἱ χεῖρες ἐρευνῶμεν, μὴ τίς μου παρὰ τῶν φίλων γραμματίδιον κομίζῃ, θεραπεία ξένη· μόλις ἡδυνήθην οἰκέτας ἐμαυτοῦ τέτταρας, παιδάρια μὲν δύο κομιδῆ ἐκρίνα, δύο δὲ μείξωναι, εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἰκείοτερον μεθαπευσθοῦται εἰσαγαγοῦν, ὅπως εἰς μοῦ μόνον καὶ τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς συνεδώκας καὶ ὡς ἐνεδέχετο λάθρα συμπράττων· ἐπεπίστευτο δὲ τῶν βιβλίων μου ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς, ἃν μόνον τῶν ἔμοι πολλῶν ἑταίρων καὶ φίλων πιστῶν, εἰς ἱατρὸς, διὰ καὶ, ὅτε φίλος ἄρτι ἐξελήνθη, συναπεδήμησεν. οὕτω δὲ ἐθελεῖν ἐγὼ ταύτα καὶ ψυφοδεῖος εἰχον πρὸς αὐτά, ὅστε καὶ θουλομένους εἰςεῖναι τῶν φίλων πολλοὺς παρ’ ἐμὲ καὶ μᾶλ’ ἄκων ἐκάλυπτο, ἵθελα μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμῶν, ὥσπερ δὲ εἰκεὶνοι τε καὶ ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι συμφορῶν αἰτίως. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ, τάδε δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασι.

1 ἄφελῶς Cebet, 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, Hercules, 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 Oreoibasius; cf. Letter 17.
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Τριακοσίους ἕξικοντα μοι δοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνος ἀνατετραμμένον ἔστειλε, μεσοῦντος ἡδὴ τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἀρχοντα μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκεῖσε στρατοπέδων ἢ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε στρατηγοῖς ὑπακούοντα. ¹ ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνετέ-ταλτο διαρρήκῃν οὐ τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ παραφυλάττειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ νεότερον τί πράξαμε, τούτων δὲ ἦν ἐφθαν τρόπον γενομένων, ἵνα τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερμάς ἐπειτρέπει μου βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ 278 στρατόπεδα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περισσοτερῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τού καὶ τούτο εἴρητο καὶ ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι τοὺς Γάλλους οὐ βασιλέα δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους εἰκόνα κο-μιοῦντα.

Οὐ κακῶς δὲ, ὡς ἀκηκόατε, τοῦ πρῶτου στρα-τηγηθέντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πραχθέντος σπου-δαίως, πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸν Βέσχατον κατέστην κίνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ ἀθροίζειν ἐξῆν μοι στρατόπεδον· ἠτέρος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τούτου κύριος· αὐτὸς τὸ ξὺν ὀλίγους ἀποκεκλεισμένος, εἶτα παρὰ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων αἰτθείς ἐπικου-ρίαν, ὅτι ἐίχον τὸ πλείστον ἐκείνοις δοῦς, αὐτὸς ἐπελείφθην μόνος. ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑπράξθη τότε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχων ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενόμενος αὐτῷ παρηρέθη καὶ ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπιτιθείος δόξας, ἔγγυες ὁ ἐνορμίθην ἥκεστα σπουδαίως καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγός, ἀτε πρῶς ἐμαυτῶν παρασχὼν καὶ μέτρων. οὐ

¹ διακοσίοντα Hertlein suggests, διακοσίοντα MSS.
² υπάρξ MSS., Cobet, [ὑπάρξ] Hertlein.
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Constantius gave me three hundred and sixty soldiers, and in the middle of the winter¹ despatched me into Gaul, which was then in a state of great disorder; and I was sent not as commander of the garrisons there but rather as a subordinate of the generals there stationed. For letters had been sent them and express orders given that they were to watch me as vigilantly as they did the enemy, for fear I should attempt to cause a revolt. And when all this had happened in the manner I have described, about the summer solstice he allowed me to join the army and to carry about with me his dress and image. And indeed he had both said and written that he was not giving the Gauls a king but one who should convey to them his image.

Now when, as you have heard, the first campaign was ended that year and great advantage gained, I returned to winter quarters,² and there I was exposed to the utmost danger. For I was not even allowed to assemble the troops; this power was entrusted to another, while I was quartered apart with only a few soldiers, and then, since the neighbouring towns begged for my assistance, I assigned to them the greater part of the force that I had, and so I myself was left isolated. This then was the condition of affairs at that time. And when the commander-in-chief³ of the forces fell under the suspicions of Constantius and was deprived by him of his command and superseded, I in my turn was thought to be by no means capable or talented as a general, merely because I had shown myself mild and moderate. For I thought I ought not

¹ 355 A.D. ² At Vienne. ³ Marcellus.
Γὰρ ὁμίην δεῖν ξυγμομαχεῖν οὔδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποῦ τι τῶν Λέαν ἐπικεφαλύων ἕώρων ἢ δέον γενέσθαι παραρομενον ἢ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δέον γενέσθαι γεγομένου. Ἀπαξ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον οὒ καθηκόντως μοι τινων χρησαμένων, ἐμαυτὸν φήσην Ἐρίμναι τιμᾶν τῇ σιωπῇ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν Χλανίδα περιέφερον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα· τούτων γὰρ τὸ τηρικαύτα διενούμην ἀποπεφάνθαι κύριος.

'Εξ ὁν ὁ Κονστάντιος νομίσας ὅλγον ἕνεκε ἐπιδώσειν, οὐκ εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεταβολῆς ἤξειν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πράγματα, δίδωσι μοι τῶν στρατηγέων τὴν ἁγεμονίαν ἤρος ἀρχὴν καὶ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἀκμάζοντας τοῦ στόχου, πολλὰν πάνω Γερμανῶν περὶ τὰς πεπορθημένας ἐν Κελ- 279 τοῖς πόλεις ἁδεόν κατοικοῦσιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων πέντε ποι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐστὶ, τείχη τὰ διηρημασμένα δίχα τῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων φρουρῶν. ἦς δ' ἐνέμοντο γῆς ὑπὲ τάδε τοῦ 'Ρηνοῦ πάσης οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μέγεθος ὀπόσου ἀπὸ τῶν πυργῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόμενοι ἄχροι τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ περιλαμβάνει τριακόσια δὲ ὑπείχον τῆς ἱόνος τοῦ 'Ρηνοῦ στάθεια οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκούντες ἐσχατοί, τριπλάσιον δὲ ἢν ἑτε τούτου πλάτος τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τῆς λεγασίας, ἕνα Β οὐδὲ νέμειν ἔξω τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὰ βοσκῆματα, καὶ πόλεις τείχες ἔρημοι τῶν οἰκούσιν, αἱ οὕπω παρόκουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐν τούτοις οὐσαν κατα- λαβῶν ἄγῳ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλει τε ἀνέλαβον τήν

1 ἄλγον Hertlein suggests, ἄλγος 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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'Αγριππάναν ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ρήνῳ, πρὸ μηνῶν ἔαλοκυδῶν πον δέκα, καὶ τέχνας Ἀρχέντορα πλησίον πρὸς ταῖς ὑπωρείαις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βοσέγου, καὶ ἐμαχεσάμην οὐκ ἀκλεδὼν. ἦσον καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο ἡ Ο τοιαύτη μάχη. ἔθνα τῶν θεῶν δόντων μοι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμάλωτον, οὐκ ἐφθόνησα τοῦ κατορθώματος Κωνσταντῖφ. καίτοι εἰ μὴ θριαμβέειν ἔχην, ἀποσφάττειν τῶν πολέμων κύριος ἦν, καὶ μέντοι διὰ πάσης αὐτῶν ἁγών τῆς Κελτίδος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἑπιδεικνύειν καὶ ὀστεροὶ ἐντυρφαὶ τοῦ Χνοδομαρίου ταῖς συμφοραῖς. τοῦ. Ο τῶν οὐδὲν φόβην δεῖν πράττει πάντως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Κωνστάντιον αὐτῶν εὐθέως ἀπέπεμψα, τότε ἀπὸ τῶν Κουάδων καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπανύντα. συνέβη τοίνυν, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀγωνισμένου, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀδεύωσαντος μόνον καὶ φίλως ἐντυχόντος τοῖς παροικοῦσι τὸν Ἰστρον ἔθνους, ὦν ἴμας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνων θριαμβεύσαι.

Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τούτῳ δεύτερος ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀπελήλαντο τῆς Γαλατίας οἱ βάρβαροι, πλεῖστα δὲ ἀνελήθησαν τῶν πόλεων, παραπληθεῖσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίδος οὐς ἀνελήθησαν. ἐξακοσίων νηῶν ἄνήγαγον στόλου, ὃν 280 τὰς τετρακοσίας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μησὶ δέκα ναυπηγησάμενος πάσας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν 'Ρήνου, ἐργον οὐ μικρὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους καὶ παροικοῦντας πλησίον βαρβάρους. ο γοῦν Φλωρέντιος ὅτως ἔθετο τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, ὡστε ἀργύρου διεσχελίασ
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it over. I recovered the city of Agrippina\(^1\) on the Rhine which had been taken about ten months earlier, and also the neighbouring fort of Argentoratum,\(^2\) near the foot-hills of the Vosges mountains, and there I engaged the enemy not ingloriously. It may be that the fame of that battle has reached even your ears. There though the gods gave into my hands as prisoner of war the king\(^3\) of the enemy, I did not begrudge Constantius the glory of that success. And yet though I was not allowed to triumph for it, I had it in my power to slay my enemy, and moreover I could have led him through the whole of Gaul and exhibited him to the cities, and thus have luxuriated as it were in the misfortunes of Chnodomar. I thought it my duty to do none of these things, but sent him at once to Constantius who was returning from the country of the Quadi and the Sarmatians. So it came about that, though I had done all the fighting and he had only travelled in those parts and held friendly intercourse with the tribes who dwell on the borders of the Danube, it was not I but he who triumphed.

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

\(^1\) Cologne. \(^2\) Strasbourg. \(^3\) Chnodomar.
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λέτρας ἵππος καὶ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐπείσδεσιν τοῖς βαρ-βάροις ὑπὲρ τῆς παράδοσες, καὶ ὁ Κωνστάντιος ὑπὲρ τούτου μαθὼν ἕκοινόστιο γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς δόσεως ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν 1. Β κελεύσας, εἰ μὴ παντόκακος λόγος μοι φανείη. πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἦν αἰσχρόν, ἵνα καὶ παρασκεύαστέθη ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ εἷς, ἡν ἐπτήθη ἐπὶ σεβασμοῦ τῶν βαρ-βάρων, ἢν δὴ μὴν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀμυνόντων μοι καὶ παραστάσεως τῶν θεῶν, ὕπεδεξάμην ὡς μοιρᾶν τὸν Θεόν τὸν Θεόν, Χαμάντους δὲ ἐξήλισα, πολλὰς βοῶς καὶ γύναια μετὰ παιδιῶν συλλαβῶν. οὕτω δὲ πάντας ἐφόβησα καὶ παρασκεύασα καταπτήξαι τὴν ἐμὴν ὕφοδαν, ὡς ποιήσατας λαβηθεὶς ὠμήρους καὶ τὴν Σισιπομπία παρασχεῖν ἀσφαλή κομιδὴν.

Μακρὸν ἐστὶν πάντα ἀπαρθιμεώσθαι καὶ τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν γράφειν, ἀπὸ ἡν ἐνιαυτοὶς ἐστραγξά τέταρτα τὰ κεφάλαια δὲ τρίτον ἐπεραίώθην καὶ τὰ τὸν Πήνου διειστικός ὡρίτσας παρὰ τῶν βαρ-βάρων ὑπὲρ τὸν Πήνου ὧντας αἱμαλωτοὺς ἐκ δυοῖν ἁγῶνων καὶ μίας πυροκρίας χίλιῶν ἔξελεν ἐξώ-γρησα, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἢλικιαν, ἀνθρώπος δὲ ἠμαθίω-τας ἐπεμψα τῷ Κωνστάντιῳ τέταρτα ἐρμῆμα δ' τῶν κρατίστων πεζῶν, τρεῖς ἄλλους τῶν ἐλέγχιων ἐπεπέφεραν τάγματα δύο τὰ ἐνεμότατα πόλεις ἄνελαβον ἑνώ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐθελοτούν πάσας, τότε δὲ ἀνειλήφθειν ἐλάττους ὑλῆς τῶν τεσσαρά-κτου. μάρτυρας καλῶ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς πολιούχους τε καὶ ὁμογενές ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς προαιρέσεως εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ πλέον, δι᾽ τοῦτον ἐν".

1 ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με το αὐτὸ πράττειν Hockel, 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
ΛΕΤΕΡ ΤΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙΝ

γέγονε περὶ αυτοῦ, οἷον ἄν εἰλήψην ἑγὼ υἱὸν περὶ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. τετήμηκα μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδὲν 281 καϊσάρων οὐδὲνα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων. οὐδὲν γρῶν εἰς τὴν τήμερον ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνων ἐγκαλεῖ μοι, καὶ ταῦτα παρρησιασμένον πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ γελοίους αἰτίας ὀργής ἀναπλάττει. Δουππικίων, φησὶ, καὶ τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κατέσχες οὐς εἰ καὶ κτείνας ἦμην ἐπιβουλευσάντας ἑμοῦς φανερῶς, ἔχρη τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παθόντων ὀργήν ἀφεῖναι τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐνεκα. τούτους δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι διαθεῖς ὡς ταραχὼδες φύσει καὶ πολεμο- 282 ποιοῦς κατέσχον, πολλὰ πάνω δαπανῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, ἀφελόμενον δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπαρ- χόντων ἐκείνως. ὀράτε, πῶς ἐπεξείναι τούτοις ο Ἐμποζάντιος νυμοθετεῖ. ὁ γὰρ χαλεπαίνων ὑπὲρ τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἄρ’ οὐκ ὑνεδίζει μοι καὶ κατεγελά τῆς μορίας, ὤτι τὸν φονέα πατρός, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνεψιῶν, ἀπάσης ὡς ἐρως εἰσεῖν τῆς κοινῆς ἦμῶν ἔστιας καὶ συγγενείας τῶν δήμων εἰς τοῦτο ἐθεράπευσα; σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὅπως καὶ γενό- μενος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐτεθεραπευτικῶς αὐτῷ προση- νέξηθην ἐξ ὧν ἐπέστειλα.

Καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ὅποιος τις γέγονε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐντεῦθεν εἰσεσθε. αἰσθόμενος, ὦτι τῶν ἀμαρταιομένων κληρονομίας μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐξεργασθήσεται δὲ ἐτέρως τὰ πλείστα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰκέτευον, εἰ ταῦτα D 274

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 Lupicinum 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 φαίνομεν καὶ πάντως ἐμὲ προσαγορεύειν καίσαρα δεδομένον εἰς, ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ σπουδαίους δοῦναι μοι τοὺς ὑπουργούντας· ὅ δὲ πρότερον ἔδωκε τοὺς μοχθηροτάτους. ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν εἰς ὁ πονηρότατος καὶ μᾶλα ἀσμενὸς ὑπήκουσεν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἤξιον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνδρα δίδωσιν ἀκων ἐμοι καὶ μᾶλα ἀγαθὸν Σαλούστιον, ὅς διὰ τὴν ἄρετὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὑποπτος. οὐκ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐγὼ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ κατανόησας τῷ μὲν ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιστεύοντα, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ διὰς προσέχοντα, τῆς δὲ τεξίδις αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀψάμενος. Τούτων, ἐφη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ μοι συνήσθης οὐδὲ γέγονεν ἐμπροσθεν ἐπιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐκ φήμης, σοῦ καλεύσαντος, ἑταίρους ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φίλους νομίζω, τοῖς πάλαι γνωρίμως ἐπὶ ἑσθὶς τιμῶν. οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἢ τούτοις ἐπιτετράφθαι τὰ ἐμα ἢ τὰ τούτων ἡμῶν συγκινδυνεύσαι. τι σοὶ ἵκεται; ἀρρατοὺς ἡμῶν δος ὁσπερ νόμους, τίνων ἐπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ ὁσα πράττειν ἐπιτρέπειται. δήλων γὰρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον ἐπαινέσεις, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντά κολάσεις, εἰ καὶ δι', τε μάλιστα νομίζω μηδένα ἀπειθήσειν.

"Οσα μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Πεντάδεος αὐτίκα καινοτόμεων, οὐδὲν χρὴ λέγειν· ἀντέπραττον δὲ ἕγω πρὸς πάντα, καὶ γινεται μοι δυσμενῆς ἐκέιθεν. εἰτ' ἄλλων λαβῶν καὶ παρασκευάζας δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, Παύλου, Γαυδέντιον, τοὺς ὁνομαστοὺς ἐπ' Ὁ

1 ἀσμενος Hertlein suggests, ἀσμενος MSS.
2 βλέπων... κατανόησις Horkel, κατανόησις... βλέπων Hertlein, MSS.

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

Now I need not mention the innovations that Pentadius at once tried to introduce. But I kept opposing him in everything and for that reason he became my enemy. Then Constantius chose another and a second and a third and fashioned them for his purpose, I mean Paul and Gaudentius, those notorious sycophants; he hired them to attack me and
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εμὲ μισθωσάμενος συκοφάντας, Σαλούστιον μὲν ώς έμοι φίλον ἀποστήναι παρασκευάζει, Λουκιλίαν δὲ δοθήναι διάδοχον αὐτίκα. καὶ μικρόν ὄστερον καὶ Φλωρέντιος ἡν ἐχθρὸς ἐμοι διὰ τὰς πλεονεξίας, αἰς ἣναντιόμην. πείθουσιν οὖτοι τὸν Κωνστάντιον ἀφελέσθαι με τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀπάντων, ἐσως τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξυποτείας τῶν κατορθωμάτων κυζόμενον, καὶ γράφει γράμματα τὸν πολλὴς μὲν ἀτιμίας εἰς ἐμὲ πλήρη, Κελτοῖς δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἀπειλοῦντα: μικροῦ γὰρ δεῖν φανεῖ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀπὰν ἀδιακρίτως τὸ μαχαμάτα τὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπιτάξας τούτῳ τὸ ἐργὸν Λουππικίνῳ τε καὶ Γιουνίφρ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὡς ἀν πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν.

'Ενταῦθα μέντοι τίνα τρόπον τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶποι ὅν ἔργα πρὸς ύμᾶς; διενούμην μάρτυρες 283 δὲ αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν ἀπορρήψας τὴν βασιλικὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ῥηχάζειν, πράττειν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως. ἀνέμενοι δὲ Φλωρέντιον παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λουππικίνων ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν περὶ τὴν Βίενναν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Βρετανίαις. ἐν τούτῳ θόρυβος πολὺς ἦν περὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ Β τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ γράφει τις ἀνώνυμον γραμματείον εἰς τὴν ἀστυνεῖτονα μοὶ πόλιν πρὸς τοὺς Πετούλαντας τουτουσὶ καὶ Κελτοὺς· ὑνομάζειται δὲ οὕτω τὰ τάγματα· ἐν ὦ πολλὰ μὲν ἐγέραπτο κατ' ἑκείνου, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαλλίαν προδοσίας ὁνύμοι· καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἐμὴν ἀτιμίαν ὁ τὸ γραμματείον συγγράψας ἀπωδύρητο. τούτῳ κομισθεὶν ἐκίνησε πάντας, ὁ τὰ Κωνσταντίου μᾶλλον ἐφόρονουν, ἐπιθέσθαι μοι κατὰ τὸ καρ. C

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

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

1 Julian was at Paris.
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τερώτατοι, ὅπως ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκπέμψαμε, πρὸν καὶ εἰς τοὺς άλλους ἀριθμοὺς ὁμοία ῥυθμήσαμεν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τες παρῆν τῶν δοκοῦντων εὑρώς ἔχειν ἐμοί. Νεβρίδιος δε, Πεντάδιος, Δεκέντιος, ο παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο Κωνστάντιον. λέγοντος δὲ μου χρήναι περιμένειν ἢτι Δουππικῖνου καὶ Φλωρέντιου, οὔδεις ἤκουσαν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πάντες τοῦντιον ὅτι δει ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ βουλόμαι ταῖς προλαβούσαις ύποψίαις δισπερ ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦτο διαστείναι. εἶτα προσέθεσαν ὁς Νάν μὲν ἐκπερφθέντων αὐτῶν σὸν ἔστι τὸ ἔργον, ἀθικομένων δὲ τούτων οὐ σοὶ τούτο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος λογίζεται Κωνστάντιος, σὺ δὲ ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενήσῃ. γράψει δή με ἐπείσαν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐβιάσαστο. πειθεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὅπερ ἔξεστι καὶ μὴ πειθὴναι, βιάζεσθαι δὲ ο isize ἐν ἐξη, τοῦ πείθειν οὐδὲν προσδέονται: οὔκουν οὐδὲ οἱ βιασθέντες τῶν πεπεισμένων εἰςίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκασθέντων. ἐσκυποῦμεν οὕτως, ποιάν ὅδον αὐτοὺς χρη 284 βαδίζειν, δειττῆς οὕτως. ἐγὼ μὲν ἔξων ἑτέρων τραπῆναι, οι δὲ αὐθεῖς ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐκεῖνην ἱέναι, μὴ τούτο αὐτὸ γενόμενον δισπερ ἀφορμὴν τίνα στάσεως τοῖς στρατιώταις παράσχει καὶ ταραχῆς τίνος αὐτῶν γένηται, εἰτα στασιάζειν ἀπαξ ἀρξάμενοι πάντα αθρόως ταράξωσιν. ἐδοκεῖ τοῦ δεὸς οὐ παντάπασιν ἀλογοῦν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

* Ηλθὲ τὰ τάγματα, ὑπήρτησα κατὰ τὸ νενομεσμένον αὐτοῖς, ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ προὐτρεψα· μίαν Β

1 ἡ 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, ἄχρις ὡς οὐδὲν ὕδειν ἔγιο τῶν βεβουλευμένων αὐτοῖς· ἔστω Ζεύς, Ἡλιος, Ἄρης, Ἄθηνα καὶ πάντες θεοὶ, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφικέτο μοῦ τις τοιαύτη ὑπόνοια ἄχρι δελήσις αὐτῆς· ὡφίας δὲ ἦδη περὶ ἢλιον δυσμᾶς ἐμμύνθη μοι, καὶ αὐτίκα τὰ βασίλεια περιείληπτο, καὶ ἐβόων πάντες, ἐτὶ φροντίζοντός μου τί χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ οὕτω σφόδρα πιστεύοντος· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἦτο τῆς γαμετῆς ζώσης οὐκ οἱ αναπαυσόμενοι ἱδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὑπερῆφον ἀνεκλάτων. εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν· ἀνεπέπτατο γὰρ ὁ τοίχος· προσεκύνησα τὸν Δία. γενομένης δὲ ἦτο μείζονος τῆς βοής καὶ θροβουμένων πάντων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἤτεομεν τὸν θεὸν δούναι τέρας. αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἡμῶν δεῖξε καὶ ἴνα γείτονε πεισθήναι καὶ μὴ προσενατυοῦσθαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῇ προθυμίᾳ. γενομένου ομοί ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτων τῶν σημείων, οὐκ ἔτι τοῖς ἐποίμασι, ἀλλ' ἀντέσχον εἰς όσον ἡδυνάμην, καὶ οὕτε τὴν πρόσφησιν οὕτε τὸν στέφανον προσκείμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτε εἰς ὅν τοὺς πολλῶν ἡδυνάμην κρατεῖν οἱ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι θεοὶ τοὺς μὲν παρώξυνον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐθελον τὴν γνώμην, ὅρα ποῦν τρέτη σχέδον οὐκ οὔτες οὕτως μειστῶν δόντος μανιάκην περιεθέμην καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, ἐνδοθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἰσασίν οἱ θεοὶ, στέκων τῆς καρδίας. καίτοι χρὴν δήποτεν πε- 285 στεύοντα τῷ φήματε θεῷ τὸ τέρας θαρρεῖν· ἀλλ'

1 ἀν Cubet, τῶν Hoftlein, MSS.
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I knew nothing whatever of what they had determined; I call to witness Zeus, Helios, Ares, Athene, and all the other gods that no such suspicion even entered my mind until that very evening. It was already late, when about sunset the news was brought to me, and suddenly the palace was surrounded and they all began to shout aloud, while I was still considering what I ought to do and feeling by no means confident. My wife was still alive and it happened, that in order to rest alone, I had gone to the upper room near hers. Then from there through an opening in the wall I prayed to Zeus. And when the shouting grew still louder and all was in a tumult in the palace I entreated the god to give me a sign; and thereupon he showed me a sign¹ and bade me yield and not oppose myself to the will of the army. Nevertheless even after these tokens had been vouchsafed to me I did not yield without reluctance, but resisted as long as I could, and would not accept either the salutation² or the diadem. But since I could not singlehanded control so many, and moreover the gods, who willed that this should happen, spurred on the soldiers and gradually softened my resolution, somewhere about the third hour some soldier or other gave me the collar and I put it on my head and returned to the palace, as the gods know groaning in my heart. And yet surely it was my duty to feel confidence and to trust in the god after he had shown me the sign; but I was terribly ashamed and ready to

¹ Odyssey 3. 173
bracht δὲ θεον φῶς τέρας, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ἔμην
δείξε καὶ ἰδώνιμα.

² I.e. the title of Augustus.
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ἐσχανόμεθα δεινός καὶ κατεδυόμεθα, εἰ δόξαμι μὴ πιστῶς ἄχρι τέλους ὑπακούσαι Κωνσταντίῳ.

Πολλῆς οὖν αὕτης περὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατηφείας, τοῦτον εὐθὺς οἱ Κωνσταντῖον φίλοι τῶν καϊρῶν ἀρπάσασι διανοηθέντες ἐπιβουλὴν μοι βάπτισαν αὐτικά καὶ διένειμαν τοὺς στρατιώτας χρήματα, δυοῖν θάτερον προσδοκώντες, ἢ διαστήσειν ἀλλήλους ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι μοι φανερῶς. Β αἰσθόμενος τις τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ προόδῳ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμετῆς λάθρα πραττόμενον αὐτῷ ἐμοὶ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμήμυσοι, ὡς δὲ εἴρα αὐτοῖς μηδὲν προσέχοντα, παραφρονήσας ὅσπερ οἱ θεοληπτοὶ δημοσὶς βοῶν ἤρξατο κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν: "Ἀνδρέας στρατιώται καὶ ξένοι καὶ πολῖται, μὴ προβῶτε τῶν αὐτοκράτορα, εἰς ἐμπέπτει θυμὸς εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντες εἰς τὰ βασιλεία μετὰ τῶν ὁπλων ἔθεοι. καταλαβόντες δὲ με ξύντα καὶ ο ἀδρέντες ὅσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων ὄφθεντας φίλους ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιέβαλλον καὶ περιεπλεκόντας καὶ ἔπε τῶν ὄμων ἔφερον, καὶ ἦν πως τὸ πράγμα θέας ἄξιον, ἐνθουσιασμῷ γὰρ ἐφέκιε. ὡς δὲ ἀπανταχόθεν περιέσχον, ἐξήτουν ἀπαντας τοὺς Κωνσταντῖον φίλους ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν. πηλίκου ἤγιοισάμην ἄγωνα σῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῦς, δ ἐσαίν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες.

Ἀλλὰ δὴ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο πῶς πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντῖον διεπραζόμην; οὕτω καὶ τῆμερον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολαῖς τῇ δοθεῖσθ

1 ἐπιθήσεσθαι Cobet, ἐπιθήσεσθαι 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
δὲ ἐμαυτὸν γέγραψα, καὶ πέπεικα τοὺς στρατιώτας
ομόσαι μοι μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμήσειν, εἴπερ ἦμιν
ἐπιτρέψειν ἀδεῶς οἶκείν τὰς Γαλλίας, τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις συναινέσας. ἀπαντα τὰ παρ’ ἐμοὶ 286
τάγματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἱκε-
τεύοντα περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦμιν ὁμονοίας.
ὁ δὲ αὐτὶ τούτων ἐπεβαλεν ἦμιν τοὺς βαρβάρους,
ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἀνηγόρευσε με παρ’ ἐκείνους, καὶ
μισθοῦς ἐτέλεσεν, ὅπως τὸ Γαλλικὸν ἔθνος πορθη-
θείη, γράφων τε ἐν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παραφυλάττειν
τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Γαλλικῶν παρεκκελεύτο, καὶ περὶ Ὡ
τοὺς Γαλλικοὺς ὅρους ἐν ταῖς πλησίον πόλεσιν
εἰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας μεδίμνων πυρὸν κατ-
εργασμένον ἐν τῇ Βρογαντίᾳ, τοσοῦτον ἔτερον
περὶ τὰς Κόττιας Ἀλπείς ὡς ἐπ’ ἐμὲ στρατεύσων
ἐκέλευσεν παρασκευασθῆναι. καὶ ταύτα οὐ λόγοι,
σαφῆ δὲ ἐργα. καὶ γὰρ ὡς γέγραψαν ἐπιστολάς
ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κομισθέεσας ἐδεξάμην, καὶ
tὰς τροφὰς τὰς παρασκευασμένας κατέλαβον
καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ταύρου. πρὸς τούτοις ἐτὶ Ο
νὼν μοι ὡς καίσαρι ὁ γράψει, καὶ οὐδὲ συνθή-
σεσθαι πῶς ποτὲ πρὸς με ὑπεύθυνη, ἀλλ’ Ἐπίκτητον
τινὰ τῶν Γαλλικῶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπεμψεν ὡς πιστὰ
μοι περὶ τῆς ἁρματείας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρέξοντα,
καὶ τούτῳ θρυλεῖ δι’ ὅλων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν,
ὡς ὅτι ἀφαιρησόμενος τοῦ ζῆν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς
τιμῆς οὐδὲν μημονεύει. ἥγῳ δὲ τούς μὲν ὅρκους

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

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

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αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας οἶμαι δεῖν εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, οὐτῶς εἰσὶ πειστοὶ τῆς τιμῆς δὲ οὐ τοῦ Δ καλοῦ καὶ πρέποντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν φίλων ἑνεκα σωτηρίας αὐτέχομαι καὶ οὕτω φημὶ τὴν πανταχοῦ γῆς γυμναζομένη πικρίαν.

Ταῦτα ἐπειςέ με, ταῦτα ἑφάνη μοι δίκαια, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάνται ὀρῶσι καὶ ἀκούσωσιν ἀνεδέμην θεοῖς. εἰτα θυσάμενοι περὶ τῆς ἔξοδου καὶ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἱερῶν καθ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἰ τοῖς στρατιώταις περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε πορείας ἔμελλον διαλέγεσθαι, 287 ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ πολύ πλέον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων ἄνθρωπων ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κελτῶν ἔθνους, ὃ δὲ ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξέδωκεν, συνεὶ τῶν προγονικῶν φεισάμενοι τάφων, ὃ τούς ἀλλοτρίους πάνυ θεραπεύον, φόβησιν δεῖν ἑθνὴ τε προσλαβεῖν τὰ δυνατώτατα καὶ χρημάτων πόρους δικαιοτάτων ἐξ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσελῶν, καὶ
ei μὲν ἀγαπήσεως ἔτε νῦν γονῖν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμονοίαν, εἰσώ τῶν νῦν ἐχομένων μένειν, εἰ δὲ Β πολεμεῖν διανοοῦτο καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας γνώμης χαλάσειν, ὃ, τι ἂν ἦ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλων πᾶσχειν ἡ πράττειν, ὡς αἰσχροὶ ἀναβίαι ψυχῆς καὶ διανοίας ἀμαθία ἡ πλῆθει δυνάμεως ἀσθενεῖστερον αὐτοῦ φανήσαι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλήθει κρατήσειν, οὐκ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας ἐστίν εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις περιμένοντα μὲ καὶ τὸ ξῆν ἀγαπῶντα καὶ διακλένοντα τὸν κύνδυνον ἀπανταχόθεν περικόψαι Ο

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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 depart-
ture, 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 what-
ever is the will of the gods; seeing that it would be
more disgraceful to show myself his inferior through
failure of courage or lack of intelligence than in
mere numbers. For if he now defeats me by force
of numbers that will not be his doing, but will be due
to the larger army that he has at his command. If
on the other hand he had surprised me loitering in
Gaul and clinging to bare life and, while I tried to
avoid the danger, had attacked me on all sides, in
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κατέλαβε, κύκλω μὲν ύπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ στόμα δὲ ύπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδων, τὸ παθεῖν τε οἶμαι τὰ ἐσχατα προσὴν καὶ ἄτι ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σῶφροσι.

Ταύτα διανοηθεῖς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς τε συστατικῶταῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖς διήλθον καὶ πρὸς κοινοὶς τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολῖτας γράφω. θεοὶ δὲ οἱ πάντων κύριοι συμμαχίαν ἡμῶν τὴν Δ ἐαυτῶν, ὡσπερ ύπέστησαν, εἰς τέλος δοῖεν καὶ παράσχομεν ταῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τε εἰς ὃσον δύναμις εὖ παθεῖν καὶ τοιοῦτος σχεῖν ἐς ἁμῖν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οὐ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτὰς αἰλέσονται 1 καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν.

1 αἰλέσονται: Cobet, αἰλεῖται: 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, Olynthiae 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,¹ and was identified and published separately by Petavius. It was probably written when Julian was at Antioch on the way to Persia.

¹ p. 256 c, between τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον and καὶ πεσομένοι.
... πλὴν ἦν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπίδωσιν ἀτακτούντας τινας, αὐτίκα μᾶλα κολάξουσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐ προσιόντας τοὺς θεοὺς ἐστι τὸ τῶν ποιημῶν δαιμόνων τεταγμένου φύλου, ὧφ’ ὁν οἱ Β πολλοὶ παροιστρούμενοι τῶν ἄθεων ἀναπελθοῦνται θανατῶν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὤταν ἀπορρήξουσι τὴν ψυχὴν βιαίως. εἰς’ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰς ἐρήμιας ἀντὶ τῶν πόλεων διάκοσιον, ὦντος ταῦτα ἡθοποιοῦν φύσει πολιτικοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ ἡμέρου, δαίμονι ἐκ ἐκείνου ποιητοῦ, ὧφ’ ὁν εἰς παύτην ἀγονοῖ τὴν μισάνθρωπιάν. ἡδη δὲ καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ κλοιοῦς ἑξηύρον οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων οὗτῳ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ κακὸς συνελαίνει δαίμων, ὥ δεδωκαίον ἐκόπνεις ἑαυτοίς, ἀποστάντας τῶν ἄιδίων καὶ σωτήρων θεῶν. ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ο ἀπόχρη τοπαύτα εἰπεῖν ὅθεν δ’ ἐξέβην εἰς τούτῳ ἐπανήξω.
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO A PRIEST

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. . . . . Only¹ that they chastise, then and there, any whom they see rebelling against their king. And the tribe of evil demons is appointed to punish those who do not worship the gods, and stung to madness by them many atheists are induced to court death in the belief that they will fly up to heaven when they have brought their lives to a violent end. Some men there are also who, though man is naturally a social and civilised being, seek out desert places instead of cities, since they have been given over to evil demons and are led by them into this hatred of their kind. And many of them have even devised fetters and stocks to wear; to such a degree does the evil demon to whom they have of their own accord given themselves abet them in all ways, after they have rebelled against the everlasting and saving gods. But on this subject what I have said is enough, and I will go back to the point at which I digressed.

