

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Λέγεις ναὶ μὰ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.

Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μῦθος;

Οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὁποίους Αἴσωπος ἐποίη- 305  
σεν, ἀλλ' εἴτε πλάσμα λέγοις Ἑρμοῦ· πεπυ-  
σμένος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν σοι φράσω· εἴτε καὶ  
τάληθές οὕτως ἔχει εἴτε μίξις τίς ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν,  
αὐτό, φασί,<sup>1</sup> δείξει τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν ἤδη μυθικῶς ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς  
ἐξείργασταί σοι τὸ προοίμιον· ἀλλά μοι τὸν  
λόγον αὐτόν, ὁποίός ποτέ ἐστιν, ἤδη διέξελθε.

Μανθάνοις ἄν.

Θύων ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντα ἐκάλει B  
τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup> τοὺς καίσαρας.  
κλῖναι δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμένοι τοῖς μὲν  
θεοῖς ἄνω κατ' αὐτό, φασίν, οὐρανοῦ τὸ μετέωρον,

Οὐλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

λέγεται γὰρ μεθ' Ἡρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε  
καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος, ᾧ δὴ χρὴ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὀνόματι,  
τῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς  
ἐκεῖσε παρεσκευάστο τὸ συμπόσιον· ὑπ' αὐτὴν δὲ C  
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετεώρου τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδοκτο  
τοὺς καίσαρας δειπνεῖν. ἀνεῖχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε  
τῶν σωμάτων κουφότης, ἅπερ ἐτύγχανον ἡμφιε-  
σμένοι, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλῖναι μὲν  
οὖν ἔκειντο τέτταρες, εὐτρεπεῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις  
θεοῖς. ἐβένου μὲν ἦν ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου στιλβούσης  
καὶ πολλὴν ἐν τῷ μέλανι καὶ θείαν αὐγὴν κρυ-  
πτούσης, ὥστε οὐδεὶς οἶός τε ἦν ἀντιβλέπειν.

<sup>1</sup> φασί Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, ἐπιδείξει MSS.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation

"By Zeus, that is true indeed!"

"But what is your myth and of what type?"

"Not one of those old-fashioned ones such as Aesop<sup>1</sup> wrote. But whether you should call mine an invention of Hermes—for it was from him I learned what I am going to tell you—or whether it is really true or a mixture of truth and fiction, the upshot, as the saying is, will decide."

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

"Attend."

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

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* not a fable with a moral nor an animal fable.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 B.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey* 6. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Oration* 4. 149 B, 154 D.

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ἔπασχε δὲ ταῦτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἔβενον ἐκείνην τὰ ὄμματα δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνας, ὅπερ οἶμαι πρὸς ἥλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δίσκῳ τις ἀτενέστερον προσβλέπη. ἢ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἦν ἀργύρου μὲν στιλπνοτέρα, χρυσίου δὲ λευκοτέρα. τοῦτο εἴτε ἠλεκτρον χρῆ καλεῖν εἴτε ἄλλο τι λέγειν, οὐ σφόδρα εἶχέ μοι γνωρίμως ὁ Ἑρμῆς φράσαι. χρυσοθρόνω δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερον ἐκαθεζέσθην<sup>1</sup> ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ ἢ θυγάτηρ, Ἥρα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Δία, Ἑρέα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνον. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνος ἐπεξήκει τῷ λόγῳ, μείζον εἶναι λέγων αὐτὸ καὶ νῶ θεατόν, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ ῥήμασιν οὔτε προοισθῆναι ῥάδιον οὔτε παραδεχθῆναι δυνατόν. οὐχ οὔτῳ τις ἔσται καὶ φανείται μεγαλόφωνος, ὥστε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκείνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους, ὅποσον ἐπιπρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὄψει.

Παρεσκευάστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐκάστῳ θρόνος ἢ κλίνη κατὰ πρεσβείαν. ἤριζε δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ὅπερ Ὀμηρος ὀρθῶς ποιῶν ἔφη, δοκεῖν μοι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἀκηκοώς, ἔχειν ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἐφ' οὗ πάντως αὐτῷ θέμις καθῆσθαι στερεῶς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξανιστάμενοι ταραττοῦσιν οὐδαμῶς τὰς καθέδρας οὐδὲ μεταβαίνουσιν οὐδὲ ὑφαρπάζουσιν ἀλλήλων, γνωρίζει δὲ ἕκαστος τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ. πάντων οὖν κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τοῦ Διονύσου καλοῦ καὶ νέου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκαθεζέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἐκαθέζετον V., ἐκαθεζέτην MSS.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Martial 8. 51. 5: "Vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo"; it is often uncertain whether electron means amber, or a combination of  $\frac{2}{3}$  gold and  $\frac{1}{3}$  silver.

<sup>2</sup> This is not in our Homer, but Julian may have in mind *Iliad* 11. 76.

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τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Διὶ παραπλησίον πλησίον αὐτοῦ, τροφεύς τις οἶα καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθῆστο, τά τε ἄλλα φιλοπαίγμονα καὶ φιλόγελων καὶ χαριτοδότην<sup>1</sup> ὄντα τὸν θεὸν εὐφραίνων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ σκώπτειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιάζειν.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καισάρων συνεκεκρότητο<sup>2</sup> συμπόσιον, εἰσῆει πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἐρίσαι τῷ Διὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς ὃν ὁ Σειληνὸς βλέψας, "Ὁρα, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, μή σε ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοηθῆ. καὶ γάρ, ὡς ὀράς, ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ καλός· ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστὶ προσόμοιος. παίζοντος ἔτι τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σειληνοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῷ, Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμείβων, ὡσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες, χρώματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχρίων, αὐθις δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γινόμενος, εἶτα μέλας καὶ ζοφώδης καὶ συννεφής· ἀνίετο δ' αὐθις εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χάριτας, εἶναί τε ἤθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων ὁποῖός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος· οὐδένα γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων<sup>3</sup> ἀντιβλέπειν ἠξίου. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Βαβαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τούτου θηρίου τί ποτ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται; Παῦσαι, εἶπε, ληρῶν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν τουτῷ Ζήνωνι παραδοὺς ἀντίκα ὑμῖν ἀποφανῶ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' ἴθι, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζήνων, ἐπιμελήθητι τοῦμοῦ θρέμματος. ὁ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> χαριτοδότην Spanheim, cf. 148 D, χαριδοτήν Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> συνεκεκρότητο Hertlein suggests, συνεκροτεῖτο MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπαντῶντων Spanheim, πάντων Hertlein, MSS.

ever young, who sat close to Zeus his father, took his seat next to him on the pretext that he had brought him up and was his tutor. And since Dionysus loves jesting and laughter and is the giver of the Graces, Silenus diverted the god with a continual flow of sarcasms and jests, and in other ways besides.

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

<sup>1</sup> Silenus is usually represented as bald.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 16.

<sup>3</sup> The Stoic philosopher.

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ὑπακούσας, εἶτα ἐπάσας αὐτῷ μικρὰ τῶν δογμάτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς Ζαμόλξιδος ἐπώδᾳς θρυλοῦντες, ἀπέφηνεν ἄνδρα ἔμφρονα καὶ σῶφρονα.

Τρίτος ἐπεισέδραμεν αὐτοῖς Τιβέριος σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσυρὸς, σῶφρόν τε ἅμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὄφθησαν ὠτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μυρίαί, καυτῆρές τινες καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπαὶ D καὶ μώλωπες ὑπὸ τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ὀμότητος ψῶραί τινες καὶ λειχῆνες οἶον ἐγκεκαυμένοι. εἶθ' ὁ Σειληνὸς

Ἄλλοιός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν εἰπὼν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαιότερος. καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος πρὸς αὐτόν, Τί δῆτα, εἶπεν, ὦ παππίδιον σπουδάξεις; καὶ ὅς, Ἐξέπληξέ με ὁ γέρων οὐτοσί, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἔφη, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἐκλαθόμενον ἑμαυτοῦ τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς προβαλέσθαι μούσας. ἀλλά σε, εἶπεν, ἔλξει τῶν ὠτων 31 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματιστὴν τινα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμῶζων μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ νησυδρίῳ τὰς Καπρέας αἰνιπτόμενος τὸν ἄθλιον ἀλιέα ψηχέτω. ταῦτα ἔτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπεισέρχεται θηρίον πονηρόν. εἶτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπέστρεψαν τὰ ὄμματα, κατὰ αὐτὸν δίδωσιν ἢ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἱ δὲ ἔρριψαν εἰς B

doctrines,<sup>1</sup> in the fashion of those who mutter the incantations of Zamolxis,<sup>2</sup> he made him wise and temperate.

The third to hasten in was Tiberius, with countenance solemn and grim, and an expression at once sober and martial. But as he turned to sit down his back was seen to be covered with countless scars, burns, and sores, painful welts and bruises, while ulcers and abscesses were as though branded thereon, the result of his self-indulgent and cruel life.<sup>3</sup> Whereupon Silenus cried out, "Far different, friend, thou appearest now than before,"<sup>4</sup> and seemed more serious than was his wont. "Pray, why so solemn, little father?" said Dionysus. "It was this old satyr," he replied, "he shocked me and made me forget myself and introduce Homer's Muse." "Take care," said Dionysus, "he will pull your ear, as he is said to have done to a certain grammarian."<sup>5</sup> "Plague take him," said Silenus, "in his little island"—he was alluding to Capri—"let him scratch the face of that wretched fisherman."<sup>6</sup> While they were still joking together, there came in a fierce monster.<sup>7</sup> Thereupon all the gods turned away their eyes from the sight, and next moment Justice handed him over to the Avengers who

<sup>1</sup> Julian probably alludes to the influence on Augustus of Athenodorus the Stoic.

<sup>2</sup> A deity among the Thracians, who according to one tradition had been a slave of Pythagoras; cf. Herodotus 4. 94; Plato, *Charmides* 156 D; Julian 8. 244 A.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 525 D, E; *Republic* 611 c; Tacitus, *Annals* 6. 6; Lucian, *Cataplus* 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey* 16. 181; there is a play on the word *πάροισθερ* which means also "in front."

<sup>5</sup> i.e. Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 56, 70.

<sup>6</sup> Suetonius, *Tiberius* 60. <sup>7</sup> Caligula.



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Τάρταρον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔσχευ ὁ Σειληνὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσαι. τοῦ Κλαυδίου δὲ ἐπεισελθόντος, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἄρχεται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἄδειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου<sup>1</sup> κολακεύων δῆθεν τὸν Κλαύδιον. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρίνον ἀπιδῶν, Ἄδικεῖς, εἶπεν, ὦ Κυρίνε, τὸν ἀπόγονον ἄγων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον δίχα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλλαντος. ἀλλ' ἴθι, εἶπε, πέμψον ἐπ' ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλει δέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Μεσσαλίαν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκείνων δίχα τουτὶ τῆς τραγωδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικροῦ δέω φάναι, καὶ ἄψυχον. ἐπεισέρχεται λέγοντι τῷ Σειληνῷ Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέψας ἐκείνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Οὗτος, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ σέ παρασκευάζεται. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε αὐτόν, εἶπεν, ἀποστεφανώσω, ὅτι με μὴ πάντα μιμείται μηδὲ ἐν οἷς με μιμείται γίγνεται μου μιμητῆς δίκαιος. ἀποστεφανωθέντα δὲ αὐτόν ὁ Κωκυτὸς εὐθέως ἤρπασεν.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ συνέτρεχον, Βίνδικες, Γάλβαι, Ὀθωνες, Βιτέλλιοι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Τούτων, εἶπε, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμῆνος<sup>2</sup> πόθεν ἐξηυρήκατε, ὦ θεοί; τυφόμεθα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ· φείδεται γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταυτὶ τὰ θηρία. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπιδῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν<sup>311</sup> δείξας, Πέμπε, εἶπε, τὸν σμικρίνην τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταχέως, ἵνα τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ· τῶν παιδῶν δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον

<sup>1</sup> Δήμου Cobet, δήμου Hertlein, MSS., Δημοσθένους Spanheim. <sup>2</sup> τὸ σμῆνος Hertlein suggests, τὸν δήμον MSS.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *Knights* 1111 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Their riches were proverbial, cf. Juvenal 1. 109; 14. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 11. 12; Juvenal 10. 330 foll.

<sup>4</sup> An allusion partly to the smoke of civil war, partly to the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline under Vitellius; the temple was restored by Vespasian; Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 81.

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μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς  
 πανδήμου, τὸν νεώτερον δὲ τῷ Σικελικῷ θηρίῳ  
 παραπλησίως κλοιῷ δῆσον. παρήλθεν ἐπὶ του-  
 τοῖς γέρων ὀφθῆναι καλός· λάμπει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρα τὸ κάλλος· ἐντυχεῖν πραότατος,  
 χρηματίσαι δικαιοτάτος. ἠδέσθη τοῦτον ὁ Σει- B  
 ληνὸς καὶ ἀπεσιώπησεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἑρμῆς, Ἵπὲρ  
 δὲ τούτου, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν λέγεις; Ναὶ μὰ  
 Δί, ἔφη, μέμφομαί γε ὑμῖν τῆς ἀνισότητος.  
 τῷ γὰρ φονικῷ θηρίῳ τρεῖς πέντε νείμαντες  
 ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕνα μόλις ἐδώκατε τούτῳ βασιλεύσαι.  
 Ἄλλὰ μὴ μέμφου, εἶπεν ὁ Ζεὺς· εἰσάξω γὰρ C  
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς κάγαθούς. εὐθέως οὖν ὁ  
 Τραιανὸς εἰσῆρχετο φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ  
 τρόπαια, τὸ τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικόν. ἰδὼν  
 δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, λανθάνειν τε ἅμα καὶ  
 ἀκούεσθαι βουλόμενος, Ὡρα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Διὶ  
 σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ὁ Γανυμήδης αὐτῷ φρουρήσεται.

Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπεισέρχεται βαθεῖαν ἔχων τὴν  
 ὑπήνην ἀνὴρ σοβαρὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ D  
 μουσικὴν ἐργαζόμενος, εἷς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν  
 πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα.  
 τοῦτον δὲ ἰδὼν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Τί δὲ ὑμῖν οὗτος  
 ὁ σοφιστὴς δοκεῖ; μῶν Ἀντίνοον τῆδε περι-  
 σκοπεῖ; φρασάτω τις αὐτῷ μὴ παρῆναι τὸ  
 μειράκιον ἐνθαδὶ καὶ παυσάτω τοῦ λήρου καὶ  
 τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὴρ εἰσέρχεται 312  
 σῶφρων, οὐ τὰ ἐς Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς τὴν  
 πολιτείαν. ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Βαβαί  
 τῆς σμικρολογίας· εἷς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν  
 διαπριόντων τὸ κύμινον ὁ πρεσβύτης οὗτος.  
 ἐπεισελθούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ξυνωρί-

eldest<sup>1</sup> sport with Aphrodite Pandemos and chain the younger<sup>2</sup> in the stocks like the Sicilian monster."<sup>3</sup> Next entered an old man,<sup>4</sup> beautiful to behold; for even old age can be radiantly beautiful. Very mild were his manners, most just his dealings. In Silenus he inspired such awe that he fell silent. "What!" said Hermes, "have you nothing to say to us about this man?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "I blame you gods for your unfairness in allowing that blood-thirsty monster to rule for fifteen years, while you granted this man scarce one whole year." "Nay," said Zeus, "do not blame us. For I will bring in many virtuous princes to succeed him." Accordingly Trajan entered forthwith, carrying on his shoulders the trophies of his wars with the Getae and the Parthians. Silenus, when he saw him, said in a whisper which he meant to be heard, "Now is the time for Zeus our master to look out, if he wants to keep Ganymede for himself."

Next entered an austere-looking man<sup>5</sup> with a long beard, an adept in all the arts, but especially music, one who was always gazing at the heavens and prying into hidden things. Silenus when he saw him said, "What think ye of this sophist? Can he be looking here for Antinous? One of you should tell him that the youth is not here, and make him cease from his madness and folly." Thereupon entered a man<sup>6</sup> of temperate character, I do not say in love affairs but in affairs of state. When Silenus caught sight of him he exclaimed, "Bah! Such fussing about trifles! This old man seems to me the sort of person who would split cumin seed."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Titus.      <sup>2</sup> Domitian.      <sup>3</sup> Phalaris of Agrigentum.

<sup>4</sup> Nerva.      <sup>5</sup> Hadrian.      <sup>6</sup> Antoninus Pius.

<sup>7</sup> A proverb for niggardliness; cf. Theocritus 10. 50.

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δος, Βήρου καὶ Λουκίου, δεινῶς ὁ Σειληνὸς  
 συνεστάλη. παίζειν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπι-  
 σκώπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βῆρον, καίτοι καὶ τούτου  
 τὰ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν  
 ἀμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσῆκεν B  
 ἐπέμβησεν, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ κοσμίαν οὔσαν, τῷ  
 δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν συναπολλυμένην περιείδεν,  
 ἔχων καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαῖον κηδεστήν, ὃς τῶν  
 τε κοινῶν ἂν προύστη κρεῖττον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ  
 παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἂν ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς  
 αὐτοῦ. καίπερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ἠδέϊτο  
 τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς· τὸν γε μὴν υἱέα  
 οὐδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίσας ἄξιον ἀφήκεν C  
 ἔπιπτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν οὐ δυνάμενος  
 ἴστασθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ παρομαρτεῖν τοῖς ἥρωσιν.

Ἐπεισέρχεται Περτίναξ τῷ συμποσίῳ τὴν  
 σφαγὴν ὀδυρόμενος. ἡ Δίκη δὲ αὐτὸν κατελεῆ-  
 σασα, Ἄλλ' οὐ χαιρήσουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ τούτων  
 αἴτιοι καὶ σὺ δέ, ὦ Περτίναξ, ἠδίκεις κοινῶν  
 τῆς ἐπιβουλήs, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἦν  
 ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τούτου ὁ D  
 Σεβῆρος, ἀνὴρ πικρίας γέμων καὶ<sup>2</sup> κολαστικός.  
 Ὑπὲρ τούτου δέ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, οὐδὲν λέγω  
 φοβοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λίαν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἀπαραί-  
 τητον. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια<sup>3</sup>  
 συνεισιέναι, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκώλυσεν ὁ Μίνως.  
 ἐπυγνοὺς δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον ἀφήκε, τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἴστασθαι Cobet, ἴπτασθαι Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ before κολαστικός Hertlein suggests.

<sup>3</sup> παιδάρια Cobet, MSS., παιδαρίδια Hertlein, V., m.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Verus was the family name of Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>2</sup> Lucius Verus.

<sup>3</sup> Commodus.

<sup>4</sup> Faustina.

<sup>5</sup> Geta.

<sup>6</sup> Caracalla.

δὲ πρεσβύτερον τιμωρίαν ἔπεμψε τίσοντα. Ma. 313  
 κρίνος ἐνταῦθα φυγὰς μαιφόνος· εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἐμέσης παιδάριον πόρρω που τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλαύ-  
 νετο περιβόλων. ὃ γε μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἐν ἐσχάτοις που καθῆστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν  
 ποτυώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν  
 εἶπεν<sup>1</sup> ὦ μῶρε καὶ μέγα νήπιε, τηλικούτος ὢν  
 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἦρχες τῶν σεαυτοῦ, τὰ χρήματα δὲ  
 ἐδίδους τῇ μητρὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπέισθης, ὅσῳ κρεῖττον B  
 ἀναλίσκειν ἦν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἢ θησαυρίζειν.  
 Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε, εἶπεν ἡ Δίκη, πάντας αὐτούς, ὅσοι  
 μεταίτιοι γεγόνασι τούτων, κολασθησομένους  
 παραδώσω. καὶ οὕτως ἀνείθη τὸ μεράκιον. ἐπὶ  
 τούτῳ παρήλθεν εἴσω Γαλλιῆνος μετὰ τοῦ πα-  
 τρός, ὁ μὲν τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔχων,  
 ὁ δὲ στολῇ τε καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακωτέρα C  
 ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς μὲν  
 ἐκεῖνον,

Τίς οὗτος ὁ λευκολόφας,

Πρόπαρ δὲς ἠγγεῖται στρατοῦ;

ἔφη, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Γαλλιῆνον,

Ὅς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντη τρυφᾷ ἤυτε κούρη  
 τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπε τῆς ἐκεῖσε θοίνης ἐκβῆναι.

Τούτοις ἐπεισέρχεται Κλαύδιος, εἰς ὃν ἀπι- D  
 δόντες οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἠγάσθησάν τε αὐτὸν τῆς  
 μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ ἐπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τὴν  
 ἀρχήν, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίσαντες οὕτω φιλοπάτρι-  
 δος ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγε-  
 μονία. τούτοις ἐπεισέδραμεν Αὐρηλιανὸς ὥσπερ  
 ἀποδιδράσκων τοὺς εἴργοντας αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπειπεν MSS.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Heliogabalus; cf. *Oration* 4. 150 D, note.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Severus was assassinated in 235 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Mammaea.

<sup>4</sup> Valerian died in captivity among the Persians.

<sup>5</sup> Euripides, *Phoenissae* 120.

<sup>6</sup> Slightly altered from *Iliad* 2. 872.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Oration* 1. 6 D.



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Μίνωι· πολλαὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαι τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, καὶ ἔφευγε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς ἀπολογούμενος. Ἡλιος δὲ οὐμὸς δεσπότης αὐτῷ 314 πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα βοηθῶν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτὸ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, Ἄλλ' ἀπέτισε τὴν δίκην, ἣ λέληθεν ἢ δοθεῖσα Δελφοῖς μαντεία

Αἶκε πάθη τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο;

Τούτῳ συνεισέρχεται Πρόβος, ὃς ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις ἀναστήσας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐπτά B καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ σωφρόνως οἰκονομήσας, ἄδικα δὲ πεπονθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθέων, ἐτιμᾶτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ τοὺς φονέας αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐκτίσαι. σκώπτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ὅμως ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, καίτοι πολλῶν αὐτῷ σιωπᾶν παρακελευομένων ἄλλ', Ἐἴτε, ἔφη, νῦν γοῦν δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐξῆς φρενωθῆναι. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὦ Πρόβε, ὅτι τὰ πικρὰ C φάρμακα μινγύντες οἱ ἰατροὶ τῷ μελικράτῳ προσφέρουσι; σὺ δὲ αὐστηρὸς ἦσθα λίαν καὶ τραχὺς αἰεὶ εἰκων τε οὐδαμοῦ πέπονθας οὐν ἄδικα μὲν, εἰκότα δὲ ὅμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτε ἵππων οὔτε βοῶν ἄρχειν οὔτε ἡμίονων, ἤκιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων, μή τι καὶ τῶν κεχαρισμένων αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦντα, ὥσπερ ἔσθ' ὅτε τοῖς ἀσθενούσιν οἱ ἰατροὶ μικρὰ ἐνδιδόασιν, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς μείζουσιν ἔχωσιν αὐτοὺς D πειθομένους. Τί τοῦτο, εἶπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ὦ παππία; φιλόσοφος ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνης; οὐ γάρ, ὦ παί,

For many charges of unjustifiable murders were brought against him, and he was in flight because he could ill defend himself against the indictments. But my lord Helios<sup>1</sup> who had assisted him on other occasions, now too came to his aid and declared before the gods, "He has paid the penalty, or have you forgotten the oracle uttered at Delphi, 'If his punishment match his crime justice has been done'?"<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Oration* 4. 155 B.

<sup>2</sup> An oracular verse ascribed to Rhadamanthus by Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics* 5. 5. 3; attributed to Hesiod, *Fragments* 150 Goettling; it became a proverb.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Laws* 659 E; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 B.

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ἔφη, καὶ σὺ φιλόσοφος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονας; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰκὼς ἐμοί, τὰ πρωτεῖα κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπηνέγκατο τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τὰδελεφῶ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀψευδής; ἔα τοίνυν ἡμᾶς μὴ πάντα γελοῖα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα.

Ἔτι διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὃ τε 315  
 Κᾶρος ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν εἰσφρήσαι βουλευθεῖς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελήλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ Διοκλητιανός, ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Μαξιμιανῶ τε τῶ δύο καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πύππον Κωνσταντίον, ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγεν. εἶχοντο δὲ ἀλλήλων τὸ χεῖρε, καὶ ἐβάδιζον οὐκ ἐξ ἴσης, ἀλλ' οἷα χορός τις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, τῶν μὲν ὡσπερ δορυφορούντων καὶ προθεῖν B  
 αὐτοῦ βουλομένων, τοῦ δὲ εἵργοντος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡξίου πλεονεκτεῖν. ὡς δὲ ξυνίει κάμνοντος ἑαυτοῦ, δούς αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα, ὅσα ἔφερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτὸς εὐλυτος ἐβάδιζεν. ἠγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολλῶν πάνυ καθῆσθαι. δεινῶς δὲ ὄντα τὸν Μαξιμιανὸν ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτει μὲν οὐκ ἡξίου, τὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκ εἰσεδέχετο C  
 συσσίτιον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἦν παντοίαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀσελγῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοπράγμων καὶ ἄπιστος καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ συμφῶν. ἐξήλασεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ Δίκη ταχέως. εἶτα ἀπήλθεν οὐκ οἶδα ὅποι γῆς· ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ παναρμονίῳ τετραχόρδῳ παραφύεται δεινὸν

"Why, my son," he replied, "did I not make a philosopher of you? Do you not know that Socrates also, who was so like me,<sup>1</sup> carried off the prize for philosophy from his contemporaries, at least if you believe that your brother<sup>2</sup> tells the truth? So you must allow me to be serious on occasion and not always jocose."

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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato, *Symposium* 215; cf. Julian, *Oration* 6. 187 A.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the oracle of Apollo which declared that Socrates was the wisest man of his times.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Oration* 1. 7 A, B.

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καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχώδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν D  
 δύο οὐδὲ τῶν προθύρων ἄψασθαι τῆς τῶν ἡρώων  
 ἀγορᾶς ἢ Δίκη συνεχώρησε, Λικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν  
 προθύρων ἐλθόντα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα πλημ-  
 μελοῦντα ταχέως ὁ Μίνως ἐξήλασεν. ὁ Κων-  
 σταντῖνος δὲ παρήλθεν εἴσω καὶ πολὺν ἐκαθέσθη  
 χρόνον, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν τὰ παιδία. Μαγνετίῳ  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἴσοδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐπεπράχει, 316  
 καίτοι πολλὰ ἐδόκει πεπρᾶχθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καλὰ· οἱ  
 θεοὶ δὲ ὀρώντες, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῷ  
 πεποιήται διαθέσεως, εἶων αὐτὸν οἰμώζειν ἀπο-  
 τρέχοντα.

Οὔσης δὴ τοιαύτης τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ δεῖπνον παρα-  
 σκευῆς, ἐπόθουν μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ θεοί, πάντα γὰρ  
 ἔχουσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἡρώων ἐδόκει τῷ Ἑρμῇ  
 διαπειρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης  
 ἦν. ἐδεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος ἤδη τινὰ μετάγειν  
 ἐκεῖθεν παρ' ἑαυτόν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐκ B  
 ἀνέξομαι, ὦ Κυρίνε· διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον παρεκάλεις; σοῦ  
 τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, δέομαι, εἴ τινα τούτων  
 ἔγνωκας ἄγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἤκειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 κέλευε. τί γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρώ-  
 μενοι τῷ βελτίονι τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν ὁ τῆς  
 Ἀλκμήνης ἐδόκει τῷ Διὶ. καὶ ἐπεισελθόντος C  
 αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οὔτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε ἄλλος τις  
 ὑπανίστατο· καταλαβὼν δὲ σχολάζουσιν καθέ-  
 δραν, ἣν ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπεποιήτο ἑαυτῷ,  
 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀπελήλατο διὰ τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν,

four there crept a terribly harsh and discordant strain. For this reason Justice would not suffer the two<sup>1</sup> so much as to approach the door of that assembly of heroes. As for Licinius, he came as far as the door, but as his misdeeds were many and monstrous Minos forthwith drove him away. Constantine however entered and sat some time, and then came his sons.<sup>2</sup> Magnentius<sup>3</sup> was refused admission because he had never done anything really laudable, though much that he achieved had the appearance of merit. So the gods, who perceived that these achievements were not based on any virtuous principle, sent him packing, to his deep chagrin.

