

# Fragment of Simonides (5,2 Bergk) in Julian the Apostate's *Caesars*

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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

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### ABSTRACT

The study investigates one arresting detail in Julian's *Caesars* (333B) that is related to Marcus Aurelius: "four-square and made without a flaw" – τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένως. The central concern is to examine the background which could have influenced Julian's Neoplatonic thoughts in the 4th century AD by the Syrian Neoplatonist, Iamblichus. Marcus Aurelius as a symbol of perfection in Julian's opinion is another interesting question that needs to be answered.

### KEYWORDS

*Caesars*, Cicero, Constantine the Great, Iamblichus, Julian the Apostate, Macrobius, Marcus Aurelius, *Misopogon*, Mithras, Neoplatonism, Plato, *Protagoras*, Pythagoras, *Republic*, School edict, Simonides, *Symposion e Kronia*, *Tetraktys*, *tetragonos*

The passage on the characterisation of Marcus Aurelius in the satire entitled *Caesars* by Julian the Apostate may be of interest to the reader in several ways.<sup>1</sup> One of the issues is the author himself and his work. Why does a Roman emperor write a satire about a former ruler of the

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<sup>1</sup> Authoritative editions of the *Caesars: The Works of the Emperor Julian*. Vol. 2. Ed. W. C. WRIGHT. London – New York 1913; L'Empereur Julien, *Œuvres Complètes*. Tome II<sup>2</sup>: *Discours de Julien Empereur*. Ed. CH. LACOMBRADÉ. Paris 1964; *Die beiden Satiren des Kaisers Julianus Apostata (Symposion oder Caesars und Antiochikos oder Misopogon)* [Palingenesia 66]. Ed. F. L. MÜLLER. Stuttgart 1998; *Simposio. I Cesari*. Ed. R. SARDIELLO. Galatina, 2000.

Roman Empire? What was Julian's goal? To whom was his work intended? The second interpretative possibility is the person and perception of Marcus Aurelius. Several questions may also arise in this respect: should we interpret Julian's writing from a historical or ideological perspective? Here, we think of the Platonic, and Neoplatonic tradition in particular, a follower of which Julian the Apostate was, who restored pagan cults and issued the School Edict, restricting the activities of Christian teachers.

The Simonides quotation may also be of particular interest regarding Plato's *Protagoras*, since the line appears twice in the dialogue: in caput 339B ("built foursquare in hands and feet and mind, a work without a flaw") and 344A ("foursquare in hands and feet and mind, wrought without a flaw").<sup>2</sup> We might ask in what context was Plato referring to Simonides' poem fragment (5,2 Bergk).

What could the author of the quote, Simonides, have been referring to? What does the τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένονος – the metaphor *perfect as a square* – mean in the poem of the 6th–5th century BC poet from Keos?

Last but not least, in what context does the quadrilateral and the square appear in antiquity? Should we necessarily perceive the τετράγωνος as a geometric figure? This time we will look at the fragment of Simonides as part of the text of the *Caesares*, and we will examine it in relation to Marcus Aurelius, in the context of what can be gleaned from the writings and thoughts of Julian, who was imbued with in the spirit of Neoplatonic philosophy. In this respect, we are linked to the theme of the history of education. Philosophical studies were the pinnacle of the ancient three-tier school system: after grammatical and rhetoric studies came the philosophical training; an educational system that was followed by the emperor himself.<sup>3</sup>

