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JULIAN
VOLUME II



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WILMER C. WRIGHT

THE WORKS OF
THE EMPEROR

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VOLUME II

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
WILMER CAVE WRIGHT



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THE
ORATIONS AND SATIRES
OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN
ORATION VI

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

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

¹ Cf. Bernays, *Lukian und die Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879.

² 224 a.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

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

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

¹ Aristides, *Orations* 402 D.

² The precise meaning of the phrase is uncertain; it has been suggested that it arose from the custom of altering or "countermarking" coins so as to adapt them for the regular currency; see 192 C, *Oration* 7. 208 D.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΝΑΣ

Ἄνω ποταμῶν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας. ἀνὴρ
Κυνικός Διογένη φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολου-
τεῖν οὐ βούλεται, σφόδρα ἐρρωμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ
σφριγῶν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων, ὥς ἂν μή τι 181
κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς
τροπαῖς ἤδη προσιόντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν
τοῦ πολὺποδος κωμῶδεῖ καὶ φησι τὸν Διογένη τῆς
ἀνοίας καὶ κενοδοξίας ἐκτετικέναι ἱκανὰς¹ δίκας
ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρέντα.
οὕτω πόρρω που σοφίας ἐλαύνει, ὥστε ἐπίσταται
σαφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τοῦτο δὲ ἀγνοεῖν
ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ'
ἐκεῖνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦντι γοῦν, φασίν,
Ἀντισθέnei μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάληπτον ἀρρωστίαν
ξιφίδιον ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπὼν· εἰ φίλου B
χρήξεις ὑπουργίας. οὕτως οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεινὸν

¹ ἱκανὰς Naber adds.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

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

¹ A proverb signifying that all is topsy-turvy: cf. Euripides, *Medea* 413 *ἀνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί*.

² Of Sinope: he was the pupil of Antisthenes and is said to have lived in a jar in the Metroon, the temple of the Mother of the Gods at Athens; he died 323 B.C.

³ For the tradition that Diogenes died of eating a raw octopus cf. Lucian, *Sale of Creeds* 10.

⁴ A pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic sect.

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ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ ἀλγεινὸν τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ
τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐκεῖθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος
σοφίας ἴσμεν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ
νοσεῖν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν¹ τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ
ρίγοῦν δὲ χαλεπώτερον τοῦ νοσεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
νοσῶν μαλακῶς ἔσθ' ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ὥστε
γίνεσθαι τρυφὴν αὐτόχρημα τὴν ἀρρωστίαν,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢ πλούσιος. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ C
αὐτὸς νῆ Δία τρυφῶντάς τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μάλ-
λον ἢ τούτους αὐτοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας· καίτοι γε καὶ
τότε λαμπρῶς ἐτρύφων. ὅθεν μοι καὶ παρέστη πρὸς
τινας τῶν ἐταίρων εἰπεῖν, ὡς τούτοις ἄμεινον ἦν
οἰκέταις γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεσπόταις, καὶ πένε-
σθαι τοῦ κρίνου γυμνοτέροις οὖσιν ἢ πλουτεῖν
ὥσπερ νῦν. ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαύσαντο νοσοῦντες ἅμα
καὶ τρυφῶντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοση- D
λεύεσθαι τρυφηλῶς οὕτωςί τινες ἐν καλῷ ποιοῦν-
ται· ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρύους ἀνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος
καρτερῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀθλιώτερον
πράττει; ἀλγεῖ γοῦν ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεῦρο οὖν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυνικῶν ὅποσα δι-
δασκάλων ἠκούσαμεν ἐν κοινῷ καταθῶμεν σκοπεῖν
τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἰοῦσι τοῦτον· οἷς εἰ μὲν πεισ-
θεῖεν, εὖ οἶδα, οὐδὲν οἷ γε νῦν ἐπιχειροῦντες 18
κυνίζειν ἔσονται χεῖρους· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μὲν
τι λαμπρὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδεύσειαν, ὑπερ-
φωνοῦντες τὸν λόγον τὸν ἡμέτερον, οὔτι τοῖς

