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Lucian

Austin Morris
Harmon
LUCIAN

I
Lucianus Samosatensis

LUCIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
A. M. HARMON
OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN EIGHT VOLUMES
I

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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PHALARIS I</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;                                           II</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH (<em>Hippias</em>)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIONYSUS (<em>Bacchus</em>)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HERACLES (<em>Hercules</em>)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMBER, OR THE SWANS (<em>De electro</em>)</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE FLY (<em>Muscae laudatio</em>)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIGRinus</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMONAX</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE HALL (<em>De domo</em>)</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MY NATIVE LAND (<em>Patiae laudatio</em>)</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCTOGENARIANS (<em>Longaevi</em>)</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A TRUE STORY (<em>Verae Historiae</em>) I</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;                                           II</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLANDER (<em>Calumniiae non temere credendum</em>)</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CONSONANTS AT LAW (<em>Iudicium vocalium</em>)</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CAROUSEL, OR THE LAPITHS (<em>Convivium</em>)</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Lucian was born at Samosata in Commagene and calls himself a Syrian; he may or may not have been of Semitic stock. The exact duration of his life is unknown, but it is probable that he was born not long before 125 A.D. and died not long after 180. Something of his life-history is given us in his own writings, notably in the Dream, the Doubly Indicted, the Fisher, and the Apology. If what he tells us in the Dream is to be taken seriously (and it is usually so taken), he began his career as apprentice to his uncle, a sculptor, but soon became disgusted with his prospects in that calling and gave it up for Rhetoric, the branch of the literary profession then most in favour. Theoretically the vocation of a rhetorician was to plead in court, to compose pleas for others and to teach the art of pleading; but in practice his vocation was far less important in his own eyes and those of the public than his avocation, which consisted in going about from place to place
INTRODUCTION

and often from country to country displaying his ability as a speaker before the educated classes. In this way Lucian travelled through Ionia and Greece, to Italy and even to Gaul, and won much wealth and fame. Samples of his repertory are still extant among his works—declamations like the Phalaris, essays on abstract themes like Slander, descriptions, appreciations, and depreciations. But although a field like this afforded ample scope for the ordinary rhetorician, it could not display the full talent of a Lucian. His bent for satire, which crops out even in his writings of this period, had to find expression, and ultimately found it in the satiric dialogue. In a sense, then, what he says is true, that he abandoned Rhetoric: but only in a very limited sense. In reality he changed only his repertory, not his profession, for his productions continued to be presented in the same manner and for the same purpose as of old—from a lecture-platform to entertain an audience.

Rightly to understand and appreciate Lucian, one must recognise that he was not a philosopher nor even a moralist, but a rhetorician, that his mission in life was not to reform society nor to chastise it, but simply to amuse it. He himself admits on every page that he is serious only in his desire to please, and he would answer all charges but that of dullness viii
INTRODUCTION

with an οὐ φροντίς Ιπποκλείδης. Judged from his own stand-point, he is successful; not only in his own times but in all the ensuing ages his witty, well-phrased comments on life, more akin to comedy than to true satire, have brought him the applause that he craved.

Among the eighty-two pieces that have come down to us under the name of Lucian, there are not a few of which his authorship has been disputed. Certainly spurious are Halcyon, Nero, Philopatris, and Astrology; and to these, it seems to me, the Consonants at Law should be added. Furthermore, Demosthenes, Charidemus, Cynic, Love, Octogenarians, Hippias, Ungrammatical Man, Swiftfoot, and the epigrams are generally considered spurious, and there are several others (Dissonned and My Country in particular) which, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

Beside satiric dialogues, which form the bulk of his work, and early rhetorical writings, we have from the pen of Lucian two romances, A True Story and Lucius, or the Ass (if indeed the latter is his), some introductions to readings and a number of miscellaneous treatises. Very few of his writings can be dated with any accuracy. An effort to group them on a chronological basis has been made by
INTRODUCTION

M. Croiset, but it cannot be called entirely successful. The order in which they are to be presented in this edition is that followed in the best manuscripts, which, through its adoption in Rabe's edition of the scholia to Lucian and in Nilén's edition of the text, bids fair to become standard.

There are a hundred and fifty manuscripts of Lucian, more or less, which give us a tradition that is fairly uniform but none too good. There is no satisfactory critical edition of Lucian except Nilén's, which is now in progress. His text will be followed in this edition where it is available; elsewhere, that of Jacobitz (1851). The critical notes will record not only departures from Nilén or Jacobitz, as the case may be, but also their chief divergences from the manuscripts. In order that text and translation may as far as possible correspond, conjectures have been admitted with considerable freedom: for the fact that a good many of them bear the initials of the translator he need not apologize if they are good; if they are not no apology will avail him. He is deeply indebted to Professor Edward Capps for reviewing his translation in the proof.

x
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Florentine, of 1496, the first edition.
Hemsterhuys-Reitz, Amsterdam 1743, containing a Latin translation by Gesner, critical notes, variorum commentary and a word-index (C. C. Reitz, 1746).
Lehmann, Leipzig 1822–1831, a convenient variorum edition which contains Gesner’s translation but lacks Reitz’s index.
Jacobitz, Leipzig 1836–1841, with critical notes, a subject-index and a word-index; it contains the scholia.
Jacobitz, Leipzig 1851, in the Teubner series of classical texts.
Bekker, Leipzig 1853.
Dindorf, Leipzig 1858, in the Tauchnitz series.
Fritzsche, Rostock 1860–1882, an incomplete edition containing only thirty pieces; excellent critical notes and prolegomena.
Sommerbrodt, Berlin 1886–1899, also incomplete, but lacking only fifteen pieces; with critical appendices.
Nilén, Leipzig 1906—, the new Teubner text, with very full critical notes; it is to appear in eight parts, of which the first is out and the second in press.

xi
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There are also very numerous editions and translations of selections from Lucian, of which no mention has been made, besides dissertations and essays. A survey of the Lucian literature for ten years back may be found in Bursians Jahresbericht 129 (1906), pp. 237–252, and 149 (1910), pp. 44–95.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

PHALARIS

This piece and its fellow should not be taken as a serious attempt to whitewash Phalaris and to excuse Delphi for accepting a tainted gift. They are good specimens of the stock of a rhetorician, and something more. To put yourself in another man's shoes and say what he would have said was a regular exercise of the schools, but to laugh in your sleeve as you said it was not the way of the ordinary rhetorician.
ΛΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ

· ΦΑΛΑΡΙΣ

Α

"Επεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὁ Δελφοί, ὁ ἠμέτρως δυνάστης Φάλαρις ἄξοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ταύρον τούτον καὶ ὑμῖν διαλεξομένους τὰ εἰκότα ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄναθήματος. ὃν μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα ἡκομεν, ταύτα ἔστιν· ἃ δὲ γε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέστειλεν τάδε·"¹

"Εγώ, φησίν, ὁ Δελφοί, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς Ἔλλησι τοιοῦτος ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι ὅποιος εἰμι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅποιον ἡ παρὰ τῶν μισοῦντων καὶ φθοροῦντων φήμῃ ταῖς τῶν ἄγνοιοντων ἀκοαῖς παραδέδωκεν, ἀντὶ τῶν πάντων ἀλλαξάμην ἂν, μάλιστα δὲ παρ’ ὑμῖν, ὅσοι ἠρεύ τέ ἐστε καὶ πάρεδροι τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ μόνον οὐ σύνοικοι καὶ ὀμορφόφιοι τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ, εἰ ὑμῖν ἀπολογησάμην καὶ πείσαμι μάτην ὡμὸς ὑπειλήψαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἄπασι δι’ ὑμῶν ἀπολελογημένος ἐσεσθαι. καλὸ δὲ ὃν ἔρω τὸν θεοῦ αὐτὸν μάρτυρα, δὲν οὐκ ἐνὶ δὴ ποιν παραλογισάσασθαι καὶ ψευδεῖ λόγῳ παρα-

¹ τάδε Herwerden: not in MSS. Lacuna noted by E. Schwartz, Nilén.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

PHALARIS

I

Men of Delphi, we have been sent by our ruler Phalaris to bring your god this bull, and to say to you what should be said about Phalaris himself and about his gift. That is why we are here, then; and what he told us to tell you is this:

'For my part, men of Delphi, to have all the Greeks think me the sort of man I am, and not the sort that rumour, coming from those who hate and envy me, has made me out to the ears of strangers, would please me better than anything else in the world; above all, to have you think me what I am, as you are priests and associates of Apollo, and (one might almost say) live in his house and under his roof-tree. I feel that if I clear myself before you and convince you that there was no reason to think me cruel, I shall have cleared myself through you before the rest of the Greeks. And I call your god himself to witness what I am about to say. Of
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γαγεῖν· ἀνθρώπους μὲν γὰρ ἵσως ἔξαπατήσαι ῥάδιον, θεοῦ δὲ, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων, διαλαθεῖν ἀδύνατον.

'Εγὼ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι ὄν, 2 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος εὐ γεγονός καὶ τραφεῖσ ἐλευθερίως καὶ παιδείᾳ προσεσχηκὼς, ἀεὶ διετέλευν τῇ μὲν πόλει δημοτικόν ἐμαυτῶν παρέχων, τοῖς δὲ συμπολιτευομένοις ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριοιν, βίαιοι δὲ ή σκιαῖν ή υβριστικόν ή αὐθέκαστον οὐδεὶς οὐδέν ἐπεκάλει μου τῷ προτέρῳ ἐκείνῳ βίῳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔσωρον τοὺς τὰναντία μοι πολιτευομένοις ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ έξ άπαντος τρόπου ἀνελεῖν με ζητούντας—διήρητο δὲ ἡμῶν τότε ἡ πόλις—μίαν ταύτην ἀποφυγήν καὶ ἁσφάλειαν εὐρισκον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀμα καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτηρίαν, εἰ ἐπιθέμενοι τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκείνους μὲν ἀναστείλαμι καὶ παύσαμι ἐπιβουλεύοντας, τὴν πόλιν δὲ σωφρονεῖν καταναγκάσαμι· καὶ ήσαν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντες, ἁνδρεὶς μέτριοι καὶ φιλοτολίδες, οἱ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔδεισαν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τὴν ἀνάγκην· τούτως οὖν 1 συναγωνισταίς χρησάμενοι ράδιῶς ἐκράτησα. 2

Τούντεύθεν οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐτάραττον, ἀλλ' 3 υπῆκονοι, ἐγὼ δὲ ἦρχον, ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀστασίαστος ἤν. σφαγὰς δὲ ἡ ἐλάσεις ἡ δημεύσεις οὔδε κατὰ τῶν ἐπιβεβουλευκότων εἰργαζόμην, καλτοὶ ἀναγκαῖοι ὄν 3 ὁ τοιαύτα τολμὰν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δυναστείας

1 οὖν Νιλέν: not in MSS.
2 ἐκράτησα Herwerden: ἐκράτησα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως MSS.
3 ὁν Νιλέν: not in MSS.
PHALARIS I

course he cannot be tripped by fallacies and misled by falsehoods: for although mere men are no doubt easy to cheat, a god (and above all this god) cannot be hoodwinked.

'I was not one of the common people in Acragas, but was as well-born, as delicately brought up and as thoroughly educated as anyone. Never at any time did I fail to display public spirit toward the city, and discretion and moderation toward my fellow-citizens; and no one ever charged me with a single violent, rude, insolent, or overbearing action during that period of my life. But when I saw that the men of the opposite party were plotting against me and trying in every way to get rid of me—our city was split into factions at the time—I found only one means of escape and safety, in which lay also the salvation of the city: it was to put myself at the head of the state, curb those men and check their plotting, and force the city to be reasonable. As there were not a few who commended this plan, men of sense and patriotism who understood my purpose and the necessity of the coup, I made use of their assistance and easily succeeded.

'From that time on the others made no more trouble, but gave obedience; I ruled, and the city was free from party strife. Executions, banishments and confiscations I did not employ even against the former conspirators, although a man must bring
τῆς ἐργασίας καὶ τῶν ἐπιστημών. Ἐνθάδε κηδεμόνας καὶ ἆρες τοῦ θρόνου, ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἐν πρώτῳ ὁμολογοῦσίν αὐτοῖς. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα τούτα ἐπιτίθεμεν καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν προσώπων, ἃν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν, ἐπειδή δὲ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἐπιτίθεται καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας καὶ τῶν κοινῶν προσώπων. Καὶ τῶν πολλῶν, τῶν υἱῶν, τῶν κόσμων τῶν πολιτών, τῶν κοινῶν τῶν, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῶν πολιτών.
himself to take such measures in the beginning of a reign more than at any other time. I had marvellous hopes of getting them to listen to me by my humanity, mildness and good-nature, and through the impartiality of my favour. At the outset, for instance, I came to an understanding with my enemies and laid aside hostility, taking most of them as counsellors and intimates. As for the city, perceiving that it had been brought to rack and ruin through the neglect of those in office, because everybody was robbing or rather plundering the state, I restored it by building aqueducts, adorned it with buildings and strengthened it with walls; the revenues of the state I readily increased through the diligence of my officials; I cared for the young, provided for the old, and entertained the people with shows, gifts, festivals and banquets. Even to hear of girls wronged, boys led astray, wives carried off, guardsmen with warrants, or any form of despotic threat made me throw up my hands in horror. I was already planning to resign my office and lay down my authority, thinking only how one might stop with safety; for being governor and managing everything began to seem to me unpleasant in itself and, when attended by jealousy, a burden to the flesh. I was still seeking, however, to ensure that the city would never again stand in need of such ministrations. But while I in my simplicity was engaged in all this, the others were already combining against me, planning the manner of their plot and uprising, organizing bands of conspirators, collecting arms, raising money, asking the aid of men in neighbouring towns, and sending embassies
Ελλάδα παρά Δακεδαμουνίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐπρεσβεύοντο. Ὄ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰ ληφθεῖν, ἐδεδοκτο ἢδη αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅτως μὲ αὐτοχειρὰ διασπάσεσθαι ἦπεῖλουν καὶ δὲς κολάσεις ἐπενόουν, δημοσίᾳ στρεβλούμενοι ἔξειτον. τοῦ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν παθεῖν τοιοῦτον οἱ θεοὶ αἰτίοι φωράσαντες τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ μᾶλλον γε ὁ Πύθιος ὀνείρατά τε προδείξας καὶ τοὺς μηνύσοντας ἔκαστα ἐπιπέμπων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἢδη ύμᾶς, ὁ Δελφοί, ἔπι τοῦ αὐτοῦ δέους νῦν τῷ λογισμῷ γενομένους ἀξιῶν περὶ τῶν τότε πρακτέων μοι συμβουλεύσαι, ὅτε ἀφύλακτος ὁ λύγον δεῖν ληφθεῖς ἐξήτων τινὰ σωτηρίαν περὶ τῶν παρόντων. πρὸς ὁλίγον οὖν τῇ γνώμῃ ἔσ Ἀκράγαντα παρ’ ἐμὲ ἀποδημήσασται καὶ ἱδόντες τὰς παρασκευὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἀκούσας εὔπατε τί δεὶ καὶ ποιεῖν; φιλανθρωπία χρήσαται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔτι καὶ φείδεσθαι καὶ ἀνέχεσθαι ὅσον αὐτίκα μελλήσονται πείσεσθαι τὰ υστατα; μᾶλλον δὲ γνώμην ἢδη ὑπέχειν τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ τὰ φίλτατα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅραν ἀπολυμένα; ἢ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα πάνυ ἡλιθίου τινὸς εἶναι, γενεαί δὲ καὶ ἀνδρόδη διανοηθέντα καὶ χολὴν ἔμφρονος καὶ ἡδυκημένου ἄνδρος ἀναλαβόντα μετελθεῖν ἐκείνους, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνότων τὴν ἐς τὸ ἐπίδον ἀσφάλειαν παρασχεῖν; ταύτ’ οἶδ’ ὦτι συνεβουλεύσατε ἀν.

Τῇ οὖν ἐγὼ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐποίησα; μεταστει-6
λάμενος τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ λόγου μεταδόσας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους παραγαγὼν καὶ σαφῶς ἔξε-
to Greece, to the Spartans and the Athenians. What they had already resolved to do with me if they caught me, how they had threatened to tear me to pieces with their own hands, and what punishments they had devised for me, they confessed in public on the rack. For the fact that I met no such fate I have the gods to thank, who exposed the plot: above all, Apollo, who showed me dreams and also sent me men to interpret them fully.

'At this point I ask you, men of Delphi, to imagine yourselves now as alarmed as I was then, and to give me your advice as to what I should have done when I had almost been taken off my guard and was trying to save myself from the situation. Transport yourselves, then, in fancy to my city of Acragas for a while; see their preparations, hear their threats, and tell me what to do. Use them with humanity? Spare them and put up with them when I am on the point of meeting my death the very next moment—nay, proffer my naked throat, and see my nearest and dearest slain before my eyes? Would not that be sheer imbecility, and should not I, with high and manly resolution and the anger natural to a man of sense who has been wronged, bring those men to book and provide for my own future security as best I may in the situation? That is the advice that I know you would have given me.

'Well, what did I do then? I summoned the men implicated, gave them a hearing, brought in the evidence, and clearly convicted them on each count;
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

λέγεις ἐκαστα, ἐπεὶ μηδ’ αὐτοὶ ἤτι ἔξαρνοι ἦσαν, ἥμυνόμην ἀγανακτῶν τὸ πλέον οὐχ ὅτι ἐπεβεβουλεῦμην, ἀλλ’ ὅτι μη ἐλάθην ὡς αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ προαιρέσει μεῖναι, ἢν ἔχαρχῆς ἐνεστησάμην. καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου φυλάττων μὲν ἐμαυτὸν διατεῦ, ἐκεῖνων δὲ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μοι κολάζων. εἰδ’ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐμὲ τῆς ὁμότητος αἰτώνται οὐκέτι λογιζόμενοι παρὰ ποτέρου ἴμων ἢν ἡ πρώτη τούτων ἀρχὴ, συνελόντες δὲ ταύ μέσῳ καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσ’ ἐκολάζοντο τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτᾶς ἦττῳντο καὶ τὰς δοκοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ὁμότηται, ὅμουν ὡς εἰ τις παρ’ ὑμῖν ἵεροσυλὸν τινα ἱδῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ῥυπόμενον ἢ μὲν ἐτόλμησε μὴ λογιζόμενο, ὡς νῦκτωρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν παρῆλθε καὶ κατέστασε τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τοῦ ἥψατο, κατηγοροῖ δὲ ὑμῶν πολλὴν τὴν ἀγριότητα, ὅτι Ἕλληνες τε καὶ ἱερὸς εἶναι λέγοντες ἐπεμείνατε ἄνθρωποι Ἕλληνα πλησίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ—καὶ γὰρ οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως εἶναι λέγεται ἡ πέτρα—κολάζει τοιαύτῃ περιβαλεῖν. ἀλλ’, οἶμαι, αὐτοὶ καταγελάσεσθε, ἢν ταῦτα λέγη τις καθ’ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὡς ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπαινόστονται ὑμῶν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἁσιβούντων ὁμότητα.

Τὸ δ’ ὅλον οἱ δὴμοι οὐκ ἔξετάζοντες ὡς ὁ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔφεστος ἐστὶν, εἰτε δίκαιος εἰτὲ ἄδικος, αὐτὸ ἀπλῶς τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ὄνομα μισοῦσι καὶ τὸν τύραννον, καὶ Αἰακὸς ἢ Μίνως ἢ Ραδάμανθος ἢ, ὁμοίως ἔξ ἀπαντος ἀνελεῖν σπεύδοσιν, τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς αὐτῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέμενοι, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς προσηγορίας τῷ ὁμοίῳ μίσει συμπεριλαμβάνοντες. ἔγω γοῦν ἀκόον καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἕλληνι πολλοὺς.
PHALARIS I

and then, as they themselves no longer denied the charge, I avenged myself, angry in the main, not because they had plotted against me, but because they had not let me abide by the plan which I had made in the beginning. From that time I have continued to protect myself and to punish those of my opponents who plot against me at any time. And then men charge me with cruelty, forgetting to consider which of us began it! Suppressing all that went before, which caused them to be punished, they always censured the punishments in themselves and their seeming cruelty. It is as if someone among yourselves should see a temple-robber thrown over the cliff, and should not take into account what he had dared to do—how he had entered the temple at night, had pulled down the offerings, and had laid hands on the image—but should accuse you of great barbarity on the ground that you, who call yourselves Greeks and priests, countenanced the infliction of such a punishment on a fellow-Greek hard by the temple (for they say that the cliff is not very far from the city). Why, you yourselves will laugh at any man who makes this charge against you, I am sure; and the rest of the world will praise you for your severity towards the impious.

'Peoples in general, without trying to find out what sort of man the head of the state is, whether just or unjust, simply hate the very name of tyranny, and even if the tyrant is an Aeacus, a Minos or a Rhadamanthus they make every effort to put him out of the way just the same, for they fix their eyes on the bad tyrants and include the good in equal hatred by reason of the common title. Yet I hear that among you Greeks there have been many
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γενέσθαι τυράννους σοφοὺς ὕπονόμητα
dοκούντις χρηστόν καὶ ἡμεροῦ ἢθος ἐπιδεδευμένους,
ὁν ἐνίων καὶ λόγοις εἶναι βραχεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὕμων
ἀποκευμένους, ἀγάλματα καὶ ἀναθήματα τῷ
Πυθίῳ.

'Οράτε δὲ καὶ τοὺς νομοθέτας τῷ κολα-
στικῷ εἰδεὶ τὸ πλέον νέμοντας, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων
οὐδὲν ὀφέλος, εἰ μὴ ὁ φόβος προσείη καὶ ἐπίς
τῆς κολάσεως. ἦμιν δὲ τούτῳ πολλῷ ἀναγκαίο-
τερον τοῖς τυράννοις, ὅσω πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἐξηγού-
μεθα καὶ μισοῦσι τε ἀμα καὶ ἑπιβουλεύουσιν
ἀνθρώπως σύνεσμεν, ὅποιον μηδὲ τῶν μορμολυκείων
ὀφέλος τι ἦμιν γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ περὶ τῆς ὁδρας
μύθῳ τὸ πράγμα ἐσικερν' ὡσ γὰρ ἐν ἐκκόπτωμεν,
tοσοῖδε πλείους ἦμιν ἀναφύονται τοῦ κολάζειν
ἀφορμαῖ. φέρειν δὲ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ἀναφυόμενον
ἐκκόπτων αἰὲ καὶ ἑπικαίειν ψε θια κατὰ τὸν
Ἰόλεων, εἰ μέλλομεν ἑπικρατήσειν· τὸν γὰρ ἀπάξ
εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπεσεῖν ἡναγκασμένον ἐμοῖον χρῆ
τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἢ φειδομένου τῶν
πλησίον ἀπολωλέναι. ὅλως δὲ, τίνα οἶεσθε οὕτως
ἀγριον ἡ ἀνήμερον ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ὡς ἰδοῦσθαι
μαστυγοῦσα καὶ οἰμωγῶν ἀκούοντα καὶ σφάττο-
μένους ὅρωντα, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι τινὰ μεγάλην τοῦ κολά-
ζειν αἴτιαν; ποσάκις γοῦν ἐδάκρυσα μαστυγομένων
ἀλλων, ποσάκις δὲ θρηνεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τὴν
ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην ἀναγκάζομαι μείζω κόλαζιν αὐτὸς
καὶ χρονωτέραν ὑπομένων; ἄνδρι γὰρ φύσει μὲν
ἀγαθῷ, διὰ δὲ ἀνάγκην πικρῷ, πολὺ τοῦ κολά-
ζεσθαι τὸ κολάζειν χαλεπώτερον,
wise tyrants who, under a name of ill-repute have shown a good and kindly character; and even that brief sayings of some of them are deposited in your temple as gifts and oblations to Pythius.

'You will observe that legislators lay most stress on the punitive class of measures, naturally because no others are of any use if unattended by fear and the expectation of punishment. With us tyrants this is all the more necessary because we govern by force and live among men who not only hate us but plot against us, in an environment where even the bugaboos we set up do not help us. Our case is like the story of the Hydra: the more heads we lop, the more occasions for punishing grow up under our eyes. We must needs make the best of it and lop each new growth—yes, and sear it, too, like Iolaus, if we are to hold the upper hand; for when a man has once been forced into a situation of this sort, he must adapt himself to his rôle or lose his life by being merciful to his neighbours. In general, do you suppose that any man is so barbarous and savage as to take pleasure in flogging, in hearing groans and in seeing men slaughtered, if he has not some good reason for punishing? How many times have I not shed tears while others were being flogged? How many times have I not been forced to lament and bewail my lot in undergoing greater and more protracted punishment than they? When a man is kindly by nature and harsh by necessity, it is much harder for him to punish than to be punished.

1 The helper of Hercules in the story.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, ἑγὼ μὲν, εἰ 9 αἴρεσις μοι προτεθείη, πότερα βούλομαι, κολάζειν τινὰς ἀδίκως ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν, εὔ ἵστε ὡς οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἐλοίμην ἂν τεθνάναι μάλλον ἢ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν. εἰ δὲ τις φαίη, Βούλει, ὦ Φάλαρι, τεθνάναι αὐτὸς ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως κολάζειν τοὺς ἐπιβοῦλους; τοῦτο βουλομην ἂν αὖθις γὰρ ὕμᾶς, ὦ Δελφοί, συμβούλους καλῶ, πότερον ἀμείνον εἰναι ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἀδίκως σώζειν τὸν ἐπιβεβουλευκότα; οὔδεις οὔτως, οἴμαι, ἀνόητος ἐστιν ὃς οὐκ ἂν προτιμήσει ἣν μάλλον ἢ σῶζων τοὺς ἔχθρους ἀπολολέσαι. καίτοι πόσους ἔγω καὶ τῶν ἐπιχειρήσαντων μοι καὶ φανερῶς ἐληλεγ- 
μένων ὁμώς ἐσώσα; οἶον Ἀκανθὸν τούτοι καὶ 
Τιμοκράτη καὶ Λεωγόραν τὸν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ, 
παλαιᾶς συνθείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μνημονεύσας. 
"Ὅταν δὲ βουληθῆτε τοὺμὸν εἰδέναι, τοὺς 
eἰσφοιτῶντας εἰς Ἀκράγαντα ξένους ἐρωτήσατε 
ὅποιος ἑγὼ περὶ αὐτοὺς εἰμι καὶ εἰ φιλάνθρωπος 
προσφέρομαι τοῖς καταίρουσιν, ὅσον καὶ σκοποῦ 
ἐπὶ τῶν λιμένων ἔχω καὶ πευτῆμα, τίνες ὅθεν 
kαταπεπλέκασιν, ὡς κατ' ἄξιαν τιμῶν ἀποτέμ- 
πομια αὐτοῦς. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες φοιτώσι 
pαρ' ἐμέ, οἱ σοφῶτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οὗ 
φεύγουσι τὴν συνουσίαν τὴν ἐμὴν, ὦσπερ ἀμέλει 
καὶ πρόην ὁ σοφὸς Πυθαγόρας ἦκεν ὡς ἡμᾶς, 
ἄλλα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκοῦσι· ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐπειράθη, 
ἀπῆλθεν ἐπαινῶν μὲ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἔλεον 
τῆς ἀναγκαίας ὁμότητος. εἶτα οἰεσθε τὸν πρὸς 
tοὺς ὀδυνεῖσις φιλάνθρωπον οὕτως ἂν πικρῶς 1 
tοῖς

1 ἂν πικρῶς Herwerden: ἀδίκως MSS.
PHALARIS I

'For my part, if I may speak freely, in case I were offered the choice between inflicting unjust punishment and being put to death myself, you may be very certain that without delay I should choose to die rather than to punish the innocent. But if someone should say: 'Phalaris, choose between meeting an unjust death and inflicting just punishment on conspirators,' I should choose the latter; for—once more I call upon you for advice, men of Delphi—is it better to be put to death unjustly, or to pardon conspirators unjustly? Nobody, surely, is such a simpleton as not to prefer to live rather than to pardon his enemies and die. But how many men who made attempts on me and were clearly convicted of it have I not pardoned in spite of everything? So it was with Acanthus, whom you see before you, and Timocrates and his brother Leogoras, for I remembered my old-time friendship with them.

'When you wish to know my side, ask the strangers who visit Acragas how I am with them, and whether I treat visitors kindly. Why, I even have watchmen at the ports, and agents to enquire who people are and where they come from, so that I may speed them on their way with fitting honours. Some (and they are the wisest of the Greeks) come to see me of their own free will instead of shunning my society. For instance, just the other day the wise man Pythagoras came to us; he had heard a different story about me, but when he had seen what I was like he went away praising me for my justice and pitying me for my necessary severity. Then do you think that a man who is kind to
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

οίκείοις προσφέρεσθαι, εἰ μῆ τι διαφερόντως ἡδίκητο;

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολελόγημαι ὑμῖν, ἀληθῆ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἐπαίνου μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐμαυτόν πείθω, ἢ μόσους ἄξια. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἀναθή-

ματος καρδίας ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι θεῖν καὶ ὅτως τὸν ταῦρον τούτον ἐκτησάμην, ὥς ἐκδοὺς αὐτὸς τῷ ἀνδριαντοποῦ —μὴ γὰρ οὕτω μονείν, ὡς τοιοῦ-

των ἐπιθυμῆσαι κτημάτων— ἀλλὰ Περίλαος ἦν τις ἠμεδατὸς, χαλκεὺς μὲν ἀγαθός, πονηρὸς δὲ ἀνθρωπὸς. οὕτος πάμπολυ τῆς ἔμης γνώμης
dιημαρτηκὼς φέτο χαριεύθαλε μοι, εἰ καὶ ἐν τινα κόλασιν ἐπινοῆσειν, ὡς ἐξ ἀπαντος κολάζειν ἐπιθυμοῦντι. καὶ δὴ κατασκευάζας τὸν βοῦν ἤκε

μοι κομίζων κάλλιστον ἰδεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέσ-
tatov εἰκασμένων· κινήσεως γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μυκηθ-

μοῦ ἐδει μόνον πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἐμφυχος εἶναι δοκεῖν.

ιδὼν δὲ ἀνέκραγον εὖθύς, ἄξιον τὸ κτήμα τοῦ

Πυθίου, πεμπτέος ὁ ταῦρος τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δὲ Περίλαος

παρεστῶς. Τί δ’ εἰ μάθοις, ἔφη, τὴν σοφίαν τὴν

ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν χρείαν ἂν παρέχεται; καὶ ἀνοίξας

άμα τὸν ταῦρον κατὰ τὰ νότα, Ἡν τινα, ἔφη,

κολάζειν ἐθέλησι, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς τὸ μηχάνημα
tοῦτο καὶ κατακλείσας προστίθεναι μὲν τοὺς

αὐλοὺς τούς πρὸς τοὺς μιξώτηρας τοῦ βοῶς, πῦρ

δὲ ὑποκαίειν κελεύειν, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰμώξεται καὶ

βοήσει ἀλήτικος ταῖς ὀδύναις ἐχόμενος, ἡ βοῦ

dὲ διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν μέλῃ σοι ἀποτελέσει οἷα λυγυρώ-
tata καὶ ἐπανλήσει θρηνώδες καὶ μυκῆσεται
gοερώτατον, ὡς τὸν μὲν κολάζεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τέρπο-

θαι μεταξὺ καταυλουμένου. ἔγω δὲ ὡς τοῦτο

هةὐσαζθην τὴν κακομηχανίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς

11

12

16
PHALARIS I

foreigners would treat his fellow-countrymen so harshly if he had not been exceptionally wronged?

'So much for what I had to say to you in my own behalf: it is true and just and, I flatter myself, merits praise rather than hatred. As for my gift, it is time you heard where and how I got this bull. I did not order it of the sculptor myself—I hope I may never be so insane as to want such things!—but there was a man in our town called Perilaus, a good metal-worker but a bad man. Completely missing my point of view, this fellow thought to do me a favour by inventing a new punishment, imagining that I wanted to punish people in any and every way. So he made the bull and came to me with it, a very beautiful thing to look at and a very close copy of nature; motion and voice were all it needed to make it seem actually alive. At the sight of it I cried out at once: “The thing is good enough for Apollo; we must send the bull to the god!” But Perilaus at my elbow said: “What if you knew the trick of it and the purpose it serves?” With that he opened the bull’s back and said: “If you wish to punish anyone, make him get into this contrivance and lock him up; then attach these flutes to the nose of the bull and have a fire lighted underneath. The man will groan and shriek in the grip of unrelenting pain, and his voice will make you the sweetest possible music on the flutes, piping dolefully and lowing piteously; so that while he is punished you are entertained by having flutes played to you.” When I heard this I was disgusted with the wicked ingenuity of the fellow and hated the idea of the
καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐμίσησα τοῦ κατασκευάσματος καὶ οἰκεῖαν αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν ἐτέθηκα· καὶ Ἀγε δή, ἐφιν, ὁ Περίλαος, εἰ μὴ κενὴ ἄλλως ὑπόσχεσις ταύτα ἐστὶ, δείξον ἡμῖν αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς τέχνης καὶ μύμπαι τοὺς βοώντας, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν εἰ καὶ ἡ φίλη μέλη· διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν φθέγγεται. πείθεται μὲν ταῦτα ὁ Περίλαος, ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐνδον ἦν, κατακλείσας αὐτὸν πῦρ ύφαίπτειν ἐκέλευον· Ἀπολάμβανε, εἰπόν, τὸν ἀξίον μισθὸν τῆς θαυμαστῆς σου τέχνης, ἵνα διδάσκαλος τῆς μουσικῆς πρῶτος αὐτὸς αὐλής· καὶ ὁ μὴν δίκαια ἐπασχεῖν ἀπολαύσω τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐμηχανίας· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτι ἐμπνοοῦ καὶ ξόντα τὸν ἀνδρά ἐξαιρεθήναι κέλευσάς, ὡς μὴ μάνει τὸ ἑργὸν ἑναποθανῶν, ἐκείνου μὲν ἀταφον κατὰ κρημνῶν ὑπέτειν ἐκέλευςα, καθήρας δὲ τὸν βοῦν ἀνέπεμψα ὑμῖν ἀνατεθησώμενον τῷ θεῷ· καὶ ἐπιγράψαι γε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευςα τὴν πᾶσαν διήγησιν, τοῦ ἀνατιθέντος ἐμοῦ τούνομα, τὸν τεχνίτην τὸν Περίλαον, τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου, τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐμὴν, τὴν πρέπουσαν τιμωρίαν, τὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ χαλκέως μέλη, τὴν πρώτην πείραν τῆς μουσικῆς. Τοιεῖς δὲ, ὁ Δελφοῦς, δίκαια ποιήσετε θυ- σαντες μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μετὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, ἀνα- θέντες δὲ τὸν ταύρον ἐν καλῷ τοῦ ἱερῶν, ὡς πάντες εἰδεῖεν οἶος ἐγὼ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς εἰμι καὶ ὅπως ἀμύνομαι τὰς περιττὰς ἐς κακίαν ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν. ἦκαν γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δηλώσαι μου τὸν τρόπον, Περίλαος κολασθείς καὶ ὁ ταῦρος ἀνατεθεὶς καὶ μηκέτι φυλαχθεὶς πρὸς ἄλλως κολα- ξομένων αὐλήματα μηδὲ μελῳδῆςας ἄλλο ἐτι πλὴν μόνα τὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου μυκήματα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν μόνῳ

18
contrivance, so I gave him a punishment that fitted his crime. "Come now, Perilaus," said I, "if this is not mere empty boasting, show us the real nature of the invention by getting into it yourself and imitating people crying out, so that we may know whether the music you speak of is really made on the flutes." Perilaus complied, and when he was inside, I locked him up and had a fire kindled underneath, saying: "Take the reward you deserve for your wonderful invention, and as you are our music-master, play the first tune yourself!" So he, indeed, got his deserts by thus having the enjoyment of his own ingenuity. But I had the fellow taken out while he was still alive and breathing, that he might not pollute the work by dying in it; then I had him thrown over a cliff to lie unburied, and after purifying the bull, sent it to you to be dedicated to the god. I also had the whole story inscribed on it—my name as the giver; that of Perilaus, the maker; his idea; my justice; the apt punishment; the songs of the clever metal-worker and the first trial of the music.

"You will do what is right, men of Delphi, if you offer sacrifice in my behalf with my ambassadors, and if you set the bull up in a fair place in the temple-close, that all may know how I deal with bad men and how I requite their extravagant inclinations toward wickedness. Indeed, this affair of itself is enough to show my character: Perilaus was punished, the bull was dedicated without being kept to pipe when others were punished and without having played any other tune than the bellowings of its
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

αὐτῷ καὶ πείραν ἔλαβον τῆς τέχνης καὶ κατέπαυσα τὴν ἁμοιότην καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ὑδήν. καὶ τὰ μὲν παρόντα ταῦτα παρ’ ἐμοὶ τῷ θεῷ ἀναθήσω δὲ καὶ ἅλλα πολλάκις, ἐπειδὰν μοι παράσχῃ μηκέτι δεῖσθαι κολάσεων.

Ταῦτα μὲν, ὁ Δελφοὶ, τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Φαλάριδος, ἀληθῆ πάντα καὶ οὐα ἐπράχθη ἐκαστα, καὶ δικαίοι ἂν εἴημεν πιστεύσθαι ὡς ὑμῶν μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς ἂν καὶ εἰδότες καὶ μηθέμιαν τὸν ψεύδεσθαι νῦν αἰτίαν ἔχοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ δεηθῆναι υπὲρ ἀνδρὸς μάθῃ ποιηροῦ δοκοῦντος καὶ ἄκοντος κολάζεων ἡναγκασμένου, ἵκετεόμεν ὑμᾶς ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἄκραγαντίνοι Ἔλληνεσ τε ὄντες καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δωριεῖς, προσέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα φίλον εἶναι ἐθέλοντα καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δημοσία καὶ ἱδία ἐκαστον ύμῶν εὐ ποιῆσαι ὁρμημένου. λάβετε οὖν αὐτὸν τὸν ταύρον καὶ ἀνάθετε καὶ εὐξασθε υπὲρ τε τῆς Ἄκραγαντος καὶ υπὲρ αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος, καὶ μήτε ἡμᾶς ἀπράκτους ἀποπέμψῃς μήτε ἐκεῖνον ἐβρίσητε μήτε τὸν θεὸν ἀποστερήσῃς καλλίστου τε ἁμα καὶ δικαιοτάτου ἀναθήματος.

Β

Οὔτε Ἄκραγαντίνων, ὁ ἄνδρες Δελφοί, πρὸ-ξενος ὅν οὔτε ἱδίοξενος αὐτοῦ Φαλάριδος οὔτε ἄλλην ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἡ εὐνοίας ἱδίαν αἰτίαν ἡ μελλουσῆς φιλίας ἐλπίδα, τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ἀκούσας τῶν ἥκοντος παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτρια διεξιόντων, καὶ τὸ εὐσεβῆς ἁμα καὶ τὸ 20
maker, and his case sufficed me to try the invention
and put an end to that uninspired, inhuman music.
At present, this is what I offer the god, but I shall
make many other gifts as soon as he permits me to
dispense with punishments.’

This, men of Delphi, is the message from Phalaris,
all of it true and everything just as it took place.
You would be justified in believing our testimony,
as we know the facts and have never yet had the
reputation of being untruthful. But if it is necessary
to resort to entreaty on behalf of a man who has
been wrongly thought wicked and has been comp-
pelled to punish people against his will, then we, the
people of Acragas, Greeks of Dorian stock, beseech
you to grant him access to the sanctuary, for he
wishes to be your friend and is inclined to confer
many benefits on each and all of you. Take the bull
then; dedicate it, and pray for Acragas and for
Phalaris himself. Do not send us away unsuccessful
or insult him or deprive the god of an offering at
once most beautiful and most fitting.

II

I am neither an official representative of the
people of Acragas, men of Delphi, nor a personal
representative of Phalaris himself, and I have no
private ground at all for good-will to him and no
expectation of future friendship. But after listening
to the reasonable and temperate story of the am-
bassadors who have come from him, I rise in the
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

κοινὴ συμφέρον καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Δελφοῦς πρέπον προσωρώμενος ἀνέστην παραινέσων ὑμῖν μήτε ὑβρίζειν ἄνδρα δυνάστην εὐσεβοῦντα μήτε ἀνάθημα ἢ ἂν τῷ θεῷ καθωμολογημένον ἀπαλλοτριών, καὶ ταῦτα τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπόμνημα εἰς ἀεὶ γενησόμενον, τέχνης καλλιστῆς καὶ ἐπινοιας κακίστης καὶ δικαίας κολάσεως. ἔγω μὲν οὖν 2 καὶ τὸ ἐνδοιάσας ὑμᾶς ὁλῶς περὶ τούτου καὶ ἦμῖν προσέχειν τὴν διάσκεψιν, εἰ χρὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα ἢ ὁπίσω αὐθίς ἀποτεμπεῖν, ἀνόσιοι ἢ ἂν εἶναι νομίζω, μᾶλλον δὲ οὔτ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας ἀπολειπτέναι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ἱεροσύλια τὸ πράγμα ἐστὶ μακρὸ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπῶτέρα, ὅσῳ τὰ τῇ ἢ ἂν ἀνατεθέντα συλλαῖν τὸ μηδὲ τὴν ἁρχὴν τοῖς ἀνατιθέναι βουλομένους ἐπιτρέπειν ἀσεβέστερον.

Δέομαι δὲ ὑμῶν Δελφὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἃν καὶ 3 τὸ ἵσον μετέχον τῆς τε δημοσίας εὐκλείας, εἰ φυλάττοιτο, καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας δόξης, εἰ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων προσγένοιτο, μήτε ἀποκλείειν τὸ ἱερόν τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι μήτε τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ἀπαντάς ἀνθρώπους διαβάλλειν ὡς τὰ πεπόμενα τῷ θεῷ πυκνοφαντοῦσαν καὶ ψήφοι καὶ δικαστηρίῳ δοκιμᾶσσαν τοὺς ἀνατιθέντας· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἢ τὴν ἀναθέταιν τολμήσειν ἂν εἶδος οὐ προσηγόμενον τὸν θεόν τὸ ἂν μὴ πρότερον Δελφοῖς δοκῇ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύθιος τὴν δικαίαν ἢ ἂν περὶ τοῦ 4 ἀναθήματος ψῆφον ἦνεγκεν εἰ γοῦν ἔμηθε τὸν Φάλαριν ἢ τὸ δώρον αὐτοῦ ἐμυσσάττετο, ῥάδιον ἢν ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ μέσῳ καταδύσατε αὐτὸ μετὰ τῆς ἀγούσης ὀλκάδος, ὁ δὲ πολὺ τούπαντοι ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε δια-

1 ὑμᾶς MSS.: bracketed by Nilén, following E. Schwartz.
PHALARIS II

interests of religion, of our common good and, above all, of the dignity of Delphi to exhort you neither to insult a devout monarch nor to put away a gift already pledged to the god, especially as it will be for ever a memorial of three very significant things—beautiful workmanship, wicked inventiveness, and just punishment. Even for you to hesitate about this matter at all and to submit us the question whether we should receive the gift or send it back again—even this I, for my part, consider impious; indeed, nothing short of extreme sacrilege, for the business is nothing else than temple-robbery, far more serious than other forms of it because it is more impious not to allow people to make gifts when they will than to steal gifts after they are made.

A man of Delphi myself and an equal participant in our public good name if we maintain it and in our disrepute if we acquire it from the present case, I beg you neither to lock the temple to worshippers nor to give the world a bad opinion of the city as one that quibbles over things sent the god, and tries givers by ballot and jury. No one would venture to give in future if he knew that the god would not accept anything not previously approved by the men of Delphi. As a matter of fact, Apollo has already voted justly about the gift. At any rate, if he hated Phalaris or loathed his present, he could easily have sunk it in the middle of the Ionian sea, along with the ship that carried it. But, quite to the contrary,
PERAIWOTHNIAI, OWS FASI, PAREXCHEN AUTOIS KAI SOWS ES TIN KIRRAV KATAKRAI. D KAI DHLOV OTHI PROSOETAI 5 TIN TOU MONARXHOU EUSBEIAV. XHRI DE KAI UMAΣ TAA AUTΑ EKEINΨ PSIΦISAMENOUS PROSOETEI kAI TOU TAUROU TOU TOU 'ALLΦ KOSIMOU TOU IEBOU' EPEI PANTΩN AN EΨ TOU TOU ABOPOTATON, PEMΨVANTA TINA MEGALOPREPOΣ OUYTO DORON THEΦ TIN KATAKIDIK- ΞOUΣAN EK TOU IEBOU PSIΦON LAΒEIN KAI MUSΘON KOMI- SASBAIN TΗΣ EUSBEIAS TO KEEKRISAI MΗDE TOY ANA- TIDENAI AXIOV. 1

'Ο μεν οὖν τάναντια μοι εγνωκώς, καθάπερ έκ 6 του 'ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΥ ΆΡΤΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΠΛΕΝΚΩΣ, ΣΦΑΓΑΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΆΡΠΑΓΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΆΠΑΓΟΓΑΣ ΕΤΡΑΓΑΘΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΥΤΟΠΤΗΣ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΣΘΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝ, ΔΩ ΊΛΕΜΕΝ ΟΥ' ΑΧΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΟΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΔΗΜΗΚΟΤΑ. XHRI DE TΑ MΕΝ ΤΟΙΑΤΑ ΜΗΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΠΟΥΘΕΝΑΙ ΦΑΣΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΠΑΝΙΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΔΗΡΓΟΥ- ΜΕΝΟΙΣ—ΑΔΗΛΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΙ ΑΛΗΘΗ ΛΕΓΟΝΟΥΝ—ΟΥΧ ΟΠΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΗ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΕΩΝ. ΕΙ Δ' 7 ΟΥΝ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠΡΑΚΤΑΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ, ΤΟΥΤ' ΟΥ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΠΡΑΓΜΟΝΕΙΝ, ΕΙ ΜΗ ΑΝΤΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΝ ΗΘΗ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΆΞΙΟΥΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ, ΔΕΟΝ ΘΥΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΑΝΑΤΙ- ΘΕΝΑΙ ΕΙ ΠΕΜΨΕΙΕΙ ΤΙΣ, ΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΘΗΜΕΘΑ ΕΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ 'ΙΟΝΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ή ΆΔΙΚΟΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΑΙ.

ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΆΛΛΩΝ ΕΧΕΤΩ ΩΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ: 8 ΗΜΙΝ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ, ΟΙΜΑΙ, ΤΑ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ, ΩΤΩΣ ΤΕ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΔΙΕΚΕΙΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΩΤΩΣ ΝΗΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΙ ΛΙΨΟΝ ΕΣΤΑΙ. ΟΤΙ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΕΝ ΚΡΗΜΝΟΙΣ

1. Άξιον Herwerden: Άξιος MSS.
PHALARIS II

he vouchsafed them a calm passage, they say, and a safe arrival at Cirrha. By this it is clear that he accepts the monarch's worship. You must cast the same vote as he, and add this bull to the other attractions of the temple: for it would be most preposterous that a man who has sent so magnificent a present to our god should get the sentence of exclusion from the sanctuary and should be paid for his piety by being pronounced unworthy even to make an oblation.

The man who holds the contrary opinion ranted about the tyrant's murders and assaults and robberies and abductions as if he had just put into port from Acragas, all but saying that he had been an eye-witness; we know, however, that he has not even been as far from home as the boat. We should not give such stories full credence even when told by those who profess to be the victims, for it is doubtful whether they are telling the truth. Much less should we ourselves play the accuser in matters of which we have no knowledge. But even if something of the sort has actually taken place in Sicily, we of Delphi need not trouble ourselves about it, unless we now want to be judges instead of priests, and when we should be sacrificing and performing the other divine services and helping to dedicate whatever anyone sends us, sit and speculate whether people on the other side of the Ionian sea are ruled justly or unjustly.

Let the situation of others be as it may: we, in my opinion, must needs realize our own situation—what it was of old, what it is now, and what we can do to better it. That we live on crags and cultivate
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

te oikōûmen autoi kai pētraĩ gevrrhroumen, ouĩ "Oμηρον χρη περιμενεĩν δηλώσουτα ἦμῖν, ἀλλα ὅραν πάρεστι ταύτα. καὶ δουν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ, βαθεῖ λιμῷ ἀεὶ συνῆμεν ἃν, τὸ ὃ ἵερον καὶ ὁ Πύθιος καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ οἱ θύοντες καὶ οἱ εὑσεβοῦντες, ταύτα Δελφῶν τὰ πεδία, ταύτα ἡ πρόσωδος, ἐν- τεῦθεν ἡ εὐπορία, ἐντεῦθεν αἱ τροφαῖ—χρη γὰρ τάληθὴ πρὸς γε ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς λέγειν—καὶ τὸ λεγο- μενον ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἁσπαρτὰ ἦμῖν καὶ ἀνήροτα φύεται τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ γεωργῆ τῷ θεῷ, ὅποι μόνον τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησίων ἀγαθὰ γυνώμενα παρέχει, ἀλλα ἐς τί ἐν Φοῖβῳ ὡς Ἀνδρός ὃς Πέρσαις ὁ Ἀσσυρίοις ὁ Φοῦνης ὃ Ἰταλίωταις ὃς Ἑπερ- βορέοις αὐτοῖς, πάντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφίκνεται. καὶ τὰ δεύτερα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἡμεῖς τιμώμεθα ὡς ἀπάντων καὶ εὐποροῦμεν καὶ εὐδαιμονοῦμεν ταύτα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ταύτα τὸ μέχρι νῦν, καὶ μὴ παυσαίμεθα γε οὕτω βιοῦντες.

Μέμνηται δὲ οὐδεὶς πῶς ὅτε ψήφου ὑπὲρ ἀνα- θήματος παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀναδοθείςαν οὐδὲ κωλυθέντα τινὰ θύειν ἢ ἀνατιθέναι. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ, οἴμαι, καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ὑπερβολῆν ἤξιζηται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὑπερ- πλούστει ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν. δεῖ τοῖς μηδὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶνοτομεῖν μηδὲν μηδὲ παρὰ τὰ πάτρια νόμον καθιστάναι, φυλοκρινεῖν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ

26
rocks is something we need not wait for Homer to
tell us—anyone can see it for himself.\textsuperscript{1} As far as
the land is concerned, we should always be cheek by
jowl with starvation: the temple, the god, the oracle,
the sacrificers and the worshippers—these are the
grain-lands of Delphi, these are our revenue, these
are the sources of our prosperity and of our subsis-
tence. We should speak the truth among ourselves,
at any rate! "Unsown and untilled,"\textsuperscript{2} as the poets
say, everything is grown for us with the god for our
husbandman. Not only does he vouchsafe us the
good things found among the Greeks, but every
product of the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Persians,
the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, the Italians and even
the Hyperboreans comes to Delphi. And next to
the god we are held in honour by all men, and we
are prosperous and happy. Thus it was of old, thus
it has been till now, and may we never cease leading
this life!

Never in the memory of any man have we taken
a vote on a gift, or prevented anyone from sacrificing
or giving. For this very reason, I think, the temple
has prospered extraordinarily and is excessively rich
in gifts. Therefore we ought not to make any
innovation in the present case and break precedents
by setting up the practice of censoring gifts and
looking into the pedigree of things that are sent

\textsuperscript{1} "Rocky Pytho" is twice mentioned in the \textit{Iliad} (2, 519; 9, 405). But Lucian is thinking particularly of the Homeric
Hymn to Apollo, toward the close of which (528f.) the
Cretans whom Apollo has settled at Delphi ask him how they
are to live; "for here is no lovely vine-land or fertile glebe."
He tells them that they have only to slaughter sheep, and all
that men bring him shall be theirs.

\textsuperscript{2} Homer, \textit{Od.} 9, 109; 123.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

genealogeiv tâ peptomene, òthev kai â' òton kai òpòia, dežaménous òde ìapragmónow ìanatideiv ìuphpetoutantas amfoin, kai tò òthev kai tòis euqebësi.

Dokeite de moî, ò Andréis Delfoî, áристà bouleýsesthai 1 peril tòn parôtòn, eî logísaiosthe ìuper 2 òsow kai âlikow estin ò sképsi, pròton mèn ìuper toù òthev kai toù ierou kai òusioù kai ìanadhmátov kai ìethòv árhoiow kai òthesmôn palaiów kai doxhjs toù manteióu, ìpeita ìuper tìs poléwos òlhos kai tòn sumferewton tò te koivò ìmòv kai idh ekástor Delfoîn, èpti pâsi de tìs parà pásis ìanerwpeis eùkleyias ò kàkoodoxias toùtov gar ouk òlda ei ti meîzov, ei sôphronèite, ò ìanagkaiôteron ìugíasìsthè an.

Perî ìmen ouî òn bouleunomètha, taúta ìstw, ouî Fálaris túranvov eîs ou'dê ò taúros òutov ou'dê xalkòs mônov, âllla pântes basileis kai pântes dunamei, òsow vîn chrònta tò ierò, kai chrusòs kai árgyros kai òsow âllla tîmia, pollàkis ìanatethisma tò òthev pròton mèn gâr to kata tòv òthev ìexetasthìmà ìaxov. tînos ouî ìneka múh òs ìai múhê òs pálaí tà peril tòn ìanadhamátov poùsowmen; òtì memphémonoi tois palaiôi ìexesin kaiustomhísowmen; kai ò múhê tòpoptote, âf' ou tòn pòlin óikouvmen kai ò Pûthios òrho kai ò trîpous fêggetai kai ò íereia èmmpneítai, ìegeîntai par' ìmòv, vîn katastasìomètha, krînevethai kai ìexetázesthai toûs ìanatidevntas; kai múh êx

1 bouleýsesthai Reitz: bouleýsesthai MSS.
2 ìuper Sommerbrodt: pròton ìuper MSS.
PHALARIS II

here, to see where they come from and from whom, and what they are: we should receive them and dedicate them without officiousness, serving both parties, the god and the worshippers.

It seems to me, men of Delphi, that you will come to the best conclusion about the present case if you should consider the number and the magnitude of the issues involved in the question—first, the god, the temple, sacrifices, gifts, old customs, time-honoured observances and the credit of the oracle; then the whole city and the interests not only of our body but of every man in Delphi; and more than all, our good or bad name in the world. I have no doubt that if you are in your senses you will think nothing more important or more vital than these issues.

This is what we are in consultation about, then: it is not Phalaris (a single tyrant) or this bull of bronze only, but all kings and all monarchs who now frequent the temple, and gold and silver and all other things of price that will be given the god on many occasions. The first point to be investigated should be the interest of the god. Why should we not manage the matter of gifts as we have always done, as we did in the beginning? What fault have we to find with the good old customs, that we should make innovations, and that we should now set up a practice that has never existed among us since the city has been inhabited, since our god has given oracles, since the tripod has had a voice and since the priestess has been inspired—the practice of trying and cross-examining givers? In consequence
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐκείνου μὲν τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους, τοῦ ἀνέδην καὶ
πᾶσιν ἔξεϊναι, ὁρᾶτε ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ἐμπέπλησται
tὸ ἱερὸν, ἀπάντων ἀνατιθέντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν
ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν ἐνίων δωρουμένων τῶν θεῶν.
eἰ δὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς δοκιμαστὰς καὶ ἔξεταστὰς 13
ἐπιστήσατε τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν, ὅκινῳ ἢ ἀπορή-
σώμεν τῶν δοκιμασθησομένων ἔτι, οὐδὲν οὕπο-
μένοντος ὑπόδικον αὐτὸν καθιστάναι, καὶ ἀναλί-
σκοντα καὶ καταδαπανῶντα παρ’ αὐτού κρίνεσθαι
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁλῶν κινδυνεύειν. Ἡ τίνι βιωτόν, εἰ
κρίθησται τοῦ ἀνατιθέναι ἀνάξιος;

14 Ε16
of that fine old custom of unrestricted access for all, you see how many good things fill the temple: all men give, and some are more generous to the god than their means warrant. But if you make yourselves examiners and inquisitors upon gifts, I doubt we shall be in want of people to examine hereafter, for nobody has the courage to put himself on the defensive, and to stand trial and risk everything as a result of spending his money lavishly. Who can endure life, if he is pronounced unworthy to make an oblation?
HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

"Description" (ecphrasis) was a favourite rhetorical exercise, though many frowned on it. In the "Rhetoric" attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (X, 17 Usener) it is called "an empty show and a waste of words." It is the general opinion that this piece is not by Lucian.
ΙΠΠΙΑΣ Η ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝ

Τῶν σοφῶν ἐκείνους μάλιστα ἔγωγε φημὶ δεῖν ἐπαινεῖν, ὁπόσοι μὴ λόγους μόνον δεξιοὺς παρέσχουσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκάστων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργους ὁμοίους τὰς τῶν λόγων υποσχέσεις ἐπιστῶσαντο. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἱατρῶν ὁ γε νοῦν ἔχων οὐ τοὺς ἄριστα ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης εἰπεῖν δυναμένους μεταστέλλεται νοσῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρᾶξαι τι κατ' αὐτὴν μεμελετηκότας. ἀμείων ὁ γὰρ καὶ μουσικὸς, οἷς τὸν διακρίνειν ὑθμοὺς καὶ ἀρμονίας ἐπισταμένον ὁ καὶ ψάλλει καὶ κιθάρισαι αὐτὸς δυνάμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἀν σοι τῶν στρατηγῶν λέγομι τοὺς εἰκότως ἄριστους κριθέντας, ὅτι οὐ τάττειν μόνον καὶ παραγείνῃ ἕσαν ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχεσαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ χειρὸς ἐργα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι; οἷον πάλαι μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, τῶν κάτω δὲ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Πύρρον ἦσμεν γεγονότας.

Πρὸς δὴ τί ταῦτ' ἔφην; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως ἰστοριῶν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος ἐπεμνήσθην αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν μηχανικῶν ἐκείνους ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, ὅποσοι ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ λαμπροὶ γενόμενοι καὶ μημόσυνα ὅμως τῆς τέχνης καὶ παραδείγματα1 τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον ἐπεὶ οὐ γε τοῖς λόγοις μόνοις ἐγγεγυμνασμένοι σοφισταὶ

1 παραδείγματα Rothstein: πράγματα MSS.
HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

Among wise men, I maintain, the most praiseworthy are they who not only have spoken cleverly on their particular subjects, but have made their assertions good by doing things to match them. Take doctors, for instance: a man of sense, on falling ill, does not send for those who can talk about their profession best, but for those who have trained themselves to accomplish something in it. Likewise a musician who can himself play the lyre and the cithara is better, surely, than one who simply has a good ear for rhythm and harmony. And why need I tell you that the generals who have been rightly judged the best were good not only at marshalling their forces and addressing them, but at heading charges and at doughty deeds? Such, we know, were Agamemnon and Achilles of old, Alexander and Pyrrhus more recently.

Why have I said all this? It was not out of an ill-timed desire to air my knowledge of history that I brought it up, but because the same thing is true of engineers—we ought to admire those who, though famous for knowledge, have yet left to later generations reminders and proofs of their practical skill, for men trained in words alone would better be called
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

αὐν εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἢ σοφός καλοῦντο. τοιοῦτον ἀκούομεν τὸν Ἀρχιμήδην γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Κυνίδον Σώστρατον, τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαίῳ χειρωσάμενον τὴν Μέμφιν ¹ ἀνευ πολιορκίας ἀποστροφῇ καὶ διαφέρει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὸν δὲ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων τριήρεις καταφλέξαντα τῇ τέχνῃ. καὶ Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑποσχόμενος Κροίσῳ ἄβροχον διαβιβάσειν τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινοεῖ κατόπιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου μᾶ ὑπερ τὸν Ἁλιν περιήγαγεν, οὐ μηχανικὸς οὗτος γενόμενος, σοφὸς δὲ καὶ ἐπινοησάς καὶ συνεῖναι πιθανότατος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἐπειδὸ πάνυ ἀρχαῖον, δὲ οὐ μόνον τεχνήσασθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν Ἰπποῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκαταβῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν λέγεται.

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἰππίου τουτοῦ τοῦ καθ’ 3 ἡμᾶς μεμνῆσθαι ἄξιον, ἀνδρὸς λόγοις μὲν παρ᾽ ὄντων βουλεῖ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ συνεῖναι τε ὀξέος καὶ ἐρμηνεύεισα σαφεστάτου, τὰ δὲ ἔργα πολὺ τῶν λόγων ἁμείνω παρεχομένου καὶ τὴν τῆς τέχνης ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποπληροῦντος, οὐκ ἐν τοιαύταις μὲν ὑποθέσεσιν ἐν αἰσ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρῶτος ² γενέσθαι εὐτύχησαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γεωμετρικῶν λόγον ἐπὶ τῆς δοθείσης, φασίν, εὐθείας τὸ τρίγωνον ἀκριβῶς συνισταμένου. καὶ τοῖς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἐκαστὸς ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἔργον ἀποτελόμενος ἐν ἑκείνῳ εὐδοκιμήσας εἶναι τοὺς όμοις ἔδοξεν, ὁ δὲ μηχανικῶν τε ὁ νὰ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ γεωμετρικῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἀρμονικῶν καὶ μουσικῶν φαίνεται, καὶ όμοις ἐκαστὸν τούτων ὀυτῶς ἐντελῶς

¹ Πτολεμαίῳ χειρωσάμενον τὴν Μέμφιν. Palmer: Πτολεμαίου χειρωσάμενον καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν MSS. “took Ptolemy and Memphis.”
² πρῶτος E. Capps: not in MSS.
HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

wiseacres than wise. Such an engineer we are told, was Archimedes, and also Sostratus of Cnidus. The latter took Memphis for Ptolemy without a siege by turning the river aside and dividing it; the former burned the ships of the enemy by means of his science. And before their time Thales of Miletus, who had promised Croesus to set his army across the Halys dryshod, thanks to his ingenuity brought the river round behind the camp in a single night. Yet he was not an engineer: he was wise, however, and very able at devising plans and grasping problems. As for the case of Epeius, it is prehistoric: he is said not only to have made the wooden horse for the Achaeans but to have gone into it along with them.

Among these men Hippias, our own contemporary, deserves mention. Not only is he trained as highly in the art of speech as any of his predecessors, and alike quick of comprehension and clear in exposition, but he is better at action than speech, and fulfills his professional promises, not merely doing so in those matters in which his predecessors succeeded in getting to the fore, but, as the geometricians put it, knowing how to construct a triangle accurately on a given base.¹ Moreover, whereas each of the others marked off some one department of science and sought fame in it, making a name for himself in spite of this delimitation, he, on the contrary, is clearly a leader in harmony and music as well as in engineering and geometry, and yet he shows as

¹ In other words, he has originality.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

δείκνυσιν ώς ἐν αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπιστάμενος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀκτίνων καὶ ἀνακλάσεων καὶ κατόπτρων θεωρίαν, έτι δὲ ἀστρονομίαν, ἐν ᾧ παίδας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέφημεν, οὐκ ὀλίγου χρόνου ἄν εἰη ἐπαίνειν. ἀ δὲ ἐναγχος ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων κατεπλάγγην, οὐκ ὀκνήσω εἰπεῖν· κοινὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ὑπόθεσις καὶ τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίῳ πάνυ πολλή, βαλανείον κατασκευή. ἡ 1 περίνοια δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ σύνεσις θαυμαστή.

Τόπος μὲν ἦν οὐκ ἐπίπεδος, ἀλλὰ πάνυ προσάντης καὶ ὁρίος, δὴ παραλαβόν κατὰ θάτερα εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ταπεινών, ἵσπεδον θάτερον2 θατέρῳ ἀπέφημεν, κρηπίδα μὲν βεβαιοτάτην ἀπαντή τῷ ἔργῳ. βαλόμενοι καὶ θεμελίων θέσει τῶν ἐπιτεθεμένων ἀσφάλειαν ἐμπεδωσάμενοι, ὑψεῖ3 δὲ πάνυ ἀποτόμοις καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν συνεχομένοις τὸ ὅλον κρατυνάμενος· τὰ δὲ ἔποικοδομηθέντα τῷ τοῦ τόπου μεγέθει σύμμετρα καὶ τῷ εὐλόγῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀρμοδιώτατα καὶ τῶν τῶν φώτων λόγου φυλάττοντα. πυλῶν μὲν ἔπεις ἀναβάσεις πλατείας ἐχῶν, ὑπτίας μᾶλλον ἡ ὁρθιας4 πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνίοντων εὐμάρειαν· εἰσίν τούτα δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδέχεται κοινὸς οἶκος εὐμεγέθης, ἢκανὴν ἔχων ἀπορτίας καὶ ἀκολουθοῦς διατριβήν, ἐν ἀριστερά δὲ τὰς τρυφιὰς παρασκευασμένα οἰκήματα,5 βαλανεῖο δ’ οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρεπῶς ἐστίνα, χαρί- εσσί καὶ φωτὶ πολλῷ καταλαμπόμεναι ὑποχωρή-

1 Ἡ E. Schwartz: not in MSS.
2 θάτερον Ἑ. Schwartz: not in MSS.
3 ὑψεῖ MSS.: ἀψεῖ Pellet and du Soul.
4 ὑπτίας, ὁρθιας Ἑ. Schwartz: ὑπτίος, ὁρθιος MSS.
5 τὰ παρασκευασμένα οἰκήματα Guyet: τῶν παρασκευασμένων οἰκημάτων MSS.: τῶν παρασκευασμένων οἰκήματα Schwartz.
great perfection in each of these fields as if he knew nothing else. It would take no little time to sing his praises in the doctrine of rays and refraction and mirrors, or in astronomy, in which he made his predecessors appear children, but I shall not hesitate to speak of one of his achievements which I recently looked upon with wonder. Though the undertaking is a commonplace, and in our days a very frequent one, the construction of a bath, yet his thoughtfulness and intelligence even in this commonplace matter is marvellous.

The site was not flat, but quite sloping and steep; it was extremely low on one side when he took it in hand, but he made it level, not only constructing a firm basis for the entire work and laying foundations to ensure the safety of the superstructure, but strengthening the whole with buttresses, very sheer and, for security’s sake, close together. The building suits the magnitude of the site, accords well with the accepted idea of such an establishment, and shows regard for the principles of lighting.

The entrance is high, with a flight of broad steps of which the tread is greater than the pitch, to make them easy to ascend. On entering, one is received into a public hall of good size, with ample accommodations for servants and attendants. On the left are the lounging-rooms, also of just the right sort for a bath, attractive, brightly lighted
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

σεις. εἰτ’ ἔχομενος αὐτῶν οἶκος, περιττὸς μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, ἀναγκαῖος δὲ· ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῶν εὑδαιμονεστέρων ὑποδοχὴν. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκατέρωθεν διαρκείς τοῖς ἀποδυναμοῖς ἀποθέσεις, καὶ μέσος οἶκος ὑψεῖ τῇ ψηλότατος καὶ φωτὶ φαινότατος, ψυχρὸι ύδατος ἔχον τρεῖς κολύμβηθρας, Δακαίη λίθῳ κεκοσμημένος, καὶ εἰκόνες ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου λευκοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐργασίας, ἡ μὲν 'Τηγείας, ἡ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

'Ἐξελθόντας δὲ ὑποδέχεται ἧρεμα χλαμυδόμενος οἶκος οὐκ ἀπηνεῖ τῇ θέμη προπαντῶν, ἐπιμηχής, ἀμφιστρογγυλος, μεθ' ὑν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἶκος εὑ μᾶλα φαινός, ἀλείψασθαι προσημώς παρεχόμενος, ἐκατέρωθεν εἰσόδους ἔχων Φρυγίῳ λίθῳ κεκαλλωπισμένας, τοὺς ἀπὸ παλαιότρας εἰσιόντας δεχόμενος. εἰτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλος οἶκος οἰκον ἀπάντων κάλλιστος, στῆναι τε καὶ ἐγκαθίζεσθαι προσηνέστατος καὶ ἐμβραδύναι ἀβλαβέστατος καὶ ἐγκυλίσασθαι ὀφειλόμενος, Φρυγίῳ καὶ αὐτός εἰς ὀρφήν ἄκραι ἀποστίλθων. ἔξης δὲ ὁ θερμὸς ὑποδέχεται διάδρομος Νομάδι λίθῳ διακεκαλλημένος. ὁ δὲ ἔνδους οἰκος κάλλιστος, φωτὸς τε πολλοῦ ἀνάμεστος καὶ ὡς πορφύρα διηθησίμενος. τρεῖς καὶ οὕτως θερμὰς πνεύμου παρέχεται.

Δουσαμένῳ δὲ ἔνεστι σοι μὴ τὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰκὼν αὕθες ἐπανεῖναι, ἀλλὰ ταχείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δι’ ἡρέμα θερμοῦ οἰκήματος, καὶ ταύτα πάντα ὑπὸ φωτὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ πολλῇ τῇ ἐνδου ἠμέρᾳ. ὑψη πρὸς τούτους

40
HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

retreats. Then, beside them, a hall, larger than need be for the purposes of a bath, but necessary for the reception of the rich. Next, capacious locker-rooms to undress in, on each side, with a very high and brilliantly lighted hall between them, in which are three swimming-pools of cold water; it is finished in Laconian marble, and has two statues of white marble in the ancient technique, one of Hygieia, the other of Aesculapius.

On leaving this hall, you come into another which is slightly warmed instead of meeting you at once with fierce heat; it is oblong, and has an apse at each side. Next it, on the right, is a very bright hall, nicely fitted up for massage, which has on each side an entrance decorated with Phrygian marble, and receives those who come in from the exercising-floor. Then near this is another hall, the most beautiful in the world, in which one can sit or stand with comfort, linger without danger and stroll about with profit. It also is resplendent with Phrygian marble clear to the roof.

Next comes the hot corridor, faced with Numidian marble. The hall beyond it is very beautiful, full of abundant light and aglow with colour like that of purple hangings. It contains three hot tubs.

When you have bathed, you need not go back through the same rooms, but can go directly to the cold room through a slightly warmed apartment. Everywhere there is copious illumination and full indoor daylight. Furthermore, the height of each

1 The writer does not mean that the room was hung with purple, but that the stone with which it was decorated was purple: perhaps only that it had columns of porphyry.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀνάλογα καὶ πλάτη τοῖς μήκεσι σύμμετρα καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλὴ χάρις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἑπανθεῖ· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καλὸν Πίνδαρον, ἄρχομένου ἔργου πρόσωπων χρή θέμεν τηλαυγές. τούτο δὲ ἂν εἰη ἐκ τῆς αὐγῆς μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ φέγγους καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν μεμηχανημένου. ὁ γὰρ σοφὸς ὥσ ἁληθῶς Ἰππίας τὸν μὲν ψυχροδόχον οἶκον εἰς βορρᾶν προσκεχωρηκότα ἐποίησε, οὐκ ἀμοιρῷν οὔδὲ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ ἄερος· τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺ τῶν θάλπους δεσμένους νότῳ καὶ εὐρῳ καὶ ξεφύρῳ ὑπέθηκε. τί δὲ ἂν σοι τὸ εἴπ τούτῳ λέγομι 8 παλαιόστρας καὶ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν ἰματισφυλακούντων κατασκευάς ταχείαν ἦπὶ τὸ λουτρόν καὶ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔχουσας τοῦ χρησίμου τε καὶ ἀβλαβοὺς ἐνεκά.

Καὶ μὴ με ὑπολάβῃ τις μικρὸν ἔργον προθέ-μενον κοσμεῖν τῷ λόγῳ προαιρεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κοινῶς καὶ πάντως ἐπινοῆσαι κάλλους δείγματα, οὐ μικρὰς σοφίας ἔγγυγη τίθεμαι, οἶνον καὶ τόδε τὸ ἔργον ὁ θαυμάσιος ἢμῖν Ἰππίας ἐπεδείξατο πάσας ἔχων τὰς βαλανεῖαν ἀρετὰς, τὸ χρήσιμον, τὸ εὐκωμοῦν, τὸ εὐφεγγεῖς, τὸ σύμμετρον, τὸ τῶν ἡμοσμένων, τὸ τὴν χρείαν ἀσφαλῆ παρεχόμενον, καὶ προσέτι τῇ ἄλλῃ περιοίκαι κεκοσμημένον, ἀφόδων μὲν ἀναγκαίων δυνά ἀναχωρήσεις, ἐξόδους δὲ πολλάξι τεθυρωμένου, ὡρῶν δὲ διιτῶς δηλώσεις, τὴν μὲν δὴ ὑπάτως καὶ μυκήματος, τὴν δὲ δ’ ἠλίου ἐπιδεικνύμενον.

Ταύτα ἰδόντα μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν πρέποντα ἐπαίνον τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἀνοήτου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

1 ταχείαν Schwartz: ταχείαν τὴν MSS.
HIPPIAS, OR THE BATH

room is just, and the breadth proportionate to the length; and everywhere great beauty and loveliness prevail, for in the words of noble Pindar, 1 "Your work should have a glorious countenance." This is probably due in the main to the light, the brightness and the windows. Hippias, being truly wise, built the room for cold baths to northward, though it does not lack a southern exposure; whereas he faced south, east, and west the rooms that require abundant heat. Why should I go on and tell you of the exercising-floors and of the cloak-rooms, which have quick and direct communication with the hall containing the basin, so as to be convenient and to do away with all risk?

Let no one suppose that I have taken an insignificant achievement as my theme, and purpose to enoble it by my eloquence. It requires more than a little wisdom, in my opinion, to invent new manifestations of beauty in commonplace things, as did our marvellous Hippias in producing this work. It has all the good points of a bath—usefulness, convenience, light, good proportions, fitness to its site, and the fact that it can be used without risk. Moreover, it is beautified with all other marks of thoughtfulness—with two toilets, many exits, and two devices for telling time, a water-clock that bellows like a bull, and a sundial.

For a man who has seen all this not to render the work its meed of praise is not only foolish but

1 Olymp. 6, 3. Pindar's ἄρχομενον (the beginning of your work) is out of place in this context.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀχαρίστου, μᾶλλον δὲ βασκάνου μοι εἶναι ἔδοξεν. ἔγω μὲν οὖν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὸν
tεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν ἡμειψάμην τῷ λόγῳ. εἰ
dὲ θεοὶ παράσχοι καὶ λούσασθαί ποτε, πολλοὺς
οἶδα ἐξων τοὺς κοινωνήσοντάς μοι τῶν ἐπαίνων.

14 Ε. 16
ungrateful, even malignant, it seems to me. I for my part have done what I could to do justice both to the work and to the man who planned and built it. If Heaven ever grants you the privilege of bathing there, I know that I shall have many who will join me in my words of praise.
DIONYSUS

AN INTRODUCTION

In Lucian's time it became the custom to introduce a formal piece of rhetorical fireworks with an informal talk, usually more or less personal. See A. Stock, *de prolatio rum usu rhetorico*, Königsberg, 1911. It is the general belief that the 'Dionysus' introduced Book ii. of the 'True Story.'
ΠΡΟΛΑΔΙΑ. ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ

"Ότε ο Διόνυσος ἔπτ' Ἰνδοὺς στρατιὰν ἠλάσε —καλύει γὰρ οὐδὲν, οἶμαι, καὶ μῦθον ύμῖν διηγήσασθαι Βακχικόν— φασίν οὕτω καταφρονή-
σαι αὐτὸ τὰ πρῶτα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ, ὥστε καταγελάν ἐπιόντος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑλεεῖν τὴν
tόλμαν αὐτίκα μάλα συμπατηθησομένου ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐλεφάντων, εἰ ἀντιτάξατο.ι ἦκουν γὰρ, οἶμαι, τῶν
σκοπῶν ἀλλόκοτα ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ
ἀγγελλόντων, ὡς ἢ μὲν φάλαγξ ἀυτῷ καὶ οἱ λόχοι
γυναίκες εἶνεν ἐκφρονεῖς καὶ μεμηνυῖαι, κιττῶ
ἐστεμμέναι, νεβρίδαις ἐνημέμεναι, δοράτα μικρὰ
ἔχουσαι ἁσίδηρα, κιττοποίητα καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τίνα
πελτάρια κούφα, βομβιόστα, εἰ τις μόνον προσά-
ψαίτο—ἀστίσι γὰρ ἐκαζοῦν, οἶμαι,2 τὰ τύμπανα—
ὁλίγους δὲ τίνας ἀγροίκους νεανίσκους ἐνέιναι, γνη-
νούς, κόρδακα ὅρχουμένους, οὐρὰς ἔχοντας, κεράς-
τας, οἰα τοὺς ἄρτι γεννηθεῖσιν ἔριφοις ὑποστεκαί.
καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηγὴν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἀρματος ὅχει-
θαι παρδάλευν ὑπεξεγμένων, ἀγένειον ἀκρῆβως,
οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγῳ τὴν παρειάν χυοῦντα, κερασφόρον,
βοστῦοις ἐστεφανωμένοι, μίτρα τὴν κόμην ἀνα-

1 ἀντιτάξαιτο MSS. : ἀντιτάξαιτο Cobet.
2 οἶμαι Rothstein : καὶ MSS.
DIONYSUS

AN INTRODUCTION

When Dionysus led his host against the men of Ind (surely there is nothing to prevent my telling you a tale of Bacchus!), he was held at first in such contempt, they say, by the people there, that they laughed at his advance; more than that, they pitied him for his hardihood, because he was certain to be trampled under foot in an instant by the elephants if he deployed against them. No doubt they heard curious reports about his army from their scouts: "His rank and file are crack-brained, crazy women, wreathed with ivy, dressed in fawn-skins, carrying little headless spears which are of ivy too, and light targes that boom if you do but touch them"—for they supposed, no doubt, that the tambours were shields. "A few young clodhoppers are with them, dancing the can-can without any clothes on; they have tails, and have horns like those which start from the foreheads of new-born kids. As for the general himself, he rides on a car behind a team of panthers; he is quite beardless, without even the least bit of down on his cheek; has horns, wears a garland of grape clusters, ties up his hair with
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

dedemένον, ἐν πορφυρίδι καὶ χρυσῇ ἐμβάδι: ὑπο-
στρατηγεῖν δὲ δύο, ἑνα μέν τινα βραχὺν, πρεσβύτην,
ὑπόπαχυν, προγάκτωρα, ῥινόσιμου, ὅτα μεγάλα
ὁρθια ἔχοντα, ὑπότρομον, νάρθηκι ἐπερειδόμενον,
ἐπ’ ὅνα τὸ πολλὰ ἱππεύοντα, ἐν κροκωτῷ καὶ
tούτων, πάνυ πιθανὸν τινα συνταγματάρχην
ἀυτοῦ· ἐτερον δὲ τεράστιον ἄνθρωπον, τράγῳ τὰ
νέρθεν ἔκοκτα, κομῆτην τὰ σκέλη, κέρατα ἔχοντα,
βαθυπόγωνα, ὄργιλον καὶ θυμικοῦ, θατέρα μὲν
σύρυγγα φέροντα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ βόαιδον καμπύλην
ἐπηρμένου καὶ περιπακτῶντα ὅλων τὸ στρατόπε-
dον, καὶ τὰ γύναια δὲ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ σείειν
ηνεμωμένας τὰς κόμας, ὅποτε προσίοι, καὶ βοϊν
εὐοί· τούτῳ δ’ εἰκάζειν καλεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὸν
dεσπότην. τὰς δ’ οὖν ποιμνας διηρπάσθαι ἦδη ὑπὸ
tῶν γυναικῶν καὶ διεσπάσθαι ἐτὶ ζώντα τὰ
θρέμματα· ὦμοφάγους γάρ τινας αὐτάς εἶναι.

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς. αὐτῶν ἀκού-
οντες ἔγελον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ οὐδ’ ἀντεπεξάγειν ἡ
παρατάττεσθαι ἡξίουν, ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ἄρα, τὰς
γυναῖκας ἐπαφήσειν αὐτοῖς, εἰ πλησίον γένοιτο,
σφίσι δὲ καὶ νικῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐδόκει καὶ φονεύειν
γυναία μεμηνότα καὶ θηλυκίτην ἄρχοντα καὶ
μεθύον σεμικρῶν γερόντιον καὶ ἡμίτραγον στρατιῶ-
tὴν ἄλλον1 καὶ γυναῖκας ὀρθιστάς, πάντας2
γελοίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤγγελτο πυρπολῶν ὁ θεὸς ῥῆθη
τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις αὐτάνδρους καταφλέγων
καὶ ἀνάπτων τὰς υλὰς καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ πάσαι τὴν
Ἰνδικὴν φλογὸς ἐμπεπληκός—ὀπλον γάρ τι

1 ἡμίτραγον στρατιώτῃν ἄλλον Harmon : ἡμιστρατιώτῃν ἄλλον
MSS. : ἡμίτραγον ἄλλον Hartmann : ἤμισσων τραγείδῃ ἄνθρωπον
Schwartz.   2 πάντας MSS. : πάντα Schwartz.

50
DIONYSUS

a ribbon, and is in a purple gown and gilt slippers. He has two lieutenants. One¹ is a short, thick-set old man with a big belly, a flat nose and large, up-standing ears, who is a bit shaky and walks with a staff (though for the most part he rides on an ass), and is also in a woman's gown, which is yellow; he is a very appropriate aide to such a chief! The other² is a misbegotten fellow like a goat in the underpinning, with hairy legs, horns, and a long beard; he is choleric and hot-headed, carries a shepherd's pipe in his left hand and brandishes a crooked stick in his right, and goes bounding all about the army. The women are afraid of him; they toss their hair in the wind when he comes near and cry out 'Evoe.' This we suppose to be the name of their ruler. The flocks have already been harried by the women, and the animals torn limb from limb while still alive; for they are eaters of raw meat."

On hearing this, the Hindoos and their king roared with laughter, as well they might, and did not care to take the field against them or to deploy their troops; at most, they said, they would turn their women loose on them if they came near. They themselves thought it a shame to defeat them and kill crazy women, a hair-ribboned leader, a drunken little old man, a goat-soldier and a lot of naked dancers—ridiculous, every one of them! But word soon came that the god was setting the country in a blaze, burning up cities and their inhabitants and firing the forests, and that he had speedily filled all India with

¹ Silenus.  
² Pan.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Διονυσιακὸν τὸ πῦρ, πατρὸφον αὐτῷ κὰκ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ—ἐνταῦθα ἤδη σπουδὴ ἀνελάμβανον τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπισώπαντες καὶ ἐγχαλινώσαντες καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναθέμενοι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἀντεπεξῆςαν, καταφρονοῦντες μὲν καὶ τὸτε, ὄργιζόμενοι δὲ ὅμως καὶ συντρίψασι σπεύδοντες αὐτῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν ἀγένειον ἐκεῖνον στρατηλάτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοὶ προτάξαντες τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπήγαγον τὴν φάλαγγα, οἱ Διόνυσος δὲ τὸ μέσον μὲν αὐτὸς εἶχε, τοῦ κέρας δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δεξίου μὲν ὁ Σιληνός, τοῦ εὐωδίου δὲ ὁ Πᾶν ἡγοῦντο λοχαγοὶ δὲ καὶ ταξιαρχοὶ οἱ Σάτυροι ἐγκαθίστηκαν καὶ τὸ μὲν σύνθημα ἦν ἀπασὶ τὸ εὖοι. εὐθὺς δὲ τὰ τύμπανα ἐπιταγεῖτο καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἔσημαινε καὶ τῶν Σατύρων τις λαβὼν τὸ κέρας ἐπηύλει τὸ ὄμοιον καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ ὅνος ἐνυάλιον τι ὀψήφαστο καὶ αἱ Μαινάδες σὺν ὀλολυγῇ ἐνεπήξησαν αὐτοῖς δράκοντι τὴν ὑπεξωσμέναι κὰκ τῶν θυρσῶν ἄκρων ἀπογυμνοῦσαι τὸν σίδηρον. οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες αὐτῶν αὐτίκα ἐγκλίναντες σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐφεύγον οὖδ’ ἐντὸς βέλους γενέσθαι ὑπομείναντες, καὶ τέλος κατὰ κράτος ἐαλῶκεσαν καὶ αἰχμαλωτοὶ ἐπήγαγον ὑπὸ τῶν τέως καταγελωμένων, ἑργοῦ μαθόντες ὡς οὐκ ἔχρην ἀπὸ τῆς πρῶτης ἀκοῆς καταφρονεῖν ξένων στρατοπέδων.
DIONYSUS

flame. (Naturally, the weapon of Dionysus is fire, because it is his father's and comes from the thunderbolt.\footnote{Zeus, the father of Dionysus, revealed himself to Semele, his mother, in all his glory, at her own request. Killed by his thunderbolt, she gave untimely birth to Dionysus, whom Zeus stitched into his own thigh and in due time brought into the world.}) Then at last they hurriedly took arms, saddled and bridled their elephants and put the towers on them, and sallied out against the enemy. Even then they despised them, but were angry at them all the same, and eager to crush the life out of the beardless general and his army. When the forces came together and saw one another, the Hindoos posted their elephants in the van and moved forward in close array. Dionysus had the centre in person; Silenus commanded on the right wing and Pan on the left. The Satyrs were commissioned as colonels and captains, and the general watchword was 'Evoe.' In a trice the tambours were beat, the cymbals gave the signal for battle, one of the Satyrs took his horn and sounded the charge, Silenus' jackass gave a martial hee-haw, and the Maenads, serpent-girdled, baring the steel of their thyrsus-points, fell on with a shriek. The Hindoos and their elephants gave way at once and fled in utter disorder, not even daring to get within range. The outcome was that they were captured by force of arms and led off prisoners by those whom they had formerly laughed at, taught by experience that strange armies should not have been despised on hearsay.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Αλλὰ τί πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ὁ Διόνυσος 5 οὖτος; εἶπο τις ἄν. ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσι—καὶ πρὸς Χαρίτων μὴ με κορυβαντίαν ἢ τελέως μεθύειν ὑπολάβητε, εἰ τὰμὰ εἰκάζω τοῖς θεοῖς—ὁμοίων τι πάσχειν οἱ πολλοί πρὸς τοὺς καινοὺς τῶν λόγων τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἐκείνοις, οἶον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς· ὦμον οὗτος γὰρ σατυρικὰ καὶ γελοιά τινα καὶ κοιμὸν κωμικὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀκούσεσθαι—τοιαῦτα γὰρ τε- πιστεύκασιν, οὔκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοὶ—οἱ μὲν οὖδὲ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀφικνοῦνται, ὡς οὖν δὲν παρέχειν τὰ ὅτα κῶμοις γνωσίκειοι καὶ σκερ- τῆσιν σατυρικοῖς καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάν- των, οἱ δὲ ώς ἐπὶ τοιοῦτό τι ἢκουτες ἀντὶ τοῦ κιντουρίου σίδηρον εὑρόντες οὐδ’ οὕτως ἐπαινεῖν τολμῶσι τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος τεθρον- βημένοι. ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν ἐπαγγέλλομαι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἢν καὶ νῦν ἡ πρότερον ποτε τὴν τελετὴν ἔθελήσωσιν ἐπιδείξει πολλάκις καὶ ἀναμνησθῶσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συμπόται κώμων κοινῶν τῶν, τότε καιρῶν καὶ μὴ καταφρονήσωσιν τῶν Σατύρων καὶ Σιληνῶν, πίσω δὲ ἐς κόρον τοῦ κρατήρος τούτου, ἔτι βακχεύσεως καὶ αὐτοῦς καὶ πολλάκις μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἔρειν τὸ εὔος. οὕτως μὲν οὖν—ἐλεύθερον 6 γὰρ ἄκοπ—ποιοῦντον ὦ τι καὶ φίλον.

Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἑσμέν, ἐβέλω καὶ ἀλλο ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαί τι τῶν ἐκείθεν, οὔκ

1 γὰρ (in two late MSS. only.) A. M. H., making τοιαῦτα parenthetical.
2 ἔτι βακχεύσεως Schwartz: ἔμβακχεύσεως (or ἑκβ.) MSS.
DIONYSUS

"But what has your Dionysus to do with Dionysus?" someone may say. This much: that in my opinion (and in the name of the Graces don't suppose me in a corybantic frenzy or downright drunk if I compare myself to the gods!) most people are in the same state of mind as the Hindoos when they encounter literary novelities, like mine for example. Thinking that what they hear from me will smack of Satyrs and of jokes, in short, of comedy—for that is the conviction they have formed, holding I know not what opinion of me—some of them do not come at all, believing it unseemly to come off their elephants and give their attention to the revels of women and the skippings of Satyrs, while others apparently come for something of that kind, and when they find steel instead of ivy, are even then slow to applaud, confused by the unexpectedness of the thing. But I promise confidently that if they are willing this time as they were before to look often upon the mystic rites, and if my boon-companions of old remember "the revels we shared in the days that are gone" and do not despise my Satyrs and Sileni, but drink their fill of this bowl, they too will know the Bacchic frenzy once again, and will often join me in the "Evoe." But let them do as they think fit: a man's ears are his own!

As we are still in India, I want to tell you another tale of that country which "has to do with Dionysus,"

1 οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις λεγόντων. Explained by Zenobius as said in the theatre, when poets began to write about Ajax and the Centaurs and other things not in the Dionysiac legend. See Paroemioi Graeci i. p. 137.

2 The source of the anapaest κόμων κοινῶν τῶν τότε καιρῶν is unknown.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

άπροσδιώνυσον οὔδ' αὐτό, οὔδ' ὤν ποιοῦμεν ἄλλοτριον. ἐν Ἰνδοίς τοῖς Μαχαλαίοις, οἱ τὰ λαὶα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἰ κατὰ ρὸν υἱοῦ βλέποις, ἐπινεμόμενοι μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ὀκεανὸν καθήκουσιν, παρὰ τούτοις ἀλῶς εστὶν ἐν περιφράκτῳ, οὐ πάνυ μεγάλῳ χωρίῳ, συνηρεφεὶ δὲ κιττὸς γὰρ πολὺς καὶ ἀμπέλους σύσκιον αὐτὸ ἀκριβῶς ποιοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα πηγαῖ οἰσὶ τρεῖς καλλίστου καὶ διειδεστάτου ὑδάτως, ἢ μὲν Σατύρων, ἢ δὲ Παῦς, ἢ δὲ Λιλνοῦ. καὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς αὐτὸ ὦ Ινδοὶ ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐτους ἐορτάζοντες τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πίνουσι τῶν πηγῶν, οὐχ ἀπασόν ἀπαντες, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡλικίαν, τὰ μὲν μειράκια τῆς τῶν Σατύρων, οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ τῆς Παυκῆς, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Σιλνοῦ οἱ κατ' ἐμὲ.

"-svguri. oûn páσχουσιν oî páides épeidàn 7 píōsion, h òia oî àndres tòlmwsi kateçômenoi tò Pàv nó, makróv àn eu ìa lêgeiν à d' oî ýérontes poioûsw, òtan méthuðwsw tòu ùdastos, ouk állotrwv eîpeîn épeidàn píh o ýérono kai katáscuxh àudv ò Sìlnwòs, àútika épti polû àfwon ðes òi kai karhbaðwni kai bêbaqìstwmenòs èûkevn, èta àfwò fòw nh te lámpà kai ðéqimà toðn kai pnevûma lögàrèmwn èghèràngetai àudv kai kalìstatos ðè àfwonòtaw ðes òi, ouð' àn èpi-

stomaísws páûsws òudv ðh àudv òi suneîh lalèiwn kai rêmìes makràs suvneîreis. suvèta ménto pánta kai kòsmi kai katà tòn 'Omòron èkeìvon rêmòra. uîfàðèssì gáρ èoukòta ðeumèrìsì diexèr-

χwntai, ouð' àpoxròshèi soi kûkws òudtà tèn

1 Σατύρων E. Capps: Σατύρων MSS.

56
DIONYSUS

like the first, and is not irrelevant to our business. Among the Machlaean Indians who feed their flocks on the left banks of the Indus river as you look down stream, and who reach clear to the Ocean—in their country there is a grove in an enclosed place of no great size; it is completely sheltered, however, for rank ivy and grapevines overshadow it quite. In it there are three springs of fair, clear water: one belongs to the Satyrs, another to Pan, the third to Silenus. The Indians visit the place once a year, celebrating the feast of the god, and they drink from the springs: not, however, from all of them, indiscriminately, but according to age. The boys drink from the spring of the Satyrs, the men from the spring of Pan, and those of my time of life from the spring of Silenus.

What happens to the boys when they drink, and what the men make bold to do under the influence of Pan would make a long story; but what the old do when they get drunk on the water is not irrelevant. When an old man drinks and falls under the influence of Silenus, at first he is mute for a long time and appears drugged and sodden. Then of a sudden he acquires a splendid flow of language, a distinct utterance, a silvery voice, and is as talkative as he was mute before. Even by gagging him you couldn't keep him from talking steadily and delivering long harangues. It is all sensible though, and well ordered, and in the style of Homer's famous orator;\(^1\) for their words fall "like the snows of winter." You can't compare them to swans on

\(^1\) Odysseus: II. 3. 222, where he and Menelaus are compared.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

. ἤλικίαν εἰκάσας αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ τεττυγώδες τι πυκνὸν καὶ ἑπτροχον συνάπτουσιν ἀχρι βαθείας ἑσπέρας. τούντευθεν δὲ ἤδη ἀφεθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς μέθης σιωπῶσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνατρέχουσι. τὸ μέντοι παραδοξότατον οὐδέπω εἰπον ἢν γὰρ ἀτελῆ ὁ γέρων μεταξὺ καταλίπῃ δυν διεξῆι τὸν λόγον, δύντων ἡλίου κωλυθείς ἐπὶ πέρας αὐτὸν ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἐς νέωτα πιὸν αὖθις ἐκεῖνα συνάπτει ἃ πέρυσι λέγοντα ἢ μέθη αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν.

Ταῦτα μοι κατὰ τὸν Μῶμον εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀπε-κ ἡκάφθω, καὶ μᾶ τὸν Δί οὐκ ἂν ἐτί ἐπαγάγνυμι τὸ ἐπιμύθιον· ὅρατε γὰρ ἡδη καθ’ ὦ τῷ μῦθῳ ἑοικα. ὅστε ἢν μεν τί παραπαίωμεν ἢ μέθη αἰτία· εἰ δὲ πινυτὰ δόξειε τὰ λεγόμενα, οὐ Σιληνὸς ἢρα ἢν ἠλεώς.

14 Ν 16

58
account of their age; but like cicadas, they keep up a constant roundelay till the afternoon is far spent. Then, when the fumes of the drink leave them at last, they fall silent and relapse into their old ways. But I have not yet told you the strangest part of it. If an old man is prevented by sunset from reaching the end of the story which he is telling, and leaves it unfinished, when he drinks again another season he takes up what he was saying the year before when the fumes left him!

Permit me this joke at my own expense, in the spirit of Momus. I refuse to draw the moral, I swear; for you already see how the fable applies to me. If I make any slip, then, the fumes are to blame, but if what I say should seem reasonable, then Silenus has been good to me.
HERACLES
AN INTRODUCTION
ΠΡΟΔΑΛΙΑ. ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Τὸν Ἡρακλέα οἱ Κελτοὶ Ὅγιοι ὄνομάζουσι 1 φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ, τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ πάνω ἀλλόκοτον γράφουσι. γέρων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἀναφαλαντίας, πολλὸς ἀκριβῶς ὅσαι λοιπὰ τῶν τριχῶν, ὑπὸς τὸ δέρμα καὶ διακεκαυμένος ἐς τὸ μελάντατον οἷοί εἰσίν οἱ θαλαττουργοὶ γέροντες· μᾶλλον δὲ Χάρωνα ἢ Ἡαπτῶν τινα τῶν ὑποταρταρίων καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ Ἡρακλέα εἶναι ἃν εἰκάσεις. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτος ὅν ἔχει ὅμως τὴν σκεύην τὴν Ἡρακλέους· καὶ γὰρ τὴν διφθέραν ἐνῆπται τὴν τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἔχει ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ τὸν γυρωτὸν παρῆρηται, καὶ τὸ τόξον ἐντεταμένου ἡ ἀριστερὰ προδείκνυσιν, καὶ ὅλος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶ ταὐτά γε. φιμὴν οὖν ἐφ’ 2 ὑβρεῖ τῶν Ἑλληνίων 1 θεῶν τοιαύτα παρανομεῖν τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐς τὴν μορφὴν τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀμυνομένους αὐτοῦ τῇ γραφῇ, ὡς τὴν χώραν ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐπήλθεν λείαν ἐλαιών, ὡς τὸς τὰς Γηρυόνου ἀγέλας ξητῶν κατέδραμε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἑσπερίων γενῶν. καίτοι τὸ παραδοξότατον οὐδὲν ἐφην 3

1 Ἑλληνίων MSS., Herwerden: Ἑλληνων Schwartz: Ἑλληνικῶν vulg.

