

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

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

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

¹ Thessalonica.

² The consulship.

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ιδιώτης οὐδείς οὔτε βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἢ γέγονεν, ὃς οὐ ζηλωτὸν ἐνόμισεν ὑπάτος ἐπονομασθῆναι. εἰ δέ, ὅτι πρῶτος ἔτυχεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ γέγονεν ἀρχηγὸς τῷ γένει τῆς εὐδοξίας, ἔλαττον τις ἔχειν αὐτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολαμβάνει, λίαν ἐξαπατῶμενος οὐ μανθάνει τῷ παντὶ γὰρ οἶμαι κρείττον ἐστὶ καὶ σεμνότερον ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις περιφανείας τοσαύτης ἢ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν προ- D
γόνων. ἐπεὶ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι κρείττον ἢ πολίτην, καὶ λαβεῖν ὅτι οὖν ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δοῦναι τῷ παντὶ καταδέεστερον. λαμβάνειν δὲ εἰκότα παρὰ τῶν πατέρων οἱ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πολῖται παρὰ τῶν πόλεων οἶον ἀφορμὰς τινὰς πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. ὅστις δὲ ἀποδίδωσι πάλιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προγόνοις τε καὶ πατρίδι μείζονα τιμῆς ὑπόθεσιν, λαμπροτέραν μὲν ἐκείνην καὶ σεμνοτέραν, τοὺς πατέρας δὲ ἐνδοξότερους ἀποφαίνων, οὗτος οὐδενὶ δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν¹ πρὸς εὐγενείας λόγον ἄμιλλαν· οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ὅστις 109
ἐκείνου φήσει κρείττων γεγονέναι· ἐξ ἀγαθῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν φῦναι χρή. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐνδόξων ἐνδοξότερος γενόμενος, ἐς ταῦτὸν ἀρετῇ τῆς τύχης πνεύσεως, οὗτος οὐδενὶ δίδωσιν ἀπορεῖν, εἰ τῆς εὐγενείας εἰκότως μεταποιεῖται.

Εὐσεβία δέ, περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος, παῖς μὲν ὑπάτου γέγονε, γαμετὴ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλέως ἀνδρείου, σῶφρονος, συνετοῦ, δικαίου, χρηστοῦ καὶ πρᾶου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου, ὃς ἐπειδὴ πατρώαν οὔσαν αὐτῷ B

² δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν Hertlein suggests, καταλιπεῖν V, M, καταλείπει MSS.

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

Now Eusebia, the subject of my speech, was the daughter of a consul, and is the consort of an Emperor who is brave, temperate, wise, just, virtuous, mild and high-souled, who, when he acquired the

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκτέσαστο, ἀφελόμενος τοῦ βί-
 λαβόντος, γάμου τε ἐδεῖτο πρὸς παίδων γένεσιν,
 οἱ κληρονομήσουσι τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας,
 ταύτην ἀξίαν ἔκρινε τῆς κοινωρίας γεγονῶς ἤδη
 σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης κύριος. καίτοι
 πῶς ἂν τις μείζονα μαρτυρίαν ἐπιζητήσῃε τῆσδε;
 οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ δὲ C
 ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς, ὅσα χρῆν οἶμαι τὴν βασιλεῖ
 τοσοῦτῳ συνιοῦσαν, καθάπερ φερνὴν οἴκοθεν
 ἐπιφερομένην, κομίζειν ἀγαθὰ, παιδείαν ὀρθήν,
 σύνεσιν ἐμμελῆ, ἀκμὴν καὶ ὄραν σώματος καὶ
 κάλλος τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰς
 ἄλλας παρθένους, καθάπερ οἶμαι περὶ τῆ σελήνῃ
 πληθούσῃ οἱ διαφανεῖς ἀστέρες καταυγαζόμενοι
 κρύπτουσι τὴν μορφήν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τούτων
 οὐδὲν¹ ἐξαρκεῖν δοκεῖ πρὸς κοινωρίαν βασιλέως,
 πάντα δὲ ἅμα, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τινος ἀγαθῶ βασιλεῖ D
 καλὴν καὶ σώφρονα πλάττοντος τὴν νύμφην,
 εἰς ταῦτὸ συνεληλυθότα πόρρωθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ
 τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐφελκυσάμενα μάλα ὄλβιον ἤγε τὸν
 νυμφίον. κάλλος μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γένους
 βοηθείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν οἶμαι στερό-
 μενον οὐδὲ ἰδιώτην ἀκόλαστον ἰσχύει πείθειν τὴν
 γαμήλιον ἀνάψαι λαμπάδα, ἅμφω δὲ ἅμα συνελ-
 θόντα γάμον μὲν ἤρμοσε πολλάκις, ἀπολειπόμενα
 δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν τρόπων ἁρμονίας καὶ χάριτος οὐ 110
 λίαν ἐφάνη ζηλωτά.

Ταῦτα ἐπιστάμενον σαφῶς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν
 σώφρονα φαίην ἂν εἰκότως πολλάκις βουλευσά-
 μενον ἐλέσθαι τὸν γάμον, τὰ μὲν οἶμαι πυνθα-

¹ οὐδὲν MSS., οὐδὲ ἐν V, Hertlein.

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

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

¹ Ἄσπερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν ἄψ' ἀποκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἶδος. Sappho *fr.* 3.

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νόμενον, ὅσα χρῆν δι' ἀκοῆς περὶ αὐτῆς μαθεῖν, τεκμαιρόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγοντας διατρίβειν, καθάπερ οὐκ ἔχοντας ἴδιον ἐγκώμιον τῆς,¹ ὑπὲρ ἧς ὁ λόγος, διελθεῖν; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσως οὔτε B εἰπεῖν οὔτε ἐπακοῦσαι πολὺ καὶ ἐργώδες, ὅτι δὴ γένος μὲν αὐτῇ σφόδρα Ἑλληνικόν, Ἑλλήνων τῶν πάνυ, καὶ πόλις ἢ μητρόπολις τῆς Μακεδονίας, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπὲρ τε Εὐάδην τὴν Καπανέως καὶ τὴν Θετταλὴν ἐκείνην Λαοδάμειαν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ ἔτι νυμφίους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι δαιμόνων βία βασκάνων ἢ μοιρῶν νήμασι τοῦ ζῆν ὑπερεῖδον διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, ἢ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χρεῶν τὸν κουρίδιον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα C κατέλαβε, τοῖς παισὶ προσκαθημένη τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη κλέος αὐτῇ εἰργάσατο, ὥστε τῇ μὲν Πηνελόπῃ περιόντος ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένου τοῦ γήμαντος, προσῆει τὰ μειράκια μνηστευσόμενα ἕκ τε Ἰθάκης καὶ Σάμου καὶ Δουλιχίου, τῇ δὲ ἀνὴρ μὲν οὔδεις καλὸς καὶ μέγας ἢ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ πλούσιος ὑπὲρ² τούτων εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ὑπέμεινέ ποτε· τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ βασιλεὺς ἑαυτῷ συνοικεῖν ἀξίαν ἔκρινε, καὶ ἔδρασε τὸν γάμον λαμπρῶς μετὰ τὰ D τρόπαια, ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δήμους³ ἐστιῶν.

Εἰ δέ τις ἄρα ἐκείνων ἐπακούειν ποθεῖ, ὅπως μὲν ἕκ Μακεδονίας ἐκαλεῖτο μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἢ νύμφη,

¹ τῆς Cobet adds.

² Before ὑπὲρ Horkel and Hertlein omit ὅς.

³ δήμους Naber, μούσας MSS., Hertlein.

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marriage, partly making enquiries about all that was needful to learn about her by hearsay, but judging also from her mother of the daughter's noble disposition. Of that mother why should I take time to say more, as though I had not to recite a special encomium on her who is the theme of my speech? But so much perhaps I may say briefly and you may hear without weariness, that her family is entirely Greek, yes Greek of the purest stock, and her native city was the metropolis of Macedonia, and she was more self-controlled than Evadne¹ the wife of Capaneus, and the famous Laodameia² of Thessaly. For these two, when they had lost their husbands, who were young, handsome and still newly-wed, whether by the constraint of some envious powers, or because the threads of the fates were so woven, threw away their lives for love. But the mother of the Empress, when his fate had come upon her wedded lord, devoted herself to her children, and won a great reputation for prudence, so great indeed, that whereas Penelope, while her husband was still on his travels and wanderings, was beset by those young suitors who came to woo her from Ithaca and Samos and Dulichium, that lady no man however fair and tall or powerful and wealthy ever ventured to approach with any such proposals. And her daughter the Emperor deemed worthy to live by his side, and after setting up the trophies of his victories, he celebrated the marriage with great splendour, feasting nations and cities and peoples.

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

¹ Euripides, *Suppliants* 494.

² The wife of Protesilaus.

τίς δὲ ἦν ὁ τῆς πομπῆς τρόπος, ἀρμάτων καὶ
 ἵππων καὶ ὀχημάτων παντοδαπῶν χρυσῶ καὶ
 ἀργύρῳ καὶ ὀρειχάλκῳ μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης τέχνης
 εἰργασμένων, ἴστω παιδικῶν σφόδρα ἀκουσμάτων
 ἐπιθυμῶν· καθάπερ γὰρ οἶμαι κιθαρωδοῦ τινος
 δεξιού τὴν τέχνην· ἔστω δέ, εἰ βούλει, Τέρπανδρος
 οὗτος ἢ ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν δὴ λόγος ἔχει
 δαιμονία πομπῇ χρησάμενον φιλομουσοτέρου τοῦ
 δελφίνου τυχεῖν ἢ τῶν ξυμπλεόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
 Λακωνικὴν ἄκραν κομισθῆναι· ἔθελγε γὰρ οἶμαι
 τοὺς δυστυχεῖς ναύτας ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης
 εἰργάσατο, αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκείνης ὑπερεώρων καὶ
 οὐδεμίαν ὥραν ἐποιοῦντο τῆς μουσικῆς· εἰ δὴ οὖν
 τις τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἐκείνοιον τὸν κράτιστον ἐπιλεξά-
 μενος καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὸν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμον τῇ
 τέχνῃ πρέποντα εἶτα ἐς θέατρον παραγάγοι
 παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων
 φύσει τε καὶ ἡλικία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι
 διαφερόντων, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας καὶ
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν¹ ὅπόσοι τοιοῦτοι εἰς
 τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἀποβλέποντας ἐκ-
 πεπλήχθαι δεινῶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, τῶν ἀνδρῶν δὲ
 τοὺς ἀμαθεστέρους καὶ γυναικῶν πλὴν σφόδρα
 ὀλίγων ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ κρίνειν
 τὰ κρούματα, μουσικὸν δὲ ἄνδρα, τοὺς νόμους²
 ἐξεπιστάμενον τῆς τέχνης, οὔτε μιγνύμενα τὰ μέλη
 τῆς ἡδονῆς χάριν φαύλως ἀνέχεσθαι, δυσχεραίνειν
 τε³ καὶ εἰ⁴ τοὺς τρόπους τῆς μουσικῆς διαφθείροι

¹ τῶν before γυναικῶν Hertlein omits.

² νόμους Hertlein suggests, λόγους MSS.

³ τε Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS. ⁴ εἰ [τις] Hertlein.

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with her mother, and what was the manner of the cavalcade, of the chariots and horses and carriages of all sorts, decorated with gold and silver and copper of the finest workmanship, let me tell him that it is extremely childish of him to wish to hear such things. It is like the case of some player on the cithara who is an accomplished artist—let us say if you please Terpander or he of Methymna¹ of whom the story goes that he enjoyed a divine escort and found that the dolphin cared more for music than did his fellow-voyagers, and was thus conveyed safely to the Laconian promontory.² For though he did indeed charm those miserable sailors by his skilful performance, yet they despised his art and paid no heed to his music. Now, as I was going to say, if some one were to choose the best of those two musicians, and were to clothe him in the raiment suited to his art, and were then to bring him into a theatre full of men, women and children of all sorts, varying in temperament and age and habits besides, do you not suppose that the children and those of the men and women who had childish tastes would gaze at his dress and his lyre, and be marvellously smitten with his appearance, while the more ignorant of the men, and the whole crowd of women, except a very few, would judge his playing simply by the criterion of pleasure or the reverse; whereas a musical man who understood the rules of the art would not endure that the melodies should be wrongly mixed for the sake of giving pleasure, but would resent it if the player did not preserve

¹ Arion.

² Taenarum.

καὶ εἰ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις μὴ δεόντως χρῶτο μηδὲ
 ἐπομένως τοῖς νόμοις τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ θείας
 μουσικῆς; ὁρῶν δὲ ἐμμένοντα τοῖς νομισθεῖσι καὶ
 οὐ κίβδηλον ἠδονήν, καθαρὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκήρατον D
 τοῖς θεαταῖς ἐνεργασάμενον ἄπεισι τοῦτον ἐπαινῶν
 καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος, ὅτι δὴ σὺν τέχνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν
 τὰς Μούσας τῷ θεάτρῳ ξυγγέγονε. τὸν δὲ τὴν
 ἀλουργίδα καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἐπαινοῦντα ληρεῖν
 οἶεται καὶ ἀνοηταίνειν· καὶ εἰ διὰ πλείωνων¹ τὰ
 τοιαῦτα διηγείται, λέξει τε ἡδίστη κοσμῶν καὶ
 ἐπιλαϊνῶν τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἀγεννὲς τῶν διηγη-
 μάτων, γελοϊότερον νομίζει τῶν ἀποτορνεύειν τὰς 111
 κέγχρους ἐπιχειρούντων, καθάπερ οἶμαι φασὶ τὸν
 Μυρμηκίδην ἀντιταπτόμενον τῇ Φειδίου τέχνῃ.
 οὐκ οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ταύταις ὑπο-
 θήσομεν ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ
 δώρων παντοίων ὄρμων τε καὶ στεφάνων κατὰ-
 λογον τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως μακρὸν τινα τοῦτον
 ἄδοντες, οὐδὲ ὡς ἀπήντων οἱ δῆμοι δεξιούμενοι καὶ
 χαίροντες, οὐδὲ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην λαμπρὰ
 καὶ ζηλωτὰ γέγονε καὶ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ B
 τῶν βασιλείων εἴσω παρήλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας
 ταύτης ἠξιώθη, τί πρῶτον ἔργον ἐκείνης γέγονε,
 καὶ αὐθις δεύτερον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρίτον, καὶ πολλὰ
 δὴ μάλα τὸ ἐντεῦθεν; οὐ γάρ, εἰ σφόδρα λέγειν
 ἐθέλοιμι καὶ μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων βίβλους ξυντι-
 θέναι, ἀρκέσειν ὑπολαμβάνω τῷ πλήθει τῶν
 ἔργων, ὅσα ἐκείνη φρόνησιν καὶ πραότητα καὶ

¹ διὰ πλείωνων Hertlein suggests, μετὰ πλείονος MSS.

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

¹ Literally seeds or small beads.

² Famed for his minute carving of ivory.

σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιείκειάν τε καὶ ἐλευθεριότητα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐξεμαρτύρησε C
λαμπρότερον, ἢ νῦν ὁ παρὼν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος
δηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς πάλαι διὰ
τῶν ἔργων ἐγνωκότας. οὐ μὴν ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνο
δυσχερές, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον ἐφάνη, παντελῶς
ἄξιον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀποσιωπῆσαι, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ
εἰς δύναμιν φράζειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς μὲν
φρονήσεως ποιεῖσθαι σημεῖον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς
πάσης, ὅτι τὸν γήμαντα διέθηκεν οὕτω περὶ αὐτήν,
ὥσπερ οὖν ἄξιον γυναῖκα καλὴν καὶ γενναίαν.

“Ὡστε ἔγωγε τῆς Πηνελόπης πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
νομίσας ἐπαίνων ἄξια τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα D
θαυμάζω, ὅτι δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα λίαν ἔπειθε στέργειν
καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτήν ὑπερορῶντα μὲν, ὡς φασί,
δαιμονίων γάμων, ἀτιμᾶζοντα δὲ οὐ μείον τὴν τῶν
Φαίακων ξυγγένειαν. Καίτοι γε εἶχον αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαι ἐρωτικῶς, Καλυψὼ καὶ Κίρκη καὶ Ναυ-
σικία· καὶ ἦν αὐταῖς τὰ βασιλεία πάγκαλα,
κῆπων τινῶν καὶ παραδείσων ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυτευ- 113
μένων μάλα ἀμφιλαφῆσι καὶ κατασκίοις τοῖς
δένδρεσι, λειμῶνές τε ἄνθεσι ποικίλοις καὶ μαλακῇ
τῇ πῶς βρύνοντες·

Κρήναι δ' ἐξείης πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῶ·
καὶ ἐτεθήλει περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμερὶς ἠβώωσα¹
σταφυλῆς οἶμαι τῆς γενναίας, βριθομένη τοῖς
βότρυσι· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξιν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα,
πλὴν ὅσῳ πολυτελέστερα, ἅτε οἶμαι ποιητὰ ξὺν B
τέχνῃ, τῆς τῶν αὐτοφυῶν ἔλαττον μετεῖχε χάριτος
καὶ ἦπτον εἶναι ἐδόκει ἐκείνων ἐράσματα. τῆς

¹ ἠβώωσα Cobet, ἠβῶσα MSS., Hertlein.

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

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

¹ *Odyssey* 5. 70.

² The cave of Calypso.

τρυφῆς δὲ αὐ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ προσέτι τῆς
 περὶ τὰς νήσους ἐκείνας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας τίνα
 οὐκ ἂν ἠττηθῆναι δοκεῖτε¹ τοσοῦτους ἀνατλάντα
 πόνους καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἔτι ὑφορώμενον δεινότερα²
 πείσεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας
 αὐτῆς, πρὸς ἑκατὸν νεανίσκους ἡβῶντας εὖ μάλα C
 μόνον ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλοντα, ὅπερ οὐδὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ
 ἐκείνῳ ποτὲ συνημέχθη; εἴ τις οὖν ἔροιτο τὸν
 Ὀδυσσεά παίζων ὧδέ πως· τί ποτε, ὦ σοφώτατε
 ῥῆτορ ἢ στρατηγὴ ἢ ὅ τι χρή σε ὀνομάζεις, τοσοῦ-
 τους ἐκὼν ὑπέμεινας πόνους, ἐξὸν εἶναι ὄλβιον καὶ
 εὐδαίμονα, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατον εἴ τι χρή
 ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις Καλυψοῦς πιστεύειν, σὺ δὲ
 ἐλόμενος τὰ χεῖρω πρὸ τῶν βελτιόνων τοσοῦτους
 σαυτῷ προστέθεικας πόνους, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Σχερίᾳ
 καταμείναι ἐθελήσας, ἐξὸν ἐκεῖ που παυσάμενον D
 τῆς πλάνης καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπηλλάχθαι· σὺ
 δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔγνωσ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ
 ἄθλους δὴ τινὰς καὶ ἀποδημίαν ἑτέραν ἐκτελεῖν
 οὔτι τῆς πρόσθεν, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκὸς ἀπονωτέραν
 οὐδὲ κουφοτέραν. τί δὴ οὖν οἴεσθε πρὸς ταῦτα
 ἐκείνον εἰπεῖν ἔχειν; ἄρ' οὐχ ὅτι τῇ Πηνελόπῃ
 συνεῖναι ἐθέλων τοὺς ἄθλους αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς
 στρατείας χαρίεντα διηγήματα φέρειν ὑπέλαβε;
 ταῦτά τοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πεποίηκεν αὐτῷ
 παραινοῦσαν μεμνήσθαι πάντων, ὧν τε εἶδε 114
 θεαμάτων καὶ ὧν ἤκουσεν ἀκουσμάτων,

ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τεῇ εἴπησθα γυναικί,

¹ δοκεῖτε Hertlein suggests, εἰκὸς Reiske δοκεῖ MSS.

² δεινότερα Hertlein suggests, δεινότατα MSS.

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

¹ cf. *Misopogon* 342A. In both passages Julian evidently echoes some line, not now extant, from Menander, *Duskolos*.

² *Odyssey* 11. 223.

φησίν. ὁ δὲ οὐδενὸς ἐπιλαθόμενος, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἀφίκετο καὶ τῶν μειρακίων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία κωμαζόντων ἐκράτει ξὺν δίκῃ, πάντα ἀθρόως αὐτῇ διηγείτο, ὅσα τε ἔδρασε καὶ ὅσα ἀνέτλη, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ὑπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν ἀναπειθόμενος ἐκτελεῖν διανοεῖτο· ἀπόρρητον δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐδὲ ἓν, ἀλλ' ἠξίου κοινωνὸν γίγνεσθαι τῶν B
βουλευμάτων καὶ ὅ,τι πρακτέον εἶη συννοεῖν καὶ συνεξευρίσκειν. ἄρα τοῦτο ὑμῖν τῆς Πηνελόπης ὀλίγον ἐγκώμιον δοκεῖ, ἢ ἤδη¹ τις ἄλλη τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν ὑπερβαλλομένη γαμετῇ τε οὐσα βασιλέως ἀνδρείου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου καὶ σώφρονος τοσαύτην εὐνοίαν ἐνεποίησεν αὐτῆς C
τῷ γήμαντι, συγκερασαμένη τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἐρώτων ἐπιπνεομένη φιλία τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς καθ' ἅπερ ῥεῦμα θεῖον ἐπιφερομένην ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς καὶ γενναίαις ψυχαῖς; δύο γὰρ δὴ τῶδε τινὲ πίθω² φιλίας ἔστων, ὃν ἦδε κατ' ἴσον ἀρυσασμένη βουλευμάτων τε αὐτῷ γέγονε κοινωνὸς καὶ πρῶτον ὄντα φύσει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἃ πέφυκε παρακαλεῖ μᾶλλον πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς συγγνώμην τὴν δίκην τρέπει. ὥστε οὐκ ἄν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, ὅτῳ γέγονεν ἢ βασιλὶς ἦδε ἐν δίκῃ τυχὸν ἢ καὶ παρὰ δίκην αἰτία τιμωρίας καὶ κολάσεως μικρᾶς ἢ μείζονος. Ἀθήνησι μὲν οὖν φασιν, D
ὅτε τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἔξω τῶν οἰκείοις πειθόμενοι νόμοις μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, εἴ ποτε τῶν δικαζόντων

¹ ἤδη Horkel, εἰ δὴ MSS.

² πίθω Bruno Friederich, πειθῶ τε καὶ ἰδέα MSS., Hertlein, τε καὶ ἰδέα Cobet omits.

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

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

αἱ ψῆφοι κατ' ἴσον γένοιντο τοῖς φεύγουσι πρὸς
 τοὺς διώκοντας, τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένην τῷ
 τὴν δίκην ὀφλήσειν μέλλοντι ἀπολύειν ἄμφω τῆς
 αἰτίας, τὸν μὲν ἐπάγοντα τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ 115
 δοκεῖν εἶναι συκοφάντην, τὸν δέ, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦ
 δοκεῖν ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ πονηρεύματι. τοῦτον δὴ
 φιλόανθρωπον ὄντα καὶ χαρίεντα τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τῶν
 δικῶν, ἃς βασιλεὺς κρίνει, σωζόμενον πρῶτον
 αὕτη καθίστησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ φεύγων παρ'
 ὀλίγον ἔλθῃ τὴν ἴσῃν ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις λαχεῖν,
 πείθει, τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δέησιν προσθεῖσα καὶ
 ἰκετηρίαν, ἀφεῖναι πάντως τῆς αἰτίας. ὁ δὲ ἐκὼν
 ἐκόντι τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐ, καθά- B
 περ Ὀμηρὸς φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον παρὰ τῆς
 γαμετῆς ὁμολογεῖν¹ ὅ,τι ξυγχωροίη,² δίδωσιν
 ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ. καὶ τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπον
 χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις τὰ τοιαῦτα ξυγχωρεῖν κατὰ
 ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν καὶ ἀλαζόνων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ³ γὰρ
 εἰ σφόδρα ἐπιτήδειοί τινές εἰσι πάσχειν κακῶς
 καὶ κολάζεσθαι, τούτους ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσθαι
 χρεῶν· ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡ βασιλις ἦδε ξυνοοῦσα κακὸν μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε⁴ κόλασιν οὔτε C
 τιμωρίαν ἐπαγαγεῖν οὐχ ὅπως βασιλεία τινὸς ἢ
 πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἰκία μιᾶ τῶν πολιτῶν. προσ-
 θεῖην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε θαρρῶν εὖ μάλα, ὅτι μηδὲν

¹ φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον — ὁμολογεῖν Cobet, φησιν, ἐκβιαζόμενος — ὁμολογεῖ MSS., Hertlein, ἐκβιαζόμενον V, ὁμολογεῖν V, M.

² ξυγχωρεῖ Reiske.

³ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Hertlein suggests.

⁴ ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε Hertlein suggests, οὔτε ἤτησεν ἄλλο ποτέ τιμι οὔτε MSS.

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votes of the jurymen were cast evenly for defendant and plaintiff, the vote of Athene¹ was awarded to him who would have incurred the penalty, and thus both were acquitted of guilt, he who had brought the accusation, of the reputation of sycophant, and the defendant, naturally, of the guilt of the crime. Now this humane and gracious custom is kept up in the suits which the Emperor judges, but Eusebia's mercy goes further. For whenever the defendant comes near to obtaining an equal number of votes, she persuades the Emperor, adding her request and entreaty on his behalf, to acquit the man entirely of the charge. And of free will with willing heart he grants the boon, and does not give it as Homer says Zeus, constrained by his wife, agreed as to what he should concede to her "of free will but with soul unwilling."² And perhaps it is not strange that he should concede this pardon reluctantly and under protest in the case of the violent and depraved. But not even when men richly deserve to suffer and be punished ought they to be utterly ruined. Now since the Empress recognises this, she has never bidden him inflict any injury of any kind, or any punishment or chastisement even on a single household of the citizens, much less on a whole kingdom or city. And I might add, with the utmost confidence that I am speaking the absolute truth, that in the case of no man or woman is it possible to charge her with any misfortune that has happened, but all the benefits that she

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

² *Iliad* 4. 43.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ψευδός φημι, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς
 μιᾶς ἔστιν αὐτὴν αἰτιᾶσθαι ξυμφορᾶς τῷ τῆς
 τυχοῦσης, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ὅσα καὶ οὐστινας δρᾶ καὶ
 ἔδρασεν, ἠδέως ἂν ὑμῖν τὰ πλεῖστα ἐξαριθμη-
 σαίμην καθ' ἕκαστα ἀπαγγέλλων, ὡς ὅδε μὲν τὸν
 πατρῶον δι' ἐκείνην νέμεται κλήρον, ἐκείνος δὲ
 ἀπηλλάγη τιμωρίας, ὀφλήσας τοῖς νόμοις, ἄλλος D
 συκοφαντίαν διέφυγε, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου,
 τιμῆς δὲ ἔτυχον καὶ ἀρχῆς μυρίοι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ
 ἔστιν ὅστις ἐμὲ ψεύδεσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων φήσει, εἰ
 καὶ ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας μὴ καταλέγοιμι. ἀλλ'
 ὀκνῶ, μὴ τισιν ἐξονειδίζειν δόξω τὰς συμφορὰς
 καὶ οὐκ ἔπαινον τῶν ταύτης ἀγαθῶν, κατάλογον
 δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συγγράφειν ἀτυχημάτων.
 τοσοῦτων δὲ ἔργων μηδὲν παρασχέσθαι μηδὲ εἰς
 τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγειν τεκμήριον κενόν πως εἶναι δοκεῖ 116
 καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν ἄγει¹ τὸν ἔπαινον. οὐκοῦν ἐκείνα
 παραιτησάμενος, ὅποσα γ' ἐμοί τε εἰπεῖν ἀνεπί-
 φθονου ταύτη τε ἀκούειν καλὰ λέγοιμ' ἂν ἤδη.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ γήμαντος εὐνοίαν τηλαυ-
 γέστατον πρόσωπον, κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν Πίνδαρον,
 ἀρχομένη τῶν ἔργων ἔθετο, γένος τε ἅπαν καὶ
 ξυγγενεῖς εὐθύς ἐνέπλησε τιμῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἤδη
 γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐπὶ μειζόνων τάτ-
 τουσα πράξεων καὶ ἀποφήνασα μακαρίους καὶ
 ζηλωτοὺς βασιλεῖ τ' ἐποίησε φίλους καὶ τῆς
 εὐτυχίας τῆς παρούσης ἔδωκε τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ B

¹ ἄγει Cobet, ἄγειν MSS., Hertlein.

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

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

¹ *Olympian Ode* 6. 4. Pindar says that, as though he were building the splendid forecourt of a house, he will begin his Ode with splendid words.

γὰρ εἶ τῷ δοκοῦσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀληθές, δι' αὐτοὺς
 τίμιοι, ταύτῃ γε οἶμαι προσθήσει τὸν ἔπαινον· δῆ-
 λον γὰρ ὅτι μὴ τῇ τοῦ γένους κοινωσίᾳ μόνον,
 πολὺ δὲ πλεόν ἀρετῇ φαίνεται νέμουσα· οὐ μείζον
 οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τις ἐγκώμιον ἐρεῖ. περὶ μὲν τούσδε
 γέγονε τοιάδε. ὅσοι δὲ ἀγνώτες ἔτι διὰ νεότητα
 τοῦ γνωρισθῆναι καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐδέοντο, τούτοις C
 ἐλάττονας διένειμε τιμάς. ἀπέλιπε δὲ οὐδὲν εὐερ-
 γετοῦσα ξύμπαντας. καὶ οὐ τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς μόνον
 τοσαῦτα ἔδρασεν ἀγαθὰ, ξενίαν δὲ ὅτῳ πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐκείνης πατέρας ὑπάρξασαν ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀνόνητον
 ἀφήκε τοῖς κτησαμένοις, τιμᾷ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τούτους
 καθάπερ ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ ὅσους τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνόμισε
 φίλους, ἅπασιν ἔνειμε τῆς φιλίας ἔπαθλα θαν- D
 μαστά.

Ἐγὼ δέ, ἐπειδὴ μοι τεκμηρίων καθάπερ ἐν
 δικαστηρίῳ τὸν λόγον ὀρώ δεόμενον, αὐτὸς ὑμῖν
 ἔμαντὸν τούτων ἐκείνῳ¹ μάρτυρα καὶ ἐπαινέτην
 παρέξομαι· ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μὴ ποτε ὑπιδόμενοι
 τὴν μαρτυρίαν πρὶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν λόγων δια-
 ταράττησθε, ὁμνυμι ὑμῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν ψεῦδος οὐδὲ
 πλάσμα ἐρῶ· ὑμεῖς δὲ κἂν ἀνωμότῳ ἐπιστεύσατε
 πάντα οὐ κολακείας ἔνεκα λέγειν.² ἔχω γὰρ ἤδη 117
 τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἅπαντα τὰ
 ἀγαθὰ, αὐτῆς γε οἶμαι καὶ ταύτης³ ξυμπροθυμου-
 μένης, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τις κολακεύων ἅπαντα ἀφείη

¹ ἐκείνῳ Hertlein suggests, ἐκείνων MSS.

² κἂν—ἐπιστεύσατε πάντα—λέγειν Cobet, καὶ—πιστεύσατε
 πάντα—λέγοντι MSS., πάντως V, Hertlein, πιστεύσατε V.

³ αὐτῆς γε—ταύτης Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ τε—αὐτῆς MSS.

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

But since I see that my account is in need of proofs, just as in a law-court, I will offer myself to bear witness on its behalf to these actions and to applaud them. But lest you should mistrust my evidence and cause a disturbance before you have heard what I have to say, I swear that I will tell you no falsehood or fiction; although you would have believed, even without an oath, that I am saying all this without intent to flatter. For I already possess, by the grace of God and the Emperor, and because the Empress too was zealous in my behalf, all those blessings to gain which

ῥήματα, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν πρὸ τούτων ἔλεγον, ἴσως
 ἔχρην ὀρρωδεῖν τὴν ἄδικον ὑποψίαν· νῦν δὲ ἐν
 ταύτῃ γεγωνὸς τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύων τῶν
 ἐκείνης εἰς ἔμαυτὸν ἔργων παρέξομαι ὑμῖν εὐγνω-
 μοσύνης μὲν ἔμαυτοῦ σημεῖον, μαρτύριον δὲ
 ἀληθὲς τῶν ἐκείνης ἔργων. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ B
 δὴ καὶ Δαρεῖον, ἕως ἔτι δορυφόρος ἦν τοῦ
 Περσῶν μονάρχου, τῷ Σαμίῳ ξένῳ περὶ τὴν
 Αἴγυπτον συμβαλεῖν φεύγοντι τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 λαβόντα φοινικίδα τινὰ δῶρον, οὐ σφόδρα
 ἐπεθύμει, τὴν Σαμίῳ ὑστερον ἀντιδοῦναι τυραν-
 νίδα, ὀπηνίκα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κύριος
 κατέστη. εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ μὲν παρ'
 αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἔτι ζῆν ἐξῆν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, τὰ μέγιστα δὲ
 δι' αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ γενναίου καὶ μεγαλόφρονος C
 βασιλέως λαβὼν ὁμολογοίην τοῦ μὲν ἀντιδοῦναι
 τὴν ἴσην λείπεσθαι· ἔχει γάρ, οἶμαι, ξύμπαντα
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἡμῖν χαρισαμένου λαβοῦσα·
 τῷ βούλεσθαι δὲ τὴν μνήμην ἀθάνατον αὐτῇ τῶν
 ἔργων γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλειν
 τυχὸν οὐκ ἀγνωμονέστερος φανοῦμαι τοῦ Πέρσου,
 εἴπερ εἰς τὴν γνώμην ὀρώντα χρὴ κρίνειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ
 ὅτῳ παρέσχεν ἢ τύχῃ πολλαπλάσιον ἀποτίσαι
 τὸ εὐεργέτημα.

Τί ποτε οὖν ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον εὐπαθεῖν φημι καὶ D
 ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὑπόχρεων ἔμαυτὸν

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a flatterer would leave nothing unsaid, so that, if I were speaking before obtaining these, perhaps I should have to dread that unjust suspicion. But as it is, since this is the state of my fortunes, I will recall her conduct to me, and at the same time give you a proof of my own right-mindedness and truthful evidence of her good deeds. I have heard that Darius, while he was still in the bodyguard of the Persian monarch,¹ met, in Egypt, a Samian stranger² who was an exile from his own country, and accepted from him the gift of a scarlet cloak to which Darius had taken a great fancy, and that later on, in the days when, I understand, he had become the master of all Asia, he gave him in return the tyranny of Samos. And now suppose that I acknowledge that, though I received many kindnesses at Eusebia's hands, at a time when I was still permitted to live in peaceful obscurity, and many also, by her intercession, from our noble and magnanimous Emperor, I must needs fall short of making an equal return; for as I know, she possesses everything already, as the gift of him who was so generous to myself; yet since I desire that the memory of her good deeds should be immortal, and since I am relating them to you, perhaps I shall not be thought less mindful of my debt than the Persian, seeing that in forming a judgment it is to the intention that one must look, and not to an instance in which fortune granted a man the power to repay his obligation many times over.

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

¹ Cambyses.

² Syloson, Herodotus 3. 139; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 29; Themistius 67 A, 109 D.

εἶναι χάριτος ὁμολογῶ τῆδε, σφόδρα ὠρμησθε
 ἀκούειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ
 βασιλεὺς οὐτοσὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ παιδὸς νηπίου
 γεγονὼς ἥπιος πᾶσαν ὑπερεβάλλετο φιλοτιμίαν,
 κινδύνων τε ἐξαρπάσας τηλικούτων, οὓς οὐδ'
 ἂν ἡβῶν ἀνὴρ εὖ μάλα διαφύγοι, μὴ θείας
 τινὸς καὶ ἀμηχάνου σωτηρίας τυχόν, εἶτα τὴν
 οἰκίαν καταληφθεῖσαν καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐρημίας παρά
 του τῶν δυναστῶν ἀφείλετο ξὺν δίκη καὶ ἀπέ-
 φηνεν αὐθις πλούσιον. καὶ ἄλλα ἂν ἔχοιμι
 περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν εἰς ἔμαυτὸν ἔργα
 πολλῆς ἄξια χάριτος, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
 εὔνουν ἔμαυτὸν ἐκείνω καὶ πιστὸν παρέχων
 οὐκ οἶδα ἐκ τίνος αἰτίας τραχυτέρως ἔχοντος
 ἡσθόμην ἔναγχος. ἢ δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον
 ἡκουσεν ἀδικήματος μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄνομα, ματαίας
 δὲ ἄλλως ὑποψίας, ἡξίου διελέγχειν καὶ μὴ
 πρότερον προσέσθαι μηδὲ ἐνδέξασθαι ψευδῆ καὶ
 ἄδικον διαβολήν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆκε ταῦτα δεομένη
 πρὶν ἐμὲ ἡγαγεῖν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως καὶ τυχεῖν
 ἐποίησε λόγου· καὶ ἀπολυομένῳ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν
 ἄδικον συνήσθη, καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπιθυμοῦντι πάλιν
 ἀπιέναι πομπὴν ἀσφαλῆ παρέσχεν, ἐπιτρέψαι
 πρῶτον τὸν βασιλέα ξυμπίεσσα. δαίμονος δέ,
 ὅσπερ οὖν ἐφίκει μοι τὰ πρόσθεν μηχανήσασθαι,
 ἢ τινος ξυντυχίας ἀλλοκότου τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην
 ὑποτεμομένης, ἐποψόμενον πέμπει τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
 ταύτην αἰτήσασα παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ
 ἀποδημοῦντος ἤδη τὴν χάριν, ἐπειδὴ με λόγοις
 ἐπέπυστο χαίρειν καὶ παιδείᾳ τὸ χωρίον ἐπι-
 τήδειον εἶναι ξυννοῦσα. ἐγὼ δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτῇ

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debtor for all time, that is what you are eager to hear. Nor shall I conceal the facts. The Emperor was kind to me almost from my infancy, and he surpassed all generosity, for he snatched me from dangers so great that not even "a man in the strength of his youth"¹ could easily have escaped them, unless he obtained some means of safety sent by heaven and not attainable by human means, and after my house had been seized by one of those in power, as though there were none to defend it, he recovered it for me, as was just, and made it wealthy once more. And I could tell you of still other kindnesses on his part towards myself, that deserve all gratitude, in return for which I ever showed myself loyal and faithful to him; but nevertheless of late I perceived that, I know not why, he was somewhat harsh towards me. Now the Empress no sooner heard a bare mention, not of any actual wrong-doing but of mere idle suspicion, than she deigned to investigate it, and before doing so would not admit or listen to any falsehood or unjust slander, but persisted in her request until she brought me into the Emperor's presence and procured me speech with him. And she rejoiced when I was acquitted of every unjust charge, and when I wished to return home, she first persuaded the Emperor to give his permission, and then furnished me with a safe escort. Then when some deity, the one I think who devised my former troubles, or perhaps some unfriendly chance, cut short this journey, she sent me to visit Greece, having asked this favour on my behalf from the Emperor, when I had already left the country. This was because she had learned that I delighted in literature, and she knew that that place is the home of culture. Then

¹ *Iliad* 12. 382 ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ μάλ' ἦβῶν.

καὶ πρῶτῳ γε, ὡς εἰκός, βασιλεῖ πολλὰ καὶ D
ἀγαθὰ δίδοναι τὸν θεὸν ἠυχόμεν, ὅτι μοι τὴν
ἀληθινὴν ποθοῦντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντι πατρίδα παρ-
έσχον ἰδεῖν· ἐσμέν γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ περὶ τὴν
Θράκην καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν οἰκοῦντες ἔγγονοι, καὶ
ὅστις ἡμῶν μὴ λίαν ἀγνώμων, ποθεῖ προσειπεῖν
τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτὴν ἀσπάσασθαι.
ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐμοὶ πάλαι μὲν ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, ποθεινόν,
καὶ ὑπάρξαι μοι τοῦτο ἐβουλόμην μᾶλλον ἢ 119
πολὺ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύριον. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ
ἀγαθῶν φημι ξυντυχίαν πρὸς χρυσοῦ πληθὸς
ὄσουδουοῦν ἐξεταζομένην καθέλκειν τὸν ζυγὸν
καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ σῶφρονι κριτῇ οὐδὲ ἐπ'
ὀλίγον ῥοπῆς ἐπιστῆσαι.