Firstly, let us mention briefly the satire entitled *Caesars* (Or. X). The date of the composition of the work is disputed: previously it was dated to December 361, but more recent literature suggests that it was written around 362–363, during the period when Julian was in Antioch preparing for his Persian campaign.<sup>4</sup> In the city, which was already mostly Christian in the 4th century, and where the emperor received a rather hostile reception, as he wrote about it shortly after in his work entitled *Misopogon* (*Beard-hater*) (Or. XII).<sup>5</sup> The *Caesares* is also a kind of response to the burning of the shrine of Apollo near Daphne that was dear to him, insofar as Julian blamed the Christians for the arson, therefore, in his work he attacks the Christians with caustic ridicule through the persona of Constantine.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Plato, *Protagoras*. Ed., transl. M. OSTWALD – G. VLASTOS. Indianapolis – New York 1956. For an explanation of the Platonic passages in Julian the Apostate, Bouffartigue's excellent work is worth bearing in mind, in particular that Julian not only referred to Simonides in the *Caesares*, but also in his invective against the Cynics (Or. IX). Cf. BOUFFARTIGUE, J.: *L'Empereur Julien et la culture de son temps*. Paris 1992, 97, 252.

<sup>3</sup>MARROU, H. I.: *Geschichte der Erziehung im klassischen Altertum*. Freiburg–München 1957, 221ff.

<sup>4</sup>On the issues of dating the work: K. CSÍZY, K.: *Proverbiumok és proverbialis kifejezések Iulianus Apostata műveiben* [Proverbs and proverbial expressions in the works of Julian the Apostate]. Piliscsaba 2006, 163; LACOMBRADÉ (n. 1) 27–28; MÜLLER (n. 1) 37–38.

<sup>5</sup>LACOMBRADÉ (n. 1) 140–199; MÜLLER (n. 1) 122–177; Hungarian translation: Iulianus Apostata, *Beszéd az antiochiaiak ellen, avagy a Szakállgyűlölő* (Or. XII) [Julian the Apostate: Oration against the Antiochians, or the Beard-hater]. Ed. B. SOLYMOSI. Szeged 2014.

<sup>6</sup>K. CSÍZY (n. 4) 163–164, 175–176, 183.



The *Caesares* is in fact a satire depicting an imaginary Cronus-festival, the Greek title of which is ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΚΡΟΝΙΑ – *Feast, or the festival of Cronus*, where the gods and the former rulers are portrayed together. According to the tradition, the seven-day-long event that closed the old year was held between 17 and 23 December.<sup>7</sup> Though the lords and servants do not change roles in Julian's work; the mocking gods are the source of humour in his Menippean satire, and the fact that during the festival the former heads of state challenge each other and showcase their talents and achievements within the frameworks of a competition.<sup>8</sup> The role of the gods is to decide who the finest is among them.

The setting is Mount Olympus, where Cronus, Jupiter, Mithras, Helios, Rhea, Hera, Apollo, Aphrodite and the Charites, Poseidon, Silenus, Dionysus, Hermes, Heracles and Romulus are present (307B–309B, 318C).<sup>9</sup> Romulus is the host, Hermes is the questioner, whose seriousness is counterpointed by Silenus, who, along with Dionysus, further besiege the contestants with embarrassing questions and interjections.

Starting the line with Julius Caesar, the following Roman rulers appear: Octavian, to whom the author consistently refers by that name, Tiberius (14–37), Caligula (37–41), Claudius (41–54), Nero (54–68), Vindex (68), Galba (68–69), Otho (69), Vitellius (69), Vespasianus (69–79), Titus (79–81), Domitian (81–96), Nerva (96–98), Trajan (98–117), Hadrian (117–138), Antoninus Pius (138–161), Marcus Aurelius (161–180) and Lucius Verus (161–169), Commodus (180–192), Pertinax (192–193), Septimius Severus (193–211), Geta (211), Caracalla (211–217), Macrinus (217–218), Elagabalus (218–222), Severus Alexander (222–235), Valerian (253–260), Gallienus (253–268), Claudius Gothicus (268–270), Aurelian (270–275), Probus (276), Carus (282–283), Carinus (283–285), Numerian (283–284), Diocletian (284–305), Maximian (285–305), Galerius (293–311), Constantius Chlorus (293–306), then Licinius (308–324) and Constantine the Great (306–337) with his sons, Constantine II (337–340), Constans (337–350) and Constantius II (337–361) (308D–316A). At the request of Heracles, Alexander the Great is also among the invited (308D–316A).