62
HERACLES

AN INTRODUCTION

The Celts call Heracles Ogmios in their native tongue, and they portray the god in a very peculiar way. To their notion, he is extremely old, bald-headed, except for a few lingering hairs which are quite gray, his skin is wrinkled, and he is burned as black as can be, like an old sea-dog. You would think him a Charon or a sub-Tartarean Iapetus—anything but Heracles! Yet, in spite of his looks, he has the equipment of Heracles: he is dressed in the lion's skin, has the club in his right hand, carries the quiver at his side, displays the bent bow in his left, and is Heracles from head to heel as far as that goes. I thought, therefore, that the Celts had committed this offence against the good-looks of Heracles to spite the Greek gods, and that they were punishing him by means of the picture for having once visited their country on a cattle-lifting foray, at the time when he raided most of the western nations in his quest of the herds of Geryon. But I have not yet mentioned the most surprising thing.

1 Chief of the Titans, who warred on Zeus and after their defeat were buried for ever in the bowels of the earth, below Tartarus.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tης εἰκόνος· ο θαρ ση γέρων Ἡρακλῆς ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρώπων πάμπολυ τι πλήθος ἔλκει ἐκ τῶν ὀτων ἀπάντας δεδεμένους. δεςμά δε εἰςιν οἱ σειράι λεπταὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἠλέκτρου εἰργασμέναι ὅρμους ἑοικνύαι τοῖς καλλίστοις. καὶ ὁμος υφ' οὕτως ἀσθενῶν ἀγόμενοι ὡτε δρασμὸν βουλεύουσι, δυνάμενοι ἄν εὔμαρως, ὁτε διὸς ἀντιτείνουσι ἡ τοῖς ποσὶν ἀντερείδουσι πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίου τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐξυππιάζοντες, ἀλλὰ φαινον ἐπονται καὶ γεγηθότες καὶ τοὺς ἄγοντα ἑπαινούντες, ἑπειγόμενοι ἄπαντες καὶ τῷ φθάνειν ἐθέλειν τὸν δεσμὸν ἐπιχαλώντες, ἑοικότες ἀχθεσθησομένους εἰ λυθήςονται. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον εἶναι μοι ἐδοξεῖ, οὐκ ὁκνήσω καὶ τούτο εἶπεὶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχων ὁ ξωγράφος ̨θεν ἐξάψειε ταῖς σειραῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς; ̨ἀτε τῆς δεξιᾶς μὲν ἥδη τὸ ῥόπαλον, τῆς λαῖας δὲ τῷ τόξῳ ἑχουσῃς, τρυπῆσας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀκραν ἐξ ἐκεῖνης ἐλκομένους αὕτους ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἐπέστραπται γε εἰς τοὺς ἀγόμενους μειδίων.

Ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰστήκειν ὅρων καὶ 4 θαυμάζων καὶ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἀγανακτῶν. Κελτὸς δὲ τις παραστῶς οὐκ ἀπαίδευτος τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὦς ἐδείξειν ἄκριβως Ἐλλάδα φωνὴν ἀφεις, φιλόσοφος, οἷμαι, τὰ ἐπιχώρια, Ἐγώ σοι, ἔφη, ὁ ξένε, λύσω τῆς γραφῆς τὴν αἴνιγμα· πάνυ γὰρ ταραττομένως ἔοικας πρὸς αὐτήν. τὸν λόγου ἡμεῖς οἱ Κελτοὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ύμεῖς οἱ Ἐλληνες Ἔρμηνοι ὡμεθα εἰναι, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεὶ ἀυτῶν εἰκάζομεν, ὦτι παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ἰσχυρότερος οὕτως. εἰ δὲ γέρων πεποίηται, μὴ θαυμάζῃς· μόνος γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἐν γήρᾳ φιλεῖ ἐντελὴ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἀκμήν, εἰ 1

1 tās ἀρχὰς Schwartz: tās tōn δεσμῶν ἀρχὰς MSS.

64
HERACLES

in the picture. That old Heracles of theirs drags after him a great crowd of men who are all tethered by the ears! His leashes are delicate chains fashioned of gold and amber, resembling the prettiest of necklaces. Yet, though led by bonds so weak, the men do not think of escaping, as they easily could, and they do not pull back at all or brace their feet and lean in the opposite direction to that in which he is leading them. In fact, they follow cheerfully and joyously, applauding their leader and all pressing him close and keeping the leashes slack in their desire to overtake him; apparently they would be offended if they were let loose! But let me tell you without delay what seemed to me the strangest thing of all. Since the painter had no place to which he could attach the ends of the chains, as the god's right hand already held the club and his left the bow, he pierced the tip of his tongue and represented him drawing the men by that means! Moreover, he has his face turned toward his captives, and is smiling.

I had stood for a long time, looking, wondering, puzzling and fuming, when a Celt at my elbow, not uncultured from our standpoint, as he showed by his accurate use of Greek, and no doubt a scholar from the native standpoint, said: "I will read you the riddle of the picture, stranger, as you seem to be very much disturbed about it. We Celts do not agree with you Greeks in thinking that Hermes is Eloquence: we identify Heracles with it, because he is far more powerful than Hermes. And don't be surprised that he is represented as an old man, for eloquence and eloquence alone is wont to show its
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γε ἄληθὴ ύμῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι αἱ μὲν τῶν ὀπλοτέρων φρένες ἥρεθονται, τὸ δὲ γῆρας ἔχει τι λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφότερον. οὕτω γε τοι καὶ τοῦ Νέστορος ύμῶν ἀπορρέει ἐκ τῆς γλώττης τὸ μέλι, καὶ οἱ ἀγωνισμοὶ τῶν Τρώων τὴν ὅπα ἀφίσσων εὐανθὴ τινα· λείρια γὰρ καλεῖται, εἰ γε μέμνημαι, τὰ ἀνθῆ. ὡστε εἰ τῶν ὦτων ἐκδεδε- μένων τῶν ἄνθρωπων πρὸς τὴν γλώτταν ὁ γέρων οὖν ὄντος Ἡρακλῆς ἔλκει, μηδὲ τούτῳ θαυμάζῃς εἰδῶς τὴν ὄτων καὶ γλώττης συγγένειαν· οὐδὲ ὑβρις εἰς αὐτὸν, εἰ ταῦτη τετρύπηται· μέμνημαι γοῦν, ἐφε, καὶ κομικῶν τινῶν ἱαμβείων παρ' ύμῶν μαθῶν, τὸς γὰρ λάλοις ἐξ ἄκρου ἡ γλώττα πᾶσιν ἐστὶ τετρυπημένη. τὸ δ' ὄλον καὶ αὐτὸν ἁμεῖς τὸν Ἡρακλέα λόγον τὰ πάντα ἠγούμεθα ἐξεργάσασθαι σοφὸν γενόμενον, καὶ πειθοῖ τὰ πλείστα βιάσασθαι. καὶ τὰ γε βέλη αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν, οἶμαι, οξεῖς καὶ εὐστοχοὶ καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τιτρώ- σκοντες πτερόεντα γοῦν τὰ ἔπη καὶ ὑμεῖς φατε εἶναι.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ο Κέλτος. ἔμοι δὲ ἤνικα περὶ τῆς δεύτερον παρόδου ταύτης ἐσκοποῦμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν, εἰ μοι καλῶς ἔχει τηλικῶδε ἄντι καὶ πάλαι τῶν ἐπιδείξεων πεπαυμένων αὐθάς ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ψήφων διδόναι τοσοῦτοις δικασταῖς, κατὰ καίρον ἐπήλθεν ἀναμνησθῆναι τῆς εἰκόνος· τέως

1 τὴν ὑπά Schwartz : τὴν ὑπα τὴν λειφίδεσσαν MSS.
2 ἔλκει Hartman, Schwartz : ὁ λόγος ἔλκει MSS.
HERACLES

full vigour in old age, if your poets are right in saying 'A young man hath a wandering wit' and 'Old age has wiser words to say than youth.' That is why your Nestor’s tongue distils honey, and why the Trojan counsellors have a voice like flowers (the flowers mentioned are lilies, if my memory serves). This being so, if old Heracles here drags men after him who are tethered by the ears to his tongue, don’t be surprised at that, either: you know the kinship between ears and tongue. Nor is it a slight upon him that his tongue is pierced. Indeed," said he, "I call to mind a line or two of comedy which I learned in your country:

the talkative
Have, one and all, their tongues pierced at the tip.5

In general, we consider that the real Heracles was a wise man who achieved everything by eloquence and applied persuasion as his principal force. His arrows represent words, I suppose, keen, sure and swift, which make their wounds in souls. In fact, you yourselves admit that words are winged."6

Thus far the Celt. And when I was debating with myself on the question of appearing here, considering whether it was proper for a man of my age, who had long ago given up lecturing in public, once more to subject himself to the verdict of so large a jury, it chanced in the nick of time that I remembered the picture. Until then I had been

1 Iliad 3, 108. 2 Eur. Phoen. 530.
3 Iliad 1, 249. 4 Iliad 3, 152.
6 Homer, passim.
μὲν γὰρ ἐδεδίειν, μὴ τινὶ ύμῶν δόξαιμι κομιδή μειρακιώδη ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ παρ’ ἡλικίαν νεανιεύσθαι, κατὰ τις Ὀμηρικὸς νεανίσκος ἐπι- πλῆξεῖν μοι εἰπὼν τὸ σή δὲ βίθη λέλυται, καὶ χαλεπόν γῆρας κατείληφε σε, ἦπεδανδός δὲ νῦ τοι θεράπων, βραδεῖς δὲ τοι ἵπποι, ἔς τοῦς πόδας τοῦτο ἀποσκόπτων. ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀναμνησθὼ τοῦ γέροντος ἐκείνου Ἡρακλέους, πάντα ποιεῖν προ- ἀγομαί καὶ οὐκ αἰδοῦμαι τοιαῦτα τολμᾶν ἡλικιώτης ὅν τῆς εἰκόνος. ὥστε ἱσχὺς μὲν καὶ τάχος καὶ 8 κάλλος καὶ ὅσα σώματος ἄγαθὰ χαιρέτω, καὶ ὁ Ἔρως ὁ σός, ὁ Τήιε ποιητά, ἔσιδων με ὑποπόλιον τὸ ἔνειον χρυσοφαίνων εἰ βουλείται πτερύγων ταρσοῖς 2 παραπτεῖσθω, καὶ ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης οὐ φροντεῖ. τῷ λόγῳ δὲ νῦν ἂν μάλιστα ἀνήβαιν καὶ ἀνθέειν καὶ ἀκμάζειν καθ’ ὅραν εἶδ’ καὶ ἑλκεῖν τῶν ὦτων ὡσούς ἂν πλεῖστους δύνηται, καὶ τοξεύειν πολλάκις, ὡς οὔδεν γε δέος μὴ κενωθεῖς λάθοι ὁ γαρφύτος αὐτῷ.

Ὀρᾶς ὅπως παραμυθοῦμαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὸ γῆρας τὸ ἐμαντοῦ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτόλμησα πάλαι νενεωλκημένον τὸ ἀκάτιον κατα- στάσας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόπτων ἐπισκευάσας αὐθίς ἀφεῖναι ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος. εἰπ’ δ’, ὁ θεός, καὶ

1 τὸ Schwartz: not in MSS.
2 ταρσοῖς Schwartz: ἧ αὐτοῖς MSS.
HERACLES

afraid that some of you might think I was doing an altogether boyish thing and at my age shewing the rashness of youth; and that then some young fellow full of Homer might rebuke me by saying "Your strength is gone" and "Bitter old age has you in his clutch" and "Your squire is feeble and your steeds are slow,"¹ aiming the last quip at my feet. But when I remember that old Heracles, I am moved to undertake anything, and am not ashamed to be so bold, since I am no older than the picture. Goodbye, then, to strength, speed, beauty and all manner of physical excellence! Let your god of love, O Tean poet,² glance at my grizzled chin and flit by me if he will on his gold-gleaming pinions: Hippoclides will not mind!³ Now should certainly be the time for eloquence to flourish and flower and reach its fulness, to drag as many as it can by the ears and to let fly many arrows. At least there is no fear that its quiver will unexpectedly run short!

You see what encouragement I apply to my age and my infirmities. This it is which gave me the heart to drag my pinnace, long ago laid up, to the water, provision her as best I could and set sail on the high seas once more. Be it your part,

¹ Iliad 8, 103 f. (spoken to Nestor).
² Anacreon (frg. 23 Bergk): the poem is lost.
³ Hippoclides of Athens, one of many suitors for the hand of the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was preferred above them all. But at the feast which was to have announced his engagement he danced so well and so unwisely that Clisthenes was disgusted and said "Son of Tisander, you have danced yourself out of the match!" "Hippoclides does not mind!" was the answer he received. "Hence the proverb," as Herodotus says (6, 126–131).
Τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐμπνεῦσαι δεξιά, ὡς νῦν γε μάλιστα πλησιστίου τε καὶ ἔσθλον ἔταίρου ἀνέμου δεόμεθα, ἵνα, εἰ ἄξιοι φαινοίμεθα, καὶ ἢμῖν τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐπιφθέγξηται τῖς,
οἷς ἐκ ῥακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει.

15 \underline{V} 16
HERACLES

ye gods, to blow me fair, for now if ever do I need a breeze "that fills the sail, a welcome shipmate." ¹ If anyone thinks me worthy, I would have him apply to me the words of Homer:

"How stout a thigh the old man's rags reveal!" ²

¹ *Odysseus* 11, 7; 12, 149. ² *Odysseus* 18, 74.
AMBER, OR THE SWANS

The introduction to a lecture, evidently familiar to Lucian's public under two names.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΤ ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΤ Η ΤΩΝ ΚΤΚΝΩΝ

'Ηλεκτρον πέρι καὶ ύμας δηλαδὴ ὁ μῦθος πέπεικεν, αἰγείρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ ποταμῷ δακρύων αὐτὸ θρηνοῦσα τὸν Φαέθοντα, καὶ ἄδελφάς γε εἶναι τάς αἰγείρους ἐκείνας τοῦ Φαέθοντος, εἶτα ὀδυρομένας τὸ μειράκιον ἀλλαγῆναι ἐς τὰ δένδρα, καὶ ἀποστάζειν ἐτὶ αὐτῶν δάκρυον δῆθεν τὸ ήλεκτρον. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούων τῶν ποιητῶν ἀδόντων ἠλπίζον, εἰ ποτὲ γενοίμην ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ, ὕπελθων μίαν τῶν αἰγείρων ἐκπετάσας τὸ προκόλπιον ὑποδέξεσθαι τῶν δακρύων ὀλίγα, ὡς ήλεκτρον ἔχοιμι. καὶ δὴ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατ᾽ ἄλλο μὲν τὸ χρέος, ἢκον δὲ ὁμος ἐς τὰ χωρία ἐκείνα, καὶ—ἐδει γὰρ ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν Ἡριδανόν—οὕτ' αἰγείρους εἰδον πάνω περισκοπῶν οὔτε τὸ ήλεκτρον, ἄλλο οὖδὲ τούνομα τοῦ Φαέθοντος ἔδεσαν οἱ ἐπιχώριαι. ἀναξητοῦντος γοῦν ἐμοὶ καὶ διαπυνθανομένου, πότε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰγείρους ἀφιξόμεθα τὰς τὸ ήλεκτρον, ἐγέλων οἱ ναῦται καὶ ἥξιοις σαφέστερον λέγειν ὁ τι καὶ θέλομι: κἀγὼ τὸν μῦθον διηγούμην αὐτοῖς, Φαέθοντα γενέσθαι Ἡλίου παίδα, καὶ τούτον ἐς ἡλικίαν ἔλθοντα αὐτῆς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλάσας τὸ ἀρμα, ὡς ποιήσειε καὶ αὐτὸς μίαν ἡμέραν, τὸν δὲ δούναι, τὸν δὲ ἀπολέσθαι ἐκδιφρευθέντα, καὶ τὰς ἄδελφάς αὐτοῦ.
AMBER, OR THE SWANS

With regard to amber, you doubtless share the general belief in the story that poplars on the banks of the river Eridanus shed tears of it in grief over Phaethon; and that these poplars are the sisters of Phaethon, who out of sorrow for the boy were changed into trees and still drip tears—of amber! Such tales, when I heard them from the lips of the poets, made me expect that if ever I got to the Eridanus, by going underneath one of the poplars and holding out a fold of my cloak I could supply myself with amber by catching a few of their tears. As a matter of fact, I did visit those parts not long ago (on another errand, to be sure); and as I had to go up the Eridanus, I kept a sharp lookout, but neither poplars nor amber were to be seen. Indeed, the very name of Phaethon was unknown to the natives. At any rate, when I went into the matter and inquired when we should reach the poplars—"the amber-poplars,"—the boatmen laughed and asked me to tell them more plainly what I meant. So I told them the story: that Phaethon was the child of the Sun, and that on coming of age he asked his father to let him drive the car and "do just one day" himself; his father consented, and he was thrown from the car and killed. "And his sisters," said I, "out of
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πευθούσας ἐνταῦθα που, ἐφην, παρ' ύμιν, ἵναπερ καὶ κατέπεσεν, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ, αἰγείρους γενέσθαι καὶ δακρύειν ἐτε ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἥλεκτρον. Τῆς ταύτα σου, ἐφασκον, διηγήσατο ἀπατεῖν 3 καὶ ψευδολόγοις ἀνθρωποῖς; ήμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ήνόχοι τυν ἐκπίπτοντα ἐιδόμεν οὔτε τὰς αἰγείρους ἄσ φης ἔχομεν. εἰ δὲ ἦν τι τοιοῦτον, οὐεί ἡμᾶς δυοῖν ὄμοιον ἕνεκα ἔρεττειν ἄν ἡ ἔλκειν τὰ πλοία πρὸς ἐναντίον τὸ ύδωρ, οἷς ἦξην πλούτειν ἀναλέγοντας τῶν αἰγείρων τὰ δάκρυα; τούτο λεχθὲν οὐ μετρίως μου καθίκετο, καὶ ἐσώπην ποιορθείς, ὅτι παῖδι σου ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔρχον ἐπεπόνθει πιστεύεσθαι τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἀπίθανα οὕτως ψευδομένας, ὡς μηδὲν ύγιῆς ἀρέσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

Μιᾶς μὲν δὴ ταύτης ἐλπίδος οὐ μικρᾶς ἐψευσμενος ἡμώμην καθάπερ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἥλεκτρον ἀπολωλεκὼς, ὅσ γε ἦδη ἀνέπλαττον ὡσα καὶ οἰα χρῆσομαι αὐτῷ. ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἅληθες 4 ὑμὶν εὐρήσειν παρ' αὐτοῖς, κύκους πολλοὺς ἄδοντας ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. καὶ αὐθίνες ἡρώτων τοὺς ναύτας—ἀνεπλέομεν γὰρ ἐτὶ—’Αλλ’ ο’ γε κύκου πηνίκαι ὑμῖν τὸ λεγοῦν ἑκεῖνο ἄδουσιν ἐφεστῶτες τῷ ποταμῷ ἔθεν καὶ ἔθεν; ἔσσι γοῦν ’Απόλλωνος παρέδρους αὐτοὺς ὄντας, ὃδικος ἀνθρώπους, ἐνταῦθα ποι᾽ ἐς τὰ ὄρνεα μεταπεσέων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄδειν ἐτὶ οὐκ ἐκλαθομένους τῆς μουσικῆς. οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι, 5 Σύ, ἐφησαν, ὡ ἀνθρωπε, οὐ παύσῃ τῆμερον καταψευδόμενος τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ; ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ πλέοντες καὶ ἐκ παίδων σχεδὸν ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἡριδανῷ ὄλγους μὲν 76
AMBER, OR THE SWANS

sorrow turned into poplars somewhere in this neigh-
bourhood of yours, on the banks of the Eridanus, at
the spot where he fell, and still weep for him with
tears of amber." "Who told you that?" said they.
"The cheat and liar! We never saw any driver
fall from a car, and we haven't the poplars you speak
of. If we had anything of that sort, do you suppose
that for two obols we would row or tow our boats up-
stream, when we could get rich by picking up the
tears of the poplars?" This remark struck me
uncommonly, and I held my tongue for shame that
I had acted like a child, and no mistake, in believing
the poets, who are such incredible liars that nothing
sensible finds any favour with them.

Well, this was one great expectation that I was
disappointed in; and I was as vexed as if I had let
the amber slip through my fingers, for I was already
imagining all the different uses which I should make
of it. But the other story I thought I should
find completely true there—the one about troops of
swans that sing on the banks of the river. So I put
a second question to the boatmen—for we were still
on our way up. "But, how about your swans?" I
asked. "At what time do they sing so melodiously,
ranged along the river, on this side and on that?
People say, at all events, that they were associates
of Apollo, men with the gift of song, who somewhere
in these parts changed into birds, and for that
reason do not forget their music, but still continue
to sing." With a burst of laughter they replied:
"Why, man, aren't you ever going to stop telling
lies about our country and our river? We are
always on the water, and have worked on the
Eridanus since we were children, almost; now and
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

κύκνους ἐνίοτε ὅρðεν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ κρώξουσιν οὗτοι πάνω ἄμουσον καὶ ἀσθενές, ὡς τοὺς κόρακας ἢ τοὺς κολοιφός Σειρήνας εἶναι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀδόντων δὲ ἦδυ καὶ οἶον σὺ φῆς οὐδὲ ὁ ναρ ἀκηκόαμεν· ὥστε θαυμάζομεν πόθεν ταῦτα εἰς οὐκ ἄφικετο περὶ ἡμῶν.

Πολλὰ τοιαύτα ἐξαπατηθήναι ἦστι πιστεύον- τας τοῖς πρὸς τὸ μεῖξον ἐκαστα ἐξηγουμένοις. ὥστε κἀγὼ νῦν δέδια ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἄρτι ἀφιγμένοι, καὶ τούτο πρῶτον ἀκροασόμενοι ἡμῶν, ἥλεκτρα τίνα καὶ κύκνους ἔλπισαντες εὐρήσεων παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπειτὰ μετ' ὅλγον ἀπέλθησε καταγελάοντες τῶν ὑποσχομένων ὑμῖν τοιαύτα πολλὰ κειμήλια ἐνείναι τοῖς λόγοις. ἀλλὰ μαρτύρομαι, ὅσο ἐμοὶ τοιαύτα μεγαλαυχομένου περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ὀντες ὑμεῖς οὔτε ἄλλος πώ ἄκηκοεν, οὔτε ἂν ἀκούσειν ποτε. ἀλλοις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὅλγοις ἐντύχοις ἂν Ἡραδανοῖς τισὶ καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἥλεκτρον, ἀλλὰ χρυσὸς αὐτὸς ἀποστάζει τῶν λόγων, πολὺ τῶν κύκνων τῶν ποιητικών λογοτέρων· τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ὀρᾶτε ἦδη ὁποίον ἀπλοῖκον καὶ ἁμυθοῦ, οὔτε τις χώδη πρὸςεστιν. ὅστε ὅρα μὴ τοιοῦτο τι πάθης μεῖξω περὶ ἡμῶν ἔλπισας, οἶον τι πάσχουσιν οἱ τα ἕν τῷ ὑδατί ὀρῶντες· οἱ οἷομενοὶ γὰρ τηλικάντα εἶναι αὐτὰ οὐλα διεφάγετο αὐτοῖς ἀνωθεν, εὐφυνομένης τῆς σκιᾶς πρὸς τὴν αὐγήν, ἐπεὶ μὲν ἀνασπάσωσι, πολλῷ μικρότερα εὐρίσκοντες ἀνιὼνται. ἦδη οὖν σοι προλέγω, ἐκχέας τὸ ύδωρ καὶ ἀποκαλύψας τάμα μηδὲν μέγα προσδοκήσῃς ἄνμη- σεσθαι, ἢ σαυτὸν αἰτιάσῃ τῆς ἑλπίδος.

78
AMBER, OR THE SWANS

then we see a few swans in the marshes by the river, and they have a very unmusical and feeble croak; crows or daws are Sirens to them. As for the sweet song you speak of, we never heard it or even dreamed of it, so we wonder how these stories about us got to your people."

Many such deceptions can be practised on men when they put faith in those who exaggerate everything they tell. Therefore I am now afraid on my own account that you who have just come to town and are about to hear me for the first time may expect to find amber and swans here, and after a while may go away laughing at the men who promised you that such treasures were abundant in my discourse. But I swear that neither you nor anyone else ever heard me make such boasts about my compositions, and never will! Others, to be sure, you can find in plenty of the Eridanus kind: their words distil very gold instead of amber, and they are far more melodious than the swans of poetry. But as for my talk, you already see how simple and matter-of-fact it is, and that there is no music to it. So look out that you do not set your hopes of me too high, and thereby have an experience like people who see things under water. They expect them to be as large as they looked through the water, from above, when the image was magnified under the light; and when they fish them up, they are annoyed to find them a great deal smaller. I warn you, therefore, at the outset—don’t expect that when you have bailed out the water and exposed my thoughts you will make a great haul, or else you will have yourselves to blame for your expectations!
THE FLY

It need hardly be said that this belongs to the domain of belles lettres, not of science. Like the Italian poets of the Renaissance, the rhetoricians of the décadence delighted to show their cunning by "praising" all manner of things good, bad, and indifferent.
ΜΤΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

'Η μυῖα ἔστι μὲν οὐ τὸ ¹ σμικροτάτον τῶν ὀρνέων, ὅσον ἐμπίσθι καὶ κώνωψι καὶ τοῖς ἐτὶ λεπτοτέροις παραβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων μεγέθει προῦχε όσον αὐτὴ μελίττης ἀπολεῖπτεται. ἐπτέρωσαν δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς άλλοις, ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἀπανταχόθεν κομᾶν τὸ σώματος, τοῖς δὲ ὁκυπτέροις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας καὶ τέττιγας καὶ μελίττας ἐστίν ύμενόπτερος, τοσοῦτον ἀπαλώτερα ἔχουσα τὰ πτερὰ ὅσον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἔσθήτος ἢ Ἰνδικῆ λεπτοτέρα καὶ μαλακωτέρα; καὶ μὴν διήνυσται κατὰ τοὺς ταῦτας, εἰ τις ἄτενες βλέποι ἐς αὐτὴν, ὅποταν ἐκπετάσασα πρὸς τὸν ἔλιον πτερύσσηται. ἢ ² δὲ πτήσις ὅπε χατὰ τὰς νυκτερίδας εἰρεσία συνεχεῖ τῶν πτερῶν ὅπε κατὰ τὰς ἀκρίδας μετὰ πηδήματος ὅπε ὅι σφῆκες μετὰ προήγματος, ἀλλ' εὐκαμπῆς πρὸς ὅ τι ἀν μέρος ὀρμήσῃ τοῦ ἀέρος. καὶ μὴν κάκεινο πρόσεστιν αὐτῇ, τὸ μὴ καθ' ἤσυχίας, ἀλλ' μετ' ὀξῆς πέτεσθαι οὐκ ἀπηνόσι ὅι κωνόπων καὶ ἐμπίδων, οὐδὲ τὸ βαρύβρομον τῶν μελιττῶν ἢ τῶν σφηκῶν τὸ

¹ οὗ τὸ vulg.: οὗτο MSS.: οὐ τῶν σμικρατῶν ὀρνέων Nilén.

82
THE FLY

The fly is not the smallest of winged creatures, at least in comparison with gnats and midges and things still tinier. On the contrary, she is as much larger than they as she is smaller than the bee. She is not provided with feathers like the birds,¹ so as to have some for plumage all over her body, and others to fly with, but like grasshoppers, locusts and bees, she has membranous wings, as much thinner than theirs as Indian stuffs are more delicate and softer than Greek. Moreover, they have the colours of a peacock in them, if you look at her sharply when she spreads them and flies in the sun. She does not fly like bats with a steady, oar-like movement of the wings, or like grasshoppers with a spring, or as wasps do, with a whizzing rush, but easily directs her course to any quarter of the air she will. She has also this characteristic, that her flight is not silent but musical: the sound is not shrill like that of gnats and midges, nor deep-toned like that of bees, nor fierce and

¹ Lit. "like the rest (of the ὄρνεα)," which is illogical. Perhaps ἄετοῖς should be written.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἐνδεικνυμένης, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ λυγυρωτέρα, ὅσον σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων αὐλοὶ μελιχρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο 3 σῶμα ἡ μὲν κεφαλὴ λεπτοτάτα τῷ αὐχενὶ συνεχεῖται καὶ ἐστὶν εὐπεριάγωνος, οὐ συμπεφυκυῖα ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀκρίδων ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ προπετέεις, πολὺ τοῦ κέρατος ἑχοντες στέρνον εὐπαγές, καὶ ἐμπεφυκασίν αὐτὴ τῇ ἐντομῇ ὁπόδες οὐ κατὰ τοὺς σφήκας πάνω ἐσφηγμένη. 2 ἡ γαστήρ δὲ ὁχυρώταται καὶ αὐτῇ 3 καὶ θώρακι ἑοικεν ξώνας πλατείας καὶ φολίδας ἑχονσα. ἀμύνεται μέντοι οὐ κατὰ τοῦρροπύγου ὁσ σφῆκας καὶ μέλιττα, ἀλλὰ τῷ στόματι καὶ τῇ προβοσκίδι, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἐλέφασι καὶ αὐτὴ ἑχονσα προνομέναι τε καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται καὶ προσφύγα κατέχει κοτυληδόνι κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον ἔοικιαν. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς ὅδους προκύπτει, ὃ κεντοῦσα πίνει τοῦ αἴματος—πίνει μὲν γὰρ καὶ γάλακτος, ἢδυ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ αἷμα—οὔ μετὰ μεγάλης ὁδύνης τῶν κεντομένων. ἐξάποις δὲ οὔσα τοῖς μὲν τέσσαρις βαδίζει μόνοις, τοῖς δὲ προσθίοις δυσὶ καὶ ὃσα χερσὶ χρήται. ἵδοις δὲ οὖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τεττάρων βεβηκυῖαν ἑχονσάν τι ἐν τοῖς χερῶι μετέωρον ἐδόμιον, ἀνθρωπίνως πάνυ καὶ καθ’ ἥμᾶς.

Γίνεται δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς τοιαύτη, ἀλλὰ σκώληξ 4 τὸ πρῶτον ἦτοι εἴξ ἀνθρώπων ἡ ἄλλων ξώνω ἀποθανόντων· εἴτε κατ’ ὀλίγον πόδας τε ἐκφέρει καὶ φύε τὰ πτερὰ καὶ εἴ ἐρπετοῦ όρνεον γίνεται καὶ κνοφορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀποτίκτει σκώλημα μικρὸν τὴν μυίαν ύστερον. σύντροφος δὲ ἀνθρώπως ὑπάρ-

1 τῇ ἐντομῇ Schwartz: not in MSS.
2 ἐσφηγμένη Schwartz: ἐσφηγμένοι MSS.
3 αὐτῇ A.M.H.: αὐτῇ MSS.

84
THE FLY

threatening like that of wasps; it is much more melodious, just as flutes are sweeter than trumpet and cymbals. As for her body, the head is very delicately attached to the neck and so is easily moved, not fixed like the head of a grasshopper. The eyes are prominent, and have much the quality of horn. The breast is solid, and the legs grow right out-of the waist, which is not at all pinched up, as in wasps. As in them, the abdomen is armoured and resembles a corselet in having flat zones and scales. She differs, however, from the wasp and the bee, in that her weapon is not the hinder-part, but the mouth, or rather the proboscis; for, like the elephant, she has a trunk with which she forages, seizing things and holding them tenaciously, since it is like a tentacle at the end. A tooth protrudes from it with which the fly inflicts bites in order to drink the blood, for although she drinks milk, she likes blood also. The bite causes no great pain. Though she has six feet, she walks with only four and uses the two in front for all the purposes of hands. You can see her standing on four legs, holding up something to eat in her hands just as we human beings do.

The fly is not born in the form which I have described, but as a maggot from the dead bodies of men or animals. Then, little by little, she puts out legs, grows her wings, changes from a creeping to a flying thing, is impregnated and becomes mother to a little maggot which is to-morrow's fly. Living
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

χονσα καὶ ὁμοδίαιτος καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ἀπάντων
γεύεται πλὴν ἐλαίου. θάνατος γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦτο
πιεῖν. καὶ μέντοι ὁκύμορος οὐσα—πάνυ γὰρ ἐς
στενὸν ὁ βίος αὐτῇ συμμεμέτρηται—τῷ φωτὶ
χαίρει μάλιστα κἂν τούτῳ πολιτεύεται· νυκτὸς δὲ
eἰρήνην ἀγεί καὶ οὔτε πέτεται οὔτε ἄδει, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲ
πτηχει καὶ ἀτρεμεῖ. σύνεσιν δὲ οὐ μικρὰν αὐτῆς
εἰπεὶν ἔχω, ὀπόταν τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ πολέμιον
αὐτῇ τὸν ἀράχην διαδιδάσκῃ· λοχώντα τε γὰρ
ἐπιτηρεῖ καὶ ἀντίον αὐτῷ ὅρα ἐκκλίνουσα τὴν
ὀρμήν, ὡς μὴ ἁλίσκοιτο σαγηνευθείσα καὶ περι-
πεσοῦσα ταῖς τοῦ θηρίου πλεκτάναις. τὴν μὲν
γὰρ ἀνδρίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλκην αὐτῆς οὐχ ἦμας χρή
λέγειν, ἀλλ’ δς μεγαλοφωνότατος τῶν ποιητῶν
"Ομηρος· τὸν γὰρ ἀριστον τῶν ἥρωων ἐπανεῖσαι
ξητῶν οὐ λέοντι η παρδάλει η υτ τὴν ἄλκην αὐτὸς
εἰκάζει, ἀλλὰ τῷ θάρσει τῆς μνίας καὶ τῷ ἀτρέστῳ
καὶ λυπαρί τῆς ὑπειρήσεως· οὔτε γὰρ θράσος
ἀλλὰ θάρσος φισὶν αὐτῇ προσεῖναι. καὶ γὰρ εἰρ-
γομένη, φησίν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφίσταται, ἀλλ’ ἐφίται
tοῦ δήγματος. οὔτω δὲ πάνυ ἐπαйνεῖ καὶ ἀσπάζε-
tαι τὴν μνίαν, ὡστε οὔχ ἀπαξ οὐδ’ ἐν ὀλγοῖς
μέμνηται αὐτῇς, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις οὔτω κοσμεῖ τὰ
ἐπὶ μημονευομένη. ἄρτι μὲν τὴν ἀγελαίαν
πτῆσιν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ γάλα διέρχεται, ἀρτὶ δὲ τὴν

1 Πιαδ. 2, 469: "the many hordes of clustering flies
That dart about the sheepfolds in the spring,
When pails are wet with milk."

Πιαδ. 16, 641: "They swarmed about the body like the flies
That in the fold buzz round the milky pails."
THE FLY

in the society of man, on the same food and at the same table, she eats everything except oil: to taste this is death to her. Being the creature of a day—for life is meted out to her in very scant measure—she likes sunshine best and goes about her affairs in it. At night she keeps quiet and does not fly or sing, but hides away and is still. I can also mention her great intelligence in escaping her designing foe, the spider. She watches for him lurking in ambush, and is wary of him, turning aside from his attack, so as not to be captured by being ensnared and falling into the toils of the creature. Of her courage and bravery it is not for me to speak, but for Homer, the most mighty-mouthed of the poets; for when he seeks to praise the foremost of the heroes,¹ he does not compare his bravery to a lion's or a leopard's or a wild boar's, but to the fearlessness of the fly and the daring and insistency of her attack. He does not say that she is reckless, but fearless:² that even if she is kept away she does not desist but is eager to bite. So outspoken is he in his praise and fondness for the fly that he mentions her not merely once or twice but often; in consequence, references to her enhance the beauty of his poems. Now he describes her swarming flight after milk; now, when

¹ (Iliad 17, 570, Menelaus), into whose heart Athena "puts the boldness of the fly."
² The distinction (unknown to Homer) is between thrasos and tharsos.
'Αθηνᾶν, ὅποτε τοῦ Μενέλεω τὸ βέλος ἀποκρύψαται, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ καρυϊώτατα ἐμπέσοι, εἰκάζων ἡμᾶς κηδομένη κοιμωμένον αὐτῇ τοῦ βρέφους, τὴν μνίαν αὐθείς ἐπεισάγει τῷ παραδείγματι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐπιθέτω καλλίστω αὐτᾶς ἐκόσμησεν ἀδινᾶς προσεπτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀγέλην αὐτῶν ἐθνὶ καλῶν.

Οὔτω δὲ ἵσχυρά ἔστιν, ὡς ὅποταν τι δάκην, ὥς τυτρώσκει οὐκ ἀνθρώπων δέρμα μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοῶς καὶ ἵππου, καὶ ἐλέφαντα λυπεῖ ἐς τὰς ρυτίδας αὐτοῦ παρεισδυομένη καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς προνομαία κατὰ λόγον τοῦ μεγέθους ἀμύσσουσα. μίξεως δὲ καὶ ἀφροδίσιών καὶ γάμων πολλῆς αὐταῖς ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ὁ ἄρρητος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυώνας ἐπιβάς εὑθὺς ἀπεπήρησεν, ἀλλ’ ἔποχεῖται τῇ θηλείᾳ ἐπὶ πολὺ, κακείνη φέρει τὸν νυμφίον, καὶ συμπέτονται τὴν ἐναέριον ἐκείνην μίξιν τῇ πτήσει μὴ διαφθείρουσαι. ἀποτμήθεισα δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν μνία ἐπὶ πολὺ ξῆ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐμπνοὺς ἐστίν.

Ὁ δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει, 7 τούτω δὴ βοῦλομαι εἰπεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πλάτων μόνον αὐτὸ παριδεῖν ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς λόγῳ. ἀποθανοῦσα γὰρ μνία τέφρας ἐπιχυθείσης ἀνίσταται καὶ πάλιν-γενεσία τῆς αὐτῇ καὶ βίος ἀλλὸς ἐς ὑπαρχῆς γίνεται, ὡς ἀκριβῶς πεπείσθαι πάντας, ὅτι κάκει-νων ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή, εἰ γε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα ἐπανέρχεται πάλιν καὶ γυνώχει καὶ ἐπανίστησι τὸ σῶμα καὶ πέτεσθαι τὴν μνίαν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐπαληθεύει τὸν περὶ Ἐρμοτίμου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου μῦθον, ὅτι πολλάκις ἀφείεσα αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή.
THE FLY

Athena turns the arrow aside from Menelaus in order that it may not strike a vital spot, he likens her to a mother tending a sleeping child, and again introduces the fly into the comparison. Moreover, he has adorned them with fine epithets in calling them "clustering" and their swarms "hordes."

So strong is the fly that when she bites she wounds the skin of the ox and the horse as well as that of man. She even torments the elephant by entering his wrinkles and lancing him with her proboscis as far as its length allows. In mating, love, and marriage they are very free and easy. The male is not on and off again in a moment, like the cock; he covers the female a long time. She carries her spouse, and they take wing together, mating uninterruptedly in the air, as everyone knows. A fly with her head cut off keeps alive a long time with the rest of her body, and still retains the breath of life.

You may be sure I propose to mention the most important point in the nature of the fly. It is, I think, the only point that Plato overlooks in his discussion of the soul and its immortality. When ashes are sprinkled on a dead fly, she revives and has a second birth and a new life from the beginning. This should absolutely convince everyone that the fly's soul is immortal like ours, since after leaving the body it comes back again, recognises and reanimates it, and makes the fly take wing. It also confirms the story that the soul of Hermotimus of Clazomenae would often leave him and go away

1 Iliad 4, 130.  
2 Iliad 2, 469.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀπεδήμησε καθ’ ἐαυτήν, εἶτα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐπλήρου ἄθικ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀνίστα τὸν Ἐρμότημον.

Ἀργὸς δὲ αὐτὴ καὶ ἄνετος οὖσα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν πονούμενα καρποῦται καὶ πλήρης αὐτῇ πανταχοῦ τράπεζα: καὶ γὰρ αἱ αἴγες αὐτῆς ἀμέληγονται, καὶ ἡ μέλιτα οὐχ ἦκιστα μυίαις καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐργάζεται, καὶ οἱ ὁψοποιοὶ ταύτη τὰ ὅνα ἤδυνουσι, καὶ βασιλέων αὐτῶν προγενέται καὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἐμπεριπατοῦσα συνεστάται αὐτοῖς καὶ συναπολαύσει πάντων. νεοτιάν δὲ ἡ καλιάν οὐκ ἐν ἐνι τόπῳ κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ πλάνητα τὴν πτήσιν κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπανηρμένη, ὅπου ἄν τυχῇ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καταληφθεῖσα, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐστίαν καὶ εὐγῆν ποιεῖται. ὑπὸ σκότῳ μέντοι, ὡς ἐφή, οὔδεν ἐργάζεται οὔδε ἄξιοι λανθάνειν τι πράττουσα, οὔδε ἤγείται τι αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, ὃ ἐν φωτὶ δρῶμενοι αἰσχυνει αὐτὴν.

Φησὶν δὲ ὁ μύθος καὶ ἀνθρωπόν τινα Μυῖαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον γενέσθαι πάνω καλῆν, λάλον μέντοι γε καὶ στωμύλον καὶ ὄβικήν, καὶ ἀντερασθῆναι γε τῇ Σελήνῃ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφότερας ᾗ τοῦ Ἐνυδύμωνος. εἰτ ἐπεδιθή κοιμώμενον τὸ μειράκιον συνεχεῖς ἐπήγειρεν ἐρεσχηλοῦσα καὶ ἄδουσα καὶ κομάζουσα ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀγανακτῆσαι, τῆν δὲ Σελήνην ὄργισθείσαν εἰς τοῦτο τὴν Μυῖαν μεταβαλεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάσι νῦν τοῖς κοιμώμενος αὐτὴν τοῦ ὑπνου φθονεῖν μεμημηνην ἔτε τοῦ Ἐνυδύμωνος, καὶ μᾶλιστα τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἀπαλοῖς καὶ τὸ δήμαν δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἴματος ἐπιθυμία οὐκ ἀγριότητος, ἀλλ’ ἔρωτός ἐστι ση-

1 κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφότερας: probably a gloss (Herwerden, Nilén).

90
THE FLY

by itself, and then, returning, would occupy his body again and restore him to life.

Knowing not labour and living at large, the fly enjoys the fruits of the toil of others, and finds a bounteous table set everywhere. Goats give milk for her, bees work for flies and for men quite as much as for themselves, and cooks sweeten food for her. She takes precedence even of kings in eating, and walks about on their tables sharing their feasts and all their enjoyment. She does not make a nest or habitation in any one place, but taking up a roving, Scythian life on the wing, finds bed and board wherever night chances to overtake her. But in the dark, as I have said, she does nothing: she has no desire for stealthy actions and no thought of disgraceful deeds which would discredit her if they were done by daylight.

The story goes that long ago there was a human being called Muia, a girl who was very pretty, but talkative, noisy, and fond of singing. She became a rival of Selene by falling in love with Endymion, and as she was for ever waking the boy out of his sleep by chattering and singing and paying him visits, he became vexed at her, and Selene in anger turned her into the fly we know.¹ So, in remembrance of Endymion, she begrudges all sleepers their repose, especially those of tender years; and even her biting and bloodthirstiness is not a sign of savagery, but of love and friendship. She gets what satisfac-

¹ The story explains the word μυῖα, "fly," as having been originally the name of a girl.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μείου καὶ φιλανθρωπίας· ὡς γὰρ δυνατόν ἀπολαύει καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τι ἀπανθίζεται.

Ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς καὶ γυνὴ τις ὀμόνυμος αὐτῇ, ποιήτρια, πάνυ καλὴ καὶ σοφή, καὶ ἄλλη ἔταφρα τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐπιφανῆς, περὶ ἦς καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς ποιητὴς ἔφη, ἡ Μυῖα ἔδακνεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς καρδίας· οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ κωμικὴ χάρις ἀπηξίωσεν οὐδὲ ἀπέκλειε σκηνῆς τὸ τῆς μνίας ὄνομα, οὐδ’ οἱ γονεῖς ἥδοντο τὰς θυγατέρας οὕτω καλοῦντες. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τραγωδία καὶ σὺν μεγάλῳ ἑπαίνῳ μέμνηται τῆς μνίας, ὡς ἐν τούτοις,

dεινῶν γε τὴν μὲν μνίαν ἀλκίμῳ σθένει πηδᾶν ἐπ’ ἄνδρῶν σώμαθ’, ὡς πληθὺς φόνου, ἄνδρας δ’ ὀπλίτας πολέμουν ταρβεῖν δόρυν.

πολλὰ δ’ ἄν εἶχον εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ Μυῖας τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς, εἰ μὴ γνώριμος ἦν ἀπασίν ἢ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἱστορία.

Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τινὲς μνίαι, ὡς στρατιώτιδας οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κώνας, τραχύταται τῶν βόμβων καὶ τὴν πτήσιν ὁκύταται, αἰ γε καὶ μακροβιώτατα ἐστιν καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὅλου ἄσιτοι διακαρτεροῦσιν ὑπεπτηχυνάε τοῖς ὀρόφοις μάλιστα, ἐφ’ ὅν κάκεινο θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὰ θηλεῖὼν καὶ τὰ ἀρρένων,
THE FLY

tion she can, and culls something of the bloom of beauty.

According to the ancients she has had two namesakes, a very pretty and accomplished poetess and a famous Athenian courtesan. It was the latter whom the comic poet meant when he said, "Yon fly him to the heart did bite." ¹ From this you see that comic wit has not disdained the name of fly nor barred it from the boards, and that parents have not been ashamed to give it to their daughters. As for tragedy, it, too, mentions the fly with great praise; for example, in these words:

"'Tis strange that while the fly with hardy strength
Encounters man to sate itself with gore,
Stout men-at-arms should fear the foeman's lance!" ²

I could also say a great deal about Muia, the Pytha gorean, if her story were not known to everyone.³

There are very large flies, too, which most people call camp-flies, though some call them dog-flies. They have a very harsh buzz and a very rapid flight. They are extremely long-lived, and endure the whole winter without food, usually hiding in the roof. Another surprising thing in

¹ Unknown (Kock, adesp. 475).
³ Very little of her story is known to us. She is said to have been daughter of Pythagoras and wife of Milo, the athlete of Croton.
δρώσιν καὶ βαίνόμεναι καὶ¹ βαίνοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει 
κατὰ τὸν Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης παιδα τὸν μικτὸν 
τὴν φύσιν καὶ διττὸν τὸ κάλλος. πολλὰ δὲ ἔτι 
ἐχον εἰπεῖν καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον, μὴ καὶ δόξω 
κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐλέφαντα ἐκ μυίας ποιεῖν.

¹ βαίνόμεναι καὶ Schwartz: not in MSS.
THE FLY

them is that they are bisexual, like the child of Hermes and Aphrodite, who had two natures and double beauty.

Though I still have a great deal to say, I will stop talking, for fear you may think that, as the saying goes, I am making an elephant out of a fly.
NIGRINUS

Except through Lucian, nothing is known of this philosopher. Some have sought to identify him with one Albinus, about whom we have scarcely any information, and others have thought him a child of Lucian's fancy. But it is quite possible that he really existed, and led, as Lucian says, a life of retirement.
ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

Δουκιανὸς Νυγρίνω τῇ πράπτειν. Ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησίν, Γλαύκα εἰς Ἀθῆνας, ὡς γελοῖον ὅν ἐγὼ τῇ κομίζῃ γλαύκας, ὅτι πολλαὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν. ἐγὼ δ᾽ εἰ μὲν δύναμιν λόγων ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ἔπειτα Νυγρίνω γράψαι βιβλίον ἔπεμπον, εἰχόμην ἄν τῷ γελοἶῳ γλαύκας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμπροερευμένος· ἔπει δὲ μόνην σοι δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐθέλω, ὅπως τε νῦν ἔχω καὶ ὅτι μὴ παρέργως εἴλημαι πρὸς τῶν σών λόγων, ἀποφεύγομι ἄν εἰκότως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου λέγοντος, ὅτι ἡ ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, ὅκενοις δὲ τὸ λεξηγιασμένον ἀπεργάζεται· δὴ λογος γὰρ ὡς ὅπως ἡ ἀμαθία μοι μόνη τῆς τοιαύτης τόλμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἔρως αἰτίως ἔρρωσο.

ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ

'Ὡς σεμνὸς ἢμῖν σφόδρα καὶ μετέωρος ἐπανελήλυθας. οὐ τῶν προσβλέπειν ἡμᾶς ἔτι ἄξιοὶς οὖθ᾽ ὁμιλίας μεταδίδως οὗτε κοινωνεῖς τῶν ὁμοίων λόγων, ἀλλ᾽ ἄφω μεταβέβλησαι καὶ ὅλως
LETTER TO NIGRINUS

Best wishes to Nigrinus from Lucian!
The proverb says "An owl to Athens!" meaning that it would be ridiculous for anyone to bring owls there, because they have plenty in the city. If I wanted to display my command of language, and were sending Nigrinus a book written for that purpose, I should be exposing myself to ridicule as a genuine importer of owls. But it is only my state of mind which I wish to reveal to you, how I feel now, and how deeply I have been moved by your discourse. So I may fairly be acquitted even of the charge contained in Thucydides’ saying¹ that ignorance makes men bold, but discourse² cautious, for clearly this great hardihood of mine is not due to ignorance alone, but also to fondness for discourse! Good health to you!

THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. How very lordly and exalted you are since you came back! Really, you don’t deign to notice us any more, you don’t associate with us, and you don’t join in our conversations: you have changed

¹ 2, 40, 3.
² To bring out the play on words, "discourse" is used here in the obsolete sense of "consideration, reflection."
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ὑπεροπτικῷ τινὶ ἔοικας. ἦδεως δ' ἀν παρὰ σοῦ πυθόμην, οἴθεν οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔχεις καὶ τὶ τούτων αὐτῶν.

Τί γὰρ ἄλλο γε, ὦ ἐταῖρε, ἢ εὐτυχία;

Πῶς λέγεις;

'Οδοὺ πάρερηγον ἦκω σοι εὐδαίμων τε καὶ μακάριος γεγενημένος καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ὄνομα, τρισόλβιος.

'Ἡράκλεις, οὕτως ἐν βραχεῖ;

Καὶ μάλα.

Τί δέ, τὸ μετὰ¹ τοῦτο, ἐστὶν ἐφ' ὅτι καὶ κομᾶς; ἵνα μὴ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ μόνῳ εὐφραινώμεθα, ἔχωμεν δὲ τι καὶ ἀκριβεῖς εἰδέναι τὸ πᾶν ἀκούσαντες.

Οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς Δίος, ἀντὶ μὲν δούλου με ἐλεύθερον, ἀντὶ δὲ πένητος ὡς ἀληθῶς πλοῦσιον, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀνοήτου τε καὶ τετυ- φωμένου γενέσθαι μετριώτερον;

Μέγιστον μὲν οὖν ἀτάρ ὑπὸ μανθάνω σαφῶς 2 ὁ τι καὶ λέγεις.

'Εστάλην μὲν εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως βουλόμενος ἰατρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν θεώρασθαι τίνα. τὸ γὰρ μοι πάθος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο.

Οἶδα τούτων ἐκαστα, καὶ ἡπξάμην σὲ τινὶ σπουδαῖο ἐπιτυχεῖν.

Δόξαν οὖν μοι διὰ πολλοῦ προσεύετε Ἡγοῦν τὸν Πλατωνικὸν φιλόσοφον, ἔωθεν ἐξαναστάς ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφικόμην καὶ κόψας τὴν θύραν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσagreeantos ἐκλίθην: καὶ παρελθὼν εἰσομὶ καταλαμβάνω τὸν μὲν ἐν χερσὶ βιβλίου ἔχοντα,

¹ μετὰ MSS. : μέγα du Soul.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

all of a sudden, and, in short, have a supercilious air. I should be glad to find out from you how it comes that you are so peculiar, and what is the cause of all this?

B. Nothing but good fortune, my dear fellow.
A. What do you mean?
B. I have come back to you transformed by the wayside into a happy and a blissful man—in the language of the stage, “thrice blessed.”
A. Heracles! in so short a time?
B. Yes, truly.
A. But what is the rest of it? What is it that you are puffed up about? Let us enjoy something more than a mere hint; let us have a chance to get at the facts by hearing the whole story.
B. Don’t you think it wonderful, in the name of Zeus, that once a slave, I am now free! “once poor, now rich indeed”; once witless and befogged, now saner?

A. Why, yes! nothing could be more important. But even yet I don’t clearly understand what you mean.
B. Well, I made straight for Rome, wanting to see an oculist; for I was having more and more trouble with my eye.
A. I know all that, and hoped you would find an able man.
B. As I had resolved to pay my respects to Nigrinus the Platonic philosopher, which I had not done for a long time, I got up early and went to his house, and when I had knocked at the door and the man had announced me, I was asked in. On

1 Apparently a free quotation from some play that is lost. (Kock, adesp. 1419.)
πολλὰς δὲ εἰκόνας παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν κύκλῳ κειμένας. προύκειτο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ πινάκιον τις τῶν ἀπὸ γεωμετρίας σχημάτων καταγεγραμμένον καὶ σφαίρα καλάμου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς μίμημα ὡς ἐδόκει πεποιημένη. σφόδρα οὖν με 3 φιλοφρόνως ἄσπασάμενος ἥρωτα ὃ τι πράττοιμι. κἀγώ πάντα διηγησάμην αὐτῷ, καὶ δῆτα ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξιον εἰδέναι ὃ τι τε πράττοι καὶ εἰ αὐθεντικὸ ἐγνωσμένον εἰη στῆλλεσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

'Ὁ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχὴς ἀρξάμενος, ὡς ἔταιρε, περὶ τούτων λέγειν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτὸν γνώμην διηγείσθαι τοσούτην τινά μου λόγων ἀμβροσίαν κατεσκέδασεν, ὡστε καὶ τὰς Σειρῆνας ἔκεινας, εἰ τινὲς ἄρα ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὰς ἀνθόνας καὶ τὸν Ὄμηρον λωτῶν ἀρχαίον ἀποδείξας. οὗτω θεσπέσια ἐφθέγξατο. προήγθη γὰρ αὐτήν τε 4 φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαινέσαι καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων νομιζόμενων ἀγαθῶν καταγελάσαι, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ βασιλείας καὶ τιμῆς, ἔτι τε χρυσοῦ καὶ πορφύρας, τῶν πάνω περιβλέπτων τοίς πολλοῖς, τέως δὲ κάμοι δοκούντων. ἀπερ ἔγγωρ ἀτενεὶ καὶ ἀναπτεπαμένη τῇ ψυχῇ ἐξάμενος αὐτίκα μὲν οὐδὲ εἶχον εἰκάσαι ὡστε ἐπεπόνθειν, ἀλλὰ παντοῦ ἐγνωρίσῃ καὶ ἄρτι μὲν ἐλυπούμην, ἐπηλεγμένων μοι τῶν φιλτάτων, πλούτου τε καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ δόξης, καὶ μόνου οὐκ ἐδάκρυνον ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς καθηρημένοις, ἄρτι

1 ἀπ' ἀρχὴς ἀρξάμενος Schwartz: ἀπαρξάμενος MSS,
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

entering, I found him with a book in his hands and many busts of ancient philosophers standing round about. Beside him there had been placed a tablet filled with figures in geometry and a reed globe, made, I thought, to represent the universe. Well, he greeted me in a very friendly way and asked me how I was getting on. I told him everything, and naturally in my own turn wanted to know how he was getting on, and whether he had made up his mind to take the trip to Greece again.

Beginning to talk on these topics and to explain his position, my dear fellow, he poured enough ambrosial speech over me to put out of date the famous Sirens ¹ (if there ever were any) and the nightingales ² and the lotus of Homer. ³ A divine utterance! For he went on to praise philosophy and the freedom that it gives, and to ridicule the things that are popularly considered blessings—wealth and reputation, dominion and honour, yes and purple and gold—things accounted very desirable by most men, and till then by me also. I took it all in with eager, wide-open soul, and at the moment I couldn’t imagine what had come over me; I was all confused. Then I felt hurt because he had criticised what was dearest to me—wealth and money and reputation,—and I all but cried over their downfall;

¹ Odys. 12, 39 ; 167. ² Odys. 19, 518. ³ Odys. 9, 94. The lotus is mentioned because of its effect. It made Odysseus’ shipmates

"Among the Lotus-eaters fain to stay
And gather lotus, and forget their homes.”
ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ

δὲ αὐτὰ μὲν ἐδόκει μοι ταπεινά καὶ καταγέλαστα· ἐξαιροῦν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν βιοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδιαθραίνεις τοῖς ἑδρανόμοις· ὡστε δὴ, τὸ κατάφθορον, τοῦ ῥηθαλ-μοῦ μὲν καὶ τῆς περὶ ἄντων ἀσθενείας ἐπέλαθαν-νύμφην, τὴν δὲ φυκὴν ὀξυδερκέστερος κατὰ μικρὸν ἑγνώμην ἐξελήθειν γὰρ τέως αὐτὴν τυφλώττον-σαν περιφέρουν. προὶ οὖν δὲ ἐστὶν τῶς περηκήθην, 5 ὅπερ ἄρτιώς ἦσθιν ἐπεκάλεσι· γαύρως τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου καὶ μετέωρός εἰμι καὶ ὅλως μικρὸν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἑπινοῶ· δοκῶ γὰρ μοι ὁμοίων τι πεποιθεῖμαι πρὸς ἐκλογισιάν, οἴνοπτε καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ πρὸς τὸν ὕδωρ λέγονται παθεῖν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἔπιοι αὐτοῦ· θερμότεροι γὰρ ὄντες φύσει πιόντες ἱσχυρὸν οὖν πολὺν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐξεβακχεύθησαν καὶ δι-πλασίως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου ἐξεμάνησαν. οὖτω σοι καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνθέους καὶ μεθύων ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων περιέρχομαι.

Καὶ μὴν τούτῳ γε οὐ μεθύεις, ἀλλὰ νήφειν 6 τε καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοῦμαι ἄν, εἰ οἶνον τε, αὐτῶν ἀκούσαι τῶν λόγων οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ φθονεὶν ἄντων οἷμαι θέμις, ἀλλὰς τε εἰ καὶ φίλος καὶ περὶ τὰ όμοια ἐστουδακῶς ὁ βουλό-μενος ἀκούειν εἰς.

Θάρρει, διὰ γάρ τούτῳ γὰρ τοῦ τοῦ Ὀμήνου, σπευδούντας καὶ αὐτοῦ παρακαλεῖν, καὶ εἰ γε μὴ ἐφθη, αὐτὸς ἄν ἐδειχθην ἀκούσαι μοι διηγομένου· μάρτυρα γὰρ σε παραστήσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐθέλω, ὅτι οὐκ ἁλόγως μαίνομαι· ἀλλωσ

1 αὐτὸν vulg. : ὁτὲ αὐτὸν MSS. : ὁτὲ αὐτὸν Schwartz.  
2 φθονεὶν Jacobit: καταφρονεῖν MSS. Schwartz assumes a lacuna after γάρ.

104
and then I thought them paltry and ridiculous, and was glad to be looking up, as it were, out of the murky atmosphere of my past life to a clear sky and a great light. In consequence, I actually forgot my eye and its ailment—would you believe it?—and by degrees grew sharper-sighted in my soul; which, all unawares, I had been carrying about in a purblind condition till then. I went on and on, and so got into the state with which you just reproached me: what he said has made me proud and exalted, and in a word, I take no more notice of trifles. I suppose I have had the same sort of experience with philosophy that the Hindoos are said to have had with wine when they first tasted it. As they are by nature more hot-blooded than we, on taking such strong drink they became uproarious at once, and were crazed by the unwatered beverage twice as much as other people. There you have it! I am going about enraptured and drunk with the wine of his discourse.

A. Why, that isn't drunkenness, it is sobriety and temperance! I should like to hear just what he said, if possible. It is far, very far from right, in my opinion, to be stingy with it, especially if the person who wants to hear is a friend and has the same interests.

B. Cheer up, good soul! you spur a willing horse, as Homer says, and if you hadn't got ahead of me, I myself should have begged you to listen to my tale, for I want to have you bear witness before the world that my madness has reason in it. Then, too,

1 Iliad 8, 293.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

te kai ήδυ μοι το μεμνήσθαι αυτών πολλάκις,
kai ταύτην ήδη μελέτην ἐποιησάμην ἐπει καν
τις μὴ παρὼν τύχη, καὶ ούτω δις ἡ τρὶς τῆς
ήμερας ἀνακυκλῶν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τὰ εἰρημένα. καὶ 7
ὡσπερ οἱ ἑρασταὶ τῶν παιδικῶν οὐ παρόντων
ἐργ’ ἄττα καὶ λόγους εἰρημένους αὐτοῖς διαμνη-
μονεύουσι καὶ τούτως ἐνδιατρίβοντες ἔξαπατώσι
τὴν νόσον, ὡς παρόντων σφίσι τῶν ἀγαπώμε-
νων—ἔνιοι γοῦν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσπλατείν οἶονται
καὶ ὡς ἄρτι λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅπως τότε
ἦκοσιαν, ἦδονται καὶ προσάψαντες τὴν ψυχήν
tῇ μνήμῃ τῶν παρελθόντων σχολῆν οὐκ
ἀγοσιν τόσον ἐν ποσὶν ἀνιώθαται—οὕτω δὲ καὶ
αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφίας οἰ παροῦσις τοὺς λόγους, οὖς
τότε ἦκουσα, συναγείρων καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἀνα-
τυλίττων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχω παραμυθίαν, καὶ ὅλως
καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει καὶ νυκτὶ πολλὴ φερόμενος,
ἐς πυρσὸν τινα τούτον ἀποβλέπω, πάσι μὲν
παρεῖναι τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ πραττομένοις τὸν ἄνδρα
ἐκεῖνον οἶομενος, ἀεὶ δὲ ὡσπερ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ τὰ
αὐτὰ πρὸς με λέγοντος· ἐνίοτε δὲ, καὶ μάλιστα
ὅταν ἑνερείσω τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ
μοι φαίνεται καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ ἄχος ἐν ταῖς
ἀκοαῖς παραμένει· καὶ γὰρ τοι κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν
ὡς ἄληθῶς ἐγκατέλιπεν τι κέντρον τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.1

1 Cf. Eupolis (Kock, 94).

 kratismoσοσ οὐτοσ ἐγένετε ἀνθρώπων λέγειν·
ὅτα το σερ τηθοὶ δ’, ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸ κρομῆς,
ἐκ δέκα παθῶν ἤρει λέγων τούς βητορας,
ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δὲ γ’ αὐτῷ τῷ τάχει
πειθό τε θεπακήζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χελεσίν·
οὕτως ἕκθεις καὶ μόνος τὸν βητορῶν
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροομένοις,
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

I take pleasure in calling his words to mind frequently, and have already made it a regular exercise: even if nobody happens to be at hand, I repeat them to myself two or three times a day just the same. I am in the same case with lovers. In the absence of the objects of their fancy they think over their actions and their words, and by dallying with these beguile their lovesickness into the belief that they have their sweethearts near; in fact, sometimes they even imagine they are chatting with them and are as pleased with what they formerly heard as if it were just being said, and by applying their minds to the memory of the past give themselves no time to be annoyed by the present. So I, too, in the absence of my mistress Philosophy, get no little comfort out of gathering together the words that I then heard and turning them over to myself. In short, I fix my gaze on that man as if he were a lighthouse and I were adrift at sea in the dead of night, fancying him by me whenever I do anything and always hearing him repeat his former words. Sometimes, especially when I put pressure on my soul, his face appears to me and the sound of his voice abides in my ears. Truly, as the comedian says,1 "he left a sting implanted in his hearers!"

1 Eupolis in the Demes, referring to Pericles (Kock, 94).

"None better in the world to make a speech!
He'd take the floor and give your orators
A ten-foot start, as a good runner does,
And then catch up. Yes, he was fleet, and more—
Persuasion used to perch upon his lips,
So great his magic; he alone would leave
His sting implanted in his auditors."
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Παῦε, ὁ θαυμάστε, μακρὸν ἁνακρονόμενος καὶ λέγε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβόν ἥδη τὰ εἰρημένα ὡς οὐ μετρίως με ἀποκυναίεις περιάγων.

Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ οὕτω χρῆ ποιεῖν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, ὁ ἑταίρε—ἡ δη τραγικοῦς ἢ καὶ νῆ Διὰ κωμικοῦς φαύλους ἐόρακας ὑποκριτάς; τῶν συριστομένων λέγω τούτων καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβαλλομένου, καῖτοι τῶν δραμάτων πολλάκις εὖ ἔχοντων τε καὶ νεικηκότων;

Πολλοὺς οἴδα τοιούτους. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο;

Δέδοικα μή σοι μεταξὺ δόξῳ γελοιῶς αὐτὰ μυμεῖσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀτάκτως συνείρων, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄσθενειάς τοῦ νοῦν διαφθείρων, κατὰ προαχθῆς ἡρέμα καὶ αὐτοῦ καταγράναι τοῦ δράματος. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμόν, οὐ πάνυ ἄχθομαι, ἢ δὲ ὑπόθεσις οὐ μετρίως με λυπῆσειν ἐοικε συνεκπιπτοῦνσα καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν μέρος ἀσχημονώσα. τοῦτ' οὖν παρ' ὅλου μέμνησό μοι τῶν λόγων, ὡς ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς ἦμιν τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνεύθυνος καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς πόρρω ποι κάθηται, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλον τῶν ἐν θεάτρῳ πραγμάτων. ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτῷ σοι πείραν παρέχω, ὅποιος τίς εἰμι τὴν μνήμην ὑποκριτῆς, οὐδὲν ἀγγέλου τὰ ἄλλα τραγικοῦ διαφέρων. ὦστε κἂν ἐνδεέστερόν τι δοκῶ λέγειν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐστὶν πρόχειρον, ὡς ἄμεινον ἦν, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ ποιητής ἵσως διεξήγει ἐμὲ δὲ κἂν ἐκσυρίτης, οὐ πάνυ τι λυπῆσομαι.

1 μακρὸν S, and two late codices: μικρὸν the other MSS., usually rendered "Back water a bit."
2 ἦν καὶ ἄλλως MSS.; ἴδον ἀγγελὸς Schwartz.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. Have done with your long prelude, you strange fellow; begin at the beginning and tell me what he said. You irritate me more than a little with your beating about the bush.

B. You are right! I must do so. But look here, my friend: you've seen bad actors in tragedy before now—yes, and in comedy too, I'll swear? I mean the sort that are hissed and ruin pieces and finally get driven off the stage, though their plays are often good and have won a prize.

A. I know plenty of the sort. But what of it?

B. I am afraid that, as you follow me, you may think that I present my lines ridiculously, hurrying through some of them regardless of metre, and sometimes even spoiling the very sense by my incapacity; and that you may gradually be led to condemn the play itself. As far as I am concerned, I don't care at all; but if the play shares my failure and comes to grief on my account, it will naturally hurt me more than a little. Please bear it in mind, then, all through the performance that the poet is not accountable to us for faults of this nature, and is sitting somewhere far away from the stage, completely unconcerned about what is going on in the theatre, while I am but giving you a chance to test my powers and see what sort of actor I am in point of memory; in other respects my rôle is no more important than that of a messenger in tragedy. Therefore, in case I appear to be saying something rather poor, have the excuse to hand that it was better, and that the poet no doubt told it differently. As for myself, even if you hiss me off the stage, I shan't be hurt at all!
ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΛΗΣ ΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΣΤΑΙ ΤΗ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕ ΠΟΛΛΗ ΤΗ ΣΚΗΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. Hermes!¹ what a fine introduction you have made, just like a professor of public speaking! You intend, I am sure, to add that your conversation was short, that you didn't come prepared to speak, and that it would be better to hear him tell it himself, for really you have only carried in mind what little you could. Weren't you going to say that? Well, there is no longer any necessity for it on my account; consider your whole introduction finished as far as I am concerned, for I am ready to cheer and to clap. But if you keep shilly-shallying, I'll bear you a grudge all through the speech and will hiss right sharply.

B. Yes, I should have liked to say all that you mention, and also that I do not intend to quote him without a break and in his own words, in a long speech covering everything, for that would be quite beyond my powers; nor yet to quote him in the first person, for fear of making myself like the actors whom I mentioned in another way. Time and again when they have assumed the role of Agamemnon or Creon or even Heracles himself, costumed in cloth of gold, with fierce eyes and mouths wide agape, they speak in a voice that is small, thin, womanish, and far too poor for Hecuba or Polyxena. Therefore, to avoid being criticised like them for wearing a mask altogether too big for my head and for being a disgrace to my costume, I want to talk to you with my features exposed, so that the hero whose part I am taking may not be brought down with me if I stumble.

A. Will the man never stop talking so much stage and tragedy to me?

¹ Invoked as the god of orators.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Καὶ μὴν παύσομαι γε· πρὸς ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἦδη τρέψομαι. Ἦ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν λόγων ἔσται ὡς ἤ Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι φιλοσοφία καὶ πενία σύντροφοί εἰσὶν καὶ οὐτε τῶν ἀστῶν οὕτε τῶν ξένων οὐδένα τέρτονται ὁρῶντες, ὃς ἄν τρυφὴν εἰσάγειν εἰς αὐτοὺς βιάζηται, ἀλλὰ κἂν τις ἀφίκηται παρ' αὐτοὺς οὐτω διακελμενος, ἡρέμη τε μεταπτυχοῦσαι καὶ παραπαίδαγωγοῦσι καὶ πρὸς τό καθάρον τής διαίτης μεθιστάσιν.

Ἐμέμηντο γοῦν τινος τῶν πολυχρώσων, δὲ ἐλθὼν Ἀθήναξε μᾶλ' ἐπίσημος καὶ φορτικὸς ἀκολούθων ὁχλώ καὶ ποικίλη ἔσθητι καὶ χρυσὸ αὐτὸς μὲν ὦτον ἤλητος εἶναι τᾶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὡς ἄν εὐδαίμονον ἀποβλέπεσθαι· τοῖς δ' ἂρα δυστυχεὶν ἐδόκει τό ἀνθρώπιον, καὶ παιδεύειν ἑπεχείρον αὐτὸν οὐ πικρῶς οὐδ' ἀντικρυς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐν ἐλευθέρα τῇ πόλει καθ' ὅστινα τρόπων βοῦλεται μὴ βιων· ἀλλ' ἐπει κἂν τοῖς ἰδιομασίοις καὶ λοιποῖς ὁχληροῖς ἦν θλίβων τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ στενοχωρῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ὑστυχὴ τις ὅπερ ὑπεθησάτω προσποιούμενος λανθάνειν, ὃσπερ οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀποτείνων, Δέδοικε μὴ παραπόληται μεταξὺ λοιμομένων· καὶ μὴν εἰρήνη γε μακρὰ κατέχει τό βαλανείον οὐδένι σου δέι στρατοπέδου. οὐ δὲ ἄκοινων ἂεί, μεταξὺ ἐπαιδεύοντο. την δὲ ἔσθητ' τὴν ποικίλην καὶ τὰς πορφυρίδας ἐκείναις ἀπέδυσαν αὐτὸν ἀστείοις πάνυ τό ἀνθρώπον ἐπισκόποντο τῶν χρωμάτων, Ἐαρ ἡδη, λέγοντες, καὶ Πόθεν ὁ ταύς οὕτως; καὶ, Τάχα τής μητρὸς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ οὕτως

1 ἂεί R. Helm: ἂ ἣν MSS.

I 12
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

B. Why, yes! I will stop, certainly, and will now turn to my subject. The talk began with praise of Greece and of the men of Athens, because Philosophy and Poverty have ever been their foster-brothers, and they do not look with pleasure on any man, be he citizen or stranger, who strives to introduce luxury among them, but if ever anyone comes to them in that frame of mind, they gradually correct him and lend a hand in his schooling and convert him to the simple life.

For example, he mentioned a millionaire who came to Athens, a very conspicuous and vulgar person with his crowd of attendants and his gay clothes and jewelry, and expected to be envied by all the Athenians and to be looked up to as a happy man. But they thought the creature unfortunate, and undertook to educate him, not in a harsh way, however, nor yet by directly forbidding him to live as he would in a free city. But when he made himself a nuisance at the athletic clubs and the baths by jostling and crowding passers with his retinue, someone or other would say in a low tone, pretending to be covert, as if he were not directing the remark at the man himself: “He is afraid of being murdered in his tub! Why, profound peace reigns in the baths; there is no need of an army, then!” And the man, who never failed to hear, got a bit of instruction in passing. His gay clothes and his purple gown they stripped from him very neatly by making fun of his flowery colours, saying, “Spring already?” “How did that peacock get here?” “Perhaps it’s his mother’s” and the like. His other vulgarities they turned into jest in the same way—
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀπέσκωπτον, ἢ τῶν δακτυλίων τὸ πλῆθος ἢ τῆς κόμης τὸ περιέργον ἢ τῆς διαίτης τὸ ἀκόλαστον. ὡστε κατὰ μικρὸν ἐσωφρονίσθη καὶ παρὰ πολύ βελτίων ἀπῆλθε δημοσία πεπαιδευμένος.

"Οτι δ’ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται πενίων ὑμόλογοντες, 14 ἐμέμνητο πρὸς με φωνῆς τινος, ἢν ἀκούσαι πάντων ἐφή κοινή προσέμενον ἐν τῷ ἀγώνι τῶν Παναθηναίων. ληφθέντα μὲν γὰρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγεσθαί παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, ὅτι βαπτῶν ἔχων ἰμάτιον ἐθέωρει, τούς δὲ ίδοντας ἔλεησαί τε καὶ παρατείσθαι καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεπίπτος, ὅτι παρὰ τῶν νόμων ἐποίησεν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐσθήτῃ θεώμενος, ἀναβοῆσαι μὲν φωνῆ πάντας ὁσπερ ἐσκεμμένους, συγγιγωμήν ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τοιαύτα γε ἀμπεχομένῳ. μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἑτέρα.

Ταῦτα τε οὖν ἐπήνει καὶ προσέτη τὴν ἔλευθεραν τὴν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῆς διαίτης τὸ ἀνεπίθεον, ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην, ὅ δ’ ἀφοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν. ἀπέφανε γοῦν φιλοσοφία συνφόδον τὴν παρὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις διατριβὴν καὶ καθαρὸν ἦθος φυλαξίαν δυνάμενην, σπουδαίῳ τε ἀνδρὶ καὶ πλούτου καταφρονεὶν πεπαιδευμένῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὰ φύσει καλὰ ζῆν προαιρομένῳ τὸν ἐκεῖ βίον μᾶλιστα ἡμισμένον. ὅστις δὲ πλούτου ἑρᾷ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκήληται καὶ πορφῦρα καὶ δυναστεία μετρεῖ τὸ εὔδαιμον, ἀγενστός μὲν ἔλευθερίας, ἀπείρατος δὲ παρρησίας, ἀθέατος δὲ ἀληθείας, κολακεία τὰ πάντα καὶ δουλεία σύντροφος, ὃ ὅστις ἣδονὴ πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχῆν ἐπιτρέψας ταύτῃ μόνη λατρεύειν διέγνωκε, φίλος μὲν περιέργων τραπεζῶν, φίλος δὲ πότων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, ἀνάπλως γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ψευδολογίας.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

the number of his rings, the over-niceness of his hair, the extravagance of his life. So he was disciplined little by little, and went away much improved by the public education he had received.

To show that they are not ashamed to confess poverty, he mentioned to me a remark which he said he had heard everybody make with one accord at the Panathenaic games. One of the citizens had been arrested and brought before the director of the games he had a coloured cloak to see the show. Those who saw it were sorry for him and tried to beg him off, and when the herald proclaimed that he had broken the law by wearing such clothing at the games, they all cried out in one voice, as if by pre-arrangement, to excuse him for being in that dress, because, they said, he had no other.

Well, he praised all this, and also the freedom there and the blamelessness of their mode of living, their quiet, and leisure; and these advantages they certainly have in plenty. He declared, for instance, that a life like theirs is in harmony with philosophy and can keep the character pure; so that a serious man who has been taught to despise wealth and elects to live for what is intrinsically good will find Athens exactly suited to him. But a man who loves wealth and is enthralled by gold and measures happiness by purple and power, who has not tasted liberty or tested free speech or contemplated truth, whose constant companions are flattery and servility; a man who has unreservedly committed his soul to pleasure and has resolved to serve none but her, fond of extravagant fare and fond of wine and
ΤΗΣ ΒΟΗΣΑ ΑΚΟΥΩΝ ΤΕΡΠΕΤΑΙ ΚΡΟΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΡΕΤΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΦΘΟΡΟΤΩΝ ΑΦΕΜΑΤΩΝ, ΤΟΙΣ ΔΗ ΤΟΙΟΤΟΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΤΑΘΑ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗΝ ΜΕΣΤΑΙ ΓΆΡ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΤΑΤΩΝ ΠΑΣΑΙ ΜΈΝ 16 ΑΓΥΙΑΙ, ΠΑΣΑΙ ΔΕ ΆΓΟΡΑΙ, ΠΆΡΕΣΤΙ ΔΕ ΠΆΣΑΙΣ ΠÚΛΑΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΎΔΟΝΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΔΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΈΝ ΔΙ' ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩΝ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΔΙ' ΟΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΡΙΝΩΝ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΛΑΙΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ' ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΩΝ ΥΦ' ΎΣ ΔΗ ΡΕΟΥΣΗΣ ΑΕΝΑΩ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΘΟΛΕΡΦΡΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΠΆΣΑΙ ΜΈΝ ΑΝΕΥΡΥΝΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΟΔΟΙ, ΣΥΝΕΙΣΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΓΆΡ ΜΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΡΓΥΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΟΡΚΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΟΙΟΤΟ ΦÚΛΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΎΔΟΝΩΝ, ΠΑΡΑΣΥΡΕΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΥΠΟΚΛΥΣΟΜΈΝΗΣ ΠΆΝΤΟΘΕΝ ΑΪΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΆΡΕΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΗΜΟΣ Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΨΗΣ ΆΕΙ ΠΙΜΠΡΆΜΕΝΟΣ ¹ ΑΝΘΕΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΆΓΡΙΑΙΣ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΙΣ.

ΤΟΙΑΤΗΝ ἈΠΕΦΑΙΝΕ ΤΗΝ ΠÓΛΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΣΟΤΩΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ἕΓΩ ΓΟΥΝ, ἘΦΗ, ὅΤΕ ΤΟ 17 ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ἘΠΑΝΗΕΙΝ ἌΠΟ ΤΗΣ ἘΛΛΑΔΟΣ, ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΠΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟς ἘΠΙΣΤΗΣΑΣ ἘΜΑΥΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ἈΠΗΤΟΥΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΥΡΟ ἈΦΙΞΕΩΣ, ἘΚΕΙΝΑ ΔΗ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ὈΜΗΡΟΥ ΛΕΓΟΝ.

ΤΙΤΤ' ΑΥΤ', ὃ ΔΥΣΤΗΝΕ, ΛΥΠΩΝ ΦΆΟΣ ἩΕΛΙΟΥ, ΤΗΝ ἘΛΛΑΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝ ἘΚΕΙΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ἘΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ, ἩΛΥΘΕΣ, ὅΦΡΑ ΙΔΗΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΘΑ ΘΟΡΥΒΟΝ, ΣΥΚΟΦΆΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΣΕΙΣ ὙΠΕΡΗΦΆΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΙΠΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΛΑΚΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΙΣΟΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΘΕΚΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ἘΠΙΠΛΆΣΤΟΥΣ; ᾦ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΆΞΕΙΝ ΔΙΕΓΝΩΚΑΣ ΜΗΤ' ἈΠΑΛΛΑΣΤΕΣΘΑΙ ΜΗΤΕ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΩΤΙ ΔΥΝΆΜΕΝΟΣ;

¹ ΠΙΜΠΡΆΜΕΝΟΣ Α.Μ.Η.: ΠΙΜΠΛΆΜΕΝΟΣ ΜΣΣ.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

women, full of trickery, deceit and falsehood; a man who likes to hear twanging, fluting and emasculated singing—"Such folk," said he, "should live in Rome, for every street and every square is full of the things they cherish most,¹ and they can admit pleasure by every gate—by the eyes, by the ears and nostrils, by the throat and reins. Its ever-flowing, turbid stream widens every street; it brings in adultery, avarice, perjury and the whole family of the vices, and sweeps the flooded soul bare of self-respect, virtue, and righteousness; and then the ground which they have left a desert, ever parched with thirst, puts forth a rank, wild growth of lusts."

That was the character of the city, he declared, and those all the good things it taught. "For my part," said he, "when I first came back from Greece, on getting into the neighbourhood of Rome I stopped and asked myself why I had come here, repeating the well-known words of Homer²: 'Why left you, luckless man, the light of day'—Greece, to wit, and all that happiness and freedom—'and came to see' the hurly-burly here—informers, haughty greetings, dinners, flatterers, murders, legacy-hunting, feigned friendships? And what in the world do you intend to do, since you can neither go away nor do as the Romans do?"

¹ A reminiscence of Aratus (Phaenom. 2): "And every human street and every square is full of the presence of God." ² Odys. 11, 93.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Οὕτω δὴ βουλευσάμενος καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν Ἐκτορα ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βελέων, φασίν, ἐκ τ’ ἀνδροκτασίας ἐκ θ’ αἵματος ἐκ τε κυδομοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκουρεῖν εἰλόμην καὶ βίον τινὰ τούτον γυναικόδη καὶ ἄτολμον τοὺς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα προτιθέμενος αὐτῇ φιλοσοφία καὶ Πλάτωνι καὶ ἄληθείᾳ προσθαλῶ, καὶ καθίσας ἐμαυτὸν ὁσπερὲν θεάτρῳ μυριάνδρῳ σφόδρα που μετέωρος ἐπισκοπῶ τὰ γυνήμενα, τούτῳ μὲν πολλὴν ψυχαγωγίαν καὶ γέλωτα παρέχειν δυνάμενα, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ πείραν ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἄληθῶς βεβαιὸν λαβεῖν.

Εἰ γὰρ χρὴ καὶ κακῶν ἔπαινον εἴπεῖν, μὴ ὑπολαβῆς μείζον τι γυμνασίων ἄρετῆς ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς δοκιμασίαν ἀληθεστέραν τῆς ἡς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβῆς· οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἀντισχεῖν τοσαίταις μὲν ἐπιθυμίαις, τοσούτοις δὲ θεάμασι τε καὶ ἀκούσμασι πάντοθεν ἐξκούσι καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἀτεχνῶς δεῖ τὸν Ὁδυσσέα μημερσάμενον παραπλεῖν αὐτά μὴ δεδεμένον τῷ χείρε—δείλον γάρ—μηδὲ τὰ ὁτα κηρῷ φραξάμενον, ἀλλ’ ἀκούσματα καὶ λειμυμένον καὶ ἄληθῶς ὑπερήφανον. ἔνεστι δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θαυμάσαι παραθεωροῦντα τὴν τοσαύτην ἀνοιαν, καὶ τῶν τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν καταφρονεῖν ὀρὼντα ὁσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ πολυπροσώπῳ δράματι τὸν μὲν ἐξ οἰκέτου δεσπότης προϊόντα, τοῦ δ’ ἀντὶ πλουσίου πένητα, τοῦ δὲ σατράπην ἐκ πένητος ἢ βασιλέα, τοῦ δὲ φίλου τούτου, τοῦ δὲ ἐχθροῦ, τοῦ δὲ φυγάδα τούτο γὰρ τοῖς καὶ τὸ δεινότατον ἔστιν, ὅτι καίτοι μαρτυρομένης τῆς Τύχης παῖζει τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

118
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

"After communing with myself in this vein and pulling myself out of bowshot as Zeus did Hector in Homer, 1

From out the slaughter, blood, and battle-din,
I decided to be a stay-at-home in future. Choosing thereby a sort of life which seems to most people womanish and spiritless, I converse with Plato, Philosophy and Truth, and seating myself, as it were, high up in a theatre full of untold thousands, I look down on what takes place, which is of a quality sometimes to afford amusement and laughter, sometimes to prove a man's true steadfastness.

"Indeed (if it is right to speak in praise of what is bad), don't suppose that there is any better school for virtue or any truer test of the soul than this city and the life here; it is no small matter to make a stand against so many desires, so many sights and sounds that lay rival hands on a man and pull him in every direction. One must simply imitate Odysseus and sail past them; not, however, with his hands bound (for that would be cowardly) nor with his ears stopped with wax, but with ears open and body free, and in a spirit of genuine contempt. Furthermore, one has cause to admire philosophy when he beholds so much folly, and to despise the gifts of fortune when he sees on the stage of life a play of many rôles, in which one man enters first as servant, then as master; another first as rich, then as poor; another now as beggar, now as nabob or king; another as So-and-so’s friend, another as his enemy; another as an exile. And the strangest part of it all is that although Fortune attests that she makes light

1 Iliad 11, 168.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πράγματα καὶ ὁμολογούσης μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι 
θέβαιον, ὃμως ταῦθ᾽ ὁσιμέραι βλέποντες ὀρέγονται 
καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δυναστείας καὶ μεστὸι περίασι 
πάντες οὐ γυνομένων ἔλπιδων.

"Ο δὲ δὴ ἐφη, ὅτι καὶ γελᾶν ἐν τοῖς γυνο-
μένοις ἐνεστὶ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι, τοῦτο ἦδη σοι 
φράσω. πῶς γὰρ οὐ γελοίοι μὲν πλούτοιντε 
αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς πορφυρίδας προφαινόντες καὶ τοὺς 
δακτύλους προτείνοντες καὶ πολλὰν καθηγο-
ροῦντες ἀπειροκαλίαν, τὸ δὲ καίνότατον, τοὺς 
ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀλλοτρία φωνῇ προσαγορεύοντες, 
ἀγαπᾶν ἁξιοῦντες, ὅτι μόνον αὐτῶν προσέβλε-
ψαι, οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι περιμέ-
νοντες, οὐ πόρρωθεν οὐδ᾽ ὃς Πέρσαις νόμος, ἀλλὰ 
δεὶ προσελθόντα καὶ ὑποκύψαντα, τὴν ψυχὴν 
tαπεινώσαντα καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς ἐμφανίσαντα 
tῇ τοῦ σώματος ὀμοιότητι, τὸ σκῆθος ἡ τὴν δεξιὰν 
cαταφιλεῖν, ξηλωτὸν καὶ περίβλεπτον τοὺς μηδὲ 
tοῦτον τυγχάνονσι τὸ ἐστηκέν παρέχον έαυτὸν 
εἰς πλεῖον χρόνον ἕξαπατώμενον. ἐπειδῶ δὲ γε 
tαύτης αὐτοῦς τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας, ὡς μη καὶ τοῖς 
στόμασιν ἡμᾶς προσίεται.

Πολὺ δὲ τούτων οἱ προσιόντες αὐτοὶ καὶ 22 
θεραπεύοντες γελοίοτεροι, νυκτὸς μὲν ἔξανιστά-
μενοι μέσης, περιθέοντες δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν 
cαὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποκλείομενοι, κύνες καὶ 
κόλακες καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ἀκούειν ὑπομένοντες. 
γέρας δὲ τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης αὐτοῖς περίοδον τὸ 
φορτικὸν ἐκεῖνο δεῖπνον καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίου συμ-

1 ὑποκύψαντα Schwartz : ὑποκύψαντα καὶ πόρρωθεν MSS. : [καὶ 
ὑποκύψαντα] Nilén.

120
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

of human affairs and admits that there is no stability in them, and in spite of the fact that men see this demonstrated every day, they still yearn for wealth and power, and go about every one of them full of unrealised hopes.

"But I have said that there is food for laughter and amusement in what goes on; let me now explain it. To begin with, are not the rich ridiculous? They display their purple gowns and show their rings and betray an unbounded lack of taste. Would you believe it?—they make use of another man's voice in greeting people they meet, expecting them to be thankful for a glance and nothing more, while some, lordlier than the rest, even require obeisance to be made to them: not at long range, though, in the Persian style. No, you must go up, bow your head, humbling your soul and showing its feelings by carrying yourself to match them, and kiss the man's breast or his hand, while those who are denied even this privilege envy and admire you! And the man stands for hours and lets himself be duped! At any rate there is one point in their inhumanity that I commend them for—they forbid us their lips!

"Far more ridiculous, however, than the rich are those who visit them and pay them court. They get up at midnight, run all about the city, let servants bolt the doors in their faces and suffer themselves to be called dogs, toadies and similar names. By way of reward for this galling round of visits they get the much-talked-of dinner, a vulgar thing, the source of many evils. How much they eat there,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φορῶν, ἐν ὦ πόσα μὲν ἐμφαγόντες, πόσα δὲ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμπίστευτες, πόσα δὲ δι' ὑμνή ἀπολαλήσαντες ἢ μεμφόμενοι 1 τὸ τελευταῖον ἢ δυσφοροῦντες ἀπέτασιν ἢ διαβάλλοντες τὸ δεῖπνον ἢ ὑβριν ἢ μικρολογίαν ἐγκαλοῦντες. πλήρεις δὲ αὐτῶν ἐμούντων οἱ στενωποὶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς χαμαι-

τυπείνας μαχομένων καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁ πλεῖον ἀντικληθέντες ἰατροὶς παρέχονσιν ἀφορμὰς περιόδων ἐνοι μὲν γὰρ, τὸ καὶ ἅπατον, οὐδὲ νοσεῖν σχολάζουσιν.

Εγὼ μέντοι γε πολὺ τῶν κολακευομένων ἔξω-

23 λεστέρους τοὺς κόλακας ὑπείληφα, καὶ σχεδὸν αὐτῶν ἐκείνους καθίστασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αἰτίου· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν περιουσίαν ἑαυμά-

σωσιν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἑπαίνουσιν καὶ τοὺς πυλώνας ἐσθεν ἐμπλήσωσιν καὶ προσελθόντες ὁσπερ δεσπότασ προσέπωσιν, τί καὶ φρονήσειν ἐκείνους εἰκός ἔστων; εἰ δὲ γε κοινὸ δόγματι καὶ πρὸς ὅλον ἀπέσχοντο τῆς ἐθελοδοξείας, ὅτι ἂν οὐδὲ τούσαντιν αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῶν πτωχῶν δεομένους τοὺς πλοῦσίους, μὴ ἀδέατον αὐτῶν μηδ' ἀμάρτυρον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καταλυτεῖν μηδ' ἀνόητον τε καὶ ἀχρηστον τῶν τραπεζῶν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τῶν οἴκων τὸ μέγεθος; οὐ γὰρ οὗτο τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἔρωσιν ὡς τοῦ διὰ τὸ πλουτεῖν εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι. καὶ οὗτος δὴ ἡ ἐχει, μηδὲν ὅφελος εἶναι περικαλλοῦσις οἰκίὰς τῷ οἰκοῦντι μηδὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἑλέφαντος, εἰ μὴ τοῖς αὐτὰθαυμάζοι. ἔχρην οὖν ταύτῃ καθαιρεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἑπενωνύσειν τὴν δυναστείαν ἐπιτειχί-

1 ἢ μεμφόμενοι MSS.: bracketed by Schwartz.
2 δὴ Hemsterhuys : δὲ MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

how much they drink that they do not want, and how much they say that should not have been said! At last they go away either finding fault or nursing a grievance, either abusing the dinner or accusing the host of insolence and neglectfulness. They fill the side-streets, puking and fighting at the doors of brothels, and most of them go to bed by daylight and give the doctors a reason for making their rounds. Not all, though; for some—would you believe it?—haven’t even time to be ill!

"For my part I hold that the toadies are far worse than the men they toady to, and that they alone are to blame for the arrogance of the others. When they admire their possessions, praise their plate, crowd their doorways in the early morning and go up and speak to them as a slave speaks to his master, how can you expect the rich to feel? If by common consent they refrained but a short time from this voluntary servitude, don’t you think that the tables would be turned, and that the rich would come to the doors of the poor and beg them not to leave their happiness unobserved and unattested and their beautiful tables and great houses unenjoyed and unused? It is not so much being rich that they like as being congratulated on it. The fact is, of course, that the man who lives in a fine house gets no good of it, nor of his ivory and gold either, unless someone admires it all. What men ought to do, then, is to reduce and cheapen the rank of the rich in this way, erecting in the face of their wealth a
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

σαντας τῳ πλούτῳ τήν ὑπεροψίαν νῦν δὲ λατρεύοντες εἰς ἀπόνοιαν ἄγουσιν.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνδρας ἰδιῶτας καὶ ἀναφαίνον τὴν 24 ἀπαιδευσίαν ὁμολογοῦντας τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, μετριώτερον ἀν εἰκότως νομισθείη τὸ δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων προσποιομένων πολλοὺς1 πολλῷ ἐτὶ τούτων γελοιότερα δρᾶν, τούτ᾽ ἦδη τὸ δεινότατον ἔστι. πῶς γὰρ οἰεὶ τὴν ψυχήν διατεθεῖσθαι μοι, ὅταν ἰδοὺ τούτων τινὰ, μᾶλλον τῶν προβεβηκότων, ἀναμεμιγμένων κολάκων ὄχλῳ καὶ τῶν ἔπ᾽ ἀξίας τινὰ δορυφοροῦντα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ δεῦτα παραγγέλλουσι κοινολογούμενοι, ἐπισημότερον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ σχῆματος ὑπα καὶ φανερῶτερον; καὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄγανακτῶ, ὅτι μὴ καὶ τὴν σκευὴν μεταλαμβάνουσι, τὰ ἄλλα γε ὁμοίως ὑποκρινόμενοι τοῦ δράματος. ἀ μὲν 25 γὰρ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἐργάζονται, τίνι τῶν καλῶν εἰκάσομεν; οὐκ ἐμφοροῦνται μὲν ἀπειροκαλώτερον, μεθύσκονται δὲ φανερῶτερον, ἔξανιστανται δὲ πάντων ὑποτατοι, πλεῖος δὲ ἀποφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἁξιών; οἱ δὲ ἀστειότεροι πολλάκις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσαι προήχθεσαν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν γελοῖα ἤγειτο; μᾶλλον δὲ ἐμέμητο τῶν ἐπὶ μισθοῖ φιλοσοφοῦντων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὄνιον ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προτιθέντων· ἐργαστηρία γοῦν ἐκάλει καὶ καπηλεία τὰς τούτων διατριβᾶς· ἥξιον γὰρ τὸν πλούτον καταφρονεῖν διδάξοντα πρῶτον αὐτῶν παρέχειν ὑπηλότερον λημμάτων. ἀμέλει καὶ πράττειν ταῦτα διετέλει, οὐ μόνον προῖκα τοῖς ἁξιόντοι συνδιατριβῶν, ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἑπαρκῶν καὶ πάσης περιουσίας κατα-

1 πολλοὺς Cobet; not in MSS.
breastwork of contempt. But as things are, they turn their heads with servility.

