ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ Α 1

Καλως έχειν έμοιγε φαίνεται τὰς αἰτίας ἐκθέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὑφ' ὧν ἐπείσθην ὅτι τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἡ σκευωρία πλάσμα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων 39 Β ὑπὸ κακουργίας συντεθέν. ἔχουσα μὲν οὐδὲν θεῖον, 39 A

ἀποχρησαμένη δὲ τῷ φιλομύθφ καὶ παιδαριώδει καὶ ἀνοήτω της ψυχης μορίω, την τερατολογίαν

είς πίστιν ήγαγεν άληθείας.

Μέλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων 41 E δογμάτων άπάντων ποιείσθαι τὸν λόγον, ἐκείνο βούλομαι πρώτον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρη τοὺς ἐντυγχάνουτας, είπερ ἀντιλέγειν ἐθέλοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν δικαστηρίω μηδεν έξωθεν πολυπραγμονείν μηδέ, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀντικατηγορεῖν, ἔως ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρ

42 Α αὐτοῖς 2 ἀπολογήσωνται. ἄμεινον μὲν γὰρ οὕτω, καὶ σαφέστερον ίδίαν μὲν ἐνστήσασθαι πραγματείαν, ὅταν τι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εὐθύνειν θέλωσιν, ἐν οἶς δὲ πρὸς τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν εὐθύνας ἀπολογοῦνται,

μηδεν ἀντικατηγορείν.

Μικρον δε ἀναλαβεῖν ἄξιον, ὅθεν ἡμῖν ἥκει καὶ 42 E όπως έννοια θεού το πρώτον, είτα παραθείναι τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Έλλησι και παρὰ τοῖς Εβραίοις ὑπὲρ

¹ The marginal numbers in Neumann's text represent the paging of the edition of Cyril by Spanheim, 1696, as rearranged

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Book I

IT is, I think, expedient to set forth to all mankind the reasons by which I was convinced that the fabrication of the Galilaeans is a fiction of men composed by wickedness. Though it has in it nothing divine, by making full use of that part of the soul which loves fable and is childish and foolish, it has induced men to believe that the monstrous tale is truth. Now since I intend to treat of all their first dogmas, as they call them, I wish to say in the first place that if my readers desire to try to refute me they must proceed as if they were in a court of law and not drag in irrelevant matter, or, as the saying is, bring counter-charges until they have defended their own views. For thus it will be better and clearer if, when they wish to censure any views of mine, they undertake that as a separate task, but when they are defending themselves against my censure, they bring no counter-charges.

It is worth while to recall in a few words whence and how we first arrived at a conception of God; next to compare what is said about the divine among the Hellenes and Hebrews; and finally

² των παρ' αὐτοις Neumann; MS. των πρώτων Gollwitzer Spanheim. would retain, taking ὑπὲρ τῶν πρώτων = πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα.

by Neumann. In the Introduction to his edition he defends his rearrangement of the text of Aubert 1638, given by

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43 Α τοῦ θείου λεγόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπανερέσθαι τοὺς οὔτε Έλληνας οὔτε Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίων ὄντας αιρέσεως, ανθ' ότου προ τών ήμετέρων είλοντο τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τί δή ποτε μηδ' ἐκείνοις ἐμμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνων ἀποστάντες ἰδίαν όδὸν ἐτράποντο. ὁμολογήσαντες μεν οὐδεν τῶν καλῶν οὐδε τῶν σπουδαίων γησαντες μεν ουδεν των καλών ούδε τών σπουδαίων οὔτε τῶν παρ' ἡμιν τοις Έλλησιν οὔτε τῶν παρὰ τοις ἀπὸ Μωυσέως Ἑβραίοις, ἀπ' ἀμφοιν δὲ τὰς παραπεπηγυίας τούτοις τοις ἔθνεσιν ὥσπερ τινὰς Κήρας δρεπόμενοι, τὴν ἀθεότητα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ῥαδιουργίας, φαῦλον δὲ καὶ ἐπισεσυρμένον βίον ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἡμιν ῥαθυμίας καὶ χυδαιότητος, τοῦτο τὴν ἀρίστην θεοσέβειαν ἠθέλησαν

ονομάζεσθαι.