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

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the two Maximians, the colleagues of Diocletian.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine II, Constans and Constantius.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Oration* 1. 31, 33 foll.

<sup>4</sup> Caracalla.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐνεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων τὸν Κυρίνον, "Ορα, εἶπε, μὴ ποτε οὗτοι ἑνὸς εἰσιν<sup>1</sup> ἀντάξιοι τουτουὶ τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρίνος, οἶμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἔμοι τεθαυμάκασιν ἔγγονοι, ὥστε μόνον αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων, ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἡγεμόνες ξένοι, ὀνομάζουσι καὶ νομίζουσι μέγαν. οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γεγονότων οἴονται μείζονα τοῦτον, ἴσως μὲν ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας τι παθόντες, ἴσως δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἔχον· εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρώμενοι. ταῦτα μάλιστα λέγων ὁ Κυρίνος ἠρυθρία, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ που τὰ δευτερεῖα λαβόντες οἴχονται.

Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ζεὺς ἤρετο τοὺς θεοὺς, πότερον 311  
 χρή πάντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καλεῖν ἢ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι γίνεται, ὁ τοῦ πολλὰς ἀνελομένου νίκας κρατήσας, ἑνὸς περιγεγόμενος, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον δοκεῖ κάκεινων γεγονέναι κρείσσω, οἱ προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τοῦ κρατηθέντος δὲ ἤττους ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ἢ τοιαύτη σφύδρα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν ἐξέτασις. ἐκῆ 3  
 ρυττεν οὖν ὁ Ἑρμῆς παριέναι Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Ὀκταβιανὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Τραιανὸν δὲ ἐκ τρίτων, ὡς πολεμικωτάτους. εἶτα γενομένης σιωπῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος βλέψας εἰς τὸν Δία θαυμάζειν ἔφη, πολεμικοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τουτουὶ καλουμένους, οὐδένα μέντοι φιλόσοφον. Ἐμοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἤττόν εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι φίλοι. καλεῖτε οὖν εἴσω καὶ τὸν 3

<sup>1</sup> ἑνὸς εἰσιν ἀντάξιοι Naber, ἑνὸς ὄσιν οὐκ ἀντάξιοι Hertlein, MSS. ; V omits οὐκ.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato, *Laws* 730 D; Julian, *Misopogon* 353 D.



THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Μάρκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάρκος κληθεὶς παρήλθε, σεμνὸς ἄγαν, ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχων τὰ τε ὄμματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τι συνεσταλμένον, κάλλος δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ δεικνύων, ἐν ᾧ παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ἄκομψον καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον· ἢ τε γὰρ ὑπήνη βαθεῖα παντάπασιν ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια λιτὰ καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν τροφῶν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διανγέστατον καὶ διαφανέστατον ὥσπερ αὐτὸ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρῶτατον καὶ εὐλικρινέστατον φῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος ἦν εἶσω τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων, ὁ Διόνυσος εἶπεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ Κρόνε καὶ Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἄρα ἄξιον ἐν θεοῖς ἀτελὲς εἶναί τι; τῶν δὲ οὐ φαμένων, Εἰσάγωμεν οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἐραστὴν ἐνθαδί. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἄλλ' οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶσω φοιτᾶν, εἶπεν, ἀνδρὶ μὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα ζηλοῦντι. Γιγνέσθω τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διόνυσος, αὐτοῖς ἡ κρίσις. ἀλλ', εἰ τοῦτο δοκεῖ ταύτῃ, καλῶμεν ἄνδρα οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μὲν, ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει χειροηθέστερον. ἡκέτω οὖν ἄχρι τῶν προθύρων ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέδοκτο καὶ τοῦτο, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, γνώμη προτέθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς ἡξίου λέγειν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ψῆφον. οὐ μὴν ἐδόκει ταῦτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καλῶς ἔχειν ἀληθείας γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανότητος οὐδ' αἰμυλίας ἐν θεοῖς ἔλεγχον καὶ ἐξέτασιν. βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἅμα προάγειν ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτοῖς τὴν συνουσίαν, Οὐδέν, εἶπε, κωλύει λέγειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι, μικρὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιμετρήσαντας, εἴτα ὕστερον

So tell Marcus<sup>1</sup> to come in too." Accordingly Marcus was summoned and came in looking excessively dignified and showing the effect of his studies in the expression of his eyes and his lined brows. His aspect was unutterably beautiful from the very fact that he was careless of his appearance and unadorned by art; for he wore a very long beard, his dress was plain and sober, and from lack of nourishment his body was very shining and transparent, like light most pure and stainless. When he too had entered the sacred enclosure, Dionysus said, "King Kronos and Father Zeus, can any incompleteness exist among the gods?" And when they replied that it could not, "Then," said he, "let us bring in here some votary of pleasure as well." "Nay," answered Zeus, "it is not permitted that any man should enter here who does not model himself on us." "In that case," said Dionysus, "let them be tried at the entrance. Let us summon by your leave a man not unwarlike but a slave to pleasure and enjoyment. Let Constantine come as far as the door." When this had been agreed upon, opinions were offered as to the manner in which they were to compete. Hermes thought that everyone ought to speak for himself in turn, and then the gods should vote. But Apollo did not approve of this plan, because he said the gods ought to test and examine the truth and not plausible rhetoric and the devices of the orator. Zeus wished to please them both and at the same time to prolong the assembly, so he said, "There is no harm in letting them speak if we measure them a small allowance of water,<sup>2</sup> and then later on we can

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the water-clock, *clepsydra*.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἀνερωτᾶν καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας. C  
 καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων, Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ, νομί-  
 σαντες αὐτὸ νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραϊανὸς τε καὶ Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος ἅπαν ἐκροφήσουσι<sup>1</sup> τὸ ὕδωρ, εἶτα ἀφελούνται<sup>2</sup>  
 τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν, Οὐ τοῦμοῦ ὕδατος,  
 εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πώματος ἐρασταὶ τὸ  
 ἄνδρε ἐγενέσθην. ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοιγαροῦν D  
 ἀμπέλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν πηγῶν ἄξιόν ἐστί  
 σοι δεδιέναι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς δηχθεὶς ἐσιώπα, καὶ  
 τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐκ τούτου τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχεν.  
 Ἐρμῆς δὲ ἐκήρυττεν

Ἄρχει μὲν ἀγῶν  
 τῶν καλλίστων  
 ἄθλων ταμίας,  
 καιρὸς δὲ καλεῖ  
 μηκέτι μέλλειν.  
 ἀλλὰ κλύοντες  
 τὰν ἀμετέραν  
 κήρυκα βοᾶν  
 οἱ πρὶν βασιλῆς,  
 ἔθνεα πολλὰ  
 δουλωσάμενοι  
 καὶ πολέμοισι  
 δάιον ἔγχος  
 θήξαντες, ὁμοῦ  
 γνώμης τε μέγαν  
 πιυντόφρονα νοῦν,  
 ἴτ', ἐς ἀντίπαλον  
 ἴστασθε κρίσιν,

319

B

<sup>1</sup> ἐκροφήσουσι Hertlein suggests, ἐκροφήσωσι MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἀφελούνται Hertlein suggests, ἀφέλωται MSS.

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

Then Hermes made this proclamation :

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

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οἷς τε φρόνησιν  
 τέλος ὀλβίστης  
 θέσθαι βιοτῆς,  
 οἷς τ' ἀντιβίους  
 κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρξαι  
 καὶ χρηστὰ φίλους  
 τέκμαρ βίотου  
 νενόμιστο καλοῦ,  
 οἷς θ' ἠδίστην  
 ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχειν  
 τέρματα μόχθων  
 δαῖτάς τε γάμους τ',  
 ὄμμασι τερπνά,  
 μαλακὰς τε φέρειν  
 ἐσθῆτας ὁμοῦ  
 λιθοκολλήτοις  
 περὶ χεῖρας ἄκρας  
 ψελίοισι φάνη  
 μακαριστότατον.  
 νίκης δὲ τέλος  
 Ζηνὶ μελήσει.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο D  
 καὶ πῶς συνέδραμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλῆρος  
 φιλοπρωτία. τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐποίησε γαῦρον  
 καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἐδέησε δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ  
 φεύγειν τὴν κρίσιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· ἀλλὰ παρα-  
 θαρρύνων αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσχε. δεύ-  
 τερος δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ λέγειν ἔλαχεν Ἀλέξανδρος·  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς οἱ κλῆροι τοῖς ἐκάστου χρόνοις 329  
 συμπροῆλθον. ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ὠδί· Ἐμοὶ  
 μὲν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτῃ

## THE CAESARS

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

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

<sup>1</sup> In this doggerel made up of tags of anapaestic verse, Julian reproduces in the first five and last two verses the proclamation made at the Olympic games. The first three verses occur in Lucian, *Demonax* 65.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

συνέβη πόλει μετὰ τοσούτους ἄνδρας, ὥστε τὴν  
 μὲν ὄσων οὐ πρόποτε ἄλλη πόλις ἐβασίλευσε  
 βασιλεύειν, ταῖς δὲ ἀγαπητὸν τὸ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα  
 κομίσασθαι. τίς γὰρ πόλις ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων B  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις  
 ἐπὶ γῆς ἦλθε πέρατα τοῖς ὅπλοις; ποῖα δὲ ἔθνη  
 τοσούτους ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς τε καὶ πολεμικούς  
 παρέσχετο καὶ νομοθετικούς; θεοὺς δὲ ἐτίμησαν  
 οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὴ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ πόλει  
 γενόμενος οὐ τοὺς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τοὺς πρόποτε παρήλθον τοῖς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν  
 ἐμῶν μὲν πολιτῶν εὐ οἶδα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντιποιήσεται  
 μοι τῶν πρωτείων· εἰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτωσι C  
 τολμᾷ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς  
 ἀξιοῖ παραβαλεῖν; ἴσως τὰ Περσικά, ὥσπερ οὐχ  
 ἑορακῶς ἐγγηγερμένα μοι τοσαῦτα κατὰ Πομπηίου  
 τρόπαια; καίτοι τίς δεινότερος στρατηγὸς γέγονε,  
 Δαρεῖος ἢ Πομπήιος; ποτέρῳ δὲ ἀνδρειότερον  
 ἠκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὖν μαχιμώτατα  
 τῶν Δαρείῳ πρότερον ὑπακούοντων ἔθνῶν ἐν τῇ D  
 Καρῶν μοίρᾳ Πομπήιος εἶχεν ἐπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ  
 τῆς Εὐρώπης, οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον  
 ἐπάγουσαν ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς  
 ἀνδρειοτάτους, Ἴταλούς, Ἰλλυριούς, Κελτούς. ἀλλ'  
 ἐπειδὴ τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἄρα τοῖς Γετικοῖς  
 ἔργοις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάτ-  
 τομεν καθαίρεσιν; οὗτος ἅπαξ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν  
 Ἴστρον, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥήνον· Γερμανικὸν  
 αὐτὸ τούτο τὸ ἐμὸν ἔργον. τούτῳ δὲ ἀντέστη μὲν

other gods, to be born, following a number of great men, in a city so illustrious that she rules more subjects than any other city has ever ruled; and indeed other cities are well pleased to rank as second to her.<sup>1</sup> What other city, I ask, began with three thousand citizens and in less than six centuries carried her victorious arms to the ends of the earth? What other nations ever produced so many brave and warlike men or such lawgivers? What nation ever honoured the gods as they did? Observe then that, though I was born in a city so powerful and so illustrious, my achievements not only surpassed the men of my own day, but all the heroes who ever lived. As for my fellow-citizens I am confident that there is none who will challenge my superiority. But if Alexander here is so presumptuous, which of his deeds does he pretend to compare with mine? His Persian conquests, perhaps, as though he had never seen all those trophies that I gathered when I defeated Pompey! And pray, who was the more skilful general, Darius or Pompey? Which of them led the bravest troops? Pompey had in his army the most martial of the nations formerly subject to Darius,<sup>2</sup> but he reckoned them no better than Carians,<sup>3</sup> for he led also those European forces which had often repulsed all Asia when she invaded Europe, aye and he had the bravest of them all, Italians, Illyrians, and Celts. And since I have mentioned the Celts, shall we compare the exploits of Alexander against the Getae with my conquest of Gaul? He crossed the Danube once, I crossed the Rhine twice. The German conquest again is all my doing. No one opposed Alexander, but I had to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Oration* 1, 8 c.    <sup>2</sup> Darius III.    <sup>3</sup> Cf. *Oration* 2, 56 c.



THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οὐδὲ εἰς, ἐγὼ πρὸς Ἀριόβιστον ἠγωνισάμην. 30  
 πρῶτος ἐτόλμησα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐκτὸς  
 θαλάσσης. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἴσως τὸ ἔργον οὐ θαυ-  
 μαστόν. καίτοι τὴν τόλμαν καὶ ταύτην ἄξιον  
 θαυμάσαι· ἀλλὰ τὸ μείζον μου, τὸ ἀποβῆναι τῆς  
 νεὸς πρῶτον· καὶ τοὺς Ἑλβετίους σιωπῶ καὶ τὸ  
 τῶν Ἰβήρων ἔθνος. οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν Γαλατικῶν  
 ἐπεμνήσθην, πλεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἢ τριακοσίας ὑπαγαγόμενος  
 πόλεις, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἢ διακοσίας  
 μυριάδας. ὄντων δὲ τούτων μοι τοιούτων ἔργων,  
 ἐκεῖνο μείζον ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἐχρῆν γάρ B  
 με καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας  
 καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀμάχων καὶ ἀνικητῶν Ῥωμαίων.  
 εἴτε οὖν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξεων, τρῖς  
 τοσαυτάκις παρεταξάμην, ὡσάκις ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου κομπάζουσιν οἱ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνο-  
 ποιῶντες, εἴτε πλήθει πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ C  
 πλεῖστα κατεστρεψάμην. Ἀλέξανδρος Αἴγυπτον  
 ἐπῆλθε<sup>2</sup> θεωρῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ συμπόσια συγκροτῶν  
 κατεπολέμησα. τὴν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι πραό-  
 τητα βούλεσθε ἐξετάσαι τὴν παρ' ἐκατέρω; ἐγὼ  
 καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέγων· ἔπαθον γοῦν ὑπ'  
 αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐμέλησε τῇ Δίκῃ· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. ἔτι οὖν D  
 μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀμφισβητεῖν οἶός τε ἔσῃ;  
 καὶ οὐκ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺ παραχωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν  
 ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάσεις με λέγειν, ὅπως σὺ μὲν  
 ἐχρήσω πικρῶς Θηβαίοις, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλβετίοις

<sup>1</sup> πλεῖν Cobet, πλεόν Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπῆλθε Hertlein suggests, περιῆλθε Cobet, παρῆλθε MSS.

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

<sup>1</sup> The "inner" sea was the Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 4. 25, ascribes this to the standard-bearer of the tenth legion.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

φιλανθρώπως; σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέκαυσας τὰς πόλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πολιτῶν κεκαυμένας πόλεις ἀνέστησα. καίτοι οὔτι ταῦτόν<sup>1</sup> ἦν μυρίων Γραικῶν κρατῆσαι καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπιφερομένας ὑποστῆναι. πολλὰ εἰπεῖν ἔχων 322 ἔτι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦδε, τῷ μὴ σχολὴν ἄγειν ἤκιστα τὸ λέγειν ἐξεμελέτησα. διόπερ χρῆ συγγνώμην ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ ῥηθέντων τὴν ἴσην καὶ δικαίαν ἐξέτασιν ποιουμένους ἀποδιδόναι μοι τὸ πρωτεῖον.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι βουλομένου, μόγις καὶ πρότερον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καρτερῶν οὐκέτι κατέσχευε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος ταραχῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, μέχρι τίνος ἀνέξομαι σιωπῇ τῆς θρασύτητος τῆς τούτου; πέρας γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὡς ὁράτε, οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαίνων οὔτε τῶν εἰς ἐμέ βλασφημιῶν. ἐχρῆν δὲ ἴσως μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοῖν φείδεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἶναί πως ἀμφότερα δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῆ· πλέον δὲ τοῦ τὰμὰ διασύρειν ἄλλως τε καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθεν ἀναισχυντίας, ὥστε τολμῆσαι 3 τὰ ἀρχέτυπα κωμῳδεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων. ἐχρῆν δέ, ὦ Καίσαρ, ὑπομνησθῆναί σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἃ τότε ἀφήκας, ἀκροώμενος τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ὅσα πεποιήται περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων. ἀλλ' ὁ Πομπήσιος ἐπῆρέ σε μετὰ τοῦτο, κολακευθεὶς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, γενόμενος δὲ οὐδείς οὐδαμοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ 4 ἀπὸ Λιβύης θριαμβεῦσαι, οὐ μέγα ἔργον,

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι ταῦτόν Hertlein suggests, τί τοσοῦτον MSS.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> At Gades, on seeing a statue of Alexander; cf. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 7.

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ὀνομαστότατον ἐποίησεν ἢ τῶν τότε ὑπάτων  
 μαλακία. τὸν δουρικὸν δὲ ἐκείνον πόλεμον,  
 οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄνδρας γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς  
 χειρίστους τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄλλοι μὲν κατειργάσαντο,  
 Κράσσοι καὶ Λούκιοι, τοῦνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγρα-  
 φὴν ἔσχε Πομπήιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσ-  
 οικα ταύτης κατεπολέμησε Λούκουλλος, ἐθριάμ-  
 βευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων Πομπήιος. εἶτ' ἐκολάκευσαν 323  
 αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται καὶ Μέγαν ὠνόμασαν, ὄντα  
 τίνος τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ μείζονα; τί γὰρ ἐκείνῳ  
 τοσοῦτον ἐπράχθη, ἠλίκον Μαρῖῳ ἢ Σκηπίωσι  
 τοῖς δύο ἢ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κυρίνου τουτονὶ Φουρίῳ,  
 ὃς μικροῦ συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτου πόλιν ἀνέστη-  
 σεν; οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις ἔργοις, ὥσπερ  
 ἐν πολιτικαῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ'  
 ἄλλων καταβληθείσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθείσαις ἔτε- B  
 ρος ἄρχων ἐπεγράφη μικρὰ κονιάσας τὸν τοῖχον,  
 οὕτω ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐπεγράφησαν πράξειςιν  
 ἀρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημιουργοὶ γενόμενοι  
 τῶν καλλίστων ἠξιώθησαν ὀνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν  
 θαυμαστόν, εἰ κεκράτηκας Πομπηίου δακτύλῳ  
 κνωμένου καὶ τᾶλλα ἀλώπεκος μᾶλλον ἢ λέοντος.

ness of the consuls in office made it seem glorious. Then the famous Servile War<sup>1</sup> was waged not against men but the vilest of slaves, and its successful issue was due to others, I mean Crassus and Lucius,<sup>2</sup> though Pompey gained the reputation and the credit for it. Again, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces were conquered by Lucullus,<sup>3</sup> yet for these also Pompey triumphed. Then he became the idol of the citizens and they called him 'the Great.' Greater, I ask, than whom of his predecessors? What achievement of his can be compared with those of Marius<sup>4</sup> or of the two Scipios or of Furius,<sup>5</sup> who sits over there by Quirinus because he rebuilt his city when it was almost in ruins? Those men did not make their reputation at the expense of others, as happens with public buildings built at the public expense; I mean that one man lays the foundation, another finishes the work, while the last man who is in office though he has only whitewashed the walls has his name inscribed on the building.<sup>6</sup> Not thus, I repeat, did those men gain credit for the deeds of others. They were themselves the creators and artificers of their schemes and deserved their illustrious titles. Well then, it is no wonder that you vanquished Pompey, who used to scratch his head with his finger-tip<sup>7</sup> and in all respects was more of a

<sup>1</sup> Led by Spartacus 73-71 B.C.; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 116-120.

<sup>2</sup> Lucius Gellius; Plutarch, *Crassus*.

<sup>3</sup> Licinius Lucullus the conqueror of Mithridates.

<sup>4</sup> Caius Marius the rival of Sulla.

<sup>5</sup> Furius Camillus repulsed the Gauls 390 B.C.; cf. *Oration* I. 29 D.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Letter to Themistius*, 267 B.

<sup>7</sup> A proverb for effeminacy; cf. Plutarch, *Pompeius* 48; Juvenal 9. 133, *qui digito scalpunt uno caput*; Lucian, *The Rhetorician's Guide* 11.

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ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢ τύχη προύδωκεν, ἢ τὸν ἔμ-  
προσθεν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρειστήκει, ταχέως ἐκρά-  
τησας μόνου. καὶ ὅτι δεινότητι μὲν οὐδεμιᾶ C  
κρείττων ἐγένου, φανερόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ  
γεγονῶς<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ἔστι δὲ οὐ μικρόν,  
ὡς οἶσθα, τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ· καὶ μάχη  
συμβαλὼν ἠττήθης. εἰ δὲ Πομπήμιος ὑπ' ἀφρο-  
σύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν  
πολιτῶν ἄρχειν οὔτε, ἠνίκα ἔδει τρίβειν τὸν  
πόλεμον, ὑπερετίθετο τὴν μάχην οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ<sup>2</sup>  
νικῶν ἐπεξήει, ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀμαρτήμασι  
καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἐσφάλῃ στρατηγήμασι. D

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως παρε-  
σκευασμένοι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀλκὴν ἐνέδοσαν.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ τοῦ πράττειν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ  
τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἄνδρα ἄριστον καὶ βασιλέα  
προσῆκει μεταποιεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπήτησα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς  
Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους ἐπανειλόμην, οὐχὶ τὴν  
Ἑλλάδα λυπεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κω-  
λύοντίς με διαβαίνειν καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτεῖν τὸν  
Πέρσῃν ἐπικόπτων. σὺ δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ 324  
Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν  
σεαυτοῦ παρασκευαζόμενος, οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν χειρόν  
ἢ μιαιώτερον; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσπερ διασύρων τῶν  
μυρίων ἐμνημόνευσας Γραικῶν, ὅτι μὲν καὶ ὑμεῖς  
ἐντεῦθεν γεγονάτε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς Ἰταλίας  
ᾤκησαν οἱ Γραικοί, καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅμως οὐ παρα-  
δέχομαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον ἔθνος, Αἰτωλοῦς

<sup>1</sup> γεγονῶς Petavius, Naber, γέγονας Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ νίκῃ before νικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. *Oration i.*  
59 D.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> At Dyrrhachium; Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 206 D.



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λέγω τοὺς παροικοῦντας ἡμῖν, οὐ φίλους μὲν B  
 ἔχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποιήσασθε περὶ πολλοῦ,  
 πολεμωθέντας δὲ ὑμῖν ὕστερον δι' ἀσδήποτε  
 αἰτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὑπακούειν ὑμῖν ἠναγκάσατε;  
 οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος, καὶ οὐδὲ πάσης, ἀλλ' ἔθλους μικροῦ,  
 ἠνίκα ἤκμαζε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστι  
 γιγνωσκομένου, μικροῦ δέω φάναι, μόγις ἀρκέ-  
 σαντες, τίνες ἂν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμάζοντας C  
 καὶ ὁμοσοῦντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας πολεμεῖν ὑμᾶς  
 ἐδέησεν; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρον διαβάντος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς  
 ἴστε ὅπως ἐπτήξατε. εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κρατῆσαι  
 μικρὸν νομίζεις καὶ τὸ τηλικούτου ἔργον διασύρεις,  
 ὀλίγης πάνυ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν  
 ὑπὸ Παρθυαίων βασιλευομένης χώρας, ἔτη πλέον  
 ἢ τριακόσια πολεμοῦντες, λέγε μοι, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν  
 οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; βούλει σοι φράσω; τὰ Περσῶν D  
 ὑμᾶς εἶρξε βέλη. φρασάτω δέ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν  
 Ἀντώνιος<sup>1</sup> ὁ παιδοτριβηθεὶς ἐπὶ στρατηγία παρὰ  
 σοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν οὐδὲ ὄλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς δέκα πρὸς  
 τούτοις καὶ Ἰνδῶν γέγονα κύριος. εἴτ' ἐμοὶ  
 τολμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, ὃς ἐκ παιδαρίου στρατηγῶν  
 ἔργα ἔπραξα τηλικαῦτα, ὥστε τὴν μνήμην, καίπερ  
 οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ὑμνηθέντων,  
 ὅμως<sup>2</sup> συμπαραμένειν τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325  
 τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τοῦμοῦ βασιλέως, οὐ θεράπων  
 ἐγὼ καὶ ζηλωτῆς ἐγενόμην, Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἀμιλ-  
 λόμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, Ἡρακλέα δὲ θαυμάζων  
 καὶ ἐπόμενος, ἅτε δὴ κατ' ἴχνος θεοῦ ἀνθρώπος.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀντώνιος Cobet rejects, since Julian prefers to substitute descriptive phrases for names.

<sup>2</sup> ὅμως Cobet, ὅμως δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

as friends and allies one insignificant tribe of those very Greeks, I mean the Aetolians, my neighbours? And later, when you had gone to war with them for whatever reason, did you not have great trouble in making them obey you? Well then, if in the old age, as one may say, of Greece, you were barely able to reduce not the whole nation but an insignificant state which was hardly heard of when Greece was in her prime, what would have happened to you if you had had to contend against the Greeks when they were in full vigour and united? You know how cowed you were when Pyrrhus crossed to invade you. And if you think the conquest of Persia such a trifle and disparage an achievement so glorious, tell me why, after a war of more than three hundred years, you Romans have never conquered a small province beyond the Tigris which is still governed by the Parthians? Shall I tell you why? It was the arrows of the Persians that checked you. Ask Antony to give you an account of them, since he was trained for war by you. I, on the other hand, in less than ten years conquered not only Persia but India too. After that do you dare to dispute the prize with me, who from childhood have commanded armies, whose exploits have been so glorious that the memory of them—though they have not been worthily recounted by historians—will nevertheless live for ever, like those of the Invincible Hero,<sup>1</sup> my king, whose follower I was, on whom I modelled myself? Achilles my ancestor I strove to rival, but Heracles I ever admired and followed, so far as a mere man may follow in the footsteps of a god.

<sup>1</sup> Heracles.