"That common men who unreservedly admit their want of culture should do such things might fairly be thought reasonable; but that many self-styled philosophers should act still more ridiculously than they—this is the surprising thing! How do you suppose I feel in spirit when I see one of them, especially if he be well on in years, among a crowd of toadies, at the heels of some Jack-in-office, in conference with the dispensers of his dinner-invitations? His dress only marks him out among the rest and makes him more conspicuous. What irritates me most is that they do not change their costume: certainly they are consistent play-actors in everything else. Take their conduct at dinners—to what ethical ideal are we to ascribe it? Do they not stuff themselves more vulgarly, get drunk more conspicuously, leave the table last of all, and expect to carry away more delicacies than anyone else? Some, more subtle than the rest, have often gone so far as to sing."

All this, he thought, was ridiculous: and he made special mention of people who cultivate philosophy for hire and put virtue on sale over a counter, as it were: indeed, he called the lecture-rooms of these men factories and bazaars. For he maintained that one who intends to teach contempt for wealth should first of all show that he is himself above gain. Certainly he used to put these principles into practice consistently, not only giving instruction without recompense to all who desired it, but helping the needy and holding all manner of super-
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φρονών, τουσοῦτον δὲν ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν οὐδὲν προσηκόντων, ὡστε μηδὲ τῶν έαυτοῦ φθειρομένων ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιας ὃς γε καὶ ἀγρόν οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως κεκτημένος οὔδε ἐπιβῆναι αὐτοῦ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἥξισσεν, ἀλλ' οὔδε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ εἶναι διωμολογεῖ, ταῦτ' οἶμαι υπεληφώς, ὅτι τούτων φύσει μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐσμεν κύριοι, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ διαδοχῇ τήν χρήσιν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀριστον παραλαμβάνοντες οὐλοχρόνων δεσπόται νομιζόμεθα, καπεδάν ἡ προθεσμία παρέλθῃ, τηνικαῦτα παραλαβὼν ἄλλος ἀπολαύει τοῦ ὀνόματος.

Οὐ μικρὰ δὲ οὔδε ἐκεῖνα παρέχει τοῖς ξηλῶν ἔθελοντι παραδείγματα, τῆς τροφῆς τὸ ἀπέριττον καὶ τῶν γυμνασίων τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὸ αἰδέσιμον καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος τὸ μετριόν, ἐφ' ἀπασί δὲ τούτως τῆς διανοίας τὸ ἥμωσιμένου καὶ τὸ ἕμερον τοῦ τρόπου. παρῆκεν δὲ τοῖς συνούσι μητ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸ ἄγαθον, ὅπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖν προθεσμίας ἀριξομένους ἐστὶ ή πανηγύρεις, ὃς ἀπ' ἐκείνουν ἀρξομένους τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι καὶ τοῦ τὰ δεόντα ποιῆσαι ἕξιον γὰρ ἀμέλλητον εἶναι τὴν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὀρμήν. δήλος δὲ ἦν καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων κατεγραφῶς φιλοσόφων, οἱ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀσκησιν ἀρετῆς ὑπελάμβανον, ἢ πολλαῖς ἀνάγκαις τοὺς νέους ἀντέχειν καταγυμνάσωσιν, τοῦτο μὲν ψυχρολουτείν ὁ πολλοὶ κελεύοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ μαστιγοῦντες, οἱ δὲ χαριέστεροι καὶ σωδήρῳ τὰς ἐπιθυμεῖας αὐτῶν καταξύνοντες. ἤγειτο γὰρ χρῆναι πολὺ πρότερον ἐν 28

1 ψυχρολουτεῖν E. Cappe: οὐδείν (or οὐ δεῖν) MSS.: θυραυλεῖν Schwartz: ἀνυποδητεῖν vulg.

126
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

fluity in contempt. So far was he from coveting the property of others that even when his own property was going to rack and ruin he did not concern himself about it. Although he had a farm not far from the city, he did not care to set foot on it for many years. More than this, he used to say that it was not his at all. His idea was, I take it, that we are not "owners" of any of these things by natural law, but that we take over the use of them for an indefinite period by custom and inheritance, and are considered their proprietors for a brief space; and when our allotted days of grace are past another takes them over and enjoys the title.

He likewise sets no mean example for those who care to imitate him in his simple diet, his moderate physical exercises, his earnest face, his plain clothes and above all, his well-balanced understanding and his kindly ways. He always advised his disciples not to postpone being good, as most people do, by setting themselves a limit in the form of a holiday or a festival, with the intention of beginning from that date to shun lies and do as they should; for he deemed that an inclination towards the higher life brooked no delay. He made no secret of his condemnation of the sort of philosophers who think it a course in virtue if they train the young to endure "full many pains and toils,"¹ the majority recommending cold baths, though some whip them, and still others, the more refined of their sort, scrape the surface of their skin with a knife-blade. It was his

¹ Evidently a quotation: the source is unknown.
ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ στέρρον τοῦτο καὶ ἀμαθῆς κατασκευάσαι, καὶ τὸν ἄριστα παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους προαιρούμενον τοῦτο μὲν ψυχῆς, τοῦτο δὲ σώματος, τοῦτο δὲ ἡλικίας τε καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀγωγῆς ἐστοχάσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τὰ παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιτάττων ἑλέγχηται· πολλοὺς γούν καὶ τελευτάν ἔφασκεν οὕτως ἁλόγως ἐπιταθέντας· ἕνα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, ὅς καὶ γευσάμενος τῶν παρ’ ἐκείνοις κακῶν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα λόγων ἀληθῶν ἐπῆκουσεν, ἀμεταστρεπτῆ φεύγων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ δῆλος ἦν ῥαίων διακείμενος.

Ἡδὲ δὲ τούτων ἀποστάσει τῶν ἄλλων αὕτης 29 ἀνθρώπων ἐμέμνητο καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς διεξῆνε καὶ τὸν ὥθισμόν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὸν ἰππόδρομον καὶ τὰς τῶν ἡμιόχων εἰκόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑπταμόλων ὄνοματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς περὶ τούτων διαλόγους· πολλὴ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἢ ἱππομανία καὶ πολλῶν ἡδη σπουδαῖων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐπιείληπται.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτέρου δράματος ἦπτετο τῶν 30 ἀμφὶ τὴν νέκυιάν τε καὶ διαθήκας καλλιδουμένων, προστίθεις ὅτι μίαν φωνήν ὦρωμαίων παῖδες ἀληθῆ παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον προϊένται· τὴν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις λέγων, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολαύσωσι τῆς σφητέρας ἀλήθειας. ἃ δὲ καὶ μεταξά λέγοντος αὐτοῦ γελάν προήχθην· ὅτι καὶ συγκατορύπτειν ἑαυτοῖς ἄξιον ὑπὸ τὰς ἀμαθίας καὶ τὴν ἀναληψίαν ἐγγραφὸν ὀμολογοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐσθήτας ἑαυτοῖς
opinion that this hardness and insensibility should be created rather in the souls of men, and that he who elects to give the best possible education ought to have an eye to soul, to body, and to age and previous training, that he may not subject himself to criticism on the score of setting his pupils tasks beyond their strength. Indeed, he asserted that many die as a result of strains so unreasonable. I myself saw one student who, after a taste of the tribulations in that camp, had made off without a backward glance as soon as he heard true doctrine, and had come to Nigrinus; he was clearly the better for it.

At length leaving the philosophers, he recurred to the rest of mankind, and told about the uproar of the city, the crowding, the theatres, the races, the statues of the drivers, the names of the horses, and the conversations in the streets about these matters. The craze for horses is really great, you know, and men with a name for earnestness have caught it in great numbers.

Next he touched upon another human comedy, played by the people who occupy themselves with life beyond the grave and with last wills, adding that sons of Rome speak the truth only once in their whole lives (meaning in their wills), in order that they may not reap the fruits of their truthfulness! I could not help interrupting him with laughter when he said that they want to fill their graves with their follies and leave their stupidity on record, inasmuch as some of them leave instructions

1 A famous instance is the case of Petronius, who expressed his opinion of Nero in his will and made the emperor his executor.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

celaeonntes sygkataflegethai twv parad tov

biou timiow, oJ de kai paramenein tinas oiketas
tois tafois, enoio de kai stefeiw tas sthlas

anthesin, euonhtis eti kai parad tin telenthn dia-
menvntes. eikazein onw xeiw, tiv pepraktai tout-
tois parad tov biou, ei toiauta peri tov metata

ton biou episkiptousi. toutous gar eina tous

to polutelis ophon onoumenous kai ton onon e

ton symposioi meta kratak te kai aromatwn

ekheontas, toutos meson xeiwov enmpiplameous

rided kai to spainov autow kai parad kaipow

agapwontos, touton de ev kaipow kai kata

fywos os eufelos uperphayanontas, toutous eina1
tous

kai tais mura pionontas: de kai malista diedere

autow, oti mnde xrisiade isasew tais episymbiais,

allta kavn taaitais paranoymosi kai toutos orous

sygxeousi, pinotdeven tis trufi paradontes aut-

ton tis psychas patew, kai toto de to ev tais

tragofoias te kai koumofoias leghmenon, edh kai

parad thran eisbiazomenoi. solokinmov 2. ouv

ekalei touto twn edonon.

'Apod de tis authe gynomy kakeina elegen, 32

atekhow tov Mwmon tov logon mmmasmenos: ows

gar ekewos emefero tov taurov tov demourygon

theon ou protheon tov ophalmon ta keraata, ounto

dh kai autous ytiato tov stefanomenon, oti mha

isasi tov stefanou tov topou: ei gar to, efh,

1 toutous eina MSS.; bracketed by Schwartz.

2 Isidorus defines a 'solecism' as 'plurimorum inter se

verborum inconveniens compositio, sicut barbarismus unius

verbi corruptio.' The point here is the incongruousness of

such pleasures.

130
that clothing be burned with them which they prized in life, others that servants stay by their tombs, and here and there another that his gravestone be wreathed with flowers. They remain foolish even on their deathbeds. He thought he could guess what they had done in life when they issued such injunctions touching the hereafter: "It is they," said he, "who buy expensive dainties and let wine flow freely at dinners in an atmosphere of saffron and perfumes, who glut themselves with roses in midwinter, loving their rarity and unseasonableness and despising what is seasonable and natural because of its cheapness; it is they who drink myrrh." And that was the point in which he criticised them especially, that they do not even know how to give play to their desires, but transgress in them and obliterate the boundary-lines on all sides, surrendering their souls to luxury to be trodden under foot, and as they say in tragedy and comedy, "forcing an entrance alongside the door." 1 These he called unidiomatic pleasures.

From the same standpoint he made a comment exactly like that of Momus. Just as the latter found fault with the god 2 who made the bull for not putting the horns in front of the eyes, so he censured those who wear garlands for not knowing where they should go. "If it is the scent of their violets

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1 The phrase does not occur in any of the extant plays. As Greek houses were generally of sun-dried brick, it was not difficult to dig through the wall, but only an inveterate 'wall-digger' (housebreaker) would choose that method of entry when the door was unlocked.

2 Poseidon: see Hermotimus, 20.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

την πυτή των ίων τε καὶ ρόδων χαίρουσιν, ὅπο τῇ ῥώνι μάλιστα ἔχον αὐτοὺς στέφεσθαι παρ' αὑτήν ὡς οἶον τε τῇ ἀναπνοῇ, ὥν ὡς πλείστουν ἀνέστων τῆς ἡδονῆς.

Καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνοις διεγέλα τοὺς θαυμάσιον 33 τίνα τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ποιουμένους χυμῶν τε ποικιλίας καὶ πεμμάτων περιεργαίως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ τούτους ἐφασκεν ὀλυγχρούιον τε καὶ βραχείας ἡδονῆς ἔρωτι πολλὰς πραγματείας ὑπομένειν ἀπέφαινε γοῦν τεσσάρων δωκτύλων αὐτοῖς ἑνεκα πάντα πονεῖσθαι τὸν πόνον, ἐφ’ ὅσους ὁ μῆκιστος ἄνθρωπον λαμύσε ἐστιν’ οὔτε γὰρ πρὶν ἐμφαγεῖν, ἀπολαύειν τι τῶν ἐωνημένων, οὔτε βρώθεντων ἡδίω γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολυτελεστέρων πλησμονῆς λοιπῶν οὖν εἶναι τὴν ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ γεγομένην ἡδονήν τοσοῦτων ὑπεῖσθαι χρημάτων. εἰκότα δὲ πάσχειν ἔλεγεν αὐτοὺς ὑπ’ ἀπαίδευσίας τὰς ἀληθεστέρας ἡδονὰς ἀγνοούντας, ὧν ἀπασών φιλοσοφία χορηγὸς ἐστὶν τοῖς πονεῖν προαιρομένους.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις δρωμένων πολλὰ μὲν διεξέχει, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπομένων, τὰς ύβρεις, τοὺς ἐπικειμένους τοὺς οἰκείας καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐκφερομένους. ἐν δὲ τι καὶ μάλιστα μισείν ἐρκεῖ, πολὺ δ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει τουτὸ καὶ τοῖς βαλανείοις ἐπιχωριάζουν προϊόντας γὰρ τινας τῶν οἰκετῶν δεῖ βοῶν καὶ παραγγέλλειν προοράσθαι τῶν ποδῶν, ἢν ὑψηλὸν τῇ κοίλῳ μέλλοσιν ὑπερβαίνειν, καὶ ὑπομιμήσκειν αὐτοὺς, τὸ καινότατον, ὅτι βαδίζουσιν. δεινὸν οὖν ἐποιεῖτο, 132
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

and roses that they like," he said, "they certainly ought to put their garlands under their noses, as close as may be to the intake of the breath, so as to inhale the greatest possible amount of pleasure."

Another thing, he ridiculed the men who devote such a surprising degree of energy to dinners in the effort to secure variety in flavours and new effects in pastry. He said that these underwent a great deal of inconvenience through their devotion to a brief and temporary pleasure. Indeed, he pointed out that all their trouble was taken for the sake of four finger-breadths, the extent of the longest human throat. "Before eating," said he, "they get no good out of what they have bought, and after eating, the sense of fulness is no more agreeable because it derives from expensive food; it follows, then, that it is the pleasure of swallowing which has cost them so dear." And he said that it served them right for being uneducated and consequently unfamiliar with the truer pleasures, which are all dispensed by philosophy to those who elect a life of toil.

He had much to say about their behaviour in the baths—the number of their attendants, their offensive actions, and the fact that some of them are carried by servants almost as if they were corpses on their way to the graveyard. There is one practice, however, which he appeared to detest above all others, a wide-spread custom in the city and in the baths. It is the duty of certain servants, going in advance of their masters, to cry out and warn them to mind their footing when they are about to pass something high or low, thus reminding them, oddly enough, that they are walking! He was indignant,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

εἰ στόματος μὲν ἀλλοτρίου δειπνοῦντες μὴ δέονται μηδὲ χειρῶν, μηδὲ τῶν ὠτῶν ἁκούοντες, ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ ύπαίτιον ἀλλοτρίων δέονται προοψφομένων καὶ ἀνέχονται φωνᾶς ἁκούοντες δυστυχέσιν ἀνθρώπως πρεποῦσας καὶ πεπηρωμένοις ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτὰ πάσχουσιν εἰ ταῖς ἁγοραῖς ἡμέρας μέσης καὶ οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτετραμμένοι.

Ταῦτα τε καὶ πολλὰ ἔστερα τοιαῦτα διελθὼν κατέσπαυσε τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ δὲ τέως μὲν ἡκουον αὐτοῦ τεθητῶσι, μὴ σιωπήσῃ περοβημένος ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπαύσατο, τούτο δὴ τὸ τῶν Φαιάκων πάθος ἐπεπόνθευν πολὺν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον κεκηλημένος εἰτα πολλῇ συγχύσει καὶ ἰλήγιον κατειλημένος τούτῳ μὲν ἱδρωτί κατερρέωμην, τούτο δὲ φέργξασθαι βουλόμενος ἔξεππιτῶν τε καὶ ἀνεκοπτόμην, καὶ ἡ τε φωνὴ ἐξέλευσε καὶ ἡ γλώττα διημάρτανε, καὶ τέλος ἐδάκρυν ἀπορούμενος οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς οὐδὲ ὡς ἐτυχεν ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος καθίκετο, βαθεία δὲ καὶ καύριος ἡ πληγὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ μάλα εὐστόχως ἐνεχθεῖς ὁ λόγος αὐτῆν, εἰ οἶνον τε εἰπεῖν, διέκοψε τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ γὰρ τι δεὶ κἂν ἡδὴ φιλοσοφῶν προσάψασθαι λόγων, ὥδε περὶ τούτων ὑπείληφα διόκει μοι ἀνδρὸς εὐφυοῦς ψυχή μάλα σκοπῷ των ἀπαλῶν προσευκεῖαι. τοξόται δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὸν βίου καὶ μεστοὶ τὰς φαρέτρας ποικίλων τε καὶ παντοδαπῶν λόγων, οὐ μὴν πάντες ἐὐστοχα τοξεύοσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν σφόδρα τὰς νευρὰς ἐπιτείναντες ἐντονώτερον τοῦ δέοντος ἀφίασιν καὶ ἀπτοῦνται μὲν καὶ οὕτωι, τὰ δὲ βέλη αὐτῶν οὐ μένει ἐν τῷ σκοτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδρότητος

1 οὕτωι, Sommerbrodt: οὕτωι τῆς δδού MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

you see, that although they do not need the mouths or the hands of others in eating or the ears of others in hearing, they need the eyes of others to see their way in spite of the soundness of their own, and suffer themselves to be given directions fit only for unfortunates and blind men. "Why," said he, "this is actually done in public squares at midday, even to governors of cities!"

When he had said this and much more of the same sort, he ended his talk. Until then I had listened to him in awe, fearing that he would cease. When he stopped, I felt like the Phaeacians of old,¹ for I stared at him a long time spellbound. Afterwards, in a great fit of confusion and giddiness, I dripped with sweat, I stumbled and stuck in the endeavour to speak, my voice failed, my tongue faltered, and finally I began to cry in embarrassment; for the effect he produced in me was not superficial or casual. My wound was deep and vital, and his words, shot with great accuracy, clove, if I may say so, my very soul in twain. For if I too may now adopt the language of a philosopher, my conception of the matter is that the soul of a well-endowed man resembles a very tender target. Many bowmen, their quivers full of words of all sorts and kinds, shoot at it during life, but not with success in every case. Some draw to the head and let fly harder than they should: though they hit the target, their arrows do not stick in it, but owing to

¹ Odyssey 11, 333.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

dieλθόντα καὶ παροδεύσαντα κεχηνύιαν μόνον τῷ τραύματι τὴν ψυχήν ἀπέλιπεν. Ἀλλοι δὲ πάλιν τούτοις ύπεναντίως: ὕπο γὰρ ἄσθενείς τε καὶ ἀτονίας οὔδε ἐφικνεῖται τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν σκοπόν, ἀλλὰ ἐκλυθέντα καταπίπτει πολλάκις ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἢν δὲ ποτὲ καὶ ἐφίκηται, ἀκρον μὲν ἐπιλίγηδην ἀπτεται, βαθείαν δὲ οὕκ ἐργάζεται πληγῆν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπ’ ἵσχυρᾶς ἐμβολῆς ἀπεστέλλετο. ὡστὶς δὲ ἀγάθος τοξότης καὶ τούτῳ 37 ὁμοίος, πρῶτον μὲν ἀκριβῶς ὤχεται τὸν σκοπόν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα μαλακός, εἰ μὴ στερρότερος τοῦ βέλους. γίγνονται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀτρωτοὶ σκοποί. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταύτα ἤδη, τηνικαύτα χρίσας τὸ βέλος ὅπετε ἰῷ, καθάπερ τὰ Σκυθῶν χρίσται, οὕτε ὅπερ, καθάπερ τὰ Κουρητῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐρέμα δηκτικῷ τε καὶ γλυκεῖ φαρμάκῳ, τούτῳ χρίσας εὐτέχνως ἕτοξευς· τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθὲν εὐ μάλα ἐντόνως καὶ διακόψαν ἄχρι τοῦ διελθεῖν μένει τε καὶ πολὺ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἀφίησιν, δ’ ἐνακτῶν ὅλην ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ψυχήν περιέρχεται. τούτῳ τοι καὶ ἔδονται καὶ δακρύουσι μεταξὺ ἀκούοντες, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπασχον, ἡσυχῇ ἁρα τοῦ φαρμάκου τὴν ψυχήν περιθέοντος. ἐπιτεί δ’ οὖν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ ἐποκ ἐκεῖνο λέγειν· βάλλ’ οὕτως, αἰ κέν τι φῶς γένηι. ἂσπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ Φρυγίου αὐλοῦ ἀκούοντες οὐ πάντες μαίνονται, ἀλλ’ ὅποιοι αὐτῶν τῇ Ὥρᾳ λαμβάνονται, οὕτως δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλος ὑπομιμησκοῦνται τοῦ πάθους, οὕτω δὴ καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκούοντες οὐ πάντες ἐνθεοὶ καὶ τραυματίαι ἀπίασιν, ἀλλ’ οἱς ὑπήν τι ἐν τῇ φύσει φιλοσοφίας συγγενέσ.  

1 εὐτέχνως Sommerbrodt: ἄτεχνως MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

their momentum go through and continue their flight, leaving only a gaping wound in the soul. Others, again, do the opposite; themselves too weak, their bows too slack, the arrows do not even carry to the target as a rule, but often fall spent at half the distance; and if ever they do carry, they strike "with a mere fret o' the skin," ¹ and do not make a deep wound, as they were not sped with a strong pull. But a good bowman like Nigrinus first of all scans the target closely for fear that it may be either very soft or too hard for his arrow—for of course there are impenetrable targets. When he is clear on this point, he dips his arrow, not in venom like those of the Scythians nor in vegetable poison like those of the Curetes, but in a sweet, gently-working drug, and then shoots with skill. The arrow, driven by just the right amount of force, penetrates to the point of passing through, and then sticks fast and gives off a quantity of the drug, which naturally spreads and completely pervades the soul. That is why people laugh and cry as they listen, as I did—of course the drug was quietly circulating in my soul. I could not help quoting him the well-known line: "Shoot thus, if so thou mayest prove a salvation!" ² Not everyone who hears the Phrygian flute goes frantic, but only those who are possessed of Rhea and are put in mind of their condition by the music. In like manner, naturally, not all who listen to philosophers go away enraptured and wounded, but only those who previously had in their nature some secret bond of kinship with philosophy.

¹ Iliad 17, 599. ² Iliad 8, 282.
ΤΗΣ ΕΣΜΑΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΙΑ ΓΕ, Ως 38 έταιρε, διελήλυθας, ἐλελήθεις δὲ με πολλῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἀμβροσίας καὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ κεκορεσμένος. ὡστε καὶ μεταξὺ σου λέγοντος ἐπασχόν τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ πανσαμένου ἀχθομαι καὶ ἕνα δὴ καὶ κατά σὲ εὖπω, τέτρωμαι καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης· οἴσθα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῶν κυνῶν τῶν λυσσωτῶν δηχθέντες οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνοι λυσσῶσιν, ἄλλα κἂν τινὰς ἐτέρους1 ἐν τῇ μανίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαθῶσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκφρονὲς γίγνονται συμμεταβαίνει γὰρ τι τοῦ πάθους ἀμα τῷ δῆγματι καὶ πολυγονεῖται ἡ νόσσος καὶ πολλὴ γίγνεται τῆς μανίας διαδοχῇ.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν μανίαν2 ὀμολογεῖς;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, καὶ προσέτι δέομαι γέ σου κοινήν τινα τῆς θεραπείαν ἐπινοεῖν.

Τὸ τοῦ ἀρα Τηλέφου ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν.

Ποιον αὕ λέγεις;

Ἐπὶ τὸν τρόποντα ἐλθόντας ἰὰσθαι παρακαλεῖν.

1 ἐτέρους Schmieder; ἐτέρους καὶ αὐτὸl MSS.

2 μανίαν A.M.H.; ἐρὰς MSS.
THE WISDOM OF NIGRINUS

A. What a noble, marvellous,—yes, divine tale you have told, my dear fellow! I did not realise it, but you certainly were chock-full of your ambrosia and your lotus! The consequence is that as you talked I felt something like a change of heart, and now that you have stopped I am put out: to speak in your own style, I am wounded. And no wonder! for you know that people bitten by mad dogs not only go mad themselves, but if in their fury they treat others as the dogs treated them, the others take leave of their senses too. Something of the affection is transmitted with the bite; the disease multiplies, and there is a great run of madness.

B. Then you admit your madness?
A. Why, certainly; and more than that, I ask you to think out some course of treatment for us both.
B. We must do as Telephus did, I suppose.
A. What's your meaning now?
B. Go to the man who inflicted the wound and beg him to heal us!¹

¹ Telephus had been grievously wounded by Achilles. Acting on the advice of the oracle at Delphi: "He who hurt will heal you" (ὁ τράσας καὶ ἰδοτεῖαί), he applied to Achilles for relief, and was at last cured with the rust of his spear.
DEMONAX

All that we know of Demonax derives from this essay, except for a few sayings elsewhere attributed to him. The authenticity of the essay has been repeatedly questioned, but should not be made to depend on the critic's opinion of Demonax's jokes, for—to paraphrase Lucian—we do not need a George Meredith to tell us that the flavour of a joke grows weak with age.
ΔΗΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ

"Εμελλεν άρα μηδὲ ο καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίος τὸ 1 παντάπασιν ἄμοιρος ἐσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἀξίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματος ἁρετήν ὑπερβοῦλα καὶ γνώμην ἄκρως φιλόσοφον ἐκφαινεῖν1 λέγω δὲ εἰς τὸν Βοιώτιον Σώστρατον ἀναφέρουν, ὅν Ἡρακλέα οἱ "Ελληνες ἐκάλουν καὶ φώντο εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς Δημώνακτα τὸν φιλόσοφον, οὗς καὶ ἔλιναν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱδῶν ἑθαύμασα, θατέρω δὲ τῷ Δημώνακτι καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον συνεχενόμεν. 2 περὶ μὲν οὖν Σώστρατον ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ γεγραμματεύει μοι καὶ δεδήλωται μεγεθὸς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱσχύος ὑπερβολή καὶ ἡ ὑπαιθρός ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ δίατα καὶ ἡ ἑπίπονος εὐνή καὶ τροφαὶ ὁρειοὶ καὶ ἐργα οὐκ ἀπώδα τοῦ ἄνοματος οὐσα2 ἡ ληστάς αἴρων ἐπραξεν ἡ ὄδοποιῶν τὰ ἄβατα ἢ γεφυρῶν τὰ δύσπορα. περὶ δὲ Δημώνακτος ἢδη δίκαιον λέγειν ἄμφοτέροι ἐμεκα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τε διὰ μνήμης εἰὴ τοῖς ἁρίστοις τὸ γε καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ οἱ γενναῖοτατοί τῶν νέων καὶ πρὸς φιλόσοφίαν ὁμόνωτες ἔχουν μὴ πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα μόνα τῶν παραδειγμάτων σφαὶς αὐτούς ὑμάλωσιν, ἀλλὰ κακὸς τοῦ ἡμετέρου βίου κανόνα προτίθεσαι καὶ ζηλοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἁριστόν ὁν σίδα ἐγὼ φιλοσοφῶν γενόμενον.

1 ἐκφαινεῖν MSS. : ἐκφαίνειν Cobet.
2 οὐσα K. Schwartz : καὶ οὐσα MSS.
DEMONAX

It was on the cards, it seems, that our modern world should not be altogether destitute of noteworthy and memorable men, but should produce enormous physical prowess and a highly philosophic mind. I speak with reference to the Boeotian Sostratus, whom the Greeks called Heracles and believed to be that hero, and especially to Demonax, the philosopher. Both these men I saw myself, and saw with wonderment: and under one of them, Demonax, I was long a student. I have written about Sostratus elsewhere,¹ and have described his size and excessive strength, his open-air life on Parnassus, his bed that was no bed of ease, his mountain fare and his deeds (not inconsistent with his name ²) achieved in the way of slaying robbers, making roads in untravelled country and bridging places hard to pass. It is now fitting to tell of Demonax for two reasons—that he may be retained in memory by men of culture as far as I can bring it about, and that young men of good instincts who aspire to philosophy may not have to shape themselves by ancient precedents alone, but may be able to set themselves a pattern from our modern world and to copy that man, the best of all the philosophers whom I know about.

¹ The treatise is lost. ² The nickname Heracles.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Ἡν δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος Κύπριος, οὐ τῶν ἄφανῶν 3 ὀσα εἰς ἀξίωμα πολιτικῶν καὶ κτῆσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τούτων ύπεράνω γενόμενος καὶ ἀξιώσας ἐαυτὸν τῶν καλλίστων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὥρμησεν οὐκ Ἀγαθοβούλου μᾶ Δῆ οὐδὲ Δημη-
τρίου πρὸ ἀυτοῦ οὐδὲ Επικτήτου ἐπεγειρώντων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι μὲν συνεγένετο τούτως καὶ ἐτι Τιμο-
κράτει τῷ Ἡρακλεώτη σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ φωνήν τε καὶ γνώμην μάλιστα κεκοσμημένων. ἀλλ'ὡ γε Δημώναξ
οὐχ ὑπὸ τούτων τινῶς, ὡς ἔφην, παρακληθείς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ οἰκείας πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ὀρμῆς καὶ ἐμφύτου
πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἔρωτος ἐκ παῖδων εὐθὺς κεκινη-
μένος ύπερείδεν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἁγαθῶν ἀπάντων, ὅλου δὲ παραδόυς ἑαυτὸν ἑλευθερία καὶ
παρρησία διετέλεσεν αὐτὸς τε ὀρθῶς καὶ ὑγείᾳ καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτω βίῳ χρόμενος καὶ τοῖς ὀρῶσι καὶ
ἀκούουσι παράδειγμα παρέχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην
καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ μὴν 4
ἀνύπτοις γε τοσίν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς ταῦτα ἦξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιηταῖς σύντροφός ἐγένετο καὶ
τῶν πλείστων ἐμέμνητο καὶ λέγειν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ
τὰς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ προσωρέσεις οὐκ ἐπὶ ὀλίγον
οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄκρω τῷ δακτυλῷ
ἀφάμενος ἡπίστατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἐγεγύμναστο
καὶ πρὸς καρτερίαν διεπεπόνητο, καὶ τὸ ὅλον
ἐμεμελήκει αὐτῷ μηδενὸς ἄλλου προσδεῖ ἐναν-
ώστε ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔμαθεν οὐκέτι ἑαυτῷ διαρκῶν, ἕκων
ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βίου πολὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγου τοῖς
ἀριστοῖς τῶν Ἕλληνων καταληπτῶν.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ εἶδος οὗ ἐν ἀποτελόμενος, 5
ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἐς ταῦτα καταμένας οὐ πάνυ τι

144
DEMONAX

He was a Cypriote by birth, and not of common stock as regards civic rank and property. Nevertheless, rising above all this and thinking that he deserved the best that life offers, he aspired to philosophy. It was not at the instigation of Agathobulus or his predecessor Demetrius or Epictetus, though he studied with all these men and with Timocrates of Heraclia besides, a wise man of great sublimity in thought as well as in language. As I was saying, however, Demonax was not enlisted in the cause by any of these men, but even from his boyhood felt the stirring of an individual impulse toward the higher life and an inborn love for philosophy, so that he despised all that men count good, and, committing himself unreservedly to liberty and free-speech, was steadfast in leading a straight, sane, irreproachable life and in setting an example to all who saw and heard him by his good judgment and the honesty of his philosophy. You must not conceive, however, that he rushed into these matters with unwashed feet, as the saying goes: he was brought up on the poets and knew most of them by heart, he was a practised speaker, his acquaintance with the schools of philosophy was not secured either in a short time or (to quote the proverb) “with the tip of his finger,” he had trained his body and hardened it for endurance and in general he had made it his aim to require nothing from anyone else. Consequently, when he found out that he was no longer sufficient unto himself, he voluntarily took his departure from life, leaving behind him a great reputation among Greeks of culture.

He did not mark out for himself a single form of philosophy but combined many of them, and never
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

έξέφαυε τίνι αυτῶν ἐχαίρειν ἐφεκε δὲ τῷ Σωκράτει μᾶλλον ὁκειώθησαί, εἰ καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ῥαστώνη τὸν Σιωπέα ξηλοῦν ἐδοξέων, οὐ παραχαράττων τὰ εἰς τὴν δίαιταν, ὡς θαυμάζοιτο καὶ ἀποβλέποιτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνυγχανόντων, ἀλλὰ ὀμοδίαιτος ἀπασί καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ὁ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὄλγον τύφο κάτοχος συνὴν καὶ ξυνεπολιτεύετο, τὴν μὲν τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰρωνείαν οὐ προσιέμενος, 6 χάριτος δὲ Ἀττικῆς μεστᾶς ἀποφαίνων τὰς συνοςίας, ὡς τοὺς προσομιλήσαντας ἀπιέναι. μήτε καταφρονήσαντας ὡς ἁγεννοὺς μήτε τὸ σκυθρωτὸν τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἀποφεύγοντας, παντοῖος δὲ ὑπευφροσύνης γενομένους καὶ κοσμωτέρους παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φαιδροτέρους καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐελπίδας. οὐδεπώποτε γονὸν ὡφθη κεκραγὼς ἡ 7 ὑπερδιατεινόμενος ἡ ἅγανακτῶν, οὐδὲ ἐπιτιμῶν τῷ δεοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων καθήπτετο, τοῖς δὲ ἀμαρτάνονσι συνεγίνωσκεν, καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἤξιον λαμβάνειν τὰ μὲν νοσήματα ἱμαῖνον, ἀργῇ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νοσοῦντας οὐ χρωμένων ἥγειτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπου μὲν εἰναι τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν, θεοῦ δὲ ἡ ἀνδρὸς ἰσοθέον τὸ πταισθέντα ἐπανορθοῦν.

Τοιούτῳ δὴ βίῳ χρώμενος εἰς ἑαυτὸν μὲν 8 οὐδενὸς ἐδείτο, φίλους δὲ συνέπραττε τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐντυχεῖν δοκοῦντας αὐτῶν ὑπεμίμησκεν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ὀλυνχρονίοις τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐπαιρμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἡ πενίαι ὀδυρομένους ἡ φυγὴν δυσχεραίνουσα ἡ γῆρας ἡ νόσουν αἰτιωμένους σὺν γέλωτι παρεμβείτο, οὐχ ὀρῶντας ὅτι μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτοῖς παύσεται μὲν τὰ ἀνιώτα,

1 ὁμοτράπεζος Nilén: πεζὸς MSS.
DEMONAX

would quite reveal which one he favoured. Probably he had most in common with Socrates, although he seemed to follow the man of Sinope in dress and in easy-going ways. He did not, however, alter the details of his life in order to gain the wonder and attract the gaze of men he met, but led the same life and ate the same food as everyone else, was not in the least subject to pride, and played his part in society and politics. He did not cultivate the irony of Socrates; his conversations were full of Attic charm, so that his visitors, on going away, did not feel contempt for him because he was ill-bred or aversion to his criticisms because they were gloomy, but were beside themselves for joy and were far better, happier and more hopeful of the future than when they came. He never was known to make an uproar or excite himself or get angry, even if he had to rebuke someone; though he assailed sins, he forgave sinners, thinking that one should pattern after doctors, who heal sicknesses but feel no anger at the sick. He considered that it is human to err, divine or all but divine to set the fallen on their feet.

Leading such a life, he wanted nothing for himself, but helped his friends in a reasonable way. Some of them, who were seemingly favoured by fortune, he reminded that they were elated over imaginary blessings of brief span. Others, who were bewailing poverty, fretting at exile or finding fault with old age or sickness, he laughingly consoled, saying that they failed to see that after a little while they would have surcease of worries and would find

1 Diogenes.

L 2
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

λήθη δὲ τις ἡγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ ἐλευθερία μακρὰ πάντας ἐν ὀλίγῳ καταλήψεται. ἔμελεν δὲ 9 αὐτῷ καὶ ἄδελφος στασιάζοντας διαλλάττειν καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς τοὺς γεγαμηκότας εἰρήνην προτα- νεύειν. καὶ ποιοι τις ταραττομένοις ἐμμελῶς διελέχθη καὶ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἐπεισεν ὑποργεύειν τῇ πατρίδι τὰ μέτρια.

Τοιοῦτός τις ἦν ὁ τρόπος τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῦ, τράος καὶ ἕμερος καὶ φαιδρός. μόνον 10 αὐτὸν ἤνεα φίλον νόσος ἢ θάνατος, ὥς ἂν καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπως ἁγαθῶν την φιλίαν ἠγούμενον. καὶ διὰ τούτο φίλος μὲν ἢ ἄπασι καὶ οὐκ ἔστω ἄντωνα οὐκ οἰκεῖον ἐνόμιζεν, ἀνθρωπόν γε ὄντα, πλέον δὲ ἢ ἐλαττὸν ἔχαρισ συνόν ἐνίοις αὐτῶν, μόνοις ἐξειτάμενος ὁπόσοι ἦν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τὴν τῆς θεραπείας ἐλπίδα διαμαρτά- νειν. καὶ πάντα ταύτα μετὰ Χαρίτων καὶ Ἀφρο- δίτης αὐτῆς ἐπραττεῖν τε καὶ ἐλεγεῖν, ὡς ἄει, τὸ κωμικὸν ἐκεῖνο, τῆν πειθῶ τοῖς χειλεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπικαθῆσαται.

Τουγαροῦν καὶ Ἅθηναίων ὃ τε σύμπτας δῆμος καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει ὑπερφυῶς ἔθαμαξον αὐτῶν καὶ διετέλουν ὡς τυχα τῶν κρείττονων προσβλέποντες. καίτοι ἐν ἄρχῇ προσέκρουε τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ μέσος οὐ μείον τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ1 παρὰ τοῖς πλή- θεσιν ἐκτήσατο ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ ἐλευ- θερίᾳ, καὶ τινές ἐπὶ αὐτῶν συνέστησαν Ἀνυτοὶ καὶ Μέλητοι τὰ αὐτὰ κατηγοροῦντες ἀπέρ κάκει- νου οἱ τότε, ὅτι οὗτε θύων ὀφθη πώποτε οὔτε ἐμνήθη μόνος ἀπάντων ταῖς Ἑλευσινίαις πρὸς

1 πρὸ αὐτοῦ Α.Μ.Η.: not in MSS.
DEMONAX

oblivion of their fortunes, good and bad, and lasting liberty. He made it his business also to reconcile brothers at variance and to make terms of peace between wives and husbands. On occasion, he has talked reason to excited mobs, and has usually persuaded them to serve their country in a temperate spirit.

Such was the character of his philosophy—kind, gentle and cheerful. The only thing which distressed him was the illness or death of a friend, for he considered friendship the greatest of human blessings. For this reason he was everyone’s friend, and there was no human being whom he did not include in his affections, though he liked the society of some better than that of others. He held aloof only from those who seemed to him to be involved in sin beyond hope of cure. And in all this, his every word and deed was smiled on by the Graces and by Aphrodite, even; so that, to quote the comedian, “persuasion perched upon his lips.”¹

Hence all Athens, high and low, admired him enormously and always viewed him as a superior being. Yet in office he ran counter to public opinion and won from the masses quite as much hatred as his prototype² by his freedom of speech and action. He too had his Anytus and his Meletus who combined against him and brought the same charges that their predecessors brought against Socrates, asserting that he had never been known to sacrifice and was the only man in the community uninitiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. In reply to this, with right good

¹ Eupolis, quoted in the note on “Nigrinus” 7.
² Socrates.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀπερ ἀνδρείως μάλα στεφανωσάμενος καὶ καθαρῶν ἰμάτιον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς, τὰ δὲ καὶ τραχύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἀπελογήσατο. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ τεθυκέναι πώποτε τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μὴ θαυμάσητε, ἐφη, ὦ ἀνδρές Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῇ ἔθυσα, οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι αὐτήν τῶν παρ᾿ ἐμοῦ θυσίων ὑπελάμβανον. πρὸς δὲ θάτερον, τὸ τῶν μυστηρίων, ταύτην ἐφη ἔχειν αἶτιαν τοῦ μὴ κοινωνῆσαι σφίσι τῆς τελετῆς, ὅτι, ἂν τε φαύλα ἢ τὰ μυστήρια, οὐ σωπήσεται πρὸς τοὺς μηδέπω μεμυμένους, ἀλλ’ ἀποτρέψει αὐτοὺς τῶν ὀργῶν, ἂν τε καλά, πᾶσιν αὐτά ἑξαγορεύσει ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας: ὥστε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡδὴ λίθους ἔπτ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς χειροῖς ἔχοντας πράοις αὐτῷ καὶ ὅλεως γενέσθαι αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ ἀπ᾿ ἑκείνου ἀρξαμένους τιμὰν καὶ αἴδευσθαι καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα θαυμάξειν, καίτου εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγων τραχύτερον ἐχρήσατο τῷ προοιμίῳ. "Ἀνδρές γὰρ ἐφη Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐμὲ μὲν ὀρῶντες ἐστεφανωμένον ὑμεῖς ἡδὴ κἀκεῖ καταθύσατε, τὸ γὰρ πρότερον οὐκ ἐκαλλιερήσατε.

Βούλομαι δὲ ἔνια παραδέσθαι τῶν εὐστόχως ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων ἀρξάσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ Φαβωρίνου καλῶν καὶ ὅπως ἐκείνου εἴπεν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Φαβωρίνος ἀκούσας τινὸς ὡς ἐν γέλωτι ποιοῖτο τὰς ὀμίλιας αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μελῶν τὸ ἐπικεκλασμένον σφόδρα ὡς ἄγεννες καὶ γυναικεῖον καὶ φιλοσοφία ἠκιστά πρέπον, προσελθῶν ἠρώτα τῶν Δημώνο-ακτα, τὸς ὁν χλενάξοι τὰ αὐτοῦ." Ανθρωπος,
DEMONAX

courage he wreathed his head, put on a clean cloak, went to the assembly and made his defence, which was in part good-tempered, in part more caustic than accorded with his scheme of life. Regarding his never having offered sacrifice to Athena, he said: "Do not be surprised, men of Athens, that I have not hitherto sacrificed to her: I did not suppose that she had any need of my offerings." Regarding the other charge, the matter of the mysteries, he said that he had never joined them in the rite because if the mysteries were bad, he would not hold his tongue before the uninitiate but would turn them away from the cult, while if they were good, he would reveal them to everybody out of his love for humanity. So the Athenians, who already had stones in both hands to throw at him, became good-natured and friendly toward him at once, and from that time on they honoured, respected and finally admired him. Yet in the very beginning of his speech he had used a pretty caustic introduction, "Men of Athens, you see me ready with my garland: come, sacrifice me like your former victim, for on that occasion your offering found no favour with the gods!"

I should like to cite a few of his well-directed and witty remarks, and may as well begin with Favorinus¹ and what he said to him. When Favorinus was told by someone that Demonax was making fun of his lectures and particularly of the laxity of their rhythm, saying that it was vulgar and effeminate and not by any means appropriate to philosophy, he went to Demonax and asked him: "Who are you to libel my compositions?" "A

¹ An eunuch from Arles, of considerable repute as a sophist.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἔφη, οὐκ εὐαπάτητα ἔχων τὰ ὅτα. ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ ἐρωτῶντος, τίνα δὲ καὶ εφόδια ἔχων, ὁ Δημώναξ, ἢκ παιδείας εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ἤκει; Ὁρχεις, ἐφη.

'Αλλοτε δὲ ποτε ὁ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ἥρωτα τὸν Δημώνακτα, τίνα αἴρεσιν ἀσπαζείται μᾶλλον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ. ο δὲ, Τίς γὰρ σοι εἶπεν ὅτι φιλοσοφῶ; καὶ ἀπιῶν ἦδη παρ' αὐτοῦ μάλα ἢδυ ἐγέλασεν τοῦ δὲ ἐρωτήσαντος, ἐφ' ὅτι γελᾶ, ἑκείνος ἐφη, Γελοῖον μοι εἶναι ἔδοξεν, εἰ σὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ πῶγωνος ἄξιος κρίνεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφουντας αὐτὸς πώγωνα οὐκ ἔχων.

Τοῦ δὲ Σιδωνίου ποτὲ σοφιστοῦ Ἀθήνησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος καὶ λέγοντος ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔπαινον τίνα τοιοῦτον, ὅτι πάσης φιλοσοφίας πεπείρατο —οὐ χείρον δὲ αὐτὰ εἴπειν ἄ ἐλεγεν. 'Εαν Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲ καλὴ ἔπι τὸ Δύκειον, ἔφομαι. ἀν Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν, ἀφίξομαι ἀν Ζήσων, ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ διατρίψω. ἀν Πυθαγόρας καλὴ, σωτήρομαι. ἀναστὰς σὺν ἐκ μέσων τῶν ἀκρωμένων, Οὔτος, ἐφη προσετόν τὸ ὅνομα, καλεὶ σε Πυθαγόρας.

Πύθωνος δὲ τινὸς τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ εὐπαρύφων νεανίσκου ὄραίον ἐρεσχηλοῦντος αὐτὸν καὶ προτείνοντος ἐρωτημά τι σοφιστικὸν καὶ κελεύοντος εἴπειν τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ τὴν λύσιν, Ἔν, ἐφη, οἶδα, τέκνον, ὅτι περαινεῖ. ἀγανακτήσαντος δὲ ἑκείνου ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς ἀμφιβολίας σκῶματι καὶ συναπειλήσαντος, Αὐτίκα σοι μάλα τὸν ἄνδρα.
DEMONAX

man with an ear that is not easy to cheat,” said he. The sophist kept at him and asked: “What qualifications had you, Demonax, to leave school and commence philosophy?” “Those you lack,” he retorted.

Another time the same man went to him and asked what philosophical school he favoured most. Demonax replied: “Why, who told you that I was a philosopher?” As he left, he broke into a very hearty laugh; and when Favorinus asked him what he was laughing at, he replied: “It seemed to me ridiculous that you should think a philosopher can be told by his beard when you yourself have none.”

When the Sidonian sophist 1 was once showing his powers at Athens, and was voicing his own praise to the effect that he was acquainted with all philosophy—but I may as well cite his very words: “If Aristotle calls me to the Lyceum, I shall go with him; if Plato calls me to the Academy, I shall come; if Zeno calls, I shall spend my time in the Stoa; if Pythagoras calls, I shall hold my tongue.” 2 Well, Demonax arose in the midst of the audience and said: “Ho” (addressing him by name), “Pythagoras is calling you!”

When a handsome young fellow named Pytho, who belonged to one of the aristocratic families in Macedonia, was quizzing him, putting a catch-question to him and asking him to tell the logical answer, he said: “I know thus much, my boy—it’s a poser, and so are you!” Enraged at the pun, the other said threateningly: “I’ll show you in short order that you’ve a man to deal with!”

1 Otherwise unknown.
2 Alluding to the Pythagorean vow of silence.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

deίξω, ὦ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ἥρωτησεν, Καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρά ἐχεις;

'Επει δὲ τις ἀθλητής καταγελασθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐσθήτα ὄφθη ἁνθινήν ἀμπεχόμενος Ὅλυμπιονίκης ὄν, ἑπάταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κε-

φαλὴν λίθῳ καὶ αἷμα ἐρρύη, οἱ μὲν παρόντες ἡγανάκτουν ὡς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τετυπημένος καὶ ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἴναι, ὦ δὲ Δημώναξ,

Μηδαμῶς, ἐφη, ὦ ἀνδρεῖ, πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἰατρόν.

'Επει δὲ ποτε καὶ χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον ὠδὴ 17

βαδίζου εὑρεῖ, γραμματεῖον ἐν ἀγορᾷ προθεὶς ἥξιον τὸν ἀπολέσαντα, ὡς τις εἴη τοῦ δακτύλιον δεσπότης, ἤκειν καὶ ἐπιύντα ὅλκην αὐτοῦ καὶ

λίθον καὶ τύπον ἀπολαμβάνειν ἤκειν οὖν τοίς μειρακίσκοις ὥραιοι αὐτὸς ἀπολωλεκέναι λέγον. ἐπει δὲ οὐδὲν ύγιές ἔλεγεν, Ἀπιθι, ἐφη, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ δακτύλιον φύλαττε, τούτον γὰρ οὐκ ἀπολωλεκασ.

Τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς της Ἀθήνας 18

υίον αὐτῷ δεῖξας πάνυ ὥραιον, θηλυδρίαν δὲ καὶ

diακεκλασμένοι, Προσαγορεύει σε, ἐφη, ὦ ἐμὸς

υίος οὕτος, καὶ ὁ Δημώναξ, Καλός, ἐφη, καὶ σοῦ

ἀξίους καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ὁμοίους.

Τὸν δὲ Κυνικόν τὸν ἐν ἄρκτον δέρματι φιλοσο-

φοῦντα οὐχ Ὅνωράτου, ὡσπρ ὄνομάζετο, ἀλλ' Ἀρκεσίλαον καλεῖν ἥξιον.

Ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τινὸς, τὸς αὐτῷ ὄρος εὐδαι-

μονίας εἶναι δοκεῖ, μόνον εὐδαίμονα ἐφῃ τὸν

ἐλευθέρου εἴειν δὲ φήσαντος πολλοὺς ἐλευθέ-

ρους εἶναι, 'Αλλ' εἴειν νομίζω τὸν μήτε ἐλπὶ-

1 kalós MSS.: καλὸς Schwartz.
DEMONAX

whereupon Demonax laughingly inquired: "Oh, you will send for your man, then?"

When an athlete, whom he had ridiculed for letting himself be seen in gay clothes although he was an Olympic champion, struck him on the head with a stone and drew blood, each of the bystanders was as angry as if he himself had been struck, and they shouted "Go, get the proconsul!" But Demonax said "No! not the proconsul—the doctor!"

Finding a bit of jewelry one day while he was out walking, he posted a notice in the public square asking the one who owned it and had lost it to come and get it by describing the weight of the setting, the stone, and the engravings on it. Well, a pretty girl came to him saying that she had lost it; but as there was nothing right in her description, Demonax said: "Be off, girl, and don't lose your own jewel: this is none of yours!"

A Roman senator in Athens introduced his son to him, a handsome boy, but girlish and neurasthenic, saying: "My son here pays his respects to you." "A dear boy," said Demonax, "worthy of you and like his mother!"

The Cynic who pursued his philosophical studies clad in a bearskin he would not call Honoratus, which was his name, but Ursinus.

When a man asked him what he thought was the definition of happiness, he replied that none but a free man is happy; and when the other said that free men were numerous, he rejoined: "But I have
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ζούτα τι μήτε δεδιότα: ο δέ, Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἐφη, τούτῳ τις δύνατο; ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολὺ τούτως δεδουλώμεθα. Καὶ μὴν εἰ κατανοήσεις τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, εὐροῖς ἄν αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐλπίδος οὔτε φόβου ἀξία, παυσομένων πάντως καὶ τῶν ἀναρων καὶ τῶν ἤδεων.

Περεγρινοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πρωτέως ἐπιτυμῶντος αὐτῷ, 21 ὃτι ἐγέλα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσεπαίζε, καὶ λέγοντος, Δημώναξ, οὐ κυνᾶς, ἀπε-κρύνατο, Περεγρίνε, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίζεις.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ φυσικῶν τινα περὶ τῶν ἀντιπόδων 22 διαλεγόμενον ἀναστήσας καὶ ἔπι φρέαρ ἅγαγών καὶ δείκας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐδατε σκιάν ἦρετο, ἤτοι τούτος ἡρά τοὺς ἀντιπόδας εἰναι λέγεις;

Ἄλλα καὶ μάγου τινὸς εἶναι λέγοντος καὶ 23 ἔπφοδας ἔχειν ἱσχυράς, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαντας ἀναπεισθήναι τα παρέχειν αὐτῷ ὡς βουλεῖται, Μὴ θαύμαζε, ἐφη καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὡμότεχνος εἰμι σοι, καὶ εἰ βούλει, ἔποι ο πρὸς τὴν ἀρτόπωλον καὶ ὁψει με διὰ μιᾶς ἐπφοδίζῃ καὶ μικροῦ τοῦ 2 φαρμάκου πείθουτα αὐτὴν δοῦναι μοι τῶν ἄρτων, αἰνιτόμενος τὸ νόμισμα ὡς τὰ ἵσα τῇ ἐπφοδή δύναμεν.

Ἔπει δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ πάνω ἐπένθη τὸν 24 Πολυδεύκη πρὸ ὃς ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἥξιον ὠχίμα ξεύγυνον αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππους παρίστασθαι ὡς ἀναβησομένῳ καὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, προσελθὼν, Παρὰ Πολυδεύκους, ἐφη, κομίζω σοὶ

1 ἀναπεισθήναι Schwartz: ἀναπειλεῖν καὶ MSS.
2 τοῦ MSS.: του Fritzsche.
DEMONAX

in mind the man who neither hopes nor fears anything.” “But how can one achieve this? For the most part we are all slaves of hope and fear.” “Why, if you observe human affairs you will find that they do not afford justification either for hope or for fear, since, whatever you may say, pains and pleasures are alike destined to end.”

When Peregrinus Proteus rebuked him for laughing a great deal and making sport of mankind saying: “Demonax, you’re not at all doggish!” he answered, “Peregrinus, you are not at all human!”

When a scientist was talking of the Topsy-turvy people (Antipodes), he made him get up, took him to a well, showed him their own reflection in the water and asked: “Is that the sort of topsy-turvy people you mean?”

When a fellow claimed to be a sorcerer and to have spells so potent that by their agency he could prevail on everybody to give him whatever he wanted, Demonax said: “Nothing strange in that! I am in the same business: follow me to the breadwoman’s, if you like, and you shall see me persuade her to give me bread with a single spell and a tiny charm”—implying that a coin is as good as a spell.

When Herodes, the superlative, was mourning the premature death of Polydeuces and wanted a chariot regularly made ready and horses put to it just as if the boy were going for a drive, and dinner regularly served for him, Demonax went to him and said: “I am bringing you a message from Polydeuces.”

1 Peregrinus Proteus, of whose death and translation to a higher sphere Lucian has written in “The Passing of Peregrinus,” carried his ‘doggishness’ (Cynicism) to extremes.

2 Herodes Atticus. Polydeuces was a favourite slave.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tina ἔπιστολήν. ἦσθέντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ οὐθέντος δὴ κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις συντρέχει τῷ πάθει αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰπόντος, Τί οὖν, ὢ Δημώναξ, Πολυδεύκης ἄξιοι; Αἰτιάται σε, ἐφη, δὴτι μὴ ἤδη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄπει.

'Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς υἱὸν πενθοῦντι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ 25 ἔαυτόν καθείρζαντι προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν μάγος τε εἶναι καὶ δύνασθαι αὐτῷ ἀναγαγεῖν τοῦ παιδός τὸ εἴδωλον, εἰ μόνον αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσει μηδένα πώποτε πεπειθηκότας· ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐυδοιάσαντος καὶ ἀποροῦντος—οὐ γὰρ εἰχέν τινα, οἱμα, εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον—Εἴτ', ἐφη, ὃ γελοῖε, μόνος ἀφόρητα πάσχειν νομίζεις μηδένα ὅρων πένθους ἀμοιρον;

Καὶ μὴν κάκεινων καταγελᾶν ἦξιον τῶν ἐν 26 ταῖς ὀμιλίαις πάντων ἀρχαίως καὶ ξένως οὐκομασί χρωμένων· ἐν γονὶ ἐρωτηθέντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον τινὰ καὶ ὑπερασπισόμεθα ἀποκριθέντι, Ἔγω μὲν σε, ἐφη, ὃ ἐταῖρε, νῦν ἡρώτησα, σὺ δὲ μοι ὡς ἐπ' Ἀγαμέμνονος· ἀποκρίνη.

Εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, Ἀπίομεν, 27 Δημώναξ, εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον καὶ προσευχόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, Πάντως, ἐφη, κοφον ἤγη τῶν Ἀσκληπιίων, εἰ μὴ δύναται καντεῦθεν ἡμῶν εὐχρέμονον ἀκούειν.

Ἰδὼν δὲ ποτε δύο τινὰς φιλοσόφους κομίδη 28 ἀπαιδεύτως ἐν ζητήσει ἐρίζοντας καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀτοπα ἐρωτώντα, τὸν δὲ οὐδέν πρὸς λόγον ἀποκρινόμενον, Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν, ἐφη, ὃ φίλοι, ὃ μὲν ἄτερος τούτων τράγον ἀμέλγειν, ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ κόσκινον ὑποτιθέναι;

Ἀγαθοκλέους δὲ τοῦ Περισπατητικοῦ μέγα φρο- 29

158
DEMONAX

Herodes was pleased and thought that Demonax, like everyone else, was falling in with his humour; so he said: Well, what does Polydeuces want, Demonax?" "He finds fault with you," said he, "for not going to join him at once!"

He went to a man who was mourning the death of a son and had shut himself up in the dark, and told him that he was a sorcerer and could raise the boy's shade for him if only he would name three men who had never mourned for anyone. When the man hesitated long and was perplexed—I suppose he could not name a single one—Demonax said: "You ridiculous fellow, do you think, then, that you alone suffer beyond endurance, when you see that nobody is unacquainted with mourning?"

He also liked to poke fun at those who use obsolete and unusual words in conversation. For instance, to a man who had been asked a certain question by him and had answered in far-fetched book-language, he said: "I asked you now, but you answer me as if I had asked in Agamemnon's day."

When one of his friends said: "Demonax, let's go to the Aesculapium and pray for my son," he replied: "You must think Aesculapius very deaf, that he can't hear our prayers from where we are!"

On seeing two philosophers very ignorantly debating a given subject, one asking silly questions and the other giving answers that were not at all to the point, he said: "Doesn't it seem to you, friends, that one of these fellows is milking a he-goat and the other is holding a sieve for him!"

When Agathocles the Peripatetic was boasting
νοῦντος ὅτι μόνος αὐτὸς ἦστιν καὶ πρῶτος τῶν
dialekτικῶν, ἔφη. Καὶ μὴν, ὁ Ἀγαθόκλεις, εἰ μὲν
πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος, εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος.
Κεθήγγον δὲ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ, ὅπωτε διὰ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπήγει προσβεύσων τῷ
πατρί, πολλὰ καταγέλαστα καὶ λέγοντος καὶ
ποιοῦντος, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐταίρων τις ὅρων ταῦτα
ἐλεγεν αὐτὸν μέγα κάθαρμα εἶναι, Μᾶ τὸν Δῆ',
ἔφη ὁ Δημώναξ, οὐδὲ μέγα.
Καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ποτε τῶν φιλόσοφον
ἰδὼν μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν μαθητῶν ἐξελαύνοντα—
ἢ δὲ ἀπῆγε μετάπεμπτος ὡς ἐπὶ παιδεία τῷ
βασιλεί συνεσόμενος—Προσέρχεται, ἔφη, Ἀπολ-
λώνιος καὶ οἱ Ἀργοναύται αὐτοῦ.
'Ἀλλ' δὲ ποτὲ ἐρμηνευόντο εἰ ἀθάνατος αὐτῷ
ἡ ψυχὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι, Ἀθάνατος, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ὡς
πάντα.
Περὶ μέντοι Ἡρώδου ἐλεγεν ἀληθεύειν τὸν
Πλάτωνα φάμενον, οὐ μίαν ἡμᾶς ψυχῆν ἐχειν' οὐ
γὰρ εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς Ῥήγαλλον καὶ Πολυ-
δεύκη ὡς ξώντας ἐστιάν καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα μελετάν.
'Εστόλμησε δὲ ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐρωτήσει
dημοσία τῆς προσφέρσεως ἀκούσας, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν
ἀποκλείουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ τὴν
teleτὴν αὐτοῖς καταστησμένου Ευμόλπου βαρ-
βάρου καὶ Ὀρακός ὄντος.
Ἐπεῖ δὲ ποτε πλεῖν μέλλοντι αὐτῷ διὰ
χειμῶνος ἔφη τις τῶν φιλών. Οὐ δέδοικας μὴ
ἀνατραπέντος τοῦ σκάφους ὑπὸ ἰχθύων κατα-
DEMONAX

that he was first among the logicians—that there was no other, he said: "Come now, Agathocles; if there is no other, you are not first: if you are first, then there are others."

Cethegus the ex-consul, going by way of Greece to Asia to be his father's lieutenant, did and said many ridiculous things. One of the friends of Demonax, looking on, said that he was a great good-for-nothing. "No, he isn't, either," said he—"not a great one!"

When he saw Apollonius the philosopher leaving the city with a multitude of disciples (he was called away to be tutor to the emperor), Demonax remarked: "There goes Apollonius and his Argonauts!" ¹

When a man asked him if he thought that the soul was immortal, he said: "Yes, but no more so than everything else."

Touching Herodes he remarked that Plato was right in saying that we have more than one soul, for a man with only one could not feast Regilla ² and Polydeuces as if they were still alive and say what he did in his lectures.

Once, on hearing the proclamation which precedes the mysteries, he made bold to ask the Athenians publicly why they exclude foreigners, particularly as the founder of the rite, Eumolpus, was a foreigner and a Thracian to boot!

Again, when he was intending to make a voyage in winter, one of his friends remarked: "Aren't you afraid the boat will capsize and the fishes will

¹ Alluding to Apollonius of Rhodes and his poem on the Argonauts, and implying that this was another quest of the Golden Fleece. ² Wife of Herodes.

161

VOL. I.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

βρωθής; Ἀγνώμων ἂν εἶν, ἔφη, ὅκνῳ ὑπὸ ἰχθύων κατεδεσθῆναι τοσοῦτος αὐτὸς ἰχθύς καταφαγῶν.

Ῥῆτορι δὲ τινὶ κάκιστα μελετῆσαιντι συνεβοῦ- 36
λευν ἄσκειν καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος,
'Αεὶ ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λέγω, Εἰκότως τοῖνυν, ἔφη,
τοιαῦτα λέγεις μωρῷ ἀκροατῇ χρώμενος.

Καὶ μάντιν δὲ ποτε ἰδὼν δημοσία ἐπὶ μισθῷ 37
μαντευόμενον, Οὐχ ὡρῷ, ἔφη, ἔφ' ὅτῳ τὸν μισθὸν
ἀπαιτεῖς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὃς ἄλλαξεν τὸ δυνάμενον
τῶν ἐπικεκλωσμένων, ὅλιγον αἰτεῖς ὅπόσον ἂν
αἴτης, εἰ δὲ ὃς δέδοκται τῷ θεῷ πάντα ἑσται, τί
σου δύναται ἡ μαντική;

Πρεσβύτου δὲ τινος Ῥωμαίου εὐσωματοῦν- 38
τος τὴν ἐνόπλιον αὐτῷ μάχην πρὸς πάτταλοι
ἐπιδείξαμενον καὶ ἐρωμένου, Πῶς σοι, Δημώναξ,
μεμαχήσαται ἔδοξα; Καλῶς, ἔφη, ἂν ἔμυλον τὸν
ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἔχῃς.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπόρους τῶν ἑρωτη- 39
σεων πάνυ εὐστόχως παρεσκευάστω ἐρωμένου γάρ
τινος ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ, Εἰ χιλιάς μιᾶς ξύλων
καύσαιμι, ὁ Δημώναξ, πόσαι μιᾶ ἄν καπνοῦ
γένοιτο; Στῆσον, ἐφη, τὴν σποδοῦ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
πάν καπνὸς ἑσται.

Πολυβίου δὲ τινος, κομιδὴ ἀπαίδευτον ἀνθρώ- 40
πον καὶ σολοίκου, εἰπόντος, Ὅ βασιλεύς με
τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ τετίμηκεν· Εἴθε σε, ἔφη,
Ἐλληνα μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαῖον πεποιηκές. 1

'Ἰδὼν δὲ τινα τῶν εὐπαράγουν ἐπὶ τῷ πλάτει 41
τῆς πορφύρας μέγα φρονοῦντα, κύψας αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τὸ οὐδὲ τῆς ἐσθήτου λαβόμενος καὶ δείξας,

1 πεποιηκέ Bekker: πεποιηκέν MSS.
DEMONAX

eat you?". "I should be an ingrate," said he, "if I made any bones about letting the fishes eat me, when I have eaten so many of them!"

An orator whose delivery was wretched was advised by him to practise and exercise; on his replying: "I am always reciting to myself," Demonax answered: "Then no wonder you recite that way, with a fool for a hearer!"

Again, on seeing a soothsayer make public forecasts for money, he said: "I don't see on what ground you claim the fee: if you think you can change destiny in any way, you ask too little, however much you ask; but if everything is to turn out as Heaven has ordained, what good is your soothsaying?"

When a Roman officer, well-developed physically, gave him an exhibition of sword-practice on a post, and asked: "What did you think of my swordsmanship, Demonax?" he said: "Fine, if you have a wooden adversary!"

Moreover, when questions were unanswerable he always had an apt retort ready. When a man asked him banteringly: "If I should burn a thousand pounds of wood, Demonax, how many pounds of smoke would it make?" he replied: "Weigh the ashes: all the rest will be smoke."

A man named Polybius, quite uneducated and ungrammatical, said: "The emperor has honoured me with the Roman citizenship." "Oh, why didn't he make you a Greek instead of a Roman?" said he.

On seeing an aristocrat who set great store on the breadth of his purple band, Demonax, taking hold of the garment and calling his attention to it,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Τοῦτο μέντοι πρὸ σοῦ πρόβατον ἔφορει καὶ ἥν πρόβατον.

Επεὶ μέντοι λουόμενος ὥκνησεν ἐς τὸ θάλασσαν ἢν ἔμβυθαλήνει, καὶ ἧταν ἡ ἀποδεικνύσσαντα, Εἰπεὶ μοι, ἐφη, ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτὸ πείσεσθαι ἐμέλλον;

Ἐρωμένου δὲ τινος, Ποῦ αὐτὸς εἶναι τὰ ἐν Ἀιδών; Περιμενον, ἐφη, κἀκεκαθέν σοι ἐπιστέλλω.

Ἀδμήτῳ δὲ τινι ποιητῇ φαύλῳ λέγοντι γεγραφέναι μονόστυχον ἐπιγραμμα, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις κεκέλευκεν ἐπιγραφὴναί αὐτοῦ τῇ στήλῃ—οὐ χείρον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν,

Γαῖα λάβεν, Ἀδμήτου ἐλυτρον, βῆ δὲ εἰς θεοῦ αὐτός—

γελάσας εἶπεν, Οὔτω καλῶν ἔστε, ὡς Ἀδμήτη, τὸ ἐπιγραμμα, ἀρτί ἐβουλόμην αὐτὸ ἢδη ἐπιγεγράφθαι.

Ἰδὼν δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σκελῶν αὐτοῦ οἷα τοις γέρουσιν ἐπιεικῶς γίνεται, ἔρετο, Τι τοῦτο, ὡς ἄλητος; ὁ δὲ μειδάσαις, Χάρων με ἔδακεν, ἐφη.

Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Δακεδαίμονίος τοια ἴδιων τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκετήν μαστυγοῦτα, Παῦσαι, ἐφη, ὁμότιμον σαυτοῦ τῶν δοῦλον ἀποφαίνων.

Δανάς δὲ τινος πρὸς τῶν ἄδελφόν δίκην ἑκούσης, Κρίθητι, ἐφη, οὐ γὰρ εἰ Δανάς ἡ Ἀκροσίου θυγάτηρ.

Μάλιστα δὲ ἐπολέμει κατὰς οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐνα γοῦν ἱδίων Κυνικὸν τρίβωνα μὲν καὶ πήραν ἑκοῦτα, ἀντὶ δὲ

164
DEMONAX

said in his ear: “A sheep wore this before you, and he was but a sheep for all that!”

When he was taking a bath and hesitated to enter the steaming water, a man reproached him with cowardice. “Tell me,” said he, “was my country at stake in the matter?”

When someone asked him: “What do you think it is like in Hades?” he replied: “Wait a bit, and I’ll send you word from there!”

A vile poet named Admetus told him that he had written an epitaph in a single line and had given instructions in his will to have it carved on his tombstone. I may as well quote it exactly:

“Earth, in thy bosom receive Admetus’s husk; he’s a god now!”

Demonax said with a laugh: “The epitaph is so fine that I wish it were already carved!”

A man saw on the legs of Demonax a discoloration of the sort that is natural to old people, and enquired: “What’s that, Demonax?” With a smile he said: “The ferryman’s tooth-mark!”

He saw a Spartan beating a slave, and said: “Stop treating him as your equal!”

When a woman named Danae had a dispute with her brother, he said: “Go to law! Though your name be Danae, you are not the daughter of Acrisius (Lawless).”

Above all, he made war on those who cultivate philosophy in the spirit of vainglory and not in the spirit of truth. For example, on seeing a Cynic with cloak and wallet, but with a bar (hyperon) for a

1 Whipping was a feature of the Spartan training.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tῆς βακτηρίας ὑπεροῦ, καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι Ἀντισθένους καὶ Κράτητος καὶ Διογένους ἐστὶ ξηλωτῆς, Μὴ ψεύδου, ἔφη, σὺ γὰρ Ῥεπείδου μαθήτής ἐσίν τυγχάνεις.

Ἐπεὶ μέντοι πολλοὺς τῶν ἄθλητῶν ἔώρα 49 κακομαχοῦντας καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐναγώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν δάκνοντας, Ὡὐκ ἀπεικότως, ἔφη, τοὺς οὖν ἄθλητας οἱ παρομαρτοῦντες λέοντας καλοῦσιν.

Ἀστείον δὲ κάκεινο αὐτοῦ καὶ δηκτικὸν ἃμα 50 τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀνθύπατον εἰρημένον· ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν πιττομένων τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅλον. Κυνικοῦ δὲ τινὸς ἐπὶ λίθον ἀναβάντος καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατηγοροῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς κυναιδίαν διαβάλλοντος, ἀγανακτήσας καὶ καταστασθῆναι τὸν Κυνικὸν κελεύσας ἔμελλεν ἢ ξύλοις συντρίψειν ἢ καὶ φυγῇ ξημώσειν· ἀλλ’ ὅ γε Δημώναξ παρατυχῶν παρητεῖτο συγγνώμην ἔχειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τινά πάτριον τοὺς Κυνικοὺς παρρησίαν θρασυνομένῳ. εἰπόντως δὲ τοῦ ἀνθύπατον, Νῦν μὲν σοι ἀφίημι αὐτοῦ, ἀν δὲ ὑπεροῦν τοιοῦτον τὴν τολμήσῃ, τί παθεῖν ἄξιός ἐστίν; καὶ ὁ Δημώναξ, Δρωπακισθῆναι τότε αὐτοῦ κέλευσον.

Ἀλλὰ δὲ τινὶ στρατοπέδων ἃμα καὶ ἔθνους 51 τοῦ μεγίστου τὴν ἄρχον ἐμπιστευθέντι ἐκ βασιλείως ἐρωμένῳ, πῶς ἀριστα ἄρξει; ᾿Αργήτως, ἔφη, καὶ ὀλίγα μὲν λαλῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀκούν.

Ἐρωμένῳ δὲ τινὶ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς πλακοῦντας 52 ἔσθιοι, Ὅτει οὖν, ἔφη, τοὺς μωροῖς τὰς μελίσσας τιθέναι τὰ κηρία;
DEMONAX

staff, who was making an uproar and saying that he was the follower of Antisthenes, Crates, and Diogenes, Demonax said: “Don’t lie! You are really a disciple of Barson (Hyperides¹)!”

When he saw many of the athletes fighting foul and breaking the rules of the games by biting instead of boxing, he said: “No wonder the athletes of the present day are called ‘lions’ by their hangers-on!”

His remark to the proconsul was at once clever and cutting. This man was one of the sort that use pitch to remove hair from their legs and their whole bodies. When a Cynic mounted a stone and charged him with this, accusing him of effeminacy, he was angry, had the fellow hauled down and was on the point of confining him in the stocks or even sentencing him to exile. But Demonax, who was passing by, begged him to pardon the man for making bold to speak his mind in the traditional Cynic way. The proconsul said: “Well, I will let him off for you this time, but if he ever dares to do such a thing again, what shall be done to him?” “Have him depilated!” said Demonax.

One to whom the emperor had entrusted the command of legions and of the most important province asked Demonax what was the best way to exercise authority. “Don’t lose your temper!” said he: “Do little talking and much listening!”

When someone asked him: “Do you eat honey-cakes?” he replied: “What! do you think the bees lay up their honey just for fools?”

¹ Perhaps an unknown Cynic; but the name may be used just for the sake of the pun, without reference to a definite person.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

... 53

... 54

... 55

... 56

... 57

... 58

1 δ' ἐπαινοῦντα Α.Μ.Η.: δὲ θαυμάζοντα Fritzolle: Τ' Αριστοτέλη καὶ MSS., Nilén, who sets the comma after Τ' Αριστοτέλη.
DEMONAX

On seeing near the Painted Porch a statue with its hand cut off, he remarked that it was pretty late in the day for the Athenians to be honouring Cynegirus\(^1\) with a bronze statue.

Noting that Rufinus the Cypriote (I mean the lame man of the school of Aristotle) was spending much time in the walks of the Lyceum, he remarked: "Pretty cheeky, I call it—a lame Peripatetic (Stroller)!

When Epictetus rebuked him and advised him to get married and have children, saying that a philosopher ought to leave nature a substitute when he is gone, his answer was very much to the point: "Then give me one of your daughters, Epictetus!"

His reply to Herminus the Aristotelian deserves mention. Aware that, although he was an out-and-out scoundrel and had done a thousand misdeeds, he sang the praises of Aristotle and had his Ten Sentences (the Categories) on his tongue's end, Demonax said: "Herminus, you really need ten sentences!"

When the Athenians, out of rivalry with the Corinthians, were thinking of holding a gladiatorial show, he came before them and said: "Don't pass this resolution, men of Athens, without first pulling down the altar of Mercy."

When he went to Olympia and the Eleans voted him a bronze statue, he said: "Don't do this, men of Elis, for fear you may appear to reflect on your ancestors because they did not set up statues either to Socrates or to Diogenes."

\(^1\) Brother of Aeschylus, who lost his hand at Marathon, and the Painted Porch was so called from a fresco by Polygnotus representing the battle.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

"Ἡκουσα δὲ αὐτοῦ ποτὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν . . . 59
tὸν¹ τὸν νόμων ἐμπειρον ταύτα λέγοντος, ὅτι
cινδυνεύουσιν ἀχρηστοί εἶναι οἱ νόμοι, ἂν τε
πονηροίς ἂν τε ἀγαθοῖς γράφωνται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ
οὐ δέονται νόμων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ νόμων οὐδὲν βελτίους
γίγνονται.

Τὸν δὲ Ὅμηρον στίχον ἑνα ἤδεν μάλιστα— 60
κάθαν ὁμώς ὁ τ’ ἀεργὸς ἀνήρ ὁ τε πολλά ἔργοις.

Ἐπήνει δὲ καὶ τὸν Θερσίτην ὡς Κυνικὸν τινα 61
δημηγόρον.

Ἐρωτθεὶς δὲ ποτε, τίς αὐτῷ ἀρέσκοι τῶν 62
φιλοσόφων, ἔφη, Πάντες μὲν θαυμαστοί· ἐγώ δὲ
Σωκράτη μὲν σέβω, θαυμάζω δὲ Δισγένη καὶ φιλώ
'Αρίστιππον.

Ἐβίου δὲ ἔτη ὀλίγου δέοντα τῶν ἐκατὸν ἄνο-
σος, ἄλποιος, οὐδένα ἐνοχλήσας τι ἢ αἰτήσας,
φίλοις χρήσιμος, ἐχθρὸν οὐδένα οὐδεπώποτε
ἐσχηκός· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτα ἔσχον πρὸς αὐτὸν
'Αθηναίοι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄπασα ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὃστε
παρόντι ὑπεξανίστασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἁρχοντας,
σωτῆρι δὲ γίνεσθαι παρὰ πάντων. τὸ τελευταῖον
dὲ ἤδη ὑπέργηρος ὃν ἀκλητος εἰς ἢν τύχοι παρὰ
οἶκιαν ἐδείπνευ καὶ ἐκάθενδε, τῶν ἐνοικοῦτων
θεοῦ τινα ἐπιφάνειαν ἤγομενοι τὸ πράγμα καὶ
τινα ἁγαθὸν δάμωνα εἰσεληλυθέναι αὐτοῖς εἰς
τὴν οἰκίαν. παρίοντα δὲ αἱ ἀρτοπώλιδες ἀνθεῖλ-
kou πρὸς αὐτῶς ἐκάστη ἄξιούσα παρ’ αὐτῆς λαμ-
βάνειν τῶν ἄρτων, καὶ τούτῳ εὐτυχίαν ἐαυτῆς ἢ
dedωκυία φέτο. καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς ὁπόρας
προσέφερον αὐτῷ πατέρα ὀνομάζοντες. στάσεως 64

¹ πρὸς τὸν . . . τὸν Α.Μ.Η.: πρὸς τὸν MSS.

170
DEMONAX

I once heard him say to . . . , the lawyer, that in all likelihood the laws were of no use, whether framed for the bad or the good; for the latter had no need of laws, and the former were not improved by them.

From Homer the one line he most frequently quoted was:

"Idler or toiler, 'tis all one to Death."¹

He had a good word even for Thersites, calling him a mob-orator of the Cynic type.

When he was once asked which of the philosophers he liked, he said: "They are all admirable, but for my part I revere Socrates, I wonder at Diogenes, and I love Aristippus."

He lived almost a hundred years, without illness or pain, bothering nobody and asking nothing of anyone, helping his friends and never making an enemy. Not only the Athenians but all Greece conceived such affection for him that when he passed by the magistrates rose up in his honour and there was silence everywhere. Toward the end, when he was very old, he used to eat and sleep uninvited in any house which he chanced to be passing, and the inmates thought that it was almost a divine visitation, and that good fortune had entered their doors. As he went by, the bread-women would pull him toward them, each wanting him to take some bread from her, and she who succeeded in giving it thought that she was in luck. The children, too, brought him fruit and called him father. Once when

¹ Iliad 9, 320.

171
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

dε ποτε Ἦθηνσι γενομένης εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ φανείς μόνον σωπάν ἐποίησεν αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ ἱδὼν ἦδη μετεγωμόκοτας οὐδὲν εἶπὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπηλλάγη.

"Οτε δὲ συνήκειν οὐκεθ’ οἷς τε ἕων αὐτῷ ἐπικούρεαν, εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας τὸν ἐναγώνιον τῶν κηρύκων πόδα

Δήγει μὲν ἅγιων τῶν καλλίστων ἄθλων ταμίας, καίρος δὲ καλεῖ μηκέτι μέλλειν,

καὶ πάντων ἀποσχόμενος ἀπῆλθεν τοῦ βίου φαίνετο καὶ οἷς ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυνχανόσαν ἐφαίνετο. ὁλίγον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐρώμενον τινός, 66 Περὶ ταφῆς τί κελεύεις; Μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε, ἐφῇ ἡ γαρ ὄδημή με θάψει. φαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, Τί οὖν; ὅτι αἰσχρῶν ὅρνεοις καὶ κυσὶ βορᾶν προτεθήναι τηλικοῦτον ἀνήρ σῶμα; Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν ἀτοποῦν, ἐφῄ, τούτο, εἰ μέλλω καὶ ἀποθανῶν ξώφως τις̅̅̅̅̅ χρήσιμος ἔστεθαι. οἱ μέντοι 67 Ἕθηνσι καὶ θαψάνων αὐτὸν δημοσία μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπενθῆσαν, καὶ τὸν θάκου τοῦ λίθου, ἐφ’ οὗ εἰσῴδει ὅποτε κάμῳ ἀναπαύεσθαι, προσεκύνουν καὶ ἐστεφάνουν ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἡγούμενοι ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸν λίθον, ἐφ’ οὐ ἐκαθέζετο. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐκφορὰν οὐκ ἔστων ὅστις οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσό-φων ὅτι οὖν μέντοι ὑποδύνατε ἐκόμιξαν αὐτὸν ἀχρὶ πρὸς τὸν τάφον.

Ταύτα ὀλίγα πάνιν ἐκ πολλῶν ἀπεμνημόνευσα, καὶ ἔστων ἀπὸ τούτων τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι λογίζεσθαι ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο.

172
there was a party quarrel in Athens, he went into the assembly and just by showing himself reduced them to silence: then, seeing that they had already repented, he went away without a word.

When he realised that he was no longer able to wait upon himself, he quoted to those who were with him the verses of the heralds at the games:

Here endeth a contest awarding the fairest
Of prizes: time calls, and forbids us delay.

Then, refraining from all food, he took leave of life in the same cheerful humour that people he met always saw him in. A short time before the end he was asked: “What orders have you to give about your burial?” and replied: “Don’t borrow trouble! The stench will get me buried!” The man said: “Why, isn’t it disgraceful that the body of such a man should be exposed for birds and dogs to devour?” “I see nothing out of the way in it,” said he, “if even in death I am going to be of service to living things.” But the Athenians gave him a magnificent public funeral and mourned him long. To honour him, they did obeisance to the stone bench on which he used to rest when he was tired, and they put garlands on it; for they felt that even the stone on which he had been wont to sit was sacred. Everybody attended his burial, especially the philosophers; indeed, it was they who took him on their shoulders and carried him to the tomb.

These are a very few things out of many which I might have mentioned, but they will suffice to give my readers a notion of the sort of man he was.
THE HALL

The concluding words of this piece show that, like Dionysus, Heracles, and Amber, it was the introduction to a lecture or a course of lectures.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΤ ΟΙΚΟΤ

Εἶτα Ἄλεξανδρος μὲν ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ 1
Κύδνῳ λούσασθαι καλὸν τε καὶ διανύῃ τὸν ποτα-
μὸν ἵδιν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς βαθὺν καὶ προσηνῷ ὄξων
καὶ νῆξαις ἵδιν καὶ θέρους ὥρα ψυχρῶν, ἡστε
καὶ ἐπὶ προδήλῳ τῇ νόσῳ ἢ ἐνόσησεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ,
δοκεῖ μοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀποσχέσθαι· οἶκον
δὲ τις ἵδιν μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλεις κάλλιστον
καὶ φωτὶ φαινότατον καὶ χρυσῷ στιλπνότατον
καὶ γραφαῖς ἀνθηρότατον οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμήσεις
λόγους ἐν αὐτῷ διαθέσαι, εἰ τύχῃ περὶ τούτους
διατρίβων, καὶ ἐνευδοκιμήσαι καὶ ἑλλαμπρύνασθαι
καὶ βοής ἐμπλῆσαι καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς
μέρος τοῦ κάλλους αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περι-
σκοπήσας ἀκριβῶς καὶ θαυμάσας μόνον ἀπεισι
κωφὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλογὸν καταλιπτῶν, μήτε
προσεπτῶν μήτε προσομιλήσας, ὡστε τις ἄναυδος
ἡ φθόνῳ σιωπᾶν ἐγνωκός; �uations, οὗ φιλο-
κάλου τινὸς οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ εὐμορφότατα ἔρωτικον
τὸ ἔργον, ἄγροικία δὲ πολλὴ καὶ ἀπειροκαλὰ καὶ
προσέτι γε ἁμοια, τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτὸν ἀπαξιῶν
καὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀποξενοῦν καὶ μὴ συνιέναι
ὡς οὕς ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τὰ θεάματα νόμος ἰδιώτας
τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένους ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν
ἀπόχρη τὸ κοίνον τοῦτο, ἰδεῖν μόνον καὶ περι-
βλέψαι καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ περιενεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς
176
THE HALL

Alexander longed to bathe in the Cydnus on seeing that the stream was fair and clear, safely deep, agreeably swift, delightful to swim in and cool in the height of summer; even with foreknowledge of the fever which he contracted from it, I do not think he would have abstained from his plunge. Then can it be that on seeing a hall beyond compare in the greatness of its size, the splendour of its beauty, the brilliance of its illumination, the lustre of its gilding and the gaiety of its pictures, a man would not long to compose speeches in it, if this were his business, to seek repute and win glory in it, to fill it with his voice and, as far as lay in him, to become part and parcel of its beauty? Or after looking it over carefully and admiring it, would he rather go away and leave it mute and voiceless, without according it a word of greeting or a particle of intercourse, as if he were dumb or else out of ill-will had resolved to hold his tongue? Heracles! such conduct would not be that of a connoisseur or a lover of beauty; it would be very vulgar, tasteless, even Philistine to despise what is sweetest, to reject what is fairest, and not to comprehend that in all that appeals to the eye, the same law does not hold for ordinary and for educated men. No, for the former it is enough to do the usual thing—just to see, to look about, to cast their eyes everywhere, to crane

177
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀνακύψαι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἔπισεῖσαι καὶ καθ’ ἢσυχίαν ἡσθῆναι δέει τοῦ μὴ ἄν δυνηθῆναι ἄξιόν τι τῶν βλεπόμενων εἰπεῖν, ὡστὶς δὲ μετὰ παιδείας ὅρα τὰ καλά, οὐκ ἂν, οἴμαι, ἀγαπήσειν ὤψει μόνη καρπωσάμενος τὸ τερπνὸν οὐδὲ ἄν ὑπομείναι ἄφωνος θεατής τοῦ κάλλους γενόσθαι, πειράσεται δὲ ὡς οἶον τε καὶ ἐνδιατρίψαι καὶ λόγῳ ἀμείβασθαι τὴν θέαν. ἢ δὲ ἀμοιβὴ οὐκ 3 ἑπαίνοις τοῦ οἴκου μόνον—τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἵσως ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ νησιωτή μειρακίῳ ἔπρεπε, τὴν Μενελάου οἰκίαν ὑπερεκπεπλήχθαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καλὰ τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν αὐτῆς ἀπεικόσθαι, ἀτε μηδὲν ἐν ἑη καλόν τι ἄλλο ἐωρακότι—ἄλλα καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους συγκαλέσαντα λόγου ἑπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι μέρος τοῦ ἑπαίνου καὶ τούτῳ γένοιτο ἂν.

Καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὑπερήδιστον, οἴμαι, οἴκων ὁ κάλλιστος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν λόγων ἀναπεπταμένος καὶ ἑπαίνου καὶ εὔφημίας μεστός ἄν, ἥρεμα καὶ αὐτὸς ὠσπερ τὰ ἄντρα συνεπτηχῶν καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις παρακολουθῶν καὶ παρατεῖνων τὰ τελευταία τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοὺς υπότατους τῶν λόγων ἐμβραδύνων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς ἂν τις εὐμάθῆς ἀκροατὴς διαμνημονεύων τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ τοῖς λέγοντα ἑπαίνων καὶ ἀντίδοσιν οὐκ ἀμοιβόν πουκύμονος πρὸς αὐτά· οἶον τι πάσχοισι πρὸς τὰ αὐλήματα τῶν ποιμένων αἱ σκοπιαὶ ἐπαυλοῦσαι, τῆς φωνῆς ἑπαυλοῦσης κατὰ τὸ ἀντίτυπον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναστρεφοῦσης· οἱ δὲ ἰδιώται νομίζοντες παρθένον τινὰ εἶναι τὴν ἀμείβομένην τοὺς ἠδοντας ἡ

178
THE HALL

their necks at the ceiling, to gesticulate and to take their joy in silence for fear of not being able to say anything adequate to what they see. But when a man of culture beholds beautiful things, he will not be content, I am sure, to harvest their charm with his eyes alone, and will not endure to be a silent spectator of their beauty; he will do all he can to linger there and make some return for the spectacle in speech. And such a return does not consist simply in praising the hall. No doubt it was fitting for Homer’s island boy 1 to be astounded at the house of Menelaus and to compare its ivory and gold to the beautiful things in heaven because he had never seen anything else on earth that was beautiful. But to speak here, to collect an audience of cultured men and show one’s eloquence is also a form of praise.

It is very delightful, I think, that the fairest of halls should be flung open for the harbourage of speech and should be full of praise and laudation, re-echoing softly like a cavern, following what is said, drawing out the concluding sounds of the voice and lingering on the last words; or, to put it better, committing to memory all that one says, like an appreciative hearer, and applauding the speaker and gracefully repeating his phrases. In some such way the rocks pipe in answer to the piping of the shepherds when the sound comes back again by repercussion and returns upon itself. The untaught think it is a maid who answers all who sing and shout,

1 Telemachus (Odysse. 4, 71): he compares the house of Menelaus to the palaces of the gods.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

βοῶντας, ἐν μέσοις ποι τοὺς κρημνοὺς κατοικοῦσαν καὶ λαλοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἔνδοθεν.

'Εμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ καὶ συνεξαίρεσθαι οἶκου 4 πολυτελεία ἡ τοῦ λέγοντος γνώμη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἐπεγείρεσθαι, καθάπερ τι καὶ ὑποβαλλούσης τῆς θέας. σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰσρεῖ τι διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχήν καλόν, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτὸ κοσμῆσαι ἐκπέμπει τοὺς λόγους. ἢ τῷ μὲν Ἀχιλλεῖ πιστεύομεν τὴν ὀψιν τῶν ὀπλών ἐπιτείναι κατὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν τὴν ὀργήν, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐνεδὺ αὐτὰ πειρώμενος, ἐπαρθήναι καὶ πτερωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἐπιθυμίαν, λόγου δὲ σπουδὴν μὴ ἐπιτείνεσθαι πρὸς κάλλη χωρίων; καίτοι Σωκράτει μὲν ἀπέχρησε πλάτανος εὐφυής καὶ πόα εὐθαλής καὶ πηγή διανυγῆς μικρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ, κάνταθα καθεξόμενος Φαίδρου τε τοῦ Μυρρινοσίου κατειρωνεύετο καὶ τὸν Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου λόγον διήλεγχε καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἔκαλε, καὶ ἐπίστευεν ἢξειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν συλληψομένας 1 τῶν περὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος λόγως, καὶ οὐκ ἦσχυνε τὸ γέρων ἀνθρωπος παρακαλῶν παρθένους συνασομένας 2 τὰ παιδεραστικά. ἐς δὲ οὕτω καλὸν χωρίον οὐκ ἂν οἰόμεθα 3 καὶ ἀκλήτους αὐτὰς ἔλθειν;

Καὶ μὴν οὐ κατὰ γε σκιὰν μόνην οὐδὲ κατὰ 5 πλατάνου κάλλος ἡ ὑποδοχή, οὐδ’ ἂν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰλισσῷ καταλίθων τῷ βασιλέως λέγῃς τῆν χρυσὴν ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολυτελείᾳ μόνη τὸ θαῦμα, τέχνη δὲ ἡ κάλλος ἡ τέρψις ἢ τὸ

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1 συλληψομένας Nilén: συνπεριληψομένα MSS.
2 συνασομένας Schwartz: συνεσομένα MSS.
3 οἰόμεθα Γ, S: οἰόμεθα Ω.

180
THE HALL

abiding somewhere in the heart of the cliffs and talking from the inside of the crags.

To me, at least, it seems that a splendid hall excites the speaker's fancy and stirs it to speech, as if he were somehow prompted by what he sees. No doubt something of beauty flows through the eyes into the soul, and then fashions into the likeness of itself the words that it sends out. In the case of Achilles, the sight of his armour enhanced his anger at the Trojans, and when he put it on to try it, he was inspired and transported with the lust of battle.¹ Then are we to believe that the passion for speech is not enhanced by beautiful surroundings? Socrates was satisfied with a fine plane-tree and lush grass and a spring of clear water not far from the Ilissus: sitting there, he plied his irony at the expense of Phaedrus of Myrhrinus, criticised the speech of Lysias, son of Cephalus, and invoked the Muses, believing that they would come to a sequestered spot and take part in the debate on love, and thinking no shame, old as he was, to invite maids to join him in amorous ditties.² May we not suppose that they would come to a place as beautiful as this, even without an invitation?

In truth, our shelter is not to be compared with mere shade or with the beauty of a plane-tree, not even if you pass over the one on the Ilissus and mention the Great King's golden plane.³ That was wonderful only on account of its cost; there was no

¹ Iliad, 19, 16; 384. ² Plato, Phaedrus, 229 seq. ³ Herod. 7, 27.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

σύμμετρον ἢ τὸ εὐρυθμοῦν οὐ νυνείργαστο οὐδὲ κατεμέμκτο τῷ χρυσῷ, ἀλλ’ ἂν βαρβαρικὸν τὸ θέαμα, πλοῦτος μόνον καὶ φθόνος τῶν ἰδόντων καὶ εὐδαιμονίας τῶν ἐχόντων ἔπαινος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ προσήν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμελε τοῖς Ἀρσακίδαις τῶν καλῶν οὖν πρὸς τὸ τερπυὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐπιδείξεις οὖν ἐφρόντιζον εἰ ἐπαινέσονται οἱ θεαταί, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἐκπλαγήσονται. οὐ φιλόκαλοι γάρ, ἀλλὰ φιλόπλουτοι εἰσίν οἱ βάρβαροι. τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ οἴκου τὸ κάλλος οὐ κατὰ βαρβαρικοὺς τινας ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐδὲ κατὰ Περσικήν ἀλαζονείαν ἡ βασιλική μεγαλαυχίαν οὐδὲ πένητος μόνον, ἀλλὰ εὐφυὸς θεατοῦ δεδεμένον καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῇ ὠφεὶ ἡ κρίσις, ἀλλὰ τις καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπακολουθεῖ τοῖς βλεπομένοις.1

Τὸ γὰρ τῆς τε ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀποβλέπειν—κάλλιστον δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ποθεινότατον ἡ ἀρχὴ—καὶ τὸν ἱλιον ὑπερκύψαντα εὐθὺς υποδέχεσαι καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμπίπτασθαι ἐσ κόρον ἀναπεταμένου τῶν θυρῶν [καθ’ ὅ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ βλέποντα ἐποίον οἱ παλαιοὶ],3 καὶ τοῦ μήκους πρὸς τὸ πλάτος καὶ ἀμφότερος πρὸς τὸ υψὸς εὐρυθμοῦν καὶ τῶν φωταγωγῶν τὸ ἔλευθερον καὶ πρὸς ὅραν ἐκάστην εὖ ἔχον, πῶς οὐχ ἤδεα ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια;

'Ετι δὲ θαυμάσειν ἃν τις καὶ τῆς ὀρφής ἐν τῷ εὐμόρφῳ τὸ ἀπέριττον καὶ τῷ εὐκόσμῳ τὸ ἀνεπίληπτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς τὸ εὔπρεπές

1 βλεπομένοις Seager: λεγομένοις MSS.
2 δὲ Α.Μ.Η.: δὲ MSS.
3 καθ’ ὅ—παλαιοὶ “in the direction in which the ancients used to face their temples”: a gloss on τὸ...ἀποβλέπειν. Α. Μ. Η.

182
THE HALL

craftsmanship or beauty or charm or symmetry or grace wrought into the gold or combined with it. The thing was barbarous, nothing but money, a source of envy to those who saw it, and of felicitation to those who owned it. There was nothing praiseworthy about it. The Arsacids\(^1\) neither cared for beauty nor aimed at attractiveness in making their display nor minded whether the spectators praised or not, as long as they were astounded. The barbarians are not beauty-lovers; they are money-lovers. On the contrary, the beauty of this hall has nothing to do with barbarian eyes, Persian flattery, or Sultanic vainglory. Instead of just a poor man, it wants a cultured man for a spectator, who, instead of judging with his eyes, applies thought to what he sees.

It faces the fairest quarter of the day (for the fairest and loveliest is surely the beginning); it welcomes in the sun when he first peeps up; light fills it to overflowing through the wide-flung doors; the proportion of length to breadth and of both to height is harmonious; the windows are generous and well-suited to every season of the year. Is not all this attractive and praiseworthy?