The competition is announced by Hermes, however, not all of them are allowed to take part in it, as only Julius Caesar, Octavian and Trajan appear at first, then the philosopher Marcus Aurelius at the request of Cronus, then Constantine the Great turns up at the intervention of Dionysus, and, of course, Alexander the Great can also compete, who is invited by Hermes (317A–318B). The six speeches of six rulers, interspersed with short interjections, are presented as an apologia (319D–329D).<sup>10</sup> Especially when the gods subject mortals to further scrutiny, or a kind of test (329D–335A). Marcus Aurelius takes the trophy, although he becomes the winner of

<sup>7</sup>The festival of Kronos or Saturn was celebrated for seven days in December. Lords and servants could change roles and give presents to each other during the feast that recalled the memory of the golden age. TÓTH, O.: *Macrobius és a sarkalatos erények* [Macrobius and the Cardinal Virtues]. Debrecen 2012, 24.

<sup>8</sup>NESSLRATH, H. G.: Menippeisches in der Spätantike: Von Lukian zu Julians "Caesares" und zu Claudians "In Rufinum". *Museum Helveticum* 51.1 (1994) 30–44.

<sup>9</sup>On the symbolic meaning of Gods: LACOMBRADÉ (n. 1) 22–23.

<sup>10</sup>Marcus Aurelius renounces self-glorification, in fact he speaks very little, and always appears different from the others. The speech of Alexander the Great is 30 lines, Caesar's is 17, Octavian's is 13, Trajan's is 9 and Constantine the Great's is 7.5. MÜLLER (n. 1) 45. It is worth noting that Julian, who was facing the Persian campaign and to a certain extent regarded Alexander the Great as his role model, specifically refers to his victory over the Persians in the Alexandros-logos (323D).



the competition by a majority and not a unanimous vote. Then Hermes proclaims that each of them should seek a patron;<sup>11</sup> their choice is symbolic, since they each decide according to their own character traits (335C–336B). Alexander the Great joins Heracles, Octavian joins Apollo, Marcus Aurelius seeks the protection of Zeus and Cronus, Julius Caesar, who is running around for a long time, is taken under the protection of Ares and Aphrodite, Trajan ends up on the side of Alexander the Great, and thus Heracles becomes his guiding god as well.

When Constantine the Great does not find his match among the gods, in the text his archetype: οὐχ εὐρίσκων ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου ἀρχέτυπον (336A), he flees to the capital Tryphè, the Softness, or Lust, who leads him to Asoteia, the god of dissolute and profligate life, only to find Jesus, who, with pure water washes away his sins: temptation, murder, bloodguilt, and shame.

Finally, the end of the story takes an interesting turn when Hermes assigns Mithras, or Helios, to Julian as his leader, accompanied by Good Hope (μετὰ τῆς Ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος 336C).<sup>12</sup>

On the one hand, the writing, which can be linked to the *symposion*-literature, is a satire that evokes Plato's *Symposium*,<sup>13</sup> and on the other, it is the emperor's Antiochian propaganda piece: the victorious Marcus Aurelius was a model for Julian, both on political and philosophical grounds.<sup>14</sup> The Marcus of the *Caesars* is in fact no other than Julian himself.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, the unfavourable portrayal of Constantine the Great is a sharp criticism of Christianity, as Constantine flees to Jesus for purification, who promises him forgiveness (336AB).