"Ότι δὲ οὐ διδακτόν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τὸ εἰδέναι θεὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τεκμήριον ἡμῖν ἔστω πρῶτον ἡ κοινὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἰδία καὶ δημοσία καὶ κατ ἄνδρα καὶ ἔθνη περὶ τὸ θεῖον 52 B προθυμία. ἄπαντες γὰρ ἀδιδάκτως θεῖόν τι πεπιστεύκαμεν, ὑπὲρ οὖ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὔτε πᾶσι ῥάδιον γινώσκειν ούτε τοις έγνωκόσιν είπειν είς πάντας δυνατόν . . . ταύτη δη τῆ κοινῆ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐννοία πρόσεστι καὶ ἄλλη. πάντες γὰρ οὐρανῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ φαινομένοις θεοῖς οὕτω δή τι φυσικῶς προσηρτήμεθα, ὡς καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλον υπέλαβε παρ' αὐτοὺς τὸν θεόν, οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ πάντως τον οὐρανον ἀπένειμεν, οὐκ ἀποστήσας αὐτὸν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' οἶον ὡς εἰς τιμιώτερον τοῦ

1 Klimek would delete Εβραίοις as a gloss.

¹ Some words are lost.

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to enquire of those who are neither Hellenes nor Jews, but belong to the sect of the Galilaeans, why they preferred the belief of the Jews to ours; and what, further, can be the reason why they do not even adhere to the Jewish beliefs but have abandoned them also and followed a way of their own. For they have not accepted a single admirable or important doctrine of those that are held either by us Hellenes or by the Hebrews who derived them from Moses; but from both religions they have gathered what has been engrafted like powers of evil, as it were, on these nations-atheism from the Jewish levity, and a sordid and slovenly way of living from our indolence and vulgarity; and they desire that this should be called the noblest worship of the gods.

Now that the human race possesses its knowledge of God by nature and not from teaching is proved to us first of all by the universal yearning for the divine that is in all men whether private persons or communities, whether considered as individuals or as races. For all of us, without being taught, have attained to a belief in some sort of divinity, though it is not easy for all men to know the precise truth about it, nor is it possible for those who do know it to tell it to all men. . . . 1 Surely, besides this conception which is common to all men, there is another also. I mean that we are all by nature so closely dependent on the heavens and the gods that are visible therein, that even if any man conceives of another god besides these, he in every case assigns to him the heavens as his dwellingplace; not that he thereby separates him from the earth, but he so to speak establishes the King of

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παντὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸν βασιλέα καθίσας τῶν ὅλων

έφοραν εκείθεν υπολαμβάνων τὰ τῆδε. Τί δεί μοι 1 καλείν "Ελληνας καὶ Εβραίους 69 B ένταῦθα μάρτυρας; οὐδεὶς ἔστιν, δς οὐκ ἀνατείνει μεν είς οὐρανον τὰς χείρας εὐχόμενος, ὀμνύων δὲ θεὸν ήτοι θεούς, ἔννοιαν ὅλως τοῦ θείου λαμβάνων, έκείσε φέρεται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἔπαθον. όρ $\hat{\omega}$ ντες γάρ οὔτε πληθυνόμενον 2 οὔτε έλαττούμενόν τι τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὔτε τρεπόμενον ούτε πάθος ύπομένον τι των ατάκτων, αλλ' έναρμόνιον μεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κίνησιν, ἐμμελῆ δὲ τὴν τάξιν, 69 C ώρισμένους δὲ φωτισμούς σελήνης, ήλίου δὲ ἀνατολάς καὶ δύσεις ώρισμένας ἐν ώρισμένοις ἀεὶ καιροίς, εἰκότως θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ θρόνον ὑπέλαβον. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, ἄτε μηδεμιᾶ προσθήκη πληθυνόμενον μηδὲ ἐλαττούμενον ἀφαιρέσει, τῆς τε κατ' άλλοίωσιν καὶ τροπὴν ἐκτὸς ἱστάμενον μεταβολῆς πάσης καθαρεύει φθοράς καὶ γενέσεως, άθάνατον δὲ ὂν φύσει καὶ ἀνώλεθρον παντοίας ἐστὶ καθαρὸν κηλίδος - ἀίδιον δὲ καὶ ἀεικίνητον, ὡς ὁρῶμεν, ἤτοι 69 D παρὰ ψυχής κρείττονος καὶ θειοτέρας ἐνοικούσης αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα παρὰ της εν ημίν ψυχης, φέρεται κύκλω περί τον μέγαν δημιουργόν, η προς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν κίνησιν παραδεξάμενον του ἄπειρου έξελίττει κύκλου ἀπαύστω καὶ αὶωνίω φορά.