¹ The beginning is lost; Julian has apparently been describing the functions of good demons, and now passes on to the demons whose task is to punish evil-doers; cf. Oration 2, 96 b.
Δικαιοπραγίας οὖν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους εὐδήλου ὅτι μελήσει τοῖς ἐπετρόποις τῶν πόλεων, πρέπει δὲ ἀν καὶ ύμῖν εἰς παραίνεσιν τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἱεροῦς ὧντας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς νόμους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερατικῶν βίου εἶναι χρὴ τοῦ 289 πολιτικοῦ σεμινότερον, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοῦτον καὶ διδακτέον· ἐξουσία δὲ, ὡς εἰκός, οἱ ἔβελτοι· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὐχόμαι καὶ πάντας, ἐπήκοος δὲ τοὺς ἐπεικεῖσι φύσει καὶ σπουδαίους· ἐπιγράφονται γὰρ οἰκείους ὧντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς λόγους.

'Ασκητέα τοῖνυν πρὸ πάντων ἡ φιλανθρωπία· τινὴ γὰρ ἐπεταίρα πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἢξαρετῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ᾧ παρὰ τῶν Θεῶν εὐμένεια. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δεσπόταις συνδιαιτηθέναι περί τε φιλίας καὶ σπουδᾶς καὶ ἐρωτικῆς ἀγαπώνται πλέον τῶν ὁμοδουλῶν, σύνων νομιστεόν ὑσσεῖ φιλανθρώπων ὅν τὸ θεῖον ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ φιλανθρωπία πολλὴ καὶ παντοτική· καὶ τὸ πεθεισμένως κολάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ ὁ τῷ βελτίων τῶν κολαξομένων, ὡσπερ οἱ διδάσκαιοι τὰ παιδία, καὶ τὸ τὰς χρείας αὐτῶν ἐπανορθοῦν, ὡσπερ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας. ὥρατε ὅσα ἡμῖν δεδώκασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθά, τροφᾶς παντοτικάς καὶ ὑπόσας ύπερ ὀμοῦ πᾶς τοῖς ζώοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέχειλεν γιμνόν, ταῖς τε τῶν ζώων ἡμᾶς θρεῖν ἐσκέπασαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυσικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ δενδρῶν. καὶ οὐκ ἤρκεσεν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ αὐτοσχεδίως, καθάπερ ὁ Μουσῆς ἐφή τοὺς χείων. D 298
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Though just conduct in accordance with the laws of the state will evidently be the concern of the governors of cities, you in your turn will properly take care to exhort men not to transgress the laws of the gods, since those are sacred. Moreover, inasmuch as the life of a priest ought to be more holy than the political life, you must guide and instruct men to adopt it. And the better sort will naturally follow your guidance. Nay I pray that all men may, but at any rate I hope that those who are naturally good and upright will do so; for they will recognise that your teachings are peculiarly adapted to them.

You must above all exercise philanthropy, for from it result many other blessings, and moreover that choicest and greatest blessing of all, the good will of the gods. For just as those who are in agreement with their masters about their friendships and ambitions and loves are more kindly treated than their fellow slaves, so we must suppose that God, who naturally loves human beings, has more kindness for those men who love their fellows. Now philanthropy has many divisions and is of many kinds. For instance it is shown when men are punished in moderation with a view to the betterment of those punished, as schoolmasters punish children; and again in ministering to men's needs, even as the gods minister to our own. You see all the blessings of the earth that they have granted to us, food of all sorts, and in an abundance that they have not granted to all other creatures put together. And since we were born naked they covered us with the hair of animals, and with things that grow in the ground and on trees. Nor were they content to do this simply or off-hand, as Moses bade men take
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νας λαβεῖν δερματίνους, ἀλλ' ὀρᾷτε ὅσα ἐγένετο τῆς Ἑργάνης Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ δώρα. ποῖον οὖν χρηταί ξίφον; ποῖον ἐλαῖο; πλὴν εἰ τεσσάρεις καὶ τούτων μεταδίδομεν, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ μεταδίδοντες. τί δὲ τῶν θαλαττῶν σίτης, τί δὲ τῶν χερσαίων τοῖς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρηταί; χρυσὸν οὖπω λέγω καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, οἷς πάσιν οἱ θεοὶ ξαπλοῦσιν ἢμᾶς ἐποίησαν, οὕτως ἐν συνειδότοις περισσοτέρως τοὺς πένητας, ἀλλος τε ὅταν καὶ ἐπεικεῖς τινες τύχον περὶ τῶν 290 τρόπων, οἷς πατρόφοι μὲν κλήρος οὐ γέγονεν, ὅπως τίμησα τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν καταστάσεων τῶν πενίων, οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνειδίκευον. αὕτοι δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν τῆς τούτων πενίαις, ἢ δὲ ἢμῶν τῶν κεκτημένων ἀπολησίας καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀληθοὺς ὑπολέγεως αὕτη γίνεται καὶ προσέτει τοῖς θεοῖς οὐνείδους ἄδικον. τί γὰρ ἀπαίτομεν; Β. ὡς χρυσόν δισπερ τοὺς Ἀρδέας ὁ θεὸς ὅσει τοῖς πένησιν; ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ταχέως ἢμεῖς ὑποβαλόμενοι τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ προδέντες πανταχοῦ τὰ ἁγγεία πάντας ἀπελάσωμεν, ἵνα μόνοι τὰ κοινὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάσωμεν δώρα. θαυμάζεις δ' ἐν τις εἰκότως, εἰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀξιοῦμεν1 οὔτε περικός γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλυστελές πάντη, τὰ

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

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
commonplace. Cf. Menander (Spongel) 3. 362; Aristides
1. 807; Libanius 31. 6, Foerster; Philostratus, Imagines
2. 270.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

δυνατά δὲ μὴ πράπτωμεν. τίς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μεταδε- οὺς πέλας ἀρέντο πένης; ἐγὼ τοῖς πολλάκις τοῖς δεομένοις προέμενος ἐκτησάμην αὐτὰ παρὰ θεῶν 1 πολλαπλάσια καίπερ ἂν φαύλος χρημα-
καί οὐδέποτε μοι μετεμέλησε προεμένως καὶ τὰ μὲν νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἴπομεν καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη
παντελῶς ἄλογον, εἰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἀξιώσαμει
βασιλικαίς παραβάλλεσθαι χορηγίαις· ἀλλ’ ὅτε ὁ
ἐտι ἐτύχανον ἰδιώτης, σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο
ἀποβάναν πολλάκις. ἀπεσώθη μοι τέλειος ὁ κλήρος
τῆς τῆθς, ἐχόμενος ὑπ’ ἀλλῶν βιαίως ἐκ βραχέων
ἀν εἴχον ἀναλύσκοντι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μετα-
διδόντε.

Κοινωνητέον οὖν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπασίων ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἑπεικέσιν ἑλενθεριότεροι,
τοῖς δὲ ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν ὅσον ἐπαρκέσαι τῇ
χρείᾳ. φαῖνη δ’ ἂν, εἰ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι
καὶ τοῖς ποιητοῖς 2 ἐσθήτος καὶ τροφής ὅσον ἂν εἴη
μεταδιδόναι τῷ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ οὐ τῷ τρόπῳ 291
δίδομεν. διόπερ οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
καθεργομένους ἐξιστέον τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας.
οὐδὲν γὰρ κοιλύει τὴν δίκην ἡ τοιαύτη φιλαν-
θρωπία. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, πολλῶν ἀπο-
κεκλεισμένων ἐπὶ κρίσει, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀφληστῶν,
τῶν δὲ ἀθέων ἀποφανθησομένων, μὴ διὰ τοὺς
ἀναισίους οὐκτὸν τινα νέμειν καὶ τοῖς ποιητοῖς,
ἀλλὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ένεκα καὶ περὶ τούς οὐδὲν Β
ἡδικηκότας ἀνθλεῶς καὶ ἀπανθρώπως διακεῖσθαι.

1 παρὰ θεῶν Hertlein suggests, παρ’ αὐτῶν MSS.
2 ποιητοῖς Hertlein suggests, πολεμεῖς MSS.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

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

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

πρὸς γὰρ Διώς εἰσιν ἄπαντες
Πτωχοὶ τε ξεῖνοι τε· δόσεις δ' ὀλίγῃ τε φίλῃ τε;

Πῶς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ὁσταρείων θεραπεύων Δία, ὅρων οὓς πέλας ἐνδεικτὶς χρημάτων, εἶτα μηδὲ ὅσιον
δρακμηνιός μεταδίδοις, οἷον τὸν Δία καλῶς θερα-
πεύων; ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα ἀπίδω, παντελῶς ἄχανης
ἐγίνομαι, τὰς μὲν ἐπονομάζας τῶν θεῶν ἁμα τῷ
κόσμῳ τῷ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὀσπέρ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ὅρων,
ἐρημῷ δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπετηθενόμενον.
ὅμογω ἐλεγοῦται παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὶ καὶ Ζεὺς ὁμό-

䴙nit留意, ὅχομεν δὲ ὀσπέρ πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους τούς
συγγενεῖς· ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἀνθρώπω καὶ ἐκῶν καὶ
ἄκων πᾶς ἐστὶ συγγενῆς, εἴτε, καθάπερ λέγεται
παρὰ τινῶν, ἐξ ἐνός τε καὶ μίας γενέσθαι πάντες,
eἴθ' ὅπως οὖν ἀλλωσ, ἀθρώς ὑποστησάντω ἡμᾶς
τῶν θεῶν ἁμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἔξ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἐνα καὶ
μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἁμα καὶ πολλάς. οἱ γὰρ ἐνα

292 καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες οἴοι τε ἦσαν ἁμα καὶ πολλοὺς
καὶ πολλάς ὑποστήσαι. ὁ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τρόπον τῶν
te ἔνα καὶ τὴν μίαν, τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον τοὺς
πολλοὺς τε καὶ τὰς πολλάς. εἴς τε τὸ διάφορον

1 ὑποστήσαι Reiske would add.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

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

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

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

ἀποθέλεψαντα τῶν ἔθων καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ἐστὶ μείζον καὶ τιμιώτερον καὶ κυριώτερον, εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἡ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῶν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς Β' ἐκσώμει τὰ πάντα, σταγώνων αἵματος ιεροῦ πεσοσῶν, ἐξ ὑπ' οὗ που τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσεις γένος. καὶ οὕτως οὖν συγγενεῖς γενόμεθα πάντες, εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἐνός καὶ μιᾶς, ἐκ δυοῖν ἀνθρώπων οντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλαὶ, εἶ δὲ, καθάπερ οἱ θεοὶ φασὶ καὶ χρῆ πιστεύειν ἐπειμαρτυροῦντος τῶν ἐργῶν, ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πάντες γεγονότες. ὅτε δὲ πολλοὺς ἃμα ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ τὰ Ὠργα, ῥηθήσεται μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ δι' ἀκριβείας, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρκεῖσαι τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὅσ' ἐξ ἐνός μὲν καὶ μιᾶς οὐσίαν οὔτε τοὺς νόμους εἰκός ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παραλλάξαι οὔτε ἄλλας τὴν γῆν ὑφ' ἐνός ἐμπληρωθῆναι πᾶσαν, οὐδὲ εἶ τέκνα δ' ἃμα πολλὰ καθάπερ αἱ σὺς ἐκεῖς αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες. πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀθρώφως φυτεύσαντων τῶν θεῶν, ὅπερ τρόπον ο εἰς, οὔτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείους προήλθον ἀνθρώποι τοῖς γενεαρχαῖς θεοῖς ἀποκληρωθέντες, οἱ καὶ προῆγαγον αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες εἰς αἰῶνος.

Κάκεινο δ' ἄξιον ἐννοεῖν, ὅσοι παρὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἀνάλωνται λόγῳ περὶ τοῦ φύσεως κοινωνικῆς εἶναι ξύνον τὸν ἀνθρώπων. ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ταύτα εἰςοντες καὶ διατάξαντες ἀκοινωνίης πρὸς τοὺς

1 ἔθων Hertlein suggests, ἀγαθῶν Petavius, ἔθων MSS.
2 τέκνα Hertlein would add.
3 φυτεύσαντων τῶν Hertlein suggests, φυτευσάντω 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.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

πλησίου ἔξομεν; ἐκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἱθῶν τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκαστος ἦμων ὁμοόμοιος εὐλαβεῖας τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, χρηστότητος τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους, 293 ἀγνείας τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐργά πληροῦτο, πειρόμενος δὲ ἀεὶ τε περὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβεῖς διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τινὸς ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἁγάλματα τεμής καὶ ὁσιότητος, σεβόμενος ὅσπερ ἂν εἰ παρόντας ἑώρα τοὺς θεοὺς. ἁγάλματα γὰρ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ πυρὸς ἀσβέστου φυλακὴν καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα οἱ πατέρες ἔθεντο τῆς παρουσίας τῶν θεῶν, οὐχ ἴνα ἐκεῖνα θεοὺς νομίσωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα B δὲ ἀυτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἄντας ἐν σώματι σωματικῷ 1 ἔδει ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἁσώματοι δὲ ἐίσαι αὐτοὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔδειξαν ἦμῖν ἁγάλματα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τῶν θεῶν γένος περὶ πάντα τῶν οὐρανῶν κύκλω περιφερόμενοι. δυνα. C μένης δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀποδίδοσθαι τῆς θεραπείας σωματικῶς ἀπροσδεδαλ γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσει ὅτερον 2 ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξημερήθη γένος ἁγαλμάτων, εἰς θας θεραπείας ἐκτελοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὐμενεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς καταστήσομεν. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βασιλείων θεραπεύοντες εἰκόνας, οὐδὲν ἐσομένων, ὅμως ἐφέλκωται τὴν εὐνοίαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς, σύνω καὶ οἱ θεῶν θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἁγάλματα, ἐσομένων οὐδὲν D τῶν θεῶν, ὅμως πείθονσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπαρίστων σφής

1 σωματικός Petavias, Hertlein approves, σωματικὸς MSS.
2 ἐτερον Hertlein suggests, δεύτερον Reiske, τρίτον MSS.

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ourselves unsociably to our neighbours? Then let everyone make the basis of his conduct moral virtues, and actions like these, namely reverence towards the gods, benevolence towards men, personal chastity; and thus let him abound in pious acts, I mean by endeavouring always to have pious thoughts about the gods, and by regarding the temples and images of the gods with due honour and veneration, and by worshipping the gods as though he saw them actually present. For our fathers established images and altars, and the maintenance of undying fire, and, generally speaking, everything of the sort, as symbols of the presence of the gods, not that we may regard such things as gods, but that we may worship the gods through them. For since being in the body it was in bodily wise that we must needs perform our service to the gods also, though they are themselves without bodies; they therefore revealed to us in the earliest images the class of gods next in rank to the first, even those that revolve in a circle about the whole heavens. But since not even to these can due worship be offered in bodily wise—for they are by nature not in need of anything—a 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

\[1\text{ cf. St. Paul, } \text{Acts } 17. 25, \text{ "neither is he worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything."} \]
καὶ κηδεσθαι· δεύμα γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀσιότητος ἡ περὶ τὰ δυνατὰ προθυμία, καὶ ὁ 
ταύτην πληρῶν εὐδηλων ὅτι μειζόνως ἐκείνην ἀποδίδοσιν, ὅ ὅ τῶν δυνατῶν ὁλογροφῶν, εἰτὰ 
προσποιούμενος τῶν ἀδινάτων ὁρέγεσθαι δὴ λός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μεταδιώκει, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα παρε- 
294 ῥοῖς οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ μηδενὸς ὁ θεὸς δεῖται, διὰ τούτῳ 
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσωπιστεύον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς διὰ λόγων εὐφημίας δεῖται. 
τί οὖν; εὐλογον αὐτῶν ἀπο-
στρέψαι καὶ ταύτης; 
οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ Β 
τῆς διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἰς αὐτῶν γεγομένης τεμής, ἢς ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐναιστό τρεῖς οὐδὲ τρισχίλιοι, 
πᾶς δὲ ὃ προλαβών αἰῶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἔθνεσιν.

Ἀφορώντες οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα μὴ C 
τοι νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἶναι μηδὲ ξύλα, μηδὲ 
μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ταύτα. καὶ γὰρ 
οὐδὲ τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθου καὶ 
χαλκὸν λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βα-
σιλέας, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας βασιλέων. ὡστε 
εἰς φιλοβασιλεύς ἡδέως ὅ ὅ την τοῦ βασιλέως εἰ-
κόνα, καὶ ὡστε ἐς τοῖς 
θεῶν ἡδεως ὅ ὅ την τοῦ 
δ 
παιδός, καὶ ὡστε 
εἰς τὸ 
πατρός. 
οὐκοιν καὶ ὡστε 
φιλοθεός ἡδέως εἰς τὰ τῶν 
θεῶν 
ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμε-

νος ἀμα καὶ φρόττων ἐξ ἰδανῶς ὅρων 
αὐ-
τὸν τοὺς θεοὺς. εἰ 
τίς οὖν οἴεται δεῖν εἰς ἀλλὰ μηδὲ 
φθειρεσθαι διὰ τὰ τῶν ἀπαξ εἰκόνας ἐκληθήναι,
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
παντελῶς ἀφρων εἶναι μοι φαίνεται. χρήν γὰρ δῆσπουθεν αὐτὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ 295 δὲ ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ποιηροῦ καὶ ἀμαθοῦς φθαρῆναι δύναται, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ζῶντα ἀγάλματα κατασκευασθέντα τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, οἱ περὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν κύκλω φερόμενωι θεοί, μένει τῶν ἅλ θρόνων αἰδία. μηδείς οὖν ἀπιστεῖτο θεοῖς ὁρῶν καὶ ἀκούων, ὡς ἐνύβριζαν τινὲς εἰς τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς. ἃρ’ οὐκ ἀνθρώπους χρηστοὺς ἀπέκτειναν πολλοὶ, καθάπερ Σωκράτη καὶ Δίωνα Β καὶ τὸν μέγαν 'leanupótemon; ὃν εὐ οἶδ’ ὅτε μᾶλλον ἐμῆλήσε τοῖς θεοῖς. ἀλλ’ ὁρᾶτε, ὅτε καὶ τούτων φθαρτόν εἰδότες τὸ σῶμα συνεχώρησαν εἰξαὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ ὑποχωρήσαν, δίκην δὲ ἀπήτησαν ὑστερον παρὰ τῶν κτεινάντων. ὅ δὴ συνεβή φανερῶς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πάνω τῶν ἱεροσύλων.

Μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπατάτω λόγοις μηδὲ ταραττέτω περὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντες C τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν 'Ἰουδαίων οὐ προφῆται, τί περὶ τοῦ νεῶ φήσουσι τοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶς τρότων ἀνατραπέντως, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον οὐκ ὀνειδίζων ἐκείνοις, ὡς οἱ τοσοῦτοι ὑστερον χρόνοις ἀναστήσασθαι διενοθήσοντο τοῦς τιμὴν τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ θεοῦ νυνὶ δὲ ἐχρησάμην αὐτῷ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων D οὐδέν ἀφθαρτὸν εἶναι δύναται καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

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

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

3 Of Syracuse, whose claim to be immortal was accepted by the Sicilians.
ΛΕΤΤΕΡ ΤΟ Α ΠΡΙΣΤΕ

γράφοντες ἐλήρουν προφήται, γραφόντας γυναῖκας ὑψηλάς ὀμίλουντες. οὐδὲν δὲ σώμα καυλήσει τὸν μὲν θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν σπουδαίων προφητῶν οὔτε ἐξηγητῶν τυχεῖν. αἰτίαν δὲ, ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ψυχὴν οὐ παρέσχον ἀποκαθήραι τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους μαθήμασιν· οὔτε ἄνοιξε μεμυκότα λάβαν τὰ ὄρματα οὔτε ἀνακαθήραι τὴν ἐπικειμένην αὐτοῖς ἀχλών, 296 ἀλλ′ οἰνον φῶς μέγα δὲ ὀμέγχης οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ βλέποντες οὐ καθαρῶς οὔτε εἰλικρινῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνο νεομικότες οὐχὶ φῶς καθαρῶν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντων ὄντες ἀθέατοι βοῶσι μέγα· Φρίττετε, φοβεῖσθε, πῦρ, φλόξ, θάνατος, μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία, πολλοὶ ὄνομασι μιᾶν ἐξηγοῦμεν τὴν βλαστικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἱδία βέλτιον παραστήσαι, πόσῳ Β. φαινότεροι τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν οὕτως γεγόνασι ποιήτων οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγων διδάσκαλοι.

Προσέχει δὲ οὐ τὰ τῶν θεῶν μόνον 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 ἥμιν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, συνεπισχύοντας τῇ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσεις· Προθύουσι γὰρ πάντων καὶ ὑπερεύχονται. δικαιον οὖν ἀποδιδόναι πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔλατον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ἢ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσι τὰς τιμὰς. εἰ δὲ τοῖς οἴεται τοῦτο ἔπι ἔσης χρὴναι νέμειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐπεὶ 314.
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 is 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
κάκεινοι τρόπον τινά, τοῖς θεοῖς ἱερατεύουσι, φύλακες ὑπεντε τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ τὰ γε τῆς εὐνολας παρὰ πολὺ χρὴ νέμεων τούτοις. οἶ μὲν γὰρ Ἄχαιοι καίπερ πολέμιον ὑπάνω τὸν ἱερέα προσ- ἐταττον αἰδεύσει τῷ βασιλείῳ ἢμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους αἰδούμεθα τοὺς εὐχομένους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θύοντας.

'Ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποθομέ- νην ἀρχὴν ἐλήλυθεν, ἡξιον εἰναὶ μοι δοκεῖ διελ- θεῖν ἐφεξῆς, ὅποϊς τις ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸς τε δικαίως τιμηθήσεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι ποιήσει. 1 τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον οὐ χρὴ σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἔως ἃν ἱερεὺς τις ἀνομάζηται, 297 τιμᾶν αὐτὸν χρῆ καὶ θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ εἰπὶ πονηρὸς, ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφαν- θέντα περιορὰν ἔως δὲ προθύει καὶ κατάρχεται καὶ παριστάται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς τὸ τιμῶτατον τῶν θεῶν κτῆμα προσβλέπτεις ἐστὶν ἤμιν μετὰ αἰδούς καὶ εὐλαβείας. ἄτοπον γὰρ, εἰ τοὺς μὲν λίθους, εἴ δὲν οἱ βωμοὶ πεποίηται, διὰ τὸ καθιερώθην τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαπώμεν, 2 καὶ μορφὴν ἔχονσι καὶ σχῆμα πρέ- πον, εἰς ἧν εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι λειτουργίας, Β ἀνδρὰ δὲ καθωσιωμένον τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ οἰκομέθα χρῆναι τιμῶν. ἵσως ὑπολήψεται τις ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐξαιρετάνοντα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} Agamemnon; \textit{Iliad} 1.23.

\textsuperscript{2} cf. Plato, \textit{Phaedo} 62c; \textit{Letter to the Athenains} 276 n.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

toûς θεοὺς ὀσίων; ἡγὼ δὴ φημὶ χρῆναι τῶν μὲν τοιοῦτων ἐξελέγχειν, ἓνα μὴ ποιηρὸς ἄν ἐνυχλῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἕως δὲ ἂν ἐξελέγχῃ τις, μὴ ἀτιμάζειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογον ἑπιλαβομένους ταύτης τῆς Ὀ
ἀφορμῆς οὐ τοῦτων μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτη
dείων τιμᾶσθαι τὴν τιμὴν προσαφαίρεσθαι. ἔστω
tοινον ὡσπερ ἄρχον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἱερείς πάς
αἰδέσιμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀπόφασις ἔστι θεοῦ τοῦ
Διδυμαλοῦ τοιαῦτη.

"Οσοὶς ἐς ἀρχής ἀτασθαλίσῃ νόοιν
"Αθανάτων ῥέξουσι ἀποφόλια, καὶ γεράσεσιν
"Ἀντὶα βουλεύουσιν ἀδεισθεοσίοις λογισμοῖς,
"Οὐκέθ' ὅλην βιότοι διεκπερώσαν ἀταρποῦν,
"Οσοὶς περ' μακάρεσσιν ἑλωβήσαντο θεοῖσιν,
"Ὡς κεῖνοι θέσσετον ἑλον θεραπηθίδια τιμῆν,
καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλους ὁ θεὸς φησίν

Πάντας μὲν θεράποντας ἐμοῦς ὅλος ἀκακό
tητος—,
καὶ φῆςιν ὑπὲρ τοιών δίκην ἐπιθήσεσιν αὐτοῖς.

Πολλοὶ δὲ εἰρημένων τοιούτων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ,
δὲ ἂν ἔνεστι μαθόντας ὅπως χρή τιμᾶν καὶ
θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἱερεάς, εἰρήσεται μοι διὰ πλει
όνων ἐν ἄλλως: ἀπόχρη δὲ νῦν, ὅτι μὴ σχεδιάζω
μὴ διέξει τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν Β
καὶ τὸ ἐπίταγμα τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἰκανὸν
ηγούμενος. εἰ τις οὖν ἄξιοπιστον ὑπείληφεν
ἐμὲ διδάσκαλον τῶν τοιούτων, αἴδεσθες τὸν

1 ἐξελέγχῃ Hertlein suggests, ἐξελέγχῃ MSS.
rites?" Then indeed I answer that we ought to convict a man of that sort, so that he may not by his wickedness offend the gods; but that we ought not to dishonour him until he has been convicted. Nor indeed is it reasonable that when we have set our hands to this business, we should take away their honour not only from these offenders but also from those who are worthy to be honoured. Then let every priest, like every magistrate, be treated with respect, since there is also an oracle to that effect from the Didymaeon 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.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

θεῶν ἐκείνῳ πειθέσθω καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν θεῶν τιμάτω διαφερόντως· ὅποιον δὲ αὐτῷ εἶναι χρῆ, πειράσομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκα σοῦ· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ νῦν ἠπιστάμην, ἀμα μὲν τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, ἀμα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν μαρτυροῦντο, ὅτε τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην διαθήκης οἱ καλῶς, ὅσα γε εἰς προκήρυξιν ἤκει τὴν σή, οὕτως ἐντὸς ἐκείνης ἐπιστῆμος· ἀλλὰ δὲ ἄλλοις ἐχθρίσθην ἐντεῦθεν διδάσκαλος τοὺς ἄλλους, σὺν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐλογότερον καὶ ἐπὶ ἐξουσίας, ὡς σὺν οἰκοθεν ἡτοίμασα καὶ πράττεις μόνος, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ σύμψυχον σεαυτῷ, δοκοῦντα γε εἶναι διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, ἡμῖν μὲν οὐδεμᾶς πράγματος τοῦτον, βουλόμενον δὲ εἶναι καὶ προσευχόμενον ἄει τοῖς θεοῖς. εἰ γὰρ ἵσθι, Διὸς, μεγάλας ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ἐπίθεσις ἐπαγγέλλονται. πειστέον δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντως. ἄφθεον γὰρ εἰῶθασιν οὐχ ἐπὶ ἐκείνου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τάδε. οἱ δὲ διὰ περιουσίαν δυνάμεως οἴον τε ὅρtes καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦτο περιγενέσθαι ταραχῆς καὶ τὸ ἀτακτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄλλοκοτον ἐπαινορθοῦν ἃρ', οὐκ ἐν ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον, ὅτι διήρηται τὰ μαχόμενα, χωρεσθείσης μὲν τῆς ἀδιανάτου ψυχῆς, γῆς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος, ἵκανοί παρασχεῖν ἔσονται ταῦθ' ὅσπερ ἐπηγγείλαντο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; εἴδοτες οὖν, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχειν ἐδόσαν 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
LETTER TO A PRIEST

οἱ θεοὶ τοὺς ἑρείδοις τὰς ἀμοιβὰς, ἐγγύους αὐτοὺς ἐν πάσι τῆς ἀξίας τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσωμεν, ὅν Β. πρὸς τὰ πλήθη χρῆ λέγειν δεῖγμα τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἐκφέρουντα βιόν.

Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν ὡς παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅρωσει μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ὁρωμένοις δὲ υφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πάσης αὐγής ὄμμα κρείττον ἁχρὶ τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἡμῶν λόγιος σμῶν διατετακόσιν. δὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος οὐτὸς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ πολλῶν μὲν εἰρημένως λόγων, ἐμοὶ δὲ δήτα ἀπόχρη καὶ ἐνα παραθεμένῳ δῶ δὲ ἐνὸς παραστήσαι, πῶς μὲν ὅρωσεν οἱ θεοὶ πάντα, πῶς δὲ ἔπει τοὺς εὐσεβεῖσιν ἐυφραίνονται:

Πάντη Φοιβείη τέταται ταυτόσχοπος ἀκτίς,
Καὶ τε διὰ στερεῶν χωρεῖ θὸν ὅμμα πετράων, Ὅ
Καὶ διὰ κυανῆς ἁλὸς ἄρχεται, οὐδὲ ἐλήθει
Πληθὺς ἀστερόσφαλε παλινδίνητος ιόσσα
Οὐρανὸς εἰς ἀκάμαντα σοφῆς κατὰ θεσομὸν ἀνάγκης,
Ὅδ' ὀσα νερτερίων ὑπεδέξατο φύλα καμόντων
Τάρταρος ἀκλυόεντος ὁ πόρον ἁλὸς εἰσω, 300
Εὐσεβέσιν δὲ βροτοῖς γάνυμαι τόσον, ὃς ὁμοῖος Ὀλύμπως.

"Ὁσοὶ δὲ λίθον καὶ πέτρας ἀπασα μὲν ψυχή, πολὺ δὲ πλέον ὑ τῶν ἄνθρωπων οἰκείοτερον ἔχει καὶ συγγενέστερον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστι βῆσιν καὶ ἐνεργεύστερον δι' αὐτῆς

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

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

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

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1 Euripides, fr. 488 NaNack; cf. 197 c, 358 b, 387 u, 391
this phrase became a proverb; cf. Lucian, Hermotimus 780.

2 An oracle from an unknown source.
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χωρεῖν τῶν θεῶν τῷ ὀμμα. Θέα 1 δὲ τὴν φιλαν- Βρωπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γλαυκοντος τῷ τῶν εὐσέβων ἀνδρῶν διανοίᾳ ὡς τῷ 'Ολύμπῳ τῷ καθαροτάτῳ. πῶς 2 ἡμῖν οὗτος οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζόφου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου μετ' εὐσεβείας αὐτῷ προσιόντων; οἴδε μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ κατακεκλεισμένους; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔκεινα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐκτὸς πέπτει δυνάμεως· ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβεῖσι τῶν Ὀλυμποῦ ἀντὶ Θοῦ τοῦ Ταρτάρου. διὸ περὶ χρῆ μάλιστα τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργων ἀντέχεσθαι προσιόντας μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς μετ' εὐλαβείας, ἀλλ' χρῆνι μὴν μὴν ἡγοῦντας μήτε ἀκούοντας. ἀγνεύειν δὲ χρῆ τοὺς ιερέας οὐκ ἔργων μόνον ἀκαθάρτων οὐδὲ ἁσελγῶν πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ ἀκροαμάτων τοιούτων. ἐξελάτεα τοῖς ἔστιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπαχθή σκώμματα, πᾶσα δὲ ἁσελγὴς ὁμιλία. καὶ ὅπως εἰδότας τὸν ἑαυτὸ φύγειν, ἀνασθείμφει τις μήτε Ἀρχίλοχον ἀναγινωσκέτω μήτε Ἰππάνακτα. Θ θᾶλλον τοῖς τὰ τοιαύτα γραφόντων. ἀποκλεινότας καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς καμάρας ὡς τῆς τοιαύτης ἱδέας· ἀμείνων μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάντως πρέπει δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ φιλοσοφία μόνη, καὶ τούτων οἱ θεοῦς ἡγεμόνας προστησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν παιδείας, διὸ περὶ 3 Πιθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων καὶ 'Αριστοτέλης οἱ το ἀμφὶ Χρύσειππον καὶ Ζήρωνα. προσευκτέων μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πάσιν οὔτε τοῖς πάντων δόγμασι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνοις μόνον καὶ ἐκείνων, ὡς 301

1 Θέα Bramba, MSS., ἑαυτῆς Reiske, Cobet, Hertlein.
2 πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.
3 διὸν περὶ Hertlein suggests, διὸν 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 or anyone else who writes such poems as theirs. And in Old Comedy let him avoid everything of that type—for it is better so—and indeed on all accounts philosophy alone will be appropriate for us priests; and of philosophers only those who chose the gods as guides of their mental discipline, like Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle, and the school of Chrysippus and Zeno. For we ought not to give heed to them all nor to the doctrines of all, but only to those philosophers and those of their doctrines that make

1 Hipponax of Ephesus, a scurrilous poet who wrote in choliambics (the skazon) and flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Horace, Epodes 6. 12.
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εὐσεβείας ἐστὶ ποιητικὰ καὶ διδάσκει περὶ θεῶν πρῶτων μὲν ὁς εἰσίν, εἶτα ὁς προνοοῦσι τῶν τῆδε, καὶ ὁς ἔργαζονται μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν κακοῖς οὔτε ἄνθρωποις οὔτε ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες καὶ βασκαίνουσι καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ὅποια γράφοντες οἱ μὲν παρ’ ἡμῖν ποιηταὶ κατεφρονήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων προφήται διατεταμένως συγκατασκευάζοντες ὑπὸ Β τῶν ἀθλίων τούτων τῶν προσνεμάντων ἑαυτούς τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις θαυμάζονται.

Πρέπει δὲ ἂν ἡμῖν ἱστορίας ἐνυγχάνειν, ὅπως συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεποιημένοις τοῖς ἐργοῖς· ὅσα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ἱστορίας εἰδει παρὰ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἀπηγγελμένα πλάσματα παρατητέου, ἐρωτικάς ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαύτα. καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁδὸς πᾶσα τοῖς ιερωμένοις ἀρμόττει, τετάχθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτας, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀνα-CHA γνώσμα πάνιν ιερωμένῳ πρέπει. ἐγρίνεται γὰρ τις τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ κατ’ ὁλόγον ἐγείρει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, εἶτα ἐξαιρήσεις ἀνάπτει δεινὴν φλόγα, πρὸς ἣν οἴμαι χρὴ πόρρω-θεν παρατεθάσαι.

Μήτη Ἐπικούρειος εἰσίτω λόγος μήτη Πυρρώνειος· ἢ ὅτι οἶος καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοί καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὅστε ἐπιδείπτεις καὶ τὰ πλείστα ν τῶν βιβλίων. διὸς οὐδὲν κολύει τούτοις χάριν ἐπιμνησθῆναι μὲν καὶ τούτων, ὅποιων χρὴ μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερέας ἀπέχεσθαι λόγων, εἶ δὲ λόγων, πολὺ πρότερον ἐννοοῖν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἴμαι ταύτας ἑστὶν

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

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

Let us not admit discourses by Epicurus or Pyrrho; but indeed the gods have already in their wisdom destroyed their works, so that most of their books have ceased to be. Nevertheless there is no reason why I should not, by way of example, mention these works too, to show what sort of discourses priests must especially avoid; and if such discourses, then much more must they avoid such thoughts. For an error of speech is, in my
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άμάρτημα γλάντης καὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνην χρή μᾶλλον θεραπεύειν, ὡς καὶ τῆς γλάντης ἐκείνης συνεξαμαρτανούσης. ἐκμανθάνειν χρὴ τοὺς ὑμνοὺς τῶν θεῶν· εἰς δὲ οὗτοι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ καλὸι πεποιημένοι παλαιοὶ καὶ νέοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους πειρατέους ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἄδομένους. οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἑκατευθύντων ἐδόθησαν, δύνασθαι δὲ τινά 302 ἐποιήθησαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ὅπο τε πνεύματος ἐνθέου καὶ ψυχῆς ἅβατον τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεῶν τιμῇ συγκείμενοι.

