

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

402 πρέσβεις, ὑπομνησκῶν αὐτοὺς ἦκειν, εἰ βού-
 λονται. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον δέ, λίαν
 ἐγρηγορότας ὡς ἐνεδέχεται τοὺς παραφυλάξοντας
 ἐξέπεμψα, μὴ τις ἐνθένδε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἐξέλθῃ λαθῶν, ἐσόμενος αὐτοῖς ὡς κεκινήμεθα
 μνηστῆς. ἐκεῖθεν ἐδίκασα δίκην στρατιωτικὴν,
 ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, πραότατα καὶ δικαιοτάτα.
 ἵππους περιττοὺς καὶ ἡμίονους παρεσκεύασα, τὸ
 Β στρατόπεδον εἰς ταῦτ' συναγαγών. ναῦς πλη-
 ροῦνται ποτάμια πυροῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρτων ξηρῶν
 καὶ ὄξους. καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ὅπως ἐπράχθη
 καὶ τίνες ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ γεγόνασι λόγοι, πόσου
 μήκους ἐστὶ συγγράφειν ἐννοεῖς. ἐπιστολαῖς δὲ
 ὅσαις ὑπέγραψα καὶ βιβλοῖς ἐπόμενα γὰρ
 ὡσπερὶ σκιά¹ μοι καὶ ταῦτα συμπερινοστέι
 πανταχοῦ· τί δεῖ νῦν πράγματα ἔχειν ἀριθμού-
 μενον ;

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Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ³

383 Ὁ μὲν μῦθος ποιεῖ τὸν ἀετὸν, ἐπειδὴν τὰ γνήσια
 C τῶν κνημάτων βασανίζῃ, φέρειν ἄπτια πρὸς τὸν

¹ ὡσπερ σκιά Cobet; ὡσπερ αἴσια MSS.; ὡσπερὶ σκιά Hertlein.

² *Letters* 59-73 cannot be dated, even approximately, from their contents.

³ Hertlein 16; the preceding letter, Hertlein 15, was addressed to Maximus, hence his title τῷ αὐτῷ.

¹ This is Julian's last extant letter. On leaving Hierapolis he marched to Carrhae, which place he left on March 25th. He crossed the Tigris in May, declined the siege of Ctesiphon,

TO MAXIMUS THE PHILOSOPHER

they could come if they wished. That is one affair of the sort I have mentioned. For another, I despatched men as wide-awake as I could obtain that they might guard against anyone's leaving here secretly to go to the enemy and inform them that we are on the move. After that I held a court martial and, I am convinced, showed in my decision the utmost clemency and justice. I have procured excellent horses and mules and have mustered all my forces together. The boats to be used on the river are laden with corn, or rather with baked bread and sour wine. You can understand at what length I should have to write in order to describe how every detail of this business was worked out and what discussions arose over every one of them. As for the number of letters I have signed, and papers,—for these too follow me everywhere like my shadow,—why should I take the trouble to enumerate them now? ¹

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To Maximus the Philosopher ²

WE are told in the myth that the eagle,³ when he would test which of his brood are genuine, carries

the Persian capital, burnt his fleet on the Tigris early in June, and was killed in a skirmish on June 26th, somewhere between Ctesiphon and Samarra on the Tigris. His body was carried back and buried at Tarsus in Cilicia, where he had told the people of Antioch he should spend the winter; Ammianus 25. 10. 5.

² Cumont and Geffcken reject, without good grounds, Schwarz defends, the authenticity of this sophistic letter, which was probably written from Gaul.

³ A rhetorical commonplace; cf. *To Iamblichus*, p. 259, note; Lucian, *The Fisherman* 46.

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αἰθέρα καὶ ταῖς ἡλίου προσάγειν ἀκτίσιν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ πατέρα τε ἀληθοῦς νεοττοῦ γινόμενον καὶ νόθου γονῆς ἀλλοτριούμενον· ἡμεῖς δέ σοι καθάπερ Ἑρμῆ λογίω τοὺς ἡμετέρους λόγους ἐγχειρίζομεν. κὰν μὲν ὑπομείνωσι τὴν ἀκοὴν τὴν σὴν, ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ κρίναι περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσὶ πτήσιμοι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ῥίψον εἰκῆ¹ καθάπερ Μουσῶν ἀλλοτρίου, ἣ ποταμῷ κλύσου ὡς νόθους. πάντως οὐδὲ ὁ Ἑρῆνος ἀδικεῖ τοὺς Κελτούς, ὃς τὰ μὲν νόθα τῶν βρεφῶν ὑποβρύχια ταῖς δύναις ποιεῖ, καθάπερ ἀκολάστου λέχους τιμωρὸς πρέπων· ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐπιγνῶ καθαρῷ σπέρματος, ὑπεράνω τοῦ ὕδατος αἰωρεῖ, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τρεμούσῃ πάλιν εἰς χεῖρας δίδωσιν, ὥσπερ ἀδέκα-
 384 στόν τινα μαρτυρίαν αὐτῇ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀμέμπτων γάμων τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν ἀντιδωρούμενος.