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Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐχρῆν, ὦ θεοί, πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπολογήσασθαι· καίτοι κρεῖττον ἦν ὑπεριδεῖν αὐτοῦ εἶρηται. εἰ δέ τι πικρὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν B ἐπράχθη, οὔτι παντάπασιν εἰς ἀναίτιους ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἢ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς προσκρούσαντας ἢ τῷ καιρῷ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ πρεπόντως χρησαμένους, ἠκολούθησε γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαμαρτηθεῖσιν ἢ μεταμέλεια, σῶφρων πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἐξημαρτηκότων σῶτειρα δαίμων, τοὺς δὲ ὥσπερ φιλοτιμονμένους ἐπὶ C τῷ πολλάκις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ προσκρούειν οὐδὲν ὄμην ἄδικον ποιεῖν κολάζων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶρητο καὶ τούτῳ στρατιωτικώτερον ὁ λόγος, ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀκταβιανὸν τὴν ὑδρίαν ἔφερεν ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θεράπων, ἐπιμετρῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἔλασσον διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μνησικακῶν αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑπερηφανίας. καὶ δεῖ ἐπειδὴ συνῆκεν ὑπὸ ἀγχινοίας, D ἀφείς τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τοῦ διασύρειν μὲν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖν ἀφέξομαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔμαντοῦ τὸν πάντα ποιήσομαι λόγον. νέος προύστην τῆς ἔμαντοῦ πόλεως ὥσπερ οὗτος ὁ γενναῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, κατώρθωσα δὲ Γερμανικοὺς πολέμους ὥσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ οὕτωσὶ Καῖσαρ. 326 συμπλακεῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀγῶσιν Αἴγυπτον μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον κατεναυμάχησα, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους κατεπολέμησα, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα Σέξτον πάρεργον

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

When Alexander in his turn had made his speech in martial fashion, Poseidon's attendant carried the water-clock to Octavian, but gave him a smaller allowance of water, partly because time was precious, but still more because he bore him a grudge for the disrespect he had shown to the god.<sup>1</sup> Octavian with his usual sagacity understood this, so without stopping to say anything that did not concern himself, he began: "For my part, Zeus and ye other gods, I shall not stay to disparage and belittle the actions of others, but shall speak only of what concerns myself. Like the noble Alexander here I was but a youth when I was called to govern my country. Like Caesar yonder, my father,<sup>2</sup> I conducted successful campaigns against the Germans. When I became involved in civil dissensions I conquered Egypt in a sea-fight off Actium; I defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi: the defeat of Sextus, Pompey's son, was a mere

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 16; during the campaign against Pompey when the fleet of Augustus was lost in a storm, he swore that he would win in spite of Neptune.

<sup>2</sup> Augustus was Julius Caesar's nephew, and his son only by adoption.

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ἐθέμην τῆς ἔμαντοῦ στρατηγίας. οὕτω δὲ παρέσχον  
 ἔμαντὸν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροήθη, ὥστε καὶ τῆς  
 Ἀθηνοδώρου παρρησίας ἠνεσχόμεν, οὐκ ἀγανακ-  
 τῶν, ἀλλ' εὐφραινόμενος ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα B  
 καθάπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδού-  
 μενος. Ἄρειον δὲ καὶ φίλον καὶ συμβιωτὴν  
 ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ ὅλως οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰς  
 τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀμαρτηθέν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμ-  
 φυλίῳν στάσεων τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρώων εἰς τὸν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔσχατον ἐλαύνουσαν πολλάκις κίνδυνον οὕτω  
 διεθέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτήν, ὥστε εἶναι, εἰ μὴ δι'  
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ θεοί, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντίνην. οὐ γὰρ C  
 ταῖς ἀμέτροις ἐπιθυμίαις εἰκὼν ἐπικτᾶσθαι πάν-  
 τως αὐτῇ διανοήθην, ὅρια δὲ διττά, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ  
 τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα,<sup>2</sup> Ἰστρον καὶ Εὐ-  
 φράτην ποταμοὺς ἐθέμην. εἶτα ὑποτάξας τὸ  
 Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρακῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμετρούντων ὑμῶν  
 τῆς βασιλείας μοι τὸν χρόνον, οὐ πόλεμον ἄλλον  
 ἐξ ἄλλου περιεσκόπου, ἀλλὰ εἰς νομοθεσίαν καὶ  
 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τὴν D  
 σχολὴν διετιθέμην, οὐδενὸς νομίζων τῶν πρὸ ἔμαν-  
 τοῦ χειρὸν βεβουλεῦσθαι, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ χρὴ θαρ-  
 ρήσαντα φάναι, κρεῖσσον τῶν πώποτε τηλικαύτας  
 ἡγεμονίας ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς  
 στρατηγίαις ἐναπέθανον, ἐξὸν λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζειν<sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων  
 ἑαυτοῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ φιλοπράγμονες δίκας κατα-  
 σκευάζοντες· οἱ δὲ καὶ πολεμούμενοι τῇ τρυφῇ 327  
 προσεῖχον, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τὴν

<sup>1</sup> τὸν Hertlein would add.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποδεδειγμένα Cobet, ἀποδεδομένα Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἡσυχάζειν Reiske adds.

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

<sup>1</sup> A Stoic philosopher; cf. pseudo-Lucian, *Long Lives* 21, 23; Suetonius, *Augustus*; *Dio Chrysostom* 33, 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Letter* 51, 434 A; *Letter to Themistius* 265 C; Themistius 63 D.

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αἰσχρὰν τρυφὴν προτιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοούμενος οὐκ ἀξιῶ τῆς χείρονος ἑμαυτὸν μερίδος· ὃ, τι δ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὦ θεοί, φαίνεται, τοῦτο εἰκός ἐστιν ἐμὲ δῆπουθεν στέργειν.

Δίδεται μετὰ τοῦτον τῷ Τραϊανῷ τοῦ λέγειν ἔξουσία. ὁ δέ, καίπερ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας· ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Β Σούρα γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς τό τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ἠτιᾶτο δὲ τὸ γῆρας ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαν αὐτῷ τοῖς Παρθικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἄλλ', ὦ μάταιε, ἔφη, εἴκοσι βεβασίλευκας ἔτη, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐτοσὶ δώδεκα. τί οὖν ἀφείς αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν σαυτοῦ τρυφὴν τὴν τοῦ χρόνου μέμφῃ στενότητι; παροξυνθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκώμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν C ἔξω τοῦ δύνασθαι ῥητορεύειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλοποσίας ἀμβλύτερος ἑαυτοῦ πολλάκις ἦν, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν ναρκῶσαν ὥσπερ καὶ διαλελυμένην ὑπὸ τε τῆς οἴκοι πολὺν χρόνον ἐπικρατησάσης τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὑβρεως, μόνος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον D ἐτόλμησα προσλαβεῖν ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἐξεῖλον, οἱ τῶν πρόποτε μαχιμώτατοι γεγονόασιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὁ τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς Ζάμολξις. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι νομίζοντες ἐτοιμότερον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοι<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἐπράχθη δέ μοι τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλοι Reiske adds.

and preferred such base indulgence not only to future glory but even to their personal safety. When I reflect on all this I do not think myself entitled to the lowest place. But whatever shall seem good to you, O ye gods, it surely becomes me to accept with a good grace."

Trajan was allowed to speak next. Though he had some talent for oratory he was so lazy that he had been in the habit of letting Sura write most of his speeches for him; so he shouted rather than spoke, and meanwhile displayed to the gods his Getic and Parthian trophies, while he accused his old age of not having allowed him to extend his Parthian conquests. "You cannot take us in," said Silenus; "you reigned twenty years and Alexander here only twelve. Why then do you not put it down to your own love of ease, instead of complaining of your short allowance of time?" Stung by the taunt, since he was not deficient in eloquence, though intemperance often made him seem more stupid than he was, Trajan began again. "O Zeus and ye other gods, when I took over the empire it was in a sort of lethargy and much disordered by the tyranny that had long prevailed at home, and by the insolent conduct of the Getae. I alone ventured to attack the tribes beyond the Danube, and I subdued the Getae, the most warlike race that ever existed, which is due partly to their physical courage, partly to the doctrines that they have adopted from their admired Zamolxis.<sup>1</sup> For they believe that they do not die but only change their place of abode, and they meet death more readily than other men undertake a journey. Yet I accomplished that task in a matter

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 309 C, *Oration* 8, 244 A and note.



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ἔργου τούτου ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἴσως που πέντε. πάντων δὲ ὅτι τῶν πρὸ ἔμαντοῦ<sup>1</sup> γεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328 ὠφθην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πραότατος καὶ οὔτε Καῖσαρ οὔτοσὶ περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἂν μοι οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἷς, εὐδηλὸν ἐστί που. πρὸς Παρθυαίους δέ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ ὦμην δεῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις· ἀδικουσι δὲ ἐπεξήλθον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας κωλυθεῖς, καίτοι διδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι. τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι B πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμὶ δίκαιος, πρᾶος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους διαφερόντως γενόμενος, αἰδεσθεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔκγονον<sup>2</sup> φιλοσοφίαν; τοιαῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς εἰπὼν ἐδόκει τῇ πραότητι πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δηλοῖ πῶς ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστα ἡσθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

Τοῦ Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἡρέμα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, Ἄκουσωμεν, ἔφη, τοῦ C Στωϊκοῦ τουτουί, τί ποτε ἄρα τῶν παραδόξων ἐκείνων ἐρεῖ καὶ τεραστῶν δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, Ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, λόγων οὐδὲν δεῖ καὶ ἀγῶνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγνοεῖτε τὰ μάλιστα, προσήκον ἦν ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἴστε καὶ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδὲν, αὐτοὶ μοι τιμᾶτε τῆς D ἀξίας. ἔδοξε δὴ οὖν ὁ Μάρκος τά τε ἄλλα

<sup>1</sup> ἔμαντοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐμοῦ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἔκγονον Wright, ἔγγονον Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> For this idiom cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 4. 324.

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

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θαυμάσιός τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφερόντως ἄτε  
οἶμαι διαγινώσκων,

Λέγειν θ' ὅπου χρῆ καὶ σιγαῖν ὅπου καλόν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετὰ τοῦτον λέγειν ἐπέ-  
τρεπον. ὁ δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐθάρρει τὴν ἀγωνίαν.  
ὡς δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα, μικρὰ  
παντάπασι εἶδε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. δύο γὰρ τυράννους, 329  
εἴ γε χρῆ τάληθῆ φάναι, καθηρήκει, τὸν μὲν  
ἀπόλεμον τε καὶ μαλακόν, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιόν τε καὶ  
διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆ,<sup>1</sup> ἀμφοτέρω δὲ θεοῖς τε καὶ  
ἀνθρώποις ἐχθίστω. τά γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρ-  
βάρους ἦν γελοῖα αὐτῷ· φόρους γὰρ ὡσπερ  
ἐτετελέκει,<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τρυφὴν ἀφεώρα· πόρρω  
δὲ εἰστήκει τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆ περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς  
Σελήνης· ἐρωτικῶς τε οὖν εἶχεν αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅλος  
πρὸς ἐκείνην βλέπων οὐδὲν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς B  
νίκης.<sup>3</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχρῆν καὶ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τι, ταύτη  
τούτων κρείττων, ἔφη, εἰμί, τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο μὲν,  
ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυ-  
θικὰ γένη καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς βαρ-  
βάρους ἠγωνισάμην, Καίσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὀκτα-  
βιανοῦ τῷ μῆ, καθάπερ οὗτοι, πρὸς καλοὺς  
κάγαθοὺς πολίτας στασιάσαι, τοῖς μιαινωτάτοις  
δὲ καὶ πονηροτάτοις τῶν τυράννων ἐπεξελθεῖν.  
Τραϊανοῦ δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀνδρα- C  
γαθήμασιν εἰκότως ἂν προτιμηθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἦν  
οὗτος προσεκτῆσατο χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν ἴσος ἂν  
οὐκ ἀπεικότως νομιζοίμην, εἰ μὴ καὶ μεῖζόν ἐστι

<sup>1</sup> ἀσθενῆ Sylburg adds.

<sup>2</sup> After ἐτετελέκει Cobet suspects that several words are  
lost.

<sup>3</sup> νίκης Cobet, MSS, δίκης Hertlein, V, M.

because he knew "When it is time to speak and when to be silent."<sup>1</sup>

Constantine was allowed to speak next. On first entering the lists he was confident enough. But when he reflected on the exploits of the others he saw that his own were wholly trivial. He had defeated two tyrants, but, to tell the truth, one of them<sup>2</sup> was untrained in war and effeminate, the other<sup>3</sup> a poor creature and enfeebled by old age, while both were alike odious to gods and men. Moreover his campaigns against the barbarians covered him with ridicule. For he paid them tribute, so to speak, while he gave all his attention to Pleasure, who stood at a distance from the gods near the entrance to the moon. Of her indeed he was so enamoured that he had no eyes for anything else, and cared not at all for victory. However, as it was his turn and he had to say something, he began:

"In the following respects I am superior to these others; to the Macedonian in having fought against Romans, Germans and Scythians, instead of Asiatic barbarians; to Caesar and Octavian in that I did not, like them, lead a revolution against brave and good citizens, but attacked only the most cruel and wicked tyrants. As for Trajan, I should naturally rank higher on account of those same glorious exploits against the tyrants, while it would be only fair to regard me as his equal on the score of that territory which he added to the empire, and I recovered; if indeed it be not more glorious to regain

<sup>1</sup> Euripides, *fr.* 417 Nauck.

<sup>2</sup> Maxentius. <sup>3</sup> Licinius.

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τὸ ἀνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτήσασθαι. Μάρκος δὲ οὔτοσὶ σιωπῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἄλλ' ἢ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ὡς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ὦ Κωνσταντῖνε, σεαυτοῦ προφέρεις; τί δέ, εἶπεν, εἰσὶν οὓς λέγεις Ἀδώνιδος κήπους; οὓς αἱ γυναῖκες, ἔφη, D τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν ὄστρακίοις ἐπαμησάμεναι γῆν λαχανίαν· χλοήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ὀλίγον αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἠρυθρίασεν, ἄντικρυς ἐπιγνούς τοιοῦτον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον.

Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐφόκесαν περιμένειν, ὅτῳ θήσονται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων οἱ θεοὶ ψῆφον· οἱ δ' ὄροντο δεῖν τὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τοῦμφανὲς τῶν ἀνδρῶν προάγειν καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ<sup>1</sup> τῶν 330 πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ὧν ἡ Τύχη μετεποιεῖτο τὸ πλείστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρεστήκει πλὴν Ὀκταβιανοῦ μόνου. τοῦτον δὲ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἶναι ἔλεγεν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμῇ, καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πυθέσθαι, τί B νομίσειε κάλλιστον καὶ πρὸς τί βλέπων ἐργάσαιτο καὶ πάθοι πάντα ὅσαπερ δεδράκοι τε καὶ πεπόνθοι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Τὸ πάντα νικᾶν. εἶτα, εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, οἶει σοι τοῦτο πεποιήσθαι; καὶ μάλα, ἔφη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ Σειληνός τωθαστικῶς μάλα γελάσας, Ἄλλὰ ἐκράτουν γέ σου πολλάκις αἱ ἡμέτεραι θυγατέρες, αἰνιττόμενος τὰς ἀμπέλους, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἶα δὴ τινα μέθυσον C

<sup>1</sup> οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ Hertlein suggests, οὐκ ἐκ MSS.

than to gain. As for Marcus here, by saying nothing for himself he yields precedence to all of us." "But Constantine," said Silenus, "are you not offering us mere gardens of Adonis<sup>1</sup> as exploits?" "What do you mean," he asked, "by gardens of Adonis?" "I mean," said Silenus, "those that women plant in pots, in honour of the lover of Aphrodite, by scraping together a little earth for a garden bed. They bloom for a little space and fade forthwith." At this Constantine blushed, for he realised that this was exactly like his own performance.

Silence was then proclaimed, and the Emperors thought they had only to wait till the gods decided to whom they would vote the first prize. But the latter agreed that they must bring to light the motives that had governed each, and not judge them by their actions alone, since Fortune had the greatest share in these. That goddess herself was standing near and kept reproaching all of them, with the single exception of Octavian; he, she said, had always been grateful to her. Accordingly the gods decided to entrust this enquiry also to Hermes, and he was told to begin with Alexander and to ask him what he considered the finest of all things, and what had been his object in doing and suffering all that he had done and suffered. "To conquer the world," he replied. "Well," asked Hermes, "do you think you accomplished this?" "I do indeed," said Alexander. Whereupon Silenus with a malicious laugh exclaimed, "But you were often conquered yourself by my daughters!" by which he meant his vines, alluding to Alexander's love of wine and

<sup>1</sup> A proverb for whatever perishes quickly; cf. Theocritus 15. Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, p. 194.

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καὶ φίλοινον σκώπτων. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄτε  
 δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακουσμάτων, Θὺ τὰ  
 ἄψυχα, ἔφη, νικᾶν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγῶν ἡμῖν ἐστι πρὸς  
 ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ πᾶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πᾶν δὲ θηρίων  
 γένος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ὡσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες  
 εἰρωνικῶς μάλα, Ἰού, ἰού, ἔφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν  
 κικκλίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν ποτέρῳ σαυτὸν  
 θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἀψύχων ἢ τῶν ἐμψύχων τε καὶ  
 ζώντων; καὶ ὅς ὡσπερ ἀγανακτήσας, Εὐφήμει,  
 ἔφη ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θεὸς  
 γενοίμην, μᾶλλον δ' εἶην, ἐπεπείσμην. Αὐτὸς οὖν,  
 εἶπεν, ἠττήθης σεαυτοῦ πολλάκις. Ἄλλ' αὐτὸν  
 ἑαυτοῦ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἠττᾶσθαι  
 ὁμωνύμως λέγεται· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς  
 ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βαβαὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἶπεν,  
 ὅπως ἡμῶν τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεις. ἀλλ' ἠνίκα,  
 εἶπεν, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐτρώθης καὶ ὁ Πευκέστης ἔκειτο  
 παρὰ σέ, σὺ δὲ ἐξήγουν ψυχορραγῶν τῆς πόλεως,  
 ἄρα ἠττων ἦσθα τοῦ τρώσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνον  
 ἐνίκας; Οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἔφη, μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν  
 ἐξεπόρθησα τὴν πόλιν. Οὐ σύ γε, εἶπεν, ὦ  
 μακάριε· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἔκεισο κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικόν  
 Ἔκτορα ὀλιγοδρανέων καὶ ψυχορραγῶν· οἱ δὲ  
 ἠγωνίζοντο καὶ ἐνίκων. Ἡγουμένων γ' ἡμῶν,  
 εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Πῶς; οἷ γε

intemperate habits. But Alexander was well stocked with Peripatetic subterfuges, and retorted, "Inanimate things cannot conquer; nor do we contend with such, but only with the whole race of men and beasts." "Ah," said Silenus, "behold the chicanery of logic! But tell me in which class you place yourself, the inanimate or the animate and living?" At this he seemed mortified and said, "Hush! Such was my greatness of soul that I was convinced that I should become, or rather that I was already, a god." "At any rate," said Silenus, "you were often defeated by yourself." "Nay," retorted Alexander, "to conquer oneself or be defeated by oneself amounts to the same thing. I was talking of my victories over other men." "No more of your logic!" cried Silenus, "how adroitly you detect my sophisms! But when you were wounded in India,<sup>1</sup> and Peucestes<sup>2</sup> lay near you and they carried you out of the town at your last gasp, were you defeated by him who wounded you, or did you conquer him?" "I conquered him, and what is more I sacked the town as well." "Not you indeed, you immortal," said Silenus, "for you were lying like Homer's Hector in a swoon and at your last gasp. It was your soldiers who fought and conquered." "Well but I led them," said Alexander. "How so? When you were being carried away almost dead?" And then Silenus

<sup>1</sup> At the storming of the capital of the Mallians, probably the modern city Multan, in 326 B.C., cf. Plutarch, *Alexander*; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* 14.

<sup>2</sup> Peucestes was wounded but saved Alexander's life; Pliny 34. 8.



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ἐφέβεσθε μικροῦ νεκροί; εἶτα ἦδε τῶν ἐξ Εὐριπίδου

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

καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ὦ παππίδιον, τοιαῦτα λέγων, μὴ σε οὗτος ὅποια τὸν Κλεῖτον ἐργάσεται.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθριάσας τε ἅμα καὶ ὡσπερ συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ ὄμματα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὠδε ἔληξεν ὁ λόγος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο πάλιν τὸν Καίσαρα, Σοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, τίς ἐγένετο σκοπὸς τοῦ βίου; Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἔφη, τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μήτε εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι<sup>2</sup> δεύτερον. Τοῦτο, εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἀσαφές ἐστι πότερον γάρ, εἰπέ,<sup>3</sup> κατὰ σοφίαν ἢ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότητα ἢ πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν; Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἠδύ μοι τῶν πάντων ἐν πᾶσι εἶναι πρῶτον· τούτου δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπιτυχεῖν τὸ δύνασθαι μέγιστον παρὰ τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ πολίταις ἐζήλωσα. Σὺ δέ, εἶπεν, ἐδυνήθης μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνός. καὶ ὅς, Πάνυ γε, ἔφη κύριος γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, εἶπεν, ἐδυνήθης ἀγαπηθῆναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένον, καὶ ταῦτα πολλὴν μὲν ὑποκρινάμενος ὡσπερ ἐν δράματι καὶ σκηνῇ φιλανθρωπίαν, αἰσχυρῶς δὲ αὐτοὺς πάντας κολακεύων. Εἶτα οὐκ ἀγαπηθῆναι δοκῶ, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ διώ-

<sup>1</sup> τὸν Κλεῖτον ἔδρασεν ἐργάσεται MSS. ; Hertlein suggests omission of ἔδρασεν.

<sup>2</sup> μήτε εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι Hertlein suggests, εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι MSS.

<sup>3</sup> εἰπέ Hertlein suggests ; cf. 333 D, εἶπε MSS.

recited the passage in Euripides<sup>1</sup> beginning "Alas how unjust is the custom of the Greeks, when an army triumphs over the enemy—" But Dionysus interrupted him saying "Stop, little father, say no more, or he will treat you as he treated Cleitus." At that Alexander blushed, his eyes became suffused with tears and he said no more. Thus their conversation ended.

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

<sup>1</sup> *Andromache* 693 foll.: the passage continues "Tis not those who did the work that gain the credit but the general wins all the glory." Cleitus was killed by Alexander at a banquet for quoting these verses.

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ξαντος Βρούτου καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σε ἀπέκτειναν, ἔφη· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι ὑπάτους· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μισθὸν ἐώρων τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτοῖς οὗτοι<sup>1</sup> τὸν τυχόντα προσεγγεγραμμένον.

Λήξαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Ὁκτα- C  
βιανὸν αὖθις ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐκίνει. Σὺ δέ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἡμῖν, τί κάλλιστον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι; καὶ ὅς, Βασιλεύσαι, ἔφη, καλῶς. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ καλῶς, ὦ Σεβαστέ, φράσον, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε ἔστι καὶ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις λέγειν. ᾤετο γοῦν καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασιλεύειν καὶ ὁ τούτου μιαιώτερος Ἀγαθοκλῆς. Ἄλλ' ἴστε, εἶπεν, ὦ θεοί, ὡς προπέμπων D τὸν θυγατριδοῦν ηὐξάμην ὑμῖν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καίσαρος, δεινότητα δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἐμήν. Πολλά, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, καὶ θεῶν ὄντως σωτήρων ἔργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὗτος ὁ κοροπλάθος. Εἶτα διὰ τί τοῦτο, ἔφη, τὸ ὄνομά μοι γελοῖον οὕτως ἔθου; Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπλαττες ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς νύμφας, ὦ Σεβαστέ, θεούς, ὧν ἓνα καὶ πρῶτον τουτοῖ Καίσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὁκταβιανὸς ὥσπερ δυσ- 333  
ωπούμενος ἀπεσιώπησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τὸν Τραιανὸν βλέψας, Σὺ δέ, εἶπε, τί διανοούμενος ἔπραττες ὅσαπερ ἔπραξας; Τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σωφρονέστερον.

<sup>1</sup> οὔτοι V, Cobet, οὔτι Hertlein.

they punished Brutus and Cassius!" "That was not for murdering you," replied Silenus, "since for that they elected them consuls!<sup>1</sup> No, it was because of the money you left them. When they had heard your will read they perceived what a fine reward was offered them in it for such resentment of your murder."

When this dialogue ended, Hermes next accosted Octavian. "Now for you," he said, "will you please tell us what *you* thought the finest thing in the world?" "To govern well," he replied. "You must say what you mean by 'well,' Augustus. Govern well! The wickedest tyrants claim to do that. Even Dionysius,<sup>2</sup> I suppose, thought that he governed well, and so did Agathocles<sup>3</sup> who was a still greater criminal." "But you know, O ye gods," said Octavian, "that when I parted with my grandson<sup>4</sup> I prayed you to give him the courage of Caesar, the cleverness of Pompey, and my own good fortune." "What a many things," cried Silenus, "that do need really saving gods have been jumbled together by this doll-maker!" "Why pray do you give me that ridiculous name?" asked the other. "Why," he replied, "just as they model nymphs did you not model gods,<sup>5</sup> Augustus, and first and foremost Caesar here?" At this Octavian seemed abashed and said no more.

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

<sup>1</sup> This is not according to history. The Senate gave Brutus and Cassius proconsular power in their provinces.

<sup>2</sup> Tyrant of Syracuse 405-367 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Tyrant of Syracuse 317-289 B.C. <sup>4</sup> Caius Caesar.

<sup>5</sup> Julian refers to the custom of deifying the Emperors.

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εἶπεν, ὠρέχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡττήθης μὲν οὖν,<sup>1</sup> εἶπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἀγεννεστέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ πλείστον ἤττων ἦν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχροῦς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπονειδίστου. Βάλλ' εἰς μακαρίαν, B εἶπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπεὶ σκώπτεις σὺ πάντας αὐτούς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγειν. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἶχέ σοι χώραν τὰ σκώμματα· πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅπως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου. δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι μοί πῶς ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένος. ὁ Ἑρμῆς δὲ βλέψας εἰς τὸν Μάρκον, Σοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Bῆρε, τί κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου τέλος εἶναι; καὶ ὃς ἡρέμα καὶ σωφρόνως, Τὸ μιμῆσθαι, C ἔφη, τοὺς θεοὺς. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἢ ἀπόκρισις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυπραγμονεῖν, πεπεισμένος ὅτι πάντα ὁ Μάρκος ἀκολούθως ἐρεῖ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδόκει ταύτη· μόνος δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἄλλ' οὐ μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέξομαι τούτου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. τί δήποτε γὰρ ἦσθιες, εἶπέ,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔπινες οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀμ- D βροσίας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἄρτου δὲ καὶ οἴνου; Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἤπερ οὖν ᾧμην τοὺς θεοὺς μιμῆσθαι, ταύτη προσεφερόμην σιτία καὶ ποτά· τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἔτρεφον, ἴσως μὲν ψευδῶς, πειθόμενος δέ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα σώματα δεῖται τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων τροφῆς. πλὴν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά γε ὑμᾶς εἶναι μιμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπέλαβον. ὀλίγον ὁ Σειληνός διαπορήσας<sup>3</sup> 334

<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, οὖν MSS. καὶ before σὺ Cobet adds.

<sup>2</sup> εἶπέ Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 D, εἶπε MSS.

<sup>3</sup> διαπορήσας Reiske suggests to complete the construction.

## THE CAESARS

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

<sup>1</sup> Simonides *fr.* 5 Bergk.