Παιδείας δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοσοφίας πέπονθεν
οἶμαι νῦν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραπλήσιόν τι
τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μυθολογήμασι καὶ λόγοις.
λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Νεῖλον παρ' B
αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰ τ' ἄλλα σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀπείργειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πυρὸς φθοράν, ὅπότεν ἥλιος διὰ μακρῶν τινῶν
περιόδων ἄστροις γενναίοις συνελθὼν ἢ συγγε-
νόμενος ἐμπλήσῃ τὸν ἀέρα πυρὸς καὶ ἐπιφλέγῃ
τὰ σύμπαντα. οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει, φασίν, ἀφανί-
σαι οὐδὲ ἐξαναλώσαι τοῦ Νεῖλου τὰς πηγάς. οὐκ-
ουν οὐδὲ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων παντελῶς οἴχεται φιλοσοφία, C
οὐδὲ ἐπέλιπε τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην οὐδὲ
τὴν Κόρινθον· ἥκιστα δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων¹ τῶν πηγῶν
ἕκῃ τι τὸ Ἄργος πολυδίψιον· πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος
περὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον Μάσητα· τὴν Πειρήνην

¹ τούτων Reiske adds.

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

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

¹ *Iliad* 4. 171. ² The port of Argolis.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυῶν ἔχει καὶ οὐχ ἡ Κόρινθος. τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐπιχώρια τὰ νόματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπιρρεῖ καὶ ἐπιφέρεται τίμια τῶν ἔνδον οὐ μείον· οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶσι καὶ στέργουσι, πλουτεῖν ἐθέλοντες οὐ μόνου D σχεδὸν ὁ πλοῦτος ζηλωτόν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ποτε ἄρα πεπόνθαμεν; καὶ τίνα νῦν περαίνειν διανοοῦμεθα¹ λόγον, εἰ μὴ τῆς φίλης Ἑλλάδος ἔπαινον, ἧς² οὐκ ἔστι μνησθέντα μὴ πάντα θαυμάζειν; ἀλλ' οὐ φήσει τις τυχὸν ὑπομνησθεῖς τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ταῦτα ἐθέλειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν, καθάπερ δὲ τοὺς Κορυβαντιῶντας ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν ἐπεγειρομένους χορεύειν καὶ πηδᾶν οὐδενὶ ξὺν λόγῳ, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς μνήμης 120 τῶν παιδικῶν ἀνακινήθέντας ἄσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγκώμιον. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον ἀπολογεῖσθαι χρῆν ὧδέ πως λέγοντα· ὦ δαιμόνιε, καὶ τέχνης ἀληθῶς γενναίας ἡγεμόν, σοφὸν μὲν χρῆμα ἐπινοεῖς, οὐκ ἐφίεις οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπων τῶν ἐπαινουμένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μεθίεσθαι, ἄτε αὐτὸς οἶμαι ξὺν τέχνῃ τοῦτο δρῶν. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον, ὃν σὺ φῆς αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἐν τοῖς B λόγοις ἀταξίας, ἐπειδὴ προσγέγονεν, οἶμαι, παρακελεύεσθαι μὴ σφόδρα ὀκνεῖν μηδὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπτόμεθα³ λόγων δεῖξαι ἐθέλοντες, ὅσων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία γέγονε τιμῶσα τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὄντινά μοι τρόπον ἐπικείμενον ἀγαπήσαντι μὲν

¹ περαίνειν διανοοῦμεθα Hertlein suggests, διαπεραίνειν οἰόμεθα MSS. ² ἧς Horkel adds.

³ ἀπτόμεθα Cobet, ἡττώμεθα V, ἡψάμεθα MSS., Hertlein.

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

But as for me, what has come over me? And what speech do I intend to achieve if not a panegyric of my beloved Hellas, of which one cannot make mention without admiring everything? But perhaps someone, remembering what I said earlier, will say that this is not what I intended to discuss when I began, and that, just as Corybants when excited by the flute dance and leap without method, so I, spurred on by the mention of my beloved city, am chanting the praises of that country and her people. To him I must make excuse somewhat as follows: Good sir, you who are the guide to an art that is genuinely noble, that is a wise notion of yours, for you do not permit or grant one to let go even for a moment the theme of a panegyric, seeing that you yourself maintain your theme with skill. Yet in my case, since there has come over me this impulse of affection which you say is to blame for the lack of order in my arguments, you really urge me, I think, not to be too much afraid of it or to take precautions against criticism. For I am not embarking on irrelevant themes if I wish to show how great were the blessings that Eusebia procured for me because she honoured the name of philosophy. And yet the name of philosopher which has been, I

εὖ μάλα τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐρασθέντι δεινῶς τοῦ
 πράγματος, ἀπολειφθέντι δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὄντινα
 τρόπον ὄνομα ἐτύγχανε μόνον καὶ λόγος ἔργου C
 στερόμενος. ἢ δὲ ἐτίμα καὶ τοῦνομα· αἰτίαν
 γὰρ δὴ ἄλλην οὔτε αὐτὸς εὐρίσκω οὔτε ἄλλου
 του πυθέσθαι δύναμαι, δι' ἣν οὔτω μοι πρό-
 θυμος γέγονε βοηθὸς καὶ ἀλεξίκακος καὶ σώ-
 τειρα, τὴν τοῦ γενναίου βασιλέως εὐνοίαν ἀκέ-
 ραιον ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσινῇ μένειν ξὺν πολλῶ πόνῳ
 πραγματευσαμένη, ἧς μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν οὔποτε ἐγὼ τι
 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νομίσας ἐάλων, οὐ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς
 καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸν ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ἀργύρου πλήθος, D
 ὁπόσος νῦν ἐστὶν ὑπ' αὐγᾶς ἡλίου, καὶ εἴ ποτε
 ἄλλος προσγένοιτο, τῶν μεγίστων ὀρῶν αὐταῖς,
 οἶμαι, πέτραις καὶ δένδρεσι μεταβαλλόντων εἰς
 τήνδε τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν μεγίστην οὐδὲ
 ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνης
 ταῦτά μοι γέγονε πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα οὐδεὶς ἂν
 ἤλπισεν, οὐ σφόδρα πολλῶν δεομένῳ γε οὐδὲ
 ἔμαυτὸν ἐλπίσι τοιαύταις τρέφοντι.

Εὐνοίαν δὲ ἀληθινὴν οὐκ ἐστὶ πρὸς χρυσίον ἀμεί-
 ψασθαι, οὐδὲ ἂν τις αὐτὴν ἐντεῦθεν πρίατο, θεία δέ 121
 τι καὶ κρείττονι μοίρα ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν συμπρο-
 θυμουμένων παραγίγνεται.¹ ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ παρὰ
 βασιλέως παιδὶ μὲν ὑπῆρχε κατὰ θεόν, ὀλίγου δὲ
 οἴχεσθαι δεῖσαν ἀπεσώθη πάλιν τῆς βασιλίδος
 ἀμνουσῆς καὶ ἀπειργούσης τὰς ψευδεῖς καὶ ἀλλο-
 κότους ὑποψίας. ἃς ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ἐκείνη
 διέλυσεν, ἐναργεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῷ βίῳ τῶμῳ χρωμένη,

¹ παραγίγνεται Reiske, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.

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

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

¹ *Iliad* 9. 380.

καλοῦντός τε αὐθις τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλά- B
δος ὑπήκουον, ἄρα ἐνταῦθα κατέλιπεν, ὡς οὐκέτι
πολλῆς βοηθείας, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐν μέσῳ
δυσχεροῦς οὐδὲ ὑπόπτου, δεόμενον; καὶ πῶς ἂν
ὄσια δρώην οὕτως ἐναργῆ καὶ σεμνὰ σιωπῶν καὶ
ἀποκρύπτων; κυρουμένης τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ
βασιλέως ταυτησὶ τῆς γνώμης διαφερόντως ηὐ-
φραίνεται καὶ συνεπήχει μουσικόν, θαρρεῖν κελεύ-
ουσα καὶ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος δείσαντα τῶν διδομένων
ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν, μήτε ἀγροίκῳ καὶ αὐθάδει¹ C
χρησάμενον παρρησίᾳ φαύλως ἀτιμάσαι τοῦ
τοσαῦτα ἐργασαμένου ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν
αἴτησιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπήκουον οὐτι τοῦτό γε ἡδέως
σφόδρα ὑπομένων, ἄλλως δὲ ἀπειθεῖν χαλεπὸν
ὄν σφόδρα ἠπιστάμην. οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἐξῆ πρᾶττειν
ὄ,τι ἂν ἐθέλωσι σὺν βίᾳ, ἥ που δεόμενοι δυσωπεῖν
καὶ πείθειν ἀρκούσιν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ μοι πεισθέντι
γέγονε καὶ μεταβαλόντι ἐσθήτα καὶ θεραπείαν καὶ D
διατριβὰς τὰς συνήθεις καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν δὲ αὐτὴν
καὶ δίαιταν πάντα ὄγκου πλέα καὶ σεμνότητος ἐκ
μικρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ φαύλων τῶν πρόσθεν, ἐμοὶ
μὲν ὑπὸ ἀηθείας ἢ ψυχῆ διαταράττετο, οὐτι τὸ
μέγεθος ἐκπληττομένῳ τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν
σχεδὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδὲ μεγάλα ταῦτα
ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς χρωμένοις μὲν
ὀρθῶς σφόδρα ὠφελίμους, ἀμαρτάνουσι δὲ περὶ
τὴν χρῆσιν βλαβεράς καὶ οἴκοις καὶ πόλεσι 121
πολλαῖς μυρίων αἰτίας ξυμφορῶν. παραπλήσια

¹ [λιάν] αὐθάδει Hertlein.

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cleared me of them, and I obeyed once more the Emperor's summons from Greece, did she ever forsake me, as though, now that all enmity and suspicion had been removed, I no longer needed much assistance? Would my conduct be pious if I kept silence and concealed actions so manifest and so honourable? For when a good opinion of me was established in the Emperor's mind, she rejoiced exceedingly, and echoed him harmoniously, bidding me take courage and neither refuse out of awe to accept the greatness¹ of what was offered to me, nor, by employing a boorish and arrogant frankness, unworthily slight the urgent request of him who had shown me such favour. And so I obeyed, though it was by no means agreeable to me to support this burden, and besides I knew well that to refuse was altogether impracticable. For when those who have the power to exact by force what they wish condescend to entreat, naturally they put one out of countenance and there is nothing left but to obey. Now when I consented, I had to change my mode of dress, and my attendants, and my habitual pursuits, and my very house and way of life for what seemed full of pomp and ceremony to one whose past had naturally been so modest and humble, and my mind was confused by the strangeness, though it was certainly not dazzled by the magnitude of the favours that were now mine. For in my ignorance I hardly regarded them as great blessings, but rather as powers of the greatest benefit, certainly, to those who use them aright, but, when mistakes are made in their use, as being harmful to many houses and cities and the cause of countless disasters. So I felt

¹ The title of Caesar.

δὲ ἐπεπονθειν ἀνδρὶ σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἡνιοχικῆς
 ἔχοντι καὶ οὐδὲ ἐθελήσαντι ταύτης μεταλαβεῖν
 τῆς τέχνης, κᾶτα ἀναγκαζομένῳ καλοῦ καὶ
 γενναίου κομίζειν ἄρμα ἡνιόχου, πολλὰς μὲν
 ξυνωρίδας, πολλὰ δέ, οἶμαι, τέτρωρα τρέφοντος
 καὶ ἅπασι μὲν ἐπιβεβηκότος, διὰ δὲ¹ γενναιό-
 τητα φύσεως καὶ ῥώμην ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἔχον-
 τος οἶμαι τὰς ἡνίας πάντων ἐγκρατῶς, εἰ καὶ B
 ἐπὶ τῆς μιᾶς ἀντυγος βαῖνοι, οὐ μὴν αἰεὶ γε ἐπ'
 αὐτῆς μένοντος, μεταφερομένου δὲ πολλάκις
 ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἀμείβοντος δίφρον ἐκ δίφρου, εἴ
 ποτε τοὺς ἵππους πονουμένους ἢ καὶ ὑβρίσαντας
 αἰσθοίτο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄρμασι τοῖσδε κεκτημένου
 τέτρωρον ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας καὶ θράσους ὑβρίζειν,
 πιεζόμενον τῇ συνεχεῖ ταλαιπωρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ
 θράσους οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπιλαθόμενον, ἀγριαῖνον
 δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ παροξυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπὶ C
 τὸ μᾶλλον ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν,
 οὐ δεχόμενον ἀμῶς γέ πη πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ
 καὶ αὐτὸν ὀρώη τὸν ἡνιόχον² διὰ τέλους χαλεπαῖνον
 ἢ, τό γε ἔλαττον, στολὴν γοῦν ἡνιοχικὴν ἀνθρωπου
 φοροῦντα³ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀλόγιστον φύσει. ὁ δέ,
 οἶμαι, παραμυθούμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνοιαν ἀνδρα
 ἐπέστησε, δούς φορεῖν⁴ τοιαύτην ἐσθῆτα καὶ
 σχῆμα περιβαλὼν ἡνιόχου σεμνοῦ καὶ ἐπιστή- D
 μονος, ὅς εἰ μὲν ἄφρων εἶη παντελῶς καὶ ἀνόητος,
 χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ μετέωρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἱματίων
 καθάπερ πτερῶν ἐπαίρεται, συνέσεως δὲ εἰ καὶ

¹ δὲ Hertlein adds.

² ἀμῶς γέ πη—τὸν ἡνιόχον Reiske, ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν ἡνιόχον MSS., Hertlein.

³ φοροῦντα Hertlein suggests, φέροντα MSS.

⁴ φορεῖν Hertlein suggests, φέρειν MSS.

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

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

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μετέχοι καὶ σώφρονος τοῦ, σφόδρα
εὐλαβεῖται,

μήπως αὐτόν τε τρώσῃ σύν θ' ἄρματα ἄξῃ,
καὶ τῷ μὲν ἠνιόχῳ ζημίας, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχροῦ καὶ
ἠδύξου συμφορᾶς αἴτιος γένηται. ταῦτα ἐγὼ
ἐλογιζόμεν ἐν νυκτὶ βουλευόντων καὶ δι' ἡμέρας κατ'
ἐμαυτὸν ἐπισκοπούμενος, σύννοους ὦν αἰεὶ καὶ 12
σκυθρωπός. ὁ γενναῖος δὲ καὶ θεῖος ἀληθῶς αὐτο-
κράτωρ ἀφήρει τι πάντως τῶν ἀλγεινῶν, ἔργοις
καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος. τέλος δὲ τὴν
βασίλειδα προσειπεῖν κελεύει, θάρσος τε ἡμῖν
ἐνδιδούς καὶ τοῦ σφόδρα πιστεύειν γενναῖον εὐ
μάλα παρέχων γνώρισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον
εἰς ὄψιν ἐκείνης ἦλθον, ἐδόκουν μὲν ὡσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ
καθιδρυμένον ἄγαλμα σωφροσύνης ὄραν· αἰδῶς δὲ B
ἐπέιχε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἐπέπηκτό μοι κατὰ γῆς τὰ
ὄμματα συχνὸν ἐπιεικῶς χρόνον, ἕως ἐκείνη
θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε. καὶ Ἦὰ μὲν, ἔφη, ἤδη παρ' ἡμῶν
ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔξεις σὺν θεῷ, μόνον εἰ πιστὸς καὶ
δίκαιος εἰς ἡμᾶς γένοιο. τοσαῦτα ἤκουσα σχεδόν
οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴ πλείονα¹ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ ταῦτα
ἐπισταμένη τῶν γενναίων ῥητόρων οὐδὲ ἐν φαυλο-
τέρους ἀπαγγέλλειν λόγους. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς
ἐντεύξεως ἀπαλλαγείς σφόδρα ἐθαύμασα καὶ
ἐξεπεπλήγμην, ἐναργῶς δοκῶν ἀκηκοέναι σωφρο-
σύνης αὐτῆς φθειρομένης· οὕτω πρᾶον ἦν αὐτῇ
φθέγμα καὶ μείλιχον, ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐγκαθιδρυ- C
μένον.

Βούλεσθε οὖν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔργα καὶ
ὅσα ἔδρασεν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λεπτοურ-

¹ πλείονα Hertlein suggests, πλείον MSS.

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even a small share of common sense and prudent understanding, he is very much alarmed "Lest he both injure himself and shatter his chariot withal,"¹ and so cause loss to the charioteer and bring on himself shameful and inglorious disaster. On all this, then, I reflected, taking counsel with myself in the night season, and in the daytime pondering it with myself, and I was continually thoughtful and gloomy. Then the noble and truly godlike Emperor lessened my torment in every way, and showed me honour and favour both in deed and word. And at last he bade me address myself to the Empress, inspiring me with courage and giving me a very generous indication that I might trust her completely. Now when first I came into her presence it seemed to me as though I beheld a statue of Modesty set up in some temple. Then reverence filled my soul, and my eyes were fixed upon the ground² for some considerable time, till she bade me take courage. Then she said: "Certain favours you have already received from us and yet others you shall receive, if God will, if only you prove to be loyal and honest towards us." This was almost as much as I heard. For she herself did not say more, and that though she knew how to utter speeches not a whit inferior to those of the most gifted orators. And I, when I had departed from this interview, felt the deepest admiration and awe, and was clearly convinced that it was Modesty herself I had heard speaking. So gentle and comforting was her utterance, and it is ever firmly settled in my ears.

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

¹ *Iliad* 23. 341.

² *Iliad* 3. 217.

γούντες ἀπαγγέλλωμεν; ἢ τά γε ἐντεῦθεν ἀθρόως
 ἐλόντες, καθάπερ ἔδρασεν αὐτῇ,¹ πάντα ὁμοῦ
 διηγησώμεθα; ὅπόσους μὲν εὖ ἐποίησε τῶν ἐμοὶ D
 γνωρίμων, ὅπως δὲ ἐμοὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν
 γάμον ἤρμοσεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴσως ποθεῖτε καὶ τὸν
 κατάλογον ἀκούειν τῶν δώρων,

ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τά-
 λαντα

καὶ λέβητας ἐείκοσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ μοι σχολὴ περὶ
 τῶν τοιούτων ἀδολεσχεῖν· ἐνὸς δὲ ἴσως τῶν
 ἐκείνης δώρων τυχόν οὐκ ἄχαρι καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς
 ἀπομνημονεύσαι, ὧ μοι δοκῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠσθῆναι²
 διαφερόντως· βίβλους γὰρ φιλοσόφων καὶ ξυγ-
 γραφέων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν καὶ ποιη- 124
 τῶν, ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ὀλίγας οἴκοθεν ἔφερον,
 ἐλπίδι καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ πάλιν οἴκαδε ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν
 ταχίστην ψυχαγωγούμενος, ἔδωκεν ἀθρόως τοσ-
 αύτας, ὥστε ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀποπλήσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 σφόδρα ἀκορέστως ἔχοντας τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνας³
 συνουσίας, μουσεῖον δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀποφῆναι
 βιβλίων ἕκτητι τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Κελτίδα.
 τούτοις ἐγὼ προσκαθήμενος συνεχῶς τοῖς δώροις,
 εἴ ποτε σχολὴν ἄγοιμι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἐπιλαν-
 θάνωμαι τῆς χαρισαμένης· ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατευ- B
 ομένῳ μοι ἔν γέ τι πάντως ἔπεται οἷον ἐφόδιον
 τῆς στρατείας πρὸς αὐτόπτου πάλαι ξυγκείμενον.
 πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν⁴ ἐμπειρίας
 ὑπομνήματα ξὺν τέχνῃ γραφέντα τοῖς ἀμαρτοῦσι

¹ αὐτῇ Hertlein suggests, αὐτη MSS.

² [σφόδρα] ἠσθῆναι Hertlein.

³ ἐκείνας Reiske, ἐκεῖνα MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ παλαιῶν [ἔργων] Hertlein.

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conferred on me, and that I should give precise details one by one? Or shall I take up my tale concisely as she did herself, and sum up the whole? Shall I tell how many of my friends she benefited, and how with the Emperor's help she arranged my marriage? But perhaps you wish to hear also the list of her presents to me: "Seven tripods untouched by fire and ten talents of gold,"¹ and twenty caldrons. But I have no time to gossip about such subjects. Nevertheless one of those gifts of hers it would perhaps not be ungraceful to mention to you, for it was one with which I was myself especially delighted. For she gave me the best books on philosophy and history, and many of the orators and poets, since I had brought hardly any with me from home, deluding myself with the hope and longing to return home again, and gave them in such numbers, and all at once, that even my desire for them was satisfied; though I am altogether insatiable of converse with literature; and, so far as books went, she made Galatia² and the country of the Celts resemble a Greek temple of the Muses. And to these gifts I applied myself incessantly whenever I had leisure, so that I can never be unmindful of the gracious giver. Yes, even when I take the field one thing above all else goes with me as a necessary provision for the campaign, some one narrative of a campaign composed long ago by an eye-witness. For many of those records of the experience of men of old, written as they are with the greatest skill, furnish to those who, by reason of their

¹ *Iliad* 9. 122.

² Gaul.

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διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς θεᾶς ἐναργῆ καὶ λαμπρὰν εἰκόνα φέρει τῶν πάλαι πραχθέντων, ὑφ' ἧς ἤδη καὶ νέοι πολλοὶ γερόντων μυρίων πολιῶν μᾶλλον ἐκτήσαντο τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς φρένας, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ὀ ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τοῦ γήρωσ ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μόνον, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, δι' ἣν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔχει τι λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφώτερον, τοῖς οὐ ῥαθύμοις τῶν νέων ἔδωκεν. ἔστι δὲ οἷμαί τις ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ παιδαγωγία πρὸς ἦθος γενναῖον, εἴ τις ἐπίσταιτο τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας καὶ λόγους καὶ πράξεις, οἷον ἀρχέτυπα προτιθέμενος δημιουργός, πλάττειν ἤδη πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν τοὺς¹ λόγους. ὣν εἰ μὴ παμπληθὲς ἀπολειφθείη, τυγχάνοι δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον τῆς ὁμοιότητος, οὐ σμικρὰ ἂν ὄναιτο, εὖ ἴστε. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλάκις ξυνοῶν παιδιάν τε οὐκ ἄμουσον ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦμαι καὶ στρατευόμενος καθάπερ σιτία φέρειν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλω μέτρον δέ ἐστι τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φερομένων ὁ καιρός.

Ἄλλὰ μὴ ποτε οὐκ ἐκείνων χρὴ νῦν τὸν ἔπαινον γράφειν οὐδὲ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐνθένδε, ὅποσος δὲ τὸ δῶρον ἄξιον καταμαθόντας¹²⁵ χάριν ἀποτίνειν τυχὸν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίαν τοῦ δοθέντος τῇ χαρισαμένῃ. λόγων γὰρ ἀστείων καὶ παντοδαπῶν θησαυροὺς τὸν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις δεξά-

¹ Before τοὺς Klimek omits πρὸς.

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

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

¹ Euripides, *Phoenissae* 532.

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μενον οὐκ ἄδικον διὰ σμικρῶν καὶ φαύλων ῥημάτων ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀγροίκως ἄγαν ξυγκειμένων ἄδειν εὐφημίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ γεωργὸν φήσεις εὐγνώμονα, ὃς καταφυτεύειν μὲν τὴν φυταλιὰν ἀρχόμενος κλήματα ἤτει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων, εἶτα ἐκτρέφων τὰς ἀμπέλους δίκηλλαν καὶ αὐθις σμινύην, καὶ τέλος ἤδη κάλαμον, ᾧ χρὴ προσδεδέσθαι καὶ ἐπικεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμπελον, ἵνα αὐτὴ τε ἀνέχεται καὶ οἱ βότρυες ἐξηρητημένοι μηδαμοῦ ψαύωσι τῆς βώλου, τυχόντα δὲ ὧν ἐδεῖτο μόνον ἐμπίπλασθαι τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς χάριτος οὔτε τῶν βοτρύων οὔτε τοῦ γλεύκουσ μεταδιδόντα τοῖς,¹ ὧν πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν ἔτυχε προθύμων. οὐκουν οὐδὲ νομέα ποιμνίων οὐδὲ βουκολίων οὐδὲ μὴν αἰπολίων ἐπιεικῆ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐυγνώμονα φήσει τις, ὃς τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος, ὅτε αὐτῷ στέγης καὶ πόας ἐδεῖτο τὰ βοσκήματα, σφόδρα ἐτύγχανε προθύμων τῶν φίλων, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ ξυμποριζόντων καὶ μεταδιδόντων τροφῆς ἀφθόνου καὶ καταγωγίων, ἦρος δὲ οἶμαι καὶ θέρους φανέντος μάλα γενναίως ἐπιλαθόμενον ὧν εὐ πάθοι, οὔτε τοῦ γάλακτος οὔτε τῶν τυρῶν οὔτε ἄλλου του μεταδιδόντα τοῖς² ὑφ' ὧν αὐτῷ διεσώθη ἀπολόμενα ἂν ἄλλως τὰ θρέμματα.

Ὅστις οὖν λόγους ὁποιοουσὺν τρέφων νέος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνων πολλῶν δεόμενος, τροφῆς δὲ πολλῆς καὶ καθαρᾶς τῆς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων, εἶτα ἀθρόως πάντων στερηθείη³ ἄρα

¹ τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.

² τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.

³ στερηθείη Cobet, δεηθείη MSS., Hertlein.

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

And now take the case of one who cultivates literature of any sort, and is himself young and therefore needs numerous guides and the abundant food and pure nourishment that is to be obtained from ancient writings, and then suppose

ὑμῖν μικρᾶς δεῖσθαι βοηθείας δοκεῖ ἢ μικρῶν αὐτῷ
 γεγονέναι ἄξιος ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα συλλαμβανόμενος;
 καὶ τυχὸν οὐ χρὴ πειρᾶσθαι χάριν ἀποτίνειν αὐτῷ
 τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τῶν ἔργων; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε τὸν
 Θαλῆν ἐκείνον, τῶν σοφῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον μιμητέον,¹
 οὐ τὰ ἐπαινούμενα ἀκηκόαμεν; ἐρομένου γάρ τινος
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμαθεν ὁπόσον τινὰ χρὴ καταβαλεῖν
 μισθόν· ὁμολογῶν, ἔφη, τι² παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν τὴν
 ἀξίαν ἡμῖν ἐκτίσεις. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις διδάσκαλος
 μὲν αὐτὸς οὐ γέγονε, πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν δὲ καὶ ὅτι-
 οῦν συνηνέγκατο, ἀδικοῖτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τῆς
 χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθείσιν ὁμολογίας, ἣν
 δὴ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἀπαιτῶν φαίνεται. εἶεν. ἀλλὰ
 τοῦτο μὲν χαρίεν καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ δῶρον· χρυσίον δὲ
 καὶ ἀργύριον οὔτε ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ λαβεῖν οὔτε ὑμᾶς
 δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἠδέως ἂν ἐνοχλήσαιμι.

Λόγον δὲ ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐθέλω μάλα δὴ τι³ ὑμῖν
 ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνομεν ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὸ
 μῆκος τῆς ἀδολεσχίας· τυχὸν δὲ⁴ οὐδὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων
 ἠκρόασθε ξὺν ἡδονῇ ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ σφόδρα
 ἀμαθοῦς λόγων, πλάττειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τεχνάζειν
 εἰδότης, φράζοντος δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἐπίη τὰληθές· ὁ δὲ
 δὴ λόγος σχεδόν τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐστί.
 φήσουσι γάρ, οἶμαι, πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν μακαρίων C

¹ μιμητέον Petavius adds. ² τι Horkel, τὸ MSS. Hertlein.

³ τι Cobet, τινος MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ δὲ MSS., Cobet, γὰρ V, M, Hertlein.

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

But I wish to tell you a story very well worth your hearing, unless indeed you are already wearied by the length of this garrulous speech. Indeed it may be that you have listened without enjoyment to what has been said so far, seeing that the speaker is a layman and entirely ignorant of rhetoric, and knows neither how to invent nor how to use the writer's craft, but speaks the truth as it occurs to him. And my story is about something almost of the present time. Now many will say, I suppose,

σοφιστῶν ἀναπειθόμενοι, ὅτι ἄρα μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα
 πράγματα ἀναλεξάμενος ὡς δὴ τι σεμνὸν ὑμῖν
 ἀπαγγέλλω. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ φιλονεικοῦντες πρὸς
 τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ἐμὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφαι-
 ρεῖσθαι δόξης ἐθέλοντες ἴσως ἂν εἴποιεν· ἴσασι
 γὰρ σαφῶς, ὅτι μήτε ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι βούλομαι
 τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις τοὺς ἐμαντοῦ παρατιθείς, μήτε
 ἄλλως ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἐκείνοις ἐθέλω· ἀλλ' οὐκ
 οἶδα ὄντινα τρόπον τοῦ μεγάλα λέγειν ἐκ παντὸς D
 ὀρεγόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τὰ κείνων
 ζηλοῦντας καὶ δι' αἰτίας ἄγουσιν ὡς καθαιροῦντας
 τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰσχύν. μόνα γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἔργων
 ζηλωτά φασι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ πολλῶν
 ἐπαίνων ὅποσα διὰ μέγεθος ἤδη τισὶν ἄπιστα
 ἐφάνη, ὅποια δὴ τινα τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας
 ἐκείνης γυναικός, ἣ μεταβαλοῦσα καθάπερ ρεῖθρον
 εὐτελὲς τὸν διὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ποταμὸν ῥέοντα
 βασιλεία τε ὠκοδόμησεν ὑπὸ γῆς πάγκαλα καὶ 127
 μεθῆκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν χωμάτων αὐθις. ὑπὲρ γὰρ δὴ
 ταύτης πολὺς μὲν λόγος, ὡς ἐναυμάχει ναυσὶ
 τρισχιλίαις, καὶ πεζῇ παρετάττετο μυριάδας
 ὀπλιτῶν τριακοσίας ἄγουσα, τό τε ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
 τεῖχος ὠκοδόμει πεντακοσίων σταδίων μικρὸν
 ἀποδέον, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρύγματα καὶ
 ἄλλα πολυτελῆ καὶ δαπανηρὰ κατασκευάσματα
 ἐκείνης ἔργα γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Νίτωκρις δὲ B
 ταύτης νεωτέρα καὶ Ῥοδογούνη καὶ Τώμυρις καὶ

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persuaded by the accomplished sophists, that I have collected what is trivial and worthless, and relate it to you as though it were of serious import. And probably they will say this, not because they are jealous of my speeches, or because they wish to rob me of the reputation that they may bring. For they well know that I do not desire to be their rival in the art by setting my own speeches against theirs, nor in any other way do I wish to quarrel with them. But since, for some reason or other, they are ambitious of speaking on lofty themes at any cost, they will not tolerate those who have not their ambition, and they reproach them with weakening the power of rhetoric. For they say that only those deeds are to be admired and are worthy of serious treatment and repeated praise which, because of their magnitude, have been thought by some to be incredible, those stories for instance about that famous woman¹ of Assyria who turned aside as though it were an insignificant brook the river² that flows through Babylon, and built a gorgeous palace underground, and then turned the stream back again beyond the dykes that she had made. For of her many a tale is told, how she fought a naval battle with three thousand ships, and on land she led into the field of battle three million hoplites, and in Babylon she built a wall very nearly five hundred stades in length, and the moat that surrounds the city and other very costly and expensive edifices were, they tell us, her work. And Nitocris³ who came later than she, and Rhodogyne⁴

¹ Semiramis, Herodotus 1. 184.

² The Euphrates. ³ Herodotus 1. 185; *Oration* 2. 85 c.

⁴ Rhodopis? wrongly supposed to have built the third pyramid.

μυρίος δὴ τις ἐπιρρεῖ γυναικῶν ὄχλος ἀνδριζομέ-
 νων οὐ λίαν εὐπρεπῶς. τινὰς δὲ ἤδη διὰ τὸ
 κύλλος περιβλέπτους καὶ ὀνομαστὰς γενομένας
 οὐ σφόδρα εὐτυχῶς, ἐπειδὴ ταραχῆς αἰτίαι καὶ
 πολέμων μακρῶν ἔθνεσι μυρίοις καὶ ἀνδράσιν, ὅσους
 ἦν εἰκὸς ἐκ τοσαύτης χώρας ἀθροίζεσθαι, γενέσθαι
 δοκοῦσιν, ὡς μεγάλων αἰτίας ὑμνοῦσι πράξεων.
 ὅστις δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔχει, καταγέλαστος C
 εἶναι δοκεῖ ἅτε οὐκ ἐκπλήττειν οὐδὲ θαυματοποιεῖν
 ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σφόδρα ἐπιχειρῶν. βούλεσθε οὖν
 ἐπανερωτῶμεν αὐτούς, εἴ τις αὐτῶν γαμετὴν ἢ
 θυγατέρα οἱ τοιαύτην εὐχεται γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ
 τὴν Πηνελόπην; καίτοι ἐπὶ ταύτης οὐδὲν Ὀμηρος
 εἰπεῖν ἔσχε πλέον τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς
 φιλανδρίας καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἑκυρὸν ἐπιμελείας καὶ
 τὸν παῖδα· ἔμελε δὲ ἄρα οὔτε τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐκείνη
 οὔτε τῶν ποιμνίων· στρατηγίαν δὲ ἢ δημηγορίαν
 οὐδὲ ὄναρ εἰκὸς¹ ἐκείνη παραστήναί ποτε· ἀλλὰ D
 καὶ ὅποτε λέγειν ἐχρῆν εἰς τὰ μειράκια,

ἅντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα
 πρῶτως ἐφθέγγετο. καὶ οὐκ ἀπορῶν Ὀμηρος
 οἶμαι τηλικούτων ἔργων οὐδὲ ὀνομαστῶν ἐπ'
 αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ταύτην ὑμνησε διαφερόντως·
 ἐξῆν γοῦν αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀμαζόνος φιλοτίμως
 πάνυ στρατεῖαν διηγησαμένῳ τὴν ποίησιν ἅπασαν
 ἐμπλήσαι τοιούτων διηγημάτων τέρπειν εὐ μάλα
 καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τείχους 128

¹ εἰκὸς Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

and Tomyris,¹ aye and a crowd of women beyond number who played men's parts in no very seemly fashion occur to my mind. And some of them were conspicuous for their beauty and so became notorious, though it brought them no happiness, but since they were the causes of dissension and long wars among countless nations and as many men as could reasonably be collected from a country of that size, they are celebrated by the orators as having given rise to mighty deeds. And a speaker who has nothing of this sort to relate seems ridiculous because he makes no great effort to astonish his hearers or to introduce the marvellous into his speeches. Now shall we put this question to these orators, whether any one of them would wish to have a wife or daughter of that sort, rather than like Penelope? And yet in her case Homer had no more to tell than of her discretion and her love for her husband and the good care she took of her father-in-law and her son. Evidently she did not concern herself with the fields or the flocks, and as for leading an army or speaking in public, of course she never even dreamed of such a thing. But even when it was necessary for her to speak to the young suitors, "Holding up before her face her shining veil"² it was in mild accents that she expressed herself. And it was not because he was short of such great deeds, or of women famous for them, that he sang the praises of Penelope rather than the others. For instance, he could have made it his ambition to tell the story of the Amazon's³ campaign and have filled all his poetry with tales of that sort, which certainly have a wonderful power to delight and charm. For

¹ Herodotus 1. 205. ² *Odyssey* 1. 334. ³ Penthesilea.

μὲν αἵρεσιν, καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ναυμαχίαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, τὸν πρὸς τοῖς νεωρίοις πόλεμον, ἀνδρὸς τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοῦ μάχην ἐπεισάγειν οἴκοθεν διενοεῖτο τῇ ποιήσει καινὸν τι λέγειν ἐπιθυμῶν· τοῦτο δὲ εἶπερ ἦν, ὅσπερ οὖν φασί, σεμνότατον, ὀλιγώρως οὕτω παρέλιπε. τί ποτε οὖν ἂν τις αἴτιον λέγοι τοῦ κείνην μὲν ἐπιανεῖν προθύμως, τούτων δ' οὐδ' ἑπὶ σμικρὸν μνημονεύειν; ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ τε² τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὰ συμβαίνει, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς τούτων φιλοτιμίας ὄφελος μὲν οὐδὲ ἔν, συμφοραὶ δὲ ἀνήκεστοι. ἄτε δὴ ὦν οἶμαι σοφὸς καὶ θεῖος ποιητῆς ταύτην ἔκρινεν ἀμείνω καὶ δικαιότεραν τὴν εὐφημίαν. ἄρ' οὖν ἔτι προσῆκον³ εὐλαβηθῆναι τοσοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιουμένοις, μὴ τις ἄρα μικροὺς ὑπολάβῃ καὶ φαύλους;

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν γενναῖον ἐκείνον ῥήτορα Περικλέα τὸν πάνυ, τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, μάρτυρα ἀγαθὸν ἤδη παρέξομαι. κολάκων γὰρ δὴ, φασί, ποτὲ τὸν ἄνδρα περιεστῶς δῆμος διελάγχανον τοὺς ἐπαίνους, ὁ μὲν ὅτι τὴν Σάμον ἐξείλεν, ἄλλος δὲ ὅτι τὴν Εὐβοίαν, τινὲς δὲ ἤδη τὸ περιπλεῦσαι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μεμνημένοι, τινὲς δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα φιλοτιμίας, σφόδρα ἀγαθὸν πολίτην

¹ τούτων δ' οὐδ' Hertlein suggests, τούτων δὲ MSS.

² πολλά ἰδίᾳ τε Hertlein suggests, πολλά τε ἰδίᾳ MSS.

³ προσῆκον Hertlein suggests, προσῆκεν MSS.

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as to the taking of the wall and the siege, and that battle near the ships which in some respects seems to have resembled a sea-fight, and then the fight of the hero and the river,¹ he did not bring them into his poem with the desire to relate something new and strange of his own invention. And even though this fight was, as they say, most marvellous, he neglected and passed over the marvellous as we see. What reason then can anyone give for his praising Penelope so enthusiastically and making not the slightest allusion to those famous women? Because by reason of her virtue and discretion many blessings have been gained for mankind, both for individuals and for the common weal, whereas from the ambition of those others there has arisen no benefit whatever, but incurable calamities. And so, as he was, I think, a wise and inspired poet, he decided that to praise Penelope was better and more just. And since I adopt so great a guide, is it fitting that I should be afraid lest some person think me trivial or inferior?

But it is indeed a noble witness that I shall now bring forward, that splendid orator Pericles, the renowned, the Olympian. It is said² that once a crowd of flatterers surrounded him and were distributing his praises among them, one telling how he had reduced Samos,³ another how he had recovered Euboea,⁴ some how he had sailed round the Peloponnesus, while others spoke of his enactments, or of his rivalry with Cimon, who was reputed to be a most excellent citizen and a

¹ Achilles and the Scamander; *Iliad* 21. 234 foll., *Oration* 2. 60 c.