¹ Gollwitzer deletes µoı.

² ούτε πληθυνόμενον Klimek adds, cf. 69 C.

¹ Cf. Oration 6. 183c, Vol. 2.

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the All in the heavens 1 as in the most honourable place of all, and conceives of him as overseeing from there the affairs of this world.

What need have I to summon Hellenes and Hebrews as witnesses of this? There exists no man who does not stretch out his hands towards the heavens when he prays; and whether he swears by one god or several, if he has any notion at all of the divine, he turns heavenward. And it was very natural that men should feel thus. For since they observed that in what concerns the heavenly bodies there is no increase or diminution or mutability, and that they do not suffer any unregulated influence, but their movement is harmonious and their arrangement in concert; and that the illuminations of the moon are regulated, and that the risings and settings of the sun are regularly defined, and always at regularly defined seasons, they naturally conceived that the heaven is a god and the throne of a god.2 For a being of that sort, since it is not subject to increase by addition, or to diminution by subtraction, and is stationed beyond all change due to alteration and mutability, is free from decay and generation, and inasmuch as it is immortal by nature and indestructible, it is pure from every sort of stain. Eternal and ever in movement, as we see, it travels in a circuit about the great Creator, whether it be impelled by a nobler and more divine soul that dwells therein, just as, I mean, our bodies are by the soul in us, or having received its motion from God Himself, it wheels in its boundless circuit, in an unceasing and eternal career.

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² Cyril 70A ridicules Julian for confusing here a god with a throne; but και can be interpreted "or."

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44 Α Οὐκοῦν" Ελληνες μέν τοὺς μύθους ἔπλασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν ἀπίστους καὶ τερατώδεις. καταπιεῖν

44 Β γὰρ ἔφασαν τὸν Κρόνον τοὺς παίδας ¹ εἶτ' αὖθις ἐμέσαι. καὶ γάμους ἤδη παρανόμους μητρὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγημε μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ θυγατέρα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἔγημεν, ἀλλὰ μιχθεὶς ἀπλῶς ἄλλφ παραδέδωκεν ² αὐτήν. εἶτα οἱ Διονύσου σπαραγμοὶ καὶ μελῶν κολλήσεις. τοιαῦτα οἱ μῦθοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων

75 Α φασίν. τούτοις παράβαλλε τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τὸν φυτευόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παράδεισον καὶ τὸν ὑπ αὐτοῦ πλαττόμενον ᾿Αδάμ, εἶτα τὴν γινομένην αὐτῷ γυναῖκα. λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεός "Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ ἀὐτόν," πρὸς οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ὅλων βοηθήσασαν, ἐξαπατήσασαν δὲ καὶ γενομένην παραίτιον αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῷ καὶ ἑαυτῆ

Ταῦτα γάρ ἐστι μυθώδη παντελῶς. ἐπεὶ πῶς εὔλογον ἀγνοεῖν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι τὸ γινόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς βοήθειαν οὐ πρὸς καλοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ

86 Α πρὸς κακοῦ τῷ λαβόντι γενήσεται; τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν τὸν διαλεγόμενον πρὸς τὴν Εὔαν ποδαπῆ τινι χρῆσθαι φήσομεν διαλέκτῳ; ἄρα ἀνθρωπείᾳ; καὶ τί διαφέρει τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι πεπλασμένων
89 Α μύθων τὰ τοιαῦτα; τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀπαγορεύειν

89 Α μύθων τὰ τοιαῦτα ; τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀπαγορεύειν τὴν διάγνωσιν καλοῦ τε καὶ φαύλου τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλασθεῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπερβολὴν

² παρέδωκεν Klimek.

¹ Before εἶτ' Neumann adds καί, but this is not necessary.

¹ Persephone.

² Hades.

END OF SAMPLE TEXT



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