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ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πύκτου δεξιῦ πληγείς, Εἴρηται μὲν  
 σοι τοῦτο, εἶπε, τυχὸν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἐμοὶ δέ,  
 ἔφη, φράσον, τί ποτε ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τὴν τῶν  
 θεῶν μίμησιν; καὶ ὅς, Δεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων,  
 εὖ ποιεῖν δὲ ὡς ὅ, τι μάλιστα πλείστους. Μῶν  
 οὖν, εἶπεν, οὐδενὸς ἐδέου; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὐδενός, ἴσως δὲ τὸ σωματίόν μου μικρῶν. δόξαν-  
 τος οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς εἰρηκέαι τοῦ Μάρκου, B  
 τὸ τέλος ἀπορούμενος ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπιφύεται τοῖς  
 περὶ τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτῷ δοκοῦσιν  
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ λόγον πεποιῆσθαι, τὴν μὲν  
 ὅτι ταῖς ἡρώιναις ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν  
 ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψεν. Ἐμιμησάμην, εἶπε, καὶ  
 κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς θεοὺς· Ὁμήρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειθόμην  
 λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς, ὅτι ἄρα, ὅστις ἀγαθὸς C  
 καὶ ἐχέφρων, τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται· περὶ  
 δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόφασιν ἔχων  
 αἰτιώμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἄρεα, Πάλαι ἄν, εἶπεν,  
 ἐβέβλησο τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ παιδίά σε  
 εἶναι ἡγάπων. ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲ ὧμην ἐγὼ  
 τὸν παῖδα πονηρὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ  
 νεότης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μεγάλας ποιουμένη ῥοπὰς  
 ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἡνέχθη, οὐχὶ πονηρῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν  
 ἐπέτρεψα, συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν λαβόντα πονηρὸν  
 γενέσθαι. τά τε οὖν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποιήται D  
 μοι κατὰ ζῆλον Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὰ  
 περὶ τὸν παῖδα κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγίστου Διὸς,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲν καινοτομήσαντι. παισὶ  
 τε γὰρ νόμιμον ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς διαδοχάς, καὶ

had been hit by a good boxer,<sup>1</sup> then he said "There is perhaps something in what you say; but now tell me what did you think was really meant by 'imitating the gods.'" "Having the fewest possible needs and doing good to the greatest possible number." "Do you mean to say," he asked, "that you had no needs at all?" "I," said Marcus, "had none, but my wretched body had a few, perhaps." Since in this also Marcus seemed to have answered wisely, Silenus was at a loss, but finally fastened on what he thought was foolish and unreasonable in the Emperor's behaviour to his son and his wife, I mean in enrolling the latter among the deified and entrusting the empire to the former. "But in that also," said the other, "I did but imitate the gods. I adopted the maxim of Homer when he says 'the good and prudent man loves and cherishes his own wife,'<sup>2</sup> while as to my son I can quote the excuse of Zeus himself when he is rebuking Ares: 'Long ago,' he says, 'I should have smitten thee with a thunderbolt, had I not loved thee because thou art my son.'<sup>3</sup> Besides, I never thought my son would prove so wicked. Youth ever vacillates between the extremes of vice and virtue, and if in the end he inclined to vice, still he was not vicious when I entrusted the empire to him; it was only after receiving it that he became corrupted. Therefore my behaviour to my wife was modelled on that of the divine Achilles, and that to my son was in imitation of supreme Zeus. Moreover, in neither case did I introduce any novelty. It is the custom to hand down the succession to a man's sons, and all men desire to do so; as

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Protagoras* 339 E ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἀγαθοῦ πύκτου πληγείσ.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 9, 343.      <sup>3</sup> A paraphrase of *Iliad* 5, 897.



τοῦτο ἅπαντες εὐχονται, τὴν τε γαμετὴν οὐκ 335  
 ἐγὼ πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησα.  
 ἴσως δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ  
 ἔστιν εὐλογον, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γενόμενον τοὺς  
 οἰκειοτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἐγγὺς ἀδικίας. ἀλλ'  
 ἔλαβον ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ μακρότερα ἀπολογούμενος  
 πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί· διόπερ μοι  
 τῆς προπετείας ταυτησὶ συγγνώμονες γένοισθε.

Παυσαμένου δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν  
 Κωνσταντῖνον ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο, Σὺ δὲ τί καλὸν B  
 ἐνόμισας; Πολλά, εἶπε, κτησάμενον πολλὰ χαρί-  
 σασθαι, ταῖς τ' ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ  
 ταῖς τῶν φίλων ὑπουργοῦντα. ἀνακαγχάσας  
 οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς μέγα, Ἄλλ' ἢ τραπεζίτης εἶναι,  
 ἔφη, θέλων ἐλελήθεις σεαυτὸν ὀψοπιοῦ καὶ  
 κομμωτρίας βίον ζῶν;<sup>1</sup> ἠνίττετο δ' αὐτὰ πάλαι  
 μὲν ἢ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ἀτὰρ νῦν καὶ ἡ  
 γνώμη σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. τούτου μὲν οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς  
 πικρότερόν πως καθήψατο.

Σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἔφερον οἱ θεοὶ λάθρα C  
 τὰς ψήφους. εἶτα ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ.  
 κοινολογησάμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα  
 προσέταξε κηρύξαι τῷ Ἑρμῆ. ὁ δὲ ἐκήρυττεν,  
 Ἄνδρες οἱ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα,  
 νόμοι παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι καὶ κρίσεις τοιαῦται  
 γίνονται, ὥστε καὶ τὸν νικῶντα χαίρειν καὶ τὸν  
 ἠττώμενον μὴ μέμφεσθαι. πορευέσθε οὖν, εἶπεν,  
 ὅποι φίλον ἐκάστω, ὑπὸ θεοῖς ἡγεμόσι βιωσόμενοι D  
 τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐλέσθω δ' ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ τὸν  
 προστάτην τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα. μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα

<sup>1</sup> ζῶν Cobet, ἄγων Reiske, ἴχων Hertlein, MSS.

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

When Marcus had finished his speech, Hermes asked Constantine, "And what was the height of your ambition?" "To amass great wealth," he answered, "and then to spend it liberally so as to gratify my own desires and the desires of my friends." At this Silenus burst into a loud laugh, and said, "If it was a banker that you wanted to be, how did you so far forget yourself as to lead the life of a pastrycook and hairdresser?" Your locks and your fair favour<sup>1</sup> betokened this all along, but what you say about your motives convicts you." Thus did Silenus sharply reprove Constantine.

Then silence was proclaimed and the gods cast a secret ballot. It turned out that Marcus had most of the votes. After conferring apart with his father,<sup>2</sup> Zeus bade Hermes make a proclamation as follows: "Know all ye mortals who have entered this contest, that according to our laws and decrees the victor is allowed to exult but the vanquished must not complain. Depart then wherever you please, and in future live every one of you under the guidance of the gods. Let every man choose his own guardian and guide."

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 3. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Kronos.

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τοῦτο\*ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ὀκταβιανὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀπρίξ εἶχετο τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου Μάρκος, πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν Καίσαρα κατελεήσας ὁ μέγας Ἄρης ἢ τε Ἄφροδίτη παρ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαλεσάτην· Τραϊανὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔθει ὡς ἐκείνῳ συγκαθη-  
 εδούμενος. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, οὐχ εὐρίσκων 336  
 ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐγγύθειν τὴν Τρυφήν κατιδὼν ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ ὑπολα-  
 βούσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοῖς πήχεσι πέπλοις τε αὐτὸν ποικίλοις ἀσκήσασα καὶ καλ-  
 λωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐρὼν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, “Ὅστις φθορεὺς, ὅστις μαιφόνος, ὅστις ἐναγῆς καὶ βδελυρός, ἴτω θαρρῶν· B  
 ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τουτωῖ τῷ ὕδατι λούσας αὐτίκα καθαρὸν, κἂν πάλιν ἔνοχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, δώσω τὸ στήθος πλήξαντι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι καθαρῶ γενέσθαι,” σφόδρα ἄσμενος ἐνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, συνεξαγαγὼν τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀγορᾶς τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπέτριβον δ' αὐτὸν τε κἀκείνους οὐχ ἡττον τῆς ἀθεότητος οἱ παλαμναῖοι δαίμονες, αἱμάτων συγγενῶν τιννύμενοι δίκας, ἕως ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Κων-  
 στάντιον ἔδωκεν ἀναπνεῦσαι.

After this announcement, Alexander hastened to Heracles, and Octavian to Apollo, but Marcus attached himself closely to Zeus and Kronos. Caesar wandered about for a long time and ran hither and thither, till mighty Ares and Aphrodite took pity on him and summoned him to them. Trajan hastened to Alexander and sat down near him. As for Constantine, he could not discover among the gods the model of his own career, but when he caught sight of Pleasure, who was not far off, he ran to her. She received him tenderly and embraced him, then after dressing him in raiment of many colours and otherwise making him beautiful, she led him away to Incontinence. There too he found Jesus, who had taken up his abode with her and cried aloud to all comers: "He that is a seducer, he that is a murderer, he that is sacrilegious and infamous, let him approach without fear! For with this water will I wash him and will straightway make him clean. And though he should be guilty of those same sins a second time, let him but smite his breast and beat his head and I will make him clean again." To him Constantine came gladly, when he had conducted his sons forth from the assembly of the gods. But the avenging deities none the less punished both him and them for their impiety, and exacted the penalty for the shedding of the blood of their kindred,<sup>1</sup> until Zeus granted them a respite for the sake of Claudius and Constantius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Volume I. p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Constantius Chlorus.

## THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Σα δέ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ἑρμῆς, δέδωκα τὸν C  
 πατέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγνώναι· σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν  
 ἐντολῶν ἔχου, πείσμα καὶ ὄρμον ἀσφαλῆ ζῶντι  
 τε σεαυτῷ παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἠνίκα ἂν ἐνθένδε  
 ἀπιέναι δέῃ, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα  
 θεὸν εὐμενῆ καθιστὰς σεαυτῷ.

## THE CAESARS

"As for thee," Hermes said to me, "I have granted thee the knowledge of thy father Mithras. Do thou keep his commandments, and thus secure for thyself a cable and sure anchorage throughout thy life, and when thou must depart from the world thou canst with good hopes adopt him as thy guardian god."

MISOPHON  
OR, SCEPTER



# INTRODUCTION

## MISOPOGON

### OR, BEARD-HATER



## INTRODUCTION

JULIAN came to Antioch on his way to Persia in the autumn of 361 and stayed there till March, 362. The city was rich and important commercially, but in Julian's eyes her glory depended on two things, the famous shrine of Apollo and the school of rhetoric; and both of these had been neglected by the citizens during the reign of Constantius. A Christian church had been built in Apollo's grove in the suburb of Daphne, and Libanius, Antioch's most distinguished rhetorician, was more highly honoured at Nicomedia.<sup>1</sup> Julian's behaviour at Antioch and his failure to ingratiate himself with the citizens illustrates one of the causes of the failure of his Pagan restoration. His mistake was that he did not attempt to make Paganism popular, whereas Christianity had always been democratic. He is always reminding the common people that the true knowledge of the gods is reserved for philosophers; and even the old conservative Pagans did not share his zeal for philosophy. Antioch moreover was a frivolous city. The Emperor Hadrian three centuries earlier had been much offended by the levity of her citizens, and the homilies of Saint

<sup>1</sup> cf. Libanius, *Oration* 29. 220, where he warns the people of Antioch that Caesarea had already robbed them of one sophist by the offer of a higher salary, and exhorts them not to neglect rhetoric, the cause of their greatness.

## INTRODUCTION

Chrysostom exhibit the same picture as Julian's satire. His austere personality and mode of life repelled the Syrian populace and the corrupt officials of Antioch. They satirised him in anapaestic verses, and either stayed away from the temples that he restored or, when they did attend in response to his summons, showed by their untimely applause of the Emperor that they had not come to worship his gods. Julian's answer was this satire on himself which he addresses directly to the people of Antioch. But he could not resist scolding them, and the satire on his own habits is not consistently maintained. After he had left the city the citizens repented and sent a deputation to make their peace with him, but in spite of the intercession of Libanius, who had accompanied him to Antioch, he could not forgive the insults to himself or the irreverence that had been displayed to the gods.

...the same ...  
 ...the ...  
 ...the ...  
 ...the ...

ΙΟΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΚΟΣ<sup>1</sup> Η ΜΙΣΟΠΩΓΩΝ

Ἀνακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ πολλὰ ἐποιήθη μέλη  
 χαρίεντα· τρυφᾶν γὰρ ἔλαχεν ἐκ μοιρῶν· Ἀλ-  
 καίῳ δ' οὐκέτι οὐδ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τὴν  
 μούσαν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἡδονὰς  
 τρέψαι· μοχθεῖν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζό-  
 μενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐχρῶντο, κουφότερα B  
 ποιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ δαίμων ἐδίδου τῇ εἰ στοὺς  
 ἀδικοῦντας λαιδορία. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει μὲν ὁ  
 νόμος ἐπ' ὀνόματος αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους  
 μὲν οὐδέν, εἶναι δ' ἐπιχειροῦντας δυσμενεῖς, ἀφαι-  
 ρεῖται δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μουσικὴν ὁ νῦν ἐπι-  
 κρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς παιδείας τρόπος.  
 αἴσχιον γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ νῦν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν,  
 ἢ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐδόκει τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως. οὐ μὲν C  
 ἀφέξομαι διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατῆς ἐκ μουσῶν  
 ἐπικουρίας. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> "The Discourse at Antioch" is an alternative title in the MSS.

MISOPOGON  
OR, BEARD-HATER

ANACREON the poet composed many delightful songs; for a luxurious life was allotted to him by the Fates. But Alcaeus and Archilochus of Paros<sup>1</sup> the god did not permit to devote their muse to mirth and pleasure. For constrained as they were to endure toil, now of one sort, now of another, they used their poetry to relieve their toil, and by abusing those who wronged them they lightened the burdens imposed on them by Heaven. But as for me, the law forbids me to accuse by name those who, though I have done them no wrong, try to show their hostility to me; and on the other hand the fashion of education that now prevails among the well-born deprives me of the use of the music that consists in song. For in these days men think it more degrading to study music than once in the past they thought it to be rich by dishonest means. Nevertheless I will not on that account renounce the aid that it is in my power to win from the Muses. Indeed I have observed that even the

<sup>1</sup> In the seventh century B.C. Alcaeus of Lesbos and Archilochus both suffered exile, and the latter fell in battle against Naxos. For the misfortunes of Alcaeus, cf. Horace, *Odes* 2. 13.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Ῥῆνον βαρβάρους ἄγρια μέλη λέξει πεποιημένα  
 παραπλησία τοῖς κρωγμοῖς τῶν τραχὺ βοώντων  
 ὀρνίθων ἄδοντας καὶ εὐφραινομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 μέλεσιν. εἶναι γὰρ οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοῖς φαύλοις 338  
 τὴν μουσικὴν λυπηροῖς μὲν τοῖς θεάτροις, σφίσι  
 δ' αὐτοῖς ἡδίστοις. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυνοήσας  
 εἶωθα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν λέγειν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰσμηνίας οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης μὲν ἔξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὁμοίας, ὡς  
 ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δῆτα ταῖς  
 μούσαις ἄδω καὶ ἑμαυτῷ.

Τὸ δ' ἄσμα πεζῇ μὲν λέξει πεποιήται, λοιδορίας  
 δ' ἔχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μὰ  
 Δία· πῶς γάρ; ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου· εἰς B  
 δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ξυγγραφέα. τὸ γὰρ  
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν γράφειν εἴτε ἐπαίνους εἴτε ψόγους  
 εἶργει νόμος οὐδεὶς. ἐπαινεῖν μὲν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα  
 ἐθέλων ἑμαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ  
 πρῶτον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ  
 γὰρ οἶμαι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λίαν καλῶ μῆδ'  
 εὐπρεπεῖ μῆδ' ὠραίῳ ὑπὸ δυστροπίας καὶ δυσ-  
 κολίας αὐτὸς προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τουτονὶ C  
 πώγωνα, δίκας αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ-  
 δενὸς μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλόν.  
 ταῦτά τοι διαθεόντων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν  
 ὥσπερ ἐν λόχμῃ τῶν θηρίων. ἐσθίειν δὲ λάβρως  
 ἢ πίνειν χανδὸν οὐ συγχωροῦμαι· δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι  
 προσέχειν, μὴ λάθῳ συγκαταφαγῶν<sup>1</sup> τὰς τρίχας

<sup>1</sup> συγκαταφαγῶν Cobet, καὶ συγκαταφαγῶν Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> For Ismenias of Thebes cf. Plutarch, *Pericles*. The saying became a proverb; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 78. 420; Themistius 366 B; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "I have lived *mihi et Musis* in the University."

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τοῖς ἄρτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν D  
 ἤκιστα ἀλγῶ. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἔοικεν ὁ  
 πώγων ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα λυπηρόν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων  
 καθαρὰ λείους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι γλυκερώτερα  
 χεῖλεσι χεῖλη προσμάττειν, ὅπερ ἤδη τις ἔφη τῶν  
 ἐργασαμένων ξὺν τῷ Πανὶ καὶ τῇ Καλλιόπῃ εἰς  
 τὸν Δάφνιν ποιήματα. ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε δεῖν καὶ  
 σχοινία πλέκειν ἐνθένδε· καὶ ἔτοιμος παρέχειν,  
 ἣν μόνον ἔλκειν δυνηθῆτε καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀτρίπτους  
 ὑμῶν καὶ μαλακὰς χεῖρας ἢ τραχύτης αὐτῶν  
 δευνὰ ἐργάσηται. νομίση δὲ μηδεὶς δυσχεραίνειν  
 ἐμὲ τῷ σκώμματι. δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αἰτίαν 339  
 ὥσπερ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένειον ἔχων, ἐξὸν οἶμαι λείον  
 αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ψιλόν, ὁποῖον οἱ καλοὶ τῶν παί-  
 δων ἔχουσιν ἅπασαί τε αἱ γυναῖκες, αἷς φύσει  
 πρόσεστι τὸ ἐράσμιον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρα  
 ζηλοῦντες τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν νιέας καὶ τὰς θυγα-  
 τέρας ὑπὸ ἀβρότητας βίου καὶ ἴσως ἀπαλότητος  
 τρόπου λείον ἐπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τὸν ἄνδρα  
 ὑποφαίνοντες καὶ παραδεικνύντες διὰ τοῦ μετώπου B  
 καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν γνάθων.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησε μόνον ἡ βαθύτης τοῦ  
 γενείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσεστιν ἀνχμός,  
 καὶ ὀλιγάκις κείρομαι καὶ ὀνυχίζομαι, καὶ τοὺς  
 δακτύλους ὑπὸ τοῦ καλάμου τὰ πολλὰ ἔχω  
 μέλανας. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθέ τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων  
 μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι τὸ στήθος δασὺ καὶ λάσιον ὥσπερ

of bread. In the matter of being kissed and kissing I suffer no inconvenience whatever. And yet for this as for other purposes a beard is evidently troublesome, since it does not allow one to press shaven "lips to other lips more sweetly"—because they are smooth, I suppose—as has been said already by one of those who with the aid of Pan and Calliope composed poems in honour of Daphnis.<sup>1</sup> But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it! Well I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands."<sup>2</sup> And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, when I might, I suppose, make it smooth and bare as handsome youths wear theirs, and all women, who are endowed by nature with loveliness. But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do.

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

<sup>1</sup> Daphnis is the hero of bucolic poetry; Julian echoes Theocritus 12. 32 *ὅς δέ κε προσμάξῃ γλυκερότερα χεῖλεσι χεῖλην.*

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* 22. 151; cf. Zonaras 13. 12. 213, Dindorf.



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τῶν λεόντων, οἷπερ βασιλεύουσι τῶν θηρίων, οὐδὲ ἐποίησα λείον αὐτὸ πρόποτε διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρέπειαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος C εἰργασάμην λείον οὐδὲ μαλακόν. εἰπὼν γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν, εἴ τις ἦν μοι καὶ ἀκροχορδῶν ὥσπερ τῷ Κικέρωνι.<sup>1</sup> νυνὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ εἰ<sup>2</sup> συγγινώσκετε, φράσω ὑμῖν καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἕτερον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίαίτα παγχάλεπος ἐπιτηδεύεται. εἶργω τῶν θεάτρων ἐμαντὸν ὑπ' ἀβελτηρίας, οὐδ' εἴσω τῆς αὐλῆς παραδέχομαι τὴν θυμέλην ἔξω τῆς νομηνίας τοῦ ἔτους ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, ὥσπερ τινὰ φόρον ἢ D δασμὸν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδιδούς ἄγροικος ὀλίγα ἔχων οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖ δεσπότη. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰσελθὼν τοῖς ἀφοσιουμένοις ἔοικα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὐδένα, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἀκούων μέγας, ὃς καθάπερ ὑπαρχος ἢ στρατηγὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξει τῶν μίμων καὶ τῶν ἠνιόχων ὅπερ ὑμεῖς ὀρώντες ὀλίγω πρότερον

ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε νῦν  
ἤβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.<sup>4</sup>

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως καὶ τοῦτο βαρὺ καὶ δεῦγμα 340  
ἐναργὲς μοχθηρίας τρόπου· προστίθημι δὲ ἐγὼ  
τι καινότερον αἰεὶ μισῶ τὰς ἵπποδρομίας, ὥσπερ  
οἱ χρήματα ὠφληκότες τὰς ἀγοράς. ὀλιγάκις  
οὖν εἰς αὐτὰς φοιτῶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τῶν θεῶν

<sup>1</sup> Κικέρωνι Naber, cf. Plutarch, Cicero, Κίμωνι Hertlein, MSS. <sup>2</sup> εἰ Reiske, & Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὑμῖν καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Brambs identified as a fragment of Cratinus.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> cf. Plutarch, *Cicero*, who says that Cicero had a wart on his nose.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the altar of Dionysus which was set up in the orchestra.

<sup>3</sup> Cratinus, *Eunidae* fr. 1; cf. Synesius, *Epistle* 129; Julian refers to Constantius, whom the people of Antioch now compare with him.

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οὐδὲ διημερεύω, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ὁ τε ἀνεψιὸς  
ὁ ἔμμος καὶ ὁ θεῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ὁμοπάτριος.  
ἔξ δὲ τοὺς πάντας θεώμενος δρόμους, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς  
ὡς ἂν τις ἐρῶν τοῦ πράγματος ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία μὴ B  
μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἄσμενος ἀπαλ-  
λάττομαι.

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔξω ταῦτα· καίτοι πόστον  
εἴρηται μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικημάτων;  
τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἄγρυπνοι νύκτες ἐν στιβάδι, καὶ  
τροφή παντὸς ἥττων κόρου πικρὸν ἦθος ποιεῖ  
καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμιον. οὐ μὴν ὑμῶν  
γ' ἔνεκα τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύεται παρ' ἐμοῦ· δεινὴ  
δέ τις ἐκ παιδαρίου με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη  
καταλαβοῦσα τῇ γαστρὶ πολεμεῖν ἔπεισεν, οὐδὲ  
ἐπιτρέπω πολλῶν ἐμπίμπλασθαι σιτίων αὐτῇ. C  
ὀλιγιστάκις<sup>1</sup> οὖν ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων ἐμέσαι συνέβη.  
καὶ μέμνημαι αὐτὸ παθῶν ἔξ ὅτου καῖσαρ ἐγενό-  
μην ἄπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησμονῆς.  
ἄξιον δὲ ὑπομνησθῆναι διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ  
πάνυ χαρίεντος, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα  
οἰκείου.

Ἐτύγχανον ἐγὼ χειμάζων περὶ τὴν φίλην D  
Λουκετιάν· ὀνομάζουσι δ' οὕτως οἱ Κελτοὶ τῶν  
Παρισίων τὴν πολίχνην· ἔστι δ' οὐ μεγάλη νῆσος  
ἐγκειμένη τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ αὐτὴν κύκλω πᾶσαν  
τείχος περιλαμβάνει,<sup>2</sup> ξύλινα δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν  
ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰσάγουσι γέφυραι, καὶ ὀλιγάκις  
ὁ ποταμὸς ἐλαττοῦται καὶ μείζων γίνεται, τὰ  
πολλὰ δ' ἔστιν ὁποῖος ὥρα θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος,

<sup>1</sup> ὀλιγιστάκις Hertlein suggests, ὀλιγάκις MSS.

<sup>2</sup> περιλαμβάνει Cöbel, καταλαμβάνει Hertlein, MSS.

gods; and I do not stay the whole day as my cousin<sup>1</sup> used to do, and my uncle<sup>2</sup> and my brother and my father's son.<sup>3</sup> Six races are all that I stay to see, and not even those with the air of one who loves the sport, or even, by Zeus, with the air of one who does not hate and loathe it, and I am glad to get away.

But all these things are externals; and indeed what a small fraction of my offences against you have I described! But to turn to my private life within the court. Sleepless nights on a pallet and a diet that is anything rather than surfeiting make my temper harsh and unfriendly to a luxurious city like yours. However it is not in order to set an example to you that I adopt these habits. But in my childhood a strange and senseless delusion came over me and persuaded me to war against my belly, so that I do not allow it to fill itself with a great quantity of food. Thus it has happened to me most rarely of all men to vomit my food. And though I remember having this experience once, after I became Caesar, it was by accident and was not due to over-eating. It may be worth while to tell the story which is not in itself very graceful, but for that very reason is especially suited to me.

I happened to be in winter quarters at my beloved Lutetia—for that is how the Celts call the capital of the Parisians. It is a small island lying in the river; a wall entirely surrounds it, and wooden bridges lead to it on both sides. The river seldom rises and falls, but usually is the same depth in the winter as

<sup>1</sup> Constantius.

<sup>2</sup> Count Julian who had been Governor of Antioch. cf. *Letter 13*.

<sup>3</sup> Gallus his half-brother.