One might also admire the ceiling for its reserved modelling, its flawless decoration, and the refined symmetry of its gilding, which is not unnecessarily

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\(^1\) Anachronism; the possessors of the tree were the Achae-menid princes.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

σύμμετρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τὰς χρείας ἐπιφθονον, ἀλλ' ὀπόσον ἂν καὶ γνωαικά σώφρον καὶ καλὴ ἀρκέσῃ ἐπισημότερον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ κάλλος, ἢ περὶ τῇ δειρῆ λεπτός τις ὁμος ἢ περὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ σφενδόνῃ εὔφορος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἠτοίν ἠλλόβια ἢ πόρτῃ τις ἢ ταινία τὸ ἀφετον τῆς κόμης συνδέουσα, τοσοῦτον τῇ εὐμορφίᾳ προστιθείσα ὅσον τῇ ἐσθήτῃ ἢ πορφύρα· αἱ δὲ γε ἐταϊρεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ ἀμορφότεραι αὐτῶν, καὶ τῇ ἐσθήτῃ ὅλην πορφυρὰν καὶ τῇ δειρῆν χρυσῆν πεποίηται, τῷ πολυτελεῖ θηράμεναι τὸ ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ τὸ ἔωδεον τῷ καλῷ προσθέσει τοῦ ἔξωθεν τερπνοῦ παραμυθόμεναι· ἤγγιναι γάρ καὶ τῇ ὠλένῃ αὐταῖς στιλπνοτέραις συναπολάμβαναν τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ τοῦ ποδὸν τῷ μὴ εὐπερίγραφον λήσειν υπὸ χρυσῷ σανδάλῳ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἐρασιμώτερον γενήσεσθαι τῷ φαινοτάτῳ συνωρώμενον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὕτως· ἢ δὲ γε σώφρον χρυσόν 2 μὲν τὰ ἀρκοῦντα καὶ μόνον τὰ ἀναγκαία προσχρῆται, τὸ δ' αὐτῆς κάλλος οὐκ ἂν αἰσχύνοιτο, οἷμαι, καὶ γυμνῇ δεικνυόνσα.

Καὶ τοῖς ἄπειρον ἢ τοῦ ὀίκου ὀροφῆ, μάλλον δὲ κεφαλῆς, εὐπρόσωπος μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν, τῷ χρυσῷ δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον κεκάμμηται, ἐς ὅσον καὶ οὐρανὸς ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκ διαστήματος περιλαμπτόμενου καὶ ἐκ διαλείμματος ἀνθών τῷ πυρί. εἰ δὲ γε πῦρ ἢ τοῖ πάν, οὐ καλὸς ἂν, ἀλλὰ φράσεος ἢ μὴν ἔδοξεν. ὤδοι δ' ἄν τις οὐδ' ἄργῳ ἐνταῦθα τὸν χρυσὸν οὔδε μόνον τοῦ τέρπωντος εἴνεκα τῷ λοιπῷ κόσμῳ συνεσπαρμένου, ἀλλὰ

1 παρὰ Gesner: περὶ MSS.
2 σώφρων χρυσῷ edd.: σώφρων ύικὰ χρυσῷ MSS.
THE HALL

lavish, but only in such degree as would suffice a modest and beautiful woman to set off her beauty—a delicate chain round her neck, a light ring on her finger, pendants in her ears, a buckle, a band that confines the luxuriance of her hair and adds as much to her good looks as a purple border adds to a gown. It is courtesans, especially the less attractive of them, who have clothing all purple and necks all gold, trying to secure seductiveness by extravagance and to make up for their lack of beauty by the addition of extraneous charms; they think that their arms will look whiter when they are bright with gold, and that the unshapeliness of their feet will escape notice in golden sandals, and that their very faces will be lovelier when seen together with something very bright. This is the course they follow; but a modest girl uses only what gold is sufficient and necessary, and would not be ashamed of her beauty, I am sure, if she were to show it undorned.

The ceiling of this hall—call it the face if you will—well-featured itself, is as much embellished by the gilding as heaven by the stars at night, with sprinkled lights and scattered flowers of fire. If all were fire, it would be terrible, not beautiful, to us. You will observe that the gilding yonder is not purposeless, and not intermingled with the rest of the decorations for its own charm alone. It shines with a
καὶ αὐγὴν τινα ἦδειαν ἀπολάμπτει καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὄλων ἐπιχρώυνυσι τῷ ἐρυθήματι· ὁπόταν γὰρ τὸ φῶς προσπεσόν ἐφάγηται καὶ ἀναμιχθῇ τῷ χρυσῷ, κοινὸν τι ἀπαστράπτουσι καὶ διπλασίαν τοῦ ἐρυθήματος ἐκφάινοντι τὴν αἰθρίαν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ψηλὰ καὶ κορυφαῖα τοῦ οἴκου 9
tοιάδε, Ὄμηρος τίνος δεόμενα ἐπαινέτου, ὃν
ἀυτὸν ἦν ψυφόροφον ὡς τὸν Ἐλένης θάλαμον ἢ
ἀγγιγόντα ὡς τὸν Ὀλυμπούν εἰποῦ· τὸν δὲ ἄλλουν
κόσμον καὶ τὰ τῶν τοίχων γράμματα καὶ τῶν
χρωμάτων τὰ κάλλια καὶ τὸ ἑναρχεῖς ἐκάστου καὶ
τὸ ἀκριβές καὶ τὸ ἀληθῆς ἑαρός ὡψει καὶ λειμῶν
δὲ εὐανθεῖ καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι παραβαλεῖν πλὴν παρ'
όσον ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀπανθεῖ καὶ μαραίνεται καὶ
ἀλλάττεται καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὸ κάλλος, τοιτὶ δὲ
τὸ ἔαρ 1 ἀίδιον καὶ λειμῶν ἀμάραντος καὶ ἀνθοὺς
ἀθάνατον, ἀτε μόνης τῆς ὑφεως ἐφαπτομένης καὶ
δροπομένης τὸ ἧδυ τῶν βλεπομένων.

Τὰ δὴ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τίς όυκ ἂν 10
ησθεὶς βλέπων ἢ τίς όυκ ἂν προδιδήσηται καὶ
παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγειν, εἰδὼς αἰσχιστὸν
ἂν ἀπολειφθήμεν τῶν ὁρωμένων; ἑπαγωγότατον
γάρ τι ἡ ὑψίς τῶν καλῶν, όυκ ἂν ἄνθρωπους
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸς ἢδιον ἂν οἶμαι δράμοι κατὰ
πρανοῦς πεδίον καὶ μαλακοῦ, προσηνώς δεχόμενον
τὴν βάσιν καὶ ἱρέμα υπείκοντος τῷ πολι καὶ μὴ
ἀντιτυποῦντος τῇ ὀπλῇ· ἀπαντὶ γοῦν τότε χρήται
τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ ὄλον ἐπιδοῦς ἔαυτόν τῷ τάχει
ἀμιλλᾶται καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κάλλος.
ὁ δὲ ταύς ἢρος ἀρχομένου πρὸς λειμῶνά 11

1 ἔαρ and ἄνθος Schwartz; τὸ ἔαρ, τὸ ἄνθος MSS.
THE HALL

sweet radiance, and colours the whole hall with its flush; for when the light, striking the gold, lays hold of it and combines with it, they gleam jointly and make the flush doubly brilliant.

Such is the top, the summit of the hall: it needs a Homer to praise it by calling it "high-ceiled" like the chamber of Helen¹ or "dazzling" like Olympus.² The rest of the decoration, the frescoes on the walls, the beauty of their colours, and the vividness, exactitude, and truth of each detail might well be compared with the face of spring and with a flowery field, except that those things fade and wither and change and cast their beauty, while this is spring eternal, field unfading, bloom undying. Naught but the eye touches it and culls the sweetness of what it sees.

Who would not be charmed with the sight or all these beautiful things? Who would not want to outdo himself in speaking among them, aware that it is highly disgraceful not to be a match for that which one sees? The sight of beauty is seductive, and not to man alone. Even a horse, I think, would find more pleasure in running on a soft, sloping plain that receives his tread pleasantly, yields a little to his foot, and does not shock his hoof. Then he puts in play all his power of running, gives himself over to speed and nothing else, and vies with the beauty of the plain. The peacock, too, at the opening

¹ Il. 3, 423; Od. 4, 121.
² Il. 1, 253; 13, 243; Od. 20, 103.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tina ἐλθὼν, ὅποτε καὶ τὰ ἄνθη πρόεισιν οὐ ποθενότερα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἄν εἶποι τις ἄνθηρότερα καὶ τᾶς βαφᾶς καθαρώτερα, τότε καὶ οὕτως ἐκπετάσας τὰ πτερὰ καὶ ἀναδέξας τῷ ἠλίῳ καὶ τὴν οὕραν ἐπάρας καὶ πάντοθεν αὐτῷ περιστήσεαι ἐπιδεῖκνυται τὰ ἄνθη τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔσχα τῶν πτερῶν ὡσπερ αὐτὸν προκολούντος τοῦ λειμῶνος ἐς τὴν ἀμπλάν. ἔπιστρέφει γοῦν ἐαυτὸν καὶ περιάγχει καὶ ἐμποτεύει τῷ κάλλει· ὅτε δὴ καὶ θαυμασιώτερος φαίνεται πρὸς τὴν αὐγὴν ἀλλαττομένων αὐτῷ τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ μεταβιώντων ἥρεμα καὶ πρὸς έτέρου εὐμορφίας εἴδος τρηπομένων. πάσχει δὲ αὐτό μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν κύκλων, οὔς ἐπ’ ἀκροις ἔχει τοῖς πτεροῖς, ἐριδός τινος ἐκαστοῦ περιθεούς· ὁ γὰρ τέως χάλκος ἡν, τούτο ἐγκλίναντος ὀλόγον χρυσὸς ὡφθη, καὶ τὸ ύπο τῷ ἠλίῳ κυναγυγία, ἐι σκιασθείη, χλαυνγῆς ἑστίν· οὕτω μετακοσμεῖται πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἡ πτέρωσίςι· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἵκανη προκαλέσασθαι καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπιστάσασθαι ἐν γαλήνῃ φανεῖσα, ἵστε, καὶ μὴ εἶποι· ὅτε, εἰ καὶ παντάπασιν ἦπειρώτης καὶ ἀπειρόπλους τις εἰη, πάντως ἄν ἔθελησει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβηναι καὶ περιπλεῦσαι καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀποστάσαι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ θλέποι τὴν μὲν αὕραν κούφως ἑπουριάζουσαν τὴν οὐδόνην, τὴν δὲ ναῦν προσηνῶς τε καὶ λείως ἐπ’ ἄκρων ἥρεμα διολισθάνουσαν τῶν κυμάτων.

Καὶ τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐκου τὸ κάλλος ἰκανὸν καὶ παρορμήσαι ἐς λόγους καὶ λέγοντα ἐπεγείραι καὶ πάντα τρόπον εὐδοκιμήσαι παρασκευάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τούτους πείθομαι καὶ ἦδη.
of spring goes to a field at the time when the
blossoms which it puts out are not only lovelier, but,
in a manner of speaking, more blossomy and brighter
of hue; spreading his wings and showing them to
the sun, lifting his tail and surrounding himself with
it, he, too, displays his blossoms and the April of his
wings, as if the field were challenging him to vie with
it. At all events, he twists and turns and puts on airs
with his beauty. Now and again he is a sight still
more wonderful, when his colours change under the
light, altering a little and turning to a different kind
of loveliness. This happens to him chiefly in the
circles that he has at the tips of his feathers, each
of which is ringed with a rainbow. What was pre-
viously bronze has the look of gold when he shifts a
little, and what was bright blue in the sun is bright
green in shadow, so much does the beauty of his
plumage alter with the light! For you know with-
out my telling you that the sea has power to invite
and provoke longing when it is calm. At such a
time, no matter how much of a landsman and a
lubber a man may be, he wants at all costs to get
aboard ship and cruise about and go far from land,
above all if he perceives the breeze gently swelling the
canvas and the vessel sweetly and smoothly gliding
along, little by little, over the crest of the waves.

Certainly, then, the beauty of this hall has
power to rouse a man to speech, to spur him on in
speaking and to make him succeed in every way. I
for my part am trusting in all this and have already
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πέπεισμαι καὶ ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐπὶ λόγους παρελθῆλθα ὡσπερ ὑπὸ ἴναγος ἦ Σειρῆνος τῷ κάλλει ἐλκόμενος, ἐλπίδα οὐ μικρὰν ἔχων, εἰ καὶ τέως ἡμῖν ἀμορφοὶ ἤσαν οἱ λόγοι, καλοὺς αὐτοὺς φανεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἐσθήτι καλὴ κεκοσμημένους.

"Ἑτερος δὲ τις οὐκ ἀγεννησὶς λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γενναῖος, ὃς φησὶ, καὶ μεταξὺ μου λέγοντος ὑπέκρουν καὶ διακοπτείν ἐπειράτο τὴν ρήσιν καὶ ἐπειδὴ πέπαυμαι, οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγειν φησί με, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζειν, εἰ φάσκοιμι ἐπιστηδείτερον εἶναι πρὸς λόγων ἐπίδειξιν οἶκον κάλλος γραφῆ καὶ χρυσὴ κεκοσμημένον" αὐτὸ γὰρ που τούναντιόν ἀποβαίνειν. μᾶλλον δὲ, εἰ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καθάπερ ἐν δικασταῖς ἦμῖν εἰπάτω, ὅτη λυσιτελέστερον ἦγειται τῷ λέγοντι εὐτέλειαν οἶκον καὶ ἀμορφίαν. ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀκηκόατε ἤδη λέγοντος, ὡστε οὐδὲν δέομαι δῖς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὃ δὲ παρελθὼν ἦδη λεγέτω, κάγῳ σιωπῆσομαι καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον αὐτῷ μεταστήσομαι.

"Ἀνδρεὶς τοίνυν δικασταί, φησὶν ὁ λόγος, ὁ μὲν προειπὼν ῥήτωρ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τὸν ὁ οἶκον ἐπήνευε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ἐκόσμησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσοῦτον δέω ψόγον αὐτοῦ διεξελέυσεσθαι, ὡστε καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου παραλειμμένα προσθήσειν μοι δοκῶ· ὅσοὶ γὰρ ἂν ἦμιν καλλίων φαίνεται, τοσοῦτον ὑπεναντίος τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος χρείας δειγμήσεται.

Καὶ πρῶτον γε ἐπειδὴ γυναικῶν καὶ κόσμου καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐκείνος ἐμνημόνευσεν, καμοὶ ἐπιτρέψατε χρήσασθαι τῷ παραδείγματι· φημὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ γυναῖξι καλαῖς οὐχ ὅπως συλλαμβ.
THE HALL

trusted in it; in coming to the hall to speak, I was attracted by its beauty as by a magic wheel or a Siren, for I had no slight hope that even if my phrases were homely before, they would seem beautiful if adorned, so to speak, in fine clothing.

There is, however, another point of view, not insignificant but very important, if you take Mr. Point o' View’s word for it; he kept interrupting me as I spoke and trying to break up my speech, and now that I have paused he says that I am mistaken in this matter: he is surprised that I should say a beautiful hall adorned with painting and gilding is better suited for the display of eloquence, as the case is entirely the reverse. But if you approve, let Mr. Point o’ View himself take the floor in his own behalf and tell you as he would a jury wherein he thinks a mean and ugly hall more advantageous to the speaker. You have heard me already, so that I do not need to speak again to the same topic; let him take the floor now and say his say, and I will be still and yield to him for a time.

“Well, gentlemen of the jury,” says Mr. Point o' View, “the last speaker has made many striking points in praise of the hall, and has adorned it with his words. I myself am so far from intending to criticise it that I have in mind to add the points which he omitted, for the more beautiful you think it, the more hostile to the speaker’s interest it will be, as I shall show.

“First, then, since he has mentioned women, jewelry and gold, permit me also to make use of the comparison. I assert that, far from contributing to the good looks of a beautiful woman, abundant
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

βάνειν ἐς τὸ εὐμορφότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντιούσθαι τὸν κόσμον τὸν πολὺν, ὅποταν τῶν ἐνυγχανόντων ἐκαστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων τῶν πολυ-
tελῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ χρώαν ἢ
βλέμμα ἢ δειρήν ἢ πῆχυν ἢ δάκτυλον, ὁ δὲ ταυτ'
ἀφεὶς ἐς τὴν σαρδῆν ἢ τὸν σμάραγδον ἢ τὸν ὄρμον
ἢ τὸ ψέλιον ὑποβλέπῃ, ὡστε ἄχθουτο ἂν εἰκότως
παρορμένη διὰ τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἀγόντων σχολὴν
ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν θεατῶν, ἀλλὰ πάρεργον αὐτῆς
ποιομένων τὴν θέαν. ὅπερ ἀνάγκη, οἶμαι, 16
παθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν οὐτῶ καλοῖς ἔργοις λόγοις
dεικνύοντα. λανθάνει γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν
cαλῶν τὸ λέγοντα καὶ ἀμαυρωταί καὶ συναρπάζε-
tαι, καθάπερ εἰ λύχνοις τις εἰς πυρκαϊάν μεγάλην
féρων ἐμβάλλοι ἢ μύριμηκα ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος ἢ
καμήλου δεικνύοι. τούτῳ τε όυν 1 φυλακτέόν τῷ
λέγοντι, καὶ προσέτι μὴ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῆς
ἐπιταράττηται 2 ἐν οὕτως εὐφώνῳ καὶ ἡχηστὶ
ioκῷ λέγων· ἀντιφθέγγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀντιφωνεῖ
καὶ ἀντιλέγει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπικαλύπτει τὴν βοήν,
oίν τι καὶ σάλπηρες δρά τὸν αὐλόν, εἰ συναυλίζειν,
ἡ τοὺς κελευστὰς ἢ θάλαττα, ὅποταν πρὸς κύμα-
tος ἥχου ἐπάδειν τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ θέλωσιν· ἐπικρατεῖ
gάρ ἡ μεγαλοφωνία καὶ κατασιωπᾶ τὸ ἡπτὸν.

Καὶ μὴν κάκεινο, ὅπερ ἐφή ὁ ἄντιδικος, ὥς 17
ἀρα ἐπεγείρει ὁ καλὸς οἶκος τὸν λέγοντα καὶ
προθυμότερον παρασκευάζει, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ ἐναν-
tίον ποιεῖν· ἐκπλήττει γὰρ καὶ φοβεῖ καὶ τὸν
λογισμὸν διαταράσσει καὶ δειλότερον ἐργάζεται
ἐνθυμούμενον ὡς ἀπάντων ἐστὶν αἰσχιστὸν ἐν

1 τε όυν Bekker: γοῦν MSS.
2 μὴ—ἐπιταράττηται Bekker: μὴν—ἐπιταράττηται MSS.
THE HALL

jewelry is actually a detriment. Everyone who meets her is dazzled by her gold and her expensive gems, and instead of praising her complexion, her eyes, her neck, her arm or her finger, he neglects them and lets his eyes wander to her sard or her emerald, her necklace or her bracelet. She might fairly get angry at being thus slighted for her ornaments, when observers are too occupied to pay her compliments and think her looks a side-issue. The same thing is bound to happen, I think, to a man who tries to show his eloquence among works of art like these. Amid the mass of beautiful things, what he says goes unheeded, vanishes and is absorbed, as if a candle were taken to a great fire and thrown in, or an ant pointed out on the back of an elephant or a camel. This danger, certainly, the speaker must guard against, and also that his voice be not disturbed when he speaks in a hall so musical and echoing, for it resounds, replies, refutes—in fact, it drowns his utterance, just as the trumpet drowns the flute when they are played together, and as the sea drowns chanty-men when they undertake to sing for the rowers against the noise of the surf. For the great volume of sound overpowers and crushes into silence all that is weaker.

"As to the other point which my opponent made, that a beautiful hall spurs a speaker on and makes him more ambitious, I think it does the opposite. It dazzles and frightens him, disturbs his thought and makes him more timid, for he reflects that it is disgraceful beyond everything that his discourse
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

eumorphê xwrióvs ì̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̇̈
THE HALL

should not match a plan so beautiful. For such surroundings put a man most clearly to the proof. It is as if he should put on a handsome coat of mail and then take to his heels before the rest, making his cowardice only the more conspicuous for his armour. This, I think, is the consideration which causes Homer’s famous orator 1 to think very little of good-looks and even make himself appear ‘an utter know-nothing’ in order that the beauty of his words may seem more striking by comparison with that which is uglier. Besides, it is inevitable that the speaker’s own mind should be occupied in looking, and that the accuracy of his thinking should be disturbed because what he is looking at gets the better of him, attracts him and does not allow him to attend to what he is saying. So how can he help speaking very badly, when in spirit he is busied with the praise of all that he sees?

"I forbear to say that even those who are present and have been invited to the lecture become spectators instead of hearers when they enter such a hall as this, and no speaker is enough of a Democritus, a Phemius, a Thamyris, an Amphion or an Orpheus to distract their minds from looking. Why, every one of them is flooded with beauty the instant he crosses the threshold, and does not give the least sign of hearing 2 what the speaker says or anything else, but is all absorbed in what he sees, unless he is stone-blind or like the court of the Areopagus, listens in the dark! That the power of the tongue is no match for the eyes, one can learn by comparing

1 Odysseus: II. 3, 219.  2 II. 23, 430.
παρατεθείς τῷ περὶ τῶν Γοργόνων διδάξειεν ἂν ἔκειναι μὲν γὰρ ἐκήλουν τοὺς παραπλέοντας μελῳδοῦσαι καὶ κολακεύουσαι τοῖς ἄσμασιν καὶ καταπλέυσαντας ἐπὶ πολὺ κατείχον, καὶ ὅλως τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐδειτό τινος διατριβῆς, καὶ ποῦ τις αὐτὰς καὶ παρέπλευσε καὶ τοῦ μέλους παρῆκουσέ· τὸ δὲ τῶν Γοργόνων κάλλος, ἀτε βιαίωτατὸν τε ἄν καὶ τοὺς καιρωτάτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὤμολοιν, εὐθὺς ἐξιστη τοὺς ἰδόντας καὶ ἀφώνους ἐπολεύει, ὡς δὲ ὁ μύθος βούλεται καὶ λέγεται, λίθινοι ἐγίγνοντο ὑπὸ θαῦματος. ὥστε καὶ ὅπερ τοῦ ταῦ λόγον εἴπε πρὸς ὑμᾶς μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ εἰρήσθαι νομίζω· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἐν τῇ ὤψει, οὐκ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ τερτύν. καὶ εἰ γέ τις παραστησάμενος τὴν ἀγδόνα ἢ τὸν κύκλον ἄδεις κελεύοι, μεταξὺ δὲ ἀδοντων παραδεξείς τὸν ταῦ σωπώντα, εὑρίσκει ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνον μεταβήσεται ή ψυχή μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσασα τοῖς ἑκείνων ἄσμασιν ὡς ἄμαχον τῷ ἑοίκειν εἰναι ἢ δι’ ὄψεως ἡδονή. καὶ ἔγνω, εἴ βούλεσθε, μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παραστήσομαι σοφὸν ἄνδρα, δι’ αὐτίκα μοι μαρτυρήσει ός πολὺ ἐπικρατεστερά ἐστι τῶν ἀκοομένων τὰ ὁρόμενα. καὶ μοι σὺ ἣδη ὁ κήρυς προσκάλει αὐτῶν Ἰρόδοτον Δύξου Ἀλικαρνασόθεν· κατειδέ καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπῆκουσε, μαρτυρεῖτο παρελθόνες ἀναδέξασθε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἰαστὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγοντα ωσπερ αὐτῷ θόν. Ἀληθεὰ τάδε ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες δικασταί, μυθεῖται καὶ οἱ πείθεσθε ὡς ἢν λέγη τοῦτον πέρι ὅψιν ἄκοης προτιμέων· ὥστα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.
THE HALL

the story of the Sirens with the one about the Gorgons. The Sirens charmed passing voyagers by making music and working on them with songs, and held them long when they put in. In short, their performance only exacted a delay, and no doubt one or another voyager went by them, neglecting their music. On the contrary, the beauty of the Gorgons, being extremely powerful and affecting the very vitals of the soul, stunned its beholders and made them speechless, so that, as the story has it and everyone says, they turned to stone in wonder. For this reason I count what my opponent said to you a moment ago about the peacock a plea for my side: surely his attractiveness is in his looks, not in his voice! If anybody should match a nightingale or a swan against him, letting them sing and showing the peacock silent while they were singing, I know well that your soul would go over to him, bidding a long farewell to their songs. So invincible, it seems, is the delight of the eyes! If you wish, I will produce you a witness in the person of a sage, who will testify on the spot that what one sees is far more effectual than what one hears. Crier, summon in person Herodotus, son of Lyxus, of Halicarnassus. Since he has been so kind as to comply, let him take the stand and give his testimony. Suffer him to speak to you in Ionic, to which he is accustomed.

"'Master Point o' View tellett ye true herein. Believe whatso he sayeth to this matter, esteeming sight over hearing, for in sooth ears be less trusty than eyes.'

1 Only the last clause is really Herodotean (I, 8, 3).
'Ακούετε τοῦ μάρτυρος ἡ φήσιν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα τῇ ὡρεὶ ἀπέδωκεν; εἰκότως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔπεα περισσώτερα ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχεῖται ἀμα τῶ προελθεὶν ἀποστάμενα, ἢ δὲ τῶν ὁρωμένων τέρψις ἀεὶ παρεστῶσα καὶ παραμένουσα πάντως τὸν θεατὴν ὑπάγεται.

Πῶς οὖν ὁ χαλεπὸς τῷ λέγοντι ἀνταγω-
νιστὴς οἷκος οὗτος καλὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ὄν; μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον οὐδέπω φημή· οὐκεὶς γὰρ
αὐτὸς οἱ δικασται καὶ μεταξὶ λεγὸντων ἡμῶν ἐς
τὴν ὀρμοὺς ἀπεβλέπτωσι καὶ τοὺς τοίχους ἐθαυμά-
ζετε καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἔλεγαν καὶ πρὸς ἐκάσθην
ἀποστρεφόμενοι. καὶ μὴν αἰσχυνθῆτε· συγ-
γνώμη γάρ, εἰ τι ἀνθρώπων πεπόθατε, ἀλλοι τε
καὶ πρὸς οὗτος καὶ ποικίλας τὰς ὑποθέσεις.

τῆς γὰρ τέχνης τὸ ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τῆς ἰστορίας μετὰ
tοῦ ἀρχαίου τὸ ὥφελμον ἐπαγωγὸν ὡς ἀληθοῦς
καὶ πεπαιδευμένων θεατῶν δεόμενον. καὶ ἴνα μὴ
πάντα έκειστε ἀποβλέπτητε ἡμᾶς ἀπολύτοιτες, φέρε
ὡς οἶνον τε γράψουμαι 1 αὐτὰ ύμῖν τῷ λόγῳ·
ἤσθησε γάρ, οἰμαὶ, ἀκούοντες ἢ καὶ ὀρκώντες
θαυμάζετε. καὶ ἴσως ἂν με καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἔπαινε-
σατε καὶ τοῦ ἀντιδικὸν προτιμήσατε, ὡς καὶ 2
αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα 3 ύμῖν τὴν
ἡδονήν. τὸ χαλεπὸν δὲ τοῦ τολμήματος ὁρᾶτε,

ἐν χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ τόπον συστή-
σαθαί τοσάτας εἰκόνας· ψυλὴ γάρ τις ἡ γραφὴ
tῶν λόγων.

1 γράψομαι MSS.: γράψομαι Guyet.
2 ὡς καὶ Reitz: ὡς μὴ καὶ MSS. edd. since Jacobitz.
3 αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα MSS.: αὐτὸν ἐπιδε-
ιξαντα καὶ διπλασιάσαντα edd. since Jacobitz, with two Re-
naissance codices and the first edition.
THE HALL

"Do you hear what the witness says, that he gives the palm to sight? With reason, for words are winged and go flying off the instant they have left the lips, while the beauty of things seen is always present and lasting and entices the spectator, will he, nill he.

"Is not then a hall so beautiful and admirable a dangerous adversary to a speaker? But I have not yet mentioned the principal point. You yourselves, gentlemen of the jury, have been regarding the roof as we spoke, admiring the walls and examining the pictures, turning toward each of them. Do not be ashamed! It is excusable if you have felt a touch of human nature, especially in the presence of pictures so beautiful and so varied. The exactness of their technique and the combination of antiquarian interest and instructiveness in their subjects are truly seductive and call for a cultivated spectator. That you may not look exclusively in that direction and leave us in the lurch, I will do my best to paint you a word-picture of them, for I think you will be glad to hear about things which you look at with admiration. Perhaps you will even applaud me for it and prefer me to my opponent, saying that I have displayed my powers as well as he, and that I have made your pleasure double. But the difficulty of the task is patent, to represent so many pictures without colour, form or space. Word-painting is but a bald thing.

199
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Εν δεξιὰ μὲν οὖν εἰςιόντι Ἀργολικῷ μύθῳ 22 ἀναμέμβεται πάθος Αἰθιοπικῶν· ὁ Περσεύς τὸ κῆτος φονεύει καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καθαίρει, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν γαμήσει καὶ ἀπεισώπην αὐτὴν ἄγων· πάρεργον τούτῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργώνας πτήσεως· ἐν βραχεῖ δὲ πολλὰ ὁ τεχνίτης ἐμμηνάτο, αἰδῶν παρθένου καὶ φόβου—ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ μάχῃ ἀνωθεὶν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας—καὶ νεανίου τόλμης ἑρωτικῆς καὶ θερίου ὲψιν ἀπρόσμαχον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπείσι πεφρικὸς ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ δεδιτόμενον τῷ χάσματι, ὁ Περσεύς δὲ τῇ λαϊκῇ μὲν προδείκνυσι τὴν Γοργώνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ καθικεῖται τῷ ξέφει· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅσον τοῦ κῆτους εἰδε τὴν Μέδουσαν, ἦδη λίθος ἐστίν, τὸ δ’ ὅσον ἐμψυχον μένει, τῇ ἀρπῆς κόπτεται.

'Εξῆς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δὲ τήν την εἰκόνα ἔτερον δράμα 23 γέγραπται δικαιότατον, οὐ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ὁ γραφεύς παρ’ Εὐριπίδου ἡ Σοφοκλέους δοκεῖ μοι λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὁμοίαν ἐγράψαν τὴν εἰκόνα. τῷ νέανίᾳ τῷ ἐταίρῳ Πυλάδης τε ὁ Φωκεύς καὶ ὁ Ὀρέστης δοκῶν ἦδη τεθναίναι λαθόντ’ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, παρελθόντε φονεύουσιν ἀμφότερον τὸν Άγιοσθοῦν· καὶ ὁ Κλαυταμήστρα ἦδη ἀνήρτηται καὶ ἐπ’ εὐνόης τινος ἡμύγμυνος πρόκειται καὶ θεραπεία πάσα ἐκπεπληγμένοι τὸ ἔργον οἱ μὲν ὠστερ βοῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τινες ὡς ἠγάφησι περιβλέποντει. σεμών δὲ τὸ γραφεύς ἐπενόησεν, τὸ μὲν ἀσέβεις τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως δείξας μόνον καὶ ὡς ἦδη

1 Punctuation A.M.H.
2 Text Cobet: λαβόντε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ MSS.
THE HALL

"On the right as you come in, you have a combination of Argolic myth and Ethiopian romance. Perseus is killing the sea-monster and freeing Andromeda; in a little while he will marry her and go away with her. It is an incident to his winged quest of the Gorgons. The artist has represented much in little—the maid's modesty and terror (for she is looking down on the fight from the cliff overhead), the lad's fond courage and the beast's unconquerable mien. As he comes on bristling with spines and inspiring terror with his gaping jaws Perseus displays the Gorgon in his left hand, and with his right assails him with the sword: the part of the monster which has seen the Medusa is already stone, and the part that is still alive is feeling the hanger's edge.\(^1\)

"Next to this picture is portrayed another righteous deed, for which the painter derived his model, I suppose, from Euripides or Sophocles, inasmuch as they have portrayed the subject in the same way.\(^2\) The two youthful comrades Pylades of Phocis and Orestes (supposed to be dead) have secretly entered the palace and are slaying Aegisthus. Clytemnestra is already slain and is stretched on a bed half-naked, and the whole household is stunned by the deed—some are shouting, apparently, and others casting about for a way of escape. It was a noble device on the painter's part simply to indicate the impious element in the undertaking and pass it over as an

\(^1\) Cf. Claudian (\textit{Gigantom.} 113), of a giant slain by Athena: \textit{pars moritur ferro, partes periere videndo.} An echo of the same source?

\(^2\) In the \textit{Electra} of each. But this description is modelled on Sophocles (1424 ff.).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πεπραγμένου παραδραμών, ἐμβραδύνοντας δὲ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐργασάμενος τῷ τοῦ μοιχοῦ φόνῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ θεός ἐστὶν εὐμορφός καὶ 24 μειράκιον ὀφραῖον, ἐρωτική τις παιδία· ὁ Βράγχος ἐπὶ πέτρας καθεξόμενος ἀνέχει λαγών καὶ προσπαίζει τὸν κύνα, οὗ δὲ πηδησομένῳ ἔοικεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὑψός, καὶ Ἀπόλλων παρεστῶς μειδία τερπόμενος ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῷ παιδὶ παῖζοντι καὶ πειρωμένῳ τῷ κυνί.

'Επὶ δὲ τούτως ο Περσές πάλιν τὰ πρὸ 25 τοῦ κήτους ἔκεινα τολμῶν καὶ ἡ Μέδουσα τεμνομένη τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ σκέπουσα τὸν Περσέα· οὗ δὲ τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἰργασταί, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὗχ ἔωρακεν, πλὴν 1 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς Γοργόνος τὴν εἰκόνα· οἴδε γὰρ τὸ πρόστιμον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀψεως.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν μέσον τοῖχον ἄνω τῆς ἀντι- 26 θύρου 2 Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς πεποίηται, ἡ θεὸς λίθον λευκοῦ, τὸ σχῆμα οὐ πολεμιστήριον, ἀλλ' οἶον ἄν γένοιτο εἰρήνην ἄγούσης θεοῦ πολεμικῆς.

Εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ λίθος 27 αὐτῇ γε, ἄλλα γραφή πάλιν· Ἡφαιστος αὐτήν διώκει ἔρων, ἢ δὲ φεύγει, κακὴ τῆς διώξεως Ἐρικθόνιος γίγνεται.

Ταύτη ἐπεται παλαιά τις ἄλλη γραφή· 'Ομίλοι 28 φέρει τὸν Κηδάλλωνα τυφλὸς ὁ, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει τὴν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὁδὸν ἐποχούμενος, καὶ ὁ Ἡλίους φανελ ἵλατο τὴν πύρωσιν, καὶ 29 ὁ Ἡφαιστος Δημιοῦθεν ἐπισκόπει τὸ ἔργον.

'Οδυσσεὺς τὸ μετὰ τούτο δήθεν μεμηνῶς, ἀτε 30

1 πλὴν Schwartz: πω MSS.
2 ἀντιθύρου Guyet (cf. ἦ παράθυρος): ἀντίθυρος MSS.
THE HALL

accomplished fact, and to represent the young men lingering over the slaying of the adulterer.

"Next is a handsome god and a pretty boy, a scene of fond foolery. Branchus, sitting on a rock, is holding up a hare and teasing his dog, while the dog is apparently going to spring up at him; Apollo, standing near, is smiling in amusement at the tricks of the lad and the efforts of the dog.

"Then comes Perseus again, in the adventure which preceded the sea-monster. He is cutting off the head of Medusa, and Athena is shielding him. He has done the daring deed, but has not looked, except at the reflection of the Gorgon in the shield, for he knows the cost of looking at the reality.

"In the middle of the wall, above the postern\(^1\) is constructed a shrine of Athena. The goddess is of marble, and is not in harness but as a war-goddess would appear when at peace.

"Then we have another Athena, not of marble this time, but in colours as before. Hephaestus is pursuing her amorously; she is running away and Erichthonius is being engendered of the chase.\(^2\)

"On this there follows another prehistoric picture. Orion, who is blind, is carrying Cedalion, and the latter, riding on his back, is showing him the way to the sunlight. The rising sun is healing the blindness of Orion, and Hephaestus views the incident from Lemnos.

"Odysseus is next, feigning madness because

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\(^1\) Or perhaps "rear window."

\(^2\) Mother Earth gave birth to him, not Athena.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ςυστρατεύειν\(^1\) τοῖς Ἄτρείδαις μὴ θέλων· πάρεισι
de οἱ πρέσβεις ἦδη καλοῦντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς
ὑποκρίσεως πιθανὰ πάντα, ἡ ἀπήνη, τὸ τῶν
ὑπεξευγμένων ἀσύμφωνον, ἡ ἄνοια\(^2\) τῶν δρωμέων·
ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὅμως τῷ βρέφει: Παλαμήδης γὰρ
ὁ τοῦ Ναυπλίου συνεῖς τὸ γυνόμενον, ἀρτάσας
τὸν Τηλέμαχον ἀπειλεῖ φονεύσειν πρόκωπον
ἐξων τὸ ξίφος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς μανίας ὑπό-
κρισιν ὀργὴν καὶ οὕτως ἀνθυποκρίνεται. ὅ δὲ
Ὀδυσσεύς πρὸς τὸν φόβον τούτου σωφρονεῖ
cαὶ πατήρ γίγνεται καὶ λυεῖ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

Τοστάτη δὲ ἡ Μήδεια γέγραπται τῷ ξίλῳ
31
dιακαίης, τῷ παίδε ὑπόβλεπονσα καὶ τι δεινὸν
ἐννοοῦσα· ἔχει γοῦν ἦδη τὸ ξίφος, τὸ δ’ ἀθλίω
καθήσθων γελῶντε, μηδὲν τῶν μελλόντων εἰδότε,
cαὶ ταῦτα ὀρῶντε τὸ ξίφος ἐν ταῖν χερῶν.

Ταῦτα πάντα, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐχ
32
ὅρατε ὅπως Ἀτάγην μὲν τὸν ἄκροαιν καὶ πρὸς
τὴν θέαν ἀποστρέφει, μόνον δὲ καταλεῖπε τὸν
λέγοντα: καὶ ἔγνω μεταξάθηκαν αὐτά, οὐχ ῥα
τὸν ἀντίδικον τολμηρὸν ὑπολαβόντες καὶ θρασύν,
cαὶ τοῦ ὅτω δυσκόλον ἔαντον ἐκὼν φέρων ἐπέβαλεν,
καταγνώτε καὶ μισήστε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων
ἐγκαταλήπτητε, ἀλλ’ ἰὼ σάλλον αὐτῷ συναγωγι
ísimo καὶ ὡς οἶον ἐκαταμάντοντε ἀκούτη τῶν
λεγομένων, λογιζόμενου τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ὅσχε-
ρειν μόλις γὰρ ἄν οὕτω δυνηθήναι οὗ δικασταῖς

\(^1\) Ąτε συστρατεύειν Guyet, Gesner: ὄτε συστρατεύει MSS.
(but συστρατεύει Z and correction in W).
\(^2\) ἡ ἄνοια Schwartz: ἄγνοια MSS.

204
THE HALL

he does not want to make the campaign with the sons of Atreus. The ambassadors are there to summon him. All the details of his pretence are true to life—the wagon, the ill-matched team, the folly of his actions. He is shown up, however, by means of his child. Palamedes, son of Nauplius, comprehending the situation, seizes Telemachus and threatens, sword in hand, to kill him, meeting Odysseus' pretence of madness with a pretence of anger. In the face of this fright Odysseus grows sane, becomes a father and abandons his pretence.

"Last of all Medea is pictured aflame with jealousy, looking askance at her two boys with a terrible purpose in her mind—indeed, she already has her sword—while the poor children sit there laughing, unsuspicuous of the future, although they see the sword in her hands.

"Do you not see, gentlemen of the jury, how all these things attract the hearer and turn him away to look, leaving the speaker stranded? My purpose in describing them was not that you might think my opponent bold and daring for voluntarily attacking a task so difficult, and so pronounce against him, dislike him and leave him floundering, but that on the contrary you might support him and do your best to close your eyes and listen to what he says, taking into consideration the hardness of the thing. Even under these circumstances, when he has you

1 He yoked an ass and an ox together.
ἀλλὰ συναγωνισταῖς ὑμῖν χρησάμενος μὴ παντὰ-πασιν ἀνάξιον τῆς τοῦ οἴκου πολυτελείας νομο-σθῆναι. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀντιδίκου ταύτα δέομαι, μὴ θαυμάσῃτε· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν οἴκον φιλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἑν αὐτῷ λέγοντα, ὡστὶς ἂν ἦ, βουλοίμην ἂν εὐδοκιμεῖν.
as supporters, not judges, it will be just barely possible for him to avoid being thought altogether unworthy of the splendour of the hall. Do not be surprised that I make this request in behalf of an adversary, for on account of my fondness for the hall I should like anyone who may speak in it, no matter who he is, to be successful.”
MY NATIVE LAND

If this piece had not come down to us among the works of Lucian, nobody would ever have thought of attributing it to him.
"Οτι μὲν ουδὲν γλύκιον ἡς πατρίδος, φθάνει προτεθυρυλημένον. ἂρ' οὖν ἢδιον μὲν ουδέν, σεμ- νότερον δὲ τί καὶ θειότερον ἄλλο; καὶ μὴν ὃσα σεμνὰ καὶ θεία γνωμίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τούτων πατρίς αἵτία καὶ διδάσκαλος, γεννησαμένη καὶ ἀναθρεψαμένη καὶ παιδευσαμένη. πόλεων μὲν οὖν μεγέθη καὶ λαμπρότητας καὶ πολυτελείας κατασκευῶν θαυμάζουσι πολλοί, πατρίδας δὲ στέργουσι πάντες καὶ τοσοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἔξηπατήθη τὼν καὶ πάνυ κεκρατημένων ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν θέαν ἢδονῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τῶν παρ' ἄλλως θαυμάτων λήθην ποιήσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος. ὅτις μὲν οὖν σεμνύνεται πολύτις ὁν εὐδαι- μονος πόλεως, ἄγνωσται δέκει τίνα χρή τιμῆν ἀπονέμειν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἰδής ἐστιν ἀχθόμενοι ἃν, εἰ μετριωτέρας ἔλαχε τῆς πατρίδος· ἐμόλ δὲ ἢδιον αὐτὸ τιμᾶν τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα. πόλεως μὲν γὰρ παραβαλεῖν πειρωμένῳ προσήκει μέγεθος ἐξετάζει καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁμίῳ ἀφθονίαν· ὅπου δ' αἴρεσις ἐστι πόλεως, οὐδεὶς ἄν ἔλοιπο τὴν λαμπροτέραν ἐάσας τὴν πατρίδα, ἀλλ' εὐξειστο μὲν ἄν εἶναι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ταῖς εὐδαι- μοσὶ παραπλησίαν, ἔλοιπο δ' ἄν τὴν ὄποιανον. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι τῶν παῖδων 3
"Nothing sweeter than one’s native land"¹ is already a commonplace. If nothing is sweeter, then is anything more holy and divine? Truly of all that men count holy and divine their native land is cause and teacher, in that she bears, nurtures and educates them. To be sure, many admire cities for their size, their splendour and the magnificence of their public works, but everyone loves his own country; and even among men completely overmastered by the lust of the eye, no one is so misguided as to be forgetful of it because of the greater number of wonders in other countries. Therefore a man who prides himself on being citizen of a prosperous state does not know, it seems to me, what sort of honour one should pay his native land, and such an one would clearly take it ill if his lot had fallen in a less pretentious place. For my part I prefer to honour the mere name of native land. In attempting to compare states, it is proper, of course, to investigate their size and beauty and the abundance of their supplies; but when it is a question of choosing between them, nobody would choose the more splendid and give up his own. He would pray that it too might be as prosperous as any, but would choose it, no matter what it was. Upright children and good fathers do

¹ Odysse. 9, 34.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πράττουσιν καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν πατέρων, οὔτε γὰρ νέος καὶ λός κἀγαθὸς ἄλλον ἀν προτιμήσαι τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε πατήρ καταμελήσας τοῦ παιδὸς ἔτερον ἀν στέρξαι νέον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον γε οἱ πατέρες νικῶμενοι προσνέμουσι τοῖς παισίν, ὡστε καὶ κάλλιστοι καὶ μέγιστοι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀριστα κεκοσμημένοι οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ὥστις δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἐστι δικαστὴς πρὸς τὸν νιόν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι πατρὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν.

Πατρίδος τοῦν τὸ ὄνομα πρῶτον οἰκείωτατον 4 πάντων οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ τι τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκείωτερον. εἰ δὲ τις ἀπονέμει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δικαίαν τιμήν, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ νόμος καὶ ἡ φύσις κελεύει, προση- κόντως ἀν τὴν πατρίδα προτιμήσαι καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸς τής πατρίδος κτήμα καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς πατήρ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τούτων οἰκεῖοι πάντες ἀνωτέρω, καὶ μέχρι θεῶν πατρῴων προέσων ἀναβιβαζόμενον τὸ ὄνομα. χαίροντι καὶ θεοὶ 5 πατρίς καὶ πάντα μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐφορώσει τὰ τῶν ἄνθρωπων, αὐτῶν ἠγούμενοι κτήματα πᾶσαν γῇ καὶ θάλασσαν, ἐφ’ ἵς δὲ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, προτιμά τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασίων πόλεων. καὶ πόλεις σεμνότεραι θεῶν πατρίδες καὶ νήσοι θεοτέραι παρ’ αἷς ύμνεται γένεσις θεῶν. ἵερα γὰρ κεχαρισμένα ταῦτα νομίζεται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκαστὸς ἀφικόμενος ἱερουργῇ τόπους. εἰ δὲ θεοῖς τίμων τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα, πῶς οὐκ ἄνθρωποι γε πολὺ μᾶλλον; καὶ γὰρ 6 εἰδε τὸν ἠλιον πῶς πρῶτον ἐκαστὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς καὶ τούτον τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ κοινὸς ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ 8615 ἐκάστῳ νομίζεσθαι πατρῷ διὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θεᾶν καὶ φωνὴς ἐνταῦθα ἦρξατο 212
just the same thing. A lad of birth and breeding would not honour anyone else above his father, and a father would not neglect his son and cherish some other lad. In fact, fathers, influenced by their affection, give their sons so much more than their due that they think them the best-looking, the tallest and the most accomplished in every way. One who does not judge his son in this spirit does not seem to me to have a father’s eyes.

In the first place, then, the name of fatherland is closer to one’s heart than all else, for there is nothing closer than a father. If one pays his father proper honour, as law and nature direct, then one should honour his fatherland still more, for his father himself belonged to it and his father’s father and all their forbears, and the name of father goes back until it reaches the father-gods. Even the gods have countries that they rejoice in, and although they watch over all the abodes of man, deeming that every land and every sea is theirs, nevertheless each honours the place in which he was born above all other states. Cities are holier when they are homes of gods, and islands more divine if legends are told of the birth of gods in them. Indeed, sacrifices are accounted pleasing to the gods when one goes to their native places to perform the ceremony. If, then, the name of native land is in honour with the gods, should it not be far more so with mankind? Each of us had his first sight of the sun from his native land, and so that god, universal though he be, is nevertheless accounted by everyone a home-god, because of the place from which he saw him first. Moreover, each of us began to speak there, learning
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tὰ ἐπιχώρια πρῶτα λαλεῖν μανθάνων καὶ θεοὺς ἐγνώρισεν· εἰ δὲ τις τοιαύτης ἔλαχε πατρίδος, ὡς ἐτέρας δεηθήναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν μειξόνων παϊδείαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχετω καὶ τούτων τῶν παιδευμάτων τῇ πατρίδι τῇ χάριν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγνώρισεν οὐδὲ πόλεως ὄνομα μὴ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα πόλιν εἶναι μαθών.

Πάντα δὲ, οἴμαι, παιδεύματα καὶ μαθήματα 7 συλλέγοντι άνθρωποι χρησιμωτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ταῖς πατρίσι παρασκευάζοντες· κτόνται δὲ καὶ χρήματα φιλοτιμίας ἐνεκεν τῆς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πατρίδος δαπανήματα. καὶ εἰκότως, οἴμαι· δεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχαρίστους εἶναι τοὺς τῶν μεγίστων τυχόντας εὐργεσίων. ἀλλ' εἰ τοὺς καθ' ἑνα τις ἀπονέμει χάριν, ὃσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, ἐπειδὰν εὐ πάθη πρὸς τινος, πολὺ μᾶλλον προσήκει την πατρίδα τοῖς καθήκουσιν ἀμελβεσθαί; κακώσεως μὲν γὰρ γονέων εἰσὶ νόμοι παρὰ ταῖς πόλεις, κοινὴν δὲ προσήκει πάντων μητέρα την πατρίδα νομίζειν καὶ χαριστήρια τροφῆν αποδιδόναι καὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν γνώσεως.

Ὡφθη δὲ οὕδεις οὕτως ἀμνήμων τῆς πατρί- 8 δος, ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει γενόμενος ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τε κακοπραγοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀποδημίαις συνεχῶς ἀνακαλοῦσιν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ή πατρίς, οὐ τε εὐδαιμονοῦντες, ἀλ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐ πράττο- σιν, τοῦτο γοῦν αὐτοῖς μέγιστον ἐνδεῖ νομίζουσιν τὸ μὴ τὴν πατρίδα οἶκειν, ἀλλὰ ξενιτεύειν· ὅμοιος γὰρ τὸ τῆς ξενιτείας. καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀποδημίας χρόνον λαμπροὺς γενομένους ή διὰ χρημάτων κτήσιν ή διὰ τιμῆς δόξαν ή διὰ παι- 214
MY NATIVE LAND

first to talk his native dialect, and came to know the
 gods there. If a man's lot has been cast in such a
 land that he has required another for his higher
 education, he should still be thankful for these early
 teachings, for he would not have known even the
 meaning of "state" if his country had not taught
 him that there was such a thing.

The reason, I take it, for which men amass
 education and learning is that they may thereby
 make themselves more useful to their native land,
 and they likewise acquire riches out of ambition to
 contribute to its common funds. With reason, I
 think: for men should not be ungrateful when
 they have received the greatest favours. On the
 contrary, if a man returns thanks to individuals,
 as is right, when he has been well treated by
 them, much more should he requite his country
 with its due. To wrong one's parents is against the
 law of the different states; but counting our native
 land the common mother of us all, we should give
 her thank-offerings for our nurture and for our
 knowledge of the law itself.

No one was ever known to be so forgetful of
 his country as to care nothing for it when he was
 in another state. No, those who get on badly in
 foreign parts continually cry out that one's own
 country is the greatest of all blessings, while those
 who get on well, however successful they may be in all
 else, think that they lack one thing at least, a thing
 of the greatest importance, in that they do not live
 in their own country but sojourn in a strange land; for
 thus to sojourn is a reproach! And men who during
 their years abroad have become illustrious through
 acquirement of wealth, through renown from office-
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

dείας μαρτυρίαν ἢ δι’ ἀνδρείας ἐπαινοῦν ἔστων ἰδεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πάντας ἐπευγομένους, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλοις βελτίσσων ἐπιδειξάμενοι τὰ αὐτῶν καλά· καὶ τοσούτῳ γε μᾶλλον ἐκαστὸς σπεύδει λαβέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, ὦσπερ ἂν φαίνηται μειζόνων παρ’ ἄλλοις ἡξιωμένοι.

Ποθεινὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ νέοις ἡ πατρίς· τοῖς δὲ ἢδη γεγηρακόσιν ὅσῳ πλεῖον τοῦ φρονεῖν ἢ τοῖς νέοις μέτεστι, τοσούτῳ καὶ πλεῖον ἐγγίνεται πόθος τῆς πατρίδος· ἐκαστὸς γοῦν τῶν γεγηρακότων καὶ σπεύδει καὶ εὐχεται καταλύσαι τὸν βιον ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς ἦθεν ἠξιωμάτῳ μικρών, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα παρακατάθηται τῇ θρεψιμήν καὶ τῶν πατρών κοινωνήσῃ τάφων· δεινὸν γὰρ ἐκάστῳ δοκεῖ ξενίας ἀλήσκεσθαι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, ἐν ἄλλοτρια κειμένῳ γῆ.

"Ὅσον δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὰς πατρίδας μέτεστιν τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς γνησίοις πολίταις μάθοι τις ἀν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἑπῷ ἐπῆλθες καθάπερ νόθοι ραίδες ποιοῦνται τὰς μεταναστάσεις, τὸ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ὅνομα μῆτε εἰδότες μῆτε στέργουντες, ἡγούμενοι δὲ ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐπιτη- δείων εὐπορήσειν, μέτρουν εὐδαιμονίας τὰς τῆς γαστρὸς ἢδονὰς τυθέμενοι· οἷς δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἡ πατρίς, ἀγαπῶσι τὴν γῆν ἐφ’ ἢς ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐτραφησαν, καὶ ὀλήγην ἔχωσι, καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ λεπτόγεων καὶ ἀπορώσι τῆς γῆς ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἀρετήν, τῶν γάρ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀπορήσου- σιν ἐγκωμίων. ἄλλα καὶ ἵδοσιν ἐτέρους σεμνο- μένους πεδίους ἀνειμένους καὶ λειμώδει φυτοῖς παντοδαποῖς διειλημμένους, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τῆς 216
MY NATIVE LAND

holding, through testimony to their culture, or through praise of their bravery, can be seen hurrying one and all to their native land, as if they thought they could not anywhere else find better people before whom to display the evidences of their success. The more a man is esteemed elsewhere, the more eager is he to regain his own country.

Even the young love their native land; but aged men, being wiser, love it more. In fact, every aged man yearns and prays to end his life in it, that there in the place where he began to live he may deposit his body in the earth which nurtured him and which contains the graves of his fathers. He thinks it a calamity to be guilty of being a man without a country even after death, through lying buried in a strange land.

How much affection real, true citizens have for their native land can be learned only among a people sprung from the soil. Newcomers, being but bastard children, as it were, transfer their allegiance easily, since they neither know nor love the name of native land, but expect to be well provided with the necessities of life wherever they may be, measuring happiness by their appetites! On the other hand, those who have a real mother-country love the soil on which they were born and bred, even if they own but little of it, and that be rough and thin. Though they be hard put to it to praise the soil, they will not lack words to extol their country. Indeed, when they see others priding themselves on their open plains and prairies diversified with all manner of growing things, they themselves do not forget the

1 Cf. Thucydides 1, 1.
πατρίδος ἐγκωμίων οὐκ ἐπιλαμβάνονται, τὴν δὲ ἱπποτρόφον ὑπερωρῶτες τὴν κουροτρόφον ἐπαινοῦσι. καὶ σπεύδει τις εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, κἂν νησίωτης ἥ, κἂν παρ’ ἄλλοις εὐδαιμονεῖν δύνηται, καὶ διδομένην ἀθανασίαν οὐ προσήγεται, προτιμῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος τάφον, καὶ ὁ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ καπνὸς λαμπρότερος ὀφθήσεται τοῦ παρ’ ἄλλοις πυρός.

Οὕτω δὲ ἄρα τίμιον εἶναί δοκεῖ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἡ πατρίς, ὅστε καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ νομοθέτας ἴδοι τὶς ἀν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν ὡς χαλεπωτάτην ἐπιβεβληκότας τὴν φυγὴν τιμωρίαν. καὶ οὔχ οἱ νομοθέται μὲν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οἳ δὲ πιστεύομεν τὸς στρατηγίας ἑτέρως, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸ μεγίστον ἔστι τῶν παραγγελμάτων τοῖς παραταττομένοις, ὡς ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ οὔτεὶ ὅστις ἄν ἀκούσας τούτον κακὸς εἶναι θέλῃ: ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν δείλον ἀνδρεῖον τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα.

218
MY NATIVE LAND

merits of their own country, and pass over its fitness for breeding horses to praise its fitness for breeding men. One hastens to his native land though he be an islander, and though he be able to enrich himself elsewhere. If immortality be offered him he will not accept it, preferring a grave in his native land, and the smoke thereof is brighter to his eyes than fire elsewhere.¹

To such an extent do all men seem to prize their own country that lawgivers everywhere, as one may note, have prescribed exile as the severest penalty for the greatest transgressions. And it cannot be said that in this view lawgivers differ from commanders. On the contrary, in battle no other exhortation of the marshalled men is so effective as “You are fighting for your native land!” No man who hears this is willing to be a coward, for the name of native land makes even the dastard brave.

¹ This passage is full of allusions to the Odyssey. Ithaca, “rough, but good for breeding men” (9, 27), is not fit for horses (4, 601). Odysseus, the islander, who might have been happy, even immortal, with Circe (5, 135; 208), will not accept immortality, for his native land is dearer than all else to him (9, 27 ff.) and he longs to see the very smoke arising from it (1, 57).
OCTOGENARIANS

This treatise (evidently compiled in haste for a special occasion) cannot fairly be fathered on Lucian. It is valuable, however, as a document, and not uninteresting in spots.
ΜΑΚΡΟΒΙΟΙ

"Οναρ τι τούτο, λαμπρότατε Κυντίλλε, κελευσθείς προσφέρω σοι δώρον τοῦς μακροβίους, πάλαι μὲν τὸ ὅναρ ἰδὼν καὶ ἱστορήσας τοῖς φίλοις, δὲ ἐτίθεσο τῷ δευτέρῳ σου παιδί τοῦνα: συμβαλεῖν δὲ ὦν τίνας ὁ θεὸς κελεύει μοι προσφέρειν σοι τοὺς μακροβίους, τότε μὲν εὐξάμην τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ μήκιστον ύμᾶς βιώναι σὲ ταῦτα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς σου, τούτο συμφέρειν νομίζων καὶ σύμπαντι μὲν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει, πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἁπάντων αὐτῷ τε ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς: καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνῃ ἀγαθῇ ἐδόκει προσημαίνειν τὸ θεὸς. σκεπτόμενος δὲ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἠλθὼν, εἰκός εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνθρώποι περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντι ταῦτα προστάσσοντας κελεύειν προσφέρειν σοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης. ταύτην οὖν αἰσθητάτην νομίζων τὴν τῶν σῶν γενεθλίων ἡμέραν διδομένης σοι τοὺς ἱστορήσαντας εἰς μακροβίους ἴσης ἀφικέσθαι ἐν ὑγιαινοῦσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὀλοκλήρῳ τῷ σώματι. καὶ γὰρ ἄν καὶ ὅφελος γένοιτο τί σοι ἕκ τοῦ συγγράμματος διπλοῦν: τὸ μὲν εὐθυμία τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μήκιστον δύνασθαι βιώναι, τὸ δὲ διδασκάλια τις ἐκ παραδειγμάτων, εἰ ἐπιγνοῖς ὅτι οἱ μάλιστα ἑαυτῶν ἑπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τὰ σῶμα

1 ἔννοιαν Cobet: σύννοιαν MSS.
OCTOGENARIANS

At the behest of a dream, illustrious Quintillus, I make you a present of the "Octogenarians." I had the dream and told my friends of it long since, when you were christening your second child. At the time, however, not being able to understand what the god meant by commanding me to "present you the octogenarians," I merely offered a prayer that you and your children might live very long, thinking that this would benefit not only the whole human race but, more than anyone else, me in person and all my kin; for I too, it seemed, had a blessing predicted for me by the god. But as I thought the matter over by myself, I hit upon the idea that very likely in giving such an order to a literary man, the gods were commanding him to present you something from his profession. Therefore, on this your birthday, which I thought the most auspicious occasion, I give you the men who are related to have attained great age with a sound mind and a perfect body. Some profit may accrue to you from the treatise in two ways: on the one hand, encouragement and good hopes of being able to live long yourself, and on the other hand, instruction by examples, if you observe that it is the men who have paid most
καὶ κατὰ ψυχῆν, οὕτως δὲ εἰς μακρότατον γῆρας ἦλθον σὺν υγιείᾳ παντελεῖ. Νέστορα μὲν οὖν 3 τὸν σοφῶτατον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς παρατείναι γενεὰς "Ομήρος λέγει, ἄν συνίστησιν ἡμῖν γεγυμνασμένον ἀριστα καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σῶματι. καὶ Τειρησίαν δὲ τὸν μάντιν ἡ τραγῳδία μέχρις ἐξ γενεῶν παρατείναι λέγει. πιθανοῦ δὲ ἂν εἰς ἄνδρα θεοῖς ἄνακείμενον καθαρωτέρα διαίτη χρώμενον1 ἐπὶ μήκιστον βιώναι. καὶ γένη δὲ ὅλα 4 μακρόβια ἱστορεῖται διὰ τὴν διαίταν, ὡσπερ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ καλούμενοι ἱερογραμματεῖς, Ἀσσυρίων δὲ καὶ Ἀράβων οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν μύθων, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ καλούμενοι Βραχμᾶνες, ἄνδρες ἀκριβῶς φιλοσοφία σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ μάγοι, γένος τοῦτο μαντικὸν καὶ θεοῖς ἄνακείμενον παρὰ τε Πέρσας καὶ Πάρθοι καὶ Βάκτροι καὶ Χωρασμίως καὶ Ἀραβίως καὶ Σάκας καὶ Μήδους καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις, ἐρρωμένοι τῇ εἰς καὶ πολυχρόνωι διὰ τὸ μαγεύειν διαιτώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκριβέστεροι. ἦδη δὲ 5 καὶ ἠθῆ ὅλα μακροβιώτατα, ὡσπερ Σήρας μὲν ἱστοροῦσι μέχρι τριακοσίων ζῆν ἐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τῷ ἀέρι, οἱ δὲ τῇ γῇ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μακροῦ γῆρου προστιθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ διαίτῃ ὑδροποτεύν γὰρ φασὶ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο σύμπαν. καὶ Ἀθάνατες δὲ μέχρι τριάκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ἐτῶν βιοῦν ἱστορεῖται, καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους ὕπερ τὰ ἔκατον ἠτή βιοῦν λόγος, τούτως μὲν καὶ κρυθὺς ἀρτῳ χρωμένους, ὡς ἐνυδορκίας τοῦτο φάρμακος οἷς γέ φασι διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίταν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐρρωμένας εἶναι.

1 χρώμενον Madvig: χρώμενον τὸν Τειρησίαν MSS.
OCTOGENARIANS

attention to body and mind that have reached an advanced age in full health. Nestor, you know, the wisest of the Achaeans, outlasted three generations, Homer says: ¹ and he tells us that he was splendidly trained in mind and in body. Likewise Teiresias the seer outlasted six generations, tragedy says: ² and one may well believe that a man consecrated to the gods, following a simpler diet, lives very long. Moreover, it is related that, owing to their diet, whole castes of men live long like the so-called scribes in Egypt, the story-tellers in Syria and Arabia, and the so-called Brahmins in India, men scrupulously attentive to philosophy. Also the so-called Magi, a prophetic caste consecrated to the gods, dwelling among the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chorasmians, the Arians, the Saca, the Medes and many other barbarian peoples, are strong and long-lived, on account of practising magic, for they diet very scrupulously. Indeed, there are even whole nations that are very long-lived, like the Seres, who are said to live three hundred years: some attribute their old age to the climate, others to the soil and still others to their diet, for they say that this entire nation drinks nothing but water. The people of Athos are also said to live a hundred and thirty years, and it is reported that the Chaldeans live more than a hundred, using barley bread to preserve the sharpness of their eyesight. They say, too, that on account of this diet their other faculties are more vigorous than those of the rest of mankind.

¹ Il. 1, 250; Odys. 3, 245. ² The source is unknown.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τε τῶν μακροβίων 6 γενόντων καὶ τῶν ἑθνῶν, ἀτινὰ φασιν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαγιγνεσθαί χρόνον, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν δίαιταν, οἱ δὲ καὶ δι' ἄμφω. ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν σοι δικαίως τὴν ἐλπίδα ράδιαν 1 παράσχομι ἱστορίαν ὅτι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἁέρα μακρόβιοι γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες οἱ γυμνασίοις τοὺς προσήκουσιν καὶ διὰ τῇ ἐπιτηδειουσίᾳ πρὸς ὑγείαν χρώμενοι. διά 7 ρεσίν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν πρώτην κατὰ τάπιτηθεύματα τῶν ἄνδρῶν, καὶ πρώτους γέ σοι τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγικοὺς ἄνδρας ἱστορήσω, ὅν ἐνα ἡ 2 εὐσεβεστάτη μεγάλου θεοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος τὺχει εἰς τὴν τελευτάτην ἀγαγούσα τάξιν εὐφρένητης τὰ μέγιστα τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὔτω γὰρ ἀν ἰπιδῶν καὶ σὺ τῶν μακροβίων ἄνδρῶν πρὸς τὸ ὁμοίου τῆς ἔξεως καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐποιμότερον ἐπιτίθεις γῆρας ὑγιεινόν καὶ μακρὸν καὶ ἄμα ξηλώσας ἐργάσασιν σαυτῷ τῇ διαίτῃ μέγιστον τε ἀμα καὶ ὑγιεινότατον βίον.

Πομπύλιος Νουμᾶς ὁ εὐδαιμονεστάτος τῶν 8 Ῥωμαίων βασιλέων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν θεῶν ἀσχοληθεῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄγδοηκοντα ἐτη βεβιωκέναι ἱστορεῖται. Σέρβιος δὲ Τούλλιος Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς υπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοηκοντα ἐτη καὶ αὐτὸς βιώσαι ἱστορεῖται. Ταρκυνίος δὲ ὁ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς φυγαδευθεῖς καὶ

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1 ῥάδιαν Schwartz: ῥάδιος MSS.
2 ἡ Marcilius, Maius: καὶ MSS.
OCTOGENARIANS

But this must suffice in regard to the long-lived castes and nations who are said to exist for a very long period either on account of their soil and climate, or of their diet, or of both. I can fittingly show you that your good hopes are of easy attainment by recounting that on every soil and in every clime men who observe the proper exercise and the diet most suitable for health have been long-lived. I shall base the principal division of my treatise on their pursuits, and shall first tell you of the kings and the generals, one of whom the gracious dispensation of a great and godlike emperor has brought to the highest rank, thereby conferring a mighty boon upon the emperor's world. In this way it will be possible for you, observing your similarity to these octogenarians in condition and fortune, to have better expectations of a healthy and protracted old age, and by imitating them in your way of living to make your life at once long and healthy in a high degree.

Numa Pompilius, most fortunate of the kings of Rome and most devoted to the worship of the gods, is said to have lived more than eighty years. Servius Tullius, also a king of Rome, is likewise related to have lived more than eighty years. Tarquinius, the last king of Rome, who was driven into exile

1 The man is unknown: the emperor has been thought to be Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, and many another. The language, which suggests a period much later than Lucian, is so obscure that the meaning is doubtful.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπὶ Κύμης διατρίβων ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη λέγεται στερρότατα βιῶσαι. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν 'Ῥω-μαίων βασιλείς, οὐς συνάψω καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βασιλέας τοὺς εἰς μακρὸν γῆρας ἀφικομένους καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἑκάστους. ἕπι τέλει δὲ σοι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς 'Ῥωμαίων τοὺς εἰς μῆκιστον γῆρας ἀφικομένους προσαναγράψω, προσθεὶς ἄμα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ πλείστον βιῶσαντας: ἀξιόλογος γὰρ ἔλεγχος ἡ ἱστορία τῶν διαβάλλειν πειρωμένων τὸν ἐνταθέν ἀέρα, ὡστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρηστοτέρας ἔχειν τὰς ἑλπί-\[\textit{d}a\]ς, τελείους ἡμῖν τὰς εὐχὰς ἐσεθαί πρὸς τὸ εἰς μῆκιστὸν τε καὶ λιπαρὸν τὸν πάσης γῆς καὶ \[\textit{θαλάττης δεσπότης γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι, τῇ ἔαυτοῦ οἰκουμένη διαρκέσονται}^{1} ἡδὴ καὶ γέροντα.

Ἄργανθῶνοι μὲν οὖν Ταρτησίων βασιλεὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕκατον ἔτη βιῶναι λέγεται, ός Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς καὶ ὁ μελοποιὸς 'Ἀνακρέων ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν μὴθὸς τις δοκεῖ. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Σικελίας τύραννος ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐτελεύτα,\[\textit{2}\] καθάπερ Δημοκράτης καὶ Τιμίας ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἰέρων τε ὁ Συρακοσίων τύραννος δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν γενόμενος ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, βασιλεύσας ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη, ὡσπερ Δημήτριος τε ὁ Καλλα-\[\textit{τιανός καὶ ἀλλοι λέγουσιν. Ἀτέας δὲ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς μαχόμενος πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τὸν Ἱστρον ποταμόν ἔπεσεν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη γεγονός. Βάρδυλος δὲ ὁ Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλεὺς ἀφ'}

1 διαρκέσοντα H, variant in B: βασιλεύοντα other MSS.
2 Text Schwartz, and correction in Γ: ἐνενήκοντα πέντε (i.e. ἕ) τετελευτᾷ MSS.

228
OCTOGENARIANS

and dwelt at Cumae, is said to have lived more than ninety years in the most sturdy health. These are the kings of Rome, to whom I shall join such other kings as have attained great age, and after them others arranged according to their various walks of life. In conclusion I shall record for you the other Romans who have attained the greatest age, adding also those who have lived longest in the rest of Italy. The list will be a competent refutation of those who attempt to malign our climate here; and so we may have better hopes for the fulfilment of our prayers that the lord of every land and sea may reach a great and peaceful age, sufficing unto the demands of his world even in advanced years.

Arganthonius, king of the Tartessians, lived a hundred and fifty years according to Herodotus the historian and Anacreon the song-writer,¹ but some consider this a fable. Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, died at ninety, as Demochares and Timaeus² tell us. Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, died of an illness at the age of ninety-two, after having been ruler for seventy years, as Demetrius of Callatia and others say. Ateas, king of the Scythians, fell in battle against Philip near the river Danube at an age of more than ninety years. Bardylis, king of the

¹ Our author did not verify his references. Herodotus (1, 163) says one hundred and twenty, Anacreon (frg. 8) one hundred and fifty.
² Timaeus, as quoted in Diodorus (21, 16, 5) said seventy-two.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἵππου λέγεται μάχεσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ εἰς ἐνενήκοντα τελῶν ἔτη. Τῆρης δὲ Ὁδρυσῶν βασιλεὺς, καθά φησί Θεόπομπος, δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν. 'Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ μονόφθαλμος βασιλεύων Μακεδόνων περὶ Φρυγίαν μαχόμενος Σελεύκῳ καὶ Δυσιμάχῳ τραύμαζε πολλοῖς περιπτεσών ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ ὁγδοϊκοῦντα, ὥσπερ ὁ συστρατευόμενος αὐτῷ 'Ιερώνυμος ἰστορεῖ. καὶ Δυσιμάχος δὲ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τῇ πρὸς Σελεύκον ἀπόλειτο μάχη ἔτος ὁγδοκοστῶν τελῶν, ὥς ὁ αὐτὸς φησίν 'Ιερώνυμος. 'Ἀντίγονος δὲ, δς ύδης ἐν τῇ Δημητρίῳ, νίων δὲ Ἀντίγονου τοῦ μονοφθάλμου, οὕτως τέσσαρα καὶ τέσσαράκοντα Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη, ἐβίωσε δὲ ὁγδοϊκοῦντα, ὡς Μήδειος τοι ἰστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ 'Ιολάου μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς καὶ ἐπιτροπεύασας πολλοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας ὑπὲρ τὰ ὁγδοϊκοῦντα οὕτως ἔτη ζῆσας ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Δάγου ὁ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονεστάτος βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν, τέσσαρα δὲ καὶ ὁγδοϊκοῦντα βιώσας ἔτη ζῶν παρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ δύο ἐτῶν τῆς τελευτῆς Πτολεμαϊῶ τῷ υἱῷ, Φιλαδέλφῳ δὲ ἐπίκλησιν, ὡς τὶς διεδέξατο τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν ἀδελφῶν. ... 2 Φιλέταιρος δὲ πρῶτος μὲν ἐκτῆσατο τὴν περὶ Πέργαμον ἀρχὴν καὶ κατέσχεν εὐνοῦχος ὁν, κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν βίον ὁγδοϊκοῦντα ἐτῶν

1 δς ύδης Α.Μ.Η.: ύδης MSS.
2 Supply προτιμηθεῖς πρεσβυτέρων, or the like: see note opposite.

230
OCTOGENARIANS

Illyrians, is said to have fought on horseback in the war against Philip in his ninetieth year. Teres, king of the Odrysians, from what Theopompus says, died at ninety-two. Antigonus One-eye, son of Philip, and king of Macedonia, died in Phrygia in battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus, with many wounds, at eighty-one: so we are told by Hieronymus, who made the campaign with him. Lysimachus, king of Macedonia, also lost his life in the battle with Seleucus in his eightieth year, as the same Hieronymus says. There was also an Antigonus who was son of Demetrius and grandson of Antigonus One-eye: he was king of Macedonia for forty-four years and lived eighty, as Medeius and other writers say. So too Antipater, son of Iolaus, who had great power and was regent for many kings of Macedonia, was over eighty when he died. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, the most fortunate of the kings of his day, ruled over Egypt, and at the age of eighty-four, two years before his death, abdicated in favour of his son Ptolemy, called Philadelphus, who succeeded to his father’s throne in lieu of his elder brothers.¹ Philetaerus, an eunuch, secured and kept the throne of Pergamus, and closed his life at

¹ At least one word, perhaps more than one, has fallen out of the Greek text. Schwartz would read ἄδεξιάθην γαμῶν (‘‘and married his sister’’): my supplement is based on Justinus 16, 27: is (i.e. Ptolemy Soter) contra ius gentium minimo natu ex filis ante infirmitatem regnum tradiderat, ciusque rei rationem populo reddiderat.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γενόμενος. Ατταλος δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθείς Φιλάδελφος, τῶν Περγαμηνῶν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεύων, πρὸς δὲν καὶ Σκιπίων Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἀφίκετο, δύο καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν ἐξέλπε τῶν βλον. Μιθρεδάτης δὲ ὁ Πόντου βασιλεὺς ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Κτίστης Ἀντίγονον τὸν μονόθραλμον φεύγαν ἐπὶ Πόντου ἐτελεύτησεν βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα, ἀστερ Ἰερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἀλλοι συγγραφεῖς. Ἀριαράθης δὲ ὁ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεὺς δύο μὲν καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα ἐξήστεν ἔτη, ὡς Ἶερώνυμος ἱστορεῖ ἐδυνήθη δὲ Ἰσώς καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον διαγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς Περδίκκαν μάχῃ ξωγηθεὶς ἀνεσκολοπίσθη. Κύρος δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ παλαῖος, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ Περσῶν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων ὄροι, οἷς καὶ Ὁυνησίκριτος ὁ τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον συγγράφας συμφωνεὶν δοκεῖ, ἐκατοντούτῃς γενόμενοι ἔξητει μὲν ἐνα ἐκαστὸν τῶν φίλων, μαθὼν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους διεφθαρμένους ὑπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ νίεος, καὶ φᾶσκοντος Καμβύσου κατὰ πρόσταγμα τὸ ἑκεῖνον ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, τὸ μὲν τι πρὸς τὴν ὀμότητα τοῦ νιεοῦ διαβληθείς, τὸ δὲ τι ὡς παρανοοῦντα αὐτὸν αἰτιασάμενος ἀθυμῆσας ἐτελεύτα τῶν βλον. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Μνήμων ἐπικληθείς, ἐφ' ὅν Κύρος ὁ ἰδελφὸς ἐστρατεύσατο, βασιλεύων ἐν Πέρσαις ἐτελεύτησεν νόσῳ ἔξα καὶ ὁγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν γενόμενος, ὡς δὲ Δύνων ἱστορεῖ, τεσσάρων καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. Ἀρταξέρξης ἐτερος Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὁν φησίν ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Χαρακηνὸς συγγραφεὺς βασιλεύεως, ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐνενήκοντα βιοὺς ἐπιβουλῆ τάδελφοῦ Γωσίθρου
OCTOGENARIANS

eighty. Attalus, called Philadelphus, also king of Pergamus, to whom the Roman general Scipio paid a visit, put an end to his own life at eighty-two. Mithridates, king of Pontus, called the Founder, exiled by Antigonus One-eye, died in Pontus at eighty-four, as Hieronymus and other writers say. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, lived eighty-two years, as Hieronymus says: perhaps he would have lived longer if he had not been captured in the battle with Perdiccas and crucified. Cyrus, king of the Persians in olden times, according to the Persian and Assyrian annals (with which Onesicritus, who wrote a history of Alexander, seems to agree) at the age of a hundred asked for all his friends by name and learned that most of them had been put to death by his son Cambyses. When Cambyses asserted that he had done this by order of Cyrus, he died of a broken heart, partly because he had been slandered for his son's cruelty, partly because he accused himself of being feeble-minded. Artaxerxes, called the Unforgetting, against whom Cyrus, his brother, made the expedition, was king of Persia when he died of illness at the age of eighty-six (according to Dinon ninety-four). Another Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who, Isidore the Characene historian says, occupied the throne in the time of Isidore's fathers, was assassinated at the age of ninety-three through the machinations of his brother Gosithras. Sinatroces,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

εδολοφονήθη. Σινατρόκης δὲ ὁ Παρθυναίων βασιλεὺς ἔτος ὤγοδοκοστὸν ἦδη γεγονός ὑπὸ Σακαυρακῶν Σκυθῶν κατακθεῖς βασιλεύειν ἤρξατο καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτη ἑπτά. Τυγράνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς, πρὸς δὲν Λοῦκουλλος ἐπολέμησεν, πέντε καὶ ὀγδόκοντα ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ. Ὑποσαυίης δὲ ὁ Χάρηκος καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ Ἐρυθράν θάλασσαν τόπων βασιλεύς πέντε καὶ ὀγδόκοντα ἐτῶν νοσήσας ἐτελεύτησεν. Τίραιος δὲ ὁ μεθ’ Ὑποσαυίην τρίτος βασιλεύσας δύο καὶ ἑνενήκοντα βιοὺς ἐτη ἑτελεύτα νόσῳ. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ μετὰ Τίραιων ἐβδομος βασιλεύσας Χάρακος ἐξ καὶ ὀγδόκοντα ἐτῶν κατακθεῖς ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἐβασίλευσε. Καμνασκήρης δὲ βασιλεὺς Παρθυναίων ἐξ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ἐξησυ ἐτη. Μασσηνίσσας δὲ Μαιρονισίων βασιλεὺς ἑνενήκοντα ἐβίωσεν ἐτη. Ἀσανδρός δὲ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ αὐτὶ ἔθναρχον βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς Βοσπόρου περὶ ἑτη ὑπὸ ἑνενήκοντα ἢππομαχῶν καὶ πεζομαχῶν οὐδενός ἢττων ἐφάνη· ὡς δὲ ἐώρα τοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην ὡς κριβωνὶ προστιθεμένους ἀποσχόμενος σιτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν βιοὺς ἑτη τρία καὶ ἑνενήκοντα. Γοαίσος δὲ, ὡς φησιν Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Χαρακηνός, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἑλκίας Ὀμάνων τῆς ἀρματοφόρου βασιλεύσας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατον γεγονός ἐτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν νόσῳ.

Βασιλεὰς μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον ἱστορήκατι μακροβίους οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν. ἔτει δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ παιδείαν ἔχοντες, ἐπιμελεῖαν πως καὶ οὕτω ποιούμενοι ἑαυτῶν, εἰς μακρὸν

1 ἐτη Schwartz: not in MSS.
2 τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν μάχην Guyet: τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ μάχη MSS.

234
OCTOGENARIANS

king of Parthia, was restored to his country in his eightieth year by the Sacauracian Scythis, assumed the throne and held it seven years. Tigranes, king of Armenia, with whom Lucullus warred, died of illness at the age of eighty-five. Hyspausines, king of Charax and the country on the Red Sea, fell ill and died at eighty-five. Tiraeus, the second successor of Hyspausines on the throne, died of illness at the age of ninety-two. Artabazus, the sixth successor of Tiraeus on the throne of Charax, was reinstated by the Parthians and became king at the age of eight-six. Camnascires, king of the Parthians, lived ninety-six years. Massinissa, king of the Moors, lived ninety years. Asandrus, who, after being ethnarch, was proclaimed king of Bosporus by the divine Augustus, at about ninety years proved himself a match for anyone in fighting from horseback or on foot; but when he saw his subjects going over to Scribonius on the eve of battle, he starved himself to death at the age of ninety-three. According to Isidore the Characene, Goaesus, who was king of spice-bearing Omania in Isidore's time, died of illness at one hundred and fifteen years.

These are the kings prior to our time who are said to have lived long. Since philosophers and literary men in general, doubtless because they too take good care of themselves, have attained old age,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γήρας ἦλθον, ἀναγράψομεν καὶ τούτων τοὺς ἱστορημένους, καὶ πρῶτοις γε φιλοσόφους. Δὴ-
μόκριτος μὲν Ἀβδηρίτης ἔτων γεγονός τεσσάρων καὶ ἐκατὸν ἀποσχόμενος τροφῆς ἐτελεύτα. Ἐνό-
φιλος δὲ ὁ μουσικός, ὃς φησιν Ἀριστότελος, προσεχῶν τῇ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίᾳ ὑπὲρ τὰ
πέντε καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐτή 'Ἀθήνησιν ἐβίωσεν. Ἀλὸν δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς καὶ Πυθαγόρας, οἵτινες τῶν κληθέν-
των ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἐγένοντο, ἐκατὸν ἐκαστὸς ἔζη-
σεν ἐτή, Ζήνων δὲ ὁ τῆς Στώικῆς φιλοσοφίας
ἀρχηγὸς ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα· ὅν φασιν
εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προσπαί-
σαντα ἀναφθέγγασθαι, Τί με βοᾶς; καὶ ὑποστρέ-
ψαντα οὐκαδε καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τροφῆς τελευ-
τήσαι τῶν βίων. Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Ζήνωνος μαθητής
καὶ διάδοχος εἰνέα καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ὀντὸς γεγονός
ἐτή φύμα ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους καὶ ἀποκαρτερῶν
ἐπελθόντων αὐτῷ πάρ' ἐταίρων πολύν γραμμάτων
προσευγκάμενον τροφὴν καὶ πράξας περὶ ὧν
ήξίουν οἱ φίλοι, ἀποσχόμενος αὐθις τροφῆς ἐξε-
λύτη τῶν βίων. Ἐνοφάνης δὲ ὁ Δεξίων μὲν

ynam νῖο, Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ μαθητῆς ἐβίωσεν
ἐτή ἐν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα· Ἐνοκράτης δὲ Πλάτωνος
μαθητὴς γεγομένος τέσσαρα καὶ ὀγδοῖκοντα·
Καρνεάδης δὲ τὸς νεωτέρας Ἀκαδημίας ἀρχηγὸς
ἐτή πέντε καὶ ὀγδοῖκοντα· Χρυσιππὸς δὲ ἐν καὶ
ὁγδοῖκοντα· Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ Τίγριος
Στώικὸς φιλόσοφος ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀγδοῖκοντα· Ποσε-
δώνιος Ἀπαμεὺς τῆς Συρίας, νόμῳ δὲ Ῥόδιος,
OCTOGENARIANS

I shall put down those whom there is record of, beginning with the philosophers. Democritus of Abdera starved himself to death at the age of one hundred and four. Xenophilus the musician, we are told by Aristoxenus, adopted the philosophical system of Pythagoras, and lived in Athens more than one hundred and five years. Solon, Thales, and Pittacus, who were of the so-called seven wise men, each lived a hundred years, and Zeno, the head of the Stoic school, ninety-eight. They say that when Zeno stumbled in entering the assembly, he cried out: "Why do you call me?" and then, returning home, starved himself to death. Cleanthes, the pupil and successor of Zeno, was ninety-nine when he got a tumour on his lip. He was fasting when letters from certain of his friends arrived, but he had food brought him, did what his friends had requested, and then fasted anew until he passed away. Xenophanes, son of Dexinus and disciple of Archelaus the physicist, lived ninety-one years; Xenocrates, the disciple of Plato, eighty-four; Carneades, the head of the New Academy, eighty-five; Chrysippus, eighty-one; Diogenes of Seleucia on the Tigris, a Stoic philosopher, eighty-eight; Posidonius of Apameia in Syria, naturalised in Rhodes,

1 Addressed to Pluto. According to Diogenes Laertius 7, 28 he said ἔρχομαι τί μ' αἰτεῖς; ("I come: why do you ask me?"), a quotation from a play called Niobe (Nauck, Trag. Gr. Fragm. p. 51).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φιλόσοφος τε ἁμα καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεὺς τέσσαρα καὶ ὅγδοκοντα. Κριτόλαος ὁ Περιπατη-
τικὸς ύπερ dúo καὶ ὅγδοκοντα. Πλάτων δὲ 21
ὁ ἱερώτατος ἐν καὶ ὅγδοκοντα. Ἀθηνόδωρος
Σάνδωνος Ταρσεὺς Στωίκος, δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος
ἐγένετο Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ, ὑφ’ οὗ ἡ
Ταρσεῶν πόλις καὶ φόρων ἐκουφίσθη, δύο καὶ
ὁγδοκοντα ἐτη βιοὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ πατε-
ρίδι, καὶ τιμᾶς ὁ Ταρσεων δήμος αὐτῷ κατ’
ἐτος ἐκαστον ἀπονέμει ὡς ἦρωι. Νέστωρ δὲ
Στωίκος ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ διδάσκαλος Καίσαρος
Τιμερίου ἐτη δύο καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. Ξενοφῶν δὲ
ὁ Γρύλλου ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐβίωσεν ἐτη.
οὕτω μὲν φιλοσόφων οἱ ἐνδοξοί.

Συγγραφέων δὲ Κτησίβιος μὲν ἐτῶν ἐκατὸν καὶ
τεσσάρων ἐν περιπάτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς Ἀπολλό-
δωρος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς ἱστορεῖ. Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ἐν
πολέμοις γενόμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς καμάτους ὑπομεί-
νας καὶ τραύματα ἔχθησεν ἐτη τέσσαρα καὶ ἐκατὸν,
ὡς Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἑνάτῃ τῶν περὶ τῆς 'Ασίας
ἱστορίῶν λέγει, καὶ θαυμάζει γε τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς
μέχρι τής τελευταίας ἡμέρας ἅρτων ὑπα τὴν
ταῖς συνονοίαις καὶ τὰς τοῖς αἰσθητήριοις,
μηδενος
γενόμενον τῶν πρὸς ὑγείαν ἐλλιπής. Ἐλλάνικος
ὁ Δέσβιος ὅγδοκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ Φερεκύδης
ὁ Σύριος ὡμοίως ὅγδοκοντα καὶ πέντε. Τίμαιος
ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἐξ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. Ἀριστοβουλος
δὲ ὁ Κασανδρεὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτη λέγεται
βεβιωκέναι, τὴν ἱστορίαν δὲ τέταρτον καὶ ὅγδο-
κοστὸν ἐτος γεγονῶς ἦρξατο σύγγραφεώς, ὡς

1 Text Belin: ῥκδ (a misreading of ῥκ’δ) MSS.
who was at once a philosopher and a historian, eighty-four; Critolaus, the Peripatetic, more than eighty-two; Plato the divine, eighty-one. Athenodorus, son of Sando, of Tarsus, a Stoic, tutor of Caesar Augustus the divine, through whose influence the city of Tarsus was relieved of taxation, died in his native land at the age of eighty-two, and the people of Tarsus pay him honour each year as a hero. Nestor, the Stoic from Tarsus, the tutor of Tiberius Caesar, lived ninety-two years, and Xenophon, son of Gryllus, more than ninety.¹ These are the noteworthy philosophers.

Of the historians, Ctesibius died at the age of one hundred and four while taking a walk, according to Apollodorus in his Chronology. Hieronymus, who went to war and stood much toil and many wounds, lived one hundred and four years, as Agatharchides says in the ninth book of his History of Asia; and he expresses his amazement at the man, because up to his last day he was still vigorous in his marital relations and in all his faculties, lacking none of the symptoms of health. Hellanicus of Lesbos was eighty-five, Pherecydes the Syrian eighty-five also, Timaeus of Tauromenium ninety-six. Aristobulus of Cassandra is said to have lived more than ninety years. He began to write his history in his eighty-fourth year, for he says so himself in the beginning of

¹ Not infrequently classed as a philosopher; cf. Quintilian 10, 1, 81 ff.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

αὐτὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς πραγματείας λέγει. Πολύβιος δὲ ὁ Δυκόρτα Μεγαλοπολίτης ἀγρόθεν ἀνελθὼν ἀφ’ ἵππου κατέστεψεν καὶ ἐκ τούτου νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν ἐτῶν δύο καὶ ὄγδοῦκοντα. Ἡψικράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀμισηνὸς συγγραφεὺς διὰ πολλῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενους ἔτη δύο καὶ ἑνενήκοντα.

Ῥητόρων δὲ Γοργίας, ὃν τινας σοφιστὴν 23 καλοῦσιν, ἔτη ὡς τροφῆς δὲ ἀποσχόμενος ἔτελευτησεν· ὃν φασιν ἐρωτηθέντα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μακροῦ γήρου καὶ ἧγευσον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθησεις εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε συμπεριευκεχαίνει ταῖς ἄλλοις εὐφώξιαι. Ἡσικράτης ἦ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ἐτη γεγονὼς τὸν πανηγυρικὸν ἔγραφε λόγον, περὶ ἔτη δὲ ἔνος ἀποδέομα ἐκατόν γεγονὼς ὡς ἧσθε τὸ Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχῃ νεικισμένους, ποτινώμενος τὸν Εὐρυπίδειον στίχον προηγέγακατο εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφέρουν,

Σιδώνιον ποτ ἄστυ Κάδμος ἑκλπῶν καὶ ἐπειπῶν ὡς δουλεύσει Ἡ Ἐλλάς, ἐξέλυτε τὸν βίον. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ῥήτωρ, θεοῦ Καῖσαρος Σεβαστοῦ διδάσκαλος γενόμενος καὶ σὺν Ἀθηναδῷ τῷ Ταρσεί φιλοσόφῳ παιδεύσας αὐτὸν, ἐξηκεν ταύτα τῷ Αθηναδῷ ἔτη ὄγδοῦκοντα δύο. Ποτάμων δὲ οὐκ ἁδοξὸς ῥήτωρ ἔτη ἑνενήκοντα.

Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς ὅραγα σταφυλῆς 24 κατατιῶν ἀπεπνίγη πέντε καὶ ἑνενήκοντα ζήσας ἔτη. οὕτως ὑπὸ Ἰοφώντος τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐπὶ τέλει
OCTOGENARIANS

the work. Polybius, son of Lycortas, of Megalopolis, while coming in from his farm to the city, was thrown from his horse, fell ill as a result of it, and died at eighty-two. Hypsocrates of Amisenum, the historian, who mastered many sciences, lived to be ninety-two.

Of the orators, Gorgias, whom some call a sophist, lived to be one hundred and eight, and starved himself to death. They say that when he was asked the reason for his great age, sound in all his faculties, he replied that he had never accepted other people's invitations to dinner! Isocrates wrote his Panegyric at ninety-six; and at the age of ninety-nine, when he learned that the Athenians had been beaten by Philip in the battle of Chaeronea, he groaned and uttered the Euripidean line

"When Cadmus, long agone, quit Sidon town,"¹ alluding to himself; then, adding, "Greece will lose her liberty," he quitted life. Apollodorus, the Pergamene rhetorician who was tutor to Caesar Augustus the divine and helped Athenodorus, the philosopher of Tarsus, to educate him, lived eighty-two years, like Athenodorus. Potamo, a rhetorician of considerable repute, lived ninety years.

Sophocles the tragedian swallowed a grape and choked to death at ninety-five. Brought to trial by his son Iophon toward the close of his life on a charge

¹ From the prologue of the lost play Phrixus (frg. 816 Nauck).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

toû βίου παρανοίας κρινόμενος ἀνέγγυ τοῖς δικασταῖς Οἰδίπουν τὸν ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ, ἐπιτεικνύμενος διὰ τοῦ δράματος ὅπως τὸν νοῦν ὑμαῖνει, ὡς τοὺς δικαστὰς τὸν μὲν ὑπερθανάσαι, καταψύχονσαι δὲ τοῦ νιῶν αὐτοῦ μανίαν. Κρατίνῳς δὲ ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητῆς ἐπτὰ́ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβίωσε, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου διδάξας τὴν Πυτίνην καὶ νικῆσας μετ' οὗ πολὺ ἐτελεύτα. καὶ Φιλήμων δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς, ὁμοίως τῷ Κρατίνῳ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐτη βιούς, κατέκειτο μὲν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἠρεμῶν, θεασάμενος δὲ ὅνον τὰ παρεσκευασμένα αὐτῷ σύκα κατεσθίοντα ὠρμήσε μὲν εἰς γέλωτα, καλέσας δὲ τὸν οἰκέτην καὶ σὺν πολλῷ καὶ ἀθρόῳ γέλωτι εἰπὼν προσδούναι τῷ ὄνῳ ἀκράτου ροφεῖν ἀποπνυγεῖς υπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος ἀπέθανεν. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ ἐτη λέγεται βιώναι. Ἀνακρέων δὲ ὁ τῶν μελῶν ἐπτὰ ποιητῆς ἐξήσεν ἐτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ Στηρίχωρος δὲ ὁ μελοποιὸς ταῦτα, Σιμωνίδης δὲ ὁ Κεῖδος ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα.

Γραμματικῶν δὲ Ὁρατοσθένης μὲν ὁ Ὁγ- λαοῦ Κυρηναῖος, δὴν οὐ μόνον γραμματικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητῶν ἀν τις ὀνομάσει καὶ φιλόσοφον καὶ γεωμέτρην, δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα οὕτως ἔξησεν ἐτη. καὶ Δυκοῦργος δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης τῶν Δακεδαι- μονίων πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτη ἔξησεν ἱστορεῖται.

1 ἐπτὰ N, vulg.: τέσσαρα other MSS., Schwartz.
2 ὁ κωμικὸς MSS.: κωμικὸς Schwartz.
of feeble-mindedness, he read the jurors his Oedipus at Colonus, proving by the play that he was sound of mind, so that the jury applauded him to the echo and convicted the son himself of insanity. Cratinus, the comic poet, lived ninety-seven years, and toward the end of his life he produced “The Flask” and won the prize, dying not long thereafter. Philemon, the comic poet, was ninety-seven like Cratinus, and was lying on a couch resting. When he saw a donkey eating the figs that had been prepared for his own consumption, he burst into a fit of laughter; calling his servant and telling him, along with a great and hearty laugh, to give the donkey also a sup of wine, he choked with his laughter and died.¹ Epicharmus, the comic poet, is also said to have lived ninety-seven years. Anacreon, the lyric poet, lived eighty-five years; Stesichorus, the lyric poet, the same, and Simonides of Ceos more than ninety.

Of the grammarians, Eratosthenes, son of Aglaus, of Cyrene, who was not only a grammarian but might also be called a poet, a philosopher and a geometrician, lived eighty-two years. Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, is said to have lived eighty-five years.

¹ The same story is told of Chrysippus (Diog. Laert. 7 185).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Τοσούτους ἐδυνήθημεν βασιλέας καὶ πεπαι- 29
dεμένους ἀθροίσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπεσχόμην καὶ
Ῥωμαίων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰταλίαν οἰκησάντων
μακροβίων ἀναγράψαι, τούτοις σοὶ, θεών βουλο-
μένων, ἱερότατε Κυίντιλλε, ἐν ἄλλῳ δηλώσομεν
λόγῳ.