² Julian tells, incorrectly, the anecdote in Plutarch, *Pericles* 38. ³ 440 B.C. ⁴ 445 B.C.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶναι δόξαντα γενναῖον. ὁ δὲ D
τούτοις μὲν οὔτε ἀχθόμενος οὔτε γανύμενος δῆλος
ἦν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἠξίου τῶν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων
ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον χρόνον¹ ἐπιτροπεύσας τὸν
Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὐδενὶ θανάτου γέγονεν αἴτιος,
οὐδὲ ἰμάτιον μέλαν τῶν πολιτῶν τις περιβαλό-
μενος Περικλέα γενέσθαι ταύτης αἴτιον αὐτῷ τῆς
συμφορᾶς ἔφη. ἄλλου του, πρὸς φιλίου Διός,
δοκοῦμεν ὑμῖν μάρτυρος δεῖσθαι, ὅτι μέγιστον
ἀρετῆς σημεῖον καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐπαινῶν 129
ἄξιον τὸ μηδένα κτείνειν τῶν πολιτῶν μηδὲ ἀφ-
ελέσθαι τὰ χρήματα μηδὲ ἀδίκῳ φυγῇ περιβαλεῖν;
ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συμφορὰς αὐτὸν
ἀντιτάξας καθάπερ ἰατρὸς γενναῖος οὐδαμῶς
ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτῷ τὸ μηδενὶ νοσήματος
αἰτίῳ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν
ἰῶτο καὶ θεραπεύοι, οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης
ἔργον ὑπέλαβεν, ἄρα ὑμῖν δοκεῖ τῶν ἴσων
ἐπαινῶν ἐν δίκῃ τυγχάνειν; καὶ οὐδὲν προτιμῆ- B
σομεν οὔτε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν, ὑφ' ἧς
ἔξεστι μὲν αὐτῇ δρᾶν ὅ,τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ, θέλει δὲ ἅπασι
τάγαθά; τοῦτο ἐγὼ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἐπαινοῦ
ποιοῦμαι, οὐκ ἀπορῶν ἄλλων θαυμασίων εἶναι
δοκούντων καὶ λαμπρῶν διηγημάτων.

Εἰ γὰρ δὴ τις τὴν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπὴν
ὑποπτεύσειεν ὡς ματαίαν οὔσαν προσποιήσιν καὶ
ἀλαζονείαν κενὴν καὶ αὐθάδη, οὔτι που καὶ τὴν
ἔναγχος ἐπιδημίαν γενομένην αὐτῇ τὴν εἰς τὴν

¹ χρόνον Cobet adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

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

For if anyone should suspect that my silence about the rest is vain affectation and empty and insolent pretension, this at least he will not suspect, that the visit which she lately made to Rome,¹ when the Emperor was on his campaign and

¹ 357 A. D.

Ῥώμην, ὁπότε ἐστρατεύετο βασιλεὺς ζεύγμασι καὶ C
 ναυσὶ τὸν Ῥήνον διαβὰς ἄγχου τῶν Γαλατίας ὀρίων,
 ψευδῇ καὶ πεπλασμένην ἄλλως ὑποπτεύσει. ἐξῆν
 δὴ οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, διηγουμένῳ ταῦτα τοῦ δήμου με-
 μνήσθαι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας, ὅπως αὐτὴν ὑπεδέχετο
 σὺν χαρμονῇ, προθύμως ὑπαντῶντες καὶ δεξιούμενοι
 καθάπερ νόμος βασιλίδα, καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ
 μέγεθος, ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ τῆς
 παρασκευῆς τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ὅποσα τε ἔνειμε
 τῶν φυλῶν τοῖς ἐπιστάταις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχαις D
 τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τῶν
 τοιούτων οὔτε ἔδοξέ ποτε ζηλωτὸν οὐδέν, οὔτε
 ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλω πρὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλούτον.
 καίτοι με¹ οὐ λέληθεν ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλευθέριος
 δαπάνη μετέχουσά τινος ἀρετῆς· ἀλλ' οἶμαι κρεῖτ-
 τον ἐπιείκειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ
 ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῆς λέγων πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ
 ἄλλους, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' 130
 ἔμοι πραχθέντα παρῆχον μάρτυρα. εἰ δὴ οὖν
 καὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ζηλοῦν ἐπι-
 χειρήσειαν, πολλοὺς ἔχει τε ἤδη καὶ ἔξει τοὺς
 ἐπαιέτας.

¹ με Cobet adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

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

ORATION IV

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

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

¹ Plutarch, *Pompeius* 24. For a full description of the origin and spread of Mithraism see Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 1896, 1899, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, 1902, and *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 1909 (English translation by G. Showerman, 1911).

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hospitably received at first than the cults of Isis and Serapis and the Great Mother of Pessinus, it gradually overpowered them and finally dominated the whole Roman Empire, though it was never welcomed by the Hellenes. For the Romans it supplied the ideals of purity, devotion and self-control which the other cults had lacked. The worshippers of Mithras were taught to contend against the powers of evil, submitted themselves to a severe moral discipline, and their reward after death was to become as pure as the gods to whom they ascend. "If Christianity," says Renan, "had been checked in its growth by some deadly disease, the world would have become Mithraic." Julian, like the Emperor Commodus in the second century, had no doubt been initiated into the Mysteries of Mithras, and the severe discipline of the cult was profoundly attractive to one who had been estranged by early associations from the very similar teaching of the Christians.

Julian followed Plotinus and Iamblichus in making the supreme principle the One ($\epsilon\acute{\nu}$) or the Good ($\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu$) which presides over the intelligible world ($\nu\omicron\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$), where rule Plato's Ideas, now called the intelligible gods ($\nu\omicron\eta\tau\acute{o}\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$). Iamblichus had imported into the Neo-Platonic system the intermediary world of intellectual gods ($\nu\omicron\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$). On them Helios-Mithras, their supreme god and centre, bestows the intelligence and creative and unifying forces that he has received from his transcendental counterpart among the intelligible gods. The third member of the triad is the world of sense-perception governed by the sun, the visible counterpart of Helios. What distinguishes Julian's

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triad¹ from other Neo-Platonic triads is this hierarchy of three suns in the three worlds: and further, the importance that he gives to the intermediary world, the abode of Helios-Mithras. He pays little attention to the remote intelligible world and devotes his exposition to Heliös, the intellectual god, and the visible sun. Heliös is the link that relates the three members of the triad. His "middleness" (*μεσότης*) is not only local: he is in every possible sense the mediator and unifier. *μεσότης* is the Aristotelian word for the "mean," but there is no evidence that it was used with the active sense of mediation before Julian. A passage in Plutarch however seems to indicate that the "middleness" of the sun was a Persian doctrine: "The principle of good most nearly resembles light, and the principle of evil darkness, and between both is Mithras; therefore the Persians called Mithras the Mediator" (*μεσίτης*).² Naville has pointed out the resemblance between the sun as mediator and the Christian Logos, which Julian may have had in mind. Julian's system results in a practically monotheistic worship of Helios, and here he probably parts company with Iamblichus.

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

¹ On Julian's triad cf. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat et la philosophie du polythéisme*, Paris, 1877.

² *Concerning Isis and Osiris* 46.

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Roman, and Oriental deities which had been going on for centuries. The old names, endeared by the associations of literature, could be retained without endangering the supremacy of Helios. Julian identifies Zeus, Helios, Hades, Oceanus and the Egyptian Serapis. But the omnipotent Zeus of Greek mythology is now a creative force which works with Helios and has no separate existence. Tradition had made Athene the child of Zeus, but Julian regards her as the manifestation of the intelligent forethought of Helios. Dionysus is the vehicle of his fairest thoughts, and Aphrodite a principle that emanates from him. He contrives that all the more important gods of Greece, Egypt and Persia shall play their parts as manifestations of Helios. The lesser gods are mediating demons as well as forces. His aim was to provide the Hellenic counterpart of the positive revealed religion of Christianity. Hence his insistence on the inspiration of Homer, Hesiod, and Plato, and his statement¹ that the allegorical interpretations of the mysteries are not mere hypotheses, whereas the doctrines of the astronomers deserve no higher title.

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

¹ 148 B.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΗΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΝ

Προσθήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε μά- B
λιστα μὲν ἅπασιν,

ὅσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἔρπει,¹
καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ μετεί-
ληφεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐμαντῶ·
καὶ γάρ εἰμι τοῦ βασιλέως ὀπαδὸς Ἡλίου. τούτου C
δὲ ἔχω μὲν οἴκοι παρ' ἐμαντῶ τὰς πίστεις ἀκρι-
βεστέρας· ὃ δέ μοι θέμις εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀνεμέσητον,
ἐντέτηκέ μοι δεινὸς ἐκ παίδων τῶν ἀνγῶν τοῦ
θεοῦ πόθος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς οὔτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον
ἐκ παιδαρίου κομιδῇ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξιστάμην,
ὥστε οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀτενὲς ὄραν ἐπεθύμουν,
ἀλλὰ καί, εἴ ποτε νύκτωρ ἀνεφέλου καὶ καθαρᾶς
αἰθρίας οὔσης προέλθοιμι, πάντα ἀθρώως ἀφείδ D
τοῖς οὐρανίοις προσεῖχον κάλλεσιν, οὐκέτι ξυνηῖς
οὐδὲν εἴ τις λέγοι τι πρὸς με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὅ τι
πράττοιμι προσέχων. ἐδόκουν τε περιεργότερον
ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πολυπράγμων τις εἶναι, καί

¹ *Iliad* 17. 447.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS DEDICATED TO SALLUST

WHAT I am now about to say I consider to be of the greatest importance for all things "That breathe and move upon the earth," and have a share in existence and a reasoning soul¹ and intelligence, but above all others it is of importance to myself. For I am a follower of King Helios. And of this fact I possess within me, known to myself alone, proofs more certain than I can give.² But this at least I am permitted to say without sacrilege, that from my childhood an extraordinary longing for the rays of the god penetrated deep into my soul; and from my earliest years my mind was so completely swayed by the light that illumines the heavens that not only did I desire to gaze intently at the sun, but whenever I walked abroad in the night season, when the firmament was clear and cloudless, I abandoned all else without exception and gave myself up to the beauties of the heavens; nor did I understand what anyone might say to me, nor heed what I was doing myself. I was considered to be over-curious about these matters

¹ As opposed to the unreasoning soul, *ἄλογος ψυχή*, that is in animals other than man. Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and Porphyry allowed some form of soul to plants, but this was denied by Iamblichus, Julian, and Sallust.

² He refers to his initiation into the cult of Mithras.

μέ τις ἤδη ἀστρόμαντιν ὑπέλαβεν ἄρτι γενειήτην. 131
 καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐποτε τοιαύτη βίβλος εἰς
 ἐμὰς ἀφίκτο χεῖρας, οὐδὲ ἠπιστάμην ὅ τί ποτέ
 ἔστι τὸ χρῆμά πω τότε.¹ ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα ἐγώ
 φημι, μείζω ἔχων εἰπεῖν, εἰ φράσαιμι ὅπως
 ἐφρόνουν τὸ τηνικαῦτα περὶ θεῶν; λήθη δὲ ἔστω
 τοῦ σκοτούς ἐκείνου. τοῦ² δὲ ὅτι με τὸ οὐράνιον
 πάντη περιήστραπτε φῶς ἠγειρέ τε καὶ παρώξυνεν
 ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὴν
 ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ κίνησιν
 ξυνεῖδον, οὐδενί πω ξυντυχῶν τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα B
 φιλοσοφούντων, ἔστω μοι τὰ ῥηθέντα σημεῖα.
 ζηλῶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τῆς εὐποτμίας καὶ εἴ τῳ τὸ
 σῶμα παρέσχε θεὸς ἐξ ἱεροῦ καὶ προφητικοῦ
 συμπαγῆν σπέρματος ἀναλαβόντι σοφίας ἀνοῖξαι
 θησαυροῦς· οὐκ ἀτιμάζω δὲ ταύτην, ἧς ἠξιώθη
 αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε μερίδος, ἐν τῷ
 κρατοῦντι καὶ βασιλεύοντι τῆς γῆς γένει τοῖς κατ'
 ἑμαυτὸν χρόνοις γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ἠγοῦμαι,³ εἴπερ C
 χρῆ πείθεσθαι τοῖς σοφοῖς, ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων
 εἶναι τοῦτον κοινὸν πατέρα. λέγεται γὰρ ὀρθῶς
 ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γενᾶν καὶ ἥλιος,⁴ ψυχὰς οὐκ
 ἀπ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 θεῶν σπείρων⁵ εἰς γῆν,⁶ ἐφ' ὅτι δὲ χρῆμα δηλοῦσιν

¹ πω τότε Cobet, πώποτε MSS, Hertlein.

² τοῦ Reiske, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.

³ ἠγοῦμαι Petavius, ἠγοῦμαι κοινότερον μὲν MSS, Hertlein.

⁴ Aristotle, *Physics* 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 151 d.

⁵ σπείρων Hertlein suggests, σπείρειν MSS.

⁶ Plato, *Timaeus* 42 d.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

and to pay too much attention to them, and people went so far as to regard me as an astrologer when my beard had only just begun to grow. And yet, I call heaven to witness, never had a book on this subject come into my hands; nor did I as yet even know what that science was. But why do I mention this, when I have more important things to tell, if I should relate how, in those days, I thought about the gods? However let that darkness¹ be buried in oblivion. But let what I have said bear witness to this fact, that the heavenly light shone all about me, and that it roused and urged me on to its contemplation, so that even then I recognised of myself that the movement of the moon was in the opposite direction to the universe, though as yet I had met no one of those who are wise in these matters. Now for my part I envy the good fortune of any man to whom the god has granted to inherit a body built of the seed of holy and inspired ancestors, so that he can unlock the treasures of wisdom; nor do I despise that lot with which I was myself endowed by the god Helios, that I should be born of a house that rules and governs the world in my time; but further, I regard this god, if we may believe the wise, as the common father of all mankind.² For it is said with truth that man and the sun together beget man, and that the god sows this earth with souls which proceed not from himself alone but from the other gods also; and for what purpose, the souls reveal by

¹ When he was still a professed Christian.

² *i.e.* not only prophets and emperors but all men are related to Helios.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

αὐται τοῖς βίοις, οὓς προαιροῦνται, κάλλιστον
 μὲν οὖν, εἴ τῳ ξυνηρέχθη καὶ πρὸ τριγωνίας ἀπὸ
 πολλῶν πάνυ προπατόρων ἐφεξῆς τῷ θεῷ δου-
 λεῦσαι, μεμπτόν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅστις, ἐπεγνωκῶς ἑαυτὸν D
 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε θεράποντα φύσει, μόνος ἐξ ἀπάν-
 των ἢ ξὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσι τῇ θεραπείᾳ
 τοῦ δεσπότου.

Φέρε οὖν, ὅπως ἂν οἰοί τε ὦμεν, ὑμνήσωμεν
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἣν ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις ἐπετη-
 σίοις ἀγάλλει θυσίαις. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, εὖ οἶδα,
 χαλεπὸν καὶ τὸ ξυνεῖναι περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ὅπόσος 132
 τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀφανῆς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λογισαμένῳ,
 φράσαι δὲ ἴσως ἀδύνατον, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἔλατ-
 τον ἐθελήσειέ τις. ἐφικέσθαι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς
 ἀξίαν εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναίτο,
 τοῦ μετρίου δὲ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὸ
 κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι
 φράζειν δυνάμεως. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τούτου παρα-
 σταίῃ βοηθὸς ὁ τε λόγιος¹ Ἑρμῆς ξὺν ταῖς
 Μούσαις ὁ τε Μουσηγέτης Ἀπόλλων,² ἐπεὶ καὶ B
 αὐτῷ προσήκει τῶν λόγων, καὶ δοῖεν δὲ εἰπεῖν
 ὅποσα τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα λέγεσθαί τε καὶ πιστεύ-
 εσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται
 τῶν ἐπαίνων; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι περὶ τῆς οὐσίας
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅθεν προῆλθε καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ
 τῶν ἐνεργειῶν διελθόντες, ὅποσαι φανεραὶ ὅσαι τ'
 ἀφανεῖς, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσεως, ἣν
 κατὰ πάντα ποιεῖται τοὺς κόσμους, οὐ παντά-

¹ cf. *Oration* 7. 237 c.

² cf. 144 A, 149 c.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

Come then, let me celebrate, as best I may, his festival which the Imperial city¹ adorns with annual sacrifices.² Now it is hard, as I well know, merely to comprehend how great is the Invisible, if one judge by his visible self,³ and to tell it is perhaps impossible, even though one should consent to fall short of what is his due. For well I know that no one in the world could attain to a description that would be worthy of him, and not to fail of a certain measure of success in his praises is the greatest height to which human beings can attain in the power of utterance. But as for me, may Hermes, the god of eloquence, stand by my side to aid me, and the Muses also and Apollo, the leader of the Muses, since he too has oratory for his province, and may they grant that I utter only what the gods approve that men should say and believe about them. What, then, shall be the manner of my praise? Or is it not evident that if I describe his substance and his origin, and his powers and energies, both visible and invisible, and the gift of blessings which he bestows throughout all the worlds,⁴ I shall compose an

¹ Rome. ² At the beginning of January; cf. 156 c.

³ Julian distinguishes the visible sun from his archetype, the offspring of the Good.

⁴ *i.e.* the intelligible world, *νοητός*, comprehended only by pure reason; the intellectual, *νοερός*, endowed with intelli-

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

πασιν ἀπάδοντα ποιησόμεθα τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἐγκώμια;
ἀρκτέον δὲ ἐνθένδε.

Ὁ θεῖος οὗτος καὶ πάγκαλος κόσμος ἀπ' ἄκρας
ἀψήδου οὐρανοῦ μέχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλύτου
συνεχόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ἐξ αἰδίου γέγονεν
ἀγέννητος¹ ἔς τε τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον αἰδίου, οὐχ
ὑπ' ἄλλου του φρουρούμενος ἢ προσεχῶς μὲν ὑπὸ
τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος, οὐ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν
ἀκτὶς ἀελίου,² βαθμῶ δὲ ὥσπερ δευτέρῳ τοῦ νοητοῦ
κόσμου, πρεσβυτέρως δὲ ἔτι διὰ τὸν πάντων
βασιλέα, περὶ ὃν πάντα ἐστίν. οὗτος τοίνυν, εἴτε
τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ νοῦ καλεῖν αὐτὸν θέμις εἴτε ἰδέαν
τῶν ὄντων, ὃ δὴ φημι τὸ νοητὸν ξύμπαν, εἴτε ἔν,
ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ πως πρεσβύτατον, εἴτε
ὁ Πλάτων εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν τὰγαθόν, αὕτη δὴ οὖν
ἢ μονοειδῆς τῶν ὄλων αἰτία, πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν
ἐξηγουμένη κάλλους τε καὶ τελειότητος ἐνώσεώς
τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμηχάνου, κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ
μένουσαν πρωτουργὸν οὐσίαν μέσου ἐκ μέσων τῶν
νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν αἰτιῶν "Ἡλιον θεὸν
μέγιστον ἀνέφηεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ·
καθάπερ καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος οἶεται Πλάτων, "Τοῦτον
τοίνυν," λέγων, "ἦν δ' ἐγώ, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ

¹ ἀγέννητος Hertlein suggests, ἀγεννήτως MSS.

² Pindar fr. 107, and Sophocles, *Antigone* 100 ἀκτὶς ἀελίου.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

This divine and wholly beautiful universe, from the highest vault of heaven to the lowest limit of the earth, is held together by the continuous providence of the god, has existed from eternity ungenerated, is imperishable for all time to come, and is guarded immediately by nothing else than the Fifth Substance¹ whose culmination is the beams of the sun; and in the second and higher degree, so to speak, by the intelligible world; but in a still loftier sense it is guarded by the King of the whole universe, who is the centre of all things that exist. He, therefore, whether it is right to call him the Supra-Intelligible, or the Idea of Being, and by Being I mean the whole intelligible region, or the One, since the One seems somehow to be prior to all the rest, or, to use Plato's name for him, the Good; at any rate this uncompounded cause of the whole reveals to all existence beauty, and perfection, and oneness, and irresistible power; and in virtue of the primal creative substance that abides in it, produced, as middle among the middle and intellectual, creative causes, Helios the most mighty god, proceeding from itself and in all things like unto itself. Even so the divine Plato believed, when he writes, "Therefore (said I) when I spoke of this, gence; and thirdly the world of sense-perception *αἰσθητός*. The first of these worlds the Neo-Platonists took over from Plato, *Republic* 508 foll.; the second was invented by Iamblichus.

¹ Though Aristotle did not use this phrase, it was his theory of a fifth element superior to the other four, called by him "aether" or "first element," *De Coelo* 1. 3 270 B, that suggested to Iamblichus the notion of a fifth substance or element; cf. *Theologumena Arithmeticae* 35, 22 Ast, where he calls the fifth element "aether."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἀγαθοῦ ἔκγονον, ὃν τὰγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον
 ἑαυτῷ, ὅτιπερ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρὸς τε νοῦν
 καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τοῦτο τοῦτου ἐν τῷ ὁρατῷ πρὸς τε
 ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα.”¹ ἔχει μὲν δὴ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ
 ταύτην οἶμαι τὴν ἀναλογίαν πρὸς τὸ ὁρατόν,
 ἦνπερ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἀλήθεια.² αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ξύμ-
 πας, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου τῆς ἰδέας B
 τὰγαθοῦ γεγονὼς ἔκγονος, ὑποστάς αὐτοῦ περὶ
 τὴν μόνιμον οὐσίαν ἐξ αἰδίου καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
 νοεροῖς θεοῖς παρεδέξατο δυναστείαν, ὧν τὰγαθὸν
 ἐστὶ τοῖς νοητοῖς αἴτιον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς τοῖς νοεροῖς
 νέμων. ἐστὶ δ’ αἴτιον οἶμαι τὰγαθὸν τοῖς νοητοῖς
 θεοῖς κάλλους, οὐσίας, τελειότητος, ἐνώσεως,
 συνέχον αὐτὰ καὶ περιλάμπον ἀγαθοειδεῖ δυνάμει
 ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς Ἥλιος δίδωσιν, ἄρχειν C
 καὶ βασιλεύειν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὰγαθοῦ τεταγμένος, εἰ
 καὶ συμπροῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ συννπέστησαν, ὅπως
 οἶαμι καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθοειδῆς αἰτία
 προκαθηγουμένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν ἅπαντα κατὰ
 νοῦν εὐθύνη.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τρίτος ὁ φαινόμενος οὐτοσὶ δίσκος
 ἐναργῶς αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας,
 καὶ ὅσων ἔφαμεν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς τὸν μέγαν

¹ Republic 508 B.

² ἀλήθεια Hertlein suggests, ἀλήθεια MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

But this visible disc also, third¹ in rank, is clearly, for the objects of sense-perception the cause of preservation, and this visible Helios² is the cause

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

² 133 D-134 A is a digression on the light of the sun.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

Ἡλιον, τοσούτων αἴτιος¹ καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος ὅδε τοῖς φανεροῖς. τούτων δ' ἐναργεῖς αἱ πίστεις ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἀφανῆ σκοποῦντι.² φέρε δὴ D
 πρῶτον αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς οὐκ εἶδός ἐστιν ἀσώματόν τι θεῖον τοῦ κατ' ἐνέργειαν διαφανοῦς; αὐτὸ δὲ ὅ, τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ διαφανές, πᾶσι μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν συνυποκείμενον τοῖς στοιχείοις καὶ ὃν αὐτῶν προσεχῆς εἶδος, οὐ σωματοειδές οὐδὲ συμμιγνύμενον οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας σώματι προσιέμενον ποιότητος. οὐκ οὖν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ θέρμην ἐρεῖς,³ οὐ τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ ψυχρότητα, οὐ τὸ σκληρόν, οὐ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀποδώσεις, οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀφήν 134
 διαφορῶν, οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ γεύσιν οὐδὲ ὀσμῆν, ὅψει δὲ μόνον ὑποπίπτει πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἢ τοιαύτη φύσις ἀγομένη. τὸ δὲ φῶς εἶδός ἐστι ταύτης οἶον ὕλης ὑπεστρωμένης καὶ παρεκτεινομένης τοῖς σώμασιν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντος ἀσώματου ἀκρότης ἂν εἴη τις καὶ ὡσπερ ἄνθος ἀκτῖνες. ἢ μὲν οὖν τῶν Φοινίκων δόξα, σοφῶν τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐπιστημόνων, ἄχραντον εἶναι ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθαροῦ νοῦ τὴν ἀπανταχῆ B
 προϊούσαν αὐγὴν ἔφη οὐκ ἀπάδει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος, εἶπερ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀσώματον, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πηγὴν ὑπολάβοι σῶμα, νοῦ δὲ ἐνέργειαν ἄχραντον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔδραν ἐλλαμπομένην, ἢ

¹ After τοσούτων Hertlein suggests αἴτιος.

² cf. 138 B.

³ Aristotle, *De Anima* 418 A.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

for the visible gods¹ of just as many blessings as we said mighty Helios bestows on the intellectual gods. And of this there are clear proofs for one who studies the unseen world in the light of things seen. For in the first place, is not light itself a sort of incorporeal and divine form of the transparent in a state of activity? And as for the transparent itself, whatever it is, since it is the underlying basis, so to speak, of all the elements, and is a form peculiarly belonging to them, it is not like the corporeal or compounded, nor does it admit qualities peculiar to corporeal substance.² You will not therefore say that heat is a property of the transparent, or its opposite cold, nor will you assign to it hardness or softness or any other of the various attributes connected with touch or taste or smell; but a nature of this sort is obvious to sight alone, since it is brought into activity by light. And light is a form of this substance, so to speak, which is the substratum of and coextensive with the heavenly bodies. And of light, itself incorporeal, the culmination and flower, so to speak, is the sun's rays. Now the doctrine of the Phoenicians, who were wise and learned in sacred lore, declared that the rays of light everywhere diffused are the undefiled incarnation of pure mind. And in harmony with this is our theory, seeing that light itself is incorporeal, if one should regard its fountain-head, not as corporeal, but as the undefiled activity of mind³ pouring light into its own abode: and this is

¹ *i.e.* the stars.

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

³ Mind, *voûs*, is here identified with Helios; cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 19. 9. Sol mundi mens est, "the sun is the

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ τὸ μέσον εἴλιχεν, ὅθεν ἐπι-
 λάμπουσα πάσης μὲν εὐτονίας πληροῖ τοὺς οὐ-
 ρανίους κύκλους, πάντα δὲ περιλάμπει θείῳ καὶ
 ἀχράντῳ φωτί. τὰ μέντοι ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργα
 προϊόντα παρ' αὐτοῦ μετρίως γε¹ ἡμῖν ὀλίγῳ
 πρότερον εἴρηται² καὶ ῥηθήσεται μετ' ὀλίγον. ὅσα C
 δὲ ὀρώμεν αὐτῇ πρῶτον ὄψει ὄνομα μόνον ἐστὶν
 ἔργου τητώμενον, εἰ μὴ προσλάβοι τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς
 ἡγεμονικὴν βοήθειαν. ὀρατὸν δὲ ὅλως εἴη ἂν τί
 μὴ φωτὶ πρῶτον ὥσπερ ὕλη τεχνίτῃ προσαχθέν,
 ἵν' οἶμαι τὸ εἶδος δέξεται; καὶ γὰρ τὸ χρυσοῦν
 ἀπλῶς οὕτως κεχυμένον ἐστὶ μὲν χρυσοῦν, οὐ
 μὴν ἄγαλμα οὐδὲ εἰκὼν, πρὶν ἂν ὁ τεχνίτης αὐτῷ
 περιθῇ τὴν μορφήν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅσα πέφυκεν
 ὀρᾶσθαι μὴ ξὺν φωτὶ τοῖς ὀρώσι προσαγόμενα D
 τοῦ ὀρατὰ εἶναι παντάπασιν ἐστέρηται. διδοὺς
 οὖν τοῖς τε ὀρώσι τὸ ὀρᾶν τοῖς τε ὀρωμένοις τὸ
 ὀρᾶσθαι δύο φύσεις ἐνεργείᾳ μιᾷ τελειοῖ, ὄψιν καὶ
 ὀρατὸν· αἱ δὲ τελειότητες εἶδη τέ εἰσι καὶ οὐσία.

Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως λεπτότερον· ᾧ δὲ
 παρακολουθοῦμεν ξύμπαντες, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶ-
 ται, φιλόσοφοι καὶ λόγιοι, τίνα ἐν τῷ παντὶ
 δύναμιν ἀνίσχων ἔχει καὶ καταδυνόμενος ὁ θεός;
 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἐργάζεται καὶ μεθίστησι
 φανερώς καὶ τρέπει τὸ πᾶν. καίτοι τίνι τοῦτο

135

¹ γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.

² 133 B.

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

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

mind of the universe"; Iamblichus, *Protrepticus* 21, 115; Ammianus Marcellinus, 21. 1. 11.

¹ Julian echoes Plato, *Republic* 507, 508.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ὑπάρχει; πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐκ
 τούτων ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν θειοτέρων πιστεύομεν,
 ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφανῆ καὶ θεῖα
 νοερῶν θεῶν γένη τῆς ἀγαθοειδοῦς ἀποπληροῦται
 παρ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, ᾧ πᾶς μὲν ὑπέκει χορὸς
 ἀστέρων, ἔπεται δὲ ἡ γένεσις ὑπὸ τῆς τούτου
 κυβερνωμένη προμηθείας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλάνητες¹ B
 ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν ὡσπερ βασιλέα χορεύοντες ἔν-
 τισιν ὠρισμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν διαστήμασιν ἄρμο-
 διώτατα φέρονται κύκλῳ, στηριγμούς τινας
 ποιούμενοι καὶ πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω πορείαν, ὡς οἱ
 τῆς σφαιρικῆς ἐπιστήμονες θεωρίας ὀνομάζουσι τὰ
 περὶ αὐτοὺς φαινόμενα, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς σελήνης
 αὐξεται καὶ λήγει φῶς, πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν
 ἡλίου πάσχον, πᾶσί που δῆλον. πῶς οὖν οὐκ
 εἰκότως καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῶν σωμάτων ἐν
 τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς διακόσμησιν ὑπολαμβάνομεν C
 ἀνάλογον ἔχειν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τάξει;

Λάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸ μὲν τελεσιουργὸν
 ἐκ τοῦ παντός ἀποφαίνειν ὄραν τὰ ὀρατικά·
 τελειοῖ γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ φωτός· τὸ δὲ δημιουρ-
 γικὸν καὶ γόνιμον² ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ξύμπαν μετα-
 βολῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐν ἐνὶ πάντων συνεκτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
 περὶ τὰς κινήσεις πρὸς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφωνίας,
 τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐξ αὐτοῦ³ μέσου, τὸ δὲ τοῖς νοεροῖς
 αὐτὸν ἐνιδρῦσθαι βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πλανω-
 μένοις μέσης τάξεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περί τινα D

¹ cf. 146 D.

² 157 C.

³ αὐτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἑαυτοῦ MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

the other heavenly bodies does this power belong? How then can we now fail to believe, in view of this, in respect also to things more divine that the invisible and divine tribes of intellectual gods above the heavens are filled with power that works for good by him, even by him to whom the whole band of the heavenly bodies yields place, and whom all generated things follow, piloted by his providence? For that the planets dance about him as their king, in certain intervals, fixed in relation to him, and revolve in a circle with perfect accord, making certain halts, and pursuing to and fro their orbit,¹ as those who are learned in the study of the spheres call their visible motions; and that the light of the moon waxes and wanes varying in proportion to its distance from the sun, is, I think, clear to all. Then is it not natural that we should suppose that the more venerable ordering of bodies among the intellectual gods corresponds to this arrangement?

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

¹ *i.e.* the stationary positions and the direct and retrograde movements of the planets.

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τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν ὀρώμεν θεῶν ἢ τοσαῦτα ἕτερα, μὴ τοι τούτῳ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγεμονίαν προσνείμωμεν· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξω τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας, ἣς καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδίδωσι τοῖς πᾶσι, μαρτυράμενοι τοὺς τε Κυπρίων ἱερέας, οἱ κοινούς ἀποφαίνουσι βωμοὺς Ἡλίου καὶ Διί, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἀπόλλω¹ συνεδρεύοντα τῷ θεῷ τῷδε παρακαλέσαντες μάρτυρα· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος

Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀίδης, εἰς Ἡλῖός ἐστι Σάραπις· 136
κοινὴν ὑπολάβωμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ μίαν Ἡλίου καὶ Διὸς ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς δυναστείαν· ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Πλάτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως φρόνιμον θεὸν Ἄιδην ὀνομάσαι. καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτου καὶ Σάραπιν, τὸν αἰδῆ δηλονότι καὶ νοερόν, πρὸς ὃν φησιν² ἄνω πορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἄριστα βιωσάντων καὶ δικαιοτάτα. μὴ γὰρ δὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ τούτου, ὃν οἱ μῦθοι πείθουσι φρίττειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ μείλιχον, ὃς ἀπολύει παντελῶς τῆς γενέσεως τὰς ψυχὰς, οὐχὶ δὲ λυθείσας αὐτὰς σώμασιν ἑτέροις προσηλοῖ³ κολάζων καὶ πραττόμενος δίκας, ἀλλὰ πορεύων ἄνω καὶ ἀνατείνων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ νεαρὰ παντελῶς ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα, προύλαβον δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ποιητῶν, B

¹ 144 A, B, 149 C.

² Cratylus 403 B.

³ Phaedo 83 D.

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powers of similar importance, belong to any one of the other visible deities, let us not assign to Helios leadership among the gods. But if he has nothing in common with those other gods except his beneficent energy, and of this too he gives them all a share, then let us call to witness the priests of Cyprus who set up common altars to Helios and Zeus; but even before them let us summon as witness Apollo, who sits in council with our god. For this god declares: "Zeus, Hades, Helios Serapis, three gods in one godhead!"¹ Let us then assume that, among the intellectual gods, Helios and Zeus have a joint or rather a single sovereignty. Hence I think that with reason Plato called Hades a wise god.² And we call this same god Hades Serapis also, namely the Unseen³ and Intellectual, to whom Plato says the souls of those who have lived most righteously and justly mount upwards. For let no one conceive of him as the god whom the legends teach us to shudder at, but as the mild and placable, since he completely frees our souls from generation: and the souls that he has thus freed he does not nail to other bodies, punishing them and exacting penalties, but he carries aloft and lifts up our souls to the intelligible world. And that this doctrine is not wholly new, but that

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

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

³ Ἄφθης, "Unseen."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

"Ομηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, εἶτε καὶ νοοῦντες οὕτως
 εἶτε καὶ ἐπιπνοία θεία καθάπερ οἱ μάντις ἐνθου-
 σιῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐνθένδ' ἂν γίγνοιτο C
 γνώριμον. ὁ μὲν γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν Ὑπερίωνος
 ἔφη καὶ Θείας, μόνον οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνιττόμενος
 τοῦ πάντων ὑπερέχοντος αὐτὸν ἔκγονον¹ γνήσιον
 φῦναι· ὁ γὰρ Ὑπερίων τίς ἂν ἕτερος εἴη παρὰ
 τούτου; ἢ Θεία δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον ἕτερον οὐ τὸ
 θειότατον τῶν ὄντων λέγεται; μὴ δὲ συνδυασμὸν
 μηδὲ γάμους ὑπολαμβάνωμεν, ἄπιστα καὶ παρά-
 δοξα ποιητικῆς μούσης ἀθύρματα. πατέρα δὲ D
 αὐτοῦ καὶ γεννήτορα νομίζωμεν τὸν θειότατον καὶ
 ὑπέρτατον· τοιοῦτος δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλος² εἴη τοῦ
 πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ περὶ ὃν πάντα καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα
 πάντα ἐστίν; Ὁμηρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
 Ὑπερίωνα καλεῖ,³ καὶ δείκνυσί γε αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτε-
 ξούσιον καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης κρείττον. ὁ γὰρ τοι
 Ζεὺς, ὡς ἐκεῖνός φησιν, ἀπάντων ὧν κύριος τοὺς
 ἄλλους προσαναγκάζει· ἐν δὲ τῷ μύθῳ τοῦ θεοῦ
 τοῦδε λέγοντος,⁴ ὅτι ἄρα διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν
 Ὀδυσσέως ἐταίρων ἀπολείψει τὸν Ὀλυμπον, 137
 οὐκέτι φησὶν

Αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ τε θαλάσση,
 οὐδὲ ἀπειλεῖ δεσμὸν οὐδὲ βίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δίκην
 φησὶν ἐπιθήσειν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀξιοῖ
 φαίνειν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἄρ' οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων πρὸς
 τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ καὶ τελεσιουργὸν εἶναί φησι τὸν

¹ ἔκγονον MSS, ἔγγονον V, Hertlein.

² δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλος Hertlein suggests, δὲ τις ἂν εἴη MSS.

³ *Iliad* 8. 480; *Odyssey* 1. 8. ⁴ *Odyssey* 12. 383.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

Homer and Hesiod the most venerable of the poets held it before us, whether this was their own view or, like seers, they were divinely inspired with a sacred frenzy for the truth, is evident from the following. Hesiod, in tracing his genealogy, said¹ that Helios is the son of Hyperion and Thea, intimating thereby that he is the true son of him who is above all things. For who else could Hyperion² be? And is not Thea herself, in another fashion, said to be most divine of beings? But as for a union or marriage, let us not conceive of such a thing, since that is the incredible and paradoxical trifling of the poetic Muse. But let us believe that his father and sire was the most divine and supreme being; and who else could have this nature save him who transcends all things, the central point and goal of all things that exist? And Homer calls him Hyperion after his father and shows his unconditioned nature, superior to all constraint. For Zeus, as Homer says, since he is lord of all constrains the other gods. And when, in the course of the myth, Helios says that on account of the impiety of the comrades of Odysseus³ he will forsake Olympus, Zeus no longer says, "Then with very earth would I draw you up and the sea withal,"⁴ nor does he threaten him with fetters or violence, but he says that he will inflict punishment on the guilty and bids Helios go on shining among the gods. Does he not thereby declare that besides being uncon-

¹ *Theogony* 371; cf Pindar, *Isthmian* 4. 1.

² Hyperion means "he that walks above."

³ They had devoured the oxen of the sun; *Odyssey* 12. 352 foll.

⁴ *Iliad*. 8. 24; Zeus utters this threat against the gods if they should aid either the Trojans or the Greeks.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

"Ἡλιον; ἐπὶ τί γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ θεοὶ δέονται, πλὴν εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀφανῶς ἐναστράπτων ὧν ἔφαμεν ἀγαθῶν ἀποπληρωτικὸς τυγχάνοι; τὸ γὰρ

Ἡελίον τ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια Ἡρη
Πέμφεν ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοὰς ἀέκοντα νέεσθαι¹

πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ φησι νομισθῆναι τὴν νύκτα διὰ τινὰ χαλεπὴν ὁμίχλην. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ θεὸς που, καὶ ἄλλοθι τῆς ποιήσεώς φησιν,²

ἡέρα δ' Ἡρη

Πίτνα πρόσθε βαθεῖαν.

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν χαίρειν ἐάσωμεν· ἔχει γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θείου πολὺ καὶ τὰνθρώπινον· ἃ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔοικεν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς διδάσκειν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐκεῖνα ἤδη διέλωμεν.

Ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ἔχει· τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν αἰδιότητα δωρούμενος αὐτῷ; ἄρ' οὐχ ὁ ταῦτα μέτροις ὠρισμένοις συνέχων; ἀπειρον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν σώματος οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἀγέννητός ἐστι μηδὲ ἀνθυπόστατος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας εἰ πάντως ἐγένετό τι συνεχῶς, ἀνελύετο δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν μηδέν, ἐπέλειπεν ἂν τῶν γιγνομένων ἡ οὐσία. τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην φύσιν ὁ θεὸς ὅδε μέτρῳ κινούμενος προσιῶν μὲν ὀρθοῖ καὶ ἐγείρει, πόρρω δὲ ἀπιῶν ἐλαττοῖ καὶ φθείρει, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ ζωοποιεῖ κινῶν καὶ ἐποχετεύων αὐτῇ τὴν ζωὴν· ἡ δὲ ἀπόλειψις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πρὸς θάτερα μετάστασις αἰτία γίνεται φθορᾶς

¹ *Iliad* 18. 239.