Ταῦτα γε ἀξίων ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ εὑχεῖσθαι πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἱδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, μᾶλλον μὲν τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντως ὁ δρόμοι γε 1 καὶ δελθίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογοῦν ἄνθροπον ἄγιαν ἡμέραν ἢ νύκτα τῶν ἱερωμένων· ἄρχη δὲ ὁδόρος μὲν ἡμέρας, Β ὀψία δὲ νυκτὸς. εὐλογοῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπόρχεσθαι τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅταν ἤρωθεν τῆς ἱερατικῆς δυνα τυχανωμένη λειτουργίας· ὅσο τὰ γε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅσα πάτριος διαγερεῖες νόμος, φυλάττειν πρέπει, καὶ οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἔλαττον τι ζωητέον αὐτῶν· ἄλλα γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν· ὅστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν οὕσιαν αὐτῶν, εἰν’ αὐτοῦς ἑλασκόμεθα διὰ τοῦτο πλέον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἤμεν αὐτοψυχάλι μόνοι, τὸ σῶμα δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἡμῖν διώκει, καλῶς ἄν εἴχεν ἐνα τινὰ τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἀφορίζειν βλέπω· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν ἱερεύσιν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ 2 ἱερεὶ προσήκει μόνον, δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτηδευτέουν,

1 γε Hortlein suggests, τὰ MSS.
2 τῷ Wright, ὥσ Hortlein, MSS. The meaning is not clear and Petavius suspects corruption.
opinion, by no means the same as an error of the mind, but we ought to give heed to the mind first of all, since the tongue sins in company with it. We ought to learn by heart the hymns in honour of the gods—and many and beautiful they are, composed by men of old and of our own time—though indeed we ought to try to know also those which are being sung in the temples. For the greater number were bestowed on us by the gods themselves, in answer to prayer, though some few also were written by men, and were composed in honour of the gods by the aid of divine inspiration and a soul inaccessible to things evil.

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

Now if we were pure soul alone, and our bodies did not hinder us in any respect, it would be well to prescribe one sort of life for priests. But since what he should practise when on duty concerns the individual priest alone, not priests absolutely, what
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tί δὲ τῷ ἰερατεύειν ἀνθρώπων λαχόντι συγχωρητέου, ὅταν ἔκτος γὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λειτουργίας; οἴμαι δὲ χρήναι τὸν ἱερέα πάντων ἀγνεύσαντα D νῦκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, εἰτὰ ἀλλην ἔπ' αὐτῇ νῦκτα καθηράμενον οἷς διαγορεύουσιν οἱ θεομοι καθαρμοί οὕτως εἰσώ φοιτῶντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μένειν ὅσας ἀν ἡμέρας ὁ νόμος κελεύῃ. τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσών ἐν 'Ῥόμη, παρ' ἂλλοις δὲ ἂλλωσ. εὐλόγου σοῦν οἴμαι μένειν ἀπάσας ταῦτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφοῦντα, καὶ μήτε εἰς οἰκίαν βαδίζειν μήτε εἰς ἄγοράν, ἄλλα μηδὲ 303 ἀρχοῦντα πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὦραν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς περί τὸ θείου θεραπείας αὐτὸν ἐφορῶντα πάντα καὶ διατάττοντα, πληρώσαντα δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας εἰτὰ ἐπέρχου παραχωρεῖν τῆς λειτουργίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τρεπομένῳ βλον ἔξεστο καὶ βαδίζειν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλον καὶ εἰς ἐστίασιν ἀπαντάν παρακληθέντα, μὴ πάντων, ἄλλα τῶν B βελτίστων ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄγοραν παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἄτοπον διλεγάκης, ἤγεμόνα τε προσεπεῖν καὶ ἑνὸς ἄρχοντα, καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγως δεομένοις ὅσα ἠνδέχεται βοηθήσαι.

Πρέπει δὲ οἴμαι τοῖς ἱερείσιν ἐνδοὺ μέν, ὅτε λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτε χρῆσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτη, τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ ἔξω τῆς συνόχεια δίχα πολυ-

1 τῷ Hertlein suggests, as 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 market-place, 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,
GREEK

ΤΕΛΕΙΑΙΑΣ οὐδὲ γὰρ εὑλογοῦν τοὺς δεδομένους ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τιμὴ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τύφων μάταιον. Θέν ἄφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐσθήτος πολυτελεῖ.

ΣΤΕΡΑΣ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ κόμπου ἢ καὶ πάσης ἀπλῶς ἀλαζονείας. οἱ γούν θεοὶ τὴν τοσαῦτην ἀγασθέντες Ἀμφιαράου σωφροσύνην, ἐπειδῆ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκείνου κατεδίκασαν φθορὰν εἰδώς τε αὐτὸς συνεπιστρεφέτο καὶ ἢ ἄφενευτον αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἀπέφηναν αὐτὸν ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς λήξιν θελαν. πάντων γοὺν τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ταῖς θήβαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστίδων πρὶν κατεργάσασθαι σή-Δ

μάτα γραφόντων καὶ ἐγείροντων τὰ τρόπαια κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν Καδμείων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὀμιλητής ἄσημα μὲν ἐπεστράτευσεν ἄχοιν ὁπλα, προφητητε ἔκα καὶ σωφροσύνην ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο. διόπερ οἴμαι χρῆ καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἡμῶς τὰ πέρι τὰς ἐσθήτας σωφρονεῖν, ἢν τυγχάνοντε καὶ καθὲν ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ὡς οὐ μικρὰ γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνομεν δημούμενοι τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθήτας καὶ δημοσιεύοντες καὶ παρέχοντες 304 ἀπλῶς περιβλέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥσπερ τὸ ἱερατείον. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτον συμβαινει, πολλοὶ πελάξουσιν ἡμῶν οὐ καθαροί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χραί

νεται τὰ τῶν θεῶν σύμβολα. τὸ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶς

1 κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς Hertlein suggetea, καὶ τὰς συμφορᾶς MSS.
2 ἢ καὶ Hertlein would add.
3 ἡμῶς—σωφρονεῖν Cobet suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.
4 εἰ γὰρ τοῖς Hertlein suggests, εἰπερ ἐκ τοῦτου MSS.
without any extravagance. For it is not rational that we should misuse, in empty conceit and vain ostentation, what has been given to us for the honour of the gods. And for this reason we ought, in the market place to abstain from too costly dress and from outward show, and in a word from every sort of pretentiousness. For consider how the gods, because they admired the perfect moderation of 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

ἐνάντια Ἀμφιάραος ὁ σημεῖος ἔχων
θρισμῖν, ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἔστιν ὑπελα.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

αὐτοὺς σὺν ιερατικῷς ξίνως ἱερέων ἐσθήτα
περικείσθαι τόσης ἐστὶ παραγωγάς καὶ κατα-
φρονήσεως εἰς τοὺς θεούς; εἰρήσεται μὲν οὖν ἡμὲν
καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ἔν ἄλλοις ἔν ἄλλοις 1 
δὲ ἀκριβεῖας· νυνὶ δὲ ὡς τύπῳ πρὸς σε γράφω περὶ ἀυτῶν.

Τοῖς ἀσελγέσι τούτων θεάτροις τῶν ἱερέων Β
μηδεὶς μηδαμοῦ παραβαλλέτω μηδὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· πρέπει γὰρ οὐδαμῶς. καὶ
ἐὰν μὲν οἶδον τε ἡν ἐξελάσαι παντάπασιν αὐτὰ
τῶν θεάτρων, ὡστε αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ
Διονύσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα, πάντως ἂν ἐπειράθην
αὐτὸ προσόμως κατασκευάσαι. νυνὶ δὲ οἴομενος Κ
τοῦτο οὕτε δυνατόν οὐτε ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ δυνατοῦ
φανεῖν, συμφέρον ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, ταῦτης μὲν
ἀπεσχόμην παντάπασι τῆς φιλοτιμίας· ἀξιω ὃ
τοὺς ἱερεῖς ὑποχωρήσαι καὶ ἀποστῆναι τῷ ὅμοι
τῆς ἑν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσελγείας. μηδεὶς οὖν ἱερεὺς
ἐἰς θεάτρον εἰσίτω, μηδὲ ἐχέτω 2 φίλοιν θυμελικὸν
μηδὲ ἄρματηλάτην, μηδὲ ὀρχηστῆς μηδὲ μέσος
ἀυτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτως τοῖς ἱερεῖς ἀγώσιν
ἐπιτρέπει μόνον τῷ Βουλομένῳ παραβάλλειν, 1
ὁν ἀπηγορευεται μετέχειν οὐκ ἀγωνίας μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ θέας ταῖς γυναιξίς. ὅτερ ὃ ὑπὸ τῶν
κυνηγεσίων τί δεὶ καὶ λέγειν, ὅταν τὰς πόλεσιν
εἰσὶν τῶν θεάτρων συντελεῖται, ὃς ἀφεκτέο
τούτων ἐστὶν οὐχ ἱερεῦς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
παῖς ἰερείων;

7 Ἡν μὲν οὖν ὅσα πρὸ τούτων εἰρήσθαι καλῶν,
ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως χρὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀποδεικνύειν· οὗθεν
δὲ ἀτοποὺν εἰς τοῦτό μοι τοὺς λόγους λήξαι. ὅγω 305

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

what lawlessness it is, what arrogance towards the
gods for us ourselves when we are not living the
priestly life to wear the priestly dress! However, of
this too I shall speak more particularly in another
place; and what I am writing to you at the moment
is only a mere outline of the subject.

No priest must anywhere be present at the
licentious theatrical shows of the present day, nor
introduce one into his own house; for that is alto-
gether unfitting. Indeed if it were possible to banish
such shows absolutely from the theatres so as to re-
store 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 ex-
pedient, 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 spec-
tators. 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 appro-
priate that my remarks should end with this. I say
LETTER TO A PRIEST

φημι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βελτίστους καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φιλοθεοτάτους, ἐπείτα φιλανθρωποτάτους, εἰν τε πένθης ὅσιν εἶν ἐν τοῖς πλοῦσιοι διάκρισις ἐστιν πρὸς τοῦτο μηδ' ἢτισον ἄφανος καὶ ἐπιφανοῦς· ὥ ὅ ὁ διὰ πραότητα λειληθὼς σὺ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀφάνειαν δίκαιός ἐστι καὶ λύσθαι. κἂν πένθης ὅν ἢ τησ δημότης ἐχών ἐν ἰαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τὸ τε φιλόθεου καὶ τὸ φιλανθρώπου, ἱερεὺς ἀποδεικνύθω. δεῦγμα δὲ Β τοῦ φιλοθέου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαντᾶς εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγοι, τοῦ φιλανθρώπον δὲ, εἰ καὶ εξ ὅλγων εὐκόλως κοινωνεῖ τὸς δεομένου καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως, εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσοις ἐν αἷς καὶ ἑς τῇ.

Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τοῦτος, καὶ τὴν ἱστρεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ποιητέον. ἑπειδὴ γὰρ οἷμαι συνέχης τοὺς πένθης ἀμελείςσαι παρορμώνομαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλλιαίοι κατανοῆσαι ἐπέθεντο ταῦτα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ χείριστον τῶν ἔργων διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκράτων. ἄσπερ γὰρ ὅτι τὰ παιδία διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἔσπασαντος τῷ καὶ δὲς καὶ τρίς προέσθαι πείθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, εἰ δ', ὅταν ἀποστήσωσι στόρο τῶν οἰκειόν, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδουντο, καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἀπαντὰ τῶν ἔξωθε βίου πικρῶν τὸ δόξαι πρὸς ὅλγων

1 εὐδοκιμοῦντος Hertlein suggests, καλλίστων δοκοῦτος Reiske, δοκοῦτος MSS. 2 γὰρ. Hertlein would add.
LETTER TO A PRIEST

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 Galilaean 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 Galilaean
πλυκύ, τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπου ἀρξάμενοι διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ὁσπέρ τὸ ἑργόν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τούνομα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείστους ἐνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα.
also begin with their so-called love-feast, or hospitality, or service of tables,—for they have many ways of carrying it out and hence call it by many names,—and the result is that they have led very many into atheism. . . . ¹

¹ The conclusion is lost, and may have been suppressed by Christian copyists.
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 proemium\(^2\) 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.

\(^1\) of. Oration 4. 157 c.  
\(^2\) 306 A.
'Επειδὴ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς παιδείαν ἐστὶ γὰρ Κρόνιας·
γελοίον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τερπνὸν οἶδα ἐγώ, τὸ μὴ
kataγέλαστα φράσαι φροντίδος ἔοικεν εἶναι ἄξιον,
ὁ φιλότης.

Εἶτα τὰς οὕτω παχύς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ
Καῖσαρ, δοστε καὶ παιδείαν πεφροντεσμένα; ἐγὼ
ἀμην τὴν παιδιὰν ἄνεσίν τε εἶναι ἰσχύς καὶ
ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν φροντίδων.

'Ορθῶς γε σὺ τούτῳ ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐμοὶ δὲ δὲ θ
οὐ ταῦτα ἔοικεν ἀπαντῶν τὸ χρῆμα. πέφυκα γὰρ
οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτήδειος οὔτε σκόπτειν οὔτε παραδεί
οὔτε γελοῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρὴ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι
tοῦ θεοῦ, βούλει σοι ἐν παιδιὰς μέρει μῦθον διεξ-
έλθω πολλὰ ἰσος ἔχοντα ἀκοῆς ἄξια;

Δέγγοις ἃν καὶ μάλα ἀσμένῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ
οὐκ ἀτιμάζω τοὺς μῦθους οὐδὲ παντάπασιν
ἐξελαύνω τοὺς ὁρθῶς ἔχοντας, ἀκόλουθα σοὶ
tε καὶ φίλος τῷ σῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ κοινῷ,
Πλάτωνι διανοούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ πολλὰ
ἐν μῦθοις ἐσπούδασται.
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"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."

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1 Better known by its Latin name Saturnalia. Saturn is the Greek Kronos.
Δέγεις ναὶ μὰ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.
Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μύθος;
Οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὁποίους Αἴσιωτος ἐποίη- 307
σεν, ἀλλ’ εἶτε πλάσμα λέγοις Ἕρμοῦ: πεπυ-
σμένος γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖθεν σοὶ φράσω, εἶτε καὶ
tάληθες οὕτως ἔχει εἶτε μέξις τίς ἐστεὶν ἁμφοῖν,
αὐτό, φασὶ,¹ δείξει τὸ πρῶγμα.
Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἡδὴ μυθικῶς ᾧμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς
ἐξείργασται σοὶ τὸ προοίμιον· ἀλλὰ μοι τὸν
λόγον αὐτῶν, ὅποιος ποτὲ ἐστιν, ἡδὴ διεξέλθε.
Μανθάνοις ἄν.
Θέουν ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει Β
τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἱκεῖς τοὺς καίσαρας.
κλῖναι δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμέναι τοῖς μὲν
θεοῖς ἄνω κατ’ αὐτό, φασὶν, οὐρανοῦ τὸ μετέωρον;
Οὐλυμπόνδ’, δὴ φασὶ θεῶν ἐδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.
λέγεται γὰρ μὲθ’ Ἦρακλεα παρελθεῖν ἐκεῖσθη
καὶ ὁ Κυρίων, ὧ δὴ χρή καλεῖν αὐτῶν ὁνόματι,
τῇ θείᾳ πεποθμένῳ φήμῃ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς
ἐκεῖσθ’ παρασκευαστὸ τὸ συμπόσιον ὑπ’ αὐτὴν δὲ Ω
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετέωρον τοῦ ἁέρος ἐδέδοκτο
τοὺς καίσαρας δειπνεῖν. ἀνείχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε
τῶν σωμάτων κομφότης, ἀπερ ἐτύγχανον ἡμιφι-
σμένοι, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλῖναι μὲν
οὐν ἐκεῖνῳ τέταρτες, εὔπρεπεῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις
θεοῖς. ἐβένου μὲν ἡ ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου στιλβοῦσα
καὶ πολλῆν ἐν τῷ μέλαιν καὶ θείαιν αὐγήν κρυ-
πτούσης, ὃστε οὐδεὶς οἶδο τὸν ἀντιβλέπειν.

¹ φασὶ Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, δείξει MSS.
² αὐτοῖς Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation
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"By Zeus, that is true indeed!"
"But what is your myth and of what type?"
"Not one of those old-fashioned ones such as Aesop\(^1\) wrote. But whether you should call mine an invention of Hermes—for it was from him I learned what I am going to tell you—or whether it is really true or a mixture of truth and fiction, the upshot, as the saying is, will decide."

"This is indeed a fine preface that you have composed, just the thing for a myth, not to say an oration! But now pray tell me the tale itself, whatever its type may be."

"Attend."

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

\(^1\) i.e. not a fable with a moral nor an animal fable.
\(^3\) \textit{Odyssey} 6. 42.
\(^4\) Cf. \textit{Oratio} 4. 149 b, 154 d.
ΤΑ ΣΑΤΙΡΑΚΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ

ἐπανέχει δὲ ταύτα πρὸς τὴν ἐθενοῦ ἐκείνην τὰ Δ' ὄμματα δὲ ὑπερηφανὴν τῆς λαμπριδόνος, ὅτερον οἷμαι πρὸς ἠλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δίσκῳ τῆς ἀτενέστερον προσβλέπη. ἦ δὲ τοῦ Δίας ἤν ἀργύρου μὲν στιλπνότερα, χρυσίου δὲ λευκοτέρα. τούτο εἶτε ἡλεκτρον κρῆ καλεῖν εἴτε ἄλλο τι λέγεις, οὔ σφόδρα εἰξέ μοι γνωρίμως ὁ 'Ερμής φράσαι. χρυσοθρόνω δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερον ἐκαθεξέσθην ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ, Ἡρα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Δία, 308 Ῥέα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνου. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐπεζήμει τῷ λόγῳ, μείζον εἶναι λέγων αὐτὸ καὶ νῦθετον, ἀκού δὲ καὶ ρήμασιν οὕτε προσιθῆμαι ράβδιον οὕτε παραδεχηθῆναι δυνατόν. οὕνεκοι οὕτω τὰ ἐστάται καὶ φανεῖται μεγαλόφωνος, ὅτε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκεῖνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους, ὅποιον ἐπιπρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὄψει.

Παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ τός ἄλλος θεός ἐκάστη τὸ θρόνος ἡ κλίνη κατὰ προσβείαν. ἤριξε δὲ οὐδείς, ἄλλῳ ὅπερ ὁ Ὀμήρος ὅρθως ποιῶν ἐφό, δοκεῖν μοι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἀκηκοάς, ἔχειν ἐκαστὸν τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἐφ' οὗ πάντως αὐτῷ θέμις καθῆσθαι στερεῶς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξαιστάμενοι ταράττουσιν οὐδ' αὐτῷ τὰς καθέδρας οὐδὲ μεταβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ ὑφαρπάζουσιν ἄλληλοι, γνωρίζει οὗτος ἐκαστὸς τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ. πάντων οὖν κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σείληνος ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τοῦ Διονύσου καλοῦ καὶ νέου καὶ

1 ἐκαθεξέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἐκαθέσθην V., ἐκαθεξέσθην 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 ⅓ gold and ⅔ silver.

² This is not in our Homer, but Julian may have in mind Iliad 11. 76.
τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Διῷ παραπλησίου πλησίουν αὐτοῦ, τροφεύσ τις οὐ καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθῆστο, τὰ τε Δ ἄλλα φιλοπαίγμονα καὶ φιλόγελουν καὶ χαριτοδότην ἄντα τῶν θεῶν εὐθραύσων καὶ δή καὶ τῷ σκόπτειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιαζεῖν.

'Ως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καυσάρων συνεκεκρότητο συμπόσιον, εἰσήγει πρώτος Ἰουλίος Καϊσάρ, ὡπὸ φιλοτεμίας αὐτοῦ θουλόμενος ἔρισαι τῷ Διῷ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς δὲ ὁ Σειληνὸς βλέψας, "Ορα, εἰπεν, ὁ Ζεύς, μή σε ὁ ἄνηρ οὗτος ὡπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοηθῆ. καὶ γάρ, ὅσ ὄρας, ἐστὶ μέγασ καὶ καλός· ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἕστι 309 προσώπων. παιδόντος ἐτε τοιαύτα τοῦ Σειληνοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῶ, Ὁκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἁμείζων, ὡσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες, χρόματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὥριμοι, αὖθις δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γεμόμενοι, εἰτα μέλας καὶ ξυφώδης καὶ συννεφῆς· ἀνέστη δ' αὖθις εἰς Ἀφροδίτῃν Β καὶ Χάριτας, εἶναι τε ἡθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὄμματών ὁποῖας ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας Ἔλιος· οὐδένα γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων 3 ἀντιβλέπειν ἡξιόυ. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Βαβαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τούτου θηρίου τί ποτ' άρα δεινον ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται; Παύσατε, εἰπε, ληρών, ὁ Ἀπόλλων· ἐγώ γάρ αὐτὸν τουτῷ Ζήνων παραδοῦς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἀποφαύνοι χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ἄλλω θεό, εἰπεν, ὁ Ο Ζήνων, ἐπιμελήθητε τούτῳ θρεμματοσ. ὁ δὲ

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

When the banquet had been arranged for the Emperors also, Julius Caesar entered first, and such was his passion for glory that he seemed ready to contend with Zeus himself for dominion. Whereupon Silenus observing him said, “Take care, Zeus, lest this man in his lust for power be minded to rob you of your empire. He is, as you see, tall and handsome, and if he resembles me in nothing else, round about his head he is very like me.”

While Silenus, to whom the gods paid very little attention, was jesting thus, Octavian entered, changing colour continually, like a chameleon, turning now pale now red; one moment his expression was gloomy, sombre, and overcast, the next he unbent and showed all the charms of Aphrodite and the Graces. Moreover in the glances of his eyes he was fain to resemble mighty Helios, for he preferred that none who approached should be able to meet his gaze. “Good Heavens!” exclaimed Silenus, “what a changeable monster is this! What mischief will he do us?” “Cease trifling,” said Apollo, “after I have handed him over to Zeno here, I shall transform him for you straightway to gold without alloy. Come, Zeno," he cried, “take charge of my nursling.” Zeno obeyed, and thereupon, by reciting over Octavian a few of his

1 Silenus is usually represented as bald.
2 Suetonius, Augustus 16.
3 The Stoic philosopher.
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υπακούσας, εἶτα ἐπάσας αὐτῷ μικρὰ τῶν δογμάτων, ὡσπερ οἱ τὰς Ζαμόλξιδος ἐπηδάς ὑμιλοῦντες, ἀπέφηνεν ἀνδρὰ ἐμφρονα καὶ σώφρονα.

Τρίτος ἐπεισεδραμεν αὐτῷς Τιβέριος σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσυρός, σώφρον τε ἁμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὄφθησαν ὄτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μυρίᾳ, καυτὴρές τινες καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλέπαι D καὶ μόλοισπει ὑπὸ τε ἀκολαζίας καὶ όμοτητος ψώρα ὑπες καὶ λειχήνες ὅποι θηκεκαυμέναι. εἶθ' ὁ Σειληνὸς

'Ἀλλοίος μοι, ξείνε, φάνης νέον ή τὸ πάροιθεν εἰπὼν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαιότερος. καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος πρὸς αὐτόν, Τί δήτα, εἶπεν, ὁ παππίδιον σπουδάζεις; καὶ ὃς, Ἕξεπληξέ με ὁ γέρων οὔτος, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἔφη, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἀκαθόρμου ἐμαυτὸ δ' Ὁμηρικᾶς προβαλέσθαι μουράς. ἀλλὰ σε, εἶπεν, ἐξει τῶν ὅτων 310 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματιστὴν τινα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμώξων μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ νησιδρίῳ τὰς Καπρέας αἰνετόμενοι; τὸν ἄθλουν ἀλεά ψηχέτω. ταῦτα ἔτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπεισερχέται θηρὸν πονηρόν. εἶτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπέστρεφαν τὰ ὄμματα, κατ' αὐτῶν δίδωσιν ἡ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἰ ὅ ἐρρίψαν εἰς B
doctrines,\textsuperscript{1} in the fashion of those who mutter the
cantations of Zamolxis,\textsuperscript{2} 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.\textsuperscript{3} Whereupon Silenus cried out, "Far different,
friend, thou appearest now than before,"\textsuperscript{4} and
seemed more serious than was his wont. "Pray,
why so solemn, little father?" said Dionysus. "It
was this old satyr," he replied, "he shocked me and
made me forget myself and introduce Homer's
Muse." "Take care," said Dionysus, "he will pull
your ear, as he is said to have done to a certain
grammarians."

"Plague take him," said Silenus, "in
his little island"—he was alluding to Capri—"let
him scratch the face of that wretched fisherman."\textsuperscript{6}

While they were still joking together, there came
in a fierce monster.\textsuperscript{7} Thereupon all the gods turned
away their eyes from the sight, and next moment
Justice handed him over to the Avengers who

\textsuperscript{1} Julian probably alludes to the influence on Augustus of
Athenodorus the Stoic.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Plato, Gorgias 525 D, E; Republic 611 C; Tacitus,
Annals 6. 6; Lucian, Cataplus 27.

\textsuperscript{4} Odyssey 18. 181; there is a play on the word πάσοντας
which means also "in front."

\textsuperscript{5} i.e. Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, Tiberius 56, 70.

\textsuperscript{6} Suetonius, Tiberius 60.

\textsuperscript{7} Caligula.
Τάρταρος, ούδεν οὖν ἔσχεν ὁ Σειληνός ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσας· τοῦ Κλαύδιου δὲ ἐπεισελθόντος, ὁ Σειληνός ἀρχεῖται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἀδεαν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου¹ κολακεύων δήθεν τῶν Κλαύδιου. εἶτά πρὸς τὸν Κυρίωνον ἀπειδῶν, Ἀδε-κεῖς, εἶπεν, ὁ Κυρίων, τῶν ἀπόγονων ἁγνῶν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον δίξα τῶν ἀπελευθερῶν Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλπαντος. ἄλλ' ἵδε, εἶπε, πέμψον ἐπ' ἐκεῖνος, εἰ βούλει δὲ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμήτην Μεσσα-λάναν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι δίξα τούτων τῆς τραγ. ὁ γράσις τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικρὸν δέω φάναι, καὶ ἄψυχον. ἐπεισέρχεται λέγοντε τὸ Σειληνὸς Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κεδάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέψας ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Οὔτος, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ σὲ παρασκευάζεται. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ἄλλ' ἔγγυε αὐτὸν, εἶπεν, ἀποστε-φανώσω, ὅτε με μὴ πάντα μιμέται μηδὲ ἐν οἷς ὑπὲρ μιμεῖται γίγνεται μου μιμητὴς δίκαιος. ἀποστεφανωθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κόκυτος εὐθέως ἤρπασεν.

'Επὶ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαποῖ συνέτρεχον, Δ. Βίνδικες, Γάλβαι, Ὁθώνες, Βιτέλλιοι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Τοῦτων, εἶπε, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμήνος² πόθεν ἐξηρήκατε, ὁ θεός; τυφόμεθα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ καπροῦ φελλέται γάρ σοδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταυτὶ τὰ θηρία. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπειδῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Οὐστασιανὸν 311 δεῖξας. Πέμπε, εἶπε, τὸν σμικρῆν τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς Λιγύπτου ταχέως, ἓνα τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ τῶν παιδῶν δὲ τῶν πρεσβύτερον

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

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

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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, *Annales* 4. 81.
μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης τῆς πανδήμου, τὸν νεότερον δὲ τῷ Σικελεκῷ θηρίῳ παραπλησίως κλούφ δῆσον. παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τούτοις γέρων ἀφθήναι καλὸς· λάμπει γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ τοι καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆρᾳ τὸ κάλλος· ἐντυχεῖν προάτος, χρηματίσαι δικαιότατος. ἡδέσθη τούτου ὁ Σελ-Β ληνὸς καὶ ἀπεσιώπησεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἐρμῆς, Ἰππέρ δὲ τούτου, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἦμιν λέγεις; Ναι μὰ Δίς, ἔφη, μέμφομαι γε ὑμῖν τής ἀνισότητος. τῷ γὰρ φουκῷ θηρίῳ τρίς πέντε νείμαντες ἐνιαυτοὺς ἔνα μόλες ἐδοκάτε τούτῳ βασιλεύσαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέμφου, εἶπεν ὁ Ζεὺς· εἴσάξω γὰρ οὗ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς κάγαθοι. εὐθέως οὖν ὁ Τραίανὸς εἰσήρχετο φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών τὰ τρόπαια, τό τε Γετεκὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, λαυθάνειν τε ἀμα καὶ ἀκούσθαι βουλόμενος, Ὠμα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Διὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπερ ὁ Γαυμήθης αὐτῷ φορορήσεται.

Μετὰ τούτου ἐπεισέρχεται βαθείας ἤχων τὴν ὑπήρην ἀνήρ σοβαρὸς τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δή καὶ Μ Μουσικήν ἐργαζόμενος, εἶς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονών τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τούτου δὲ Ἰδὼν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφῃ, Τί δέ ὑμῖν οὕτως ὁ σοφιτῆς δοκεῖ; μῶν Ἀρτινοῦ τῇ δὲ περισκοπεῖ; φρασάτω τες αὐτῷ μὴ παρείναι τὸ μειράκιον ἐνθαδεί καὶ πανσάτω τοῦ λήμου καὶ τῆς φλαραίας αὐτῶν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνήρ εἰσέρχεται 312 σώφρων, οὐ τὰ ἐς 'Αφροδίτην, ἄλλα τὰ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. Ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Βασιλέα τῆς σμικρολογίας· εἶς εἰναι μοι δοκεῖ τῶν διαπρισμάτων τὸ κύμαν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὕτως. ἐπεισελθούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ἄδελφων ξυνωρί-
eldest 1 sport with Aphrodite Pandemos and chain the younger 2 in the stocks like the Sicilian monster.” 8 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, 6 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 he 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 Λουκίου, δεινῶς ο Σειληνὸς
συνεστάλη. παίζεων γάρ οὐκ εἰχεν οὐδ’ ἐπε-
σκώπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βήρου, καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον
τὰ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν
ἀμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσήκειν Β
ἐπενεβησεν, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ κοσμίαν οὖσαν, τὸ
δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν συναπολλυμένην περιείδειν,
ἐξον καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαῖον κηδεστήν, ὡς τῶν
τε κοινῶν ἣν προύσῃ κρεῖττον καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν
παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἄν ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς
αὐτοῦ. καίτερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ἰδεῖτο
τῷ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν γε μὴν υἱόν
ουδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίζασε ἄξιον ἀφῆκεν. ο
ἐπιπτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν οὐ δυνάμενος
ιστασθαι 1 καὶ παρομαρτεῖν τοῖς ἥρωσιν.

Ἐπεισέρχεται Περτίναξ τῷ συμποσίῳ τῆς
σφαγῆς ὁδυρόμενος. ἡ Δίκη δὲ αὐτὸν κατελεί-
σασα, ἂλλ’ οὐ χαιρήσουσιν, εἶπεν, ‘ο τοῦτων
αἰτίοι καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ Περτίναξ, ἡδίκεις κοινωνῶν
τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἢν
ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Δ
Σεβήρος, ἀνήρ πικρὸς γέμων καὶ 2 κολαστικός.
Τπὲρ τοῦτον δὲ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνὸς, οὐδὲν λέγω-
φοβοῦμαι γάρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λίαν ἀπηρές καὶ ἀπαραι-
τήτων. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια 3
συνεστέλλει, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκόλυσεν ὁ Μίνως.
ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεωτέρον ἀφῆκε, τὸν

1 ιστασθαι Cobot, ιστασθαι Hertlein, MSS.
2 καὶ before κολαστικός Hertlein suggests.
3 παιδάρια Cobot, MSS., παιδάρια 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 revered and 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 πρεσβύτερον τιμωρίαν ἐπεμψε τίσοντα. Μακ. 313
κρώνος ἐνταῦθα φυγᾶς μιαφόνοσ’ εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς
Ἐμέσης παιδάριον πάρρω που τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλαύ-
νετο περιβόλων. ὦ γε μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐν ἑσχάτοις που καθήστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν
ποτινώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων αὐτῶν
ἐπεν ὁ μόρε καὶ μέγα νήπιε, τηλικοῦτος ὃν
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἤρχεσ τῶν σεαυτοῦ, τὰ χρῆματα δὲ
ἐδίδους τῇ μητρί καὶ οὐκ ἐπείσθης, ὡς ἐπείπτων Β
ἀναλίσκειν ἢν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἤ θησαυρίζειν.
'Αλλ’ ἡγογε, εἶπεν ἡ Δίκη, πάντας αὐτούς, ὡσι
μεταίτιοι γεγόνασι τούτων, κολασθησομένους
παραδόσω. καὶ οὗτος ἀνέθη τὸ μειράκιον. ἐπὶ
τούτῳ παρῆλθεν εἰσο Γαλληνὸς μετὰ τοῦ πα-
τρός, ὁ μὲν τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐχὼν,
ὁ δὲ στολῇ τῇ καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακωτέρα
καὶ ὦσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς μὲν
ἐκείνουν,

Τῆς οὕτως ὁ λευκολόφας,
Πρόσπαρ δὴ ἤγειται στρατοῦ;
ἐφῆ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Γαλληνὸν,

"Ος καὶ χρυσὸν ἐχὼν πάντη τρυφῆ ἢτε κούρη;
tούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπε τῆς ἐκείστε θάλψης ἐκβήναι.
Τούτως ἐπεισέρχεται Κλαύδιος, εἰς ὃν ἀπὶ
δόντες οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἡγάσθησάν τε αὐτῶν τῆς
μεγαλοβυχίας καὶ ἐπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τῆς
ἀρχῆς, δύκαιοι εἶναι νομίσαντες οὕτω φιλοπάτρε-
δος ἀνδρός ἐπὶ πλείστον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγε-
μονίᾳ. τούτῳ ἐπεισέδραμεν Αὐρηλίανὸς ὦσπερ
ἀποδιδράσκων τοὺς ἐιργοῦτας αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸ

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} Heliogabalus; cf. Oration 4. 150 n, note.
\textsuperscript{2} Alexander Severus was assassinated in 235 A.D.
\textsuperscript{3} Mammaea.
\textsuperscript{4} Valerian died in captivity among the Persians.
\textsuperscript{5} Euripides, Phoenissae 129.
\textsuperscript{6} Slightly altered from Hied 2. 872.
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. Oration 1. 6 n.
THE SATIRIES OF JULIAN

Μίνων' πολλαὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαι τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, καὶ ἔφευγε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς ἀπολογούμενος. Ἡλιος δὲ οὐμὸς δεσπότης αὐτῷ 314 πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα βοηθῶν, ὦν ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτο αὐτὸ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, Ἀλλ' ἀπέτισε τὴν δίκην, ἡ γέληθην ἡ δοθείσα Δελφοῖς μαντεία

Ἄλκη πάθη τὰ τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰδεία γένοιτο;

Τούτῳ συνεισέρχεται Πρόβος, δι' ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεως ἀναστῆσας ἐν οὐδὲ οἷος ἐναυτοῖς ἐπτὰ Β καὶ πολλὰ πάνω σωφρόνως οἰκονομῆσας, ἀδικα δὲ πεπονθώς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄθεων, ἐτιμάτῳ τὰ τέ ἄλλα καὶ τῷ τοῦ φονέας αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐκτίσαι. σκόπτειν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅμως ὁ Σειληνός ἐπειράτο, καὶ τοῖς πολλῶν αὐτῷ σιωπάν παρακελευομένων ἀλλ', Ἕλθε, ἐφη, υἱὸν γοῦν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐξής φρενωθῆναι. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὁ Πρόβη, ὅτι τὰ πικρά Ω φάρμακα μεγώντες οἱ λατροὶ τῷ μελικράτῳ προσφέροντες; οὐ δὲ αὐτηρός ἦσθα λίαν καὶ τραχὺς ἀεὶ εἰκὼν τε οὐδαμοὺς πέπονθας οὐν ἀδικα μέν, εἰκότα δὲ ὅμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐτε ἱππῶν οὐτε βοῶν ἄρχειν οὐτε ἦμιώνου, ἦκιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπουν, μή τι καὶ τῶν κεχαρισμένων αὐτοῖς ἔνυχωροῦτα, ὥσπερ ἔσθ' ὅτε τοὺς ἀσθενοῦσιν οἱ λατροὶ μικρὰ ἐνδιδόσωσι, ἐν ἐν τοῖς μείζονις ἔχωσιν αὐτοῖς Δελφομένους. Τύ τούτῳ, εἶπεν ὁ Διώνυσος, ὁ παπ- πία; φιλόσοφος ἢμῖν ἀνεφάνης; οὐ γὰρ, ὁ παῖ,
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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 n.
2 An oracular verse ascribed to Rhadamanthus by Aristotle, Nic. Ethics 5. 5. 3; attributed to Hesiod, Fragments 150 Goettling; it became a proverb.
3 Plato, Laws 659 e; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 n.
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ἐφι, καὶ σὺ φιλόσοφος ὅτε ἔμοι γέγονας; οὐκ οίσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐσικὼς ἔμοι, τὰ πρωτεῖα κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπηνέγκατο τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τάδελφοι πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐστίν ἀφενής; ἔα τούτῳ ἡμᾶς μὴ πάντα γελοία λέγειν, ἄλλα καὶ σπουδαία.