But why is the 2nd century philosopher-emperor the winner of the festival? The virtue of Marcus Aurelius is revealed as of his first appearance (τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς 312B). Julian endows the emperor with a look of natural beauty, who does not pay much attention to his appearance, yet radiates resplendent wisdom (τὸ καθαρῶτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον φῶς 317C); the author deems it important to mention his beard (here: ὑπήνη), which is inseparable from the figure of an ancient philosopher (317C). (It was also this appearance that made Julian the object of ridicule among the Antiochians, and for this reason and in response he wrote his

<sup>11</sup>In the text: „under whose auspices they can now continue their lives” (ὑπὸ θεοῖς ἡγεμόσι βιωσόμενοι τὸ ἐντεῦθεν 335C).

<sup>12</sup>Athassiadi-Fowden points out that the “Good Hope” (μετὰ τῆς Ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος) formula is of initiatory nature, and therefore refers to the initiation of Julian. ATHANASSIADI-FOWDEN, P.: *Julian and Hellenism. An Intellectual Biography*. Oxford 1981, 198.

<sup>13</sup>Julian himself makes the comparison between Silenus and Socrates: *Caes.* 314D; In Hunt's study, Silenus is a mixture of the ridiculous (γελοῖα) and the serious (σπουδαῖα), and it is not humorous. HUNT, D.: Julian and Marcus Aurelius. In INNES, D. – HINE, H. – PELLING, CH. (eds): *Ethics and Rhetoric (Classical Essays for Donald Russel on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday)*. Oxford 1995, 287–298, 292.

<sup>14</sup>BOUFFARTIGUE (n. 2) 74 ff.; LACOMBRADÉ (n. 1) 3. Julian also states elsewhere that Marcus Aurelius was his reference point: Ep. ad Them. Or. VI 253B – he is characterised by perfect virtue (τελεία ἀρετή). In the historical work of Ammianus Marcellinus (16. 1. 4) and in the Breviary of Eutropius (10. 16. 1) we find *expressis verbis* references to the fact that the emperor regarded Marcus Aurelius as his role model. According to Hunt, Julian was honoured in Gaul as *Marcus Redivivus*; the author referred to Ammianus' historical work (Amm. Marc. 15. 8. 1) and found similarities with Marcus Aurelius in Julian's anti-Christian policy. HUNT (n. 13) 288–289.

<sup>15</sup>HUNT (n. 13) 297–298; On his admiration towards Marcus Aurelius: ATHANASSIADI-FOWDEN (n. 12) 200; SMITH, R.: *Julian's Gods. Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate*. London – New York 1995, 12.



work *Beard-hater* (*Misopogon*), which, according to Malalas, was also posted in the city).<sup>16</sup> When Silenus and Dionysus requests this Stoic to be heard, the emperor merely, and briefly says that there is no need for him to speak or compete before the gods, for nothing can be hidden from them, and they shall judge him according to his own merits (328CD). Julian uses a fragment from Euripides to indicate that the gods are very pleased with this revelation: Λέγειν τε ὅπου χρῆ καὶ σιγᾶν ὅπου καλόν. Fr. 417,2 Nauck – Julian 328D) – he knew “When it is time to speak and when to be silent.”<sup>17</sup> A few caputs later we meet Marcus once again, when Dionysus addresses the philosopher with the quotation that is also in the title of our paper, saying that he seems to him like the Simonides quote: τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένως – “four-square and made without a flaw” (333B). Then Hermes questions the emperor, who, in laconic succinctness, sums up his ambitions in the imitation of the gods (Τὸ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς 333C), and when Silenus asks what does it mean to him, to follow the gods, he replies with an idea that appears in several places in the *Meditations*. In our text: Δεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων, εὖ ποεῖν δὲ ὡς ὅ τι μάλιστα πλείστους. – “Having the fewest possible needs, and doing good to the greatest possible number” (334A).<sup>18</sup>

Turning to the modern editions of the text, we find no reference to the interpretation of *tetragonos* in Loeb’s Wright edition, nor in the Lacombrade edition of the Budé series, nor in Müller’s Greek-German edition, nor in Sardiello’s recently published Greek-Italian text.