² *Iliad* 21. 6.

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

The region of the earth contains being in a state of becoming. Then who endows it with imperishability? Is it not he¹ who keeps all together by means of definite limits? For that the nature of being should be unlimited was not possible, since it is neither uncreated nor self-subsistent. And if from being something were generated absolutely without ceasing and nothing were resolved back into it, the substance of things generated would fail. Accordingly this god, moving in due measure, raises up and stimulates this substance when he approaches it, and when he departs to a distance he diminishes and destroys it; or rather he himself continually revivifies it by giving it movement and flooding it with life. And his departure and turning in the

¹ Julian now describes the substance or essential nature, *οὐσία*, of Helios, 137 D-142 B.

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τοῖς φθίνουσιν. αἰεὶ μὲν οὖν ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσις ἴση κάτεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· ἄλλοτε γὰρ ἄλλη δέχεται τὰ τοιαῦτα χώρα πρὸς τὸ μήτε τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιλείπειν μήτε τοῦ συνήθους ποτὲ τὸν θεὸν ἔλαττον ἢ πλέον εὖ ποιῆσαι τὸν παθητὸν κόσμον. ἢ γὰρ ταυτότης ὡσπερ τῆς οὐσίας, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὄλων Ἡλίῳ, ὃς καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἀπλουστάτην ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ποιεῖται τοὺς τῷ παντὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν φερομένους· ὃ δὲ καὶ B αὐτὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπεροχῆς αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ποιεῖται ὁ κλεινὸς Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων νοερῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀμυδραὶ καθήκουσιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τόνδε δυνάμεις. εἶτα τί τοῦτο; μὴ γὰρ ἀποκλείομεν τοὺς ἄλλους τούτῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁμολογοῦντες δεδόσθαι; πολὺ δὲ πλέον ἐκ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀξιούμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν πιστεύειν. ὡσπερ γὰρ τὰς ἐνδιδομένας ἅπασιν C ἐκείθεν δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν γῆν οὗτος φαίνεται τελεσιουργῶν καὶ συναρμόζων πρὸς τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν, οὕτω δὲ νομιστέον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀφανέσιν αὐτῶν τὰς συνουσίας ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν ἐκείνην, συμφωνούσας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὰς ἄλλας ἅμα. ἐπεὶ καί, εἰ μέσον ἔφαμεν ἐν μέσοις ἰδρῦσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, ποταπή τις ἢ μεσότης ἐστὶν ὧν αὐτῶν χρὴ μέσον

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other direction is the cause of decay for things that perish. Ever does his gift of blessings descend evenly upon the earth. For now one country now another receives them, to the end that becoming may not cease nor the god ever benefit less or more than is his custom this changeful world. For sameness, as of being so also of activity, exists among the gods, and above all the others in the case of the King of the All, Helios; and he also makes the simplest movement of all the heavenly bodies¹ that travel in a direction opposite to the whole. In fact this is the very thing that the celebrated Aristotle makes a proof of his superiority, compared with the others. Nevertheless from the other intellectual gods also, forces clearly discernible descend to this world. And now what does this mean? Are we not excluding the others when we assert that the leadership has been assigned to Helios? Nay, far rather do I think it right from the visible to have faith about the invisible.² For even as this god is seen to complete and to adapt to himself and to the universe the powers that are bestowed on the earth from the other gods for all things, after the same fashion we must believe that among the invisible gods also there is intercourse with one another; his mode of intercourse being that of a leader, while the modes of intercourse of the others are at the same time in harmony with his. For since we said that the god is established midmost among the midmost intellectual gods, may King Helios himself grant to us to tell what is the nature of that middleness

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

² *cf.* 133 D.

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αὐτὸν ὑπόλαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰπεῖν
 "Ἥλιος δοίη.

Μεσότητα μὲν δὴ φαμεν οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις D
 θεωρουμένην ἴσον ἀφεστῶσαν τῶν ἄκρων, οἷον ἐπὶ
 χρωμάτων τὸ ξανθὸν ἢ φαιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ θερμοῦ καὶ
 ψυχροῦ τὸ χλιαρόν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 ἐνωτικὴν καὶ συνάγουσαν τὰ διεστῶτα, ὁποῖαν
 τινὰ φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐξορίζων
 αὐτῆς παντελῶς τὸ νεῖκος. τίνα οὖν ἐστίν, ἃ
 συνάγει, καὶ τίνων ἐστὶ μέσος; φημὶ δὴ οὖν ὅτι
 τῶν τε ἐμφανῶν καὶ περικοσμίων θεῶν καὶ τῶν
 ἀύλων καὶ νοητῶν, οἳ περὶ τὰ γαθόν εἰσιν, ὥσπερ 139
 πολυπλασιαζομένης ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἄνευ προσθήκης
 τῆς νοητῆς καὶ θείας οὐσίας. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ
 μέση τις, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων κραθεῖσα, τελεία δὲ
 καὶ ἀμυγῆς ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ
 ἀφανῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως
 Ἥλιου νοερὰ καὶ πάγκαλος οὐσία, καὶ ὁποῖαν τινὰ
 χρὴ τὴν μεσότητα νομίζειν, εἴρηται. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ
 τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξελεθῆναι, ἵν' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ'
 εἶδη τὸ μέσον τῆς οὐσίας, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς τε τὰ
 πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα,¹ τῷ νῶ κατίδωμεν, εἰ καὶ B

¹ τὰ τελευταῖα Hertlein suggests, τελευταῖα MSS.

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

Now "middleness"¹ we define not as that mean which in opposites is seen to be equally remote from the extremes, as, for instance, in colours, tawny or dusky, and warm in the case of hot and cold, and the like, but that which unifies and links together what is separate; for instance the sort of thing that Empedocles² means by Harmony when from it he altogether eliminates Strife. And now what does Helios link together, and of what is he the middle? I assert then that he is midway between the visible gods who surround the universe and the immaterial and intelligible gods who surround the Good—for the intelligible and divine substance is as it were multiplied without external influence and without addition. For that the intellectual and wholly beautiful substance of King Helios is middle in the sense of being unmixed with extremes, complete in itself, and distinct from the whole number of the gods, visible and invisible, both those perceptible by sense and those which are intelligible only, I have already declared, and also in what sense we must conceive of his middleness. But if I must also describe these things one by one, in order that we may discern with our intelligence how his intermediary nature, in its various forms, is related both to the highest and the lowest, even though it is

¹ Julian defines the ways in which Helios possesses *μεσότης*, or middleness; he is mediator and connecting link as well as locally midway between the two worlds and the centre of the intellectual gods; see Introduction, p. 350.

² cf. Empedocles, *fr.* 18; 122, 2; 17, 19 Diels.

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μη πάντα διελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἀλλ' οὖν τὰ δυνατὰ φράσαι πειραθῶμεν.

Ἐν παντελῶς τὸ νοητὸν αἰεὶ προϋπάρχον, τὰ¹ δὲ πάντα ὁμοῦ συνειληφὸς ἐν τῷ ἐνί. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐν ἔστι ζῶον ὅλον δι' ὅλου ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ πλήρες, τέλειον ἐκ μερῶν τελείων;² ταύτης οὖν τῆς διπλῆς ἐνοειδοῦς τελειότητος· φημὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ νοητῷ πάντα ἐν ἐνὶ συνεχούσης, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν C τελείαν συναγομένης ἐνώσεως· ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου μέση τελειότης ἐνοειδῆς ἐστίν, ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἰδρυμένη θεοῖς. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο συνοχή τίς ἐστίν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τῶν θεῶν κόσμῳ πάντα πρὸς τὸ ἐν συντάττουσα. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν φαίνεται κύκλῳ πορευομένη τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐσία,³ ἡ πάντα συνέχει τὰ μέρη καὶ σφίγγει πρὸς αὐτὰ συνέχουσα τὸ φύσει σκεδαστὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων; δύο δὴ ταύτας τὰς⁴ οὐσίας συνοχῆς αἰτίας, τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς D φαινομένην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡλιος εἰς ταῦτ' ἀνάπτει, τῆς μὲν μιμούμενος τὴν συνεκτικὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς, ἅτε ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθόν, τῆς δὲ τελευταίας προκατάρχων, ἡ περὶ τὸν ἐμφανῆ θεωρεῖται κόσμον. μή ποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ

¹ τὰ Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.

² Plato, *Timaeus* 33 A.

³ cf. 139 c; *Oration* 5. 165 c, 166 D, 170 c.

⁴ τὰς Hertlein suggests.

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

Wholly one is the intelligible world, pre-existent from all time, and it combines all things together in the One. Again is not our whole world also one complete living organism, wholly throughout the whole of it full of soul and intelligence, "perfect, with all its parts perfect"? Midway then between this uniform two-fold perfection—I mean that one kind of unity holds together in one all that exists in the intelligible world, while the other kind of unity unites in the visible world all things into one and the same perfect nature—between these, I say, is the uniform perfection of King Helios, established among the intellectual gods. There is, however, next in order, a sort of binding force in the intelligible world of the gods, which orders all things into one. Again is there not visible in the heavens also, travelling in its orbit, the nature of the Fifth Substance, which links and compresses¹ together all the parts, holding together things that by nature are prone to scatter and to fall away from one another? These existences, therefore, which are two causes of connection, one in the intelligible world, while the other appears in the world of sense-perception, King Helios combines into one, imitating the synthetic power of the former among the intellectual gods, seeing that he proceeds from it, and subsisting prior to the latter which is seen in the visible world. Then must not the

¹ cf. 167 D. In *Timaeus* 58 A it is the revolution of the whole which by constriction compresses all matter together, but Julian had that passage in mind. In Empedocles it is the Titan, Aether, i.e. the Fifth Substance, that "binds the globe." *fr.* 38 Diels.

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αὐθυπόστατον πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ὑπάρ- 140
 χον, τελευταῖον δ' ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινο-
 μένοις μέσσην ἔχει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως οὐσίαν
 αὐθυπόστατον Ἑλίου, ἀφ' ἧς κάτεισιν οὐσίας
 πρωτουργοῦ εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἢ περιλάμ-
 πουσα τὰ σύμπαντα αὐγή; πάλιν δὲ κατ'
 ἄλλο σκοποῦντι εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργός,
 πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦντες δημιουρ-
 γικοὶ θεοί. μέσσην ἄρα καὶ τούτων τὴν ἀφ'
 Ἑλίου καθήκουσαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον δημιουργίαν
 θετέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς πολὺ μὲν B
 καὶ ὑπέρπληρες ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, φαίνεται δὲ ζωῆς
 γονίμου καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὧν πλήρης. πρόδηλον οὖν
 ὅτι καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑλίου τῆς ζωῆς
 μέσον ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ
 φαινόμενα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τελειοῖ τῶν εἰδῶν, τὰ δὲ
 ἐργάζεται, τὰ δὲ κοσμεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀνεγείρει, καὶ ἐν οὐ-
 δένεστιν, ὃ δίχα τῆς ἀφ' Ἑλίου δημιουργικῆς δυνά-
 μεως εἰς φῶς πρόεισι καὶ γένεσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις C
 εἰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν ἄνλον
 οὐσίαν νοήσαιμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔξωθεν αὐτῇ προσιόντος
 οὐδὲ ἐνυπάρχοντος ἀλλοτρίου, πλήρη δὲ τῆς
 οἰκείας ἀχράντου καθαρότητος, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ

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unconditioned also, which exists primarily in the intelligible world, and finally among the visible bodies in the heavens, possess midway between these two the unconditioned substance of King Helios, and from that primary creative substance do not the rays of his light, illumining all things, descend to the visible world? Again, to take another point of view, the creator of the whole is one, but many are the creative gods¹ who revolve in the heavens. Midmost therefore of these also we must place the creative activity which descends into the world from Helios. But also the power of generating life is abundant and overflowing in the intelligible world; and our world also appears to be full of generative life. It is therefore evident that the life-generating power of King Helios also is midway between both the worlds: and the phenomena of our world also bear witness to this. For some forms he perfects, others he makes, or adorns, or wakes to life, and there is no single thing which, apart from the creative power derived from Helios, can come to light and to birth. And further, besides this, if we should comprehend the pure and undefiled and immaterial substance² among the intelligible gods—to which nothing external is added, nor has any alien thing a place therein, but it is filled with its own unstained

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

² Julian now describes the three kinds of substance (*οὐσία*) and its three forms (*εἶδη*) in the three worlds.

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κόσμῳ περὶ τὸ κύκλῳ φερόμενον σῶμα πρὸς πάντα ἀμιγῆ τὰ στοιχεῖα λίαν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν φύσιν ἀχράντου καὶ δαιμονίου σώματος, εὐρήσομεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου λαμπρὰν καὶ D ἀκήρατον οὐσίαν ἀμφοῖν μέσῃν, τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς αὐλοῦ καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἀχράντου καὶ ἀμιγῶς πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν καθαρᾶς εἰλικρινείας. μέγιστον δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ φῶς, ὃ μάλιστα ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ γῆν φέρεται, συμμίγνυται τιμὴ μηδὲ ἀναδέχεται ῥύπον καὶ μίασμα, μένει δὲ πάντως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὐσιν ἄχραντον καὶ ἀμόλυντον καὶ ἀπαθές.

Ἔτι δὲ προσεκτέον τοῖς αὐλοῖς εἶδεσι καὶ νοητοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ὅσα περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἐστὶν ἢ περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἀναφανήσεται 141 πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μέσον τὸ νοερὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἡλίον εἰδῶν, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ὕλην εἶδη βοηθεῖται μήποτε ἂν δυνηθέντα μήτε εἶναι μήτε σώζεσθαι μὴ παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν συνεργούμενα. τί γάρ; οὐχ οὗτός ἐστι τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ συγκρίσεως τῆς ὕλης αἴτιος, οὐ νοεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρέχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶν ὄμμασιν; ἢ γάρ τοι τῶν

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

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

¹ *i.e.* the visible heavenly bodies.

² Helios connects the forms (Plato's Ideas) which exist in the intelligible world, with those which in our world ally themselves with matter; cf. *Oration* 5. 171 B.

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ἀκτίνων εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον διανομὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἔνωσις τὴν δημιουργικὴν ἐνδείκνυται διά- B
κρισιν τῆς ποιήσεως.

Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ἔτι περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἃ δὴ ὅτι μέσος ἐστὶ τῶν τε νοητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν παρίστησιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῦ μετίωμεν ἐμφανῆ λήξιν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν τελευταίου κόσμον ἢ τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀγγέλων οἶον ἐν παραδείγματι τὴν ιδέαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχουσα· μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γεννητικὴ, ἧς τὸ μὲν C
τιμιώτερον οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστέρων ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ ὑποδεέστερον ἐπιτροπεύει τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ αἰδίου περιέχον αὐτῆς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν. ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε διελθεῖν οὐδὲ εἴ τῳ δοίη νοῆσαι αὐτὰ¹ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος δυνατὸν, ὅπου καὶ τὰ πάντα περιλαβεῖν τῷ νῷ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἀδύνατον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ διεληλύθαμεν, ἐπιθετέον ὥσπερ σφραγίδα τῷ λόγῳ τῷδε μέλλοντας ἐφ' ἕτερα μεταβαίνειν οὐκ ἐλάττονος τῆς θεωρίας δεόμενα. τίς D
οὖν ἡ σφραγὶς καὶ οἶον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τὰ πάντα περιλαμβάνουσα ἢ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν θείῃ βουλομένοις ἐν βραχεῖ συνελεῖν τὴν τε αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἧς προῆλθε,

¹ αὐτὰ V, αὐτὸς MSS, Hertlein.

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

Now though there are many more blessings connected with the substance of the god and apparent to us, which show that he is midway between the intelligible and the mundane gods¹ let us proceed to his last visible province. His first province then in the last of the worlds is, as though by way of a pattern, to give form and personality to the sun's angels.² Next is his province of generating the world of sense-perception, of which the more honourable part contains the cause of the heavens and the heavenly bodies, while the inferior part guides this our world of becoming, and from eternity contains in itself the uncreated cause of that world. Now to describe all the properties of the substance of this god, even though the god himself should grant one to comprehend them, is impossible, seeing that even to grasp them all with the mind is, in my opinion, beyond our power.

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

¹ *i.e.* the heavenly bodies.

² These angels combine, as does a model, the idea and its hypostatisation; cf. 142 A, *Letter to the Athenians* 275 B. Julian nowhere defines angels, but Porphyry as quoted by Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 10, 9, distinguished them from daemons and placed them in the aether.

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καὶ αὐτὸς ὅστις ἐστί, τίνων τε ἀποπληροῖ τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον. ῥητέον οὖν ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν προ- ἦλθε τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἀφ' ἑνὸς τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς Ἡλιος, τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν μέσος ἐν μέσοις 142 τεταγμένος κατὰ παντοίαν μεσότητα, τὴν ὁμόφρονα καὶ φίλην καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα συνάγουσαν, εἰς ἔνωσιν ἄγων τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς πρώτοις, τελειότητος καὶ συνοχῆς καὶ γονίμου ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς οὐσίας τὰ μέσα ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ τε αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ παντοίων ἀγαθῶν προηγούμενος,¹ οὐ μόνον δι' ἧς αὐτὸς αὐγῆς περιλάμπει κοσμῶν καὶ φαιδρύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀγγέλων² ἑαυτῷ συνυποστήσας καὶ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων περιέχων, ἔτι τε B πρὸ ταύτης τῶν αἰδίων σωμάτων τὴν ἀγήρω καὶ μόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς αἰτίαν.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε, καίτοι τῶν πλείστων παραλειφθέντων, εἴρηται ὅμως οὐκ ὀλίγα· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ πλήθος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν κάλλος τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστε εἶναι τῶν περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ θεωρουμένων ὑπερβολὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πέφυκε τὰ θεῖα προϊόντα εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς πληθύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ περιὸν καὶ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς, ὅρα τί δράσομεν, οἷ C

¹ προηγούμενος V, προκαθηγούμενος MSS, Hertlein.

² cf. 141 b.

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

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

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

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πρὸς ἀχανὲς πέλαγος ἀποδυνόμεθα, μόγις καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀναπανόμενοι λόγου. τολμητέον δ' ὅμως τῷ θεῷ θαρροῦντα καὶ πειρατέον ἄψασθαι τοῦ λόγου.

Κοινῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πρόσθεν ρηθέντα περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσήκειν ὑποληπτέον. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἐστὶν οὐσία θεοῦ, δύναμις δὲ ἄλλο, καὶ μὰ Δία τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα ἐνέργεια. D
πάντα γὰρ ἄπερ βούλεται, ταῦτα ἔστι καὶ δύναται καὶ ἐνεργεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ ὃ μὴ ἔστι βούλεται, οὔτε ὃ βούλεται δρᾶν οὐ σθένει, οὔθ' ὃ μὴ δύναται ἐνεργεῖν ἐθέλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐχ ὧδε ἔχει· διττὴ γάρ ἐστι μαχομένη φύσις εἰς ἓν κεκραμένη ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τῆς μὲν θείας, τοῦ δὲ σκοτεινοῦ τε καὶ ζοφώδους· ἔοικέ τε εἶναι μάχη τις καὶ στάσις. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ¹ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο μήτε τὰς ἡδονὰς ὁμολογεῖν μήτε τὰς λύπας ἀλλήλαις ἐν ἡμῖν· τὸ γὰρ θατέρα, φησί, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν φύσεων ἡδὺ τῇ πρὸς ταύτην ἀντικειμένη πέφυκεν ἀλγεινόν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδέν ἐστι τοιοῦτον.² οὐσία γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει τὰγαθὰ καὶ διηνεκῶς, οὐ ποτὲ μὲν, ποτὲ δ' οὐ. πρῶτον οὖν ὅσαπερ ἔφαμεν, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ παραστήσαι βουλόμενοι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἰρήσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν νομιστέον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ λόγος ἔοικεν ἀντιστρέφειν, ὅσα καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργειῶν ἐφεξῆς σκοποῦμεν, ταῦτα οὐκ ἔργα B
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσίαν νομιστέον. εἰσὶ γάρ τοι

¹ *Nicomachean Ethics* 7. 14. 1154 b.

² τοιοῦτον Hertlein suggests, τούτων MSS.

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

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

¹ The powers and activities of Helios are now described, 142 D-152 A.

θεοὶ συγγενεῖς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συμφυεῖς, τὴν ἄχραντον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κορυφούμενοι, πληθυνόμενοι μὲν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνοειδῶς ὄντες. ἄκουε δὴ πρῶτον ὅσα φασὶν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐχ ὡσπερ ἵπποι καὶ βόες ὀρώντες ἢ τι τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀμαθῶν ζώων, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀφανῆ πολυπραγμονοῦντες φύσιν· ἔτι δὲ πρὸ τούτων, εἴ σοι φίλον, περὶ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ἐκ μυρίων τὸ πλήθος ὀλίγα θέασαι.

Πρώτη δὴ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, δι' ἧς ὅλην δι' ὅλης τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν, τὰς ἀκρότητας αὐτῆς εἰς ἓν καὶ ταῦτὸ συνάγων, ἀποφαίνει μίαν. ὡσπερ γὰρ περὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἐστὶ κόσμον ἐναργῶς κατανοῆσαι, πῦρὸς καὶ γῆς εἰλημμένον ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν μέσῳ, τῶν ἄκρων σύνδεσμον, τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων αἰτίας κεχωρισμένης, ἢ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχουσα τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐστὶ γένεσις, οὕτω διατετάχθαι νομίσειεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τὰς ἄκρας αἰτίας κεχωρισμένας πάντη τῶν σωμάτων ὑπὸ τινων μεσοτήτων εἰς ταῦτὸ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου συναγομένης ἐνοῦσθαι περὶ αὐτόν; συντρέχει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Διὸς δημιουργικὴ δύναμις, δι' ἣν ἔφαμεν καὶ πρότερον ἰδρῦσθαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἀποδεδείχθαι κοινῇ τὰ τεμένη· καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δὲ αὐτὸν ἐμαρτυρόμεθα τῶν λόγων, ὃν εἰκὸς δῆπουθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἄμεινον εἰδέναι.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

are gods related to Helios and of like substance who sum up the stainless nature of this god, and though in the visible world they are plural, in him they are one. And now listen first to what they assert who look at the heavens, not like horses and cattle, or some other unreasoning and ignorant animal,¹ but from it draw their conclusions about the unseen world. But even before this, if you please, consider his supra-mundane powers and activities, and out of a countless number, observe but a few.

First, then, of his powers is that through which he reveals the whole intellectual substance throughout as one, since he brings together its extremes. For even as in the world of sense-perception we can clearly discern air and water set between fire and earth,² as the link that binds together the extremes, would one not reasonably suppose that, in the case of the cause which is separate from elements and prior to them—and though it is the principle of generation, is not itself generation—it is so ordered that, in that world also, the extreme causes which are wholly separate from elements are bound together into one through certain modes of mediation, by King Helios, and are united about him as their centre? And the creative power of Zeus also coincides with him, by reason of which in Cyprus, as I said earlier, shrines are founded and assigned to them in common. And Apollo himself also we called to witness to our statements, since it is certainly likely that he knows better than we about his own nature. For he too abides with

¹ cf. 148 c, *Timaeus* 47 A, *Republic* 529 B, where Plato distinguishes mere star-gazing from astronomy.

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

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

σύνεστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Ἡλίου καὶ ἐπικοινωνεῖ διὰ τὴν¹ ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων καὶ τὸ μόνιμον τῆς οὐσίας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ὄν τῆς ἐνεργείας.²

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημιουργίαν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται χωρίζων ὁ θεὸς Ἡλίου· τούτῳ δὲ αὐτὴν ὑποτάττων ἀεὶ καὶ ἀποφαίνων σύνθρονου ἐξηγητῆς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καλλίστων διανοημάτων. πάσας δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχων ὁ θεὸς B ὅδε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς καλλίστης νοερᾶς συγκράσεως Ἡλιος Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Μουσηγέτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλην ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς εὐταξίας ζωὴν συμπληροῖ, γεννᾷ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, ἔχει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου παρ' ἑαυτῷ.

Ἄλλὰ πολλὰς μὲν ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τὸν θεὸν τόνδε δυνάμεις θεωρῶν οὔποτ' ἂν ἐφίκοιτο πασῶν ἀπόχρη δὲ τῆς μὲν χωριστῆς καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπ' αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν αἰτιῶν, αἱ κεχωρισμένα τῆς φανερᾶς προϋπάρχουσι δημιουργίας, ἴσην Ἡλίου καὶ Διὸς τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ μίαν C ὑπάρχουσαν τεθεωρηκέσαι, τὴν δὲ ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων μετὰ τοῦ διαιωνίου καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ μόνιμου ξὺν Ἀπόλλωνι τεθεαμένοις, τὸ δὲ μεριστὸν τῆς

¹ διὰ τὴν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τὴν MSS.

² cf. 144 c.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

But Apollo too in no case appears to separate the dividing creative function of Dionysus¹ from Helios. And since he always subordinates it to Helios and so indicates that Dionysus² is his partner on the throne, Apollo is the interpreter for us of the fairest purposes that are to be found with our god. Further Helios, since he comprehends in himself all the principles of the fairest intellectual synthesis, is himself Apollo the leader of the Muses. And since he fills the whole of our life with fair order, he begat Asclepios³ in the world, though even before the beginning of the world he had him by his side.

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

¹ cf. 144 c. 179 A; Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 203 E, says that because Dionysus was torn asunder by the Titans, his function is to divide wholes into their parts and to separate the forms (εἶδη).

² Julian calls Dionysus the son of Helios 152 c, d, and the son of Zeus, *Oration* 5. 179 B.

³ cf. 153 B, where Asclepios is called "the saviour of the All," and *Against the Christians* 200 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δημιουργίας μετὰ τοῦ τὴν μεριστὴν ἐπιτροπεύου-
τος οὐσίαν Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ τῆς καλλίστης
συμμετρίας καὶ νοερᾶς κράσεως περὶ τὴν τοῦ
Μουσηγέτου δύναμιν τεθεωρηκόσι, τὸ συμπλη-
ροῦν δὲ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς ὅλης ζωῆς ξὺν Ἀσκλη-
πιῶ νοοῦσι.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προκοσμίων αὐτοῦ D
δυνάμεων, ἔργα δὲ ὁμοταγῆ ταύταις ὑπὲρ τὸν
ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποπλήρωσις.
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ γνήσιος ἔκγονος¹ τὰγαθοῦ, παρα-
δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τελείαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν,
αὐτὸς ἅπασι τοῖς νοεροῖς διανέμει θεοῖς, ἀγαθο-
εργὸν καὶ τελείαν αὐτοῖς διδούς τὴν οὐσίαν. ἐν
μὲν δὴ τουτί. δεύτερον δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ
τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις 145
εἶδεσι τελειοτάτῃ διανομῇ. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει
φαινομένης οὐσίας γονίμου γεννᾶν ἐφιεμένης ἐν τῷ
καλῷ καὶ ὑπεκτίθεσθαι τὸν τόκον, ἔτι ἀνάγκη
προηγείσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κάλλει τοῦτο αὐτὸ
δαιωνίως καὶ ἀεὶ ποιούσαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν,
εἰσαῦθις δὲ οὐ, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν γεννώσαν, αὐθις δὲ
ἄγονον. ὅσα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ποτὲ καλά, ταῦτα ἐν
τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀεὶ. ῥητέον τοίνυν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν τοῖς
φαινομένοις αἰτίας γονίμου προκαθηγεῖσθαι τὸν ἐν B
τῷ νοερῷ καὶ δαιωνίῳ κάλλει τόκον ἀγέννητον, ὃν
ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποστήσας, ᾧ καὶ
τὸν τέλειον νοῦν διανέμει, καθάπερ ὄμμασιν ἐνδι-

¹ ἔκγονος MSS, ἔγγονος V, Hertlein.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

So much then in respect to those powers of his that existed before the beginning of the world; and co-ordinate with these are his works over the whole visible world, in that he fills it with good gifts. For since he is the genuine son of the Good and from it has received his blessed lot in fulness of perfection, he himself distributes that blessedness to the intellectual gods, bestowing on them a beneficent and perfect nature. This then is one of his works. And a second work of the god is his most perfect distribution of intelligible beauty among the intellectual and immaterial forms. For when the generative substance¹ which is visible in our world desires to beget in the Beautiful² and to bring forth offspring, it is further necessary that it should be guided by the substance that, in the region of intelligible beauty, does this very thing eternally and always and not intermittenly, now fruitful now barren. For all that is beautiful in our world only at times, is beautiful always in the intelligible world. We must therefore assert that the ungenerated offspring in beauty intelligible and eternal guides the generative cause in the visible world; which offspring³ this god⁴ called into existence and keeps at his side, and to it he assigns also perfect reason.

¹ The sun. ² Plato, *Symposium* 206 B τὸ καλόν ἐν καλῷ.

³ i.e. Intellectual Helios. ⁴ i.e. Intelligible Helios.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δους διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς¹ διὰ τοῦ νοεροῦ παραδείγματος, ὃ προτείνει πολὺ φανότερον τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῖς νοεροῖς τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι παρέχει. ἐτέρα πρὸς ταύταις ἐνέργεια θαυμαστὴ φαίνεται C
 περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων "Ἡλιον ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσι γένεσιν ἐνδιδομένη μοῖρα βελτίων, ἀγγέλοις,² δαίμοσιν, ἥρωσι ψυχαῖς τε μερισταῖς, ὅποσαι μένουσιν ἐν παραδείγματος καὶ ιδέας λόγῳ, μήποτε ἑαυτὰς διδοῦσαι σώματι. τὴν μὲν οὖν προκόσμιον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεις τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔργα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων ὑμνοῦντες" Ἡλιον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμῖν οἶόν τε ἦν ἐφικέσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν D
 εὐφημίας σπεύδοντες, διεληλύθαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄμματα, φησὶν, ἀκοῆς ἐστὶ πιστότερα, καίτοι τῆς νοήσεως ὄντα γε ἀπιστότερα καὶ ἀσθενέστερα, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας αἰτησάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν πειραθῶμεν.

Ἐπέστη μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ φαινόμενος ἐξ αἰῶνος κόσμος, ἔδραν δὲ ἔχει τὸ περικόσμιον φῶς ἐξ αἰῶνος, οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν, τότε δὲ οὐ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, αἰὲ δὲ ὡσαύτως. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ταύτην τὴν

¹ νοητοῖς Petavius adds.

² cf. 141 B, *Letter to the Athenians* 275 B.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

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

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

² *i.e.* the individual souls; by using this term, derived from the Neo-Platonists and Iamblichus, Julian implies that there is an indivisible world soul; cf. Plotinus 4. 8. 8 ἡ μὲν ὅλη (ψυχὴ) . . . αἱ δὲ ἐν μέρει γινόμεναι.

διαιώνιον φύσιν ἄχρις ἐπινοίας ἐβελήσειε χρονικῶς κατανοῆσαι, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ἡλιον 146
 ἀθρόως καταλάμποντα ῥᾶστα ἂν γνοίη, πόσων αἰτιός ἐστι δι' αἰῶνος ἀγαθῶν τῷ κόσμῳ. οἶδα μὲν οὖν καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν μέγαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἄνδρα τοῖς χρόνοις, οὔτι μὴν τῇ φύσει καταδεέστερον τὸν Χαλκιδέα φημί, τὸν Ἰάμβλιχον ὃς ἡμᾶς τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐμύησεν, ἄχρις ὑποθέσεως τῷ γεννητῷ προσχρωμένους καὶ οἰοῦναι χρονικὴν τινα τὴν ποίησιν ὑποτιθεμένους, ἵνα τὸ μέγεθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένων ἔργων ἐπινοηθεῖη. πλὴν ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπολειπομένῳ παντάπασι δυνάμεως οὐδαμῶς ἐστι παρακινδυνευτέον, ἐπεὶπερ ἀκίνδυνον οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ μέχρι ψιλῆς ὑποθέσεως χρονικὴν τινα περὶ τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέσθαι ποίησιν ὁ κλεινὸς ἥρωσ ἐνόμισεν Ἰάμβλιχος. πλὴν ἄλλ' ἐπεὶπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ αἰωνίου προῆλθεν αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ προήγαγε πάντα ἐξ αἰῶνος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφανῶν τὰ φανερά βουλήσει θεία καὶ ἀρρήτῳ τάχει καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δυνάμει πάντα ἀθρόως ἐν τῷ νῦν ἀπογεννήσας χρόνῳ, ἀπεκληρώσατο μὲν οἶον οἰκειοτέραν ἔδραν τὸ μέσον οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἴσα διανέμη τὰ γαθὰ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ προελθοῦσι θεοῖς, ἐπιτροπεύη δὲ τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ τὴν ὀγδόην

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

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

¹ *Timaeus* 37 c; when the Creator had made the universe, he invented Time as an attribute of "divided substance."

² For Julian's debt to Iamblichus cf. 150 D, 157 B, C.

³ Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Helios, Aphrodite, Hermes, Selene are the seven planets; cf. 149 D. Though Helios guides the others he is counted with them.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

οὐρανοῦ κυκλοφορίαν, ἐνάτην τε οἶμαι δημιουργίαν τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ συνεχεῖ διαιωνίως ἀνακυκλουμένην γένεσιν. οἷ τε γὰρ πλάνητες εὐδηλον ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν χορεύοντες μέτρον ἔχουσι D τῆς κινήσεως τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τόνδε τοιάνδε περὶ τὰ σχήματα συμφωνίαν, ὃ τε ὅλος οὐρανὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα συναρμοζόμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὰ μέρη θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἡλίου πλήρης. ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὃδε πέντε μὲν κύκλων ἄρχων κατ' οὐρανόν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιῶν ἐν τρισὶ τρεῖς γεννᾷ τὰς χάριτας· οἱ λειπόμενοι δὲ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης εἰσὶ πλάστιγγες. ἀξύνετον 147 ἴσως λέγω τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥσπερ δέου μόνον τὰ συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα λέγειν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι, παντελῶς ξένον. οἱ Διόσκουροι τίνες ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὧ σοφώτατοι καὶ ἀβασανίστως τὰ πολλὰ παραδεχόμενοι; οὐχ ἑτερήμεροι¹ λέγονται, διότι μὴ θέμις ὀρᾶσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας; ὑμεῖς ὅπως ἀκούετε εὐδηλον ὅτι τῆς χθὲς καὶ τήμερον. εἶτα τί νοεῖ τοῦτο, πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων; ἐφαρμόσωμεν αὐτὸ φύσει

¹ *Odyssey* 11, 303; Philo Judaeus, *De Decalogo* 2. 190, τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίρια τῷ λόγῳ διχῆ διανείμαντες, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς τὸ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκούρους ἐκάλεσαν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἑτερημέρου ζωῆς αὐτῶν προστεραπευσάμενοι διήγημα.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

sphere¹ also, yes and as I believe the ninth creation too, namely our world which revolves for ever in a continuous cycle of birth and death. For it is evident that the planets, as they dance in a circle about him, preserve as the measure of their motion a harmony between this god and their own movements such as I shall now describe; and that the whole heaven also, which adapts itself to him in all its parts, is full of gods who proceed from Helios. For this god is lord of five zones in the heavens; and when he traverses three of these he begets in those three the three Graces.² And the remaining zones are the scales of mighty Necessity.³ To the Greeks what I say is perhaps incomprehensible—as though one were obliged to say to them only what is known and familiar. Yet not even is this altogether strange to them as one might suppose. For who, then, in your opinion, are the Dioscuri,⁴ O ye most wise, ye who accept without question so many of your traditions? Do you not call them “alternate of days,” because they may not both be seen on the same day? It is obvious that by this you mean “yesterday” and “to-day.” But what does this mean, in the name of those same Dioscuri? Let me apply it to some

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

² The Graces are often associated with Spring; Julian seems to be describing obscurely the annual course of the sun.

³ Necessity played an important part in the cult of Mithras and was sometimes identified with the constellation Virgo who holds the scales of Justice.

⁴ For the adoption of the Dioscuri into the Mithraic cult see Cumont. Julian does not give his own view, though he rejects that of the later Greek astronomers. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 21. 22 identifies them with the sun.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τινὶ καὶ πράγματι, κενὸν¹ ἵνα μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόητον B
 λέγωμεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εὖροιμεν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετά-
 ζοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ὑπέλαβον εἰρῆσθαι τινες πρὸς
 τῶν θεολόγων ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς τὰ δύο
 λόγον ἔχει τινά· πῶς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑτερήμερον αὐτῶν
 ἕκαστον οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥάδιον, ἡμέρας ἐκάστης
 ἀνεπαισθήτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν φωτισμὸν αὐτῶν
 παραυξήσεως γινομένης. σκεψώμεθα δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ
 ὧν αὐτοὶ καινοτομεῖν ἴσως τῷ δοκοῦμεν. τῆς
 αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνοι μετέχειν ὀρθῶς ἂν ῥηθεῖεν, C
 ὁπόσοις ἴσος ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡλίου πορείας
 χρόνος ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί. ὀράτω τις οὖν, εἰ
 μὴ τὸ ἑτερήμερον τοῖς κύκλοις ἐφαρμόζει τοῖς τε
 ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς τροπικοῖς. ὑπολήφεται τις· οὐκ
 ἴσον ἐστὶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ φαίνονται, καὶ τοῖς
 τὴν ἀντίσκιον οἰκοῦσι γῆν ἀμφοτέροις ἀμφότεροι,
 τῶν δὲ οἱ θάτερον ὀρώντες οὐδαμῶς ὀρῶσι θάτερον.

Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ πλείω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγων D
 διατρίβω, τὰς τροπὰς ἐργαζόμενος, ὥσπερ ἴσμεν,
 πατὴρ ὀρών ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀπολείπων δὲ οὐδαμῶς
 τοὺς πόλους Ὀκεανὸς ἂν εἴη, διπλῆς ἡγεμῶν
 οὐσίας. μῶν ἀσαφές τι καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν,
 ἐπεὶ περὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀμηρος ἔφη·

Ἐκεανοῦ, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται,²

θνητῶν τε θεῶν θ', ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς φαίη, μακίρων;

¹ κενὸν Hertlein suggests, καιὸν Mb, κοινὸν MSS.

² *Ilad* 14. 246.

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natural object, so that I may not say anything empty and senseless. But no such object could one find, however carefully one might search for it. For the theory that some have supposed to be held by the theologians, that the two hemispheres of the universe are meant, has no meaning. For how one could call each one of the hemispheres "alternate of days" is not easy to imagine, since the increase of their light in each separate day is imperceptible. But now let us consider a question on which some may think that I am innovating. We say correctly that those persons for whom the time of the sun's course above the earth is the same in one and the same month share the same day. Consider therefore whether the expression "alternate of days" cannot be applied both to the tropics and the other, the polar, circles. But some one will object that it does not apply equally to both. For though the former are always visible, and both of them are visible at once to those who inhabit that part of the earth where shadows are cast in an opposite direction,¹ yet in the case of the latter those who see the one do not see the other.

However, not to dwell too long on the same subject; since he causes the winter and summer solstice, Helios is, as we know, the father of the seasons; and since he never forsakes the poles, he is Oceanus, the lord of two-fold substance. My meaning here is not obscure, is it, seeing that before my time Homer said the same thing? "Oceanus who is the father of all things": yes, for mortals and for the

¹ *i.e.* the torrid zone. On the equator in the winter months shadows fall due north at noon, in the summer months due south; this is more or less true of the whole torrid zone; cf. ἀμφίσκιος which has the same meaning.