17 5/16

244
OCTOGENARIANS

These are the kings and the literary men whose names I have been able to collect. As I have promised to record some of the Romans and the Italians who were octogenarians, I will set them forth for you, saintly Quintillus, in another treatise, if it be the will of the gods.
A TRUE STORY

It is unfortunate that we cannot enjoy the full bouquet of this good wine because so many of the works which Lucian parodies here are lost. The little that remains of his originals has been gathered by A. Stengel (*De Luciani Veris Historiis*, Berlin 1911, from whom I cite as much as space permits).
ΑΛΗΘΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ

[ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ]

"Ωσπερ τοῖς ἄθλητικοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἑπιμέλειαιν ἄσχολουμένους 2 οὐ τῆς εὐεξίας μόνον οὐδὲ τῶν γυμνασίων φροντίς ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κατὰ καίρον γνωμένης ἀνέσεως—μέρος γοῦν τῆς ἀσκήσεως τὸ μέγιστον αὐτὴν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν—οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐσπονδακόσιων ἡγοῦμαι προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σπουδαιότερων ἀνάγνωσιν ἀνένει τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑπείτα κάματον ἀκμαίοτέραν παρασκευάζειν. γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἐμμελής ἡ ἀνάπαυσις 2 αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ὁμιλοῦσίν, ἃ μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείου τε καὶ χαρίεντος φιλῆς παρέξει τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν, ἀλλὰ τινα καὶ θεωρίαν οὖκ ἀμοιβαν ἐπιδείξεται, οἷον τι καὶ περὶ τῶν τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοὺς 3 φρονήσειν ὑπολαμβάνον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ξένον τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὐδὲ τὸ χαρίεν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐπαγωγὸν ἔσται αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ὅτι ψεύσματα ποικίλα πιθανῶς τε καὶ ἐναλήθως ἐξενημόχαμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἱστορίων ἑκαστον οὐκ ἀκωμφηδήτως ἢνικται πρὸς τινας

1 So the best MSS. (though some have ἀληθῶν) and Photius (cod. 166, 1 a). Ἀληθοῦς Ἰστοπλας vulg.
2 ἄσχολουμένους γ, Νίλεν: ἡσκημένοις other MSS.
3 αὑτοὺς Schwartz: not in MSS.

248
A TRUE STORY

BOOK I

Men interested in athletics and in the care of their bodies think not only of condition and exercise but also of relaxation in season; in fact, they consider this the principal part of training. In like manner students, I think, after much reading of serious works may profitably relax their minds and put them in better trim for future labour. It would be appropriate recreation for them if they were to take up the sort of reading that, instead of affording just pure amusement based on wit and humour, also boasts a little food for thought that the Muses would not altogether spurn; and I think they will consider the present work something of the kind. They will find it enticing not only for the novelty of its subject, for the humour of its plan and because I tell all kinds of lies in a plausible and specious way, but also because everything in my story is a more or less comical parody of one or
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tōn palaiōn poieitōn te kai sunagrafēn kai filo-
losōphon polla terástia kai muθwδη sunagygra-
phōtōn,1 oūs kai ὅνομαστὶ ἄν ἔγραφον, εἰ μὴ καὶ
autōs soi ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως φανεῖσθαι ἐμελλὼν
* * *

2 Ktēsias ὁ Ktēsiōcho ὁ Kvidios, δὲ 3
sunégraphein peri tῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ τῶν παρ
autōs ἀ μήτε autōs eidev mήte allou ἀληθεύνοντος
ηκουσέν. ἐγραφεὶ δὲ καὶ Ίαμβοῦλος peri tῶν ἐν
tῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάττῃ polla paraðoxa, γνώριμον
μὲν ἀπασὶ τὸ ψεῦδος πλασάμενος, οὐκ ἄτερπη ἔδε
ὀμως συνθεῖς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. polloi δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
tά αὐτά τούτωσ προελόμενοι συνέγραψαν ὡς δὴ
τινας ἑαυτῶν πλάνας τε καὶ ἀποδημίας, θηρίων τε
μεγεθῇ ἵστοροντες καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὠμότητας καὶ
βίων καυνότητας. ἀρχηγὸς δὲ αὐτός καὶ διδάσκα-
λος τῆς τοιαύτης βωμολοχίας ὁ τοῦ Ὄμηρου
'Οδυσσεύς, τοῖς peri τῶν Ἀλκίνουν διηγούμενον
ἀνέμου τε δουλείαν καὶ μονοφθάλμους καὶ ὠμο-
φάγους καὶ ἀγρίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους, ἑτὶ δὲ
πολυκέφαλα ξῦνα καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ φαρμάκων τῶν
ἐταίρων μεταβολάς, οἶα polla ἐκεῖνος πρὸς
ιδιώτας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς Φαίακας ἐτερατεύσατο.
tούτωσ oūn ēνυχὼν ἀπασὶν, τοῦ ψεύσαθαι 4
mὲn oṕ σφόδρα τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ἐμεμψάμην, ὄρων ἥδη
σύνηθες ὑπὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπισχοῦ-
μένοις ἐκεῖνο δὲ αὐτῶν ἑθαύμασα, εἰ ἐνομίζον
λήσειν oūn ἀληθή συνγράφοντες. διότερ καὶ
ἀυτῶς ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ἀπολύειν τι σπουδάσας

1 sunagygraftōn Γ, Ω.: sunagygraftōs Z.
2 Supply olοv (Bekker), or the like.

250
A TRUE STORY, I

another of the poets, historians and philosophers of
od, who have written much that smacks of miracles
and fables. I would cite them by name, were it
not that you yourself will recognise them from
your reading. One of them is Ctesias, son of
Ctesiochus, of Cnidos, who wrote a great deal about
India and its characteristics that he had never seen
himself nor heard from anyone else with a reputation
for truthfulness. Iambulus also wrote much that
was strange about the countries in the great sea: he
made up a falsehood that is patent to everybody, but
wrote a story that is not uninteresting for all that.¹
Many others, with the same intent, have written about
imaginary travels and journeys of theirs, telling of
huge beasts, cruel men and strange ways of living.
Their guide and instructor in this sort of charlatanry
is Homer's Odysseus, who tells Alcinous and his
court about winds in bondage, one-eyed men, cannibals and savages; also about animals with many
heads, and transformations of his comrades wrought
with drugs. This stuff, and much more like it, is
what our friend humbugged the illiterate Phaeacians
with! Well, on reading all these authors, I did
not find much fault with them for their lying, as I
saw that this was already a common practice even
among men who profess philosophy.² I did wonder,
though, that they thought that they could write un-
truths and not get caught at it. Therefore, as I myself,
thanks to my vanity, was eager to hand something

¹ The writings of Ctesias and Iambulus are lost; also those
of Antonius Diogenes, whose story, On the Wonders beyond
Thule, was according to Photius (Bibb., cod. 166, 111 b) the
fountain-head of Lucian's tale.

² A slap at Plato's Republic (x. 614 a seg.), as the scholiast
says.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

toîs meî' hèmâs, `ìna µè mûnos ámioiros ò tîs èn tîf
mûtholoyeîn éleutherias, ëppêi µhèdèn álthês îstôreïn
eîxôn—oûdèn gâr èpëpónôtheîn áxîôlogoun—ëpî tî
pheiîdos ètrapatômhn polû tîn ìlallwv eûgënomônè-
steroû: ën èn gâr dh tûto álthêsûw lêgwn òtî
pheiîdomai. òútô dî anî mou dôkô kai tîn pàrâ
tîn ìlallwv kâtênôriaîn èkphugêîn auîtôs ëmîloçôn
mîhèn álthês lêgêin. gërâfîw tòîwn perî ów
mîtë eîdon mîtë èpaphôn mîtë pàrì ìlallwv èpun-
thômhn, ëti dê mîtë òlîwos óntow mîtë tîn àrkhîn
gênësthîu dûnâmînou. dîd dêî tûs èntughànoûtas
mëdâmîw pîsteüêw auîtôs.

Õrmhëdeis gâr pòte àpò 'Hràklaîwv stîlîôn 5
kai àfêis èis tòn èspèrîon òkêanôn ouîrîw ànêmô
tôn ploûn èpîouîmhn. aîtîa dê mou tîs àpodômîas
kai ùpôthêsís h tîs diánoîas përiërgia kai pragmà-
tow kaiwôn èpîthûmîa kai tî bòûlêsthîu mátheûn tî
tî tèlos ëstîn tûtî òkêanôu kai tînès òî pèrûn
càtouîkouûtes ànthrôpôi. tòûtou gê tòî ènêka
pâmîpolla mên sîtîa ènebálômhn, ikaînôn dê kai
ûdôr ènéthêmhn, pëntîkûnta dê tûw hîlikîstwô
përosspòunhâmhn tîn àuîthîn èmôi ñûmôn èchontas,
ëti dê kai Òploww pòlû tî plîhôs pàrèskënavasâmhn
kai kûbërnhth tûn àristw miôthô megálw peîsas
pârëlahboun kai tîn vàyn—aîkastos dê hîn—ôs pròs
mègân kai þîaîwv ploûn èkratunâmhn. hîmérâw 6
ouî kai nûkta ouîêw pîleûntes ëtî tîs gîs
ûpòfainomênhîs òû sëdôra þîaîwos ànîgômëtha, tîs
ëpîouîsôn dê àma hîlîw ànîsçhûntî dî tê ànêmôs

252
A TRUE STORY, I

down to posterity, that I might not be the only one excluded from the privileges of poetic licence, and as I had nothing true to tell, not having had any adventures of significance, I took to lying. But my lying is far more honest than theirs, for though I tell the truth in nothing else, I shall at least be truthful in saying that I am a liar. I think I can escape the censure of the world by my own admission that I am not telling a word of truth. Be it understood, then, that I am writing about things which I have neither seen nor had to do with nor learned from others—which, in fact, do not exist at all and, in the nature of things, cannot exist. ¹ Therefore my readers should on no account believe in them.

Once upon a time, setting out from the Pillars of Hercules and heading for the western ocean with a fair wind, I went a-voyaging. The motive and purpose of my journey lay in my intellectual activity and desire for adventure, and in my wish to find out what the end of the ocean was, and who the people were that lived on the other side. On this account I put aboard a good store of provisions, stowed water enough, enlisted in the venture fifty of my acquaintances who were like-minded with myself, got together also a great quantity of arms, shipped the best sailing-master to be had at a big inducement, and put my boat—she was a pinnace—in trim for a long and difficult voyage. Well, for a day and a night we sailed before the wind without making very much offing, as land was still dimly in sight; but at sunrise on the second day the wind freshened, the

¹ Compare the protestations of Ctesias and of Antonius Diogenes (Phot. cod. 72, 49-50; 166, 109 b).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπεδίδου καὶ τὸ κύμα ἦφαντο καὶ κόφος ἐπεηνευτο καὶ οὐκέτι οὔδε στείλαι τὴν οἴνον δυνατὸν ἦν. ἐπιτρέψαντες οὖν τῷ πνεοντι καὶ παραδόντες ἐαυτοὺς ἐμπεμφόμεθα ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ ἐβδομή- κοντα, τῇ ὄγδοηκοστῇ δὲ ἄφιο ἐκλάμψαντος ἦλιον καθορόμενον οὐ πόρρω νῆσον ἤψηλθαν καὶ δασεῖαν, οὐ τραχεῖ περιηχουμένην τῷ κύματι καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὸ πολὺ τῆς ξάλης κατεπαύτην.

Προσσχόντες οὖν καὶ ἀποθάντες ώς ἂν ἐκ μακρᾶς τάλαπτωρίας πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκείμεθα, διαναστάντες δὲ ὄμως ἀπεκρόκαμαν ἥμων αὐτῶν τριάκοντα: μὲν φύλακας τῆς νεὼς παραμένειν, εἰκοσὶ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπή τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. προελθόντες δὲ 7 ὅσον σταθὼς τρεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης δι’ ὦλης ὀρῶμεν τινα στήλην χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην, Ἐλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν καταγεγραμμένην, ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκτετριμμένοις, λέγουσαν Ἄχρι τουτοῦ Ἡρα- κλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἀφίκοντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐχνὶ δύο πλησίον ἐπὶ πέτρας, τὸ μὲν πλεθριαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἐλαττοῦ—ἐμοὶ δοκείν, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διονύσου, τὸ μικρότερον, θάτερον δὲ Ἡρακλέους. προσκυνή- σαντες δ’ οὖν προῆμεν οὕτω δὲ πολὺ παρῆμεν καὶ ἐφιστάμεθα ποταμῷ οἴνον ῥέοντι ὄμοιοτατον μάλιστα οἶόσπερ ὁ Χῖος ἔστιν. ἀφθονον δὲ ἦν τὸ ῥέμα καὶ πολὺ, ὅστε ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ ναυσίπορου εἶναι δύνασθαι. ἐπιμεῖν οὖν ἦμῖν πολὺ μάλλων πιστεύειν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης ἐπιγράμματι, ὀρῶσι τὰ σημεία τῆς Διονύσου ἐπιδημίας. δόξαν δὲ μοι.
A TRUE STORY, I

sea rose, darkness came on, and before we knew it we could no longer even get our canvas in. Committing ourselves to the gale and giving up, we drove for seventy-nine days. On the eightieth day, however, the sun came out suddenly and at no great distance we saw a high, wooded island ringed about with sounding surf, which, however, was not rough, as already the worst of the storm was abating.\(^1\)

Putting in and going ashore, we lay on the ground for some time in consequence of our long misery, but finally we arose and told off thirty of our number to stay and guard the ship and twenty to go inland with me and look over the island. When we had gone forward through the wood about three furlongs from the sea, we saw a slab of bronze, inscribed with Greek letters, faint and obliterated, which said: “To this point came Hercules and Dionysus.” There were also two footprints in the rock close by, one of which was a hundred feet long, the other less—to my thinking, the smaller one was left by Dionysus, the other by Hercules.\(^2\) We did obeisance and went on, but had not gone far when we came upon a river of wine, just as like as could be to Chian.\(^3\) The stream was large and full, so that in places it was actually navigable. Thus we could not help having much greater faith in the inscription on the slab, seeing the evidence of Dionysus’ visit. I resolved

\(^1\) This paragraph is based on Iambulus (Diod. 2, 55).
\(^2\) Cf. Herod. 4, 82; a footprint of Hercules, two cubits long.
\(^3\) Cf. Ctesias (Phot. cod. 72, 46 a).
καὶ ὅθεν ἄρχεται ὁ ποταμός καταμαθεῖν, ἀνήειν παρὰ τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ πεθήν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εὑρον αὐτοῦ, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ μεγάλας ἀμπέλους, πλήρεις βοτρύων, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ῥίζαν ἐκάστην ἀπέρρεε σταγών οἶνου διανοῦς, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐγίνετο ὁ ποταμός. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἰχθὺς ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν, οἵνω μάλιστα καὶ τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὴν γεῦσιν προσεοικο- τας. ἡμεῖς γοῦν ἀγρεύσαντες αὐτῶν τινας καὶ ἐμφαγόντες ἐμεθύσθημεν ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνατεμόντες αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκομεν τρυγὸς μεστοὺς. ὑστερον μέν- τοι ἐπινοήσαντες τοὺς ἄλλοις ἰχθύς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὦδατος παραμυγνύντες ἐκεράννυμεν τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς οἰνοφαγίας.

Τότε δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν διαπεράσαντες ἢ δια- βατὸς ἦν, εὑρομεν ἀμπέλων χρῆμα τεράστιον τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὁ στέλεχος αὐτῶς εὐερήνης καὶ παχύς, τὸ δὲ ἀνὸ γυναικεῖς ἦσαν, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν λαγῶν ἀπαντα ἐχοῦσαι τέλεια—τοιαύτην παρ’ ἦμῖν τὴν Δάφνην γράφουσιν ἀρτί τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταλαμβάνοντος ἀποδεινδρουμένην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δακτύλων ἄκρων ἐξεφύνοντο αὐταῖς οἱ κλάδοι καὶ μεστοὶ ἦσαν βοτρύων. καὶ μὴν καὶ τᾶς κεφαλᾶς ἐκόμων ἔλιξέ τε καὶ φύλλοις καὶ βοτρύσι. προσ- ελθόντας δὲ ἦμᾶς ἰστάζοντο τε καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο, αἱ μὲν Δώδιον, αἱ δ’ Ἰνδικήν, αἱ πλείσται δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνή προϊέμεναι. καὶ ἐφίλουν δὲ ἦμᾶς τοῖς στόμαισιν ὁ δὲ φιληθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐμέθυνεν καὶ παράφορος ἦν. δρέπεσθαι μέντοι οὐ παρεῖχον τοῦ καρποῦ, ἀλλ’ ἠλέγον καὶ ἐβόων ἀποσπωμένου. αἱ δὲ καὶ μάγνυσθαι ἦμῖν ἔπεθύμουν· καὶ δύο τινές τῶν ἐταῖρων πλησιάσαντες αὐταῖς οὐκέτι ἀπελύ- οντο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐδέδεντο· συνεφύσατο 256.
A TRUE STORY, I

to find out where the river took its rise, and went up along the stream. What I found was not a source, but a number of large grapevines, full of clusters; beside the root of each flowed a spring of clear wine, and the springs gave rise to the river. There were many fish to be seen in it, very similar to wine in colour and in taste. In fact, on catching and eating some of them, we became drunk, and when we cut into them we found them full of lees, of course. Later on, we bethought ourselves to mix with them the other kind of fish, those from the water, and so temper the strength of our edible wine.

Next, after crossing the river at a place where it was fordable, we found something wonderful in grapevines. The part which came out of the ground, the trunk itself, was stout and well-grown, but the upper part was in each case a woman, entirely perfect from the waist up. They were like our pictures of Daphne turning into a tree when Apollo is just catching her. Out of their finger-tips grew the branches, and they were full of grapes. Actually, the hair of their heads was tendrils and leaves and clusters! When we came up, they welcomed and greeted us, some of them speaking Lydian, some Indian, but the most part Greek. They even kissed us on the lips, and everyone that was kissed at once became reeling drunk. They did not suffer us, however, to gather any of the fruit, but cried out in pain when it was plucked. Some of them actually wanted us to embrace them, and two of my comrades complied, but could not get away again. They were held fast by the part which had touched them, for it
ΤΟΙΟΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΔΥΝΗΣΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΝΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΙΣΑΣ ΟΣΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ, ΛΑΜΠΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΩΤΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΠΩΜΕΝΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΝΕΧΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΜΙΣΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΛΕΒΗΜΕΝ, ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΥΡΟΣΚΟΜΕΝ ΟΙΚΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΟΡΓΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ. ΥΜΕΡΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΝ ΚΑΘΕΩΡΟΜΕΝ, ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΕΦΑΙΝΟΝΤΟ ΥΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΆΛΛΟ ΠΟΛΛΑΙ ΝΗΣΟΙ ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ, ΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝ, ΑΙ ΔΕ ΜΙΚΡΟΤΕΡΑΙ, ΠΥΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΧΡΟΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΟΙΝΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΆΛΛΗ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΓΗ ΚΑΤΩ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥΣ ΕΧΟΥΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΛΑΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΆΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΗ. ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΘ’ ΥΜΙΝ ΟΙΚΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΕΙΚΑΣΟΜΕΝ.

ΔΟΞΑΝ ΔΕ ΥΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΙ ΠΟΡΡΩΤΕΡΟ ΠΡΟΕΧΕΙΝ, ΣΥΝΕΛΗΦΘΗΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ἸΠΠΟΥΤΟΙΟΥΣ ΠΑΡ’ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ἈΠΑΝΤΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ἸΠΠΟΥΤΟΙ οὕτως εἶσιν 258
A TRUE STORY, I

had grown in and struck root. Already branches had grown from their fingers, tendrils entwined them, and they were on the point of bearing fruit like the others any minute. Leaving them in the lurch, we made off to the boat, and on getting there, told the men we had left behind about everything, including the affair of our comrades with the vines. Then, taking jars, we furnished ourselves not only with water but with wine from the river, encamped for the night on the beach close by, and at daybreak put to sea with a moderate breeze.

About noon, when the island was no longer in sight, a whirlwind suddenly arose, spun the boat about, raised her into the air about three hundred furlongs and did not let her down into the sea again; but while she was hung up aloft a wind struck her sails and drove her ahead with bellying canvas. For seven days and seven nights we sailed the air, and on the eighth day we saw a great country in it, resembling an island, bright and round and shining with a great light. Running in there and anchoring, we went ashore, and on investigating found that the land was inhabited and cultivated. By day nothing was in sight from the place, but as night came on we began to see many other islands hard by, some larger, some smaller, and they were like fire in colour. We also saw another country below, with cities in it and rivers and seas and forests and mountains. This we inferred to be our own world.

We determined to go still further inland, but we met what they call the Vulture Dragoons, and were arrested. These are men riding on large
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

άνδρες ἐπὶ γυνῶν μεγάλων ὀχύρωμοι καὶ καθάπερ ἵπποις τοῖς ὅρνεοις χρώμενοι μεγάλοι γὰρ οἱ γυναικεῖες καὶ ὠς ἐπίπαν τρικέφαλοι. μάθοι δὲ ἂν τις τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ἐντεῦθεν νεώς γὰρ μεγάλης φορτίδος ἵπποι έκαστον τῶν πτερῶν μακρότερον καὶ παχύτερον φέρουσι. τούτοις οὐν τοίς Ἰπ- πογύπτοις προστέτακται περιπετεμένους τὴν γῆν, εἰ τις εὑρεθεὶς ἤτερος, ἀνάγειν ὡς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς συλλαβόντες ἀνάγονται ὡς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς εἰκάσας, Ἔλληνας ἄρα, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὡμεῖς, ὃ σέμνος; συμφησάντων δὲ, Πῶς οὖν ἀφίκεσθε, ἐφ᾽, τοσοῦτον ἄερα διελ- θόντες; καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ πάν αὐτῷ διηγούμεθα· καὶ ὃς ἀρξάμενος τὸ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν διεξῆι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρωπός ὅμως τούτων Ἴνδυμίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς καθεύδων ἀναρτασθείς ποτὲ καὶ ἀφικόμενος βασιλεύσεις τῆς χώρας· εἰναι δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ἐλεγε τὴν ἡμῖν κάτω· φαίνομένην σελήνην. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν τε παρακελεύετο καὶ μηδένα κάνουν υφορᾶσθαι πάντα γὰρ ἡμῖν παρέσεσθαι διὸ δεόμεθα. Ἡν δὲ καὶ κατορ- θώσω, ἐφ᾽, τῶν πόλεμον ὑπὸ ἐκείρω ὕπνοις τοῖς τῶν ἱλίων κατοικοῦντας, ἀπάντων εὐδαμονεύοντα ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καταβιώσεσθε· καὶ ἡμῖν ἡρόμεθα τίνες εἰγν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα της διαφορὰς· Ὁ δὲ Φαέθων, φησίν, ὁ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ κατοι- κοῦντων βασιλεύς· οἰκεῖται γὰρ δὴ κακεύονος

260
vultures and using the birds for horses. The vultures are large and for the most part have three heads: you can judge of their size from the fact that the mast of a large merchantman is not so long or so thick as the smallest of the quills they have.\footnote{1 Cf. \textit{Odysseus} 9, 322 f.} The Vulture Dragoons are commissioned to fly about the country and bring before the king any stranger they may find, so of course they arrested us and brought us before him. When he had looked us over and drawn his conclusions from our clothes, he said: “Then you are Greeks, are you, strangers?” and when we assented, “Well, how did you get here, with so much air to cross?” We told him all, and he began and told us about himself: that he too was a human being, Endymion by name, who had once been ravished from our country in his sleep, and on coming there had been made king of the land. He said that his country was the moon that shines down on us.\footnote{2 The story of Antonius Diogenes included a description of a trip to the moon (Phot. 111 a). Compare also Lucian’s own \textit{Icaromenippus}.} He urged us to take heart, however, and suspect no danger, for we should have everything that we required. “And if I succeed,” said he, “in the war which I am now making on the people of the sun, you shall lead the happiest of lives with me.” We asked who the enemy were, and what the quarrel was about. “Phaethon,” said he, “the king of the inhabitants of the sun—for it is inhabited,\footnote{3 Cf. \textit{Lactantius} 3, 23, 41: “Seneca says that there have been Stoics who raised the question of ascribing to the sun a population of its own.”}
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

όσπερ καὶ ἡ σελήνη — πολὺν ἦδη πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμει χρόνον. ἦρξατο δὲ ἐξ αὐτίας τοιαύτης· τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ ἐμῇ ποτὲ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους συναγαγὼν ἐβουλήθην ἀποικίαν ἐς τὸν Ἐωσφόρου στείλαι, ὅντα ἔρημον καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κατοικούμενον· ὁ τοίνυν Φαέθουν φθονήσας ἐκώλυσε τὴν ἀποικίαν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον ἀπαντήσας ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰππομυρμῆκων. τότε μὲν οὖν νικηθέντες — οὐ γὰρ ἦμεν ἀντίπαλοι τῇ παρασκευῇ — ἀνεχωρήσαμεν· νῦν δὲ βούλομαι αὐθις ἐξενεγκεῖν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀποστείλαι τὴν ἀποικίαν. ἦν οὖν ἔθελητε, κοινωνήσατε μοι τοῦ στόλου, γύπας δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ παρέξω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἕνα ἐκάστῳ καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν ὀπλίσω· αὕριον δὲ ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἐξόδου. Οὕτως, ἔφην ἐγώ, γυγρέσθω, ἐπειδὴ σοι δοκεῖ.

Τότε μὲν οὖν παρ' αὐτῷ ἑστιαθέντες ἐμείναμεν, ἐωθεν δὲ διαναστάντες ἔτασσόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ σκοτοὶ ἐσόμαινον πλησίον εἶναι τοὺς πολέμους. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλήθος τῆς στρατιᾶς δέκα μυριάδες ἐγένοτο ἀνευ τῶν σκενοφόρων καὶ τῶν μηχανοτεῖων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἔνων συμμάχων· τούτων δὲ ὀκτακισιμύριοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππόγυποι, δισμύριοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Δαχανοπτέρων. ὄρνευν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἐστὶ μέγιστῳ, ἀντὶ τῶν πετρών λαχάνοις πάντῃ λάσιον, τὰ δὲ ὀκύππερα ἔχει θριακίνης φύλλος μᾶλλον προσεοικότα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως οἱ Κενχροβόλοι ἐτετάχατο καὶ οἱ Σκοροδομάχοι. ἦλθον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτοῦ σύμμαχοι, τρισμύριοι μὲν. Ψυλλοτοξόται, πεντακισιμύριοι δὲ Ἀνεμοδρόμωι· τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν Ψυλλοτοξόται ἐπὶ
A TRUE STORY, I

you know, as well as the moon—has been at war with us for a long time now. It began in this way. Once upon a time I gathered together the poorest people in my kingdom and undertook to plant a colony on the Morning Star, which was empty and uninhabited. Phaethon out of jealousy thwarted the colonisation, meeting us half-way at the head of his Ant Dragoons. At that time we were beaten, for we were not a match for them in strength, and we retreated: now, however, I desire to make war again and plant the colony. If you wish, then, you may take part with me in the expedition and I will give each of you one of my royal vultures and a complete outfit. We shall take the field to-morrow.” “Very well,” said I, “since you think it best.”

That night we stopped there as his guests, but at daybreak we arose and took our posts, for the scouts signalled that the enemy was near. The number of our army was a hundred thousand, apart from the porters, the engineers, the infantry and the foreign allies; of this total, eighty thousand were Vulture Dragoons and twenty thousand Grassplume-riders. The Grassplume is also a very large bird, which instead of plumage is all shaggy with grass and has wings very like lettuce-leaves. Next to these the Millet-shooters and the Garlic-fighters were posted. Endymion also had allies who came from the Great Bear—thirty thousand Flea-archers and fifty thousand Volplaneurs. The Flea-archers ride on great fleas,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ψυλλών μεγάλων ἤππαξονται, οὖν καὶ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ἔχουσιν· μέγεθος δὲ τῶν ψυλλών ὅσον δώδεκα ἐλέφαντες· οἱ δὲ Ἀνεμοδρόμοι πεζοὶ μὲν εἰσιν, φέρονται δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἄνευ πτερῶν· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς φορᾶς τοιόσοδε. χιτώνας ποδήρεις ὑπεξωσμένοι κολπώσαντες αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀνέμῳ καθαρέρ ἴστι φέρονται ὡσπερ τὰ σκάφη. τὰ πολλὰ δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πελτασταί εἰσιν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀστέρων ἤξειν Στροβόβαλανοι μὲν ἐπτακισμύριοι, ὅπποι ἐρέανοι δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι. τούτους ἐγὼ οὖν ἐθεασάμην· οὐ γὰρ ἂφικοντο. διότεροι οὖδὲ γράφαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἐτολμήσα· τεράστια γὰρ καὶ ἀπίστα περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγετο.

Ἀυτὴ μὲν ἡ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος δύναμις ἦν. 14 σκευὴ δὲ πάντων ἡ αὐτή· κράνη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κνάμων, μεγάλοι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς οἱ κύκλοι καὶ καρτέροι· θώρακες δὲ φολιδωτοὶ πάντες θέμινοι, τὰ γὰρ λέπι τῶν θέρμων συρράπτοντες ποιοῦνται θώρακας, ἀρρηκτὸν δὲ ἐκεῖ γίνεται τοῦ θέρμου τὸ λέπος ὡσπερ κέρας· ἀσπίδες δὲ καὶ ἕξις οἰα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν, ἐτάξαντο ὡδε· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον οἱ Ἰππόγυπτοι καὶ ὁ Βασιλέως τοὺς ἀρίστους περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχων· καὶ ἴμεν ἐν τούτοις ἦμεν· τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον οἱ Δαχανόπτεροι· τὸ μέσον δὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐκάστους ἐδόκει. τὸ δὲ πεζὸν ἤσαν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐξακισχελιὰς μυρίας, ἐτάχθησαν δὲ ὦτως. ἀράχναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι γίνονται, πολὺ τῶν Κυκλάδων νῆσων ἐκάστος μείζων. τούτως

264
from which they get their name; the fleas are as large as twelve elephants. The Volplaneurs are infantry, to be sure, but they fly in the air without wings. As to the manner of their flight, they pull their long tunics up through their girdles, let the baggy folds fill with wind as if they were sails, and are carried along like boats. For the most part they serve as light infantry in battle. It was said, too, that the stars over Cappadocia would send seventy thousand Sparrowcorns and five thousand Crane Dragoons. I did not get a look at them, as they did not come, so I have not ventured to write about their characteristics, for the stories about them were wonderful and incredible.¹

These were the forces of Endymion. They all had the same equipment—helmets of beans (their beans are large and tough); scale-corselets of lupines (they sew together the skins of lupines to make the corselets, and in that country the skin of the lupine is unbreakable, like horn); shields and swords of the Greek pattern. When the time came, they took position thus; on the right wing, the Vulture Dragoons and the king, with the bravest about him (we were among them); on the left, the Grassplumes; in the centre, the allies, in whatever formation they liked. The infantry came to about sixty million, and was deployed as follows. Spiders in that country are numerous and large, all of them far larger than the Cyclades islands. They were

¹ Compare the reticence of Herodotus (1, 193), Thucydides (3, 113, 6), and Tacitus (Germ. 46).
Τὸν δὲ πολέμῳ τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εἶχον οἱ 16 Ἰππομύρμηκες καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς Φαέθων· θηρία 
δὲ ἐστὶ μέγιστα, ὑπόπτερα, τοῖς παρ’ ἦμῖν 
μύρμηξι προσεικότα πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους· ὁ 
γὰρ μέγιστος αὐτῶν καὶ δίπλεθρος ἦν. ἐμά-
χοντο δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 
αὐτοὶ μάλιστα τοῖς κέρασιν ἐλέγοντο δὲ οὕτω 
ἐίναι ἄμφι τὰς πέντε μυριάδας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ 
αὐτῶν ἔταχθησαν οἱ Ἀεροκόρνωπες, ὄντες καὶ 
οὕτω ἄμφι τὰς πέντε μυριάδας, πάντες τοξόται 
κύωνης μεγάλοις ἐποχούμενοι· μετὰ δὲ τούτως 
οἱ Ἀεροκόρδακες, ψυλοί τε ὄντες καὶ πεζοὶ, πλὴ

μάχιμοι γε καὶ οὕτω πόρρωθεν γὰρ ἐσφενθέν 
ῥαφανίδας ὑπερμεγέθεις, καὶ ὁ βληθεὶς οὐδὲ ἐπ’ ὅλι-
γον ἁντέχειν ἐδῶντο, ἀπέθνησε δὲ, καὶ δυσωδίας 
τινὸς τῷ τραύματί ἐγκυμονήστη τι 
εἶλογον δὲ 
χρίει τὰ βέλη μαλάχης ἰφ. ἐχόμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν 
ἔταχθησαν οἱ Καυλομύκητες, ὀπλίται ὄντες καὶ 
ἀγχέμαχοι, τὸ πλήθος μύριον ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Καυλο-
μύκητες, ὅτι ἀστίσι μὲν μυκητίναις ἔχρωτο, 
δόρασι δὲ καυλάνοις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπαράγων. 
πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Κυνοβάλανοι ἔστησαν, 
οὖς ἐπέμψαν αὐτῷ οἱ τῶν Σείριων κατοικοῦντες, 
πεντακισχίλιοι, ἄνδρες 2 κυνοπρόσωποι ἐπὶ 

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1 ἐπ’ ὅλιγον Νιλέν: ὁλίγον Γ.
2 ἄνδρες Νιλέν: καὶ οὕτω άνδρες ΜSS.

266
A TRUE STORY, I

commissioned by the king to span the air between the Moon and the Morning Star with a web, and as soon as they had finished and had made a plain, he deployed his infantry on it. Their leaders were Owlett son of Fairweather, and two others.

As to the enemy, on the left were the Ant Dragoons, with whom was Phaethon. They are very large beasts with wings, like the ants that we have, except in size: the largest one was two hundred feet long. They themselves fought, as well as their riders, and made especially good use of their feelers. They were said to number about fifty thousand. On their right were posted the Sky-mosquitoes, numbering also about fifty thousand, all archers riding on large mosquitoes. Next to them were the Sky-dancers, a sort of light infantry, formidable however, like all the rest, for they slung radishes at long range, and any man that they hit could not hold out a moment, but died, and his wound was malodorous. They were said to anoint their missiles with mallow poison. Beside them were posted the Stalk-mushrooms, heavy infantry employed at close quarters, ten thousand in number. They had the name Stalk-mushrooms because they used mushrooms for shields and stalks of asparagus for spears. Near them stood the Puppycorns, who were sent him by the inhabitants of the Dog-star, five thousand dog-faced men who fight on the back of winged acorns.²

¹ Herodotus (3, 102) tells of ants bigger than foxes.
² Herodotus (4, 191) tells of dog-headed men and of headless men with eyes in their breasts.
ΤΟΙΝΑΥΤΗ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΦΑΈΘΩΝ ΕΠΗΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ. ΣΥΜΜÎΞΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ἘΠΕΙΔΗ ΤΑ ΣΗΜΕΙΑ ΗΡΘΗ ΚΑΙ ὩΓΚΗΣΑΝΤΟ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΟΙ ὌΝΟΙ—ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΥΆΡ ΆΝΤΙ ΣΑΛΠΙΣΤΩΝ ΧΡΩΝΤΑΙ—ΕΜΆΧΟΝΤΟ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΧΩΝΥΜΟΝ ΤΩΝ ἩΛΙΩΤΩΝ ΑΥΤÎΚΑ ΕΦΥΓΕΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ἸΣΤΟΝΟΥΠΤΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ἩΜΕÎΣ ΕΙΠΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΤΕÎΝΟΝΤΕΣ: ΤΟ ΔΕΞΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΚΡÂΤΕΙ ΤΟΥ ἘΠΙ ΤΗ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΦ ΕΥΧΩΝΥΜΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΞΗΛΘΟΝ ΟΙ ἈΕΡΟΚΩΝΩΤΕΣ ΔΙΆΚΟΝΟΥΣ ἈΧΡΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΖΟΥΣ. ἘΝΤΑΙΘΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΚΕÎΝΩΝ ΕΠΙΒΟΗΘΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΕΦΥΓΟΝ ΕΓΚΛÎΝÂΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΆΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΓΕΙ ᾿ΗΣΘΟΝΤΟ ΤΟΥΣ ἘΠΙ ΤῊΕ ΕΥΧΩΝΥΜΟΝ ΣΦÎΩΝ ΝΕΠΙΚΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ. ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΤΡΟΠΗΣ ΛΑΜΠΡÂΣ ΠΕΝΕΥΜΗΣΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΞΩΝΤΕΣ ᾿ΗΛÎΣΚΟΝΤΟ, ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ἈΝΗΡΟΥΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ᾿ΕΡΕΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΜΕΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΦΩΝ, ὩΣΤΕ ΑΥΤÂ ΒÂΠΤΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ἘΡΥΘΡΑ ΦΑÎΝΕΣΘΑΙ, ΟΙΑ ΠΑΓΡΗ ἩΜÎΝ ΔΥΟΜÎΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ἾΛÎΟΝ ΦΑÎΝΕΤΑΙ, ΠΟΛΥ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΑΣΧΕΝ, ὩΣΤΕ ΜΕ ΕΙΚÂΖΕΙΝ, ΜΗ ἈΡΑ ΤΟΙΟΥΝΤΟ ΤΙΝ_OS ΚΑΙ ΠÂΛΑΙ ÂΝΩ ΓΕΝΟΜÎΝΟΝ Ὁ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ὙΠÎΛΑΒΕΝ ΑΙ_ΜΑΤΙ ΨΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΑ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΡΠΗΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΩΡ. ὍΝΑΣΤΡΕΨΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ἈΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΩΧΕΩΣ ΔΥΟ ΤΡΟΠÎΩΝ ἘΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ, ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΑΧÎΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΖΟΜΑΧΙΑΣ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΑΕΡΟΜΑΧΙΑΣ ἘΠΙ ΤΩΝ
A TRUE STORY, I

It was said that there were tardy allies in Phaethon's case, too—the slingers whom he had summoned from the Milky Way, and the Cloud-centaurs. The latter to be sure, arrived just after the battle was over (if only they had not!); but the slingers did not put in an appearance at all. On account of this, they say, Phaethon was furious with them and afterwards ravaged their country with fire.

This, then, was the array with which Phaethon came on. Joining battle when the flags had been flown and the donkeys on both sides had brayed (for they had donkeys for trumpeters), they fought. The left wing of the Sunites fled at once, without even receiving the charge of the Vulture Horse, and we pursued, cutting them down. But their right wing got the better of the left on our side, and the Sky-mosquitoes advanced in pursuit right up to the infantry. Then, when the infantry came to the rescue, they broke and fled, especially as they saw that the forces on their left had been defeated. It was a glorious victory, in which many were taken alive and many were slain; so much blood flowed on the clouds that they were dyed and looked red, as they do in our country when the sun is setting, and so much also dripped down on the earth that I wonder whether something of the sort did not take place in the sky long ago, when Homer supposed that Zeus had sent a rain of blood on account of the death of Sarpedon.1

When we had returned from the pursuit we set up two trophies, one on the spider-webs for the infantry battle and the other, for the sky battle, on the clouds.

1 II. 16, 459.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

νεφών. ἀρτὶ δὲ τούτων γινομένων ἡγγελλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν σκοτῶν οἱ Νεφελοκένταυροι προσελαύνοντες, οὺς ἐδει πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐλθείν τῷ Φαέθοντι. καὶ δὴ ἐφαίνοντο προσίοντες, θέαμα παραδοξοτατον, εξ ὑπ' ὅσιων πτερωτῶν καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πων συγκείμενοι μέγεθος δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ὅσον τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσοῦ εὖ ἡμισίας ἐς τὸ ἄνω, τῶν δὲ ὑπῶν ὅσον νεῶς μεγάλης φορτίδος. τὸ μέντοι πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνέγραψα, μὴ τῷ καὶ ἀπιστον δόξῃ—τοσοῦτον ἦν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ξραδικοῦ τοξοτής. ἔπει δὲ ἦσθοντο τοὺς φίλους νευκηκόντοις, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Φαέθοντα ἐπεμ-
πον ἀγγελίαν αὖθις ἐπιέναι, αὐτὸι δὲ διαταξάμενοι τεταραγμένοι ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Σεληνώταις, ἀτάκ-
tως 1 περὶ τὴν δίωξιν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα διεσκεδασ-
μένοις καὶ πάντας μὲν τρέπουσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καταδιώκουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ
πλείστα τῶν ὄργων αὐτοῦ κτείνουσιν ἀνέσπασαι
dὲ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ κατέδραμον ἀπαν τὸ ὑπὸ
tῶν ἀραχυῶν πεδίων ὑφασμένον, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ δύο τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐξώγρησαν. ἦδη δὲ παρῆν καὶ
ὁ Φαέθων καὶ αὖθις ἄλλα τρόπαια ὑπ’ ἐκείνων
ἰστατο.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπηγόμεθα ἐς τὸν ἥλιον αὖθις-
μερὸν τῷ χείρῳ ὅπλων δεδέντες ἀραχυῶν ἀποκόμ-
ματι. οἱ δὲ πολιορκεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἠγνωσαν τὴν
πόλιν, ἀναστρέψας δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀέρου ἀπετείχιζον, ὡστε μηκετὶ τὰς αὐγὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου
πρὸς τὴν σελήνην διήκειν. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν διπλὸν,
νεφελωτὸν ὡστε σαφῆς ἐκλείψει τῆς σελήνης
ἐγενόμει καὶ νυκτὶ διήνεκει πάσα κατείχετο.

1 ἀτάκτως Schwartz: ἀτάκτοις MSS.
A TRUE STORY, I

We were just doing this when the scouts reported that the Cloud-centaurs, who should have come to Phaethon's aid before the battle, were advancing on us. Before we knew it, they were coming on in plain sight, a most unparalleled spectacle, being a combination of winged horses and men. In size the men were as large as the Colossus of Rhodes from the waist up, and the horses were as large as a great merchantman. Their number, however, I leave unrecorded for fear that someone may think it incredible, it was so great. Their leader was the Archer from the Zodiac. When they saw that their friends had been defeated, they sent word to Phaethon to advance again, and then, on their own account, in regular formation fell on the disordered Moonites, who had broken ranks and scattered to pursue and to plunder. They put them all to flight, pursued the king himself to the city and killed most of his birds; they plucked up the trophies and over-ran the whole plain woven by the spiders, and they captured me with two of my comrades. By this time Phaethon too was present, and other trophies were being set up by their side.

As for us, we were taken off to the sun that day, our hands tied behind our backs with a section of spider-web. The enemy decided not to lay siege to the city, but on their way back they built a wall through the air, so that the rays of the sun should no longer reach the moon. The wall was double, made of cloud, so that a genuine eclipse of the moon took place, and she was completely enshrouded.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πιεζόμενος δὲ τούτοις ὁ Ἐνδυμίων πέμψας ἰκέτευε καθαρεῖν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα καὶ μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν ἐν σκότῳ βιοτεύοντας, ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ καὶ φόρους τελέσειν καὶ σύμμαχος ἔσσεθαι καὶ μηκέτι πολεμήσειν, καὶ ὀμήρους ἐπὶ τούτοις δοῦναι ἤθελεν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαέθοντα γενομένης δὲς ἐκκλησίας τῇ προτεραίᾳ μὲν οὐδὲν παρέλυσαν τῆς ὀργῆς, τῇ ύστεραίᾳ δὲ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τούτοις. κατὰ τάδε συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο Ἡλιώται καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πρὸς Σεληνίτας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἐπὶ τῷ καταλῦσαι μὲν τοὺς Ἡλιώτας τὸ διατείχισμα καὶ μηκέτι ἐς τὴν σελήνην ἐσβάλλειν, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ρητοῦ ἐκαστοῦ χρήματος, τοὺς δὲ Σεληνίτας ἀφεῖναι μὲν αὐτοῦμοι τοὺς γε ἄλλους ἀστέρας, ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς Ἡλιώταις, συμμαχεῖν δὲ τῇ ἄλληλαι, ἣν τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόρῳ δὲ ὑποτελεῖν ἐκάστοτε ἐτοὺς τῶν βασιλέα τῶν Σεληνιτῶν τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Ἡλιωτῶν δρόσου ἀμφορεάς μυρίους, καὶ ὀμὴρους δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν δοῦναι μυρίους, τὴν δὲ ἀποκιάν τὴν ἐς τῶν Ἐωσφόρου κοινὴ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βουλόμενον ἐγγράψαι δὲ τὰς συνθήκας στήλῃ ἠλεκτρίνη καὶ ἀναστήσαι εἰς μέσῳ τῷ ἀέρι ἐπὶ τῶν μεθορίους. ὁμοσαν δὲ Ἡλιωτῶν μὲν Πυρωνίδης καὶ Θερείτης καὶ Φλόγιος, Σεληνιτῶν δὲ Νύκτωρ καὶ Μήνιος καὶ Πολυλάμπης.

1 γε ἄλλους Γ: γε ἄλληλους Ω. Not in other MSS. πλανητοὺς Schwartz.
in unbroken night. Hard pressed by this, Endymion sent and begged them to pull down the construction and not let them lead their lives in darkness. He promised to pay tribute, to be an ally and not to make war again, and volunteered to give hostages for all this. Phaethon and his people held two assemblies; on the first day they did not lay aside a particle of their anger, but on the second day they softened, and the peace was made on these terms: ¹

On the following conditions the Sunites and their allies make peace with the Moonites and their allies, to wit:

That the Sunites tear down the dividing-wall and do not invade the moon again, and that they make over the prisoners of war, each at a set ransom;

That the Moonites permit the stars to be autonomous, and do not make war on the Sunites;

That each country aid the other if it be attacked;

That in yearly tribute the King of the Moonites pay the King of the Sunites ten thousand gallons of dew, and that he give ten thousand of his people as hostages;

That the colony on the Morning Star be planted in common, and that anyone else who so desires may take part in it;

That the treaty be inscribed on a slab of electrum and set up in mid-air, on the common confines.

Attested under hand and seal.

(For the Sunites) (For the Moonites)
Firebrace Darkling
Parcher Moony
Burns Allbright

¹ Compare the Athenian-Spartan treaty, Thuc. 5, 18.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

"Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο· εὖθυς δὲ τὸ 21
tεῖχος καθηρεῖτο καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
ἀπέδοσαν. ἔπει δὲ ἄφικόμεθα ἐς τὴν σελήνην,
ὑπηντίαξον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἴσπαξονυτο μετὰ δακρύων οἱ τε
ἐταύροι καὶ ὁ Ἑνδυμίων αὐτὸς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦξιον μὲ1
μείναι τε παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀποκίας,
ὑπισχυόμενος δώσειν πρὸς γάμου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
παίδα· γυναῖκες γὰρ οὐκ εἰσὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς. ἔγω δὲ
οὐδαμῶς ἐπειθόμην, ἀλλ’ ἦξιον ἀποτεμφθῆναι
κάτω ἐς τὴν θάλατταν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὼ ἀδύνατον δὲν
πείθειν, ἀποτείμπετε ἡμᾶς ἐστιάσας ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας. 22

Α δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διατρίβον ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ
κατενόησα καὶνα καὶ παράδοξα, ταύτα βούλομαι
εἰπεῖν. πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννᾶσθαι
αὐτοῦς, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρρετων γάμων γὰρ τοῖς
ἀρρεσὶ χρῶνται καὶ οὐδὲ ὠνόμα γυναικὸς ὡς
ἰσαί. μέχρι μὲν οὖν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἑτῶν
γαμεῖται ἑκάστως, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γαμεῖ αὐτός·
κύνουι δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῇ νηδώι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς γαστροκυνη-
μίαις· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ συλλάβῃ τὸ ἐμβρυον, παχύ-
νεται ἡ κυήσι, καὶ χρόνῳ ύστερον ἀνατεμόντες
ἐξάγουσι νεκρά, θέντες δὲ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀνεμόν
κεχηνότα ξυποχιόσιν. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἐς τοῦς
"Ἐλλήνας ἐκείθεν ήκειν τῆς γαστροκυνημίας τοῦνομα,
ὅτι παρ’ ἐκείνους ἀντὶ γαστρὸς κυνοφεῖ. μείζων
dὲ τούτων ἄλλο διηγήσομαι. γένος ἐστὶ παρ’
αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ καλούμενοι Δενδρῖται, γίνεται
dὲ τῶν τρόπων τούτων. ὃρκυν ἀνθρώπων τὸν δεξιὸν
ἀποτεμόντες ἐν γῇ φυτεύουσιν, ἐκ δὲ αὐτοῦ δενδρον

1 μὲ Herwerden: not in MSS.
A TRUE STORY, 1

On those terms peace was made, and then the wall was torn down at once and we prisoners were restored. When we reached the moon we were met and tearfully welcomed by our comrades and by Endymion himself. He wanted me to stay with him and join the colony, promising to give me his own son in marriage—there are no women in their country. But I was not to be persuaded; I asked him to let me go down to the sea. When he perceived that he could not prevail on me, he let us go after entertaining us for seven days.

In the interval, while I was living on the moon, I observed some strange and wonderful things that I wish to speak of. In the first place there is the fact that they are not born of women but of men: they marry men and do not even know the word woman at all! Up to the age of twenty-five each is a wife, and thereafter a husband. They carry their children in the calf of the leg instead of the belly. When conception takes place the calf begins to swell. In course of time they cut it open and deliver the child dead, and then they bring it to life by putting it in the wind with its mouth open. It seems to me that the term "belly of the leg" came to us Greeks from there, since the leg performs the function of a belly with them. But I will tell you something else, still more wonderful. They have a kind of men whom they call the Arboreals, who are brought into the world as follows: Exsecting a man's right genital gland, they plant it in the ground. From it grows a very large tree of

1 I.e. calf of the leg.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀναφύεται μέγιστον, σάρκινον, ὅνον φαλλός· ἔχει δὲ καὶ κλάδους καὶ φύλλα· ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἐστι βάλανοι πηχυαιοί τὸ μέγεθος. ἐπειδὰν οὖν πεπανθώσιν, τρυγήσαντες αὐτὰς ἐκκολάττουσι τοὺς ἄνθρωπους. αἴδοια μέντοι πρόσθετα ἔχονσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐλεφάντινα, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ἔξυλον, καὶ διὰ τούτων ὄχευσιν καὶ πλησιάζουσι τοῖς γαμέταις τοῖς ἐαυτῶν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ γηράσῃ ὁ 23 ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκει, ἀλλ' ὦσπερ καπνὸς διαλύμενος ἀρχ γίνεται. τροφή δὲ πᾶσιν ἡ αὐτή· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πῦρ ἀνακάυσωσιν, βατράχοις ὀπτῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνθράκων· πολλοὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσίν εἰς τὸ ἀέρι πετόμενοι· ὦσπερ δὴ περὶ τράπεζαι κάπτουσι τοῦ ἀναθυμώμενον καπνὸν καὶ ἐυόχυνται. σίτῳ μὲν δὴ τρέφουσιν τοιούτῳ· ποτὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἀρχ ἀποθθαλάμενος εἰς κύλικα καὶ ὦργον ἀνείς ὦσπερ δρόσουν. οὐ μὴν ἀπούροῦσιν γε καὶ ἀφοδεύσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τετρημέναι ἢπερ ἢμείς, οὐδὲ τὴν συνουσίαν οἱ παιδεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἕδραις παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἒγνύασιν ὑπὲρ τὴν γαστροκηνμίαν· ἐκεί γὰρ εἰσὶν τετρημένοι.

Καλὸς δὲ νομίζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢν ποῦ τις φαλακρὸς καὶ ἄκομος ἢ, τοὺς δὲ κομήτας καὶ μυσάττουσι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κομήτων ἀστέρων τούναυτίοις τοὺς κομήτας καλοὺς νομίζουσιν· ἐπεδήμουν γὰρ τινες, οἳ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων διηγοῦντο. καὶ μὴν καὶ γένεια φύσινιν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὰ γόνατα. καὶ ὄνυχας ἐν τοῖς ποσίν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἰσὶν μονοδάκτυλοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰς πυγὰς ἐκάστως αὐτῶν κράμβη ἐκπέφυκε μακρὰ ὦσπερ οὐρά, θάλλουσα ἐς ἀεὶ καὶ υπτίου ἀναπίπτοντος οὐ 276
A TRUE STORY. I

flesh, resembling the emblem of Priapus: it has branches and leaves, and its fruit is acorns a cubit thick. When these ripen, they harvest them and shell out the men. Another thing, they have artificial parts that are sometimes of ivory and sometimes, with the poor, of wood, and make use of them in their intercourse. When a man grows old, he does not die, but is dissolved like smoke and turns into air. They all eat the same food; they light a fire and cook frogs on the coals—they have quantities of frogs, that fly about in the air—and while they are cooking, they sit about them as if at table, snuff up the rising smoke and gorge themselves.¹ This is the food they eat, and their drink is air, which is squeezed into a cup and yields a liquid like dew. They are not subject to calls of nature, which, in fact, they have no means of answering. Another important function, too, is not provided for as one would expect, but in the hollow of the knee.

A man is thought beautiful in that country if he is bald and hairless, and they quite detest long-haired people. It is different on the comets, where they think long-haired people beautiful—there were visitors in the moon who told us about them.² Another point—they have beards that grow a little above the knee, and they have no toe-nails, but are all single-toed. Over each man’s rump grows a long cabbage-leaf, like a tail, which is always green and

¹ Cf. Herod. 1, 202; 4, 75; Strabo 15, 1, 57.
² The point of this is that κομήτης, whence our word comet, means long-haired.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

κατακλωμένη. ἀπομύττονται δὲ μέλι δρυ- 24
μύτατον· καπειδάν ἢ πονώσων ἢ γυμνάζωνται,
γάλακτι πάν τὸ σώμα ἱδροῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ τυροῦς
ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πήγνυθαι, δόλγον τοῦ μέλιτος ἐπι-
στάζαντες· ἐλαιον δὲ ποιοῦνται ἀπὸ τῶν κρομμῶν
πάνῃ λιπαρόν τε καὶ εὐόδες ὠσπερ μύρον. ἀμπέ-
λους δὲ πολλὰς ἔχουσιν ύδροφόρους· αἱ γὰρ ῥάγες
τῶν βοτρύων εἰσὶν ὠσπερ χαλάζα, καὶ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
ἐπειδὰν ἐμπεσὼν ἀνέμοις διασείσῃ τὰς ἀμπέλους
ἐκεῖνας, τότε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταπίπτει ἡ χαλάζα
διαρραγέντων τῶν βοτρύων. τῇ μέντοι γαστρὶ
ὅσα πήρα χρῶνται τιθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὄσων δεοῦνται·
ἀνοικτῇ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ καὶ πάλιν κλειστῇ ἐστὶν:
ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν 1 αὐτῇ φαίνεται, ἢ
tούτο μόνον, ὅτι δασεία πᾶσα 2 ἐνυσσάθε καὶ λάσιος
ἐστὶν, ὡστε καὶ τὰ νεογνά, ἐπειδὰν ῥίγος ἢ, 3 ἐσ
tαύτην ὑποδύεται.

Ἐσθῆς δὲ τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις ὑαλίνη μαλ-
θακῆ, τοῖς πενησὶ δὲ χαλκῆ υφαντή· πολύ-
χαλκα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία, καὶ ἐργάζονται τὸν
χαλκὸν ὑδατὶ ἀποβρέχαντες ὠσπερ τὰ ἔρια.
περὶ μέντοι τῶν ὁφθαλμῶν, οίους ἔχουσιν, ὁκνῶ
μὲν εὐπεῖν, μὴ τίς με νομίζῃ ψεύδεσθαι διὰ
tὸ ἀπιστὸν τοῦ λόγου. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρῶ:
tοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς περιαρετοὺς ἔχουσι, καὶ ὁ βουλό-
μενος ἔξελὼν τοὺς αὐτοῦ φιλάττει ἐστ’ ἀν δεηθῇ
ἰδεῖν ὦτῳ δὲ ἐνθέμενος ὁρᾶ· καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς
σφετέρους ἀπολέσαντες παρ’ ἂλλων χρησάμενοι
ὄρωσιν. εἰσὶ δ’ οἳ καὶ πολλοὶ ὑποθέτους ἔχουσιν,

1 ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν Schwartz: ἐντέρων δὲ οὐδὲ ἢπαρ
ἐν MSS. 2 ένυσσάθε omitted by O and Nilén.
3 ῥίγος ἢ Nilén: ῥίγωσθ MSS.

278
A TRUE STORY, I

does not break if he falls on his back. Their noses run honey of great pungency, and when they work or take exercise, they sweat milk all over their bodies, of such quality that cheese can actually be made from it by dripping in a little of the honey. They make oil from onions, and it is very clear and sweet-smelling, like myrrh. They have many water-vines, the grapes of which are like hailstones, and to my thinking, the hail that falls down on us is due to the bursting of the bunches when a wind strikes and shakes those vines. They use their bellies for pockets, putting into them anything they have use for, as they can open and shut them. These parts do not seem to have any intestines in them or anything else, except that they are all shaggy and hairy inside, so that the children enter them when it is cold.

The clothing of the rich is malleable glass¹ and that of the poor, spun bronze; for that region is rich in bronze, which they work like wool by wetting it with water. I am reluctant to tell you what sort of eyes they have, for fear that you may think me lying on account of the incredibility of the story, but I will tell you, notwithstanding. The eyes that they have are removable, and whenever they wish they take them out and put them away until they want to see: then they put them in and look. Many, on losing their own, borrow other people's to see with, and the rich folk keep a quantity

¹ Lucian's glass clothing (διάλύα) is a punning parody on wooden clothing (ξυλίνη), i.e. cotton (Herod. 7, 65).

279
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

οἱ πλούσιοι. τὰ ὃτα δὲ πλατάνων φύλλα ἔστιν αὐτῶς πλὴν γε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν βαλάνων· εἰκείνοι γὰρ μόνοι ἕξιλπνα ἔχουσίν. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλο 26 θαύμα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐθεασάμην· κάτωπτρον μέγιστον κεῖται ὑπὲρ φρέατος οὐ πάνυ βαθέος. ἂν μὲν οὖν εἶς τὸ φρέαρ καταβῆς τις, ἀκούει πάντων τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ λεγομένων, ἐδώ εἰς τὸ κάτωπτρον ἀποβλέψῃ, πάσας μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἔθνη ὅρα ὅσπερ ἐφεστῶς ἐκάστους· τότε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐγὼ ἐθεασάμην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρίδα, εἰ δὲ κάκεινοι εἰμὲ ἐώρων, οὐκέτι ἔχω τὸ ἀσφαλὲς εἰπεῖν. ὅστις δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πιστεύει οὕτως ἔχειν, ἂν ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείσε ἀφίκηται, εἰσεῖται ὃς ἀληθῆ λέγω.

Τότε δ’ οὖν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ 27 τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν, ἐμβάντες ἀνήχθημεν· ἔμοι δὲ καὶ δόρα ἐδώκειν ὁ Ἐνδυμίων, δύν μὲν τῶν ὑπὸνων χιτώνων, πέντε δὲ χαλκοῦς, καὶ πανοπλίαν θερμίνην, ἡ πάντα ἐν τῷ κίτει κατέλειπον· συνέπεμψε δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰππογύπους χίλιους παραπέμψσοντας ἄχρι σταδίων πεντακοσίων. ἐν δὲ τῷ παράπλον πολλάς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας χώρας παρημείψατε, προσέσχομεν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἐοσφόρῳ ἄρτι συνοικιζομένως, καὶ ἀποβάντες ύδρευσάμεθα. ἐμβάντες δὲ εἰς τὸν ξωδιακὸν ἐν ἀριστερὰ παρήμενεν τὸν ἦλιον, ἐν χρόνι τῆν ἑκατοκότες· οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβημεν κατοικοῦσα πολλὰ τῶν ἐτάρτων ἐπιθυμουῦντων, άλλ’ ἢ ἀνεμος οὐκ ἐφῆκεν. ἐθέωμεθα μέντοι τὴν χώραν εὔθαλη τε καὶ πίονα καὶ εὔνυδρον καὶ πολλών ἀγαθῶν μεστήν. ἵδοντες δ’ ἡμᾶς οἱ Νεφελοκέν- ταυροι, μυσθοφοροῦντες παρὰ τῷ Φαέθοντι, ἐπέ-
A TRUE STORY, I

stored up. For ears they have plane-leaves, except only the acorn-men, who have wooden ones. In the royal purlieus I saw another marvel. A large looking-glass is fixed above a well, which is not very deep. If a man goes down into the well, he hears everything that is said among us on earth, and if he looks into the looking-glass he sees every city and every country just as if he were standing over it. When I tried it I saw my family and my whole native land, but I cannot go further and say for certain whether they also saw me. Anyone who does not believe this is so will find, if ever he gets there himself, that I am telling the truth.

To go back to my story, we embraced the king and his friends, went aboard, and put off. Endymion even gave me presents—two of the glass tunics, five of bronze, and a suit of lupine armour—but I left them all behind in the whale. He also sent a thousand Vulture Dragoons with us to escort us for sixty miles. On our way we passed many countries and put in at the Morning Star, which was just being colonised. We landed there and procured water. Going aboard and making for the zodiac, we passed the sun to port, hugging the shore. We did not land, though many of my comrades wanted to; for the wind was unfavourable. But we saw that the country was green and fertile and well-watered, and full of untold good things. On seeing us, the Cloud-centaurs, who had entered the service of Phaethon,

1 Compare the story of the Graeae.

281
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πτήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, καὶ μαθόντες ἐνσπόνδους ἀνεχώρησαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰππόγυντοι ἀπε- 29 ληλύθεσαν.

Πλεύσαντες δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀφικόμεθα ἐσ τὴν Δυνυόπολοιν καλουμένην, ἦδη τὸν κάτω πλοίου διώκοντες. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτὴ κεῖται μεταξὺ τοῦ Πλευώδουν καὶ τοῦ Ἄδων ἀέρος, ταπεινωτέρα μέντοι πολὺ τοῦ ξωδιακοῦ. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἄνθρωπον μὲν οὐδένα εὔρομεν, λύχνους δὲ πολλοὺς περιθέοντας καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾶ καὶ περὶ τὸν λεμένα διατρίβοντας, τους μὲν μικροὺς καὶ ὥσπερ πένητας, ολίγους δὲ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ δυνατῶν πάνυ λαμπρούς καὶ περιφανεῖς. οἰκήσεις δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ λυχνεόνιν ἰδία ἐκάστῳ πεποίητο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅνοματα ἔλξον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ φωνὴ προεμένων ἱκούμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἡδίκουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ἡξεια ἐκάλουν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅμως ἐφοβούμεθα, καὶ οὔτε δειπνήσαι οὔτε ὑπνώσαι τῆς ἡμῶν ἐτόλμησαν. ἀρχεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πεποίηται, ἐνθα ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ὅλης κάθηται ὁνοματι καλῶν ἐκαστῶν δὲ ἄν μὴ ὑπακούσῃ, καταδικάζεται ἀποθανεῖν ὡς λυπῶν τὴν τάξιν· ὁ δὲ θάνατός ἐστι σβεσθῆναι. παρεστῶτες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐσφόμεν τὰ γνώμενα καὶ ἱκούμεν ἀμα τῶν λυχνῶν ἀπολογομένων καὶ τὰς αἰτίας λεγόντων δὲ ἐς ἐβράδυνον. ἐνθα καὶ τὸν ἰμέτρου λύχνου ἐγνώρισα, καὶ προσεπὼν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν κατ’ οίκον ἐπιυθησόμεν ὅπως ἔχοιεν· ὁ δὲ μοι ἄπαντα ἐκείνα διηγήσατο.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν νύκτα ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ ἐμείναμεν, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἄραντες ἐπλέομεν ἦδη πλησίον τῶν 282
A TRUE STORY, I

flew up to the ship and then went away again when they found out that the treaty protected us. The Vulture Dragoons had already left us.

Sailing the next night and day we reached Lamp-town toward evening, already being on our downward way. This city lies in the air midway between the Pleiades and the Hyades, though much lower than the Zodiac. On landing, we did not find any men at all, but a lot of lamps running about and loitering in the public square and at the harbour. Some of them were small and poor, so to speak: a few, being great and powerful, were very splendid and conspicuous. Each of them has his own house, or sconce, they have names like men, and we heard them talking. They offered us no harm, but invited us to be their guests. We were afraid, however, and none of us ventured to eat a mouthful or close an eye. They have a public building in the centre of the city, where their magistrate sits all night and calls each of them by name, and whoever does not answer is sentenced to death for deserting. They are executed by being put out. We were at court, saw what went on, and heard the lamps defend themselves and tell why they came late. There I recognised our own lamp: I spoke to him and enquired how things were at home, and he told me all about them.

That night we stopped there, but on the next day we set sail and continued our voyage. By this time
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

νεφών ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὴν Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν πώλην ἴδοντες θαυμάσαμεν, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέβημεν αὐτής· οὐ γὰρ εἶα τὸ πνεῦμα. Βασιλεύεις μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐλέγετο Κόρωνος ὁ Κοττυφίωνος. καὶ ἔγω ἐμνήσθην Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ἄνδρος σοφοῦ καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ μάτην ἐφ’ οίς ἔγραψεν ἀπίστου·

μένου. τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρα καὶ τῶν ὀκεανῶν ήδη σαφῶς ἐφαύρωμεν, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν γε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄερι καὶ αὐταὶ δὲ πυρόδεις καὶ ὑπερανγεῖς ἐφαυτάξοντο. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ περὶ μεσημβρίαν μαλακῶς ἐνιδίκοντο τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ συνιζάνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καθέθηκας. ώς δὲ τοῦ ὑδατος ἐφαύρωσας, θαναμασίως ὑπερ-30 ἡδόμεθα καὶ ὑπερχαίρομεν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εὐφροσύνην ἐποιούμεθα καὶ ἁποβάντες ἐνηχόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχε γαλήνη οὐσα καὶ εὐ-σταθοῦν τὸ πέλαγος.

"Εοικε δὲ ἀρχῇ κακῶν μειζόνων γίνεσθαι πολλάκις ἢ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή· καὶ γὰρ ἥμεις δύο μόνας ἡμέρας ἐν εὐδίᾳ πλεύσαντες, τῆς τρίτης ὑποφανοῦσης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τῶν ἥλιων ἀφων ὡρῶμεν θηρία καὶ κητὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ἐν δὲ μέγιστον ἀπάντων ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων τὸ μέγεθος· ἐπήκε δὲ κεχυνὸς καὶ πρὸ πολλὸν ταράττων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφράτω τε περικλυζόμενον καὶ τοὺς ὄδοντας ἐκφαίνουν πολὺ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν φαλλῶν ψηλότερον, οἷείς δὲ πάντας ὄσπερ σκόλοπας καὶ λευκοὺς ὄσπερ ἑλεφαυτίνους. ἥμεις μὲν οὖν τὸ ὑστατὸν ἀλλή-λους προσευάστηκε καὶ περιβαλόντες ἐμένομεν· τὸ

1 καθέθηκας Richards: κατέθηκεν, κατετέθηκεν MSS.

284
we were near the clouds. There we saw the city of Cloudcuckoo-town,\(^1\) and wondered at it, but did not visit it, as the wind did not permit. The king, however, was said to be Crow Dawson. It made me think of Aristophanes the poet, a wise and truthful man whose writings are distrusted without reason. On the next day but one, the ocean was already in plain sight, but no land anywhere except the countries in the air, and they began to appear fiery and bright. Toward noon on the fourth day the wind fell gently and gave out, and we were set down on the sea. When we touched the water we were marvellously pleased and happy, made as merry as we could in every way, and went over the side for a swim, for by good luck it was calm and the sea was smooth.

It would seem, however, that a change for the better often proves a prelude to greater ills. We had sailed just two days in fair weather and the third day was breaking when toward sunrise we suddenly saw a number of sea-monsters, whales. One among them, the largest of all, was fully one hundred and fifty miles long. He came at us with open mouth, dashing up the sea far in advance, foam-washed, showing teeth much larger than the emblems of Dionysus in our country,\(^2\) and all sharp as calthrops and white as ivory. We said good-bye to one another, embraced, and waited. He was there in an

\(^1\) The capital of Birdland in Aristophanes' play, *The Birds*.  
\(^2\) On the size of these, see Lucian's *Syrian Goddess*, 28.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

dexe ἔρχην καὶ ἀναρροφήσας ἡμᾶς αὐτῇ νηπία κατέπιν. οὐ μέντοι ἐφθῆ συναράξει τοὺς ὁδούσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων ἡ ναῦς ἐς τὸ ἔσω διεξέπεσεν. ἔπει δὲ ἐνδού ἦμεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 31 σκότος ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐωρῶμεν, ὡστερον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀναχαῦντος εἴδομεν κύτως μέγα καὶ πάντη πλατύ καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἰκανὸν μυριάνδρῳ πόλει ἐνοικεὶν. ἔκειντο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ἑκάθεν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ θηρία συγκεκομένα, καὶ πλοίων ἱστία καὶ ἄγκυραι, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὅστεα καὶ φορτία, κατὰ μέσον δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ λόφοι ἦσαν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἃς τῆς ἱλυδός ἦν κατέπινες συνιζάνουσα. ὡς γοῦν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ δένδρα παντοῦ ἐπεφύκεις καὶ λάχανα ἐβεβλαστήκεις, καὶ ἐφίκει πάντα ἑξειργασμένοις περίμετρον δὲ τῆς γῆς στάδιοι διακόσιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἦν δὲ ἴδεῖν καὶ ὄρμεα θαλάττια, λάρνας καὶ ἀλκυόνας, ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων νεοττεύοντα.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πολύ ἐδακρύσμεν, ὡστερον 32 δὲ ἀναστήσατες τοὺς ἑταίρους τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὑπεστηρίζαμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ πυρεῖα συντρίψαντες καὶ ἀνακαύσαντες δείπνον ἐκ τῶν παρώνων ἐποιούμεθα. παρέκειτο δὲ ἄφθονα καὶ παντοῦ δαπὰς κρέα τῶν ἱχθυών, καὶ ὦδωρ ἔτη τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἑσσάφουρος εἴχομεν. τῇ ἐπιούσῃ δὲ διαναστάστε, εἰ ποτὲ ἀναχάνοι τὸ κήτος, ἐωρῶμεν ἄλλοτε μὲν ὄρη, ἄλλοτε δὲ μόνον τῶν ὀυρανῶν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ χῆσους καὶ γὰρ ἡσθανόμεθα φερομένου αὐτοῦ ὄξεως πρὸς πάν μέρος τῆς θαλάττης. ἔπει δὲ

1. μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ Schwartz: μικροὶ MSS.
A TRUE STORY, I

instant, and with a gulp swallowed us down, ship and all. He just missed crushing us with his teeth, but the boat slipped through the gaps between them into the interior. When we were inside, it was dark at first, and we could not see anything, but afterwards, when he opened his mouth, we saw a great cavity, flat all over and high, and large enough for the housing of a great city. In it there were fish, large and small, and many other creatures all mangled, ships’ rigging and anchors, human bones, and merchandise. In the middle there was land with hills on it, which to my thinking was formed of the mud that he had swallowed. Indeed, a forest of all kinds of trees had grown on it, garden stuff had come up, and everything appeared to be under cultivation. The coast of the island was twenty-seven miles long. Sea-birds were to be seen nesting on the trees, gulls and king-fishers.

At first we shed tears for a long time, and then I roused my comrades and we provided for the ship by shoring it up and for ourselves by rubbing sticks together, lighting a fire and getting dinner as best we could. We had at hand plenty of fish of all kinds, and we still had the water from the Morning Star. On rising the next day, whenever the whale opened his mouth we saw mountains one moment, nothing but sky the next, and islands frequently, and we perceived by this that he was rushing swiftly to all parts of the sea. When we finally tired of this

¹ This story of the whale is no longer considered a parody on Jonah’s adventure, as there were other versions of the tale afloat in antiquity.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

...
A TRUE STORY, I

pastime I took seven of my comrades and went into the forest, wishing to have a look everything. I had not yet gone quite five furlongs when I found a temple of Poseidon, as the inscription indicated, and not far from it a number of graves with stones on them. Near by was a spring of clear water. We also heard the barking of a dog, smoke appeared in the distance, and we made out something like a farmhouse, too.

Advancing eagerly, we came upon an old man and a boy very busily at work in a garden which they were irrigating with water from the spring. Joyful and fearful at the same instant, we stopped still, and they too, probably feeling the same as we, stood there without a word. In course of time the old man said: "Who are you, strangers? Are you sea-gods, or only unlucky men like us? As for ourselves, though we are men and were bred on land, we have become sea-creatures and swim about with this beast which encompasses us, not even knowing for certain what our condition is—we suppose that we are dead, but trust that we are alive." To this I replied: "We too are men, my good sir—newcomers, who were swallowed up yesterday, ship and all: and we set out just now with the notion of finding out how things were in the forest, for it appeared to be very large and thick. But some divinity, it seems, brought us to see you and to discover that we are not the only people shut up in this animal. Do tell us your adventures—who you are and how you got in here." But he said he would neither tell us nor question us before giving us what entertainment he could command, and he

289

VOL. I.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

λαβὼν ἡμᾶς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν—ἐπεποίητο δὲ αὐτάρκη καὶ στιβάδας ἐνφυκόδομητο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξήριστο—παραθεῖς δὲ ἦμιν λάχανά τε καὶ ἀκρόδρυα καὶ ἱχθύς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐγχέασ, ἐπειδὴ ἰκανῶς ἐκκρέςθημεν, ἐπυνθάνετο ἃ πεπόνθοιμεν· κάγω πάντα ἐξῆς διηγησάμην, τὸν τε χειμῶνα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πλοῦν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὸ κήτος καταδύσεως.

'Ὁ δὲ ὑπερθαυμάσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν μέρει τὰ καθ’ 34 αὐτὸν διεξηρεῖ λέγων. Τὸ μὲν γένος εἰμί, ὁ ξένοι, Κύπριος, ὀρμηθείς δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ παιδός, ὅν ὄρατε, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν οἰκετῶν ἔπλεον εἰς Ἰταλίαν ποικίλον φόρτων κομίζων ἐπὶ νεώς μεγάλης, ἤν ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ κήτους διαλευκαμένην ἱσως ἔωράκατε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν Σικελίας εὔτυχώς διεπέλυσαμεν· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἄρπασθέντες ἀνέμῳ σφοδρῷ τρεῖται οἱ τῶν ὠκεανῶν ἀπηνέχθημεν, ἐνθα τῷ κήτει περιτυχόντες καὶ αὐτανδροὶ καταποθέντες δύο ἠμεῖς μόνοι, τῶν ἀλλων ἀποθανόντων, ἐσώθημεν. θάψαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ποσειδώνι δειμάμενοι τοιοῦτοι τῶν βίου ἤμεν, λάχανα μὲν κηπεύοντες, ἱχθὺς δὲ σιτούμενοι καὶ ἀκρόδρυα. πολλὴ δὲ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἡ ὕλη, καὶ μὴ καὶ ἀμπέλους ἔχει πολλάς, ἀφ’ ὑπὸ ἡδύτατος οἶνος γεννᾶται· καὶ τὴν πηγὴν δὲ ἱσως εἰδετε καλλίστο καὶ ψυχροτάτου ύδατος. εὐνήν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων ποιούμεθα, καὶ πῦρ ἄφθονον καίομεν, καὶ ὄρνεα δὲ θηρεύομεν τὰ εἰσπετόμενα, καὶ ξώντας ἱχθὺς ἀγρεύομεν εξιόντες ἐπὶ τὰ βραχχία τοῦ θηρίου, ἐνθα καὶ λουμέθα, ὡπόταν ἐπιθυμήσωμεν. καὶ μὴ καὶ λίμνη οὐ πόρρω ἐστὶν.
A TRUE STORY, I

took us with him to the house. It was a commodious structure, had bunks built in it and was fully furnished in other ways. He set before us vegetables, fruit and fish and poured us out wine as well. When we had had enough, he asked us what had happened to us. I told him about everything from first to last—the storm, the island, the cruise in the air, the war and all the rest of it up to our descent into the whale.

He expressed huge wonder, and then told us his own story, saying: "By birth, strangers, I am a Cypriote. Setting out from my native land on a trading venture with my boy whom you see and with many servants besides, I began a voyage to Italy, bringing various wares on a great ship, which you no doubt saw wrecked in the mouth of the whale. As far as Sicily we had a fortunate voyage, but there we were caught by a violent wind and driven out into the ocean for three days, where we fell in with the whale, were swallowed up crew and all, and only we two survived, the others being killed. We buried our comrades, built a temple to Poseidon and live this sort of life, raising vegetables and eating fish and nuts. As you see, the forest is extensive, and besides, it contains many grape-vines, which yield the sweetest of wine. No doubt you noticed the spring of beautiful cold water, too. We make our bed of leaves, burn all the wood we want, snare the birds that fly in, and catch fresh fish by going into the gills of the animal. We also bathe there when we care to. Another thing, there is a
σταδίων εἶκοσι τὴν περίμετρον, ἵχθυς ἔχουσα παντοδαποῦς, ἔν ἦ καὶ νηχόμεθα καὶ πλέομεν ἐπὶ σκάφους μικροῦ, ὦ ἐγὼ ναυπηγησάμην. ἔτη δὲ ἔστιν ἡμῖν τῆς καταπόσεως ταῦτα ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἵσσος φέρειι δυνάμεθα, οἱ δὲ γείτονες ἡμῶν καὶ πάροικοι σφόδρα χαλεποὶ καὶ βαρεῖς εἰσίν, ἄμεστοι τε ὄντες καὶ ἄγριοι. Ἡ γὰρ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς εἰσίν ἐν τῷ κῆτε; Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ ἄξενοι καὶ τὰς μορφὰς ἀλλόκοτοι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐσπέρα τῆς ὕλης καὶ οὐραία Ταριχάνες οἰκοῦσιν, ἔθνος ἐγχελνωπὸν καὶ καραβοπρόσωπον, μάχιμον καὶ θρασύ καὶ ἀμφιαγόν. τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας πλευρᾶς κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν τοῖχον Τριτωνομένες, μὲν δὲ κάτω τοῖς γαλεώταις, ἦττον μὲντοι ἄδικοι εἰσίν τῶν ἄλλων: τὰ λεία δὲ Καρκινόχειρες καὶ Θυμνόκεφαλοι συμμαχίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένοι τὴν δὲ μεσόγαιαν νέμονται Παγουρίδαι καὶ Ψηττόποδες, γένος μάχιμον καὶ δρομικότατον τὰ ἐφι δὲ, τὰ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι, τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐρήμα ἐστί, προσκλυζόμενα τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ὅμως δὲ ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔχω φόρον τοῖς Ψηττόποσιν ὑποτελῶν ἐκάστου ἐστος ὀστρεία πεντακόσια. τοιαύτη 36 μὲν ἡ χώρα ἐστίν· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ ὅραν ὅπως δυνησόμεθα τοσοῦτοι ἔθνεσι μάχεσθαι καὶ ὅπως βιοτεύσομεν. Πόσοι δὲ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, πάντες οὕτω εἰσίν; Πλεῖοις, ἔφην, τῶν χιλίων. Ὁπλα δὲ τίνα ἐστίν αὐτοῖς; Οὐδέν, ἔφη, πλὴν τὰ ὡς τῶν
A TRUE STORY, I

lake not far off, twenty furlongs in circumference, with all kinds of fish in it, where we swim and sail in a little skiff that I made. It is now twenty-seven years since we were swallowed. Everything else is perhaps endurable, but our neighbours and fellow-countrymen are extremely quarrelsome and unpleasant, being unsociable and savage." "What!" said I, "are there other people in the whale, too?" "Why, yes, lots of them," said he; "they are unfriendly and are oddly built. In the western part of the forest, the tail part, live the Broilers, an eel-eyed, lobster-faced people that are warlike and bold, and are cannibals. On one side, by the starboard wall, live the Mergoats,¹ like men above and catfish below; they are not so wicked as the others. To port there are the Crabelaws and the Codheads, who are friends and allies with each other. The interior is inhabited by Clan Crawfish and the Solefeet, good fighters and swift runners. The eastern part, that near the mouth, is mostly uninhabited, as it is subject to inundations of the sea. I live in it, however, paying the Solefeet a tribute of five hundred oysters a year. Such being the nature of the country, it is for you to see how we can fight with all these tribes and how we are to get a living." "How many are there of them in all?" said I. "More than a thousand," said he. "What sort of weapons have they?" "Nothing but fishbones,"

¹ According to Herodotus (2, 46), μενός was Egyptian for goat; but there is nothing goatish in the Tritonomendetes as Lucian describes them,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ιχθύων. Οὔκοιν, ἐφ' ἐγώ, ἀριστα δὴ ἔχω διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀτε οὖσιν ἀνόπλοις αὐτοῖς ὑπλισμένους· εἰ γὰρ κρατήσομεν αὐτῶν, ἀδεῶς τὸν λοιπὸν βίον οἰκήσομεν.

'Εδοξέ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν παρεσκευαζόμεθα. αἰτία δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐμελλεν ἔσεθαι τοῦ φόρου ἡ οὐκ ἀπόδοσις, ἢ ἂν τής προθεσμίας ἐνεστώσης. καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐπεμπον ἀπαυτούντες τὸν δασμὸν ὁ δὲ ὑπεροπτικῶς ἀποκρινόμενος ἀπεδίωξε τοὺς ἀγγέλους. πρῶτοι οὖν οἱ Ψηττόποδες καὶ οἱ Παγουρίδαι χαλεπαίνοντες τῷ Σκινθάρῳ—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκάλειτο—μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου ἐπῆσαν. ἥμεις δὲ τὴν ἐφοδόν 37 ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ἀνεμένομεν, λόγχων τινὰ προτάξαντες ἀνδρῶν πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι. προείρητο δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ, ἐπειδὰν ἰδόσι παρεληλυθότας τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπανίστασθαι· καὶ οὗτος ἐποίησαν. ἐπαναστάντες γὰρ κατόπιν ἐκποτοῦν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἥμεις δὲ αὐτοὶ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες—καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σκινθάρος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ συνεστρατεύοντο—ὑπηντιάζουμεν, καὶ συμμίζοντες θυμῶ καὶ ῥώμη διεκινδυνεύουμεν. τέλος δὲ τροπὴν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενοι κατεδιώξαμεν ἀχρί πρὸς τοὺς φύλεούς. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ἡμῶν δὲ εἰς, ὁ κυβερνήτης, τρίγλυς πλευρὰ διαπαρεῖς τὸ μετάφρενον. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐπηνυμισάμεθα τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τρόπαιον ἐστίσαμεν ράχιν ξηρὰν δελφίνος ἀναπήξαντες. τῇ ύστεραια δὲ καὶ οἱ άλλοι αἰσθόμενοι παρῆσαν, τὸ μὲν δεξιῶν κέρας ἔχοντες οἱ Ταρχάνες—ἥγειτο δὲ αὐτῶν Πήλαμος—τὸ δὲ εὐνώυμον οἱ Θυννοκέ-
A TRUE STORY, I

he said. "Then our best plan," said I, "would be to meet them in battle, as they are unarmed and we have arms. If we defeat them, we shall live here in peace the rest of our days."

This was resolved on, and we went to the boat and made ready. The cause of war was to be the withholding of the tribute, since the date for it had already arrived. They sent and demanded the tax, and he gave the messengers a contemptuous answer and drove them off. First the Solefeet and Clan Crawfish, incensed at Scintharus—for that was his name—came on with a great uproar. Anticipating their attack, we were waiting under arms, having previously posted in our front a squad of twenty-five men in ambush, who had been directed to fall on the enemy when they saw that they had gone by, and this they did. Falling on them in the rear, they cut them down, while we ourselves, twenty-five in number (for Scintharus and his son were in our ranks), met them face to face and, engaging them, ran our hazard with strength and spirit. Finally we routed them and pursued them clear to their dens. The slain on the side of the enemy were one hundred and seventy; on our side, one—the sailing-master, who was run through the midriff with a mullet-rib. That day and night we bivouacked on the field and made a trophy by setting up the dry spine of a dolphin. On the following day the others, who had heard of it, appeared, with the Broilers, led by Tom Cod, on the right wing, the Codheads on the left, and the
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φαλοι, τὸ μέσον δὲ οἱ Καρκινόχειρες· οἱ γὰρ Ἰοτιωνομένητες τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον ὑδετέρους συμμαχεῖν προαιρούμενοι. ἤμεις δὲ προαπαντή-
σαντες αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὸ Ποσειδόνιον συνεμίζαμεν
πόλλη βοὴ χρώμενοι, ἀντέχει δὲ τὸ κύτος 1 ὠσπερ
tὰ σπήλαια. τρεψάμενοι δὲ αὐτούς, ἀτε γυμνήτας
όντας, καὶ καταδιώξαντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην τὸ λοιπὸν
ἐπεκρατούμεν τῆς γῆς. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
κήρυκας ἀποστειλάντες νεκρός τε ἀνηροῦντο καὶ
περὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο· ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει
σπένδεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ υστεραίᾳ χωρήσαντες ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς πάντας ἀρδήν ἐξεκόψαμεν πλὴν τῶν
Ἰοτιωνομενήτων. οὖν δὲ ὡσ εἶδον τὰ γυμνεμα,
διαδράντες ἐκ τῶν βραγχίων ἀφήκαν αὐτοὺς εἰς
τὴν θάλατταν. ἤμεις δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπελθόντες
ἐρήμου ἦδο σὺναυ τῶν πολέμων τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεόως
καταφούμεν, τὰ πολλὰ γυμνασίους τε καὶ κυνηγε-
σίως χρώμενοι καὶ ἀμπελουργοῦντες καὶ τὸν
καρπὸν συγκομιζόμενοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ
ὁλως ἐξειμένοι τοὺς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ
ἀφύκτῳ τρυφώσι καὶ λελυμένοι.

Ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ μήνας ὀκτώ τούτον δεήγο-
μεν τῶν τρόπων. τῷ δ' ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ πέμπτῃ
ἰσταμένου, περὶ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ στόματος ἀνοι-
ξιν — ἀπαξ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν ὄραν ἐκάστην
ἐποίει τὸ κῆπος, ὡστε ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς ἀνοίξεις
tekmairêshai tâs õras — περὶ οὖν τὴν δευτέραν,
ἀσπερ ἐφην, ἀνοιξώ, ἄφαν βοὴ τε πολλή καὶ
θόρυβος ἥκουτο καὶ ὠσπερ κελεύσματα καὶ
eiresiâi: ταραχθέντες οὖν ἀνειρπύσαμεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ
tὸ στῶμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ στάντες ἐνδοτέρῳ τῶν

1 κύτος Wesseling : κῆτος MSS.
A TRUE STORY, I

Crabclaws in the centre. The Mergoats did not take the field, choosing not to ally themselves with either party. Going out to meet them, we engaged them by the temple of Poseidon with great shouting, and the hollow re-echoed like a cave. Routing them, as they were light-armed, and pursuing them into the forest, we were thenceforth masters of the land. Not long afterwards they sent heralds and were for recovering their dead and conferring about an alliance, but we did not think it best to make terms with them. Indeed, on the following day we marched against them and utterly exterminated them, all but the Mergoats, and they, when they saw what was doing, ran off through the gills and threw themselves into the sea. Occupying the country, which was now clear of the enemy, we dwelt there in peace from that time on, constantly engaging in sports, hunting, tending vines and gathering the fruit of the trees. In short, we resembled men leading a life of luxury and roaming at large in a great prison that they cannot break out of.

For a year and eight months we lived in this way, but on the fifth day of the ninth month, about the second mouth-opening—for the whale did it once an hour, so that we told time by the openings—about the second opening, as I said, much shouting and commotion suddenly made itself heard, and what seemed to be commands and oar-beats.¹ Excitedly we crept up to the very mouth of the animal, and standing

¹ Compare the description of the sea-fight between Corinth and Corcyra in Thucydides 1. 48.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

όδύντων καθεωρώμεν ἀπάντων δὲν ἔγο ἐίδον θεαμάτων παραδοξότατον, ἀνδρας μεγάλους, ὅσον ἦμισταδιαίοις τὰς ἡλικίας, ἐπὶ νήσους μεγάλας προσπέλεοντας ὀστερ ἐπὶ τρήρων. οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἀπίστους ἐοικότα ιστορήσων, λέξω δὲ ὅμως. νήσοι ἦσαν ἑπιμήκεις μὲν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ ὄψηλαι, ὅσον ἐκατὸν σταδίων ἐκάστη τὸ περίμετρον ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπλεον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑκείνων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατὸν τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν παρ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς νῆσος καθήμενοι ἐφεξῆς ἐκωτηλάτοις κυπαρίστοις μεγάλαις αὐτοκλάδοις καὶ αὐτοκόμωι ὀστερ ἐρετμοῖς, κατόπιν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης, ὡς ἐδόκει, κυβερνήτης ἐπὶ λόφου νῆσηλου εἰστήκει χάλκους ἑκον πηδάλιον πεντασταδιαίον τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πρόφας ὅσον τεταράκοντα ὀψιλοσμένοι αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, πάντα ἐοικότες ἀνθρώποις πλήν τῆς κόμης· αὐτὴ δὲ τῦρ ἦν καὶ ἐκάστο, ὡστε οὐδέ κορύθων ἐδέωντο. ἀντὶ δὲ ἱστίων ὃ ἀνεμος ἐμπέπτων τῇ υλῇ, πολλὴ οὕση ἐν ἐκάστῃ, ἐκόλπου τε ταῦτην καὶ ἐφερε τὴν νῆσον ἦ ἐθέλου ὁ κυβερνήτης· κελευστὶς δὲ ἐφειστήκει αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρεσίαν ὅξεως ἐκινοῦντο ὀστηρ τὰ μακρὰ τῶν πλοίων.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον δὺν ἥ τρεῖς ἐωρώμεν, ὀστερον δὲ ἐφάνησαν ὅσον ἐξακόσιοι, καὶ διαστάτες ἐπολέμουν καὶ ἐναμάχουν. πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν ἀντίπρφοι συνηράσσοντο ἀλλήλαις,
A TRUE STORY, I

inside the teeth we saw the most unparalleled of all the sights that ever I saw—huge men, fully half a furlong in stature, sailing on huge islands as on galleys. Though I know that what I am going to recount savours of the incredible, I shall say it nevertheless. There were islands, long but not very high, and fully a hundred furlongs in circumference, on each of which about a hundred and twenty of those men were cruising, some of whom, sitting along each side of the island one behind the other, were rowing with huge cypress trees for oars—branches, leaves and all! ¹ Aft at the stern, as I suppose you would call it, stood the master on a high hill, holding a bronze tiller five furlongs in length. At the bow, about forty of them under arms were fighting; they were like men in all but their hair, which was fire and blazed up, so that they had no need of plumes.² In lieu of sails, the wind struck the forest, which was dense on each of the islands, filled this and carried the island wherever the helmsman would. There were boatswains in command, to keep the oarsmen in time, and the islands moved swiftly under the rowing, like war-galleys.

At first we only saw two or three, but later on about six hundred made their appearance. Taking sides, they went to war and had a sea-fight. Many collided with one another bows on, and many

¹ Herodotus (2, 156) speaks of a floating island in Egypt.
² Cf. II. 5, 4: "And tireless flames did burn on crest and shield."
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐμβληθεῖσαι κατεδύοντο, αἱ δὲ συμπλεκόμεναι καρτέρως διηγοῦντο καὶ ὦ ῥαδίως ἀπελύοντο· οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρόφας τεταγμένοι πᾶσαν ἐπεδείκνυσαν προθυμίαν ἐπιβαίνοντες καὶ ἀναιροῦντες· ἐξώγρηε δὲ οὐδεὶς. ἀντὶ δὲ χειρῶν σιδηρῶν πολύποδας μεγάλους ἐκδεδεμένους ἀλλήλους ἐπερρίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ περιπλεκόμενοι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατείχον τὴν νήσον. ἔβαλλον μὲντοι καὶ ἐπιτρωσκόν ὀστρείοις τε ἀμαξοπληθέσι καὶ σπόγγοις πλεθριαίοις. ἤγείτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Αἰολοκένταυρος, τῶν δὲ Θαλασσοπότης· καὶ μάχη αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένητο, ὡς ἐδόκει, λείας ἐνεκα· ἐλέγετο γὰρ ὁ Θαλασσοπότης πολλὰς ἁγέλας δελφίων τοῦ Αἰολοκένταυρος ἐληλακέναι, ὡς ἦν ἀκούειν ἐπικαιλούντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιβωμένων. τέλος δὲ νικῶσιν οἱ τοῦ Αἰολοκένταυρος καὶ νήσους τῶν πολεμίων καταδύουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν· καὶ ἄλλας τρεῖς λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πρύμναι κρουσάμεναι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινὸς διώξαντες, ἐπειδὴ ἑστέρα ἦν, τρατόμενοι πρὸς τὰ νανάγια τῶν πλείστων ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ τὰ ἐσαύτῶν ἀνείλοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέδυσαν νῆσοι οὐκ ἐλάττουσι τῶν οὐσοῦντα. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον τῆς νησομαχίας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ κήτους μᾶς τῶν πολεμίων νῆσων ἀνασταυρώσαντες. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα περι τὸ θηρίον ἡνίσταντο ἐξάπαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπόγεια καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγκυρῶν πλησίον ὀρμούσαμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἀγκύραις ἐχρῶντο μεγάλαις ύαλίναις καρτεραῖς. τῇ ὑστε-
were rammed amidships and sunk. Some, grappling one another, put up a stout fight and were slow to cast off, for those stationed at the bows showed all zeal in boarding and slaying: no quarter was given. Instead of iron grapnel's they threw aboard one another great devilfish with lines delayed to them, and these gripped the woods and held the island fast. They struck and wounded one another with oysters that would fill a wagon and with hundred-foot sponges. The leader of one side was Aeolocentaur, of the other, Brinedrinker. Their battle evidently came about on account of an act of piracy: Brinedrinker was said to have driven off many herds of dolphins belonging to Aeolocentaur. We knew this because we could hear them abusing one another and calling out the names of their kings. Finally the side of Aeolocentaur won; they sank about a hundred and fifty of the enemy's islands; and took three more, crews and all; the rest backed water and fled. After pursuing them some distance, they turned back to the wrecks at evening, making prizes of most of them and picking up what belonged to themselves; for on their own side not less than eighty islands had gone down. They also made a trophy of the isle-fight by setting up one of the enemy's islands on the head of the whale. That night they slept on shipboard around the animal, making their shore lines fast to him and riding at anchor just off him; for they had anchors, large and strong, made of glass.¹ On the following day they performed

¹ Very likely a punning reference to some traveller's account of wooden (ξυλίναι) anchors.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ραῖα δὲ θύσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ κήτους καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους θάψαντες ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπέπλεον ἥδομενοι καὶ ὀσπερ παιάνας ἰδοῦτες. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νησο- μαχίαν γενόμενα.

18 Σ'6

ΑΛΗΘΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ Β

Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο μηκέτι φέρων ἐγώ τὴν ἐν 1 τῷ κήτει διάταν ἀχόμενός τε τῇ μονῇ μηχανήν τινα ἐξήτουν, δὲ ἢς ἄν ἐξελθεῖν γένοιτο· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἠμῖν διορύξασι κατὰ τὸν δεξίον τοῦχον ἀποδρᾶναι, καὶ ἀρξάμενοι διεκόπτομεν εἰ πείδῃ δὲ προελθόντες ὅσον πέντε στάδιας οὐδὲν ἦμέν τούτῳ, τοῦ μὲν ὅρυγματος ἐπαυζόμεθα, τὴν δὲ ὤλην καῦσαι διέγνωμεν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὸ κήτος ἀπωθανεὶν εἰ δὲ τούτο γένοιτο, ῥαδίᾳ ἔμελλεν ἠμῖν ἔσεσθαι ἡ ἔξοδος. ἀρξάμενοι οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐραίων ἐκαίομεν, καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἰσας νύκτας ἀνασθῆτως εἰχε τοῦ κάμματος, ὅρδος δὲ καὶ ἐνάτη συνέμεν αὐτοῦ νοσοῦντος· ἀργότερον γοῦν ἀνέχασκεν, καὶ εἰ ποτὲ ἀναχάνοι, ταχὺ συνέμεν. δεκάτη δὲ καὶ ἐνδεκάτη τέλεον ἀπενεκρότω· καὶ δυσώδες ἦν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ δὲ μόλις ἐνενόσαμεν ὡς, εἰ μή τις χανόντος αὐτοῦ ὑποστρίξειν τοὺς γομφίους, ὅπου μηκέτι συγκλείσαι, κινδυνεύσαμεν κατακλείσθεντες ἐν νεκρῷ αὐτῷ ἀπολέσθαι. οὕτω δὲ μεγάλους δοκοῖς τὸ στόμα διερείσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἑπεσκευάζομεν ὑδώρ τε ὡς

1 ἀπενεκρότῳ Z, P, N, F; ἀπενενέκρωτο ΡίΩΣ.
A TRUE STORY, I–II

sacrifice on the whale, buried their friends on him, and sailed off rejoicing and apparently singing hymns of victory. So much for the events of the isle-fight.