Naturally, the various commentaries do refer to the parallels between Simonides and Plato, but the explanation of the quadrilateral is not found in these works.<sup>19</sup> Now we are attempting to do so.

Julian followed the teachings of the Neoplatonic philosophers of Asia Minor; and the Pergamon school of Aedesius and the circle of Maximus of Ephesus were in fact the Iamblichian branch of Platonic philosophy. A philosophical direction in which both mysticism and numbers played a prominent role. In the Neoplatonic tradition of Late Antiquity, a kind of spiritual mathematics appears, insofar as virtue theory is linked to mathematics, the mathematics, which was strongly influenced by Pythagoreanism in the 4th century.<sup>20</sup> In Pythagoras’ system of thought, numbers are those imaginable entities that cannot be directly grasped by perception, and which point to the hidden interconnections of the world order. In his *Metaphysics* Aristotle writes of the Pythagoreans (986a1–3) that “they supposed the elements of numbers to be the elements of all things, and the whole heaven to be a musical scale and a number”.<sup>21</sup> “What is

<sup>16</sup>Malalas 327–328. In Ioannis Malalas, *Chronographia*. Ed. L. DINDORF. Bonnae 1831; K. Csizy (n. 4) 187. On his stay in Antioch: HAHN, I.: *Julianus és Antiochia* [Julian and Antioch]. Eger 1957.

<sup>17</sup>Interestingly, another Simonides quote in Julian refers exactly to silence: Simonid. Fr. 66 = Julian *Or.* 1, 3B σιωπῆς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας. K. CSIZY (n. 4) 26. Ed., transl. by W. C. WRIGHT. <http://www.attalus.org/translate/caesars.html>.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. In the work of Marcus Aurelius: 1. 5 “to want little”; 5. 5 “benevolence, frankness”; 1. 14 “a disposition to do good, and to give to others readily”; 7. 73 “When thou hast done a good act and another has received it, why dost thou look for a third thing besides these, as fools do, either to have the reputation of having done a good act or to obtain a return?” Transl. by G. LONG. <http://classics.mit.edu/Antoninus/meditations.html>. The role of Marcus Aurelius in the writings Julian the Apostate: BOUFFARTIGUE (n. 2) 74.

<sup>19</sup>WRIGHT (n. 1) 343, 406–407; SARDIELLO (n. 1) XX, XXII, 162.

<sup>20</sup>KAHN, CH. H.: *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans. A Brief History*. Indianapolis–Cambridge 2001, 133.

<sup>21</sup>Transl. by W. D. ROSS. [http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384\\_322,\\_Aristoteles,\\_13\\_Metaphysics,\\_EN.pdf](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/-384_322,_Aristoteles,_13_Metaphysics,_EN.pdf).



the wisest thing? Number.” – says Iamblichus in his Pythagoras biography (VP 18. 82).<sup>22</sup> It is no coincidence that several biographies of Pythagoras have survived from this period, we only need to think of the *vitae* of Pythagoras by Diogenes Laertius, Porphyry, and Iamblichus. The biography by Iamblichus can be seen as the first part of a presumably ten-volume Pythagoras corpus, which was, in a certain sense, intended to provide introductory knowledge for students of philosophy.<sup>23</sup> It is worth examining the τετραγώνος in this respect, i.e. the meaning and symbolism of the square, and of quaternity in general. Julian repeatedly states that for him Marcus Aurelius is the example of perfection (*Caes.* 312B τὸ μέγεθος ... τῆς ἀρετῆς, *Them.* 253B τελεία ἀρετή), as it is illustrated by the Simonides passage as well.<sup>24</sup>