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ὕδωρ ἡδιστον καὶ καθαρώτατον ὄραν καὶ πίνειν  
 ἐθέλοντι παρέχων. ἅτε γὰρ νῆσον οἰκούντας  
 ὑδρεύεσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθένδε χρή. γίνεται δὲ  
 καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐκεῖ πραότερος εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς θερμῆς 341  
 τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ· στάδια γὰρ ἀπέχει ὄν ἐννακοσίων  
 οὐ πλείω, καὶ διαδίδοται τυχὸν λεπτή τις αὔρα  
 τοῦ ὕδατος, εἶναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάττιον  
 τοῦ γλυκέος· εἴτε οὖν ἐκ ταύτης εἴτε ἐκ τινος  
 ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀφανοῦς ἐμοί, τὸ πράγμα ἐστὶ  
 τοιοῦτον, ἀλειυνότερον ἔχουσιν οἱ τὸ χωρίον  
 οἰκοῦντες τὸν χειμῶνα, καὶ φύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 ἄμπελος ἀγαθῆ, καὶ συκᾶς ἤδη εἰσιν οἱ<sup>1</sup> ἐμμηχανή-  
 σαντο, σκεπάζοντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥσπερ B  
 ἱματίοις τῇ καλάμῃ τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ τοιοῦτοις  
 τισίν, ὅσα εἴωθεν εἵργειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος  
 ἐπιγυνομένην τοῖς δένδροις βλάβην. ἐγένετο δὲ  
 οὖν ὁ χειμῶν τοῦ εἰωθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ  
 παρέφερον ὁ ποταμὸς ὥσπερ μαρμάρου πλάκας·  
 ἴστε δῆπου τὸν Φρύγιον λίθον τὸν λευκόν· τούτῳ  
 ἐφέκει μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα,<sup>2</sup> μεγάλα καὶ  
 ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχῆ ποιεῖν C  
 ἤδη τὸν πόρον ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα γεφυροῦν.  
 ὡς οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἀγριώτερος ἦν τοῦ συνηθούς,  
 ἐθάλλετο δὲ τὸ δωμάτιον οὐδαμῶς, οὐπὲρ ἐκά-  
 θευδον, ὄνπερ εἴωθει τρόπον ὑπογαίους<sup>3</sup> καμίνους  
 τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεῖ θερμαίνεσθαι,  
 καὶ ταῦτα ἔχον εὐτρεπῶς πρὸς τὸ παραδέξασθαι  
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀλέαν· συνέβη δ' οἶμαι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> εἰσιν οἱ Cobet, τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν—κρύσταλλα Hertlein suggests, φ ἐφέκει μάλιστα τοῦ λευκοῦ τούτου τὰ κρύσταλλα, MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπογαίους Naber, cf. Pliny *Ep.* 2 17; ὑπὸ ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.

in the summer season, and it provides water which is very clear to the eye and very pleasant for one who wishes to drink. For since the inhabitants live on an island they have to draw their water chiefly from the river. The winter too is rather mild there, perhaps from the warmth of the ocean, which is not more than nine hundred stades distant, and it may be that a slight breeze from the water is wafted so far; for sea water seems to be warmer than fresh. Whether from this or from some other cause obscure to me, the fact is as I say, that those who live in that place have a warmer winter. And a good kind of vine grows thereabouts, and some persons have even managed to make fig-trees grow by covering them in winter with a sort of garment of wheat straw and with things of that sort, such as are used to protect trees from the harm that is done them by the cold wind. As I was saying then, the winter was more severe than usual, and the river kept bringing down blocks like marble. You know, I suppose, the white stone that comes from Phrygia; the blocks of ice were very like it, of great size, and drifted down one after another; in fact it seemed likely that they would make an unbroken path and bridge the stream. The winter then was more inclement than usual, but the room where I slept was not warmed in the way that most houses are heated, I mean by furnaces underground; and that too though it was conveniently arranged for letting in heat from such a fire. But it so happened I suppose, because I was awkward then as now, and

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τότε διὰ σκαιότητα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν  
 πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπανθρωπίαν· ἐβουλόμην γὰρ  
 ἐθίζειν ἑμαυτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα ταύτης  
 ἀνευδεῶς ἔχοντα τῆς βοηθείας. ὡς δὲ ὁ χειμῶν  
 ἐπεκράτει καὶ αἰεὶ μείζων ἐπεγίνετο, θερμῆναι D  
 μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ οἶκημα,  
 δεδιὼς κινῆσαι τὴν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ὑγρότητα,  
 κομίσαι δ' ἔνδον ἐκέλευσα πῦρ κεκαυμένον καὶ  
 ἄνθρακας λαμπροὺς ἀποθέσθαι παντελῶς μετρίους.  
 οἱ δὲ καίπερ ὄντες οὐ πολλοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀπὸ  
 τῶν τοίχων ἀτμούς ἐκίνησαν, ὑφ' ὧν κατέδαρθον.  
 ἐμπιμπλαμένης δέ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδέησα μὲν  
 ἀποπνιγῆναι, κομισθεῖς δ' ἔξω, τῶν ἰατρῶν 342  
 παραινούντων ἀπορρίψαι τὴν ἐντεθεῖσαν ἄρτι  
 τροφήν, οὔτι μὰ Δία πολλὴν οὔσαν, ἐξέβαλον,  
 καὶ ἐγενόμην αὐτίκα ῥάων, ὥστε μοι γενέσθαι  
 κουφοτέραν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας πρῦτ-  
 τειν ὅ,τιπερ ἐθέλοιμι.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν Κελτοῖς κατὰ τὸν  
 τοῦ Μενάνδρου Δύσκολον αὐτὸς ἑμαυτῷ πόνους  
 προσετίθην. ἀλλ' ἢ Κελτῶν μὲν ταῦτα ῥᾶον  
 ἔφερον ἀγροικία, πόλις δ' εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαρία B  
 καὶ πολυάνθρωπος εἰκότως ἄχθεται, ἐν ἧ πολλοὶ  
 μὲν ὄρχησταί, πολλοὶ δ' αὐληταί, μῖμοι δὲ  
 πλείους τῶν πολιτῶν, αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχόν-  
 των. ἐρυθριᾶν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς ἀνάνδροις, ἐπεὶ  
 τοῖς γε ἀνδρείοις, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἔωθεν κωμάζειν,  
 νύκτωρ ἠδυναθεῖν, ὅτι τῶν νόμων ὑπερορᾶτε μὴ

displayed inhumanity first of all, as was natural, towards myself. For I wished to accustom myself to bear the cold air without needing this aid. And though the winter weather prevailed and continually increased in severity, even so I did not allow my servants to heat the house, because I was afraid of drawing out the dampness in the walls; but I ordered them to carry in fire that had burned down and to place in the room a very moderate number of hot coals. But the coals, though there were not very many of them, brought out from the walls quantities of steam and this made me fall asleep. And since my head was filled with the fumes I was almost choked. Then I was carried outside, and since the doctors advised me to throw up the food I had just swallowed,— and it was little enough, by Zeus—, I vomited it and at once became easier, so that I had a more comfortable night, and next day could do whatever I pleased.

After this fashion then, even when I was among the Celts, like the ill-tempered man in Menander,<sup>1</sup> "I myself kept heaping troubles on my own head." But whereas the boorish Celts used easily to put up with these ways of mine, they are naturally resented by a prosperous and gay and crowded city in which there are numerous dancers and flute players and more mimes than ordinary citizens, and no respect at all for those who govern. For the blush of modesty befits the unmanly, but manly fellows like you it befits to begin your revels at dawn, to spend your nights in pleasure, and to show not only by

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Oration* 3. 113 C, note. Cobet thinks that the verse in Menander, *Duskolos* was ἀντὶς δ' ἐμαυτῆ προστίθημι τοὺς πόνοους.



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λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι φοβεροὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὥστε ὅστις ἄρχοντα ὕβρισεν οὗτος ἐκ περιουσίας τοὺς νόμους κατεπάτησεν ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις C εὐφραϊνόμενοι δῆλον ποιεῖτε πολλαχοῦ μὲν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν κρότων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βοῆς ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῷ γνωριμώτεροι μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἑορτὰς ἐδαπάνησαν ἢ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα συνουσίας. καλοὶ δὲ πάντες καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ λειοὶ καὶ ἀγένειοι, νέοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ζηλωταὶ D τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν Φαιάκων,

Εἴματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐνὰς ἀντὶ τῆς ὀσίας ἀποδεχόμενοι.

“Τὴν δὴ σὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ σκαιότητα τούτοις ἀρμόσειν ὑπέλαβες; οὕτως ἀνόητόν ἐστί σοι καὶ φαῦλον, ὃ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθέστατε καὶ φιλαπεχθημονέστατε, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγεννεστάτων σῶφρον τουτὶ ψυχάριον, ὃ δὴ σὺ κοσμεῖν καὶ καλλωπίζεις σωφροσύνη χρῆναι νομίζεις; οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἢ σωφροσύνη ὅ,τι ποτ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν, 343 ὄνομα δ' αὐτῆς ἀκούοντες μόνον ἔργον οὐχ ὀρώμεν. εἰ δ' ὅποῖον σὺ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύεις ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθαι μὲν ὅτι θεοῖς χρὴ δουλεύειν καὶ νόμοις, ἐκ τῶν

your words but by your deeds also that you despise the laws. For indeed it is only by means of those in authority that the laws inspire fear in men; so that he who insults one who is in authority, over and above this tramples on the laws. And that you take pleasure in this sort of behaviour you show clearly on many occasions, but especially in the market-places and theatres; the mass of the people by their clapping and shouting; while those in office show it by the fact that, on account of the sums they have spent on such entertainments, they are more widely known and more talked about by all men than Solon the Athenian ever was on account of his interview with Croesus the king of the Lydians.<sup>1</sup> And all of you are handsome and tall and smooth-skinned and beardless; for young and old alike you are emulous of the happiness of the Phaeacians, and rather than righteousness you prefer "changes of raiment and warm baths and beds."<sup>2</sup>

"What then?" you answer, "did you really suppose that your boorish manners and savage ways and clumsiness would harmonise with these things? O most ignorant and most quarrelsome of men, is it so senseless then and so stupid, that puny soul of yours which men of poor spirit call temperate, and which you forsooth think it your duty to adorn and deck out with temperance? You are wrong; for in the first place we do not know what temperance is and we hear its name only, while the real thing we cannot see. But if it is the sort of thing that you now practise, if it consists in knowing that men must be enslaved to the gods and the laws, in behaving

<sup>1</sup> For Solon's visit to Croesus at Sardis cf. Herodotus 1. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* 8. 249.

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ἴσων δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν  
τούτοις ὑπεροχὴν φέρειν πρῶτον, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
καὶ προνοεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πένητες ὑπὸ τῶν πλου-  
τούντων ἤκιστα ἀδικήσονται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου  
πράγματα ἔχειν, ὅποια εἰκὸς ἐστὶ σοι γενέσθαι  
πολλάκις, ἀπεχθείας, ὀργάς, λοιδορίας· εἶτα καὶ B  
ταῦτα φέρειν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν μηδ'  
ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς  
ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σωφρονίζειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτό τις  
ἔργον θεῖτο σωφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἡδονῆς  
οὐ λῖαν ἀπρεπούς οὐδ' ἐπονειδίστου δοκούσης ἐν  
τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ σω-  
φρονεῖν καὶ λάθρα τὸν δημοσίᾳ καὶ φανερῶς C  
ἀκόλαστον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερπόμενον τοῖς  
θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὖν ὄντως ἡ σωφροσύνη τοιοῦτόν  
ἐστίν, ἀπόλωλας μὲν αὐτός, ἀπολλύεις δὲ ἡμᾶς  
οὐκ ἀνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὄνομα δουλείας  
οὔτε πρὸς θεοὺς οὔτε πρὸς νόμους· ἡδὺ γὰρ ἐν  
πᾶσι τὸ ἐλεύθερον.

“Ἡ δὲ εἰρωνεῖα πόση; δεσπότης εἶναι οὐ φῆς  
οὐδὲ ἀνέχη τοῦτο ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς,  
ὥστε ἤδη ἔπεισας τοὺς πλείστους ἐθάδας πάλαι D  
γενομένους ἀφελεῖν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο  
τὸ ὄνομα, δουλεύειν δ' ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις ἄρχουσι  
καὶ νόμοις. καίτοι πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ὀνομάζεσθαι  
μὲν σε δεσπότην, ἔργῳ δὲ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐλευ-  
θέρους, ὃ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρῶτατε, πικρότατε

with fairness to those of equal rank and bearing with mildness any superiority among them; in studying and taking thought that the poor may suffer no injustice whatever at the hands of the rich; and, to attain this, in putting up with all the annoyances that you will naturally often meet with, hatred, anger, and abuse; and then in bearing these also with firmness and not resenting them or giving way to your anger, but in training yourself as far as possible to practise temperance; and if again this also one defines as the effect of temperance that one abstains from every pleasure even though it be not excessively unbecoming or considered blameworthy when openly pursued, because you are convinced that it is impossible for a man to be temperate in his private life and in secret, if in public and openly he is willing to be licentious and delights in the theatres; if, in short, temperance is really this sort of thing, then you yourself have ruined yourself and moreover you are ruining us, who cannot bear in the first place even to hear the name of slavery, whether it be slavery to the gods or the laws. For sweet is liberty in all things!

“But what an affectation of humility is yours! You say that you are not our master and you will not let yourself be so called, nay more, you resent the idea, so that you have actually persuaded the majority of men who have long grown accustomed to it, to get rid of this word ‘Government’ as though it were something invidious; and yet you compel us to be enslaved to magistrates and laws. But how much better it would be for you to accept the name of master, but in actual fact to allow us to be free, you who are so very mild about the names we use and so

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δὲ τὰ ἔργα; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀποκναίεις βιαζόμενος μὲν τοὺς πλουσίους ἐν δικαστηρίοις μετριά- 344  
 ζειν, τοὺς πένητας δὲ εἵργεις συκοφαντεῖν. ἀφείς  
 δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς μίμους καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς  
 ἀπολώλεκας ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν  
 ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχει παρὰ σοῦ πλὴν τῆς βαρύτητος,  
 ἧς ἀνεχόμενοι μῆνα ἕβδομον τουτουὶ τὸ μὲν εὐ-  
 χεσθαι πάντως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ τοσοῦτου κακοῦ  
 τοῖς περὶ τοὺς τάφους καλινδουμένοις γραδίοις  
 ξυνεχωρήσαμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
 εὐτραπελίας ἐξειργασάμεθα βάλλοντές σε τοῖς B  
 σκώμμασιν ὥσπερ τοξεύμασι. σὺ δέ, ὦ γενναῖε,  
 πῶς ἀνέξῃ τὰ Περσῶν βέλη, τὰ ἡμέτερα τρέσας  
 σκώμματα;

Ἴδού, βούλομαι πάλιν ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἐμαντῶ  
 λοιδορήσασθαι. “Φοιτᾶς εἰς τὰ ἱερά, δύσκολε καὶ  
 δύστροπε καὶ πάντα μοχθηρέ. συρρεῖ διὰ σέ τὰ  
 πλήθη πρὸς τὰ τεμένη καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ πλείους  
 τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ ἀποδέχονται σε σὺν βοῇ μετὰ  
 κρότων λαμπρῶς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσιν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς  
 θεάτροις. τί οὖν οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς οὐδ' ἐπαινεῖς, ἀλλ' C  
 ἐπιχειρεῖς εἶναι σοφώτερος τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ Πυ-  
 θίου, καὶ δημηγορεῖς ἐν τῷ πλήθει, καὶ καθάπτῃ  
 τῶν βοιώντων πικρῶς αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο λέγων, ὡς  
 Ἵμεῖς τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκεν ὀλιγάκις εἰς τὰ τεμένη  
 συνέρχεσθε, συνδραμόντες δὲ δι' ἐμὲ πολλῆς D  
 ἀκοσμίας ἀναπίμπλατε τὰ ἱερά. πρέπει δ' ἀν-  
 δράσι σῶφροσι κεκοσμημένως εὐχεσθαι συγῆ

very strict about the things we do! Then again you harass us by forcing the rich to behave with moderation in the lawcourts, though you keep the poor from making money by informing.<sup>1</sup> And by ignoring the stage and mimes and dancers you have ruined our city, so that we get no good out of you except your harshness; and this we have had to put up with these seven months, so that we have left it to the old crones who grovel among the tombs to pray that we may be entirely rid of so great a curse, but we ourselves have accomplished it by our own ingenious insolence, by shooting our satires at you like arrows. How, noble sir, will you face the darts of Persians, when you take flight at our ridicule?"

Come, I am ready to make a fresh start in abusing myself. "You, sir, go regularly to the temples, ill-tempered, perverse and wholly worthless as you are! It is your doing that the masses stream into the sacred precincts, yes and most of the magistrates as well, and they give you a splendid welcome, greeting you with shouts and clapping in the precincts as though they were in the theatres. Then why do you not treat them kindly and praise them? Instead of that you try to be wiser in such matters than the Pythian god,<sup>2</sup> and you make harangues to the crowd and with harsh words rebuke those who shout. These are the very words you use to them: 'You hardly ever assemble at the shrines to do honour to the gods, but to do me honour you rush here in crowds and fill the temples with much disorder. Yet it becomes prudent men to pray in orderly

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* bringing false accusations, which was the trade of the sycophant or blackmailer.

<sup>2</sup> Apollo who was worshipped at Daphne near Antioch.

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παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ. τοῦτον οὐκ ἠκροᾶσθε τὸν νόμον Ὅμηρου

Σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων—,

οὐδ' ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπέσχε τὴν Εὐρύκλειαν ἐκπεπληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γρηῦν, χαῖρε καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυζε;

τὰς δὲ δὴ Τρωάδας οὔτι πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἢ τινα τῶν τούτου θυγατέρων ἢ υἱέων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἔκτορα· καίτοι τούτῳ φησὶν ὡς θεῶ τοὺς 345 Τρῶας εὐχέσθαι· εὐχομένας δὲ οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει οὔτε γυναῖκας οὔτε ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι, φησί, χεῖρας ἀνέσχον, βαρβαρικὸν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γυναιξὶ πρόπον, οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὥσπερ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ποιούμενον. ἐπαινεῖτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς B ἀνθρώπους ἡμᾶς κολακεύετε. κάλλιστον δ' ἔστιν οἶμαι μηδ' ἐκείνους κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν σωφρόνως."

Ἰδοῦ, πάλιν ἐγὼ τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτεῦω λεξειδία καὶ οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ συγχωρῶ φθέγγεσθαι ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους σκαιότητος καὶ ἐμαυτὸν συκοφαντῶ. ταῦτά τις καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἂν λέγοι πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς C θεοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὅπως τις εὔνοιας

fashion, and to ask blessings from the gods in silence. Have you never heard Homer's maxim, "In silence, to yourselves"<sup>1</sup>—, or how Odysseus checked Euryclia when she was stricken with amazement by the greatness of his success, "Rejoice, old woman, in thy heart, and restrain thyself, and utter no loud cry"<sup>2</sup>? And again, Homer did not show us the Trojan women praying to Priam or to any one of his daughters or sons, nay not even to Hector himself (though he does indeed say that the men of Troy were wont to pray to Hector as to a god); but in his poems he did not show us either women or men in the act of prayer to him, but he says that to Athene all the women lifted up their hands with a loud cry,<sup>3</sup> which was in itself a barbaric thing to do and suitable only for women, but at any rate it displayed no impiety to the gods as does your conduct. For you applaud men instead of the gods, or rather instead of the gods you flatter me who am a mere man. But it would be best, I think, not to flatter even the gods but to worship them with temperate hearts.' "

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

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 7. 195

τόφρ' ὑμεῖς εὐχεσθε Διὶ Κρονίωνι, ἀνακτι  
σιγγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων, ἵνα μὴ Τρῶές γε πόθωνται.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* 22. 411.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 6. 301.



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αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ πατὴρ ἥπιος νομισθείη, φύσει  
 πονηρὸς ὢν ὡσπερ ἐγώ. ἀνέχου τοίνυν αὐτῶν  
 μισούντων καὶ λοιδορούντων λάθρα ἢ καὶ φα-  
 νερώς, ἐπειδὴ κολακεύειν ἐνόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς  
 ἱεροῖς ὀρμῇ μιᾷ<sup>1</sup> σε ἐπαινοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι  
 διενότηθης ὅπως ἀρμόσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς  
 ἐπιτηδεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἰβίοις οὔτε τοῖς ἡθεσιν.  
 εἶεν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο τίς ἀνέξεται σου; καθεύδεις  
 ὡς ἐπίπαν νύκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδέν, ὃ σου D  
 τὸν ἄγριον καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμόν· ἀποκέ-  
 κλεισται δὲ πάσῃ πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμία·  
 καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ζῶν  
 βίον εὐφραίνει καὶ πεποίησαι τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας  
 ἡδονήν. εἶτα ἀγανακτεῖς, εἴ του τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 ἀκούεις; ἔξὸν εἰδέναι χάριν τοῖς ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἐμ-  
 μελέστερόν σε νουθετοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις  
 ἀποψιλῶσαι μὲν τὰς παρειάς, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ  
 σαυτοῦ πρώτον ἀρξάμενον δεικνύειν πάντα τῷ  
 δήμῳ τῷ φιλογέλωτι τῷδε θεάματα, μίμους, 346  
 ὀρχηστάς, ἡκιστα αἰσχυνομένας γυναῖκας, παι-  
 δάρια περὶ κάλλους ἀμιλλώμενα ταῖς γυναιξίν,  
 ἄνδρας ἀπεψιλωμένους οὔτι τὰς γνάθους μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα, λειότεροι τῶν γυναικῶν  
 ὅπως φαίνονται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἑορτάς, πανη-  
 γύρεις, οὔτι μὰ Δία τὰς ἱεράς, ἐν αἷς χρή σωφρο-  
 νεῖν· ἄλις μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ὡσπερ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ὀρμῇ μιᾷ Naber, ὀρῶμενόν Hertlein, MSS.

indulgent father,"<sup>1</sup> even though one is by nature an ill-conditioned person like myself: "Bear with them then, when they hate and abuse you in secret or even openly, since you thought that those who applauded you with one accord in the temples were only flattering you. For surely you did not suppose that you would be in harmony with the pursuits or the lives or the temperaments of these men. I grant that. But who will bear with this other habit of yours? You always sleep alone at night, and there is no way of softening your savage and uncivilised temper—since all avenues are closed to anything that might sweeten your disposition,—and the worst of all these evils is that you delight in living that sort of life and have laid pleasure under a general ban. Then can you feel aggrieved if you hear yourself spoken of in such terms? No, you ought to feel grateful to those who out of kindness of heart admonish you wittily in anapaestic verse to shave your cheeks smooth, and then, beginning with yourself, first to show to this laughter-loving people all sorts of fine spectacles, mimes, dancers, shameless women, boys who in their beauty emulate women, and men who have not only their jaws shaved smooth but their whole bodies too, so that those who meet them may think them smoother than women; yes and feasts too and general festivals, not, by Zeus, the sacred ones at which one is bound to behave with sobriety. No, we have had enough of those, like the oak tree in the proverb;<sup>2</sup> we are completely

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 5. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *δρῦς καὶ πέτρα*, literally, "the oak tree and the rock" became a proverb for something hackneyed; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 35, ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;

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δρυός, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κόρος αὐτῶν. ἔθυσεν ὁ καῖσαρ B  
 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἄπαξ, εἶτα ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης, εἰς  
 τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τρις ἐφεξῆς ἐβάδισεν· ἐπιλέ-  
 λησμαι γὰρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Δάφνης ὀσάκις εἰσῆλθον  
 τέμενος, προδοθὲν μὲν ὀλιγωρία τῶν φυλάκων,  
 ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνδρῶν τόλμαις ἀφανισθέν. ἡ  
 Σύρων ἤκει νουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὐθις εἰς  
 Φιλίου Διός· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἑορτή, καὶ ὁ  
 καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπι- C  
 σχῶν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς  
 εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τίς  
 ἀνέξεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντος καῖσαρος,  
 ἐξὸν ἄπαξ ἢ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπιτελεῖν δὲ  
 τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐκείνας, ὅποσαι κοιναὶ μὲν εἰσι  
 παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὧν ἕξοστι μετέχειν οὐ τοῖς  
 ἐπισταμένοις μόνον θεοῦς,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὧν<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις πλήρης; ἡδονὴ δὲ πολλὴ καὶ  
 χάριτες, ὅποίας ἂν τις εὐφραίνοιτο διηνεκῶς  
 καρπούμενος, ὁρῶν ὀρχουμένους ἀνδρας καὶ παι- D  
 δάρια καὶ γυναῖα πολλά.

ἽΟταν οὖν ταῦτα λογίσωμαι, μακαρίζω μὲν  
 ὑμᾶς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐμαντῷ δὲ οὐκ ἄχθομαι

<sup>1</sup> μόνον θεοῦς Hertlein suggests, θεοῦς MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ὧν Naber, ὧν Hertlein, MSS.

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

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

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

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

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φίλα γάρ ἐστὶ μοι κατὰ τινα θεὸν ἴσως ταῦτα.  
 διόπερ οὐδ' ἀγανακτῶ, εὐ ἴστε, τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσί  
 μου τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει. προστίθημι δ'  
 αὐτὸς ὅσα δυνατόν ἐστὶ μοι τοῖς εἰς ἑμαυτὸν  
 σκώμμασι μειζόνως ἐπικαταχέων ἑμαυτοῦ ταυτασι  
 τὰς λαιδορίας, ὅς ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ συνήκα, 347  
 ποταπὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἦθος,  
 καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ὡς ἑμαυτὸν  
 πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω.  
 λέγεται τοί ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως  
 βασιλέα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐπερ ἐπώνυμος ἦδε ἢ πόλις  
 συνφοκίσθη· πεπόλισται<sup>1</sup> μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου,  
 τοῦνομα δὲ ἔχει ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου παιδός· ὃν δὴ  
 φασὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀβρότητας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐρώντα B  
 αἰεὶ καὶ ἐρώμενον τέλος ἄδικον ἔρωτα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 μητριᾶς ἐρασθῆναι· κρύπτειν δ' ἐθέλοντα τὸ  
 πάθος οὐ δύνασθαι, τὸ σῶμα δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ  
 μικρὸν τηκόμενον ἀφανῶς οἴχεσθαι, καὶ ὑπορρεῖν  
 τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔλαττον εἶναι τοῦ  
 συνήθους. ἐφίκει δ' οἶμαι τὰ<sup>2</sup> κατ' αὐτὸν αἰνίγ-  
 ματι, σαφῆ μὲν οὐκ ἐχούσης αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' αὐτῆς, ἣτις ποτέ ἐστι, φαινομένης, C  
 ἐναργοῦς δ' οὔσης τῆς περὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἀσθε-  
 νείας. ἐνθάδε μέγας ἄθλος ἰατρῷ προυτέθη τῷ  
 Σαμίῳ τὴν νόσον, ἣτις ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐξευρεῖν. ὁ  
 δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου, τίνες ποτέ εἰσιν

<sup>1</sup> πεπόλισται Cobet, Hertlein approves, τεποίηται MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ Hertlein suggests, τὸ MSS.

not reproach myself. For perhaps it is some god who has made me prefer my own ways. Be assured then that I have no grievance against those who quarrel with my way of life and my choice. But I myself add, as far as I can, to the sarcasms against myself and with a more liberal hand I pour down on my own head these abusive charges. For it was due to my own folly that I did not understand what has been the temper of this city from the beginning; and that too though I am convinced that I have turned over quite as many books as any man of my own age. You know of course the tale that is told about the king who gave his name to this city—or rather whose name the city received when it was colonised, for it was founded by Seleucus, though it takes its name from the son<sup>1</sup> of Seleucus—; they say<sup>2</sup> then that out of excessive softness and luxury the latter was constantly falling in love and being loved, and finally he conceived a dishonourable passion for his own step-mother. And though he wished to conceal his condition he could not, and little by little his body began to waste away and to become transparent, and his powers to wane, and his breathing was feebler than usual. But what could be the matter with him was, I think, a sort of riddle, since his malady had no visible cause, or rather it did not even appear what was its nature, though the youth's weakness was manifest. Then the physician of Samos<sup>3</sup> was set a difficult problem, namely to discover what was the nature of the malady. Now he, suspecting from the words of Homer<sup>4</sup> what is

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Antiochus.      <sup>2</sup> cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius*.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Erasistratus.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase occurs in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 66, but not in Homer.

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αἱ γνισβόροι μελεδῶναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἀσθένεια σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀρρωστία ψυχῆς αἰτία γίγνεται τηκεδόνης τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὀρῶν ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας καὶ συνηθείας οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος θήραν. καθίζει πλησίον τῆς κλίνης ἀφορῶν D εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειρακίου, παριέναι κελεύσας καλοῦς τε καὶ καλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξαμένους. ἡ δ' ὡς ἦλθεν, ἐπισκεψομένη δῆθεν αὐτόν, αὐτίκα ἐδίδου τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ πάθους ὁ νεανίας, ἀσθμα τῶν θλιβομένων ἠφίει, ἐπέχειν γὰρ αὐτὸ κινούμενον καίπερ σφόδρα ἐθέλων οὐχ οἴος τε ἦν, καὶ ταραχὴ ἦν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρύθημα. ταῦτα ὀρῶν 348 ὁ ἰατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἐπήδα δεινῶς ἢ καρδία καὶ ἔξω ἴετο. τοιαῦτα ἅττα ἔπασχεν ἐκείνης παρουσίας· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν, ἐπιόντων ἄλλων, ἀτρέμας εἶχε καὶ ἦν ὅμοιος τοῖς οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. συνιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος φράζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ὅς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλόπαις εἶναι παραχωρεῖν ἔφη τῷ παιδί τῆς γαμετῆς. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἡρνήσατο· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἦν πρότερον διδομένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενῶς ἡρνήθη, μάλα κραταιῶς μετεδίωξεν.

Ἄντιόχῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιήθη. τοῖς δ' ἀπ' B ἐκείνου γενομένοις οὐ νέμεσις ζηλοῦν τὸν οἰκιστὴν

the nature of "cares that devour the limbs," and that in many cases it is not a bodily weakness but an infirmity of soul that causes a wasting of the body; and seeing moreover that the youth was very susceptible to love because of his time of life and his habits, he took the following way of tracking down the disease. He sat near the youth's couch and watched his face, after ordering handsome youths and women to walk past him, beginning with the queen<sup>1</sup> herself. Now when she entered, apparently to see how he was, the young man at once began to show the symptoms of his malady. He breathed like one who is being choked; for though he was very anxious to control his agitated breathing, he could not, but it became disordered, and a deep blush spread over his face. The physician on seeing this laid his hand to his breast, and found that his heart was beating terribly fast and was trying to burst forth from his breast. Such were his symptoms while she was present; but when she had gone away and others came in he remained calm and was like a man in a normal state of health. Then Erasistratus saw what ailed him and told the king, and he out of love for his son said that he would give up his wife to him. Now the youth for the moment refused; but when his father died not long after, he sought with the greatest vehemence the favour which he had so honourably refused when it was first offered to him.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Stratonice.

<sup>2</sup> In Plutarch's version Antiochus married Stratonice during his father's lifetime.



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ἢ τὸν ἐπώνυμον.<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς εἰκὸς  
 ἔστι διαδίδοσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὰς ποιότητας,  
 ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἐπίπαν ὅμοια τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς  
 ἐξ ὧν ἐβλάστησε φύεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων εἶναι εἰκὸς παραπλήσια τὰ ἦθη τῶν  
 ἀπογόνων τοῖς προγόνους. ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἔγνω Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ C  
 φιλανθρωποτάτους· καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐπιεικῶς ἐν  
 πάσιν εἶδον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἔχω δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν  
 εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ  
 καὶ δεξιοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, καθόλου μὲν  
 Ἑλληνας πάντες, αὐτῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων πλέον  
 τοῦτο ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι  
 διασώζουσιν εἰκόνα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσιν  
 ἀρετῆς, εἰκὸς δὴπουθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν καὶ  
 Σύροις καὶ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Θραξί  
 καὶ Παίοσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένοις Θρακῶν  
 καὶ Παιόνων ἐπ' αὐταῖς Ἰστρου ταῖς ἡόσι D  
 Μυσοῖς, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ μοι πᾶν  
 ἄγροικον, αὐστηρόν, ἀδέξιον, ἀναφρόδιτον, ἐμ-  
 μένον τοῖς κριθείσιν ἀμετακινήτως· ἃ δὴ πάντα  
 ἐστὶ δείγματα δεινῆς ἀγροικίας.

Αἰτοῦμαι τοίνυν ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ πρῶτον συγ-  
 γνώμην, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν νέμω τὰ πάτρια  
 ζηλοῦσιν, οὐδ' ἐν ὀνείδει προφέρομαι τὸ

Ψεῦσταί τ' ὄρχησται τε χοροῖτυπήσιν ἄριστοι, 349  
 τούναντίον δὲ ἀντ' ἐγκωμίων ὑμῖν προσεῖναί

<sup>1</sup> ἐπώνυμον Hertlein suggests, δμάνυμον MSS.

they emulate their founder or him who gave his name to the city. For just as in the case of plants it is natural that their qualities should be transmitted for a long time, or rather that, in general, the succeeding generation should resemble its ancestors; so too in the case of human beings it is natural that the morals of descendants should resemble those of their ancestors. I myself, for instance, have found that the Athenians are the most ambitious for honour and the most humane of all the Greeks. And indeed I have observed that these qualities exist in an admirable degree among all the Greeks, and I can say for them that more than all other nations they love the gods, and are hospitable to strangers; I mean all the Greeks generally, but among them the Athenians above all, as I can bear witness. And if they still preserve in their characters the image of their ancient virtue, surely it is natural that the same thing should be true of the Syrians also, and the Arabs and Celts and Thracians and Paeonians, and those who dwell between the Thracians and Paeonians, I mean the Mysians on the very banks of the Danube, from whom my own family is derived, a stock wholly boorish, austere, awkward, without charm and abiding immovably by its decisions; all of which qualities are proofs of terrible boorishness.

I therefore ask for forgiveness, in the first place for myself, and in my turn I grant it to you also since you emulate the manners of your forefathers, nor do I bring it against you as a reproach when I say that you are "Liars and dancers, well skilled to dance in a chorus";<sup>1</sup> on the contrary it is in the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 24. 261.

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φημι πατρίων ζήλον ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπαινῶν τὸν Λυτόλυκόν φησι περιεῖναι πάντων

Κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκω τε.

καὶ ἔμαντοῦ τὴν σκαιότητα καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως μαλάττεσθαι B  
μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐξαπατῶσι τὰ ἔμαντοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοαῖς εἶκειν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργω ὀνειδή. πότερα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ κουφότερα, θεοῖς ἴσως δῆλον, ἐπεὶπερ ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν βραβεῦσαι· πεισόμεθα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ διὰ φιλαυτίαν, θαυμάζειν γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὁ δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐναντία ζηλοῦντι νέμων συγγνώμην εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ πραότατος.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐννοήσας εὐρίσκω καὶ ἕτερα δεινὰ C  
ἔμαντὸν εἰργασμένον. πόλει γὰρ προσίων ἐλευθέρα, τὸν αὐχμὸν τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένη, ὥσπερ οἱ κουρέων ἀποροῦντες ἄκαρτος καὶ βαθυγένειος εἰσέδραμον· ἐνόμισας ἂν Σμικρίνην ὀρᾶν ἢ Θρασυλέοντα, δύσκολον πρεσβύτην ἢ στρατιώτην ἀνόητον, ἐξὸν φανῆναι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παιῖδα ὠραῖον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἀβρότητα τοῦ προσώπου. D  
“Οὐκ οἶσθα ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπαινέτης

place of a panegyric that I ascribe to you emulation of the practice of your forefathers. For Homer too is praising Autolyclus when he says that he surpassed all men "in stealing and perjury."<sup>1</sup> And as for my own awkwardness and ignorance and ill-temper, and my inability to be influenced, or to mind my own business when people beg me to do so or try to deceive me and that I cannot yield to their clamour—even such reproaches I gladly accept. But whether your ways or mine are more supportable is perhaps clear to the gods, for among men there is no one capable of arbitrating in our disagreement. For such is our self-love that we shall never believe him, since everyone of us naturally admires his own ways and despises those of other men. In fact he who grants indulgence to one whose aims are the opposite of his own is, in my opinion, the most considerate of men.

But now I come to ponder the matter I find that I have committed yet other terrible sins. For though I was coming to a free city which cannot tolerate unkempt hair, I entered it unshaven and with a long beard, like men who are at a loss for a barber. One would have thought it was some Smicrines<sup>2</sup> he saw, or some Thrasyleon, some ill-tempered old man or crazy soldier, when by beautifying myself I might have appeared as a blooming boy and transformed myself into a youth, if not in years, at any rate in manners and effeminacy of features. "You do not know," you answer, "how to mix with people, and

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 19. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Smicrines is a typical name in New Comedy for an avaricious old man; Thrasyleon is said to have been used by Menander as the name of a boasting soldier, "miles gloriosus."

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

εἰ τοῦ Θεόγνιδος, οὐδὲ μιμῆ τὸν ἀφομοιούμενον  
 ταῖς πέτραις πολύπουν, ἀλλ' ἢ λεγομένη Μυκό-  
 μιος ἀγροικία τε καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ ἀβελτηρία  
 πρὸς πάντας ἐπιτηδεύεται παρὰ σοῦ. λέληθέ  
 σε ὅτι<sup>1</sup> πολλοῦ δεῖ ταῦτα εἶναι Κελτοὶ καὶ  
 Θράκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοί; οὐχ ὄρας, ὅποσα μὲν  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καπηλεῖα; σὺ δὲ ἀπεχθάνῃ 350  
 τοῖς καπήλοις οὐ ξυγχωρῶν ὅποσου βούλονται  
 πωλεῖν αὐτούς<sup>2</sup> τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐπιδημοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους τὴν γῆν  
 αἰτιῶνται. σὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖ  
 σαυτῷ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζων. οἱ δὲ ἐν  
 τέλει τῆς πόλεως ἀμφοῖν μετέχοντες ταῖν ζη-  
 μίαιν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι πρότερον ἔχαιρον διχόθεν  
 καρπούμενοι τὰς ὠφελείας, καὶ ὡς κεκτημένοι B  
 καὶ ὡς καπηλεύοντες, τὰ νῦν εἰκότως λυποῦνται  
 δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀφηρημένοι τὰς ἐπικερδείας. ὁ  
 δὲ τῶν Σύρων δῆμος οὐκ ἔχων μεθύειν οὐδὲ  
 κορδακίζειν ἄχθεται. σὺ δὲ σῖτον ἄφθονον παρέ-  
 χων οἶει τρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἱκανῶς. ἐκείνο δέ σου  
 χαρίεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅπως ἰχθὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πετραῖος  
 ἔσται σκοπεῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόφην μεμφομένου  
 τινός, ὡς οὔτε ἰχθυδίων οὔτε ὀρνίθων πολλῶν

<sup>1</sup> σε ὅτι—δεῖ Cobet, σε—δεῖν Hertlein, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς Reiske, αὐτοῖς Hertlein, MSS.

you cannot approve of the maxim of Theognis,<sup>1</sup> for you do not imitate the polypus which takes on the colours of the rocks. Nay rather you behave to all men with the proverbial Myconian<sup>2</sup> boorishness and ignorance and stupidity. Are you not aware that we here are far from being Celts or Thracians or Illyrians? Do you not see what a number of shops there are in this city? But you are hated by the shopkeepers because you do not allow them to sell provisions to the common people and those who are visiting the city at a price as high as they please. The shopkeepers blame the landowners for the high prices; but you make these men also your enemies, by compelling them to do what is just. Again, those who hold office in the city are subject to both penalties; I mean that just as, before you came, they obviously used to enjoy profits from both sources, both as landowners and as shopkeepers, so naturally they are now aggrieved on both accounts, since they have been robbed of their profits from both sources. Then the whole body of Syrian citizens are discontented because they cannot get drunk and dance the cordax.<sup>3</sup> You, however, think that you are feeding them well enough if you provide them with plenty of corn. Another charming thing about you is that you do not even take care that the city shall have shell-fish. Nay more, when someone complained the other day that neither shell-fish nor much poultry could be found in the market, you laughed very maliciously and said that a

<sup>1</sup> Theognis 215 foll. advises men to imitate the adaptability of the polypus.

<sup>2</sup> Mykonos was an island in the Cyclades whose inhabitants were proverbial for poverty and greed.

<sup>3</sup> The cordax was a lascivious dance.

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εὐρισκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τωθαστικὸν μάλα ἐγέ- C  
 λασας, ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου τῇ σώφρονι  
 πόλει δεῖν φάμενος, κρεῶν δ' ἤδη τῇ τρυφώσῃ·  
 τὸ γὰρ καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνιθίων λόγον ποιεῖσθαι  
 πέρα τρυφῆς εἶναι καὶ ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκῃ  
 μνηστήρσι μετὴν ἀσελγείας. ὅτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐν  
 ἡδονῇ κρέα ὕεια καὶ προβάτεια σιτεῖσθαι, τῶν  
 ὀσπρίων ἀπτόμενος εὖ πράξει. ταῦτα ἐνόμισας  
 Θραξὶ νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαυτοῦ πολίταις ἢ τοῖς D  
 ἀναισθήτοις Γαλάταις, οἳ σε ἐπαιδοτρίβησαν  
 καθ' ἡμῶν “πρίνινον, σφενδάμνινον,” οὐκέτι  
 μέντοι καὶ “Μαραθωνομάχον,” ἀλλ' Ἀχαρνεά  
 μὲν ἐξ ἡμισείας, ἀηδὴ δ' ἄνδρα παντάπασι καὶ  
 ἄνθρωπον ἄχαριν. οὐ κρεῖττον ἦν ὀδωδέναί μύρων  
 τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδίζοντός σου καὶ παῖδας ἡγεῖσθαι  
 καλοῦς, εἰς οὓς ἀποβλέψουσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ  
 χοροὺς γυναικῶν, ὅποιοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἴστανται καθ'  
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν;”

Ἐμὲ δὲ ὑγρὸν βλέπειν ρίπτουντα πανταχοῦ 351  
 τὰ ὄμματα, ὅπως ὑμῖν καλός, οὔτι τὴν ψυχὴν,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀφθείην, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχω-  
 ρεῖ. ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχῆς ἀληθινὸν  
 κάλλος ὑγρότης βίου. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδί-  
 δασκεν εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα·  
 θέατρον δ' οὐκ εἶδον πρὶν μᾶλλον κομῆσαι τῆς

well-conducted city needs bread, wine and olive oil, but meat only when it is growing luxurious.<sup>1</sup> For you said that even to speak of fish and poultry is the extreme of luxury and of profligacy such as was beyond the reach of even the suitors in Ithaca; and that anyone who did not enjoy eating pork and mutton<sup>2</sup> would fare very well if he took to vegetables.<sup>3</sup> You must have thought that you were laying down these rules for Thracians, your own fellow-citizens, or for the uncultured people of Gaul who—so much the worse for us!—trained you to be ‘a heart of maple, a heart of oak,’ though not indeed ‘one who fought at Marathon’<sup>4</sup> also, but rather to be half of you an Acharnian and altogether an unpleasant person and an ungracious fellow. Would it not be better that the market place should be fragrant with myrrh when you walk there and that you should be followed by a troop of handsome boys at whom the citizens could stare, and by choruses of women like those that exhibit themselves every day in our city?”

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

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Republic* 372 E.

<sup>2</sup> The suitors of Penelope lived on pork and mutton.

<sup>3</sup> Literally “pulse.”

<sup>4</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 180 uses these words to describe the older, more robust generation of Athenians.



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κεφαλῆς τὸ γένειον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἰδίᾳ  
 μὲν καὶ κατ' ἑμαυτὸν οὐδέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἡ τέ-  
 τартον, εὐ ἴστε, Πατρόκλῳ ἐπίηρα φέρων ἄρχων B  
 ἐπέταττεν οἰκεῖος ὧν ἔμοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖος· ἐτύγγα-  
 νον δὲ ἰδιώτης ἔτι· σύγγνωτε οὖν ἐμοί· δίδωμι  
 γὰρ ὃν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ δικαιότερον μισήσετε τὸν φιλαπ-  
 εχθῆμονα παιδαγωγόν, ὅς με καὶ τότε ἐλύπει  
 μίαν ὁδὸν ἰέναι διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αἰτιός ἐστί μοι  
 τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπεχθείας, ἐνεργασάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ C  
 καὶ ὡσπερ ἐντυπώσας ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐβου-  
 λόμην τότε, ὁ δὲ ὡς δὴ τι χαρίεν ποιῶν μάλα  
 προθύμως ἐνετίθει, καλῶν οἶμαι σεμνότητα τὴν  
 ἀγροικίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀν-  
 δρείαν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἶκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδ'  
 εὐδαίμονα ταύτῃ γίνεσθαι. ἔφη δέ μοι πολλάκις,  
 εὐ ἴστε, ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ μούσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἔτι  
 παιδαρίῳ κομιδῇ, Μή σε παραπειθέτω τὸ πλῆθος  
 τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θέατρα φερόμενον ὀρεχθῆναί D  
 ποτε ταυτησὶ τῆς θεάς. ἵπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς;  
 ἔστι παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δεξιώτατα πεποιημένη· λαβὼν  
 ἐπέξιθι τὸ βιβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἀκούεις  
 ὀρχηστάς; ἔα χαίρειν αὐτοῖς· ἀνδρικώτερον παρὰ  
 τοῖς Φαίαξιν ὀρχεῖται τὰ μεράκια· σὺ δ' ἔχεις  
 κιθαρῳδὸν τὸν Φῆμιον καὶ ὠδὸν τὸν Δημόδοκον.

than on my head,<sup>1</sup> and even at that age it was never on my own account and by my own wish, but three or four times, you must know, the governor who was my kinsman and near relative, "doing a favour to Patroclus," ordered me to attend; it was while I was still a private individual.<sup>2</sup> Therefore forgive me. For I hand over to you instead of myself one whom you will more justly detest, I mean that curmudgeon my tutor who even then used to harass me by teaching me to walk in one straight path<sup>3</sup> and now he is responsible for my quarrel with you. It was he who wrought in my soul and as it were carved therein what I did not then desire, though he was very zealous in implanting it, as though he were producing some charming characteristic; and boorishness he called dignity, lack of taste he called sobriety, and not yielding to one's desires or achieving happiness by that means he called manliness. I assure you, by Zeus and the Muses, that while I was still a mere boy my tutor would often say to me: "Never let the crowd of your playmates who flock to the theatres lead you into the mistake of craving for such spectacles as these. Have you a passion for horse races? There is one in Homer,<sup>4</sup> very cleverly described. Take the book and study it. Do you hear them talking about dancers in pantomime? Leave them alone! Among the Phaeacians the youths dance in more manly fashion. And for citharode<sup>5</sup> you have Phemius; for singer Demodocus. Moreover

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Symposium* 4. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* before he had been appointed Caesar.   <sup>3</sup> cf. 352 c.

<sup>4</sup> The chariot race in *Iliad* 23.

<sup>5</sup> The citharode played and sang to the lyre: Phemius was at the court of Odysseus in Ithaca; Demodocus in Phaeacia.

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ἔστι καὶ φυτὰ παρ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ τερπνότερα  
ἀκούσαι τῶν ὀρωμένων

Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμὸν  
Φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.

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καὶ ἡ δενδρήεσσα τῆς Καλυψοῦς νῆσος καὶ τὰ  
τῆς Κίρκης σπήλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίνου κήπος· εὖ  
ἴσθι, τούτων οὐδὲν ὄψει τερπνότερον.

Ἄρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τοῦνομα ὑμῖν φράσω τοῦ  
παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὅστις ὦν γένος ταῦτα ἔλεγε;  
βάρβαρος νῆ θεοῦς καὶ θεάς, Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος,  
ὁμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ξέρξην ἀναπείσαντος ἐπὶ  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον  
τοῦτο δὴ πρὸ μηνῶν μὲν εἴκοσι προσκυνούμενον B  
ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἀντ' ἀδικήματος καὶ  
ὀνειδούς, εὐνούχος ἦν, ὑπὸ τῶμῳ τεθραμμένος  
πάππῳ, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγάγοι διὰ  
τῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ποιημάτων. ἐπεὶ δ'  
ἐκείνη πρῶτον ἐμὲ καὶ μόνον τεκοῦσα μῆσιν  
ὑστερον ὀλίγοις ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμήτορος  
παρθένου πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἐκκλαπίσα κόρη C  
καὶ νέα, μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἑβδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθη.  
οὗτος ἐξ ἐκείνου ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγων ἐς διδα-  
σκάλου μίαν ὁδὸν ἄλλην δ' οὐτ' αὐτὸς εἰδέναι

there are in Homer many plants more delightful to hear of than those that we can see: 'Even so did I once see the young shoot of a date palm springing up near the altar of Apollo on Delos.'<sup>1</sup> And consider the wooded island of Calypso and the caves of Circe and the garden of Alcinous; be assured that you will never see anything more delightful than these."

And now do you want me to tell you also my tutor's name and the nationality of the man who used to say these things? He was a barbarian, by the gods and goddesses; by birth he was a Scythian, and he had the same name<sup>2</sup> as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Greece. Moreover he was a eunuch, a word which, twenty months ago,<sup>3</sup> was constantly heard and revered, though it is now applied as an insult and a term of abuse. He had been brought up under the patronage of my grandfather, in order that he might instruct my mother<sup>4</sup> in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. And since she, after giving birth to me her first and only child, died a few months later, snatched away while she was still a young girl by the motherless maiden<sup>5</sup> from so many misfortunes that were to come, I was handed over to him after my seventh year. From that time he won me over to these views of his, and led me to school by one straight path; and since

<sup>1</sup> Odysseus thus refers to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6. 162.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Mardonius; it was a Sophistic mannerism to use such a periphrasis instead of giving the name directly; see vol. i. *Introduction*, p. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Constantius was under the influence of the powerful eunuchs of his court; they had been expelled by Julian, but Mardonius was an exception to his class.

<sup>4</sup> Basilina. <sup>5</sup> Athene.

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θέλων οὐτ' ἐμοὶ βαδίζειν ξυγχωρῶν ἐποίησεν· ἀπεχθάνεσθαί με πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, σπεισώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀπέχθειαν λύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἠπίστατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφιζόμενον οὐτ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστα φοιτᾶν μέλλοιμι, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχων προσεδόκα, καὶ τοσαύτην D ἀρχήν, ὅσῃν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοί, πολλὰ ὁμοῦ βιασάμενοι, πείσθητέ μοι, καὶ τὸν διδόντα καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον. ἐφύκει γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος ἐθέλειν οὔτε ὁ διδοὺς τὴν τιμὴν ἢ χάριν ἢ ὅ,τι φίλον ὑμῖν αὐτὸ ὀνομάζειν δοῦναι, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἀληθῶς ἠρνεῖτο. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον ἔχει τε καὶ ἔξει. τυχὸν δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς εἰ προύγνω τοῦτο, πολλὴν ἂν ἐποίησάτο 353 προμήθειαν, ὅπως ὅ,τι μάλιστα ὑμῖν φανείην κεχαρισμένος.

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

What then, you will ask, is it not possible even now for me to lay aside my character, and to repent of the boorish temper that was bred in me in earlier days? Habit, as the saying goes, is second nature. But to fight with nature is hard; and to shake off the training of thirty years is very difficult, especially when it was carried on with such painful effort, and I am already more than thirty years old. "Well and good," you answer, "but what is the matter with you that you try to hear and decide cases about contracts? For surely your tutor did not teach you this also, since he did not even know whether you would govern." Yes, it was that terrible old man who convinced me that I ought to do so;

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ὡς ὄντα μάλιστα αἰτιώτατον τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευ-  
 μάτων ὀρθῶς ποιοῦντες ξυλλοιδορεῖτέ μοι, καὶ  
 τοῦτον δ', εὖ ἴστε, ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐξηπατημένον.  
 ὀνόματα ἦκει πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολλάκις κωμφοδούμενα,  
 Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ  
 Θεόφραστος. ἐκείνοις ὁ γέρων οὗτος πεισθεὶς ὑπ' C  
 ἀφροσύνης, ἔπειτα ἐμὲ νέον εὐρύων, ἐραστήν λόγων,  
 ἀνέπεισεν, ὡς, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκείνων ζηλωτῆς γε-  
 νοίμην, ἀμείνων ἔσομαι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἴσως οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν  
 ἄμιλλαν· ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἐγὼ δέ· οὐ γὰρ  
 εἶχον ὅ,τι ποιῶ· πεισθεὶς οὐκέτι δύναμαι μεταθέ-  
 σθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὀνειδίζω D  
 μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μὴ ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἄδειαν<sup>1</sup> ἀπάντων  
 ἀδικημάτων· ὑπείσι δὲ με ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὅσα  
 ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξῆλθε ξένος, “Τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ  
 μῆδὲν ἀδικῶν, ὁ δὲ μῆδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικούσιν  
 ἀδικεῖν πλεον ἢ διπλασίας τιμῆς ἄξιος ἐκείνου·  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἑνός, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἐτέρων,  
 μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀδικίαν. ὁ  
 δὲ καὶ συγκολάζων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὁ 354  
 μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὗτος ἀναγορευέ-  
 σθω νικηφόρος ἀρετῆς. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον  
 ἔπαινον καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρῆ λέγειν καὶ  
 περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τις κέκτη-

<sup>1</sup> πᾶσιν ἄδειαν Cobet, πᾶσι πᾶσαν ἄδειαν Hertlein, MSS.

and you also do well to help me to abuse him, since he is of all men most responsible for my way of life; though he too, you must know, had in his turn been misled by others. Theirs are names that you have often met when they are ridiculed in Comedy—I mean Plato and Socrates, Aristotle and Theophrastus. This old man in his folly was first convinced by them, and then he got hold of me, since I was young and loved literature, and convinced me that if I would emulate those famous men in all things I should become better, not perhaps than other men—for it was not with them that I had to compete—but certainly better than my former self. Accordingly, since I had no choice in the matter, I obeyed him, and now I am no longer able to change my character, though indeed I often wish I could, and I blame myself for not granting to all men impunity for all wrong-doing. But then the words of the Athenian stranger in Plato occur to my mind: “Though he who does no wrong himself is worthy of honour, he who does not allow the wicked to do wrong is worthy of more than twice as much honour. For whereas the former is responsible for one man only, the latter is responsible for many others besides himself, when he reports to the magistrates the wrong-doing of the rest. And he who as far as he can helps the magistrates to punish wrong-doers, himself being the great and powerful man in the city, let him I say be proclaimed as winner of the prize for virtue. And we ought to utter the same eulogy with regard to temperance also, and wisdom and all the other good qualities that such a man possesses, and which are such that he is able



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ται, δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι.”

Ταῦτα ἐδίδασκέ με νομίζων ἰδιώτην ἔσεσθαι καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ προύγνω ταύτην ἐκ Διός μοι τὴν Β τύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἣν νῦν ὁ θεὸς φέρων κατέστησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενος ἄρχων ἰδιώτου φανλότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἑμαυτόν, οὐδὲν δέον, ὑμῖν τῆς ἀγροικίας μεταδιδούς τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ. καί με ἕτερος τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομνησθέντα ἑμαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅς φησι δεῖν αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα τὰ πλήθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς C ἀποβλέποντα κοσμήται. μόνῳ οὖν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιτηδεύοντι νῦν τοῦτο πρὸς θάτερα περιέστη καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐν ὀνειδίει. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν οἶδε παρ' ὑμῖν ξένοι νεήλυδες, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολίτης ὑμέτερος, Ἑρμῆ φίλος καὶ ἐμοί, λόγων ἀγαθὸς δημιουργός, οἷς οὐδέν ἐστι πρὸς τινα συμβόλαιον, οὐδ' ἄλλην ὁδὸν βαδίζομεν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὀλιγάκις, οὐ πάντες, εἰς τὰ D θέατρα, πεποιημένοι τὸ δυσκλεέστατον τῶν ἔργων

not only to have them himself but also to impart them to other men." <sup>1</sup>

These things he taught me when he thought that I should be a private citizen. For he certainly did not foresee that there would be assigned to me by Zeus this lot in life to which the god has now brought me and has set me therein. But I, because I was ashamed to be less virtuous as a ruler than I had been as a private citizen, have unconsciously given you the benefit of my own boorishness, though there was no necessity. And another of Plato's laws has made me take thought for myself and so become hateful in your eyes: I mean the law which says that those who govern, and also the older men, ought to train themselves in respect for others and in self-control, in order that the masses may look to them and so order their own lives aright. Now since I alone, or rather in company with a few others, am now pursuing this course, it has had a very different result and has naturally become a reproach against me. For we here are only seven persons, strangers and newcomers in your city,—though indeed one of our number is a fellow-citizen of yours, a man dear to Hermes and to me, an excellent craftsman of discourses.<sup>2</sup> And we have business dealings with no man, nor do we go by any road that does not lead to the temples of the gods; and seldom, and then not all of us, do we go to the theatres, since we have adopted the most inglorious line of conduct and the most

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Laws* 730 D.