BOOK II

From that time on, as I could no longer endure the life in the whale and was discontented with the loneliness, I sought a way of escape. First we determined to dig through the right side and make off, and we made a beginning and fell to cutting in. But when we had advanced some five furlongs without getting anywhere, we left off digging and decided to set the forest afire, thinking that in this way the whale could be killed, and in that case our escape would be easy. So we began at the tail end and set it afire. For seven days and seven nights he was unaffected by the burning, but on the eighth and ninth we gathered that he was in a bad way. For instance, he yawned less frequently, and whenever he did yawn he closed his mouth quickly. On the tenth and eleventh day mortification at last set in and he was noisome. On the twelfth we perceived just in time that if someone did not shore his jaws open when he yawned, so that he could not close them again, we stood a chance of being shut up in the dead whale and dying there ourselves. At the last moment, then, we propped the mouth open with great beams and made our boat ready, putting aboard
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐνὶ πλεῖστον ἔμβαλλόμενοι καὶ τάλλα ἐπιτήδεια· κυβερνήσειν δὲ ἐμέλλειν ὁ Σκινθαρος.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ τὸ μὲν ἦδη ἐτεθνήκει. ἦμείς δὲ ἀνελκύσαντες τὸ πλοῖον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἁραιωμάτων διαγαγόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀδόντων ἐξάψαντες ἥρεμα καθήκαμεν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐπαναβάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νότα καὶ θύσαντες τῷ Ποσείδώνι αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ τρόπαιον ἡμέρας τε τρεῖς ἐπαυλισόμενοι —νυνεμία γὰρ ἦν—τῇ τετάρτῃ ἀπεπλεύσαμεν.

ἐνθα δὴ πολλοὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας νεκροῖς ἀπηντῶμεν καὶ προσωκέλλομεν, καὶ τὰ σώματα καταμετροῦνες ἔθαυμαζομεν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ἐπέλεομεν εὐκράτῳ ἄρι χρόμενοι, ἔπειτα βορέου σφοδροῦ πνεύσαντος μέγα κρύος ἐγένετο, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἐπάγη τὸ πέλαγος, οὐκ ἐπιπολήσις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς βάθος ὅσον ἐς ἔξ 1 ὀργυίας, ὡστε καὶ ἀποβάντας διαθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου. ἐπιμένοντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος φέρειν οὗ δυνάμενοι τοιοῦτε τι ἐπενοήσαμεν—ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀποφηγάμενος ἦν ὁ Σκίνθαρος—σκάψαντες γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑδατι σπήλαιον μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ ἐμείναμεν ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, πῦρ ἀνακάλυτες καὶ σιτούμενοι τοὺς ἱχθύς ἐυρίσκομεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνορύττοντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦδη ἐπέλευσε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, προελθόντες καὶ τὴν ναῦν πετηγραίναν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ πετάσαντες τὴν θάλαν ἐσυρόμεθα ὡσπερ πλέοντες λείως καὶ προσνωτός ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου διολισθάνοντες. ἡμέρα δὲ πέμπτη ἄλεα τε ἦν ἦδη καὶ ὁ πάγος ἐλύετο καὶ υδωρ πάντα αὖθις ἐγένετο.

Πλεύσαντες οὖν ὅσον τριακοσίων στάδίους 3

1 ἐς ἔξ (i.e. 5) Schwartz: ὁ τετρακοσίας (i.e. 1), ἐς τριακοσίας MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

all the water we could and the other provisions. Our sailing-master was to be Scintharus.

On the next day the whale was dead at last. We dragged the boat up, took her through the gaps, made her fast to the teeth and lowered her slowly into the sea. Climbing on the back and sacrificing to Poseidon there by the trophy, we camped for three days, as it was calm. On the fourth day we sailed off, and in so doing met and grounded on many of the dead from the sea-fight, and measured their bodies with amazement. For some days we sailed with a moderate breeze, and then a strong norther blew up and brought on great cold. The entire sea was frozen by it, not just on the surface but to a depth of fully six fathoms, so that we could leave the boat and run on the ice. The wind held and we could not stand it, so we devised an odd remedy—the proposer of the idea was Scintharus. We dug a very large cave in the water and stopped in it for thirty days, keeping a fire burning and eating the fish that we found in digging. When our provisions at last failed, we came out, hauled up the boat, which had frozen in, spread our canvas and slid, gliding on the ice smoothly and easily, just as if we were sailing. On the fifth day it was warm again, the ice broke up and everything turned to water once more.

After sailing about three hundred furlongs we
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

νήσῳ μικρᾷ καὶ ἐρήμῃ προσηνέχθημεν, ἢς ὑδρω λαβόντες—ἐπελελοίπει γάρ ἦδη—καὶ δύο ταύρους ἀγρίους κατατοξεύσαντες ἀπεπλεῦσαμεν. οἱ δὲ ταύροι οὔτε τὰ κέρατα οὐκ ἔπι τῆς κεφάλῆς εἶχον, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ὥσπερ ὁ Μώμος ἦξεν. μετ’ οὐ πολύ δὲ εἰς πέλαγος ἐμβαίνομεν, οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ γάλακτος· καὶ νήσος εἰν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο λευκὴ πλήρης ἀμφέλων. ἦν δὲ ἡ νῆσος τυρών μέγιστος συμπετηγός, ὡς ὑστερον ἐμφαγώντες ἐμάθομεν, σταδίων εἰκοσι πέντε τὸ περίμετρον· αἱ δὲ ἀμπελοί βοτρύων πλήρεις, οὐ μέντοι οἴνον, ἀλλὰ γάλα ἔξ αὐτῶν ἀποθῆκεν ἐπίνομεν. ἵππον δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἀφροδόμητο Γαλατέας τῆς Νηρηίδος, ὡς ἔδηλον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅσον δ’ οὖν χρόνον ἔκει ἐμείναμεν, ὄψον μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ συνών ἡ γῆ ὑπήρχεν, ποτὸν δὲ τὸ γάλα τὸ ἐκ τῶν βοτρύων. Βασιλεύειν δὲ τῶν χωρίων τούτων ἐλέγετο Τυρώ ἡ Σαλμονέως, μετά τὴν ἐντεύθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμῆν.

Μείναντες δὲ ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πέντε, τῇ 4 ἐκτῇ ἐξωρμῆσαμεν, αὐρας μὲν τίνος παραπεμπώσης, λεικούμονος δὲ οὕσης τῆς θαλάττης· ὑγιόν ὑμέρα πλέοντες οὐκέτι διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος, ἀλλ’ ἡδη ἐν ἀλμυρῷ καὶ κυνάει ὕδατι, καθορῶμεν ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πελάγους διαθέοντας, ἀπαντα ἡμῖν προσεικότας, καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη, πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν μόνων· ταῦτα γὰρ φέλλων εἶχον, ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο

306
A TRUE STORY, II

ran in at a small desert island, where we got water—which had failed by this time—and shot two wild bulls, and then sailed away. These bulls did not have their horns on their head but under their eyes, as Momus wanted.¹ Not long afterwards we entered a sea of milk, not of water, and in it a white island, full of grapevines, came in sight. The island was a great solid cheese, as we afterwards learned by tasting it. It was twenty-five furlongs in circumference. The vines were full of grapes, but the liquid which we squeezed from them and drank was milk instead of wine. A temple had been constructed in the middle of the island in honour of Galatea the Nereid, as its inscription indicated. All the time that we stopped in the island the earth was our bread and meat and the milk from the grapes our drink. The ruler of that region was said to be Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, who after departure from home received this guerdon from Poseidon.²

After stopping five days on the island we started out on the sixth, with a bit of breeze propelling us over a rippling sea. On the eighth day, by which time we were no longer sailing through the milk but in briny blue water, we came in sight of many men running over the sea, like us in every way, both in shape and in size, except only their feet, which were of cork: that is why they were called Corkfeet, if I

¹ Momus suggested this in order that the animal might see what he was doing with his horns.
² As gala is milk and tyros cheese, the goddess and the queen of the island are fitly chosen.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Φελλόποδες. ἔθαυμάσαμεν οὖν ἰδόντες οὐ βαπτι-ζομένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπέρέχουσας τῶν κυμάτων καὶ ἀδεῶς ὀδουποροῦντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ προσήσαν καὶ Ἡσπάξοντο ἡμᾶς Ἐλληνικὴ φωνῇ ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ εἰς Φελλό τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα ἐπείγεσθαι. μέχρι μὲν οὗν τινος συνώδουπόρου ἡμῶν παραθέουτε, εἶτα ἀποτραπόμενοι τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐβάδιζον εὑπλοιαν ἡμῶν ἐπευξαμένοι.

Μετ’ ὁλίγον δὲ πολλαί νήσου ἐφαίνοντο, πλη-
σίον μὲν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ὁ Φελλό, ἐς ἐν ἐκεῖνοι ἐσπευδόν, πόλις ἐπὶ μεγάλων καὶ στρογγύλων φελλοῦ κατοικομένη πόρρωθεν δὲ καὶ μάλλον ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε μέγιστα καὶ ψηλότατα, καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνεκάλετο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρώραν μία πλατεία καὶ ταπεινή, σταδίους ἀπέχουσα 5 οὖν ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων. ήδη δὲ πλησίον ἔμεν, καὶ θαυμαστῆ τις αὔρα περιέπνευσεν ἡμᾶς, ἡδεῖα καὶ εὐώδης, οίαν φησίν ὁ συγγραφέως Ἡρόδοτος ἀποζειν τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας. οἶον γὰρ ἀπὸ ρόδων καὶ ναρκίςσων καὶ ἰακίνθων καὶ κρίνων καὶ ζων, ἔτι δὲ μυρρίνης καὶ δάφνης καὶ ἀμπελάνθης, τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸ ἡδὺ προσέβαλλεν. ἠσθενεῖς δὲ τῇ ωσμῇ καὶ χρηστά ἑκ μακρῶν πόνων ἐπίσας κατ’ ὀλίγον ἠδη πλησίον τῆς νῆσου ἐγινόμεθα. ένθα δὴ καὶ καθ-
εωρῶμεν λιμένας τε πολλοὺς περὶ πᾶσαν ἀκλύ-
στους καὶ μεγάλους, ποταμοὺς τε διανυγεῖς ἔξιντας ἥρεμα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἔτι δὲ λευκωνας καὶ ὦλα καὶ ὀρνεα μουσικά, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμῶν ἄδοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων ἴρῃ τε κούφος καὶ εὔπνους περιεκέχυτο τὴν χώραν καὶ

308
A TRUE STORY, II

am not mistaken. We were amazed to see that they did not go under, but stayed on the top of the waves and went about fearlessly. Some of them came up and greeted us in the Greek language; they said that they were on their way to Cork, their native city. For some distance they travelled with us, running alongside, and then they turned off and went their way, wishing us luck on our voyage.

In a little while many islands came in sight. Near us, to port, was Cork, where the men were going, a city built on a great round cork. At a distance and more to starboard were five islands, very large and high, from which much fire was blazing up. Dead ahead was one that was flat and low-lying, not less than five hundred furlongs off. When at length we were near it, a wonderful breeze blew about us, sweet and fragrant, like the one that, on the word of the historian Herodotus, breathes perfume from Araby the blest. The sweetness that met us was as if it came from roses and narcissi and hyacinths and lilies and violets, from myrrh and laurel and vines in bloom. Delighted with the fragrance and cherishing high hopes after our long toils, we gradually drew near to the island at last. Then we saw many harbours all about it, large and unfretted by beating waves; transparent rivers emptying softly into the sea; meads, too, and woods and songbirds, some of them singing on the shore and many in the branches. A rare, pure atmosphere enfolded the place, and sweet breezes with their

1 3, 113.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

αὐταί δὲ τινες ἥδεια τυνέουσαι ἥρεμα τὴν ὅλην
diesáleontu, ὡστε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κλάδων κινουμένων
terpetα καὶ συνεχὴ μέλη ἀπευρήζετο, ἐνικότα
tοῖς ἐπ' ἐρήμιας αὐλήμασι τῶν πλαγίων αὐλῶν,
kαὶ μὴ καὶ βοή σύμμεικτος ἥκουετο ἄθροισα, οὐ
θορυβώδης, ἀλλ' οὐ γένετ' ἀν ἐν συμποσίῳ,
tῶν μὲν αὐλοῦντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπάδοντων, ἱ
ἐνίον
dὲ κροτοῦντων πρὸς αὐλὸν ἡ κυθάραν. τούτως 6
ἀπασι κηλούμενοι κατήχημεν, ὄρμωσιντες δὲ τὴν
ναῦν ἀπεβαινομεν, τῶν Σκύνθαραν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ δύο
tῶν ἐταίρων ἀπολυπόντες. προῖόντες δὲ διὰ λει-
μώνοις εὐανθοῦσι ἐντυγχάνομεν τοῖς φρουροῖς καὶ
περιπόλους, οἱ δὲ δήσαντες ἡμᾶς ὕδινοις στε-
φάνοις—οὕτος γαρ μέγιστος παρ' αὐτοῖς δεσμός
ἐστιν—ἀνήγου ὡς τὸν ἀρχοντα, παρ' ὑπὸ δῆ καθ'
ὀδὸν ἦκουσας ὡς ἡ μὲν νήσος εἶχ' τῶν Μακάρων
προσαγορευόμενη, ἀρχοι δὲ ὁ Κρῆς Ῥαδάμανθυς.
kαὶ δὴ ἀνακαθέντες ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν ταξεί τῶν ἰδια-
καζωμένων ἐστήμεν τέσταρτοι. ἢν δὲ ἡ μὲν πρώτη 7
δίκη περὶ Αἰαντος τοῦ Τελαμώνος, εἰτε χρῆ
αὐτὸν συνεῖναι τοῖς ἠρωσιν εἴτε καὶ μή κατη-
γορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μεμήνοι καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἀπε-
κτόνοι. τέλος δὲ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων ἐγώ ὁ
Ῥαδάμανθυς, νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν πιόμενον τοῦ ἐλλε-
βόρου παραδόθηναι Ἡπποκράτει τῷ Κόφῳ ἰατρῷ,
ὑστερον δὲ σωφρονίσαντα μετέχειν τοῦ συμπο-
σίου. δευτέρα δὲ ἦν κρίσις ἐρωτική, Θησέως καὶ 8
Μενελάου περὶ τῆς Ἐλένης διαγωνιζομένων,
potέρω χρῆ αὐτὴν συνοικεῖν, καὶ ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς
ἐδίκασε Μενελάῳ συνεῖναι αὐτὴν ἄτε καὶ τοσαύτα
πονησάντε καὶ κινδυνεύσαι τοῦ γάμου ἐνεκα.

1 ἐπιθέων Rohde: ἐπηνούσων MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

blowing stirred the woods gently, so that from the moving branches came a whisper of delightful, unbroken music, like the fluting of Pandean pipes in desert places. Moreover, a confused sound could be heard incessantly, which was not noisy but resembled that made at a drinking-party, when some are playing, others singing and others beating time to the flute or the lyre. Enchanted with all this, we put in, anchored our boat and landed, leaving Scinthus and two of my comrades on board. Advancing through a flowery mead, we came upon the guards and sentinels, who bound us with rosy wreaths—the strongest fetter that they have—and led us inland to their ruler. They told us on the way that the island was the one that is called the Isle of the Blest, and that the ruler was the Cretan Rhadamanthus. On being brought before him, we were given fourth place among the people awaiting trial. The first case was that of Ajax, son of Telamon, to decide whether he should be allowed to associate with the heroes or not: he was accused of having gone mad and killed himself. At last, when much had been said, Rhadamanthus gave judgment that for the present, after taking a dose of hellebore, he should be given in charge of Hippocrates, the Coan physician, and that later on, when he had recovered his wits, he should have a place at the table of the heroes. The second case was a love-affair—Theseus and Menelaus at law over Helen, to determine which of the two she should live with. Rhadamanthus pronounced that she should live with Menelaus, because he had undergone so much toil and danger on account of his marriage: then too,

1 A remedy for madness; Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 82.
καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ Ἡσιαὶ καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι γυναῖκας, τῇν τε Ἀμαζώνα καὶ τὰς τοῦ Μίνωος θυγατέρας. τρίτη δὲ ἐδικασθὲν περὶ προεδρίας Ἀλέξανδρο 9
tε τῷ Φιλίππον καὶ Ἀννίβα τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ, καὶ ἔδοξε προέχειν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ ἐτέθη παρὰ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην τὸν πρῶτον. τέσσαρες δὲ ἡμεῖς προσήχθημεν καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡρετό τῷ παθόντες ἔτι ξώντες ἔροῦ χορίον ἐπιβαίνομεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντα ἐξίζης διηγησάμεθα. οὕτω δὲ μεταστήσαμεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσκέπτετο καὶ τοῖς συνέδριοις ἐκοινοῦτο περὶ ἡμῶν. συνήδρευον δὲ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἀπεφή
ναντο, τῆς μὲν φιλοπραγμοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀποδο-
μίας, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθανόμενη, δοῦναι τὰς εὐθύνας, τὸ δὲ νῦν ῥητὸν χρόνον μείναντας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ συνδιαιρήθεσθαι τοῖς ἢρωσιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἔταξαν
δὲ καὶ τὴν προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιδημίας μὴ πλέον
μηνῶν ἐπτά.

Τούντεύθεν αὐτομάτων ἡμῖν τῶν στεφάνων 11
περιρρυνόμενων ἐλελύμεθα καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἱγώμεθα καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν Μακάρων συμπόσιον. αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα χρυσῆ, τὸ δὲ τεῖχος
περίκειται σμαράγδινον. πῦλαι δὲ εἰσὶν ἐπτά,
posaι μονοξυλοί κινναμώμοινοι. τὸ μέντοι ἔδαφος
τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους γῆ
ἐλεφαντίνη ναι δὲ πάντων θεῶν βηρύλλου λίθων
φικοδομημένοι, καὶ βωμοί ἐν αὐτοῖς μέγιστοι
μονόλιθοι ἄμεθυστοι, ἐφ’ ὧν ποιοῦσι τὰς
Theseus had other wives, the Amazon\textsuperscript{1} and the daughters of Minos.\textsuperscript{2} The third judgment was given in a matter of precedence between Alexander, son of Philip, and Hannibal of Carthage, and the decision was that Alexander outranked Hannibal, so his chair was placed next the elder Cyrus of Persia.\textsuperscript{3} We were brought up fourth; and he asked us how it was that we trod on holy ground while still alive, and we told him the whole story. Then he had us removed, pondered for a long time, and consulted with his associates about us. Among many other associates he had Aristides the Just, of Athens. When he had come to a conclusion, sentence was given that for being inquisitive and not staying at home we should be tried after death, but that for the present we might stop a definite time in the island and share the life of the heroes, and then we must be off. They set the length of our stay at not more than seven months.

Thereupon our garlands fell away of themselves, and we were set free and taken into the city and to the table of the blessed. The city itself is all of gold and the wall around it of emerald.\textsuperscript{4} It has seven gates, all of single planks of cinnamon. The foundations of the city and the ground within its walls are ivory. There are temples of all the gods, built of beryl, and in them great monolithic altars of amethyst, on which they make their great

\textsuperscript{1} Hippolyta. \textsuperscript{2} Ariadne and Phaedra. \textsuperscript{3} Cf. \textit{Dialogues of the Dead}, 25. \textsuperscript{4} Lucian's city is not necessarily a parody on the New Jerusalem, though the scholiast so understood it.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐκατόμβας. περὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥεῖ ποταμὸς μύρον τοῦ καλλάστου, τὸ πλάτος πήχεων ἐκατὸν βασιλικῶν, βάθος δὲ πέντε,1 ὡστε νεών εὐμαρῶς. λυτρὰ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς οἴκοι μεγάλοι ὡάλυνοι, τῷ κυνναμόμῳ ἐγκαλομένῳ. ἀντὶ μέντοι τοῦ ύδατος ἐν ταῖς πυκνοῖς δρόσοις θερμὴ ἐστιν. ἔσθητι δὲ χρῶνται ἀραχνίοις λεπτοῖς, πορφυροῖς. αὐτοὶ δὲ σώματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναφεῖς καὶ Ἀσαρκοὶ εἰσὶν, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ ἰδέαν μόνην ἐμφαίνουσιν, καὶ ἀσώματοι ὄντες ὀμός συνεστάσιν καὶ κινούνται καὶ φρονοῦσι καὶ φωνὴν ἀφίσαιν, καὶ ὅλως οἰκε γυμνὴ της ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν περιπολεῖν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὤμοιότητα περικειμένη. εἰ γοῦν μὴ ἀψαίτο τις, οὐκ ἄν ἐξελέγχειν μὴ εἶναι σῶμα τὸ ὀρόμενον· εἰπὶ γὰρ ὀστέρ σκιαὶ ὀρθαὶ, οὐ μέλαιναι. γηράσκει δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὅσῳ ἡ ἡλικίας θλῆθεν παρεμένει. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ νῦξ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα πάνυ λαμπρά· καθά- περ δὲ τὸ λυκανυγής ἡδὴ πρὸς ἔως, μηδέπω ἄνατει- λαντος ἠλίου, τοιοῦτο φῶς ἐπέχει τὴν γῆν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὄραν μίαν ἵσασιν τοῦ ἔτους· αἰὲ γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔστι καὶ εἰς ἅνεμος πνεύμα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἐξέφυσο. ἥ δὲ χώρα πᾶσι μὲν ἄνθεσιν, πᾶσι δὲ φυτοῖς ἡμέροις τε καὶ σκιεροῖς τέθηλεν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμπελοὶ δωδεκάφοροι εἰσίν καὶ κατὰ μῆνα ἐκαστὸν καρποφοροῦσιν· τὰς δὲ ροιάς καὶ τὰς μηλέας καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν ὀπώραν ἔλεγον εἶναι τρισκαιδεκάφορον· ἐνὸς γὰρ μηνὸς τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Μινυὼν δίς καρποφορεῖν· ἀντὶ δὲ πυροῦ οἱ στάχνες

1 πέντε (i.e. ε) Schwartz: not in MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

burnt-offerings. Around the city runs a river of the finest myrrh, a hundred royal cubits wide and five deep, so that one can swim in it comfortably. For baths they have large houses of glass, warmed by burning cinnamon; instead of water there is hot dew in the tubs. For clothing they use delicate purple spider-webs. As for themselves, they have no bodies, but are intangible and fleshless, with only shape and figure. Incorporeal as they are, they nevertheless live and move and think and talk. In a word, it would appear that their naked souls go about in the semblance of their bodies. Really, if one did not touch them, he could not tell that what he saw was not a body, for they are like upright shadows, only not black. Nobody grows old, but stays the same age as on coming there. Again, it is neither night among them nor yet very bright day, but the light which is on the country is like the gray morning toward dawn, when the sun has not yet risen. Moreover, they are acquainted with only one season of the year, for it is always spring there and the only wind that blows there is Zephyr. The country abounds in flowers and plants of all kinds, cultivated and otherwise. The grape-vines yield twelve vintages a year, bearing every month; the pomegranates, apples and other fruit-trees were said to bear thirteen times a year, for in one month, their Minoan, they bear twice. Instead of wheat-ears, loaves of bread all baked grow on the tops of the

1 Lucian makes a villainous pun here, contrasting hemeros (cultivated) with skieros (fond of darkness), as if the former word meant ‘fond of daylight,’ (hemera)!
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

...οτοιμον ἐπὶ ἄκρων φύουσιν ὅσπερ μύκητας. τηραὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕδατος μὲν πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσια, μέλιτος δὲ ἄλλα τοσάῦτα, μύρον δὲ πεντακόσια, μικρότεραι μὲντοι αὐταί, καὶ ποταμοὶ γάλακτος ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ οἶνον ὅκτω.

Τὸ δὲ συμπόσιον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πεποίηται ἐν τῷ Ἡλυσίῳ καλομένῳ πεδίῳ· λειμὼν δὲ ἑστὶν κάλλιστος καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπη παντοίᾳ πυκνή, ἑπισκιάζουσα τοὺς κατακειμένους. καὶ στρωμὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθῶν ὑποβέβληται, διακονοῦται δὲ καὶ παραφέρουσι ἕκαστα οἱ ἀνεμοὶ πλῆν γε τοῦ οἰνοχοεῖν· τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν δέονται, ἀλλ' ἐστι δενδρα περὶ τὸ συμπόσιον ὑάλινα μεγάλα τῆς διαγνεσίας ὑάλον, καὶ καρπός ἐστι τῶν δενδρῶν τούτων ποτήρια παντοῖα καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς καὶ τὰ μεγέθη. ἐπειδὰν οὖν παρίῃ τις ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον, τρυγήσας ἐν ἂν καὶ δύο τῶν ἑκτωμάτων παρατίθεται, τα δέ αὐτίκα οἶνον πλῆρη γίνεται. οὔτω μὲν πίνουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν στεφάνων αἱ ἀγαθότεραι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ μούσικα ὅρνεα ἐκ τῶν πλησίων λειμῶνον τούς στόμασιν ἀνθολογοῦντα κατανείφει αὐτοὺς μετ' οἶνος ὑπερ-πετόμενα. καὶ μὴν καὶ μυρίζουσιν ὅπερ νεφέλαι πυκναί ἀναστάσασαί μῦρον ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐπιστᾶσαι ὑπὲρ τὸ συμπόσιον ἔρεμα τῶν ἀνέμων ὑποθλιβόντων ὕψοι λεπτὸν ὅσπερ δρόσου. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δεῖπνῳ μουσικῇ τε καὶ φώναις σχολάζουσιν· ἰδιοί δὲ αὐτοὶ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἐπὶ μάλιστα· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ πάρεστι καὶ συνενω-χεῖται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ὀδυσσέα κατακείμενος. οἱ μὲν οὖν χοροί ἐκ παίδων εἰσὶν καὶ παρθένων.
halms, so that they look like mushrooms. In the
eighbourhood of the city there are three hundred
and sixty-five springs of water, as many of honey,
five hundred of myrrh—much smaller, however—
seven rivers of milk and eight of wine.

Their table is spread outside the city in the Elysian
Fields, a very beautiful mead with thick woods of
all sorts round about it, overshadowing the feasters.
The couches they lie on are made of flowers, and they
are attended and served by the winds, who, however,
do not pour out their wine, for they do not need any-
one to do this. There are great trees of the clearest
glass around the table, and instead of fruit they bear
cups of all shapes and sizes. When anyone comes to
table he picks one or two of the cups and puts them
at his place. These fill with wine at once, and
that is the way they get their drink. Instead of
garlands, the nightingales and the other song-birds
gather flowers in their bills from the fields hard by
and drop them down like snow, flying overhead and
singing. Furthermore, the way they are scented is
that thick clouds draw up myrrh from the springs
and the river, stand over the table and under the
gentle manipulation of the winds rain down a
delicate dew. At the board they pass their time
with poetry and song. For the most part they
sing the epics of Homer, who is there himself and
shares the revelry, lying at table in the place above
Odysseus. Their choruses are of boys and girls, led
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

εξάρχουσι δὲ καὶ συνάδουσιν Ἑυνομός τε ο̄ Λοκρός καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Ἀνακρέων καὶ Στησί-χορος καὶ γὰρ τούτων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἠθεασάμην, ἦδη τῆς Ἐλένης αὐτῷ δυναμένης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ οὐτοὶ παύσωνται ἄδοντες, δεύτερος χορὸς παρέρχεται ἐκ κύκνων καὶ χελιδόνων καὶ ἀγδόνων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ οὐτοὶ ἁσσωσιν, τότε ἦδη πᾶσα ἡ ὕλη ἐπαυλεῖ τῶν ἀνέμων καταρχόντων. μέγιστον δὲ δὴ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην ἐκείνῳ ἤξουσιν. πηγαί εἰσι δύο παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἡ μὲν γέλωτος, ἡ δὲ ἠδόνης· ἐκ τούτων ἐκατέρας πάντες εἰν ἀρχῇ τῆς εἰσερχόμενος πίνουσι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἠδόμενοι καὶ γελώντες διάγονοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων οὐστιῶν 17 παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἠθεασάμην· πάντας μὲν τοὺς ἡμιθέους καὶ τοὺς ἔτι Ἰλιοὺς στρατεύσαντας πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Λοκροῦ Αἰαντός, ἐκείνον δὲ μόνον ἐφασκὸν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀσεβῶν χόρῳ κολάζεσθαι, βαρβάρων δὲ Κύρους τε ἀμφοτέρους καὶ τὸν Σκύθην Ἀνάχαρσιν καὶ τὸν Θράκην Ζάμολξιν καὶ Νομᾶν τὸν Ἰταλιώτην, καὶ μὴν καὶ Δυκούργον τὸν Δακεδαίμονον καὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Τέλλου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἄνευ Περιάνδρου. εἰδὸν δὲ καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν Σωφρονίσκου ἀδολεσχοῦντα μετὰ Νέστορος καὶ Παλαμήδους· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν Ἰάκυθός τε ὁ Δακεδαίμονος καὶ ὁ Θεσπιεύς Νάρκισσος καὶ "Τλας καὶ ἄλλοι καλοί. καὶ μοι ἔδοκεν ἐρὰν τοῦ 'Τακίνθου· τὰ πολλὰ γοῦν ἐκείνον διήλεγχεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀδάμανθος καὶ
A TRUE STORY, II

and accompanied by Eunomus of Locris, Arion of Lesbos, Anacreon and Stesichorus. There can be no doubt about the latter, for I saw him there—by that time Helen had forgiven him.¹ When they stop singing another chorus appears, composed of swans and swallows and nightingales, and as they sing the whole wood renders the accompaniment, with the winds leading. But the greatest thing that they have for ensuring a good time is that two springs are by the table, one of laughter and the other of enjoyment. They all drink from each of these when the revels begin, and thenceforth enjoy themselves and laugh all the while.

But I desire to mention the famous men whom I saw there. There were all the demigods and the veterans of Troy except Locrian Ajax, the only one, they said, who was being punished in the place of the wicked. Of the barbarians there were both Cyruses, the Scythian Anacharsis, the Thracian Zamolxis and Numa the Italian. In addition, there were Lycurgus of Sparta, Phocion and Tellus of Athens and the wise men, all but Periander. I also saw Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, chopping logic with Nestor and Palamedes; about him were Hyacinthus of Sparta, Narcissus of Thespiae, Hylas and other handsome lads. It seemed to me that Hyacinthus was his especial favourite, for at any rate he refuted him most. It was said that Rhadamanthus

¹ Stesichorus had said harsh words of Helen, and was blinded by Castor and Pollux for his presumption. He recanted in a famous Palinode, of which some lines are still preserved (Plato, Phaedrus, 243), and so recovered his eyesight.

319
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ηπειληκέναι πολλάκις ἐκβάλειν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, ἢν φλυαρῆ καὶ μὴ ἐθέλη ἀφεῖς τὴν εἰρωνείαν εὐωχείσθαι. Πλάτων δὲ μόνος οὐ παρῆν, ἀλλ' ἐλέγετο αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀναπλασθείσῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλει οἰκεῖν χρώμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις οἷς συνεγραφεί. οἱ μέντοι ἀμφ' Ἀρίστιππὸν τε καὶ Ἐπίκουρον τὰ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐφέροντο ἠδείς τε ὄντες καὶ κεχαρισμένοι καὶ συμπτομικώτατοι. παρὴν δὲ καὶ Αἰσιώτος ὁ Φρύξτροτος τῶν τούτων ἡσα καὶ γελωτοποιῶ τχρόνων. Διογένης μὲν γε ὁ Σινωπεύς τοσοῦτων μετέβαλεν τοῦ τρόπου, ὡστε γῆγα καὶ μὲν ἔταφαν τὴν Λαήδα, ὄρχεισθαν δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὸ μέθης ἀνιστάμενον καὶ παροινεῖν. τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν οὔδεσις παρὴν. έτι γὰρ ἐλέγοντο ἀναβαίνειν τὸν τής ἀρτῆς ὅρθιον λόφον. ἕκονομεν δὲ καὶ περὶ Χρυσίππον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον αὐτῷ ἐπιβήνα τῆς νῆσου θέμης, πρὶν τὸ τέταρτον ἑαυτὸν ἐλλεβορίσῃ. τοὺς δὲ Ἀκαδημαίκους ἐλεγον ἔθελεν μὲν ἠλθεῖν, ἐπέχειν δὲ ἔτι καὶ διασκέπτεσθαν: μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πώς καταλαμβάνειν, εἰ καὶ νῆσος τις τοιαύτη ἐστίν. ἀλλως τε καὶ τὴν ἑπὶ τοῦ Ραδαμάνθνος, οἷμαι, κρίσιν ἐδεδοκεσαν, ἀτε καὶ τὸ κριτήριον αὐτοὶ ἄνηρκοτες. πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ἔφασκος ὀρμηθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἀφικούμενοι ὑπὸ νοθείας ἀπολείπεσθαι μὴ καταλαμβάνοντας καὶ ἀναστρέφειν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὕδων.

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν παρόντων. τιμῶσι δὲ μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀχιλλέα καὶ μετὰ τούτου Θησέα. περὶ δὲ συνονίας καὶ ἀφροδισίων

320
A TRUE STORY, II

was angry at Socrates and had often threatened to banish him from the island if he kept up his nonsense and would not quit his irony and be merry. Plato alone was not there: it was said that he was living in his imaginary city under the constitution and the laws that he himself wrote. The followers of Aristippus and Epicurus were in the highest favour among the heroes because they are pleasant and agreeable and jolly good fellows. Aesop the Phrygian was also there—they have him for a jester. Diogenes the Cynic had so changed his ways that he not only married Lais the courtesan, but often got up and danced and indulged in tomfoolery when he had had too much. None of the Stoics was there—they were said to be still on the way up the steep hill of virtue. With regard to Chrysippus, we heard tell that he is not permitted to set foot on the island until he submits himself to the hellebore treatment for the fourth time. They said that the Academicians wanted to come but were still holding off and debating, for they could not arrive at a conclusion even on the question whether such an island existed. Then too I suppose they feared to have Rhadamanthus judge them, as they themselves had abolished standards of judgment. It was said, however, that many of them had started to follow people coming thither, but fell behind through their slowness, being constitutionally unable to arrive at anything, and so turned back half-way.

These were the most conspicuous of those present. They render especial honours to Achilles and after him to Theseus. About love-making their attitude

1 See the Philosophers for Sale for another jest at Chrysippus' insanity.
ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ ΦΡΟΝΟΥΣΙΝ· ΜΙΣΘΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ ἄΝΑΒΑΝΘΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ὙΡΩΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΚΑΙ ΆΡΡΙΣΤΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΑΜΟΣ ΤΟΤΟ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΙΣΧΡΟΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ· ΜΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΔΙΩΜΝΟΤΟ Η ΜΗΝ ΚΑΘΑΡΩΣ ΠΛΗΣΙΑΖΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΝΕΟΙΣ· ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΟΡΚΕΙΝ ΚΑΤΕΓΛΩΝΟΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΓΟΥΝ Ο ΜΗΝ 'ΤΑΚΙΝΘΟΣ ή Ο ΝΑΡΚΙΣΣΟΣ ΩΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΝ, ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΗΡΕΙΤΟ. ΑΙ ΔΕ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΠΑΣΙ ΚΟΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΤῸ ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ, ἈΛΛ’ ΕΙΣΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΤΟ ΜΑΧΙΣΤΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΟΤΑΤΟΥ· ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΕΧΟΥΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΑΝΤΙΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΙ.

ΟΥΠΩ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ Ή ΤΡΕΙΣ ΉΜΕΡΑΙ ΔΙΕΛΗΘΕΣΑΝ, 20 ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΛΘΩΝ ΕΓΩ ΟΜΗΡΩ ΤῸ ΠΟΙΤΗ, ΣΧΟΛΗΣ ΟΥΣΗΣ ἈΜΦΟΙΝ, ΤΑ ΤΕ ΆΛΛΑ ΕΤΥΜΘΑΝΟΜΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΝ ΕΙΣΙ 1 ΤΟΤΟ ΓΆΡ ΜΆΧΙΣΤΑ ΠΑΡ’ ΗΜῖΝ ΕΙΣΕΤΙ ΝῸΝ ΖΗΤΕΙΣΑΙ. Ο ΔΕ ΟΥΔ’ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΓΝΟΕΙΝ ΕΦΑΣΚΕΝ ὡΣ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΧῖΟΝ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΪΟΝ, ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΔΕ ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ ἘΛΕΓΕΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΓΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΣ ΟΥΧ "ΟΜΗΡΟΣ, ΆΛΛΑ ΤΗΓΡΑΝΗΣ ΚΑΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ. ΨΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ὈΜΗΡΕΥΘΑΣ ΠΑΡ’ ΤΟΙΣ "ΕΛΛΗΣΟΝ ἈΛΛΑΞΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΘΗΓΟΡΙΑΝ. ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ἈΘΕΤΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΣΤΧΩΝ ἙΠΗΡΩΤΩΝ, ΕΙ ΥΠ’ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΙΕΝ ΥΓΕΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΙ. ΚΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΦΑΣΚΕ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ. ΚΑΤΕΓΛΩΝΟΚΟΝ ΟΥΝ ΤΩΝ ἌΜΦΙ ΤΟΝ ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ 'ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΡΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ. ΕΤΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΑΫΤΑ ἸΚΑΝΟΣ ἈΠΕΚΚΕΡΙΟΝ, ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΗΡΩΤΩΝ ΤΙ ΔΗ ΠΟΤΕ ΑΠΌ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΝΙΔΟΣ ΤΗΝ ὈΡΧΗΝ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΤΟ· ΚΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΕΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΠΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΗΔΕΝ ἘΠΙΤΗΔΕΥΣΑΝΤΙ. ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟ ΕΠΕΘΥΜΟΝ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ, ΕΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΓΡΑΦΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ἩΛΙΑΔΟΣ,
A TRUE STORY, II

is such that they bill-and-coo openly, in plain sight of everyone, without any discrimination, and think no shame of it at all. Socrates, the only exception, used to protest that he was above suspicion in his relations with young persons, but everyone held him guilty of perjury. In fact, Hyacinthus and Narcissus often said that they knew better, but he persisted in his denial. They all have their wives in common and nobody is jealous of his neighbour; in this point they out-Plato Plato. Complaisance is the universal rule.

Hardly two or three days had passed before I went up to Homer the poet when we were both at leisure, and questioned him about everything. "Above all," said I, "where do you come from? This point in particular is being investigated even yet at home." "I am not unaware," said he, "that some think me a Chian, some a Smyrniote and many a Colophonian. As a matter of fact, I am a Babylonian, and among my fellow-countrymen my name was not Homer but Tigranes. Later on, when I was a hostage (homeros) among the Greeks, I changed my name." I went on to enquire whether the bracketed lines had been written by him, and he asserted that they were all his own: consequently I held the grammarians Zenodotus and Aristarchus guilty of pedantry in the highest degree. Since he had answered satisfactorily on these points, I next asked him why he began with the wrath of Achilles; and he said that it just came into his head that way, without any study. Moreover, I wanted to know whether he wrote the Odyssey before the Iliad, as most people say: he said no.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ός οἱ πολλοὶ φασίν· ὁ δὲ ἦρνεῖτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ
οὐδὲ τυφλὸς ἦν, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ περί αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν,
αὐτίκα ἡπιοτάμην· ἐώρων γὰρ, ὡστε οὐδὲ πυθά
νεσθαι ἐδεόμην. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε τούτο
ἐποίουν, εἰ ποτε αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἄγοντα ἐώρων·
προσίων γάρ τι ἐπυνθανόμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ δὲ προ-
θύμως πάντα ἀπεκρίνετο, καὶ μᾶλλον μετὰ τὴν
díaν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκράτησεν· ἦν γὰρ τῆς γραφῆς κατ
αὐτοῦ ἐπεννεγμένη ὑβρεῖς ὑπὸ Θερσίτον ἑφ᾽ ὦς
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ποίησις ἐσκωψεν, καὶ ἐνίκησεν ὁ
"Ομηρος Ὀδυσσέως συναγορεύμοντος.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἀφίκετο καὶ
Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ἐπτάκις ἄλλαγες καὶ ἐν
τοσοῦτοις ζώοις βιοτεύσας καὶ ἐκτελέσας τῆς
ψυχῆς τὰς περιόδους, ἦν δὲ χρυσός ὀλον τὸ
δεξιῶν ἡμίτομον. καὶ ἐκρίθη μὲν συμπολιτεύ-
σασθαι αὐτοὺς, ἐνεδοιάζετο δὲ ἐτὶ πότερον Πυθα-
γόραν ἢ Εὐσαρῆν χρὴ αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν. ὁ μέντοι
'Εμπεδοκλῆς ἠλθεν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς, περίεφθως καὶ
τὸ σῶμα ὁλον ὀπτημένος· οὐ μὴν παρεδέχη
καίτοι πολλὰ ἱκέτευσιν.

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐνέστη ὁ ἀγὼν ὁ
παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, τὰ Θανατοῦσια. ἦγγονετέα δὲ
Ἀχιλλεύς τὸ πέμπτον καὶ Θησεύς τὸ ἔβδομον.
τὰ μὲν ὄνν ἄλλα μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν· τὰ δὲ
κεφάλαια τῶν πραχθέντων διηγήσομαι. πάλην
μὲν ἐνίκησεν Κάρανος ὁ ἄφ᾽ Ἡρακλεώς Ὀδυσσέα
περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου καταγωγισάμενος· πυγῆ δὲ
ἰση ἐγένετο Ἀρείου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐς ἐν Κορίνθῳ
τέθαπται, καὶ Ἐστειοῦ ἄλληλοις συνελθόντων.
παγκρατίου δὲ οὐ τίθεται ἄθλα παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς. τὸν

1 Κάρανος Gronovius : Κάρος MSS.
A TRUE STORY, II

That he was not blind, as they say, I understood at once—I saw it, and so had no need to ask. Often again at other times I would do this when I saw him at leisure; I would go and make enquiries of him and he would give me a cordial answer to everything, particularly after the lawsuit that he won, for a charge of libel had been brought against him by Thersites because of the way he had ridiculed him in the poem, and the case was won by Homer, with Odysseus for his lawyer.

At about this time arrived Pythagoras of Samos who had undergone seven transformations, had lived in seven bodies and had now ended the migrations of his soul. All his right side was of gold. Judgment was pronounced that he should become a member of their community, but when I left the point was still at issue whether he ought to be called Pythagoras or Euphorbus. Empedocles came too, all burned and his body completely cooked,¹ but he was not received in spite of his many entreaties.

As time went on their games came round, the Games of the Dead. The referees were Achilles, serving for the fifth time, and Theseus for the seventh. The full details would make a long story, but I shall tell the principal things that they did. In wrestling the winner was Caranus, the descendant of Heracles, who defeated Odysseus for the championship. The boxing was a draw between Areius the Egyptian, who is buried at Corinth, and Epeius. For combined boxing and wrestling they offer no

¹ From his leap into the crater of Aetna.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μέντοι δρόμον οὐκέτι μέμημαι ὡστὶς ἐνίκησεν. ποιητῶν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐκράτει Ὄμηρος, ἐνίκησεν δὲ ὅμως Ἡσίόδος. τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἤν ἀπασι στέφανοι πλακεῖς ἐκ πτερῶν ταυνείων.

'Αρτι δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος συντετελεσμένου θηγέλ- λοντοι οἱ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τῶν ἄσεβῶν κολαζό- μενοι ἀπορρήξαντες τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐπικρατήσαντες ἐλαύνειν ἔπι τῆν νύσσον ἤγείσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν Φάλαρίν τε τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον καὶ Βούσιριν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Διομήδη τὸν Ὁρᾶκα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Σκίρωνα καὶ Πετυκόμπτην. ὅσο δὲ ταῦτα ἦκουσεν ὁ Ραδίμανθος, ἑκτάσσει τούς ἤρωας ἐπὶ τῆς ἧδος ἤγείτο δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς καὶ Αἶας ὁ Τελαμώνιος ἦδη σωφρονῶν· καὶ συμμίξαντες ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ ἤρωες, Ἀχιλλέως τὰ πλεῖστα κατορθώσαντος. ἠρίστευσε δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ταχθεὶς, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὡς τὰ ξών ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ ἐμάχητο. προσιόντων γὰρ τεττάρων πολεμίων οὐκ ἐφύγε καὶ τὸ πρόσω- πον ἅπετας ἤν ἐφ’ οἷς καὶ ὑστερον ἔξηρεθη αὐτῷ ἀριστείου, καλὸς τε καὶ μεγάς παράδειγμα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθα καὶ συγκαλών τους ἐταῖρους διελέγετο, Νεκρακαδημίαν τὸν τόπον προσα- γορεύσας. συλλαβόντες οὖν τοὺς νεκρικημένους καὶ δὴσαντες ἀπέπεμφαν ἔτι μᾶλλον κολασθη- σομένους. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὴν μάχην Ὅμηρος καὶ ἀποιώται μοι ἐδωκέν τὰ βιβλία κομί- ξεως τοῖς παρ’ ἦμιν ἀνθρώποις· ἀλλ’ ὑστερον καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπωλέσαμεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀρχή τοῦ ποιήματος αὐτῆς,

Νῦν δὲ μοι ἐννέπτε, Μοῦσα, μάχην νεκρῶν ἡρώων.

326
prizes. In the foot-race I do not remember who won and in poetry, Homer was really far the best man, but Hesiod won. The prize in each case was a crown that was plaited of peacock feathers.

Hardly had the games been concluded when word came that those who were under punishment in the place of the wicked had burst their bonds, had overpowered their guard, and were advancing on the island: that they were under the leadership of Phalaris of Acragas, Busiris the Egyptian, Diomed of Thrace, and Sciron and Pityocamptes. When Rhadamantus heard of this he mustered the heroes on the shore. They were led by Theseus, Achilles and Ajax, the son of Telamon, who by this time had recovered his wits. They engaged and fought, and the heroes won. Achilles contributed most to their success, but Socrates, who was stationed on the right wing, was brave, too—far more so than when he fought at Delium in his lifetime. When four of the enemy came at him he did not run away but kept his face to the front. For this they afterwards gave him a special reward, a beautiful great park in the suburbs, where he used to gather his comrades and dispute: he named the place the Academy of the Dead. Arresting the losers and putting them in irons, they sent them off to be punished still more severely than before. An account of this battle was written by Homer, and as I was leaving he gave me the book to take to the people at home, but later I lost it along with everything else. The poem began:

This time sing me, O Muse, of the shades of the heroes in battle!
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tôte δ' οὖν κυάμους ἐψήσαντες, ὡσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐπειδὰν πόλεμον κατορθώσωσιν, εἰστινωτο τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ ἑορτὴν μεγάλην ἤγουν· μόνος δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ μετείχε Πυθαγόρας, ἀλλ' ἀσιτος πόρρω ἐκαθέξετο μυσαττόμενος τὴν κυαμοφαγίαν.

"Ἡδὴ δὲ μηνῶν εὗ διεληλυθόταν περὶ μεσούντα 25 τὸν ἔβδομον νεωτέρα συνίστατο πρῶγματα· Κινύρας ὁ τοῦ Σκινθάρου παῖς, μέγας ὄν καὶ καλὸς, ἥρα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον τῆς Ἐλένης, καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ οὐκ ἁφανῆς ἦν ἐπιμανῶς ἀγαπῶσα τὸν νεανίσκον πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ διένευν ἄλληλοις ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ προστίθουν καὶ μόνοι ἔξανιστάμενοι ἐπλανώτον περὶ τὴν ὑλήν. καὶ δὴ ποτὲ ὑπ’ ἔρωτος καὶ ἀμαχαίρας ἐβούλευσατο ο Κινύρας ἀρτάσας τὴν Ἐλένην—ἐδόκει δὲ κάκεινη ταῦτα—οὔχεσθαι ἀπιόντας ἐς τινα τῶν ἐπικειμένων νήσων, ἦτοι ἐς τὴν Φελλών ἢ ἐς τὴν Τυρόουςαν. συνωμότας δὲ πάλαι προσειλήφθησαν τρεῖς τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν ἔμων τοὺς θραυστάτους. τῷ μεντοι πατρὶ ὦν ἐμήνυσε ταῦτα· ἦποιστατο γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κωλυθησόμενος. ὃς δὲ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς, ἐτέλουν τὴν ἐπιβολήν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ νῦξ ἐγένετο—ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ παρῆν ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιμώμενος—οἱ δὲ λαθόντες τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἀναλαβόντες τὴν Ἐλένην ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνήχθησαν. περὶ 26 δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἀνεγρόμενος ο Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ ἐμαθεν τὴν εὐθύνην κεφὴν τῆς γυναικός, βοήν τε ἱστη καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν παραλαβὼν ἤλθε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν. ἡμέρας δὲ ὑποφαινούσης ἔλεγον οἱ σκοτοὶ καθορᾶν τὴν ναῖν πολὺ ἀπέχονσαν· οὔτω δὴ ἐμβιβάσας Ῥαδάμανθυνβ
A TRUE STORY, II

But to return—they cooked beans,¹ as is their custom when they are successful at war, had a feast in honour of the victory and made a great holiday. Pythagoras was the only one who did not take part in it; he sat by himself and went dinnerless because he detested beans.

Six months had passed and it was about the middle of the seventh when sedition arose. Cinyras, the son of Scinthurus, a tall and handsome lad, had long been in love with Helen, and it was no secret that she herself was madly enamoured of the boy. For instance, they often winked to one another at table, drank to each other and got up together and wandered about the wood. Well, one fine day through love and despair Cinyras determined to rape Helen—she agreed to it—and go to one of the islands in the offing, either Cork or Cheesie. As accomplices they had long ago taken on three of the most reckless of my comrades; but Cinyras did not inform his father, for he knew that he would not let him do it. When they had come to a decision, they carried out their stratagem. It was at nightfall, and I was not on hand, as I chanced to be taking a nap under the table. Without the knowledge of the rest they carried Helen off and put to sea in haste. About midnight, when Menelaus woke up, and found that his wife was not in bed, he made a great stir and took his brother and went to King Rhadamanthus. But as day began to break the lookouts said that they saw the ship far out at sea. Then Rhadamanthus put fifty of the heroes aboard a

¹ An allusion to the Pyanepsia, the Athenian Beanfeast.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πεντήκοντα τῶν ἴρων εἰς ναῦν μονόξυλον ἀσφο- 
δελίνην παρήγγειλεν διόκειν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ προσπαθίας 
ελαύνοντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν καταλαμβάνοντοι 
αὐτοῦς ἄρτι ἐς τὸν γαλακτώδη τοῦ ὄκεανοῦ τόπον 
ἐμβαίνοντας πλησίον τῆς Τυροέσσης· παρὰ το- 
σοῦτον ἦλθον διαδράναι· καὶ ἀναδησάμενοι τὴν 
ναῦν ἀλύσει ροδίνη κατέπλευσον. ἦ μὲν οὖν Ἐλένη 
ἐδάκρυεν τε καὶ ἁσχύνετο κάνεκαλύπτετο, τοὺς 
δὲ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κινύραν ἀνακρίνας πρότερον ὁ Ῥαδά- 
μάυθης, εἰ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς συνίστασιν, ὡς 
οὐδένα εἶπον, ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων δήσας ἀπέπεμψεν 
ἐς τὸν τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρον μαλάχη πρότερον 
μαστιγωθέντας. ἐνεπροθέσμως ἐκπέμπετεν ἐκ τῆς 
νήσου, τὴν ἐπιού- 

c

27

ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἐποτυχόμην τε καὶ ἐδάκρυον 
οίᾳ ἐμελλον ἀγαθὰ καταληπτῶν αἰ饼干 πλανήθη-
σεσθαι. αὐτοὶ μέντοι παρεμνυθοῦντο λέγοντες οὐ 
πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀφίξεσθαι πάλιν ὡς αὐτοὺς, καὶ 
μοι ἡ ἕδη εἰς τούπιον θρόνον τε καὶ κλωσίαν ἐπεδεί-
κυνον πλησίον τῶν ἁρίστων. ἐγὼ δὲ προσελθὼν 
τῷ Ῥαδαμαῦθῃ πολλὰ ἱκέτευον εἰπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα 
καὶ ὑποδείξαλ μοι τὸν πλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἔφασεν 
ἀφίξεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πολλὰ πρότερον 
πλανηθέντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ χρόνον 
οὐκέτι τῆς ἑπανόδου προσθείναι θέλησεν· ἀλλὰ 
δὴ καὶ δεικνὺς τὰς πλησίον νῆσους—ἔφαυσον 
δὲ τέντε τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐκέκυκλοι— 
ταύτας μὲν εἶναι ἔφασεν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, τὰς 
πλησίον, Ἀφ’ ὅν, ἔφη, ἡ δὴ τὸ πολὺ πῦρ ὀρᾶ 
καιόμενον, ἐκτε δὲ ἐκεῖνη τῶν ὀνείρων ἡ πόλις· 
μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ τῆς Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἀλλ'
ship made of a single log of asphodel and ordered them to give chase. Rowing with a will, they overtook them about noon, just as they were entering the milky place in the ocean near Cheesie—that is all they lacked of escaping! Securing the ship with a hawser of roses, they sailed home. Helen cried and hid her head for shame. As to Cinyras and the rest, first Rhadamanthus asked them if they had any other accomplices, and they said no; then he had them secured by the offending member and sent them away to the place of the wicked, after they had been first scourged with mallow. The heroes voted, too, that we be dismissed from the island before our time was up, remaining only till the next day.

Thereupon I began to cry aloud and weep because I had to leave such blessings behind me and resume my wanderings. But they cheered me up, saying that before many years I should come back to them again, and they even pointed out to me my future chair and couch, close to the best people. I went to Rhadamanthus and earnestly besought him to tell me what would happen and indicate my course. He said that I should reach my native land in spite of many wanderings and dangers, but refused to tell the time of my return. However, pointing out the islands near by—there were five in sight and a sixth in the distance—, “These,” said he, “are the Isles of the Wicked, here close at hand, from which you see all the smoke arising: the sixth yonder is the City of Dreams. Next comes the island of Calypso, but
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

οὐδέπω σοι φαίνεται. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταύτας παραπλεύσης, τότε δὴ ἀφίξῃς εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἥπειρον τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ υφί τῆς ὠμών 1 κατοικούμενή· ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὰ παθῶν καὶ ποικίλα ξώνη διελθῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀμάκτους ἑπιδημῆσαι χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἦξεις εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἥπειρον.

Τοσαῦτα εἰπεν, καὶ ἀναστάσας ἀπὸ τῆς 28 γῆς μαλάχης ρίζαν ὄρεξεν μοι, ταύτη κελεύσας ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κυνείσι προσεύχεσθαι. παρήνεσε δὲ εἰ καὶ ποτὲ ἀφικοίμην ἐς τὴν γῆν, μήτε πῦρ μαχαίρα σκαλεῦεις μὴτε θέρμωμεν ἐσθίεις μήτε παιδὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀκτωκάδεκα ἐτη πλησίαξεν· τούτων γὰρ ἄν μεμνημένον ἐλπίδας ἐχεις τῆς εἰς τὴν νήσου ἀφίξεως.

Τότε μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν παρεσκευασόμην, καὶ ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἦν, συνειστιώμην αὐτοῖς. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἐλθὼν πρὸς "Ομηρον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐδήσθην αὐτοῖς ποιησάς μοι δίστιχον ἐπιγραμμα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησεν, στῆλην βηρῦλλον λίθου ἀναστήσας ἐπέγραψε πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἦν τοιόνδε·

Δουκιανὸς τάδε πάντα φίλος μακάρεσοι θεοῖσιν εἰδὲ τε καὶ πάλιν ἢλθε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

μεῖνας δὲ κάκειν τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ 29 ἀνηγόμην τῶν ἱρῶν παραπεμπτῶν. ἐνθά μοι καὶ Ὁδύσσειός προσελθὼν λάθρα τῆς Πηνελόπης διδωσιν ἐπιστολήν εἰς Ὁμηρίαν τὴν νήσου Καλυψοί κομίζειν. συνεπεμψε δὲ μοι Ὁ Ράδαμανθυς τῶν πορθμέα Ναύπλιοι, ἵν' ἐδὼ καταχθῶμεν

1 ὁμών du Soul : ἡμών MSS,
A TRUE STORY, II

you cannot see it yet. When you have sailed by these, you will finally come to the great continent opposite the one which your people inhabit. Then at last, after you have had many adventures and have travelled through all sorts of countries and lived among unfriendly men, in course of time you will reach the other continent."

With these words he plucked a root of mallow from the ground and handed it to me, telling me to pray to it in my greatest straits. And he advised me if ever I reached this country, neither to stir the fire with a sword-blade nor to eat lupines nor to make love to anyone over eighteen,¹ saying that if I bore these points in mind I might have good hopes of getting back to the island.

Well, I made preparations for the voyage, and when the time came, joined them at the feast. On the next day I went to the poet Homer and begged him to compose me a couplet to carve up, and when he had done so, I set up a slab of beryl near the harbour and had the couplet carved on it. It was:

One Lucian, whom the blessed gods befriend,
Beheld what's here, and home again did wend.

I stayed that day, too, and put to sea on the next, escorted by the heroes. At that juncture Odysseus came to me without the knowledge of Penelope and gave me a letter to carry to Ogygia Island, to Calypso. Rhadamanthus sent the pilot Nauplius with me, so that if we touched at the

¹ The first is a real Pythagorean precept, or what passed for such (Plut. Mor. 12 ε); the other two are parodies.

333
ΤΑ ΒΑΡΤΟΝΙΑΜΟΝΗΑΤΕΟΡΟΙΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΑΡΕΛΗΨΕΙΖΗΘΗΜΕΝ, ΑΥΤΙΚΑ ΗΜΑΣ ΟΣΜΗ ΤΕ ΔΕΙΝΗ ΔΙΕΔΕΧΕΤΟ ΟΛΟΥ ΑΣΦΑΛΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΤΤΗΣ ΑΜΑ ΚΑΙΜΟΜΕΝΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΚΥΙΣΑ ΔΕ ΠΟΥΡΑΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟΡΤΟΣ ὉΣΠΕΡ ΑΠΟ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ὈΠΤΩΜΕΝΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ὁ ἩΡ ΧΟΦΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ὌΜΙΧΛΩΔΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΩΣΑΚΕΝ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΡΟΣΟΣ ΠΙΤΤΙΝΗ ἩΚΟΥΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΣΤΙΓΩΝ ΨΩΦΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΩΓΗΝ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ. ΤΑΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ 30 ἈΛΛΑΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΕΧΟΜΕΝ, ὍΣΕ ΔΕ ἘΠΕΘΗΜΕΝ, ΤΟΙΑΔΕ ὃΝ ΚΥΚΛΟ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΣΑ ΚΡΗΜΝΟΔΗΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΟΞΥΡΟΣ, ΠΕΤΡΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΧΩΣΙ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΛΗΚΥΙΑ, ΔΕΝΔΡΟΝ ΘΟΥΔΕΝ ΟΥΔΕ ὈΔΩΡ ΕΥΗΝ ΑΝΕΡΠΤΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ὉΜΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΡΗΜΝΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΖΕΜΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΚΑΝΘΩΔΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΟΛΟΠΩΝ ΜΕΣΤΗΣ ΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ, ΠΟΛΛΗΝ ἈΜΟΡΦΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ἘΧΟΥΣΗΣ. ἘΦΘΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΡΚΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΟΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΠΡΩΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΥΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΘΑΝΥΜΑΖΟΜΕΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΘΑΦΟΣ ΑΥΤΟ ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΟΛΟΨΙ ΠΑΝΤΗ ΕΧΗΜΗΧΕΙ, ΚΥΚΛΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΕΟΥΝ, ΘΟΥΝ ΒΟΡΒΩΡΟΥ, ΘΟΥΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΑΙΜΑΤΟΣ, ΘΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΙΔΟΝ ΠΥΡΟΣ, ΠΑΝΤΗ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΡΡΕΙ ὈΣΠΕΡ ΟΔΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΥΜΑΤΟΥΤΟ ὈΣΠΕΡ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΙΧΘΥΣ ΔΕ ΕΙΧΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ, ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΑΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΟΙΚΟΤΑΣ, ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΜΙΚΡΟΥΣ ΑΝΘΡΑΞΙ ΠΕΠΥΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΚΔΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΛΥΧΝΙΣΚΟΥΣ. ΕΙΣΟΔΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΙΑ ΣΤΕΝΗ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΗΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΥΛΩΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΙΣΤΗΚΕ ΤΙΜΟΝ ὁ ἈΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ. ΠΑΡΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΟΜΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΘΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΘΡΒΟΜΕΝ ΚΟΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ, ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΟΤΑΣ, ΩΝ ΕΝΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΝΩΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΕΙΔΟΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΙΝΥΡΑΝ ΚΑΠΝΦ ὌΠΟΤΥΦΟΜΕΝΟΥ
islands no one might arrest us, thinking we were putting in on another errand.

Forging ahead, we had passed out of the fragrant atmosphere when of a sudden a terrible odour greeted us as of asphalt, sulphur, and pitch burning together, and a vile, insufferable stench as of roasting human flesh: the atmosphere was murky and foggy, and a pitchy dew distilled from it. Likewise we heard the noise of scourges and the wailing of many men. The other islands we did not touch at, but the one on which we landed was precipitous and sheer on all sides; it was roughened with rocks and stony places, and there was neither tree nor water in it. We crawled up the cliffs, however, and went ahead in a path full of thorns and calthrops, finding the country very ugly. On coming to the enclosure and the place of punishment, first of all we wondered at the nature of the region. The ground itself was all sown with sword blades and calthrops, and around it flowed three rivers, one of mud, the second of blood and the inmost one of fire. The latter was very large, and impossible to cross: it ran like water and undulated like the sea, and it contained many fish, some similar to torches, and some, a smaller variety, to live coals. They called them candlefish. There was a single narrow way leading in, past all the rivers, and the warden set there was Timon of Athens. We got through, however, and with Nauplius for our conductor we saw many kings undergoing punishment, and many commoners too. Some of them we even recognized, and we saw Cinyras
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

εκ τῶν αἰðοίων ἀπηρτημένων. προσετίθεσαν δὲ οἱ περιηγηταὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐκάστων βίους καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐφ’ αἰς κολάζονται· καὶ μεγίστας ἀπασών τιμωρίας ὑπέμενον οἱ ψευσάμενοι τι παρὰ τὸν βίον καὶ οἱ μὴ τά ἀληθῆ συγγεγραφότες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἦν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ· τούτους οὖν ὅρων ἐγὼ χρηστὰς εἶχον εἰς τούπιδον τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὕδεν γὰρ ἐμαυτῶ ψεύδος εἰπόντι συνηπιστάμην. ταχέως οὖν ἀναστρέφεται ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην φέρειν τὴν ὀψιν—ἀσπασάμενος τῶν Ναύπλιου ἀπέπλευσα.

Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐφαίνετο πλησίον ἢ τῶν ὀνείρων νῆσος, ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀσάφης ἱδεῖν· εἰχε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ τι τοὺς ὀνείροις παραπλήσιον ὑπεχώρει γὰρ προσωπίτων ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπέφευγε καὶ πορρωτέρω ὑπέβαινε. καταλαβόντες δὲ τοτε αὐτὴν καὶ εἰσπλέυσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰππον λυμένα προσαγορευμένον πλησίον τῶν πυλῶν τῶν ἐλεφαντίων, ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεκτρύνονος ήερόν ἐστιν, περὶ δείλην ὤψιν ἀπεβαινομεν παρελθόντες δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς ὀνείρους καὶ ποικίλους ἐσωρόμεν. πρῶτον δὲ βούλομαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἄλλῳ τινὶ γέγραπται περὶ αὐτῆς, δὲ καὶ μόνον ἐπεμνήσθη Ὁμηρος, οὐ πάνω ἀκριβῶς συνέγραψεν. κύκλῳ μὲν περὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑλή ἀνέστηκεν, τὰ δὲνδρα δὲ ἐστὶ μήκωνς ὑψηλὰ καὶ μανδραγόρα καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος νυκτερίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ γίνεται ὀρνευν. ποταμὸς δὲ παραρρεῖ πλησίον ὁ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καλούμενος Νυκτίπορος, καὶ πηγαί δύο παρὰ τὰς πύλας· ὀνόματα καὶ ταύταις, τῇ μὲν
A TRUE STORY, II

triced up as aforesaid in the smoke of a slow fire. The guides told the life of each, and the crimes for which they were being punished; and the severest punishment of all fell to those who told lies while in life and those who had written what was not true, among whom were Ctesias of Cnidos, Herodotus and many more. On seeing them, I had good hopes for the future, for I have never told a lie that I know of. Well, I turned back to the ship quickly, for I could not endure the sight, said good-bye to Nauplius, and sailed away.

After a short time the Isle of Dreams came in sight close by, faint and uncertain to the eye. It had itself some likeness to a dream, for as we approached it receded and retired and retreated to a greater distance. Overtaking it at length and sailing into the harbour called Sleep, we landed near the ivory gates, where the sanctuary of the Cock is, about dusk, and on entering the city, we saw many dreams of all sorts. But first I desire to speak of the city itself, since no one else has written about it, and Homer, the only one to mention it at all, was not quite accurate in what he said.¹ On all sides of it is a wood, in which the trees are tall poppies and mandragoras, and they have a great number of bats in them; for there is no other winged thing in the island. A river flows near which they call Sleep-walker, and there are two springs by the gates,

¹ Odys. 19, 560 ff.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Νῆγρετος, τή δὲ Πανυχία. ὃ περίβολος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑψηλὸς τε καὶ ποικίλος, ἱρεῖ τήν χρώαν ὀμοίωτατος. πῦλαι μέντοι ἐπεισιν οὐ δύο, καθάπερ Ὄμηρος ἐξήκεν, ἀλλὰ τέσσαρες, δύο μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῆς Βλακείας πεδίον ἀποβλέπουσαι, ἥ μὲν σιδηρᾶ, ἧ δὲ ἐκ κεράμου πεποιημένη, καθ' ἄς ἐλέγουτο ἀποδημεῖν αὐτῶν οἱ τε φοβεροὶ καὶ φονικοὶ καὶ ἀπημεῖς, δύο δὲ πρὸς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὴν θάλατ-
tαν, ἥ μὲν κερατίνη, ἥ δὲ καθ' ἣν ἤμεις παρῆλ-
θομεν ἐλεφαντίνη. εἰςώντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐν
δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ Νυκτῆρον—σέβομεν γὰρ θεῶν
ταύτην μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξτρυόνα. ἐκείνῳ δὲ
πλησίον τοῦ λιμένος τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιηταί—ἐν ἀρι-
στερᾷ δὲ τα τοῦ Ἡπνον βασίλεια. οὕτος γὰρ δή
ἀρχει παρ' αὐτῶς σατράπας δύο καὶ ὑπάρχους
πετοιμένους, Ταραξίωνα τε τὸν Ματαωγένους καὶ
Πλοῦτοκλέα τὸν Φαντασίωνος. ἐν μέση δὲ τῇ
ἄγορα πηγή τής ἐστιν, ἡν καλοῦσι Καρεώτινως καὶ
πλησίον ναὸι δύο, Ἄπατης καὶ Ἀληθείας. ἐνθα καὶ
tὸ ἄδυτόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, οὕτω
προεισάγει προφητεύων Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τῶν ὀνείρων
ὑποκριτής, ταύτης παρὰ τοῦ Ἡπνον λαχών τῆς
τιμῆς. αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν ὀνείρων οὔτε φύσις
οὔτε ἴδεα ἡ αὐτή, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν μακροὶ ἤσαν καὶ
καλοὶ καὶ εὐειδεῖς, οἱ δὲ μικροὶ καὶ ἁμορφοὶ, καὶ
οἱ μὲν χρύσει, ὡς ἔδοκον, οἱ δὲ ταπεινοὶ τε καὶ
eὐτελεῖς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πτερωτοὶ τίνες
καὶ τερατώδεις, καὶ ἀλλοι καθάπερ ἐς πομπὰ
διεσκευασμένοι, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασιλέας, οἱ δὲ ἐς θεοὺς,
οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀλλα τουεάτα κεκοσμημένοι. πολλοὺς
dὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν, πῦλαι παρ' ἡμῖν
ἐωράκότες, οἳ δὴ καὶ προσήναν καὶ ἱππάζοντο.
A TRUE STORY, II

named Soundly and Eight-hours. The wall of the city is high and parti-coloured, very like a rainbow in tint. The gates in it are not two, as Homer says, but four. Two face Slowcoach Plain, one of which is of iron and the other of earthenware; through these, it is said, the fearful, murderous, revolting dreams go out. The other two face the harbour and the sea, one of which is of horn and the other, through which we came in, of ivory. As one enters the city, on the right is the temple of Night, for the gods they worship most are Night and the Cock, whose sanctuary is built near the harbour. On the left is the palace of Sleep, who rules among them and has appointed two satraps or lieutenants, Nightmare, son of Causeless, and Rich, son of Fancy. In the centre of the square is a spring which they call Drowsimere, and close to it are two temples, that of Falsehood and that of Truth. There too is their holy of holies and their oracle, which Antiphon, the interpreter of dreams, presided over as prophet, having had this office from Sleep. As to the dreams themselves, they differ from one another both in nature and in looks. Some were tall, handsome and well-proportioned, while others were small and ugly; and some were rich, I thought, while others were humble and beggarly. There were winged and portentous dreams among them, and there were others dressed up as if for a carnival, being clothed to represent kings and gods and different characters of the sort. We actually recognised many of them, whom we had seen long ago at home. These came
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ὁς ἀν καὶ συνήθεις ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ παραλαβόντες
ημᾶς καὶ κατακομβάσαντες πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ
dεξιώς ἐξένυξον, τὴν τε ἁλλήν ὑποδοχὴν μεγα-
λοπρεπῆ παρασκευάσαντες καὶ ὑπισχυούμενοι
βασιλέας τε ποιήσεω καὶ σατράπας. ἔνοι δὲ
cαὶ ἀπήγγιν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς
οἰκείους ἐπεδείκνυον καὶ αὐθημερῶν ἐπανήγγιν.
ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν τριάκοντα καὶ ἵσας νύκτας 35
παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐμείναμεν καθεύδοντες εὐξοῦμενοι.
ἐπειτα δὲ ἄφων βροντῆς μεγάλης καταρραγείσης
ἀνεγρόμενοι καὶ ἀναθερόντες ἀνήχημεν ἐπισιτι-
σάμενοι.

Τριταίοι δ’ ἐκείθεν τῇ Ὁμυγία νήσῳ προσ-
σχώντες ἀπεθαίνομεν. πρῶτον δ’ ἐγὼ λύσας
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνεγίνωσκον τὰ γεγραμένα. ἤτοι
δὲ τοιάδε: Ὅδυσσεύς Καλυψοί χαίρειν. Ἰσθι
με, ὅσ τὰ πρῶτα ἐξέπλευσα παρὰ σοῦ τὴν σχεδίαν
κατασκευασάμενος, ναναγία χρησάμενον μόλις
ὑπὸ Δευκοθέας διασωθῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Φαϊάκων
χώραν, ὅφ’ ὅν ἔσ τὴν οἰκείαιν ἀποπεμφθεῖς κατέ-
λαβον πολλοὺς τῆς γυναικὸς μνηστήρας ἐν τοῖς
ἡμετέροις τρυφῶντας. ἀποκτείνας δὲ ἄπαντας ὑπὸ
Τηλεγόνου ὑστερον τοῦ Ἐκ Κήρκης μοι γενομένου
ἀνηρέθην, καὶ νῦν εἰμὶ ἐν τῇ Μακάρων νῆσῳ πάνω
μετανόου ἐπὶ τῷ καταλυτεῖν τὴν παρὰ σοὶ δίαιταν
καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεινομένην ἀθανασίαν. ἦν
οὖν καιρὸν λάβωμαι, ἀποδρᾶς ἀφίξομαι πρὸς σέ.
ταῦτα μὲν ἐδῆλον ἡ ἐπιστολή, καὶ περὶ ἦμῶν,
ὅπως ἐξεισθῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ προελθὼν ὅλγον 36
ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης εὑρὼν τὸ σπήλαιον τοιοῦτον
οἰον “Ομηρος εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτὴν ταλασιουργοῦσαν.”

340
A TRUE STORY, II

up to us and greeted us like old acquaintances, took us with them, put us to sleep and entertained us very splendidly and hospitably. They treated us like lords in every way, and even promised to make us kings and nabobs. A few of them actually took us off home, gave us a sight of our friends and families and brought us back the same day. For thirty days and thirty nights we stopped with them and fared finely—in our sleep! Then of a sudden a great thunder-clap came; we woke up, sprang out of bed and put to sea as soon as we had laid in supplies.

On the third day out from there we touched at the island of Ogygia and landed. But first I opened the letter and read what was in it. It was:

"Odysseus to Calypso, greeting.

"Soon after I built the raft and sailed away from you I was shipwrecked, and with the help of Leucothea managed to reach the land of the Phaeacians in safety. They sent me home, and there I found that my wife had a number of suitors who were living on the fat of the land at our house. I killed them all, and was afterwards slain by Telegonus, my son by Circe. Now I am on the Isle of the Blest, thoroughly sorry to have given up my life with you and the immortality which you offered me. Therefore, if I get a chance, I shall run away and come to you." In addition to this, the letter said that she was to entertain us. On going a short way from the sea I found the cave, which was as Homer described it, and found Calypso herself working wool. When

\[1\] Odysse. 5, 55 ff.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ὅς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔλαβεν καὶ ἐπελέξατο, πρῶτα μὲν ἔπι πολὺ ἐδάκρυνεν, ἔπειτα δὲ παρεκάλει ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ξένια καὶ εἰστία λαμπρῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὄδυσσεως ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ περὶ τῆς Πηνελόπης, ὁποία τε εἶ ἡ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ εἰ σωφρονοίη, καθάπερ Ὅδυσσεις πάλαι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκόμπαξεν καὶ ἠμεῖς τοιαύτα ἀπεκρινάμεθα, εὖ δὲν εἰκάζομεν εὐφρανεῖσθαι αὐτήν.

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπελθόντες ἐπὶ ναῦν πλησίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἄγνου ἐκομιθημένων. ἐωθέν δὲ ἀνηγόμεθα 37 σφοδρότερον κατώτερον τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ δὴ χειμασθέντες ἥμερας δύο τῇ τρίτῃ περιπίπτομεν τοῖς Κολοκυθοπειραταῖς. ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ εἴσιν οὕτωι ἀγροὶ εἰ τῶν πλησίον νῆσων ληστεύοντες τοὺς παραπλέοντας. τὰ πλοῖα δὲ ἔχονσι μεγάλα κολοκύθωνα τὸ μήκος πήχεων ἐξηκοντα· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἔπραγμα τὴν κολοκύθαν, κοιλάναντες αὐτήν καὶ ἐξελόντες τὴν ἐντερίων ἐμπλέουσιν, ἵστοις μὲν χρώμενοι καλαμίνοι, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ὀθόνης τῷ φύλλῳ τῆς κολοκύθης. προσβαλόντες οὖν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ δύο πληρωμάτων ἐμάχοντο καὶ πολλοὺς κατετραμάτιζον βάλλοντες ἀντὶ λίθων τῷ στέρματι τῶν κολοκυθῶν. ἀγχωμάλως δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ ναυμαχοῦντες περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἴδομεν κατόπιν τῶν Κολοκυθοπειρατῶν προσπλέοντας τοὺς Καρυναύτας. πολέμου δὲ ἦσαν ἄλληλοι, ὡς ἔδειξαν ἐπεὶ γὰρ κάκεινοι ἰσόθονοι αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἦμῶν μὲν ὁλυγώρθασαν, τραπτόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνους ἐναυμάχουν. ἠμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ ἐπάραντες τὴν 38 ὀδύνην ἐφεύγομεν ἀπολειπόντες αὐτοὺς μαχομένους, καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν κρατήσοντες οἱ Καρυναύται ἀτε
A TRUE STORY, II

she had taken the letter and read it, she wept a long time at first, and then she asked us in to enjoy her hospitality, gave us a splendid feast and enquired about Odysseus and Penelope—how she looked and whether she was prudent, as Odysseus used to boast in old times.¹ We made her such answers as we thought would please her.

After that, we went back to the ship and slept beside it on the shore, and early in the morning we put to sea in a rising wind. We were storm-tossed for two days, and on the third we fell in with the Pumpkin-pirates. They are savages from the neighbouring islands who prey on passing sailors. They have large boats of pumpkin, sixty cubits long; for after drying a pumpkin they hollow it out, take out the insides and go sailing in it, using reeds for masts and a pumpkin-leaf for a sail. They attacked us with two crews and gave us battle, wounding many of us by hitting us with pumpkin-seeds instead of stones. After fighting for a long time on even terms, about noon we saw the Nut-sailors coming up astern of the Pumpkin-pirates. They were enemies to one another, as they showed by their actions; for when the Pumpkin-pirates noticed them coming up, they neglected us and faced about and fought with them. But in the meantime we hoisted our canvas and fled, leaving them fighting. It was evident that the Nut-sailors would win, as they were in greater

¹ Odys. 5, 21 ff.
καὶ πλείουσι—πέντε γὰρ εἶχον πληρώματα—καὶ ἀπὸ ἰσχυροτέρων νεῶν μαχόμενοι· τὰ γὰρ πλοῖα ἦν αὐτῶις κελύφη καρύων ἡμίτομα, κεκενωμένα, μέγεθος δὲ ἐκάστου ἡμιτομοῦ εἰς μῆκος ὀργυιαὶ πεντεκαίδεκα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρύψαμεν αὐτούς, ιόμεθα τοὺς τραυματίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ παν ἦμεν, ἀεὶ τινὰς ἐπιβουλὰς προσδεχόμενοι· οὐ μάτην. οὕτω γοῦν ἐδεδυκεὶ ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ἀπὸ τινὸς ἐρήμου νῆσον προσήλαινον ὡμῶν ὅσον εἶκος ἄνδρες ἐπὶ δελφίνων μεγάλων ὁχύρων, λῃσταῖ καὶ ὦτου τοῖς ἐκεῖνης ἐφερον ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ἀνατησόμενες ἐχρεμέτειξον ὦσπερ ἱπποι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν, διαστάντες οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐνθεν ἐβαλλον ἡμᾶς σπηλαίας ξηραῖς καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς καρκίνων. τοξευόμενων δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκουτιζόντων οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον, ἄλλα τρωθέντες οἱ πολλοί αὐτῶις πρὸς τὴν νῆσον κατέφυγον.

Περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἡμαῖραις οὕσης 40 ἐλάθομεν προσκόπελαντες ἄλκυνόν καλμὴ παμμεγέθειν σταδίων γοῦν ἦν αὐτὴ ἔξηκοντα τὸ περίμετρον. ἐπέπλεεν δὲ ἡ ἄλκυν τὰ ἁλποὺσα οὐ πολὺ μείων τῆς καλλιᾶς. καὶ δὴ ἀναπταμένη μικρῷ μὲν κατέδυσε τὴν ναῦν τῷ ἄνεμῳ τῶν πτερῶν. ὥχεστι δ’ οὖν φεύγουσα γοηρὰν τίνα φωνὴν προείμενη. ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἦμεις ἡμέρας ἢδη ὑποφαινούσης ἑθομέθα τὴν καλίαν σχεδία μεγάλη προσεοίκυιαν ἐκ δένδρων μεγάλων συμπεριφερμένην ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ φῶτα πεντακόσια, ἕκαστον αὐτῶις Χιοὺ πίθου περιπληθέστερον. ἦδη μέντοι καὶ οἱ νεοτοι ἐνδοθεν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἔκρωζον. πελέκεσιν γοῦν διακόψαντες ἐν τῶι
A TRUE STORY, II

numbers—they had five crews—and fought from stouter ships. Their boats were the halves of empty nutshells, each of which measured fifteen fathoms in length.

When we had lost them from sight, we attended to the wounded, and thereafter we kept under arms most of the time, always looking for attacks. And we did not look in vain. In fact, the sun had not yet gone down when from a desert island there came out against us about twenty men riding on huge dolphins, who were pirates like the others. The dolphins carried them securely and plunged and neighed like horses. When they were close by, they separated and threw at us from both sides with dry cuttle-fish and crabs' eyes. But when we let fly at them with spears and arrows, they could not hold their ground, but fled to the island, most of them wounded.

About midnight, while it was calm, we unexpectedly ran aground on an enormous kingfisher's nest; really, it was sixty furlongs in circumference. The female was sailing on it, keeping her eggs warm, and she was not much smaller than the nest—in fact, as she started up she almost sunk the ship with the wind of her wings. She flew off, however, uttering a plaintive cry. We landed when day began to break, and observed that the nest was like a great raft, built of huge trees. There were five hundred eggs in it, every one of them bigger than a Chian wine-jar, and the chicks were already visible inside them and were chirping. We cut open one
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

οἳν νεοττὸν ἀπτερον ἔξεκολάψαμεν εἰκοσὶ γυνῶν ἀδρότερον.

Επεὶ δὲ πλέοντες ἀπείχομεν τῆς καλαίς ὥσον σταδίους διακοσίους, τέρατα ἥμων μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐπεσήμανεν ὗ τε γάρ ἐν τῇ πρώμῃ χηνίσκος ἄφνω ἐπτερύξατο καὶ ἀνεβόησεν, καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης ὁ Σκίνθαρος φαλακρός ἦδη ὄν ἀνεκόμησεν, καὶ τὸ πάντων δὴ παραδοξύτατον, ὁ γὰρ ἰστός τῆς νεῶς ἐξεβλάστησεν καὶ κλάδους ἀνε- φυσεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρῷ ἑκαρποφόρησεν, ὃ δὲ καρπὸς ἦν σύκα καὶ σταφυλή μέλαινα, οὕτω πέπειρος. ταῦτα ἱδόντες ὡς εἰκὸς ἐταράχθημεν καὶ ηὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον τοῦ φαντάσματος. οὕτω δὲ πεντακόσιοι σταδίους διελθόντες εἴδομεν ὑλὴν μεγίστην καὶ λάστων πιτύων καὶ κυπαρίττων. καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰκάσαμεν ἠπειρον εἶναι. τὸ δὲ ἦν πέλαγος ἀβυσσον ἄροιζος δένδρων κατατεφυτευμένον. εἰστήκει δὲ τὰ δένδρα ὁμοιός ἀκίνητα, ὁρᾶν καθάπερ ἐπεπλέοντα. πλη- σιώσαντες οὖν καὶ τὸ πάν κατανοήσαντες ἐν ἀράρῃ εἰχόμεθα τῇ χρῆ δρᾶν οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τῶν δένδρων πλεῖν δυνατὸν ἤν—ποικά γὰρ καὶ προσεχὴ υπήρχειν—οὔτε ἀναστρέψείν ἐδόκει,

1 ἀπεσκόπουν vulg.: ἐπεσκόπουν Γ, Nilén.

346
of the eggs with axes and took from the shell a featherless chick fatter than twenty vultures.

When we had sailed a distance of two hundred furlongs from the nest, great and wonderful signs manifested themselves to us. The gooseneck ¹ suddenly grew feathers and started cackling, the sailing-master, Scintharus, who was already bald, became the owner of long hair, and what was strangest of all, the ship's mast budded, branched, and bore fruit at the summit! The fruit consisted of figs and black raisin-grapes, which were not yet ripe.² On seeing this, we were disturbed, as well we might be, and offered a prayer to the gods on account of the strangeness of the manifestation. We had not yet gone five hundred furlongs when we saw a very large, thick forest of pines and cypresses. We thought it was land, but in reality it was a bottomless sea overgrown with rootless trees, in spite of which the trees stood up motionless and straight, as if they were floating. On drawing near and forming an idea of the situation, we were in a quandary what to do, for it was not possible to sail between the trees, they being thick and close together, nor did it seem easy to turn back. Climbing the tallest tree, I looked to see how things were on the other side, and I saw that the forest extended for fifty stades or a little more, and that another ocean lay beyond. So we resolved to lift the

¹ In ancient ships the gooseneck was an ornament on the stem, or (as here) on the stern. Nowadays it is a device for fastening a spar to a mast.

² A parody on the experience of the pirates who carried off Dionysus (Hymn. Hom. 7, 38).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

τὴν ναῦν ἔπε τὴν κόμην τῶν δένδρων—πυκνὴ δὲ ἢ—ὑπερβιβάσαι, εἰ δυνάμεθα, εἰς τὴν θαλάτταν τὴν ἐτέραν· καὶ οὕτως ἐποιοῦμεν. ἐκδήσαντες γὰρ αὐτὴν κάλφη μεγάλη καὶ ἀνελθόντες ἔπε τὰ δένδρα μόλις ἀνιμησάμεθα, καὶ θέντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων, πετάσαντες τὰ ἱστία καθάπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ ἐπλέομεν τοῦ ἀνέμου προωθοῦντος ἐπισυνρόμενοι· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔτος ἐπεισήλθε με· φησὶν γὰρ τοῦ κάκεινος:

Τοῖς δ’ ὑλῆντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένων.

Βιασάμενοι δὲ ὁμος τὴν ὕλην ἀφικόμεθα ἐς ἐς 43 τὸ ὑδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ὁμοίως καθέντες τὴν ναῦν ἐπλέομεν διὰ καθάρου καὶ διαυγοῦς ὕδατος, ἀχρὶ δὴ ἐπέστημεν χάσματι μεγάλω ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος διεστῶτος γεγενημένῳ, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλάκις ὄρῳμεν ὑπὸ οἰκεῖων γενόμενα διαχωρίσματα. ἦ μὲν οὖν ναῦς καθελόντως ἡμῶν τὰ ἱστία οὐ ραδίως ἐστὶ παρ’ ὄλγου ἔλθουσα κατενεχθήναι. ὑπερ-
κύμαστε δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐωρῶμεν βάθος ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων μίλα φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον εἰστήκει γὰρ τὸ ὑδωρ ὃσπερ μεμερίσμενον· περιβλέποντες δὲ ὄρῳμεν κατὰ δεξιὰ ὅπως πάνω πόρρωθεν γέφυραν ἐπεξευγέμενην ὕδατος συνάπτοντος τὰ πελάγη κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας θαλάττης εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν διαρρέοντος. προσελάσαντες οὖν ταῖς κώπαις κατ’ ἐκείνῳ παρεδράμομεν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγωνίας ἐπεράσαμεν οὕποτε προσδόκησαντες.

"Ενετέθην ἡμᾶς ύπεδέχετο πέλαγος προσηνῆς 44 καὶ νήσος οὐ μεγάλη, εὐπρόσιτος, συνοικομένη· ἐνέμουτο δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνθρωποὶ ἄγριοι, Βουκέφαλοι,

1 καθέντες Cobet: καταθέντες MSS.
ship on to the tree-tops, which were thick, and cross over, if we could, to the farther side; and that is what we did. We made her fast to a large rope, climbed the trees and pulled her up with much ado. Setting her on the branches and spreading our canvas, we sailed just as if we were at sea, carried along by the force of the wind. At that juncture a line of the poet Antimachus came into my head; he says somewhere or other:

"And unto them their forest cruise pursuing."

We managed the wood in spite of everything and reached the water. Lowering the ship again in the same way we sailed through pure, clear water, until we came to a great crevasse made by the water dividing, like the cracks that one often sees in the earth, made by earthquakes. Though we got in the sails, the ship was slow to lose headway and so came near being engulfed. Peering over the edge, we saw a precipice of fully a thousand furlongs, most frightful and unnatural—the water stood there as if cut apart! But as we looked about us we saw on the right at no great distance a bridge thrown across, which was of water, joining the surfaces of the two seas and flowing from one to the other. Rowing up, therefore, we ran into the stream and by great effort got across, though we thought we should never do it.

Then we came to a smooth sea and an island of no great size that was easily accessible and was inhabited. It was peopled by savages, the Bullheads, who have horns in the style that the
κέρατα ἔχοντες, οἶνον παρ’ ἴμιν τῶν Μινώταυρον ἀναπλάττουσιν. ἀποβάντες δὲ προῆμεν ὑδρευ-
σόμενοι καὶ συίδα ληψόμενοι, εἰ ποθεν δυνηθεὶς-
μεν οὐκέτι γὰρ εἰχόμεν. καὶ ὤδωρ μὲν αὐτοῦ πλησίον εὑρομεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, πλὴ
ν μυκηθῶς πολὺς οὐ πόρρωθεν ἤκουέτο. δόξαντες
οὖν ἀγέλην εἶναι βοῶν, κατ’ ὀλὼν προχωροῦντες ἐπέστημεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οἱ δὲ ἱδόντες ἦμᾶς
ἐδίωκον, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν τῶν ἐταῖρων λαμβάνουσιν,
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κατεφεύγομεν.
εἶτα μέντοι πάντες ὀπλισάμενοι—οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει
ἡμῖν ἀτιμωρήτους περιδεῖν τοὺς φίλους—ἐμπλη-
πομεν τοῖς Βουκεφάλοις τὰ κρέα τῶν ἀνηρημένων
diairoμένως: φοβήσαντες δὲ πάντας διώκομεν,
καὶ κτεῖνομεν γε ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ζῶντας
 αὐτῶν δύο λαμβάνομεν, καὶ αὐθίνες ὀπίσω ἀναστρέ-
φομεν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχοντες. σιτίων μέντοι
οὐδὲν εὑρομεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι παρῆσαν ἀπο-
σάττειν τοὺς εἰλημμένους, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον,
ἀλλὰ δήσας ἐφύλαττον αὐτοὺς, ἀρχὶ δὴ ἀφίκοντο
παρὰ τῶν Βουκεφάλων πρέσβεις ἀπαίτοντες ἐπὶ
λύτρους τοὺς συνειλημμένους: συνίεμεν γὰρ αὐτῶν
diaνενώτων καὶ γοερόν τι μυκώμενον ὥσπερ
ἰκετεύοντων. τὰ λύτρα δὲ ἦν τυρών πολλοὶ καὶ
ιχθύες ξηροὶ καὶ κρόμμια καὶ ἔλαφοι τέτταρες,
τρεῖς ἐκάστη πόδας ἔχουσα, δύο μὲν τοὺς ὀπίσω,
οἱ δὲ πρόσω συνεπεφύκεσαν. ἐπὶ τούτους ἀπο-
δόντες τοὺς συνειλημμένους καὶ μίαν ἦμεραν
ἐπιμείναντες ἀνήχθημεν.

Ἡδὴ δὲ ἰχθύες τε ἴμιν ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ὄριαν 45
παρεπέτετο καὶ ἀλλ’ ὀπίσω γῆς πλησίον ὀύσθης
σημεία προφαίνεται. μετ’ ὀλὼν δὲ καὶ ἀνδρας
350
A TRUE STORY, II

Minotaur is represented at home. Landing, we went up country to get water and food if we could, for we no longer had any. Water we found close by, but there was nothing else to be seen, though we heard a great bellowing not far off. Thinking it was a herd of cattle, we went ahead cautiously and came upon the men of whom I spoke. On seeing us, they gave chase, and captured three of my comrades, but the rest of us made our escape to the sea. Then, however, we all armed ourselves—it did not seem right to let our friends go unavenged—and fell on the Bullheads while they were portioning out the flesh of the men they had slain. We put them all to flight and gave chase, killing about fifty and taking two alive: then we turned back to the ship with our prisoners. We found no food, though. The rest therefore urged that the captives be killed; I did not approve of this, however, but put them in irons and kept them under guard until ambassadors came from the Bullheads, asking for them and offering a ransom. We understood them because they made signs and bellowed plaintively as if in entreaty. The ransom was a number of cheeses, dried fish, onions, and four does, each of which had only three feet, for while they had two behind, the forefeet had grown together. In exchange for all this we surrendered the captives, and after stopping there a single day we put to sea.

Already we began to see fish, birds flew by and all the other signs that land was near made their appearance. In a little while we saw men who were
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

eidomev kaiw tav tropw nautilias xromenous: autol gar kai vaithai kai vhes hesan. lexw de tov plou tov tropou upitoi keimenoi epi tov uthatos orthetauntes ta aidoia—megala de fereoun—ex auton uthynh petasauntes kai taix xerew tous podewnas katexontes empiptontos tou anemoou epileov. allos de meta toutous epi philow kathymenon xeuxontes duo delefwnas ilalunon te kai hynochoun oi de proiontes epesourontow touz philous. outoi hemas outhe hdimon outhe efevoun, alle ilalunon adeiws te kai eirnikiws to eidos tou themerou plou thauamazontes kai pantothn periskopontontes.

'Estraperas de 'hde prosichthe men vesh ou me- 46 gali katriveito de upo gynaiikon, ws enomizomen, 'Ellada phwon proiemenein prosesan gar kai edexiwneto kai hspazoito, pani etairikon kexosmhenai kai kalai pasei kai neanides, podhieres tous xitwnas epistoumenai. hemen oun vhesos ekaleito Kabaaloussa,1 de polis authe 'Thamardia. labovdai de ouin hemas ai gynaikes ekasth prose asthn atophege kai xenon epoeyto. egw de mikron apostas—ou gar xerstha emantewmhe—akribesteron te periblpeton orw polw anagwos orstaka kai krania keimena. kai to mev bohen istanei kai tous etairous sychalaein kai es ta opla xorein ouk edokimaizov. prokeirismenos de tis melakeis polla nuxomin authe diaphygein ek tov paronton kakwv mete olignon de tis xenes diakoounomevin eido ton skelh ou gynaikos, all' ouvnon oplas. kai de stapesmenos to xipos

1 'Ekbalaoussa Ga, Nilen: Kabaaloussa, Schwartz, after Guyet.
A TRUE STORY, II

following a novel mode of sailing, being at once sailors and ships. Let me tell you how they did it: they lay on their backs on the water, hoisted their never-mind-whats, which are sizeable, spread sail on them, held the clews in their hands, and were off and away as soon as the wind struck them. Others came next who sat on corks and had a pair of dolphins hitched up, driving them and guiding them with reins; in moving ahead, the dolphins drew the corks along. They neither offered us harm nor ran away from us, but drove along fearlessly and peace-fully, wondering at the shape of our boat and examining her from all sides.

In the evening we touched at another island of no great size. It was inhabited by women—or so we thought—who spoke Greek, and they came up to us, welcomed and embraced us. They were got up just like courtezans and were all beautiful and young, with tunics that swept on the ground. The island was called Witchery, and the city Watertown.¹ Each of the women took one of us home with her and made him her guest. But I excused myself for a moment—I had misgivings—and on looking about rather carefully, saw many human bones and skulls lying there. To make an outcry, call my comrades together and arm ourselves did not seem best to me, but I fetched out my mallow and prayed to it earnestly that I might escape the ills that beset me. After a little while, as my hostess was waiting on me, I saw that her legs were not a woman’s but those of an ass. Then I drew my sword, caught and bound

¹ Both names are uncertain in the Greek.
συλλαμβάνω τε αὐτήν καὶ δήσας περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀνέκρινον. ἡ δὲ, ἀκοῦσα μὲν, εἴπεν δὲ ὤμος, αὐτὰς μὲν εἶναι θαλαττίους γυναίκας Ὀνοσκελέας προσαγορευομένας, τροφὴν δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ξένους. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ, ἔφη, μεθύσω- μεν αὐτοὺς, συνενηθεὶσαι κοιμώμενοι ἐπιχειροῦ- μεν. ἀκοῦσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνην μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον δεδεμένην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνελθων ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος ἔβοων τε καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους συνεκάλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, τὰ πάντα ἐμὴν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τε ὅστα ἐδείκνυν καὶ ἠγουν ἐσὼ πρὸς τὴν δεδεμένην· ἡ δὲ αὐτίκα ὦδωρ ἐγένετο καὶ ἀφανὴς ἦν. ὡμος δὲ τὸ ξίφος εἰς τὸ ὦδωρ καθήκα πειρώ- μενος· τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐγένετο.