In the Neoplatonic canon of virtue, the virtuous ladder: *scala virtutis* appears for the first time in Porphyry, in which the perfection of the soul can be achieved through four degrees: 1. political virtues (αἱ ἀρεταὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ – *virtutes politicae*), 2. purifying virtues (καθαρτικαὶ ἀρεταὶ ἢ θεωρητικαὶ – *virtutes purgatoriae*), 3. purified in spirit (αἱ ἀρεταὶ τοῦ τελείου θεωρητικοῦ καὶ ἡδὴ θεατοῦ – *animi iam purgati*), and 4. paradigmatic virtues (αἱ ἀρεταὶ τοῦ νοῦ καθ’ ὃ νοῦς καὶ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς καθαρὸς / παραδειγματικαὶ ἀρεταὶ – *exemplares*).<sup>25</sup> The Plotinus-based *scala* played a prominent role in the philosophical education of Late Antiquity. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the near-contemporary Macrobius’ commentary on *Scipio’s dream* that can be found in Cicero’s *Republic*, where the author describes in detail these four levels of virtue.<sup>26</sup>

But quaternity can also be understood as the *Tetraktys* in Pythagoras’ sacred oath, the sum of the first four integers that results in ten, the perfect number of the Pythagoreans, which includes the numbers that make up the ratios of the quart (4:3), the quint (3:2) and the octave (2:1), the harmony that is the result of the order of the cosmos and the music of the spheres. Iamblichus put it in his *Vita Pythagorica* (18,82) as follows: “What is the oracle at Delphi? The tetractys. What is harmony? That in which the Syrens subsist.” The text of the oath was as follows (28. 150): “I swear by him who the tetractys found, / Whence all our wisdom springs, and which contains / Perennial Nature’s fountain, cause, and root.”<sup>27</sup> The text has been preserved

<sup>22</sup>Transl. by TH. TAYLOR. <https://classicalastrologer.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/iamblichus-the-pythagorean-life-1.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup>Book I: *Vita Pythagorica*, Book II: *Protreptikos*, Book III: General mathematics-science, Book IV: Arithmetic, Book V: Physics, Book VI: Ethics, Book VII: Theology, Book VIII: Geometry, Book IX: Music, Book X: Astronomy. In O’MEARA, D. J.: *Pythagoras Revidid. Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity*. Oxford 1989, 33–35. Book IV is a paraphrase of Nicomachus Gerasenus’ *Introduction to Arithmetic*. In KAHN (n. 20) 136.

<sup>24</sup>Julian, in his sixth speech to Themistios on the art of ruling, considers the philosopher-emperor as a par excellence example of perfection. SMITH (n. 15) 12; K. CSÍZY (n. 4) 97–109.

<sup>25</sup>Porphyrius, *Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes*. Ed. E. LAMBERZ. Leipzig 1975. It is necessary to note here that while Porphyry distinguishes four degrees of virtue, Iamblichus has seven, but these are merely degrees of virtue that are deduced from Marini’s *Vita Procli* (2. 32–50). STAAB, G.: *Pythagoras in der Spätantike. Studien zu De Vita Pythagorica des Iamblichos von Chalkis*. München–Leipzig 2002, 167. St Augustine also writes of seven degrees. Cf. *De quant. an.* 33.70–76. On this subject in Plotinus: Plot. *Enn.* I 2, II 13–26, III 22–31, VI 23–27, VII 10–12, 19–28. O’MEARA, D. J.: *Platonopolis. Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity*. Oxford – New York 2003, 40 ff; O’MEARA (n. 23); TÓTH (n. 7) 48–51; CSÍZY, K.: *Az ideális vezető politikusk alakja a görög-római hagyományban* [Figure of the Ideal Politician in Greco-Roman Tradition]. Budapest 2018, 143.

<sup>26</sup>Macrobius. *Comm. ad somn.* I 8. 5–12. In Macrobius, *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*. Ed. J. WILLIS. Leipzig 1970.