¹ φαμεν Hertlein suggests, φασί MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

a friend." So convinced was he that there is nothing terrible or grievous in death. But we who have inherited his staff know out of our greater wisdom that death is a calamity. And we say that sickness is even more terrible than death, and cold harder to bear than sickness. For the man who is sick is often tenderly nursed, so that his ill-health is straightway converted into a luxury, especially if he be rich. Indeed I myself, by Zeus, have observed that certain persons are more luxurious in sickness than in health, though even in health they were conspicuous for luxury. And so it once occurred to me to say to certain of my friends that it were better for those men to be servants than masters, and to be poor and more naked than the lily of the field¹ than to be rich as they now are. For they would have ceased being at once sick and luxurious. The fact is that some people think it a fine thing to make a display of their ailments and to play the part of luxurious invalids. But, says someone, is not a man who has to endure cold and to support heat really more miserable than the sick? Well, at any rate he has no comforts to mitigate his sufferings.

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

¹ A proverb, but Julian may allude to *Matthew* 6. 28.

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ρήμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον ὃ γε ἡμέτερος οἶσει λόγος· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λιχνείας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἵν' εἴπω ξυνελών ἐν βραχεῖ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδουλωμένοι τῶν λόγων ὀλιγωρήσειαν προσκαταγελάσαντες, ὥσπερ B ἐνίοτε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ κύνες τοῖς προπυλαίοις προσουρούσιν, οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδίων ἡμῖν μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελούντων. δεῦρο οὖν ἄνωθεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διεξέλθωμεν ἐφεξῆς τὸν λόγον, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ προσῆκον ἀποδιδόντες αὐτοῖ τε εὐκολώτερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τοῦθ' ὅπερ διανοήθημεν καὶ σοὶ ποιήσωμεν εὐπαρακολούθητον. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸν κυνισμόν εἰδός τι φιλοσοφίας C εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, οὐτι φανλότετον οὐδὲ ἀτιμότατον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐνάμιλλον, ὀλίγα πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ῥητέον ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς φιλοσοφίας.

Ἡ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις ἅμα φανοτάτῳ πυρὶ διὰ Προμηθέως καταπεμφθεῖσα¹ ἐξ ἡλίου μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμοῦ μερίδος οὐχ ἕτερόν ἐστι παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ νοῦ διανομήν· ὁ γάρ τοι Προμηθεύς, ἡ πάντα ἐπιτροπεύουσα τὰ θνητὰ πρόνοια, πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον ὥσπερ ὄργανον ὑπο- D βάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἅπασι μετέδωκεν ἀσωμάτου λόγον· μετέσχε δὲ ἕκαστον οὐπερ ἡδύνατο, τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα σώματα τῆς ἑξέως μόνον, τὰ φυτὰ δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῆς ζωῆς² τὰ ζῶα δὲ ψυχῆς, ὁ δὲ

¹ καταπεμφθεῖσα Reiske would add.

² τῆς ζωῆς Wright σώματος Hertlein, MSS. Petavius suspects corruption.

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

The gift of the gods sent down to mankind with the glowing flame of fire² from the sun through the agency of Prometheus along with the blessings that we owe to Hermes³ is no other than the bestowal of reason and mind. For Prometheus, the Forethought that guides all things mortal by infusing into nature a fiery breath to serve as an operative cause, gave to all things a share in incorporeal reason. And each thing took what share it could; lifeless bodies only a state of existence; plants received life besides,

¹ Herodotus 6. 129; Hippocleides, when told by Cleisthenes that by his unbecoming method of dancing he had “danced away his marriage,” made this answer which became a proverb.

² An echo of Plato, *Philebus* 16 c; cf. Themistius 338 c.

³ e.g. eloquence, commerce, and social intercourse.

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ἄνθρωπος καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς. εἰςὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ
 μίαν οἶονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἥκειν φύσιν, εἰςὶ
 δὲ οἱ καὶ κατ' εἶδος ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἀλλὰ μήπω
 τοῦτο, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τοῦτο ἐξε-
 ταζέσθω, πλὴν ἐκείνου χάριν, ὅτι, τὴν φιλοσοφίαν 183
 εἶθ', ὥσπερ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τέχνην τεχνῶν
 καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, εἴτε ὁμοίωσιν θεῷ¹ κατὰ
 τὸ δυνατόν, εἶθ', ὅπερ ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη, τὸ Γνώθι
 σαυτὸν ὑπολάβοι τις, οὐδὲν διοίσει πρὸς τὸν
 λόγον· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἄλληλα
 καὶ μάλα οἰκείως ἔχοντα.

Ἀρξώμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνώθι σαυτόν,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ θεῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ παρακέλευσμα.
 οὐκοῦν ὁ γιγνώσκων αὐτὸν εἴσεται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, B
 εἴσεται δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ
 ἀρκέσει μόνον, ὥς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ψυχὴ χρωμένη
 σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπ-
 ελεύσεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἔπειτα ἀνιχνεύσει τὰς
 δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκέσει αὐτῷ,
 ἀλλὰ καί, εἴ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι κρεῖττον
 καὶ θεϊότερον, ὅπερ δὴ πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθό-
 μενοι θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐνιδρυ- C
 σθαι πάντες οὐρανῷ κοινῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν. ἐπιὼν
 δὲ αὐθις τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ σώματος σκέψεται, εἴτε
 σύνθετον εἴτε ἀπλοῦν ἐστιν· εἴτα ὁδῷ προβαίνων
 ὑπὲρ τε ἀρμονίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως
 καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὧν δεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν.
 ἐπιβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχαῖς τεχνῶν

¹ θεῷ Klimek, θεῶν Hertlein, MSS.

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

However, let us begin with "Know thyself," since this precept is divinely inspired.¹ It follows that he who knows himself will know not only about his soul but his body also. And it will not be enough to know that a man is a soul employing a body, but he will also investigate the essential nature of the soul, and then trace out its faculties. And not even this alone will be enough for him, but in addition he will investigate whatever exists in us nobler and more divine than the soul, that something which we all believe in without being taught and regard as divine, and all in common suppose to be established in the heavens. Then again, as he investigates the first principles of the body he will observe whether it is composite or simple; then proceeding systematically he will observe its harmony and the influences that affect it and its capacity and, in a word, all that it needs to ensure its permanence. And in the next place he will also observe the first

¹ Cf. 188 B; Juvenal, *Satires* 11. 27; *E caelo descendit γυνῶτι σεαυτόν.*

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ἐνίων, ὑφ' ὧν βοηθεῖται πρὸς διαμονὴν τὸ σῶμα, οἷον ἱατρικῆς, γεωργίας, ἐτέρων τοιούτων. οὐ μὴν D οὐδὲ τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περιττῶν τι παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσει, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα¹ πρὸς κολακείαν τοῦ παθητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπινενόηται. προσλιπαρῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τούτοις ἀποκνήσει αἰσχρὸν οἰόμενος τὸ τοιούτον, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐργῶδες ἐν αὐτοῖς φεύγων· τὸ δ' ὅλον ὅποια ἅττα δοκεῖ καὶ οἷστισιν ἄρμόττει τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοήσει. σκόπει δὴ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι πάσης μὲν ἐπιστήμης, πάσης δὲ τέχνης ἡγεῖται τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς καθόλου λόγους συνείληφε. τά τε γὰρ θεῖα διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης 184 ἡμῖν θείας μερίδος τά τε θνητὰ διὰ τῆς θνητοειδούς μοίρας πρὸς τούτοις †προσήκειν ἔφη τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων ζῶον εἶδέναι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον†,² τῷ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον θνητόν, τῷ παντὶ δὲ ἀθάνατον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἕνα καὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου μερίδος.

“Ὅτι μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστίν ἢ τὸ τὴν ἐφικτὴν ἀνθρώποις γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων περιποιήσασθαι, πρόδηλον ἐντεῦθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ χρημάτων τὸ θεῖον B μακαρίζομεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ “Ὁμηρός φησι

θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα ἴσασι,

καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Διὸς

Ἄλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γέγονει καὶ πλείονα ἤδει·

¹ ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.

² προσήκειν—ἄνθρωπον, Hertlein suggests, cf. Maximus of Tyre 4. 7; ἔφη τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ζῶον εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον MSS.

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

Further, that to make oneself like God as far as possible is nothing else than to acquire such knowledge of the essential nature of things as is attainable by mankind, is evident from the following. It is not on the score of abundance of possessions that we count the divine nature happy, nor on the score of any other of those things that are commonly believed to be advantages, but it is because, as Homer says, "The gods know all things";¹ and indeed he says also of Zeus, "But Zeus was older and wiser."²

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 379.

² *Iliad* 13. 355.