<sup>2</sup> Julian refers to Libanius the famous rhetorician; with him were also Maximus of Ephesus, Priscus, Himerius and Oreibasius the physician.

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καὶ ἐπονειδιστότατον<sup>1</sup> τοῦ βίου τέλος· ἐπιτρέψουσί μοι πάντως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοὶ φάναι τι τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπιπολαζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδειξαίμην· ἐπὶ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτοὺς ἐτάξαμεν, οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸ προσκρούειν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δέον ἀρέσκειν καὶ θωπεύειν. ὁ δεῖνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν δεῖνα. Τί τοῦτο, ὦ μῶρε, πρὸς σέ; κοινωνεῖν ἐξὸν μετ' εὐνοίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀφείς τὸ κέρδος ἔχθραν ἐπαναιρῆ, καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν ὀρθῶς οἶε 355 ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαι ἔχρην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀδικουμένων οὐδεὶς αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, ὁ δ' ἀδικῶν εἴτα εἰργόμενος, ἀφείς μέμφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικούμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἄχθος.

Ἐξὸν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογιστίας ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δ' ἐκάστῳ πράττειν ὃ, τι ἂν ἐθέλη καὶ B δυνατὸς ᾗ· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἠθος οἶμαι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἐλεύθερον λίαν· σὺ δὲ οὐ ξυνεῖς ἄρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ φρονήσεως ἀξιοῖς; οὐδ' ἀπέβλεψας ὄση καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὄνων ἐστὶν ἐλευθερία παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμῆλων; ἄγουσί τοι καὶ ταύτας οἱ μισθωτοὶ διὰ τῶν στοῶν ὥσπερ τὰς νύμφας· οἱ γὰρ ὑπαίθριοι στενωποὶ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῶν ὁδῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δήπου πεποιήνται, τῷ χρῆ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπονειδιστότατον Hertlein suggests, ἐπονειδιστον MSS.

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

"Then when it was in your power by the aid of this careful reasoning to refrain from compelling us to do what is just; when you might have allowed every man to do whatever he pleases and has the power to do,—for the temper of the city is surely like that, excessively independent—do you then, I say, fail to understand this and assert that the citizens ought to be wisely governed? Have you not even observed what great independence exists among the citizens, even down to the very asses and camels? The men who hire them out lead even these animals through the porticoes as though they were brides. For the unroofed alleys and the broad highways were certainly not made for the use of pack-asses,

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σθαι αὐταῖς τοὺς κανθηλίους, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖναι μὲν  
 αὐτὴ δὴ τοῦτο κόσμου τινὸς ἕνεκα πρόκεινται καὶ  
 πολυτελείας, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας οἱ ὄνοι C  
 βούλονται ταῖς στοαῖς, εἶργει δ' αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς  
 οὐδενός, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέληται· οὕτως  
 ἢ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρα. σὺ δὲ ἀξιοῖς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ  
 νεανίσκους ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρο-  
 νεῖν ὃ, τι σοι φίλον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φθέγγεσθαι ὅσων  
 ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσης.<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας εἰώθασι  
 κωμάζειν, αἰεὶ μὲν ἐπιεικῶς αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ἐν δὲ  
 ταῖς ἑορταῖς πλέον.

Ἐδωκάν ποτε τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων Ῥω-  
 μαίοις Ταραντίνοι δίκας, ὅτι μεθύοντες ἐν τοῖς D  
 Διονυσίοις ὕβρισαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν.  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐδαι-  
 μονέστεροι, ἀντὶ μὲν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ὅλον εὐπα-  
 θοῦντες ἐνιαυτόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ξένων πρέσβειων εἰς  
 αὐτοὺς ἐξυβρίζοντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τούτων  
 εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ γενείου τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς  
 νομίσμασι χαράγματα. εὐ γε, ὦ πολῖται σώ- 356  
 φρονες, οἳ τε παίζοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν  
 παιζόντων ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύοντες. δῆλον  
 γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὴν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τοὺς  
 δὲ τὸ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων εὐ-  
 φραίνει. ταύτης ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς ὁμονοίας συνήδομαι,  
 καὶ εὐ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ πόλις ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα,  
 ὡς ἐκεῖνό γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ζηλωτὸν  
 εἶργειν καὶ κολάζειν τῶν νέων τὸ ἀκόλαστον. B  
 παραιρεῖσθαι γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀποθραύειν τῆς ἐλευ-  
 θερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἴ τις ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ λέγειν

<sup>1</sup> ἀκούσης Hertlein suggests, ἀκούσαις MSS.

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

Once upon a time the citizens of Tarentum paid to the Romans the penalty for this sort of jesting, seeing that, when drunk at the festival of Dionysus, they insulted the Roman ambassadors.<sup>1</sup> But you are in all respects more fortunate than the citizens of Tarentum, for you give yourselves up to pleasure throughout the whole year, instead of for a few days; and instead of foreign ambassadors you insult your own Sovereign, yes even the very hairs on his chin and the devices engraved on his coins.<sup>2</sup> Well done, O wise citizens, both ye who make such jests and ye who welcome and find profit in the jesters! For it is evident that uttering them gives pleasure to the former, while the latter rejoice to hear jests of this sort. I share your pleasure in this unanimity, and you do well to be a city of one mind in such matters, since it is not at all dignified or an enviable task to restrain and chastise the licentiousness of the young. For if one were to rob human beings of the power to

<sup>1</sup> In 272 B.C. the Romans took Tarentum.

<sup>2</sup> The people of Antioch ridiculed the Pagan symbols, such as the figures of Helios, the sun-god, which Julian had engraved on his coinage.

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καὶ πράττειν ὅ,τι βούλονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὀρθῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς τοῦτο εἰδότες, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ πάντα ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, πρῶτον ἐπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, ἵνα ὑμῖν ὥσι λίαν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, εἶτα ἐκείναις ξυνεχωρήσατε ἀνάγειν τὰ παῖδια, μὴ ποτε ὑμῖν ἀρχῆς πειρώμενα τραχυτέρας C ἔπειτα ἀποφανθῆ δουλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια πρῶτον αἰδεῖσθαι διδαχθῆ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς οὕτω κακῆς συνηθείας εὐλαβέστερα γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι σῶφρονες καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ κόσμιοι λάθωσι διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι. τί οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες; ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἄγουσιν αὐτὰ δι' ἡδονῆς, ὃ δὴ μακαριώτατον εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτίμη- D τον οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις. ἔνθεν οἶμαι συμβαίνει μάλα ὑμῖν εὐδαίμοσιν εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀρνούμενοις δουλείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρξαμένοις<sup>1</sup> πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τρίτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἄτοποί τε ἂν εἴημεν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορῶντων οὕτως ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐπέξιόντων ἀγανακτοίημεν καὶ χαλεπαίνοιμεν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι 357 ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χῖ, φασίν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα. τί μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας τὸ αἰνιγμα ξυνεῖναι χαλεπὸν, τυχόντες δ' ἡμεῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἀρξαμένοις before πρῶτον Hertlein suggests, Klimek ἀποστᾶσι τῆς for ἀπὸ τῆς.

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

"The *Chi*," say the citizens, "never harmed the city in any way, nor did the *Kappa*." Now the meaning of this riddle which your wisdom has



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ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν  
 ἀρχᾶς ὀνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δ'  
 ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστόν, τὸ δὲ Κωνσταντίον.  
 ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. B  
 ἐν μόνον ὑμᾶς ὁ Κωνσταντίος ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι  
 με καίσαρα ποιήσας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τά γε  
 ἄλλα ὑμῖν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν  
 δοίεν οἱ θεοὶ Κωνσταντίων πειραθῆναι, μᾶλλον  
 δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ  
 ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας εἴλετο τὴν ἔχθραν, εἶτα ἡμῖν  
 οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶνα λίαν ἐβρά-  
 βευσαν φιλανθρώπως, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερος C  
 φίλος ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἕξειν με πρὶν ἐχθρὸν  
 γενέσθαι. τί οὖν οἴεσθέ με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν  
 ἐγκωμίοις, ὃς ἄχθομαι τοῖς λοιδορουμένοις αὐτῷ;  
 Χριστόν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ  
 τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλιόπης,  
 ἢ τὸ σόφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπεγύμνωσεν. Ἐμισηνοὶ  
 Χριστόν ἐπόθουν οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς τάφοις  
 τῶν Γαλιλαίων; ἐλύπησα δ' ἐγὼ τίνας Ἐμισηνῶν  
 πώποτε; ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγου δέω D  
 φάναί πάντας, τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν  
 δῆμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἄχθεται μοι τῷ πλείστῳ  
 μέρει, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπας ἀθεότητα προελόμενος,

invented is hard to understand, but I obtained interpreters from your city and I was informed that these are the first letters of names, and that the former is intended to represent Christ, the latter Constantius. Bear with me then, if I speak frankly. In one thing Constantius did harm you, in that when he had appointed me as Caesar he did not put me to death. Now for the rest may the gods grant to you alone out of all the many citizens of Rome to have experience of the avarice of many a Constantius, or I should say rather, of the avarice of his friends. For the man was my cousin and dear to me; but after he had chosen enmity with me instead of friendship, and then the gods with the utmost benevolence arbitrated our contention with one another, I proved myself a more loyal friend to him than he had expected to find me before I became his enemy. Then why do you think that you are annoying me by your praises of him, when I am really angry with those who slander him? But as for Christ you love him, you say, and adopt him as the guardian of your city instead of Zeus and the god of Daphne and Calliope<sup>1</sup> who revealed your clever invention? Did those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire to the tombs of the Galilaeans?<sup>2</sup> But what citizens of Emesa have I ever annoyed? I have however annoyed many of you, I may almost say all, the Senate, the wealthy citizens, the common people. The latter indeed, since they have chosen atheism, hate me for the most part, or rather all of them hate me because they see that I adhere to the ordinances

<sup>1</sup> There was a statue of Calliope in the market-place at Antioch.

<sup>2</sup> The people of Emesa burned the Christian churches and spared only one, which they converted into a temple of Dionysus.

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ὅτι τοῖς πατρίοις ὀρᾷ τῆς ἀγιστείας θεσμοῖς  
 προσκείμενον, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κωλυόμενοι πολλοῦ  
 πάντα πωλεῖν ἀργυρίου, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἀποστερῶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέλει μοι τῶν τοιού- 358  
 των ἡττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων.  
 εἶτα οὐκ εἰκότως ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγορῶ τοσαύτας  
 ἀπεχθείας λαβὰς παρασχόντος;

Ἄλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχων  
 πάγωνος οὐκ οἶδα, παρ' ὄντινούν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ  
 σωφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τὸ μέγιστον  
 ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονούντων ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι,  
 προσιὼν τῇδε τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ  
 πλουσίᾳ πόλει τοὺς ἐφήβους ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ προ- B  
 αστείῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἐπὶ  
 τινα δορυφορίαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμῶν τοὺς  
 προγόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποιῆσθαι  
 καὶ θᾶσσον ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου προῆγεν ἄμα  
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχε-  
 ραίνων ὡς μηνυτὰς γενομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Κάτων  
 προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπέισαντας ἐκδραμεῖν. ὄντος  
 δ' ἐν τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ διαποροῦντος ἡρέμα  
 καὶ ἐρυθριῶντος, ὁ γυμνασίαρχος προσδραμών,  
 Ὡ ξένε, ἔφη, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἦν δ' οὗτος C  
 ἀπελεύθερος Πομπηίου, κεκτημένος οὐσίαν πολ-  
 λὴν πάννυ· μέτρον δ' αὐτῆς εἰ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν·  
 οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς

of the sacred rites which our forefathers observed ; the powerful citizens hate me because they are prevented from selling everything at a high price ; but all of you hate me on account of the dancers and the theatres. Not because I deprive others of these pleasures, but because I care less for things of that sort than for frogs croaking in a pond.<sup>1</sup> Then is it not natural for me to accuse myself, when I have furnished so many handles for your hatred ?

Cato the Roman,<sup>2</sup> however,—how he wore his beard I do not know,<sup>3</sup> but he deserves to be praised in comparison with anyone of those who pride themselves on their temperance and nobility of soul and on their courage above all,—he, I say, once visited this populous and luxurious and wealthy city ; and when he saw the youths in the suburb drawn up in full array, and with them the magistrates, as though for some military display, he thought your ancestors had made all those preparations in his honour. So he quickly dismounted from his horse and came forward, though at the same time he was vexed with those of his friends who had preceded him for having informed the citizens that Cato was approaching, and so induced them to hasten forth. And while he was in this position, and was slightly embarrassed and blushing, the master of the gymnasium ran to meet him and called out “ Stranger, where is Demetrius ? ” Now this Demetrius was a freedman of Pompey, who had acquired a very large fortune ; and if you want to know the amount of it,—for I suppose that in all

<sup>1</sup> A proverb to express complete indifference.

<sup>2</sup> The anecdote which follows is told by Plutarch in his *Cato the Younger* and also in his *Pompeius*.

<sup>3</sup> Julian must have known that in Cato's day the Romans never wore beards.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ταύτην μάλιστα ὠρμησθαι τὴν ἀκοήν· ἐγὼ τὸν  
 εἰπόντα φράσω. Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ Βιθυνῷ πεποιή-  
 ται συγγράμματα τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενος ἐκ  
 βίβλων πολλῶν<sup>1</sup> εἰργάσατο λόγους ἡδίστους D  
 νέῳ φιληκόῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ· φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ  
 γῆρας ἐπανάγειν αὐθις εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων φιλη-  
 κοίαν τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους· ὅθεν οἶμαι συμβαίνει  
 νέους καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐξ ἴσης εἶναι φιλομύθους·  
 εἶεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὅπως ἀπήντησε τῷ γυμνα-  
 σιάρχῳ βούλεσθε φράσω; μὴ με λαιδορεῖν ὑπο-  
 λάβητε τὴν πόλιν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος ἐμός.  
 εἴ τις ἀφίκται περιφερομένη καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀκοή 359  
 Χαιρωνέως ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου γένους, ὃ δὴ  
 λέγεται παρὰ τῶν ἀλαζόνων φιλόσοφον· οὗ δὴ  
 καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφικόμην μὲν, ἠϋξάμην δὲ ὑπὸ  
 ἀμαθίας κοινωνῆσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν. ταῦτα οὖν  
 ἐκεῖνος ἔφρασεν, ὡς ὁ Κάτων ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν  
 οὐδέν, βοήσας δὲ μόνον οἷά τις ἔμπληκτος καὶ  
 ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος, ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως,  
 ἀπιῶν ὄχετο.

Μὴ δὴ θαυμάσητε, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ νυνὶ  
 πᾶσχω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνὴρ ἀγριώτερος ἐκείνου καὶ B  
 θρασύτερος τοσοῦτῳ καὶ αὐθαδέστερος, ὅσον οἱ  
 Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαίων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε τεχθεὶς  
 ἐγγυὲς ἦλθε γῆρως ἅμα τοῖς πολίταις τρεφόμενος·  
 ἐμοὶ δὲ Κελτοὶ καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ δρυμὸς Ἐρκύνιος  
 ἔμελεν ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἄνδρας τελούντι, καὶ  
 διέτριψα πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον, ὥσπερ τις κυνηγέτης

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ βίβλων πολλῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν MSS.

that I am now telling you are most anxious to hear this,—I will tell you who has related the story. Damophilus of Bithynia has written compositions of this sort, and in them, by culling anecdotes from many books, he has produced tales that give the greatest delight to anyone who loves to listen to gossip, whether he be young or old. For old age usually revives in the elderly that love of gossip which is natural to the young; and this is, I think, the reason why both the old and the young are equally fond of stories. Well then, to return to Cato. Do you want me to tell you how he greeted the master of the gymnasium? Do not imagine that I am slandering your city; for the story is not my own.<sup>1</sup> If any rumour has come round, even to your ears, of the man of Chaeronea,<sup>2</sup> who belongs to that worthless class of men who are called by impostors philosophers,—I myself never attained to that class though in my ignorance I claimed to be a member of it and to have part in it,—well he, as I was saying, related that Cato answered not a word, but only cried aloud like a man stricken with madness and out of his senses, “Alas for this ill-fated city!” and took himself off.

Therefore do not be surprised if I now feel towards you as I do, for I am more uncivilised than he, and more fierce and headstrong in proportion as the Celts are more so than the Romans. He was born in Rome and was nurtured among Roman citizens till he was on the threshold of old age. But as for me, I had to do with Celts and Germans and the Hercynian forest<sup>3</sup> from the moment that I was reckoned a grown man, and I have by now spent a long time

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 299 c, note.      <sup>2</sup> Plutarch.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Caesar, *Gallic War*, 6. 24.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἀγρίοις ὀμιλῶν καὶ συμπλεκόμενος θηρίοις, ἤθεσιν C  
 ἐντυγχάνων οὔτε θωπεύειν οὔτε κολακεύειν εἰδό-  
 σιν, ἀπλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πᾶσι  
 προσφέρεσθαι. γέγονεν οὖν μοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ  
 παίδων τροφήν ἢ τε ἐν μεираκίοις ὁδὸς διὰ τῶν  
 Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων οὐδαμῶς  
 ἐπιτηδείων δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν οἰομένοις ὑπὸ  
 τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις<sup>1</sup> εἶναι, ἢ τε ἐν ἀνδράσιν  
 αὐτουργία παρὰ τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις καὶ θυμικω-  
 τάτοις τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου τὴν γαμηλίαν Ἀφροδίτην  
 καὶ τὸν μεθυδότην Διόνυσον γάμον τε ἔνεκα  
 καὶ παιδοποιίας οἴνου τε ὀπόσης ἐκάστω δυνα-  
 τὸν πόσεως ἴσασι μόνον. ἀσέλγεια δ' οὐκ ἔστιν D  
 ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὐδὲ ὕβρις, οὐδὲ ἔλκει τις εἴσω  
 τῆς σκηνῆς τὸν κόρδακα.

Λέγεται τοι μικρῶ πρόσθεν ὡς ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε  
 τις Καππαδόκης φυγὰς, ἐν τῇ παρ' ὑμῖν τραφεῖς  
 πόλει παρὰ τῷ χρυσοχόῳ γνωρίζετε δήπουθεν  
 ὃν λέγω· μαθὼν ὅπου καὶ ἔμαθεν, ὡς οὐ δέον  
 ὀμιλεῖν γυναιξί, μεираκίοις δ' ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκ  
 οἶδα ὀπόσα ἐνθάδε δράσας καὶ παθῶν, ἐπειδὴ 360  
 παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖσε βασιλέα πρῶην ἀφίκετο, μνήμη  
 τῶν τῆδε πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπα-  
 γαγεῖν, ἄλλα δὲ τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαθὰ τοιαῦτα,  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τέλος ὡς ἐνεδέθησεν ἔτι κοτυλιστοῦ·

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτηδείων—οἰομένοις—εὐδαιμονεστάτοις Hertlein suggests, ἐπιτηδείῳ δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτω MSS.

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

A story is told of them that not long ago a certain Cappadocian was exiled from here to that place, a man who had been brought up in your city in the house of the goldsmith—you know of course whom I mean,—and had learned, as he naturally did learn there, that one ought not to have intercourse with women but to pay attentions to youths. And when, after doing and suffering here I know not what, he went to the court of the king in that country, he took with him to remind him of your habits here a number of dancers and other such delights from this city; and then finally since he still needed a cotylist<sup>1</sup>—you know the word and the thing too—he

<sup>1</sup> We do not know what sort of performance was given by a cotylist; he was evidently a mime and may have played with cups; *κοτύλη* = a pint-cup.



THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τοῦτο δ' ὑμεῖς ἴστε πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ τοῦτον ἐνθένδε ἐκάλει πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς παρ' ὑμῖν διαίτης. οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν κοτυλιστὴν ἠγνόησαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα τὰ Β βασιλεία, τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ ἐπιτραπέντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν τέχνην εἶασαν οἰόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοὺς εἰκέναι. καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐμοὶ καταγελαστότατον τὸ θέατρον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγοι πολλῶν κατεγέλων, ἐγὼ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐνθάδε γελοῖος ὑμῖν ἅπασι τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν C εἶην ἄδικος εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργοιμι, διαφερόντως ἀσπασάμενος ἐκεῖνα. Κελτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὕτω με δι' ὁμοιότητα τρόπων ἠγάπησαν, ὥστε ἐτόλμησαν οὐχ ὄπλα μόνον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκαν πολλά, καὶ παραιτούμενον ὀλίγου καὶ ἐβιάσαντο λαβεῖν, καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἐτοιμῶς ὑπήκουσαν. ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, καὶ ἐβῶν πάντες ἀνδρεῖον, συνετόν, δίκαιον, οὐ πολέμῳ μόνον ὁμιλῆσαι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνῃ D χρήσασθαι δεξιόν, εὐπρόσιτον, πρᾶον· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεδώκατε νῦν ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι παρ' ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατέτραπται· σύνοιδα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνατρέπων ἐμαντῷ οὔτε ἐκῶν οὔτε ἄκων· εἶτα, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πάγωνός μου χρή πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ ὅτι πολεμῶ τῷ Χί, πόθος δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰσεῖσι τοῦ Κάππα. καὶ ὑμῖν γε αὐτὸ οἱ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιδείκνυσθαι Hertlein would add.

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

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

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

πολιούχοι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ διπλοῦν δοίεν,  
 ὅτι πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἀστυγείτονας ἐσυκοφαν- 361  
 τήσατε πόλεις ἱερὰς καὶ ὁμοδούλους ἐμοί, ὡς δὴ  
 παρ' αὐτῶν εἶη τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ξυντεθέντα, ὃν εὖ οἶδ'  
 ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐκεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν υἰέας,  
 οἱ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν ἀντίκα τεμένη,  
 τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας,  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, ὃ δὴ δέδοται παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 πρῶην, οὕτως ἐπαρθέντες τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι  
 γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ πλέον ἐπέξελθεῖν B  
 τοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἢ βουλομένῳ B  
 μοι ἦν.

Τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα· πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγειρομένους ἄρτι  
 τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψαν, οὓς ἢ πραΰτης ἡμῶν  
 ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἡσυχάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεπεμψάμεθα  
 τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, οἱ μὲν ἀφοσιούμενοι τὰ  
 πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 λειψάνων ἡγανακτηκόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος C  
 τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτε μὴ τὸ  
 πῦρ ἐνεῖσαν<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ξένων  
 φρικῶδες, ὑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἡδονὴν παρασχόν,

<sup>1</sup> ἐνεῖσαν Hertlein suggests, ἰδεῖσαν MSS.

Now may the guardian gods of this city grant you a double allowance of the *Kappa*!<sup>1</sup> For besides this you falsely accused the neighbouring cities, which are holy and the slaves of the gods, like myself, of having produced the satires which were composed against me; though I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the tombs<sup>2</sup> of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.

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

<sup>1</sup> i.e. may they have two such rulers as Constantius.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the sepulchres over which the Christian churches were built; cf. 357 C. note.

<sup>3</sup> Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, had been buried in the grove of Daphne, and the priests of Apollo retired from it. When the church over his tomb was demolished by Julian he removed the body of St. Babylas to Antioch, and that night (October 22. 362 A.D.) the people of Antioch burned the temple of Apollo which Julian had restored. Cf. Johannes Chrysostomos, *De S. Babyla et contra Julianum*; and Libanius, *Monody on the Temple of Apollo at Daphne*.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθὲν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀμελού-  
μενον. ἔμοι μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς  
ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν νεὼν ὁ θεός, ἐπεσήμηνε γὰρ  
εἰσελθόντι μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ τούτου  
μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν "Ἡλιον πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀπιστοῦντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὑπομῆσαι βούλομαι καὶ  
ἄλλης ἀπεχθείας ἐμῆς, ἔπειτα, ὅπερ εἶωθα ποιεῖν D  
ἐπιεικῶς, ὀνειδίσαι ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ  
κατηγορήσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γάρ που μηνὶ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀριθμου-  
μένῳ· Λῶον οἶμαι τοῦτον ὑμεῖς προσαγορεύετε·  
τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πάτριός ἐστιν ἑορτή, καὶ ἔδει  
σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντᾶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔδραμον, οἴομενος  
ἐνταῦθα μίλιστα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς φιλο-  
τιμίας ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσειν. εἶτα ἀνέπлатτον παρ'  
ἐμαυτῷ πομπήν, ὥσπερ ὀνειράτα ὀρών, ἱερεῖα καὶ 362  
σπονδὰς καὶ χοροὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ  
τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπέστατα  
μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκῇ δ' ἐσθῆτι  
καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένους. ὡς δὲ εἶσω  
παρήλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὔτε θυμιάματα κατέ-  
λαβον οὔτε πόπανον οὔτε ἱερεῖον. αὐτίκα μὲν  
οὖν ἐθαύμασα καὶ ᾄμην ἔξω τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι,  
περιμένειν δ' ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὲ τιμῶντας ὡς ἀρχιερέα, B  
τὸ σύνθημα παρ' ἐμοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠρόμην, τί μέλλει  
θύειν ἢ πόλις ἐνιαύσιον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσα τῷ θεῷ, ὁ

your citizens and was ignored and is still ignored by your Senate. Now, in my opinion, even before that fire the god had forsaken the temple, for when I first entered it his holy image gave me a sign thereof. I call mighty Helios to bear me witness of this before all unbelievers. And now I wish to remind you of yet another reason for your hatred of me, and then to abuse myself—a thing which I usually do fairly well—and both to accuse and blame myself with regard to that hatred.

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

<sup>1</sup> Kasios was the name of a mountain near Antioch where there was a temple of Zeus.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἱερεὺς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἤκω φέρων οἴκοθεν τῷ θεῷ  
 χῆνα ἱερείου, ἡ πόλις δὲ τὰ νῦν οὐδὲν ἠντρέ-  
 πισται.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ φιλαπεχθῆμων ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν βου-  
 λὴν ἀνεπιεικεῖς πάνυ διελέχθην λόγους, ὧν ἴσως  
 οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ νῦν μνημονεῦσαι. “Δεινόν,”  
 ἔφην ἐγώ, “τὴν τοσαύτην πόλιν οὕτω τῶν θεῶν  
 ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν, ὡς οὐδεμία παροικοῦσα ταῖς  
 ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ Πόντου κόμη· μυρίους κλήρους C  
 γῆς ἰδίας κεκτημένη, τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ νῦν πρῶτον  
 ἐπιστάσης ἑορτῆς ἑνιαυσίου, ἐπειδὴ διεσκέδασαν  
 οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν νεφέλην, μίαν ὄρνιν<sup>1</sup>  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐ προσάγει, ἣν ἐχρῆν μάλιστα μὲν  
 καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς βουθυτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥάδιον, ἕνα  
 γε<sup>2</sup> κοινῇ πάσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ  
 ταῦρον. ὑμῶν δ’ ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ μὲν εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα D  
 καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς χαίρει δαπανώμενος, καὶ εὖ οἶδα  
 πολλοὺς ὑμῶν πλείστα εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοῦ Μαί-  
 ουμᾶ χρήματα ἀπολέσαντας, ὑπὲρ δ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν  
 καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς θύει οὔτε  
 ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἡ πόλις κοινῇ, μόνος δ’ ὁ  
 ἱερεὺς, ὃν οἶμαι δικαιότερον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους  
 τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ θεῷ παρ’ ὑμῶν οἴκαδε  
 ἀπιέναι μερίδας ἔχοντα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἱερεῦσιν  
 οἱ θεοὶ καλοκάγαθία τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρετῆς  
 ἐπιτηδεύσει προσέταξαν καὶ λειτουργεῖν σφίσι τὰ  
 εἰκότα· πρέπει δ’ οἶμαι τῇ πόλει θύειν ἰδίᾳ καὶ 363

<sup>1</sup> μίαν ὄρνιν Hertlein suggests, ὄρνιν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἕνα γε Hertlein suggests, ἕνα MSS.

brought with me from my own house a goose as an offering to the god, but the city this time has made no preparations."