<sup>27</sup>KIRK, G. S. – RAVEN, J. E. – SCHOFIELD, M.: *A preszókratikus filozófusok* [The Presocratic Philosophers] (in Hung. trans.). Budapest 2002, 343. Iamblichus VP: Transl. by TH. TAYLOR. <https://classicalastrologer.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/iamblichus-the-pythagorean-life-1.pdf>.





in many places, i.e. Sextus Empiricus (*adv. math.* VII 94), Porphyry (*VP* 20) and Julian (*Or.* IX 196C = *Pyth. Carm. Aur.* 47), although each of them gave a different version of it. We also find the oath in the commentary of Macrobius, when the author explains the meaning of seven with the combination of three and four, and he connects the latter with the doctrine of the four elements. The *Tetraktys*, which the Pythagoreans, as he says, *quasi ad perfectionem animae pertinentem inter arcana venerantur* (Macrobius *Comm. ad somn.* I 6. 41), was thus intended for the improvement of the soul, which, at the same time, aimed at the acquisition of self-knowledge.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, it is also worth considering the τετράγωνος in the context that in the world around us, beings appear as representations of numbers, and according to this idea, virtues can also be identified with certain numbers. Our Τετράγωνος could be interpreted as parallel of four cardinal virtues, Marcus Aurelius had all of them in Iulian's *Caesares*. In Iamblichus' fragmentary ten-volume work on the teachings of Pythagoras we find a passage, according to which four is the symbol of justice.<sup>29</sup> One of the four fundamental virtues of Platonism can be seen as a kind of guiding virtue, since without justice none of them is worth anything: temperance, courage and wisdom must go hand in hand with justice, and as the state as a whole must be just,<sup>30</sup> so is individual justness essential. Psellos, who was active in the 11th century Byzantium, quoted from three volumes by Iamblichus (Book V: Physics, Book VI: Ethics, Book VII: Theology), which include physical, ethical and theological arithmetic; it is the source on ethical and theological numbers (Περὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ θεολογικῆς) that is of particular interest to us. "Each virtue can be linked to numbers" – Καὶ ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐκάστω προσήκει ἀριθμῶ. – Four can be matched with / is related to justice – ὁ γὰρ τέτταρα προσήκει τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ.<sup>31</sup>

We do not know for certain why Julian chose the quote of Simonides – Τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένος – to describe Marcus Aurelius, but the example of the number four given above shows that this number must have had great significance for the emperor, who was prone to mysticism, which does not exclude the possibility that Pythagorean roots may be assumed behind the use of the word.<sup>32</sup> We can even relate to the doctrine of *metempsychosis*, the transmigration of souls, as Julian is the *Marcus Redivivus* of the *Emperors*, the reborn philosopher-emperor as he appears in the historical work of Ammianus Marcellinus: during whose reign *Iustitia* returned to earth once again (25. 4. 18).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Cic. *Rep.* VI 18 = *Somn.* 5. 2 *qui numerus rerum omnium fere nodus est* – Cicero says regarding the number seven that it connects everything. – Macrobius explains the passage as a compound of the 3 soul-segments and the *Tetraktys*, saying that this is why Virgil writes: *Aen.* I 94 ...*o terque quaterque beati*. In Macrobius *Comm. ad somn.* I 6 34–44.

<sup>29</sup>Psell. *On Eth. Theol. Arithm.* 31. 48. In O'MEARA (n. 23) 224–227. Macrobius *Comm. ad somn.* I 5. 17 eight is justness, because the components can be divided into equal numbers (2x4; 2x2x2).

<sup>30</sup>MARÓTH, M.: *A görög filozófia története* [The History of Greek Philosophy]. [Studia Classica IV]. Piliscsaba 2002, 496–498.

<sup>31</sup>Psell. *On Pythagoreanism*. In O'MEARA (n. 24) 224–225.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. Amm. Marc. 25. 4. 17 "Superstitious rather than truly religious." Transl. by J. C. ROLFE. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2007.01.0082%3Abook%3Dpos%3D12%3Achapter%3D4%3Asection%3D17>.

<sup>33</sup>Amm. Marc. 25. 4. 1–22; HUNT (n. 13) 288.



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