"Ετι διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἄλληλους, ὅ τε 315 ὁ Κάρος ἀμα τοῖς παισίν εἰσφήσσει βουληθείς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελήλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ Διοκλητιανός, ἁγὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Μαξιμανὸ τό τῷ δῶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον Κωνστάντιον, ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγεν. εἴχοντο δὲ ἄλληλων τῷ χείρε, καὶ ἐβάδιζον οὐκ ἐξ ἵσης, ἀλλ' οία χορός τις ἦν περὶ αὐτῶν, τῶν μὲν ὀσπερ δορυφοροῦντων καὶ προθεῖν Ἡ ἀντίθετος βιολομένων, τοῦ δὲ εἴριγοντος οὐδέν γὰρ ἥξιον πλεονεκτεῖν. ὡς δὲ ξυνίει κάμποτος ἑαυτοῦ, δυὸς αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾷ, ὅτα ἐφερεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅμων, αὐτὸς εὐλυτος ἐβάδιζεν. ἡγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολλῶν πάνω καθήσαται. δεινῶς δὲ ὁ παίς τῶν Μαξιμανὸν ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σειλινὸς ἐπισκάπτειν μὲν οὖν ἥξιον, τὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκ εἰσεδέχετο Οὐσιστίον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἰς Ἀφροδίτῃν ἡν παντοῖαν ἁπαθείαν ἁπεληγήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοπράγματι καὶ ἀπιστῶς καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ συνώδουν. ἐξήλασεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ Δίκη ταχέως. εἶτα ἀπήλθεν οὐκ οίδα ὅτι γῆς ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ πολυπραγμονήσει. 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.
καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχώδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Θεοῦ οὐδὲ τῶν προθύρων ἀγαπαῖ τῆς τῶν ἥρωον ἁγορᾶς ἢ Δίκη συνεχάρησε, Δικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν προθύρων ἐδόθη, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα πλημμελοῦντα ταχῶς ο Μένως ἔξηλασεν. ο Κώσταντίνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰσὶ καὶ πολὺν ἐκαθέσθη χρόνον, εἶτα μετ’ αὐτῶν τὰ παιδία. Μαγνετίφορ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἴσοδος, διτί μηδὲν υγίες ἐπεπράχθη, 316 καίτοι πολλὰ ἔδοκεν πεπράχθαι τῷ ἄνδρι καλά. οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ὅρῶντες, διτί μὴ ταύτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῷ πεποίηται διαθέσεως, εἶν τῶν αὐτῶν οἰμάζειν ἀποτρέχοντα.

Οὖσας δὴ τοιαύτης τῆς ἀμφί τὸ δεύτερον παρασκευῆς, ἐπόθουν μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ θεοὶ, πάντα γὰρ ἔχοντες, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἥρωων ἔδοκεν τῷ Ὁρμῆνι διαπειρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῷ Διῷ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἦν. ἔθειτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος ἡδή τινὰ μετάγειν ἔκειθεν παρ’ αὐτῶν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶθεν, Οὐκ Βάρμοις, ὁ Κυρίνες διὰ τὸ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν Ἀλεξανδρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον παρεκάλεσε; σοῦ τούτων, εἴπει, ὁ Ζεὺς, δέομαι, εἰ τε νῦν τούτων ἐγνωκας ἀγείν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἤκειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κέλευς. τὸ γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινῆ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρῶμεν τῷ βελτίων τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν ο τῆς Ἀλκμήνης ἔδοκε τῷ Διῷ καὶ ἐπεισελθόντος ο αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οὕτε ὁ Καίσαρ οὕτε ἄλλος τὶς ὑπανίστατο; καταλαβὼν δὲ σχοлάξουσαν καθέδραν, ἦν ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπεποίητο ἑαυτῷ, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπελήλατο διὰ τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν,
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 Alemena said was only just. So Alexander joined the company of heroes, but neither Caesar nor anyone else yielded his place to him. However he found and took a vacant seat which the son\(^4\) of Severus had taken for himself—he had been

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\(^1\) i.e. the two Maximians, the colleagues of Diocletian.
\(^2\) Constantine II, Constans and Constantius.
\(^3\) Cf. Oration 1. 31, 33 foll.
\(^4\) Caracalla.
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ενεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπτων τῶν Κυρίων, "Ορα, εἶπε, μὴ ποτε οὕτω δέναις εἰσιν1 ἀντάξιοι τοιτεύου τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μὰ Διὰ, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρίνος, οἶμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὕτω δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἔμοι τεθαυμάκασιν ἐγγονοι, ὡστε μόνον αὐτῶν Δ ἐκ πάντων, ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἡγεμόνες ἔχουν, ὑμο−
μάζουσι καὶ νομίζουσι μέγαν. οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς γεγονότων οὐκοῦν μείζονα τοῦ−
του, ἵππως μὲν ὡπὸ φιλανθίας τι παθόντες, ἵππως δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἔχουν· εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρόμενοι. ταῦτα μάλιστα λέγουν ὁ
Κυρίνος ἡρωθώ, καὶ δῆλος ἡν ἁγγονείρω ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ ποῦ τὰ δευτερεία
λαβόντες οἴχονται.

Μετὰ τούτο ὁ Ζεὺς ἤρετο τοὺς θεοὺς, πότερον 317
χρή πάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγνων καλεῖν ἢ, καθάπερ ἐν
toῖς γυμνοῖς ἄγωσι γίνεται, ὁ τοῦ πολλαὶς ἀνελο−
mένου νίκας κρατήσας, ἕνως περιγενόμενος, οὐδὲν
ἐλαττον δοκεῖ κάκεινων γεγονέναι κρείσσων, οὐ
προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τὸν κρατη−
θέντος δὲ ἔτους ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἔδοκεν πᾶσιν ἡ
τοιαῦτη σφόδρα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν ἔξετασις. ἐκή−

1 ἐνῶς εἰσιν ἄντάξιοι Naber, ἐνῶς δὲν εἰσὶν ἄντάξιοι Hertlein, MSS. ; V omits ἄν.
THE CAESARS

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

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

1 Cf. Plato, Laws 730 d; Julian, Misopogon 353 d.
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Μάρκου. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάρκος κληθείς παρῆλθε, σεμνὸς ἄγαν, ὕπο τῶν πόνων ἔχων τά τε ὁμματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὕπο τι συνεσταλμένον, κάλλος δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ δεικνύων, ἐν φ' παρέξεν ἑαυτῶν ἀκομψον καὶ ἀκαλλόπιστον ὅ τε γάρ ὑπήνη βαθεία παντάπασιν ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια λετα καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὕπο τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν τροφῶν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διανύγκασταν καὶ διαφανέστατον ὅπερ αὐτὸ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρότατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον φῶς. ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος ἦν εἰςω τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων, ὁ Διὸς υπήνης εἴπεν, "Ὡς βασιλεὺς Κρόνε καὶ Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἄρα ἄξιον ἐν θεοὶς ἄτελες εἶναι τι; τῶν δὲ τοῦ φαμένου, Εἰςαγωγὴν σοῦ τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἑραστὴν ἐνθαδι. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἀλλὰ οὐ θεμέτορα εἰςω φοιτᾶν, εἴπεν, ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἔλθοντε. Γεννέσθω τοίνυν, εἴπεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διὸς υπήνης, αὐτοὶς ἡ κρίσις. Ἀλλὰ, εἰ τούτῳ δοκεῖ ταὐτὴ, καλῶμεν άνδρα οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μὲν, ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει χειροπηθέστερον. ἦκέτω σοῦν ἀχρὶ τῶν προθύρων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὐδοκότα καὶ τούτο, τίμα χρή τρόπων αὐτοὺς ἀμελλάσθαι, γνώμη προτεθή. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἔρμης ἥξιον λέγειν ἔκαστον ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ψῆφον. οὐ μὴν ἐδοκεῖ ταῦτα τῶν Αἰπόλλων καλῶς ἐχειν; ἀλήθειας γάρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανῷ-β τητος οὐδα ἀμυνλας ἐν θεοὺς ἔλεγχον καὶ ἐξέτασιν. βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀμα προάγειν ἐπὶ πλεον αὐτοὶς τὴν συνουσίαν, Οὐδέν, εἴπε, καλὸς λέγει μὲν αὐτοὶς ἐπιτρέψαι, μικρὰ τοῦ ὅδατος ἐπιμετρήσατας, εἶτα ὕστερον

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So tell Marcus¹ to come in too." Accordingly Marcus was summoned and came in looking excessively dignified and showing the effect of his studies in the expression of his eyes and his lined brows. His aspect was unutterably beautiful from the very fact that he was careless of his appearance and undecorated 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.
ἀνερωτάν καὶ ἀποπειρᾶθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας. Ο καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπων, ἈΛΛA ὅπως μὴ, νομίσαντες αὐτὸ νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραϊανός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαν ἐκροφήσουσιν1 τὸ ὕδωρ, εἶτα ἀφελοῦνται2 τοὺς ἅλλους. καὶ ὁ Ποσειδών, Οὐ τούμοι ὤδατος, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πάσας ἔρασται τῷ ἄνδρες ἐγενέσθην. ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοὺς καραδονὶ D ἀμπέλου μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν πηγῶν ἀξίων ἐστὶ σοι δεδείναι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς δηθεῖς ἐσιώπα, καὶ τοῦ ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰς τούτου τῶν νοῦν προσεῖχεν. Ἐρμής δὲ ἐκήρυττεν

"Ἀρχεῖ μὲν ἀγῶν
τῶν καλλίστων
ἀθλῶν ταμίας,
καίρος δὲ καλεῖ
μηκέτε μέλλειν.
ἀλλὰ κλώντες
ταῖς ἀμετέραν
κηρύκα βοῶν
οἱ πρὶν βασιλῆς,
ἐθνεα πολλὰ
δουλωσάμενοι
καὶ πολέμουσι
δαίων ἔγχος
θήξαντες, ὁμοῦ
γνώμης τε μέγαν
πισυτόβρονα νοῦν,
ἐτ', ἐς ἀντίπαλον
ἰστασθε κρίσιν,

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

Then Hermes made this proclamation:

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

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οἱς τε φρόνησιν
tέλος ὀλβίσθης
θέσθαι βιοτής,
οἷς τ’ ἀντιβίους
κακὰ πόλλ’ ἔρξαι
cal χρηστὰ φίλους
tέκμαρ βιότον
μενόμιστο καλοῦ,
oĩς θ’ ἡδίστην
ἀπόλαυσεν ἔχειν
tέρματα μύχθων
daίτας τε γάμους τ’,
δέμασι τερπυνά,
μαλακάς τε φέρειν
ἐσθήτας ὅμοι
λιθοκολλήτως
περὶ χεῖρας ἀκρας
ψελλουσι φάνη
μακαριστῶτατον.
νίκης δὲ τέλος
Zηνὶ μελῆσει.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ 'Ερμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο· D καὶ πως συνέδραμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλήρος 
φιλοπρωτία. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐποίησε γαῦρον καὶ 
σοβαρώτερον ἐδέησε δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ 
φεύγειν τὴν κρίσιν ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος. ἀλλὰ παρα-
θαρρύνων αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσσε. ἐδέ-
τερος δὲ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνῃ λέγειν ἔλαχεν 'Αλέξανδρος,
ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξης οἱ κληροὶ τοῖς ἐκάστων χρόνων 320
συμπροῆλθον. ἦρξατε οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ὁδί: 'Εμοὶ
μὲν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεοῖς, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτῃ

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

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

1 In this doggerel made up of tags of anapaestic verse, Julian reproduces in the first five and last two verses the proclamation made at the Olympic games. The first three verses occur in Lucian, Demonsax 66.
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συνέβη πόλει μετὰ τοσούτους ἄνδρας, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ὅσων οὐ πώποτε ἄλλη πόλεις ἐβασιλεύειν βασιλεύειν, ταῖς δὲ ἄγαπητὰς τοῖς καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κομίσασθαι. τὸς γὰρ πόλεις ἀπὸ τρισχίλων ἄνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλους ἔτεσιν ἐξακοσίοις B ἐπὶ γῆς ἠλθεὶ πέρατα τοῖς δῆλοις; ποία δὲ ἐθνή τοσούτους ἄνδρας ἄγαθος τε καὶ πολεμικοὺς παρέσχετο καὶ νομοθετικοὺς; θεοὺς δὲ ἐτίμησαν οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὴ τοσαῦτη καὶ τηλικαύτη πόλει γενόμενος οὐ τοὺς κατ’ ἐμαυτόν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πώποτε παρῆλθον τοὺς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν ἔμων μὲν πολιτῶν εὐ οἶδα ὡς οὔδεις ἀντιποιηθεὶς μοι τῶν πρωτείων: εἰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτως οὐλομᾶ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀξίου παραβάλειν; ᾧς τὰ Περσικὰ, ἀσπέρ οὐχ ἑορακὼς ἐγγεμένωμαι μοι τοσαῦτα κατὰ Πομπήιον τρόπαια; καὶ τοὺς τίς δεινότερος στρατηγὸς γέγονε, Δαρείος ἢ Πομπήιος; ποτέρῳ δὲ ἄνδρειστερὸν ἠκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὖν μαχιμώτατα τῶν Δαρείῳ πρότερον υπακούντων ἔθνων ἐν τῇ D Καρχηδόν μοίρα Πομπήιος εἴχεν ἐπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον ἐπάγονσαν ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄνδρειστατοὺς, Ἰταλοὺς, Ἰλλυριοὺς, Κελτοὺς. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἄρα τοῖς Γετικοῖς ἐργοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάτωτοις καθάρεσιν; οὕτως ἀπαξ ἐπεραιώθη τῶν Ἰστρον, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥήμων. Γερμανικοῖς οὖτο τὸ ἔμοι ἔργον: τούτῳ δὲ ἀντέστη μὲν
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.\textsuperscript{1} What other city, I ask, began with three thousand citizens and in less than six centuries carried her victorious arms to the ends of the earth? What other nations ever produced so many brave and warlike men or such lawgivers? What nation ever honoured the gods as they did? Observe then that, though I was born in a city so powerful and so illustrious, my achievements not only surpassed the men of my own day, but all the heroes who ever lived. As for my fellow-citizens I am confident that there is none who will challenge my superiority. But if Alexander here is so presumptuous, which of his deeds does he pretend to compare with mine? His Persian conquests, perhaps, as though he had never seen all those trophies that I gathered when I defeated Pompey! And pray, who was the more skilful general, Darius or Pompey? Which of them led the bravest troops? Pompey had in his army the most martial of the nations formerly subject to Darius,\textsuperscript{2} but he reckoned them no better than Carians,\textsuperscript{3} for he led also those European forces which had often repulsed all Asia when she invaded Europe, aye and he had the bravest of them all, Italians, Illyrians, and Celts. And since I have mentioned the Celts, shall we compare the exploits of Alexander against the Getae with my conquest of Gaul? He crossed the Danube once, I crossed the Rhine twice. The German conquest again is all my doing. No one opposed Alexander, but I had to

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1}{Cf. \textit{Oration} 1. 8 c.} \footnote{2}{Darius III.} \footnote{3}{Cf. \textit{Oration} 2. 58 c.}
\end{footnotes}
οὐδὲ εἰς, ἄγω πρὸς Ἀριστοτεν ἰγνωσάμην. 321 πρῶτος ἐτολμησά ταῦτα πλατανάνες τὴς ἐκτός 
θαλάσσης. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἵνα τὸ ἔργον οὐ θαυ-
μαστόν. καὶ τὴν τόλμαν καὶ ταύτην Ἀξίων 
θαυμάσας ἀλλὰ τὸ μείζον μου, τὸ ἀποβηνή 
τῆς νεώς πρῶτον καὶ τοὺς Ἐλβέτειους σιωπῶ καὶ τὸ 
τῶν Ἰβηριῶν ἔθνος. οὔδενάς ἔπει τῶν Γαλατικών 
ἐπεμνήσθην, πλείν 1 ἡ τριακοσία ὑπαγαγόμενος 
πόλεως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐκ ἔλάσσους ἡ διακοσίας 
μυράδας. ὅτων δὲ τούτων μοι τοιούτων ἔργων, 
ἐκεῖνο μείζον ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἔχρην γάρ Β 
μὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαγωνιζομένοις τοὺς πολῖτας 
καὶ κρατείν τῶν ἁμάχων καὶ ἀνικήτων τῶν 
Ῥωμαίων. εἰτε οὖν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξειν, τρίς 
τοσοτάκες παρεταξάμην, ὡσάκεις ὑπὲρ Ἀλέξαν-
δροῦ κομπάζουσιν οἱ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν σεμνο-
ποιοῦντες, εἰτε πλήθει πόλεως αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ 
τῆς Ἀσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰ 
πλείστα κατεστραφάμην. Ἀλέξανδρος Δαυίδων 
ἐπήλθε 2 λειψάνως, ἐγὼ δὲ συνάισθαι συγκροτῶν 
κατεπλήμμασα. τὴν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατήσας προα-
τητα βουλεύομαι ἐξετάζοι τὴν παρ' ἐκατέρω; ἐγὼ 
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίωσις συνέγγυοι ἔπαθον γούν 
αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐμέλησε τῇ Δίκη; δὲ πρὸς τοὺς 
πολεμίους οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. ἔτι οὖν 
Δ μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτεύων ἀμφισβητεῖν οἶλος τὸ ἔση; 
καὶ οὐκ αὐτῶθεν καὶ σὺ παραχωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν 
ἀλλών, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάσεις με λέγειν, ὅπως σὺ 
μὲν ἐχρήσει πικρῶς Θεναιοὶς, ἐγὼ δέ τοῖς Ἐλβέτειοις

1 πλείν Cobet, πλεῖν Hertlein, MSS.
2 ἐπήλθε Hertlein suggests, περιήλθε Cobet, περιήλθε 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.
ΤΟΙΑΣΤΑ ἐπίντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἐτι θυσιασμένον, μόνος καὶ πρότερον ὁ Ἀλεξανδρός καρτερᾶς οὐκέτι κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ταραχῶν καὶ ἀγωνίας, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ Θεό, μέχρι τῶν ἀνέξομαι σιωπῆ τῆς θρασύτητος τῆς τούτου; πέρας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστω, ὥσ ὀράτε, οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἑπαλών οὔτε τῶν εἰς ἔμε βλασφημῶν. ἔχρην δὲ ἔσως μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοῖν φείδεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἶναι πῶς ἀμφότερα δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῇ πλέον δὲ τοῦ τάμα διασύρειν ἄλλωσ τε καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον. ο δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἠλθεν ἀναισχυντικά, ὡστε τολμῆσαι ο τὰ ἀρχετύπα κωμῳδεῖν τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἔργων. ἔχρην δέ, ὁ Καίσαρ, ὑπομνησθήναι σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἥ τότε ἀφήκας, ἀκρούμενος τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ὅσα πεποίηται περί τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ’ ὁ Πομψῆς ἔπηρε σε μετὰ τούτῳ, κολακευθεῖς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, γενόμενος δὲ οὔδες οὐδαμοῦ, τὸ μὲν γὰρ Δ ἀπὸ Λεβύτης θριαμβεύσαι, οὐ μέγα ἔργον,

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

When Caesar had spoken to this effect he still wished to go on talking, but Alexander, who had with difficulty restrained himself hitherto, now lost patience, and with some agitation and combativeness: "But I," said he, "O Jupiter and ye other gods, how long must I endure in silence the insolence of this man? There is, as you see, no limit to his praise of himself or his abuse of me. It would have better become him perhaps to refrain from both, since both are alike insupportable, but especially from disparaging my conduct, the more since he imitated it. But he has arrived at such a pitch of impudence that he dares to ridicule the model of his own exploits. Nay, Caesar, you ought to have remembered those tears you shed on hearing of the monuments that had been consecrated to my glorious deeds. 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 ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄνδρας γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς χειρίστους τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλλοι μὲν κατειργάσαντο, Κράσσου καὶ Δούκιοι, τούνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑπιγραφὴν ἔσχε Πομπῆιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ταύτης κατεπολέμησε Δούκουλλος, ἐθριάμβευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων Πομπῆιος. εἰτ' ἐκολάκευσαν 323 αὐτὸν οἱ πολίται καὶ Μέγαν ἁνόμασαν, διότι τίνος τῶν πρὸς οὐσίαν μείζων; τί γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τοσοῦτον ἐπράξθη, ἤλθον Μαρίῳ ἡ Σκηπτώσε τοῖς δύο ἡ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κυρίων τουτούλ Φούριῳ, δὲ μικροῦ συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτου πόλιν ἀνέστησεν; οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως ἔργοις ὁσπερ ἐν πολιτικαῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ’ ἀλλων καταβληθείσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθείσαις ἔτε. Βρος ἄρχων ἑπεγράφῃ μικρὰ κοινάσας τὸν τοῖχον, οὗτω ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἑπεγράφησαν πράξεσιν ἀρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημιουργοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν καλλίστων ἥξιώθησαν ἀνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ κεκράτηκας Πομπῆιον δακτύλῳ κυνωμένου καὶ τάλλα ἀλώκεκος μᾶλλον ἡ 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢ τὸ χῆρ προῦδακεν, ἢ τὸν ἐμπροσθὲν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρειστήκει, ταχέως ἐκράτησας μόνου. καὶ ὦτε διευότητι μὲν οὐδεμιὰ κρέαττων ἔγενος, φανερὸν καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνδείᾳ γεγονός τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ μικρὸν, ὡς οἰσθα, τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ καὶ μάχη συμβαλὼν ἠττήθη. εἰ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπ’ ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἄρχειν οὔτε, ἥνικα ἔδει τρίβειν τῶν πόλεμων, ὑπερετθέντο τὴν μάχην οὔτε τῇ μικρῆς μικῶν ἐπεξέργει, ὡτὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ οὕτω ὑπὸ τοὺς σοῖς ἐσφάλμα στρατηγήμασι. Ὁ

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως παρεσκευασμένοι προς τὴν ἠμέτραν ἀλκῆν ἐνέδοσαν. ἐπεί δὲ οὐ τοῦ πράττειν ἀπλῶς, ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ τὸ δίκαιον πράττειν ἄνδρα ἁριστόν καὶ βασιλέα προσήκει μεταποιεῖθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπήγησα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνικοὺς πολέμους ἐπανειλόμην, οὕτῳ τῇ Ἐλλάδα λυπεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κω- λύοντάς με διαβαλλεῖν καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτεῖν τῶν Πέρσην ἐπικόπτων. οὐ δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ 324 Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν σεαυτὸν παρασκευαζόμενος, οὐ τί γένοιτʼ ἀν χείρον ἢ μειρώτερον; ἐπεί δὲ ὀστερὶ διασώρων τῶν μυρίων ἐμνημονεύσας Γραικῶν, ὁτε μὲν καὶ ύμεῖς ἔντεθεν γεγονατε καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ὥσπερ οἱ Γραικοὶ, καὶ πέτερ εἰδὼς ὅμως οὐ παραδέχομαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὅλην ἔθνος, Λατιλούς

1 γεγονός Petavins, Naber, γέγονας Hertlein, MSS.
2 τῇ μικρῷ before μικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. Oration i, 59 n.
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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 insincerely to 'ten thousand Greeks,' I am aware that you Romans are yourselves descended from the Greeks, and that the greater part of Italy was colonised by Greeks; however on that fact I do not insist. But at any rate did not you Romans think it very important to have

\(^1\) At Dyrrhachium; Plutarch, Julius Caesar.
\(^2\) An echo of Plutarch, Apophthegmata 206 C.

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λέγω τοὺς παροικοῦντας ἡμῖν, οὐ φίλους μὲν Β ἥχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποιήσασθε περὶ πολλοῦ, πολεμοῦμέντας δὲ ύμῶν ὑστερον δὴ ἀσδήπτοτε αὐτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὑπακούειν ύμῶν ἡμαγκάσατε; οὐ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ οὐδὲ πάσης, ἄλλ’ ἐθνώς μικροῦ, ἡμίκα ἠκμαζέ το ‘Ἑλληνικόν, οὐδ’ ὅτι ἄρτι γεγνησκομένου, μικροῦ δέω φιάναι, μόνης ἄρεσαντες, τίνες ἂν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμᾶζοντας ζε καὶ ὀμονοοῦντας τοὺς ‘Ἑλληνας πολεμεῖν ύμᾶς ἔδεισον; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρου διαβάντος ἐφ’ ύμᾶς ἵστε ὅπως ἐπτίθησατε. εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κράτησαι μικρὸν νομίζεις καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον διασύρεις, ὀλίγης πάνιν τής ὑπὲρ τῶν Τύχηται ποταμῶν ὑπὸ Παρθυνάων βασιλευμένης χώρας, ἐτή πλεον ἡ τρικόστεια πολεμοῦντες, λέγε μοι, δε’ ἂν αἰτίαιν οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; βούλεις σοι φράσω; τὰ Περσῶν δ ύμᾶς εἰρήξε βελη. φρασάτω δὲ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀντώνιος Ῥο παιδοτριβῆθεις ἐπὶ στρατηγία παρά σοι. ἑγὼ δὲ ἐν οὐδὲ δλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς δέκα πρὸς τοῦτοι καὶ Ἰνδῶν γέγονα κύριος. εἰτ’ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, ὅτι ἐκ παιδαρίου στρατηγῶν ἔργα ἐπτραξα τηλικάδα, ἄστε τῆν μνήμην, καίπερ οὐκ ἄξιος ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ἴμμηθέντων, ὅμως συμπαραμένει τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325 τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τοῦμοι βασιλέως, οὐθεράτων ἐγὼ καὶ ἤλωτής ἐγενόμην, Ἀχίλλει μὲν ἀμελ- λώμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, Πρακλέα δὲ θαυμαζόν καὶ ἐπόμενος, ὥτε ὅ θαυμάζων θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος.

1 Ἀντώνιος Cobet rejects, since Julian prefers to substitute descriptive phrases for names.
2 ὅμως Cobet, ὅμως ὑ Hertlein, MSS.
as friends and allies one insignificant tribe of those very Greeks, I mean the Aetolians, my neighbours? And later, when you had gone to war with them for whatever reason, did you not have great trouble in making them obey you? Well then, if in the old age, as one may say, of Greece, you were barely able to reduce not the whole nation but an insignificant state which was hardly heard of when Greece was in her prime, what would have happened to you if you had had to contend against the Greeks when they were in full vigour and united? You know how cowed you were when Pyrrhus crossed to invade you. And if you think the conquest of Persia such a trifle and disparage an achievement so glorious, tell me why, after a war of more than three hundred years, you Romans have never conquered a small province beyond the Tigris which is still governed by the Parthians? Shall I tell you why? It was the arrows of the Persians that checked you. Ask Antony to give you an account of them, since he was trained for war by you. I, on the other hand, in less than ten years conquered not only Persia but India too. After that do you dare to dispute the prize with me, who from childhood have commanded armies, whose exploits have been so glorious that the memory of them—though they have not been worthily recounted by historians—will nevertheless live for ever, like those of the Invincible Hero,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.
"Οσα μὲν οὖν ἔχριν, ὁ θεός, πρὸς τούτον ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ τοὺς κρεῖττον ἢν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ εἰρηται. εἰ δὲ τι πικρὸν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν Β. ἐπράξῃ, οὔτε παντάπασιν εἰς ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἡ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς προσκρούσατας ἢ τῷ καιρῷ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ πρεπόντως χρησαμένους, ἢκολούθησε γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἔξαμαρτσθῆσιν ἢ μεταμέλεια, σώφρων πάνω καὶ τῶν ἐξαμαρτηκότων σώτειρα δαίμονον, τοὺς δὲ ὅσπερ φιλοτιμομένους ἐπὶ θεῖο τῷ πολλάκις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ προσκρούειν οὐδὲν ἕμην ἀδικον ποιεῖν κολάζων.

'Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήτο καὶ τούτῳ στρατιωτικῶτερον ὁ λόγος, ἐπὶ τὸν 'Οκταβιανὸν τὴν ύδραν ἐφερεν ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος θεράπων, ἐπιμετρῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑδάτος ἔλασσον διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μνησικακῶν αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεοῦ ὑπερηφανείας. καὶ δὲ ἐπειδὴ συνήκεν ὑπὸ Ἀχιμνολάς, Δ. ἀφεῖς τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Ἕγει δὲ, εἰπεν, ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ θεὸς, τοῦ διασύρειν μὲν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἄργα καὶ μεκρὰ ποιεῖν ἀφέξομαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τὸν πάντα ποιήσομαι λόγου. νέος προὔστην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πόλεως ὅσπερ οὕτωσος ὁ γενναῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, κατάγομαι δὲ Γερμανικῶς πολέμους ὅσπερ ὁ ἔμος πατὴρ οὕτως Καίσαρ. 326 συμπλακαίες δὲ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀγώστεν Ἀγριππόν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον κατεναυμάχησα, Βρούτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους κατεπολεμήσα, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα Σέξτου πάρεργον.
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"Thus much, ye gods, I was bound to say in my own defence against this man; though indeed it would have been better to ignore him. And if some things I did seemed cruel, I never was so to the innocent, but only to those who had often and in many ways thwarted me and had made no proper or fitting use of their opportunities. And even my offences against these, which were due to the emergency of the time, were followed by Remorse, that very wise and divine preserver of men who have erred. As for those whose ambition it was to show their enmity continually and to thwart me, I considered that I was justified in chastising them."

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

1 Suetonius, Augustus 16; during the campaign against Pompey when the fleet of Augustus was lost in a storm, he swore that he would win in spite of Neptune.
2 Augustus was Julius Caesar's nephew, and his son only by adoption.
ἔθεμην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας. οὕτω δὲ παρέσχον ἐμαυτόν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροῆθη, ὡστε καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναδόρου παρρησίας ἴνεσχόμην, οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐφραεινύμνον ἐπὶ αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα Βικαθάπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδούμενος. "Ἀρείου δὲ καὶ φίλον καὶ συμβιωτὴν ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ δλωσ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὑψι, ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀμαρτηθέν. ὡστε δὲ τῶν ἐμφυλίων στάσεων τῆς Ρώμης ὅρων εἰς τὸν ἄγχατον ἐλαύνουσαν πολλάκις κίνδυνον οὕτω διετέθην τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς, ὡστε εἰναι, εἰ μὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὡς θεοί, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντίνην. οὐ γὰρ τὰς ἀμέτρους ἐπιθυμίας εἰκόνων ἐπικτάσθαι πάντως αὐτῇ διενοχθῆν, ὅρια δὲ διετά, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα. Ἰστρον καὶ Βυρφάτην ποταμοὺς ἔθεμην. εἰτα ὑποτάξας τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρακῶν ἔθνος, ἐπεμετρούντων ύμῶν τῆς βασιλείας μοι τῶν χρόνων, οὐ πόλεμον ἄλλοιν ἐξ ἄλλου περισσότερον, ἀλλὰ εἰς νομοθεσίαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανάρθησον τὴν σχολὴν διετιθήμην, οὐδὲνος νομίζων τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ χείρον βεβουλεῦσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ χρῆ θαρρήσαντα φάναι, κρείσσου τῶν πᾶσιν τῆς τοιεκατάς ἴγγεμονις ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς στρατηγίας ἐνάπέθανον, εἴδον λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζειν καὶ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων ἑαυτοῖς, ὡσπερ οἱ φιλοπράγμονος δίκας κατασκευάζοντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ πολεμούμενοι τῇ τρυφῇ 327 προσέλθουν, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τῆς

1 τὸν Hertlein would add.
2 ἀποδεδειγμένα Cobet, ἀποδεδειγμένα 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. Arcius² I counted my friend and close companion, and in short I was never guilty of any offence against philosophy. But since I saw that more than once Rome had been brought to the verge of ruin by internal quarrels, I so administered her affairs as to make her strong as adamant for all time, unless indeed, O ye gods, you will otherwise. For I did not give way to boundless ambition and aim at enlarging her empire at all costs, but assigned for it two boundaries defined as it were by nature herself, the Danube and the Euphrates. Then after conquering the Scythians and Thracians I did not employ the long reign that you gods vouchsafed me in making projects for war after war, but devoted my leisure to legislation and to reforming the evils that war had caused. For in this I thought that I was no less well advised than my predecessors, or rather, if I may make bold to say so, I was better advised than any who have ever administered so great an empire. For some of these, when they might have remained quiet and not taken the field, kept making one war an excuse for the next, like quarrelsome people and their lawsuits; and so they perished in their campaigns. Others when they had a war on their hands gave themselves up to indulgence,

¹ A Stoic philosopher; cf. pseudo-Lucian, Lony Lives 21. 23; Suetonius, Augustus; Dio Chrysostom 33. 48.
² Letter 51. 434 A; Letter to Themistius 265 c; Themistius 63 b.
αἰσχρὰν τρυφὴν προτιμῶντες, ἄλλα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοούμενος οὐκ ἀξιώ τῆς χείρονος ἐμαυτὸν μερίδος· ὦ, τι δὲ ἂν ύμῖν, ὦ θεοί, φαίνεται, τούτο εἰκός ἐστιν ἐμὲ δὴ πουθεν στέργειν.