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ἀληθῶς. ἐν γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ 148
 τῆς Ὀκτανου πέφυκεν οὐσίας ἔκγονον. ἀλλὰ τί
 τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς πόλους; βούλει σοι φράσω;
 καίτοι σιωπᾶσθαι κρεῖσσον ἦν· εἰρήσεται δὲ
 ὁμως.

Λέγεται γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἐτοιμῶς ἀποδέ-
 χονται, ὁ δίσκος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστρου φέρεσθαι πολὺ
 τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ὑψηλότερος· καὶ οὕτω δὴ¹ τῶν μὲν
 πλανωμένων οὐχ ἕξει τὸ μέσον, τριῶν δὲ τῶν κό-
 σμων κατὰ τὰς τελεστικὰς ὑποθέσεις, εἰ χρὴ τὰ B
 τοιαῦτα καλεῖν ὑποθέσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῦτα μὲν
 δόγματα, τὰ δὲ τῶν σφαιρικῶν ὑποθέσεις. οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων μεγάλων δὴ τινων ἀκού-
 σαντές φασιν, οἱ δὲ ὑποτίθενται τὸ πιθανὸν ἐκ τῆς
 πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα συμφωνίας. αἰνεῖν μὲν οὖν
 ἄξιον καὶ τούσδε, πιστεύειν δὲ ἐκείνοις ὅτφ
 βέλτιον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τούτον ἐγὼ παίζων καὶ σπου-
 δάζων ἄγαμαί τε καὶ τεθαύμακα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
 δὴ ταύτη, φασί.

Πολὺ δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔφην πλήθός ἐστι περὶ τὸν C
 οὐρανὸν θεῶν, οὓς κατενόησαν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν μὴ
 παρέργως μηδὲ ὡσπερ τὰ βοσκήματα θεωροῦντες.²
 τοὺς τρεῖς γὰρ τετραχῆ τέμνων διὰ τῆς τοῦ ζφο-

¹ δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

² cf. 143 B and note.

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blessed gods too, as he himself would say; and what he says is true. For there is no single thing in the whole of existence that is not the offspring of the substance of Oceanus. But what has that to do with the poles? Shall I tell you? It were better indeed to keep silence¹; but for all that I will speak.

Some say then, even though all men are not ready to believe it, that the sun travels in the starless heavens far above the region of the fixed stars. And on this theory he will not be stationed midmost among the planets but midway between the three worlds: that is, according to the hypothesis of the mysteries, if indeed one ought to use the word "hypothesis" and not rather say "established truths," using the word "hypothesis" for the study of the heavenly bodies. For the priests of the mysteries tell us what they have been taught by the gods or mighty daemons, whereas the astronomers make plausible hypotheses from the harmony that they observe in the visible spheres. It is proper, no doubt, to approve the astronomers as well, but where any man thinks it better to believe the priests of the mysteries, him I admire and revere, both in jest and earnest. And so much for that, as the saying is.²

Now besides those whom I have mentioned, there is in the heavens a great multitude of gods who have been recognised as such by those who survey the heavens, not casually, nor like cattle. For as he divides the three spheres by four through the zodiac,³

¹ For the affectation of mystery cf. 152 B, 159 A, 172 D.

² Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 4, quotes this phrase as peculiarly Platonic; cf. Plato, *Laws* 676 A.

³ Literally "life-bringer," Aristotle's phrase for the zodiac.

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φόρου κύκλου πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν κοινωνίας τοῦ-
 τον αὐθις τὸν ζωοφόρον εἰς δώδεκα θεῶν δυνάμεις
 διαιρεῖ, καὶ μέντοι τούτων ἕκαστον εἰς τρεῖς, ὥστε
 ποιεῖν ἕξ ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα. ἔνθεν οἶμαι καθήκει
 ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ἕξ οὐρανῶν τριπλῆ χαρίτων δόσις, ἐκ D
 τῶν κύκλων, οὓς ὁ θεὸς ὅδε τετραχῆ τέμνων τὴν
 τετραπλὴν ἐπιπέμπει τῶν ὥρων ἀγλαΐαν, αἱ δὲ
 τὰς τροπὰς ἔχουσι τῶν καιρῶν. κύκλον τοι καὶ
 αἱ Χάριτες ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων μιμῶνται.
 χαριτοδότης¹ δέ ἐστιν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐς ταῦτὸ λεγόμε-
 νος Ἡλίῳ συμβασιλεύειν. τί οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸν
 Ὀρρον λέγω καὶ τᾶλλα θεῶν ὀνόματα, τὰ πάντα
 Ἡλίῳ προσήκοντα; συνῆκαν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θεὸν
 ἕξ ὧν ὁ θεὸς ὅδε ἐργάζεται, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν 149
 τοῖς νοεροῖς ἀγαθοῖς τελειωσάμενος καὶ μεταδούς
 αὐτῷ τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους, ἀρξάμενοί τε ἐκείθεν
 ὄλον τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀδρᾶ²
 δόσει. πᾶσαν γὰρ ἐπιτροπεύει³ κίνησιν ἄχρι τῆς
 τελευταίας τοῦ κόσμου λήξεως· φύσιν τε καὶ
 ψυχὴν καὶ πᾶν ὅ,τι ποτέ ἐστι, πάντα πανταχοῦ
 τελειοῦται. τὴν δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν τῶν θεῶν B
 εἰς μίαν ἡγεμονικὴν ἔνωσιν συντάξας Ἀθηνᾶ
 Προνοία παρέδωκεν, ἣν ὁ μὲν μῦθός φησιν ἐκ τῆς

¹ χαριτοδότης Spanheim, χαριδοότης Hertlein, MSS.

² ἀδρᾶ Hertlein suggests, ἀνδρῶν MSS.

³ ἐπιτροπεύει Wright, ἐπιτροπεύουσι Hertlein, MSS, lacuna Petavius.

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which is associated with every one of the three, so he divides the zodiac also into twelve divine powers; and again he divides every one of these twelve by three, so as to make thirty-six gods in¹ all. Hence, as I believe, there descends from above, from the heavens to us, a three-fold gift of the Graces: I mean from the spheres, for this god, by thus dividing them by four, sends to us the four-fold glory of the seasons, which express the changes of time. And indeed on our earth the Graces imitate a circle² in their statues. And it is Dionysus who is the giver of the Graces, and in this very connection he is said to reign with Helios. Why should I go on to speak to you of Horus³ and of the other names of gods, which all belong to Helios? For from his works men have learned to know this god, who makes the whole heavens perfect through the gift of intellectual blessings, and gives it a share of intelligible beauty; and taking the heavens as their starting-point, they have learned to know him both as a whole and his parts also, from his abundant bestowal of good gifts. For he exercises control over all movement, even to the lowest plane of the universe. And everywhere he makes all things perfect, nature and soul and everything that exists. And marshalling together this great army of the gods into a single commanding unity, he handed it over to Athene Pronoia⁴ who,

¹ cf. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen* III. 2^d p. 753, notes.

² There is a play on the word κύκλος, which means both "sphere" and "circle."

³ The Egyptian sun-god, whose worship was introduced first into Greece and later at Rome.

⁴ Athene as goddess of Forethought was worshipped at Delphi, but her earlier epithet was *προναία* "whose statue is

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τοῦ Διὸς γενέσθαι κορυφῆς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὄλην ἐξ ὄλου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑλίου προβληθῆναι συνεχομένην ἐν αὐτῷ, ταύτῃ διαφέροντες τοῦ μύθου, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκροτάτου μέρους, ὄλην δὲ ἐξ ὄλου· ἐπεὶ τὰλλὰ γε οὐδὲν διαφέρειν Ἑλίου Δία νομίζοντες ὁμολογοῦμεν τῇ παλαιᾷ φήμῃ. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ Πρόνοιαν Ἀθηναίων λέγοντες οὐ καινοτομοῦμεν, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἀκούομεν·

Ἴκετο δ' ἐς Πυθῶνα καὶ ἐς Γλαυκῶπα Προνοίην. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐφαίνετο Ἀθηναίων Πρόνοια σύνθρονος Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ νομιζομένῳ μὴδὲν Ἑλίου διαφέρειν. μὴ ποτε οὖν καὶ θεία μοῖρα τοῦτο Ὀμηρος· ἦν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, θεόληπτος· ἀπεμαντεύσατο πολλαχοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως·

Τιοίμην δ' ὡς τίειτ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,¹
 ὑπὸ Διὸς δήπουθεν, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἑλίῳ;
 καθάπερ δ'² ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων ἐπικοινωνεῖ
 διὰ τῆς ἀπλότητος τῶν νοήσεων Ἑλίῳ, οὕτω δὲ
 καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων νομιστέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεξα-
 μένην τὴν οὐσίαν οὐσάν τε αὐτοῦ τελείαν νόησιν
 συνάπτειν μὲν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἑλίον θεοὺς αὐτῷ τῷ
 βασιλεῖ τῶν ὄλων Ἑλίῳ δίχα συγχύσεως εἰς

¹ *Iliad* 8. 538 ; 13. 827.

² δ' Hertlein adds.

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as the legend says, sprang from the head of Zeus, but I say that she was sent forth from Helios whole from the whole of him, being contained within him; though I disagree with the legend only so far as I assert that she came forth not from his highest part, but whole from the whole of him. For in other respects, since I believe that Zeus is in no wise different from Helios, I agree with that ancient tradition. And in using this very phrase Athene Pronoia, I am not innovating, if I rightly understand the words: "He came to Pytho and to grey-eyed Pronoia."¹ This proves that the ancients also thought that Athene Pronoia shared the throne of Apollo, who, as we believe, differs in no way from Helios. Indeed, did not Homer by divine inspiration—for he was, we may suppose, possessed by a god—reveal this truth, when he says often in his poems: "May I be honoured even as Athene and Apollo were honoured"—by Zeus, that is to say, who is identical with Helios? And just as King Apollo, through the singleness of his thoughts, is associated with Helios, so also we must believe that Athene² has received her nature from Helios, and that she is his intelligence in perfect form: and so she binds together the gods who are assembled about Helios and brings them without confusion into unity with Helios, the King of the All: and she distributes and in front of the temple"; cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 21, Herodotus 8. 37; late writers often confuse these forms. Julian applies the epithet *πρόνοια* to the mother of the gods 179 A, and to Prometheus 182 D; cf. 131 c.

¹ This verse was quoted from an unknown source by Eustathius on *Iliad* 1. p. 83. "The Grey-eyed" is a name of Athene.

² On Athene cf. *Oration* 7. 230 A; *Against the Christians* 235 c.

ἔνωσιν, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν ζωὴν
 ἀπ' ἄκρας ἀψίδος οὐρανοῦ διὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ κύκλων
 ἄχρι τῆς Σελήνης νέμουσαν ἐποχετεύειν, ἣν ἡ θεὸς 15
 ἦδε τῶν κυκλικῶν οὐσαν σωματίων ἐσχάτην ἐπλή-
 ρωσε τῆς φρονήσεως, ὑφ' ἧς ἡ Σελήνη τά τε ὑπὲρ
 τὸν οὐρανὸν θεωρεῖ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτὴν
 κοσμοῦσα τὴν ὕλην τοῖς εἶδεσιν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ θηρι-
 ῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ παραχῶδες καὶ ἄτακτον. ἀνθρώ-
 ποις δὲ ἀγαθὰ δίδωσιν Ἀθηνᾶ σοφίαν τό¹ τε
 νοεῖν καὶ τὰς δημιουργικὰς τέχνας. κατοικεῖ δὲ
 τὰς ἀκροπόλεις αὕτη δῆπουθεν καταστησαμένη
 τὴν πολιτικὴν διὰ σοφίας κοινωνίαν. ὀλίγα ἔτι B
 περὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἣν συνεφέπτεσθαι τῆς δημιουρ-
 γίας τῷ θεῷ Φοινίκων ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ λόγιοι, καὶ
 ἐγὼ πείθομαι. ἔστι δὴ οὖν αὕτη σύγκρασις τῶν
 οὐρανίων θεῶν, καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτῶν ἔτι φιλία
 καὶ ἔνωσις. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὐσα καὶ συμπερι-
 θέουσα καὶ πλησιάζουσα πληροὶ μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν
 εὐκρασίας, ἐνδίδωσι δὲ τὸ γόνιμον τῇ γῆ, προμη-
 θουμένη καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς ἀειγενείας τῶν ζώων, ἧς ὁ
 μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἡλῖος ἔχει τὴν πρωτουργὸν αἰτίαν,
 Ἀφροδίτη δὲ αὐτῷ συναίτιος, ἣ θέλγουσα μὲν τὰς C
 ψυχὰς ἡμῶν σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ, καταπέμπουσα δὲ
 εἰς γῆν ἐξ αἰθέρος αὐγὰς ἡδίστας καὶ ἀκηράτους

¹ τὸ Hertlein adds.

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is the channel for stainless and pure life throughout the seven spheres, from the highest vault of the heavens as far as Selene the Moon:¹ for Selene is the last of the heavenly spheres which Athene fills with wisdom: and by her aid Selene beholds the intelligible which is higher than the heavens, and adorns with its forms the realm of matter that lies below her, and thus she does away with its savagery and confusion and disorder. Moreover to mankind Athene gives the blessings of wisdom and intelligence and the creative arts. And surely she dwells in the capitols of cities because, through her wisdom, she has established the community of the state. I have still to say a few words about Aphrodite, who, as the wise men among the Phoenicians affirm, and as I believe, assists Helios in his creative function. She is, in very truth, a synthesis of the heavenly gods, and in their harmony she is the spirit of love and unity.² For she³ is very near to Helios, and when she pursues the same course as he and approaches him, she fills the skies with fair weather and gives generative power to the earth: for she herself takes thought for the continuous birth of living things. And though of that continuous birth King Helios is the primary creative cause, yet Aphrodite is the joint cause with him, she who enchants our souls with her charm and sends down to earth from the upper air rays of light most sweet and stainless, aye,

¹ cf. 152 D. Julian derives his theory of the position and functions of the moon from Iamblichus; cf. Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 258 f.

² cf. 154 A, and Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 155 F, 259 B, where Aphrodite is called "the binding goddess" *συνδετικήν*, and "harmoniser" *συναρμοστικήν*.

³ i.e. as the planet Venus.

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αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσίου στιλπνοτέρας. ἔτι ἐπιμετ-
 ρῆσαι¹ βούλομαι τῆς Φοινίκων θεολογίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ
 μάτην, ὁ λόγος προῖὼν δείξει. οἱ τὴν Ἐμεσαν²
 οἰκοῦντες, ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μό-
 νιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀζιζον συγκαθιδρύνουσιν. αἰνίτ- D
 τεσθαί φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὰλλα
 πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἐλάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Μόνιμος
 μὲν Ἑρμῆς εἶη, Ἀζιζος δὲ Ἄρης, Ἡλίου πάρεδροι,
 πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύοντες
 τόπῳ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ
 τοιαῦτά ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐπιτελούμενα μέχρι
 τῶν τῆς γῆς προήκει τελευταίων ὄρων· ὅσα δὲ
 ὑπὸ τὴν Σελήνην ἐργάζεται, μακρὸν ἂν εἶη τὰ
 πάντα ἀπαριθμῆσθαι. πλὴν ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ
 ταῦτα ῥητέον. οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὶ πρότερον 151
 μνημονεύσας, ὀπηνίκα ἠξίουν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων
 τὰ ἀφανῆ περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σκοπεῖν οὐσίας, ὁ
 λόγος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖ με καὶ νῦν ἐν τάξει περὶ αὐτῶν
 δηλώσαι.

Καθάπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἔχειν ἔφαμεν τὴν
 ἡγεμονίαν Ἡλιον, πολὺ περὶ τὴν ἀμέριστον οὐσίαν
 ἑαυτοῦ πλήθος ἐνοειδῶς ἔχοντα τῶν θεῶν, ἔτι δὲ
 ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ἃ δὴ τὴν κύκλῳ διαιωνίαν B

¹ ἐπιμετρῆσαι Hertlein suggests, μετρίσσαι MSS.

² Ἐμεσαν Spanheim, cf. 154 B, Ἐδεσσαν MSS.

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more lustrous than gold itself. I desire to mete out to you still more of the theology of the Phoenicians, and whether it be to some purpose my argument as it proceeds will show. The inhabitants of Emesa,¹ a place from time immemorial sacred to Helios, associate with Helios in their temples Monimos and Azizos.² Iamblichus, from whom I have taken this and all besides, a little from a great store, says that the secret meaning to be interpreted is that Monimos is Hermes and Azizos Ares, the assessors of Helios, who are the channel for many blessings to the region of our earth.

Such then are the works of Helios in the heavens, and, when completed by means of the gods whom I have named, they reach even unto the furthest bounds of the earth. But to tell the number of all his works in the region below the moon would take too long. Nevertheless I must describe them also in a brief summary. Now I am aware that I mentioned them earlier when I claimed³ that from things visible we could observe the invisible properties of the god's substance, but the argument demands that I should expound them now also, in their proper order.

I said then that Helios holds sway among the intellectual gods in that he unites into one, about his own undivided substance, a great multitude of the gods: and further, I demonstrated that among the gods whom we can perceive, who revolve

¹ cf. *Caesars* 313 A, *Misopogon* 357 C. Emesa in Syria was famous for its temple to Baal, the sun-god. The Emperor Heliogabalus (218-222 A.D.) was born at Emesa and was, as his name indicates, a priest of Baal, whose worship he attempted to introduce at Rome.

² The "strong god," identified with the star Lucifer.

³ 133 D, 138 B.

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πορεύεται μάλα εὐδαίμονα πορείαν, ἀπεδείκνυμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ κύριον, ἐνδιδόντα μὲν τὸ γόνιμον τῆ φύσει,¹ πληροῦντα δὲ τὸν ὄλον οὐρανὸν ὥσπερ τῆς φαινομένης αὐγῆς οὕτω δὲ καὶ μυρίων ἀγαθῶν ἀφανῶν ἄλλων, τελειούμενα δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν θεῶν ἀγαθὰ χορηγούμενα, καὶ πρό γε τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορρήτου καὶ θείας αὐτοῦ τελειουμένους ἐνεργείας· οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἐν γενέσει τόπον θεοῦς τινὰς ἐπιβεβηκέναι νομιστέον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου C
 συνεχομένους, οἱ τὴν τετραπλὴν τῶν στοιχείων κυβερνῶντες φύσιν, περὶ ἧς ἐστήρικται ταῦτα ψυχὰς μετὰ τῶν τριῶν κρειττόνων ἐνοικοῦσι γενῶν. αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς μερισταῖς ψυχαῖς ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν αἴτιος, κρίσιν τε αὐταῖς προτείνων καὶ δίκη κατευθύνων καὶ ἀποκαθαίρων λαμπρότητι; τὴν ὄλην δὲ οὐχ οὗτος φύσιν, ἐνδιδούς ἄνωθεν αὐτῇ τὸ γόνιμον, κινεῖ καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖ; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς D
 μερισταῖς φύσεσιν οὐ τῆς εἰς τέλος πορείας οὗτός D
 ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς αἴτιος; ἄνθρωπον γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου γεννᾶσθαί φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ἡλίου.² ταὐτὸν δὴ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅσα τῶν μεριστῶν ἐστὶ φύσεων ἔργα, περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου προσήκει διανοεῖσθαι. τί δέ; οὐχ ἡμῖν ὄμβρους καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μεταρσίοις γινόμενα τῷ διττῷ τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως οἷον ὕλη 152
 χρώμενος ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἐργάζεται; θερμαίνων γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἀτμίδα καὶ καπνὸν ἔλκει, γίνεται δὲ ἐκ

¹ τὸ γόνιμον τῆ φύσει Marcellius, cf. 150 B, 151 C, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.

² Physics 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 131 c.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

eternally in their most blessed path, he is leader and lord; since he bestows on their nature its generative power, and fills the whole heavens not only with visible rays of light but with countless other blessings that are invisible; and, further, that the blessings which are abundantly supplied by the other visible gods are made perfect by him, and that even prior to this the visible gods themselves are made perfect by his unspeakable and divine activity. In the same manner we must believe that on this our world of generation certain gods have alighted who are linked together with Helios: and these gods guide the four-fold nature of the elements, and inhabit, together with the three higher races,¹ those souls which are upborne by the elements. But for the divided souls² also, of how many blessings is he the cause! For he extends to them the faculty of judging, and guides them with justice, and purifies them by his brilliant light. Again, does he not set in motion the whole of nature and kindle life therein, by bestowing on it generative power from on high? But for the divided natures also, is not he the cause that they journey to their appointed end?³ For Aristotle says that man is begotten by man and the sun together. Accordingly the same theory about King Helios must surely apply to all the other activities of the divided souls. Again, does he not produce for us rain and wind and the clouds in the skies, by employing, as though it were matter, the two kinds of vapour? For when he heats the earth he draws up steam and smoke, and from these there arise not only the

¹ cf. 145 c.

² cf. 145 c.

³ *i.e.* their ascent after death to the gods.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τούτων οὐ τὰ μετάρσια μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ γῆς πάθη, σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα.

Τί οὖν περὶ¹ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπέξειμι μακρότερα, ἔξον ἐπὶ τὸ πέρασ ἤδη βαδίζειν ὑμνήσαντα πρότερον ὅσα ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις "Ἡλιος ἀγαθὰ; γινόμενοι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρεφόμεθα παρ' ἐκείνου. τὰ μὲν οὖν θειότερα καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ψυχαῖς δίδωσιν ἀπολύων αὐτὰς τοῦ σώματος, εἴτα ἐπανάγων ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ συγγενεῖς οὐσίας, καὶ τὸ λεπτόν καὶ εὐτονον τῆς θείας αὐγῆς οἶον ὄχημα τῆς εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ἀσφαλοῦς διδόμενον καθόδου ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμνείσθω τε ἄλλοις ἀξίως καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πιστευέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ δεικνύσθω· τὰ δὲ ὅσα γνώριμα πέφυκε τοῖς πᾶσιν οὐκ ὀκνητέον ἐπέξελθεῖν. οὐρανόν φησι Πλάτων² ἡμῖν γενέσθαι σοφίας διδάσκαλον. ἐνθένδε γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ κατενοήσαμεν φύσιν, ἧς τὸ διαφέρον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἡλίου περιόδου κατενοήσαμεν. φησί τοι καὶ αὐτὸς Πλάτων ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πρότερον. εἴτα ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς σελήνης, ὃ δὴ δίδοται τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ παρ' ἡλίου, μετὰ τοῦτο προήλθομεν ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς τοιαύτης συνέσεως, ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον στοχαζόμενοι συμφωνίας. ὅπερ αὐτὸς πού φησιν,³ ὡς ἄρα τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐπίπονον ὄν φύσει θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Μούσας συγχορευτάς. ἐφάνη δὲ ἡμῖν "Ἡλιος

¹ περὶ Hertlein suggests, ἐπι MSS.

² Republic 529, 530; Epinomis 977 A.

³ Laws 653 C, D, 665 A.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

clouds but also all the physical changes on our earth, both great and small.

But why do I deal with the same questions at such length, when I am free at last to come to my goal, though not till I have first celebrated all the blessings that Helios has given to mankind? For from him are we born, and by him are we nourished. But his more divine gifts, and all that he bestows on our souls when he frees them from the body and then lifts them up on high to the region of those substances that are akin to the god; and the fineness and vigour of his divine rays, which are assigned as a sort of vehicle for the safe descent of our souls into this world of generation; all this, I say, let others celebrate in fitting strains, but let me believe it rather than demonstrate its truth. However, I need not hesitate to discuss so much as is known to all. Plato says that the sky is our instructor in wisdom. For from its contemplation we have learned to know the nature of number, whose distinguishing characteristics we know only from the course of the sun. Plato himself says that day and night were created first.¹ And next, from observing the moon's light, which was bestowed on the goddess by Helios, we later progressed still further in the understanding of these matters: in every case conjecturing the harmony of all things with this god. For Plato himself says somewhere that our race was by nature doomed to toil, and so the gods pitied us and gave us Dionysus and the Muses as playfellows. And we recognised that Helios is their common lord,

i.e. as a unit of measurement; *Timaeus* 39 B, 47 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τούτων κοινὸς ἡγεμὼν, Διονύσου μὲν πατὴρ ὑμνούμενος, ἡγεμὼν δὲ Μουσῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ συμβασιλεύων Ἀπόλλων οὐ πανταχοῦ μὲν ἀνῆκε τῆς γῆς χρηστήρια, σοφίαν δὲ ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις ἔνθεον, ἐκόσμησε δὲ ἱεροῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς τὰς πόλεις θεσμοῖς; οὗτος ἡμέρωσε μὲν διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποικιῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης, παρεσκεύασε δὲ ῥᾶον ὑπακοῦσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ γένος μόνον Ἑλληνικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 153 θεσμοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐπιστίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος Ἑλληνικὴν καταστησαμένοις τε καὶ φυλάξασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν κόσμον οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄριστα πολιτευσαμένων πόλεων καταστησαμένοις φαυλότερον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν, ὅσαι γε ἐν χρήσει γεγόνασι πολιτεῖαι, κρείσσονα· ἀνθ' ὧν οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγνω τὴν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα γένος τε καὶ πολιτεῖαν.

Τί ἔτι σοι λέγω, πῶς τῆς ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας B πάντων προυνόησε τὸν σωτήρα τῶν ὄλων ἀπογεννήσας Ἀσκληπιόν, ὅπως δὲ ἀρετὴν ἔδωκε παντοίαν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀθηναῖ συγκαταπέμψας ἡμῖν, κηδεμόνα μόνον οὐχὶ νόμον θέμενος, πρὸς μηδὲν ἕτερον χρῆσθαι τῇ μίξει ἢ πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν¹ τοῦ ὁμοίου; διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὰς περιόδους αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ φύόμενα καὶ τὰ παντοδαπῶν ζώων φύλα κινεῖται πρὸς ἀπογέννησιν τοῦ ὁμοίου. C τί χρῆ τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φῶς σεμνῦναι;

¹ γένιησιν Mau, γένεσιν MSS, Hertlein.

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since he is celebrated as the father of Dionysus and the leader of the Muses. And has not Apollo, who is his colleague in empire, set up oracles in every part of the earth, and given to men inspired wisdom, and regulated their cities by means of religious and political ordinances? And he has civilised the greater part of the world by means of Greek colonies, and so made it easier for the world to be governed by the Romans. For the Romans themselves not only belong to the Greek race, but also the sacred ordinances and the pious belief in the gods which they have established and maintain are, from beginning to end, Greek. And beside this they have established a constitution not inferior to that of any one of the best governed states, if indeed it be not superior to all others that have ever been put into practice. For which reason I myself recognise that our city is Greek, both in descent and as to its constitution.

Shall I now go on to tell you how Helios took thought for the health and safety of all men by begetting Asclepios¹ to be the saviour of the whole world? and how he bestowed on us every kind of excellence by sending down to us Aphrodite together with Athene, and thus laid down for our protection what is almost a law, that we should only unite to beget our kind? Surely it is for this reason that, in agreement with the course of the sun, all plants and all the tribes of living things are aroused to bring forth their kind. What need is there for me to glorify his beams and his light? For surely

¹ cf. 144 c: *Against the Christians* 200, 235 B.C. Asclepios plays an important part in Julian's religion, and may have been intentionally opposed, as the son of Helios-Mithras and the "saviour of the world," to Jesus Christ.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

νύξ γοῦν ἀσέληνός τε καὶ ἀναστρος ὅπως ἐστὶ φοβερὰ, ἄρα ἐννοεῖ τις, ἴν' ἐντεῦθεν, ὅπόσον ἔχομεν ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς, τεκμήρηται; τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ συνεχὲς παρέχων καὶ ἀμεσολάβητον νυκτὶ ἐν οἷς χρῆ τόποις ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης τοῖς ἄνω, ἐκεχειρίαν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς τῶν πόνων δίδωσιν. οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο πέρασ τοῦ λόγου, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξιέναι τις ἐθέλησειε τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὃ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε λαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἤτοι παρὰ μόνου τέλειον, ἢ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τελειούμενον. D

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τῆς πόλεως. οἰκεῖ γοῦν αὐτῆς οὐ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μόνον μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων πατὴρ ὑμνούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ τῷ Παλλαντίῳ λόφῳ καὶ Ἡλῖος αὐτὸς τοῦτο τὸ¹ κοινὸν ὄνομα πᾶσι καὶ γνώριμον. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ πάντη καὶ πάντα προσήκομεν οἱ Ῥωμυλῖδαι τε καὶ Αἰνεάδαι, πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἐρῶ βραχέα τὰ γνωριμώτατα. γέγονε, φασίν, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνεΐας, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ὑπουργὸς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συγγενής. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κτίστην ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως Ἄρεως ἢ φήμη παρέδωκε παιῖδα, πιστουμένη τὸ παράδοξον τῶν λόγων διὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπακολουθησάντων σημείων. ὑπέσχε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασί, μαζὸν θήλεια λύκος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ἄρης Ἄξιζος λεγόμενος 154

¹ τὸ Hertlein suggests.

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everyone knows how terrible is night without a moon or stars, so that from this he can calculate how great a boon for us is the light of the sun? And this very light he supplies at night, without ceasing, and directly, from the moon in those upper spaces where it is needed, while he grants us through the night a truce from toil. But there would be no limit to the account if one should endeavour to describe all his gifts of this sort. For there is no single blessing in our lives which we do not receive as a gift from this god, either perfect from him alone, or, through the other gods, perfected by him.

Moreover he is the founder of our city.¹ For not only does Zeus, who is glorified as the father of all things, inhabit its citadel² together with Athene and Aphrodite, but Apollo also dwells on the Palatine Hill, and Helios himself under this name of his which is commonly known to all and familiar to all. And I could say much to prove that we, the sons of Romulus and Aeneas, are in every way and in all respects connected with him, but I will mention briefly only what is most familiar. According to the legend, Aeneas is the son of Aphrodite, who is subordinate to Helios and is his kinswoman. And the tradition has been handed down that the founder of our city was the son of Ares, and the paradoxical element in the tale has been believed because of the portents which later appeared to support it. For a she-wolf, they say, gave him suck. Now I am aware that Ares, who is called

¹ Rome. ² This refers to the famous temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline; cf. *Oration* I. 29 D. The three shrines in this temple were dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva and Juno, but Julian ignores Juno because he wishes to introduce Aphrodite in connection with Aeneas.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἑμεσαν¹ Σύρων Ἑλίου B
 προπομπεύει, καίπερ εἰδὼς καὶ προειπὼν ἀφήσειν
 μοι δοκῶ. τοῦ χάριν δὲ ὁ λύκος Ἄρει μᾶλλον, οὐχὶ
 δὲ Ἑλίῳ προσήκει; καίτοι λυκάβαντά φασι ἀπὸ
 τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον· ὀνομάζει δὲ
 αὐτὸν οὐχ Ὅμηρος μόνον οὐδὲ οἱ γνώριμοι τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεός·
 διανύων γὰρ φησιν

Ὁρχηθμῶ λυκάβαντα δυωδεκάμηνα κέλευθα.

βούλει οὖν ἔτι σοι φράσω μείζον τεκμήριον, C
 ὅτι ἄρα ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν οἰκιστῆς οὐχ ὑπ'
 Ἀρεως κατεπέμφθη μόνον, ἀλλ' ἴσως αὐτῷ τῆς
 μὲν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευῆς συνεπελάβετο δαί-
 μων ἀρήιος καὶ γενναῖος, ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπιφοιτήσαι
 τῇ Σιλβία λουτρὰ τῇ θεῷ φερούση, τὸ δὲ ὄλον ἐξ
 Ἑλίου κατῆλθεν ἢ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεοῦ Κυρίνου·
 πειστέον γὰρ οἶμαι τῇ φήμῃ. σύνοδος ἀκριβῆς D
 τῶν τὴν ἐμφανῆ κατανειμαμένων βασιλείαν
 Ἑλίου τε καὶ Σελήνης ὥσπερ οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν
 κατήγαγεν, οὕτω καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ὃν² ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
 ἐδέξατο, τὸ θνητὸν ἀφανίσασα πυρὶ κεραυνίῳ
 τοῦ σώματος. οὕτω προδήλως ἢ τῶν περιγεύων

¹ Ἑμεσαν Spanheim, Ἑδεσσαν MSS, Hertlein; cf. 150 c.

² ὃν Marcilius, ἦν MSS, Hertlein.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

Azizos by the Syrians who inhabit Emesa, precedes Helios in the sacred procession, but I mentioned it before, so I think I may let that pass. But why is the wolf sacred only to Ares and not to Helios? Yet men call the period of a year "lycabas,"¹ which is derived from "wolf." And not only Homer² and the famous men of Greece call it by this name, but also the god himself, when he says: "With dancing does he bring to a close his journey of twelve months, even the lycabas." Now do you wish me to bring forward a still greater proof that the founder of our city was sent down to earth, not by Ares alone, though perhaps some noble daemon with the character of Ares did take part in the fashioning of his mortal body, even he who is said to have visited Silvia³ when she was carrying water for the bath of the goddess,⁴ but the whole truth is that the soul of the god Quirinus⁵ came down to earth from Helios; for we must, I think, believe the sacred tradition. And the close conjunction of Helios and Selene, who share the empire over the visible world, even as it had caused his soul to descend to earth, in like manner caused to mount upwards him whom it received back from the earth, after blotting out with fire from a thunderbolt⁶ the mortal part of his body. So clearly did she who creates earthly matter,

¹ Julian accepts the impossible etymology "path of the wolf"; Lycabas means "path of light," cf. *lux*.

² *Odyssey*, 14. 161. The word was also used on Roman coins with the meaning "year."

³ Silvia the Vestal virgin gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus, whose father was supposed to be Mars (Ares).

⁴ Vesta, the Greek Hestia, the goddess of the hearth.

⁵ The name given to Romulus after his apotheosis; cf. *Caesars* 307 B.

⁶ For the legend of his translation see Livy 1. 16; Plutarch, *Romulus* 21; Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 496; Horace, *Odes* 3. 3. 15 foll.

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δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἄκρως γενομένη τὸν ἥλιον
 ἐδέξατο εἰς γῆν πεμπόμενον διὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς
 Προνοίας τὸν Κυρῖνον, ἀνιπτάμενόν τε αὐθις ἀπὸ
 γῆς ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτίκα
 "Ἥλιον.

"Ἐτι σοι βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φράσω τεκμήριον 155
 τοῦ Νόμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον; ἄσβεστον ἐξ ἡλίου
 φυλάττουσι φλόγα παρθένοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἱεραὶ κατὰ
 τὰς διαφόρους ὥρας, αἱ δὲ τὸ γενόμενον¹ περὶ τὴν
 γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ φυλάττουσιν. ἔτι τούτων
 μείζον ἔχω σοι φράσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε τεκμήριον,
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως ἔργον. οἱ μῆνες
 ἅπασιν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς
 σελήνης ἀριθμοῦνται, μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι B
 πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου κινήσεις ἐκάστου μετροῦμεν ἐν-
 αυτοῦ τὰς ἡμέρας. εἴ σοι μετὰ τοῦτο φαίην, ὡς
 καὶ τὸν Μίθραν τιμῶμεν καὶ ἄγομεν Ἥλιον τετραε-
 τηρικούς ἀγῶνας, ἐρῶ νεώτερα· βέλτιον δὲ ἴσως
 ἔν τι τῶν παλαιότερων προθεῖναι. τοῦ γὰρ
 ἐνιαυσιαίου κύκλου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν
 ποιούμενος, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν, οἱ δὲ
 τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ φθίνουσιν
 ἤδη τὴν ὀπώραν, Ἥλιον τὰς ἐμφανεστάτας ὑμνοῦσι C

¹ After γενόμενον Hertlein omits ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

she whose place is at the furthest point below the sun, receive Quirinus when he was sent down to earth by Athene, goddess of Forethought; and when he took flight again from earth she led him back straightway to Helios, the King of the All.

Do you wish me to mention yet another proof of this, I mean the work of King Numa?¹ In Rome maiden priestesses² guard the undying flame of the sun at different hours in turn; they guard the fire that is produced on earth by the agency of the god. And I can tell you a still greater proof of the power of this god, which is the work of that most divine king himself. The months are reckoned from the moon by, one may say, all other peoples; but we and the Egyptians alone reckon the days of every year according to the movements of the sun. If after this I should say that we also worship Mithras, and celebrate games in honour of Helios every four years, I shall be speaking of customs that are somewhat recent.³ But perhaps it is better to cite a proof from the remote past. The beginning of the cycle of the year is placed at different times by different peoples. Some place it at the spring equinox, others at the height of summer, and many in the late autumn; but they each and all sing the praises of the most visible gifts of Helios. One nation celebrates the season best

¹ To Numa Pompilius, the legendary king who reigned next after Romulus, the Romans ascribed the foundation of many of their religious ceremonies. ² The Vestal virgins.

³ The Heliaia, *solis agon*, was founded by the Emperor Aurelian at Rome in 274 A.D.; but the "unconquerable sun," *sol invictus*, had been worshipped there for fully a century before Aurelian's foundation; see Usener, *Sol invictus*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1905. Julian once again, *Caesars* 336 c calls Helios by his Persian name Mithras.

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δωρεάς, ὁ μὲν τις τὴν τῆς ἐργασίας ἐνδιδομένην
 εὐκαιρίαν, ὅτε ἡ γῆ θάλλει καὶ γαυριᾶ, φυομένω
 ἄρτι τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων, γίνεται δὲ ἐπιτήδεια
 πλείσθαι τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀηδὲς
 καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ φαιδρότερον μεθίσταται,
 οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐτίμησαν ὥραν,¹ ὡς ἀσφαλῶς
 τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἔχοντες θαρρήσαι
 γενέσεως, τῶν μὲν σπερμάτων ἤδη συνειλεγμένων,
 ἀκμαίας δὲ οὔσης τῆς ὀπώρας ἤδη καὶ πεπαινο- D
 μένων τῶν ἐπικειμένων καρπῶν τοῖς δένδροις.
 ἄλλοι δὲ τούτων ἔτι κομψότεροι τέλος ἐνιαυτοῦ
 ὑπέλαβον τὴν τελειοτάτην τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων
 ἀκμὴν καὶ φθίσιν· ταυτά τοι καὶ φθινοῦσης ἤδη
 τῆς ὀπώρας ἄγουσι τὰς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν νομηνίας.
 οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι προπάτορες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου
 βασιλέως τοῦ Νόμα μειζόνως ἔτι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον
 σεβόμενοι τὰ μὲν τῆς χρείας ἀπέλιπον, ἅτε οἶμαι
 φύσει θεῖοι καὶ περιττοὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, αὐτὸν δὲ
 εἶδον τούτων τὸν αἴτιον καὶ ἄγειν ἔταξαν συμ- 156
 φώνως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν ὠρῶν τὴν νομηνίαν,
 ὅποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς "Ἡλιος αὐθις ἐπανάγει πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς ἀφείς τῆς μεσημβρίας τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ὡσπερ
 περὶ νύσσαν τὸν αἰγοκέρωτα κάμψας ἀπὸ τοῦ
 νότου πρὸς τὸν βορρᾶν ἔρχεται μεταδώσων ἡμῖν
 τῶν ἐπετείων ἀγαθῶν. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς
 ἐκείνοι διανοηθέντες οὕτως ἐνεστήσαντο τὴν
 ἐπέτειον νομηνίαν, ἐνθένδ' ἂν τις κατανοήσειεν.
 οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς τρέπεται, καθ'
 ἣν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμφανῆς γίνεται χωρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς B

¹ ὥραν Hertlein, Naber suggest, ἡμέραν MSS, cf. *Epistle* 444. 425 c.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

adapted for work in the fields, when the earth bursts into bloom and exults, when all the crops are just beginning to sprout, and the sea begins to be safe for sailing, and the disagreeable, gloomy winter puts on a more cheerful aspect; others again award the crown to the summer season,¹ since at that time they can safely feel confidence about the yield of the fruits, when the grains have already been harvested and midsummer is now at its height, and the fruits on the trees are ripening. Others again, with still more subtlety, regard as the close of the year the time when all the fruits are in their perfect prime and decay has already set in. For this reason they celebrate the annual festival of the New Year in late autumn. But our forefathers, from the time of the most divine king Numa, paid still greater reverence to the god Helios. They ignored the question of mere utility, I think, because they were naturally religious and endowed with unusual intelligence; but they saw that he is the cause of all that is useful, and so they ordered the observance of the New Year to correspond with the present season; that is to say when King Helios returns to us again, and leaving the region furthest south and, rounding Capricorn as though it were a goal-post, advances from the south to the north to give us our share of the blessings of the year. And that our forefathers, because they comprehended this correctly, thus established the beginning of the year, one may perceive from the following. For it was not, I think, the time when the god turns, but the time when he becomes visible to all men, as he travels from south to north,

¹ The Attic year began with the summer solstice.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

μεσημβρίας ἐς τὰς ἄρκτους ἔταξαν οὗτοι τὴν
 ἑορτὴν. οὐπω μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν κανόνων
 λεπτότης γνώριμος, οὓς ἐξηύρον μὲν Χαλδαῖοι καὶ
 Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἰππαρχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐτελειώ-
 σαντο, κρίνοντες δὲ αἰσθήσει τοῖς φαινομένοις
 ἠκολούθουν.