Thereupon, being fond of making enemies, I made in the Senate a very unseemly speech which perhaps it may now be pertinent to quote to you. "It is a terrible thing," I said, "that so important a city should be more neglectful of the gods than any village on the borders of the Pontus.<sup>1</sup> Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce on her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe, or if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city's welfare not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one

<sup>1</sup> cf. Themistius 332 D.



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δημοσίᾳ· νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ  
 γυναικί πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἔνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γαλι-  
 λαίους, καὶ τρέφουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖναι  
 τοὺς πένητας πολὺ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐργάζονται  
 θαῦμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δεομένους· ἔστι δὲ  
 τοιούτον οἶμαι τὸ πλείστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος·  
 ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτοὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς  
 τιμῶν ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες πράττειν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον  
 ὑπολαμβάνετε· πρόσεισι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν δεομένων B  
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οἶμαι πόθεν διατραφῆ.  
 καὶ γενέθλια μὲν τις ἐστιῶν ἰκανῶς παρασκευάζει  
 δεῖπνον καὶ ἄριστον, ἐπὶ πολυτελεῇ τράπεζαν τοὺς  
 φίλους παραλαμβάνων· ἐνιαυσίου δ' ἑορτῆς οὔσης  
 οὐδεὶς ἐκόμισεν ἔλαιον εἰς λύχνον τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ  
 σπονδὴν οὐδ' ἱερεῖον οὐδὲ λιβανωτόν. ἐγὼ μὲν  
 οὖν<sup>1</sup> οὐκ οἶδα, ὅπως ἂν τις ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς C  
 ὁρῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποδέξαιτο, νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε μηδὲ  
 τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκειν."

Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνημαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς  
 ἐμαρτύρησέ μου τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς μήποτε ὄφελεν,  
 ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προάστειον, ὃ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνον,  
 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ζάλῃ τρέψας ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν κρα-  
 τοῦντων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὸ χεῖρε βιασάμενος.  
 ὑμῖν δ' ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀνοήτως. ἐχρῆν  
 γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν  
 συνεισελθόντων ἐμοί, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν  
 μηδ' ἐπιτιμᾶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ προπετείας ἐγὼ καὶ D

<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Julian probably alludes to the riot which took place at Antioch on account of the famine in 354, when the populace killed Theophilus the Governor and were punished for the murder by Constantius.

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τῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομι-  
 στέον ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἐμοὶ τότε εἰρησθαι τοὺς πρὸς  
 ὑμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλ' οἶμαι δόξαν θηρεύων εὐλαβείας  
 τε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἀδόλου·  
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οἶμαι παγγέλοιος κολακεία· πολλὰ  
 ὑμῶν μάτην κατέχεα. δίκαια τοίνυν ἐργάζεσθέ 364  
 με τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκείνων ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ  
 ἐναλλάττοντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ  
 πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἴχνεσιν  
 ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑμῶν κατέδραμον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 χαριεντίζεσθαι πολιτῶν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, πάντες  
 οἱ λέγοντες κοινούνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοὺς  
 λόγους, καὶ ὁ ξὺν ἡδονῇ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἀκροα-  
 σάμενος, μετέχων τῆς ἴσης ἡδονῆς ἀπραγμο- B  
 νέστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινωνός ἐστι τῆς αἰτίας.

Εἴρηται οὖν ὑμῖν δι' ὅλης καὶ ἡκρόαται τῆς  
 πόλεως ὅποσα εἰς τουτονὶ πέπαικται τὸν φαῦλον  
 πώγωνα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα ὑμῖν καλὸν  
 οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξοντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίον  
 ὑμῖν, ὅποιον ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ μὲν ζῆτε, ποθεῖτε δὲ ὄραν  
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφη-  
 μιῶν, ἃς ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεχέατέ μου C  
 παίζοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις, ἐμαυτοῦ προσκατ-

I poured down all these reproaches on your heads to no purpose, owing to my headlong temper and a ridiculous desire to flatter,—for it is surely not to be believed that out of goodwill towards you I spoke those words to you then; but I was, I think, hunting after a reputation for piety towards the gods and for sincere good-will towards you, which is, I think, the most absurd form of flattery. Therefore you treat me justly when you defend yourselves against those criticisms of mine and choose a different place for making your defence. For I abused you under the god's statue near his altar and the footprints of the holy image, in the presence of few witnesses; but you abused me in the market-place, in the presence of the whole populace, and with the help of citizens who were capable of composing such pleasant witticisms as yours. For you must be well aware that all of you, those who uttered the sayings about me and those who listened to them, are equally responsible; and he who listened with pleasure to those slanders, since he had an equal share of the pleasure, though he took less trouble than the speaker, must share the blame.

Throughout the whole city, then, you both uttered and listened to all the jests that were made about this miserable beard of mine, and about one who has never displayed to you nor ever will display any charm of manner. For he will never display among you the sort of life that you always live and desire to see also among those who govern you. Next with respect to the slanders which both in private and publicly you have poured down on my head, when you ridiculed me in anapaestic verse, since I too have accused myself I permit you to employ that

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ηγορήσας ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπω χρῆσθαι μετὰ μείζονος αὐτῷ παρρησίας, ὡς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦτο πώποτε δεινὸν ἐργάσομαι σφάττων ἢ τύπτων ἢ δῶν ἢ ἀποκλείων ἢ κολάζων. πῶς γάρ; ὅς, ἐπεὶ περ ὑμῖν ἐμαντὸν ἐπιδείξας μετὰ τῶν φίλων σωφρονοῦντα, φαυλότατον ἰδεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀηδέστατον, οὐδὲν ἐπέδειξα καλὸν θέαμα, μεταστῆναι D τῆς πόλεως<sup>1</sup> ἔγνωκα καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι, πεπεισμένος μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὅτι πάντως ἐκείνοις ἀρέσω, πρὸς οὓς πορεύομαι, κρίνων δ' αἰρετώτερον, εἰ διαμάρτοιμι τοῦ δόξαι γοῦν ἐκείνοις καλὸς κάγαθός, ἐν μέρει μεταδοῦναι πᾶσι τῆς ἀηδίας τῆς ἐμαντοῦ καὶ μὴ τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην ἀποκναῖσαι πόλιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δυσωδίας τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς σωφροσύνης.

Ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγρὸν οὐδὲ κῆπον ἐπρίατο 365 παρ' ὑμῖν οὐδὲ οἰκίαν ὠκοδόμησεν οὐδ' ἔγημε παρ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἐξέδωκεν εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ ἠράσθημεν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν καλῶν, οὐδ' ἐζηλώσαμεν Ἀσσύριον πλοῦτον οὐδ' ἐνειμάμεθα τὰς προστασίας οὐδὲ παραδυναστεύειν ἡμῖν ἠνεσχόμεθά τινος τῶν ἐν τέλει οὐδ' ἐπέισαμεν τὸν δῆμον εἰς παρασκευὰς δειπνῶν ἢ θεάτρων, ὃν οὕτως ἐποιήσαμεν τρυφᾶν, ὥστε ἄγων σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τοὺς ἀνα- B παίστους εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους αὐτῷ τῆς εὐθηνίας ξυνέθηκεν, οὐδ' ἐπεγράψαμεν χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἠτήσαμεν ἀργύριον οὐδὲ ηὐξήσαμεν φόρους· ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests, τὴν πόλιν MSS.

method with even greater frankness; for I shall never on that account do you any harm, by slaying or beating or fettering or imprisoning you or punishing you in any way. Why indeed should I? For now that in showing you myself, in company with my friends, behaving with sobriety,—a most sorry and displeasing sight to you—I have failed to show you any beautiful spectacle, I have decided to leave this city and to retire from it; not indeed because I am convinced that I shall be in all respects pleasing to those to whom I am going, but because I judge it more desirable, in case I should fail at least to seem to them an honourable and good man, to give all men in turn a share of my unpleasantness,<sup>1</sup> and not to annoy this happy city with the evil odour, as it were, of my moderation and the sobriety of my friends.

For not one of us has bought a field or garden in your city or built a house or married or given in marriage among you, or fallen in love with any of your handsome youths, or coveted the wealth of Assyria, or awarded court patronage;<sup>2</sup> nor have we allowed any of those in office to exercise influence over us, or induced the populace to get up banquets or theatrical shows; nay rather we have procured for them such luxurious ease that, since they have respite from want, they have had leisure to compose their anapaests against the very author of their well-being. Again, I have not levied gold money or demanded silver money or increased the tribute; but in

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 153 ἀποκναίει γὰρ ἀηδία καὶ ἀναισθησίη.

<sup>2</sup> προστασία is sometimes used of the Imperial protection of a municipal guild, and that may be Julian's meaning here.

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πρὸς τοῖς ἐλλείμμασιν ἀνεῖται πᾶσι τῶν εἰθι-  
σμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ οἶμαι δ'  
ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ<sup>1</sup> μέτριον  
ἔχω ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ θεούς, ὡς ἐμαντὸν πείθω,  
τὸν εἰσαγγελέα, καλῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντα,  
διότι γέρον ὦν καὶ φαλακρὸς ἡρέμα τὰ πρόσω  
διὰ δυστροπίαν αἰσχύνεται κομᾶν ἐξόπισθεν, C  
ὥσπερ "Ὀμηρὸς ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἄβαντας, οὐδὲν  
δ' ἐκείνου φαυλοτέρους ἄνδρας οἶκοι παρ' ἐμαντῶ  
δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε  
δὲ νυνὶ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δέ μοι θεῖος καὶ ὁμώνυμος οὐ δικαιοτάτα  
μὲν ὑμῶν προύστη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοὶ  
ξυνεῖναι ἡμῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ξυμπράττειν; οὐ προμη-  
θέστατα δὲ πάσαις ἐπεξῆλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις  
τῆς πόλεως; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει ταῦτα καλά,  
πραότης ἀρχόντων μετὰ σωφροσύνης, ὥόμεθά τε D  
ὑμῖν ἰκανῶς διὰ τούτων καλοὶ φανεῖσθαι τῶν  
ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἢ τε βαθύτης  
ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενείου καὶ τὸ ἀτημέλητον τῶν  
τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ παραβάλλειν τοῖς θεάτροις  
καὶ τὸ ἀξιούν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι σεμνοῦς καὶ  
πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ἢ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἡμῶν  
ἀσχολία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἶργειν τὴν πλεον-  
εξίαν, ἐκόντες ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366  
οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ῥάδιον ἐν γῆρα μεταθεμένῳ δια-  
φυγεῖν τὸν λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰκτίνοσ μῦθον.  
λέγεται γάρ τοι τὸν ἰκτίνα φωνὴν ἔχοντα παρα-  
πλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρνισιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ χρε-  
μετίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ γενναῖοι τῶν ἵππων, εἶτα τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ Reiske would add.

addition to the arrears, one-fifth of the regular taxes has been in all cases remitted. Moreover I do not think it enough that I myself practise self-restraint, but I have also an usher who, by Zeus and the other gods, is moderate indeed, as I believe, though he has been finely scolded by you, because, being an old man and slightly bald in front, in his perversity he is too modest to wear his hair long behind, as Homer made the Abantes wear theirs.<sup>1</sup> And I have with me at my court two or three men also who are not at all inferior to him, nay four or even five now, if you please.

And as for my uncle and namesake,<sup>2</sup> did he not govern you most justly, so long as the gods allowed him to remain with me and to assist me in my work? Did he not with the utmost foresight administer all the business of the city? For my part I thought these were admirable things, I mean mildness and moderation in those who govern, and I supposed that by practising these I should appear admirable in your eyes. But since the length of my beard is displeasing to you, and my unkempt locks, and the fact that I do not put in an appearance at the theatres and that I require men to be reverent in the temples; and since more than all these things my constant attendance at trials displeases you and the fact that I try to banish greed of gain from the market-place, I willingly go away and leave your city to you. For when a man changes his habits in his old age it is not easy, I think, for him to escape the fate that is described in the legend about the kite. The story goes that the kite once had a note like that of other birds, but it aimed at neighing like a high-spirited

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 2. 542.

<sup>2</sup> Julian, Count of the East.



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μὲν ἐπιλαθόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἐλεῖν  
 ἱκανῶς ἀμφοῖν στέρεσθαι καὶ φαυλοτέραν τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὀρνίθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὁ δὲ καὶ B  
 αὐτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἀγροικίας τε ἅμα καὶ  
 δεξιότητος ἀμαρτεῖν. ἤδη γάρ, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ  
 συνοράτε, πλησίον ἐσμὲν ἐθελόντων θεῶν,

Εὐτέ μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνοις ἀναμεμίζονται τρίχες,  
 ὁ Τήσιος ἔφη ποιητής.

Εἶπεν. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ  
 Διὸς ἀγοραίου καὶ πολιούχου, ὑπόσχετε λόγον.  
 ἠδίκησθέ τι παρ' ἐμοῦ κοινῇ πώποτε ἢ καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἰδίᾳ,  
 καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι C  
 φανερώς διὰ τῶν ἀναπαίστων ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ οἱ  
 κωμφοδοὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔλκουσι  
 καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀγο-  
 ραῖς ἐπιτρίβετε λοιδοροῦντες; ἢ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι  
 χαλεπὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς  
 κακῶς οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἵνα με καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν  
 αὐτῶν ἰόντες ἀμύνησθε; τίς οὖν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν αἰτία  
 τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσματος καὶ τῆς ἀπε-  
 χθείας; ἐγὼ γὰρ εὐ οἶδα δεινὸν οὐδένα ὑμῶν οὐδὲν D  
 οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἀνδρας  
 οὔτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, οἷδ' εἰπὼν οὐδὲν φλαῦρον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσας, ὡς ἔδοξέ μοι προσήκειν, καὶ  
 μεταδὸς χρηστοῦ τινος, ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπι-  
 θυμούντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πολλοὺς εὐ ποιεῖν  
 ἀνθρώπους. ἀδύνατον δ' εὐ ἴστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

<sup>1</sup> ἢ καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Anacreon *fr.* 77, Bergk.      <sup>2</sup> *cf.* Oration 7. 204 B.

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ρουσι συγχωρεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ διδόναι πάντα τοῖς 367  
 εἰωθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὅταν οὖν φανῶ μηδὲν ἐλατ-  
 τώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξεων, ὅσας εἶωθεν ἡ  
 βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ὑμῖν δ' ἀνεῖς τῶν εἰσφο-  
 ρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἄρ' οὐκ αἰνίγματι τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 ἔοικεν;

Ἄλλ' ὅποσα μὲν κοινῇ πρὸς πάντας πεποιήται  
 τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, πρέποι ἂν σιωπᾶν, ἵνα  
 μὴ δοκοῖν ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοπρόσωπος ἐπαί- B  
 νους ἄδειν ἐμαντοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαγγελιάμενος  
 πολλὰς καὶ ἀσελγεστάτας ὕβρεις καταχέαι· τὰ  
 δὲ ἰδίᾳ μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεποιημένα προπετῶς μὲν  
 καὶ ἀνοήτως, ἤκιστα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄξια ἀχαρι-  
 στεῖσθαι, πρέποι ἂν οἶμαι προφέρειν ὥσπερ τινὰ  
 ἐμὰ ὄνειδῆ τοσοῦτῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χαλεπώτερα,  
 τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς  
 ἀναφροδισίας, ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερα ὄντα τῇ ψυχῇ  
 μάλιστα προσήκει. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπήνουν C  
 ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνεδέχετό μοι φιλοτίμως οὐκ ἀναμείνας  
 τὴν πείραν οὐδ' ὅπως ἔξομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἑλλήνων  
 παῖδας, ἐμαντὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἐστί μοι Θράκιον,  
 Ἑλληνα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι  
 μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσομεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο  
 ἔστω μοι τῆς προπετείας ὄνειδος. ἔπειτα πρεσ-  
 βευσάμενοις ὑμῖν παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἀφικομένοις ὑστέ-  
 ροις οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων D

and to give everything to those who are accustomed to receive gifts. Therefore when it is seen that I have diminished none of the public subscriptions which the imperial purse is accustomed to contribute, but have remitted not a few of your taxes, does not this business seem like a riddle?

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

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τῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ, πολὺ μὲν ἀνήκα χρυσίου, πολὺ δ' ἀργύρου, φόρους δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔπειτα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τὸν κατάλογον διακοσίοις βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φεισάμενος οὐδενός. ἐσκόπουν γὰρ ὅπως ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἔσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευσάντων τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐμούς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασα- 368  
μένων τὸ νόμισμα τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἐλομένοις ἔχειν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐκείνων μὲν οὐ τοὺς δυναμένους εἴλεσθε, λαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε παραπλήσια πόλει μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὐνομουμένη, πρέποντα δ' ὑμῶν ἄλλως τῷ τρόπῳ. βούλεσθε ἐνὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτὴν ὀνομάσαντες, πρὶν προσγραφῆναι τῷ καταλόγῳ, μετεώρου τῆς δίκης οὔσης, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργίᾳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἄλλον ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς εἰλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν B  
ἀπανταχοῦ μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ διὰ περιττὴν φρόνησιν ἀμειβομένων πρὸς χρυσίου συρφετῶν εὐποροῦντα μετρίας οὐσίας εἴλεσθε κοινωνόν. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ὀνομασίας κακουργούντων ὑμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἅπαντα συνεχωρήσαμεν, ὧν τε εὐ εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν ἀπεστερήθημεν, καὶ ὧν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκῃ παρ' ὑμῶν δυσχεραινόμεθα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν τῶν μικρῶν πάνυ καὶ οὕτω C  
δυνάμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐκπολεμῶσαι· τὸ δὲ δὴ

that of the Alexandrians who dwell in Egypt,—I remitted large sums of gold and of silver also, and all the tribute money for you separately apart from the other cities; and moreover I increased the register of your Senate by two hundred members and spared no man;<sup>1</sup> for I was planning to make your city greater and more powerful.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> The Senatorship was an expensive burden.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

μέγιστον, ἐξ οὗ τὸ μέγα ἤρθη μῖσος, ἀφικομένου μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πνιγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀφῆκε φωνὴν πρῶτον ταύτην· “ Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ.” τῆς ἐπιούσης διελέχθη ἐγὼ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν πείθειν, ὅτι κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ὑπεριδόντας ἀδίκου D κτήσεως εὖ ποιῆσαι πολίτας καὶ ξένους, οἱ δὲ ἐπαγγειλάμενοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμελήσεσθαι μηνῶν ἕξις τριῶν ὑπεριδόντος μου καὶ περιμείναντος οὕτως ὀλιγώρως εἶχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἤλπισεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐώρων ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ δήμου φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδείας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωρουμένην, 369 ἔταξα μέτριον ἐκάστου τίμημα καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα· σίτου δ' ἐνδεῶς εἶχον, ἀφορίας δεινῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐχμῶν γενομένης, ἔδοξέ μοι πέμπειν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις τὰς πέριξ, ἔνθεν εἰσήγαγον ὑμῖν μέτρων τεταράκοντα μυριάδας. ὡς δ' ἀνάλωτο καὶ τοῦτο, πρότερον μὲν πεντάκις χιλίους, ἐπτάκις χιλίους δ' B ὕστερον, εἶτα νῦν μυρίους, οὗς ἐπιχώριον ἐστι λοιπὸν ὀνομάζειν μοδίους, ἀνάλισκον σίτου, πάντας οἴκοθεν ἔχων. ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κομισθέντα μοι σίτον ἔδωκα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενος ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐπὶ δέκα μέτρων,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα το-

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐπὶ—μέτρων Hertlein suggests, οὐ κατὰ—μέτρα MSS.

offence of all, and what aroused that violent hatred of yours, was the following. When I arrived among you the populace in the theatre, who were being oppressed by the rich, first of all cried aloud, "Everything plentiful; everything dear!" On the following day I had an interview with your powerful citizens and tried to persuade them that it is better to despise unjust profits and to benefit the citizens and the strangers in your city. And they promised to take charge of the matter, but though for three successive months I took no notice and waited, they neglected the matter in a way that no one would have thought possible. And when I saw that there was truth in the outcry of the populace, and that the pressure in the market was due not to any scarcity but to the insatiate greed of the rich, I appointed a fair price for everything, and made it known to all men. And since the citizens had everything else in great abundance, wine, for instance, and olive oil and all the rest, but were short of corn, because there had been a terrible failure of the crops owing to the previous droughts, I decided to send to Chalcis and Hierapolis and the cities round about, and from them I imported for you four hundred thousand measures of corn. And when this too had been used, I first expended five thousand, then later seven thousand, and now again ten thousand bushels—"modii"<sup>1</sup> as they are called in my country—all of which was my very own property; moreover I gave to the city corn which had been brought for me from Egypt; and the price which I set on it was a silver piece, not for ten measures but for fifteen, that is to say, the same

<sup>1</sup> The modius was a bushel measure.



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σοῦτον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον. εἰ δὲ  
 τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρους ἦν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσμα-  
 τος, τί προσδοκᾶν ἔδει τηνικαῦτα, ἡνίκα, φησὶν ὁ  
 Βοιώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν C  
 ἐπὶ δώματι; ἄρ' οὐ πέντε μόγισ καὶ ἀγαπητῶς  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλικούτου χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου;

Τί οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ πλούσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἀγρῶν σίτον λάθρα ἀπέδοντο πλείονος,  
 ἐβάρησαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἰδίους ἀναλώμασι  
 καὶ οὐχ ἡ πόλις μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦτο συρρεῖ, οἱ D  
 πλείστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν,  
 ὃ μόνον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν πολὺ καὶ εὖνον, ἄρτους  
 ὠνούμενοι. καίτοι τίς μέμνηται παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθη-  
 νουμένης τῆς πόλεως πεντεκαίδεκα μέτρα σίτου  
 πραθέντα τοῦ χρυσοῦ; ταύτης ἕνεκεν ὑμῖν ἀπη-  
 χθόμην ἐγὼ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον ὑμῖν  
 οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὀπώρας  
 ἀποδόσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων  
 ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις σίτον ἄργυρον  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ χρυσὸν ἐξαίφνης παρ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι. 370  
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο  
 καλῶς, ἐργασάμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λιμὸν ἀλοι-  
 ητῆρα βρότειον, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπιτη-  
 δεύοντας ἐξελέγχων. ἡ πόλις δ' ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ  
 γέγονεν ἄρτων ἕνεκα μόνον, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός.

Συνίην μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὅτι μὴ B  
 πᾶσιν ἀρέσοιμι, πλὴν ἔμελεν οὐδὲν ἐμοί· τῷ γὰρ

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> This does not occur in Hesiod or Pindar.

<sup>2</sup> A phrase from an unknown oracular source.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἀδικουμένῳ πλήθει βοηθεῖν ὄμνην χρήναι καὶ τοῖς ἀφίκνουμένοις ξένοις, ἐμοῦ τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῖν ἀρχόντων. ἐπεὶ δ' οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι, τὴν πόλιν δ' εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ γνώμης μιᾶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν· Ἄδραστεία πάντα ἐπιτρέψας ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος οἰχήσομαι καὶ δῆμον ἕτερον, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσας ὧν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἔμπροσθεν C ἐννέα δίκαια δρῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰργάσασθε, φέρων μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν ξὺν βοῇ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτιννὺς τὸν ἄρχοντα, δίκην δ' αὖθις ἀποτίνων ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὧν ὀργιζόμενος δικαίως ἔπραξεν οὐκέτι μετρίως.

Ἔπερ τίνος οὖν πρὸς θεῶν ἀχαριστούμεθα; ὅτι τρέφομεν ὑμᾶς οἰκοθεν, ὃ μέχρι σήμερον D ὑπῆρξεν οὐδεμιᾶ πόλει, καὶ τρέφομεν οὕτω λαμπρῶς; ὅτι τὸν κατάλογον ὑμῶν ηὔξησαμεν; ὅτι κλέπτοντας ἐλόντες οὐκ ἐπεξήλθομεν; ἐνὸς ἢ δύο βούλεσθε ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω, μή τις ὑπολάβῃ σχῆμα καὶ ῥητορείαν εἶναι καὶ προσποιήσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα; γῆς κλήρους οἶμαι τρισχιλίους ἔφατε ἀσπόρους εἶναι καὶ ἠτήσασθε λαβεῖν, λαβόντες

about that. For I thought it was my duty to assist the mass of the people who were being wronged, and the strangers who kept arriving in the city both on my account and on account of the high officials who were with me. But since it is now, I think, the case that the latter have departed, and the city is of one mind with respect to me—for some of you hate me and the others whom I fed are ungrateful—I leave the whole matter in the hands of Adrasteia<sup>1</sup> and I will betake myself to some other nation and to citizens of another sort. Nor will I even remind you how you treated one another when you asserted your rights nine years ago; how the populace with loud clamour set fire to the houses of those in power, and murdered the Governor; and how later they were punished for these things because, though their anger was justified, what they did exceeded all limits.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The avenging goddess who is more familiarly known as Nemesis.

<sup>2</sup> In 354 A. D. there was a riot at Antioch in consequence of scarcity of food; Constantius sent troops to punish the citizens for the murder of Theophilus the Governor of Syria.

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δ' ἐνειμάσθε πάντες οἱ μὴ δεόμενοι. τοῦτο ἐξε-  
 τασθὲν ἀνεφάνη σαφῶς. ἀφελόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχόντων οὐ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμο-  
 νήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὧν ἔσχον  
 ἀτελεῖς, οὓς μάλιστα ἐχρῆν ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι, 371  
 ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἔνειμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοὺς τῆς  
 πόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἀτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ὑμῖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἵπποτροφοῦντες γῆς κλήρους ἐγγὺς  
 τρισχιλίου, ἐπινοία μὲν καὶ οἰκονομία τοῦ θείου  
 τοῦμοῦ καὶ ὁμωνύμου, χάριτι δ' ἐμῇ, ὅς δὴ τοὺς  
 πανούργους καὶ κλέπτας οὕτω κολάζων εἰκότως  
 ὑμῖν φαίνομαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ B  
 ἴστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ πραότης αὖξει  
 καὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὁ λόγος οὖν μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα περιίσταται πάλιν  
 εἰς ὅπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαντῶ τῶν κακῶν  
 αἴτιος γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἤθη  
 τὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο  
 καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ  
 τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνε-  
 τώτερος· ὑμῖν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας C  
 καὶ τιμῆς, ἣν ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς  
 ἀποδοῖεν.

## MISOPOGON

you all divided them among you though you did not need them. This matter was investigated and brought to light beyond doubt. Then I took the lots away from those who held them unjustly, and made no inquiries about the lands which they had before acquired, and for which they paid no taxes, though they ought most certainly to have been taxed, and I appointed these men to the most expensive public services in the city. And even now they who breed horses for you every year hold nearly three thousand lots of land exempt from taxation. This is due in the first place to the judgment and management of my uncle and namesake<sup>1</sup> but also to my own kindness; and since this is the way in which I punish rascals and thieves, I naturally seem to you to be turning the world upside down. For you know very well that clemency towards men of this sort increases and fosters wickedness among mankind.

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

<sup>1</sup> cf. 340 A, 365 C.



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