Δίδοται μετὰ τούτον τῷ Τραϊανῷ τοῦ λέγειν ἐξουσία. ὦ δέ, καίπερ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὑπὸ μαθημάτων ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰδέθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Β. Σούρῳ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἡ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῦς τὸ τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ἦτιάτο δὲ τὸ γήρας ὡς οὖν ἐπιτρέφαν αὐτῷ τοῖς Παρθικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς, Ἀλλ′, ὁ μάταιε, ἔφη, εἶκοσι βεβαιλευκάς ἦτη, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὕτως δῶθεκα. τί οὖν ἀφεῖς αἰτιάσθαι τὴν σαυτοῦ τρυφὴν τὴν τοῦ χρόνου μέμφη στενότητα; παροξυνθεῖς οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκώμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν Ο ἔξω τοῦ δύνασθαι ῥητορεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλοποσίας ἀμβλυτέρος ἀυτοῦ πολλάκις ἦν. Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰπεν, ὁ Zeu καὶ θεοῖ, τὴν ἄρχην παραλαβῶν ναρκῶσαν ὅσπερ καὶ διαλειμμένην ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὀικείης πολὺν χρόνον ἐπικρατησάσης τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὑβρεώς, μόνος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰστρων Δ ἐτόλμησα προσλαβεῖν ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἐξεῖλον, οὐ τῶν πόσποτο μαχημότατοι γεγόνασιν, οὕτω ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σῶματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄν ἐπεισὲν αὐτοὺς ὁ τεμιώμενος παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ζάμολξις. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθηνόσκειν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι νομίζοντες ἐποιμότερον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοι τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἐπράξθη δὲ μοι τὸ  

1 Ἀλλαί Reiske adda.
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 Zeas 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 Zamoixis. 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. 309c, Oration 8. 244 a and note.
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ἐργον τούτο ἐν ἐναυτοῖς ἠσως που πέντε. πάντων δὲ ὀτὲ τῶν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ γεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328 ὁφθην τοῖς υπηκόοις προφάτατος καὶ οὕτε Καῖσαρ αὐτοσί περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσειν ἢν μοι οὕτ' ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἰς, εὐδηλῶν ἐστι που. πρὸς Παρθανάους δὲ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ Ἰμύνθε δὲν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀπλοῖς: ἀδικοῦσι δὲ ἐπεξήλθον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας καλυθείς, καὶ τοι ἐδὸντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μὴ στρατεύονται. τούτων δὴ τοιούτων οὕτως, ἢρ' οὐχὶ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι Β πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμὶ δίκαιος, πρῶς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς υπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους διαφερόντως γενόμενος, αἰδεσθείς δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐγγονον 2 φιλοσοφίας; τοιαῦτα ὁ Τραίανος εἰπὼν ἔδοκε τῇ προφῆτῃ πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δῆλοι πως ἦσαν τι θεοὶ μάλιστα ἡσθέντες ἐπὶ τούτως.

Τού Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἡρέμα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, Ὁκούσωμεν, ἥψι, τοῦ Στοικοῦ τουτού, τὶ ποτε ἄρα τῶν παραδόξων ἐκείσθων ἐρεί καὶ τερατῶν δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, 'Αλλ' ἐμοιγε, εἰπὲν, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ θεός, λόγων οὐδὲν δεῖ καὶ ἀγώνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοεῖτε τιμά, προσήκον ἢν ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστε καὶ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδὲν, αὐτοὶ μοι τιμᾶτε τῆς Δ ἠξίας. ἔδοξε δὴ οὖν ὁ Μάρκος τά τε ἄλλα

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

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

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

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

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."
θαυμάσιος τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφερόντως ἂτε ὦμαι διαγινώσκον,

Λέγειν θ' ὧποι χρή καὶ συγάν ὧποι καλὸν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετὰ τοῦτον λέγειν ἐπέ-
τρεπον. ο δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐθάρρει τὴν ἁγιωτίαν,
ὡς δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα, μικρά
παντάπασιν εἶδε τὰ ἕαυτον. δύο γὰρ τυράννους, 329
εἰς χρῆ τάληθος φάναι, καθήκηκε, τὸν μὲν
ἀπόλεμον τε καὶ μαλακόν, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον τε καὶ
dιὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆ, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ θεοῦ τε καὶ
ἀνθρώπου ἐχθρίστως. τὰ γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους ἢν γελοία αὐτῷ φόρους γὰρ ὡσπερ
ἐτετελέκει, 2 καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τρυφὴν ἀφεώρα: πόρρω
δὲ εἰστήκει τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆσι περὶ τὰ πρόδια τῆς
Σελήνης ἐρωτικῶς τε σὺν εἰχέν αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅλος
πρὸς ἐκείνην βλέπον οὐδὲν ἐμελεῖν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς
Βίβλους. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχριθν καὶ αὐτὸν εἴπειν τι, Ταύτη
τοῦτον κρείττον, ἐφὴ, εἰμί, τοῦ Μακεδόνος μὲν,
ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυ-
θικὰ γένη καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς βαρ-
βάρους ἐγνωσάμην, Καίσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὀκτα-
βιανοῦ τῷ μή, καθάπερ οὕτως, πρὸς καλοὺς
κακαθὸς πολίτας στασίασαι, τοῖς μιαρωτάτοις
δὲ καὶ πονηρότατοις τῶν τυράννων ἐπεξελθεῖν.
Τραίανοῦ δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀνδρα-
γαθήμασιν εἰκότως ἂν προτειμηθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἢν
οὕτως προσεκτήσατο χώρων ἀναλαβεῖν ἵσος ἂν
οὐκ ἀπεικότως νομιζώμην, εἰ μὴ καὶ μεῖζὸν ἔστι

1 ἀσθενῆ Sylburg add.
2 After ἐτετελέκει Cobet suspects that several words are lost.
3 vieni Cobet, MSS, Mças 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 Nauk.
² Maxentius.
³ Licinius.
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to áνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτήσασθαι. Μάρκος δὲ οὕτως σιωπῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσην ἡμῖν τῶν πρωτείων ἔξισταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡ' ΑΛΛ' ἡ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ὁς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ὁ Κωνσταντῖνε, σεαυτοῦ προφέρεις; τί δὲ, εἶπεν, εἰςὶν οὐς λέγεις Ἀδώνιδος κήπους; οὐς αἰ γυναῖκες, ἔφη, ὁ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν ὀστρακίως ἐπαρμησάμεναι γῆν λαχανίαν, χλοῆσαντα δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ὅλγον αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἡρεμρίασεν, ἀντικρυς ἐπεγυνός τοιοῦτον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργου.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν δόκεσαν περιμένειν, διὸς θέσονται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων οἱ θεοὶ ψήφουν οἱ δ' φῶντο δεῖν τὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τοῦμ-φανὲς τῶν ἄνδρῶν προάγειν καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν ἐπεραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ὡς Η Τύχη μετεποιεῖτο τὸ πλείστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρειστήκει πλὴν ὁκταβιανοῦ μόνου. τοῦτον δὲ εὐφρόνου πρὸς ἐαυτῆν εἶναι ἐλέγει. ἐδοξέαν οὖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψει καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμή, καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ πρᾶτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πυθέασθαι, τῷ Βορίδειε κάλλιστον καὶ πρὸς τί βλέπων ἐργάζατο καὶ πάθοι πάντα ὀσαπερ δεδράκοι τε καὶ πεπόθοι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Τὸ πάντα νικάν. εἶτα, εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμής, οἶαι σοι τοῦτο πεποίησας; καὶ μᾶλα, ἔφη ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος. ὁ δὲ Σειληνὸς τοθα- στικῶς μᾶλα γελάσας, Ἡ' ἈΛΛ' ἐκράτουν γε σου πολλάκις αἱ ἡμετεραὶ θυγατέρες, αἰττομένος ταῖς ἀμπέλοις, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου οἶα δὴ τίνα μέθυσον Ὁ

2 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 ¹ 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.
καὶ φίλοινων σκόπτων. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀτε δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακουσμάτων. Οὐ τὰ ἄψυχα, ἔφη, νικᾶν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄγων ἦμιν ἐστὶ πρὸς ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ πάν μὲν ἄνθρωπως, πάν δὲ θηρίων γένος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός ἀσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες εἰρωνικῶς μᾶλλον Ἰού, Ἰού, ἔφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν Δ κυκλώνων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦμιν ἐν ποτέρρο σαυτόν θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἄψυχων ἢ τῶν ἐμψυχῶν τε καὶ ζώων καὶ ωσπερ ἀγανακτήσας, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θεὸς γενόμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ εἶν, ἐπεπείσμην. Αὐτὸς οὖν, εἶπεν, ἡττήθης σεαυτοῦ πολλάκις. Ἠλλ' αὐτὸν ἐαυτοῦ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἠττᾶσθαι ὀμωρύμως λέγεται· ἔμοι δὲ ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς 331 ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βαβαί τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἶπεν, ὅπως ἦμιν τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεις. Ἠλλ' ἡμίκα, εἶπεν, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐτράβης καὶ ὁ Πευκέστης ἐκεῖτι παρὰ σέ, σὺ δὲ ἐξήγησεν ψυχορραγῶν τῆς πόλεως, ἀρὰ ᾑττῶν ἤσθα τοῦ πρώσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐνίκησ· Οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξεπόρθησα τῇ πόλει. Οὔ συ γε, εἶπεν, ὁ μακάριος· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσο κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν "Εκτορὰ ὀλεγοδρανέων καὶ ψυχορραγῶν" οἱ δὲ Β ἠγωνίζοντο καὶ ἐνίκησον. Ἡγουμένων γ' ἠμῶν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Πῶς; οὐ γε 400
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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 Peucestes 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

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1 At the storming of the capital of the Mallians, probably the modern city Multan, in 320 B.C., cf. Plutarch, Alexander; Lucian, Dialogues of the Dead. 14.
2 Peucestes was wounded but saved Alexander's life; Pliny 34. 8.
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ἐφέρεσθε μικροῦ νεκροῦ; εἶτα ἦδε τῶν ἐξ Εὐριπίδου

Ὁίμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται, "Ὅταν τρόπαιον πολεμίων στήσῃ στρατός.

καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ὁ παππίδιον,
touaīta λέγων, μή σε οὕτως ὄστεα τὸν Κλεύτον Σ
ἐργάσῃται. 1 καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθριάσας τε ἄμα καὶ ὃσπερ συγχωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ
δρματα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὃδε μὲν ὃδε ἔληξεν ὁ λόγος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἕρμης ἤρετο πάλιν τὸν Καίσαρα, Σοὶ δὲ,
εἶπεν, ὁ Καίσαρ, τίς ἐγένετο σκοπὸς τοῦ βίου;
Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἐφι, τής ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μήτε Ἕρμης ἀσαφεῖς ἐστιν πότερον γάρ, εἰπέ, 3 κατὰ
σοφίαν ἢ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινοτήτα ἢ πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν;

Ἡν μὲν οὖν, ἐφὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, ἢδυ μοι τῶν πάντων ἐν πᾶσιν
εἶναι πρῶτων τούτων δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος ὑπετυχεῖν τὸ
dύνασθαι μέγιστον παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ; πολῖταις
ἐξήλωσα. Σὺ δὲ, εἶπεν, ἑυμνήθης μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν 332
ὁ Σειληρός. καὶ ὃς, Πάνω γε, ἐφὶ κύριος γούν
αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, εἶπεν, ἑυμνήθης,
ἀναπηθήναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἷς οἴδο σε ἐγένειαν,
καὶ ταῦτα πολλὰ μὲν ὑποκρινόμενος ὅσπερ ἐν δραματε ἐκ
σκηνῆς πολιανθρώπιαν,

1 τὸν Κλεύτον ἤρασεν ἐργάσῃ MSS.; Hertlein suggests
omission of ἤρασεν.
2 μήτε εἴναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι Hertlein suggests, εἴτε μήτε
νομίζεσθαι MSS.
3 εἴτε Hertlein suggests; cf. 333 π, εἴτε MSS.
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recited the passage in Euripides¹ 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.
ξαντὸς Βρούτου καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἐπειδή σε ἀπέκτειναν, ἔφη· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ δήμος ἐξηφίσατο εἶναι ὑπάτους· ἄλλα διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μυσθῶν ἑώρων τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτοῖς ὦτοι τὸν τυχόντα προσεγγισαμένον.

Διὰ εἰς ἔκας δὲ καὶ τούδε τού λόγου, τὸν Ὀκτα-βιανὸν αὐθεὶς ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐκίνει. Σὺ δὲ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἔρεις ἡμῖν, τὶ κάλλιστον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι; καὶ δὲς, Βασιλεύσαι, ἔφη, καλῶς. Τί δὲ ἔστι τὸ καλῶς, ὁ Σεβαστὲ, φράσον, ἐπει τούτῳ γε ἔστε καὶ τοῖς πολιτοάστοις λέγειν. φηστο γαρ καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασιλεύειν καὶ ὁ τούτου μιαρώτερος Ἀγαθοκλῆς. Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστε, εἶπεν, ὁ θεοὶ, ὡς προτέρων δὸν θυγατριδοθν θυξάμην ὑμῖν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καίσαρος, δεινότητα δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, τήχην δὲ τὴν ἑμῖν. Πολλὰ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, καὶ θεῶν ὅντως σωτήρων ἔργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὕτως ὁ κοροπλάθος. Εἶτα διὰ τὸ τούτῳ, ἔφη, τὸ ὅνομά μοι γελοίον οὕτως ἔθους; Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπλαττες ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, δισμερείς καὶ τὰς νύμφας, ὁ Σεβαστὲ, θεοὺς, ὃν ἐνα καὶ πρῶτον τούτου Καίσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκταβιανὸς δισμερ ὀνοσ-333 ωποὺμενος ἀπεσιώπησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν Βλάψας, Σὺ δὲ, εἶπε, τὶ διανοούμενος ἔπραττες δισμερ ἐπρα-ξας; Τῶν αὐτῶν Ὁλεξάνδρῳ σωφρονόστερον,
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they punished Brutus and Cassius!" "That was not for murdering you," replied Silenus, "since for that they elected them consuls! No, it was because of the money you left them. When they had heard your will read they perceived what a fine reward was offered them in it for such resentment of your murder."

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

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

1 This is not according to history. The Senate gave Brutus and Cassius proconsular power in their provinces.
2 Tyrant of Syracuse 406–367 B.C.
3 Tyrant of Syracuse 317–289 B.C. 4 Caius Caesar.
5 Julian refers to the custom of deifying the Emperors.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

eipten, ὀρέχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡττήθης μὲν οὖν, εἴπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἄγγελων τῶν, ὁ μὲν γὰρ θυμὸν τὸ πλείστον ἠττῶν ἦν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχρὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπονειδίστως. Βάλλ᾽ εἰς μακρίαν, Ἐφέπευ ὁ Διώνυσος, ἐπεὶ σκόπτεις σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγεις. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνων εἰχὲ σοι χώραν τὰ σκώμματα πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅπως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου. δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι μοι πῶς ἄνῃρ κατὰ τὸν Σειληνὸν τετράγωνον ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον. ὁ Ἑρμῆς δὲ βλέψας εἰς τὸν Μάρκον, Σοὶ δὲ, εἴπεν, ὃ Βήρη, τί κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τού βίου τέλος εἶναι; καὶ ὃς ἠρέμα καὶ σωφρόνως; Τὸ μυμεῖται, Ο ἐφή, τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐδοξεὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἡ ἀπόκρισις οὐκ ἁγιανής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Παῦλου ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυπραγμονίν, πεπεισμένος ὅτι πάντα τοῦ Μάρκου ἀκολούθως ἔρει. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδόκει ταύτην μόνον δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνεξομαί τούτοι τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. "τὶ δὴ ποτε γὰρ ἡσθεῖς, εἰπέ," καὶ ἔπινες οὖν ὀσπέρ ἡμεῖς ἀμύρβοσιας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἀρτου δὲ καὶ οἶνον; Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώγε, εἴπεν, οὐκ ἤπερ οὖν ἡμῖν τοὺς θεοὺς μυμεῖσθαι, ταύτην προσεφέρομην συμία καὶ ποτά τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἐπέφευ, Ἰσως μὲν ψευδῶς, πειθόμενος δὲ, ὅτε καὶ τὰ υμέτερα σώματα δεῖται τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμάσσειν τροφῆς. πλὴν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά γε ὑμᾶς εἶναι μιμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπέλαβον. ὃξιον ὁ Σειληνὸς διαπορήσας3 334

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, εἰς MSS. καὶ before εὐς Cobet adds. 2 εἰσὶ Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 εὐς εἰς MSS.
3 διαπορήσας Reiske suggests to complete the construction.

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as Alexander's, but I acted with more prudence." "Nay," said Silenus, "you were the slave of more ignoble passions. Anger was nearly always his weak point, but yours was pleasure of the vilest and most infamous sort." "Plague take you!" exclaimed Dionysus, "You keep railing at them all and you don't let them say a word for themselves. However, in their case there was some ground for your sarcasms, but now consider well what you can find to criticise in Marcus. For in my opinion he is a man, to quote Simonides, 'four-square and made without a flaw.'"¹ Then Hermes addressed Marcus and said, "And you, Verus, what did you think the noblest ambition in life?" In a low voice he answered modestly, "To imitate the gods." This answer they at once agreed was highly noble and in fact the best possible. And even Hermes did not wish to cross-examine him further, since he was convinced that Marcus would answer every question equally well. The other gods were of the same mind; only Silenus cried "By Dionysus I shall not let this sophist off so easily. Why then did you eat bread and drink wine and not ambrosia and nectar like us?" "Nay," he replied, "it was not in the fashion of my meat and drink that I thought to imitate the gods. But I nourished my body because I believed, though perhaps falsely, that even your bodies require to be nourished by the fumes of sacrifice. Not that I supposed I ought to imitate you in that respect, but rather your minds." For the moment Silenus was at a loss as though he

¹ Simonides fr. 5 Bergk.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ώστερ ὧπο πῦκτον δεξιοῦ πληγεῖς, Εἰρηται μὲν σοι τοῦτο, εἶπε, τυχῶν οὐκ ἄτόπως, ἐμοὶ δὲ, ἐφη, φράσων, τί ποτε ἐνόμισε εἶναι τὴν τῶν θεῶν μέρησιν; καὶ ὦς, Δείσθαι μὲν ὡς ἔλαχιστον, εὖ ποιεῖν δὲ ὡς ὦ, τι μᾶλλον πλείστους. Μᾶν οὖν, εἰπεν, οὐδενὸς ἔδεω; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδενός, ἔσως δὲ τὸ σωμάτιον μου μικρὸν. δόξαντος οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅρθως εἰρηκέναι τοῦ Μάρκου, Β τὸ τέλος ἀπορούμενος ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπιφύεται τοῖς περὶ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τὴν γαμητὴν αὐτῷ δοκούσιν οὖν ὁρθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ λόγου πεποιῆσαί, τὴν μὲν ὅτι ταῖς ἥρωιναι ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἐμμησάμην, εἶπε, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τούς θεούς- Ὑμῆρον μὲν γὰρ ἐπειθόμην λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμήτης, ὅτι ἀρα, δότες ἀγαθὸς ζειερεύνησαν ταῖς ἐκεῖναις λέξεις καὶ κηδεταί περὶ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόφασιν ἐχω- αίτιομενος γὰρ τὸν "Ἀρεά, Πάλαι εὖ, εἶπεν, ἡβέβλησο τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ παιδά σε εἶναι ἡγάπων. ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲ ὅμην εὖ τὸν παιδα πουηρὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ νεότης ἐφ' ἐκατέρα μεγάλας ποιομένης ῥοπᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἦνέχθη, οὐχὶ πονηρὸ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψα, συννέχθη δὲ τῶν λαβόντα πουηρὸν γενέσθαι. τὰ τε οὖν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποιήσατο Ὁ μοι κατὰ ξῆλον Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν παιδῶν κατὰ μέμησιν τοῦ μεγίστου Δείος, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲν κανονομός. παισὶ τε γὰρ νόμον ἐπιτρέπει τὰς διαδοχὰς, καὶ 408
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had been hit by a good boxer, 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,' while as to my son I can quote the excuse of Zeus himself when he is rebuking Ares: 'Long ago,' he says, 'I should have smitten thee with a thunderbolt, had I not loved thee because thou art my son.' Besides, I never thought my son would prove so wicked. Youth ever vacillates between the extremes of vice and virtue, and if in the end he inclined to vice, still he was not vicious when I entrusted the empire to him; it was only after receiving it that he became corrupted. Therefore my behaviour to my wife was modelled on that of the divine Achilles, and that to my son was in imitation of supreme Zeus. Moreover, in neither case did I introduce any novelty. It is the custom to hand down the succession to a man’s sons, and all men desire to do so; as

1 Plato, Protagoras 330 εἰς Ἀθην. 2 Iliad 9, 343. 3 A paraphrase of Iliad 5, 897.
τούτο ἀπαντεῖ εὐχονται, τήν τε γαμητὴν οὐκ ἔγω πρώτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐτέμησα. ἦσος δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀρξασθαί τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν εὐλογον, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γενόμενον τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἐγχύσαι ἄδικλας. ἀλλ’ ἔλαθον ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ μακρότερα ἀπολογοῦμενος πρὸς εἰδότας υμᾶς, ὁ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ. διόπερ μοι τῆς προπετείας ταυτησὶ συγγραμμοῖς γένοισθε.

Παυσαμένου δὲ καὶ τούδε τού λόγου, τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο, Σὺ δὲ τί καλὸν θέλεις; Πολλά, εἴπε, κτησάμενον πολλὰ χαρίσασθαι, ταῖς τ᾽ ἐπιθυμῶσις ταῖς έαυτοῦ καὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων ὑπορρογῆται. ἀνακαγχάσας οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς μέγα, 'Ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τραπεζῆς εἶναι, ἐφ᾽, θέλων ἔλεξεῖς σεαυτὸν ὃφοποιον καὶ κομματρίας βίον ζῶν; 1 ἡμίτοτο δ᾽ αὐτὰ πάλαι μὲν ἢ τε κόμη τὶ τε εἴδος, ἀτὰρ νῦν καὶ ἡ γνώμη σου κατηγορεῖ. τούτου μὲν οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς πικρώτερόν πως καθήγατο.

Σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἐφερον οἱ θεοὶ λάβρα τὰς ψήφους. εἶτα ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ. κοινολογησάμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεῦς ιδία πρὸς τὸν πατέρα προσέταξε κηρύξαι τῷ Ἑρμῆ. ὁ δὲ ἐκήρυττεν, ὁ Ἀνδρες οἱ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἀγώνων, νόμοι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν εἰσὶ καὶ κρίσεις τοιαύται γίνονται, ὅστε καὶ τὸν νικῶτα χαίρειν καὶ τὸν ἢττώμενον μὴ μέμφεσθαι. πορεύεσθε οὖν, εἴπεν, ὅτι φίλοι ἐκάστῳ, ὁπόθεν θεοὶ ἡγεμόνες βιωσόμενοι διὸ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἔλθει, διὰ ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν. καὶ τῶν προστάτων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα, μετὰ τοῦ κήρυγμα

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

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

Then silence was proclaimed and the gods cast a secret ballot. It turned out that Marcus had most of the votes. After conferring apart with his father,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.
τούτο ο μὲν 'Αλέξανδρος ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ὁκταβιανὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀπρίξ εἶχεν τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου Μάρκος. πλακόμενον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν Καλαρά κατελεύσας ὁ μέγας Ἀρης ἢ τε Ἀφροδίτη παρ’ ἑαυτόὺς ἐκαλεσάτην. Τραῖνὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον ἔθει ὁς ἐκεῖνο συγκαθ- εδούμενος. ο δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, οὐχ εὐρίσκων 336 ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἔγνωθεν τὴν Τρυφὴν κατιδὼν ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτὴν· ἢ δὲ ὑπολα- βοῦσα μαλακοῦς καὶ περιβαλόντα τοὺς πήχει φέπλους τε αὐτὸν ποικίλος ἀσκησάσα καὶ καλ- λωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν 'Ἀσσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐρὸν ἀναστρέφομεν καὶ προωγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, "Ὄστις φθορεῖς, ὡστε μαιφόνος, ὡστε ἐναγής καὶ βδελύρος, ἐστὶν θαρρῶς· Β ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τοπὸ χρῆι λούσας αὐτίκα καθαρόν, κἂν πάλιν ἐνοχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δόσω το στήθος πλήξαντε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντε καθαρῷ γενέσθαι," σφόδρα ἁμενος ἐνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, συνεξαγαγὼν τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀγορᾶς τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπετρίβοι δ’ αὐτὸν τε κάκεινος οὐχ ἦπτον τῆς ἄθεότητος οἱ πα- λαμναῖοι δαίμονες, ἀμάτοις συγγενῶν τινῶν μένοι δίκαι, ἔσος ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Κων- στάντιον ἔδωκεν ἀναπνεύσαι.
THE CAESARS

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

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

Σοὶ δὲ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ερμῆς, δέδωκα τὸν Οὐοτέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγνώσαι σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἔχου, πείσμα καὶ ὅρμον ἀσφαλῆ ζῶντι τε σεαυτῷ παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν ἐνθένδε ἀπέναντί ἔχῃ, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα θεῶν εὐμενῆ καθιστάς σεαυτῷ.
"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.\footnote{Libanius, Oration 20, 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.} 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
INTRODUCTION

Chrysostom exhibit the same picture as Julian's satire. His austere personality and mode of life repelled the Syrian populace and the corrupt officials of Antioch. They satirised him in 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.
ΙΟΤΑΙΑΝΟΤ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΚΟΣ¹ Η ΜΙΣΟΠΩΡΩΝ

"Ανακρέοντε τῷ ποιητῇ πολλὰ ἐποιήθη μέλη χαράινται τρυφῶν γὰρ ἐλαχεν ἐκ μοιρῶν. 'Ἀλ-
καίῳ δ' οὐκέτι οὐδ' 'Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τὴν 
μούσαν ἐδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἡδονὰς 
τρέψας μοιχεῖν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζό-
μενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐχρῶντο, κοινοῦντα 
ποιοῦντες αὐτοῖς διὸν ὁ δαίμων ἐδίδου τῇ εἰ 
ποιοῦντας ἀδικοῦντας λοιδορίᾳ. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει 
μὲν ὁ νόμος ἐπὶ ὑπάρχον τοιοῦτος ἀδίκου 
μὲν οὕδεν, εἰναι δὲ ἐπικεφαροῦντας δυσμενεῖς, 
ἀφαι-

ρεῖται δὲ τῷ ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μουσικὴν ὁ νῦν ἐπι-
κρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔλευθεροις τῆς παιδείας τρόπος. 
αἰσχίον γὰρ εἰναι δοκεῖ νῦν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν,
ἡ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐδόκει τὸ πλουτεῖν ἄδικας. οὐ 
μὴν ὁ ἀφεξομαί διὰ τοῦτο-τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατῆς ἐκ 

μουσῶν ἐπικουρίας. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν

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

OR, BEARD-HATER

Anacreon the poet composed many delightful songs; for a luxurious life was allotted to him by the Fates. But Alcaeus and Archiloehus 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 Archilocheus both suffered exile, and the latter fell in battle against Naxos. For the misfortunes of Alcaeus, cf. Horace, Odes 2. 13.
ΤΑ ΤΡΙΤΗΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΥΣ ἈΓΡΙΑ ΜΕΛΗ ΛΕΞΕΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΡΑΠΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΡΩΓΜΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΑΧΥ ΒΟΩΝΤΩΝ ΘΡΥΨΩΝ ΑΔΟΝΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ἕΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΛΕΣΙΝ. ΕΙΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΣΥΜΒΑΙΝΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΦΑΥΛΟΙΣ 338 ΤΗΝ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΝ ΛΥΨΗΡΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΑΤΡΟΙΣ, ΣΦΙΣΙ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΙ ΘΡΥΨΩΝ. ὍΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΞΥΝΟΣΙΑΣ ΕΙΔΟΒΑ ΠΡΟΣ ἘΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ὅΠΕΡ ὁ ἩΣΥΜΡΙΑΣ ΟΥΚ ἈΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΙΣΗΣ ΜΕΝ ἘΞΕΩΣ, ἈΠΟ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ὈΜΟΙΑΣ, ὌΣ ἘΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΕΙΘΑ, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ, ΩΣ ΥἹΝΤΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΕΣ ΑΔΩ ΚΑΙ ἘΜΑΥΤῊ.

ΤΟ δ' ἄσμα πεζῇ μὲν λέξει πεποίηται, λουδορίας δ' ἔχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μᾶ Διά: πῶς γὰρ; ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου εἰς Β ὅπερ τὸν ποιητήν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἔργον. τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν γράφειν εἶτε ἑπαίνους εἶτε ψόγους εἴργει νόμος οὐδεὶς. ἑπαίνους μὲν δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἐθέλων ἑμαυτὸν ὁμώς ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λιαν καλῶν μὴ δ' εὐπρεπεῖ μηδ' ὁπερίῳ ὑπὸ δυστροφίας καὶ δυσκόλλαι αὐτῶς προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τούτου 30 πόγονα, δίκας αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ως δοικεῖν, οὐδένδος μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλῶν. ταύτᾳ τοι διαθέσων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν ὁσπερ ἐν λόγῳ τῶν θηρίων. ἑσθαίει δὲ λάβρως ἢ πίνειν χαλιδὲν ὁυ συγχωροῦμαι δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι προσέχειν, μὴ λάθω συγκαταφαγὸν τοῖς τρίχας 1 συγκαταφαγὸν Cobot, καὶ συγκαταφαγὸν Hertlein, MSS.

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barbarians across the Rhine sing savage songs composed in language not unlike the croaking of harsh-voiced birds, and that they delight in such songs. For I think it is always the case that inferior musicians, though they annoy their audiences, give very great pleasure to themselves. And with this in mind I often say to myself, like Ismenias—for though my talents are not equal to his, I have as I persuade myself a similar independence of soul—"I sing for the Muses and myself." 1

However the song that I now sing has been composed in prose, and it contains much violent abuse, directed not, by Zeus, against others—how could it be, since the law forbids?—but against the poet and author himself. For there is no law to prevent one's writing either praise or criticism of oneself. Now as for praising myself, though I should be very glad to do so, I have no reason for that; but for criticising myself I have countless reasons, and first I will begin with my face. For though nature did not make this any too handsome or well-favoured or give it the bloom of youth, I myself out of sheer perversity and ill-temper have added to it this long beard of mine, to punish it, as it would seem, for this very crime of not being handsome by nature. For the same reason I put up with the lice that scamper about in it as though it were a thicket for wild beasts. As for eating greedily or drinking with my mouth wide open, it is not in my power; for I must take care, I suppose, or before I know it I shall eat up some of my own hairs along with my crumbs

1 For Ismenias of Thebes cf. Plutarch, Pericles. The saying became a proverb; cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration 78. 420; Themistius 366 n.; Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, "I have lived mihi et Musis in the University."
τοῖς ἄρτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλείσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν Δ ἰκείστα ἄλγω. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἔσθεν ὁ πάγων ὁσπέρ τὰ ἄλλα λυπηρῶν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποιν καθαρὰ λείους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἷμαι γλυκερώτερα χειλεσὶ χεῖλη προσμάτteων, ὀσπέρ ἦδη τες ἑφή τῶν ἐργασαμένων ξῦν τῷ Πανὶ καὶ τῇ Καλλιόπῃ εἰς τῶν Δάφνων ποιήματα. ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε δεῖν καὶ σχοινία πλέκειν ἐνθέντει καὶ έστομος παρέχειν, ἢν μόνον ἤλκειν δυνηθήτε καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀπόπτους υἱῶν καὶ μαλακὰς χείρας ἡ τραχύτης αὐτῶν δεινὰ ἐργάσῃτα. νομίζε δὲ μνείες δυσχεραίνειν ἐμὲ τῷ σκάμματι. δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτῶς τὴν αἰτίαν 339 ὁσπέρ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένειον ἔχων, ἐξὸν οἷμαι λείουν αὐτῷ ποίειν καὶ ψιλόν, ὅποιον οἱ καλοὶ τῶν παιδῶν ἔχουσιν ἀπασάλ τε αἱ γυναῖκες, αἱς φύσει πρόσεστι τὸ θράσμου. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆρα ξηλούντες τοὺς υἱῶν αὐτῶν νέας καὶ σὰς θυγατέρας ὑπὸ ἀβρότητος βίου καὶ ἐσος ἀπαλότητος τρόπου λείουν ἐπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τῶν ἄνδρα ὑποφαίνοντες καὶ παραδεικνύοντες διὰ τοῦ μετάποιν Β καὶ οὐχ ὁσπέρ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν γνάθων.

'Εμοί δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησε μόνον ἡ βαθύτητι τοῦ γενείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσεστιν αὐχμός, καὶ οἰκογένεις κείρομαι καὶ ὀνυχέζομαι, καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ὑπὸ τοῦ καλάμου τὰ πολλὰ ἔχω μέλαινα. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθέ τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν, ἐστι μοι τὸ στήθος δασώ καὶ λάσιον ὁσπέρ
of bread. In the matter of being kissed and kissing I suffer no inconvenience whatever. And yet for this as for other purposes a beard is evidently troublesome, since it does not allow one to press shaven "lips to other lips more sweetly"—because they are smooth, I suppose—as has been said already by one of those who with the aid of Pan and Calliope composed poems in honour of Daphnis. But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it! Well I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands." And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, when I might, I suppose, make it smooth and bare as handsome youths wear theirs, and all women, who are endowed by nature with loveliness. But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do.

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

1 Daphnis is the hero of bucolic poetry; Julian echoes Theocritus 12. 32 έι δέ έν θεσμού ζαυκερότερα χείλεσι χέλας.
τῶν λεόντων, οὔπερ βασιλεύσοντοι τῶν θηρίων, οὐδὲ ἐποίησα λεῖον αὐτὸ πάσποτε διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρέπειαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος Ο εἰργασάμην λεῖον οὐδὲ μαλακόν. εἰπόν γὰρ ἓν ὕμιν, εἰ τίς ἦν μοι καὶ ἄκροχορδὼν ὁσπερ τῷ Κεκέρωνι:1 μνῆ δ’ οὖκ ἔστι. καὶ εὶ2 συγγινόσκετε, φράσω ὕμιν καὶ3 ὅτερον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὖκ ἀπόχρη τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίατα παγχάλεπος ἐπιτηδεύεται. εἰργον τῶν θεάτρων ἔμαυτον ὑπ’ ἄβελτηρας, οὖθ’ εἴσω τῆς αὐθῆς παραθέχωμεν τὴν θυμέλην ἐξω τῆς νουμηνίας τοῦ ἔτους ὑπ’ ἀναισθησίας, ὁσπερ τινὰ φόρον ἡ Δ δασμὸν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδίδον ἀγροκόσμου ὁλύγα ἤχων οὐκ ἐπιεικεί δεσπότη. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰσελθῶν τοῖς ἀφοσιουμένοις ἑοίκα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὐδένα, καὶ ταύτα βασιλεύσα ἀκούν μέγας, δε καθάπερ ὑπαρχώς ἡ στρατηγός διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξει τῶν μέμοι καὶ τῶν ἡμῖν ἄτροπος ὁσπερ ὑμεῖς ὀρῶντες ὀλύγα πρότερον

ἀναμμηνήσκετε νῦν

ἡθεὶς ἐκείνης νοῦ τ’ ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.4

* Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἦσος καὶ τούτο βαρῦ καὶ ἐπιγάμα 340 ἕναργῇς μοχθηρίας τρόπου: προστίθημε δὲ ἐγὼ τι κανότερον ἀλ’ μεσῳ τὰς ἐπιποδρομίας, ὁσπερ σι χρήματα ὀφληκότες τὰς ἀγοράς. ὀλυγάκεις οὖν εἰς αὐτὰς φοιτῶ εν ταῖς ἀρταίς τῶν θεῶν

1 Κεκέρων Naber, cf. Plutarch, Cicero, κλ. a. Hertlein, MSS. 2 εἰ Reiske, a. Hertlein, MSS. 3 εἰκο καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS. 4 ἀναμμηνήσκετε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Bambas identified as a fragment of Cratinus.
with hair, like the breasts of lions who among wild beasts are monarchs like me, and I have never in my life made it smooth, so ill-conditioned and shabby am I, nor have I made any other part of my body smooth or soft. If I had a wart like Cicero, I would tell you so; but as it happens I have none. And by your leave I will tell you something else. I am not content with having my body in this rough condition, but in addition the mode of life that I practise is very strict indeed. I banish myself from the theatres, such a dolt am I, and I do not admit the thymele within my court except on the first day of the year, because I am too stupid to appreciate it; like some country fellow who from his small means has to pay a tax or render tribute to a harsh master. And even when I do enter the theatre I look like a man who is expiating a crime. Then again, though I am entitled a mighty Emperor, I employ no one to govern the mimes and chariot-drivers as my lieutenant or general throughout the inhabited world. And observing this recently, “You now recall that youth of his, his wit and wisdom.”