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Εὐγενίῳ φιλοσόφῳ²

386 Δαίδαλον μὲν Ἰκάρῳ³ φασὶν ἐκ κηροῦ πτερὰ
 Β συμπλάσαντα τολμῆσαι τὴν φύσιν βιάσασθαι τῇ τέχνῃ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκείνον μὲν εἰ καὶ τῆς τέχνης

¹ εἰκῆ *Ambrosianus* L 73, ἐκεῖ *Vossianus*, Hertlein; Hercher regards as dittography of εἰ καὶ above.

² Hertlein 18.

³ Ἰκάρῳ Hertlein suggests, Ἰκαρίῳ MSS.

¹ The allusion to Julian's writings is too vague to be used to date this letter.

² A commonplace of rhetoric; cf. Julian, Vol. 1, *Oration* 2. 81D; Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2. 112, et quos nascentes

TO EUGENIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

them still unfledged into the upper air and exposes them to the rays of the sun, to the end that he may become, by the testimony of the god, the sire of a true nursling and disown any spurious offspring. Even so I submit my speeches¹ to you as though to Hermes the god of eloquence; and, if they can bear the test of being heard by you, it rests with you to decide concerning them whether they are fit to take flight to other men also. But if they are not, then fling them away as though disowned by the Muses, or plunge them in a river as bastards. Certainly the Rhine does not mislead the Celts,² for it sinks deep in its eddies their bastard infants, like a fitting avenger of an adulterous bed; but all those that it recognises to be of pure descent it supports on the surface of the water and gives them back to the arms of the trembling mother, thus rewarding her with the safety of her child as incorruptible evidence that her marriage is pure and without reproach

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To Eugenius³ the Philosopher

WE are told that Daedalus dared to do violence to nature by his art, and moulded wings of wax for Icarus. But for my part, though I applaud him

explorat gurgite Rhenus; Galen 6. 51 Kühn, says that the ordeal was to strengthen their bodies as well as to test their legitimacy; cf. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs* 146.

³ A philosopher named Eugenius was the father of the sophist and philosopher Themistius, an older contemporary of Julian, but this letter with its familiar tone cannot have been addressed to a man of advanced age. Schwarz, Cumont and Geffcken reject it on the ground of its sophistic mannerisms, but see Introduction.

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ἐπαινῶ, τῆς γνώμης οὐκ ἄγαμαι· μόνος γὰρ κηρῶ
 λυσίμῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ὑπέμεινε τὴν σωτηρίαν πιστεῦ-
 σαι. εἰ δέ μοι θέμις ἦν κατὰ τὸν Ἰήιον ἐκεῖνον
 μελοποιῶν τὴν τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀλλάξασθαι φύσιν,
 οὐκ ἂν δῆπου πρὸς Ὀλυμπον οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ μέμφεως
 C ἐρωτικῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτοὺς ἂν τῶν ὑμετέρων ὀρῶν
 τοὺς πρόποδας ἔπτην, ἵνα σὲ τὸ μέλημα τοῦμόν,
 ὡς φησιν ἡ Σαπφώ, περιπτύξωμαι. ἐπεὶ δέ με
 ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος δεσμῶ κατακλείσασα ἡ φύ-
 σις οὐκ ἐθέλει πρὸς τὸ μετέωρον ἀπλῶσαι, τῶν
 λόγων οἷς ἔχω σε πτεροῖς μετέρχομαι, καὶ γράφω,
 καὶ σύνειμι τὸν δυνατὸν τρόπον. πάντως που καὶ
 "Ὀμηρος αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄλλου του χάριν ἢ τούτου
 πτερόεντας ὀνομάζει, διότι δύνανται πανταχοῦ
 D φοιτᾶν, ὥσπερ οἱ ταχύτατοι τῶν ὀρνίθων ἢ ἂν
 ἐθέλωσιν ἄττοντες. γράφε δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ὦ φίλος·
 ἴση γὰρ δῆπου σοι τῶν λόγων, εἰ μὴ καὶ μείζων,
 ὑπάρχει πτέρωσις, ἢ τοὺς ἐταίρους μεταβῆναι¹
 δύνασαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς παρῶν εὐφραίνειν.