Οὕτω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων,
 ὡς ἔφην, ἔχοντα κατενοήθη. πρὸ τῆς νομηνίας,
 εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν τελευταῖον τοῦ Κρόνου μῆνα,
 ποιούμεν Ἡλίῳ τὸν περιφανέστατον ἀγῶνα, τὴν C
 ἑορτὴν Ἡλίῳ καταφημίσαντες ἀνικῆτω, μεθ' ὃν
 οὐδὲν θέμις ὧν ὁ τελευταῖος μῆν ἔχει σκυθρωπῶν
 μὲν, ἀναγκαίων δ' ὅμως, ἐπιτελεσθῆναι θεαμάτων,
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς Κρονίοις οὖσι τελευταίοις εὐθύς συνά-
 πτει κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὰ Ἡλίαια, ἃ δὴ πολλάκις
 μοι δοῖεν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑμνῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι θεοί,
 καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὄλων
 Ἡλιος, ὁ περὶ τὴν τὰγαθοῦ γόνιμον οὐσίαν ἐξ
 αἰδίου προελθὼν μέσος ἐν μέσοις τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, D
 συνοχῆς τε αὐτοὺς πληρώσας καὶ κάλλους μυρίου
 καὶ περιουσίας γόνιμου καὶ τελείου νοῦ καὶ πάν-
 των ἀθρόως τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀχρόνως, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν
 ἐλλάμπων εἰς τὴν ἐμφανῆ μέσην τοῦ παντὸς

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

that they appointed for the festival. For still unknown to them was the nicety of those laws which the Chaldæans and Egyptians discovered, and which Hipparchus¹ and Ptolemy² perfected: but they judged simply by sense-perception, and were limited to what they could actually see.

But the truth of these facts was recognised, as I said, by a later generation. Before the beginning of the year, at the end of the month which is called after Kronos,³ we celebrate in honour of Helios the most splendid games, and we dedicate the festival to the Invincible Sun. And after this it is not lawful to perform any of the shows that belong to the last month, gloomy as they are, though necessary. But, in the cycle, immediately after the end of the Kronia⁴ follow the Heliaia. That festival may the ruling gods grant me to praise and to celebrate with sacrifice! And above all the others may Helios himself, the King of the All, grant me this, even he who from eternity has proceeded from the generative substance of the Good: even he who is midmost of the midmost intellectual gods; who fills them with continuity and endless beauty and superabundance of generative power and perfect reason, yea with all blessings at once, and independently of time! And now he illumines his own

¹ A Greek astronomer who flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. His works are lost.

² Claudius Ptolemy an astronomer at Alexandria 127-151 A.D.

³ *i.e.* December.

⁴ The festival of Saturn, the Saturnalia, was celebrated by the Latins at the close of December, and corresponds to our Christmas holidays. Saturn was identified with the Greek god Kronos, and Julian uses the Greek word for the festival in order to avoid, according to sophistic etiquette, a Latin name.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

οὐρανοῦ φερομένην ἔδραν οἰκείαν ἐξ αἰδίου, καὶ
 μεταδιδούς τῷ φαινομένῳ παντὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ
 κάλλους, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν σύμπαντα πληρώσας
 τοσοῦτων θεῶν ὁπόσων αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ νοερῶς 157
 ἔχει, περὶ αὐτὸν ἀμερίστως πληθυνομένων καὶ
 ἐνοειδῶς αὐτῷ συνημμένων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην τόπον διὰ τῆς ἀειγενεσίας
 συνέχων καὶ τῶν ἐνδιδομένων ἐκ τοῦ κυκλικοῦ
 σώματος ἀγαθῶν, ἐπιμελόμενος τοῦ τε¹ κοινού
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἰδίᾳ τε τῆς ἡμετέρας
 πόλεως, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξ αἰδίου
 ψυχὴν ὑπέστησεν, ὁπαδὸν ἀποφήνας αὐτοῦ.
 ταῦτά τε οὖν, ὅσα μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἠύξάμην, δοίη, B
 καὶ ἔτι κοινῇ μὲν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐνδεχομένην αἰδιό-
 τητα μετ' εὐνοίας χορηγῶν φυλάττοι, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπὶ
 τοσοῦτον εὖ πρᾶξαι τά τε ἀνθρώπινα καὶ τὰ θεῖα
 δοίη, ἐφ' ὅσον βιώσαι συγχωρεῖ, ζῆν δὲ καὶ ἐμπο-
 λιτεύεσθαι τῷ βίῳ δοίη ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ
 φίλον ἡμῖν τε λώιον καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς συμφέρον
 Ῥωμαίων πράγμασιν.

Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ φίλε Σαλούστιε, κατὰ τὴν τριπλῆν
 τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργίαν ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα νυξίν ὡς C
 οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπελθόντα μοι τῇ μνήμῃ καὶ γράψαι
 πρὸς σὲ ἐτόλμησα, ἐπεὶ σοι καὶ τὸ πρότερον εἰς
 τὰ Κρόνια γεγραμμένον ἡμῖν οὐ παντάπασι

¹ τοῦ τε Hertlein suggests, τε τοῦ MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

visible abode, which from eternity moves as the centre of the whole heavens, and bestows a share of intelligible beauty on the whole visible world, and fills the whole heavens with the same number of gods as he contains in himself in intellectual form. And without division they reveal themselves in manifold form surrounding him, but they are attached to him to form a unity. Aye, but also, through his perpetual generation and the blessings that he bestows from the heavenly bodies, he holds together the region beneath the moon. For he cares for the whole human race in common, but especially for my own city,¹ even as also he brought into being my soul from eternity, and made it his follower. All this, therefore, that I prayed for a moment ago, may he grant, and further may he, of his grace, endow my city as a whole with eternal existence, so far as is possible, and protect her; and for myself personally, may he grant that, so long as I am permitted to live, I may prosper in my affairs both human and divine; finally may he grant me to live and serve the state with my life, so long as is pleasing to himself and well for me and expedient for the Roman Empire!

This discourse, friend Sallust,² I composed in three nights at most, in harmony with the three-fold creative power of the god,³ as far as possible just as it occurred to my memory: and I have ventured to write it down and to dedicate it to you because you thought my earlier work on the Kronia⁴ was not

¹ Rome.

² See Introduction, p. 351.

³ For the threefold creative force cf. Proclus on *Timaeus* 94 CD. Here Julian means that there are three modes of creation exercised by Helios now in one, now in another, of the three worlds; cf. 135 B.C.

⁴ This work is lost.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἀπόβλητον ἐφάνη. τελειότεροις δ' εἰ βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστικωτέροις λόγοις ἐπιστῆσαι, ἐντυχὼν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένοις Ἰαμβλίχου περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων συγγράμμασι τὸ τέλος ἐκείσε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐρήσεις σοφίας. δοίη δ' ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος μηδὲν ἔλαττόν με τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γινῶναι, καὶ διδάξαι κοινῇ τε ἅπαντας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς μανθάνειν ἀξίους. ἕως δέ μοι τοῦτο δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, κοινῇ θεραπεύωμεν τὸν τῷ θεῷ φίλον Ἰαμβλίχον, ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐλθόντα διεληλύθαμεν. ἐκείνου δὲ εὐ οἶδα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ τι τελειότερον, οὐδὲ εἰ πολλὰ πάνυ προσταλαιπωρήσας καινοτομήσειεν· ἐκβήσεται γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, τῆς ἀληθεστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ νοήσεως. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως μάταιον, εἰ διδασκαλίας χάριν ἐποιούμην τοὺς λόγους, αὐτὸν¹ μετ' ἐκείνόν τι συγγράφειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕμνον ἐθέλων διελθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ χαριστήριον ἐν τούτῳ τόπον ὑπελάμβανον τοῦ² περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ φράσαι κατὰ δύναμιν τῆν ἐμήν, οὐ μάτην οἶμαι πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους τούσδε, τὸ

Καὶ δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν³ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εὐφημιῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδεχόμενος. εὐχομαι οὖν τρίτον ἀντὶ τῆς προθυμίας μοι ταύτης εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων Ἥλιον, καὶ

¹ αὐτὸν Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ MSS.

² τοῦ Hertlein suggests, τὸ M, τῷ MSS.

³ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 336.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

wholly worthless. But if you wish to meet with a more complete and more mystical treatment of the same theme, then read the writings of the inspired Iamblichus on this subject,¹ and you will find there the most consummate wisdom which man can achieve. And may mighty Helios grant that I too may attain to no less perfect knowledge of himself, and that I may instruct all men, speaking generally, but especially those who are worthy to learn. And so long as Helios grants let us all in common revere Iamblichus, the beloved of the gods. For he is the source for what I have here set down, a few thoughts from many, as they occurred to my mind. However I know well that no one can utter anything more perfect than he, nay not though he should labour long at the task and say very much that is new. For he will naturally diverge thereby from the truest knowledge of the god. Therefore it would probably have been a vain undertaking to compose anything after Iamblichus on the same subject if I had written this discourse for the sake of giving instruction. But since I wished to compose a hymn to express my gratitude to the god, I thought that this was the best place in which to tell, to the best of my power, of his essential nature. And so I think that not in vain has this discourse been composed. For the saying "To the extent of your powers offer sacrifice to the immortal gods," I apply not to sacrifice only, but also to the praises that we offer to the gods. For the third time, therefore, I pray that Helios, the King of the All, may be gracious to me

¹ i.e. his treatise *On the Gods*, which is not extant.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δοῦναι βίον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τελειοτέραν φρόνησιν καὶ
 θεῖον νοῦν ἀπαλλαγὴν τε τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκ τοῦ
 βίου πραοτάτην ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, ἄνοδόν
 τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ, C
 μάλιστα μὲν αἰδίου, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μείζον εἴη τῶν
 ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ πολυετεῖς
 περιόδους.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

in recompense for this my zeal; and may he grant me a virtuous life and more perfect wisdom and inspired intelligence, and, when fate wills, the gentlest exit that may be from life, at a fitting hour; and that I may ascend to him thereafter and abide with him, for ever if possible, but if that be more than the actions of my life deserve, for many periods of many years!

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

in accordance with the principles of justice and equity, and the welfare of the people, and the preservation of the Union, and the maintenance of the rights of the States, and the promotion of the general happiness of the Nation, and the advancement of the glory of the Name of the Lord our God.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The subject of this Oration is the Mother of the Gods, known to the Latin world as the Great Mother, Magna Mater, and the first Christian name adopted by the Romans. In the Fifth Oration, which is like the Fourth, a Greek, Julian describes the entrance of the Goddess into Italy as the first and only one in Greece she had been worshiped long before. She is the Mother of the Gods and was adored, as a virgin, in the mountains of Phrygia and the region of Asia. They profess to be the motherland of the Syrian Goddess. In the time of the Mother of the Gods was greatly identified with the Earth Mother, and the two became practically identical. But Julian, in the First Oration, that Earth does not shrink from the Oriental worship of Cybele; the laws of Asia, attended by a great number of her images of ornamentation described by Livius. But he was first of all a Stoic philosopher, and the aim of his hymns in the Fourth Oration is to adapt to his philosophy a popular cult and to give its Mysteries a philosophical interpretation.

ORATION V

There is a certain amount of evidence to show that the introduction of the worship of Cybele into Italy cannot be traced directly to a particular person or to any particular time, and that the goddess was introduced into Italy by the Romans.

ORATION V

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

THE cult of Phrygian Cybele the Mother of the Gods, known to the Latin world as the Great Mother, Magna Mater, was the first Oriental religion adopted by the Romans. In the Fifth Oration, which is, like the Fourth, a hymn, Julian describes the entrance of the Goddess into Italy in the third century B.C. In Greece she had been received long before, but the more civilised Hellenes had not welcomed, as did the Romans, the more barbarous features of the cult, the mutilated priests, the Galli, and the worship of Attis.¹ They preferred the less emotional cult of the Syrian Adonis. In Athens the Mother of the Gods was early identified with Gaia the Earth Mother, and the two became inextricably confused.² But Julian, in this more Roman than Greek, does not shrink from the Oriental conception of Cybele as the lover of Attis, attended by eunuch priests, or the frenzy of renunciation described by Catullus.³ But he was first of all a Neo-Platonist, and the aim of this hymn as of the Fourth Oration is to adapt to his philosophy a popular cult and to give its Mysteries a philosophic interpretation.

¹ For the Attis cult see Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*; for the introduction of the worship of Cybele into Italy, Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*.

² See Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*.
³ Catullus 63.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The Mithraic religion, seeking to conciliate the other cults of the empire, had from the first associated with the sun-god the worship of the Magna Mater, and Attis had been endowed with the attributes of Mithras. Though Julian's hymn is in honour of Cybele he devotes more attention to Attis. Originally the myth of Cybele symbolises the succession of the seasons; the disappearance of Attis the sun-god is the coming of winter; his mutilation is the barrenness of nature when the sun has departed; his restoration to Cybele is the renewal of spring. In all this he is the counterpart of Persephone among the Greeks and of Adonis in Syria. Julian interprets the myth in connection with the three worlds described in the Fourth Oration. Cybele is a principle of the highest, the intelligible world, the source of the intellectual gods. Attis is not merely a sun-god: he is a principle of the second, the intellectual world, who descends to the visible world in order to give it order and fruitfulness. Julian expresses the Neo-Platonic dread and dislike of matter, of the variable, the plural and unlimited. Cybele the intelligible principle would fain have restrained Attis the embodiment of intelligence from association with matter. His recall and mutilation symbolise the triumph of unity over multiformity, of mind over matter. His restoration to Cybele symbolises the escape of our souls from the world of generation.

Julian follows Plotinus¹ in regarding the myths as allegories to be interpreted by the philosopher and

¹ 5. 1. 7; 3. 6. 19; 1. 6. 8; cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 152c; and Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, ὁ μῦθος . . . λόγου τινὸς ἔμφασίς ἐστὶν ἀνακλῶντος ἐπ' ἄλλα τὴν διάνοιαν.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

the theosophist. They are riddles to be solved, and the paradoxical element in them is designed to turn our minds to the hidden truth. For laymen the myth is enough. Like all the Neo-Platonists he sometimes uses phrases which imply human weakness or chronological development for his divinities and then withdraws those phrases, explaining that they must be taken in another sense. His attitude to myths is further defined in the Sixth¹ and Seventh Orations. The Fifth Oration can hardly be understood apart from the Fourth, and both must present many difficulties to a reader who is unfamiliar with Plotinus, Porphyry, the treatise *On the Mysteries*, formerly attributed to Iamblichus, Sallust, *On the Gods and the World*, and the extant treatises and fragments of Iamblichus. Julian composed this treatise at Pessinus in Phrygia, when he was on his way to Persia, in 362 B.C.

¹ Cf. 206 D. Myths are like toys which help children through teething.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ

Ἄρά γε χρὴ φάναι καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων; καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρήτων γράψομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνέξοιστα ἐξοίσομεν¹ καὶ τὰ ἀνεκλάλητα ἐκλαλήσομεν; τίς μὲν 159 ὁ Ἄττις ἦτοι Γάλλος, τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀγνείας ταυτησι τρόπος ὁποῖος, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ χάριν οὔτοσι² τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεδείχθη, παραδοθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων Φρυγῶν, παραδεχθεὶς δὲ πρῶτον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τούτων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, ἔργοις διδαχθέντων, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ἐτόθασαν ἐπὶ τῷ τελούντι τὰ ὄργια τῆς Μητρός; λέγονται γὰρ οὔτοι περιυβρίσαι καὶ ἀπελάσαι τὸν Γάλλον ὡς B τὰ θεῖα καινοτομοῦντα, οὐ ξυνέντες ὁποῖόν τι τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρῆμα καὶ ὡς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δηὼ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Δημήτηρ. εἶτα μῆνις τὸ ἐν-τεῦθεν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ θεραπεία τῆς μῆνιδος. ἡ γὰρ

¹ ἐξοίσομεν Cobet adds, ἀνέξοιστα καὶ MSS, Hertlein.

² οὔτοσι Hertlein suggests, οὔτωσι MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

OUGHT I to say something on this subject also? And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable? Who is Attis¹ or Gallus,² who is the Mother of the Gods,³ and what is the manner of their ritual of purification? And further why was it introduced in the beginning among us Romans? It was handed down by the Phrygians in very ancient times, and was first taken over by the Greeks, and not by any ordinary Greeks but by Athenians who had learned by experience that they did wrong to jeer at one who was celebrating the Mysteries of the Mother. For it is said that they wantonly insulted and drove out Gallus, on the ground that he was introducing a new cult, because they did not understand what sort of goddess they had to do with, and that she was that very Deo whom they worship, and Rhea and Demeter too. Then followed the wrath of the goddess and the

¹ The Phrygian god of vegetation who corresponds to the Syrian Adonis. His name is said to mean "father," and he is at once the lover and son of the Mother of the Gods. His death and resurrection were celebrated in spring.

² The generic name for the eunuch priests of Attis.

³ The Phrygian Cybele, the Asiatic goddess of fertility; the chief seat of her worship was Pessinus in Phrygia.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἡγεμῶν γενομένη τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἢ τοῦ Πυθίου πρόμαντις θεοῦ, τὴν τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν μῆνιν ἐκέλευσεν ἰλάσκεσθαι καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μητρῶον, οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφυλάττετο τὰ γραμματεῖα. μετὰ δὴ τοὺς Ἑλληνας αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι C παρεδέξαντο, συμβουλευσάντος καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πυθίου ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον ἄγειν ἐκ Φρυγίας τὴν θεὸν σύμμαχον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει προσθεῖναι μικρὰν¹ ἱστορίαν ἐνταῦθα. μαθόντες γὰρ τὸν χρῆσμον στέλλουσιν οἱ τῆς θεοφιλοῦς οἰκίητορες Ῥώμης πρεσβείαν αἰτήσουσιν παρὰ τῶν Περγᾶμου βασιλέων, οἳ τότε ἐκράτουν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἀγιώτατον ἄγαλμα. λαβόντες D δὲ ἦγον τὸν ἱερὸν φόρτον ἐνθέντες εὐρεία φορτίδι πλεῖν εὐπετώως δυναμένη τὰ τοσαῦτα πελάγη. περαιωθεῖσα δὲ Αἴγαιόν τε καὶ Ἴόνιον, εἶτα περιπλεύσασα Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸ Τυρρηνὸν πέλαγος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τύβριδος κατήγετο· καὶ δῆμος ἐξεχεῖτο τῆς πόλεως σὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ὑπήντων γε μὴν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἱέρειαι πᾶσαι καὶ πάντες ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν ναῦν οὐριοδρομοῦσαν ἀποβλέποντες, καὶ περὶ τὴν τρόπιν 16

¹ μικρὰν Hertlein, μικρὸν Naber, who thinks ἱστορίαν a gloss, cf. *Oration* vii. 276 c, μικρὸν ἱστορίαν MSS, μικρὸν ἱστορίας Reiske.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

propitiation of her wrath. For the priestess of the Pythian god who guided the Greeks in all noble conduct, bade them propitiate the wrath of the Mother of the Gods. And so, we are told, the Metroum was built, where the Athenians used to keep all their state records.¹ After the Greeks the Romans took over the cult, when the Pythian god had advised them in their turn to bring the goddess from Phrygia as an ally for their war against the Carthaginians.² And perhaps there is no reason why I should not insert here a brief account of what happened. When they learned the response of the oracle, the inhabitants of Rome, that city beloved of the gods, sent an embassy to ask from the kings of Pergamon³ who then ruled over Phrygia and from the Phrygians themselves the most holy statue⁴ of the goddess. And when they had received it they brought back their most sacred freight, putting it on a broad cargo-boat which could sail smoothly over those wide seas. Thus she crossed the Aegean and Ionian Seas, and sailed round Sicily and over the Etruscan Sea, and so entered the mouth of the Tiber. And the people and the Senate with them poured out of the city, and in front of all the others there came to meet her all the priests and priestesses in suitable attire according to their ancestral custom. And in excited suspense they gazed at the ship as she ran before a fair wind, and about her keel they could discern the foaming wake as she cleft the

¹ *i.e.* after the middle of the fifth century B.C.; before that date the records were kept in the Acropolis.

² In 204 B.C.; cf. Livy 29. 10 foll.; Silius Italicus 17. 1 foll.; Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 255 foll. tells the legend and describes the ritual of the cult.

³ The Attalids.

⁴ A black meteoric stone embodied the goddess of Pessinus.

ἀπεσκόπουν τὸ ρόθιον σχιζομένων τῶν κυμάτων
 εἶτα εἰσπλέουσιν ἐδεξιούντο τὴν ναῦν προσκυν-
 οῦντες ἕκαστος ὡς ἔτυχε προσεστῶς πόρρωθεν. ἡ
 δὲ ὡσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσα
 δῆμῳ, ὅτι μὴ ξόανον ἄγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας
 ἄψυχον, ἔχει δὲ ἄρα δύνάμιν τινα μείζω καὶ
 θειοτέραν ὃ δὴ παρὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν λαβόντες
 ἔφερον, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Τύβριδος ἤψατο, τὴν ναῦν B
 ἴστησιν ὡσπερ ῥιζωθεῖσαν ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τοῦ
 Τύβριδος. εἰλκον δὲ οὖν πρὸς ἀντίον τὸν ροῦν,
 ἡ δὲ οὐχ εἶπετο. ὡς¹ βραχέσι δὲ ἐντετυχη-
 κότες ὠθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν ναῦν, ἡ δὲ οὐκ εἶκον
 ὠθούτων. πᾶσα δὲ μηχανὴ προσήγετο τὸ ἐντεῦ-
 θεν, ἡ δὲ οὐχ ἦττον ἀμετακίνητος ἦν· ὥστε
 ἐμπίπτει κατὰ τῆς ἱερωμένης τὴν παναγεστάτην
 ἱερωσύνην παρθένου δεινὴ καὶ ἄδικος ὑποψία, καὶ
 τὴν Κλωδίαν ἠτιῶντο· τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ C
 σεμνῇ παρθένῳ· μὴ παντάπασιν ἄχραντον μηδὲ
 καθαρὰν φυλάττειν ἑαυτὴν τῇ θεῷ· ὀργίζεσθαι
 οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ μνησκειν ἐμφανῶς· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἤδη
 τοῖς πᾶσιν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα δαιμονιώτερον. ἡ δὲ
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰδοῦς ὑπεπίμηπλατο πρὸς τε τὸ
 ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν· οὕτω πάνυ πόρρω ἐτύγ-
 χανε τῆς αἰσχροῦς καὶ παρανόμου πράξεως. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἑώρα τὴν αἰτίαν ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐξισχύουσιν,
 περιελούσα τὴν ζώνην καὶ περιβεῖσα τῆς νεῶς D
 τοῖς ἄκροισι, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς ἀποχωρεῖν
 ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντας, εἶτα ἐδεῖτο τῆς θεοῦ μὴ περι-
 δεῖν αὐτὴν² ἀδίκους ἐνεχομένην βλασφημίαις.

¹ ὡς Petavius adds.

² αὐτὴν Hertlein suggests, αὐτὴν MSS.

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waves. And they greeted the ship as she sailed in and adored her from afar, everyone where he happened to be standing. But the goddess, as though she desired to show the Roman people that they were not bringing a lifeless image from Phrygia, but that what they had received from the Phrygians and were now bringing home possessed greater and more divine powers than an image, stayed the ship directly she touched the Tiber, and she was suddenly as though rooted in mid-stream. So they tried to tow her against the current, but she did not follow. Then they tried to push her off, thinking they had grounded on a shoal, but for all their efforts she did not move. Next every possible device was brought to bear, but in spite of all she remained immovable. Thereupon a terrible and unjust suspicion fell on the maiden who had been consecrated to the most sacred office of priestess, and they began to accuse Claudia¹—for that was the name of that noble maiden²—of not having kept herself stainless and pure for the goddess; wherefore they said that the goddess was angry and was plainly declaring her wrath. For by this time the thing seemed to all to be supernatural. Now at first she was filled with shame at the mere name of the thing and the suspicion; so very far was she from such shameless and lawless behaviour. But when she saw that the charge against her was gaining strength, she took off her girdle and fastened it about the prow of the ship, and, like one divinely inspired, bade all stand aside: and then she besought the goddess not to suffer her to be thus implicated

¹ Claudia, turritae rara ministra deae. "Claudia thou peerless priestess of the goddess with the embattled crown."
—Propertius 4. 11. 52. ² A matron in other versions.

βοῶσα δὲ ὡσπερ τι κέλευσμα, φασί, ναυτικόν, Δέσποινα Μήτηρ εἶπερ εἰμὶ σῶφρων, ἔπου μοι, ἔφη. καὶ δὴ τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐκίνησε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴλκυσεν ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν· καὶ δύο ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις ἔδειξεν ἢ θεὸς οἶμαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. ὡς οὔτε μικροῦ τινος τίμιον ἀπὸ τῆς 161 Φρυγίας ἐπήγοντο¹ φόρτον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον, οὔτε ὡς ἀνθρώπινον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ὄντως θεῖον, οὔτε ἄψυχον γῆν, ἀλλὰ ἔμπνουν τι χρῆμα καὶ δαιμόνιον. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ἢ θεός· ἕτερον δέ, ὡς τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς λάθου ἂν αὐτὴν χρηστὸς ἢ φαῦλος ὦν. κατωρθώθη μέντοι καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτίκα Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ὥστε τὸν τρίτον ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῆς μόνον Καρχηδόνοσ γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰ καὶ τισιν ἀπίθανα B
δόξει καὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσήκειν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ θεολόγῳ, λεγέσθω μὴ μείον, κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἱστοριογράφων ἀναγραφόμενα, σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ Ῥώμῃ. καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι φήσουσιν αὐτὰ τινες τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὑθλους εἶναι γραδίων οὐκ ἀνεκτούς. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢ τουτοισὶ τοῖς κομψοῖς, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον δριμὺ μὲν, ὑγιὲς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν βλέπει.²

Ἐπὲρ δὲ ὧν εἰπεῖν ἐπήλθέ μοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἄρτι

¹ ἐπήγοντο Hertlein suggests, ἐπήγον τὸν MSS.

² Plato, *Republic* 519 A δριμὺ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον.

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in unjust slanders. Next, as the story goes, she cried aloud as though it were some nautical word of command, "O Goddess Mother, if I am pure follow me!" And lo, she not only made the ship move, but even towed her for some distance up stream. Two things, I think, the goddess showed the Romans on that day: first that the freight they were bringing from Phrygia had no small value, but was priceless, and that this was no work of men's hands but truly divine, not lifeless clay but a thing possessed of life and divine powers. This, I say, was one thing that the goddess showed them. And the other was that no one of the citizens could be good or bad and she not know thereof. Moreover the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians forthwith took a favourable turn, so that the third war was waged only for the walls of Carthage itself.¹

As for this narrative, though some will think it incredible and wholly unworthy of a philosopher or a theologian, nevertheless let it here be related. For besides the fact that it is commonly recorded by most historians, it has been preserved too on bronze statues in mighty Rome, beloved of the gods.² And yet I am well aware that some over-wise persons will call it an old wives' tale, not to be credited. But for my part I would rather trust the traditions of cities than those too clever people, whose puny souls are keen-sighted enough, but never do they see aught that is sound.

I am told that on this same subject of which I am

¹ In the Third Punic War, which began 149 B.C., Carthage was sacked by the Romans under Scipio.

² A relief in the Capitoline Museum shows Claudia in the act of dragging the ship.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

τὸν τῆς ἀγιστείας καιρὸν, ἀκούω μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ Πορφυρίῳ τινὰ πεφιλοσοφῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ μὴν οἶδά γε, οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον, εἰ καὶ συνενεχθῆναί που συμβαίη τῷ λόγῳ. τὸν Γάλλον δὲ ἐγὼ τουτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν ἐπινοῶ τοῦ γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικοῦ νοῦ τὴν ἄχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕλης ἅπαντα γεννῶσαν οὐσίαν εἶναι, ἔχουσάν τε ἐν ἑαυτῇ πάντας τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἐν πᾶσι τὰ εἶδη, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτοις αἰτίοις τὰ τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ τελευταίων, μεθ' ἃ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τῆς στερήσεως ὄνομα μετὰ ἀμυδρᾶς ἐπινοίας. οὐσῶν δὴ πολλῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ πολλῶν πάνυ δημιουργῶν τοῦ τρίτου δημιουργοῦ, ὃς τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐξηρημένους ἔχει καὶ συνεχεῖς τὰς αἰτίας, ἢ τελευταία καὶ μέχρι γῆς ὑπὸ περιουσίας τοῦ γονίμου διὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν παρὰ τῶν ἄστρον καθήκουσα φύσις ὁ ζητούμενός ἐστιν Ἄττις. ἴσως δὲ ὑπὲρ οὗ λέγω χρῆ διαλαβεῖν σαφέστερον. εἶναί τι λέγομεν ὕλην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνυλον εἶδος. ἀλλὰ τούτων εἰ μὴ τις αἰτία προτέτακται, λανθάνοιμεν ἂν ἑαυτοὺς εἰσάγοντες τὴν Ἐπικούρειον δόξαν. ἀρχαῖν γὰρ δυοῖν εἰ μηδέν ἐστι πρεσβύτερον, αὐτόματός τις αὐτὰς φορὰ καὶ τύχη συνεκλήρωσεν. ἀλλ' ὀρώμεν,

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impelled to speak at the very season of these sacred rites, Porphyry too has written a philosophic treatise. But since I have never met with it I do not know whether at any point it may chance to agree with my discourse. But him whom I call Gallus or Attis I discern of my own knowledge to be the substance of generative and creative Mind which engenders all things down to the lowest plane of matter,¹ and comprehends in itself all the concepts and causes of the forms that are embodied in matter. For truly the forms of all things are not in all things, and in the highest and first causes we do not find the forms of the lowest and last, after which there is nothing save privation² coupled with a dim idea. Now there are many substances and very many creative gods, but the nature of the third creator,³ who contains in himself the separate concepts of the forms that are embodied in matter and also the connected chain of causes, I mean that nature which is last in order, and through its superabundance of generative power descends even unto our earth through the upper region from the stars,—this is he whom we seek, even Attis. But perhaps I ought to distinguish more clearly what I mean. We assert that matter exists and also form embodied in matter. But if no cause be assigned prior to these two, we should be introducing, unconsciously, the Epicurean doctrine. For if there be nothing of higher order than these two principles, then a spontaneous motion and chance brought them together.

¹ *i.e.* the world of sense-perception.

² Plotinus l. 8. 4 called matter "the privation of the Good," *στέρησις ἀγαθοῦ*.

³ Helios; cf. *Oration* 4. 140 A. Attis is here identified with the light of the sun.

φησὶ Περιπατητικός τις ἀγχίνους ὡσπερ ὁ Ξέναρ- B
 ρος, τούτων αἴτιον ὄν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ κυκλικὸν
 σῶμα. γελοῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὑπὲρ τούτων
 ζητῶν τε καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
 Θεόφραστος· ἠγνόησε γοῦν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωνήν.
 ὡσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀσώματον οὐσίαν ἔλθων καὶ
 νοητὴν ἔστη μὴ πολυπραγμονῶν τὴν αἰτίαν,
 ἀλλὰ φὰς οὕτω ταῦτα πεφυκέναι· χρῆν δὲ δῆ-
 πουθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος τὸ πεφυκέ-
 ναι ταύτῃ λαμβάνοντα μηκέτι ζητεῖν τὰς αἰτίας,
 ἴστασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν
 ἐκπίπτειν ὄν μὲν οὐδὲν φύσει καθ' ἑαυτό, ἔχον δὲ C
 ἄλλως κενὴν ὑπόνοιαν. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ μέμνη-
 μαι τοῦ Ξενάρχου λέγοντος ἀκηκοώς. εἰ μὲν οὖν
 ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, τοῖς ἄγαν ἐφείσθω
 Περιπατητικοῖς ὀνυχίζειν, ὅτι δὲ οὐ προσηνῶς
 ἐμοὶ παντί που δῆλον, ὅπου γε καὶ τὰς Ἀριστο-
 τελικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐνδεεστέρωσ ἔχειν ὑπολαμ-
 βάνω, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐς ταῦτὸ τοῖς Πλάτωνος
 ἄγοι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς ἐκ θεῶν δεδομέναις D
 προφητείαις.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἴσως ἄξιον πυθέσθαι, πῶς τὸ κυκλι-
 κὸν σῶμα δύναται τὰς ἀσωμάτους ἔχειν αἰτίας
 τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δίχα τούτων

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“But,” says some acute Peripatetic like Xenarchus, “we see that the cause of these is the fifth or cyclic substance. Aristotle is absurd when he investigates and discusses these matters, and Theophrastus likewise. At any rate he overlooked the implications of a well-known utterance of his. For just as when he came to incorporeal and intelligible substance he stopped short and did not inquire into its cause, and merely asserted that this is what it is by nature; surely in the case of the fifth substance also he ought to have assumed that its nature is to be thus; and he ought not to have gone on to search for causes, but should have stopped at these, and not fallen back on the intelligible, which has no independent existence by itself, and in any case represents a bare supposition.” This is the sort of thing that Xenarchus says, as I remember to have heard. Now whether what he says is correct or not, let us leave to the extreme Peripatetics to refine upon. But that his view is not agreeable to me is, I think, clear to everyone. For I hold that the theories of Aristotle himself are incomplete unless they are brought into harmony with those of Plato¹; or rather we must make these also agree with the oracles that have been vouchsafed to us by the gods.

But this it is perhaps worth while to inquire, how the cyclic substance² can contain the incorporeal causes of the forms that are embodied in matter.

¹ Julian here sums up the tendency of the philosophy of his age. The Peripatetics had been merged in the Platonists and Neo-Platonists, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator often speaks of the reconciliation, in contemporary philosophy, of Plato and Aristotle; cf. 235 c, 236, 366 c. Julian, following the example of Iamblichus, would force them into agreement; but the final appeal was to revealed religion. ² *i.e.* aether, the fifth substance.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ὑποστήναι τὴν γένεσιν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, πρόδηλόν
 ἐστὶ πού καὶ σαφές. τοῦ χάριν γάρ ἐστι το-
 σαῦτα τὰ γιγνόμενα; πόθεν δὲ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ;
 πόθεν δὲ ἢ κατὰ γένος τῶν ὄντων ἐν ὠρισμέ-
 νοις εἶδεσι διαφορά, εἰ μὴ τινες εἶεν προὔπαρ- 163
 χοντες καὶ προὔφεστῶτες¹ λόγοι αἰτίαι τε ἐν
 παραδείγματος λόγῳ προὔφεστῶσαι; πρὸς ἃς
 εἶπερ ἀμβλυώτομεν, ἔτι καθαιρώμεθα τὰ ὄμματα
 τῆς ψυχῆς. κάθαρσις δὲ ὀρθῆ στραφῆναι πρὸς
 ἑαυτὸν καὶ κατανοῆσαι, πῶς μὲν ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ
 ὁ ἔνυλος νοῦς ὡσπερ ἐκμαγεῖόν τι τῶν ἐνύλων
 εἰδῶν καὶ εἰκῶν ἐστίν. ἐν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν
 σωμάτων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὰ σώματα γινομένων τε B
 καὶ θεωρουμένων ἀσωμάτων, οὗ τὴν φαντασίαν
 ὁ νοῦς οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν ἀσωμάτως, ὅπερ οὐ-
 ποτ' ἂν ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ τι ξυγγενὲς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς
 φύσει. ταῦτά τοι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ψυχὴν
 τόπον εἰδῶν ἔφη, πλὴν οὐκ ἐνεργεία, ἀλλὰ
 δυνάμει. τὴν μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν
 ἐπεστραμμένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα δυνάμει ταῦτα
 ἔχειν ἀναγκαῖον· εἰ δέ τις ἄσχετος εἶη καὶ ἀμυγῆς
 ταύτῃ, τοὺς λόγους οὐκέτι δυνάμει, πάντας δὲ C

¹ προὔφεστῶτες Hertlein suggests, cf. 165 D, προεστῶτες MSS.

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For that, apart from these causes, it is not possible for generation to take place is, I think, clear and manifest. For why are there so many kinds of generated things? Whence arise masculine and feminine? Whence the distinguishing characteristics of things according to their species in well-defined types, if there are not pre-existing and pre-established concepts, and causes which existed beforehand to serve as a pattern? ¹ And if we discern these causes but dimly, let us still further purify the eyes of the soul. And the right kind of purification is to turn our gaze inwards and to observe how the soul and embodied Mind are a sort of mould ² and likeness of the forms that are embodied in matter. For in the case of the corporeal, or of things that though incorporeal come into being and are to be studied in connection with the corporeal, there is no single thing whose mental image the mind cannot grasp independently of the corporeal. But this it could not have done if it did not possess something naturally akin to the incorporeal forms. Indeed it is for this reason that Aristotle himself called the soul the "place of the forms," ³ only he said that the forms are there not actually but potentially. Now a soul of this sort, that is allied with matter, must needs possess these forms potentially only, but a soul that should be independent and unmixed in this way we must believe would contain all the

¹ *i.e.* the causes of the forms that are embodied in matter have a prior existence as Ideas.

² An echo of Plato, *Theaetetus* 191 c, 196 a; *Timaeus* 50 c.

³ *De Anima* 3. 4. 429 a; Aristotle quotes the phrase with approval and evidently attributes it to Plato; the precise expression is not to be found in Plato, though in *Parmenides* 132 b he says that the Ideas are "in our souls."

ὑπάρχειν ἐνεργεῖα νομιστέον. λάβωμεν δὲ αὐτὰ σαφέστερον διὰ τοῦ παραδείγματος, ᾧ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ¹ πρὸς ἕτερον μὲν λόγον, ἐχρήσατο δ' οὖν ὁμοῦς. τὸ παράδειγμα δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν φέρω τοῦ λόγου· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀποδείξει χρή λαβεῖν αὐτόν,² ἀλλ' ἐπιβολῇ μόνῃ, περὶ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων αἰτιῶν ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν γε ὁμοστοίχων τοῖς πρώτοις, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἄξιον νομίζειν, καὶ ὁ Ἄττις θεός. τί δὲ καὶ D ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ παράδειγμα; φησί³ πού Πλάτων, τῶν περὶ τὴν μίμησιν διατριβόντων εἰ μὲν ἐθέλοι τις μιμῆσθαι, ὥστε καθυφεστάναι τὰ μιμητά, ἐργώδη τε εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ νῆ Δία γε τοῦ ἀδυνάτου πλησίον μᾶλλον, εὐκόλον δὲ καὶ ῥαδίαν καὶ σφόδρα δυνατὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν τὰ ὄντα μιμουμένην. ὅταν οὖν τὸ κάτοπτρον λαβόντες περιφέρωμεν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὄντων ῥαδίως ἀπομαζάμενοι, δείκνυμεν ἐκάστου τοὺς 164 τύπους. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παραδείγματος ἐπὶ τὸ εἰρημένον μεταβιβάζωμεν τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ἵν' ἢ τὸ μὲν κάτοπτρον ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους δυνάμει τόπος εἰδῶν.