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

1 cf. Plutarch, Cicero, who says that Cicero had a wart on his nose.
2 i.e. the altar of Dionysus which was set up in the orchestra.
3 Cratinus, Eumndoe, 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 ὃ τε ἀναψιός ὁ ἔμοι καὶ ὁ θεῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ὀμοπάτριος. ἡ δὲ τοὺς πάντας θεόμενοι ἀρχόμουσ, οὐδέ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν τες ἐρων τοῦ πράγματος ἡ καὶ μὰ Δία μὴ Β μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἀσμενος ἀπαλλαγόμαι.

'Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐξω ταῦτα: καλτοὶ πόστον εἰρηταὶ μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικημάτων; τὰ δὲ ἐνδον ἀγρυπνοὶ νῦκτες ἐν στιβάδι, καὶ τροφὴ παντὸς ἡττων κόρου πικρὸν ἤθος ποιεῖ καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμων. οὐ μὴν ἵππων ἦ ἔνεκα τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύεται παρὰ ἐμοῦ δεκτὸς τις ἐκ παιδαρίων με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη καταλαβόμαι τῇ γαστρὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπεισεν, οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπω πολλῶν ἐμπίπτασθαι σετῶν αὐτῆς. οἱ διηγοῦστακις ὁ οἱ ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων ἐμέσαι συνέβη, καὶ μέμημαι αὐτὸ πάθων ἐξ ὅτου καὶ ταρα ἐγενόμην ἄπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησμονής. ἄξιον δὲ ὑπομνησθῆται διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὐτῶν πάνω χαρίστως, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἰκεῖον.

'Επίγκατον ἐγὼ χειμάζων περὶ τὴν φιλίαν Δ Λουκετίαν ὁνομάζομαι δ' οὔτως οἱ Κάλτοι τῶν Παρμείων τὴν πολέμην ἔστι δ' οὐ μεγάλη νῆσος ἐγειρεμένη τῇ ποταμῇ, καὶ αὐτήν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν τεῖχος περιλαμβάνει, ἦ τεινει δ' ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ἐμφατῶθην εἰσάγουσι γέφυρα, καὶ διηγάκις ὁ ποταμὸς ἐλαττοῦται καὶ μείζον γίνεται, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἐστών ὁποῖος οὔρα θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος,

1 διηγοῦστακι Hertlein suggests, ὁλεγάκι 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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οὔωρ ἠδιστον καὶ καθαρώτατον ὅραν καὶ πίνειν ἠθέλοντε παρέχων. ἀτε γὰρ ὑήσων οἰκούντας ὑδρεύσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθένδε χρή. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐκεῖ προφέτης εἰτε ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης 341 τοῦ ὄκειανον στάδια γὰρ ἀπέχει ὅπως ἐννακοσίαν οὐ πλείω, καὶ διαδίδοτα τυχῶν λεπτή τις αὔρα τοῦ ὕδατος, εἰναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάσσιον τοῦ γηλυκέος: εἴτε οὖν ἐκ ταύτης ἐπεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτίας ἄφαντος ἐμοί, τὸ πρώγμα ἐστὶ τοιούτων, ἀλειστόρων ἔχουσιν οἱ τὸ χωρίον οἰκούντες τὸν χειμῶνα, καὶ φύεται παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἄμπελος ἀγαθή, καὶ συκᾶς ἥδη εἰσιν οἱ ἐμαμψηφισαντο, σκεπάζοντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄστερ Βίματεν τῇ καλάμῃ τοῦ πυρὸν καὶ τοιοῦτοι τεισίν, δόντε εἴσαθην εἰργεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἄρον ἐπιγυμνομένην τοῖς δένδροις βλάβην. ἔγενετο δὴ οὖν ὁ χειμῶν τοῦ εἰσιθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ παρέφερεν ὁ ποταμὸς ὄστερ μαρμάρου πλάκας ἱστε δὴπο τοῦ θρύμνου λίθον τὸν λευκόν· τοῦτο ἔσκεις μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα, μεγάλα καὶ ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχὴ ποιεῖν ἥδη τὸν πῦρων ἐμελλε καὶ τὸ ἱέριμα γεφυρών. Ο ὁς οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἄγριότερος ἂν τοῦ συνήθους, ἐθάλπετο δὲ τὸ δομάτιον οὐδαμῶς, υπερ ἐκάθενου, υπερ εἰσάθει τρόπων ὑπογαίους καμάνις τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκισμάτων ἐκεῖ θερμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔχον εὐτρεπῶς πρὸς τὸ παραδέξασθαι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀλλὰν συνέβη δ’ οἴμαι καὶ

1 εἰςαν εἰς Colcut, τινὲς εἰςίν εἰς Hortlein, MSS.
2 τῶ—κρύσταλλα Hortlein suggests, ἡ ἐςκεις μάλιστα ταῦ λευκοῦ τοῦτο τα κρύσταλλα, MSS.
3 ὑπογαίου Naber, cf. Pliny Ep. 2. 17; ύπο ταῖς Hortlein, 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
τότε διὰ σκαίτητα τὴν ἑκὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπανθροπίαν ἐβουλόμην γὰρ ἐδέξειν ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα ταύτης ἀνενδεδός ἔχοντα τῆς βοσκείας. ὡς δὲ οἱ χειμῶν ἐπεκράτει καὶ ἀεὶ μεῖζον ἐπέγνωτο, θερμὴν δὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ οἴκημα, δεδιώς κινήσας τὴν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ὑγρότητα, κομίσας δὲ ἔνδον ἐκέλευσα πῦρ κεκαυμένον καὶ ἀνθρακες λαμπροὺς ἀποθέσθαι παντελῶς μετρίους. οἳ δὲ καίπερ ἄντες οὐ πολλοὶ παμπληθεῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν τοίχων ἀτμοὺς ἐκάινομεν, υφ’ ὁν κατέδαρθον. ἐμπνευσμένης δὲ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐθέμησα μὲν ἀποπνυγνήμα, κομίσθηκε δ’ ἐξω, τῶν λατρῶν 342 παραμοῦντων ἀπορρίψας τὴν ἐντεθείσαν ἀρτι τροφήν, οὕτω μὲν Δία πολλὶν οὐσαυ, ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ἐγενόμενοι αὐτίκα μᾶνω, ὅστε μοι γενέσθαι κομφοτέραν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ύστεραίας πράττειν δ’ ὑπέρ ἐθέλομι.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν Κελτῶς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Μενάνδρου Δύσκολον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ πόνους προσετέθησεν. ἀλλ’ ἦ Κελτῶν μὲν ταύτα μᾶν εἴρητον ἀγροκίεν, πόλεις δὲ εὐθαλῆς καὶ μακαρία καὶ πολυνάθρωπος εἰκότως ἀναπέσται, ἐν ἦ πολλοὶ Β μὲν ὀρχησταί, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐλήται, μῆμοι δὲ πλείους τῶν πολετῶν, αἰδῶς δ’ οὐκ ἐστίν ἀρχόντων. ἐρυθριῶν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς ἁνάνδροις, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἁνδρέοις, ὅπερ ὑμεῖς, ἐσθεν κομάξεως, νύκτωρ ἡμυπαθείν, ὅτι τῶν νόμων ὑπερορᾶτε μη
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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 unmanny, 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 ἀνατές ἔμφυτος προστίθημι τούι ἄνδρι.
ΤΟΙΤΟΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΑΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΙΑΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΙ ΕΝΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΙΑΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΙ

ΕΙΜΑΤΑ Τ' ΕΞΗΜΟΥΒΑ ΛΟΕΤΡΑ ΤΕ ΘΕΡΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΑΣ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΩΣΙΑΣ ΑΠΟΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ.

"ΤΗΝ ΔΗ ΣΗΝ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΑΙΩΣΗ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΜΟΣΕΙΝ ΥΠΕΛΑΒΕΣ; ΟΥΤΩΣ ΑΥΝΗΓΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΙΛΟΝ, Ο ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΑΜΑΘΕΣΤΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΠΕΧΘΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΑΤΕ, ΤΟ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΕΝΕΝΣΤΑΤΩΝ ΣΩΦΡΟΝ ΤΟΝΤΙ ΨΥΧΑΡΙΟΝ, Ω ΔΗ ΣΥ ΚΟΣΜΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΩΠΙΖΕΙΝ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ΧΡΗΝΑΙ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙΣ; ΟΥΚ ΟΡΘΩΝ, ΟΤΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΜΗ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ΟΤΙ ΠΟΤ' ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΚ ΙΣΜΕΝ, 348 ΟΝΟΜΑ Δ' ΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΚΟΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΟΥΧ ΟΡΩΜΕΝ. ΕΙ Δ' ΟΠΟΙΟΝ ΣΥ ΝΥΝ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΥΕΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ, ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΤΙ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΧΡΗ ΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΜΟΙΣ, ΕΚ ΤΩΝ
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 Sarpis cf. Herodotus 1. 29.
² Odyssey 8. 249.
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ἐσον δὲ τοὺς ὁμοτίμους προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτους ὑπεροχὴν φέρειν πράοτερον, ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ προοεῖν, ὅταν οἱ πέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πλουςτούντων ἥκιστα ἀδικήσονται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πράγματα ἔχειν, ὅποια εἰκὸς ἐστὶ σοι γενέσθαι πολλάκις, ἀπεχθέας, ὄργάς, λοιονέλας· εἰτα καὶ Ἄκταύτα φέρειν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σοφρονίζειν εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς ἔργοις θείῳ σοφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἡδονῆς οὐ λάν ἀπρεποὺς οὐδὲ ἐπονείδιστον δοκοῦσης ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἔστων ἰδίᾳ σοφρονεῖν καὶ λάθρᾳ τὸν δημοσία καὶ φανερῶς οὔκ ἀκόλαστον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερπόμενον τοῖς θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὐν ὁντως ἡ σοφροσύνη τοιούτων ἔστω, ἀπόλολας μὲν αὐτῶς, ἀπολλυόμενος δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὅνομα δουλείας οὔτε πρὸς θεοὺς οὔτε πρὸς νόμους· ἢ δὰ γὰρ ἐν ἔλευθερον.

"Η δὲ εἰρωνεία πόση; δεσπότης εἶναι οὐ φῆς οὐδὲ ἀνέχῃ τοῦτο ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς, ὡστε ἢδη ἐπείσας τοὺς πλείστους θάδας πάλαι Διογενομένους ἀφελείν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο τὸ ὅνομα, δουλεύειν· δὴ ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις ἀρχοῦσι καὶ νόμους. καίτοι πόσφρ κρείττον ἡν ὀνομάζεσθαι μὲν σε δεσπότην, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰν ἔμώς εἶναι ἔλευθερος; ὥ τὰ μὲν ὄνομα πρῶτοτε, πικρότατε
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
δε τὰ ἔργα; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀποκναλεῖς βιαζό-μενος μὲν τοὺς πλουσίους ἐν δικαστήριοι μετριά-
ζειν, τοὺς πένητας δὲ εἴργεις συκοφαντείν. ἀφείς δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς μέμοις καὶ τοὺς ὁρχηστὰς
ἀποδόλεκας ἥμων τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε οὐδὲν ἥμων ἁγαθὸν ὑπάρχει παρὰ σοῦ πλῆς τῆς βαρύτητος,
ὅς ἀνεχόμενοι μὴν ἔβδομον τουτού τὸ μὲν εὐ-
χεσθαι πάντοις ἀπαλλαγῆμαι τοῦ τοσοῦτον κακοῦ
τοῖς περὶ τοὺς τάφους καλεινδουμένοις γραδίοις
ζυναγωγήσαμεν, ἥμεις δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς ἥμων αὐτῶν
ἐντραπελίς ἢειργασάμεθα βάλλοντες σε τοῖς Β
σκόμμασιν ὀσπέρ τοξεύμασί. σὺ δὲ, ὡ γενναῖε,
πῶς ἀνέξη τὰ Περσῶν βῆλη, τὰ ἡμέτερα τρέσας
σκόμματα;"

'Ιδού, βούλομαι πάλιν ἀπ' ἄλλης ἄρχης ἐμαυτῷ
λυσθῆναι θαυμᾷ. "Φοιτᾶς εἰς τὰ ἱερά, δύσκολε καὶ
δύστροπε καὶ πάντα μοχθηρέ. συρρεῖ διὰ σὲ τὰ
πλῆθη πρὸς τὰ τεμένες καὶ μέρτοϊ καὶ οἱ πλείους
τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ ἀποδέχονται σε σὺν βοή μετὰ
κρότων λαμπρῶς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσιν ὀσπὲρ ἐν τοῖς
θεάτροις. τ≻ σὺν οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς οὐδὲ ἐπαινεῖς, ἄλλῳ
ἐπεχειρεῖς εἰναι σοφότερος τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ Πυ-
θίου, καὶ δημηγορεῖς ἐν τῷ πλῆθει, καὶ καθάπτη
τῶν βοῶντων πικρῶς αὐτῷ δὴ τοῦτο λέγων, ὡς
Τμειῶς τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκεν ὁλυγάκεις εἰς τὰ τεμένη
συνέρχεσθε, συνδραμόντες δὲ δὲ ἐμὲ πολλῆς
ἀκοσμίας ἀναπληρῶτε τὰ ἱερά. πρέπει δ' ἄν-
�� δράσει σώφροσι κεκοσμημένος εὐχεσθαι συνή
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 minstrels 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 αἰτομένους τὰ ἄγαθά, τούτον οὐκ ἤκροαις τὸν νόμον Ὀμήρου

Συγῆ ἐφ' ὑμεῖσιν—,

οὐδ' ὡς Ὁδυσσεύς ἔπεσχε τὴν Ἑυρώκλειαν ἐκπεπληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγάθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γηνὶ, χαίρε καὶ ἵσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυζε;

τὰς δὲ δὴ Τρφάδας οὕτε πρὸς τὸν Πρέαμον ἡ τινὰ τῶν τούτων θυγατέρων ἡ νίεων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἐκτορᾶ: καὶ τούτῳ φησίν ὡς θεῷ τοὺς 345 Τρώας εὐχεθαί εὐχομένας δὲ οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσῃ οὕτε γυναῖκας οὕτε ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τῇ 'Αθηνᾶ ὀλόλυγῃ πᾶσαι, φησί, χειρᾶς ἀνέσχον,

βαρβαρικόν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γυναῖξι πρέπουν,

οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσπερ τὸ παρῴμων ποιούμενον. ἔπαινετε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τοὺς Β ἀνθρώπους ἢ μᾶς κολακεύετε.

κάλλιστον δέ ἐστιν οἴμαι μηδ' ἐκεῖνοις κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν σωφρόνως.

Ἰδοὺ, πάλιν ἄγα τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτέων λεξεῖδια καὶ οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ συνχωρῶ φθέγγεσθαι ὡς ἐτυχεῖν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους σκαίτητος καὶ ἐμαυτῶν συκοφάντω. ταῦτα τις καὶ τοιαύτ' ἂν λέγοι, πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὡς τις εὑνοὺς.
fashion, and to ask blessings from the gods in silence. Have you never heard Homer’s maxim, “In silence, to yourselves” ¹—, or how Odysseus checked Euryclia when she was stricken with amazement by the greatness of his success, “Rejoice, old woman, in thy heart, and restrain thyself, and utter no loud cry”?² And again, Homer did not show us the Trojan women praying to Priam or to any one of his daughters or sons, nay not even to Hector himself (though he does indeed say that the men of Troy were wont to pray to Hector as to a god); but in his poems he did not show us either women or men in the act of prayer to him, but he says that to Athene all the women lifted up their hands with a loud cry,³ which was in itself a barbaric thing to do and suitable only for women, but at any rate it displayed no impiety to the gods as does your conduct. For you applaud men instead of the gods, or rather instead of the gods you flatter me who am a mere man. But it would be best, I think, not to flatter even the gods but to worship them with temperate hearts. ’’

See there I am again, busy with my usual phrase-making! I do not even allow myself to speak out at random fearlessly and freely, but with my usual awkwardness I am laying information against myself. It is thus and in words like these that one ought to address men who want to be free not only with respect to those who govern them but to the gods also, in order that one may be considered well-disposed towards them, “like an

¹ Iliad 7. 105.
² Odyssey 22. 411.
³ Iliad 8. 301.
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autōiō δόσπερ παθήρ ἦπιος νομισθείη, φύσεi
πονηρος ὁν δόσπερ ἐγώ, ἀνέχου τοινυμ αὐτῶν
μισούντων καὶ λοιδορούντων λάθρα ἢ καὶ φανερῶς,
ἐπειδὴ κολακεύειν ενόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
ἰεροῖς ὀρμή μιὰ 1 σε ἐπανοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ σίμαι
δεικνύθης ὅπως ἀρμόσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς
ἐπιτηδεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἠβίοις οὔτε τοῖς ἱθεῖσιν,
eἰν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο τῶν ἀνέξεται σου; καθεύδεις
ὡς ἐπίπαν νῦκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἐστιν οὐδὲν, ὁ σου
D τῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμῶν· ἀποκε-
κλεισται δὲ πάσῃ πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμίαν·
cal τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ξών
βίου εὐφραίνη καὶ πεποίησαι τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας
ἡδονήν. εἰτα ἀγανακτεῖς, εἰ τοῦ τὰ τοιαύτα
ἀκούεις; ἐξ' εἰδέναι χάριν τοῖς ὑπ' εὐφραίας ἐμ-
μελέστερον σε νουθετοῦν εἰν τοῖς ἀνάπαστοις
ἀποφηλώσαι μὲν τὰς παρεῖς, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
σαυτοῦ πρότυχον ἀρξάμενον διεκνύειν πάντα τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ φιλογέλωσι τῶδε θεάματα, μέμους, 346
ὄρχηστάς, ἤκιστα ἀλχυμομένας γυναίκας, παι-
δάρια περὶ κάλλους ἀμελλώμενα ταῖς γυναιξίν,
ἀνδρᾶς ἀπεψηλωμένους οὔτε τὰς γυνάθους μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπαν τὸ σῶμα, λειότεροι τῶν γυναικῶν
ὅπως φαίνοντο τοῖς ἐνυγχάνονσιν, ἑορτάς, πανη-
γύρεις, οὔτε μὰ Δία τὰς ἱεράς, ἐν αἷς χρὴ συφρο-
νεῖν ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ὁσπερ τῆς

1 ἄρμή μεῖ Naber, ἀρίμενον 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 δρέν καὶ πέτρα, literally, "the oak tree and the rock," became a proverb for something hackneyed; cf. Hesiod, Theogony 35, ἄλλα τιν ζε χαθα περὶ δρέν καὶ περὶ πέτραν;
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drônós, kai polûs ò kóros autôn. ëðusen ò kaîsâr B
ën tò tòu Dìos ápâx, eîta ën tò tòu Tûkhs, eîs
 tô tòs Dèmôtrou trîs ëfexhês ëbâdîsèn ëpîle-
lhsmâi gâr eîs tô tôs Dákfinh òsákis eîsîlthôn
témenos, prôdôbêôn môv ðlîgôrîa tôs fûlakôn,
taîs ðe tôs âthênân ãndrôv tôlmaios ãfaniôthên.
ê Sûrôv ëkêi nûmhpîa, kai ò kaîsâr ànthvês eîs
Fêlîon Dìos: eîta ù pôgkoinos ëôrtî, kai ò
kaîsâr eîs tô tôs Tûkhs ërkhestai témenos. ëpî-
ð hêkôn ðe tô tôs ðpôfrafáda pâlên eîs Fêlîon Dìos tâs
eûkhas ânâlambânai kata tâ pâtria. kai tôs
ânêxetai tosavtákis eîs iêrâ fôstôntos kaîsârâs,
êxon ápâx ò dîs ènôkhleîn tois òthoûs, èpîtelêîn ðe
tâs pánhûpêias èkelhâs, ðpôsai kovn kal môv eîs
pantî tô dhêmô kai ãn êxestî metêxhîn ou tois
ëpistamêvous móvon òthoûs,1 álâlê kai tôis ðn
ëstîn ù pôlês plêrês; ðdôhî dê pôllh kai
chîritê, ðpôlas ãn tôs eûfrafainito deînêkôs
karpôumênos, ôrôn ðrhômêvou $$\varphi$$ ãndras kai pâi-
Dâria kai gînûia pôllâ.

"Otan ðvûn taítâ lôgîsowmâi, makarîzôv môv
ûmâs tôs eûdaimonîas, ëmavtoû ðe ðûv ãxhômâvı

1 móvon òthoûs Hertlein suggeîra, òthoûs MSS.
2 tôis ðn Naber, òn Hertlein, MSS.
surfeited with them. The Emperor sacrificed once in the temple of Zeus, then in the temple of Fortune; he visited the temple of Demeter three times in succession."

(I have in fact forgotten how many times I entered the shrine of Daphne, which had been first abandoned owing to the carelessness of its guardians, and then destroyed by the audacious acts of godless men.¹) "The Syrian New Year arrived, and again the Emperor went to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One. Then came the general festival, and the Emperor went to the shrine of Fortune. Then, after refraining on the forbidden day,² again he goes to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One, and offers up prayers according to the custom of our ancestors. Now who could put up with an Emperor who goes to the temples so often, when it is in his power to disturb the gods only once or twice, and to celebrate the general festivals which are for all the people in common, those in which not only men whose profession it is to have knowledge of the gods can take part, but also the people who have crowded into the city? For pleasure is here in abundance, and delights whose fruits one could enjoy continuously; for instance the sight of men and pretty boys dancing, and any number of charming women."

When I take all this into account, I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, though I do

¹ The Christians invaded the shrine of Apollo at Daphne and the priests of Apollo abandoned it to them. Julian destroyed the Christian Church there and restored the worship of Apollo.

² Literally the "day not to be mentioned," i.e. "unholy day," nefandus dies, on which business was suspended.

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φίλα γάρ ἐστί μοι κατὰ τινὰ θεὸν ἵσως ταῦτα. διόπερ οὖδ' ἀγανάκτω, εὖ ἴστε, τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσί μοι τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει. προστίθημι δ' αὐτὸς ὁσα δυνατόν ἐστὶ μοι τοῖς εἰς ἐμαυτὸν σκόμματε μειξόνος ἐπικαταχέων ἐμαυτὸν ταυτασὶ τὰς λοιδορίας, ὃς ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ* συνήκα, 347 ποταπὸν ἐξ ἄρχῆς τὸ τῆς ἁρτορίας, καὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τής καὶ πόλεως ἰδός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἢμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τής καὶ πόλεως ἰδός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἢμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τής καὶ πόλεως ἰδός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἢμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τής καὶ πόλεως ἰδός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἢμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τής καὶ πόλεως ἰδός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἢμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τής καὶ πόλεως ἰδός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἢμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω. λέγεται τοῦ ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τής καὶ πόλεως ἰδός, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἢμῶν, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω.

1 πεπόλισται Cohet, Hertlein approves, πεπόλισται MSS. 2 τὰ Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.
not reproach myself. For perhaps it is some god who has made me prefer my own ways. Be assured then that I have no grievance against those who quarrel with my way of life and my choice. But I myself add, as far as I can, to the sarcasms against myself and with a more liberal hand I pour down on my own head these abusive charges. For it was due to my own folly that I did not understand what has been the temper of this city from the beginning; and that too though I am convinced that I have turned over quite as many books as any man of my own age. You know of course the tale that is told about the king who gave his name to this city—or rather whose name the city received when it was colonised, for it was founded by Seleucus, though it takes its name from the son of Seleucus; they say then that out of excessive softness and luxury the latter was constantly falling in love and being loved, and finally he conceived a dishonourable passion for his own step-mother. And though he wished to conceal his condition he could not, and little by little his body began to waste away and to become transparent, and his powers to wane, and his breathing was feeble than usual. But what could be the matter with him was, I think, a sort of riddle, since his malady had no visible cause, or rather it did not even appear what was its nature, though the youth’s weakness was manifest. Then the physician of Samos was set a difficult problem, namely to discover what was the nature of the malady. Now he, suspecting from the words of Homer what is

\[1\] i.e. Antiochus.  \[2\] cf. Plutarch, Demetrius.
\[3\] i.e. Erasistratus.
\[4\] The phrase occurs in Hesiod, Works and Days 60, but not in Homer.
ai γυνιβόροι μελεδώναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἀσθένεια σώματος, ἀλλ᾽ ἄρρωστία ψυχῆς αἰτία γίνεται τηκεδόνος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὄρων ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας καὶ συνηθείας οὐκ ἀναφρό- διτον, ὅδεν ἔτραπετο τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος θήραν. καθίζει πλησίου τῆς κλίνης ἄφορον D εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειράκιου, παρεῖναι κελεύσας καλοῦς τε καὶ καλᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξα- μένους. ἢ δ᾽ ὡς ἠλθεν, ἐπισκεφθοµένη δήθεν αὐτῶν, αὐτήκα ἐδίδου τὰ συνθήµατα τοῦ πάθους ὁ νεανίας, ἀσθήμα τῶν θλιβοµένων ἤφελε, ἐπέχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ κινοῦµενον καλπερ σφόδρα ἔθελον οὐχ ὁδός τε ἢ, καὶ ἀραχή ἢν τοῦ πνεύµατος καὶ πολύ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρύθηµα. ταῦτα ὀρῶν 348 ὁ λατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τῆς χείρα, καὶ ἐπάνω δεινῶς ἡ καρδία καὶ ἔξω ἔτο. τοιαύτα ἀπατοῦσα ἐκείνης παραύσης, ἐπεξ. δὲ ἀπήλ- θεν, ἐπιόντων ἄλλων, ἀτρέµας εἴχε καὶ ἦν ὅµοιος τοῖς οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. συνιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος φράζει πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ δς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλόπαις εἶναι παραχωρεῖν ἑφι τῷ παιδὶ τῆς γαμητῆς. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἡρνήσατο- τελευτήσας δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὸν ὄστερον, ἢν πρότερον διδοµένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενῶς ἡρνήθη, μᾶλα κραταίῳς μετεδώξειν.

'Αυτίκορ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιήθη. τοῖς δὲ ἀπ' Β ἐκείνου γενοµένοις οὐ νέµεσις ξήλοιν τὸν οἰκειστήν

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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 coach 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.  

Now since this was the conduct of Antiochus, I have no right to be angry with his descendants when

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1 Stratonice.

2 In Plutarch's version Antiochus married Stratonice during his father's lifetime.
ΤΗΣ ΣΑΤΙΡΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ

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διαδίδονται μέχρι πολλού τόσο ποιότητας, έσεις δὲ καὶ ἐπίτηεν ὅμως τὰ μετὰ ταύτα τοῖς εἴ ᾧ ἐβλάστησον φύεσθαι, εὑροῦ καὶ εἰπὼ τὸν ἀνθρώπους εἰναὶ εἰκὸς παραπλήσια τὰ ἡθη τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῖς προγόνοις. ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼν 'Αθηναίον 'Ελλήνων φιλοτεμοτάτους καὶ οἱ φιλανθρωποτάτους καὶ τὸν τούτο γε ἐπιεικέσθε ἐν πάσιν εἰδον τοῖς 'Ελλησιν, ἔχω δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ καὶ δεξιοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, καθόλου μὲν "Ελληνες πάντες, αὐτῶν δὲ 'Ελλήνων πλέον τούτο ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν 'Αθηναίοις. εἰ δὲ θείοι διασώζοντο εἰκόνα τής παλαιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἥθεσιν ἀρετῆς, εἰκός δητίσθησεν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν καὶ Σύροι καὶ 'Αραβίοι καὶ Κεπτοῖς καὶ Θρακίς καὶ Παμφίλοι καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένοις Θρακῶν καὶ Παισίων ἐπ' αὐταῖς "Ιστρού" ταῖς γόοις D Μυσίοις, δὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ μοι πᾶν ἀγροίκον, αὐστηρον, ἀδέξιον, ἀναφρόδιτον, ἔμ-
μένον τοῖς κραδιθῶν ἀμετακίνητοις δὲ δὴ πάντα ἐστὶ δεῖγματα δείνης ἀγροικίας.

Αὐτοῦ ομοιοί τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ πρῶτον συγ-

γραμματέων, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ υμῶν νέμω τὰ πάτρων ἐξελοῦσιν, οὐδὲν ἐν οὐνὶδε προφέρομαι τὸ

Ψεῦσται τ' ὄρχησταί τε χοροιτυπήσαν ἄριστοι, 349

τονοῦ ουν καὶ ἄντ' ἕγκυμον υμῶν προσεῖναι

1 Ἀπώνερ Ηέρτλειν συγγράφει, ὑμάνων MSS.
MISOPOGON

ey 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. 201.
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φημι πατρίων ξῆλον ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὀμηρός ἐπαινῶν τῶν Λυτολυκῶν φησὶ περείπως πάντων

Κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὅρκῳ τε.

καὶ ἐμαυτόν τὴν σκαίτητα καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥάδιος μαλάττεσθαι Β μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐξαπατώσει τὰ ἐμαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοαῖς εἰκεῖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργω ὀνείδη. πότερα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ κουφότερα, θεοίς ἵσως δὴλον, ἐπείπερ ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς οἶς τε ἢμῖν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν βραβεύσαι πεισόμεθα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ διὰ φιλαντήιαν, θαυμάζει τὸν εἰκός τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἐκαστον, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὅ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐναντία ξηλοῦντε νέμων συγγνῶμην εἰναι μοι δοκεῖ προβοτατος.

'Εγὼ δὲ ἐννοοῖς εὐρίσκω καὶ ἐτέρα δεινὰ ὁ ἐμαυτὸν εἰργασμένον. πόλει γὰρ προσώπων ἔλευθερα, τὸν αὐχώδυ τῶν τρεχὼν οὐκ ἀνεχομένη, ὅπερ οἱ κουρέων ἀποροῦντες ἀκαρτος καὶ βαθυγένειος εἰσεδραμον ἐνόμισας ἂν Ἐμικρίνην ὅρῳν ἡ Ὁρασυλέουτα, δύσκολον προσβύτην ἢ στρατιώτην ἀνόητον, ἔξω φανήλαι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παῖδα ὀραίον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἄβροτητα τοῦ προσώπου. Ο "Οὐκ οἶσθα ἀνθρώπως ὀμιλεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπαινέτης
place of a panegyric that I ascribe to you emulation of the practice of your forefathers. For Homer too is praising Autolycus when he says that he surpassed all men "in stealing and perjury."  
And as for my own awkwardness and ignorance and ill-temper, and my inability to be influenced, or to mind my own business when people beg me to do so or try to deceive me and that I cannot yield to their clamour—even such reproaches I gladly accept. But whether your ways or mine are more supportable is perhaps clear to the gods, for among men there is no one capable of arbitrating in our disagreement. For such is our self-love that we shall never believe him, since everyone of us naturally admires his own ways and despises those of other men. In fact he who grants indulgence to one whose aims are the opposite of his own is, in my opinion, the most considerate of men.

But now I come to ponder the matter I find that I have committed yet other terrible sins. For though I was coming to a free city which cannot tolerate unkempt hair, I entered it unshaven and with a long beard, like men who are at a loss for a barber. One would have thought it was some Smicrines he saw, or some 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. 390.
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 gloriōsus."
eis τοῦ Θεόγνιδος, οὐδὲ μμηρὸ τὸν ἀφομοιοῦμενον ταῖς πέτραις πολύτων, ἀλλ' ἡ λεγομένη Μυκόνιος ἀγροκλία τε καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ ἀβελτηρία πρὸς πάντας ἐπιτηδεύεται παρὰ σοῦ. λέληθε δὲ ταῦτα ἐστὶ Κέλτοι καὶ Θράκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοί; οὐχ ὅρασι, ὁπόσα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καπηλεῖα; σὺ δὲ ἀπεχθάνη 350 τοῖς καπηλοῖς οὐξύλαρων ὑπόςου βουλοῦται ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ταύτῃ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους τὴν γῆν αἰτιάνται. σὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἔχθρους ποιεῖς σαυτῷ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει τῆς πόλεως ἀμφοῖν μετέχοντες ταῖς ζημίαις, ἀσπέρ ὦν μικρὸν πρότερον ἐχαίρον διεκθεῖν καρπούμενοι τὰς ἀφελείας, καὶ ὅσα κεκτημένοι Β καὶ ὅσα καπηλεύσαντες, τὰ ὅνων εἰκότως λυποῦνται δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀφηρημένου τὰς ἐπικερδείας. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων δήμοις οὐκ ἔχων μεθύειν οὐδὲ κορδακίζειν ἀχθεῖαι. σὺ δὲ σου ἀφθονον παρέχων οἴει τρέφειν αὐτοῖς ἰκανῶς. ἐκεῖνο δὲ σου χαρέιν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅπως ἐγὼς ἐν τῇ πόλει πετραῖος ἐσται σκοπεῖς: ἄλλα, καὶ πρόφης μεμφομένου τινὸς, ὁς οὔτε ἐγείροις οὔτε ὅρυθων πολλῶν

1 σὲ δὲι—δὲι Cobet, σὲ—δὲιν Hertlein, MSS.
2 αὐτοῖς Reiske, αὐτοῖς Hertlein, MSS.
MISOPOGON

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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eύρισκομένων ἐν ἁγορᾷ, τωθαστικῶν μάλα ἐγέ-

θαναις, ἄρτου καὶ οἶνου καὶ ἑλαίου τῇ σώφρονι

πόλει δεῖν φάμενος, κρεῶν δ' ἦδη τῇ τρυφώσῃ
tο γάρ καὶ ἱχθύων καὶ ὀρυσίων λόγου ποιεῖσθαι

πέρα τρυφῆς εἶναι καὶ ἂς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκη

μνηστήριοι μετὴν ἀσέλγειας. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐν

ἤδην κρέα ὑεία καὶ προβάτεια σετεῖσθαι, τῶν

ὀσπρίων ἀπτόμενος εὐ πράξει. ταῦτα ἐνόμισας

Θρῆξι νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαυτοῦ πολίταις ἢ τοῖς

ἄναυσθήτους Γαλάταις, οἱ σε ἐπαιδοτριβήσαν

καθ' ἦμων "πρίννων, σφενδάμων," οὐκέτι

μέντοι καὶ "Μαραθωνομάχων," ἀλλ' Ἀχαρνέα

μὲν ἐξ ἡμισείας, ἀλλ' δ' ἄνθρωπον ἄχαριν.