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Σωπάτρῳ²

Ἔστι τις ἡδονῆς ἀφορμὴ πλείων, ὅταν ἐξῆ δι'
 ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου τοὺς φίλους προσφωνεῖν· οὐ γὰρ

¹ μεταβῆναι *Ambrosianus* L73 ; μεταθεῖν *Wytttenbach*, *Hertle*
lein ; μεταθεῖναι *Vossianus*.

² *Hertlein* 67. Σωσιπάτρῳ *Hertlein*, but prefers Σωπάτρῳ
Fabricius. See Introduction, under *Sopater*.

¹ *Anacreon frag.* 22, *Bergk* Ἀναπέτομαι δὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον
 πτερύγεσσι κουφαῖς διὰ τὸν Ἐρωτ'. ² *Frag.* 126, *Bergk*.

TO SOPATER

for his art, I cannot admire his judgement. For he is the only man who ever had the courage to entrust the safety of his son to soluble wax. But if it were granted me, in the words of the famous lyric poet of Teos,¹ to change my nature to a bird's, I should certainly not "fly to Olympus for Love,"—no, not even to lodge a complaint against him—but I should fly to the very foothills of your mountains to embrace "thee, my darling," as Sappho² says. But since nature has confined me in the prison of a human body³ and refuses to lighten and raise me aloft, I approach you with such wings as I possess,⁴ the wings of words, and I write to you, and am with you in such fashion as I can. Surely for this reason and this only Homer calls words "winged," that they are able to go to and fro in every direction, darting where they will, like the swiftest of birds. But do you for your part write to me too, my friend! For you possess an equal if not a larger share of the plumage of words, with which you are able to travel to your friends and from wherever you may be, just as though you were present, to cheer them.

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To Sopater⁵

It is an occasion to rejoice the more when one has the chance to address friends through an intimate friend. For then it is not only by what

³ A Platonic commonplace; cf. Julian, *Oration* 6. 198B; 7. 206B.

⁴ Cf. *Letter* 76. 449D, p. 244, note.

⁵ This letter is rejected by Schwarz, Cumont and Geffcken; Schwarz on the slender evidence of style classes it with the apocryphal letters to Iamblichus; Cumont also places it in that series, and thinks that this Sopater is the friend of the elder Iamblichus executed by Constantine.

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μόνον οἷς γράφεις τὸ τῆς σεαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἴνδαλμα
 οἷς ἐντυγχάνουσι ξυναρμότητη. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
 ποιῶ. τὸν γὰρ τροφέα τῶν ἐμαντοῦ παίδων Ἀντι-
 οχον ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐκπέμπων, ἀπρόσρητόν σε κατα-
 λιπεῖν οὐκ ἠνεσχόμεν· ὥστε, εἴ τι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς
 ποθεῖς, ἔχοις ἂν οἰκειότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ γινῶναι.
 εἰ δέ τι καὶ σοὶ μέλει τῶν σῶν ἐραστῶν, ὡς ἔγωγε
 ὅτι μέλει πιστεύω, δείξεις ἕως¹ ἂν ἐξῆ γράφειν
 μηδαμῶς ἐλλείπων.

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Εὐκλείδῃ φιλοσόφῳ²

Πότε γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθης, ἵνα καὶ γράφωμεν,
 ἢ πότε οὐχὶ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὡς παρόν-
 τα σε θεωροῦμεν; οἷ γε οὐ μόνον αἰεὶ σοὶ συνεῖναι
 καὶ συνομιλεῖν δοκοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γε νῦν
 προσηκόντων ὡς ὑπὸ παρουσία τῆ σῆ τὰ εἰκότα
 κηδόμεθα. εἰ δὲ καὶ γράφεσθαί σοι παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς
 ἀπόντι θέλεις, ὄρα μὲν ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς τὸ δοκεῖν
 ἡμῶν ἀπεῖναι μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τῷ γράφειν ἐθέλειν
 ἐκφήνης· πλὴν ἀλλ' εἴ γε σοὶ φίλον ἐστί, καὶ πρὸς
 τοῦτο ἐκόντες ὑπακούομεν. πάντως γε, τὸ τοῦ

¹ ἕως Hertlein suggests; MSS., Hertlein ἐν οἷς.

² Hertlein 73.

¹ No forger would have referred to children of Julian's body; but the phrase may refer to his writings. Libanius, *Epistolarum*, says of Julian's letters *παίδας τούτους ἀθανάτους καταλέλοιπεν*. See also *To Iamblichus*, p. 255.

² Libanius often mentions a certain Eucleides, a native of Constantinople, to whom this letter may be addressed; the

END OF SAMPLE TEXT



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