Αὐτὰ δὲ χρὴ τὰ εἶδη πρότερον ὑφεστάναι πάντως ἐνεργεῖα τοῦ δυνάμει. τῆς τοίνυν ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ, δυνάμει τῶν ὄντων ἐχούσης τὰ εἶδη, ποῦ πρώτον ἐνεργεῖα θησόμεθα ταῦτα; πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἐνύλοις; ἀλλ' B ἐστὶ γε ταῦτα φανερώς τὰ τελευταῖα. λείπεται

¹ 233 D.² αὐτόν Hertlein suggests, αὐτό MSS.³ *Sophist* 235 A; cf. *Republic* 596 D.

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concepts, not potentially but actually. Let us make this clearer by means of the example which Plato himself employed in the *Sophist*, with reference certainly to another theory, but still he did employ it. And I bring forward the illustration, not to prove my argument; for one must not try to grasp it by demonstration, but only by apprehension. For it deals with the first causes, or at least those that rank with the first, if indeed, as it is right to believe, we must regard Attis also as a god. What then, and of what sort is this illustration? Plato says that, if any man whose profession is imitation desire to imitate in such a way that the original is exactly reproduced, this method of imitation is troublesome and difficult, and, by Zeus, borders on the impossible; but pleasant and easy and quite possible is the method which only seems to imitate real things. For instance, when we take up a mirror and turn it round we easily get an impression of all objects, and show the general outline of every single thing. From this example let us go back to the analogy I spoke of, and let the mirror stand for what Aristotle calls the "place of the forms" potentially.

Now the forms themselves must certainly subsist actually before they subsist potentially. If, therefore, the soul in us, as Aristotle himself believed, contains potentially the forms of existing things, where shall we place the forms in that previous state of actuality? Shall it be in material things? No, for the forms that are in them are evidently the last and lowest. Therefore it only remains to search

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

δὴ λοιπὸν αὐλοὺς αἰτίας ζητεῖν ἐνεργεῖα προτε-
 ταγμένας τῶν ἐνύλων, αἷς παρυποστᾶσαν καὶ
 συμπροελθοῦσαν ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν
 ἐκεῖθεν, ὡσπερ ἐξ ὄντων τινῶν τὰ ἔσοπτρα, τοὺς
 τῶν εἰδῶν ἀναγκαῖον λόγους, ἐνδιδόναι δὲ διὰ
 τῆς φύσεως τῇ τε ὕλῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐνύλοις τουτοισὶ
 σώμασιν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ δημιουργὸς
 τῶν σωμάτων ἴσμεν, ὡς ὅλη τις οὐσα τοῦ παντός,
 ἡ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν μέρει, C
 πρόδηλόν ἐστὶ πού καὶ σαφές, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις
 ἐνεργεῖα δίχα φαντασίας ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ
 ταύτης ψυχὴ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν προσείληφεν.
 εἰ τοίνυν ἡ φύσις καὶ ὦν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν φαντα-
 σίαν ἔχει ὁμως ὁμολογεῖται τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνθ'
 ὅτου πρὸς θεῶν οὐχὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἔτι καὶ
 πρεσβύτερον τῇ ψυχῇ δώσομεν, ὅπου καὶ φαν-
 ταστικῶς αὐτὸ γινώσκομεν ἤδη καὶ λόγῳ κατα- D
 λαμβάνομεν; εἶτα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ φιλόνεικος, ὡς
 τῇ φύσει μὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐνύλους
 λόγους, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ
 ἐνεργεῖα, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει γε πάντα, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ
 μὴ δοῦναι τοῦτο αὐτό; οὐκοῦν εἰ δυνάμει μὲν
 ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ οὐκ ἐνεργεῖα τὰ εἶδη, δυνάμει
 δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρώτερον καὶ δια-

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for immaterial causes which exist in actuality prior to and of a higher order than the causes that are embodied in matter. And our souls must subsist in dependence on these and come forth together with them, and so receive from them the concepts of the forms, as mirrors show the reflections of things; and then with the aid of nature it bestows them on matter and on these material bodies of our world. For we know that nature is the creator of bodies, universal nature in some sort of the All; while that the individual nature of each is the creator of particulars is plainly evident. But nature exists in us in actuality without a mental image, whereas the soul, which is superior to nature, possesses a mental image besides. If therefore we admit that nature contains in herself the cause of things of which she has however no mental image, why, in heaven's name, are we not to assign to the soul these same forms, only in a still higher degree, and with priority over nature, seeing that it is in the soul that we recognise the forms by means of mental images, and comprehend them by means of the concept? Who then is so contentious as to admit on the one hand that the concepts embodied in matter exist in nature—even though not all and equally in actuality, yet all potentially—while on the other hand he refuses to recognise that the same is true of the soul? If therefore the forms exist in nature potentially, but not actually, and if also they exist potentially in the soul,¹ only in a still purer sense and more completely separated, so that they can be comprehended and recognised;

¹ For the superiority of the soul to nature cf. *De Mysteriis* 8. 7. 270; and for the theory that the soul gives form to matter, Plotinus 4. 3. 20.

κεκριμένως μάλλον, ὥστε δὴ καὶ καταλαμβά-
 νεσθαι καὶ γινώσκεισθαι, ἐνεργεία δὲ οὐδαμοῦ
 πόθεν ἀναρτήσομεν τῆς ἀειγενεσίας τὰ πείσματα;
 ποῦ δὲ ἐδράσομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀιδιότητος 165
 κόσμου λόγους; τὸ γάρ τοι κυκλικὸν σῶμα ἐξ
 ὑποκειμένου καὶ εἶδους ἐστίν. ἀνάγκη δὴ οὖν,
 εἰ καὶ μήποτε ἐνεργεία ταῦτα δίχα ἀλλήλων,
 ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε ἐπινοίαις ἐκεῖνα πρῶτα ὑπάρχοντα
 εἶναι τε καὶ νομίζεσθαι πρεσβύτερα. οὐκοῦν
 ἐπειδὴ δέδοται τις καὶ τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν αἰτία
 προηγουμένη παντελῶς ἄυλος ὑπὸ τὸν τρίτον
 δημιουργόν, ὃς ἡμῖν οὐ τούτων μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ πέμπτου σώματος πατῆρ
 καὶ δεσπότης· ἀποδιελόντες ἐκεῖνου τὸν Ἄττιν, B
 τὴν ἄχρι τῆς ὕλης καταβαίνουσαν αἰτίαν, καὶ
 θεὸν γόνιμον Ἄττιν εἶναι καὶ Γάλλον πεπιστευ-
 καμεν, ὃν δὴ φησιν ὁ μῦθος ἀνθῆσαι μὲν ἐκτε-
 θέντα παρὰ Γάλλου ποταμοῦ ταῖς δίναις, εἶτα
 καλὸν φανέντα καὶ μέγαν ἀγαπηθῆναι παρὰ
 τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. τὴν δὲ τά τε ἄλλα
 πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἀστερωτὸν περι-
 θεῖναι¹ πῖλον. ἀλλ' εἰ τὴν κορυφὴν σκέπει τοῦ C
 Ἄττιδος ὁ φαινόμενος οὐρανὸς οὐτοσί, τὸν Γάλ-
 λον ποταμὸν ἄρα μή ποτε χρή τὸν γαλαξίαν
 αἰνίττεσθαι² κύκλον; ἐνταῦθα γάρ φασι μίγνυ-
 σθαι τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἀπαθῆ τοῦ

¹ περιθεῖναι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 249, τὸν ἀστερωτὸν αὐτῷ περιθεῖναι πῖλον: ἐπιθεῖναι MSS.

² αἰνίττεσθαι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust 250 τὸν γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεται κύκλον: μαντεύεσθαι MSS.

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but yet exist in actuality nowhere at all; to what, I ask, shall we hang the chain of perpetual generation, and on what shall we base our theories of the imperishability of the universe? For the cyclic substance¹ itself is composed of matter and form. It must therefore follow that, even though in actuality these two, matter and form, are never separate from one another, yet for our intelligence the forms must have prior existence and be regarded as of a higher order. Accordingly, since for the forms embodied in matter a wholly immaterial cause has been assigned, which leads these forms under the hand of the third creator²—who for us is the lord and father not only of these forms but also of the visible fifth substance—from that creator we distinguish Attis, the cause which descends even unto matter, and we believe that Attis or Gallus is a god of generative powers. Of him the myth relates that, after being exposed at birth near the eddying stream of the river Gallus, he grew up like a flower, and when he had grown to be fair and tall, he was beloved by the Mother of the Gods. And she entrusted all things to him, and moreover set on his head the starry cap.³ But if our visible sky covers the crown of Attis, must one not interpret the river Gallus as the Milky Way?⁴ For it is there, they say, that the substance which is subject to change mingles with the passion-

¹ *i.e.* the fifth substance.

² Helios; cf. 161 D. The whole passage implies the identification of Attis with nature, and of the world-soul with Helios; cf. 162 A where Attis is called "Nature," φύσις.

³ cf. 170 D, 168 C; Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 4. 16. 1.

⁴ cf. 171 A; Sallust also identifies Gallus with the Milky Way, 4. 14. 25.

πέμπτου κυκλοφορίαν. ἄχρι τοι τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτᾶν τε καὶ χορεύειν τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτίσιν ἐμφέρει τῷ νοερῷ θεῷ, τῷ Ἄττιδι. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ προῖον ἦλθεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὁ μῦθος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον¹ κατελθεῖν ἔφη καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ, τὸ δίνυρον αἰνιττόμενος τῆς ὕλης· καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλην αὐτὴν νῦν ἔφη, τὴν τελευταίαν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀσώματον, ἢ τῆς ὕλης προϋφέστηκε.² λέγεται τοι καὶ πρὸς Ἡρακλείτου³

ψυχῆσι θάνατος ὑγρῆσι γενέσθαι

τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Γάλλον, τὸν νοερὸν θεόν, τὸν τῶν ἐνύλων καὶ ὑπὸ σελήνην εἰδῶν συνοχέα, τῇ προεταγμένη τῆς ὕλης αἰτία συνιόντα, συνιόντα δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλον ἄλλη, ἀλλ' οἷον αὐτὸ εἰς ἑαυτὸ⁴ λέγομεν⁵ ὑποφερόμενον.

Τίς οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν; ἡ τῶν κυβερνώντων τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν θεῶν πηγῆ, ἡ καὶ τεκοῦσα καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ μεγάλῳ Διὶ θεὸς ὑποστάσα μεγάλη μετὰ τὸν μέγαν καὶ σὺν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημιουργῷ, ἡ πάσης μὲν κυρία ζωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενέσεως αἰτία, ἡ ῥᾶστα μὲν ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ ποιούμενα, γεννώσα δὲ δίχα πάθους καὶ δημιουργοῦσα τὰ ὄντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· αὕτη καὶ παρθένος ἀμήτωρ καὶ Διὸς σύνθωκος καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν ὄντως οὔσα πάντων. τῶν γὰρ νοητῶν

¹ cf. Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 7; and Plato, *Republic* 514A.

² προϋφέστηκε Hertlein suggests, προέστηκε MSS.

³ fr. 36, Diels.

⁴ ἑαυτὸ Shorey suggests, τοῦτο Hertlein, MSS.

⁵ λέγομεν Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

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less revolving sphere of the fifth substance. Only as far as this did the Mother of the Gods permit this fair intellectual god Attis, who resembles the sun's rays, to leap and dance. But when he passed beyond this limit and came even to the lowest region, the myth said that he had descended into the cave, and had wedded the nymph. And the nymph is to be interpreted as the dampness of matter; though the myth does not here mean matter itself, but the lowest immaterial cause which subsists prior to matter. Indeed Heracleitus also says: "It is death to souls to become wet." We mean therefore that this Gallus, the intellectual god, the connecting link between forms embodied in matter beneath the region of the moon, is united with the cause that is set over matter, but not in the sense that one sex is united with another, but like an element that is gathered to itself.

Who then is the Mother of the Gods? She is the source of the intellectual¹ and creative gods, who in their turn guide the visible gods: she is both the mother and the spouse of mighty Zeus; she came into being next to and together with the great creator; she is in control of every form of life, and the cause of all generation; she easily brings to perfection all things that are made; without pain she brings to birth, and with the father's² aid creates all things that are; she is the motherless maiden,³ enthroned at the side of Zeus, and in very truth is the Mother of all the Gods. For having received

¹ cf. 170 D, 179 D.

² *i.e.* Zeus.

³ Hence she is the counterpart of Athene, cf. 179 A. Athene is Forethought among the intellectual gods; Cybele is Forethought among the intelligible gods and therefore superior to Athene; cf. 180 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ὑπερκοσμίῳν τε¹ θεῶν δεξαμένη πάντων τὰς²
 αἰτίας ἐν ἑαυτῇ πηγῇ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐγένετο. ταύτην
 δὴ τὴν θεὸν οὔσαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἔρωσ μὲν ὑπῆλθεν
 ἀπαθῆς Ἄττιδος· ἐθελοῦσια γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ
 γνώμην ἐστὶν οὐ τὰ ἔνυλα μόνον εἶδη, πολὺ δὲ
 πλέον τὰ τούτων αἷτια. τὴν δὴ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ
 φθειρόμενα σώζουσιν προμήθειαν ἔραν ὁ μῦθος C
 ἔφη τῆς δημιουργικῆς τούτων αἰτίας καὶ γονίμου,
 καὶ κελεύειν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τίκειν
 μᾶλλον καὶ βούλεσθαι μὲν³ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπε-
 στράφθαι καὶ συνοικεῖν, ἐπίταγμα δὲ ποιεῖσθαι,
 μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἅμα μὲν τὸ ἐνοειδὲς σωτήριον
 διώκουσαν, ἅμα δὲ φεύγουσαν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην
 νεύσαν· πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τε βλέπειν ἐκέλευσεν, οὔσαν
 πηγὴν μὲν τῶν δημιουργικῶν θεῶν, οὐ καθελκο-
 μένην δὲ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν οὐδὲ θελγομένην· οὕτω D
 γὰρ ἔμελλεν ὁ μέγας Ἄττις καὶ κρείττων⁴ εἶναι
 δημιουργός, ἐπεὶ περ ἐν πᾶσιν ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρείττον
 ἐπιστροφή μᾶλλον ἐστὶ δραστήριος τῆς πρὸς τὸ
 χεῖρον νεύσεως. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πέμπτον σῶμα τούτῳ
 δημιουργικώτερον· ἐστὶ τῶν τῆδε καὶ θεϊότερον,
 τῷ μᾶλλον ἐστράφθαι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐπεὶ τοι
 τὸ σῶμα, κἂν αἰθέρος ἢ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, ψυχῆς
 ἀχράντου καὶ καθαρᾶς, ὁποῖαν τὴν Ἡρακλέους ὁ
 δημιουργὸς ἐξέπεμφεν, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν κρείττον

¹ τε Hertlein suggests. ² τὰς Hertlein suggests.

³ μὲν Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.

⁴ κρείττων Hertlein suggests, κρείττον MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

into herself the causes of all the gods, both intelligible and supra-mundane, she became the source of the intellectual gods. Now this goddess, who is also Forethought, was inspired with a passionless love for Attis. For not only the forms embodied in matter, but to a still greater degree the causes of those forms, voluntarily serve her and obey her will. Accordingly the myth relates the following: that she who is the Providence who preserves all that is subject to generation and decay, loved their creative and generative cause, and commanded that cause to beget offspring rather in the intelligible region; and she desired that it should turn towards herself and dwell with her, but condemned it to dwell with no other thing. For only thus would that creative cause strive towards the uniformity that preserves it, and at the same time would avoid that which inclines towards matter. And she bade that cause look towards her, who is the source of the creative gods, and not be dragged down or allured into generation. For in this way was mighty Attis destined to be an even mightier creation, seeing that in all things the conversion to what is higher produces more power to effect than the inclination to what is lower. And the fifth substance itself is more creative and more divine than the elements of our earth, for this reason, that it is more nearly connected with the gods. Not that anyone, surely, would venture to assert that any substance, even if it be composed of the purest aether, is superior to soul undefiled and pure, that of Heracles for instance, as it was when the creator sent it to earth. For that soul

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¹ ἢ ὅτε Shorey, ὅτε Hertlein, MSS.

² προὔφιστῶσαν Hertlein suggests, προσεστῶσαν MSS.

³ τῇ δὲ Hertlein suggests, τῆ MSS.

⁴ φησιν ὁ μῦθος Hertlein suggests, φησι MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

of his both seemed to be and was more effective than after it had bestowed itself on a body. Since even Heracles, now that he has returned, one and indivisible, to his father one and indivisible, more easily controls his own province than formerly when he wore the garment of flesh and walked among men. And this shows that in all things the conversion to the higher is more effective than the propensity to the lower. This is what the myth aims to teach us when it says that the Mother of the Gods exhorted Attis not to leave her or to love another. But he went further, and descended even to the lowest limits of matter. Since, however, it was necessary that his limitless course should cease and halt at last, mighty Helios the Corybant,¹ who shares the Mother's throne and with her creates all things, with her has providence for all things, and apart from her does nothing, persuaded the Lion² to reveal the matter. And who is the Lion? Verily we are told that he is flame-coloured.³ He is, therefore, the cause that subsists prior to the hot and fiery, and it was his task to contend against the nymph and to be jealous of her union with Attis. (And who the nymph is, I have said.) And the myth says that the Lion serves the creative Providence of the world, which evidently means the

¹ The Corybantes were the Phrygian priests of Cybele, who at Rome were called Galli.

² The Asiatic deities, especially Cybele, are often represented holding lions, or in cars drawn by them. cf. Catullus 63. 76, *juncta juga resolvens Cybele leonibus*, "Cybele unharnessed her team of lions"; she sends a lion in pursuit of Attis, cf. 168 B; Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 3. 2. 287 calls the sign of the lion "the dwelling of Helios."

³ *Iliad* 10. 23 λέοντος αἰθωνος.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

εἶτα φωράσαντα καὶ μηνυτὴν γενόμενον αἴτιον
γενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ τῆς ἐκτομῆς. ἢ δὲ ἐκτομὴ
τίς; ἐποχὴ τῆς ἀπειρίας· ἔσθη γὰρ δὴ τὰ τῆς
γενέσεως ἐν ὠρισμένοις τοῖς εἶδεσιν ὑπὸ τῆς
δημιουργικῆς ἐπισχεθέντα προμηθείας, οὐκ ἄνευ D
τῆς τοῦ Ἄττιδος λεγομένης παραφροσύνης, ἢ τὸ
μέτριον ἐξισταμένη καὶ ὑπερβαίνουσα καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξασθενοῦσα καὶ οὐκέθ' αὐτῆς εἶναι
δυναμένη·¹ ὃ δὴ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑποστήναι
τῶν θεῶν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἄλογον. σκόπει οὖν ἀναλ-
λοίωτον κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀλλοίωσιν τὸ πέμπτον
θεώμενος σῶμα περὶ τοὺς φωτισμοὺς τῆς σελήνης,
ἵνα λοιπὸν ὁ συνεχῶς γιγνόμενός τε καὶ ἀπολλύ-
μενος κόσμος γειτνιά τῷ πέμπτῳ σώματι. περὶ 168
τοὺς φωτισμοὺς αὐτῆς ἀλλοίωσίν τινα καὶ πάθη
συμπύπτοντα θεωροῦμεν. οὐκ ἄτοπον οὖν καὶ
τὸν Ἄττιν τοῦτον ἡμίθεόν τινα εἶναι· βούλεται
γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τοῦτο· μᾶλλον δὲ θεὸν μὲν
τῷ παντί· πρόεισί τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου δημιουρ-
γοῦ καὶ ἐπανάγεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν
θεῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλως ῥέπειν καὶ²
νεύειν εἰς τὴν ὕλην δοκεῖ, θεῶν μὲν ἔσχατον,
ἔξαρχον δὲ τῶν θείων γενῶν ἀπάντων οὐκ ἂν B
ἀμάρτοι τις αὐτὸν ὑπολαβόν. ἡμίθεον δὲ διὰ
τοῦτο ὁ μῦθος φησι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀτρέπτους
αὐτοῦ θεοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος διαφοράν. δορυφο-
ροῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς Μητρὸς δοθέντες οἱ
Κορύβαντες, αἱ τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς
κρεισσόνων γενῶν ὑποστάσεις. ἄρχει δὲ καὶ τῶν

¹ A finite verb e.g. φαίνεται is needed to complete the construction. ² καὶ Friederich, πέπεικε Hertlein, MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Mother of the Gods. Then it says that by detecting and revealing the truth, he caused the youth's castration. What is the meaning of this castration? It is the checking of the unlimited. For now was generation confined within definite forms checked by creative Providence. And this would not have happened without the so-called madness of Attis, which overstepped and transgressed due measure, and thereby made him become weak so that he had no control over himself. And it is not surprising that this should come to pass, when we have to do with the cause that ranks lowest among the gods. For consider the fifth substance, which is subject to no change of any sort, in the region of the light of the moon: I mean where our world of continuous generation and decay borders on the fifth substance. We perceive that in the region of her light it seems to undergo certain alterations and to be affected by external influences. Therefore it is not contradictory to suppose that our Attis also is a sort of demigod—for that is actually the meaning of the myth—or rather for the universe he is wholly god, for he proceeds from the third creator, and after his castration is led upwards again to the Mother of the Gods. But though he seems to lean and incline towards matter, one would not be mistaken in supposing that, though he is the lowest in order of the gods, nevertheless he is the leader of all the tribes of divine beings. But the myth calls him a demigod to indicate the difference between him and the unchanging gods. He is attended by the Corybants who are assigned to him by the Mother; they are the three leading personalities of the higher races¹

¹ cf. *Oration 4. 145 c.*

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

λεόντων, οἱ τὴν ἔνθερμον οὐσίαν καὶ πυρώδη
κατανειμάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ σφῶν ἐξάρχου λέοντος
αἴτιοι τῷ πυρὶ μὲν πρώτως, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐνθένδε
θερμότητος ἐνεργείας τε κινητικῆς αἴτιοι καὶ τοῖς C
ἄλλοις εἰσὶ σωτηρίας· περίκειται δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἀντὶ τιάρας, ἐκεῖθεν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ γῆν ὀρμώμενος.

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν θεὸς Ἄττις ἐστίν· αὐταὶ
τοῦ βασιλέως Ἄττιδος αἱ θρηνούμεναι τέως
φυγαὶ καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἀφανισμοὶ καὶ αἱ δύσεις
αἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον. τεκμήρια δὲ ἔστω μοι τούτου
ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ γίνεται. τέμνεσθαι γάρ φασι τὸ
ἱερὸν δένδρον καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον
τῆς ἰσημερινῆς ἀψίδος ἔρχεται· εἰθ' ἐξῆς περισαλ-
πισμὸς παραλαμβάνεται· τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τέμνεται D
τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλου·
ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰλάρια, φασί, καὶ ἑορταί. ὅτι μὲν
οὖν στάσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἢ θρυλουμένη
παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκτομή, πρόδηλον ἐξ ὧν
ἠνίκα ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ψαύσας
κύκλου, ἵνα τὸ μάλιστα ὠρισμένον ἐστί.¹ τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἴσον ὠρισμένον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἄνισον ἀπειρῶν
τε καὶ ἀδιεξίτητον· κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα τὸ
δένδρον τέμνεται· εἰθ' ἐξῆς γίνεται τὰ λοιπά, τὰ 169

¹ A finite verb is needed to complete the construction.
For the anacoluthon cf. 167 D.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

that are next in order to the gods. Also Attis rules over the lions, who together with the Lion, who is their leader, have chosen for themselves hot and fiery substance, and so are, first and foremost, the cause of fire. And through the heat derived from fire they are the causes of motive force and of preservation for all other things that exist. And Attis encircles the heavens like a tiara, and thence sets out as though to descend to earth.

This, then, is our mighty god Attis. This explains his once lamented flight and concealment and disappearance and descent into the cave. In proof of this let me cite the time of year at which it happens. For we are told that the sacred tree¹ is felled on the day when the sun reaches the height of the equinox.² Thereupon the trumpets are sounded.³ And on the third day the sacred and unspeakable member of the god Gallus is severed.⁴ Next comes, they say, the Hilaria⁵ and the festival. And that this castration, so much discussed by the crowd, is really the halting of his unlimited course, is evident from what happens directly mighty Helios touches the cycle of the equinox, where the bounds are most clearly defined. (For the even is bounded, but the uneven is without bounds, and there is no way through or out of it.) At that time then, precisely, according to the account we have, the sacred tree is felled. Thereupon, in

¹ A pine sacred to Attis was felled on March 22nd; cf. Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, p. 222.

² cf. 171 C, 175 A.

³ March 23rd.

⁴ March 24th was the date of the castration of the Galli, the priests of Attis.

⁵ On March 25th the resurrection of Attis and the freeing of our souls from generation (*γένεσις*) was celebrated by the feast of the Hilaria.

μὲν διὰ τοὺς μυστικούς καὶ κρυφίους θεσμούς, τὰ
 δὲ καὶ διὰ¹ ῥηθῆναι πᾶσι δυναμένους. ἡ δὲ
 ἔκτομή τοῦ δένδρου, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ μὲν ἱστορίᾳ
 προσήκει τῇ περὶ τὸν Γάλλον, οὐδὲν δὲ τοῖς
 μυστηρίοις, οἷς παραλαμβάνεται, διδασκόντων
 ἡμᾶς οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν συμβολικῶς, ὅτι χρῆ τὸ
 κάλλιστον ἐκ γῆς δρεψαμένους, ἀρετὴν μετὰ
 εὐσεβείας, ἀπενεγκεῖν τῇ θεῷ, σύμβολον τῆς
 ἐνταῦθα χρηστῆς πολιτείας ἐσόμενον. τὸ γάρ
 τοι δένδρον ἐκ γῆς μὲν φύεται, σπεύδει δὲ B
 ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν τέ ἐστι καλὸν καὶ
 σκιὰν παρασχεῖν ἐν πνίγει, ἤδη δὲ καὶ καρπὸν
 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προβαλεῖν καὶ χαρίσασθαι· οὕτως
 αὐτῷ πολὺ τί γε τοῦ γονίμου περίεστιν. ἡμῖν
 οὖν ὁ θεσμὸς παρακελεύεται, τοῖς φύσει μὲν
 οὐρανόιοις, εἰς γῆν δὲ ἐνεχθεῖσιν, ἀρετὴν μετὰ εὐσε-
 βείας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ πολιτείας ἀμησαμένους
 παρὰ τὴν προγονικὴν καὶ ζωογόνον σπεύδει θεόν. C
 Εὐθύς οὖν ἡ σάλπιγξ μετὰ τὴν ἔκτομήν
 ἐνδίδωσι τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῷ Ἄττιδι καὶ τοῖς
 ὅσοι ποτὲ οὐρανόθεν ἔπτημεν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ
 ἐπέσομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ σύμβολον τοῦτο, ὅτε ὁ
 βασιλεὺς Ἄττις ἴστησι τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς
 ἔκτομῆς, ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύουσιν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ
 αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπειρίαν καὶ μιμεῖσθαι
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας,² ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὄρισμένον καὶ ἐνοειδὲς καί,
 εἶπερ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἀνατρέχειν· οὐπερ D
 γενομένου πάντως ἔπεσθαι χρῆ τὰ Ἰλάρια. τί
 γὰρ εὐθυμότερον, τί δὲ ἰλαρότερον γένοιτο ἂν
 ψυχῆς ἀπειρίαν μὲν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ

¹ καὶ διὰ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

² ἡγεμόνας Shorey, cf. 170 A, B, ἡμῶν Hertlein, MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

their proper order, all the other ceremonies take place. Some of them are celebrated with the secret ritual of the Mysteries, but others by a ritual that can be told to all. For instance, the cutting of the tree belongs to the story of Gallus and not to the Mysteries at all, but it has been taken over by them, I think because the gods wished to teach us, in symbolic fashion, that we must pluck the fairest fruits from the earth, namely, virtue and piety, and offer them to the goddess to be the symbol of our well-ordered constitution here on earth. For the tree grows from the soil, but it strives upwards as though to reach the upper air, and it is fair to behold and gives us shade in the heat, and casts before us and bestows on us its fruits as a boon; such is its superabundance of generative life. Accordingly the ritual enjoins on us, who by nature belong to the heavens but have fallen to earth, to reap the harvest of our constitution here on earth, namely, virtue and piety, and then strive upwards to the goddess of our forefathers, to her who is the principle of all life.

Therefore, immediately after the castration, the trumpet sounds the recall for Attis and for all of us who once flew down from heaven and fell to earth. And after this signal, when King Attis stays his limitless course by his castration, the god bids us also root out the unlimited in ourselves and imitate the gods our leaders and hasten back to the defined and uniform, and, if it be possible, to the One itself. After this, the Hilaria must by all means follow. For what could be more blessed, what more joyful than a soul which has escaped from limitlessness

κλύδωνα διαφυγούσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναχθείσης; ὧν ἓνα καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ὄντα περιεῖδεν οὐδαμῶς ἢ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ βαδίζοντα πρόσω πλέον ἢ χρῆν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν δὲ ἐπέστρεψε, στήσαι τὴν ἀπειρίαν προστάξασα.

Καὶ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ με λέγειν, ὡς ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ποτὲ καὶ γέγονεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδότην τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ὅ, τι ποιήσουσιν, ἢ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀμαρτήματα διορθουμένων. ἀλλὰ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀεὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἥτοι τῶν θεῶν ὑφηγουμένων ἢ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διερευνώμενοι, βέλτιον δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν ζητοῦντες ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔπειτα εὐρόντες ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὰς¹ μύθοις παραδόξοις, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπεμφαίνοντος τὸ πλάσμα φωραθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας προτρέψῃ, τοῖς μὲν B
ιδιώταις ἀρκούσης οἶμαι τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ διὰ τῶν συμβόλων μόνων ὠφελείας, τοῖς δὲ περιττοῖς κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν οὕτως μόνως ἐσομένης ὠφελίμου τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀληθείας, εἰ τις ἐξετάζων αὐτὴν ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔροι καὶ λάβοι, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ὑπομνησθεῖς, ὅτι χρή τι περὶ αὐτῶν ζητεῖν, ἐς τέλος δὲ καὶ ὥσπερ κορυφὴν τοῦ πράγματος διὰ τῆς σκέψεως εὐρὼν πορευθείη, οὐκ C

¹ αὐτὰς Hertlein suggests, αὐτὰ MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

and generation and inward storm, and has been translated up to the very gods? And Attis himself was such a one, and the Mother of the Gods by no means allowed him to advance unregarded further than was permitted: nay, she made him turn towards herself, and commanded him to set a limit to his limitless course.

But let no one suppose my meaning to be that this was ever done or happened in a way that implies that the gods themselves are ignorant of what they intend to do, or that they have to correct their own errors. But our ancestors in every case tried to trace the original meanings of things, whether with the guidance of the gods or independently—though perhaps it would be better to say that they sought for them under the leadership of the gods—then when they had discovered those meanings they clothed them in paradoxical myths. This was in order that, by means of the paradox and the incongruity, the fiction might be detected and we might be induced to search out the truth. Now I think ordinary men derive benefit enough from the irrational myth which instructs them through symbols alone. But those who are more highly endowed with wisdom will find the truth about the gods helpful; though only on condition that such a man examine and discover and comprehend it under the leadership of the gods, and if by such riddles as these he is reminded that he must search out their meaning, and so attains to the goal and summit of his quest¹ through his own researches; he must not

¹ 169 D-170 C is a digression on the value of myths, which the wise man is not to accept without an allegorising interpretation; cf. *Oration* 7. 216 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

αἰδοῖ καὶ πίστει μᾶλλον ἀλλοτρίας δόξης ἢ τῆ
σφετέρᾳ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείᾳ.

Τί οὖν εἶναί φαμεν, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ; κατανοή-
σαντες ἄχρι τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐ τὸ νοητὸν
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ταῦτα σώματα τῆς
ἀπαθούς ὄντα καὶ θείας μερίδος, ἄχρι τούτου
θεοῦς ἐνόμισαν ἀκραιφνεῖς εἶναι τῆ γονίμῳ δὲ τῶν
θεῶν οὐσία τῶν τῆδε παρυποστάντων, ἐξ αἰδίου
συμπροελθούσης τῆς ὕλης τοῖς θεοῖς, παρ' αὐτῶν D
δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὑπέρπληρες αὐτῶν τῆς
γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικῆς αἰτίας ἢ τῶν ὄντων
προμήθεια συνουσιωμένη τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξ αἰδίου, καὶ
σύνθωκος μὲν οὔσα τῷ βασιλεῖ Δί, πηγὴ δὲ τῶν
νοερῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄζωον καὶ ἄγονον
καὶ σκύβαλον καὶ τῶν ὄντων, οἷον ἂν εἴποι τις,
ἀποκάθαρμα καὶ τρύγα καὶ ὑποσταθμὴν διὰ τῆς
τελευταίας αἰτίας¹ τῶν θεῶν, εἰς ἣν αἱ πάντων
οὐσίαι τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελευτῶσιν, ἐκόσμησέ τε
καὶ διωρθώσατο καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μετέ-
στησεν.

Ὁ γὰρ Ἄττις οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατάστικτον τοῖς 171
ἄστροις τιάραν εὐδήλον ὅτι τὰς πάντων τῶν θεῶν
εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ὀρωμένας λήξεις ἀρχὰς
ἐποίησατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας· ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ
μὲν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ καθαρὸν ἦν ἄχρι γαλαξίου·
περὶ τούτου δὲ ἤδη τὸν τόπον μιγνυμένου πρὸς τὸ

¹ τελευταίας αἰτίας Hertlein suggests, τελευταίας MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

be modest and put faith in the opinions of others rather than in his own mental powers.

What shall I say now by way of summary? Because men observed that, as far as the fifth substance, not only the intelligible world but also the visible bodies of our world must be classed as unaffected by externals and divine, they believed that, as far as the fifth substance, the gods are uncompounded. And when by means of that generative substance the visible gods came into being, and, from everlasting, matter was produced along with those gods, from them and through their agency, by reason of the superabundance in them of the generative and creative principle; then the Providence of the world, she who from everlasting is of the same essential nature as the gods, she who is enthroned by the side of King Zeus, and moreover is the source of the intellectual gods, set in order and corrected and changed for the better all that seemed lifeless and barren, the refuse and so to speak offscourings of things, their dregs and sediment: and this she did by means of the last cause¹ derived from the gods, in which the substances of all the gods come to an end.

For it is evident that Attis of whom I speak, who wears the tiara set with stars, took for the foundation of his own dominion the functions of every god as we see them applied to the visible world. And in his case all is undefiled and pure as far as the Milky Way. But, at this very point, that which

¹ In 167 D Attis was identified with the light of the moon; cf. *Oration* 4. 150 A; where the moon is called the lowest of the spheres, who gives form to the world of matter that lies below her; cf. Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 4. 14. 23; where Attis is called the creator of our world.

ἀπαθὲς τοῦ παθητοῦ καὶ τῆς ὕλης παρυφιστα-
 μένης ἐκείθεν, ἢ πρὸς ταύτην κοινωνία κατάβασίς
 ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, οὐκ ἀκουσίως μὲν γενο- B
 μένη τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων Μητρί, λεγομένη
 δὲ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι. φύσει γὰρ ἐν κρείττονι
 τοὺς θεοὺς ὄντας οὐκ ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τάδε καθέλκειν
 ἐθέλει τὰ βελτίω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν κρειπτόνων
 συγκαταβάσεως καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμεί-
 νονα καὶ θεοφιλεστέραν λῆξιν. οὕτω τοι καὶ
 τὸν Ἄττιν οὐ κατεχθραίνουσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν
 ἢ Μήτηρ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἀγανακτεῖ μὲν οὐκέτι,
 ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὴν συγκατάβασιν,
 ὅτι κρείττων ὢν καὶ θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ κατα- C
 δεεστέρω· στήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν
 πρόοδον καὶ τὸ ἀκόσμητον τοῦτο κοσμήσαντα διὰ
 τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἰσημερινὸν κύκλον συμπαθείας, ἵνα
 ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος τῆς ὠρισμένης κινήσεως τὸ τελειό-
 τατον κυβερνᾷ μέτρον, ἐπανάγει πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἢ
 θεὸς ἀσμένως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῇ. καὶ
 οὐδέποτε γέγονεν, ὅτε μὴ ταῦτα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν
 τρόπον, ὅνπερ νῦν ἔχει, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μὲν Ἄττις ἐστὶν
 ὑπουργὸς τῇ Μητρί καὶ ἡνίοχος, αἰεὶ δὲ ὄργᾳ εἰς D
 τὴν γένεσιν, αἰεὶ δὲ ἀποτέμνεται τὴν ἀπειρίαν
 διὰ τῆς ὠρισμένης τῶν εἰδῶν αἰτίας. ἐπαναγό-
 μενος δὲ ὡσπερ ἐκ γῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων αὐθις λέγεται
 δυναστεύειν σκήπτρων, ἐκπεσῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐ-

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is troubled by passion begins to mingle with the passionless, and from that union matter begins to subsist. And so the association of Attis with matter is the descent into the cave, nor did this take place against the will of the gods and the Mother of the Gods, though the myth says that it was against their will. For by their nature the gods dwell in a higher world, and the higher powers do not desire to drag them hence down to our world: rather through the condescension of the higher they desire to lead the things of our earth upwards to a higher plane more favoured by the gods. And in fact the myth does not say that the Mother of the Gods was hostile to Attis after his castration: but it says that though she is no longer angry, she was angry at the time on account of his condescension, in that he who was a higher being and a god had given himself to that which was inferior. But when, after staying his limitless progress, he has set in order the chaos of our world through his sympathy with the cycle of the equinox, where mighty Helios controls the most perfect symmetry of his motion within due limits; then the goddess gladly leads him upwards to herself, or rather keeps him by her side. And never did this happen save in the manner that it happens now; but forever is Attis the servant and charioteer of the Mother; forever he yearns passionately towards generation; and forever he cuts short his unlimited course through the cause whose limits are fixed, even the cause of the forms. In like manner the myth says that he is led upwards as though from our earth, and again resumes his ancient sceptre and dominion: not that he ever lost it, or ever loses it now, but the myth says that he lost it on account of

δαμῶς οὐδὲ ἐκπίπτων, ἐκπεσεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν λεγόμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ παθητὸν σύμμειξιν.

Ἄλλ' ἐκείνο ἴσως ἄξιον προσαπορήσαι· διττῆς γὰρ οὐσῆς τῆς ἰσημερίας, οὐ τὴν ἐν ταῖς χηλαῖς, 172 τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ κριῶ προτιμῶσι. τίς οὖν αἰτία τούτου, φανερὸν δῆπουθεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ἥλιος ἄρχεται τότε πλησιάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσημερίας, αὐξομένης οἶμαι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἔδοξεν οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς ἀρμοδιώτερος. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἣ φησι τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι τὸ φῶς σύνδρομον, ἔχειν οἰκείως πιστευτέον τοῖς ἀφεθῆναι τῆς γενέσεως σπεύδουσι τὰς ἀναγωγούς ἀκτῖνας ἡλίου. σκόπει δὲ ἐναργῶς ἔλκει μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πάντα καὶ προκαλείται¹ καὶ βλαστάνειν ποιεῖ τῇ ζωπυρίδι καὶ θαυμαστῇ θέρμῃ, διακρίνων οἶμαι πρὸς ἄκραν λεπτότητα τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὰ φύσει φερόμενα κάτω κουφίζει. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀφανῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ποιητέον τεκμήρια. ὁ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι διὰ τῆς σωματοειδοῦς θέρμης οὕτω τούτο ἀπεργαζόμενος πῶς οὐ διὰ τῆς ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀσωμάτου πάντη καὶ θείας καὶ καθαρᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἀκτίσιν ἰδρυμένης οὐσίας ἔλξει καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ψυχάς; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν οἰκείου C μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ φῶς τούτο καὶ τοῖς ἀναχθῆναι σπεύδουσιν, αὖξεται δὲ ἐν τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν κόσμῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὥστε εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν μείζω τῆς νυκτός, Ἡλίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὸν κριὸν ἀρξαμένον· δέδεικται δὲ καὶ² ἀναγωγὸν

¹ προκαλείται Hertlein suggests, προσκαλείται MSS.