οὐ κρείττον ἢν ὀδωρεῖ μῦρων
tὴν ἁγορὰν βαδίζωντος σου καὶ παίδας ἠγείρεσθαι

cαλοὺς, εἰς οὐς ἀποβλέψουσι οἱ πολίται, καὶ

χρονὸς γυναικῶν, ὅποιοι παρ' ἠμῶν ἱστανται καθ' ἔκάστην ἡμέραν;"

'Εμε δὲ ὢγρὸν βλέπειν ῥητοῦντα πανταχοῦ 351

tὰ ὅμματα, ὅπου ὕμῖν καλὸς, οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν,

ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀφθεῖν, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχωρεῖ.

ἔστι γάρ, ὅς ὦμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχὴς ἀληθινὸν
cάλλος ύγρότης βίου. - ἐμε δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδί-
dασκεν εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτώντα;

θέατρον δ' οὐκ ἔλθον πρὶν μᾶλλον κομίσαι τῆς
well-conducted city needs bread, wine and olive oil, but meat only when it is growing luxurious.  
For you said that even to speak of fish and poultry is the extreme of luxury and of profligacy such as was beyond the reach of even the suitors in Ithaca; and that anyone who did not enjoy eating pork and mutton would fare very well if he took to vegetables. You must have thought that you were laying down these rules for Thracians, your own fellow-citizens, or for the uncultured people of Gaul who—so much the worse for us!—trained you to be 'a heart of maple, a heart of oak,' though not indeed 'one who fought at Marathon' also, but rather to be half of you an Acharnian and altogether an unpleasant person and an ungracious fellow. Would it not be better that the market place should be fragrant with myrrh when you walk there and that you should be followed by a troop of handsome boys at whom the citizens could stare, and by choruses of women like those that exhibit themselves every day in our city?''

No, my temperament does not allow me to look wanton, casting my eyes in all directions in order that in your sight I may appear beautiful, not indeed in soul but in face. For, in your judgment, true beauty of soul consists in a wanton life. I, however, was taught by my tutor to look on the ground when I was on my way to school; and as for a theatre, I never saw one until I had more hair on my chin

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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.
κεφαλής τὸ γένειον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἥλικιας ὅπλα μὲν καὶ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν συνέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἡ τε- ταρτον, εὖ ἵστε, Πατρόκλη δἐ πέπηρα φέρων ἁρχῶν ἐπέταττεν οἰκείοις ὃν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαίος· ἐτύγχα- νον δὲ ἰδιώτης ἐτι σύγγρωτε οὖν ἐμοὶ· δίδωμι γὰρ ὅν ἀντ’ ἐμοὶ δικαίωτερον μυσήσετε τὸν φιλαπ- εχθήμων παιδαγωγόν, οὐ μὲ καὶ τότε ἐλύσει μίαν ὄδον λέναι διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αὐτός ἐστὶ μοι τῆς πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀπεχθέας, ἐνεργασάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὄσπερ ἐνυπόσας ὁπερ ἐγώ μὲν οὐκ ἐβου- λόμην τότε, ὁ δὲ ὅσ τι χαρίεν ποιῶν μάλα προθύμως ἐνετίθει, καλὸν οἰμαί σεμνότητα τὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀν- δρεὰν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἰκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδ’ εὐδαιμονα ταύτῃ γίνεσθαι. ἢ ἐφ’ ἔδε μοι πολλάκις, εὖ ἵστε, ναὶ μὲ Δία καὶ μοῦσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἔτι παιδαρίως κομιδῆ. Μὴ σε παραπειθέτω τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἦλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θέατρα φερόμενον ὀρχήθηναι δοῦτο ταυτὴν τῆς θέας. ἵπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς; ἐστι παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ δεξιώτατα πεποιημένη λαβῶν ἐπέξειθε τὸ βεβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἄκοινες ὀρχηστάς; ἠ χαίρειν αὐτοὺς· ἀνδρικώτερον παρὰ τοὺς Φαλαξίων ὀρχεῖται τὰ μειράκια· σὺ δ’ ἔχεις κιθαροῦ τὸν Φήμιον καὶ φίδον τὸν Δημόδοκον.
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than on my head,¹ and even at that age it was never on my own account and by my own wish, but three or four times, you must know, the governor who was my kinsman and near relative, "doing a favour to Patroclus," ordered me to attend; it was while I was still a private individual.² Therefore forgive me. For I hand over to you instead of myself one whom you will more justly detest, I mean that curmudgeon my tutor who even then used to harass me by teaching me to walk in one straight path ³ and now he is responsible for my quarrel with you. It was he who wrought in my soul and as it were carved therein what I did not then desire, though he was very zealous in implanting it, as though he were producing some charming characteristic; and boorishness he called dignity, lack of taste he called sobriety, and not yielding to one's desires or achieving happiness by that means he called manliness. I assure you, by Zeus and the Muses, that while I was still a mere boy my tutor would often say to me: "Never let the crowd of your playmates who flock to the theatres lead you into the mistake of craving for such spectacles as these. Have you a passion for horse races? There is one in Homer,⁴ very cleverly described. Take the book and study it. Do you hear them talking about dancers in pantomime? Leave them alone! Among the Phaeacians the youths dance in more manly fashion. And for citharode⁵ you have Phemius; for singer Demodocus. Moreover

¹ Xenophon, Symposium 4. 28.
² i.e. before he had been appointed Caesar. ³ cf. 352 c.
⁴ The chariot race in Iliad 23.
⁵ The citharode played and sang to the lyre: Phemius was at the court of Odysseus in Ithaca; Demodocus in Phaeacis.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐστι καὶ φυτὰ παρ’ αὐτῷ πολλὰ τερπνότερα ἀκουσάι τῶν ὀρωμένων.

Δὴλοι δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμὸν Φολυκικός νέου ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.

καὶ ἡ δενδρήσεσσα τῆς Καλυψών πῆσα καὶ τὰ τῆς Κύρκης σπήλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίνου κήπος: εὖ ἔσθι, τούτων οὐδὲν ὄψει τερπνότερον.

Ἀρα ποθείτε καὶ τοῦνομα ύμῖν φράσω τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὅστις δὲν γένος ταῦτα ἔλεγε; βάρβαρος νῆθεος καὶ θεάς, Σκῦθης μὲν τὸ γένος, ὀμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἐρέχθεων ἀναπελεύσατος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον τοῦτο δὴ πρὸ μηνῶν μὲν εἰκοσὶ προσκυνούμενον Βὸνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἄντ’ ἀδικήματος καὶ ἀνείδους, εὐνοῦχος ἦν, ὡς τὰμῷ ὑθραμμένος πάππῳ, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγώνιοι διὰ τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ποιημάτων. ἐπεῖ δὲ ἐκείνη πρῶτον ἐμὲ καὶ μόνον τεκύσα ἔριν γόνον ὑστερον ὅλγους ἐπελεύσασαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμήτορος παρθένου πολλῶν συμφωνῶν ἐκκλαπεῖσα κόρη θαυμάτων καὶ νέα, μετ’ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐξθομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθην. οὔτος εὗρεν ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγων ἐς διδάσκάλου μίαν ὀδόν ἄλλην δ’ οὕτ’ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι.
there are in Homer many plants more delightful to hear of than those that we can see: 'Even so did I once see the young shoot of a date palm springing up near the altar of Apollo on Delos.'¹ 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 name² as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Greece. Moreover he was a eunuch, a word which, twenty months ago,³ 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 mother⁴ 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 maiden⁵ from so many misfortunes that were to come, I was handed over to him after my seventh year. From that time he won me over to these views of his, and led me to school by one straight path; and since

¹ Odysseus thus refers to Nausicaa in Odyssey 6, 162.
² i.e. Mardonius; it was a Sophistic mannerism to use such a periphrasis instead of giving the name directly; see vol. i. Introduction, p. xi.
³ Constantius was under the influence of the powerful eunuchs of his court; they had been expelled by Julian, but Mardonius was an exception to his class.
⁴ Basilia.
⁵ Athene.
Θέλων ουτ' ἐμοὶ βαδίζειν ἐνεχθεῖν ἐποίησεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι με πάσιν ὕμιν. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, σπεισόμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀπέχθειαν λύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἥπιστατο πρὸς ὕμᾶς ἀφίξόμενον οὐτ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστα φοιτῶν μέλλοιμι, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχων προσεδόκα, καὶ τοσάτην Δ ἄρχην, ὅσην ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοί, πολλὰ ὕμων βιασάμενοι, πελάθητέ μοι, καὶ τὸν διδόντα καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον. ἐφεξε γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος θέλειν οὔτε ὁ διδών τὴν τιμὴν ἢ χάριν ἢ δ', τε φιλόν ὑμῶν αὐτὸ ὀνομάξεως δούναι, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ὡς ἱσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἀληθῶς ἤρενιτο. καὶ δὴ τούτῳ μὲν ὅππο τούς θεοὺς φίλον ἔχει τε καὶ ἔξει. τυχόν δὲ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ οἱ προϊγνον τούτο, πολλὴν ἃν ἕποιη- 363 σατο προμήθειαν, ὅπως δ', τε μάλιστα ὑμῶν φανεῖν κεχαρισμένον.

Εἶτα οὖκ ἔξεστιν ἀποθέσθαι νῦν καὶ μεταμαθεῖν εἰ τι πρῶτον ἡμῶν ἀγροκον ἥθος ἐνετάφρη; Ἐθος, φασὶ, δευτέρη φύσις: φύσει μάχεσθαι δ' ἔργον, ἑτῶν τριάκοντα μελέτην ἀφεῖναι παραχάλε- ποιν ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ τοσάτης ἐγγενομένης τῆς χαλεπότητος: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἤδη πλεῖον τούτων ἔστίν. Εἶτεν ἀλλὰ τί παθῶν αὐτὸς ἐπιθετεῖς ἀκροίσθαι Β' περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικάζειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτο σε ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἠδίδασκεν, ὅτι οὖν εἰ ἄρξεις ἥπιστατο. Δεινός δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων, ὅπως καὶ ὑμεῖς 462
neither he himself desired to know any other nor allowed me to travel by any other path, it is he who has caused me to be hated by all of you. However, if you agree, let us make a truce with him, you and I, and make an end of our quarrel. For he neither knew that I should visit you nor did he anticipate that, even supposing I was likely to come here, it would be as a ruler, and that too over so great an empire as the gods bestowed on me; though they did not do so, believe me, without using great compulsion both towards him who offered and him who accepted it. For neither of us had the air of being willing; since he who offered that honour or favour or whatever you may please to call it, was unwilling to bestow it, while he who received it was sincere in steadily refusing it. This matter, however, is and shall be as the gods will. But perhaps if my tutor had foreseen this he would have exercised much forethought to the end that I might, as far as possible, seem agreeable in your eyes.

What then, you will ask, is it not possible even now for me to lay aside my character, and to repent of the boorish temper that was bred in me in earlier days? Habit, as the saying goes, is second nature. But to fight with nature is hard; and to shake off the training of thirty years is very difficult, especially when it was carried on with such painful effort, and I am already more than thirty years old. "Well and good," you answer, "but what is the matter with you that you try to hear and decide cases about contracts? For surely your tutor did not teach you this also, since he did not even know whether you would govern." Yes, it was that terrible old man who convinced me that I ought to do so;
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ὡς δέντα μάλιστα αὐτιώτατον τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὄρθως ποιούντες ξυλλοιδορεῖτε μοι, καὶ τούτων δ', εὖ ἵστε, ὅτι ἄλλων εξηπατημένων, ὁμόματα ἢκεῖ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολλάκις κωμῳδούμενα, Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἄριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος. ἐκεῖνοι οἱ χέρων οὖτος πεισθεὶς ὅτι ὁ ἀφροσύνης, ἐπειτα ἐμὲ νέον εὐρόν, ἔρασθην λόγων, ἀνέπεισαν, ὡς, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκεῖνων ξηλωτῆς γενομένων ἀμείνων ἔσωμαι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἱσως οὐδενὸς: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀμιλλαν ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ γὰρ εἰχον δ', τι ποιῶ πεισθεὶς οὐκέτι δύναμαι μεταβεβαιαὶ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὁνειδίζω δ' μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μὴ ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἄδειᾶν ἀπάντων ἀδικημάτων: ὑπεισι δὲ με ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὅσα ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξήλθη ἕξων, "Τέμωρ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν πλέον ἤ διπλασιάς τεμῆς ἄξιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔνος, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἑτέρων, μηνῦν τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν ἀδικίαιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ συγκολαξίων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν, ὁ 354 μέγας ἀνήρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὕτως ἀναγορεύσως νικηφόρος ἀρετῆς. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τούτων ἅπαιναν καὶ περὶ σφοροσύνης χρῆ λέγειν καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγαθά τις κέκτη-

1 τῶν Μίλων Cobet, τῶν p.140 νέων 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 mislead 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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Ταύτα ἐδίδασκέ με νομίζων ἰδιώτην ἰσεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ προοίμω ταύτην ἐκ Διός μοι τὴν τύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἣν νῦν ὁ θεὸς φέρων κατέστησεν. ἦγε δὲ αἰσχυνόμενος ἁρχον ἰδιῶτον φαυλότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἐμαυτόν, οὐδὲν δέον, ὡμέν τῆς ἁγροκλίας μεταδίδους τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ. καὶ μὲ ἄτερος τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομνησθέντα ἐμαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς φησὶ δειν αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἢν τὰ πλῆθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ο ἀποβλέποντα κοσμήται. μόνῳ οὕν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ξύν ὅλγοις ἐπιτυμβίουσιν νῦν τούτο πρὸς θάτερα περιέστη καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐν οὐείδει. ἐπὶ τὰ γὰρ ἐσμὲν οἴδε παρ' ὑμῖν ξένοι νεῖλυπδε, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολίτης ὑμέτερος, Ἐρμῆ φίλος καὶ ἐμοὶ, λόγων ἁγαθὸς δημιουργός, οἰς οὐδέν ἔστι πρὸς τινα συμβολαίον, οὐδ' ἄλλην ὄδον βαδίζομεν ὢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὀλγάκις, οὐ πάντες, εἰς τὰ θεάτρα, πεποιημένοι τὸ δυσκλέστατον τῶν ἄργων.
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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.
καὶ ἐπονειδιστότατον τοῦ βίου τέλος· ἐπιτρέψοι μοι πάντως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοὶ φάναι τι τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐπιπολαξόντων οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδειξάμην· ἐπὶ τῆς μεσετείας αὐτοὺς ἐτάξαμεν, οὐτοὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸ προσκρούειν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δέουν ἀρέσκειν καὶ θωπεύειν. ὁ δὲ ἔθνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν ἔθνα. Τῇ τούτῳ, ὁ μῶρε, πρὸς σέ; κοιλωνεῖν ἔξων μετ’ εὐνοίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀφεῖς τὸ κέρδος ἔχθραν ἐπαναίρῃ, καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν ὀρθός οἷς 355 ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαι ἔχρην, διε τῶν μὲν ἀδικουμένων οὐδεὶς αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, ὁ δ’ ἀδικῶν εἶτα εἰργόμενος, ἀφεῖς μέμφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικοῦμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἀρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἄχθος.

Ἐξὼν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογίστιας ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τά δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δ’ ἐκάστοτε πράττειν δ’, τι δὴ ἔθελῃ καὶ Β δυνάτος ἤ· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως θὸς οἷς οἶμαι τοιοῦτον ἔστιν, ἐλεύθερον λίγως σὺ δὲ οὐ ξυνεῖς ἀρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ φρονήσεως ἡξίοις, οὐδ’ ἀπεβλέψης ὅση καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὅνων ἔστιν ἐλευθερία παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμήλων; ἄγουσί τοι καὶ ταύτας οἱ μισθωτοί δει τῶν στοιῶν ὄσπερ τὰς νύμφας· οἱ γὰρ ὑπαίθριοι στενωτοὶ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῶν ὁδῶν οὐκ ἑπὶ τούτῳ δήποτε πεποίηται, τῷ χρή-

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

"Then when it was in your power by the aid of this careful reasoning to refrain from compelling us to do what is just; when you might have allowed every man to do whatever he pleases and has the power to do,—for the temper of the city is surely like that, excessively independent,—do you then, I say, fail to understand this and assert that the citizens ought to be wisely governed? Have you not even observed what great independence exists among the citizens, even down to the very asses and camels? The men who hire them out lead even these animals through the porticoes as though they were brides. For the unroofed alleys and the broad highways were certainly not made for the use of pack-asses,
σθαί αὕταις τοὺς κανθηλίους, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖναι μὲν ἀυτῷ δὴ τοῦτο κόσμου τινὸς ἔνεκα πρόκεινται καὶ πολυτελεῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὑπ’ ἐλευθερίας οἴονις οὐδὲις οὔδεις όμοίως, ἡμα μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέληται οὕτως ἢ πόλεις ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρα. σὺ δὲ ἄξιοίς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νεανίσκους ἁγείν ἡσυχίαν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρονεῖν δὲ τι σοι φίλον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φθέγγεσθαι δόσων ἀν ἢδεως ἀκούσῃς. 1 οἴ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐλευθερίας εἰσόθαι καμάξειν, ἀεὶ μὲν ἐπιεικῶς αὕτῳ ποιοῦντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς πλέον.

"Εδώκαν ποτε τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων Ἰω-μαίως Ταραντίνων δίκας, δι’ ἔμετροντες ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις ὧδεισαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν. ὄμειρας δὲ ἐστε τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐθαν-μνείστεροι, ἀντὶ μὲν ὅλων ἡμερῶν ὅλων εὐπα-θοῦντες ἐνιαυτῶν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἔνων πρὸςβεων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνβρῆσσοντες τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τάς ἑπτά τοῦ γεωνίου τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι χαράχματα. εὖ γε, δι’ ἀπολύται σῶ-356 φρονεῖς, οἱ τα παλαίζουντες τὰ τοιάῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν παιδίων ἀποδεχομένοι καὶ ἀπολαύσουσι. δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἡδονήν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τούς δὲ τὸ ἀκροαθαν τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων εὐ-φραίνει. τά τοῖς ὑμῖν ὅγῳ τῆς ὅμονοιας συνήδομαι, καὶ εὖ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ πόλεις ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥσ ἐκεῖνο γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαίον οὐδὲ ξύλωτον εἴργειν καὶ κολάζειν τῶν νέων τὸ ἀκόλουθον. Β’ παραιτεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀποδράειν τῆς ἐλευ-θερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἰ τις ἀφέλουτο τοῦ λέγειν

1 ἀκόσμης Hortleim suggests, ἀκούσας MSS.

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but they are provided merely for show and as an extravagance; but in their independence they prefer to use the porticoes, and no one keeps them out of any one of these, for fear he should be robbing them of their independence; so independent is our city! And yet you think that even the charming youths in the city ought to keep quiet and, if possible, think whatever you like, but at any rate utter only what is agreeable for you to hear! But it is their independence that makes them hold revels; and this they always do handsomely, but during the festivals they revel more than usual.”

Once upon a time the citizens of Tarentum paid to the Romans the penalty for this sort of jesting, seeing that, when drunk at the festival of Dionysus, they insulted the Roman ambassadors. But you are in all respects more fortunate than the citizens of Tarentum, for you give yourselves up to pleasure throughout the whole year, instead of for a few days; and instead of foreign ambassadors you insult your own Sovereign, yes even the very hairs on his chin and the devices engraved on his coins. Well done, O wise citizens, both ye who make such jests and ye who welcome and find profit in the jesters! For it is evident that uttering them gives pleasure to the former, while the latter rejoice to hear jests of this sort. I share your pleasure in this unanimity, and you do well to be a city of one mind in such matters, since it is not at all dignified or an enviable task to restrain and chastise the licentiousness of the young. For if one were to rob human beings of the power to

1 In 272 B.C. the Romans took Tarentum.
2 The people of Antioch ridiculed the Pagan symbols, such as the figures of Helios, the sun-god, which Julian had engraved on his coinage.
καὶ πράττειν ὅ,τι βουλοῦται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὁρθῶς οὖν ὑμὲῖς τοῦτο εἰδότες, διὲ δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔλευθεροι εἶναι, πρῶτον ἐπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν, ἣν ὑμῖν ὡσὶ λίαν ἔλευθεραί καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, εἶτα ἐκεῖναις ξυνεχωρήσατε ἀνάγεντα τὰ παιδία, μή ποτε ὑμῖν ἀρχῆς πειρώμενα τραχυτέρας. Ο ἐπειτα ἀποφανθῇ δούλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια πρῶτον αἰδεύσατε διδαχθῇ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως δὲ τῆς οὕτως κακῆς συνθέσεως εὐλαβείτερα γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχούτας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενόμεναι σώφρονες καὶ ἑπιεικεῖς καὶ κόσμου λάθως διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι. τί οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες; ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἁγούσιν αὐτὰ δὲ ἡδονῆς, ὅ ὅλος μακαριώτατον εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτίμητον οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις. ἐνθεν οἴμαι υμαῖνοι τὰ πάντα ὑμῶν ἐνδιάλυσιν εἰναι ἀρνουμένους δουλεῖαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρξαμένοντι πρῶτον, εἰτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τρῶτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἀτοποὶ τε ἀκούσαν ἡμῖν, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορώτων οὕτως ἔλευθερα τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐπεξείδοντων ἁγανακτούμενοι καὶ χαλεπαλνομεν. εὐ γὰρ ἵστο δὲ 357 τάυτης ἡμῖν ἐκουσώσας οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χί, φασίν, οὔτεν ἤδικησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα. τί μὲν ἄστι τρύτῳ τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αἰρώμα ἁξιεῖναι χαλεπῶν, τυχόντες δὲ ἡμῖν

1 ἀρξαμένοι before πρῶτον Hortlein suggests, Klimek άρχα-μένοι τῆς for ἀρξαμένοι τῆς.
do and say what they please, that would be to take away and curtail the first principle of independence. Therefore, since you knew that men ought to be independent in all respects, you acted quite rightly, in the first place when you permitted the women to govern themselves, so that you might profit by their being independent and licentious to excess; secondly, when you entrusted to them the bringing up of the children, for fear that if they had to experience any harsher authority they might later turn out to be slaves; and as they grew up to be boys might be taught first of all to respect their elders, and then under the influence of this bad habit might show too much reverence for the magistrates, and finally might have to be classed not as men but as slaves; and becoming temperate and well-behaved and orderly might be, before they knew it, altogether corrupted. Then what effect have the women on the children? They induce them to reverence the same things as they do by means of pleasure, which is, it seems, the most blessed thing and the most highly honoured, not only by men but by beasts also. It is for this reason, I think, that you are so very happy, because you refuse every form of slavery; first you begin by refusing slavery to the gods, secondly to the laws, and thirdly to me who am the guardian of the laws. And I should indeed be eccentric if, when the gods suffer the city to be so independent and do not chastise her, I should be resentful and angry. For be assured that the gods have shared with me in the disrespect that has been shown to me in your city.

"The Chi," say the citizens, "never harmed the city in any way, nor did the Kappa." Now the meaning of this riddle which your wisdom has
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ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀρχαῖς ὄνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δὲ ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστὸν, τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον. ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. Β ἐν μόνῳ ὡμᾶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἦδικησεν, ὅτε με καλὸσαρα ποιήσας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν· ὅσ τά γε ἄλλα ὡμῶν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν δοεῖν οἱ θεοὶ Κωνστάντιῶν πειραθήκῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνηρ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐήλετο τὴν ἔχθραν, εἶτα ὡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἄλληλους ἀγώνα λιαν ἐβραβευσαν φιλανθρώπως, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερος οἱ φίλοι ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἐξεῖν με πρὶν ἔχθρον γενέσθαι. τὸ οὖν οἰεσθέ με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν ἐγκαταλέιπω, ὃς ἠχομαι τοῖς λοιδορομένους αὐτῷ; Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Δίδω καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλιόπης, ὥσ τὸ σὸφισμα ὡμῶν ἀπεγόμενοι. Ἠμιστηρι Χριστὸν ἔποθον οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς πάθοις τῶν Γαλαταῖοι; ἐλύπησα δ' ἐγὼ τίνας Ἠμισιθηρόν πώποτε; ὡμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς καὶ ὄλγον δέω Θῖον φάναι πάντας, τὴν ἰβολήν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν δῆμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθετάλ μοι τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπας ἂθεότητα προελόμενος,
invented is hard to understand, but I obtained interpreters from your city and I was informed that these are the first letters of names, and that the former is intended to represent Christ, the latter Constantius. Bear with me then, if I speak frankly. In one thing Constantius did harm you, in that when he had appointed me as Caesar he did not put me to death. Now for the rest may the gods grant to you alone out of all the many citizens of Rome to have experience of the avarice of many a Constantius, or I should say rather, of the avarice of his friends. For the man was my cousin and dear to me; but after he had chosen enmity with me instead of friendship, and then the gods with the utmost benevolence arbitrated our contention with one another, I proved myself a more loyal friend to him than he had expected to find me before I became his enemy. Then why do you think that you are annoying me by your praises of him, when I am really angry with those who slander him? But as for Christ you love him, you say, and adopt him as the guardian of your city instead of Zeus and the god of Daphne and Calliope 1 who revealed your clever invention? Did those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire to the tombs of the Galilaens? 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.
δι τοὺς πατρίοις ὅρᾳ τῆς ἁγιστείας θεσμοῖς προσκέιμενον, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κωλυόμενοι πολλοὶ πάντα πολεῖν ἀργυρίου, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὐχ ὁτὲ τοὺς ἅλλους ἀποστερῶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ ὁτὲ μέλει μοι τῶν τοιούτων ἧττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων. εἰτα οὐκ εἰκότως ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγορῶ τοσάττας ἀπεχθείας λαβᾶς παρασχόντος;

'Ἀλλ' ὁ 'Ῥωμαίος Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχων πάγανον οὐκ οἶδα, παρ' ὄντεινον δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονοῦντων ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι, προσίδων τῇ τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ πλουσίᾳ πόλει τοὺς ἐφήθους ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ προ-Βαστείῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν ἑσταλμένους ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν δορυφορίαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμῶν τοὺς προγόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποιηθήσασθαι καὶ βάςσον ἀποβᾶς τοῦ ἢππου προηγεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχεραίνων ὡς μηνυτὰς γενομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Κάτων προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπείσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν. οὗτος δὲ ἐν τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ διαποροῦντος ἦρέμα καὶ ἐμφατικῶς, ὁ γυμνασίαρχος προσδραμὼν, ὁ ξένε, ἤφη, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἦν δὲ οὗτος ο ἀπελεύθερος Πομπήλας, κεκτημένος οὐσίαιν πολλὴν πάνω μέτρου δὲ αὐτῆς εἶ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν· οἶμαι 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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ταύτην μάλιστα ἄρμησθαι τὴν ἀκοήν ἐγὼ τὸν εἰπόντα φράσω. Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ Βιβυνῷ πεποίηται συγγράμματα τουαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενοι ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν ἐιργάσατο λόγους ἡδίστους Δ
νέως φιλικός καὶ πρεσβυτέρος φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ γῆς ἐπανάγεων αὑθεὶς εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων φιλικῶν τούς ἀφηλικεστέρους· δὴν οἴμαι συμβαίνει νέους καὶ πρεσβύτας εξ ἵσης εἰναι φιλομυθοῦς· 
εἰεν. οὐ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὅπως ἀπήνυσε τῷ γυμνα-
σίαρχῳ βουλεύειν φράσω; μὴ μὲ λοιδορεῖν ὑπο-
λάβητε τὴν πόλιν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος ἐμὸς. 
εἰ τις ἀφίκεται περιφερεμένη καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀκοὴ 359
Χαιρωνέως ἄνδρος ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου γένους, δὴ 
λόγεται παρὰ τῶν ἀλαζῶνος φιλόσοφον· οὐ 
καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφικόμην μὲν, ἡμίκομην δὲ ὕπο 
ἀμαθίας κοινωνήσαι καὶ μετασχείν. ταῦτα ὅν 
ἐκεῖνος ἔφρασεν, ὥσ τὸ κατον ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν 
οὐδὲν, βοήσας δὲ μόνον οἶα τὶς ἐμπλήκτος καὶ 
ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος. Ω τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως, 
ἀπικὼν ὁχετο.

Μὴ δὴ θαυμάσῃτε, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ νυνὶ 
πάσχω πρὸς ψυχῶς, ἀνὴρ ἀγματερος ἑκεῖνον καὶ Β 
θρασύτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ αὐθαδέστερος, ὅτι 
οἱ Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείσε τεχθεὶς 
ἐγγὺς ἦλθε γῆς ἄμα τοῖς πολλὰς τρεφόμενος· 
ἐμοὶ δὲ Κελτόι καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ δρυμὸς Ἐρκύνιος 
ἐμείλεν ἀρτι πρῶτον· εἰς ἄνδρας τελευταὶ, καὶ 
διέτρεψα πολὺν ἡδὴ χρόνου, ὡσπερ της κυνηγητῆς

1 ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν Hurtleim suggests, ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν MSS.
that I am now telling you are most anxious to hear this,—I will tell you who has related the story. Damophilus of Bithynia has written compositions of this sort, and in them, by culling anecdotes from many books, he has produced tales that give the greatest delight to anyone who loves to listen to gossip, whether he be young or old. For old age usually revives in the elderly that love of gossip which is natural to the young; and this is, I think, the reason why both the old and the young are equally fond of stories. Well then, to return to Cato. Do you want me to tell you how he greeted the master of the gymnasium? Do not imagine that I am slandering your city; for the story is not my own. If any rumour has come round, even to your ears, of the man of Chaeronea, who belongs to that worthless class of men who are called by impostors philosophers,—I myself never attained to that class though in my ignorance I claimed to be a member of it and to have part in it,—well he, as I was saying, related that Cato answered not a word, but only cried aloud like a man stricken with madness and out of his senses, "Alas for this ill-fated city!" and took himself off.

Therefore do not be surprised if I now feel towards you as I do, for I am more uncivilised than he, and more fierce and headstrong in proportion as the Celts are more so than the Romans. He was born in Rome and was nurtured among Roman citizens till he was on the threshold of old age. But as for me, I had to do with Celts and Germans and the Hercynian forest from the moment that I was reckoned a grown man, and I have by now spent a long time

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1 cf. Fragment of a Letter 299 c, note.  2 Plutarch.
3 cf. Caesar, Gallic War, 6. 24.  479
άγριοις ὀμιλῶν καὶ συμπλεκόμενος θηρίοις, ἦθεσιν οὐ τε ὀφθαλµέων οὐτε κολακεύειν εἰδό-
σιν, ἀπλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐκ τοῦ ἱσού πᾶσιν προσφέρεσθαι. γέγονεν οὖν μοι μετὰ τήν ἐκ
παίδων τροφῆν ἡ τε ἐν μειρακίοις ὁδὸς διὰ τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων οὐδαµῶς
ἐπιτηδείων δήμωις ἐντυγχάνειν οἰλομένους ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιµονετάτους ἐιναι, ἡ τε ἐν ἀνδράσιν
ἀυτουργία παρὰ τοῖς μαχηµατάτοις καὶ θυµικω-
τάτοις τῶν ἔθνων, ὅπου τὴν γαµµηλίαν Ἀφροδίτην
καὶ τὸν µεθυδότην Δίονυσον γάµον τε ἐνέκα
καὶ παιδοποιοῖς οἰνοῦν τε ὑπόσθη ἐκάστην δυνα-
tὸν πόσεως ἵσασι µόνον. ἀσέλγεια δ' οὐκ ἔστιν Ἔν
ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὐδὲ ὑβρίς, οὐδὲ ἐλκεῖ τις εἰσο
τής σκηνῆς τῶν κόρδακα.

Ἀγαθοί τοι µικρὸι πρὸςθεν ὡς ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσθε
τις Καππαδοκίας φυγάς, ἐν τῇ παρ' ὑµῖν τραφεῖος
πόλει παρὰ τῷ χρυσοχόῳ γνωρίζετε δήποτεν ὅν
λέγω: µαθῶν ὅπου καὶ ἔµαθεν, ὡς οὐ δέον
ὀµιλεῖν γυναιξὶ, µειράκιοις δ' ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκ
οίδα ὅπώσα ἐνθάδε δράσας καὶ παθῶν, ἐπειδὴ 360
παρὰ τῶν ἐκείστε Βασιλέα πρώῃ ἀφικετο, µηνὴ
tῶν τῆς πολλοῦς µὲν ὀρχηστᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐπα-
γαγεῖν, ἄλλα δὲ τὰ ἐνεπεθεν ἀγαθὰ τοιαῦτα,
καὶ δὴ καὶ τέλος ὡς ἐνεδήσεν ἐτι κοτυλιστοῦ-

1 ἐπιτηδείων—ὀλοµένωι—εὐδαιµονετάτω Horlelt runs: ἐπιτηδεῖον δήµωις ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιµονετάτω
MSS.

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there, like some huntsman who associates with and is entangled among wild beasts. There I met with temperaments that know not how to pay court or flatter, but only how to behave simply and frankly to all men alike. Then after my nurture in childhood, my path as a boy took me through the discourses of Plato and Aristotle, which are not at all suited for the reading of communities who think that on account of their luxury they are the happiest of men. Then I had to work hard myself among the most warlike and high-spirited of all nations, where men have knowledge of Aphrodite, goddess of Wedlock, only for the purpose of marrying and having children, and know Dionysus the Drink-Giver, only for the sake of just so much wine as each can drink at a draught. And in their theatres no licentiousness or insolence exists, nor does any man dance the cordax on their stage.

A story is told of them that not long ago a certain Cappadocian was exiled from here to that place, a man who had been brought up in your city in the house of the goldsmith—you know of course whom I mean,—and had learned, as he naturally did learn there, that one ought not to have intercourse with women but to pay attentions to youths. And when, after doing and suffering here I know not what, he went to the court of the king in that country, he took with him to remind him of your habits here a number of dancers and other such delights from this city; and then finally since he still needed a cottylist¹—you know the word and the thing too—he

¹ We do not know what sort of performance was given by a cottylist; he was evidently a mime and may have played with cups; κοτόλας = a pint-cup.