Ταχέως οὖν ἔπλην κατελθόντες ἀπεπλεύ- σαμεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ὑπηύγαξε, τὴν τε ἢπειρον ἀπεβλέπομεν εἰκάζομεν τε εἶναι τὴν ἀντιπέρας τῇ υφ’ ἡμῶν ὀικουμένη κείμενην. προσκυνήσαντες δ’ οὖν καὶ προσευξάμενοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσκοποῦμεν, καὶ τούς μὲν ἐδόκει ἐπιβάσιμον μόνων αὖθις ὁπίσω ἀναστρέφει, τοῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον αὐτοῦ καταλιτεῖν, ἄνελθόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν πειραθῆναι τῶν ἐνοικίων. ἐν ὁσφ’ δὲ ταῦτα ἐλογιζόμεθα, χειμῶν σφοδρῶς ἐπιπεσῶν καὶ προσαράξας τὸ σκάφος τῷ αὐγαλῷ διέλυσεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μόλις ἐξενηχάμεθα τὰ ὄπλα ἐκαστὸς καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο οἶδα τῇ ἐν ἀρπασάμενοι.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μέχρι τῆς ἐτέρας γῆς συνενε- χέντα μοι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ παρὰ τὸν πλοῦν εἰν 354
A TRUE STORY, II

her and questioned her about the whole thing. Against her will she told me that they were women of the sea, called Asslegs and that they fed on the strangers that visited them. "When we have made them drunk," said she, "we go to bed with them and attack them in their sleep." On hearing this, I left her there tied up, and myself went up to the housetop and cried out and called my comrades together. When they had come, I told them everything, showed them the bones and led them in to the woman who was tied up, but she immediately turned to water and disappeared. Nevertheless I thrust my sword into the water as a test, and the water turned to blood.

With all speed we went back to the ship and sailed away. When the light of day began to show, we saw land and judged it to be the world opposite the one which we inhabit. After doing homage and offering prayer, we took thought for the future. Some of us proposed just to land and then turn back again, others to leave the boat there, go into the interior and see what the inhabitants were like. While we were debating this, a violent storm struck the boat, dashed it ashore and wrecked it, and we ourselves had much trouble in swimming out with our arms and anything else that we could catch up.

Thus far I have told you what happened to me until I reached the other world, first at sea, then...
ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ κήτει καὶ ἔπει ἔξηλθομεν, παρὰ τε τοῖς ἠρωσι καὶ τοῖς ὀνείροις καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα παρὰ τοῖς Βουκε-φάλοις καὶ ταῖς Ὀνοσκελέαις, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἔξης βιβλίοις διηγήσομαι.
A TRUE STORY, II

during my voyage among the islands in the air, then in the whale, and after we left it, among the heroes and the dreams, and finally among the Bullheads and the Asslegs. What happened in the other world I shall tell you in the succeeding books.¹

¹ The biggest lie of all, as a disgruntled Greek scribe remarks in the margin!
SLANDER

ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

This essay is rhetoric pure and simple, and was probably written early in Lucian's career. It is famous because it contains a vivid description of a picture by Apelles, which was again translated into paint by Botticelli in "La Calunnia."
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΡΑΙΔΙΩΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΤΕΙΝ
ΔΙΑΒΟΛΗΙ

Δεινόν γε ἡ ἁγνοια καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰτία, διστερ ἁγλύν τινα καταχέουσα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἄλθειαν ἀμαυρόδυα καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ἐπηλυγάξουσα. ἐν σκότῳ γοῦν πλανωμένοις πάντες ἐοίκαμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τυφλοῖς ὄμοια πέπονθαμεν, τῷ μὲν προσπταίοντες ἀλόγως, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντες, οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλησίον καὶ παρὰ πόδας οἷς ὀρῶντες, τὸ δὲ πόρρω καὶ πάμπολυ διεστηκός ως ἐνοχλοῦν δεδιότες· καὶ ὅλως ἔφ᾽ ἐκάστου τῶν πραττομένων οὐ διαλείπομεν τὰ πολλὰ ὀλυσθαίνοντες. τούγαρτοι μυρίας ἦν τοῖς τραγῳδοδιδασκάλαις ἄφορμας εἰς τὰ δράματα τὸ τοιοῦτο παρέσχηται, τοὺς Δαβδακίδας καὶ τοὺς Πελοπίδας καὶ τὰ τούτων παραπλήσια· σχέδον γὰρ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἀναβαινόντων κακῶν εὗροι τις ἀν υπὸ τῆς ἁγνοιας καθάπερ ὑπὸ τραγικὸν τινός δαιμονὸς κεχορηγήμενα.

Δέγω δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀλλὰ μὲν ἀποβλέπων, μᾶλιστα δὲ ἐς τὰς οὓς ἄλθεις καὶ τῶν συνήθων καὶ φίλων διαβολάς, ὅφ᾽ ὃν ἡδὴ καὶ οίκων ἀναστατοὶ γεγόνασι καὶ πόλεις ἄρδην ἀπολόλασι,
SLANDER

ON NOT BEING QUICK TO PUT FAITH IN IT

It is really a terrible thing, is ignorance, a cause of many woes to humanity; for it envelops things in a fog, so to speak, and obscures the truth and overshadows each man's life. Truly, we all resemble people lost in the dark—nay, we are even like blind men. Now we stumble inexcusably, now we lift our feet when there is no need of it; and we do not see what is near and right before us, but fear what is far away and extremely remote as if it blocked our path. In short, in everything we do we are always making plenty of missteps. For this reason the writers of tragedy have found in this universal truth many and many a motive for their dramas—take for example, the house of Labdacus,¹ the house of Pelops and their like. Indeed, most of the troubles that are put on the stage are supplied to the poets, you will find, by ignorance, as though it were a sort of tragic divinity.

What I have in mind more than anything else is slanderous lying about acquaintances and friends, through which families have been rooted out, cities have utterly perished, fathers have been driven mad

¹ King of Thebes, father of Laïus.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πατέρες τε κατὰ παιδῶν εξεμάνησαν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ κατὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν καὶ παῖδες κατὰ τῶν γενεα-μένων καὶ ἐρασταῖ κατὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ φιλίαι συνεκόπησαν καὶ ὅρκοις συνεχύ-θησαν ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὰς διαβολὰς πιθανότητος. ἦν οὖν ὁς ἦκιστα περιπίπτωμεν αὐταῖς, ὑποδείξαι βούλομαι τῷ λόγῳ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τίνος γραφής ὑποίον τί ἐστιν ἡ διαβολὴ καὶ πόθεν ἄρχεται καὶ ὅποια ἐργάζεται.

Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἄπελλής ὁ Ἐφέσιος πάλαι ταύτην προｕλαβε τὴν εἰκόνα· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ οὗτος δια-βληθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίου ὡς μετεσχηκὼς Θεοδότα τῆς συνωμοσίας ἐν Τύρῳ,—ό δὲ Ἄπελλής οὐχ ἐωράκει ποτὲ τὴν Τύρου ὠυδὲ τῶν Θεοδόταν, ὡστε ἦν, ἐγώνωσκεν, ἢ καθ’ ὅσον ἦκις τὸν Πτολεμαίου τινὰ ὑπαρχον εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωικῆν ἐπιτετραμμένον. ἀλλ’ ὁμοὶ τῶν ἀντι-τέχνων τις Ἀντίφιλος τούνομα ὑπὸ φθόνου τῆς παρὰ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ξηλοῦτωνιας κατείπεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίου ὡς εἰς κεκοιμωνηκὼς τῶν ἠλών καὶ ὡς θεάσαιτο τις αὐτὸν ἐν Φωικῇ συνεστώμενον Θεοδότα καὶ παρ’ ὅλων τὸ δεῖπνον πρὸς τὸ οὐς αὐτῷ κοινωλογοῦμεν, καὶ τέλος ἀπέφηνε τὴν Τύρου ἀπόστασιν καὶ Πηλουσίον κατάληψιν ἐκ τῆς Ἄπελλῆι συμβουλῆς γεγονέναι.

Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαίος ὡς ἄν καὶ τᾶλλα οὐ κάρτα3 3 φρενήρης τις ὡν, ἀλλ’ ἐν κολακείᾳ δεσποτικῇ τεθραμμένος, οὐτος ἐξεκαύθη καὶ συνεταράχθη

1 ὅρκοι Cobet: ὅλοι MSS.
2 ὑπὸ Herwerden: not in MSS.
3 κάρτα Gesner: πάνυ du Soul: κάρτα πάνυ MSS.
SLANDER

against their children, brothers against own brothers, children against their parents and lovers against those they love. Many a friendship, too, has been parted and many an oath broken through belief in slander. In order, then, that we may as far as possible avoid being involved in it, I wish to show in words, as if in a painting, what sort of thing slander is, how it begins and what it does.

I should say, however, that Apelles of Ephesus long ago preempted this subject for a picture; and with good reason, for he himself had been slandered to Ptolemy on the ground that he had taken part with Theodotus in the conspiracy in Tyre, although Apelles had never set eyes on Tyre and did not know who Theodotus was, beyond having heard that he was one of Ptolemy's governors, in charge of affairs in Phoenicia. Nevertheless, one of his rivals named Antiphilus, through envy of his favour at court and professional jealousy, maligned him by telling Ptolemy that he had taken part in the whole enterprise, and that someone had seen him dining with Theodotus in Phoenicia and whispering into his ear all through the meal; and in the end he declared that the revolt of Tyre and the capture of Pelusium had taken place on the advice of Apelles.

Ptolemy, who in general was not particularly sound of judgment, but had been brought up in the midst of courtly flattery, was so inflamed and upset by this

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1 The story is apocryphal, as Apelles must have been in his grave nearly a hundred years when Theodotus (not Theodotus) betrayed Ptolemy Philopator (219 B.C.).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πρὸς τὴς παραδόξου ταύτης διαβολῆς, ὡστε μηδὲν τῶν εἰκότων λογισάμενος, μηδὲ ὅτι ἀντί-
τεχνὸς ἦν ὁ διαβάλλων μηδὲ ὅτι μικρότερος ἦ
κατὰ τηλικαύτην προδοσίαν χωγράφου, καὶ ταῦτα
ἐν πεπονθὼς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ’ ὄντινών τῶν
ὁμοτέχων τετιμημένοις, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν
ἐι ἐξέπλευσεν Ἀπελλής ἐς Τύρον ἐξετάσας,
εὐθὺς ἐξεμήνυεν¹ καὶ βοής ἐνεπίμπλα τὰ βασίλεια
τὸν ἀχάριστον κεκραγὼς καὶ τὸν ἐπίβουλον καὶ
συνωμότην. καὶ εἰ γε μὴ τῶν συνειλημμένων
τις ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ. Ἀντιφίλον ἀνα-
σχυννία καὶ τὸν ἀθλίον Ἀπελλήν κατελήσας
ἔφη μηδενὸς αὐτοῦς κεκοινωνήκενα τὸν ἀνθρώπον,
ἀπετέμεν ἀν τὴν κεφαλήν καὶ παραπολεμαίκει
τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς αἰτίος γεγονός.

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πτολεμαῖος οὖτοι λέγεται αἰσχυν-
θήναι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὡστε τὸν μὲν Ἀπελλήν
ἐκατὸν ταλάντων ἐδωρήσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀντιφίλον
δουλεύειν αὐτῷ παρέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλής ὡν
παρεκινδύνευσε μεμημένος τουδέ τινι εἰκόνι
ήμύνατο τὴν διαβολὴν. ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴς ἁνὴρ κάθηται
τὰ ωτὰ παμμεγέθη ἔχων μικρὸν δεῖν τοῖς τοῦ
Μίδου προσευκάτα, τὴν χείρα προτείνων πόρρῳ-
θεν ἐτί προσιόυσῃ τῇ Διαβολῇ. περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν
ἐστάσις δύο γυναῖκες, Ἀγροιά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ
Τπόληψις ἐτέρωθεν δὲ προσέρχεται ἡ Δια-
βολὴ, γύναικαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν πάγκαλον, ὑπὸ-
θερμὸν δὲ καὶ παρακεκινημένον, οἷον δὴ τὴν
λύτταν καὶ τὴν ὁργήν δεικνύουσα, τῇ μὲν ἀρι-
στερὰ δάδα καιομένην ἔχουσα, τῇ ἔτερα δὲ νεανίαν
τινά τῶν τριχῶν σύρουσα τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντα.

1 ἐξεμήνυεν Α.Μ.Η. : έαδε μηνίεν MSS.
SLANDER

surprising charge that he did not take into account any of the probabilities, not considering either that the accuser was a rival or that a painter was too insignificant a person for so great a piece of treason—a painter, too, who had been well treated by him and honoured above any of his fellow-craftsmen. Indeed, he did not even enquire whether Apelles had gone to Tyre at all. On the contrary, he at once began to rave and filled the palace with noise, shouting "The ingrate," "The plotter," and "The conspirator." And if one of his fellow-prisoners, who was indignant at the impudence of Antiphilus and felt sorry for poor Apelles, had not said that the man had not taken any part whatever in the affair, he would have had his head cut off, and so would have shared the consequences of the troubles in Tyre without being himself to blame for them in any way.

Ptolemy is said to have been so ashamed of the affair that he presented Apelles with a hundred talents and gave him Antiphilus for his slave. Apelles, for his part, mindful of the risk that he had run, hit back at slander in a painting. On the right of it sits a man with very large ears, almost like those of Midas, extending his hand to Slander while she is still at some distance from him. Near him, on one side, stand two women—Ignorance, I think, and Suspicion. On the other side, Slander is coming up, a woman beautiful beyond measure, but full of passion and excitement, evincing as she does fury and wrath by carrying in her left hand a blazing torch and with the other dragging by the hair a young man who stretches out his hands to heaven
eis tòn ou̱ranŏ̱ν kai̱ martenó̱me̱νon tòu̱s theŏ̱u̱s. ἡγείται δὲ ἀνήρ ὡ̱χρὸς καὶ ἀμορφὸς, ὡ̱ν δεδορκῶς καὶ ἐοικῶς τοῖς ἑκ νό̱σου̱ μακρᾶς κατεσκληκήσι. τούτων οὖ̱ν εἶναι τὸν Θβό̱νον ἀν τὶς εἰκάσεωε. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀλλαὶ τινὲς δύο παρομαρτοῦσι προτρέ̱πουσαι καὶ περιστέλλουσαι καὶ κατακοσμοῦσαι τὴν Διαβολῆν. ὡς δὲ μοι καὶ ταύτας ἐμῆνσεν ὁ περιηγήτης τῆς εἰκόνος, ἡ μὲν τὶς Ἐπιβουλῆ 1 ἢν, ἡ δὲ Ἀπάτη. κατόπιν δὲ ἦκολούθει πάνυ πενθε̱κώς τις ἐσκευασμένη, μελανεμὸς καὶ κατεσπαραγμένη. Μετάνοια, οἵ̱μαι, 2 αὕτη ἐλέγετο· ἐπεστρέφετο γοὺς εἰς τούπισον διακρόουσα καὶ μετ' αἰδοὺς πάνυ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν προσιόουσαν ὑπὲβλεπέν. Ὁὔτως μὲν Ἀπελλῆς τὸν ἐαυτὸν κίνδυνον ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐμμῆσατο. φέρε δὲ καὶ ἧμεῖς, εἰ 6 δοκεῖ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἐφεσίου χωγράφου τέχνην διελθομὲν τὰ προσόντα τῇ διαβολῆ, πρότερον γε ὀρω τὶς περιηγήσαντες αὐτὴν. οὔτω γὰρ ἄν ἦμίν ἡ εἰκὼν γένοιτο φανερώτερα. ἔστι τοίνυν διαβολὴ κατηγορία τις ἐξ ἐρημίας γινομένη, τὸν κατηγοροῦμενον λεληθυῖα, ἐκ τοῦ μοιομερῶς ἀναντιλέκτως πεπιστευμένη. τοιαῦτη μὲν ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ λόγου. τρίῳ δ' ὅταν προσώπων, καθάπερ ἐν τάς κωμῳδίαις, τοῦ διαβάλλοντος καὶ τοῦ διαβάλλομένου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἡ διαβολὴ γίνεται, καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπήσωμεν οἶα εἰκὸς εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα.

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ, εἰ δοκεῖ, παραγάγωμεν τὸν πρωταγωνιστὴν τοῦ δράματος, λέγω δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν τῆς διαβολῆς. οὔτως δὲ δὴ ὡς μὲν οὖκ

1 τὶς Ἐπιβουλῆ Burmeister: Ἐπιβουλῆ τὶς MSS.
2 οἵμαι Jacobs: καὶ MSS.

366
SLANDER

and calls the gods to witness his innocence. She is conducted by a pale ugly man who has a piercing eye and looks as if he had wasted away in long illness; he may be supposed to be Envy. Besides, there are two women in attendance on Slander, egging her on, tiring her and tricking her out. According to the interpretation of them given me by the guide to the picture, one was Treachery and the other Deceit. They were followed by a woman dressed in deep mourning, with black clothes all in tatters—Repentance, I think, her name was. At all events, she was turning back with tears in her eyes and casting a stealthy glance, full of shame, at Truth, who was approaching.

That is the way in which Apelles represented in the painting his own hairbreadth escape. Come, suppose we too, if you like, following the lead of the Ephesian artist, portray the characteristics of slander, after first sketching it in outline: for in that way our picture will perhaps come out more clearly. Slander, then, is a clandestine accusation, made without the cognizance of the accused and sustained by the uncontradicted assertion of one side. This is the subject of my lecture, and since there are three leading characters in slander as in comedy—the slanderer, the slandered person, and the hearer of the slander,—let us consider what is likely to happen in the case of each of them. ¹

In the first place, if you like, let us bring on the star of the play, I mean the author of the slander. That he is not a good man admits of no doubt, I am

¹ This partition, derived from Herodotus (7, 10), is not at all strictly followed by Lucian in developing his theme.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀγαθὸς ἀνθρωπὸς ἔστι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι γνώριμον·
οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἀγαθὸς κακῶν αἴτιος γένοιτο τῷ πλη-
σίον, ἀλλὰ ἔστιν ἀγαθῶν ἄνδρῶν ἂφ’ ἄν εὐ ποιοῦσιν
αὐτοὶ τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ ἂφ’ ἄν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδι-
κοῦντες αἰτιώνται καὶ μισεῖσθαι παρασκευά-
ξουσιν, εὑροκιμεῖν, δόξαν εὐνοίας προσλαβόντες.

Ἐπετα δὲ ὡς ἄδικος ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ παράνομός
ἔστι καὶ ἁσεβῆ καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἔπιξήμως,
ῥάδιον καταμαθέων. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε
τὴν μὲν ἱσότητα ἐν ἀπαντὶ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν πλέον
dικαιοσύνης ἔργα εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀνωτέρω τε καὶ
πλεονεκτικὸν ἀδικίας; ὃ δὲ τῇ διαβολῇ κατὰ
tόν ἀπόντων λάθρα χρώμενος πῶς οὐ πλεονέκτησι
ἔστιν δολον τῶν ἀκροατικὸν σφετεριζόμενος καὶ
προκαταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅτα καὶ ἀποφράττων
καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ παντελῶς ἄβατα κατα-
σκευάζον αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς διαβολῆς προεμπεπλη-
σμένα; ἐσχάτης ἀδικίας τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὡς φαίνει ἄν
καὶ οἱ ἁριστοὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν, οἷον ὁ Σόλων καὶ ὁ
Δράκων; ἐνορκοῦν ποιησάμενοι τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ
ὀμοίως ἀμφότερον ἀκροατικόν καὶ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἵστο
τοῖς κρυνομένοις ἀπονεμεῖν, ἀχρὶ ἂν ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου
λόγος παρατεθείς θατέρου χείρων ἡ ἀμείων πανε-
πριν δὲ γε ἀντεξεῖται τὴν ἀπολογίαν τῇ κατη-
γορίᾳ, παντελῶς ἁσεβῆ καὶ ἀνόσιον ἠγήσαντο
ἔσεσθαι τὴν κρίσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς
ἀγαπάτησαι τοὺς θεοὺς εἰπομεν, εἰ τῷ κατηγόρῳ
μετ’ ἁδείας θέλει λέγειν ἐπιτρέπομεν, ἀποφρά-
ξαντες δὲ τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ τὰ ὅτα ἢ τῷ στόματι
συσπώντως καταψηφιζόμεθα τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ

1 Corrupt, an! not yet satisfactorily emended. τὸ στόμα
συσπώντος Halm.
SLANDER

sure, because no good man would make trouble for his neighbour. On the contrary, it is characteristic of good men to win renown and gain a reputation for kind-heartedness by doing good to their friends, not by accusing others wrongfully and getting them hated.

Furthermore, that such a man is unjust, lawless, impious and harmful to his associates is easy to see. Who will not admit that fairness in everything and unselfishness are due to justice, unfairness and selfishness to injustice? But when a man plies slander in secret against people who are absent, is he not selfish, inasmuch as he completely appropriates his hearer by getting his ear first, stopping it up and making it altogether impervious to the defence because it has been previously filled with slander? Such conduct is indeed the height of injustice, and the best of the lawgivers, Solon and Draco, for example, would say so, too; for they put the jurors on oath to hear both sides alike and to divide their goodwill equally between the litigants until such time as the plea of the defendant, after comparison with the other, shall disclose itself to be better or worse. To pass judgment before weighing the defence against the complaint would, they thought, be altogether impious and irreligious. In truth, we may say that the very gods would be angry if we should permit the plaintiff to say his say unhampered, but should stop our ears to the defendant or silence him, and then condemn him,

1 The Greek is here corrupt. The translation merely gives the probable sense of the passage.
kecheiromevn. ὡστε οὐ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ νόμιμον καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τῶν δικαστικῶν φαίη τις ἃν γίγνεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς. εἰ δὲ τῷ μὴ ἄξιωστοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ νομοθέται παραινοῦντες οὕτω δικαιὰς καὶ ἀμερεῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις, ποιητὴν μοι δοκῶ τὸν ἀριστον ἐπάγειν τὸ λόγῳ εὖ μάλα περὶ τούτων ἀποφηνάμενον, μᾶλλον δὲ νομοθετήσαντα. φησὶ δὲ,

μήτε δίκην δικάσης, πρὶν ἀμφω μῦθον ἀκούσῃς. ἡπίστατο γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ οὗτος ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἀν τις εὑρεῖ χεῖρον οὐδὲ ἀδικώτερον ἢ ἀκρίτους τινὰς καὶ ἀμοίρους λόγων καταδιδικάσθαι. ὅπερ ἐξ ἀπαντὸς ὁ διαβάλλων ἐπιχειρεῖ ποιεῖν ἀκρίτων ὑπάγων τὸν διαβαλλόμενον τῇ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ὄργῃ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τῷ λαθραίῳ τῆς κατηγορίας παραιροῦμενος.

Καὶ γάρ ἀπαρρησίατος καὶ δειλὸς ἀπασ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἐς τούμφανες ἄγων, ἀλλ’ ὃσπερ οἱ λοχῶντες ἐξ ἀφαυνὸς ποθεν τοξεύουν, ὡς μηδὲ ἀντιτάξασθαι δυνατὸν εἶναι μηδὲ ἀντιαγωνισασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀγορίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου διαφθείρεσθαι, ὁ μέγιστον ἐστὶ σημείο τοῦ μηδὲν ὑγείας τοὺς διαβάλλομενοι λέγειν. ἐπεὶ εἰ τίς γε τάληθη κατηγοροῦντι ἐαυτῷ συνεπίσταται, οὕτως, οἶμαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ φαινον ἐλέγχεϊ καὶ διευθύνει καὶ ἀντεξετάζει τῷ λόγῳ, ὃσπερ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς νικᾶν δυνάμενος ἐνέδρα ποτὲ καὶ ἀπάτη χρήσαιτο κατὰ τῶν πολεμῶν.
SLANDER

conquered by the first plea. It may be said, then, that slander does not accord with what is just and legal, and what the jurors swear to do. But if anybody thinks that the lawgivers, who recommend that verdicts be so just and impartial, are not good authority, I shall cite the best of poets in support of my contention. He makes a very admirable pronouncement—indeed, lays down a law—on this point, saying: ¹

"Nor give your verdict ere both sides you hear."

He knew, I suppose, like everyone else, that though there are many unjust things in the world, nothing worse or more unjust can be found than for men to have been condemned untried and unheard. But this is just what the slanderer tries his best to accomplish, exposing the slandered person untried to the anger of the hearer and precluding defence by the secrecy of his accusation.

Of course, all such men are also disingenuous and cowardly; they do nothing in the open, but shoot from some hiding-place or other, like soldiers in ambush, so that it is impossible either to face them or to fight them, but a man must let himself be slain in helplessness and in ignorance of the character of the war. And this is the surest proof that there is no truth in the stories of slanderers; for if a man is conscious that he is making a true charge, that man, I take it, accuses the other in public, brings him to book and pits himself against him in argument. No soldier who can win in fair fight makes use of ambushes and tricks against the enemy.

¹ Though this verse was frequently quoted in antiquity, its authorship was unknown even then, and it was variously, attributed to Phocylides, Hesiod, and Pittheus. See Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii, p. 93.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

"Ιδοι δ' ἂν τις τοιούτους μάλιστα ἐν τε βασιλέων αὐλαίς καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄρχοντων καὶ δυναστευόντων φιλίας εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ἐνθα πολὺς μὲν ὁ φθόνος, μυρία δὲ ὑπόνοιαι, πάμπολλα δὲ κολακείων καὶ διαβολῶν ὑποθέσεις ὃποιον ἄρ συ μείζους ἐλπίδες, ἐνταύθα καὶ οἱ φθόνοι χαλεπώτεροι καὶ τὰ μίση ἐπισφαλέστερα καὶ αἱ ζηλοτυπίαι κακοτεχνώστεραι. πάντες οὖν ἀλλήλους ὑμῖν δεδόρκασι καὶ ὕστεροι οἱ μονομαχοῦντες ἐπιτηροῦσιν εἰ ποὺ τι γυμνοθὲν μέρος θεάσαι τοῦ σώματος· καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς εἶναι βουλόμενος παρατεινόμενος· καὶ παραγκωνίζεται τὸν πλησίον καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, εἰ δύνασται, ὑποστὰ καὶ ὑποσκολεῖται. ἐνθα δὲ χρηστὸς ἀτεχνὸς εὐθὺς ἀνατέρπεται καὶ παρασέβεται καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀτίμως ἐξέσωσται, δὲ κολακευτικῶτερος καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας κακοποιείς πιθανώτερος εὐδοκιμεῖ. καὶ ὅλως ὁ ἰθάσας κρατεῖ· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ὀμήρου πίσω ἐπαληθεύουσιν, ὅτι τοι

ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος καὶ τὸν κτανέωντα κατέκτα.

τουγαροῦν ὥσις οὖν περὶ μικρῶν τοῦ ἅγωνος ἄντων ποικίλας καὶ ἀλλήλων ὁδοὺς ἐπινουσίας, ὅπως ταχύτερα καὶ ἐπισφαλεστάτη ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς διαβολῆς, τὴν μὲν ἄρχην ἀπὸ φθόνου ἡ μίσους εὐέλπιδα ἡ λαμβάνουσα, οἰκτρότερα δὲ καὶ πραγματικὰ ἐπάγουσα τὰ τέλη καὶ πολλῶν συμφόρων ἀνάπλη.

Οὐ μέντοι μικρῶν οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἐστὶ τούτῳ, ὡς ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι, ἀλλὰ πολλῆς μὲν τέχνης, οὐκ ὀλίγης δὲ ἁγχυσίας, ἀκριβοῦς δὲ τυποῦ ἐπιμελείας

1 ὁ (not in best MSS.) is necessary to the sense.
2 εὐέλπιδα Herwerden: εὐέλπιδος MSS.
SLANDER

For the most part, such men may be seen enjoying high favour in the courts of kings and among the friends of governors and princes, where envy is great, suspicions are countless, and occasions for flattery and slander are frequent. For where hope runs ever high, there envy is more bitter, hate more dangerous, and rivalry more cunning. All eye one another sharply and keep watch like gladiators to detect some part of the body exposed. Everyone, wishing to be first himself, shoves or elbows his neighbour out of his way and, if he can, slyly pulls down or trips up the man ahead. In this way a good man is simply upset and thrown at the start, and finally thrust off the course in disgrace, while one who is better versed in flattery and cleverer at such unfair practices wins. In a word, it is "devil take the hindmost!"; for they quite confirm Homer's saying:

"Impartial war adds slayer to the slain." ¹

So, as their conflict is for no small stake, they think out all sorts of ways to get at each other, of which the quickest, though most perilous, road is slander, which has a hopeful beginning in envy or hatred, but leads to a sorry, tragic ending, beset with many accidents.

Yet this is not an insignificant or a simple thing, as one might suppose; it requires much skill, no little shrewdness, and some degree of close study.

¹ *Iliad* 18, 309.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

δεόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοσάτα ἔβλαπτεν ἡ διαβολή, εἰ μὴ πιθανὸν τινα τρόπον ἐγένετο· οὔδ’ ἂν κατίσχυε τὴν πάντων ἵσχυροτέραν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ πιθανὸν καὶ μυρία ἄλλα παρεσκεύαστο κατὰ τῶν ἰκουόντων.

Διαβάλλεται μὲν οὖν ὡς τὸ πολὺ μάλιστα ο̣ τιμώμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις αὐτοῦ ἐπίφθονος· ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ τὸν ἐπιτοξάζοντα καθάπερ τι κὼλμα καὶ ἐμπόδιον προορωμένοι, καὶ ἐκαστὸς οἴεται πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἔσεθαί τὸν κορυφαῖον ἐκείνον ἐκτολλορκήσας καὶ τῆς φιλίας ἀποσκευασάμενος. οἷον τι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνικῶς ἀγώνισι ἐπὶ τῶν δρομέων γίγνεται· κάκει γὰρ ο̣ μὲν ἀγαθὸς δρομεύς τῆς ὑσπληγυγος εὐθὺς καταπεσοντός τοῦ πρόσω ἐφιέμενος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀποτείνας πρὸς τὸ τέρμα κἀγὼ τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν ἐπίδα τῆς νίκης ἔχων τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίον οὐδέν κακουργεῖ οὐδὲ τοῖς οἰκίσεως κατὰ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς πολυπραγμονεῖ, ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἐκείνος καὶ ἀναθλος ἀνταγωγιστής ἀπογονος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τάχους ἐλπίδά ἐπὶ τὴν κακοτεχνίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἀπαντος σκοπεῖ, ὡς ᾧ τοῦ στέκων ἐπισχών ἢ ἐμποδίσας ἐπιστομεί, ὡς, εἰ τούτῳ διαμάρτου, οὐκ ἄν ποτε νικήσαι δυνάμενος. ὀμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ ταῖς φιλίαις τῶν εὐδαίμων τούτων γίνεται· ὁ γὰρ προέχων αὐτίκα ἐπιθυμεύεται καὶ ἀφύλλητος ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τῶν δυσμενῶν ἀνηρπάσθη, οἱ δὲ ἀγαπώνται καὶ φίλοι δοκοῦσιν ἐξ ὧν ἀλλοὺς βλάπτειν ἐδοξαν.

Τὸ τε ἀξιόπιστον τῆς διαβολῆς οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν 15

1 τὸν Halm : τῷ MSS.  2 τὸν Capps : τοῦ MSS.

374
SLANDER

For slander would not do so much harm if it were not set afoot in a plausible way, and it would not prevail over truth, that is stronger than all else, if it did not assume a high degree of attractiveness and plausibility and a thousand things beside to disarm its hearers.

Generally speaking, slander is most often directed against a man who is in favour and on this account is viewed with envy by those he has put behind him. They all direct their shafts at him, regarding him as a hindrance and a stumbling-block, and each one expects to be first himself when he has routed his chief and ousted him from favour. Something of the same sort happens in the athletic games, in foot-races. A good runner from the moment that the barrier falls\(^1\) thinks only of getting forward, sets his mind on the finish and counts on his legs to win for him; he therefore does not molest the man next to him in any way or trouble himself at all about the contestants. But an inferior, unsportsmanlike competitor, abandoning all hope based on his speed, resorts to crooked work, and the only thing in the world he thinks of is cutting off the runner by holding or tripping him, with the idea that if he should fail in this he would never be able to win. So it is with the friendships of the mighty. The man in the lead is forthwith the object of plots, and if caught off his guard in the midst of his foes, he is made away with, while they are cherished and are thought friendly because of the harm they appeared to be doing to others.

As for the verisimilitude of their slander, calum-

\(^1\) Races were started in antiquity by the dropping of a rope or bar.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπινοοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸ πάν αὐτοὶς ἐστιν ἔργων δεδοικόσι τι προσάψαι ἀπεφθέν ή καὶ ἀλλότριον. ὡς γοῦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὰ προσόντα τῷ διαβάλλομένῳ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβάλλοντες οὐκ ἀπιθάνους πειθοῦνται τὰς κατηγορίας, οἴον τὸν μὲν ἵπτρον διαβάλλουσιν ὡς φαρμακεία, τὸν πλοῦσιον δε ὡς τύραννον, τὸν τυραννικὸν δε ὡς προδοτικὸν.

'Ενιστε μέντοι καὶ ὁ ἀκροώμενος αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει τῆς διαβολῆς τὰς ἄφορμὰς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπον οἱ κακοῆθες αὐτοὶ ἀρμοζόμενοι εὐστοχοῦσιν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ θλότυπων αὐτὸν ὅτα ἴδωσι, Διένεισε, φασί, τῇ γυναικί σου παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ἀπιδῶν ἐσ ἀυτὴν ἐστέναξε, καὶ ἡ Στρατονίκη πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ μάλα ἄηδός: καὶ ὅλος ἔρωτικα τίνες καὶ μουχικαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ διαβολαί. ἦν δὲ πουτικὸς ἦ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονῆ, Μᾶ Δί' ἐχλέυσε σου Φιλόξενος τὰ ἐπὶ καὶ διέσυρε καὶ ἅμετρα εἰπεν αὐτὰ καὶ κακοσύνθετα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόθεουν ὡς ἄθεος καὶ ἀνόσιος ὁ φίλος διαβάλλεται καὶ ὡς τὸ θείον παρωθοῦμενός καὶ τὴν πρόοιαν ἀρνούμενος· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας εὐθὺς μὺστι διὰ τὸν ὠτὸς τυπείς διακέκαυται ὡς τὸ εἰκός καὶ ἀπέστραπται τὸν φίλον οὐ περιμείνας τὸν ἀκριβὴ ἔλεγχον. ὅλος γὰρ τὰ τοιαύτα ἐπινοοῦσι καὶ λέγουσιν, ἢ μάλιστα ἱσασιν ἐς ὀργήν δυνάμενα προκαλέσασθαι τὸν ἀκροώμενον, καὶ ἐνθα τρωτός ἐστιν ἔκαστος ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τοξεύουσι καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν ἐς αὐτό, ὡστε τῇ παραυτίκα ὀργῇ τεταραγμένον μηκέτι σχολὴν ἁγειν τῇ ἐξετάσει τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ κἀν θέλῃ τὶς.
SLANDER

niators are not careless in thinking out that point; all their work centres on it, for they are afraid to put in anything discordant or even irrelevant. For example, they generally make their charges credible by distorting the real attributes of the man they are slandering. Thus they insinuate that a doctor is a poisoner, that a rich man is a would-be monarch, or that a courtier is a traitor.

Sometimes, however, the hearer himself suggests the starting-point for slander, and the knaves attain their end by adapting themselves to his disposition. If they see that he is jealous, they say: “He signed to your wife during dinner and gazed at her and sighed, and Stratonice was not very displeased with him.” In short, the charges they make to him are based on passion and illicit love. If he has a bent for poetry and prides himself on it, they say: “No, indeed! Philoxenus made fun of your verses, pulled them to pieces and said that they wouldn’t scan and were wretchedly composed.” To a pious, godly man the charge is made that his friend is godless and impious, that he rejects God and denies Providence. Thereupon the man, stung in the ear, so to speak, by a gadfly, gets thoroughly angry, as is natural, and turns his back on his friend without awaiting definite proof. In short, they think out and say the sort of thing that they know to be best adapted to provoke the hearer to anger, and as they know the place where each can be wounded, they shoot their arrows and throw their spears at it, so that their hearer, thrown off his balance by sudden anger, will not thereafter be free to get at the truth; indeed, however much a slandered man may want to defend himself, he will not let him do so, because he is
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀπολογεῖσθαι, μὴ προσέσθαι, τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς ἀληθεὶ προκατελημένον.

'Ανυσιμώτατον γὰρ τὸ εἴδος τῆς διαβολῆς τὸ ὑπεναντίον τῆς τοῦ ἀκούόντος ἐπιθυμίας, ὡστε καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐπικληθέντι εγένετο τις δὲ διέβαλλε τὸν Πλατωνικὸν Δημήτριον, ὧτε ὕδωρ τε πίνει καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων γυναικεία οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις· καὶ εἰ γε μὴ κληθεῖσι ἐσθεν ἐπὶ τε πάντων ὀρώντων καὶ λαβὼν ταραντινίδιον ἐκμυβάλισε καὶ προσωρχῆσατο, ἀπολώλει ἀν ὡς οὐχ ἥδομενοι τῷ βῆρ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ’ ἀντισφιστής ὡς καὶ ἀντίτεχνος τῆς Πτολεμαίου τρυφῆς.

Παρὰ δὲ 'Αλέξανδρῳ μεγίστη ποτὲ πασῶν ἦν διαβολὴ, εἰ λέγοιτο τὸς μὴ σέβειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν Ἡφαιστίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος 'Αλέξανδρος ἐβουλήθη προσθεῖναι καὶ τούτῳ τῇ λοιπῇ μεγαλουργίᾳ καὶ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαι τὸν τετελευτηκότα. εὐθὺς οὖν γεως τε ἀνέστησαν αἱ πόλεις καὶ τεμένη καθιδρύετο καὶ βωμὸ καὶ θυσία καὶ ἔορτα ποὺ καινοῦ τούτῳ θεῷ ἐπετελοῦντο, καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι ὄρκος ἦν ἀπασίω Ἡφαιστίων. εἰ δὲ τῆς ἡ μειδιάσεις πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα ἡ μὴ φαίνοιτο πάνυ εὐσεβῶν, θάνατος ἐπέκειτο ἡ ξημία. ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ κόλακες τῆς μειρακιώδης ταύτην τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου ἐπιθυμίαν προσεξέκαιν εὐθὺς καὶ ἀνεξωτπόρων ὄνειρα διηγοῦμενοι τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ἐπιφανεῖας τοιῶς καὶ ἴμματα προσάπτοντες αὐτῷ καὶ μαντεῖας ἐπι-

1 ἦν διαβολή, εἰ λέγοιτο A.M.H.: ἦν διαβολή λέγοστι, εἰ ἔλοστο MSS.

378
SLANDER

prejudiced by the surprising nature of what he has heard, just as if that made it true.

A very effective form of slander is the one that is based on opposition to the hearer's tastes. For instance, in the court of the Ptolemy who was called Dionysus¹ there was once a man who accused Demetrius, the Platonic philosopher, of drinking nothing but water and of being the only person who did not wear women's clothes during the feast of Dionysus. If Demetrius, on being sent for early the next morning, had not drunk wine in view of everybody and had not put on a thin gown and played the cymbals and danced, he would have been put to death for not liking the king's mode of life, and being a critic and an opponent of Ptolemy's luxury.

In the court of Alexander it was once the greatest of all slanderous charges to say that a man did not worship Hephaestion or even make obeisance to him—for after the death of Hephaestion, Alexander for the love he bore him determined to add to his other great feats that of appointing the dead man a god. So the cities at once erected temples; plots of ground were consecrated; altars, sacrifices and feasts were established in honour of this new god, and everybody's strongest oath was "By Hephaestion." If anyone smiled at what went on or failed to seem quite reverent, the penalty prescribed was death. The flatterers, taking hold of this childish passion of Alexander's, at once began to feed it and fan it into flame by telling about dreams of Hephaestion, in that way ascribing to him visitations and cures and accrediting him with prophecies; and at last

¹ Probably Ptolemy Auletes, father of Cleopatra, who styled himself "the new Dionysus."
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φημίζοντες· καὶ τέλος ἔθυον παρέδρῳ καὶ ἀλεξάνδρῳ θεῷ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦδετό τε ἀκούων καὶ τὰ τελευταία ἔπιστευε καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνει ωσανεὶ οὐ θεοῦ παῖς ὄν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῦ ποιεῖν δυνάμενος. πόσους τοῖς οἴωμεθα τῶν Ἀλέξανδρου φίλων παρὰ τὸν καρὸν ἐκείνου ἀπολαύσαι τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος θειότητος, διαβληθέντας ως οὐ τιμῶσι τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων θεόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξελαθέντας καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοίας ἐκπεσόντας; τότε καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Σάμιος ταξιαρχῶν παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ τιμώμενος παρ’ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν δεῖν συγκαθείρηθη λέοντι διαβληθείς ὅτι διακρύσει παριδῶν τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνος τάφον. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνῳ μὲν βοηθήσαι λέγεται Περίδικας ἐπομοσάμενος κατὰ πάντων θεῶν καὶ κατὰ Ἡφαιστίωνος, ὅτι δὴ κυνηγητοῦντι οἱ φανέντα ἐναργῇ τὸν θεόν ἐπισκήφησα εἰπεῖν Ἀλέξανδρῳ φείσασθαι Ἀγαθοκλέους· οὐ γὰρ ως ἀπιστοῦντα οὐδὲ ως ἐπὶ νεκρῷ διακρύσαι, ἀλλὰ τῆς πάλαι συνηθείας μημονεύσαντα.

Ἡ δ’ οὖν κολακεῖα καὶ ἡ διαβολὴ τότε μάλιστα χώραν ἔσχε πρὸς τὸ Ἀλέξανδρον πάθος συντιθεμένη· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν πολιορκείᾳ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τοῦ τείχους προσίσαιν οἱ πολέμου, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἀν ἀφύλακτον τι μέρος ἢ σαθρὸν αἰσθῶνται ἢ ταπεινόν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο πάσῃ δυνάμει χωροῦσιν ως ράστα παρεισδύναι καὶ ἐλεῖν δυνάμενοι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ διαβάλλοντες ὁ τι ἀν ἀσθενεῖς ὑδωσὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὑπόσαθρον καὶ εὐεπίβατον, τούτῳ προσβάλλουσι καὶ προσάγουσι

1 δ’ οὖν Α.Μ.Η. : γοῦν MSS.
SLANDER

they began to sacrifice to him as “Coadjutor” and “Saviour.” Alexander liked to hear all this, and at length believed it, and was very proud of himself for being, as he thought, not only the son of a god but also able to make gods. Well, how many of Alexander’s friends, do you suppose, reaped the results of Hephaestion’s divinity during that period, through being accused of not honouring the universal god, and consequently being banished and deprived of the king’s favour? It was then that Agathocles of Samos, one of Alexander’s captains whom he esteemed highly, came near being shut up in a lion’s den because he was charged with having wept as he went by the tomb of Hephaestion. But Perdiccas is said to have come to his rescue, swearing by all the gods and by Hephaestion to boot that while he was hunting the god had appeared to him in the flesh and had bidden him tell Alexander to spare Agathocles, saying that he had not wept from want of faith or because he thought Hephaestion dead, but only because he had been put in mind of their old-time friendship.

As you see, flattery and slander were most likely to find an opening when they were framed with reference to Alexander’s weak point. In a siege the enemy do not attack the high, sheer and secure parts of the wall, but wherever they notice that any portion is unguarded, unsound or low, they move all their forces against that place because they can very easily get in there and take the city. Just so with slanderers: they assail whatever part of the soul they perceive to be weak, unsound and easy of access, bringing their siege-engines to bear on it

1 In this way they made him out the associate of Apollo.

381
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tàs μηχανάς, καὶ τέλος ἐκπολιορκοῦσι μηδὲνός ἀντιταττόμενον μηδὲ τὴν ἔφοδον αἰσθομένου. εἰτ' ἐπειδὰν ἐντὸς ἀπαξ τῶν τείχων γένωνται, πυρπολοῦσι πάντα καὶ παῖουσι 1 καὶ σφάττουσι καὶ ἑξελάνουσιν, οία εἰκός ἀλισκομένης ψυχῆς καὶ ἑξηνδραποδισμένης ἔργα εἶναι.

Μηχανήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ ἀκούντος ή 20 τε ἀπάτη καὶ τὸ ψεύδος καὶ ἡ ἐπιορκία καὶ προσληπάρσης καὶ ἀνασχυντία καὶ ἀλλὰ μυρία ῥαδιουργήματα. ἡ δὲ δὴ μεγίστη πασῶν ἡ κολακεία ἐστὶ, συγγενής, μάλλον δὲ ἀδελφή τις οὐσα τῆς διαβολῆς. οὔτεις γοῦν οὔτω γεννάδας ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδαμάντιον τείχος τῆς ψυχῆς προβεβλημένος, ὅσον ἂν ἐνδοῦ τις τὰς τῆς κολακείας προσβολάς, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπαρτοῦσης καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους υφαιροῦσθι τῆς διαβολῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς ταῦτα. ἐνδοθεν δὲ πολλαὶ προδοσίαι συναγωνίζονται τὰς χειρὰς ὁρέγουσαι καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετώσαι καὶ πάντα τρόπου τῇ ἄλωσε τοῦ ἀκούντος συμπροθυμούμεναι. πρῶτον μὲν τὸ φιλόκαινον, δ' ἕφετε τοῦ ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὸ ἀφίκορον, ἐπείτα δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἐπόμενον. 2 οὗ γὰρ οἴδ' ὅπως ἥδομεθα πάντες λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς λεγόμενα καὶ μεστὰ ὑπονολαὶ ἀκούντες 3 οίδα γοῦν τινας οὖτως ἠδὲς γαργαλιζομένους τὰ ὥτα ὑπὸ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀπερ τοὺς περοῖς κνωμένους.

1 παῖουσι Basle ed. of 1563: καίουσι MSS.
2 ἐλκόμεν; A.M.H.
3 Text Du Soul: λαθρηδὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς λεγομένας καὶ μεστὰ ὑπονολαὶ ἀκούντες (ἀκός) MSS.: καὶ πρὸς τὰς λαθρηδὰ λεγομένας καὶ μεστὰ ὑπονολαὶ ἀκός Jacobitz.

382
SLANDER

and finally capturing it, as no one opposes them or notices their assault. Then, when they are once within the walls, they fire everything and smite and slay and banish; for all these things are likely to happen when the soul is captured and put in bondage.

The engines that they use against the hearer are deceit, lying, perjury, insistence, impudence, and a thousand other unprincipled means; but the most important of all is flattery, a bosom friend, yes, an own sister to slander. Nobody is so high-minded and has a soul so well protected by walls of adamant that he cannot succumb to the assaults of flattery, especially when he is being undermined and his foundations sapped by slander. All this is on the outside, while on the inside there are many traitors who help the enemy, holding out their hands to him, opening the gates, and in every way furthering the capture of the hearer. First there is fondness for novelty, which is by nature common to all mankind, and ennui also; and secondly, a tendency to be attracted by startling rumours. Somehow or other we all like to hear stories that are slyly whispered in our ear, and are packed with innuendo: indeed, I know men who get as much pleasure from having their ears titillated with slander as some do from being tickled with feathers.
'Επειδὴν τούς ὑπὸ τοῦτων ἀπάντων συμμαχούμενοι προσπέσωσι, κατὰ κράτος αἱροῦσιν, οἶμαι, καὶ οὐδὲ δυσχερῆς ἢ νίκη γένουτ' ἂν μηδενὸς ἀντιπαρατητομένου μηδὲ ἀμυνομένου τὰς προσβολὰς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούοντος ἐκόντος ἑαυτὸν ἐνδιδόντος, τοῦ διαβαλλόμενου δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀγνοοῦντος· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεως ἀλούσης καθεύδοντες οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι φονεύονται.

Καὶ τὸ πάντων οἰκτιστοῦ, ὁ μὲν οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ γεγενημένα προσέρχεται τῷ φίλῳ φαίδρος ἀτε μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ φαίλουν συνεπιστάμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη λέγει καὶ ποιεῖ, παντὶ τρόπῳ ὁ ζῆλος ἐνηδρευμένος· ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐχθὴς τι γενναίον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ παραφειαστικὸν, εὐθὺς ἐξέρρηξε τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἔξεχε, καὶ τέλος τὴν ἀπολογίαν προσέμενος ἔγνω μάτην κατὰ τοῦ φίλου παρωξυμένος. ἦν δὲ ἀγεννέστερος καὶ ταπεινώτερος, προσίεται μὲν καὶ προσμειδά τῶς χείλεσιν ἄκρως, μμεῖ δὲ καὶ λάθρα τοὺς ὀδόντας διαπρίει καὶ, ὡς ὁ ποιητής φησί, βυσσοδομεῖ τὴν ὀργὴν. οὐ δὲ ἐγὼ οὖνδε οἶμαι ἀδικώτερον οὐδὲ δουλοπρεπέστερον, ἐνδακότα τὸ χέίλος ὑποτρέφει τὴν χολήν καὶ τὸ μέσον ἐν αὐτῷ κατάκλειστον αὖξεων ἔτερα μὲν κεύθοντα ἐνι φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ δὲ λέγοντα καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον ἱλαρῷ καὶ κωμικῷ τῷ προσώπῳ μᾶλα περιπαθῆ τινα καὶ ιοὶ γέμοις τραγῳδίαι.

Μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάσχονσιν, ἔπειδὴν πάλαι φίλος ὁ ἐνδιαβάλλων δοκῶν εἶναι τῷ ἐνδιαβάλλομένῳ ποιήται ὀμως· τότε γὰρ οὖνδε φωνὴν 384
SLANDER

Therefore, when the enemy falls on with all these forces in league with him, he takes the fort by storm, I suppose, and his victory cannot even prove difficult, since nobody mans the walls or tries to repel his attacks. No, the hearer surrenders of his own accord, and the slandered person is not aware of the design upon him: slandered men are murdered in their sleep, just as when a city is captured in the night.

The saddest thing of all is that the slandered man, unaware of all that has taken place, meets his friend cheerfully, not being conscious of any misdeed, and speaks and acts in his usual manner, when he is beset on every side, poor fellow, with lurking foes. The other, if he is noble, gentlemanly, and outspoken, at once lets his anger burst out and vents his wrath, and then at last, on permitting a defence to be made, finds out that he was incensed at his friend for nothing. But if he is ignoble and mean he welcomes him and smiles at him out of the corner of his mouth, while all the time he hates him and secretly grinds his teeth and broods, as the poet says,\(^1\) on his anger. Yet nothing, I think, is more unjust or more contemptible than to bite your lips and nurse your bitterness, to lock your hatred up within yourself and nourish it, thinking one thing in the depths of your heart and saying another, and acting a very eventful tragedy, full of lamentation, with a jovial comedy face.

Men are more liable to act in this way when the slanderer has long seemed to be a friend of the person slandered, and yet does what he does.

\(^1\) Homer; the word is frequent in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 9, 316; 17, 66).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

άκούειν ἐτὶ θέλουσι τῶν διαβαλλομένων ἢ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων, τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῆς κατηγορίας ἐκ τῆς πάλαι δοκούσης φιλίας προεληφότες, οúde τοῦτο λογιζόμενοι, ὅτι πολλαὶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις μέσους παραπίπτουσιν αἰτίας τοὺς ἄλλους λανθάνουσαι καὶ ἐνίοτε οǐς αὐτῶς τὶς ἐνοχῶς ἐστὶ, ταυτὶ φθάσας κατηγόρησε τοῦ πλησίον ἐκφυγεῖν οὕτω πειρώμενος τὴν διαβολήν. καὶ ὅλως ἔχθρον μὲν οúdeις ἄν τολμήσεις διαβαλεῖν ἀπίστος γὰρ αὐτόθι ἡ κατηγορία πρόδηλον ἔχουσα τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς δοκοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα φίλους ἐπιχειροῦσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας εὐνοιαν ἐμφῆναι προαιροῦμενοι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων συμφέροντι οúde τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἀπέσχοντο.

Εἰςοὶ δὲ τινες οὐ κἂν μάθωσιν ὑστερὸν ἀδίκως διαβεβληθῶμεν παρ’ αὐτῶς τοὺς φίλους, ὅμως ὡς ἐπ’ αἰσχὺς δὲν ἐπίστευσαν οúde ἐτὶ προσέσθαι ὁὡτε προσβλέπων τολμῶσιν αὐτῶς ὑστερ ἡδικημένοι, ὅτι μηδὲν ἄδικοντας ἐπέγνωσαν.

Τουγαροῦν πολλῶν κακῶν ὁ βίος ἐπλήσθη ὑπὸ τῶν οὕτω ραδίως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως πεπιστευμένων διαβολῶν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἀντεία
tεθναίνη (φησίν), ὁ Προῖτ’, ἡ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην,
ὁς μ’ ἔθελεν φιλότητι μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἐθελούση αὐτὴ προτέρα ἐπιχειρήσασα καὶ ὑπεροφθείσα.

386
SLANDER

In that case they are no longer willing even to hear the voice of the men slandered or of those who speak in their behalf, for they assume in advance that the accusation can be relied on because of the apparent friendship of long standing, without even reflecting that many reasons for hatred often arise between the closest friends, of which the rest of the world knows nothing. Now and then, too, a man makes haste to accuse his neighbour of something that he is himself to blame for, trying in this way to escape accusation himself. And in general, nobody would venture to slander an enemy, for in that case his accusation would not inspire belief, as its motive would be patent. No, they attack those men who seem to be their best friends, aiming to show their good will toward their hearers by sacrificing even their nearest and dearest to help them.

There are people who, even if they afterwards learn that their friends have been unjustly accused to them, nevertheless, because they are ashamed of their own credulity, no longer can endure to receive them or look at them, as though they themselves had been wronged merely by finding out that the others were doing no wrong at all!

It follows, then, that life has been filled with troubles in abundance through the slanderous stories that have been believed so readily and so unquestioningly. Anteia says:

"Lord Proetus, kill Bellerophon or die; Because he sought to bend me to his will," ¹

when she herself had made the first move and had

¹ Homer, Iliad 6, 164.
καὶ μικροῦ ὁ νεανίας ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν Χήμαιραν συμπλοκῇ διεφθάρη ἐπιτίμιοι σωφροσύνης ὑποσχῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ξένον αἴδοις ὑπὸ μάχλου γυναικὸς ἐπιβεβουλευμένος. ἦ δὲ Φαίδρα, κάκεινη τὰ ὄμοια κατεπούσα τοῦ προγόνου, ἑπάρατον ἐποίησε τὸν Ἰππόλυτον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν, ὁ θεὸς, οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον εἰργασμένον.

Ναὶ, φήσει τις ἀλλ' ἀξιόπιστός ἦστιν ἐνίοτε 27 ὁ διαβάλλων ἀνήρ τά τε ἄλλα δίκαιοι καὶ συνετῶς εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ ἐχρῆν προσέχειν αὐτὸ ἣτε μηδὲν ἀν τοιοῦτο κακουργῆσαι. ἃρ' οὖν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐστί τις δικαίότερος; ἄλλ' ὡμοις κάκεινοις συνέστη ἐπὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ συμπαρώξυνε τὸν δήμον, ἢς, φασίν, ἐκείνοις πολιτικῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑποκεκυσμένοι. 1 δίκαιοι μὲν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀριστείδης, ἀνθρώπος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ χολὴν εἰχε, καὶ ἡγάμα τινὰ καὶ ἐμίσει. καὶ εἰ γε 28 ἀληθῆς ἦστιν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Παλαμήδους λόγος, ὁ συνετῶτατος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄριστος τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ φθόνον φαίνεται συνθετικός κατὰ ἀνδρός ὁμαίον καὶ φίλου καὶ ἑπὶ τοῦ αὐτὸν κίνδυνον ἐκπεπλευκότος· οὕτως ἐμφυτευτὸν ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἡ περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ἀμαρτία. τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἢ τὸν Σωκράτην λέγω τοὺς ἄδικος 29 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαβεβλημένον ὡς ἀσθήθη

1 ὑποκεκυσμένοι MSS.: ὑπο κεκυσμένος Guyet. The construction is correctly explained in the scholia.

388
SLANDER

been scorned. So the young man came near getting killed in the encounter with the Chimaera, and was rewarded for his continence and his respect for his host by being plotted against by a wanton. As for Phaedra, she too made a similar charge against her stepson and so brought it about that Hippolytus was cursed by his father 1 when he had done nothing impious—good Heavens, nothing!

"Yes," somebody will say, "but now and then the man who brings a personal charge deserves credence, because he seems to be just in all other matters and sensible also, and one would have to heed him, as he would never do such a scoundrelly thing as that." Well, is there anyone more just than Aristides? But even he conspired against Themistocles and had a hand in stirring up the people against him, because, they say, he was secretly pricked by the same political ambition as Themistocles. Aristides was indeed just, in comparison with the rest of the world; but he was a man like anyone else and had spleen and not only loved but hated on occasion. And if the story of Palamedes is true, the most sensible of the Greeks and the best of them in other ways stands convicted of having, through envy, framed a plot and an ambush to trap a kinsman and a friend, who had sailed away from home to front the same peril as he 2; so true is it that to err in this direction is inborn in all mankind. Why should I mention Socrates, who was unjustly slandered to the Athenians as an irreligious man and a traitor? or

1 Theseus: the story is told in the Hippolytus of Euripides.
2 Odysseus trapped Palamedes by getting a forged letter from Priam hidden in his tent and then pretending to discover it.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

καὶ ἐπίβουλον; ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ τὸν Μιλτιάδην, τοὺς μετὰ τηλικάυτας νῖκας ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπόπτους γενομένους; μυρία γὰρ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ σχέδων τὰ πλεῖστα ἦδη γνώριμα.

Τί οὖν χρῆ καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν γε νοῦν ἔχοντα 30 ἢ ἀρετῆς ἢ ἀληθείας ἀμφισβητοῦντα; ὅπερ, οἴμαι, καὶ ὁ Ομήρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Σειρῆνον μύθῳ νῦν ἤνε παραπλείων κελεύσας τὰς ὀλθρίους ταύτας τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ἴδινας καὶ ἀποφράττειν τὰ ὦτα καὶ μὴ ἀνέδην αὐτὰ ἀναπαινύειν τοῖς πάθει προείλημμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντα ἀκριβῆ θυρωρὸν τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπασὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις τὰ μὲν ἄξια προσέβουσαν καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι, τὰ φαύλα δὲ ἀποκλείειν καὶ ἀποθεῖνε καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἶ ηγελοὶ τῆς μὲν οἰκίας θυρωροὺς καθιστῶν, τὰ ὦτα δὲ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀνεφικμένα ἐστὶ. ἐπειδὰν τοῖνυν τοιαύτα προάγεται τις λέγων, αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ χρῆ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξέτασεν, μήτε ἥλικιαν τοῦ λέγοντος ὀρώντα μήτε τὸν ἄλλον βίον μήτε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀγχῖνοιν. ὅσω γὰρ τις πυθανώστερος, τοσοῦτοῖς ἐπιμελεστέρας δεῖται τῆς ἐξέτασες. οὐ δεὶ τοῖνυν πιστεύειν ἀλλοτρία κρίσει, μάλλον δὲ μέσει τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξέτασιν φυλακτέον τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀποδόντα καὶ τῷ διαβάλλοντι τὸν φθόνον καὶ ἐν φανερῷ ποιησάμενον τὸν ἑλέγχου τῆς ἑκάτερου διανοίας, καὶ μισεῖν οὕτω καὶ ἁγαπᾶν τὸν δεδοκιμασμένον. πρὶν δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρώτης διαβολῆς κεκινημένον, Ἦρακλεις, ὅσ
SLANDER

Themistocles and Miltiades, both of whom, after all their victories, came to be suspected of treason against Greece? The instances are countless, and are already for the most part well known.

"Then what should a man do, if he has sense and lays claim to probity or truthfulness?" In my opinion he should do what Homer suggested in his parable of the Sirens. He bids us to sail past these deadly allurements and to stop our ears; not to hold them wide open to men prejudiced by passion, but, setting Reason as a strict doorkeeper over all that is said, to welcome and admit what deserves it, but shut out and drive off what is bad. For surely, it would be ridiculous to have doorkeepers to guard your house, but to leave your ears and your mind wide open. Therefore, when a man comes and tells you a thing of this sort, you must investigate the matter on its own merits, without regarding the years of the speaker or his standing, or his carefulness in what he says; for the more plausible a man is, the closer your investigation should be. You should not, then, put faith in another's judgment, or rather (as you would be doing), in the accuser's want of judgment,¹ but should reserve to yourself the province of investigating the truth, accrediting the slanderer with his envy and conducting an open examination into the sentiments of both men; and you should only hate or love a man after you have put him to the proof. To do so before that time, influenced by the first breath of slander—Heavens! how

¹ Literally, "in the accuser's hatred." To secure something like the word-play in the Greek, the sense had to suffer slightly.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μειρακίωδες καὶ ταπεινῶν καὶ πάντων οὐχ ἦκιστα ἄδικον. ἀλλὰ τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτιοῦ, ὡσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐφημεν, ἡ ἁγνοια καὶ τὸ ἐν σκότῳ που εἶναι τῶν ἐκάστου τρόπου· ὡς εἰ γε θεῶν τις ἀποκαλύψειν ἡμῶν τοὺς βίους, οὐχοίτο ἂν φεύγουσα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἡ διαβολὴ χώραν οὐκ ἔχουσα, ὡς ἂν πεφωτισμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

20 Σ16

392
SLANDER

childish, how base and, beyond everything, how unjust! But the cause of this and all the rest of it, as I said in the beginning, is ignorance, and the fact that the real character of each of us is shrouded in darkness. Hence, if some one of the gods would only unveil our lives, Slander would vanish away to limbo, having no place left, since everything would be illumined by Truth.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

SIGMA vs. TAU,
IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

This mock prosecution, probably not by Lucian, but much later than his time, is based upon the fact that in the Attic dialect many words originally written with double $s$ came eventually to be pronounced and written with double $t$, and incidentally mentions words in which $l$ has been substituted for $r$; $g$ for $k$ and $l$; $z$, $x$, and $r$ for $s$, and $t$ for $d$, $th$, and $z$. It cannot be adequately translated, for we have nothing of the sort in English.
ΔΙΧΗ ΣΤΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΤ ΣΙΓΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΑΤ ΤΙΟΙ ΕΠΤΑ ΦΩΝΗΕΣΙΝ

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀριστάρχου Φαληρέως, Πυανε- 1 ψιδόνως ἔβδομη ἰσταμένου, γραφήν ἔθετο τὸ Σύγμα πρὸς τὸ Ταῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ Φωνηέντων βίας καὶ ὑπαρχόντων ἀρπαγῆς, ἀφηρήθαι λέγον πάντων τῶν ἐν διπλῷ ταῦ ἐκφερομένων.]

Μέχρι μέν, ὁ Φωνηέντα δικασταί, ὅλιγα ἡδικού- 2 μην ύπό τουτού τοῦ Ταῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ καταίροντος ἐνθα μὴ δεῖ, οὐ βαρέως ἔφερον τὴν βλάθην καὶ παρήκουν ἐνια τῶν λεγο- μένων ύπὸ τῆς μετρίοτητος, ἴν ἱστε με φυλάσ- σοντα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συλλαβᾶς- ἐπει δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤκει πλεονεξίας τε καὶ ἀνο- μίας, 3 ὥστε ἐφ’ οίς ἡσύχασα πολλάκις οὐκ ἀγα- πών, ἄλλα 4 ἡδη καὶ πλεῖω προσβιδόξεται, ἀναγ- καίως αὐτὸ εὐθύνω νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀμφότερα εἰδόσιν ύμίν. δέος δὲ οὐ μικρόν μοι ἐπὶ τούτοις 5 τῆς ἀποθλίψεως ἐπέρχεται τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τοῖς γὰρ

1 So in R: ΔΙΚΗ ΦΩΝΗΕΝΤΩΝ vulg. 2 Wanting in R.
3 ἄνωλας Lehmann, Herwerden, Sommerbrodt: áνωλας MSS.
4 ἄλλα’ K. Schwartz: ἄλλα’ (or word omitted) MSS.
5 τούτοις Herwerden: τοῖς (τῆς) MSS.

396
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

SIGMA vs. TAU,
IN THE COURT OF THE SEVEN VOWELS

[In the year that Aristarchus of Phalerum was archon, on the seventh day of the month Pyanepson, Sigma brought suit against Tau before the seven Vowels for assault and robbery, alleging that he had stolen all the words that are pronounced with double tau.]

Vowels of the jury, as long as the wrongs that I underwent at the hands of this fellow Tau through his misusing my property and establishing himself where he had no business were but slight, I did not take the injury to heart, and I ignored some of the things that I heard because of the equable temper which, as you know, I maintain toward you and the other letters. But now that he has come to such a pitch of self-seeking and lawlessness that, not content with what I have repeatedly let pass in silence, he is trying to wrest still more from me, I am compelled to call him to account before you, who know both sides. Besides all this, I am more than a little afraid of my own ejection; for by making greater and
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

προπεπραγμένοις ἂν τι μεῖζον προστιθὲν ἀρδην μὲ τὴς οἰκείας ἀποθέλψει χώρας, ὡς ὄλγουν δεῖν ἱσυχίαν ἀγαγόντα μηδὲ ἐν γράμμασιν ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ἐν ἱσοὶ δὲ κεῖσθαι τοῦ ψόφου.1

Δίκαιον οὖν οὐχ ὤμας, οὗ δικάζετε υἱῶν, ἀλλὰ 3 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ γράμματα τῆς πείρας ἔχειν τινὰ φυλακὴν εἰ γὰρ ἐξέσται τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς καθ’ αὐτὰ τάξεως ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν βιάζεσθαι καὶ τούτο ἐπιτρέψετε ύμεῖς, ὡς καταρατία δὲν καθόλου τι γράφεται, οὐχ ὄρῳ τῶν τρόπων αἱ συντάξεις τὰ νόμιμα, ἐφ’ οίς ἐτίχθη τὰ κατ’ ἀρχάς, ἔξουσιν. ἀλλ’ οὕτε ὤμας οὐμαί ποτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμελείας τε καὶ παροράσεως ἤξειν, ὡστε ἐπιτρέψαι τινὰ μὴ δίκαια, οὕτε, εἰ καθυφήσετε τὸν ἀγῶνα ύμεῖς, ἐμοὶ παραλειπτέον ἔστιν ἄδικομένῳ. ὡς εἴθε 4 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεκόπησαν τότε αἱ τόλμαι εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένων παρανομεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἄν ἐπολέμει μέχρι νῦν τὸ Λάμβδα τῷ Ῥώδι διαμφισθητοῖν περὶ τῆς κισῆρες καὶ κεφαλαργίας, οὕτω τὸ Γάμμα τῷ Κάππα διηγώνυμετο καὶ ἐς χείρας μικροῦ δεῖν ἥρχετο πολλάκις εἰν τῷ γυαφείῳ ὑπὲρ γυαφάλλων, ἐπέπαυτο δ’ ἄν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λάμβδα μαχόμενον, τὸ μόνος ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα παρακλέπτον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δ’ ἄν ἤρεμει συγχύσεως ἀρχεῖσθαι παρανόμου· καλὸν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν μένειν

1 ψόφου Γ : φόβου ΩΣ.

398
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

greater additions to what he has already done he will altogether eject me from my own estate, so that if I keep quiet I shall scarcely count at all as a letter, and shall be no better than a hiss.

It is fitting, then, that you who are now on the jury and all the other letters, too, should be on your guard against his pernicious activity, for if anyone who wants to may work his way out of his own place into someone else's, and if you Vowels, without whom nothing can be written that means anything, are going to permit this, I do not see how society is to keep the orthodox distinctions of rank which were fixed for it in the beginning. But I do not think you will ever reach such a pitch of negligence and carelessness as to permit anything unjust, and even if you do shirk your duty I cannot overlook my wrongs. If only the others had been thwarted in their audacity long ago, when they first began to be law-breakers! In that case, Lambda would not be at war with Rho, disputing the possession of pumice-stone (κισθήλιος—κισθρής) and headaches (κεφαλαλγία—κεφαλαργία), nor would Gamma be quarrelling with Kappa and again and again almost coming to blows with him at the fuller's (γναφείον—κναφείον) over pillows (γνάφαλλα—κνάφαλλα), and he would have been prevented from fighting with Lambda, too, openly stealing from him with some difficulty (μόλις—μόγις) and slyly filching without any doubt (μάλιστα—μάγιστα); and the rest would also have refrained from beginning illegal confusion. Surely it is best for each of us to stay in the place which belongs to

1 The word μάλιστα may have been pronounced μάγιστα by the common people at some time or other. I know of no evidence that it was ever so written.

399
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

εφ' ἦς τετύχηκε τάξεως· τὸ δὲ υπερβαίνειν ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον. καὶ ὁ γε πρῶτος 5 ἦμων τοὺς νόμους τούτοις διατυπώσας, εἴτε Κάδ-μος ὁ νησιώτης εἴτε Παλαμήδης ὁ Ναυπλίος,— καὶ Σιμονίδη δὲ ἔνιοι προσάπτουσι τὴν προμήθειαν ταύτην—οὐ τῇ τάξει μόνον, καθ' ἣν αἱ προεδριὰς βεβαιοῦνται, διώρισαν, τὶ πρῶτον ἔσται ἣ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιότητας, ἃς ἐκαστὸν ἡμῶν ἔχει, καὶ δυνάμεις συνείδου, καὶ υμῖν μὲν, ὡς δικασταί, τὴν μείζων δεδώκασι τιμὴν, ὅτι καθ' αὐτά δύνασθε φθέγγεσθαι, ἡμιφώνοι δὲ τὴν ἐφεξῆς, ὅτι προσθήκης εἰς τὸ ἀκουσθῆναι δείται: πασῶν δὲ ἐσχάτην ἔνομισαν ἔχειν μοῦραν ἐννέα 1 τῶν πάντων, οἷς οὐδὲ φωνὴ πρόσεστι καθ' αὐτά. τὰ μὲν οὐν φωνήντα φυλάσσειν ἐοικε τοὺς νόμους τούτους.

Τὸ δὲ γε Ταῦ τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ ἑχον χείρων αὐτὸ ὀνομάζαι ῥήματι ἢ σκειρίται, ὅ ἐμα τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν δύο συνήλθον ἀγαθοὶ καὶ καθήκοντες ὀραθήναι, τὸ τε Ἀλφα καὶ τὸ Τ, οὐκ ἄν ἡκουσθῇ μόνον, τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐτόλμησεν ἄδικειν μὲ πλείω τῶν πώποτε βιασαμένων, ὀνομάτων μὲν καὶ ῥημάτων ἀπελάσαν πατριών, ἐκδιώξαν 2 δὲ ὅμοι συνδέσμων ἁμα καὶ προθέσεων, ὥς μηκέτι φέρειν τὴν ἐκτοπον πλεονεξίαν. ὃθεν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τίνων ἀρξάμενον, ὥρα λέγειν.

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1 ἐννέα second Aldine ed., Fritzsche: ἑνὶa MSS.
2 ἀπελάσαν . . . ἐκδιώξαν K Schwartz: ἀπελάσαι . . . ἐκ-

dιώξαι MSS.

400
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

him: to go where one has no right is the act of a law-breaker. The man who first framed these laws for us, be he the islander Cadmus 1 or Palamedes of Nauplia (and some attribute this provision to Simonides), did not determine which of us should be first and which second solely by putting us in the order in which our places are now fixed, but they also decided the qualities and powers that each of us has. To you, jurors, they gave the greatest honour, because you can be sounded by yourselves; to the Semivowels they gave the next highest, because they need something put with them before they can be heard; and they prescribed that the last place of all should belong to nine letters which have no sound at all by themselves. 2 The Vowels should enforce these laws.

But this Tau here (I cannot call him by a worse name than his own), who, as Heaven is my witness, could not have made himself heard unless two of your number, Alpha and Upsilon, stout fellows and good to look on, had come to his aid—this Tau, I say, has had the audacity to injure me beyond all precedent in acts of violence, not only ousting me from my hereditary nouns and verbs, but banishing me likewise from conjunctions and prepositions all at once, so that I cannot stand his monstrous greed any longer. Where and how he began it, you shall now hear.

1 The story usually ran that Cadmus brought sixteen letters from Phoenicia to Greece, and that four were added to these by Palamedes and four more by Simonides (not the poet, but a physician of Syracuse). Cadmus is here called an islander because some versions of his story made him come from Tyre, not Sidon.
2 The Greek "mutes" are nine in number. Sigma, as a semivowel, claims higher rank.

401
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

'Επεδήμουν ποτὲ Κυβέλω,—τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ πολίχνιον 7 οὐκ ἄγες, ἀποικοῦν, ὡς ἔχει λόγος, 'Αθηναίων—ἐπηγόμην δὲ καὶ τὸ κράτιστον Ἄρω, γειτόνων τὸ βέλτιστον κατηγόμην δὲ παρὰ κοιμοδίῳ τινὶ ποιητῇ. Λυσίμαχος ἐκαλεῖτο, Βοιώτιος μὲν, ός ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γένος ἀνέκαθεν, ἀπὸ μέσης δὲ ἀξίων λέγεσθαι τῆς Ὀπτικῆς παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τῷ ξένῳ τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ τοῦτον πλεονεξίαν ἑφώρασα· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγοις ἐπεχειρεῖ, τέτταρα κατατομῶν καὶ 1 τετταράκοντα λέγειν, ἔτι δὲ τίμημον καὶ τὰ ὁμοια ἐπιστώμενον ἔπὶ ταύτη λέγειν, ἀποστεροῦν μὲ τῶν συγγεγευμένων καὶ συντεθραμμένων γραμμάτων, συνήθειαν θημὶ 2 καὶ οἰστὸν ἢ μοι τὸ ἁκούσαμα καὶ οὔ πάντως τι ἐδακνύμην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ὅποτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦτον ἀρξάμενον ἐτόλμησε καττιτε-ρον εἰπεῖν καὶ κάττυμα καὶ πίπταν, εἰτα ἀπερυθριάσαν καὶ βασίλισσάν 3 βασιλιτταν ὄνομαξεν, οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τοῦτος ἀγανακτῶ καὶ πίμπραμαι δεδίδος μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ σῦκα τυκά τις ὄνομάσῃ. καὶ μοι πρὸς Δίως ἀθυμοῦντι καὶ μεμουμένῳ τῶν βοηθησόντων σύγγυρτε τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς· οὐ γὰρ περὶ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὁ κύινυνος,

1 τέτταρα κατατομῶν καὶ Α.Μ.Η., following Halm (τέτταρα καὶ) and the scholia: not in MSS.
2 Word-order (and καὶ for μοι after συγγεγευμένων) Α.Μ.Η.: τετταράκοντα λέγειν, ἀποστεροῦν μὲ τῶν συγγεγευμένων μοι, συνήθειαν θημὶ συντεθραμμένων γραμμάτων, ἔτι . . . λέγειν, καὶ οἰστὸν κ.τ.λ. MSS.
3 βασίλισσαν Α.Μ.Η., following K. Schwartz (ἡ β.): not in MSS.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

Once I made a visit to Cybelus, which is rather an agreeable little village, settled, the story has it, by Athenians. I took with me sturdy Rho, the best of neighbours, and stopped at the house of a comic poet called Lysimachus, evidently a Boeotian by descent, though he would have it that he came from the heart of Attica. It was at that foreigner's that I detected the encroachments of this fellow Tau. As long as it was but little that he attempted, venturing to mispronounce fow (τέσσαρα—τέταρα) and forty (τεσσαράκοντα—τετταράκοντα), and also to lay hands on to-day (σήμερον—τήμερον), and the like and say they were his own, thus depriving me of my kith and kin among the letters, I thought it was just his way and could put up with what I heard, and was not much annoyed over my losses. But when he went on and ventured to mispronounce tin (κασσίτερον—καττίτερον) and shoe-leather (κάσσομα—κάττυμα), and tar (πίσσα—πίττα), and then, losing all sense of shame, to miscall queens (βασιλισσα—βασιλιττα), I am uncommonly annoyed and hot about all this, for I am afraid that in course of time someone may miscall a spade! Pardon me, in the name of Heaven, for my righteous anger, discouraged as I am and bereft of partisans. I am not risking a trifling, every-day stake, for he is robbing me of acquaintances and companions among the letters. He snatched a blackbird, a talkative

1 Lysimachus is called a Boeotian because to say s for t was a characteristic of the Boeotian dialect.
2 An allusion to the English saying is here substituted for a similar allusion to its Greek equivalent, "to call a fig a fig" (τα σύκα σύκα άνομάζειν).
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

άφαιρομένω τῶν συνήθων καὶ συνεσχολακότων μοι γραμμάτων. κίσσαν μου, λάλον ὅρνεον, ἐκ μέσων ὡς ἐπος εἰπεὶν τῶν κόλπων ἀρτάσαν κίτταν ὄνομασεν ἀφείλετο δὲ μου φάσσαν ἀμανήσσας τε καὶ κοσσύφοις ἀπαγορεύοντος Ἀριστάρχου. περιέσπασε δὲ καὶ μελισσῶν οὐκ ὀλύγας ἑπὶ Ἀττικήν δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἐκ μέσης αὐτῆς ἀνήρπασεν ἀνόμως Τμησοῦν ὀρώντων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συλλαβῶν. ἀλλὰ τί λέγω ταῦτα; 9 Θεσσαλίας με ἐξεβάλει οἷς Θεταλίαν ἄξιοι λέγειν, καὶ πάσαν ἀποκέκλεικε μοι τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν κήποις φεισάμενον σεντάλων, ὡς τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον μηδὲ πάσσαλον μοι καταλυεῖν.

"Ωστι δὲ ἀνεξίκακον εἶμι γράμμα, μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι καὶ αὐτοί μιχέστω ἐγκαλέσαντι τῷ Ζήτα σμαραγδοῦν ἀποστάσαντι καὶ πάσαν ἀφελόμενον Σμύρναν, μηδὲ τῷ Ξίβα πάσαν παραβάντι συνθῆκην καὶ τὸν συγγραφέα τῶν τοιούτων ἔχοντι Θουκυδίδην σύμμαχον τῷ μὲν γὰρ γείτονι μου Ὑπὸ νοσήσαυτι συγγρώμη, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ φυτεύσαντι μοι τὰς μυρρίνας καὶ παίσαντι μὲ ποτε ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας ἐπὶ κόρρης. κἀγὼ μὲν τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ Ταῦ τοῦτο σκοπᾶμεν ὡς φύσει βίαιον καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπά. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσχετο γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Δέλτα καὶ τὸ Θήτα καὶ τῷ Ζήτα, μικροῦ δεῖν πάντα ἥδικησε τὰ στοιχεῖα, αὐτά μοι κάλει τὰ ἀδικηθέντα γράμματα. ἀκούετε, Φωνήεντα δικασταί, τοῦ μὲν Δέλτα λέγοντος ἀφείλετό

1 γραμμάτων MSS. : χρημάτων du Soul.
2 Τμησοῦν Herwerden : Τμητοῦν MSS.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

creature, right out of my bosom, almost, and re-named it (κύσσα—κίττα); he took away my pheasant (φάσσα—φάττα) along with my ducks (νήσσαι—νήτται) and my daws (κόσσονφοι—κόττυφοι), although Aristarchus forbade him; he robbed me of not a few bees (μέλισσα—μέλιττα), and he went to Attica and illegally plucked Hymessus (Ὑμησσός—Ὑμηττός) out of the very heart of her, in full view of yourselves and the other letters. But why mention this? He has turned me out of all Thessaly, wanting it called Thetaltal, has swept me from the sea (θάλασσα—θάλαττα) and has not even spared me the beets (σεύτλα—σεύτλα) in my garden, so that, to quote the proverb, he hasn't even left me a peg (πάσσαλος—πάτταλος).

That I am a much-enduring letter, you yourselves can testify, for I never brought Zeta to book for taking my emerald (σμάραγδος—ζύμαραγδος) and robbing me utterly of Smyrna,1 nor Χι for overstepping every treaty (συνθήκη—ξυνθήκη) with Thucydides the historian (συγγραφέος—ξυγγραφέος) as his ally (σύμμαχος—ζύμμαχος). And when my neighbour Ρο was ill I forgave him not only for transplanting my myrtles (μυρόνη—μυρρίνη) into his own garden, but also for cracking my crown (κόρητη—κόρρη) in a fit of insanity. That is my disposition, but this Ταυ—just see how bad-natured he is toward the others, too! To show that he has not let the rest of the letters alone, but has injured Delta and Theta and Zeta and almost all the alphabet, please call to the stand the injured parties in person. Listen, Vowels of the jury, to Delta, who says: “He robbed me of

1 Pronounced, as it is to-day, Zmyrna, but written usually with a.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

μον τὴν ἐνδελέχειαν, ἐντελέχειαν ἄξιον λέγεσθαι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους. τοῦ Θῆτα δακρύνοντος 1 καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας τίλλουσι ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τῆς κολοκύθης ἕστερῆσθαι τοῦ Ζήτα, τὸ συρίζειν καὶ σαλπίζειν, ὡς μηκέτ' αὐτῷ ἔξειναι μηδὲ γρύ-ζειν. τίς ἂν τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο; ἢ τίς ἐξαρκέσειε δίκη πρὸς τὸ πονηρότατον τοὺτ'i Ταῦ;  

Τὸ δὲ ἀρα ὡς τὸ ὀμόφυλον τῶν στουχείων μόνον ἀδικεὶ γένος, ἀλλ' ἢδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον μεταβέβηκε τουτοῦ τῶν τρόπων  ὡς γὰρ ἐπι- 

τρέπει γε αὐτοὺς κατ' εἰδὴν φέρεσθαι ταῖς γλώσσας: μᾶλλον δὲ, ὡς νεκροῦ, μεταξὺ γάρ με 

πάλιν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα ἀνέμυνησε περὶ τῆς γλώσσης, καὶ 2 ταύτης με τὸ μέρος 3 ἀπήλασε καὶ γλώσσαν ποιεῖ τὴν γλώσσαν. ὡς γλώσσης ἀληθῶς νόσημα Ταῦ. ἀλλα μεταβῆσομαι πάλιν ἐπ' ἐκείνου καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναγορεύσω ὥπερ ὅν εἰς αὐτοὺς πλήμμελει: δεσμοὶς γάρ τισι 

στρεβλῶν καὶ σπαράττειν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιχειρεῖ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τι καλὸν ἵδων καλὸν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ βουλείται, τὸ δὲ παρεισπεσὸν ταλὸν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζει ἐν ἀπασι προεδροῖν ἐχειν ἄξιοιν  

πάλιν ἐτερος περὶ κλήματος διαλέγεται, τὸ δὲ — 

τλήμων γάρ ἐστιν ἄληθώς — τλήμα πεποίησε τὸ 

κλῆμα. καὶ ό μόνον γε τοὺς τυχόντας ἀδικεί,  

ἀλλ' ἢδη καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, ὡς καὶ γῆν καὶ 

θάλασσαν εἰξαί φασὶ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως 

ἐκστήναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ 

Κύρων αὐτὸν ὑπαταὶ Τιτρὸν τινα ἀπέφηνεν.  

Οὗτο μὲν οὖν ὁσον ἐς φωνήν ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖ:  12  

1 δακρύνοντος K. Schwartz: κρούοντος MSS.  

2 καὶ Α.Μ.Η.: δτι καὶ MSS.  

3 μισρὺν Carpa,

406
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

endelechy, wanting it to be called entelechy against all the laws"; to Theta crying and pulling out the hair of his head because he has had even his pumpkin (κολοκύνθη—κολοκύντη) taken away from him, and to Zeta, who has lost his whistle (συρίζευν—συρίττευν) and trumpet (σαλπίζευν—σαλπίττευν), so that he can't even make a sound (γρύζευν—γρύττευν) any longer. Who could put up with all this, and what punishment could be bad enough for this out-and-out rascal Tau?

Not only does he injure his own kinsfolk of the alphabet, but he has already attacked the human race also; for he does not allow them to talk straight with their tongues. Indeed, jurymen—for speaking of men has suddenly put me in mind of the tongue—he has banished me from this member too, as far as in him lay, and makes glotta out of glossa. O Tau, thou very plague o' the tongue! But I shall attack him another time and advise men of his sins against them, in trying to fetter their speech, as it were, and to mangle it. A man on seeing something pretty (καλόν) wants to call it so, but Tau interferes and makes him say something else (ταλόν), wanting to have precedence in everything. Again, another is talking about a palm-branch (κλήμα), but Tau, the very criminal (τλήμων), turns the palm-branch into a crime (τλήμα). And not only does he injure ordinary people, but even the Great King, in whose honour, they say, even land and sea give place and depart from their own natures—even he is plotted against by Tau, who instead of Cyrus makes him out something of a cheese (Κύρος—τυρός).

That is the way he injures mankind as far as their

1 One would expect a pun here, but ταλόν is not in the dictionaries.
ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΗς ἂνθρωπιν οἱ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην ὑδύρονται καὶ Κάδμως καταρρέονται πολλάκις, ὅτι τὸ Ταῦ ἐς τὸ τῶν στοιχείων γένος παρῆγαγε· τῷ γὰρ τούτου σώματι φασὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ μιμησαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα ἐπειτὰ σχήματι τοιούτῳ ξύλα τεκτήματα ἀνθρώπους ἀνασκολοπίζειν ἐπ' αὐτὰ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ ποιημῷ τὴν ποιημὰν ἐπωνυμίαν συνελθεῖν. τοὔτων οὖν ἄπαντων ἕνεκα πόσων θανάτων τὸ Ταῦ ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζετε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἱμαῖ δικαίως τοῦτο μόνον ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ταῦ τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ τῷ σχήματι τῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην ὑποσχέειν.  

1 δὲ Α.Μ.Η. : δὴ MSS.  
2 MSS. add ἃς σταυρὸς εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξημιουργήθη, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀνομάζεται, excised by Sommerbrodt.
THE CONSONANTS AT LAW

speech is concerned, but look at the material injury he has done them! Men weep and bewail their lot and curse Cadmus over and over for putting Tau into the alphabet, for they say that their tyrants, following his figure and imitating his build, have fashioned timbers in the same shape and crucify men upon them; and that it is from him that the sorry device gets its sorry name (*stauros, cross*). For all this do you not think that Tau deserves to die many times over? As for me, I hold that in all justice we can only punish Tau by making a T of him.¹

¹ *I.e.*, by crucifying him, Greek crosses being usually T-shaped. MSS. add "for the cross owes its existence to Tau, but its name to man"; see critical note.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

The sub-title comes from the parallel that Lucian draws (in section 45) between this affair and the wedding breakfast of Peirithous, which ended in a hand-to-hand encounter between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. The piece is thought to be modelled on the *Symposion* of Menippus, the Cynic satirist.
ΣΤΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ Η ΛΑΠΙΘΑΙ

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Ποικίλην, ὦ Δυκίνε, διατριβήν φασι γεγενήσθαι ὑμῶν χθές ἐν ἀρισταινέτου παρὰ τὸ δείπνον καὶ τινας λόγους φιλοσόφους εἰρήσθαι καὶ ἔριν οὐ σμικρὰν συντήναι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐνεύδετο Χαρῖνος, καὶ ἄχρι τραυμάτων προχωρήσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τέλος αἵματι διαλυθῆναι τὴν συνουσίαν.

∆ΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ πόθεν, ὦ Φιλῶν, ἡπίστατο Χαρῖνος ταῦτα; οὐ γὰρ συνεδείπνει μεθ' ἡμῶν.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Διονίκου ἐφῇ τοῦ ἱατροῦ ἀκούσαι. Διόνικος δὲ καὶ αὐτός, οἶμαι, τῶν συνεδείπνων ἦν.

∆ΥΚΙΝΟΣ

Καὶ μάλα: οὐ μὴν ἔξ ἄρχὴς γε οὔθ' αὐτὸς ἀπασί παρεγένητο, ἀλλὰ ὡς σαφῆς μεσούσης σχεδὸν ἢδη τῆς μάχης ἐπέστη ὅλον πρὸ τῶν τραυμάτων. ὡστε θανμᾶξω εἰ τι σαφῆς εἰπεῖν ἐδύνατο μὴ παρακολουθῆσαι ἑκεῖνοι, ἀφ' ὧν ἀρξαμένη ἔσ τὸ αἷμα ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτοῖς ἢ φιλονικία.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Τουγαροῦν, ὦ Δυκίνε, καὶ ὁ Χαρῖνος αὐτός, εἰ βουλοῦμεθα τάληθη ἀκούσαι καὶ ὡτος ἐπράχθη ἐκαστα, παρὰ σὲ ἡμᾶς ἥκειν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῶν

412
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPIThS

PHILO

They say you had all kinds of sport yesterday, Lycinus, at the house of Aristaenetus, at dinner, and that several speeches on philosophy were made, out of which quite a quarrel arose. Unless Charinus was lying, the affair even ended in wounds and the party was finally broken up by the shedding of blood.

LYCINUS

Now how did Charinus know that, Philo? He did not dine with us.

PHILO

He said that Dionicus, the doctor, told him. Dionicus, I suppose, was one of the guests.

LYCINUS

Yes, to be sure; but even he was not there for all of it, from the very beginning: it was late and the battle was about half over when he came on the scene, a little before the wounds. So I am surprised that he could give a clear account of any of it, as he did not witness what led up to the quarrel that ended in bloodshed.

PHILO

True, Lycinus; and for that very reason Charinus told us, if we wanted to hear the truth of it and all the details, to come to you, saying that Dionicus
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Διόνικον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὃς αὐτὸς μὲν ὦ παραγένοιτο ἀπασί, σὲ δὲ ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὰ γεγεννημένα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦς ἄν 1 ἀπομνημονεύσαι ἀτε μὴ παρέργως τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ἐν σπουδῇ ἀκροώμενον. ὡστε οὐκ ἂν φθίνοις ἐστιῶν ἡμᾶς ἡδίστην ταύτην ἐστίασιν, ἢς οὐκ οἶδα τίς 2 ἡδίων ἔμοιγε, καὶ μᾶλλον δὴ χρὰ νήφοντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ ἤξω βέλους ἐστίασόμεθα, εἴτε γέροντες ἐπαρώνησάν τι παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἴτε νέοι, εἰπεῖν τε ὅσα ἦκιστα ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου προαχθέντες καὶ πρᾶξαι.

ΛΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Νεανικότερα ἡμᾶς, ὁ Φίλων, ἄξιοίς ἐκφέρειν 3 ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπεξεῖναι διηγομένους πράγματα ἐν ὅνυ καὶ μέθη γενόμεναι, δέον λήθην ποιῆσασθαι αὐτῶν καὶ νομίζειν ἐκεῖνα πᾶντα θεοῦ ἔργα τοῦ Διονύσου εἶναι, ὅσο οὖν οἶδα εἰ τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ ὀργῶν ἀτέλεστον καὶ ἀβάκχευτον περιείδειν. ὅρα οὖν μὴ κακοήθων τινῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τὸ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξετάζειν, ἀ καλῶς ἔχει ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καταλυόντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. "μισῶ" γὰρ, φησὶ καὶ ὁ ποιητικὸς λόγος, "μνάμουνα συμπτοτάν." καὶ οὐδὲ ὁ Διόνικος ὅρθως ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν Χαρίνον ταῦτα ἐξαγορεύσας καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἑωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας ἄνδρῶν φιλοσόφων. ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀπαγε, οὐκ ἂν τι τοιούτων εἴποιμι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Θρύπτῃ ταῦτα, ὁ Δυκίνε. ἀλλ' οὔτι γε πρὸς 4 ἐμὲ οὔτω ποιεῖν ἐχρῆν, δς ἀκριβῶς πολὺ πλέον

1 ἀν Bekker: not in MSS.
2 οὐκ οἶδα τίς Bekker: οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν τίς MSS.

414
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

himself had said that he was not there for all of it, but that you knew exactly what had happened and could actually recite the speeches, being, as you are, an attentive and not a careless listener to such discussions. So do hurry and give us this most delightful entertainment—for none, I am sure, could be more delightful, at least to me, especially as we shall enjoy a peaceful and bloodless entertainment, without intemperance and out of range of missiles, whether it was old men or young who misconducted themselves at dinner, led on by strong drink to do and say what they should not.

LYCINUS

It was rather a silly affair, Philo, and yet you want me to publish it abroad and tell what happened when heads were turned with wine, when it all should be forgotten and the whole business put down to a god—Dionysus, I mean, who scarcely permits anyone to remain uninitiated in his rites and a stranger to his revels. Don’t you think it rather bad form to enquire into such matters minutely? The proper thing is to leave them behind you in the dining-room when you go away. As you know, there is a saying from the poets: “I hate to drink with him that hath a memory.”¹ And Dionicus did not do right, either, to blab it all to Charinus and besprinkle philosophers with the copious dregs of their stale cups. As for me—get out with you! I shan’t tell you anything of the kind!

PHILO

That is all put on, Lycinus. But you needn’t have acted that way with me, for I know very well that

¹ Author unknown: quoted also by Plutarch (*Prooemium to Quaest. Sympos.*). See also Index to *Corpus Paroemiogr.* Gr.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπιθυμοῦντά σε εἰπεῖν οἶδα ὃ ἐμὲ ἀκούσαι, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς, εἰ ἀπορήσειας τῶν ἀκουσμένων, κἂν πρὸς κίονι τινα ἢ πρὸς ἄνδραντα ἦδεως ἂν προσελθὼν ἐκχέαι πάντα συνείρων ἀμυστί. εἰ γοῦν ἔθελής ὁ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι νῦν, οὐκ ἐάσεις με ἀνήκουν ὑπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξει1 καὶ παρακολούθήσεις καὶ δεήσει. κακῶς θρύψομαι πρὸς σὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ εἰ γε δοκεῖ, ἀπίστωμεν ἄλλου αὐτὰ πευσόμενοι, σὺ δὲ μὴ λέγε.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Μηδὲν πρὸς ὀργῆν- διηγήσομαι γάρ, ἐπείπερ οὕτως προθυμῆ, ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐρεῖς.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν έγώ ἐπιλέξομαι Λυκίνου, αὐτὸς σὺ ἀμεινον ποιήσεις αὐτό καὶ φθάσεις εἰπὼν ἀπασίων, ὃστε οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ δεήσει. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μοι πρὸς τὸν εἰπέ, τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Δήμῳ νῷ Ἀρισταίνετος ἀγώμενος γυναῖκα εἰστὶν ύμᾶς;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔξεδίδου αὐτός τὴν Κλεανθίδα τῷ Εὐκρίτῳ τοῦ δανειστικοῦ, τῷ φιλοσοφοῦντι.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Παγκάλῳ νῇ Δίᾳ μειρακίῳ, ἀπαλῷ γε μὴν ἔτι καὶ οὐ πάνω καθ' ὦραν γάμων.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

'Αλλ' οὔκ εἴχεν ἄλλου ἐπιτηδειότερον, οἴμαι. τοῦτον οὖν κόσμον τε εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ πρὸς

1 ἔξει Fritzsee: ἔξεις (ἓξεις) MSS.
THE CAROUSEAL, OR THE LAPITHS

you are much more eager to talk than I to listen, and I have an idea that if you had nobody to listen to you, you would enjoy going up to a pillar or a statue and pouring it all out in a stream, without a pause. In fact, if I should wish to go away now, you would not let me go untold, but would hold me and entreat me. And now I am going to take my turn at putting on. (Turns to another friend.) If you like, let's go and find out about it from someone else. (To Lycinus.) You may keep your story to yourself!