² δὲ καὶ Hertlein suggests, δὲ καὶ V, καὶ MSS.

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his union with that which is subject to passion and change.

But perhaps it is worth while to raise the following question also. There are two equinoxes, but men pay more honour to the equinox in the sign of Capricorn than to that in the sign of Cancer.¹ Surely the reason for this is evident. Since the sun begins to approach us immediately after the spring equinox,—for I need not say that then the days begin to lengthen,—this seemed the more agreeable season. For apart from the explanation which says that light accompanies the gods, we must believe that the uplifting rays² of the sun are nearly akin to those who yearn to be set free from generation. Consider it clearly: the sun, by his vivifying and marvellous heat, draws up all things from the earth and calls them forth and makes them grow; and he separates, I think, all corporeal things to the utmost degree of tenuity, and makes things weigh light that naturally have a tendency to sink. We ought then to make these visible things proofs of his unseen powers. For if among corporeal things he can bring this about through his material heat, how should he not draw and lead upwards the souls of the blessed by the agency of the invisible, wholly immaterial, divine and pure substance which resides in his rays? We have seen then that this light is nearly akin to the god, and to those who yearn to mount upwards, and moreover, that this light increases in our world, so that when Helios begins to enter the sign of Capricorn the day becomes longer than the night. It

¹ Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 22, says that Cancer and Capricorn are the two gates of the sun; and that souls descend through Cancer and rise aloft through Capricorn.

² This seems to identify Attis with the sun's rays.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

φύσει τὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τε τῆς φανεράς
ἐνεργείας καὶ τῆς ἀφανοῦς, ὑφ' ἧς παμπληθεῖς
ἀνήχθησαν ψυχαὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀκολουθήσασαι D
τῇ φανοτάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἡλιοειδεῖ. τὴν γὰρ
τοιαύτην τῶν ὀμμάτων αἴσθησιν οὐκ ἀγαπητὴν
μόνον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
σοφίαν ὀδηγὸν ὁ δαιμόνιος ἀνύμνησε Πλάτων.¹ εἰ
δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρρήτου μυσταγωγίας ἀψαίμην, ἦν
ὁ Χαλδαῖος περὶ τὸν ἐπτάκτινα θεὸν ἐβάκχευσε,
ἀνάγων δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς ψυχάς, ἄγνωστα ἔρω, καὶ
μάλα γε ἄγνωστα τῷ συρφετῷ, θεουργοῖς δὲ 17
τοῖς μακαρίοις γνῶριμα· διόπερ αὐτὰ σιωπήσω
τανῦν.

Ὅπερ δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ἀλόγως
ὑποληπτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα μετὰ εἰκότος καὶ
ἀληθοῦς λόγου παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ θεσμῷ
προσθεθεῖσθαι, σημεῖον δὴ² τούτου, ὅτι τὸν ἰσημε-
ρινὸν κύκλον ἢ θεὸς αὐτῇ³ κατενείματο. τελεῖται
γὰρ περὶ τὸν ζυγὸν Διοῦ καὶ Κόρη τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ

¹ *Phaedrus* 250 D, *Timaeus* 47 A, *Republic* 507-508.

² δὴ Shorey, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

³ αὐτῇ Wright, αὕτη MSS., Hertlein.

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has also been demonstrated that the god's rays are by nature uplifting; and this is due to his energy, both visible and invisible, by which very many souls have been lifted up out of the region of the senses, because they were guided by that sense which is clearest of all and most nearly like the sun. For when with our eyes we perceive the sun's light, not only is it welcome and useful for our lives, but also, as the divine Plato said when he sang its praises, it is our guide to wisdom. And if I should also touch on the secret teaching of the Mysteries in which the Chaldean,¹ divinely frenzied, celebrated the God of the Seven Rays, that god through whom he lifts up the souls of men, I should be saying what is unintelligible, yea wholly unintelligible to the common herd, but familiar to the happy theurgists.² And so I will for the present be silent on that subject.

I was saying that we ought not to suppose that the ancients appointed the season of the rites irrationally, but rather as far as possible with plausible and true grounds of reason; and indeed a proof of this is that the goddess herself chose as her province the cycle of the equinox. For the most holy and secret Mysteries of Deo and the Maiden³ are celebrated when the

¹ Chaldean astrology and the Chaldean oracles are often cited with respect by the Neo-Platonists; for allusions to their worship of the Seven-rayed Mithras (Helios) cf. Damascius 294 and Proclus on *Timaeus* 1. 11.

² e.g. Iamblichus and especially Maximus of Ephesus who is a typical theurgist of the fourth century A.D. and was supposed to work miracles.

³ The Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone; the Lesser were celebrated in February, the greater in September.

ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως γίνεται. B
 χρὴ γὰρ καὶ ἀπιόντι τῷ θεῷ τελεσθῆναι πάλιν,
 ἵνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ σκοτεινῆς δυσχερῆς
 πάθωμεν ἐπικρατοῦσης δυνάμεως. δις γοῦν Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι τῇ Διοῖ τελοῦσι τὰ μυστήρια, ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν
 τῷ κριῶ τὰ μικρὰ, φασί, μυστήρια, τὰ μεγάλα
 δὲ περὶ τὰς χηλὰς ὄντος ἡλίου, δι' ἧς ἔναγχος
 ἔφην αἰτίας. μεγάλα δὲ ὠνομάσθαι καὶ μικρὰ
 νομίζω καὶ ἄλλων ἕνεκα, μάλιστα δέ, ὡς εἰκός,
 τούτου ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ περ
 προσιόντος· διόπερ ἐν τούτοις ὅσον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν C
 μόνον. ἅτε δὴ καὶ παρόντος τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ
 ἀναγωγῆς θεοῦ, τὰ προτέλεια κατεβάλλοντο τῆς
 τελετῆς· εἶτα μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀγνεῖαι συνεχεῖς
 καὶ τῶν ἱερέων¹ ἀγιστεῖαι. ἀπιόντος δὲ λοιπὸν
 τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀντίχθονα ζώνην, καὶ φυλακῆς
 ἕνεκα καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐπιτελεῖται
 τῶν μυστηρίων. ὄρα δέ· ὡσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς
 γενέσεως αἴτιον ἀποτέμνεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ
 Ἀθηναίοις οἱ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἀπτόμενοι παναγεῖς D
 εἰσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐξάρχων ἱεροφάντης ἀπέ-
 στραπται πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν, ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ
 τῆς ἐπ' ἄπειρον προόδου, τῆς ὠρισμένης δὲ καὶ
 ἕξι μενούσης καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ συνεχομένης οὐσίας
 ἰκνηράτου τε καὶ καθαρᾶς. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων
 ὑπόχρη τσαῦτα.

Δεῖπεται δὴ λοιπὸν, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀγι-
 στείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγνεῖας διεξελεῖν, ἵνα καὶ

¹ ἱερέων Hertlein suggests, ἱερῶν MSS.

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sun is in the sign of Libra, and this is quite natural. For when the gods depart we must consecrate ourselves afresh, so that we may suffer no harm from the godless power of darkness that now begins to get the upper hand. At any rate the Athenians celebrate the Mysteries of Deo twice in the year, the Lesser Mysteries as they call them in the sign of Capricorn, and the Great Mysteries when the sun is in the sign of Cancer, and this for the reason that I have just mentioned. And I think that these Mysteries are called Great and Lesser for several reasons, but especially, as is natural, they are called great when the god departs rather than when he approaches; and so the Lesser are celebrated only by way of reminder.¹ I mean that when the saving and uplifting god approaches, the preliminary rites of the Mysteries take place. Then a little later follow the rites of purification, one after another, and the consecration of the priests. Then when the god departs to the antipodes, the most important ceremonies of the Mysteries are performed, for our protection and salvation. And observe the following: As in the festival of the Mother the instrument of generation is severed, so too with the Athenians, those who take part in the secret rites are wholly chaste and their leader the hierophant forswears generation; because he must not have aught to do with the progress to the unlimited, but only with the substance whose bounds are fixed, so that it abides for ever and is contained in the One, stainless and pure. On this subject I have said enough.

It only remains now to speak, as is fitting, about the sacred rite itself, and the purification, so that from

¹ Plato, *Gorgias* 497 c; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 900 B.

ἐντεῦθεν λάβωμεν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἴ τι συμβάλ- 174
 λεται. γελοῖον δὲ αὐτίκα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκείνο φαίνε-
 ται κρεῶν μὲν ἄπτεσθαι δίδωσιν ὁ ἱερὸς νόμος,
 ἀπαγορεύει δὲ τῶν σπερμάτων. οὐκ ἄψυχα μὲν
 ἐκείνα, ταῦτα δὲ ἔμψυχα; οὐ καθαρὰ μὲν ἐκείνα,
 ταῦτα δὲ αἵματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὐκ εὐχερῶν
 ὄφει τε καὶ ἀκοῇ πεπληρωμένα; οὐ, τὸ μέγιστον,
 ἐκείνοις μὲν πρόσσεστι τὸ μηδένα ἐκ τῆς ἐδωδῆς
 ἀδικεῖσθαι, τούτοις δὲ τὸ καταθύεσθαι καὶ κατα-
 σφάττεσθαι τὰ ζῶα ἀλγοῦντά γε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ B
 τρυχόμενα; ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν περιπτῶν
 εἶποιεν ἄν ἐκείνα δὲ ἤδη κωμωδοῦσι καὶ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων οἱ δυσσεβέστατοι. τὰ μὲν ὄρμενά
 φασιν ἐσθίεσθαι τῶν λαχάνων, παραιτεῖσθαι δὲ
 τὰς ρίζας, ὥσπερ γογγυλίδας. καὶ σῦκα μὲν
 ἐσθίεσθαί φασι, ροιὰς δὲ οὐκέτι καὶ μῆλα πρὸς
 τούτοις. ταῦτα ἀκηκῶς μινυριζόντων πολλῶν
 πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς¹ πρότερον
 ἔοικα ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκ πάντων πολλὴν εἶσεσθαι τοῖς
 δεσπόταις θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν ἅπασι, πρὸ τῶν
 ἄλλων δὲ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς C
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάριν, ὅτι με
 μὴ περιεῖδεν ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ πλανώμενον, ἀλλὰ
 μοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόψασθαι οὐτι
 κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ψυχικὰς ἀλόγους
 ὀρμὰς καὶ κινήσεις τῇ νοερᾷ καὶ προῦφεστώσῃ²
 τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν αἰτία τὰ περιττὰ καὶ μάταια.
 ἐπὶ νοῦν δὲ ἔδωκεν αὕτη λόγους τινὰς ἴσως οὐκ
 ἀπάδοντας πάντη τῆς ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀληθοῦς ἅμα καὶ D

¹ αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς Hertlein suggests, εἰρηκῶς MSS.

² προῦφεστώσῃ Hertlein suggests, προεστώσῃ MSS.

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these also I may borrow whatever contributes to my argument. For example, everyone thinks that the following is ridiculous. The sacred ordinance allows men to eat meat, but it forbids them to eat grains and fruits. What, say they, are not the latter lifeless, whereas the former was once possessed of life? Are not fruits pure, whereas meat is full of blood and of much else that offends eye and ear? But most important of all is it not the case that, when one eats fruit nothing is hurt, while the eating of meat involves the sacrifice and slaughter of animals who naturally suffer pain and torment? So would say many even of the wisest. But the following ordinance is ridiculed by the most impious of mankind also. They observe that whereas vegetables that grow upwards can be eaten, roots are forbidden, turnips, for instance; and they point out that figs are allowed, but not pomegranates or apples either. I have often heard many men saying this in whispers, and I too in former days have said the same, but now it seems that I alone of all men am bound to be deeply grateful to the ruling gods, to all of them, surely, but above all the rest to the Mother of the Gods. For all things am I grateful to her, and for this among the rest, that she did not disregard me when I wandered as it were in darkness.¹ For first she bade me cut off no part indeed of my body, but by the aid of the intelligible cause² that subsists prior to our souls, all that was superfluous and vain in the impulses and motions of my own soul. And that cause gave me, to aid my understanding, certain beliefs which are perhaps not wholly out of harmony

¹ cf. *Oration 4*. 131 A.

² Attis.

εὐαγοῦς ἐπιστήμης. ἀλλ' ἔοικα γάρ, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι φῶ, κύκλῳ περιτρέχειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πάρεστι μὲν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιόντι σαφεῖς καὶ τηλαυγεῖς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, τοῦ χάριν ἡμῖν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ προσφέρεσθαι ταῦτα, ὧν ὁ θεῖος εἶργει θεσμός· καὶ ποιήσω δὲ¹ αὐτὸ μικρὸν ὕστερον· ἄμεινον δὲ νῦν ὥσπερ τύπους τινὰς προθεῖναι καὶ κανόνας, οἷς ἐπόμενοι, κἄν τι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς παρέλθῃ τὸν λόγον, ἔξομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίναι.

Προσῆκει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπομνήσαι διὰ βραχέων, 175
 τίνα τε ἔφαμεν εἶναι τὸν Ἄττιν καὶ τί τὴν ἐκτομήν, τίνος τε εἶναι σύμβολα τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομήν ἄχρι τῶν Ἰλαρίων γινόμενα καὶ τί βούλεσθαι τὴν ἀγνεΐαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄττις ἐλέγετο αἰτία τις οὐσα καὶ θεός, ὁ προσεχῶς δημιουργῶν τὸν ἔνυλον κόσμον, ὃς μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων κατιῶν ἴσταται ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλίου δημιουργικῆς κινήσεως, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρως ὀρισμένης τοῦ παντὸς ὁ θεὸς B
 γένηται περιφερείας, ἢ² τῆς ἰσημερίας τοῦνομά ἐστι κατὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐκτομήν δὲ ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν ἐποχήν, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἀρχηγικωτέρας αἰτίας ἀνακλήσεώς τε καὶ ἀναδύσεως συμβαίνειν. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἀγνεΐας φαμὲν τὸν σκοπὸν ἄνοδον τῶν ψυχῶν.

Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐᾷ πρῶτον σιτεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ γῆς δνόμενα σπέρματα· ἔσχατον μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἡ γῆ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ φησιν ἀπελαθέντα καὶ Πλάτων τὰ κακὰ στρέφεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τῶν λογίων οἱ θεοὶ

¹ δὲ Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.

² ἢ Hertlein suggests, οὐ MSS.

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with the true and sacred knowledge of the gods. But it looks as though, not knowing what to say next, I were turning round in a circle. I can, however, give clear and manifest reasons in every single case why we are not allowed to eat this food which is forbidden by the sacred ordinance, and presently I will do this. But for the moment it is better to bring forward certain forms, so to speak, and regulations which we must observe in order to be able to decide about these matters, though perhaps, owing to my haste, my argument may pass some evidence by.

First I had better remind you in a few words who I said Attis is; and what his castration means; and what is symbolised by the ceremonies that occur between the castration and the Hilaria; and what is meant by the rite of purification. Attis then was declared to be an original cause and a god, the direct creator of the material world, who descends to the lowest limits and is checked by the creative motion of the sun so soon as that god reaches the exactly limited circuit of the universe, which is called the equinox because of its effect in equalising night and day.¹ And I said that the castration meant the checking of limitlessness, which could only be brought about through the summons and resurrection of Attis to the more venerable and commanding causes. And I said that the end and aim of the rite of purification is the ascent of our souls.

For this reason then the ordinance forbids us first to eat those fruits that grow downwards in the earth. For the earth is the last and lowest of things. And Plato also says² that evil, exiled from the gods,

¹ cf. 168 D-169 A, 171 C.

² *Theaetetus* 176 A; cf. *Oration* 2. 90 A.

σκύβαλον αὐτὸ πολλαχοῦ καλοῦσι, καὶ φεύγειν C
 ἐντεῦθεν παρακελεύονται.¹ πρῶτον οὖν ἡ ζωογό-
 νος καὶ προμηθῆς θεὸς οὐδὲ ἄχρι τῆς τῶν σωμάτων
 τροφῆς ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς κατὰ γῆς δυομένοις χρή-
 σθαι, παραινοῦσά γε πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, μᾶλλον δὲ
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπειν. ἐνὶ τινες κέχρη-
 ται σπέρματι, τοῖς λοβοῖς, οὐ σπέρμα μᾶλλον ἢ
 λάχανον αὐτὸ νομίζοντες εἶναι τῷ πεφυκέναι πως D
 ἀνωφερὲς καὶ ὀρθὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐρριζῶσθαι κατὰ
 τῆς γῆς· ἐρρίζωται δὲ ὡσπερ ἐκ δένδρου κιττοῦ
 τινος ἢ καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸς ἤρτηται καὶ καλάμης.²
 ἀπηγόρευται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν σπέρματι χρῆσθαι διὰ
 τοῦτο φυτῶν, ἐπιτέτραπται δὲ χρῆσθαι καρποῖς
 καὶ λαχάνοις, οὐ τοῖς χαμαιζήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ
 γῆς αἰρομένοις ἄνω μετεώροις. ταύτη τοι καὶ τῆς
 γογγυλίδος τὸ μὲν γεωχαρὲς ὡς χθόνιον ἐπιτάττει
 παραιτεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀναδνόμενον ἄνω καὶ εἰς ὕψος 17
 αἰρόμενον ὡς αὐτῷ τούτῳ καθαρὸν τυγχάνον
 δίδωσι προσενέγκασθαι. τῶν γοῦν λαχάνων ὀρμέ-
 νοις μὲν συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι, ρίζαις δὲ ἀπαγορεύει
 καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐντρεφομέναις καὶ συμπαθούσαις
 τῇ γῇ. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν δένδρων μῆλα μὲν ὡς ἱερὰ
 καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀρρήτων ἄθλων καὶ τελεστικῶν
 εἰκόνας καταφθείρειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ κατανα-
 λίσκειν, ἄξιά γε ὄντα τῶν ἀρχετύπων χάριν τοῦ

¹ παρακελεύονται Wytttenbach, πολλαχοῦ παρακελεύονται Hertlein, MSS.

² The construction of καὶ καλάμης is not clear; Petavius suspects corruption or omission.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

now moves on earth; and in the oracles the gods often call the earth refuse, and exhort us to escape thence. And so, in the first place, the life-generating god who is our providence does not allow us to use to nourish our bodies fruits that grow under the earth; and thereby enjoins that we turn our eyes towards the heavens, or rather above the heavens.¹ One kind of fruit of the earth, however, some people do eat, I mean fruit in pods, because they regard this as a vegetable rather than a fruit, since it grows with a sort of upward tendency and is upright, and not rooted below the soil; I mean that it is rooted like the fruit of the ivy that hangs on a tree or of the vine that hangs on a stem. For this reason then we are forbidden to eat seeds and certain plants, but we are allowed to eat fruit and vegetables, only not those that creep on the ground, but those that are raised up from the earth and hang high in the air. It is surely for this reason that the ordinance bids us also avoid that part of the turnip which inclines to the earth since it belongs to the under world, but allows us to eat that part which grows upwards and attains to some height, since by that very fact it is pure. In fact it allows us to eat any vegetables that grow upwards, but forbids us roots, and especially those which are nourished in and influenced by the earth. Moreover in the case of trees it does not allow us to destroy and consume apples, for these are sacred and golden and are the symbols of secret and mystical rewards. Rather are they worthy to be revered and worshipped for the sake of their archetypes.

¹ *i.e.* to the intelligible world and the One; cf. 169c.

σέβεσθαι τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι· ῥοιάς δὲ ὡς φυτὸν B
 χθόνιον παρητήσατο, καὶ τοῦ φοίνικος δὲ τὸν
 καρπὸν ἴσως μὲν ἄν τις εἴποι διὰ τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι
 περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, ἔνθα πρῶτον ὁ θεσμὸς κατέστη·
 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὡς ἱερὸν ἡλίου τὸ φυτὸν
 ἀγέρων τε ὄν οὐ συγχωρῆσαι καταναλίσκειν ἐν
 ταῖς ἀγιστείαις εἰς τροφήν σώματος. ἐπὶ τούτοις
 ἀπηγόρευται ἰχθύσιν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι. κοινὸν δέ
 ἐστὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους τὸ πρόβλημα. C
 δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε δυοῖν ἔνεκεν ἄν τις ἰχθύων μάλιστα
 μὲν ἀεί, πάντως δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις ἀποσχέσθαι,
 ἐνὸς μὲν, ὅτι τούτων, ἃ μὴ θύομεν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐδὲ
 σιτεῖσθαι προσήκει. δέος δὲ ἴσως οὐδέν, μή ποῦ
 τις ἐνταῦθα λίχνος καὶ γάστρις ἐπιλάβηταί μου,
 ὡς που καὶ πρότερον ἤδη παθὼν αὐτὸ διαμνη-
 μονεύω, “Διὰ τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ θύομεν αὐτῶν
 πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς”; εἰπόντος ἀκούσας. ἀλλ’
 εἶχομέν τι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. καὶ θύομέν γε, D
 ἔφην, ὦ μακάριε, ἐν τισὶ τελεστικαῖς θυσίαις, ὡς
 ἵππον Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ
 ζῶα, κύνας ἴσως Ἕλληνας Ἐκάτη καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι
 δέ· καὶ πολλὰ παρ’ ἄλλοις ἐστὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν,
 καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἢ δις
 τοιαῦτα θύματα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις, ὧν
 μόνων κοινωνεῖν ἄξιον καὶ τραπεζοῦν θεοῖς. τοὺς
 δὲ ἰχθύας ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις οὐ θύομεν, ὅτι μήτε

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And pomegranates are forbidden because they belong to the under-world ; and the fruit of the date-palm, perhaps one might say because the date-palm does not grow in Phrygia where the ordinance was first established. But my own theory is rather that it is because this tree is sacred to the sun, and is perennial, that we are forbidden to use it to nourish our bodies during the sacred rites. Besides these, the use of all kinds of fish is forbidden. This is a question of interest to the Egyptians as well as to ourselves. Now my opinion is that for two reasons we ought to abstain from fish, at all times if possible, but above all during the sacred rites. One reason is that it is not fitting that we should eat what we do not use in sacrifices to the gods. And perhaps I need not be afraid that hereupon some greedy person who is the slave of his belly will take me up, though as I remember that very thing happened to me once before ; and then I heard someone objecting : " What do you mean ? Do we not often sacrifice fish to the gods ? " But I had an answer ready for this question also. " My good sir," I said, " it is true that we make offerings of fish in certain mystical sacrifices, just as the Romans sacrifice the horse and many other animals too, both wild and domesticated, and as the Greeks and the Romans too sacrifice dogs to Hecate. And among other nations also many other animals are offered in the mystic cults ; and sacrifices of that sort take place publicly in their cities once or twice a year. But that is not the custom in the sacrifices which we honour most highly, in which alone the gods deign to join us and to share our table. In those most honoured sacrifices we do not offer fish, for the reason that we do not tend

νέμομεν, μήτε τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, 177
 μήτε ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἀγέλαι καθάπερ προβάτων καὶ
 βοῶν οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ
 ὑφ' ἡμῶν βοηθούμενα τὰ ζῶα καὶ πληθύνοντα διὰ
 τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν ἡμῖν εἰς τε τὰς ἄλλας χρείας
 ἐπικουροῖη καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τιμητηρίους
 θυσίας. εἰς μὲν δὴ λόγος οὗτος, δι' ὃν οὐκ οἶμαι
 δεῖν ἰχθὺν ἐν ἀγνείας καιρῷ προσφέρεσθαι τροφήν.
 ἕτερος δέ, ὃν καὶ μᾶλλον ἠγοῦμαι τοῖς προειρη-
 μένοις ἀρμόζειν, ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ
 τοῦ βυθοῦ δεδυκότες εἶεν ἂν χθονιώτεροι τῶν B
 σπερμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀναπτῆναι καὶ μετέωρος
 ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀέρα πρὸς αὐτὰς οὐρανοῦ πτῆναι κορυ-
 φὰς δικαίως ἂν ἀποστρέφοιτο πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα,
 μεταθεοὶ δὲ καὶ μετατρέχοι τὰ τεινόμενα πρὸς τὸν
 ἀέρα καὶ σπεύδοντα πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες καί, ἵνα
 ποιητικώτερον¹ εἶπω, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀρῶντα.²
 ὄρμισιν οὖν ἐπιτρέπει χρῆσθαι πλὴν ὀλίγων, οὓς
 ἱεροὺς εἶναι πάντη συμβέβηκε, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων
 τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἔξω τοῦ χοίρου. τοῦτον δὲ ὡς C
 χθόνιον πάντη μορφῇ τε καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ
 τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ. περιττωματικός τε γὰρ καὶ
 παχὺς τὴν σάρκα· τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποκηρύττει τροφῆς.
 φίλον γὰρ εἶναι πεπίστευται θῦμα τοῖς χθονίοις
 θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπεικότως. ἀθέατον γάρ ἐστιν οὐρανοῦ
 τουτὶ τὸ ζῶον, οὐ μόνον οὐ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 πεφυκὸς ἀναβλέψαι ποτέ. τοιαύτας μὲν δὴ

¹ ποιητικώτερον Naber, τι καὶ ποιητικὸν Hertlein, MSS.

² ὀρμῶντα Naber.

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fish, nor look after the breeding of them, and we do not keep flocks of fish as we do of sheep and cattle. For since we foster these animals and they multiply accordingly, it is only right that they should serve for all our uses and above all for the sacrifices that we honour most." This then is one reason why I think we ought not to use fish for food at the time of the rite of purification. The second reason which is, I think, even more in keeping with what I have just said, is that, since fish also, in a manner of speaking, go down into the lowest depths, they, even more than seeds, belong to the under-world. But he who longs to take flight upwards and to mount aloft above this atmosphere of ours, even to the highest peaks of the heavens, would do well to abstain from all such food. He will rather pursue and follow after things that tend upwards towards the air, and strive to the utmost height, and, if I may use a poetic phrase, look upward to the skies. Birds, for example, we may eat, except only those few which are commonly held sacred,¹ and ordinary four-footed animals, except the pig. This animal is banned as food during the sacred rites because by its shape and way of life, and the very nature of its substance—for its flesh is impure and coarse—it belongs wholly to the earth. And therefore men came to believe that it was an acceptable offering to the gods of the under-world. For this animal does not look up at the sky, not only because it has no such desire, but because it is so made that it can never look upwards. These then are the reasons that have been given

¹ Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 3. 5, gives a list of these sacred birds; e.g. the owl sacred to Athene, the eagle to Zeus, the crane to Demeter.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

αἰτίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποχῆς ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ εἶρηκεν ὁ θεῖος θεσμός· οἱ ξυνιέντες δὲ κοινούμεθα τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις θεοῦς. D

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὧν ἐπιτρέπει χρῆσθαι λέγομεν τοσοῦτον, ὡς οὐ πᾶσιν ἅπαντα,¹ τὸ δυνατὸν δὲ ὁ θεῖος νόμος τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει σκοπῶν ἐπέτρεψε χρῆσθαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐχ ἵνα πᾶσι πάντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρησώμεθα· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐκ εὐκόλον· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκείνω, ὅτῳ ἄρα πρῶτον μὲν ἢ τοῦ σώματος συγχωρεῖ² δύναμις, 178 εἰτά τις περιουσία συντρέχει καὶ τρίτον ἢ προαίρεσις, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὕτως ἄξιον ἐπιτείνειν, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ὀρμᾶν καὶ προθυμεῖσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν θεσμοῖς. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν ἀνυσιμώτερον αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, εἰ μείζονα λόγον αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀσφαλείας B ποιήσαιτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα μείζονος καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας φαίνεται λεληθότως τῆς ὠφελείας μεταλαγχάνον. ὅταν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ πᾶσαν ἑαυτὴν δῶ τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅλα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψασα τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἐπομένης οἶμαι τῆς ἀγιστείας καὶ πρό γε ταύτης τῶν θείων θεσμῶν ἡγουμένων, ὄντος οὐδενὸς λοιπὸν τοῦ ἀπείργοντος καὶ ἐμποδίζοντος· πάντα γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πάντα περὶ αὐτοὺς ὑφέστηκε καὶ πάντα τῶν θεῶν ἔστι πλήρη· αὐτίκα μὲν αὐταῖς ἐλλάμπει τὸ θεῖον φῶς, θεωθεῖσαι δὲ αὐταὶ τόνον τινὰ καὶ

¹ ἅπαντα Hertlein suggests, ἅπαντας MSS.

² συγχωρεῖ Hertlein suggests, συγχωροίη MSS.

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by the divine ordinance for abstinence from such food as we ought to renounce. And we who comprehend share our knowledge with those who know the nature of the gods.

And to the question what food is permitted I will only say this. The divine law does not allow all kinds of food to all men, but takes into account what is possible to human nature and allows us to eat most animals, as I have said. It is not as though we must all of necessity eat all kinds—for perhaps that would not be convenient—but we are to use first what our physical powers allow; secondly, what is at hand in abundance; thirdly, we are to exercise our own wills. But at the season of the sacred ceremonies we ought to exert those wills to the utmost so that we may attain to what is beyond our ordinary physical powers, and thus may be eager and willing to obey the divine ordinances. For it is by all means more effective for the salvation of the soul itself that one should pay greater heed to its safety than to the safety of the body. And moreover the body too seems thereby to share insensibly in that great and marvellous benefit. For when the soul abandons herself wholly to the gods, and entrusts her own concerns absolutely to the higher powers, and then follow the sacred rites—these too being preceded by the divine ordinances—then, I say, since there is nothing to hinder or prevent—for all things reside in the gods, all things subsist in relation to them, all things are filled with the gods—straightway the divine light illumines our souls. And thus endowed with divinity they impart a

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ῥώμην ἐπιτιθέασι τῷ συμφύτῳ πνεύματι, τοῦτο C
 δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν στομούμενον ὥσπερ καὶ κρατυνό-
 μενον σωτηρίας ἐστὶν αἴτιον ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι.
 τὸ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν πάσας τὰς νόσους, εἰ δὲ
 μή, ὅτι τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
 πνεύματος εἶναι τροπῆς καὶ παραφορᾶς συμβέ-
 βηκεν, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οἶμαι τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν οὐ
 φήσει.¹ οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάσας φασίν, οἱ δὲ τὰς
 πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας καὶ ἰαθῆναι χαλεπωτάτας·
 μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν λόγια, φημί D
 δέ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἀγιστείας οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα βοηθείας πολλῆς καὶ
 σωτηρίας ἀξιούται· σώζεσθαι γὰρ σφισι καὶ τὸ
 “πικρᾶς ὕλης περίβλημα βρότειον” οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς
 ὑπεράγνοις παρακελευόμενοι τῶν θεουργῶν κατ-
 επαγγέλλονται.

Τίς οὖν ἡμῖν ὑπολείπεται λόγος, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ἐν βραχεῖ νυκτὸς μέρει ταῦτα ἀπνευστὶ ξυνεῖραι²
 συγχωρηθεῖσιν, οὐδὲν οὔτε προανεγνωκόσιν οὔτε
 σκεψαμένοις περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προελομένοις 179
 ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρὶν ἢ τὰς δέλτους ταύτας
 αἰτήσῃ; μάρτυς δὲ ἡ θεὸς μοι τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλ',
 ὅπερ ἔφην, τί τὸ λειπόμενον ἡμῖν ὑμνήσαι τὴν
 θεὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου, ὧν
 δὴ καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐν ταύταις ἔθετο ταῖς ἀγι-
 στείαις ὁ νόμος; ὁρῶ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς τὴν

¹ φήσει Hertlein suggests, φήσειεν MSS.

² Oration 6. 203c; Demosthenes, *De Corona* 308, συνείρει
 . . . ἀπνευστί.

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certain vigour and energy to the breath¹ implanted in them by nature; and so that breath is hardened as it were and strengthened by the soul, and hence gives health to the whole body. For I think not one of the sons of Asclepios would deny that all diseases, or at any rate very many and those the most serious, are caused by the disturbance and derangement of the breathing. Some doctors assert that all diseases, others that the greater number and the most serious and hardest to cure, are due to this. Moreover the oracles of the gods bear witness thereto, I mean that by the rite of purification not the soul alone but the body as well is greatly benefited and preserved. Indeed the gods when they exhort those theurgists who are especially holy, announce to them that their "mortal husk of raw matter"² shall be preserved from perishing.

And now what is left for me to say? Especially since it was granted me to compose this hymn at a breath, in the short space of one night, without having read anything on the subject beforehand, or thought it over. Nay, I had not even planned to speak thereof until the moment that I asked for these writing-tablets. May the goddess bear witness to the truth of my words! Nevertheless, as I said before, does there not still remain for me to celebrate the goddess in her union with Athene and Dionysus? For the sacred law established their festivals at the very time of her sacred rites. And I recognise the kinship of Athene and the Mother of the Gods

¹ cf. Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals* 736 b. 37, for the breath πνεῦμα, that envelops the disembodied soul and resembles aether. The Stoics sometimes defined the soul as a "warm breath," ἔνθερμον πνεῦμα.

² The phrase probably occurred in an oracular verse.

Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν διὰ τῆς προνοητικῆς ἐν ἑκατέ-
 ραις ταῖς οὐσίαις ὁμοιότητος τὴν συγγένειαν B
 ἐπισκοπῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημιουργ-
 γίαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς καὶ μονίμου ζωῆς τοῦ
 μεγάλου Διὸς ὁ μέγας Διόνυσος παραδεξάμενος,
 ἄτε καὶ προελθὼν ἐξ ἐκείνου, τοῖς φαινομένοις
 ἅπασιν ἐγκατένειμεν, ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ βασιλεύων
 τῆς μεριστῆς συμπάσης δημιουργίας. προσήκει
 δὲ σὺν τούτοις ὑμῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον
 Ἐρμῆν καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν ὁ C
 θεὸς οὗτος, ὅσοι λαμπάδας φασὶν ἀνάπτειν
 Ἄττιδι τῷ σοφῷ. τίς οὖν οὕτω παχὺς τὴν
 ψυχὴν, ὃς οὐ συνίησιν, ὅτι δι' Ἐρμοῦ μὲν καὶ
 Ἀφροδίτης ἀνακαλεῖται πάντα πανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς
 γενέσεως ἔχοντα τὸ ἕνεκά του¹ πάντη καὶ πάντως
 ὁ τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ἰδίον ἐστίν; Ἄττις δὲ οὐχ
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἄφρων, νῦν δὲ
 ἀκούων διὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν σοφός; ἄφρων μὲν ὅτι
 τὴν ὕλην εἴλετο καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιτροπεύει,
 σοφὸς δὲ ὅτι τὸ σκύβαλον τοῦτο εἰς κάλλος D
 ἐκόσμησε τοσοῦτον καὶ μετέστησεν, ὅσον οὐδεμί'
 ἂν μιμήσαιο ἀνθρώπων τέχνη καὶ σύνεσις.
 ἀλλὰ τί πέρασ ἔσται μοι τῶν λόγων; ἢ δῆλον ὡς
 ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ὕμνος θεοῦ;

²Ω θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων μήτηρ, ὧ τοῦ μεγάλου
 σύνθωκε καὶ σύνθρονε Διός, ὧ πηγὴ τῶν νοερῶν
 θεῶν, ὧ τῶν νοητῶν ταῖς ἀχράντοις οὐσίαις συν-
 δραμοῦσα καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκ πάντων αἰτίαν παρα-
 δεξαμένη καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐνδιδούσα ζωογόνε θεᾶ

¹ ἕνεκά του Shorey, ἕνεκα τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.

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through the similarity of the forethought that inheres in the substance of both goddesses. And I discern also the divided creative function of Dionysus, which great Dionysus received from the single and abiding principle of life that is in mighty Zeus. For from Zeus he proceeded, and he bestows that life on all things visible, controlling and governing the creation of the whole divisible world. Together with these gods we ought to celebrate Hermes Epaphroditus.¹ For so this god is entitled by the initiated who say that he kindles the torches for wise Attis. And who has a soul so dense as not to understand that through Hermes and Aphrodite are invoked all generated things everywhere, since they everywhere and throughout have a purpose which is peculiarly appropriate to the Logos?² But is not this Logos Attis, who not long ago was out of his senses, but now through his castration is called wise? Yes, he was out of his senses because he preferred matter and presides over generation, but he is wise because he adorned and transformed this refuse, our earth, with such beauty as no human art or cunning could imitate. But how shall I conclude my discourse? Surely with this hymn to the Great Goddess.

O Mother of gods and men, thou that art the assessor of Zeus and sharest his throne, O source of the intellectual gods, that pursuest thy course with the stainless substance of the intelligible gods; that dost receive from them all the common cause of things and dost thyself bestow it on the intellectual

¹ The epithet means "favoured by Aphrodite."

² In this rendering of λόγος (which may here mean "Reason") I follow Mau p. 113, and Asmus, *Julians Galiläerschrift* p. 31.

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καὶ μήτις καὶ πρόνοια καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν
 δημιουργέ, ὃ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον ἀγαπῶσα καὶ
 τὸν Ἄττιν ἐκτεθέντα περισωσαμένη καὶ πάλιν
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ γῆς ἄντρον καταδυόμενον ἐπανά-
 γουσα, ὃ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἡγου-
 μένη θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀποπληροῦσα τὸν αἰσθητὸν
 κόσμον, πάντα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθὰ χαρι-
 σαμένη, δίδου πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονίαν, B
 ἧς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἢ τῶν θεῶν γνῶσις ἐστι,
 κοινῇ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, μάλιστα μὲν
 ἀποτρίψασθαι τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν κηλῖδα, πρὸς
 δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην εὐμενῇ συνδιακυβερνώσαν αὐτῷ
 τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰς χιλιάδας ἐτῶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ
 καρπὸν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ σὲ θεραπείας ἀλήθειαν
 ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν δόγμασιν, ἐν θεουργίᾳ τελειό-
 τητα, πάντων ἔργων, οἷς προσερχόμεθα περὶ τὰς
 πολιτικὰς καὶ στρατιωτικὰς πράξεις,¹ ἀρετὴν μετὰ C
 τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἄλυπόν
 τε καὶ εὐδόκιμον μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς ἐπὶ
 τῇ παρ' ὑμᾶς πορείᾳ.

¹ πράξεις Hertlein suggests, τάξεις MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

gods ; O life-giving goddess that art the counsel and the providence and the creator of our souls ; O thou that lovest great Dionysus, and didst save Attis when exposed at birth, and didst lead him back when he had descended into the cave of the nymph ; O thou that givest all good things to the intellectual gods and fillest with all things this sensible world, and with all the rest givest us all things good ! Do thou grant to all men happiness, and that highest happiness of all, the knowledge of the gods ; and grant to the Roman people in general that they may cleanse themselves of the stain of impiety ; grant them a blessed lot, and help them to guide their Empire for many thousands of years ! And for myself, grant me as fruit of my worship of thee that I may have true knowledge in the doctrines about the gods. Make me perfect in theurgy. And in all that I undertake, in the affairs of the state and the army, grant me virtue and good fortune, and that the close of my life may be painless and glorious, in the good hope that it is to you, the gods, that I journey !

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three parts: the first part is devoted to the discovery of the continent and the establishment of the first colonies; the second part is devoted to the growth of the colonies and the struggle for independence; the third part is devoted to the history of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time.

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