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τούτο δ’ ύμεις ἵστε πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ τὸύτον ἐνθένδε ἐκάλει πόθερ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς παρ’ ύμῖν διαίτης. οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν κοτυλιστὴν ἡγυότησαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα τὰ Β βασίλεια, τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ ἐπιτραπέντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι ἕν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῆν τέχνην εἴσαγαν οἰόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοὺς ἐοικέναι. καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπληκτώς ἐμοὶ καταγελαστότατον τὸ θεάτρον· ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ὀλύγοι πολλῶν κατεγέλουν, ἐγώ δὲ ξύν ὀλύγοις ἐνθάδε γελοίος ὑμῖν ἀπασί τὰ πάντα φαινομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανάκτω τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὁ εἰνη ἄδικος ἐλ. μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργοις, διαφερόντως ἀσπασάμενος ἐκεῖνα. Κελτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὕτω με δὲ ὀμοιότητα τρόπων ἡγύωσαν, ὡστε ἐτόλμησαν αὐτοὺς ὀπλα μόνου ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἑδόκαν πολλά, καὶ παρατηρούμενον ὀλύγον καὶ ἐβιάσαντο λαβεῖν, καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουσαν. ὃ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ύμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, καὶ ἑβῶν πάντες ἀνδρεῖον, συνετόν, δίκαιον, οὐ πολέμω μόνων ὀμηλήσαι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνῃ δ’ χρήσασθαι δεξιόν, εὐπρόσετον, πράξιν’ ύμείς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεδώκατε νῦν ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μὲν, ὦτι παρ’ ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατεῖρπται· σύνοιδα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνατρέψεων ἐμαυτῷ οὔτε ἐκών οὔτε ἄκων εἶτα, ὥσ ἐκ τοῦ πῶς ὁμοῦ μοι χρή πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ οὐτὸ πολεμῶ τῷ Χε, πόθος δὲ ύμᾶς εἴσεισι τοῦ Κάππα. καὶ ύμῖν γε αὐτὸ οἱ

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1 ἔπεδεκνυσθαι Hestlein would add.
invited him also from here, because of his longing and love for the austere mode of life that prevails with you. Now the Celts never made the acquaintance of the cotylist, since he was at once admitted into the palace; but when the dancers began to display their art in the theatre, the Celts left them alone because they thought that they were like men stricken with nympholepsy. And the theatre seemed to the men in that country highly ridiculous, just as it does to me; but whereas the Celts were a few ridiculing many, I here along with a few others seem absurd in every way to all of you.

This is a fact which I do not resent. And indeed it would be unjust of me not to make the best of the present state of things, after having so greatly enjoyed the life among the Celts. For they loved me so much, on account of the similarity of our dispositions, that not only did they venture to take up arms on my behalf, but they gave me large sums of money besides; and when I would have declined it, they almost forced me to take it, and in all things readily obeyed me. And what was most wonderful of all, a great report of me travelled thence to your city, and all men proclaimed loudly that I was brave, wise and just, not only terrible to encounter in war, but also skilful in turning peace to account, easy of access and mild-tempered. But now you have sent them tidings from here in return, that in the first place the affairs of the whole world have been turned upside down by me—though indeed I am not conscious of turning anything upside down, either voluntarily or involuntarily; secondly, that I ought to twist ropes from my beard, and that I war against the Cki and that you begin to regret the Kappa.
ΤΗΣ ΣΑΤΙΡΩΝ ΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ

πολιούχοι τῆς τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ δεξιοῦν δοξάν,
ὅτι πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἀστυγείτονας ἐσυναφή
τῆς τῆς πόλεως ἱερᾶς καὶ ὀμοδούλους ἐμοὶ, ὡς δὴ
παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εἴη τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ εὐστεθέντα, δὲν εὐ οἶδ᾽
ὅτι φιλοῦσίν εἰκείναι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν νίεας,
οὐ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη,
τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας,
ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, ὃ δὴ δέδοται παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ
πρόφην, οὕτως ἐπαρθένες τῶν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι
γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπεξελθένην
tοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἡ σουλομένῳ Β
μοι ἦν.

Τὰ δ᾽ ὑμέτερα: πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγειρομένους ἄρτι
τοὺς θαυμασθῆναι, οὗς ἡ προφορής ἤμων
ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖνοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεπεμφάμεθα
τῶν νεκρῶν τῆς Δαφνῆς, οἱ μὲν ἀφοσιώμενοι τὰ
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶς ὕμων ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
λειψάνων ἡγανακτικός τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος Σ
τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, ο𝓲 δὲ εἴτε λαβόντες εἴτε μὴ
tὸ πῦρ ἐνείσαν εἰκεῖνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ἔνων
φρικῶδες, ὕμων δὲ τῇ δὴ μὲν ἡδονήν παρασχῶν,

1 ἔνεισαν Hertlein suggests, ἔνεισαν MSS.
MISOPOGON

Now may the guardian gods of this city grant you a double allowance of the Kappa!¹ For besides this you falsely accused the neighbouring cities, which are holy and the slaves of the gods, like myself, of having produced the satires which were composed against me; though I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the tombs² of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.

But now consider your own behaviour. Many of you overturned the altars of the gods which had only just been erected, and with difficulty did my indulgent treatment teach you to keep quiet. And when I sent away the body from Daphne,³ some of you, in expiation of your conduct towards the gods, handed over the shrine of the god of Daphne to those who were aggrieved about the relics of the body, and the rest of you, whether by accident or on purpose, hurled against the shrine that fire which made the strangers who were visiting your city shudder, but gave pleasure to the mass of

¹ i.e. may they have two such rulers as Constantius.
² i.e. the sepulchres over which the Christian churches were built; cf. 367 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 23, 362 A.D.) the people of Antioch burned the temple of Apollo which Julian had restored. Cf. Johannes Chrysostomos, De S. Babylas et contra Julianum; and Libanius, Monody on the Temple of Apollo at Daphne.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθέν καὶ εἰςτὲι ἀμελουμένου. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολελουσέναι τὸν νεῶν ὁ θεός, ἐπεσήμην γὰρ εἰσελθόντε μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἁγαλμα, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν Ἡλίου πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας, ύμᾶς δὲ ὑπομνήσας βούλομαι καὶ ἄλλης ἀπεχθείας ἐμῆς, ἐπειτα, ὅπερ εἰσθα ποιεῖν Ὁ ἐπιεικῶς, ὁνειδίσας ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ κατηγορήσας καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γὰρ που μην τῷ παρ’ ύμιν ἀριθμούμενῳ. Δῶν οἶμαι τούτου ύμεῖς προσαγορεύσετε τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πατρίδος ἐστιν ἐορτή, καὶ ἔδει σπουδὴ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντᾶν. ἔγω μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Δίδας ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔθραμον, οἷομενός ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ύμῶν ἀπολαῦσειν. εἶτα ἄνεπλαττον παρ’ ἐμαυτῷ πομπῆς, ὡσπερ ὀνείρατα ὅρῳν, ἱερεία καὶ 362 σπουδᾶς καὶ χρονὸς τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἕκει περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπέστατα μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκῇ δ’ ἐσθήτοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένους. ὡς δὲ εἰσὶν παρῆλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὔτε θυμιάματα κατελάβουσαν οὔτε πόπανον οὔτε ἱερεῖαν. αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἐθαύμασα καὶ ὧμᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι, περιμένειν δ’ ύμᾶς, ἐμε, ὑδη τιμῶντας ὡς ἀρχιερέα, Β τὸ σύνθημα παρ’ ἐμοῦ. ἐπεί δὲ ἡρῴμην, τί μέλλει θύειν ἡ πόλις ἐνιαύσιον ἔορτὴν ἀγούσα τῷ θεῷ, ὁ
your citizens and was ignored and is still ignored by your Senate. Now, in my opinion, even before that fire the god had forsaken the temple, for when I first entered it his holy image gave me a sign thereof. I call mighty Helios to bear me witness of this before all unbelievers. And now I wish to remind you of yet another reason for your hatred of me, and then to abuse myself—a thing which I usually do fairly well—and both to accuse and blame myself with regard to that hatred.

In the tenth month, according to your reckoning,—Loos I think you call it—there is a festival founded by your forefathers in honour of this god, and it was your duty to be zealous in visiting Daphne. Accordingly I hastened thither from the temple of Zeus Kasios,¹ thinking that at Daphne, if anywhere, I should enjoy the sight of your wealth and public spirit. And I imagined in my own mind the sort of procession it would be, like a man seeing visions in a dream, beasts for sacrifice, libations, choruses in honour of the god, incense, and the youths of your city there surrounding the shrine, their souls adorned with all holiness and themselves attired in white and splendid raiment. But when I entered the shrine I found there no incense, not so much as a cake, not a single beast for sacrifice. For the moment I was amazed and thought that I was still outside the shrine and that you were waiting the signal from me, doing me that honour because I am supreme pontiff. But when I began to inquire what sacrifice the city intended to offer to celebrate the annual festival in honour of the god, the priest answered, "I have

¹ Kasios was the name of a mountain near Antioch where there was a temple of Zeus.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ιερεύς εἰπεν ἐγώ μὲν ἢκῳ φέρων οἴκοθεν τῷ θεῷ χήμα ιερεύων, ἢ πόλις δὲ τὰ νῦν οὐδὲν ἄτρεπτον ἦπερ.

'Ενταῦθα ὁ φιλαπεχθήμων ἐγώ πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἀνεπιευκές πάνω διελέγθην λόγους, ὃν ἦσως οὐκ ἀτοπον καί νῦν μημονεύσαι. "Δεινῶν," ἐφην ἐγώ, "τὴν τοσαύτην πόλιν οὖτω τῶν θεῶν ὁλογόρως ἐχειν, ὡς οὐδεμια παροικοῦσα ταῖς ἐσχάταις τοῦ Πάντου κόμης μυρίους κλήρους ζην ἵππας κεκτήμενα, τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ νῦν πρῶτον ἐπιστάσης ἑορτής ἐνανυσίου, ἐπειδή διεσκέδασαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἁθέτητος τὴν νεφέλην, μίαν ὅριν ¹ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐ προσέγει, ἢν ἐχρήν μάλιστα μὲν καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς βουθυτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ βάθιον, ἐνα γε ² κοινῇ πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ ταύτων. ὦμων δ' ἐκαστὸς ἴδια μὲν εἰς τὰ δείπνα Δ καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς χαίρει δαπανάμενος, καὶ εὐ οἶδα πολλοὺς ύμῶν πλείστα εἰς τὰ δείπνα τοῦ Μαίουμα χρόνια ἀπολέσαντας, ὑπὲρ δ' ύμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς θύει οὕτε ἴδια τῶν πολιτῶν οὕτε ἡ πόλις κοινῇ, μόνος δ' ὁ ἱερεύς, ὃν οἶμαι δικαίοτερον ἢν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ θεῷ παρ' ύμῶν οὐκάδε ἀπειλεῖ μερίδας ἤχοντα. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἱερεύσων οἱ θεοὶ καλοκάγαθα τιμῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπετηθεύσει προσέταξαν καὶ λειτουργεῖν σφίσι τὰ εἰκότα· πρέπει δ' οἶμαι τῇ πόλει θύειν ἴδια καὶ 363

¹ μιαν δρων Hertlein suggests, δρων MSS.
² ἐνα γε Hertlein suggests, ἐνα 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.\footnote{cf. Themistius 332 p.} Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce on her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe, or if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered, very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city's welfare not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one
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δημοσίαν νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἐνδοθεν εἰς τὸν Γαλι-λαίους, καὶ τρέφουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖνα τοὺς πέντες πολὺ τῆς ἀθέστητος ἐργάζονται θαῦμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων ὀφειμένους. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτον οἶμαι τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν ἄμελῶς ἔχοντες πράττειν οὖν ἄτοπον ὑπολαμβάνετε. πρόσεις δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν ὀφειμένων Β τοῖς ιεροῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔστων οἴμαι πόθεν διατραφῆ. καὶ γενέθλια μὲν τις ἐστὶ οἰκανὸς παρασκευάζει δεῖσσον καὶ ἁριστον, ἐπὶ πολυτελῇ τράπεζᾳ τοὺς φίλους παραλαμβάνων ἐνιαυτῶν δὲ ἐορτῆς οὕσης οὐδεὶς ἐκόμισεν ἑλαιον εἰς λύχνον τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ στονδὴν οὐδὲ ἱερεῖον οὐδὲ λυβαντίων. ἔγω μὲν 1 οὐκ ὤν, ὅπως ἂν τις ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Ο ὅρων παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀποδέξατο, νομίζω δὲ ἐγώ γε μηδὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκειν.

Τοιαύτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνημαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησε μου τοὺς λόγους, ὡς μῆποτε ὄφελεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προάστειον, ὁ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνον, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ζάλῃ τρέψας ἄλλαχον τῶν κρατοῦντων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τῷ χείρε βιασάμενος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἀνηχθόμην ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀνοίγως. ἐχρῆν γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὅπερ οἴμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συνεισθόντων ἐμοὶ, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μὴ ἐπιτιμᾶν. ἄλλῳ ὑπὸ προπετείαν ἐγὼ καὶ D

1 μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.
of you allows his wife to carry everything out of his house to the Galilaeans, and when your wives feed the poor at your expense they inspire a great admiration for godlessness in those who are in need of such bounty—and of such sort are, I think, the great majority of mankind,—while as for yourselves you think that you are doing nothing out of the way when in the first place you are careless of the honours due to the gods, and not one of those in need goes near the temples—for there is nothing there, I think, to feed them with—and yet when any one of you gives a birthday feast he provides a dinner and a breakfast without stint and welcomes his friends to a costly table; when, however, the annual festival arrived no one furnished olive oil for a lamp for the god, or a libation, or a beast for sacrifice, or incense. Now I do not know how any good man could endure to see such things in your city, and for my part I am sure that it is displeasing to the gods also."

This is what I remember to have said at the time, and the god bore witness to the truth of my words—would that he had not!—when he forsook your suburb which for so long he had protected, and again during that time of storm and stress 1 when he turned in the wrong direction the minds of those who were then in power and forced their hands. But I acted foolishly in making myself odious to you. For I ought to have remained silent as, I think, did many of those who came here with me, and I ought not to have been meddlesome or found fault. But

1 Julian probably alludes to the riot which took place at Antioch on account of the famine in 354, when the populace killed Theophilus the Governor and were punished for the murder by Constantius.
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τῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομιστέον ὑπὲρ εὐνοίας ἐμοὶ τότε εἰρήσθαι τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλὰ οἱ οἱ δόξαι θηρεύων εὐλαβείας τε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἀδόλουτοτοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ οἱ παγγέλλοιος κολακεία: πολλά ὑμῶν μάτην κατέχεια. δίκαια τοῖς σχετικῶς ἐργάζεσθε 364 με τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκείνων ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἤχυσεν ἐν ὅληι ὑμῶν κατέδραμον ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἰκανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα χαριεντίζεσθαι πολιτῶν. εὐ γὰρ ἦστε, πάντες οἱ λέγοντες κοινοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἄκούοντας τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ο ξῖν ἥδους τῶν βλασφημῶν ἀκροασάμενος, μετέχων τῆς ἴσης ἥδους ἀπραγμονένης νέστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινούντος ἦστε τῆς αἰτίας.

Εἰρηται σοιν ύμῶν δὲ ὅλης και ἕκροται τῆς πόλεως ὅποσα εἰς τοῦτον πέπαικται τῶν φαύλων πόγωνα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα ύμῶν καλὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξοντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίων ύμῶν, ὅποιον ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχετε, ποθείτε δὲ ὅραν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχομέν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφημῶν, ὅσι ίδία τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεχέστε μοι ὑπαίτιος, ἐμαυτοῦ προσκατ.
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 anaepastic verse, since I too have accused myself I permit you to employ that
ηγορήσας ύμων ἐπιτρέπω χρήσθαι μετὰ μείζωνος αὐτῷ παραρτήσεως, ὡς οὐδὲν ύμᾶς ἔγω διὰ τούτο πώς πάντοθε δεινὸν ἐργάσομαι σφάττων ἢ τύπτων ἢ δόν ἢ ἀποκλειῶν ἢ κολάζων. πῶς γάρ; οὐ, ἔπειτα ύμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπεδείξας μετὰ τῶν φίλων σωφρονοῦντα, φαινότατον οἶδεῖν ύμῶν καὶ ἁγιοτάτων, οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξα καλὸν θέαμα, μεταστήναι 

1 τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests, τῆν 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, 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; nor have we allowed any of those in office to exercise influence over us, or induced the populace to get up banquets or theatrical shows; nay rather we have procured for them such luxurious ease that, since they have respite from want, they have had leisure to compose their anapaests against the very author of their well-being. Again, I have not levied gold money or demanded silver money or increased the tribute; but in

1 Demosthenes, Against Meidias 153 ἀποκαλεῖ γὰρ ἄρει καὶ ἀναισθησία.
2 ἐποστεία 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 πᾶσι τῶν εἰθι-
σμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ οἴμαι δὲ
ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέτριον
ἐχω ναὶ μᾶ Δία καὶ θεοῦς, ός ἐμαυτὸν πείθω,
tὸν εἰσαγγελέα, καλῶς ύφ᾽ υἱῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντα,
dιότι γέρων ὤν καὶ φαλακρὸς ἡρέμα τὰ πρόσω
διὰ δυστροπίαν αἰσχύνεται κομᾶν ἐξόπισθεν, Ο
όσπερ Ὁμηρος ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἀβαντας, οὐδὲν
δὲ ἐκεῖνον φαυλοτέρους ἄνδρας οἴκοι παρ᾽ ἐμαυτῷ
δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε
dὲ νυνὶ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δὲ μοι θείος καὶ ὁμώνυμος οὐ δικαιώτατα
μὲν ύμῶν προούστη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοὶ
ξυνεἰναι ἡμῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ξυμπράττειν; οὐ προμη-
θετάτα δὲ πᾶσαι ἐπεξήλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις
τῆς πόλεως; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν ἕδοκε ταύτα καλά,
πρὸς τὴν ἄρχοντας μετὰ σωφροσύνης, φόρμεθα τὲ
ὑμῶν ἱκανός διὰ τούτων καλὸι φανεῖσθαι τῶν
ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ύμᾶς ἡ τε βαθύτης
ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενείου καὶ τὸ ἀτημέλητον τῶν
τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μῆ παραβάλλειν τοὺς θεάτρους
cαὶ τὸ ἄξιον ἐν τοῖς ίεροῖς εἶναι σεμὸν καὶ
πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ἡ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἡμῶν
ἀσχολία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰργεῖν τὴν πλεον-
εξίαν, ἐκόντες ύμῶν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366
οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι τὸν όρον ἐν ὑπῆρ Μεταθεμένῳ δια-
φυγεῖν τὸν λεγομένον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱκτίνου μύθου.
λέγεται γὰρ τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν φαύνην ἔχοντα παρα-
πλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις δρομοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ ἱερ-
μετίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ γενναῖοι τῶν ὑπτών, εἰτα τοῦ

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

μὲν ἐπιλαθόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἔλεγεν ἰκανὸς ἀμφοῖν στέρεσθαι καὶ φαυλοτέραν τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνίθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὦ δὴ καὶ Β ἀυτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἀγροκίας τε ἁμα καὶ δεξιότητος ἀμαρτεῖν. ἣδη γὰρ, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ συνορᾶτε, πληθὺν ἐσμὲν ἐθελόντων θεῶν,

Εὗτε μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνουσι ἀναμεμβῆσται τρίχες,

ὁ Θεὸς ἔφη ποιητῆς.

Εἰς πρὸς θεῶν καὶ Δίδος ἄγοραίου καὶ πολιούχου, ὑπόσχετε λόγουν. ἡδίκησθε τι παρ' ἐμοὶ κοινῆ πώποτε ἢ καὶ ἰδία, καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι οἱ φάνεροι διὰ τῶν ἀναπαήστων ἡμᾶς, ὅπερ οἱ κωμόδιοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔλευσοι καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἄγοραις ἐπιτρίβετε λοιδοροῦντες; ἢ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι χαλεπὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ἡμᾶς κακῶς οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱόντες ἀμύνησθε; τὸς οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐστιν αὐτίκα τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσματο καὶ τῆς ἀπεχθείας; ἐγώ γὰρ εὐ ὁδα δεινὸν οὐδένα ἡμῶν οὐδὲν. Ὁ οῦδὲ ἀνήκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὕτε ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας οὕτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' εἰσὶν οὐδὲν φλαύρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανείσας, ὡς ἐδοξέ γε μοι προσήκειν, καὶ μεταδοὺς χρηστοῦ τινος, ὅσον εἰκός ἢν τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πολλοῖς εὐ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους. ἀδύνατον δ' εὐ ἅστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

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

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

\(^1\) Anacreon fr. 77, Bergk. \(^2\) cf. Oration 7. 204 b.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ρουσι συγχωρεῖν ἀπαντα καὶ διδόναι πάντα τοῖς 367 εἰσθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὅταν οὖν φανὼ μηδὲν ἐλαττώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξεων, διὰς εἰσόθεν ἡ βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ὑμῶν δέ ἀνεῖς τῶν εἰσφορῶν οὐκ ὀλγα, ἀρʿ οὐκ αἰνήγατι τὸ πράγμα ἔσκειν;

'Αλλ' ὅποσα μὲν κοινὴ πρὸς πάντας πεποίηται τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, πρέπει ἂν σιωπᾶν, ἵνα μὴ δοκήν ἄσπερ ἐξεπίτευξεν αὐτοπρόσωπος ἑπαίνους ἃδειν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαγγελμένος πολλὰς καὶ ἀσελγεστάτας ὑβρισὶς καταχέαι τὰ δὲ ἱδία μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεποιημένα προπετῶσ μὲν καὶ ἀνοίξων, ἡκιστα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀξίω ἀχαρεστείσθαι, πρέπει ἂν ὀλμαῖ προφέρειν ὄσπερ τινὰ ἐμὰ ὁνείδη τοσοῦτο τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χαλεπώτερα, τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς ἀναφροδίσιας, ὅσον καὶ ἀληθεστερα δύνατα τῇ ψυχῇ μάλιστα προσήκει. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπήνουν ὁ ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνεδέχετο μοι φιλοτήμως οὐκ ἀναμένας τὴν πείραν οὐδ' ὅπως ἔξομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνθυμηθεῖσ, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἐλλήνων παῖδας, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ μοι Ὅρακιον, Ἐλλήνα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπῆσομεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἔστω μοι τῆς προπετείῳ ονείδος. ἐπείτα πρεσβευσάμενοι ὑμῶν παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἀφικομένοις ὑπέτεροι οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων D 500
and to give everything to those who are accustomed to receive gifts. Therefore when it is seen that I have diminished none of the public subscriptions which the imperial purse is accustomed to contribute, but have remitted not a few of your taxes, does not this business seem like a riddle?

However, it becomes me to be silent about all that I have done for all my subjects in common, lest it should seem that I am purposely as it were singing my praises with my own lips, and that too after announcing that I should pour down on my own head many most opprobrious insults. But as for my actions with respect to you as individuals, which, though the manner of them was rash and foolish, nevertheless did not by any means deserve to be repaid by you with ingratitude, it would, I think, be becoming for me to bring them forward as reproaches against myself; and these reproaches ought to be more severe than those I uttered before, I mean those that related to my unkempt appearance and my lack of charm, inasmuch as they are more genuine since they have especial reference to the soul. I mean that before I came here I used to praise you in the strongest possible terms, without waiting to have actual experience of you, nor did I consider how we should feel towards one another; nay, since I thought that you were sons of Greeks, and I myself, though my family is Thracian, am a Greek in my habits, I supposed that we should regard one another with the greatest possible affection. This example of my rashness must therefore be counted as one reproach against me. Next, after you had sent an embassy to me—and it arrived not only later than all the other embassies, but even later than
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

tων ἐπ’ Διόγοπτον, πολὺ μὲν ἀνήκα χρυσίον, πολὺ δὲ ἄργυριον, φόρους δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἑδία παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐπειτά τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τοῦ κατάκλον πεικόσκοις βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φει-
σάμενος οὐδενὸς. ἐσκόπουν γὰρ ὅπως ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἔσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευσάντων τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασα- 368
μένων τὸ νόμισμα τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἐλομένους ἔχειν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔκεινις μεν ὁμοίως τοὺς δυναμένους εἴλατος, λαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε παραπλήσια πόλει μὲν σοδαμὸς εὐνομούμενη, πρέποντα δὲ ὑμῶν ἁλλος τῇ τρόπῳ. Βούλευος ἐνδος ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτήν ὅνομασάντες, πρὶν προσγράφηναι τῷ καταλόγῳ, μετεώρον τῆς δίκης ὀυσίας, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργία τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ἀλλον ἀπ’ ἀνορᾶς εἰλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν Β ἀπανταχοῦ μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ’ ὑμῶν δὲ διὰ περιτήν φρόνησιν ἀμειβομένων πρὸς χρυσίον συρβετῶν εὐποροῦντα μετρίας ὀυσίας εἴλατος κοινωνία. πολλὰ τοιαύτα περὶ τὰς ὁνομασίας κακουργοῦντων ὑμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἀπαντα συνεχωρήσαμεν, οὐ τε εὖ εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν ἀπεστερῆσαμεν, καὶ οὐν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκη παρ’ ὑμῶν δυσχεραινόμεθα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν τῶν μικρῶν πάνυ καὶ οὕτω οὐ δυνάμενα τὴν ’πόλιν ἐκπολεμῶσαι τὸ δὲ δὴ
that of the Alexandrians who dwell in Egypt,—I remitted large sums of gold and of silver also, and all the tribute money for you separately apart from the other cities; and moreover I increased the register of your Senate by two hundred members and spared no man; 1 for I was planning to make your city greater and more powerful.

I therefore gave you the opportunity to elect and to have in your Senate the richest men among those who administer my own revenues and have charge of coining the currency. You however did not elect the capable men among these, but you seized the opportunity to act like a city by no means well-ordered, though quite in keeping with your character. Would you like me to remind you of a single instance? You nominated a Senator, and then before his name had been placed on the register, and the scrutiny of his character was still pending, you thrust this person into the public service. Then you dragged in another from the market-place, a man who was poor and who belonged to a class which in every other city is counted as the very dregs, but who among you, since of your excessive wisdom you exchange rubbish for gold, enjoys a moderate fortune; and this man you elected as your colleague. Many such offences did you commit with regard to the nominations, and then when I did not consent to everything, not only was I deprived of the thanks due for all the good I had done, but also I have incurred your dislike on account of all that I in justice refrained from.

Now these were very trivial matters and could not so far make the city hostile to me. But my greatest

1 The Senatorship was an expensive burden.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

μέγιστον, ἐξ οὗ τὸ μέγα ἦρθη μύσος, ἀφικομένου μου πρὸς ύμᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πυγμόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλούσιων, ἀφὴντες φωνὴν πρῶτον ταύτῃν: "Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ." τῆς ἐπιμούσης διελέχθη τοῖς δυνατοῖς ύμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν πεῖθεν, ὅτι κρείττον ἐστίν ὑπεριδόντας ἀδίκου Δησιάσσος εὐ ποιήσαι πολίτας καὶ ξένους. οὐ δὲ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμελήσεσθαι μην ἔντις τριῶν ὑπεριδόντος μου καὶ περιμελήναντος οὕτως ὀλγόροις εἰχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς οὐδὲς ἐκ ἠλπίσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρων ἀληθῆς τὴν τοῦ δήμου φωνῆν καὶ τὴν ἀγορᾶν ὑπὸ εὐδείας, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωρουμένην, 369 ἔταξα μέτριον ἐκάστου τίμημα καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πάνω καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ ὅλος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λουτὰ πάντα: σιτῶν δ’ ἐνδεικτικοὶ εἶχον, ἀφορμὰς δεινής ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν αὐχμῶν γευσμένης, ἐδοξεῖ μοι πέμπειν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ἰερᾶν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις ταῖς περίξ, ἐνθα πιθήγαγον ύμῶν μέτρων τεταράκοντα μυριάδας. ὡς δ’ ἄναλωτο καὶ τοῦτο, πρότερον μὲν πεντάκες χιλίους, ἐπτάκες χιλίους δ’ Βόστερον, εἰτα νῦν μυρίους, οὐς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐστὶ λοιπῶν ὄνομάζει μοδίους, ἀνάλεκτων σῖτον, πάντας οἰκοθέν έχον. ὧτ’ ἦς Αιγύπτου κομμῆσθαι μοι σῖτου ἑδακα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενος ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐπὶ δέκα μέτρουν, ἀλλ’ πεντεκαλέδεκα το-

1 οἷον έτι—μέτρῳ Hertlein suggests, οὐ κατα—μέτρα MSS.
MISOPOGON

offence of all, and what aroused that violent hatred of yours, was the following. When I arrived among you the populace in the theatre, who were being oppressed by the rich, first of all cried aloud, "Everything plentiful; everything dear!" On the following day I had an interview with your powerful citizens and tried to persuade them that it is better to despise unjust profits and to benefit the citizens and the strangers in your city. And they promised to take charge of the matter, but though for three successive months I took no notice and waited, they neglected the matter in a way that no one would have thought possible. And when I saw that there was truth in the outcry of the populace, and that the pressure in the market was due not to any scarcity but to the insatiate greed of the rich, I appointed a fair price for everything, and made it known to all men. And since the citizens had everything else in great abundance, wine, for instance, and olive oil and all the rest, but were short of corn, because there had been a terrible failure of the crops owing to the previous droughts, I decided to send to Chalcis and Hierapolis and the cities round about, and from them I imported for you four hundred thousand measures of corn. And when this too had been used, I first expended five thousand, then later seven thousand, and now again ten thousand bushels—"modii" as they are called in my country—all of which was my very own property; moreover I gave to the city corn which had been brought for me from Egypt; and the price which I set on it was a silver piece, not for ten measures but for fifteen, that is to say, the same

1 The modius was a bushel measure.
THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

σοῦτον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον: εἰ δὲ τοσαυτὰ μέτρα θέρους ἦν παρ’ ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσματος, τὰ πρὸςδοκῶν ἔδει τηνικαύτα, ἦνικα, φησιν ὁ Βοιώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπῶς γενέσθαι τῶν λαμὼν οὔτι δώματε; ἀρ’ οὔ πεντε μόνις καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλεκοῦτον χείμαρρον ἐπεγενομένου;

Τὰ οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ πλούσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν σῖτον λάθρᾳ ἀπέδουτο πλεῖστος, ἐξάρησαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἵδιοις ἀναλόμαστε· καὶ οὔχ ἡ πόλεις μόνον ἐπὶ τούτο συρρέει, οἱ Δ πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν, ὃ μόνον ἑστὶν εὐρείων πολύ καὶ εὔωνοι, ἄρτους ἀναμένειν. καίτοι τῆς μέμνηται παρ’ ὑμῖν εὔθηνος πολυτέκτω εὐτεκτίκης τῆς πόλεως πεντεκαίδεκα μέτρα σῖτον πραθέντα τοῦ χρυσοῦ; ταῦτας ἔνεκεν υμῖν ἀπηχθόμην ἐγώ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν οὖν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὀπάρας ἀποδόθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀποκεκλεισμένων ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις σῖτον ἄργωρον αὐτῶς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔξανεν παρ’ ὑμῖν γενέσθαι. 370 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο καλὸς, ἐργασάμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαμὸν ἀλονητήρα βρότειν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐφὶ τοὺς ταύτα ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἐξελέγχων. ἡ πόλις δ’ ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ γέγονεν ἄρτων ἕνεκα μίφον, ἄλλος δ’ οὐδενός.

Συνὴν μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταύτα ποιῶν ὅτι μὴ Β πᾶσιν ἀρέσοιμι, πλὴν ἔμελεν οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ· τῷ γὰρ

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amount that had formerly been paid for ten measures. And if in summer, in your city, that same number of measures is sold for that sum, what could you reasonably have expected at the season when, as the Boeotian poet says, “It is a cruel thing for famine to be in the house.” 1 Would you not have been thankful to get five measures for that sum, especially when the winter had set in so severe?

But what did your rich men do? They secretly sold the corn in the country for an exaggerated price, and they oppressed the community by the expenses that private persons had to incur. And the result is that not only the city but most of the country people too are flocking in to buy bread, which is the only thing to be found in abundance and cheap. And indeed who remembers fifteen measures of corn to have been sold among you for a gold piece, even when the city was in a prosperous condition? It was for this conduct that I incurred your hatred, because I did not allow people to sell you wine and vegetables and fruit for gold, or the corn which had been locked away by the rich in their granaries to be suddenly converted by you into silver and gold for their benefit. For they managed the business finely outside the city, and so procured for men “famine that grinds down mortals,” 2 as the god said when he was accusing those who behave in this fashion. And the city now enjoys plenty only as regards bread, and nothing else.

Now I knew even then when I acted thus that I should not please everybody, only I cared nothing

1 This does not occur in Hesiod or Pindar.
2 A phrase from an unknown oracular source.
αδικομένων πλήθει βοηθεῖν ὁμην χρῆμα καὶ
toῖς ἀφεκνομένοις ξένους, ἐμοῦ τε ἐνεκα καὶ τῶν
συνόντων ἡμῶν ἄρχοντων. ἐπεὶ δ' οἶμαι συμβαί-
νει τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι, τὴν πόλιν δ' εἶναι τὰ πρὸς
ἐμὲ γνώμης μᾶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν. Ἀδραστεία πάντα
ἐπιτρέψας ἐς ἄλλο θεὸν οἰκήσομαι καὶ δήμον ἐπε-
ροῦ, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσας οὐν ἐναιτοῖς ἐμπροσθεν
ἐνεά δίκαια δρώντες εἰς ἄλληλους εἰργάσασθε,
φέρων μὲν ὁ δήμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν
ξυν βοή τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτείνω τὸν ἄρχοντα,
δίκην δ' αὕτης ἀποτίνων ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὃν ὄργα-
νάμενος δικαίως ἐπράζεν οὐκέτι μετρίως.

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

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

¹ The avenging goddess who is more familiarly known as
Nemesis.

² In 354 A.D. there was a riot at Antioch in consequence of
scarcity of food; Constantius sent troops to punish the
citizens for the murder of Theophilus the Governor of Syria.
δ’ ἐνείμασθε πάντες οἱ μὴ δεόμενοι. τούτο ἔξε-
tασθέν ἀνεφάνη σαφῶς. ἀφελόμενος δ’ αὐτοὺς
ἔγι τῶν ἐχόντων οὐ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμο-
νήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, ὑμὶν ἔσχον
ἀτελεῖς, οὐς μάλιστα ἔχρην ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι, 371
ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἔνειμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοὺς τῆς
πόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἀτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν
ὑμῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἱπποτροφοῦντες γῆς κλήρους ἑγγὸς
τρισχίλιος, ἐπινοιά μὲν καὶ οἰκονομία τοῦ θείου
τοῦμοι καὶ ὁμοφόροι, χάριτι δ’ ἐμῆ, δός δὴ τοὺς
πανοῦργους καὶ κλέπτας οὐτω θεοῦ κολάζων εἰκότως
ὑμῶν φαίνομαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ Β
ίστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ πρῶτης αὐξεῖ
cαὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὁ λόγος οὗν μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα περιῆγαται πάλιν
εἰς ὅπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τῶν κακῶν
αἴτιος γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἡθῆ
τὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο
καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ
τὰ πρὸς ύμᾶς εἶναι πειράσμαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνε-
tώτερος· ύμῶν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοιάς Σ
καὶ τείχης, ἢν ἐπιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς
ἀποδοθεῖν.
you all divided them among you though you did not need them. This matter was investigated and brought to light beyond doubt. Then I took the lots away from those who held them unjustly, and made no inquiries about the lands which they had before acquired, and for which they paid no taxes, though they ought most certainly to have been taxed, and I appointed these men to the most expensive public services in the city. And even now they who breed horses for you every year hold nearly three thousand lots of land exempt from taxation. This is due in the first place to the judgment and management of my uncle and namesake but also to my own kindness; and since this is the way in which I punish rascals and thieves, I naturally seem to you to be turning the world upside down. For you know very well that clemency towards men of this sort increases and fosters wickedness among mankind.

Well then, my discourse has now come round again to the point which I wished to arrive at. I mean to say that I am myself responsible for all the wrong that has been done to me, because I transformed your graciousness to ungracious ways. This therefore is the fault of my own folly and not of your licence. For the future therefore in my dealings with you I indeed shall endeavour to be more sensible: but to you, in return for your good will towards me and the honour wherewith you have publicly honoured me, may the gods duly pay the recompense!

1 cf. 340 A, 365 C.
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