Lycinus

Don't get angry! I will tell you, since you are so anxious, but don't you tell a lot of people.

Philo

If I have not forgotten all I know of you, Lycinus, you will do that better than I can, and you will lose no time in telling everybody, so that I shan't be needed. But first tell me one thing—was it to celebrate the wedding of his son Zeno that Aristaenetus entertained you?

Lycinus

No, he was marrying his daughter Cleanthis to the son of Eucritus the banker, the lad who is studying philosophy.

Philo

A very good-looking lad, to be sure; still immature, though, and hardly old enough to be married.

Lycinus

But he could not find anyone who suited him better, I suppose. As this boy seemed to be mannerly and had taken an interest in philosophy,
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

φιλοσοφίαν ὄρμημένων, ἑτὶ δὲ μόνον ὄντα πλουσίῳ τῷ Ἐὐκρίτῳ, προείλετο νυμφίον ἐξ ἀπάντων.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Οὐ μικρὰν λέγεις αἰτίαν τὸ πλούτειν τῶν Ἐὐκρίτων. ἀτὰρ οὖν, οὐ Δυκῖνε, τίνες οἱ δειπνοῦντες ἦσαν;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τί ἄν σοι λέγοιμι; οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ 6 φιλοσοφίας καὶ λόγων, οὐσπερ ἐθέλεις, οἶμαι, ἀκούσαι μάλιστα, Ζηνόθεμις ὢν ὁ προσβύτης ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοάς καὶ ἔχων αὐτῷ Δήφιλος ὁ λαβύρινθος ἐπίκλην, διδάσκαλος οὐτος ὤν τοῦ Ἀρισταίεντος νεόν τοῦ Ἰώνους. τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου Κλεόδημος, οίσθα τὸν σταμύλον, τὸν ἐλεγκτικόν, ξίφος αὐτῶν οἱ μαθηταί καὶ κοπίδα καλοῦσιν. ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Ἐπικούρειος Ἐρμών παρῆν, καὶ εἰσελθόντα γε αὐτὸν εὕθει ὑπεβλέπουντο οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ὡς τῆς πατραλοίας καὶ ἐναγῇ μυστατόμενοι. οὕτωι μὲν αὐτῶν Ἀρισταίεντος φίλοι καὶ συνήθεις ὄντες παρεκκληστήν ἔπι δεῖπνου καὶ ἔξω αὐτῶς ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιάδος καὶ ὁ Ῥήτωρ Διονυσόδωρος. διὰ δὲ τῶν νυμφίων τῶν Χαιρέαν Ἰων ὁ Πλατωνικὸς συνειστάτο διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν ὅν, σεμνὸς τις ἱδεῖν καὶ θεοπρεπῆς καὶ πολύ τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιφαίνων τῷ προσώπῳ κανόνα γοῦν οἱ πολλοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς γνώμης ἀποβλέπουντες. καὶ ἔπει παρῆλθεν, ὑπεξαίστατο πάντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο ὡς τῶν κρείττονῶν, καὶ ὅλως θεοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ τῷ πράγμα ἦν Ἰων ὁ θαυμαστὸς συμπαρών.

418
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

and also as he was the only son of Eucritus, who is rich, he preferred him to all the rest as a husband for his daughter.

PHILO

You give a very good reason in saying that Eucritus is rich. But come, Lycinus, who were the people at dinner?

LYCINUS

Why should I tell you all of them? The philosophers and literary men, whom, I suppose, you are most eager to hear about, were Zenothemis, the old man of the Porch,¹ and along with him Diphilus, whom they call “Labyrinth,” tutor of Aristaenetus’ boy Zeno. From the Walk ² there was Cleodemus—you know him, the mouthy, argumentative fellow, whom his pupils call “Sword” and “Cleaver.” Hermon the Epicurean was there too, and as he came in the Stoics at once began to glower at him and turn their backs on him; it was clear that they loathed him as they would a parricide or a man under a curse. These men had been asked to dinner as Aristaenetus’ own friends and associates, and also the grammarian Histiaeus and the rhetorician Dionysodorus. Then, too, on account of Chaereas, the bridegroom, Ion the Platonic philosopher, who is his teacher, shared the feast—a grave and reverend person to look at, with great dignity written on his features. Indeed, most people call him “the ruler,” alluding to the straightness of his thinking. When he came in, they all arose in his honour and received him like a supernatural being; in short it was a regular divine visitation, the advent of Ion the marvellous.

¹ The Porch: where Zeno the Stoic used to teach.
² The Walk (περίπατος) in the Lyceum, where the Peripatetics had their meeting-place.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Δέον δὲ ἦδη κατακλίνεσθαι ἀπάντων σχεδὸν παρόντων, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰσιώτων αἱ γυναῖκες ὅλον τὸν κλιντήρα ἐκείνων ἐπέλαβον, οὐκ ὅλιγαι οὐδεὶ, καὶ ἐν αὐταίς ἡ νύμφη πάνω ἀκριβῶς ἐγκεκαλυμμένη, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν περιεχομένη· ἐσὶ δὲ τὸ ἀντίθυρον ἡ ἀλλὴ πλῆθυς, ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἄξιας εἶχε. κατ' ἀντικρὺ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν πρῶτος ὁ Ἔυκριτος, εἶτα Ἀρισταῖνες. εἰτα ἐνεδοιάξετο πότερον χρὴ πρότερον Ζηνόθεμων τὸν Στωϊκὸν ἄτε γέροντα Ἡ Ἐρμώνα τὸν Ἐπικούρειον, ἱερεύς γὰρ ἦν τοὺς ἀνάκους καὶ γένους τοῦ πρῶτον ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀλλὰ ὁ Ζηνόθεμως ἔλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν. "Εἰ γὰρ με,” φησίν, ὡς Ἀρισταίνες, δεύτερον ἄξιος τούτου τοῦ ἄνδρος, ἧνα μηδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν εἴπω, Ἐπικούρειον, ἀπειμὸν ὅλον σοι τὸ συμπόσιον καταλιπῶν.” καὶ ἀμα τὸν παῖδα ἐκάλει καὶ ἔξιστι ἐφκεί. καὶ ὁ Ἐρμών, "Ἐχε μὲν, ὁ Ζηνόθεμως, τὰ πρῶτα,” ἔφη. "ἀτὰρ εἰ καὶ ἡ μηδὲν τι ἔτερον, ἱερεῖ γε ὁ πείστασθαι καλῶς εἴχεν, εἰ καὶ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου πάνω κατα-πεφρόνηκας.” Ἡ Ἐγέλασα, Ἡ δ' ὃς ὁ Ζηνόθεμος, Ἐπικούρειον ἱερεὰ, καὶ ἀμα λέγων κατακλίνετο καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁμως ὁ Ἐρμών, εἰτα Κλέοδημος ὁ Περιπετητικός, εἰτα ὁ Ἰων καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὁ νυμφίος, εἰτ' ἔγω καὶ παρ' ἐμὲ ὁ Δήφιλος καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ Ζήνων ὁ μαθητής, εἰτα ὁ ρήτωρ Διονυσο-δώρος καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἰστιαῖος.

1 τοῦτοι τοῦ ἄνδρος MSS.: τοῦτοι, ἄνδρος Bekker.
2 εἰ καὶ MSS.: εἰ Fritzsch: κἂν?
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

By that time we had to take our places, for almost everyone was there. On the right as you enter, the women occupied the whole couch, as there were a good many of them, with the bride among them, very scrupulously veiled and hedged in by the women. Toward the back door came the rest of the company according to the esteem in which each was held. Opposite the women, the first was Eucri tus, and then Aristaenetus. Then a question was raised whether Zenothenis the Stoic should have precedence, he being an old man, or Hermon the Epicurean, because he was a priest of the Twin Brethren and a member of the leading family in the city. But Zenothenis solved the problem; "Aristaenetus," said he, "if you put me second to this man here,—an Epicurean, to say nothing worse of him,—I shall go away and leave you in full possession of your board." With that he called his attendant and made as if to go out. So Hermon said: "Take the place of honour, Zenothenis; but you would have done well to yield to me because I am a priest, if for no other reason, however much you despise Epicurus." "You make me laugh," said Zenothenis: "an Epicurean priest!" With these words he took his place, and Hermon next him, in spite of what had passed; then Cleodemus the Peripatetic; then Ion, and below him the bridegroom, then myself; beside me Diphilus, and below him his pupil Zeno; and then the rhetorician Dionysodorus and the grammarian Histiaeus.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Βαβάι, ὦ Λυκίνε, μουσειόν τι τὸ συμπόσιον διηγή σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πλείστων, καὶ ἔγογγε τὸν Ἀρισταῖνον ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι τὴν εὐκταιριτήτην ἔορτην ἄγων τοὺς σοφώτατοις ἑστιάν πρὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἥξιοσεν, ὅ τι περὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐξ ἐκάστης ἀἱρέσεως ἀπανθισάμενος, οὐχὶ τοὺς μὲν, τοὺς δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀναμίξῃ ἀπαντᾷ.

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

"Εστὶ γὰρ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, οὐχὶ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδείας μέλει αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ βίου τούτους ἑξύπνεστων.

Εἰστικόμεθα οὖν ἐν ἑσυχίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ παρεσκεύαστο ποικίλα. πλὴν οὐδὲν οἶμαι χρή καὶ ταῦτα καταρθεῖσθαι, χυμοὺς καὶ πέμματα καὶ καρυκείας· ἀπαντά γὰρ ἄφθονα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Κλεόδημος ἐπικύψας ἐς τὸν ᾽Ιωνα, "Ορᾶς," ἔφη, "τὸν γέροντα"—Ζηνόθεμεν λέγων, ἐπήκουν γάρ—"ὅπως ἐμφορεῖται τῶν ὅψεως καὶ ἀναπέπλησται ξωμοῦ τὸ ἰμάτιον καὶ ὡσ τῷ παιδὶ κατόπιν ἐστῶτι ὀρέγει λανθάνειν οἴμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐ μεμημένος τῶν μεθ' αὐτῶν; δείξων οὖν καὶ Λυκίνῳ ταῦτα, ὅς μάρτυς εἰη." ἔγω δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδεόμην δείξοντός μοι τοῦ ᾽Ιωνος πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐκ περισσῆς ἑωρακός.

"Αμα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεόδημος εἰρήκει καὶ ἐπεισ- ἐπαισεν ὁ Κυνικὸς ᾽Αλκιδάμας ἀκλήτος, ἐκεῖνο τὸ κοινὸν ἑπιχαριεντισάμενος, "τὸν Μενέλαον αὐτόματον ἥκοντα." τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἀναί-
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

PHILO

Heavens, Lycinus, it's a school of art, this dinner party that you are telling of! Philosophers almost to a man. Good for Aristaenetus, I say, because in celebrating the greatest festival day that there is, he thought fit to entertain the most learned men in preference to the rest of the world, and culled the bloom, as it were, of every school, not including some and leaving out others, but asking all without discrimination.

LYCINUS

Why, my dear fellow, he is not one of the common run of rich men; he is interested in culture and spends the better part of his time with these people. Well, we dined peacefully at first, and were served with all sorts of dishes, but I don't suppose there is any need of enumerating them—the sauces and pastries and ragouts. There was everything, and plenty of it. Meanwhile Cleodemus bent over to Ion and said: "Do you see the old man?"—meaning Zenothemis: I was listening, you know. "How he stuffs himself with the dainties and has covered his cloak with soup, and how much food he hands to his attendant standing behind him! He thinks that the others do not see him, but he forgets the people at his back. Point it out to Lycinus, so that he can testify to it." But I had no need of Ion to point it out, for I had seen it all from my coign of vantage some time ago.

Just as Cleodemus said that, Alcidamas the Cynic romped in uninvited, getting off the commonplace joke about Menelaus coming of his own accord.¹ Most of them thought he had done an impudent

¹ Iliad 2, 408.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

σχντα ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι καὶ ὑπέκρουν τὰ προχειρότατα, ὡ μὲν τὸ ἀφραίνεις Μενέλαε, ὡ δὲ ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρείδης Ἀγαμέμνων ἦνδανε θυμῷ,
καὶ ἄλλοι ἂν πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν εὔστοχα καὶ χαρίεντα ὑποτονθορύζοντες· ἐς μέντοι τὸ φανερὸν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα λέγειν ἐδεδοκεσαν γὰρ τὸν Ἀλκι-
δάμαντα, βοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἀτεχνών ὄντα καὶ κρατικώ-
tατον κυνῶν ἀπάντων, παρ' ὁ καὶ ἀμείων ἐδόκει καὶ φοβερῶτατος ἦν ἀπασιν.

"Ο δὲ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευθε
θρόνον των Ἀλβάντα καθίζεσθαι παρ' Ἰσταίνων
τε καὶ Διονυσόδωρον. ὦ δὲ, "Ἀπαγε," φησί,"
"γυναικεῖς καὶ μαλθακόν ἐπὶ θρόνον
καθίζεσθαι ἢ σκίμποδος, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς μαλακῆς
ταύτης εὐνής μικρῶν δειν ὑππιοι κατακείμενοι,
ἔστισθε πορφυρίδας ὑποβεβλημένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ κἂν
ὁρθοστάδην δειπνήσαμι ἐμπεριπατῶν ἀμα τῷ
συμποσίῳ· εἰ δὲ καὶ κάρμοι, χαμαι τὸν τρίβωνα
ὑποβαλλόμενον 2 κείσομαι ἐπὶ ἀγκώνος ὄδον τὸν
Ἡρακλέα γράφουσιν. ""Οὔτως," ἐφη, "γιγνέσθω,"
ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος, "εἰ σοι ἤδιον," καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτον
περιμένον ἐν κύκλῳ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἐδείπνει ὥσπερ οἱ
Σκύθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφθονωτέραν νομὴν μετεξανιστά-
μενοι καὶ τοῖς περιφέρουσι τὰ ὁψα συμπερινόστων.
καὶ μέντοι καὶ σιτούμενος ἐνεργὸς ἢν ἀρετῆς πέρι
καὶ κακίας μεταξὺ διεξοδὸν καὶ ἐς τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν
ἀργυρον ἀποσκόπησεν ἤρώτα γοῦν τὸν Ἀρισταί-
νετον, τί βούλονται αὐτῷ αἱ τοσαύται καὶ τῇλι-
καύται κύλικες τῶν κεραμέων ἦσον δυναμένων.

1 ἄλλοι: Bekker: not in MSS.
2 ὑποβαλλόμενος Jacobitz; ὑποβαλλόμενος MSS.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

thing, and they slyly retorted with the first thing they could think of, one growling under his breath, "Menelaus, thou'rt a fool!"\(^1\), another: "But Agamemnon, Atreus' son, was sorely vexed,"\(^2\) and others other remarks that, in the circumstances, were to the point and witty. But nobody dared to speak out, for they all feared Alcidamas, who was really "good at the war-cry,"\(^3\) and the noisiest of all the Cynic barkers, for which reason he was considered a superior person and was a great terror to everybody.

Aristaenetus commended him and bade him take a chair and sit beside Histiaeus and Dionysodorus. "Get out with you!" said he. "What you tell me to do is womanish and weak, to sit on a chair or on a stool, like yourselves on that soft bed, lying almost flat on your backs while you feast, with purple cloths under you. I shall take my dinner on my feet as I walk about the dining-room, and if I get tired I'll lie on the floor, leaning on my elbow, with my cloak under me, like Heracles in the pictures they paint of him." "Very well," said Aristaenetus; "if you prefer it that way." Then Alcidamas began to circle about for his dinner, shifting to richer pasturage as the Scythians do, and following the orbits of the waiters. But even while he was eating he was not idle, for he talked of virtue and vice all the time, and scoffed at the gold and silver plate; for example, he asked Aristaenetus what was the use of all those great goblets when earthenware would do just as well. But he had begun to be a bore by

\(^1\) Iliad 7, 109.  
\(^2\) Iliad 1, 24.  
\(^3\) Like Menelaus: Iliad 2, 408.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἦδη διενοχλοῦντα ἔπαυσεν ἐς τὸ παρόν Ἀρισταίνειος τῷ παιδὶ διανεύσας ἑυμεγέθη σκύφον ἀναδοῦναι αὐτῷ ξωρότερον ἐγχέαντα· καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀρισταῖ ἐπινευσθήκειν οὐκ εἰδως ὅσων κακῶν ἁρχὴν ὁ σκύφος ἐκεῖνος ἐνεδεδώκει. λαβὼν δὲ ἀμα ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἐσίγκησε μικρὸν καὶ ἐς τοῦδαφος καταβαλὼν ἔστα ἔσκειτο ἡμίγυμνος, ὡσπέρ ἦπειρηκεί, πῆγας τὸν ἀγκώνα ὀρθόν, ἔχων τὸν σκύφον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, οἷος ὁ παρὰ τῷ Φόλῳ Ἡρακλής ὑπὸ τῶν γραφέων δείκνυται.

Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἕς τοὺς ἄλλους συνεχώς περιεσθε- βεῖτο ἡ κύλιξ καὶ φιλοτησίαι καὶ ὀμίλιαι καὶ φῶτα εἰσεκεκόμηστο. ἐν τοσούτῳ δ’ ἐγὼ τὸν παρεστῶτα τῷ Κλεόδήμῳ παῖδα ὀνοχόν ὅντα ὀραίον ἓδών ὑπομειδώντα—χρή γὰρ, οἴμαι, καὶ ὅσα πάρεργα τῆς ἐστιάσεως εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐ’ τι πρὸς τὸ γλαφυρῶτερον ἐπράχθη—μάλα ἦδη πάρεφυλαττόν ὁ τι καὶ μειδίασει. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ μὲν προσήλθεν ὡς ἀποληψόμενος παρὰ τοῦ Κλεόδήμου τῆς φιάλης, ὁ δὲ τὸν τε δάκτυλον ἀπέθηλεν αὐτοῦ καὶ δραχμὰς δύο, οἴμαι, συνανέδωκε μετὰ τῆς φιάλης· ὁ παῖς δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν δάκτυλον θλιβόμενον αὖθις ἐμείδιασεν, οὐ μὴν συνειδεῖν, οἴμαι, τὸ νόμισμα, ὡστε μὴ δεξαμένου ψόφον αἰ δύο δραχμαὶ παρέσχον ἐκπεσοῦσαι, καὶ ἑρυθρίασαν ἁμαρὰ μάλα σαφῶς. ἦπορον δὲ οἱ πλησίον οὖν τοὺς ἑκατὸν· τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς ἀρνομένου μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι, τοῦ δὲ Κλεόδήμου, καθ’ ὃν ὁ ψόφος ἐγένετο, μὴ προσποιομένου τῆς ἀπόρριψιν. ἡμελήθη οὖν καὶ παρώφθη τούτο οὐ

1 diaaneússas Fritzche: δὲ νεύσας Ω.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

this time, so Aristaenetus put a quietus on him for the moment by directing the waiter to give him a big bowl and pour him out a stiffer drink. He thought that he had had a good idea, little realising what woes that bowl was destined to give rise to. On taking it, Alcidamas kept quiet for a little while, throwing himself on the floor and lying there half-naked as he had threatened, with his elbow squared under him and the bowl in his right hand, just as Heracles in the cave of Pholus is represented by the painters.

By this time the cup was going round continually among the rest of the party, there were toasts and conversations, and the lights had been brought in. Meanwhile, noticing that the boy in attendance on Cleodemus, a handsome cup-bearer, was smiling (I must tell all the incidents of the feast, I suppose, especially whatever happened that was rather good), I began to keep special watch to see what he was smiling about. After a little while he went up to Cleodemus as if to take the cup from him, and Cleodemus pressed his finger and gave him two drachmas, I think, along with the cup. The boy responded to the pressure of his finger with another smile, but no doubt did not perceive the money, so that, through his not taking it, the two drachmas fell and made a noise, and they both blushed very noticeably. Those near by them wondered whose the coins were; for the lad said he had not dropped them, and Cleodemus, beside whom the noise was made, pretended that he had not let them fall. So the matter was disregarded and ignored, since not
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

πάνυ πολλών ιδόντων πλὴν μόνον, ὃς ἐμοὶ ἔδοξε, τού Ἀρισταινέτου μετέστησε γὰρ τὸν παῖδα μικρὸν ὑστερον ἀφανὸς ὑπεξαγαγὼν καὶ τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ τινὰ παραστήναι διένευσε τῶν ἔξωρων ἥδη καὶ καρτερῶν, ὄρεωκόμου τινὰ καὶ ἱπποκόμου. καὶ τούτο μὲν ὅδε πως ἐκεχωρήκει, μεγάλης ἀν ἀισχύνης αἰτίων τῷ Κλεοδήμῳ γενόμενου, εἰ ἐφθη διαφοιτήσαν εἰς ἀπαντάς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατέσβη αὐτίκα, δεξιῶς πάνυ τοῦ Ἀρισταινέτου τὴν παρωνίαν ἐνέγκαντος.

Ὁ Κυνικὸς δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας, ἐπεπόκειε γὰρ ἡδῆς, 16 πυθόμενος ἦτις ἡ γαμομένη παῖς καλοῖτο,2 σιωπὴν παραγγελαὶς μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἀποβλέψας ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, "Προσῶν σοι," ἔφη, "ὁ Κλεανθά, Ἡρακλέους ἀρχηγότευν." ὥς δ᾽ ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπαντες, "Ἐγελάσατε," εἶπεν, "ὡς καθάρματα, εἰ τῇ νύμφῃ προὔπιπν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου θεοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους; καὶ μήν εὖ εἰδέναι χρῆ ὡς ἢν μὴ λάβῃ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τὸν σκύφον, οὔποτε τοιοῦτος ἃν νῦν αὐτὴ γένοιτο οἶος ἐγὼ, ἄτρεπτος μὲν ἀλκήν, ἐλεύθερος δὲ τῇ γυνώμῃ, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὕτω καρτερός:” καὶ ἀμα παρεγύμνου ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητόν. αὕτης ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγέλασαν οἱ συμπόται, καὶ διὰ ἀγανακτήσας ἑπανίστατο δρμῦ καὶ παράφορον βλέπων καὶ δῆλος ἢν οὐκέτι εἰρήνην ἄξων. τάχα δ᾽ ἂν τινὸς καθίκετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, εἰ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰσεκεκόμιστο πλακοῦς εὐμεγέθης, πρὸς ὅν ἀποβλέψας ἤμερώτερος ἐγένετο καὶ ἔληξε τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ ἐνεφορεῖτο συμπεριών. καὶ οἱ πλείστοι ἐμέθυνον 17

1 ἂν Bekker: not in MSS.
2 MSS, καλοῖτο (Ω) αν έκαλείτο.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

very many saw it except surely Aristaenetus, for he shifted the boy a little later on, sending him out of the room unobtrusively, and directed one of the full-grown, muscular fellows, a muleteer or stable-boy, to wait on Cleodemus. So the affair turned out in that way, whereas it would have caused Cleodemus great shame if it had been speedily noised about among the whole company instead of being hushed up on the spot by the clever manner in which Aristaenetus treated the silly performance.

The Cynic Alcidamas, who was tipsy by this time, enquired the name of the bride, and then, after calling for silence in a loud voice and fixing his eyes on the women, he said: "Cleanthis, I pledge you Heracles, my patron." Since everybody laughed at that, he said: "Did you laugh, you scum of the earth, that I gave the bride a toast to our god Heracles? I'd have you to know that if she doesn't accept the bowl from me, she will never have a son like me, invincible in courage, unfettered in intellect and as strong in body as I am," and with that he bared himself still more, in the most shameless way. Again the guests laughed at all this, and he got up in anger with a fierce, wild look, clearly not intending to keep the peace any longer. Perhaps he would have hit someone with his staff if just in the nick of time a huge cake had not been brought in; but when he set eyes on that, he became calmer, put away his wrath, and began to walk about and stuff himself. Most of the
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ηδη καὶ βοης μεστὸν ἦν τὸ συμπόσιον. ὦ μὲν γὰρ
Διονυσόδωρος ὁ ρήτωρ ἀντιρρῆσεις1 τινὰς ἐν μέρει
dιεξῆγε καὶ ἐπηνεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν κατόπιν ἑφεστῶτων
οἰκετῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἰστιαῖος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἔρραψεν
ὑστερος κατακείμενος καὶ συνέφερεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ
tὰ Πινδάρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος, ὡς
ἐξ ἀπάντων μίαν φίλην παγγέλοιον ἀποτελεῖσθαι,
μάλιστα δ’ ἐκείνα ὡσπερ προμαντεύομενος τὰ
μέλλοντα,

σὺν δ’ ἔβαλον ρινοῦς.

καὶ

ἐνθα δ’ ἄρ’ οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν.
ὁ Ζηνόθεμος δ’ ἀνεγύπωσε παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς λαβῶν
λεπτόγραφον2 τι βιβλίον.

Διαλεπόντων δὲ ὄλγον, ὡσπερ εἰώθασι, τῶν 18
παρακομιζόντων τὰ ὅψα μηχανῶμενος Ἀρισταῖ-
νετος μηδ’ ἐκεῖνον ἀτερπὴ τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι μηδὲ
κενὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸν γελωτοποίου ἐσελθόντα εἰπεὶ
τι ἡ πράξει γελοιοῦ, ὡς ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ συμπόται
dιαχυθεῖεν. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἀμορφὸς τις ἑξυρημένος
τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὄλγας ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τρίχας ὀρθὰς
ἔχων ὡντος ὀρχήσατο τε κατακλῶν ἕαυτὸν καὶ
diastreφος, ὡς γελοιότερος φανεῖ, καὶ ἀνάπαστα
συγκροτῶν διεξήλθεν αἰγυπτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ
tέλος ἐπέσκωπτεν ἐς τοὺς παρόντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν
ἀλλοι ἐγέλων ὑπὸτε σκωφθεῖεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς

1 ἀντιρρῆσεις Gertz: αὐτοῦ ρήσεις MSS. “his own speeches.”
2 λεπτόγραφον Herwerden: λεπτόγραμμὸν MSS.

430
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

company were drunk by then, and the room was full of uproar. Dionysodorus the rhetorician was making speeches, pleading first on one side and then on the other, and was getting applauded by the servants who stood behind him. Histiaeus the grammarian, who had the place next him, was reciting verse, combining the lines of Pindar and Hesiod and Anacreon in such a way as to make out of them a single poem and a very funny one, especially in the part where he said, as though foretelling what was going to happen:

"They smote their shields together," 1

and

"Then lamentations rose, and vaunts of men." 2

But Zenothemis was reading aloud from a closely written book that he had taken from his attendant.

When, as often happens, the service of the waiters was interrupted for a while, Aristaenetus planned to prevent even that period from being unenterprising and empty, and ordered the clown to come in and do or say something funny, in order to make his guests still merrier. In came an ugly fellow with his head shaven except for a few hairs that stood up straight on his crown. First he danced, doubling himself up and twisting himself about to cut a more ridiculous figure; then he beat time and recited scurrilous verses in an Egyptian brogue, and finally he began to poke fun at the guests. The rest laughed when they were made fun of, but when he took a fling at Alcidamas in

1 Iliad 4, 447.
2 Iliad 4, 450. Ausonius' Cento Nuptialis, an epithalamium composed of tags from Vergil, illustrates Lucian's meaning perfectly.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

τὸν Ἀλκιδάμαντα ὅμων τι ἀπέρριψε Μελιταιοῦ κυνίδιον προσεπὶ τῶν αὐτὸν, ἀγανακτήσας ἐκεῖνος—καὶ πάλαι δὲ δήλος ἦν φθονῶν αὐτῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι καὶ κατέχοντι τὸ συμπόσιον—ἀπορρίψας τὸν τρίβωνα προύκαλεῖτο οἱ παγκρατιάζειν, εἰ δὲ μῆ, κατοίκεσιν αὐτῷ ἐφή τὴν βακτηρίαν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ κακοδαίμων Σατυρίων—τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ γελωτοποιὸς ἐκαλεῖτο—συστάς ἐπαγκρατίαζε. καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὑπερήδιστον ἦν, φιλόσοφος ἀνὴρ γελωτοποιῷ ἀνταιρόμενος καὶ παῖς καὶ παῖδεμον ἑν τῷ μέρει. οἱ παρόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν ἦδοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐγέλων, ἀχρὶ ἀπηγόρευσε παϊδικοῦ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ὑπὸ συγκεκριμένου ἀνθρωπίσκου καταγωνισθείς. γέλοιος οὖν πολὺς ἔξεχυθη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα Δίονυκος ἐπεισῆλθεν ὁ ἱατρὸς οὐ πολὺ κατόπιν τοῦ ἀγώνος· ἐβεβραδύκει δὲ, ὡς ἐφασκε, φρενίτιδι ἐαλωκότα θεραπεύων Πολυπρέποντα τον αὐλητήν. καὶ τι καὶ γελοίου διεγήσατο· ἐφή μὲν γὰρ εἰσελθεῖν παρ' αὐτὸν οὖν εἰδὼς ἐχόμενον ἦδη τὸ πάθει, τὸν δὲ ταχέως ἀναστάντα ἐπικλεῖσαι. τα τὴν θύραν καὶ ἐξίδιον σπασάμενον ἀναδόντα αὐτῷ τοὺς αὐλοῦς κελεύειν αὐλεῖν· εἰτα ἐπεὶ μὴ δύνατο, παίειν σκύτος ἔχοντα ἐς ὑπτίας τῶν χειρὰς. τέλος οὖν ἐν τοσούτῳ κυνίδιῳ ἐπιγνώσας τοιόνιθε· ἐς ἀγώνα γὰρ προκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ῥητῷ πληγῶν ἀριθμῷ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶς αὐλήσαι πονηρῷς, μετὰ δὲ παραδοῦσ' τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐκεῖνῳ δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ σκύτος καὶ τὸ

1 παραδοὺς Bekker: παραδόντα MSS.

432
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

the same way, calling him a Maltese lapdog.\(^1\) Alcidamas got angry: indeed, for a long time it had been plain that he was jealous because the other fellow was making a hit and holding the attention of the room. So, throwing off his philosopher's cloak, he challenged him to fight, or else, he said, he would lay his staff on him. Then poor Satyrion, for that was the clown's name, stood up to him and fought. It was delicious to see a philosopher squaring off at a clown, and giving and receiving blows in turn. Though some of onlookers were disgusted, others kept laughing, until finally Alcidamas had enough of his punishment, well beaten by a tough little dwarf. So they got roundly laughed at.

At that point Dionicus, the doctor, came in, not long after the fray. He had been detained, he said, to attend a man who had gone crazy, Polyprepon the flute-player; and he told a funny story. He said that he had gone into the man's room without knowing that he was already affected by the trouble, and that Polyprepon, getting out of bed quickly, had locked the door, drawn a knife, handed him his flutes and told him to begin playing; and then, because he could not play, had beaten him with a strap on the palms of his hands. At last in the face of so great a peril, the doctor devised this scheme: he challenged him to a match, the loser to get a certain number of blows. First he himself played wretchedly, and then giving up the flutes to Polyprepon, he

\(^1\) The joke here lies primarily in the play on κυων (Cynic), but it should also be borne in mind that the Greek name Melite was given not only to the island of Malta, but to the deme in Athens in which the worship of Heracles, the patron of the Cynic sect, was localised.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ξιφίδιον καὶ ἀπορρίψαι τάχιστα διὰ τῆς φωταγωγοῦ ἕσ τῷ ύπαιθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀσφαλέστερος ἦδη προσπαθαλιῶν αὐτῇ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς γειτνιῶντας, ὑφ’ δὲ ἀνασπασάντων τὸ θύριον σωθῆναι αὐτὸς. 1 ἔδεικνυ δὲ καὶ σημεῖα τῶν πληγῶν καὶ ἀμυχᾶς τινας ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Διόνικος οὐ μεῖον εὐδοκιμήσας τοῦ γελωτοποιοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ διηγήσει πλησίον τοῦ Ἰστιαίου παραβύσας ἐαυτῶν ἐδείτη αὐταὶ λοιπά, οὐκ ἀνεν θεοῦ τινος ἢμῖν ἑπιταρών, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω χρήσιμος τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γεγενημένοις. παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον οἰκήσας παρ’ Ἐτοιμοκλέους τοῦ Ἐτοιμοκλέους ήκειν λέγων γραμματίδιον ἐχόν κελεύσαι οἱ ἐφῆ τοῦ δειστήριν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀναγνώρτητα εἰς ἐπήκου ἀπασιὼν ὁπίσω αὐθίς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἐφέντοις οὐν τοῦ Ἀρισταίνητον προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν λύχνου ἀνεγίνωσκεν.

ΦΙΛΩΝ

Ἡ ποιν, ὦ Λυκίνε, τῆς νύμφης ἐγκώμοιν ἢ ἐπιθαλάμιον, οἷα πολλὰ ποιοῦσιν;

ΑΤΚΙΝΟΣ

Ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς τοιοῦτον φήθημεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐγγὺς ἤν τούτου· ἐνεγέργατο γὰρ’

"Ἐτοιμοκλῆς φιλόσοφος Ἀρισταίνετρι."

"Ὅταν μὲν ἐχὼ πρὸς δεῖπνα ὁ παρεληλυθὸς μοι βίος ἀπάσας μαρτύριον ἢν γένοιτο, ὡς οἱ ὁσημέραι πολλῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων παρὰ πολὺ σοῦ πλουσιωτέρων ὁμοὶς οὖδὲ πώποτε φέρον ἐμαυτῶν

1 αὐτὸς Bekker: αὐτὸν MSS.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

took the strap and the knife and threw them quickly out of the window into the open court. Then, feeling safer, he grappled with him and called the neighbours, who prised the door open and rescued him. And he showed the marks of the blows, and a few scratches on his face.

Dionicus, who had made no less of a hit than the clown, thanks to his story, squeezed himself in beside Histiaeus and fell to dining on what was left. His coming was a special dispensation, for he proved very useful in what followed. You see, a servant came into the midst of us, saying that he was from Hetoemocles the Stoic and carrying a paper which he said his master had told him to read in public, so that everybody would hear, and then to go back again. On getting the consent of Aristaenetus, he went up to the lamp and began to read.

PHILO

I suppose, Lycinus, that it was an address in praise of the bride, or else a wedding-song? They often write such pieces.

LYCINUS

Of course we ourselves expected something of the sort, but it was far from that: its contents were:

"Hetoemocles the philosopher to Aristaenetus.

"How I feel about dining out, my whole past life can testify; for although every day I am pestered by many men much richer than you are, nevertheless I am never forward about accepting, as I am familiar
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἐπέδωκα εἰδῶς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμποσίους θορύβους καὶ παροινίας. ἐπὶ σοι δὲ μόνου εἰκότως ἀγανακτήσαί μοι δοκῶ, ὅς τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λυπαρῶς τεθεραπευμένοις οὐκ ἤξιόσας ἐναρθήσαι κἀμὲ τοῖς ἄλλους φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μόνος ἐγώ σοι ἀμοιρος, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γειτόνων οἴκων. ἀνιώμαι οὖν ἐπὶ σοι τὸ πλέον οὕτως ἀχαρίστως φανέντι ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἡ εὐδαιμονία οὐκ ἐν ὑδὸ ἀγρίου μοίρα ἤ λαγωνὴ ἡ πλακοῦντος, ἢ παρ’ ἄλλους ἀφθόνως ἀπολαύω τὰ καθήκοντα εἰδόσων; ἐπεὶ καὶ τήμερον παρὰ τῷ μαθητῇ Παμμένει δειπνήσαι πολυτελές, ὃς φασὶ, δεῖπνον δυνάμενος οὐκ ἐπένευσα ἰκετεύοντι, σοι ὁ ἀνόητος ἐμαυτὸν φυλάττων. σὺ 23 δὲ ἡμᾶς παράλιπτων ἄλλους εὐωχεῖς, εἰκότως οὕτω γὰρ δύνασαι διακρίνειν τὸ βέλτιον οὐδὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν ἐχεῖς. ἀλλὰ οἶδα ὅθεν μοι ταῦτα, παρὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου φιλοσόφων, Ζηνοθέμιδος καὶ Λαβυρίνθου, ὅν—ἀπεὶ δὲ ἦ Αδράστεια—συλλογισμῷ ἐνὶ ἀποφράξαι ἃν μοι τάχιστα δοκῶ τὰ στόματα. ἤ εἰπάτω τις αὐτῶν, τί ἐστὶ φιλοσοφία; ἢ τὰ πρῶτα ταῦτα, τί διαφέρει σχέσις ἐξεψω; ἢνα μὴ τῶν ἀπόρων εἴπω τι, κερατίναν ἢ σωρείτην ἢ θερίζοντα λόγον.

1 ἐπὶ MSS. : ἐν Fritsche, perhaps rightly.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

with the disturbances and riotous doings at dinner-parties. But in your case and yours only I think I have reason to be angry, because you, to whom I have so long ministered indefatigably, did not think fit to number me among your friends: no, I alone do not count with you, and that too though I live next door. I am indignant, therefore, and more on your account than on my own, because you have shown yourself so thankless. For me, happiness is not a matter of getting a wild boar, a hare or a cake—things which I enjoy ungrudged at the tables of other people who know what is right. Indeed, today I might have had dinner with my pupil Pammenes (and a splendid dinner, too, they say), but I did not accede to his entreaties, saving myself for you, fool that I was. You, however, have given me the go-by and are entertaining others. No wonder, for you are even yet unable to distinguish between the better and the worse, and you have not the faculty of forming concepts, either. But I know where all this comes from—those wonderful philosophers of yours, Zenothemis and the Labyrinth, whose mouths I could very soon stop, I know, with a single syllogism, Heaven forgive me for boasting! Just let one of them say what philosophy is, or, to go back to the elements, what is the difference between attribute and accident.¹ I shall not mention any of the fallacies like ‘the horns,’ ‘the heap,’ or ‘the mower.’²

¹ More literally, ἔξις means a permanent state, σχέσις a transient state.

² The Stoics devoted a great deal of study to the invention and solution of fallacies. “The horns” ran thus: “All that you have not lost, you have; but you have not lost horns, ergo, you have them.” In “the heap” the philosopher
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἄλλα σὺ μὲν ὤναοι αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀν μόνον
tὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν ἡγοῦμενος εἶναι οὐσώ ῥαδίως
tὴν ἀτιμίαν. καὶ τού ὅπως μὴ ἐς ἐκείνην ἔχης 24
καταφεύγειν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ύστερον, ἐπιλαθέσθαι
λέγων ἐν τοσούτῳ θορύβῳ καὶ πράγματι, δίς σε
tήμερον προσηγόρευσα καὶ ἐσθεν ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ
ἐν τῷ ἀνακείφθθα τὸν τόσον ύστερον. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τοῖς
παροῦσιν ἀπολελόγημαι.

Εἰ δὲ δείπνου ἐνεκα ὀργίζεσθαι σοι δοκῶ, τὸ 25
κατὰ τὸν Οἰνέαν ἐννόησον. ὅψει γὰρ καὶ τὴν
Ἄρτεμιν ἀγανακτοῦσαν, ὅτι μόνην αὐτὴν οὐ
παρέλαβεν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοὺς ἁλλοὺς
θεοὺς ἑστιῶν. φησὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁΜῆρος
ὡς ποι.

ἡ λάθετ' ἢ ὅπερ ἐννόησεν, ἀλάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ
καὶ Εὐρυπίδης.

Καλυφὼν μὲν ἤδε γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονὸς
ἐν ἀντιπόρθμοις, πεδί' ἐχουσ' εὐδαίμονα.
καὶ Σοφοκλῆς:

συνὸς μέγιστον χρῆμ' ἐπ' Οἰνέως γύαις
ἀνήκει Λητοῦς παῖς ἐκήβόλος θεά.

Ταῦτα σοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγα παρεβέμην, 26
ὅπως μάθης οἶου ἀνὴρ παραλιπὼν Δίφιλον
ἔστις καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτῷ παραδέδωκας, εἰκὸτως.

438
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

"Well, much may your philosophers profit you! Holding as I do that only what is honourable is good, I shall easily stand the slight. But you need not think you can afterwards take refuge in the plea that you forgot me in all the confusion and bother, for I spoke to you twice to-day, not only in the morning at your house, but later in the day, when you were sacrificing at the temple of Castor and Pollux.

"If you think that I am angry over a mere dinner, call to mind the story of Oeneus and you will see that Artemis herself was angry because she was the only one whom he had not asked to the sacrifice when he entertained all the rest of the gods. Homer puts it something like this:

Whether he forgot or would not, greatly was his soul at fault.¹

Euripides says:

This land is Calydon, lying over seas
From Pelops' isle; a land of fertile plains.²

And Sophocles:

A boar, a monstrous thing, on Oeneus' fields
Turned loose Latona's lass, who kills afar.³

"I bring to your attention only these few points out of many, so that you may learn what sort of man you have left out in favour of Diphilus, whom you entertain and have put in charge of your son. No proves that one grain of corn makes a heap; in "the mower," that a man who says he will mow a field will not and cannot mow it. Several other fallacies are illustrated in "Philosophers for Sale," ²². ¹ Iliad 9, 537.
² From the lost Meleager of Euripides.
³ From the lost Meleager of Sophocles.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ηδος γαρ ἐστι τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ πρὸς χάριν αὐτῷ σύνεστιν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὸν ἦν ἐμὲ λέγειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἂν1 τι προσέθηκα, ὅπερ σύ, εἰ θέλεις, παρὰ Ζωπύρου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ἂν μάθωις ἥλθῆς ὅν. ἀλλ' οὐ χρή ταράττειν ἐν γάμωις οὐδὲ διαβάλλειν ἄλλους, καὶ μάλιστα ἐφ' οὗτος αἰσχραῖς αἰτίαις καὶ γὰρ εἰ Δίφιλος ἄξιος δύο ἦδη μαθητάς μου περιστάσας, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε φιλοσοφίας αὐτῆς ἑνεκεν σιωπῆσομαι.

"Προσέταξα δὲ τῷ οἰκετῇ τοῦτῷ, ἥν διδὼς αὐτῷ 27 μοίραν τινὰ ἢ συνὸς ἢ ἐλάφου ἢ σησαμοῦντος, ὡς ἐμοὶ διακομίσει καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ δείπνου ἀπολογία γένοιτο, μὴ λαβείν, μὴ καὶ δόξωμεν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ πεπομφέναι."

Τούτων, ὦ ἔταιρε, ἀναγινωσκομένων μεταξύ 28 ἱδρῶς τέ μοι περιεχεῖτο ὑπ' αἰδοῦς, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, χανεῖν μοι τὴν γῆν ἡχόμην ὅρων τοὺς παρόντας γελώντας ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι ήθεσαν τὸν Ἐσομοκλέα, πολίδον ἄνθρωπον καὶ σεμνὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα. ἔθαμμαζον οὐν ὦν ὅσον δὲν διαιλάθην αὐτοῦς ἐξαπατομένους τῷ πώγου καὶ τῇ τοῦ προσώπου ἐντάσει. ὁ γὰρ Ἀρισταἰνετος ἔδοκει μοι οὐκ ἀμελεία παρίδειν2 αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἄν ἐπίτησας κληθέντα ἐπινεύσαι οὐδ' ἄν ἐμπαρασχεῖν ἐαυτὸν τοιοῦτῳ τινί· ὥστε οὕτω τὴν ἀρχήν πειρᾶσαι ἥξιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐν ἐπαύσατο 29 ποτὲ ὁ οἰκετής ἀναγινώσκων, τὸ μὲν συμπόσιον ἄπαν εἰς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα καὶ Δίφιλον ἀπεβλεπε δεδοικότας καὶ ἀχριῳτας καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ.

1 κἂν Fritzsche: καὶ ἂν MSS.
2 MSS. παρίδειν (urged by Fritzsche) and περιδειν.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

wonder, for he is nice to the boy and likes to be with him. If it were not beneath me to say such things, I might have told you something more, and if you wished you could find out from Zopyrus, the boy's attendant, that it is true. But it is wrong to make trouble at a wedding and to defame others, especially with charges so unseemly. Albeit Diphilus deserves it for having won two pupils away from me, I shall hold my tongue in deference to Philosophy herself.

"I have directed my servant, in case you offer him a portion of boar's flesh or venison or sesame-cake to bring to me as an excuse for not asking me to dinner, not to take it, for fear it may seem as though I sent him with that in view."

While all that was being read, my dear fellow, the sweat poured off me for shame, and to quote the saying, I prayed that the earth would swallow me when I saw the guests all laughing at every sentence, especially as many as knew Hetoemocles, a man with gray hair who looked to be high-minded. It was a marvel to me that such a man had hoodwinked them, deceiving them with his beard and the concentration expressed in his features. It was my notion that Aristaenetus had not carelessly overlooked him, but that, not thinking he would accept if invited, he would not expose himself to any such treatment, and so thought best not to try him at all. When at last the slave stopped reading, the whole party looked at Zeno and Diphilus, who were frightened and pale, and by the distress in their faces acknowledged the truth of the
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

tων προσώπων ἐπαληθεύοντας τὰ ὅπο τοῦ Ἑτομοκλέους κατηγορηθέντα: ὁ Ἀρισταῖνετος δὲ ἔτετάρακτο καὶ θορύβου μεστὸς ἦν, ἐκέλευε δὲ ὁμος πίνειν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπειράτο εὑ διατίθεσθαι τὸ γεγονός ὑπομειδών ἀμα, καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἀπέπεμψεν εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐπιμελήσεται τοὺς. μετὰ δὲ ὅλιγον δὲ καὶ ο Ζήνων ὑπεξανέστη ἀφανῶς, τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ νεύσαντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ὡς κελεύσαντος τοῦ πατρός.

Ὁ Κλεόδημος δὲ καὶ πάλαι τινὸς ἄφορμῆς δεόμενος— ἐβούλετο γὰρ συμπλακῆναι τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς καὶ διερρήσωσο ὅτι ἔχων ἄρχην έυλογον—τότε οὖν τὸ ἐνδόσιμον παρασχούσης τῆς ἔπιστολῆς, "Τοιαῦτα," ἔφη, "ἐξεργάζεται ὁ καλὸς Χρύσιππος καὶ Ζήνων ὁ θαυμαστὸς καὶ Κλεάνθης, ῥημάτια δύστημα καὶ ἐρωτήσεις μόνον καὶ σχήματα φιλοσόφων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἑτομοκλέεις οἱ πλείστοι καὶ αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ ὅπως πρεσβυτικαὶ, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Οἰνεὺς μὲν Ἀρισταῖνετος, Ἑτομοκλῆς δὲ Ἀρτεμίς. Ἡράκλεις, εὐφημα πάντα καὶ ἔορτὴ πρέποντα." "Νὴ Δῖ" ἐπεν ὁ Ἐρμών ὑπερκατακείμενος: "ἡκινοεῖ γὰρ, οἶμαι, ὅτι τινα ἐσκευάσθη Ἀρισταίνετος ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον, ὡστε οὐκ ἀκαίρον ἐδόκει μεμνήσθαι τοῦ Καλυδωνίου. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας, ὁ Ἀρισταίνετε, πέμπτε ὡς τάχιστα τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, μὴ καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ὡσπερ ὁ Μελέαγρος ἀπομαρανθείς. καίτοι οὖδὲν ἄν πάθοι δεινοὶ ἀδιάφορα γὰρ ὁ Χρύσιππος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἦγετο." "Χρυσίππου 32
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

charges brought by Hetoemocles. Aristaenetus was perturbed and full of confusion, but he told us to go on drinking just the same and tried to smooth the business over, smiling as he did so; the servant he sent away with the words: "I will see to it." After a little while Zeno withdrew unobservedly, for his attendant directed him to go, as if at the bidding of his father.

Cleodemus had long been looking for an opportunity, as he wanted to pitch into the Stoics and was ready to burst because he could not find a satisfactory opening. But at last the letter gave him his cue, and he said: "That is what your noble Chrysippus does, and your wonderful Zeno and Cleanthes! They are nothing but miserable phrase-makers and question-mongers, philosophers in dress, but in all else just like Hetoemocles, most of them. And the letter—look how senile it is! To cap all, Aristaenetus is Oeneus and Hetoemocles is Artemis! Good Lord! In excellent taste, all of it, and just the thing for a festive occasion!" "Yes," said Hermon, from his place above Cleodemus, "I suppose he had heard that Aristaenetus had a boar ready for the dinner, so that he thought it not inopportune to mention the boar of Calydon. Come, Aristaenetus, in the name of Hospitality send him a portion with all speed, for fear you may be too late and the old man may waste away like Meleager from hunger! Yet it would be no hardship to him, for Chrysippus held that all such things are of no import." 1

1 The Stoics divided the objects of human endeavour into three classes—the good, which were to be sought; the bad, which were to be shunned; and the indifferent, or unimportant, which were neither to be sought nor shunned.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

γὰρ μέμνησθε ὑμεῖς,” ἔφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμος ἑπεγείρας ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὑθεγξάμενος παρμέγεθες, “ἡ ἄφ᾽ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἐννόμως φιλεομολέον ἑταίρον ἤγητο τὸν Κλεάνθην καὶ Ζήνωνα σοφοὺς ἀνδρᾶς; τίνες¹ δὲ καὶ ὄντες ὑμεῖς ἐρείτε ταῦτα; οὐ σὺ μὲν τῶν Διοςκοῦρων ἴδη, ὡ "Ερμων, τοὺς πλοκάμους περικέκαρκας χρυσοὺς ὄντας; καὶ δώσεις δίκην παραδοθεῖς τῷ δημῷ. οὐ δὲ τὴν Σω-
στράτου γυναῖκα τοῦ μαθητοῦ ἐμοίχειες, ὡ Κλεό-
δημε, καὶ καταληφθεῖς τὰ αἰσχίστα ἐπαθεῖς. οὐ
σωτηρίσεσθε οὐν τοιαῦτα συνεπιστάμενοι ἑαυτοῖς;”

"Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μαστροπός ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γυναικὸς,”
η δ᾽ ὃς ὁ Κλεόδημος, “ἀσπερ σὺ, οὐδὲ τοῦ ξένου
μαθητοῦ λαβῶν τοῦφόδιον παρακαθήκας ἐπειτα
ἲμος οὐκ κατὰ τῆς Πολιάδος μη εἰληφέναι, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ
tέτταρσι δραχμαῖς δανεῖξαι, οὐδὲ ἄγχῳ τοὺς
μαθητὰς, ἣν μη κατὰ καιρὸν ἀποδώσφι τοὺς
μισθοὺς.” "Ἀλλ᾽ εἶκον,” ἔφη ὁ Ζηνόθεμος, “οὐκ
ἀν ἔξαρνος γένοια μη οὐχὶ φάρμακον ἀποδόσθαι
Κρίτων ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα.” καὶ ἀμα, ἠτυχε γὰρ
πίνον, ὅποιον ἐπὶ λουτπὸν ἐν τῇ κύλη, περὶ ἦμουν
σχεδον, κατεσκέδασεν αὐτοῖν. ἀπέλαυσε δὲ καὶ
ὁ Ἴων τῆς γειτονήσεως, οὐκ ἀνάξιος ἤν. ο μὲν
οὖν Ἔρμων ἀπεξέτετο ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸν ἄκρατον
προνευκώς καὶ τοὺς παρὸντας ἐμαρτύρετο, οἶον
ἐπετόνθει. ὁ Κλεόδημος δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐληκε κύλικα
—ἐπιστραφεὶς προσέπτυσε τε τὸν Ζηνόθεμον καὶ
tῇ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ πώγον ἅβαμον βοήθεν ἔμελλε
παίσειν κατὰ κόρρης, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἃν τὸν

¹ τίνεs Bekker: οἴτινες MSS.

444

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THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

"What, do you dare to mention the name of Chrysippus?" said Zenothemis, rousing himself and shouting at the top of his voice. "Dare you judge Cleanthes and Zeno, who were learned men, by a single individual who is not a regular philosopher, by Hetoemocles the charlatan? Who are you two, pray, to say all that? Hermon, didn't you cut off the hair of the Twin Brethren because it was gold? ¹ You'll suffer for it, too, when the executioner gets you! And as for you, Cleodemus, you had an affair with the wife of your pupil Sostratus, and were found out and grossly mishandled. Have the grace to hold your tongues, then, with such sins on your consciences!"

"But I don't sell the favours of my own wife as you do," said Cleodemus, "nor did I take my foreign pupil's allowance in trust and then swear by Athena Polias that I never had it, nor do I lend money at four per cent. a month, nor throttle my pupils if they fail to pay their fees in time." "But you can't deny," said Zenothemis, "that you sold Crito a dose of poison for his father!" And with that, being in the act of drinking, he flung on the pair all that was left in the cup, and it was about half full! Ion also got the benefit of his nearness to them, and he quite deserved it. Well, Hermon, bending forward, began wiping the wine from his head and calling the guests to witness what had been done to him. But Cleodemus, not having a cup, whirled about and spat on Zenothemis; then, taking him by the beard with his left hand, he was about to hit him in the face, and would

¹ Antique statues with golden (or gilded) hair are mentioned not infrequently. In the "Timon" (4) Lucian alludes to the theft of the hair from the head of the famous statue of Zeus in Olympia.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

gérounta, eи μὴ 'Αρισταίνετος ἐπέσχε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ύπερβας τὸν Ζηνόθεμεν ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦν κατεκλίθη, ὡς διασταίε ὑπὸ διατείχοσματι αὐτῷ εἰρήνην ἄγοντες.

Ἐν ὁσῷ δὲ ταύτ᾽ ἐγίνετο, ποικίλα, ὁ Φίλων, 34 ἐγὼ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐνενόουν, οἶον1 τὸ πρόχειρον ἑκεῖνο, ὡς οὐδὲν ὕφελος ἦν ἃρα ἐπίστασθαι τὰ μαθήματα, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ τὸν βίον ῥυθμίζοι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἑκεῖνους γοῦν περιττοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἑώρων γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀφλεσκάνοντας. ἔπειτα εἰσῆγε με, μὴ ἁρὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενον ἀληθῆς ή καὶ τὸ πεπαιδεύσθαι ἀπάγη τῶν ὀρθῶν λογισμῶν τοὺς ἐς μόνα τὰ βιβλία καὶ τὰς ἐν ἑκείνων φροντίδας ἀτενές ἀφορώντας τοσούτων γοῦν φιλοσόφων παρόντων οὗδὲ κατὰ τύχην ἔνα τινὰ ἑξω ἀμαρτήματος ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν ἐποίουν αἰσχρὰ, οἱ δὲ ἐλεγον αἰσχίων: οὗδὲ γὰρ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἔτι ἀναφέρεσαι εἰχον τὰ γινόμενα λογιζόμενοι οἷα ὁ Ἑτοιμοκλῆς ἄστιος ἔτι καὶ ἀπότος ἐγεγράφει. ἀνέστραπτο οὖν τὸ 35 πράγμα, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδιώται κοσμίως πᾶν ἑστιώμενοι οὔτε παροινοῦντες οὔτε ἀσχημονοῦντες ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ ἐγέλων μόνον καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν, οἶμαι, οὔς γε ἐθαύμαζον οἰόμενοι τινας εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων, οἱ σοφοὶ δὲ ἥσελγαν καὶ ἐλοιδορούντο καὶ ὑπερενεπτίμπλαντο καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἤσαν. ὁ θαυμάσιος δὲ Ἀλκιδάμας καὶ ἔσορει2 ἐν τῷ μέσῳ οὖκ

1 οἶον Fritzsche: not in MSS.
2 καὶ ἔσορει Buttmann: καὶ ἔσορει MSS.: καὶ ἔσορει Fritzsche.

446
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

have killed the old man if Aristaenetus had not stayed his hand, stepped over Zenothemis and lain down between them, to separate them and make them keep the peace with him for a dividing-wall.

While all this was going on, Philo, various thoughts were in my mind; for example, the very obvious one that it is no good knowing the liberal arts if one doesn’t improve his way of living, too. At any rate, the men I have mentioned, though clever in words, were getting laughed at, I saw, for their deeds. And then I could not help wondering whether what everyone says might not after all be true, that education leads men away from right thinking, since they persist in having no regard for anything but books and the thoughts in them. At any rate, though so many philosophers were present, there really was not a single one to be seen who was devoid of fault, but some acted disgracefully and some talked still more disgracefully; and I could not lay what was going on to the wine, considering what Hetoemocles had written without having had either food or drink. The tables were turned, then, and the unlettered folk were manifestly dining in great decorum, without either getting maudlin or behaving disreputably; they simply laughed and passed judgement, perhaps, on the others, whom they used to admire, thinking them men of importance because of the garb they wore. The learned men, on the contrary, were playing the rake and abusing each other and gorging themselves and bawling and coming to blows; and “marvellous” Alcidamas even made water right there in the room, without showing
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

αἰδούμενος τὰς γυναίκας. καὶ ἔμοι ἔδοκει, ὡς ἂν ἄριστά τις εἰκάσειν, ὁμοίότατα εἶναι ὁτά ἐν τῷ συμπτοσίῳ οἴς περὶ τῆς Ἐριδος οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ κληθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τοῦ Πηλέως τὸν γάμον ῥίψαι τὸ μῆλον εἰς τὸ σύνδειπνον, ἀφ’ οὗ τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ἐπ’ Ἡλίῳ γεγενήσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἐτοιμοκλῆς τούλιν ἔδοκει μοι τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ὅσπερ τι μῆλον οὐ μείω τῆς Ηλιάδος κακὰ ἐξεργάσασθαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζηνόθεμον καὶ 36 Κλεόδημον φιλονεικοῦντες, ἔπει μέσος αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐγένετο· ἀλλά, "Νῦν μὲν," ἔφη ὁ Κλεόδημος, "ικανόν, εἰ ἐλεγχθεῖη ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες, αὐριον δὲ ἀμυνοῦμαι ὑμᾶς ὄντια καὶ χρὴ τρόπον ἀπόκριναι μοι οὖν, ὁ Ζηνόθεμοι, ἢ σὺ ἢ ὁ κοσμώτατος Δῖφιλος, καθ’ ὃ τι ἀδιάφορον εἶναι λέγοντες τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτήσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλα ἢ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀπαίτων σκοπεῖτε ὡς πλεῖον κτήσεσθε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ τοὺς πλοῦσίους ἀεὶ ἔχετε καὶ δανείζετε καὶ τοκογλυφεῖτε καὶ ἐπὶ μισθῷ παιδεύετε, πάλιν τε αὖ τὴν ἡδονὴν μικροῦτε καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῖ τὰ ἀίσχιστα ἡδονῆς ἐνεκα ποιεῖτε καὶ πάσχετε, ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰ τις μὴ καλέσειεν ἐπὶ δέπνον εἰ δὲ καὶ κληθεῖτε, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐσθίοντες, τοσαῦτα δὲ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπιδιδόντες"—καὶ ἀμα λέγων τὴν ὀθόνην περιστὰν ἐπεχείρει, ἦν ὁ παῖς εἰρή τοῦ Ζηνοθέμιδος, μεστὴν οὐσάν παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν, καὶ ἐμελλε λύσας ἀπορρίπτειν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀλλ’ ὁ
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

any respect for the women. It seemed to me that, to use the best possible simile, the events of the dinner were very like what the poets tell of Discord. They say, you know, that, not having been asked to the wedding of Peleus, she threw the apple into the company, and that from it arose the great war at Troy.¹ Well, to my thinking Hetoemocles by throwing his letter into the midst of us like an Apple of Discord had brought on woes quite as great as those of the Iliad.

The friends of Zenothemis and Cleodemus did not stop quarrelling when Aristaenetus came between them. “For the present,” said Cleodemus, “it is enough if you Stoics are shown up in your ignorance, but to-morrow I will pay you back as I ought. Tell me, then, Zenothemis, or you, Diphilus, you pattern of propriety, why it is that although you say money-getting is of no import, you aim at nothing in the world but getting more, and for this reason always hang about rich people and lend money and extort high interest and teach for pay; and again, why is it that although you hate pleasure and inveigh against the Epicureans, you yourselves do to others and suffer others to do to you all that is most shameful for pleasure’s sake; you get angry if a man does not ask you to dinner, and when you are actually asked, you not only eat quantities but hand over quantities to your servants,”—and with that he tried to pull away the napkin that Zenothemis’ slave was holding. It was full of meats of all kinds, and he intended to open it and throw its contents

¹ The golden apple, for the fairest of the goddesses, was awarded to Aphrodite by Paris, who was paid for his decision by being given the love of Helen.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

παῖς οὖκ ἀνήκε καρτερῶς ἀντεχόμενος. καὶ ὁ Ἔρμων, "Εὖ γε," ἔφη, "ὁ Κλεόδημη, εἰπάτωσαν οὕτως ἣδονής κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἰδέσθαι ὑπὲρ τούς ἄλλους ἄξιούντες." "Οὐκ, ἄλλα σὺ," ἦ δ᾽ ὁ Ζηνόθεμις, "εἰπὲ, ὁ Κλεόδημη, καθ᾽ ὦ τι οὖκ ἀδιάφορον ἦγη τοῦ πλοῦτον." "Οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἄλλα σὺ." καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο ἦν, ἄχρι δὴ ὁ Ἰων προκύψας ἐς τὸ ἐμφανέστερον, "Παύσασθε," ἔφη. "ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ δοκεῖ, λόγων ἀφορμὰς ἦμιν ἄξιων τῆς παρούσης ἔορτης καταθῆσαι ἐς τὸ μέσον· ἕμεις δὲ ἀφιλονείκως ἐρείτε καὶ ἀκούσεσθε ὅσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παρ᾽ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Πλάτωνι ἐν λόγοις ἡ πλείστη διατριβή ἐγένετο." πάντες ἐπήνευσαν οἱ παρόντες, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἅμβι τῶν Ἀρισταίνετον τε καὶ Εὐκριτον, ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τῆς ἀνδίας οὕτω γούν ἐπίσας. καὶ μετῆλθε τε ὁ Ἀρισταίνετος ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον εἰρήνην γεγενήθηκαί ἐπίσας, καὶ ἄμα εἰσεκεκόμιστο ἦμιν τὸ ἐντελές ὁνομαζόμενον δείπνον, μία ὀρνις ἐκάστῳ καὶ κρέας ὑδὸς καὶ λαγῶα καὶ ἱχθῦς ἐκ ταγήνου καὶ σησαμοῦντες καὶ ὅσα ἐνταραγεῖν, καὶ ἦξεν ἀποφέρεσθαι ταῦτα. προὔκειτο δὲ οὐχ ἐν ἐκάστῳ πινακίνου, ἀλλ᾽ Ἀρισταίνετο μὲν καὶ Εὐκρίτῳ ἐπὶ μᾶς τραπέζῃς κοινών, καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐκάτερον ἔχρην λαβεῖν· Ζηνοθέμιδι δὲ τῷ Σταῖκῳ καὶ Ὑρμωνι τῷ Ἐπικουρείῳ ὁμοίως κοινῶν καὶ τούτως· είτα ἦξεν Κλεοδήμῳ καὶ Ἰωνι, μεθ᾽ οὗ τῷ νυμφίῳ καὶ ἐμοί, τῷ Διφίλῳ δὲ τὰ ἁμφοῖν, ὁ γὰρ Ζήνων ἀπεκλήθηεν. καὶ μέμνησο μοι τούτων, ὦ Φίλων, διότι δὴ ἐστὶ τι ἐν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν λόγον.

1 τι Bekker: καὶ MSS. excised by Fritzsche.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

on the ground, but the slave clung to it stoutly and did not let him. "Bravo, Cleodemus," said Hermon; "let them tell why they inveigh against pleasure when they themselfyes want to have more of it than the rest of mankind." "No," said Zenothemis, "but do you, Cleodemus, say why you hold that wealth is important." "No, that is for you to do!" This went on for a long while, until Ion, bending forward to make himself more conspicuous, said: "Stop, and if you wish I will put before you a topic for a discussion worthy of the present festal day, and you shall talk and listen without quarrelling, exactly as in our Plato's circle, where most of the time was passed in discussion." All the guests applauded, especially Aristaenetus and Eucritus, who hoped at least to do away with the unpleasantness in that way. Aristaenetus went back to his own place, trusting that peace had been made, and at the same time we were served with what they call the "Full Dinner"—a bird apiece, boar's flesh and hare's, broiled fish, sesame-cakes and sweetmeats; all of which you had leave to carry away. They did not put a separate tray in front of each of us, but Aristaenetus and Eucritus had theirs together on a single table, and each was to take what was on his side. In like manner Zenothemis the Stoic and Hermon the Epicurean had theirs together, and then Cleodemus and Ion, who came next, and after them the bridegroom and myself; Diphilus, however, had two portions set before him, as Zeno had gone away. Remember all this, Philo, please, because it is of importance for my story.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Μεμνήσομαι δή.

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ

'Ο τοίνυν Ἰων, "Πρῶτος οὖν ἄρχομαι," ἔφη, 39 "εἰ δοκεῖ." καὶ μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν, "Έχρην μὲν ἵσως," ἔφη, "τοιούτων ἄνδρῶν παρόντων περὶ ἰδεῶν τε καὶ ἄσωμάτων εἰπεῖν καὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀντιλέγωσί μοι ὁπόσοι μὴ κατὰ ταύτα 1 φιλοσοφοῦσι, περὶ γάμων ἔρω τὰ εἰκότα. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄριστον ἦν μὴ δείσθαι γάμων, ἀλλὰ πειθομένους Πλάτωνι καὶ Σωκράτει παιδεραστεῖν μόνοι γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀποτελεσθείεν ἄν πρὸς ἀρετήν εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ γυναικείον γάμον, κατὰ τὰ Πλάτωνι δοκοῦντα κοινὰς εἶναι ἔχρην 2 τὰς γυναίκας, ὡς ἔξω ἕξουν εἴημεν."


"Ἡ οὖν ποτ' ἄρ' ἦγ' 4 Ἀρισταίνετον ἐν μεγάροις,
διὰ Κλεανθῆς ἀνασσ' ἐτρέφετ' ἐνυκέως,

1 ταύτα vulg: ταύτα MSS.
2 ἔχρην du Soul: ἐκκελον MSS.
3 Ἰων Schaefer, Bekker: οἷμαι MSS.
4 ἄρ' η γ' MSS.: ἄρ' Dindorf.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

PHILO
I shall remember, of course.

LYCINUS
Well, Ion said: "Then I will begin first, if you like"; and after a little pause: "Perhaps with men of such distinction here we ought to talk of 'ideas' and incorporeal entities and the immortality of the soul; but in order that I may not be contradicted by all those who are not of the same belief in philosophy, I shall take the topic of marriage and say what is fitting. It were best not to need marriage, but to follow Plato and Socrates and be content with friendship: at all events only such as they can attain perfection in virtue. But if we must marry, we should have our wives in common, as Plato held, so as to be devoid of envy."

These remarks gave rise to laughter, as though they were made out of season. But Dionysodorus said: "Stop your outlandish jabbering! Where can the word envy be found in that sense, and in what author?" 1 "What, do you dare open your mouth, you scum of the earth?" said Ion, and Dionysodorus began to give him back his abuse in due form. But the grammarian Histiaeus (simple soul!) said: "Stop, and I will read you a wedding-song," and began to read. The verses were these, if I remember right:

O what a maiden in the halls
Of Aristaenetus
Her gentle nurture had, our queen
Cleanthis glorious!

1 The rhetorician carps at Ion for using ζήλος in the sense of ζηλοφυία, 'jealousy in love.'
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

προῦχουσ’ ἄλλαν ρασάνων παρθενικάων,
κρέσσων τῆς Κυθέρης ἡδ’ ἀμά 1 τῆς Ἐλένης.
υμφί, καὶ σὺ δὲ χαίρε, κρατερῶν κράτιστε
ἐφήβων, 2
κρέσσων Νιρής καὶ Θέτιδος παίδος.
ἀμμες δ’ αὐθ’ ύμιν τούτον θαλαμήιον ύμνον
ξυνῶν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρους πολλάκις ἀσόμεθα.

Γέλωτος οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς τὸ εὐκός, γενο-
μένου ἀνελέσθαι ἦδη τὰ παρακείμενα ἔδει, καὶ
ἀνείλοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρισταίνετον καὶ Ἐὐκριτον
τὴν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκάτερος κἀγὼ τὰμὰ καὶ ὁ Χαιρέας
ὅσα ἐκείνῳ ἐκεῖνο καὶ Ἰων ὤμοιος καὶ ὁ Κλέοδή-
μος. ὁ δὲ Δίφιλος ἦξιόν καὶ τὰ τῆς Ζήνωνι δὴ
ἀπόντι 3 παραδοθέντα φέρεσθαι καὶ ἔλεγε μόνῳ
παρατέθηναι οἱ αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διακόνους
ἐμάχετο, καὶ ἀντέσπον τῆς ὀρνιθὸς ἐπειλημμένοι
ὁσπερ τὸν Πατρόκλου νεκρὸν ἀνθέλκοντες, καὶ
τέλος ἐνικήθη καὶ ἀφῆκε πολὺν γέλωτα παρα-
σχῶν τοῖς συμπόταις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπελ ἤγα-
νάκτει μετὰ τούτῳ ὡς ἀν τὰ μέγιστα ήδικημένοι.

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἔρμωνα καὶ Ζηνόθεμου ἀμά 43
κατέκειντο, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί, ὁ μὲν ὑπεράνω ὁ
Ζηνόθεμος, ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπαρέκειτο δ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἱσα, καὶ ἀνείλοντο εἰρήμικῶς. ἦ

1 ἀμὰ Guyet : αἰ MSS.
2 Hopelessly corrupt : κράτιστε τεὼν συνεφῆβων Dindorf.
3 ἀπόντι Hartman, Herwerden : ἀπόντι MSS,
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

Superior to other maids
   As many as there be,
Than Aphrodite prettier
   And Helen eke is she.
To you, O groom, a greeting too,
   Most handsome of your mates
And handsomer than those of old
   Of whom Homer relates.
We unto you the song you hear
   Will sing repeatedly
To celebrate your wedding-day:
   It's made for both you see!¹

That caused a laugh, as you can imagine; and then it was time to take what was set before us. Aristaenetus and Eucritus each took the portion in front of him: I took what was mine and Chaereas what was set before him, and Ion and Cleodemus did likewise. But Diphilus wanted to carry off not only his own but all that had been served for Zeno, who was away; he said that it had been served to him alone, and fought with the servants. They caught hold of the bird and tried to pull it away from each other as if they were tugging at the body of Patroclus, and at last he was beaten and let go. He made the company laugh heartily, especially because he was indignant afterwards, just as if he had been done the greatest possible wrong.

Hermon and Zenothemis were lying side by side, as I have said, Zenothemis above and Hermon below him. The shares served them were identical in all but one point, and they began to take them

¹ The translator's version is perhaps better than the original: it could not be worse.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

dè ὁρίς ἦ πρὸ τοῦ Ἐρμωνὸς πιμελεστέρα, οὕτως, οἴμαι, τυχόν. έδει δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀναφεύγεις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἑκάτερον. ἐν τούτῳ τοῖνυν ὁ Ζηνόθεμις—καὶ μοι, ὁ Φίλων, πάντων πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ὅμων γάρ ἐσμεν ἡδή τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν πρακτόντων—ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις, φημὶ, τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ἀφεῖς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἐρμωνὸς ἀνέιλετο πιστέαν, ὡς ἔφην, οὕσαν· ὁ δ' ἀντεπελάβετο καὶ οὐκ εἶνα πλεονεκτεῖν. ὑπὴ το ἐπὶ τούτως, καὶ συμπεσόντες ἔπαινον ἀλλήλους ταῖς ὄρνησις αὐταῖς ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα, καὶ τῶν παγώνων ἑπειλημμένοι ἑπεκαλοῦντο βοηθεῖν, ὁ μὲν τὸν Κλεόδημον ὁ Ἐρμων, ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις Ἀλκιδάμαντα καὶ Δίφιλον, καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκείνου πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Ἰωνὸς· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μέσου ἑαυτοῦ ἐφύλαττεν. οἱ δ' ἐμάχοντο συμπλακέστε, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζηνόθεμις σκύφου ἀράμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης κείμενον πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρισταῖνητον ἰστιτεὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρμωνα,

κάκεινον μὲν ἀμαρτε, παραὶ δὲ οἱ ἐτράπετ' ἀλλή, διείλε δὲ τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ κρανίον ἐς δύο χριστῷ μάλα καὶ βαθεὶ τῷ τραύματι. ὑπὴ οὖν παρὰ τῶν γυναῖκῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κατεπήδησαν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον αἱ πολλαὶ, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ μειράκιον, ἔπει τὸ αἷμα εἶδε· καὶ ἡ νῦμφη δὲ ἀνεπήδησε φοβηθείσα περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐν τοσότῳ δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἱρίστευσε τῷ Ζηνοθέμιδι συμμαχῶν, καὶ πατάξας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τοῦ Κλεόδημου μὲν τὸ κρανίον, τοῦ Ἐρμωνοῦ δὲ τὴν σιαγόνα ἑπέτρυψε καὶ τῶν οἰκετών ἐνός βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειροῦντας κατέτρωσεν· οὐ μὴν ἀπετράποντο ἐκείνοι, 456
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

peaceably. But the bird in front of Hermon was the plumper, just by chance, no doubt. In that case too each should have taken his own, but at this juncture Zenothemis—follow me closely, Philo, for we have now reached the crisis of events—Zenothemis, I say, let the bird beside him alone and proceeded to take the one before Hermon, which was fatter, as I have said. Hermon, however, seized it also and would not let him be greedy. Thereat there was a shout: they fell on and actually hit one another in the face with the birds, and each caught the other by the beard and called for help, Hermon to Cleodemus, and Zenothemis to Alcidaerus and Dophilus. The philosophers took sides, some with one, and some with the other, except Ion alone, who kept himself neutral, and they pitched in and fought. Zenothemis picked up a bowl that was on the table in front of Aristaenetus and threw it at Hermon.

And him it missed and went another way; but it cracked the crown of the bridegroom, inflicting a wound that was generous and deep. Consequently there was an outcry from the women, and most of them sprang to the battle-field, especially the lad's mother when she saw the blood; and the bride also sprang from her place in alarm over him. Meanwhile Alcidaerus distinguished himself on the side of Zenothemis. Laying about him with his staff, he broke the head of Cleodemus and the jaw of Hermon, and he disabled several of the servants who were trying to rescue them. But the other

1 Cf. Iliad 11, 233.
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ἀλφ ο μὲν Κλεόδημος ὁρθὸν τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ Ζηνοθέμδους ἐξώρυττε καὶ τὴν ρίνα προσφύγος ἀπέτραγεν, ὦ δὲ "Ερμών τὸν Δίφιλον ἐπὶ ξυμαχίαν ἦκοντα τοῦ Ζηνοθέμδους ἄφηκεν ἐπὶ κεφαλήν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλιντήρος. ἐτρώθη δὲ καὶ Ἰστιαίος ὁ γραμματικὸς διαλύει αὐτοὺς ἐπι- χειρῶν, λάξ, οἶμαι, εἰς τοὺς ὁδόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεόδημου Δίφιλον εἶναι οὐκέταντος. ἔκειτο γούν ὁ ἄθλος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν "Ομηρον "αἴμε έμεων." πλὴν ταραχῆς γε καὶ δακρύων μεστὰ ἢν πάντα. καὶ αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἐκώκυνον τῷ Χαίρεα περιχυθείςα, . . . 2 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατέ- πανον. μέγιστον δὲ ἢν ἀπάντων κακῶν ὁ Ἄλκι- δάμας, ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐτρέψατο, παῖων τὸν προστυχόντα· καὶ πολλοὶ ἄν, εὐ λεοθε, ἐπέσον εἰ μὴ κατέαξε τὴν βακτηριάν. ἐγὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοῖχον ὀρθὸς ἐφεστὸς ἐώρων ἔκαστα οὐκ ἀνα- μνήν ἔαντον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου διδαχθεῖς, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐπισφαλῆς διαλύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. Δοπήθαις οὖν καὶ Κενταύρους εἶπε ἄν, εἰ εἶδες 3 τραπέζας ἀνατρεπομένας καὶ αἶμα ἐκκεχυμένου καὶ σκύμνος ῥιπτομένους.

Τέλος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιδάμας ἀνατρέψας τὸ λυχνίον 46 σκότος μέγα ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸ πράγμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μακρῷ χαλεπῶτερον ἐγεγένητο· καὶ γὰρ οὐ ράδίως εὐπόρησαν φωτὸς ἄλλου, ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπράχθη καὶ δεινὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν τις λύχνων

1 γούν A.M.H.: οὖν MSS.
2 Lacuna Gertz: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἰκτά Fritzsche: οἱ δὲ ἀτρωτοι Bekker.
3 εἶπες ἄν, εἰ εἶδες Gertz: εἶδες ἄν MSS.

458
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

side did not give way, for Cleodemus with a stiff finger gouged out the eye of Zenothemis and got him by the nose and bit it off, while as for Hermon, when Diphilus was coming to the support of Zenothemis he threw him head first from the couch. Histiaeus the grammarian was wounded, too, in trying to separate them—he was kicked in the teeth, I think, by Cleodemus, who supposed him to be Diphilus. At all events the poor fellow was laid low, "vomiting gore," as his own Homer says. The whole place, however, was full of noise and tears, and the women, gathered about Chaereas, were wailing, while the rest of the men were trying to quiet things down. Alcidamas was the greatest nuisance in the world, for when he had once routed his opponents he hit everybody that fell in his way. Many would have gone down before him, you may be sure, if he had not broken his staff. As for me, I stood by the wall and watched the whole performance without taking part in it, for Histiaeus had taught me how risky it is to try to part such fights. You would have said they were Lapiths and Centaurs, to see tables going over, blood flowing and cups flying.

At last Alcidamas knocked over the lamp-stand and brought on profound darkness, and as you can imagine, the situation became far worse, for it was not easy for them to provide more light, while on the other hand many dire deeds were done in the darkness. When some one finally came in with a
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

ποτὲ κομίζων, κατελήφθη Ἀλκιδάμας μὲν τὴν αὐλητρίδα ἀπογυμνών καὶ πρὸς βίαν συνενεχθήναι αὐτὴ σπουδάζων, Διονυσόδωρος δὲ ἀλλὸ τι γελοιοῦν ἐφωράθη πεποιηκώς. σκύφος γὰρ ἔξεπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου ἐξαναστάντος αὐτοῦ. εἰτ' ἀπολογοῦμενος Ἰωνα ἔφη ἀνελόμενον ἐν τῇ παραχῇ δούναι αὐτῷ, ὅπως μὴ ἀπόλοιπο, καὶ ὁ Ἰων κηδεμονικῶς ἔλεγε τούτῳ πεποιηκέναι.

'Επὶ τούτων διελύθη τὸ συμπόσιον τελευτήσαν 47 ἐκ τῶν δακρύων αὖθις ἐς γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλκιδάμαντι καὶ Διονυσόδωρῳ καὶ Ἰωνὶ. καὶ οὐ τε τραυματίαι φοράδην ἐξεκομίζοντο πονήρως ἔχοντες, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ Ζηνόθεμες ἁμφότερας τῇ μὲν τῆς ῥώνος, τῇ δὲ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐπειλημμένος, βοῶν ἀπολλυσθαὶ ὑπ' ἄλγηδόνων, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ἐρμωνα καίπερ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντα—δύο γὰρ ὄδόντας ἐξεκόκκιτο—ἀντιμαρτύρεσθαι λέγοντα, "Μέμησο μεντοί, ὁ Ζηνόθεμες, ὡς οὐκ ἀδιάφορον ἡγητὸ τοῦ πόνου" καὶ ὁ νυμφίος δὲ ἀκεσαμένου τὸ τραύμα τοῦ Διονίκου ἀπήγετο ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ταινίας κατειλημμένος τὴν κεφαλήν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλμας ἀνατηθεῖς ἐφ' οὐ τὴν χυμφὴν ἀπάξειν ἐμελλε, πικροὺς ὁ ἄθλιος τοὺς γάμους ἐορτάσας· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁ Διόνικος ἐπεμελεῖτο δὴ τὰ δυνατά, καὶ καθευδήσουτε ἀπήγετο ἐμοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ὁ μέντοι Ἀλκιδάμας αὐτοῦ ἐμείνειν· οὐ γὰρ ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ καταβάλον ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης πλαγίως ἐκάθενυε.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

lamp, Alcidamas was caught stripping the flute-girl and trying to ravish her, while Dionysodorus was found to have done something else that was ridiculous, for as he got up a bowl fell out of the folds of his cloak. Then by way of clearing himself he said that Ion had picked it up in the confusion and had given it to him, so that it might not get lost; and Ion considerately said that he had done so.

Thereupon the dinner-party broke up. After the tears, it had ended in a new burst of laughter over Alcidamas, Dionysodorus and Ion. The wounded men were carried away in sorry condition, especially the old man Zenothemis, who had one hand on his nose and the other on his eye and was shouting that he was dying with pain, so that Hermon, in spite of his own sad plight (for he had had two teeth knocked out) called attention to it and said: “Just remember, Zenothemis, that you do consider pain of some consequence, after all!” The bridegroom, after his wound had been dressed by Dionicus, was taken home with his head wrapped in bandages, in the carriage in which he had expected to take away his bride; it was a bitter wedding that he celebrated, poor fellow! As for the rest, Dionicus did the best he could for them and they were taken off to bed, most of them vomiting in the streets. But Alcidamas stayed right there, for they could not turn the man out, once he had thrown himself down crosswise on the couch and gone to sleep.

461
THE WORKS OF LUCIAN

Τούτο σοι τέλος, ὦ καλὲ Φίλων, ἐγένετο τοῦ 48
συμποσίου, ἥ ἀμείνων τὸ τραγικὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐπειπεῖν,
πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαίμονιων,
πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοὶ,
καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη.

ἀπροσδόκητα γὰρ ὡς ἁληθῶς ἀπέβη καὶ ταῦτα.
ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν ¹ μεμάθηκα ἡδη, ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς
ἀπρακτὸν ἄντα συνεστιᾶσθαι τοιούτοις σοφοῖς.

¹ γε μὴν Bekker, Dindorf: μὴν not in MSS.: γε not in all
MSS.
THE CAROUSAL, OR THE LAPITHS

Well, Philo, that was the end of the dinner-party: it would be better, though, to say at the close as they do in the plays of Euripides:

In many shapes appear the powers above,
And many things the gods surprise us with,
While those we look for do not come about.¹

For all of it, you know, was quite unexpected. This much, however, I have at last learned, that it is not safe for a man of peace to dine with men so learned.

¹ These lines occur at the close of the Alcestis, the Andromache, the Bacchae and the Helen, and, with a slight change, in the Medea.
INDEX
INDEX

Acanthus, 15
Achaemenidae, 183 note
Achilles, 35, 139 note, 181, 321
Acrisius, father of Danae, 165
Admetus, a hack poet, 165
Aeacus, 11
Aegisthus, 201
Aeschylus, 169 note
Aesculapius, 159; statue of, 41
Aesop, 321
Agamemnon, 35, 111, 425
Agathabulus, 145
Agathocles, the Peripatetic, 159
—, tyrant of Sicily, died 289 B.C., 229
Ajax (Locrian), 319
—, son of Telamon, 311
Albinus, 97 note
Alcidamas, 423
Alcinous, 251
Alexander, 35, 177, 313, 379
Amber, 75-79
Amphion, who, with the aid of a lyre, the gift of Hermes, built the wall of Thebes by making the stones move of their own accord, 195
Anacharsis, a Scythian and friend of Solon, 319
Anacreon of Teos, 69 note, 229, 243, 319, 431
Andromeda, 201
Anteia, wife of Proetus: she fell in love with Bellerophon, but was rejected, 387
Antigonus One-Eye, King of Asia, died 301 B.C., 231
—, son of Demetrius, died 239 B.C., 231
Antimachus, poet, 349
Antipater, son of Idas, died 319 B.C., 231
Antiphus, famous painter, 363 sqq.
Antiphon, 339
Antisthenes, founder of the Cynic school of philosophy, 167
Antoninus, Pius, Roman Emperor 138-161 A.D., 227 note
Antonius Diogenes, 251 note, 261 note
Apelles, the most famous of Greek painters, born circa 365 B.C., 359 note, 363 sqq.
Aphrodite, 95, 449 note
Apollo, 203, 257
Apollodorus, an Athenian historian of the second century B.C., 239, 241
Apollonius Rhodius, 161
Aratus, 117 note
Arcesilaus (Ursinus), 155
Archelaus, 237
Archimedes, famous mathematician, born 287 B.C., 37
Areius, 325
Arganthonius, 229
Ariadne, 313
Arion, famous lyric poet, and inventor of dithyrambic verse, 319
Aristaenetus, 413 sqq.
Aristarchus, famous grammarian, flourished about 156 B.C., 323
Aristides, 313, 389
Aristippus, 171
—, founder of Pyrrhonist school of philosophy, fl. 370 B.C., 321
Aristobulus of Cassandria, historian of Alexander, 239
Aristophanes, 285 note
Aristotle, 153
Arsacidae, 183
Artabazus, 285

467

H H 2
INDEX

Artaxerxes, 233
Artemis, 439
Asandros, 235
Ates, 229
Athena, 89, 203
Athenodorus of Tarsus, 239
Atreus, sons of, 205
Attalus, King of Pergamum, 159–163 B.C., 233
Augustus Caesar, 235
Ausonius, 431 note

Bacchus, 49
Bardylis, 229
Bellerophon, 387
Botticelli, 359 note
Branchus, 203
Busiris, King of Egypt: he sacrificed strangers, 327

Cadmus, 401
Caesar Augustus, 239
Calypso, 333, 341
Cambyses, 233
Camnacires, 235
Caracalla, Roman Emperor 211–217 A.D., 227 note
Caranus, 325
Carneades, famous sceptic philosopher, opponent of the Stoics 214–129 B.C., 237
Carnaval, The: or the Lapiths, 411–463
Castor, 319 note
Cedalion, 203
Cethus, 161
Chaeas, 419 sqq.
Charinus, 413 sqq.
Charon, 63
Chrysippus, famous Stoic philosopher (born, 280 B.C.), 237, 243 note, 321
Cinyras, 329
Circe, 219 note, 341
Claudian, 201 note
Cleanthes, Stoic philosopher of 4th century B.C., 237
Cleanthes, 417 sqq.
Cleodemus, 419
Cleisthenes, 60 note
 Clytemnestra, 201
Consomants at Law, The, 395–409
Crates, famous Cynic philosopher, f. 320 B.C., 167

Cratinus, died 422 B.C., 243
Creon, 111
Crito, 445
Critolaus, Peripatetic philosopher, 239
Croesus, King of Lydia, 35
Ctesias of Cnidus, contemporary of Xenophon, 251, 255 note, 337
Ctesibius, famous for his mechanical inventions, f. 250 B.C., 239
Curetes, 137
Cynegirus, 169
Cyrus, 233, 313

Danae, 165
Daphne, 257
Delphi, 21 sq.
Demetrius, Attic orator, born circa 345 B.C., 145, 379
— of Callatis, 229
Demochares, 229
Democritus of Abdera, famous philosopher, born circa 460 B.C., 237
Demodocus, 195
Demosthenes, 141–173; 167
Dexinus, 237
Dion, 233
Diodorus, 229 note
Diogenes, celebrated Cynic philosopher, born circa 412 B.C., 147 note, 167 sqq., 321
— Laertius, 237 note
— of Seleucia, Stoic philosopher, 237
Diomed of Thrace, 327
Dionicus, 413 sqq.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, famous rhetorician, died 7 B.C., 33
Dionysodorus, 419 sqq.
Dionysius, 47–59; 255, 347 note, 415
Diphilus, 419
Draco, first law-giver of Athens, f. 621 B.C., 369
Electra, the, 201 note
Empedocles, 325
Endymion, 91, 265 sqq.
Epeius, 37, 325
Epicharmus, Dorian comic poet, born circa 540 B.C., 243
Epictetus, Stoic philosopher, 145, 169

468
INDEX

Epicurus, founder of Epicurean school of philosophy (342–270 B.C.), 321
Eratosthenes, of Cyrene, born 276 B.C., 243
Ericthonius, 203
Eridanus, river, 75 sq.
Eurilochus, 417 sqq.
Eumolpus, son of Poseidon and Chione, 161
Eunomus of Locris, 319
Euphorbus, Trojan hero, 325
Euripides, 201, 241, 389 note, 439, 463

Favorinus, 151
Fly, the, 81–95

Geryon, 63
Goaesus, 235
Gorgias, of Leontini, famous rhetorician, 241
Gorgon, the, 203
Gorgons, 197
Gorgias, 233

Hall, the, 175–207
Hannibal, 313
Hector, 119
Hecuba, 111
Helen, 187, 311, 319, 329, 449 note
Hellenicus of Lesbos, 239
Hephaestion, friend of Alexander, died 325 B.C., 379
Hephaestus, 203
Heracles, 61–71; 111, 255
Hermes, 65, 95; god of oratory, 111
Herminius, 169
Hermon, 419
Hermotimus, 131 note
— of Clazomenae, 89
Herodes Atticus, Greek rhetorician, circa 104–180 A.D., 157, 161
Herodotus, 181 note, 197, 229, 255 note, 265 note, 267 note, 277 note, 279 note, 293 note, 299 note, 309, 337, 367 note
Hesiod, 327, 371 note, 431
Hetoemocles, 435
Hiero, King of Syracuse, died 216 B.C., 229
Hieronymus of Cardia, 231, 239

Hippias, 33–45
Hippoclistes, 69
Hippocrates of Cos, circa 460–357 B.C., 311
Hippolyta, 313 note
Hippolytus, 389
Hipsocrates of Amphiumen, 241
Histiaeus, 419 sqq.
Honoratus, 155
Hyacinthus, 319
Hydra, 13
Hygeia, statue of, 41
Hylas, 319
Hypereides, 167
Hyspausines, King of Charax, 235
Iambulus, 251, 255 note
Iapetus, a Titan, 63
Ion, 419 sqq.
Iophon, son of Sophocles, 241
Isidore the Characene, 233
Isocrates, famous Attic orator, 436–338 B.C., 241

Justinus, 231 note

Labdacus, 361
Lactantius, 261 notes
Lais, a celebrated courtesan, 321
Lalus, 361 note
Leogoras, 15
Leto, 439
Leucothea, a marine goddess, 341
Lucian, 333
Lucullus, L. Licinius, 235
Lycinus, 413 sqq.
Lycurgus, 243, 319
Lysias, son of Cephalus, the Attic orator, 458–378 B.C., 181
Lysimachus, 360–281 B.C., 231

Massinissa, King of Numidia, 238–148 B.C., 235
Medea, 205
Medusa, 201 sq.
Meleager, 443

469
INDEX

Menelaus, 57 note, 89, 311, 329, 343
Menippus, 411 note
Milo of Croton, 93 note
Miltiades, victor of Marathon, 490 B.C., 391
Minos, 11
Mithridates, King of Pontus, 233
Mormus, god of mockery, 59, 131
Muia (= Fly), 91, 93

Narcissus, 319
NATIVE LAND, MY, 209–219
Nauplius', 333 sqq.
Nestor, 225, 319
—— of Tarsus, 239
Nigrinus, 97–139
Numa Pompilius, second King of Rome, 227

OCTOGENARIANS, 221–245
Odysseus, 57 note, 119, 203 sq., 219 note, 251, 317, 325, 341 sq., 389 note
Oedipus at Colonus, 243
Oeneus, King of Calydon, father of Meleager, 439
Ogmios (Heracles), 65
Onesicritus, 233
Orion, 203

Palamedes, 205, 319, 389, 401
Pammeneus, 437
Pan, 51 sq.
Paris, 449 note
Patreclus, 455
Peirithous, 411 note
Pelcus, 449
Pelops, house of, 361
Penelope, 333, 343
Perdiccas, 233
Peregrinus Proteus, 157
Periander, tyrant of Corinth from 625–585 B.C., 319
Pericles, 107 note
Periplus, 17 sq.
Perseus, 201 sq.
Petronius, 129 note
Phaedra, daughter of Minos and wife of Theseus, 313, 389
Phaedrus of Myrrhinus, 181
Phaéthon, 75, 263, 269 sqq.
Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, proverbial for his cruelty, 1–31; 327

Phemius, famous minstrel of the Odyssey, 195
Pherecydes the Syrian, early Greek philosopher, B.C., 239
Philemon, comic poet, B.C., 243
Philetaerus, 231
Philip, 229
Philo, 413 sqq.
Philoxenus, 377
Phocion, Athenian general and statesman, 402–317 B.C., 319
Phocylides, 371 note
Phoebus, 251 note
Pindar, 43, 431
Pittacus of Mytilene (died 569 B.C.), 237
Pittheus, 371 note
Pityocampstes, 327
Pollux, 319 note
Polybius, son of Lycortas, historian, circa 204–122 B.C., 163, 241
Polydeuces, a slave, 157, 161
Polyrepon, 433
Polyxena, 111
Poseidon, 131 note
Posidonius of Apamia, (born circa 135 B.C.), 237
Potamo, a rhetorician, 241
Proetus, husband of Antea, 387
Ptolemy Auletes (died 51 B.C.), 379
—— Soter, son of Lagus, King of Egypt 323–285 B.C., 37, 231
—— Philadelphus, regn. 285–247 B.C., 231
—— Philopator, regn. 222–205 B.C., 363
Pylades, 201
Pyrrhus of Epirus, 318–272 B.C., 35
Pythagoras, B.C., 525, 15, 153, 323
Psycho, 153
Quintillus, 223, 245
Regilla, 161
Rhadamantus, 11, 311
Rufinus, 169
Sarpedon, 269
Satyrion, 433
INDEX

Scitharbus, 295 sqq., 347
Scipio, P. Corn., Africanus Minor, 135–132 B.C., 233
Sciron, a famous robber, slain by Theseus, 327
Scironius, 235
Scythians, 137
Sele, 91
Seleucus Nicator, regn. 312–280 B.C., 231
Semele, 53 note
Seneca, 261 note
Servius, Tullius, 6th King of Rome, 227
Silenus, 51 sqq.
Simonides of Ceos, famous lyric poet, died 467 B.C., 243, 401
Sinatroces, King of Parthia, 233
Sirens, the, 197
Slander: On not being quick to put faith in it, 359–393
Socrates, 469–399 B.C., 147, 169, 171, 181, 319, 321, 389
Solon, famous legislator, circa 650–550 B.C., 237, 369
Sophocles, 201, 241, 439
Sostratus, 445
— of Cnidus, famous architect, 37
— (Heraclides), 143
Stesichorus of Himera, fl. 608 B.C., 243, 319
Stratonice, 377
Tatius, 265 note
Tarquinii Superbus, 7th and last King of Rome, 227
Tarsus, 239
Telephantus, 341
Telemachus, 179 note, 205
Telemachus, 139
Tellus, 310
Teres, 231
Thales of Miletus, Ionic philosopher, circa 636–546 B.C., 35
237
Thamyrus, who challenged the Muses and lost his sight, 195
Themistocles, Athenian statesman, circa 514–449 B.C., 391
Theodotus, 363
Theodotus, 383 note
Thersites, 171, 325
Theseus, 311, 321, 389 note
Thucydides, 265 note, 273 note, 297 note
Tiberius Caesar, 42 B.C.–37 A.D., 239
Tigranes, King of Armenia, regn. 96–55 B.C., 235
— (name for Homer), 323
Timaeus of Tauromenium, historian, circa 352–256 B.C., 229, 239
Timocrates, 15
— of Heraclea, 145
Timon of Athens, 335
Tyrannus, 235
Tyro, 307
Ursinus (Arcesilaus), 155
Xenocrates of Chalcedon, 306–314 B.C., 237
Xenophanes of Colophon, fl. 520 B.C., 237
Xenophilus, 237
Xenophon, son of Gryllus, historian, born circa 444 B.C., 239
Zamolxis, 319
Zeno, founder of Stoic philosophy, died circa 260 B.C., 158, 237, 417 note
—, 417 sqq.
Zenodotus, grammarian, fl. 520 B.C., 323
Zenothemis, 419 sqq.
Zeus, 53 note, 269
Zopyrus, 441

471
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